



# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY

REVISED EDITION



Gary B. Nash, GENERAL EDITOR



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## Encyclopedia of American History, Revised Edition

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# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Revised Edition

Three Worlds Meet  
Beginnings to 1607



# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Revised Edition

## THREE WORLDS MEET

Beginnings to 1607

## COLONIZATION AND SETTLEMENT

1608 to 1760

## REVOLUTION AND NEW NATION

1761 to 1812

## EXPANSION AND REFORM

1813 to 1855

## CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

1856 to 1869

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL UNITED STATES

1870 to 1899

## THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN AMERICA

1900 to 1928

## THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR II

1929 to 1945

## POSTWAR UNITED STATES

1946 to 1968

## CONTEMPORARY UNITED STATES

1969 to the Present

## COMPREHENSIVE INDEX

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## Three Worlds Meet Beginnings to 1607



Peter C. Mancall, Editor  
Gary B. Nash, General Editor

 **Facts On File**  
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**Encyclopedia of American History, Revised Edition  
Three Worlds Meet (Beginnings to 1607)**

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# About the Editors

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Nash is an elected member of the Society of American Historians, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Antiquarian Society, and the American Philosophical Society. He has served as past president of the Organization of American Historians in 1994–95 and was a founding member of the National Council for History Education. His latest books include *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory*

(University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (Viking, 2005), and *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Era of Revolution* (Harvard University Press, 2006).

**Volume Editor: Peter C. Mancall** is professor of history and anthropology at the University of Southern California (USC) and director of the USC–Huntington Early Modern Studies Institute. He received a Ph.D. from Harvard University and is an elected member of the American Antiquarian Society. He is the author of several books, including *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Cornell University Press, 1995), *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (Yale University Press, 2007), and *Fatal Journey: The Final Expedition of Henry Hudson* (Basic Books, 2009), and the editor of eight books, including *Travel Narratives from the Age of Discovery* (Oxford University Press, 2006) and *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624* (University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

# Foreword



The Encyclopedia of American History series is designed as a handy reference to the most important individuals, events, and topics in U.S. history. In 10 volumes, the encyclopedia covers the period from the 15th century, when European explorers first made their way across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas, to the present day. The encyclopedia is written for precollegiate as well as college students, for parents of young learners in the schools, and for the general public. The volume editors are distinguished historians of American history. In writing individual entries, each editor has drawn upon the expertise of scores of specialists. This ensures the scholarly quality of the entire series. Articles contributed by the various volume editors are uncredited.

This 11-volume encyclopedia of “American history” is broadly conceived to include the historical experience of the various peoples of North America. Thus, in the first volume, many essays treat the history of a great range of indigenous people before contact with Europeans. In the same vein, readers will find essays in the first several volumes that sketch Spanish, Dutch, and French explorers and colonizers who opened up territories for European settlement that later would become part of the United States. The venues and cast of characters in the American historical drama are thus widened beyond traditional encyclopedias.

In creating the eras of American history that define the chronological limits of each volume, and in addressing major topics in each era, the encyclopedia follows the architecture of *The National Standards for United States History, Revised Edition* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Mandated by the U.S. Congress, the national standards for U.S. history have been widely used by states and school districts in organizing curricular frameworks and have been followed by many other curriculum-building efforts.

Entries are cross-referenced, when appropriate, with *See also* citations at the end of articles. At the end of most entries, a listing of articles and books allows readers to turn to specialized sources and historical accounts. In each volume, an array of maps provide geographical context, while numerous illustrations help vivify the material covered in the text. A time line is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events occurring in the given era. The selection of historical documents in the back of each volume gives students experience with the raw documents that historians use when researching history. A comprehensive index to each volume also facilitates the reader’s access to particular information.

In each volume, long entries are provided for major categories of American historical experience. These categories may include: African Americans, agriculture, art and architecture, business, economy, education, family life, foreign policy, immigration, labor, Native Americans, politics, population, religion, urbanization, and women. By following these essays from volume to volume, the reader can access what might be called a mini-history of each broad topic, for example, family life, immigration, or religion.

—Gary B. Nash  
University of California, Los Angeles

# Foreword to the Revised Edition



“History has to be rewritten in every generation because, although the past does not change, the present does,” writes Lord Christopher Hill, one of Great Britain’s most eminent historians. “Each generation asks new questions of the past, and finds new areas of sympathy as it re-lives different aspects of the experiences of its predecessors.” It is this understanding, that the pursuit of historical knowledge requires new research and new reflections on the past, that undergirds a revised and extended edition of the Encyclopedia of American History.

The individual volume editors of this revised edition have made important additions and revisions to the original edition published in 2003. Most important, they have added many new entries—several hundred for the entire 11-volume set. This puts more meat on the bone of what was already a comprehensive encyclopedia that presented four centuries of American history in all its diversity and complexity. For the 10th volume, covering the period from 1969 to the present, new entries cover momentous events and important figures of the last six years. For the other volumes, new entries increase the diversity of Americans covered by biographical accounts as well as events that new scholarship shows have had greater importance than recognized heretofore.

In addition, careful attention has been given to correcting occasional errors in the massive number of entries in the first edition. Also, many entries have been revised to add further details while making adjustments, based on new scholarship, to the interpretation of key events and movements. Consonant with that effort to make the encyclopedia as fresh and usable as possible, the volume editors have added many new recently published books to the “Further Reading” notes at the ends of the entries, and new full-color historical maps help put history in its geographical context.

—Gary B. Nash





# Introduction

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*Three Worlds Meet* covers the period from 1492, when Christopher Columbus made his historic voyage to the west, to 1607, the year of the founding of the English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. It treats “American” history from what we can call its conception to its birth. Unlike the other volumes in this series, *Three Worlds Meet* does not focus on the territory that eventually became the United States. Instead, the entries here cover aspects of the history of the Atlantic world and the four continents on its periphery. Readers will find much on early modern Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Although some entries span the landmass of the modern-day United States, most focus on the peoples from different continents who encountered one another in the century following Columbus’s expedition.

What follows in these pages will provide readers with the background necessary for understanding the development of the United States. Even as late as 1607 there was no guarantee that the English would establish successful colonies in North America. At that time, the indigenous peoples in the Americas still believed that their lives and communities were secure. The noxious commerce in human beings known as the slave trade had only begun to bring Africans to the Western Hemisphere. Various Europeans envisioned colonies in North America, and books circulating across the Continent from printing presses (a new invention) offered abundant information about what could be found across the Atlantic. Much of the information turned out to be false, and many peoples’ dreams never came to fulfillment, but the events from 1492 to 1607 nonetheless left a legacy that Americans continue to confront five centuries later.

—Peter C. Mancall  
University of Southern California



# ENTRIES

## A TO Z





### Aataentsic

The HURON believed that Aataentsic, although “the mother of mankind” in their creation story, was a deity who brought harm to human beings.

According to the Huron, Aataentsic had originally dwelled in the sky with her husband, where spirits lived in a forested land much like earth. One day she fell to earth through a hole in the sky. As she fell toward the ocean that covered the world, the tortoise saw her falling. He told the other water animals to dive and bring up earth. As they returned, they piled the earth on his back, forming the land. Aataentsic fell safely on this land. Soon after her fall, she gave birth to twin sons, Iouskeha and Tawiscaron. Iouskeha sought to help human beings. He brought good weather, made the lakes and rivers, and showed human beings how to hunt. He also taught people to use fire and grow corn. His brother Tawiscaron was not favorably disposed to humans, and when the brothers grew up they fought, and Iouskeha drove him away. His blood, which fell on the ground as he fled, turned into flint. After this time, Iouskeha and Aataentsic lived together in a bark house far from Huron country.

Aataentsic, who may be identified either as Iouskeha’s mother or his maternal grandmother, tried to undo his good works and to harm human beings. She sent disease, made people die, and controlled the souls of the dead. If a traveling Huron found her cabin, she would try to harm him, but her son would try to help the unfortunate traveler. She appeared as an old woman, though she could make herself young again as she pleased. Iouskeha grew old like any human being, but when he became old could rejuvenate himself and become young again.

The anthropologist Bruce Trigger suggested that the story of Aataentsic and Iouskeha functioned to compensate both men and women for the limitations in their roles in daily life. Men, who killed animals in the hunt and other human beings in war, were aggressors in daily life. The male deity Iouskeha, on the other hand, was a life-bringer who gave human beings corn and fire and tried to help them. In

Huron society, women raised crops and cared for children, but through the story of Aataentsic they were “flattered by being mythically endowed with dangerous and aggressive qualities.” The idea that Aataentsic and her son, though very different in personality, lived together in a bark cabin may have emphasized the complementary roles men and women played in daily life.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### Abenaki

The Abenaki, whose name means “People of the Dawnland,” lived in northern New England when Native Americans first met Europeans.

Before 1492, Abenaki territory extended from Lake Champlain on the west to the White Mountains on the east. From north to south it reached from southern Quebec to the Vermont–Massachusetts border. Soon after contact with Europeans the Abenaki suffered from devastating epidemics. The rate of depopulation from these epidemics, which struck before sustained contact with Europeans, is unknown but may have exceeded 75 percent. Because of these death rates and because the first European explorers to visit the Abenaki homeland left few accounts of their journeys, Abenaki history is difficult to reconstruct.

The Indians of New England shared many cultural traits. Many of the groups, including the eastern and western Abenaki, the Maliseet, the Micmac, and the PASSAMAQUODDY nation, referred to themselves collectively as the Wabanaki. The eastern Abenaki lived in Maine; the western Abenaki in

## 2 Abyssinia

New Hampshire and Vermont. The Abenaki did not have the kind of formal tribal structure that Europeans looked for among the peoples whom they met. Instead, they traveled in small bands made up of related families. These bands might come together for a common purpose, such as planting, preparing for war, or holding religious ceremonies, but the Abenaki did not recognize any central authority over all the bands. The Abenaki did have chiefs, some of whom were powerful. More commonly, chiefs had limited powers and could not coerce their followers.

Because the growing season in northern New England is short, the Abenaki did not rely on agriculture. They grew CORN, beans, TOBACCO, and squash, but the staples of their diet came from hunting, fishing, and gathering. Abenaki men hunted, while the women prepared food and clothing. The Abenaki lived in conical wigwams or longhouses. In either case, men constructed the frame, which the women then covered with sewn bark pieces.

The Abenaki believed that the world was full of spiritual forces, some of which were hostile to people. They believed that shamans, or *medeoulin*, could offer protection against dangerous forces. Such shamans might be dangerous themselves, since they could use their powers either to help or to harm the people.

The first known Europeans to visit the area arrived with GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO in 1524, though the Abenaki did not participate in the fur trade until the 17th century. By the early 17th century the eastern Abenaki and the Micmac were fighting over access to European trade goods.

**Further reading:** Colin G. Calloway, *The Abenaki* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989); ———, *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600–1800: War, Migration and the Survival of an Indian People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); Gordon M. Day, “Western Abenaki,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., vol. 15, *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 148–159; Dean R. Snow, “Eastern Abenaki,” in *Northeast*, ed. Trigger, 137–147.

—Martha K. Robinson

**Abyssinia** See ETHIOPIA.

### Acadia

The original designation for parts of the North American eastern seaboard that once stretched from colonial New Jersey to the present-day Canadian maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, today Acadia refers only to the lands of present-day Maine and the Canadian maritime provinces.

The origins of the name *Acadia* are unclear. GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO, an Italian navigator who explored for France, was the first known European to use the term. Verrazano possibly derived it from words used to describe the landscape such as *quoddy* or *cadie*, or more likely modified the word *Arcadia*, the term for a pastoral paradise commonly used in Greek and Roman literature.

Human life in Acadia dates back at least 10,000 years, but knowledge of this history is poor because of meager archaeological records. The circumstances of the first meeting between Europeans and the peoples native to Acadia also remains a matter of conjecture. By July, 1534, when the French explorer JACQUES CARTIER provided the first written account of the inhabitants of Acadia after trading with a group of Micmac, many Europeans had interacted with Native peoples. Cartier described the Micmac and MALISEET peoples as enthusiastic traders; the ABENAKI, living along the Kennebec River in present-day Maine, impressed other writers with their bark-covered conical shelters and brilliantly engineered bark canoes.

Often the early interchanges between European settlers and Micmac and other Native peoples were amiable, but eventually the relationships proved disastrous to the indigenous peoples. The Micmac taught settlers how to hunt the wildlife of Acadia and shared with them their knowledge of medicinal plants and herbs. In return, the French introduced alcohol and new diseases to the Native peoples and helped instill a dependence on European goods that hastened the ruin of traditional ways of life.

Early settlement also proved difficult for the French. Many settlers succumbed to scurvy during the long winters of the early 1600s, while the politics of gaining commercial rights to the new territory, rather than concern for the health of settlers, dominated the French mainland. The majority of settlers, known as Acadians, depended upon the land for their livelihood. They developed a system of dikes that prevented marshes from being flooded by high saltwater tides, yet allowed rainwater and melting snow to flow out. This ingenious alteration of the landscape converted vast salt marshes into arable land. The tremendous amount of labor required to build and maintain the dike system bound neighbors together while the reliability of crop yields spared established communities the miseries of famine. Later, from 1680 to 1740—an epoch known as the golden age of Acadian history—Acadian birth rates were high and child mortality relatively low. Large families of many generations often lived under the same roof, held together by kinship ties and Catholicism.

Though smaller communities were relatively stable, larger political struggles continually interfered in Acadian life. The English claimed the region by rights of the 1497 and 1498 explorations of navigator JOHN CABOT, but

sovereignty of the area switched several times during the long struggle for regional supremacy between the English and the French, who first colonized the area at the Bay of Fundy in 1604. Moreover, English settlers from as far away as Virginia resented the French intrusion into Acadia and in 1613 destroyed the French settlement of Saint-Sauveur on the coast of present-day Maine before making their way north and looting and burning the French town of Port Royal. These actions initiated the 150-year struggle for control of the Acadian regions, though most Acadians remained politically neutral. King James I of England granted the land to the Scottish statesman and poet Sir William Alexander in 1621, but control of the region remained unsettled until the English gained permanent, though contested, control of mainland Acadie, or Nova Scotia, through the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht. Yet under the terms of the treaty Île Royale (Cape Breton) and Île Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island) remained French, provided that those who remained swore an oath of allegiance to the monarch of Great Britain.

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—Kevin C. Armitage

**Acosta, José de** (1540–1600) *missionary*

A Spanish Jesuit missionary, Acosta is best known for his missionary work in PERU from 1572 to 1586 and his books *De Procuranda Indorum Salute* (1576), in which he avowed that the indigenous peoples of the Americas could be saved according to the teachings of the Catholic Church, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (1590), a natural history of MEXICO and Peru and a general history of Aztec and Incan cultures, and *Doctrina Cristiana y Catecismo para Instrucción de los Indios* (1585), the first book published in Peru, consisting of three catechisms printed in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara.

Born to a wealthy merchant family in CASTILE, Spain, José de Acosta entered the Society of Jesus, or the Jesuit order, in 1552 and took his vows in 1554. As a Jesuit Acosta was trained according to the tenets of Renaissance humanism, an educational and cultural movement popular from the 14th to the 16th centuries in Europe, which focused on classical training in various fields such as philosophy, theology, medicine, and jurisprudence. Acosta taught at Jesuit schools in Spain and Portugal from 1557 to 1559, at which time he commenced university studies in theology at Alcalá. Acosta was ordained a priest in

1567 and spent the next four years preaching in small towns in Spain. In February 1571, after many requests to be appointed to missionary work, Acosta was assigned to preach and teach theology in Peru. The 14 years Acosta spent in Peru coincided with a period of major reorganization by the political representatives of the Spanish throne, under whose jurisdiction Peru lay. Don Francisco de Toledo, the viceroy to the Kingdom of Peru, made sweeping changes to the political and economic structure of the colony, publicly executing INCAN leaders, confining indigenous peoples to segregated settlements, or *REDUCCIONES*, and establishing a tribute system, called the *mita*, requiring forced labor in mines. By the last decade of the 16th century, resistance to forced labor in the mines took many forms, including appeals to the justice system. Acosta was one of about 40 Jesuits in Peru and was active in ministering to the Spanish colonials as well as preaching and catechizing indigenous peoples and African slaves. From 1576 until 1581 Acosta served as the provincial (regional leader of the Society of Jesus) of Peru, during which time he actively opposed the severity of Toledo's treatment of the indigenous peoples. Acosta spent his final five years in Peru acting as scribe for the Third Provincial Council of LIMA, which consolidated secular power over the clergy and designed a standard catechism for use with the indigenous population (published in the *Doctrina Cristiana*). After one year in Mexico, Acosta returned home to Spain in 1588, where he became an adviser to King PHILIP II. Acosta died in Salamanca in 1600.

**Further reading:** Claudio M. Burgaleta, S.J., *José de Acosta, S.J. (1540–1600): His Life and Thought* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1999); Jeffrey L. Klaiber, "The Posthumous Christianization of the Inca Empire in Colonial Peru," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 37 (1976): 507–520; Sabine MacCormack, "Pachacuti: Miracles, Punishments, and Last Judgment: Visionary Past and Prophetic Future in Early Colonial Peru," *American Historical Review* 93 (1988): 960–1,006.

—Lisa M. Brady

**adelantado**

A prestigious military title that all Spanish CONQUISTADORES aspired to during the medieval period as well as during the conquest of the NEW WORLD.

The title comes from the verb *adelantar*, which means "to advance," and developed during the RECONQUISTA. Essentially, it signified a war hero who "advanced" into enemy territory and captured land for his king. *Adelantados* received instant patents of nobility as well as extensive lands in the areas they conquered. When the progress of the Reconquista slowed and came to an end with the fall of



## 4 Africanus, Leo

Granada in 1492, the title fell out of favor. It returned with the Spanish conquests in the Americas—indeed, it became one of the most highly sought titles in the New World. It provided poor soldiers of fortune one of the only ways to enter into the ranks of the nobility. In Spanish America the position of the *adelantado* was essentially that of a military governor. He possessed executive and judicial powers within the territories he conquered. Additionally, he had limited power to write legislation, particularly labor regulations for plantations and mines. The *adelantado* also held the right to appoint subordinate officials in his lands and to distribute land as a reward to his followers.

Because it was a position of great honor and power, the Spanish Crown granted it only to the greatest conquistadores. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS assumed the power to grant the title and bestowed it upon his brother BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS, essentially giving him the island of HISPANIOLA as his personal territory. VASCO NÚÑEZ DE BALBOA was the first explorer to receive the title directly from the Crown, although JUAN PONCE DE LEÓN was the first actually to exercise the powers of the office. Several of the important figures from the conquest era achieved *adelantado* status, but few of them passed the title on to their heirs. The Crown was deeply concerned about creating a powerful landed nobility in the New World. By 1600, the Crown had abolished the title, giving its powers to the office of the viceroy.

**Further reading:** C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947); Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1495–1700* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

—Scott Chamberlain

**Africanus, Leo** See LEO AFRICANUS.

**Aguilar, Francisco de** (ca. 1469–1561) *conquistador*  
One of the more intriguing CONQUISTADORES, Francisco de Aguilar was one of the lieutenants of HERNÁN CORTÉS who in his later years gave up his worldly possessions and entered the Dominican order.

Scholars know relatively little about Aguilar's early years in Spain, although it seems he was christened Alonso de Aguilar in 1469. By the early 1500s he had built a close relationship with several conquistadores, including Cortés and PEDRO DE ALVARADO. When Cortés left CUBA to explore the mainland in 1519, he selected Aguilar to be one of his officers. From the moment the expedition landed in the YUCATÁN PENINSULA, Aguilar displayed integrity, courage, and a quick intelligence. He was also contemplative and thoughtful—attributes that would eventually lead him away

from a military career. During the course of the Aztec conquest, Cortés came to rely upon him as a steady, dependable officer who could shoulder enormous responsibility. After Cortés had seized and imprisoned the Aztec emperor MOTECUZUMA II, he assigned Aguilar with the important task of guarding him. Because Aguilar was more dependable than daring, he never distinguished himself in battle as did Alvarado. Still, Cortés valued his services highly and rewarded him handsomely after the conquest was complete.

As part of his payment Aguilar gained a series of *ENCOMIENDAS*, which were grants of Native labor. According to colonial documents, his most important *encomiendas* were in Tlapa and Chilapa in central MEXICO. Aguilar also gained the right to establish a *venta*, or hostelry, between the principal port of VERACRUZ and the city of Puebla, located to the east of Mexico City. This was the principal highway of NEW SPAIN—the great thoroughfare by which the collected wealth of the colony traveled to the coast for shipment back to Europe. By virtue of these rewards, Aguilar became enormously wealthy and influential. Surprisingly, only a few years later, he abandoned his wealth, land, and property. In 1529, at the age of 50, Aguilar took the vows of a Dominican priest, taking the name Fray Francisco de Aguilar. While not entirely without precedent (BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS had a similar transformation), this abrupt career change shocked many. DIEGO DURÁN referred to it as a “curious episode” in his *History of the Indies*, but for Aguilar the choice seemed natural since he had an introspective disposition that fit well with life in the cloister; his writings show he had a probing intellect and was constantly concerned with the morality of the conquest. In later years he developed gout and lived in almost constant pain. He died in Mexico at age 92.

Aguilar is primarily remembered today for his brief account of the conquest of the AZTECS, which he began at age 80 with the encouragement of his brothers of the order. In his preface he apologized for his sparse, direct style, but these elements make his account appealing for modern audiences. Aguilar's short narrative still captures the dangers and raw terror of the conquest.

**Further reading:** Patricia de Fuentes, *The Conquistadors: First Person Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993); Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993).

—Scott Chamberlain

**Aguilar, Gerónimo (Jerónimo) de** (fl. 1519–1531)  
*conquistador*

A Spaniard who was shipwrecked on the coast of the YUCATÁN PENINSULA in 1511, Gerónimo de Aguilar

learned the Mayan language, making him a crucial interpreter for HERNÁN CORTÉS when the latter rescued him in 1519.

Not much is known of Aguilar's early years, although it is clear that he came to the NEW WORLD with one of the first waves of CONQUISTADORES. He was not a ranking officer and hardly seemed destined for glory, although a series of accidents led him to play a prominent role in the conquest of the AZTECS.

During an early expedition to explore the Yucatán, which most Spaniards at the time considered to be another Caribbean island, his ship foundered, though many of the crew made it safely to shore. There they met with hostile MAYA, who captured them and sacrificed all but two men. Aguilar was sold as a slave, while the other, GONZALO GUERRERO, married a local woman and rose to become a prominent local war chief. In fact, Guerrero began to organize active resistance to Spanish incursion into the Maya area. While living among the Maya, Aguilar learned to speak Yucatec Mayan fluently, although he maintained his faith and European culture.

Subsequent explorers heard rumors of "white men" living somewhere in the Yucatán, although Cortés was the first to investigate these stories when he arrived at Cozumel Island in 1519. With persistence, Cortés was able to find Aguilar and to secure his freedom. Eyewitnesses reported that when Aguilar saw his countrymen he fell down weeping and praising God. His report that Guerrero had "gone native" deeply disturbed his compatriots, who could not believe that a man would willingly abandon his European culture to live among "inferior" heathens. Many conquistadores distrusted Aguilar, for he had lived long among the "Devil worshippers" and even learned their language. Many fully expected him to betray them as Guerrero had.

Yet in short order Aguilar took on a key role in the conquest. In TABASCO Cortés acquired the slave woman MALINCHE, who spoke the Aztec language of NAHUATL as well as her native Mayan. She translated the Aztecs' messages to Aguilar, who translated them from Mayan into Spanish. Through this system Cortés was able to communicate with the Aztecs as well as their disgruntled neighbors and enemies. Cortés used this intelligence to good effect, learning much about his enemies while keeping his own motives and plans secret.

Aguilar maintained his position of importance for only a short while. The shrewd Malinche quickly learned Spanish herself and became Cortés's mistress, making Aguilar's skills as an interpreter redundant. He continued to play an active role in the conquest of MEXICO but did not particularly distinguish himself in the fighting. In 1526, five years after the fall of the Aztecs, Cortés rewarded Aguilar with a small group of ENCOMIENDAS, spe-

cifically in Molango, Malia, and Sochicoatlan. He died in 1531 without an heir, and his *encomiendas* reverted to the Crown.

**Further reading:** Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993).

—Scott Chamberlain

## Akan

The Akan, inhabitants of the forest regions of modern-day southern GHANA and Côte d'Ivoire, speak Twi (part of the Kwa language family) and today include the Akyem, Akwamu, ASANTE, Fante, and Guan, all in Ghana, and the Baule and Anyi of Côte d'Ivoire.

The Akan originated in the basin of the Pra and Ofin Rivers in modern-day Ghana. Oral traditions indicate that centralized government did not exist in Akan communities until after the 15th century, when the Akan were incorporated into northern trade networks. Small Akan communities bound by kinship, clans, and common religion gradually transformed into centralized states as the trans-Saharan (see SAHARA) trade routes that previously terminated in the savanna extended into the forest regions. The Akan traded GOLD and kola nuts in return for Turkish carpets, blankets, cotton cloth, leather, and brassware.

Economic and political transformations continued with the arrival of the Portuguese in 1471 on the Ghana coast. The booming Atlantic trade brought French, English, and Dutch merchants in the 16th century, followed by the Danes and Swedes in the 17th century. The Atlantic trade also brought maize (see CORN), sweet potatoes, and manioc from the Americas that strengthened Akan agriculture. The growing economic competition created political tensions that accelerated Akan state formation. A Dutch map printed in 1629 showed 38 states along what had become known as the GOLD COAST. The 100-year period from 1650 to 1750 marked the most active period of Akan state formation. It also coincided with the height of slave exports (see SLAVE TRADE) from the region.

Two of the earliest and most powerful Akan states were Denkyira and Akwamu, which rose to power through control of gold-producing areas, trade routes, and coastal towns. They maintained power by developing effective military strategy and incorporating villages into a dual arrangement of military and civilian administrative structures.

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—Tom Niermann

### **Albuquerque, Alfonso de** (1453–1515) *Portuguese admiral and colonial administrator*

Alfonso de Albuquerque was one of the leaders of Portuguese explorations of the wider world in the era of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS and the great Portuguese explorer VASCO DA GAMA. But rather than set his sights on the Western Hemisphere, Albuquerque instead concentrated his efforts in the expanding PORTUGUESE SEABORNE EMPIRE that would eventually embrace parts of Africa, the Middle East, the Indian Ocean basin, and the SPICE ISLANDS of the Southwest Pacific. The son of a family that was already involved in military actions for the Portuguese, Albuquerque began to fight for the state while still in his teens, particularly in North Africa, where Portugal hoped to gain control of lands and ports then administered by the Moors. Like others of his elite status, Albuquerque followed these early efforts while serving in the military at home, until King Manuel I sent him as a commander to the sea route between southern Africa and India.

Albuquerque understood his mission well and recognized the need to subdue Muslim Indian hostility toward the Portuguese. To that end, he sailed in 1503 to Cochin (on the west, or Malabar, coast of India), made an alliance with the local Hindu leader, and built a fortress. After a brief return to Lisbon in 1504, he sailed once again in the service of the state, this time to the Red Sea, where he arrived in 1506 with the goal of solidifying Portuguese trading authority in the region, particularly the lucrative trade between India and Arabia. Following the tactic he used before, he ordered the construction of a large fort, this time at Socotra on the Gulf of Aden. By the summer of 1507, only months after completing the fort, he sailed northward and led the Portuguese capture of the strategically located Hormuz. Once in command, he brutalized the Persians and Arabs he had captured. Yet despite his barbarous tactics, which included chopping the noses (and other body parts) off his captives, Albuquerque retained control of the region and soon began to study and map it.

For his service, Albuquerque received an appointment to be the Portuguese governor of the East Indies. In that capacity, he ordered an assault on the Indian port at Goa, then under Muslim control. Using a massive force of combined Portuguese and mercenary soldiers and sailors, he led a months-long campaign that succeeded in late 1510. Albuquerque followed the victory with what might today be called a crime against humanity when he ordered the

execution of the Muslim men who had faced him and commanded his own men to marry their widows.

Albuquerque, who was “more of a soldier and administrator than an explorer,” as the historian Angus Konstam has noted, spent the remainder of his life in the service of the Portuguese Crown. He sailed east in 1511 to assist the Portuguese assault on Malacca, another strategic port, which sat astride the narrow strait that divides the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. Upon his return to India, Albuquerque needed to defend Goa once again, but in the end was unable to protect all that he had fought to achieve. The Portuguese lost Socotra in 1514, the last major conflict that Albuquerque would have observed before he died at sea in Indian waters in late 1515.

**Further reading:** Angus Konstam, *Historical Atlas of Exploration, 1492–1600* (New York: Facts On File, 2000).

### **Alexander VI** (1431–1503) *pope*

A member of the famous Borgia family, Pope Alexander VI, through the TREATY OF TORDESILLAS, divided the NEW WORLD between Spain and Portugal.

Alexander VI, born Rodrigo Borgia, came from a family with high church connections; his mother was the sister of Pope Callistus III. Borgia became a cardinal in 1456. With the help of his family’s wealth and influence, he was elected pope in 1492, the same year CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS made his historic voyage. Though ambitious and hard working, he was perhaps best known for his moral failings. He had a long-term mistress and may have had as many as nine children, two of whom he fathered after becoming pope. As pope, Alexander approved of the expulsion of JEWS from Spain in 1492 and promoted a crusade against the Turks. His contemporaries, while admiring his political abilities, were repelled by his sensuality and moral lapses.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### **Algonquian**

The precontact language of groups of Native American peoples who lived along and near the east coast of North

America in territory stretching from the modern-day Maritime Provinces of Canada to North Carolina, the term *Algonquian* also refers to specific groups of indigenous peoples.

Before Europeans crossed the Atlantic, numerous Algonquian languages were spoken in eastern North America. These languages included Maliseet, Micmac, Passamaquoddy, Massachusetts, Narragansett, Quiripi, Mahican, Munsee, Nanticoke, Powhatan, and Carolina. Of the 29 known and identifiable Algonquian languages, 21 are now extinct, and others have few speakers; the Penobscot version of Eastern Abenaki, for example, had only 10 speakers in 1970.

The term *Algonquian* also refers to specific groups normally identified by their location at the time of contact with Europeans. Thus, anthropologists and linguists refer to Eastern Long Island Algonquians and Virginia Algonquians. The peoples whom the English mathematician and ethnographer THOMAS HARRIOT met at ROANOKE in the 1580s are known as North Carolina Algonquians.

The term *Algonquian* should not be confused with *Algonquin*, which refers to a sub-Arctic indigenous nation whose original territory stretched westward from the St. Lawrence River toward the Great Lakes; their neighbors included the HURON, Nipissing, and St. Lawrence Iroquois.

**Further reading:** “Coastal Region” and “Eastern Algonquian Languages,” in William Sturtevant, gen. ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978), 58–295.

### **Alvarado, Pedro de** (ca. 1485–1541) *conquistador*

One of the most ruthless CONQUISTADORES, Pedro de Alvarado played an important role in the conquest of the AZTECS as a captain in the army of HERNÁN CORTÉS before leading his own conquests in southern MEXICO and Guatemala.

Alvarado was born in Spain in 1485. From an early age he became a restless soldier of fortune who traveled extensively. Lured by the promise of riches in the NEW WORLD, he sailed for HISPANIOLA in 1510. In the Caribbean he heard tales of wealthy kingdoms farther west and sailed with JUAN DE GRIJALVA in 1517 to explore the coast of the YUCATÁN PENINSULA. When Cortés set out with a larger force in 1519 to explore the mainland, he selected Alvarado as his principal captain. During initial forays around the Gulf Coast of Mexico, Alvarado displayed courage, arrogance, and a willingness to use excessive force that would be the hallmarks of his career. At least initially, the Aztecs

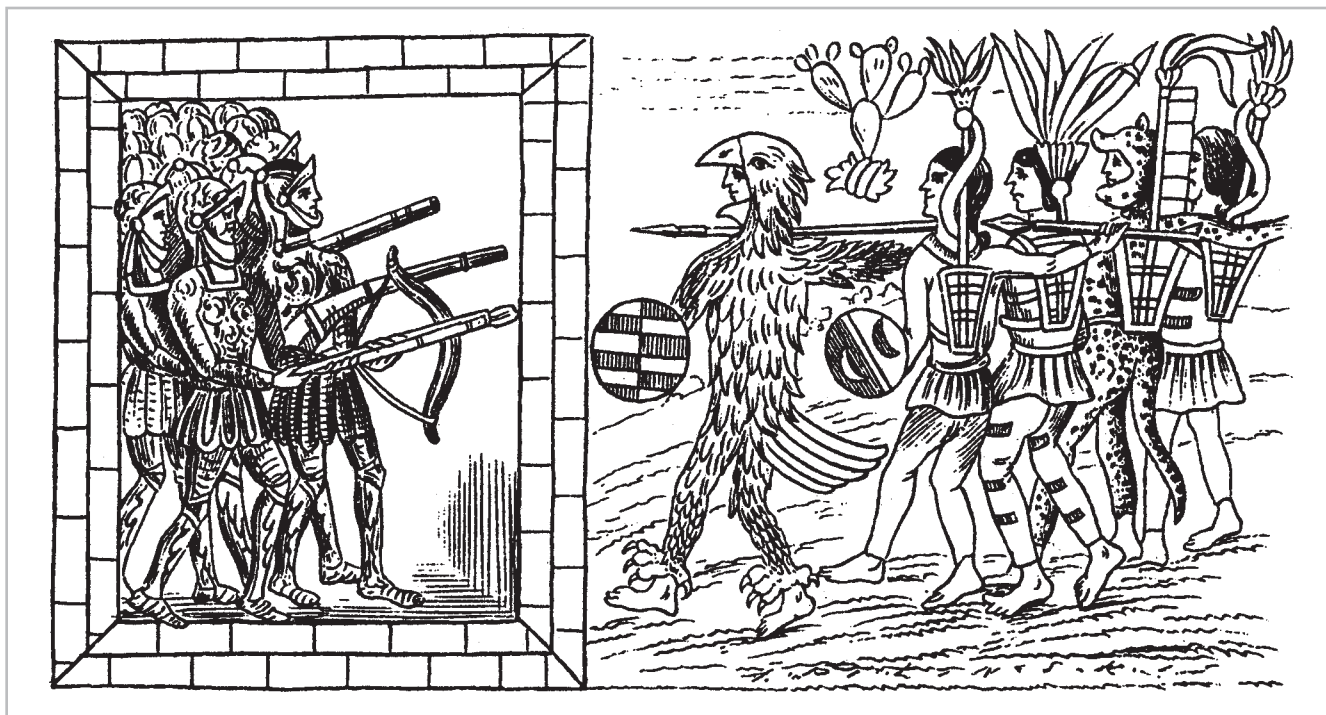
seemed to believe that the Spaniards were gods returning from the east (see QUETZALCOATL), and because of his fiery red hair, the Aztecs assumed Alvarado was an incarnation of the sun god, Tonatiuh. Until his death, Natives referred to him by this name.

As Cortés’s most trusted captain, Alvarado was closely involved in all the major events of Aztec conquest. Along with Cortés, he entered the Aztec capital of TENOCHTITLÁN and set up a base camp from which to dominate the city. In 1520 DIEGO DE VELÁZQUEZ, the governor of Cuba, sent soldiers to arrest Cortés for overstepping his orders and authority. Cortés took a squad to the coast to deal with these soldiers, leaving Alvarado in charge of the Spanish base in Tenochtitlán. One evening, the Aztec nobles performed a ceremonial dance just outside the Spaniards’ compound. For unknown reasons Alvarado sealed off the ceremonial precinct and slaughtered the unarmed dancers. This provoked a massive retaliation from the Aztecs, who besieged the compound. When Cortés returned the Aztecs allowed him to reenter the base, hoping to trap him in the city. Once Cortés realized his dangerous situation, he castigated Alvarado for his actions and planned a desperate escape from Tenochtitlán. This disastrous retreat was called the Noche Triste, or “Sad Night,” in which the Spaniards suffered horrible losses. Because of his bravery during this and later battles, Alvarado regained Cortés’s favor, which would be crucial in later years.

Once the Aztecs had finally been defeated, Alvarado struck out on his own to conquer kingdoms for himself. In 1523 he seized control of the wealthy Mixtec kingdom of Tututepec, along the Pacific coast, which had remained independent of the Aztec Empire. He moved farther south into Guatemala, where he successfully attacked the Quiché MAYA. With his soldiers he continued on to modern-day El Salvador before returning to Guatemala. In all his conquests, he followed Cortés’s model of capitalizing on local discontent and using surprise attacks to overwhelm his foes. He treated his enemies brutally, at times shocking his own countrymen. In 1524, at the urging of Cortés, the Crown recognized his military achievements by naming him governor and captain-general of Guatemala, a position he retained until his death. Alvarado oversaw the founding of Santiago as the capital of Guatemala, but he was not comfortable being an administrator and soon left on other expeditions.

After the Guatemalan campaign, misfortune hounded Alvarado until the end of his life—and beyond. In 1534 he sailed to Ecuador, hoping to take part in the conquest of the INCA. His volatile temper quickly alienated his fellow conquistadores, and rather than face open hostilities with the men, Alvarado returned to Guatemala. In 1541 the viceroy ANTONIO DE MENDOZA persuaded him to explore Arizona and NEW MEXICO in search of the Seven Cities of Cíbola.





In Hernán Cortés's absence, Spanish soldiers under Pedro de Alvarado begin a surprise attack on noblemen who, dressed in feathers, are dancing and making offerings to their gods. Aztec drawing (The Granger Collection)

Before he reached his destination he became involved in suppressing a Native rebellion in northwestern Mexico. At the end of the battle he died accidentally when his horse collapsed on top of him. The subsequent power struggle in Guatemala is one of the more bizarre episodes of the colonial period. Upon hearing the news of her husband's death, Alvarado's widow, Doña Beatriz, appointed herself captain-general in her husband's place. Most of the colonial officials were shocked at her presumption, but they had little time to respond. Less than 24 hours later, heavy rains and an earthquake combined to unleash a massive mudslide that destroyed Santiago. Hundreds died, including Doña Beatriz. Survivors took this destruction as a sign of divine displeasure at having a woman as a military officer and governor. Abandoning the ruins, the townsfolk rebuilt Santiago some distance away under the direction of a new captain-general appointed by the Crown.

Today, Alvarado has a reputation for being bloodthirsty, if not psychotic. He often attacked without provocation and was ruthless both on and off the battlefield. Scholars frequently use his own writings to justify this reputation—and indeed, Alvarado describes his actions (including massacres and torture) with icy detachment. However, it is important to remember that these writings were intended specifically for the king, with an eye toward advancing his military career. Some scholars have sug-

gested that if Alvarado had written his memoirs in his old age (as did BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO and FRANCISCO DE AGUILAR), he might have been more concerned with his reputation and more diplomatic in his writings.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### Amazon River

The largest river system in the world, the Amazon and its tributaries form one of the most important geographical features in South America.

By any standard, the Amazon is enormous. The Amazon flows eastward nearly 3,900 miles from the foothills of the ANDES MOUNTAINS in western South America to the Atlantic Ocean. It possesses several hundred tributaries (many of which are still unexplored) that drain an area roughly 2.5 million square miles in size. At its mouth it is more than 50 miles wide, discharging 32 million gallons

of water per second and depositing 3 million tons of sediment into the Atlantic daily. The water flow has a direct impact on currents and the salt content of the ocean for 200 miles. The lower courses of the Amazon experience tides; in certain phases of the moon, tidal surges up to 16 feet race up the river at speeds of 40 miles per hour. The area surrounding the river is one of the largest, wettest rain forests in the world, a haven to thousands of distinct species of plants and animals.

Before the European conquest the Amazon rain forest supported a number of Native groups who had fairly well defined political and social systems. Most of the indigenous peoples practiced primitive farming techniques such as slash-and-burn agriculture, and manioc appears to have been their most important crop. Besides farming, many Native peoples supplemented their diets by hunting for small game or fishing in nearby rivers. There were no great Native cities in the Amazon, and the population of the entire region seems to have been no more than 5 million (compared to 25 million in central Mexico alone). Because the Amazon was remote from the centers of Spanish and Portuguese power, these Native groups are not as well understood as are other South American cultures such as the INCA, Moche, and Tupí-Guaraní.

Exploration of the Amazon region proceeded in fits and starts. Spanish explorer Vicente Yáñez Pinzón probably reached the delta region in 1500. The first European to travel the length of the river was Francisco de Orellana, who entered the system at the Napo River in Ecuador in 1540. Orellana reported seeing Native groups where women fought alongside the men. Recalling the Greek myth of the Amazons, he gave their name to the river. Later Spaniards, including the famous Lope de Aguirre, traveled into the Amazon area in search of EL DORADO, but finding neither kingdoms to conquer nor mineral resources to exploit, the Spanish government made little effort to claim the area. The Portuguese annexed the Amazon region in 1639, integrating it into their colony of BRAZIL.

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—Scott Chamberlain

## Andes Mountains

An extensive mountain range running the length of South America that is one of the continent's most important geographical features.

The Andes form one of the largest mountain ranges in the world. They stretch nearly 4,000 miles in length, from the Panamanian Isthmus to Tierra del Fuego in the south. The Andes cover an exceptionally large area and contain some of the highest peaks in the world, with many mountains reaching more than 20,000 feet. The range sits atop the confluence of two major tectonic plates, which has given rise to volcanism and frequent earthquakes. Throughout the colonial period these tectonic forces devastated European settlements, although much of the indigenous architecture evolved in such a way as to effectively resist earthquakes. Several smaller ranges make up the greater Andean system: the southern Andes, which run the length of modern Chile; the central Andes, from Ecuador to northern Argentina; and the northern Andes, in Colombia and Venezuela. Additionally, there is a large plateau region called the Altiplano in Bolivia that forms the largest flat area of the Andean system. Of these regions, only the central zone is densely populated. The Andes have an enormous impact on the climate of the region, creating an effective "rain shadow" that blocks the humid air of the AMAZON RIVER basin from reaching the Pacific coast. This means that the coastal zones of PERU and Chile are two of the driest places on earth, while eastern Peru is one of the wettest.

The Andean chain is a challenging area for human cultures to thrive. There is relatively little land for farming, and the high altitude means that oxygen levels are low. Still, several Native empires flourished here, particularly the INCA. Spaniards under FRANCISCO PIZARRO entered the region in the 1530s and quickly subdued it. They set up the city of LIMA to rule the area, creating the viceroyalty of Peru that stretched the length of the Andes. The Spanish Crown quickly discovered that the Andes contained a great deal of mineral wealth, including the SILVER mines at POTOSÍ as well as deposits of mercury, copper, tin, and alluvial GOLD. These areas made the viceroyalty wealthy, attracting immigrants and capital. For most of the colonial period the Spaniards focused their attention on developing the Andean region while neglecting other areas such as the Amazon and the fertile pampas of Argentina.

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—Scott Chamberlain

## Anglo-Normans

A group composed of the Angles, the original inhabitants of southeast Britain, and the Normans of France, who wanted

## 10 Anglo-Normans

to gain control over territory that now consists of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.

In 1066 the Normans invaded England and within a century gained control of the southeastern portion of the island. Over time they expanded their authority. They did so by organizing military forces to move into Wales that prevailed on the field of battle against the native Welsh. Although there had always been battles among competing groups, the invasion by the Anglo-Normans signalled something new in Wales: the rise to power of a foreign group. One annalist complained about “the tyranny, injustice, violence and oppression” wrought by the invaders, who seemed eager to force the local residents to flee from their ancestral lands. At the same time that they were imposing their will on the native Welsh, the Anglo-Normans moved north into Scotland, but the native Scots proved more resistant. Still, over time Scotland, too, became part of the political orbit of the Anglo-Normans, although resistance to their control continued for centuries.

In the mid-12th century the Anglo-Normans set their sites on Ireland. They did so with the blessings of Pope Hadrian IV (who, as it happened, was the only English-born pope ever), who in 1155 gave to King Henry II of England the title of king of Ireland. The pope ordered the king to “proclaim the truths of the Christian religion to a rude and ignorant people, and to root out the growth of vice from the field of the Lord.” That mission must have seemed odd to the native Irish, who for centuries had inhabited “the isle of the saints” and were long known for their commitment to Christianity.

In the years after Hadrian’s command the English organized an attempted seizure of Ireland. They benefited at first when one Irish king, Dermot MacMurrough (Diarmuid Mac Murchadha) invited Richard Strongbow (Strigul de Clare), one of Henry’s knights, to come to Ireland to help him gain control over the entire island. Strongbow agreed, though the Anglo-Normans from the start believed that they crossed the Irish Sea not to help a native Irish lord claim control of the island but, instead, to gain possession of it for themselves. They also believed that the native Irish would welcome the invaders who possessed, so the Anglo-Normans thought, a superior culture that would attract any man or woman eager to escape the grasp of the primitive chiefs who claimed parts of Ireland before the invaders arrived.

The Anglo-Normans proceeded to cross the Irish Sea, but this mission proved more problematic than the conquest of Wales. In some places the invaders again destroyed local communities and did so with little concern for the human victims of their assault. In their attack on Waterford, along the southeast coast of Ireland, the Anglo-Normans catapulted Irish men and women—the living and the dead—over the city’s walls.

The Anglo-Normans did not continue on their murderous assaults. In Ireland they found that local elites were willing to make alliances, some of which led to offers to marry into Irish families. Soon a new elite came into being in parts of Ireland, an aristocracy that could claim direct ties to Britain but that retained ties to Irish lands and, quite often, the peasants who rented farms on their estates. To solidify their position, they went on a torrid building campaign and erected strong castles across Ireland, many of which survive today. The castles often had stone walls three to four feet thick, with narrow windows and trap doors that those inside could use to launch arrows or pots of boiling water on any invaders who happened to get over the stone walls, which castle builders always constructed as their first line of defense against potential enemies. These castles dominated a landscape in which the vast majority of the rural Irish population continued to live in small wattle and daub huts with thatched roofs.

Over time the Anglo-Normans took on a new identity and became known to the natives as the “Old English.” Rather than converting the native Irish to English ways, these people tended instead to live like the Irish themselves. They did so despite the fact that English policy makers tried, time and again, to figure out ways to bring Ireland under their control. In 1366 the English passed the so-called Kilkenny Statutes, a series of apartheid-like laws that attempted to prohibit the Old English from speaking Irish or marrying into Irish families, but the need for such laws suggested that the Anglo-Normans had, in fact, already failed; rather than trying to convert the native Irish to their ways, they instead resorted to trying to stop Britons from living like the Irish.

From the 12th century to the 16th century the English tried to build on the initial success of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, but that original group’s identity had become submerged over time, and so did their hopes of conquering Ireland with the same success they had found in Wales. In the mid-16th century the English Queen ELIZABETH I undertook a new campaign, characterized by large-scale transplantation of English colonists, murderous assault, and terrorism.

Historians study the experience of the Anglo-Normans in Wales and Ireland to better understand the deep background to the English colonization of North America and as a reminder that the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere were not the first peoples whom the English (and their ancestors) had hoped to subdue.

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## Apalachee

A Native group in FLORIDA, the Apalachee encountered several of the early Spanish *entradas* into southeastern North America, and they eventually participated in the Spanish mission system established in Spanish La Florida.

The Apalachee inhabited the area between the Ochlockonee River and the Aucilla River in northwest Florida. They subsisted on a wide range of horticultural products, primarily CORN, and lived in organized villages headed by chiefs. These individual villages were incorporated into one large paramount chiefdom. The Apalachee often produced significant agricultural surpluses, and this economic vitality provided the basis for their military prowess through the development of a large population to supply ample numbers of warriors. As a result, their reputation extended far beyond their territory. The Apalachee fulfilled a significant role in the southeastern trade network that connected many of the paramount chiefdoms in the region. Most important, the Apalachee facilitated the trade of shells from the Gulf coast into the interior, where they were used for prestige display and in religious ceremonies. Controlling the shell trade gave the Apalachee access to exotic and sometimes sacred status symbols from the interior southeast that aided in the elite's control of the Apalachee paramount chiefdom.

The Apalachee first encountered the Spanish in 1528, when the expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez and Hernando de Soto encamped for the winter of 1539–40 among them. For the most part through their military capabilities, the Apalachee successfully protected their territory from these Spanish incursions, but eventually internal disruptions provided the Spanish with an opportunity to bring the Apalachee within the Spanish sphere of influence. In the early 17th century one of two rival factions invited the Spanish to develop missions within Apalachee territory in an effort to gain a political edge through an alliance with the Spanish and the unique items they could trade with the Natives. FRANCISCANS began to establish missions among the Apalachee in 1633. Eventually many Apalachee succumbed to epidemic DISEASES, and some later became slaves in the English colony of South Carolina.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## Arawak

The name of a specific Native group (Lokono) that inhabited the Guianas and portions of Trinidad and of a family of languages originally spoken in portions of northeastern South America, the Greater and Lesser Antilles, and parts of Central America.

Linguistically related to Caribbean groups, Arawakan speakers lived in the Amazonian forests of South America and followed a hunting and gathering subsistence along the banks of the upper Amazon, the Rio Negro, and the headwaters of the Orinoco Rivers. They supplemented their food resources by sometimes raising turtles in pens and practicing slash-and-burn horticulture, but the limited fertility of these jungle areas forced groups located away from the major river systems to practice a seminomadic lifestyle. These South American Arawak often fought CARIB speakers who lived along the lower Amazon and the upper Orinoco Rivers and the Guiana highlands for control of the region.

The TAINO and Carib of the West Indies spoke Arawakan languages, and as a result scholars have often labeled them as "Arawak." Unfortunately, this implied close ethnic and cultural affinity with the South American groups, which was not the case. Island Carib culture and ethnicity probably resulted from the merger of Island Arawak speakers related to the Taino and Carib speakers in the Lesser Antilles. Although linguistically related to South American Arawak, the Taino represented an earlier migration to the Greater Antilles from South America and a separate cultural development that extended back centuries before contact with European Americans.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard



**Armada** See SPANISH ARMADA.

### art and architecture

From the soaring spires of early modern European churches to elaborate buildings made from mud in western Africa to moveable longhouses found in the Eastern Woodlands of North America to cliff dwellings and adobe apartment houses in the southwest of the modern-day United States, the buildings that people inhabited—and the art that they used for decoration and prayer—reflected the ways that different communities organized their lives.

Of course, variation in art and architecture should hardly come as a surprise. As the distinguished art histo-



Zuni girl with jar (Library of Congress)

rian Vincent Scully wrote, “[t]he shape of architecture is the shape of the earth as it is modified by the structures of mankind. Out of that relationship, human beings fashion an environment for themselves, a space to live in, suggested by their patterns of life and constructed around whatever symbols of reality seem important to them.” So it comes as no surprise that during the early modern period, art and architecture represented local cultures and tastes.

Consider, for a moment, the buildings that a visitor would encounter in different situations. In England the REFORMATION had led to the dissolution of monasteries but did not necessitate the destruction of church spires, such as that at St. Paul’s in LONDON, which could be seen from far away. By contrast, the residents of an IROQUOIS village inhabited longhouses that could be taken apart and moved; situated in a clearing, they would have been visible to those who came near, but other than the smoke trailing from domestic fires, they could not have been seen by someone far away. The adobe apartments built by PUEBLO peoples in the Southwest often sat atop mesas and, as a result, were exposed to the eroding force of wind, but residents maintained them for generations despite the fact that they were in plain view of any potential enemies. The MAYA, AZTECS, and INCA built great cities, often hauling heavy stones through miles of dense forest to locations where they could build pyramids, ball courts, and public plazas; travelers today to TIKAL, CHICHÉN ITZÁ, PALENQUE, and MACHU PICCHU can find the remains of great ceremonial centers. Early modern travelers in Africa marveled at great buildings made out of mud, and those buildings also survived for generations because they were constantly maintained. Renaissance architects across Europe created memorable churches and residences, such as those inhabited by elite citizens of VENICE; their dwellings were situated not on roads but on canals, and the façade pointing toward the water was normally the most elaborate surface of the entire building. Architecture also reflected shifting political realities. In the west of Ireland, for example, the ANGLO-NORMANS had built fortified towers when they arrived in the 11th century; by the 16th century, although tensions remained between the Protestant English and the native Catholic Irish, the architects of Portumna Castle designed a fortified house, not a castle, that would become the residence of the local English lord.

The shift in architectural style signified a stark departure in the prevailing political structure. In this sense, building styles reflected what existed on the ground, not merely in theory. A fortified house surrounded by a low wall, perhaps with rose bushes planted in the garden, sent a very different message than a castle with imposing walls and perhaps a moat.

Art, too, reflected regional differences. Many art history students today study the works of great Renaissance painters and sculptors such as MICHELANGELO and LEONARDO DA VINCI or the glittering gold-leaf mosaics to be found in medieval and early modern churches across Europe. But art existed everywhere and reflected local artists' and artisans' skills. Polychrome pottery styles developed by ZUNI and HOPI offered testimony to the designs favored in those communities. Enormous sculpted heads found in forested regions of MEXICO testify to the OLMECS' obsession with one form of artistic expression. The Aztecs, according to the Spanish who conquered them, created elaborate cities with ornate temples filled with precious icons that the invaders melted down in order to transport the GOLD more easily to Europe. Only in recent years have archaeologists cracked the code of much Mayan art; when they did so they discovered the ways that artistic depictions of self-mutilation reflected a monarch's way of divining how to govern.

Long before 1492, individuals in the four continents bordering the Atlantic had developed their own artistic styles. At times, sculptors and painters depicted historical events. The style of such works differed from one location to another. Europeans often claimed that the Native Americans and Africans they met lacked civilization. But it is impossible to come to such a conclusion when looking at the artistic productions of these people. Few European potters had the skill and knowledge to create the kinds of incised pots that could be found in American communities like Acoma.

The subject matter of artists' productions reflected their larger culture. Craftsmen who carved the interiors of European churches or who illustrated manuscripts often depicted the MONSTERS that many believed roamed the territory beyond the edges of the known world. Such creations, including beautiful renderings of sea monsters common in marginalia, show how larger ideas penetrated the consciousness of artists and their patrons. The survival of these images reveals the power of both the imagination and artistic conventions, especially when European painters and engravers depicted Native Americans in poses that resembled those common in ancient Greece and Rome.

In the wake of the 1492 voyage of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS and the long-distance journeys from western Europe around Africa and India to the SPICE ISLANDS, artistic styles traveled along with itinerants. When colonizers decided to establish settlements, they did not normally adopt the housing styles of the indigenous peoples they encountered. Instead, they imported styles they knew well. In places the juxtaposition could be jarring, as it still is at Acoma Pueblo, where an enormous Spanish mission-style church dominates the skyline, surrounded by one- to two-storey adobe houses. Europeans were so

bent on maintaining their own styles of architecture that they did so even when adaptation to local building ideas would have made great sense. The English in the West Indies in the early 17th century, for example, suffered in houses with thick walls and glass windows when they could have lived more easily if they had built dwellings with shutters that let cooling breezes through in the evening. The rise of the PRINTING PRESS also facilitated the spread of artistic styles. SAMUEL PURCHAS could inform his readers about Mexico because he could show them pictures of that society preserved on a codex that traveled across the Atlantic.

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## Asante

The homeland of the Asante, part of the AKAN cluster of ethnic groups, was in the territory of modern-day southern Ghana, Togo, and Côte d'Ivoire.

Asante spoke the Twi language, sometimes known as Akan, a part of the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo language family. Today the Asante number around 2 million people and are the most influential ethnic group in modern Ghana. Because of the power and duration of the Asante Empire, the Asante of today are considered the guardians of traditional culture in Ghana.

The archeological record indicates that Asante ancestors lived in their homeland for more than 2,000 years. In the 14th and 15th centuries, as GOLD production and trade expanded, Akan kingships began to emerge. The development of powerful states emerged on the heels of European arrival along the coast and a further expansion of trade in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The first Asante king was Osei Tutu, who laid the foundation for the Asante Empire. He began to unite various clans and subgroups from about 1670–90. He

established Kumasi as the Asante capital and legitimized his rule with the legend of the Golden Stool. According to the legend, the stool descended from the sky and gave those who sat upon it the authority to rule the Asante. Osei Tutu also initiated the celebration of Odwira as a festival symbolizing national unity. Osei Tutu succeeded in uniting neighboring city-states and organizing a bureaucratic system to ensure political and economic stability.

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—Tom Niermann

**Askia Muhammad I (Muhammad Turé [Askia al-Hajj Muhammad Ibn Ali Bakr Turé (Touré)])** (r. 1493–1528, d. 1538) *ruler of the Songhai Empire*

Ruler of the SONGHAI Empire at its zenith, Askia (King) Muhammad I greatly expanded the empire's territory and established ISLAM as its dominant religion.

In 1492 the founder of the Songhai Empire, Sonni Ali Ber, died, leaving his son as his successor (the cause of Sonni Ali's death was drowning, and there is some evidence to show that Muhammad I was behind his demise). Sonni Bakari Da'o renounced Islam, his father's religion, and tried to reestablish the traditional animistic Songhai religious system. An unpopular move, Sonni Bakari Da'o's perceived heresy inspired an attempted coup by Muhammad Turé early in 1493. Although he failed in this first attempt, Muhammad Turé succeeded later that year and established the Askia dynasty, which remained in power until 1591. Askia Muhammad I legitimated his coup d'état by declaring it a jihad against the pagans Sonni Ali Ber and Sonni Bakari Da'o, and thus, as he perceived it, liberating the Muslim populace from pagan tyranny. Support for Askia Muhammad's coup by the cities TIMBUKTU and Djenne (see DJENNE-DJENO) solidified his position, and he rewarded the cities and their leading scholars with considerable autonomy.

Askia Muhammad ruthlessly eliminated all members of the two preceding dynasties, the Sonni and the Za, firmly establishing himself as the empire's ruler. He went on pilgrimage (hajj) to MECCA in 1496, returning to the Songhai capital city GAO in 1498; this pilgrimage served dual purposes, the first religious, the second political. By completing the hajj, Askia Muhammad demonstrated to his largely Muslim subjects his religious devotion. An additional outcome of Askia Muhammad's pilgrimage was

to reinvigorate trade between Songhai and Egypt, through which he passed on his way to Mecca.

During his reign Askia Muhammad built up his military forces, with the river navy as the nucleus. His most significant achievements included military victories and advances in the administration of his state. By 1500 he had invaded several neighboring kingdoms, including MOSSI and MALI; 13 years later he attacked the HAUSA, capturing the most important trade routes into Air. Askia Muhammad's empire stretched 1,600 kilometers along the NIGER RIVER, from Nioro in the northwest to the edge of Kebbi and Borgu in the southeast. He divided the empire into 10 provinces, each governed by a local administrator. He also created a type of cabinet with positions for finance, justice, and agricultural affairs. Each imperial city, including Timbuktu, Djenne, and Gao, had its own governor as well.

Askia Muhammad's administrative reforms went counter to Islamic teaching, causing Muslim scholars to question his piety. However, his pilgrimage to Mecca dispelled some of the concerns over his devotion to Islam. His journey to Mecca was as resplendent as that of MANSA MUSA I of Mali in 1324–25. When Askia Muhammad reached Cairo, one of the stops on his journey, the Abbasid Caliph made him khalifa over the lands of Takrur, increasing his aura of authority over his home and conquered lands. Under Askia Muhammad's rule, Timbuktu once again became a center of Islamic faith and education after a brief period of decline.

By 1528 Askia Muhammad was old, blind, and losing control of his empire. His son Musa deposed him that year but was assassinated in 1531. Muhammad Bounkan Kiria took the throne and exiled the elderly Askia Muhammad to an island in the Niger River but was deposed in 1537 by another of Askia Muhammad's sons, Ismail. Ismail ended his father's exile and brought Askia Muhammad to Gao, where he died in 1538.

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—Lisa M. Brady



### astrolabe

A tool developed sometime after the second century B.C. used to determine the time of day and one's location, especially latitude.

The exact origins of the astrolabe remain somewhat murky. Scholars believe that knowledge of the tool was available in ancient Greece and that Hipparchus (born in Nicea ca. 180 B.C.) was among its most important early developers. The Romans knew of its potential too; Vitruvius (ca. 88–ca. 26 B.C.) wrote about a clock that functioned like an astrolabe, and other early astrolabes dating to the early centuries of the Common Era have been located in territory belonging to the Romans, including northeastern France and Salzburg. Ptolemy wrote about a similar tool, quite possibly an astrolabe, in his *Planisphaerium* (ca. A.D. 150 C.E.). In the late third and early fourth centuries, other scholars wrote about such an instrument, including Theon of Alexandria and Synesius of Cyrene.

The oldest surviving description of a working astrolabe—as opposed to a theoretical discourse on the nature of the object—dates to the work of John Philoponos of Alexandria, who wrote in the sixth century. Astrolabes existed in the Muslim world soon after, with scholars writing in Arabic about the device by the ninth century. The oldest known astrolabes that still exist are Arabic and date from the 10th century. The idea of the astrolabe appealed to Muslims because it could indicate appropriate prayer times as well as the proper course for pilgrimages to Mecca. When Muslims moved into Andalusia, they brought the technology with them, and from there it spread throughout much of Europe by the 11th century. The devices had become common at least a century before 1492, often inscribed with Latin as well as Arabic words. By the 16th century, an ability to use an astrolabe had become common in Europe, though most users were more interested in astrology than the Muslims who had developed the tool for religious purposes. The tool was sufficiently popular that the famous doomed lovers Abelard and Heloise named their son Astrolabe in the early 12th century.

When Europeans began to make longer journeys into the Atlantic, mariners hoped to be able to use an astrolabe to determine where they were at any given time. To do so, they used the tool to help them triangulate their position in relation to known objects, notably the North (or Pole) Star and the Sun. Unfortunately for them, the movement of a ship in open water made it difficult to make the kinds of measurements that would allow an astrolabe to perform the same function as it could on land.

**Further reading:** Angus Konstam, *Historical Atlas of Exploration, 1492–1600* (New York: Facts On File, 2000); James E. Morrison, “The Astrolabe: An instrument with a past and a future,” available online, URL: <http://www.astrolabes.org>.

**Atahualpa** (b. ca. 1501–1533) *emperor of the Incas*  
The ruler of the INCA empire at the time of the Spanish conquest, he was executed by FRANCISCO PIZARRO in 1533.

It is not entirely clear when Atahualpa was born, but Inca chronicles state that he was the favorite, although illegitimate, son of emperor Huayna Capac, who ruled in the late 15th century. Atahualpa had two important brothers—Manco Inca and Huascar, the legitimate heir to the throne. During their father's reign, Atahualpa was closely associated with the army and probably served as one of its commanders. In a devastating blow to the Inca empire, Huayna Capac died suddenly around 1525, most likely as the result of a SMALLPOX epidemic that spread ahead of the Spanish CONQUISTADORES. On his deathbed he ordered that Huascar would rule the majority of the realm from the holy capital of CUZCO, while Atahualpa would take control of the army and rule the northern portion of the empire from Quito. Not surprisingly, tensions between the brothers simmered for a while, erupting into a full-scale civil war by 1530. Huascar had the support of the elite and the city of Cuzco, while Atahualpa had the support of the army. Atahualpa swiftly defeated Huascar's forces and established a headquarters at the city of Cajamarca while he prepared



The Inca emperor Atahualpa. Line engraving, French, 1584 (Hulton/Archive)

to march on Cuzco in triumph. Despite Atahualpa's swift victory, the empire remained deeply divided.

The conquistador Francisco Pizarro entered into this unstable situation in 1532. Atahualpa, believing that he was the messenger of a distant king, agreed to meet with Pizarro at Cajamarca, and as a gesture of good faith had his army wait outside the city. Sensing an opportunity, Pizarro ambushed the ruler, slaughtering the emperor's unarmed, ceremonial bodyguard. With this swift stroke the Inca Empire essentially fell to the Spaniards. Commanders and nobles alike were not certain who to support at this stage and thus took no action. Atahualpa naively hoped to buy his freedom with one of the largest ransoms ever paid. He marked off a line as far up on his prison cell's wall as he could reach and offered to fill the room to that height once with GOLD and twice over with SILVER—measuring out to 11 tons of gold and nearly 25 of silver. He also plotted to maintain his power by ordering the assassination of Huascar. Unfortunately, his actions squandered precious time and resources that could have been better spent on organizing an effective resistance to the Spaniards. In the end, Pizarro felt that releasing Atahualpa was too dangerous and at the urging of his men ordered his execution. Faced with being burned alive as a heretic or converting to Christianity and receiving a quick death by strangulation, Atahualpa chose the latter, dying in 1533.

The account of the encounter between Atahualpa and Pizarro has come down through history as a moment of European duplicity and American weakness. How, after all, could such a powerful emperor fall so quickly to a relatively small group of invaders? The episode captured the attention of the scholar Jared Diamond, who wrote about it at length in *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, one of the most popular nonfiction works written in recent years. Yet even Diamond, who analyzed in depth the relationship between disease and the conquest, did not emphasize one of the salient facts about the encounter: At the time that they met, neither the great Incan emperor nor the Spanish conquistador knew how to read.

Atahualpa's story circulated in the Americas and in Europe. The French royal cosmographer ANDRÉ THEVET included a brief biography of the Incan in a massive series of *vrais portraits* (true portraits) of the most notable figures in history, which he published in Paris in 1584. The engraving, reprinted here, reveals the powerful presence of Atahualpa. But it was not Europeans alone who found value in his story. The brilliant Incan chronicler FELIPE GUAMÁN POMA DE AYALA (1535?–1616?) added pen-and-ink illustrations of the emperor's plight to his long letter to King Philip III of Spain in 1615. His report, now understood by scholars to be one of the most significant American responses to European colonization, dealt directly with the execution of Atahualpa.

Shortly after Atahualpa's death, Pizarro crowned Atahualpa's other brother, Manco Inca, as a puppet emperor, but by 1535 Manco rebelled, retreated to the hidden fortress of Vilcabamba, and led a massive Inca uprising that endured until the 1570s.

**Further reading:** Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 2nd ed. (Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies and University of Texas Press, 2000); Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: Norton, 1997); John Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970); Nathan Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru Through Indian Eyes, 1530–1570* (New York: Barnes & Noble Press, 1977).

—Scott Chamberlain

## *audiencia*

*Audiencias* were courts of appeal in Spanish America that possessed judicial and administrative authority that made them one of the most important governmental institutions in the Western Hemisphere.

*Audiencias* originated in Spain, but unlike their American counterparts, possessed only judicial authority. The first *audiencia* in Spanish America was founded in the city of Santo Domingo, on the island of HISPANIOLA, in 1511. Subsequently, the Spanish established *audiencias* throughout their American territory. Each viceroyalty, a territorial division of Spanish America governed by a viceroy, was divided into provinces. Each province had an *audiencia* located in its capital city. By 1787 there were a total of 13 *audiencias*. The judges who composed the *audiencias*, known as *oidores*, were among the best paid and most respected of the royal bureaucrats.

*Audiencias* were the highest judicial authority located in Spanish America. The courts heard appeals from lesser judicial authorities, such as the *CORREGIDOR*, the *consulado* (wholesale merchant's guild), and the miner's guild. In criminal cases the decision of the *audiencia* was final. In civil cases involving a substantial amount of money, the *audiencia's* decision could be appealed to the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES or the king.

In certain circumstances the *audiencia* had original jurisdiction. For instance, the court handled all criminal cases that originated within the city where the *audiencia* was located. Likewise, the *audiencia* was the court of first instance for disputes among the religious orders (such as the JESUITS and FRANCISCANS) and for criminal cases in which a member of the clergy had been accused of breaking civil law. The *audiencia* also had original jurisdiction in all cases involving the interests of the Crown.

One function of the *audiencia* was to protect the legal rights of Native Americans. In the 16th century two days a week were usually reserved to hear cases involving Native Americans. Indians were entitled to a lawyer and did not have to pay legal fees. After 1600 a special court known as the Juzgado de Indios took over this function of the *audiencia*.

*Audiencias* possessed numerous administrative powers. They were authorized to enact local legislation with the approval of the Council of the Indies and the king. *Audiencias* also served as advisory councils to the viceroys and captain-generals on political issues. In addition, *audiencias* worked with their presidents to ensure that all royal orders were executed. If the position of viceroy or captain-general was vacant, the *audiencia* assumed the administrative duties of that office until a replacement arrived. The *audiencia* had the authority to review the conduct of all royal officials while they were in office, including the viceroys and captain-generals. Every three years the *audiencia* conducted a *visitación*, an inspection of its jurisdiction. The judge who performed the inspection had the authority to examine everything and everyone and to punish anyone who broke the law.

By allotting overlapping authority to the *audiencia* and the viceroy, the Crown ensured conflict between the two that would prevent either from gaining too much power and thus threatening the authority of the king in the Western Hemisphere.

**Further reading:** Mark A. Burkholder, "Bureaucrats," in *Cities and Society in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Louisa Scheel Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986); C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947).

—William Holliday

### auto-da-fé

A term meaning "act of faith," the auto-da-fé was the public execution to which persons convicted by the INQUISITION were sometimes sentenced.

The auto-da-fé was a ceremonial public execution associated with the Inquisition in Spain. The original targets of this particular inquisition were *conversos*—Spanish JEWS and Muslims (see ISLAM) who had converted to Christianity—who had apostatized, reverting to the practices of their former faiths. The office of the Inquisition in Spain soon cast its net more broadly, seeking to root out any possible enemies of the Catholic Church. Once Protestant revolts broke out throughout Europe, inquisitors used their methods to keep unorthodox beliefs out of Spain and the Spanish Empire. More than 3,000 people were sentenced

to the auto-da-fé between the beginning of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478 and its end around 1800.

**Further reading:** Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997); Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (New York: Free Press, 1988), 263–315.

—Marie A. Kelleher

### Azores

An archipelago of nine Atlantic Ocean islands that lie at 39°43' west longitude and 39°55' north latitude and that became a crucial stop for European vessels heading to the Western Hemisphere.

The Azores sit atop a volcanic ocean chain in the eastern Atlantic. Centuries of geological action have given the islands remarkably fertile soil. In addition, a number of the islands have flat, well-watered coastal plains making them an excellent location for agriculture. Their more northerly location meant that the climate was cooler than other Atlantic islands such as Cape Verde.

The discovery of the Azores is shrouded in mystery. Although texts from as early as the 11th century refer to islands somewhere in the Atlantic west of the Iberian Peninsula, it is unclear whether such assertions were based on knowledge, speculation, or pure fantasy. What is clear is that the Azores lay within a Portuguese zone of navigation, a status that was formalized by the TREATY OF TORDESILLAS. Their importance to the Portuguese Crown can be gauged by reference to contemporary maps that portray the islands well out of proportion. Even given the imaginative nature of mapmaking at the time, such a representation illustrated the importance of the islands to the sailors of the day.

Despite their position well out into the Atlantic, Portuguese possession of the islands did not translate into using them as a springboard for western exploration. The Portuguese preferred instead to utilize some of the islands as mid-Atlantic refueling points for their West Africa trade routes. To this end they stocked them with cattle, sheep, and goats, knowing that the absence of a native population or indigenous carnivores would ensure the survival of the herds and flocks when the caravels returned from West Africa. The first permanent settlers arrived in the 1440s, and the islands initially proved an attractive destination. By the mid-17th century the population had grown so much that the islands became a significant recruiting ground for the Portuguese military. Despite this demographic success, the islanders never discovered an ideal crop to cultivate. The climate was too cool for SUGAR, the crop that produced the most wealth for 16th-century Europeans. Although residents of the Azores did develop a credible export industry based on wheat and dye-plants, neither produced much capital. Most



of the grain went to Portugal, while the dye was the objective of a hotly contested, if brief, competition between English and Dutch linen manufacturers. In addition to these modest export industries, the islanders also developed their own linen manufacturing as well as a moderately successful fishing industry.

Although the islands never produced the great wealth of colonies such as BRAZIL, their fertility made them self-sufficient while the continuation of their original role as a way station kept most of them within the flow of navigation. Certainly CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS was aware of their existence, and the Azorean island of Santa Maria was his first landfall on his voyage back from the Americas in 1493, although his crew was arrested by the island's authorities when they made landfall and Columbus had to negotiate their release. The large numbers of bureaucrats, troops, and members of religious orders on the islands hampered the growth of prosperity on the Azores. The efforts of both Jesuit and Franciscan monasteries and colleges on the Azores added to the islands' prestige, but the inhabitants of these institutions constituted 10 percent of the population in some areas, thus putting a burden on the farmers and fishermen who had to support them.

**Further reading:** C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415–1825* (New York: Knopf, 1969); Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); T. Bentley Duncan, *Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands in Seventeenth Century Commerce and Navigation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

—John Grigg

## Aztecs

One of many peoples of pre-Columbian central MEXICO, the Aztecs settled in the region of present-day Mexico City during the late 13th or early 14th century, and by the mid-15th century had risen to supremacy in the region, dominating most of their neighbors until their capital was destroyed by Spanish invaders in 1521.

It is difficult to chart the early history of the Aztecs with any certainty. Over many centuries Aztecs blended their history with origin mythology, rewriting their own story a number of times to reflect a belief in an Aztec manifest destiny as heirs of the TOLTECS and rightful rulers of central Mexico. According to most versions of the origin story, the god HUITZILOPOCHTLI led his people, originally known as the Mexica, from their home at AZTLÁN into the Puebla-Tlaxcala valley of central Mexico.

Legend aside, the exact date of the Aztecs' arrival in their eventual home is unclear, although they must have

been there by the beginning of the 14th century. Groups already living in the region did little to make them welcome, partially because the newcomers had taken to raiding their neighbors for women, and the Aztecs soon found themselves at war. One of the indigenous groups, the Colhuacan, allowed the Aztecs to settle temporarily, living a degraded existence as serfs, but the Aztecs' intractable nature soon caused their reluctant hosts to expel them. The Aztecs recommenced their wandering until they finally found some swampy and thus uninhabited islands and founded the twin cities of TENOCHTITLÁN and Tlatelolco. Eventually the Aztecs drained the swamps for cultivation, making use of the "floating fields" known as CHINAMPAS.

In 1367 the Aztecs began to serve as mercenaries for the Tepanec kingdom of Azcapotzalco, probably the mightiest power on the mainland at that time. It was during this period that the leader of the Azcapotzalco, Tezozomoc, gave the Aztecs their first *tlatoani*, or "speaker," named Acamapichtli (r. 1375–95), replacing the system of tribal administrative heads that had ruled up to that time. The ruler, later called the *huei tlatoani* ("great speaker"), acceded to power over a series of days or weeks, beginning with his election or selection after his successor's death. The candidate had to prove himself in battle, leading captives for sacrifice back to the Aztec capital. He then would order new robes for all nobles who would be in attendance and issue invitations to neighboring nobles, including even traditional enemies. The populace marked the investiture of the new speaker with four to five days of feasting and dancing, culminating in a royal procession to five sacred sites in Tenochtitlán, where the new speaker offered sacrifices of incense and his own blood. Once finished, the speaker was considered semidivine (see MOCTEZUMA II XOCOYOTZIN).

During the reign of ITZCÓATL, beginning in 1427, the Aztecs became an independent nation, rebelling against the Tepanecs and destroying their capital. Itzcoatl was aided in this by TLACACLA, who served as his *cihuacoatl* ("woman snake"). Under their administration the Aztecs appropriated large tracts of land from nearby cities (many a part of the sphere of influence of the Aztecs' former Tepanec patrons). Aztec warfare took on a new dimension during the reign of Moctezuma I Ilhuicamina (1440–69), "the elder," with the introduction of the so-called FLOWERY WARS. These were battles staged not for killing or conquest, but in order that both sides might take captives for ritual sacrifice. In a related development, Tenochtitlán entered into an alliance with Texcoco and Tlacopan—this came to be known as the Triple Alliance—for the purpose of both mutual defense and for the waging of these sacrifice-oriented battles. CANNIBALISM may also have been a part of the religious observances, but only in ritual context: Aztecs commonly offered human hearts as sacrifices to their gods, but human

flesh also served as a form of communion, or a means of consuming the essence of the divine.

With the help of their allies the Aztecs also launched an ambitious program of conquest. One of the greatest conquerors was the speaker Ahuizotl (1486–1502) who, during his reign, expanded the Aztec domains to the present-day Guatemalan border, bringing most of central Mexico under Aztec rule, although large portions even within the very heart of the empire remained independent, including the enemy states of TLAXCALA, Huexotzingo, and CHOLULA. It should be noted that the Aztec Empire was not so much an empire of possessions in the sense of Western empires, but rather an economic empire based on the rendering of regular tribute payments. Still, the latter seems to have fostered no less resentment than the former would have—a situation that the CONQUISTADORES took full advantage of upon their arrival.

The program of conquest continued down to the reign of Moctezuma II (r. 1502–20). Part of the reason for the Aztecs' expansionist foreign policy lay in the sacrificial requirements of their gods, especially the cult of their patron god, Huitzilopochtli, but economic reasons also came into play. Tenochtitlán was unable to grow enough foodstuffs to feed its population, and, since it did not produce enough exports to pay for the foods in trade, the city's residents had to obtain what they needed either by force or by levying tribute. Conquest soon became part of a vicious cycle: Warfare provided the goods and captives necessary for elaborate ceremonials to overawe their neighbors and for the sacrifices needed to propitiate the gods who ensured the Aztecs' success in battle. But ceremony and sacrifice, as well as the ostentation that befitted the dominant power in the region, exhausted the treasury, necessitating further conquest.

Moctezuma II seems to have been the only ruler who attempted to move the Aztecs from a conquest-oriented military power into a stable, if autocratic, state. His efforts were largely dictated by the fact that the Aztecs had run out of territory into which they could profitably expand. Such a shift, however, would have required a restructuring of the Aztecs' economy and society. Moctezuma's attempts to do just that resulted in economic and social dislocations that seriously weakened the fabric of Aztec society and empire by the time Europeans first set foot upon the shores of Mexico in 1519.

### Social Structure

The basic unit of Aztec social organization was the *altepetl*, roughly equivalent to a city-state. These were in turn divided into *calpulli*, which formed the fundamental administrative structure of the empire. (The *altepetl* of Tenochtitlán was composed of about 20 *calpulli*.) Each *calpulli* was a network that included many indi-



An illustration from a reproduction of the Codex Magliabecchi depicting an Aztec priest performing a sacrificial offering of a living human heart to the war god Huitzilopochtli (Library of Congress)

vidual households but was not, strictly speaking, a clan or extended kinship network, as a *calpulli* could include not only extended family but also families related by close proximity over a long period of time. The *calpulli* also spanned class lines, and elite members traditionally provided commoner members with either agricultural land or nonagrarian employment, in return for which the latter owed the former services tribute. Each *calpulli* also had its own gods and maintained its own temples. The members elected the principal chief, the *calpullec*, for life. The *calpullec* served as the main link between the *calpulli* and the *altepetl*: They retained high local prestige and were firmly tied to kinship networks within the *calpulli*, but their official authority came from the central bureaucracy. The *calpulli* also served as a medium for larger state enterprises, from monumental building projects to military service. Warrior contingents fought in *calpulli* groups, and, while individual achievement was the main motivator, group tallies of casualties and captives were a point of pride.

Aztec society after the reign of Moctezuma I was also divided into a strict social hierarchy, all physically signalled by elaborate sumptuary laws that reserved certain types of dress, ornamentation, and even housing types to particular classes. At the top were the *teteuhctin*, or high nobility, who ruled the towns and cities of the empire. The *teteuhctin* exercised legal powers and monitored the flow of tribute payments. Members of this class, which included the great speaker, can often be identified in records by the addition of the honorific suffix *tzin* to their personal names, although their contemporaries could identify them



on sight by certain types of rich clothing and ornamentation, which it was solely their privilege to wear.

The *pipiltin*, or lesser nobility, provided the imperial administrators and were generally descended from lords of one sort or another. This class also included members of non-noble descent, the so-called eagle nobles (*cuauh-pipiltin*) who had risen from the ranks of the commoners by distinguishing themselves on the battlefield. Members of this class as a whole differed widely in wealth: Records at the time of the conquest show that certain *pilli* had only seven *macehualtin* ("commoners") working under them, while some of the latter might be wealthy enough to employ a number of workers of their own. Despite their status, nobles did not enjoy a life of leisure. Rather, they formed a part of the military hierarchy and could be shamed and even stripped of privilege if they shirked their martial obligations. As a result, male children of the nobility received special military training at the hands of seasoned warriors. This education was especially important because success on the battlefield was usually the gateway to higher, nonmilitary office for nobles—an option only rarely open to warriors of less august background.

Merchants, or *pochteca*, held a high position in Aztec society and functioned as ambassadors, spies, and warriors in addition to their official position. The important role that they played in the expansion and economic domination of the Aztec state merited them special honors. Moctezuma II treated merchants as a branch of the nobility, and if one died on a mission, he was honored as a fallen warrior both by the living and in the afterlife. Membership in the *pochteca* was hereditary, and all members belonged to one of the twelve merchant guilds. Members of this class often became so prosperous that Aztec law forbade ostentatious displays of wealth lest they arouse the rulers' jealousy. It should be noted that this was one of the few areas in which women were able to exercise semi-independent economic power. Although women were not permitted membership in any of the merchant guilds, they could and did trade by proxy and were agents of their male relatives' goods in the latter's absence.

The majority of the population, both in the city and in the countryside, were *macehualtin*, or commoners. Most of these worked lands belonging to wealthier members of their *calpulli*, although the families themselves maintained certain rights over the family plot provided that it did not lie uncultivated for two years or more.

At the bottom of the social hierarchy were the *mayerque*, semifree serfs who worked on the nobles' estates. According to one estimate, this group constituted about 30 percent of the population of the empire. About one-third of the produce of their labor went to their lord. Their low status did not mean that they were always the poorest members of Aztec society. A member of this class might,

through inheritance, become wealthier than most *macehualtin* without any change in social status.

Slaves, or *tlacohtin*, are difficult to place in the socioeconomic hierarchy simply because their employment and consequent status depended on their skills. They might be purchased as agricultural labor, domestic servants, or even estate managers. Furthermore, because they could own property (including slaves of their own), some were able to become quite wealthy.

### The Life Cycle

In all classes, birth was the point at which an Aztec's destiny began to be laid out. A woman's pregnancy was an affair for the whole community to celebrate, and birth was marked by family and neighborhood feasts and celebrations that could last for up to 15 days. The actual process of childbirth, by contrast, was a more private affair at which only women were present. After the midwife cut the umbilical cord, she recited a speech to the newborn, stressing the new arrival's obligations and place in society: Boys were instructed in their mission to provide sacrifices for the gods, while girls were admonished to keep a good home. Gender roles were emphasized again at a later ceremony, when baby boys were given miniature weapons, girls miniature brooms and weaving implements.

Children of both sexes received formal education beginning at about age 15 and lasting for five years, or until they were of marriageable age. Children of the nobility and sometimes *pochteca* children attended sex-segregated classes in the *calmecac*, in which priests instructed them in all aspects of Aztec religion and history. Education in one of these institutions was a prerequisite to holding any high administrative appointment or to going on to the *tlamacazcalli*, a kind of seminary for those who wished to enter the priesthood. Less well-heeled children attended the *tlepochcalli*, a military academy aimed at training male students to be warriors, while girls seem to have studied song, dance, and embroidery.

Families, rather than young couples, usually arranged marriages via matchmakers. Marriage seems to have occurred at age 20 for boys and slightly younger for girls, with the expectation that one would marry another member of one's own *calpulli*. Both the bride's family and the groom's schoolmasters had to give approval to the match. The ritual banquet took place in the home of the bride's family, after which she was borne to the groom's family home, where the couple would make their residence.

For women, at least, marriage marked a passage to adulthood. Book six of the Florentine Codex admonished the future bride to "regard one with respect, speak well, greet one well . . . Do not reject us, do not embarrass us as old men, do not reject thy mothers as old women." It should be noted that men could take as many secondary

wives or concubines as they could afford to support. While in practical terms this meant that most commoners probably had only one wife, great lords had dozens or sometimes even hundreds.

For young men the passage into adulthood was marked not by marriage but by the taking of a first captive in battle, often a prerequisite to marriage. Boys' indoctrination into the warrior ethic of Aztec society began in earnest in the "House of Youth," a sort of youth auxiliary to the more formal academies they would attend when older. Beginning around age six or seven, they began to learn songs and dances telling of the glory of war in general and of their own *calpulli*'s warriors in particular. By the time they entered into formal weapons training around age 15, they had gained a firm sense of the importance of warfare both to the individual and the community. At about 18 years of age novice warriors ventured onto the field of battle for the first time, although only to observe a seasoned warrior with whom they had been paired. On their second foray they were expected to take a captive, although on this occasion they might make the capture a group effort of up to six novice warriors. Increased status marked this first capture, and additional privileges came with additional captures. Theoretically, at least, these privileges included the possibility of elevation to a branch of nobility distinct from the hereditary nobles, with the right to privileges and visible markers of status not allowed to commoners, but excluding the insignia and many of the privileges of those born nobles.

Aztecs, like most Mesoamerican cultures, believed that death and life existed in complementary opposition. For example, deceased ancestors could exert influence on the living, ranging from sending diseases to interceding with the gods. The Aztecs often held festivals to honor the dead, and the living could communicate with ancestors via offerings of food and flowers. (After the conquest, DIEGO DURÁN noted with some concern that certain aspects of these festivals persisted during the Catholic holidays of All Saints' and All Souls'.) Afterlife destination depended not on individual behavior but rather on social status and/or manner of death. Warriors who died on the battlefield and women who died in childbirth were the only ones guaranteed a happy afterlife. Most people had to undertake a more arduous journey before attaining their final rest. The underworld was made up of eight layers under the earth, each offering different hazards, such as clashing mountains, obsidian-edged winds, and sacrifice by arrow or by heart removal. The deepest of the nether regions was Mictlan, which the Spanish conquerors identified with the Christian hell. To aid their departed relatives in their arduous pilgrimages, families of the deceased provided them not only with provisions but also with valuables that might speed their journey, such as cacao beans, jade beads, and frothed hot chocolate.

### *Religion*

Religion permeated all aspects of the Aztecs' existence, as it did for other peoples in the Atlantic world. In Central America indigenous peoples often shared certain religious ideals or deities. Most of the gods of the Aztec pantheon, for example, had adherents among the MAYA, OLMECS, and the civilization at TEOTIHUACÁN,

The cyclical nature of life was reflected in the cycle of the Aztec calendar: 20 day names and 13 day numbers, yielding a total of 260 combinations. Also, a solar calendar of 365 days was used, divided into 20 numbered-day months and ending in five "unlucky days." For all possible permutations of the combined calendars to exhaust themselves required 52 years, terminating in a dangerous five-day period in which the gods might choose to destroy the world, then in its fifth cycle, and begin a new cycle. Recognizing their good fortune at having escaped calamity, the Aztecs created the "new fire ceremony" dedicated to the god Xiutecuhli.

### *The End of Empire*

Only a few years after a new fire ceremony in Tenochtitlán the destruction of the Aztec empire actually occurred, but at the hands of the Spanish rather than the gods. After sending two exploratory missions to the coast of Mexico, the governor of Cuba, DIEGO DE VELÁZQUEZ, sent HERNÁN CORTÉS on a mission to trade and explore in Mexico as well as to make a settlement on the coast of Mexico that Velázquez could claim as his own. Cortés's 11 ships sailed from Cuba in February 1519 with a force of 600 fighting men, 200 Native servants, 16 HORSES, 32 crossbows, 13 muskets, and 14 mobile cannon, landing in March on the coast of the TABASCO region. He defeated local Natives in a quick skirmish, securing both an alliance and tribute that included the slave woman MALINCHE, who would later become invaluable as Cortés's interpreter and informant on local affairs. Soon thereafter, Cortés dropped any pretense that his mission was a peaceful one or that he was operating under the orders of Velázquez and embarked on a program of conquest.

Moctezuma II had by this time received word of the new arrivals and sent emissaries to greet them, possibly suspecting that Cortés or one of his entourage was the incarnation of the god QUETZALCOATL. It is likely that any such belief gave way as the invaders marched toward Tenochtitlán, conquering cities along the way, including Quetzalcoatl's cult center, Cholula, where they staged a mass slaughter of the resident nobles and warriors. After the now-intimidated Moctezuma failed in his attempts to deter them by gifts, blandishments, and even sorcery, the Spaniards entered Tenochtitlán, where Moctezuma allowed himself to be taken captive.

The tide was soon to turn in the Aztecs' favor, though only briefly. In the spring of 1520 Cortés received word that

Diego Velázquez, angered that his deputy had exceeded his authority, had sent a detachment to bring Cortés back to Cuba. In his absence, he left PEDRO DE ALVARADO in charge. This temporary leader of the occupying forces, fearing an uprising at a religious observance incorporating several Aztec nobles and warriors, led the Spanish troops in what must have seemed to the inhabitants an unprovoked massacre of the city's civil and military leadership. Alvarado's action provoked an uprising that the occupying forces were hard-pressed to keep under control. By the time Cortés returned to the city with reinforcements won over from the troops sent to detain him, he faced a sullen population who refused to sell provisions to the Spaniards (much less provide them for free at Moctezuma's orders) and who continued to riot, now convinced of the necessity of expelling the invaders. The opposition even went so far as to elect another speaker in Moctezuma's place, CUITLÁHUAC, provided he could drive the Spaniards out of the city. A desperate Cortés prevailed upon Moctezuma to address his people and order them to resume trading with his troops, but the population of Tenochtitlán, now under the banner of Cuitláhuac, rejected their former leader's appeal and pelted him with stones, inflicting wounds from which he apparently later died.

The Aztecs' rebellion began in earnest on June 25, 1520. Cutting off the bridges within the causeways, they trapped the Spanish within the city. By June 29 Cortés and his men were trapped in the palace with no food and were losing men every time one of them tried to escape. On June 30, a night that Spanish chroniclers would remember as the Noche Triste ("Sad Night"), Cortés made portable bridges to traverse the eight spans of the TACUBA causeway and let his men help themselves to the GOLD, which they stuffed into their armor and helmets before making an attempt to escape the city, but only half had crossed the first gap before their Aztec pursuers destroyed their makeshift bridge, trapping most of the Spanish troops either in the city or only partway across the causeway. In the rest of the fighting that night, half the soldiers were killed or drowned, weighted down by plundered gold.

Cortés and his decimated forces were to have the final word (see Documents). About the time that the Aztecs were driving out the Spaniards, SMALLPOX, a DISEASE inadvertently brought by the invaders, began to rage through the densely populated city. Within months smallpox had claimed the lives of a large percentage of the population, including the new speaker, Cuitláhuac. Cortés later returned in April 1521 and laid siege to the city, now weakened and depopulated.

Cortés's conquest became one of the defining moments in the European colonization of the Americas. Surviving accounts make it difficult to imagine the brutality of the Spaniards' crusade. During one fiesta, according to one of

the surviving indigenous chronicles, "the Spaniards were seized with an urge to kill the celebrants." They entered the temple in Tenochtitlán and attacked those gathered for a ceremony. "They attacked all the celebrants," the anonymous chronicler continued, "stabbing them, spearing them, striking them with their swords. They attacked some of them from behind, and these fell instantly to the ground with their entrails hanging out. Others they beheaded: they cut off their heads, or split their heads to pieces." The conquistadores killed with a frenzy that can still be felt in the words of the chronicler: "The blood of the warriors flowed like water and gathered into pools. The pools widened, and the stench of blood and entrails filled the air. The Spaniards ran into the communal houses to kill those who were hiding. They ran everywhere and searched everywhere; they invaded every room, hunting and killing."

Given the surviving testimony, it is difficult to imagine that Cortés had once expressed admiration for the Aztecs and especially their capital. His description of the city emphasized the sophistication of its architecture and the complexity of its economy. "This city has many squares," he wrote, "where trading is done and markets are held continuously. There is also one square twice as big as that of Salamanca, with arcades all around, where more than sixty thousand people come each day to buy and sell, and where every kind of merchandise produced in these lands is found; provisions as well as ornaments of gold and silver, lead, brass, copper, tin, stones, shells, bones, and feathers." He marveled at those who sold building supplies and others who proffered a wide range of poultry and game. Merchants who sold particular goods concentrated in one part of the city or another, a practice that could be found in European cities as well as in the early modern era. He stood in awe of the city's principal temple, "whose great size and magnificence no human tongue could describe, for it is so large that within the precincts, which are surrounded by a very high wall, a town of some five hundred inhabitants could easily be built."

Yet despite his admiration for what he had seen, the conquest of Mexico that Cortés led had permanent consequences for the Aztecs. By July 1521, the population of Tenochtitlán, which stood at 200,000 before the Spanish arrived, had been reduced to 60,000 starved survivors who had no choice but to surrender to the conquistadores.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## Aztlán

In Aztec history and mythology, Aztlán, supposedly an island in a lake in the west or northwest of MEXICO, was the place of origin for their people and the birthplace of their patron god, HUITZILOPOCHTLI.

NAHUATL for “place of whiteness” or “place of herons,” Aztlán was the mythical point of departure for the AZTECS’ peregrination to TENOCHTITLÁN. The Aztecs were seeking a replica of this original home when they finally arrived in Tenochtitlán. One tradition gives their date of departure as A.D. 1111. The name *Aztecs* literally means “people of

Aztlán,” although they and their neighbors referred to them as *Mexica*.

Historians differ as to how much of this origin myth to accept as historical fact. It cannot, however, be discounted merely as cynical self-aggrandizement on the part of the Aztecs, many of whom seem to have sincerely believed that their people originated in a place whose location became lost in the mists of time. Moctezuma I (r. 1440–69), for example, once sent forth about 60 magicians loaded down with the most precious gifts available to present them to the god or his emissaries, or to the less peripatetic descendants of their distant ancestors.

The vague and sometimes confused nature of the Aztec origin myth as well as the familiar motif of a people wandering in the desert in search of a new home led at least one contemporary European observer, Fray DIEGO DURÁN, to conclude that the Aztecs were one of the lost tribes of Israel. Quoting from the prophet Hosea, Durán pointed out that God had punished these tribes for their sins by condemning them to be perpetually cowardly and proposed this divine castigation as the reason for (and perhaps justification of) their defeat at the hands of decidedly inferior numbers of Spanish invaders.

**Further reading:** Michael Coe, *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*, 4th ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994); Nigel Davies, *Aztecs: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980); Diego Durán, *The History of the Indies of New Spain*, trans. Doris Heyden (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995); Mary Miller and Karl Taube, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya: An Illustrated Dictionary of Mesoamerican Religion* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1993).

—Marie A. Kelleher





**Baba, Ahmad** (1556–1627) *scholar*

Ahmad Baba, an Islamic scholar, writer, and jurist, wrote books and treatises on theology, jurisprudence, history, and Arabic grammar, some of which are still in use today.

Ahmad Baba was born on October 26, 1556, in Arawan, near the city of TIMBUKTU. At the time Timbuktu was part of the SONGHAI Empire, renowned for its dedication to Islamic scholarship. The city became a center of Islamic learning. Baba was a member of the influential Aqit family, who formed part of the ruling patriciate of Islamic scholars in Timbuktu. He studied Islamic theology and law, remaining an active part of the scholarly class in Timbuktu for most of his life. Ahmad Baba was a prolific writer, with a total of 56 works attributed to him, 32 of which still exist. Most of his works dealt with jurisprudence, but he also wrote on theological subjects, grammar, and historical biography. Ahmad Baba also wrote *Kifayat al-Muktaj*, a revision of the popular historical source *Nayl al-Ibthikaj* on Maliki Islam (see ISLAM). In addition to writing, Ahmad Baba was an avid collector, and his personal library contained thousands of volumes.

Although Baba lived most of his life in Timbuktu, he spent several years in exile in Marrakech, Morocco. In 1591 the sultan of Morocco invaded the Songhai Empire and took control of Timbuktu. The people of the city rebelled against the Moroccans in 1593 under the leadership of the local literati. In 1594 Mahmud ibn Zargun, the pasha of the region under the Moroccans, deported Ahmad Baba and other scholars to Marrakech. Despite his status as an exile, Ahmad Baba continued to teach and practice law with the permission of the Moroccan authorities, and it was here that he wrote *Kifayat al-Muktal*. After the death of the Moroccan sultan in 1607, Ahmad Baba returned to his native Timbuktu, where he died in 1627.

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“Ahmad Baba,” in *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, eds. Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), 53–54.

—Lisa M. Brady

**Bahía**

One of the 15 regions (known as captaincies) into which the Portuguese Crown divided the colony of Brazil in the 1530s.

When a Portuguese fleet bound for India was blown across the Atlantic and discovered what became known as BRAZIL in the early 16th century, it appeared to offer little to the commerce-minded Europeans. Early Portuguese interest centered on the dyewood (or brazilwood) trees found there, and the first colonists set up a factory system similar to the one they used in Africa and Asia. Those who controlled the factories—better understood as trading posts—employed the Natives of Brazil as tree harvesters. Because the isolated factories represented no threat to the Natives, they willingly exchanged their labor for European goods. The shift in Portuguese policy from factories to settlement was precipitated by the French, who made significant inroads into the dyewood trade. Unable to prevent these French incursions by the use of naval power, the Portuguese decided that permanent settlement was the only solution.

Both unwilling and unable to expend the necessary funds to establish Crown-run settlements, the government divided the colony into 15 captaincies that ran from east to west across the country. The captaincy of Bahía lay in the middle of the country and was allocated to Francisco Pereira Coutinho. However, the viability of the settlements was threatened almost immediately when it became apparent that the Portuguese had miscalculated the cultural attitudes of the Native population. The new settlers turned to SUGAR as a potential source of wealth and assumed that the Native men would be as willing to work in the cane fields as they

had been to harvest brazilwood trees. But while the Natives considered tree-cutting to be men's work, they thought of field work as women's domain and resisted attempts to turn them into field hands. Furthermore, the establishment of permanent settlements constituted a real threat to the Natives. In 1545, in response to the threat posed by newcomers, the Tupinamba Indians launched a series of attacks that virtually eliminated the Portuguese presence in Bahía.

The Portuguese did not return to Bahía until 1549, at which time they made the region a Crown colony and established the city of Salvador. Blessed with fertile soil and an appropriate amount of rainfall, Bahía (along with the captaincy of Pernambuco) became the center of Portuguese sugar production. By 1570 Bahía boasted 18 sugar mills, a number that had doubled by 1585. At that time Salvador's population of 14,000 made it the largest city in Brazil. Indeed, so rapid was the recovery of fortunes in Bahía that the Portuguese promoter, Pero de Magalhães, wrote in 1576 that Bahía "is the part of Brazil most thickly populated by Portuguese."

But this economic growth came at a devastating price not only to the Natives but to the newest arrivals in South America—African slaves (see **SLAVERY**). Following their return in 1549, the Portuguese used the natives as forced laborers, but in the 1560s the Natives suffered from epidemics resulting from their exposure to Old World **DISEASES**. Further complicating the use of Natives was the growing opposition of the Crown to enslaving the Indians, inspired in part by the **JESUITS**. Despite these twin problems, the transition to African slaves was slow in Bahía, and it was not until late in the 17th century that most plantations had completed the transition to a workforce composed entirely of Africans.

Through a combination of climate, geography, exploitation, economic management, and European demand, the sugar industry transformed Bahía (and other parts of Brazil) into a critical piece of the Portuguese colonial empire. Inspired by this success, the Dutch in the early 17th century formulated plans to mount a military assault on Brazil to bring it under their control.

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—John Grigg

**Balboa, Vasco Núñez de** (1475–1517) *conquistador*  
A Spanish **CONQUISTADOR** during the early period of exploration and conquest, Vasco Núñez de Balboa in 1513 was the first European to see the Pacific Ocean.

Following a childhood lived in poverty, Balboa first journeyed to the **NEW WORLD** in 1500 as part of the wave

of Spaniards who sought the rich resources of mainland America or *Tierra Firme*. *Tierra Firme*, first discovered by **CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS** during his third mission, included the northern coast of present-day Colombia and Venezuela.

Balboa spent several unremarkable years in unsuccessful farming and indebtedness on **HISPANIOLA** before, perhaps as a stowaway, he accompanied an expedition to the American mainland. In 1509, as part of a slave-raiding mission to the area, Balboa founded the settlement of Darién. Then, in search of the rumored golden kingdom of Birú vividly described by local Natives, Balboa led a mission across the Isthmus of **PANAMA**. While he failed to locate this kingdom of gold, by 1513 Balboa succeeded in crossing the isthmus and thereby claimed the rights as the first European to reach the Pacific Ocean.

Balboa's accomplishment inspired jealousy in Pedrarias Dávila, the governor of the isthmus. Using a fabricated story of treason, Dávila and other seasoned conquistadores, including **FRANCISCO PIZARRO**, conspired in Balboa's arrest. In 1517 Dávila called for Balboa's execution.

In the aftermath of Balboa's journey across the isthmus, the Spanish used the knowledge of what he found to help them conquer the Native peoples of present-day **PERU** and **Chile**. Knowledge of the Pacific also proved crucial to Spanish efforts to control the west coast of **MEXICO** and, eventually, **CALIFORNIA**.

**Further reading:** Charles Loftus Grant Anderson, *Life and Letters of Vasco Núñez de Balboa* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970); John A. Crow, *The Epic of Latin America*, 4th ed. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992); Kathleen Romoli, *Balboa of Darién: Discoverer of the Pacific* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1953); Edwin Williamson, *The Penguin History of Latin America* (New York and London: Penguin Press, 1992).

—Kimberly Sambol-Tosco

## Bantu

The term *Bantu* refers to both peoples and languages south of a line from the southern Cameroon–Nigeria border in the west to the southern Somali border in the east.

Although the 600 Bantu languages share similarities in basic grammar and vocabulary, time and distance have made most of them mutually unintelligible. Similarly, Bantu cultures share basic similarities but immense variations remain. Cameroon marks the cradle of Bantu language and culture. A study of Bantu linguistic evolution revealed that Bantu migrations occurred in three great waves, or dispersals, labeled Original Bantu, West Bantu, and East Bantu. The Original Bantu spread from what is now western Cameroon to the Great Lakes, then southward to the Ogowe Delta. West Bantu spread from what is

now northern Gabon southward to northern Namibia, then eastward into the Zaire basin. The third dispersal, identified as East Bantu, spread from the Great Lakes eastward to the Indian Ocean, then turned south and spread to the southern tip of Africa.

The success of Bantu migration appears to be due to relatively stable village communities and a food production system that supplemented foraging. The villages were organized around several “houses” headed by leaders whose family members, friends, and servants made up each house. Usually about five villages banded together to form a district and helped one another in issues relating to economics, marriage, defense, and religion. Each house also created alliances with houses in other villages to form clans. Consequently, Bantu communities became flexible social structures numbering about 500 people. These communities were more efficient than were the small social units of the neighboring foragers.

As the East Bantu migration evolved, its success depended not only on stable communities but also on the development of a farming complex that included grain cultivation and cattle herding. Slight differences in technology existed between Bantu peoples and non-Bantu peoples, but the success of Bantu migrations depended on stable communities and effective food production.

**Further reading:** Alfred T. Bryand, *Bantu Origins: The People and Their Language* (Cape Town: C. Struick, 1963); Muhammed el Fasi and Ivan Hrbek, eds. *The General History of Africa*, vol. 3, *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century* (London: Heinemann, 1988); David W. Phillipson, *The Later Prehistory of Eastern and Southern Africa* (New York: Africana, 1977); Thurstan Shaw, et al., eds., *The Archaeology of Africa: Foods, Metals, and Towns* (London: Routledge, 1993).

—Tom Niermann

## Barbados

Although the British did not pursue permanent colonization of Barbados until 1627, Spanish and Portuguese explorers landed on the island during the 16th century as part of European efforts to explore and eventually colonize the Western Hemisphere.

Before contact with European explorers, the inhabitants of Barbados lived in relative obscurity from the rest of the West Indies. Over the course of its history Barbados, a small island (430 square kilometers in area) with, at the time of European arrival, a substantial tropical rain forest, experienced various successive waves of migration of inhabitants from the South American mainland. Modern research suggests that, contrary to the assumptions of 16th-century Europeans, the four American Indian groups that migrated

to Barbados from the seventh century until the arrival of the CARIB came from a similar ancestral background. During the mid-13th century one such group, termed *Carib* by the Spanish, replaced the Lokonos (ARAWAK) through conquest. The Carib maintained their stronghold on the island until at least the late 15th century.

As the Spanish and Portuguese explored the NEW WORLD during the late 15th and early 16th centuries, they learned that Barbados and much of the Lesser Antilles lacked significant quantities of gold. Thus, for some time they worked under the assumption that Barbados was of little value to their efforts in the West Indies. Then, in 1511, CHARLES V, responding to the need for mine laborers in CUBA, authorized various slaving expeditions to islands in the Caribbean. The Spanish extended their search for potential Indian slaves throughout the area, reaching Barbados during the early 1520s.

The arrival of Spanish CONQUISTADORES on Barbados coincided with the end of American Indian settlement on the island. Whereas European explorers recorded their experiences in other locations throughout the Caribbean, no such records exist for the first contact with inhabitants of Barbados. Thus, whether the depopulation of Barbados occurred before, during, and/or because of European activities has yet to be determined. While it is possible that the Spanish effectively removed the remaining inhabitants of Barbados to Cuba, it is also possible that the American Indian population relocated themselves on other islands, knowing beforehand of the impending arrival of the Spanish. What is certain is that during the first half of the 16th century, as Spaniards combed the Caribbean in search of laborers for their mines, they landed on Barbados and found it largely or entirely uninhabited.

Although the exact date of first contact between Europeans and American Indians on Barbados is unknown, scholars maintain that the first written reference to the island can be traced to a Spanish expedition in 1518. Then, in 1536, a Portuguese explorer, Pedro a Campus, landed on the island, describing it as deserted. The island remained uninhabited until the arrival of the British during the 17th century.

**Further reading:** Hilary Beckles, *A History of Barbados: From Amerindian Settlement to Nation-State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Peter L. Drewett, *Prehistoric Barbados* (London: University College London, 1991); F. A. Hoyos, *Barbados: A History from the Amerindians to Independence* (London: Macmillan, 1978); Lyle McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492–1700* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984); Jan Rogoziński, *A Brief History of the Caribbean: From the Arawak and the Carib to the Present*, rev. ed. (New York: Facts On File, 1999).

—Kimberly Sambol-Tosco



**Barlowe, Arthur** (fl. 1580s) *cartographer*

Arthur Barlowe's description of ROANOKE Island as an earthly paradise helped encourage SIR WALTER RALEGH to choose it as a site for the first English colony in North America.

In 1584 Raleigh sent two ships, commanded by Barlowe and Philip Amadas, to explore the coast of North America and recommend a site for a colony. Little is known about Barlowe's early life, although he had served under Raleigh in Ireland in 1580–81 and had, at some point, sailed to the eastern Mediterranean. Amadas and Barlowe reached the islands off the coast of North Carolina in July 1585. After exploring the vicinity they declared Roanoke Island a suitable site. Barlowe, in his report to Raleigh, compared the island to the Garden of Eden and described it as “full of deer, conies, hares, and fowl, even in the midst of summer, in incredible abundance,” with trees “of excellent smell and quality.” The two explorers also met and traded with some Indians in the area, reporting “[W]e were entertained with all love and kindness, and with as much bounty, after their manner, as they could possibly devise.” The explorers returned to England, bringing two Indians, MANTEO and WANCHESE, both of whom learned to speak English and returned to Roanoke with a later voyage. Barlowe's glowing report on the potential of the land helped convince Raleigh, wrongly, that a colony could easily be built and sustained at Roanoke.

**Further reading:** Arthur Barlowe, “Discovery of Virginia, 1584” in *Hakluyt's Voyages: A Selection*, ed. Richard David (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981), 445–453; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000); ———, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allanheld, 1984); David Beers Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584–1606* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

—Martha K. Robinson

**Battel, Andrew** (fl. 1589–1614) *writer, soldier*

Author, prisoner, soldier, and trader, Andrew Battel was best known for his account of a journey that took him from LONDON in 1589 to BRAZIL and Angola before his return to England around 1610.

Little is known of the early life of Andrew Battel. He was probably born in Leigh, Essex, in the 1560s. Like many young men in Elizabethan England, he found his way to London, where he signed up for passage on a vessel that took him far from his native shores. He sailed from Plymouth on May 7, 1589, on one of four pinnaces under the command of Abraham Cocke bound for South America. Delayed by storms that forced them back to Plymouth, the ships traveled via the CANARY ISLANDS

and the Guinea coast across the Atlantic. After 30 days at sea the ships docked at Ilhe Grande on the coast of Brazil. Seeking fresh supplies after surviving on seals for a month, Battel and some of the other sailors traveled to the island of Saint Sebastian, where he and four others fell captive to local Indians who left them with Portuguese authorities. Cocke left the captives behind and Battel never saw him again.

The Portuguese sent Battel to St. Paul-de-Loanda in Angola, where he spent four months as a prisoner. Battel gained his freedom, and after surviving an illness the Portuguese governor João Furtado de Mendonca hired him to lead a trading mission down the Congo River to acquire ivory, maize, and palm oil. Battel twice tried to escape but failed each time. After serving in battle with the Portuguese he eventually became a coastal trader once again, but the Portuguese left Battel among the Jagas, an interior nation, where Battel spent almost two years during which, he claimed, he learned that they practiced infanticide and sacrificed human beings. In 1610, under circumstances that remain unclear, Battel returned to London.

All knowledge of Battel's activities comes from SAMUEL PURCHAS, who published an account of Battel's voyages in 1613 and then a longer version in 1625. Like THOMAS HARRIOT, Battel provided an English-language ethnography for an audience eager to learn about the peoples who inhabited the far reaches of the Atlantic world. His account included descriptions of various African groups, flora, and fauna, including descriptions of such exotic phenomena as zebras, chimpanzees, and the baobab tree. According to one 19th-century editor, Battel wandered along routes that were not traversed again by Europeans for at least 300 years.

**Further reading:** Peter C. Mancall, “Battel, Andrew,” in *New Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (London, 1613), book 7, ch. 9; ———, *Hakluytus Posthumus* (London, 1625), part ii, book vii, ch. iii; E. G. Ravenstein, ed., *Strange Adventures of Andrew Battel of Leigh, in Angola and the Adjoining Regions*, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., VI (London, 1901).

**Behaim, Martin** (1459–1507) *cartographer*

In 1492 Martin Behaim created a globe that depicted that world that Europeans knew before CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS sailed.

Behaim was born in Nuremberg in 1459 but lived for some time as an adult in Portugal. In 1490 he returned to his home city, where the town council commissioned him to make a globe. The result, the oldest surviving globe in the world, depicted a small Atlantic Ocean, suggesting

that ships that sailed west might quickly reach the riches of Asia.

Cartographic matters were much in dispute in the 15th century. Mapmakers disagreed about the size of the world, the possibility of finding new trade routes to Asia, and the existence of distant lands. Behaim's globe agreed in many respects with the geographical theories of Christopher Columbus. Both Behaim and Columbus believed that the world was much smaller than it is, for example, and that it might therefore be practical to sail west to reach Cipangu (Japan). There is, however, no evidence that the two men ever met or that Columbus was familiar with Behaim's work. Behaim's globe also showed a number of mythical lands, including the kingdom of PRESTER JOHN, the land of the Biblical Magi, and the islands of Antillia and St. Brendan.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Benin

For more than 3,000 years people speaking the Edo (Benin) language have lived in a 12,000-square-mile area just west of the Niger River in what is now Nigeria.

Over time small, relatively independent villages united into larger communities culminating in the ancient kingdom of Benin. This ancient kingdom is distinct from the present-day nation of the same name.

Tropical rain forests dominate much of the region. Consequently, early settlers survived by cultivating clearings and supplementing their agricultural production with hunting. Natural population growth, combined with the introduction of iron tools around A.D. 400 or 500, encouraged small communities to unite for defensive purposes and to more efficiently exploit natural resources. During the same period institutions developed within the growing communities that established a hierarchy of authority and division of power.

Archaeological findings dating as far back as A.D. 400 provide evidence of the social and political changes occurring in this region. Village communities grew to towns, and local leaders expanded their role as regional rulers. By the year 1000 two centers of power had developed: Benin and Udo. These two power centers developed a model of government similar to the YORUBA, a neighboring people to the north. In fact, both the Yoruba and Benin traditions trace the lineage of their ruling dynasties to Ife, another

city-state to the north. The Benin monarch was called the *oba*, who received his position through heredity and held spiritual and temporal authority, although his power was somewhat limited by a group of hereditary chiefs called the Uzama. The *oba*'s power grew substantially around the 13th century, when Oba Ewedo dismantled the Uzama, built an impressive palace, and created a new court hierarchy made up of men who received nonhereditary positions. This consolidation of political power did not coincide with territorial expansion; Benin remained one of many Edo city-states.

Around 1480 an apparent conquest by an outside power provided the catalyst for enormous change within the Benin kingdom. Oba Ewuare was eventually able to drive the invading forces from Benin and rebuild the devastated city. Most important in the rebuilding process was the royal palace, which included quarters for skilled craftsmen dedicated to his service. These craftsmen formed guilds that produced the fine artwork for which Benin remains so well known. Ewuare also restructured Benin's political institutions. First, he created three bodies of courtiers: one responsible for his care, a second responsible for the care of his wives, and a third responsible for the care of the royal regalia. Each body contained three ranks, the lowest filled with free-born males who were required to fulfill mandatory service obligations to the *oba*. Ewuare relied on three councils of chiefs for advice pertaining to matters of governing. Also, he applied primogeniture to the order of succession to the throne, and he introduced the *Ique*, an annual feast celebrating the *oba*'s mystical powers.

For the next 30 years Ewuare expanded his territorial control by going to war with neighboring kingdoms. Much of Oba Ewuare's success stemmed from the centralized control he established, especially concerning the use of Benin's human and material resources. Tributes from more distant conquests flowed into Benin, while conquered regions closer to the capital submitted to direct rule.

Ewuare's authoritarian rule did not sit well with those he conquered, so Benin experienced a series of revolutions upon Ewuare's death. Despite the attempts of the citizens of Benin to limit royal power, the people had to embrace monarchical rule when insurgent provinces threatened the capital. Uniting under Ozolua, Ewuare's son, Benin suppressed the rebellions. Ozolua reaffirmed his father's authoritarianism and set out on a series of conquests consolidating power and expanding Benin's borders. Ozolua's son Esigie finally quelled all resistance to Benin's centralized, authoritarian system and reigned for almost 50 years. Esigie's reign marked the beginning of Benin's golden age as wealth from trade and tributary states flowed into the capital.

Benin reached the limits of territorial expansion around the middle of the 17th century. As the Atlantic trade developed, Portuguese merchants established trade relations with Benin that appeared to benefit both nations.

In fact, Benin sent ambassadors to Portugal to learn more about Portuguese people and customs. Once based on ground pepper and agricultural products, Benin's economy became dominated by the SLAVE TRADE.

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—Tom Niermann

## Bermuda

A series of islands off the eastern shore of North America on which Europeans landed in the 16th century but did not colonize until the Spanish decided to establish permanent settlements there during the 17th century.

The Bermuda Islands consist of a series of continuous islands, approximately 20 square miles in total surface area. The island's formidable topography and mazelike appearance prevented European exploration until the 17th century; only then did newcomers push through the jagged waters and dangerous reefs to pursue settlement. Throughout much of the 16th century Spanish travelers referred to the difficult shores of the Bermudas as a "graveyard of ships." Mariners passing through the Bahamas Channel and up the Gulf Stream felt relieved when their ships passed the Bermudas, considered the last of their American obstacles on the route to the AZORES and home.

Although the date for first European discovery may have been as early as 1503, by 1511 the Spanish referred to the islands as "La Bermuda." In 1515, following his earlier, unrecorded landing on the islands, Juan de Bermúdez carried out a return mission. This time, Spanish courtier and official historian of the Indies GONZALO FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS traveled with the expedition and chronicled his observations of the isolated islands. Unfortunately, Bermudez encountered challenging winds that prevented him from approaching the islands, and thus Oviedo's chronicles describe impressions of the Bermudas made from the surrounding waters.

During much of the 16th century the negative feelings toward the Bermudas stemmed from the fears of Spanish and Portuguese explorers who encountered the treacherous coast. According to Oviedo, in 1543, 30 Portuguese men en route back to Europe from the West Indies found themselves victims of the rocky waters of the Bermudas and had to spend two months ashore in Bermuda while they worked to build a new boat to replace their lost ship. Upon their

return home the men reported the abundance of food on the desolate islands. However, their stories of earlier shipwrecks further contributed to the dreaded image of the Bermudas held by an increasing number of Europeans. In 1544 the Venetian explorer SEBASTIAN CABOT referred to the Bermudas as the Islands of Devils on his *MAPPÆ MUNDI*.

During the second half of the 16th century, two separate French ships wrecked on the reefs of the Bermudas. In the latter case, the ship's captain, Barbotiere, thought himself safely past the rocky Bermudan waters when the ship unexpectedly hit a rock to the north of the islands on December 17, 1593. Twenty-six of Barbotiere's men rowed seven leagues to shore while more than half the crew drowned. During May 1594 the surviving men finally departed for France on a boat built from the scraps of their wrecked ship. The surviving chronicles of Barbotiere's experience on the islands come to us from the only Englishman aboard the ship, Henry May. May's account, later published by RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, represents the first real description of the islands and in part explains why historians typically refer to the experience of the French ship as "Henry May's shipwreck." During the 17th century the successful colonization efforts of England in the Bermudas ended the abominable image of the islands.

**Further reading:** Terry Tucker, *Bermuda: Today and Yesterday 1503–1980s* (London: Robert Hall Limited, 1983); Henry C. Wilkinson, *The Adventures of Bermuda: A History of the Island from Its Discovery until the Dissolution of the Somers Island Company in 1684* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958).

—Kimberly Sambol-Tosco

## Bermuda Company

From 1615 to 1684 the Bermuda Company operated England's smallest and second-oldest colony, although not without a great deal of tension between London shareholders and BERMUDA colonists.

The Bermuda Company began as the result of a shipwreck. In 1609 Sir George Somers, admiral of the Virginia Company, led a relief fleet of eight ships bound to assist settlers in Jamestown, Virginia. A storm scattered his fleet, and later a hurricane struck the *Sea Venture*, Somers's flagship. Close to sinking, Somers's vessel wrecked upon one of Bermuda's coral reefs, and its passengers were not only able to gain the safety of land but found something of an earthly paradise. After a nine-month stay, Somers and his men built a new ship, the *Deliverance*, from the remains of the *Sea Venture* and crossed the Gulf Stream to Jamestown. Somers found the settlers at Jamestown ragged and starving, so he returned to Bermuda to procure food, particularly the turtles, wild hogs (introduced in the 1500s by

Spanish sailors), and fish that populated the island. As tales of the natural abundance of Bermuda spread, the Virginia Company extended its charter to include the Bermuda Islands. However, running two companies under one charter proved to be an inefficient means of organization, so in June 1615 King JAMES I chartered an offshoot of the Virginia Company variously called the Bermuda Company or Somers Island Company.

The Somers Island Company supervised Bermuda from its offices in London for 69 years, choosing its governors, sending it ships loaded with supplies, and asking in return the export of pearls, whale oil, TOBACCO, silk, and ambergris, the intestinal by-product of sperm whales coveted by perfume manufacturers. The early Bermuda planters became strong PURITANS and created a legislative assembly. The chief source of company profit came from the export of tobacco. Slaves (see SLAVERY) performed much of the labor needed to procure salable goods. Most slaves in Bermuda were purchased from slave plantations in the West Indies, although American Indian slaves and some white slaves were among the 6,000 to 8,000 people who populated the island in the mid-1600s. Despite the natural abundance of the island, the economic potential of Bermuda proved to be limited. Bermuda tobacco could not compete in quality or quantity with tobacco grown in Virginia. The excessive harvesting of turtles led to their rapid decrease, so much so that in 1620 Bermuda's first Parliament passed an act "against the killing of over young tortoises" due to the danger of "an utter destroyinge and losse of them." Likewise, the harvesting of cedar trees had to be forbidden, for the islands were practically denuded. Stockholders had to content themselves with a small, if safe, return on their investment.

As London stockholders realized the limited nature of Bermuda's economy, interest in the company declined. Although much stock in the company passed into the hands of the Bermuda colonists, the company charter fixed its headquarters in London, and a small group of stockholders controlled company policy. Company agents living and working in Bermuda retained a stubborn independence that troubled their London bosses. They chafed, for example, under the policy that demanded they trade solely with company ships, which gave the company a monopoly. On the other hand, stockholders in London became increasingly unsatisfied with the meager monetary returns from the Bermuda Company and the apparently arbitrary economic decisions made by company employees in Bermuda. The majority stockholder, a London merchant named Perient Trott, attempted to persuade his fellow stockholders to permanently reorganize the company. After those efforts failed, Trott petitioned the government to seize the Bermuda Company. Trott's efforts put into place a legal process that in 1684 resulted (years after Trott's death) in

the forfeiture to the Crown under Charles II of the company's charter. It outlived the Virginia Company by 60 years.

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—Kevin C. Armitage

## black legend

*La leyenda negra*—"the black legend"—refers to an idea generated originally by Spanish historians to describe the ways the English characterized the Spanish conquest of the Americas in the century following the expedition of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

When the Spanish conquered much of the Western Hemisphere, some of their actions aroused attention by observers who believed that they used excessive force in their desire to take control of the indigenous peoples they encountered. The actions of CONQUISTADORES such as HERNÁN CORTÉS, whose soldiers terrorized the Native peoples of MEXICO during their campaign against the AZTECS, aroused hostility not only from indigenous chroniclers but also from Spanish observers. Among those observers was BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, who launched a stinging assault on the conquistadores' ways in his reports on Spanish actions in the West Indies and on the mainland. His accounts, most notably his *Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (first published in 1552), painted a devastating portrait of the plundering ways of conquistadores who enslaved some indigenous peoples and murdered others. Las Casas did not suggest that the Spanish should withdraw from the Western Hemisphere. Instead, he hoped that his writings would force the Spanish Crown to place controls over the actions of military leaders. Las Casas also continued to believe that the Spanish had to remain in the Americas in order to accomplish what he thought was the most important objective of the colonial enterprise: to convert Natives to Catholicism, a task that took on added urgency after Protestantism spread across much of northern Europe during the 16th century. In Las Casas's mind the elaboration of the grotesque excesses of the conquistadores would convince imperial bureaucrats that the conversion program would achieve its ends only if the ghastly abuses of human rights perpetrated by the conquistadores came to an end.

Although Las Casas intended his book to alter Spanish policy, in 16th-century Europe the diffusion of the technology that led to the PRINTING PRESS meant that publishers across the continent had the ability to spread the



message of any text that came into their hands. Perhaps predictably, Las Casas's work soon appeared, in translation, in Protestant nations, including England, as did other works that described horrendous Spanish actions, including Girolamo Benzoni's *History of the New World* (first published in VENICE in 1565).

The first English translation of Las Casas's book appeared in London in 1583 with the title *The Spanish Colonie*. The timing of the publication proved to be crucial for the English, who were then in the process of organizing the first expedition to the area that would later be known as ROANOKE. Las Casas's testimony emboldened some of Queen ELIZABETH I's subjects, who were already looking for additional reasons to motivate their countrymen to launch colonization schemes.

When read by Protestant readers—English, Dutch, and Huguenot—such writings confirmed their worst fears about the Spanish. Here was proof, many thought, of the true nature of the Spanish. In the hands of skilled promoters of colonization like RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER and SAMUEL PURCHAS, Las Casas's writings, which had once been conceived as a way to soften Spanish policy in the Atlantic, became an indictment of malevolent Catholics bent on killing any Native peoples they could not otherwise control. In this context the black legend became a further goad to colonization efforts by the English themselves.

Even after the English had colonized eastern North America, they continued to hold onto the belief in the black legend. No matter how violent the English themselves were to native American Indians (or, for that matter, how violent the English had been to the native Catholic Irish during the military assaults launched by Queen Elizabeth I during the mid- to late 16th century), they were, in their own minds, more humane than the Spanish had been. As the historian David Weber put it, "Anglo Americans had inherited the view that Spaniards were unusually cruel, avaricious, treacherous, fanatical, superstitious, cowardly, corrupt, decadent, indolent, and authoritarian," and many of them held to such prejudices for centuries. When the Flemish engraver THEODOR DE BRY created illustrations to accompany translations of Las Casas's work in the late 16th century, he managed to solidify, in the most graphic possible ways, the link between Spanish expansion and horrendous treatment of indigenous peoples. Such illustrations, like the text that inspired them, came to serve specific political ends. The black legend thus became entrenched in the ways that subsequent generations of observers understood the 16th century. The legend gained new life in England in the 1630s when a new translation of Las Casas's book appeared, this time with the title *The Tears of the Indians*. Printed in London in 1636, over a decade after the horrendous violence had turned Powhatans and English against each other in Virginia and in the midst of the so-called

"Great Migration" of the Puritans to New England, the new book included a graphic illustration of Spaniards hanging a group of Native Americans. By then, Europeans understood the power of images, and this new illustration took its place among those that Protestants used to justify their expansion into the Western Hemisphere. Another edition appeared in 1656, with a subtitle that told a new generation about the "cruel massacres and slaughters of above twenty millions of innocent people; committed by the Spaniards in the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, &c. As also, in the continent of Mexico, Peru, & other places of the West-Indies, to the total destruction of those countries."

The survival of the black legend, then, needs to be understood in its context. Las Casas had offered a devastating report of the cruelties perpetrated by Spanish conquistadores. But it was the translation of the account and its spread into Protestant lands that gave the myth its enduring power, generation after generation deep into the 17th century.

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### **Blaeu, Willem** (1571–1638) *cartographer*

Willem Janszoon Blaeu and his son, Joan Blaeu, were among the most important cartographers of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Willem Blaeu produced globes, sea charts, and maps, including a map of Holland (1604), a map of Spain (1605), and a large world map (1605). His maps and those of his son were noted for their beauty and for the skill of their production. In 1608 he produced maps of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and in 1633–34 became mapmaker for the DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY. His map "Nova Belgica et Anglia Nova" (1635) was the first printed map to depict canoes and North American animals, including the beaver. The Blaeu family's most important works include two atlases: the *Appendix Theatri Ortelii et Atlantis Mercatoris*, published in 1631, and the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum sive Novus Atlas*, first published in 1635. Their maps were reprinted in various editions and languages during the 17th century.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### book, the

A term used to apply to a wide variety of objects that contain written words, which took its modern form in the early modern era.

In the 21st century, the book is a relatively obvious object. It contains printed pages, some of them illustrated in many instances, bound between two covers and crafted so that it can (in normal circumstances) sit upright on a shelf alongside other books. In order to facilitate its use, book covers typically identify the subject of the work and its author, and the publisher reprints crucial parts of this information along the spine so that a book can be identified by a potential user when it is in storage. As some information theorists have argued, it is a brilliant form of technology that has been triumphant more than 500 years, since the invention of the PRINTING PRESS, but its future is murky with the advent of digital technologies.

But books were not always printed, nor did they always look the way they do now. From ancient times forward scholars debated the best ways to preserve information. In the era before the printing press, and even for at least two or three centuries after its appearance in Europe, copyists—some of them lodged in monasteries—wrote out the words of one text into another in a process known as SCRIBAL PUBLICATION. Further, scribes did not always write in volumes that resemble the shape of modern books. For many centuries, the ideal shape of a text holding words was a scroll, typically made of sheets of parchment (the dried skin of an animal) stitched together. That form is still used in the modern world, most notably in the Torah, the sacred book of Judaism. The book took on its modern shape by the European Middle Ages, a response in part to the problem of the accumulation of knowledge and scholars' need to find particular texts quickly. Yet even in the 16th century printers did not usually put covers on books. Instead, that task fell to the owners, who often put them in parchment or wooden covers in order to protect the fragile paper itself; in some cases, wealthy owners would encase their texts in precious metals and often had them decorated so that they remain works of art.

As the external form of the book developed, so, too, did its contents. Before the printing press, readers had as much interest in illustrations as they did later, and so skilled artists perfected the craft of illuminating manuscripts. Often such illuminations represented scriptural scenes, particularly in Bibles. But many of Europe's finest illuminators painted other elements, such as elaborate capital letters or interwoven margins. Famous examples of these books, such as the

Book of Kells on permanent display in the library of Trinity College in Dublin, Ireland, reveal that some illustrators were without question among the most talented painters of their day.

By the 16th century, the book as we know it had basically come into its own. Most printers offered texts in signatures (folded sheets of paper) bound together so that someone could read a book in a continuous motion. Printers employed artists to make illustrations, first with woodblocks and then, eventually, with engravings, the technique used by THEODOR DE BRY, among many others. Because PAPER in the early modern era was made primarily of rags (as opposed to the pulp from trees), many books from the 16th century are in much better shape today than books printed in far larger quantity in the 19th century. Illustrations in many of these books also tend to be well preserved, making it possible to see the kinds of detail in a picture that a reader at the time could have seen. That is, the book was not only a technology capable of preserving ideas in the form of printed words but also an apparatus for maintaining visual details too.

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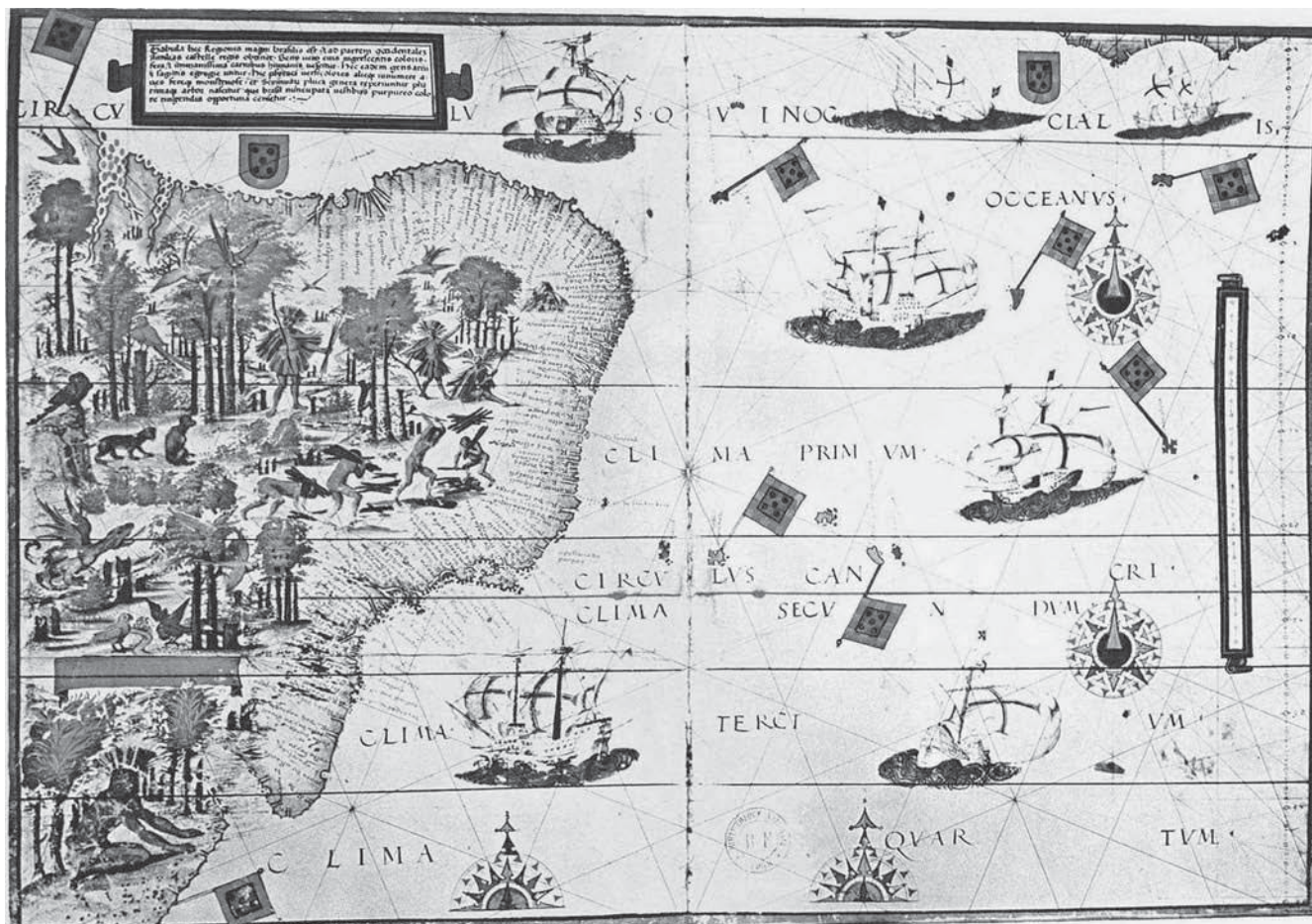
### Brazil

A large geographical region encompassing nearly half of South America that became Portugal's only colony in the NEW WORLD.

The AMAZON RIVER is Brazil's best-known and most important geographical feature. The river is one of the world's longest, and in terms of water volume is the largest river system on earth. A vast rain forest spreads out from its banks, sheltering thousands of species of plants and animals. The Amazon is not Brazil's only major river, however. In terms of its importance during the colonial period, the São Francisco River is perhaps more important. Flowing northward and running roughly parallel to the Atlantic coast, the river formed a crucial transportation link between northern Brazil and the central area of Minas Gerais. Geographers classify most of Brazil as being a tropical wet-dry climate, meaning that there are distinct rainy and dry seasons. The northeastern corner of Brazil, by contrast, is considerably drier and subject to frequent droughts.

Before the conquest, Brazil supported a substantial Native population. Most of its inhabitants were farmers who had developed social, political, and economic systems to meet their needs. They were not, as myth often portrayed them, primitives who roamed the forest, lacking any particular culture. The largest ethnic group was the





Colonial map of Brazil, early 16th century (Library of Congress)

Tupí-Guaraní, who were divided into hundreds of localized tribes. They used slash-and-burn agriculture to produce manioc, the staple crop of the region. The Tupí-Guaraní were a highly spiritual people whose religion revolved primarily around nature spirits. Shamans provided an essential link between the people and the supernatural world by entering into spiritual trances and interpreting signs. The 16th-century French philosopher Michel de Montaigne immortalized these Brazilian Natives in his famous essay "On Cannibals," which created the romantic image of the "noble savage" living in simple, direct communion with nature. For better or worse, this romantic image of Brazil's Natives persists to this day.

The first Europeans to arrive in Brazil did so by accident. Under the TREATY OF TORDESILLAS with Spain in 1494, Portugal gained the right to explore and exploit the lands east of an imaginary north-south line lying 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. The Portuguese were trying to keep Spain away from their holdings in Angola, the AZORES, and Goa, but unbeknownst to them this treaty gave them rights in the far eastern section of Brazil as

well. In 1500 the Portuguese navigator PEDRO ÁLVARES CABRAL was trying to round the tip of Africa on his way to India. Encountering contrary winds, he was driven westward and ultimately reached the Brazilian coast near present-day Espírito Santo. The sailors were astonished by this "bountiful" region with such strikingly different flora and fauna, and Cabral promptly claimed the region for Portugal. The party stayed for only a few days before continuing their journey, but before leaving they dispatched a ship to inform the Crown of their discovery. Intrigued, the Crown commissioned AMERIGO VESPUCCI to explore the area in 1501. Vespucci charted the area between BAHÍA and Rio de Janeiro before returning to Portugal the next year. The exploration of the Amazon occurred much later; it was not until 1541 that Francisco de Orellana successfully navigated it.

Although the Portuguese arrived in Brazil in 1500, they neglected it for many years thereafter. There were two reasons for this neglect. Unlike the Spaniards, who attempted to conquer territory and control resources directly, the Portuguese were much more interested in establishing

trading networks with existing kingdoms. The Portuguese “colony” was typically little more than a fortified trading center. Because no great kingdoms existed to trade with in Brazil, Portugal turned its attention elsewhere. Additionally, Portugal had already deeply invested in trade with Asia and Africa. Maintaining its far-flung outposts was proving to be an enormous drain on the small country’s resources, and it could do little to develop Brazil. In theory and in practice, Brazil was a minor appendage to its growing empire in the East.

By the 1530s Portugal began to show signs of greater interest in Brazil, and imperial-minded bureaucrats took some preliminary steps to develop it as a colony. Explorers discovered a dyewood called brazilwood that grew in the coastal forests. (The name *Brazil* derives from these trees.) The pulp of the brazilwood tree produced a vivid, colorfast red dye that was highly valued in Europe. Concerned with reports that French interlopers were landing and cutting these trees, King João III established the Donatário (or captaincy) system both to reassert Portugal’s control over the region and capitalize on the brazilwood trade. This system, implemented in 1533, sliced the territory of Brazil into 15 horizontal zones, assigning each zone to an individual who agreed to colonize, develop, and defend his territory at his own expense. In return, the donatary captain gained extensive estates, the right to assess taxes, and a monopoly on trade within his territory. Through this system the Crown hoped to gain a viable colony without having to pay for it itself.

With a few notable exceptions, the captaincy system was a dismal failure, and within a few years, the brazilwood trade collapsed. Desperate to find another export, some donatary captains attempted to cultivate SUGAR, but labor shortages and a general lack of resources hindered the development of the sugar trade. Further, French and Native raiders began plundering the coasts, forcing the colonists to focus their attention on defense rather than on commercial enterprises. With its economy in shambles, its territory under attack, and the donatary captains nearing bankruptcy, Brazil’s future appeared bleak.

In 1549 the Crown realized it would have to take a more active role in Brazil if it were to hold onto the territory. That year João III instituted a new political system called the Governo Geral with the clear goal of expelling the French, pacifying the Natives, and developing the colony along planned, rational lines. Tomé de Sousa became governor general, and he arrived with 1,200 soldier-colonists and proceeded to create a strong, centralized government based in the city of Salvador (popularly called Bahía). The new administration was deliberately patterned after the governments of NEW SPAIN and PERU, with the *ouvidor* and the *relação* functioning as the *CORREGIDOR* and the *AUDIENCIA*, respectively. The most powerful colonial institution in Brazil was the *senado da câmara*, a town council similar in most regards to the Spanish *CABILDO*. Sousa took

over the donatary captaincy of Bahía and made the others subordinate to the government of Salvador. The arrival of Portuguese troops and weapons turned the tide against the French, and by 1567 Portuguese commander Mem de Sá conquered the French settlement at Rio de Janeiro, effectively breaking French power in the area. Shortly thereafter he defeated the TUPINAMBÁ near Bahía, sharply curtailing Native raids on Portuguese settlements. After 1580 the Dutch replaced the French as the greatest foreign threat to Brazil, although they did not become a real danger until the 1620s (see DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY).

As part of a program for economic development, the Crown promoted sugar cultivation, and soon the areas of Bahía and Pernambuco had become some of the most important sugar-producing areas in the world. In order to provide a stable workforce for this growing industry, the Portuguese encouraged the capture and enslavement of the indigenous people. The most famous slave hunters were the *bandeirantes*, based around São Paulo, who penetrated deep into the Brazilian interior in search of captives. DISEASE, overwork, and flight to the interior devastated the Native population by 1600, forcing the sugar barons to turn to the African SLAVE TRADE to meet their labor needs. In time this steady influx of slaves gave Brazilian society an African element that set it apart from the neighboring Spanish territories.

Through these steps Portugal established a stable colony in the New World. By 1600 Brazil had 30,000 European colonists. Although it had a rough beginning, by 1620 Brazil had become Portugal’s most valuable overseas territory.

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—Scott Chamberlain

**Brendan the Navigator, Saint** (486?–575) *monk, explorer*

The *Navigatio* of Saint Brendan, dating probably from the late ninth or early 10th century, described the adventures of an Irish monk who sailed far to the west and allegedly discovered new lands.

The historic Saint Brendan was an abbot who founded a number of monasteries in western Ireland and possibly also in Scotland and Wales. It is not known if he made a long sea voyage, as his legend claimed, but some Irish monks may have sailed as far as Iceland. According to the



*Navigatio*, Brendan and his companions went to sea in a coracle of ox hide carrying enough supplies to last for 40 days. They sought to discover the Island of the Blessed, an earthly paradise. The author of the *Navigatio* was probably a monk himself who embroidered the tale with miracles.

According to the legend, every year the monks found themselves at the same places for the major holy days of the Christian calendar. They spent the Thursday before Easter on an island of birds, where they stayed until Pentecost. They spent Christmas each year with the monks of Saint Ailbe, who never spoke except to sing hymns and psalms and whose food was given to them by God.

During their voyage the monks saw many strange things, including sea monsters, a massive, inexplicable column of crystal in the sea, and the entrance to hell. After seven years of traveling the monks found the Isle of the Saints, an earthly paradise. Delicious food and drink were always near to hand, and there was never darkness or night. They explored the island for 40 days and did not discover an end to it. When the monks came to a river they could not cross, a young man appeared and told them that it was time for them to return home. He promised that other Christians, in a time of persecution, would find a haven on the island and told the monks to fill their boat with precious stones and return home.

Scholars disagree about whether the *Navigatio* had its basis in a real journey. Cartographers in later centuries placed Brendan's island in various places to the west of Ireland, and explorers searched for it until the 18th century. The legend of Saint Brendan was widespread. About 120 copies of the story dating from the 10th to 15th centuries and written in various European languages have survived. Some writers have claimed that Brendan and his monks landed in America. If they did, they left no evidence of their accomplishment except in legend.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## brigantine

A type of sailing ship featuring two masts, the brigantine derived its name because it was so popular among the “sea brigands” (pirates) of the Mediterranean.

The brigantine became popular as a pirate ship due to its speed, small size, and shallow draft. Its foremast carried square sails, and the main mast carried both square and fore-and-aft sails. After becoming popular in the Mediterranean, it became popular as a type of pirate ship throughout the Atlantic basin.

The origin and evolution of the brigantine as a ship type is obscure. The original brigantine, or *bergantin* in Spanish, was an extremely large boat (generally towed by a ship, as it was too large to be carried) powered by oars or sweeps but also featuring one or two masts. The design was advantageous for “brigandage” (piracy) because, with its combination of oars and sail, it could be used in very light or calm winds when larger cargo vessels would be unable to maneuver. As piracy spread through the Mediterranean in the 14th century the boats increased in size and began to feature an enclosed main deck and sturdier masts with lateen rigging, but they still more resembled a galley powered primarily by oars than a sailing ship.

With the European discovery of America, ship-bound trade rapidly increased throughout the Atlantic, and brigands of various nationalities brought their ships out to take advantage. To operate on the open ocean ship designers abandoned the lateen rig in favor of square sails on the foremast and square and fore-and-aft sails on the mainmast. They increased the size of the vessels as well, but the ships retained their single main deck and did not feature a fore or stern castle but sometimes had a slightly raised “quarter deck” over the stern.

The same handy qualities that recommended the brigantine design to pirates also impressed itself on those who had to defend against them. Various types of small scout, escort, and dispatch vessels of brigantine design and rig were incorporated into the navies of all the European powers. The exact dimensions, number and type of sails, and intended missions varied widely, and no true standardization ever took place. A variation of the brigantine, called simply a brig, featured the same two-masted, single-deck design but an all fore-and-aft rig on the mainmast.

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—Paul Dunscomb

## Bristol

An English port city that played a key role in the expansion of English foreign trade and exploration.

Long before the seafaring ventures of JOHN CABOT and SEBASTIAN CABOT, British sailors looked westward,

dreaming of discovering new lands and trade opportunities. By the early 16th century Bristol's merchants and sailors had developed three kinds of trade. First, they established and maintained commercial ties with the Iberian Peninsula. They exported iron, timber, sculptured alabaster, lead, tin, corn, barley, and malt and they imported exotic and highly profitable goods to be found in Spain and Portugal, including fruits, oils, leather, and Spanish iron. Second, they maintained and extended commercial links with Ireland. By the 15th century Bristol's vessels docked in Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Youghal, Galway, Burrishoole, Kinsale, and Sligo, many of them hauling peninsular wines. Before returning home the vessels would fill their holds with Irish goods destined for the Low Countries. Third, they moved beyond Ireland and established trade with residents of ICELAND. Although the Norwegians and Danes did their best to exclude foreigners from the Icelandic trade, Iceland's fisheries proved too alluring to English traders. Merchants out of Bristol sent vessels loaded with foods, cloths, wine, luxuries, ironware, and weapons—and just about anything else deemed necessary for sustaining life on Iceland. In return they brought back full cargoes of COD, pollack, salmon, and herring. The Icelandic market became so lucrative that the English made numerous attempts to establish permanent business settlements on the island, but however successful such commerce became, eventually the volume of trade fell off and the English who sailed west from Bristol had to find new targets for their entrepreneurial energies.

As early as 1497 John Cabot and his more famous son Sebastian Cabot left the port of Bristol en route to the English discovery of Newfoundland, identifying it as VINLAND of the legendary Norse sagas. The rediscovery deepened the Bristolians' interest in exploration. Much, however, remained a mystery, as sailors who arrived in the city told wild tales of seas populated by demons, strange animals, and still stranger humans. Nevertheless, Bristol's practical merchants remained undaunted. Still, despite their enthusiasm for trade, the death of King HENRY VII depressed English interest in exploration. Concentrating on the more familiar game of European politics, HENRY VIII turned his back on exploration while Spain, Portugal, and even France expanded their efforts in the Atlantic basin.

Within Bristol a small group, including the brothers Robert, William, and Thomas Thorne, Robert Thorne the Younger, Hugh Elyot, John Latimer, and Roger Barlow kept the spirit of transoceanic exploration alive during the first half of the 16th century. Robert Thorne, Latimer, and perhaps Barlow authored the *Declaration of the Indies*, while Barlow wrote his *Brief Summe of Geographie*. These tracts outlined the feasibility of finding a NORTHWEST PASSAGE via a north-polar approach. These Bristol visionaries served as precursors to later English promoters of exploration and colonization. It was of little surprise that

RICHARD HAKLUYT THE ELDER and RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER both found receptive audiences among the merchants of Bristol. The younger Hakluyt often visited the port city, urging the merchants to undertake new ventures. Bristol did not disappoint, continually bidding farewell to new expeditions throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.

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—Matthew Lindaman

### **Bry, Theodor de** (1528–1598) *artist*

A Flemish engraver who understood the power of the PRINTING PRESS to disseminate information widely, Theodor de Bry produced for European audiences the most accurate renderings of the Western Hemisphere and its peoples during the late 16th century.

De Bry was born in Liège in 1528, when that city was under the control of Spanish Catholics, an unfortunate circumstance for Protestants (including his family), who often found they could not live as they had hoped. Like many other early modern Europeans, such as the Hungarian scholar STEPHEN PARMENIUS, de Bry believed that he had to leave his homeland in order to pursue his career as a goldsmith and engraver. In 1570 he fled Strasbourg and traveled westward, eventually making his way to LONDON. There he took whatever work he could find, including the preparation of a series of engravings based on drawings of Sir Philip Sidney's funeral procession. While in the city de Bry met the English promoter of colonization RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER. They soon began to work together to illustrate travelers' accounts of their experiences across the Atlantic.

De Bry always had an interest in engraving American scenes. Unable to do a series of illustrations based on JACQUES LE MOYNE's drawings and paintings relating to FLORIDA, the Flemish engraver, working with Hakluyt, began to transform the images he received from travelers such as JOHN WHITE, the English governor of the failed settlement at ROANOKE. Using White's illustrations, originally done in watercolor, de Bry prepared the copperplate engravings that created the illustrations for THOMAS HARRIOT's *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, which appeared in four languages (Latin, English, French, and German) in 1590. After Le Moyne's death de Bry began to work on the Florida illustrations, but Hakluyt convinced him to publish the Roanoke materials first. Upon completing the pictures for Harriot's book,





An engraving by Theodor de Bry after a watercolor by Jacques Le Moyne (Hulton/Archive)

de Bry then set out to do more than engrave Le Moyne's images. He took it upon himself to engrave a massive series of scenes that was published over the course of the 1590s in various languages. These volumes are known now as the *Grands Voyages*, which depicted American peoples and places, and the *Petits Voyages*, which portrayed sights from Africa and the East Indies.

By the time of his death in 1598, de Bry had managed to create a series of precise images of the world beyond Europe's borders. Those pictures proved to have lasting worth and remain the most striking set of visual evidence that survives from what historians often call the "age of discovery."

After his death, the workshop he created continued to produce images, including many about life and cultural encounters in the Americas. For reasons that remain obscure but presumably relate to his perception of the market for his images, the workshop primarily produced books in German. During the early decades of the 17th century, these books continued to appear, including one in 1634 that included an imagined view of what the uprising of POWHATAN Indians

against the English in 1622 looked like. The images from the workshop continued to influence European styles of representation of non-Europeans. Though scholars have suggested that de Bry and his fellow workers rendered Native Americans in poses reminiscent of classical antiquity and reflected representational strategies from the Renaissance, these images nonetheless became the dominant visual European evidence relating to Americans. In the early 18th century, the legacy of the de Bry workshop could be found in Bernard Picart's multivolume *Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World*. De Bry's work lives on today too; most American history textbooks continue to include at least one of his images.

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**Cabeza de Vaca, Álvar Núñez** (ca. 1490–ca. 1557)  
*conquistador, colonial governor*

A member of the ill-fated FLORIDA expedition of PÁNFILO DE NARVÁEZ in 1527, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca survived shipwreck, hunger, and slavery before returning to Spain in 1536 and writing a report of his experiences that became one of the crucial European documents relating to North America during the first half of the 16th century.

Cabeza de Vaca was second in command when Narváez landed in Florida with an expedition of between 300 and 400 men on April 14, 1528. The expedition found itself in trouble from the beginning. They had left CUBA without enough supplies, and of the 180 HORSES they had brought, only 42 survived the trip to Florida. They spent two weeks exploring the area, hoping to find GOLD. They met Indians but found no gold and so moved on. Narváez, against the advice of Cabeza de Vaca, divided the party in two. A hundred men were to sail north along the coast of Florida, while the rest of the party traveled overland. The two parties soon lost contact with each other, and the sea party, after searching for a year, returned to NEW SPAIN. The land party, with Narváez in command, covered only about eight miles a day. They found almost nothing to eat, relying instead on bacon and biscuits that they had brought. For 15 days they saw neither Indians nor settlements. After crossing a large river they met a party of Indians who fed them maize (see CORN). Later in the journey they met another party of Indians, who brought them more maize and then followed them at a distance. By the time the expedition reached northern Florida, near present-day Tallahassee, relations with the Indians had deteriorated, and the Spaniards were exhausted and battling illness. Having discovered no gold, they decided to return to New Spain. They built five boats and set sail in September 1528, heading west. They drifted past the Mississippi River and toward Texas. The trip was very difficult; the survivors had very little food and did not

have enough water to drink. By the time Cabeza de Vaca reached land, in November, three of the boats, including the one commanded by Narváez, had disappeared.

The other two boats, with Cabeza de Vaca and an unknown number of additional survivors, landed on a sandbar or island near Galveston Bay. In the years that followed, almost all the Spanish died. Some starved, died from exposure to the cold, or were killed by Indians; others traveled out of the area and were lost. Of the men who had landed in Florida, only four ever returned to Spain.

Soon after their shipwreck, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions encountered Karankawa Indians who indicated that they should heal the sick. When Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were unwilling, the Indians refused to feed them until they tried. The Spaniards prayed over the sick Indians, and Cabeza de Vaca reported that “all those for whom we prayed told the others that they were well and healthy.” For a time the Indians treated them well, giving them food and hides. Because of linguistic and cultural barriers, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions did not understand the peoples they met, and for reasons that are unclear the Indians later enslaved them. Cabeza de Vaca remained in slavery for more than a year. He then resolved to escape, for, as he wrote,

I could not bear the life I was leading. . . for among many other labors, I had to gather the roots they used for food, under water and among the reeds where they grew on the land; and my fingers were so lacerated from this that if a blade of straw touched them they bled, and the reeds tore me all over my body because many reeds were broken and I had to go into the middle of them with the little clothing that I wore.

Cabeza de Vaca escaped from the Karankawas and established himself as a healer and trader, traveling from one Indian group to another through what is now Texas and northern MEXICO. Along his journey he encountered



three other survivors of the Narváez expedition: Alonso del Castillo, Andrés Dorantes, and Estevanico, an African slave. Beginning in September 1534 the four of them traveled together. They learned to communicate with members of various Indian nations and presented themselves as holy men and healers. As they wandered they were accompanied by Indians who fed and protected them.

Cabeza de Vaca and his surviving companions encountered Indian groups about whom very little is known, and their relations with them are hard to interpret. His experience was unlike that of most Spaniards in the NEW WORLD: when he washed up on a Texas island, he had neither weapons, horses, nor European technology. He, rather than they, was powerless. As he traveled his opinion of the Indians improved, and he later sought to defend them against Spanish abuses. Like other Spaniards of his time, he believed that the Indians must convert to Catholicism and that the Spanish had a right to colonize Indian lands. When he met Spanish slave raiders in northern Mexico in 1536, they wanted to enslave the Indians with whom he had traveled. Cabeza de Vaca was angry at the thought and portrayed himself as a very different kind of Spaniard. According to his account, the Indians refused to believe that Cabeza de Vaca and the Spaniards were really of the same people. They said that “the Christians were lying, for we came from where the sun rises and they from where it sets; and that we cured the sick and they killed the healthy; and that we had come naked and barefoot and they well dressed and on horses and with lances; and that we did not covet anything, rather we returned everything that they gave us and were left with nothing, and the only aim of the others was to steal everything they found. . . .”

After eight years of travel, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions reached the village of Culiacan in April 1536. Cabeza de Vaca returned to Spain and stayed there for more than three years, during which he edited his account of his travels in America.

CHARLES V, the Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain, appointed Cabeza de Vaca *ADELANTADO* (frontier governor) and governor over the region of the Rio de la Plata. When Cabeza de Vaca later returned to the New World, his authority extended over a vast area including southern Peru, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. This second expedition, however, was hardly more successful than the Florida expedition had been. His attempts to raise taxes and halt abuses of the Indians helped engender a revolt. In April 1544 rebels captured Cabeza de Vaca. They accused him of abandoning 13 of his men, committing crimes against both Spaniards and Indians, and substituting his personal coat of arms for the symbols of the Crown. They sent him back to Spain, where he lived in poverty. The lawsuits against him, begun in 1546, were eventually decided against him in 1551. As a result of these verdicts, he was stripped of his titles, for-

bidden to return to the Indies, and condemned to exile in Algiers. Near the end of his life the king granted him a small pension, but Cabeza de Vaca never regained the honors he had had earlier in life.

Cabeza de Vaca's words cannot be taken entirely at face value. As the literary scholar Rolena Adorno has observed, he was anxious to present himself as providing a “saintly example,” and his account of the events is the only one that has survived. Nonetheless, his experiences in Florida, Texas, and Mexico seem to have changed him from a typical CONQUISTADOR to one who, while still believing that the Spanish had a right to conquer, sought to do so in a humane way.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## *cabildo*

The *cabildo* was a town council that formed the lowest level of the Spanish Empire's administrative structure.

Sometimes called the *ayuntamiento*, the *cabildo* played a vital role in the history of Spain and its colonies in the NEW WORLD. By the late 15th century the Spanish city had evolved into a new institution that had little to do with the cities of the earlier Roman, Visigoth, or Arabian periods. Born during the RECONQUISTA, Spanish cities were primarily fortresses of political and economic control designed to hold land taken from the Moors. Needing the towns' support, kings often granted them considerable rights and privileges. The town also was in charge of its own defense, organizing militias and seeing to the repairs of gates, towers, and city walls. As part of their centralizing reforms, FERDINAND AND ISABELLA—as well as the later Habsburgs—dissolved many of these concessions and sought to establish uniform royal control over their territory. The Crown followed a similar pattern in the Western Hemisphere. In an effort to pacify and settle the Americas, the Spanish government established a number of towns and gave them substantial rights and autonomy, although later the crown took steps to strip the towns of their privileges.

The *cabildo* was one of the defining features of Spanish towns. Each city, regardless of size, had a *cabildo*, whose

job was to oversee the town's affairs and to provide for the town's defense. The *cabildo* contained two types of officials: *regidores* ("aldermen") and *alcaldes* ("magistrates"). The number of officials who sat on the *cabildo* ranged between five and 12 depending on the city's size and importance. In theory the *cabildo* was supposed to represent the townspeople, and the citizens elected these officials from members of the community. Besides these elected officials, the *cabildos* usually had a series of nonvoting bureaucrats who advised the council on various issues. These bureaucrats included notaries, the town lawyer, and a treasurer. In larger cities the head of the *cabildo* was often the local *corregidor*, a Crown official who usually oversaw a larger area (similar to a county in the United States). Unlike the other *cabildo* officials, the *corregidor* was an outsider appointed by the Crown. Over time this system led to considerable friction between the *cabildo*, which sought to protect the town's interests, and the *corregidor*, who sought to promote the Crown's interests.

Within the colonial system the *cabildo* had a wide variety of functions. In the political arena it had the power to set curfews and zoning ordinances. As the representatives of the people, *cabildos* often sent advisers to the *AUDIENCIAS* or viceroys and reserved the right to petition the king directly to resolve disputes or solve problems. Additionally, the *cabildo* held the right to assemble the citizens either for defense or to discuss issues of local importance. *Cabildos* also had wide-ranging social functions. They oversaw charity, health, and public education and organized festivals commemorating saints' days and other religious holidays. The *cabildo* also performed a variety of economic functions, including issuing land grants to individuals and maintaining common lands for livestock and firewood. Also, the council set prices on goods and services within the city. It regulated commerce among cities and collected taxes and tariffs such as the *alcabala* ("sales tax"). Finally, the city council commissioned public works projects, including the building and maintenance of streets, hospitals, slaughterhouses, and defensive works.

Initially, the *cabildo* held enormous power. At the beginning of the colonial period, it represented the only royal authority in the New World. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS organized the cities of Navidad, Isabella, and finally Santo Domingo on HISPANIOLA to establish Spain's claim to the island. He immediately created a *cabildo* in each, which governed in the sovereigns' names. Until 1550 Spain's presence in the Western Hemisphere consisted of a few strategically placed towns surrounded by vast tracts of poorly explored, potentially hostile lands. Recognizing their limits, the Spanish government under CHARLES V was willing to give *cabildos* enormous leeway in governing their own affairs. As a result, *cabildos*, at least initially, controlled national and international commerce, served as royal

courts, and set colonial policy. At times the *cabildo* could trump the authority of Crown-appointed officials, an aspect of the council that HERNÁN CORTÉS used to his advantage in 1519. Commissioned by DIEGO DE VELÁZQUEZ, the royal governor of CUBA, to explore the coast of MEXICO, Cortés decided instead to conquer it on his own. In order to avoid the legal repercussions of disobeying orders, Cortés founded the town of VERACRUZ and established a *cabildo* as the voice of "the people." The *cabildo*, consisting entirely of his soldiers, duly commissioned Cortés to proceed with his plans, giving him legal protection from the governor's wrath.

Over time the Crown attempted to reign in the *cabildos'* powers. It set up a royal bureaucracy composed of Crown appointees who served as judges, administrators, and tax collectors, removing these tasks from the *cabildos'* lists of duties. The *cabildos* did retain some vestiges of these functions, but on a purely local level. Perhaps the biggest blow to the *cabildo* came during the reign of PHILIP II. As Philip's European wars drained away Spain's financial resources, Philip decided to sell royal offices—particularly the offices of the *cabildo*—to raise funds. In practical terms the sale of *cabildo* offices meant that the councils did not look after the well-being of the city as a whole but served the whims of those wealthy enough to buy their positions. Moreover, most of the offices went initially to wealthy families directly from Spain, who were not concerned with local issues. Finally, the officeholders were not necessarily competent, and since the offices were private property, they could pass down through generations of incompetent grandees. Across Spanish America residents of cities reacted to this change with horror. Some, such as the inhabitants of Santiago, took up a collection so that the town itself could buy the offices from the king and distribute them as it saw fit. Most cities were not so fortunate, and by 1600 the *cabildos* had become impotent organizations that argued over titles, individuals' honor, and procedural questions rather than issues of any substance.

Despite the decline of the *cabildo* by 1600, it remained a psychologically important institution. It was the only area of the colonial administration that represented a modicum of local rule and allowed direct participation by local citizens. Also, for most colonists, it was their main point of interaction with the colonial government. Whatever its flaws, the *cabildo* was the only institution that attempted to deal with the day-to-day concerns of the local population, and the colonists were grateful for it.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### cabinet of curiosities

The predecessor of modern museums, cabinets of curiosities appeared throughout Europe during the 16th century, often to house exotic goods brought back to the Continent by explorers who traveled to the far reaches of the Atlantic basin and beyond.

Europe in the 16th century contained collectors of every sort. They were individuals who wanted to do more than just know about the wider world. They wanted to possess parts of it and to display their wares in a private museum, known as a *wunderkammer*—a “chamber of wonders.” While the most elaborate cabinets could be found in

Italy, such warehouses of the marvelous appeared across the Continent during the 16th century.

The desire to collect exotic goods was not new in the early modern period. Throughout medieval Europe men and women had been fascinated with the idea of gaining possession of part of a saint, and those fortunate enough to get a piece of bone would house it in a reliquary, many of which were studded with jewels. Many of the early cabinets resembled large reliquaries, and their owners were every bit as proud of their collections as were their predecessors who claimed to have a saintly relic. Judging from the pictures that proud owners had made of their cabinets, a 16th-century collection could include nearly anything that would elicit wonder. Some had beautiful shellfish attached to the walls alongside sea horses, large turtle shells, and the desiccated torsos of all sorts of marine creatures, birds, reptiles, and beasts that prowled the land. A prize specimen might



Engraving from Ferrante Imperato, *Dell'istoria naturale*, Naples, 1599 (Smithsonian)

be a crocodile, one of which Ferrante Imperato suspended from the ceiling of his cabinet in Naples, giving the monstrous oddity a place of pride in his collection. Imperato also displayed freaks of nature, such as a two-headed snake. Collectors might also gather items that reminded them of indigenous people whose material culture was unknown to most Europeans or even monstrous Europeans, who could be represented by portraits.

Over time cabinets of curiosities became larger and larger, and some eventually became the basis of modern museums, such as the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, England, which had its origins in the cabinet kept by John Tradescant. Those who possessed these goods at times had catalogues prepared detailing their collections. In the process they advanced the study of natural history and provided a clear record of the range of species imported into Europe. Though cabinets typically contained things that were dead, their existence mirrored some Europeans' preoccupation with collecting anything rare. Such a desire lay behind Pope LEO X's desire to populate the Vatican with exotic denizens such as HANNO THE ELEPHANT. In 16th-century Europe (and well after), owning rare specimens demonstrated the possessor's obsession with the natural world and his or her desire to show off the wondrous entities that others brought into the cabinets. Cabinets also demonstrated some Europeans' obsession with the grotesque beings that inhabited their own world—the same kind of obsession that led to Ambroise Paré's writings about the MONSTERS and prodigies he claimed to have seen in France.

The European encounter with the Western Hemisphere proved a great boon to collectors. The Americas offered, as observers such as CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS and JEAN DE LÉRY knew, a wide range of natural entities that no European had ever witnessed before. Printed books (see PRINTING PRESS) by such authors as the French royal cosmographer ANDRÉ THEVET, the Seville physician NICHOLAS MONARDES, and the naturalist Pierre Belon all included illustrations of new species and no doubt aroused the passion of those who had cabinets of curiosities. The first published catalogue of a cabinet appeared in Verona in 1584 describing the collection of an apothecary named Giovanni Battista Olivi, who hoped that the plants, flowers, and seeds in his holdings would help expand the *materia medica* of Europe. Imperato, owner of a famed cabinet, offered his thoughts about nature in his *Dell'istoria naturale*, published in Naples in 1599. Any artifact from a Western Hemisphere culture would be valued, from a feathered headdress or a mask to flutes carved from human legs consumed by cannibals in the collection of Bernhard Paladanus. In the great race to understand the meaning of the Americas, those who owned a *wunderkammer* had a great advantage. They could do more than speak knowledgeably about the discoveries of their age. They could also

show them off in awe-inspiring rooms overflowing with the tangible proof of the wonders to be found in the NEW WORLD.

The practice of collecting, evident in the creation of cabinets, had a long-lasting effect not only on the display of *naturalia* and human-made goods from territories on the European periphery but also in Europeans' understanding of nature itself. As natural history evolved as a discipline during the early modern period—moving toward the system of classification associated most closely with the 18th-century scientist Carl von Linné (who gave his name to the Linnaean biological classification scheme)—the cabinet served as an intellectual precursor to the field laboratory. Cabinets became crucial, too, to understanding the relationships between people and what could be located in distant places. The newly opened Enlightenment Gallery in the King's Library of the British Museum suggests the kinds of materials that could be found in large collections. Its astonishing display of shells, among other goods, remains a testimony to the art of collecting developed by (and for) the possessors of 16th-century cabinets of curiosity.

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**Cabot, John** (1453?–1498?) *spice trader, explorer of North America*

A Venetian mariner who received a commission from King HENRY VII of England to seek a westward route to CATHAY (China) across the Atlantic in the late 1490s.

On his first voyage in the summer of 1497, Cabot and his men found and explored Newfoundland and marked the official European discovery of North America. On a second voyage in 1498, Cabot and his entire fleet of four ships was lost. No information about their fate has ever surfaced.



The historical record on John Cabot is sketchy. The later activities of his son, SEBASTIAN CABOT, who not only had considerable accomplishments to his credit but tried to steal his father's as well, have helped to push knowledge of the elder Cabot into the background. Exactly where or when John Cabot was born in Italy is uncertain, but it was no later than 1453, possibly in Genoa. It is certain that he became a citizen of VENICE in 1476, stating that he had lived there since 1461. He was a mariner; the name Cabot derived from his and his father's occupation as "coasters," or coastal sailors. His early training evidently came in the Mediterranean, and he was reputed to be a good sailor and excellent navigator.

It is very likely John Cabot was in Spain at the time CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS returned from his first voyage in 1493. Finding no one interested in sponsoring a similar voyage in Spain or Portugal, he went to England, where, in January 1496, he proposed to make a similar voyage across the North Atlantic to find China and Cipangu (Japan). The king granted the commission on March 5, 1496.

Apparently there was little enthusiasm for the voyage in Cabot's hometown of BRISTOL. As a result, he was able to secure only a single small ship for his first voyage. The *Matthew*, around 50 feet long, was smaller than Columbus's smallest ship, *Niña* (56 feet and 60 tons). Around May 20 Cabot set out for his westward voyage. He took his departure off Dursey Head, Ireland, and set course due west into the Atlantic. Although his voyage across the ocean was shorter than Columbus's, it took the same number of days (33) due to the less favorable winds of the North Atlantic.

On June 24, 1497, the *Matthew* made landfall off the North American coast. No one knows precisely where, but the best speculation is that he encountered Cape Degrat, the northernmost point of Newfoundland. Thus, John Cabot became the official discoverer of North America. Yet the odds are quite good that Leif Eriksson and other NORSE settlers had landed there almost 500 years earlier.

Cabot made only one brief landfall on the newly discovered territory to claim it for Henry VII and himself. He may have been discouraged from further exploration by fear of Indians or the vast swarms of mosquitoes that are still common there in the summer. Cabot spent about four weeks exploring the coast. Precisely where he went remains unknown, but the odds are he traced the eastern shores of Newfoundland and then retraced his course to take his departure from his original landing place. On July 20 he began his return voyage across the Atlantic, arriving in Bristol on August 6. Almost immediately after landing Cabot traveled to LONDON to inform the king of his discoveries and have him confirm Cabot's rights to the "New Found Land."

Cabot was convinced that he had found a northern promontory of the Asian continent. When put together

with Columbus's alleged landfall in Southeast Asia, Cabot's claims suggested that the way to China and Japan lay somewhere in the middle. Cabot spent the winter of 1497–98 gathering vessels to join him on a second expedition. His success had a tonic effect on the traders of Bristol, because this time he was able to gather a fleet of five ships loaded with trade goods for the second voyage. Cabot's plan was to return to Newfoundland and make his way south along the coast in an effort to locate Japan. There he proposed to establish a "factory," or trading post.

The five ships left Bristol in early May 1498 (the exact date remains uncertain). It is not even known for sure who or how many men accompanied Cabot. One ship of the five dropped out relatively early in the voyage and landed in an Irish port. The other four sailed over the horizon and were never heard from again. What happened to them is unknown, but the North Atlantic is a treacherously stormy sea and the coast of Newfoundland, even in summer, is prone to ice, fogs, and gales, as later explorers such as SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT discovered too late.

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—Paul Dunscomb

### **Cabot, Sebastian** (1474?–1557) *explorer of the Americas, cartographer*

Son of JOHN CABOT, Sebastian Cabot reputedly made several voyages of discovery under the sponsorship of the monarchs of Spain and England during the first half of the 16th century, but the only one we definitely know about (1526–1530) was a notable failure.

An accomplished courtier, schemer, and possibly a fraud, few of Sebastian Cabot's claims can be trusted. Still, as pilot major to the king of Spain (1512–48) and in a similar capacity to Edward VI of England (1548–57) he did much to promote exploration and systematize and distribute knowledge of new lands and improvements in navigation.

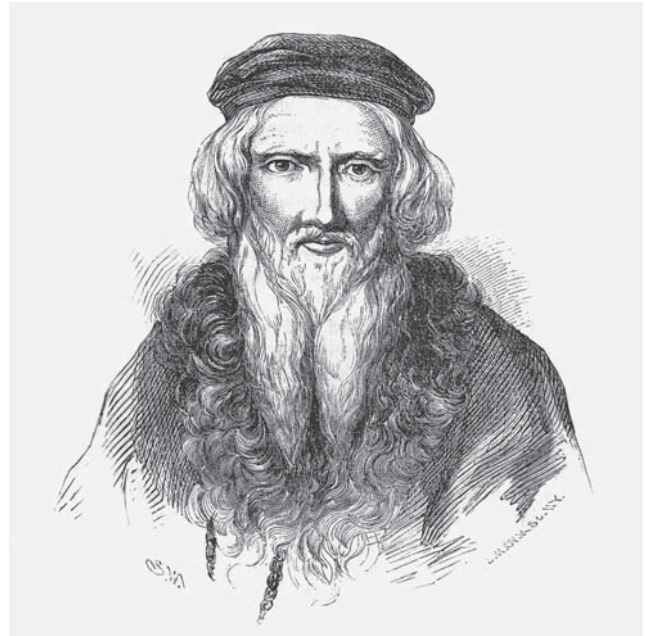
Some documents actually written by Sebastian still exist, but these accounts were written toward the end of his life, and in many ways his early years are even more obscure than his father's. The exact year and place of his birth are unknown, but he was mostly likely born in VENICE between 1471 and 1474. Although he eventually became an important authority on the science of navigation, it is unlikely he was a particularly good sailor. Whether he accompanied

John Cabot on his voyage discovering Newfoundland in 1497 is uncertain; the documentary evidence is sketchy, contradictory, and mostly unreliable. Sebastian and some of his supporters claimed that he made voyages to North America in 1502 and 1508–09, but there is no hard evidence to support their boasts. When King HENRY VIII asked several LONDON merchants to provide ships for a proposed enterprise under Sebastian's command, the merchants bitterly objected, denouncing Sebastian as unqualified and a fraud. The proposed voyage never took place.

After several early voyages sponsored by King HENRY VII, interest in maritime exploration dried up in England for nearly 50 years. Therefore, it was not simply opportunism that compelled Sebastian Cabot to go to work for Ferdinand of Spain in 1512 (see FERDINAND AND ISABELLA). Originally he was taken on as a sort of nautical adviser for his reputed knowledge of the North Atlantic COD fisheries and the supposed NORTHWEST PASSAGE to China (see CATHAY). His knowledge of navigation, geography, and cartography soon got him appointed to the post of pilot major of Spain. His duties included the examination and licensing of all pilots, providing Spain with the latest in navigational devices and geographical knowledge, and keeping the official maps and charts up to date. Considering the remarkable voyages that Portuguese and Spanish captains were making during these years and the vast new lands they discovered, this was neither a small nor an insignificant undertaking.

But success often proved elusive for individuals such as Cabot, who had European monarchs supporting their ventures but who apparently lacked practical sense and experience. When *Victoria*, the only survivor of FERDINAND MAGELLAN's fleet, completed the first circumnavigation of the globe in 1522, its return to Europe kicked off a dispute between Spain and Portugal about who could claim certain East Indian islands under the TREATY OF TORDESILLAS of 1494 (see Documents), under which the pope had divided the newly discovered lands of the Eastern Hemisphere into Portuguese and Spanish spheres. Cabot took command of five ships and sailed to the East Indies to prove they lay on the Spanish side of the line. He left Spain in 1526 but never made it farther than the South Atlantic. Hearing rumors of mineral wealth in the South American interior, he sailed into the Rio de la Plata in modern-day Uruguay and spent nearly three years searching for GOLD and SILVER mines. As a result, he abandoned the trip to the Pacific. In the end, Cabot quarreled with his fellow captains and presided over an escapade characterized by a failure to find mineral riches and the loss of ships and men. When the surviving ships returned to Spain on July 22, 1530, authorities placed Cabot under arrest.

Although not a good sailor, Cabot was an accomplished courtier who knew how to ingratiate himself with royalty.



Sebastian Cabot, from a painting (ca. 1903) by John Chapman after the original attributed to Hans Holbein the Younger (Hulton/Archive)

This skill never served him better than in 1531, when, after being convicted of dereliction of duty and having been sentenced to exile in Morocco, he managed to convince CHARLES V (Carlos V) to pardon him. He resumed his duties as pilot major and continued without any apparent difficulty until around 1547, when he and the king had a falling out. He decided to head back to England and soon attached himself to the court of Edward VI as a sort of naval consultant.

The realization that England was being left behind in the race for exploration and trade was beginning to attract attention in London. Since the only two practical routes to the Pacific were controlled by rivals Spain and Portugal, some English policy makers believed that their nation needed to find either a NORTHWEST PASSAGE over the North American continent (or through the continent itself) or a NORTHEAST PASSAGE over the north coast of Russia. To promote this end a group of London merchants invested £25,000 in what they called "The Merchants Adventurers of England for the Discovery of Lands, Territories, Isles, Dominions and Seignories Unknown." Sebastian Cabot was elected to be the governor of this new company, fortunately shortened to just the Muscovy Company.

Under regulations written by Cabot—the only surviving documents written by him—various merchant adventurers of London began voyages seeking a Northeast Passage and to open trade with Russia. Sailing in the northern seas was

extremely difficult, and the English soon abandoned the attempt to find a practical route to China. Although that venture failed, the company did set up a profitable trade with the Russians at the port of Arkhangelsk. The success of the company supplied practical training for numerous English mariners and provided a needed spur for English exploration. Cabot remained a consultant and adviser to English captains until his death in 1557.

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—Paul Dunscomb

**Cabral, Pedro Álvares** (ca.1467–ca.1519) *Portuguese navigator*

A Portuguese captain whose voyages in 1500 to Brazil, Africa, and India helped the Portuguese to redefine the lucrative spice trade and enhanced Portuguese claims to territory far from the Iberian Peninsula.

Born in the town of Belmonte near Covilhã around 1467, Cabral was the child of a noble family who traveled to the court of King John II to study. Over time he rose in status at the court, a perfect situation for a young son of an elite family. Accepted into the Order of Christ, an association of knights, he became an adviser to Dom Manuel (King Manuel I). He was serving in that capacity when VASCO DA GAMA returned to Portugal in 1499 after his historic journey to India.

In the aftermath of da Gama's success, the Portuguese were eager to establish control over the spice trade (see SPICE ISLANDS), a lucrative commerce that was then based in VENICE. The Venetians had risen to prominence in the trade because they stood at one of the crossroads of the ancient world: between Europe and the Middle East. Venice's dominance was based on the fact that spices did not, before 1500, tend to travel by sea from the Spice Islands to Europe. Instead, those hauling precious cargoes tended to bring their wares overland for long parts of the journey, a task that proved time-consuming and lengthy.

Because da Gama had shown that seaborne commerce between Portugal and the East was possible, the Portuguese came to believe that if they could establish a proper route and secure necessary stations along the way their fleets would be able to haul spices to the West more cheaply. For the task, the Portuguese turned to Cabral and

in 1500 gave him command of a 13-ship fleet and orders to sail to the East. Thirty-two years old at the time, Cabral set out from Tagus, a port near Lisbon, on March 8, 1500, holding a letter from the king directed to the Zamorin of Calicut on a venture that quite literally and accidentally opened parts of the Atlantic world to the Portuguese.

To make his journey Cabral relied on the information he received from BARTHOLOMEU DIAS, an experienced explorer, and on Portuguese knowledge of wind currents in the Atlantic. According to reliable authorities, the best way to sail from western Europe to the East was to sail westward past the CANARY ISLANDS, to the Cape Verde Islands, and then turn south and east. Although Cabral planned such a route, when his ships passed the Cape Verde Islands the winds were not favorable, and so he decided to go southwest instead. By late April he had sailed so far west that lookouts on the ships saw land, but not Africa, as they had hoped. Instead, they saw Mount Pascal in Brazil. Cabral soon modified his plans and headed for the coast. When he landed he named this place Terra da Veracruz—the “Land of the True Cross” claimed for the king of Portugal. Since this territory was, in fact, in the part of the world that the pope had granted to the Portuguese in the TREATY OF TORDESILLAS in 1493, Cabral's discovery fulfilled what must have seemed to some the destiny of the Portuguese. But Cabral had no intention of remaining permanently in Brazil; after trading with the indigenous peoples he encountered there and restocking his ships' supplies, he headed east again, back toward Africa. By early May 1500 his fleet was back on its way.

Yet Cabral's journey continued to be unpredictable. When the fleet, now numbering 11 vessels, sailed near the Cape of Good Hope, they encountered a storm, and four of the remaining ships sank, including the one with Dias aboard. After stopping in Mozambique for a time and later spotting Madagascar (he may have been the first European to see it), Cabral continued on his journey to India. He finally reached Calicut on September 13, but troubles developed between the Portuguese and the Muslims (see ISLAM) who controlled commerce in the city. For reasons that Cabral and his associates apparently never understood, local residents one night stormed the post the Portuguese had established and killed or captured 50 of the Europeans, including three Franciscan missionaries. Cabral, seeking revenge, seized merchants' ships in the harbor, looted them, and killed most of the crews, but he wanted to punish his hosts even further, and so his ships bombarded Calicut, an event that poisoned relations between the residents of the city and the Portuguese.

In the aftermath of the violence, Cabral returned to Lisbon, another explorer who had expanded Europeans' knowledge of the Atlantic world (and beyond) and who



had mixed relations with the peoples he had encountered. Two years later he married Dona Izabel de Castro, daughter of an elite family whose property enhanced Cabral's standing and finances. They had six children, three of whom—Guimar de Castro, Izabel, and Leonor—joined the growing numbers of women religious who chose life in convents. Cabral died sometime before 1520 and was laid to rest, along with one of his children and his wife, in Santarem at the Convento de Graça (later the Asylo de São Antonio).

However obscure his final ending, still shrouded in mystery, Cabral remains a pivotal figure in the European expansion efforts of the 16th century. His story was well known in the 16th century, appearing (among other places) in the first volume of GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO's *Navigazioni e Viaggi* (Venice, 1550), one of the most important collections of travel accounts published during that age of overseas exploration.

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### **Cacamatzin (Cacama)** (1490–1520) *monarch*

Cacamatzin, the nephew of the Aztec ruler MOCTEZUMA II and one of two rival rulers of Texcoco at the time of HERNÁN CORTÉS's arrival in MEXICO.

Cacamatzin was a member of the royal line of Texcoco, son of Nezahualpilli and grandson of Nezahualcōyotl. The reigning speaker of Texcoco, Nezahualpilli, had not named an heir from among his 145 children when he died in 1515, and his kingdom split in two. When the northern part of Texcoco went to Ixtlilxōchitl, enemy of the Aztec speaker Moctezuma II, the latter engineered the election of his nephew Cacamatzin to rule the remainder. At the time of his accession, he was only 25 years old but was already respected for his intelligence and bravery.

When Cortés landed at VERACRUZ, Cacamatzin advised Moctezuma to honor the newcomers with a lavish reception. He later became a leading member of the noble conspiracy to oust the invaders after they had imprisoned the Aztec great speaker. Betrayed by agents of Moctezuma himself, whom the conspirators sought to overthrow after having liberated him, Cacamatzin was kidnapped and brought as a prisoner to TENOCHTITLÁN, whereupon Cortés named Cacamatzin's adolescent brother Cuicuitzca as king of Texcoco. Cacamatzin and the other noble conspirators (including CUITLÁHUAC) were tortured and died during the Noche Triste (see AZTECS).

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—Marie A. Kelleher

### **cacao**

Beginning with the first Spanish transatlantic explorations during the 16th century, Europeans learned of the gastronomic and trading value of the cacao plant (commonly referred to as the “chocolate plant”) and its centuries-old refinement process as conceived by the OLMECS and later practiced by the MAYA and AZTECS.

Records place the genesis of cacao cultivation with the Olmecs, possibly as early as 1000 B.C. The more modern term *cacao* is a derivative of the term *kakawa*, taken from the Mixe-Zoquean language spoken by the Olmecs. The term *cacao* refers to the domesticated tree or plant (*Theobroma cacao*) and its unprocessed products. Cacao grew well in the fertile, humid lowlands of the Mexican Gulf.

Although archaeologists know little of how the Olmecs used cacao, scholars believe that the Maya inherited the tradition of cacao cultivation from the Olmecs. Because the Maya inhabited relatively cool highlands, a climate not well-suited for cacao, they had to import the plant from other areas. Although some wild species of *Theobroma* probably grew in close proximity to the Maya homeland, they did not encounter cacao (domesticated *Theobroma*) until sometime after 400 B.C., possibly as late as 100 B.C. During this time the Maya probably adopted the term *cacao* from descendants of the Olmecs.

The term *cacao* appears in the Popol Vuh, the sacred book and epic of the early Maya transcribed into Spanish during the colonial era. The term has also been identified in hieroglyphic writing on pottery vessels used in the preparation of cacao for nobility and the ruling class. The Dresden and Madrid Codices make reference to cacao as well, including a description of the symbolic association between chocolate and human blood and the use of cacao in spiritual rituals and feasts.

Sixteenth-century observers of the Maya wrote of the various customs surrounding cacao and the consumption of chocolate, including marriage proposals and festivals celebrated by those who owned cacao plantations. During the colonial period some Maya consumed chocolate during the baptismal ceremonies of children. Cacao held enormous religious and social esteem among the Maya, particularly a sacred version of a chocolate drink made from a mixture of cacao, maize, and other ingredients.

While more common chocolate drinks certainly existed, scholars remain uncertain as to whether the middle and lower classes consumed chocolate in any significant way.

Among the Aztecs, only the elite—royalty, nobility, warriors, and some merchants—consumed chocolate. They considered chocolate an important alternative to the native agave-derived alcoholic beverage *octli*. In part because of the heavy penalty against public drunkenness, chocolate drinking flourished among the Aztecs on the eve of European conquest. In addition, the Aztecs, like the Maya, used cacao beans as currency.

Whereas the Maya consumed a warm chocolate beverage, the Aztecs prepared and drank it cold. Among the Aztecs the preparation of fine chocolate began with the grinding of the cacao beans followed by a steeping process. Next the person preparing the chocolate aerated, filtered, and strained the mixture until foam formed. Following the removal of the foam, the thickened, dried paste could be added to water to produce the final product. At times those who prepared chocolate added other substances, such as chili powder or dried flowers.

The first European encounter with cacao occurred in 1502 during CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS's fourth voyage. During his last journey across the Atlantic, Columbus crossed the path of a Maya trading expedition that had cacao in its cargo. Columbus ordered the capture of the vessel and thereby took control of the cargo: root, grains, a maize-based drink, and "many of those almonds which in New Spain are used for money." While Columbus never actually tasted chocolate, the foreign substance the Spaniards referred to as "almonds" would later be known to Europeans as the substance from which the Maya derived chocolate.

Although they initially turned away from the repelling taste they associated with chocolate, eventually Europeans in the Western Hemisphere began to consume chocolate. By the late 1530s at least some groups of Europeans consumed chocolate during public ceremonies. Over the course of the 16th century, a growing number of Europeans became consumers of chocolate. Many of them consumed the drink hot rather than in the cold form taken by the Aztecs. Europeans also added sugar to sweeten the otherwise bitter potion and added cinnamon, black pepper, and anise seed. Perhaps most significantly, they adapted the traditional froth-generating process used to prepare the drink by introducing a *molinillo* (a large, whisklike wooden stick) to whip the mixture. This change, Spaniards reasoned, represented an improvement on the indigenous method of pouring the liquid from one vessel to another in order to develop the liquid's foam.

During the century following Columbus's encounter with cacao, many Spaniards had a great deal of interest in Aztec knowledge and understanding of the properties and

usefulness of hundreds of curative plants. In 1570 the royal physician and naturalist Francisco Hernández traveled to NEW SPAIN to research plants with medicinal value. From the Aztecs Hernández learned of the varieties of the cultivated cacao tree and came to believe that the plant had potential healing properties. In his report he categorized the cacao plant with other fever-reducing plants that possessed what he termed a "cold" nature. Others soon rendered opinions supporting the use of cacao in medicine, although some feared that consumption of chocolate could cause sexual arousal and thus feared its abuse, especially its consumption by women.

In 1591 Juan de Cárdenas put forth a treatise that convinced Spaniards of the value of cacao in digestion. Whereas "green" chocolate (unrefined cacao) would cause various digestive ailments and possibly melancholy and irregular heartbeats, Cárdenas concluded that when properly prepared, ground, and toasted cacao aided digestion and improved the disposition and physical strength of whoever consumed it.

By the 17th century chocolate had been incorporated into the diets and occasional materia medica of western Europeans. Over time its importance continued to grow, and cacao thus became, like TOBACCO, the potato, and the tomato, a part of the COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE that benefited Europeans.

Yet while chocolate added to the revolution in Europeans' diets, it would be a mistake to assume that its use was consistent across the continent. As the social anthropologist Wolfgang Schivelbusch wrote in a fascinating study of intoxicants and spices, chocolate became a fixture primarily among Catholics. The drink itself lacked the stimulating power of coffee, which quickly became integrated into European Protestant culture, but it nonetheless possessed a dietary value that proved crucial when consumers drank it. "On the principle that liquids do not break fasts (*Liquidum non frangit jejunum*)," Schivelbusch has argued, "chocolate could serve as a nutritional substitute during fasting periods, and naturally this made it a more or less vital beverage in Catholic Spain and Italy."

Over time, Europeans would attribute other qualities to chocolate. Some saw it as an aphrodisiac; others believed it an ideal commodity for children to consume. In the 18th century many aristocrats came to believe that it was a perfect breakfast dish, but only if they could consume it in bed. To the present day it elicits responses that contrast it to coffee, another sign of the lingering impact of the age of discovery.

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—Kimberly Sambol-Tosco

### cacique

A term that initially meant chief, ruler, or leader of a TAINO chiefdom in the Greater Antilles at the time of contact with Europeans but eventually applied by the Spanish to all local indigenous leaders throughout the Americas.

Among the Taino caciques rose to power through their effectiveness as war leaders and traders and their ownership of seaworthy canoes. These leaders received their choice of food and trade items. They and their families usually lived in villages segregated from the rank and file that inhabited homes near the fields and rivers. These caciques ruled most of the Greater Antilles through organized chiefdoms. They generally established these chiefdoms along river basins extending from the interior mountains found on most of these islands to the ocean, thus allowing them to maintain control of a variety of resources needed for survival. Those that dominated the island of HISPANIOLA had reached a more complex level of organization than their neighbors. Those caciques who did not initially oppose Spanish expansion into the Caribbean became low-level administrators for the Spanish. Most eventually rebelled against colonial authorities and died in battle or were executed by the Spanish.

Upon expanding into North and South America from the Caribbean, the Spanish used local caciques to control Native populations. Often these leaders and their lineages benefitted from the arrival of the Spanish because the Spanish needed them as informants for understanding Native societies and as agents for implementing the Spanish system of government. By being freed from restrictions of higher imperial authority under the AZTECS, INCA, and other forms of complex, indigenous governments, many of these local caciques welcomed and prospered under Spanish imperial control.

Eventually the role of the caciques became obsolete when the Spanish created more traditional forms of town governments based upon *CABILDOS* (town councils) usually headed by appointed Spanish authorities. Still, some of these Native aristocracies managed to remain in power

at the head of the *cabildos* and often proved effective in limiting Spanish intervention in their societies. In general, the experience of local caciques and their lineages differed according to geography and historical context, with some suffering quick annihilation as others flourished under Spanish domination.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

### Cadamosto, Alvise de (Alvise Ca'da Mosto)

(ca. 1432 to ca. 1480) *Italian-born mariner for Portugal*  
Alvise de Cadamosto was an Italian-born merchant who led expeditions for the Portuguese along the northwest coast of Africa and to the Cape Verde Islands.

Cadamosto, a Venetian merchant who, according to some rumors, might have been an Italian nobleman, was among the sea captains purportedly recruited by Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR to expand Portuguese knowledge and control in the Atlantic basin. Cadamosto, so the story has it, was in debt and decided to work for Prince Henry. Whatever the circumstances, he departed Lisbon in March 1455—almost 40 years before CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS sailed to the west—bound for the northwest coast of Africa. He led his expedition to Cape Blanc, and from there to Arguim, which marked the southernmost place yet reached by the Portuguese or any other European explorers. Arguim was at the time a trading port populated primarily by Arabs, who controlled the routes between the interior city of TIMBUKTU and the coast. He pushed farther and eventually reached the Senegal River, discovering that the locals there maintained trade with the merchants at Arguim. The fact that they did so was no surprise; there was extensive commercial activity in northern Africa, including in the SAHARA and along the Atlantic coast. When Cadamosto returned to Lisbon he offered Henry a report of what he had seen. That text remains one of the crucial documents detailing 15th-century European exploration.

In May 1546, Cadamosto departed for his second exploration of the same region. But when his caravan reached Cape Blanc, a storm blew them deep into the

Atlantic. Fortunately, for the Portuguese, they had been pushed close to the Cape Verde Islands. After their recovery, Cadamosto set out again on his initial plan and led his ships as far as the Bissagos Islands (in modern Gambia). When Cadamosto returned to Lisbon he told of his “discovery” of Cape Verde, though it remains unclear if he was the first European to see the archipelago.

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## Cahokia

Cahokia, a city at the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, near modern-day St. Louis, had from 10,000 to 30,000 inhabitants in the 12th century A.D.

The Indian builders and inhabitants of Cahokia shared a cultural pattern that scholars have named Mississippian. Mississippian sites have been identified as far north as Wisconsin and as far south as Alabama. Although cultural traits varied from place to place, MISSISSIPPIANS lived in towns and practiced maize (CORN) agriculture. Important religious symbols included crosses with a circle in the center, sun symbols, human skulls, and birds. Some Mississippian peoples practiced human sacrifice.

Cahokia covered an area of roughly five square miles. The town included more than 100 earth mounds, the significance of which is not entirely clear. The largest of these, Monks Mound, was a pyramidal structure about 1,000 feet long and 775 feet wide covering an area of more than 17 acres. It was built in a series of terraces, with the top level about 100 feet above the ground. Until the arrival of Europeans, it was the largest man-made structure north of Mexico.

Burial evidence suggests that a distinct social hierarchy existed. Commoners were buried with few or no grave goods, while elites were buried with large quantities of exotic items and might be accompanied by sacrificed humans. In one of Cahokia’s platform mounds, excavators discovered the remains of an elite male. His body was laid on a platform of about 20,000 shell beads. Other grave goods included a sheet of rolled copper, mica, hundreds of unused arrowheads, and other items. These grave goods suggest that Cahokians participated in a trade network that extended for thousands of miles. The copper in the grave apparently came from the area of Lake Superior, the mica from North Carolina, and the stone for the arrowheads from as far away as Tennessee and Oklahoma. The grave also contained bundles of bones and the disarticulated remains of other individuals. Near the body were the

remains of three men and three women, possibly sacrificed to accompany the dead man. In a nearby pit the remains of more than 50 young women placed side by side and stacked one on another suggest a mass sacrifice, as do the bodies of four men without heads or hands.

The structure of Cahokian society and the extent of its influence remain mysterious. Some scholars have theorized that Cahokia exercised direct political and military control over both nearby and distant populations. Later scholars have argued that Cahokia, though an important political, cultural, and religious center, did not have the resources to be a major military power or exercise direct control over distant peoples.

Cahokia was abandoned in the 15th century for reasons that remain obscure. The construction of defensive palisades suggests that the city was threatened by enemies. Environmental factors probably played a significant role. Some evidence suggests a period of especially hot, dry summers that may have hastened the exhaustion of the surrounding farmland. The Cahokians also may have depleted their supply of readily available firewood. The fate of the Cahokians is unknown. It is likely that they assimilated into various surrounding Indian populations rather than forming the direct ancestors of any particular Indian nation. Much about Cahokia remains mysterious. The inhabitants left behind no written language, and many of the mounds have been destroyed by erosion, quarrying, plowing, and urban development.

Yet despite the ongoing mystery of the disappearance (or more likely dispersal) of its occupants, Cahokia continues to hold fascination for visitors. Thomas Jefferson, in the years after his presidency, was fascinated by an archaeological report from Cahokia, which opened his mind to the extent of pre-European settlement in the West. Yet despite the site’s appeal to scholars, some 19th-century American settlers decided that the mounds should not get in the way of their farms, so they settled among them. They did so, no doubt, because the soil in the floodplain, periodically replenished by overflow from the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, was ideal for their crops. Into the 20th century the area continued to attract people who found it suitable for their houses. Only in recent decades has the site begun to return to what it looked like after the dispersal of its indigenous occupants. The wooden dwellings that once surrounded the mounds are long gone, but not the mounds themselves. From atop Monks Mound it is possible to imagine one of the great attractions of the area: On a clear day the view extends for miles, reminding one that this was perhaps the best vantage point in pre-Columbian North America. As the art historian Sally A. Kitt Chappell recently noted, Cahokia also possesses a “cosmic landscape architecture” intended, perhaps, to mirror the larger universe.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Calabar

A region and a city in southwestern Nigeria, Calabar served as an important center for the SLAVE TRADE.

Located on the coast with navigable rivers and lagoons nearby, Calabar had an optimal setting for development as a trading center. Europeans established a port at Calabar as early as the 15th century to take advantage of its links to trans-Saharan trade routes and its potential as a major transatlantic trading center. Calabar was the closest European trade center to CAMEROON, which, by the 16th century, was a major source for slaves being shipped to the Americas. Although their time in Calabar was limited, slaves being shipped to the Americas integrated some of the region's cultural and social traditions into their own lives. The inspiration for Cuba's Abakuas—all-male secret societies—came from the leopard societies of Calabar. Organizations of accomplished, respected men who adopted the leopard as a symbol of their masculinity and based on a mystical tradition, the leopard societies created spiritual alliances among their members. In their American emanations these organizations helped maintain a vital link to the slaves' African heritage.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## California

An area with an initially large and diverse indigenous population, California eventually became the often ignored northwest fringe of the Spanish Empire in North America.

Before contact with Europeans, California contained a diverse and large indigenous population that suffered significant losses after the Spanish moved into the region and divided California into the two mission territories of Baja (currently part of MEXICO consisting of the peninsula below modern-day California) and Alta California (the area presently encompassed by the modern-day state of California). Initially, the JESUITS controlled Baja California and the FRANCISCANS moved into Alta California, but the Spanish ruled both regions as a single administrative unit until 1804. The Spanish first explored California when an expedition led by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo arrived on the coast in the summer of 1542. Cabrillo sailed up and down the coast of California making contact with various Native groups until he died in an accident on San Miguel Island in January of 1543. Missionaries first moved into Baja California after 1697, and by 1840 they had developed 27 missions in the region. The Jesuit period of influence in Baja California lasted from 1697 to 1768, when the Franciscans replaced them after the Spanish Crown expelled the Jesuits throughout the Spanish empire. During their time in Baja California, the Jesuits created a series of mission farms, villages, and ranches that covered the length of the peninsula. The Franciscans further developed the region from 1769 to 1773 until the DOMINICANS gained control of the missions from 1774 to 1840. The Spanish did not finally move into Alta California until 1769, and both Alta and Baja California remained outside the economic sphere of NEW SPAIN throughout the colonial era.

Before the arrival of the Spanish, the indigenous populations of Baja and Alta California combined exceeded 350,000 people speaking up to 80 different languages divided into several hundred dialects. The gentle climate of Alta California with its plentiful supplies of food created an environment in which large populations lived sedentary lifestyles linked together through networks of trade. They lived in small, autonomous communities of minitribes or bands that included either transient camps, semipermanent villages, or permanent villages of 50 to 500 people. The family formed the primary social unit, with groups of related families living in villages together. Several allied villages loosely organized themselves into egalitarian minitribes or bands that remained relatively isolated from other communities. Their subsistence consisted of fishing, hunting small game and birds, and the gathering of wild vegetables, fruits, and root plants. Those who lived on the coast or in northern Alta California benefitted from the most diverse subsistence in the region. Like their neighbors to the north in the Pacific Northwest,

many of coastal Alta California's people became master seamen by building oceangoing plank canoes to harvest the rich supplies of fish, mollusks, and sea mammals. Those to the south in Baja California and to the east of the Sierra Nevadas survived in harsher, drier conditions that limited food options. Survival in this region depended upon an ability to remain mobile in order to collect seasonal food supplies quickly. Therefore, Baja California's aboriginal inhabitants lived in small bands rather than in large communities.

Most people in California lived in domed wickiups made of pole frames covered with brush, grass, or reeds with a smoke hole left at the top. Others lived in semisubterranean houses in which long poles supported earthen walls and ceilings. The only opening was a smoke hole that also served as the entryway. The most prominent groups in Baja California from south to north were the Pericu, Guaycura, Cochimi, Kaliwa, Paipai, and Nakipa, and those in Alta California from south to north were the Tipai, Mohave, Chumash, Salina, Yokuts, Costanoan, Miwok, Wappo, Pomo, Maidu, Wintu, Yuki, Yana, Yakima, Hupa, Wiyot, Yurok, Shasta, and Karok. Eventually, the situation of many California groups rapidly deteriorated as the Spanish forced many people to live and work in their missions.

After the establishment of the missions in Baja California, the Native American population in the region decreased from approximately 50 to 60 thousand in the 1690s to 2,000 by the 1840s. The introduction of European DISEASES into the region, a tragic component of the COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE, initiated this rapid decline in the indigenous population, and the reduction of Natives into mission towns along with harsh labor requirements imposed by their Spanish rulers exacerbated the misery and death rate of the Native people in Baja California. Few colonists ventured into Baja California because of its harsh climate and limited resources, but some did practice limited commercial farming. Additionally, after the mid-18th century, some Spaniards launched limited mining efforts, but for the most part the territory remained the domain of missionaries and their ever decreasing population of mission Indians during the period of Spanish rule.

The Spanish began to settle Alta California, the area encompassed by the current state of California, in 1769. They wanted to reinforce their claim to the western coast of North America, prevent the Russians moving in from Alaska, and stop British movement into the region from Canada and the Pacific Ocean. The Franciscans developed 21 missions in Alta California from 1769 to 1823. The Spanish government established four presidios (military fortifications) and three villages. Just as in Baja California, Native people died from disease in alarming numbers wherever the Spanish established permanent residence. This

was especially true for those indigenous people gathered into missions. From 1769 to 1832, 64,000 of 88,000 mission Indians died. Both Baja and Alta California remained part of the Spanish Empire until Mexico gained its independence in 1820. The two regions then became part of Mexico until the United States seized both Baja and Alta California during the Mexican-American War in 1846 and 1847. The United States returned Baja California to Mexico in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## Calusa

A nonagricultural chiefdom that occupied southwest present-day FLORIDA at the time of contact with Europeans, the Calusa effectively resisted Spanish attempts to missionize them until the mid-18th century.

Before contact with Europeans in the 16th century, the Calusa developed a stratified and highly organized society. This chiefdom built mounds and traded with the MISSISSIPPIANS to the north and some of the islands in the Bahamas and possibly CUBA, but they never developed agriculture. In reality, they had no need to grow crops because they could more than provide for themselves through systematic use of the abundant natural resources of southwest Florida. By controlling access to these subsistence assets and the trade with outside groups, chiefly elites gained control of Calusa society and maintained this control through their participation in and dominance of Calusa ceremonial life.

The Calusa first encountered the Spanish during JUAN PONCE DE LEÓN's first voyage to Florida in 1513. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés tried to establish missions among the Calusa and the Tequesta in the Miami area in 1566 with JESUITS, but they left in 1569. The FRANCISCANS also failed to create a mission among the Calusa in 1697. These missions failed primarily because these Natives were not farmers, and therefore they did not accept living in small, sedentary missions under the control of the clerics. Additionally, Spanish authorities tended to treat them in a high-handed fashion without ever actually having successfully conquered them. DISEASE and raids by Natives



from the interior Southeast decimated the Calusa population over the next several centuries until they ceased to exist as a political and cultural entity by the mid-18th century.

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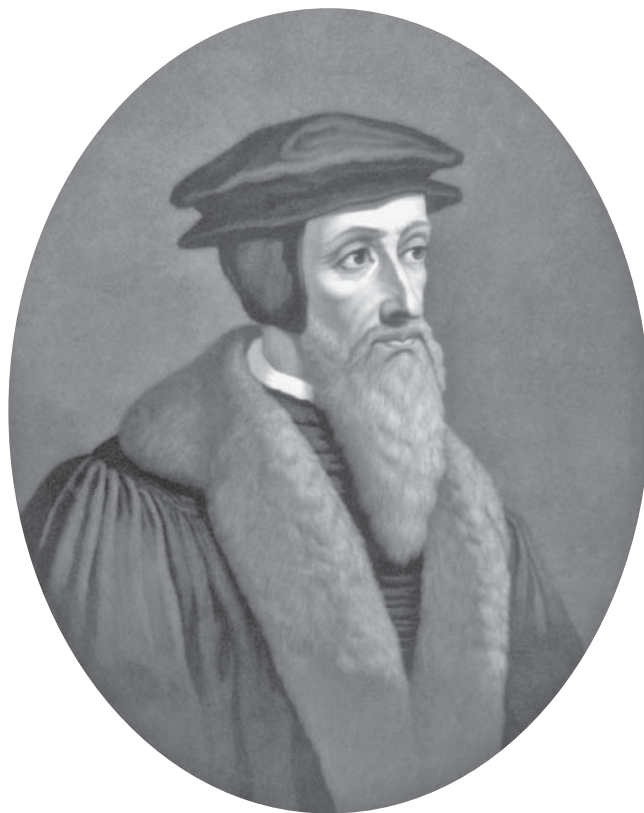
—Dixie Ray Haggard

**Calvin, John (Cauvin, Jean)** (1509–1564) *religious leader*

John Calvin, born into a French Catholic family, would become one of the most important Protestant reformers of the 16th century.

Calvin earned a master’s degree in liberal arts from the Collège de Montaigu in Paris in 1528. At his father’s request he then turned to the study of law, earning a doctorate in civil law in 1532. The young Calvin was influenced by teachers who promoted the direct study of the Bible and the church fathers. Some of his teachers had been influenced by MARTIN LUTHER, and he and his friends read the works of Luther and the Catholic humanist Desiderius Erasmus. Calvin’s interest in Protestantism threatened to draw the attention of the INQUISITION, and he fled Paris in 1533, moving to Basel. Between 1532 and 1534 Calvin seems to have experienced a gradual conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism, a process that he described as the work of God, who “subdued and made teachable a heart which, for my age, was far too hardened in such matters.”

From Basel in 1536 he published the first edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which ranks among the most important of REFORMATION texts. The first edition of the *Institutes* opened with an address to King Francis I of France, in which Calvin denied that French Protestants sought to destroy the church or attack royal authority. The remainder of the first edition included a discussion of the Ten Commandments and the Apostles’ Creed as well as chapters on law, faith, prayer, the sacraments, the false sacraments, and Christian freedom. Calvin revised and expanded the *Institutes* several times during his life. By the



John Calvin (Library of Congress)

time the final edition was published in 1559, the work had grown from the original six chapters to 80 chapters.

After the first publication of the *Institutes*, Calvin returned briefly to France. Taking advantage of a short amnesty for religious exiles, he settled some family business and then departed, heading for Protestant Strasbourg. Troop movements forced him to make a detour, and he stopped in Geneva, the city where he would spend much of the rest of his life.

In Geneva Calvin was pressed into service by Guillaume Farel, who had been preaching in the city for four years. Geneva, at the time an independent city-state, was already a Protestant city. Calvin soon became the leader of the Protestant movement in Geneva, where he sought to increase the power of the church over the behavior of the city’s residents. His “Articles on the Organization of Church and Worship” (1537) included a catechism and profession of faith and required the celebration of the Lord’s Supper at least once a month, with the exclusion of those deemed unworthy by the ministers. Calvin also hoped to institute a system by which “persons of good life . . . from among the faithful” would report the misdeeds of the citizenry to the ministers, who would then correct the wrongdoers. He insisted that if malefactors did not heed this correction, the



ministers must have the power to excommunicate them. At this point the citizens of Geneva, who had only recently deposed their Catholic bishop, began to complain that Calvin was demanding too much power for the ministers. In April 1538 the elected city council expelled Calvin and Farel.

Calvin spent the next three years in Strasbourg, where he became the pastor of a French-speaking congregation, published a second, much expanded edition of the *Institutes*, and met with other reformers, including Philipp Melancthon. In 1541, facing continuing religious unrest, the city council of Geneva asked Calvin to return.

Calvin remained convinced of the need for a well-disciplined and well-ordered church. Upon his return to Geneva, he proposed a church structure consisting of four offices: pastors, teachers, elders, and the consistory, which he intended to work together to strengthen and discipline the church. This system provided the basis for religious life in Geneva. Pastors preached, administered the sacraments, and met together in the *Compagnie des Pasteurs*, or “Company of Pastors.” This body had no civil authority but met regularly to study the Bible, admit new members, and censure bad conduct. Teachers instructed children, catechumens, and theology students. The elders watched over the congregations to ensure that the faithful lived proper lives. The final office, the consistory, was perhaps the most controversial of Calvin’s reforms. The consistory consisted of the *Compagnie des Pasteurs* and twelve lay elders chosen by the city magistrates. It was responsible for finding and disciplining both the religiously unorthodox and those whose behavior was morally suspect. The members of the consistory were first to exhort the offender to mend his or her ways, but could excommunicate him or her if necessary. Calvin believed that such discipline was necessary to ensure the purity of the church.

When those accused of religious offenses refused to recant, Calvin believed that more severe punishments were necessary to preserve the integrity of the Christian community. In 1544 Sébastien Castellion was forced to leave Geneva after rejecting the canonical status of the Song of Songs and criticizing some of Calvin’s theological ideas. Similarly, Jérôme Bolsec was exiled when he repudiated the idea of predestination. Calvin’s harshest action, one that permanently damaged his reputation, was the execution of the Spanish physician Michael Servetus, who was burned at the stake in 1553 for his rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity.

Geneva’s fame as a center of Protestantism soon spread, and Calvin drew students from across Europe, including the Scottish reformer John Knox. Some 5,000 Protestant refugees from across Europe also settled in Geneva. Despite Calvin’s fame and the respect paid to him by other Protestant leaders, he was never the unquestioned ruler of

Geneva, and some Genevans opposed him throughout his residence in the city.

Calvin was not the greatest original theologian of the Reformation, but many of his ideas, including those on predestination and on the relation between church and state, influenced the development of Protestant churches. Like many other 16th-century theologians, Calvin believed in predestination, that is, that God had chosen some humans to be saved and the rest to be damned. For Calvin this belief was a necessary consequence of the absolute supremacy of God. If God is all-knowing, all-powerful, and the master of creation, then nothing can happen that he did not will to take place. Since the Scriptures suggest that some people will be saved and others damned, God must have predetermined who should receive the gift of salvation and who should not. No human works or efforts can change the decision of God, who acts according to his own unknowable will. No one can ever be certain, in this life, if he or she is among the saved. While some religious thinkers objected to predestination on the grounds that it suggested that God acted capriciously, Calvin suggested that the doctrine should be a source of comfort to believers. On a practical level the doctrine of predestination could serve as an explanation of why some people, upon hearing the Gospel, responded, while others did not. Although no one could ever be certain who was saved and who damned, Christians could hope that God had chosen to save those whom he had also chosen to listen attentively to his word.

Calvin was an active minister and took great interest in the question of the establishment of proper order and discipline within Geneva, but he did not want civil and religious authority to be united in a single power. In Geneva the clergy took an oath of allegiance to the secular authorities, and Calvin praised magistrates and princes as having “the most sacred and by far the most honorable of all callings in the whole life of mortal men.” By maintaining order, he suggested, civil officials followed God’s will, for order was necessary for Christian communities to thrive. Calvin himself generally favored republican forms of government. Nonetheless, he believed so strongly in the necessity of discipline that he argued that Christians should obey those in authority, even if their leaders were tyrannical. On the other hand, if civil leaders demanded actions contrary to the will of God, Christians had a responsibility to resist.

Although civil authority ultimately derived from God, Calvin also insisted on the power of the church to act freely in its own sphere. Individuals could not be allowed the freedom to worship as they chose, for such diversity of opinion and practice would lead to anarchy. Church officials should be active both in the fight against unorthodox beliefs and in enforcing church discipline. “Of what use,” Calvin asked

“is a dead faith without good works? Of what importance is even truth itself, where a wicked life belies it and actions make words blush? . . . Let the severity of the laws reign in the church. Reestablish there pure discipline.” Church and state, for Calvin, should work together to maintain an orderly, doctrinally pure community.

Calvin died on May 27, 1564, at the age of 55. At his own request he was buried in an unmarked, common grave. His legacy survived in the Reformed churches and reached the Western Hemisphere with the PURITANS, who brought some of his ideas on predestination and government to North America.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### Camden, William (1551–1623) *scholar*

An English historian during the late 16th and early 17th century, William Camden attempted to write a comprehensive history of his native land.

Camden, born in London in 1551, went to Oxford in 1566, where he eventually found a position at Christ Church (the college of RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, among others), although he apparently never received a degree. Like other scholars of his age, Camden had to find patrons who would support his work, first at Oxford and then from 1571 to 1575 when he traveled around England seeking materials for his historical writings. In 1575 he became a master at Westminster School, and he remained there until the mid-1590s. During that time he had an opportunity to meet other scholars, including the Flemish geographer Abraham Ortelius, who encouraged Camden to pursue his historical writing.

Unlike most antiquarians, whose pursuit of material goods was often an end in itself, Camden gathered artifacts with the goal of creating a grand history of Britain. Published first in Latin under the title *Britannia, or a Chorographical Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the adjoining islands from the most profound antiquity* in 1586, his work aimed to put into a single volume the his-

tory of the British Isles since antiquity, a task so vast that few scholars would even think about attempting it, let alone completing it. In addition to *Britannia*, Camden also wrote *Annales The True and Royall History of the famous Empresse Elizabeth Queene of England France and Ireland &c. True faith's defendresse of Divine renowne and happy Memory. Wherein all such memorable things as happened during her blessed raigne, with such acts and Treaties as past betwixt her Majestie and Scotland, France, Spaine, Italy, Germany, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and the Netherlands, are exactly described*, first published in London in 1625. In that work Camden often emphasized the efforts of English sailors and putative colonizers who during the 16th century struggled to expand the realm of Queen ELIZABETH I. Yet Camden also recognized that a nation's history included more than just the heroic moments, such as the dramatic victory over the SPANISH ARMADA in 1588. As a result, he included all sorts of information, such as details about earthquakes and other natural phenomena. By doing so his work of history served as both a chronicle of the past and a record of his own times, an achievement that gave his work a value that has lasted for centuries.

After Camden left Westminster in the mid-1590s, his patrons managed to secure other positions for him. In 1589, even while he was still at the school, he became a prebend at Salisbury Cathedral, a position that guaranteed him some income. Eight years later he became Carenceux king at arms at the College of Herald, a ceremonial court position in which he, along with others, spent time granting coats of arms to families who sought them. Such duties might have been important in late Tudor England when individuals tried to secure the signs of royal privilege, but they were not time consuming and, as a result, Camden had time to continue revisions for his historical works. In 1609 he bought a house in Chislehurst in Kent, near London, and he spent much of his time during the last years of his life there.

Camden's scholarship was crucial to a generation of English intellectuals, who became fascinated with the history of the realm in the latter decades of the 16th century. He is today perhaps the best known of a cohort that included the annalist John Stowe, whose massive labors produced a year-by-year chronology of Britain that has remained crucial to scholars (and was expanded in the 17th century by Edmund Howes). The pursuit of history took on added significance during this period, especially when the English tried to predict the future of Native Americans. Most famously, Hakluyt, THOMAS HARRIOT, and the Flemish engraver THEODOR DE BRY wrestled with their understanding of ancient Britons in the final pages of the 1590 edition of Harriot's *Briefe and True Reporte about the New Found Land of Virginia*. They created images of Picts

and other ancient Britons, depicting them as savage hunters who, by their looks alone, seemed incapable of becoming civilized. But English history, as it had been explained by scholars such as Camden, provided an answer to their problem. Harriot and the others included the engravings of these ancient people to show, as the book put it, “how that the Inhabitants of the great Brittannie have bin in times past as savage as those of Virginia.” In other words, scholars could use historical works about past Britons to formulate strategies for the inclusion of indigenous Americans into the realm. History, as it came to be understood in this age of antiquarian enthusiasm, thus became crucial to the current-day agenda of an incipient empire.

After his death in 1623, his associates honored his achievement by burying him in Westminster Abbey and commissioning a suitable memorial: a marble effigy, still in place, with its hand resting on his *Britannia*.

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## Cameroon

Located on the Gulf of Guinea and bordered by the modern-day nations of Nigeria, Chad, the Central African Republic, the Republic of Congo, Gabon, and Equatorial Guinea, Cameroon is a nation of nearly 250 ethnic groups, with an early history that reflects its position as a geographical and sociocultural transition zone between West and central Africa.

Volcanic mountains run north from the gulf coast, with the largest, Mount Cameroon, forming part of the coastline. Numerous rivers run through the area, crossing savannah and grasslands in the north and west. Pygmies were the earliest inhabitants of Cameroon, but BANTU agriculturalists moved into the region, displacing the hunter-gatherer Pygmies. These agriculturalists, such as the Bakweri, Duala, and FANG peoples, settled in the forested region in the southern part of the area, establishing patrilineal villages.

Regional differences developed within Cameroon reflecting the economic and social developments of the larger regions it bordered. Influenced in the south by the Christian empires involved in the transatlantic SLAVE

TRADE and in the north by the trans-Saharan slave trade, ISLAM, and the savannah empires, Cameroon became an integral link between west and central Africa. GOLD, salt and slaves formed the basis of trade north from Cameroon across the SAHARA to North Africa. An estimated 10,000 slaves crossed the desert each year, mostly from Cameroon. From the 10th to the 15th centuries, the Sao kingdom, located in Cameroon south of Lake Chad, became wealthy from the trans-Saharan slave trade. Despite its early introduction to the area (around the 10th century), Islam did not become an important force until the 1500s. The invasion of the Massa people and the rise of the KOTOKO kingdom, which replaced the Sao, brought wider acceptance of the religion.

With the coming of Europeans in 1472, the people of southern Cameroon began participating directly in the transatlantic trade in slaves. In that year Fernão do Po arrived at Mbini Island, just off the coast of the Cameroon mainland. The Portuguese presence in Cameroon not only gave the area its name (*Cameroon* comes from the Portuguese name for one of the region's rivers, Rio dos Camerões, which means “River of Prawns”) but also resulted in important changes to the region's economy and sociopolitical structure. By the 16th century Cameroon became a major source of slaves for the Americas; coastal peoples including the Bimbia and Duala acted as middlemen, transporting captives from the interior to the Cameroonian coast. These captives were then shipped to CALABAR, the closest European settlement and a slave-trading center. In exchange for the slaves, the Bimbia and Duala middlemen received cloth, liquor, firearms, and other goods. Although the Portuguese initially dominated the trade from Cameroon, control of this lucrative business fell into hands of the Dutch, English, French, and finally Americans.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Canary Islands

A group of seven islands off the coast of northwest Africa, the Canary Islands became an early testing ground for European expansion.

The Canary Islands consist of seven islands off the coast of modern-day Morocco. The closest to the African shoreline are Fuerteventura and Lanzarote, and the others, from east to west, are Gran Canaria, Tenerife, Gomera, Palma, and Hierro. Europeans had at least a dim knowledge of the islands from the time of Pliny, but sustained contact did not begin until the late 13th or early 14th century. The Italian navigator Lancelotto Malocello sailed in 1336 to the region and named Lanzarote after himself, an early example of the European tendency to rename any lands they discovered, even if they were, as in the case of the Canary Islands, already inhabited. In 1341 the Portuguese sent a military expedition that included Niccoloso da Recco, who left an account of the journey. When they arrived, de Recco wrote, they found a “mass of uncultivated stony land, but full of goats and other beasts, and inhabited by naked men and women” who looked like “savages.” When four of the Natives swam out to the ships, the Portuguese captured and enslaved them, an act, as the historian John Mercer put it, that constituted “the first recorded example of the trust and treachery henceforth to become commonplace in the Canaries.”

During the 15th century the French and then the Spanish each colonized the Canaries. Claiming, as Europeans routinely did during this age of exploration, that they were motivated by the desire to spread Christianity to heathens, the newcomers attempted to justify their conquest of the islands and the indigenous peoples who already lived there. One European who witnessed the colonization of Fuerteventura wrote that it was “difficult to catch [the Natives] alive; and they are so built that, if one turns on his captors, they have no choice but to kill him.” Because the islands offered abundant supplies of goats and salt, two useful commodities that became even more vital over time when the Canary Islands became an important destination for transatlantic voyages, Europeans did not back down in the face of any opposition they encountered. Thus the Spanish carried out a long and difficult campaign from 1478 to 1483 to conquer Gran Canaria despite the indigenous peoples’ sustained resistance. The conquest was worth the cost to the Spanish, which recognized the value of the islands. They were not alone. The Portuguese Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR had great interest in the Canaries, and CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS made them his first destination on his world-changing journey of 1492.

After the Spanish laid claim to the Canaries they engaged in a campaign of destruction that was almost unmatched. Their enslavement of the indigenous peoples, appropriation of their land, and attempts to eradicate Native culture and substitute European ways and Christianity were sufficiently brutal to summon a response from BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, who became a champion of the rights of

indigenous peoples in NEW SPAIN. Yet despite protests, the Spanish nonetheless continued to plunder the islands. As early as 1480 they shipped captured islanders to SEVILLE as slaves, and the SLAVE TRADE in the Canaries increased dramatically in the following decades. Once SUGAR cultivation became the dominant form of enterprise, indigenous people from the Canaries arrived in MADEIRA and the AZORES as slaves, and African slaves landed on the shores of the Canary Islands. The population of the islands grew as a result, although it was mostly composed of slaves and masters; very few of the indigenous people survived the horrors of European expansion and colonization.

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## cannibalism

The consumption of human flesh by foreign peoples terrified many Europeans during the 16th century, and they were convinced that many peoples in the NEW WORLD adored the practice of cannibalism (also known as anthropophagy).

The idea of cannibalism has perhaps always struck fear in the hearts of anyone who has heard about it. It is, after all, one thing to be killed in battle or die a natural death; it is quite another to harbor the thought that someone would consume one’s flesh after death. As the historian Peter Hulme put it, “[n]o other word, except perhaps ‘sex,’ is so fraught with our fears and desires.”

During the 16th century many Europeans were convinced that the Native peoples of the Western Hemisphere practiced cannibalism. That Native Americans did so came as no great surprise to European observers, who tended to believe that the indigenous peoples they encountered were primitives who tended to indulge their vilest passions. Contrary to the notion that these Native Americans ate people for nourishment, Europeans came to understand that cannibalism, where it was practiced, was related to warfare and the need to vanquish enemies. Still, however much they might understand the custom, the idea of cannibalism continued to haunt Europeans’ minds during the 16th century.

During his voyages to the west, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS heard that cannibalism might exist in the West Indies, and members of his expeditions believed that they had seen evidence. According to Diego Álvarez Chanca, a



physician who accompanied Columbus's 1493 journey, residents of the islands confirmed that cannibals lived in the region. "We inquired of the women who were prisoners of the inhabitants what sort of people these islanders were and they answered, 'Caribs,'" he wrote to the city council of SEVILLE. "As soon as they learned that we abhor such kind of people because of their evil practice of eating human flesh, they felt delighted." Chanca then claimed that these island women feared CARIB men who ate captured men and also any of their children they did not want to take captive. Caribs took these women and kept them as concubines, and they also took boys but did not eat them quickly because, Chanca claimed he had heard, they did not taste very good. But the Carib, so Chanca's informants claimed, still captured boys; once in the Carib settlements, they would "remove their organs, fatten them until they grow up and then, when they wish to make a great feast, they kill and eat them[.]" Such reports circulated in Europe and convinced many that cannibalism was a deeply entrenched habit of at least some of the indigenous peoples—the Caribs—on the far shores of the Atlantic.

The definitive word on cannibalism in the 16th century came from the pen of the great French essayist Michel de Montaigne (1533–92), a courtier at the court of King Charles IX and later mayor of Bordeaux, whose *Essays*, first published in 1588, had an enormous influence in France and beyond. In the late 1570s Montaigne wrote the essay "Of Cannibals." In that piece he claimed to rely on the testimony of an unnamed man who had traveled to BRAZIL in 1557 and returned to France. Montaigne emphasized the fact that his informant was a "simple, crude fellow" who, as a result of his limitations, was bound to tell the truth of what he saw because, unlike a clever person who would exaggerate what he saw or invent things, less able observers did not have "the stuff to build up false inventions and give them plausibility." In other words, because the man was less intelligent he could be trusted to tell the truth about what he had seen.

According to Montaigne, his observer had watched the Native peoples of coastal Brazil, quite possibly the TUPINAMBÁ described by such observers as JEAN DE LÉRY, consume human flesh. They did not do so indiscriminately. Instead, they did so only after they had taken captives in war and had brought them back to their settlements. Once there, Montaigne wrote, they "treated their prisoners well for a long time with all the hospitality they can think of," but eventually call others to gather together. Once together, the original captor "ties a rope to one of the prisoner's arms, by the end of which he holds him, a few steps away, for fear of being hurt, and gives his dearest friend the other arm to hold in the same way; and these two, in the presence of the whole assembly, kill him with their swords. This done, they roast him and eat him in

common and send some pieces to their absent friends." But, Montaigne emphasized, these Natives did not engage in such acts "for nourishment, as of old the Scythians used to do." Instead, the act was intended as a form of "extreme revenge" on an enemy.

What did Montaigne think of such an act? Unlike many Europeans, who harbored anxieties about the peoples of the Americas and feared that all of them would kill them in order to eat them, Montaigne asserted that such practices were no more barbaric than the ways that Europeans treated individuals they deemed threatening. "I think there is more barbarity in eating a man alive than in eating him dead," he wrote, "and in tearing by tortures and the rack a body still full of feeling, in roasting a man bit by bit, in having him bitten and mangled by dogs and swine (as we have not only read but seen with fresh memory, not among ancient enemies, but among neighbors and fellow citizens, and what is worse, on the pretext of piety and religion), than in roasting and eating him after he is dead." Europeans could call these Native Brazilians "barbarians" if they so chose, but Europeans themselves "surpass them in every kind of barbarity."

Such a reasoned take on the consumption of human flesh did not, of course, convince all Europeans that cannibalism was no worse than death itself. HANS STADE, a German who traveled to Brazil on a Portuguese ship and became a captive, lived in terror that he would be eaten after he was killed. His account of his time in captivity emphasized the ubiquity of cannibalism and provided a graphic description for those who read his work. His views probably reflected Europeans' fears more closely than the more subtle views of Montaigne.

Stade's writing about his experience began to spread across Europe when his account appeared in Marburg in 1557. The surviving copies suggest that there were at least two distinct editions of the book, each with rather crude woodblock images that depicted Stade's captivity and scenes of cannibalism. Such illustrations were not unique. The famous cartographer Sebastian Münster had included depictions of cannibals in various editions of his *Cosmographia Universalis*, which first appeared in print in 1550. But Stade's text provided much more detail about purported cannibalism in Brazil. Though one can still sense the fear he must have felt, his text also reflects his understanding that cannibalism, if it took place, would have been a ritual and not, as some Europeans might have suggested, for nutrition. The Tupinambás "would brew drinks and assemble together," Stade wrote, "to make a feast, and then they would eat me among them." In other words, the alleged consumption of human flesh was to take place according to well-established customs.

Stade's text reemerged in 1592 when the Flemish engraver THEODOR DE BRY produced an illustrated



edition, printed alongside the narrative of Jean de Léry, in a book entitled *America Tertia Pars*. De Bry made six separate engravings of cannibal scenes. These images provided European readers with grotesque and anatomically specific renderings of what cannibalism might look like in Brazil.

Given prevailing prejudices held by many Europeans who traveled to the Americas, it is difficult to know how widespread the practice of cannibalism might have been in the Western Hemisphere. There is no doubt that some people practiced it, nor is there any doubt that Europeans themselves consumed human flesh when they suffered hard times in the Americas.

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## caravel

Small sailing vessels, originally developed by the Portuguese, that incorporated important advances in ship-building technology that made possible the great voyages of European exploration in the late 16th and 17th centuries and, more important, gave European (Portuguese, Spanish, English, Dutch, and French) sailors advantages in sea-borne trade that allowed them to dominate the “carrying trade” of much of the world.

The original *caravela latina* first appeared in the Mediterranean in the 14th century as a large boat with two lateen-rigged masts that incorporated important advances in hull design. These included replacing the beakhead (the open section of the bow forward of the forecastle) with a simple curved stem (the timbers forming the bow where it meets the keel), as well as replacing the stern castle with a plain transom stern (timbers bolted athwart the stern post, from which the rudder was hung), giving the ship a flat stern and a platform for overhanging galleries. The result was a ship much stronger and able to sail closer to the wind (that is, more directly into it).

The *caravela latina*’s lateen sails were too cumbersome and inefficient for long ocean voyages in the Atlantic Ocean and North Sea. The result was the creation of the *caravela redonda*, a three-masted vessel with square sails on the fore and main mast and fore-and-aft rigged sails on the mizzen. This proved to be an extremely “handy” (maneuverable) rig



Christopher Columbus’s caravels setting sail from Spain, 1492  
(The Granger Collection)

capable of impressive speed and responsiveness. The caravel quickly became the dominant ship type used in Europe. Although popular, the ships remained small, rarely more than 100 feet long (they averaged 75–80).

All of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS’s ships on his voyage of 1492 were caravels; the *Santa María* (95 feet) and the *Pinta* (58 feet) were *caravela redonda* types, but the *Niña* (56 feet) began the voyage as a *caravela latina*. Its rigging was changed during a stop at the CANARY ISLANDS en route and afterwards, because of its shallow draft and good sailing qualities, became Columbus’s favorite. The Portuguese explorations down the west coast of Africa were generally made in caravels, and the explorer BARTHOLOMEU DIAS became the first European to round Cape Horn in 1488 in one. The five vessels of FERDINAND MAGELLAN’s fleet with which he attempted to circumnavigate the globe for Spain (1519–22) were all caravels, but only one, the

*Victoria* under the command of Juan Sebastian de Elcano, finally returned.

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—Paul Dunscomb

## Carib

The term *Carib* has traditionally described the indigenous people of the Lesser Antilles, those tribes inhabiting the Orinoco and AMAZON RIVER valleys in South America, and a language family.

The most accurate term to describe the people who inhabited the Lesser Antilles is *Island Carib*. The inhabitants of the Orinoco and Amazon River valleys should be referred to by their individual, tribal names, and Cariban is the proper name for the language family of these people.

Early colonizers constantly referred to the Island Carib as fierce and aggressive warriors because they resisted European expansion into the islands so fervently. Europeans contrasted the Island Carib with the TAINO by portraying the Taino as pacific. The assumed warlike nature of the Island Carib so captured the imagination of Europeans that they named the Caribbean Sea after these people. Additionally, the term *cannibal* is derived from the name *Carib*, even though evidence of this practice among the Island Carib is scanty at best.

Scholars debate the origins and actual identity of the Island Carib. Some believe they were simply another branch of the Taino, and others argue that these people were recent arrivals from mainland South America related to the Cariban-speaking people of the Orinoco and Amazon River basins. Most likely, the Island Carib represented a merger of Taino who occupied most of the West Indies with the late arriving Cariban speakers. Island Carib oral traditions maintained that they had recently arrived in the Lesser Antilles just before the arrival of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS in 1492 and married the wives of the men they had defeated and killed. The fact that Island Carib females and children spoke Taino (an Arawakan language) and adult males spoke a Cariban pidgin gives credence to their oral traditions. The Island Carib perpetuated this situation by having the females and children live in residences separate from the adult males. The men obtained wives through raids on the Taino and practiced polygyny. In general, women were subservient to men and had to use the Carib pidgin language when

addressing them. The Island Carib's close alliance with the Cariban-speaking Galibi on the islands of Grenada and Tobago and other Cariban speakers on the South American mainland also testifies to their probable late arrival in the islands of the West Indies.

The Island Carib subsisted by farming primarily manioc and sweet potatoes and supplementing these horticultural products with fish, shellfish, turtles, agouti, rice rats, and iguanas. The Island Carib also grew cotton, and they made beer that they consumed on social and ceremonial occasions. This last practice was not evident among the Taino. Island Carib villages consisted of circular huts for the women and children built around a rectangular men's structure. They maintained an egalitarian society that exhibited hierarchy only during warfare, when certain war leaders assumed command of expeditions based on their demonstrated abilities. The Island Carib practiced a shamanistic religion that did not have the organization or multiplicity of gods like that of the Taino.

The material culture of the Island Carib more closely resembled that of the Cariban South American tribes than that of the Taino, especially their ceramics. They made substantial canoes on which their livelihood in warfare and trade depended. In addition to basic ceramics, their home furnishings consisted of stools, baskets, and cotton hammocks. They usually wore only decorative garments, including crescent-shaped gold or copper pieces and green stone pendants, although on special occasions they also wore clothing woven from parrot feathers. In warfare they used a substantial longbow with poisoned arrows, war clubs, blowguns, and noxious gases made from the smoke of hot chili peppers.

In resisting European expansion into the West Indies, Island Carib raided plantations and often escaped with African slaves (see SLAVERY). Usually they adopted these captives into their society. Additionally, runaway slaves and African survivors of shipwrecks frequently fled to Island Carib-controlled areas. After two centuries of this syncretic process, a new ethnic identity emerged on some islands. Europeans called these new people "Black Carib" and feared them even more than the traditional Island Carib. Most of the substantial Island Carib populations that existed during the early years of European colonization of the Lesser Antilles disappeared as a result of the epidemic DISEASES introduced when Europeans arrived, slave raiding done primarily by the Spanish, and constant warfare with European colonists.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

### Caroline, Fort

Fort Caroline, an ill-planned and short-lived French colony on the east coast of FLORIDA, was captured by the Spanish in 1565.

The abortive colony originated in 1564 when French settlers, led by RENÉ DE LAUDONNIÈRE, settled near the mouth of the St. Johns River, where they built a triangular fort. The settlers, most of whom were French Protestants (see HUGUENOTS), included nobles, artisans, women, and children. Like other early colonies, Fort Caroline soon faced significant problems. Initial good relations with the nearby Indians soon soured, for the colonists had arrived too late in the year to plant crops and so relied on the Indians to feed them. The colony also suffered from internal divisions: Laudonnière was not a popular leader, and when the colonists' dreams of finding wealth were frustrated, they grew angry.

Laudonnière also forbade the settlers to use Fort Caroline as a base from which to attack the Spanish. As food ran short, some settlers deserted while others planned a rebellion against Laudonnière. In December 1564, 70 colonists forced Laudonnière to allow them to leave in two ships. After leaving Fort Caroline some of these rebels were captured by the Spanish and revealed the location of the colony.

Because Spanish treasure ships sailed near the coast of Florida, the Spanish were unwilling to allow any European rival to gain a foothold in such a strategic area. King PHILIP II of Spain sent Pedro Menéndez de Avilés at the head of a force of some 500 soldiers and 200 sailors to rout the French. At about the same time French reinforcements under Jean Ribault sailed from Europe to aid the colony. Ribault's seven ships, carrying some 800 men, arrived first, with Menéndez's fleet only a few days behind. Ribault attempted to defeat the Spanish in a sea battle, but his fleet was largely destroyed by a hurricane.

Menéndez then marched overland from Saint Augustine to Fort Caroline, where he attacked. Laudonnière, in the fort, commanded a force of perhaps 25 healthy soldiers and about 150 sick or wounded ones. The French mounted little defense, and Menéndez took the fort almost without resistance. A few of the French, including Laudonnière, escaped and eventually returned to France. The Spanish killed the 142 men they found in the fort but spared the women and children.

Menéndez renamed the fort San Mateo and then returned south to Saint Augustine. In two separate incidents his forces found groups of shipwrecked Frenchmen, survivors of Ribault's fleet. He convinced both groups (one made up of about 140 men, the other of about 70) to surrender unconditionally and then executed all the prisoners. These mass executions infuriated the French, and when San Mateo was recaptured by the French in 1568 the French commander hanged the entire garrison.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### Cartier, Jacques (1491–1557) explorer of Canada

The French explorer Jacques Cartier made three unsuccessful voyages to the St. Lawrence region of northeastern North America in the hopes of finding GOLD, other riches, or the NORTHWEST PASSAGE.

After the Spanish found remarkable treasures of gold and SILVER in Central and South America, other Europeans hoped to find mineral wealth in other regions of the Americas. They also sought the Northwest Passage, a sea route that would allow European ships to pass through the Americas on their way to China (see CATHAY) and the East.

In 1534 the French king Francis I sent Cartier, a native of St. Malo, to discover new lands in America. On his voyage he narrowly missed finding the St. Lawrence River and explored the west coast of Newfoundland and several islands. He sailed up the coast of New Brunswick as far as Chaleur Bay. At the entrance to the bay, Cartier and his men were greeted by Micmac Indians holding up furs on sticks to indicate that they wished to trade. The French were frightened and fired their cannons to repel the Indians. The Micmac returned the next day and this time traded furs for European goods such as kettles and knives. The Indians' desire to trade their furs for foreign goods suggests that Cartier was not the first European to visit the region. Contact with European fishermen may have first taken place as long as 50 years before Cartier sailed.

Cartier and his men next met and traded with members of two Iroquoian tribes, the Stadacona and the HOCHELAGA, known collectively as the St. Lawrence

IROQUOIS. Before leaving their territory in Gaspé Harbor, Cartier set up a 30-foot wooden cross and attached a sign that read “vive Le Roi De France.” Donnacona, the Stadaconan headman, objected to this French attempt to leave a signal on his people’s land. Cartier, having already offended the Indians, then seized two of Donnacona’s sons (or nephews) and returned to France. Cartier seems to have hoped that the two young men would learn French and serve as interpreters on a later expedition.

In 1535 Cartier returned to Canada. On this second expedition he returned with Donnacona’s two sons, Taignoagny and Domagaya, who had learned at least some French in their nine months in France. Despite the presence of two people who were at least partially bilingual, misunderstandings and missteps led to greater tension between the French and the Stadacona. The Stadacona were pleased to see the young men again but objected to Cartier’s plan to sail farther inland on the St. Lawrence. Cartier had heard of the existence of an Indian town named Hochelaga, on the site of modern-day Montreal. Still searching for the Northwest Passage, he hoped to visit it to determine how far the St. Lawrence was navigable. It is impossible to know why Donnacona objected to Cartier’s attempt to go inland, but the anthropologist Bruce Trigger suggested that Donnacona hoped that the Stadacona would make an alliance with the French that would allow them to act as middlemen, trading both with the French and with Indians who lived farther inland.

When Cartier reached Hochelaga, the residents greeted him warmly. Both the Indians and the French performed actions that must have seemed incomprehensible to those on each side. The Indians brought sick people to Cartier and indicated that he should lay his hands on them. Cartier, for his part, read to the Indians from the Bible and then climbed a mountain that he named Mount Royal. From this perch he saw rapids that convinced him that the river was not further navigable. With this discovery he had no further interest in Hochelaga and returned to Stadacona. This departure probably surprised and offended the Indians, who had prepared a feast for their guests.

Cartier and his men spent the winter of 1535–36 with the Stadacona. During the winter Cartier heard stories of a fabulous “Kingdom of the Saguenay,” which lay somewhere in the interior of the continent. According to Donnacona, it was a land rich in gold and rubies, where white men dressed in wool lived. Relations between the French and the Indians deteriorated over the course of the winter. Both the Stadacona and the French were stricken by illness (see DISEASE). Cartier reported that more than 50 Indians died, and later 25 of the French died of scurvy. Even when the Indians showed Cartier how to brew a drink that cured the French of scurvy, he continued to distrust them. He believed that Donnacona and his sons,

Taignoagny and Domagaya, were plotting against him. He also believed, possibly mistakenly, that Donnacona’s authority was challenged by a rival, Agona. Because he no longer trusted Donnacona or his family, Cartier hoped to see Agona replace Donnacona as headman.

Cartier decided he could solve both problems at once. If Donnacona went to France, his absence would allow Agona to seize power. At the same time, if Donnacona told the king of France about the Kingdom of Saguenay, the king would surely support more voyages. Cartier seized Donnacona, his two sons, and seven other Indians. He promised that they would return to Canada the next year. Misunderstandings between the French and the Stadacona had already been common, and the kidnapping of Donnacona and his companions made the Indians angry. None of these 10 captives would ever return to Canada. A war between France and Spain delayed Cartier’s return, and by the time he got permission for a third voyage in 1541, all but one of the captives had died of European diseases. Cartier did not bring the survivor, a young girl, on the voyage, fearing that she would tell the Stadacona that the others had all died. When Cartier reached the Stadacona, he told them that “Donacona was dead in France, and that his body rested in the earth, and that the rest stayed there as great Lords, and were married, and would not returne backe into their Countrey.” The Indians were angry that Cartier had not returned Donnacona and the others, as he had promised.

Relations deteriorated even further when Cartier selected a site nine miles upstream and began building a colony. He brought settlers with him on this voyage, and they began planting crops and erecting buildings, including a fort. This clear intent to settle there infuriated the Indians, who determined to drive the French out of their land. During the winter they killed some 35 French settlers who ventured outside the fort. At the end of the winter, Cartier, having loaded his ships with minerals and stones that he mistakenly believed to be gold and diamonds, planned to return to Europe. He met Jean-François de la Rocque, sieur de Roberval, the lieutenant-general of Canada, in St. John’s Harbor, Newfoundland. Roberval ordered him to return to the colony, but Cartier instead fled back to France. His “diamonds” and “gold” proved worthless, and he never returned to Canada. The colony that he founded was short-lived. Roberval and his men had more cordial but distant relations with the Indians. After a single winter in Canada, they returned to France in 1543.

Cartier returned to St. Malo, where he wrote an account of his voyages. He died on September 1, 1557.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### Casa de Contratación

The main agency of the Spanish government that oversaw trade and commerce with the empire's American colonies.

The Casa de Contratación was one of the earliest colonial institutions established by the Spanish Crown. The discovery of GOLD on the island of HISPANIOLA in 1500 sparked a trading boom between Spain and the colonies, and the Crown became concerned that it would be unable to regulate the commerce or to collect all the taxes owed to it. The Crown also wanted to ensure that it received its share of profits from the mines; by law it was entitled to one-fifth of all precious metals discovered in the NEW WORLD. With these concerns in mind, the Crown established the Casa de Contratación at SEVILLE in 1503. As originally conceived, the Casa functioned solely to monitor and regulate maritime trade. By law, every ship departing to or arriving from the New World had to meet with officials of the Casa, register its cargo, submit to inspections, and pay any taxes or duties owed to the Crown. The Casa consisted of three important officials—a *contador* (comptroller), treasurer, and a factor—all of whom were royal appointees. In addition, there was a small number of clerks, notaries, and lawyers who assisted the main officers. To consolidate the Casa's control over shipping, the Crown decreed that all trade with the New World had to pass through the port of Seville under the Casa's watchful eye. As a result of this policy, Seville became the most important port in the Spanish Empire, a position it maintained throughout the 16th century.

As Spain's American trade boomed, the Casa took on more responsibilities. It moved from registering cargo and collecting taxes to trying maritime civil suits, supervising ship construction, and training navigators. By the 1520s it began to advise the Crown on all matters related to the economy of the New World, becoming in effect a ministry of commerce. The Casa gained new powers and responsibilities in 1522, when the Crown instituted the flotilla system. Over the years pirates and foreign enemies had begun preying on Spanish ships. To protect and further control its commerce, the Crown decreed that there would be a

single large fleet that would leave Spain, and another that would return from the New World. In both cases a group of heavily armed warships accompanied the fleet. On the one hand, this new regulation made it easier for the Casa to monitor cargos and eliminate contraband. On the other hand, it created a heavy burden for the Casa, which had the responsibility of outfitting, arming, and stocking the warships used to protect the treasure fleets.

Realizing that the Casa was too small to handle its new responsibilities, PHILIP II reorganized it several times between 1540 and 1590. First, he greatly increased the support staff and selected a president to oversee its operations. In 1543 Philip tried to streamline its operations by removing its judicial powers to try civil suits. In 1580 he made the Casa responsible for trying maritime criminal cases. That year he also removed the burden of having the Casa provision warships to protect the treasure fleets, and by 1607 the Crown decreed that the Casa no longer had to arm the fleets, either. In an attempt to alleviate the pressures of sending out only one fleet, Philip also chose to send out two fleets to the New World, leaving at different times. While this strategy did not diminish the Casa's workload, it did spread it out over the course of a year.

The greatest period of the Casa lasted until the 1590s, and thereafter it began a long, slow decline. Philip's attempts to aid the Casa by assigning it more staff had the unfortunate side effect of creating massive bureaucratic delays. Often officials worked at cross purposes to one another. Also, there were not always clear lines of authority, causing bickering that delayed work for months at a time. Worse still, in an effort to raise money the Crown sold the positions at the Casa to the highest bidder, which meant that many of the officials were wealthy but not necessarily competent.

A cumbersome bureaucracy was not the Casa's only problem. Spain's commercial policies also hampered the Casa's ability to function effectively. Following the bullionist ideas of the time, Spain imported massive amounts of SILVER, to the exclusion of other products. This practice caused rampant inflation in Spain and priced Spanish goods out of the market. Spanish industries, such as the manufacture of textiles, collapsed. Increasingly, the Spanish colonists turned to smuggling to supply their basic needs, which devastated the official trading channels passing through the Casa. With fewer goods passing through the Casa, it could collect fewer and fewer taxes for the Crown.

Ultimately, the highly regulated commercial system controlled by the Casa was not flexible enough to meet the needs of the growing colonies. Goods arrived infrequently, and any attempt to ship merchandise across the Atlantic was needlessly expensive and required ridiculous amounts of paperwork. Nevertheless, the Casa continued to control maritime trade until the 1700s.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### **casta paintings**

Series of paintings produced in NEW SPAIN, primarily in the 18th century, intended to show the consequences of interracial sexual unions.

In the decades after the conquest of Mexico led by HERNÁN CORTÉS, Spanish authorities came to recognize that the residents of New Spain had begun to intermarry. In an age in which a concept of “race” as a biological category had come to be a subject of intense discussion in Spain, imperial administrators and legal theorists became concerned about what they believed was the rise of *LIMPIEZA DE SANGRE* or “impurity of blood.” Specifically, they wondered what would happen if there was extensive intermarriage in New Spain between Iberians, Native Americans, and Africans. The legal code of New Spain developed with this idea in mind, and the result was an obsession with race that became fundamental in MEXICO and other Spanish-American holdings.

This 16th-century obsession eventually manifested itself in a specific kind of artistic representation known as *casta* paintings. These paintings depicted an individual according to what the artist believed was his or her “race,” starting with three ideal types: Iberian, African, and American. The artist then created an image of what a child of such a union might look like, based on a strict idea of taxonomy. The resulting paintings then portrayed the offspring of a marriage, with each individual’s “race” written on the painting itself. For example, sex between an Iberian and a Native American would produce a MESTIZO child, the offspring of an Iberian and an African would be a MULATTO, and a boy or girl produced by the union of a Native American and an African would be a ZAMBO or *zambaigo*. But the *casta* paintings did not stop at this level. Instead, the artists crafted a number of images based on the theoretical couplings of other people and gave to each a new name. Painters typically offered 16 possibilities, though some included more. Each figure represented in one of these paintings would be cast in what the artist thought was a fitting outfit, even though such ideas were as ludicrous as the obsession for identifying the precise quantity of one kind of blood or another flowing in any individual’s body. As the art historian Ilona Katzew has written, the series “follow a specific taxonomic progression: at the beginning are scenes portraying figures of ‘pure’ race (that is, Spaniards), lavishly attired or engaged in occupations that indicate their higher status. As the family groups become more racially mixed, their social

status diminishes. In addition to presenting a typology of human races and their occupations, *casta* paintings also include a rich classificatory system within which objects, food products, flora, and fauna are clearly positioned and labeled.”

At their heart, the *casta* paintings reveal the Spanish obsession with whiteness, specifically the desire to preserve it. In some instances, according to the paintings themselves, it would be possible for the descendants of a mixed marriage to ultimately become “lighter” in a series of unions and theoretically return to the ideal of “white” that the Spanish believed was the most desirable race. More important still, the existence of the paintings demonstrates the long-term obsession with external characteristics of the peoples who came to inhabit New Spain. Yet the paintings give a legitimacy to mixed-race marriages, in contrast to the prohibitions on intermixed marriage that prevailed in most British colonies in North America.

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### **castas**

The term used to describe persons of racially mixed background in colonial Latin America and who often had distinct legal, social, and economic status within the colonial system.

Originally, there were three broad ethnic groups present in colonial Latin America: Europeans, Africans, and indigenous peoples. In the name of “good order,” the royal governments of Spain, Portugal, and the church encouraged people to marry members “of their own kind.” They hoped to promote the ideal of equality within a marriage, in which both spouses had similar social, political, and economic standing. In reality, the conquest and settlement of the Americas made this ideal difficult to achieve. In the first place, at the beginning of the colonial period the overwhelming majority of European colonists were male. Lacking potential European wives, many chose to have more casual sexual unions with local women, creating a new generation of children with mixed ancestry. This process, known as *MESTIZAJE*, accelerated throughout the colonial period.

The largest *castas* group was the MESTIZOS, who had a European-indigenous ancestry. Unions between these groups began early in the colonial period. Many of the CONQUISTADORES took concubines over the course of the conquest, including HERNÁN CORTÉS, who had a son by

his mistress MALINCHE before marrying her off to one of his lieutenants. Others settled down in the aftermath of the conquest with one or more Native concubines from their *ENCOMIENDAS*. At times Europeans married indigenous noblewomen to gain land and social standing among the local population, and children of these unions had a relatively high social status within the colonial system, yet within a generation of the conquest the practice died out. In later years Spanish fathers did not always legitimize their mestizo children, leaving their legal status somewhat nebulous. As a result many colonists associated mestizos with illegitimacy and dishonor, even if the mestizo was a legitimate child. Crown officials from NEW SPAIN to PERU complained that mestizos were naturally inclined toward crime and public disorder. Still, many mestizos held important positions within colonial society. A substantial number earned a respectable living as artisans, while those with better connections secured low-level jobs in the Church or royal bureaucracy.

The second important *castas* group was the mulattoes, the children of African-European unions. By the 1550s Europeans began bringing African slaves to the New World in substantial numbers; by 1560 the African population was larger than the European population of New Spain. Over time many slave owners entered into sexual unions with their female slaves, at times elevating them to a quasi-official status as a mistress. Out of a sense of obligation, many slave owners freed the children of these unions, giving them a somewhat elevated status relative to the slaves, although like the mestizos the mulattoes frequently carried a social stigma of illegitimacy that blocked their social mobility. Mulattoes often played a vital role in the colonial economy. They frequently accepted menial jobs as transporters, street cleaners, and in food production vital to feed the residents of cities. Many mulattoes were able to earn a substantial living by performing these vital, if sometimes unpleasant, tasks. In BRAZIL, for example, mulatto mule drivers were critical in moving goods to and from the highland city of São Paulo. By capitalizing on this economic power, they were able to become wealthy and influential in the region.

The third important *castas* group was the ZAMBOS, who were of African and Native descent. This was the smallest group within Latin America, as well as the group with the lowest social status. Many Europeans thought of such a union as being unspeakable, creating a child of two “inferior” races that combined the worst elements of each. In much of Latin America, there were relatively few opportunities for Africans and Natives to produce offspring, but ample chances existed for such unions on larger plantations where the landowner possessed both African and indigenous slaves (or servants). Most unions between these two groups occurred when African slaves escaped and formed

runaway communities in remote areas such as northern MEXICO or the Amazon, where substantial numbers of Natives continued to live.

In theory, the *castas* formed a distinct subgroup of colonial society that had its own set of legal rights and responsibilities. Royal officials developed a complex nomenclature to distinguish the exact composition of a person’s ethnic background. For example, a mestizo who married a European would not produce a mestizo, but a *castizo*. Paintings depicting ethnically mixed families (with helpful labels provided) became popular in many areas of Latin America, particularly New Spain. In practice, the *castas* were highly fluid categories that defied easy definition. For the most part, a person’s status as a mestizo, *zambo*, or mulatto was not based on ethnicity but on appearance, language, customs, and even dress. In this way, the categories were *social* categories rather than racial ones. For example, the cash-starved royal government was usually happy to sell certificates proclaiming “purity of blood” to those *castas* who could afford them. With such a certificate a mestizo could legally become “European” and thus gain access to better jobs or receive a reduction of taxes. Also, many indigenous people successfully avoided paying Native tribute to the Crown by moving to a new location, dressing as Europeans, and proclaiming themselves to be “mestizos.” As long as they could provide witnesses to testify on their behalf, royal officials would usually accept these arguments. Although many colonists associated *castas* with illegitimacy and dishonor, the *castas* played an important role in the New World, often functioning as a vigorous middle class that produced vital goods and services for their colonies.

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—Scott Chamberlain

## Castile

One of several Iberian kingdoms born in the wake of the RECONQUISTA, Castile grew to dominate the peninsula and much of the Atlantic world during the 15th and 16th centuries.

For many modern observers, the roots of most (if not all) of Castile’s historical and cultural landscape may be found in the Reconquista, the centuries-long struggle to transform the Iberian Peninsula into a Christian land. Muslim (see ISLAM) forces had crossed into Spain from present-day Morocco in 711 and were only stopped between Tours

and Poitiers in 732 in a confrontation with Frankish forces under the command of Charles Martel. The next several centuries of Iberian history were forged in the context of a program to reconquer this territory for Christendom. The turning point came in the period 1010–31, beginning with the Christian victory over and sack of the Muslim capital of Córdoba and ending with the collapse of the entire caliphate into fragmented *taifa* kingdoms. In the wake of this fall Christian kingdoms were able to become major territorial powers in the Iberian Peninsula, and Castile was to become the largest of these Christian successor states.

The Reconquista left its mark on both secular and religious aspects of Castilian society. The Castilian church, conceived in militant terms, was a crusading church whose professional members, from monks to members of Spain's many military orders, saw themselves as soldiers of the faith. Secular Castilians responded to the Reconquista with the development of *hidalguía*, an aristocratic ideal of a man who lived for war and honor and whose riches were gained through force of arms rather than through manual labor or commerce. In contrast with the neighboring Crown of Aragón, with its commercial and mercantile economy, Castile tended to be oriented toward war, a legacy of the long Reconquista, and to disdain trade in favor of agricultural, pastoral, and military endeavor.

While military activity was the focus of what it meant to be Castilian in the Middle Ages and early modern era, war was by no means the only type of activity in the kingdom. The greater part of the Castilian *meseta* was unsuited to agriculture, so sheep herding became the dominant method of land exploitation. The Castilian wool trade was given a boost by the introduction of North African merino sheep around 1300, coinciding with (or perhaps causing) a sharp increase in the demand for Castilian wool. This late medieval economic expansion had at least one broad-reaching consequence: it brought the inward-looking Castilians into closer contact with the rest of Europe, especially Flanders, whose textile industry came to forge close ties with Castile, eventually resulting in the former becoming one of the domains of the latter.

Prosperity from the wool trade was to some degree offset by the calamities that followed in the wake of the famines and plague of the 14th century. The demographic crisis that resulted from these misfortunes provoked a short-term manpower shortage and a long-term social conflict in which the aristocracy began to gain both political and economic ground on the Crown. Because Castile had very few cities, Castilian kings, unlike their counterparts in other kingdoms, did not have the bourgeoisie to use as a bulwark against the ascendant magnates. Nevertheless, a political crisis in the Crown of Aragón in the early 15th century allowed Castile to take the lead in the new joint monarchy established with the marriage of FERDINAND AND ISABELLA. By the time

of their marriage, the once-powerful Crown of Aragón had been economically crippled and had little to contribute in the way of material resources. Castile was able to benefit from the administrative expertise of its longtime rivals, and the infusion of new ideas helped to propel Castile to the status of world power, laying the foundations for the Habsburg Empire (see CHARLES V and PHILIP II).

Despite the unification of the Aragonese and Castilian crowns, 16th-century Spain was in no way a unified state. Castile, Navarre, and Aragón each had separate languages, institutions, and customs, and kings of Spain had to govern each kingdom separately. Most early modern kings of Spain tended to focus on Castile, which was the largest, wealthiest, and most prosperous of the three peninsular kingdoms. Castile was also easier to govern through the Castilian nobles, who, despite their wealth, were politically insignificant, especially compared to the Catalan and Aragonese nobility, who had used the Cortes—the Catalan-Aragonese legislative body—as a tool to wrest concessions from the monarch in return for funding. Castilian nobles, on the other hand, refrained from contesting the Crown's authority so long as they were allowed to keep their tax exemptions. Only 18 towns sent representatives to the weak Castilian Cortes, and neither the nobility nor the clergy had the ability to participate.

Thus, 16th-century Spain, although a composite monarchy, had a distinctive Castilian flavor. Castilians under Charles V saw themselves and their empire as successor to Rome, but with a Catholic Christian overlay: Their mission was to uphold the faith in Christian lands (see INQUISITION) and to expand it to others. This philosophy led to an idea of Castilian exceptionalism in relation not only to non-Christians, but also to other Europeans. A Catalan observer in the 1550s remarked that Castilians wanted to be “so absolute, and put so high a value on their own achievements and so low a value on everybody else's, that they give the impression that they alone descended from Heaven, and the rest of mankind are mud.”

The Castilian ascendancy and sense of superiority was almost certainly due in part to the kingdom's growing wealth resulting from trade with the NEW WORLD. Charles V presided over the first period of large-scale expansion in the Americas from 1504 to 1550, when the volume of trade increased by some 800 percent. Castilians were the primary beneficiaries of the expansion into the Americas. In 1524 Charles opened colonization of the Indies to any inhabitant of his empire, but his successor, Philip II, reversed this policy, limiting it to Castilians. The Crown of Castile got rich along with its subjects, partially from taxes and grants of monopolies, but most directly from the *quinta*, or “royal fifth”—the Crown's 20-percent share of all precious metals mined in Castilian possessions in the Americas.



Even so, the positive economic impact of the influx of precious metals should not be exaggerated. By 1554 contributions from the Americas accounted for only 11 percent of the Crown's total income. Although this level was to rise to 25 percent during the reign of Philip II, such funds proved insufficient to overcome Castilian Spain's inherent economic weaknesses. The Castilian ethic of Christian military expansionism, based on the centuries-long Reconquista, meant that Castilians generally valued military activity over mercantile ventures and that the latter were not highly developed among Castilians. Not even the Castilian-monopolized Indies trade was truly Spanish; its European exports generally originated outside of Castile, rendering Castilian merchants little more than extraordinarily well-positioned middlemen. The inherent economic deficiencies of the Castilian economy meant that very little of the GOLD and SILVER that arrived from the Americas actually stayed in Castile and was instead spent on importing manufactured goods the Castilians purchased from other countries.

Castile's economic difficulties in the 16th century were made worse by the economic disparities among the kingdom's population. Great magnates numbering 300 owned half the land in Castile, and the combined rents of the 26 Castilian dukes and marquises were equal to Philip's annual gold and silver shipments from the Indies. But this wealth could not be reckoned to contribute to the economic health of the Spanish Crown because nobles were exempt from taxation. Neither were the merchants and artisans a good source of tax revenue because their numbers in Castile were too small to constitute a significant contribution. The only source of tax revenue left was the peasantry. However, although the Castilian Crown taxed peasants heavily, their inherent poverty meant that their tax revenues could make very little difference to Castile's underlying economic problems.

The late 16th century saw the decline of Castilian Spain as a world power. Spurred on by political and military successes in Portugal and against the Turks as well as a self-perception as defender of the Catholic faith, King Philip II attempted to curb the spread of Protestantism in Western Europe. His planned venture had three complementary goals: the suppression of Calvinism in the Spanish Netherlands, the resolution of the French Wars of Religion in favor of the Catholic Church, and the conquest of England, whose privateers had been raiding the Spanish Indies and whose queen, ELIZABETH I, continued her father HENRY VIII's policy of declaring herself head of the English church, thereby flouting papal authority. Yet despite favorable circumstances, Philip failed in all three of these ventures. In 1593 Henry of Navarre converted to Catholicism as a part of the agreement by which he was crowned HENRY IV of France. This move

both frustrated Philip's plans to place a Spanish princess on the throne and constituted a further roadblock to his vision of a unified Catholic Europe when Henry promised toleration of French HUGUENOTS. In the Netherlands Dutch Protestants rebelled, fled, or resisted but refused to be unified under a Spanish king and, more important, a Roman church. Most disastrous of all, Philip's invasion of England, finally provoked by Elizabethan assistance to the Dutch rebels, ended in utter failure in 1588, when the SPANISH ARMADA met defeat due to a combination of the skill of the English navy, the inexperienced leadership of the Spanish forces, and a chance storm that scattered the remnants of the Spanish fleet into the North Sea. The defeat of the Armada, combined with Castile's other failures, marked the end of Spain's dominance of Europe.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## Cathay (China)

Popularized by MARCO POLO's book, Cathay was the name used by Europeans to describe China and Chinese lands until the 17th century.

Although Marco Polo was not the only European to travel to China in the 13th and early 14th century, his account of his travels was the only one that was widely circulated or well known. Through the knowledge gained during his 17 years there (1275–92), he was able to provide a remarkably detailed view of China and its geography in the early years of the Mongol, or Yuan, dynasty (1273–1368). However, because of his position as a servant of the Mongols, he also absorbed certain biases that colored his account. He neither wrote nor spoke Chinese but most likely used Persian or Mongolian as his official language. Consequently, all the Chinese place names he recorded were in Persian or Mongolian (Canbalu for Beijing, Quinsai for Hangzhou [Hankow], Censcalan for Guangzhou [Canton]). Because the emperor Khubilai had only recently conquered the Southern Sung Dynasty, Marco probably never traveled extensively there. He thus spent much of his time in northern China and rarely saw much of the south. Northern China tends to be open, arid

plain lands; wheat was the principal crop and noodles the dietary staple. Southern China, far more mountainous, tropical, urban, wealthy, and populous, had an economy based on intensive wet rice agriculture. Marco's book provided detailed descriptions on conditions in northern China but was comparatively weak in describing conditions in the south.

This gap in his descriptions would not have mattered terribly except for the fact that the overland route to China was closed during the 14th century. Despite their fearsome reputation, the various Mongol khans provided a relatively safe and hospitable route for merchants and missionaries to travel without passports or other serious restrictions. Once the khans of Central Asia converted to ISLAM and the Black Death (bubonic PLAGUE) spread out of Asia and began to devastate much of Europe, contact between Europe and China ended. Far from the prying glimpses of Europeans, China and Chinese culture continued to grow and evolve. In Europe Marco Polo's Cathay did not and soon became more legend than fact. In fact, when Portuguese and Spanish explorers reestablished contact in the 15th century, they initially did not recognize China as Marco Polo's Cathay for some time, and explorers spent many years seeking a legendary land (sometimes city) of Cathay until as late as the early 17th century. The extent to which European conceptions of China were colored by Marco Polo's account is shown by the first voyage of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS (August 1492–March 1493). Although Columbus probably did not read Marco's book prior to his voyage, he was profoundly influenced by it second-hand through a summary made by Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli. It was Toscanelli's idea that one could reach Cathay by sailing west across the Atlantic more quickly and easily than the long eastward route around Africa. With this idea in mind Columbus secured a commission from FERDINAND AND ISABELLA of Spain to seek contact with the "Great Khan" of Cathay and find the island of Cipangu (Japan).

Columbus set out on his first voyage armed with letters from the king and queen of Spain for the great khan and an interpreter who, it was thought, could communicate with the Chinese. When in October 1492 he encountered islands at roughly the longitude that Toscanelli had predicted (unfortunately, Toscanelli had grossly underestimated the circumference of the earth), he was hopeful that he had actually reached Japan. When he landed in the West Indies, he thought he might have reached the Chinese coast. All of his subsequent voyages pushed deeper into the Caribbean in an attempt to reach Asia.

Once word of Columbus's discovery reached Europe it was not long before other explorers began to seek Cathay across the Atlantic. JOHN CABOT sailed from BRISTOL, England, on his first voyage to find Cathay (May–August 1497) but found Newfoundland blocking the path. Only

slowly did it sink in with European explorers that a vast new territory stood in the way of the route to Asia. FERDINAND MAGELLAN found a strait into the Pacific near the end of South America in 1520. The English kept seeking a NORTHWEST PASSAGE through North America well into the 19th century.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to renew contact with China. After first rounding the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, successive fleets of Portuguese ships carried explorers, traders, and adventurers who established forts and trading "factories" along the east coast of Africa, India, and the islands of the "East Indies" (modern-day Indonesia and Malaysia). Finally, in 1513–14 a ship under the command of Rafael Perestrelo sailed up the Pearl River into Guangzhou (Canton). In the next seven years came two other fleets of Portuguese ships that did some trading but served mostly, through the arrogance of their commanders and their bent for casual piracy, to break contact with China for another 30 years.

When Europeans reestablished regular links with east Asia in the 15th century, they only slowly began to appreciate that the China they were discovering was not Marco Polo's Cathay. The Yuan dynasty had been overthrown in 1368, and the native Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) had replaced the foreign, Mongol great khans. The Ming (despite the fact that they had dispatched large fleets throughout the Indian Ocean and as far as the African coast in the 15th century) were inward looking, passionately antiforeign, and thoroughly convinced of China's cultural superiority.

Yet in spite of their seemingly myopic views, around 1555 the Ming finally allowed the Portuguese to take over the isolated peninsula of Macao on the Pearl River delta well south of Guangzhou. (Macao was not returned to China until 1999.) From there a profitable but very limited trade grew and flourished, at least until the late 16th and early 17th century, when the xenophobia of the Ming led them to impose heavy restrictions on Europeans arriving there. As a result of these fears on the part of their hosts, the number of Europeans remained small, and few ventured beyond Macao or small factories in Canton. Among the Europeans were some Jesuit missionaries, including MATTEO RICCI, who were able to travel and reside in the Chinese interior and, later, in the capital.

The difficulties of matching Marco's outdated, Mongol-centric description of Cathay with the China Europeans were rediscovering led many to conclude that Marco's real Cathay had not yet been found. As a result, many 16th- and some 17th-century maps show Chinese lands discovered by the Portuguese but place the lands of Mangi and Cathay to the north. (Mangi was the Mongol name for the recently conquered provinces of southern China.) As greater knowledge of Chinese geography came in, some

European geographers concluded that Cathay was not an undiscovered country but must be a city instead.

As the history of China became more widely known the truth of Marco's book was generally accepted. Western contact with China continued to be quite limited until the mid-19th century. Use of the word Cathay to describe China continued well into the 20th century, but this was much less a geographic description than a way to evoke a romanticized and far more hospitable land—a land like Marco Polo's China—than the more complex and unwelcoming territory Westerners frequently encountered.

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—Paul Dunscomb

## Cayor

One of five Wolof kingdoms to separate from the larger Djolof (Jolof) state in the late 16th century, Cayor (also Kayor or Kajor) derived its power from trade with French and Portuguese merchants based in the coastal cities Gorée and Saint-Louis.

Located in what is today Senegal, Cayor rose to power through its participation in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. Previously a tribute state within the larger Djolof Empire, Cayor's connections with French traders, and therefore easier access to such goods as muskets, gunpowder, and iron, made its bid for independence in the mid- to late 16th century successful. Frequent warring with neighboring kingdoms such as the KAABU and internal slave raids provoked numerous revolts and caused famine within the new kingdom. In the late 17th century MARABOUTS, or Muslim clerics, led an antislavery revolt in attempts to oust slave-based states from the SENEGAMBIA region. Although the marabouts did not succeed in ending the slave trade, they were successful in spreading ISLAM to the area, especially among the peasants, who made up the majority of those taken as slaves. While attempting to suppress internal resistance, the kingdom of Cayor was also fighting external pressures. The French maintained a significant amount of power in Cayor, causing resentment among the kingdom's aristocracy. As late as 1871 the Cayor fought against the French for control of the region.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Cayuga

One of the two "Younger Brothers" (along with the ONEIDA) in the IROQUOIS Confederacy, the Cayuga had 10 sachems (chiefs who represented them) in the league's grand council.

Originally located in what is now New York's Cayuga and Seneca Counties, the Cayuga maintained three principal villages in an area to the west of the ONONDAGA and just east of the SENECA. When Europeans first encountered them, the Cayuga population was probably comparable to that of the MOHAWK, including 300 or more warriors.

Subsisting on an economy that mixed horticulture and hunting (like the other Five Nations), the Cayuga increasingly came to rely on warfare and the fur trade to generate wealth in their society by the end of the 16th century. Nevertheless, all of the Iroquois tribes by and large remained fiercely independent, retaining their social and political structures despite the influx and influence of new goods and DISEASES from Europe. Even religious instruction from JESUITS, in which the Cayuga expressed some interest, exhibited adaptation to older forms of belief rather than simply outright adoption and did not result in widespread conversions or the complete abandonment of traditional ideologies.

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—Eric P. Anderson

## Charles V (Carlos) (1500–1558) king of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor

King of CASTILE and Aragón (as Charles I), duke of Burgundy, and later Holy Roman Emperor, Charles

(Carlos) V was the most powerful European monarch of his era and presided over Spain's largest and most profitable phase of expansion into the Americas.

Charles—first ruler of Castile by that name and fifth of the Holy Roman Empire—was born in Ghent on February 24, 1500, with the blood of enough royal and noble lines to make him heir presumptive to half of Europe. His maternal grandparents were FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, whose territories had included the kingdoms of Castile and Aragón along with their substantial Mediterranean possessions; on his father's side he was grandson of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, who had married Mary of Burgundy, heiress to Franche-Comté and the Low Countries. His territories included Burgundy, the Low Countries, Castile, Aragón, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Spanish possessions in the NEW WORLD, and the Austrian territories of the Habsburg archdukes. The Habsburg connection also made him leading contender for Holy Roman Emperor.

Charles inherited the throne of Castile and Aragón in 1516. Although he was to become the ruler of diverse territories, Spain was in many ways Charles's hardest prize to claim. Charles was raised in the Burgundian court of his father, and his education and political training were Burgundian, including the Burgundian ideal of royal absolutism. Charles's Castilian subjects voiced an open preference for his younger brother, the Castilian-raised Ferdinand. When Charles finally did ascend the Castilian throne, he alienated the already restless aristocracy by setting up an essentially Burgundian court: Charles spoke no Spanish, and he installed Burgundians in important court offices, snubbing Castilian courtiers. The Cortes (the Castilian representative assembly) was barely able to force Charles to respect the laws of Castile, and his eventual agreement cost the Cortes a 600,000-ducat subsidy for Charles's foreign ventures.

After securing the rule of the combined territories of Burgundy, Castile, and Aragón, the 16-year-old Charles set his sights on the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. While Charles's Habsburg ancestry made him a leading candidate for the imperial dignity, his succession to that elective monarchy was never inevitable, and so Charles, like most other candidates for emperor, was forced to spend large sums to bribe the imperial electors.

Despite his successes, it is not possible to portray Charles, who spent only 16 years of his 40-year reign in Spain, as a particularly "Spanish" monarch. Neither can his rule be characterized as "imperial." Charles governed a composite empire made up of autonomous regions with no common administrative structure or type of rule. He held different titles and powers in each of his lands and was bound by each area's unique political situation at the time he stepped in. In the German imperial territories

Charles was nominal overlord of a confederation of independent principalities. In Castile he was ruler of a territorially compact sovereign state enriched by GOLD and SILVER from New World conquests and thus freed from financial dependence on the Cortes. In the turbulent kingdom of Sicily, the Spanish viceroy shared authority with the local magnates, who monopolized financial and judicial administration in their own territories and maintained private armies. The Low Countries were a federation of nearly autonomous provinces controlled locally by the nobility, who also ran the central administration. Disunity evolved into a gradual proliferation of smaller states within Charles's empire, which did not survive his reign intact. At his abdication he divided his territories between his brother Ferdinand and his son, the future Philip II.

Upon his accession as Holy Roman Emperor, Charles immediately faced a religious crisis in his German territories. MARTIN LUTHER had expressed hope that the young emperor would promote reform, but contrary to Luther's expectations, Charles demanded that Luther recant his beliefs. Luther refused, and Charles, determined to proceed against Luther "as a notorious heretic," put him under the imperial ban, effectively making him an outlaw. The result was a religious split between Charles and the German princes, some of whom favored Lutheran reform doctrines.

Charles's campaigns throughout his empire to quash religious and political turmoil required a large amount of money. Although much of his funding came from "ordinary revenues," notably the sales tax levied on towns and villages in his domains, he eventually came to finance his ventures by using profits generated in the lucrative Indies trade.

Charles's involvement in the Indies dated back to 1517, when the 17-year-old king was approached by BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, a friar whose mission it was to put an end to abuses of the Natives of the Indies. Shortly thereafter, Spanish CONQUISTADORES conquered the empires of the AZTECS and INCA. Building on the Spanish conquests of the Indies, these new conquests enriched Spanish coffers with portions of the proceeds of silver mines in MEXICO and PERU. The continuing expansion of Spanish explorers and the high mortality experienced by the Natives of HISPANIOLA required Charles to deal with the issues of Indian welfare raised by Las Casas. In May 1520 Charles issued an order to eliminate the ENCOMIENDA, a system for the exploitation of labor and land that many Spaniards believed was the source of the Indians' misery. This law was to apply to the new conquests on the mainland, as was Charles's subsequent order forbidding the conversion of the Natives either by force or intimidation. But protests from the colonists caused HERNÁN CORTÉS to withhold



publication of the orders, and Charles eventually withdrew them. On August 1, 1524, Charles issued a decree establishing the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES for the administration of imperial affairs in the Western Hemisphere, but he vacillated for years about how to protect Native Americans, and as a result the indigenous peoples continued to suffer at the hands of conquistadores.

Charles presided over the first period of large-scale expansion in the Americas from 1504 to 1550, when the volume of Spanish trade increased by some 800 percent. His subjects in the Americas were enthusiastic agents of expansion for a number of reasons. According to the chronicler BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO, participants in Cortés's expeditions went to the New World "to serve God and His Majesty, to give light to those in darkness, and to get rich." Castilians were the primary beneficiaries of the expansion into the Americas. In 1524 Charles opened colonization of the Indies to any inhabitant of his empire, but his successor, Philip II, reversed this policy, limiting such ventures to Castilians. The Crown of Castile got rich along with its subjects, partially from taxes and grants of monopolies, but most directly from the "royal fifth"—the Crown's 20 percent share of all precious metals mined in Castilian possessions in the Americas.

In the early 1550s, faced with the combination of looming political and economic disaster in his empire along with with his own old age and general weariness, Charles began the process of gradually divesting himself of his political responsibilities. In October 1555 he abdicated control of the Low Countries to his son Philip II; three months later he granted his heir all Spanish possessions on both sides of the Atlantic. He relinquished control of Franche-Comté to Philip the following year and renounced the Imperial possessions to his brother Ferdinand. His abdication managed to forestall the political chaos that an improvised succession after his death might have brought but did little to remedy Spain's economic problems, leaving Philip a debt of 20 million ducats at a time when the Crown's ordinary revenue was only 2 million ducats per year. Charles retired to a monastery in Extremadura in September 1556. He continued to keep up on international affairs and to advise his son until his death on September 21, 1558.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## Chichén Itzá

The large, well-built MAYA city of Chichén Itzá was one of the most famous pilgrimage centers of the YUCATÁN PENINSULA, but although it has been known and visited for centuries, it paradoxically remains one of the least understood of the major Maya sites.

Chichén Itzá is located in north central Yucatán. One of the most important features of the site is a large sinkhole filled with water (called a *cenote*). The northern Yucatán is quite dry and contains no rivers or streams. Water did, however, collect in underground caverns. In some cases the roofs of these caverns collapsed, exposing these underground reservoirs. These cenotes, therefore, were crucial to the Maya and often took on deep religious significance as well. It is clear that the cenote at Chichén Itzá was the most hallowed spot in the region, and the Maya believed it was a doorway to the watery realm of the netherworld. For centuries pilgrims journeyed to the city to cast offerings into the cenote, including sacrificial victims.

Scholars have had great difficulty establishing a history of the site. Despite its size and known importance, relatively few archaeological excavations have been carried out at Chichén Itzá. Nonetheless, scholars have reconstructed a broad historical outline of the city. Chichén Itzá began its rise to power during the waning days of Mesoamerica's classic period (A.D. 200–800), after such prominent Maya sites as TIKAL, PALENQUE, and COPÁN had begun to decline. As the great cities to the south faded into obscurity, a number of cities from the Yucatán rose to prominence, including Chichén Itzá. A number of public buildings in Chichén Itzá date to around A.D. 800. According to legends that survived into the colonial period, Chichén Itzá was founded by three brothers who ruled jointly and built great buildings there.

Sometime around 987 a number of sources tell that a new group of invaders arrived by sea, invaded the Yucatán, and captured Chichén Itzá itself. These warriors were led by Kukulcán (Feathered Serpent), who in most respects is identical to the central Mexican god QUETZALCOATL (also meaning "feathered serpent"). Based on iconography, architecture, and linguistics, scholars have determined that the new invaders were, in fact, TOLTECS. The Toltecs quickly set up a kingdom in exile with Chichén Itzá as their capital and soon came to dominate the Yucatán.

During this time the city reached its peak of prosperity and influence, displaying a remarkable mixture of Maya and Toltec styles. Scholars once thought that the visible ruins of Chichén Itzá derived from two distinct phases: an older section with mostly Maya art and architecture and a newer zone with Toltec features. Further study suggests that they were almost contemporaneous with each other and simply reflect different building traditions.

Along with artistic styles, Toltec and Maya societies mingled at Chichén Itzá as well. Maya and Toltecs apparently



The Temple of Kukulcán, the Mayan god of rain, Chichén Itzá, Yucatán (Hulton/Archive)

intermarried, and most of the ruling lineages in the Yucatán had some degree of Toltec blood. The fact that so many nobles had Toltec ancestors may explain the positive image of these invaders in the Maya histories. The murals at Chichén Itzá suggest that the Toltecs' invasion was terribly violent, but the chronicles speak of the Toltecs as great men who brought "good government." As a small minority, the Toltecs' language was all but lost within a few generations—they learned Maya and used it exclusively. But a number of words from the Toltecs' language (NAHUATL) did survive in Yucatec Mayan, including words for "shield" and "rule." Warfare was another area in which the two cultures intermingled. The armies of Chichén Itzá used the long thrusting spears typical of the Maya augmented with Toltec atlatls (spearthrowers), cotton armor, and curved, obsidian-bladed "short swords." Finally, the Toltec and Maya religions merged at Chichén Itzá. Those who built temples adopted a sacrificial stone called a *chac-*

*mool*, which consisted of a man reclining with a drum-shaped stone on his chest. Carvings illustrate Toltecs taking part in traditional Maya ceremonies that reflect the fact that some Toltec rulers used established Maya rituals to deify their dead ancestors.

Chichén Itzá remained wealthy and strong until around 1150, when its power began to wane. It is unclear what sparked the city's decline, although with the collapse of the Maya to the south, Chichén Itzá lost several important trading networks. Perhaps more devastating was the decline and fall of the Toltec kingdom after 1100, which not only disrupted trade throughout MEXICO but sent waves of refugees fleeing across the region, destabilizing many of the surviving states. By 1224 the city's residents had mostly fled. At this time a wandering band of Maya speakers called the Itzá arrived and occupied the city. They maintained it and its great cenote as a holy shrine, in time giving their name to the

city (which means “Mouth of the Well of the Itzá”). Between 1263 and 1283 another group of Itzá founded the rival city of Mayapan to the west and built it up as their political capital, while Chichén Itzá remained their religious capital. The situation was unstable, and the two cities soon developed a strong rivalry. By 1441 the rulers of both cities had become powerful enemies. Within 20 years these cities’ residents were at war, and the Itzá, unable to conquer their foes, had to flee from the Yucatán. Despite these hostilities, Chichén Itzá remained a sacred site well into the colonial period; a small community remained there, capitalizing on the steady influx of pilgrims to the area.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### **Chimalpahin, Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón** (1579–1660) *historian*

Born in Amecameca, MEXICO, Chimalpahin created volumes of material in NAHUATL on the history of the indigenous peoples of Mexico during the precontact and early Spanish imperial periods.

Born of humble birth and originally known as Domingo Francisco de Antón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, he later moved to Mexico City and replaced *Antón* with *Muñón* and made some claims to indigenous nobility. He wrote in Nahuatl and provided detailed accounts of the precontact and colonial history of Mexico. Chimalpahin’s work provided the world with important information concerning Nahauatl observations, philosophy, and worldview. He produced most of his writing in the early 17th century while living in Mexico City. Most of his historical narratives took the form of annals listing events that occurred year by year, with little other organization. Chimalpahin filled most of these annals with significant ethnohistoric details he garnered from interviews with Nahuatl elders, the use of pictorial codices, the study of indigenous and town records, and other books detailing Native history. His histories cover about a thousand years and focus mainly on his hometown of Amaquemaecan and the larger Chalco region. His most famous works include *Relaciones* and *Diario*, and for the most part they describe Chalco and its dynastic lineages. Chimalpahin produced a multitude of other writings, and periodically through the centuries scholars have found a host of other manuscripts attributed to him. Only the histories of fray BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN rival Chimalpahin’s collections for information on this time period. Chimalpahin’s

work has proven more valuable because it provides the indigenous view.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

### **chinampas**

*Chinampas*, or floating garden plots of dredged silt and compost from lake weeds, bordered the southern edges of TENOCHTITLÁN and supplied the city with most of its flowers and fruits.

*Chinampas* seem to have provided the means for the construction of the great Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán. The first Aztec settlers dug canals in the swampy ground, piling up vegetation to form their farming plots. They then spread mud from the canal bottoms onto the reed mats to form a fertile soil and anchored the whole complex with willows planted around the perimeter. Eventually, the roots of the plants used in the *chinampas* construction worked their way downward to take root in the lake floor.

*Chinampas* supported construction as well as agriculture. When HERNÁN CORTÉS arrived, he observed that half of the houses were “on the lake.” These houses were not the masonry structures that so impressed BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO and his companions; rather, they were constructions of light cane and thatch, while heavier building materials were confined to drier parts of the island. Frequent floods of the lake could inundate the *chinampas*, leaving their crops ruined by salty water. The AZTECS remedied this situation by constructing a 10 mile-long dike that sealed off a freshwater spring source.

Tenochtitlán was not the only city to use this technology; among other so-called *chinampa* cities were Culhuacán, Míquic, and Xochimilco. *Chinampa* technology may even date back to as early as 500 B.C. *Chinampas* were widely used because they were a reasonable response to the often swampy terrain and also because they were an especially productive means of agriculture because the fertile soil was able to support two or sometimes three crops per year.

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—Marie A. Kelleher



### **Cholula (Cholollan)**

One of the largest, most important cities of ancient MEXICO, Cholula was a holy city dedicated to the god QUETZALCOATL and was the location of the largest pyramid ever constructed.

Located to the east of Mexico's central valley, Cholula has been inhabited continually since ca. 400 B.C.. It first rose to power, however, in the classic era (A.D. 200–800), along with such cities as TEOTIHUACÁN, COPÁN and TIKAL. It was during this time that construction began on the Great Pyramid (Pyramid of Tepanapa). The original pyramid bears strong resemblance to the architecture of Teotihuacán, but as that great center declined, the Cholulans developed their own style. Between 600 and 800 the pyramid took on its final, massive form. The base of the pyramid was roughly 1,400 feet on each side and rose to a height of 210 feet, making it larger in volume than the Great Pyramid of Cheops in Egypt. Cholula and its pyramid became one of Mexico's most important religious and pilgrimage centers. During this time the city reached a population of perhaps 100,000 people and established extensive trading networks with other ancient Mexican cultures.

After 800 the city's political position waned, although its status as a holy city steadily grew. With the collapse of the old, classic-era powers, trade dwindled and foreign groups began to invade. A group of Putún MAYA (sometimes called the Olmeca-Xicallanca) from the TABASCO area invaded and seized the city, making it the capital of their kingdom. The invaders built up a new city, centered on the newer temple of Quetzalcoatl, to the west of the Great Pyramid. Over time the old city with its massive pyramid fell into ruins, and by the time of the European conquest, the Great Pyramid appeared to be nothing more than a natural hill. The cult of Quetzalcoatl gained strength throughout this time, with many myths claiming that the god briefly resided here before leaving for the east. Around 1292 the city was captured again by TOLTECS fleeing from the fall of their capital, Tula. In 1359 it fell under the dominion of TLAXCALA, and after 1450 it was overshadowed by the AZTECS. The city retained a precarious independence from the powerful neighbors around it due to its status as Quetzalcoatl's holy city.

During the Spanish conquest of Mexico, Cholula was the scene of a bloody massacre. Spanish sources state that HERNÁN CORTÉS discovered that the Cholulans had welcomed him into the city only to ambush him. Cortés decided to strike first and made a surprise attack against the city. Native sources argue that MALINCHE and the Tlaxcallans wanted to take vengeance on Cholula for siding with the Aztecs and convinced Cortés to slaughter the Cholulans. Whatever the reason, roughly 6,000 Cholulans died in the attack, and the city surrendered to Cortés.

Cholula declined rapidly after the conquest. Within a few months, the Spaniards destroyed most of the city's holy

shrines. A PLAGUE in 1540 devastated the population, and thereafter the city was eclipsed by the new Spanish settlement at Puebla.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### **Church of England**

The Church of the England dates from the REFORMATION of the 16th century, but its theology has come to represent a via media between Catholicism and Protestantism.

When MARTIN LUTHER tacked his 95 theses onto the door of his church in Wittenberg in 1517, he began a theological revolution within Christianity, but he provoked the anger of England's King HENRY VIII. Henry wrote a treatise sharply critical of Luther and his scriptural emphasis. Entitled *Assertio Septum Sacramentorum*, Henry's tract included vivid vitriol aimed at Luther for the German's condemnation of the pope. Henry called Luther "the most venomous serpent who had ever crept into the church." The English king's loyalty to Rome in the early days of the Reformation earned him the title "Defender of the Faith."

Circumstances changed for Henry and Rome by 1530. Henry wanted to divorce his wife, Catherine of Aragón, in favor of the courtier Anne Boleyn. Catherine had not provided Henry with a male heir to the throne. Henry and his chancellor, Thomas Wolsey, a cardinal of the Roman Church and papal legate in England, petitioned the pope for an annulment of the marriage. But the Vatican refused, largely because of the presence in Rome of Catherine's nephew, CHARLES V, and the soldiers of the Holy Roman Empire. Wolsey never recovered from his failure to secure the annulment.

Infuriated by the pope's refusal, Henry pushed for an English solution to his predicament. His inner circle contended that the English had long been hostile to the papacy and that since medieval times the church in England had questioned the authority of the pope's jurisdiction over it. By Henry's time it had become possible for the king to convince the English episcopacy and the faithful that he had the right to rule in secular and religious affairs. Eventually he initiated a series of steps that severed the church in England from the church in Rome and established the English monarch at the head of the then-independent Church of England.

The English cleric Thomas Cranmer was essential to the process of separation from Rome and establishment of the new Church of England. Sir Thomas More



had succeeded Wolsey as chancellor. More was an ardent and pious Catholic and refused to participate in the king's matrimonial chicanery. As a result, More was executed and later made a saint of the Roman Church. Cranmer became archbishop of Canterbury and Henry's most trusted adviser. He initiated legislation in PARLIAMENT that attempted to create and define the Church of England, a legislative process that stretched over the next half century.

The most significant of the early acts of state orchestrated by Cranmer was the Act in Restraint of Appeals in 1533. This act's preamble created the split with the Roman Church. It declared that England was at that moment, and always had been, a sovereign empire. The spiritual component of that sovereignty was the English Church. Thus, as one part of that empire, the church had the right to govern itself. Further, ecclesiastical complaints could no longer be appealed to Rome; they had to go through Henry.

The Ten Articles of Faith defined by the Church of England's fathers during the 1536 Convocation, intended to define the new church's theology, established doctrine and ritual remarkably similar to the Roman Church's. But the acts reduced the number of sacraments that bishops deemed necessary for salvation from seven to three (baptism, penance, and the Eucharist), and they wrote the article about the Eucharist so as to allow for both Roman and Lutheran interpretation.

Such ambiguity reflected Henry's own doubts. Privately, he continued to practice his faith in orthodox Roman fashion, insisting upon crosses, altars, vestments, and the sacrament of the Eucharist that included transubstantiation. Publicly he worked for the independence of the Church of England, promoting the new doctrines accordingly.

Monasteries provided the primary centers of opposition to Henry's publicly reforming acts. The monks owned approximately 7 million acres of land in England, a fact that raised more than a few eyebrows among the reformers. Henry assigned the archdeacon of Buckingham and others to visit the monasteries, account for their behavior, inventory their wealth, and report back. Although some scholars have deemed these reports specious, the results revealed enormous corruption in the monasteries and massive irregularities in worship. Henry used this information to confiscate their property. In the process he gained great wealth for the Crown. He also expelled many monks and nuns from England in 1536. Following the dissolution Henry's government in 1539 issued the Act of the Six Articles. The act allowed the priests, monks, and nuns who remained in England to marry, and it eliminated the sacrament of confession from English ecclesiology. The dissolution of the monasteries and the Act of Six Articles proved important steps in the transformation of the English Church. They guaranteed that Catholicism would have difficulty reestab-

lishing jurisdiction in England, no matter what might happen theologically.

The promulgation of the Book of Common Prayer was the last among the Church of England's founding legislative activities. Created by Cranmer and issued in 1549, the text provided the church with a liturgy so important to Cranmer and the king that it became a criminal offense to use any other in England. The Book of Common Prayer, based on the rites and sacraments of the Roman Church but incorporating elements of theology made popular by the Reformation, gave to the church a coherent theology, although traditional minded clerics and laymen often practiced the older rites of the ancient church.

Over time the Church of England evolved in the face of serious challenges. In the early 1550s King Edward VI, Henry VIII's son by Jane Seymour, working with some of his Protestant relatives, reworked elements of the church's practices. Their efforts led to the promulgation of a second prayer book, and priests were no longer able to wear ornate vestments. Through such moves the Church of England moved ever further away from Catholicism.

When Edward died in 1553, Queen MARY I, the daughter of Catherine of Aragón (Henry VIII's first wife) ascended to the throne of England. A devout and public Catholic, Mary attempted to reestablish Catholicism in England by returning England to the pope. She packed the Parliament with her supporters and had them repeal every ecclesiastical act that her predecessors had promulgated. Married clergy disappeared, as did the Book of Common Prayer. Even vernacular Bibles were outlawed. Mary revived heresy laws and burned 300 people at the stake, earning her the title of "Bloody Mary." The executions horrified people throughout England, and the death of the queen in 1558 signaled the end to any serious efforts to repudiate the English Reformation.

In the aftermath of Mary's attempt to wed the English church to Rome, Queen ELIZABETH I recognized that she needed to end any lingering doctrinal confusion. Despite the fact that she was personally torn between tradition and reform, she encouraged Parliament to pass acts that became known as the Elizabeth Settlement. These acts made Elizabeth supreme governor of the church, a phrase in contrast to her father's title of supreme head of the church. This was an attempt to appease radical Protestants who had gained power during Edward's reign. A third prayer book was issued based on Edward's second one, rather than the original. The new book included 39 Articles of Religion that would come to define religious policy in England for centuries. The Act of Supremacy and Uniformity of 1559 demanded that clergy adhere to the Elizabethan acts and to Elizabeth's role as the church's governor. Although Elizabeth's actions did not enthrall everyone in England—some traditionalists wanted to return to

Catholic ways, while others had adopted ideas promulgated by radical continental theologians and became dissidents known as PURITANS—the Church of England remained the dominant religious institution in the realm.

After Elizabeth's death in 1603, the Church of England struggled for decades with its ecclesiology, theology, and finances. The Jacobean kings continued reforms, including the creation and publication of the King James version of the Bible.

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—David P. Dewar

**Cieza de León, Pedro** (1520–1560) *Spanish conquistador and chronicler of the conquest of Peru*

A Spaniard who traveled to Peru after the conquest, Pedro Cieza de León wrote a detailed account of the people and places he observed.

Cieza de León traveled to South America in 1535, when he was only 15 years old. He arrived as the Spanish consolidated the territory after FRANCISCO PIZARRO's defeat of the INCA emperor ATAHUALPA. Six years later he began writing his TRAVEL NARRATIVE, which he finished in 1552. He was then, as he wrote, “thirty-two years old, having spent seventeen of them in these Indies.” Modern scholars believe that Cieza de León produced one of the most accurate travel accounts of the age of discovery.

Cieza de León's approach to what he saw can be understood by reading his text, which exists in at least two modern English translations. Originally printed in Seville in 1553, the book immediately caught the attention of other printers. Within 20 years publishers in Rome, Antwerp, and Venice had each issued editions of it.

Many travelers praised the places they saw, but few did so with what seems like the kind of open mind that Cieza de León possessed. Consider his views of Cuzco. “Nowhere in this kingdom of Peru was there a city with the air of nobility that Cuzco possessed, which (as I have said repeatedly) was the capital of the empire of the Incas and their royal seat,” he wrote. “Compared with it, the other provinces of the Indies are mere settlements. And such towns as there are lack design, order, or polity to commend them, whereas Cuzco had distinction to a degree, so those who founded it must have been people of great worth.” He stood in awe

when he looked at the city's streets and especially its finest residences, which were “made all of stone so skillfully joined that it was evident how old the edifices were, for the huge stones were very well set.” The city also had the “temple to the sun, which they called Curicancha [golden enclosure], which was among the richest in gold and silver to be found anywhere in the world.”

But it was more than buildings that Cieza de León praised. He was also fascinated with the Incas' use of *KHITU* (or quipu), “which are long strands of knotted strings, and those who were the accountants and understood the meaning of these knots could reckon by them expenditures or other things that had taken place many years before.” Like other Europeans, Cieza de León was at first suspicious about the claims of those who read the *kipus*. But then he traveled to the province of Juaja, where he met a CACIQUE named Huacarapora who “sent his servants to fetch the *kipus*, and as this man is of goodly understanding and reason, for all he is an Indian, he readily satisfied my request.” Significantly, the Peruvians used the *kipus* to keep track of what Spanish CONQUISTADORES stole from them when they pillaged various areas. After the invaders had finished their plundering, Cieza de León claimed that “the chieftains came together with the keepers of the quipus, and if one had expended more than another, those who had given less made up the difference, so they were all on an equal footing.”

Cieza de León's chronicle thus provided readers with a fair-minded assessment of Peruvian society and also took note of the sufferings of the Incas and others as a result of the conquest. In this sense his book was an Iberian counterpart to the remarkable later text of FELIPE GUAMÁN POMA DE AYALA, whose early 17th-century account was an indignant report about the legacy of the Spanish incursion.

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## cod

A fish native to much of the North Atlantic that became a major food supply for Europeans, especially after Basque fisherman perfected preservation techniques involving salt.

The Atlantic cod are descendants of a species of fish that began to evolve perhaps 120 million years ago. By the early modern period the descendants of these ancient fish lived in great schools that preferred relatively shallow waters, such as those to be found in the Grand Banks off

modern-day Newfoundland and Labrador. The best areas for catching cod then stretched from the Grand Banks southward, near the coast of modern-day New England as far south as Georges Bank off the coast of Massachusetts. Cod were also remarkably fertile fish: A fifty-inch long female could lay 9 million eggs; although most eggs never produced a fish, enough matured so that the schools of cod off the North American coast were the greatest supply of cod in the world at the time. For the population of cod to remain constant, each female had to have two of the eggs become full-grown fish. Whatever the difficulties faced by these tiny eggs, which were perfect food for other fish, the odds were good that the schools would remain abundant, at least until there were serious pressures applied to cod from some external source.

During the early modern age cod was for humans perhaps the most important denizen of the oceans. NORSE sailors had relied on cod during their voyages to the Western Hemisphere, and by the time CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS spread news about his findings, Basque fishermen had quite likely been sailing in American waters for years hauling cod. Cod became a major industry for the Basques, in large part because the Mediterranean had salt deposits and a warm sun, two ingredients necessary for extracting sufficient salt to preserve fish. (The Norse, by contrast, had to develop other preservation methods, none of them as effective as salting). Basques also profited from injunctions of the Catholic Church that required the faithful to avoid meat on certain days but allowed them to eat “cold” foods, including seafood. Anyone who could sell inexpensive fish thus had an opportunity for great profits.

When SEBASTIAN CABOT arrived in northeastern North America in the late 15th century, he found out firsthand about the great stocks of cod to be had. By then such knowledge was already known to merchants in BRISTOL, who had been sending ships for years deep into the Atlantic in the hope they would return with cod. As cod’s modern-day “biographer” put it, this was “the fish that changed the world.”

**Further reading:** Mark Kurlansky, *Cod: A Biography of the Fish That Changed the World* (New York: Walker, 1997).

### Codex Mendoza

The Codex Mendoza is an indigenous manuscript that describes AZTEC (or Mexica) history and life during the 16th century.

Comprising 72 leaves of pictures and with 63 pages of additional Spanish commentary, the Codex Mendoza is one of the most remarkable indigenous chronicles from the era of the Spanish conquest of NEW SPAIN. It has sur-

vived in three parts. The first documents the history of the Mexica, from the founding of TENOCHTITLÁN through the military conquests that made the Aztecs so powerful. The second portion documents the economy, including tribute payments. The third part presents “The Daily Life Year to Year”—a 15-page section created after the conquest (and with no known antecedents in the pre-Hispanic era). Written on PAPER brought from Spain (identifiable through its watermarks), the manuscript was composed by skilled indigenous scribes who quite possibly copied the first two parts from existing texts. Once the text was complete, it was translated by a bilingual priest who, according to the modern editors, “wrote the accompanying explanatory Spanish commentaries—which for the most part face each pictorial page—as well as the Spanish glosses that appear directly alongside the pictorial images.”

In the words of its modern translators, the manuscript “combines a history of imperial conquests, a tally



Folio 67 of the Codex Mendoza, depicting warriors scouting a town at night in preparation for an attack (top), negotiations after surrender (middle), and high-ranking commanders (bottom) (Library of Congress)



of provincial tribute, and an ethnographic chronicle of daily life that collectively constitute the most comprehensive of the known Mesoamerican codices." These documents represent a unique source for the study of the Atlantic world: They exist only for parts of the Americas conquered by the Spanish and include the views of indigenous observers and the Europeans, often priests, who tried to master the native language (NAHUATL in the case of the Mexica) and appended commentary to the chronicles. Unlike surviving *KHIPUS*, whose mysteries still remain unsolved by modern scholars, the Mexica codices have been translated and the richness of their texts can now be studied even by those who lack the skill to either read Nahuatl or decipher the pictographs.

The Codex Mendoza has great appeal because it relates more than the history of the Aztec elite. As its modern translators put it, the "Mexica that appear on the Mendoza folios are not only vigorous conquerors and warriors but also disobedient children, inveterate ballplayers, exuberant musicians, pious priests, and despised adulterers. We see their military power as they vanquish city after city to extend their dominion farther and farther afield." The codex also provides information about the kinds and amounts of tribute that conquered people owed the Aztecs, and the list of these goods from the 371 distinct city-states is astonishing in itself: "shimmering feathers and sparkling greenstones, bowls of gold dust and axes of copper, reams of paper and loads of firewood, bins of maize and baskets of chiles, loads of textiles and piles of feathered warrior attire." The codex included details about the life cycle of the Mexica, from the raising of children to marriage ceremonies; public rituals, such as legal judgments, can be found in the codex, as well as depictions of particular wars—or at least successful military campaigns; the Mendoza is silent about Mexica defeats.

The first two parts of the Mendoza contain the kinds of material familiar in pre-conquest times, but one of the great charms of the manuscript is the final part with its detailed and often poignant depictions of Mexica society. There are few extant sources for the Americas that provide such insights into childhood, for example, or the gendered division of education among Native Americans. Those who strayed from the accepted path received punishment, which is also detailed here. Remarkably, though external commentators were always fascinated by Aztec religion, this section contains little about the spiritual practices or beliefs of the Mexica. As the editors noted, "the flamboyant ceremonies that so forcefully punctuated Aztec daily existence are conspicuously absent."

The Codex Mendoza remains an important document because it was created by indigenous chroniclers in an era in which many still remembered the details of the pre-conquest period. Sent on a Spanish ship from Veracruz,

the manuscript was captured by French privateers who instead took it to Paris, where it came to the court of Henri II. At that point it fell under the control of the royal cosmographer ANDRÉ THEVET, who wrote his name on the cover before he sold or gave it to RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, the English promoter of colonization. After his death the manuscript passed to SAMUEL PURCHAS, who published it in 1625 in his *Hakluytus Posthumous*, terming it "the choicest of my jewells." Purchas's son owned it at some point, and it came into the hands of the English collector John Selden, who died in 1654. Five years later it arrived at the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It has been there ever since.

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### **Coelho, Jorge d'Albuquerque** (b. 1539–ca. 1601) *military leader and sailor*

Jorge d'Albuquerque Coelho, born in Olinda in the Portuguese captaincy of Pernambuco, Brazil, in 1539, was a military leader and the subject of one of the great shipwreck narratives of the European age of discovery.

Coelho was the son of a distinguished Portuguese colonial family in the Pernambuco region of Brazil. His father, the lord-proprietor of Pernambuco, had served the Portuguese crown in Southeast Asia in the early decades of the 16th century and been the ambassador to Siam. He also claimed that his actions had subdued Pernambuco for the Portuguese, though later rebellions by local Caytês (also written as Caetés) suggest that such boasts were at best premature. His mother, Dona Brites de Albuquerque was herself the niece of a prominent Portuguese military captain. As the distinguished historian C. R. Boxer has noted, Coelho himself "thus came of stout *conquistador* stock on both sides, a fact of which he was not forgetful and one which coloured his own romantic and eventful life."

Coelho, along with his brother Duarte, traveled to Portugal as a child. He went to school in Lisbon and was abroad when he heard news of his father's death in 1534. Eventually both brothers returned to Pernambuco to suppress a rebellion in military action that stretched from 1560 to 1565. During the fighting Coelho was hit by arrows on several occasions. But the wounds did not prevent him from returning to Portugal after the hostilities abated. Unfortunately for him, HUGUENOT pirates raided the ship, which soon wrecked in a storm so fierce that it became a defining moment of Coelho's life. He eventually made his way back across the Atlantic. In 1576, in recognition of his service to the Crown, he was made *Enfermeiro-Mór* or chief medical officer for King Dom Sebastião's expedition to



Morocco. That venture, too, proved dangerous for Coelho, who was taken captive at El-Ksar el-Kebir in early August 1578. In a subsequent battle he sustained such serious injuries that he could not walk without crutches or assistants for the next 14 years. But he was still alive and returned to Portugal after being redeemed from his captivity in 1579. Four years later he married one woman and had a daughter with her; in 1587 he married again (presumably after the death of his first wife) and had two sons with her. After his brother's death in 1581 Coelho inherited the title of lord-proprietor that had passed down from his father, but he never sailed across the ocean again to resume his life in Pernambuco. His mother remained there and died in Brazil in 1584.

He is best known now as the subject of an extraordinary TRAVEL NARRATIVE recounting his *Nafrágio* or shipwreck. The English title of the 1601 book is *Shipwreck Suffered by Jorge D'Albuquerque Coelho, Captain and Governor of Pernambuco*. Published in Lisbon in 1601, it was sufficiently popular to justify a first printing of 1,000 copies and a second printing of the same number—a far higher number of copies than normally emanated from European PRINTING PRESSES in the 16th century. The text, probably written by a Portuguese pilot named Alfonso Luís, contains harrowing details about what a shipwreck during a fierce Atlantic storm did to the emotions of those who suffered through it. As one later scholar noted, the text referred frequently to the actions of the divine forces, making the narrative “avowedly religious . . . with almost every action at sea translated in terms of God's infinite mercy or displeasure.”

The narrative retains its elemental power. The storm sank the French privateers, washing away any of the attackers who had not already landed on the Portuguese ship. As the winds picked up, those on board could not even hear each other. Waves crashed over the decks, sending all on board into prayer for salvation. But the storm was relentless. “The sea was raging so terribly and fearfully that I believe it had never looked so awe-inspiring,” the text noted. Coelho was convinced that divine intervention was necessary, so he hurled a golden relic, purportedly containing a piece of the true cross, over the side in the midst of a prayer. Miraculously, of course, the cross became entangled in the netting and the crew found it after the storm abated.

Coelho survived and lived until 1601, the same year in which the narrative of the shipwreck appeared in print.

**Further reading:** C. R. Boxer, ed. and trans., *Further Selections from The Tragic History of the Sea, 1559–1565: Narratives of the shipwrecks of the Portuguese East India-men* *Agua and Garça* (1559), *São Paulo* (1561), and *the misadventures of the Brazil-ship Santo António* (1565), Hakluyt Society, 2nd Ser. 132 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

## coffee

First discovered in Ethiopia, coffee became one of the world's most popular drinks after people in the Middle East and Europe discovered that its consumption made its drinkers more alert and active.

It is impossible to know exactly when humans began to drink coffee. As the French historian Fernand Braudel commented, the plant's history “may lead us astray. The anecdotal, the picturesque and the unreliable play an enormous part in it.” Stories about coffee's origins support Braudel's contention. According to legend humans recognized that coffee could be consumed after an Ethiopian goatherd named Kaldi watched his animals eating the leaves and berries of a mysterious tree and then become frisky. Curious, Kaldi himself then chewed on the leaves and ate the berries. Although the taste was bitter, Kaldi soon had enormous energy, and so he joined the goats in their frolics. He then went home, told others about what he had eaten, and the word soon spread. When Ethiopians during the sixth century crossed into Yemen, they apparently brought coffee with them. Local Arabs began to consume what they called *qahwa* (or *Qahwah*). Among those who became enamored of coffee's potential was the prophet Mohammed, who recognized that drinking coffee could help him stay awake and thus pray much longer.

The known history of coffee is much briefer. Few reliable references to coffee consumption exist from before 1470, when people were drinking coffee in Aden. Quite possibly the roasting of beans had begun as early as the year 1000, and by 1300 production was substantial in Yemen, where those who drank it appreciated it for the stimulant provided by the caffeine that is naturally provided by the coffee plant. Coffee reached Cairo by 1510 and Mecca by 1511, the year it was first banned there by clerical officials who decried the behavior of those who drank it. Turks in Istanbul were drinking coffee by 1517, and it spread outward into Turkish regions. By 1600 coffee consumption was widespread within territory controlled by Muslims (see ISLAM).

Europeans witnessed Arabs and Turks consuming coffee in the late 16th century. As the Augsburg physician Leonhard Rauwolf wrote in a book published in 1582, “they have a good drink which they greatly esteem. They call it ‘chaube’: it is nearly as black as ink and helpful against stomach complaints.” Rauwolf described the way that locals consumed coffee in public, often in the morning, and that it was “common among them, so that one finds quite a few who serve it in the bazaar, as well as shopkeepers who sell the berries there.” The Italian traveler Pietro delle Valle also witnessed coffee consumption when he was in Constantinople in 1615. According to him, local Turks drank coffee “in long draughts, not during the meal but afterwards, as a sort of delicacy and to converse

in comfort in the company of friends. One hardly sees a gathering where it is not drunk.” He described the mores of coffee drinking itself and the porcelain cups that drinkers used. Drinking coffee could lead to endless discussion, he concluded, “sometimes for a period of seven or eight hours.”

During the early 17th century coffee consumption spread throughout Europe. Pope Clement VIII allegedly tasted coffee after some clerics believed it should be banned, but rather than halting its spread he instead purportedly said that “it would be a pity to let the infidels (Muslims) have exclusive use of it. We shall fool Satan by baptizing it and making it a truly Christian beverage.” Coffee reached VENICE in 1615, Paris in 1643, Marseilles in 1644, Oxford by 1650, London by 1651, and Vienna in 1683. In Paris, where coffee had been provided by the Turkish ambassador Soliman Mutapha Raca, those who drank it soon believed that coffee had medicinal benefits; a medical treatise published in Lyon in 1671 enumerated its properties and thereby gave coffee an additional boost. Over time residents of Paris and other European capitals became hooked on coffee and opened establishments that existed solely for drinking it. These coffeehouses became fixtures of the metropolitan landscape across Europe, and the discussions that began in such businesses became, over time, a vital part of the public life of each city. In London, for example, the coffeehouse run by Edward Lloyd attracted merchants and sailors and, as a result, individuals who arranged insurance for voyages; over time the business in the coffeehouse became more important than the coffee itself, and the establishment became Lloyd’s of London, one of the world’s most prominent insurance firms. Coffee’s alleged medicinal benefits increased its popularity. By the end of the 17th century, London alone had more than 2,000 coffeehouses.

When Europeans moved beyond the boundaries of their continent in the 17th century, they soon recognized that the climate in other parts of the world was ideal for the production of coffee. Thus the Dutch took coffee to Ceylon in 1658 and to Java in 1699. During the 18th century Europeans planted coffee in the Western Hemisphere. Coffee appeared in Martinique in 1723 and from there spread outward; eventually coffee plantations could be found in the islands of the Caribbean and on the mainland, from MEXICO to BRAZIL. Although coffee is still produced in its original territory, far more comes from the plant’s new homelands, where Europeans brought it to satisfy their desire for what one Vatican official once called “Satan’s latest trap to catch Christian souls.”

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## Cofitachequi

A MISSISSIPPIAN chiefdom that occupied the South Carolina piedmont and coastal plain at the time of contact with Europeans in the 16th century, Cofitachequi survived several invasions by Spanish *entradas* (newcomers) into their territory only eventually to disintegrate under the pressure of demographic collapse caused by the introduction of DISEASES from the Old World.

At its height the chiefdom of Cofitachequi possibly controlled a territory that extended from the coast of modern-day South Carolina to the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains in modern-day North and South Carolina. Primarily a Muskogean-speaking people, the Cofitachequi may have first encountered Europeans in 1526, when they met a Spanish contingent headed by Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, who called them the Duhare. HERNANDO DE SOTO’s expedition provided the first detailed description of Cofitachequi after he led the invasion of the chiefdom in 1536. Soto forced the Cofitachequi to provide food, shelter, and porters to support his campaign and looted their temples for animal furs and freshwater pearls. After resting and finding no evidence of GOLD or SILVER wealth in the Cofitachequi chiefdom, the Soto campaign then proceeded to move into the Appalachian Mountains in search of the heralded COOSA chiefdom. Juan Pardo’s *entrada* next made contact with Cofitachequi in 1566. Pardo attempted to establish a permanent post there, but the Cofitachequi eventually forced its abandonment. From 1562 to 1564, the French tried to establish a post in South Carolina and encountered a powerful Indian nation known to them as the Chiquola, almost certainly the Cofitachequi chiefdom. Cofitachequi last appears in the historical record in 1672, when its chief visited the newly established English colony at Charles Towne, and later when the chiefdom was briefly mentioned in Carolina records of 1681. By 1701 the Cofitachequi no longer inhabited the South Carolina region.

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*Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521–1704*, eds. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 197–226; Charles Hudson, *The Juan Pardo Expeditions: Exploration of the Carolinas and Tennessee, 1566–68* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

—Dixie Ray Haggard

## Columbian Exchange

The Columbian Exchange was the process of transferring various biota—livestock, germs, and plants—between the Old World and the New, setting in motion massive ecological and demographic changes in both hemispheres, particularly in the Americas.

Historians have only recently begun to unravel the story of what the scholar Alfred Crosby labeled the “Columbian Exchange,” a stage in what he later described as “ecological imperialism.” This story replaces an older version, which explained Europe’s successful invasion of the Americas as the result of supposedly more advanced cultures and superior technologies. The idea of the Columbian Exchange, however, takes into account how the age of exploration remade the environment of the planet, particularly in exposing the Americas to new plants, livestock, and DISEASE. For example, on the second voyage of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS to HISPANIOLA in 1493, the shipping records list the variety of plants, animals, and colonists that he brought with him: “seventeen ships, 1200 men; seeds, cuttings, and stones for wheat, chick-peas, melons, onions, radishes, salad greens, grapevines, sugarcane, and fruit trees; and horses, dogs, pigs, cattle, chickens, sheep, and goats.” Unintentionally, the expedition also brought weeds, rats, and germs. The story of the Columbian Exchange explores how these biological factors—many unintended and their consequences often ignored—were significant, even pivotal, in Europe’s success in the NEW WORLD. And while the Columbian Exchange refers primarily to exchanges between Old World and New, this global interaction also had important consequences for Africa as well, especially for its burgeoning Atlantic SLAVE TRADE.

One important component of the Columbian Exchange was the transfer of plants between the global hemispheres, both food crops and weeds. Root vegetables from the Americas were especially significant for agriculture: The potato, from South America, spread through northern Europe; the cassava, also from South America, spread through Africa and Asia; and sweet potatoes from the Americas became important crops in Africa as well. This exchange also involved grains. Maize (see CORN) from the New World continues to be a vital crop grown all over the world today. Europeans also introduced wheat and other grains of African and Eurasian origins. In addition, Europeans brought peach, pear, orange, and lemon trees as well as chick peas, grapevines, melons,

onions, radishes, and various other fruits and vegetables. One unintentional consequence of this exchange of plants was the introduction of new weeds. On the whole, European weeds and grasses invaded the Americas, rather than vice versa. Only a few American weeds, such as horseweed and burnweed, have managed to survive in Europe, and not in great numbers. In contrast, in the Americas aggressive European weeds, including clover, plantain, and the dandelion spread rapidly, outcompeting the native plants and modifying many ecosystems.

One reason that weeds and nonnative grasses spread so widely in the Americas was the simultaneous introduction of livestock, another important component of the Columbian Exchange. Cattle, HORSES, and pigs adapted very quickly to New World grasslands and soon experienced population explosions. Upon arriving on islands in the Caribbean and South America, the Spaniards, for example, simply set the livestock loose to multiply and to provide protein and labor resources for their further invasions into the northern Americas. This intensive overgrazing destroyed native ground covers, making it possible for imported European grasses and weeds to establish themselves in place of native plants. European weeds and grasses quickly gained strong footholds in these endangered ecosystems. The omnivorous tusked European swine, especially, ate everything in sight, not just the plants, and quickly adapted to almost every ecological niche in the Americas. In the Antilles the swine devoured the local Indians crops of manioc roots, sweet potato, and fruit. They also decimated the populations of lizards and various small wildlife. Eventually, from BRAZIL to Virginia to New England, wild pigs ranged everywhere, creating havoc among local flora, fauna, and indigenous peoples’ crops as they went.

Not only did Europeans introduce domestic livestock to the New World, they brought rats from Old World seaports as well. Rats devoured many of the grains and other stores on board ships on the passage across the Atlantic. Upon landing these rats came ashore with the remaining supplies and then swarmed through the New World. Rats fed on and competed with various small animal populations and also spread disease, such as the bubonic PLAGUE, a devastating parasite carried through the bite of the rats’ accompanying fleas. Cats, dogs, and European rabbits went wild in the Americas as well as all sorts of insects, including the honeybee.

By far, the most devastating result of the Columbian Exchange was a dramatic reduction in the Native American population throughout the Americas. When the first humans crossed the Bering land bridge into North America, probably between 12,000 and 14,000 years ago, the freezing temperatures destroyed many Old World microorganisms that had traveled with them. This “cold funnel” removed diseases such as measles, smallpox, and influenza from the human population that migrated into North and South

America. In addition, Europeans living in close contact with domesticated animals evolved new diseases. These processes turned out to be a mixed blessing; while precontact Native Americans never had to experience anything like the 14th-century bubonic plague epidemic that killed between 60 and 90 percent of the population in some areas of Europe, they also did not develop the natural immunities to Old World diseases. Frequent exposure to disease microorganisms serves to boost the immune systems of the humans who survive epidemics, offering at least some protection from future outbreaks of the same illness. Without a history of exposures, Native Americans were left biologically defenseless when Europeans arrived and, usually unintentionally, began spreading disease. Many scholars have argued that the disease exchange was to some extent two-sided, with the New World sending syphilis to the Old World. There is no clear consensus as to the origin of syphilis, however, and more research needs to be completed before we can determine whether this venereal disease existed in Europe before the first sailors began returning from the Americas.

While estimates on the precise population decline are still hotly debated, it is clear that the impact of European diseases was a crucial component in the success of early colonization efforts. Studies of archaeological remains suggest that there was a total indigenous population of at least 40 million or 50 million people in the Americas before contact. Whatever the precise numbers, the interloping Europeans were vastly outnumbered as they began their conquest of the New World. But shortly after Columbus arrived, diseases devastated the most populous regions of the Americas, allowing hundreds of Europeans to defeat millions of Indians. HERNÁN CORTÉS was able to conquer the city of Tenochtitlán in 1521 in large part due to an epidemic that decimated the Aztec capital. In Virginia, the Algonquian Indians expressed their fear of the “invisible bullets” that seemed to strike down the Native population while the English visitors were mysteriously unaffected. The physical destruction was matched by an immeasurable psychological toll as Native Americans struggled to explain the debilitating diseases that had suddenly appeared. Some fragmented Native American groups sought new alliances with the Europeans, who appeared to be able to control the deadly diseases. For their part, the English were convinced that the epidemics were a sign from God that the lands were intended for their use. The population decline in many areas was enormous—those that did not die from disease often fled their native lands in a desperate attempt to avoid the illnesses. Unfortunately, these efforts at escape only served to spread disease microorganisms into regions the Europeans had yet to visit. In Mexico alone, the population declined from approximately 30 million in 1519 to 3 million by 1568.

In addition to the transfer of plants, livestock, and diseases, the Columbian Exchange also set the foundations for

a new global market. Europeans extracted raw materials from the Americas and then used the New World to expand their markets for manufactured goods. This new pattern of business had global effects. Europeans took GOLD and SILVER from mines in the Western Hemisphere that boosted their economies and increased Europeans’ trade with Asia. The specific effects of this cycle are not yet totally clear, but at the least it seems likely that this transfer of raw materials eventually influenced the rise of certain families and classes in Europe’s economic and social structures. These manufactured goods were also important in European exchanges for African slaves, forming the roots of the Atlantic slave trade that would flourish especially in the late 17th and 18th centuries. This increased trade and exchange of wealth particularly worked to the benefit of Europe, even providing the basis for the later Industrial Revolution.

The model of the Columbian Exchange as it is commonly used can, according to some scholars, reduce the responsibility of European colonizers for the demographic catastrophe in the Western Hemisphere. That is, since the model hinges on the spread of new pathogens to populations where the diseases they produced did not exist, it is unethical to fault the newcomers for introducing infectious agents that they themselves did not know they carried. While it is true that early modern Europeans were unaware that they unwittingly transported ailments to American peoples, a new way of understanding disease transfers, based on advances in the clinical understanding of infection, now reopens the question of the relationship between demographic crisis and European actions. (See the entry on DISEASE for an explanation of the new theory.)

This story of the Columbian Exchange, then, revises much of our previous understandings of the interactions between Europe, Africa, and the Americas during the 16th century. Without question, the transfer of plants, livestock, and especially diseases facilitated the European conquest and colonization of the Western Hemisphere. Yet while the biological and demographic consequences of the Columbian Exchange devastated Native Americans, Europe’s population grew as a result of the cultivation of American foods, especially the potato, the tomato, and maize. Scholars are continuing their efforts to understand how the transfer of these nonhuman entities shaped the history of the Atlantic basin during the early modern age.

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—Maril Hazlett  
—Melanie Perreault

### **Columbus, Bartholomew (Colón Bartolomé)**

(ca. 1454–1514) *cartographer, navigator*

Bartholomew Columbus was a mapmaker and navigator who worked in support of his famous brother, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, both in Europe and in the Western Hemisphere.

Columbus grew up in Genoa, where he worked as a wool carder. Like his brother, he moved to LISBON as an adult, although it is unclear which of the brothers moved there first. He supported his brother's efforts to gain support for an Atlantic voyage. At one point he may have traveled to England in an unsuccessful effort to gain support for a voyage from King HENRY VII. He also visited France, where he met the king's sister, Anne de Beaujeu. While Bartholomew was traveling, Christopher obtained the support of FERDINAND AND ISABELLA for his first voyage. By the time Bartholomew returned to Spain in 1493, Christopher had already returned from the Caribbean and had set sail on his second voyage.

The Spanish monarchs gave Bartholomew command of three CARAVELS. He sailed to HISPANIOLA, landing while his brother was exploring CUBA. Upon his arrival he found the colony in turmoil. The colonists abused the Indians and complained that Christopher Columbus had misled them about the nature of the NEW WORLD, taking them to a place of sickness and death rather than a fertile land where they would grow rich. Bartholomew served as captain-general of Hispaniola from 1494 to 1496, where he founded a new settlement, Santo Domingo.

By 1494 complaints about Christopher Columbus's administration of the colony had reached Ferdinand and Isabella, and they sent an investigator, Juan Aguado, to look into the complaints. In response to the complaints, Christopher returned to Spain, appointing Bartholomew ADELANTADO (military governor) and leaving him as governor, a position he would hold until 1498, but Bartholomew proved unable to halt the disorder on the island. His brother had instituted a policy by which Indians were required to pay a tribute in GOLD, cotton, or spices. As Bartholomew tried to build his new settlement of Santo Domingo, he stripped

the earlier settlement of Isabella of supplies. The move angered the settlers and made it more difficult to collect the tribute. In 1497 Francisco Roldan led a rebellion against the Columbus brothers. He even gained Indian allies by promising an end to the tribute system. Bartholomew could not halt the rebellion, although he captured two important CACIQUES and sent other Indians to Europe as slaves.

When Christopher Columbus returned from Europe on his third voyage he found the rebellion on Hispaniola continuing. With great difficulty Columbus pacified Roldan and his supporters by allowing them to form their own communities and granting them the right to use Indian labor, a system that would develop into the ENCOMIENDA. This solution was contrary to the orders of the queen, who wanted settlers to build houses and farm the land. Although Christopher Columbus managed to end the rebellion, complaints against him and his brothers continued. In 1500 Ferdinand and Isabella sent a royal agent, Francisco de Bobadilla, to investigate. When Bobadilla arrived at the harbor of Santo Domingo, Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus were out in the countryside putting down other rebellions, leaving their brother Diego (Diego Colón) in charge at Santo Domingo. Before stepping onto the land, Bobadilla saw the corpses of seven rebels hanging from the gallows and soon learned that five more were to be hanged. Bobadilla considered the continuing rebellions as evidence of the Columbus brothers' incompetence. He took control of the town, confiscated Christopher Columbus's goods, and sent all three brothers back to Spain in chains.

Ferdinand and Isabella freed the brothers, and Bartholomew accompanied Christopher on his fourth voyage to the West. He explored Veragua (modern-day PANAMA), where the explorers found some gold but were driven away by Indians. After taking part in this voyage, Bartholomew returned to Spain. In 1509 he and his nephew Diego sailed to Hispaniola, where he remained until his death in 1514.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### **Columbus, Christopher (Colón, Cristobal)** (1451–1506) *Genoese sailor and navigator*

Christopher Columbus's landfall in the Caribbean in October 1492, possibly on the island now known as San Salvador, marked the beginning of large-scale contact between Europe, Africa, and the Americas.

Columbus was born in the Italian republic of Genoa. His father was a wool weaver and merchant, although not a wealthy one. Columbus's formal education was limited, but he probably studied religion, geography, and arithmetic at the wool merchants' guild school. As an adult Columbus read widely and placed great faith in what he found in books.

The Genoese were known for their sailing ability, and Columbus went to sea at a young age. He sailed the Mediterranean for several years and settled in Portugal in the mid-1470s, where he lived for about a decade. While in Portugal he married Felipa Moniz in 1478 or 1479. They had one child, a son born in 1480 whom they named Diego. The extent of Columbus's sea voyages in these years is unknown. He probably traveled to England and Ireland and perhaps to Iceland. He traveled as far south as the Portuguese fortress of Sao Jorge da Mina, on the GOLD COAST of Africa, and was also familiar with MADEIRA and the CANARY ISLANDS. Columbus probably first tried to secure backing for a voyage into the unknown reaches of the Atlantic in 1485, when he approached King João II of Portugal. Little is known about this episode, but later traditions held that a committee appointed to look into the matter recommended against him.

Columbus lived in a world of explorers and discoveries. For centuries Europeans had known of and traded for the riches of the East. The overland routes to Asia were long and difficult, but the GOLD, gems, and spices (see SPICE ISLANDS) that merchants brought back were so valuable that Europeans continued to travel eastward, always looking for quicker and less expensive routes to the lucrative markets. Columbus proposed to reach the riches of the Indies by sailing west and going around the world. He was not the first to argue that the world was round; this fact was well known and commonly accepted by educated Europeans of his day. But although Europeans knew the world was round, they were not sure how large it was. The best estimate, originally made by Eratosthenes of Alexandria in the third century B.C., was accurate to within at least 5 percent, but no one in the 16th century knew if it was the right appraisal. Others calculated that the world was smaller, and Columbus's estimate was among the smallest. Not only did Columbus think the world was modest in size, he also believed that Asia extended farther to the east than it did. Furthermore, he accepted MARCO POLO's claim that the rich island of Cipangu (Japan) was 1,500 miles off the coast of China (see CATHAY). If these claims were true, then the Atlantic was narrow, and a ship that crossed it would find a quick route to the riches of the East. Columbus believed that the distance from the Canary Islands to Japan was a mere 2,400 nautical miles rather than the correct 10,600 miles. Europeans did not know what, if anything, could be found in the uncharted regions of the Atlantic. Maps from the time included both known places, like the Canary

Islands and the AZORES, and unknown or even imaginary locales such as Antillia and the isle of Saint BRENDAN THE NAVIGATOR. Most scholars believed that, aside from islands, the vast ocean was empty. Some theorized that an unknown land, the Antipodes, might exist on the other side of the world. The idea of the Antipodes, although appealing to the medieval and Renaissance taste for order and symmetry, was controversial. If the Antipodes were inhabited, their peoples might not be descended from Adam and Eve, a horrifying idea. Furthermore, Europeans believed that the apostles had preached "throughout the world," which seemed to rule out the existence of an unknown continent.

In 1485 Columbus left Portugal for Spain. In 1486 he met with King Ferdinand II of Aragón and Queen Isabella I of CASTILE to try to interest them in his plans. FERDINAND AND ISABELLA appointed a commission to investigate his proposal, which rejected it on the grounds that Columbus had underestimated the size of the world. The monarchs refused, at this point, to support a voyage, but they paid Columbus subsidies and indicated that they might support a later voyage, once they had conquered the Muslim kingdom of Granada. Columbus had to wait a few years for permission from the monarchs. While he waited in Spain, his brother BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS (Bartolomé Colón) traveled across the continent seeking sponsors for the venture. During these years in Spain, Christopher Columbus met a woman named Beatriz Enriquez de Arana, and in 1488 she gave birth to their son Hernando. Columbus never married her, probably because she was the daughter of peasants, but he provided for her throughout his life. He also legitimized their son, who would later write a biography of his father. In 1492, during the final siege of Granada, the monarchs agreed to sponsor a voyage. They granted Columbus noble status and promised to make him admiral, viceroy, and governor general over any lands that he claimed for Castile, as well as giving him one-tenth of the profits from his venture. The offices and Columbus's noble status were to be hereditary.

Columbus hoped to find a route to Asia when he began his first journey across the Atlantic, but he may also have been influenced by apocalyptic and millenarian religious ideas. During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, prophecies about the end of the world circulated widely. Believers in prophecy expected that the end of the world would come at some point after Christians reconquered Jerusalem and converted unbelievers in other parts of the world. Events like the RECONQUISTA seemed to promise that Christianity would overcome other religions. After Spain conquered Granada in 1492 and expelled Muslims (see ISLAM) and JEWS, some Christians argued that Christian armies should next conquer Jerusalem.

The development of Columbus's religious ideas is unclear, but his interest in religion and prophecy increased

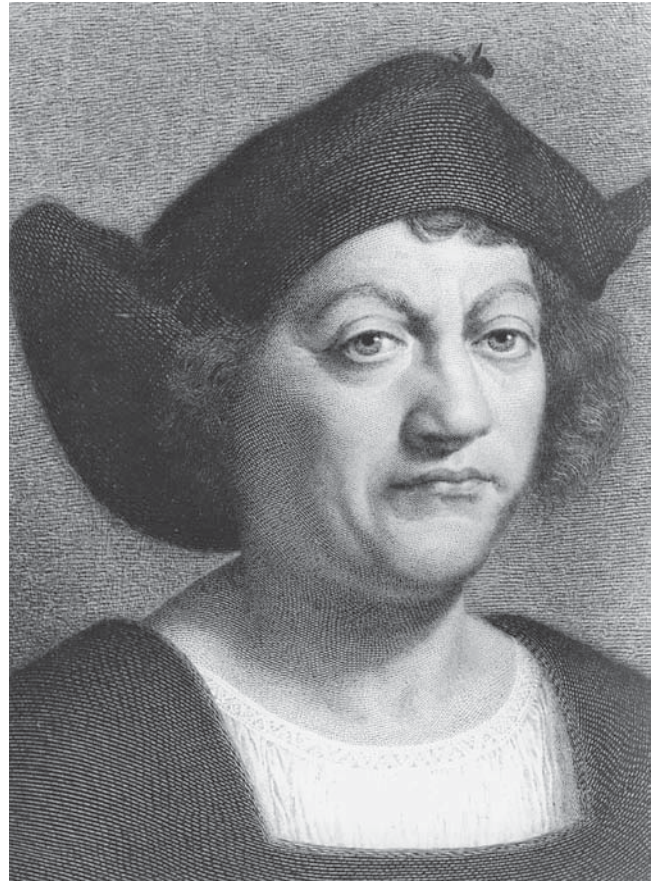
as he aged. As early as the 1480s he was interested in the possible date of the millennium and may have known of prophecies that promised that the Spanish monarchs would play a significant role in its coming. The historian Felipe Fernandez-Armesto has argued that Columbus's religious ideas changed and intensified after his first voyage. According to Fernandez-Armesto, Columbus's "notion of reality and grasp of the limits of the possible [were] deeply shaken by his contact with the New World." While lost on the way home from his first New World voyage, he believed that he heard a celestial voice reassure him, and he had similar experiences at least twice more in his life. By 1498 he suggested that he had found the earthly Paradise. Around 1500 he began to suggest that his discoveries had been ordained by God to help bring about the millennium.

### ***The First Voyage (1492–1493)***

Columbus set sail with three ships on August 3, 1492. He reached the Canaries, claimed by Castile, and from there set sail due west. The voyage was relatively uneventful, and the ships benefited from a calm sea and favorable winds. The winds were so favorable that after about a month the sailors began to worry that there would be no winds to take them back to Spain. In the early morning of October 12, 1492, a lookout spotted a light on the shore. In the morning the ships reached an island that Columbus named San Salvador but which its Native inhabitants called Guanahani. His landing place may have been the island now known as San Salvador but may also have been almost any of the islands of the Bahamas.

Columbus believed that he had landed in Asia and began exploring. He reported that the land was fertile and the Native peoples were agreeable, but he found little trace of wealth. Columbus's initial relations with the islands' inhabitants were peaceful, and he described them as naturally good and inoffensive. He did not believe that they had legitimate political institutions of their own and therefore claimed their land for Castile. Even at the beginning, his attitude toward the Native people was paradoxical. In an early letter he wrote that he gave the Indians gifts to "win good friendship, because I knew that they were a people who could better be freed and converted to our Holy Faith by love than by force" and described them as handsome and intelligent. Yet in the same letter he observed that the Native people "ought to be good servants and of good skill" and announced his intention to kidnap six of them and bring them to Castile.

For three months Columbus traveled to various islands of the Caribbean hoping to find a way to China or Japan. His greatest discovery on the first voyage was the island of HISPANIOLA, whose inhabitants possessed gold. He founded a settlement on the north coast of the island, which he named Villa de la Navidad. Because his largest



Christopher Columbus in a portrait by Sebastiano del Piombo, 1485–1547 (Hulton/Archive)

ship, the *Santa María*, had run aground, he left 39 men in the settlement when he returned to Spain. Upon his return to Europe, Columbus claimed that he had found a westward route to Asia. Others were skeptical, thinking that he had found new Canary Islands, the Antipodes, or the mythical land of Antillia. In general, scholars still believed that the world was too large for Columbus to have traveled to Asia. Whatever Columbus had found, the gold of Hispaniola seemed to promise wealth.

### ***The Second Voyage (1493–1496)***

Isabella and Ferdinand agreed to sponsor a second, larger voyage. On this voyage Columbus commanded more than 17 ships and 1,300 men, including his youngest brother, Diego. This expedition included several friars, whose instructions ordered them to Christianize the ARAWAK of Hispaniola. Columbus apparently planned to start a trading colony that would rely on exports of gold, cotton, and slaves (see SLAVERY and SLAVE TRADE). On this voyage he mapped several new islands, including PUERTO RICO, which he named San Juan Bautista. When Columbus



returned to Hispaniola, he found that the 39 men he had left behind were all dead, mostly killed by the islanders. The Natives said that the Spanish had quarrelled among themselves, kidnapped Native women, and stolen gold. Columbus was becoming disillusioned both with the climate of the island and with its Native inhabitants. Because the Native peoples had fought the Spanish, he took their resistance as an excuse to enslave them. He and his men marched through the island trying to trade for gold and taking Indian captives.

Columbus built a new settlement, which he called Isabella, but chose a poor site for it. He had promised riches to the colonists who came with him, and when these riches did not appear, the colonists began to complain. They also mistreated the Indians. Columbus began exporting Indians to Spain as slaves. Although he claimed that the Indians, by fighting the colonists, had made themselves subject to slavery, his action angered Ferdinand and Isabella. The monarchs wanted the Indians to be Christianized and to be direct subjects of the Crown. If the Indians were harshly treated, Ferdinand and Isabella reasoned, they would not become Christians. Furthermore, if they were enslaved, they would be under the authority of their masters rather than subject to the Crown. In any case, the slave trade seemed pointless because the Indians frequently died on the voyage or soon after arriving in Europe.

In April 1494 Columbus left his brother Diego (Diego Colón) in charge of Hispaniola and went to explore CUBA, which he believed to be a part of the mainland. While Columbus was in Cuba, his brother Bartholomew arrived in Hispaniola and found the colony in disarray. Colonists returning to Spain from Hispaniola in 1494 were already reporting that Columbus and his brothers were incompetent. The major complaint against Columbus was that he had misled the settlers about the nature of Hispaniola and thereby caused colonists to die. In response to the complaints, Ferdinand and Isabella sent an investigator, Juan Aguado, to report on the state of the colony. Aguado reported high rates of DISEASE among both Spaniards and Indians and added that many colonists had deserted. Columbus left his brother Bartholomew in charge and left for Spain to defend his administration of the colony.

### *The Third Voyage (1498–1500)*

Despite suspicions about the abilities of the “Admiral of the Ocean Seas,” Ferdinand and Isabella allowed Columbus to make a third voyage in 1498. The monarchs’ declining trust in Columbus is indicated by the smaller size of this expedition. Columbus sent five ships directly to Hispaniola while he explored farther south. On this voyage he reached the mainland of South America, finding the Orinoco River, which flows from modern-day Venezuela. The size of the Orinoco convinced him that he had found a large land-

mass, and he wrote in his journal “I believe this is a very large continent which until now has remained unknown.” When he finally reached Hispaniola, he found the colony in rebellion. A rival camp had emerged in the south of the island led by Francisco Roldán. They complained that the new site of the colony, Santo Domingo, was poorly chosen, that there was not enough food to feed the Spanish, and that Columbus and his brothers had too much power. In response to these complaints, Ferdinand and Isabella again sent an investigator, Francisco de Bobadilla, who arrived in August 1500 and found the colony in chaos. He deemed the charges against Columbus and his brothers serious enough that he had them put in chains and sent to Spain to face trial. Ferdinand and Isabella freed Columbus and allowed him to keep some of his titles, but they found the charges against him sufficiently disturbing to restrict his real authority.

### *The Fourth Voyage (1502–1504)*

Columbus’s final voyage was a disaster. His fleet consisted of only four CARAVELS, and the monarchs forbade him to set foot in Hispaniola. As Columbus drew near to Hispaniola, he recognized the signs of a coming hurricane. Fearing for the safety of his ships, he disobeyed the monarchs’ order and landed there. He tried to warn the colony’s governor, Nicolás de Ovando, about the storm, but Ovando ignored his advice and sent a fleet bound for Spain into the hurricane. Twenty-five of the ships sank, leaving only three or four to make it back to Europe. Columbus weathered the hurricane and spent much of the rest of his voyage exploring the coast of Central America. He landed in PANAMA, searching for a strait through the continent. Failing to find one, he established a settlement he called Río Belén, but the local Indians did not welcome the Spanish and succeeded in driving them away. At this point Columbus decided to return to Hispaniola. He had already lost two ships, and the remaining two were so worm-eaten that they nearly sank. The ships were so damaged that Columbus found it impossible to reach Hispaniola and put in at JAMAICA. There the survivors beached their ships and used them for shelter. They were marooned for nearly a year before being rescued.

After this misadventure Columbus returned to Spain. His voyages had made him rich, but he was unhappy. He spent his remaining years struggling with the Crown to try to retain his titles and claims to the islands. Unable to accept his own failures as an administrator, he felt betrayed by Ferdinand and Isabella, who had limited his privileges and removed him as governor of Hispaniola.

Columbus died in 1506, but not before his exploits had changed the world. During 1892, the four hundredth anniversary of his first crossing, scholars and the general public in many countries celebrated his achievements. A century



later, during the 1992 quincentennial, another Columbus took center stage. Unlike the hero of 1892, the Columbus of 1992 was more often reviled than feted. Many individuals, including descendants of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, believed that he bore direct responsibility for the horrors that beset Native Americans in the generations after 1492. While most individuals who lived during the early modern age have faded into obscurity, it seems certain that Columbus will remain a figure of world-historic significance.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### Company of Cathay (1577–1583)

A joint stock company chartered in London in 1577 under control of the English explorer MARTIN FROBISHER and several other prominent investors to seek the NORTHWEST PASSAGE to CATHAY (China) and to mine for GOLD ore allegedly found on Baffin Island during Frobisher's first voyage to the NEW WORLD (June–October 1576).

The original "right" to seek either a NORTHEAST PASSAGE (along the north Russian coast) or a Northwest Passage (along the North American coast) was granted by English kings to the Muscovy Company in 1553 and 1555. Frobisher and several influential friends succeeded in securing the right to the Northwest Passage from the Muscovy Company before his first voyage. He discovered Frobisher Bay (which he took to be a strait) on Baffin Island, just missing the entrance to Hudson Strait by a few miles. Hunting for minerals along the shore yielded a small amount of iron pyrite and marcasite that looked like gold-bearing ore—and was declared to be such by assayers in London—but was in fact worthless.

The Company of Cathay received a charter from Queen ELIZABETH I as well as a £1000 investment on March 17, 1577, with Frobisher named "General of the whole Company." He led a three-ship fleet back to his supposed strait on July 17. Because the company was a money-making

enterprise, the efforts of Frobisher and his men were almost entirely dedicated to mining supposedly gold-bearing ore while they expended only a modest effort trying to discover the Northwest Passage to Cathay. They never discovered that Frobisher Bay was a dead end. The fleet returned to England in late September, the entire voyage having cost the company more than £6000. Although none of the 200 tons of ore yielded any gold, the company's German assayers predicted a sufficient yield to make a profit. As a result, the company planned a third voyage for the following year.

Frobisher returned to the bay at the head of a fleet of 15 ships and 120 men (including 40 "miners") in late July 1578. He made a brief wrong turn into Hudson Strait but turned back because the need for gold ore outweighed any interest in a Northwest Passage. The summer was unusually cold, and ice was a constant menace (sinking one of his ships). Despite the hardships, Frobisher's men gathered 1,350 tons of ore from points around the bay. After discussing the possibility of leaving two ships and several men to continue the work through the winter, those at the bay eventually decided that everyone should return to England. The fleet returned safely by October 1, 1578, but they had spent more than £9000 on this voyage with a result as disappointing as the earlier venture. Despite five years' labor, the stones yielded no treasure and eventually ended up paving English highways. The company finally declared bankruptcy in 1583.

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—Paul Dunscomb

### conquistador(es)

Bands of men who explored the Western Hemisphere during the first half of the 16th century, conquistadores opened up new lands, peoples, and resources to Spanish influence and thereby formed the leading front of Spanish conquest and colonization.

From as early as the 13th century CASTILE sought overseas expansion. Partly because of potential commercial gain but largely because of adventurism, the Castilians led expeditions to Africa and the CANARY ISLANDS during the 15th century. Then, during the late 15th and early 16th centuries, their focus shifted to the Indies. Some historians point to a warrior tradition honed during centuries of fighting when the Spanish worked to expel the Moors (see ISLAM) from the Iberian Peninsula. For these scholars it seems natural that Spain, finally free of Moorish domination, would then translate its crusading fervor and sharp military abilities to



Aztec defending island against conquistador; priest baptizing an infant. Mexican Indian painting (The Granger Collection)

the pursuit of conquest in the NEW WORLD discovered by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Following the death of Columbus in 1506, the age of the conquistadores began in earnest. Although the spirit of discovery and conquest can be traced back several centuries, the distinguishing features of the conquistadores included their tendency to function as part of warrior bands organized for conquest and also, at least during the early conquistadorial era, to search for treasure, land, and slave laborers as opposed to the pursuit of permanent settlement.

Using HISPANIOLA as the base from which they launched conquests of other lands, the conquistadores were originally those men who did not receive *ENCOMIENDAS* during the early settlement of Hispaniola. Over time the conquistadores consisted of a motley selection of members, ranging from poor or obscure settlers lacking substantial land holdings such as HERNÁN CORTÉS to those such as FRANCISCO PIZARRO, who possessed considerable stand-

ing and connections within the growing sphere of Spanish domination in the West Indies. In addition, not all conquistadores were motivated by the thrill and rewards of discovery alone. Some envisioned a more long-term role for themselves in lands newly claimed for Spain. They remained in the lands they subjugated even after the distribution of booty. Although diversity prevailed among the conquistadores, all who joined expeditions understood that they typically did so at their own expense and risk.

Beginning with Columbus, *capitulaciones* (legal agreements) between the Crown and explorers stipulated the conditions, including the time frame and group leader for a given enterprise and the distribution of profits, for any newly discovered or conquered lands. During the first half of the 16th century, the *capitulación* represented an inducement for would-be discoverers of new lands in the Indies. Further motivation came from the Crown and its desire to use the West Indies to set up intermediary centers for the trading of GOLD. Generally, however, the booty from an expedition proved far from impressive. Dependent on royal recognition for their accomplishments, conquistadores resorted to description of their alleged heroic deeds through rhetoric laced with nationalistic and religious sentiment.

The Castillian nobility tended to view conquistadores as fraudulent, self-promoting opportunists who advanced themselves through the bloodshed of indigenous peoples. Very few conquistadores received designations of nobility upon their return to Spain. More frequently, the Crown bestowed them positions of limited authority as bureaucrats in the territories they conquered.

Following Columbus's first voyage, the Spanish conquistadores engaged in more than 20 years of rather unproductive discovery and exploration. Yet even in this period, some conquistadores achieved lasting success. In 1509 VASCO NÚÑEZ DE BALBOA founded Darién; in 1513 JUAN PONCE DE LEÓN discovered Florida; and in 1520 Cortés led the conquest of the Aztec Empire. The founding of Hispaniola and CUBA also represented valuable early additions to the Spanish Empire. Then, during the 1530s and 1540s, in the wake of the long-fought but successful conquest of PERU, the number of conquistadores in search of fame and riches, instead of new lands, increased significantly.

Somewhat surprisingly, many of the expeditions led by conquistadores lacked superior military equipment and technology in comparison with indigenous groups. For example, during the conquest of the Aztec Empire, Cortés relied on but 15 cannons, 13 guns, and 16 HORSES. Although such equipment certainly placed them at an advantage, two factors proved more critical in the Spanish success: the ability of the conquistadores to exploit rivalries between and among indigenous peoples, and the devastating blow of epidemic disease, part of the COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE that accompanied their arrival.

Although overwhelmed and in many cases surprised by their conquerors, not all indigenous populations quietly accepted Spanish domination. As a result, the Spaniards did not enjoy universal ascent in every segment of the New World. A number of indigenous groups, including the Araucanian Indians in present-day Chile, adopted some of the conquistadores' strategies and weaponry and effectively used them to avoid domination by the conquistadores and subsequent groups of Europeans through the 19th century.

By the middle of the 1570s, the era of the conquistadores moved toward its end. During the late conquistadorial period explorers increasingly found themselves settling in significant numbers in the lands they conquered. Although such a pattern can be detected from the earliest Spanish voyages, as fewer and fewer undiscovered lands remained during the 1560s and 1570s, conquistadores began to realize that lasting wealth and status came typically not with the raiding and abandonment of an area but from its full settlement and exploitation.

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—Kimberly Sambol-Tosco

## Coosa

A major MISSISSIPPIAN chiefdom centered in northwest present-day Georgia in the 16th century, Coosa dominated several ethnic communities that occupied the areas of eastern Tennessee, northwest Georgia, and northeast Alabama, and it survived the HERNANDO DE SOTO, Tristán de Luna, and Juan Pardo expeditions into the region only to suffer tremendous population losses caused by the introduction of European epidemic DISEASES.

The name *Coosa* referred to a chiefdom in the areas of eastern Tennessee, northwest Georgia, and northeast Alabama and the capital town of that chiefdom situated along the banks of the Coosawattee River in Georgia. In 1540 the Soto campaign entered this province in the Tennessee River Valley after crossing the Appalachian Mountains from the Carolinas. Soto proceeded to force the local inhabitants to serve as porters and provide his army with food and other supplies. After seizing the paramount chief of the province in the town of Coosa, Soto made additional demands on the population to replenish his forces,

and he eventually marched toward central Alabama to invade the territory of the chiefdom of Mabila.

A detachment from Luna's expedition next made contact with Coosa in 1560. They found the chiefdom to have declined in size, especially in the immediate vicinity of the capital town of Coosa. After helping the chief of Coosa put down a challenge to his authority by the Napochies along the Tennessee River, these Spaniards left the region to report their findings to Luna himself. The Spanish made their last contact with Coosa in 1567 with the Pardo *entrada*. Pardo entered the Coosa province from the Appalachian Mountains following the path Soto took several decades before this expedition. Pardo met open resistance by allied Native forces under the leadership of the chief of Coosa and finally returned over the mountains. The Coosa chiefdom seems to have declined after this point. It probably suffered severe population loss due to the accidental introduction of Old World epidemic diseases by the Spanish *entradas* and trade with coastal groups.

The demographic collapse, just one of the consequences of the COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE, led to Coosa being driven from northwest Georgia by the Cherokees. Eventually survivors from the chiefdom arrived in east-central Alabama as part of the Muscogee alliance system often called the Creek Confederacy.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## Copán

One of the most important classic MAYA cities and home of some of the most sophisticated stone carvings in Mesoamerica.

Copán lies in the Copán River valley, a tributary of the much larger Motagua River system in modern-day Honduras. It was at the eastern frontier of the Maya zone, well away from the other great cities of the area. The valley was fertile, and the river provided trade routes that allowed merchants from Copán to trade with cities in such distant regions as



the YUCATÁN PENINSULA and TABASCO. Settlers lived in the region beginning around 900 B.C., but the city did not become important until the classic era (beginning in roughly A.D. 200). In A.D. 426, the ruler Yax-K'uk'-Mo' ("Green [or First] Quetzal-Macaw") founded a dynasty that lasted for almost 400 years, ending in 820. There is the distinct possibility that this man was a warlord from TEOTIHUACÁN who seized control over the city. During this time Copán reached its greatest height, its residents establishing political control over the immediate region and forming long-lasting political alliances with the residents of the great city of TIKAL and those of the more distant Teotihuacán.

Under this great dynasty the arts flourished, particularly stone carving. Nowhere else in the Maya world did artists develop such a refined, intricate style. A number of rulers from the great dynasty erected enormous statues of themselves in full ritual regalia. This "forest of kings" remains one of Copán's defining features. More impressive is the Hieroglyphic Stairs, one of the many buildings built by the great ruler Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil (695–738). Each of the 63 stairs remains covered with elaborate glyphs, numbering almost 2,500 in all, making it one of the longest historical texts in Mesoamerica. Unfortunately, the early archaeologists who restored the ruins could not read the glyphs and reassembled the stairs out of order, making any attempt to read them difficult in the extreme. Architecture also flourished at Copán, and the main Acropolis contained a number of beautiful, well-built structures. The great ball court is one of the best surviving examples from the Maya area.

After 700 Copán's fortunes began to wane, although the city did not vanish overnight. In 738 Waxaklahun-Ubah-K'awil was captured by enemies from the rival city of Quiriguá. Copán recovered quickly but did not regain its position of political dominance in the region. Yax Pasah (763–ca. 820) was an ineffectual ruler and was apparently dominated by the local nobility, but Copán's difficulties were not confined to politics. As the city increased in size, dwellings spread outward into the floodplain, leading to a reduction in the amount of land for farming. Ultimately, this sprawl became so extensive that residents of the city could no longer produce enough food to sustain themselves. The last known ruler at Copán faded from the historical record after 822, although the city retained its sizable population for almost another hundred years. After 900 the city's residents slowly abandoned their locale. Over the centuries the Copán River shifted its course, running through the ancient urban core and damaging many of the crumbling buildings.

Copán's remains played a vital role in the "rediscovery" of the classic Maya civilization. Between 1839 and 1840 the explorer John L. Stephens and the artist Frederick Catherwood visited the ruins, and Stephens was so impressed that he bought the site for \$50. Stephens's account of the

visit, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, became an international bestseller and gave most people their first knowledge of the Maya. Archaeologists began working on the site in the 1890s, making it one of the most thoroughly studied sites of the Maya area.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### Córdoba, Francisco Hernández de (fl. 1517) *conquistador*

The leader of one of the first Spanish expeditions to the mainland of MEXICO, Córdoba helped pave the way for subsequent explorations under JUAN DE GRIJALVA and HERNÁN CORTÉS.

Córdoba was a man of some substance who left for the NEW WORLD to find his fortune and earn honor. By 1517 he made his way to CUBA, the base for numerous expeditions. Hoping to discover wealthy new islands, Córdoba and several soldiers (including BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO) decided to strike out on their own. They pooled their resources and bought two CARAVELS, a brigantine, bread, salt pork, and other supplies on credit from Governor DIEGO DE VELÁZQUEZ. As the wealthiest, highest-ranking man among them, Córdoba became the expedition's leader. Despite minor difficulties, the Córdoba expedition reached the YUCATÁN PENINSULA in three weeks and discovered a large, well-built city—the first true city the Spaniards had yet encountered in the Americas. Excited by the great potential of this discovery, the Spaniards sent messengers to the local MAYA. Fatefully, the Spaniards understood the Mayas' sign language as greetings and invitations to enter the city and landed on the shore expecting hospitality. Unfortunately for them, the shipwrecked sailor GONZALO GUERRERO had turned against the Spaniards after living among the Maya and convinced the Natives to attack the Spaniards on sight. The Maya ambushed the Spaniards, who had to fight their way back to the ships, but by then the CONQUISTADORES had seen enough GOLD in the town and on their adversaries to excite their greed.

Unfortunately for the Spaniards, conditions on the Córdoba expedition deteriorated from that moment on. The ships hugged the coast, seeing evidence of civilized peoples, but their crews' attempts to land and replenish their stores of water met with constant hostility. They sailed west and south until they reached the city of Campeche, where desperation drove them to try to parley with the



local CACIQUE. They obtained water but sensed that an attack was imminent. Fearful for their lives, they beat a hasty retreat to the ships. Only days later they had to land again, and this time they met with a full squadron of Maya warriors. After a short, desperate battle, the Spaniards reached their ships but had lost more than half their party. Most of the survivors were wounded, including Córdoba himself. After this final disaster the expedition had no choice but to return to friendly territory. Lacking enough crew to man all three ships, they abandoned the brigantine and limped back to Cuba. Upon arriving Córdoba gave a flowery account of the Yucatán that sparked great interest among the conquistadores. He died of his wounds shortly thereafter, but not before inspiring Governor Velázquez to send other expeditions to explore the region.

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—Scott Chamberlain

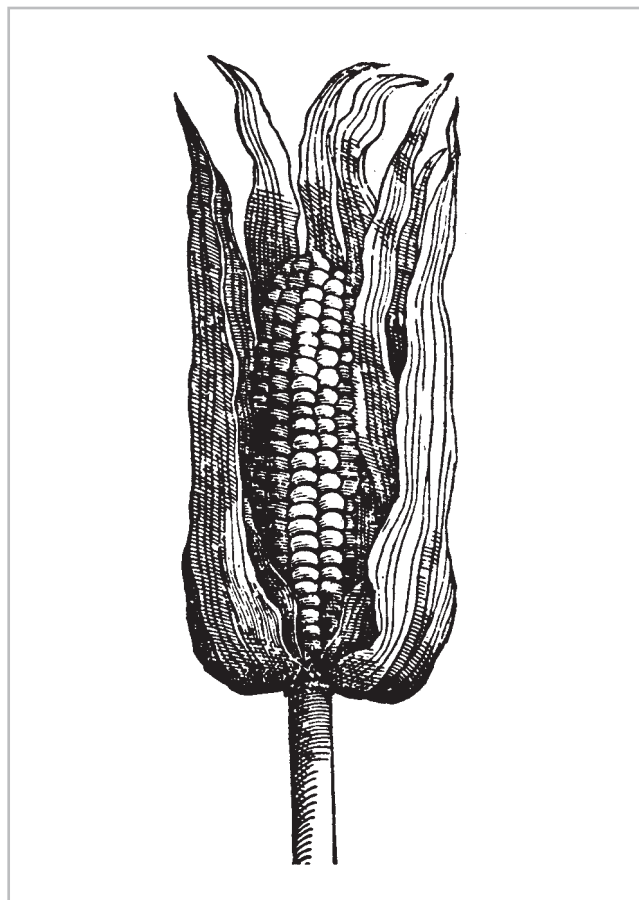
## corn

Corn was the basis for most of North and South America's advanced civilizations before European contact, and it immediately spread to Eurasia and Africa thereafter.

The species known to scientists as *Zea mays* has gone by many names. *Corn* in Old English meant generally a small particle or grain, but in particular the seeds of domesticated annuals such as wheat and by extension the whole plant. The members of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS's first voyage who discovered this new kind of corn recorded its name as *mahiz*, and *maize* in some form has always been its clearest name. The British took to calling it *Indian corn*, as opposed to *British corn*. Confusion over corn's origins led to further names; for centuries Europeans referred to it as *Turkish wheat*.

Corn is native to the Americas. Like all cereals it is a grass, although almost unrecognizable as such after many centuries of domestication. There was and is no wild corn, only scattered tame escapees. American Indians changed corn by artificial selection, setting aside the most desirable ears for later planting. Sometimes they made hybrids by planting different varieties near each other, but usually they sought inbreeding. Single families sometimes even maintained their own pure strains of corn. By 1492 Indians had developed thousands of varieties in all the main types we recognize today, including flour corn, sweet corn, and popcorn. European Americans did not consciously try to improve corn until the late 1700s.

Corn was entirely reliant on people for reproduction. It was planted across most of North and South America



The oldest printed picture of an ear of maize. Woodcut from Oviedo's *Historia natural*, Seville, 1535 (The Granger Collection)

except in present-day Canada and the thousand-mile tip of South America. It was densest from present-day PERU to central MEXICO. The central grasslands of the modern-day United States, later famous for corn, were then a tough barrier of thick native sod, with only the riverbanks worth planting. American Indians had no hard metal tools or draft animals, so they planted corn by hand in untilled ground. Usually they prepared a field by killing the trees, hoeing the other vegetation, and forming small mounds about a yard apart. Fields resembled dot grids rather than rows. A planter poked a hole with a stick, counted a few seeds into the hole, and covered the seeds by foot to protect them from animals. Beans, squash, and potatoes were commonly planted between the mounds. Corn could be harvested very green or long-dead and dry because the husks protected the seeds. Some Indians maintained fields continuously through irrigation, terracing, and fertilizing, while others abandoned fields to forest and returned years later to reclear them once they had recovered.

Most Indians were almost as reliant on corn as it was on them. They worried and prayed over when and where to plant it, how to protect it from rats, birds, thieves, and wind, and how to store their harvested wealth. Native Americans ate corn parched, boiled, and roasted or ground into flour and baked into cakes. Sometimes the stalks of giant varieties were even used as building material. Corn played a religious role for many American peoples, varying in content but often deep in import, associated with blood, fertility, motherhood, and deities.

Corn amazed Europeans. Columbus returned with descriptions of it, and by at least his second voyage with samples of it that were propagated rapidly across Europe, first as curiosities but soon as agricultural goods. It spread from there along trading routes to northern and sub-Saharan Africa and by 1516 via Portuguese sailors to Asia. GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO included a picture of corn in his *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, published in Venice in the mid-16th century, an image so durable that it was still being reprinted hundreds of years later. Corn's adaptability made it only a minor trade good but got it adopted as a "native" of many countries (hence "Turkish wheat"), so much so that many would later claim credit for its origin.

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—Robb Campbell

### **Coronado, Francisco** (1510–1554) *conquistador, colonial governor*

In 1540 Francisco Vázquez de Coronado led a large, unsuccessful expedition into the American Southwest in the hopes of finding cities of GOLD.

In the 16th century Spanish CONQUISTADORES had found vast treasures of gold and SILVER in MEXICO and PERU. Later explorers hoped to find similar riches in northern Mexico and in the area that is now the southwestern United States. Rumors of fabulous cities in the Southwest began to spread when ÁLVAR NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA and three companions returned from their eight-year sojourn among the Indians of Texas and New Mexico. Cabeza de Vaca had not found wealth in his travels, but he reported that he had heard stories of prosperous towns farther north. In 1539 a preliminary expedition set out under Fray Marcos de Niza. It was guided by one of Cabeza de Vaca's companions, the slave Estevanico. Estevanico traveled ahead of the main party, erecting crosses at various sites to indicate that he had found riches. At Hawikuh, a ZUNI pueblo, Estevanico demanded turquoise and women.

The Zunis, angry and suspecting that he was a spy, killed him. Fray Marcos de Niza, hearing of Estevanico's death, did not approach the pueblo. Viewing it from a distance, he reported that it was a rich city and even larger than Mexico City. He returned to Nueva Galicia and reported that he had seen Cíbola, the smallest of the legendary Seven Cities of Gold.

Upon Fray Marcos's return Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza appointed Coronado to lead an expedition back to Cíbola. In the spring of 1540, Coronado headed north leading an expedition that included 336 Spanish soldiers, hundreds of Indian allies, and six FRANCISCANS. Some of the men brought their wives, children, and slaves with them. To transport and feed this army, Coronado brought herds of horses, mules, cattle, and sheep.

In July 1540 Coronado reached Hawikuh. The small pueblo of stone and brick did not fulfill the Spaniards' dreams of wealth, and Coronado had to prevent his disappointed men from attacking Fray Marcos de Niza, whose story was now revealed as false. Coronado sent the friar back to Mexico City (see TENOCHTITLÁN) and reported "He has not told the truth in a single thing that he said, but everything is the opposite of what he related, except the name of the cities and the large stone houses."

The Zuni of Hawikuh did not welcome the Spanish invaders. Zuni men laid down lines of sacred cornmeal at the entrance to their pueblo to indicate to the Spanish that they were not welcome. The Spanish, for their part, read the REQUERIMIENTO to the Zunis, declaring that the Indians must submit to the Pope and the Spanish Crown or face conquest by the Spanish. The Zuni attacked, but the battle ended quickly and the Spanish overran the pueblo. Despite this poor start, relations between Coronado's expedition and the Indians temporarily improved. Coronado visited other Zuni pueblos and met their leaders, who presented him with turquoise, deer and buffalo skins, and yucca fiber blankets. Two leaders from Pecos pueblo, whom the Spanish called Cacique and Bigotes, allied themselves with the Spanish.

Coronado still hoped to find rich cities. He sent Pedro de Tovar northward, into the HOPI villages. Tovar and the Hopi fought, and the Hopi surrendered. They told Tovar that a great river (the Colorado) existed farther west. Coronado sent approximately 25 men under the command of García López de Cárdenas to find the river. He hoped that they would meet up with Hernando de Alarcón, who had sailed from Mexico with supplies for the expedition. Cárdenas found the Grand Canyon but could not find a way down to the Colorado and so did not meet up with Alarcón.

Winter was approaching, and without the supplies carried by Alarcón, the Spanish faced a difficult time. The Pecos leaders, Cacique and Bigotes, told Coronado that there were vast herds of cattle in the east, and Coronado

sent another expedition, this one headed by Hernando de Alvarado, to explore farther east. Alvarado and Bigotes were welcomed by the men of 12 pueblos north of present-day Albuquerque. The Spanish named the area Tiguex, and because the area seemed richer than Zuni, Alvarado suggested that the entire expedition spend the winter there. The Spanish also visited Taos and Pecos pueblos.

Because Alvarado wanted to explore the plains, Bigotes lent him two slaves from eastern tribes, a boy named Ysopete, who came from Quivira, and a man whom the Spanish called "the Turk." The Turk assured the Spanish that the land of Quivira held fabulous riches and claimed that Bigotes had a golden bracelet from Quivira. Alvarado decided to return to Pecos and ask Bigotes about the bracelet. Both Bigotes and Cacique denied having any such bracelet, whereupon Alvarado seized them and took them back to meet Coronado. According to the historian Elizabeth John, this "shocking violation of hospitality brought the Pecos warriors out fighting" and sowed "hostility and distrust where there had been valuable friendship."

The Spaniards' relations with the Indians continued to deteriorate. When Alvarado reached Tiguex he found Coronado planning to spend the winter there. The presence of the Spanish and their Mexican Indian allies placed great strain on the resources of the pueblos. The Spanish made the Indians vacate an entire pueblo so that they could move in and also imposed levies of food and clothing on each of the twelve pueblos of Tiguex. Tensions between the Spanish and the Indians increased, and when some Indians killed Spanish HORSES, Coronado struck back brutally. He destroyed the pueblo that he thought was leading the resistance and burned its survivors to death. The Spanish forced Bigotes, Cacique, Ysopete, and the Turk, in chains, to watch the destruction of the town and its people.

In the spring of 1541, Coronado and his men left Tiguex to cross the plains in search of Quivira. By the end of May, they believed that the Turk, who had told them so much about the wonders of the city, was a liar. Coronado sent most of his force back to Tiguex, while he and a group of about 30 Spaniards led by Ysopete continued on to Quivira. In July 1541 Ysopete led them to Quivira, but it, like Hawikuh, was a disappointment to the Spanish. Quivira was not a fabulous city of gold, but a Wichita Indian village. The Spanish killed the Turk and in mid-August turned around and headed back to Tiguex. The golden cities of Cibola and Quivira had proved imaginary, and the Spanish could think of no reason to stay. They spent another winter in Tiguex, again levying supplies from the Indians, and returned to Mexico in the spring of 1542.

Coronado never fully recovered from his travels. In the winter of 1541–42, before returning to Mexico, he had suffered a severe head injury in a fall from his horse. He had also lost much of his wife's fortune, which he had

invested in the expedition. Upon his return to Mexico, he was charged with misconduct in his behavior toward the Indians and spent several years in litigation. He was never convicted, although García López de Cárdenas, his lieutenant, was convicted of offenses against the Indians and died in prison. Coronado died in Mexico City in 1554.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### corregidor

Infamous for their frequent abuse of power, the *corregidores* were the provincial administrators of *corregimientos* (territories within the jurisdiction of an *AUDIENCIA*) and were endowed with both judicial and political authority.

The office of *corregidor* originated in Spain. *Corregidores* were first appointed in CASTILE during the 14th century as part of an attempt by the Crown to check the growing power of municipal governments. Initially appointed to only a limited number of urban centers, Queen Isabella appointed *corregidores* to all significant towns in Castile in 1480. This bureaucratic expansion was part of FERDINAND AND ISABELLA's strategy to centralize authority in Spain.

In Spanish America the Crown appointed *corregidores* in the 16th century as a direct response to the flaws in the *ENCOMIENDA*. In particular, the crown wanted the *corregidores* to increase royal revenue, tend to the needs of the non-*encomendero* population, and check the political and economic power of the *encomenderos*, whom the Crown considered a threat to its authority. Broadly, then, *corregidores* in Spanish America served the same function they did in Spain: their task was to expand royal authority in the Western Hemisphere.

There were two types of *corregidores* in Spanish America, *corregidores de españoles* and *corregidores de indios*. Both possessed political and judicial powers, were barred from engaging in commerce or accepting gifts and/or personal services, and usually served a term of five years or less in office. In addition, upon leaving office both types of *corregidores* were subject to a review of their conduct, called a *residencia*.

The differences between the *corregidores de españoles* and *corregidores de indios* relate to jurisdiction. The *corregidor de españoles* was assigned to a Spanish urban center and its surrounding territory. He presided over the *CABILDO* and had the authority to intervene when the public or royal interest was at stake. In contrast, the *corregidor de indios* held jurisdiction over Native American municipalities and had responsibility for defending the lives and property of the Indian population. In practice, *corregidores de indios* were notorious for their corruption and in many cases were the worst abusers of the Native American populations they were supposed to defend.

The small salaries paid to the *corregidores* provided an incentive to engage in illegal activities, and their substantial local power made it possible for them to do so. They coerced Indians to perform unpaid labor, to sell their goods below market value, and through a system known as the *repartimiento* of merchandise, forced them to purchase unwanted goods at exorbitant prices. Such illegal activity provided ample opportunity for profit, making the office of *corregidor* a sought-after position. Over time such abuse of power led to numerous Native American revolts and contributed to a gradual phasing out of the office beginning in 1764.

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—William Holliday

### **Cortés, Hernán (Fernando, Fernan) (1485–1547)** *conquistador*

Most notorious for his exploits as a Spanish CONQUISTADOR in the NEW WORLD, Hernán Cortés, beginning with his arrival in COZUMEL in 1519, executed plans of conquering the Indian population and establishing a permanent Spanish settlement in NEW SPAIN and in the process provided a model for later European forays across North and South America.

Born in 1485 in the Spanish town of Medellín, Cortés experienced an unexceptional childhood as part of a family with a low income but good connections. Cortés was nine years old in 1492, when two crucial events occurred: FERDINAND AND ISABELLA triumphantly ended Moorish domination in Spain and CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS arrived in the New World. After two years of studying law at the university in Salamanca, Cortés spent several years

near his family's home before buying passage to the Indies at the age of 19.

Upon arrival on the island of HISPANIOLA, Governor Ovando, an acquaintance of his parents, granted Cortés an *ENCOMIENDA*. Cortés spent nearly six years on the island in relative obscurity as a farmer and trader. Then, in his mid-20s, he accompanied the contingent led by his friend Don Diego Velázquez de Cuéllar (see DIEGO DE VELÁZQUEZ) in a planned invasion of CUBA. Cortés benefited greatly from the largely uncontested Spanish occupation of Cuba, acquiring a tract of land much larger than what he previously owned on Hispaniola. Like other Spaniards, Cortés forced the Indians he inherited as part of his land parcel to work the mines on his property. On Cuba he pursued efficient and sustainable agriculture and mining and, according to some accounts, resisted the temptation to overwork his Indian laborers. Also while there, a disgraceful act of seduction nearly brought about Cortés's execution, after which he married a poor girl, Catalina Xuarez.

Following two earlier unsuccessful efforts by the Spanish to establish a sustainable presence in MEXICO, Cortés convinced Diego de Velázquez to appoint him captain-general of the fleet that would sail to Mexico. He also diligently recruited and prepared an impressive crew. Cortés's crew consisted of more than 500 men, and the presence of several HORSES and cannon aboard the ships made some suspicious that Cortés intended only to trade with the Indian groups he encountered.

Despite a last-minute effort by Velázquez to revoke Cortés's captaincy because of fears and rumors circulated by Cortés's fellow conquistadores that Cortés planned to take command of the project, Cortés and his enthusiastic crew departed for New Spain in February of 1519. In his haste to depart from Cuba before Velázquez, his immediate superior, had a chance to officially cancel the expedition, Cortés, in effect, declared himself answerable only to the Spanish Crown, and thus, upon returning with fabulous riches and newly obtained fame, Cortés assumed that he and his crew would ultimately be held blameless by the king.

After a somewhat discouraging voyage, Cortés and his 11-ship fleet arrived at Cozumel, where they repaired their vessels and probed the Indians of the island for information about the Mexico mainland (see YUCATÁN PENINSULA). From Cozumel Cortés sent a small mission to the mainland in search of white men purportedly kept as slaves by the Indians of Yucatán. In the meanwhile, Cortés made small steps toward introducing the Natives of Cozumel to Christianity. Although the mainland mission returned without any news to report, Cortés soon found encouragement in the arrival via canoe of GERÓNIMO DE AGUILAR, a Spaniard who had been shipwrecked during a 1511 expedition to Hispaniola. With the Mayan-fluent





The first meeting between Cortés and Moctezuma. Page from a map and historical record of the people of Tlaxcala that was painted in early colonial times. Standing at the right is Cortés's interpreter-mistress, Doña Marina. (*The Granger Collection*)

Aguilar as part of his group, Cortés had an important link to the Mexica people.

Finally, Cortés and his fleet left Cozumel for the mainland in early March 1519. The ships first landed at Champoton, where the Spaniards encountered Tabascan Indians prepared to fight. Adhering to accepted Spanish practice, Cortés ordered that the required message (see *REQUERIMIENTO*) be delivered to the Indians, declaring the right of Spain to assert sovereignty over all persons and groups considered vassals of the king. Partly because of the noise and chaos that emanated from the scene of confron-

tation and also because the Indians were unfamiliar with the Spanish and their customs, the Tabascans seemed not to comprehend the *Requerimiento* and a battle ensued. In the end, 800 Indians died; the Spanish suffered many injuries but only two casualties. As a peace offering, the Tabascan Indian chiefs presented Cortés and his men with gold gifts and 20 women to be kept as slaves. One of the maidens, *MALINCHE*, spoke fluent *NAHUATL*, an invaluable skill in the coming months as the Spaniards pushed farther inward toward Nahuatl-speaking Indians. She later became Cortés's wife and the mother of his child.

From Champotón the fleet journeyed westward to San Juan de Ulúa, continuing their pursuit of gold and fame. At San Juan de Ulúa Cortés received a peaceful welcome from the local Indians. As the Spanish rested at San Juan de Ulúa, Cortés, representing himself as an ambassador to the king of Spain, sent the local chief, Tendile, as a messenger to MOCTEZUMA, the king of Mexico. Twice Cortés sent Tendile to the mountains to call on Moctezuma, and with each return Tendile brought peace-offering gifts and relayed the message that Cortés should not visit Moctezuma.

At that time, because he held a precarious footing at San Juan de Ulúa, Cortés decided to move still farther northward. He also continued to hear fabulous tales of Moctezuma's kingdom. Discouraged by Moctezuma's refusal to see him, Cortés had also to contend with diminishing supplies and a new landing that offered less protection than San Juan de Ulúa. Perhaps most significantly, Cortés risked the possibility of personal demise if at that point he returned to Cuba without enough gold and other wares to cover the enormous expense outlaid for the expedition. Then, in a moment of absolute cunning, desperation, and legalistic maneuvering, Cortés effectively usurped Velázquez's control of the mission and officially turned focus away from the initial purpose of the expedition, trading and bartering with Indians, to permanent settlement. Through this scheme Cortés managed to keep his crew, although not entirely singing his favor, at least convinced that the mission ought to continue in pursuit of Moctezuma's empire.

Soon thereafter Cortés founded La Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz (VERACRUZ) in the name of the king of Spain before pushing on to Cempoala, where he received an amiable reception from local Indians who were part of the Aztec Empire. While in Cempoala, learning that the Totonacs considered themselves oppressed by the amount of tribute they had to pay to Moctezuma as their leader, Cortés used the situation to his advantage. Cortés also remained among the Totonac long enough to receive reinforcements from Cuba and to send two representatives to Spain requesting additional financial assistance from the king, justifying the purpose of the expedition and pledging his absolute devotion to the Crown.

Determined to push inland to the highlands without the option of ever turning back, Cortés, declaring their alleged unseaworthiness, had the remaining ships stripped of their supplies and destroyed. This act incensed his men, particularly those whom he had managed thus far only to keep on his side by intimidation and bribery, but despite internal conflict, Cortés and his men focused on conquest of the AZTECS.

In August 1519 Cortés left 150 of his men behind at Veracruz and departed for the Aztec capital. Along the difficult trek Cortés acquired assistance from certain

Indian groups while encountering difficulty from others. At CHOLULA, a point reached by the Spaniards in late September, Cortés, by some accounts, met resistance from allies of the Aztecs planning to attack the Spaniards. By other accounts the battle that ensued resulted from Spanish bloodlust and Cortés's manipulation of rivalries that beset the Aztec Empire. News of 6,000 Cholulan casualties and the burning of the holy city spread quickly to an increasingly distressed Moctezuma.

After a number of exchanges via messengers, Moctezuma finally sent word that Cortés and his men might present themselves at the Aztec capital, TENOCHTITLÁN. Rumors circulated that rather than mere mortals, Cortés and the Spaniards were representatives of the feathered serpent QUETZALCOATL, the great god whose return to its domicile the Aztecs believed imminent. If indeed the Spaniards were divine emissaries, Moctezuma desired not to offend them or engage in warfare.

Then, as Cortés stalled at Tenochtitlán, a large Spanish expedition arrived with orders from Diego Velázquez to pursue and arrest Cortés. In a skillfully executed preemptive strike, Cortés marched back toward Cempoala, where he managed to outmaneuver and defeat the Spanish newcomers. With these men now on his side, Cortés returned to Tenochtitlán to confront the Aztecs. There, the Aztecs besieged Cortés and his men, and after a brutal battle the Spaniards retreated from the city.

After the battle, as the Spanish regrouped and acquired new Indian allies, inside Tenochtitlán the Aztecs enthroned a new emperor, CUITLÁHUAC, a replacement for the recently fallen Moctezuma. After months of preparation, in late December 1520 Cortés renewed his plans to retake the Aztec capital. On August 13, 1521, Cortés realized success as the desolated city of Tenochtitlán fell and the Aztecs surrendered. The ferocity of the Spanish assault stunned local Indians, who described its horrors in depth to Spanish missionaries who later arrived in Mexico (see Documents).

Following the conquest of Mexico, Cortés worked quickly and smoothly to impose Catholic ritual and Spanish law. Also, the Spanish immediately took steps to reclaim the booty of GOLD, SILVER, and jewels that had been lost when the Indians temporarily regained control of the capital. Cortés and his men took control of most of Moctezuma's empire and soon conquered bordering peoples who had not previously been under Moctezuma's dominion. Despite their efforts, in the end Cortés found no huge treasure, and so he directed attention toward the land grants that each Spaniard would receive as a reward for his efforts.

In early 1522 Cortés, optimistic about his new son with Malinche and with the opportunities offered him in New Spain, initiated plans to rebuild Tenochtitlán. During that time Cortés increasingly encountered competition from other Spaniards wishing to control New Spain, including

Velázquez, his long-term rival and once-friend. During the first half of the year Cortés wrote a letter to the king discussing plans to send more treasure to Spain. Uncertain of affairs in Spain, he waited until the end of the year to send three ships with his letter, treasures, and other news intended to convince the king of the legitimacy of his activities and claims in New Spain. In the meantime Cortés behaved as if he already possessed the king's approval.

During the summer of 1523 Cortés finally received the belated decrees from the king that declared the conquistador the governor and captain-general of New Spain. Now endowed with legitimacy, Cortés continued to pursue long-term development in New Spain. He granted *encomiendas* with the requirement that each grantee remain on his land for at least eight years; if married, each grantee had to bring his wife to Mexico within 18 months. All unmarried settlers were encouraged to marry.

Cortés battled with other conquistadores who wished to lay claim to territory that he considered part of his domain. Increasingly weary and insecure about his position in New Spain, in 1524 he led a haphazard expedition into the Honduran forests seeking to suppress a revolt and to punish one of his men who dared to establish his own sphere of influence in Las Hibueras, present-day Honduras. This trip resulted in an illness from which Cortés never fully recovered. While in the rain forest, Cortés ordered the controversial execution of CUAUHTÉMOC and another Native leader.

Believed dead by those in Mexico, Cortés returned from the journey to a huge welcome, but he soon had to deal with civil conflict and charges against him handed down from the Spanish Crown. In the autumn of 1528 he set sail for Spain, where he received the king's courtesy and a triumphant welcome from the Spanish people. Although the king acknowledged most of Cortés's accomplishments in New Spain, he did not grant him another chance to govern Mexico. Cortés then spent the next two years in Spain, during which the period of the conquistador came to an end in most of Mexico.

In 1530 Cortés returned to New Spain with his new wife and lived there in relative obscurity for 10 years. In 1547 he died in Spain. At his request, his remains were buried in Mexico.

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—Kimberly Sambol-Tosco

## Council of the Indies

Established by Charles I (CHARLES V) in 1524, the Consejo de Indias (Council of the Indies) acted as a colonial council and clearinghouse for the appointment of viceroys and all issues related to their function as head of a civil government in the NEW WORLD.

Following a period of exploration and conquest in a region, the Spanish Crown required the establishment of a civil government. Such a government effectively replaced the martial law of the CONQUISTADORES. Following the 1521 conquest of MEXICO, Charles formed the Council of the Indies in response to Spain's growing colonial empire.

Beginning in NEW SPAIN in 1535 and PERU in 1551, the viceroy system represented the top political institution in the colonies. The viceroy functioned as an administrator, fulfilled judicial and fiscal duties, and, as a personal representative of the king, held the highest position in each colonial bureaucracy. While in theory the king personally appointed all viceroys, the establishment of the Council of the Indies in 1524 introduced a system of checks and balances in regard to the viceroy's role. As a body of specialists based in SEVILLE, the council kept the king advised of colonial matters, reviewed reports from the viceroys in the Western Hemisphere, recommended policies and procedures, and wielded considerable control in enforcing initiatives related to overseas possessions. In addition, the council legislated proper behavior for viceroys and in many ways circumscribed their private lives while they served the territories under their protection.

A director of judicial, military, and political affairs related to the colonies, the Council of the Indies also acted as an advisory board in ecclesiastical and civil matters. More specifically, the council heard cases appealed from the AUDIENCIAS and the House of Trade, issued laws, and approved major colonial expenditures. Throughout the 16th century the council worked in conjunction with the CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN (House of Trade), which directed all colonial commerce.

Following the creation of the Council of the Indies, many conquistadores continued to enjoy extended periods in command of the lands they subdued without government officials or agencies obstructing their actions. In many cases, like judges and viceroys, the Council of the Indies had to operate within the structures and relationships established by the settlers of a region. Further limitations on the council's effectiveness stemmed from slow or absent communication with officials in the colonies and the inexperience of its members. Composed largely of men with university-based legal training and veterans from lower courts, the council included few men possessing familiarity with the Western Hemisphere. Thus, the council, which remained in existence through the early 18th century and ranked second only to the Council of Castile or the Royal

Council, had to cope with some notable obstacles in its management of New Spain.

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—Kimberly Sambol-Tosco

## Counterreformation

The Roman Catholic response to the REFORMATION, which consisted both of efforts to halt the spread of Protestantism and to reform the Catholic Church from within, is known as the Counterreformation or Catholic Reformation.

The term *Counterreformation* has inspired scholarly controversy. Some modern scholars use it, but others draw a distinction between the “Counterreformation,” which consisted of efforts to halt the spread of Protestantism and to regain lands for the Catholic faith, and the “Catholic Reformation,” a movement for reform within the church.

Efforts at reform and renewal within the church predated the Reformation by at least a century. Reformers often presented their goals as being conservative: They did not seek to introduce innovations into the church but instead to return to the simpler, more heartfelt religion of an earlier day. Those who sought renewal, on the other hand, were more likely to expect great changes in the church.

One important (but abortive) attempt at reform in the church before MARTIN LUTHER was the Fifth Lateran Council, which met in Rome from 1512 to 1517. At the Fifth Lateran Council, two monks, Vincenzo (or Pietro) Querini and Tommaso (or Paolo) Giustiniani, proposed that the church immediately make plans to send missionaries to the entire world, including the Americas. Many of their proposals seem to foreshadow the Reformation, because the monks sought to make the church more effective by mandating better training for clerics, eliminating most of the religious orders and reorganizing the rest, reforming the liturgy of the Mass, translating the Bible into vernacular languages, and making greater efforts to fight witchcraft (see WITCHES) and magic. In the end, however, the Fifth Lateran Council did little.

Such dramatic proposals seldom appeared from within the Catholic Church after the Reformation began. As the historian Steven Ozment has observed, “the Reformation’s success made internal Catholic criticism and reform more difficult than ever. To censure even the most flagrant church abuses after 1517 was to be suspected of Lutheran sympathies.” Proposals for change in the church or the development of new kinds of piety, depending on the time period and region, might be welcomed as healthy reforms or criticized as heresies—or both. The Jesuit order (see JESUITS),

for example, was condemned by the Faculty of Theology of Paris as “a disturber of the peace of the church,” and the Catholic mystic Saint Teresa of Ávila faced criticism from her ecclesiastical superiors as she tried to reform her order.

At the Colloquy of Regensburg (1541), Catholic and Protestant delegations sought to find points of agreement in hopes of ending the ever-widening division between the churches. Although the delegates compromised on the issue of justification, the Catholic and Protestant parties could not agree on papal authority or the sacraments. The COUNCIL OF TRENT, which met in three sessions from 1545 to 1563, showed less interest in the fading hope that the Christian churches could reunite. Instead, it focused on reforming and revitalizing the Catholic Church. It strengthened the powers of bishops, required the building of seminaries to train new priests, and forbade the accumulation of benefices. On doctrinal matters, the council rejected the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith, reaffirmed traditional Catholic beliefs and practices related to the saints and the sacraments, and strengthened papal authority.

In the decades after the Council of Trent, reforms ended or minimized some of the practices that Reformation thinkers had criticized. Church administration became more efficient, and the church focused more on pastoral care than it had in the past. In this effort the church sometimes demonstrated a “siege mentality” that made it less open to new ideas, as by the publication of the *Index of Forbidden Books* in 1559, which sought primarily to keep Catholics from reading Protestant works. The Counterreformation affected the Americas as well, where both new and restructured religious orders (see FRANCISCANS and DOMINICANS) sent missionaries to convert the Native peoples.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Cozumel

Located 15 miles off the coast of the YUCATÁN PENINSULA, during the 16th century Spanish explorers relied on the island of Cozumel as an important and well-known stopping point during expeditions from CUBA to the Mexican mainland.



At its broadest point, Cozumel is 30 miles by 12 miles long. Modern estimates place the island's indigenous population between 2,000 and 3,000 persons at the time of first contact with Europeans. The name *Cozumel* is derived from the Mayan expression for a shallow island, *Ah-Cuzamil-Pet en*.

In May 1518, one week after departing from Cuba, JUAN DE GRIJALVA and his men, caught by a current, reached Cozumel during the second expedition by the Spanish to explore the Mexican coastline. Because they reached the island on the third of May, Grijalva named the island Santa Cruz in recognition of the holy day. Upon sight of the Spaniards, the Mayan-speaking Natives ran away from their villages and took shelter in the nearby woods.

Grijalva saw stone houses, elaborate pyramids, and towers constructed by the Natives. Men from Grijalva's expedition wrote of impressive paved streets, a guttering system, strange crosses, and a white pyramid with a circumference in excess of 140 square feet. Religious rituals performed by the Indians, including human sacrifices and other offerings presented to the goddess of the rainbow, Ix Chel, also astounded the Spanish. While at Cozumel Grijalva met and exchanged gifts with the chief and learned that news of Spanish activities in the Caribbean had preceded their arrival on the island. There were supposedly two white men living on the island, but Grijalva failed to encounter either of them.

Although Grijalva departed Cozumel not long after his arrival, the next Spanish expedition, led by HERNÁN CORTÉS in 1519, remained on the island considerably longer. As bad weather created difficulty for him, Cortés used the favorable harbor of Cozumel as a meeting point for his ships. Like Grijalva before him, Cortés, too, encountered things he considered quite surprising, including foods of unanticipated complexity, cotton hammocks, and beautiful picture books.

Via a translator, Cortés immediately began to spread the word of Christianity to the island's Indians, condemning indigenous ceremonies, idols, and human sacrifices. Although awed with the sophistication of Cozumel society, Cortés ordered his men to remove Native idols from the temples and to replace them with Christian ornaments, including an altar with the Virgin Mary. The Indians were astonished by his actions but did not stop him. Cortés and his men remained on the island long enough to repair their vessels and to be joined by a white man, GERÓNIMO DE AGUILAR, who had been shipwrecked in Yucatán.

After Cortés's departure the Spanish continued to use Cozumel as a natural stopping point during their explorations and settlement of NEW SPAIN. Beginning with Cortés's efforts, the Spanish presence in Cozumel suggested the permanent influence of Spain among the Mexica people, particularly in the spread of Spanish law and religious prac-

tices. Although it later changed the location to TLAXCALA, in 1519 the Crown created a bishopric for Cozumel. Also, during the early 1520s the Natives of Cozumel, like other indigenous peoples, experienced the debilitating effects of new DISEASE when Spaniards unwittingly introduced SMALLPOX to the island.

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—Kimberly Sambol-Tosco

### cross staff

A navigational tool used extensively by mariners in the 16th century to determine their location at sea.

The cross staff, also known as a "Jacob's Staff," was invented (as far as is now known) by the Provençal rabbi Levi ben Gershon (1288–1344), who wrote about it in his book entitled "Books of the Wars of the Lord." The tool was a boon to astronomers, who could use it to measure the angles (and directions) of two stars. Unlike an ASTROLABE, which worked best when the user knew the surroundings (and hence functioned optimally on land), the cross staff could be used at sea, primarily by navigators who employed it to measure the elevation of the sun above the horizon, the crucial ingredient in determining latitude. (The problem of longitude was not solved by mariners until the development of accurate chronometers in the 18th century.) Scholars believe that CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, among others, used a cross staff.

One advantage of the cross staff was the relative ease with which it could be used. In essence, someone interested in measuring the proper angles would place the long part of the tool just below one eye and then move the cross-piece to determine the angle between two stars. That said, some 16th-century observers recognized that the cross staff could be difficult to use and led to false calculations.

**Further reading:** David P. Stern, "From Stargazers to Starships." Available online. URL: <http://www.nasa.gov/stargaze>. Accessed November 11, 2008.

### Cauhtémoc (ca. 1496–1525) chief

One of the many nobles who opposed welcoming Spanish CONQUISTADORES, Cauhtémoc was the AZTECS' last elected great speaker and eventually was executed by HERNÁN CORTÉS in 1525.

Born in TENOCHTITLÁN around 1496, Cuauhtémoc was raised by his mother after his father, Ahuizotl, died in 1502. At age 15 he entered the *calmecac*, the institution of higher education where the sons of warriors and priests learned the secrets of religion and astronomy and were trained to be fierce warriors. By dint of participation in numerous battles, he advanced to the rank of *tlacatecuhtli*, or supreme general, and it was during this time that he must have accompanied the Aztec army in its incursions to the south, especially in the FLOWERY WARS with TLAXCALA.

When Hernán Cortés landed at VERACRUZ in 1519, Cuauhtémoc, along with CUITLÁHUAC, was one of the only leaders to argue against the invaders' supposed divinity. (MOCTEZUMA II's advisers had identified Cortés as the incarnation of QUETZALCOATL.)

In late May 1520, when the residents of Tenochtitlán rose up against the resident Spaniards, provoked by an attack led by PEDRO DE ALVARADO on their nobles, Cuauhtémoc marched out at the head of an army to attack Cortés's troops, which were then just returning to the Aztec capital after a trip to the coast to quell the threat posed by PÁNFILO DE NARVÁEZ. When Moctezuma, at Cortés's request, ordered the indigenous forces to stand down, Cuauhtémoc proclaimed himself and his followers to be in rebellion against a king whom many felt had betrayed them.

The Spanish fled the city in the face of organized armed resistance and rebellion against their royal ally, and many died in the Noche Triste (the Sad Night; June 30, 1520), seeking refuge in the kingdom of Tlaxcala. Moctezuma died in or shortly after the attack, and the population elected Cuitláhuac as their new great speaker, but he also died in late November of that same year, a victim of SMALLPOX. Cuauhtémoc then took over the government of the region and was speaker when Cortés began his siege of Tenochtitlán in May 1521. In August he was captured and brought to Cortés, whose prisoner he remained until 1525, when Cortés, having heard rumors of sedition, ordered him executed.

**Further reading:** Michael Coe, *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*, 4th ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994); Nigel Davies, *Aztecs: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980).

—Marie Kelleher

## Cuba

The largest island in the West Indies, Cuba supported one of the largest indigenous populations in the region until it came under the control during the 16th century of the Spanish, who used the island to assist their forays into MEXICO and North America and to supply oceangoing Spanish ships.

At the time of contact with Europeans, two distinct indigenous groups occupied Cuba, the Guanahatabey and the TAINO. The western end of Cuba was occupied by the Guanahatabey. Speaking a different language from the Taino, who inhabited the other three-fourths of Cuba, the ancestors of the Guanahatabey traveled to the island from the YUCATÁN PENINSULA following a countercurrent that flows eastward from the Yucatán along the southern side of the Greater Antilles. These people did not produce pottery and made tools from stone, bone, and shell. The Guanahatabey subsisted on shellfish, fish, game, and wild vegetables and fruits. They lived in nomadic, small bands that migrated from the interior to the coast and back depending upon the season. They probably inhabited most of Cuba before the arrival of the Taino, but over time the Guanahatabey retreated to the western corner of Cuba, and they were living there by the time CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS arrived in the West Indies in 1492. It is possible that the Guanahatabey had limited contact with the peoples who inhabited the southern tip of FLORIDA, who shared some similar material culture traits.

The Taino arrived in Cuba from HISPANIOLA. The Cuban Taino society developed along similar lines with other Taino societies in the Greater Antilles. They organized their societies into chiefdoms focused primarily on trade and lived in sedentary villages. They cultivated plants and went to sea for fish, shellfish, turtles, and birds. They harvested peanuts, sweet potatoes, manioc, a wide range of root crops, TOBACCO, and cotton. They used the slash and burn technique of cultivation and created artificial ponds to husband fish and turtles. They had a more extensive material culture than did the Guanahatabey, wearing GOLD and copper ornaments, sleeping in cotton hammocks, and crafting ceramics.

Although Columbus encountered Cuba on his first voyage in 1492, he did not pay much attention to it. In 1494, when he reached Cuba on his second voyage, he believed that it was part of the Asian continent. The governor of Hispaniola, Diego Columbus, sent DIEGO DE VELÁZQUEZ to conquer Cuba in 1510. After landing on the southern coast near Guantánamo, Velázquez engaged the Taino of the region and burned their leader at the stake. Velázquez established a *CABILDO* (town council) for the Natives in Baracoa. Eventually, Velázquez's lieutenant, PÁNFILO DE NARVÁEZ, finished the conquest of the island by 1512. In 1513 Velázquez implemented the *ENCOMIENDA* system, in which the indigenous inhabitants of the island performed all the labor required by the Spanish under cruel and inhumane conditions. The earliest Spanish residents became quite wealthy exploiting the Natives in the *encomiendas*. Primarily, this was achieved through gold mining and agriculture. By the middle of the 16th century, much of the indigenous population of Cuba had disappeared because

of overwork and DISEASES introduced by the Spanish. Eventually, thanks to the work of BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, the Spanish implemented new laws that made Natives free subjects of the Crown.

After the conquest of Mexico and the discovery of great wealth there, Cuba began to lose its Spanish population and its importance in the Spanish colonial system. The process increased as the gold mines drained the ore deposits on the island. After the collapse of the mining industry and the establishment of the annual fleet system in 1561, the primary purpose for Cuba became the housing of crews and passengers as well as the repair, maintenance, and supply of the Spanish gold and colonial supply fleets. Beginning in 1553 Havana became the capital of Cuba, and the Spanish fortified this port, developing it into the gathering and arrival point for the annual fleets that crossed the Atlantic Ocean.

In the second half of the 16th century, the Spanish began importing African slaves to Cuba (see SLAVE TRADE). Used in a wide variety of activities, most slaves worked on HACIENDAS. Three types of haciendas developed on the island during this period. The first raised livestock—cows, horses, mules, and oxen; the second kind tended swine; the third type had residents who grew crops to support Cuba's population. Industry associated with harboring the annual fleets and the products of the haciendas dominated Cuba's economy until the Spanish developed SUGAR plantations in the 18th century.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

### **Cuitláhuac** (d. 1520) *chief*

A member of the Tenocha royal line who became the 10th great speaker of the AZTECS upon the death of MOCTEZUMA II, Cuitláhuac led the expulsion of the Spanish invaders from TENOCHTITLÁN only to die 80 days after his ascension, a victim of the SMALLPOX epidemic that ravaged the city.

Cuitláhuac, brother of Moctezuma II, began his political career as lord of Ixtapalapa. Before the arrival of the Spanish, his best-known martial accomplishment was his leadership of the expedition to subjugate the Mixtecs in 1506. He, like his contemporary XICOTENCATL THE YOUNGER, opposed admitting the Spaniards into the heart of the empire, a stance for which the invaders imprisoned him along with several other nobles of the region. He was liberated in June 1520 in the revolt that followed the massacre at the Great Temple organized by PEDRO DE ALVARADO, whereupon a council of nobles and military leaders elected him great speaker, replacing the captive Moctezuma, who died in the rioting shortly thereafter. Cuitláhuac moved to organize the residents of Tenochtitlán for war, ordering ambassadors to solicit aid from potential allies, but could bring few of his plans to fruition, as his reign ended abruptly, only 80 days after it began, when he succumbed to smallpox on November 25, 1520. The works for the defense of the city that he initiated were continued by CUAUHTÉMOC.

**Further reading:** Michael Coe, *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*, 4th ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994); Nigel Davies, *Aztecs: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980).

—Marie Kelleher

### **Cuzco**

Laid out in the shape of a puma, Cuzco served as the religious and political capital of the INCA Empire from its founding by Manco Capac in approximately 1200 until the conquest of the city by FRANCISCO PIZARRO in 1543.

According to oral tradition, Manco Capac, the first Incan emperor, founded the city as the capital to his empire in approximately A.D. 1200. From Cuzco, beginning with the emperor Pachacuti, the Inca expanded their empire and influence primarily to the north and south along the ANDES MOUNTAINS, but they also expanded west to the Pacific Coast and to the east down into the tropical rain forest of the Amazon River basin. Cuzco's importance lay in its strategic location along the junction of major trading routes between the north and south as well as the highlands and lowlands to the west and east. Pachacuti rebuilt Cuzco and canalized the Tullumayo and Huatanay Rivers in stone beds to prevent flooding of the city.

Throughout the existence of the Inca Empire, rulers added to the size and prestige of Cuzco. Cuzco eventually contained more than 4,000 residences, granaries, storage sheds, religious temples, and imperial structures. Before the arrival of the Spanish, activity in Cuzco centered on the Palace of the Sun, a temple to the primary Incan deity, and the palaces of the former and current Inca. The Palace of

the Sun occupied the central location within Cuzco, and outside the city the fortress Sacsahuaman overlooked the city. Built of stones that weighed up to 300 tons, Sacsahuaman along with the Palace of the Sun and the residences of the Inca testified to the high level of craftsmanship developed during the reign of the Incan emperors.

Francisco Pizarro arrived in Cuzco in 1533, and by 1543 the Spanish controlled Cuzco and the surrounding territory. The Spanish then proceeded to tear down the Incan buildings and replace them with new Spanish structures often built from the same stones used in the Incan structures. The Spanish used indigenous labor to rebuild the city and develop the city's and region's economy along Spanish lines. The Plaza de Armas eventually became the center of the city, and over time the Spanish built cathedrals

and churches on Incan holy sites in an attempt to obliterate the old religion. Despite their intentions, many Incans tended to blend Catholicism with their traditional religion in a syncretic fashion similar to that of other Natives throughout the Spanish American Empire.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard



# D



## Dagomba

Today an ethnic group in northeastern GHANA and Togo, the Dagomba established a kingdom in the 14th century.

Observers have explained the origins of the Dagomba, both as an ethnic group and as a people, in several ways. One tradition tells of the noble warrior Nyagse, who made the Dagomba into a nation through the conquest of villages and the massacre of local priests. Nyagse then created a hierarchical state in which the sons of the *ya-na*, or top chief, acceded to power. Another tradition connects the Dagomba to the MOSSI kingdoms, situating it as a “junior brother” in the Mossi hierarchy. According to this tradition, Sitobu, a second son of Na Gbewa, the founder of the Mossi people, left his father’s kingdom to found his own. He slaughtered the local priests in his effort to gain political domination of the area. Succession to the throne in this tradition was determined by direct lineage to previous rulers, whose authority came from three “gate skins.” Limiting the lines of succession in this way was intended to diminish the internal power struggles plaguing the kingdom by the end of the 17th century.

According to anthropological evidence, the Dagomba amalgamated into a distinct ethnic group around the 14th century, when migrant horsemen conquered the indigenous Gur speakers in the region who cultivated grains, raised cattle, and worked with iron. The spiritual leaders of these agriculturalists were the *tindamba* (“earth priests”). Although the conquerors assimilated linguistically, they imposed their social structure and cultural mores onto the indigenous peoples. The kingdom, known as Dagbon, was hierarchical, ruled by the top chief, or *ya-na*, but administered by the *tindamba*, who allocated land, appointed chiefs, and were the spiritual leaders.

The Dagomba kingdom prospered due to its policy of taxing the trade goods that passed through its territory. The HAUSA kingdom traded cola nuts, GOLD, slaves (see SLAVERY), salt, and cloth with the Dagbon and were instrumental in introducing ISLAM to the Dagomba king-

dom. Although Islam took a firm hold on the nobles of the kingdom, inspiring one king, Na Luro (d. 1660), to invite the Muslim scholar Shaykh Sulayman to establish a school in the kingdom, the indigenous religion endured among the commoners. The GONJA kingdom expelled the Dagomba from its western territories in the 16th century, forcing the Dagomba eastward. The Dagomba conquered the Konkomba people in the east, founded a new capital for their kingdom at Yendi, and ruled over the Konkomba as overlords.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Dahomey

Located in present-day southern Benin, the early kingdom of Dahomey was a powerful partner in the SLAVE TRADE for much of its history, with the height of its power coinciding with the apex of the transatlantic slave trade.

Originally subjects of the Adja kingdom, which developed in response to European trading activity on the coast and to pressures from the YORUBA state of OYO to the north, the Fon established their own kingdom at Allada early in the 17th century under the leadership of Agasu (see FON for the legend of Agasu). Succession disputes ensued after Agasu’s death, forcing his son Dogbari to flee to the city of Abomey in 1620, which became the capital of the new kingdom of Dahomey. By mid-century Dahomey was a powerful kingdom controlled by a strong monarch compelled by law to increase the kingdom’s territory and supported by a

large, sophisticated army, which included 2,000 female warriors (known as Amazons). Much of the kingdom's power rested on its control of the region's slave trade from the main port city of Whydah, from which more than 2 million slaves were shipped to the Americas. Dahomey's economy went into decline after the closing of the slave trade in 1804 and increasingly relied on the less lucrative trade in palm oil.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Darfur

The kingdom of Darfur, located on the dry grasslands of the SUDAN approximately midway between the Middle Nile and the NIGER RIVER, played an important role in the trans-continental trade routes that carried various commodities such as GOLD, salt, ivory, and slaves from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans throughout the 16th century.

The name means "house of the Fur" in Arabic and refers to the agricultural Fur peoples ruled by the Tunjur, who had built a non-Muslim kingdom perhaps as early as the fourth century. According to traditional lore, the Tunjur replaced the earlier Daju kingdom. Archaeological excavation of the ruins in the ancient cities in the Darfur region suggests that the earliest kingdoms were Christian, probably descended from the exiled Meroe kingdoms of the Middle Nile. This is significant in several ways: Not only does it suggest that Christianity spread farther into the African continent from the east than was previously believed, but also that ISLAM came to dominate the region much later than had been assumed. Indeed, the Muslim faith most likely came to Darfur in the 14th or 15th century, gaining a certain foothold only with the conquering Kanem-Bornu king Mai Idris Aloom (r. 1571–1603) as late as the 17th century.

After the death of Mai ("king") Idris, Sulayman established the Keira dynasty of the independent Fur kingdom of Darfur. The Keira Sultanate reigned until 1916, when the Darfur kingdom became part of the British Empire.

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—Lisa M. Brady

**da Vinci, Leonardo** See LEONARDO DA VINCI.

**De La Warr, Lord** (1577–1618) *governor*

Thomas West, 12th baron De La Warr, was an important early figure in the development of English colonial America, particularly in Jamestown, Virginia, following its early difficulties.

De La Warr attended the University of Oxford but never received a degree. He enjoyed travel and adventure, participating in both as a private citizen and an army officer. His military career was notable and earned him a knighthood in 1599. His superior officer and mentor was the earl of Essex, one of Queen ELIZABETH I's favorites and a man who was executed for a plot against the government. De La Warr became implicated in the rebellion because of his close association to the leader of the plot. Before he died Essex wrote to the queen and absolved De La Warr of complicity. She must have listened, because after attaining peerage at his father's death De La Warr became a member of Elizabeth's PRIVY COUNCIL.

De La Warr became a member of the Council of Virginia in 1609 as the Virginia Company of London reorganized. The company recognized that Jamestown colony was failing, and the reorganization sought to change its course. In 1610 De La Warr was appointed lord governor and captain general of the Virginia colony. His appointment was for life, and he joined the struggling settlement in the early summer. He had learned strict discipline in the army, and once he arrived in Jamestown he implemented rigorous new demands upon the colony's residents. He appointed a council from among Jamestown's prominent residents and organized the colony's work. Many of Jamestown's early settlers had died of starvation during the first few winters, so some of De La Warr's work units were sent into the wilderness to look for food. Among his legal and social reforms was the death penalty, instituted for a variety of offenses, including laziness. In addition, because DISEASE had contributed to Jamestown's early problems, colonists were whipped if they relieved themselves within a quarter mile of the colony's fort. The result was that formerly indolent Virginians began working in fort and field, and the colony's prospects improved. While some saw his measures as draconian, they worked. The Virginia colony stabilized.

Returning to England in 1611, De La Warr reported that the colony could succeed. He also recommended

choosing future colonists with care to avoid the perils of lethargy and fecklessness exhibited by many of the first settlers. De La Warr spent seven years in England while retaining his colonial titles and responsibilities. Jamestown prospered during this period, although TOBACCO, rather than Lord De La Warr, can be credited for the success.

In early 1618 De La Warr set sail for Virginia once again, but he never arrived. He died at sea; the cause, date, and place are unknown. While De La Warr's involvement with the Virginia colony was brief and interrupted by a long visit to England, historians credit him with saving Jamestown, thus making it the first permanent English settlement in North America. His accomplishments were not forgotten by succeeding generations of colonists. The Delaware River, Delaware Bay, the colony and state of Delaware, as well as the Delaware Indian Nation all commemorate Lord De La Warr's contributions to England's first empire.

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—David P. Dewar

**Dengel, Lebna (Dauti [David] II)** (ca. 1496–1540)  
*emperor of Ethiopia*

Emperor of the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia (see ETHIOPIA) from 1508 to 1540, Lebna Dengel successfully defended his kingdom from Muslim invaders in 1516 but could not repel the invaders in 1527.

Born in 1496, Lebna Dengel acceded to the Abyssinian throne upon the death of his father, Naod, in 1508. Because Dengel was only 12 years old at the time, his mother, Helena, served as regent. Muslim unrest and invasion characterized the early years of Dengel's rule, and as regent Helena requested the help of the Portuguese to defend the ancient kingdom from the Muslims. Dengel came into power in his own right before the Portuguese delegation arrived and suppressed a Muslim rebellion by the Adal sultanate at Zelia, a city on the Red Sea, in 1516. A Portuguese embassy arrived in Abyssinia in 1520 but left in 1527 after receiving a cool reception by Dengel. That same year Muslims under Ahmad Ibn Ibrahim assaulted Dengel's kingdom. The Adalite Muslims succeeded this time, destroyed monasteries for several years, and forced the largely Christian population in Abyssinia to convert to ISLAM. Dengel once again turned to Portugal for assistance, suggesting in 1535 that the Ethiopian Church be

attached to the Roman See. Unsuccessful in ousting the Muslim invaders, Dengel fled to a monastery in Debra Damo (Ethiopia), where he died on September 2, 1540, before the Portuguese returned.

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—Lisa M. Brady

**Dias, Bartholomeu** (1450?–1500) *explorer of Africa*

A Portuguese navigator of the 15th century, Dias discovered the Cape of Good Hope on the southern tip of Africa.

Little is known of Dias's early life, although several Portuguese historians claim he was a relative or descendent of Joao Dias, who sailed around Cape Bojador in 1434, and of Diniz Dias. In 1481 Dias gained valuable seafaring knowledge when he accompanied Diogo d'Azambuja on an expedition to the GOLD COAST. In addition to this early expedition, Dias served as a cavalier of the royal court, superintendent of the royal warehouses, and as sailing master of the man-of-war *San Christovao* before October 10, 1486, when King John (João) II commissioned him to lead an expedition aimed at sailing around the southern tip of the African continent in search of the Christian African king known as PRESTER JOHN.

Following 10 months of preparation, Dias departed from LISBON in late July or early August 1487. He was equipped with two armed CARAVELS, each weighing 50 tons, and one supply ship, commanded by his brother Pero. After sailing first to the mouth of the Congo, Dias followed the African coast before entering Walfisch Bay, where he probably erected stone columns near the present-day Angra Pequena. Stopping for a few days to take in water and supplies, he met a number of native Africans, who were intermittently hostile and friendly. Dias's crew included a few Africans whom the Portuguese had hoped would serve as interpreters, but the Natives they encountered spoke different languages.

At approximately 29 degrees south latitude a violent storm lasting 13 days drove Dias and his crew far beyond the cape to the south. Vision impaired, Dias did not sight the cape when his ship rounded it. When calm weather resumed, he sailed eastward. Failing to immediately sight land, he turned in a northerly direction, landing in Mossel Bay. Following the coastline, Dias reached Algoa Bay, the northern-most point of the expedition. On the return voyage Dias sighted the cape, naming it Cabo Tormentoso

(“Cape of Storms”), although the name was later changed to the Cape of Good Hope.

Dias returned to Lisbon 16 months after setting sail. There is no extant logbook, chronicle, or diary of his voyage, although João de Barros recorded the event some 60 years later. In addition, there is little extant evidence relating to the reception Dias received upon his return, although it appears as though John I gave him only lukewarm congratulations. The Portuguese monarch failed to follow up promptly on Dias’s expedition. Only nine years later did he commission a similar voyage, this time with VASCO DA GAMA in charge and Dias along in a subordinate position. In 1500 Dias was involved in yet another expedition, this one led by Pedro Álvares Cabral, but Dias perished when his ship wrecked near the Cape of Good Hope, the landmark he had discovered 13 years earlier.

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—Matthew Lindaman

### **Díaz del Castillo, Bernal** (1492–1584) *Spanish historian and soldier*

A foot soldier, Díaz accompanied HERNAN CORTÉS on his conquest of MEXICO and later recorded the events in the novel-like *True History of the Conquest of Mexico*.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo was born in the noble town of Medina del Campo in 1492. By the time Bernal reached his early 20s, he followed the example of many Spanish youths, leaving in 1514 for the NEW WORLD in search of fame and wealth. Altogether, Díaz participated in three exploratory ventures to Mexico, all launched from Spanish strongholds in CUBA. The third venture, piqued by the knowledge and allure of Mexican GOLD, was launched in 1521. Directed by Hernan Cortés, it possessed just more than 500 soldiers. Marching inland, the expedition met many CACIQUES and chieftains coming in advance of MOCTEZUMA II. Vacillating between diplomacy and a declaration of war, the Aztec sovereign kept to the former until the Spaniards made him a prisoner in his own palace. Collecting an immense treasure, Cortés and his party proceeded with an 85-day siege of the Aztec capital.

Following the conquest of the AZTECS, the Spaniards fanned out across Mexico looking for Moctezuma’s mines. Seeking rewards of his own, Díaz returned briefly to Spain in 1539, making his case for a share of the riches. For his

efforts he was granted a claim in Guatemala, where he settled permanently, serving as a magistrate of his community. During the 1560s the aging ex-soldier of Cortés assembled a manuscript that chronicled the conquest of Mexico. It is generally assumed that he undertook the project to correct a work entitled *The History of the Conquest of Mexico* published in 1552 by a former chaplain of Cortés’s named Francisco López de Gómara. Never having set foot in the New World, the chaplain’s account exalted the figure of Cortés at the expense of his soldiers. Díaz sought balance in his novel-like account, describing the merits of all participants in the venture, including the native Aztecs.

From his chronicle readers learned of explorations along the coast, the inland march, the luxury of Moctezuma’s palace, the capture of the monarch, the siege and destruction of the Aztec capital, and the division of the spoils. The chronicle contains numerous colorful anecdotes to go along with invented speeches and dialogues. At the same time, it represents history as told by a common foot-soldier, a private who slogged through mud, endured hunger, and narrowly escaped with his life on numerous occasions—all taking place in a foreign and uncharted land. Díaz’s writing style was no doubt influenced by the “romances of chivalry” that, beginning around 1500, influenced and captivated readers in all the literate classes throughout the 16th century. Highlighting the concept of life in which virtue, strength, and passion were all transcendent, this genre brought to readers accounts of fantastic places, riches, MONSTERS, and wonders. In the process, authors like Díaz promulgated myths including EL DORADO, Fountains of Youth, Amazons, the Seven Enchanted Cities, and other will-o’-the-wisps.

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—Matthew Lindaman

### **disease**

The epoch that historians have called the Age of Discovery—from roughly the time that CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS first sailed across the Atlantic to the founding of the English colony of Jamestown in 1607—witnessed a wide range of epidemic and infectious diseases that devastated Natives and newcomers across the Atlantic basin.

Before 1492 the peoples on either side of the Atlantic world had no contact with one another, at least not since the time when the land bridge across the Bering Strait had provided a route for Old World peoples to travel to the NEW WORLD. Still, diseases existed. Inhabitants of the



Eurasian landmass had to deal with periodic epidemics of the **PLAGUE**, a disease that ravaged populations wherever it appeared. Plague could be spread by various vectors, although bubonic plague tended to spread from fleas to rats to humans. The scale of epidemics could be massive. The so-called Black Death of the 14th century broke out in Italy in 1347. By the time it ran its course, as much as one-third of the population of Europe had succumbed, and in some areas, notably in northern climates where livestock perished from neglect (due to the decline in the farming population), the death rate could be much higher because famine at sometimes followed the pestilence. Records from antiquity report epidemics of plague, although it is impossible to know for certain that each of these epidemics was caused by the same disease.

Plague killed men, women, and children, but other Old World diseases tended to be less virulent. The most important of these other illnesses was **SMALLPOX**, a disease that always existed somewhere in Europe, sustained in large population centers by traveling from one individual or group to the next. Such endemic diseases tended to afflict children, most of whom, so records suggest, survived because their immune systems were able to respond to the threat. Those who survived developed immunities to the disease, so that only rarely would an individual become sickened by the same virus twice. While smallpox was the most serious of these kinds of diseases, Old World peoples also coped with regular visits from chicken pox, measles, and influenza, among other ailments. An individual might bear scars from some diseases for the rest of his or her life—smallpox left particularly disfiguring marks—but the disease itself tended to leave few permanent complications.

Some Old World diseases had particular environmental causes. The most significant of these illnesses during the 16th century were malaria and yellow fever, both spread by mosquitoes. In parts of Africa and Sicily where these insects and their diseases were common, groups of people had developed genetic immunity that helped them withstand the dangers these afflictions could cause. Poor water, particularly common in European cities, could also be ideal breeding grounds for various kinds of bacteria that had the potential to assault the human body. Early modern Europeans complained about the “agues” and fevers that such infections caused, as well as the bloody stools that an infection could cause if the microorganism invaded the wall of the bowel. Dietary deficiencies also caused problems. The lack of a regular supply of vitamin C, for example, led to scurvy, a disease that particularly afflicted sailors on long ocean voyages.

In the Western Hemisphere individuals suffered from diseases as well, although these diseases tended to be less devastating than those that periodically circulated



Aztec Indians, with smallpox contracted from the Spaniards, ministered to by a medicine man. Illustration from Father Bernardino de Sahagún's 16th-century treatise, *General History of the Things of New Spain* (The Granger Collection)

in the Old World. Paleopathological analysis of the skeletal remains of peoples who lived in the Americas before 1492 reveal that individuals suffered from various dietary deficiencies. Reliance on **CORN** (maize), for example, might have deprived various peoples of necessary vitamins and made them potential victims of an epidemic. Lesions on skeletons also suggest that Native Americans were periodically exposed to tuberculosis and various kinds of treponematoses (the family of diseases that includes syphilis and yaws). Although venereal syphilis could have an effect on an individual's fertility, there is little evidence that any disease played a significant role in limiting the size of indigenous families or communities.

However devastating disease might have been before 1492, however tragic it must have been for parents to tend to dying children or for children to grow up without parents, diseases tended to have limited effects on populations unless there was a major epidemic. However, when Europeans and Africans began to travel to the Western Hemisphere, their actions brought Old World diseases into populations that had never encountered them before. As a result, the spread of infectious disease became the most devastating aspect of what the historian Alfred Crosby has labelled the **COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE**.

Of these diseases, none proved so virulent or deadly as smallpox. Native communities across the Americas suffered heavily from this scourge. Unlike Europeans, who tended to survive an infection, smallpox routinely killed the indigenous peoples of the Americas, who had lacked prior exposure to the ailment and thus had never developed immunities to it. Thus, when smallpox entered a community, it afflicted adults as well as children, and many adults

did not have the recuperative power that children tend to possess. Some indigenous healing rituals, such as jumping into a cold river to purge the body of an illness, exacerbated the consequences of smallpox because victims were often too weakened from the disease to swim to shore, and many apparently drowned. When smallpox hit a community, many victims eventually died because there were not enough healthy family or neighbors to provide them with care. Other diseases that tended to be endemic illnesses in Europe, such as influenza and chicken pox, quickly became raging epidemics once they were unleashed among peoples with no prior exposure (and thus no immunities). Such devastating contagions are sometimes called “virgin soil epidemics.” Although scholars continue to disagree about the size of the population of the Western Hemisphere before 1492, there is a virtual consensus that Native populations declined by approximately 90 percent from 1492 to 1800 and that most of the decline was due to the spread of epidemic diseases. Because Europeans often took advantage of epidemics by acquiring Natives’ land, survivors had diminished resources that could have helped their populations recover from smallpox or some other pathogen.

Of course, residents of the Old World who traveled to the Western Hemisphere also succumbed to diseases. In addition to dietary deficiencies caused by extended transatlantic voyages, Europeans often did not understand the new environments they inhabited. Thus, the nascent English colony of Jamestown had enormous difficulty during its formative years because its organizers believed that residents should be clustered together for defensive purposes at a site along the James River (in modern-day Virginia). They did not initially pay sufficient attention to the fact that colonists there dumped their waste (human and other) into the river, where they got their drinking water, nor did they understand that the lower elevation of the James River during the summer and autumn made it a prime breeding ground for two pathogens—*endamoeba histolytica*, which caused the “bloudie flixe” (bloody stools) associated with dysentery, and *salmonella typhosa*, which caused the “burning fevers” associated with typhoid fever. Together with other local environmental problems, such as the backwash of saltwater from the Atlantic that caused salt poisoning and its characteristic symptoms of irritability and lassitude, it is little wonder that early English colonists died at a horrific rate. Over time the increase in ships traveling back and forth between the Americas and Africa also provided ideal opportunities for disease-bearing mosquitoes to hitch a ride, thereby causing a health problem for Europeans who had arrived in the Western Hemisphere with no prior contact with malaria or yellow fever, diseases that eventually had an enormous impact on various communities (such as Philadelphia, which suffered a devastating yellow fever epidemic in 1793).

Of course, diseases do not simply appear and disappear. Some illnesses, such as smallpox, were highly contagious and tended to spread from group to group. That meant that smallpox, an unwanted visitor from the Old World, appeared in indigenous communities in the Americas long before anyone had actually seen a European man or woman. Indigenous trade centers and cities became ideal sites for the transmission of disease between Native peoples. Further, since early modern peoples tended to see illnesses as a sign of divine judgment, witnesses tried to make sense of the fact that epidemics tended to afflict Natives more than newcomers. Scholars have speculated that the spread of disease made some indigenous Americans hostile to their traditional ways of thought and thus more open to the message of opportunistic missionaries, although such interpretations have not been embraced by everyone who has studied the spread of diseases in the Western Hemisphere. Whatever the number of individuals who succumbed to a particular disease, there is no question that the spread of epidemics became a defining feature of life in the Atlantic basin during the 16th century. Nor is there any debate about the fact that the indigenous peoples of the Americas tended to suffer far worse than the uninvited migrants who took up residence in the Western Hemisphere.

Alfred Crosby’s model of the Columbian Exchange has had an enormous impact on the ways that scholars understand the meeting of peoples from the Eurasian landmass and the Western Hemisphere, particularly in scholars’ interpretation of the spread of disease. But more recently the medical historian David S. Jones has questioned whether the model proposed by Crosby is in need of revision. Specifically, Jones has argued that new advances in clinical understanding of the transmission of infectious disease—itsself a consequence of the continued virulence of old diseases such as malaria, the rise of antibiotic-resistant strains of more modern diseases like tuberculosis, and the continuing threat posed by the global spread of HIV/AIDS—suggest that the model employed in the Columbian Exchange needs some revision.

It is true, of course, that an individual who lacks immunities to a particular disease will be more likely to suffer from it if he or she comes into contact with the virus (or bacteria) responsible for it. But new understandings of why some individuals succumb to infectious disease while others are able to mount an effective resistance have shifted the debate toward the larger social and economic context. Specifically, clinicians have argued that populations undergoing certain kinds of stress—physical displacement due to invasion, for example, or a shortage of food during a famine—are more prone to suffer from infectious agents when those pathogens are present than populations that are free of such afflictions. Given the ongoing stress suffered by Native Americans as a result of the arrival of colonists who

wanted their lands, souls, and material possessions, it is at least possible, if not likely, that Old World diseases had a particular advantage in their assault on American bodies.

This new scholarship does not argue that Europeans understood how their actions made it more likely that Americans would become ill once new diseases arrived. But it does raise legitimate questions about responsibility for epidemics since it was the conscious actions of Europeans—their desire to settle indigenous lands, convert Indians to Christianity, push them into coerced and debilitating labor, and extract material wealth from the Americas—that put new stress on Americans' bodies and hence made them more susceptible to invasion by pathogens.

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### Djenne-Djeno (Jenne-Jeno)

Replaced in the 12th century by the nearby city of Djenne, Djenne-Djeno was a major trading center in the central Niger Valley from the eighth to the 11th century.

The ancient city of Djenne-Djeno was located about 220 miles (354 km) south of TIMBUKTU. Before its decline after the 11th century, Djenne-Djeno served as an important commercial center in the NIGER RIVER Valley. Its ruins are still accessible, and archeological evidence shows that approximately 10,000 persons lived in Djenne-Djeno at its peak. The same evidence also suggests that residents of Djenne-Djeno enjoyed a relatively egalitarian society, as the dominant elite present in most European cities in the same period was absent in this desert urban center. By the 14th century residents deserted the city in favor of the more prosperous Djenne, only 2 miles (3 km) distant,

which became an important intellectual and commercial center for the region.

The Bozo people originally founded the town of Djenne in the 13th century as a fishing village. In that century, after the decline of Djenne-Djeno, the Soninke established Djenne as a trading center, providing the desert city of Timbuktu with food, cotton, GOLD, cola nuts, and slaves (see SLAVERY) in exchange for salt and North African trade goods. Salt brought to Djenne was most likely bound for the gold fields in the AKAN forest. Trade between Djenne and Timbuktu, described at length by the chronicler LEO AFRICANUS in 1512–13, centered on the Niger and Bani Rivers. Djenne remained an independent city (outside the jurisdiction of the various empires rising and falling around it), and one seemingly without imperial aspirations, until Sunni Ali Ber conquered it in the 1470s. Djenne's location provided some security for traders, as it was surrounded by the two rivers for nearly half of each year. However, the protection of the rivers did not prevent more powerful invaders such as the MALI in the 14th century, the MOSSI in the mid-15th century, and the SONGHAI under Sunni Ali Ber in 1491 from laying siege to the city, nor from Moroccan invaders in the 1500s.

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—Lisa M. Brady

### Djibouti

Located on the Horn of Africa, Djibouti, a country bordered today by Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia, was a vital link in the spread of ISLAM in Africa, with only the 14-mile (23 km) Strait of Mandeb separating the African continent from the Arabian Peninsula.

The walled seaport of Zeila mainly consisted of Arab and Persian traders, but its population also incorporated a minority of the Danakil or Afar peoples who typically lived in the rural areas surrounding the city. Trade in slaves (see SLAVERY) and SILVER supported the growth of the seaport and eventually led to the rise of the Adal kingdom, with Zeila as its center and capital. Zeila was one of the principal



points of entry for Islam into the Horn of Africa. By the eighth or ninth century, Islam was the dominant religion on the coast of Djibouti. Its spread to the rural areas was a longer process, and Islam only established itself in Zeila's hinterland in the 10th and 11th centuries.

Djibouti's connection to Islam and the Middle East gave the Adal and other Islamic kingdoms on the Horn power to assert their independence from the Christian empire of Abyssinia. Throughout the 13th century and continuing as late as the 16th, power struggles frequently disrupted the region. Djibouti remained predominantly Muslim in this period, even after Western invaders defeated the Adal in the late 16th century.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Dominicans

The Dominican order, founded in the 13th century, played an important role in the Catholic response to the REFORMATION.

By the beginning of the 16th century, the Dominicans, like the FRANCISCANS, were divided into more- and less-observant wings. Some Dominicans earned a reputation for greed and laxity in the observance of their vows, while others became famous as teachers and preachers.

The Dominican order did not react in a unified way to the challenges of the Reformation. Some Dominicans supported reform goals and left the order to join Protestant churches. However, the Dominicans also supplied important critics of the Reformation, and Dominicans played important roles in the INQUISITION and at the COUNCIL OF TRENT. The order as a whole was known for its scholarship and produced some of the most notable Catholic thinkers of the 16th century, including Tommaso de Vio (Cajetan) and the theologian FRANCISCO DE VITORIA.

In the religious debates of the Reformation, one of the major questions concerned the role of grace and the nature of human beings. Some Catholics and most, if not all, reformers maintained that through the gift of grace God overcame a human nature that was entirely broken by sin and incapable of goodness (see MARTIN LUTHER). Against this Augustinian view, the Dominicans generally defended the view of the 13th-century Dominican theologian Thomas Aquinas, who held that grace perfected a human nature that was already created in the image of God.

Like the Franciscans and JESUITS, the Dominicans founded missions around the world. Dominican mission-

aries traveled to eastern Europe, the Philippines, Africa, India, Mesopotamia, and the Western Hemisphere. In the Americas Dominican preachers sometimes criticized colonial abuses of the Indians. In 1511, for example, Fray Anton de Montesinos preached a sermon in which he warned the colonists of HISPANIOLA that their mistreatment of the Indians merited punishment in hell. The most famous defender of the Indians, BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, was also a Dominican.

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—Martha K. Robinson

**Drake, Sir Francis** (1540?–1596) *admiral, explorer, privateer*

A prominent maritime admiral from England, Sir Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the globe and exploits against Spain captured the imagination of Protestant Europe during the latter half of the 16th century.

The exact date and place of Drake's birth, as well as details surrounding his childhood years, remain subject to debate. A number of chroniclers list Tavistock as his place of birth, while others contend he was born in Plymouth. Most accounts state that by the age of 10, Drake served as an apprentice to the master of a small vessel, working as both a pilot and a coaster. By the age of 19, he owned his own small craft, more than likely an inheritance from his master. In 1565–66 he accompanied Captain John Lovell on a journey to the Spanish Main and Guinea. Shortly after he enlisted into the service of the Hawkins's family firm at Plymouth. Kin to Drake, the Hawkins family already ranked among England's richest and most famous merchant adventurers of the day. It was a common practice for 16th-century parents to send their children to serve or apprentice in houses of prosperous friends or relatives for their education. Like the Drake family, the Hawkins family did not come from noble stock, yet by the end of the 16th century both families enjoyed an elevated status.

In 1567 Drake commanded the ship *Judith* on one of SIR JOHN HAWKINS's slaving expeditions to the New World. In September of the following year, the Spaniards attacked the Hawkins party at San Juan de Lua. Of the expedition's four ships, only two returned to England.



Drake's involvement in the failed venture kindled an intense hatred of the Spanish, which he carried with him the rest of his days. He set out the next year seeking to obtain compensation for the losses in the San Juan de Lua setback.

Over the next decade Drake raided numerous Spanish ships and colonial ports, exacting vast amounts of treasure while becoming a constant thorn in the side of the Spanish Crown. To the Spanish he became the infamous "Dragon" of the seas. Older English historical accounts referred to Drake's activities as privateering, a gentle description for what was, in reality, open piracy. Although not officially sanctioned by Queen ELIZABETH I, Drake's activities proved to be an international boon for the growing English interests in maritime ventures. As a result, Drake's activities gained him respect within England. Born into a provincial society racked by social, economic, religious, and diplomatic change, Drake used his skill in piracy as a stepping-stone for social advancement.

The West Indies became a favorite target for Drake's raids. In 1572, following one of his many successful raids in the West Indies, Drake led a party to PANAMA, where, with the help of thirty Cimaroons, he marched across the Isthmus of Panama. Although severely wounded in the thigh during the adventure, Drake returned from Panama with "more treasures than the pinnaces could carry." Restless and continually looking over the next horizon, Drake sought larger ventures and riches.

In December 1577 Drake led a squadron of four well-stored and well-provisioned ships—the *Pelican*, the *Swan*, the *Marigold*, and the *Christopher*—out of Plymouth. Along with English authorities, he concealed the object of the voyage so that the Spaniards would not be forewarned. In fact, they went out of their way to speak of the Mediterranean as their destination, with many of the squadron's crew not even knowing the true intentions of the venture. The Spaniards believed the English were headed to the West Indies, the Nombre de Dios, and the Treasure of the World that Drake had in his sights. Upon passing Cape Verde, the crew learned that they were bound to the coast of Brazil. By August 1578 Drake, reduced to a single ship, passed through the Strait of Magellan, well on his way to circumnavigating the globe. He celebrated the passing by changing the name of his ship, the *Pelican*, to the *Golden Hind*.

After passing through the strait, a furious storm pushed the ship as far to the south as 57 degrees. In uncharted territory, the crew discovered a number of new islands. The new route of passage would eventually bear Drake's name. Realizing that a return route via the Atlantic would be too long and dangerous, Drake opted to go farther into the Pacific, but not before raiding Spanish territory and ships along the western coasts of South, Central and North America. According to some sources, Drake and his party



Sir Francis Drake encounters the Indians of California.  
(Library of Congress)

found respite in a small bay where, in the name of Queen Elizabeth, they carried out cordial exchanges with the Native population. The geographical identification of this bay is a matter of some dispute. Many observers have argued that it was the site of the future city of San Francisco.

Upon Drake's return to England, Queen Elizabeth, under pressure by some to punish Drake for his raids on Spanish property, instead visited him on board his ship, knighting him on April 4, 1581, for becoming the first man of any nation to circumnavigate the globe. FERDINAND MAGELLAN's voyage was the only previous circumnavigation, but he had not lived to see its completion. The *Golden Hind* quickly became a sacred relic and source of national pride. One enthusiast went so far as to suggest placing it bodily upon the stump of the steeple of St. Paul's in lieu of the cathedral's spires. Without carrying through such extreme measures of veneration, the ship was docked and preserved at Deptford as a monument to the accomplishment.

While the *Golden Hind* basked in adulation, Drake briefly turned to politics, serving as mayor of Plymouth in 1581—he is credited with initiating the works to supply water to the town—and sitting in the 1584 PARLIAMENT as a representative of Bossiney in North Cornwall. In addition, he continued as a key player in the growing tensions between England and Spain. Following the Parliament of 1584–85, the government commissioned Drake to carry out another raid upon the West Indies. Accompanied by vice admiral MARTIN FROBISHER, rear admiral Francis Knollys, and lieutenant governor of ground forces Christopher Carleill, Drake's maneuvers and raids in the Caribbean heightened the enmity between an already volatile Protestant England and Catholic Spain. Heartened by Drake's exploits, many

in England welcomed a potential war. Although England increased efforts in maritime enterprises in the 1580s, the nation lacked an overall strategy or plan. On the Spanish side, PHILIP II stepped up his efforts to build the SPANISH ARMADA following Drake's latest strike.

Before returning to England, Drake's fleet sailed up the coast of FLORIDA, stopping at SIR WALTER RALEGH's Virginia colony. Per instruction, Drake was to supply the colonists with stores. Disheartened, RALPH LANE, governor of Virginia, convinced Drake to take all of the men back to England, thus abandoning the colonization effort. Drake and the Virginia colonists arrived in England on July 26, 1586. It is possible that TOBACCO and potatoes first came to England at this time; both quickly became daily necessities in English life. Whether Drake, Lane, and their companions should be credited for the introduction remains uncertain to scholars.

When the English discovered a plot to murder Elizabeth I, a plot in which both Spain and Mary, Queen of Scots, were implicated, tensions between Spain and England grew. Mary's subsequent trial and execution in 1587 and Philip's increased efforts at building up the armada combined to bring war nearer. Regarding attack as the best form of defense, Drake left Plymouth on April 2, 1587, for the coast of Portugal, where he "sing'd the King of Spain's beard." He struck decisively at the great harbor of Cádiz, burning, sinking, or capturing more than 30 Spanish ships, thus temporarily delaying Philip's "Enterprise of England" until the following year.

Drake's actions in the war against the Spanish Armada are unclear. A popular story, adding to the lore of his reputation, had him playing a game of bowls when the armada entered the English Channel, stating to his fellow shipmates that they had plenty of time both to finish the game and to defeat the Spanish fleet. Although Drake made a strong claim to the position of supreme commander of sea operations, he was passed over because of his non-noble family lineage. Lord Howard of Effingham, hereditary Lord High Admiral of England, was granted the position. All accounts indicate that Drake, in charge of one of Hawkins's fighting galleons, cooperated loyally with Howard's orders. By August 8, writing to the queen from the decks of the galleon *Revenge*, he reported, "On Friday last upon good consideration we left the army of Spain so far to the northwards as they could neither recover England nor Scotland."

After the English defeated the armada and thus thwarted an invasion of their nation, the government commissioned a counter armada, with Drake and Sir John Norris (or Norreys) placed in joint command. The first expedition was to be powerful in both appearance and scope. Elizabeth's strongly worded orders stated that Drake and Norris were first to destroy the Spanish warships off the coast of Portugal, but she and her advisers

added a second objective to the mission: an assault on LISBON, a plan aimed to punish the Spanish even further. Since Philip's annexation of Portugal in 1580, Don Antonio, a Portuguese prince, had laid claim to the throne, promising that his people would rise up against Spain if military support ever came from France or England. Drake, dreaming of the success and riches that an alliance with a liberated Portugal would bring, bought into the plan to attack Lisbon, but in the process he ignored the first objective, leaving the Spanish warships unscathed in Santander and other ports and thus missing a unique opportunity to cripple the Spaniards on their own coastline. Already irate, Elizabeth's anger rose even higher as the attack on Lisbon turned into a disgraceful and unsuccessful debacle. Drake and Norris returned to England discredited.

Between 1590 and 1594 Drake, minus the opportunity of further commissions, busied himself once again in politics, serving in his familiar roles as mayor of Plymouth and as a member of Parliament. In 1590 Drake and Hawkins founded the Chest of Chatham, a relief fund for disabled seamen. The chest, organized as a contributory pension scheme, led to the foundation of Greenwich Hospital. Two years later Drake dedicated an account of his 1572–73 raid on the Isthmus of Panama to Elizabeth, thus possibly smoothing relations between them. His nephew eventually published the account in 1626 under the title *Sir Francis Drake Revived*. In 1594 the queen decided to grant Drake another maritime opportunity, pairing him on an expedition with Hawkins with the objective to plunder, capture, and defend Panama.

Neither Hawkins nor Drake returned from the Panama excursion. Learning from the lessons and losses incurred by numerous Hawkins and Drake raids, the two aged mariners found the Spanish well prepared with their defenses. Following Hawkins's death en route to Panama, Drake, wracked by dysentery, found only further vexation and disappointment. He died on January 28, 1596, off the coast of Porto Bello. His men cast his body to the sea the following day. Despite the less than heroic last voyage, Drake's name was not lost in the annals of history, with legend and lore often intertwining with historical accuracy. Among the chroniclers of Drake's efforts was WILLIAM CAMDEN, who celebrated Drake in his history of England. Spanish observers and historians have painted less positive portraits, depicting Drake as the most detestable figure of the period—the "Dragon"—whose acts of piracy could not be soon forgotten.

**Further reading:** Kenneth R. Andrews, *The Last Voyage of Drake and Hawkins* (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1972); Harry Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998); David Beers Quinn, *Sir Francis Drake as Seen by His Contemporaries*

(New Providence, R.I.: John Carter Brown Library, 1996); *Sir Francis Drake Revived, Being a Summary and True Relation of Four Seasoned Voyages Made by Sir Francis Drake to the West Indies* (London: Nicholas Bourne, 1653); John Sugden, *Sir Francis Drake* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990).

—Matt Lindaman

## Drake Manuscript

This hand-painted manuscript, now in the possession of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City, provides remarkable details about parts of the Americas—notably the West Indies—at the end of the 16th century.

The so-called Drake Manuscript is a combined natural history and ethnography of parts of the Atlantic basin from the latter decades of the 16th century, and quite possibly from the time of SIR FRANCIS DRAKE's own circumnavigation of 1577 to 1580. But the manuscript itself contains a title page identifying it as *Histoire naturelle des Indes* and contain information about the trees, plants, fruits, animals, crustaceans, reptiles, insects, birds, and other items found in the Indies. It is remarkable both for its images, which are often stunning and frequently provide ethnographic details, and also for the fact that there is an accompanying text that explains each image. The texts are in French, but the places identified in the manuscripts are almost identical to places that held Drake's interest and which he visited either on his circumnavigation or on his subsequent travels in the West Indies.

The manuscript itself consists of 134 leaves. It is currently bound in a blue morocco cover that had been added in the 18th century, a reflection of the fact that BOOK production processes in the 16th century did not typically include the provision of a cover. The early ownership of the manuscript remains in doubt. Scholars have found a possible marginal reference to the abbé Jean-Paul Bignon (1662–1743), indicating that he might have owned it at one point. But its history is not certain until it appeared for sale in London in 1867. From that point forward it resided with three book collectors—Henry Huth, C. F. G. R. Schwerdt, and Clara S. Peck—until it arrived at the Morgan Library in 1983 as part of Peck's bequest. Intensive analysis of the manuscript has revealed that it was not the product of a single individual. Instead, at least two different artists and two different scribes (see SCRIBAL PUBLICATION) created some parts of the book.

The manuscript, which was published in a facsimile edition by the Morgan Library in 1996, should be consulted by any student or scholar with a serious interest in the period. The first part of the book consists of 62 botanical illustrations. The next part contains 89 illustrations of fauna (animals, birds, and fish). The last part consists of

43 paintings of peoples of the Caribbean basin as well as images of Spaniards and their slaves. As the *New York Times* writer Verlyn Klinkenborg noted in his superb introduction to the reprinted book, some of the illustrations “are true to life, some—particularly the fishes with dog-like snouts and ears—arise from an almost medieval fancy, and some may reflect a knowledge of printed sources.” In other words, the illustrations reveal the intermediary period when Europeans were fascinated by what they saw in the Americas but not yet ready to cast off the idea that MONSTERS resided at the edge of the world. Further, the manuscript reflects knowledge of the natural world that was then circulating in many books produced, as a result of the spread of the PRINTING PRESS, to satisfy European readers' desire for information about the Americas.

Close analysis of the text reveals that virtually every place mentioned is in the Atlantic basin, with the exception of a locale identified as “Gilolo,” which was one of the islands in the Moluccas, where Drake had landed during his famous voyage. There is also a reference to a place called Loranbec, which scholars believe might refer to a settlement in modern-day South Carolina.

The text that accompanies the illustrations provides some clues about the various authors who had a hand in the production of the manuscript. The images and text together describe hunting and fishing practices, including the use of fire to scare fauna into an enclosure for easy slaughtering. A series of pictures show the arrival of the Spanish and the creation of European-style houses, as well as the development of mining done by slaves (see SLAVERY) at the direction of Spaniards. Like other Europeans of the age, the creators of this manuscript were often in awe of the healing power of TOBACCO, which is described and shown.

It is possible that at least one of the authors was a Protestant (see REFORMATION), quite likely a HUGUENOT. The clue lies, as Klinkenborg noted, in the text that accompanied the illustration on folio 111. The picture seems straightforward: A Native man has retreated to his house, but a European has come to tell him how to vanquish the devilish creature that lurks in the woods nearby. According to the text, the European braved going out of the house even though the “Evil Spirit” known as Athoua was just outside. The man asked how the visitor could be so brave. “I answered him that he must believe in the crucified Jesus Christ up above who would deliver him of all his diabolical visions if he firmly believes in him.” The phrasing suggests the power of faith to vanquish evil—the same idea that motivated DAVID INGRAM and his traveling companions to read the Bible to a devilish creature on the mainland.

The book ends with a series of illustrations of agricultural bounty and a final image of courting behavior, emphasizing (as the text makes clear) the economic and social context of love and marriage in the Caribbean.



**Further reading:** *The Drake Manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library: Histoire Naturelle des Indes* (London: André Deutsch, 1996).

**Durán, Diego** (ca. 1537–1588) *friar, scholar*

A 16th-century Dominican friar, Diego Durán learned NAHUATL, studied precontact indigenous manuscripts, and interviewed AZTECS to write his three books: the *Book of the Gods and Rites*, the *Ancient Calendar*, and the *History of the Indies of New Spain*.

Durán was born in SEVILLE but moved with his family to Tezcoco, near Mexico City, while still a child. He grew up speaking both Spanish and Nahuatl and joined the DOMINICANS in his late teens. Durán's knowledge of the Nahuatl language and the people who spoke it helped him research his chronicles of Indian life, which were often sympathetic toward the Indians. While Durán, like other Spaniards, was appalled by the Aztec practice of human sacrifice, he admired other aspects of ancient Aztec life. He also criticized priests and friars who worked with the Aztecs without understanding their language.

Durán believed that the Indians must convert to Catholicism to save their souls. His works were intended, at least in part, to guide missionaries and priests to a better understanding of Indian beliefs and practices in order to make the task of conversion easier. He recognized, for example, that the Indians celebrated some Catholic feasts with great enthusiasm because these feasts coincided with feasts in the old Aztec calendar. Durán distrusted such religious survivals but doubted that they could be eliminated. Like other European writers, he also suspected that the Aztecs were descended from one of the lost tribes of Israel. "I would not commit a great error if I were to state this as fact," he wrote, "considering their way of life, their ceremonies, their rites and superstitions, their omens and hypocrisies, [are] so akin to and characteristic of those of the Jews; in no way do they seem to differ." He also suggested that the Apostle Thomas may have preached to the Aztecs, being remembered in their histories as QUETZALCOATL.

**Further reading:** Fray Diego Durán, *The History of the Indies of New Spain*, ed. and trans. Doris Heyden (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994); Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992); Michael E. Smith, *The Aztecs* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); Stephanie Wood, "Durán, Diego" in *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture*, vol. 2, ed. Barbara A. Tenenbaum (New York: Scribner's, 1996).

—Martha K. Robinson

**Dürer, Albrecht** (1471–1528) *artist*

Among the most important artists in northern Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries, Dürer was a master printer who found inspiration in German artistic traditions and in the Italian Renaissance.

Dürer received his initial training from his father, a goldsmith, and from the Nuremberg artist Michael Wolgemut. As an adult Dürer traveled to Italy and the Lowlands, where he learned new artistic styles and techniques. He soon became well known, and his patrons included the elector of Saxony, Frederick III, and the Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I.

Dürer produced woodcuts, engravings, paintings, and drawings. He also wrote treatises on art theory. His most famous works included portraits of prominent Europeans, including Desiderius Erasmus and Philipp Melanchthon. His work frequently drew on religious and allegorical themes, depicting scenes from classical mythology and from the Bible.

Although he was influenced primarily by European artistic traditions, Dürer also appreciated art from the Far East and the Americas. When a collection of Mexican art and artifacts, including gold and silverwork, weapons, and feathered clothing, was displayed in Antwerp, he was fascinated. "All the days of my life I have never seen anything that rejoiced my heart so much as these things," he wrote in his journal, "for I saw among them wonderful works of art, and I marveled at the subtle ingenuity of men in faraway lands. I cannot express the feeling that I had."

Dürer's travels and his interest in humanism also exposed him to new religious ideas. He corresponded with various Reformation thinkers, including Melanchthon. Although Dürer expressed interest in the reformers' ideas, he died before the publication of the first Lutheran confession of faith, the Augsburg Confession (1530). Since there remained, at his death, hope of reconciliation between the Catholic Church and the reformers, Dürer did not make a clear choice between Catholicism and Lutheranism (see MARTIN LUTHER and REFORMATION).

**Further reading:** Dagmar Eichberger and Charles Zika, eds., *Dürer and His Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Colin Eisler, *Dürer's Animals* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991); Jane Campbell Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990); Mary Em Kirn, "Dürer, Albrecht," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 2, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 13; Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1955).

—Martha K. Robinson



### Dutch East India Company

Formed in 1602 to combat Portuguese and Spanish dominance in eastern trade, the Dutch East India Company emerged as one of the more powerful companies involved in trade between Europe and east Asia during the 17th century.

The East India companies were private endeavors but received charters and special trading rights granted by their respective governments. In addition to the Dutch East India Company, the English company was formed in 1600, the Danish company in 1616, and the French company in 1664. The Netherlands had long enjoyed a connection to products from the Far East, but the Hollanders were engaged in the role of intermediaries. As products from the Far and Near East filtered into Europe, the Dutch vessels sailed to LISBON, where they would exchange the grain, fish, and wood of northern Europe for the wine, fruits, and oil of southern Europe in addition to products entering Europe from the Far East. Accordingly, the Dutch used ships that were small and did not allow the crews to carry enough food or supplies for trips beyond Lisbon.

Beginning in 1594, a number of Dutch merchants began to set their sights beyond the coast of Portugal. They formed the Company of Far East Regions, a precursor to the Dutch East India Company. Theirs was the goal of reaching the Malay Archipelago, where they looked to establish commercial relations with the region and hoped to tap into the great emporium of the spice trade. The initial venture brought little profit, but it served to pique the interest of Dutch merchants and government officials alike. In 1598 no fewer than 22 ships equipped by five Holland and Zeeland companies sailed to profit in the East. Their combined successes came at the expense of declining Portuguese power on the open seas. The Spanish takeover of Portugal in the late 1500s further complicated matters.

The Portuguese and Spanish did not cede their Far East interests without a fight. Instead, the Netherlands and Spain entered the 17th century in a state of war. Countering the formidable Portuguese and Spanish navies, the Dutch combined a number of disparate and competing companies into the Dutch East India Company. The government granted the newly amalgamated national company a monopoly of the trade between the Cape of Good Hope and the Strait of Magellan. The initial charter was good for 21 years with the possibility of renewal. The company would be permitted to declare war and maintain armed forces in the regions under the charter's consideration.

In 1603 the Dutch East India company sent a fleet of 12 ships to the Malay Archipelago, where, two years later, the admiral of the Dutch fleet seized an important Portuguese port and established the first Dutch factory in the area. Yet another vessel from the fleet "discovered" the north coast of Australia and the south coast of New

Guinea. As the Dutch East India company attempted to expand their base of operation, they met with opposition from the Spanish and Portuguese. The former controlled the Philippines along with the islands of Borneo and Java during the 16th century. Interested in tapping into the regional spice trade (see SPICE ISLANDS), the Dutch countered using both naval warfare and international law. The former was conventional while the latter challenged the medieval principle of monopoly and exclusive rights maintained by the Spanish government.

The distinguished Dutch scholar Hugo Grotius assumed an interest in the cause, writing a treatise under the title *Mare liberum*, or *Of the Freedom of the Sea*, published in 1609. Grotius argued that the Spanish and Portuguese had no right to exclude other Europeans from the lucrative spice trade of the Far East. Widely read and translated into a number of languages during the 17th century, Grotius's treatise contributed to the foundation of the field of international law. On the more immediate horizon, the Spanish king refused Grotius's arguments, citing religious and absolute rights. With the rising threats from the French and English governments, the Dutch and Spanish negotiated for peace on April 9, 1609.

While the Dutch attempted to gain a foothold in the Far East trade networks, they simultaneously explored the possibility of discovering a NORTHEAST PASSAGE to the East. As early as 1594, JAN HUYGEN VAN LINSCHOTEN and Willem Barents attempted to sail around the north coast of Asia. Although failing to meet the principal objective, Barents later sailed to Nova Zembla, discovering and claiming Spitzbergen, a site of future whaling interests, along the way. In 1609 the Dutch East India Company sponsored one final expedition aimed at discovering a quick water route to the East. Under the direction of English sailing veteran Henry Hudson, temporarily hired away from the English, the expedition sailed west instead of north and east. In the process Hudson explored the coast of North America from Chesapeake Bay to Penobscot Bay. As a result, Dutch merchants began dreaming of riches in North America in the form of the enormous quantities of furs they could buy and sell again in Europe at a handsome profit. The merchants of Amsterdam wasted little time in dispatching another ship to North America, this time under the auspices of a newly formed company of their own known as the Company of New Netherland.

Dutch interests in the Western Hemisphere consolidated under the Dutch West India Company in 1621. As the name implies, its purpose expanded beyond the colony of New Netherland to encompass operations in the tropical regions of America. Despite the foundation of the Dutch West India Company, the Far East continued to receive the bulk of Dutch merchants' interests. The Dutch East India Company continued to purchase spices, cotton goods, and

silks in India, the Malay Archipelago, China, and Japan, leaving a lasting legacy from South Africa to the Far East well beyond the company's existence.

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selman, *The Cradle of Colonialism* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1963); Henry C. Murphy, *Henry Hudson in Holland* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1909); T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company, as recorded in the Dagb-registers of Batavia Castle, 1602–1682* (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1954).

—Matthew Lindaman



### East India Company (English)

The company used diplomatic and military means to expand English power into the East Indies and in the process helped to lay the groundwork for the later emergence of the British Empire.

Founded in 1600, the East India Company, formally titled the Governor and Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies (a name that lasted until 1708), began as little more than a small, speculative financial venture. Taking advantage of commercial opportunity brought about by the 1588 defeat of the SPANISH ARMADA, the lord mayor of LONDON joined several hundred other leading citizens to form and subscribe to a company for trade in the East Indies, the territory then dominated by the Portuguese (and later the Dutch). On December 31, 1600, Queen ELIZABETH I granted the company a 15-year charter that provided the subscribing merchants with the necessary monopoly. The first governor of the company, Sir Thomas Smythe, brought to the venture previous mercantile experience from similar positions he held in the Muscovy Company and the LEVANT COMPANY. The East India Company's first fleet sailed in February 1601 and returned laded with pepper from Amboina (modern-day Ambon, Indonesia). A second expedition in 1604 and a third in 1607 followed.

The company faced opposition from the Portuguese and the Dutch in the Dutch East Indies (modern-day Indonesia), yet backed by sufficient combat power the company broke into markets through either diplomatic or military means. In one notable advance two English ships in December 1612 defeated a Portuguese fleet consisting of four galleons and 26 frigates. The victory brought the company the privilege of establishing a factory at Saurat and trading concessions from the Mughal Empire. The company used this base to extend its commercial ties; soon its ships returned from the East with cotton, silk, indigo, saltpeter, and spices.

The early years of the company's operations are not well documented, but sufficient evidence survives to show

that from the time of its inception, its governors were paying close attention to the commercial possibilities that became more popular in the last years of Queen Elizabeth I's reign and the opening years of the Stuart era. Soon after the turn of the 17th century representatives from the company met with RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, who had by then emerged as the most important promoter of overseas expansion in Tudor England. Hakluyt drew on the writings of GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO, JAN HUYGEN VAN LINSCHOTEN, and English travelers to demonstrate the value of goods to be found abroad. Hakluyt's relationship with the company continued into the 1610s. By the time of his death in 1616, Hakluyt had translated the Dutch legal theorist HUGO GROTIUS's *Mare liberum* (The free sea), which argued that the Portuguese did not have a monopoly of trading rights in the East Indies, and a book of the "Malayan" language intended to provide English travelers to the Spice Islands with a working vocabulary for their dealings with locals.

In later years the company continued to evolve. It proved crucial to the expansion of the British Empire and, further, it became a precursor for modern-day multinational business conglomerates.

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—Kevin C. Armitage

**Eden, Richard** (1521?–1576) *translator*

A translator and cosmographer interested in topics ranging from science to navigation and exploration, Eden is best

known for translating into English the first three books on the subject of America.

Born in Herefordshire about 1521, Eden studied at Queens' College, Cambridge, from 1535 to 1544. Following graduation he worked in a governmental position within the office of the treasury. Around 1552 he left governmental service to work as the private secretary of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh. One year later he published a translated version of Sebastien Muenster's *Cosmography*. In 1555 Eden issued a compilation of translated works from the writings and maps of Muenster, Peter Martyr, and SEBASTIAN CABOT. It also included a translation of *The Travels of Lewes Vertomannus*, 1503, later reprinted in RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER's *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America* . . . published in London in 1582.

Otherwise known as *The Decades of the New Worlde, or West India*, the compilation ranked as Eden's greatest literary feat. For more than 20 years it found no imitators. In 1576 Eden assumed the task of editing a revised edition but died before completing the task. Richard Willes finished the project, issuing it in 1577 under the title *The History of Trauaile in the West and East Indies*. Five years later Hakluyt published his first collection, *Divers Voyages*. Combined, these works helped to make oceanic literature a distinct genre in English letters. Eden, the pioneer of English geographic research, thus may also be considered a pioneer of English oceanic literature, leading a chain of writers such as the Hakluyts, THOMAS HARRIOT, and later SAMUEL PURCHAS.

Eden's translations came at a time when the earth held numerous geographical mysteries for Europeans. Although his subject matter derived from the explorations and conquests of the Spanish and the Portuguese, the texts proved valuable to the English gentry and merchants, who could now read of the world of oceanic exploration in their native tongue. Explorers profited as well. For example, before his oceanic ventures in the NEW WORLD, SIR FRANCIS DRAKE gleaned information on the West Indies and Spanish Main from Eden's translation of Pietro Martire's *Decades*. The translated version of the *Decades* influenced the poet and playwright WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, as well, who based the character of Caliban in his *Tempest* on Pietro Martire's description of the Patagonian giants.

In 1559 Eden edited a revised version of Geminus's *Anatomy*. Two years later he devised woodcuts for an edited version of Martin Cortes's *Arte de Navigae*. The Muscovy Company sponsored the project, much as Hakluyt would later benefit from the patronage of the West Indies Company. In addition to containing a number of intricate woodcuts depicting mathematical instruments, the translated version of *Arte de Navigae* included a small outline map of the North Atlantic basin. Believed to be the earliest

printed map of America to appear in England, Eden more than likely copied it from an original in Cortés's *Compendio*. After spending much of the 1560s and early 1570s traveling on the European continent, including a narrow escape from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Eden returned permanently to England in 1573. He died three years later with a firm reputation as both a scholar and a man of science.

**Further reading:** Edward Arber, *The First Three English Books on America. [?1511]–1555 A.D. Being Chiefly Translations, Compilations, &c., by Richard Eden, from the writings, maps, &c., of Pietro Martire, of Anghiera (1455–1526) Sebastian Muenster, the Cosmography (1489–1552) Sebastian Cabot, of Bristol (1474–1557) with extracts, &c., from the Works of Other Spanish, Italian, and German Writers of the time* (Westminster, U.K.: A. Constable and Company, 1985); Lodovico de Varthema, *The Navigation and Voyages of Lewis Wertomannus, in the Yeere of Our Lorde 1503*, trans. Richard Eden (Edinburgh: Private printing for the Aungervyle Society, 1884).

—Matthew Lindaman

## El Dorado

During the 16th century, with hopes that they would find a mythic gilded man ("El Dorado") and his golden kingdom, various European states pursued numerous failed expeditions into New Granada (present-day Colombia), New Andalucía (present-day Venezuela), and Guiana.

The myth of El Dorado grew in part from a religious ritual practiced by an Indian tribe that lived in the Bogotá highlands during the late 15th century. Annually the tribe gathered to witness the tribal chief plunge himself into the center of Lake Guatavita as part of a symbolic cleansing process. The act made for a spectacular image as the lake washed away the coat of GOLD powder that the chief's attendants ritualistically applied to his nude body. Sometime before the arrival of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS in the NEW WORLD, another tribe invaded and overpowered the group of Indians who practiced this ritual. Nevertheless, years later, long after the last ceremony at Lake Guatavita, the story of the gilded man ("El Dorado") and his city, also called "El Dorado," survived as folklore. Indians and Europeans exaggerated details and added embellishments over time. Before long rumors transformed the original ritual into a spectacular tale of a golden city whose palaces, streets, and nobility all demonstrated the mark of gold and wealth.

During the first half of the 16th century, the Spanish solidified their sphere of influence in the Western Hemisphere and looked in particular toward the lands of the Caribbean as a tropical paradise, rich in mines and a source of slave labor (see SLAVERY). Then, in 1533, when FRANCISCO PIZARRO led men into PERU, the Native legend



of El Dorado became known to Europeans for the first time. Pizarro's invasion of their homeland forced many INCA to retreat into the jungle. The Spanish, believing rumors that the dissidents carried with them much treasure, opted to pursue them. Ultimately, the Spanish thought they would follow the runaway Indians east until reaching the magnificent, ancestral home of the Inca, Paytiti. By then, the Spanish had also heard from an Indian messenger of another impressive kingdom in the east. For his Spanish listeners, the messenger, arriving in Peru just after the fall of the Incan empire, described the mythical empire of El Dorado.

In the beginning, one expedition after another set out for the fabled kingdom to the east of Bogotá. Over the course of five years, from 1536 to 1541, six major Spanish expeditions, along with many other smaller efforts, set out for the interior from Venezuela. Hopeful and lusting for gold and instant wealth, each mission set out in search of the gilded man and his city. In turn, each met failure, either through absolute exhaustion of resources and men or through death. DISEASE, exposure to severe elements, starvation, and aggressive Indian groups were but some of the obstacles encountered. The men that formed one expedition, for example, encountered such grave difficulties that they reverted to CANNIBALISM and other desperate measures. This mission, led by Francisco Pizarro's half brother, Gonzalo Pizarro, suffered from a greedy leader who abandoned his main force of men, opting to seek out and claim El Dorado as his own.

The most notorious El Dorado hunt occurred in 1561, when a band of ruffians found themselves in a desperate position in the jungles of Venezuela. Not long after the expedition began, the commander and his mistress met their ends as part of a bloody mutiny. Lope de Aguirre, the new leader of the troops, suffered from mental instability. After killing many of his own men, Aguirre ordered an unprovoked attack on the Spanish settlement on Margarita Island. The atrocities at Margarita motivated Spanish authorities to order the capture of Aguirre. Neither Aguirre nor his men realized their hopes of reaching El Dorado as another force of Spaniards brought about their demise in a brutal struggle.

In time, optimism sank, and although Spanish expeditions in search of El Dorado continued throughout the 16th century, dogged determination to find the city of gold replaced jovial anticipation. With each mission new rumors surfaced that further contributed to the allure of El Dorado. Along the way Spaniards encountered various groups of Indians who eagerly assisted the gold seekers by clarifying the supposed route to the city of gold. In addition, the viceroy of Peru provided encouragement for quests to El Dorado, particularly for those persons with a criminal or otherwise questionable background.

Eventually, vast numbers of unsuccessful missions suggested to many Spaniards that the actual location of El

Dorado lay deeper within the unexplored territory of the interior. Then, in 1580, the CONQUISTADOR Don Antonio de Berrio inherited the estates of his wife's wealthy uncle, Gonzalo Ximénez de Quesada. Ximénez had stipulated in his will that Berrio, as the heir, must use a portion of the estate's income to finance the search for El Dorado. In 1592 Berrio established the first Spanish colony in Trinidad. From this base he pursued the hunt for the fabled city of gold for 15 years, moving farther into the interior mainland than any previous expedition. Along the way he experienced great losses due to disease, hostile Indians, and other chance difficulties.

Just before his death, Berrio succeeded in locating a lake, boxed in by seemingly impassable mountains, that he believed to be the golden lake so central to the legend of El Dorado. Berrio was even more intrigued to learn that a powerful group of Indians had settled on the lake 20 years earlier. Unfortunately, Berrio did not live to realize that CARIB lived on the lake, not the Inca who fled Peru two decades before, and that there was no gilded man and no golden empire.

In 1595 the English joined the hunt for El Dorado with SIR WALTER RALEGH leading the way. Raleigh used the fabled gilded man and his golden city as a tactic to acquire the necessary men and financial backing to support his interests in the Caribbean. Whether Raleigh initially believed in the existence of El Dorado is unknown, but he felt that the English had to usurp Spanish hegemony in the so-called Golden Antilles. Once in the Caribbean, Raleigh attacked and crushed Berrio's expedition, taking Berrio as hostage as the English continued their own search for gold.

During the late 16th and early 17th centuries, Raleigh searched for gold in Guiana and elsewhere in the New World. Although he initially refused to give in to the exaggerations and fantastic stories, at various times he fell victim to the myth of El Dorado, believing in the possibility of finding the elusive city. After Raleigh the English made other attempts to locate El Dorado. During the late 17th century the Scots, too, searched for the city of gold. Until its existence was finally disproved two centuries later, maps included references to the fabled city.

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—Kimberly Sambol-Tosco

**Elizabeth I** (1533–1603; r. 1558–1603) *queen of England and Ireland*

The queen of England, during the decisive half century during which her realm renewed its conquest of Ireland,

attempted to consolidate the power of the Protestant REFORMATION and began to establish settlements in the Western Hemisphere.

The daughter (and only child) of King HENRY VIII and Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth early in life received a first-class education in literature. Over the course of her life she wrote in English, French, and Latin and was a prodigious translator. She also received an unwanted education into the nature of factional politics in England, having had PARLIAMENT question the legitimacy of her birth and having served time in prison in the Tower of London and at Woodstock for her views. While at Woodstock, the well-educated princess wrote poetry, some of it found later on a window frame and even on a window itself, cut by a diamond. “Much suspected by me, Nothing proved can be,” wrote “Elizabeth the prisoner.” While in the Tower of London she prayed for salvation. “Help me now, O God, for I have none other friends but Thee alone,” she wrote. “And suffer me not (I beseech Thee) to build my foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock”—a reference to the Book of Matthew—“whereby all blasts of blustering weather may have no power against me, amen.”

When MARY I died in 1558, Elizabeth acceded to the throne. Twenty-five years old at the time, no one could

have anticipated that she would become, over the course of her long reign, one of the most important monarchs in 16th-century Europe. In 1559 the bishop of Carlisle made her head of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, although few other high-ranking clerics were willing to participate. She immediately began to set church policy and almost as quickly began to support other Protestants in Europe, including some in France, Scotland, and the Low Countries, who were battling for their liberty. Her 1559 Act of Supremacy and Uniformity demanded that all clerics in England swear an oath recognizing her as “the only supreme governor of this realm and of all other her highness’s dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal, and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.” In 1563 she put forth the Thirty-Nine Articles, further assuring that her brand of Protestantism would remain the national church in the realm. Such actions only reaffirmed her status as an enemy to Catholics. In 1570 Pope Pius V declared that she was a heretic and thus no longer deserved the allegiance of Catholics in England.

Elizabeth’s desire to promote Protestantism also caused her to renew the centuries-long English effort to subdue Ireland and its native Catholic inhabitants. Long before, the ANGLO-NORMANS had tried to bring the Irish into the English realm, but their efforts languished. During the 1560s Elizabeth decided that the time had come to mount an armed assault against Ireland. She thus unleashed military officers to use whatever means necessary to force the native Irish to abandon their religion and adopt Protestantism. One of those officers was SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, a West Country aristocrat who decided that the indigenous Irish would succumb only if he terrorized them. According to one of his English companions, Gilbert ordered his men to slice the heads off the bodies of the dead Irish who lay on the ground after a battle and to mount their heads on posts that lined the way into his tent, creating a “lane of heddes” meant to strike terror into the local people who needed to pass through this ghastly spectacle if they wanted to talk to him. He also thought it expedient to kill noncombatants because they provided the food needed for the Irish who battled the English. Combined with a program to send English men and women to establish new settlements in Ireland, Elizabeth’s tactics constituted the most serious assault on Ireland in its history. Unlike the Anglo-Normans, who eventually blended into the Irish population, the new invaders did all in their power to force the natives to abandon all aspects of their ancient culture. The Elizabethan conquest, in the end, paid military and economic advantages for the English state, although the expansion of the realm into Ireland also meant the English



Elizabeth I (Hulton/Getty)

had a larger territory to defend and a hostile and potentially violent population within its midst. A rebellion at the end of the century demonstrated that the Irish had not abandoned the hope of removing at least the most odious elements of the English presence from their homeland.

Elizabeth's zeal to promote the Protestant cause did not end with her efforts across the Irish Sea. She also persecuted Catholics closer to home, including Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, whom Elizabeth imprisoned. When the imprisonment aroused sympathy for Mary, Elizabeth heeded the advice of her close advisers and agreed to have Mary executed in 1587. Although Elizabeth hoped that Catholics would give up their ways and join the Church of England—which, to some visitors from the Continent, resembled the Catholic Church in many ways—Catholics continued to practice their religion, and young English men trained for the priesthood on the Continent and then returned to provide for Catholics, often in secret. Catholics were not the only dissenters Elizabeth wanted to quash: She and her church also persecuted Protestants such as PURITANS who did not share her views on crucial clerical matters.

In this age of religious ferment and conflict, Elizabeth's actions aroused emotions across Europe. Among those who believed the English needed to be punished for their actions was the Spanish King PHILIP II. In the spring of 1588, Philip sent Elizabeth a poem in Latin in which he asked her to offer no defense of Belgians, return Spanish treasure that SIR FRANCIS DRAKE had stolen from them, reestablish the monasteries that her father had dissolved, and "Restore the Pope's religion perfectly." She responded with a brief poem of her own. "When Greeks do measure months by the moon/Then, Spanish Philip, thy will shall be done."

Understanding well her meaning, Philip responded by ordering a great fleet, the SPANISH ARMADA, to attack England. The fleet encountered a fierce storm that scattered the ships, and the English, although possessing an inferior navy at the time, prevailed in the conflict. Observers recognized the significance of the Spanish loss. The historian WILLIAM CAMDEN celebrated the defeat of the armada. In his *Annales The True and Royall History of the Famous Empresse Elizabeth Queen of England France and Ireland &c*, published in London in 1625, he realized that the defeat of the Spanish, who had "prepared a most invincible Navy against *England*," was an event that could be explained only by divine intervention. That interpretation followed Elizabeth's own understanding of the victory over the armada. According to Camden, the queen "commanded publique prayers and thanks-giving to be made in all the Churches in *England*, and went her selfe in triumph amongst the Companies and societies of *London*, which marched on both sides of her Majestie, with their Banners, and [rode through] the Streetes (which were richly hung

with blue hangings) in a Chariot drawne . . . with two Horses. . . . to Saint *Pauls* Church, where shee gave God humble thanks" and listened to a sermon praising God for sacred assistance. The queen herself offered prayers to the "Most powerful and largest-giving God" for having "protected our army from foes' prey and from sea's danger."

In the years following the armada defeat, Elizabeth began to give more sustained attention to the establishment of English colonies in North America. She had earlier granted to SIR WALTER RALEGH a patent to establish a colony along the mid-Atlantic coast, a patent that led to the founding of the short-lived settlement at ROANOKE, and another to Gilbert to lay claim to territory in modern-day Newfoundland, but before 1588 the threat of the Spanish navy had kept any transatlantic imperial ambitions in check. By the time the armada had been defeated and the English were praying to God for their deliverance from the Catholic menace, Elizabeth already possessed elaborate plans testifying to the benefits to be had from the establishment of colonies. According to RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, who in 1584 had presented her court with a secret document now known as the "Discourse of Western Planting," the English should colonize North America because they would reap great profits, find employment for otherwise unemployed or underemployed English men, and halt the spread of Catholicism in the Western Hemisphere. Elizabeth responded by supporting the ill-fated venture of SIR JOHN HAWKINS and Francis Drake to the West Indies in 1595 and of Walter Raleigh to Guiana, a venture that eventually led to his execution after Elizabeth's own death.

During the 1590s she also maintained her hostility toward Catholics, evident in her Act Against Papists of 1593, in which she tried to eliminate any threats from "popish recusants." The act aimed at "the better discovering and avoiding of all such traitorous and most dangerous conspiracies as are daily devised and practised against our most gracious sovereign lady, the queen's majesty, and the happy estate of this commonweal by sundry wicked and seditious persons, who, terming themselves Catholics and being indeed spies and intelligencers, not only for her majesty's foreign enemies, but also for rebellious and traitorous subjects born within her highness's realms and dominions, and hiding their most detestable and devilish purposes under a false pretext of religion and conscience, do secretly wander and shift from place to place within this realm to corrupt and seduce her majesty's subjects and to stir them to sedition and rebellion[.]" In order to reduce the danger of these unrepentant Catholics, the queen forced them to remain close to their homes and, if they persisted in their practice, to leave any English territory.

In the modern era it is difficult to imagine that a king or queen could play much of a role in the public life of a



nation. Instead, royals tend to play ceremonial parts, presiding over the opening of a governing body, for example, or a royal wedding or funeral. But Elizabeth lived in an age when the monarch in England played a substantial role in the political system. She was consistently up to the task, and her surviving writings suggest that she did not hesitate to express her views in powerful prose. On one occasion in 1597 she berated the Polish ambassador Paul de Jaline. "O how I have been deceived!" she began. "I expected an embassy, but you have brought to me a complaint." As she went on, she dug into her visitor and his apparent ignorance of protocol. "And as concerning yourself," she wrote, "you seem to have read many books, but the books of princes you have not so much as touched, but show yourself utterly ignorant what is convenient between kings." She could launch such an assault because, as her writings make clear, she was a master of the written word, whether the form was a speech, a prayer, a poem, or a letter. When the residents of London crowded the streets and leaned out the window during her funeral procession in 1603, they bore witness to the passing of one of the most forceful monarchs in English history.

Over the course of her long reign, Elizabeth's courtiers crafted a number of different images of their queen. She was, at one point or another, depicted as Diana, the Rose of Beauty, the Vestal Virgin, the Saviour of the Protestant Church, and the Virgin Mary. Portraits reflected different elements of her character and career. The so-called Armada Portrait of 1588, for example, showed her with her hand on a globe and ships sailing by across an open window behind her, reflecting her belief that her navy would provide the means whereby the English could expand their realm across the Atlantic Ocean.

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### *encomienda*

An *encomienda* from the Spanish Crown granted the recipient the ability to control labor and collect tribute from an indigenous community in Spanish America as a reward for

service, but as it came to be practiced in the colonies it amounted to little more than institutionalized SLAVERY for Native people.

Spanish colonists received *encomiendas* ("grants") of indigenous labor and control of land for service to the Spanish Crown in return for the promise to teach Christianity and European life ways to the indigenous people entrusted to the recipient (*encomendero*). Most of the early *encomenderos* were CONQUISTADORES, and they tended to view the *encomiendas* as their own private little kingdoms. Additionally, many *encomenderos* illegally coopted the right to administer justice within the domain of their *encomiendas*.

Unfortunately for the region's indigenous inhabitants, the Spanish first firmly established this institution in the West Indies. From the Caribbean it spread to MEXICO and then PERU, with *encomiendas* of the 16th century ranging in size from thousands to only a few hundred Natives. The *encomienda* proved to be a valuable tool in the Spanish conquest of Latin America. The institution expedited Spanish control of territory and facilitated the rapid introduction of Spanish culture and Catholicism to newly subjugated Native peoples. Although the system had many positive attributes for the Spanish government in the early years, over time many Spanish colonists abused Native workers and *encomenderos* often failed to educate the indigenous people under their control in the tenets of Spanish culture and/or Catholicism.

In most places *encomenderos* employed their indigenous workers to build the infrastructure for Spanish towns, raise livestock, grow crops for the Spanish and Native populations, and work in mines. The *encomenderos* used Indian labor to lay the foundation for their accumulation of fortunes and political power. Many of the early *encomiendas* dominated the Spanish American economy and the political scene locally through the manipulation of town councils (*CABILDOS*). Some of these *encomiendas* developed into the large HACIENDAS that influenced Spanish America throughout and beyond the colonial era. The early *encomenderos* used their positions of power and wealth to take advantage of later-arriving Spanish settlers.

In an effort to curb the growing power of the first *encomenderos* and eliminate the abuse that Native people suffered at their hands, the Spanish Crown issued the Laws of Burgos in 1512 and the New Laws in 1542. These laws limited the amount of personal tribute that could be collected, abolished personal servitude by Natives, and reorganized local and territorial governmental structures. These measures attacked the heart of the *encomenderos'* power by limiting their access to wealth and their ability to control local government. Administrators appointed by the royal government finally gained the ability to collect tribute for the Spanish Crown, thereby depriving the *encomenderos*



of one route to power. The government also encouraged the development of independent farmers, merchants, and mine owners, who eventually rose in power and prestige to challenge the *encomenderos*. Over time indigenous leaders took control of their *cabildos*, which limited *encomendero* political clout and ended some of the abuses that Natives suffered under the *encomienda* system.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## entail

Entail, also known as fee tail, was a legal concept derived from feudal law that bound land inalienably to the grantee and then forever to the grantee’s direct descendants.

The most extensive property tenure allowed under feudal legal systems, entail not only bound land to a lineal descendant of the tenant, but in cases where property lacked an heir the land reverted to the lord. Entails thus supported a landed aristocracy because they served to prevent the disintegration of estates through inheritance or lack of heirs. Often entails were restricted to males, granting preference to the eldest. Entail became popular in parts of the English North American colonies in the 17th century, but by the 18th century the system had collapsed.

Spanish colonists in the Americas used a system of entail (*mayorazgo* in Spanish), a popular feature of Iberian society. An equivalent institution called mortmain (dead hand, *mano muerta* in Spanish) existed for church estates. Attitudes toward race affected how people used their claims to aristocratic status. The upper class was the beneficiary of special privileges given to the nobility, clergy, merchants, mine owners, and universities, yet as attitudes toward race and social location intertwined, elite nonwhites sometimes adopted legal measures to protect their privileges. A small number of nonwhites thus acquired entails to protect their estates—sometimes huge rural properties—from fragmentation.

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—Kevin C. Armitage

## Escalante, Juan de (?–1519) soldier

A trusted friend and lieutenant to the Spanish CONQUISTADOR HERNÁN CORTÉS, in 1519 Escalante left the town of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, where he was chief constable, and attacked Aztec soldiers north of the city, decisively altering the course of Spanish conquest.

After arriving on the Gulf coast of MEXICO, Cortés and his men, including Juan de Escalante, established Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz (Rich Villa of the True Cross) adjacent to a small natural port. The settlement allowed Cortés and his followers to escape jurisdiction of the governor of CUBA, DIEGO DE VELÁZQUEZ, who originally sanctioned their exploratory expedition but forbade any settlement. Yet Cortés committed his men to conquest when he burned his ships after establishing his party on the mainland. The determined Cortés quickly made plans for an *entrada* (literally an entrance or expedition into a new area) to the city of TENOCHTITLÁN in the Mexican interior. Before leaving VERACRUZ, Cortés made formal and legal arrangements for the conquest of Mexico, including the provision that those left behind who protected the base area would receive bounty equal to the majority who were to march with Cortés. The important defense of Veracruz was entrusted to Cortés’s friend and reliable lieutenant, Juan de Escalante. Cortés left Escalante with approximately 150 men, mostly the infirm and sailors from ruined ships, as well as two HORSES.

In late October Escalante embarked on an *entrada* of his own. After receiving reports that Aztec soldiers were extracting tribute from Totonac villages ostensibly loyal to the Spanish, Escalante marched northward and engaged Aztec soldiers with about 50 of his remnant Spanish troops, seven of whom carried primitive firearms, and some 2,000 to 10,000 Totonac Indians. The reasons for Escalante’s decision remain unclear. Perhaps he considered the AZTECS an immediate threat to Veracruz; perhaps he sought to satisfy a personal need to engage in conquest. Whatever Escalante’s motivations, the attack proved disastrous. The disciplined and professional Aztec soldiers routed Escalante’s rag-tag troops; many of the Totonac fled or perished, as did Escalante’s horse. Aztec soldiers captured one Spaniard before Escalante and his wounded and disorganized forces beat a hasty retreat. Within days Escalante and seven other Spaniards died. Aztec soldiers, meanwhile, presented the severed head of the captured Spaniard to the Aztec leader MOCTEZUMA II.

Word of this disaster, the first of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, reached Cortés as he met with Moctezuma. Not only had Cortés lost his valued ally and friend Escalante, but Veracruz, his only base, remained exposed and vulnerable. Demanding retribution for the incident from Aztec leaders, Cortés imprisoned Moctezuma, killed several Aztec officers, and burned the contents of an armory.

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—Kevin C. Armitage

### Ethiopia (Abyssinia)

Today a land-locked nation bounded on the west by the nation state of Sudan, on the south by Kenya and Somalia, and on the east by Somalia, Eritrea, and DJIBOUTI, the 16th-century Christian kingdom of Ethiopia dominated the Horn of Africa, controlled important trade routes from the African interior to the Red Sea, claimed royal descent from King Solomon of Jerusalem, and was the alleged dominion of the mythical prince PRESTER JOHN.

The royal rulers of the early Ethiopian kingdom traced their descent to Maqeda, queen of Sheba, and King Solomon of Jerusalem. According to the *Kebre Nagast* ("The Glory of Kings," a chronicle compiled in the 14th century from local and regional oral histories, Jewish and Islamic writings, the Old and New Testaments, and apocryphal texts) Maqeda traveled to Jerusalem, where she and Solomon conceived a son, Menilek. Maqeda returned to Ethiopia with Menilek, founding the kingdom's Solomonic dynasty that ruled for nearly 20 centuries. In the fourth century the Solomonic rulers adopted Christianity as the official state religion and supported the building of many monasteries and other church structures, including the famous monastery at Debra Damo, which would provide sanctuary in the 16th century for the defeated Ethiopian king LEBNA DENGEL. After a four-century interruption of the dynasty's rule between the ninth and 13th centuries, the Solomonic line once again controlled Ethiopia's throne beginning in 1270 with the reign of Yekuno Amlak (r. 1270–85).

The restoration of the Solomonic line, legitimized by the *Kebre Nagast*, brought with it the expansion of the Christian kingdom against neighboring Muslim states, which developed beginning in the mid-seventh century with the spread of ISLAM from MECCA and the Arabian Peninsula onto the African continent. Ethiopia's Christian tradition solidified under Amda Siyon (r. 1314–44), who, in addition to expanding Ethiopia's territory, also increased the kingdom's involvement in the region's GOLD, ivory, and SLAVE TRADE. Amda Siyon was a powerful and savvy

leader who incorporated Muslim merchants and communities into his realm, providing protection from raiders and royal reprisals in return for agreeing to pay the king taxes, recognize his authority, and accept his administration of the region. By the end of his reign, Amda Siyon controlled a large territory composed of Christian, traditional, and Muslim peoples, governed locally by *gult* holders (small, fieflike administrative lands controlled by a landlord loyal to the Ethiopian Crown). Amda Siyon's expansionism did not go unchallenged; in 1332 Sabradin, from the Muslim province of Ifat (Yifat), declared a holy war (*jihad*) against the Ethiopian king, destroying churches and forcing the peoples in the conquered areas to convert to Islam. Sabradin's revolt was, in the end, defeated, but it signaled the mounting tension between Ethiopia's Christian kings and its Muslim subjects. Religious conflict in Ethiopia was not drawn simply between Muslims and Christians but occurred within the Christian community itself. In 1400 Dawit I (r. 1380–1412) arrested the leader of the Sabbatarian movement, Abba Filipos, but released him after much public outcry.

Zar'a Ya'qob (r. 1434–68) unified the Ethiopian Church and used the Christian religion as the kingdom's main defense against Muslim attacks. Throughout his early reign Zar'a Ya'qob attempted to break Muslim control over the eastern regions of the kingdom in the hope of creating better connections with the West and with other Christian kingdoms. As it would be in the 16th century, the main obstacle to Ethiopia's expansionism was the kingdom of Adal, which gained its independence in the 14th century and dominated trade routes to Zeila from the interior. Adal's charismatic leader, Ahmad Badlay, led many forays into Ethiopia's Muslim regions, creating instability and dissent within the larger kingdom. However, Ahmad Badlay died in battle at Dewaro in 1445, which demoralized his army and brought defeat to the Adalite incursion. Zar'a Ya'qob exacted heavy tribute from the Adalites but allowed the region to maintain its own administration. With the defeat of Ahmad Badlay, Ethiopia enjoyed relative peace for the remainder of Zar'a Ya'qob's reign and witnessed a growth in its arts and literature, although much of it was lost in the subsequent disorder brought by recurring Muslim invasions. With the instability and infighting brought by Zar'a Ya'qob's death (the Ethiopian kingdom had no firm rule of royal succession), Christian control of the region began to fracture, and Muslim power and influence increased.

Once again, the kingdom of Adal represented the main opposition to Christian Ethiopian rule. Under the leadership of Mahfuz, emir of Adal in the 1490s, Adalite forces frequently raided Ethiopian border towns during Lent (a period of fasting), killing some and capturing others to send as slaves to Mecca. The Ethiopian king, Noad (r. 1494–

1508), defeated Mahfuz, only to be killed by Adalite forces in 1508, leaving his wife, Helene, to serve as regent until his young son and successor, Lebna Dengel (r. 1508–40), reached majority. In 1517 Mahfuz and his Muslim forces faced Lebna Dengel's Christian army in a decisive confrontation. Before a battle between armies could ensue, Mahfuz issued a challenge to Lebna Dengel's men, asking if any would fight a duel to the death with him. A monk named Gabra Endreyas accepted the challenge, killed Mahfuz, and beheaded him. According to an Ethiopian chronicle of the event, Mahfuz's army fled after his death but were pursued and defeated by Lebna Dengel's army, ensuring an important victory over Adal for the young emperor.

Yet Mahfuz's death did not end the struggles between Adal and Ethiopia; internal conflict raged within Adal's Muslim community between secular pragmatists, who argued for independent but tributary status within the Ethiopian empire, and those who wanted Adal to be an independent Muslim state led by Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi, imam of Harer (1506–43). A self-proclaimed imam, Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi, known as Ahmad Grañ ("Ahmad the Left Handed"), inspired a devout following and gained substantial support for his *jihad* against both the secular government of Adal in the city of Harer and Christian Ethiopia. Once he gained control over Adal, Ahmad Grañ refused to pay tribute to the Ethiopian government, who then invaded the kingdom in 1527. The next year Adalite forces defeated the Ethiopians at Shimbra Kure. Ahmad Grañ continued his expansion into Ethiopian territory; by 1535 his forces controlled a large territory from the Red Sea to the interior. That year Lebna Dengel attempted to secure help from Portugal, but he died at the Debra Damo monastery in 1540 before assistance could arrive. In 1541 a Portuguese military expedition arrived, led by Christovão da Gama (son of VASCO DA GAMA). The combined forces of Portuguese and Ethiopian soldiers armed with modern weapons, including firearms, defeated the Muslim Adalites, but da Gama and half the Portuguese forces were killed. That same year Ahmad Grañ enlisted the help of Turkey, another Muslim state, to defeat the Ethiopians and won a decisive battle in 1542. Ahmad Grañ occupied Ethiopia until 1543, when the Portuguese and Ethiopian forces under their new king Galawedos (r. 1540–59) defeated him. Ahmad Grañ was killed near Lake Tana while retreating to Harer in 1543, but his wife, Bati Del Wenbera, reached the city and married his nephew Nur, exacting from him a promise to continue the campaign against Ethiopia. Nur followed through on his promise in 1545, 1550, 1554, and in 1559 killed Galadewos and defeated his armies. Harer's threat to Christian Ethiopia lasted until 1577, and the Turkish threat in the north continued until 1589, when the Ethiopian king Sarsa Dengel (r. 1563–97) ousted the Turks.

After this final defeat of Muslim forces, many Ethiopians who had been forced by the invaders to convert to Islam renounced the Muslim faith and returned to the Ethiopian Church. Before his death in 1559, Galawedos wrote *Confession of Faith*, demonstrating his allegiance to the Ethiopian Church and warning his Portuguese allies against continued proselytizing for the Catholic Church. The tension between Ethiopian Christians and the Catholic Portuguese in the 16th century had its origins in 1493, when the first Portuguese envoy, Pero da Covilha, arrived in Ethiopia looking for Prester John. More Portuguese arrived in 1508, and by 1520 a Portuguese embassy had arrived. Francisco Álvares, a member of this later party, wrote the first (and the only still extant) detailed description of Ethiopia before the Muslim invasion.

Despite early acceptance of Portuguese missionaries, Ethiopians were deeply mistrustful of them, resisting conversion to Catholicism. JESUITS arrived in 1557 but were expelled from Ethiopia by the emperor Fasiladas in 1630. By that time the Ethiopian kingdom, invaded by Cushitic Oromo herdsmen, had lost much of its authority. The kingdom went into a period of isolation and imperial decline lasting throughout the 17th century.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Ewe

Living today in southeastern GHANA, southern Togo, and BENIN, the Ewe's early history is little known.

Although the Ewe's beginnings are somewhat obscure, archaeological evidence suggests that the Ewe, a subset of the larger Aja ethnic group, migrated westward from the OYO Empire in the YORUBA region of Nigeria sometime before the 16th century but maintained a longer period of occupation in Togo, beginning perhaps as early as the 13th century. The Ewe, a broad ethnic group consisting of numerous clans and other ethnicities, are closely related to the FON in Benin. Despite the close ethnic ties to the Fon, the Ewe opposed the early Fon kingdom of DAHOMEY as well as other strong monarchies such as the ASANTE. This

resistance to strong central political structures may have hindered Ewe state formation. Instead of placing a single king at the head of their political system, the Ewe developed small, localized forms of governance. A system of checks and balances prevented hereditary chiefs from gaining too much power in relation to both family patriarchs and the local assemblies of female and male elders.

Lack of a centralized state may also have precluded the Ewe from forming a strong sense of group identity. Because of their decentralized political system, the Ewe homeland served as a refuge for other peoples fleeing increasingly strong kingdoms such as Dahomey and Asante. This policy of abiding displaced peoples resulted in the melding of the new and established ethnic groups in the area, and the Ewe culture continuously adapted to the pressures and influences of the region's new inhabitants. Furthermore, the Ewe's lack of a central authority left them vulnerable to slave raiding from the 17th to the 19th

century. However, the Ewe maintained cohesion in other ways, mainly through language and historical experience, as well as through trade. Women played an important role in this commerce, bearing primary responsibility for trading fish and European goods for agricultural products at the markets.

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—Lisa M. Brady



# F



## Fang

A Bantu-speaking ethnic group in what are present-day CAMEROON, Gabon, and Equatorial Guinea, the Fang, also known as the Fan or Pahouin, made up a large percentage of the slaves in the transatlantic and trans-Saharan SLAVE TRADE.

The Fang migrated to northern Cameroon in the seventh or eighth century, then moved farther south as pressures from the HAUSA kingdom and the trans-Saharan slave trade expanded. Skilled hunters and warriors, the Fang pushed other groups, including the Ndowe, farther toward the coast. The Ndowe later acted as middlemen in the slave trade, and the Fang became a primary target for slave raiders. Raiders captured thousands of Fang between the 16th and 19th centuries for sale at the slave markets.

Hearing stories from the Ndowe about the Fang's CANNIBALISM and finding human skulls in Fang households, European missionaries sought to convert the Fang to Christianity. However, the Fang were not cannibals; the skulls were part of the Fang's form of ancestor worship, in which individuals ate part of a deceased person in order to gain qualities of that person's character. The Fang were accomplished ironworkers and wood carvers, and aspects of these spiritual beliefs influenced their artisanal pursuits.

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—Lisa M. Brady

**Ferdinand and Isabella** (Ferdinand: 1452–1516; Isabella: 1451–1504) *king and queen of Castile and Aragón (Spain)*

Queen Isabella I of CASTILE and her husband, Ferdinand II of Aragón, centralized royal authority in Spain, expelled JEWS and Muslims (see ISLAM) from their lands, and sponsored the voyages of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

In the 15th century Spain was not a united country. The two most important kingdoms were Castile and Aragón, and even after the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella they remained politically and administratively distinct, although the monarchs made many decisions jointly. When explorers claimed new lands in the Americas, they claimed them for Castile, not for Spain. The monarchs themselves insisted on the separateness of their kingdoms and refused to use the title "king of Spain." In royal documents their kingdoms were always listed separately.

Isabella's claim to the throne of Castile initially was in dispute. The previous king of Castile was her half brother, Henry IV. He recognized Isabella as his heir on the condition that she marry Alfonso V, king of Portugal. In defiance of his wishes, she married Ferdinand, king of Sicily and heir to the throne of Aragón, in 1469. Henry then disowned her in favor of his daughter Juana. When he died in 1474, he left the succession in dispute. His death was followed by a civil war between Isabella's supporters and Juana's. Ferdinand played an important role in the conflict, during which he assumed control of Isabella's troops and brought military experts from Aragón to help her. The war ended with a peace treaty in 1479 that recognized Isabella's claim to the throne. Juana retired to a convent, although she maintained her claim to the throne of Castile until her death in 1530.

Ferdinand and Isabella paid little attention to Aragón, devoting their attention to the larger and more populous kingdom of Castile. Their marriage treaty required



Ferdinand and Isabella seen bidding Columbus farewell on his first voyage (The Granger Collection)

Ferdinand to live in Castile and stated that he and Isabella would cosign all public decisions. During Isabella's life Ferdinand had considerable authority in Castile, although his expertise lay in foreign policy. When Isabella died in 1504, Ferdinand lost the title king of Castile and became regent for his daughter, Queen Juana.

Within Castile Ferdinand and Isabella sought to curb the power of the nobles and the towns. Isabella strengthened her authority by reorganizing various political and judicial systems. She governed with the aid of a royal council called the Council of Castile and created new courts, the *AUDIENCIAS*, in major cities. She also asserted greater control over government officials. She limited their tenure in office and revived two institutions, the *residencia* and the *pesquisa*, to investigate their performance. In order to prevent officials from transferring their loyalties to the areas they served, she also forbade them to acquire property or marry within their jurisdictions. In foreign affairs Ferdinand encouraged closer relations with Portugal. He also sought to contain French expansion and tried to ensure that Castile would dominate the western Mediterranean.

Ferdinand and Isabella regained land in Spain that was held by the Muslims. Their armies conquered the

Muslim kingdom of Granada in 1492, achieving an important goal of the RECONQUISTA. Isabella was known as "the Catholic," and while friendly writers praised her piety, she had no tolerance for other religions. The situation of Jews and Muslims had been worsening in Spain for a century, as the older tradition of *convivencia*, in which Christians, Jews, and Muslims generally tolerated one another, gave way to a renewed emphasis on Catholicism. In 1478 Ferdinand and Isabella introduced the INQUISITION to root out heresy. They were particularly suspicious of the *conversos*, Jews who had converted or had been forced to convert to Christianity. In 1492 they decreed that all Jews must leave Spain. The decree of expulsion gave the Jews three months to leave and forbade them to take GOLD, SILVER, weapons, or HORSES with them. Some 150,000 Jews were forced to leave the country, along with more than 300,000 Muslims.

Isabella and Ferdinand are perhaps most famous as the sponsors of Christopher Columbus. They were initially disinclined to support his voyage when their advisers correctly advised them that Columbus's estimate of the size of the world was too small, but during the final siege of Granada, they agreed to sponsor an Atlantic voyage. The expedition was a risk, but if Columbus did find a way to Asia, it was a risk that would pay off handsomely. The gold of the NEW WORLD would eventually show it to have been a worthwhile undertaking for the monarchs, but Columbus himself proved troublesome when he could not maintain peace in HISPANIOLA and overstepped the bounds of his authority. According to BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, when Isabella heard that Columbus had given each of 300 colonists an Indian slave, she exclaimed "What power of mine has the Admiral to give anyone my vassals?" Still, Isabella and Ferdinand did sanction some forms of slavery in the New World and permitted the extension of the *ENCOMIENDA* in order to ensure Indian subordination.

Isabella died in 1504. Ferdinand retired to Aragón in 1506 but resumed the administration of Castile in 1510, when Juana, his daughter and queen of Castile, went insane. He died in 1516 and was buried with Isabella in the cathedral of Granada.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### **Fernando Póo (Fernando Po, Fernando Pó, Fernando Poo, Bioko)**

One of a chain of islands off the western coast of Africa, Fernando Póo was claimed by Portuguese explorers in the late 15th century but never attained the same economic importance as the neighboring islands in the archipelago, SÃO TOMÉ and PRÍNCIPE.

The first Europeans to encounter the equatorial island located 20 miles off the west African coast were a group of Portuguese explorers led by captain Fernão do Po, who originally named the island Formosa ("beautiful") but whose own name became attached to the island (today known as Bioko).

Fernando Póo is the largest of the so-called Guinea islands, but unlike its neighbors São Tomé and Príncipe, it was never actually settled by its Portuguese claimants due in part to the potential difficulty of subduing its thriving local population and in part to the hazardous approaches to the island that made it unsuitable as a trading colony. Still, the Portuguese exerted influence on the island: The language that developed there was a creole form of Portuguese, and Portugal administered Fernando Póo as an extension of São Tomé until 1778, when they ceded the island to Spain.

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—Marie Kelleher

### **feudalism**

Feudalism is the term used by scholars to describe the political and economic ties among members of the warrior aristocracy in western Europe during the ninth through 13th centuries based on the exchange of military service for maintenance and protection.

The terms *feudalism* and *feudal* have been applied to a great number of phenomena of the medieval period, ranging from monarchical rights over noble tenants to noble rights over peasants. While historians continue to dispute the term, most now use it to refer only to the system of power relations among members of the warrior aristocracy, the main components of which were the personal tie of loyalty known as vassalage and the land grant, known as a fief, that the lord gave to his vassal in exchange for service.

The principal element of feudalism was the relationship between the lord and his vassals, who were free or noble followers bound to their lord by formal ties of loyalty. Vassals may also have promised service, usually military, in

exchange for maintenance, often in the form of a grant of land. The tie between lord and vassal, sometimes referred to as homage, was typically both voluntary and reciprocal. Lords had obligations to protect and maintain their vassals in exchange for the vassals' loyalty and service and implied control over a deceased vassal's widow and minor children as well as over inheritance of any land the lord may have granted his vassal.

Feudal ties were solemnized by a ritual of formal commendation wherein the new vassal would kneel before his lord, who would clasp his hands around those of his vassal, symbolizing protection and dominance. The vassal would then verbally declare himself to be his lord's "man." This oath was often sealed with a kiss and followed by an oath of fealty, or loyalty. Fulbert of Chartres best summed up the implications of the oath of fealty. Writing in 1050 in response to a request from the duke of Aquitaine, Fulbert stated that a vassal's oath of fealty implied that he would neither injure his lord, nor betray his secrets or fortresses, nor impede the lord's justice, nor impugn his honor, nor cause him to lose his possessions. In addition, in order to be worthy of a benefice, or land grant, the vassal owed his lord aid and counsel, the former usually implying military service, the latter service in the lord's court.

The relationship between lord and vassal was personal, and even though there might be a hierarchy of feudal relationships stretching from the king through several layers of feudal bonds, the kings' position to their vassals' vassals (and so on) was that of nominal overlord, rather than sovereigns with universal power to command. In fact, the nature of the relationship between lord and vassal was such that a vassal would be expected unquestioningly to support his lord in battle against *his* lord, should the situation arise. As one medieval lord commented, "The man of my man is not my man." The relationship was also dyadic, although there was an implied bond of solidarity among vassals of the same lord. Finally, the relationship between lord and vassal was affective, superseding (in theory, at least) the relationship between husband and wife. It is important to bear in mind that the relationship between the two parties, whatever else it was, was at its core a contract, and the relationship could be broken only if one of the parties involved failed in obligations to the other.

The other phenomenon important to historians of feudalism is the fief, or the parcel of land that the lord granted as a benefice to his vassal. The lord's obligation to maintain his vassal had not always been exclusively in the form of a fief. Lords might offer their vassals employment or find some other way of maintaining them. By the 12th century the option of granting a fief had come to dominate this area of the feudal relation. Fiefs were units of property, normally landed, that vassals held and from which they reaped the profits. The ownership of these lands rested with the lords



who granted them, even though they may have been in the possession of someone else. This split between landowner and landholder meant that the lords who granted the fiefs had the power to decide who would get the land upon the current beneficiary's death. Usually, this would be a son (or more infrequently, a daughter) of the former vassal, who would in turn become a vassal him- or herself. The heritability of tenure quickly became a matter of course, especially with the post-Carolingian decentralization of authority.

While the system outlined above seems relatively straightforward, the apparent simplicity of the picture is deceptive. There are a number of important factors to consider before applying any notion of "feudalism" to early and high medieval western Europe. The single problem that underlies all concerns about feudalism is that both the term and the concept were essentially inventions of 17th- and 18th-century jurists and historians who were struggling to find a pattern for the political systems they were attempting to contrast with their own. This desire for uniformity led to a wide variety of political relationships and landholding arrangements being forced into a model for a political system that, as such, never existed earlier. Type of terrain, degree of warfare, style of agricultural exploitation, level of commercial activity, and lay versus ecclesiastical lordship resulted in widely differing political and landholding relationships. Our "classic" picture of feudalism assumes that the rise of feudal relations was the function of a weak central government that was unable to prevent power from devolving to the local level. Although this picture fits well with much of post-Carolingian France, it can hardly be applied to England and Germany, both of which had strong central government and royal institutions during parts of the period of "classic" feudalism. In the end, "feudalism" may roughly describe the political and economic ties among the medieval nobility, but it is a term that should be used with an awareness of the differences it masks.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## Florentine Codex

The Florentine Codex is one of the most extensive documents surviving from the era of the Spanish conquest of Mexico.

Mexican testimonials from the 16th century, including the CODEX MENDOZA, were the product of multiple hands. The illustrations tended to be from indigenous artists, who then passed the text to Native scholars who added commentary in NAHUATL, before the texts fell into the hands of Spaniards who often added their own gloss notes in Spanish. Produced for the FRANCISCAN friar BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN over a period of 30 years, this work was entitled *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (*General History of the Things of New Spain*). Known as the Florentine Codex because the primary manuscript is kept in Florence, the text provides remarkable insight into the history and culture of the AZTECS. It is not, like the letters of HERNÁN CORTÉS, a testimony offered by a conqueror. Instead, it is an indigenous account, profusely illustrated with approximately 1,800 images, which bears witness to the history and customs of the Aztecs.

The codex has survived in 13 books, which provide extraordinary details about events and thoughts. It contains, for example, Aztec beliefs about the natural world, including thoughtful discussions about insects that paralleled the study of such creatures undertaken by European entomologists such as the English scholar Thomas Moffett (who became an ardent promoter of the production of silk in the Atlantic basin). But more of its contents relate to political and religious history, including images illustrating the birth of HUITZILOPOCHTLI, the Aztec war god, as well as depictions of other gods, worldly leaders (including MOCTEZUMA), human sacrifices (which fascinated and terrified Europeans), human illness, and prostitutes.

There is only one copy of the entire manuscript, but like other documents in the 16th century the manuscript was copied in part in a process of SCRIBAL PUBLICATION. The original contains all of the illustrations in addition to a complete text in Nahuatl and Spanish translations of much of it. There are two other manuscripts kept in Madrid—a Spanish version that traveled from Mexico to Europe with Rodrigo de Sequera in 1580 (and is known as the Sequera manuscript) and a censored version called the Codex Matritense.

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## Florida

The Spanish province of La Florida included all of present-day Florida and portions of Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, and before the implementation of the Spanish



mission system, it contained approximately 500,000 indigenous inhabitants organized into chiefdoms spread throughout the province.

Before the arrival of Europeans, Native groups throughout most of the La Florida participated in the MISSISSIPPIAN mound building culture that represented the apex of indigenous development in the eastern portion of North America. Primarily, the Mississippian presence extended throughout southeastern North America into peninsular northern Florida, but not to southern Florida. Except in southern Florida, Native populations lived in sedentary villages and practiced intensive horticulture of a variety of crops with a primary reliance on CORN. They supplemented their diet by hunting and gathering wild plants and various aquatic resources. Most villages were palisaded and centered on a grouping of temple and funeral mounds built around a ceremonial square. The people in southern Florida lived in similarly organized towns. They did not practice horticulture on any significant scale, and they depended more upon the gathering of wild plants and aquatic resources. The indigenous groups that eventually had extensive and constant relationships with the Spanish were the Yamasee, Cusabo, Guale, Apalachee, and TIMUCUA in coastal South Carolina, southern Georgia and Alabama, and northern Florida, and the Ai, Calusa, Tekesta, and Key in southern Florida.

The Spanish first learned of Florida's existence in the early 1500s, and JUAN PONCE DE LEÓN named the region La Florida during his expedition there in 1513. The Spanish used this term to describe all the land they claimed in southeastern North America, from current-day North Carolina to Mississippi, but despite the extent of their alleged claims, they never moved far beyond settling the Atlantic coast of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, the interior of north Florida, and the Gulf coast of Florida and Alabama.

At first the Spanish could not exercise any real control over their claims in La Florida. The expeditions of Ponce de León in 1521, Lucas de Ayllón in 1526, PÁNFILO DE NARVÁEZ in 1528, HERNANDO DE SOTO in 1539, Lois Cancer de Barbastro in 1549, Juan Pardo in 1566, and Tristán de Luna in 1559 all failed to establish a permanent Spanish presence in La Florida. After French HUGUENOTS founded FORT CAROLINE near modern-day Jacksonville as a base to raid Spanish shipping, the Spanish launched a campaign with enough resources not only to annihilate the French presence but also begin the systematic development of missions and presidios (Spanish fortifications) up the Atlantic coast and across Florida to the Gulf coast. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés led this successful attempt in 1565 to create a permanent Spanish presence in La Florida. In the process he established the city of Saint Augustine, which remained the anchor of the Spanish presence in southeastern North America until 1763. La Florida, and specifically Saint Augustine, acted

as a base to protect the shipping lanes off the east coast of the Florida peninsula for the Spanish GOLD fleet that annually left the Americas for Spain. It also was used as a base to maintain Spanish claims in eastern North America. Yet despite their efforts, Spanish influence deteriorated when Native groups, the English, and the French challenged their control in the region.

The Spanish successfully incorporated the Apalachee, Timucua, Guale, Cusabo, and some Yamasee into their mission system before 1600, but they were never able to bring the indigenous groups of southern Florida into their fold. The JESUITS first attempted to christianize the Guale, Cusabo, and Yamasee along the Atlantic coast as well as the tribes of southern Florida, but after the indigenous uprisings among the Guale and Cusabo on the Atlantic coast in the late 16th century, the FRANCISCANS replaced the Jesuits throughout La Florida. After the initial establishment of missions and presidios in the region, the Spanish gradually began to lose their foothold on La Florida until they abandoned all the missions and presidios except those in the vicinity of Saint Augustine and Pensacola. During the period of Spanish occupation in Florida, indigenous populations decreased primarily through the introduction of new DISEASES from the Old World but also from famine, war, slave raiding (see SLAVE TRADE) by English-allied Natives during the late 17th century, and the burden of supplying the Spanish presence with food and other vital supplies.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

### flowerly wars

The flowerly wars (Nahuatl = *Xochiyaotl*) were semiritual battles that the Aztecs and their neighbors waged for the specific purpose of gaining captives for sacrifice.

In 1454–55, in response to four years of famine, either the Aztec great speaker Moctezuma I or his *cihuacoatl*,

TLACACLA, established the flowery wars. Believing that regular and abundant human sacrifice was needed to propitiate the gods, the speaker and his *cihuacoatl* initiated a perpetual war with the other peoples of the Puebla-Tlaxcala valley in order that all might secure a source of sacrificial offerings. These battles were distinct from the concurrent wars of conquest: In this case, conquest would be self-defeating because it would leave no more enemy warriors to capture.

Combatants seem to have gone willingly in response both to the warrior ethos and the belief that only those who died in battle would attain a comfortable afterlife (see AZTECS). Participation also assured a comfortable existence on the earthly plane, given that Moctezuma I and Tlacaccla had also established a system of privilege based on battlefield success allowing for exaltation of valiant commoners and debasement of less bellicose nobles.

There is some evidence that Moctezuma's idea was no innovation, but rather an adaptation of a practice long used by various peoples of ancient MEXICO. Nonetheless, it was a significant development, marking the beginning of more than half a century of continuous hostilities between the Aztecs and their neighbors, especially TLAXCALA, resulting not only in a climate of animosity toward the Aztecs but also a tendency toward monumental sacrifices and thus the need for increased warfare, flowery and otherwise. In the long run, the institution of the flowery wars left several independent states within the Aztec Empire that were both able and willing to aid the Spaniards when they arrived in 1519.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## Fon

Also known as the Agadja, the Fon are an ethnic group whose ancestors built the early kingdom of DAHOMEY in the southern part of modern-day BENIN.

The Fon were originally part of the Adja kingdom in Tado (present-day Togo). They separated from that kingdom early in the 17th century after an unsuccessful attempt to take control of the Adja throne. Legend states that Agasu, the son of an Adja princess and a leopard, attempted to usurp the throne. He and his Fon followers were forced to leave Adja when the coup failed. They fled to Allada, establishing their own kingdom, but succession struggles plagued the new Fon

kingdom. Agasu's son Dogbari migrated to Abomey around 1620, establishing the kingdom of Dahomey. Dahomey's highly centralized monarchy and large army, made up in part by female warriors (known as Amazons), gave the Fon kingdom a powerful advantage over neighboring kingdoms. As part of their conquests, the Fon often took slaves from the conquered peoples for labor and sacrificial purposes as well as for use in the SLAVE TRADE.

**Further reading:** Elizabeth Heath, "Fon," in *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, eds. Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), 760; ———, "The Peoples," in Roland Oliver and Michael Crowder, eds., *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 57–86.

—Lisa M. Brady

## Foxe's Book of Martyrs

John Foxe's popular *Actes and Monuments*, more commonly called *The Book of Martyrs*, helped convince English Protestants of their importance in the struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism.

*The Book of Martyrs*, although focusing on English Protestant martyrs during the reign of Mary Tudor, sought to show a connection between the simplicity of the early church and the reformed practices of 16th-century Protestants. According to Foxe, the Church of Rome had fallen to the Antichrist, but God had also raised up reformers to fight against the corruption of the church.

*The Book of Martyrs* was among the most important English Reformation works. In its effect on the religious ideas of English Protestants, it ranks behind only the English Bible and the *Book of Common Prayer*. It went through nine editions between 1563 and 1684, with later editions generally becoming longer and more complete. Foxe emphasized the role of the English church in the "Latter and Perilous Days" in which he believed he was living, but he also recognized the contributions of European reformers to the purifying of the church.

Foxe's work is the best-known of the books of martyrs, but it was part of a larger tradition. Both Protestant and Catholic authors wrote and compiled histories of their martyrs. These works, written in vernacular languages, emphasized the evil done by members of opposing churches and helped shape popular conceptions of religion.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### Franciscans

The largest order of friars in early modern Europe, the Franciscans were active in missionary work but in the Americas were torn by internal divisions.

The Franciscan order was founded in the early 13th century by Francis of Assisi. By the 16th century the Franciscans, like other religious orders, were being criticized for not living up to their vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience but instead living in luxury. These criticisms came both from within and without the order. From outside some secular leaders, most notably FERDINAND AND ISABELLA of Spain, tried to reform the order. More important reform impulses within the order led to its division. By the 14th century some Franciscans had come to believe that the order needed to adhere more closely to the vision of St. Francis, especially in the matter of poverty. These reformers came to be known as Observants. By 1517 the division between the Observants and the Conventuals had become so acrimonious that Pope LEO X issued a bull, *Ite et vos*, that separated them into distinct branches within the Franciscan order. This division left the Observants with about 30,000 members and the Conventuals with about 25,000. The same impulse to recover the purity of the original order would result in more divisions in the 16th century, leading to the creation of four new offshoots, the Discalced, Recollect, Reformed, and Capuchin Franciscans. Among the female orders of Franciscans, reform usually meant a greater emphasis on the strict cloistered life.

Roman Catholic friars, generally Franciscans, accompanied initial Spanish explorations of the New World. Franciscan missionaries landed with HERNÁN CORTÉS in 1525 in what is now La Paz, Mexico, ostensibly to introduce Christianity to Native American groups. The Franciscans abandoned this missionary effort due to difficult agricultural conditions. Beginning in 1540, Franciscan friars accompanied the expedition of FRANCISCO CORONADO, only to be murdered by Native Americans they attempted to convert. The Franciscans made another effort to establish missions among Native Americans in 1596, when five friars accompanied Spaniard Sebastián Vizcaíno. Ill-supplied and unsuccessful in recruiting neophytes, these missionaries again abandoned missionary efforts in Baja California. In general, the Franciscan friars were less willing than the JESUITS to think that converts could retain their cultural

heritage while becoming Christian and were more likely to expect cultural as well as religious conversion.

**Further reading:** Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation* (London, Burns and Oates, 1977); John Patrick Donnelly, S. J., “Religious Orders,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 3, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 413–416; C. J. Lynch, “Franciscans,” in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, ed. William J. McDonald, et al. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 38–46; Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492–1700* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984); John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order: From Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1968).

—Martha K. Robinson

—James Jenks

### French explorations of the Atlantic

During the 16th century, the French launched exploratory and colonizing ventures in the Atlantic basin, primarily in FLORIDA, New France (modern Canada), and BRAZIL.

Textbook writers often downplay the significance of the French in the Western Hemisphere. By doing so, they are reading history backward and incorrectly. Since there were far fewer individuals of French ancestry in the Western Hemisphere at the end of the 18th century (approximately the era of the American Revolution), and since scholars have long pointed out the reluctance of French men and especially women to sail across the Atlantic, the conclusion has been that the French efforts constituted at best a footnote to the more important stories of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, HERNÁN CORTÉZ, or the English settlers at ROANOKE.

But the French did, in fact, embrace opportunities to travel to the Western Hemisphere in the 16th century. Among them, none were as famous as JACQUES CARTIER, who led three expeditions to the St. Lawrence River valley. Accounts of his explorations appeared in Europe, printed (see PRINTING PRESS) not only in France but also by the Venetian travel authority GIOVANNI BATISTA RAMUSIO; his efforts also caught the attention later of RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, who arranged for the translation and publication of one of Cartier’s texts in England in 1580. Cartier’s reports brought news to France of two Iroquoian groups, the HOCHELAGA and the Stadacona. Cartier, it must be noted, crossed the Atlantic in search of GOLD and the NORTHWEST PASSAGE, and he failed to find either. But his efforts revealed the willingness of the French state to support long-distance explorations.

A generation later the French had launched other enterprises. In addition to ships that explored the Caribbean



basin—and at least one French writer who produced the DRAKE MANUSCRIPT—some HUGUENOTS sailed to Brazil. Among them was JEAN DE LÉRY, who sought to found the first Protestant (see REFORMATION) colony in the Western Hemisphere. The French also arrived in Florida, though the Spanish eradicated their short-lived settlement at Fort Caroline, a situation described in the work of RENÉ DE LAUDONNIÈRE.

Given French experiences in the Western Hemisphere, and their embrace of American commodities such as TOBACCO, which figured prominently in the work of the royal cosmographer ANDRÉ THEVET, the time is long past to give proper attention not only to individual explorers but to the efforts of the French more generally.

**Further reading:** Philip P. Boucher, “Revisioning the ‘French Atlantic’: or, How to Think about the French Presence in the Atlantic, 1550–1625,” in Peter C. Mancall, ed., *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007), 274–306.

**Frobisher, Martin** (1539–1594) *explorer of Canada, pirate, admiral*

An English explorer, knighted admiral, and occasional pirate, Martin Frobisher led three unsuccessful voyages to Greenland and Canada in the 1570s in hope of discovering GOLD and a NORTHWEST PASSAGE through North America to China.

An accomplished mariner who undertook two trading expeditions to West Africa before his 20th birthday, Frobisher earned favor with Queen ELIZABETH I for his naval skills and his role as a privateer, or licensed pirate, for the English government. Raised in an aristocratic Yorkshire family who told tales of the riches of the Orient, Frobisher offered to find a Northwest Passage to China for 15 years before gaining the support of the Muscovy Company and its director, Michael Lok. In June 1576 Frobisher and his crew of 35 men sailed two large ships, the *Gabriell* and the *Michaell*, and an additional small ship past a waving Queen Elizabeth on their way west across the Atlantic. A storm near GREENLAND claimed the smaller ship, and the *Michaell*, now separated from Frobisher and the *Gabriell*, returned to England. Frobisher continued westward around Greenland and discovered what became known as Frobisher’s Strait, the bay at Canada’s Baffin Island that he believed was the passage to Asia. After both peaceful and hostile encounters with the island’s native Inuit population, Frobisher returned to England with a small amount of black ore and an Inuit prisoner.

Although the captive soon died and the efforts to refine the ore proved inconclusive, English interest in both



Martin Frobisher, detail of an oil painting by Cornelius Ketel (1548–1616), dated 1577 (*The Granger Collection*)

led to a second voyage sponsored by the Cathay Company, Frobisher and Lok’s newest venture, in May 1577. Frobisher added a third ship, the *Ayde*, and set off with 120 men and



orders to return with large amounts of ore. The crew of the *Ayde* brought back 200 tons of ore while Frobisher, unable to locate the members of his earlier crew missing on Baffin Island, captured three Inuits—a man, a woman, and a child—and returned to Europe.

Before refiners in England declared the ore from the second voyage to be of poor quality, Frobisher launched a third and final voyage around Greenland in May 1578 with the goal of obtaining 2,000 tons of ore and creating a mining colony on Baffin Island. This ambitious effort involved 15 vessels and an unprecedented crew of almost 400 men. While Frobisher took possession of Greenland in the name of Queen Elizabeth, naming it West England, he abandoned the plan to create a settlement after storms and ice sank one ship and convinced another to return to England. Before leaving Frobisher ordered the crew to build two homes, one of stone and one of wood, to determine the effects of arctic winters. The group also buried supplies and planted a few crops with the expectation of a return voyage in 1579. Frobisher continued to believe his discovery held the shortcut to Asia, but after years of failed attempts in England to refine the mysterious black ore into gold, enthusiasm and investors dissipated and the Cathay Company faced bankruptcy. Not until the early 1600s did George Waymouth and Henry Hudson prove that Frobisher's Strait led to Canada's Hudson Bay rather than Asia.

Frobisher's three voyages marked the first encounter between Europeans and North American Arctic peoples such as the Inuit. Explorers' accounts and Inuit folklore describe minimal trade of items such as food and furs during the first voyage. After five members of Frobisher's initial crew were lost and feared captured, the English and the Natives limited later encounters to brief skirmishes and attempts to obtain or recover hostages. While none of the Inuits Frobisher took back to England survived more than a short time, the ethnographic accounts about their culture revealed, to the surprise of Europeans, a complex Arctic society with iron weapons and tools.

Frobisher did not find the Northwest Passage, but some of those who traveled on his journeys returned to England and wrote accounts of what they had seen. These reports were remarkable for the level of detail they offered about the Inuit, relations between the sailors and the locals, the kinds of fauna that could be found in the North Atlantic, and about the ferocity of bitter Arctic winds and icebergs. Among those who read the accounts was RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, who eventually reprinted some of them in his great collections of travel narratives in 1589 and from 1598 to 1600. Not everyone was so happy with Frobisher. Upon his return some of those who sponsored his voyages believed that he had squandered much of the money that had gone to support his ventures. But despite

such protests, Frobisher emerged from the period of his North Atlantic journeys as a national hero whose exploits would later shape the explorations of Henry Hudson.

Despite his failures in the North Atlantic, Frobisher's reputation remained intact as he continued his naval duties with numerous campaigns against Ireland and Spain, including a lucrative privateering expedition in the West Indies with SIR FRANCIS DRAKE. In 1588 Queen Elizabeth knighted Frobisher, then an admiral of the seas, for his efforts in defending England from the SPANISH ARMADA. Six years later Frobisher died of a gunshot wound suffered while fighting the Spanish in the Battle of Brest. Although Frobisher died without discovering the pathway to the Orient or its elusive riches, his three failed voyages were important in encouraging Europeans, especially the British, to turn south for exploration and settlement rather than risk the dangers and costs of Arctic expeditions.

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—Richard Hughes

### Fulani (Peul, Fula, Fulbe)

Believed to have origins in the grasslands around the Senegal River, the Fulani are a largely pastoral ethnic group widely dispersed through West Africa, including present-day Senegal, Guinea, MALI, Niger, Nigeria, and CAMEROON.

Until the fall of the kingdom of GHANA in the 11th century, the Fulani were nomadic pastoralists composed of several autonomous bands each led by its own headman. They traced their descent patrilineally and maintained an animistic spiritual belief system. They lived on the western edge of Ghana and remained relatively independent until the Tarkur established a new Islamic (see ISLAM) state in Ghana. Under the new kingdom some Fulani abandoned their traditional pastoral lifestyles and became sedentary. This branch of the Fulani merged with the already settled population to form the Tukolor, a Fulfulde-speaking subgroup.

By the 14th century the Fulani began migrating eastward, away from their traditional homeland. They reached the Futa Djallon region of present-day Guinea and Mali by the 15th century, and by the 16th century they had arrived in Hausaland and Bornu in modern-day Nigeria. Previously a somewhat homogenous ethnic group in West Africa, migration brought cultural

differentiation to the Fulani based on lifestyle choices. The *fulani bororo*, or cattle Fulani, retained their pastoral traditions. The *fulani gida*, or town Fulani, settled in towns along the route of migration through Mali, SONGHAI, and HAUSA.

During the 16th century many Fulani converted to radical forms of Islam influenced by SUFISM. These sects, including the *qadiriya* and *tijaniya* orders that were brought across the SAHARA by the TUAREG, upheld the right of the faithful to establish a society based on Islamic principles through rebellion against unjust rulers. Through

*jihad*, or holy war, the Fulani replaced rulers they felt were corrupt with devout Muslim theocracies.

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—Lisa M. Brady

# G



**Gama, Vasco da** (1469–1524) *explorer, discoverer of a passage to India*

The navigator Vasco da Gama succeeded in discovering a passage to India in 1498, an achievement that made possible the Portuguese monopoly over the spice trade with the Orient.

The likelihood of a passage to India had been paved by BARTHOLOMEU DIAS's rounding of the Cape of Good Hope in 1488. Then, in March 1496, as CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS struggled to obtain approval for his third expedition to the NEW WORLD, Portugal made plans for an expedition to India under Vasco da Gama's leadership. The Spanish Crown's willingness to grant financing to Columbus stemmed in large part from the competition between Spain and Portugal and the knowledge of da Gama's planned journey.

Historians know very little about Vasco da Gama's life before his voyage to India. Born in Sines, Portugal, in 1469, da Gama grew up the son of the governor of the Order of St. James. Da Gama served in the royal court of King João II and later became a naval officer. Before his voyage to India, da Gama led the defense of Portuguese overseas possessions in Guinea.

Da Gama and his fleet of four ships departed LISBON harbor in July 1497, and in May 1498 the crew sighted the Malabar Coast of India. Along the way da Gama and his crew encountered conflict when they reached Muslim (see ISLAM) trading centers along the coast of Africa. Despite tensions between the Portuguese and Muslim traders, da Gama reached Calicut, India, on May 20, 1498.

Following an initial welcome from the indigenous Hindu ruler and his people, da Gama and his crew soon found themselves excluded from the Indian and Hindu trade networks. The indigenous people considered Portuguese goods to be of little or no value. As a result, in August 1498 da Gama began the difficult journey back to Lisbon having very little to show for his journey beyond recognition as the first European to reach India.

In a 1502 return trip to India da Gama equipped himself with better preparations and a much larger crew. During

this expedition da Gama successfully pursued his goal of establishing a trade network between the Portuguese and East Indies through brutal and deadly force.

Vasco da Gama's discovery of a passage to India enabled the Portuguese to expand their commercial empire and establish dominion over the booming spice trade. Portugal owed much to da Gama, including important bases secured in Ceylon, Malacca, the SPICE ISLANDS of the Indonesian archipelago, and the colony of Macao on the Chinese mainland. Following da Gama's death in 1524 during his final journey to India, the Portuguese continued their extensive exploration of the New World.

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—Kimberly Sambol-Tosco

## Gao

A city on the upper bend of the NIGER RIVER, Gao served as an important trading center for the MALI and SONGHAI Empires.

Gao likely arose as a city in the eighth century as a terminus for the trans-Saharan trade routes carrying GOLD, salt, slaves (see SLAVE TRADE), and other goods between North and East Africa and West Africa, with trade partners as distant as Algeria and Egypt. Gao probably began as a seasonal camp for the Sorko, a fishing people who grew crops on the banks of the Niger while in residence there. What the Sorko could not grow or harvest from the river, they traded for with the nomadic peoples living on the fringes of the SAHARA. Early connections between Gao's inhabitants and North African traders facilitated the spread

of ISLAM to the area, especially through the conversion of the royal rulers of the city. By the 13th century Islam was the dominant religion there.

The growth of the ancient kingdom of GHANA in the ninth century provided the necessary impetus for the fishing camp to become an influential trading center. By the 12th century Gao elicited intense competition among eastern traders, who wanted to control the growing gold trade, and western merchants, who wished to retain their monopoly of that lucrative commerce. By the 13th century Gao's importance to the trans-Saharan trade attracted the attention of powerful kingdoms, including Mali, which incorporated the city into its empire by the middle of that century.

Under the rule of MANSA MUSA I in the 14th century, Gao designated the eastern edge of the great Mali Empire. The Songhai, a tributary state to Mali, had its base in Gao and used the city's strategic location to aid them in their overthrow of the Mali kingdom in the 15th century. Under the Askia dynasty (see ASKIA MUHAMMAD I), Gao replaced Kikuya, the ancient royal capital of the Songhai, as the capital of the new empire. The famous chronicler LEO AFRICANUS visited Gao during the reign of Muhammad I and described the city as a large town whose king had numerous wives and concubines housed in a large, separate palace heavily guarded by slaves and eunuchs.

Eventually, the Songhai kingdom ended where it started, sealing the fate of Gao. Moroccan invaders under the leader Mansur defeated the Songhai Empire near its home city in 1589, expelling the Songhai from Gao in 1591. The Moroccans had a military advantage in the form of firearms, easily defeating the Songhai, armed only with hand weapons. With the invasion of the Moroccans and the expulsion of the Songhai, Gao declined rapidly in importance to the trans-Saharan trade.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Gedi

A coastal town in modern-day Kenya, Gedi's history from the 13th to the 17th century is one of periodic abandonment and reoccupation.

Located 10 miles south of present-day Malindi, Gedi has a mysterious past. Its outer wall, nearly nine feet tall, surrounded 45 acres, which were separated from the town proper by an inner wall. The city had a large mosque, a palace, three pillar tombs, several small mosques, and many private houses. Influenced by the Swahili culture of southeastern Africa, Gedi was not integrated into the Swahili coastal trading system. It lay four miles from the coast of the Indian Ocean and two miles from a navigable creek. This inland location may be explained by the tendency of water courses to shift their banks, but some have argued that it is because its focus was not on the sea but instead on the land that surrounded it. Because no written records from the city exist, not even from the period of Portuguese settlement (1512–1593) of nearby Malindi, its history remains ambiguous.

Archaeological evidence provides some insight into the physical structure of the city and thus into its society. Gedi's architecture ensured the comfort of its inhabitants. Long shadows created by sunken courts kept the palace cool, as did the thick walls and stamped red earth roofs of other buildings. Like the palace, all private residences had separate lavatories and strong rooms for storing valuables. Sumps throughout the town held surface water, ensuring the integrity of the structures' walls and protecting them from damaging runoff. The great mosque, built of stone and coral tiles in the mid-15th century and located near the palace, incorporated traditional Swahili symbols of kingship. Carved in the entry was a broad-bladed spear. The arched *qibla*—showing the direction of MECCA (see ISLAM)—was in the north wall of the mosque.

Archaeological evidence suggests Gedi was the site of a highly developed, complex, and wealthy society. Probably founded in the 13th century, it suffered from decline until it was rebuilt sometime in the 15th century, when it reached the height of its prosperity. The inhabitants of the city abandoned Gedi in the 16th century, reoccupied it briefly, but abandoned it permanently by the early 17th century. No clues exist as to why Gedi was abandoned; Portuguese or Galla attack, a decrease in the water tables, and epidemic disease represent only some of the tentative explanations.

**Further reading:** James de Vere Allen, *Swahili Origins: Swahili Culture and the Shungwaya Phenomenon* (London: James Curry, 1993); Robert Fay, "Gedi," in *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, eds. Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), 823; Michael N. Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

—Lisa M. Brady



**Gesner, Conrad von** (1516–1565) *physician, naturalist*

Swiss physician and naturalist whose five-volume *Historia Animalium* (1551–58 and 1587) attempted to systematically describe all known animals, providing science with a foundation for modern zoology.

Impressed by his son's prodigious intellectual abilities, Gesner's father, a poor furrier, sent young Conrad to live with an uncle who derived supplemental income by collecting medicinal herbs. The young Gesner thus grew up in an environment that fostered his interest in medicine and natural history. Gesner's intellectual aptitude so impressed his teachers that one acted as a foster father after Gesner's biological father died fighting for the Protestant cause in 1531. In 1533 Gesner won a traveling scholarship and spent two years of self-directed study in Bourges and Paris. A man of many languages, Gesner spoke Dutch, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Latin, probably some English, and maintained a reading knowledge of Arabic. Such talents landed the 21-year-old Gesner an appointment as professor of Greek at the Lausanne Academy. After three years of teaching, Gesner left to study medicine and finish his doctoral degree in Basel; in his spare time he completed a Greek-Latin dictionary published in 1537. Gesner spent his professional career practicing medicine in Zurich, where, among many other activities, he served as lecturer in Aristotelian physics at the Collegium Carolinum and after 1554 as city physician.

Gesner's career as an author was astonishing. He wrote or edited at least 70 books during his lifetime, several of which were among the first contributions to their various disciplines. In an early work describing the virtues of milk, Gesner included a letter to a friend that lauded mountains as among the finest wonders of nature. This letter, along with a 1555 account of his summit climb of Mt. Pilatus, constitute some of the first literature on mountain climbing. In 1545 Gesner published his remarkable and justly famous *Bibliotheca universalis*, a reference work listing more than 1,800 authors and their works, widely regarded as the world's first modern bibliography. Ten years later he published *Mithridates: De differentis linguis*, an account of the approximately 130 languages then known.

Gesner's most lasting contributions related to his attempts to categorize human knowledge of nature. His *Historiae animalium* sought to compile all recorded knowledge of animal life, distinguishing between known facts and popular myths. Gesner's work revived the classical school of zoological description that culminated with the work of Carolus Linnaeus. Gesner's penchant for systematic thought infused his 1565 volume on minerals, *De omni rerum fossilium*, the first illustrated book on minerals. Although uncompleted, Gesner's comprehensive compendium of plant life that included his voluminous notes

and more than 1,500 engravings informed scholarly work for more than two centuries after his death. Gesner's accuracy and systematic thinking were important contributions to early Enlightenment science. He died of PLAGUE on December 13, 1565.

**Further reading:** Willey Ley, *Dawn of Zoology* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1968).

—Kevin C. Armitage

**Ghana**

The ancient kingdom of Ghana, not to be confused with the modern-day nation-state, ruled over the area located in present-day western MALI and southeastern Mauritania during the ninth through 13th centuries.

Oral tradition describes the rise and fall of an ancient kingdom in the Sahel (see SAHARA) known as Wagadu. Founded by the Soninke, the most northern of the Mande peoples, Wagadu's rulers, the Magha, lived in the capital city of Kumbi. The basis of Wagadu's wealth was GOLD, replenished each year by the kingdom's guardian. This guardian, a powerful snake, demanded the annual sacrifice of a virgin to ensure the continued success of the kingdom. Catastrophe came to the kingdom when the lover of one virgin destined for sacrifice killed the snake, which cursed the kingdom with desiccation of its lands and cessation of the flow of gold. Unable to survive in the desert, the people of Wagadu dispersed to new lands.

Contemporary historical evidence and modern archaeological findings show that the legends of Wagadu closely correlate to the history of the ancient kingdom of Ghana. Although the snake does not play into the historical and archaeological records on Ghana, the role of gold in the formation and success of the kingdom and the location and name of the capital provide evidence that Wagadu and Ghana were the same.

Late eighth-century Arab historical sources show that Ghana, which was the name of both the kingdom and the rulers, emerged out of the growth of the trans-Saharan trade routes that transported slaves (see SLAVE TRADE), ivory, cloth, food products such as salt, and, most important, gold across the Sahara among North, West and East Africa. Ghana's merchants served as middlemen between the Berber and Arab traders of Northern Africa and the producers of gold and ivory in the south. Taking advantage of this central position, the kings of Ghana attained control over the highly lucrative gold trade by the end of the eighth century, inspiring the Baghdad (Iraq) chronicler Al-Farazi to describe the kingdom as the "land of gold." By the 11th century the tales of the riches of Ghana had reached Spain, where the Muslim historian al-Bakri, who never visited Ghana, took his information from traders and explorers who described the

kingdom as one in which dogs wore collars of gold and the kings were called “lords of the gold.” In fact, Ghana’s kings served two functions and held the title of both “lord of the gold” (*kaya maghan*) as well as war chief (*ghana*).

Al-Bakri’s descriptions of Ghana remain the best sources of information on the kingdom. In his histories he described Ghana’s royal court, its army, and its economic and trading systems. Al-Bakri also described the royal city, built of stone, and its twin commercial city located approximately six miles distant, both named Koumbi-Saleh. In one of these cities lived the traditional kings of the empire, who adhered to their traditional pagan religion. The other city housed a wealthy merchant trader class, which was predominantly Muslim. These traders, buoyed by their success as middlemen in the trans-Saharan trade, imported luxury goods from Spain and Morocco. Koumbi Saleh was a type of “port city” (if the Sahara is taken as a “sea” of sand, the Sahel, in which the city was located, as its shore, and the camel its ships) and as such stimulated high levels of political organization and state formation.

At its height the kingdom of Ghana reached the Senegal River in the west, and its southern border was the confluence of the Senegal and Faleme Rivers. It controlled the rich Bambuk gold fields as well as the gold deposits at Wangara, between the upper NIGER RIVER and the Senegal River. By its apex in the ninth century, Ghana began trading slaves for salt from Toghata in the Sahara and cloth from North Africa, further expanding its trading and political influence, but decline set in when the empire had to defend its control of the gold trade from competitors. By 1076 Ghana had weakened, leaving it open to attack from the north. In that year the Muslim Almoravids of the Maghreb attacked and destroyed the capital. The Almoravids, led by Abu Bakr, waged a *jihad* (Islamic holy war) against the pagan Ghana kingdom, converting many to ISLAM. After a short occupation by the Almoravids, Ghana recovered, but in 1203 Sumanguru, a leader of the Takrur people to the west, defeated Ghana again. His reign, known as the Sosso kingdom, was also short-lived because the Mande people of Mali under the leadership of SUNDIATA KEITA defeated him in a mythical battle. By the end of the 13th century, Ghana was subsumed into the more powerful Mali Empire.

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Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), 828–835; Thurstan Shaw, “The Prehistory of West Africa,” in *History of West Africa*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., eds. J. F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (London: Longman, 1985), 48–86.

—Lisa M. Brady

### Gilbert, Sir Humphrey (1539?–1583) explorer of Canada, colonist

Among the most influential promoters of the English colonization of North America, Sir Humphrey Gilbert was among the elite whom Queen ELIZABETH I sent to Ireland to secure her rule there, an assignment that Gilbert carried out with as much zeal as his long-term efforts to find the NORTHWEST PASSAGE.

Born near the end of the 1530s, Gilbert would have been in his 20s when he joined the mission of Sir Henry Sidney to Ireland in June 1566. That mission was part of a larger military campaign known to scholars as the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland, a campaign characterized by the bloody tactics English officers devised in an attempt to get native Catholic Irish men and women to accept the rule of the Protestant queen. Thomas Churchyard, an observer of English actions (and an Englishman himself), described the ways Gilbert hoped to subdue the Irish. According to Churchyard, Gilbert ordered “that the heddes of all those (of what sort soever thei were) which were killed in the daie, should be cutte of from their bodies and brought to the place where he incamped at night, and should there bee landed on the ground by eche side of the waie ledying into his own tense so that none could come into his tense for any cause but commonly he muste pass through a lane of heddes which he used *ad terrorem*, the dedde feelyng nothyng the more paines thereby: and yet did it bring grease terrour to the people when thei sawe the heddes of their dedde fathers, brothers, children, kinsfolke and freinds, lye on the grounde before their faces, as thei came to speak with the said collonell.” After the campaign Gilbert returned to Ireland in 1570, and two years later he once again served with the queen’s military forces when he led 1,100 men against Spanish troops in several inconsequential skirmishes.

Gilbert’s service in Ireland and the Netherlands pleased the queen, who granted him a patent enabling him to control much of northeastern North America if he could establish settlements there. Because he was a half brother of SIR WALTER RALEGH, Gilbert seemed ideally situated for the task. By the time he set out on his first venture to the Western Hemisphere in 1578, he had already written *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia*, published in London in 1576, which examined evidence for the existence of a water route to East Asia. With

knowledge that he gathered from RICHARD HAKLUYT THE ELDER and others about the bountiful fisheries off Newfoundland, Gilbert hoped to create a colony between 40 and 42 degrees north latitude. Although his first effort failed in 1579, Gilbert arranged for a more substantial effort upon his return in 1583. Among his associates was the young Hungarian poet-adventurer, STEPHEN PARMENIUS, a close friend of RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER. Once in Newfoundland, Parmenius and many of Gilbert's men realized that the territory was less pleasing and promising than they had been led to believe by their leader. With discontent on the rise and supplies running short, Gilbert decided that the time had come to return to England, but Gilbert's small squadron of ships ran into foul weather in September 1583. Parmenius went down on the *Delight*, and Gilbert himself died when a smaller ship, the *Squirrel*, sank.

Gilbert made extensive plans about how he would run his colony. Like other Elizabethans, he was convinced that settlements in North America would become profitable. He believed that many English people would choose to migrate there and those who did so would enjoy a better life than they had left behind in Europe. In the end, of course, his dreams died with him, but not before he had laid out his plans to his associates and in various reports. Little could he have known that the territory he desperately wanted to bring into the English realm would eventually become part of New France.

Gilbert's loss at sea had a dramatic impact on the younger Hakluyt and other promoters of English colonization. Gilbert had seemed to them a powerful man whose triumph in Ireland had advanced the cause of Elizabeth I. To succumb to a storm at sea served as a reminder that no human was superior to the power of the ocean. In the years after his death Hakluyt and others noted that Gilbert had been "devoured" by the Atlantic. For those who read of his loss, it was a reminder that those who survived a long-distance trip had accomplished something of great value and that no amount of military authority was sufficient to halt the forces of nature. In the latter decades of the 16th century, when the English were in the midst of organizing their ventures to ROANOKE, that lesson no doubt tempered the enthusiasm some might have felt for their task.

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## gold

This precious commodity drove rulers of kingdoms to sponsor colonizing expeditions so they could enrich themselves by gaining what was arguably the most universally recognized symbol of wealth in the early modern world.

Gold, found on every continent in the world, has had a timeless appeal to human beings. Whether used to make coins, jewelry, or paint for statues or mosaics, early modern peoples all appreciated and wanted gold. They recognized that gold was rare and that it was durable. As one modern commentator has observed, "almost all the gold ever mined is still around, much of it now in museums bedecking statues of the ancient gods and their furniture or in numismatic displays, some on the pages of illuminated manuscripts, some in gleaming bars buried in the dark cellars of central banks, a lot of it on fingers, ears, and teeth." If the entire known quantity of gold could be combined into one mass, it would weigh about 125,000 tons and fit on a single oil tanker.

The search for gold played an enormous role in the history of the world from the mid-15th century to the 17th century. Gold had, of course, a much longer pedigree, even in Europe: In 1257 the English king Henry III authorized the first use of gold in coins in his realm, and subsequent monarchs followed suit. (There were, in all, 14 different kinds of coin made from gold in England from 1257 to 1717.) The finest artisans on the continent used gold leaf to adorn priceless manuscripts and to make mosaics in churches shine, as they still do in glorious monumental displays in the Basilica of San Marco in VENICE.

Although Europeans knew about gold, they had less access to it than other peoples, especially Africans. Gold had benefited empire-builders in GHANA and MALI, among others, as well as traders in TIMBUKTU, Ualata, Tarudant, Sijilmesa, and Mesa. By the early 14th century Portuguese explorers began to find supplies of gold in North Africa; by mid-century, when some Portuguese had traveled to Senegal, Guinea, and Gambia, traders working through Morocco had begun to acquire gold along with slaves (see SLAVERY), indigo, and SUGAR. In 1471 Fernão Gomes began to acquire so much gold from Sierra Leone that the coat of arms he later received depicted three Africans wearing golden pendants. Soon the Portuguese built fortresses along the west African GOLD COAST to protect their investments, including an outpost at São Jorge da Mina that grew into a city.

Once Europeans set their sites on the Western Hemisphere, they hoped to find gold there also. CHRISTOPHER





Native Americans melting gold to pour into doll-shaped molds, engraved by Theodor de Bry, 1599 (Hulton/Archive)

COLUMBUS was only the first of many Spanish CONQUISTADORES who hoped to find gold in the Americas. Fortunately for Columbus and those who supported his ventures, the Spanish did find gold in the West Indies. They began to process it in HISPANIOLA as early as 1494. Between 1503 and 1510, according to records in the CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN in SEVILLE, the Spanish imported almost 5,000 kilograms of gold. From 1511 to 1520 the amount increased to more than 9,000 kilograms, although during the 1520s the total hauled into Spain dropped to slightly less than 5,000 kilograms, but the decline was temporary. By the mid-1530s the Spanish had found other supplies of gold, and their imports in the 1550s totalled 42,500 kilograms. Much of this gold, of course, came not from mines but from the AZTECS and other indigenous peoples whom the Spanish plundered. Conquistadores were after gold above all else, observers recognized, and they felt little apparent unease when they melted down religious icons that had had enormous meaning before 1492. Outright theft of gold made sense to conquistadores such as FRANCISCO

PIZARRO who, after all, had killed the INCA king ATAHUALPA despite the fact that he received an enormous ransom of gold and SILVER.

Over time silver became a more important commodity for Europeans in the Americas, although the lure of gold persisted well beyond the colonial period. Perhaps the European desire for gold was most evident in the constant search for EL DORADO, a place that was, according to legend, made of gold and jewels. The dream of finding that city had enthralled many conquistadores, including FRANCISCO CORONADO, whose men searched for a golden civilization on the plains of the modern-day United States. They never found El Dorado, of course, but their quest signified the long-standing desire to find the most precious metal in the world.

**Further reading:** Peter Bernstein, *The Power of Gold: The History of an Obsession* (New York: Wiley, 2000); Roy W. Jastram, *The Golden Constant: The English and American*



*Experience, 1560–1976* (New York: Wiley, 1977); Pierre Vilar, *A History of Gold and Money, 1450–1920* (London: NLB, 1976).

### Gold Coast

The region in western Africa stretching along the coast between the Ivory Coast and Nigeria (modern-day Ghana) where Portuguese explorers and merchants first acquired gold for the European market in the 15th century and that remained, for generations, a crucial center for the export of precious commodities.

During the mid-14th century enterprising Portuguese explorers seeking to enrich themselves and their empire began to establish regular trade with African merchants. The Europeans were especially interested in getting access to gold, and so they established themselves at crucial points on the west coast of Africa. At São Jorge da Mina (see Documents), Redes, and Axim they established forts that they used as bases for their gold-seeking operations. The Portuguese learned that the gold they wanted had to be brought to the coast (it was found farther inland) and so they purchased African slaves (see SLAVERY and SLAVE TRADE) in BENIN and brought them to the Gold Coast settlements, where they relied on their labor to haul gold, although they often then sold the slaves there, too. Much of the gold sold to Europeans along the Gold Coast had come from across the SAHARA, suggesting that the Arab merchants who organized the commerce recognized its great value. Although no one could have known how extensive trade in the region would become, the cloth that Europeans brought to the Gold Coast to trade might have clothed perhaps 1.5 million Africans by the mid-17th century. Surviving documents demonstrate that purchasers of cloth, which had originated in Asia as well as in Europe, wanted a wide variety of choices. Such evidence suggests the complexity of commerce in the early modern world and the fact that consumers of goods—the Europeans who wanted gold as well as the Africans who wanted cloth—often found ways to get what they wanted, usually in places like the Gold Coast, where merchants found ways to bring commodities to markets.

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**Gomes, Diogo** (ca. 1440–ca. 1482) *explorer of Africa*  
A Portuguese ship captain, he sent by Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR to explore commercial possibilities along the west coast of Africa.

In 1458 Prince Henry commissioned Gomes to follow the earlier route of the Venetian ALVISE DE CADAMOSTO, who had sailed from Portugal down the African coast as far as Senegal. Gomes went 900 miles farther: His expedition, consisting of three CARAVELS, rounded the Horn of Africa and got as far as Cape Palmas along the coast of Guinea. He returned to Portugal the next year with a cargo of slaves (see SLAVE TRADE) and GOLD, thus proving to the dying Henry that his commercial inclinations were on target. Although Henry had ordered Gomes not to kidnap anyone but, instead, to treat with local officials and set up trade with them, he admitted to capturing some Africans while they slept, herding them “as if they had been cattle towards the boats.” That day he claimed he captured 650 Africans to take them back “to Portugal, to Lagos in the Algarve, where the Prince was, and he rejoiced with us.” In the years after the monarch’s death, Gomes established commercial connections that sustained ties between LISBON, the Cape Verde Islands, and the coast of Guinea.

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### Gonja

An ethnic group of diverse origins in modern-day northwestern Ghana and northeastern Côte d’Ivoire, the Gonja established a powerful trading kingdom in the 17th century but were conquered by the ASANTE in the 18th century.

Founded in the mid-16th century by a cavalry force of the declining but expansionistic MALI Empire, the Gonja’s origins were based on conquest. Gonja’s first ruler, Nabaga (“the one who arrived”), established the new kingdom’s capital at Yagbum. The descendants of the Malian cavalymen, called Ngbanya, formed a chiefly class overseeing the diverse territories the Gonja kingdom encompassed. The indigenous peoples of the region became a commoner class, the *nyamasi*, but retained ritual control over their lands through their land priests. As in the neighboring MOSSI kingdom, the indigenous traditions survived the period of conquest, but unlike the Mossi, the Gonja began as an Islamic state.

Located in the geographical interstice between the growing Mossi and AKAN kingdoms, the Gonja continued their expansionist tradition throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. These so called Gonja wars increased the Gonja territory to the Oti River (in the far eastern part of present-day Ghana and part of the Volta River basin), effectively isolating the Akan peoples who founded the powerful Asante kingdom from the Mossi kingdoms until the middle of the 18th century. Dynastic struggles in the late 17th century left the Gonja weakened and susceptible to invasion by the Asante in the mid-18th century.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Gorée Island

An island off the coast of west Africa, first colonized by the Portuguese but later sold to the Dutch, who built two forts there and used it to supply their slave trading expeditions, Gorée Island eventually attracted the attention of various European states interested in maintaining trade with African states.

**Further reading:** Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997).

## Greenland

The North Atlantic island of Greenland, settled first by Inuit and later by NORSE explorers, tested the durability of Norse culture and the adaptability of European peoples to new environments.

Two-thirds of Greenland, the world’s largest island, rests within the Arctic Circle, and the island’s northern extremity extends to 500 miles from the North Pole. Paleo-Eskimo people exploring from Canada first settled Greenland at least 3,000 years ago.

Around 1,000 a second wave of immigration came from two separate directions. A new wave of Eskimos reached Greenland across the frozen archipelago north of Canada, while in 982 Norwegian navigator Erik the Red, who had been banished from ICELAND for manslaughter, landed in southwest Greenland. He explored the southwest coast for three winters before returning to Iceland for more colonists. In an attempt to make the island attractive to European settlement, Erik the Red dubbed the island Greenland. Christianity arrived in the 11th century through Erik the Red’s son, Leif Eriksson. By the 13th century the small Norse colonies grew to relatively prosperous communities of more than 2,000 people. Norse Greenland remained a republic until 1261, when the colonists swore allegiance to the king of Norway.

Little is known about the interaction between Norse and indigenous Greenlanders. The southwest coast of

Greenland was apparently unoccupied when the Norse arrived, but contact between the two cultures increased as each explored new hunting grounds. The Inuit hunters acquired materials such as woolen cloth and bits of chain-metal armor from the Norse, but the curiosity toward new goods apparently was not reciprocated. The Norse did not adopt Inuit technology, including such potentially useful items as fur clothing, harpoons, and seal-hunting methods. The inability or refusal to adopt new bodies of knowledge may have precipitated Norse decline.

Despite the initial success of the Norse colonies, they deteriorated in the 14th century. The Little Ice Age (ca. 1250–1860) hurt farming, and malnutrition mounted as trade declined. According to one 14th-century court case, desperate Norse Greenlanders forced weather-stranded sailors to buy their trade goods. After 1410, when the last vessel sailed from Norway to Greenland, most communication with Europe ceased. As a result, little is known about Greenland until European explorers returned to its shores in the 16th century.

Seeking the NORTHWEST PASSAGE, the English navigator Sir MARTIN FROBISHER landed on the southwest coast in 1578. Another English explorer, John Davis, mapped much of the eastern coast during his voyages in 1585 and 1587 and described Greenland as “the Land of Desolation.” Perhaps due to reports like Davis’s, little exploration of the forbidding land took place for the next two centuries.

**Further reading:** Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Fin Gad, *The History of Greenland*, trans. Ernst Dupont (London: C. Hurst, 1970); Kirsten A. Seaver, *The Frozen Echo: Greenland and the Exploration of North America, ca. 1000–1500* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996).

—Kevin C. Armitage

**Grenville, Sir Richard** (1541?–1591) *leader of the Roanoke colonization expedition, British naval officer* Richard Grenville was the admiral of a fleet and general of two expeditions that founded Roanoke, the first English colony in North America. Grenville was born at Buckland Abbey, Devon, into a wealthy and powerful West Country gentry family. Their friends, neighbors, and relations included such energetic promoters of privateering, Protestantism, and Irish and American colonization as the Raleighs, Gilberts, Hawkins, and Arundells. Apprenticing to power, Grenville studied law in 1559 and was elected to Parliament in 1563, but his hot temper and forceful personality found its true outlet when he and companions, including John Smith and William Gorges, took part in the emperor Maximilian II’s campaign against the Turks in

1567. Shortly thereafter, in 1568–69, he joined his relative Sir Humphrey Gilbert to suppress Fitzmaurice's uprising in Munster, thereby initiating his lifelong involvement in subjugating the "wild" Irish and colonizing their lands with English settlers. English colonization of Ireland thereby became the forerunner and competitor to English colonization of North America.

Political difficulties frustrated Grenville's plans to search for the NORTHWEST PASSAGE, but Sir Francis Drake adopted the plan for his circumnavigation voyage of 1577–80. Although an inexperienced seafarer, Grenville's social status and family connections led his cousin Sir Walter Raleigh to appoint him commander of two voyages, in 1585 and 1587, to establish a colony and privateering base on Roanoke Island. Grenville and his lieutenant Ralph Lane's reprisals against the Roanoke Indians, and Grenville and Raleigh's failure to resupply the colony because of their involvement in naval action in 1588 against the SPANISH ARMADA, contributed to the colony's disappearance.

Diverted by the Armada and discouraged by the failure of the Roanoke colony, both Grenville and Raleigh turned back to Ireland, where between 1589 and 1591 they worked to establish a plantation in Munster. The lure of Spanish gold tempted Grenville back to sea as vice admiral of a naval force that lay in wait in the Azores for the homebound Spanish treasure fleet. Surprised by a powerful Spanish naval escort, Grenville was mortally wounded, and his ship, the *Revenge*, was fatally damaged in a fierce battle celebrated in Tennyson's epic poem "The Last Fight of the Revenge." Grenville died three days later aboard the Spanish flagship, cursing the refusal of his men to blow up the *Revenge* and themselves rather than accept capture. To the end, Grenville was an aristocrat who regarded "the meaner sort" as mere instruments for realizing his grand schemes for wealth and fame.

—James Bruggeman

### **Grijalva, Juan de** (fl. 1517–1527) *conquistador*

The leader of an early expedition to the mainland of MEXICO that paved the way for HERNÁN CORTÉS's campaign in 1519.

In 1517 the survivors of FRANCISCO HERNÁNDEZ DE CÓRDOBA's disastrous expedition arrived back in CUBA with tales of wealthy MAYA cities on the YUCATÁN PENINSULA. Many hoped to replenish their supplies and strike out again, but the powerful governor of Cuba, DIEGO DE VELÁZQUEZ, hoped to claim the lands for himself and thus organized and outfitted an expedition of his own to conquer the region in 1518. He provided four ships, wine, and arms for the campaign and hand-selected Grijalva (his nephew) to lead it. The foot soldier BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO accompanied the party and wrote extensively about its progress.

Like Hernández de Córdoba before him, Grijalva made his first landfall along the Yucatán coast, but unlike Hernández de Córdoba, he was more concerned about reconnaissance than conquest. The Natives chose not to attack the Spaniards directly, correctly assuming that this group was better armed than previous ones. Instead, they simply retreated into the wilderness, taking food, water, and anything of value with them. It proved difficult for Grijalva to restrain many of his men from attacking the Maya, for many of them wanted to punish the Maya for their attacks on previous expeditions. Finally, Grijalva arrived in TABASCO, where he met with local CACIQUES and attempted to convey his peaceful intentions. Reluctantly, the local Maya agreed to trade supplies for Spanish trinkets. While the Spaniards smugly assumed the Maya were acquiescing because they recognized the Europeans' alleged superiority, it seems clear that the Maya were in fact following a long-established tradition of gracefully submitting to reasonable demands in order to get the Spaniards to move on.

From Tabasco, Grijalva sailed up the coast of VERACRUZ to Pánuco, where he heard the first reports of the powerful AZTECS in central Mexico. The few battles the expedition fought were not brilliant successes, and the soldiers began to chafe under Grijalva's apparent inability to win decisive battles. Satisfied that he had fulfilled Velázquez's instructions, Grijalva returned to Cuba. By the time he arrived in Santiago de Cuba, Governor Velázquez had already organized a new expedition to explore the coast under Cortés. Hopeful that Cortés's campaign would be more profitable for them, many of Grijalva's men abandoned their captain and enlisted with Cortés.

Lacking the brilliance, daring, and success of his contemporaries, Grijalva quickly faded from the scene after 1518. He was incidentally involved in a political squabble with Cortés in 1521–22 regarding rights to explore and administer a region north of Pánuco, Veracruz. He later joined forces with Pedrarias Dávila in PANAMA, where he died after being ambushed by Natives in 1527.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### **Grotius, Hugo** (1583–1645) *Dutch jurist, philosopher, and playwright*

Hugo Grotius, or Huigh de Groot, was a Dutch legal theorist whose treatise *Mare liberum* (The free sea) constituted

a northern European response to the expansion of the PORTUGUESE SEABORNE EMPIRE.

Grotius studied at the University of Leiden and became a lawyer. In 1609, he published his *Mare liberum* in Leiden. Like other political tracts that might cause problems for the author, the book appeared anonymously. Though Grotius was still young, his tract demonstrated a thorough knowledge of natural law and also reflected the current political situation, namely the Dutch effort to redefine their relationship with Spain (after freeing themselves of Spanish control in 1581) and a desire to compete against the Portuguese in the lucrative trade between Europe and the SPICE ISLANDS.

In *Mare liberum*, Grotius argued that the Portuguese did not have and could not claim a monopoly of trade in the Spice Islands. The Iberians could not, for example, exclude other Europeans from entering into the region and establishing relations with local heads of state, who each determined their own trading partners. Further, Grotius contended that Pope ALEXANDER VI had overreached his authority when he brokered the basic agreement between Spain and Portugal that later resulted in the TREATY OF TORDESILLAS in 1494. The argument was specious on two grounds. First, Grotius believed that “the Pope is not a civil or temporal lord of the whole world” but instead had dominion over spiritual matters among Christians. Hence, he could not divide the world between two nations. Further, he had no authority over the indigenous peoples of the region since “he hath no authority over infidels seeing they appertain not unto the Church.” The peoples of the Indies did not belong to the Portuguese but were, as he put it, “free and in their own power” to establish relations with whomever they chose.

Grotius’s arguments went beyond his critique of papal intervention in international affairs. He also pointed out that the Portuguese had no monopoly on travel on the high seas “because nature doth not permit but commandeth it should be common.” The oceans, unlike land masses, could not be built upon or controlled like territory. When a state issued a license to an individual to fish in one particular spot, the state’s authority extended only as far as the person if he or she was a subject of that state, “but the right of fishing everywhere ought to be free to foreigners, that servitude be not imposed on the sea, which cannot serve.” Since it was impossible to own something that was, as Europeans had known since antiquity, “unmeasurable and infinite,” the Portuguese could lay claim only to their coastal forts but not the oceans themselves.

*Mare liberum* had an immediate impact on Europeans’ discussion of long-distance exploration and trade. Almost immediately the Elizabethan promoter of colonization RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER translated the work into English, though he did not publish it. Still, it was an important text for the English, who might have feared that it limited their rights in the North Sea but who welcomed

the implication that their EAST INDIA COMPANY had the freedom to pursue trade in INDIA and the Spice Islands.

Grotius’s *Mare liberum* was crucial, but it was not the work for which he is best remembered. He was imprisoned in 1619 for backing the wrong side in a Dutch political dispute, and after his escape in 1621 he rarely went home again. In 1625, he wrote *De jure belli ac pacis* (Concerning the law of war and peace) and produced a final version in 1631. Scholars consider it a foundational work in the arena of international law. Despite his fame, Grotius spent most of his last years away from the Low Countries. For the last decade of his life he was the Swedish ambassador in Paris. After he finished his assignment, he returned to Sweden, but on a subsequent voyage he suffered a shipwreck and died in Rostock. He was buried in Delft, marking a final return to the Low Countries.

**Further reading:** Hugo Grotius, *The Free Sea*, trans. Richard Hakluyt, ed. David Armitage (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004).

### Guamán Poma (Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala)

(ca. 1535–ca. 1616) *Peruvian historian and chronicler*  
Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala was a native Peruvian who in the mid-1610s wrote a long, extensively illustrated chronicle that described the America he witnessed almost a century after the Spanish conquest.

Guamán Poma was born in the southern Peruvian Andean city of Santiago de Chipao at approximately the same time that FRANCISCO PIZARRO was in the midst of his conquest of the INCAN empire. In 1615, he decided to send the Spanish king Philip III what he called his “chronicle or general history.” Now kept in the Royal Library of Denmark in Copenhagen (where it has been since the mid-17th century), the document is among the most extensive surviving testimonials from the early modern era. Guamán Poma included 399 pictures with his chronicle. His family had had special status among the Incas as *mitmaqkuna*, but their ability to act as emissaries from the Incas had long passed. Yet he possessed awareness of their past and used that sensibility when he wrote his letter. Like the DOMINICAN friar BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, Guamán Poma hoped that his testimony might alter Spanish policies. Unlike Las Casas, his observations came from one of the colonized.

The account itself included what Guamán Poma claimed was “that which I have learned from very old lords of this kingdom, who had full accounts and reports of everything about their ancestors, so that their memory might endure throughout the ages of their world and so that things so great and memorable might not be lost on account of the lack of writing.” He informed the king that he wanted his historians to have a “fuller understanding than that which I understand them to have been able to have until now.”



Guamán Poma's knowledge was hard won. He told the king about the desperate economic plight that he endured, notably the poverty he suffered because he had been separated from his herds. Yet he lived through that poverty so that he could gather materials for his report to Philip III. The result was remarkable, for posterity if not for Guamán Poma himself. He claimed that he spent 30 years conducting interviews. In the process, he accumulated extraordinary details about Incan history and rituals. As a result, the text—which is now available in translation online—has become a primary source for understanding what had happened to the indigenous peoples of the Americas as a result of the Spanish conquest.

Guamán Poma wrote in a Peruvian Spanish that has now finally been translated by a team led by the literary scholar Rolena Adorno. The text has the power to bring the reader back not only to an era of great suffering, which had been amply documented by chroniclers such as Las Casas and the indigenous scribes who had created the *CODEx MENDOZA* and the *FLORENTINE CODEx*, but also to what this “new” world was like for the descendants of Americans who needed to adjust their traditional ways to the dictates of the conquerors. Guamán Poma considered his long tour in search of information a service to the king of Spain, but the consequences of gathering the information proved almost overwhelming. “Thirty years he had been serving his Majesty,” Guamán Poma wrote about what he discovered at home when he was done, “and he found everything tumbled to the ground and his houses and cultivated fields and pastures invaded. And he found his sons and daughters destitute, serving poor, tribute-paying Indians. His children and nephews and nieces and relatives did not recognize him because he came so old; he would be eighty years of age, all white hair and thin and naked and barefoot.” What could have prompted such selflessness? Guamán Poma claimed that he had once clothed himself in fine silk and lived a life appropriate for someone who was “the grandson of the tenth king.” Yet he had “made himself poor and destitute only in order to observe and apprehend the world with the blessing and permission of His Majesty and as an eyewitness on his behalf.” He lived among the poor for a generation, each day bearing witness to both the consequences of the conquest and the ability of those living in colonies to maintain fundamental aspects of their history and culture.

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*Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002); Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government Abridged*, trans. by David Frye (Cambridge and Indianapolis, Ind.: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006).

**Guerrero, Gonzalo** (fl. 1511–1534?) *sailor, rebel*

One of the more intriguing figures of the conquest era, Guerrero was a shipwrecked sailor who, after living among the MAYA for several years, became a leader in their struggle against the Spaniards.

Very little is known of Guerrero's early life or the events that brought him to the Western Hemisphere. Traditionally, scholars have believed that he was a sailor of humble origin. In 1511 a ship containing several hundred Spaniards sailing north from PANAMA foundered off the northern coast of the YUCATÁN PENINSULA. Most of the Spaniards made it to shore, where the local Maya captured and later sacrificed them. The local CACIQUE spared only a handful to remain as slaves (see *SLAVERY*), but hunger and DISEASE took the lives of all but two men: Guerrero and GERÓNIMO DE AGUILAR. While Aguilar remained rigidly loyal to his king and religion, Guerrero had a profound change of heart. He married a local Maya woman and offered his services as a warrior and tactician to the local cacique. In short order he relocated with his family to Chetumal farther south and began preparing the Maya for what he saw as an inevitable war with the Spaniards. He began training warriors in how to fight his former countrymen, urging them to use the rugged landscape to their advantage. He traveled extensively across the Yucatán, building alliances and preparing for the oncoming invasion. At his instigation the Maya repeatedly attacked the expedition of FRANCISCO HERNÁNDEZ DE CÓRDOBA when it arrived in 1517. When Cortés arrived in the Yucatán in 1519, Guerrero refused to be “rescued” along with Aguilar and stepped up his preparations. He continued to resist the Spaniards for the next 15 years.

Guerrero's defection caused enormous distress among the Spaniards. Convinced of their cultural superiority and the righteousness of the conquest, many saw his actions as the darkest of all betrayals. Over the course of his conquests in the Yucatán, Francisco de Montejo implored Guerrero to recall himself and his faith, but Guerrero rebuffed him. In time the Spaniards' fear prompted them to blame Guerrero for every reversal, every defeat, and every problem in Central America or the Yucatán. After a pitched battle in Honduras in either 1534 or 1535, the Spaniards discovered the body of a white man tattooed in the manner of the Yucatec Maya. Only with the discovery of his body did they believe that Guerrero's diabolical threat had ended.

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—Scott Chamberlain

**Guiana** See RALEGH, SIR WALTER

### **Guinea-Bissau**

Located on the west coast of Africa just south of Senegal, Guinea-Bissau covers approximately 36,125 kilometers.

The history of Guinea-Bissau is closely linked to the Cape Verde Islands and Portuguese exploration. There are two possible origins for the name *Guinea*. It may stem from the Berber word “Aguinaou,” which is a reference to “Land of the Blacks.” The second possibility has its roots in European exploration. The Portuguese used *Guinea* to refer to the entire region from Senegal to Angola. The term may stem from a corruption of *Ghana*, the African empire known for its GOLD production that sparked Portuguese interest in the region.

According to the archeological record people settled the Guinea-Bissau area around 11,000 years ago, living in small communities subsisting on hunting and fishing. Over time events farther inland influenced the development of this coastal region. The rise of the medieval empires of GHANA and MALI had particular influence on the coastal region’s politics, economy, and social order. The trans-Saharan trade that provided the basis of wealth for Ghana and Mali also brought new food products that could be grown in the west African tropics. Additionally, the expansion of trade brought ISLAM, which played a significant role in all parts of west Africa. Most influential was the development of Mali tributary states, such as the kingdom of Kaabu, which exacted slaves (see SLAVERY), gold, and other resources leading to the displacement of the people living in the Guinea-Bissau area.

In the 15th century Portuguese sailors began their steady move southward around the coast of Africa. By 1460 Antonio de Noli and Kiogo Gomes officially claimed the Cape Verde Islands for King Afonso V of Portugal. The Portuguese quickly established the islands as a major stronghold but were unable to develop a strong presence on the coast with the exception of a few fortified enclaves. Portuguese explorers immediately began trading for slaves (see SLAVE TRADE). Before the establishment of colonial outposts on the Cape Verde Islands only a few hundred Africans were enslaved each year and exported to Europe or the CANARY ISLANDS, but the numbers steadily grew when the Cape Verde settlements developed into slave trading stations.

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—Tom Niermann

### **Gutenberg, Johannes Gensfleisch zum**

(ca. 1397–1468) *German printer*

A German metalsmith who discovered how to make moveable type, an invention that led to the proliferation of the PRINTING PRESS, a technological device that changed the world.

Johannes Gensfleisch zum Gutenberg was born in Mainz, Germany, around 1397. Despite his fame and significance, there is little surviving information about Gutenberg himself. He was a member of an elite family, Friele zum Gensfleisch, who remained in his birthplace until 1428. That year he moved to Strasbourg, and extant records reveal that he worked with a goldsmith there from 1434 to 1444. He apparently began to work on moveable type sometime in the mid-1430s and had perhaps begun to make letters out of lead by 1438.

By the late 1440s he had returned to Mainz, yet despite what seem (to modern audiences) the obvious benefits of the nascent printing technology, Gutenberg had financial problems that forced him to borrow money to continue his ventures. His debts accumulated, and by the mid-1450s he no longer had the assets to cover them. By that time he had produced his greatest achievement: a version of the Bible printed forty-two lines to the page. Gutenberg Bibles today are among the rarest of incunabula (the term used for books printed before 1500).

At the time of his death in 1468, Gutenberg had developed a working relationship with Adolf of Nassau, archbishop of Mainz. A Latin dictionary originally written in the 13th century and printed in Mainz in 1460 was quite possibly the work of Gutenberg, although no definite proof of his work on the volume survives. After his death the archbishop gave a local lawyer named Conrad Humery the printing press that was Gutenberg’s, perhaps a final sign that the inventor of moveable type never escaped financial woes. The people of Mainz, for their part, eventually celebrated Gutenberg’s achievements. On the 400th anniversary of the invention of the printing press, the city put on a three-day festival that included the appearance of a new statue, boat races, an artillery salute, and even processions lit by torchlight.

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# H



## **habitants**

The *habitants* of New France (Canada) occupied the lowest rung of the social ladder in the colony and worked the land as peasants in a semifeudal fashion.

The officials of New France populated their colony primarily with a peasant class referred to as *habitants*. In general, *habitants* practiced limited husbandry and agriculture on land technically owned by others (*seigneurs*). They worked the land in family units and were for the most part self-sufficient. *Habitants* made their own decisions concerning how they used their assigned land, but a portion of what they produced, or rent, was owed to the *seigneurs*, or owners. Although *habitants* were more independent than peasants in France, *seigneurs* still exploited them. Some *habitants* participated as part-time *voyageurs* (licensed by the government) and *couriers de bois* (illegal operators) in the fur trade with New France's Native allies, and others supplemented their income as merchants and craftsmen. Although *habitants* often feared falling into debt or being attacked by the IROQUOIS, they still became the backbone of the colony. Much of the limited early success of New France can be attributed to *habitant* hardiness.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## **hacienda**

One of the hallmarks of Spain's empire in the Americas, the hacienda was a large rural estate that combined the medieval concept of the seigneurial manor with feudal and capitalistic practices. Haciendas became the dominant social and in some areas political organizing units in Spanish America.

Most of the large haciendas found in Spanish America originated in the 20 or 30 years after a specific territory or region came under the control of the Spanish. Many of the CONQUISTADORES and early settlers from Spain received land grants from the Crown. Others seized land from its indigenous inhabitants and eventually legalized their claims through payments to the Crown. These early grants and seizures laid the foundations for most of the haciendas that developed throughout Latin America. Most added to their holdings through various legal and illegal acquisitions through the centuries.

In Latin America a hacienda referred to large rural property or estate. These entities dominated the political and economic scene during the entire colonial period. Generally, those haciendas located in desolate, less fertile regions became quite large, and at the same time those situated in healthy agricultural areas tended to be smaller because of competition for the best land. Most sent what they produced to specific markets, and in some cases haciendas laid the foundations for significant wealth for individual families. This eventually translated into political clout and prestige. Over time haciendas came to represent the highest status in a community, and many who achieved wealth through other enterprises invested in haciendas to improve their standing in local communities.

Haciendas needed a dependable labor force, and these workers came from several different sources. Owners of haciendas that grew labor intensive crops such as SUGAR cane usually invested in large numbers of African slaves (see SLAVERY). Some of these plantations became quite

large and operated as small towns. On other haciendas Natives worked as part of an *ENCOMIENDA* or *REPARTIMIENTO* requirement, or Spaniards, creoles, mestizos, and mulattoes labored as wage earners.

Three types of haciendas existed: the staple crop farm, the mixed crop farm, and the livestock ranch. The staple crop farm usually produced one type of agricultural product for market. These products included sugarcane, rice, CACAO, and wheat. Most of these crops required some form of processing before they could be sent to the market. These haciendas thus needed some type of mill, animal- or water-powered, on the estate. This type of hacienda needed significant outlays of capital before it could become fully operational. For this reason most staple crop haciendas evolved from the mixed crop farm or the livestock ranch or developed from the exploitation of an *encomienda* or *repartimiento* indigenous labor requirement.

Owners of mixed crop haciendas grew several varieties of food plants for market, and in the early years they depended upon crops that did not need a significant amount of processing. This type of hacienda required some initial investment of capital but not as much as the staple crop farm.

The livestock hacienda required the smallest investment and fewest workers to begin operations. Furthermore, transportation costs were minimal because cattle could be driven to market. In the 16th century this type of farm needed only a few units of titled land on which the owner built a house, a shed, and corrals. The cattle grazed on the public domain and were only periodically kept in the corrals. As a result, livestock haciendas during the 16th century remained relatively small in size, although over time the Crown began to sell public pasture lands to raise money for the government.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## Haida

The Haida, living on the Queen Charlotte Islands of British Columbia, were one of many northwestern peoples who

developed sophisticated hierarchical cultures in the centuries before contact with Europeans.

It is not known how long the Haida lived in the northwest, although archaeologists have found traces of human settlement in the area dating back 12,000 years. The Haida language is unrelated to any other, but the Haida shared many cultural traits with their neighbors, including the Tlingit and Coast Tsimshian peoples.

Northwestern peoples, including the Haida and Tlingit, had a complex ceremonial life. Their society was divided into two moieties, Eagle and Raven, each of which included several lineages. There were three basic classes within Haida society: nobles, commoners, and slaves. Although some tasks, like canoe-making, were more prestigious than others, people from each of the classes performed many of the same tasks, and the Haida valued hard work. Men fished, hunted, and built houses and canoes. They also produced works of art, including totem poles. Women gathered foods, prepared food and skins, and made baskets and clothing.

The Haida produced impressive wooden items, including well-built canoes and large houses, some of which had a deep-set central fire pit surrounded by tiers of platforms. They were well known for their artwork, which included stylized depictions of animals, often painted red, black, and blue-green. They also decorated many objects in daily use, including canoes, houses, dishes, tools, boxes, and masks. The first recorded contact between Haida and Europeans took place in 1774, when the Spanish explorer Juan Pérez visited the Queen Charlotte Islands.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Hakluyt, Richard, the Elder (d. 1591) English geographer

A lawyer, geographer, and economic essayist, Richard Hakluyt the Elder helped to lay the ideological groundwork for the English colonization of North America in the age of Queen ELIZABETH I.



Richard Hakluyt the Elder, working with his cousin known as RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, became a staunch advocate of the English colonization of North America during the late 16th century. Inhabiting a world that stretched from BRISTOL to Paris and centered on Oxford and London, the Hakluys were members of an elite community of explorers and authors who constructed the Elizabethan policy of overseas expansion. Before the Hakluys appeared on the scene, English efforts to understand North America were limited and disorganized, and English foreign policy paid little attention to America. As a result of the Hakluys' efforts and the actions of their associates, the English came to embrace colonization.

The elder Hakluyt was in the 1560s a member of the Middle Temple, one of the Inns of Court in London where lawyers practiced their craft. The Middle Temple at that time had begun to be associated with overseas journeys, and it counted as members some of the most prominent explorers of the Elizabethan age, including SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, SIR WALTER RALEGH, MARTIN FROBISHER, and SIR JOHN HAWKINS. Perhaps Hakluyt gained the knowledge he needed at the Middle Temple, which stood hard by the Thames River in London.

There is little extant biographical information about the elder Hakluyt. He appears in the records of the Middle Temple, and his younger cousin frequently referred to him in his own works. Most people who lived in the 16th century left little trace on the historical record. But a remarkable record survives of one gesture that the elder Hakluyt made. It occurred sometime around 1568, when he was hosting his younger cousin in his rooms at the Middle Temple. According to the younger Hakluyt, the older Hakluyt watched his cousin (who was then about 16 years old) staring at a map on a desk and, seeing the spark of interest in the teenager's eye, he picked up his wand, rushed over to the map, and began to point out the political and economic systems of different parts of the world. Then, as if he needed to convince his cousin about the importance of learning about such places, Hakluyt reached for a Bible and opened it to Psalm 107, where the younger Hakluyt read, as he later put it, "that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deepe." It became the formative moment in the cousin's life and set him on an intellectual journey that would have a permanent effect on English efforts to understand the resources of the Atlantic basin and, ultimately, launch colonies in the Western Hemisphere.

Hakluyt's most important contribution to the English colonization of North America was an argument that he made around 1585 stressing the benefits that overseas settlements would have for the realm. In this document, known as "Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended towards Virginia in 40. and 42. Degrees," Hakluyt provided

a list of justifications for colonization and an itemization of the goods to be obtained or cultivated in North America. Hakluyt stressed, as did many other promoters, the religious value of colonization. In his enumeration of the benefits of colonization, he wrote that the first gain would be the "glory of God by planting religion among those infidels," a reference to the non-Christian indigenous population of the Americas. He added that colonization would "increase the force of the Christians," presumably through the conversion of Indians to Protestantism. Colonization, he argued, had other salutary benefits as well, including bringing glory to the queen, finding new markets for English manufactured goods, the possibility of discovering the fabled NORTHWEST PASSAGE, and providing jobs for unemployed and underemployed youth—"our people void of sufficient trades" as he put it—who might otherwise cause trouble at home. As he summarized his argument: "The ends of this voyage are these: 1. To plant Christian religion. 2. To trafficke. 3. To conquer. Or, to do all three." In order to make his plan seem plausible, he even provided his readers with a list of the skilled workers that a new colony would need and an enumeration of the agricultural goods they could hope to find in North America.

In the long run, Hakluyt's contributions faded in comparison to his younger cousin's. Even the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which aimed to list every significant English man or woman who ever lived, ignored the older Hakluyt entirely. By the time of his death in 1591, his cousin had already emerged as the leading proponent of the English colonization of the Americas, despite the fact that it was the older cousin who had set the younger on his life's mission.

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**Hakluyt, Richard, the Younger** (1552?–1616) *editor, translator, and minister*

The younger Richard Hakluyt was arguably the most important promoter of the English colonization of the Western Hemisphere during the reign of Queen ELIZABETH I.

In the century following the voyages of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, the English devoted little effort to establish colonies in North America. While JOHN CABOT and SEBASTIAN CABOT had traveled across the Atlantic in the years after Columbus's historic journeys, few if any English followed, although it is likely that English fishermen based in BRISTOL had made contact with the ALGONQUIAN peoples who inhabited the northeast coast of North America. Consumed by domestic affairs, such as the spread of the REFORMATION to Britain and hampered in their attempts to colonize Ireland, the English demonstrated a remarkable lack of interest in the Western Hemisphere. That lack of interest faded when Hakluyt the younger began his efforts to encourage the English to establish settlements across the Atlantic.

Raised in London, Hakluyt was a queen's scholar at Westminster School during his youth. At some point he paid a visit to his cousin, a lawyer of the Middle Temple (one of the Inns of Court in the city) known as RICHARD HAKLUYT THE ELDER. The Middle Temple was, during that time, one of the focal points for overseas navigation; among its members were SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, SIR WALTER RALEGH, MARTIN FROBISHER, and SIR JOHN HAWKINS. Years later the younger Hakluyt realized that this visit set the course for his entire life. When he arrived, he wrote that later, he noticed "certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an univesall Mappe" lying on a table. Noticing his younger cousin's interest, the elder Hakluyt began to instruct him in geography, the discipline that became the passion of the younger Hakluyt for the rest of his days.

In 1570 Hakluyt was elected to attend Christ Church, at Oxford. While at Christ Church Hakluyt had the support of the Skinners' Company, one of England's merchant guilds that provided financial assistance to a select group of young men in the hope that their scholarship would someday provide material benefits to the nation. Hakluyt studied natural science, mathematics, and philosophy at Oxford and received his bachelor's degree in 1574. He stayed on to receive his master's degree in 1577, which he was able to do through support he had received from the Clothworkers' Company.

Hakluyt remained at Christ Church until 1582, gathering various documents relating to English knowledge of the Western Hemisphere. His first collection, entitled *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America*, published in London in 1582, included copies of King HENRY VII's instructions to the Cabots to travel to the Western Hemisphere to discover new lands and claim them for the English, as well as accounts of various travelers who had returned to tell the tales of what they had seen.

Among the readers of *Divers Voyages* was SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, Queen Elizabeth's principal

secretary, who already had an interest in overseas affairs. Walsingham arranged for Hakluyt to become attached to the English diplomatic mission in Paris, where he studied available documents relating to long-distance navigation and settlement. In 1584 Hakluyt wrote a long manuscript entitled "A particuler discourse concerninge the greate necessitie and manifolde comodities that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Western discoveries lately attempted." The book, which remained unpublished until the 19th century, was the most thorough 16th-century argument for the English colonization of North America. Known as the "Discourse Concerning Western Planting," the book propelled Hakluyt to the forefront of English efforts to create colonies in North America. It circulated among the highest government circles at the same time the English were attempting to settle ROANOKE, an island off the shore of modern-day North Carolina. While that venture eventually failed, Hakluyt's star continued to rise.

By the late 1580s Hakluyt had become the greatest authority on overseas explorations in England. He had at some point acquired the third volume of GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO's *Delle Navigationi e Viaggi Nel Quale Si Contegno Le Nauigationi al Mondo Nuouo*, first published in VENICE in 1556. Through this volume, which included travel accounts relating to the Western Hemisphere, Ramusio provided Hakluyt with a model for understanding the world. In 1589, following Ramusio's lead, Hakluyt published a massive tract entitled *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*. The texts provided ample justification for Hakluyt's belief that North America contained abundant natural resources and would be an ideal setting for English colonies. Hakluyt believed that the 15th-century royal patents to the Cabot family gave England the right to claim whatever explorers found, and many of the accounts testified to the ability of the English to reach North America and the success they would find there. English colonists would also be able, Hakluyt hoped, to convert America's indigenous peoples to Protestant Christianity, thus limiting the inroads of the Catholic Church across the ocean. His readers praised his efforts, including one who wrote that he believed "that there is no man living more eager in searching out the manner of voyages or who can say more about it." Hakluyt assisted in the publication of other travel accounts, including THOMAS HARRIOT's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, which was published in an illustrated edition in London in 1590 and became quite possibly the most significant short work describing any Native American population when it was simultaneously issued in English, French, German, and Latin so that it could reach a broad audience.

In 1590 Hakluyt became rector at Wetheringsett in Suffolk, although he never lost his interest in promoting

colonization. Sometime between 1587 and 1594 he married Douglas Cavendish, who in 1595 gave birth to the couple's only child, a son named Edmund. By then Hakluyt was also presumably running affairs at his manor called Bridge Place, located between Ipswich and Wetheringsett. Whatever comfort he enjoyed was short-lived, because Douglas died in 1597, and Hakluyt remained a widower until 1604.

From 1598 to 1600 Hakluyt published a revised and expanded version of his work, now entitled *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. This work, consisting of three enormous volumes, contained more travel accounts than any other individual had ever gathered together in a single place. His materials on the Western Hemisphere, which filled the third volume, included almost 200 documents, an enormous increase from the 77 texts that he had published in 1589. Although much of his effort went toward locating and preparing new texts for inclusion, he also removed the writings of two authors, SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE and DAVID INGRAM, whose work Hakluyt now apparently believed to be fraudulent.

During the final years of his life, Hakluyt continued to promote the efforts of the English nation. He became a member of the Virginia Company, the enterprise that organized the English settlement at Jamestown in 1607. In addition, he provided prefaces and supported the publication of accounts of travels abroad, translated part of Grotius's *Mare liberum*, and even became interested in English-language translation of the language of the Native peoples of Madagascar. In 1601 he served as a consultant to the EAST INDIA COMPANY and offered his views on such matters as the locations where rhubarb, pepper, and "the roote of China"—which he called the "most soveraigne remedie against the French poxe"—could be found. Eventually, his unpublished manuscripts fell into the hands of SAMUEL PURCHAS, who became the next generation's primary publisher of travel accounts and an avid promoter of colonization schemes.

The paucity of materials for the last years of his life make it difficult to know exactly what Hakluyt was doing after the publication of the final version of *Principal Navigations*. He did apparently craft plans for the Virginia Company, based on his extensive knowledge of other travel accounts and what explorers found in distant places, and in 1609 he was behind the publication of an account by an associate of HERNANDO DE SOTO, which described territory near English-claimed Virginia. The purpose of that book was self-evident: In the wake of the earliest news reports filtering back to London about the difficulties encountered by the settlers at Jamestown, Hakluyt believed that more English men and women needed to get excited about the prospects of traveling abroad. He could imagine no better way to encourage them than to publish a newly translated

report that described the great wealth to be extracted from North America.

But other than those efforts, Hakluyt does not appear to have spent much time worrying about North America. It is possible that he, like others in the realm, believed that the best prospects for the future lay in expeditions to the SPICE ISLANDS. In 1614, he was behind the publication in London of a book entitled *Dialogues in the English and Maliane Languages*. On its surface the book purported to present a grammar for those hardy English souls who would take a chance on a journey to the East Indies and needed to be prepared to negotiate with the locals (a right they had, Hakluyt understood from his translation of HUGO GROTIUS's *Mare liberum* [The free sea], since the Portuguese had no claim to a monopoly of trade in the area). But the book was, in fact, more than a listing of words and phrases. By translating a series of dialogues that had originally been written in Latin and Malay, Hakluyt was offering to the English-reading world a proto-ethnography of a part of the world that drew his attention as surely as it drew the attention of the East India Company.

Hakluyt died in 1616 and was interred in Westminster Abbey in London. His body, allegedly laid to rest in Poet's Corner, cannot be found.

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### Hanno the elephant (1510?–1516)

A gift to Pope LEO X by King Manuel I of Portugal, the elephant named Hanno became a favorite of the pope himself and thousands of Romans who enjoyed watching his antics in the bestiary in Vatican City.

In the early 16th century rulers of nations across Europe vied with one another to present the reigning pope with extravagant gifts in order to show their devotion to the Church (known after the Protestant REFORMATION as the Catholic

Church). Among those seeking the pleasure of the pope was the Portuguese King Manuel I. Because the Portuguese at that time were among the leading Europeans in the realm of long-distance exploration and trade, one of the benefits of Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR's earlier sponsorship of expeditions, Manuel knew that the shipment of an Indian elephant to Rome would dazzle anyone. He entrusted the job of overseeing the elephant's migration to Tristão da Cunha, a commander of the entire Portuguese fleet.

Hanno was not the first elephant to set foot in Europe, an honor that had taken place centuries earlier before the fall of the Roman Empire, but elephants (and other pachyderms) had almost mythic status to 16th-century Europeans, few of whom had ever seen a live specimen. With little practical experience with such animals, the Portuguese had much difficulty transporting the elephant to Rome. Even though they hired two men to guide the great beast, including a Moor who purportedly could be understood by the elephant, the actual shipment took enormous energy. At one point the elephant refused to set foot on the boat that was to take him to Europe, apparently (so the Portuguese believed at the time) because his trainer had told him about the unpleasantness that awaited him at the other end of the trip. When the Moor was threatened with death if the elephant would not board the ship, he somehow managed to convince the elephant to go along for the journey.

After an arduous sailing and then extensive overland travel across parts of Italy, the elephant finally reached Rome. By the time he got there, he had become a celebrity. Because the elephant walked slowly, crowds of people had advance word of his approach, and they lined the roads to catch a glimpse of him. According to contemporary sources, thousands of spectators managed to see him before his triumphant march into Vatican City. He arrived in front of the pope at Castel San Angelo on March 12, 1514, a bright Sunday afternoon. His trainer had the elephant stop in front of the pope, and the elephant proceeded to bark three times and then fill his trunk with water and spray it on the pontiff, who laughed in delight. Known for his love of excess, Leo X was the ideal recipient of such a gift. He soon did all he could to make the elephant, whom the Romans had named Hanno, comfortable in the Vatican's bestiary. He appointed one of his officials to take care of the elephant, an odd assignment indeed for a cleric in the pope's inner circle. The elephant seems to have recognized the pope, too: According to available evidence, he genuflected whenever he saw the pontiff. The people of Rome also became enamored with the beast and named inns after him. When the pope allowed Hanno outside of his enclosure to be paraded in the city, the locals cheered with delight. Poets, some in the employ of the pope, wrote verses to honor Hanno, and artists painted and sculpted his likeness.

Despite the attentions he received, Hanno fell ill and died in June 1516. The pope grieved for the loss of his favorite animal, an expression of sentiment that struck critics of the church, including MARTIN LUTHER, who mentioned the pope's elephant in one of his critiques of the papacy. Another critic, presumably Mario de Peruschi, who was then a financial adviser to the consistory of cardinals, wrote a long satiric last will and testament for Hanno in which he attacked various prominent political and clerical figures. Such attacks, while vicious, represented a minority view, at least of Hanno, whose brief sojourn in Rome endeared him to virtually everyone who saw him.

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**Harriot, Thomas** (1560–1621) *English mathematician* English mathematician and ethnographer whose account of the Native Americans in modern-day coastal North Carolina provided Europeans with the most detailed sketch of any single Indian population during the 16th century.

Born in Oxford in 1560, Thomas Harriot entered St. Mary's Hall of the University of Oxford in 1577. After his graduation he was hired by SIR WALTER RALEGH to be a tutor in mathematics, a subject that then encompassed the disciplines of navigation and astronomy. In the early 1580s he offered guidance to English mariners traveling to North America. When they returned and brought back with them MANTEO and WANCHESE, two Indians, Harriot quite possibly tried to learn ALGONQUIAN from these captives. To breach the language barrier, Harriot created a phonetic alphabet of standardized English phonemes from Algonquian words that could be reproduced accurately. Harriot's goal was to find a way to preserve precontact Native languages for future study in the hope of finding the underlying features of what Renaissance linguists assumed was the primary language that existed before the Tower of Babel. Harriot's phonetic system lapsed into obscurity, but his manuscripts were probably used in the 1630s by English grammarians, such as Edward Howes, but, like much of Harriot's writing, they have since disappeared.

In 1585 Harriot went to ROANOKE, along with John Smith, and returned to England in 1586. Upon his return he wrote a detailed account of his travels, which was published in London in 1588. Two years later the book, entitled *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, accompanied by illustrations based on



White's watercolor paintings rendered by the Flemish engraver THEODOR DEBRY, became an instant sensation. Published with the assistance of RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, the 1590 edition of Harriot's book appeared in English, German, French, and Latin.

The *Report* described in detail the flora and fauna of the region around Roanoke, on the coast of modern-day North Carolina. It included the most detailed European map rendered of that region during the 16th century, its accuracy no doubt aided by Harriot's mathematical skills and knowledge of astronomy as well as input from White. Unlike many of the travelers' accounts published by Hakluyt, Harriot's descriptions contain much more precision, reflecting both his eye for detail and the fact that he, unlike Hakluyt, was actually on the ground in the Western Hemisphere and did not have to rely on others' reports.

Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report* is a sympathetic ethnographic account of coastal Algonquians that gave England its first in-depth view of Native American life. The 1590 edition of Harriot's *Report* consists of four related parts. Part one describes the natural resources around Roanoke that could be shipped to Europe profitably. These goods included such commodities as silkworms, flax, pitch, turpentine, cedar, furs from various animals, iron, and copper. In the second part Harriot described the crops that Europeans could produce in the region. In his mind the region was ideal for maize (see CORN), pumpkins, peas, various herbs, an abundance of roots, nuts, fruits, animals with tasty flesh, fowl, and fish. Harriot based this part of the report on his understanding of the local environment and from observing the Carolina Algonquian who lived there and enjoyed these diverse goods. Harriot used the third part of his report to describe how potential colonists could take advantage of the area's resources for their own good. He was especially impressed by local trees, including oak (which he called "as good timber as any can be"), walnut, maple, beech, elm, cedar, willow, and sassafras, among others. The third part of the report also includes Harriot's description of the Indians he encountered, an account that touched on the nature of their towns and houses, how and when they conducted wars, their religious practices, and their views of the English men and women who had arrived unannounced on their shores. The 1590 edition also included a fourth part, arguably most famous of all, with de Bry's engravings of the local Indians. These illustrations depicted individual Indians; the ways that the Native peoples fished, cooked, ate, and prayed; the layout of two of the most important towns, the palisaded village of Pomeiooc and the unfenced town of Secota; the way the Algonquian tended their dead; and the various tattoos that individuals wore. At the end of these pictures Harriot added another section, again with de Bry's engravings. These illustrations portrayed the PICTS, the legendary ancient inhabitants of Britain. Why did he include these illustrations in a book about



Title page of Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (Dover)

North America? Because, as Harriot put it, he was trying to show that "the Inhabitants of the great Britannie have bin in times past as savage as those of Virginia." In other words, the pictures provided an anthropological lesson: Europeans always argued that American Indians lacked "civilization"; here were pictures that proved that earlier Europeans were equally "savage." If the Picts could become the British over time, Harriot argued, then the same sort of cultural evolution could take place in North America.

The engravings in the printed edition of the *Report* circulated widely after 1590. In fact, this book was perhaps the most successful of the *America* series produced by de Bry and the other artisans he worked with (at least some of whom were his two sons). Members of de Bry's workshop re-engraved and reprinted the images in the 17th century, though they chose to do so in books that emerged in German only and they added other images to them, including a fanciful depiction of the 1622 uprising of the Powhatans against the English in Virginia. The images continued to circulate, appearing in the early 18th century in Robert

Beverley's *The History and Present State of Virginia* (first printed in London in 1705), and they provided the basis for the engravings in Bernard Picart's monumental study of religious traditions, published (in the English version) with the title *The Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World*. Scholars continue to debate the differences between the paintings produced in Roanoke by John White and de Bry's engravings of them, but Harriot's text remains as a vital source that will always be parallel to the visual evidence that has demanded so much attention.

When Harriot and White returned to England in 1586, they hoped to gain more supplies for the 110 colonists they left behind in Roanoke, but the threat of war with Spain loomed so great that not even Raleigh, who had a claim to ownership of the region that he had inherited from his half brother, SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT (who had perished at sea on his return from Newfoundland in 1583) was willing to attempt a transatlantic journey. After the British defeated the SPANISH ARMADA in 1588 the way was finally clear for a return trip to Roanoke. However, by the time the English got back the settlers had vanished. Harriot's *Report* thus became a strange epitaph for the so-called lost colonists.

Little is known of Harriot in the last years of his life. At around the same time the illustrated edition of the *Report* was circulating in England, Raleigh introduced Harriot to Henry, ninth earl of Northumberland, who became Harriot's patron and provided him with financial support for the rest of his life. When Henry was imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1606, he allowed Harriot to move into Syon House, in Isleworth, where Harriot continued his study of mathematics. He became a correspondent of Johannes Kepler, the famous German astronomer whose work on planetary motion formed part of the basis for modern understanding of the evening skies.

Despite his world-class mind, Harriot's mathematical innovations remained little known in his own age. He died of cancer of the nose in 1621. Ten years later his most important treatise, after the *Report*, was published under the title *Artis Analyticae Praxis ad Aequationes Algebraicas Resolvendas*. The work helped provide the foundations for the modern study of algebra.

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## Hausa

An ethnic group now numbering around 22 million people who live primarily in northern Nigeria and southern Niger, the Hausa began to form distinct states during the medieval period.

The first Hausa states formed around 1,200 years ago. The first towns grew around traditional shrines that attracted pilgrims and developed into economic centers. Trans-Saharan trade expanded Hausa markets to include slaves (see SLAVERY), GOLD, and kola nuts. The wealth generated by the thriving markets allowed town leaders to create states. Seven states—Biram, Daura, Gobir, Kano, Katsina, Rano, and Zazzau—emerged from this period, creating the core of Hausaland. Hausa raiders acquired slaves from the south, providing the Hausa states with a valuable source of labor. By the 15th century Kano boasted a population of nearly 50,000 people and was one of the major trade centers in Africa.

ISLAM arrived in Hausaland near the end of the 11th century. Contact with MALI, SONGHAI, and Kanem-Bornu served to reinforce Muslim traditions. Most Hausa people had adopted Islam by the 19th century, although the Maguzawa, a rural Hausa subgroup, retained traditional African religious beliefs and remain non-Muslim today.

Around the middle of the 17th century, the independent Hausa states reached the peak of their power. The territory they controlled stretched from the borders of Bornu in the east to the Niger River, and from the Jos Plateau in the south to the edge of the Sahara desert. Hausa traders traveled far beyond the political boundaries of Hausaland, even taking part in the Atlantic SLAVE TRADE. As a result of the widespread Hausa trade network, Hausa enclaves still exist in present-day Ghana and Chad.

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—Tom Niermann

## Havasupai

The Havasupai, whose name means "People of the Blue-Green Water," lived at the bottom of a side branch of the Grand Canyon.

In summer the Havasupai irrigated the canyon floor to raise crops; in winter they hunted and gathered in the plateau region. In precontact times the Havasupai raised CORN, beans, and squash in their fields. They gathered wild foodstuffs to supplement their farming, and they dried their foods so they would last all winter. In the fall the Havasupai returned to semipermanent camps on the plateau. They spent the winter hunting animals and gathering wild plants on the plateau. After the arrival of the Spanish, they incorporated new foods, including peaches and apricots, into their diets.

Until the 19th and 20th centuries the Havasupai had no central government. The most important social unit was the nuclear family, and the Havasupai lived in bands of a few families. They had no clans, and kinship reckoning beyond the patrilocal extended family was limited. Religious beliefs seem to have occupied only a minor place in the lives of the Havasupai, who performed few rituals or rites of passage. Sixteenth-century Spanish observers noted Indian people in the region, but the first reference to the Havasupai by name was in 1665.

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—Martha Robinson

**Hawkins, Sir John** (1532–1595) *mariner, slave trader*  
An English merchant adventurer, John Hawkins participated in and promoted the growing 16th-century SLAVE TRADE between the coasts of West Africa and the West Indies.

Born to William Hawkins, Plymouth's leading merchant during the first half of the 16th century, John was raised amid the backdrop of trade and its connection to the Atlantic Ocean. At an early age he made "divers voyages to the isles of the Canaries," learning "that negroes were very good merchandise in Hispaniola, and that they might easily be had upon the coast of Guiana." Sometime in or around 1559, he married Katherine, the daughter of William Gonson, treasurer of the navy. With the backing of his father-in-law and other influential investors, Hawkins assembled three ships, sailing from England in October 1562 on the first of his slaving voyages. Although Spanish officials confiscated two of his three ships upon a return stop at SEVILLE, Hawkins profited handsomely from the venture.

A second successful slaving voyage, undertaken in 1564–65, earned Hawkins further riches as praise poured in from influential quarters. With little hesitation, investors com-

missioned Hawkins for a third voyage. Queen ELIZABETH I became personally involved, lending Hawkins the use of the ship the *Jesus*. Accompanied by kinsman SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, who commanded the *Judith*, Hawkins's fleet sailed out of Plymouth on October 2, 1567. After taking part in the Native wars at Sierra Leone, the English crew captured more than 500 slaves and departed for Dominica. An initial round of successful trading in the early summer of 1568 was followed by the hurricane season. Already reeling from the elements, Hawkins's crew received a further setback at San Juan de Ulúa when the Spanish further battered their ships. Only two vessels escaped, making their way to the North American mainland where Hawkins and Drake allowed their crew a choice: Those who desired could try their fortunes on a return voyage to England; others could test their luck on the land.

DAVID INGRAM was among the 105 men who decided to stay as Hawkins and Drake led the rest of the crew back to England. By 1569 Ingram arrived back in England, offering a tall tale of his adventures. RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER published his account in the 1589 edition of *Principal Navigation*. Perhaps questioning the authenticity of the story, he dropped it from the edition he later published in three volumes (London, 1598–1600). Hawkins's arrival back in England also met with mixed fortunes. His defeat at the hands of the Spaniards led some, including Lord Cecil, to question both his dealings in the slave trade and his semipiratical activities.

In 1572 Hawkins entered politics as a member of PARLIAMENT representing Plymouth. Shortly after, he was appointed to the office of treasurer of the navy, a post previously held by his father-in-law. The duties of controller of the navy were soon added to his responsibilities. Making use of his seafaring knowledge, Hawkins directed many improvements within the ships of the English navy, many of which saw service against the SPANISH ARMADA, a campaign in which Hawkins served as both a ship captain and as a member of the queen's council of war. Scholars have credited Hawkins, along with Drake, with instigating the fund known as the Chest of Chatham, a charity relief for disabled sailors. It was perhaps fitting that the two aged mariners both perished on an ill-fated venture that left Plymouth in the late summer of 1595 to capture and conquer PANAMA.

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—Matthew Lindaman



## headright

The headright system, which granted land in English colonial America to anyone funding a settler's voyage, was crucial for the success of Virginia and Maryland during the early 17th century.

The greatest problem the English faced in the early colonial period related to their need for workers to produce TOBACCO. Since local DISEASE often devastated settlers, many of whom were indentured servants, those who wanted to export tobacco required labor for their fields. In order to encourage migration, the English devised the headright system, which gave 50 acres of land to anyone who paid his or her own way across the Atlantic and an additional 50 acres to someone who paid for the journey of another. By arranging for the shipment of servants, some of the early colonists were able to gain large tracts of land, thereby helping to establish themselves in the nascent outposts.

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—David P. Dewar

## Henry IV (Henry of Navarre) (r. 1589–1610) king of France

A member of the Spanish house of Bourbon, the Protestant Henry, prince of Navarre, became Henry IV of France after his marriage into the Catholic house of Valois and rapidly became a focal point of religious tension within that country.

Henry of Navarre married into the French royal family as a part of the intricate matrimonial politics of Catherine de' Medici. Catherine, widow of the French King Henry II and mother of his sons and successors Charles IX and Henry III, married her daughter Marguerite to the Protestant prince of Navarre in 1572 in an attempt to end the civil wars between the houses of Valois and Bourbon. The interconfessional union, although undertaken in a climate of limited and uneasy tolerance of Protestantism, was governed by the shifting currents of religious tolerance and violence from its very beginning. Taking advantage of the fact that thousands of members of the Huguenot nobility had gathered in Paris for the wedding, French Catholics rose up in what was possibly the greatest single act of religious violence of the era, the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre.

When the childless King Henry III's last surviving brother, the duke of Alençon, died, Henry of Navarre

became heir presumptive to the French throne. The prospect of a Protestant king on the French throne threatened the balance of power in Europe between the Protestant ELIZABETH I of England and the Catholic PHILIP II of Spain. It also heightened religious tension within France itself. A power struggle known as the War of the Three Henriens ensued, pitting Henry of Navarre, Henry of Guise (who claimed descent from Charlemagne), and the reigning Henry III against one another in a struggle for the Crown. The civil war eventually forced King Henry III into an alliance with Henry of Navarre, whom he recognized as his successor shortly before his own death in 1589.

Henry of Navarre, now Henry IV of France, remained a Protestant at the time of his accession, prompting worries at the court of Philip II that a Protestant king in France would tip the balance of power against Catholic Spain. Of more pressing concern, however, were the domestic consequences of Henry's accession. Catholics and HUGUENOTS fought one another over the religion of Henry IV not just because of religious differences, but because they were both convinced that the salvation of France depended on the outcome. There were even divisions among French Catholics, some of whom were primarily concerned that their king be a Catholic, while others were more concerned with an orderly succession.

Conversion of the monarch seemed France's only way out of domestic and foreign difficulties, but Henry moved slowly, determined not to alienate his Huguenot supporters. While Henry temporized on the conversion issue, he issued a declaration that he would maintain the Catholic Church in France, thus offering hope to his moderate Catholic supporters. However, such assurances did little to satisfy the members of the more extreme Catholic League, who believed that the restoration of civil order and moral harmony required the king's conversion to Catholicism. Henry eventually bowed to personal and national necessity, and at Saint-Denis on July 25, 1593, he abjured the Protestant faith.

Although Catholic preachers inveighed against what they felt was an opportunistic conversion, the populace lent them little credence, since Henry's conversion, sincere or not, seemed to be the only way to secure an end to decades of religious violence. Leaguers eventually accepted Henry's conversion, hoping that the presence of a Catholic king would banish heresy from the kingdom, much as it had been banished from the person of the king. Huguenots, for their part, were secure only after the king signed the Edict of Nantes in 1598, declaring "union, concord and tranquility" for all his subjects, both Catholic and Protestant. In final analysis, Henry IV's conversion may have been opportunistic, but it also provided long-sought domestic peace after years of civil war and restored confidence in the Crown as the guardian of order.



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—Marie A. Kelleher

### Henry VII (1457–1509) *king of England*

A descendant of one of the warring factions in the English Wars of the Roses, Henry VII founded the Tudor dynasty of England, put an end to civil war in his realms, temporarily freed the Crown from dependence on PARLIAMENT, and laid the foundations for England's political, economic, and cultural renaissance during the 16th century.

The future King Henry VII came to power at the end of the Wars of the Roses, a power struggle between contending factions of English nobles. The houses of Lancaster and York were both descended from King Edward III, and both were struggling to gain control of both Crown and countryside. Henry had inherited a tenuous claim to the throne through his mother, but his success at seizing the throne from the Yorkist Richard III and placing the house of Tudor on the English throne was due less to the legitimacy of Henry's claims than to the unpopularity of Richard himself. At the Battle of Bosworth Field in 1485, Henry defeated his rival, who died in battle, and became king himself, inaugurating a new dynasty to replace both the Lancastrian and Yorkist parties.

Henry did more than found a new dynasty that was to include such potent historical players as HENRY VIII, MARY I, and ELIZABETH I. He also put an end to civil war in his realms. Descended from Lancastrians, the new king negotiated a marriage with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Yorkist Edward IV, and left many Yorkists in high office in his administration. Despite these overtures, Henry had to contend with numerous Yorkist plots to retake the throne. In the end he managed to legitimize his dynasty, not just by delicately balancing the interests of domestic factions with those of the Crown, but also by conducting shrewd matrimonial negotiations with established foreign dynasties: He married his daughter Margaret to King James IV of Scotland and secured a match between his eldest son, Arthur, and Catherine of Aragón, daughter of FERDINAND AND ISABELLA. When Arthur died only months after the wedding, Henry salvaged the alliance with the Catholic monarchs by managing to get a papal dispensation to have Arthur's widow married to Henry's younger son, the future Henry VIII.

Despite Yorkist resistance to his reign, Henry managed some domestic victories. He reasserted royal control over

the king's advisory council, and by increasing Crown revenues he released himself and the Crown from financial dependence on Parliament. Freed from these two burdens, Henry established a position that allowed the king the initiative in policy making. Henry had seized control of a Crown in chaos, and he had not completely restored order by his death in 1509. Nevertheless, he was able to pass on to his son Henry a prosperous, well-governed, and generally stable realm.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

### Henry VIII (1491–1547) *king of England*

Second king in the English Tudor dynasty, Henry VIII is famous for his many marriages and divorces, the first of which prompted his break from the Catholic Church, and his establishment of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

As the younger son of HENRY VII, Henry VIII would normally not have succeeded to the throne, but when his older brother Arthur died in 1502 only months after his marriage to Catherine of Aragón, daughter of FERDINAND AND ISABELLA of Spain, Henry stepped into his late brother's role, both as husband to the Aragonese princess and his father's successor to the throne in 1509.

The young Henry preferred amusing himself and others to governing and left most of the administrative work of the kingdom to Cardinal Thomas Wolsey. Henry also symbolically broke from his father's policies by executing two of the latter's chief tax collectors—a popular move, but one that, combined with Henry's lavish spending habits, began the slow process of eroding the secure fiscal base his father had worked to establish. Henry also differed from his father in his eager involvement in foreign war. In 1511, at age 19, Henry joined the efforts of the HOLY LEAGUE, an alliance with the pope, Spain, VENICE, and the Swiss, to drive France from northern Italy. He also captured two towns in France during this campaign, reviving England's continental pretensions. However, both lack of money and difficulties within the alliance eventually forced him to make peace with France in 1514.

Henry remains best known for his many marriages and divorces, the first of which caused a break with the Catholic Church and the beginning of a long rivalry between Tudor England and Habsburg Spain. Henry's efforts to divorce his first wife, Catherine of Aragón, were provoked by dynastic concerns. Catherine's only living child was a daughter, MARY, who, because of her sex, was excluded from the

succession. Around 1525, plagued with worries about the future of his dynasty as well as concerns that his marriage to his brother's widow was in violation of church law, Henry turned his attentions to Anne Boleyn, the daughter of one of his ministers. He began the process of seeking an end to his marriage to Catherine in 1527, but when the pope refused to grant an annulment for a marriage that had required a papal dispensation to go forward in the first place, Henry broke with the church. In a series of parliaments convened between 1529 and 1536, Henry won gradual independence from Rome and was eventually recognized by Parliament as "protector and only supreme head of the English Church." Henry's break with the church was in vain, at least as far as the succession was concerned. Anne's only child turned out to be a daughter as well—the future ELIZABETH I—and Anne herself soon faced the executioner.

Henry VIII's break with the Roman Catholic Church had far-reaching consequences. His move brought England into the contest between Protestantism and Catholicism that was being waged throughout Europe at the time. Henry's children and successors, the Catholic Mary and the Protestant Elizabeth and Edward (son of Henry's third wife, Jane Seymour), spent much of their reigns dealing with their father's ambiguous religious legacy, striving to

solidify a religious identity for their realm. The religious crisis also had political ramifications. At home Henry's need for the cooperation of Parliament meant that the latter could establish itself as integral to the workings of the kingdom, putting an end to the absolutist course embarked upon during the reign of Henry VII. Abroad England was forced to forge new alliances as it shifted sides in the international conflict between Catholic and Protestant nations.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

### Henry the Navigator (Infante Henrique) (1394–1460) *prince of Portugal*

A younger son in the royal family of early 15th-century Portugal, Henry gained fame for his interest in and sponsorship of numerous voyages of exploration southward along the west coast of Africa.

Prince Henry was the third son of the Portuguese king John (or João) I. The prince was born in Oporto in 1394 and soon developed an interest in exploration and expansion, becoming commander of the Order of Christ, a military order dedicated to fighting enemies of the Catholic faith. However, expansion was more than just a military and religious matter to Henry, who was also interested in developing and profiting from trade. He was in part stymied in his expansionist ambitions by older brothers who opposed further conquest, probably on the grounds that the Portuguese Crown could not bear the expense of defending its most recent acquisitions, let alone new ones. In 1437 he succeeded in persuading one of his younger brothers, Fernando, to help him undertake a campaign against the Muslim city of Tanger. King John approved the plan and even petitioned the pope to issue a crusading indulgence, granting remission of sins to all those involved in the campaign, but the venture failed. Fernando died in a Muslim (see ISLAM) prison, while Henry retired from court life.

After the disaster at Tanger, Henry retired to a residence near Sagres, where he established an observatory. From this point on it becomes difficult to separate history from legend in the story of Henry's life. Legend depicts the navigator-prince as studious and intellectually voracious, a man who gathered around himself like-minded men to draw up new maps and charts and to develop advances in ship-building and navigational technology, all toward the end of finding a passage around Africa to Asia. Henry's contemporary Eanes de Zuara confirmed at least part of this



Henry VIII, portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger (1497–1543) (*The Granger Collection*)





Henry the Navigator, detail from painting by Nuno Goncalves (Hulton/Archive)

story. According to his biography of his prince, Henry was interested in exploration for at least three reasons: simple curiosity, strategic interest in the extent of Muslim domains in Africa, and the desire to seek out any undiscovered Christian kingdoms to the south that might be enlisted as allies against the Muslims. This last hope reflected the power of a prevailing myth of a Christian kingdom located somewhere in either Africa or Asia, a belief common among medieval explorers and evident in their preoccupation with the figure of PRESTER JOHN. Despite such contemporary observations as Zuara's, it seems likely that the achievement for which Henry is best known—the establishment of a school for navigators—was an invention of a later era. There is no evidence dating from the period of Henry's life to substantiate the existence of such a school. In fact, the first mention of Henry's purported school for navigators dates from the 17th century.

Despite the lack of evidence, the idea that Henry had created this school for scholars and navigators at Sagres had enormous appeal. Among those lured to the idea was SAMUEL PURCHAS, the successor to RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER who in 1625 produced a monumental collection of travel accounts entitled *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (a work also known, according to alternate title pages that appeared in some editions, as *Hakluytus Posthumous*).

Purchas seized on the fact that Henry was descended in part from the Plantagenet family, the one-time monarchs of England, and so (as Henry's recent biographer Peter Russell has argued) Purchas saw great benefit in forging links to the Portuguese prince. Henry, in Purchas's words, laid the foundation for "the Greatnesse, not of Portugall alone, but of the whole Christian World, in Marine Affairs, and especially of these Heroike endeavours of the English (whose flesh and bloud hee was)."

Even if Henry did not establish such a school, there can be no doubt that he took more of an interest in voyages of exploration than did any of his Portuguese contemporaries. Fully one-third of the known Portuguese voyages between 1415 and 1460 were at Henry's initiative, and these voyages helped to advance an already solid foundation of Portuguese skill in navigation, cartography, and ship-building technology. He arranged for the establishment of trading posts along the west African coast, trading European grain, cloth, and HORSES for GOLD, slaves, silk, and cotton from African trade routes. His ambitions to get to the gold trade of MALI at its source, bypassing often hostile Muslim middlemen, was consistent with the mercantilist economic thinking of the time. Adherents of such a belief thought that control of the African trade in precious metals could be translated into not only profit, but power.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## Hiawatha

The League of the IROQUOIS, which united the SENECA, CAYUGA, ONEIDA, ONONDAGA, and MOHAWK, originated when Hiawatha brought the Five Nations together in peace.

According to Iroquois histories, there was a time when the Five Nations were at war with one another and with outsiders. Because of the constant warfare, no one could feel safe. One man, Hiawatha, lost his reason when all three of his daughters died. Grief stricken, he left the people and went into the forest, where he lived as a cannibal. In the forest he met a man or supernatural being named Deganawida, the "Peacemaker," who had been born of a virgin. The Peacemaker cleared Hiawatha's mind and restored him to sanity. He told Hiawatha of his plan to bring peace

to the Iroquois nations by creating an alliance among them. Because the Peacemaker suffered from a speech impediment, Hiawatha spoke for him. Together they traveled through Iroquoia, speaking to the people. They convinced the nations to replace blood feuding and constant warfare with condolence rituals that relieved sorrow and restored grieving and angry people to reason. Hiawatha's greatest opponent was the fearsome Onondaga leader Thadodaho (or Atotarho), a sorcerer whose hair was made up of writhing snakes. Hiawatha overcame Thadodaho, combed the snakes out of his hair, and restored his reason. The resulting League of the Iroquois was probably founded in the 15th century.

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—Martha Robinson

## Hidatsa

A sedentary and horticultural people, the Hidatsa lived along the Missouri and Knife Rivers in what is now North Dakota.

About 900 years ago people began to grow crops and build rectangular, earth-covered log houses on the bluffs over the Missouri River. These settlements were small, averaging 20 to 30 houses. The people who lived there grew CORN, beans, and squash, caught fish, hunted buffalo, and made pottery. They probably placed their dead on scaffolds. Over time some cultural traits changed: Around 1450 the inhabitants began to build round houses and to erect defensive fortifications around their villages.

At the time when Europeans first reached the Americas, there were three separate peoples who would later join to become the Hidatsa. These groups were the Hidatsa, the Awatixa, and the Awaxawi. Each of these peoples had a different origin story and spoke different, though related, Siouan languages. The Hidatsa believed they had come out of the earth near Devils Lake in North Dakota and then wandered for years before settling along the Missouri River. The Awaxawi told a similar story, but the Awatixa believed that they had always lived along the

Missouri River, ever since a sacred being, Charred Body, brought 13 couples from the sky to make their first village.

The Hidatsa shared many cultural traits with their near neighbors, the Mandan. Both hunted and farmed in similar ways, and their villages were popular trading sites. The Hidatsa were also closely related to the Crow, who may have split from the Hidatsa as late as A.D. 1700. Crow and Hidatsa families and bands often visited and traded with one another; the Crow brought HORSES to trade for agricultural products.

The first European to describe the Hidatsa and Mandan was the French-Canadian trader Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, who visited the Mandan in 1738. In 1797 the Canadian geographer David Thompson estimated the Hidatsa population at 1,330 and the Mandan population at 1,520.

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—Martha K. Robinson

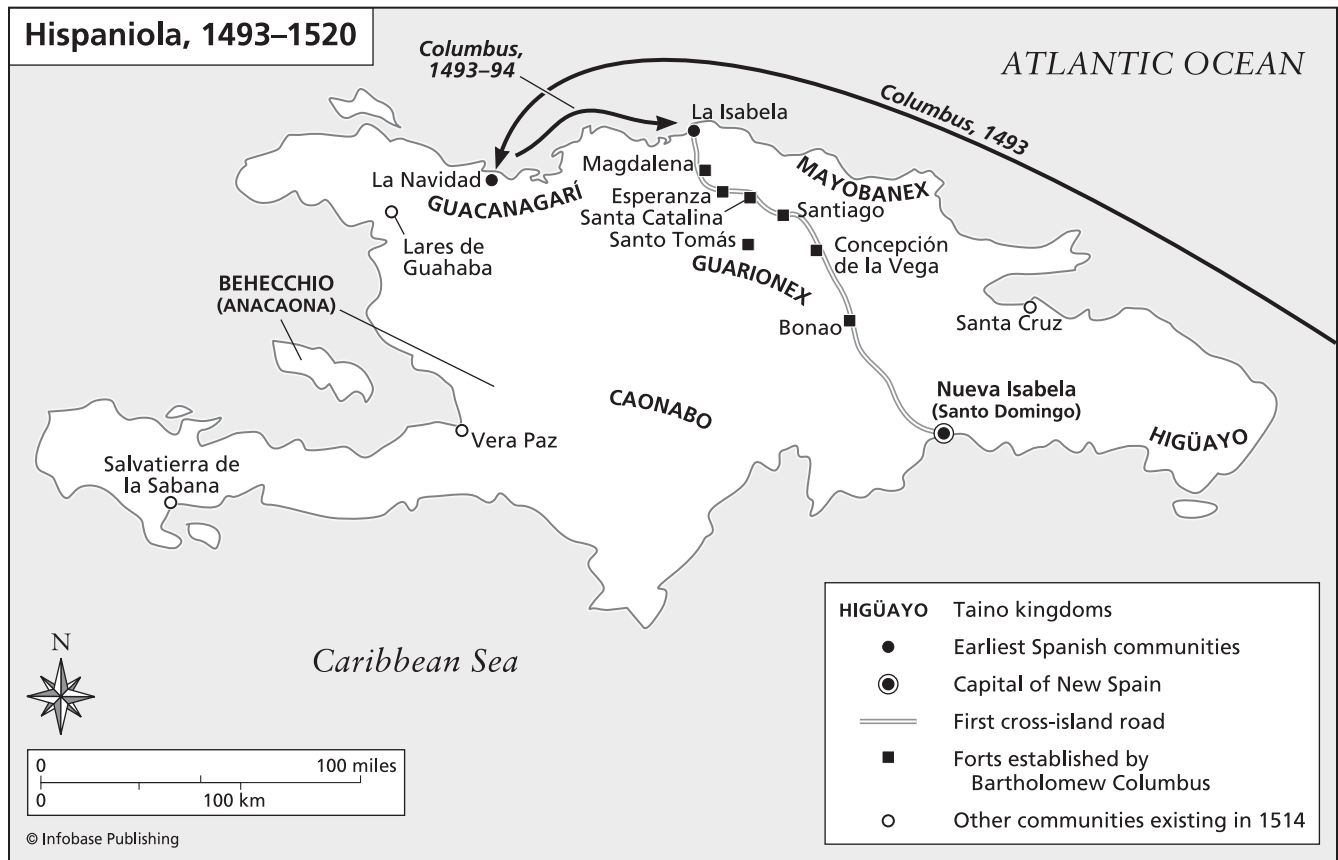
## Hispaniola

Originally the home of 1 million TAINO, Hispaniola became the base for Spanish conquest in the Americas during the first decades after contact in 1492.

The Taino originally inhabited the island of Hispaniola. Before the arrival of Europeans, they developed a complex society built on manioc horticulture and supported by trade on the island itself and with other islands in the vicinity. In a very unique environment and in isolation, the Taino established a hierarchical system of chiefdom leadership similar to those found in some mainland areas of the Americas. After contact with Europeans in 1492, Taino society collapsed in the face of the Spanish colonization effort.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS landed at Hispaniola on his first voyage to the Western Hemisphere and established a garrison there called Navidad. He returned in late 1493 to find the town destroyed and the inhabitants dead. In January 1494 he founded the town of Isabella, which never developed into a significant settlement. After the Spanish established Santo Domingo in 1496, Hispaniola developed into the primary staging area for Spanish expansion into the Caribbean. From 1492 to 1530, the Spanish on Hispaniola developed the processes and methods by which they would successfully build and maintain their American empire.





Santo Domingo served as the Spanish base of operations for 20 years as the Spanish conquered the nearby islands of CUBA and Puerto Rico and moved to the mainland territories of MEXICO, PANAMA, and PERU.

From the beginning the Spanish took advantage of the Taino inhabitants of the island by forcing them to work as slave labor (see **SLAVERY**) in **GOLD** mines on the island as well as on the plantations, or *ENCOMIENDAS*, of Hispaniola. For a period of time in the late 1490s, the Taino rebelled against Spanish control and ruthlessness, but ultimately their horticultural society disintegrated when they could no longer support both themselves and the voracious Spaniards. As a result of Spanish abuse and the introduction of epidemic **DISEASES** from Europe, the Taino population in the first 20 years of Spanish occupation dropped from a precontact high of 1 million people to only a few hundred. Eventually, they became extinct. Later, the French established a colony on the western side of the island as the Spanish began to focus on their more productive holdings in the West Indies and on the mainland. The French side of the island eventually became the nation of Haiti, and the Spanish side became the nation of Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic).

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## Hochelaga

The residents of Hochelaga, a fortified Indian settlement on the site of present-day Montreal, welcomed the French explorer JACQUES CARTIER in October 1535.

Cartier visited Hochelaga when he journeyed upstream on the St. Lawrence River. He had little understanding of the interior geography of the continent and hoped that the St. Lawrence would lead either to the NORTHWEST PASSAGE through the continent or at least lead to one of the fabled lands of riches that Europeans still hoped to find in the North American interior.

When Cartier arrived at Montreal Island, the Saint Lawrence Iroquoian who lived at Hochelaga welcomed him and his men and led them into their village. Cartier described Hochelaga as a fortified town of about 50 longhouses, each some 50 paces long and about 12 to 15 paces wide. The village was surrounded by a defensive palisade, with a single gate that could be barred against attack. When necessary, defenders could shut the gate and rain stones and other projectiles down on invaders. Hochelaga was surrounded by fields of CORN and other crops. A village of this size might have had a population of about 1,500.

Although the Hochelagans welcomed Cartier warmly, he did not stay long. To survey the surrounding country, he climbed Mount Royal. From its peak he could see that the Lachine Rapids would block any attempt to travel farther inland by water. After making this disappointing discovery he left almost immediately. Cartier gave the Hochelagans hatchets, beads, and knives but refused to stay for a feast they had prepared for him and his men. As the anthropologist Bruce Trigger has noted, this refusal to eat with his hosts probably struck the Hochelagans as “inexplicable and discourteous.”

After Cartier's departure no European is known to have visited Hochelaga until Samuel de Champlain arrived in 1603. Champlain found no trace of the Hochelagans or the Stadaconans, another Iroquoian nation visited by Cartier. The disappearance of the Saint Lawrence Iroquoian remains a mystery. Various scholars have suggested that the Hochelagans and Stadaconans were destroyed in the 16th century by the HURON, ALGONQUIAN, or (most likely) the IROQUOIS.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Hohokam

The Hohokam, a Native American people, practiced irrigation-based farming in the deserts of Arizona for centuries before disappearing in the first half of the 15th century.

The Hohokam were already gone when Spanish CONQUISTADORES entered the region in the 16th century, and neighboring peoples do not agree on who they were or what happened to them. As a result, many aspects of Hohokam history are controversial, and scholars have developed a variety of theories to explain their origin, describe their culture, and account for their disappearance.

The Hohokam adapted to an arid climate. The hot, dry deserts of southern Arizona usually receive less than 10 inches of rainfall per year, making farming difficult. As a result, the Hohokam tended to settle near rivers, which could provide the most reliable source of water for crops. Hohokam settlements existed along the Salt, Gila, Verde, Santa Cruz, and Agua Fria Rivers. The Hohokam are most famous for their elaborate canal systems, some of which were enormous. In the valley of the Salt River, which runs through modern-day Phoenix, the Hohokam built up to 350 miles of main canals, with perhaps 1,000 miles of smaller canals. Despite their successful canal systems, the Hohokam did not rely solely on farming. They also gathered wild plants and hunted game to supplement their diet.

The origin of the Hohokam is unknown. The earliest traces of the Hohokam date to about 500 B.C. Archaeologists disagree about whether the ancestors of the Hohokam migrated north from Mesoamerica or whether the Hohokam, although affected by Mesoamerican developments, were indigenous to the area. In either case, the Hohokam probably first acquired various crops, including CORN, beans, and squash, from Mesoamerica. Hohokam sites also include ceramic figurines, ornamental earspools, copper bells, platform mounds, and ball courts, all of which could also be found in Mesoamerica. Whatever the origins of the Hohokam, the similarities between their culture and Mesoamerican societies have led scholars to the consensus that the Hohokam can be described as “a northern frontier Mesoamerican society.”

Hohokam culture changed over time. The archaeologist Emil Haury suggested four main stages of Hohokam development: the Pioneer (300 B.C. to A.D. 550), Colonial (550 to 900), Sedentary (900 to 1100), and Classic (1100 to 1450). During the Pioneer period the Hohokam lived in large square or rectangular houses. Even in this early period, the Hohokam grew corn, beans, and cotton in irrigated fields. They produced pottery, ceramic figurines, and shell ornaments. They also cremated their dead. In the Colonial period, the Hohokam expanded into new territories. Hohokam settlements appeared farther north, near modern-day Flagstaff and Prescott, and also farther east and west. In this period the Hohokam first constructed ball

courts and platform mounds, which probably had religious or ceremonial significance. Hohokam arts and crafts also suggested Mesoamerican influence. The Hohokam of the Colonial period also produced highly decorated objects of stone and shell as well as mosaic plaques. During the Sedentary period, few major changes took place. The boundaries of Hohokam territory remained more or less stable, and artwork became less flamboyant and original. During this epoch they constructed additional platform mounds. The Classic period was a time of great change. Many Hohokam settlements outside the core area of the Salt and Gila River basins were abandoned. The Hohokam began to build houses with solid clay walls and later built large multistory buildings resembling pueblo architecture. The purpose of these “Great Houses” is unknown. Some of these changes may have resulted from contact with a people known as the Salado, but archaeologists disagree about whether the Salado invaded Hohokam territory, moved into it peacefully, or simply influenced their neighbors.

Much about the Hohokam remains unknown. Population estimates, for example, vary widely. Some archaeologists have suggested that only 12,000 people lived in the Salt River valley, the center of Hohokam culture, while others argue that at least 50,000 people lived there. The total population of the Hohokam territory is unknown. Nothing is known about Hohokam government or political authority. Some scholars have suggested that only a powerful central authority could have provided the labor necessary to build and maintain such large canal systems, but other scholars disagree.

What accounts for the disappearance of the Hohokam? Scholars have proposed a variety of theories, including earthquakes, internal dissent, a failure of leadership, and invasion by outsiders. More widely accepted theories focus on environmental issues. The Hohokam may have been affected by a series of droughts that made farming more difficult. Irrigation without adequate drainage might have led to a build-up of salts and minerals in the land, making it unusable. Floods could have overwhelmed their canal system, making it unworkable. Although the disappearance of the Hohokam remains a mystery, scholars have suggested that their descendants might be either the Akimel O’odham (Pima) or the Tohono O’odham (Papago) peoples of southern Arizona.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Holy League

The Holy League was a short-lived alliance of several of Europe’s Catholic nations formed to fight Muslim incursions into Christian lands.

The Holy League was in many ways the creation of Pope Pius V (1566–72), who envisioned a new crusade against ISLAM led by a coalition of Catholic nations: Spain, France, VENICE, and the Italian states. Pius attempted to put his plan into action at the beginning of his pontificate but met with little immediate success because Spain was attempting to quash religious and political dissent in the Netherlands (see PHILIP II), and Venetians were unwilling to risk their lucrative trade with the Levant by disturbing the delicate peace they had established with the Ottoman Turks.

The catalyst for Spain’s final entry may have been the 1568 revolt of the Moriscos, Spain’s indigenous Muslim population. Although Spain’s Moriscos and their revolt were unconnected with the Ottoman Turks, contemporaries were likely to have viewed the events in the context of a larger struggle between Christian Spain and Islam (see RECONQUISTA). At the same time, Venice’s relations with the Muslim East, long dependent on the good relations between its ally France and the Ottoman Turks, became precarious when French civil wars (see HUGUENOTS) forced that country to shift its priorities away from the East, leaving Venice vulnerable. Pius V seized the opportunity to send a papal nuncio to Philip in 1570 promoting his idea of the Holy League. Philip, encouraged by successes in the Netherlands and embarrassed by failures at repelling attacks by Muslim corsairs, quickly agreed.

The Venetian-Spanish armada set sail with papal blessing in September of the following year. At the Battle of Lepanto they captured the Turkish flagship and more than one-third of the fleet and killed perhaps 30,000 Turkish soldiers. The Christian forces suffered casualties as well—15 or 20 ships sunk, 8,000 men killed, another 15,000 wounded. The success at Lepanto, subsequently captured by Renaissance artists consumed by the battle’s drama, seems to have been an important psychological victory for the beleaguered Catholic nations of Europe, although, as one contemporary observer noted, the battle gained no land whatsoever for Christendom.

The Holy League did not disband after Lepanto, but its aims became less focused. Philip wanted the league’s

future campaigns to focus on North Africa, where they would be of immediate benefit to CASTILE. Pius's successor, Pope Gregory XIII, wanted to maintain the league as a more general crusading force. However, Venice's trade-based economy had only suffered in the wake of Lepanto, and in 1573 the republic's rulers signed a peace treaty with the Ottoman Turks, effectively putting an end to the league.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## Holy Roman Empire

Although it was the largest political unit in western Europe, the Holy Roman Empire was for most of its history a loose confederation of from 30 to 300 independent principalities nominally ruled by an elected Emperor who struggled with both nobles and the papacy to assert his authority in his own territories.

The Holy Roman Empire was a political entity born in the wake of the fragmentation of the Carolingian Empire in ninth-century Europe. In exchange for aid against a northern Italian Germanic tribe that had been menacing the papal territories, Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne “Emperor of the Romans” on Christmas Day of the year 800. During Charlemagne's reign the empire consisted of most of modern-day France, Germany, and the Low Countries as well as portions of northern Italy and eastern Europe. This empire did not long outlive Charlemagne himself; after his death his grandchildren divided the empire: the western portion became France, and the eastern evolved into the entity that would become known as the Holy Roman Empire.

While the western Frankish kingdom deteriorated into about 30 independent territories, the eastern Frankish kingdom, now the empire, remained relatively unified, evolving into four duchies—Bavaria, Franconia, Saxony-Thuringia, and Swabia—whose leaders traced their bloodlines back to Carolingian nobility. During the ninth century the dukes who ruled these territories were technically subject to the will of the Carolingian king in the west, but the 10th-century decline of the Carolingian kings combined with their inability to assist their eastern neighbors against the invading Magyars resulted in the German dukes making a definitive break from Frankish authority. In 911 the dukes elected Conrad I as their king, establishing the elective nature of the imperial monarchy as well as the contentious politics that governed the choice of the four (eventually seven) imperial electors.

Much of the history of the high medieval empire is dominated by the Investiture Controversy, a struggle

between the Holy Roman emperors and the popes over who would have the power to appoint bishops to vacant dioceses within the empire. By the late 10th century the royal power of investiture had become an essential pillar of support against the dukes and other nobles, most of whom preferred to keep power in their own hands, keeping the emperor as their lord in name only. During the 11th century Pope Gregory VII challenged the right of the new emperor, Henry IV (r. 1056–1106), to make episcopal appointments. Henry eventually deposed Gregory, but the conflict over investiture of bishops continued throughout the 11th and 12th centuries and was eventually resolved by a compromise at the Concordat of Worms in 1122.

By the late medieval period centuries of struggle among emperor, papacy, and German princes had weakened imperial government to such a degree that royal officers withdrew from most principalities within the empire. The political entities both large and small that made up the Holy Roman Empire were able to operate more or less independently, to the point that many territorial lords coined their own currency and administered justice within their own territories, independent of any overarching imperial jurisdictional claims. Local autonomy during this period culminated with the “Golden Bull” of 1356, which emphasized the territorial sovereignty of the great magnates, granting seven major territorial lords the right to elect the emperor as well as complete immunity from imperial jurisdiction. By 1500 the Holy Roman emperor was a junior partner in the ruling of the empire, which at that time consisted of more than 300 political entities. Supreme among them were the electoral principalities, followed by half a dozen more major principalities such as Bavaria and Saxony, then the territories of about a hundred counts, 70 bishops and abbots, and 66 free and imperial cities. Simply put, at a time when monarchs such as the king of France were beginning to consolidate territory under royal authority, the Holy Roman Empire was a decentralized mass of particularist interests that the emperor ruled in little more than name.

During the first half of the 16th century, the Holy Roman Empire was ruled by CHARLES V, a Spanish Habsburg whose domains encompassed much of western Europe and extensive territories in the NEW WORLD as well, yet within the empire Charles was merely the nominal overlord of hundreds of cities and principalities of varying sizes and degrees of independence, many of which possessed territorial princes who worked to solidify the sovereign authority that they had wrested from the imperial power. To accomplish this task, the German princes embraced techniques that rulers of more established European monarchies had long used to consolidate and extend their own power: the adoption of primogeniture to maintain territorial integrity, the use of strategic marriages to forge alliances and expand



territorially, and the development of administrative institutions. Lack of resources slowed the pace of the princes' centralization program, but by the 18th century they had created "national" government and institutions comparable to many more established European monarchies.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## Hopewell culture

Before the ascendancy of the MISSISSIPPIAN peoples, the Hopewell peoples created a complex civilization in the region now encompassed by the states of Ohio and Illinois.

The Hopewell cultural pattern originated about 100 B.C. and was flourishing by A.D. 1. Its rise may have been related to a shift in the climate that made the region warmer. In a warmer climate maize (see CORN) could be more reliably grown. With more food available the population grew. Even after maize cultivation increased, Hopewellians never relied entirely on it for their diet. They also hunted animals and ate a wide variety of plant foods, including sunflowers, squash, nuts, and berries. Hopewell communities were often built on river terraces near flood plains where women could gather wild plants to supplement the food supply.

Hopewell culture was hierarchical. Elites could draw on the labor of ordinary people to construct large earthworks, including conical burial mounds and geometric embankments. High-ranking people were buried, sometimes in mounds, with valuable and exotic trade goods, including sheet mica, SILVER, TOBACCO pipes, ornaments, beads, and weapons. The tombs of some elite men suggest that their wives, servants, or retainers were sacrificed to accompany the dead, and Hopewell religion may have included a cult of the dead. The trading network that allowed for the accumulation of such objects was extensive. Hopewellians acquired copper from Lake Superior; mica, quartz, and other minerals from the Appalachians; and shells, shark teeth, and turtle shells from Florida. Hopewell art included stone pipes carved in the shapes of humans, animals, birds, and fish. Archaeologists have also found clay figurines, embossed copper sheets, and engraved bones.

Hopewell culture was in decline by A.D. 500. The reasons for its decline are obscure but may be linked to

a cooler phase in the climate, which made growing maize more difficult. Anthropologists speculate that as resources dwindled Hopewell groups fought one another over resources and territories. The trade routes that had linked Hopewell sites collapsed, and autonomous, more egalitarian villages replaced the network of Hopewell groups. Aspects of the Hopewell cultural pattern survived among southern peoples, who would have been less affected by a shift in climate.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Hopi

Located in the northeastern portion of modern-day Arizona, the Hopi homeland has been inhabited for at least 10,000 years by a people who mastered a complex and difficult environment and survived periodic incursions from European colonizers.

There is little archaeological evidence for any Hopi communities before the year A.D. 1, but there are remains that suggest that the Hopis inhabited small communities, or even individual farms, for the period up to 1300. At that point Hopi population grew, and some areas became much more populous, although Hopi abandoned some sites, in all likelihood because drought made some regions uninhabitable. Hopi also had conflicts with other indigenous nations, notably the Navajo, Apache, and Ute. Still, despite hardships, the Hopi homeland emerged as one of the three principal Pueblo centers from approximately 1300 to 1600.

Long before Spanish CONQUISTADORES arrived, the Hopi had become master farmers. Like other peoples in the region, they learned how to extract great yields from CORN, which became the staple of their diet, along with beans. To battle the ferocious winds of the area, the Hopi built windbreaks from stones and plants, many of which survived hundreds of years. Hopi farmers also found ways to cope with the region's limited rainfall. They planted on floodplains of local streams, and, perhaps more significant, they practiced irrigation. Hopi success went beyond agriculture. In the centuries before Europeans arrived, Hopi became perhaps the only indigenous people in the region to use coal for cooking and heating and to use coal fires to

heat their painted pottery, which became among the most celebrated in the world.

The Spanish arrived in 1540 searching, as they so often were, for the great riches they believed existed in the region. Spanish explorers sent out by FRANCISCO CORONADO first arrived under the direction of Pedro de Tovar in the Hopi town of Awatovi. Coronado sent Tovar there from his base at ZUNI because the Zuni had told him that there was a place lying to the west similar to theirs. Coronado hoped that they meant that the fabled city of Cíbola could be found there, but he also recognized that an exploratory venture to the west might achieve one of his other goals: to discover a water route to the Pacific Ocean. Tovar reported back that his men, who included a Franciscan named Juan de Padilla (probably the first emissary of the Catholic Church to visit the region) had heard about a major river farther west. Coronado then sent another mission, under the direction of García López de Cárdenas, with the hope of finding a passage to the sea. Although they were perhaps the first Europeans to see the Grand Canyon, they could not figure out how to descend to the Colorado and so had to abandon the search.

The Spanish returned in 1583 led by Antonio de Espejo, who followed clues left by Tovar. Espejo encountered Hopi at Awatovi and, in classic Conquistador fashion, claimed the region for the king of Spain (presumably after reading the REQUERIMIENTO to the Hopi, who probably had no clue about its meaning). For the next generation the Spanish paid only occasional attention to the emerging colony of NEW MEXICO, although FRANCISCANS believed the region ripe for their spiritual attentions. In 1629, 30 Franciscans took up residence in the area and found converts among the Acoma, Zuni, and Hopi. One of the missionaries, Francisco Porras, who had arrived at Awatovi in August 1629, allegedly performed a miracle by restoring sight to a blind boy by placing a cross on his eyes. That act apparently helped the Franciscans to establish themselves in the region and perhaps explains why they had more followers in Awatovi than in other parts of the Hopi homeland as late as 1700.

Despite the miracle, the Franciscans never had a large following among the Hopi, but the importance of New Mexico to the Spanish could not be measured in converted souls alone. Like other peoples in the southwest, the Hopi world changed as a result of long-term contact with Europeans, who brought new goods and foods into the region at the same time that their DISEASES, part of the COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE, often devastated indigenous communities. Perhaps it was lingering tensions about the changes in their world that fueled the hostilities known as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, a resistance movement that swept across the Hopi homeland and elsewhere and became the greatest indigenous resistance movement of

the 17th century and a signal that European colonization would not always be tolerated by the peoples Europeans hoped to Christianize and control. The survival of Hopi ceremonies and religious beliefs, which demand that humans pay proper attention and respect to divine forces, suggests that the Franciscans had little chance to eradicate religious beliefs that stretched back hundreds of years to a time when the world was in order.

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## horse

The history of the horse reveals many major technological, social, and ecological consequences for the various interactions between peoples in Europe, the Americas, and Africa.

Ancestors of the modern horse, *Equus*, actually originated in North America, and from approximately 1 million to 9,000 B.C. migrated over the various continental land bridges into Asia, South America, Europe, and Africa. Approximately 1,000 years after the disappearance of the Bering Strait land bridge in 9000 B.C., these early ancestors of the horse—along with the sloths and mastodons—became extinct throughout the Americas for reasons that remain unclear. Not until 1519, when HERNÁN CORTÉS arrived in MEXICO with 16 horses (11 stallions and five mares), would modern *Equus* return to its ancestors' continent. As early as CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS's first expedition in 1492, however, when he left 30 horses on the island of HISPANIOLA, Europeans had begun introducing horses to the islands of the West Indies.

Since 1519 the horse population in the Americas has grown to be the largest in the world; within 400 years it reached its peak, more than 25 million. Even during the early colonial period, this growth rate was significant. For example, 50 years after Pedro de Mendoza brought 100 horses to Río de la Plata, Argentina, the total herd size there reached an estimated 20,000. A similar exponential growth also occurred in PERU. By 1579 wild horse herds roamed as far north as northern central Mexico, and by 1582 many American Indians were mounting horses and introducing them into the southern Great Plains of the present-day United States.

The horses that Cortés introduced into the Americas in 1519 came from Spain (Iberia). Throughout Europe the Spanish were known for their horsemanship, especially





Spanish conquistadores on horseback are depicted in this watercolor found in the Lienzo de Tlaxcala. (Hulton/Archive)

their military and fighting skills. The horsemanship skills of the early modern period drew heavily on the medieval tradition of the “armed knight,” a knight riding on horseback using bits and spurs. By far the most common use of the horse in Europe was as beasts of burden in both agricultural and commercial economies. In the Americas Europeans used horses as a source of both food and labor in their explorations.

In Africa horses were apparently introduced from Asia over an almost 2,000-year period ending around A.D. 1000. In West Africa horses played important roles in ongoing traditions of military and economic expansion, especially in

the mounted cavalries of various dynasties. Horses did not arrive in central Africa until the coming of the Portuguese in the late 15th century. Further information on the spread of the horse through Africa is rather sparse until the 19th century, but it seems likely that the gradual spread of the horse throughout the entire continent took place either through military invasions or trade routes. Interestingly, the native stock of African horses, including those that interbred with the Portuguese animals during the 16th century, were able to survive DISEASES that decimated later livestock that Europeans imported, thus holding off most of the colonization of Africa until the 1850s.

Altogether, in the processes of colonization and cultural interaction among Europe, the New World, and Africa, the most significant consequences of the horse were technological, social, and ecological in nature. For example, the technological advantage of the horse significantly changed the lifestyles and social systems of many American Indian groups as well as their interactions with one another. The introduction of the horse, for example, allowed many tribes (such as the Lakota, Dakota, Santee, and Navajo) to pursue new resources in new ecosystems, such as hunting buffalo in the Great Plains, or to carry out new strategies for raiding or intertribal warfare. Others have suggested that these technological changes in economic and subsistence activities eventually also changed the social and gender structures of these groups, with the increased emphasis on the traditionally male activities of hunting and warfare often resulting in a loss of status for American Indian women.

For many years historians also thought that the primary advantage that the horse gave to the European colonization of the Americas was military; even Columbus claimed that in warfare his horses “terrified” the Natives he encountered, thus aiding his conquest. But the European transport of the horse to the Western Hemisphere was only one of the most visible symbols of the ecological changes that allowed the immigrants to gain a foothold in the Americas. With their grazing and foraging habits, horses and other Old World domestic animals (including sheep, cattle, goats, and pigs) forever changed the ecosystems of the Americas, the forests, savannas, and steppes. Horses not only competed with local species for resources, they also brought disease-bearing microorganisms in their food, feces, and fluids. The combination of hooves and overgrazing also destroyed native ground covers, allowing Eurasian and North African grasses and weeds to take their place. Without the help of the horse and other biota, it is possible that the European invasion of the New World would have failed.

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—Maril Hazlett

## Huguenots

The Huguenots, or French Protestants (see REFORMATION), survived persecution and war to achieve the right to practice their religion.

In the first half of the 16th century, French reformers drew inspiration from MARTIN LUTHER and biblical humanism, but from midcentury the Protestant churches in France drew their most important theological ideas from JOHN CALVIN and modeled their church organization after the Genevan model. Calvinist literature, aided by the PRINTING PRESS, also spread rapidly.

Protestants never became a majority in France, but their churches grew rapidly. By the middle of the 16th century, modern scholars suggest that between one-tenth and one-fourth of the population had become Protestant. These converts included members of every social class, but artisans, members of the professions, and the nobility predominated. Relatively few peasants became Protestants, possibly because low literacy rates slowed the rate at which Protestant ideas could spread.

By 1562 about one-third of the nobility had either converted to Protestantism or supported the Huguenot cause. Religious differences accentuated previously existing rivalries among noble families, which helped lead to the French Wars of Religion. At the same time that Protestant churches were growing, the French Crown was distracted with problems of its own. King Henry II died in 1559, leaving his widow, Catherine de' Medici, and four young sons. Catherine de' Medici put an end to persecution of Protestants, issuing the Edict of Saint-Germain-des-Près in 1562. By the terms of this edict, Huguenots were permitted limited rights of worship and assembly.

The Catholic nobles were incensed at this declaration of toleration. In 1562 Francis of Guise, a member of a leading Catholic noble family, led an attack on a congregation of Protestants worshiping in the town of Vassy, and 74 Protestants died. This incident touched off the Wars of Religion, which continued intermittently until 1598. In addition to the declared wars, every province in France also suffered from massacres and riots. The most infamous episode of the Wars of Religion was the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572. On August 23 and 24, many of the leading Huguenots in Paris were murdered, and the violence spread to other cities. The number of dead is unknown, but may have reached 30,000.

This blow changed the shape of French Protestantism. Within the Protestant community a division had existed between those who favored the oligarchic, authoritarian model of Genevan Calvinism and those who supported a more congregationalist church structure. Many of the leaders of the congregationalist party died in the massacres, thus strengthening the Genevans. In addition, the massacres led to new developments in Huguenot political thought. Huguenot thinkers, including Théodore de Bèze, began to articulate theories that justified resistance to tyrannical leaders.

In 1598 King HENRY IV (Henry of Navarre) issued the Edict of Nantes. This edict established limited toleration



for French Protestants. It recognized freedom of conscience, allowed Protestants to form their own churches (although not within Paris), and stated that education and high government offices were open to Protestants. The Edict of Nantes ended the Wars of Religion, but French Protestantism never fully recovered. In the next century the percentage of Protestants in the French population dropped from one-tenth to one-sixteenth.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### Huitzilopochtli (Huichilobas)

Huitzilopochtli was the god of war in the central Mexican pantheon, especially revered by the AZTECS as their patron god.

Huitzilopochtli, whose name literally means “southern hummingbird” or “hummingbird on the left,” was the supreme god of the Aztecs, associated with sun, fire, and ruling lineage. According to the mythology of the central Mexican valley, Huitzilopochtli’s mother, Coatlicue, was miraculously impregnated by a ball of down that she tucked into her shirt while cleaning. Her children, furious with her perceived dishonor, proceeded to murder her, but at the moment of her death she gave birth to the fully armed Huitzilopochtli, who avenged his mother’s death by killing his 400 siblings.

According to Aztec myth, Huitzilopochtli led his people on the journey from AZTLÁN to TENOCHTITLÁN. Modern historians speculate that the special Aztec cult of Huitzilopochtli may have originated with a living ruler bearing this name who was deified by his followers.

Huitzilopochtli’s main shrine at the time of the Spanish arrival had one of the most prominent locations in Tenochtitlán, the so-called great pyramid that dominated the temple precinct of the Aztec capital, surmounted by twin temples, one to Huitzilopochtli, the other to TLÁLOC. This temple was the site of an annual festival commemorating Huitzilopochtli’s (re)birth as a god, apparently including large numbers of ritual sacrifices. Native chronicles report that some 80,000 captives were sacrificed at the dedication ceremonies for this structure. Even if these figures were exaggerated, they give an idea of the impres-

sive scale of Mesoamerican sacrificial rites. Aztecs believed that their patron was nourished by blood sacrifice, both from self-mutilation and from the many captives obtained for sacrifice in the so-called FLOWERY WARS. The cult of Huitzilopochtli was thus one major reason behind the Aztecs’ territorial expansion, allowing them to obtain the victims required to satisfy their patron deity. This expansion caused the Aztecs to be both feared and hated by their neighbors, a situation that must have facilitated the Spanish conquest in the early 16th century because it provided the latter with ample allies against the dominant political power in MEXICO at the time of their arrival.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

### Huron

The Huron, who called themselves the Wendat, created a powerful confederacy in the area between Lake Huron and Lake Ontario.

The Huron Confederacy was made up of four nations: the Attignawantan, Attigeenongnahac, Arendaronon, and Tahontaenrat. In the 16th century, before European contact, their population probably numbered between 18,000 and 22,000. They lived in villages of varying size, most of which seem to have had a population of 800 or less.

A Huron village consisted of several longhouses clustered closely together. The longhouses were made by setting up a framework of poles and covering the poles with bark sheets. The average longhouse was about 100 feet long and 25 feet wide, with doors and storage space at each end. Within the longhouse long sleeping platforms ran the length of the building, with more storage space below the platforms. Each longhouse also had several fire pits along the central axis. In the summer people slept on the platforms; in the winter they slept on the floor in order to be closer to the fire. The size of longhouses varied, but, on average, most probably held about six families. The Huron sought to build their villages, some of them palisaded, in areas with ready access to water, wood, and arable land.

The Huron believed that all things, both living and inanimate, had a spirit. Powerful spirits were known as *oki*. The most powerful *oki* was the sky, but unusual human beings, such as noted warriors, shamans, and the insane, were also called *oki*. Next in importance were AATAENTSIC,

who was believed to be the creator of human beings, and her son or grandson, Iouskeha. The Huron also believed in magic and witchcraft (see *WITCHES*). A witch was a person, either male or female, who sought to injure an individual or the tribe through magical means. If caught, a witch could expect to be killed without mercy, for such crimes against the community placed one outside the bounds of protection, even by family.

The Huron participated in a variety of feasts, dances, and rituals. Dreams played an important role in Huron life, as the Hurons believed that they reflected personal desires that must be gratified. The most important Huron ritual was the Feast of the Dead. At death a Huron was either buried in the ground or placed in a bark coffin on a scaffold. Every eight to 12 years, apparently when the village was going to move, the Huron held a ceremony in honor of the dead. The bodies of those who had died were disinterred and reburied in a common grave. This ritual both honored the dead and symbolized the unity of the living.

Each Huron belonged to one of eight clans: Bear, Beaver, Deer, Hawk, Porcupine, Snake Turtle, or Wolf. A child was born into the clan of his or her mother, and Huron were expected to marry someone from another clan. When a child was born, his or her ears were pierced and he or she was given a name. As a child grew, he or she was encouraged to begin to perform the tasks he or she would perform as an adult. Since the Huron had clearly defined sex roles, these tasks were different for boys and girls.

Among the Huron women were largely responsible for agriculture, food preparation, and child care. Women raised CORN, beans, squash, pumpkins, and sunflowers. Farmland belonged to particular individuals or families for as long as they used it. Unused land could be taken and cultivated by any member of the community. Men cleared new fields using slash and burn techniques, which had the benefit of enriching the land with ash. Stumps that were left after burning remained until they rotted and could be easily removed. To plant corn, women made holes in the ground with a digging stick. In each hole they placed up to 10 grains of corn. As the corn grew, the women hoed up the earth around the stalks to form hills and then planted beans in the hills. When a village's fields were exhausted or when supplies of firewood became distant, the Huron migrated to a new site. Such moves apparently took place every eight to 12 years. Women also gathered wild plants, especially berries, but these were not a large part of the Huron diet. In addition, women made many household items, including pottery, baskets, and mats. These items might be decorated with paint or colored porcupine quills.

As a general rule, men performed tasks requiring greater strength or ones that took them far from home. Men cleared the fields and constructed palisades and

houses. They made fish nets, tools, weapons, and wooden armor. They also hunted and fished. Fish was an important element in the Huron diet, meat less so. According to archaeologists and anthropologists, corn made up about 65 percent of the Huron diet, and other crops, such as beans, squash, and pumpkins, made up 15 percent. Fish made up another 10 or 15 percent, and meat about 5 percent. Nonetheless, hunting was a prestigious activity, and men were honored for providing meat.

Men had primary responsibility for martial activities. The Huron had a number of enemies, the most important of whom were the IROQUOIS. Warfare seems to have been endemic. Among both the Huron and neighboring tribes, men fought to gain prestige, avenge the deaths of other members of their communities, and gain captives to adopt. Usually, war parties attacked in the summer or fall, when leaves were still on the trees and could help a war party to hide. Ordinarily, warriors tried to capture or kill individuals or isolated groups of people fishing or working in the fields. For this reason the Huron tried to provide male protection for women working in the fields. Warriors might also creep into an enemy village at night to try to kill enemies. To prove their bravery, they sought to return with enemy captives or the heads or scalps of enemies. Because the death of an individual at the hands of an enemy called for revenge, and because young men sought to gain prestige as warriors, the cycle of killing continued. Prisoners might be killed on the spot, brought back to the Huron's village to be tortured and killed, or formally adopted into Huron families to replace dead members. A victim condemned to die was often first adopted into a Huron family, in which members would then address the condemned as "brother" or "nephew." The torture might last one or several days, during which the prisoner tried to demonstrate his bravery by singing songs and taunting his captors.

Men also ran Huron government. A typical village had families belonging to several clans. The part of any clan in a given village was known as a "clan segment." Each clan segment within a village had both a civil chief and a war chief. Both of these positions were filled largely on the basis of merit, although candidates had to be chosen from the proper clan and some lineages within the clan appear to have been more prestigious than others. The Huron valued wisdom, generosity, and skill in oratory in their leaders. Both civil and war chiefs lacked coercive power and gained followers only as long as they retained support. Decisions made by civil or war councils were not binding on individuals because the Huron valued individual freedom.

Confederacy councils met at least once a year. Each village sent its clan segment chiefs to this council. Action could not be taken without consensus, which often meant

that the assembled reached no decisions. Although this governing structure provided room for opposition and relied on a willingness to reach consensus, it was not well suited to make binding decisions that could compel the nations or the confederacy as a whole to act. This loose structure, lacking coercive power, became a problem in the 17th century, when the Huron proved unable to respond effectively to the threat posed by the Iroquois.

The first contact between Europeans and the Huron took place in 1609, when a group of Huron warriors met with the French explorer Samuel de Champlain along the St. Lawrence River.

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—Martha K. Robinson






**Ibn Battuta** (1304–1369) *pilgrim, writer*

Born in Tangier in 1304, Sheikh Abu Abdallah Muhammad ibn Abdallah ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Lawati, otherwise known as Ibn Battuta, became the most famous African traveler of the medieval period.

Ibn Battuta began his travels in 1325, when he set out on a pilgrimage to MECCA. According to his memoirs, Ibn Battuta received a vision while on his pilgrimage that foretold his future travels. After completing the necessary rites pilgrims were required to perform, Ibn Battuta left Mecca to visit every country in the Islamic world (see ISLAM). He traveled through the Middle East recording events along the way. He returned to Mecca on a second pilgrimage and remained there for two years engaged in academic study. While in Mecca, tales of India intrigued the young scholar, so he set out to see India for himself. Preferring to travel by land instead of sea, he journeyed to India across Anatolia and the steppes of central Asia. He arrived in India and remained for seven years, even becoming a judge in Delhi. Although he became destitute, the Indian sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq appointed Ibn Battuta India's ambassador to China. Although Ibn Battuta described his China adventures in his memoirs, most scholars believe he never actually visited the country.

He returned to Morocco in 1349, having traveled through North Africa, the east African coast, the Middle East, and central Asia. He decided to embark on two more trips, one to Muslim Spain and the other to the SUDAN. Ibn Battuta easily completed his trip to Spain the following year, then set out from Sijilmasa across the SAHARA to MALI. Upon arrival in Mali, Ibn Battuta won an audience with the ruler Mansa Sulayman, the grandson of MANSA MUSA I, whose wealth and generosity achieved legendary status after his famed pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324. Ibn Battuta found Mansa Sulayman much less impressive than his grandfather, but Ibn Battuta's observations of Mali culture and society provide historians with one of the most valuable resources on medieval West African history. Ibn

Battuta wrote with admiration when he described the high standards of justice and security in the Mali Empire. Crime appeared almost nonexistent, while citizens valued scholarship and learning. In a more judgmental tone, he recounted the roles of men and women, noting that people traced their ancestry matrilineally. He also noted that the citizens of Mali observed the practices and rituals of Islam faithfully but wondered at their custom of allowing both men and women to enjoy "companions" outside the bonds of marriage and the total lack of jealousy directed toward these partners.

In 1353 Ibn Battuta returned home for the last time. At the command of his sultan, Ibn Battuta dictated his travel memoirs. Upon completion he became a judge near Fez and died in 1369 at the age of 64. If all of Ibn Battuta's travels are to be taken as the truth, he traveled approximately 75,000 miles through 44 different modern-day countries.

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—Tom Niermann

**Ibn Khaldûn, 'Abd-ar-Rahmân Abû Zayd ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad** (1332–1406) *Islamic historian, philosopher, statesman*

A historian and statesman whose history of the world represented one of the most important works of scholarship of its age and was among the first "scientific" historical works ever written.

Born to an aristocratic Moorish family in Tunis on May 27, 1332, Ibn Khaldûn had a traditional education. Like other members of elite scholarly Muslim (see ISLAM) families, he learned the Koran, Arabic poetry, and the law. He entered government service in 1352, but by the time he was 22 he had decided to move to other pursuits. Thus,

in 1354 he left Tunis for Fez, where he began to work for the Merinid Sultan Abû 'Inân. He continued his education there and made contacts with a wide range of scholars. Three years into his work at Fez his employer had him jailed for disloyalty, and he remained in prison until Abû 'Inân died in late 1358. Once he gained his freedom, he then sought new opportunities, and he decided to leave Africa. He arrived in Granada in late 1362, where he soon entered the service of Ibn al-Ahmar, Muhammad V, who in 1364 sent him as an emissary to the king of CASTILE, Pedro the Cruel, with the goal of establishing peace between the Arabs of Granada and Castile. He did not remain long in Castile and soon after his departure he returned to north-west Africa, where, among other things, he helped to organize a military force from Arabs in the desert to serve the sultan of Tlemcen. Frustrated by the demands and risks of public life, he retreated into a monastery at Tlemcen, although he was there but a short time before he was again pressed into service, this time by 'Abd-ad-'Azîz, who ruled Fez. After 'Abd-al-'Azîz died, Ibn Khaldûn remained in Fez until he had an opportunity to return to Spain in 1374.

Ibn Khaldûn spent the mid-1370s at Qal'at Ibn Salâmah in Oran. There he wrote the long introduction (known as the *Muqaddimah*) to his history of the world. This section of his longer *History* (the *Kitâb al-'Ibar*) "can be regarded," one modern commentator has noted, "as the earliest attempt made by any historian to discover a pattern in the changes that occur in man's political and social organization." Before Ibn Khaldûn, those who wrote about the past either did so by trying to describe the relation between divine forces and worldly events (evident, for example, in the description of the ancient Israelites' flight from Egypt in the Book of Exodus), or they were content to provide a listing of events, in chronicles and annals, that told when things had happened but offered no explanation of why they had occurred. Ibn Khaldûn, by contrast, tried to explain why things changed in the ways that they did. He offered his readers abundant details about the world that he knew, including explanations for why some people were different from others based on the climate of the region they inhabited. He spoke about the rise of cities and civilizations and about the relationship between nature and culture.

"History is a discipline widely cultivated among nations and races," he wrote in the beginning of the *Muqaddimah*. "It is eagerly sought after. The men in the street, the ordinary people, aspire to know it. Kings and leaders vie for it." Although there had been scholars who had offered information about past dynasties, some of whom had provided material to entertain those who would pay attention, they eschewed explanations. Ibn Khaldûn, by contrast, wanted to explain the "inner meaning of history," a task that, he explained, "involves speculation and an attempt to get at the truth, subtle explanation of the causes and origins of

existing things, and deep knowledge of the how and why of events." He recognized that there had been important Muslim historians who wrote earlier, but too many of them had become bound by tradition and, worse still, had allowed their histories to become polluted by myth. The time had come to lay out a new way to look at the past. He thus tried to write "an exhaustive history of the world" that would force "stubborn stray wisdom to return to the fold."

Successful as he was, Ibn Khaldûn realized his own limitations. "A person who creates a new discipline does not have the task of enumerating all the problems connected with it," he wrote near the end of the *Muqaddimah*. "His task is to specify the subject of the discipline and its various branches and the discussions connected with it." He left it to those who followed him to add yet other problems that needed to be solved.

In the years following the completion of the *Muqaddimah* Ibn Khaldûn continued to work as a scholar. In 1384 he moved to Cairo, where he became professor of Mâlikite Jurisprudence in the Qamhîyah College and Grand Cadi of the Mâlikite Rite. At the end of that year his family drowned when their ship from Tunis sank. Three years later he made his pilgrimage to MECCA, and in 1400, after holding yet other official posts, he traveled to Jerusalem, Hebron, and Bethlehem. He finally settled in Cairo in 1401, where he remained until his death on March 17, 1406, his remains destined for the local Sufi cemetery.

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## icebergs

Icebergs, long a fact of life for anyone who sailed in the northern reaches of the Atlantic Ocean, became more prominent in the consciousness of Europeans as a result of the dramatic expansion in the number of explorers in the region during the 16th century.

There was no mystery about what an iceberg was in the 16th century, at least for those who had experience traveling in the North Atlantic. Icebergs were a fact of life for the Inuit who traveled frequently through those frozen waters on kayaks. But most Europeans had little contact with them. The situation began to change when European fishing fleets traveled farther into the Atlantic in search of COD, but there are few surviving accounts of those voyages.

According to *Canadian Geographic* magazine, which offers details about icebergs on its Web site, the name for the phenomenon probably derives from *ijsberg*, a Dutch term meaning "ice mountain." The icebergs that came to

have the most significance for Europeans in the 16th century were those they came into contact with in their search for the NORTHWEST PASSAGE. Those icebergs could be found in waters in or near modern-day Canada.

When MARTIN FROBISHER led three English exploratory missions into the northern Atlantic in search of the NORTHWEST PASSAGE, the travel accounts generated after their return contained ample details about icebergs. Crews on ships, which at best could determine their latitude (through the use of equipment such as ASTROLABES and CROSS STAFFS) but had no effective way to measure longitude, could locate their position in relation to the stars but had imperfect information about the shallows and shoals that could tear the hull of a ship. But even if they possessed firm knowledge about such fixed objects, no European could have known in advance when a ship might hit the submerged portions of an iceberg. The situation was even worse in storms, when ships could become unsteerable if their sails ripped or the cables snapped. A fierce Atlantic storm on its own could wreck a ship, as the narrative of JORGE D'ALBUQUERQUE COELHO revealed. But the accounts of Frobisher's crews reveal that storms in the north Atlantic brought even more danger.

One sign of Europeans' increased interest in icebergs can be found in the narrative of Thomas Ellis, who had accompanied Frobisher on the explorer's last westward expedition of 1578. In addition to describing the threats that the sailors faced as a result of storms, he added an illustration that provided four views of an iceberg. It might be the first time that a printer (see PRINTING PRESS) attempted to represent visually what an iceberg looked like from the vantage point of someone who saw one at sea level.

European sailors had good reason to fear icebergs in this region. As it turns out, at least in modern times, the icebergs that form between GREENLAND and Newfoundland are among the most active in the world, migrating up to 4.35 miles (7 km) each year. Icebergs, composed of fresh water, move southward into what is known as Iceberg Alley. Though icebergs naturally shed outer parts, a process known as calving, global warming has made this phenomenon more frequent since the 16th century.

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## Iceland

The remote North Atlantic island of Iceland, settled by NORSE explorers, tested the durability of European politi-

cal systems and the adaptability of European peoples to new environments.

The first known human inhabitants of Iceland, situated between Norway and GREENLAND, were Irish hermits, but some scholars speculate that travelers from the classical Mediterranean world knew about the island. All historians agree that immigrants from Norway established Iceland's first permanent settlement. Early Icelandic sources credit Ingólfur Arnarson and his wife with homesteading on the site of present-day Reykjavik in 874. Early Icelandic settlers were mostly Norse immigrants. Many fled Norway to Iceland during the attempt by King Harold the Fairheaded to consolidate separate chieftainships into a unified Norwegian kingdom.

The Norse chieftains who made Iceland their home were determined to use negotiation to prevent such abuse of power. In 930 they created an assembly called Althing that met for two weeks every summer to promulgate laws and settle differences. The greatest threat to chieftain power came from a rapidly spreading Christianity. In 1000 the chieftains agreed to build Christian churches, which resulted in an independent church that played a prominent role in spreading literacy to wealthy Icelandic families.

Norway attempted to rule the island from the 10th century onward, gaining control in 1262 following the Icelandic civil war. The 1380 union of Denmark and Norway transferred governance of Iceland to Denmark, yet Iceland remained relatively independent until the middle of the 17th century, when the Danish Crown asserted stricter control over its island possession.

Environmental factors, including DISEASE, played a pivotal role in Icelandic history. The distance of Iceland from continental Europe ensured that when diseases reached Icelandic shores they spread with the ferocity of so-called virgin soil epidemics. The Black Death (see PLAGUE) arrived in Iceland in 1402. SMALLPOX repeatedly swept the island, most disastrously in a 1707 epidemic that killed 18,000 people, one-third of the population. Overgrazing by imported cattle and sheep also triggered soil erosion that transformed once-fertile land into barren rocky outcrops.

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—Kevin C. Armitage

## Igbo (Ibo)

Also known as the Ibo, the Igbo are a major ethnic group in present-day Nigeria who have lived in their traditional

homeland, known as Igboland, along the banks of the lower NIGER RIVER for thousands of years.

Archaeological evidence shows that the traditional metalwork, weaving, and woodcarving that the Igbo are known for today have been an integral part of their culture for more than 10 centuries, with sophisticated bronze and textile artifacts dating from the ninth century. The traditional Igbo religion included ideas about the afterlife and reincarnation, incorporated sacrificial elements, and maintained a system of spirit and ancestor worship. Elaborate ceremonies accompanied funerals and other rites of passage for the Igbo. In contrast to other peoples in the region, the Igbo did not develop a centralized monarchy, but instead relied on fairly autonomous, democratic villages for their governance, regulated by complex kinship structures, secret societies, oracles, and religious leaders. This decentralized political system prevented any single person from gaining too much power and maintained the basic democratic principles of the Igbo.

Beginning in the 15th century the Igbo homeland became a major center for the SLAVE TRADE. Coastal Igbo became slave traders, often capturing neighboring ethnic groups and even other inland Igbo for sale on the slave market. Igboland remained an important source for the transatlantic trade in slaves throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.

**Further reading:** E. J. Alagoa, “The Niger River Delta States and Their Neighbors to c. 1800,” in *History of West Africa*, vol. 1, 3rd ed., eds. J. F. Ade Ajiya and Michael Crowder (London: Longman, 1985), 372–411; David P. Johnson, Jr., “Igbo,” in *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, eds. Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), 988; Ade Obayemi, “The Yoruba and Edo-speaking Peoples and Their Neighbors before 1600,” in *History of West Africa*, eds. Ajiya and Crowder, 255–322; “The Peoples,” in *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Africa*, eds. Roland Oliver and Michael Crowder (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 57–86.

—Lisa M. Brady

### **Ignatius Loyola (Íñigo Oñaz López de Loyola)**

(1491–1556) *religious leader, saint*

The founder of the Jesuit order (see JESUITS), Ignatius Loyola sought to extend the reach of the Catholic Church into new lands and to promote deeper devotion within the church.

Ignatius, baptized Íñigo, was the youngest child in a family of 13. His family was noble, and as a young man he sought a career as a soldier and courtier. His military career was cut short when he was wounded in both legs at

the siege of Pamplona during a war between Francis I of France and the Holy Roman Emperor CHARLES V. During a lengthy convalescence Ignatius read religious books, including a collection of saints' lives called *The Golden Legend* and Ludolphus of Saxony's *Life of Christ*. These books made a deep impression on the young soldier, and he resolved to imitate the example set by St. Francis and St. Dominic. After recovering from his wounds, Ignatius made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Virgin Mary at Montserrat. There he dedicated himself to a life of religion. He spent 1522–23 in fasting, prayer, and contemplation near Barcelona. While there, he wrote down some of his thoughts on religion. These early writings formed the core of the *Spiritual Exercises*, a manual for individual religious devotion and development. He continued to develop and revise the *Exercises* throughout his life.

In 1523 Loyola made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and then returned to Spain. As a young man he had not been well educated, and he resolved to remedy this deficit. He studied Latin in Barcelona and then attended school in Alcalá and Salamanca. From 1528 to 1535 he studied at the University of Paris, receiving a master's degree at the Collège de Montaigu in 1534. In Paris he gathered a group of six fellow students and guided them through the *Spiritual Exercises*. These men included the future Jesuits Francis Xavier, who would later serve as a missionary in India and Japan, and Diego Laínez and Alfonso Salmeron, both of whom would attend the COUNCIL OF TRENT. By 1534 the group took vows of poverty and chastity and determined to travel to Jerusalem, if the pope permitted, to convert the Muslims (see ISLAM). In 1537 Ignatius and most of his colleagues were ordained as priests in VENICE. War prevented them from traveling to the Holy Land, and so they offered their services to Pope Paul III.

In September 1540 Paul III approved the foundation of a new order, the Society of Jesus. In 1541 Ignatius became general of the society for life. The order resembled older monastic orders in some ways but introduced new ideas as well. It was highly centralized and placed great emphasis on obedience to the pope and the church. Jesuits were also more flexible than other orders: They did not wear a distinctive habit, recite the daily prayers of the office together, or encourage ascetic penances and fasts. From the early years of the order, the Jesuits emphasized missionary work and education. The order grew rapidly. From the original 10 members in 1540, the order had a thousand members by the time Ignatius died in 1556. Its motto was “ad maiorem Dei gloriam,” or “For the greater glory of God.”

Although Jesuits became active in the COUNTER-REFORMATION, Ignatius's initial focus was not on combating Protestantism. More of a mystic than a theologian, he did not address the theological ideas of the REFORMATION, nor, for most of his career, did he pay great attention to



Protestant religious developments in Germany. Near the end of his life he began to stress the importance of the struggle against Protestantism. Nonetheless, his focus was not on the fight against Protestantism. His two most important goals were the promotion of a more deeply felt and sincere Catholicism and the development of Jesuit missions around the world.

Ignatius of Loyola died in 1556 and was declared a saint of the Roman Catholic Church in 1622.

**Further reading:** Cándido de Dalmases, *Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits: His life and Work*, trans. Jerome Aixalá (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985); John C. Olin, *Catholic Reform: From Cardinal Ximenes to the Council of Trent, 1495–1563* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1990); John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993); ———, “Ignatius Loyola” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, vol. 2, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 307–310; J. Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, *Ignatius of Loyola: The Pilgrim Saint*, trans. Cornelius Michael Buckley, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1994).

—Martha K. Robinson

## Inca

From approximately 1200 to 1532 the Inca conquered and controlled an Andean empire in South America that covered portions of modern-day Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, and PERU only to see it collapse in the face of the twin disasters of a pandemic introduced by the arrival of Europeans in South America and a Spanish invasion in 1532.

According to Inca legend, their people emerged from three caves near the town of Pacaritambo near CUZCO. Following their first emperor, Manco Capac, the Inca moved into the valley containing Cuzco, and from there over the next several centuries they spread out and conquered much of the territory in the ANDES MOUNTAINS. Until the time of the ninth emperor, Pachacuti Inca, the Inca empire did not extend beyond the Cuzco valley. After defeating the Chanca, who threatened to overrun the Inca, Pachacuti Inca reorganized the empire and rebuilt Cuzco into a suitable capital for the empire. He also built several new cities and palaces throughout the empire, including MACHU PICCHU. Pachacuti Inca promoted advances in architecture and built the royal highway system, which improved transportation and communication. This made it possible for the Inca to rule such a far-flung empire. Those emperors who followed Pachacuti expanded upon the boundaries of the empire and continued refining the infrastructure of state until its defeat at the hands of the Spanish.

The Inca emperors rigidly controlled their society by requiring that all important government positions throughout the empire be held by only those of pure Inca blood. Inca adopted from allies in the Cuzco valley filled other valued positions in the hierarchy. Below this rank the Inca incorporated localized nobility of conquered people into their system. At this level families that functioned as economic units within the Inca system were systematically grouped into units of 10, 50, 100, 500, 1,000, 5,000, and 10,000 and controlled from the top down. These various levels of organization provided specific services and tribute to the Inca state based on their location and resources. The Inca government in turn provided protection from invasion and relief during emergencies from surpluses set aside for these types of crises.

The wide range of environments found within the Inca Empire influenced its economic system and dictated the type of resources collected. The tribute collected by the empire included chiles, coca, cotton, maize, TOBACCO, and yucca from the valleys and grains, wool, and tubers from the highlands. Coastal areas provided a wide variety of aquatic resources, and mining districts provided GOLD, SILVER, and other metals used by the empire. CORN (maize) and different types of potatoes provided the bulk of the Inca diet. These potatoes could be grown throughout an extended range of altitude, thus ensuring that in any given year, regardless of weather conditions, at least a portion of the potato crop would be harvested.

The Inca kept track of this expansive economic system by using a mnemonic device known as a *quipu*. *Quipus* consisted of main cords with smaller strings of varying colors attached. Each string contained a collection of knots at differing intervals. The different lengths, spacing of the knots, and colors indicated specific numbers. With these devices the Inca kept track of the resources of the empire and made sure that resources were dispersed whenever they were needed. *Quipus* could also be used to aid in the recitation of narratives and important oral traditions associated with religious practices. Unfortunately, only those who knew what the specific *quipu* recorded could use them, but the system was nonetheless sufficient to aid in keeping the empire running smoothly.

The Inca religion centered on worship of a sun god and an earth-mother goddess within an ever increasing pantheon of other gods and goddesses. They also revered special spirits that inhabited the mummies of their ancestors, mountains, stone idols, and a wide range of other aspects of the natural world. In general, their religion was highly ritualized, their annual calendar filled with ceremonies and festivals associated with it. When they conquered a new people, they usually incorporated the religion of the new group into their pantheon and thus partially guaranteed the



Machu Picchu ruins, Peru (Getty)

loyalty of their new subjects rather than further antagonizing them. They also allowed local leaders to retain some power, a strategy that proved to be a source of strength and stability for the empire.

The beginning of the end for the empire started with the arrival of a Spanish *entrada* under the command of FRANCISCO PIZARRO in 1532. As it happened, Pizarro arrived just as a civil war was being waged between two brothers, Huascar and ATAHUALPA, for the imperial throne. The premature death of the emperor, their father, and his heir, their older brother, from the pandemic introduced to South America by the arrival of Europeans precipitated this civil war. In the wake of the devastation created by the pandemic and the civil war, Pizarro, with 168 men, arrived in the region and took advantage of the situation. Having won the civil war, the emperor Atahualpa met Pizarro at the city of Cajamarca. After Atahualpa rejected the REQUERIMIENTO, the Spanish attacked the

Incan entourage and took the ruler captive. Bargaining for his freedom, Atahualpa promised Pizarro a room filled with gold and silver. It took several months to meet this goal. In 1533, after the Inca delivered the ransom, Pizarro reneged on the deal and had Atahualpa executed. He then marched on the Inca capital of Cuzco and took it, although Inca resistance continued for more than a century. In 1535 the most successful rebellion was led by Manco Inca, a brother of Atahualpa who had been used by the Spanish as a puppet ruler of the Inca Empire. Manco Inca laid siege to Cuzco and Lima and almost took both cities. The Spanish finally quelled this stage of the rebellion in 1537, and Manco Inca fled to eastern Peru and formed the rump state of Vilcabamba. This particular insurgence ended after the Spanish captured and executed Manco Inca. In the end the Spanish were never able to conquer the entire domain of the Inca Empire, but they successfully ended Inca control of the region.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## India

The South Asian subcontinent, home to modern-day India, came to have increased significance in the minds of Europeans at virtually the same time as did lands and peoples in the Atlantic basin.

It is impossible to date the moment when knowledge of India became widespread in Europe. Certainly merchants hauling goods along the SILK ROAD knew of the great cultural treasures of the region. In the first decades of the 16th century, Portuguese explorers, notably VASCO DA GAMA, rounded southern Africa and sailed for India. His efforts, and those of Portuguese explorers and colonizers who followed, such as ALFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE and DIOGO LOPES DE SEQUEIRA, expanded these Iberians' authority in a valuable locale and also a crucial stopping point in the spice trade (see SPICE ISLANDS). Europeans were not the only ones attracted to the region. Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, a prince of Fergana, traveled into Hindustan and eventually founded the Mughal Empire, which lasted from 1526 to 1858. Like later Europeans, he, too, left a written account, now known as the *Baburnama*. Originally written in Chaghatay Turkish, a language spoken in the Turco-Mongolian world, the *Baburnama* had spread from one hand to another (see SCRIBAL PUBLICATION) by the end of the 16th century. It remains one of the great classics of early modern literature.

Knowledge of India spread to northern Europe as well, especially after the return of JAN HUYGEN VAN LINSCHOTEN, who published his TRAVEL NARRATIVE, entitled *Itinerario, voyage often schipvaert*, in Amsterdam in 1596. RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER arranged for an English-language translation, which appeared in print (see PRINTING PRESS) in LONDON in 1598. This book contained lengthy descriptions of India and its peoples and their customs, and engravings based on the text revealed a world of pagodas, suttee (the burning of Brahmin widows), and prolific flora—including poppies, coconuts, and pepper. These narratives, along with the accounts of da

Gama's journey, created an image of India in the minds of Europeans. Eventually the desirability of South Asia would prompt the English EAST INDIA COMPANY to establish settlements there, though that development occurred well after 1600.

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## Ingram, David (fl. 1568–1582) sailor, writer

A sailor on an English mission to North America in the late 1560s, David Ingram wrote an account of his escapades during which he claimed he walked approximately 2,000 miles from the Gulf of Mexico to Cape Breton, a story that received wide notice when RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER printed it in 1589.

According to his account, Ingram, from Barking in Essex, was perhaps 50 years old when he joined the English expedition led by SIR FRANCIS DRAKE and SIR JOHN HAWKINS in the late 1560s. The ships under Drake and Hawkins fared poorly in a naval encounter with Spanish ships off the coast of Florida, a territory that then encompassed not only the modern-day state but also much of the northern rim of the Gulf of Mexico. After they reached the North American mainland, Drake and Hawkins gave their men a choice: Those who wished could try their luck in a return voyage to England in a small and battered fleet, and the others could fend for themselves on land. Although the return expedition did manage to reach Cornwall, most of those aboard had perished from famine or disease.

Ingram was one of 105 men who decided to stay. Those who remained found survival difficult. Ingram wrote about near-starvation conditions during which the men ate parrots, monkeys, cats, mice, rats, and dogs. For unknown reasons, the men on land broke into small groups, and Ingram left the others in the company of Richard Browne and Richard Twide. Starting their journey at what Ingram called the Rio de Minas, the men walked northward, “by land two thousand miles” in Ingram’s accounting. Along the way they traveled through a number of Indian villages, none of them well described in the surviving account. Ingram provided his readers with descriptions of the flora and fauna of the mainland, as well as tales about the Indians’ religious beliefs and their social mores, noting that some were polygamous but had strict rules against adultery. At one point he and his companions even came face-to-face



with the Indians' devil, a creature he called "Colluchio." This beast, which appeared in the shape of a black calf or a black dog, terrified Ingram and his companions, but when they blessed themselves in "the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost," it "shrancke away in a stealing maner" and never bothered them again.

Historians have long suspected that Ingram made up his account, but Hakluyt, an expert on travel accounts, nonetheless included it in the 1589 edition of his *Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*. However, when Hakluyt revised this work and published a far larger volume on American travels in 1600, he no longer included Ingram's account. Although Hakluyt never stated why he dropped Ingram's tale, his successor, SAMUEL PURCHAS, suggested that he believed that Ingram had, in fact, created the improbable story.

David Ingram, along with Browne and Twide, traveled back to England, apparently on a ship commanded by a French captain, who picked the trio up somewhere near modern-day Halifax, Nova Scotia. Upon their return the three visited Hawkins to tell him of their journey. By the time Hakluyt published Ingram's tale in 1589, Ingram was the only one of the three still alive. Although Ingram did publish his own version of his travels in a book entitled *A true discourse of the adventures & travaile*, no copy of the work has survived.

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## inquisition

Beginning as a legal procedure for prosecution of "hidden crimes" such as heresy and clerical sexuality, inquisition in early modern Europe became associated with national and religious identities and became a tool for eliminating enemies of the state or of the Catholic faith.

Inquisition began not as a national institution for the prosecution of religious dissenters but rather as a legal procedure for civil trials. The procedure, which had begun in antiquity, was relatively uncommon during the first few centuries following the fall of the Roman Empire

but was revived during the rebirth of Roman law and legal thought in western Europe during the late 11th and early 12th century. In the prosecution of certain crimes, such as clerical sexuality or heresy, where "full proofs" such as those offered by eyewitnesses were absent, a "partial proof," such as hearsay or general reputation, could be considered justification for seeking a confession, thus bringing the inquisitorial procedure into play. Inquisition differed from other legal proceedings of the time in four major ways. First, the identity of witnesses was kept secret. Second, counsel for the defense was restricted or nonexistent. Third, the goal of the proceedings was penitential rather than punitive. Fourth, inquisitors and their agents were allowed to resort to torture to extract a confession but would only do so when there was enough partial proof to indicate that a confession would likely be forthcoming.

The inquisitions from the 13th through the 15th centuries operated differently throughout Europe, giving lie to the myth of a monolithic medieval inquisition. Not until the late 15th century was there a move toward institutionalization of inquisition. Around this time the pursuit of heterodoxy became more closely identified with national interests.

Probably the best known of these "national" inquisitions was the inquisition in Spain, which arose out of a tradition of Castilian identity, Christian military nobility, and Christian superiority over Muslims (see ISLAM) and JEWS, all of which had roots in the RECONQUISTA. The Spanish Inquisition began as a national venture in 1478 and condemned more than 3,000 people to death by its end in 1800. The original targets of this particular inquisition were *conversos*—Spanish Jews and Muslims who had converted to Christianity—who had apostatized, reverting to the practices of their former faiths. The office of the Inquisition in Spain soon cast its net more broadly, seeking to root out any possible enemies of the Catholic Church. Once Protestant revolts broke out throughout Europe, inquisitors used their methods to keep unorthodox beliefs out of Spain and the Spanish Empire. Even Catholics were not above suspicion: Ignatius Loyola was called before the Inquisition twice. Those accused of heterodoxy were subject to secret trial, often including torture, and if found guilty, they were sentenced to public execution in an AUTO-DA-FÉ, or "act of faith." Reactions to the Inquisition within Spain included the flight of between 600 and 3,000 *conversos* and occasional violent resistance, as in the case of the murder of inquisitor Pedro de Arbués in the cathedral of Zaragoza.

Any analysis of the Spanish Inquisition must take into account the religiously plural composition of that empire. Spain had been home to members of three religious traditions—Jewish, Christian, and Muslim—throughout most of the medieval period, and the REFORMATION added



Protestants into the equation in various portions of the Spanish empire under CHARLES V and PHILIP II. In this context the Spanish Inquisition might be interpreted as a means to unification of a religiously plural empire, a reflection of a belief that maintaining the empire's religious unity was the only way to maintain its political unity.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

### invention and technology

Advances in certain kinds of invention and technology, particularly relating to the flow of information, shipping,

weaponry, and urban architecture and planning, enabled early modern Europeans to develop specific advantages over other peoples in the Atlantic basin and provided crucial assistance for exploratory and colonizing efforts.

One of the reasons that Europe came to dominate the Atlantic world in this period was its ability to take inventions from various peoples and turn them into pragmatic technologies. Perhaps one of the best examples of this was the PRINTING PRESS. Although it was the Chinese, by historical consensus, who can lay claim to the invention of printing, it remained largely unused owing to the complex nature of Chinese ideograms. Those European alphabets based on Roman letters had less than thirty simple characters. JOHANNES GENSFLEISCH ZUM GUTENBERG transformed the baked clay of Chinese printing blocks into movable steel blocks in his printing press. In a period when European guns and sailing ships were to play a significant



"The way they built their boats in Virginia," wrote Thomas Harriot in his report of the new land, "is very wonderful." Without metal tools, the Indians of Virginia used fire and clamshells to make canoes. A fire was kindled at the roots of a tall tree and carefully tendered until the tree fell. Then the leaves and branches were burned off. Small fires were carefully lit along the length of the trunk to hollow it. Finally, the charred wood was cleared away with sharpened shells. Engraving by Theodor de Bry, from a watercolor by John White (Library of Congress)

role in conquering Atlantic cultures, it is easy to overlook the power of the printed word, yet without the ability to mass produce cheap, short pamphlets, the teachings of MARTIN LUTHER would not have spread as quickly, and it may have proved easier for a pope such as LEO X to contain his influence. When CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS and others reached the Western Hemisphere, their reports spread across Europe far quicker than had they been reproduced by hand. When English promoters of colonization such as RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER and THOMAS HARRIOT began to encourage English settlements in the Americas, the availability of printing gave them a wider audience.

Technological advances in shipping also proved vital for early modern Europeans. Improvements in such vessels as BRIGANTINES and CARAVELS, as well as better navigational techniques and added knowledge about wind patterns, facilitated long-distance voyages. Such developments proved particularly significant for the Portuguese, whose seaborne empire stretched from the Iberian Peninsula around Africa to the SPICE ISLANDS off southeast Asia and BRAZIL, as well as for the Dutch. With its limited land area, the Dutch were compelled to seek foodstuffs from other sources. This need pushed them to develop shipping technology, and their full-rigged *flute* ships were the result. These ships enabled the Dutch to transport desperately needed grain from the Baltic states. As the Dutch maritime reach lengthened, they found themselves shut out of more lucrative routes by the British and Spanish fleets. Relegated to carrying bulk goods such as lumber, the Dutch developed designs for simple ships that could be constructed far quicker than those of their competitors and positioned them for their 17th-century efforts.

The absence of raw materials, of course, played a decisive role in technological change. Most of the states of West Africa had developed the ability to make iron products long before Europeans arrived to offer them as trade items, but, by an environmental quirk, very few of these states found both iron mines and timber in close enough proximity to produce tools and weapons, thus encouraging them to trade with Europeans for these goods. In the absence of gunpowder and large quantities of iron weapons, the African states developed large oar-powered vessels for use in coastal trade. When confronted with the superior weaponry of the European ships, African rulers dispatched several of these vessels armed with up to 100 archers per ship, using their technology to overcome the technology of the Europeans.

In some cases it was not necessary to use the full extent of one's technology. This was the case of the Spanish conquest of the American empires. Although much of the Spanish triumph can be attributed to the spread of infectious DISEASES, technology undoubtedly played a part. However, it was not their gunpowder that proved decisive.

Rather, it was their possession of steel thrusting weapons—swords, pikes, and sabres—that enabled the Spanish to defeat indigenous peoples who possessed superb technological knowledge (evident, for example, in much Mesoamerican architecture). A crucial problem for the AZTECS and others was the absence of natural resources that would have allowed them to develop weapons equal to those of the Spanish.

Invention could also take the form of discovering something of the way nature worked. For decades European sailors had practiced a technique called *volta do mar*, by which they would sail west into the Atlantic in order to pick up a westerly wind to bring them home. In 1487 BARTHOLOMEU DIAS, trapped near the western coast of southern Africa, sailed west and south into the Atlantic until he picked up a westerly wind that enabled him to lay claim as the first European to sail to the Indian Ocean. Ten years later VASCO DA GAMA put his knowledge of the winds to work and sailed southwest into the Atlantic from the Cape Verde Islands until he picked up the winds that brought him around the southern coast of Africa en route to Asia. Da Gama's inventive route remained the standard for as long as sailing ships traveled from Europe to Asia.

Why was it that Europeans seemed to develop some of these skills quicker than other Atlantic cultures? There are multiple possible answers. Europeans, long fragmented into dozens of kingdoms, principalities, and city-states, lived in a state of ongoing warfare for centuries. When they sought better weapons to attack their foes, they were able to apply some the lessons to other fields. Thus, steel produced for swords could also be used in agricultural implements to increase productivity. Further, some Europeans (unlike Native Americans and Africans) believed that because they owned land (and not only what the land produced), they needed ways to protect their holdings, and this need served as a further goad to military inventions. Geography also played a vital role. Those nations with access to the ocean, especially the English, Portuguese, Dutch, and Spanish, developed maritime technologies to assist their military and commercial ventures. Such technologies, necessary for maintaining transoceanic trade, had little obvious appeal to states or communities whose political and economic horizons remained fixed to their homelands and adjacent territories. The concentrations of Europeans into large cities also facilitated technological advances, especially in architecture, although Europeans had no monopoly on urban design. The great city of TENOCHTITLÁN, for example, possessed buildings that could rival any in the world at the time, and other Aztec and MAYA settlements had pyramids that towered as impressively as the spires of St. Paul's Cathedral in LONDON.

Finally, for better or for worse, European financial and economic systems propelled technology faster there than



elsewhere. In the early 15th century, Chinese technology appears to have been far ahead of European, but the Chinese rulers decided to prohibit certain technologies, which dampened further innovation. In the Islamic states (see ISLAM) of the Middle East, a commitment to invention was often held back by an arbitrary approach to taxation, which could see the fruits of labor forfeited. While both government prohibitions and arbitrary seizure occurred in Europe, the political fragmentation meant that they were not practiced in all of Europe at the same time. Thus, if one city-state banned an innovative technique, its practitioners could move somewhere else. The proliferation of printing presses across the continent also facilitated the spread of information about new inventions.

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—John Grigg

## Iroquois

Although Iroquoian cultural patterns and linguistic commonalities extended to a myriad of Native American groups in what is now the United States and Canada, the tribal designation *Iroquois* specifically refers to the peoples of the Five Nations (MOHAWK, ONEIDA, ONONDAGA, CAYUGA, and SENECA), whose principal settlements in the area of modern-day New York State enjoyed considerable social, economic, and political linkage. (They later became the Six Nations in the early 1720s, when the Tuscarora came north and joined the Iroquois Confederacy.)

The word *Iroquois* derives from the ALGONQUIAN *Irinakhoiw* (translated as “real adders,” although other terms from this language family simply referred to the fact that the Iroquois spoke a foreign tongue), which French voyageurs and missionaries changed to the more familiar spelling. The Iroquois called themselves by other names, the best-known being the Seneca Haudenosaunee, or “people of the longhouse,” referring to the communal living structures that were the centerpiece of village life.

By the time Europeans first encountered them, during the first half of the 16th century, the Iroquois had already established themselves in villages clustered near Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. Over time they grew into a political and military force to be reckoned with in the region. Although

contact with the newcomers often exacted a heavy price, they drew on cultural strengths and patterns of response familiar to them in their dealings with other Native groups to meet the challenges of European encroachment. Politically savvy and strategically well located, they retained a degree of hegemony and autonomy few of their neighbors knew.

### Early Iroquois

Long before 1492 the Iroquois developed the complex cultural traditions that helped to sustain them. The archaeological record suggests that the Five Nations Iroquois (or their progenitors) resided in the eastern Great Lakes region for centuries before whites arrived, coalescing into their respective tribal entities by the year 1200 at the latest. As a result, what Europeans witnessed in their sojourns among and relationships with the Iroquois reflected a series of settlement patterns, community structures, and group interactions that had evolved much earlier.

Iroquois subsistence patterns, relying on a mixture of horticulture, especially CORN (but also beans and squash and later sunflowers and TOBACCO), and fishing and hunting, were firmly in place by A.D. 1000 (and perhaps much earlier). Within this gendered economy women tended crops, and men had responsibility for procuring game. Early artifacts, including ceramic bowls and pipes adorned with human faces and animal forms, suggest not only utilitarian function but also the rise of craftsmanship and ties to ritual purposes, including tobacco use and the Harvest or Green Corn festivals celebrating the bounty of women’s work. After the introduction of copper and brass implements from Europe, pottery figured less prominently among the Iroquois, yet such changes did not signify abandonment of traditional beliefs in exchange for technological advances; metal tools helped add elaborate detail to the wooden masks worn by the Society of Faces (or False Faces, often previously depicted in the clay objects) during cleansing and healing ceremonies, an indication that the Iroquois, like other Native American groups, adapted innovations according to their own social needs and beliefs.

The rise of fortified villages, including prototypical forms of the longhouse structure, predated the introduction of agriculture, suggesting that the ancestors of the Iroquois had taken steps to limit internecine warfare. Over time village and longhouse size increased (the latter sometimes growing to several hundred feet), with the palisaded towns affording protection against outside invasion and serving as trading centers. Although pre-Columbian trade was not as extensive among the Iroquois as it was with their HURON neighbors, archaeological evidence of imported luxury items such as marine shells and native copper suggests the Iroquois were not economically isolated, either. By the early contact period village life was

vibrant, with the dozen or so major Iroquois towns home to 50 to 1,000 people inhabiting 30 to 150 multifamily longhouses.

The Iroquois traced descent matrilineally, and their communal living arrangements expressed matrilineal residence. Each extended longhouse family had at its core a group of women (mothers, sisters, and daughters), with men moving into the homes of their wives upon marriage. Women retained ownership of these structures, and inheritance and succession to political offices moved along the maternal line. The eldest female in the group acted as the matriarch, directing the work and daily activities of the home. Down the central aisle of the longhouse ran a series of hearths, each marking the existence of semi-private cubicles occupied by the nuclear family units who made up the basic components of the whole.

Each longhouse family further identified with a clan structure based on an animal crest or spirit, so that members of the group became fictive siblings with other maternal families from separate villages. Clan members had an obligation to welcome and provide for outsiders who shared their affiliation and became blood relatives in a legal sense. (Marriage among those of the same clan was taboo.) The nine clans of the Iroquois were the Turtle, Bear, Wolf, Hawk, Heron, Beaver, Deer, Snipe, and Eel. Two or more clans composed a moiety, or what the Iroquois today call “the sides,” which added greater cohesion to the entire community by connecting these larger groupings as siblings. Those joined by the moieties performed ceremonial functions such as preparing and burying each other’s dead, hosting games and feasts, and conducting other rituals meant to underscore and solidify their relationship.

### *The Iroquois Confederacy*

The internal links unifying the Iroquois socially had their political counterpart in the overarching alliance fusing the Five Nations together. Although certainly in existence before the arrival of Europeans, the League of the Iroquois did not reach full florescence until after contact, by about the late 16th century. The story of its origins survives in the lengthy oral tradition known as the “Great Law of Peace,” which recounts the vision of the prophet Deganawida, or the Peacemaker, who sought an end to the bloodshed, divisiveness, and warfare that threatened the social order of the region in precontact times. Joined in his crusade by the exiled Onondaga chief HIAWATHA, the two carried a plan to the people for political organization and the end of intertribal violence.

Their proposals initially met opposition in the person of Tadodaho, an Onondaga war chief, who mounted a campaign against Hiawatha, killing his daughters. Returning to exile, Hiawatha devised an alternative to revenge for the loss of loved ones. In his new scheme members of the

appropriate moiety would console and care for the family who lost a member, a strategy aimed to replace traditional blood feuds. If these condolence rituals did not satisfy the afflicted, an outsider could come to serve in the place of the deceased. This gave rise to the so-called mourning wars, raids specifically geared toward the seizure of captives from other tribes who might either be killed or adopted by the stricken relatives. After his own period of mourning, Hiawatha returned undaunted with Deganawida, and they at last succeeded in persuading Tadodaho to accept the path of diplomacy by offering him a leadership role in their Great League.

Foremost in this arrangement was the establishment of a grand council composed of 50 sachems, or chiefs—eight Seneca, nine each from the Mohawk and Oneida nations, 10 Cayuga, and 14 Onondaga—who, acting together, sought diplomatic solutions to the blood feuds and enmity plaguing the region. The linkage of the nations found its symbol in the wampum belt, or string of shells held together by a common strand; this “chain” featured the Onondaga at the center surrounded by the remaining four tribes, and it was at Onondaga, under the Great Tree of Peace, that the grand council would meet. In addition, the confederacy represented the longhouse writ large, with the metaphorical structure of roof (sky) and floor (earth) safely containing the fires of the Five Nations. Furthermore, the league observed the familiar clan divisions, and clan mothers selected the men who would represent these interests in the council. This arrangement underscored the primacy of matrilineage and kinship in Iroquois culture.

At the village level a headman and council of elders made decisions about local matters, yet it was the clan chiefs who acted as tribal leaders and spoke for their people in the grand council. In keeping with the delineation of the moieties, the league representatives occupied different chambers, or houses, within the confederacy’s political configuration. These “brotherhoods” dictated that the Mohawk and Seneca (elder brothers) sit on one side and the Cayuga and Oneida (younger brothers) on the other, much like the bicameral systems of parliamentary bodies. The former group first conferred on issues brought to the council before sending them to the latter for consideration. In the case of disagreement, the Onondaga, or “Firekeepers,” had the final vote. Invested with the power to strike agreements or alliances with foreigners and keep peace within the Five Nations, the grand council expressed a complex political order that unified the Iroquois and helped them face the challenges wrought by contact with Europeans.

### *The Iroquois in a Changing World*

The French were the first Europeans whom the Iroquois encountered, but JACQUES CARTIER’s initial meetings with Iroquoian peoples near Quebec in the summer of 1534 did



not translate into sustained contact with the Five Nations until significantly later, with the intensification of the fur trade. Heavy demand for the *castor gras*, or coat beaver, and the popularity of beaver hats in Europe by the 1580s increasingly drew the southern Iroquois into the French sphere of influence. As trade relations developed around the port of Tadoussac, the Mohawks penetrated northward, effectively driving out the St. Lawrence Iroquois by 1603, but failed to settle in the area, probably due to the strength of the Huron, Algonquian, and other French trading partners. Instead, they staged raids to obtain the knives, mirrors, and metal goods exchanged for pelts at trading centers. Whether they sought the role of middlemen occupied by these northern tribes is not clear, but warfare was their method of entry into the region. The French, for their part, instead allied with groups they knew better, supplying them with weapons (but not yet firearms) to repel the Iroquois attacks.

During the first years of the 17th century, the Montagnais allied with the Algonquian and Huron to protect the trade and rout the Mohawk, and conflicts between indigenous nations increased. Others from the Five Nations likely began to join the Mohawk in these forays as the clamor for goods won through raiding helped to solidify the strength of the league. This economically motivated war soon brought the Iroquois into more continuous contact with Europeans. Samuel de Champlain received orders in 1608 to build a fort at Quebec and the next year joined France's Indian allies in pursuing the Iroquois. Soon, the French-Huron alliance held the Iroquois at bay in the western trade.

At nearly the same time the Iroquois found access to another source of goods among the Dutch, who came to control the wampum trade around Long Island. To secure this exchange, the Iroquois mounted a protracted campaign against eastern tribes living in the vicinity of Fort Orange. Emerging victorious, they were now intermediaries to all trade with the Dutch, a coup that secured their strength but quashed the hopes of the Dutch to expand their own influence into French trading territory. This turn of events shored up the power of both the Five Nations and the French, and the Dutch fell victim to growing competition with English traders who supplied the Iroquois with guns and began to establish inroads among them.

While the Iroquois increased their use of European trade goods, they maintained the integrity of traditional social structures and beliefs. Village life continued to be a source of vibrancy and renewal, military and economic power was in ascendance, and warfare had actually invigorated the league. However, over the course of the 17th century, so-called virgin soil epidemics, particularly SMALLPOX, began to take a heavy toll, reducing the precontact population of the Five Nations by as much as

half (to about 10,000) by the end of the 17th century and claiming specialists and elders whose arts and wisdom could not be easily replaced. Nevertheless, they escaped the social and political fragmentation of the Huron confederacy that resulted from that tribe's alliance with the French. They likewise kept their homeland essentially intact. In fact, for the remainder of the colonial period they successfully exploited the animosities that existed between England and France, holding onto a delicate "middle ground" between the two empires, and managed to preserve relative autonomy until after the American Revolution. Even today, the social and political cultures of the Iroquois still thrive, an indication of their power to adapt to difficult circumstances and maintain strength in the face of adversity.

The authority that the Iroquois possessed in the 16th century and beyond has given them a particular place in American history. They were not the most populous confederacy in eastern North America; the peoples of the Southeast, most notably the Cherokees, maintained larger populations into the 19th century. But the ubiquity of the Iroquois in documents from the 16th and 17th centuries reveal the power that they retained in the Northeast, especially after the decline of the Hurons. Further, the Iroquois political system came to the attention of observers in the 18th century. Some modern enthusiasts believe that Benjamin Franklin proposed the idea for a federal system of government (embodied in the U.S. Constitution) after studying the Iroquois system and trying (unsuccessfully) to use it in the Albany Plan of Union of 1754. Most historians pay little attention to this theory, which is implausible given the vast documentary evidence about the U.S. Constitution. But the fact that the theory survives into the 21st century is a reminder of the enduring impact of the Iroquois and their ability to maintain control of much of their ancestral homelands even during the age of European conquest and expansion.

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—Eric P. Anderson

**Isabella** See FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

## Islam

A monotheistic religion based on the revelations of Muhammad as written in the Qur'an (Koran), Islam arose in the seventh century A.D. in the city of MECCA, spread quickly through southwest Asia, northern Africa, and the SUDAN in the seventh through 11th centuries, and was well established as a world religion by the 16th century, with adherents as distant as Europe, Asia, and the Americas.

### Origins

Muhammad, considered by Muslims (followers of Islam) to be the final prophet in the line of Abraham and whose divine revelations between the years 610 and 632 form the text of the Qur'an, was born in Mecca in or around the year 571. He was a member of the Quraysh tribe, who controlled the *haram*, or sacred area, around the local shrine. The Ka'ba, reputedly built by Abraham and his son Ishmael, was the site of a long-standing tradition of pilgrimage by followers of various local and regional faiths. In 623, after Muhammad had returned victorious from his forced exile in Medina (his flight from Mecca in 622 is known as the *Hijrah* and marks the beginning of the Muslim calendar), he purged the Ka'ba of all its idols and claimed it solely for the worship of Allah (Arabic for God). The Ka'ba became the primary destination for Muslims making the *hajj*, or pilgrimage, one of the five pillars of Islam.

Islam is based on the Qur'an, the written version of Allah's revelations through the angel Gabriel to Muhammad. The Qur'an is organized into 114 chapters, or *surahs*, and 6,236 verses. It is the source of Islamic law and establishes rules for daily living. The Qur'an served to unify Muslims the world over, regardless of their local customs and cultural differences. This unity is based in part on the practice of the five acts of worship, or pillars, of Islam: first, the open profession of faith through the statement "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah"; second, prayer—usually five times per day, always in the direction of Mecca; third, almsgiving; fourth, fasting during the month of Ramadan (the ninth lunar month); and fifth, making the *hajj* to the sacred sites of Mecca and Medina during Dhu al-Hijjah (the twelfth lunar month). The *hajj* is only required once during an individual's lifetime and only of those who are physically and financially able to perform this important act of worship. For some Muslims *jihad*—holy war or striving for faith—became a pillar as well.

In addition to the Qur'an, Muhammad established many traditions (*hadith*) that form the basis of Islamic custom (*sunnah*) pertaining to law, religion, education, worship, and devotion. Al-Sha'fi (d. 820), a Muslim lawyer in Cairo, wrote the *Risalah* to record the *sunnah*, bringing

unity to a diverse religious following that placed community at the center of tradition. The *Risalah* in essence created a living tradition that spanned the cultural and geographic separation of the broader Muslim community. However, whereas the Qur'an is the word of Allah and therefore law, the *hadith* are associated with the actions and words of Muhammad and are less strictly and more selectively applied by various Muslim communities. The flexibility of the *hadith* and their application allowed for regional diversity within Islam and accommodated local traditions, thus making conversion to Islam easier and more appealing to a variety of peoples.

Differences between Muslim communities based on the *hadith* are only one source of diversity in the broader Muslim world. More significant is the split between the Sunni, who follow the tradition of electing the caliph (the spiritual and temporal leader of the Muslim community) from Muhammad's companions, and the Shi'i, who believe that the caliphate belonged to the descendants of Muhammad through his cousin and son-in-law 'Ali, husband of Muhammad's only surviving child, Fatima. 'Ali was the fourth elected caliph but was assassinated in 651, giving rise to the succession issue. The Sunni-Shi'i split formed the basis of many of the power struggles by various of the competing Islamic dynasties well into the 16th century.

### Islam in the 16th Century

By the 16th century Islam dominated southwest Asia, North and West Africa, and parts of Europe. Its spread outside the Hijaz (see Mecca) can be attributed to several factors, including trade, migration—both permanent and temporary—political conquest, and cultural assimilation. Of these factors, trade had perhaps the farthest reaching and longest-lasting effects. Some of the earliest converts to Islam were Arab traders who followed trade routes between the Arabian Peninsula and the African continent through cities such as Cairo, Egypt, and Zeila on the Horn of Africa (see DJIBOUTI) and along the Mediterranean Ocean into southern Europe. With the introduction of the camel, Muslim traders began to cross the SAHARA to the Sudan, encouraging the spread of Islam to areas previously isolated from the Islamized north African and east African peoples. Goods traded on these routes included GOLD, ivory, kola nuts, and slaves from Africa for salt, HORSES, cloth, copper, metal weapons, and beads from the Middle East, Europe, and Asia. Even Mecca, a city virtually closed to all non-Muslims, became a principal market for slaves from Africa by the 16th century. Accompanying these nomadic traders were teachers and holy men who traveled to cities like Djenne and TIMBUKTU and established mosques, converting and educating the local populations in the principles of Islam.

Although the spread of Islam often followed the path of trade routes, its adoption in various regions took different

forms. In North Africa, the nomadic Berbers converted to Islam in the 11th century, establishing the Almoravid Dynasty in the Maghreb. From their base in what is today Morocco, the Almoravids (derived from the Arabic *al-murabit* referring to their association with the border fortresses, or *ribat*) were instrumental in the spread of Islam to Spain under the leadership of Yusuf ibn Tashfin and to the Sudan under Abu Bakr. The Almohads replaced the Almoravids in the 12th century and encouraged the growth of Sufi brotherhoods in the region. They fell from power in the late 13th century. SUFISM became popularized in the 13th century in the Maghreb, especially through the actions of the MARABOUT, who grew in importance in the region into the 16th century. After the RECONQUISTA in Spain and the expulsion of Muslims from Granada in 1492, Muslims in North Africa became increasingly militarized, fighting the Christian Europeans who began infiltrating the region. Maghrebi Muslims began looking to the south as well, to the empires of the Sudan such as the SONGHAI, for the purposes of controlling the lucrative trades in gold and salt and eager to supply the Egyptian and North African SLAVE TRADE with men and women from West and central Africa.

Islam in the Sudan (West Africa) took on more of an elite cast. In many of the Sudanic empires, including GHANA, MALI, and Songhai, only the kings and their courtiers converted to Islam, and even then it was often nominal in character. By the time of MANSA MUSA I of Mali, who made a famous pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324, Islam began to gain more popular acceptance, but according to the chronicler IBN BATTUTA, traditional forms of religion persisted and were even integrated with the laws and customs of Islam. By the 16th century and the apex of the Songhai Empire, Islam was firmly ingrained in Sudanic society.

Conversion to Islam in European cultures was less prevalent than in African and frequently was achieved only through *jihad*. Muslim forces arrived on the Iberian Peninsula in 710 from Morocco and retained control over parts of the region until they were ousted from Granada in 1492. Ottoman Turks attacked eastern Europe beginning in the 11th century and nearly captured Vienna under the leadership of SULEIMAN I in 1529. Islam posed a threat to Christian Europe for nearly 1,000 years (both physically and ideologically), but in the 16th century the tide turned. The rise of European commercial powers shifted the balance of power against the Islamic states. European cities such as VENICE, entrenched in trade with the Levant, often showed only minor toleration for Muslim merchants. Despite this seeming disdain, the Islamic Mamluks of Egypt had diplomatic relations with Venice beginning in 1506, and by the end of the 16th century envoys between Venice and Istanbul (the capital of the Ottoman Empire, which defeated the Mamluks in 1517) were a regular occurrence.

As in Europe and Africa, the major means of Islam's spread to the Americas was trade. However, in this instance Muslims were the traded, not just the traders. The majority of slaves taken to the Americas came from west and central African kingdoms, including CAYOR, SENEGAMBIA, and CAMEROON, many of them held at the port of CALABAR to be shipped across the Atlantic. These regions had long histories of Muslim influence, and it is probable that a significant number of the humans forced into bondage and taken across the ocean on the MIDDLE PASSAGE were practicing Muslims. Although many of them were forced to give up their names and their cultural and social practices, the influence of Islam remains evident in some African American traditions that can be traced back to the 16th century.

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—Lisa M. Brady

### Itzcóatl (1381–1440) *military leader*

Itzcóatl was fourth great speaker of the AZTECS, whose military leadership led to the overthrow of their Tepaneca overlords, the establishment of the Aztecs as an independent nation, and the beginnings of the expansion that would leave them the dominant power in central MEXICO.

Itzcóatl ascended to the throne as an experienced military leader, having held the office of *tlacochealcatl*, or supreme commander of the army, for more than 20 years. He was proclaimed lord of the Aztecs (Mexica) on April 3, 1427, but Maxtla, lord of the Tepanecs (of whom the Mexica were tributaries at the time) refused to recognize his authority, prompting Itzcóatl to forge an alliance with Nezahualcōyotl, lord of neighboring Texcoco. The two leaders conquered the Tepaneca capital of Azcapotzalco in 1428, killing Maxtla and sacking and burning the city. This

event marked the beginnings of the Mexica as a sovereign people, with a capital established at TENOCHTITLÁN.

Itzcóatl governed from 1427 to 1440, going on to conquer, according to the Codex Mendoza, 24 neighboring cities in the valley of Mexico and beyond. Although many of these conquests did not bring the conquered lands directly under Aztec control, they did provide levies and dependencies within easy range of Tenochtitlán that gave the Aztecs a springboard for farther ranging campaigns. In 1431 Itzcóatl formed a more permanent alliance, both defensive and offensive in character, with the lords of Texcoco and TACUBA. The military leadership of this “triple alliance” was reserved to the Aztec great speaker.

Together with his adviser TLACACLA Itzcóatl introduced a series of reforms based on an extensive rewriting of his people’s history to reflect a mystic-visionary view that placed them as the true heirs to the TOLTECS and ordained lords of the region, whose responsibility it was to keep the

sun moving across the sky by means of captive sacrifices gained in many wars of conquest.

Itzcóatl also worked to improve the quality of life in his capital, ordering the construction of temples to Cihuacóatl and HUITZILOPOCHTLI as well as construction of the causeway linking the island-city to the lake’s northern shore. To reinforce the idea that his reign began a new era, he ordered the destruction of all existing records containing any reference to his people’s existence as a tributary state.

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—Marie A. Kelleher





## Jamaica

One of the islands of the Greater Antilles located on the northern edge of the Caribbean Sea just to the south of Cuba, Jamaica became one of the most profitable SUGAR islands in the English realm by the end of the 17th century.

Jamaica has a land mass of 4,471 square miles and a predominantly mountainous terrain, with a peak height of 7,400 feet. The TAINO first inhabited the island, but scholars know little of their history on the island. Archaeologists have garnered most of this knowledge by study of kitchen middens, burial caves, and other artifacts.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS arrived in Jamaica on his second transatlantic trip. He landed at Discovery Bay on May 5, 1494. Upon his arrival he found the Natives on the western side of the island more hospitable than those on the eastern side. The defensiveness of the eastern end islanders was based on the fact that attacks from island CARIB usually came from the east. The indigenous inhabitants of Jamaica suffered the same fate as their other relatives in the Greater Antilles: enslavement by the Spanish and the introduction of epidemic DISEASES that wiped out a majority of their population within the first three decades of contact with Europeans.

The Spanish used Jamaica primarily as a supply base because they did not find any substantial mineral wealth on the island. The first Spanish settlement on the island, Sevilla la Nueva, proved unsuccessful, but eventually they established a foothold on the island and created their largest settlement at St. Jago de la Vega. The Spanish introduced the cultivation of bananas and citrus fruits to the island as well as traditional Spanish agricultural crops. The Spanish forced the Taino to work their fields, but under Spanish control Jamaica never amounted to more than an insignificant farming community on the periphery of their colonial world. As a result, Jamaica became the first Spanish Caribbean possession taken by another European power when the English seized the island in the mid-17th century.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## James I (1566–1625) *king of England*

James I ascended to the English throne upon the death of ELIZABETH I, inheriting a feckless Parliament, difficult fiscal circumstances, and a church still unsure of its identity.

James came to the English throne after a protracted royal dispute. James’s father, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was murdered for his boorish and murderous behavior within the Scottish court, perhaps with the complicity of his wife, Mary, Queen of Scots, who was Elizabeth’s first cousin. After Darnley’s death Mary married one of Darnley’s alleged assassins. The Scottish nobility was outraged and demanded her abdication. At 13 months old, James came to the Scottish throne. Mary fled to England, where she became entangled in a plot to assassinate Elizabeth. She was imprisoned and, 19 years later, executed by Elizabeth in 1587. In 1603 Elizabeth died, and her oldest male blood relative was the 37-year-old Scottish monarch. He never knew his mother or his mother’s cousin, but he arrived in LONDON with long experience of being a ruler.

James received an excellent education as a child in Scotland from tutors who substituted for his parents. One of them was a strict Calvinist named George Buchanan, who inspired the intellect of the young king. James spoke Greek, Latin, French, and English as well as his native Scottish tongue. He was an accomplished rhetorician and writer. Through his intellectual capabilities James gained

a reputation as a learned and capable orator and legislator. He also adhered to a personal style of rule—informal and unpolished—that would make him confusing and confounding to his new subjects in England.

James was a man and a king full of inconsistencies and paradoxes. Despite his history of capable rule, he was continually concerned that he could not generate affection either in those closest to him or his subjects. A tireless hunter, James exhibited courage bordering on recklessness as a horseman but harbored an irrational fear of knives and other drawn weapons. Other than the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, there were no legitimate threats to his life, but he wore inordinately heavy clothing to protect himself against knife attacks. He fathered children with his wife, Anne of Denmark, including two sons who both, in turn, became prince of Wales, yet he was an unabashed homosexual. His sexual orientation brought anxiety to court, as his favorites often gained title and power at court based solely on James's affections. The most obvious recipient of such largesse was George Villiers, who became duke of Buckingham, Lord High Admiral, and a primary royal diplomat abroad.

Controversy marked James's relationship with the English church, as well. Having been raised a Calvinist within the Church of Scotland, he accepted the doctrine of double predestination. As a result, the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, with its traditional rituals and liturgy, posed a theological problem for the intertwined relationship of church and king as James came to the throne, yet he turned out to be quite tolerant. Theology was something of a hobby for the new king, and he wrote on the subject often. By applying his political skills to his theological encounters, James was able to balance traditional factions within the church against the reformers who wanted to make the Anglican Church more recognizably Protestant. He worked to strike this balance early in his reign by calling both factions together at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604. Here James disappointed the reformers by asserting the importance of the Anglican episcopacy, but he also worked behind the scenes to make bishops understand the reformers' ideas. Further, he was able to treat nonconformist—that is, Catholic—practitioners with a tolerance unimaginable during Elizabeth's reign. Indeed, James suggested that persistent Catholicism was more a political decision among nonconformists than a religious one.

James, like Elizabeth, demonstrated his learning publicly. He wrote a number of pamphlets, both before he became the English monarch and after. His first publication after becoming king of England was entitled *A Counterblaste to Tobacco*. Appearing in London in 1604, the book offered the most important critique of TOBACCO since the plant became popular in Europe in the 16th century. James (and other critics) feared that since tobacco came from the Western Hemisphere where it was often

employed in religious rituals, which the engraver THEODOR DE BRY had depicted in 1592 in a celebrated illustration in his edition of the work of HANS STADE and JEAN DE LÉRY, its use might lead to disastrous consequences for the English. Could tobacco degrade the civilization he so admired and lead to the rise of barbarism in Europe? That idea appeared here along with other criticisms, such as the fact that tobacco was expensive and seemed to be addictive.

James's views on tobacco anticipated modern public health views. Smoking was, he argued, a "custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and, in the black stinking fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless." It might seem unlikely for a monarch to get deeply involved in a debate over a plant that had, by then, come to seem like a panacea to many Europeans. But James issued the pamphlet because he imagined himself in the role of a physician to his people and it was his responsibility to preserve their health. Rarely in history has a leader so embraced a public health issue. Unfortunately for the king, tobacco in the 17th century, like in modern times, proved to be a stubborn foe, and its popularity continued to rise in England during his realm. The fact that tobacco became the salvation of the settlement at Jamestown suggested that even in the early modern age economics and public health were often in opposition to each other.

James I was an enigmatic ruler who was remarkably successful given his penchants for excess in his personal life and the financial life of England. Nevertheless, he was not responsible for the problems within the Church of England that would escalate into civil war and the execution of his son and successor.

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—David P. Dewar

**Jenne-Jeno** See DJENNE-DJENO.

## Jesuits

The Society of Jesus, a Roman Catholic religious order founded by IGNATIUS LOYOLA, played an important role in the 16th-century drive to counter Protestantism and to promote reform within the Catholic Church.

The history of the Jesuit order began in Paris, where, between 1528 and 1535, Ignatius Loyola gathered a group

of six fellow students, all of whom took vows of poverty and chastity. These companions planned to travel to Jerusalem to convert the Muslims. War prevented this mission, but Ignatius and nine followers were ordained priests and resolved to offer their services to the pope. Ignatius admired the 13th-century saints Francis of Assisi and Dominic (see FRANCISCANS and DOMINICANS), both of whom had inaugurated new religious orders and sought to rejuvenate the church.

The Jesuits initially saw themselves as itinerant preachers and focused their energies on preaching, hearing confessions, and teaching. A distinctive element in Jesuit practice was Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*, a kind of religious guidebook. The *Exercises* laid out a plan for a 30-day program of meditation and self-analysis. All Jesuits had to work through the *Spiritual Exercises* at least once, and they encouraged other Catholics to complete the *Exercises* as well.

The *Spiritual Exercises* encouraged Jesuits to cultivate an indifferent or detached attitude toward the world. This detachment was not meant to encourage monastic withdrawal from the world. Rather, by ridding the Jesuit of fear and anxiety about his future, the *Exercises* promoted an active life in the world. Ignatius, in contrast to other Catholic thinkers of the 16th century, did not approve of excessive penances, fasts, or vigils. Such practices, he thought, weakened the body and thus could render a Jesuit incapable of serving others. As the historian A. Lynn Martin has observed, Ignatius "would rather a Jesuit seek God in visiting the sick than in passing a sleepless night of prayer and mortification."

Pope Paul III confirmed the existence of the Jesuit order in September 1540. The original petition, written by Ignatius, pledged each Jesuit "to abandon his own will, to consider ourselves bound by special vow to the present pope and his successors to go, without complaint, to any country whither they may send us, whether to the Turk or other infidels, in India or elsewhere, to any heretics or schismatics, as well as to the faithful, being subject only to the will of the pope and the general of the order." The original members of the order chose Ignatius as their general, a post he held until his death in 1556.

The order grew rapidly. By 1556 it numbered about 1,000, and by 1615 had some 13,000 members. By the middle of the 16th century, the order was divided into 12 provinces: nine in Europe and one each in BRAZIL, India, and ETHIOPIA. The largest number of Jesuits resided in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, but the Jesuits soon turned to missionary work. During the 16th century they sent missionaries to Africa, India, China, Japan, the Philippines, Brazil, PERU, and MEXICO. In their missionary work they were often flexible about cultural differences. In China, for example, the Jesuit MATTEO RICCI wore mandarin clothing, per-

mitted ceremonies that honored Confucius and the dead, and adapted the observance of Sundays and fasts to make them more acceptable to Chinese customs. Such adaptations earned the Jesuits the ire of more traditional orders, including the Dominicans and Franciscans, who feared that cultural adaptation would destroy Christian missions by allowing potential converts to conflate Christian and non-Christian practices.

Within Europe the Jesuits' primary interest was education. They opened their first school in Messina, Sicily, in 1548 and by 1560 regarded education as their primary ministry. By 1615 the Jesuit order operated about 370 schools. This early commitment to education had two major effects: It made the order more sedentary, because schoolteachers could not move around as much as itinerant priests, and it made the Jesuits more learned. As the scholar John W. O'Malley observed, this 16th-century turn to education "largely explains why and how the society began to earn its reputation for learning. Other orders had teachers and erudite members, but in the Jesuits learning became systemic in ways and to a degree different from the others."

In the REFORMATION debate over whether grace perfects human nature or overcomes it, the Jesuits tended to side with the Scholastic theologian Thomas Aquinas against the more negative views of St. Augustine. While many of the Protestant reformers, including MARTIN LUTHER, argued that human nature was so corrupted by sin that human good works had no value, the Jesuits generally held that God's grace perfected a human nature that was already created in the image of God.

The Reformation was not initially of great concern to the Jesuits. Most lived and worked either in areas of Europe that were largely Catholic or in overseas missions where the population belonged to no Christian church, but by the 1550s the Jesuits turned more of their attention to the Catholic battle against Protestantism. In the German territories they founded schools and sought the support of rulers, including Emperor Ferdinand I. The order also sent missionaries to Protestant areas, including England, Scandinavia, and Holland, both to instruct and encourage Catholics in those territories and in the hopes of reclaiming the countries for the Catholic Church. Jesuit theologians, including Peter Canisius, Alfonso Salmerón, and Diego Laínez, reemphasized Catholic teaching on such matters as the authority of the pope and the presence of Christ in the Eucharist against Protestant challenges. Jesuits also participated at the COUNCIL OF TRENT.

Despite its commitment to battling Protestantism, the order faced opposition from within the Catholic Church. Its rapid growth and rejection of traditional monastic practices made members of other orders suspicious, as did the Jesuits' special vow of obedience to the pope (rather than to local Catholic authorities). Dominicans and members of

other orders attacked the Jesuits' theological grounds. The Faculty of Theology of Paris condemned the order in 1554 as "a disturber of the peace of the church."

Controversy over the Jesuits increased in the 17th and 18th centuries as the order grew in size and influence. Pope Clement XIV suppressed the order in 1773, although the order was able to start again in 1814.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Jews (Judaism)

The history of Jews in the 16th century begins with their expulsion from Spain in 1492 and the victories of the Ottoman Empire in the Mediterranean world and ends after the publication of one of the great works of Jewish law: the *Shulhan Arukh* (1571).

Most of the world's Jews still lived in the Middle East in the 16th century, where the Muslim Turks allowed them to maintain communities in relative safety and freedom. In Christian countries the medieval Crusades, a series of blood libels over several centuries, pogroms, and increasing ecclesiastical and secular legal restrictions contributed to the deteriorating social and economic status of the Jews. Throughout Europe Jewish numbers decreased, and intellectual life declined. The famous scholarly disputations among Christian and Jewish leaders of the 13th and 14th centuries no longer occurred; many Christian theologians and high-ranking clerics became convinced that Jews, like heretics and other infidels, were better restricted and controlled than engaged in argument. The INQUISITION, the holy office endowed with the power to search out and prosecute unbelievers, was an international police force at the disposal of any princeling who wished to harass Jews in his territory. Although the popes in Rome repeatedly issued decrees banning Christians' unproven accusations against their Jewish neighbors (e.g., Martin V in 1418), local kings and lords did not always follow the letter of the Christian

law. The constitution of the German empire granted electors (princes and bishops) the ability to maintain and tax Jewish communities in their lands in a decree called the "Golden Bull" (1356). Jews had been gradually limited to few professions in Christendom, primarily in finance and rag-collecting. Rulers in Germany and elsewhere protected their Jewish citizens when it suited them but constantly remitted the debts of Christian businessmen and businesswomen to Jewish lenders and even occasionally encouraged mob attacks on Jewish communities in order to discharge their own debts or to pacify political factions threatening their rule. Extraordinary events, such as plagues, famines, wars, or the Jubilee declared by the pope in 1450 aggravated the already tense coexistence of groups of Jews within larger Christian towns. In addition, the recent gathering of Christian leaders at the Council of Basel (1421–43) had repeated anti-Jewish measures of previous church councils and had ordered further restrictions, such as that Jews be kept out of universities and that baptized Jews be prevented from marrying among themselves to prevent "apostasy" to Judaism.

The Iberian Peninsula had long provided a haven for Sephardic Jews. But as the RECONQUISTA of territory from the Muslims (see ISLAM) by the Christian kings of such kingdoms as Aragón and CASTILE advanced during the 15th century, the great flourishing of Jewish theology, literature, politics, and fortunes waned. As elsewhere, some Jews in Spanish kingdoms submitted to Christian proselytizing and became what Christians called *maranos*. Although new Christians intermarried with old Christian families and integrated more fully into the civic life of the Spanish towns of Barcelona, Toledo, SEVILLE, and Cordoya, political strife often implicated *maranos*, rightly or wrongly. In Castile, when townsfolk refused to pay taxes to supply a defending army in the 1440s, churchmen summoned a mob by ringing bells; the mob burned down *marano* houses. Jews in Segovia died at the stake or on the gallows after a blood libel in 1471. Legal decrees followed this kind of occurrence in many cities of the Iberian Peninsula, forbidding *marano* participation in city or ecclesiastical government, partially in order to prevent further reactive violence. Other laws forbade Christian and Jewish marriage or prevented Jews from having Christian servants. By the time Queen Isabella took the throne of Castile (1474) and her husband, Ferdinand, became king of Aragón (1479), uniting the kingdoms of Spain, both rulers were ready to deal decisively with Jews and former Jews. The Dominican monk Torquemada, Isabella's confessor, headed the Inquisition for the queen in 1481 (he was inquisitor general in Spain from 1485) and held his first AUTO DA FÉ in the following year. By November 1481, 300 *maranos* had died at the stake for returning to Judaism while almost 100 more languished in





This painting, entitled *The Fountain of Grace and the Triumph of the Church over the Synagogue*, by Jan van Eyck (1430), displays the Catholic Church as triumphant over the Jews, owing to their unwillingness to recognize Jesus Christ as the son of God. (Museo Nacional del Prado)

prison for life. Although many Christians, especially those married into *marano* families, sympathized with Jews, the Inquisition urged all Christians to watch for the signs of Judaizers: those new Christians, or *conversos*, who used clean linens on Friday nights for the Sabbath, refused to light fires on Saturday, or bought all their food from Jews. Finally, in 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella decreed that all Jews (including *maranos* suspected of Judaism) were to leave their kingdoms at penalty of baptism or death. Families that had lived in Spain for centuries were to pack their belongings—except all their money—and leave. “In the same month in which their Majesties issued the edict that all Jews should be driven out of the kingdom and its territories, in the same month they gave me the order to

undertake with sufficient men my expedition of discovery to the Indies,” wrote CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

Although Jewish money helped finance the explorer’s expedition and some Spaniards of Jewish descent went with him to the NEW WORLD, most Jews left Spain and Portugal (1496) for other parts of Europe, especially Navarre, the Lowlands, and Italy. They were followed by a migration of *maranos* in the 1550s and 1560s. Although Jews landing in Genoa were required to convert to Christianity and expulsions of Jewish communities occurred sporadically throughout the early 16th century, some Italian cities accepted immigrants more or less willingly. In Italy, birthplace of the Renaissance, Hebrew learning still flourished, and even Christian scholars had begun to study the language and its literature. The first printed Hebrew appeared in VENICE before 1500, although the first gated Jewish ghetto was also introduced there in 1516. (The word *ghetto* probably comes from the Venetian *getàr*, “to smelt,” because the 700 or so Jews of Venice lived where iron foundries had once stood.) Soon presses existed in Reggio di Calabria, Naples, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Rome, and wherever else humanism flourished. Jews and Christians could buy copies of the Torah, midrash, Mishnah, and parts of the Talmud as well as prayer books, dictionaries, and philosophy. The first complete edition of both Babylonian and Palestinian Talmud appeared in Venice, printed by Daniel Bomber, known as Aldo Manuzio (1449–1515), the first Italian printer. Together with interested Christians such as Pico della Mirandola, Jews of the Italian Renaissance pursued the study of kabbalah. Although the discrimination of the later 16th century brought Venetians to burn the Talmud in 1553, and Hebrew works were banned for 13 years, Jewish publishing revived in Venice and continued until the 1800s.

Jewish communities throughout Italy gained immigrants from persecuted communities in Germanic territories and Iberia who contributed to both the religious and economic life of their new homes. Doña Gracia Nasi, for instance, born a new Christian in Portugal had been born Beatriz de Luna in 1510; after marrying a wealthy man from the Benveniste family in 1528 and becoming a widow in 1536, Gracia left Portugal with her daughter and her fortune for Antwerp and then the cities of Italy. She supported scholars and rabbis in Italy, paid for the publication of Jewish books, helped other Jews and *conversos* escape Iberia, and planned a Jewish resettlement in Israel. She ended her days a rich woman in Constantinople. Doña Gracia was both typical of Jewish women in the age of *maranos* and the Inquisition and extraordinary for her wealth, mobility, political contacts, and support of scholarship. At a time when the open practice of Judaism gained the attention of the Inquisition, especially for “crypto-Jews” who rejected recent baptism for their original faith, maintenance of Judaism at home was crucial for embattled

communities. Without rabbis, schools, and texts, women's rituals at home, especially the keeping of Sabbath and dietary laws, the lifeline through which Judaism passed from one generation to the next in Spain, Portugal, and the Iberian colonies of MEXICO and South America. When these women escaped to new lives, as did Gracia Nasi, they carried Judaism with them.

The relatively peaceful interlude of Italian Jews came to end in the mid-16th century, when the Inquisition gained power in Italy. Whereas previous popes had stood fairly firm against the determination of political leaders who wished to expel Jews, Paul IV (1555–59) enacted restrictions on Jews in the papal states and supported Christian rulers elsewhere who wished the Jews harm. Jews could not own land, take up professions, leave the ghettos at night, or go into public without yellow hats or veils. They were taxed, forcibly converted, and forced to watch the Talmud burn. Rome, which had the most ancient Jewish community in Europe, escaped the most severe persecutions only because of the economic interests of the papacy there.

Two developments turned Christian mentalities toward anti-Judaism and antisemitism in the 16th century: the advance of the Turks and the success of the Protestant REFORMATION. Only the pressing requests of the Ottoman sultan, Suleiman II, brought about the release of the *maranos* of Ancona in 1558, when papal officials took them prisoner. Beginning in 1453, when they took Constantinople, and continuing with the triumphs of SULEIMAN I, “the Magnificent” (1520–66), the sultans of the empire invaded northern Africa, Greece, Venice's islands, and the Balkans. They threatened the very heart of the Habsburg Empire and controlled the Mediterranean. Only after their defeat by combined European forces in the Battle of Lepanto (1571) did they relinquish their gains and withdraw from Europe. However, during the Turkish threat Jewish refugees constantly found their way to Turkish territory, making the Jewish community in Constantinople the largest in Europe, at about 30,000 by 1500; the synagogue there still carries the name of Gracia Nasi. Jews continued to move back and forth between the Ottoman state and the kingdoms of Europe. As a result, Christians in Venice and elsewhere blamed the Jews as agents of the Turks.

It was in Turkey that Joseph Karo spent his childhood after the expulsion from Spain, where his family had once lived. From 1422 to 1542 Karo worked to collect and annotate every legal statement in Talmud. He researched and interpreted the opinions of all the earlier experts, from the rabbis of ancient Palestine to Rashi and beyond. He spent more years revising his work until in 1567 he published the great “Prepared Table” or *Shulhan Arukh*. Even today this work remains the basis of legal training for orthodox rabbis. The code appealed to both Sephardic and Ashkenazic

Jews at a time when their differences in custom and belief were becoming ever more pronounced, primarily because Karo's work was annotated and expanded by an Ashkenaz named Rabbi Moses Isserles of Poland (the *Rama*.) The *Shulhan Arukh* contains four volumes, divided as follows: *Orakh Hayyim*, dealing with prayer and holidays; *Yoreh Deah*, laws concerning charity (*tzedaka*), the study of Torah, dietary, and other laws; *Even ha-Ezer* regarding marriage and divorce; and *Khoshen Mishpat*, civil law. The great code immediately went through many editions and, thanks to the effects of printing, spread throughout the Jewish communities of the world.

Although the dispute among Christians that came to be known as the Reformation brought tolerance for the Jews in some Protestant states, such as the Netherlands and England, elsewhere it brought reinvigorated persecutions. By the early 17th century the English reopened their island to Jews as companion devotees of the (Old Testament) Bible, while the Dutch Calvinists became the most hospitable of Christian nations, allowing Jews almost total integration into Dutch society. There in the 17th century, Sephardic Jews built beautiful synagogues in the spare Dutch style, Uriel da Costa and Baruch Spinoza theorized, and Rembrandt painted members of the Jewish community. But in Catholic and Lutheran states the era of MARTIN LUTHER brought more trouble for the well-established communities of Jews and their new Iberian immigrants. Luther, who began by embracing Jews as people of the Old Book, began to revile them in the 1540s, when he realized that Jews were not susceptible to his revisions of Christianity and were not likely to convert en masse. “What shall we Christians do with this rejected and condemned people, the Jews?” Luther demanded in print. “Since they live among us, we dare not tolerate their conduct, now that we are aware of their lying and reviling and blaspheming.” His solutions were multiple: “First to set fire to their synagogues or schools and to bury and cover with dirt whatever will not burn. . . . Second, I advise that their houses also be razed and destroyed. . . . Third, I advise that all their prayer books and Talmudic writings, in which such idolatry, lies, cursing and blasphemy are taught, be taken from them. . . . Fourth, I advise that their rabbis be forbidden to teach henceforth on pain of loss of life and limb. . . . Fifth, I advise that safe-conduct on the highways be abolished completely for the Jews. For they have no business in the countryside, since they are not lords, officials, tradesmen. . . . Sixth, I advise that usury be prohibited to them, and that all cash and treasure of silver and gold be taken from them. . . . Seventh, I commend putting a flail, an ax, a hoe, a spade, a distaff, or a spindle into the hands of young, strong Jews and Jewesses and letting them earn their bread in the sweat of their brow.”

Luther provided material for later antisemites, but communities of German Jews survived his accusations and recommendations. At the end of the 16th century, after the religious wars that tore apart the Christian states of the Habsburg Empire, France, and England, Jews were on the move again to the frontiers of eastern Germany, Poland, and Russia. At the beginning of the 16th century 50,000 Jews had lived in Poland and Lithuania; by 1660 the number was 500,000. Jews found that they could engage with freedom in professions denied them in western Europe, once again protected by the local lords of dukedoms and principalities, as in the Middle Ages. Kings and gentry once again competed to borrow from or exploit the Jews at will. Rabbinic Judaism, regulated by Karo's *Shulhan Arukh*, flourished in the towns of Lublin, Krakow, Vilna, and in many smaller villages of the region. Synagogues and yeshivas appeared across the towns east of the Danube, and Jewish learning began yet another great revival that would produce scholars such as Solomon Luria and Moses Isserles. With printing and relative freedom, even women had access to books, if not much Hebrew literacy, and could offer up their own Yiddish prayers (*tkhines*) and exchange them in printed pamphlets: "Send an angel to guard the baking," prayed one central European woman, "as you blessed the dough of Sarah and Rebecca our mothers."

Jews in the following decades would also move westward across the Atlantic, following in the wake of Columbus, and settling with other Europeans in *marano* and Jewish communities in BRAZIL, Suriname, and throughout the far side of the Atlantic world where they found both new freedoms and old prejudices.

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—Lisa M. Bitel

### John III (João) (1502–1557) king of Portugal

John III was king of Portugal during neighboring Spain's "Golden Age," a period in which his own country was push-

ing the frontiers of exploration abroad but was foundering at home in a sea of debt.

Born in 1502, son of King Manuel of Portugal and his Spanish queen Maria, John III ascended to the throne in 1521. King Manuel had worked to expand Portugal's empire, including incursions into Morocco and the construction of forts in East Africa. John opposed many of his father's expansionist policies, and their relationship must have worsened even further when King Manuel, upon the death of his second wife, married the Spanish princess Leonor, daughter of CHARLES V, even though Leonor had originally been promised to John. John was eventually married to Leonor's sister Catarina in 1526, but the negotiation of a second Spanish match came at great expense to the Portuguese.

One of John III's most important contributions to the history of the Atlantic world was the initiation of large-scale colonization in BRAZIL. Brazil was important not only as a military base to protect trade between Portugal and Asia but also as a source of trade goods. The profitability of trade in goods like brazilwood, which was used in cloth dyeing, aroused the interest of rival countries like France, who tried to institute their own trade with Brazil. The Portuguese attempted to mount a coast guard, but the crenellated topography of Brazil's coastline made this unworkable.

Faced with the possible loss of a profitable trade monopoly, John III made the decision to promote colonization, sending Martím Afonso De Sousa and a large group of colonists to establish a settlement at São Vicente and a second settlement at São Paulo in 1532. To secure the new colonies, John divided Brazil into 15 captaincies, each about 150 miles wide and extending all the way to the line demarcated by the TREATY OF TORDESILLAS. The captaincy system was similar to the classic model of FEUDALISM: Captaincies were distributed as grants of land that could not be sold or given to anyone except an oldest son. The owners could impose taxes, dispense justice, and distribute land within their territories. In exchange they were expected to render military service, holding and defending their territories in the name of the monarch. Unfortunately, although some captaincies were run efficiently and profitably, most became mired in warfare and corruption. Mindful of this situation, John eliminated all but the best-run of the captaincies and instituted a system of governors general and viceroys that would allow more centralized control of the colonies.

Historians have generally regarded John as an incompetent ruler. His nobles were able to wrest power from him, and he spent much of the Crown's commercial income on luxuries rather than investing in some of the commercial activities that were enriching so many other countries at the time. He adopted a nonconfrontational foreign policy, attempting to buy his way out of problems. One example

of the spectacular failure of this policy was his attempt to pay off the organizers of French pirates, who happily took John's payments while continuing to plunder his shipping interests. Existing Portuguese colonies were the only matter in which he attempted to act more assertively, authorizing Jesuit missions to Portuguese colonies and employing VASCO DA GAMA as viceroy in India in an attempt to reassert royal control.

John's private affairs were nearly as troubled as his public life: Of his nine children, only one, sickly Prince John, survived long enough to marry at age 15. The prince lived only two more years, but his widow was pregnant at the

time of his death and gave birth to a son named Sebastião who was slated to continue the dynasty. King John died a few years later in 1557, leaving his three-year-old grandson as heir and his widow Catarina as regent.

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—Marie A. Kelleher



# K



## Kaabu, kingdom of

The Kaabu kingdom, from its capital Kansala, controlled what is today northeastern Guinea-Bissau and southern Senegal for more than six centuries.

Founded in 1250 by Tiramakhan Traore, a Mandinke general from the kingdom of MALI, Kaabu dominated small chiefdoms and enslaved the indigenous peoples of the region. Kaabu was a socially stratified kingdom that determined its royal succession through matrilineal descent. It expanded its power and territory slowly, unable to shed its initial dependency on the Mali Empire. The Kaabu kingdom remained an important source of salt, GOLD, and slaves for the larger state until the SONGHAI kingdom conquered Mali in the mid-15th century. Kaabu asserted its independence, gaining much of its power through waging war against its neighbors in efforts to supply the increasing European demand for the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. Kaabu ruled over 44 provinces at its peak but deteriorated rapidly when the slave trade declined in the late 18th century. By the mid-19th century the Kaabu kingdom was subject to internal and external pressures, including holy wars, or *jihads* (see ISLAM), waged by the FULANI, an Islamic people of the area. In 1867 the Fulani, with an army of 12,000 soldiers, forced the surrender of the last Kaabu king from his throne in Kansala.

**Further reading:** Jean Boutlegue and Suret-Canale, “The Western African Coast,” in *History of West Africa*, 3rd ed., eds. J. F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (London: Longman, 1985), 1: 503–530; Eric Young, “Kaabu, Early Kingdom of,” in *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, eds. Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Basic Civitas, Books, 1999), 1,073.

—Lisa M. Brady

**Kayor** See CAYOR

## khipu (quipu)

A khipu (quipu) is a knotted rope used by the pre-Contact peoples of the Andes to record information.

In the modern world, the printed word (see PRINTING PRESS) has come to dominate most people’s modes of communicating, but in past times there were other modes of transmitting information that could be just as effective. Many cultures relied (and continue to rely) on the spoken rather than the written word, and among some peoples in the Americas and elsewhere (such as the Maori of New Zealand), oral historians continue to preserve extensive stories and traditions. Many Native peoples in North America used wampum—small, round shells from Narragansett Bay and Long Island Sound strung together in certain patterns—to communicate messages. AZTEC and MAYA artists carved detailed histories in stone, using that medium more effectively than European stone carvers to preserve memories. Every known population in the world kept some track of the seasons, with information passed on from one generation to the next. In human history, the vast majority of this communication occurred without the written word.

The peoples of the Andes were no exception: They, too, communicated to each other without using the written word. Instead, experts among them understood the ancient practice of knotting ropes together and interpreting them. For many years, non-Andean observers believed that khipu were used as calendrical devices, particularly to measure the passing of leaders or celestial events.

But Europeans who ventured to the Americas in the 16th century had a more expansive understanding of what the khipu might contain. As the Venetian geographer GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO wrote, “it is possible to find public houses full of those ropes, through which the person in charge of them can tell the past events, although they are far in the past, in the same way as we do with our letters.”

Modern scholars now tend to agree with Ramusio’s contention: khipu contained clues to entire bodies of knowledge. When subjected to computer analysis it becomes clear

that the intricate knotting of the ropes conveyed more than a mathematical system. Khipu was not a simple mnemonic device to measure the passing of time. Tragically, the ability to read khipu seems to have disappeared with the destruction of the Incan empire, a process begun with FRANCISCO PIZARRO's conquest of ATAHUALPA. The knowledge contained in those knots has not yet been revealed.

**Further reading:** Jeffrey Quilter and Gary Urton, eds., *Narrative Threads: Accounting and Recounting in Andean Khippu* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002).

## Kongo

The Kongo, an ethnic group located in what is today Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Republic of Congo, and Zaire, founded a highly centralized kingdom in the 14th century that declined in the 18th century due to Portuguese slave raiding.

The ancestors of the Kongo most likely migrated north to the Congo plateau before the 12th century, settling in organized farming communities. By the 14th century these villages formed a semicohesive federation that was the basis for their kingdom. The kingdom's founder, Ntine ("King") Wene, married into the local clan that held spiritual rights over the land, uniting his people with the area's indigenous people. He used conquest and intimidation to expand his stronghold in the region, which extended at its peak south from the Congo River to the Kwanza River and east from the Atlantic Ocean to the Kwango River. The Kongo kingdom established its capital at the successful farming village of Mbanza Kongo, near the mouth of the Congo River. The kings organized the area into political districts, created a monetary system based on shells, or *nzimbu*, harvested on the island of Luanda, and exacted taxes and tributes from the subjects. In return the kings protected the kingdom and its people and performed religious rituals. Long a tradition with the Kongo people, iron work became a prerogative of the royal family. The iron industry formed an important part of the Kongo economy, but the kingdom's environment provided the mainstay for its source of wealth. In the western part of the kingdom, salt lagoons and shell fisheries abounded, and in the east millet farming predominated. The forests of the Kongo kingdom supplied the raffia for the region's textile industry. Woven raffia squares became a major commodity in the region, providing a source of political and economic influence for the Kongo kingdom.

The Kongo's first documented contact with Europeans was in 1483, when the Portuguese explorer Diogo Cão arrived. When Cão returned to Portugal, he took with him Kongo emissaries, who returned to their kingdom in 1491 with priests, soldiers, and European trade goods. The priests baptized the Kongo king, Nzinga a Nkuwu,

and his son, Nzinga Mbembe. Although Nzinga a Nkuwu later abandoned Christianity, Nzinga Mbembe adopted the name Afonso (or Alfonso) and made Catholicism the state religion of the Kongo kingdom. Afonso maintained strong ties with the Portuguese, trading slaves and ivory for European goods and guns. He also invited missionaries to his kingdom and renamed the capital São Salvador. When JESUITS arrived in Kongo territory in 1548 (after Afonso's death), they opened schools and converted many Kongolese to Catholicism.

Afonso's grandson, Diogo I (r. 1545–61), tried to limit Portuguese influence in the Kongo economy but encouraged religious and political ties with the European power. Diogo attempted to assert Kongo control over Portuguese settlers in the region and to reassert the kingdom's dominance over inland trade. In 1555 he banned all but a few Portuguese traders from his kingdom in an attempt to reassert his economic control, but the Portuguese on the nearby island of São Tome continued to engage in trade, undermining Diogo's success. In another bid for control, Diogo expelled the Jesuits in 1558.

The SLAVE TRADE ultimately undermined the Kongo kingdom when the neighboring peoples who were the targets of Kongo slave raiders retaliated. The resulting instability weakened the Kongo, forcing the kingdom into dependence upon the Portuguese. By the mid-17th century the Kongo kingdom had lost much of its power in the region, although it remained intact and influential through the 19th century.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Kotoko

The Kotoko, an ethnic group in present-day CAMEROON, Chad, and Nigeria, ruled a kingdom in West Africa that controlled large areas of northern Cameroon and northeastern Nigeria until the 15th century, when they were conquered by the Kanuri of the Bornu kingdom.

Made up of several smaller kingdoms, including the Makari, Mara, Kousseri, and Logone-Birni, the Kotoko kingdom was organized into a large state ruled by a single king. The kingdom included a northern and southern division, making it easier for the kingdom's policies to be administered. Before its defeat and incorporation into the Bornu kingdom, the Kotoko peoples converted to ISLAM, introduced into the region by Muslim missionaries.

**Further reading:** "Kotoko," in *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, eds. Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), 1,106; "Kotoko," in *Historical Dictionary of the Republic of Cameroon*, 2nd ed., eds. Mark W. DeLancey and H. Mbella Mokeba (London: Scarecrow Press, 1990), 118.

—Lisa M. Brady





# L



## **Lane, Ralph** (?–1603) *colonial governor*

Known more as military commander than a maritime adventurer, Lane served as the first governor of Virginia in 1585–86.

Little is known of Lane's early life. After serving Queen ELIZABETH I in a number of capacities in the realm of public security from 1570 to 1585, he sailed for North America under the command of SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE. Holding a royal patent to the Virginia area of mainland North America, the expedition was initiated and funded by SIR WALTER RALEGH. After a harried voyage that stopped at HISPANIOLA, the expedition passed up the coast of FLORIDA, arriving in June at Wokokan, one of the many islands off the coast of North Carolina, or "Virginia," as the English then termed the region. Here the party established a colony with Lane as governor. Grenville departed two months later, but not before the two brash personalities clashed in a bitter dispute.

Following Grenville's departure, the colony was moved to ROANOKE, and Lane's party of 107 men quickly faced a number of urgent problems. The fact that no women and children were among the colonizers coupled with little evidence of Lane's party cultivating the land displayed how far the English were from the concept of planting a self-sustaining society at this time. As provisions withered, frustrations mounted. Many of the men under the employ of Raleigh arrived hoping to find riches in precious metals. Lane was also gravely disappointed that the area yielded neither the immediate prospect of riches nor an inland water route to CATHAY. Further difficulties arose when the relations between the settlers and the Native population became strained as Wingino, chief of the neighboring Secota Indians, grew increasingly frustrated with the English colonizers.

In 1586, following a difficult winter, Lane led a search expedition north to the Chesapeake Bay area hoping to find a narrow land mass leading to the Pacific, much like the Isthmus of PANAMA. In addition, he had heard an allur-

ing tale about a tribe in the north that possessed copper in abundance and lived near a great sea. Lane's hopes were quickly dashed on both fronts, and the expedition party returned to Roanoke. Weeks later, SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, fresh off a triumph in the Caribbean, arrived off the coast of Roanoke to check on Raleigh's colony. Frustrated, Lane convinced Drake to return all the colonists home to Portsmouth. Although there is no direct evidence, it is possible that Lane and his fellow colonizers first brought TOBACCO and potatoes to England at this time.

Upon his arrival home, Lane prepared to defend his motives for the decision to abandon Virginia, citing the area's harsh conditions. Two of Lane's party left a more memorable impression: chroniclers THOMAS HARRIOT and JOHN WHITE, whose maps of the landscape and sketches and depictions of the Native Americans were quickly circulated in the promotional literature of RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER. Following stints in which he served under expeditions of both Drake and SIR JOHN HAWKINS, Lane was appointed to the office of muster-master in Dublin, a post occupied until his death in 1603.

**Further reading:** Stephen Coote, *A Play of Passion: The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* (London: Macmillan, 1993); Robert Lacey, *Sir Walter Raleigh* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1973); Peter C. Mancall, ed., *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580–1640* (Boston: Bedford, 1995); David Beers Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584–90* (New York: Dover, 1991).

—Matt Lindaman

## **L'Anse aux Meadows**

The site of a one-time NORSE (or Viking) settlement on the northern point of Newfoundland, rediscovered by archaeologists in the 1960s and identified by them as the likely location of the "VINLAND" mentioned in the Norse sagas.

According to the archaeologists who followed clues in the medieval Norse sagas, L'Anse aux Meadows fits the landscape described in the Grœnlendiga Saga by the sailor Bjarni as his ship approached land the Norse had never seen before. According to this saga, the territory was "not mountainous, and was covered with forest, with low hills." That description fits the physical situation of L'Anse aux Meadows. The territory would have appealed to the Norse because it had lush grasses, necessary for the livestock that they had transported across the North Atlantic. Further, the dense stands of trees would have tempted too, since they were an easily available source of building supplies and fuel, and would be especially welcome given the bitter cold that envelops this part of the Atlantic basin during the winter.

L'Anse aux Meadows, which sits at 51°36' N and 55°32' W, consists of a small cluster of houses perched near the shore overlooking Épaves Bay. Picturesque and remote, it looks like the kind of place where one can imagine hardy Norse settlers setting up a community. But its significance lies well beyond whatever natural beauty it possesses. The archaeological digs there have proved beyond doubt that the Norse reached North America centuries before CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS's historic voyage of 1492. Archaeological evidence also reveals that the territory was inhabited at the same time by Inuit—called *Skraelings* (meaning "wretches") by the visitors, a fact noted in the sagas. Further, certain pins found in the settlement were characteristic of women's clothing, which suggests that the Norse had intended the settlement to be permanent and not a way station for sailors on long-distance voyages who intended to go home each season. Carbon 14 analysis of such material remains suggests that L'Anse aux Meadows might have been settled as early as the year A.D. 1000.

The remains at the site confirm more than Norse presence in North America. As one archaeologist has noted, the settlement at the edge of the bay "with all its houses, large and small, its smithy and its charcoal kiln, its boat-sheds and probably also its bath-house, whose closest parallels are to be found in the farm ruins of Iceland, Greenland and Scandinavia, provides a varied picture of many aspects of 11th-century Norse life." In other words, the well-preserved artifacts, along with analysis of the sagas and the landscape, can reveal much about a material culture that stretched after the year 1000 across the North Atlantic, thereby providing further proof of the commitment that the Norse made to the venture.

Yet despite its promise of economic success, the Norse abandoned L'Anse aux Meadows and concentrated their energies in GREENLAND. The reasons remain somewhat mysterious, though scholars suggest that ongoing tensions with the Inuit—brought on, the sagas reveal, by the visitors themselves—might have convinced them that they

belonged elsewhere. The decision proved to be momentous. Had the Norse decided to stay in Vinland, they might have launched a colonization system long before other Europeans arrived, and that system might have forever changed the demographic, political, and cultural profile of North America. But the Norse were unable to sustain vital connections to Newfoundland, and so L'Anse aux Meadows eventually disappeared, leaving only traces in the soil that kept its history hidden until archaeologists unearthed it again in the second half of the 20th century.

**Further reading:** Helge Ingstad and Anne Stine Ingstad, *The Viking Discovery of America* (New York: Facts On File, 2001); Birgitta Linderoth Wallace, "The Viking Settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows," in William W. Fitzhugh and Elisabeth I. Ward, eds., *Vikings: The North Atlantic Saga* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000).

**Las Casas, Bartolomé de** (1474?–1566) *friar, soldier*  
A former *encomendero* (holder of an *ENCOMIENDA*) who, after experiencing the plight of the Native peoples under Spanish rule in the early 16th century, took the vows of a Dominican friar and became an energetic champion of Native rights on both sides of the Atlantic.

Las Casas remains one of the most controversial figures in Latin American history. His attempts to convert and protect the indigenous peoples of the Americas earned him the adulation of missionaries and several key figures in the Catholic Church. Religious and secular leaders in England, France, and the Netherlands argued that he was a courageous figure for standing up to the corrupt, destructive actions of his countrymen, and his works were widely read in these countries. In Spain he faced a more mixed reaction. Many Spaniards felt that he was unpatriotic, soiling the reputation of national heroes. His later writings seemed to undermine the legitimacy of the conquest, causing Las Casas to lose favor with the royal government. Many of the CONQUISTADORES and their families felt personally attacked by his writings and moved to have them denounced at court. One 16th-century polemic against Las Casas bore a revealing title: *Against the Premature, Scandalous, and Heretical Assertions which Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas Has Made in His Book About the Conquest of the Indies, Which He Has Had Printed Without the Permission of the Authorities*. The controversy over his life and writings has continued through the 20th century, in which he has been called "mentally ill" (1927), "a pigheaded anarchist" (1930), a "leveler possessed by the Devil" (1946), and "a pathological liar" (1963). Those who doubt the veracity of his works have argued that he created a BLACK LEGEND about Spain's actions in the NEW WORLD, while his supporters claim that he is perhaps the only reliable figure of the conquest era.

### ***Early Life and Conversion***

Las Casas was born in SEVILLE, Spain, in either 1474 or 1484. His mother's family was considered to be "old Christian," meaning that they had no trace of Jewish or Moorish blood in their background. His father, however, was from a family of *conversos*, or JEWS who had converted to Christianity during the RECONQUISTA. His family was sufficiently wealthy to provide a Latin education at the cathedral academy. Las Casas's father, Pedro, accompanied CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS on his second voyage and received a Native slave as a reward for his efforts. Apparently, Pedro gave his son custody of this slave, because the younger Las Casas freed him and had him sent back to the Indies. In 1502 Las Casas journeyed to the Caribbean for the first time as a *doctrinero* (teacher of Christian doctrine), although he returned to Europe shortly thereafter. He arrived back in the Caribbean in 1512, settling on the island of HISPANIOLA, where he became the first priest ordained in the New World. The following year he took part in the conquest of CUBA, serving as the expedition's chaplain. During these early years he mingled freely with several conquistadores, including HERNÁN CORTÉS and PEDRO DE ALVARADO.

Significantly, as part of his reward for the successful campaign in Cuba, Las Casas received an *encomienda*, which gave him the use of Native labor. At first he felt this was a just, honorable grant. Over time, his firsthand observations about *encomiendas* and *encomenderos* began to change his mind. He personally witnessed several *encomenderos* brutally overworking their Natives and became concerned that many Spaniards were not converting the Natives at all. Gradually, he became convinced that the *encomienda* system was exploitative and would never truly bring the indigenous people to Christianity. According to his writings, he read a passage from Ecclesiasticus 34 that turned him against the *encomienda* forever: "Tainted the gifts who offers in sacrifice ill-gotten goods."

In 1514 Las Casas began a new life dedicated to protecting the Natives of the New World. He began by dissolving his own *encomienda*. On Pentecost Sunday he preached a fiery sermon against the *encomienda* and demanded that fellow *encomenderos* abandon theirs, too, lest they face the wrath of God. He approached the colonial authorities demanding that they hold the *encomenderos* responsible for their abusive actions and take more rigorous steps to protect the Natives. Initially, his actions were treated with shock, then polite dismissal. The *encomienda* was too entrenched to be dislodged, the officials responded, and besides, the Natives were simple-minded heathens who needed discipline. Las Casas was not discouraged but realized that it was not enough to pressure single *encomenderos*: he had to end the *encomienda* system altogether. To this end, he traveled back to Spain,

where he enlisted the support of two powerful figures at court, the co-regents Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros and Adrian of Utrecht. With their backing Las Casas became the official protector of the Indians in 1516. He began proposing several alternatives to the *encomienda* system, including the development of African SLAVERY—a decision he later regretted.

### ***Las Casas the Colonizer***

In 1520 Las Casas entered a more active phase of his career. He had become a well-known figure in the intellectual circles of Spain, and his writings came to the attention of the king, CHARLES V. With the support of a number of missionaries from the New World, Las Casas presented his ideas before the king in 1520. He argued that the time for conquest by "fire and sword" had passed. Instead, he argued, the Crown should focus on peaceful conversion of the Natives, who would make loyal subjects and Christians if given the chance. Las Casas pointed out that putting them to work for individual *encomenderos* did not contribute to the public good or even the development of the colony. Moreover, *encomenderos* who had unlimited power over the Natives abused them, leading to the depopulation of the colony. Las Casas argued that the Natives should be put under the protection of missionaries, who would convert them to Spanish culture as they Christianized them. Under this system the colonies would continue to be productive. Although there were many voices of dissent, Charles decided to give Las Casas a chance to put his ideas into practice, assigning the cleric to colonize the newly discovered territories of Venezuela.

Despite his high hopes, the new Venezuelan colony was a disaster. Las Casas's goals were simple: to convert the Natives and create a self-sustaining agricultural colony. However, congregating the Natives actually helped spread European DISEASES because they had no immunity to scourges such as SMALLPOX, measles, and mumps. Also, colonial officials in the area were hostile to Las Casas's ideas, arguing that the Natives were heathens who did not deserve royal protection. They attempted to stifle Las Casas's project through bureaucratic means, denying or delaying requests or claiming they were waiting for official instructions. Spanish conquistadores were even less subtle and began raiding the colony for captives. The Natives began to feel that they had been corralled so that the Spaniards could capture them more efficiently, and they began to revolt. The uprising brought on the full wrath of the conquistadores, who argued that because the Natives had rebelled against their Spanish king, they were justified in enslaving them. By 1522 the colony had collapsed, and conquistadores had dragged away most of the Natives to serve in Caribbean *encomiendas*. Dismayed, Las Casas temporarily abandoned his project, taking vows as a

Dominican monk and removing himself from politics as a penance.

In time Las Casas turned again to the problem of colonization and made an effort to develop his utopian plans more fully. First and foremost, he created a clear agenda and methodology for building a new colony and articulated these ideas in his work *The Only Method of Attracting Everyone to the True Religion* (*Del único modo de atraer a todos los pueblos a la verdadera religión*). In this book Las Casas argued that the Spaniards would never be able to convince the Natives of God's love while the Natives viewed all Europeans with fear and hatred. He demanded an end to violence, even when Spaniards themselves were threatened. He also forbade the Spaniards to confiscate land from Native communities and, in fact, advocated returning land already confiscated by Europeans. Ultimately, Las Casas realized that his proposed colony would have to be well removed from the conquistadores; the colony had to be either in an area where colonists could not go or that they considered so worthless that they would leave it alone. He selected for his next project a dangerous area in the Guatemalan highlands called Tuzultán, meaning "land of war."

This new experiment was far more successful than the Venezuelan venture. Las Casas was able to secure an agreement that no secular Spaniard would enter the region for five years and that no *encomiendas* would be created from the territory. Because no Spaniard entered the unstable region willingly, the royal officials did not object. In 1537 Las Casas and a handful of DOMINICANS arrived, having composed a series of educational hymns regarding the creation, the fall of man, and the life of Jesus in the Natives' own language. They taught these hymns to several local traders and convinced them to travel throughout the region teaching others in turn. After repeated concerts the local leaders were sufficiently impressed to invite the Dominicans in themselves. Over time Las Casas was able to convince the local population of the Spaniards' honesty and sincerity. The Native leaders were particularly impressed to discover that Las Casas had stopped the Spanish raids in the region. The local CACIQUE, or Native chieftain, converted, ordering an end to animal sacrifice and the worship of stone idols. The Spaniards were shocked that Las Casas and his fellows had not been killed, and eventually Pedro de Alvarado wrote to the king commending his actions. By royal decree the "Land of War" was renamed Verapaz ("True Peace"), a name it has retained to the present time.

### ***The Decline of the Encomienda***

Buoyed by the success of his Guatemalan colony, Las Casas redoubled his efforts to end the *encomienda* system once and for all. He developed a two-pronged assault: first to turn public opinion in Spain against the institu-

tion, and second to petition the king to end it directly. For both these ends, he wrote and later published his most famous work, *The Very Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies* (*Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*). Las Casas was fairly successful in both his goals. His short book created a sensation, particularly when he read sections of it to the royal court. His writing style was firm and direct, using numerous examples to show how the Spaniards' actions were annihilating the Native populations of the New World. He named names, places, and events with horrifying accuracy. The king and his advisers were not only appalled but convinced by his rhetoric. In response, the king promulgated the New Laws of 1542, which forbade the enslavement of the Natives and greatly curtailed the *encomienda* system. Moreover, it forbade *encomenderos* from bequeathing their *encomiendas* to their heirs, effectively ending all *encomiendas* after a generation.

Although this was a victory for Las Casas, the war over the *encomienda* was far from over. Spanish colonists reacted with outrage over the New Laws. *Encomenderos* felt that the *encomiendas* were justifiable rewards for their actions of conquering territories for the Spanish Crown. Additionally, they had begun to see them as personal property. Even those colonists without *encomiendas* were angered, for many hoped to earn an *encomienda* of their own. Across Spanish America the colonists rose up in violent protest against the New Laws. With royal backing Las Casas returned to the New World as the bishop of Chiapas. He provoked further hostility by threatening any Spaniard who maintained an *encomienda* with excommunication. The *encomenderos* responded by threatening Las Casas's life. Those members of the church with ties to *encomenderos* refused to support him. Again, Las Casas pushed the envelope by publishing a confessional that instructed priests to withhold absolution from *encomenderos*, while declaring that all wealth derived from *encomiendas* was tainted by sin. Because much of Spain's wealth in the New World derived from *encomiendas*, many saw this as a direct assault on the entire Spanish colonial system. Opposition grew to the point that in 1545 King Charles was forced to modify the New Laws, allowing some inheritance rights. In the face of violent hostility, Las Casas resigned from his post in 1550.

This same year Las Casas took part in a famous debate over the future of the Natives. Back in Spain, Las Casas's ideas came under fire from the influential JUAN GINÉS DE SEPÚLVEDA. Sepúlveda was an ardent scholar who was well versed in the works of Aristotle. Using Aristotle's classification of humans, Sepúlveda argued that the indigenous peoples of the Americas were inherently inferior to Europeans and as such could be subjected to slavery. His ideas circulated widely in Spain and ultimately came



to the attention of the king. In an attempt to decide how best to proceed in the New World, Charles invited both Las Casas and Sepúlveda to present their cases before the royal court in the city of Valladolid. Some modern observers believe that during this unprecedented spectacle the two great figures argued their cases together, using withering cross-examination, heated objections, and rhetorical attacks against their opponent. In reality, both men spoke separately and did not address each other's points directly. Sepúlveda spoke first, arguing for three hours that the natives were barbarians who would only turn away from their savagery if forced to do so at sword point. Las Casas responded over the course of five days by reading aloud from his writings. His use of specific examples and eyewitness testimony on the realities of the colonial system made much more of an impact on the court than did Sepúlveda's abstract reasoning. Although there was no official winner of the debate, the Crown sided with Las Casas, and many of his proposals were later codified in the Ordinances of Discovery and Settlement of 1573, which prohibited conquest by "fire and sword."

After the great debate, Las Casas began to retreat from public life. He continued to be an advocate for Native rights, but his ceaseless travels (including 14 transatlantic voyages) began taking their toll. Most of his efforts went into completing and publishing his various writings, again hoping to win public approval for his ideas. In the late 1550s a group of Peruvian conquistadores offered the new King PHILIP II a substantial sum of SILVER to eliminate all restrictions on inheriting *encomiendas*. Las Casas used his influence to delay a final decision on the matter. In the meantime he organized a collection among Native nobles that produced an even larger amount of silver, which he successfully used to bribe Philip into maintaining the restrictions. Still, his constant denunciations eroded his popularity at court, as did the constant efforts against him by *encomenderos*. He died in 1566, expressing dismay that he did not do more on the Natives' behalf.

### ***Las Casas's Legacy***

Perhaps the most enduring legacy Las Casas left behind was his voluminous collection of writings. His most famous work was the *Destruction of the Indies*, which was translated into every major European language by 1560. Spain's enemies pounced on the book as proof that the Spaniards were depraved, cruel, and undeserving of a colonial empire, which has hurt his stature in Spain ever since. More valuable to modern scholars were his writings on the events of the conquest. His *History of the Indies* (*Historia de las Indias*) still provides a great deal of information on the important events of the conquest. Because Las Casas either witnessed these events directly or spoke to the principal actors, this book has been invaluable in reconstructing

the past. The book also continues to provide a sustained criticism of the actions of Spain, questioning the morality of violent conquest, slavery, and the obligations of secular governments toward their people. From an anthropological perspective, the most valuable of Las Casas's writings is the *Apologetica Historia*, which documents how a number of Native cultures lived around the time of the conquest. While not nearly as comprehensive as such works as the Florentine Codex, the *Apologetica* did provide information on groups across Latin America who were vanishing even as Las Casas wrote. Amazingly, many of Las Casas's works were not published until 1990, and several have yet to be translated from the original Spanish.

Las Casas has also been instrumental in uncovering what exactly happened to Native cultures after the arrival of the Europeans. He wrote that tens of thousands had died in the Caribbean area alone and that within 50 years of the conquest the region's indigenous peoples disappeared. For centuries scholars scoffed at these accusations, relying on other Spanish accounts to suggest Las Casas was mistaken or possibly delusional. Modern work has confirmed that the Native populations were every bit as extensive as Las Casas claimed and that the Native population *did* decline by as much as 90 percent between 1500 and 1600. Disease seems to have been the greatest single factor in this demographic collapse, but in substantiating Las Casas's claims scholars have begun to place more weight on the rest of his observations. Because most of the accounts of the conquest and early colonial period were written by the conquistadores or their supporters and naturally tended to glorify the Spaniards' actions, Las Casas's writings provide a critical second opinion about the conquest. As a direct or near-direct witness, Las Casas often gave a more complete and unvarnished description of Spain's actions in the Americas.

Las Casas has remained in print because of the sheer power of his voice and the nature of the atrocities he described. He understood how to structure an argument and to make its meaning obvious to the reader. Consider this portion of his description of the Spanish conquest of Hispaniola in the early decades of the 16th century. The conquistadores, he wrote, "forced their way into native settlements, slaughtering everyone they found there, including small children, old men, pregnant women, and even women who had just given birth. They hacked them to pieces, slicing open their bellies with their swords as though they were so many sheep herded into a pen. They even laid wagers on whether they could manage to slice a man in two at a stroke, or cut an individual's head from his body, or disembowel him in a single blow with their axes." These passages went on and on, gaining momentum by the accretion of yet more horrors. He often noted the barbarity of the conquistadores' murder of women and infants and dwelled on particular incidents in order to make his point.

“They spared no one,” he added in his description of the rampage on Hispaniola, “erecting especially wide gibbets on which they could string their victims up with their feet just off the ground and then burn them alive thirteen at a time, in honour of our Saviour and the twelve Apostles, or tie dry straw to their bodies and set fire to it.”

Was it possible that the conquistadores intended to make a statement with the number 13? That seems unlikely, especially since the Spanish claimed they wanted to spread Christianity to Americans who lacked it. But Las Casas’s genius was in seizing hold of such incidents and in replaying them using a rhetorical strategy that has remained powerful for more than 400 years. He was a pioneer in the concept of human rights, his arguments all the more forceful because of his skill at making an argument.

**Further reading:** Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Search for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949); ———, *All Mankind Is One: A Study of the Disputation between Bartolomé De Las Casas and Juan Ginés De Sepúlveda in 1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974); Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1971); Bartolomé de Las Casas, *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); ———, *History of the Indies* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971).

—Scott Chamberlain

**Laudonnière, René de** (1562–1582) *French colonizer*  
René de Laudonnière served as the initial leader of the ill-fated French Huguenot colony of FORT CAROLINE established near the mouth of the St. Johns River in present-day FLORIDA in 1564.

René de Laudonnière was born into a prominent family in the French city of Dieppe in 1529. Before his involvement in French colonization efforts in the Western Hemisphere, Laudonnière served in the French navy. During the 16th century religious civil wars divided France between French Protestants (HUGUENOTS) and Roman Catholics. Laudonnière was a Huguenot and a protégé of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny. Coligny, also a Huguenot, hoped to use colonization to strengthen France’s position in Europe and create a haven for persecuted Huguenots. In 1555 the French attempted to establish a colony on the northeast coast of South America, but it failed miserably.

In 1562 Laudonnière sailed as the second in command of an expedition headed by Jean Ribault to Florida to find an appropriate site for a colony. First, they explored the area around the St. Johns River and made friends with

the local TIMUCUA Indians. Eventually, they moved up the coast and left a garrison on modern-day Parris Island, South Carolina, before returning to France. The men left behind mutinied and killed their commander, built a make-shift boat, and attempted to sail back to France. After being lost at sea and having to resort to CANNIBALISM, an English ship rescued them and took them back to Europe.

Because Ribault was imprisoned in England in 1564, Coligny placed Laudonnière in command of the expedition to create a permanent colony on the St. John’s River in Florida. That year he sailed for America on three ships—the *Falcon*, the *Petit Briton*, and the *Isabel of Honfleur*—with 300 settlers, including four women and the artist JACQUES LE MOYNE. Upon arrival the French constructed Fort Caroline, fortified it with seven pieces of artillery, and proceeded to make an alliance with the local Timucua, led by their *mico*, or chief, Saturiba. Because the colony had not been funded properly, it quickly began to run low on supplies. Fortunately, Jean Ribaut (having been released from jail in England) arrived in August 1565 with supplies and new colonists. Unfortunately, the Spanish had already learned of the little French colony’s existence and had sent out an expedition under Pedro Menendez de Aviles to eradicate the colony.

Menendez landed in Florida on the same day that Ribaut arrived at Fort Caroline. Menendez threw up entrenchments around an abandoned Timucua hut to create a base of operations. This post eventually became the city of Saint Augustine. He then sailed north and engaged the French in a naval battle that ended in a stalemate. Menendez then returned to his base at Saint Augustine and marched overland to Fort Caroline. At the same time, Ribaut, against Laudonnière’s advice, took the French ships south to attack Saint Augustine, only to lose the fleet in a hurricane. When Menendez reached the French garrison, he easily took the post and proceeded to execute all the male captives. Along with other survivors, Laudonnière escaped into the woods and made his way to a French ship in the river. Two months later the ship sailed into Swansea Bay, Wales. Because of the failure of the colony and his Huguenot faith, Laudonnière fell out of favor with the French Crown and was never to receive prestigious appointments again. In an effort to justify his actions, and fortunately for historians, he recorded his experiences in *L’Histoire notable de la Floride*. Because of this book and Le Moyne’s illustrations, historians know specific details surrounding the establishment and demise of Fort Caroline and important ethnohistoric information about the Timucua.

**Further reading:** Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonnière and Fort Caroline: History and Documents* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964); René de Laudonnière, A



*Foothold on Florida: The Eye Witness Account of Four Voyages Made by the French to That Region and Their Attempt at Colonisation, 1562–1568*, trans. Sarah Lawson with annotations and appendices by W. John Faupel (East Grinstead, U.K.: Castle Cary Press for Antique Atlas Publications, 1992).

—Dixie Ray Haggard

**Le Moyne, Jacques** (c. 1533–1588) *French artist, colonist*

An artist who participated in the ill-fated French attempt to establish a colony in FLORIDA, Jacques Le Moyne made maps of the region and drew illustrations of TIMUCUA Indian culture that continue to have significant ethnohistoric value.

In 1565 Jacques Le Moyne journeyed to Florida as part of the RENÉ DE LAUDONNIÈRE's expedition to create a base to raid Spanish treasure fleets and as a haven for French HUGUENOTS. Upon arriving at the mouth of the

St. Johns River, the French built a small fortification called FORT CAROLINE. In 1565 the Spanish ordered Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to destroy Fort Caroline. Le Moyne escaped and took refuge with the local Timucua. He lived with them until he was rescued by a French expedition headed by Dominique de Gourges in 1567. Gourges, allied with the Timucua, destroyed the Spanish presidio established at the former site of Fort Caroline and then moved north to attack Spanish installations located on the coast of modern-day Georgia and South Carolina to gain revenge for the murder of the French colonists at Fort Caroline two years earlier.

Le Moyne's illustrations of Timucua life remain valuable evidence of a culture and a people that have long since vanished. Further, the Appalachian Mountains received their name from an error made by Le Moyne on his maps of the region. Based on information provided by the Timucua, he mistakenly thought that the mountain range to the northwest of Florida ended in the territory of the Apalache, the enemies of the Timucua located near



Using watercolors, Le Moyne depicted Native American life, as shown in this engraving (after one of his paintings) of Timucua Indians planting their fields. (Library of Congress)

modern-day Tallahassee, Florida. Therefore, he labeled the mountains the “Apalatci Mountains.”

**Further reading:** Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonnière and Fort Caroline: History and Documents* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964); Paul Hulton, *The World of Jacques Le Moyne de Marjues: A Hujucanat Artist: France, Florida and England*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum Publications, 1977); René de Laudonnière, *A Foothold on Florida: The Eye Witness Account of Four Voyages Made by the French to That Region and Their Attempt at Colonisation, 1562–1568*, trans. Sarah Lawson with annotations and appendices by W. John Faupel (East Grinstead, U.K.: Castle Cary Press for Antique Atlas Publications, 1992).

—Dixie Ray Haggard

### Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici) (1475–1521) pope

The second son of Lorenzo (“the Magnificent”) de' Medici of Florence, Giovanni de' Medici became Pope Leo X in 1513, and his reign became revered by many for his patronage of the arts and of scholars.

From his childhood the man who became Pope Leo X was groomed for a life in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. He became an archbishop when he was seven years old and was created a cardinal in 1488, when he was only 13. Other than his time as a captive during the Battle of Ravenna in 1512, he spent much of his life in the higher circles of the Italian church. As a cardinal he traveled to the Low Countries, France, and Germany before returning to Italy and the Vatican in 1500. A favorite of Pope Julius II, Leo became pope when he was 37 years old. Rome celebrated his accession with a triumphal procession of musicians, standard bearers, and 200 mounted lancers.

During his eight-year pontificate Pope Leo helped the Vatican to become what one historian termed “a treasure house of talent” filled with artists, poets, and scholars. Among those he supported was LEO AFRICANUS. A scholar himself (his portrait by Raphael d'Urbino from ca. 1514, now on display at the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, depicts him reading an illuminated manuscript with a magnifying glass in his right hand) he cultivated Latin scholars and musicians and provided increased support for the faculty at the University of Rome. Leo X also played a crucial role in foreign affairs, first helping to force the French from Italy and then suffering defeat at the hands of King Francis I when the French returned in 1515. European monarchs were desperate for his favor. Among those who strove to please him was the Portuguese King Manuel, who wanted to make sure that Leo X would support the actions of Pope ALEXANDER VI, whose TREATY OF TORDESILLAS of 1494 demarcated much of the world

between Spain and Portugal. Knowing that Leo appreciated the wonders of nature, King Manuel arranged for an elaborate gift: HANNO THE ELEPHANT, a pachyderm that Leo came to adore when the beast joined the Vatican menagerie in 1514.

Leo X worked tirelessly to prevent any break in the church during a period of strife. As a result he recognized the threat posed by the REFORMATION, and so in 1520 he excommunicated MARTIN LUTHER. The next year the Pope, still youthful, went on a hunting expedition at La Magliana, his villa in the Italian countryside in late November. He returned exhausted and died on December 1. All of Rome seemed to grieve for the youthful pontiff, and his own relatives (like the kin of earlier popes) soon arrived at the Vatican to ransack his dwelling. Although he could not be buried in St. Peter's Basilica, which was being renovated at the time, there is a magnificent memorial to Leo X in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome.

**Further reading:** Silvio A. Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant: An Elephant's Journey from Deep in India to the Heart of Rome* (New York: Penguin, 2000).

### Leo Africanus (Giovanni Leoni; al-Hassan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan) (ca. 1493–ca.1552) historian

The most important chronicler of the western SUDAN and Mediterranean Africa since IBN BATTUTA's accounts of the area in the 14th century, Leo Africanus wrote *The History and Description of Africa and the Notable Things Therein Contained*, providing a detailed account of 16th-century African cultures and kingdoms, including the MALI, SONGHAI, and HAUSA Empires.

Born al-Hassan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan to a wealthy Muslim family in Granada (Spain), Leo Africanus and his family moved to Fez, Morocco, in the wake of the RECONQUISTA. There he gained an education and traveled throughout North Africa, working as a clerk and a notary. At age 17 (ca. 1513), Leo Africanus (still al-Hassan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan) traveled with his uncle to the Sudan as part of a diplomatic and commercial trip to the Songhai Empire. On these travels he visited TIMBUKTU, describing its geography, architecture, and social and political cultures. In 1518, returning from a journey to Egypt and a pilgrimage to MECCA (or *hajj*, see ISLAM), Leo Africanus was captured near Tunis by Christian corsairs and taken as a slave to Pope LEO X. Soon after Leo X freed him and baptized him as Johannis Leo de' Medici (also written as Giovanni Leoni), from which the moniker Leo Africanus comes. Seven years later, in 1526, Leo Africanus completed his book about his African travels, which was published in 1550 by GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO in Italian, then translated into French and Latin six years later, and into



English by 1600. Although some of Leo Africanus's descriptions of West Africa were adapted from extant accounts of the region and some of his information was incorrect (for example, he stated that the NIGER RIVER flowed east to west, a misconception prevalent in Europe until 1796, when the Dutch explorer Mungo Park corrected the error), his chronicle was the most important account of the region's political and cultural history since Ibn Battuta's history written two centuries earlier. Leo Africanus remained in Italy for some time, occasionally teaching the Arabic language at Bologna University. He eventually returned to Africa, most likely reverted to Islam, and died in Tunis sometime between 1552 and 1560.

Leo Africanus's story had a substantial impact on RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER. Years later, when he arranged for the translation of the book into English, Hakluyt offered his unabashed enthusiasm for the text. "I do hold and affirm it to be the very best, the most particular, and methodicall, that ever was written, or at least that hath come to light, concerning the countries, peoples, and affairs of Africa," Hakluyt wrote in a passage that appeared in the English-language edition, along with praise for the translator (John Pory), who had filled in details about Africa that Leo Africanus had omitted.

The text continues to remain important, in large part because Leo Africanus offered details that had escaped the notice of travelers, whose accounts constituted most of what non-Africans knew about the continent. Leo Africanus described DISEASES, for example, as well as life expectancy and even commentary about the vices and virtues of Africans.

**Further reading:** Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Tales: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Two Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006); Elizabeth Heath, "Leo Africanus," in *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, eds. Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), 1,146–1,147; John O. Hunwick, *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire: Al-Sadis Tarikh al-Sudan down to 1613 and Other Contemporary Documents* (Boston: Brill, 1999); "Leo Africanus," in *Dictionary of African Historical Biography*, 2nd ed., eds. Mark R. Lipschutz and R. Kent Rasmussen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 120–121.

—Lisa M. Brady

**Leonardo da Vinci** (1452–1519) *Italian artist, architect, and engineer*

An Italian artist, scientist, mathematician, and engineer, da Vinci established a reputation as the most versatile genius of the Renaissance.

Born on April 15, 1452, near the small Tuscan hill town of Vinci, Leonardo was the illegitimate son of the prominent Florentine notary Ser Piero da Vinci and a peasant woman known as Caterina. By 1469 his father sent Leonardo, who displayed a proclivity for the arts at an early age, to Florence, where he apprenticed at the workshop of Verrochio. Under Verrochio's mentorship da Vinci trained both in sculpture and painting, beginning what is known as his first Florentine period. By 1478 he established his own studio in Florence. Three years later the monks of San Donato a Scopeto commissioned Leonardo to create the altarpiece the *Adoration of the Magi*, but before completing the project he left for the court of Milan because the intellectual currents of Florence under Lorenzo the Magnificent focused on philosophical speculation, a spiritual system at odds with Leonardo's interest in mathematics and the applied sciences.

Between 1482 and 1499 Leonardo served at the court of the duke of Milan, Lodovico Sforza. It was Leonardo who first initiated the contact, writing to the duke and advertising himself as a military and civil engineer. In what is known as his first Milanese period, he worked as an architect, directed court pageants, served as a building consultant, and accepted commissions for paintings. Among his first commissions in Milan was an altarpiece for the Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception, the *Virgin of the Rocks*. His stay at Milan also allowed him to complete the mural of the *Last Supper*, which he painted between 1495 and 1497.

In 1499 the French invaded Milan, interrupting Leonardo's stay. After brief stints in Mantua and VENICE, he returned to Florence in 1500. For a period of 10 months he entered the service of Cesare Borgia. During this time he traveled widely throughout central Italy, producing a series of maps that quickly added to the discipline of cartography. By 1503 he returned to Florence, where he was commissioned to design one of the large murals in the council hall of Palazzo della Signoria. Incidentally, MICHELANGELO competed with him on the opposite wall. For his subject Leonardo chose the *Battle of Anghiari*. Although vehemently opposed to warfare, he depicted the brute character associated with battle on more than one occasion. Finishing the *Battle of Anghiari* by 1506, Leonardo began exhibition of his work when King Louis XII of France called upon him to return to Milan.

Leonardo remained in Milan from 1506 to 1513, where he served as the artistic adviser to the French governor Charles d'Amboise. Da Vinci's connection to the French government at this time provided an important impetus for France's growth as a patron of the arts, a status the country would build upon in the coming centuries. It is of little surprise, therefore, that Leonardo's *Mona Lisa*—created during his second stay in Florence—eventually found

a permanent home in the Louvre, France's world-famous museum. In 1517 King Francis I invited him to move to France. The French king proclaimed the venerable master royal painter, architect, and engineer. Although no longer active in these roles, Leonardo remained surrounded by a respectful and admiring court as he established residence at Cloux, near Amboise. Amid these surroundings he died on May 2, 1519. Within a few decades Giorgio Vasari honored his achievements in a glowing biography.

Although Leonardo is mostly remembered as a painter, sculptor, and architect, his genius did not stop in the realm of the arts. His intellectual curiosity in natural phenomena led him away from the practice of art during the latter decades of his life. While turning down numerous commissions for paintings and sculptures, Leonardo drifted toward mathematics and science, filling volumes of notebooks with his observations, many of which were ahead of his time. Unparalleled in his era, Leonardo's range of scientific studies encompassed geometry, optics, mechanics, physiology, anatomy, botany, zoology, paleontology, and geology. He anticipated many of the attitudes and intellectual discoveries of later epochs. Interested in the human body, he investigated and described the processes of breathing, digestion, blood flow, and reproduction. Although he failed to define many of the phenomena he observed, his mechanical and optical observations ranked him as a forerunner to the likes of Newton, Galileo, and Kepler. Perhaps most indicative of his prescient ability, Leonardo's notes toward a treatise on the flight of birds inspired him to investigate the possibilities of a flying machine for humans.

**Further reading:** Margeret Cooper, *Inventions of Leonardo da Vinci* (New York: Macmillan, 1965); Paolo Galuzzi, ed., *Leonardo da Vinci: Engineer and Architect* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988); Bruno Santi, *Leonardo da Vinci* (New York: Riverside Book Company, 1990).

—Matthew Lindaman

### **Léry, Jean de** (1534–1613) *missionary, writer*

Born in a France dominated by the Catholic Church, Jean de Léry traveled to BRAZIL in 1556 to help found the first Protestant colony in the Western Hemisphere, and upon his return to Europe he produced a narrative of his stay in South America that remains one of the most important 16th-century descriptions of what to Europeans was a NEW WORLD.

Jean de Léry was born in Burgundy in 1534, and at some point in his youth he left France for Switzerland, where he joined the church of JOHN CALVIN, who had during the early 16th century established himself as one of the leaders of the REFORMATION, the movement intended to

transform the Catholic Church. Léry was among a group of young clerics who studied with Calvin in the belief that they would travel to France to spread the Reformation in that Catholic nation. But in 1516 Léry instead joined a Huguenot mission to Brazil intended to establish a Protestant colony among the TUPINAMBÁ, who inhabited that portion of South America.

From 1552 to 1558 Léry lived among the Tupinambá and paid close attention to their daily lives. Like THOMAS HARRIOT, who later in the century traveled to ROANOKE and left a vivid description of the Carolina ALGONQUIAN who lived there, Léry's published writings on the Tupinambá constitute one of the most in-depth ethnographies that survive for any 16th-century population. Like many European observers of Native American Indians, Léry often found these indigenes barbaric. Because they had no knowledge of Christianity, they were by definition heathens whose religious beliefs needed to be eradicated and replaced by what Europeans believed was a proper theology that emphasized the tenets of monotheism. The Indians he observed also practiced CANNIBALISM, a practice that Europeans everywhere feared. However, unlike some visitors who believed that Indians ate human flesh for its nutritional value, Léry recognized that the act had specific social purposes: Carried out in prescribed ways, those who ate their victims did so because they believed such an act would "strike fear and terror into the hearts of the living." Although such an act terrified many observers, Léry interpreted it as a sign of a people living with an inferior culture. No matter how odd or culturally deficient the Indians seemed, he argued, their deficit was not intellectual. In his mind the Tupinambá were quite "teachable" and thus capable of learning "knowledge of God," which was the principal goal of all missionaries. When he wrote about them mourning lost kin, he conveyed not a static portrait of a primitive people but instead a complex portrait of humans quite capable of experiencing the same range of emotions and thoughts as Europeans.

When he returned to Europe, Léry stopped first in France and then made his way back to Geneva to continue his studies for the ministry and to begin his account of his expedition. But he returned at a difficult time, when Catholics and Protestants were often battling each other. Léry continued to move about serving the cause of the Reformation, working at Nevers in the mid-1560s and then at La Charité-sur-Loire in 1569, when he had to flee for his life after a group of Catholics attacked local HUGUENOTS, killing 22 of them. Léry eventually landed at Sancerre in 1573, a city under peril from royalist Catholic troops whose control of food supplies had led to a famine. Once he made his escape to safer territory, Léry traveled in both Switzerland and France, finally settling back in Burgundy,

where he completed his book on Brazil, which was published in 1578 in Geneva with the title *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique*. The book quickly found an audience, and L  ry lived long enough to oversee four more editions, all of them published in Geneva. Along with the royal cosmographer ANDR   THEVET, L  ry helped to teach the French-reading public about the peoples and resources of the Americas.

L  ry's account contained more than a report of the Tupinamb   and their social practices. His book also included detailed information about the creatures that inhabited the Atlantic, the birds to be found at sea and on land, and the animals that roamed Brazil. These parts of his account make L  ry's achievement all the more notable and presumably more useful to 16th-century Europeans, who could use it as a guidebook to know what they could expect to find on a transatlantic journey. His chapters on his return to Europe aboard a ship that got lost and ran out of supplies serve as a remarkable testimony to the hazards of long-distance travel, a testimony all the more poignant because of L  ry's descriptions of the chaos that often enveloped those on board and the necessity of dumping corpses into the ocean.

Jean de L  ry completed his life as he had intended: as a minister. Working in Switzerland in the Vaud region, he died of PLAGUE in 1613, yet another victim of the DISEASE that continued to haunt the Old World.

**Further reading:** Jean de L  ry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, trans. and ed. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

### Levant Company

The company established during the reign of Queen ELIZABETH I to organize commerce between the Levant (modern-day Turkey) and England.

During the course of the 16th century, the English, like other western Europeans, wanted to acquire goods from the East. In earlier times Venetian merchants, sitting astride the critical meeting place of East and West (see VENICE), had controlled much of this commerce. However, by the late 16th century, when various commercial enterprises such as the DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY and the English EAST INDIA COMPANY began operations, the time was ripe for a venture to organize trade with the Levant. Thus, on September 11, 1581, Elizabeth granted to Sir Edward Osborne and Richard Staper a patent for the Turkey Company to organize trade with the Levant. The patent was to last seven years, although it could be extended if the trade became a success. By 1590, when the company reviewed its operations, it found that since the mid-1580s it had used 19 ships, which together had

sailed back and forth 27 times; their efforts and those of the 787 men they employed had led to   11,359 added to the nation's customs houses, a testament to the potential of the business. A parallel venture, known as the Venice Company, aimed to organize trade between England and that Italian republic.

After a series of political disputes, members of the two companies joined their efforts and received a patent for the Levant Company on January 7, 1592. The company had the right to organize trade with Venice and the East, including the East Indies. Once again, success followed, especially when demand for currants boomed in the early 17th century.

**Further reading:** Mortimer Epstein, *The English Levant Company: Its Foundation and Its History to 1640* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968); H. G. Rosedale, ed., *Queen Elizabeth and the Levant Company: A Diplomatic and Literary Episode of the Establishment of Our Trade with Turkey* (London: Henry Frowde, 1904).

### Lima

Lima served as an important religious center for the INCA before the arrival of the Spanish, and it became capital of the Spanish Viceroyalty of PERU during the colonial era.

Before Spanish arrival in the region, the valley in which the city of Lima would be founded served as the location of the sanctuary dedicated to the Inca god responsible for earthquakes. In 1535 FRANCISCO PIZARRO established Lima as the capital of the Viceroyalty of Peru. At the time it was known as the Ciudad de los Reyes ("City of the Kings"). The city housed the residences of government officials, a major cathedral, and the important municipal buildings of the viceroyalty. Most of the architecture of the early city reflected Spanish rather than Inca styles because the city proper did not exist there before the establishment of the viceroyalty. By the beginning of the 17th century, Lima's native population consisted mostly of several thousand residents, most of them of indigenous heritage and more than a third of them migrants from other areas in the viceroyalty.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

***limpieza de sangre***

*Limpieza de sangre* is the concept of “purity of blood” developed by the Spanish in the early modern age.

At the time when CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS and HERNÁN CORTÉS crossed the Atlantic Ocean, the Spanish were obsessed with the idea of the so-called “purity” of blood. To them, and to many other Europeans, an ideal member of a society was one who belonged there through unadulterated ancestry: If one’s ancestors were the members of an acceptable group, then their descendants would be too. But that concept of belonging, which was related to the legal concept of subjectship—literally, being the subject of a monarch as opposed to a citizen, which is a more modern notion—could be marred if an individual’s ancestry derived from individuals who did not have the same kind of social acceptance. This discussion came to dwell quite specifically on the notion of blood. The ideal to the Spanish was to be of pure Castilian blood. Those who were not bore traces of other cultures—Moors or Jews, most likely—in their bodies. Those who sought to enforce such ideas linked the notion of blood to identity.

When the Spanish arrived in the Americas in the late 15th century, and then especially when their settlements grew in the 16th century, they became aware of the reality of men and women from different parts of the Atlantic basin having sex and producing children. The Spanish developed extensive legal codes to determine the proper place in society for MESTIZOS, mulattos, and others who were the products of parents of different ethnicities; eventually they would reify these categories into ideal types and represent them graphically in *CASTA PAINTINGS*. But long before that artistic genre blossomed in the 18th century, the idea of blood purity had taken hold among Spanish bureaucrats who sought to control what was becoming Latin America. Laws incorporating CACIQUES into political systems, or creating *ENCOMIENDA* for tribute-paying Natives, represented Iberian efforts to regulate the colonial economy and society. The concept of blood purity took this desire to control affairs to the next level by determining who would be an appropriate person to hold particular positions in the society.

**Further reading:** Maria Elena Martinez, “The Black Blood of New Spain: *Limpieza de Sangre*, Racial Violence, and Gendered Power in Early Colonial Mexico,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., 61 (2004): 479–520.

**Linschoten, Jan Huygen van** (1563–1611) *explorer of India, writer*

Jan Huygen van Linschoten, a Dutch explorer and writer, went as far as Goa in Indonesia but never managed to find the NORTHEAST PASSAGE, which 16th-century Europeans

had hoped would transport them through the frigid arctic waters north of Russia to the lucrative markets of east Asia.

Born in Haarlem in the province of Utrecht in Holland, Linschoten grew up among a Dutch community eager to break free of Spanish control. Despite a brief period from 1572 to 1573, when Haarlem achieved its independence from Spain, Linschoten spent his early years under Spanish rule. Only 16 years old, he left home in 1579 and headed for Spain to join two of his brothers who had become merchants there. After a stop in SEVILLE to learn Spanish, he went to LISBON, where he eventually became interested in a job in the fleet of ships that carried goods and news between Portugal and India. In 1583 he joined a Dutch mission headed for India and eventually found a position as an aid to Vincente de Fonseca, who had just received an appointment as the new archbishop of Goa. After his arrival in Goa, Linschoten became so happy there that he wanted to remain for the rest of his life. But after the archbishop died on a return voyage to Europe in 1588, Linschoten believed that the time had come for his own return. After a long and arduous journey, which included two years on the island of Tercera, Linschoten arrived in Lisbon in early January 1592. Soon after he booked passage back to Holland, where he arrived in early September.

Linschoten’s significance lies less in his journey than in the fact that upon his return to Europe he wrote a detailed account of his travels. Entitled *Itinerario, Voyage ofte Schipvaert naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien*, the book was published first in Dutch in 1596. It contains information on routes from Europe to India and the East, including details about the Malay Archipelago and the coast of China as well as routes to the Americas. He included as well a list of the Spanish king’s overseas dominions, the territories that owed dues to the monarch. A final part includes accounts from other travelers, a strategy employed earlier by GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO and RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, among others. Here Linschoten included writings about the Congo, BRAZIL (by JEAN DE LÉRY), and the Americas (by GONZALO FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS). He also provided descriptions of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean coasts of Africa. Recognizing the potential utility of visual evidence, Linschoten included 36 illustrations in his work in addition to six large fold-out maps. The pictures depict the people of Goa, including the goods that they produced; city plans detail the places Linschoten traveled—Goa, Mozambique, St. Helena, Ascension, and Tercera. Also, the maps included a chart of the world, with a depiction of prominent northern and southern constellations. Like THEODOR DE BRY, Linschoten recognized the importance of including illustrations in his work. When his book appeared in an English edition published in LONDON in 1598 under the title *Iohn Huighen Van Linschoten his*



*Discours of Voyages into ye Easte and West Indies*, the printer maintained the pictures without even changing the captions from their original Latin and Dutch. His illustrations of the Portuguese in the East suggest how Europeans adapted to regions well beyond their continent at the same time that other images depicted exotic fauna, indigenous peoples riding on elephants, and the kinds of icons to be found in Eastern temples.

The publication of his *Itinerary* brought Linschoten honor among the Dutch and constituted his major contribution to the expansion of knowledge in Europe in the late 16th century. Although he maintained his interest in finding the Northeast Passage, Linschoten spent time in the Netherlands engaged as a translator. Among his works was a Dutch edition of JOSÉ DE ACOSTA's history of the West Indies, which Linschoten translated and published under the title *Historia naturael ende morael van de Westersche Indien*. By 1610 Linschoten realized that his *Itinerary* had been a great boon to the Dutch, and so he approached the States-General for an annual pension to support him in recognition of the feat. They refused his request.

Linschoten's efforts did more than put him in the company of an elite group of intellectuals and travelers whose views about the world beyond Europe's borders expanded knowledge for readers who would never leave the continent. His books, notably his *Itinerario*, had an immediate impact on the age of discovery. When the younger Hakluyt went to the managers of the English EAST INDIA COMPANY in the early years of the 17th century, he took Linschoten's book with him. Part of this could be attributed to pride of ownership on Hakluyt's part, since he had played a crucial role in having the book translated and published in London. But the fact that Hakluyt made that effort and then followed it by using the book to make a case about what could be found in the East Indies suggests that it had become perhaps the most significant book then available about what existed far from England's shores. Linschoten's accumulated knowledge did not simply end up on the shelves of antiquarians who were keen to expand their own minds. It also became a motivating tool for subsequent mercantile activity.

By the time of his death in February 1611, Linschoten's fame had spread widely throughout western Europe, due in large part to the translations of the *Itinerary* into other languages. As a result, Linschoten took on a place in history remarkably similar to that of the younger Hakluyt: an eager seeker of information about the world beyond Europe, a believer that long-distance trade would benefit Europeans, and a man who advanced the age of discovery not through his own actions but more directly through his words and their appearance in printed books.

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*Indies*, 2 vols., Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 1st Ser., 70–71 (London, Hakluyt Society, 1885); *Iohn Huigen Van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies* (London: 1598).

## Lisbon

Capital of Portugal, Lisbon was one of that country's main commercial centers and a crucial center for Portuguese commercial successes during the empire's age of expansion.

The strategic importance of Lisbon was apparent from ancient times, when the Romans built a major road running between the settlement and the highlands. During the Middle Ages the city was occupied first by Muslims (see ISLAM), who enjoyed its hot public baths and its good sanitation, then by Christians, who continued to exploit the commercial potential of the area.

Over time Lisbon continued to grow in importance. By the late 16th century it was one of only a dozen or so European cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants. Although Portugal as a whole was not wealthy, especially in comparison with neighboring Spain, Lisbon was the spice capital of the Western world and the hub of a commercial empire that stretched from BRAZIL to the Indian Ocean. Commercial wealth from Africa passed through the sea-ports of Lisbon and Lagos on its way to the royal residences in the provinces, enriching the city's haute bourgeoisie, whose wealth financed countless commercial ventures. Lisbon's wealth and commercial position were probably the primary motivations behind the Spanish annexation of Portugal engineered by PHILIP II.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## London

London, founded by the Romans as Londinium, became by the 16th century the economic, cultural, and political core of an English nation ready to expand its territory.

With its favored location on the River Thames, London was always a commercial hub. Even before Roman times, merchants living on the Thames engaged in trade with people of northern Europe. With its mouth emptying into the North Sea, the Thames provided excellent access to the European continent and the Low Countries. These connections dating from pre-Christian antiquity laid a firm foundation for flourishing trade by the Middle Ages.

By the time of the Norman Conquest of 1066, farmers had turned London into a market town. In the following

centuries artisans and laborers also brought their wares to the city. Artisans in specific trades gravitated to particular areas where they worked. Thus, the corn market was on Cornhill, tailors clustered along Threadneedle Street, and Vintry Row was the place to find wine.

The construction of London Bridge in 1176 began London's rise to modern economic and cultural prominence in Europe. It was the height of architectural design and engineering technology, with 19 stone arches and myriad tall houses that sheltered people and shops. Once the bridge was built, ships began docking at the site because it provided the best means of transporting commercial goods north and south. The Romans had, as part of their imperial vision, built roads to and from the London Bridge area to transport soldiers and material necessary to rule. These roads, maintained and expanded, became crucial for the transportation of goods throughout England by the 16th century. Over time London became a magnet for men and women eager to establish professional and ethnic enclaves. JEWS came to London to set up financing houses despite the fact they found hostility, including expulsion in 1290.

During the 16th century enterprising citizens built the first Royal Exchange, and entire industries grew to meet the needs of merchants. Workers flooded into the city, many of them from foreign lands. Native Londoners' penchant for bigotry and persecution was rekindled when immigrants began inhabiting neighborhoods on the outskirts of the city's commercial center. Priests decried the invasion during Sunday services, and riots often ensued. HENRY VIII even had a few rioters hanged following one incident. The city's commercial success also attracted emigrants from around England, and a population explosion resulted. In 1500 London boasted 75,000 residents. By 1600 that figure grew to 220,000. In the mid-17th century nearly a half million people called London home.

The social consequences of such growth were immense. Aristocrats, uncomfortable living near the increasing number of laborers, began moving west, beyond the city limits. With the dissolution of the English monasteries during the REFORMATION, much land that was not used to house laborers became part of large estates. Pastureland, once abundant, became covered with housing, an early episode of urban sprawl that suggested that urbanization could pose substantial challenges across the Continent. Queen ELIZABETH I, according to the history recorded by WILLIAM CAMDEN, wanted to halt any further expansion of the city. Immigrants arrived despite the fact that by 1550 the city had to import most of its food and that urban growth had polluted available water supplies, although the invention of the pump and a 40-mile canal to import water from Hertfordshire helped to solve the problem.

Christianity, like commerce, thrived in London. Church spires came to dominate the skyline. St. Paul's Cathedral,

destroyed by fire time and again, rose each time upon the foundations of the earliest Roman basilica. In the 12th century St. Paul's was finally constructed of stone, all except its spire, and rose to mammoth proportions: The wooden spire reached to 450 feet, nearly 100 feet higher than did Christopher Wren's dome built after the fire of 1666. Mendicant friars who arrived in the 13th century became successful evangelists who also established hospitals and charitable societies. For these works London's elite contributed time and money, hoping to attain the salvation the friars promised.

By the end of the 16th century, London had become the center for the nation's economic and cultural life. Home to many PRINTING PRESSES as well as individuals such as RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER and SAMUEL PURCHAS, London also became the place where the English most frequently discussed the benefits of colonization and dreamed about the wealth to be made from establishing colonies in the Americas.

This brief description of the emergence of one of the most important cities in Europe can only touch on London's history and meaning. In recent years, scholars have paid ever closer attention to the city and its inhabitants. They have reconstructed relationships between individuals and come to realize that intellectual influence often took place not only through books but also on the streets. It is at times impossible to prove that one person knew another, for example. But in the surviving correspondence of prolific letter writers like John Chamberlain, it is possible to see the city's action unfold. It was not only merchants who paid attention when a ship weighted down with spices arrived from the East Indies; that kind of moment drew hundreds of observers. So, too, would a royal funeral, like the extraordinary parade that attended Elizabeth I's body as her cortege wound through the streets in 1603.

Contemporary maps and texts reveal how crowded and noxious the city was, particularly the area contained within the old medieval walls (the "City," as it was known, much of which disappeared in the great fire of 1666). Some surviving texts give us a sense of how awful London must have smelled, especially in the neighborhoods where butchers practiced their trade and their assistants trailed offal through the streets. Eventually, such unpleasantness gave rise to regulations intended to make London a more livable city. But even at its worst—and its sprawling slums in the 18th century made it seem like newly created hell—London remained the intellectual and cultural capital of the English, the home to premieres by SHAKESPEARE and Ben Jonson, the sitting place of Parliament, and the venue for bookshops offering the latest news about the city, the realm, and the world beyond.

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—David P. Dewar

## Luba

Founded by the powerful warrior Nkongolo (Kongolo), the Luba Empire spanned territory in what is today the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Zambia from the 14th century until the late 19th century.

The Luba peoples, one of the earliest iron-working peoples in central Africa from whom the later empire took its name, settled as farmers near the Lake Kisale region in the fourth century. During the 14th century small chiefdoms arose among the Luba peoples, but by 1400 they were subsumed under the larger entity of the Nkongolo dynasty, established when the warrior Nkongolo invaded the southern part of the modern-day Democratic Republic of the Congo. Soon thereafter, according to oral tradition, the huntsman Ilunga Kalala overthrew the Nkongolo dynasty and established the Luba Empire. Ilunga Kalala expanded the kingdom greatly, conquering important trade routes between eastern and central Africa and gaining control over copper mines and fishing and palm oil industries. The Luba kingdom also participated in the SLAVE TRADE in the region, increasing their wealth and power. By 1700 Luba spanned the Upemba Depression (in the southern parts of the modern-day Democratic Republic of the Congo) over the Congo River to Lake Tanganyika.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Luhya

A heterogeneous ethnic group in Kenya, the Luhya area related to the larger BANTU ethnic group and were an essential part of Bantuizing the region between the 16th

and 18th centuries through assimilating and absorbing newcomers to the area, like the Kalenjin and the Maasai.

The Luhya's ancestors most likely migrated to their traditional lands near Mount Elgon and Lake Victoria around the end of the first century A.D. The Luhya traced their descent to Mugoma and Malabe, who, according to Luhya tradition, were created by the supreme being, Wele. They were an agricultural people who have historically organized their society into *oluhia*, or clans, that occupy a defined territory and take their identity and clan name from a single prominent ancestor.

The Luhya typically organized themselves into decentralized clan groups, not into kingdoms. The Tiriki clan founded the Wanga kingdom in the 17th century, ruling over two dozen other clans. The majority of the Luhya people remained outside the power of this unique kingdom, keeping to traditional forms of social and political organization.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Luther, Martin (1483–1546) *religious leader*

The first great Protestant reformer, the German monk and theologian Martin Luther triggered the REFORMATION with his protest against the sale of indulgences.

Luther was born November 10, 1483, in Eisleben and grew up in nearby Mansfeld. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of Erfurt in 1502 and his master's in 1505. His parents wanted him to study for a career in law, but although Luther originally agreed, their wishes came to nothing. Returning to Erfurt after visiting his parents in July 1505, Luther was caught in a violent thunderstorm. In great fear, he cried out "Help, St. Anne, I will become a monk!" When he arrived in Erfurt, Luther fulfilled this vow, entering the Augustinian monastery against the wishes of his father. In 1506 Luther took his monastic vows and the following year was ordained a priest. In 1510 he traveled to Rome, where he was shocked at the worldliness and corruption of the Roman clergy. After returning from Rome, he studied theology in Wittenberg, receiving his doctorate in 1512.

As a monk and a priest Luther suffered from feelings of guilt and inadequacy. He felt that his best efforts to live a pure life were insufficient and feared that God would reject him. Frequent confession did not resolve his fears, nor did obedience to the rules of his order. The expression "the righteousness of God" frightened him, for he thought of God as a judge whom he could not face. Probably





Martin Luther (Hulton/Archive)

between 1513 and 1515, Luther began to understand terms such as “righteousness” and “justification” in a new way. In *Christian Liberty* (or *The Freedom of a Christian*), a treatise published in 1520, Luther argued that all human beings are sinners and therefore cannot fulfill the laws that God gave them in scripture. Since, Luther argued, “it is equally impossible . . . to keep any one of [the commandments],” God did not give them to human beings with the expectation that they would live up to them. Instead, the commandments “are intended to teach man to know himself, that through them he may recognize his inability to do good and may despair of his own ability.” The recognition that one cannot live without sin, according to Luther, should then lead the Christian to rely on the grace and mercy of God, rather than attempting to earn salvation through human works.

This belief that humans were justified through faith alone (*sola fide*) and the accompanying rejection of the value of human works led Luther to become involved in a dispute over indulgences. According to the medieval Catholic Church, Jesus, his mother Mary, and the saints had lived such holy lives that they had accumulated a spiritual “treasury of merit.” The church claimed the authority to draw on this treasury through indulgences in order to

help people avoid punishment in purgatory and thus gain salvation. By buying an indulgence, a sinner could escape the “temporal penalty” of purgatory for sins that had been forgiven through the sacrament of confession.

Technically, an indulgence did not forgive sins, nor was it intended to be a way to buy one’s salvation. The theory behind indulgences, however, was complicated and widely misunderstood. Because people wanted to ensure their own salvation, and because the church found that it could raise a great deal of money by selling indulgences, the system became corrupt. Preachers sometimes suggested that buying an indulgence made contrition and confession unnecessary or sold indulgences that claimed to remit the penalty for sins not yet committed. The Dominican indulgence preacher Johann Tetzel, who sold indulgences near Wittenberg, asked his listeners “Do you not hear the voices of your dead parents and other people, screaming and saying: ‘Have pity on me, have pity on me . . . for the hand of God hath touched me?’ We are suffering severe punishments and pain, from which you could rescue us with a few alms, if only you would. Open your ears, because the father is calling to the son and the mother to the daughter.”

On October 31, 1517, Luther presented a series of 95 “Theses on the Power of Indulgences” to Archbishop Albert of Mainz. The archbishop forwarded the theses to Rome, and in the summer of 1518 Luther was summoned to Rome to face allegations of heresy. Through the intervention of Luther’s patron and protector, Elector Frederick III of Saxony (Frederick the Wise), Luther’s examination took place in Augsburg rather than in Rome. In Augsburg Luther refused to retract his attacks on indulgences.

The controversy over Luther’s ideas spread, and in 1520 Pope LEO X excommunicated him, denouncing his works as “heretical, offensive, and false.” In 1521 Luther appeared at the Diet of Worms, where, before the Holy Roman Emperor CHARLES V, he refused to recant his views on indulgences and justification, saying “it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience.” Luther left the Diet of Worms with a guarantee of his safety for three weeks, after which he would be subject to capital punishment as a heretic. After leaving the Diet of Worms, Luther went into hiding at Wartburg Castle under the protection of Frederick the Wise. There, he completed an influential translation of the New Testament into German and wrote a treatise against monastic life. As the historian Steven Ozment observed, Luther was fortunate that the “ manifold distractions of imperial politics” kept the emperor too busy to carry out a campaign against him. While the emperor was occupied in fighting his European rivals and the Ottoman Turks, reformers’ ideas spread widely, making Luther a famous man.

In at least one case, Luther’s ideas spread farther than he would have wished. German peasants who heard



Luther's defense of Christian freedom interpreted his message as one promising political freedom. The peasants' situation in the early 16th century was poor: Harvests had failed in 1523 and 1524, land they had traditionally held in common was being expropriated by aristocrats, and they were subject to onerous taxes. In 1525 a group of Swabian peasants composed a list of grievances. Among other things, they demanded release from serfdom, new rent assessments, the return of expropriated lands, and free access to fish, game, and firewood. The peasants drew inspiration from Luther's message, and Luther's response to them was initially favorable, although mixed. He blamed the German princes for their oppression of the peasants but warned the peasants that they did not have the right to rebel against legitimate authority. Luther's moderation ended when the peasants rebelled. In April 1525, when the dissenters rose up, Luther wrote a treatise titled "Against the Murderous and Plundering Hordes of the Peasants." "Let everyone who can smite, slay, and stab [the peasants], secretly and openly, remembering that nothing can be more poisonous, hurtful, or devilish than a rebel," he declared. "It is just as when one must kill a mad dog; if you do not strike him, he will strike you, and a whole land with you." Although Luther's call to action was unnecessary because the German princes were not listening to his commands, the harshness of his appeal—which came in the wake of the deaths of between 70,000 and 100,000 peasants killed in the suppression of the uprising—forever damaged his reputation.

In 1530 the emperor summoned reform leaders to the Diet of Augsburg. Luther, still threatened with execution, was unable to attend. He sent instructions with Philipp Melancthon, the leader of the reformers' delegation. Melancthon presented a compromise document, the Confession of Augsburg, that was intended to appeal to a variety of reformers while simultaneously muting points of controversy with the Catholic Church. The Augsburg Confession, while important to the development of Protestant faiths, was not successful in convincing the emperor to tolerate Protestantism. Charles V ordered Protestant territories to return to the Catholic faith by April 1531, but by then the Reformation had become too well established to end abruptly. Religious controversy continued.

After the Diet of Augsburg, Luther reevaluated his position on resistance to secular authority. Previously he

had advised his followers to suffer tyranny without resistance, but he now began to argue that Protestants must resist authority for the sake of their consciences. In 1531 Protestants organized a defensive alliance, the Schmalkaldic League. Fighting between Catholic and Protestant forces continued until the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 established the principle *cuius regio, eius religio*—"who reigns, his religion."

In his later years Luther grew more critical of the Catholic Church, which he came to believe was incapable of reform. In 1545, when Pope Paul III encouraged the emperor to wage war against the Protestants, Luther responded with a treatise entitled "Against the Papacy in Rome Founded by the Devil." He also grew increasingly anti-Semitic as he aged and in 1543, in a treatise titled "On the Jews and Their Lies," argued that Christians should burn Jewish homes, schools, and synagogues, adding that the JEWS should be banished from Christendom.

Luther's central and most influential theological argument was that of justification by faith. His treatises, sermons, and letters influenced the shape of the Reformation not only in Germany but across Europe. His most important works include *Christian Liberty* (1519), the *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (1520), *On the Bondage of the Will* (1525), and the *Small Catechism* (1529). When Luther died in 1546 his friends, including Melancthon, mourned the loss of the "charioteer of Israel."

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—Martha K. Robinson



# M



## Mabila

A MISSISSIPPIAN town located in central present-day Alabama, Mabila served as the location in which the paramount chief Tascaluza ambushed HERNANDO DE SOTO's expedition in 1540.

During Soto's march through Alabama in 1540, he continually forced Natives to serve as porters and slaves of his *entrada*. Additionally, his army devoured food reserves of the towns through which it passed, thus guaranteeing a time of starvation for those unfortunate enough to encounter this expedition. Responding to the high-handed manner in which Soto's army moved through the territory and after he had been taken hostage by Soto, the paramount chief Tascaluza laid plans to ambush the Spaniards at the town of Mabila.

On the secret orders of Tascaluza, the Natives took time in the weeks before Soto's arrival at Mabila to strengthen the palisades that surrounded the town and to clear the area immediately surrounding the town of all underbrush. Warriors from surrounding towns and chiefdoms gathered and hid in the village awaiting the arrival of the Spanish. Being wary of his host and captive, Tascaluza, Soto had the town reconnoitered so he knew in advance about the ambush. After the army arrived at Mabila on the morning of October 18, 1540, the battle began when one of Soto's soldiers entered a building to capture Tascaluza and discovered it filled to the rafters with armed warriors. In the end the Mabilians and their allies could not resist the mounted soldiers on the open ground outside of town, and as a result they retreated to the safety of the walls of the town. Eventually the Spanish broke through the palisades and began to burn the town while they slaughtered the warriors. The Mabilians and their allies had the Spanish outnumbered by as many as 20 or 25 to one, but the cramped interior of the town and metal armor and weapons gave the Spanish the tactical advantage. The battle lasted nine hours. Soto's army suffered 22 killed and 148 wounded. The Mabilians and their allies suffered as many as 3,000 dead

and perhaps as many as 1,000 wounded. The fight with the Mabilians was the worst confrontation encountered by the Soto *entrada* after their battles with the APALACHEE in FLORIDA a year earlier and before their future encounter with the Natchez. This battle severely hindered the expedition. From this point forward there would be a steady drain on its manpower. The Natives of central present-day Alabama were devastated by this incident, and it was still evident to Tristan de Luna when his expedition moved into the region 20 years later.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## Machu Picchu

A beautiful and isolated Incan city located in the ANDES MOUNTAINS 9,000 feet above sea level, Machu Picchu served as an estate for the INCA emperor Pachacuti, and it was an important ceremonial site in the Inca religion.

Machu Picchu is one of the few Inca sites not discovered by the Spanish during their conquest of the Inca Empire or during the era of Spanish colonial control. It therefore is an example of pure Inca architecture and material culture not tampered with by the Spanish. Its location on a mountain ridge high in the Andes kept it hidden until the 20th century. The Inca emperor Pachacuti built it as a

personal estate, and for a time it may have held an important place in the ceremonial life of the Inca. Today some scholars think that it may have been abandoned at the time of Spanish conquest, but others believe that the last of the Inca to resist the Spanish may have briefly occupied it.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## Madeira

The name given to both a group of islands and the main island of the group lying in the Atlantic Ocean at 17° W 22°45' N.

Madeira offers, perhaps, one of the clearest examples of how ecological factors contributed to the transformation of lands newly discovered by Europeans. Madeira was almost entirely covered by trees when the first Portuguese settlers arrived, and this timber proved to be a valuable export. However, despite potential profit, the newcomers decided to clear land by setting fire to the forests. More than one of these fires went out of control, and at least one group of settlers had to take refuge in the ocean for several days until a fire burnt itself out. Because Europeans brought pigs and cattle to the islands (see COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE), these ecological changes ensured that the region would never return to the state in which the Europeans found it.

On the smaller island of Porto Santo, the villains were rabbits. Released by Europeans in the very early days of colonization, the rabbits bred rapidly. Porto Santo lacked the natural DISEASES and predators the animals had known in Europe, and the rabbit population grew to such a degree that they actually forced the Portuguese off the island for a number of years. When they returned the original ecosystem of Porto Santo had ceased to exist, and the introduction of European weeds and organisms transformed it into an environmental clone of the Old World.

Politically, control of the Madeira group was divided into three captaincies—two on Madeira and one on Porto Santo. Madeira's route to becoming a prosperous colony owed everything to the introduction of SUGAR. Unlike the future plantations in places like BRAZIL, Europeans planted sugar in Madeira not on plains but on narrow hillside terraces. Planters also needed irrigation to bring

sufficient water from the higher elevations to the cane fields. They thus constructed *levadas*, a handmade irrigation network that ran an estimated distance of 700 km on an island 60 km in length. By the early 1450s Madeira's planters were already exporting raw sugar to England and Flanders. By the end of the 15th century, the island was the world's largest sugar producer, and the price of sugar had fallen by more than 50 percent. Madeiran sugar dominated the market until the late 16th century when the numerous advantages of Brazilian sugar planters enabled them to undercut Madeiran prices. Although sugar would enjoy a brief resurgence in importance during the Dutch occupation of Pernambuco, by the end of the 17th century Madeira's main export was wine.

The Madeira planters' dedication to cash crops meant that they did not produce enough food to feed the human population of the island. Although some grew wheat in western parts of the island, the island was short of many food products. Its only reliable source of wheat, the most essential need, was the nearby island of Porto Santo. Too dry to grow sugar, the island was able to support livestock as well as produce surpluses of basic cereal crops. Although never able to supply even half the demands of its larger neighbor, a good harvest on Porto Santo always pushed wheat prices down on Madeira.

Like other sugar producing plantation owners, those on Madeira came to rely on slaves (see SLAVERY) to produce their exports. It is likely that in the early years of the 17th century, the majority of Madeira's slaves were not of African descent. Rather, their numbers possibly consisted of Berbers as well as JEWS and Muslims (see ISLAM) whose conversion to Christianity was deemed suspect by Portuguese authorities. A large number of Madeiran slaves appear to have been Guanches—the original inhabitants of the Canary Islands who were extinct by the end of the 16th century.

Madeira remained profitable during the following centuries, and planters there maintained an extensive trade that had among its clients the Virginia planter George Washington, the first president of the United States. Its decline began in the 19th century, when the vital American trade suffered at the hands of both American whiskey producers and the temperance movement. Several blights that all but destroyed the grapevines signaled the final end to the once-thriving island sugar economy.

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—John Grigg



**Magellan, Ferdinand** (1480?–1521) *explorer, first to circumnavigate the globe*

Ferdinand Magellan (Fernão de Magalhães), a Portuguese explorer, commanded the first voyage to circumnavigate the globe.

Magellan was born in Portugal to a noble family. As a young man he was involved in Portuguese expeditions to the Far East, sailing to Malacca (modern Melaka) and the Moluccas, or **SPICE ISLANDS**. By 1510 he had become captain of a ship and sailed as far east as Ambon and Banda, two Indonesian islands. On his later westward voyage around the world, he passed beyond these islands before dying in the Philippines. Thus, although he did not live to complete the circumnavigation of the globe that his men accomplished from 1519 to 1522, he is credited with being the first person to circle the world.

When Magellan sailed, the Portuguese already knew of a sea route to the Spice Islands, but this route was difficult, involving a trip around the Cape of Good Hope. Magellan thought that it might be possible to reach the Moluccas more easily from the other direction, that is, by sailing westward from Europe. The king of Portugal, Manuel, refused to support such a venture. Not only did the Portuguese already have one route to the islands, but another Portuguese explorer, Gonçalo Coelho, had twice tried to find a westward route through or around America and failed.

Rejected by Portugal, Magellan turned to Spain. He arrived in **SEVILLE** in 1517 and offered his services to the Spanish king Charles I, who would later become the Holy Roman Emperor **CHARLES V**. While in Spain Magellan also married Beatriz Barbosa, a wealthy young woman. He showed the Spanish court a map, perhaps by **MARTIN BEHAIM** or the cartographer Johannes Schöner, that depicted the Pacific Ocean as relatively small, which made a westward voyage seem likely to succeed.

In 1518 Charles agreed to provide Magellan and a joint captain of the expedition, Rui Faleiro, with five ships. They would command about 250 sailors and receive one-fifth of the profits from the journey. Charles also promised to make them *ADELANTADO* of any new lands they discovered. The preparations for the voyage took longer than expected. Magellan had a difficult time assembling a crew for his five ships, the *Trinidad*, *San Antonio*, *Concepción*, *Victoria*, and *Santiago*.

Magellan's officers proved troublesome from the start. Juan de Cartagena, the son of a powerful bishop, became opposed to Magellan from the beginning of the voyage. This faction included Cartagena, who was the captain of the *San Antonio*, Gaspar de Quesada, captain of the *Concepción*, and Luis de Mendoza, captain of the *Victoria*. Three of Magellan's five ships, then, were commanded by men hostile to him and who were plotting against him even before they left Spain.



Ferdinand Magellan (Library of Congress)

The fleet left Spain on September 20, 1519. Magellan set course for the **CANARY ISLANDS**, which they reached on September 26. While still in the Canaries, Magellan received a message that warned him that Cartagena, Quesada, and Mendoza were plotting to kill him. After leaving the Canaries, the fleet was becalmed in the doldrums, where Cartagena first challenged Magellan's authority. Magellan removed Cartagena from command of the *Victoria*, replacing him with Antonio de Coca.

The ships reached the coast of **BRAZIL** in December 1519. The crew stopped at Rio de Janeiro for two weeks, where they traded with the Indians. After leaving Rio de Janeiro Magellan followed the coast southward. He stayed close to the shore, exploring large inlets in an attempt to find a way through the continent. He sailed up the Rio de la Plata, hoping that it would reach the western ocean. After this excursion the ships continued down the coast, passing through difficult waters and enduring dangerous storms. They spent the winter at San Julián, Patagonia, where they met Natives whom **ANTONIO PIGAFETTA**, who later wrote a chronicle of the journey, described as "giants." The sailors, who had endured weeks of navigating through hazardous waters, doubted that Magellan

would ever find a passage through the continent and wanted to return to Spain. The captains of the *San Antonio*, *Concepción*, and *Victoria*, in concert with Juan de Cartagena, led a mutiny, which Magellan and men loyal to him suppressed. Magellan hanged Quesada and sentenced other conspirators, including Cartagena, to hard labor for the rest of the winter. When the ships left San Julián in September Magellan left Cartagena and another conspirator behind. Their fate is unknown.

After leaving San Julián the ships continued southward, spending two months at the Rio Santa Cruz. From there they traveled south again. The *Santiago* was wrecked in a storm, but soon after Magellan found the strait he had sought. Magellan faced a dilemma. Although he had found a way through the continent, he had provisions for only two more months. Although some of the sailors and pilots wanted to return to Spain, he chose to continue. During the course of sailing through the strait, the *San Antonio* vanished. Magellan searched but found no trace of the missing ship. The *San Antonio* was not lost; rather, a successful mutiny had deposed its captain, and it returned to Spain, arriving safely in March 1521.

After passing through the strait that would later bear his name, Magellan still faced the ocean between South America and the Spice Islands. Magellan named the ocean the Pacific (“peaceful”). Like other Europeans of the day, he believed the Pacific to be smaller than it is. Unfamiliar with the Pacific, he chose an unlucky course across it. As the historian Samuel Eliot Morison observed, “the fleet could not have sailed a more lonely course across the Pacific if Magellan had been the captain of a modern solo, non-stop cruise looking for publicity and prizes.” Magellan missed Tahiti, the Marshall islands, and other ports. Before he and his men found land again, they ran out of supplies, suffered from scurvy, and were reduced to eating leather from the ships’ rigging. According to Pigafetta, 19 men died.

On March 6, 1521, the travelers sighted Guam and Rota, which Magellan named Las Islas de Velas Latinas, the “Islands of Lateen Sails.” The Polynesian people who lived there, the Chamorro, visited the ship, where, according to the sailors, they stole everything they could reach. Magellan’s men killed several with crossbows, and the Chamorro fled. Magellan then attacked their village, driving the people away, burning their homes, and taking their food stores. The *Trinidad*, *Concepción*, and *Victoria* next sailed toward the Philippines and areas that were already known to Europeans. Near one island Magellan’s slave Enrique conversed with native people in Malay, and the sailors traded for goods of Chinese design.

Magellan met and traded with a Malay ruler, Rajah Colambu. The Europeans and the islanders exchanged gifts, and the islanders treated Magellan and his men to a feast. Magellan also met peacefully with a ruler whom

the Europeans called Sultan Humabon. Humabon agreed to be baptized with all his people. In April 1521 Magellan and Humabon sealed their alliance in a ceremony in which Humabon, Rajah Colambu, and other islanders agreed to be baptized.

At this time Magellan became embroiled in the islanders’ politics and promised to attack Humabon’s enemies. Humabon did not want to go to war, but Magellan apparently hoped to prove his good intentions by attacking his new allies’ enemies. On April 27, 1521, Magellan led a force of 60 of his men in three longboats, combined with the islanders’ forces, to Mactan Island. He sent a message to Lapu Lapu, the leader of Humabon’s enemies, ordering him to recognize the king of Spain as his lord and pay tribute. When Lapu Lapu refused, Magellan and his men began to wade toward the shore. There, a much larger opposing force waited. In the ensuing battle Magellan and seven of his men died, as did four Natives who fought with them and about 15 of their opponents.

Historians have harshly criticized Magellan’s behavior in the Philippines. Having established good relations with Rajah Colambu and Sultan Humabon, he had no need to fight, and they had not asked him to go to war on their behalf. After Magellan’s death relations with Humabon deteriorated, and some 25 Europeans were killed in fighting before the remains of Magellan’s fleet left the Philippines.

The remnants of the fleet successfully reached the Spice Islands, crossed the Indian Ocean, traveled around the Cape of Good Hope, and returned to Spain. When they completed their circumnavigation of the globe in 1522, they had been traveling for three years. The losses of the journey were great. Of the original fleet of five ships, only one, the *Victoria*, survived the circumnavigation and returned to Spain. Crew members suffered and died from cold, sickness, and warfare. Of the 277 men who sailed with Magellan, only 19 survived. The voyage was a remarkable feat, but its results were meager. Although Magellan had discovered a new route to the islands of the East, the Strait of Magellan was so distant and dangerous and the Pacific so large that his route was longer and more difficult than the old one.

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—Martha K. Robinson

**Mahfuz, emir of Adal** See ETHIOPIA.

**Ma Huan** (ca. 1380–1460) *Chinese historian*

Ma Huan was a chronicler of three expeditions that the Chinese undertook and were commanded by the Ming admiral Cheng Ho (ca. 1371–1433).

Historians in the west, including the vast majority of historians of the United States, tend to stress the significance of the efforts of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS and the role that he played in launching the so-called “age of discovery.” But more recently, scholars have questioned that age-old assumption. The historian James Axtell, for example, has noted that this was an age of mutual discovery, and the historian James Merrell has noted that Native Americans, too, inhabited a “New World” even though they did not sail across the Atlantic to find it. These forceful arguments make clear the simple fact that it is better to speak less of the European “discovery” of America and instead to look at the long 16th century as a period of multiple encounters, each of which altered the peoples involved.

But the significance of Columbus’s efforts can be cast into a more critical light through recognition of the earlier efforts by the Chinese, who had been engaged in long-distance explorations for almost a century before 1492. The Chinese sailed on vessels known as “junks,” which were up to five times larger than Columbus’s ships, and they sailed thousands of miles—into the Pacific, along the coasts of Southeast Asia, and eastward through the Indian Ocean at least as far as Africa.

Ma Huan chronicled these voyages and published a book entitled *Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan* (or *The Overall Survey of the Ocean’s Shores*). The first edition appeared in 1451, but no copies survive. The modern text, which was translated and published in English in 1970, was reconstructed from three variant texts, one published in 1617, another published at some point before 1644, and a third edition of 1824. Apparently, none of these works was particularly well known, nor did Ma Huan become famous as a result of his writings. But knowledge of his writing—and his insights about places as distinct as central Vietnam, Calicut, and Mecca—survived and brought the information about these journeys to the modern world. As a result, it is impossible to think about the “age of discovery” without expanding the geographical boundaries and to recognize, as scholars now do, the extraordinary range of exploratory journeys that took place across the globe and not merely across the Atlantic.

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**maize** See CORN

## Mali

The early west African empire Mali controlled the trans-Saharan trade in GOLD, slaves (see SLAVERY), and other goods from the 13th century through the mid-15th century, reaching its zenith of power under the leadership of MANSA MUSA I in the early 14th century.

Mali emerged as an empire in the mid-1200s, after SUNDIATA KEITA defeated the Sosso, a minor successor to the first great Sudanic empire, GHANA. Established in about A.D. 600, the kingdom of Ghana reached its height of power in the mid- to late 10th century. In 1076 the Moroccan Almoravids overthrew the ancient kingdom, with important consequences for the region. Although in power for less than two decades, the Islamic Almoravids were instrumental in converting the local people to ISLAM, which became a major force in the region’s cultural and political development. Most of the succeeding Sudanic empires, including Mali, were based on Islamic principles, and many of the rulers were at least nominally Muslim.

The first Malian king to convert to Islam was Baramendana, in 1150. Only half a century later, Moussa, also known as Allakoi for his habitual exhortation that God causes all (“Alla koi”), reportedly made four pilgrimages to MECCA, one of Islam’s holiest cities. Although doubtful in its accuracy, the account may have been an attempt to portray Mali as a Muslim dynasty of long standing. IBN KHALDÛN, the 14th-century Arab historian, described Mali’s second imperial king, Mansa Uli Keita (ca. 1260–?, Sundiata Keita’s son and successor), as a great leader and a devout Muslim, documenting his pilgrimage to Mecca. The most famous of Mali’s Muslim rulers was Mansa Musa I, who made a legendary pilgrimage to the holy city in 1324–25.

Ranging at its peak from the Atlantic Ocean east to the city of GAO and spanning the SAHARA south to the forested regions along the Gulf of Guinea, Mali’s territory incorporated some of the most important and lucrative trade routes in West Africa. Established in the region in the 11th and 12th centuries, these trade routes stimulated the growth of independent political kingdoms, of which Mali was only one. Although historical accounts of its early history are fragmented and unclear, Mali’s rise to empire is much better documented. The Mandinka (Mande) people of the Kangaba kingdom were important middlemen in the gold



trade late in ancient Ghana's history. They were dependent on Ghana for their livelihood and their safety on their trading journeys from the Wangara gold fields to the empire's trading centers. When Ghana fell, Kangaba established itself as an independent kingdom. Threatened by other kingdoms' bids for power in the region, Kangaba relied on the leadership of Sundiata Keita to maintain its independence. After defeating the rival king Sumanguru, Sundiata founded the Mali Empire around the year 1240, although he was not the first of Mali's kings because they traced their leadership through the Kangaba line to Baramendana.

Mali's success resulted from the strategic location of its capital on the Upper NIGER RIVER and its extensive use of rivers for communication, empire building, and trade. Gold was an especially important resource for the empire, and much of Mali's wealth came from control of the Boure gold fields located in the empire's heartland. The Niger River, with its major cities DJENNE-DJENO (Djenne), TIMBUKTU, and Gao, lay at the center of Mali's mercantile enterprise and provided the kingdom with the means for transporting trade goods such as gold, copper, salt, cola nuts, spices, and slaves. Mali's trading system brought the empire into contact with diverse peoples in the SUDAN and North Africa, including the AKAN, HAUSA, and SONGHAI, as well as with Moroccan and Arab merchants. Most of Mali's traders, called Dyula or Wangara after the major gold mining districts, were Muslim and provided an important link in the spread of Islam within Mali's as well as to other areas of Sudanic West Africa.

Although Islam eventually became the official and predominant religion in Mali, indigenous spiritual beliefs and practices remained intact and continued to influence the development of Malian society. IBN BATTUTA, the Moroccan traveler and chronicler, commented on the social freedoms Malian women enjoyed. Like men, women in Mali were free to choose "friends" or "companions" of the opposite sex outside their own families. Furthermore, succession and descent continued to be determined through matrilineal relations, not through the father's line, as was practiced in most other Islamic societies. Ibn Battuta described this practice of matrilineal succession and remarked on its singularity in the Muslim world.

An elaborate kinship system existed in Mali based on lineages and clans and organized territorially into villages and districts. Noble clans composed the top echelon of political power, ruling over other social groups such as free-men, serfs, slaves, and non-Mande peoples. Slavery was an essential dimension of ancient Mali's social and economic structures, as it had been and would be to other Sudanic societies. Slaves cultivated land to support local administrative functions, served in the army as bowmen, and often held important administrative posts, as their lack of family or clan ties lent them an aura of objectivity.

Mali eventually surpassed its predecessor, Ghana, in geography and in influence. By the reign of Mansa Musa I, Mali had ambassadors in Morocco, Egypt, and elsewhere, and its capital Niani (no longer in existence) was a prosperous, populous city with more than 6,000 families according to the chronicler LEO AFRICANUS. Mali developed a complex system of government headed by the king but administered by various departmental ministers. Top officials at Niani were typically noblemen who oversaw specific departments or activities within the larger governmental structure.

The larger Mali power structure consisted of a confederation of various kingdoms under the overall direction of one king, or mansa. The Mali confederation was a loose one, plagued by frequent challenges to the central power. One of the most persistent sources of discontent came from the Songhai peoples, who controlled transportation on the Niger River. The Songhai, based in Gao, enjoyed a long tradition of autonomy and were unhappy with Mali rule. By the early 15th century the Songhai separated from Mali, establishing themselves as an independent kingdom under the rulership of Sonni Ali Ber. By 1465 Sonni Ali Ber conquered much of Mali. Weakened by the Songhai invasion as well as by succession disputes and unrest in peripheral territories, the empire went into decline in the early 16th century. In 1589 the last vestiges of the Mali Empire fell to a Moroccan invasion.

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—Lisa M. Brady

### **Malinche** (ca. 1500–?) *translator*

Malinche, later baptized as Doña Marina, was a young woman from the TABASCO region who, after having been given as a slave to HERNÁN CORTÉS, became his lover and soon learned enough of the Spanish language to become his interpreter as well as his adviser on internal affairs of the Native peoples.

Malinche, or Malintzin, was descended from a royal family in the Tabasco region, but internal conflicts had left her reduced to near-slavery. She, along with 19 other young women, formed part of a gift from the Tabasco leaders to



Cortés and proved her worth by becoming his interpreter and expert adviser on regional political affairs.

Her information was instrumental in the destruction of CHOLULA, instigated when an old woman informed her of a plot purportedly instigated by MOCTEZUMA II to surprise and kill the Spaniards. Acting on her information, Cortés ordered the execution of the Native nobles and warriors present in the city.

Malinche also served as liaison between the Spaniards and the Native peoples along the route from the coast to TENOCHTITLÁN, convincing them to deliver provisions when, left to themselves, they seemed to fear even approaching the newcomers. Most historians consider her aid to have been instrumental in the Spaniards' conquest of the AZTECS.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## Maliseet

An ALGONQUIAN-speaking tribe that lived along the modern-day eastern border between Canada and the United States, the Maliseet established contact with the French before 1535 and maintained an alliance with them throughout the political existence of New France.

The Maliseet (also known as the Amalecite, Etchemin, Malecite, and Maleschite) inhabited Passamaquoddy Bay, the lower St. John River, and St. Croix River in what is today northeast Maine and western New Brunswick. They lived in oval-shaped wigwams made from sapling poles covered with birch bark and grass matting. In the winter bands broke up into small family units to hunt the solitary moose. In the summer families came together to form bands along the coast and rivers, where they fished and cultivated TOBACCO. During the warm months the Maliseet used canoes to move among bands to socialize, to perform religious ceremonies, and to arrange marriages.

Their first recorded contact with Europeans occurred in 1535, when they met JACQUES CARTIER at Passamaquoddy Bay and offered to trade furs with the French for various goods produced in Europe. More than likely, the Maliseet had already encountered French fishermen on the coast of New Brunswick and learned what these new people had to offer them. At the time that Samuel de Champlain formally made an alliance with

the Maliseet in 1604, they seem to have been at war with the ABENAKI, but eventually they participated in an alliance system with the Abenaki, Micmac, PASSAMAQUODDY (which some consider to be a subgroup of the Maliseet), and Penobscot. The French used this confederacy during the colonial era to keep English expansion in New England in check. Eventually, the French built Fort La Tour on the St. John River. They used this post to keep the Maliseet supplied with guns and ammunition and to promote the fur trade with the nation. Descendants of the Maliseet still live in New Brunswick, Canada, and continue to perpetuate their rich cultural heritage.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

**Mandeville, Sir John** (fl. 1322–1356?) *explorer, writer* Long deceased by the time CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS sailed across the Atlantic in 1492, the 14th-century writer Sir John Mandeville left an account of his alleged journeys beyond the boundaries of Europe that had a remarkable impact on those who hoped to expand the continent's intellectual and economic horizons.

Little is known of Mandeville other than the few personal clues he left behind in his account of his travels. He tells his readers that he was an English knight who journeyed from 1322 to 1356 and that during those decades he came to serve the sultan of Egypt and the "Great Chan," the purported leader of China. Many scholars believe that Mandeville never left England at all but was simply a master writer whose account fascinated everyone who saw it. In that age, before the advent of the PRINTING PRESS, it is difficult to know exactly how many people ever had any encounter with Mandeville's story. Because approximately 300 surviving manuscripts have existed since at least 1500, and because they exist in virtually every language spoken or read in Europe (including Irish, Czech, and Dutch), there is no doubt that the book had many readers. Given the difficulty of producing extensive texts in an age when each manuscript had to be copied by hand, often in a monastic scriptorium where copyists tended to focus on

religious texts, the mere fact that so many manuscripts of Mandeville's travels survive suggests its extraordinary popularity.

Mandeville took it upon himself to describe what Europeans termed the East, the lands that stretched from Muslim-dominated North Africa through China and Japan. Mandeville's was not the only account circulating in the 14th century; during those same years manuscripts of the Venetian MARCO POLO's travels also spread across Europe. Although there were other sources of information, it would have been difficult for any writer to top the incredible phenomena that appeared in Mandeville's text, such as his memorable account of MONSTERS who ranged from midgets to giants, some of whom lacked heads, others of whom had only a small hole for a mouth and had to suck their nutrition through narrow reeds, and still others of whom had ears so long that they touched their knees or lips so large that they covered their faces while they slept. Yet even Mandeville admitted that he had not seen everything. "Of Paradise I cannot speak properly," he wrote at one point, "for I have not been there; and that I regret."

It would be easy to agree with scholars who have dismissed Mandeville and termed him a "travel liar" instead of a traveler. His claims are, after all, preposterous and impossible, but whatever judgment modern readers might claim, there is no doubt that Mandeville helped to shape Europeans' expectations of the world beyond their borders. LEONARDO DA VINCI, one of the great intellectuals of the age, possessed a copy of Mandeville's book, and it was the only travel book that he had in his library at the end of the 15th century. Columbus studied Mandeville so that he would have a better understanding of the peoples he was sure he would find at the end of his journey in 1492. Mandeville's popularity was so great in England that MARTIN FROBISHER took a copy with him on his journey to North America in 1576, and RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER even included the text, in Latin, in the 1589 edition of his *Principal Voiages, Navigations, and Travels of the English Nation*. But Hakluyt, who tried to include only truthful accounts in his books, apparently decided that Mandeville lacked credibility. When he published the expanded edition of his work at the end of the 16th century, he excised Mandeville, thereby relegating him to the realm of the incredible rather than the reliable.

Yet even if Hakluyt became suspicious, Mandeville remained popular. Scholars tend to believe that an author was popular if his or her book was reprinted or translated. That premise makes sense: If someone spent weeks (or months) translating a work or took the time to set type for each page, then whoever performed that labor presumed that there existed a market for the text. But in the age before the printing press, ideas circulated in written

manuscripts, and some of the most captivating texts spread from one language to another (see SCRIBAL PUBLICATION). Among these manuscripts few were as popular as Mandeville's account. By the dawn of the 16th century, it had been translated into virtually every known European language (including Irish and Czech), a sign that it possessed a cross-cultural appeal. Approximately 300 manuscript copies still survive. More than 600 years after the initial appearance of the manuscript, Mandeville's *Travels* remain in print, a testimony indeed to the staying power of some 14th-century books.

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### **Mansa Musa I (Kankan Musa)** (r. 1307–1337) *monarch*

Emperor of MALI at the zenith of the kingdom's power and nephew to the empire's founder, SUNDIATA KEITA, Mansa (king or emperor) Kankan Musa I made legendary journeys to MECCA and Cairo and established Mali as a center for Islamic learning and culture.

A devout Muslim, Kankan Musa made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324–25. On this hajj (see ISLAM), he traveled across the SAHARA to Cairo, where he expended so much GOLD in gifts and purchases that the city's gold prices remained depressed for years. According to Arab historians, Mansa Musa's entourage included more than 60,000 servants and porters, 500 of them dressed in gold and carrying gold staffs. Kankan Musa's journey to Mecca, although primarily a religious pilgrimage, also served a political purpose by acquainting him with his growing empire. Under the leadership of Kankan Musa, the kingdom of Mali reached its geographic peak, stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the middle bend of the NIGER RIVER and from the Sahara to the southern forests along the Gulf of Guinea. Kankan Musa's Mali was geographically diverse, rich in valuable resources such as gold, and incorporated important trade centers such as DJENNE-DJENO and TIMBUKTU. While the Mansa was on his pilgrimage, one of his generals conquered the SONGHAI city of GAO, an important trade center on the trans-Saharan route. Kankan Musa traveled to Gao to establish his power there, receiving the submission of the king, Za Yassibou. While there, Kankan Musa built a mosque designed by the Andalusian architect and poet Abou-Ishaq Ibrahim Es Saheli. Es Saheli, who also designed Kankan Musa's great Dyingerey Ber mosque in Timbuktu, was only one

of the many Muslim artists and scholars Kankan Musa attracted to Mali during his reign. Kankan Musa's role in establishing Mali as a center of Islamic culture and religion was one of his most important accomplishments. His patronage of Islamic art, literature, and education laid the foundation for the African-Arabic literary tradition that came out of Timbuktu beginning in the 14th century. Kankan Musa died in 1337 and was succeeded by his son Magha I.

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—Lisa M. Brady

**Manteo** (fl. 1580s) *Hatteras diplomat, ally of Roanoke colonists*

A member of an important Croatoan Indian family, Manteo traveled to England, helped the ROANOKE colonists survive, and provided ethnographic and environmental information to THOMAS HARRIOT.

Manteo and another man, WANCHESE, were brought to England, apparently willingly, by ARTHUR BARLOWE and Philip Amadas in 1584. While in England they learned English and taught some ALGONQUIAN to Harriot. Both Manteo and Wanchese returned to Roanoke with the 1585 colonizing expedition. There, Manteo seems to have tried to help the colonists and Indians understand each other, although he was unable to stop hostility from arising. His mother was apparently the leader of the Croatoan Indians, and the Croatoan may have been glad to have a representative within the English colony, one who could keep them informed about English actions and intentions. In 1587 Manteo was baptized at Roanoke and received the title "Lord of Roanoke and Dasemunkepeuc." By ordering this ceremony, SIR WALTER RALEGH apparently intended to establish Manteo as a lord over his people and so formalize his authority. Nothing is known of Manteo after the disappearance of the Roanoke colony.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Mantoac

The ALGONQUIAN of what is today North Carolina believed in the existence of spiritual forces known as Mantoac, Montóac, or Manitou.

When English colonists settled at ROANOKE, they met people who believed in a variety of spiritual powers. The term *Mantoac* has no precise translation in English, but European observers, most notably THOMAS HARRIOT, wrote that the Indians believed in both a single god who had always existed and in other gods and spirits. Similar beliefs seem to have been commonly held by Algonquian peoples along the Atlantic seaboard. In the 17th century Roger Williams reported that the Narragansett in Rhode Island called "Manittóoes, that is, Gods, Spirits, or Divine powers, . . . every thing which they cannot comprehend" and when seeing "any Excellency in Men, Women, Birds, Beasts, Fish, &c, they cry out *Manittóo* A God."

Indians who negotiated with the English sometimes took names that apparently indicated having Montoac or having a relation to Montoac. Thus, the name MANTEO appears to be related to Montoac, as did Pocahontas's name Amonute and one of her father's titles or names, Mamanotowick.

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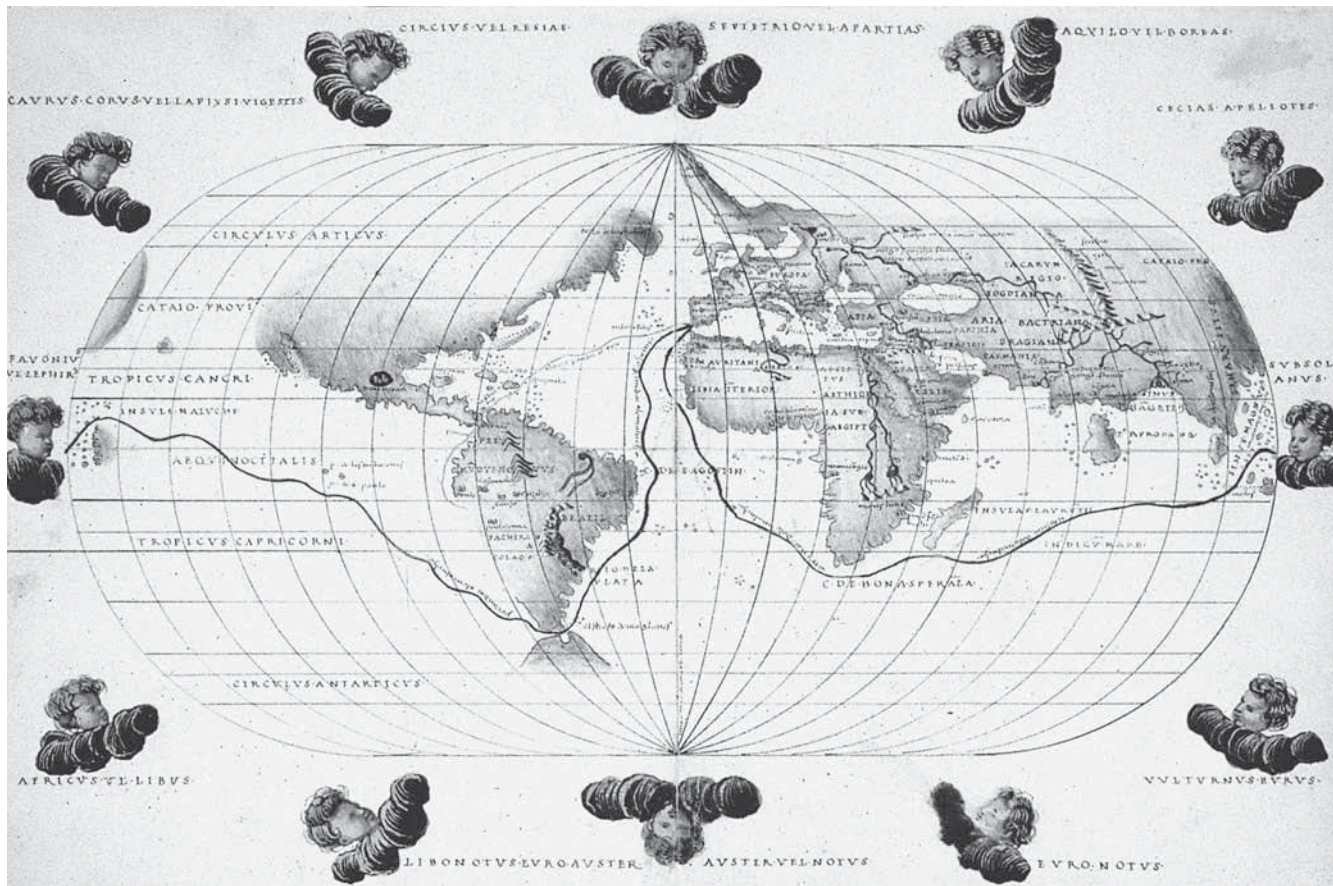
—Martha K. Robinson

## mappae mundi

*Mappae mundi*, literally "cloths of the world," were medieval Europeans' depictions of the lands and peoples of the Earth.

The term *mappae mundi* can refer either to maps, such as medieval T-O MAPS, or to written works of geography. Medieval maps did not follow modern conventions of mapmaking. They seldom portrayed coastlines, rivers,





This large *mappa mundi* bears the date 1544 and depicts the tropics of Capricorn and Cancer, the Arctic and Antarctic Circles, and the nine winds. (Hulton/Archive)

or other geographical features accurately. *Mappae mundi* were primarily intended to depict religious and spiritual concepts, not to provide accurate charts for travelers. In general, *mappae mundi* included illustrations of distant regions of the globe and populated them with figures who were important to Christian history, especially people who might be expected to play a role in the coming of the end of the world. Thus, medieval mapmakers placed Gog and Magog, the 10 lost tribes of Israel, the Magi, and the legendary king PRESTER JOHN on their maps. The maps also depicted fabulous MONSTERS and strange races of human beings, such as the Sciapodes, who had only one foot, which they stretched over their heads to shade themselves from the sun, and headless people whose faces were in their chests. Such maps, scholars assert, helped medieval Christians appreciate the wondrous powers of their God.

*Mappae mundi* generally depicted a round world, with water surrounding the known continents of Africa, Asia, and Europe. Some map readers argued that with such a round world, there must be only a short stretch of ocean

separating Europe from Asia. Such maps and arguments helped convince CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS that he could reach Asia by sailing west from Europe.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### marabout

Taken from the Arabic word *murabit*, the term *marabout* describes a variety of Muslim spiritual and political leaders active in spreading ISLAM through North and West Africa beginning in the 12th century.



*Murabit* originally identified only residents of the *ribat*, Muslim monastic communities in North Africa that flourished in the 12th century. As Islam gained followers across the Maghreb (North Africa), the term *marabout* expanded to include disciples of Islamic teachers, members of Sufi fraternities, and mystical spiritual teachers of Islam. By the 19th century *marabout* evolved to incorporate anyone associated with the orthodox Muslim faction in the religious wars in the SENEGAMBIA. Its development as a term illustrates the increasing and changing role of Islam in spiritual, cultural, and political life in North and West Africa.

The marabout, along with merchants and traders, played an essential role in the dispersion of Islam in the Maghreb. Seen as an alternative to the intellectual, elite Islam of urban Arab migrants, the marabout were known for their miracles and magic, gaining popularity especially among rural populations. Described as populist in their politics, the marabout became highly influential, gaining followers and integrating into regional political and social structures. Although they gained much popular support, some Islamic kingdoms, including the Almoravid dynasty in Morocco, persecuted them as heretics as early as the 12th century. Under the Almohad dynasty, successors to the Almoravids, the marabout gained power, increasing their influence until the century, when they again faced persecution by Moroccan political and religious leaders.

While some marabout established themselves as resident teachers and spiritual leaders, becoming powerful leaders in Islamic dynasties, others remained wandering teachers, bringing Islam to rural areas. Part of their success came through their willingness and ability to incorporate pre-Islamic beliefs with the teachings of the Qur'an. This led to local variations among the marabout, following regional differences in indigenous spiritual practices. Despite these regional differences, the marabout remained priests and scholars of the Qur'an, making Islam the dominant political and spiritual force throughout North and West Africa by the end of the early modern period.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Maravi

Called Malawi by the Portuguese who colonized their homeland, the Maravi controlled a powerful confederacy in the 15th and 16th centuries in what is today Malawi, Zambia, and Mozambique.

The Maravi, meaning "people of the fire flames," a heterogeneous group comprising several distinct ethnic groups such as the Chewa, Chipeta, and Nyanja, migrated to the area between the Shire and Zambezi Rivers from Katanga (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) around the 13th century. By the 15th century they controlled a powerful alliance that dominated the ivory trade in the region. The Maravi Confederacy included connections with the Lundu peoples to the north and, after 1497 and the arrival of VASCO DA GAMA, the Portuguese. Ruled by hereditary kings from the Phiri clan, the Maravi Confederacy collected tribute in the form of grain, which was redistributed in times of famine. These kings also controlled the lucrative trade in ivory and iron, valuable goods demanded by Swahili traders engaged in markets along the eastern coast from Mogadishu to Mozambique. As the Portuguese made their way farther up the Zambezi River, they increased their trade with the Maravi peoples for guns, ammunition, cloth, and beads. Although this new avenue of trade brought the Maravi prosperity, it also brought conflict over who would control the trade in ivory and GOLD. The Maravi attempted to open new Trade routes to the Indian Ocean free from Portuguese interference by conquering Makua territory in Mozambique. Lundu opposition forced the Maravi Confederacy to ally with the Portuguese, resulting in a Lundu defeat and open access for the Maravi to the Indian Ocean. By the late 17th century the Maravi Confederacy was in decline and in the process of disintegrating into several smaller political entities.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Martinique

One of the islands of the Lesser Antilles and originally inhabited by Island CARIB at the time of first contact with Europeans, Martinique eventually developed into one of France's most important SUGAR islands.

Island Carib disappeared from Martinique due to epidemics caused by the introduction of European DISEASES, for which the Natives had no immunities, Spanish slave raiding (see SLAVE TRADE), and warfare with French colonists, who first settled Martinique in 1635. Because of active Island Carib resistance and little support from France, the colony grew slowly in its early years. Additionally, Dutch trading with the colonists limited French profits and hindered investments from France. Martinique's position was so precarious that in 1653 Carib almost drove the French from the island. Finally, from 1664 to 1674, the French government, under the guidance of the finance minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert, successfully initiated measures that promoted the production of sugar on the island, eliminated the Dutch trade with Martinique, and ended the Island Carib threat to the island. The importation of African slaves increased rapidly as Martinique's economy centralized on the production of sugar, and SLAVERY continued as the primary labor force until the institution was permanently abolished by French law in 1815.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## Mary I (1496–1558) *queen of England*

First child of King HENRY VIII and later queen herself, Mary's attempts to bring England back to the Roman Catholic Church were to result in religious and political divisiveness in her kingdom.

Mary Tudor was born in 1496, the only child of Henry VIII and his first wife, Catherine of Aragón, herself the daughter of the Spanish monarchs FERDINAND AND ISABELLA. Although she would eventually ascend the throne of England, her position was precarious throughout most of her life. She had lived in exile with her mother since childhood, a victim of her father's repudiation of her Catholic mother for the Protestant Anne Boleyn. Mary's lot was made even more difficult by the fact that she remained a fervent

Catholic, even in the face of opposition by her father and his supporters and subsequently throughout the reign of her younger brother Edward and his ultra-Protestant guardians.

Edward died at a young age in 1553, leaving Mary next in line for the throne, according to her father's act of succession. However, the Protestant partisans who had enjoyed power throughout the reigns of both her brother and her father feared that the ascension of Catholic Mary would entail a loss of power for them and perhaps persecution for all Protestants in England. To forestall what they saw as impending disaster, the Protestant magnates, led by the earl of Northumberland, named Henry VIII's Protestant grandniece Jane Grey as queen. Mary resisted this usurpation, declaring herself queen and raising her supporters to take the throne. Support for the Protestant regime melted away at the news of Mary's sudden and immense following, and no battle for the throne ever took place. On July 19, less than two weeks after Edward's death, Mary was proclaimed queen.

Mary took the throne to widespread acclaim but proceeded to make blunders that alienated her subjects and prevented her from governing effectively. The first of her mistakes was to contract a marriage with PHILIP II of Spain. A Habsburg-Tudor match had been proposed when Mary was only six years old, to Philip's father, the young CHARLES V. The marriage was canceled when Henry set aside Mary's mother. On July 25, 1554, the alliance was renewed when Mary married Philip, a reluctant tool of his father's foreign policy, in which an alliance with the English was necessary for the defense of the Low Countries. Mary was looking for an ally in her plans to restore England to the Catholic Church as well as an heir who would continue her religious policy. The envisioned heir could also be counted on to protect the Low Countries from France, freeing up Don Carlos, Philip's son by a previous marriage, to concentrate on Spain and the Mediterranean. Unfortunately for the plans of both sides, Mary, 39 years old at the time of her marriage and rarely visited by her unenthusiastic spouse, never bore any children. In fact, far from solving England's deepening religious schism, the match only worsened it, making the Spaniards highly unpopular in England. English magnates had resisted the match, feeling that a foreign marriage—especially one to a power as strong as Spain—would reduce England to a subject position, much like Scotland's relationship to France. When the House of Commons petitioned against the match, Mary dissolved PARLIAMENT and went through with the marriage on her own, alienating many supporters in the process. Resistance soon turned to open rebellion, resulting in the execution of 100 rebels as well as Jane Grey, whom Mary's supporters believed might become a flash point for future uprisings. Mary's supporters also urged her to execute her half sister Elizabeth on the same grounds, but although Mary imprisoned her in the

Tower of London, she could never bring herself to sign her execution warrant. In the end, Mary survived a major crisis early in her reign, but at the cost of identifying English Catholics with Spanish overlordship and Protestantism with anti-Spanish English patriotism.

Mary's other major mistake was to identify popular enthusiasm for her succession with support for the Catholic cause she championed. During the first year of her reign, she convinced Parliament to repeal most of the reforms from her brother Edward's reign, although with the stipulation that seized church properties be allowed to remain with their new owners. However, neither Parliament nor the people were ready to accept Catholicism as a state religion again. Protestantism continued to thrive underground, and Mary and her supporters responded by taking stronger action, eventually resulting in the public burnings of 286 Protestants, commemorated in *FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS*. Mary's heavy-handed attempt to bring her subjects back to the Roman Church and the resultant publicity, far from achieving the desired effect, merely served to create sympathy for the Protestant cause and to deepen the religious divide between her subjects. This precarious religious situation was to be Mary's principal legacy to her half sister and successor, ELIZABETH I, when Mary died on November 17, 1558

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## Massachusetts

The Massachusetts Indians, who probably had a precontact population of about 22,000, were among the first North American Native peoples to have sustained contact with English settlers.

The Massachusetts and their neighbors, including the Pequot, Mohegan, Wampanoag, Pokanoket, and Nipmuck, spoke related eastern ALGONQUIAN languages. Precontact boundaries between Native peoples in the region are difficult to determine, but before contact the Massachusetts apparently lived on the south side of Massachusetts Bay, between the Pawtucket to the north and the Pokanoket to the south.

Like other Indian groups in present-day southern New England, the Massachusetts relied on a combination of farming, hunting, and gathering to obtain their food. Women planted and tended fields of CORN, beans, pumpkins, squash, TOBACCO, and sunflowers. They also gathered a wide variety of edible wild plants, including roots, strawber-

ries, blackberries, grapes, walnuts, acorns, and chestnuts. Men used bows and arrows to hunt animals, particularly deer, but also bear, turkey, and other wildlife. Communities also relied on fish, shellfish, seals, and stranded whales.

The Massachusetts moved seasonally within a restricted area in order to take advantage of resources available at different times of the year. In the spring they planted their fields, then moved to the banks of rivers or to the ocean to catch fish. They returned to harvest their fields in the autumn, and the harvest was followed by winter hunts. They did not move together as one large "tribe." Rather, groups of extended families moved together, coming together at some times of the year and splitting up at others.

The Massachusetts lived in homes called wigwams. These were semicircular lodges formed by tying a circle of bent poles at the top and covering the resulting framework with woven mats or sheets of bark. The average wigwam was about 14 to 16 feet in diameter and could house two families. The Massachusetts also sometimes built larger houses, which might be 100 feet long and 30 feet wide. These bark-covered longhouses could hold 40 to 50 people.

Political authority among the Massachusetts was held by men (and sometimes women) known as sachems. A sachem was a village leader who held office through a combination of hereditary status and desirable personal qualities, including charisma, courage, and political skill. Sachems generally held office for life unless they lost the community's confidence. They led primarily through persuasion, and their coercive powers were limited. Although a few sachems were women, in general, Massachusetts life was male-dominated. Men held greater authority both in politics and within the family, and residence patterns were commonly patrilocal.

Religious leaders, known as powwows, were important to the Massachusetts. The Massachusetts believed in two major deities, Kiehtan (or Chepian) and Hobbamock (or Abamacho), as well as other spiritual beings. Communities relied on powwows to interpret dreams, predict the future, and cure disease. They also believed that powwows could change their shape or take the form of an animal. The Massachusetts respected the powwows for their ability to influence the spiritual world but also feared them, for the same power that allowed powwows to cure allowed them to cause DISEASE. A powwow who failed to protect the people from a disaster, such as an epidemic, might be accused of witchcraft.

The Massachusetts probably first encountered Europeans in the early 16th century. European explorers who saw the Massachusetts or nearby Indian groups include GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO (1524), Bartholomew Gosnold (1602), Martin Pring (1603), and John Smith (1614). Between 1600 and 1620 the Massachusetts and other New England Indian nations probably lost at least half their

population to European disease, which made them less able to resist Puritan incursions into their lands.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Maya

One of the most brilliant, sophisticated cultures of the ancient NEW WORLD, whose civilization encompassed the YUCATÁN PENINSULA, Guatemala, Belize, and Honduras.

The "discovery" of the Maya by modern scholars is an interesting story in and of itself. To most of the outside world, it was a "lost" civilization, despite the fact that almost 7 million Maya still live in their ancestral lands. Writer John L. Stephens visited many of the larger ruins in 1839, such as COPÁN, CHICHÉN ITZÁ, Uxmal, and PALENQUE. His travel writings became international best-sellers and led to scholarly interest in the Maya. Although the Maya ruins contained many carved hieroglyphs, archaeologists were unable to make sense of them. Sir Eric Thompson realized that many of the glyphs contained numbers and developed a hypothesis that the Maya were a peaceful people who were concerned only about the abstract movement of time, calendars, and mathematics. This vision of the Maya survived until the 1980s, when a new generation of scholars began investigating these people. In one of the 20th century's great scientific discoveries, scholars investigating the glyphs were able to crack the code, enabling them to translate Maya writing. These new advances, along with more sophisticated archaeological studies, have revolutionized our understanding of the Maya. Instead of being an ethereal, philosophical culture, it is clear that the Maya were a violent, complex people very much interested in the workings of the real world.

### Brief Chronology

Archaeologists have divided the cultures of ancient MEXICO into three major periods: the preclassic (or formative), the classic, and the postclassic. The culture of the Maya spans

all three of these periods, making it one of the longest-lasting in the region. The preclassic (roughly 1500 B.C. to A.D. 200) was an era of great experimentation that led to the development of many of the cultural traits that defined the later Maya culture. The Maya's slash-and-burn farming, in which community members cleared a field of trees and vegetation and then burned it to add a layer of nutrient-rich ash, provided sufficient food to support a growing populace. Maya leaders began to develop the symbols and rituals of kingship, borrowing heavily from their neighbors the OLMECS. These royal trappings remained remarkably stable over the centuries, with Maya kings using the same symbols of authority until the Spanish conquest. Maya religion also took shape during this time. The great Maya cities of the preclassic were Nak'be and El Mirador. The latter city was perhaps the largest Maya city ever built, containing enormous temples, raised platforms, and plazas. Its decline around A.D. 100 led to the development of new cities that flourished during the classic period.

Many developments that began in the preclassic reached their apogee in the classic era, which ran from A.D. 200 to 900. The population continued to grow, supported by intensive agricultural systems that converted many of the outlying regions into farmland. Moving away from simple slash-and-burn agriculture, the Maya constructed elaborate terracing systems, irrigation, and raised field networks to turn marginal areas into productive farmland. A number of Maya sites developed into densely populated cities, including Palenque, Dos Pilas, Kalakmul, Quiriguá, Copán, and TIKAL. The residents of these cities traded extensively among themselves and with many other regions of Mesoamerica. A clear example of this trend is that a number of Maya cities established contact with the great city of TEOTIHUACÁN in central Mexico, which led to cultural, religious, artistic, and military transformations across the region. The hallmark of this period was the development of writing. While it is clear that numerals, royal names, and city symbols had been developed many years before, it was in the classic period when true writing with syntax, complex signs, and grammar appeared. Through the decipherment of these texts, epigraphers have been able to chart the rise and fall of kings, the vicissitudes of war, and the religious beliefs of the Maya.

Around 900 the classic period came to an end. Written records abruptly cease, and over time the Maya abandoned their great cities in the lowlands. A great deal of scholarly attention has focused on the "collapse" of the classic Maya. Recent discoveries have shed light on this crucial era. It appears that as the population grew, competition between the cities also intensified. Warfare, which had been a highly ritualized affair, became more violent, destructive, and widespread. A number of cities engaged in what has been called "total war," which led to the wholesale destruction



of sites. It seems that large-scale immigration away from the lowlands began at this time as residents fled from the demands of warmongering rulers and marauding armies.

The final era of the ancient Maya was the postclassic. While many archaeologists view this as a step backward in terms of culture, it is clear that many of the traditional elements of Maya society continued, although adapted to meet new circumstances. Most of the postclassic period was characterized by militarism. Postclassic Maya culture centered on two main areas: the Guatemalan highlands and the northern portion of the Yucatán Peninsula. In the highlands two powerful kingdoms emerged: the Quiché (K'iche') and the Kachiquels. Both were highly militaristic, containing heavily fortified cities and allowing a degree of upward social mobility for successful warriors. The kingdoms of the Yucatán were smaller but created a series of shifting military alliances to protect their interests. By the high standards of the classical era, art and architecture were of lesser quality. This period was also characterized by more extensive incursions by groups from central Mexico. Around 1000 the TOLTECS exerted considerable pressure on the northern Maya kingdoms, conquering Chichén Itzá and using it as a power base of their own. In the early 1500s the AZTECS began penetrating the Maya region. Evidence suggests that they captured the Putún Maya city of Xicallango in TABASCO as well as Xoconusco, a region of southern Guatemala, from which they put pressure on the Quiché. The postclassic ended with the Spanish conquest.

With the arrival of the Spaniards, the colonial era began. A popular misconception suggests that the Maya simply vanished after the Spaniards moved into the region, but the Spaniards had great difficulty in conquering and holding the Maya area. PEDRO DE ALVARADO succeeded in conquering the Quiché and Kachiquel kingdoms, but rebellions against Spanish rule in the Guatemalan highlands were so frequent that the area became known as the "Land of War." Francisco de Montejo had no better luck in the Yucatán. In both these areas the lack of precious metals and the tenacious resistance of the Maya forced the Spaniards to all but abandon the region. Essentially, the Maya continued to live on their ancestral lands following traditional customs with relatively little interference. The interior of the Maya area was not even tentatively conquered until quite late in the colonial period: The Itzá Maya kingdom of Tayasal (modern Flores, Guatemala) fell to the Spaniards in 1697, almost 200 years after the Spaniards first arrived.

### **Political Structure**

The modern understanding of the Maya's political systems has changed rapidly in recent years. Earlier, scholars believed that the Maya kingdoms were small, peaceful entities ruled by a "philosopher king." Decipherment of the Maya's writing system has allowed for a fuller, more



A monument to Mayan warriors, from Oaxaca in Mexico  
(Hulton/Archive)

realistic assessment. Unlike the Aztecs and INCAS, the Maya did not have a single empire ruled over by a single ruler. Maya kingdoms were smaller, more along the lines of the city-states of Renaissance Italy. The kingdoms consisted of forests, farmland, and outlying villages that were all ruled from a larger capital city. The urban centers were densely populated, and residents used much of the surrounding land for intensive agricultural purposes. Most kingdoms were divided into provinces of some sort, with a noble of royal lineage set up as a local magistrate or governor. A small number of states became more powerful and absorbed a number of their neighbors to form larger "empires." The most powerful of these empires during the classic era were Tikal and its rival, Kalakmul. To achieve greater power and position, many Maya kingdoms formed alliances with distant kingdoms. This strategy secured borders or trade routes and provided a defense against a potentially hostile state. Tikal and Kalakmul both tried to

use alliance networks to outflank each other, often urging their surrogates to fight wars on their behalf.

At the center of each kingdom was the holy king, called the *ahaw* (or *ahau*). Like the pharaohs of Egypt, these *ahaws* were sacred—the living embodiment of the gods. As such, they were able to communicate directly with the gods, petitioning for the gods' continuing benevolence. The sacred aspect of the *ahaw* ensured that bloodlines were strictly guarded. Both men and women inherited this divine blood, and marriages were arranged so that heirs would have as much of this sacred element as possible. The *ahaw* held absolute power within the kingdom. At times he would consult with counsels of elders (who were usually princes of the blood), but in his guise as divine representative his word was final. The *ahaw* was expected to be a competent general and bring military glory to his realm. Frequently, he celebrated his ascension to power by attacking a rival kingdom in order to capture victims for sacrifice. He was also expected to pray and offer sacrifices on behalf of his people. In ceremonies of national importance or in times of national emergencies, the *ahaw* would perform a series of blood-letting ceremonies. After days of fasting, he would pierce his tongue, ears, or penis with a knife or stingray spine and pass a rope of thorns through the wound. The object was to splatter the blood onto sacred strips of paper, which were then burned over ritual fires of incense. The Maya believed that visions of gods or ancestral spirits would appear in the smoke and communicate with the *ahaw*. These bloodletting rituals were the fundamental connection between the people, their ruler, and the gods.

### Religion

One of the most pervasive elements of Maya religion was the idea that the cosmos was governed by cycles of time that were constantly in motion. Some of these cycles were very long, while others were brief. In practical terms this meant that nothing truly ended, and nothing truly began. The cosmos was created, later destroyed, only to be created anew. Agricultural gods died but through their death ensured rebirth of new crops. On the human level parents died, but children continued their legacy on earth. Death and destruction were never permanent, nor was life eternal. All people, gods, and events were bound on a great cosmic wheel that turned endlessly. The present creation, just one in an endless series, began August, 13, 3114 B.C. It is not clear why the Maya chose this particular date, as the first recognizable Maya villages did not appear for thousands of years afterward. Nevertheless, they considered this point the beginning of the present cycle of creation, which would end on December 23, 2012. The Maya felt that the end of the great cycle would not bring about an absolute Apocalypse, but the death of this era of creation would serve to give birth to a new one.

The importance of these cycles is evident in the Popol Vuh, a great compendium of Maya thought and belief written down shortly after the Spanish conquest. In this work humans were not simply created *ex nihilo*. First, the gods experimented by making people of mud. These specimens were imperfect and ultimately destroyed. Later, the gods fashioned new humans from wood. These, too, proved inadequate and, again, needed to be destroyed. Finally, the gods made people from their own flesh. They were the most successful, although the act of creation greatly weakened the gods themselves. Therefore, it became the duty of humans to make sacrifices to the gods, who continued to support the cosmos.

Unfortunately, the Maya gods themselves remain poorly understood. The main problem in understanding the roles and characteristics of the Maya gods has been that most of the information regarding them dates from the postconquest period and was often colored by the prejudices of the Spanish missionaries who recorded information from indigenous informants. There were as many as 166 named gods in the pantheon, although their duties and spheres of influence were seldom mentioned in the texts that have survived. Moreover, it is clear that there were vast religious differences between Maya regions. At the time of the conquest, Kukulcán, the Feathered Serpent, was an important royal god in the Yucatán, but it seems clear that he was a Maya version of the central Mexican god QUETZALCOATL brought by Toltec invaders in the 10th century. Therefore, he was all but unknown in the Maya cities to the south during the classic era. Several of the Maya gods had some connection with food and fertility, which is not surprising in a culture that depended on intensive agriculture. One of the oldest, most important Maya gods was Chak, the rain god. It is possible that he was adopted from the Olmecs during the preclassic period. Whatever his origin, Chak the Thunderer was among the most venerated and most frequently depicted of Maya gods; his cult has survived to the present day.

One final aspect of Maya religion was its preoccupation with Xibalba, the underworld. For the Maya, Xibalba was a bleak, watery realm where most living things went after they died. Even the sun and the moon passed through this dismal land on their constant journeys through the skies. Caverns and pools of water were seen as gateways to this dark land and thus became both venerated and feared. Among the most frequently depicted gods in Maya art were the nightmarish Lords of Xibalba—nine lords of death, disease, and filth who were the constant scourge of humans. Many of these images survive in tombs, depicted in ceramics, paintings, and royal carvings, either alone or in conjunction with the Hero Twins, who defeated them in one of the most memorable sections of the Popol Vuh.

### ***The Maya Writing System***

The Maya writing system was the most fully developed in the Americas. Other cultures, such as the Zapotecs, Mixtecs, and Aztecs developed rudimentary writing, but the Maya had an integrated system that used complex grammar. Much of the writing dealt with religion. The texts were in books made of long strips of beaten bark paper, folded accordion-style to make individual pages. For the most part these books were religious almanacs that listed the cycles of the sun, moon, and Venus, ascribing ritual significance to the days, and explaining which gods were associated with the various cycles. Only four books of this type have survived from the Maya area. Many decayed naturally in the hot, tropical climate of the Maya region, but most were destroyed by Spanish missionaries, who felt they were heretical and ordered them burned. Maya also used writing to commemorate completed cycles of time. Maya rulers set up stone monuments to mark important anniversaries of the Maya calendar. These monuments have helped clarify the reigns of Maya kings and have provided some of the most notable Maya sculpture in existence.

The majority of Maya texts, historical in nature, were carved on stone monuments, plaques, and tomb walls. These texts detail the great events of rulers' lives, list the *ahaws'* ancestors, and relate the great deeds of former rulers as well. This material has helped scholars to reconstruct Maya political history and to understand the relationships among Maya states. The texts also describe the great rituals of the Maya world, particularly those associated with coronation and warfare. These monuments at times create problems for scholars because they often discuss the reigns of certain rulers, leaving large gaps in the historical record. Additionally, these monuments list only the important moments of an *ahaw's* life. It would be much like trying to reconstruct the life of Abraham Lincoln based on the inscribed text of the Lincoln Memorial. Further, because the chroniclers tended to depict their rulers in a favorable light, much of the writing consists of propaganda. Readers who encounter descriptions of the length of an *ahaw's* reign, his conquests, and his lineages must cross-reference particular parts to ensure that the information is accurate.

All surviving evidence confirms that the Maya were a highly sophisticated people living in ancient Mesoamerica. They developed an advanced system of writing and calendars, which has allowed modern scholars to unravel the mysteries of Maya history. Although their civilization had been in long decline by the time the Spaniards arrived, they were much more successful than most Native groups in resisting the Spanish CONQUISTADORES and maintaining their culture under Spanish rule. They continue to survive today, with more than 7 million Maya living in Mexico and Central America.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### **Mbundu**

Despite heavy involvement in the SLAVE TRADE with the Portuguese, the Mbundu resisted Portuguese attempts at colonization of their territory throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

Mbundu oral tradition describes how three separate Bantu-speaking ethnic groups migrated in the 15th century from central and east central Africa to the northern coast of present-day Angola and coalesced into a larger single ethnic group. The Mbundu ancestors brought with them sophisticated ironmaking techniques, an agricultural tradition, and a unifying belief in a divine kingship. *Ngola*, or lineage emblems passed down in matrilineal succession, formed the basis of the Mbundu political structure. By 1500 the Ndongo monarchy, largest of the Mbundu kingdoms, established its capital at Kabasa. The Ndongo had a three-part mixed economy based on agriculture, artisanry, and trade.

Proximity to the coast and control of major trade routes brought the Ndongo into contact with Portuguese traders early in the 16th century. In 1520 the Portuguese issued a royal decree requiring Mbundu conversion to Christianity. Catholic missionaries established a mission near present-day Luanda, but the Mbundu of Ndongo proved indifferent to the new religion, unlike their Kongo counterparts to the north. The Ndongo king was interested in trading with the Europeans, not in adopting their religion, and outlawed preaching of the gospel. Later Ndongo rulers, such as NZINGA, also resisted Portuguese colonization but desired to maintain trade relationships with the Europeans. The major source of trade between the Mbundu and the



Portuguese was in humans bound for the transatlantic slave trade. Resistance to and participation in the slave trade destroyed many of the Mbundu kingdoms, including the Ndongo, whose capital fell to the Portuguese in 1669.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Mecca

The holiest of cities in the Islamic world, Mecca was the birthplace of Muhammad and served in the 16th century, as it does now, as the primary destination for Muslims making the hajj (pilgrimage) in accordance with the tenets of ISLAM.

Centuries before Islam's founding, Mecca was a trading town on the caravan routes through the part of the Arabian Peninsula known as the Hijaz. Arabic for “barrier,” the Hijaz is part of a geologic fault between Africa and Asia. Its landscape, formed in part by volcanic activity, sustains little vegetation except in isolated areas. Although bounded by mountains on the east, and despite its forbidding climate and topography, the Hijaz was in a prime location to access various trade routes of the Red Sea, which formed its western edge. Mecca, most likely founded in the fifth century by one of Muhammad's ancestors, Qusayy ibn Kilab, became a trading center by the sixth century, but its importance stemmed less from its commercial activity than from its connection to the Ka'ba—a local shrine built near the famous well of Zamzam.

The Ka'ba, which means cube, is a small, houselike structure reputedly built by Abraham and his son Ishmael, but probably built by Arab pagans in the first or second century. It has as its cornerstone a small black stone of meteoric origins and was already a place of pilgrimage and worship for numerous local and regional religions, including Christianity, by the time of Mecca's founding. The shrine's draw as a pilgrimage site proved to be lucrative for the traders who controlled the *haram*, or the sacred area of the shrine. These traders were the Quraysh, Muhammad's ancestors. When Muhammad began preaching against the practice of any religion but Islam, which forbids the worship of any god but Allah (the Muslim word for God), he was forced out of Mecca because his teachings threatened the continuance of the lucrative pilgrimage. Muhammad went north to escape from his persecutors in 622 to the trading city of Yathrib, renamed Medinat an-Nabi, or

Medina, “City of the Prophet.” This flight to Medina, called the *hijrah*, marks the beginning of the Muslim calendar and the beginning of Medina's rank as the second holy of Islam. Muhammad returned to Mecca at the head of an army, defeating the Meccan army at the battle of Badr in 623. He removed all idols from the Ka'ba, claiming it for the sole use of Muslims, and established it as the primary pilgrimage site for all who adhere to Islam.

Mecca's importance as a pilgrimage site increased as Islam spread to Africa, Asia, and Europe. From the 13th to the 16th century, Mecca was under the control of the Islamic Mamluk Empire of Egypt, whose links to Spain, North Africa, the SUDAN, India, and Malaysia encouraged greater pilgrimage numbers from those areas. Perhaps the most famous hajj was that of MANSA MUSA I of MALI in 1324, during which this African king distributed so much GOLD in Cairo on his way to Mecca that he depressed the gold market in the Egyptian city. By the end of the 15th century, 30,000 to 40,000 pilgrims gathered annually in Cairo to make the hajj, 20,000 to 30,000 in Damascus, and smaller numbers traveled via other cities linked to the Hijaz.

Mecca's reputation was known across the world. In the early 15th century it attracted a Chinese traveler named MA HUAN, who is now best known as one of the chroniclers of the long-distance expeditions launched by the Ming admiral Cheng Ho. Ma Huan, who was born around 1530, left a detailed commentary of his visit to the city (and other places along his journey). When he arrived in Mecca, he was impressed by the religious commitment of the people he met in the place he called “the country of the Heavenly Square.” The locals “profess the Muslim religion,” he wrote. “A holy man first expounded and spread the doctrine of his teaching in this country, and right down to the present day the people of the country all observe the regulations of the doctrine in their actions, not daring to commit the slightest transgression.” Ma Huan marveled at the extraordinary number of pilgrims who came to the city, each of whom took away a small piece of the woven hemp created to cover parts of the temple and repeatedly remade so that once a new covering was gone a new one would be ready to take its place.

From early on Mecca was closed to all but the faithful. This situation became more important with the growing threat of *renegados* (adventurers) to the Hijaz after the opening of the sea route around the Cape of Good Hope by VASCO DA GAMA. One of these *renegados*, Ludovico di Varthema from Bologna, disguised himself as a Mamluk and traveled through the Muslim holy land in 1503. He visited the Prophet's tomb in Medina, made the hajj to Mecca, and left the first account of the cities written by a European, included in collections of travel accounts edited by RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER. Di Varthema's tales



were inaccurate on some counts (he described two “unicorns” kept in a pen near the Ka’ba) but were nonetheless important descriptions of the cities, the hajj, and the pilgrims themselves. In 1517 the Ottoman Empire took control of the Hijaz and the holy cities, which opened the region to greater European contact. The Ottomans, under SULEIMAN I conquered large areas of southern and eastern Europe, taking slaves from the region and converting them to Islam. Some of these European slaves were taken to the Muslim holy land either to sell or as part of the entourage of those making the pilgrimage to Mecca. Much of European understanding of the Hijaz during this period came from the accounts of these enslaved Europeans.

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—Lisa M. Brady

### **Mendoza, Antonio de** (1490–1552) *viceroy*

The first viceroy of NEW SPAIN, who was instrumental in establishing the colonial administration of the Spanish empire in the Western Hemisphere, Mendoza also set the standard to which all subsequent officials aspired.

Mendoza was born in Granada, Spain, in 1490, the son of a powerful aristocratic family. He began his career as a diplomat in the court of CHARLES V, serving as an administrator and royal ambassador in Flanders and Hungary. His actions suggest that he was intensely loyal to the king and frequently used his talents to strengthen royal authority wherever he worked. He was intelligent and a skilled politician, which allowed him to rise through the ranks of the bureaucracy without making powerful enemies. He had become a trusted adviser to the king, and his talents and political finesse made him a natural selection in 1535 to be the first viceroy of the newly conquered territories in MEXICO.

From the beginning Mendoza realized he had an extremely dangerous task. New Spain had only recently been conquered, and several Native groups were all too willing to rebel against Spanish rule. Moreover, the CONQUISTADORES were ranging across the area, ransacking villages and setting themselves up as regional powers in their own right. HERNÁN CORTÉS was particularly dangerous; the Crown was deathly afraid that this charismatic leader was becoming too powerful and too independent. Thus,

Mendoza had the difficult job of establishing royal authority, developing the colony, pacifying the Natives, and slowly quieting the conquistadores.

In many regards Mendoza succeeded admirably. He promoted the creation of royal officials such as the *CORREGIDOR*, which would reign in the powers of the *CABILDOS* and monitor the *ENCOMIENDAS* of the region. Mendoza enhanced the power of the royal treasury by improving record keeping, creating a mint in Mexico City, and streamlining the collection of taxes and tribute. He also codified laws regarding the SILVER trade and built a foundry in the capital. Concerned with the plight of the Natives, he curtailed the activities of the conquistadores, attempted to regulate Native working conditions, constructed a school for sons of the indigenous nobility, and made it a point to hear their grievances regularly. He also sponsored further explorations of NEW MEXICO, Guatemala, and the YUCATÁN PENINSULA, in part to occupy the time of some of the more restless conquistadores. Finally, he commissioned Native informants to produce a document that would inform Charles about his newly conquered subjects: the Codex Mendoza. Today, the Codex Mendoza is one of the most important sources of information regarding the culture and politics of the former Aztec Empire.

In order to maintain royal power, Mendoza at times had to go against the express wishes of the king. For example, Mendoza realized that Charles’s elimination of the *encomiendas* in 1542 could lead to open rebellion in New Spain, as it had in PERU. Hoping to defuse the situation, he developed a political philosophy that is best expressed in his famous statement—“I obey but I will not comply.” In other words, while maintaining his loyalty to the Crown, he would not implement any law that would seriously undermine royal authority. Instead, he would send royal orders back to Spain for “clarification” or bury them in bureaucratic paperwork. As time went on, he became more and more cautious of passing controversial laws and delayed action on issues he considered “reckless.” While caution was not necessarily a bad thing, it did create a tradition whereby the government often avoided taking decisive action. At the end of his term in office, he proudly proclaimed a maxim that became a mantra for future viceroys: “I did little, and I did it slowly.” The Crown assigned him to become the viceroy of Peru in 1551, but he died a year later.

Mendoza became the ideal royal bureaucrat. Subsequent viceroys followed his political philosophies and closely examined his legal briefs and opinions. In office Mendoza stabilized the government, helped develop the colony, and maintained good order. On the negative side, his actions produced substantial bureaucratic tangles that tended to limit the effectiveness of the government he helped create.

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—Scott Chamberlain

**Mercator, Gerhardus** (1512–1594) *geographer, cartographer*

A geographer, Mercator pioneered the 16th-century boom in mapmaking while also contributing to Europeans' better understanding of the earth's spherical nature.

A pair of 15th-century events led to the 16th-century evolution and growth of the mapmaking business. Leading the way was the rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geography*, an event that advanced the profession of the mapmaker, making theirs a respectable trade. In addition, JOHANNES GENSFLEISCH ZUM GUTENBERG's Bible, printed with moveable type (see PRINTING PRESS), first rolled off the

presses in 1454. Shortly thereafter, printers produced illustrative maps combined with texts, offering readers a rich combination of geographical images, illustrations, and printed material about sea voyages and exotic places in convenient packages during the age of growing curiosity and discovery. Ptolemy's *Geography* led the way, possessing all the requirements of a beautiful book and a saleable product, all the while spreading knowledge about the planet. Printers turned out seven folio editions of the *Geography*, cementing its place in the geographical canon well into the 16th century.

Born in Flanders, Mercator studied philosophy and theology at the University of Louvain before turning to studies of mathematics and astronomy. Combined, the disciplines served him well as he added the skills of engraving, instrument making, and surveying to his résumé. In 1537, at the age of 25, he produced a small-scale map of Palestine. Over the next three years he worked on a map of Flanders. Emperor CHARLES V was so impressed with the end product that he commissioned Mercator to make a terrestrial globe.

Because of religious fanaticism, Mercator found Louvain of the 1540s a dangerous place. Ruled by the Catholic regent Mary, the queen dowager of Hungary, Flanders was a hotbed of persecution. In 1544 authorities caught Mercator and 42 others in a roundup of suspected Lutherans. Two of the accused were buried alive, two burned at the stake, and one beheaded. Although all were supposed to be burned at the stake, the officials offered those willing to repent an escape from the torture. Instead, the men would be put to death by sword and the women buried alive. While imprisoned and awaiting his fate for months, Mercator was saved by the efforts of a parish priest who lobbied for and secured his release. Cognizant of the best route out of the area, Mercator left for safer territory.

In 1552 Mercator was invited to become professor of cosmography at a new university in the Prussian town of Duisburg on the Rhine. After the professorship failed to materialize, he assumed the duties of cosmographer to the duke of Cleves. He settled permanently in Duisburg, producing the first modern maps of Europe and Great Britain. In 1568 he published *Mercator's Chronology . . . from the beginning of the world up to 1568, done from eclipses and astronomical observations*. One year later he unveiled his highly influential first world map based on the projection he invented. Building from knowledge based on Ptolemy's grid of latitudes and longitudes, Mercator imagined the lines of longitude to be like cuts on an orange. This allowed him to peel the segments off the rind and lay them down next to one another on a table, thus allowing sailors to align their compass projections while gazing at a rectangular sheet of paper laid out on a table. Using this process, the



Gerhardus Mercator (Hulton/Archive)

shapes on the surface could keep their form, although their dimensions were slightly enlarged.

Along with his map of the world, Mercator established a new standard for map engraving and lettering. With the help of Abraham Ortelius, Aegidiuss Hoofman, and Chrisophe Plantin, Mercator and his friends helped bring forth the first modern, marketable atlas. An early version of the new medium rolled off Plantin's Antwerp presses in 1570. Theirs was a product with immediate commercial success. Appearing in more than 40 editions by 1612, the atlas was translated into Latin, German, Dutch, French, Spanish, English, and Italian. Combined, the early cartographers, map makers, and printers brought the discoveries of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, FERDINAND MAGELLAN, AMERIGO VESPUCCI, VASCO NÚÑEZ DE BALBOA, and others to countless people once the atlas became portable, although early versions adorned with fancy binding became expensive showpieces on noble and royal bookshelves.

Mercator had planned a three-volume atlas, of which he published two parts before his death in 1594. Mercator's son Rumold completed the project under the title *Atlas, or cosmographical meditations upon the creation of the universe and the universe as created*.

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—Matt Lindamann

## mestizaje

An initial shortage of Spanish women and families in 16th-century Latin America, combined with the increasing reliance on imported African slaves by Spanish settlers, contributed to the widespread practice of *mestizaje* (inter-racial sexual relations).

According to some estimates, the proportion of Spanish women to Spanish men never exceeded 10 per 100 in colonial Latin America. Most married Spanish men left their wives behind in Europe, and of the small number of Spanish women who journeyed to the NEW WORLD during the 16th century, many encountered great difficulty in adjusting to the high altitude (the Andean plains) or to the tropics. As a result, reproduction among the Spanish proved almost nonexistent during the early years of conquest and colonization. Largely because of the low numbers of available Spanish women adapted to the rigors of life in the Western Hemisphere, the first *criollo* (an individual of European parentage born in the Americas) birth in POTOSÍ

did not occur until 53 years after the initial conquest. In the absence of Spanish women, beginning with the CONQUISTADORES, Spanish men engaged in sexual relations with and in some cases married Native women.

The acceptance of the practice of concubinage (the cohabitation of persons not legally married) also contributed to the pervasiveness of *mestizaje*. While indigenous women were sometimes forced or coerced into sexual relations with Spanish men, Indians also offered female daughters and wives as gifts or tribute to the Spanish, usually with the intent of consolidating amiable relations with the conquistadores. In turn, particularly during the early years of conquest and settlement, Spanish men took Indian women of good lineage as their wives. Although the Spanish benefited from such relationships, through their associations with the Spanish, Native women enjoyed certain advantages as well, particularly when the Spanish men legitimized their MESTIZO children by embracing them in their homes and wills. More frequently, however, interracial relationships were more casual in nature, including, but not limited to, concubinage. For example, records indicate that Spanish men in 16th-century Paraguay kept up to 20 to 30 Indian women as concubines.

The complex, confusing terminology developed and used by Spanish settlers to describe the various racial amalgamations hints at the pervasiveness of *mestizaje* in the Western Hemisphere. Although perhaps the most prevalent type, interracial sexual relationships between Indians and Spaniards were not the only type of *mestizaje* in early Latin America. The Spanish began to import Africans as a primary labor source in the colonies more extensively and at a much earlier date than did their English counterparts. Moreover, because the number of available Spanish women remained low, Spanish-African *mestizaje* grew to be a very common practice. With the introduction of Africans to various parts of Latin America, the term *ZAMBO* came to refer to the Indian-African mixture. Still, the most widespread racial mixture during the 16th century, *mestizo*, referred to persons of Indian-white parentage. The second generation born following the arrival of the Spanish included *castizos*, individuals of mestizo-white mixture.

At times during the 16th century, the Spanish Crown, although ideally in favor of marriage between Spanish men and Spanish women, promoted intermarriage. Under penalty of losing their *ENCOMIENDAS*, the Crown instructed married men to send for their wives still living in Spain and for unmarried settlers to marry within three years of their arrival in the Americas. On occasion such a policy led to formalization of unions between Indian women and Spanish men. In contrast, the Crown strongly opposed intermarriage of persons of African descent with either Spanish or Indian persons. Royal authority, the church, and local ordinances worked to prohibit the most prevalent type of



*mestizaje* involving blacks, that between Spanish men and African-descended black female slaves, although such relations persisted throughout the colonial years, especially when the Spanish imported more African slaves as a source of sustainable labor.

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—Kimberly Sambol-Tosco

## mestizo

The initial shortage of Spanish women and families in 16th-century Latin America contributed to frequent occurrences of *MESTIZAJE* (interracial sexual relations), and as a result, many mestizos (mixed-race persons of Indian and Spanish parentage).

Interracial sexual relations, far more prevalent in colonial Latin America than in British North America, produced a large, racially diverse stratum in the area under Spanish influence. The Spanish devised nomenclature to distinguish among the various amalgamations resulting from sexual relationships among persons of European, African, and Native American descent. Terms used to denote racial differences included, among others: mestizo, or Indian-white mixture; *castizo*, mestizo-white mixture; and *ZAMBO*, Indian-African mixture. Although seemingly firm categories, the Spanish applied such labels in a casual and unpredictable way, basing most assumptions on skin color. In addition, settlers in different regions of Latin America used different terms for similar hybrids. For example, settlers used the term *zambo* in MEXICO but used *chino* in BRAZIL to refer to individuals of Indian-African heritage.

The majority of mestizo individuals were the products of unions between Spanish men and Indian women, and a large percentage of the mestizo population resulted from casual sexual encounters and concubinage. Nevertheless, some Spanish males married Indian women. In such cases the Spaniards benefited through the acquisition of land rights or other tribute from the woman's family. In a number of cases Spanish men acknowledged their mestizo children by providing an inheritance and/or rearing them in the white community, but as a general rule, particularly during the late colonial period, most fathers did not welcome their mixed-race children. As a result, many mestizos made lives for themselves as part of the Indian community of their mothers. Others traveled to Europe, where they sought low-level positions on the outskirts of the Spanish economy as part of the church or state bureaucracy.

As a whole, mestizo men and women fared better in colonial society than did their Indian counterparts. They tended to occupy more skilled positions and roles, such as that of a master artisan, in which they supervised or delegated tasks to others. Such fluidity existed to a larger extent during the early years of conquest and colonization, when Spanish men more regularly acknowledged their mestizo children and thus gave them many of the privileges enjoyed by whites. Nevertheless, as the mixed-race population grew over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, the social status of mestizos declined.

In the racial hierarchy devised by the Spanish, the mestizo population ranked above Indians and African-descended individuals but below the Spanish. During the mid-16th century the Spanish Crown issued various orders that linked mestizos with unemployment, poor instruction, adultery, and other crimes. During the later years of the century, the Crown continued to characterize mestizo individuals as a "vicious and lost people" whose very existence jeopardized the colonial social order.

During the 17th century free mixed-race individuals represented a growing presence in rural areas and the largest group in most mining districts and urban centers. As early as 1650, due primarily to the relatively small number of Spaniards who immigrated to the Americas, mestizos outnumbered Spaniards in NEW SPAIN.

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—Kimberly Sambol-Tosco

## Mexico

Mexico is the modern term for a country that at one time was the site of several ancient empires, as well as the core of the Spanish Empire in North America.

The name *Mexico* is derived from the AZTECS' name for themselves (the *Mexica*) and was a shortened reference to their capital city of TENOCHTITLÁN. After the conquest HERNÁN CORTÉS rebuilt the city, retaining this nickname as its official name. The Spanish called the colony as a whole NEW SPAIN. *Mexico* was not used to denote the country until after it gained independence from Spain in 1821. In recent years there has been a new use for the term. Modern archaeologists frequently use the term *Mexican* to refer to the non-MAYA peoples of northern Mesoamerica, such as the Aztecs, TOLTECS, and TARASCAN.



Mexico is a large, geographically diverse area. The main geographical feature of the country is the Mexican Plateau, also known as the central highlands. Throughout history this area has had the greatest concentration of human settlements. The highlands are shaped like a large "V," with the tip some miles to the south of Mexico City and the arms continuing northward to the border with the modern-day United States. Except at its outer edges, the area is mostly level. Elevations are highest in the southern part of this zone (8,000 feet) and lowest at the U.S. border (4,000 feet). While the southern part of this zone (around Mexico City) receives adequate rainfall, the north is considerably drier and characterized by extensive deserts. The Southern Highlands begin at the Pacific Ocean and run north, including the modern-day Mexican states of Oaxaca and Guerrero. Mountain peaks in this region are at about 8,000 feet. Since most of the region is mountainous, humans have tended to congregate in small valleys that lie around 3,000 feet. The Gulf Coastal Plain is another major geographic zone, running from the Rio Grande in the north to the YUCATÁN PENINSULA. It is a low-lying region that is wet and swampy in the south, becoming drier in the north. VERACRUZ and TABASCO are two of the most important subregions in this large area. The final major area of Mexico is the Yucatán Peninsula, consisting of the modern-day Mexican states of Campeche, Yucatán, and Quintana Roo. This is a large, flat table of limestone that is dry in the north and wetter in the south.

This range of geographical zones has given rise to a number of distinct cultures. Mexico is part of a large cultural area called Mesoamerica by modern anthropologists. This region covers most of modern-day Mexico along with Guatemala and parts of El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. The arid borderlands in the north before 1492 were mostly peopled by nomadic hunters and gatherers. The center of the country, dominated by the Mexican Plateau, saw the rise of complex agricultural societies and eventually large empires such as the Aztecs. In the south broken topography and scattered valleys led to the development of small city-states focused mostly on the fertile valley floors. Both the low-lying Tabasco and Yucatán regions were home to the Maya people.

Mexico was the most important region within New Spain, containing most of the educational, health, and economic infrastructure. Arts such as music, metalworking, painting, and architecture thrived and were the equal of those in Europe. Mexico City itself remained one of the largest cities in Spanish America throughout the colonial period. The SILVER mines in ZACATECAS were crucial to the colonial economy of New Spain and the Spanish Empire as a whole. Throughout the colonial period Mexico was one of the most developed, most densely populated regions of the New World.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### Michelangelo (1475–1564) Italian artist

An Italian sculptor, painter, architect, engineer, and poet, Michelangelo personified the highest ideals of the Renaissance.

Michelangelo di Buonarroti Simoni was born on March 6, 1475, in the Tuscan village of Caprese. Because of his mother's frail health, he was raised in the family of a stonemason at the village of Settignano. Following his mother's death and the remarriage of his father in 1485, Michelangelo rejoined his family in Florence and began school. At the time the Florence he experienced was rich and powerful. It was also a patron and symbol of the arts, a home to numerous cathedrals, churches, and palaces adorned with sculptures by Donatello, Verrochio, and Granacci and with paintings by Giotto, Fra Angelico, Botticelli, and Masaccio. Amid the rich artistic atmosphere Michelangelo fraternized with art students, practicing art by copying smuggled drawings of the masters' works. Clinging to an impoverished noble title, his father, Lodovico, was aghast that his son desired to learn a trade. Nevertheless, he reluctantly apprenticed his son to Ghirlandaio in 1488.

Between 1489 and 1492 Michelangelo learned the rudiments of sculpture, apprenticing in the Medici gardens patronized by Florence's unofficial ruler, Lorenzo the Magnificent. During this time he produced his first two sculptures, reliefs of the Christian *Madonna of the Stairs* and the classical *Battle of the Centaurs*. Following Lorenzo's death in 1492, the political and religious climate of Florence changed and so did Michelangelo's work. Reflecting the growing European demand for moral reform, the citizenry of Florence expelled the Medici family and looted their palace. Bereft of the art community's most important patrons, many artists fled the city. Michelangelo drifted from VENICE to Bologna and Rome, taking on commissions for sculptures. With his reputation solidified as an artist, he returned to Florence in 1501 at the request of the city. Wishing to regain prestige as a center for the arts, the city commissioned Michelangelo to turn a four-meter block of marble into a sculpture that was to adorn the outside of a cathedral. Following three years of work, much of it in the secrecy of a locked shed, Michelangelo unveiled *David*, a sculpture of the biblical figure portrayed as an ideally formed classical hero. During his stay in Florence from 1501 to 1506, he also completed reliefs of the *Pitti*

*Madonna* and the *Taddei Madonna*, produced the marble *Madonna of the Burghes*, and painted *Doni Madonna*. Moreover, he painted his cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina* (1504–05) to adorn the Palazzo Vecchio as a fresco opposite LEONARDO DA VINCI's *Battle of Anghiari*.

In 1505 Pope Julius II invited Michelangelo to Rome, commissioning him to design his burial tomb. The project dragged on for more than 40 years. Equally frustrating for Michelangelo was Julius's demand to fresco the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. "Foul I fare and painting is my shame," stated the artist as he began the project, but the result was an elaborate composition composed of 343 colossal figures from the Bible and classical times, proving Michelangelo's brilliance in the medium of painting. Influenced by Neoplatonism, the muscular figures on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel revealed an ideal type of human being whose beauty reflected their divine stature.

Between 1513 and 1534 Michelangelo served the Medici popes, Lorenzo the Magnificent's son Giovanni (LEO X) and the bastard nephew Giulio (Clement VII). As in his relationship with Julius II, Michelangelo found little in common with the Medici popes. Following Clement VII's death in 1534, Michelangelo moved permanently to Rome, where he lived in a comfortable house provided by the heirs of Julius. He continued to serve the Vatican during the reigns of Popes Paul III and Julius III. The former, who waited impatiently for more than 30 years for the services of the master artist, commissioned Michelangelo to paint *The Last Judgement* over the altar wall of the Sistine Chapel and the *Conversion of Saul and the Crucifixion of St. Peter* in the Vatican's Pauline Chapel. Combined, the work on these frescoes lasted from 1535 to 1550. In 1547 Paul named Michelangelo the architect in chief of the new, partially completed St. Peter's Basilica, often referred to as the greatest single project of the Renaissance. Completed after the artist's death, St. Peter's was constructed close to Michelangelo's original plans.

Eccentric and finally independent, Michelangelo died in Rome on February 18, 1564, shortly before his 89th birthday. Supported by four popes and numerous other important patrons of art, his rise from artisan to artistic genius helped elevate the status of artists during the High Renaissance.

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—Matthew Lindaman

## middle passage

The term *middle passage* referred to the forced relocation of an African man, woman, or child from his or her native community to SLAVERY in the Western Hemisphere.

The middle passage began when an individual was captured and sold as part of the SLAVE TRADE. Although slavery had long existed in Africa (and in other parts of the world), before the mid-15th century an individual captured and sold into slavery normally traveled a limited distance; the farthest journeys, in all likelihood, took a slave from sub-Saharan Africa across the SAHARA. However, the growth of the slave trade after the mid-15th century, first promoted by Portuguese slavers, extended the distance that a captive traveled. As a result, the passage from freedom to slavery in the Americas, which invariably involved a weeks-long journey in miserable conditions onboard ships crossing the Atlantic, took on a meaning unto itself. Conditions on the slaving vessels were notorious. Recent historical scholarship has revealed that perhaps 10 percent of the enslaved men and women rose up in protest despite the fact that the cost of such protests was often death.

Well after 1607, when some Europeans began to organize protests against the slave trade, stories were told of the deprivations caused by the middle passage in an attempt to awaken humanitarian sympathies in the great mass of Europeans who had long accepted the enslavement of Africans. Graphic illustrations of conditions on slave ships circulated in the United States well into the 19th century, an enduring legacy of the horrors of the middle passage.

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## Mississippian

Mississippian culture represents the apex of indigenous culture in the lower Midwest and Southeast of what is today the United States from 900 to 1600, and after flourishing for approximately 700 years, it finally collapsed in the face of contact with Europeans and the epidemic DISEASES they introduced.

The Mississippian era lasted from A.D. 900 to 1600. Characteristics of this cultural period include the expanded use of platform mounds, population nucleation, the development of chiefdoms, the increased importance of maize (see CORN) horticulture in subsistence systems, an extensive trade in prestige goods, and a ceremonial complex with a shared iconography.

From 900 to 1200 Mississippian culture spread throughout the lower Midwest and Southeast of what is

now the United States. During this early Mississippian period Native societies began to reorganize from an egalitarian society to a ranked society known as a chiefdom, with residents gathering in palisaded towns. Several types of chiefdoms existed: simple, complex, and paramount. A simple chiefdom developed when an elite group exercised influence over several villages from a ceremonial center implementing a single decision-making level. A complex chiefdom had two decision-making levels in which one chiefdom controlled two or more simple chiefdoms. A paramount chiefdom maintained influence over several complex chiefdoms indirectly and several simple chiefdoms directly. However, chiefdom levels were inherently unstable, and the constant rise and fall of chiefdoms over a given area created long-term political instability. For most of the early Mississippian era, chiefdoms rarely moved to the complex level.

Throughout this era dependence on maize horticulture spread, and two basic types of subsistence systems developed, riverine and coastal. Those Mississippians living in river valleys depended upon beans, gourds, maize, marsh elder, squash, sunflower, and TOBACCO, with maize being the most important crop. They supplemented their horticultural production by gathering local wild plants, collecting aquatic resources, and organizing hunting parties to pursue game, primarily deer, in the late fall and winter. These societies tended to be sedentary. Mississippians who participated in the coastal subsistence systems tended to depend less on growing crops and more on gathering wild plants, aquatic resources, and hunting. As a result, for part of the year these peoples had to be more mobile than sedentary.

The middle Mississippian period, from 1200 to 1400, saw the development of more complex and paramount chiefdoms and the spread of an iconograph-laden religious complex known as the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex. This led to an increase in population nucleation, the size of ceremonial centers, and the number of platform mounds built within these towns. Platform mounds demonstrated and reinforced the position of chiefly elites as the leaders of their communities and religious ceremonies. In general, control of the trade in religious and prestige items expanded and perpetuated the authority of these chiefly/priestly elites. Toward the end of this era, leadership in warfare started to replace control of religious life as a means to legitimize political authority.

Localized population dislocation and warfare marked the late Mississippian period, from 1400 to 1600. Chiefdoms continually rose and fell whenever war disrupted the ability of chiefly elites to provide protection for their people and challenged elites' claims to ceremonial legitimacy. During this period of turmoil, Europeans first appeared in the Southeast and added to native problems. In some areas Europeans threw off the balance of power through

slave raiding (see SLAVERY) and warfare. They also introduced epidemic diseases that caused demographic collapse in some areas, which led to political reorganization by the survivors. Thus, the arrival of Europeans ultimately caused or hastened the end of the Mississippian era.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

### Moctezuma II Xocoyotzin (Montezuma)

(r. 1502–1520) Aztec emperor

Moctezuma II was *huei tlatoni* (great speaker) of the AZTECS when HERNÁN CORTÉS arrived and died in 1520 during the Spanish occupation of the Aztec capital, TENOCHTITLÁN.

Son of Axayácatl (r. 1468–81) and nephew of the previous speaker Ahuítzotl, Moctezuma ascended to the rulership of the Aztec Empire at age 34. His main function, like that of other great speakers, was dealing with external relations of Aztec politics, including relations with tributaries and enemies. He governed his realm with the assistance of the *cihuacoatl* ("woman snake," although the officeholder was always male), who dealt with internal affairs of the Aztec state. Like his predecessors, he was elected from the royal lineage by a council of nobles, priests, and top military officers of Tenochtitlán as well as rulers of neighboring cities.

Spanish chroniclers noted that the Aztecs treated Moctezuma as divine rather than human. The fact that Moctezuma carried this aspect of the Aztec ideology of kingship further than had any of his predecessors stands in sharp contrast to his reaction to the arrival of Cortés and his troops. Moctezuma sent humbly attired representatives to present the newcomers with fine gifts, causing some historians to speculate that this semidivine ruler capitulated to the invaders sight unseen. However, his response may also be interpreted not as an act of submission but rather as a gesture fitting the Aztecs' belief in their own supremacy over all other peoples, of the great speaker over his people, and of this speaker in particular, who developed the ideology of divine rulership to a degree not seen under other rulers. The sumptuousness of the gifts may have been meant as a display of disposable wealth as well as the power needed to acquire that wealth, the humble state of the presenters merely a gesture to emphasize what a

trifling impact such a gift had on the overall wealth and power of the giver.

Spaniards may have missed the point of the lavish gift giving, but they could not help but be impressed by Moctezuma's lifestyle. Chroniclers noted the scope of his palace, garden, zoo, and aviary as well as the number of people supported at the palace. Moctezuma's power over his subjects was also a source of awe: Cortés asserted in his letters to the emperor CHARLES V that the Aztecs both revered and feared their leader to a degree that might make him the envy of any European monarch.

Moctezuma's opulence was not the only thing that set him apart from his predecessors. Although Spanish chronicles emphasized the bellicose character of Aztec society, Moctezuma was actually much less preoccupied with warfare than were his predecessors. Instead, he devoted himself more to the religious aspects of leadership and was especially consumed by the study of the old Toltec religious philosophy. Later sources assert that he believed that Cortés, or perhaps one of his lieutenants, was the reincarnation of QUETZALCOATL, returned to destroy the Mexican peoples if they did not somehow appease him, and that this idea proved instrumental in the intruders' conquest of Tenochtitlán.

Many accounts portray Moctezuma as an ineffective leader who presided over the downfall of his people. Such a judgment does not fit the available evidence. At the time of his ascension to the throne, the Aztec Empire had in many ways reached the limits of its outward expansion. Previous administrations had already extended the Aztec domains south to the Pacific and east to the defensible Isthmus of Tehuantepec. In addition, Aztecs were hemmed in on the west by both mountainous terrain and the armies of the TARASCAN, and in the north the empire already bordered on desert, the conquest of which would have brought very little profit at huge expense. Moctezuma thus turned to the internal consolidation of his empire, focusing his efforts on subduing long-standing pockets of resistance and rebellion within his own borders. External expansion had long been the engine of the Aztec Empire's prosperity and the foundation upon which earlier generations had built the social, economic, and political structures of their state. Moctezuma thus faced the unenviable task of creating a stable monarchy out of a society based on physical expansion and a warrior ethos. His reforms included a general purge of the plebeians whom his predecessor had raised to high office, reinforcing the notion of the great speaker as the representative of or substitute for the gods and forcefully reasserting the privilege of the hereditary nobility. (This latter effort might have contributed to his downfall; according to some chronicles, Moctezuma chose his bodyguard more on the basis of impeccable breeding than on military valor, and was thus ill protected when captured by Cortés.) The resulting eco-

nomic and social dislocations contributed to the new ruler's unpopularity with both subjects and neighbors. Regardless of Moctezuma's intentions, the internal tensions that his policies created or exacerbated weakened his empire at a time when it would be most in need of strength and stability. In light of these facts, it is not surprising that Moctezuma probably died of wounds inflicted by his own subjects during a riot that was as much a rebellion to overthrow their own leader as it was a revolt against the occupying Spanish forces.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## Mohawk

The easternmost tribe of the IROQUOIS Confederacy, the Mohawk originally lived in the middle Mohawk Valley of present-day New York State.

Probably the second-largest of the Five Nations (numbering perhaps 8,000) at the time of contact with whites, the Mohawk maintained three principal villages and several smaller satellite towns. As "keepers of the eastern door" of the metaphorical Five Nations longhouse, the tribe was closest in proximity to Albany and therefore the Dutch and English traders who sought their wares in the fur trade. This circumstance afforded them wealth and influence disproportionate to the other members of the Iroquois League.

Within the grand council, or governing political body, of the Five Nations, the Mohawk held nine seats, or chiefdoms, three each for their three clan structures: Turtle, Wolf, and Bear. According to Mohawk oral tradition, it was their chief Deganawida who first proposed the Iroquois alliance and brought the governing laws to the people, while other tribal histories claim this figure as their own. Nevertheless, the fact that the Mohawk were the first of the Iroquois to engage in trade relations with Europeans does lend credence to the theory that they probably played an integral role in developing and strengthening the league during the early historic period. Seeking the iron weapons and metal tools brought by the newcomers, the Mohawk spearheaded early campaigns to relieve indigenous rivals of



these goods. After French-Indian alliances in the early 17th century made Mohawk raiding parties to the west too costly and dangerous, the Mohawk established ties with the merchants who followed in the wake of Henry Hudson's 1609 expedition and helped secure Iroquois ascendancy in the eastern trade. Afterward, they maintained economic connections to the English, who came to supplant the Dutch.

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—Eric P. Anderson

### **Monardes, Nicholas** (1493–1588) *doctor*

A physician from SEVILLE, Nicholas Monardes wrote an influential tract extolling the natural wonders to be found in the Western Hemisphere.

Born in Seville in 1493, only a year after the historic passage of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, Nicholas Monardes learned medicine in an age when there were few medical schools. He studied at Alcalá de Henares, a famous Spanish center for medical science at the time, and soon after receiving his degree in April 1533, he returned to Seville. He published his first medical tract, *De secunda vena in pleuritide*, in Seville in 1539. After marrying in 1540, he and his wife had seven children, including one son who emigrated to PERU and another son and one daughter who vowed their lives to the church. Monardes became one of the leading physicians in the city, and his clients included the archbishop as well as other members of the Seville elite.

Monardes's chief achievement was the publication of a book that described the benefits to be had from harvesting American crops for medicinal uses. Published originally in Seville in 1574, the book appeared in LONDON in 1577 under the title *Joyfull Newes out of the Newe Founde Worlde*. Here Monardes told his readers about such medical marvels as a root found in FLORIDA called the beads of Saint Elen that helped alleviate stomach and urinary problems as well as eased the pain of kidney stones, and the cures to be wrought from medicines made from sassafras, also found in Florida. He was most enthusiastic in his endorsement of TOBACCO, which he believed could help to cure virtually any affliction. Consuming tobacco would heal infected breasts and stomach pains, reduce pain associated with kidney stones, eradicate troublesome gas, expel

worms, take the pain away from toothaches, lessen any pain in joints, and cure all manner of wounds, including bites from venomous beasts. However, he did more than enumerate tobacco's benefits: He also instructed his readers how to use these botanical products, thereby providing crucial information for Europeans who witnessed the growth of the tobacco trade during their lifetimes.

During the 16th century, European printers came to realize that their books would reach wider audiences if they could prove that the author had seen whatever he or she was describing. Many of these books bore the word "true" in the title, like THOMAS HARRIOT's *Briefe and True Reporte of the New Found Land of Virginia*, printed in its most famous edition in 1590. Printers wanted to offer truthful accounts, but it was often difficult separating charlatans from legitimate travelers. The French essayist Michel de Montaigne worried about precisely this subject in his famous essay "On Cannibals" (see the entry on CANNIBALISM). Yet despite the desire to have eyewitnesses who spoke the truth about what they had seen, Monardes gained enormous credibility even though he had never sailed across the Atlantic Ocean. Instead, scholars accepted his views because of his thorough knowledge of the plants he described and because they presumed that Monardes, as a physician, knew from experience what he wrote.

Nicholas Monardes died in Seville on October 12, 1588. With his earthly remains buried at the monastery in San Leandro, his legacy lived because of his efforts to encourage Europeans to use the plants of the Western Hemisphere to improve their lives.

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### **monsters**

Sixteenth-century Europeans, living in an age when their intellectual horizons seemingly expanded by the day, believed that monsters inhabited their world and posed dangers to anyone who crossed their paths.

The belief in monsters was not new in the early modern period. Europeans had long known about monsters from such classical authorities as Solinus and Pliny the Elder, who described monsters for their audiences in antiquity. By the time CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS sailed across the Atlantic, most Europeans would have had some sense of what monsters looked like because visual depictions of



Sebastian Muenster's depiction in *Kosmographia universalis* of what people in far-off places were assumed to look like (Hulton/Archive)

various monstrous beasts could be found in the carvings of churches and along the edges of *MAPPAE MUNDI*. The monsters included cyclopes, which had only one eye positioned in the middle of their forehead; hermaphrodites, who were half male and half female; Sciopodes, who possessed only one leg with a massive foot at the end of it that they would use to shade themselves from the sun; and cynocephali, a creature with the body of a man and the head of a dog. Gerald of Wales's late 12th-century description of Ireland included his observations on monsters, such as a woman with a beard and mane and a creature who was half ox and half man, who roamed the island and haunted the minds of his local informants.

The master of medieval monster tales was SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE. His 14th-century ethnographic fable, which circulated widely in Europe, warned his readers about the range of monsters who inhabited the East. He told them about cyclopes and cannibals, "ugly folk without heads, who have eyes in each shoulder" with round mouths, "like a horseshoe, in the middle of their chest." "And there are in another place folk with flat faces," he wrote, "without noses or eyes; but they have two small holes instead of eyes, and a flat lipless mouth. In another isle there are ugly fellows whose upper lip is so big that when they sleep in the sun they cover all their faces with it." He claimed he had evidence of a place where dwarfish people lacked mouths and had to inhale their nutrition through reeds. In isolated parts of the East a traveler might find humans with ears so long that they reached their knees, or men and women with feet like horses that enabled them to catch animals for their meals, or hermaphrodites who could either impregnate females or give

birth depending on which sex organs they decided to use at a given moment.

The invention of the PRINTING PRESS and the increase in the number of books spreading across the continent expanded knowledge about monsters, many of whom took on new lives in the pages of books. The publication in Latin and German in 1493 of Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum*, known as the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, spread information about monsters to a sizable audience. The volume contained illustrations along the left margin of one map that showed readers the monsters of the world, including a woman covered in fur, a centaur, a hermaphrodite, a man with the head of a crane, a man with three arms, another with six fingers on each hand, and another with four eyes.

Over the course of the 16th century, literature about monsters proliferated on the Continent. Perhaps the most notable of these works was Ambroise Paré's *Des monstres et prodiges*, first published in Paris in 1573 (see Documents). Paré's freaks were of a new sort in that he focused not on the exotic East but, instead, on the monsters who could have lived next door to his readers. As a master barber–surgeon and an anatomist, Paré's career spanned most of the century, during which he cared for the wounded and the ill on the battlefield and in Parisian hospitals. He saw, it could be argued, the full range of the human species, and he took notes. His observations on European monsters became the most well known of his works, and for good reason: The book, with its vivid depictions of freaks, was riveting. He wrote about conjoined twins and hermaphrodites, including a pair of conjoined hermaphroditic twins. He described what happens when a man had insufficient "seed" to produce an entire child: The resulting offspring lacked limbs. In one notorious case, a female "monster" born in 1562 in Ville-France-de-Beyran in Gascony even lacked a head. He wrote as well about "sodomists and atheists who 'join together' and break out of their bounds—unnaturally—with animals," whose lust produced creatures that were half human and half animal. He told about a creature, half pig and half man, born to a sow owned by Joest Dickpert on Warmoesbroeck Street in Brussels in 1564, and of a being that came from the woman living at the sculptor Jean Mollin's house on Camerstrate in Antwerp in 1571 that had the body of a dog and the head of a bird. Although much of the book contained information that could be found in more traditional bestiaries, such as descriptions of flying fish, ostriches, and whales, the sense of wonder never faded from the pages. Like other 16th-century authors and chroniclers, Paré borrowed freely from antiquity and more recent works, often telling his readers when he derived his views from St. Augustine or Pliny, among the ancients, or JEAN DE LÉRY or ANDRÉ THEVET among the moderns.

In a world so crowded with monsters and books, Paré argued that there were multiple causes for the oddities he described. "There are several things that cause monsters,"

he informed his readers. "The first is the glory of God. The second, his wrath." But divine origins accounted for only some of the beasts that lurked in his pages. Paré also believed that monsters could be caused by "too great a quantity of seed" and "too little a quantity." They could be caused by "the imagination," by "the narrowness or smallness of the womb," and by "the indecent posture of the mother, as when, being pregnant, she has sat too long with her legs crossed, or pressed against her womb." Injury during pregnancy could create monsters if a pregnant woman fell down or had "blows struck against the womb." Yet monsters could also spring from "hereditary or accidental illnesses," or "rotten or corrupt seed," or "through mixture or mingling of seed." Finally, monsters could be caused by "the artifice of spital beggars" (a reference to those who begged in public locations or went door-to-door seeking donations) or, predictably, "through Demons and Devils." Yet at the end of this list, Paré added a cautionary note to his readers. "There are other causes that I leave aside for the present," he warned, "because among all human reasons, one cannot give any that are sufficient or probable, such as why persons are made with only one eye in the middle of the forehead or the navel, or a horn on the head, or the liver upside down. Others are born having griffin's feet, like birds, and certain monsters which are engendered in the sea; in short, countless others which it would take too long to describe." The details in the text, based on the case studies that Paré claimed to have seen firsthand or that he had heard about from reliable sources, typically provided explanations that fell into one of these 13 categories. Monsters, a reader would realize, could occur anywhere, not just remotely, although they were especially likely in places where humans lacked a firm understanding of the Bible. Those who did not know God's prohibition on intercourse during menstruation, as explained by Moses in Leviticus (chapter 16) and by the prophet Esdras, were thus likely to produce monsters since they copulated "like brutish beasts, in which their appetite guides them, without respecting the time, or other laws ordained by God and Nature."

Paré's readers might have been entranced by his descriptions and perhaps alarmed at the multitude of monsters prowling the world, but they would not have been shocked. By the 16th century knowledge about monsters was so widespread that some observers no longer felt it necessary to make any comment on their existence. Sebastian Brant, the author of two late 15th-century broadsides (one in Latin, the other in German) that dealt with monsters, refused to write about a child born with two heads, informing his correspondent that he saw no reason to issue such a report since "monsters have become so frequent. Rather than a wonder, they appear to me to represent the common course of nature in our time." The publication dur-

ing the 16th century of text after text describing monsters proved that Brant understood all too well that the freakish had become commonplace in both folklore and the printed books that together created the common language of western Europeans. The belief in monsters was not solely a European phenomenon. Many Native Americans told vivid stories about the monsters that inhabited their world, typically hiding in the woods but also found in other locales.

In this world where monsters were common, it is worthy of note that travelers to the Western Hemisphere did not encounter any member of any of the monstrous races that classical writers had told them about or that physicians such as Paré warned existed everywhere. The Native peoples of the Americas might have seemed like "savages" or cannibals to Europeans, but those were cultural defects that could be overcome and not a sign that Indians were monsters.

Scholars now argue about how much early modern Europeans believed about monsters. It is beyond question that anatomists such as Paré believed in the reality of monsters and prodigies. But it is also likely that readers turned to sources such as Mandeville because they were entertaining and became even more so when they appeared in illustrated editions; one Dutch publisher printed an account of SIR WALTER RALEGH's journey to the Orinoco and excised much of the text but had images drawn of monsters Raleigh mentioned in passing (and never claimed to have seen with his own eyes). The frequent mention of the monstrous in this age of discovery is, at the minimum, a sign that many individuals were apprehensive about the new peoples they were encountering and, rather than offer accurate descriptions of them, instead turned to inherited categories of knowledge.

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### Montagnais-Naskapi (Innu)

The people whom the French called Montagnais and Naskapi, and who called themselves Innu, lived in the Quebec-Labrador peninsula of Canada.



Before European contact probably at least 4,000 Innu lived in river valleys and around lakes in Canada. When the Innu first encountered Europeans, they lived in a number of bands of varying sizes that moved with the seasons. The French called the bands they knew best the “Montagnais,” or “mountaineers,” and by the mid-17th century referred to more northerly Innu bands as Naskapi. Both the Montagnais and the Naskapi spoke Innu-aimun, a dialect of the ALGONQUIAN language family, and thought of themselves as one people.

Culturally, the Innu people had much in common with other northern Algonquian peoples. They lived in conical tents covered with birch bark or caribou hide. Bands traveled throughout the year, moving when food became short. Band composition was not permanent. During the winter groups of a few families traveled to hunt, reuniting with other Innus in the summer. During following winters, families might join other bands.

Sex role distinctions were not rigid among the Innus, but men generally hunted large game animals, especially caribou, and made canoes, toboggans, and other wooden items. Women might set snares to trap smaller animals. They also made clothing and gathered wild foods. The Innus also fished and hunted seals, and some traded with the HURON for CORN and TOBACCO. Early French observers were surprised by the relatively egalitarian relationships between Innu men and women and by the absence of any central authority with the power to command individuals.

The Innu people may have had contact with Viking explorers some 500 years before Columbus. The Viking settlement was short-lived, but the Innu met Europeans again in the 1500s. In 1534 they encountered JACQUES CARTIER, and throughout the middle of the 16th century traded with Basque fishermen, who offered metal goods for furs. The Innu were on good terms with the Basque traders and sometimes warned them of planned Inuit attacks. Innu success in the fur trade led to increased tensions with the IROQUOIS because both the Innu and the Iroquois sought to position themselves as middlemen in the lucrative fur trade. Trade with Europeans was so frequent that the Innu came increasingly to depend on trade goods. By 1623 they no longer made their own baskets or adzes and often preferred French clothing to their own leather garments. In the 17th century French Jesuit and Recollét priests (see JESUITS) established missions among the Innu, although without great success.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Monte Albán

One of the most remarkable pre-Columbian centers in southern MEXICO is Monte Albán, whose ceremonial importance was so great that it was used as a royal burial site long after the city itself had been abandoned.

Monte Albán was located in the Valley of Oaxaca, where the three great branches of the valley converge. Zapotec Indians from the valley selected the site because of its strategic and ceremonial importance, not because the site was particularly practical. It was perched on an artificially flattened mountaintop 1,300 feet above the valley floor, which would have made it extremely difficult for its inhabitants to secure adequate supplies of food, water, and fuel.

The city rose to prominence in the preclassic era and shows strong Olmec influences. Some of the earliest written texts from Mesoamerica are located at Monte Albán, showing calendrical information as well as actual history. The importance of astronomy and calendrics is evident from the precise location and orientation of several buildings in Monte Albán’s main plaza, and it is clear that at least one building served as an astronomical observatory. Monte Albán’s greatest period was during the classic period (beginning around A.D. 200), along with TEOTIHUACÁN, CHOLULA, and the MAYA. During this time the city reached a population of 15,000 to 20,000. The Zapotec developed a unique art style that was highly valued in Mesoamerica, and it is clear that there were trade links between Monte Albán and the other great cities. For example, Zapotec appear to have established an ethnic enclave in the mighty city of Teotihuacán. Monte Albán also established its own sphere of influence, but it is not clear how tightly the surrounding regions were controlled. The city had great ceremonial importance, and several gods are depicted at the site. Prominent among these are the rain god Cociyo, the Bat God, the Corn God, and a local variant of the Feathered Serpent (see QUETZALCOATL). More than 170 royal tombs were located at Monte Albán, giving it great importance as a royal necropolis.

After 600 the city began a long, mysterious decline. The city’s dramatic site probably worked to its disadvantage—in times of economic recession or drought, it would have been difficult to keep the city adequately supplied. Some time around 700, Monte Albán was all but abandoned. It remained a holy site for centuries thereafter. By 1350 Mixtec Indians from western Oaxaca had taken control



of the rich Valley of Oaxaca through a system of conquest and royal marriage. The Mixtecs maintained Monte Albán as a sacred center and buried their own kings in the old Zapotec tombs. Several of these tombs, undisturbed since antiquity, were rediscovered in the mid-20th century. The large assortment of Mixtec goldwork from Monte Albán is the only testimony we have of the ancient Mexican's skills at metallurgy. After the conquest, the Spaniards built the city of Oaxaca at the foot of Monte Albán's mountain.

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—Scott Chamberlain

## Monte Verde

The discovery of Monte Verde, a prehistoric settlement site in Chile, has led some archaeologists to suggest that humans may have lived in South America more than 33,000 years ago.

Archaeologists have found a number of sites of human occupation in North and South America that date to approximately 11,200 years ago. The North American, or Clovis, sites show that people in widely separated settlements made virtually identical tools. These similarities have led some archaeologists to theorize that Clovis people were migratory hunters who entered the Americas relatively recently and spread across North America very rapidly. Other scholars have suggested that such rapid population movement in an unfamiliar continent would have been impossible. They suggest that dental, linguistic, and genetic diversity within modern Indian populations suggest that humans must have been present long before Clovis. The similarity of technology at Clovis sites, in this view, may represent the development of new toolmaking methods, not population movements.

Many candidates have been suggested as pre-Clovis sites, but most have been discredited. The most likely pre-Clovis site is Monte Verde, Chile. At Monte Verde, discovered in the 1970s, archaeologists found two sites that indicated early human occupation. One dated to about 12,500 years ago, more than a thousand years before Clovis. This site contained evidence of a group of about 20 to 30 people who hunted mastodons, made tools, gathered medicinal plants, and lived in a long structure made of animal hides and wood. If the dating of this site is correct, it would suggest that humans may have crossed into the Americas from Asia more than 20,000 years ago. Their second discovery was even more controversial. In another area of the same site, they found charcoal from burned

clay. Subjected to radiocarbon dating, the charcoal suggested that humans may have occupied the site 33,000 years ago. The Monte Verde findings remain highly controversial, but if authenticated will require archaeologists to rethink their theories on the migration of early peoples to the Americas.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Montserrat

A small island located to the southwest of Antigua in the Lesser Antilles of the West Indies, Montserrat experienced a colonial era of conflict between, first, the Island CARIB and its initial Irish colonists and, later, the French and the British.

Originally inhabited by Island Carib, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS first explored Montserrat in 1493, but Europeans ignored the island until the English claimed it in 1625. The Irish colonized the island in 1643 in the name of the English and suffered constant raids by Island Carib. Over time Montserrat became a valuable SUGAR-producing island dependent upon the institution of African SLAVERY. By the end of the 16th century the Island Carib threat ceased, but Montserrat became a pawn in the colonial wars for empire fought between the French and English.

When hostilities broke out between the French and English in 1666, the taking of Montserrat became one of the focal points of French strategy in the Lesser Antilles. The French captured Montserrat in 1667, and the Irish colonists immediately swore oaths of allegiance to the French Crown. The French controlled the island for over a century until they relinquished control under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles in 1783.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

**Moryson, Fynes** (1566–1617?) *English traveler*

Fynes Moryson, the son of a member of the English Parliament, wrote one of the most important European TRAVEL NARRATIVES of the late 16th century.

Moryson, who studied law at Peterhouse in Cambridge, left England with his brother Henry on May 1, 1591, on a journey that lasted for the next six years, with a brief hiatus in England from May to December 1595. During his journey he traveled extensively through northern Europe before landing in Italy, where he remained for almost a year and a half. When he left on the second stage he headed directly for southern Europe, spending time along the Mediterranean and the Adriatic coasts. He then went through Venice to some of the Old World's principal cultural centers, including Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Antioch, where his brother died in July 1596. Moryson arrived in London in July 1597. Other than time spent in Ireland as a colonial administrator, he apparently spent much of the rest of his life in London.

Moryson is best known now as the author of a remarkable travel narrative, entitled *An Itinerary . . . Containing His Ten Years Travell*, which was published in London in 1617. The account is significant because it reveals the extent of travels that Europeans undertook without crossing the Atlantic Ocean. Encounters between Europeans and non-Europeans, notably Americans and Africans, often emphasize the exotic nature of the other. Moryson's account evokes that same sense of wonder in encounters between Europeans and reveals that the idea of "discovery" was not unique to accounts that went beyond the boundaries of the continent.

When he published his account, Moryson included a number of what he called "precepts" for travelers, 27 separate suggestions. The precepts ranged from the logical, such as the need for travelers to write a will before they embarked, a reasonable recommendation given the news about shipwrecks, to locking the door of any rented room. Travelers should also learn the language of places they planned to visit and do what they could to get along with those they met. It would also make sense to carry a good book, preferably one that would fit in one's pocket.

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**Mossi**

The Mossi people, an ethnic group in modern-day Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, GHANA, Togo, and BENIN, founded a powerful kingdom in 1495 at the city of Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, that remained powerful throughout the 16th century and into the 19th century.

The origins of the Mossi are the subject of some debate. According to one oral tradition, the Mossi descended from a single ancestor, Na Gbewa, who established himself in the early 15th century as political leader in Pusiga, an urban center in the extreme northeast of present-day Ghana. This tradition holds that Na Gbewa's four offspring—sons Tusugu, Sitobu, and Nmantambu and daughter, Yanenga—are the apical ancestors of the major Mossi kingdoms, whose political relations mirror the family positions of their founders. The Mamprussi, founded by Tusugu, the eldest, is the "senior brother" kingdom in the Mossi family. The DAGOMBA and the Nanumba, founded by Sitobu and Nmantambu, respectively, are "junior brothers." Na Gbewa's daughter, Yanenga, married the hunter Riale and bore Wedraogo (Ouedraogo), who founded the "grandchildren" kingdoms of Wegadugu (Ouagadougou) and Yatenga. In this account, the founding dates of the five kingdoms center on the mid-15th and early 16th century.

According to another oral tradition, Wedraogo is the apical ancestor of the entire Mossi Empire. He and his Dagomba followers migrated north from their homeland and established the village of Tenkodogo as the first capital of the Mossi kingdom. Three of Wedraogo's sons captured additional territory in the Volta River basin, beginning a long tradition of Mossi cavalry-led conquest. By the 15th century Wedraogo's descendants comprised more than 20 kingdoms with diverse ethnic populations. In 1495 Wedraogo's grandson Oubry founded the most important Mossi kingdom at Ouagadougou, establishing himself as *mogho naaba*, or "king of the world." (The *mogho naaba* is still a respected leader in Ouagadougou today.)

Regardless of which tradition is accepted, both demonstrate that the Mossi were expansionistic, at their peak extending their political and economic influence into the Sahel, the borderland region south of the SAHARA. Before the Mossi conquest, the indigenous peoples of the region were organized around "land priests," called after Mossi conquest *tengasoba* in the north and *tengdana* in the south, who had custody of the earth shrines. According to the first oral tradition discussed above, the Dagomba killed these priests, but other Mossi kingdoms integrated them into the new political structures. The rest of the indigenous population assimilated into Mossi society as commoners, or *tengdamba* (*tengbisi* in the south). In Dagomba those indigenous peoples who did not flee became incorporated into the new state, some as bowmen in the army.

Mossi power depended on the HORSE and an excellent command of cavalry warfare techniques. The Mossi successfully increased their territory, but not without resistance. The SONGHAI Empire, centered at GAO on the NIGER RIVER, challenged Mossi dominance of the western SUDAN first under Sunni Ali Ber and later under

ASKIA MUHAMMAD I. Mossi struggles with the Songhai over domination of the Niger Bend are documented in two important histories of the region, the *Ta'rikh al-Sudan* and the *Ta'rikh al-fattash*. Beginning in the 1430s with Mossi incursions into Songhai territory, conflict between the two kingdoms lasted more than a century. The 1490s represented a second period in the contest over the Niger, during which Askia Muhammad led a jihad (see ISLAM) against the Mossi. He failed in this attempt to convert the Mossi from their form of ancestor worship to the Muslim religion. The third period of conflict between the Mossi and the Songhai occurred during the reign of Askia Dawud of Songhai. He waged three wars against the Mossi, first in 1549, then in 1561–62, but it was not until 1574, the final war, that Askia Dawud effectively eliminated the Mossi threat to the Songhai Empire.

As the two oral traditions also show, Mossi society, like its political structure, was hierarchical. In the case of the Ouagadougou, Wedraogo's direct descendants, the *nakombse*, were at the top of the social structure as nobles. Under the nobles were the commoners, or *talse*, and at bottom, the *yemse*, or slaves. Those who claimed descent from the original Dagomba settlers had privileged status as *tengabiise*—"children of the earth"—which entitled them to land and made them responsible for harvest rites.

Mossi agricultural production consisted predominantly of yams, cereals, and legumes and was the basis of its economy until the 18th century, when its isolation from major trading centers ended. The *yarse*, assimilated Mande Muslims, traded GOLD, kola nuts, salt, and livestock with the Mossi. They paid tribute to the various kingdoms for safe passage through their territories and for space to sell their goods in local markets. Trade with Muslim societies became the most common factor in Mossi conversion. Adoption of the Muslim faith led to significant social changes in the Mossi kingdoms, including increased social class divisions. Commoners in Mossi society typically retained their traditional beliefs, while those of the noble class converted to Islam. The most prevalent form of Islam in the Mossi kingdoms was the "Suwarian" tradition, which rejected jihad as a method of conversion, minimized the role of proselytizing, and did not limit political involvement as long as the Muslim community was not compromised by such action. In these ways Mossi conversion to Islam opened channels of communication, both diplomatic and commercial, with other kingdoms, effectively ending Mossi isolation from the major centers of trade in the western Sudan.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## mound builders

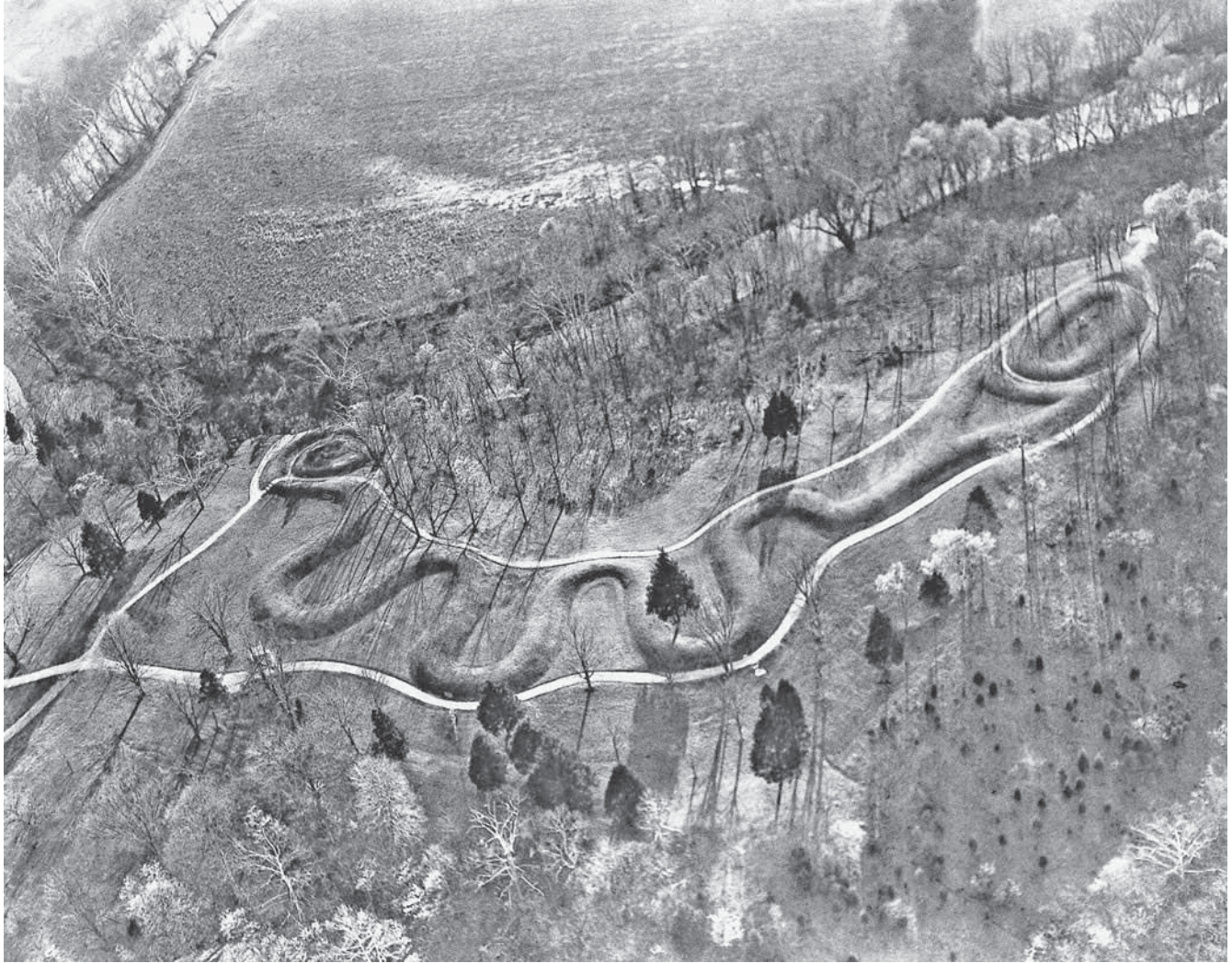
Mound building cultures developed in the Southeast and the lower Midwest of what is today the United States from 2200 B.C. to A.D. 1600, and they represent the most sophisticated indigenous cultural development east of the Great Plains.

Poverty Point, the first mound building culture, developed in the lower Mississippi Valley and part of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Residents there participated in an extensive trade network, developed pottery, and cultivated gourds. The Poverty Point culture is most famous for one set of mounds built at Macon Ridge in present-day Louisiana, also known as Poverty Point. This site consists of six midden ridges that formed six semicircles and two large mounds. The mounds seem to have had some ceremonial significance, and the society apparently developed into an early form of a chiefdom. The Poverty Point culture lasted from 2200 to 1000 B.C.

The Adena were the next mound building people to arise. Their culture developed in the central Ohio River Valley around 500 B.C., where these people created a ceremonial system that centered on a burial complex. At first, the mortuary systems consisted of simple mounds built over grave pits. By 200 B.C. they began to place the dead in charnel houses until the house filled. Then the charnel house was burned and mounds were built over them. Finally, another charnel house was constructed on top of the mound, and the process began again. The Adena also built effigy mounds that related to the ceremonial complex. They practiced a hunting and gathering subsistence, but they were primarily sedentary. The Adena ceremonial complex lasted until approximately A.D. 1, when it was absorbed by the HOPEWELL CULTURE.

The Hopewell ceremonial complex originated in two locations, south-central Illinois and central Indiana and Ohio. Eventually these two cultural groups merged with the Adena complex to form the Hopewell ceremonial complex. The Hopewell people used conical platform mounds





Aerial view of the Great Serpent Mound in Adams County, Ohio

as staging areas for religious ceremonies. Burials began to contain a wide range of artifacts. The more important individuals had the largest and most elaborate burials with the most grave goods. The Hopewell used charnel houses like the Adena but on a larger scale, and their funeral mounds were also bigger. Many of the ceremonial items used in burials came from raw materials acquired in an extensive trade system that contained materials gathered from the Rocky Mountains, the Great Lakes, and the Gulf and Atlantic coasts. They also developed a limited form of horticulture but were not completely dependent upon it. The Hopewell complex faded between A.D. 700 and 900 primarily because its trade network collapsed and possibly because warfare in the Midwest increased due to the introduction of the bow and arrow to the region. Mound building continued in the Mississippi Valley and along the Gulf Coast, and this led to the development of the MISSISSIPPIAN culture.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

### Mpongwe

The Mpongwe, an ethnic group in northwestern modern-day Gabon, served as middlemen in the SLAVE TRADE in the 16th century.



The earliest inhabitants of what is known as the Estuary, the mouth of the Ogooue River, the Mpongwe established clans in the area beginning in the 16th century. Organized into numerous clans led by *ogas*, or chiefs, the Mpongwe hunted, fished, and grew crops such as yams. They were also craftspeople, ironworkers, and boat builders. A largely coastal people and accomplished sailors, the Mpongwe navigated their dugout canoes along the Atlantic coast from their homes on the Ogooue River delta to as far north as CAMEROON. Early trading with the Bakele and FANG for ivory and later trading for copper, dyewood, and ivory with the Loango kingdom to the south provided the Mpongwe with essential connections for their later roles as middlemen in the transatlantic slave trade. Slaveholders themselves,

the Mpongwe became slave brokers in the slave trade with European merchants, who established themselves in the region beginning in the 15th century. By the 16th century the Mpongwe were deeply involved in the trade as middlemen but were pushed by the neighboring Orungu peoples out of the region to the Gabon estuary in the north.

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—Lisa M. Brady



# N



## Nahua

The general name scholars have given to those indigenous people of central MEXICO who spoke NAHUATL as their primary language, including such specific groups as the TOLTECS, Tlaxcalan, and AZTECS.

Nahua had lived in central Mexico at least since the end of the classic period, roughly A.D. 600 to 800. They formed one of the largest ethnic groups in Mesoamerica, with several million members. The Nahua retained a strong ethnic identity, regarding themselves as the most “civilized” people of Mexico. The first group of Nahua who rose to political prominence was the Toltecs. Under the Toltecs Nahuatl became the lingua franca of Mesoamerica, with soldiers, politicians, and merchants using it from the American Southwest to Guatemala. After the Toltec kingdom disintegrated after 1150, little political unity existed among the Nahua. Over the next 200 years several Nahua kingdoms emerged and faded. Although they were not politically unified, these petty states did maintain a basic cultural uniformity that survived the political upheavals of the time. By 1450 two large Nahua states arose to dominate Mexico again—the Aztecs and the Tlaxcalan. Although culturally similar, these two states were bitter political rivals.

The basic political organization of the Nahua was the *altepetl*, which usually centered in a large town and its hinterland. For organizational purposes, the *altepetl* usually had four, eight, or 16 components (called *calpulli*). Instead of direct, universal taxation, one *calpulli* supported the administrative and religious costs of the *altepetl* as a whole for one year, before another *calpulli* took its turn. Scholars refer to this as a form of rotating, cellular organization that was particular to the Nahua. The *altepetl* was the basis for everything in Nahua society. Each *altepetl* had its own patron god, organized its own armies, and administered justice through its own courts. If through conquest, marriage, or some other mechanism a series of *altepetls* merged, they would often keep their judicial, administrative, and religious apparatus distinct. Thus the Aztec

“Empire” was not a unified state like the Roman Empire, but instead a series of Nahua *altepetls* that all paid tribute to the city of TENOCHTITLÁN. This loose confederate system ultimately doomed the Aztecs, who had no real control over their territories and no efficient way to marshal their territories’ resources. Once the Spaniards arrived, many of the *altepetls* were only too happy to break with the Aztecs and throw their support behind the invaders.

The Nahua are one of the best understood cultures of the NEW WORLD. Because they were the dominant culture at the time of the Spaniards’ arrival, most of the early descriptions of Native culture focus on the Nahua. Further, the Spaniards concentrated their settlements in Nahua areas, and the newcomers came into closer contact with them than with any other ethnic group in Mexico. Missionaries, historians, and early natural scientists used Nahua informants for their works, preserving many aspects of Nahua culture, politics, and religion in works such as the Florentine Codex. No other group in ancient Mesoamerica is so well documented. Additionally, many Nahua communities kept copious records in both Spanish and Nahuatl. These have proven to be a gold mine for colonial historians, who have been able to use the wills, court cases, and memoranda to reconstruct Nahua life under Spanish rule. It is clear from these records that the Nahua sense of ethnic identity survived well into the colonial period. Contrary to popular opinion, the Nahua did not abandon their culture while embracing the Spaniards’, but continued to follow their own traditions. Notably, the *altepetl* system survived as the way to pay taxes, support religious ceremonies, and divide administrative costs.

Although various Nahua political states rose, fell, and fought among themselves, there always remained a clear Nahua identity that served to unify them. This Nahua identity survived the Spanish conquest and slowly adapted to the new regime. Today there are between 1 and 2 million Nahua living in Mexico who continue to speak Nahuatl and maintain their ethnic identity.

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—Scott Chamberlain

## Nahuatl

The language spoken by the AZTECS was Nahuatl, which served as a lingua franca in MEXICO both before and after the Spanish conquest in 1521.

Nahuatl is part of the Uto-Aztecan language group, a broad family of languages spoken by people from the northwestern United States to PANAMA. Linguists believe that the heartland of this language family was in northwestern Mexico. The most important language group within the Uto-Aztecan family was Nahua, with Nahuatl being the most widespread language within this group. Nahuatl primarily differs from other languages in the family by its use of the *tl* sound. Most of the inhabitants of Mexico's central valley spoke an early form of Nahuatl and referred to all those who spoke the language as NAHUA, an ethnic designation that persists to this day. The first Nahuatl-speaking group that rose to prominence was the TOLTECS. As the Toltecs conquered or colonized substantial portions of Mexico, Nahuatl spread throughout the region, becoming the language of international diplomacy. For example, ancient manuscripts from the Mixtec Indians of southern Mexico differentiated Nahuatl speakers from local Mixtecs, and frequently depicted the Nahua as diplomats or ambassadors. The Aztecs also spoke Nahuatl, and once they seized control over much of Mexico, Nahuatl clinched its position as the dominant language of Mesoamerica.

Nahuatl is a lyrical, highly expressive language that often relies on metaphors to convey ideas. This gives it a poetic feel that sets it apart from most European languages. Nahuatl's development reached its apogee between 1400 and 1500, which scholars refer to as its classical age. Aztec boys learned Nahuatl rhetoric as part of their basic education, and a remarkable series of gifted poets made use of its expressive qualities. Perhaps the most famous poet was Nezahuacóyotl, the king of Texcoco (1402–72). Acknowledged as the greatest proponent of the classical style, Nezahuacóyotl wrote about the transience of existence and the fragile beauty of nature. Besides using it for poetry, Aztec scholars used the language to record history in the form of elaborate oral songs that were similar in style and content to the *Iliad*.

Contrary to popular belief, Nahuatl did not die out in the wake of the Spanish conquest. In fact, the conquest actually promoted the use of Nahuatl. Because most

Natives already used it as a second language, the Spaniards encouraged the use of Nahuatl as a convenient, standard language for all legal transactions involving non-Spanish speakers. In this way Spanish officials and translators would have to work with only one universal language, rather than almost 100 smaller ones. Additionally, when the Spaniards began exploring and mapping Mexico, they relied almost exclusively on Nahuatl-speaking guides and informants. Therefore, royal officials gave Nahuatl names to hills, rivers, and cities throughout the colony of NEW SPAIN. These Nahuatl names persist in Mexico and Guatemala today, although many of the communities never actually spoke Nahuatl. Also, a number of Spanish scholars such as BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN interviewed Nahuatl speakers and used these interviews to construct their histories of ancient Mexico. Many of the most important works on Aztec culture, such as the Florentine Codex and the Codex Mendoza, were originally written in Nahuatl, and many colonial writers, musicians, and poets used Nahuatl in their works. A number of Nahuatl songs, theater pieces, and sonnets survive from colonial Mexico.

Nahuatl studies continue to be important today. Many of the documents of colonial Mexico, including histories, wills, court transcripts, and dramas, were not written in Spanish, but Nahuatl. Historians who concentrate on Spanish sources often end up with a distorted view of post-conquest Mexico. Nearly 1.5 million people speak Nahuatl today, making it among the most widely spoken indigenous languages in the Americas. English words that derive from Nahuatl include *tomato* (*tomatl*), *coyote* (*coyotl*), and *chocolate* (*xocolatl*).

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—Scott Chamberlain

**Narváez, Pánfilo de** (ca. 1478–1528) *explorer, conquistador, colonial official*

A Spanish explorer and CONQUISTADOR, Pánfilo de Narváez helped conquer CUBA and later led a disastrous expedition into FLORIDA.

Narváez first came to the Americas as a young man, probably around 1498. He fought in JAMAICA and helped lead the Spanish soldiers who conquered Cuba in a war that lasted from 1510 to 1514. The governor of Cuba, DIEGO DE VELÁZQUEZ, feared that HERNÁN CORTÉS, the conqueror of the AZTECS, was growing insubordinate. In 1520 Velázquez sent Narváez to Mexico at the head



of almost a thousand soldiers with instructions to arrest Cortés. Cortés, in a surprise attack, defeated Narváez and recruited many of his soldiers into his own army. He then imprisoned Narváez for more than two years. Once freed, Narváez returned to Spain.

In 1526 Narváez received a commission to conquer the Gulf coast of Florida. As a reward for leading this expedition, he was named both *ADELANTADO* and governor for life of Florida. His party landed near Tampa Bay on April 14, 1528.

The expedition faced severe problems from the beginning, which were probably exacerbated by conflicts between Narváez and his second-in-command, ÁLVAR NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA. Narváez did not bring enough food and supplies for the expedition, and the men suffered from hunger and thirst. As they headed north they fought with Indians they encountered. The Spanish survivors eventually reached the chiefdom of APALACHEE, in northern Florida. Ill and exhausted, they decided to build boats and return to Mexico. They launched five boats, but their attempt to return to Mexico failed. Some boats were washed out to sea, while others washed ashore. Only four men, including Cabeza de Vaca, survived to return to New Spain eight years later.

Cabeza de Vaca, in his account of the expedition, wrote that Narváez was among those lost at sea. He heard from another Spanish survivor of the expedition that one night “the governor stayed in his boat and refused to go ashore . . . and a mate and a page, who was ill, stayed with him; and they had no water in the boat or anything to eat, and in the middle of the night the north wind began to blow so fiercely that it took the boat out to sea without anyone seeing it go, for they had no anchor but a stone.”

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Natchez

An extinct indigenous nation whose members inhabited territory near modern-day Natchez, Mississippi, the Natchez Indians had enormous power in the Mississippi

Valley when they first encountered Europeans in the mid-16th century.

The Natchez, like other indigenous nations in the southeast of the modern-day United States, had strong cultural links to the MISSISSIPPIAN peoples. They inhabited a theocracy in which the head chief, known as the great sun, had the responsibility for the rising of the sun each day. Because the Natchez believed that the sun itself was the supreme deity, the link between its daily movements and the human who headed the nation made obvious sense. The Natchez also believed in other minor deities, and they constructed houses to honor the sun and the great sun. On certain occasions, such as the death of the great sun, the Natchez sacrificed humans to propitiate the divine forces that governed their world. In one of the temples the Natchez kept a fire always burning.

In many respects Natchez communities resembled nearby indigenous groups. CORN agriculture, supplemented by beans, pumpkins, peaches, and melons, was the basis of their diet. The Natchez also grew TOBACCO and gathered locally available plants, including wild rice and grapes. Women tended the crops while men had responsibility for hunting deer, buffalo, and other game. They traveled through the region in canoes, some of them up to 40 feet long, and engaged in trade with other Native peoples.

The Natchez first met Europeans when HERNANDO DE SOTO traveled through the region in 1542. The Natives and newcomers did not get along, although there is little evidence of any overt hostility. Nonetheless, contact with Europeans and with Old World DISEASES that had come to the Western Hemisphere as part of the COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE, devastated the nation. From a population of perhaps 4,500 in 1650, the Natchez declined to only 300 in 1731. Eighteenth-century conflicts with French colonists proved disastrous, especially when the Europeans defeated the Natchez in battle in 1731 and sold the survivors, including their last leader, into SLAVERY. Some Natchez survived the French assault and migrated to nearby indigenous communities of Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Creek.

Perhaps the best written source of evidence for the Natchez is the account written by the French colonist Antoine-Simon Le Page du Pratz, who documented elements of Natchez culture and society during the early 18th century. His account, entitled *Histoire de la Louisiane*, was published in Paris in 1758, although it contains information du Pratz gathered in the early 1730s. Like other European observers, du Pratz made drawings of some of the things he saw, including the main temple and the house of the great sun.

Over time the surviving Natchez married members of other Native nations. The last speaker of the Natchez language died in 1965, and the last Natchez ceremony took place in 1976, although a group of several hundred

claiming some Natchez ancestry maintained a ceremonial site in eastern Oklahoma into the 1980s.

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### Native American religion

Long before Europeans and Africans arrived in the Western Hemisphere, indigenous peoples of the Americas possessed rich religious traditions, many of them tied to specific homelands.

Like other peoples across the globe, every Native group in the Americas created, developed, and maintained a set of religious ideas. These sets of ideas varied from place to place, although in most instances religious traditions included stories of the origins of human beings and guidelines for propitiating the divine forces that often exert control over life on earth, including the actions of humans and animals. Like the peoples of Europe who built places of worship to honor the Judeo-Christian God, indigenous peoples across the Americas constructed temples to honor their deities. Unlike Europeans, Native American peoples tended to believe in more than a single divine force in the universe.

Given the diversity of lifestyles and histories across the Western Hemisphere, there is no simple way to describe Native American religious practice. In the Southwest of the modern-day United States, for example, some HOPI have long believed that there was (and is) a spiritual dimension to the planting and tending of CORN, and their tradition tells of a link between the planting of blue corn and the origins of the Hopi themselves. The Anishinaabe of modern-day northern Minnesota celebrated the central role that wild rice played in their economy. The IROQUOIS in the northeast, like the Hopi, celebrated the planting of corn, and long before Europeans arrived they had created sacred ceremonies in which they would ritually smoke TOBACCO or consume unripe (or green) corn to please the deities responsible for the annual corn crop. Farther north, where agriculture played a less crucial role in Native people's lives because the growing season was too short and unpredictable, indigenous traditions spoke about the power that certain animal spirits possessed. Thus, some sub-Arctic peoples like the Micmac and Cree believed that there were great "bosses" or "keepers" of bears and beavers, enormous

spirits that kept watch over their counterparts on earth. In order to have a successful hunt, those who wanted to kill large game needed to engage in certain behaviors to please the animal bosses. They would not let their dogs chew on the bones of an animal killed in the hunt, for example, or allow menstruating women to share in the first feast that they made after a hunt. By obeying such rules these Native peoples maintained peaceful relations with the bosses who, in return, would often instruct real-world animals where they should go so they could be captured and killed by humans. Maintaining harmony with these spirits also prevented sickness because the animal bosses tended to control the spread of infectious diseases. In central Alaska the Koyukon people, who rely on hunting for their livelihoods, also believe in animal forces, including the power of Raven to shape the flow of the rivers in their homeland.

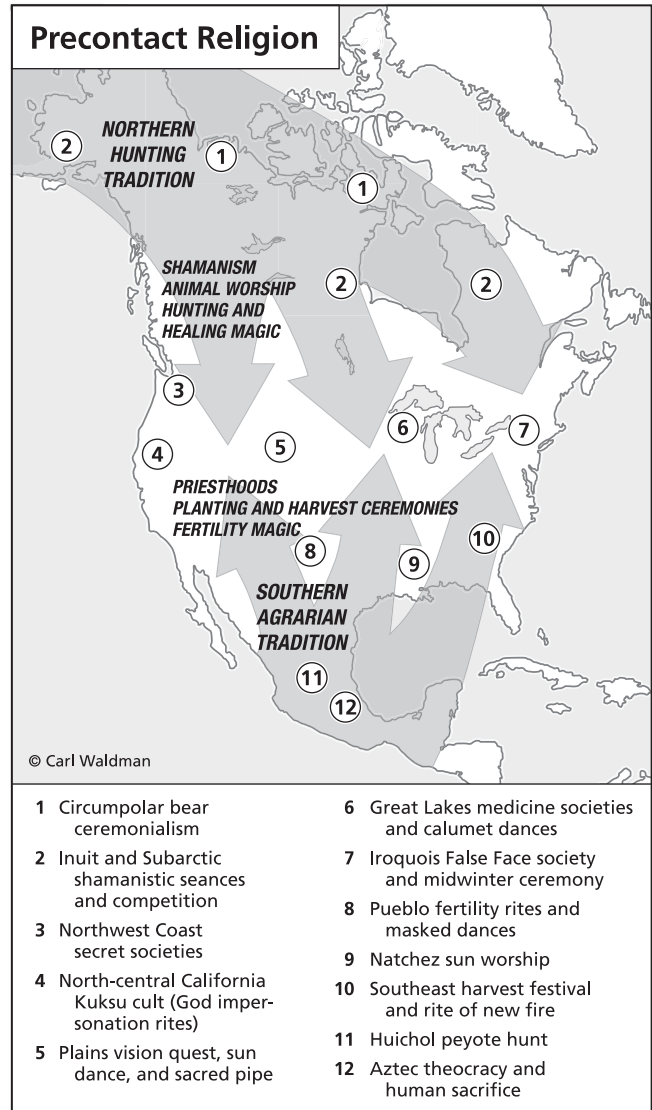
Across the Americas indigenous peoples reshaped their landscape to reflect their religious beliefs. The MISSISSIPPIAN peoples, for example, built enormous mounds (such as those at CAHOKIA) that had multiple religious purposes; such structures, constructed of tons of earth, could be used for ceremonies and for the interment of the remains of community members. Natives of the HOPEWELL CULTURE constructed a massive mound at Fairgrounds Circle near modern-day Newark, Ohio. They built this mound, which they used for cremation of human remains, around A.D. 300, long before Europeans ever had the idea of building a substantial cathedral. Another vast mound located near Monroe, Louisiana, dates from approximately 3000 B.C.

If North American mounds can still impress visitors, imagine what it must have been like for Spaniards who arrived in Mexico and found themselves staring upward at great Mayan temples such as the so-called Temple 5C-49 and Temple IV at TIKAL, the Temple of the Sun at PALENQUE, or the Temple of the Warriors at CHICHÉN ITZÁ. These enormous stone buildings tower over the surrounding fields and jungle; each is the product of hundreds of thousands of hours of labor and architectural genius. Carvings within sacred buildings reveal the religious practices of inhabitants. At the Aztec site at Yaxchilan in Chiapas, for example, one carving shows a bloodletting ritual in which the queen, Lady Xoc, pulled a rope through her tongue. Because the rope was lined with thorns, it drew copious amounts of blood, a vital part of the ritual. Women alone did not suffer in religious ceremonies. A sculpture at another Aztec site depicts a high-status man making ritual incisions into his penis to draw blood for a ritual.

There is no obvious link between each of these forms of religious expression other than the fact that all indigenous communities participated in rituals in order to preserve their existence. Many of these rituals reflected ties to

local environments, such as rites associated with agriculture or hunting. Many ceremonies also symbolized the intimate connections that logically existed between indigenous peoples and the land they inhabited. For many peoples the landscape itself was a sacred text that could be read by those who knew the traditions. Thus, in the northwest of the modern-day United States, ancient oral histories tell how the great coyote spirit created the Columbia River and then changed its course. The Spokane Indians told a story about a sleeping monster assaulted by members of the community; when the monster awoke and fled, he carved a deep path to Lake Coeur d'Alene that became the Spokane River. White Mountain Apaches told stories about particular parts of their homeland, stories so specific that mention of a place evoked not only what it might look like but also a lesson that that place offered to those who knew how to pay attention. Across the eastern woodlands indigenous peoples believed in spirits they called MANTOAC, Montóac, or Manitou.

Virtually every European who arrived in the Americas was convinced that the religious practices of indigenous peoples reflected the Natives' ignorance. "Some religion they have alreadie," the English ethnographer THOMAS HARRIOT wrote about the Carolina ALGONQUIAN he met at ROANOKE in his *Briefe and True Report of the Newfound Land of Virginia*, published first in LONDON in 1588, "which although it be farre from the truth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may bee the easier and sooner reformed." Recognizing that Native religious beliefs would be of enormous interest to his European audience, Harriot enumerated some of the defining features of the Carolina Algonquian's beliefs. "They beleeeve that there are many Gods which they call *Mantóac*, but of different sortes and degrees," he wrote, "one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all eternitie," as well as lesser deities. "For mankind they say a woman was made first, which by the woorking of one of the goddes, conceived and brought forth children: And in such sort they say they had their beginning." These peoples believed in the immortality of the soul and that gods had human form and "therefore they represent them by images in the formes of men, which they call *Kewasowok* one alone is called *Kewás*[.] Them they place in houses appropriate or temples which they call *Mathicáomuck*[,] where they woorship, praie, sing, and make manie times offerings unto them." When JOHN WHITE painted his memorable watercolors of the Carolina Algonquian, he was careful to document the ways that these Native people prayed and danced using rattles and provided a careful rendering of an idol in human form that presided over the bodies of deceased leaders. When THEODOR DE BRY engraved these paintings for the 1590 edition of Harriot's book, these images of Native American religion spread across Europe.



The vast majority of Europeans who left accounts about the Americas commented on indigenous religious practice. Some of those observations demonstrated the skepticism and even contempt that Europeans had for what they saw. But even hostile accounts tended to be similar to Harriot's; Europeans felt superior but often acknowledged the devotion that Americans demonstrated. Before Cortés finished his assault on Tenochtitlán, he praised its main temple. Pedro Cieza de León, traveling through Peru after FRANCISCO PIZARRO's conquest of ATAHUALPA's empire, stood in awe of the religious buildings he observed. After describing some of the most significant structures of CUZCO, including its main temple, he added that he omitted other details in his narrative "because it seems to me that what has been said suffices for an understanding of what a great thing it was. For I make no mention of the

silverwork, beads, golden feathers, and other things which, if I were to describe them, would not be believed.”

The existence of indigenous religious practices presented a challenge to Europeans, who wanted to bring Christianity to the Western Hemisphere. JESUITS, FRANCISCANS, DOMINICANS, and missionaries from every other religious group all had to devise strategies whereby indigenous peoples would abandon their ancestral practices and adopt the rituals and beliefs of the newcomers. At times their methods worked, and some Native peoples converted. More often, at least during the period before 1607, Native peoples did not embrace the spiritual offerings of the “black robes” or others promising everlasting redemption in exchange for abandonment of indigenous ways, although some Native peoples did adopt elements of the missionaries’ programs. European missionaries often bemoaned the syncretic practices that emerged when religious traditions from the Old World arrived in the Americas, but such adaptations only reflected indigenous peoples’ longstanding respect for the spiritual forces that guided their world and their ability to adapt to changing circumstances.

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### navigation technology

The increase in the volume of long-distance travel in the 16th century took place despite the fact that navigational technology remained of limited use.

At the time CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS sailed across the Atlantic Ocean, mariners had access to a limited range of navigational devices. To be sure, they had access to ASTROLABES and CROSS STAFFS, which had each already developed in Europe at least a century before 1492. There is also the possibility—as yet unproved—that Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR was involved in instructing mariners about how to conduct long-distance journeys. What is more certain is that European travels into the Atlantic in the 16th century prompted some scholars to promote increased knowl-

edge of mathematics, which was necessary for navigation. Among those who pushed for public lectures on the subject was RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, who believed that the English needed to support such intellectual exercises if they were to catch up to Catholic (see REFORMATION) continental seafaring peoples. Even the French were more advanced than the English, as Hakluyt learned when he spent time in Paris and visited the French royal cosmographer ANDRÉ THEVET.

European mariners had the ability, primarily through the use of cross staff and the accumulated knowledge of astronomers over the preceding centuries, to measure latitude, but they lacked an accurate timepiece (a chronometer) to measure longitude. As a result, it was difficult for those at sea to know exactly where they were, and the situation could be worse during a storm when a ship could be blown far off course. Europeans did not develop a reliable way to determine longitude until the 18th century.

It should be noted that some peoples were capable of long-distance discovery even without such technology. The NORSE, for example, led voyages from Norway at least as far as LANSE AUX MEADOWS in Newfoundland. They did so by minimizing the distance between landfalls, primarily by following a course that took them to Iceland then to Greenland and from there west via Baffin Island to Newfoundland. The excursions of the Polynesians in the South and Southwest Pacific were even more dramatic, another sign that knowledge of life at sea and a willingness to take a chance could be as important in making a crucial discovery as reliance on technology.

Further, no one should overestimate the accuracy of the technology that existed in the 16th century. One need not possess modern information to be skeptical. The English navigational scholar Edward Wright wrote a treatise entitled *Errors in Navigation*, published in London in 1599, that warned sailors about the inaccuracies that reduced the efficacy of existing navigational tools. He argued that there were errors even in new sea charts and that compasses were often inaccurate too because they gave inadequate attention to magnetic variation. A cross staff could also mislead if the user did not take account of what Wright called “the eccentricitie of the eie.” Though scholars had studied navigation for, as he put it, “some thousands of yeeres,” the so-called art was still far from perfect.

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### Nevis

One of the Leeward Islands among the Lesser Antilles in the Caribbean Sea, Nevis contained an indigenous



population for several centuries until they abandoned the island just before English colonization in 1628.

An oval volcanic island located at the northwest end of the Lesser Antilles near St. Kitts, Nevis was originally covered with forests, and it contains three volcanic cones, with the tallest, Nevis Peak, rising to a height of 985 meters. Indigenous people first populated the island around approximately 1000 B.C. This first group did not practice horticulture and depended upon hunting and gathering terrestrial and aquatic resources. Finally, around 200 B.C., a sedentary horticultural people moved to the island. These people eventually developed into the Eastern TAINO, who occupied the island at the time of contact with Europeans. From this point until just before English colonization, these Taino suffered slave raids by Europeans to the north and west in the Greater Antilles and Island CARIB to the south in the Leeward Islands of the Lesser Antilles. For unknown reasons the island was uninhabited by the time the English initiated colonization in the Leeward Islands in 1624.

In 1628 the English founded a colony on Nevis. The English became attracted to colonial development in the region due to the success of the Spanish and Dutch in the Caribbean. At first the English did not develop Nevis as a plantation colony, but they finally adopted a SUGAR plantation economy after Portuguese JEWS introduced sugar cultivation to the Windward Islands between 1640 and 1650. Because of the limited acreage of flat land, these plantations tended to remain small, family-run enterprises.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## New Mexico

This large area in what is today the southwest United States saw the rise of a variety of Native groups and served as the northern frontier of the Spanish colony of NEW SPAIN.

The name "New Mexico" was given to the area around 1580 by Spanish explorers who thought that the pueblos, or apartmentlike residential complexes, of the local Natives were reminiscent of the great Aztec cities such as TENOCHTITLÁN, TACUBA, and Texcoco in the central valley of MEXICO. (See PUEBLO.) With few natural boundaries, New Mexico was a poorly defined province. Many

Spaniards used the term to refer to the entire northern zone of New Spain, although in late colonial times the separate territories of CALIFORNIA and Texas were removed from its jurisdiction. In reality, the province of New Mexico was centered on the Rio Grande, starting at El Paso and running north into Colorado. Most European settlements, like the Native communities before them, were within a short distance of this river or its tributaries, leaving the other areas to nomadic groups such as the Apache and Navajo. Along with Spanish FLORIDA, New Mexico was one of the earliest areas in what is now the United States to have been settled by Europeans, and its capital of SANTA FE is the second-oldest European city in the modern-day United States.

### Ancient New Mexico

New Mexico boasts some of the oldest human remains in North America. According to the geological and archaeological record, New Mexico was considerably wetter in ancient times than it is now. The area was covered with grasslands and forests that supported a variety of animals. Early humans were nomadic hunters following the trail of big game that inhabited the region. Two important groups of hunters were named for the sites in New Mexico where their remains were first found: Clovis Man and Folsom Man. Archaeologists have dated these groups to around 9200 B.C. During this time they hunted large animals such as bison, which provided both meat and material for clothing. As the Ice Age ended, the climate became drier and hotter, forcing the people of New Mexico to adapt to new conditions. This developing "desert culture" gravitated toward the rivers of the region and turned slowly to agriculture as they supplemented their diet with smaller game such as deer, antelope, and fish. In time these settlements developed into sophisticated societies.

One of the first great cultures to develop in the region was the Mogollon Culture centered in the southwestern portion of New Mexico. Through ancient links to Mexico, Mogollon farmers learned to grow CORN between 3000 and 750 B.C., adding squash and red kidney beans to their diet by 400 B.C. Around 300 B.C. they began constructing pithouses, which were large oval or round pits overlaid with timber and earth roofs. Residents dug smaller pits within the houses for storing food, pottery, and votive offerings. A subgroup of the Mogollon culture created spectacular ceramic pots with distinctive geometrical and natural designs called Mimbres ware, which remains some of the Southwest's most sophisticated pottery. These pots were often included in household offerings interred with deceased members of a community but were systematically broken, suggesting that the beautiful, finely crafted ceramics were ritually "killed" before being buried, perhaps to release the pot's spirit. The Mogollon culture, protected by



Photograph of Anasazi ruins, called the “White House,” in present-day Arizona (United States Geologic Survey Photographic Library)

numerous mountain ranges, reached its apogee around A.D. 500. It had a great influence on the area around it, evident especially in the appearance of pit houses as ceremonial areas among later cultures.

The other great culture that developed in the region was the Anasazi, whose name means both “Ancient Ones” or “Ancestral Enemies” in the Navajo language. This culture developed more slowly than did the Mogollon but ultimately spread to an area covering modern-day New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah. Over time the culture changed greatly. From around A.D. 1 to 500 the Navajo were primarily a basket-making people who did not use ceramics. They used their sophisticated baskets for everything—storage, cooking food, and carrying water. Between 500 and 700 the Anasazi built larger settlements and developed agriculture as well. After 700 they began dwelling in pueblos, which were villages consisting of residential apartment complexes and ceremonial pit houses called kivas. Traditionally the houses and above-ground spaces were associated with women, but the underground kivas were strictly used by men. Scholars have been able to trace the development of Anasazi sites by examining the well-preserved timber used to construct

the pueblos. By examining the patterns of tree ring growth, archaeologists have been able to establish a basic chronology for the Anasazi area.

The Anasazi pueblos reached their peak after 1050. The greatest of Anasazi sites was Chaco Canyon, located in northwestern New Mexico, begun around 850 and completed by 1130. It consisted of a series of well-built pueblos linked with roads. Recent investigators have concluded that the roads were not just used to facilitate travel and communication, but also had ritual and cultural significance. The Anasazi built large-scale agricultural projects, including dams and irrigation ditches, which enabled them to increase food production. The largest pueblo at Chaco Canyon was Pueblo Bonito, which housed 1,200 people in a four-story, D-shaped complex. It was the largest apartment complex in the United States until the late 19th century. The Anasazi had numerous links with neighboring cultures in the Southwest, and there is evidence to suggest that this area of New Mexico had close trading contacts with central Mexico (particularly with the Toltec culture), along the so-called Turquoise Road.

Despite their success, by 1200 the Anasazi had started their long decline. Scholars have suggested that a series of droughts caused widespread famine. Other settlements, such as Mesa Verde in Colorado, reveal that the Anasazi were abandoning their great open pueblos and creating more defensible ones under cliffs, suggesting that Anasazi towns were under attack. Slowly the great pueblos were abandoned, and refugees began gravitating toward more fertile areas. Further droughts in 1450 sparked off another wave of migrations, with most of the remaining population clustering around the Rio Grande and its tributaries. By 1500 the Anasazi culture had disintegrated, leaving a legacy of puebloan culture focused on the ZUNI-Acoma area of New Mexico, the central Rio Grande valley, and scattered settlements in Arizona. These cultures, ancestors to today’s HOPI and Zuni people, continued to live in adobe apartments and build underground kivas for ceremonies. Like others in the region, they were skilled at ceramics and basketweaving. Likewise, they practiced agriculture, but on a smaller scale than their ancestors.

The last main group of people located in ancient New Mexico were the nomadic hunters and raiders. There were two cultures in this category, the Apache and the Navajo. With linguistic roots in Canada, these two groups migrated into the region around 1200, leading some to speculate that their raids helped bring down the great Anasazi centers (which would account for the Navajo term). Both groups relied heavily on hunting, although over time the Navajo became more sedentary, developing agriculture as well. Both groups were nomadic, creating small temporary communities. Both groups apparently traded animal hides and dried meat with the puebloans, gaining cotton, corn, and

utensils in return. Along with these more peaceful contacts, violence often flared between the puebloans and the nomads, and these internecine tensions intensified when Europeans began moving into the area.

### *Early Exploration*

A few years after HERNÁN CORTÉS conquered the AZTECS, expeditions began leaving central Mexico to explore the continent. However, paradoxically, the first European explorers to enter New Mexico did not do so from the south, but rather from the east. ÁLVAR NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA was part of an ill-fated expedition that became stranded in the Tampa Bay area of FLORIDA in 1528. The 300 survivors attempted to make their way west through country never before explored by Europeans in an attempt to reach Mexico. After several disasters and a period of enslavement, Cabeza de Vaca gained fame as a mystic healer whose Catholic prayers cured the sick. With four survivors, Cabeza de Vaca continued his westward search for the Spanish settlements in Mexico, reaching present-day New Mexico in 1534. Crossing over from what is now west Texas, the party briefly followed the Pecos River northward, although once they felt they were moving too far in that direction, they struck out west. They reached the Rio Grande and followed it south, passing near the site of modern-day El Paso and continuing south and west toward Mexico City. While Cabeza de Vaca's main concern was survival, he did take notes on the surrounding area, proclaiming that the people were skilled artisans with productive agricultural lands and in so doing providing an invaluable account of New Mexico on the eve of the Spanish conquest. He also reported that they had supplies of precious metals, which sparked more determined efforts to explore the land.

After the 1530s New Mexico became associated with a series of legends that lured Spaniards to explore the region. Enthusiasts suggested that various refugees fleeing from Europe and the Middle East (including Christians, survivors of Atlantis, and the Lost Tribes of Israel) had crossed the Atlantic and set up kingdoms in exile in the NEW WORLD. Cabeza de Vaca's suggestion that there were sophisticated societies to the north caused great interest among royal officials. Particularly seductive were the stories about the Seven Cities of Cibola. In 1539 the viceroy of NEW SPAIN, ANTONIO DE MENDOZA, organized an expedition to explore the territories to the north. He selected Friar Marcos de Niza, a Franciscan priest who had accompanied FRANCISCO PIZARRO on his conquest of PERU, to lead the party. Esteban the Moor (Estevanico), who was one of the survivors who accompanied Cabeza de Vaca, served as the expedition's guide, partially retracing his steps into New Mexico. Friar Marcos's explorations were largely failures, and the Natives who were friendly to Cabeza de Vaca killed Esteban in southern New Mexico. Still, Friar

Marcos called it an unqualified success, claiming to have seen cities of gold in the distance. He urged others to follow, and the viceroy accordingly drew up new plans.

The leader of the next expedition was FRANCISCO CORONADO, who paid for most of its expenses himself. Coronado organized a huge enterprise that consisted of 336 men, 559 HORSES, and at least 100 Native porters. Additionally, he provided for naval support from the Gulf of California. Several clergymen volunteered to ensure the peaceful conversion of the indigenous people. Friar Marcos, who had provided such glorious accounts of the area, served as the guide. Traveling northward through what is today Arizona, Coronado cut eastward and arrived in the Zuni area, where Friar Marcos claimed Cibola lay. Instead of golden cities and hordes of precious stones, the CONQUISTADORES found adobe pueblos. Coronado pushed forward and, hearing good reports of the fertility of the Rio Grande valley, moved to set up a base camp there for the winter of 1540–41. Friar Marcos sensed the bitter disappointment of the campaign and chose to return to Mexico. Eventually, Coronado pushed east toward a legendary land called Quivira. After traveling to central Kansas in search of this equally mythical realm, Coronado returned to his base in New Mexico. Injured before he could mount any further expeditions in the area, he had no choice but to return home. The lack of any wealthy kingdoms to the north led the Spaniards to all but abandon New Mexico for the next 40 years.

### *Colonization*

In the 1580s many Spaniards showed new interest in exploring New Mexico, with the particular intent to establish a permanent presence in the region. A Native rebellion called the Mixton War convinced many that New Spain's frontier needed to be secure, and the new mining operations around ZACATECAS remained vulnerable to raids. With Coronado's campaign a distant memory, a new group of Spaniards entered the region. In 1580 the Franciscan lay brother Agustín Rodríguez proposed a new venture that would set up a line of fortified missions in New Mexico designed simultaneously to protect the frontier and convert the local population. In 1581 three FRANCISCANS accompanied by 19 soldiers under the command of Francisco Chamuscado moved into New Mexico, following the Rio Grande as far as modern-day Taos. They explored the Rio Grande Valley intensively, also scouting the Pecos River. Again, the expedition was far from successful, with one Franciscan and several soldiers dying before they abandoned the region in 1582. The two other friars remained in New Mexico, although they quickly met martyrs' deaths. Still, the careful records and surveys of the local populations they left behind were instrumental for future colonization efforts.

News of the voyages of SIR FRANCIS DRAKE led the Spanish to renew their interest in New Mexico.



Geographers assumed that the area lay close to the sea and was thus vulnerable to attack. If Spain's enemies gained a foothold on the northern frontier of New Spain, they might be able to attack the colony as a whole. Thus, the royal government directed JUAN DE OÑATE in 1597 to subdue and colonize New Mexico. Like Coronado, Oñate financed much of the expedition himself. In addition to establishing a military presence in the area, the Crown directed Oñate to set up missions to Christianize the locals, who would serve as a buffer against external assault. In 1598 the expedition moved forward, containing 400 men (130 of whom had wives and children), 7,000 head of cattle, and 10 Franciscans. Oñate set up a base camp at the site of the Ohke pueblo, which he renamed San Juan de los Caballeros. Space was limited at the site, and many Spaniards felt ill at ease near the Natives. Oñate established other settlements nearby, including San Gabriel. Population pressure remained a problem, and in 1609–10 the Spaniards built up the new city of Santa Fe as their permanent capital.

Power within the colony was divided between civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The nominal head of the secular government was a governor appointed by either the king or the viceroy in Mexico City. The remote location made it possible for ambitious governors to become enormously powerful. He ruled with the support of the *CABILDO*, or town council, located in Santa Fe, as well as a small number of judges who traveled through the colony. The royal governor also oversaw local governors who administered pueblos under Spanish jurisdiction. Besides this secular government, there was a parallel religious government based in Santa Fe as well. This role was taken up by the Franciscans, who continued to be the dominant religious order in New Mexico. They organized missions based in or near the pueblos and instructed the Natives in Christian doctrine. The clerics also attempted to reshape indigenous communities. They imposed a strict schedule on the Natives designed to create a European work ethic and demanded that local indigenous people perform a number of duties for the benefit of the colony, such as tending herds, growing food, and building churches. Missionaries also attempted to suppress local traditions and impose European morality, particularly in areas of marriage and sexuality. If the Natives failed to comply with the Franciscans' demands, they received heavy punishment. Although the two main branches of government were closely interrelated, ecclesiastical and civic figures often fought over who held the ultimate power in the colony, and both claimed the authority to organize, administer, and punish the local Natives.

Life in the early colonial days was difficult for the Spanish. Because New Mexico was, in the opinion of imperial bureaucrats, to be a military stronghold, most of the settlements and missions had a distinct military character. Still believing the region had rich metal deposits, many of

the colonists spent an inordinate amount of time scouring the hills and mountains for GOLD. Agriculture was more successful than prospecting, but most of the Spaniards were unwilling to till the soil themselves. They conscripted local Natives to work the land for them, but this did not endear the Spaniards to the indigenous people. Several villages, including Acoma, resisted Spanish law and raided the Spanish settlements. Because Oñate could not afford to appear weak, he sent an army that attacked and destroyed Acoma, killing 800 Natives in the process. Franciscan friars did establish a successful network of missions among the puebloan people, but resentment against the cultural intrusion simmered for more than a century. Further, Apache and Navajo raiders periodically attacked both the pueblos and the Spanish settlements. The distance between the colony and the seat of the royal government in Mexico meant that the Spaniards in New Mexico were isolated both militarily and culturally, leading to the development of a siege mentality. Tensions between Spaniards and Natives smoldered for most of the 1600s, finally erupting during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, in which Native rebels drove the Spaniards from New Mexico, holding the territory for 13 years before the Spaniards returned in force.

While often inhospitable, New Mexico became a home for various Native peoples as well as Spanish colonists. As a strategic stronghold guarding the frontier of New Spain, the colony served an important military role. As a frontier province away from the centers of Spanish culture, New Mexico was a place where Native and European elements mingled. The Spaniards tried to convert the indigenous peoples to European ways, but in the process the newcomers also adopted Native architecture, building materials, and art forms. Even today, the area maintains important elements from Native and European cultures. This mingling of cultures has provided New Mexico with a unique, rich heritage.

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—Scott Chamberlain

## New Spain

New Spain was one of the great territorial divisions of the Spanish Empire in the NEW WORLD, based in MEXICO



and encompassing most of the Spanish territories north of PANAMA, including the Caribbean islands and the Philippines.

The first Spanish claim on the American mainland occurred when HERNÁN CORTÉS landed at VERACRUZ in 1519. He established a settlement (more accurately, a base camp) and claimed the area for Spain. The following year the Spaniards adopted the term *New Spain* to refer to central Mexico. As the conquest progressed, the territory's boundaries expanded. By 1524 the Spanish had pushed to Honduras in the south and Colima in the north. A number of these areas became autonomous provinces, including Honduras in 1526, Guatemala in 1530, and the northern district of New Galicia in 1531. Soon the Spaniards recognized the need for greater integration of their new territories. In 1535 the entire area was formally transformed into a viceroyalty called New Spain, which was governed by a viceroy from Mexico City (the AZTECS' former capital of TENOCHTITLÁN). Local governments in the provinces were given varying degrees of autonomy, but all remained loyal to the viceroy in Mexico City. Almost immediately, the Spanish placed the Caribbean under the administration of New Spain, and by the 1560s FLORIDA, NEW MEXICO, and the Philippines were added as well.

### ***Spanish Conquest and Settlement***

The core of New Spain was the old Aztec Empire, which fell to Cortés in 1521. With the conquest of this powerful state, most of the surrounding areas fell as well. The TARASCAN were quickly absorbed within a year. PEDRO DE ALVARADO led troops into the Guatemalan highlands, where he subdued the Quiché MAYA kingdom in 1523. Only the Maya kingdoms in the YUCATÁN PENINSULA offered sustained resistance, although by 1537 the CONQUISTADORES had established tentative control over the area.

The administrators of New Spain naturally favored the rapid construction of cities. For one, many of the Native groups were urban themselves, and the first great Spanish cities were built on or around large indigenous communities. Mexico City, for example, was constructed on the ruins of Tenochtitlán. Additionally, Cortés was an active promoter of colonization and greatly encouraged construction of cities, which would serve as military strong points in a hostile land. By 1531 there were 15 official Spanish cities in central Mexico alone. From the central highlands several waves of city building spread across the region. One line led south and west, following the conquests of Pedro de Alvarado. By 1535 an additional 15 cities had been founded in Guatemala, in the heart of Maya territory. The difficult conquest of the Yucatán reduced the number of Spanish towns in the region, and it was only after 1570 that the Spanish established four communities there. Cities sprang up in the north as well, particularly after the Spanish

crushed a rebellion by the Mixton Indians. Guadalajara was built in 1531 and ZACATECAS founded in 1546. By 1600 the most important cities in New Spain were Mexico City (the capital), Puebla, Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Antequera (Oaxaca), and Guatemala City.

From the beginning the Crown was concerned about how best to bring the Natives into the Spanish fold. Conquest was not enough; imperial promoters wanted to acculturate the Natives as well. One of the first attempts to do so was with the *ENCOMIENDA*. Under this system Spanish settlers had limited jurisdiction over a number of Native communities. The *encomendero* was to convert, protect, and educate the Natives, and in return he was allowed to make use of their labor. While the Natives were not formally enslaved, they were coerced into working for the benefit of the *encomendero*. This system failed miserably. Most *encomenderos* usually made no attempt to fulfill their duties, and their excessive demands led to the deaths of thousands of overworked Natives. Another attempt by the Crown to acculturate the Natives was to force them into Spanish-style cities (see *REDUCCIONES*). Those who conceived the scheme believed that if Natives were surrounded by Spanish culture and forced to interact in a Spanish-style environment, they would become more Spanish themselves. To put this plan into action, the Spanish uprooted many Natives and forced them into new cities, a process that accelerated after the 1540s when great PLAGUES devastated the Native population.

### ***The Administrative System***

From the beginning the Spanish Crown knew it would face enormous difficulties in establishing and maintaining its control over New Spain. One of the most significant hurdles was the distance between Spain and its new colony; it took months for messages to reach their destinations on the other side of the ocean, if they arrived at all. Moreover, the area had been recently conquered, and there was the lingering possibility of Native revolts. Further, the Crown feared that the conquistadores, the most active Spaniards in the region, might decide to set up kingdoms of their own. Rewarding these men for their efforts was also fraught with peril. During Spain's war against the Moors (called the *RECONQUISTA*), conquering heroes were sometimes given lands and titles (see *ADELANTADO*). The Crown feared that if it followed this model in the New World, it would be creating a new landed aristocracy that could block its interests.

Faced with these potential problems, the Spanish Crown developed an unusual political system based on overlapping authority that contained considerable checks and balances. Imperial bureaucrats' overarching concern was to build a political system that could adequately meet the needs of the colony but that would not create institutions or politicians that could ever effectively challenge the

king. The first step in this process was to slowly, graciously remove the conquistadores from power and replace them with bland bureaucrats. The most important of these royal officials was the viceroy. In principle, he was the king's representative in New Spain, speaking for the king, administering the king's justice, and executing the king's commands. Because this position was so strong, the king was cautious about whom he selected for it. The holder was always a person from Spain itself (never from a local family) who was forbidden from acquiring property or engaging in economic activities. He was even discouraged from becoming too friendly with the local population lest he become overly involved in local affairs. In 1535 ANTONIO DE MENDOZA became the first viceroy of New Spain, and his successful tenure became a model for all those that followed him.

The Crown remained concerned that despite its precautions, the viceroy might still become too powerful. To avoid this potential crisis, the Spanish established other institutions to counterbalance the viceroy. The most important of these was the *AUDIENCIA*, a council that primarily functioned as a court of appeals, although it took on other responsibilities as time went on. A limited *audiencia* was established in Mexico City in 1528, but the system was substantially altered after the arrival of the viceroy. It became an official advisory council to the viceroy and had the power to enact laws. The *audiencia* in Mexico City remained the ultimate judicial and legislative council for New Spain, but subordinate *audiencias* were established in most of the large cities, where they functioned as first courts of appeal. The Crown deliberately blurred the spheres of influence of the viceroy and the *audiencia*. The question of who had the ultimate authority to decide an issue, promulgate laws, collect taxes, and so forth became divided between the groups. This division led to fierce political in-fighting, which frequently paralyzed the colonial government. The only way to resolve an issue was to appeal to the COUNCIL OF THE INDIES (a royal advisory board in Spain) or the king himself. This overlapping authority kept any groups from becoming too powerful and subtly reinforced the power of the king because he remained the final arbiter of disputes.

Local government in New Spain consisted of two branches, which also served as checks on the viceroys and *audiencias*. First, there was the *CORREGIDOR*. He was a district administrator who presided over a subdivision of an *audiencia*. There were two types: the municipal *corregidor*, who was assigned to Spanish towns, and the *corregidor de indios*, who was associated with Native towns. In both cases their functions were essentially the same. They were superior judges, head of the municipal councils, and had a fair degree of latitude in enforcing laws. Skilled *corregidores* often played off both the viceroys and *audiencias*, offering to support one against the other or blocking enforcement of laws championed by either side. Below the *corregi-*

*dores* were the *CABILDOS*, or town councils. These councils, located in every official city, had local authority to maintain defense, collect local taxes and tariffs, and to enact municipal codes. *Cabildos* frequently challenged the authority of the other administrators, refusing to enforce laws that they felt infringed upon their lives. In addition, Spanish bureaucrats devised two other regulatory mechanisms: the *visita*, which consisted of a surprise inspection by a neutral crown official, and the *residencia*, a requirement that anyone who served in office had to remain in place for six months after the duration of their term so that anyone with a complaint could come forward. While such actions were well intended, they did not prevent corruption and did little to improve the government of New Spain.

### ***Ethnicity and Social Status***

There were several ethnic groups present in New Spain. The Spaniards, conquerors of the region, had the highest social status of all the ethnic groups, but even within the category of *Spaniard* were two groups of very unequal status. The highest group was the *peninsulares*, or Spaniards who came directly from Spain. The Europeans felt that America was a land of laziness, sloth, and "bad air." Therefore, people born in the New World would absorb these negative traits, making them inferior to people born in Europe. The *peninsulares* were considered more loyal to the Crown, more intelligent, and more sophisticated. Trusting their loyalty, the Crown decreed that only *peninsulares* could hold key positions in the government. Additionally, they were given preferential treatment in applying for trading licences. Much of the transatlantic trade remained firmly in the hands of the *peninsulares*. Although they never accounted for more than 1 percent of the population of New Spain, they held a monopoly of political, economic, and social power within the colony.

Directly below the *peninsulares* in status were the *criollos*. These people were of pure Spanish descent but were born in the New World. Generally, they were indistinguishable from the *peninsulares* in terms of dress, physical appearance, and customs, but the simple fact that they were born in America reduced their status within the colony. Despite their secondary rank, life for the *criollos* was relatively good. Although blocked from most of the overseas trade with Spain, they were frequently able to take part in the local economy, and many became wealthy. Some were able to acquire large tracts of land, establishing *HACIENDAS*. While they were forbidden from serving in the large, important government offices, they were able to obtain lucrative minor positions within the royal bureaucracy and were allowed to hold office in the *cabildo*. While not able to take part at the highest levels of New Spain's economy, politics, or society, their fair skin and Spanish background gave them a privileged position within the colonial system.

Natives constituted the largest ethnic group in New Spain. In recent years there has been a large debate over the size of the Native population. Many scholars have concluded that in 1519 there were approximately 25 million Natives in central Mexico and several million more in the Maya areas to the south. Within a few years of the conquest, the Native population all but collapsed, a result of the violence of the conquest itself—tens of thousands died in the siege of Tenochtitlán alone—and the spread of European DISEASES. The Europeans brought several diseases from the Old World for which the people of the New World had no natural immunity (see COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE). SMALLPOX, measles, mumps, bubonic plague, and typhus devastated the region, with particularly virulent plagues occurring in 1520, 1529, 1545, and 1576. By 1600 the Native population had fallen to only 1 million people, a decline of more than 90 percent. Natives occupied a relatively low position in the colonial hierarchy. Although they were nominally protected by the Crown, they were frequently exploited and forced into coercive labor systems such as the *REPARTIMIENTO*.

Africans formed another important ethnic group in New Spain. A handful of Africans accompanied Cortés and the first few expeditions across Mexico. Small numbers of Africans came to New Spain as indentured servants as well, but they remained a tiny minority for the first few years of the colony's existence. However, as the Native population declined the Spaniards began to look for other sources of cheap labor. Between 1521 and 1650, 120,000 Africans entered New Spain, and by 1560 Africans outnumbered Spaniards in Mexico. African labor was much more important in the Caribbean, and after the 1650s they became the backbone of the SUGAR industry there. Fear of slave revolts caused the government to pass several restrictive laws against the Africans in the 1540s. They were forbidden to carry arms, subjected to early curfews, and not allowed to gather in groups of three or more. Despite these precautions, slave revolts occurred between 1560 and 1570, particularly in the northern mining and agricultural zones. Several reports state that rather than submit to Spanish control, some slaves fled into the northern deserts to set up free communities, a process known as maroonage.

After years of intermarriage (the process of *MESTIZAJE*), other ethnic groups emerged in New Spain: the *CASTAS*, or mixed races. The various combinations of European, Native, and African led to three major mixed groups—*MESTIZOS*, formed from the union of Spaniards and Natives; *mulattoes*, the offspring of Spaniards and Africans; and *ZAMBOS*, the children of Native and African parents.

### ***The Colonial Economy***

Mercantilism—the idea that colonies exist to serve the mother country and to provide it with precious goods—

dominated the economy of New Spain. Essentially, the only economic activities that imperial bureaucrats encouraged in New Spain were those that did not interfere with the activities of Spain itself. They thus opposed the creation of industries such as textile factories but supported extractive efforts aimed at producing raw materials for export to Spain, where they could be sold or processed. To ensure the colony did not compete with Spain, the Crown maintained strict control over the economy. It did so primarily through Crown monopolies, whereby certain individuals were given the exclusive right to trade in specific commodities. The most famous monopoly was the *asiento*, or privilege of selling slaves, a lucrative trade granted to the highest bidder. The Crown also established geographic monopolies for international trade. In New Spain Mexico City became the official entrepôt for the colony, while Acapulco was designated the official Pacific port to receive goods from the Philippines, and Veracruz was the Atlantic port for the European trade.

The primary focus of New Spain's economy was mining. By Spanish law the sovereign was legally entitled to one-fifth of the precious metals discovered in the Indies (the *quinto*), so the kings actively promoted the search for GOLD and SILVER in New Spain. Colonists also recognized that finding precious metals was the most effective way of earning a fortune and were every bit as diligent in searching for metals as the Crown. Despite the dreams of finding cities of gold (typified in the search for the mythical city EL DORADO), it was silver that ultimately formed the basis of mining in New Spain. Within 50 years of the conquest, major silver strikes were found in Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, and Guanajuato. These centers were quite removed from the major population centers of New Spain, making it difficult to find enough workers to keep the mines fully operational. The Crown attempted to force the Natives to work in the mines through labor systems such as the *repartimiento*, but they were only marginally effective. Ultimately, imperial officials came to rely on wage labor, a stark contrast to the mines of PERU.

The other major economic activity of New Spain was agriculture. Residents of New Spain produced two of the most valuable dyes in the world: cochineal and indigo. Cochineal was derived from a tiny insect that lived on the prickly pear cactus; when crushed, its body released a vivid, colorfast red dye. Indigo was a dark blue vegetable dye that was highly prized for maintaining its rich color. Vanilla and CACAO (from which chocolate was made) also were lucrative exports that were unique to New Spain. Sugar was the final important cash crop. Sugar production was never particularly important on the mainland, but it remained one of the Caribbean's major exports throughout the colonial period. In addition to these exports, CORN continued to be the staple crop, and Natives typically grew it on small

plots of land. The Spaniards also introduced a number of new domestic animals, and animal husbandry became an important way of life. Most small farmers supplemented corn production with poultry. In the north large ranches developed to raise cattle and sheep. Most of the meat went to the mining towns. As the Native population declined, land formerly used by indigenous communities was bought by wealthy stockmen, who turned much of central Mexico into grazing land, although their actions had devastating consequences for the land when farmers paid insufficient attention to their herds and their livestock overgrazed some regions. Erosion became an ecological problem, especially in the drier expanses of northern New Spain.

### *The Church of New Spain*

A final important element of the colonial system in New Spain was the Catholic Church. The importance of the church permeated everything but was particularly influential in the conquest of the Natives. In 1492 Spain had finished the Reconquista, reclaiming Spanish territory from the Islamic Moors (see ISLAM), who had held it for almost 700 years. This crusading mentality, in the opinion of imperial policy makers, could work in the Western Hemisphere as well. As a result, those who sought to conquer the Americas often employed religious arguments to justify their efforts to subdue the hemisphere. This is evident in the REQUERIMIENTO, a document that was officially read before any military campaign. It demanded that in the name of God Natives should put aside their idolatry, embrace Christianity, and accept the dominion of the church, God's instrument on earth. It also required fealty to God's secular leader, the king of Spain. Once they conquered the Natives, the Spaniards felt that it was their divine duty to convert them to Christianity. Clerics and their allies built a vast number of missions, and missionaries performed mass baptisms to bring Natives into the fold. At times those promulgating this religious campaign had unlikely assistance. In 1531 the Virgin of Guadalupe appeared to a Native boy named Juan Diego on a hill sacred to the Aztec earth mother goddess. She told him in NAHUATL that she had come for him and all the people of the New World, not just the Spaniards. This miraculous sighting convinced many Natives to accept Christianity.

The church was involved in the lives of the Spaniards as well, its position strengthened by its participation in local and imperial politics. One manifestation of clerics' interest in politics was evident in the *patronato real*, an agreement between the Crown and the pope whereby the Spanish king could appoint church positions in the New World. This doctrine meant that most church officials were loyal to the king rather than to the pope, and the church became essentially another branch of the Spanish government. Clerics also wielded considerable power as the ultimate arbiter of

morality and social conduct in New Spain. Priests worked to control drunkenness, lewd behavior, gambling, and violence, threatening to withhold the sacraments to those who acted against church teachings. Moreover, the Church used its close connection with the royal government to turn proscribed sins into illegal activities. Church law and secular law became indistinguishable.

In the end church and state often were inextricable in New Spain. The alliance between these two institutions helped New Spain become Spain's first great viceroyalty, providing the model for government elsewhere in the New World. Its economy was relatively strong, based on a number of export crops. New Spain remained one of the most stable, wealthy, and well-developed regions in the New World.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### **New World**

The term *New World* was used by Europeans to refer to the Western Hemisphere.

When CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS arrived in the Caribbean in October 1492, he recognized that he had not, in fact, made it to East Asia. As a result, he determined that he had found territory Europeans had never known about earlier. He thus did what Europeans always liked to do in such circumstances: He decided to give new names to the places he found. That act of renaming made sense to Columbus and other Europeans because he had, in their minds, discovered new territory. AMERIGO VESPUCCI used the term for the title of his 1505 report about his ventures: *Novo mondo ritrovato*—"New world found." RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER had a clear understanding of the term. In the preface to his collection of travel accounts relating to America published in London in 1600, Hakluyt



wrote that the reports that followed dealt with “The New World. New, in regard to the new and late discovery thereof made by Christopher Colon, alias Columbus, a Genoese by nation, in the year of grace 1492. And world, in respect of the huge extension thereof, which to this day is not thoroughly discovered.” From the perspective of the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere, by contrast, the renaming was only the first in what became a series of acts of appropriation of territory that did not, to them, need to be discovered because they already knew of its existence.

It is impossible to overestimate the significance of the Western Hemisphere—this New World—to Europeans. Because ancient authorities did not know of its existence, Columbus’s reports and those that followed necessitated a reconceptualization of the earth’s geography, a task that proved difficult to people who did not easily abandon an intellectual construction of the world that placed Jerusalem at its center and rested on the belief that there had to be a balance of territory to the east and west (see T-O MAPS). Every exploratory venture to the Western Hemisphere brought back news about the wonders to be found there. Such reports were often inaccurate, but even exaggerated accounts of the enormous natural bounties enticed further exploratory ventures. Because the peoples of the Western Hemisphere lacked Christianity, Europeans eager to profit from the material resources of the Americas also justified their expeditions on religious grounds: They would be, in their own way, a new generation of evangelists bringing the word of their God to a people who, so Europeans repeatedly claimed, needed to be enlightened. Although Europeans routinely failed in their efforts to get the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere to accept their religion and culture in the precise ways the newcomers intended, there is no question that the ships carrying various commodities from the Americas enriched Europeans. By the end of the 16th century, promoters of colonization could argue that Europeans should establish settlements in the Americas because this territory had become, to them, a grand shopping emporium where whatever Europeans wanted could be found. Reports of travelers printed across the continent (see PRINTING PRESS) made knowledge about American resources common and encouraged further colonizing ventures.

In recent years the term *New World* has become problematic, and many scholars prefer not to use it. To this new generation of observers, many of them made more sensitive to the arrogance of the term as a result of the enormous discussion of the age of discovery that took place in the 1990s as a result of the quincentennial of the Columbus voyages, the old terminology is an unacceptable relic from the colonial era.

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## Niger River

Located in western Africa, the Niger River is the third largest river on the continent, flowing eastward approximately 2,600 miles (4,180 km) from the Futa Djallon Mountains through present-day MALI, Niger, and Nigeria to the Gulf of Guinea in the Atlantic Ocean.

In Yoruba cosmology, the Niger River is the domain of the goddess Oya, and the river itself is called Odo Oya, or “container of Oya.” Oya was the favorite wife of Chango (or Shango), the god of fire, thunder, and lightning. In addition to its spiritual and cultural meanings to the peoples who lived near it, the Niger River was an important link between these peoples and the rest of the Atlantic world. The Niger was a major means of travel and transportation on the southern leg of the trans-Saharan trade routes. It carried GOLD, spices, cotton, ivory, salt, and slaves between important regional market centers such as TIMBUKTU and Djenne (see DJENNE-DJENO) and the Atlantic Ocean. Control of the Niger River was disputed several times during the early modern period, resulting in a succession of several empires, including GHANA, Mali, and SONGHAI. The gold mined in Bure, at the headwaters of the Niger, stimulated the rise of the Mali Empire in the 13th century; over the next two centuries the Mali Empire gained power and wealth from control of both trade on the river and the resources found near it. The Niger was also a means of spreading cultural and religious traditions. Trade and political disruption along the river contributed to the spread of ISLAM in the region and to the establishment of Islamic centers in the cities along its course.

**Further reading:** Robert Fay, “Niger River,” in *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, eds. Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), 1,438; Jacob U. Gordon, “Yoruba Cosmology and Culture in Brazil: A Study of African Survivals in the New World,” *Journal of Black Studies* 10 (1979): 231–244.

—Lisa M. Brady

## Norse

The Norse were Scandinavian peoples who exerted a powerful influence on early modern history by settling North Atlantic islands and briefly appearing in North America.

By the late eighth century Scandinavian craftsmen had perfected the design of Viking seafaring ships. At once light and strong, Viking ships could land on almost any beach and navigate many rivers as well as survive brutal ocean storms. Vikings put these ships to use exploring and settling the North Atlantic. According to tradition Norse peoples settled the Shetland and Orkney Islands around the year 800. In 874 the Norse explorer Ingólfr Arnarson established a Norse outpost on ICELAND at the present-day site of the capital city of Reykjavik. GREENLAND received its first Norse settlers when Erik the Red, banished from Iceland for manslaughter, explored its southwest coast in 892; he returned with colonists in 895. Leif Eriksson, Erik's son, explored North America from Greenland around the year 1000, landing at a spot the Norse termed VINLAND.

Much of the Norse success in the North Atlantic came from their catch of COD, the fish that provided the settlers with the nutrition they needed to survive in the inhospitable climates of Greenland and Iceland. The Norse learned to preserve cod by hanging the fish in the cold, dry winter air. After the cod had lost most of its weight, settlers could break off pieces of the flesh to eat. Soon the Norse began to ship dried cod to Europe.

Norse settlers initially enjoyed modest success on Iceland and Greenland. By the 12th century Iceland's population was between 30,000 and 60,000 people. The population of Greenland reached 6,000 in the 12th century, and it never grew again. Despite their small numbers, Norse Greenlanders traveled hundreds of miles north to hunt walrus herds. Walrus hide and ivory became Greenland's primary exports. Christianity reached both islands around 1000, and by 1100 most Norse were at least nominally Christian. Sagas and family histories were composed in Iceland and Greenland, and continental courts embraced Norse storytellers and poets.

Despite these successes, the settlers experienced difficult times. In 1264 Iceland and Greenland became part of the Norwegian kingdom just as Norway entered a long period of decline. Exchange between the North Atlantic Norse settlements and the European continent dwindled, at least in part from the success of cod fishermen leaving from ports such as BRISTOL, who began to supply the continental market. Further, a cooling shift in climate sometime after the mid-13th century made conditions in the North Atlantic more difficult. Winters became longer and ice floes impeded ship lanes, making the settlements even more precarious. Because Norse settlers tended to allow their livestock to graze freely, the settlers also began to have to cope with erosion of soil caused by overgrazing. Although the Norse might have fared better in Vinland, in all likelihood modern-day Newfoundland, they never had the resources to establish long-lasting settlements there.

By the time CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS sailed across the Atlantic, the Norse had abandoned any real efforts to set up colonies in North America.

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—Kevin C. Armitage

## Northeast Passage

During the 16th century, the Dutch and English explored a proposed northern sea route through the Arctic Ocean and along the northern coast of Russia known as the Northeast Passage.

Europeans had long had a fascination and attraction toward the Far East. Throughout the Middle Ages myths and legends of Far East riches and magic circulated throughout the European continent. By the end of the 15th century, European states achieved a level of technology and wealth that allowed them to explore the world beyond the European coasts. Numerous expeditions set out with the goal of discovering an accessible route to the Far East, with Portugal and Spain setting the early pace. As the 16th century progressed, the English, Dutch, and French began to resent the Spanish–Portuguese overseas monopoly. With the Southwest Passage in firm control of Iberian hands, these countries explored the possibilities of a NORTHWEST PASSAGE over—and preferably through—the North American continent and a Northeast Passage over the top of Europe and Asia.

Ironically, it was the Portuguese who first explored the possibility of a northeast route in 1484. The voyage reached Nova Zembla but did not draw many imitators for more than half a century. Beginning in the middle of the 16th century, English merchants began exploring the possibility of expanding their commercial opportunities. Goaded by promoters of long-distance trade, merchants paid close attention to any venture that promised rapid movement along (or through) the northern edge of Europe and Asia. In 1553 the Merchant Adventurers commissioned SEBASTIAN CABOT to organize an enterprise bound for Malay via the Arctic Ocean. Although he did not take part in the voyage due to his old age, Cabot set forth the general instructions for the expedition. Weeks into the voyage the ships directed by Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor separated off the Norway coast, never to meet again. Willoughby and his crew froze to death near Kola in Lapland, while Chancellor rounded the North Cape and

undertook a daring trip through the White Sea before moving downriver from Dwina to Moscow. There, he met with Ivan the Terrible, and although Cabot's planned expedition did not reach CATHAY, Chancellor opened up communication and trade with Russia, as evidenced by the formation of England's Muscovy Company.

English advances in Arctic waters soon found imitation from their Dutch neighbors. The Dutch explorer Willem Barents's voyages in the 1590s convinced contemporaries that China could be reached by sailing north of Nova Zembla. Privy to Barents's geographical notebooks, Henry Hudson's second major voyage, sponsored by the Muscovy Company, explored the possibilities of the Northeast Passage. Leaving England in 1608, his advance knowledge of the Scandinavian coastline was readily apparent, but he had little accurate information about Nova Zembla and the Siberian coast on the Kara Sea, nor any warnings about a series of foreboding promontories jutting into icy waters. As a result, Hudson had to return to England, where interest in a Northeast Passage faded, although attempts to discover a Northwest Passage continued over the next few centuries.

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—Matthew Lindaman

## Northwest Passage

A mythical water route through northern North America, the Northwest Passage became the object of repeated exploratory ventures during the 16th century.

Contrary to modern legend, Europeans even before the 1492 voyage of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS knew that the world was round. They also knew that the markets of East Asia contained abundant valuable resources and that transporting them overland across Asia, through the Middle East, and into Europe, normally via VENICE, was expensive and problematic. Although Portuguese and Dutch sailors who ventured to the SPICE ISLANDS had found an oceanic route to the Far East, such journeys were also long and often dangerous. Many who ventured on such expeditions never returned.

Although Europeans had a somewhat clear sense of the geography of the Old World, they had much less pre-

cise knowledge of what lay to the west. Once reports of Columbus began to circulate in 16th-century Europe, followed by accounts of Spanish CONQUISTADORES, Europeans began to speculate about a possible water route through North America that would take sailors directly to Asia. This idea had particular appeal for northern Europeans—the Dutch, French, and English—who had been left out of the TREATY OF TORDESILLAS and thus lacked any papally sanctioned claim to territory in the Western Hemisphere, yet the notion hinged on the belief that the world was smaller than it turned out to be. However wrong Europeans might have been about the size of the earth, and thus in error about the length of any possible expeditions, the basic lure remained: Because it was cheaper and quicker to travel by sea than overland, any route through North America would be worth finding.

Try as they might, Europeans never found the Northwest Passage. Of course, some did think they had found it. Whenever sailors ventured far up rivers, deep into modern-day Canada, they believed they might have found the route. Mysterious lands and communities found along such journey, such as NORUMBEGA and HOCHELAGA, seemed possible resting stations for any adventure to Asia. SEBASTIAN CABOT was desperate to find the Northwest Passage, and on a voyage that ended back in BRISTOL in 1509 he thought he had found it, although later investigations proved that he had sailed perhaps as far as modern-day Hudson Bay, an enormous body of water that he reasonably believed might be an ocean. JACQUES CARTIER and MARTIN FROBISHER each believed they had found the Northwest Passage, although they had in fact made substantial additions to European knowledge of the modern-day Maritime Provinces and subarctic waterways that lay west of GREENLAND. The English sailor John Davis (ca. 1550–1605) also hoped to find the passage by sailing along the western coast of Greenland deep into Baffin Bay in the mid-1580s, although he, too, failed.

Despite repeated failures to find the way through, the goal remained. As RICHARD HAKLUYT THE ELDER, a lawyer with an avid interest in geography, recognized the situation in 1585, the English should send settlers to North America because there was a “great possibilitie of further discoveries of other regions from the North part of the same land by sea, and of unspeakable honor and benefit that may rise upon the same, by the trades to ensue in Japan, China, and Cathay, &c.” With such heady promise, it is little wonder that Europeans continued to look for the Northwest Passage well beyond 1607.

Renewed interest in a passage emerged in the 18th century. Impelled by the efforts of exploration promoter Arthur Dobbs, British expeditions under Christopher Middleton in 1742 and William Moor in 1747 combed the western shores of Hudson Bay for the entrance of a passage

to the Pacific. Between 1774 and 1779, Spanish concern about Russian encroachments on the North Pacific and about possible British discovery of a Northwest Passage led to another series of Spanish expeditions along the Pacific coast. Led by figures such as Juan Pérez and Ignacio de Arteaga, Spanish ships sailed as far north as Alaska's Hinchinbrook Island. British expeditions, motivated by both scientific curiosity and by interest in the strategic and commercial value of a Northwest Passage, also appeared in the waters of the North Pacific in the final decades of the 18th century. Captain James Cook, in 1778, and George Vancouver, from 1792 to 1794, surveyed the Pacific coast for the western entrance of a Northwest Passage. Cook carried his exploration through the Bering Strait to the Arctic Ocean, where he encountered the northern ice that made a journey along the top of the continent from the Pacific to the Atlantic impractical for early modern ships. These explorations made it clear that no Pacific entrance to a Northwest Passage existed.

**Further reading:** Angus Konstam, *Historical Atlas of Exploration, 1492–1600* (New York: Facts On File, 2000).

—Paul Mapp

## Norumbega

The name used by various Europeans during the 16th century usually to refer to territory in the northeastern portion of the North American mainland.

The first person to use the term *Norumbega* (or one of its variants) was probably GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO after his exploratory voyage of 1524 along the eastern coast of North America. The term, in the form *Oranbega*, first appeared in print on a map created by the explorer's brother, Girolamo da Verrazano in 1529. Later cartographers altered the spelling, rendering it as *Anorombega* and *Anorobegua*, often located near what might be modern-day Penobscot Bay in Maine. Because 16th-century maps were created from information gleaned from travelers who often spent little time in the territory they described, it is not surprising that Norumbega often shifted place from map to map. Various Europeans speculated that Norumbega was the bountiful land described by Verrazano. Giacomo Gastaldi's map labeled "Tierra Nueva," which appeared in a 1548 edition of Ptolemy's *Geografia*, demarcated Nurumbega as a land well north of FLORIDA but south of Labrador. Michael Lok's map of the North Atlantic that appeared in RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER's *Divers Voyages Touching on America*, published in LONDON in 1582, had Norumbega as a large island just east of the coast of North America. To promoters such as Hakluyt, the existence of this Norumbega helped to prove the validity of Verrazano's claims, including his belief in the existence of

the NORTHWEST PASSAGE. By the time Cornelius Wytfliet had created his map entitled "Norumbega et Virginia, 1597," Norumbega had become an extensive part of a well-watered North American coastline as well as a city sitting across the largest river to flow into the Atlantic from the interior.

Unable to find a location that matched Verrazano's description, Europeans during the 17th century became skeptical about the existence of Norumbega. When Samuel de Champlain explored the region in the early 17th century, he believed that the settlement was a fiction, although, of course, it is possible that he landed in some place other than that seen by Verrazano earlier.

**Further reading:** Emerson W. Baker, et al., eds., *American Beginnings: Exploration, Culture, and Cartography in the Land of Norumbega* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

**Nzinga (Nzinga Mbande, or Ana de Sousa, or Dona Anna de Sousa)** (ca. 1581–1663) *queen of Angola*

Ruler of the Ndongo (1624–26) and the Matamba (ca. 1630–63) kingdoms in what is today northwestern Angola, Nzinga Mbande led armies against the region's Portuguese colonizers in a struggle to maintain her people's independence.

By the early 17th century the Mbundu-speaking Ndongo kingdom dominated northwestern present-day Angola, deriving its power from the lucrative SLAVE TRADE with the Portuguese. Although trade with the Portuguese was the basis for much of the kingdom's wealth, it was also the source of its problems when the Europeans attempted to establish a permanent presence in the area. Born during a war between her father, King Kiluangi, and the Portuguese, Queen Nzinga spent much of her life struggling against European colonizing efforts.

Popular with her people and recognized early on as a powerful leader, Nzinga's brother, who had become king after their father died, exiled her and assassinated her son in an effort to stem any opposition to his rule. Faced with another Portuguese invasion, Nzinga's brother recalled her from exile in 1622 and sent her as emissary to the Portuguese governor in Luanda. She negotiated in the interest of her brother, exacting several concessions from the Portuguese. In exchange for Portuguese recognition of Ndongo independence, Nzinga promised the return of Portuguese prisoners and Ndongo assistance in the slave trade. To solidify the agreement, Nzinga agreed to a Christian baptism by JESUITS and took the name Dona Ana de Sousa (or Dona Anna de Sousa).

The alliance with the Portuguese was short-lived because the Europeans reneged on their part of the agreement. Nzinga's brother attempted to rectify the situation



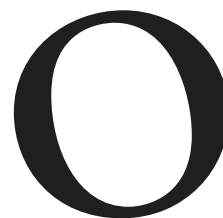
on his own but failed. Nzinga rallied her own supporters, renounced the Christian faith, allied with the reputedly cannibalistic Jaga people in the north, killed her brother, whom she saw as a traitor, and became queen of the Ndongo kingdom in 1624. Nzinga is frequently called the Cannibal Queen because of her connection to the Jaga, but any practice of CANNIBALISM by her or by the Jaga cannot be substantiated. Continued conflict with the Portuguese over trade forced Nzinga to flee eastward in 1629. She conquered the Matamba kingdom (a non-Mbundu kingdom) and established herself as queen. Nzinga's success as ruler was based on her military savvy as well as on her political élan. Nzinga created her own army of Jaga slaves, to whom she promised freedom after their service. According to one Dutch source, Nzinga dressed in men's clothing and kept a harem of male "wives." She led her own troops, made up partially by women warriors, and was the primary military strategist for her army. Through her alliances with the Dutch

in Luanda and with the KONGO kingdom and by maintaining almost absolute control over the region's interior slave trade, Nzinga forced the Portuguese to negotiate with her. In 1656 Nzinga and the Portuguese created a fairly stable treaty, facilitating trade relations between them and allying them against other African states. Before she died in 1663, Queen Nzinga again embraced the Christian faith. Her sister, Dona Barbara, succeeded her to the throne.

**Further reading:** Eric Young, "Nzinga," in *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, eds. Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 1999), 1,452; "Nzinga Mbande," in *Dictionary of African Historical Biography*, 2nd ed., eds. Mark R. Lipschutz and R. Kent Rasmussen, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 181–182.

—Lisa M. Brady





**Ojeda, Alonso de** (ca. 1465–ca. 1515) *conquistador* Alonso de Ojeda was a Spanish explorer who made five journeys across the Atlantic Ocean, enslaved Native Americans, and became *ADELANTADO* of Coquibacoa, a place he had named near the Lake of Maracaibo.

De Ojeda first traveled across the Atlantic on the second journey of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. He commanded one of the vessels that went to Hispaniola, where he explored the interior in search of wealth. He returned to Spain in 1495 but was back at sea in 1499 when he joined an expedition with AMERIGO VESPUCCI bound for northern South America. In his travels, de Ojeda came upon the Lake of Maracaibo. When he was there, he noticed that local fishermen lived in houses suspended over the water. The site purportedly convinced de Ojeda to name the area Venezuela or “little Venice.” But de Ojeda did not act as if he had stumbled upon a settlement that he respected. Instead, like other CONQUISTADORES, he captured Native people, enslaved them, and robbed local PEARL DIVING operations. For his actions he was appointed *adelantado* of Coquibacoa.

During the last years of his life, de Ojeda made three more journeys to the Americas. He enriched himself by plundering indigenous communities during a journey of 1502, but accusations that he did not pay the proper share to the crown prompted him to return to Spain the following year. He returned to the Americas again in 1505, 1508, and 1510. On his last journey he tried to establish a new settlement called San Sebastián on the Gulf of Urabá. But he could not withstand attacks from the locals, so he returned to Hispaniola, where he eventually died in poverty five years after he left Spain on what became his final journey.

De Ojeda was, as the historian Angus Konstam put it, “more a pillager than a settler or explorer, and his quest for wealth was the driving force behind his expeditions in the Americas.” In this sense, he resembled many other conquistadores and Europeans from northern Europe who looked to the Western Hemisphere as a place to enrich themselves

regardless of the consequences for the indigenous peoples of the Americas.

**Further reading:** Angus Konstam, *Historical Atlas of Exploration, 1492–1600* (New York: Facts On File, 2000).

## Olmecs

One of the first great cultures of Mesoamerica, whose art, religion, and iconography remained influential until the Spanish conquest.

The term *Olmec* has been a controversial one in Mesoamerican archaeology. In the AZTECS’s language of NAHUATL, it simply means “People of the Land of Rubber,” referring to the coastal areas of VERACRUZ and TABASCO. It apparently had no specific cultural connotation during Aztec times. The term itself was first used by archaeologist George Vaillant to describe local cultures along the Gulf Coast. Recent ethnohistorical investigations have suggested that the Aztecs did maintain a dim memory of this ancient culture, describing a coastal land called Tamoanchan, where good government began. Recently, linguists have argued that the language spoken by the Olmecs was a prototype of the modern Mixe and Zoquean languages. Thus, some scholars have considered abandoning the term *Olmec* for *Mixe-Zoquean*, although the original term remains in common use.

Whatever they are called, the Olmecs were the first great culture in ancient MEXICO. While it is clear that there were small, isolated cultures that predated the Olmecs in Mesoamerica, the Olmecs were the largest, most fully developed of these early societies. The Olmecs first emerged in the early preclassic period, around 1700 B.C. The most important site during this time was San Lorenzo, located along the flatlands of the Coatzacoalcos River. The settlement was relatively small, containing only 1,000 people at its height. It seems clear that the site offered many advantages to the early settlers. For one, the abundance of



Colossal Olmec head (The Granger Collection)

water and alluvial soils from the river would have greatly facilitated agriculture. Other cultures based in the more arid highlands required extensive irrigation systems whose construction and maintenance served as a steady drain on labor. Also, the area formed a natural trading corridor for cultures in the Mexican highlands with those in the YUCATÁN PENINSULA and Central America. By 1400 B.C. San Lorenzo had a reasonably well-developed system of housing platforms and public architecture. The site was built over a large, artificially constructed platform about six feet high, a feat requiring extensive labor to construct. Around 1200 B.C. the city was at its height, and most of the visible architecture of San Lorenzo dates from this period. The most widely recognized feature of the site was its series of Olmec heads. These massive heads were carved from single boulders of basalt, were nine feet tall, and weighed many tons apiece. Analysis of the rock reveals that it came from the Tuxtla Mountains, more than 50 miles away. The simple effort of moving them to San Lorenzo required considerably more effort than the actual carving of the stones'

features. These heads are all unique and presumably represent actual, historical rulers. Artists also depicted royal figures in a series of carved stone altars, often holding lines of bound captives.

Around 1100 B.C. San Lorenzo was destroyed by human hands. Some have speculated that there was a revolt from below, while others believe the city was sacked by one of its rivals. The monumental artwork was systematically defaced, then buried in long trenches. Another Olmec site, La Venta, arose to fill the political vacuum. This city was larger than San Lorenzo, and its architecture is considerably more impressive. The dominant feature of the site was a cone-shaped pyramid built of clay rising 110 feet above the jungle floor. It appears to be a sort of votive volcano, a scaled-down version of one of the volcanoes of the Tuxtla Mountains, which supplied the basalt for Olmec buildings. The city and its hinterlands supported 15,000 to 18,000 people, most of whom were involved in agriculture. Architectural features of La Venta are considerably more sophisticated than those of San Lorenzo, with elaborate stone carvings, mosaic floors, and elaborate tombs. At several points in La Venta, the Olmecs dug deep pits, laid in elaborate figurines, filled in the soil, and constructed elaborate mosaics over the spots, which became focal points for sacred rituals.

As was the case in San Lorenzo, La Venta was sacked and destroyed in roughly 400–300 B.C. Several other Olmec sites survived, most notably Tres Zapotes, 100 miles to the northwest of La Venta. This site contains some of the earliest dated monuments of the NEW WORLD. Stela C had an elaborate date that used the same calendrical system as the classic MAYA, reading September 3, 32 B.C. Another monument still bears the date March 14, A.D. 162. These monuments, using a "Maya" system hundreds of years before the Maya, suggest that it was the Olmecs who developed the calendrical and astronomical systems usually credited to the Maya. Despite these survivals, Olmec culture was waning by A.D. 200, and the region they controlled came under the influence of other groups, including the Maya.

The defining feature of the Olmec culture was its distinctive artwork. A recurring theme of Olmec art was the close connection between humans and nature. Time and again, carvings depict human or humanlike figures with animalistic features. Some have suggested that these sculptures depict Olmec shamans in the process of transforming into their spirit guides. The most common combination was between humans and jaguars, leading to the term *were-jaguar* to describe the scenes. The humans have animal snouts and long, snarling features with curved fangs. Many pieces of Olmec art depict animals in reverential fashion. These animals tend to be the largest, most impressive predators known: the harpy eagle, the jaguar, the crocodile, and the shark. In Olmec culture both gods and men used



elements from these animals as symbols of their power. Normal humans depicted in stone usually had unusual features—often puffy and resembling snarling, toothless babies. Heads were often cleft at the top. The Olmec heads themselves have large lips, causing some to speculate that they depict ancient African mariners, although there is no evidence to support the theory that Africans journeyed to Latin America in ancient times. Despite these unusual characteristics, Olmec art remains much more natural than much of the later art of Mesoamerica, which relied on harsh lines and baroque ornamentation.

By the beginning of the classic era (around A.D. 200), the Olmecs had faded as a distinct culture, but they left an enormous legacy. The Maya, who began to develop while the Olmec were at their height, borrowed many elements of Olmec culture. They were particularly taken with the Olmecs' symbols of status and royalty. The Maya adopted Olmec-style regal headbands, staffs of authority, and jewelry, and these symbols remained potent in Maya culture until the Spanish conquest. The sacred animals continued to be royal symbols throughout Mesoamerica, and the physical remains of the Olmecs also continued to have importance. In many early Maya sites, rulers reshaped Olmec carvings, frequently drilling holes into them so that they could be worn as pendants or pectorals. Excavations of the Great Temple of the Aztecs in TENOCHTITLÁN show that the Aztecs were great collectors of Olmec artifacts and buried these treasures in sacred caches throughout the complex. Even La Venta itself remained a pilgrimage site well into the colonial era. Such finds suggest that the Olmecs were one of the originators of Mesoamerican culture and that their influence lasted for centuries after their decline.

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—Scott Chamberlain

**Oñate, Juan de** (ca. 1551–1626) *Spanish colonizer*  
Four centuries ago, in 1598, Juan de Oñate led a group of settlers out of modern-day Chihuahua, MEXICO, to colonize NEW MEXICO. Previous white explorers had visited New Mexico before Oñate, most notably FRANCISCO CORONADO in 1540, but none of these earlier expeditions led to successful long-term European settlement. Although he is largely forgotten today, Oñate settled the first colony in New Mexico, at San Juan de los Caballeros, nearly a

decade before the English founded their first permanent settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607.

Oñate, the heir to a mining fortune, arrived in New Mexico in 1598 at the head of an expedition consisting of several hundred settlers, soldiers, servants, and missionaries. His instructions were to found towns and pacify the Indians in order to facilitate their conversion to Catholicism. He also received permission to profit from whatever trade or mining he could develop in New Mexico.

Oñate's initial encounters with the Indians were peaceful. As he traveled through the pueblos along the Rio Grande, he enacted dramas intended to illustrate to the Indians their subjection to the king of Spain. He reported that at Santo Domingo pueblo in July 1598 the leaders of 31 pueblos swore obedience to the king of Spain and also promised to obey Oñate and the Franciscan priest Fray Alonso Martínez. It is impossible to know how the Indians interpreted this ceremony, but Oñate's relations with most of the pueblos were peaceful, despite Spanish abuses. Oñate then moved on to San Juan, where he settled. From there he sent expeditions that unsuccessfully sought to find GOLD and other precious metals.

The colony, like others in the Americas, was not self-sufficient. The colonists complained that the climate was harsh, that no precious metals were to be found in the region, and that Oñate was a harsh commander. The Spanish demanded food, clothing, and other goods from the Indians, who did not have the resources to support several hundred extra people. In December 1598 the colony's demands for food and its arrogance toward the Indians provoked a rebellion at Acoma pueblo, where the Indians killed Captain Don Juan de Zaldívar and 12 of his men.

Oñate, reasoning that any rebellion must be punished immediately before the spirit of resistance spread, dispatched a force of 70 soldiers to attack the pueblo. Eight hundred Indians died in the resulting battle, and 500, including men, women, and children, were taken prisoner. The captives were convicted on charges of murder and of failing to give the Spanish the supplies they demanded. All prisoners over the age of 12 were sentenced to 20 years of slavery, and all men over the age of 25 had one foot cut off. The children were given as servants to Spanish settlers and monasteries.

By 1600, less than two years after its founding, the colony faced serious problems: Morale was low, the climate remained harsh, and initial hopes of finding wealth had foundered. Nonetheless, when 73 men arrived as reinforcements in December 1600, Oñate left the colony in hopes of finding the fabled land of Quivira. He reached the Great Plains, traveling as far east as Kansas, but found nothing. When he returned to New Mexico, he found the colony nearly deserted. Many of the colonists had returned to NEW SPAIN, where they complained to the viceroy that Oñate was a harsh and power-hungry commander. The

Franciscan missionaries supported the colonists' claims and added that Oñate had abused the Indians and allowed his soldiers to do the same. In 1607 the viceroy ordered Oñate to resign his position. Oñate left New Mexico in 1609. He eventually returned to Spain, where he died in 1626.

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—Martha K. Robinson

—Donald Duhananay

## Oneida

A member tribe of the Five Nations IROQUOIS, the Oneida (or On'yote, "People of the Standing Stone") lived to the west of their MOHAWK neighbors in the upper Mohawk Valley of modern-day New York near the lake that today bears their name.

Occupying one central village, the Oneida were the least populous group within the Iroquois Confederacy when Europeans arrived and shared the status of "younger brother" with the CAYUGA in the grand council uniting the five tribes. Nonetheless, the Oneida shared equal representation with the significantly larger Mohawk, each having nine sachems, or chiefs, in the governing body. In addition, their small numbers belied their prowess on the warpath. As a 17th century Jesuit priest observed, it was "a marvel that so few people work such havoc and render themselves so redoubtable to so great a number of tribes who, on all sides, bow before this conqueror." They particularly earned this reputation due to continual practice of the mourning war ritual to replenish war casualties they could ill afford to lose.

As did the other Iroquois nations, the Oneida became intensely involved in the fur trade early in the 17th century and prospered after securing intermediary status in the trade routes that linked key western tribes and the Dutch and English. They likewise became increasingly reliant on the new European goods won in exchange while maintaining the bulk of their traditional beliefs and customs. Nevertheless, while they adopted foreign clothing,

tools, and weapons, the Oneida continued to funnel their use toward established standards of adornment, artistic and religious expressions, and hunting and warfare techniques. Such innovation and adaptation has been a hallmark of Iroquois culture, and the Oneida offer no exception.

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—Eric P. Anderson

## Onondaga

Geographically located at the center of the region occupied by the Five Nations IROQUOIS, the Onondaga ("People of the Hills") were one of the smaller of these tribes at the time of contact by Europeans but played a critical role in the formation and maintenance of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Situated in what is now central New York State near Onondaga Lake, the group's two main villages were well protected on the eastern and western flanks by their allies but remained vulnerable to attack by the French-HURON alliance in the north and other indigenous enemies from the south. It was the Onondaga chief HIAWATHA who helped found the Iroquois League and overcame the resistance of a rival leader in establishing this political structure.

Within the league's grand council, or governing body, the Onondaga were represented by the largest number of chiefs (14), who acted as the "Firekeepers" of the Five Nations and had veto power over the two "houses" of this political system in cases of disagreement. Furthermore, due to its central location, the grand council convened its meetings in Onondaga country. This key role in the confederacy gave the Onondaga a prestige in Iroquoia that extended far beyond their small numbers.

Like the other Five Nations, the Onondaga became heavily involved in the fur trade with competing European powers by the early 17th century. This commerce increased the tribe's wealth and power but in time brought with it disruptions and calamities in the form of growing reliance on new goods, repeated exposure to Old World DISEASES (such as SMALLPOX), and eventual displacement.

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—Eric P. Anderson

**Oviedo y Valdés, Gonzalo Fernández de** (1478–1557) *writer*

A chronicler of the Spanish colonization of the Western Hemisphere, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés wrote a monumental history entitled *Historia General y Natural de las Indias Occidentales* that provided Europeans with crucial information about the Americas during the first half of the 16th century.

A child of an Asturian family, Oviedo met CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS at the royal court in Madrid when he was 14 years old, and he met him again later at Granada. He was present in Barcelona when Columbus brought back captured Natives from the Western Hemisphere, and then he spent time with Columbus's sons when they, like him, became pages to Infante Don Juan, heir to the Spanish Crown. After Don Juan's death in October 1497, Oviedo traveled to Italy, where he remained from 1499 to 1502, traveling and working in Genoa, Milan, and Rome before traveling back to Spain. In 1514 he made his first trip to the Western Hemisphere as inspector of the GOLD mines of the mainland in the service of Pedrarias Dávila, and the Americas became, from that moment onward, the central focus of his scholarship and life. Oviedo held various posts in the Spanish imperial bureaucracy, including inspector general of trade and governor of Cartagena (appointed in 1526). Oviedo's scholarship so pleased King CHARLES V that he became chronicler of the Indies in 1532, a title befitting his expertise in the complex history of Spain's overseas ventures. In 1535 he became governor of Santo Domingo, a post he held until 1545.

Oviedo's *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* included details on myriad aspects of the lives of the indigenous peoples of the Americas and their natural world. He provided the prices of goods and services, noting at one point that a prostitute cost eight to 10 CACAO beans (used for money), and he told in great detail about the abundant resources to be found in the West Indies. Convinced that this natural wealth could be transformed into great profits, in the late 1530s he became partners with GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO, secretary of the Council of Ten (one of the ruling bodies of VENICE) and Antonio Priuli, procurator of the Basilica of San Marco in Venice, to establish a company that would transport goods, via Messina and

Cádiz, from HISPANIOLA to Venice. No evidence survives about the successes or failures of the venture.

Twice widowed, Oviedo spent his last years working on his scholarship, although his great *Historia* remained mostly unpublished at the time of his death on June 26, 1557. Scholars disagree on where he died, with some claiming he breathed his last in Valladolid and others asserting that he passed away in Santo Domingo. Wherever he perished, his work survived, both in Spain and elsewhere, forming a major part of Ramusio's *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, published in Venice in the 1550s, a work that had an enormous influence on the English promoter of colonization RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER. Such chains of information, made possible by the spread of the PRINTING PRESS and the subsequent dissemination of books across Europe, assured Oviedo's prominence among the 16th-century chroniclers of the Western Hemisphere's peoples, resources, and history.

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**Oyo**

The most powerful kingdom of YORUBA peoples by the 17th century, the Oyo dominated the area of West Africa now known as Nigeria.

According to Yoruba tradition, the Oyo became a distinct people in the 13th century, when Oranyan, an Ife prince from the Yoruba homeland, left the city to found his own kingdom. Oranyan was the son of Oduduwa, the ruler of the city of Ile Ife, or Ife, and the common ancestor of the principal Yoruba kingdoms. Oral and written sources disagree about the origins of the kingdom, claiming direct dynastic links to Oduduwa and Oranyan. Shango, Oranyan's son and the god of thunder, was crucial to the establishment of a legitimate power structure for the fledgling Oyo kingdom's rulers, or *alafins*. The Oyo established their capital in the northeastern part of their kingdom, at the city of Oyo Ile (now known as Old Oyo).

Before the 16th century the Oyo were in frequent conflict with neighboring kingdoms such as the Owu and Nupe, attempting to establish their dominance in the region. Around 1550 the Nupe sacked the Oyo capital, forcing the Oyo *alafin* Onigbogi to flee to the Borgu kingdom to the north. This invasion of the Oyo kingdom effectively, but temporarily, caused the downfall of Oyo dominance in the area, but the Oyo regained power around 1600 under *alafin* Orompoto, who created a cavalry and a standing trained army. The maintenance of a cavalry was extremely difficult in the Oyo territory because two types of tse-tse

fly made HORSE breeding impossible. The Oyo developed a strong trade in horses with their neighbors north of the NIGER RIVER and through their cavalry became the dominant power in Yorubaland. The Oyo established their capital at Igbohu but were again forced out by invading forces. They returned to the capital in the 17th century and became the most powerful state in the region, dominating all but BENIN.

The Oyo kingdom's location made it particularly well suited for controlling various types of trade. Oyo trade extended from the HAUSA kingdom to the cities of GAO, TIMBUKTU, and Djenne (see DJENNE-DJENO). The Oyo were skilled artisans as well, with sophisticated forms of spinning, dyeing, and weaving cloth, smelting and working of iron, and creating bowls and jugs from calabash gourds, yet the Oyo power base, like that of other contemporary African kingdoms such as DAHOMEY and ASANTE, rested on another sort of trade. The Oyo participated extensively

in the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE, and its period of ascendancy can be dated accordingly, from the beginning of the 17th century until its disintegration in the 1830s.

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—Lisa M. Brady



# P



## Palenque

A municipality in the northern part of present-day Chiapas, MEXICO, the city-state of Palenque flourished in the seventh and eighth centuries, becoming one of the great centers of classical MAYA civilization.

Palenque, a Hispanic name meaning “fortified place” (the Maya called Palenque B’aakal, or “Bone”), lies among thick tropical rain forest at the junction of a chain of low hills and the green floodplain of the Usumacinta River. The Palenque kingdom maintained cordial relations with other great classic kingdoms such as TIKAL but antagonistic ones with Calakmul, Tonina, and Piedras Negras. Palenque prospered during the second half of the classic period of Maya civilization (ca. A.D. 514–784). During this time denizens of Palenque led the Maya world in artistic and architectural accomplishment, particularly stucco work, and possessed a great deal of celestial knowledge as well.

The growth and arrangement of Palenque could only occur after its residents figured out how to solve pressing problems. Palenque Mayans overcame the difficult terrain by constructing an elaborate series of terraces designed to provide buildings with level platforms. They also modified the terrain by diverting a small river that coursed through the site underground through a vault-roofed aqueduct. One notable terrace housed three related temple pyramids that archaeologists have named the Temples of the Sun, Cross, and Foliated Cross, collectively known as the Group of the Cross. These structures served various ideological purposes. Recently, scholars have surmised that the three buildings symbolize the Maya creation myth.

The architectural and political achievements of the Palenque Maya did not insulate them from the dramatic decline in Maya civilization that scholars designate the Great Collapse. Despite the difficulty of reconstructing the complex events that precipitated the decline, scholars agree that by the end of the eighth century the population of the Maya had exceeded the carrying capacity of the land. Over-hunting and deforestation likely contributed to

endemic internecine warfare; the final devastating blow may have resulted from a drought that began around 800 and did not end until 1050.

The collapse was remarkably fast. At Palenque the final words written into the classical Maya historical record occur on a small vase found in an ordinary residential apartment, rather than as an inscription on a towering pyramid that the recording of historical memory once required. The vase inscription boasts of a great and powerful king, but scholars have discovered that the vase was made in a town north of Palenque, hardly the sign of a thriving empire. Palenque was entirely abandoned during the early 900s and reoccupied only by wandering tribesmen who lived atop the disintegrating buildings. The ruins at Palenque served as shelter for itinerant travelers for the next millennium.

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—Kevin C. Armitage

## Panama

Once resting between two great Indian civilizations, what today is Panama was first settled by Europeans in 1508 and crossed by VASCO NÚÑEZ DE BALBOA in 1513.

Geographically situated between present-day Colombia to the south and Costa Rica, Honduras, and MEXICO to the north, the Isthmus of Panama stood between the great INCA and MAYA civilizations. In the more immediate vicinity, the Chibchas lived in the mountainous Colombian region. Already established in the West Indies, the Spanish planters of HISPANIOLA looked longingly at the mainland for riches and more important, manpower, because the

enslaved Natives under their control were perishing in great numbers. Accordingly, the Spanish sent a number of exploratory expeditions to the mainland whose end goals included colonization and subjugation of the Native population. The “discovery” of the Isthmus of Panama played an important role in Spanish expansion because the establishment of a permanent settlement on *Tierra Firme*, the northern coast of South America, allowed Spain’s empire to spread to the Pacific and into South America.

Yet, however promising, Panama was not an easy place for the Spanish to succeed. In 1508 Alonso de Ojeda and Diego de Nicuesa obtained permission to organize and lead a large expedition to explore and settle the coast. Splitting up to cover more territory, Ojeda began his settlement after landing at the Gulf of Urabá, where present-day Colombia and Panama come together, referring to his settlement as Darién. Nicuesa sailed farther to the north, landing at Panama, where he enthusiastically, not to mention hopefully, dubbed his settlement Golden Castile. The horrors met by both parties soon became legendary throughout the Indies and even back in Spain. In addition to uncooperative Natives, land crabs, flies, jungle cats, crocodiles, mosquitoes, and DISEASE combined to make life uncomfortable and often deadly. Within a year the combined number of nearly 1,000 settlers within the two camps was reduced to a few dozen ill-tempered Spaniards within each settlement. After he was wounded, Ojeda returned to Hispaniola, becoming a monk. His spirit broken, he soon died.

A small party ventured out of Darién in search of Nicuesa. Finding him in near-skeletal form, they helped revive him. Possibly insane from his experiences, Nicuesa demanded that he should take over Darién and the GOLD and pearls that the CONQUISTADORES had managed to gather. Indignant at the request, the remaining settlers of Darién chased Nicuesa away, putting him out to sea, where he disappeared from the annals of history. The remaining men quickly organized a city, electing the ablest amongst them *ADELANTADO*. In the process they allowed an official who was legally in charge to sail away. Returning to Spain, he informed the Crown of the rebellious and defiant attitude of Darién.

Eventually, Vasco Núñez de Balboa, who had originally joined the expedition as a stowaway after fleeing his creditors in Santo Domingo, became its improbable leader. Balboa, who possessed rare leadership qualities, soon rallied the unruly colonists and gained the friendship of the Native population. With the colony in order, he set about investigating reports of a great sea to the west. In September 1513 he left with nearly 200 Spaniards and 1,000 Native guides and porters. Slogging their way through swamps and jungles, the expedition soon reached the mountainous ridge separating the two great oceans. Approaching the crest of

the ridge, Balboa reportedly preceded the rest of the party, becoming the first European to “discover” the “South Sea,” later known as the Pacific Ocean. With pomp and circumstance, the Spaniards took possession of the Pacific for Spain, erecting a cross and signing an affidavit that the discovery occurred on September 25, 1513. Before returning to Darién, Balboa received a gift of pearls and gold from the Natives on Panama’s western coast.

In Spain news of Nicuesa and Ojeda’s colonization debacle was well circulated, leading the Crown to believe that a firm hand was needed to control the area. Accordingly, the Crown commissioned a large expedition of 19 ships and more than 2,000 men to set sail in April 1514. The elderly yet strong-willed Pedro Arias de Ávila, otherwise known as Pedrarias Dávila, commanded the expedition. Accompanying Pedrarias was a long list of famous conquistadores of later years including HERNANDO DE SOTO, Diego de Almagro, Hernado de Luque, and FRANCISCO CORONADO.

The expedition’s arrival began a bitter conflict of interest between Balboa and Pedrarias, one in which the latter possessed, by decree of the Crown, the upper hand. Although he was appointed *adelantado* of the South Sea and ruler of Panama, Balboa’s power was ultimately subsumed under that of Pedrarias’s, resulting in an acrimonious feud resembling a modern-day soap opera. Among other bizarre events, Pedrarias captured the popular Balboa and brought him to his house, where he had him caged for a time. The two came to a truce after Balboa agreed to marry, by proxy, Pedrarias’s oldest daughter in Spain and remove himself from Darién. Released from Pedrarias’s possession, Balboa moved to the north, where he spent three peaceful years constructing ships while he learned of great civilizations to the south. Ever jealous of Balboa’s increasing popularity, his father-in-law called him for a meeting at the town of Alca. Upon his arrival, Pedrarias ordered Balboa seized and charged with treason. His captors soon beheaded him.

Pedrarias continued to control the area until his death in 1531, much to the indignity of the area’s Natives. During his tenure as governor of Panama, he oversaw the establishment of the first bishopric on the American mainland at Darien in 1513, yet his rule was anything but benevolent for the Native population. In Panama the Spaniards followed their conquest with the establishment of their form of agriculture and the enslavement of captives. This process devastated the Native population. Leaving behind a systematic description of Panama before and after conquest, the early 16th-century chronicler Cieza de León wrote in harsh terms of the destruction of the Indians. At the same time he noted the growth of farms and ranches with herds of cattle and groves of oranges, citrons, and figs, all imported from Spain.

As the Native population died out or migrated, the Spanish imported African slaves (see SLAVERY and SLAVE

TRADE) to Panama. Accepted not only as an economic necessity in Spanish America, slavery was also defended by the church as being compatible with Christian ethics. In 1531 the Spanish suppressed a general slave uprising in Panama only with great difficulty, creating insecurity in the isthmus throughout the colonial period. Because of the inaccessible hills and forests of the interior, the isthmus also became an inviting haven for escaped African slaves. Known as *cimarrones*, they formed independent communities within Panama's interior, thereby contributing to Panama's present-day ethnic heritage.

Beyond expanded production, Panama served as a center for Spanish trade. By the middle of the 16th century, Panama's Nombre de Dios ranked as one of Spain's three principal ports for the reception of merchandise in America (the others were VERACRUZ and Cartagena). Merchants at the port received goods that they then sent across the isthmus to Panama City and transshipped to Callao and other ports in Ecuador, Chile, and PERU. The conquest of these South America regions came shortly after the conquest of Panama. Between 1509 and 1554 the Spanish brought Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile under their control. Many conquering missions used Panama as a geographical springboard for these conquests. Such was the case in 1531, when a pair of illiterate explorers, FRANCISCO PIZARRO and Diego de Almagro, left Panama en route to Peru. Theirs was an expedition that signaled not only the demise of the Inca civilization but also the Spanish exploitation of the Peruvian SILVER mines.

The Spanish conquistadores used Panama as a weigh station in the trade of Peruvian silver en route to Spain, thus providing an inviting target for piracy. Perhaps the most intriguing raid on Panama's silver warehouses occurred in 1572–73, when England's SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, known to the Spanish as *El Draque*, landed and captured a large store of riches, leading to a hero's welcome back home. Not all the English pirates were as successful as Drake. Attempting a similar raid, John Oxenham was captured by the Spanish and executed by the INQUISITION in LIMA as a heretic. Drake himself met defeat and death in 1595 while leading 2,500 men on an attempted conquest of Panama. Despite its jungles, mountains, and swamps, which combined to make transportation difficult, control over Panama gave the Spanish remarkable power in the Western Hemisphere.

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—Matthew Lindaman

## paper

The growing availability of paper made possible the dramatic expansion in knowledge facilitated in particular by the increasing popularity of the PRINTING PRESS in the 16th century.

The printing press was, by any measure, crucial for increasing the amount of information available in the early modern world, first in China and later in Europe. But the press was not the only technology needed for this explosion in knowledge, and its significance can be exaggerated. After all, information had long circulated in the stories told from one person to another, as well as in manuscript treatises, typically written on parchment or vellum before 1500. NORSE sagas, for example, circulated long before paper was easily available in their North Atlantic communities.

Print could not have achieved the economies of scale that printers found profitable if they had only limited access to paper. It is thus not surprising that along with the press the technology for creating paper became more efficient to keep up with the increased demand. In the 16th century, paper was produced by bleaching and pulping used clothing, turning it into rags. Over time, paper makers realized that they could make even more paper (and greater profit) if they mixed other physical elements into the paper. To the present day, the quality of paper is known by its "rag content," a holdover in terminology from the age in which paper came only from rags. Moveable type, the creation of JOHANN GENSFLEISCH ZUM GUTENBERG, was crucial, but it could only work if there was an ample supply of paper (and ink).

The greatest advances in the production of paper took place in the 19th century, when Europeans found ways to make paper out of pulp from trees. But even without that technological advance, printers were able to get enough paper to produce their ever-expanding number of books. By 1500, or less than 40 years after Gutenberg's death in 1468, printing presses had become common in Europe. Fourteen European cities had presses by 1470, and they spread to over 100 cities by 1480. By the beginning of the 16th century, according to one estimate, 200 cities had printing operations, which together produced 35,000 distinct impressions of books or approximately 12 million books in all. Printers published all of these books on pulped rags, which has meant that many books from the first age of print are in better shape in the 20th century than books filled with paper from wood pulp. Paper from the 19th century often cracks or crumbles when a user turns the pages. Books from the era of Gutenberg through the 17th century, by contrast, if handled with care suffer no damage when used.

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## Parliament

The English legislative body known as Parliament evolved from Saxon traditions that required a king to rule with the advice of his nobility, the great men of the realm.

The body that sat in Westminster during the reigns of the HENRY VIII and ELIZABETH I traced its lineage to the system of FEUDALISM as it developed in England. Lords granted freedmen land in trade for service. Lords, in turn, were responsible to tenants. Feudalism created a social system of fealty to regional monarchs and their courts that was supported by the advice tenants could provide about local political and social conditions.

Gatherings of tenants occurred on a semiregular basis and became assemblies in which all members of society were, in theory, represented. Such gatherings offered the opportunity to advise the monarch. From that body a few special advisers became members of the monarch's council, emerging as the PRIVY COUNCIL by the time of the Tudors. These men did the day-to-day work of the government, along with the monarch, and became part of the executive operations of government. Parliament remained responsible for legislation.

As early as 1242, clerics, earls, and barons who were called to a *parliamentum* advised the king. By 1258 Parliament was to meet three times a year. Knights of the shires were desirable allies for clerics, earls, and barons by 1264, and they came to be called the House of Commons. By the early 16th century towns as well as shires were demanding representation. In 1530, 236 representatives in commons represented 117 English boroughs. The figure nearly doubled during the reign of Elizabeth I. By the turn of the 17th century Parliament had two distinct houses within its legislative body, one closely associated with subjects and one closely associated with the king.

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—David P. Dewar

## Parmenius, Stephen (1555?–1583) writer, settler

The first Hungarian to see the Western Hemisphere, Stephen Parmenius was an intimate of various Elizabethan explorers and promoters of colonization who intended to write a great epic about the European exploration of North America but managed to leave behind only two poems and a short prose piece before his death at sea leaving Canadian waters in 1583.

Born in Buda when that Hungarian city was under the control of the Turks, Parmenius was an intelligent young man who left his homeland in 1589 to travel to western Europe, where he quickly came into contact with a number of men who had an interest in overseas exploration. Raised in a Calvinist family, Parmenius presumably intended to return to Hungary once he had completed his tour of various Protestant churches in Germany and perhaps beyond. He studied at Heidelberg and then quite possibly traveled to other well-known destinations for young men seeking a broad humanist education. If so, he would have traveled to Rome, Florence, VENICE, and the Netherlands. Whether he made this predictable trip is unknown, but Parmenius did arrive in Oxford in 1581, one of the centers of learning in the Western world and a city renowned for its concentration of individuals with an interest in matters of state policy in Elizabethan England.

Soon after his arrival in Oxford, Parmenius met RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, the avid promoter of the English colonization of the Americas, and eventually he came to the attention of SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, who in the early 1580s was busy preparing for a venture to establish a colony in North America in modern-day Newfoundland. The two men shared common interests, especially their fascination with America. Parmenius subsequently spent his time writing a poem celebrating the exploration of North America. Eventually, Gilbert offered Parmenius a chance to live out his life's dream: He enticed him to join the English mission to Newfoundland in 1583, an invitation the young Hungarian did not refuse. After a successful crossing the *Delight*, the ship Parmenius sailed on, ran aground in August of that year, and he was lost at sea along with most of those onboard. Soon after Gilbert himself perished when his small vessel, the *Squirrel*, also sank on his return to England.

Parmenius's loss mattered deeply to Elizabethans who cared about the potential colonization of the Americas, especially to Hakluyt. Parmenius's written pieces survive as testament both to his interest in Atlantic exploration and to the literary abilities of a young man whose death was one



of many when Europeans sailed in unfamiliar—and thus to them dangerous—American seaways.

**Further reading:** David B. Quinn, “Stephen Parmenius Budaesus: A Hungarian Pioneer in North America,” in Quinn, ed., *Explorers and Colonies: America, 1500–1625* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), 225–238; David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire, eds., *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius: The life and writings of a Hungarian Poet, drowned on a voyage from Newfoundland, 1583* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972).

### Passamaquoddy

An ALGONQUIAN-speaking people, the Passamaquoddy Indians lived in modern-day Maine and New Brunswick.

The Passamaquoddy Indians shared close contact and many cultural similarities with their neighbors, especially the ABENAKI and the MALISEET peoples. The early history of these “Dawnland Peoples” who lived along the eastern coast of North America is often obscure, for early European accounts are sparse and contradictory, and many Passamaquoddy sites have been lost to rising sea levels. Later tribal divisions are not always appropriate for the early years of contact, and the Maliseet and Passamaquoddy, if not the same peoples, were very closely related.

It is possible that the Passamaquoddy first met Europeans in the early 16th century, when European fishermen sought to trade metal goods for furs. In 1603 Samuel de Champlain met Passamaquoddy warriors at Tadoussac, an important trading site. The question of early contact between Europeans and the Passamaquoddy remains complicated because early French writers often referred to a group of people called the Etchemins, who have been variously identified as the Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, and eastern Abenaki peoples.

The Passamaquoddy lived along the coast of current-day Maine and New Brunswick, where they relied on fishing and hunting. Like other Indian peoples of the region, they moved seasonally, living in hunting camps during the winter and larger communities in the summer. In the 17th century they used both conical wigwams and larger rectangular lodges, each of which might house several families.

**Further reading:** Colin G. Calloway, *Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1991); Vincent O. Erickson, “Maliseet-Passamaquoddy,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., vol. 15, *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washing-

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—Martha K. Robinson

### pearl diving

When Europeans arrived in the Caribbean, they were stunned to watch indigenous peoples dive for pearls, often submerging for lengths of time that seemed unimaginable to the visitors.

There was nothing mysterious about the allure of pearls. Peoples across the Atlantic basin valued these naturally forming gems, which took shape in bivalves such as mollusks. Native peoples of the West Indies knew where to find them. That, at least, was what the naturalist and governor of Santo Domingo GONZALO FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS wrote in his chronicle, which was first published in 1526 (and appeared in an English-language edition by Richard Willes in 1577). According to this account, groups of up to seven islanders paddled out in canoes to spots where they knew bivalves could be found “& there they plunge themselves under the water, even unto the bottom, saving one that remaineth in the *Canoe* or boat, which he keepeth still in one place as near he can, looking for their return out of the water.” When they surfaced, they dumped oysters into the canoe, and during their rest periods they ate some of them. For the most part they put the creatures aside until they returned home, and then gave them to a trustworthy man who pried them apart, “and they find in every of them pearls, other great or small, two, or three, or four, and sometimes five or six, and many small grains, according to the liberality of nature.” Oviedo added that when the water was deep and it was difficult to reach the bottom and remain there “these Indian fishers use to tie two great stones about them with a cord” and could then reach their destination. The men who participated in this pursuit were talented swimmers, but Oviedo believed that the key to their success lay in their remarkable capacity to hold their breath. Some, he wrote rather implausibly, “can stand in the bottom of the water for the space of one whole hour, and some more or less, according as one is more apt hereunto than another.”

Oviedo’s readers would have been fascinated by such tales of human endurance, but the account contained other information that was even more enticing. The Natives told him that they returned frequently to the same diving spots and “find them again as full of Oysters as though they had never been fished.” Oviedo speculated that the oysters must migrate to take the position of those that were captured or perhaps just proliferated in specific areas. In any event, there was little doubt of the bounty, and at times

the actual pearls brought to the surface were remarkable. He claimed that in Panama he purchased a pearl that was 26 carats, which cost him 650 times the cash as he would have paid for an equal amount of GOLD. Oviedo identified specific islands where pearls were most abundant.

At the end of the 16th century, the anonymous author of the DRAKE MANUSCRIPT also described the quest for pearls. But this writer recognized that there had been a shift in the labor force. "Pearls are being fished in the ocean between the main-land and Isla de Margarita, approximately ten leagues, in three or four fathoms of water by the negroes who dive into the sea," the manuscript noted, "holding a hoop-net to descend to the bottom where they scrape the soil where the oysters are, in order to find the pearls." According to this natural history, "the deeper they descend in the water, the larger are the pearls they find." These divers, who were possibly slaves (see SLAVERY), remained (according to the author) under the water for up to 15 minutes at a time and sought pearls for an entire day.

Needless to say, such accounts fueled European desires to establish colonies in the Caribbean, and prompted those seeking wealth to try their luck in the islands.

**Further reading:** *The Drake Manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library: Histoire Naturelle des Indes* (London: André Deutsch, 1996); Richard Willes, *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies* (London: 1577).

### Peckham, Sir George (?–1608) writer

Sir George Peckham, a close associate of SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, promoted the English colonization of North America and hoped to profit from the establishment of trading posts in current-day Newfoundland as well as from his lands at Narragansett Bay.

Little is known of the early life of Sir George Peckham. By the late 1570s he had become a familiar of Gilbert, but unlike his friend Peckham did not engage in any serious military engagements either in Ireland or on the Continent. Unlike most of the English who dreamed of colonizing North America, Peckham was a Catholic who had hoped to establish a refuge in the Western Hemisphere for his coreligionists in England, who were suffering persecution as a result of the Protestant REFORMATION and its spread to Britain. That plan eventually failed, but Peckham continued to try to promote colonization, especially after Gilbert had given him an extensive tract of land along Narragansett Bay, an area that would later become crucial for the English fur trade with the indigenous peoples of coastal New England.

Despite the presumed demise of Gilbert in 1583, Peckham wrote a book about his patron's efforts to cre-

ate a colony in Newfoundland. Entitled *A True Reporte of the Late Discoveries and Possession, Taken in the Right of the Crown of Englande, of the Newfound Landes: by That Valliant and Worthye Gentleman, Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, the book was published in LONDON in 1583. Peckham hoped that his book would inspire English settlement in the Western Hemisphere. With that goal in mind, he decided that the way to convince his fellow English to join the cause would be to demonstrate the obvious benefits of colonization. He thus likened the pursuit to the struggles of biblical times and drew on the Book of Joshua and other bits of Scripture to provide an ideological argument supporting the venture. He rhetorically dismissed the claims of the Spanish, believing, as other English promoters did, that the queen's subjects had the right to lay claim to much of North America. He also noted that commerce with Native Americans would be crucial and profitable. He emphasized that such trade would be to the Indians' benefit as well, in large part because the presence of Protestants in the area would mean that Indians could, as he put it, "be brought from falsehood to truth, from darknes to lyght, from the hieway of death, to the path of life, from superstitious idolatry, to sincere Christianity, from the devill to Christ, from hell to Heaven." To make sure that others would accept the challenge, he told his readers about the commodities to be found in North America and assured them that the passage to the northeast would be safe since the ships would not have to cross "the burnt line, whereby commonly both beverage and victuall are corrupted and mens health very much impaired, nor doo we passe the frozen Seas, which yeelde sundrey extreme daungers." Confident that his enticements would work, Peckham went on to lay out a feudal (see FEUDALISM) type of society in which those who invested in the establishment of the colony would have legal as well as economic authority over others who arrived later. Although such legal arrangements had already become archaic in England, Peckham believed such a system would be an ideal way to administer the new settlements. Peckham lived long enough to hear about the origins of Jamestown in 1607, but not long enough to know that the plans of Europeans often meant little on the ground in North America.

**Further reading:** Peter C. Mancall, ed., *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580–1640* (New York: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1995); Sir George Peckham, *A True Reporte of the Late Discoveries and Possession, Taken in the Right of the Crown of Englande, of the Newfound Landes: by That Valiant and Worthye Gentleman, Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, in *New American World*, 5 vols., ed. David Beers Quinn and Alison O. Quinn (London: Macmillan, 1979), 3:34–60.

## Peru

One of the great territorial divisions of colonial Latin America, Peru formed a distinct geographical and cultural zone that became the core of several Native kingdoms as well as of the Spanish Empire in South America.

The most important geographical feature of Peru is the ANDES MOUNTAINS. As the second-highest range of mountains in the world, the Andes formed an effective barrier between climate zones and human cultures. In particular, they block the wet, humid air of the AMAZON RIVER region from reaching western Peru, leaving the Pacific coastal areas arid while the eastern slopes are covered with rain forests. Another important factor in shaping Peru's climate is the Humboldt Current, a cold water current that flows north along the coast. The Humboldt Current makes the sea much colder than the land, which forces the rain to fall at sea and keeps the coastal zone a desert. In certain areas moisture from the upper slopes of the Andes runs down toward the Pacific in a series of small rivers, such as the Ica and Nazca. These river valleys are fertile agricultural zones that have always attracted human settlers. Most human settlements, however, congregated in the mountain valleys of the Andes themselves. In general, these valleys were flat enough to facilitate agriculture and frequently received adequate water from mountain streams or cloud vapor. Although a series of valleys could be only a few miles apart, the differences in elevation between them could radically change the types of plants and animals that could flourish there. This has given rise to the term "vertical ecology" to describe the Andes, a place where altitude, not latitude, is the primary factor in determining the local climate.

In this unusual world of stark contrasts, several Native cultures flourished. Two main cultural areas emerged over time: the highlands and the coastal zone. The people of the coast generally relied on fishing and growing beans, squash, and CORN in the river valleys. In the highlands, Natives grew CACAO, potatoes, and quinoa while raising llamas for wool and meat. Each zone produced powerful kingdoms, and the balance of power shifted from the highlands to the lowlands many times until the INCA united the region under their control after the 1430s. Andean societies never developed true systems of trade to move goods from one zone to another. Instead of bartering for the goods of other regions, individual clans, called *ayllus*, would send colonists to spend one-year shifts living in another region, producing a particular good that the *ayllu* desired. A coastal *ayllu*, for example, would send colonists into the mountains to grow potatoes and cacao. These colonists would return at year's end with their goods, and a new group of colonists would take their place. This notion of *ayllu* continued under Inca rule.

With FRANCISCO PIZARRO's conquest of the region from 1531 to 1533, Peru became the core of the Spanish

empire in South America. Pizarro established the city of LIMA on the Pacific coast to be the colony's capital, fearing the Incas' former capital of CUZCO was too remote and vulnerable to possible Native rebellions. For the next half century many Spanish CONQUISTADORES went out from Lima in search of other kingdoms of GOLD (see EL DORADO). In terms of political administration, colonial Peru closely followed the model of NEW SPAIN. In fact, the first viceroy the Crown appointed to Peru was none other than ANTONIO DE MENDOZA, the first viceroy of New Spain, who had just completed his term of office in Mexico City. Within a short time the Crown also established AUDIENCIAS, CORREGIDORES, and CABILDOS throughout the colony to maintain order. Peru's colonial economy depended on the export of SILVER. Explorers discovered massive silver veins at POTOSÍ in 1545, which quickly became the most important mining zone in the Western Hemisphere.

Considered to be Spain's most valuable possession in the NEW WORLD because of its size and great mineral wealth, Peru was also one of the most difficult to govern. Population centers were isolated, and the Andes hindered effective communication. There was also no easy way to trade directly with Spain; merchants had to unload their goods at PANAMA and haul them overland to ships waiting on the other side. Moreover, the great wealth generated by the mines inspired greed, smuggling, and, at times, open rebellion among the colonists. The situation of the Native peoples was particularly grim. Both the Crown and the colonists wanted to use them as a cheap labor force to work in the mines. Ultimately, to satisfy the mines' needs, the Crown developed a coerced labor system called the REPARTIMIENTO, which was essentially a labor draft that forced young males to work at the mines for one year. Working conditions at Potosí and other mines were so unsafe that few survived their year-long shift. Infuriated at this exploitation, many Natives rose up in rebellion or retreated ever farther into unsettled areas. Despite these problems, Peru flourished throughout the colonial period, producing not only great wealth, but gifted scholars, notable architecture, and accomplished works of art.

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—Scott Chamberlain

**Peter Martyr (Pietro Martire d'Anghiera)** (1457–1526) *Italian humanist*

An early chronicler of the voyages of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, whose writings on European travelers in the Western Hemisphere circulated widely across Europe during the 16th century.

Born in Italy, Peter Martyr became attached to the court of FERDINAND AND ISABELLA in 1487, a position that enabled him to interview Columbus and other Spaniards returning from the Americas. Although he later became dean of the cathedral of Granada, his most significant work was the publication in 1516 of *De Rebus Oceanicis et Nove Orbe decades tres*. This work contained the most extensive descriptions of the Americas then available in Europe, much of it intended for religious officials including, not surprisingly, Pope LEO X. Across the continent, astute editors and translators recognized the potential significance of the work. Among those who published translations were the Venetian civil servant GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO, who included an Italian translation in the third volume of his *Navigazioni e Viaggi* (published in VENICE in 1559) and Richard Eden, who in 1555 published in LONDON an English translation with the title *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India*; Eden also translated other, related works written by, among others, AMERIGO VESPUCCI, ANTONIO PIGAFETTA, GONZALO FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS, and SEBASTIAN CABOT.

Peter Martyr was in some ways representative of one of the dominant intellectual trends of the 16th-century Atlantic world. He gained his fame not because of his own actions but because he proved to be a successful chronicler of others, notably Columbus. As scholars continue to make sense of this age of “mutual discovery,” to use the phrase of the historian James Axtell, an ever larger number of them recognize that it is crucial to understand not only the details about distant places that emerged in TRAVEL NARRATIVES but also the kinds of networks in which the chroniclers themselves worked. Those networks extended beyond the relationship between an explorer and his or her amanuensis. Peter Martyr’s accounts are important because he established relations with printers who saw value in his words and because later translators and printers recognized the worth of the stories that he told. In this age of increasing travel back and forth across the Atlantic basin, the work of someone like Peter Martyr could be as important as the actions of an explorer. Without such chroniclers, the travels of even the boldest explorer might have faded into obscurity.

**Further reading:** Edward Arber, ed., *The First Three English Books on America* (Birmingham: 1885); Ernesto Lunardi, Elisa Magioncalda, and Rosanna Mazzacane, eds., *The Discovery of the New World in the Writings of Peter*

*Martyr of Anghiera*, trans. Felix Azzola (Rome: Instituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato/Libreria dello Stato, 1992); Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India*, trans. Richard Eden (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1966).

**Philip II (Felipe)** (1527–1598) *king of Spain*

King of Spain and ruler of numerous other European lands, Philip II was a skillful administrator who played a key role in most of the important political events of his age, including European political conflicts, colonization and exploitation of the wealth of the Americas, and the European Wars of Religion.

Born May 21, 1527, son of CHARLES V, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain, and Isabella, sister to the king of Portugal. While Charles ceded his Habsburg domains to his brother Ferdinand, his son Philip was undisputed heir to his western European and overseas possessions. In October 1555 Charles gave Philip control of the Low Countries, followed three months later by all Spanish possessions on both sides of the Atlantic, relinquishing control of Franche-Comté to Philip the following year. Charles’s abdication managed to forestall the political chaos that an improvised succession after his death might have brought but did little to remedy Spain’s economic problems, leaving Philip 20 million ducats of debt at a time when the Crown’s ordinary revenue was only 2 million ducats a year.

Philip’s inherited domains were smaller than his father’s, but he may have been fortunate to inherit a more manageable empire. Although Philip’s empire was far from unified, it was distinctly Spanish, centered in Madrid, almost completely Catholic, and had a constant infusion of wealth from the Americas. Like his father, Philip ruled a composite monarchy, even in the Iberian peninsula, where he ruled the Spanish kingdoms of CASTILE, Aragón, and Navarre as separate kingdoms, rather than a unified whole. Philip ruled his more distant territories by means of appointed viceroys, usually drawn from the great families of the Castilian nobility, each of whom reported to a supervisory council in Madrid. Philip did not normally attend these council sessions himself but did review their decisions, all of which were subject to royal approval.

Philip continued many of his father’s policies, with mixed results. Like his father, he won great military victories for Spain, but with limited long-term results. In general, Philip was a reserved intellectual much more interested in the administrative duties of kingship than in the warrior ideal so common to the Spanish nobility. He never personally led his troops in battle, a fact that caused some to comment that he “tried to govern the world from a chair.” Even his marriages—all four of them—reflected his



gift for political strategy, yet none of these unions turned out to be the dynastic master stroke that he had planned. Philip outlived all four of his wives as well as six of his nine children. His first son, Don Carlos, was both physically deformed and mentally unbalanced and resented his father deeply enough to run off and join the Dutch revolt against Philip. Philip's subsequent arrest of his own son, who died in exile, resulted in open criticism and not-so-thinly-veiled accusations from other European courts.

In the Americas Philip strove more or less successfully to prevent colonists from achieving political independence from Castile and its king. He accomplished his goals in part by encouraging the *AUDIENCIAS*, or royal courts, to challenge the authority of the viceroys. The COUNCIL OF THE INDIES in Madrid operated as a further check on colonial autonomy, monitoring both the viceroys and the *audiencias* and reporting ultimately to Philip.

Still, colonists and traders in the Indies and the Americas benefited from the strong royal presence. During Philip's reign the Spanish navy was the strongest in Europe and was able to prevent Dutch, English, and French pirates from disrupting shipping and harassing colonies. Philip's formidable navy also enforced his exclusionary policies, effectively preventing Spain's Atlantic rivals from establishing colonies in the Indies until after 1600.

Despite its prosperity from the Indies trade, there were economic weaknesses built into Philip's empire. The Castilian ethic of Christian military expansionism, based on the centuries-long RECONQUISTA, meant that Castilians generally valued military activity over mercantile ventures. As a result commercial enterprises never became highly developed among Castilians. Not even the Castilian-monopolized Indies trade was truly Spanish; its European exports generally originated outside Castile, rendering Castilian merchants little more than well-positioned middlemen. The inherent economic deficiencies of the Castilian economy meant that very little of the GOLD and SILVER that arrived from the Americas actually stayed in Castile and instead went to importing manufactured goods that the Castilians were forced to buy from other countries.

Spaniards generally remember Philip as their "Prudent King," but some of his policies were more daring. The most successful of these was his Mediterranean campaign against the Muslims (see ISLAM). Philip authorized a series of battles against the Ottoman-backed Barbary pirates that failed to stop the raids but did manage to provide greater protection for Spanish shipping in the eastern Mediterranean. Spain, along with VENICE and the papacy, formed the HOLY LEAGUE, an international alliance dedicated to fighting the Turks. The combined Catholic forces won a decisive victory at the Battle of Lepanto in October of 1571, effectively halting Turkish expansion into the Mediterranean. Finally,

and closer to home, Philip managed to crush an uprising of the Muslim community in Granada.

Another daring move was Philip's annexation of Portugal and its empire in 1580. Philip's mother had been sister to the king of Portugal, and when the latter died with no direct heir, Philip's claim to the throne was as good as that of many other contenders. His agents overcame the Portuguese nobility's traditional hatred of Castile with a combination of donations of silver and promises of future rewards. Philip dispatched Spanish troops to quell any violent resistance to his candidacy and soon secured the throne for himself. Although the absorption of the Portuguese empire augmented Spain's Iberian and American holdings and added profits from the Portuguese spice trade to Spain's coffers, Portugal remained politically and economically autonomous. In the final analysis, its acquisition may have been much less profitable than it seemed.

The annexation of Portugal and the near-elimination of the Turkish threat combined with the sudden doubling of silver revenues had the secondary effect of giving Philip the confidence to pursue his Protestant adversaries in northern Europe. This planned venture had three complementary goals: the suppression of Calvinism in the Spanish Netherlands, the resolution of the French Wars of Religion in favor of the Catholic Church, and the conquest of England, whose privateers had been raiding the Spanish Indies and whose queen, ELIZABETH I, followed her father, HENRY VIII's, policy of declaring herself head of the English church, thereby flouting papal authority. However, despite favorable circumstances, Philip failed in all three of these ventures. In 1593 Henry of Navarre converted to Catholicism as a part of the agreement by which he was crowned HENRY IV of France. This move both frustrated Philip's plans to place a Spanish princess on the throne and constituted a further roadblock to his vision of a unified Catholic Europe when Henry promised toleration of French HUGUENOTS. In the Netherlands Dutch Protestants rebelled, fled, or resisted but refused to be unified under a Spanish king and, more important, a Roman church. Most disastrous of all, Philip's invasion of England—finally provoked by Elizabethan assistance to the Dutch rebels—ended in utter failure in 1588 when the SPANISH ARMADA met defeat as a result of a combination of the skill of the English navy, the inexperienced leadership of the Spanish forces, and a chance storm that scattered the remnants of the Spanish fleet into the North Sea. The loss of the armada marked the end of Spain's dominance of Europe. Philip's multiple defeats during the last 10 years of his reign also signaled the end of Catholic hopes of eradicating Protestantism in Europe.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## Picts

Legendary inhabitants of Britain, the Picts dyed themselves blue in an effort to scare off enemies, a strategy that solidified their place in myth.

The origins of the Picts remain unknown. They appeared in history as one of the neolithic peoples who inhabited northern Britain and modern-day Scotland in the centuries before the Romans arrived at the end of the first century A.D. When the Romans under Hadrian conquered much of Britain from 78 to 142, they eventually built an enormous structure known as Hadrian's Wall to separate the Romanized, and thus civilized, parts of the island from those the Romans deemed barbaric, such as the Picts.

The Picts eventually faded into obscurity as a people, but they remained in British history. When THOMAS HARRIOT published the illustrated edition of his *Briefe and True Report of the Neue Found Land of Virginia* in LONDON in 1590, he included a series of pictures by the Flemish engraver THEODOR DE BRY of the Picts. In the de Bry engravings the Picts appeared bellicose and savage; men and women alike were naked, heavily tattooed, and holding weapons, and one man was shown holding the head of an enemy still dripping blood while another head lay at his feet. Harriot added these renderings of a blood-thirsty people at the end of the illustrations of Carolina ALGONQUIANS, who seemed peaceful by comparison. He did so to demonstrate to his audience that the Native peoples of North America might seem unlikely converts to European "civilization," but in fact they were no more "savage" than the Picts had been. The lesson? If the Picts could become modern-day Britons, then Indians could also be converted to English ways.

**Further reading:** Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the Neue Found Land of Virginia* (New York: Dover, 1972).

## Pigafetta, Antonio (fl. 1480s?–1532?)

Antonio Pigafetta's account of FERDINAND MAGELLAN's circumnavigation of the globe is the most important contemporary account of the voyage.

Little is known about Pigafetta's life. His birth is placed variously in the 1480s and 1490s, and the date of his death

is unknown, although most scholars believe he died young, perhaps by 1532. An Italian, Pigafetta apparently joined Magellan's expedition in search of adventure. During the voyage Pigafetta was loyal to Magellan, eulogizing him after his death as "our mirror, our light, our comfort, and our true guide."

Pigafetta's account of the peoples he encountered provided vivid, sometimes accurate, geographic and ethnographic information. He described the TUPINAMBÁ Indians of Brazil, claimed to have seen giants in Patagonia, and provided a detailed account of the peoples of the Philippines.

Pigafetta's account of the journey was first published in French in 1525. It was translated into Italian in 1536 and into English in 1555. Because Magellan's papers, letters, charts, and logs were lost or destroyed, Pigafetta's work is of immense value as the most valuable of the few surviving sources on the voyage.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Pizarro, Francisco (ca. 1478–1541) conquistador

Pizarro is the CONQUISTADOR who led the Spanish conquest of the INCA Empire in the 1530s.

Born in the town of Trujillo of Extremadura, Spain, around 1478, Francisco Pizarro was the illegitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro, who had several illegitimate sons with different women. Because of his illegitimacy, Pizarro never received an education and eventually sought his destiny in military affairs. While still young he probably served with Spanish forces in Italy in the late 15th century. Eventually, Pizarro made his way to HISPANIOLA in 1502.

Pizarro garnered considerable experience in the Caribbean as a conquistador. He participated in the Spanish exploration of the Gulf of Uraba in 1509 and 1510 and went with VASCO NÚÑEZ DE BALBOA across PANAMA to the Pacific Ocean in 1513. Pizarro helped found Panama in 1519 and was eventually rewarded with an ENCOMIENDA. He also acted as an administrator at various levels for the city of Panama.

Finally, with Diego de Almagro and Hernando de Luque, Pizarro began to make preparations for the expedition that would make him famous, the conquest of PERU. Not really knowing what lay below Panama, he moved into



Francisco Pizarro (Hulton/Archive)

South America for the first time in 1524. He did not find much during this first foray, but in his second effort in 1526–27, Pizarro survived a mutiny on the Isla del Gallo and made contact with the northern border of the Inca Empire. Realizing what potentially lay before him, he returned to Spain to get financial support for his *entrada* into the Inca Empire, acquire additional soldiers he could depend upon, and clear his title to the territory he would conquer. By doing so, Pizarro effectively cut his erstwhile partners out of the spoils he planned to garner.

In 1530 Pizarro's expedition set off for Peru. In 1532 Pizarro encountered the Inca emperor, ATAHUALPA, at the city of Cajamarca. After Atahualpa rejected the *REQUERIMIENTO*, the Spanish attacked the Incan entourage and took the ruler captive. To ransom his freedom, Atahualpa promised Pizarro to fill a room with GOLD and SILVER. It took several months to meet this goal. In 1532, after the Inca delivered the ransom, Pizarro decided Atahualpa no longer served a purpose and had him executed. Pizarro then marched on the Inca capital of CUZCO and seized it.

The Spanish were able to conquer the Inca Empire, numbering approximately 14 million subjects, because they appeared on the scene immediately after the empire had suffered a major SMALLPOX epidemic that killed tens of thousands, including Atahualpa's father and his older brother, the heir to the throne. As a result of this situation, Atahualpa and his brother, Huascar, fought a civil war over their claims to the throne. Additionally, many of the people whom the Inca had conquered were willing to side with the Spanish to rid themselves of Incan rule. All of these elements came together to help the Spanish gain the upper hand.

After seizing control of a majority of the empire, Pizarro decided to move the administrative center from Cuzco to the newly created Spanish city of LIMA, which was closer to the coast and easier for the Spanish to control. He also began granting *encomiendas* to his supporters and brought in missionaries to convert the Spanish Empire's newest subjects. Pizarro's former partner, Almagro, eventually reached the Andes as the governor of New Toledo, which was located to the south of Pizarro's territory. Conflict continued between Almagro's faction and Pizarro's faction until Pizarro defeated Almagro at Salinas in 1538 and had him executed. In 1541 followers of Diego de Almagro the Younger broke into Francisco Pizarro's home in Lima and assassinated him.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

### plague (bubonic)

From the 14th to the 17th centuries, the bubonic plague repeatedly swept through Europe and North Africa, reaching up to 50 percent mortality in some regions and throwing Europeans' social, political, and economic structures into disarray (see DISEASE).

The bubonic plague is caused by the bacillus *Yersinia pestis*, which lives in the bloodstream of fleas that feed on black rats, pests that were commonly found on the ships and in the cities of Europe. Once the flea contracts the bacillus, it can no longer digest the blood of the rat, and so, voraciously hungry, it goes in search of a new host, such



as a human body. Humans cannot transfer bubonic plague among themselves; it takes the flea to infect human hosts and transfer the bacillus. These fleas can survive up to 50 days by hiding in grain or cloth, which were both major trade items in medieval Europe and probably major causes of the transmission of the plague. In humans the plague manifests as the swellings of the lymph nodes. In many victims of the plague in medieval Europe, these swellings, particularly in the throat and groin areas, reportedly reached the size of grapefruits.

The bubonic plague first migrated from Asia to Europe and northern Africa in the 14th century. During the winter of 1347–48, rats and fleas bearing the bubonic plague stowed away onboard European merchant ships docked along the coast of Asia. Within months, a new disease—a pestilence—had entered the ports of Europe. The Black Death, as it came to be called, spread quickly among a population whose defenses had already been lowered by poor nutrition and a harsh winter. The Black Death was actually a combination of bubonic plague (carried by rats and their fleas) and pneumonic plague (a respiratory version spread by humans). From 1348–49 the Black Death spread throughout Europe and North Africa, killing approximately one-third of the total population, with mortality rising to more than 50 percent in many crowded, unsanitary urban areas. The highest mortality rates from the plague occurred in the summer months, when the fleas bred in especially high numbers. Through the 16th and 17th centuries this devastating disease repeatedly revisited Europe.

The ravages of the bubonic plague had many different social, religious, and economic effects. Above all, the high mortality rate stunned the population and sent many communities into disarray, looking for both an explanation and an escape from this pestilence. Doctors could not explain the plague or cure it. Many people fled the disease, abandoning their homes and even shunning members of their own families. As entire artisan and commercial communities were wiped out, Europe's economy changed as well. In Italy and Spain religious explanations for the plague were especially prevalent. Clerical and secular officials often claimed JEWS caused epidemics. During the 14th century such accusations led Christians to burn many Jews alive. Because of the disease's many recurrences, Europe's population only began to rise again near the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, despite waves of the plague and other epidemic diseases (see SMALLPOX) still attacking at times. To this day, no one is quite sure why the bubonic plague lost its potency, except to speculate that it might have finally evolved into a less virulent strain.

The Black Death was more than a threat to European populations in the 14th century. It also represented a challenge to an entire political, religious, and intellectual

system. In response to the catastrophe, some individuals began to practice particular ascetic regimes, most notably self-flagellation. Yet at the same time others lost faith in Christianity and expressed their skepticism at inherited truths by violating widely held religious norms, sometimes by engaging in sexual acts in consecrated graveyards. The plague did not end the hold of the church on Europe's population, but it was so far-ranging that it did erode long-held ideas about medical practice. During the most intense period of the crisis, some women were able to practice medicine even though the profession had long been limited to men only. In the long run, the plague facilitated changes in Europeans' understanding of the human body.

The bubonic plague affected Europe's colonization efforts during the 16th century as well. The loss in Europe's population translated to severe lack of labor for reaping the resources of the NEW WORLD. The need for labor at home led to the Spaniards' efforts to enslave the indigenous peoples as well as to the European colonizers' eventual decision to enslave Africans (see SLAVERY).

The bubonic plague was also one of the diseases that entered the Western Hemisphere as a result of the COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE. The first potential sighting of the plague in the Americas came in the late 1610s, when French sailors shipwrecked in Massachusetts Bay released the disease. However, given the ambiguity of the historical sources, this disease may have been smallpox. The bubonic plague is also suspected to be the disease that later killed Squanto, the Pawtuxet Indian who helped the Pilgrims when they landed in New England.

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—Maril Hazlett

### **Polo, Marco** (1254–1324) *Italian writer and traveler*

The son of Niccolò Polo of VENICE, Marco Polo at the age of 17 accompanied his father on a trip overland through Asia to present letters of Pope Gregory X to Khubilai, the Great Khan of the Mongols in Northern China; his account of what he saw in the East shaped Europeans' understandings of Asia for generations.

Despite Marco Polo's widespread fame, little is known about him, his actual activities in China, or the circumstances surrounding the writing of his book. Information on



Marco is so scarce, in fact, that reputable scholars continue to argue that Marco never traveled to China at all. Virtually the only information about his famous trip comes from the book itself. (No Chinese documents have ever been found that mention him.) Scholars believe that Marco's father and uncle, Niccolò and Maffeo, left a Venetian trading post on the Black Sea around 1260 to trade in jewels with the Mongol Khanate of the Golden Horde. Starting about 1209 the Mongols under Temüchin, or Genghis Khan, began expanding from their base in the plains of Central Asia, and in time he and his successors conquered territories ranging from the plains of Hungary in Europe to central and southern China. The Golden Horde was one of four khanates into which the vast Mongol conquests had been divided. Supreme among all the khans at this time was Khubilai, who reigned from 1260 to 1294.

Wars and other disturbances prevented Niccolò and Maffeo from returning the way they had come, so they accompanied an embassy traveling farther east to meet Khubilai at his palace in Beijing (Khanbalikh in Mongolian). They were then commissioned by the khan to carry messages to the pope in Rome and return with his reply, 100 Christian missionaries, and other items. They returned to Venice sometime around 1269, but the reigning pope had died, and it was not until 1271 that Gregory X became pontiff. The Polo brothers took papal messages and young Marco but no missionaries with them back to Beijing. They arrived around 1275, two years after Khubilai had completed his conquest of southern China. During the 17 years Marco remained in China he seems to have been used in various administrative duties. This is not so unusual as it sounds because the Mongols used foreign administrators over the conquered Chinese territories as a way to break the power of the local gentry.

The Polos supposedly returned to Europe by sea around Southeast Asia and through the Indian Ocean, escorting a Mongol princess who was to be married to a lesser khan in Persia (modern-day Iran). From there the Polos were able to make their way to Venice around 1295. Marco was then 42 years old. Sometime around 1297 Marco, in command of a ship, was captured on the high seas and imprisoned for a time in Genoa. There he met a fellow prisoner, Rustichello of Pisa, who had already gained a fair reputation as a writer. The two collaborated on a book based on Marco's experiences. Marco was released from prison in 1299, lived quietly but comfortably as a modest trader and moneylender, and died, aged 69, on January 8, 1324.

As much uncertainty as there is about Marco Polo's life and travels, there is even more uncertainty about his book, to the extent that scholars have difficulty even agreeing on what its title should be. No original manuscript exists, and the existing copies and later printings

have important differences, omissions, and additions. Quite a bit of controversy exists over the role Rustichello played in compiling the book. Did he simply write as Marco dictated? Did he rewrite a manuscript previously written by Marco? Or did he do both? Did he also make use of documents Marco had brought back with him from China? Perhaps the best way to describe the book is as a difficult collaboration between a writer of highly stylized romantic poetry and fiction (Rustichello) and a through, impersonal, and somewhat detached Mongolian civil servant (Marco). In the end the book does not belong to any existing Western writing tradition, but it does have many things in common with official Chinese gazetteers. Marco, who spent almost all his adult life in Asia prior to writing his book, doubtless absorbed considerable Asian cultural influences.

The exact impact of the book on the science of geography and exploration in the West remains a matter of debate. A number of European traders and missionaries made journeys similar to Marco's afterward, but with the conversion of the khans of central Asia to ISLAM and the coming of the Black Death (see PLAGUE), it became virtually impossible to recreate Marco's journey after the 14th century. Interest in the book was spurred by the humanist movement, during which European scholars studied, translated, and distributed many previously unknown or forgotten ancient texts. Among these were works of geography against which Marco's story could be compared. Marco's story and others influenced a number of 15th-century mapmakers, among them Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli, who united Marco's description of Japan with his own ideas on mapmaking. Toscanelli was among the first to advocate that voyages from Europe to Asia could be made by sailing due west, across the Atlantic. These ideas possibly inspired Columbus's plans for his voyages of exploration.

During the 16th and 17th centuries European exploration of East and Southeast Asia served both to confirm much of what Marco's book said as well as to engender doubts. Since the 17th century scholars—basing their arguments on items in the text that were wrong or misleading and other items that are not in the text but which, they feel, should have been—have continued to charge that Marco never actually traveled to China. In this view, his book was an elaborate hoax. Some scholars continue to level such charges today. For instance, doubters ask, why doesn't the book contain any mention of the Great Wall of China or the practice of binding young women's feet or almost anything about Chinese culture? Supporters of Marco's journey note that these omissions can be accounted for by the fact that the Great Wall, in its present form, was not built until 200 years later and that the practice of foot binding did not become general among women until about 100 years later. Marco's inability to speak

or read Chinese, a matter on which virtually all scholars agree, also explains his general lack of knowledge of Chinese culture. His position as a functionary of the Mongol overlords helps explain his lack of interest. The exaggerations in published versions of the account could also have come from Rustichello, who might have felt compelled to add adventure and chivalrous deeds to what is otherwise a dull accounting of Marco's alleged journey.

During the 19th century, when European, particularly British and Russian, imperialists began to open up and colonize the areas of Central, South, and East Asia that Marco described, interest in the book once again peaked. This was partly because Marco's account remained virtually the only one generally known in the West. Today, by contrast, Marco's book is something that far more people are likely to know about than ever to have actually read, although the book will continue to hold an honored place as an original work of geography and a remarkable, if sometimes annoyingly laconic, epic traveler's tale.

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—Paul Dunscomb

**Ponce de León, Juan** (ca. 1460–1521) *conquistador, colonial official*

A Spaniard who accompanied CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS on the expedition of 1493 and who remained in the Western Hemisphere as a Spanish official, Juan Ponce de León is best known for his search for the fountain of youth in FLORIDA.

Born in Spain around 1460, Ponce de León had become known in CASTILE before Columbus made his first voyage to the west. He joined the 1493 journey, and in 1502 he enrolled on a mission led by Nicolás Ovando to HISPANIOLA. Ponce de León soon became governor of the western portion of the island. Enthralled by the kinds of tales of riches and fame that frequently enticed CONQUISTADORES, Ponce de León sailed to PUERTO RICO in 1508; three years later he became governor of the island. While in Puerto Rico, Ponce de León enriched himself by drawing profits from GOLD mining carried out by the indigenous residents of the island.

But success did not satisfy his desire for gain. In 1511 he sought permission to establish a settlement in the Bahamas, where he hoped to find more gold and use Indian slaves (see SLAVERY) to mine it. In 1513 he led an expedition of three ships to, as he asked King Ferdinand (see FERDINAND

AND ISABELLA), “discover and settle” this new territory. But he continued beyond the northwest tip of the Bahamas, apparently to find another island that local Natives in the islands had told him had a magical spring where those who drank the water would remain forever young; there was also gold rumored to be in the region. Ponce de León's search for that fountain of youth and other riches took him to the North American mainland, where he arrived, possibly near modern-day Daytona Beach, on April 2, 1513, and claimed this previously uncharted land for the Spanish monarchy. Later the Spanish would build Saint Augustine nearby. Ponce de León named this land “Tierra La Florida” after *Pascua Florida*, the Spanish name for Easter Sunday. Although JOHN CABOT and SEBASTIAN CABOT, as well as an unknown number of NORSE sailors had earlier reached North America, Ponce de León was the first from his country to land along the east coast of the continent.

While in Florida, Ponce de León and his companions sailed along the coast, a journey that eventually took them through the Florida Keys (which he called Los Martyres) and into the Gulf of Mexico. No one now can determine the northernmost point he reached, though it seems likely that the expedition went as far as Pensacola Bay or Charlotte Harbor before turning back and sailing toward CUBA before their return to Puerto Rico, which they reached about six months after their initial departure. He returned to Spain in 1514, concerned in part with the fate of his daughters because his wife had died.

Ponce de León never found the fountain of youth, but his exploits nonetheless earned him a knighthood in Spain and the opportunity to return to the Western Hemisphere with the right to colonize Florida and Bimini. He left Spain again in 1521, and after a stop in Puerto Rico he returned to Florida and attempted to settle an area near modern-day Sanibel Island. Injured in a battle with local CALUSA Indians, he sailed back to Havana, where he died of his wounds in July, 1521.

Ponce de León's failed quest was not an unusual occurrence in the 16th century. Other Spanish conquistadores, notably FRANCISCO DE CORONADO and HERNANDO DE SOTO, had also been inspired by rumors of the fabulous treasures to be found in North America. There were, of course, riches to be found in the Americas, as the Spanish conquerors of the AZTECS and INCA discovered. But no fountain of youth could ever be found, despite Ponce de León's obsessive search for it. Still, as the first Spaniard to wield power as ADELANTADO, he had an enduring legacy in the Caribbean basin. He died without learning that the island of Florida he had found was actually a peninsula attached to the modern-day United States.

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### population trends

During the long 15th century, from approximately 1492 to 1607, population shifts in the Atlantic basin reshaped societies in the Old World and in the Western Hemisphere.

It is impossible to put precise figures on the number of people who inhabited the Atlantic basin at the time of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS's initial crossing of the ocean. No society possessed the kinds of sophisticated tools necessary to make accurate estimates of the size of the local population, and many peoples kept no real count of the number of men, women, and children residing in particular communities. As a result, scholars have had to devise methods to estimate how many people lived in a given locale at a certain time and then use those figures to measure the rate of population growth or decline over time. To estimate the number of individuals in a Native American community, for example, demographers and anthropologists have used the number of people, usually men in arms, identified in early European travel accounts. They then take that number and multiply it by some figure to deduce an estimate of the total population. Because the populations of many indigenous groups shifted before anyone actually saw a European, scholars also make inferences about population size based on groups' economies: Communities that practiced agriculture tended to be larger than those that relied on hunting, and people who inhabited fertile river valleys often had more substantial populations than did groups who inhabited more arid regions. Historical demographers have used any kinds of records they can find to estimate populations in the Old World. They thus turn to tax lists and the records of baptisms and burials and to the number of slaves imprisoned on ships heading from Africa to the Western Hemisphere. From myriad pieces of information, scholars have assembled rough estimates of population trends. None of their figures are as precise as those to be found in a modern-day census, but the numbers at least provide a starting point for understanding the ebb and flow of populations in particular places.

Putting aside the detailed estimates for specific communities or nations, scholars have identified two fundamental trends for the 16th century. First, the population of the Western Hemisphere declined as a result of the spread of infectious DISEASES that arrived as a result of the COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE. Second, no population was particularly stable. Contrary to an age-old notion that peoples in Europe and Africa inhabited traditional communities where individuals tended to spend their entire lives, newer research reveals enormous domestic population movements. As the historian Bernard Bailyn has suggested for Europe for the period after 1607, the "peopling of British

North America was an extension outward and an expansion in scale of domestic mobility in the lands of the immigrants' origins, and the transatlantic flow must be understood within the context of these *domestic* mobility patterns." The same notion applies to the earlier period as well and to places beyond the boundaries of Europe.

The decline in numbers of indigenous peoples in the Americas is perhaps the most frightening and dramatic demographic trend for the 16th century. Before 1492 the peoples of the Western Hemisphere tended to be healthy. To be sure, some diseases, including some caused by nutritional deficiencies, afflicted Native peoples. Hence, while CORN agriculture provided abundant food, overreliance on maize could lead to diseases (such as pellagra) with debilitating health consequences. Nevertheless, infectious diseases tended to be rare. The lack of contagions can be explained in various ways. First, the original peopling of the Americas took place between 40,000 and 10,000 years ago, when the Bering Strait was frozen and groups of people from East Asia walked from modern-day Russia into Alaska and then dispersed from there. As these peoples moved inland, those who traveled to the south found conditions ideal for agriculture, and the initial abundance of food allowed populations to grow. However, just as important was the fact that these original migrants tended to be healthy, because only able-bodied people could have made the trek across the land bridge. Further, although some Native American peoples developed cities, especially in MEXICO, the majority tended to live in dispersed communities. As epidemiologists have explained, smaller communities tend to be poor breeding places for the pathogens that cause infectious diseases because the human populations in them are not large enough to sustain the diseases over time. From a demographic perspective this residential strategy contributed to the increase of populations by reducing the threats that these people might otherwise have encountered. Finally, most Native American peoples kept no domesticated livestock, another protection against diseases often associated with close human-to-animal contact.

But the phenomena that helped with the initial increase in population for indigenous peoples in the Americas also provided the ideal conditions for any imported diseases to wreak havoc. Thus, while scholars continue to disagree about the population of the Western Hemisphere before 1492, there is no doubt that the number of Native peoples shrank when Europeans inadvertently introduced diseases to peoples who had had no opportunity to develop immunities to ward off their dangers.

Ever since the first systematic estimates for the Western Hemisphere began to appear in 1924, scholars have argued that the population of this part of the globe before Europeans arrived ranged between a low of

8.4 million and a high of 75 million. Whatever the exact numbers, all agree on the trend: The arrival of infectious diseases led to a decrease in population by perhaps as much as 90 percent from 1492 to 1800, with much of the decline taking place before 1700. The catastrophe struck different peoples at different times. Some indigenous populations, including many of the Native peoples in the Caribbean whom Columbus encountered, disappeared, as did some groups on the mainland, including the Carolina ALGONQUIAN at ROANOKE described by THOMAS HARRIOT and JOHN WHITE. The disappearance of an entire group did not necessarily mean that every individual died. Rather, as historians now believe, demographic catastrophe led to the weakening of particular communities, and those who believed they could no longer maintain their settlements migrated outward, usually to other like-minded indigenous peoples. Thus, the NATCHEZ, who at one point were among the most dominant groups in the lower Mississippi Valley, disappeared as a distinct entity, a fate sealed by a military defeat at the hands of the French in 1731 but invariably begun with the spread of infectious diseases such as SMALLPOX. However, individuals who were Natchez did not all perish at once. Instead, they joined other indigenous communities, part of a trend that continued well beyond 1607.

Unlike the Americas, the continents of Europe and Africa did not suffer from the same kind of population loss because individuals had already built up resistance to some potentially lethal diseases. Of course, the SLAVE TRADE robbed Africa of hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children during the 16th century. According to one estimate, British and Portuguese slave traders hauled approximately 266,000 individuals across the Atlantic Ocean during the 16th century. That trade followed an earlier commerce that took Africans to the East in what the historian Ronald Segal has termed “the other black diaspora.” From the mid-seventh century until the end of the 16th century, perhaps 4.82 million Africans traveled across the SAHARA bound for destinations outside the continent, many of them sold during the peak period of this commerce in the 10th and 11th centuries. During the 16th century this eastern slave trade led to the forced relocation of approximately 5,500 individuals each year, a total of more than 500,000 people for the century. Still, despite the horrendous demographic consequences of this vile trade in human beings, the introduction of new food crops into Africa from the Americas, notably manioc and maize, quite possibly increased the population, thereby making the demographic consequences of the slave trade less obvious. Thus, the population of Africa, which was perhaps 85 million in 1500, possibly reached 90 million a century later, although the lack of precise data makes such an estimate especially imprecise.

According to one scholar, the population of sub-Saharan Africa grew from 79 million in 1500 to 95 million in 1750, in addition to another 5 million in northern Africa by the mid-18th century.

In Europe, by contrast, populations across the continent grew, often at a fevered pace, during the 16th century. In part, this demographic increase constituted a final stage in the long-term recovery from the notorious pandemic of PLAGUE known as the Black Death that killed at least one-third of all Europeans during the mid-14th century (and killed even more people farther north, where famine often followed in the wake of pestilence). Population increase could also be attributed to increased cultivation of available land and an improvement in diet, especially with the arrival of American foodstuffs.

In the age of Columbus, the population of Europe stood at approximately 60 to 70 million. By applying modern-day geographical boundaries, it is possible to measure the rough distribution of this population. There were approximately 15 million people in France, 10 million in Italy, 5 million in the British Isles, between 6.5 million and 10 million in Spain, and lesser numbers in other nations. By the end of the century, Europe’s population stood at perhaps 90 million, demonstrating far more rapid demographic growth than was experienced elsewhere in the Atlantic basin during this time.

Continental estimates, however useful, tend to mask local variations, as is evident in the estimates of population for England, arguably the most thoroughly studied place in the world during the early modern period. The population of England increased from approximately 2,774,000 individuals in 1541 to 3,271,000 in 1571 and to 4,110,000 in 1601. According to the most detailed estimate, the population of England in 1606—the year before the founding of Jamestown—stood at 4,253,325, but while the overall trend was positive (in a demographic sense), fluctuations nonetheless occurred. Disease still hit periodically, of course, and years of inadequate rainfall or some other natural calamity could produce an agricultural disaster that diminished the rate of population increase. Even during England’s rapid demographic increase, the population of the country declined by almost 175,000 from 1551 to 1556, although it immediately recovered, and the nation experienced no further serious declines until the years of plague and fire in the 1660s.

From a demographic perspective Europeans fared best in the Atlantic world during the century following 1492. That result is not surprising given the fact that the Columbian Exchange brought the greatest benefits to Europeans. Africans, although they did not apparently suffer from the same kinds of disease-related mortality as Native Americans, also fared well during the 16th century, at least in the sense that the population of the continent grew.



However, here again the overall positive trend masks the horrors of the slave trade. Without that noxious commerce, Africa's population would have been even greater, although problems of overpopulation in the modern world suggest that growth is not always positive. Without doubt, those who fared the worst in the shifting demography of the Atlantic basin were the indigenous peoples of the Americans, who succumbed in large numbers to imported diseases. Native American populations reached their nadir in 1800 or so, and since then have climbed steadily back toward the precontact numbers. That fact demonstrates the importance of assessing population trends from the long term.

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### **Porres, St. Martín de** (1575–1639) *first African-American saint*

St. Martín de Porres, the son of an African woman and a Spanish man, was the first person of mixed African and European heritage to be recognized as a saint by the Catholic Church.

Born in LIMA, PERU, Martín began life at a disadvantage. As a child of mixed race in the hierarchical society of Latin America, his opportunities were limited, especially because his father, Don Juan de Porres, neither married his mother, Ana Velázquez, nor formally recognized his two children by her. Because membership in the DOMINICANS was forbidden to blacks, Indians, and their descendants, Martín was unable to join the order as a friar but was accepted as a *donado*, or servant. Martín served in this capacity for nine years. He showed such piety, dedication, and devotion to the poor that the order made an exception and admitted him as a lay brother in 1603.

As a friar Martín was known for his ability to heal and care for the sick and the suffering. He helped establish an

orphanage and hospital and was responsible for distributing food to the poor. He also worked among African slaves in Peru.

St. Martín died in 1639 at the age of 60. Although he lived in a hierarchical society divided by color, he worked among the poor and suffering of all races. Because of this aspect of his work, the Catholic Church recognizes him as the patron saint of social justice and race relations.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### **Portuguese seaborne empire**

During the 15th and especially the 16th centuries, no European nation was as successful in long-distance exploration and colonization as Portugal.

For students attending schools in the United States, the earliest period of "American" history always seems to belong to CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, and the emphasis on the pre-1607 period often falls on Spanish CONQUISTADORES, like Hernán Cortés, with suitable attention to the horrors that produced the BLACK LEGEND chronicled by the DOMINICAN friar BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. But that emphasis is a product of specific historical myths that emphasize the Spanish efforts and tend to downplay the achievements of the Portuguese.

Scholars might continue to debate whether Prince HENRY THE NAVAGATOR established a school for mariners at Sagrés, but there is no doubt that the Portuguese by the earliest decades of the 16th century had embraced long-distance exploration and trade. The most famous of their explorers was probably VASCO DA GAMA, whose journeys around the southern tip of Africa and into the Indian Ocean helped launch the extended Portuguese effort to control parts of INDIA. Though they often ran into tensions with locals, Portuguese soldier-explorers like ALFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE and DIOGO LOPES DE SEQUEIRA nonetheless managed to secure Portuguese claims in South Asia and hence were able to control shipping between Europe and the SPICE ISLANDS. Indeed, the Portuguese were so successful at establishing these routes that eventually they informed other Europeans that they had a trading monopoly in the region, based at least in part on the 1493 *Inter*

*Caetera* of Pope ALEXANDER VI, which divided the as-yet un-Europeanized parts of the world between the Spanish and the Portuguese, and the TREATY OF TORDESILLAS, which followed the next year and gave more territory to the Portuguese. According to that division, the Spice Islands fell within the Portuguese domain.

That same treaty also allowed the Portuguese to lay claim to BRAZIL, which they proceeded to do in the 16th century. These Iberians did not wait long to press their advantage. In 1500, the Portuguese explorer PEDRO ÁLVARES CABRAL sailed to the coast of Brazil and took possession of it for the Portuguese. That claim, followed by extensive Portuguese shipping along the coasts of Africa, enabled the Portuguese to eventually claim a seaborne empire that was far larger than anything other Europeans managed in the 16th century. Their claims would eventually come to the attention of Europeans who questioned whether the Portuguese should have such authority. In the early 17th century, for example, the famous Dutch legal theorist HUGO GROTIUS wrote in his *Mare liberum* ("The free sea") that other Europeans had a right to conduct trade along these same routes and to establish their own ties to those who ruled in the Spice Islands. That tract, translated into English by RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, came to signify many northern Europeans' efforts to rein in the Portuguese.

Despite their claims, the Portuguese expansion across the seas at times had dire consequences. The entire literary genre of SHIPWRECK NARRATIVES tells one tale after another of the tragedies that befell Portuguese vessels, especially those on the return from Goa to Lisbon. The Portuguese expansion into the Americas also proved to be a disaster for the TUPINAMBÁS and other indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere when the Portuguese, like other Europeans, transported Old World DISEASES across the Atlantic, part of the COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE.

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## Potosí

A city and region located in the eastern range of the ANDES MOUNTAINS in southern Bolivia, the name Potosí became synonymous with the production of SILVER for the Spanish Empire during the colonial era.

One of the most famous silver mining centers of the Spanish Empire, the Villa Imperial of Potosí developed around one of the richest silver deposits in the Andes Mountains. In 1545 the Spanish discovered rich silver ore deposits in Cerro Rico, and the town of Potosí quickly grew on the northern slope as a support center for the mining operations. Most of its inhabitants engaged in activities to

support the production of silver, such as mining and refining the raw mineral into ingots and bars. The workers for these activities came from indigenous draft labor called the *REPARTIMIENTO*, a system developed from the Incan *mitia*, which assigned laborers on a temporary basis to perform community service.

The ore obtained from Cerro Rico supplied more than 50 percent of Spain's American silver production before 1650. Its most productive decade occurred from 1575 to 1585. The Spanish refined most of the ore mined from Cerro Rico in 80 mills located in the vicinity. By 1600 most of the easily reached ore had been mined, but the Spanish found veins in the surrounding area and continued to exploit the lower grade ore left in Cerro Rico. The remaining silver proved more expensive to acquire and refine, but the process continued to be profitable. The silver acquired from Potosí helped to make Spain a world power in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the wealth it helped to create for Spain enticed other European powers into colonizing the Americas.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## Powhatan

An ALGONQUIAN-speaking chiefdom located in the present-day Chesapeake Bay area, the Powhatan had built an empire that controlled the region before the arrival of the English in 1607 at Jamestown, and through their interactions with the English, they became a cornerstone of the folklore and popular history surrounding the English colonies in North America.

At the time of contact with Europeans, the Powhatan occupied the fertile coastal plain to the west of what is today Chesapeake Bay. The forests of the region provided abundant game, which they hunted primarily in the late fall and winter and food plants such as nuts, berries, and roots. The bay also provided a rich supply of aquatic resources. The Powhatan practiced intensive maize, beans, squash, and TOBACCO horticulture using the slash-and-burn technique to clear land. They lived in semisedentary villages with significant populations located near rivers and streams. Powhatan homes were multiple family lodges built of bark or reeds and rectangular in shape, with curved roofs.

In the era before the arrival of the English in the region, Wahunsonacock, called Powhatan by the English, had conquered a succession of 30 ethnically and culturally related local chiefdoms and forged a paramount chiefdom on the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay, with a total population of approximately 15,000 people living in 200 towns. Wahunsonacock received tribute from subject towns in the form of shell beads, deerskins, and food. Local groups conquered by Wahunsonacock kept their tribal names, but the chiefdom as a whole was referred to as Tsenacomoco. The English began the practice of calling the people and their leader by the name of Powhatan. The chiefdom had a polytheistic religious structure whose complexity reflected the amalgamation of different identities within the paramount chiefdom. At the time of contact, Wahunsonacock's empire faced a constant challenge from hostile, ethnically different groups west of the fall line in Virginia; other Algonquian chiefdoms such as the Piscataway and the Roanoc contested its position of prestige in the tidewater region. Although these Native groups posed a serious threat to the Powhatan, the arrival of the English ultimately caused the final collapse of this chiefdom by the mid-17th century. Despite the conflicts, some of this group's descendants still live in the area of the Chesapeake Bay and retain their identity and some aspects of the aboriginal culture.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## Prester John

Beginning in the 12th century, European travel writers assured their readers that Prester John, the mythical ruler of a distant country, was the most powerful and wealthiest Christian king on earth.

The first report of Prester (or Presbyter) John reached Europe in 1145. A bishop returning to Europe from the Middle East told the pope of Prester John, whom he identified as the king of India and a descendant of the Magi. The bishop reported that Prester John was fighting his way toward Jerusalem. According to the story, he had already defeated the Medes and the Persians and might be able to join the Crusaders and help them defeat the Muslims. Because medieval Christians believed that the Apostle

Thomas had preached in India and won many converts, they found it easy to believe that a Christian king ruled in distant and little-known India. The idea that a mighty Christian king from the East was willing to help Europeans conquer Jerusalem soon gained popularity and helped motivate Europeans to explore Asia.

Rumors and stories about Prester John spread for centuries. In the 1160s a letter purportedly from Prester John himself circulated in Europe, reaching both the Byzantine emperor and the pope. The pope, Alexander III, even sent an envoy to meet Prester John. This unsuccessful mission was only one of many attempts to find the mythical king. As rumors and stories spread, Europeans heard fantastic tales of the king. According to the 14th-century writings of SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE, Prester John's land was so far away that the inhabitants "have day when we have night, and night when we have day." India, in this version, consisted of many islands, and Prester John was emperor over 72 men who were themselves the kings of various peoples. The people of Prester John's kingdom were Christians and more honest than Europeans. His land was also full of marvels, including a sea of sand that behaved like water but that no boat could sail on. This sea, although it had no water, was somehow full of fish. Prester John's land also held a river of precious stones, and trees that grew, reached maturity, and returned back into the earth in a single day. His army was so large that he had 110,000 men whose sole duty was to guard his standard—three jewel-encrusted crosses of gold—when he went into battle.

The myth of Prester John proved durable. In the 15th century an expedition sent by King João II of Portugal sought Prester John in the Middle East but failed to find him. As explorers failed to find Prester John in Asia and the Middle East, they began to look elsewhere. By the early 14th century one treatise claimed that Prester John's kingdom was in ETHIOPIA, which cartographers sometimes placed in Asia, and Portuguese explorers in Africa searched for him. Portuguese emissaries to Ethiopia in 1520 met a wealthy Christian king, LEBNA DENGEL, and claimed that they had finally found the legendary Prester John.

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—Martha K. Robinson



## Príncipe

Located 160 miles off the western coast of Africa, Príncipe was claimed by Portuguese explorers in the late 15th century, who enjoyed a brief period of prosperity because of its participation in the trade in SUGAR and West African slaves and created plantations similar to those later to appear in the NEW WORLD.

Like its neighbor SÃO TOMÉ, Príncipe was blessed by a climate that allowed for year-round sugar cultivation and a location that put it in a prime position to capitalize on the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. The Portuguese Crown granted the administration of the island to the Carniero family in 1500 but reserved taxes on sugar production for itself, thus making Príncipe a source of profit for colonists and Crown alike.

Príncipe never realized the same profits from the sugar trade as did São Tomé, but it was equal to its neighbor in the slave trade. Príncipe's profits from the slave trade in the 17th and 18th centuries were great enough to attract interest from foreign powers, especially France, which raided the island in 1706 and occupied it until 1753. Even in the 19th century, when many countries were banning importation of new slaves, the trade remained profitable for Príncipe and São Tomé: Between 1809 and 1815 alone the two islands exported more than 33,000 West Africans to the Americas.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## printing press

The printing press, one of the greatest technological advances of the early modern age, changed the world in such far-reaching ways that it is impossible to understand the meeting of Europe, Africa, and the Americas without some consideration of a device that first came into its own in the 1440s.

Before the year 1400 various peoples had devised ways to circulate information. During antiquity trained scribes had preserved vital texts, such as the epic poems of Homer and the Bible, and they did so with great labor. In that world there were no printing presses, and paper had not yet become common, at least not in the West. The greatest advances in the production of paper occurred in China, thousands of miles from Europe, when, during the second century A.D. Ts'ai Lun figured out how to make a pulp from various plants (such as bamboo and mulberry) and then spread it flat so that it became, with the help of threads to hold it together, paper. Over time knowledge about how to make paper spread to the West, reaching Samarkand in



Illustration of a printer's press, dated 1528 (Hulton/Archive)

the eighth century and, sometime in the late 11th century, Europe. By the end of the 13th century, paper mills had started to appear in Italy, and as a result Europeans had greater access to paper, although it remained relatively rare. Scribes on the Continent tended to use parchment (typically the skin of a sheep) or vellum (the skin of a calf) for the words they chose to commit to writing.

In the early 15th century a German metalsmith named JOHANNES GENSFLEISCH ZUM GUTENBERG began to craft individual letters out of lead and discovered these letters could be used to print. Although Gutenberg had various personal financial problems, his invention of moveable type signaled the dawning of a new age. Before Gutenberg printers could publish items, such as playing cards or broadsheets, only by making a block, normally out of wood, for each page. That process was time consuming and, as a result, expensive. By contrast, moveable type allowed a printer to purchase a set of metal letters and then simply reset them whenever he or she wanted to print a new page.



As the historian of print Warren Chappell has pointed out, before moveable type it could take an army of 55 writers to produce 200 books in two years; with moveable type one printer could run off 24,000 copies of a text in a matter of months. Although scribes continued to craft books page by page by hand for centuries, normally in monastic scriptoria affiliated with the Catholic Church, moveable type transformed the flow of information in Europe. From its origins in Gutenberg's shop in Mainz, Germany, in the middle of the 15th century, printing spread rapidly across the Continent: by 1470 printers had set up presses in Strasbourg, Bamberg, Cologne, Rome, Augsburg, Paris, and VENICE, which over time became arguably the most important center for publishing in Europe. The earliest printed books, those published before the year 1500, are now known as incunabula, and they originated in the almost 150 towns and cities that had presses by the end of the century. By 1500 such major European centers as LONDON, LISBON, Munich, Stockholm, and Copenhagen had printers, as did many smaller communities. Although printers still used woodblocks to print illustrations, including magnificent images by such luminaries as ALBRECHT DÜRER, moveable type became the defining achievement of the first half century of the printing press.

Over the course of the 16th century, printing presses spread even farther across Europe and well beyond. The first press in Turkey set up shop in 1503, five years before a printing establishment appeared in Romania. Greece got its first printing press in 1515, but it was a generation later when Ireland (1550) and Russia (1553) had their own. By that time a printing press had been operating in MEXICO (part of NEW SPAIN) for almost 20 years, and the Spanish established another in PERU in 1584. Presses appeared in India in 1556, in Palestine in 1563, and in Japan in 1590. From the countless presses across Europe, the major Protestant theologians of the age, such as MARTIN LUTHER and JOHN CALVIN, launched their assaults against the Catholic Church. Presses also became crucial for spreading news about the NEW WORLD. News of the discoveries of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS spread through the publication of the so-called Barcelona Letter of 1493, which reached audiences across the continent by the end of the 15th century, as did the report by BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS that helped to spawn the BLACK LEGEND of the Spanish conquest. Europeans' interest in things American remained intense, and publishers sought to satisfy readers' demands. In 1601, 73 Europeans wrote tracts about the Americas and published them. A quarter century later 179 authors published works that dealt, at least in part, with the Western Hemisphere. These books, now crucial for understanding the encounter between America and Europe, were published in European cultural capitals such as Barcelona, Rome, and Amsterdam, but they also

came from presses located in Naples, Oxford, Lisbon, Frankfurt, Madrid, Toulouse, Edinburgh, Cádiz, Cologne, Utrecht, Padua, Milan, Stockholm, Halle, Ulm, Ingolstadt, Pisa, The Hague, Rostock, Basel, Leiden, and Valladolid. It was the existence of the printing presses that accounted for the publishing successes of editors and authors such as the Venetian civil servant GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO, the French royal cosmographer ANDRÉ THEVET, and the English geographer RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER.

The remarkable success of the press cannot be denied, but its importance can also be overstated. Print facilitated the movement of ideas, but it did not replace all other modes of writing. As scholars have demonstrated, so-called SCRIBAL PUBLICATION continued long after the advent of the printing press. Individuals continued to copy musical scores and newsletters, for example, demonstrating that some ideas could continue to circulate widely even if no printer ever set type to convey them. Further, it would be a mistake to assume that the advent of the press led quickly to the production of identical texts. Early modern texts were often unstable, changing from one edition to another; variant printings of individual texts suggest that printers changed their minds about what might attract attention or perhaps needed to fix errors.

Still, by reducing the costs of disseminating information across Europe and, eventually, across the entire world, the printing press created a revolution in the ways that individuals understood the world around them. Information once confined to universities and monastic communities became, through printed books, available to hundreds of thousands of people. Images of the world beyond Europe, which in the Middle Ages had been confined to those elite members of society who could see the paintings and drawings brought back by explorers, became part of the common visual language of Europeans when the Flemish engraver THEODOR DE BRY and others made it possible for pictures to appear in books. Although the politics of patronage often played an enormous role in what got printed in certain places, and although 16th-century Europeans and their colonists across the globe lacked the kind of routine access to books that became available to ever-wider numbers of people by the 19th century, such limitations were less important than the fact that the printing press ushered in a revolution in the printed word and in the ways that humans communicated with one another. The "Gutenberg Galaxy," to use a term from the communications theorist Marshall McLuhan, spread across the world and transformed every society it touched.

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### Privy Council

The Privy Council of England became, by the reign of ELIZABETH I, the most powerful force in English politics, dictating policy in both government and English society.

The rise of the Privy Council to great power in the 16th century could not have been anticipated earlier. Although a private council was a feature of English government as far back as the reign of William I, whose *curia regis* was the conqueror's private set of councillors, the curia had little actual authority other than the management of certain kinds of legislation. However, by the late Middle Ages PARLIAMENT had emerged, and the council settled into the work of administering a government that was in the process of becoming larger and more complex. By the time of HENRY VIII, the council had established offices, accumulated records, and become a significant bureaucracy within Westminster Palace. Councillors' importance waxed during the short reign of Edward VI, partly due to the king's youth, but Elizabeth relied on their advice during the important years when the English secured secular rule, achieved a religious settlement in a

post-REFORMATION world, and started the colonization of the Western Hemisphere.

In Elizabeth's time the council was often labeled "the government." The council had vast powers: It appointed men to government offices and had the power to expel them, it oversaw the military affairs of England, it regulated domestic and international trade, it negotiated with foreign nations, and it possessed judicial authority. At Elizabeth's death the Privy Council even smoothed the transition of power from one dynastic family to another.

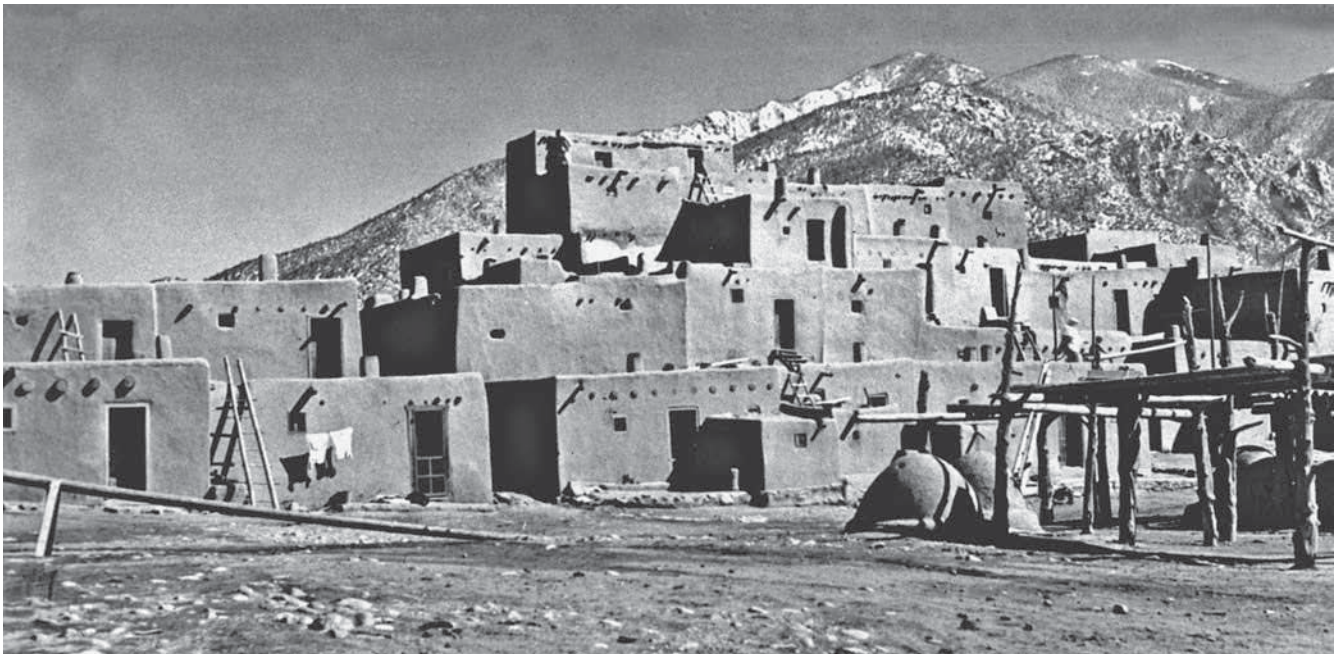
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—David P. Dewar

### Pueblo

The term referring to the indigenous peoples of what is now the American Southwest and the distinctive architecture of their houses and communities.

The term *pueblo* derives from the Spanish word for village. The Native Americans in the region now located in 1 MEXICO and northern Arizona along the Colorado Plateau



Taos Pueblo in New Mexico (Hulton/Archive)

shared certain characteristics that made them seem, to the Spaniards who first encountered them in the mid-16th century, similar to each other. The tendency to submerge the distinctive identities of indigenous communities into an undifferentiated mass was common in the 16th century and after, but in historic terms these peoples who shared aspects of their cultures also possessed specific cultural traditions. HOPI and ZUNI were among the Pueblo peoples whom Spaniards encountered, as were the residents of Acoma Pueblo and Tewa Pueblo.

The Pueblo peoples shared certain economic practices. All had long practiced agriculture by the time Europeans arrived, and like Native peoples in much of the Americas they relied on CORN (maize), beans, and squash (the “three sisters” to the IROQUOIS). They all produced their own distinctive kinds of pottery, and to the present day the styles of design on pots differ from one pueblo to another. They used irrigation to provide sufficient water for their crops, and they engaged in trade to obtain goods that could not be found locally. The Pueblo peoples also produced such fine cotton that Native peoples across the Southwest knew of it before Europeans arrived.

The first knowledge that any Europeans received about the Pueblo came in 1528, when the shipwreck victim ÁLVAR NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA and his companions heard about—but never saw—Indians who lived to the west, along the upper reaches of the Rio Grande, who were expert blanket makers. When Fray Marcos de Niza and an African named Esteban (who had traveled with Cabeza de Vaca) traveled into Zuni territory in 1539, he thought he had found the Seven Cities of Cibola, but when Esteban was killed in Hawikuh Pueblo, Marcos fled back into safer, already colonized parts of NEW SPAIN. FRANCISCO CORONADO and those who traveled with him became the first Europeans to spend any significant time among Pueblo peoples when they traveled through the Southwest from 1540 to 1542. Colonists arrived during the administration of JUAN DE OÑATE, who came to New Mexico in 1598. The Spanish brought missionaries with them to teach the Pueblo peoples the benefits of Christianity and European ways. Try as they might, neither the missionaries nor the colonists could make the indigenous peoples abandon their ancestral beliefs and practices. Although some communities adopted at least some elements of Christianity (and continue to observe some elements today, as is evident in the survival of the large church atop the mesa at Acoma Pueblo), the Native peoples of the region rose up against the intruders in 1680. That event, now known as the Pueblo Revolt, was the most successful indigenous rebellion against any European colonizing power in North America. Joined together under the leadership of Popé, from Tewa Pueblo, the Natives destroyed colonial settlements, murdered missionaries, and desecrated churches. Their actions drove

the Spanish from New Mexico, at least for a time, although the colonizers returned and managed to suppress any further insurrections. By the end of the colonial period, many Pueblos that existed when the Spanish first arrived had ceased to exist, yet another sign of the costs of colonization for the Native peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

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## Puerto Rico

During the 15th and 16th centuries Puerto Rico remained a second-rate colony as the Spanish focused their attention on their more lucrative holdings in the viceroyalties of MEXICO and PERU.

Before contact with Europeans, at least thirty thousand TAINO inhabited Puerto Rico. The island seems to have been the cultural hearth for the eastern Taino. The ancestors of the Taino first reached the island around 200 B.C. The ceremonial ballgame played by the Taino seems to have begun on Puerto Rico. They also built substantial dance courts and ceremonial temples. Petroglyphs often adorned large stones that lined the dance and ball courts, and in some cases they carved effigies of their gods on these stones. The Taino also built roadways as their population expanded into the interior to make transportation and communication easier.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS first landed on the smallest member of the Greater Antilles in November 1493. The first colonization of the island began in 1508, when JUAN PONCE DE LEÓN brought 42 colonists to the island and founded the village of Caparra. Immediately there was a dispute over who controlled Puerto Rico. In 1511 the highest Spanish court, the Consejo de Castilla, gave administration of the colony to Diego Columbus. He sold his interest in the colony to the Crown in 1536, and over time Native labor assignments, DISEASE, and abortive rebellions significantly reduced the Taino population on the island. The Crown used civilian authorities to administer to the colony from 1545 to 1564, and in 1564 a captain-general was put in command of Puerto Rico. San Juan, the capital of the colony, experienced constant raids and threats from Dutch, English, and French privateers, with the worst attacks coming in 1595 and 1598 by the English and in 1625 by the Dutch.



The colony's economy depended upon the mining of placer GOLD until the 1530s, when the gold ran out, and then the island shifted to a subsistence mode. In 1512 the Spanish introduced SUGAR cultivation, but the colony did not have the resources to support its growth as an economic base. As a result, the colonists shifted to growing ginger in the early years and TOBACCO and CACAO by the 1600s. It was not until the 18th century that Puerto Rico became a major sugar producer and an important cog in the Spanish colonial system.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

**Purchas, Samuel** (1577–1626) *minister, editor*

A LONDON-based minister who edited and published travel accounts in order to encourage the English colonization of North America.

Born in Thaxted, Essex, Purchas attended St. John's College, Cambridge, receiving his B.A. in 1597 and his M.A. in 1600. Although he held various ministerial positions, Purchas spent much of his time and energy gathering travel accounts. In 1613 he published *Purchas his Pilgrimage* in London, an account based on his reading of perhaps 700 distinct accounts. In his note to the reader at the front of the book, he made his intentions clear: "I here bring Religion from Paradise to the Arke," he wrote, "and thence follow her round about the World, and (for her sake) observe the World it selfe, with the severall Countries and peoples therein; the Cheife Empires and States; their private and publique Customes; their manifold chances and changes; also the wonderfull and most remarkable effects of Nature; Events of Divine and Humane Providence, Rarities of Art; and whatsoever I find by relations of Historians, as I passe, most worthie the writing. Religion is my more proper aime, and therefore I insit longer on the description of whatsoever I finde belonging thereto[.]" He then proceeded to lay out the contents of his massive book in four parts. The first part dealt with the "Relations and Theologicall discoveries of Asia, Africa, and America." The second section included texts relating to Europe. He filled the third and fourth parts with what he called a "Christian and Ecclesiasticall Historie" from antiquity to the present. Purchas relied on 700 different sources for this book, but

the text reflects his rewriting and use of these accounts. In that sense it was a dramatic departure from the strategy used earlier by the Venetian compiler GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO or Purchas's English predecessor, RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER.

Sometime after he completed the work for his book, Purchas met Hakluyt, who offered Purchas the use of books and manuscripts that Purchas used for a second edition of his *Pilgrimage*, published in London in 1614. Those loans, in addition to other materials Purchas had gathered, allowed him to draw on approximately 1,000 authorities for the second edition. He spent the mid-1610s acquiring more works, quite possibly from Hakluyt, who died on November 23, 1616. In 1617 he published the third edition of his *Pilgrimage*. This volume included yet more new accounts, including accounts of events during the early 1610s. His versions of travel accounts, like those that had appeared in Hakluyt's work, shaped other commentators' understanding of the earth. Thus, when Peter Heylyn published his *Microcosmus, or a little description of the great world* in Oxford in 1621, he drew much of his material from Purchas's work.

In January 1625 the London printer Henry Fetherstone printed Purchas's greatest effort, a work now entitled *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*. Published in four volumes, this book represented two kinds of shifts for Purchas. First, he had access to a far greater number of travel accounts than he had earlier. Second, he followed Hakluyt's strategy of publishing versions of travelers' accounts in their own words. When Purchas gave a copy of his work to King JAMES I, the king asked him the difference between the new work and the old (which, he mentioned, he had read seven times). Though the books were similar in many ways, they "differ in the object and subject," Purchas responded, the 1625 *Pilgrimage* "being mine own in matter (though borrowed) and in forme of words and method: Whereas my *Pilgrims* are the Authors themselves, acting their owne parts in their own words, onely furnished by me with such necessities as that stage further required, and ordered according to my rules; here is a *Pilgrimage* to the Temples of the Worlds Citie, religionis ergo, with obvious and occasionall view of other things; there is a full Voyage, and in a method of Voyages, the whole Citie of the World, propounded together with the Temples; here the soule and some accessories, there the body and soule of the remoter World[.]" Or, as one scholar later noted, the first book was a work of religious geography, the second a collection of materials to be used to compile a history.

Purchas never gained the reputation that Hakluyt achieved, but whatever the relative merits of their work, one fact is clear: An audience existed to purchase these enormous collections of travel accounts. Purchas, like



Hakluyt, brought to the attention of readers the exploits of travelers such as the Englishman ANDREW BATTEL, who went to Africa, cast doubt on the report of DAVID INGRAM's alleged journey from FLORIDA to Canada, and provided, in a remarkable part of his 1625 work, an entire history of MEXICO told through a series of pictures. Purchas also had an ability to get his hands on texts that had enormous significance at the time. His great work included, for example, all of the major narratives relating to the journey of Henry Hudson, who had led exploratory journeys for the English in 1607 and 1608, for the Dutch in 1609 (when he made his famous trip to modern-day New York), and again for the English in 1610. That last expedition went badly. Hudson's crew rebelled in June 1611 and put him and a small group of his mates into a small ship (known as a shallop), casting them into James Bay. Purchas managed to obtain narratives from each journey, including Hudson's last known journal entries and other documents relating to his voyages. By doing so, he proved that he was, if not Hakluyt's equal, then at least successful in finding ways to print crucial manuscripts.

By the time he died the English settlements at Virginia had become more stable after their precarious start, and a group of English PURITANS, known as Pilgrims, had begun their colonization of New England. Purchas died in September 1626 and was buried at St. Martin's Church in Ludgate.

**Further reading:** Loren E. Pennington, ed., *The Purchas Handbook: Studies in the Life, Times, and Writings of Samuel Purchas, 1577–1626*, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd Ser., 185–186 (London, Hakluyt Society, 1997).

## Puritans

English Protestants who believed that the REFORMATION had not sufficiently rid the church of Catholic influences were called first by their enemies and later by themselves Puritans.

The Reformation in England began in the reign of HENRY VIII (1509–47) and continued in the short reign of his son, Edward VI (1547–53). MARY I (1553–58), a Catholic, attempted to re-establish Catholicism, an effort that led some religious dissenters to flee England for the Continent, where they gained greater knowledge about Reformation ideas from JOHN CALVIN, Huldrych Zwingli, and Martin Bucer. After Mary's death ELIZABETH I (1558–1603) promoted Protestantism and aimed to settle religious disputes by establishing a theologically Protestant church that retained some liturgical elements of Catholicism.

From the beginning of the English Reformation, there were those who argued that the English church must be

further purified. These Puritans, as they were later called, objected to certain holdovers from Catholic practice such as the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, the wearing of priestly vestments during the liturgy, and the retention of the office of bishops. Further, these religious dissenters disagreed with the open membership policies of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By law, each person born in England was a member of the national church (unless he or she adhered to a non-Christian faith), and every person was thus obligated to support the church through taxation. Dissenters disagreed with this aspect of Anglican theology. Following the logic put forth by St. Augustine, they believed that there were two churches. One church included everyone God had designated for salvation (the “invisible” church); the other included all individuals who adhered to the tenets of Christianity but who might or might not be destined for salvation (the “visible” church). As a result, reformers who objected to certain features of the Anglican church had to decide whether the Church of England, despite its flaws, was a “true” church, or whether its failings obligated believers to leave it and congregate with other true Christians (those destined for salvation). Puritans answered the question both ways: many stayed within the established church, although they might also meet with other like-minded worshipers for private prayer and study. Others, known as Separatists, rejected the Anglican Church and formed their own churches, which were generally small and prone to further division. All Puritans thought of themselves as a holy community of “elect” Christians who sought to live in holy brotherhood. Their theology was noteworthy for its commitment to the doctrine of predestination, the idea that God had, from the beginning of time, chosen some human beings to be saved and others to be damned.

Elizabeth I, hoping to end religious contention during her reign, persecuted both Catholics and Puritans to ensure the survival of her religious settlement. Archbishop John Whitgift, with Elizabeth's support, required ministers to swear to their support of the Anglican Church, including the monarch's status as “Supreme Governor” of the church and the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Many Puritans objected to the *Book of Common Prayer*, and their refusal to subscribe to this text led to the suspension of hundreds of Protestant ministers.

At the end of the 16th century, dissenters continued to find defects in the Church of England and its clergy. In 1600 the Puritan theologian Francis Johnson enumerated 91 erroneous elements of Anglican practice. Among the dissenters' objections was the fact that many individuals who became priests lacked the necessary training for their posts. Some who held office were, according to Puritan protests, “Dumme Doggs, Unskilful sacrificing priestes, Destroyeing Drones, or rather Caterpillars of the Word”—features that



A Puritan Family: woodcut, 1563, from *The Whole Psalms in Four Parts* (The Granger Collection)

would not have been surprising among a people whom one Puritan writer identified as being artisans (such as tailors and shoemakers) or uneducated workers before receiving their appointments. In one of their characteristically caustic volumes, a Puritan writer catalogued the sins committed by clerics in one county in 1586. One was “a notorious swearer, a dicer, a carder, a hawker and hunter, a verie careless person” who had had “a childe by a maid since he was instituted and inducted,” while another “kept a whore long time in his house” and was “unable to preach,” while yet another was “thrice presented for a drunkard.” “With such men for ministers,” the historian Edmund Morgan concluded, “the Puritans foresaw that the membership of the Church of England could never be anything but ignorant, degraded, and corrupt.”

Puritans made repeated protests about the systemic flaws in the Church of England. They argued that local churches needed the authority to punish an individual who had committed a sin, but that power lay vested in the higher officials of the clerical establishment. Unable to

purge themselves of individuals whose presence in church would have been, they argued, an insult to God, the dissenters claimed that the Church of England could never be improved, let alone purified. Such beliefs led Puritans to embrace the concept of congregationalism, in which each church would choose its own officers and keep its members in line. Such an organization would also allow the Puritans to do what they wanted most of all: to exclude individuals they deemed unworthy.

Given their criticism against clerical authorities in England, the Puritans often found themselves persecuted. In response, some chose to leave England for the Continent, where they settled among like-minded Protestants. Others chose to stay in England, where they often suffered for their views until after the English civil war of the 1640s. Yet others, arguably the most famous, decided to take their chances in the new English colonies on the eastern shores of North America. Puritans thus came to dominate the so-called Great Migration to New England, which began with the founding of Plymouth in 1620 and extended to 1642. It was thus in New England that Puritans had the opportunity to create churches along the lines they had envisioned, to fulfill their spiritual goals. Over time they would discover how difficult it could be to gather the members of the invisible church together and to maintain godly communities.

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—Martha K. Robinson



## Quetzalcoatl

Literally “Plumed” or “Feathered Serpent,” the patron god of the city of CHOLULA and one of the major gods in several Mesoamerican pantheons.

Most often portrayed as a mixture of serpent and bird, Quetzalcoatl was prominent in Mesoamerican pantheons as far back as the OLMECS, and a temple dedicated to this god at TEOTIHUACÁN suggests that his cult in the central Mexican region dates back to at least the third century A.D. In his aspect as wind, he is referred to as Ehécatl. According to many Mesoamerican creation accounts, it was he, along with TEZCATLIPOCA, who rescued the bones of the people from the underworld after the previous extinction of all life on earth, thereby creating the present race of humanity. Other accounts portray these two gods as adversaries. Quetzalcoatl was patron of rulers, priests, and merchants, inventor of agriculture and writing, as well as patron of the city of Cholula, which was to become the main pilgrimage center for devotees of this god during the late postclassical period.

Sixteenth-century European documents tend to conflate the god Quetzalcoatl with the historical Ce Acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, a notably pacifist king of the TOLTECS. It is possibly because of this conflation that Spanish accounts of Aztec religion tend to portray the god Quetzalcoatl as averse to bloodshed. This does not, in fact, seem to have been the case, because his priests participated in the sacrificial rites of most festivals in TENOCHTITLÁN,

including the bloody days-long dedication of the great temple to HUITZILOPOCHTLI and TLÁLOC during the reign of Ahuítzotl. Earlier generations of historians repeated the tale told in Spanish chronicles that the AZTECS, or at least MOCTEZUMA II, believed that HERNÁN CORTÉS or one of his men was Quetzalcoatl incarnate and that this was one of the reasons for the invaders’ easy entry into Tenochtitlán and subsequent imprisonment of its great speaker. However, historians tend to put this theory far down the list of possible explanations for the Aztecs’ defeat. If nothing else, any belief that Cortés was indeed that (or any other) god would have been called into question by the time the Spaniards reached Tenochtitlán, having slaughtered many of the inhabitants of Quetzalcoatl’s sacred city of Cholula along the march from the coast.

**Further reading:** Alfredo López Austin, et al., “The Temple of Quetzalcoatl at Teotihuacán,” *Ancient Mesoamerica* 2 (1991): 93–105; Nigel Davies, *The Aztec Empire: The Toltec Resurgence* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Mary Miller and Karl Taube, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Mexico and the Maya: An Illustrated Dictionary of Mesoamerican Religion* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1993); William M. Ringle, et al., “The Return of Quetzalcoatl: Evidence for the Spread of a World Religion during the Epiclassic Period,” *Ancient Mesoamerica* 9 (1998): 183–232.

—Marie A. Kelleher





# R



**Raleigh, Sir Walter (Raleigh)** (1552?–1618) *explorer, colonizer*

The adventurer, poet, and close associate of Queen ELIZABETH I whose efforts to establish English settlements along the Atlantic coasts of North and South America failed and led to his execution.

Early in his life, perhaps when he was as young as 15, Raleigh joined a group of English soldiers who took it upon themselves to fight in France to help persecuted HUGUENOTS there. After his return he enrolled at Oriel College, Oxford, but took no degree and three years later was studying law at the Middle Temple, one of the Inns of Court in LONDON (and a place inhabited by, among others, RICHARD HAKLUYT THE ELDER). He later rose to prominence from his actions during the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland when he, along with his half brother, SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, led devastating raids against Irish Catholics. When he returned to England, Queen Elizabeth became interested in him and in the early 1580s gave him a patent for territory along the east coast of North America. In 1584 Raleigh led an expedition across the Atlantic and sailed along the coast from present-day FLORIDA to the Carolinas. In honor of his patroness, he named the territory Virginia. In 1585 he led another expedition and left a party of English colonists at ROANOKE, although the colony failed and the colonists could not be found when the English came to look for them in 1588, after the defeat of the SPANISH ARMADA made transatlantic voyages safer. In addition to his disappointment in America, Raleigh also fell out of favor with the queen when he fell in love with Elizabeth (Bess) Throckmorton, daughter of Elizabeth's late ambassador to Paris and herself an attendant of the queen. She was possibly pregnant when they married in secret, and the queen was so furious when she found out about their relationship that Raleigh lost his standing in court.

Despite these shortcomings, he had the support of Elizabeth for a venture to Guiana, along the northern coast of South America, in 1595. He led an expedition

up the Orinoco River and returned to England with high hopes for a more sustained expedition. Like other promoters of colonization, he claimed religious motives first. In a pamphlet he apparently wrote, known as "Of the Voyage for Guiana" and probably written in 1596, Raleigh noted that it was an "honorable" venture because English success in Guiana would mean that "infinite numbers of souls may be brought from their idolatry, bloody sacrifices, ignorance, and incivility to the worshiping of the true God[.]" Victory for England also would mean victory for the Protestant cause, a campaign dear to the heart of the queen. As Raleigh put it, conversion to Protestant religion would free Indians "from the intolerable tyranny of the Spaniards whereunto they are already or likely in short space to be subjected, unless her Majesty or some other christian prince do speedily assist and protect them." Such a development would stop the Spanish from boasting "of their great adventures for the propagation of the gospel" and thus add to the reputation of Elizabeth herself "upon the earth to all posterity[.]" Raleigh also added that establishing a colony in Guiana would enable the English to gain access to GOLD, SILVER, pearls, and precious stones. Through Guiana they might also reach PERU and other territory then under Spanish control. Finally, an English presence in Guiana would thwart any further Spanish designs on England because it would force the enemy to maintain a military presence there and thus lessen their force elsewhere.

However, Guiana became a disaster for Raleigh. The publication of his book entitled *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana* in 1596 allowed Raleigh to become the acknowledged leader of an adventure crucial to the English state, yet enthusiasm did not translate into success. Although he had proven himself a superb military commander during English attacks on Cádiz in 1596 and in the AZORES in 1597, support for his Guiana venture faded when Elizabeth died in 1603. Upon her death he lost his property and, accused of a



Sir Walter Raleigh (Library of Congress)

plot to murder King JAMES I, was jailed in the Tower of London along with his family. He remained there for 13 years. During that time he wrote his massive *History of the World*.

When he got out of the Tower in 1616 he once again led a mission to Guiana, but this mission proved more disastrous than any other in his life. James, unlike Elizabeth, had no desire to annoy the Spanish, and so he ordered Raleigh not to trespass on Spanish territory but, instead, to explore areas (such as the Orinoco) where the Spanish had not yet established colonial settlements. On the voyage across the Atlantic, storms weakened and delayed his fleet, and a fever raced among the men, killing many, including Raleigh's son. The expedition was also a financial disaster. A mine Raleigh had believed would be a source of great stores of gold could not be worked because the route to the mine was almost impassable and he could not get the local Indians to work for him. When Raleigh returned to England in 1618, he arrived in disgrace. Worse still, the Spanish had interpreted his actions as a threat to their American property. When the ambassador to England complained that Raleigh and his forces were responsible for destroying a Spanish post at San Tomás, Raleigh was again committed to the Tower of London. Tried on vari-

ous charges, including an accusation that he tried to bring England and Spain into war against each other, that he had deceived others about the potential of the mine, and that he had been "unfaithful" to the king, James ordered his execution.

On October 29, 1618, the day after he received his final sentence, Raleigh was beheaded in front of a large crowd. After showing his head to the crowd, the executioners presented it to Bess, who allegedly put it in a red leather bag. She had the head embalmed and later displayed it to visitors.

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**Ramusio, Giovanni Battista (Giambattista)** (1485–1557) *scholar*

A Venetian civil servant whose massive collection of travel accounts, published in VENICE in the 1550s, became a vital source of knowledge about the world beyond Europe's borders for readers across the Continent.

Born in Treviso in July 1485, Giovanni was the son of Paolo Ramusio, who was trained in the law but worked as a translator, publishing Valturio's *Precepta Militaria* in Verona in 1483. Paolo died in 1506. By that time his son, who had gone to Padua for study, was well on his way to a career in the Venetian civil service. In 1505 he began work as a chancellery clerk, traveling with Alvise Mocenigo, the Venetian envoy to France. During the trip he went to Blois, Tours, and probably Paris. By the time of his return in May 1507, he was such an expert in French that his linguistic skills became renowned in the republic. His knowledge put him into contact with the highest echelons of the Venetian state because the doge himself called upon the young Ramusio to serve as a translator for him. In 1515 he became a secretary to the senate, where he remained for 18 years. In 1533 he took a position as secretary to the Council of Ten, one of the ruling bodies of the Venetian republic that worked from the ducal palace. He kept that position for the rest of his working life. During his time in Venice he became close to a number of leading scholars of his day, including Girolamo Frascatoro (1483–1553), Andrea Navagero (1483–1529), and Pietro Bembo (1470–1547). When Navagero and Bembo, each of whom served time as the curator of the Biblioteca Marciana, traveled, Ramusio

substituted in running Venice's marvelous library, work that often entailed finding material for the absent curators.

There are few extant details about Ramusio's life, but there is no doubt about his greatest achievement: the publication of an enormous three-volume set of travel accounts published under the title *Navigazioni e Viaggi*. The books included the reports of travelers across the world. Ramusio at one point recorded why he decided the project was so important. "Seeing and considering that the maps of Ptolemy's *Geographia* describing Africa and India were very imperfect in respect of the great knowledge that we have of those regions," he wrote in the first volume of the *Navigazioni*, published in 1550, "I thought it proper and perhaps not a little useful to bring together the narrations of writers of our day who have been in the aforesaid parts of the world and spoken of them in detail, so that, supplementing them from the description in the Portuguese nautical charts, other maps could be made to give the greatest satisfaction to those who take pleasure in such knowledge."

Ramusio apparently had little initial interest in publishing the results of his scholarly research. During his age many scholars were content to circulate their manuscripts to small groups of like-minded individuals. But by the late 1540s he had decided that publication made sense. Because Venice was one of the publishing centers of Europe (see PRINTING PRESS), and because its merchants were the crucial intermediaries between East and West, he could not have been in a better place. Because he knew Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Spanish, French, and Portuguese, he was able to translate a wide variety of texts into Italian. The decision to publish in Italian instead of Latin meant that his texts would have readers who were not scholars. Perhaps as a result of Ramusio's decision, other sets of travel accounts published in the 16th century also appeared in vernacular instead of classical languages.

Ramusio's books gave to European readers information that none had ever seen before. In the first volume of the *Navigazioni*, published in 1550, Ramusio included LEO AFRICANUS's masterful and detailed description of Africa, as well as other writings such as the Venetian Alvise Ca'da Mosto's account of his trip to Africa, PEDRO ÁLVARES CABRAL's report of his journey to India, the report of VASCO DA GAMA, and AMERIGO VESPUCCI's so-called Soderini letter describing South America. The second volume, published in 1559 (after the publication of the third volume), included the account of MARCO POLO and various accounts of travelers across Europe. The third volume, published in 1556, included accounts of the Western Hemisphere. Ramusio included a summary of PETER MARTYR's *Decades of the New World*, accounts relating to the expeditions of FRANCISCO CORONADO in

search of the Seven Cities of Cibola, reports on HERNÁN CORTÉS's conquest of MEXICO, and a report by one of FRANCISCO PIZARRO's men of the Spanish conquest of PERU. This volume also included the first publication of some of the reports of JACQUES CARTIER's expeditions to Canada, which Ramusio translated from French into Italian before the accounts were published in France, and also the "Natural and General History of the West Indies" by his associate GONZALO FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS, a work that included a depiction of CORN (maize) that became the standard view of the plant in early modern Europe.

Ramusio's collection had an enormous influence on others who decided to publish travel accounts, such as RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER and SAMUEL PURCHAS. Unlike those later English editors, however, Ramusio did not link the translation and publication of reports to any obvious political agenda. Instead, he seemed interested primarily in promoting the better understanding of geography and recognized the invaluable contributions that firsthand accounts made in expanding knowledge about the nations and resources of the earth. He wanted his texts to commemorate, as he put it, "the greatest and most marvellous things which our age has seen"—things about the "many and varied countries of this globe never known to the ancients." Still, although he made no obvious link between his translations and any desire to reignite imperial ambitions in Venice, Ramusio did hope to profit from a venture he set up with Oviedo. According to the scheme, Oviedo would arrange for the shipment of goods from HISPANIOLA to Venice, where Ramusio and others would sell them. There is little evidence that this commerce had much success.

Ramusio died in July 1557 and was buried in the Chiesa della Madonna dell' Orto. Although his grave can no longer be identified, the church sits on a quiet edge of Venice, its bell tower looking out over the Adriatic Sea. The great Renaissance painter Jacobo Tintoretto (1518–94) is buried there, also, and his paintings alone, including his series of the "Last Judgment," make a pilgrimage to the church well worth the effort.

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## Reconquista

Beginning in the late eighth century and ending in 1492, the Reconquista, or reconquest, was a campaign aimed at reclaiming the Iberian Peninsula from Muslims, who had invaded in 711.

The Reconquista began almost immediately after the Muslims had solidified their hold on the Iberian Peninsula, or modern-day Spain and Portugal. Muslim forces had crossed into Spain from present-day Morocco in 711 as a part of the dramatic expansion of ISLAM during the first 100 years after the prophet Muhammad's death in 632. Under the command of the general al-Tariq (after whom the Strait of Gibraltar would later be named in honor of his crossing) and his successors, a combined Arab-Berber army pressed northward, to be stopped only between Tours and Poitiers in 732 in a confrontation with Frankish forces under the command of Charles Martel.

The first phase of the Reconquista took place under the leadership of the grandson of Charles Martel. Charlemagne, or Charles I, dispatched a force southward from France across the Pyrenees to create a "Spanish march," or frontier in northeastern Spain. The progress of the Reconquista for the next several centuries was slow. The turning point came between 1010 and 1031, beginning with the Christian victory over and sack of the Muslim capital of Cordoba and ending with the collapse of the entire caliphate into fragmented *taifa* kingdoms. Many of these entities became tributary states to the Christian kingdoms, making regular payments, known as *parias*, in exchange for protection from both Christian and Muslim foes.

The relationship between Christian and Muslim states in the Iberian Peninsula during the 10th through the 15th century defies simple characterization. Despite gradual Christian advances and occasional important victories, an eventual Christian victory was never assured. Christian advances were often the impetus for Muslim religious and political revivals that shifted the balance of power for a time. On the other hand, relations were never exclusively inimical; both Christian and Muslim states were home to members of the other religion, as well as large Jewish communities. Both Muslim and Christian governments tried to limit interaction between the religious factions, but with little success. Normal political activity was also part of the relations between the two sides in the Reconquista. For example, there were Catalan ambassadors at the court of the caliph of Cordoba as early as the mid-10th century.

The Reconquista stalled temporarily during the political troubles endemic to the Christian kingdoms during the first half of the 15th century but received a boost when the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 revived the moribund crusading ideal—the idea of papally sanctioned holy war against enemies of the faith. The marriage of FERDINAND AND ISABELLA in 1479 helped to create the

political stability necessary for a successful Christian effort, and the combined kingdoms of Aragón and CASTILE were now able to lay aside their centuries'—old differences and unite their armies in the common cause of conquering the kingdom of Granada, the last Muslim-ruled political entity in the peninsula.

The final phase of the Reconquista began with the Christian conquest of Alhama in 1482 and continued over the next 10 years, detaching one region after another from the kingdom of Granada until only the capital city remained. The success of the Christian advance was in part due to the internal political struggles of the Muslim kingdom, dissension that the Catholic monarchs skillfully manipulated to their advantage.

The capture of the city of Granada in January of 1492 ended the reconquest on Spanish soil, but it gave birth to a new phase of fighting to vanquish or convert enemies of the faith beyond the water's edge. Spanish forces attempted—and largely failed—to establish a Christian foothold across the Strait of Gibraltar. Although these efforts were largely unsuccessful, it is worth noting that it was only three months after the Christian entry into Granada and only six miles away, in the town of Santa Fe, that an agreement was reached on the terms for the voyage of the Genoese sailor CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. The establishment of NEW SPAIN and the activities of both CONQUISTADORES and Christian missionaries would carry the ideal of the Reconquista into the early modern period.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## reducción

A Spanish policy demanding that Native Americans live apart from colonial society so that missionaries could convert indigenous peoples to Christianity and Spanish culture.

In northern Argentina and Paraguay FRANCISCANS first began the process of *reducción*, or reduction, of Native Americans. This process involved isolating Native communities from outside influences other than missionaries. Although the Franciscans started the process, JESUITS perfected the method. With the *reducciones* Jesuits hoped to eliminate negative influences by Spanish colonists upon the Native population. In this way they hoped to use intensive indoctrination to convert Natives to Christianity and



Spanish culture. Not only did the isolation promote the conversion process, it also protected indigenous peoples from slave raiders. However, by congregating Native Americans onto reserves, the missionaries increased their exposure to European DISEASES and inadvertently promoted the spread of epidemics.

Although *reducción* was the official Jesuit mission policy and became common in South America, many aspects of *reducciones* were used throughout Spanish America during the colonial era. Most of the *reducciones* were self-sufficient from cultivating European and American crops, raising cattle, HORSES, sheep, and various other items, and what they could not produce for themselves they bought with the surplus that they created.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## Reformation

In the 16th century a series of reforms, attempted reforms, and religious crises led to a permanent split in the historic unity of western European Christianity, creating a permanent split between Catholic and Protestant churches.

The Reformation, scholars note, began in 1517, when the German monk MARTIN LUTHER protested against the sale of indulgences, but the roots of the Reformation extend further back. Many observers have noted that the thought of the 14th-century English reformer John Wycliffe, the 15th-century Bohemian reformer Jan Hus, and the lay religious movement known as the Modern Devotion all contributed to its origins. Such reformers sought a simpler, more egalitarian faith and complained of corruption within the church. Reaction to these movements was varied: While the Modern Devotion faced relatively little opposition, Wycliffe was convicted of heresy, and Hus was burned at the stake.

On the eve of the Reformation, critics and reformers complained about the wealth and corruption of Rome, about the sale of indulgences and church offices, and about absentee priests who lived off money collected in their parishes but did no pastoral service there. They also objected to a system of fees and tithes that redistributed money into the church's coffers, and some complained about the dry formalism of scholastic theology. These calls did not lead inevitably to the Reformation; many critics stayed within the church and sought internal reforms (see COUNTERREFORMATION). Nor was the church universally reviled. One historian has suggested that critiques of the church coexisted with "extravagant lay devotion to a con-

ventional, ritualized, often materialistic piety." Another has even argued that the term *Reformation* be used with care, in part because the term itself implies that the Reformation replaced "a bad form of Christianity [with] a good one."

Important reformers included Luther, JOHN CALVIN, Huldrych Zwingli, HENRY VIII, and John Knox. The early reformers initially sought to rescue a church that they believed had strayed, not to cause a schism in Christianity. But the church did not accept the reformers' theological ideas or implement their proposed reforms, and as religious wars spread across much of Europe the reformers tended to grow more convinced that the Catholic Church could not be rehabilitated.

The Reformation itself was characterized by great diversity of opinion, but most Reformation thinkers and movements can be placed into one of four groups: Lutherans, Reformed, Anglicans (see CHURCH OF ENGLAND), and radicals.

### Lutherans

Luther was the first great theologian of Protestantism. He introduced two crucial theological ideas that most reformers came to defend: the belief in justification by faith alone (*sola fide*) and the conviction that the church should base itself on scripture alone (*sola scriptura*). He also rejected papal claims to authority, proclaimed the centrality of the Bible (and translated the New Testament into German), redefined the significance of the Eucharist, and rejected the cult of the saints and the veneration of relics. His ideas roused great controversy, and Pope LEO X excommunicated him in 1520. The following year, upon his refusal to recant his beliefs, he was condemned as a heretic and declared an outlaw by Holy Roman Emperor CHARLES V at the Diet of Worms.

Luther's ideas spread rapidly, aided by popular sermons, religious plays, and the publication of pamphlets via the new technology of the PRINTING PRESS. Luther's ideas of Christian liberty helped spark a devastating Peasants' Rebellion in 1525, although Luther himself condemned the revolt. Intermittent religious wars continued in the Holy Roman Empire until 1555, when the Peace of Augsburg decreed that a region would be Catholic or Lutheran depending on the personal religious affiliation of its prince. By 1560 Lutheranism had become the dominant religion in Scandinavia and much of Germany, especially in urban areas.

### Reformed Churches

Theologically, the Reformed churches had much in common with Lutheranism. Like Luther, they accepted justification through faith and the authority of scripture. Likewise, they placed great emphasis on Christianity as a religion of the word, and so emphasized literacy,



A small crowd gathers to watch as Martin Luther directs the posting of his Ninety-five Theses to the door of the church in Wittenberg. (*Library of Congress*)

preaching, and teaching over ritual. Congregants in the Reformed churches generally felt that Luther had been too willing to compromise with Catholic custom in such matters as the retention of images in churches. They were perhaps most notable for their emphasis on religion as a community matter.

The city of Geneva, where John Calvin's ideas had transformed the church and the community, was particularly important in Reformed religion. It served as a home for refugees and a training ground for ministers. These missionaries then founded congregations in France and elsewhere, spreading Reformed patterns of religion. The Genevan pattern of close cooperation between civil and church authorities influenced Reformed churches in other cities, as did its fourfold division of church offices into pastors, teachers, elders, and the consistory. Reformed churches emphasized duty and the need to live an orderly

life, one of obedience, modesty, temperance, and diligence. This religious pattern had particular relevance for urban artisans, lawyers, and tradesmen, and scholars have observed that the devotion to secular duty and hard work promoted by Reformed churches proved to fit well in a capitalist economy. Reformed churches, like Lutheran ones, thrived in urban environments. Reformed cities included Basel, Bern, Constance, Geneva, and Zurich. Although the Reformed movement was strongest in western Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, it also reached Scotland and parts of France and England.

### ***Anglicans***

Lutheran ideas reached England by the 1520s, but clerical authorities initially suppressed them. By the late 1520s King HENRY VIII was enmeshed in matrimonial difficulties. His wife, Catherine of Aragón, had borne several



children, but only one, a daughter, had survived. Henry hoped for a son and petitioned the pope to annul his marriage, freeing him to marry his mistress, Anne Boleyn. The pope, under pressure from Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, refused. This problem, combined with political rivalries between England and other states and the king's irritation at the English clergy, convinced Henry that he should assert his dominance over the church in England. In 1534 PARLIAMENT passed the Act of Supremacy, declaring the king to be "the supreme head of the Church of England."

The Reformation took greater shape during the reign of Henry VIII's daughter, Queen ELIZABETH I. Religious controversies had worsened during the reigns of Edward VI and MARY I, and Elizabeth sought to end religious disputes in England. Her Act of Supremacy of 1559 established her status as "Supreme Governor" of the church and mandated the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Nonetheless, the Anglican church also retained some Catholic elements, such as a governing structure of bishops and a greater use of ritual than was common in Lutheran or Reformed churches. Elizabeth was not a religious zealot, but she wanted stability and expected English subjects to adhere, at least nominally, to the Church of England. Those who publicly refused, whether Catholics or PURITANS, faced persecution.

### Radicals

The term *radical Reformation* covers a wide range of groups that had little in common with one another. In general, most radical groups believed that the world would end soon and hoped to restore the practices of the earliest Christian churches, including the holding of goods in common. Unlike other Reformation churches, which saw themselves as including every member of a city or territory, from the very dedicated to the nominal believers, radical groups tended to consist of a small number of core believers. Many of these groups rejected infant baptism, earning the name Anabaptists, or "re-baptizers."

The radicals took the principle of "scripture alone" further than the major reformers ever would. While Luther, Calvin, and others argued that scripture was the sole authority, they also believed that it must be studied and interpreted by theological experts. Untrained laypeople were incapable of discovering for themselves the meaning of the scriptures. Many radicals argued that anyone could read and understand the Bible. The diversity of the radical churches only increased when some sects claimed that believers might receive the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

Major radical leaders included Conrad Grebel, Hans Hut, Thomas Müntzer, and Jan Matthijs. The radicals distrusted political and religious elites and often drew their membership from among the poor. The radicals' theologi-

cal novelties, rejection of political authority, and apparent links to the Peasants' War led both Catholic and Protestant authorities to persecute them. Radical communities existed in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands.

### Effects of the Reformation

By 1560 Protestantism was firmly established in much of Europe. England, Scotland, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, many of the cities of the Holy Roman Empire, parts of France, and parts of eastern Europe had adopted one or another of the Protestant faiths. Areas that remained officially Catholic, including France, Spain, and Italy, also saw religious change, as internal reform impulses and the desire to challenge Protestantism led to the Counterreformation.

In Protestant areas the Reformation changed patterns of religious observance. Such traditional practices and beliefs as the veneration of Mary and the saints, the doctrine of purgatory, compulsory fasting, and clerical celibacy were abolished or limited in many European cities and territories. The number of sacraments was reduced from seven to two (or, in some areas, three), and the Catholic administrative structure of priests and bishops was swept away.

What effect did the reformers' messages have on ordinary Christian believers? As a general rule, it appears that most people heard about the reformers from preachers and pamphlets. Their initial response, drawing on a combination of anticlericalism and irritation at Catholic church failings, was often enthusiastic. Such early ardor encouraged the reformers to believe that their efforts were blessed by God and to expect widespread conversions to the new faith. Reformers wrote catechisms to express important beliefs in simple, easily understood ways. They encouraged literacy in order to allow people to read the Bible and come to a more thorough understanding of their faith. Nonetheless, their early hopes were frustrated. In an age of limited literacy, it is unlikely that the reformers' theological ideas, many of which were complex, were readily understood by the peasants and artisans who heard or read (or had read to them) the works of Protestant propagandists.

As the Protestant churches established themselves and came to accommodations with secular authorities, the enthusiasm of the early years died down. Protestantism, rather than representing a challenge to authority, became a new authority. Ministers often found their initial high hopes of a better educated, more pious, more dedicated population frustrated. They complained that they could reach only a minority of true believers, while a larger number of lukewarm adherents showed little interest in or understanding of religion.

Protestant reformers rejected the medieval Catholic ideal of the monastic life. They denied that the celibate life of priests, monks, and nuns was better than that of

other people, and they praised family life. Ministers themselves married, and their sons sometimes became ministers. Because Protestants praised married life as a “calling” equal in value to any other, some scholars have suggested that the Reformation raised the status of women. Others have maintained that women’s status stayed much the same and that, if anything, the closing of the convents destroyed one of the few careers open to women in the 16th century.

The Reformation had important implications for the settlement of the Western Hemisphere when the colonizing European powers competed with one another in the race to found colonies. The Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Latin America and the French colonies in North America became Catholic, while the English colonies of North America included a range of Protestant churches.

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—Martha K. Robinson

**religion** See individual entries: AZTECS; CALVIN, JOHN; COUNTERREFORMATION; FOXE’S *BOOK OF MARTYRS*; FRANCISCANS; INCA; ISLAM; JEWS (JUDAISM); LUTHER, MARTIN; MAYA; PURITANS; RECONQUISTA; REFORMATION; SUFISM; TRENT, COUNCIL OF.

### **repartimiento**

A system of forced labor used during the early colonial era, the *repartimiento* forced indigenous people to work for Spanish colonial entities a certain percentage of the year.

Translated loosely as “distribution,” the *repartimiento* typically meant that indigenous communities in Spanish America had to provide one-seventh of the community’s male population to service for those Spaniards, local governments, and industries that had received a grant from the Crown, viceroalties, or other branches of the colonial government. All males between the ages of 18 and 55 participated within the *repartimiento* system when their term came around. Technically, each individual served only two to four months of labor and then was exempt for a full year, but the system did not always function in this fashion. Communities often received large labor assignments based on inaccurate censuses, and these requirements tended

to increase as Native populations decreased from abuse, starvation, and the introduction of European DISEASES. As time passed the length of service increased and the break between service requirements decreased. Some people served on local estates, and others were shipped to distant worksites. Any type of labor needed during the early colonial period, such as mining, farming, and ranching, among a host of others, received at least part of its workforce from the *repartimiento*. Many people avoided the *repartimiento* by migrating to those areas that did not have it. This created labor shortages in areas using the *repartimiento* and, in general, destabilized the labor force throughout Spanish America. Most of the work in *repartimientos* was intensive, dangerous, and debilitating. Eventually, wage labor and other forms of work relationships developed to replace the inefficient *repartimiento*.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

### **Requerimiento**

The *Requerimiento* (“Requirement”) was a document that Spanish explorers and conquerors read to Native Americans in order to claim authority over them and their lands (see Documents).

According to the *Requerimiento*, composed by the Spanish jurist Juan López de Palacios Rubios in 1513, God had given dominion over all people to St. Peter, and this grant of jurisdiction had descended from him to the popes. Because Pope Alexander VI had given authority over the “islands and mainland of the Ocean Sea to the Catholic kings of Spain,” the Spanish claimed that they had legitimate power over Indian lands and peoples.

The *Requerimiento* told Indians that they must submit to Spanish and Catholic authority and warned them that they would face severe penalties if they refused. It commanded Indians to recognize the authority of the Catholic Church and the Spanish monarch. The Indians also had to allow Spanish priests to preach among them. If they refused to submit to these new authorities, the *Requerimiento* continued, “I will enter forcefully against you, and I will make war everywhere and however I can, and I will subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and His Majesty, and I will take your wives and children and I will make them slaves . . . and I will take your goods, and I will do to you



all the evil and damages that a lord may do to vassals who do not obey or receive him. And I solemnly declare that the deaths and damages received from such will be your fault and not that of His Majesty, nor mine, nor of the gentlemen who came with me.” The *Requerimiento* allowed the Spanish to claim that any war they took part in against the Indians was a just war, because the Indians were resisting their legitimate authority. However, the *Requerimiento* did not have to be read in Indian languages, nor were the Spanish required to make sure the Indians understood what they were hearing. As the historian Patricia Seed observed, it might even be “read at full speed from the deck of a ship at night before a daytime raid [or] read to assembled empty huts and trees.”

The *Requerimiento* was controversial in Spain and derided in other European countries. The Spanish Dominican friar BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS wrote that the *Requerimiento* was “unjust, impious, scandalous, irrational and absurd” and added that he did not know “whether to laugh or cry” at its demands. The English, French, and Dutch had nothing resembling the *Requerimiento* in their colonial empires and so also criticized it. SIR WALTER RALEGH wrote, “No Christian prince, under the pretence of Christianity only, and of forcing of men to receive the gospel . . . may attempt the invasion of any free people not under their vassalage; for Christ gave not that power to Christians as Christians.”

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—Martha K. Robinson

### **Ricci, Matteo** (1552–1610) *missionary*

A member of the Society of Jesus (see JESUITS) who led the first successful Jesuit mission to China during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), Matteo Ricci spent 28 years in China, dying in Beijing as a universally admired and respected scholar, even though the Chinese converts he inspired were later disowned by the church.

Ricci was born in Macerata, Italy, on October 6, 1552. At the age of nine he entered the Jesuit school there and, after seven years of study, became a novice in the Society of Jesus in Rome. IGNATIUS LOYOLA founded the Jesuits in 1540 as part of the COUNTERREFORMATION against the



An illustration from a Chinese manuscript of the Jesuit missionary to China, Matteo Ricci, and his first convert (Hulton/Archive)

Protestants. Education and scholarship became an important part of their missionary enterprise. Ricci’s studies were not completed until May 1577, when he went to Portugal to learn the language, after which the church sent him to the Portuguese trading colony at Goa in India.

The Portuguese led the way in the European rediscovery of China in the early 16th century. Their efforts to establish an overseas empire in South and Southeast Asia centered on the dual pillars of trade and Christianity. Missionary work was frequently the most important part of their enterprise. With the establishment of a small colony at Macao (1555), in southeastern China, the Portuguese attempted to continue this pattern but met with serious difficulties.

China at the time was under the rule of the Ming (1368–1644), who had thrown off the yoke of the foreign Mongols to establish a native Chinese dynasty. As a result, China’s leaders were generally violently antiforeign, convinced of Chinese cultural superiority and determined to keep out unwanted foreign influences. The Chinese allowed the Portuguese to establish themselves at Macao because it was a small, unimportant place far removed

from China's commercial, cultural, and governmental centers. Local government officials rebuffed any efforts on the part of the Portuguese to send Catholic missionaries into the interior.

Arriving at Macao in 1582, Matteo Ricci was assigned to join a fellow Jesuit, Michele Ruggieri, in studying to speak, write, and read Chinese. Ricci was by this time a respected scholar possessed of an extremely acute memory. This ability helped him learn the 3,000 to 4,000 Chinese characters he needed to communicate with potential converts. Whereas missionary efforts of the Portuguese in India and the Spanish in America often were accompanied by fire and sword, the Jesuits chose a quieter, more patient path in China. Whether by accident or design, their choices of conscientious scholars capable of communicating in the native language were just the sort of people to impress Chinese officials and gentry, who greatly revered scholarship and learning.

In 1583 Ricci and Ruggieri were invited to reside with the governor of Gwangdong and Gwangxi Provinces in Zhaoqing. Chinese officials remained suspicious of the missionaries, suspecting that invading Portuguese troops might follow behind them, a reasonable fear at the time. As a result, they imposed serious restrictions on Ricci and Ruggieri. In order to reside in the interior, they were forced to adopt Chinese dress and subject themselves to imperial law. At first Ricci chose to wear the robes of a Chinese priest, but after 1594 he exchanged them for scholar's robes, a move that brought him a greater degree of respect and deference, as scholars in China had a much higher reputation than priests.

During his time at Zhaoqing Ricci impressed the Chinese by his diligent study of their language and literature and drew for them a map showing China in relation to the rest of the world that was widely (and illegally) reprinted throughout the nation. He did not attempt to make converts, and after seven years' residence the newly incoming governor forced him to return to Canton. He lived in several other provincial cities and towns, quietly making Chinese converts among the scholar gentry and translating major Chinese scholarly works into Latin and Western works into Chinese.

In 1598 Ricci was allowed to travel to Beijing, but he was unable to gain an audience with the emperor. After spending some time in Nanjing, he finally returned to Beijing in January 1601 and remained there the rest of his life. During his time there he impressed the emperor and his advisers with his knowledge of Western science and philosophy and his interest in Chinese literature and scholarship. He made a number of converts among the Chinese upper classes, but peasants and townsmen did not particularly interest him.

Ricci wrote frequently to Rome asking that an effort be made to send only the most learned and intelligent priests.

By the time of his death on May 11, 1610, Ricci was so admired by the imperial court that his burial plot was a personal gift of the emperor. Following the example set by Ricci, a series of highly gifted Jesuit missionaries took up residence in Beijing and managed to maintain a place close to the throne even after the Ming Dynasty had been overthrown by the Manchu Qing (1644–1911).

Ricci's influence was apparent before his death and continued well after. In the age when the PRINTING PRESS made it possible to disseminate information widely, Ricci's writing appeared in Chinese, Latin, Italian, French, and English, the latter in the work of SAMUEL PURCHAS. Printers in Rome, Paris, Lyon, London, and elsewhere recognized the value of Ricci's text. So do modern printers, who continue to reprint his work. His continuing appeal stems from Ricci's ability to describe Chinese society, paying attention to the rituals of its royals and commoners, its scholars and cities, and the games that people played there. At a time when Europeans were learning much about the inhabitants and resources of the Western Hemisphere, Ricci's writing served as a reminder of what could be found without crossing the Atlantic Ocean.

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—Paul Dunscomb

## Roanoke

The first English colony in North America, Roanoke proved a failure, and the disappearance of its colonists, sometime between 1587 and 1607, remains a mystery.

In the late 16th century SIR WALTER RALEGH hoped to strengthen England and improve its status by founding colonies in the NEW WORLD. England was a second-rate power, and the English feared the growing wealth and influence of Spain, which had become rich from its American possessions. Raleigh and other promoters of colonial ventures hoped that colonies would provide a Protestant bulwark against Catholic Spain and produce commodities needed by England. Successful colonies might also serve as a new home (or dumping ground) for the increasing number of poor people who seemed to threaten English stability and social order.

In 1584 Queen ELIZABETH I granted Raleigh the exclusive right to set up a colony in North America. He sent two ships, under the command of Philip Amadas and ARTHUR BARLOWE, to find a suitable site for a colony. Raleigh hoped to find a site that was close enough to the



West Indies to allow English privateers to use it as a base from which to launch raids on Spanish ships. In July 1585 Amadas and Barlowe reached the islands off the coast of present-day North Carolina. They reported that the land showed great promise and met and traded peacefully with the local Carolina ALGONQUIAN. They returned to England with a favorable report of the land and also brought two Indians with them, MANTEO, a Croatoan of high status, and WANCHESE, a Roanoke Indian. Both learned English and returned to America on a later voyage. Manteo and Wanchese also instructed THOMAS HARRIOT, who would become the great chronicler of the Roanoke colony, in their language.

Having heard the favorable reports of Amadas and Barlowe, Raleigh organized another voyage. This expedition, led by SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE, arrived at Roanoke in 1585. The colonists included gentlemen leaders; experts in engineering, surveying, and other subjects; and ordinary colonists of the “meaner sort.” Among the experts in the new colony were Harriot and JOHN WHITE, a gifted painter. Harriot’s book, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590), illustrated with engravings based on White’s painting, is a valuable source on the land and people of the region.

Although White and Harriot demonstrated that some of the English sought to understand their Indian neighbors, the colony found itself in trouble from the beginning. Many of the colonists were veterans of Irish and European wars. They were inclined to distrust the Indians and to suspect treachery at every turn. Their belief in English superiority was not matched by self-sufficiency. Instead, the English colonists who derided and distrusted the Indians were also dependent on them for food. When the Indians proved unwilling or unable to feed the colonists indefinitely, tensions increased.

Having practiced brutal warfare in Ireland, the English assumed that the Indians needed to be impressed by their power. Only if the Indians were afraid to attack the colonists, they thought, could there be peace. The colony’s commander, Sir Richard Grenville, soon antagonized the Indians. In an early incident, when Indians refused to return a silver cup that he believed they had stolen, he burned an Indian town and destroyed its CORN crop. Grenville soon returned to England, but the new governor, RALPH LANE, did no better. As relations between the Indians and colonists deteriorated, Lane blamed the Indians, claiming that they had conspired against the English. The arrival of the Europeans had indeed affected relations among Indian nations in the area, as some opposed permitting the English to stay while others sought to profit through trade or gain power by alliance with the newcomers. Nonetheless, Harriot suggested that most of the blame for deteriorating relations lay with the English, observing that the colonists



A Roanoke warrior, in a painting by John White, ca. 1587  
(Hulton/Archive)

were hated because “some of our company towards the end of the year, showed themselves too fierce, in slaying some of the people, in some towns, upon causes that on our part, might easily enough have been borne withall.” The year after its founding the colony was already failing. The surviving colonists returned to England with SIR FRANCIS DRAKE in 1586, departing in such a hurry that they left three Englishmen behind.

After the failure of the 1585–86 voyage, Raleigh tried again. The next expedition, in 1587, sought to avoid the mistakes of the earlier voyage. Rather than sending military men, Raleigh sent families and hoped to establish a self-sufficient colony based on agriculture. The new governor, JOHN WHITE, was a veteran of the earlier expedition and thus presumably familiar with the local environment, but this colony faced a serious problem from the beginning. The Indians of the region had already learned that the English were not to be trusted, and so, as the historian Karen Ordahl Kupperman observed, there was “no grace period during which Indians and English would learn about each other.”

Despite their earlier actions, the English still had some allies among the Native peoples of the region, including Manteo and his people, the Croatoan. But other Indians, including the Roanoke, were hostile toward the colonists. Only six days after this third expedition arrived, Indians killed a colonist, George Howe. Seeking revenge for his death and for the deaths of earlier colonists, Governor White led an attack on a Native community, killing at least one Indian. However, the people he attacked were not the ones who had killed Howe, and this unprovoked attack on friendly Indians offered more proof that the English could not be trusted. While the situation remained unresolved, the English fleet was making preparations to return to Europe. In August 1587 White returned to England in the hopes of finding more support for the colony.

Upon his return to England, White and Raleigh began preparing another expedition to strengthen and resupply the colony, but their plans were interrupted. The threat posed by the SPANISH ARMADA was so great that the PRIVY COUNCIL, worried about the defense of the realm, forbade ships that could be used in war to leave England. For three years no English people visited Roanoke. When an expedition led by White finally returned to Roanoke in August 1590, they found the settlement deserted. The colonists had taken some of their belongings and had carved “CRO” on a tree and “CROATOAN” on a post. White therefore believed that they had sought shelter with Manteo’s people. Because they had not carved a Maltese cross above the

words, a prearranged distress signal, he believed that they were still alive. Storms prevented White from searching further for the colonists, and he decided to winter in the AZORES before attempting to return.

In the end, little was done about the missing colonists for the next 10 years. Raleigh’s influence with the queen had declined, and he was also involved in a variety of other ventures that distracted him from the Roanoke colony. When the English finally settled a lasting colony at Jamestown, they tried again to find the missing colonists. In 1612 the secretary of the Jamestown colony reported that the colonists, after leaving Roanoke, had moved north to Chesapeake Bay. There they had lived peacefully among the Indians for 20 years before being killed on the orders of POWHATAN, shortly before the arrival of the Jamestown colonists. Others have speculated that the colonists were absorbed into Indian communities to the west of Roanoke. Their fate remains unknown.

The Roanoke colony faced serious problems from the beginning. Because the English Crown did not support colonies, it was dependent on private financing. Colonies, like Roanoke, that did not make a rapid profit were unattractive to investors and struggled to survive. The colonists did not grow enough food to support themselves and relied too heavily on Indian generosity. Worst of all, early peaceful relations between Natives and newcomers degenerated, and violence often flared between one-time trading partners. In the end, the Roanoke colony provided little more than a series of lessons about the causes of colonial failure.

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—Martha K. Robinson





**Sahagún, Bernardino de** (ca. 1499–1590) *friar*

Bernardino de Sahagún, a Spanish Franciscan friar (see FRANCISCANS), drew on indigenous informants to compile the FLORENTINE CODEX, an account of Aztec culture and the events surrounding the Spanish conquest.

Sahagún was born in Spain but came to NEW SPAIN as a friar and missionary in 1529. He studied Aztec history and culture with the goal of furthering the goal of converting the Indians to Catholicism. He helped found a school in Tlatelolco, where he taught young AZTECS Spanish and Latin and learned NAHUATL from them. By the 1540s he and his Indian assistants, who could read Spanish, Latin, and Nahuatl, began to interview old men who had survived the conquest of 1519–20. They interviewed their informants in Nahuatl, asking the same questions of each of them. Making note of discrepancies, they then conducted follow-up interviews to help settle disputed points. Sahagún was particularly interested in Aztec religion, history, and customs.

The resulting work, the *General History of the Things of New Spain*, took some 30 years to complete. It is known as the Florentine Codex because the most complete manuscript is in Florence, Italy. The final version featured illustrations and parallel columns of text in Spanish and Nahuatl. Its 13 parts, or books, included sections on the Aztec gods and their origins, religious ceremonies, kings and nobles, merchants, philosophy, and the Spanish conquest of MEXICO.

Histories of the conquest of Mexico have often cited the account of the conquest in book 12 of the codex. This account was the first to include the story that the Aztecs believed HERNÁN CORTÉS to be the god QUETZALCOATL. It also emphasized MOCTEZUMA II's fear and vacillation in the face of the Spanish, portraying him as such a weak leader that the Aztec lords turned against him. This version, although often repeated, has been challenged by the historian Inga Clendinnen, who observed that Sahagún's story appeared more than 30 years after the conquest

and that his informants were therefore young men when Cortés arrived. These men could provide much information about the Aztec world, but in precontact Tenochtitlán such “young and inconsequential men” would not have had access to Moctezuma. They could not, therefore, have observed Moctezuma's behavior or known what he thought. Despite such difficulties in the text, the Florentine Codex remains a valuable source for students of Aztec history and culture.

Sahagún also wrote other works, including a later account of the conquest, the “Account of the Conquest of New Spain, as the Indian Soldiers who were Present Told It.” This work, composed six years after the completion of the Florentine Codex, portrayed Cortés and the Spanish in a more favorable light. Sahagún died in Mexico in 1590.

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—Martha K. Robinson

**Sahara**

The Sahara, the largest desert in the world, covers about 3.3 million square miles, stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea.

Over time, the Sahara has functioned as a conduit for trade as well as a barrier to contact between the Mediterranean world and sub-Saharan Africa. Evidence of human activity (rock paintings, artifacts, and tools) in the Sahara dates back more than 10,000 years. The desert has witnessed climatic variations, but it has remained similar to its present conditions for the last 5,000 years. Most of the desert consists of open plains of rock and gravel. Only one-fifth of the Sahara is sand. The boundaries of the desert have expanded in drier periods and contracted in wetter eras.

Today about 2.5 million people live in the Sahara near oases or in the highlands, where the climate is slightly wetter. In the desert people make a living much the same way desert people made a living more than 1,000 years ago: through pastoralism and trade. Regular trade across the Sahara began around the first century, when camels were introduced to the region. The staple goods of the trans-Saharan trade were GOLD, slaves (see SLAVE TRADE), salt, textiles, and weapons. Over the centuries three major routes evolved. One crossed the desert from present-day Morocco to the ancient Soninke kingdom of GHANA, near the Senegal River. The second crossed from present-day western Algeria to the SONGHAI kingdom near the bend of the NIGER RIVER. The third route crossed from present-day Tripolitania to the kingdom of Kanem, just east of Lake Chad. All three routes were in frequent use by A.D. 900.

In addition to serving as a conduit for trade, the Sahara served as a refuge for political and religious groups. In the 10th and 11th centuries, when Sunni and Shiite Muslims defeated the Ibadi Muslims of the Maghreb, the Ibadi Muslims retreated to the Sahara and formed an independent state in the Fezzan. They have survived as independent communities ever since in Wadi Mzab (Algeria) and Jabal Nafusa (Libya).

In the western portion of the Sahara, the Almoravids, a puritanical and militaristic Muslim sect comprised primarily of Sanhaja Berbers, launched invasions from the desert. In 1078 the Almoravid army sacked Kumbi Salkeh, the capital city of Ghana, and took control of the trans-Saharan trade route that ran from Morocco to Ghana. By 1100 the Almoravids controlled territory as far north as Spain and as far south as the kingdom of Ghana. The Almoravid Empire collapsed in the mid-12th century, and most of the Almoravids retreated to the desert. Ghana never fully recovered to its previous level of political and economic power in the western regions.

Such economic and political development in the Sahara would eventually be crucial in the formation of the trans-Atlantic economy in the early modern age. As scholars have recently come to recognize, commerce boomed across the Atlantic basin and brought four continents together because the preconditions for engaging in long-distance trade already existed. The Saharan SALT TRADE

can be seen as a prime example of such behavior. Well before 1492, traders had developed their own commercial language, known as *azayr*, which enabled them to communicate more efficiently and allowed the trade to become more profitable. Merchants used these profits to develop their communities, with some of the resources set aside to support scholars. Eventually, the development of these commercial centers, particularly in Morocco, smoothed the integration of northern Africa into larger commercial networks. In the end, those networks, already developed, would play a crucial role in the slave trade.

As European explorers slowly inched their way around the coast of West Africa seeking direct access to the gold fields of the west African kingdoms, trade across the Sahara continued. By 1578 the Portuguese were prepared to launch a major offensive against the Moroccan kingdom in an effort to gain a major foothold in West Africa. The Portuguese suffered a devastating defeat. Inspired by victory, the Moroccans began organizing an assault on the Songhai kingdom across the Sahara. In 1591 they were successful, yet within decades, despite maintaining official power, real control of the desert region reverted to the Tuaregs, the original inhabitants of the Sahara.

In the central region of the Sahara, power changed hands in the 16th century as well. Sultan Idris Aloma of Bornu conquered the old kingdom of Kanem and exerted its control over the desert region and its trade until the 17th century. Then Kel Owey, a Tuareg leader, defeated the Bornu army, giving the Tuareg political control of the central Sahara region until the onset of colonialism.

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—Tom Niermann

### salt trade

The development of the African salt trade predated and anticipated the later rise of the SLAVE TRADE.

When Europeans first explored Africa they were normally convinced that the locals lacked advanced civilizations. Over time they used such misconceptions to justify the development of SLAVERY, which was predicated on the presumption of the superiority of Europeans over Africans.

But neither northern nor sub-Saharan Africans lacked civilization or trade. In fact, commercial relations were extensive, and trade networks developed to move goods throughout much of the continent (in the same way that the SILK ROAD moved goods through central Asia in a series of shorter-distance exchanges). The good that motivated much of this development was salt, including Ijil (one of a number of salts found in the desert). Portuguese sources suggest that the buying and selling of salt had facilitated the rise of its own language, known as *azayr*, from a combination of Sahelian Soninke and Berber spoken in the Sahara. The traders who specialized in production and distribution of salt, used primarily in food preservation, acquired great wealth. With their profits they supported clerics and scholars. Over time, the largest places where traders dealt in salt—such as Wadan, Walata, and Tishit—attracted other learned professionals, some of them leaving their homelands because of declining wealth there. Over time some of these scholars moved out of the centers and emigrated, spreading their knowledge to new areas.

Many Africans who prospered in trade came into contact with Europeans in the 15th and 16th centuries, and those encounters soon led to goods moving back and forth between the continents. The material cultures of each became richer as a result, a long-term consequence of the salt trade.

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**Sandoval, Gonzalo de** (ca. 1500–ca. 1528) *soldier, explorer*

One of the highest-ranking officers under HERNÁN CORTÉS, Sandoval played a crucial role in the conquest of the AZTECS before emerging as a successful CONQUISTADOR in his own right.

Sandoval was not even 20 when he joined Cortés’s expedition in 1519. Although he was relatively inexperienced, his intelligence, courage, and sharp military mind quickly earned him Cortés’s admiration. In fact, Cortés always called him *hijo* (“son”) and increasingly came to depend on Sandoval over the next 10 years. Sandoval repaid Cortés with his unswerving loyalty. In 1520, when Cortés had established himself in the Aztecs’ capital of TENOCHTITLÁN, he selected Sandoval to command the garrison at VERACRUZ.

Cortés correctly suspected that his political enemy, DIEGO DE VELÁZQUEZ, would eventually send troops against him and claim MEXICO for himself. Later that year Sandoval discovered that Velázquez’s agent, PÁNFILO DE NARVÁEZ, had landed with the intention of arresting Cortés. Sandoval alerted Cortés of these developments, captured the enemy scouting party, and sent spies to monitor Narváez’s movements. Once Cortés arrived on the coast, Sandoval joined with him and defeated Narváez’s forces.

Sandoval remained with Cortés, serving as his third in command (under PEDRO DE ALVARADO) and taking an active role in almost every major event of the conquest. On the eve of the Spaniards’ disastrous retreat from Tenochtitlán, Cortés sent Sandoval to reconnoiter the causeway to TACUBA, the shortest escape route out of the island city. During the retreat itself Sandoval led the advance column and received several wounds. He waited with Cortés in TLAXCALA while the Spaniards regained their strength. Between 1520 and 1521 Cortés sent Sandoval on a series of expeditions against cities in the Valley of Mexico who were allied to the Aztecs, laying the groundwork for the eventual siege of Tenochtitlán. Also in Tlaxcala, the Spaniards’ shipwrights constructed a small fleet of BRIGANTINES to attack Tenochtitlán by water. When finished, Cortés chose Sandoval to lead the armed guard that escorted the fleet overland from Tlaxcala to Lake Texcoco. When the main assault on Tenochtitlán began in 1521, Sandoval first crushed Iztapalapa, the last lakeside city allied with the Aztecs. Then he took command of the northern front, attacking Tenochtitlán along the causeway leading from the city of Tepeyac. Sandoval proved to be one of the Spaniards’ most skilled captains, leading his assaults from the front lines. By the time Tenochtitlán fell, the Aztecs had come to respect and fear Sandoval, seeing him as one of their most dangerous foes.

After the Aztecs had been defeated, Cortés sent Sandoval on a series of missions across Mexico. Between 1521 and 1522 Sandoval undertook a major expedition to the area south of Veracruz, pacifying the area around the Coatzacoalcos River and founding the town of Espiritu Santo near the Gulf Coast. In 1523 he crossed over to the Pacific coast, subduing the city of Acapulco and marching northward to Colima, where he founded several towns. Sandoval accompanied Cortés on the harrowing expedition to Honduras from 1524 to 1526. In 1527, as a reward for his efforts, he received a substantial ENCOMIENDA in the TARASCAN territory of Michoacán, although he did not live long enough to enjoy it. Sandoval accompanied Cortés on his triumphant return to Spain in 1528, when he developed a fever. His condition deteriorated quickly, and he stopped to rest in a villa near Palos. Deathly weak, he watched helplessly as his host stole most of his valuables. He lived only long enough to report the theft, dying at age 28. His death was a deep and lasting blow to Cortés, who lost not only his

most steadfast ally but a young man he looked upon as his own son.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### **Sandys, Sir Edwin** (1561–1629) *administrator*

An English parliamentarian, Sandys was also instrumental in the promotion of colonization in Virginia as treasurer of the Virginia Company.

Born the second son to the archbishop of York, Sandys was also the older brother of George Sandys, a poet and Virginia colonist. After graduating from Corpus Christi College in 1579, he studied law, traveled, and entered Parliament. Noted early in his governmental career for his support of JAMES I, who knighted Sandys upon his coronation, he later led the parliamentary opposition, although he managed to retain the favor of the king. However, it was in the realm of overseas ventures and colonization efforts where Sandys achieved his real fame.

In 1607 Sandys invested in the newly formed Virginia Company of London, a joint stock company established by a group of affluent merchants and gentry. He later served as the company's treasurer from 1619 to 1624. This period coincided with an upswing in English colonization efforts, but it did not come without a rough beginning. The company's initial efforts at Jamestown bogged down, almost literally, as colonists suffered from typhoid fever, dysentery, malaria, and salt poisoning, all brought on from drinking the water from the muddy James River. In addition, management of the settlement proved disastrous. Negative reports, including one written by George Percy, one of the leaders in the colonization effort, filtered back to England. The company hit a low point around 1616. Undeterred, the Virginia Company circulated propaganda of its own, including the anonymously written *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia*.

Sandys is often credited with helping revise the flagging enterprise by becoming the moving force behind a series of reforms in 1618. The reforms paved the way for rapid growth of private plantations, ensured the economic interests of the company as a totality, and encouraged would-be settlers. Before 1618 plantations were few and the colony's population numbered no more than 400 persons. In addition, the colonists endured martial law while lacking commodities other than TOBACCO, a condition Sandys denounced repeatedly.

Sandys, who lobbied for and became the company's treasurer in 1619, macromanaged affairs from abroad, never setting foot in the NEW WORLD. Scouring for colonists from the fringes of society, including vagrant boys and Pilgrims, legend states that Sandys helped establish a veritable flood of colonists after the resumption of emigration in 1618. More recent accounts stress the variety and skills of the settlers he was able to attract, thus demythologizing the legend that associated Sandys with "the sweepings of the London streets." Regardless, the flow of settlers to Jamestown and its environs continued through his tenure as treasurer, arriving at a rate of approximately 1,000 persons per year. Sandys's second major goal—reducing reliance on a single crop—proved elusive, as tobacco became the one safe and profitable return for plantation owners and joint stock investors alike, thus ensuring Virginia's continued existence.

The Virginia Company dissolved in 1624 amid squabbles between Sandys and his rivals, including Sir Thomas Smyth. Despite the dispute, Sandys remained a staunch advocate of English colonial ventures until his death in 1629. Although he is best known for his association with the Virginia Company, Sandys also served a short stint as director of both the EAST INDIA COMPANY and the Somers Island Company.

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—Matthew Lindaman

**San Martín de Porres** See PORRES, ST. MARTÍN DE.

### **Santa Fe**

Santa Fe was the capital of Spanish NEW MEXICO (a territory within the viceroyalty of NEW SPAIN), an isolated frontier settlement that remains the second-oldest European city in what is today the United States of America.

The site of Santa Fe had been inhabited long before the Europeans arrived in the 1500s. The Natives lived in pueblos, or multistoried apartment complexes arrayed around a ceremonial plaza. Long before Europeans arrived, the site of Santa Fe was occupied by the Kuapoge pueblo, but it had been more recently built up as the



Analco pueblo by the 1540s. Other pueblos lay close to the site, including Quemado Pueblo (Aqua Fria) and Ohke Pueblo. In 1581 Franciscan missionaries from MEXICO began moving into the region, establishing a network of missions that contained more than 8,000 converts by 1600. In April 1598 the CONQUISTADOR JUAN DE OÑATE arrived, hoping to establish permanent Spanish settlements. Oñate set up a base camp at the site of the Ohke Pueblo, which he renamed San Juan. The region received adequate rainfall and lay on an alluvial flood plain that facilitated agriculture. Within a few years the cramped quarters at San Juan caused the colonists to relocate to the nearby Yúngé Pueblo, which was renamed San Gabriel. Over time population pressure forced some of the colonists to move again. In 1609 Oñate's successor, Don Pedro de Peralta, organized a new settlement called Santa Fe (its official name was La Villa Real de la Santa Fe de San Francisco de Asis), designating it the capital of the colony of New Mexico.

The site of the new Santa Fe offered many attractions for the colonists. It was located at the foot of a mountain range called the Sangre de Cristo along the small Santa Fe River. While much of the surrounding region was rather dry, the site of Santa Fe received a good amount of rain, and the river supplied enough water for daily use and limited irrigation. While there were several settlements in the area, it was not overcrowded, and it allowed for future expansion. Perhaps more important, the site was more defensible than the open site of San Gabriel. Because Santa Fe was the northernmost city of the viceroyalty of New Spain, it needed to be militarily self-reliant. Much of the surrounding countryside was potentially hostile, and Native raiders from farther north remained a real threat. If the site was attacked, no reinforcements would arrive for months, if the government bothered to send them at all. Fifty settlers arrived initially, although the population eventually grew to around 200 Spaniards and between 700 and 1,000 Natives.

The city of Santa Fe reflected an amalgamation of Native and Spanish urban designs. Peralta tried as much as possible to make the new town into a true Spanish city. To this end, he performed the traditional ceremony of foundation as stipulated by royal decree. He also followed the royal edicts of 1573 in determining how the city should be laid out. As a result, much of the city's spatial orientation was Spanish. He established the Spanish town proper on the north bank of the Santa Fe River, forcing Natives at the site to build a separate community on the south bank. He followed the guidelines in the establishment of the main plaza, the principal streets, and various lots, paying close attention to the location of the main church, which was located on the east side of the main plaza. He also established a presidio, or fortress, to defend the site, mak-

ing sure it was adequately armed and supplied. However, despite Peralta's attempt to make his new town as Spanish as possible, Santa Fe had a distinct Native feel to it. For one, Spaniards frequently adopted Native building materials. They found that adobe was an abundant, cost-effective material that suited the environment of the site. It was cool in the summer but retained heat during the winter. Later governors grumbled that Santa Fe's adobe architecture made it look like a "heathen Timbuktu" built of mud. Moreover, many of the buildings were built in Native style, closely resembling the pueblos of the region. This was partially due to the fact that most of the workers erecting the buildings were Natives who followed traditional practices. Still, the Spaniards found that the Native-style buildings fit well in the environment.

As a frontier town, the citizens of Santa Fe spent most of their energy pacifying the surrounding region. Most of the original settlers were soldiers who were attempting to subdue and control this frontier zone. They were also attempting to relocate Natives into Spanish-style towns, hoping that the Spanish environment and Spanish cultural forms would convert Indians to European ways and enable them to become loyal to the king. In fact, the greatest number of inhabitants of Santa Fe were relocated Natives, and it seems clear that without them the settlement would have quickly perished. Assisting the military in this attempt to spread Spanish culture was the clergy, who were also based in Santa Fe. The main church in the city served as a religious capital for the region, a sort of headquarters where missionaries met and devised strategies for converting the local populace. They were successful in this aim: By 1630 more than 60,000 Natives had converted to Christianity. Besides their religious teachings, many of the missionaries taught Natives Spanish as well.

Although Santa Fe was an isolated frontier town, its history was hardly uneventful. The region was raided constantly by the Apache and Navajo. The Spaniards struck back in turn, capturing Natives and frequently enslaving them. At times tensions in the area ran quite high, although nothing in the early history of Santa Fe compared to the later Pueblo Revolt of 1680, when Natives banded together to drive the Spaniards out of New Mexico.

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—Scott Chamberlain

## São Tomé

Located 180 miles off the western coast of Africa, São Tomé was claimed by Portuguese explorers in the late 15th century and became a testing ground for a type of plantation agriculture that became a model for the agricultural exploitation of the Americas.

São Tomé was a nearly unpopulated island in an archipelago off the western coast of Africa (see also PRÍNCIPE and FERNANDO PÓO) when the Portuguese explorer Álvaro da Caminha, a member of the Portuguese royal household, landed there in 1476. Caminha initiated large-scale settlement of the island in 1492, although the settlers he attracted were a mixed lot. In 1492 he forcibly resettled several hundred Jewish children aged two through 12 whom the Portuguese authorities had removed from their parents. Many of these parentless children died, but about 600 of them remained on the island in the early 16th century. In addition to children, Caminha imported more than 1,000 slaves and criminals to the island between 1493 and 1500, pairing each male convict with a female slave, presumably to encourage population growth on the island. This policy had a dramatic effect on the ethnic composition of the colony: Within a few decades the majority of São Tomé's population were MESTIZOS, or descendants of one European and one Native parent.

SUGAR was São Tomé's main source of profit in its early years as a Portuguese colony. The island's tropical climate made it ideal for growing sugarcane, and planters and their slaves cleared the rain forests that covered the island to provide land for sugar planting. They used the timber to build more ships for Portugal's many seafaring ventures. The sugar economy boomed in the early part of the 16th century, largely due to the fact that the climate made it possible to plant year round and to harvest two full crops. Production jumped from 70 metric tons in 1529 to 2,000 in 1550 and 2,800 in 1570.

São Tomé's other main source of profit was its position as a way station on the transatlantic SLAVE TRADE. In 1500 alone some 5,000 to 6,000 slaves were exported from the African mainland to the island. Some of the men, women, and children stayed on São Tomé, serving as the labor force on one of many sugar plantations, but many were shipped off to the NEW WORLD to replace Native Caribbean populations that had been nearly wiped out in the wake of the European conquests.

Portuguese São Tomé fell on hard times in the late 16th century. The development of large-scale sugar production in BRAZIL undercut São Tomé's main source of income. Economic decline was followed by a series of catastrophes. In 1567 a French pirate sacked and burned much of the island. Slaves burned crops and buildings in uprisings in 1574 and 1595. The Dutch rounded off this half century of disasters by attacking the island in 1598–99. By 1615, 59 of São Tomé's 72 plantations had been abandoned. The

Dutch eventually took over São Tomé for a brief period in the mid-17th century, after which it reverted to Portuguese ownership (although never reaching its former prosperity) until it gained independence in the 1970s.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## scribal publication

*Scribal publication* is the term used to refer to the copying of manuscripts by hand, which was the only way to propagate written texts before the development of movable type and the proliferation of the PRINTING PRESS.

Ever since antiquity, scribes in cultures that possessed written languages routinely copied existing texts so that the information in them could circulate more widely. The most skilled of these scribes were artists, whose elaborate and intricate decorations can be found in illuminated manuscripts, such as the world-famous Book of Kells (produced ca. A.D. 800) kept in the Long Library at Trinity College Dublin in Ireland, and the book of hours called *Très riches heures* of the duc de Berry kept in the Musée Condé at the Château de Chantilly in France.

Yet most such scribal publication did not consist of crafting elaborate capitals or gold-laced interwoven borders. More mundane copying was necessary for the information in a text to spread. At times scribes worked together, either on parts of a single manuscript or multiple copies of a text, but some no doubt worked individually.

The so-called “print revolution” of the 15th and 16th centuries did make information more widely available because printers could produce printed pages more quickly than scribes. But printers did not necessarily preserve texts more accurately than scribes. That is, while the text of a book might appear to be stable—identical from one version to the next—there is now ample evidence to suggest that changes were frequent and a book's contents not necessarily closer to an original text than a scribe's copy.

Recent scholarly work has revealed that scribal publication did not disappear even when the printing press spread across Europe and the rest of the Atlantic basin. Certain kinds of texts, such as musical scores and newsletters, typically remained in the hands of scribes rather than in the workshops of printers. Instead of viewing the rise of the printing press as marking the end of the scribal trade, it makes more sense to see the two technologies coexisting, at least until sometime in the 17th century.

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### Secotan

The ALGONQUIAN who lived in Secotan (or Secoton), a village near the coast of present-day North Carolina, attracted the attention of JOHN WHITE and THOMAS HARRIOT, whose paintings and descriptions provide a valuable record of 16th-century Algonquian culture.

Secotan culture, like that of other Algonquian peoples in the region, appears to have been hierarchical. Harriot reported on the manners and dress of the “great lords,” “chief ladies,” and “priests” of the people. The people wore few clothes, usually little more than breechcloths or deer-skin aprons or skirts, although they might also wear capes in cold weather. They decorated their bodies with paint and tattoos and wore copper and pearl jewelry.

Secotan, unlike some other villages in the region, was not surrounded by a defensive palisade. The people lived in longhouses that were covered with bark or woven mats. They practiced agriculture, raising CORN, beans, sunflowers, and other crops and supplemented these foods with meat and fish.

John White’s painting of Secotan showed the people performing a variety of tasks. Several figures stood outside or walked through the village, while others ate from dishes placed on a mat on the ground. In one of the cornfields, a figure perched on a platform to scare away birds. White also showed two circular areas of ritual significance, both surrounded by carved posts. In the larger circle he painted a ring of dancing figures participating in a religious ceremony.

Harriot and White depicted the people of Secotan and their neighbors sympathetically. They did not portray the Indians as faceless savages, but as individual human beings living in an ordered society. As the historian Karen Ordahl Kupperman observed, “White and Harriot together argued in the most forceful and effective way that the American Natives were social beings, possessing all the characteristics necessary to civility: community life and the family structure, hierarchy, and orderliness that made it possible; care for the morrow by cultivating and preserving foods; and all informed by a religious sensibility that honored the human dependence on supernatural forces in the universe.”

During the 400th anniversary in 2007 of the English establishment of Jamestown, White’s painting of Secotan went back on display, for the first time in a generation, in the British Museum (and, later, in three American museums). Its reappearance followed archaeologists’ claims that they had located the town, or a similar settlement, at

Werowocomoco. Uncovered, as it were, almost simultaneously from the archives and from the ground, Secotan seemed almost alive again. At a minimum, the reemergence of the image reminded many about the significance of the original town and of White’s and THEODOR DE BRY’s versions of it. These related but not identical pictures remain among the most powerful images generated in the age of discovery for the simple fact that they reveal an entire community engaged in its everyday rituals, surrounded by a landscape the residents had altered to meet their needs. The representations of Secotan demonstrated that Europeans recognized that Native Americans were not simple children of nature who lacked civilization. They were, instead, humans who modified their physical world, engaged in religious rituals, and survived and flourished long before the arrival of Europeans.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### Seneca

As “guardians of the western door” in the metaphorical longhouse of the IROQUOIS Confederacy, the Seneca (People of the Big Hill) consisted of two main groups occupying two principal villages (along with several smaller ones) at the time of contact by Europeans.

The western band of the Seneca lived around the Genessee and Allegheny Rivers, and the eastern one near Canandaigua Lake in present-day New York State (Livingston and Ontario Counties). Their location put them closest to the western beaver hunting grounds that came to figure so prominently in the 17th-century fur trade. They were also the most populous tribe within the alliance, probably surpassing the combined numbers of the other Iroquois nations (MOHAWK, ONEIDA, ONONDAGA, and CAYUGA).

Despite their numbers, the Seneca held only eight seats (the fewest of any of the Five Nations) in the league’s Grand Council. Together with the Onondaga and Mohawk, they represented the “Older Brothers” in this political structure. Nevertheless, their role as protectors of the western flank of Iroquoia from encroachment by whites and their

Native allies and as guarantors of access to hunting territory pivotal in the fur trade was instrumental in the preservation and power of the confederacy. In fact, the Seneca had helped expand the league's influence by the mid-16th century by moving their villages northward and continued to bargain from a position of strength during most of the colonial period. While they did not escape the changes wrought by contact, including losses to DISEASE and warfare, they held onto cherished ideals and homelands in the face of such adversity and thrived in the area until after the American Revolution.

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—Eric P. Anderson

## Senegambia

Senegambia, the region through which the Senegal and Gambia Rivers flow, is where Saharan and Sudanic history and culture mixed.

Senegambia became a unique meeting ground where peoples of the savanna, desert, and rain forests met and interacted. Among the peoples who lived in Senegambia were the Wolof, Tukolor, Pullo, Manding, Berber, Serer, Susu, Nalu, Diola, Baga, Beafada, Bainuk, and Tenda.

The first governments appeared in the 15th century. Power usually stemmed from control of a river. In the south the KAABU dominated, but they were tributaries to the MALI Empire. In the north along the Senegal River, the Tekrur and Silla maintained control but were later deposed by the Wolof. Senegambian kingdoms operated according to a castelike system that reinforced political hierarchies.

As the Portuguese colonized the Cape Verde Islands in the 15th and 16th centuries, they gradually redirected trade from the interior to the coast. The new Atlantic trade, which focused on GOLD, ivory, and slaves (see SLAVE TRADE), had political consequences. The Kaabu were able to extricate themselves from Mali dominance and became the local dominant power. The Toli Tenegela, by contrast, emigrated and eventually created the Denyankan kingdom that challenged Wolof dominance in the north.

The arrival of Dutch, English, and French traders broke the Portuguese monopoly. The European powers

divided the coast into spheres of influence, with trading centers such as Saint Louis, GORÉE ISLAND, Fort James, Cacheu, and Bissau. Slaves soon became the leading export, coming from as far away as the mouth of the NIGER RIVER.

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—Tom Niermann

## Sepúlveda, Juan Ginés de (1490–1573) scholar

A leading humanist of 16th-century Spain, Juan de Sepúlveda argued that the Native peoples of the Western Hemisphere were inherently inferior to Europeans.

Sepúlveda was a formidable figure in the intellectual life of Spain. He was a dedicated scholar who had studied Aristotle and other classical authors. Erasmus referred to him as "the Spanish Livy." He is known to have had close contact with several CONQUISTADORES and wealthy landowners in the Americas. More important, he had a number of powerful friends at court, which ensured that his ideas carried enormous weight with the royal government. Today Sepúlveda is primarily remembered for his pivotal debate with BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, which took place in 1550. Las Casas, a champion of indigenous rights, had bitterly attacked a number of colonial institutions, particularly the ENCOMIENDA, as being destructive not only to the Natives, but to the Spanish colonies as a whole. Moreover, he argued that they were abhorrent before God and predicted divine retribution unless they were repealed. Concerned, CHARLES V invited both Las Casas and Sepúlveda to argue their cases before the court in Valladolid.

A popular misconception exists about the nature of this great debate. The two figures did not stand before the court, trading insults and flourishes of rhetoric, but rather addressed the court separately. Sepúlveda spoke first, taking three hours to state his position. He argued that Natives were inherently inferior to Europeans and that the Spaniards were justified in conquering them for four reasons. First, because of their idolatry and worship of "demons," the Natives had committed mortal sins against God and deserved punishment. Second, the "barbarous" nature of their habits and customs fit into the Aristotelian notion that some humans are born inferior



and could thus be enslaved. Third, the most effective way to convert the Natives and bring them into civilization was through conquest. Unless the Spaniards used deadly force, he argued, the natives would never willingly give up their religion. Finally, a general conquest of the area would allow the Crown to protect the weaker, less “savage” Natives from the depredations of their more violent neighbors. After an adjournment, Las Casas devoted five days to a rebuttal. There was no proclaimed “victor” to the debate, but ultimately the court sided with Las Casas. As a result, many of the laws passed after 1550 reflected a new concern for the plight of the Natives, in accordance with Las Casas’s arguments.

Sepúlveda’s controversial opinions were widely read in Europe, particularly by Spain’s enemies in England, France, and the Netherlands. In these areas Sepúlveda was seen as proof that the Spaniards were cruel, vicious, and warlike. These ideas formed one of the cornerstones of the BLACK LEGEND of Spanish cruelty in the Americas.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### **Sequeira, Diogo Lopes de (Diego López de Sequeira)** (1465–1520) *Portuguese explorer*

Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was a Portuguese commander who led voyages to India and the SPICE ISLANDS, helping his country lay a claim to what was in the early 16th century one of the most lucrative locales in the world.

De Sequeira did not leave extensive documentation about his own life. Surviving documents reveal that he left Portugal in 1504 on a journey bound for Africa, and that among those on board was FERDINAND MAGELLAN. He commanded a vessel in Francisco de Almeida’s assault on Muslim traders in the Indian Ocean, allowing the Portuguese to establish themselves at Mozambique in 1507. In 1509 de Sequeira led an expedition toward the Spice Islands, arriving in Sumatra in August. Eventually he traveled to the booming port of Malacca and hoped to establish Portuguese dominance there.

Unfortunately for the expedition, local leaders decided that they had had enough of the Portuguese and planned to eliminate them. Tipped off in advance, de Sequeira instead launched an attack, which eventually succeeded with the assistance of ALFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE. In later years, he continued to explore the region before returning to Portugal in 1512, where he spent the final years of his life.

De Sequeira’s efforts to secure the Spice Islands fed Portuguese fantasies that they could establish a monopoly of trade in the region. Such claims troubled many Europeans, and led the Portuguese legal theorist HUGO GROTIUS to write his *Mare liberum* (The free sea) a century later, a tract that would prompt RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER to translate it to encourage the English to send expeditions into the region.

**Further reading:** Angus Konstam, *The Historical Atlas of Exploration, 1492–1600* (New York: Facts On File, 2000).

### **Settle, Dionyse** (fl. 1577) *explorer, writer*

Dionyse Settle sailed with MARTIN FROBISHER on the English mariner’s second journey to the North Atlantic.

Frobisher (1535?–1594) led expeditions westward in search of the NORTHWEST PASSAGE in 1576, 1577, and 1578. None on board ever discovered the passage, which did not exist (though global warming in the 21st century might make this 16th-century fantasy a reality). But the voyages also generated a series of important TRAVEL NARRATIVES, particularly by those who claimed to offer a “true” account of what had happened. Settle’s version, which appeared shortly after his return from the 1577 voyage, was among the group. Entitled *A True Reporte of the Laste Voyage into the West and Northwest & c., worthily atchieved by Capteine Frobisher* and printed in LONDON, Settle’s account provided details about what Frobisher’s crew witnessed during their journey. His account told of the crew’s capturing an INUIT woman and ripping off her buskins to see if she had cloven feet. Why would they think such a thought? Because they believed that MONSTERS trolled the lands beyond Europe and it was possible that this woman might be one. The Inuit were not monsters, of course, but that discovery did not prevent the English from looking at them with suspicion and contempt—and Settle’s account demonstrates how those views shaped the encounter.

Still, despite the bias that can be found here, Settle also reported that the Natives had mastered their environment by perfecting the weapons they would need to kill the region’s fauna, a skill the English often lacked. He told, too, about their clothing, diet, appearance, architecture, boats, and religious beliefs. “What knowledge they have of God or what Idol they adore, we have no perfect intelligence,” Settle wrote. “I think them rather Anthropophagi, or devourers of man’s flesh, than otherwise: for that there is no flesh or fish, which they find dead (smell it never so filthily) but they will eat it, as they find it, without any other dressing. A loathsome spectacle, either to the beholders, or hearers.” Like other Europeans who ventured into this region, Settle’s report contained ample details about the

weather and especially the dangers posed by the ice (see ICEBERGS).

It is difficult to know the popularity of any particular travel narrative, but it seems clear that Settle's account contained the right kinds of details to attract an audience. That was certainly the conclusion of RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, who reprinted the narrative in his collection of narratives in 1589 and again in the expanded edition at the end of the 16th century. Within three years of its initial appearance, it was translated and published on the continent in French, Latin, and German, another sign of the European intellectual appetite for news about the peoples and places of the Atlantic basin.

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## Seville

The capital of the Spanish province of Andalusia, Seville benefited from its monopoly on the Indies trade to become the commercial center of the Spanish Empire during the 16th century.

Seville, the capital of the Spanish province of Andalusia, is located on the banks of the Guadalquivir River in southern Spain. Recaptured from Muslim rulers in the 13th century (see RECONQUISTA), the city continued to bear witness to Arab cultural influence, most dramatically illustrated by the cathedral's spire, which had once been the minaret of Muslim Seville's grand mosque.

While Madrid was the political and administrative center of the Spanish Habsburg empire, Seville was a thriving commercial center that grew to rival Madrid in wealth during Spain's Golden Age. Seville's trade-based economy was one of three distinct economies within Spanish Iberia: Seville and its hinterlands were oriented toward the NEW WORLD; Castile's wool trade encouraged economic ties with the cloth markets of northern Europe; and the Crown of Aragón, absorbed by CASTILE in the 15th century, maintained its centuries-long mercantile orientation toward the Mediterranean. Seville's star reached its zenith during the final decades of the 16th century and the first decades of the 17th century—not coincidentally the high point of the Indies trade, in which Seville held a shipping monopoly.

An edict of 1503 established the CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN at Seville. The institution operated out of the royal palace of Alcazar as a sort of chamber of commerce, administering colonial shipping between Spain and the Indies,

enforcing trade regulations, organizing merchant fleets, training captains and navigators, serving as a tribunal for maritime legal cases, and assuring that the Crown received its one-fifth share of all SILVER from the Americas.

One of the most important regulations that the Casa de Contratación enforced was Seville's monopoly as the port of entry for colonial shipping. Despite the apparent restrictions on foreign involvement in the Indies trade, it was this very trade that made Seville into one of the most cosmopolitan cities in Europe at the time. Foreign merchants and traders, most notably French and Genoans, moved to Spain to capitalize on the wealth generated by the transatlantic trade. Seville's monopoly of trade with the Indies made it the preferred destination for these foreign entrepreneurs. Spanish monarchs had issued edicts banning non-Castilians from trade with Spanish colonies in the Americas, but foreign merchants evaded trade restrictions by hiring locals to fill out the paperwork, thus assuring that the merchant of record was Castilian. Foreign business interests might also act less directly, establishing connections with Spanish "factors," or agents, in Seville in order to buy and sell goods in the lucrative trade with the Americas.

Foreigners contributed to Seville's swelling population. In the course of the 60 years between 1530 and 1590, Seville's population increased by almost 140 percent—an increase all the more noteworthy when viewed in the context of the general population decline of other Castilian towns. In the second half of the 16th century, Seville's population reached a total of 150,000, making Seville 50 percent larger than Madrid and the third-largest city in western Europe at the time, surpassed only by Paris and Naples.

Seville's large foreign population was not the only way in which it differed demographically from the rest of Spain. The *hidalgos*, or poor nobility, so common to most of Castile, were hardly present in Seville. Instead, the upper classes were dominated by aristocratic families who, attracted by the growing wealth of the city, made their primary residences there while living off the wealth generated by large landholdings in the Guadalquivir valley. New wealth lived alongside old as wealthy merchant families strove to ennoble themselves by buying titles and attempting to gain membership in the council of municipal magistrates known as the Twenty-Four. Whether old or new rich, the Sevillian upper classes were famed for their ostentation, and contemporaries remarked upon the opulence of Sevillian houses, dress, and public festivals.

At the opposite end of the socioeconomic spectrum were the peasants of Seville's hinterlands, who also profited from the burgeoning trade economy. The estates of the Guadalquivir valley produced grains, olives, and wine grapes both for the Indies trade and for consumption by the massive urban population. As a result, some Andalusian

peasants were able to profit to such an extent that they themselves became owners of substantial tracts of land. Slaves constituted the final piece of Seville's human landscape. Slaves were much more numerous in Andalusia than in other parts of Spain due to the links between the transatlantic slave trade and the Sevillian-dominated Indies trade. Sevillian slaves were usually baptized Christians, sometimes even forming their own pious confraternities.

Seville began to decline in importance during the 17th century as other nations encroached upon the Indies trade, although it remained a significant commercial center until the Bourbon monarchs moved the Casa de Contratación to Cádiz in 1717. Nevertheless, even during its heyday Seville was not without its problems. The city was beset by corruption as officials sought to claim a portion of the city's enormous wealth for themselves. Philip IV rebuked the municipal magistrates in 1621 for neglecting the public welfare for personal gain, and with good reason. Magistrates were often in league with speculators, maintaining high prices; they neglected public sanitation, leading to epidemics; and they did nothing to stem the corruption and bribery that ran rampant in Seville's judicial system.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

### Shakespeare, William (1564–1616) *writer*

An English playwright and poet, William Shakespeare is often considered the greatest dramatist the world has ever known and the most recognized poet in the English language.

Born the third of eight children to a middling family in Stratford-upon-Avon in 1564, William Shakespeare was the son of John Shakespeare, a glove maker by trade, who owned a small shop and served for a time as Stratford-upon-Avon's elected bailiff, or mayor. Although he faced pecuniary difficulties later in his life, John was able to provide young William with a sound educational background. Scholars believe that by the age of seven, William began attending Stratford's grammar school, where he spent about nine hours a day learning Latin and reading from the classic authors, including Seneca, Ovid, Terence, Cicero, and Virgil. Stratford's lively nature as a market center further stimulated Shakespeare's imagination, exposing him to popular pageants, large fairs, plays, and visitors from afar.

Shakespeare penned at least 37 plays, traditionally divided into the genres of histories, comedies, and tragedies. Containing character types from all walks of life—including kings, generals, shepherds, philosophers, pickpockets, and drunkards—Shakespeare delved into seemingly every type of human nature. With his unique talent for psychological penetration, Shakespeare's characters possess meaning beyond the time and place of his plays. Shakespeare's writings have helped shape the attitudes of millions of people on topics such as romantic love, heroism, and the nature of tragedy.

In addition to his deep understanding of human nature, Shakespeare displayed knowledge in a wide variety of other subjects including, but certainly not limited to, politics, music, law, scripture, hunting, woodcraft, sports, art, and the sea. However, despite these intellectual flourishes, scholars do not believe he had professional experience in any areas outside of theatre. That Shakespeare was interested in politics is apparent from both his historical plays and his many references to contemporary political figures and events. By today's standards he was a political conservative, accepting the power structure and social rankings of his day while displaying unwavering patriotism. Taking the new commercialism and pleasures of the Elizabethan age in stride, he was always careful not to offend Queen ELIZABETH I.

In 1582 Shakespeare married Anne Hathaway. One year later, on May 26, 1583, their first child, Susanna, was baptized. In 1585 Anne gave birth to twins—a girl, Judith, and a boy, Hamnet. From the period of their baptism on February 2, 1585, until 1592, there is little recorded evidence of Shakespeare's whereabouts. Scholars refer to this period as the lost years. By 1592 evidence from a theatrical pamphlet places Shakespeare in London, where he probably began by serving as an apprentice in the city's bustling theatrical life. Scholars are not certain which company or companies Shakespeare joined before 1594. At that time records indicate he was a shareholder in a popular theatrical company known as Lord Chamberlin's Men. In addition, records indicate that by 1594 Shakespeare had produced six plays.

Between 1592 and 1594 many of London's theaters closed down because of continued outbreaks of the PLAGUE. During this time he turned to the medium of poetry as an outlet for his writing talents, penning *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. When the theaters reopened in 1594, Shakespeare devoted his full capacities to London's theater world. In 1597 he wrote the tragedy *Romeo and Juliet*, transforming an old popular story into a tale of “star-cross'd lovers.” Between 1598 and 1608 Shakespeare's output was astonishing. During that decade he wrote the classic tragedies—*Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Julius Caesar*—as well as the comedies *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Twelfth Night* and

the history *Henry V*. It is possible that no other playwright in the Western world ever had a more productive decade.

In addition to writing plays, Shakespeare participated in the full range of the theatrical experience, including acting, directing, and even owning stock in a number of theater companies. Business records indicate that by the turn of the century he had acquired a comfortable degree of financial success. In 1599 Shakespeare and six associates became owners of the Globe Theatre, a new outdoor venue in the London suburb of Southwark. One of the largest theaters in the London area during the Elizabethan Age, the Globe is believed to have held as many as 3,000 spectators. After purchasing the Globe, his new theater troupe, the King's Men, continued to enjoy unparalleled theatrical success. The company took out a 21-year lease on the Blackfriars Theatre in 1608. Located in a heavily populated area of London known as Blackfriars, the theater served as the company's winter playhouse, while the Globe hosted productions in the summer. In addition, the King's Men made regular appearances at the royal court for both Elizabeth I and her successor, James VI of Scotland, known as JAMES I of England.

During the last eight years of his life, Shakespeare's writing production slowed as he wrote only four plays—*Cymbeline*, *Henry VIII*, *THE TEMPEST*, and *The Winter's Tale*. There exists some scholarly dispute concerning which play was his last, *The Tempest* (written about 1610) or *Henry VIII* (written sometime between 1610 and 1613).

Shakespeare's last direct descendent, a granddaughter named Elizabeth, died in 1670, leaving no further heirs. His literary legacy lasted much longer than his family line. As Shakespeare's contemporary, the classical dramatist Ben Jonson, put it, "He was not of an age, but for all time."

It is impossible to discount the significance of Shakespeare to the English Renaissance or his continuing appeal to modern audiences and scholars. Like his contemporary RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, Shakespeare left behind few clues about his actual existence. The absence of verifiable documents led some to claim that others besides Shakespeare wrote his plays, though that point has not been widely accepted by the scholarly community nor is it particularly significant. The interest that literary scholars have in the plays and sonnets gains its importance not from identifying a historical Shakespeare—though that remains a major interest—but instead from understanding his writings in their context. As the editors of the *Oxford English Dictionary* have revealed, Shakespeare was a master wordsmith whose usage of particular words has helped establish their meaning at this moment. His histories, comedies, and tragedies dealt with an extraordinary range of human conditions and sensibilities, thus giving his work a permanence that has eluded virtually every other writer from his era.

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—Matthew Lindaman

### shipwreck narratives

Shipwreck narratives constituted a specific kind of TRAVEL NARRATIVE that proliferated, especially in Portugal, by the end of the 16th century.

The increase in European ships sailing longer distances during the 16th century led to a related growth in the number of shipwrecks. The increase was not surprising given the fact that sailors had no reliable way to measure longitude, ASTROLABES and CROSS STAFFS provided clues about latitude but could be difficult to use, no one knew how to avoid the submerged portions of ICEBERGS or shoals that had not yet appeared on European maps, and there was no reliable way to predict the arrival of major storms. Further, printed charts contained errors, as the English writer Edmund Wright argued.

The best known shipwreck narratives came from Portugal, and many of them described disasters that befell ships on the return part of the Lisbon to Goa route (the so-called *carreira de India*), when the ships were often overloaded with spices or passengers or leaving too late in the season when the risk of monsoons was greater. They included the *Navragio* of JORGE D'ALBUQUERQUE COELHO, which had many elements of a classic bit of literature: capture at sea by pirates, religious clash between Protestants (see REFORMATION) and Catholics, a captain's bravery, and divine intervention. But the themes struck there appeared time and again. Consider the narrative of Diogo de Couto, who wrote about how the crew of his ship endured an entire night "in great trouble and distress, for everything they could see represented death. For beneath them they saw a ship full of water, and above them the Heavens conspired against all, for the sky was shrouded with the deepest gloom and darkness." Those on board presumed that their end was near. "The air moaned on every side as if it was calling out 'death, death'; and as if the water which was entering beneath them was not sufficient, that



which the Heavens poured on them from above seemed as if it would drown them in another deluge.” The author of the narrative, like others, presumed that such actions were the result of a divine plan. Those on board agreed with such an assessment, at least according to the narrative. “Within the ship nothing was heard but sighs, groans, shrieks, moans, and prayers to God for mercy, as it seemed that He was wroth [extremely angry] with all of them for the sins of some who were in the ship.”

The number of shipwrecks declined after the middle of the 17th century, but the narratives remained popular. The best known were published in Lisbon and were sufficiently popular to have been reprinted in the mid-1730s, when a two-volume work included shipwreck narratives that dated from 1552 to 1602. The modern historian C. R. Boxer notes that these accounts came directly from survivors or were compiled by contemporaries, and that they were “as a rule movingly and graphically written, if not always as grammatically as could be wished.” The narratives also tended to provide ethnographic details about foreign peoples, especially about Southeast Africa, the location of a number of shipwrecks. Modern reprintings suggest that the narratives continue to appeal.

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## Silk Road

The overland route between China and Europe that moved goods thousands of miles and expanded consumers’ tastes in the regions it traversed.

The Silk Road is a series of routes, primarily overland, that enabled merchants to move goods a distance of 5,000 miles from the road’s origin in the Chinese city of Chang’an (X’ian) toward its western termini on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, where merchants would arrange for the shipment of goods to Europe via such international commercial centers as Constantinople (modern Istanbul) and VENICE. The route itself ran through settlements throughout central Asia, including (moving from east to west) Lanchow (Lanzhou, in modern China), Astana and Kao-chang (Gaochang) in the Gobi Desert, Kashgar and Yarkand at the western edges of the Taklamakan Desert, Balk and Bamiyan on the western border of the Hindu Kush. From that point, two distinct roads headed westward—a northern route that went through Samarkand

and Bukhara, along the Amu Daria river toward the Aral Sea and from there to the northern shores of the Black Sea (and ready access to Constantinople) and a southern route that ran from Merv to Tehran, Baghdad, and then to Antioch on the shores of the Mediterranean.

The Silk Road was well established by 1000 B.C., a period when the Chinese were already importing goods from distant locales. It was already well established by the time Marco Polo made his historic journey to China, and it was on the mind of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, who hoped to reach East Asia so that he could find a quicker way to bring silks and other goods that Europeans had grown to adore as a result of the ancient trade route.

It would be rare for anyone to do what Polo did—to travel the length of the ancient trading path. Instead, long-distance trade was primarily a series of short-distance exchanges that had developed over generations. Those exchanges, taken together, constituted a trade system that was in many ways the ideological inspiration for many of the European ventures into the Atlantic, including the numerous journeys in search of the NORTHWEST PASSAGE.

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## silver

Silver and GOLD mining in NEW SPAIN, along with trade established with East Asia, helped make Spain the richest and most powerful country in the world during the 15th and most of the 16th century, and silver mining remained a cornerstone in the Spanish American economy until the end of the colonial era.

Long before CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS made his historic discovery, the peoples of the Old World were obsessed with silver. Various coins (known as *grouch* or *grouck*) made of silver circulated in Istanbul and from there outward to the East Indies. Although no silver could be mined in India, silver rupees were in wide circulation by the 16th century. Under the dynasty of the Mings (1368–1644), elite members of Chinese societies traded silver ingots in their transactions, although the value of silver kept it out of the hands of most of the population. Europeans, too, had long come to value silver; they developed elaborate technology for finding silver mines, evident at the famous mine at Croix-de-Lorraine in the Vosges. Such mechanical innovation helped Europeans to increase the rate of silver production by perhaps 500 per cent from 1460 to 1530. Still, no matter how inventive production became, it could not keep up with demand. Hence, Europeans’ search for silver became a defining component of the age of expansion.

Desperate to find silver, the Spanish took advantage of indigenous knowledge concerning Native mining locations and established settlements near rich silver deposits. Most of the silver-producing areas located before 1600 were situated in the central ANDES MOUNTAINS. In MEXICO the Spanish mined silver in the area stretching from Santa Barbara to Pachuca, including Guanajuato, Sombrerete, and ZACATECAS. The flood of silver and gold taken to Spain during the early colonial era caused inflation in the European economy. Because Spain had a constant flow of specie into its economy during the 16th and 17th centuries, the Spanish fell behind the rest of Europe in creating a domestic manufacturing economy, and this fact contributed to Spain's decline from its position of prestige and power during the late 17th and 18th century.

Most of the laborers used in Spanish silver mines before 1600 were Native Americans. At first, *encomenderos* sent Natives assigned to them as part of their *ENCOMIENDAS* to work the mines. After the 1550s wage labor and drafts provided labor for the silver mines. The Spanish implemented the use of the *REPARTIMIENTO* to supply draft labor in Mexico. At POTOSÍ in the Andes, the draft was called the *mita*, and it provided more than 10,000 workers for the mines and the processing of ore, although the Spanish also relied on wage laborers to perform the work necessary in the mines.

Once the Spanish began to haul silver to the Old World, it spread everywhere. Mints in Delhi began to produce rupees once shipments of silver began to arrive from New Spain in 1542. The Chinese got silver from Spanish ships sailing west from New Spain toward Manila. As one commentator put it, Chinese merchants "would journey to hell" to get the goods they needed to trade for silver because, as one Chinese aphorism put it, "*plata sa sangre*"—"silver is blood." According to one estimate the Chinese received perhaps 1 million pesos worth of silver each year from New Spain, an extraordinary amount of precious metal that never reached Europe even though the trade enriched the Spanish.

Silver, like other commodities, fluctuated in price. From the 13th century to the mid-16th century its value increased, but by 1550 or so, when a new process of producing silver known as amalgam meant a dramatic expansion in production in the Western Hemisphere, its value slipped and inflation set in. Over time, production spread within the Americas, and silver recovered its value. In the end, one development was obvious: American silver enriched Spain by enabling it to overcome Europe's chronic shortage of specie (hard currency), although the commerce also prompted other nations to increase their efforts to establish colonies and mines in the Western Hemisphere.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

## slavery

Ancient in its origins, slavery became of fundamental importance in the early modern Atlantic world when Europeans decided to transport thousands of Africans to the Western Hemisphere to provide labor, especially for mines and plantation agriculture.

In 1492, the year that CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS sailed west, slavery was an institution known in perhaps every society in the Atlantic world. Although the nature of slavery and the treatment of slaves varied from one place to another, the institution was based on the idea that certain human beings had a right to own others. In some societies the right to own slaves came to victors in war, who took captives and forced them to perform certain tasks. In other places men, women, and children who were enslaved could be bought and sold, and the commerce in human beings, known as the SLAVE TRADE, frequently led to slaves being forcibly moved far from their homelands. Although some scholars might dispute that slavery existed in many indigenous American nations, even in those societies individuals captured in hostilities often had to perform tasks for their captors. Some of the captives could also become adopted into families and integrated into new communities.

Before the early modern period many Europeans inhabited slave-owning societies. That is, they lived in communities in which individuals possessed slaves—individuals bound into forced labor—but local economies were rarely, if ever, dependent on the labor provided by the slaves. In these societies, those who became enslaved were those who committed certain crimes. For example, someone convicted of violating the English Vagrancy Act of 1547 could be sentenced to a two-year term of servitude. In some places such sentences were less desirable than capital punishment, but the forced labor demanded of a criminal was not the equivalent of slavery as it developed in the Atlantic world. Only in rare instances in Europe was slavery an inherited status that could be passed from parent to child. Further, although a master could control the labor

of a convict, he or she could not treat the bound laborer as a piece of property; individuals retained certain basic rights as human beings, notably the right to life. In essence, according to European practice that existed from the age of Aristotle, slaves were subordinate members of families. By the early modern age precedent for such a belief was longstanding. Roman law recognized a *servus* ("slave") as an individual who was legally deficient—unable to be a witness, for example, or execute a will—but still a person.

Slavery existed in Africa long before Europeans began to colonize the continent. The institution thrived in Africa because, as the historian John Thornton has succinctly put it, "slaves were the only form of private, revenue-producing property recognized in African law." Africans were different from Europeans in this sense, because Europeans tended to own land, which became the basis for wealth; laws such as those governing primogeniture and *ENTAIL* kept land within individual families. Although they did not share Europeans' belief that land could be owned, Africans still held to notions that individuals and families could own property. Thus, slaves became for Africans a form of property that could be used to generate wealth; as Thornton noted, "slaves became the preeminent form of private investment and the manifestation of private wealth—a secure form of reproducing wealth equivalent to landowning in Europe."

Like Europeans, Africans tended to treat slaves as subordinate children. In KONGO, for example, the term *nleke* referred to both a slave and a child. Most slaves, of course, were not children. Men and women became enslaved when they were captured in war. That fact needs to be emphasized because it suggests that those who sold slaves were in the process of selling individuals who tended not to be from the sellers' own communities or cultures. Once enslaved, men and women often performed necessary tasks for elite groups, such as state officials who needed military assistance to advance their goals. Because African empires tended to result from the consolidation of smaller states, slaves bound to serve an empire could be used to suppress internal dissent. Documentary evidence suggests that slave armies were crucial in SUDAN, SONGHAI, Ndongo, and Kongo, among other places. Slavery existed in Muslim societies as well as non-Muslim because ISLAM, like Christianity, accepted slavery as a normal part of social order.

The slave trade began to take on its modern form when Europeans arrived in Africa and sought laborers. The fact that Europeans tended to land in cities where slavery existed and where local elites in all likelihood had their own slaves facilitated the first movements of bound African laborers to Europe, but the existence of slavery within Africa did not, in itself, lead to the slave trade. After all, the supply of slaves in Africa did not create a demand for slave labor in

Europe and in European possessions in the Atlantic world. Rather, Europeans who were seeking laborers seized on an already existing institution and transformed it to meet their own interests. In the process the slave trade expanded in Europe when European and African slavers tried to meet growing demand by capturing new groups of potential slaves and sending them into servitude. Thus, the earliest organized transport of slaves from Africa to Europe took place when Portuguese mariners began to purchase near Senegal slaves who were already bound for the SAHARA. DIOGO GOMES's successful negotiations in West Africa led to an expansion of this early trade after 1456. Each year the Portuguese purchased up to 2,500 slaves who would otherwise have remained on the continent. The Portuguese did not take all of these bound laborers to Europe; they often resold the slaves to merchants in the GOLD COAST who had need for their labor and who already inhabited a society where the buying and selling of slaves was commonplace. By the mid-1510s Portuguese colonizers in the Tomistas Islands were importing perhaps 4,500 slaves each year, most of them from Kongo. That trade reflected the fact that Europeans had been gaining slaves not only from West Africa but also from the central parts of the continent as well. By the end of the 15th century, Europeans who wanted to purchase African slaves could do so in Valencia, SEVILLE, and LISBON. A commerce once confined to Africa had become a growing economic concern for Europeans poised to expand their horizons farther west into the Atlantic. However, it should be noted that at least some African states had begun to disassociate themselves from the trade.

From the start Africans and Europeans alike recognized that the Atlantic slave trade represented a new and ominous development. Perhaps it was that recognition that led the rulers of BENIN to halt their active participation in the Atlantic slave trade by 1550, and possibly as early as 1520. Gomes Eannes de Zurara, a courtier to the Portuguese Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR, recognized the human consequences of the slave trade when he witnessed a ship landing in Portugal in August 1444. "What heart could be so hard," he later wrote, "as not to be pierced with piteous feeling to see that company? For some kept their heads low, and their faces bathed in tears, looking upon one another. Others stood groaning very dolorously, looking up to the height of heaven, fixing their eyes upon it, crying out loudly, as if asking help from the Father of nature; others struck their faces with the palms of their hands, throwing themselves at full length upon the ground; while others made lamentations in the manner of a dirge, after the custom of their country." He also recognized one of the other defining features of slavery: the fact that slaves were often separated from friends and family members, thereby adding to the horrors they suffered. Prince Henry, for his part,

took 46 of the 235 slaves who arrived, the “royal fifth” that was his due.

From the mid-15th century to the end of the century, Europeans purchased African slaves and transported them to the Continent or to European possessions in the Atlantic such as the Portuguese colonies on MADEIRA and the AZORES. By the end of the 15th century slaves could be found not only in the port at Seville, a logical destination, but in thriving Italian cities such as Rome, Florence, Genoa, and VENICE. Although the Portuguese became the most important intermediaries between Africa and Europe, over time slavers arrived in Africa from other European states as well. No country had a monopoly on the slave trade; by the end of the early modern period slaving vessels had emanated from across Europe.

Europeans purchased slaves because they needed their labor. While many Europeans probably would have preferred to employ other Europeans, the booming economy of the 16th-century Atlantic world encouraged colonizers to seek opportunity as quickly as possible. Spanish colonizers in the Americas did enslave Natives and forced others into tributary relationships to satisfy the economic desires of those who owned *ENCOMIENDAS*. But because the Spanish Crown feared that enslaving Indians represented a conflict with its goal to spread Catholicism among the Natives, imperial officials outlawed the enslaving of Native Americans unless the Indians attacked the colonists first. In parts of NEW SPAIN colonists seeking labor at times provoked Native peoples to attack, but such efforts had a limited impact on the number of slaves in the Western Hemisphere.

Over time the indigenous peoples of the Americas could not satisfy European colonizers’ insatiable desire for labor. Thus, when colonists settled on SUGAR production in the Atlantic islands, Africans became enslaved to perform the back-breaking work of clearing fields, tending crops, and producing molasses. When Native Americans died in the Western Hemisphere as a result of epidemic DISEASES, such as SMALLPOX, which were part of the COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE, Europeans who wanted to mine SILVER turned to African slavers to provide them with the labor they needed. One sign of the rapid development of slavery and the slave trade can be seen in surviving statistics from PERU. The first African slaves arrived in the colony in the early 1560s. By the end of the century slaves in Peru had come from parts of the SENEGAMBIA and Guinea-Bissau region—men and women whose cultures were Biafra, Bran, Berbesi, Jolofo, Mandinga, Nalu, Bañol, Casanga, Fula, and Bioho—but also from other parts of West, central, and South Africa. By the end of the century Portuguese ships had hauled approximately 264,000 Africans into slavery in the Americas, with another 2,000 or so transported by English ships (see the entry on the slave trade for more

details). Most went to mines in Spanish America, such as the infamous silver operation at POTOSÍ, which had earlier relied on indigenous slaves drafted through the *REPARTIMIENTO* system. Eventually the majority worked on plantations producing goods, notably sugar, for European consumers.

The forced migration of thousands of Africans to European colonies in the 16th century represented a decisive stage in the expansion of slavery in the early modern world. When Portuguese slave ships disgorged their human chattel in the Western Hemisphere, they also unleashed a new kind of slavery. Unlike slavery in the Old World, this form of bound labor in the NEW WORLD had distinct racial elements. Europeans might have considered enslaving some members of their own communities, but a specific term of forced labor bore little actual relationship to a system in which individuals captured in war and sold to slavers had to spend the rest of their lives in captivity. African slaves in the Americas did not agree to their captivity, nor did they ever give permission for those enslaving them to claim, as the slavers did, rights to the slaves’ children, but in the Western Hemisphere slavery became both racially demarcated and generationally binding. The English, who would later rely on slave labor to produce TOBACCO, rice, and other goods in their southern colonies on the North American mainland, seemed predisposed toward such racial categorizations. Once slavery became a social fact in the Americas, it spread ever further, in the process destroying individual slaves’ lives and families, robbing African communities of individuals necessary to sustain them, and forever tainting Europeans who participated in the noxious commerce.

In recent years scholars have done much to demonstrate the horrors of slavery and the poisonous relations it engendered. They have, at the same time, also written with great power about the retention of agency on the part of slaves, who managed even in the harshest circumstances to find ways to control at least some aspects of their lives. Historians have looked anew at the origins of the modern slave trade and identified links between economic development in Africa, the participation of some Africans in the tragic commerce, and the appropriation of the business of buying and selling human beings by Europeans. Scholars have also revealed how slavery evolved during this era. Slavery, these studies reveal, emerged with enormous power before 1607, but the expansion of the slave trade in the 17th and 18th centuries eventually dwarfed the forced movement of peoples during the 16th century.

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## slave trade

The shipment of Africans against their will from their communities to outposts scattered across the Atlantic world where those who held them in bondage hoped to use the slaves' labor to produce wealth.

In essence, the slave trade was the mechanism whereby SLAVERY spread outward from Africa during the early modern period. But forced migration of slaves across the Atlantic did not represent the origins of the slave trade. As various scholars have demonstrated, an earlier slave trade had led to the relocation of thousands of Africans to the East long before CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS ever sailed to the West. Slavery, which existed when scribes wrote both the Old and New Testaments, appeared in the Koran as well; in that sacred text slaveholders learned that they should be willing to offer freedom to the slaves they kept in bondage if the slaves could afford to purchase their liberation. But many Muslims (see ISLAM), like other peoples in the world, nonetheless participated in the slave trade. One historian has estimated that slave traders arranged for the transportation of 4,820,000 slaves across the SAHARA between 650 and 1600. During the 10th and 11th centuries, when this trade hit its peak, perhaps 8,700 slaves left their homelands through this trade each year, although by the 15th century the annual rate had dipped to approximately 4,300 (before rising again, during the 16th century, to 5,500 per year). These numbers are estimates based on a variety of sources. But whatever the precise figure, there is no doubt that the eastern slave trade took hundreds of thousands of Africans from their communities to new lives. Once enslaved, men might become soldiers, grooms, scholars, clerks, and secretaries; female slaves found themselves as concubines, musicians, cooks, or domestic workers. Although many of the enslaved might have landed in North Africa or southern Europe, others traveled much farther; substantial numbers made it as far as India and China.

Although there had been an internal slave trade within Africa long before Europeans arrived to establish colonies, in addition to the eastern slave trade, the commerce in slaves increased dramatically after the mid-15th century, when Portuguese slavers began to transport Africans to Europe and to offshore European colonies. The Portuguese were able to succeed quickly in the business because they

took advantage of the existing African slave trade whereby individuals captured in war were taken against their will to people who were willing to purchase them.

From the time that it began, the slave trade had a devastating effect on individuals, families, and communities. Witnessing the unloading of 235 slaves in the Portuguese port near Lagos in August, 1444, Gomes Eannes de Zurara, an associate of Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR, learned that it became necessary "to part fathers from sons, husbands from wives, brothers from brothers. No respect was shown to either friends or relations, but each fell where his lot took him." Wherever slavers hauled their human wares, such desperate scenes invariably followed. He could have added that the capture of large numbers of members of any community had a devastating effect on that settlement's ability to survive, especially if slavers disturbed the sex balance of a town and thereby endangered its ability to stage a demographic recovery from the slave raids.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to take a sustained interest in the slave trade, and to get their business started they knew they had to provide a range of commercial alternatives to the Africans who controlled the supply of slaves. Thus, when the Portuguese arrived in African ports in the 15th century to purchase human labor, they brought trade goods such as cloth from Flanders and France, German brass goods, Venetian glass, spiced wine from the CANARY ISLANDS, conch shells found in the Canaries, and even goods produced in Africa itself, such as woolen shawls made in Tunis. To get these goods, those in command of slave ships had only to stock up on products in LISBON or some other southern European entrepôt. The horrors of the slave trade, not only the destruction of African communities but also the terrible privations suffered by slaves during the MIDDLE PASSAGE, rested initially on the ability of the Portuguese to offer the wares of countless European artisans to Africans who found them suitable compensation for less fortunate Africans, most of them taken in wars, who were already enslaved. According to one surviving valuation, one HORSE was worth 25 to 30 slaves in SENEGAMBIA in the 1440s. But the Portuguese were not the only Europeans to embrace the opportunities afforded by the sale of human beings. The enterprising English merchant-seaman SIR JOHN HAWKINS became a pioneer of the slave trade for his nation when he made three separate journeys from Africa to the Western Hemisphere in the 1560s, each time hoping to profit from the sale of slaves.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the slave trade was its dramatic expansion over the course of the 16th century. In 1500 slavers exported approximately 5,000 slaves each year from Africa. By 1550 the number had increased to 8,000 annually, and by 1600 the average yearly exports reached 9,500. Of course, the trade took

different tolls on different regions. During the 16th century the greatest number of slaves came from Angola, which contributed approximately one-half of all exported slaves in 1500 and whose share increased to more than 65 percent of the total by the mid-17th century. Yet while the share of Angolans rose, those from BENIN decreased after local authorities there moved to ban the trade in the mid-16th century.

The most recent estimates of the slave trade for the period from 1519 to 1600 provide a clear picture of the range of slaves' origins. During those 80 years the largest number of slaves, approximately 221,200, came from West central Africa, with additional slaves from other areas—Senegambia, the GOLD COAST, the Bight of Benin, and the Bight of Biafra, each of which contributed approximately 10,700 humans. With another 2,000 from Sierra Leone, the totals for the period add up to 266,000. Virtually all of these slaves were destined for NEW SPAIN and BRAZIL, suggesting that the Spanish and Portuguese alike recognized the utility of slaves for the colonial economies of the NEW WORLD. By the latter decades of the 17th century, slaves left Africa on ships owned by the English, Dutch, Danes, and French along with those still hauled by the Portuguese.

Modern studies of the slave trade reveal how the entire institution of slavery evolved during the course of the 16th century. By 1580, slavers had transported 58,000 Africans to the Americas. The number seems high, but demand was relatively low since many slaves were destined for Spanish haciendas, whose owners tended to be less driven by the search for profits than later plantations designed explicitly for export. The shift can be seen in the numbers. Between 1580 and 1640, more than one-half million Africans arrived in the Americas, and the further expansion of the plantation system led to an enormous increase in the scale of the trade after 1700.

Despite the ability of slavers to transport humans to new destinations, individual slaves and entire groups often resisted their captors. Recent estimates suggest that as many as 10 percent of all slave ships experienced rebellions, and various kinds of documentary evidence suggest that slaves often decided to take their chances against their captors rather than suffer the continued horrors of being treated like property. The slave trade, then, succeeded in the minds of Europeans, but it could not quell an individual slave's desire to break free.

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### smallpox

A potentially deadly disease that caused so-called virgin soil epidemics to wreak havoc on the populations of the Americas as a result of the COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE.

The extremely infectious DISEASE of smallpox turned out to give Europeans a major (if unintentional) biological advantage in their invasion and colonization of the Western Hemisphere, where American Indian populations had never in recent memory encountered this virus or many other epidemic diseases. Smallpox is communicated through the air, usually entering each host through the respiratory tract. Sufferers can contract the disease not only by breathing infected air exhaled by the victims but also by contact with the fluids from exploding pustules and open sores. The early symptoms of smallpox include headaches and nausea as well as skin eruptions that leave disfiguring scars. In survivors smallpox can also cause blindness and infertility. While many forms of the virus are extremely deadly, it only lives a short time in each host, an average of 12 to 18 days. Death by smallpox takes the form of massive vomiting of blood, either through intestinal or uterine hemorrhage.

In Europe and Africa smallpox was known as a childhood disease in the 15th century. Strains of smallpox could vary greatly in their virulence. In Europe and Africa smallpox was common but not always deadly, and most of the population contracted the disease as children and either died or gained immunities. However, around 1500 the virus in Europe evolved into a strain that killed most of its hosts, and some claimed it was now as deadly as the PLAGUE. This deadly form of smallpox did not come to the Americas for almost two decades. When it did, it arrived either by means of smallpox scabs left in a bale of cloth or from a few infected African slaves from CASTILE who had been born in slavery outside of Africa and thus isolated from contact with a milder form of the disease while children. Smallpox also played an important role in the establishment of the

**SLAVE TRADE.** Most Africans were already immune to the disease as a result of childhood exposure. Based on these early slaves' high survival rate during the smallpox epidemics decimating the indigenous populations of the Americas, Europeans concluded that Africans made a better labor force in reaping the resources of the NEW WORLD.

According to sources from the 16th century, smallpox was one of the first and most deadly European diseases to ravage the indigenous peoples of the Americas, although it is necessary for historians to be cautious in accepting diagnoses of smallpox in the historical records because smallpox is misdiagnosed even today. In addition, smallpox often traveled with other epidemic diseases that could complicate both its diagnosis and its effects. Historians often translate the Spanish word *viruelas*, for example, as "smallpox," but in fact the word means pustule—a skin blister that also occurs in measles, chicken pox, and typhus. Still, because smallpox was a familiar (if usually less devastating) epidemic in European populations, it is likely that, on the whole, most 16th-century Europeans recognized smallpox when they saw it in the indigenous populations of the Americas.

Smallpox accompanied the CONQUISTADORES on their journeys through the Caribbean, South America, and present-day MEXICO and the United States, and the smallpox deaths of Indians in Spanish territories eventually numbered into the millions. In 1518 BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS wrote of the first major smallpox epidemic to sweep the island of HISPANIOLA. Few Spaniards died, but between one-third and one-half of the local TAINO Indian population perished. Las Casas also blamed the severity of the epidemic on the famine and overwork that the Spaniards forced upon the indigenous peoples. By 1550, as a result of invasion, slavery, and especially smallpox and other diseases, the Taino were extinct.

From the islands smallpox moved quickly to the YUCATÁN PENINSULA. In 1519 HERNÁN CORTÉS and his army inadvertently brought the virus to central Mexico, where it devastated the AZTECS, along with other diseases, including an unidentified one that resulted in massive nosebleeds. After these diseases swept through, the Spaniards laid siege to the Aztec capital for 75 days, after which the weakened population could finally no longer resist the Spanish. As with all of these epidemics, shortage of food and lack of medical care exacerbated the effects of the viruses. A smallpox epidemic is also the major suspect in the devastation of millions of indigenous peoples in the region of the Isthmus of PANAMA. In 1527 smallpox also killed many in the INCA Empire of the Andean highlands in PERU. From 1562 to 1563 the Portuguese in BRAZIL saw approximately 30,000 Indians dying from smallpox in their missions and slave labor camps, while the Portuguese themselves remained relatively unscathed. The Portuguese

interpreted their own survival as a sign that they had earned the grace of God, although modern scholars now attribute their health to the acquired immunities they carried in their bloodstreams.

Once introduced, smallpox became the most lethal killer in the Americas. Epidemics continued for generations, forever altering the nature of life in indigenous communities. Yet even though the prime cause for the extraordinary mortality lay with the lethal nature of the smallpox pathogen, it is impossible to dismiss the role that European colonization played in the severity of epidemics. New advances in analysis of infectious diseases now make it clear that epidemics became more deadly if they were associated with other changes in indigenous communities. The threats that Europeans posed to Native American communities, particularly those that reduced the amount of food available (caused by the spread of European ungulates into Americans' unfenced fields, for example) or forced people to migrate made individuals who suffered from those new pressures more likely to succumb to opportunistic diseases such as smallpox.

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—Maril Hazlett

## Songhai

The Songhai Empire achieved a dominant position in West Africa after the decline of MALI.

There remains debate about the origins of the Songhai. One tradition claims they descended from the Sorko, fishermen who had migrated from Lake Chad, and the Gow, who were hunters. Another tradition points to Berber migrants who entered the area around the seventh century and laid the foundation for what would become the Songhai Empire. Most historians agree that Songhai origins are sketchy and include the influence of numerous migrant groups to the region of the middle Niger.

The first recognized ruler of what would become the Songhai Empire was King Kossi of GAO. Kossi accepted ISLAM in 1009, which then played an important role in the commerce that developed across the SAHARA. Most historians agree that Kossi probably recognized the economic benefits of converting. Islam also became a unifying factor for the nascent Songhai Empire. Gao became the capital city, and their mixed economy of farming, fishing, herding, and trading provided stability for an increasingly powerful people.

In 1325 the Songhai were forced to pay tribute to Mali. The Mali ruler MANSA MUSA I had stopped at Gao while returning from his famed pilgrimage to MECCA. He demanded that the Songhai submit to his authority and took the Songhai ruler's two sons as hostages, but Songhai's tributary status lasted only about 10 years. Political changes in Mali afforded the hostage brothers an opportunity to betray the new Mali ruler and restore independence to Songhai. Over the next century the Songhai fought off intruders including the TUAREG, the MOSSI, and the Mandingo.

In 1464 Sunni Ali Ber, the 18th ruler in a line of kings established by Kossi, ascended the throne. He was a man of unusual courage and strength of purpose and sympathetic to pagan traditions despite his own Muslim convictions. However, his sympathies stemmed from his interest in consolidating power and loyalty rather than in promoting religious freedom. Sunni Ali became a ruthless ruler who was not particularly well-liked by his own people, although his conquests strengthened his empire and laid the foundation for Songhai's golden age.

Sunni Ali's son took the throne after his father's death in 1492. He lasted only a few months before Muhammad Toure, one of Sunni Ali's generals, usurped the throne with popular support. Muhammad Toure took the title askia and ruled Songhai from 1493 to 1528. Under ASKIA MUHAMMAD I's rule, Songhai expanded its borders as far west as Segou and as far northeast as Air. He controlled all of the territory that once belonged to Mali, and he acquired control of the trade routes leading to Egypt, Tunis, and Tripoli. In short, Askia Muhammad created the largest African state in sub-Saharan West Africa. His greatest gift to Songhai was its administrative system. He also encouraged scholarship and commerce. TIMBUKTU and Gao became major centers of learning renowned throughout the Islamic world.

Songhai continued to flourish after Askia Muhammad's reign, but its golden age was near its end. In 1589 El Mansur, the Moroccan ruler, set out to conquer Songhai. At that time no one believed that an army could cross the Sahara, but El Mansur insisted on an attack. He sent 4,000 soldiers with 9,000 transport animals. It took nearly six months for the Moroccan army to cross the desert, and

they lost 3,000 men in the process. They met Askia Ishak, the Songhai king, at Tondibi, which was about 25 miles from Gao. The Songhai army numbered more than 25,000 soldiers, but the Moroccans had guns. Despite being outnumbered, the bedraggled Moroccan army defeated Askia Ishak decisively. This defeat marked the beginning of Songhai's decline. Over the next century Songhai fragmented into smaller states and chiefdoms.

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—Tom Niermann

### **Soto, Hernando de** (ca. 1496–1542) *conquistador*

A CONQUISTADOR who led a contingent of Spanish through the modern-day southeast of the United States on an expedition in which he failed to find great wealth but inadvertently spread infectious DISEASES to the Native peoples of the region.

Hernando de Soto first arrived in the Western Hemisphere in 1514 when he left Spain in the company of Pedro Arias de Ávila, who was on his way to become governor of PANAMA. But Ávila's hope to become governor was thwarted by VASCO NÚÑEZ DE BALBOA, who resisted the newcomer's attempts to supplant him. De Soto witnessed the result of the clash between the two servants of the Spanish king: Ávila had Balboa captured and executed. Over time, de Soto became associated with many of the leading conquistadors of his age. He became a lieutenant to FRANCISCO PIZARRO and joined the expedition in PERU, a venture that led to the ransoming and execution of the INCA king ATAHUALPA. De Soto returned to Spain in 1536 and, like other returning heroes, received royal privileges as a result of his successes in South America. Among his benefits was the position of governor of CUBA.

De Soto left Spain in 1538 and headed once again to the Americas. After provisioning a small army in Cuba, he set sail for present-day FLORIDA, where he arrived in early summer 1539. Over the course of the following months, de Soto and his men often treated local Indians harshly, including the APALACHEE who inhabited the northern part of modern-day Florida (near present-day Tallahassee). In early March 1540 de Soto and his men set off on a journey to the north in search of mineral wealth, including GOLD.

Despite heroic efforts, scholars have never been able to retrace de Soto's exact route through the Southeast.



What is certain is that he led his men on a journey that traversed much of modern-day Georgia and relied on various regional rivers to get around. It is possible that they reached as far as the Arkansas River on the farthest northwestern part of their journey and possible that they descended part of the Brazos River in modern-day Texas as well. Archaeological evidence found throughout the Southeast dating roughly to the age of De Soto's *entrada* suggests that he either wandered to countless places or traded with local Native Americans for goods. The four accounts of his journey that survive give differing details, although it is likely that he and his forces traveled through modern-day South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana. In 1541 de Soto reached the banks of the Mississippi River

Whatever his precise route, there is little doubt that the Spanish caused enormous problems for the indigenous peoples of the region, including the Choctaw and Mobile, who battled de Soto's forces. During the winter of 1540–41, de Soto and his men often ran into troubles with the indigenous peoples of Chicaza, a community probably located near modern-day Columbus, Mississippi. By the time spring came around, the Chicaza had burned de Soto's encampment and twelve of his men had perished, along with 57 HORSES and a large number of pigs the Spaniards kept.

Having earned a reputation for cruelty, de Soto himself never managed to complete the journey. On May 21, 1542, after many of his men had died on the journey, he became ill and died near Natchez, Mississippi. His men believed it best to keep his death a secret, perhaps because some of them believed that de Soto had convinced the Indians that he was an immortal; they had also heard stories that Native Americans often desecrated the graves of Spaniards. After they buried him within their compound at night, local natives noticed the grave. This act of discovery terrified de Soto's men, who then dug up his body in the dark of night, filled his burial shroud with sand, and then dumped his body into the Mississippi River. At the time of his death, according to an account of an auction of his goods, he possessed four slaves (two of each sex) along with three horses and 700 hogs.

After wandering for another year, mostly on a venture to the west, the remainder of de Soto's entourage boated down the Mississippi to the sea. They crossed the Gulf of Mexico and eventually reached territory controlled by the Spanish. When they arrived they told tales of a journey that modern scholars estimate stretched over 4,000 miles of the American interior, much of it in dense swampland and thick forests.

An earlier generation of historians celebrated de Soto's achievements and saw him as one of the Spanish colonizers who helped to open North America to European civi-



Hernando de Soto (Library of Congress)

lization. That notion was based on the idea that de Soto's surviving men spread news about the region when they got to NEW SPAIN. However, recent historical work has suggested that de Soto's men did more than engage in periodic conflicts with Indians. According to surviving documents, it now seems likely that these Spanish spread epidemic diseases, notably SMALLPOX, among the Indians they encountered. An unwitting agent of the COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE, de Soto now appears to historians as yet another misguided Spaniard bent on the acquisition of wealth who never understood the ways in which his own presence in the Americas undermined the indigenous peoples he encountered.

**Further reading:** Charles Hudson, *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun: Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997); Angus Konstam, *Historical Atlas of Exploration* (New York: Facts On File, 2000); Anne Ramenovsky, *Vectors of Death: The Archaeology of European Contact* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).

## Spanish Armada

The brainchild of Spanish King PHILIP II, the Spanish Armada was a fleet of warships that attempted to invade England in 1588.

Animosity between Spain and England escalated during the decade of the 1570s and must be considered amid the political and religious backdrops of the second half of the 16th century. In 1556 CHARLES V, Holy Roman Emperor, abdicated the throne, allowing his son Philip to come into full inheritance. He found himself in command of not only Spain and its American possessions, but also of Sicily, Naples, Burgundy, and the Duchy of Milan. Philip already controlled the Netherlands and was married to English claimant Mary Tudor. In addition to these vast holdings, Philip stood to inherit the throne of Portugal when Sebastian, then king, died. Although already allied to the throne of Spain, the throne of Portugal would cement Spain's already strong military position, especially in the maritime realm, in which the addition of Portugal's fleet would solidify Spain's dominance in the Atlantic sea trade.

A number of events combined to undermine Philip's strong geopolitical position. In 1558 Mary died without leaving Philip, or for that matter England, an heir. The English throne passed to Mary's sister ELIZABETH I, whose long reign upheld Protestantism in a divided country. By political necessity Elizabeth I became Philip's enemy. During the early years of her reign, she concentrated on consolidating her position as the Protestant queen of a nation with a large Catholic minority. Although Philip looked forward to a few years of peace, the revolt of the Netherlands, led by William the Silent, along with the growth of Huguenot power in France under the direction of HENRY IV, placed Catholicism's most powerful political leader on the defensive.

The destiny of Philip's future plans and potential successes hinged on maintaining control of the English Channel. With the burgeoning seaboard trade of the 16th century, the English Channel became the essential highway for the nations of northern Europe seeking riches in the oceans of the world. Equally important for Philip, control of the channel could be a check on English ambitions.

Slow to enter the world of maritime trade, England's naval power was on the rise during the Elizabethan era. Led by merchant adventurer SIR JOHN HAWKINS and privateer SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, English ambitions on the open seas soon clashed with those of Spain. Engaging in the burgeoning SLAVE TRADE between the coast of Africa and the West Indies, Hawkins's third triangular voyage, in 1568, ended in disaster at San Juan de Ulúa in the West Indies because of Spanish interference. Only one of the English ships was destroyed, and Hawkins, along with Drake, escaped to England. In immediate retribution for the attack, England

captured some Spanish treasure ships in the Atlantic. More detrimental to Philip was Drake's new passion to exact vengeance upon the Spanish. Carrying out this goal throughout the decade of the 1570s, Drake struck Spanish vessels on the open seas and pillaged Spanish possessions on the Spanish Main, in PANAMA, and in the West Indies. Historians often refer to his raid of the Spanish controlled West Indies in 1585–86 as the *de facto* starting point of the war involving the Spanish Armada. In truth, Philip had started plans for an invasion of England years earlier, but it was in January 1586 that he began assembling the armada. More than two years in the making, the armada combined existing Spanish and Portuguese ships, already impressive in number and power, with a new building program. Many in Europe thought of Philip's end result as invincible.

While the English and Spanish each hoped to exert control over much of the Atlantic, technological and technical developments were already changing the nature of naval warfare. Through the middle of the 16th century, most sea battles had been fought at close range, with ships lying next to one another. In 1571 the Spanish, with the help of other Christian forces, defeated the Turkish navy, a power in the Mediterranean Sea, at Lepanto by using galleys propelled by oars, the general type of ship used since Greek and Roman times. However, by then the English Sea Dogs, led by the likes of Drake and Hawkins, were perfecting very different tactics. They began to rely on low-lying and highly maneuverable vessels that could be turned windward so they could pound the enemy's fleet from a distance and thus avoid hand-to-hand combat with the skilled Spanish infantry on the ships.

Departing from LISBON on May 30, 1588, the armada entered the English Channel on July 30, skirmishing in long-range gun battles with English warships over the next few days. Philip's fleet contained 124 vessels of varying sizes carrying 27,000 men and 1,100 guns. The English countered with 197 ships, 16,000 men, and 2,000 guns. Half of the Spanish men were soldiers, while all of the English were seamen. On August 6 the armada anchored at Calais, France. Median Sidonia planned a rendezvous with barges carrying Spanish troops from nearby Dunkerque, a port belonging to the Netherlands at the time, but Dutch gunboats prevented the barges from meeting the armada. Moreover, Drake dislodged the Spanish vessels with fire-ships—boats filled with combustibles and set afire to drift into the enemy fleet. Attempting to escape the flames, the Spanish ships sailed out to sea. Chaos ensued. Later in the morning 60 English ships attacked an equal number of Spanish ships outside the French port of Gravelines. Employing nimble steerage with a combination of long- and short-range shooting techniques, the English defeated the armada, killing 600 Spanish sailors, wounding 800 more, and taking still others prisoners. The new long-

range tactics employed by the English were taken up by other naval powers in the ensuing centuries, replaced only by the advent of steam and armor after 1850, which once again changed the nature of naval warfare.

A mix of anticipation and confusion within the international community characterized the months after the armada fled the English Channel. What remained of the crippled fleet sailed to the North Sea, returning to Spain by sailing northward around the British Isles. Only 67 ships returned to Spain, as heavy winds and storms combined to ground many of the ships off the coast of Ireland. Although rumors passed through France indicating a Spanish victory, the truth of the situation slowly dawned on the Spanish. In their response to the defeat, the Dutch cast a medal depicting the world slipping from the grasp of Philip as larger reverberations echoed across Europe and even the world.

Scholars have long argued that the defeat of the armada was a turning point in Spanish history, although some historians shy away from the phrase “defeat of the Spanish Armada.” The Spaniards remained strong enough to keep possession of their established colonies in Central and South America, although they no longer attempted to monopolize America north of FLORIDA. Nor did they expend much effort in defending the Asian empire once controlled by the Portuguese but by then under Spanish control. The English, Dutch, and French took advantage, expanding their influence into the East. In 1600 the English EAST INDIA COMPANY was chartered. The DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY (1602) and French East India Company followed.

England, France, and the Netherlands were also able to take advantage on the North American continent. On the immediate horizon the defeat of the armada allowed SIR WALTER RALEGH to send supplies to the 110 colonists who were left behind at ROANOKE, but by the time the English arrived, the colonists had disappeared. Despite the apparent tragedy, the English as well as the French and the Dutch could ply the seas more easily in the years following the demise of the armada.

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—Matthew Lindaman

## Spice Islands

A group of islands between southeast Asia and New Guinea, the Spice Islands (the Moluccas or Maluku Islands) were

the target of European sailors seeking to get to the “Indies” so they could bring back spices that Europeans craved during the early modern period.

From at least the time when medieval crusaders traveled to the Holy Land in search of glory and wealth, Europeans had become accustomed to the spices that travelers brought back to the Continent. By the 15th century the most desirable spices, notably cinnamon and pepper, could be found in a cluster of Pacific islands known collectively as the Spice Islands. These islands had the ideal climate for growing certain types of spices, all of which had great value to Europeans. When the English founded a colony on Run, one of the Bandu Islands, they got nutmeg cheap and resold it back home for, according to one recent estimate, a 32,000 percent profit. Sumatra had substantial supplies of pepper; Ternate, Tidore, and three other small islands contained the world’s supply of cloves. As one historian put it, “the cloves, nutmeg, mace, cinnamon, ginger and pepper spawned a new age of revolutionary economics based on credit, the rise of a rudimentary banking system, and ultimately free enterprise.” Although such a description exaggerates the significance of the spice trade, it nonetheless reflects the enormous enthusiasm for spices that existed in the 15th and 16th centuries.

In order to break Venetian merchants’ control of the spice trade, other Europeans mounted missions to the Indies. The Portuguese got there first, and much of the wealth they earned in the 16th century derived from their privileged position in the business. Diogo Lopes de Sequeira established a route from Goa and Calicut to the Spice Islands in 1509 through the Strait of Malacca. When he arrived in Malacca, he realized that the stories he had heard in India about the wealth to be derived from the spice trade were true. He also found that his ships were not the only foreign vessels in the port; others had come from Arabia, Japan, and China. When conflict between the Portuguese and the local Malaysians erupted, de Sequeira, reinforced by the Portuguese, took control of the city in 1511. His efforts and those of other Portuguese who followed helped Europeans to gain an understanding of the Indies and to master shipping routes through territory on the far side of the world.

Although the Portuguese believed that the TREATY OF TORDESILLAS (see Documents) had given them the right to control the Spice Islands, other Europeans wanted to participate as well. By the early 17th century the English EAST INDIA COMPANY and the DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY both aimed to bring back to Europe ships laden with rare and valuable spices. Promoters of overseas expansion and trade such as RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER and SAMUEL PURCHAS included reports of ventures to the Spice Islands, thereby giving their readers the political and economic story behind the spices they devoured.



**Further reading:** Charles Corn, *The Scents of Eden: A History of the Spice Trade* (New York: Kodansha, 1999); Angus Konstam, *Historical Atlas of Exploration, 1492–1600* (New York: Facts On File, 2000); Giles Milton, *Nathaniel's Nutmeg. Or, The True and Incredible Adventures of the Spice Trader Who Changed the Course of History* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1999).

**Stade, Hans (Staden)** (fl. 1547–1557?) *writer, traveler*  
A German who sought adventure in India, Hans Stade instead traveled from LISBON to BRAZIL, where he was captured by Natives and upon his return to Europe published an account of his journey and a description of the society and social mores of the TUPINAMBÁ.

Born in Homburg in Hesse, Stade left Germany for Holland and then Portugal seeking to find work on a ship traveling to the East. When he arrived there in late April 1547, a German innkeeper told him that he had missed his chance, but that it was still possible to travel to Brazil. Stade signed up to be a gunner on a ship whose orders were, as he put it in his account, “to seize such ships as commerced with the white Moors of Barbary” and, if possible, to attack any French vessels if their crews had been trading with Brazil’s Native peoples. Sixteen months later he returned to Lisbon after having seen the Western Hemisphere and considerable action at sea.

In the spring of 1549 Stade again left Portugal on a vessel bound for America. On the way he saw Portuguese colonies in the Atlantic “rich in sugar” where plantations were tended by slaves (see SLAVERY). When his ship reached Brazil, Stade was captured and then spent an unknown amount of time with the Tupinambá. While with them he paid careful attention, especially since he was convinced that they were preparing to eat him on a number of occasions, something that he knew that cannibals did. However, although Stade did watch his captors consume other victims, he was never eaten. He believed he owed his survival to his faith in his Protestant God, who even at times seemed to work miracles to preserve him. Eventually, a group of French sailors rescued Stade and returned him to Europe.

Sometime after his return, Stade wrote his account. Published in 1557 in Marburg under the title *Warhafftiger Historia and beschreibung einer Landtschaft der Wilden Nacketen Grimmigen Menschenfresser Leuthen in der Newenwelt America*—or, in translation, *Truthful History and Description of a Landscape of Wild, Naked, Cruel Man-Eating People in the New World of America*—Stade’s account soon became popular. The first part of the book contained his life story; the second part, far more interesting, consisted of an ethnographic description of the Tupinambá. Throughout the work Stade recognized the hand of the divine, which was especially evident when he kept being

spared from death. These references had a specific point. Stade hoped that his book would let “everyone” hear “that Almighty God, now, as much as ever, wonderfully protects and accompanies his believers in Christ among the godless, heathen people[.]” Although the religious references may have appealed to some readers, the popularity of his work might have had something to do with the fact that Stade included a number of illustrations of the Tupinambá in his account, including depictions of their CANNIBALISM.

Stade’s narrative provided Europeans with views about Brazilian Tupinambá that would last for decades. But he also wrote about an incident in which he met a French man who, Stade presumed, would come to his rescue. Stade was somewhat nervous because he had told his captors that he was French himself, and he feared what the unknown man might say. Still, Stade reasoned that “at all events he is a Christian, and he will say anything for the best.” But when Stade met him the other man spoke only in French, a language Stade did not understand, and thus did not respond. “Now when I could not answer him,” he wrote, “he said to the savages in their language, ‘Kill and eat him, the villain, he is a true Portuguese, my enemy and yours.’” Stade begged the man to at least tell the Brazilians not to eat him, which the French man refused to do. The retelling of the incident is laced with more comedy than tragedy, but it speaks to the simple fact that Europeans abroad often held onto their own prejudices even in distant places.

The success of the book was apparent from its wide circulation. A Flemish translation appeared in 1558, other German editions were published in 1567 and 1593, and a Latin version appeared in 1592; publishers in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries also brought out editions of the account, suggesting its almost timeless appeal. Most important, Stade’s work fell into the hands of the Flemish engraver THEODOR DE BRY, who used it as the basis for his *America tertia pars*, published with numerous illustrations in 1592. Although de Bry altered many of the illustrations, Stade’s observations nonetheless provided the basis for what became perhaps the most famous set of images depicting the Tupinambá in the 16th century. Those images were the ideal complement to Stade’s ethnographic description of the Tupinambá.

When the book was first published in Germany in 1557, it contained a preface by Dr. Joh. Drayandi (also known as Zychman) intended to convince readers of the account’s accuracy. Because what followed might have seemed incredible, such as the story of Stade’s invocation of God’s assistance so that rain would not fall on him and two Brazilians while they fished, the preface helped to convince otherwise skeptical readers that Stade was telling the truth despite the fact that travelers often told “unlimited lies” and spread “false and invented stories.” Such an assurance of accuracy no doubt kept readers from rejecting the claims



of a man whose descriptions of cannibalism were among the most graphic of any published in the 16th century.

Little is known of Stade's life other than the information contained in his account. But the fact of that book's survival is crucial because it provides additional evidence from the descriptions of Brazil and its peoples to that that can be found in the works of JEAN DE LÉRY and ANDRÉ THEVET.

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## Sudan

The Sudan, not to be confused with the modern East African nation the Republic of the Sudan, is the geographic region south of the SAHARA that was the home to several important early kingdoms including GHANA, MALI, and SONGHAI.

Originally taken from the Arabic phrase *Bilal as-Sudan*, meaning the “Southern Country” or the “Land of the Blacks,” Sudan referred to both a geographical and a cultural region. The dry, hot grasslands of the Sudan lay south of the vast Sahara, separating this ocean of sand from the forested regions bordering the Atlantic Ocean and the Bight of BENIN. Agricultural peoples flourished in the Sudan, cultivating millet, wheat, sorghum, and, by the 16th century, cotton imported from India. In the region's cities, where water was often more plentiful, melons, figs, citrus fruits, and grapes could be found. Millet and sorghum were the staples, each of them particularly suited to the local climatic and soil condition. Intense dry heat occasionally mitigated by seasonal rains, short growing seasons, and relatively poor soils made the cultivation of other grains and cereals untenable. Sorghums were more prevalent in the southern Sudan, where rainfall was heavier, about 25 to 50 inches annually, and millets predominated in the drier, northern region, where less than 25 inches of rain typically fell. Along the river valleys, including that of the NIGER RIVER, rice was an important crop. Farming in the Sudan was a family endeavor and, accordingly, a small one, with most farms ranging from two to eight acres. Irrigation provided some relief from the dry conditions, and wells were common in the savanna, particularly in those areas closest to the desert. Farmers in the Sudan practiced a complex system of agriculture, experimenting with various crops and using crop rotation systems in which certain plots of land would lay fallow, replenishing the soil's nutrients.

Although agriculture was the economic and cultural basis for the majority of those living in the Sudan, the kingdoms

that arose there based their power on other, more lucrative resources. GOLD, salt, and SLAVERY formed the foundation of the early Sudanic empires. Indeed, North African traders knew the earliest of these ancient empires, Ghana, as the “land of gold.” Ghana and its successor, Mali, traded gold mined from the Bambara and Bure gold fields in the western Sudan for salt mined in and to the north of the Sahara. Control over the trans-Saharan trade route provided these kingdoms with enough wealth and power to become vast empires. Their participation in the trade had an additional result, one with dramatic and important social implications. Through the trans-Saharan trade came ISLAM. Before about A.D. 1100, the people of the Sudan practiced local traditional religions; afterward, beginning with the nobles and elites, the Sudanic empires increasingly adopted Islam as their official religion. Although the general populace of these empires took longer to convert to the new religion, by the mid-15th century Islam became the dominant religion.

The Sudan, with its intermediate location between the Sahara and the forests along the Atlantic, had a unique position in the history of Africa in the early modern period. It served as the gateway between North Africa and the southern empires, and between East and West African kingdoms. As a cultural and geographical region, it served as an important link in the trans-Saharan trade and in the spread of Islam.

**Further reading:** “A Very Long History,” in *West Africa Before Colonization: A History to 1800*, Basil Davidson, (London: Longman, 1998), 1–14; Robert W. July, *Precolonial Africa: An Economic and Social History* (New York: Scribner's, 1975).

—Lisa M. Brady

## Sufism

Sufism, a mystical tradition within ISLAM based on a direct and personal communion between the divine and the human, spread from its seventh-century Arabian origins as far as Persia (Iran), Turkey, India, and Africa by the 12th century, gaining influence in North and West Africa by the 15th and 16th centuries.

The term *Sufism* comes from the Arabic word *suf*, meaning wool, and refers to the woolen garments worn by the Muslim mystics. Sufism, with its emphasis on the individual over the communal experience in the practice of Islam, challenged the political, social, and educational institutions that had developed in Islam beginning in the seventh century. Practitioners trace the origins of Sufism to the Prophet Muhammad, taking inspiration from his divine teachings as revealed in the Qur'an. Most Sufists were nomadic, traveling in search of masters who could teach them in the way to spiritual freedom. Although these masters typically were

nomadic themselves, by the 13th century Sufism became increasingly institutionalized through the process of establishing schools (*ta'ifa*) based on the method (*tariqa*) of a particular master (*shaykh*), often connected to frontier posts or hotels (*ribat*). Sufism played an essential role in Islamizing Asia and North Africa in the 11th century through the political and religious activity of its adherents, a process documented in the chronicles of the Islamic historians IBN KHALDÛN and IBN BATTUTA. One of the most famous Sufis was Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya, an eighth-century female *shaykh*. Sufism, due to its mystical traditions, allowed women to gain some modicum of power.

By the 13th century Sufism had become a profession, and by the end of that century a new form of power became associated with individual *shaykhs* upon their death. In this tradition a *shaykh* was assumed to have been gifted with spirit, or to hold the power of *baraka*, a gift that was passed on to his or her followers after death. This shift in Sufism from an urban, intellectual movement, as it had become by the 13th century, to a rural, mystical tradition appealed to a more general population, further aiding in the spread of Islam in West Africa. The European experience with Sufi orders began in the 14th century through the work of the Catalan mystic and scholar Ramon Lull. Much of what was known of Sufism in Europe before this time was learned through translations of Persian classical poetry and occasional travelers' accounts of the "Whirling Dervishes," Sufists known for their ecstatic trance dances.

Sufi orders played an important role in the Maghreb (North Africa) when they resisted Europeans' attempts, particularly those of the Portuguese, to gain a foothold in the region. These orders, associated with the *ribat*, came to be collectively known as MARABOUTS, who waged holy war, or *jihad*, against the invading Europeans. The Marabout movement spread south to west Africa, incorporating local traditions with Islamic tenets, and became an essential means through which Islam was introduced to the area.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## sugar

Arguably the most important foodstuff produced in mass quantities during the early modern period, the European

demand for sugar transformed the terrain of islands across the Atlantic Ocean and much of BRAZIL and encouraged those with capital to export bound laborers to produce the crop for distant markets.

At the turn of the first Christian millennium, sugar was a rare commodity, at least for Europeans. Although humans across the planet had consumed sugar (dextrose or glucose) in some form for millennia in fruits as well as the sugar to be found in honey (fructose), sugarcane (*saccharum officinarum*) itself probably originated in the South Pacific, possibly in modern-day Papua New Guinea. The indigenous peoples of Easter Island, the Solomon Islands, and elsewhere include legends about sugarcane in the stories of their origins. References to sugarcane can be found in India possibly as early as 1000 B.C. The ancient Greek historian Herodotus wrote about sugar in the fifth century B.C., and Alexander the Great had some exported from India to Europe in 327 B.C. References to the plant became more common during the first Christian millennium. By A.D. 800 Persians had made improvements to the refining process, and by 1218 a Chinese ambassador to India reported the cultivation of sugarcane, which locals used to make wine. MARCO POLO wrote about sugar in India during the late 13th century, and IBN BATTUTA also mentioned it in his 14th-century chronicle of his travels to the East. By the late 15th century, when VASCO DA GAMA had landed in Calicut, sugarcane cultivation was widespread. Sugarcane had reached China by approximately 1000 B.C. The 16th-century encyclopedist Li Shih-chen offered specific details about sugar production and its history in his *Pen-ts'ao-kung-mu*. Cultivation was never guaranteed, of course; mice devastated the Egyptian sugarcane crop in 1174, and caterpillars ate their way through sugarcane in Sicily in 1239.

Europeans acquired sugarcane later than much of the world, but when the crop and the knowledge for producing it spread, they eagerly pursued production. Prince HENRY THE NAVIGATOR arranged for the transportation of sugarcane to MADEIRA in the early 15th century, and the colony's sugar soon reached all of Europe. Extant documents reveal that Madeira sugar reached BRISTOL in 1456, Florence in 1471, and Ulm in 1490. SÃO TOMÉ, first seen by Europeans in 1470, became a major production center for sugar soon after its founding; by 1522 there were 60 sugar factories on the island. Sugar planters extended production to FERNANDO PÓO soon after.

When the Portuguese crossed the Atlantic Ocean, they believed that they had found an ideal locale for sugar. Although there is no clear evidence for the first production of sugar in Brazil, by 1526 merchants in LISBON were receiving sugar from that Portuguese colony. By the early 1530s sugar had become a staple export, and as a result the colonists who received captaincies often built sugar

factories on their holdings. To produce the sugar, the Portuguese soon turned to slave labor (see **SLAVERY**). The need for slaves to produce sugar was yet another by-product of the **COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE**: Europeans purchased African laborers because their **DISEASES** had destroyed the indigenous peoples on many of the islands. By 1584 the slave population in Brazil reached 10,000, primarily as the result of the success of sugar. Those slaves helped boost the colony's annual sugar exports from 2,470 tons in 1560 to 16,300 tons in 1600.

Other Europeans, too, raced to produce sugar. The Spanish established their first sugar works on Palma, in the **CANARY ISLANDS**, in 1491, although it is possible that they had begun to transport sugar to Gomera, another island in the chain, as early as 1480. **CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS** took seed and skilled farmers from Gomera to **HISPANIOLA** in 1493 (on his second voyage) and thereby began a lucrative export business. Columbus and his chronicler, Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (**PETER MARTYR**), each claimed that the soil and climate on the island were ideal for sugarcane. Over the course of the 16th century sugar production on Hispaniola expanded, as it did in the Portuguese colonies. In 1589 planters exported 892 tons of sugar from the island, although their output decreased over time; by 1608 sugar factories once capable of producing 2,225 tons were together exporting only 222 tons. A generation later English planters began to produce sugar on Barbados, and they, too, then needed to import slaves to maintain production after the demise of the indigenous population.

Once sugar production took hold, those eager to profit from it transformed once bountiful tropical islands into agricultural factories. By the mid-17th century planters on the English islands in the Caribbean often had to import food to feed themselves and their laborers because they had denuded the islands and eliminated potential sources of nutrition. Because sugar could be processed into various products, such as rum, its markets could not easily be saturated. As a result, sugar became, along with **TOBACCO**, rice, and wheat, one of the principal crops produced in the Americas shipped to Europeans. The success of the business, at least success for the Europeans who profited from the sale of sugar, was a testament to the farsighted vision of colonial planners such as **RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER**, who had argued that the Western Hemisphere was an ideal place for the production of agricultural goods to supply European markets. Of course, neither Hakluyt nor any other 16th-century promoter of colonization anticipated the extent of the **SLAVE TRADE** that would develop to serve the seemingly unquenchable European demand for sugar, nor could they have known that the economics of sugar and slavery enabled European planters to work slaves to death because the profits on sugar were so great that they could purchase more humans to produce the crop.

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### **Suleiman I (Süleyman)** (1494–1566) *monarch*

Ruler of the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) who led his empire to its greatest territorial, scientific, literary, architectural, and artistic heights, known to Europeans as Suleiman the Magnificent and to Turks as Suleiman the Lawgiver.

Born in the Black Sea city of Trabzon on November 6, 1494, little is known about Suleiman's early life. His father, Mehmed II, became governor of the province of Trabzon the year Suleiman was born and used his position as the ruler of the strategic region to position himself for becoming sultan. His mother was probably Hafsa Hatun, a daughter of the khan of the Crimean Tartars named Mengli Gray. As an elite child, Suleiman in all likelihood learned the Qur'an early, as well as Persian and Arabic. His father rose to become sultan by being able to persevere in a bloody struggle for the position. Once Mehmed became sultan, he appointed Suleiman to governor of Istanbul and later of Sarukhan, a post he held at the time his father died and Suleiman became sultan in 1520.

Over the course of his reign, Suleiman organized the internal forces of the Turks and then used his authority to wage military campaigns that added to the empire in Europe and Africa. By the time he died, his empire had expanded as far as Belgrade and Budapest and included such diverse territories as Algiers, Rhodes, and Baghdad. As he informed King Francis I of France in a letter written at Constantinople in 1526, he was "the Sultan of Sultans, Sovereign of Sovereigns, Distributor of Crowns to Monarchs over the whole Surface of the Globe, God's Shadow on Earth, Sultan and Padishah of the White Sea and the Black Sea, of Rumelia and Anatolia, of Karaman and the countries of Rum, Zulcadir, Diyarbekir, Kurdistan, Azerbaijan, Persia, Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem and all Arabia, Yemen and many other lands" that he, his family, and his ancestors had "conquered by the force of their arms." When his troops reached as far as Vienna, countless Europeans feared that Christendom itself would not be able to repel the Turks and **ISLAM**. At the time of his death, the Ottoman Empire was the most powerful in the world. Its lands included perhaps 35 million residents; Istanbul had a population of 700,000, far larger than any European city.

After he died he was entombed in a mausoleum designed by the famed architect Sinan and his memory celebrated by the poet Baki. “The Hungarian unbelievers bowed their heads before his flashing sword! The Franks knew well the cutting edge of his sabre!” Baki wrote. “The sun has come up; will the king of the world not awake from his sleep? Will he not leave his tent like the sky? Our eyes scan the road: no sign comes from the throne, the sanctuary of glory! The colour in his cheeks is faded, he lies with lips dried out, like a pressed rose without sap[.]”

Many Europeans feared Suleiman, but few doubted his abilities or his efforts to support culture and science in Turkey. Under his generous sponsorship the empire witnessed great advances in architecture, ceramics, painting, calligraphy, weaving, and poetry. He supported talented individuals such as Baki and Sinan as well as experts in Muslim law including Ebussuûd and Kemalpaşazade. After he was gone, the Ottoman Empire began its long collapse.

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### Sundiata Keita (Sundjata or Mari-Djata)

(ca. 1210–ca.1260) *monarch*

Sundiata’s legendary founding of the empire of MALI in the mid-13th century followed a mythical battle between two powerful wizards, Sundiata and Sumanguru.

Griots, traditional keepers of oral history, retell the epic tale of Sundiata’s birth and development into the leader of the Mande people. According to legend, Sundiata’s mother, Sogolon, took Sundiata with her into voluntary exile shortly after his birth in order to protect him from assassination attempts by his half brother, who had succeeded their father, Nare Maghan, to the throne of the Kangaba king-

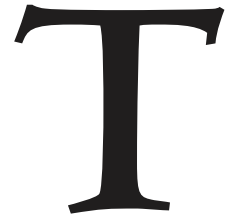
dom. Crippled at birth, Sundiata miraculously recovered full health by adulthood, giving him the ability to lead the Kangaba into battle against the Sosso (see GHANA) kingdom, which had defeated his half brother and subjected his people. Under Sundiata’s leadership, the Kangaba revolt against Sosso domination culminated at a battle at Kirina in 1234. This battle between Sundiata and Sumanguru, leader of the Sosso, was a great contest of magic. Sundiata shot Sumanguru with an arrow affixed with a white feather, which was deadly to Sumanguru’s magic, killing him and guaranteeing Sundiata’s victory.

Sundiata needed more than a single military victory to gain control, so he cemented his political ties to other Mande clans in the region, bringing them under the protection of the new Mali kingdom. Sundiata established his capital at Niani and extended his empire’s territories westward from the upper Senegal Valley toward the Gambia. His kingdom prospered because of a centralized governing structure ruled by the mansa, or king, and because of its connection to and eventual control of trade routes and GOLD fields. Although Sundiata had converted to ISLAM, he reverted to his traditional religion. Islam remained a powerful influence in his kingdom, evidenced by his son Mansa Uli Keita’s devout adherence to the Islamic faith. According to the Arab historian IBN KHALDÛN, Sundiata reigned for 25 years and was succeeded by his son Mansa Uli in 1260.

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—Lisa M. Brady





## Tabasco

A major cultural zone of Mesoamerica corresponding roughly to the borders of the modern-day Mexican state of the same name, Tabasco was a peripheral area that occasionally played an important role in the history of ancient MEXICO.

Tabasco lies along the Gulf of Mexico, at the base of the YUCATÁN PENINSULA. It is a low-lying, swampy region, with relatively few mineral resources. Parts of the region receive 120 inches of rain annually. Tabasco forms a fairly narrow bridge between the Mexican highlands and the Yucatán Peninsula, and the area has always been a cultural crossroads. Despite its dearth of resources, the first great civilization of Mesoamerica, the OLMECS, developed both here and in neighboring VERACRUZ. The Olmecs flourished during the preclassic period, from roughly 1800 to 400 B.C. They developed most of the royal rituals, religious traditions, and iconography used by other Mesoamerican civilizations until the arrival of the Spaniards.

During the classic period (A.D. 200–800), Tabasco was inhabited by Putún MAYA. These people developed advanced systems of trade that linked central Mexico with the Maya of the Yucatán and other groups in Central America. The archaeologist Sir Eric Thompson referred to them as the “Phoenicians of the New World.” As the great classic cities of central Mexico (TEOTIHUACÁN, MONTE ALBÁN, and CHOLULA) began to decline, these Putún Maya invaded the region. They established a capital at Cholula and spread their culture throughout the Mexican highlands. There is evidence that they had taken power in Monte Albán as well. With the rise of the TOLTECS, the Putún Maya’s influence receded back to Tabasco proper.

By the time of the AZTECS’ ascent to power in the 1400s, Tabasco had become somewhat of a backwater, with most of the great cultural and political developments taking place elsewhere. Ethnically and linguistically, the area remained strongly Maya, although there were many elements from central Mexico present as well. Commerce had declined

somewhat as an important economic activity, and much of the trade that did occur passed through the coast city of Xicallanco, farther to the east in what is now the Mexican state of Campeche. By the time of MOCTEZUMA II, the Aztecs had taken control of much of the Gulf Coast zone, and there is much evidence that Xicallanco itself was under Aztec control. As such, the Aztecs’ culture and language made stronger inroads, and some parts of the area spoke the Aztecs’ language of NAHUATL until the 20th century.

Tabasco played a fateful role in the Spanish conquest of the early 1500s. In 1519 HERNÁN CORTÉS landed in Potonchán, Tabasco. The Tabascans attacked, but Cortés and his men were victorious and stormed the city. The defeated Natives offered gifts of submission to Cortés and told him that far wealthier kingdoms lay to the west. One of his “gifts” was the slave girl MALINCHE, who spoke both Mayan and Nahuatl. Cortés had rescued a Spanish shipwreck survivor, who after eight years in the Yucatán had learned to speak Mayan. Thus, by using Malinche and this Spaniard, Cortés was able to communicate with the Native rulers: Malinche translated the Nahuatl into Mayan, and the Spaniard translated the Mayan into Spanish. Eventually, Malinche learned Spanish herself. A shrewd and intelligent woman, Malinche served as Cortés’s main adviser, explaining the nuances of Aztec ceremony and politics as well as how to use them to his advantage. There is no doubt that she was instrumental in helping Cortés defeat the Aztecs.

After the conquest Tabasco declined in importance. The Gulf Coast’s most important cities were outside of Tabasco proper—Veracruz to the north and Campeche to the east. The area was neglected by the Spaniards and remained a predominantly indigenous zone into the 20th century.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### Tacuba (Tlacopan)

A small but historically important city in central MEXICO which served as the junior partner of the Aztec Empire.

The city's origins are somewhat obscure, but by 1400 it had become a wealthy, influential city. Tacuba was located on the shores of Lake Texcoco, directly across from the Aztec city of TENOCHTITLÁN, and had enjoyed stable trade relations with the AZTECS for many years. Both Tenochtitlán and Tacuba were vassals of the Tepanecs, a powerful kingdom based in the city of Azcapotzalco. Relations between the Tepanecs and the Aztecs became strained, and in 1427 the Aztec king ITZCÓATL rose up in rebellion against his overlords. Unhappy with Tepanec rule and sensing the rising power of their longtime trading partner, residents of the city of Tacuba sided with Tenochtitlán and its ally Texcoco in the war against the king at Azcapotzalco. The three allies were victorious and set up the so-called Triple Alliance to govern their newly conquered territories. This alliance formed the basis of the Aztec Empire, which by 1519 controlled most of Mexico.

Although formally an equal partner in the alliance, Tacuba was clearly its weakest member. For example, Tacuba was allotted one-fifth of the annual tribute taken in by the alliance, while Tenochtitlán and Texcoco each took in two-fifths. Also, its troops were the last to be mobilized and usually were placed away from the main fighting, allowing few chances for earning glory or war booty. During the centralizing reforms of MOCTEZUMA II, Tacuba lost many of the rights and privileges it had formerly enjoyed, becoming little more than a subject city.

Tacuba also played a substantial role in the Spanish conquest. During HERNÁN CORTES's disastrous retreat from Tenochtitlán, he fled along the causeway to Tacuba because it was the shortest escape route from the city. In the final siege of Tenochtitlán, Cortés occupied Tacuba and used it as his base to direct military operations against the Aztecs.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### Taino

Arawakan-speaking people organized into autonomous chiefdoms, the Taino inhabited the Greater Antilles and the Leeward Islands of the Lesser Antilles in the Caribbean Sea, and they had the unfortunate circumstance of being the first

indigenous group in the Western Hemisphere to suffer the full repercussions of sustained contact with Europeans.

Linguistically related to the Arawakan-speaking Natives of Amazonia, the Taino of the Greater Antilles and Leeward Islands lived in hierarchical societies headed by chieftains called CACIQUES. These chiefdoms typically controlled land located along river basins extending from interior mountains to the ocean. This allowed them to maintain control of a variety of resources they needed for survival. The Taino survived on a subsistence diet that consisted of cultivated plants, fish, shellfish, turtles, and birds. They harvested, among other items, peanuts, sweet potatoes, manioc, a wide range of root crops, TOBACCO, and cotton on earth mounds spread equidistant from each other. The Taino used the slash-and-burn technique to clear land for crops and created artificial ponds to husband fish and turtles. They developed pottery of a high quality and slept in hammocks.

Caciques established their positions in Taino society through ownership of a large, seaworthy canoe and prowess in warfare, primarily against the Island CARIB, and in trade with other Taino communities in the Caribbean. These leaders received their choice of food and trade items. They and their families usually lived in villages segregated from the rank and file, who inhabited homes near the fields and rivers.

The Taino played a ball game that had religious significance on rectangular or oval courts surrounded by stones. Around these ball courts they built wooden sanctuaries to worship their pantheon of gods. Sometimes they carved effigies of their gods into the stones that surrounded their ball courts. There existed three variants of Taino culture in the Caribbean: Western Taino, Classic Taino, and Eastern Taino. Classic Taino primarily occupied the islands of HISPANIOLA, PUERTO RICO, and the eastern portion of CUBA, and they tended to be more hierarchically organized than the other two variants. The Western Taino lived in central Cuba and on JAMAICA, and the Eastern Taino inhabited the Leeward Islands of the Lesser Antilles.

The Taino had the misfortune of being the first Native American group to encounter Europeans. These were the people who initially met CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS on his first voyage to the Americas in 1492. As each island in the Greater Antilles and Leeward Islands of the Lesser Antilles came under the control of the Spanish, its Taino population declined rapidly due to exposure to European DISEASES, malnutrition, overwork, failed rebellions, and outright murder and abuse at the hands of the Spanish. On many islands the Taino population became extinct within 100 years.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

### Tarascan

A people of pre-Columbian central present-day MEXICO whose territory bordered on the extreme north edge of the Aztec empire.

Tarascan origins are unclear, but they probably arrived in central Mexico from the northwest about the same time as the AZTECS. Like their more famous neighbors to the south, the Tarascan had forged an alliance of three cities—Ihuatzio, Pátzcuaro, and Tzintzuntzan—that were neighbors on the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro. They seem to have been more advanced than their Aztec neighbors in the use of metal for practical, rather than merely ornamental, purposes, and this technological advantage has caused some historians to speculate that had Europeans arrived a century later they would have been confronting a Tarascan empire rather than an Aztec.

The Tarascan military superiority was borne out in at least one instance during the reign of the Aztec great speaker Axayácatl, when the Tarascan served the Aztecs one of their only crushing battlefield defeats. On this occasion the Tarascan had nearly 40,000 troops to the Aztecs’ 24,000, and only about 200 of the latter survived. In the end the Aztecs retreated and are not known to have ever attempted another battle with their neighbors to the north.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

### Téké

An ethnic group in the central region of the modern-day Republic of the Congo, the Téké formed part of the KONGO kingdom but eventually established an independent kingdom in the 17th century.

The Téké migrated to the central plateau in the late 15th century, becoming part of the decentralized kingdom of the Kongo. With the disintegration of the Kongo,

the Téké, also called the Anzinka, created the Tio kingdom, ruled by kings called *makoko*. The capital of the Téké administration was Mbe, from where the *makoko* ruled through subchiefs. Contact between the Téké and Europeans began in the mid-17th century with the arrival of Father de Montesarchio, a missionary to the region. The Téké participated in the SLAVE TRADE until the Tio kingdom began to weaken in the late 18th century.

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—Lisa M. Brady

### Tempest, The (1611)

A dramatic romance, *The Tempest* represents the last complete composition written by Elizabethan playwright and poet WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

First performed at Whitehall on November 1, 1611, *The Tempest* was among the entertainments for the celebration of the betrothal and marriage of JAMES I’s daughter, Elizabeth, in the winter of 1612–13. No one source for the play has been discovered. Rather, it appears the author drew a rich confluence of elements from both past and contemporary events. Concerning the latter, Shakespeare was no doubt influenced by the burgeoning English interest in overseas exploration. A storm at sea intensified by St. Elmo’s Fire, mutiny, and insurrection on an island, unfamiliar wildlife of a newly discovered world, and an unexpected rescue represent elements within the play culled from contemporary sources. Undoubtedly, Shakespeare had read the recently published “Burmuda Pamphlets,” including Sylvester Jordain’s *Discovery of the Bermudas*, the Council of Virginia’s *True Declaration of the State of the Colonie Virginia with a Confrontation of Such Scandalous Reports as Have Tended to Disgrace of so Worthy an Enterprise*, and a letter by William Strachey, the *True Report of the Wracke*—all written or published in 1610.

It is also quite possible that Shakespeare based the character of Caliban on the description of the Patagonian giants in PETER MARTYR’s *Decades*, a tract translated by Englishman RICHARD EDEN in 1555. Shakespeare’s use of contemporary materials related to exploration provides a link to the NEW WORLD for *The Tempest*, although he used a deserted Mediterranean island as the setting of his play. Beyond contemporary source material, scholars have connected *The Tempest* to the Bible, including Paul’s arrival on

the island of Malta, various Spanish romances, and Virgil's *Aeneid*. Some have argued that the play closely paralleled *Die Schöne Sidea*, a 1605 play by German Jacob Ayer.

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—Matthew Lindaman

## Tenochtitlán

Capital city of the AZTECS, Tenochtitlán was located on an island in Lake Texcoco in the Puebla-Tlaxcala Valley of central MEXICO and conquered by the Spanish CONQUISTADORES under the command of HERNÁN CORTÉS in 1521.

According to most versions of the Aztec origin myth, the god HUITZILOPOCHTLI led his people, originally known as the Mexica, from their home at AZTLÁN into the Puebla-Tlaxcala Valley of central Mexico, currently the location of Mexico City. The Aztecs were newcomers to an already hotly contested territory and thus were forced to found their new home in some of the least desirable territory, on an island and the surrounding swampy ground. They were later able to connect their city, named after Tenoch, one of their early leaders, to the mainland by means of three broad causeways, one north to Tepeyac, one west to Tlacopan, and one south to Coyoacán. These were broken at regular intervals by bridges under which lake traffic could pass spanned by wooden sections removable for defensive purposes.

By the time the Spaniards arrived in 1519, Tenochtitlán had overcome its humble origins. Taken together with its sister city, Tlatelolco, it boasted a population at 200,000, which was about five times the population of LONDON at the time, but size was not the only thing about Tenochtitlán that impressed the Spaniards. BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO's description in *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain* was characteristic of the conquistadores' reactions:

During the morning, we arrived at a broad causeway and continued our march towards Iztapalapa, and when we saw so many cities and villages built in the water and other great towns on dry land and that straight and level Causeway going towards Mexico, we were amazed

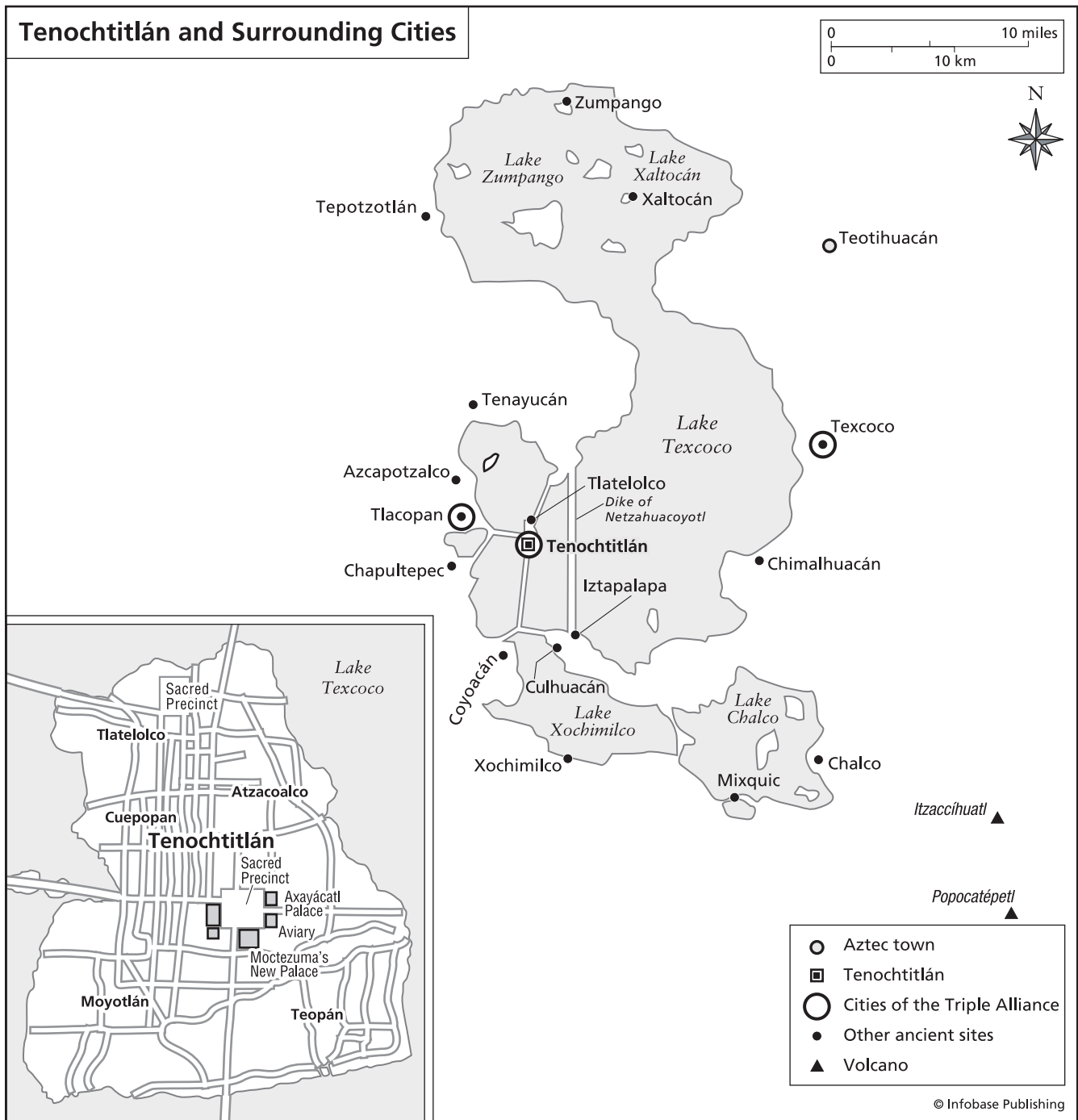
and said that it was like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis, on account of the great towers and temples and buildings rising from the water, and all built of masonry. And some of our soldiers asked whether the things that we saw were not a dream.

Some of the more well-traveled conquistadores compared Tenochtitlán with VENICE, and with good reason: Its total area of about 20 square miles was laid out on a grid, criss-crossed with canals crowded with canoe traffic, and much of the solid ground was, in fact, *CHINAMPAS*, or floating islands of soil-covered reed mats upon which the Aztecs planted crops and built dwellings. The *chinampas* were an integral part of the city and may have formed its literal foundations. The first Aztec settlers dug canals in the swampy ground of their new island home, cutting vegetation and piling it up to form their farming plots. They then spread mud from the canal bottoms onto the reed mats to form a fertile soil and anchored the whole complex with willows planted around the perimeter. Some of the residents' dwellings were built right on the *chinampas* and so did indeed rise from the water, but the opulent structures of Díaz's description were not the norm. Residents constructed ordinary houses of mud-plastered reeds with thatch roofs, which were light enough for the *chinampas* to support. More well-heeled residents of the city lived on the island itself in houses made of adobe bricks or masonry, while the highest-ranking officials lived in palatial complexes like those that Díaz described.

The focal point of the city was the temple precinct, the religious and spiritual heart of the Aztec Empire, consisting of a paved area surrounded by the *coatepantli* ("snake wall") and dominated by the Great Pyramid, a huge edifice surmounted with the twin temples of TLÁLOC and Huitzilopochtli. This precinct also contained the ceremonial ball court and the skull rack, upon which sacrificial victims' heads were displayed. The center of the sacred precinct was surrounded by the palaces of the great speaker and members of the Aztec royal line. Four processional avenues leading out from the temple precinct divided the city into four quarters, with the sister city of Tlatelolco functioning as a fifth quarter after the Aztecs subdued and forcibly incorporated it in 1473.

Tenochtitlán, the hub of the extensive Aztec trading network, hosted a market, but it was Tlatelolco, home to many members of the city's merchant class, that boasted the marketplace that was the real commercial heart of the empire. Tlatelolco's market impressed the Spaniards, who described it as being larger than those of Salamanca, Rome, or Constantinople. Every day an average of 60,000 people were engaged in buying and selling goods, ranging from prepared foods to luxury goods made of precious metals or highly prized ornamental feathers. Currency consisted of





CACAO beans, cotton cloaks, and, for more expensive items, gold dust-filled quills. The importance of trade and commerce to the Aztec Empire meant that the markets were patrolled by royally appointed inspectors who were to regulate prices and monitor the honesty of transactions. Thieves caught within the market were punished by being beaten to death on the spot.

While this mercantile activity made Tenochtitlán the economic heart of the empire, it was, in essence, a center of consumption rather than production. The main urban labor force consisted of artisans and other occupational specialists rather than agricultural workers, and although many inhabitants tended small food gardens, these plots were intended to produce only enough to supplement

household consumption, which consisted largely of purchased foodstuffs. Fishers, fowlers, and *chinampa* cultivators were able to produce a small supply of locally garnered food, but the city was largely dependent on imports for its sustenance. This would become a critical factor in the Spanish conquest of the city, when the conquistadores were able effectively to cut the city off from its food supply. The combination of hunger and SMALLPOX took its toll on the city during Cortés's four-month siege in 1521, and by the time it was over Tenochtitlán's original population of 200,000 was reduced to an enfeebled 60,000, who surrendered to the invaders.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

## Teotihuacán

The largest, richest, and most powerful city in Mesoamerica until the rise of the AZTECS' capital of TENOCHTITLÁN, Teotihuacán was a city so revered that later generations believed that it was the place where the gods had created the sun and moon.

Unlike many sites in ancient MEXICO, Teotihuacán was never a "lost" city. The area was never fully abandoned, although in Aztec times the only community there was a small squatter settlement taking advantage of the site's steady influx of pilgrims. Teotihuacán was located in the central valley of Mexico, just east of Lake Texcoco. There is no record of what the city was originally called or even what language its inhabitants spoke. The name *Teotihuacán* was given to it by the Aztecs, meaning "The City of the Gods," but by the time the Aztecs explored the site it had been abandoned for almost 800 years. Many of the structures and zones within the city have names given by the Aztecs, although it is not clear whether they reflect ancient memories or were simply colorful labels.

Settled by 1000 B.C., Teotihuacán, along with Cuicuilco, became one of two burgeoning centers within the Valley of Mexico. Both cities developed rapidly and by 300 B.C. had as many as 10,000 people apiece. Shortly thereafter, disaster struck: A series of volcanic eruptions devastated the agricultural land around Cuicuilco and partially buried the city. With the destruction of its closest rival, Teotihuacán flourished and grew to become an enormous city. There are several reasons for this spectacular

growth. First, the lands around Teotihuacán were fertile, facilitating intensive agricultural systems. Second, its residents controlled rich sources of obsidian, a volcanic glass highly valued throughout Mesoamerica. Finally, the city emerged as a great religious center, drawing pilgrims from across the region and exporting cult items and religious paraphernalia. By 100 B.C. there were probably 60,000 people living in the city.

By A.D. 200 Teotihuacán was the largest, most powerful city in the Western Hemisphere. Until 600 its influence stretched throughout Mesoamerica, although the nature of its power remains subject to debate. The city's economic power, based on its near-monopoly of the valuable obsidian trade, almost certainly enabled its rulers to have political power in the region. It also seems clear that the city capitalized on its status as a religious center; many cultures adopted Teotihuacano gods, and cult items manufactured in Teotihuacán spread throughout Mesoamerica. In addition, evidence shows that Teotihuacán was a formidable military power able to attack and conquer cities across a wide area. For example, archaeological evidence shows that the site of Kaminaljuyu in the Guatemalan highlands was closely linked with Teotihuacán. Also, the mighty MAYA city of TIKAL appears to have been defeated by the Teotihuacanos, and a Teotihuacano ruler was set on the throne. There is some evidence that the Maya city of COPÁN in Honduras also was conquered by Teotihuacán. Unfortunately, the archaeological site of Teotihuacán has produced almost no written texts, so it is impossible to reconstruct the nature of these political relationships.

Mysteriously, the city declined and fell shortly after A.D. 600. The reasons for this reversal of fortunes is not entirely clear. After 600 there was a steep decline in the amount of Teotihuacano goods in other Mesoamerican cities, and it seems that the population declined. There may have been a series of droughts or even civil strife in the city. Lacking written records, scholars have been forced to speculate. Sometime around 700 the city was burned and most of it destroyed. Some survivors continued to occupy the site, although the community there was small and impoverished. Refugees fled to other parts of the central valley, including the city of Azcapotzalco on the western shores of Lake Texcoco and were quickly absorbed into the local societies. The fall of this mighty city did not cause an immediate "Dark Age" in Mexico, for other cultures such as MONTE ALBÁN, CHOLULA, and the Maya continued to thrive for another 200 years. Even in ruins, the city remains impressive, and the Aztecs' awe at its grandeur is readily understandable.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### Tezcatlipoca

A major god of the Aztec pantheon, Tezcatlipoca embodied change through conflict and may have been identified with Christ in the generations after the European conquest of MEXICO.

Tezcatlipoca, a member of the Aztec pantheon, was the omnipotent god of rulers and warriors as well as the patron of magicians and highwaymen. He was believed to be pure spirit and was connected with the gods of the sky and stars, especially those connected with death, illness, and destruction. Known as the bringer of both fortune and disaster, as both creator and destroyer, Tezcatlipoca embodied change through conflict. Because of his varied nature, he was referred to by many epithets. The most common of these were “smoking mirror” and “the sacrificial offering,” but one modern scholar has identified no fewer than 360 others, including Titlacuahuan, “he whose slaves we are,” Yáotl, “the enemy,” and Youalli Ehécatl, “night wind.” As Yáotl, the patron of soldiers, he was identified with HUITZILOPOCHTLI (although Yáotl was the warrior of the north of Mictlán, region of death, while Huitzilopochtli ruled in the south, or the region of life). Tezcatlipoca was also sometimes identified with Xiutecuhtli and considered the inventor of fire.

During the month of Tóxcatl (approximately April 23 to May 12), the AZTECS celebrated the principal festival of their year, dedicated to Tezcatlipoca. Each year a young man was selected to embody the god and to serve as the succeeding year’s sacrificial victim. Throughout what was to become the last year of his life, he received all sorts of attention and honors and was encouraged to satisfy his every desire. On the day of the festival, he marched in procession to an altar on Lake Texcoco, where he was made to climb the temple steps. During the climb he played on three ceremonial flutes, which he broke in succession. When he reached the top, having broken the final flute, he was sacrificed, just as the new Tezcatlipoca began his procession through the streets of TENOCHTITLÁN.

It was during a celebration associated with this festival that PEDRO DE ALVARADO attacked the Aztecs in the sacred precinct of the Great Pyramid in Tenochtitlán, taking advantage of the fact that HERNÁN CORTÉS had taken his troops to the coast to fight PÁNFILO DE NARVÁEZ, who had challenged his command.

In the religious syncretism that took place after the conquest, indigenous peoples may have identified Tezcatlipoca

with Christ, possibly due to the fact that both were associated with sacrificial offerings. One dramatic representation of this tendency exists in Ciudad Hidalgo in Mexico, where one atrial crucifix is adorned with Tezcatlipoca’s symbol, an obsidian mirror, surrounded by a crown of thorns in the place in which Jesus’ face would normally appear.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

### Thevet, André (1516?–1592) scholar

Royal cosmographer for the king of France, André Thevet traveled to the Western Hemisphere and produced several works that rank among the most substantial collections of travel accounts in 16th-century Europe.

Born in Angoulême sometime in the early 16th century—scholars disagree whether he was born in 1504 or in the mid-1510s—Thevet received a formal education through the support of a powerful local family, the La Rochefoucaulds, and then became a private secretary to the cardinal of Amboise. In an age when many individuals interested in the Western Hemisphere were Protestants, Thevet remained a Catholic, and his loyalty to the state and its church paid many benefits during his career. He began to travel widely in the 1540s, with journeys to such disparate places as Italy, Switzerland, and Africa. In 1549 he sailed from VENICE to the Levant and stayed four years, touring such cosmopolitan centers as Constantinople, Alexandria, and Athens. Upon his return to France he wrote his first travel book, published under the title *Cosmographie de Levant* in Lyon in 1554.

In 1555 Thevet sailed across the Atlantic and reached BRAZIL, but he became ill and returned to France in late January 1556 after only 10 weeks in the Western Hemisphere. He maintained that he returned to America later on a journey that he claimed took him through the Caribbean, near FLORIDA, and, in his words, “very close to Canada.” If he traveled that far north, his expedition would have been especially meaningful to the French, who had long had an interest in lands explored earlier by JACQUES CARTIER. When Thevet returned he published his next significant travel account, *Les Singularitez de la France antarctique*, which appeared in Paris in 1557. The book had a wide following in Europe. SIR WALTER RALEGH even took a copy with him on his later journey to Guinea.

The appearance of *Les Singularitez*, in combination with his earlier account of the Levant, launched Thevet into the highest possible social and political orbits in Paris. After the subsequent publication of other editions of his American travels, including editions published in LONDON in English and in Venice in Italian, Thevet became royal cosmographer to the French court, a position he held under four kings (Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III); he was also *aumônier* (“chaplain”) to Catherine de’ Medici, the spouse of Henry II and herself a member of one of Italy’s richest and most powerful families. In addition, he became an overseer of the king’s CABINET OF CURIOSITIES at Fontainebleau. The Catholic Church also offered rewards and positions: abbot of Notre Dame de Masdion in Saintonge and canon of the cathedral of Angoulême in his hometown.

In 1575 he published his masterpiece, *La Cosmographie Universelle*, in two enormous volumes in Paris. In scale it ranked alongside GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO’s three-volume *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, and it gave to a select group of French readers an astonishing glimpse of the world well beyond France. Like other compilers of accounts, Thevet relied heavily on certain authorities, including (not surprisingly) the writings about Florida left by RENÉ DE LAUDONNIÈRE. Among his book’s charms were illustrations that accompanied Thevet’s description of the Western Hemisphere, including a picture of a ship sailing under a star-filled night sky and another of the *Isle du Rats*—the “Isle of Rats”—where rodents had become so menacing that they seemed to control the island. He even included a description, accompanied by a map, of a wondrous island covered with beautiful birds and bountiful fruit trees—“a second paradise,” he called it, and then named it “l’Isle de Thevet” to make sure that he would be forever associated with it. However, although his earlier efforts had received virtually universal praise, the *Cosmographie Universelle* elicited scorn from some readers, including JEAN DE LÉRY who criticized what he believed were Thevet’s numerous errors. In the mid-1580s Thevet completed a series of biographical sketches, which he published under the title *Vrais Pourtraicts et vies des hommes illustres*—*True Portraits and Lives of Illustrious Men*—published in Paris in 1584, and another major geographical work, entitled “Le Grand Insulaire et pilotage d’André Thevet angoumoisain,” which remained unpublished during his lifetime. At some point he also put his signature on the cover page of the Codex Mendoza, thereby linking his identity with one of the major written accounts of the indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica and their encounter with the Spanish.

When Thevet died in Paris in November 1592, he left behind a body of work that included not only accounts of his and other travels, but also a preliminary vocabulary list of words used by the indigenous peoples of Canada. Others

who followed left behind similar linguistic clues about the early meetings between Europeans and Native Americans. Although such listings have great value, Thevet at the end of his life focused on neither his travels nor his vocabulary but instead on the construction of his own tomb at the Grand Convent of the FRANCISCANS. Having ordered the tomb himself, he apparently spent his last days ensuring that this Parisian grave was suitable for his earthly remains.

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## Tikal

One of the largest, most important of the classic MAYA cities and site of the tallest structure built in the Western Hemisphere before 1492.

Tikal was not among the oldest Maya centers, having been settled only around 800 B.C. By that time many other villages in the region were already flourishing. The city was surrounded by a series of broken hills and swampy basins that may have been lakes in ancient times. It was situated along a series of small rivers and valleys, which helped facilitate trade. The original settlers clustered around what is today called the North Acropolis, which remained the heart of the city until it was abandoned. Many early rulers and high-ranking nobles were buried in this location, and the acropolis seems to be an elaborate system of mortuary temples. During much of the preclassic period (until A.D. 200), Tikal was a subordinate Maya center lying in the shadow of the great city of El Mirador to the north. The decline of El Mirador and the subsequent fragmentation of power allowed Tikal and its rival cities to expand.

Tikal became a great city during the classic era (A.D. 200–900). Much of its political history is now understood thanks to recent breakthroughs in the decipherment of the Maya writing system. Around 200 a new dynasty began under the rulership of Yax Ch’aktel Xok (“First Scaffold Shark”). The ninth ruler of this dynasty, Chak Toh Ich’ak (“Jaguar Claw I”), was one of the most important rulers of his day, ruling from 317 to 378. He built a large palace on the Central Acropolis, which remained essentially unaltered for 400 years. Even when Tikal’s enemies invaded the city, the palace was respected and maintained as a holy structure. After his death Tikal fell under the shadow of TEOTIHUACÁN. Texts record that warriors from the city “arrived” and set up a new ruler, who may have been a nobleman from Teotihuacán itself. Tikal briefly adopted



Teotihuacán art, ceremonies, and battle tactics, which it used to subdue several of its neighboring communities. Tikal emerged as a major regional power by 450 but had antagonized many influential cities. In 562 the city of Caracol, aided by Tikal's great rival Kalakmul, defeated Tikal in a bloody war. The city entered a 125-year dormancy.

The ruler Hasaw Chan K'awil ("Heavenly Standard Bearer") acceded to the throne in 682 and restored Tikal's faded glory. He began a large-scale program to restore the monuments defaced by Kalakmul and Caracol and began building a series of magnificent new structures. He inaugurated a new style of architecture, which is evident in most of the surviving buildings in Tikal. The new style featured tall, steep pyramids with narrow bases. At the top of these pyramids was a small temple with an elaborate roof comb designed to give the illusion of added height. The most famous structure at Tikal, Temple I, is the best preserved building in this style and served as the ruler's mortuary temple. Beyond his artistic endeavors, Hasaw was a capable general and led his troops to a crushing victory over Kalakmul. He also maintained two critical alliances with the Maya kingdoms of COPÁN and PALENQUE, thereby creating stability in the region. Under Hasaw's rule Tikal entered a golden age, which continued under his two successors. Hasaw's son built the enormous Temple IV, which at 212 feet stands as the tallest structure built in the ancient Americas. The wealth of royal and noble burials from this time clearly shows that Tikal was at the height of its prosperity. It also reached its greatest size, covering six square miles with approximately 3,000 separate buildings. Population estimates for the city at this time run from 50,000 to 100,000.

After 750 Tikal began its final decline. For generations scholars have debated about why the once flourishing Maya civilization collapsed at the end of the classic period. Decipherment of the Maya writing system has suggested that one strong factor in the decline of Tikal and many other sites was the spread of warfare. Violence escalated after 700, engulfing the whole region. Although powerful, Tikal could not escape the wars' secondary effects: disruption of trade, DISEASE, and famine. The last three rulers of Tikal tried to reach back to the glorious past by adopting the names of illustrious ancestors, including Hasaw Chan K'awil. Grave goods after 700 were less rich, less elaborate, and fewer in number. Those few buildings raised were of inferior material, and the city's rulers could organize the building of only a few public monuments. The last carved date at Tikal was in 869, although the city remained inhabited for many more years. In its final days the community was impoverished and fearful. Several buildings had been destroyed, and it appears that squatters occupied the royal palaces, using one building for a prison stockade. By 950 Tikal was essentially abandoned, although a handful of

people lived in the area until around 1200. By the time of the Spanish conquest, the city was all but forgotten and completely overgrown by the jungle.

Tikal has been instrumental in the understanding of the ancient Maya. As one of the largest, wealthiest Maya cities, it has provided archaeologists with a great quantity of material for study. Additionally, Tikal's extensive involvement with other leading centers of the time has contributed to a unified chronology of the Maya area. Still, excavations have uncovered only 10 percent of the city, making it clear that the mysterious ruins have much more to tell.

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—Scott Chamberlain

## Timbuktu

Renowned for its mosques and centers of learning, Timbuktu (Tombouctou) also served as an important commercial center throughout the 16th century.

Founded in the 11th century by TUAREG nomads as a summer camp nine miles from the northwest bend of the NIGER RIVER, Timbuktu gained prominence as a trading center by the 14th century. In 1325 MALI conquered Timbuktu, incorporating the city into its expanding empire. Under the reign of MANSA MUSA I (1307–1337), Timbuktu grew into the region's intellectual and spiritual center with the establishment of several mosques. Mansa Musa brought Andalusian architect and poet Abou-Ishaq Ibrahim Es Saheli to Mali to build Timbuktu's great Dyingerey Ber mosque. The chronicler IBN BATTUTA visited the city in 1353, providing an excellent account of the city and of its male inhabitants' custom of winding a turban around the head and face, a Tuareg practice called veiling. He also described the relative peace the city enjoyed under the auspices of the Mali Empire. During Mansa Musa's reign Timbuktu's already lucrative position on the trans-Saharan trade routes increased due to better protection against raiders. Copper, salt, sword blades, and, later, Venetian beads (see VENICE) were brought into Timbuktu in exchange for GOLD and slaves (see SLAVERY) from the interior.

Mali controlled Timbuktu and its markets until 1433, when the Tuaregs regained control of the city. In 1468 it became part of the growing SONGHAI Empire, and its importance as a commercial and intellectual center continued to increase. Timbuktu reached its apex during the reign of ASKIA MUHAMMAD I (d. 1538), who took the

Songhai throne in 1493. Askia Muhammad was a devout follower of Islam and welcomed the many Islamic scholars who settled in Timbuktu. During Askia Muhammad's reign and throughout the 16th century Islamic scholarship flourished in the city, making it one of the Sudan's leading intellectual and spiritual centers. Indeed, scholars, especially the Aqit family, made up part of the ruling class of the city.

Although appearing on European maps as early as 1375, Timbuktu came to the wider attention of Europeans in the 1550s through the writings of the Venetian geographer GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO, who exhorted its possibilities as a trading center to Italian merchants. He based his recommendations on the descriptions of the kingdoms of West Africa and the Sudan left by the Venetian Ca' da Mosto, who traveled to the Guinea coast in 1455, and by LEO AFRICANUS, the chronicler of the Mali and Songhai Empires in the early 16th century. Leo Africanus described the city and its inhabitants, its government, and its physical environment, providing a valuable source on Timbuktu's history and its connections to the Songhai Empire. Mahmud al-Kati (1468–1593), a Muslim judge and scholar who accompanied Askia Muhammad on his hajj to MECCA (see ISLAM), also chronicled the history of the Sudanic empires of Mali and Songhai. Ibn al-Mukhtar, al-Kati's grandson, completed the *Ta'rikh al-fattash*, which included a history of Timbuktu and biographies of its resident scholars and jurists in the mid-17th century. The most comprehensive contemporary document on the history of Timbuktu remains the *Ta'rikh al-Sudan* written by 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Imran al-Sa'di (b. 1594), a native of the city. In the *Ta'rikh al-Sudan*, al-Sa'di chronicled the history of the region, detailing the Mali, Songhai, and Moroccan conquests and focusing on Timbuktu, GAO, and DJENNE-DJENO. Al-Sa'di also provided biographies of Timbuktu's scholars and religious leaders.

In 1591 Moroccans, interested in controlling the gold trade, attacked and conquered Timbuktu. Two years later, under the direction of the city's literati, Timbuktu's residents rebelled against the invaders. The next year Mahmud ibn Zargun, the pasha of the region under the Moroccans, deported many of the scholars, including Ahmad Baba (1556–1627), to Marrakech. The Moroccan invasion effectively ended the Songhai Empire as well as Timbuktu's prominence as a center of learning.

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—Lisa M. Brady

## Timucua

The Timucua Indians, consisting of 25 distinct groups, inhabited present-day north-central and northeast FLORIDA and south-central Georgia at the time of conquest.

Before Europeans arrived the Timucua formed continually shifting alliances and chiefdoms. The eastern Timucuas, living in northeast Florida, cultivated beans, gourds, CORN (maize), marsh elder, squash, sunflower, and TOBACCO. Minimal hunting and gathering supplemented this subsistence. The western Timucua, in north-central Florida and south-central Georgia, did not depend upon horticulture as much as the eastern groups and thus spent more time hunting and gathering. Scholars know a significant amount of information about the Timucua culture from the writings of RENÉ DE LAUDONNIÈRE and the drawings of JACQUES LE MOYNE, two colonists in the French attempt to establish a base in Florida at the mouth of the St. Johns River.

The Spanish *entradas* of PÁNFILO DE NARVÁEZ and HERNANDO DE SOTO encountered the Timucua in Florida in 1528 and 1539, respectively. By the late 16th century FRANCISCANS began missionizing the Timucua, and these missions developed large farms and ranches with Timucua labor. Modern-day northeast and north-central Florida then became known as the Timucua province. In the early 17th century pandemics (see DISEASE) began to hit the region in successive waves and reduced the population by approximately 80 percent in 100 years. Eventually, other Native groups such as the Guale and Apalache migrated, under the direction of the Spanish, to populate the Timucua mission province. Over time the Timucua ceased to exist as an ethnic or cultural identity.

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—Dixie Ray Haggard

**Tlacacela (Tlacacélel)** (1398–?) *administrator*

Tlacacela served as *cihuacoatl* under the Aztec great speakers ITZCÓATL and Moctezuma I Ilhuicamina (r. 1440–69) and probably was the driving force behind a number of early reforms of Aztec society and government.

Tlacacela's office of *cihuacoatl* ("woman snake," an aspect of the great mother goddess) made him a secondary ruler in TENOCHTITLÁN, in charge of internal affairs, commanding the army, directing sacrifices, and serving as senior counselor to the great speaker. The *cihuacoatl* could survive changes in administrations with his power intact. Tlacacela himself served through the reigns of two of Itzcóatl's successors, including Motecuhzoma I Ilhuicamina, "the elder," himself Tlacacela's brother. Chronicles report his accomplishments as including the reorganization of civil and religious offices, development of the Aztec educational system (see AZTECS), and the structuring of a strict class system.

The truth of Tlacacela's life and power is difficult to discern because the sources disagree on crucial details. For example, one source treats him as an entirely fictitious character, while another proposes an equally unlikely career beginning with Itzcóatl (r. 1427–40) and ending during the reign of Ahuítzotl (r. 1486–1502). We do know that Tlacacela was the name of the *cihuacoatl* during Motecuhzoma II's reign and that he served until at least 1503. What seems most likely, under the circumstances, is that the Tlacacela who was active during Itzcóatl's reign was the founder of a political dynasty that passed from father to son and that his successors may have had or adopted their patriarch's name.

Many sources portray the first Tlacacela as the power behind the throne, the real ruler during the administrations of Itzcóatl and Motecuhzoma I. He also seems to have been the principal force behind the early diplomacy between Azcapotzalco and Tenochtitlán as well as the later wars between the two powers. He may have also instituted the FLOWERY WARS with other peoples of the region.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

**Tláloc**

Tláloc was the Aztec name for an ancient god of rain, earth, and weather phenomena who provided for the AZTECS' agricultural prosperity.

Tláloc, although one of the most prominent members of the Aztec pantheon, was a deity who appeared in nearly

all the major belief systems of Mesoamerica. He was worshipped, often under different names, by the OLMECS, Zapotecs, Mixtecs, MAYA, and at TEOTIHUACÁN, where the number of depictions of this god indicate that he may have been that city's principal deity. The Aztecs dedicated one of the twin temples atop the great pyramid in TENOCHTITLÁN to him as well as a special mountain temple just outside the city. Religious continuity or commonality should not, however, imply that beliefs were identical. Aztecs as well as other peoples in the region often altered the nature of foreign gods to suit their own purposes. For example, in Teotihuacán, Tláloc seems to have been a militaristic state god, akin to the Aztec HUITZILOPOCHTLI. By contrast, in the Aztec pantheon he became a peaceful, if capricious, god of rain who could, if he wished, provide for his worshippers' agricultural prosperity, while his older functions as a martial deity were taken over by Huitzilopochtli and his political aspects by TEZCATLIPOCA.

For the Aztecs Tláloc was the god of rain and lightning, whose main purpose was to send enough moisture to nourish the maize crop. Aztecs knew him as "the provider," but he could be generous or miserly. Together with his consort, Chalchiuhtlicue, he ruled over the *tlaloque*, the various spirits of mountains and weather phenomena.

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—Marie A. Kelleher

**Tlaxcala**

A powerful kingdom in MEXICO at the time of the Spanish conquest, Tlaxcala was a fierce rival of the AZTECS and gave crucial military and logistical support to the Spaniards in order to destroy their hated enemy.

Tlaxcala was an unusual state. It was located to the east and south of the Valley of Mexico and was ethnically homogeneous, with all the people being NAHUA who spoke NAHUATL. In this sense they were ethnically indistinct from their neighbors, the Aztecs of TENOCHTITLÁN. But while the latter empire grew to encompass other distinct ethnic groups, the Tlaxcalans did not. The Tlaxcalan "state" was a complex kingdom consisting of four substates. Each component was called an *altepetl*, which had its own traditions, ruling lineage, judicial apparatus, and territory. According to the oral tradition taken down by the Spaniards, the first *altepetl* was Tepeticpac. As the *altepetl* grew, one area split off, becoming the *altepetl* of Ocotelolco. Later, Tizatlan and Quiahuiztlan broke off as well. Each *altepetl* was ruled

by a *tlatoani*, or “speaker,” who was a member of the royal family. In contrast with European states, the Tlaxcalans rotated power, meaning that the religious duties, taxes, and administrative expenses for the state were the responsibility of one *altepetl* at a time. The *altepetl* fulfilled these duties for a year before they were passed to another *altepetl*. In times of war, each *altepetl* provided companies of troops under a local commander. There was no single capital city for the whole, although each *altepetl* maintained its own capital. The four *tlatoani* generally ruled in conjunction with one another, although there was one who was “first among equals.” Originally this honor fell to the *tlatoani* of Tepeticpac, in honor of its position as the original state, but when Ocotelolco became the most powerful *altepetl*, its *tlatoani* assumed this responsibility.

The history of Tlaxcala was closely tied to the history of the central Valley of Mexico. After A.D. 1000 the leading center of the region was the city of CHOLULA, although by the time of the conquest it had lost much of its influence. After 1300 Tlaxcala had expanded its influence and had become one of the leading states of the time, dominating Cholula in turn. It had close ties with the city of Texcoco, which later became one of the founding members of the “Triple Alliance” that formed the Aztec Empire. As time went on the Aztecs and the Tlaxcalans found themselves increasingly at odds. As part of their expansion, the Aztecs systematically attacked a number of Tlaxcalan allies until the kingdom became surrounded by Aztec territory. The two kingdoms then began a slow war of attrition, in which the Aztecs alternately attempted to blockade the state and conquer it outright. In times of peace the two powers initiated the so-called FLOWERY WARS, in which both sides staged mock battles with the sole purpose of taking captives for sacrifice. Through the Aztec blockade Tlaxcala became increasingly impoverished, but its army remained formidable. It seems likely that the Aztecs felt that conquering the area would require great effort and provide few economic benefits.

The role of Tlaxcala in the Spanish conquest of Mexico can hardly be overstated. In September 1519, when HERNÁN CORTÉS and his soldiers first entered the region on his march to Tenochtitlán, the Tlaxcalans took up arms against him. Cortés survived a series of harrowing battles. The difficulties he faced against the Tlaxcalans made him begin to doubt that he would be able to subdue the Aztecs, who had much larger armies. At this crucial juncture, Maxixcatzin, the lord of Ocotelolco, decided to ally with the Spaniards and destroy the hated Aztecs once and for all. He provided several thousand soldiers who functioned as the front line troops in Cortés’s forces. Maxixcatzin also provided provisions and guides to help the Spaniards’ cause. This alliance survived despite the disastrous Spanish retreat from Tenochtitlán in July 1520. Cortés and his men

were again welcomed to Tlaxcala and given shelter, provisions, and more Native warriors. This army of Native auxiliaries greatly strengthened Cortés’s position, helping to offset the great numerical discrepancy between the Spanish and Aztec forces. Using Tlaxcala as a base, Cortés launched attacks on the Aztecs’ territory, slowly cutting off the capital from provisions and support troops. In 1521 Cortés began the siege of Tenochtitlán itself, conquering the city in August.

Because of their unwavering support during the conquest, Tlaxcala enjoyed a privileged status after Cortés’s victory. While most of central Mexico was divided into *ENCOMIENDAS* to be given to the *CONQUISTADORES*, Tlaxcala remained its own province and was declared to be a ward of the Crown. In 1531 a special *CORREGIDOR* (administrative overseer) was assigned to Tlaxcala and Cholula, and in 1536 the Spaniards founded the new city of Tlaxcala to serve as the area’s permanent capital. In the first few years after the conquest, Tlaxcalan auxiliaries accompanied the Spaniards on several conquests in the region. For example, PEDRO DE ALVARADO used them in his conquest of Guatemala, where they received substantial land grants and other favors. War and migration served as a substantial drain on the population of Tlaxcala, whose population fell from 120,000 households in 1520 to 60,000 in 1538. This trend was compounded by a disastrous *PLAGUE* in 1545, which killed thousands.

Despite its close cooperation with the Spaniards in the conquest, Tlaxcala adapted to Spanish culture rather slowly. Documents from the 1520s to the 1570s were frequently written in Nahuatl, with only an occasional word borrowed from Spanish. The government was still organized along ancient models of rotating power, although Tlaxcalan officials eventually adopted Spanish titles for their positions. Tlaxcalan merchants understood the Spanish concept of money and in principle accepted the need for a money-based economy, but those in local markets resisted using Spanish coins for transactions, preferring to use the traditional barter system or to fix prices in CACAO beans, as they had done before the conquest. The issue of land ownership also demonstrates a slow process of acculturation. Before the conquest most land surrounding a community was held not by individuals, but by the community itself, who parceled it out for individuals to use. As the years progressed, several individuals began to stake claims to the lands they worked, obtaining Spanish titles that could be used in Spanish courts. These attempts were not always successful, and the tension between private and communal ownership of land continued throughout the colonial period.

Tlaxcala’s large role in the Spanish conquest ensured that the region was well documented, providing valuable information for historians about Native cultures at the time of European contact. Additionally, its wealth of colonial



documents has allowed scholars to study the process of acculturation during the first years of Spanish rule.

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—Scott Chamberlain

## tobacco

During the 16th century Europeans believed that tobacco, long used in many indigenous communities in the Americas, was a wonder drug that could cure various bodily ailments.

Before 1492 countless Native peoples across the Americas had smoked tobacco, often believing that the plant had sacred properties. As a result, smoking tobacco became a standard part of myriad rituals designed to propitiate the divine forces that governed the world. After Europeans arrived in the Western Hemisphere, they, too, believed that tobacco had special properties, although they tended to emphasize its medicinal and nutritional benefits instead of any connection to the world of spirits. Europeans who traveled to the Americas frequently commented on the value of using tobacco. Some believed that Indians drank the smoke from the burning weed; others were less clear about how users inhaled the product. JEAN DE LÉRY, the Huguenot who spent time among the TUPINAMBÁ of BRAZIL, noted that tobacco had nutritional properties and could cure certain physical ailments, including distilling “the superfluous humors from the brain.” The French royal cosmographer ANDRÉ THEVET, who claimed he watched Native peoples smoking in Brazil, testified that he could assure his readers that “having tried it, how good it is for purging the heart.”

By the late 16th century Europeans had begun to write systematic catalogs of the flora and fauna they encountered beyond the borders of their continent. Tobacco often took on a prominent role in these treatises. When Dr. NICHOLAS MONARDES, a physician from SEVILLE, published his account of the benefits of certain plants, he paid special attention to tobacco. The plant was, he argued, aesthetically pleasing and would thus be an excellent addition “to adornate Gardens” with its “fairnesse.” Monardes enumerated a number of tobacco’s alleged benefits, including its ability to cure headaches, uncomfortable intestinal gasses, menstrual cramps, respiratory and bowel problems suffered especially by the elderly and by children, toothaches, worms, and “griefes of the breast.” He also claimed that chewing tobacco provided enough nutrition for several days’ activities. Although his professions might seem far-fetched to a modern audience skepti-

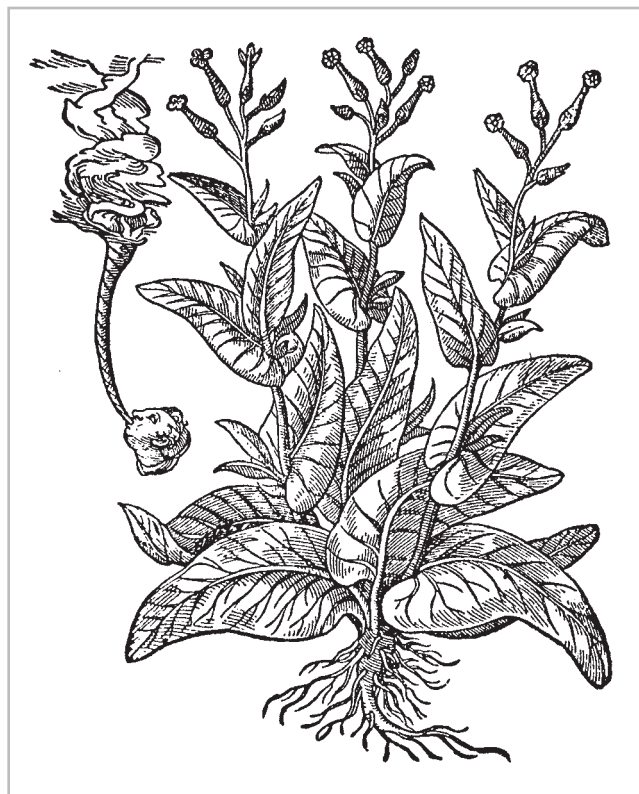


Illustration of a tobacco plant and a man “drinking” it in Matthais de L’Obel’s *Plantarum sev stirpium historia* (Amsterdam, 1576) (*The Granger Collection*)

cal of such claims for any product, 16th-century Europeans were so keen to learn more about tobacco that Monardes’s account was published in Spanish, English, Latin, Italian, Flemish, and French. In the years following the publication of Monardes’s work, other Europeans, including SIR JOHN HAWKINS and THOMAS HARRIOT, also described how the indigenous peoples of the Americas used tobacco.

Despite its obvious health benefits, some observers became alarmed at the rapidly spreading use of tobacco in Europe. Among the critics was King JAMES I of England, who tried to crack down on the use of tobacco in his realm. However, try as he might to eradicate what he believed was a vice, the “sot weed” could not be removed from the goods that Europeans wanted from the Americas. That fact eventually saved the nascent colony of Jamestown when its existence seemed doubtful in the mid-1610s, and its success came only after English settlers there recognized that the region was ideal for the production of tobacco.

Tobacco became the most widely discussed plant in the Atlantic basin in the 16th century, but there was no consensus about its meaning. Many Europeans liked the sensations brought on by smoking, and as the knowledge

about the plant spread—in books and pamphlets that extolled its appearance, in the shops of those who sold it, in pictures of smokers that proliferated by the dawn of the 17th century—an ever larger number became regular consumers of the plant. Its rising popularity then prompted a renewed effort on the part of some to reconsider whether consumption of tobacco was a good idea. Stories circulated that some became addicted to the plant and impoverished themselves in their pursuit of it. One writer held a mock trial of tobacco in England, weighing its pros and cons. Even after it had spread widely the medical community remained divided about the plant's utility and the problems it posed. All the while, tobacco remained a mainstay among Native Americans, many of whom continued to chew it before battles, use it in poultices, or offer it in rituals designed to propitiate the spirits that governed their world.

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## Toltecs

The Toltecs were one of the first great military empires of ancient Mesoamerica, whose exploits were so renowned that even after their decline and fall many Mesoamerican cultures (including the AZTECS) claimed to be their descendants.

It has been difficult to disentangle the truth of the Toltecs from the legendary stories that have surrounded them. By the time of the Spanish conquest of MEXICO, the Toltecs had passed firmly into the realm of legend. The term itself means “The Artificers” in the Aztecs’ language of NAHUATL and frequently meant simply “glorious ancestors” rather than a specific group of people. Most of the royal lineages in Mexico claimed a degree of Toltec blood, and the Aztecs believed that their empire was a reconstruction of the lost Toltec kingdom. Moreover, the Aztecs’ name for the former Toltec capital, *Tollan* (modern Tula), had come to mean any great metropolis—TENOCHTITLÁN, TEOTIHUACÁN, and CHOLULA were all “Tollans” as well. Scholars were uncertain if the Toltec culture had existed at all until the 1940s, when Wigberto Jiménez Moreno and Jorge Acosta firmly identified Tula, in the modern-day Mexican state of Hidalgo, as the site of the Toltecs’ capital. Through careful sifting of the historical documents and archaeological excavations, scholars have been able to

develop a basic understanding of Toltec history, culture, and society.

Although most of Toltec history is legendary, the broader patterns do seem to match the archaeological record, suggesting that there is at least a kernel of truth in the stories. It seems likely that the Toltecs began as a group of nomads who wandered the deserts of northern Mexico during the Mesoamericans classic era (A.D. 200–800). They spoke a form of Nahuatl, which was used by most of the people of central Mexico, including the later Aztecs. The decline of Teotihuacán after 600 created a vacuum of power that allowed many groups to flourish. During this period of upheaval, the quasi-legendary ruler Mixcoatl brought the Toltecs into the Valley of Mexico and established the Toltecs as a regional power. Around 800 the Toltecs built a major settlement at Tula, which would become the capital of their realm. In either 935 or 947 Topiltzin, one of the most important leaders in ancient Mexico, was born. He was apparently a high priest of the god QUETZALCOATL (the “Feathered Serpent”) and in later stories becomes indistinguishable from the god himself. Under his rule Tula underwent a great transformation, becoming a wealthy, well-ordered metropolis at the core of a prosperous kingdom. Topiltzin-Quetzalcoatl supposedly developed a cult of peace, eschewing war and sacrifice. A rival cult developed led either by the high priest of the rival god TEZCATLIPOCA or the god himself. The rivalry between these cults festered for many years, and ultimately Tezcatlipoca deceived Topiltzin-Quetzalcoatl with magic, forcing him to humiliate himself. In shame, Topiltzin-Quetzalcoatl fled Tula with his followers in the year 987. Tezcatlipoca and his followers maintained control over the city for the next 200 years. During this time the Toltec kingdom expanded, dominating central Mexico and establishing trade networks that reached from Central America to the American Southwest.

The exiled followers of Topiltzin-Quetzalcoatl did not fade into oblivion. Several stories suggest that they reached the gulf coast, boarded boats, and sailed off, vowing to return. There is some evidence to suggest that this prophecy of return caused the Aztecs to mistake HERNÁN CORTÉS as the god Quetzalcóatl returning again from the east. Regardless of this prophecy, at almost the same time MAYA sources from the YUCATÁN PENINSULA tell of a naval invasion of their territory led by Kukulcán, a Maya name meaning “Feathered Serpent.” These invaders set up a kingdom-in-exile based at CHICHÉN ITZÁ whose art, architecture, and iconography bore obvious relation to Toltec designs. These numerous parallels suggest that these mysterious invaders were none other than Toltec refugees from Tula.

The great Toltec empire at Tula survived until the 1150s. During the reign of the last ruler, Huemac, a series of

crises weakened the state. A long drought apparently struck the area, bringing famine and disease in its wake. Factional disputes paralyzed the political system. More troublesome were the increased depredations of nomadic groups from the north. These nomads, called the Chichimeca, slowly invaded central Mexico, raiding farms and small towns with hit-and-run tactics. Weakened by internal disputes, the Toltecs were unable to repel the invaders, and the continued raids brought agriculture and trade to a halt. The Chichimeca, emboldened by their successes, began raiding the large cities of the Toltec heartland. In a great climactic battle, the Chichimeca attacked Tula itself and destroyed much of the city. Their capital in ruins, the Toltecs began a series of great migrations. Huemac and a number of followers fled to the city of Chapultepec in the Valley of Mexico. Other groups of refugees fled to Cholula, capturing the city and setting up a minor kingdom there. Some bands continued moving south, establishing new dynasties in the Guatemalan highlands. So widespread was this Toltec diaspora that by 1400 almost every royal lineage claimed some Toltec decent, including the Aztecs.

### ***Tula***

The city of Tula was the core of the Toltec state and one of the most important cities of the early postclassic period of Mesoamerica. Tula was located at the northern edge of the central Valley of Mexico in a relatively defensible location. A series of small streams cut through the area, which provided the ancient inhabitants with rich alluvial soil. Before the conquest this land was highly fertile, although overproduction, deforestation, and sheep grazing have left it rather barren today. Tula was strategically located near extensive sources of obsidian, a type of volcanic glass that was used throughout Mesoamerica for knife blades, mirrors, and ceremonial objects. A small community developed in the area around A.D. 700. For the next 250 years there were two important ceremonial zones within the city: Tula Chico and Tula Grande. Sometime before 1000, Tula Chico was suddenly abandoned and remained an empty area within the densely packed community. It is tempting to see this as archaeological evidence that there were two rival cults within the city and that one was ultimately driven from the city. Whether or not this proves the Topiltzin-Quetzalcoatl story, it is clear that Tula Grande emerged as the uncontested ceremonial core of the city, and it is there that most of the great public buildings were located.

The period between 950 and 1150 marked Tula's greatest era. The city reached its maximum size, covering more than five square miles and housing 30,000 people. Tula did not demonstrate the same level of urban planning as did many other Mesoamerican cities and would not compare with either Teotihuacán or the Aztecs' capital

of Tenochtitlán. However, the Toltecs did create a number of impressive works of art and architecture. Centered in the Great Plaza, there were two large pyramids, two large ball courts, a large skull rack, and a series of smaller shrines.

Unfortunately, much of Tula's former splendor is now gone, and modern visitors to the site often express surprise that Tula was ever a great power. The devastation suffered by the city around 1100 suggests that its enemies deliberately toppled temples and defaced monuments. In the years that followed looters repeatedly ransacked the site; even the Aztecs plundered the ruins looking for artifacts. Under these circumstances it seems a minor miracle that anything of interest remains there.

### ***The Toltecs and Militarism***

The Toltecs arose as a military power, and all aspects of their culture reflected the importance of their army. The Toltecs were able to create their empire in part because they introduced a number of innovative weapons and tactics that made them almost unbeatable on the field of battle. Earlier most Mesoamerican groups had two divisions within the army: infantry and missile troops. The shock troops did the hand-to-hand fighting, using long-bladed spears or clubs tipped with bits of obsidian; the missile troops used darts propelled by atlatls, or spear throwers. The two divisions depended on each other, with the missile troops protecting the infantry as they advanced while the shock troops protected the missile troops once the main forces engaged each other.

The Toltecs, by contrast, developed a different style of fighting. First, they invented a new type of weapon frequently called a short sword by ethnohistorians. Rather than being a heavy cudgel, it was a light, curved staff shaped like a hockey stick. The outer edge was set with a fine obsidian blade, giving it an incredibly sharp edge; several Spaniards noted that obsidian blades were far sharper than Spanish steel and were fully capable of decapitating a HORSE in a single stroke. This new weapon was light enough that troops could carry it and an atlatl at the same time, laying down their own cover fire and engaging in hand-to-hand combat upon reaching enemy positions. This innovation essentially doubled the size of the Toltecs' army. In addition, the Toltecs had a number of elite troops. These soldiers were members of military orders such as the Coyote Knights and Jaguar Knights. It is unclear what specific functions they carried out on the battlefield, but because membership in these orders was highly restricted—prospective members had to display great courage and prowess on the battlefield—they most likely functioned as special forces.

The combination of these elements indicates that the Toltec military was based not on bloodlines, kinship, or lineage, but was meritocratic in nature. The weapons,





Columns in the form of Toltec warriors in Tula (Getty/Sexto Sol)

constructed and distributed by the state, were standardized. The types of battle formations used by the Toltecs could be successful only with persistent and rigorous training and would not have been successful relying only on a small group of elite warriors. Because the Toltecs had the largest city in central Mexico, they could also field an army significantly larger than their neighbors, who relied on a small corps of elites.

With their powerful military force the Toltecs were able to establish themselves as the dominant power in central Mexico. It is difficult to reconstruct the exact nature of the Toltec state, but it probably resembled the later Aztec Empire. In effect, the Toltecs moved into an area and subdued it by force of arms. Rather than set up direct political control, they left the smaller kingdoms intact, demanding tribute and trade concessions. Moreover, the Toltecs only moved into an area if it was profitable or a relatively easy conquest. They apparently bypassed several large, powerful cities, preferring to encircle and isolate them rather than risk a direct assault. It is probable that as the Toltec state expanded, cities farther away

willingly established trade ties with the Toltecs because Tula was the greatest entrepôt in the region. The Toltecs maintained direct political control over the central Valley of Mexico, while the rest of their “empire” was a series of fluctuating relationships with other Mesoamerican centers.

### *Toltecs and the Arts of Peace*

Although militarism was the most important element of Toltec society, they were well accomplished in peaceful pursuits as well. The Toltecs simply did not have the resources to dominate ancient Mesoamerica, so they often relied on trade to supply them with necessities and luxury goods. The city of Tula had a number of specialized artisans who created goods for export. Artisans worked obsidian into blades, cores, and ornaments, and Tula’s sculptors and potters produced a variety of ceramics, figurines, and stone tools for export. In return, the city imported luxury goods from across Mesoamerica, including rare glazed ware from the Pacific coast of Guatemala and painted pottery from Honduras. Quartz, amethyst, and cinnabar arrived from the north. Traders from the Pacific brought shells. In recent years evidence has come to light suggesting that there was once a “Turquoise Road” that linked the Toltecs with the American Southwest. In return for the stone, the Toltecs exported tropical parrot feathers (and probably the birds themselves), headdresses, mosaics, and religious objects. Traders also brought elements of Mesoamerican culture, particularly architectural styles and the cult of the feathered serpent.

To ensure that trade goods continued to flow into the city, the Toltecs set up trading colonies in distant lands. Small groups of traders moved into an area and integrated themselves into the local industry. The Toltecs established these colonies throughout Mesoamerica. Because of the number of enclaves and their distance from Tula, most were highly vulnerable to attack. The success of this model suggests that these colonies were not imposed by force, but negotiated with the support of the foreign governments. Further, the Toltec colonists served as brokers to import finished Toltec goods such as obsidian blades, ceramics, and ritual objects.

Toltec arts, somewhat less sophisticated than other cultures’, consistently depicted coyotes, jaguars, and eagles, all representing the great military orders. At times human faces protruded from the jaws of these beasts, suggesting that members of these orders dressed in ceremonial costumes (or battle gear) depicting these creatures, much like the Eagle and Jaguar Knights of the Aztecs. Warriors are common in Toltec art, although no depictions of individual rulers or warlords survive. The warriors usually have barrel-shaped headdresses and large butterfly pectorals. One final element common to Toltec art was



the feathered serpent, which seems unusual because by all accounts the god and his followers were driven from Tula. In terms of execution, Toltec art was rougher, less elaborate, and more stylized than many other Mesoamerican cultures', which has led some art historians to dismiss their work altogether. Such an assessment is not wholly fair. While Toltec art is hardly graceful, there is a rugged sense of power and strength that effectively conveys their grim, military ethos.

### ***The Toltec Legacy***

By 1160 Tula had been destroyed and the Toltecs had scattered. Despite this violent end, the Toltecs loomed large in the Mesoamerican psyche. As a result of political domination, trade colonies, and refugee migrations, most later royal lineages claimed a degree of Toltec blood, suggesting that a direct tie to the Toltecs became crucial for political legitimacy. The decline of the Toltecs disrupted trade, dislocated populations, and destroyed Mesoamerica's political stability. In light of these difficult times, Mesoamericans began to look back to the Toltecs' reign as a golden age of peace and prosperity. Poets and historians claimed that the Toltecs grew cotton in whatever color they wished, built glorious buildings, and refined all the civilized arts. Tula itself became a city of legendary luxury, which partially explains why it was so thoroughly looted. These stories had a tremendous impact on the Aztecs. Upon entering the Valley of Mexico, Aztec rulers went to great lengths to marry into Toltec lineages. They also saw themselves as divinely appointed to restore the Toltecs' greatness. The myth of the Toltecs' glory survived long after their culture had fallen.

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—Scott Chamberlain

### **T-O maps**

Medieval maps portrayed the three known continents, Africa, Asia, and Europe, in a diagram that resembled a capital T within an O.

In a T-O map, following the medieval convention of placing east at the top of maps, the top half represented Asia. Below Asia, Europe filled the bottom left quadrant, and Africa filled the bottom right. The T of the map represented the bodies of water that divided the continents. Africa and Europe, for example, were separated by the

Mediterranean. The O, at the outer rim of the map, represented ocean.

The makers of T-O maps apparently did not intend them as depictions of the physical world, and travelers and merchants did not use them as guides. Their significance was religious and symbolic. Such maps usually placed Jerusalem, because of its religious significance to medieval Christians, at the center. They often showed the Garden of Eden, or earthly paradise, at the top of the map, in Asia. Because Europeans believed that all peoples had descended from the three sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, the three continents were often marked with their names.

About 100 examples of T-O maps have survived in various manuscripts. The maps were most common between the ninth and the 13th centuries but survived into the early modern period. The earliest known printed map, a woodcut from 1472, is a T-O map.

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—Martha K. Robinson

### **Tordesillas, Treaty of**

The Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, agreed to by John (João) II of Portugal and FERDINAND AND ISABELLA of Spain, set a boundary between Portuguese and Spanish claims in the NEW WORLD.

After CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS returned from his first voyage in 1493, many Europeans wondered who should have authority over newfound lands in the western ocean. Because the pope, according to Catholic thought, had spiritual dominion over all peoples of the world, the Spanish monarchs turned to him for a decision. In 1493 Pope ALEXANDER VI issued a series of four bulls, or papal pronouncements, regarding the new lands. Because Pope Alexander was a Spaniard and hoped for support from Ferdinand and Isabella to further his Italian political ambitions, the bulls were favorable to Spain's interests.

The first two bulls granted sovereignty over Columbus's discoveries to CASTILE. The third, *Inter Caetera*, drew a north-south line of demarcation 100 leagues west of the AZORES and Cape Verde Islands. West of this line, all newly found lands were reserved for Spain. The fourth bull extended Spanish claims even further, giving the Spanish lands that might be found in other parts of the world, including lands "in the route of navigation or travel toward

the west or south, whether they be in western parts, or in regions of the south and east, and of India[.]” This claim alarmed the Portuguese, who feared that it would infringe on their claims in the East Indies.

John (João) II objected to the terms of these papal decisions, especially the line set out in *Inter Caetera*. He asked that the boundary line be placed farther west, 370 leagues west of the Azores and the Cape Verdes, rather than 100 leagues. It is not clear why John sought this new line. Historians have theorized that the Portuguese may have already known, or at least suspected, that valuable lands might lie on the Portuguese side of the new line. Perhaps the Portuguese feared that the line as drawn in *Inter Caetera* would interfere with their claims to Africa. The most important consequence of the treaty arose in 1500, when the Portuguese explorer PEDRO ÁLVARES CABRAL reached the coast of BRAZIL. Because a large piece of the Brazilian coastline extended beyond the line of demarcation, the treaty gave Portugal a claim to a large piece of land in the Western Hemisphere.

Although the Treaty of Tordesillas, in essence, gave Brazil to the Portuguese and the rest of the Americas to the Spanish, other European powers did not accept the agreement. According to the historian Lyle N. McAlister, the king of France asked to see “the clause in Adam’s will that excluded him from a share in newly discovered lands,” while the king of England denied that the pope had any authority to divide the territories of the world.

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—Martha K. Robinson

**Toxcatl** See TEZCATLIPOCA.

### travel narratives

When the peoples of the Americas, Europe, and Africa met each other in the 16th century, they immediately began to generate stories about the other, and many of these stories soon found their way into manuscripts or printed books.

The idea of the travel narrative—a way for someone to take account of what he or she had seen in a new place—was not new in the 16th century. Its origins are, quite literally, ancient. Homer’s *Odyssey*, for example, is a lyric travel account; the Book of Exodus is another kind, though with

a very specific theological agenda (and, as in Homer’s case, many moments of divine intervention). The genre’s appeal spread far beyond Europeans too. MA HUAN’s accounts of his three long-distance journeys in the 15th century, and the *Baburnama* by the prince of Fergana, Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad, known as Babur, reveal the vitality of the travel narrative as a mode of literary and political expression.

Authors of travel narratives often did not have access to a PRINTING PRESS, yet their stories (like the *Odyssey* and Genesis) could survive for generations, told from one keeper of the tale to the next or transmitted by hand through a process of SCRIBAL PUBLICATION. Native Americans, too, used travel narratives to relate crucial aspects of their world. The Peruvian Felipe GUAMÁN POMA de Ayala, for example, included what was in essence a travel narrative within his illustrated report to King Philip III of Spain when he sent it in 1615. And the history produced by LEO AFRICANUS was, in many respects, like a travel narrative in its format and structure. That was part of its appeal to RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, the Elizabethan authority on travel accounts who arranged for its publication (with the title *A Geographical Historie of Africa*) in LONDON in 1600.

In the European age of discovery, the travel narrative became one of the most popular kinds of books coming out of printers’ shops. This is hardly surprising. The first report of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, the so-called Barcelona Letter of 1493, was a travel account, and it contained many of the ingredients that became consistent in this kind of writing in the 16th century. Columbus wrote about his voyage, his “discovery” of a place that he did not know existed, his encounters with the indigenous peoples of that place, his description of the new land’s climate, flora, and fauna, and his return home.

Virtually every European who described the Americas followed that formula. Accounts differed from one author to the next, of course, and the genre developed over the course of the 16th century. The earliest reports, like those by Columbus and AMERIGO VESPUCCI, often paid little attention to specific peoples or places and, instead, offered brief overviews, often laden with overt criticism of the peoples they described (such as Vespucci’s inability to understand TUPINAMBÁ facial piercing). Yet some who made long journeys—like the English mathematician THOMAS HARRIOT, the Dutch traveler JAN HUYGEN VAN LINSCHOTEN, and the Huguenot missionary JEAN DE LÉRY—wrote with an ethnographic sensitivity that seems remarkable for an age in which Europeans routinely believed that they were superior to Native Americans and wanted to impose their culture on the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

Over time, the collected wisdom that spread in travel narratives became incorporated into Europeans’ understanding of the wider world. Cosmographers, notably

ANDRÉ THEVET, were at times among the travelers, and their works routinely (if belatedly) took note of information generated abroad. Many narratives reflected the religious inclinations of the traveler. But here, too, some writers, such as the brilliant Italian Jesuit MATTEO RICCI (whose “Discourse of the Kingdom of China” was first published in Rome in the 1610s and eventually appeared in an English translation when SAMUEL PURCHAS printed it in 1625), offered penetrating observations of distant lands without the overt condemnation. Such travelers did not abandon their bias when they left home, but among the thousands who sailed outward and the scores who wrote about their experiences there were some who were able to rise above their prejudices to offer what has become some of the most important testimony about the early modern world. Some, but not all: Travelers’ tales also included fantastic and impossible details when observers gave in to their prejudices or altered what they saw because they hoped to attract a larger audience.

It is impossible to dismiss the significance of these narratives. Some, like Harriot’s and Guaman Poma’s, provide details about populations that either no longer exist (like the Carolina Algonquians whom Harriot met at ROANOKE) or who continued to suffer from the European conquest (as in the case in Peru, where Guamán Poma witnessed firsthand the long legacy of FRANCISCO PIZARRO’s conquest of ATAHUALPA and the INCA empire). Others provide considerable insight into the ways that observers thought. Typically, a traveler described something in comparison to an object or place that he or she knew previously—such as Spanish CONQUISTADORES comparing buildings in Mexico and Peru with structures in Spain. This writing through analogy tells much about frames of reference and about how it was possible to incorporate news about novel situations into one’s mental universe. These reports also have been a boon to modern scholars, who recognize that travel accounts gave rise to the idea of ethnography (and eventually anthropology) and provide often extraordinary details about past worlds.

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### Trent, Council of (1545–1563)

The Council of Trent, a general council of the Catholic Church called by Pope Paul III, met with three goals: to reunite European Christians, to define a Catholic response to Protestant doctrinal challenges, and to pursue necessary reforms from within the church.

Because of the religious turmoil of the 16th century and the challenges to Catholicism posed by the REFORMATION, clerics had called for a council of the church since the 1520s. Had a council met at such an early date, it is possible that some of the reformers who would later break from the Catholic Church might have participated, but no council met in the 1520s. When the Council of Trent first convened in December 1545, 28 years had passed since MARTIN LUTHER had first protested against the sale of indulgences. The divisions between Catholics and Protestants had become so established that there was no hope of reconciliation.

The council met in three sessions, from 1545 to 1547, 1551 to 1552, and 1562 to 1563. It was attended almost solely by Catholic representatives, most of whom were bishops or theologians. A few Protestant delegates arrived at the second session of the council in 1552, but their presence had no effect. Protestants no longer accepted the authority of a church council to settle disputes, and many Protestants suspected that the council was the work of the Antichrist. The council thus failed in its first goal. It was too late to reunite the Christian churches of Europe.

The council was more active in pursuing its other two goals, but these goals seemed to conflict. The pope wanted a speedy condemnation of what he viewed as Protestant heresies. The Holy Roman Emperor CHARLES V wanted the church to address the abuses that had helped provoke the Reformation. Because these goals were so different, the council proceeded slowly, alternating between theological issues and reform issues.

In its theological statements the Council of Trent clarified and reformulated Catholic positions and attacked Protestant ones. By doing so it drew the lines between the rival faiths more clearly. The council reaffirmed traditional Catholic practices, including the veneration of saints, the use of indulgences, and the celibacy of the clergy. It affirmed the power of the seven sacraments, which most Protestants sought to reduce to two, and restated the Catholic belief in the existence of purgatory.

Among the most important issues discussed by the council was the question of justification—of how human beings can attain salvation. Luther argued that human nature was so distorted by sin that no human actions, or works, had value toward salvation. Human beings could not

in any way earn the right to eternal life but must instead rely on faith in God's promise of redemption. The Catholic Church had traditionally rejected the view that any human being could earn salvation, but it held that works had some value toward justification. Salvation came only from the grace of God, but a human being could participate in his or her own redemption by cultivating a disposition to receive grace and voluntarily accepting it from God.

As the council rejected Protestant understandings of justification, it also repudiated Protestant ideas about authority. While Luther and other reformers accepted only the authority of Scripture (*sola scriptura*), the Council of Trent declared that legitimate authority derived both from scripture and from the traditions of the church, including the rulings of councils and the declarations of popes.

In matters of church reform, the council sought to end some of the abuses to which reformers had objected. Perhaps its most important achievement lay in strengthening the position of bishops within their dioceses. Bishops received greater authority over priests and members of religious orders within their jurisdiction and were commanded to establish schools and seminaries within their territories to promote the training of new priests. Reformers had long objected to bishops who presided over a diocese but lived somewhere else, and bishops were now required to reside within their diocese and to preach regularly.

The Council of Trent was the Catholic Church's answer to the Reformation. It did not promote reconciliation among Christians, nor did it immediately end abuses within the church. However, by clearly distinguishing Catholic beliefs from Protestant and by beginning to reform the church from within, it strengthened the church in an era of continuing religious controversy.

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—Martha K. Robinson

## Tuareg

The Tuareg, an ethnic group of present-day Niger, MALI, Burkina Faso, Algeria, and Libya, participated in the SLAVE

TRADE, controlled the trans-Saharan trade route in the 15th century, and dominated much of the territory south of the SAHARA, including the cities of GAO and TIMBUKTU.

Known as the "blue people" because of the color the indigo dye of their clothes left on their skin, the Tuareg were a seminomadic people in the western and southwestern regions of the Sahara and of the Sahel (Arabic for "shore," used to denote the transition zone along the southern edge of the Sahara). They claimed descent from the Berbers of North Africa who migrated south during the Arab invasions of their traditional homeland in the seventh century. The Tuareg formed political confederations, called *kels*, defined by caste hierarchies and clan membership and connected by adherence to ISLAM and their shared Tamacheq language.

The Kel Eway and Kel Gress, among other Tuareg confederations, migrated to the savanna zone of the Sahel, combining pastoralist traditions with trans-Saharan trade and sedentary agricultural practices in efforts to protect themselves from drought. Beginning in the 11th century, the Tuareg raided communities to the south, taking slaves and exacting tribute. Slaves in Tuareg society served the important purpose of maintaining adequate levels of agricultural labor while Tuareg nobles were absent on long trading journeys. By the 15th century Tuareg society consisted of numerous status and caste categories: *iklan*, or slaves; *irewelen*, the descendants of *iklan*; *imrad*, who payed tribute to the Tuareg, and, finally, the *imageren*, Arabic for "the proud and free," who were fair-skinned nomads of noble descent.

The Tuareg traded most of those captured in slaving raids in order to reduce the captives' chances of escape, but they kept some captives and assimilated them into Tuareg communities. The process of assimilation allowed the slaves to participate not only in agricultural tasks but also to accompany trade caravans. Through marriage and by demonstrating loyalty, slaves could and did achieve social mobility within Tuareg society. Those slaves not kept by the Tuareg became part of the human trade on the trans-Saharan trade routes, which the Tuareg controlled in the 15th century.

The largely nomadic Tuareg faced pressure from more sedentary groups such as the HAUSA as well as from other nomads like the FULANI and attempted to establish a more centralized kingdom during the 15th century. Several Tuareg *kels* united to establish a sultanate in Agadez (in present-day Niger), but no enduring centralized authority structures overcame the long tradition of nomadic life.

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—Lisa M. Brady

**Tula** See TOLTECS.

### Tupinambá

The Tupinambá, a Native people living in present-day BRAZIL, impressed 16th-century Europeans as “noble savages” who went to war for revenge, practiced CANNIBALISM, and yet seemed to lead happy lives.

Three important chroniclers of Tupinambá life were the French Franciscan ANDRÉ THEVET, the French Protestant JEAN DE LÉRY, and a German captive, HANS STADE. The differences between Tupinambá culture and European cultures disturbed visiting Europeans. According to European observers, the Tupinambá did not wear clothes and felt no shame at being naked. Because Europeans believed that human beings were ashamed of their nakedness as a result of humanity’s fall in the Garden of Eden, they were surprised to see people who adorned themselves with feathers, paint, and other ornaments but did not wear clothes. Léry, however, who often commented on Tupinambá ways of life in order to criticize European customs, maintained that the nakedness of Tupinambá women “is much less alluring than one might expect” and added that the elaborate and expensive clothing and makeup worn by European women “are beyond comparison the cause of more ills than the ordinary nakedness of the savage women.”

European observers also reported that the Tupinambá were warlike and practiced cannibalism. Stade reported that he had barely escaped death at his captors’ hands and claimed that he had seen other captives killed and eaten. Léry also described cannibalism but noted that, unlike Europeans, the Tupinambá did not fight over land or to take one another’s possessions. Instead, they “are impelled by no other passion than that of avenging, each for his side, his own kinsmen and friends who in the past have been seized and eaten. . . .”

In 1550, the city of Rouen staged a tableau to honor Henry II and Catherine de’ Medici. This tableau featured Tupinambá (and sailors made up to resemble them) acting out Tupinambá life: hunting, shooting bows and arrows, and resting in hammocks. The scene ended with a simulated attack on the Tupinambá by another Indian group, from which the Tupinambá emerged victorious. Sixteenth-century European illustrators used the image of Tupinambá, with their distinctive headdresses and wooden swords, as allegorical figures representing America.

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—Martha K. Robinson



# V



## **Valdivia, Pedro de** (1500–1554) *conquistador*

One of FRANCISCO PIZARRO's best officers in the conquest of PERU, Pedro de Valdivia is best known for leading the conquest of Chile.

Valdivia was born in 1500 in the district of La Savena, Spain. At the age of 19 he entered a military career. He left the service in 1525 and married Marina Ortiz de Gaeta. Growing restless, he left for the Spanish-controlled West Indies in 1535, leaving behind a wife and children whom he would never see again. He quickly established himself among the CONQUISTADORES, but when his hope of gaining riches and glory in Venezuela faded, he welcomed the opportunity to enlist in Diego de Fuenmayor's force of 400 men who were leaving for the Royal Audience of Santo Domingo at the request of Francisco Pizarro.

In Peru Pedro rose to the rank of quartermaster general in Pizarro's army. For his efforts in the conquest of Peru, he was awarded the valuable La Canela estate along with a lucrative SILVER mine in Porco. Following the conquest of Peru, conquistadores besieged Pizarro with requests to lead expeditions in all directions, although few wanted to head toward Chile, perhaps because Diego de Almagro's recent (and fatal) trip there failed to discover a flourishing civilization, roads, points of communication, or magnificent golden buildings. It was a great surprise to Pizarro when Valdivia requested a commission to explore and subdue Chile.

Overcoming a lack of funds and recruits, Valdivia's expedition embarked from Peru in 1540. He later reflected that potential recruits "fled from it as from the plague." Nevertheless, he managed to muster enough Spanish troops to go along with a contingent of more than 1,000 Indians, who served as porters and camp followers. In his letters Valdivia often referred to the Natives as "pieces of service." During battles with Chilean Natives, the loss of "pieces" was recorded, if at all, after the loss of horses. Although scholars often portray Valdivia as somewhat less cruel than his fellow conquistadores, his treatment of the

Natives no doubt hurt him in the end, when his former groom, known as Lautaro, led an ambush that cost Valdivia his life in 1554.

Before his death Valdivia was successful in the founding of a number of towns, including Santiago in 1541. Granted the title of governor of Chile in 1547, he ventured farther to the south, founding Concepción (1550) and Valdivia (1552). To Pedro, town founding was not a haphazard affair. To guide him he possessed a copy of a town-founding guidebook, written by CHARLES V in 1523. Ostensibly, the conquest of Chile was complete with the founding of Valdivia, but the Spanish encountered continued resistance from the Araucanians that persisted for more than 300 years. Known for their adaptability in the use of weaponry, the Araucanians had perfected the use of a small club (*macanas*), a lasso consisting of a running noose, and pikes, all useful when Lautaro led the ambush that killed Valdivia in 1554. Despite the murder, the Araucanians failed to dispel the Spaniards from their domains, and an epidemic wiped out more than one-third of their population, some 400,000 individuals, between 1554 and 1557.

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—Mathew Lindaman

## **Velázquez, Diego de** (1465?–1524) *soldier, government official*

Conqueror and governor of CUBA, Diego de Velázquez played a pivotal role in the explorations of the Caribbean basin after 1500, including the sponsorship of HERNÁN CORTÉS's expedition to MEXICO.

Velázquez was a member of the first generation of CONQUISTADORES to arrive in the NEW WORLD. Accompanying CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS in 1493, he played a critical role in the exploration of the Greater Antilles. In 1511 Velázquez led the expedition that conquered Cuba, becoming its governor shortly thereafter. He divided the Natives into ENCOMIENDAS for his friends and supporters, while maintaining the largest grants for himself. Velázquez successfully bred pigs and other livestock on his lands, which he sold to outgoing expeditions at inflated prices. Under his watch colonists discovered substantial deposits of GOLD on the island. Velázquez naturally took a share of the profits for himself. By 1515 he had become enormously wealthy, and Cuba replaced HISPANIOLA as Spain's most valuable colony. During these years Velázquez developed a reputation as an arrogant man of limited capacities who greatly resented his rivals' successes. Worse for the conquistadores, he frequently attempted to take credit for his underlings' feats, robbing them of their hard-earned rewards.

As governor Velázquez used his wealth and position to sponsor further explorations of the Caribbean basin, hoping to augment his own landholdings and political prestige. When the remnants of FRANCISCO HERNÁNDEZ DE CÓRDOBA's expedition recounted tales of the wealthy MAYA cities of the YUCATÁN PENINSULA, Velázquez organized a new party to explore the region under the command of his nephew, JUAN DE GRIJALVA. Grijalva's voyage was a military disaster, but he brought promising reports of both the Yucatán and TABASCO. Encouraged by these reports, Velázquez sent a third and final expedition to the mainland under the leadership of Cortés. Originally Cortés was only to explore and claim lands in Velázquez's name. As the party prepared to leave, Velázquez became convinced (rightly) that Cortés was too ambitious to follow these orders and attempted to remove him from command. Cortés anticipated this move and sailed from Cuba before the governor could stop him.

Velázquez apparently seethed for some months at this open act of rebellion, but he waited until CHARLES V confirmed his governorship of the newly discovered territories of greater Yucatán before he struck back. He then gathered a sizable force of loyal conquistadores to capture Cortés and establish himself as the governor of Mexico. He placed these troops under the command of PÁNFILO DE NARVÁEZ. In Mexico Cortés skillfully brought these troops into his own army by promising them a share of MOCTEZUMA II's treasure. Cortés's subsequent victories against the AZTECS made it difficult for Velázquez to move against him openly, although in 1523 he convinced Cortés's friend and confidant Cristóbal de Olid to break with Cortés and conquer present-day Honduras in Velázquez's name. Cortés left immediately for Honduras in order to deal with this mutiny,

and in his absence Velázquez circulated rumors about him and his loyalty to the Crown. Despite his efforts, Velázquez never achieved the vengeance he so fiercely desired. He died in 1524, one of the wealthiest men in the Americas.

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—Scott Chamberlain

## Venice

One of the most remarkable cities in the world, where the streets are canals, Venice rose from a group of islands in a lagoon on the edge of the Adriatic Sea to become one of the most vital commercial and artistic centers of Renaissance Europe.

Local myth tells that Venice was founded on Ascension Day in the year 421, although its first residents actually arrived on the islands in the sixth century. Ever since, Venetians have embraced a unique lifestyle. From the start they realized that their existence depended on finding a way to live with the sea—not a sea on its borders but one quite literally all around it. Venetians created their political system, based on the election of the doge (Venetian for duke), in the ninth century, and over time they developed a republican form of government that seemed to them and visitors to be an ideal political system. During the ninth century Venetians also defined their own religious fate when they stole the body of the apostle Mark from Byzantium in 828–29. Although they later misplaced his body, in one of the many miracles that defined Venetian history his body was rediscovered in 1094, an event now celebrated in a mosaic at San Marco, the glorious church that abuts the ducal palace and dominates the Piazza San Marco.

Venetians' connections to the ocean long predated the so-called age of discovery. According to legend, sometime in the medieval era the doge wed the Adriatic, not only in a metaphorical sense but quite literally: He sailed out from the lagoon and into the open water and tossed in a golden ring. The ceremony was reenacted every year on Ascension Day when the doge sailed out to sea in a gilded galley in front of an audience of onlookers.

Venetians used their strategic access to the Adriatic to create the greatest seaborne mercantile domain in southern Europe. Although the republic lacked a substantial territorial base and was thus dependent on other states for an enormous variety of basic goods, including most of its food, enterprising merchants organized commerce that transported the goods of the Levant to the West.



Close ties to East and West led to the spectacular eccentricity of Venice's architecture, (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE), evident in the Church of San Marco. Begun in the mid-11th century, San Marco was built in the shape of a Greek cross crowned by five domes. Local craftsmen spent inordinate time creating and embellishing the ornate interiors, many of them covered by sumptuous mosaics painted with gold leaf, but they paid little attention to its external appearance. By the 13th century or so Venetians, inspired by Romanesque and Gothic architecture, modified the exterior, adding carvings of fishermen, coopers, smiths, masons, and barbers whose talents allowed Venice to boom. The construction next door to the ducal palace signaled the fundamental link between church and state in the republic.

Residents and visitors alike recognized the special features of Venice. In the mid-14th century Petrarch praised the "august city of Venice," which had become "the one home today of liberty, peace and justice, the one refuge of honorable men, the one port to which can repair the storm-tossed, tyrant-hounded craft of men who seek the good life." Material wealth abounded, but Petrarch recognized something more precious: the city's unparalleled "virtue, solidly built on marble but standing more solid on a foundation of civil concord, ringed with salt waters but more secure with the salt of good counsel." The local 16th-century chronicler Marin Sanudo believed that the glories of the city would be perpetual. Venice was, he wrote, "a marvellous thing, which must be seen to be believed[.]" He agreed with those who asserted that "it will last for ever, as appears from this epigram found in the *Supplementum chronicarum*: 'So long as the sea contains dolphins, so long as clear skies contain stars; so long as the moist ground give forth her pleasant fruits; so long as the human race carries on its generations upon the earth, the splendour of the Venetians will be celebrated for all eternity.'"

The modern-day traveler to Venice will notice one of the city's architectural legacies: the desire of the wealthy to build their palaces facing canals. No other city in the world located so many of its finest buildings along canals, nor did craftsmen and architects elsewhere spend so much time constructing façades that were only visible by people in boats or across a lagoon. Venetians spent time and money on their buildings because they realized, as did the residents of other Italian cities, that buildings expressed common beliefs, aspirations, and values. A spectacular and orderly city, especially one constructed in the midst of a lagoon, had to convey to all the world the enormous public spirit of Venetians. What emerged from their efforts was nothing less than a lesson in civics taught by observation: political education absorbed without classes and lectures,

without preaching or priests, even without the explicit attention of the patrician class.

From the late 14th century into the early 15th century, a series of construction projects demonstrated the artistic heights possible during the Renaissance. Local elites, eager to show off their wealth, built one palace after another along the canals. Some of the palaces, such as *Cá Dario* constructed for the secretary of the senate Giovanni Dario in the late 1480s, sprouted magnificent decoration. Others impressed by their sheer size, such as the palace built for the Loredan family during the first decade of the 16th century and now known as *Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi*. Owners of these *palazzi* offered public thanks in the form of carved inscriptions to the benevolent authorities who allowed their creation. Within the palaces and inside churches such as San Marco and *Madonna dell'Orto*, Venice's great painters and artisans created images of lasting power and beauty. As a result, Venice has attracted visitors since the 16th century.

Venice's ascent came from its merchants' ability to organize long-distance commerce, particularly their ability to dominate the trade between the SPICE ISLANDS and Europe. The profits accrued through such commerce allowed Venetian rulers to employ artisans and painters, who transformed their dwellings into ornate urban treasures. As one resident wrote in his diary, "if trade falls off and men live on income little progress will be possible." When a Milanese pilgrim stopped in Venice on his way to Jerusalem in the late 15th century, the signs of mercantile prosperity overwhelmed him. "Something may be said about the quantity of merchandise in the said city, although not nearly the whole truth, because it is inestimable," Pietro Casola wrote in 1494. "Indeed it seems as if all the world flocks there, and that human beings have concentrated there all their force for trading." He found "tapestry, brocades and hangings of every design, carpets of every sort, camlets of every colour and texture, silks of every kind; and so many warehouses full of spices, groceries and drugs, and so much beautiful white wax!"

To its celebrators, Venice was the perfect city. As one local diarist wrote, "whoever lived and stayed there seemed to be in an earthly paradise, without any tumult of war or suspicion of enemies, nor would he look to suffer misfortune or fear any mental perturbation, the city having endured and stood so long, for so many hundreds of years, in peace, quiet, and repose; and whoever wished to live in peace and quiet and expect to go about his business peacefully could not stay or live in a quieter or more peaceful place than the city of Venice[.]"

Despite its marvels, Venice in the 16th century was in crisis. In 1499 the Turks warned a Venetian ambassador that Venice's time had passed. "Until now you have been married to the sea," one informed the emissary; "for

the future, that is for us, who are more powerful by sea than you.” The barbarians, as the Venetians defined the enemies who surrounded them, could not be kept back. A series of military conquests from 1509 to 1513 reduced the terra ferma that Venetians had managed to gain by the end of the 15th century, and a growing Turkish fleet threatened Venice’s control over the seas. Despite an alliance with the Vatican, Spain, and England put together to resist threats from the French, and despite a peace agreement signed between Venice and France in November 1513, Venetians could not retain control over territory they once claimed. By the time the accord was reached, they had lost Padua and much of the rest of their territory. To make matters worse, an earthquake rocked the city on March 26, 1511, a further sign to some locals that they were receiving divine punishment for their material excesses.

Even in its decline Venice remained a vital city in 16th-century Europe. Among the city’s residents was GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO, the editor of travel accounts whose readers learned about the world beyond the republic’s boundaries. Venice was also one of the publishing centers of Europe (see PRINTING PRESS), home to the famous Aldine Press. To the present day, there is no other city like it. Although some fear that the sea from which Venice sprang will ultimately drown it, for the moment, at least, it remains the greatest relic of the Renaissance.

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## Veracruz

The name of the major Native cultural zone lying along the Gulf of MEXICO, Veracruz also refers to the first Spanish settlement in Mexico, which became the principal port of the colony of NEW SPAIN.

In ancient times several important Native groups developed in the Veracruz area. The earliest and most famous of these were the OLMECS, who flourished between 1700 and 300 B.C. As the first great culture of Mesoamerica, the Olmecs created the iconography, religious rituals, and royal ceremonies that most ancient Mexican cultures used until the arrival of the Spaniards. Other cultures developed in the region after the fall of the Olmecs, including the magnificent El Tajín culture that was contemporary with the classic MAYA. After the classic era, the area increasingly came under the shadow of the

great empires of central Mexico, and at the time of the conquest much of the Veracruz region was firmly under the control of the AZTECS.

In 1519 DIEGO DE VELÁZQUEZ, the governor of CUBA, commissioned HERNÁN CORTÉS to explore the coast of Mexico. Concerned about Cortés’s arrogant behavior and lavish spending on supplies, he reconsidered his action and moved to remove Cortés from command. Cortés suspected the governor’s plans and sailed away before Velázquez could stop him. Realizing he was acting outside of orders and could be tried for treason, Cortés took steps to legitimize his actions as soon as he landed in Mexico. As part of his plan he founded the settlement of La Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz (“The Wealthy Town of the True Cross”) in 1519. He meticulously followed the established royal ceremony of foundation, with witnesses swearing to the authenticity of his actions. As founder, he quickly appointed a *CABILDO*, or town council, made up of his own trusted followers and resigned leadership of the community to this body. In response, the *cabildo* appointed Cortés royal captain of the army and commissioned him to explore and conquer Mexico in the name of the king. Although highly suspicious, his actions were entirely legal and provided a veneer of legitimacy to his subsequent actions. After conquering the Aztecs, Cortés moved the site about 20 miles south to a better location (modern-day La Antigua), and in 1598 the Crown ordered the city to relocate once again, to its present location.

The city of Veracruz continued to play an important role during the colonial period. The Crown designated it as the official port of New Spain, meaning that all ships both arriving and departing had to pass through the city. Like other official ports such as Portobelo, Panama City, Acapulco, and Cartagena, Veracruz primarily came to life when the annual treasure fleets gathered, and the collected wealth of New Spain passed through its streets. In other times the threat of raiders and tropical DISEASES kept it from developing into one of the colony’s larger cities. In 1567 nine English ships under SIR JOHN HAWKINS sailed into the city’s harbor, hoping to sell slaves (see SLAVE TRADE) and contraband. The Spanish fleet trapped and destroyed them, although SIR FRANCIS DRAKE escaped with two ships. Veracruz retained its privileged position within New Spain until 1760, when the Crown allowed ships legally to trade in the colony’s other port cities.

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—Scott Chamberlain

**Verrazano, Giovanni da** (ca. 1485–ca.1528) *Italian explorer*

Commissioned by the French King Francis I to explore the Atlantic coast of North America, Giovanni da Verrazano in 1525 sailed northward from modern-day South Carolina to a place he called “NORUMBEGA,” in the process becoming perhaps the first European to view the coast of present-day New York and Narragansett Bay.

Born in Florence to a wealthy family who possessed estates south of the city, Verrazano received a solid education. Once completed, he moved to Dieppe, France, sometime around 1506. After working on commercial and military ships, he came to the attention of Francis I, who provided four ships to him with orders to explore the North American coastline. Verrazano left France in January 1525. Only two of his ships made it across the Atlantic. The survivors landed at modern-day Cape Fear, North Carolina. After sailing to the south, perhaps as far as modern-day Charleston, South Carolina, he led his ships to the north, passing Chesapeake Bay (which his brother Girolamo labeled the Verrazano Sea on a map of the world), which the explorer believed might lead to the South Sea (the Pacific Ocean). He continued northward on his journey, reaching an area now known as Verrazano Narrows (a channel between Staten Island and Brooklyn, New York) in April 1525. He sailed farther north into Narragansett Bay, where he met local Natives who provided assistance to the storm-tossed sailors. By early May

he was ready to continue his northward journey. Over the next few weeks his ships followed the coastline until they reached modern-day Maine, where he encountered Natives he found unpleasant, and then past the modern-day Maritime Provinces of Canada. In July he sailed back to Dieppe. On his return he described much of what he had seen in positive terms, especially a place he called “Norumbega,” which became a fixture on European maps in the 16th century, even though no other explorer managed to figure out exactly where Verrazano had landed.

On a second journey, also sponsored by Francis I, Verrazano sailed to FLORIDA and then southward into the Caribbean. Anchored off one island, possibly Guadeloupe, he led a group onto the shore, where they were killed by local Natives and, so some believe, eaten by cannibals.

**Further reading:** Angus Konstam, *Historical Atlas of Exploration, 1492–1600* (New York: Facts On File, 2000).

**Vespucci, Amerigo** (1451–1512) *Italian explorer*

Poet, cosmographer, and banker, Amerigo Vespucci is best known for his voyages from Spain to South America around the turn of the 16th century and for giving his name to two continents.

Born in Florence, Vespucci in his youth was an ambassador to France for Lorenzo de' Medici. In 1492 he traveled to SEVILLE and became involved in the organization



A map drawn by Hieronymus da Verrazano from *Verrazano the Navigator*, by J. C. Brevoort (Hulton/Archive)



of shipping ventures. He had arrived at the right time: After the return of CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, Vespucci was able to provision other ships destined for the Western Hemisphere. Eventually, he decided to venture west himself. Although he claimed to have made his first transatlantic journey in 1497, more reliable evidence suggests that he sailed to South America for the first time two years later along with Alonso de Ojeda. He arrived near Cape São Roque, on the eastern tip of BRAZIL, and then followed the coast to the northwest for 700 miles. He was, as a result, the first European to lead an extended exploration of the mainland, though PEDRO ÁLVARES CABRAL had, in fact, landed in Brazil earlier but had not yet made it back to Europe to offer his report. On his journey Vespucci crossed the mouths of the AMAZON RIVER and the Orinoco River, the river that would later so entice SIR WALTER RALEGH. When he returned to Spain, he discovered that the Spanish were not particularly interested in his findings, and so he traveled to the court of King Manuel I of Portugal, who welcomed him and the possibility that Vespucci had found territory lying to the east of the line demarcated in the TREATY OF TORDESILLAS and thus part of the world the Vatican believed should be controlled by Portugal.

Vespucci made other trips to Brazil in 1501. On one he explored Darién and made maps of much of what he saw. Upon his return he published his report (see Documents) about what he called a NEW WORLD. In response Martin Waldseemüller, a German cartographer, labeled South America as “the land of Amerigo” on a map. The name stuck, and by the late 1530s Europeans applied the term to the entire Western Hemisphere.

The spread of the PRINTING PRESS meant that news of Vespucci’s feats could race across Europe quickly. One edition of his letter to Soderini, published in Strasbourg in 1509, depicted a smiling man and woman chopping up human arms and feet. A broadside published in Augsburg or Nuremberg in 1505 showed a group of Indians at home with plenty of domestic details, such as a mother nursing an infant, a man and a woman kissing, and two men engaged in a serious conversation. The image also included one man eating a human arm and pieces of a human, including the head, suspended from a rope, presumably waiting to be eaten. Such images, based on Vespucci’s writing, terrified many Europeans, who feared that all peoples in the Western Hemisphere were cannibals.

**Further reading:** Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York: Pantheon, 1975); Angus Konstam, *Historical Atlas of Exploration, 1492–1600* (New York: Facts On File, 2000); Clements R. Markham, ed., *The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci and other Documents Illustrative*

*of His Career*, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 1st ser., 90 (London, Hakluyt Society, 1894); Amerigo Vespucci, *Letter to Piero Soderini* [1504], trans. George T. Northup (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1916).

**Vikings** See NORSE.

## Vinland

The name given by the NORSE to territory in the modern-day Maritime Provinces of Canada, where they arrived around the year 1000 and established a settlement, the first European outpost in the Western Hemisphere.

According to a Norse saga written perhaps 200 years later, sometime around the turn of the first Christian millennium Leif Eriksson, who was himself the son of the famous Norse explorer Erik the Red, set sail from GREENLAND to lands lying farther west. He encountered and named three places: Helluland (“Slab-Land”), Markland (“Forest Land”), and Vinland (“Wineland”). A later Norse explorer named Thorfinn Thordsson Karlsefni and his wife, Gudrid, followed up Leif’s efforts and took a small contingent to Vinland in the hope of establishing a colony. Although they had a baby while on their expedition, within a year they returned to Greenland and eventually to Norway before they made a permanent home in ICELAND. In the late 12th century a Norse bishop named Erik Upsi also set sail for Vinland, although no record exists to tell what happened.

In the late 20th century archaeologists working at L’Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland found evidence of an 11th-century Norse settlement, probably Vinland; others have speculated that Markland was present-day Labrador.

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**Vitoria, Francisco de** (ca. 1485–1546) *scholar*

Francisco de Vitoria, an influential Spanish jurist and professor of theology, argued that the native peoples of the Americas had a legitimate right to the ownership and governance of their own lands.



In 1539 Vitoria entered into a long-standing debate with the publication of his treatise "On the American Indians" ("De Indis"). While most Spaniards accepted the legitimacy of the Spanish conquest of America, some voices, most notably that of the Dominican priest BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS, condemned the cruelty of the Spanish. In 1511 another Dominican, Anton de Montesinos, warned the Spanish settlers of HISPANIOLA that if they did not stop treating the Indians cruelly, they would be damned to hell. Neither Las Casas nor Montesinos doubted that the Spanish had a legitimate claim to the NEW WORLD, but they believed that the Indians should be treated more fairly.

The mistreatment of the Indians helped sustain a debate in Europe over the justice of the Spanish conquest. In 1510 John Mair, a Scottish theologian teaching in Paris, maintained that the conquest of the Americas was just because the Indians were "natural slaves" who would benefit from European rule. As "natural slaves," the Indians needed Europeans to guide them and introduce them to Christianity. If the Natives of the New World had to be conquered before they would accept Christianity, then war against the Indians was just. The Spanish lawyer and adviser to the Crown Juan López de Palacios Rubios also argued that the Spanish conquest of the New World was legitimate. For Palacios Rubios, the Catholic Church had dominion over the entire world. In the TREATY OF TORDESILLAS, Pope ALEXANDER VI had granted authority over the New World to the Spanish. As long as the Indians refused to become Christian, they were in rebellion against the church and could rightfully be subjugated.

Vitoria rejected these arguments. The Indians, he wrote, were rational human beings, not the "natural slaves" that Aristotle had suggested must exist. As rational beings, the Indians had a right to their lands and goods, and the Spanish had no right to take their property or enslave them. Their own rulers, not the Spanish, had legitimate authority over them. Vitoria also maintained that the pope's authority was purely in the spiritual world. Because he lacked power in the temporal world, he could not take the Indians' territories away and give them to one European prince or another. Furthermore, conquest of the Indians could not

be justified by the desire to convert them to Christianity. Spanish treatment of the Indians thus far, Vitoria argued, was so cruel as to make the Indians less likely to convert.

The Indians' right to their land was not inviolable, however. Like other Catholics of the day, Vitoria believed that the pope's spiritual (though not temporal) authority extended across the world. The pope, therefore, could declare that only one European power had the right to colonize the New World in the interest of peacefully promoting the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. The Spanish could not compel the Indians to convert, but the Indians had no right to refuse to allow missionaries to travel and preach in their lands. Vitoria also argued that individuals and peoples had a right to trade with one another to their mutual benefit. If the Indians refused to permit missionaries to live among them or did not allow trade, then the Spanish could legitimately make war upon them.

Although Vitoria's arguments did allow for a "just war" to be undertaken against the Indians, their significance lay in his insistence that the Indians were rational human beings with a legitimate claim to their lands and freedoms. The arguments made by Vitoria, Las Casas, and other scholars and theologians helped lead to the Emperor CHARLES V's issuance of the New Laws of 1542. These laws declared that the Indians were vassals of the Crown and defended their rights to self-preservation, property, and justice against Spanish crimes.

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—Martha K. Robinson



# W



## **Waldseemüller, Martin** (ca. 1470–ca. 1518–1521) geographer

Martin Waldseemüller, a German artist and cartographer, was the first to use the term *America* to refer to the NEW WORLD.

Waldseemüller was born in Germany but lived in north-eastern France. His most important map of the Western Hemisphere, the *Universalis cosmographia* (1507), was probably commissioned by the duke of Lorraine. This map, almost 10 feet square, was printed from 12 wood blocks and was so popular that 1,000 copies were made, only one of

which has survived. The *Universalis cosmographia* drew on Portuguese and Italian maps and on AMERIGO VESPUCCI's account of his travels (see Documents). Unlike other maps of the day, which portrayed North America as an extension of Asia, on Waldseemüller's map North America appeared as a relatively small but distinct landmass.

In his *Cosmographia introductio* (1507), Waldseemüller wrote that because Amerigo Vespucci had discovered a fourth continent, it should bear his name. "I do not see," he wrote "why anyone should rightly forbid naming it Amerige—land of Americus, as it were, after its discoverer



The *Universalis cosmographia* (1507), by Martin Waldseemüller (Library of Congress)

Americus, a man of acute genius—or America, since both Europe and Asia have received their names from women.” Waldseemüller and later cartographers used the term *America* to refer only to South America. Until 1538, when GERHARDUS MERCATOR labeled the northern continent *America*, most cartographers called it *Terra de Cuba*, *Terra Florida*, *Terra del Labrador*, or *Parais*.

Waldseemüller also wrote several books and made a globe and a large-scale map of Europe. His works influenced other 16th-century cartographers and were widely imitated.

**Further reading:** Seymour I. Schwartz and Ralph E. Ehrenberg, *The Mapping of America*, (New York: Abrams, 1980); R. V. Tooley, *Maps and Map-Makers* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1987); Hans Wolff, “Martin Waldseemüller: The Most Important Cosmographer in a Period of Dramatic Scientific Change,” in Hans Wolff, ed., *America: Early Maps of the New World* (Munich: Prestel, 1992).

—Martha K. Robinson

### **Walsingham, Sir Francis** (1530?–1590) *statesman*

An English statesman and diplomat who served for almost two decades as Queen ELIZABETH I's secretary of state.

Early in his career Walsingham left England when Queen MARY I acceded to the throne, remaining abroad until her reign ceased. His five-year sojourn fostered his Protestant zeal and also helped develop his diplomatic career. While abroad he gained information in Spain, Italy, and France, all of it useful when he returned to England when Elizabeth took the throne.

Walsingham became one of the Queen's most trustworthy administrators. His first official task placed him in charge of London's secret service, through which he rooted out nefarious internal and external plots against the monarch. In August 1568, for example, he was able to produce for Lord Burghley (another close ally of the Queen) a list of all persons entering Italy during the previous three months who were hostile toward Elizabeth.

In 1570 Walsingham traveled to Paris on his first officially state-sponsored diplomatic mission. He hoped to establish better relations between England and an increasingly Huguenot influenced France. Rising hostilities between French HUGUENOTS and Catholics, culminating in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, cut Walsingham's efforts short. He returned to England in 1573 with little optimism about future relations between France and England. Upon his return Walsingham became secretary of state, a post he held for the next 17 years. Working with Machiavellian precision both at home and abroad, he trained his attention on Catholic zealots. For his efforts Elizabeth knighted him in 1577.

As part of his foreign policy strategy, Walsingham endorsed maritime ventures and colonial expansion. He corresponded with RALPH LANE, SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE, and SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT. In addition, he served as a patron to all of England's chief writers on the exploration of the NEW WORLD, including RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER. In 1587 Walsingham's spy network supplied him with the numbers of men, characteristics of vessels in commission, and full inventories of HORSES, armor, ammunition, food, and supplies of the heralded SPANISH ARMADA. However, a year later his connections dissolved, leaving him with little information prior to England's upcoming naval confrontation with the armada.

Walsingham died in 1590 after facing pecuniary difficulties toward the end of his life. Living during an age in which the traitor, the conspirator, the spy, the counter-spy, and the agent-provocateur appeared within the shadows of the larger backdrop of international diplomacy, he proved the consummate late 16th-century statesman and diplomat.

**Further reading:** John Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1991); Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (New York: AMS Press, 1978).

—Matt Lindaman

### **Wanchese** (fl. 1580s) *Roanoke diplomat*

One of two Indians brought to England from the islands of present-day North Carolina in 1584, Wanchese, a ROANOKE Indian, learned to speak English but rejected the colonists upon returning to America.

Wanchese and MANTEO arrived in England with ARTHUR BARLOWE and Philip Amadas, who had explored the coast of North America in search of a place to build a colony. While in England the two Indians lived with SIR WALTER RALEGH. While Manteo was a man of high status among his people, Wanchese seems to have ranked less high among his, and Manteo likely treated him as an inferior. He may have been sent to England by Wingina, a Roanoke leader, to learn about the English. When he returned to America in 1585, he left the colonists and returned to his own people. He apparently reported that the English were only men and did not have supernatural powers. The colonists, who believed that any reasonable human would acknowledge English superiority, regarded him as something of a traitor for preferring his own people. They also believed that he tried to convince Wingina to conspire against the colony.

**Further reading:** Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590; reprint,



New York: Dover Publications, 1972); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000); ———, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanheld, 1984); David Beers Quinn, *Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584–1606* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

—Martha K. Robinson

### werowance

Among the Virginia ALGONQUIAN, a *werowance* was a local ruler or leader.

When English settlers arrived in Virginia, they were impressed by the power wielded by POWHATAN. They described Powhatan as the ruler of many villages, exercising his authority over subordinate chiefs called *werowances*. The position of *werowance* was usually inherited through the mother's line, but Powhatan could remove *werowances* at will. Larger communities were governed by *werowances*, smaller ones by "lesser *werowances*." A female leader was known as a *weroansqua*. The number of *werowances* is unknown, but Powhatan may have had authority over some 34 villages.

The word *werowance* has been translated variously as "commander," "he is wise," "he is rich," and "he is of influence." The *werowances* were supported by a system of tribute, including such items as copper, beads, and pearls. In turn, they paid tribute to Powhatan. The extent of the *werowances'* power over the people in their villages is unknown.

**Further reading:** Frederick W. Gleach, *Powhatan's World and Colonial Virginia: A Conflict of Cultures* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997); Stephen R. Potter, "Early English Effects on Virginia Algonquian Exchange and Tribute in the Tidewater Potomac," in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*, eds. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 151–172; Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas's People: The Powhatan Indians of Virginia through Four Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); ———, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989).

—Martha K. Robinson

**White, John** (1540?–1606?) *English artist, colonist*  
Governor of the short-lived English colony at ROANOKE, John White was best known for his series of watercolor paintings of the Carolina ALGONQUIAN whom the English met in the mid-1580s.

Little is known about the early life of John White. Born in all likelihood at some point between 1540 and 1550, he does not emerge in the historical record until the English attempted colonization of Roanoke. In 1585 SIR WALTER RALEGH chose White to be the official artist on his mission across the Atlantic Ocean. It was an inspired choice. White proved to be an expert companion to the young mathematician THOMAS HARRIOT, whose ethnographic report on the Carolina Algonquian and their world constituted vital information for English colonial planners. If White's orders resembled those of Thomas Bavin, who was the designated artist of SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT's colonizing effort, he would have been instructed to depict everything that was new—each plant, animal, and fish—as well as the people they met and the communities they observed.

White, scholars have universally concluded, was an ideal person for the assignment. His depictions of the Carolina Algonquian provide critical ethnographic information about a people who have since disappeared (at least as a specific cultural group). He drew individual men and women and showed how the Indians prayed, built their villages, grew their crops, and fished with seines and arrows. Brought back to Europe, the Flemish engraver THEODOR DE BRY soon prepared versions of these images that were published in an illustrated edition of Harriot's *Briefve and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, published in London in 1590 under the direction of RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER.

White returned to Roanoke in 1587 as Governor of the "Cittie of Raleigh in Virginia." While in LONDON before the venture, he had tried to enlist as many potential colonists as possible, although he managed to attract only 112, a group that included only 17 women and 11 children. After his return to Roanoke in July 1587, he named MANTEO, "Lord of Roanoke and Dasemunkepeuc," and relied on his expertise to help smooth relations between the Natives and newcomers. But the settlers wanted more provisions from England, and so White crossed the Atlantic once again, landing in November 1587, eager to tell Raleigh about the needs of the new settlers. Raleigh promised assistance, but when the time came to send out a relief ship the threat of the SPANISH ARMADA suspended any efforts. By the time the English returned to Roanoke, the colonists had disappeared.

Although best known for his paintings of the Carolina Algonquian and their area, White also provided detailed paintings of the fish he encountered in the Atlantic and also rendered copies of other indigenous peoples based on earlier pictures by JACQUES LE MOYNE.

Little evidence exists about what happened to White after his term as governor of Roanoke. It is possible that he was the man referred to when a Brigit White became the administratrix of her brother's estate in 1606, because that John White had been "late of parts beyond the seas."

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## witches

Although stories of witches and witchcraft had circulated in Europe for centuries before the early modern period, most witch trials and executions took place in the 16th and 17th centuries, in contrast to Africa and the Americas, where accusations of witchcraft did not lead to widespread public hysteria.

In medieval and early modern Europe belief in magic and witchcraft was almost universal. Local magicians were thought to be able to heal the sick, find lost or stolen property, cast love spells, and otherwise influence things and events by magical means. Popular opinion often regarded these magicians, known in England as “wise women” and “cunning men,” as helpful. Witches, on the other hand, were those who used magic to harm others. The ability to use magic was neutral; the difference between cunning folk and witches was thus one of intent.

While popular culture recognized a difference between beneficial and harmful magicians, Catholic and Protestant authorities condemned both the beneficial magic of the cunning folk and the harmful magic of the witches. They argued that any form of supernatural power that did not

derive from God must derive from the devil. Both witches and cunning folk deserved punishment for their activities, because their work implied at least a tacit compact with the devil. Witchcraft, therefore, was often prosecuted as a heresy. The witch was hunted because she (or, less often, he) had made a pact with the devil and was thereby a traitor to God. Because of her heresy she deserved to die, whether or not she had used her power to commit evil deeds. This view was expressed by the influential witch-hunting manual of 1486, the *Malleus malificarum* (*Hammer of the Witches*), which was reprinted 14 times from 1487 to 1520.

The extent of witch hunting varied from place to place. The most devastating trials took place in the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, where there were probably at least 20,000 executions for witchcraft between 1560 and 1660. One historian estimated that at least 3,229 people were executed for witchcraft in southwestern Germany between 1561 and 1670. German trials were often large, resulting in many executions in one area in a single year. In Ellwangen, for example, about 260 people were executed in 1611–12, while in Wiesensteig 63 people were executed in 1562, and 25 more were killed in 1583. In the Swiss cantons 5,417 people are known to have been executed between 1400 and 1700. Although the largest number of trials took place in the Holy Roman Empire, witches were executed almost everywhere in Europe, from Hungary and ICELAND to France, Scotland, and Italy. In England European ideas of witchcraft as heresy rarely found a receptive audience. When English witches were prosecuted, they were usually accused of causing harm to people, not merely of practicing magic. England seems to have had relatively few witch trials. One historian suggested that fewer than 1,000 people were executed in England for witchcraft in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Certain types of people were more likely to be accused of witchcraft than were others. Approximately 80 percent of accused witches were female. It is not easy to determine why accusations of witchcraft were so commonly levied against women. Contemporaries attributed the great number of female witches to the inherent weakness and foolishness of women, which made them more prone to fall prey to evil. Modern scholars have offered a variety of theories to explain the predominance of women in witch trials. One has suggested that women were often the most dependent people in any community and that their dependence on others made them targets of resentment. Another has argued that the female world of pregnancy, childbirth, and nursing was poorly understood by men of the era, who acted out their suspicions of women's bodies through witch trials. Witch trials often betrayed ongoing social tensions, although why witch hunts sprang up in some areas but not in others remains hard to determine.

Among the most important problems in the study of witchcraft is the difficulty of determining what the accused



Protestants and Jews accused of heresy and witchcraft: woodcut, German, 1493

witches believed they were doing. Some suspects denied their involvement in any kind of magic or claimed that they practiced magic only to help people. Confessions exist, but because they were sometimes extracted by torture, they are unreliable evidence. Some contemporaries of the witch trials maintained that supposed witches often were simply deluded or senile.

The incidence of witchcraft trials declined at different rates across Europe. In general, witch scares developed later but lasted longer in eastern Europe. Trials in western Europe declined in the 17th century. In Hungary and Poland executions for witchcraft continued well into the 18th century. The reasons for the decline of witch hunting remain as mysterious as the earlier causes of widespread accusations and trials.

In other parts of the Atlantic world, accusations of witchcraft were also common. However, in the Americas

and Africa there was no similarly documented period when witchcraft was more prominent or when trials and executions took place in large numbers. In these societies individuals in communities feared those they believed were witches, but such fears remained constant and left no major traces in the historical record.

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—Martha K. Robinson





# X



## **Xicotencatl the Elder** (late 15th–early 16th century) *statesman*

One of the four leaders of the TLAXCALA at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, Xicotencatl the Elder was a staunch opponent of the foreigners.

Xicotencatl the Elder was one of the four leaders of the Tlaxcala in the early 16th century. He was quite old at the time of the arrival of HERNÁN CORTÉS and was reported to have had some 90 wives and numerous children, among whom was XICOTENCATL THE YOUNGER. The elder Xicotencatl was the only one of the Tlaxcalan rulers to oppose the idea of welcoming the Spaniards, for which the others forced him to resign his office. He died shortly thereafter.

**Further reading:** José Rogelio Alvarez, *Enciclopedia de México*, 4th ed. (Mexico City: Enciclopedia de México, 1998); Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Victors and Vanquished: Spanish and Nahuatl Views of the Conquest of Mexico* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 2000).

—Marie A. Kelleher

## **Xicotencatl the Younger** (ca. 1484–1521) *soldier*

A Tlaxcalan general, Xicotencatl the Younger led his troops against the Spaniards and their Tlaxcalan allies.

Xicotencatl the Younger (also called Axayacatzin) was the son of XICOTENCATL THE ELDER and was charged with the defense of the frontiers. Like his father, he opposed the admission of the Spanish newcomers to the Puebla-Tlaxcala Valley and led his troops in battle against them beginning in September 1519, until his superiors, who wanted to forge an alliance with the Spaniards against the AZTECS, forced him to withdraw. He deserted with his troops on May 21, 1521, when the Spaniards and their Tlaxcalan allies began the attack on TENOCHTITLÁN. HERNÁN CORTÉS ordered his capture, and he was eventually taken prisoner by Capitan Ojeda in Texcoco and executed by hanging.

**Further reading:** José Rogelio Alvarez, *Enciclopedia de México*, 4th ed. (Mexico City: Enciclopedia de México, 1998); Stuart B. Schwartz, *Victors and Vanquished: Spanish and Nahuatl Views of the Conquest of Mexico* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 2000).

—Marie A. Kelleher



# Y



## Yoruba

A group of peoples in present-day Nigeria, BENIN, and Togo who share language and cultural traditions, some of whose ancestors established the powerful OYO kingdom in the fourteenth century.

Yoruba tradition has several explanations for how the Yoruba originated and how they came to live in Yorubaland. One such tradition credits Oduduwa, son of Olorun, the god of the sky, with founding the holy city Ile-Ife (Ife-Ife) in the eighth century and in so doing creating the Yoruba people. In this account Oduduwa sent his children out from Ile-Ife to settle the surrounding territory, establishing the kingdoms of Owu, Oyo, Benin, Sabe, and Ketu. Another account states that mankind was created at Ile-Ife and then dispersed from there. Other accounts trace Yoruba origins to peoples from the Arabian Peninsula, yet others from the Kush people of the middle Nile. Archaeological evidence suggests that the Yoruba's history as a distinct ethnic group predates the founding of Ile-Ife and that the Yoruba language developed around the NIGER RIVER 3,000 to 4,000 years ago. These Yoruba speakers migrated west to what is now called Yorubaland between the eighth and 11th century. However the Yoruba came into being, they were firmly established in the region by A.D. 1000 and developed unique forms of government and society that distinguished them from their neighbors.

Surrounded by fertile savannah and forest lands, the city of Ife-Ife, the largest precolonial city in West Africa, was the capital of a powerful Yoruba kingdom and remained the most important spiritual and cultural center for the Yoruba peoples even after other Yoruba city-states surpassed its political power. One of these kingdoms was the Oyo, centered at the city of Ile Oyo, which flourished from the 14th through the 19th centuries. The Oyo kingdom's power peaked in the 17th and 18th centuries after they acquired the HORSE through participation in the SLAVE TRADE. Incorporating a cavalry into its military forces made

the Oyo conquest of neighboring kingdoms like DAHOMEY possible.

Yoruba political life centered on and was dominated by towns and cities. The Yoruba tradition of urbanization is centuries old, with the founding of Ife-Ife as the earliest example. Yoruba settlements ranged in size from *abule* (hamlet) and *ileto* (village) to *ilu oloja* (small market towns) and *ilu alade* (large towns). Yoruba kings, or *obas*, who attained their authority through their direct descent from Oduduwa, governed the powerful city-states that developed around densely populated *ilu alade*. The Oyo capital of Ile Oyo was fairly typical of Yoruba "crowned," or capital, cities with its defensive wall and large population. Early in Yoruba history each of the crowned cities and their rulers owed allegiance to the *oni* (chief Yoruba leader) in Ile-Ife spiritually as well as politically. This confederal system gave each state some autonomy while providing a means for keeping the peace within the larger Yoruba system. This system was also seen as an extension of the Yoruba family, with each city state "related" to the others through its connection to the *oni* in Ile-Ife. Only with the rise in the 16th and 17th centuries of the Oyo kingdom, a "junior" member of the family, did the system begin to decline.

Patrilineal family units, in which inheritance, descent, and political status were passed down through the male line, formed the base of the Yoruba's hierarchical culture and society. Although the Yoruba were urbanized, farming remained an essential aspect of their culture and economy. Yoruba men cultivated yams, maize, peanuts, millet, and beans in outlying rural areas and also labored as blacksmiths, woodworkers, and textile weavers. Yoruba women traded these goods at markets and enjoyed increased status, wealth, and independence through their commercial activities.

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—Lisa M. Brady

### Yucatán Peninsula

A large peninsula in southern MEXICO that was one of most important cultural areas of ancient Mesoamerica and later a frequent battleground for the Spanish colonists and the MAYA.

Geologically, the Yucatán Peninsula is a long, flat table of limestone that juts into the Gulf of Mexico, covering approximately 55,500 square miles. The only significant hills that break the surface are the Puuc Hills in the northwest and the Maya Mountains in Belize. Because there are no mountains to catch moisture-rich clouds from the gulf, most of the Yucatán is dry. Rainfall levels increase toward the south, and the Guatemalan border is considerably wetter than the coast. There are no surface rivers in the Yucatán, although water frequently collects in underground caverns. In some locations the roofs of these caverns have collapsed, exposing underground lakes. Called cenotes, these sources of water were crucial to the Maya of the region, who revered them as portals to the underworld. The great cenote of CHICHÉN ITZÁ was a particularly holy pilgrimage site.

The Yucatán was settled by the Maya by 500 B.C., although it did not rise to prominence until the end of the classic era, roughly A.D. 700. At this time many of the classic-era kingdoms to the south (TIKAL, COPÁN, PALENQUE) had started to decline. In response, the cities of the Yucatán rose to power. Chichén Itzá was the most important of these cities, and by 800 it had established control over much of the northern Yucatán. Chichén Itzá and other Yucatán cities such as Uxmal developed a distinctive style of architecture that differed dramatically from the other Maya cities to the south. These kingdoms did not last, and by 1200 the city of Mayapan conquered and controlled much of the peninsula. This kingdom also fell, and by 1500 the Yucatán had balkanized into a collection of mutually hostile city-states. Although the surviving Maya kingdoms were a shadow of their former glory, the Spanish scouts were still impressed

with the architecture and wealth of the Yucatán and quickly made plans to conquer it.

In 1527 the CONQUISTADOR Francisco de Montejo entered the Yucatán. Unlike the conquest of the AZTECS or INCA, the conquest of the Yucatán was a drawn-out, horrible war of attrition. Montejo and his kinsmen had nominally subdued the area by 1547, although the Spanish did not conquer the interior until 1697. The lack of political unity among the Yucatán Maya both aided and hindered the Spanish attempts to subdue the region. On the one hand, petty Maya kings were often more than willing to unite with the Spaniards to attack a more powerful neighbor. The conquistadores found, however, that their alleged allies would quickly change sides, at times while the battles were raging. Also, Maya kingdoms did not stay conquered: Often, they would surrender, wait for the Spanish soldiers to leave, and proclaim their independence all over again. Moreover, the government's attempts to enforce laws or collect tribute often resulted in the Maya abandoning the area and fleeing to the unconquered regions in the interior. The difficulties of governing the Yucatán, coupled with the fact that there were no precious metals, led to a long period of neglect by the royal government. Spanish political control was frequently confined to Mérida (the colonial capital) and a handful of Spanish settlements.

Spanish clerics' attempted spiritual conquest of the Yucatán fared no better. In 1549 the Franciscan missionary Diego de Landa arrived. Because of his zealous efforts to convert the Maya, he became the first bishop of the Yucatán in 1572. De Landa staged mass conversions, burned “heretical” Maya books, constructed churches, and declared that the region had been Christianized. Despite his efforts, the Natives continued to worship idols and conduct clandestine ceremonies to the old gods. De Landa resorted to violent purges and INQUISITIONS to combat indigenous apostasy, which led to the death of 157 Natives. His actions shocked both the colonists and the local authorities, who succeeded in having de Landa removed from power. Later missionaries were no more successful in stamping out the Natives' religion. Ultimately, the Yucatán remained a semiconquered frontier zone that resisted Spanish influence well into the 20th century.

**Further reading:** Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatán, 1517–1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Michael D. Coe, *The Maya*, 6th ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999); Friar Diego de Landa, *Yucatán before and after the Conquest* (New York: Dover Publications, 1978).

—Scott Chamberlain





### Zacatecas

A city and major SILVER-producing area of northern MEXICO that formed the economic backbone of the Spanish colony of NEW SPAIN until independence.

Spaniards discovered the silver ore near Zacatecas in 1546, a year after the famous silver strikes in POTOSÍ (in modern-day Bolivia). The mines had a difficult beginning. At first the miners attempted to smelt the ore, but Zacatecas was far from large sources of fuel. Additionally, its remote location made it difficult to obtain a steady labor supply. Coercive labor systems, such as those used by the Spanish in Potosí, were only marginally successful in meeting the needs of the silver mines. However, after a few years productivity increased. By the 1550s miners developed an amalgamation process that used mercury to purify the ore. Although more costly than smelting, this process allowed the extraction of a greater quantity of silver from the ore at higher levels of purity. This process increased the overall profitability of the mines, allowing the industry to expand. Silver production from Zacatecas increased throughout the next century, at the same time that production from elsewhere in the empire had begun to decline. In 1670 exports from the mines of Zacatecas surpassed those of PERU for the first time (4 million pesos to 2 million). By 1760 Zacatecas was producing 16 million pesos of silver for the Spanish Crown, making it one of the largest silver-producing areas in the world—a trend that continued until 1810.

The wealth of the Zacatecas mines served as a major pole of development in the colony of New Spain. HACIENDAS sprang up around the mining zones, providing foodstuffs to workers. Small textile factories also developed to serve the local economy. Local silversmiths became highly regarded and provided a wealth of decorative and household items for the colony. An important aspect of the Zacatecas silver mines, in contrast to those in South America, was that there was a slow, constant curve of economic growth. It provided New Spain with a steady income without unduly distorting the economy. Moreover, because

the remote location made coerced labor difficult, the mines of Zacatecas relied on wage labor. This provided a more equitable distribution of wealth in the region and had a beneficial effect on the local economy.

Zacatecas remained one of the wealthiest, most developed areas in colonial Mexico until independence. Its rich past remains evident in the many opulent, well-preserved colonial buildings that dot the region.

**Further reading:** Peter J. Blakewell, *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico: Zacatecas, 1546–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Louisa Schnell Hoberman, *Mexico's Merchant Elite, 1590–1660: Silver, State, and Society* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1991).

—Scott Chamberlain

### zambo

*Zambos* are persons of black and Indian parentage and who generally occupied a lowly social status in colonial Latin America.

The high incidence of *MESTIZAJE* (interracial sexual relations) in 16th-century Latin America led to the development of a complex system of racial classifications used by Spaniards. In addition to *zambo*, other terms used to distinguish among racially mixed persons included *castizo* (mestizo-white mixture), *MESTIZO* (Indian-white mixture), and *mulatto* (Spanish-black mixture).

Whether slave or free, all blacks in areas settled by the Spanish in the NEW WORLD endured restrictions on their personal autonomy. Although some slaves eventually purchased their freedom from their owners, as freedmen they continued to be treated in ways consistent with their inferior social status by comparison with persons of non-African parentage. In addition to restrictions on a slave's right to travel at night, carry arms, and employ Indians in his service, one law in NEW SPAIN, for example, barred all persons

of African descent (slaves, freedmen, mulattoes, and *zambos*) from wearing imported fabrics or dressing in a characteristically Spanish way. Such laws worked to define a social hierarchy with pure-blood Spaniards at the top, Indians someplace in the middle, and blacks at the bottom.

Colonial Spanish society regarded the child of a black slave woman and an Indian male as a slave. However, a child born to an Indian mother and black slave father generally lived among Indians and paid a head tax to the colonial bureaucracy under the same provision that demanded tribute or offerings from members of the indigenous population. Still, all restrictions placed on blacks applied typically to *zambos* as well. Thus, Spanish society denied *zambos* the rights to attend school and to hold religious or political office and banned them from certain industries altogether.

During the early years of conquest and settlement, the ratio of black male slaves to black female slaves was quite considerable. As a result, a sizeable number of black males engaged in sexual relationships with Indian women. Not surprisingly, as the population of Spanish settlements in the New World grew during the 16th century, so, too, did the number of *zambos* and other mixed-race persons. The Spanish sought to curb this trend by placing sanctions on conjugal relations between blacks and nonblacks even while they accepted marriages between Spaniards and Indians.

Some black slaves, either through revolt or escape, fled from areas of Spanish settlement. Many escapees took refuge in outlying areas and went on to build lives for themselves among indigenous peoples. During the early 16th century the *zambo* descendants of fugitive slaves and members of Manabi and Mantux tribes in present-day Colombia secured themselves as tribal leaders in a settlement they founded, El Portete. Aware that the area represented a haven for fugitive slaves, after several failed efforts the Spanish managed to capture El Portete in 1556. However, through reliance on guerrilla tactics, the *zambo* leaders held onto control until 1598, when they finally acknowledged the Spanish Crown's authority. Despite this, in a real sense they retained much of their autonomy and rule of the area.

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—Kimberly Sambol-Tosco

### **Zumárraga, Juan de** (1468–1548) *religious leader*

The first bishop and archbishop of NEW SPAIN, Juan de Zumárraga was instrumental in establishing the agenda and structure of the Catholic Church in Spanish America.

Zumárraga was born in Durango, in the Basque country of Spain, in 1468. He took the vows of the Franciscan order at Valladolid and remained an influential figure in the Spanish church. In 1527, shortly after the conquest of MEXICO, CHARLES V appointed Zumárraga the bishop of New Spain and protector of the Indians. He arrived with members of the first *AUDIENCIA* of Mexico City in 1528. Upon reaching the colony, he became appalled at the actions the *CONQUISTADORES* were taking against the Natives. He was particularly horrified at the institution of the *ENCOMIENDA*, feeling that conquistadores were using this institution not to Christianize the Natives but rather to exploit them. He was also concerned that the *audiencia* was not actively protecting the Natives and was too quick to charge them with the serious crime of heresy. By 1529 he excommunicated the judges of the *audiencia* and sent a strongly worded letter of protest to the king. The king responded by dissolving the *audiencia* and appointing a new panel to take its place.

After 1533 Zumárraga worked diligently to organize the colonial church. He pushed for the church to become active in providing social services, including public health, education, and charity. He established a good working relationship with the first viceroy, ANTONIO DE MENDOZA, and worked with him in establishing the famous College of Santiago in Tlatelolco, a religious school for sons of the Native nobility that under BERNARDINO DE SAHAGÚN created such important works as the Florentine Codex. He also founded other schools for both boys and girls as well as hospitals in the capital. Again with Mendoza, he oversaw the foundation of New Spain's first university and brought in the colony's first *PRINTING PRESS*. With royal support he established the *INQUISITION* in New Spain, although he was instrumental in removing Natives from its jurisdiction. He argued that the Natives were "childlike" and should not be responsible for their actions. Of the 131 heresy trials he presided over, only 13 involved Natives, and these usually involved cases that contained dangerous political or social overtones. Lamentably, he also presided over the destruction of many Native codices, arguing that they were heretical in nature.

Throughout his time in office, Zumárraga worked to create stability and a degree of social justice. He died in 1548, shortly after being raised to the office of archbishop of New Spain.

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and William L. Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

—Scott Chamberlain

## Zuni

An indigenous nation inhabiting modern-day western NEW MEXICO whose inhabitants came into contact with Spanish explorers in 1536, the first of a series of encounters characterized by misunderstandings and violence.

Like many of the Native peoples of the Southwest of the modern-day United States, the Zuni succeeded by learning how to adapt to an often difficult environment. Their homeland, along a tributary of the Little Colorado River now known as the Zuni River, encompassed both mountains rising to almost 9,000 feet and lowlands. Archaeological evidence at Hawikuh, a community occupied from 1300 to 1680, suggests that Zuni lived in concentrated communities; Hawikuh, for example, had approximately 370 separate rooms and 1,000 graves. Other archaeological evidence suggests that Zuni had become proficient basket makers by approximately A.D. 700 and that families probably inhabited dwellings approximately 10 to 12 feet across clustered in

groups, quite likely reflecting the fact that kin groups lived together. Digs at certain sites have revealed storerooms used to preserve CORN, a basic part of the diet of the indigenous peoples of the region, as well as ritual centers (known as kivas) used for extensive periods of time. The material record suggests that the population of the region increased substantially by 1300; some early villages had been abandoned, but others, notably Zuni, grew. Despite extensive archaeological efforts, scholars remain unclear about any clear link between the ancient Zuni habitations and modern-day Zuni, although there seems little doubt that Zuni today are the descendants of people who lived in the region at least 200 to 300 years before the Spanish arrived.

Like all other peoples, the Zuni developed their own religion. It included an indigenous cosmogony based on the relationship between the “Raw People,” divine forces that can take anthropomorphic form, and the “Daylight People,” human beings, one of whose tasks is to tend to the raw people. Corn, so vital to the Zuni diet, plays a central role in the Zuni traditional religion. It is the duty of the Daylight People to propitiate the Raw People, who manifest themselves in a variety of ways, including corn plants, rainstorms, deer, bears, and kachinas.



Zuni Pueblo, New Mexico, ca. 1927 (Library of Congress)

Zuni first encountered Europeans in the late 1530s when ÁLVAR NÚÑEZ CABEZA DE VACA arrived in Mexico City (see TENOCHTITLÁN) and reported that he had seen great cities to the north during his long trek across the North American interior. Spanish officials in MEXICO authorized a mission to go north to find the truth of these claims. Although a Franciscan missionary named Marcos de Niza traveled into the region in 1539, he did not venture into the Zuni land after an African slave (see SLAVERY) named Estevan was killed by Zuni on an exploratory venture, a fate quite possibly caused either by misunderstanding or some unknown act of aggression toward the Zuni. In 1540 FRANCISCO CORONADO traveled into the Zuni homeland and battled the Zuni until he could lay claim to Hawikuh in July. From there he continued on his mission to find the mythic Seven Cities of Cíbola, a venture that eventually took him as far east as modern-day Kansas. Although he never found the treasures he believed existed, he returned through the Zuni homeland in 1542 and labeled it Cíbola, a name that stuck. Coronado left a group of indigenous peoples from Mexico with the Zuni in 1542, and they

remained there for four decades, or so later Spanish explorers claimed. When those later adventurers arrived in what they called Cíbola in the 1580s, they had better relations with the Native peoples than had Marcos or Coronado. Among those later visitors was JUAN DE OÑATE, who traveled there in 1598.

During the early 17th century Spanish clerics turned their attention to the homeland of the Zuni, establishing a mission at Hawikuh in 1629 and a church at Halona (on the site of modern-day Zuni), thereby planting Catholicism in the region, although at the time there was, of course, no way to know how successful this religious import would become among the Zuni, who continue to practice their traditional religion today.

**Further reading:** Dennis Tedlock, “Zuni Religion and World View,” in William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, *Southeast*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 499–507; Richard B. Woodbury, “Zuni Prehistory and History to 1850,” in *Southwest*, ed. Ortiz, 467–473.



# Chronology

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**ca. 11,000 B.C.**

The first humans, Paleo-Indians, arrive in the Western Hemisphere from Asia by way of a land bridge over the modern-day Bering Strait; over the next few centuries their descendants spread throughout the Americas.

**ca. 4000 B.C.**

Native Americans start making pottery.

**ca. 3500 B.C.**

Native peoples in central Mexico begin to cultivate corn (maize), which becomes the most important food in the Americas.

**ca. 3200 B.C.**

Peruvian peoples begin to cultivate corn.

**ca. 2000 to 1000 B.C.**

Indigenous peoples in eastern North America develop agriculture.

**ca. 1500 B.C.**

The Hopewell mound builders flourish in the southern Ohio region. Emergence of Olmec culture in Mexico.

**A.D. ca. 800**

Emergence of the Toltecs in Mexico.

**A.D. ca. 870**

Norse sailors (also known as Vikings) venture westward from modern-day Scandinavia into the North Atlantic and reach Iceland, which becomes the first colony of any European society.

**985**

The Norse explorer Erik the Red sails from Iceland to Greenland.

**1000**

The fabled Norse sailor Leif Eriksson travels from Greenland to Vinland; five years later Thorfinn Karlsefni sails from Iceland to Vinland. Archaeological remains at L'Anse aux Meadows on the northern tip of modern-day Newfoundland reveal that the Norse reached the Western Hemisphere.

**1066**

Normans invade England; over time the Anglo-Norman population expands westward into Wales and Scotland.

**ca. 1100**

Anasazi culture flourishes in the Southwest of the modern-day United States. Although the Anasazi dispersed, probably as a result of drought, descendants kept alive certain elements of their culture, including distinctive ceramic styles.

**1166**

Anglo-Normans cross the Irish Sea and attempt to colonize Ireland; their attempt, and most others that followed, failed to make the native Irish agree to be ruled by the English, although military invasion during the age of Queen Elizabeth I had greater success.

**ca. 1339**

Madeira begins to appear on European maps, but there are no attempts at colonization until ca. 1425.

**ca. 1430**

The Portuguese prince Henry the Navigator establishes a library to support navigational studies at Sagres, thereby encouraging Portuguese exploratory efforts.

**1432**

The Portuguese navigator Gonçalo Cabral, with the authority of Prince Henry the Navigator, lands in the Azores, a discovery that leads to the Portuguese colonization of the island group.

**1448**

Portuguese slave traders expand their business, sending approximately 700 to 1,000 slaves each year across the Sahara; by the end of the century they were arranging the sale of perhaps 2,500 slaves each year.

**1455**

Johannes Gensfleisch zum Gutenberg publishes his 42-line Bible, better known as the Gutenberg Bible.

**1458**

The Portuguese explorer Diogo Gomes leads his expedition to the Gulf of Guinea, thereby providing vital information to Europeans about the riches and slaves to be found in West Africa.

**1492**

Christopher Columbus, sailing west with the support of Ferdinand and Isabella in order to find a shortcut to East Asia, lands in the Bahamas. Initially disappointed that he had not reached his intended destination, Columbus soon realizes that he has found land that no European has ever seen before.

The Spanish complete the Reconquista, driving the Moors out of the Iberian Peninsula. Spanish leaders expel Jews from the realm.

**1493**

Pope Alexander VI authorizes the papal bull *Inter Caetera* to resolve territorial disputes between Spain and Portugal. That same year a printer in Barcelona publishes the first version of Columbus's account of his discoveries.

**1494**

Monarchs in Spain and Portugal sign the Treaty of Tordesillas, a pact that gave to Spain rights to all territory west of an imaginary line drawn to the west of the Azores; the Portuguese gained the right to land to the east of the boundary, giving them the privilege (recognized by other Europeans) to colonize current-day Brazil.

**1495**

Accession of King Manuel I to the throne of Portugal.

**1497**

John Cabot (Gabota), a Venetian sailing under the authority of the English Crown, leaves Bristol on May 20 and sails

westward. By the time he returned to England in 1498, he had reached the northeast coast of North America, thereby giving subsequent English monarchs a claim to land in the Western Hemisphere. Despite his achievements, the English do not mount serious colonizing expeditions to follow on Cabot's success.

Vasco da Gama embarks from Lisbon on a mission to India; after rounding the southern coast of Africa, the Portuguese reach their destination on May 18, 1498.

**1498**

John Cabot launches a second mission to the west; of his small fleet of five vessels, only one returns to Bristol. Cabot, like countless other sailors during the early modern age, never returns.

**1499**

Amerigo Vespucci, a commercial adviser to Alonso de Ojeda, arrives near the eastern tip of modern-day Brazil and then travels northwest (along the northeast coast of South America) past the mouths of the Amazon and Orinoco Rivers until he reaches Venezuela before heading into the Caribbean and back to Spain in 1500.

**1500**

The Portuguese explorer Pedro Álvarez Cabral leaves Lisbon on March 9 bound for India, but in order to gain more favorable winds he travels west into the Atlantic Ocean and eventually lands in present-day Brazil on April 22; he claims the land for the king of Portugal.

**1502**

Portuguese slavers expand their operations in West Africa.

The first African slaves arrive in Spanish America, representing an expansion of the slave trade across the Atlantic Ocean.

Christopher Columbus makes his fourth and final trip across the Atlantic Ocean.

**1504**

The Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés arrives in the Western Hemisphere.

On May 20 Columbus dies in Spain.

**ca. 1508**

Sebastian Cabot, son of John Cabot, sails to North America to search for the Northwest Passage for the English king Henry VII.

**1513**

The explorer Juan Ponce de León sails north from Puerto Rico in March and lands in present-day Florida on April 2, thereby becoming the first Spaniard on the North American mainland.

Vasco Núñez de Balboa crosses the Isthmus of Panama and on September 27 becomes the first European to see the Pacific Ocean.

### 1519

Martin Luther posts his critique of Catholicism on the church at Wittenburg, Germany, thereby launching what became the Protestant Reformation.

The Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés embarks from Cuba on a journey to the Yucatán Peninsula.

The Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan embarks from Sanlúcar de Barrameda with five ships for a journey around the world.

### 1521

Cortés defeats the Aztec emperor Moctezuma II's forces in Tenochtitlán (modern-day Mexico City) during an assault so devastating that indigenous chroniclers spoke of its horrors for generations.

On April 26 Magellan dies after leading a doomed invasion against Lapu Lapu on Mactan Island, off the coast of Cebu in the Philippines.

### 1522

The *Victoria*, one of two ships of Magellan's fleet to survive the circumnavigation, arrives at Sanlúcar de Barrameda.

### 1524

The Italian explorer Giovanni da Verrazano, sailing with the authority of the French king Francis I, crosses the Atlantic and lands in 1525 at modern-day Cape Fear, North Carolina.

### 1530

Publication in Spain of *De Orbe Novo*, the account of the Italian humanist Peter Martyr based on interviews with Christopher Columbus and other conquistadores returning from the Western Hemisphere.

### 1532

The Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro, after convincing Spanish monarchs to name him captain general of Peru in 1529, conquers the Inca Empire and murders its emperor, Atahualpa.

### 1533

The English king Henry VIII, seeking a divorce from Catherine of Aragón, forces his nation to break its ties to the Roman Catholic Church; in the aftermath, Henry becomes the head of the church in England as well as the head of state.

### 1534

The French explorer Jacques Cartier arrives in the Western Hemisphere, the first of his expeditions to the

region those in his home country begin to refer to as "New France."

### 1539

Spanish conquistador Hernando de Soto begins his exploration of the Southwest of the modern-day United States; by the time he finishes his *entrada* in 1541, thousands of indigenous people in the region will have perished, most of them victims of diseases brought by the Europeans.

### 1540

Spanish conquistador Francisco Coronado arrives in the Southwest of the modern-day United States looking for Cíbola, a fabled city of gold and jewels; he led his men as far east as modern-day Kansas.

### 1552

Publication in Spain of Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, a damning critique of the plundering actions of conquistadores that contributes to the decision of the English, a Protestant nation after 1533, to colonize the Western Hemisphere.

### 1555

Publication in London of an English-language edition of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo*.

### ca. 1555

Tobacco arrives in Europe from the Western Hemisphere.

### 1557

Jacques Cartier dies in St. Malo, France.

### 1558

Elizabeth I, one of Henry VIII's daughters and an avid supporter of Protestantism, accedes to the English throne; during her long reign she makes the conquest of Ireland, a Catholic island, a crucial part of her foreign policy.

### 1564

French Huguenots sail across the Atlantic seeking a new homeland; after an abortive attempt to settle at modern-day Port Royal, South Carolina, the migrants establish a colony at Fort Caroline, Florida.

### 1565

The Spanish force the French out of Fort Caroline and establish a settlement at Saint Augustine, which becomes the longest-settled European city in North America.

### 1570

Deganawida and Hiawatha establish the Iroquois Confederacy, an alliance of five indigenous nations (Seneca,

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Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Mohawk); in the early 18th century the Tuscarora become the sixth nation in the league.

### 1576

The English explorer Martin Frobisher leaves in search of the Northwest Passage; his venture fails, as did efforts he led in 1578.

### 1579

The English explorer Sir Francis Drake lands on the coast of California.

### 1582

Richard Hakluyt the Younger publishes *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Ilands Adjacent*, his first serious attempt to encourage English policy makers to establish colonies in the Western Hemisphere.

### 1583

During an English mission to Newfoundland, the English explorer Sir Humphrey Gilbert and the Hungarian poet Stephen Parmenius drown when their ships sink.

### 1584

Sir Walter Raleigh, arguably the most significant English adventurer of his age, receives a charter from Queen Elizabeth I to establish colonies in eastern North America.

Richard Hakluyt the Younger writes a secret document, known as the "Discourse Concerning Western Planting," which lays out in detail why the English should colonize North America.

Manteo and Wanchese, Carolina Algonquian Indians, travel to England.

### 1585

Under Sir Walter Raleigh's authority English settlers establish themselves at Roanoke in modern-day North Carolina. Among those who arrive in the colony are the artist John White, who paints memorable images of the Carolina Algonquians he meets there, and Thomas Harriot, who

writes about the region in *A Briefe and True History of the Newfound Land of Virginia*, first published in 1588 and then published in four languages in an illustrated version in 1590.

### 1587

Birth of Virginia Dare, the first English child born in North America.

English colonists arrive in Roanoke with new supplies and take back across the Atlantic some of the first settlers.

### 1588

The English navy defeats the Spanish Armada in the English Channel.

### 1590

English colonists, better able to sail across the Atlantic after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, arrive in Roanoke to find it deserted.

### 1595

Sir Walter Raleigh makes his first visit to Guiana, the area whose allure led him to organize other expeditions to the region.

### 1598

The governor Juan de Oñate arrives in the Spanish colony of New Mexico; he declares that all indigenous peoples in the region must become subjects of the Spanish monarch (see *Requerimiento*). His actions cause long-lasting enmity among the Native peoples of the region, whose descendants in 1680 rise up against the Spanish in the most successful indigenous revolt against European colonizers in the early modern age.

### 1603

Death of Elizabeth I; accession of James I.

### 1607

The English captain John Smith arrives in Virginia and, along with 143 other men and boys, establishes the colony of Jamestown.



# Documents



## Privileges and Prerogatives Granted to Columbus, 1492

Francis Newton Thorpe, *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters and Other Organic Laws* . . . Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909), 39–40

### PRIVILEGES AND PREROGATIVES GRANTED BY THEIR CATHOLIC MAJESTIES TO CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS—1492

Ferdinand and Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Arragon, of Sicily, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Minorca, of Sevil, of Sardinia, of Jaen, of Algarve, of Algezira, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, Count and Countess of Barcelona, Lord and Lady of Biscay and Molina, Duke and Duchess of Athens and Neopatria, Count and Countess of Rousillion and Cerdaigne, Marquess and Marchioness of Oristan and Gociano, &c.

For as much of you, *Christopher Columbus*, are going by our command, with some of our vessels and men, to discover and subdue some Islands and Continent in the ocean, and it is hoped that by God's assistance, some of the said Islands and Continent in the ocean will be discovered and conquered by your means and conduct, therefore it is but just and reasonable, that since you expose yourself to such danger to serve us, you should be rewarded for it. And we being willing to honour and favour you for the reasons aforesaid: Our will is, that you, *Christopher Columbus*, after discovering and conquering the said Islands and Continent in the said ocean, or any of them, shall be our Admiral of the said Islands and Continent you shall so discover and conquer; and that you be our Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour in them, and that for the future, you may call and stile your-

self, *D. Christopher Columbus*, and that your sons and successors in the said employment, may call themselves Dons, Admirals, Vice-Roys, and Governours of them; and that you may exercise the office of Admiral, with the charge of Vice-Roy and Governour of the said Islands and Continent, which you and your Lieutenants shall conquer, and freely decide all causes, civil and criminal, appertaining to the said employment of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, as you shall think fit in justice, and as the Admirals of our kingdoms use to do; and that you have power to punish offenders; and you and your Lieutenants exercise the employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, in all things belonging to the said offices, or any of them; and that you enjoy the perquisites and salaries belonging to the said employments, and to each of them, in the same manner as the High Admiral of our kingdom does. And by this our letter, or a copy of it signed by a *Public Notary*: We command Prince *John*, our most dearly beloved Son, the Infants, Dukes, Prelates, Marquesses, Great Masters and Military Orders, Priors, Commendaries, our Counsellors, Judges, and other Officers of Justice whatsoever, belonging to our Household, Courts, and Chancery, and Constables of Castles, Strong Houses, and others; and all Corporations, Bayliffs, Governours, Judges, Commanders, Sea Officers; and the Aldermen, Common Council, Officers, and Good People of all Cities, Lands, and Places in our Kingdoms and Dominions, and in those you shall conquer and subdue, and the captains, masters, mates, and other officers and sailors, our natural subjects now being, or that shall be for the time to come, and any of them, that when you shall have discovered that said Islands and Continent in the ocean; and you, or any that shall have your commission, shall have taken the usual oath in such cases, that they for the future, look upon you as long as you live, and after you, your son and heir, and so from one heir to another forever, as our Admiral on our said Ocean, and as Vice-Roy and Governour of the said Islands and Continent, by you, *Christopher*

*Columbus*, discovered and conquered; and that they treat you and your Lieutenants, by you appointed, for executing the employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, as such in all respects, and give you all the perquisites and other things belonging and appertaining to the said offices; and allow, and cause to be allowed you, all the honours, graces, concessions, prehaminences, prerogatives, immunities, and other things, or any of them which are due to you, by virtue of your commands of Admiral, Vice-roy, and Governour, and to be observed completely, so that nothing be diminished; and that they make no objection to this, or any part of it, nor suffer it to be made; forasmuch as we from this time forward, by this our letter, bestow on you the employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and perpetual Governour forever; and we put you into possession of the said offices, and of every of them, and full power to use and exercise them, and to receive the perquisites and salaries belonging to them, or any of them, as was said above. Concerning all which things, if it be requisite, and you shall desire it. We command our Chancellour, Notaries, and other Officers, to pass, seal, and deliver to you, our Letter of Privilege, in such form and legal manner, as you shall require our stand in need of. And that none of them presume to do any thing to the contrary, upon pain of our displeasure, and forfeiture of 30 ducats for each offence. And we command him, who show them this our Letter, that he summon them to appear before us at our Court, where we shall then be, within fifteen days after such summons, under the said penalty. Under which same, we also command any Public Notary whatsoever, that he give to him that shows it him, a certificate under his seal, that we may know how our command is obeyed.

Given at Granada, on the 30th of April, in the year of our Lord, 1492.—

I, the King, I, the Queen.

By their Majesties Command,

John Coloma, Secretary to the King and Queen.

Entered according to order.

Roderick. Doctor. Sebastian Dolona, Francis de Madrid, Councillors.

Registered

### Papal Bull Inter Caetera of 1493

Frances G. Davenport, ed., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies to 1648* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917–34), 71–78

Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the illustrious sovereigns, our very dear son in Christ, Ferdinand, king, and our very dear daughter in Christ, Isabella, queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, and Granada, health and apostolic benediction. Among other works well pleasing to

the Divine Majesty and cherished of our heart, this assuredly ranks highest, that in our times especially the Catholic faith and the Christian religion be exalted and be everywhere increased and spread, that the health of souls be cared for and that barbarous nations be overthrown and brought to the faith itself. Wherefore inasmuch as by the favor of divine clemency, we, though of insufficient merits, have been called to this Holy See of Peter, recognizing that as true Catholic kings and princes, such as we have known you always to be, and as your illustrious deeds already known to almost the whole world declare, you not only eagerly desire but with every effort, zeal, and diligence, without regard to hardships, expenses, dangers, with the shedding even of your blood, are laboring to that end; recognizing also that you have long since dedicated to this purpose your whole soul and all your endeavors—as witnessed in these times with so much glory to the Divine Name in your recovery of the kingdom of Granada from the yoke of the Saracens—we therefore are rightly led, and hold it as our duty, to grant you even of our own accord and in your favor those things whereby with effort each day more hearty you may be enabled for the honor of God himself and the spread of the Christian rule to carry forward your holy and praiseworthy purpose so pleasing to immortal God. We have indeed learned that you, who for a long time had intended to seek out and discover certain islands and mainlands remote and unknown and not hitherto discovered by others, to the end that you might bring to the worship of our Redeemer and the profession of the Catholic faith their residents and inhabitants, having been up to the present time greatly engaged in the siege and recovery of the kingdom itself of Granada were unable to accomplish this holy and praiseworthy purpose; but the said kingdom having at length been regained, as was pleasing to the Lord, you, with the wish to fulfill your desire, chose our beloved son, Christopher Columbus, a man assuredly worthy and of the highest recommendations and fitted for so great an undertaking, whom you furnished with ships and men equipped for like designs, not without the greatest hardships, dangers, and expenses, to make diligent quest for these remote and unknown mainlands and islands through the sea, where hitherto no one had sailed; and they at length, with divine aid and with the utmost diligence sailing in the ocean sea, discovered certain very remote islands and even mainlands that hitherto had not been discovered by others; wherein dwell very many peoples living in peace, and, as reported, going unclothed, and not eating flesh. Moreover, as your aforesaid envoys are of opinion, these very peoples living in the said islands and countries believe in one God, the Creator in heaven, and seem sufficiently disposed to embrace the Catholic faith and be trained in good morals. And it is hoped that, were they instructed, the name of the Savior, our Lord Jesus Christ, would easily be introduced into the said countries

and islands. Also, on one of the chief of these aforesaid islands the said Christopher has already caused to be put together and built a fortress fairly equipped, wherein he has stationed as garrison certain Christians, companions of his, who are to make search for other remote and unknown islands and mainlands. In the islands and countries already discovered are found gold, spices, and very many other precious things of divers kinds and qualities. Wherefore, as becomes Catholic kings and princes, after earnest consideration of all matters, especially of the rise and spread of the Catholic faith, as was the fashion of your ancestors, kings of renowned memory, you have purposed with the favor of divine clemency to bring under your sway the said mainlands and islands with their residents and inhabitants and to bring them to the Catholic faith. Hence, heartily commending in the Lord this your holy and praiseworthy purpose, and desirous that it be duly accomplished, and that the name of our Savior be carried into those regions, we exhort you very earnestly in the Lord and by your reception of holy baptism, whereby you are bound to our apostolic commands, and by the bowels of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, enjoin strictly, that inasmuch as with eager zeal for the true faith you design to equip and dispatch this expedition, you purpose also, as is your duty, to lead the peoples dwelling in those islands and countries to embrace the Christian religion; nor at any time let dangers or hardships deter you therefrom, with the stout hope and trust in your hearts that Almighty God will further your undertakings. And, in order that you may enter upon so great an undertaking with greater readiness and heartiness endowed with the benefit of our apostolic favor, we, of our own accord, not at your instance nor the request of anyone else in your regard, but of our own sole largess and certain knowledge and out of the fullness of our apostolic power, by the authority of Almighty God conferred upon us in blessed Peter and of the vicarship of Jesus Christ, which we hold on earth, do by tenor of these presents, should any of said islands have been found by your envoys and captains, give, grant, and assign to you and your heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, forever, together with all their dominions, cities, camps, places, and villages, and all rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, all islands and mainlands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered towards the west and south, by drawing and establishing a line from the Arctic pole, namely the north, to the Antarctic pole, namely the south, no matter whether the said mainlands and islands are found and to be found in the direction of India or towards any other quarter, the said line to be distant one hundred leagues towards the west and south from any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde. With this proviso however that none of the islands and mainlands, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, beyond that said line towards the west and south, be in the

actual possession of any Christian king or prince up to the birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ just past from which the present year one thousand four hundred and ninety-three begins. And we make, appoint, and depute you and your said heirs and successors lords of them with full and free power, authority, and jurisdiction of every kind; with this proviso however, that by this our gift, grant, and assignment no right acquired by any Christian prince, who may be in actual possession of said islands and mainlands prior to the said birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ, is hereby to be understood to be withdrawn or taken away. Moreover we command you in virtue of holy obedience that, employing all due diligence in the premises, as you also promise—nor do we doubt your compliance therein in accordance with your loyalty and royal greatness of spirit—you should appoint to the aforesaid mainlands and islands worthy, God-fearing, learned, skilled, and experienced men, in order to instruct the aforesaid inhabitants and residents in the Catholic faith and train them in good morals. Furthermore, under penalty of excommunication *late sententie* to be incurred *ipso facto*, should anyone thus contravene, we strictly forbid all persons of whatsoever rank, even imperial and royal, or of whatsoever estate, degree, order, or condition, to dare, without your special permit or that of your aforesaid heirs and successors, to go for the purpose of trade or any other reason to the islands or mainlands, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, towards the west and south, by drawing and establishing a line from the Arctic pole to the Antarctic pole, no matter whether the mainlands and islands, found and to be found, lie in the direction of India or toward any other quarter whatsoever, the said line to be distant one hundred leagues towards the west and south, as is aforesaid, from any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde; apostolic constitutions and ordinances and other decrees whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. We trust in Him from whom empires and governments and all good things proceed, that, should you, with the Lord's guidance, pursue this holy and praiseworthy undertaking, in a short while your hardships and endeavors will attain the most felicitous result, to the happiness and glory of all Christendom. But inasmuch as it would be difficult to have these present letters sent to all places where desirable, we wish, and with similar accord and knowledge do decree, that to copies of them, signed by the hand of a public notary commissioned therefore, and sealed with the seal of any ecclesiastical officer or ecclesiastical court, the same respect is to be shown in court and outside as well as anywhere else as would be given to these presents should they thus be exhibited or shown. Let no one, therefore, infringe, or with rash boldness contravene, this our recommendations, exhortation, requisition, gift, grant, assignment, constitution, deputation, decree, mandate, prohibition, and will. Should anyone presume to

attempt this, be it known to him that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord one thousand four hundred and ninety-three, the fourth of May, and the first year of our pontificate. Gratis by order of our most holy lord, the pope. June. For the referendary, A. de Mucciarellis. For J. Bufolinus, A. Santoseverino. L. Podocatharus.

### The "Barcelona Letter" of 1493 by Christopher Columbus

Mauricio Obregón, *The Columbus Papers: The Barcelona Letter of 1493, the Landfall Controversy, and the Indian Guides* (New York: Macmillan, 1991), 65–69. Translation of document by Lucia Graves.

SIR: BECAUSE I KNOW you will take pleasure in the great victory that Our Lord has given me in my voyage, I write this letter to inform you of how in twenty days I reached the Indies with the fleet supplied to me by the most illustrious King and Queen, our Sovereigns, and how there I discovered a great many islands inhabited by people without number: and of them all I have taken possession on behalf of Their Highnesses by proclamation and with the royal flag extended, and I was not opposed. I named the first island I found San Salvador, in commemoration of His Divine Majesty, who so wonderfully has created all this the Indians call it Guanaham. The second I named Santa Maria de Concepción; the third Ferrandina; the fourth Isabella, the fifth Juana Island; and so to each a new name.

When I reached Juana I followed its coast westward and found it so large that I thought it might be terra firma, the province of Cathay. I did not discover in this manner any towns or villages along the coast, only small hamlets whose inhabitants I could not speak to because they all fled at our sight, but I continued on that route, not wanting to miss any great city or town. After many leagues there was still no change, and the coast was leading me north, where it was not my wish to go, because winter had set in and I wanted to avoid it and go south; moreover, I had a head wind, so I decided not to wait for better weather and turned back to a large harbor, whence I sent two men inland to find out whether there was a king or any big cities. They walked for three days and discovered an infinite number of little villages and countless people, but no such thing as a government; for which reason they returned.

It was made clear to me, by other Indians whom I had captured earlier, that this entire land was an island; so I followed its coast eastward for one hundred and seven leagues until it came to an end, and from that cape I saw another island to the east, eighteen leagues away, which I later

named La Española, and there I went. I sailed eastward along its northern coast, as I had done in Juana, covering 178 long leagues in a straight line. This island and all the other ones are exceedingly grandiose, and this one in the extreme. There are harbors on the coastline that cannot be compared to any others I know in all Christendom, and plenty of good large rivers that are a marvel to see. Its lands are high and have a great many sierras and soaring mountains, unmatched by those of the island of Tenerife, for they are indeed all very beautiful, and of a thousand different shapes, and accessible, and full of all kinds of trees, so tall they seem to touch the sky; I have heard it said, moreover, that these trees never lose their leaves, which I can well believe, for I saw they were as green and beautiful as they are in Spain in the month of May. Some were in blossom, others with fruit, others yet at a different stage, according to variety; and I could hear nightingales and other small birds of a thousand different kinds singing in the month of November, wherever I went. There are six or eight kinds of palm tree which are a wonder to behold on account of their beautiful and unusual shapes, and the same can be said of the other trees, fruits and plants. On this island there are marvelous pine woods and vast fields; and there is honey, and many kinds of birds and a great diversity of fruits. This land also has many mines of metal, and people in uncountable number.

La Española is a marvel. Its sierras and mountains, its lowlands and meadows and its beautiful thick soil, are so apt for planting and sowing, for raising all kinds of cattle and for building towns and villages. As for the seaports here, seeing is believing; and so also the many big rivers of good water, most of which carry gold. The trees, fruits and plants are very different from those of Juana: in this island there are many spices and great mines of gold and other metals.

The people of this island, and of all the other islands I have found or heard about, go naked, men and women alike, just as their mothers bear them, although some women cover one single place with a leaf or with a piece of cotton which they make for this purpose. They have no iron or steel or weapons, nor are they inclined to such things. This is not from lack of vigor or handsome build, but because they are unbelievably fearful. Their only arms are canes, cut when in seed, with a sharp stick attached to the end, but they dare not use them: for it often came to pass that I would send two or three men ashore to some village to talk with its dwellers, and crowds would stream out towards them, but upon seeing our men at close quarters they would turn around and flee, parents not even waiting for their children. This was not because any harm had been done to any of them; on the contrary, in every place I have visited and have been able to talk with the people, I have given them of all I had, such as cloth and many other things, receiving nothing in return; but they are just hopelessly



timorous. True it is that once they feel reassured and lose this fear they are then so guileless and generous with what they have that one would not believe it without seeing it. If you ask them for something they have, they never say no; instead, they offer it to you with such love that they would give you their very hearts. Then, whether their gift was of great or little value, they are happy to receive any little trifle in return.

I forbade that they be given such worthless things as pieces of broken bowls, or pieces of broken glass, or lace-tags, although when they could obtain any of these, they considered it the most precious jewel in the world. It happened once that a sailor received the weight of two and a half *castellanos* in gold for a lace-tag; and others, for other things that were worth even less, received even more. For newly coined *blancas* those people would give all they had, even two or three *castellanos*' weight in gold, or a quarter or two of spun cotton. They even accepted broken hoops of wine casks, and like fools gave all they had for them. That seemed wrong to me, so I forbade it and I gave them sundry good things that I brought with me so as to gain their love and, moreover, that they might become Christians, for they are inclined to love and serve Their Highnesses and the whole of the Castilian nation; and they endeavor to gather and give us things which they have in abundance and which are necessary to us. They did not know any sect or idolatry, except that they all believe that power and goodness abide in heaven. Indeed, they believed very firmly that I with these ships and people came from heaven, and with corresponding regard they received me in every place, once they had lost their fear. And this is not because they are ignorant, for they have a very subtle ingeniousness and travel all over those seas, it being a wonder to listen to the good accounts they give of everything, but because they had never before seen people wearing clothes, or ships like ours.

When I arrived in the Indies, I took some of these people by force in the first island I found, so that they might learn our language and give me news of what existed in those parts. And so it happened, for later they understood us and we them, either by speech or by signs: and they have been very useful to us. I am bringing them with me now, and they still think I come from heaven, despite all the conversation they have had with me. These were the first to announce it wherever I went; others would run from house to house and to nearby villages shouting, "Come! Come and see the people from heaven!" Thus they all, men and women, old and young, once their hearts were sure of us, would come out, leaving no one behind, and each bringing something to eat and drink which they gave to us with wondrous good will.

In all these islands there are very many canoes, similar to longboats, some of which are large and others smaller, many being even larger than a longboat of eighteen benches;

but not as wide, for they are made of a single piece of timber. A longboat, however, could not keep up with them with oars alone, for they go with incredible speed. With these canoes they travel all over those islands, which are innumerable, and ply their merchandise. I have seen some of those canoes with 70 or 80 men aboard, and each with his oar.

In all these islands I did not see much diversity in the people's features, or in the customs, or in their language. What is more, they all understand each other, which is a remarkable thing, and for that reason I hope that Their Highnesses will decide on the preaching to them of our Holy Faith, to which they are very well disposed.

I have already related how I traveled 107 leagues along the coast of Juana, following a straight line from west to east. Accordingly, I can say that this island is larger than England and Scotland together: for beyond those 107 leagues there are two provinces on the west side which I have not visited. One of them is called Auan, where people are born with tails. These provinces must be at least fifty or sixty leagues long, or so I understand from the Indians I have with me, who know all these islands.

This other island called Española has a circumference greater than the whole of Spain from Colunya all along the coastline up to Fuenterrabía, in Biscay: for I followed one of its quarters in a straight line from west to east and covered 188 long leagues. This island is to be coveted; and once seen, one would never leave it. Since I have taken possession of all these islands for Their Highnesses, and since they are all richer than I know or can say, I hold them all on behalf of Their Highnesses, who can dispose of them in the same way and just as fully as the very kingdoms of Castile. In Española I have taken possession of a large town, which I have named Villa de Navidad. It is situated in the most convenient spot on the island and in the best district for gold mines and for all kinds of trade with the nearest mainland as well as with the farther one of the Great Khan, where there will be much commerce and gain. In this town I have built fortifications which by now must be entirely completed, and I have left enough men there for the purpose, with arms and artillery and victuals for over a year; also a longboat and a master seaman skilled in all the arts for building more; and I have great friendship with the king of that land, to such a degree that he took pride in calling me his brother and treating me as such. But even if he were to change his mind and act against my men, neither he nor his people know anything about weapons, and go around naked, as I have said: they are the most faint-hearted people in the world, and the few men I have left behind would suffice to destroy the whole of that land. The island offers no danger to their lives as long as they know how to govern it.

In all these islands it seems to me that men are content with one woman, and they give their chief or king up to

twenty. Women work more than men, it seems to me, but I have not been able to ascertain whether these people have any private belongings, for I think I saw that what one had was shared by all, especially food.

Until now I have not found any monstrous men in these islands, as many had thought. On the contrary, all these people are very good-looking: they are not black as in Guinea, but have flowing hair, and they do not make their homes in places where the rays of the sun are too strong. Indeed, the sun is very powerful there, being only twenty-six degrees distant from the equator. Where there are high mountains in these islands, it was intensely cold this winter, but they are able to endure it, by habit and with the aid of the many exceeding hot spices which they eat with their food.

So, I have found no monsters nor had any news of any, except from one island, the second one at the entrance to the Indies. It is inhabited by a people who are considered in all the other islands to be extremely fierce, and who eat human flesh. These people have many canoes with which they have the run of all the islands of the Indies; they steal and take all they can. They are no more deformed than the rest, and can only be distinguished from them because they have a habit of keeping their hair long, like women, and use bows and arrows, made of the same canes as the weapons I described earlier, with a stick on the tip instead of iron, which they do not have. They are ferocious when compared to the other islanders, who are cowardly in the extreme; but I am no more afraid of them than of the rest. These are the ones who trade with the women of Matremonio, the first island one reaches on the voyage from Spain to the Indies, and in which there lives not a single man. They are not used to feminine occupations, but carry bows and arrows, likewise made with canes, and they arm and cover themselves with plates of copper, of which they have plenty. I have been assured that there is another island larger than Española where the people are entirely bald. It abounds in gold, and I bring Indians with me from this and the other islands to testify to it.

In conclusion, to speak only of what has been done on this hasty voyage, Their Highnesses can see that I will give them as much gold as they may need, with but a little help from Their Highnesses. Also spices and cotton, as much as Their Highnesses order me to load; and as much mastic as they order loaded, which until now had been found only in Greece on the island of Chios and which the Seignory sell for the asking. They can also have as much aloe as they order loaded, and as many slaves as they order loaded, who will be idolaters. I also think I have found rhubarb and cinnamon, and I will find a thousand other things of substance which the people I have left behind will have discovered. For I have not tarried anywhere when the wind allowed me to sail, except in the Villa de Navidad, which I

left secured and well settled. And, truly, I would have done much more if the ships had served me as it would have been reasonable to expect.

This is enough, and Eternal be God our Lord, who grants, to all those who walk in His path, victories over things that appear impossible. And indeed this was a great victory, for even though people may have spoken and written about these lands, all was conjecture, nobody actually having seen them. It amounted to this: that most of those who heard these stories listened, but judged them rather from hearsay than from the least bit of proof. Thus our Redeemer has granted victory in so great a matter to our most Illustrious King and Queen, and to their renowned kingdoms. For which the whole of Christendom should rejoice and make merry, giving solemn thanks to the Holy Trinity, with many a solemn prayer, for all the glory they will receive when so many peoples turn to our Holy Faith; as well as for the temporal benefits, which will bring renewal and gain not only to Spain but to all Christians.

This, in brief, according to the facts. Written on board the caravel, by the islands of Canary, on February 15 of the year 1493.

At your orders. The Admiral *Nema* that came inside the letter:

After this letter was written, being within the seas of Castile, I met with such strong south and southeast winds that I was forced to unload the ships. But today I was driven into this port of Lisbon, an event which was the greatest marvel in the world, and here I have decided to write to Their Highnesses. In all the Indies I have always found the weather to be like that of the month of May. I went there in 33 days and returned in 28, save that these storms have detained me 14 days tossing about the sea. Here all the seamen say that there was never so bad a winter nor such a great loss of ships. Written on the fourteenth day of March.

This letter Columbus sent to the Secretary of the Treasury about the Islands Discovered in the Indies. Contained in another to Their Highnesses.

### **Patent Granted by King Henry VII to John Cabot and his Sons, March 1496.**

H. P. Biggar, ed., *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier 1497–1534: A Collection of Documents relating to the Early History of the Dominion of Canada* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911), 7–10. Original document housed in the Public Record Office, London.

For John Cabot and his Sons.

The King, to all to whom, etc. Greeting: Be it known and made manifest that we have given and granted as by these presents we give and grant, for us and our heirs,

to our well beloved John Cabot, citizen of Venice, and to Lewis, Sebastian and Sancio, sons of the said John, and to the heirs and deputies of them, and of any one of them, full and free authority, faculty and power to sail to all parts, regions and coasts of the eastern, western and northern sea, under our banners, flags and ensigns, with five ships or vessels of whatsoever burden and quality they may be, and with so many and such mariners and men as they may wish to take with them in the said ships, at their own proper costs and charges, to find, discover and investigate whatsoever islands, countries, regions or provinces of heathens and infidels, in whatsoever part of the world placed, which before this time were unknown to all Christians. We have also granted to them and to any of them, and to the heirs and deputies of them and of any one of them, and have given licence to set up our aforesaid banners and ensigns in any town, city, castle, island or mainland whatsoever, newly found by them. And that the before-mentioned John and his sons or their heirs and deputies may conquer, occupy and possess whatsoever such towns, castles, cities and islands by them thus discovered that they may be able to conquer, occupy and possess, as our vassals and governors lieutenants and deputies therein, acquiring for us the dominion, title and jurisdiction of the same towns, castles, cities, islands and mainlands so discovered; in such a way nevertheless that of all the fruits, profits, emoluments, commodities, gains and revenues accruing from this voyage, the said John and sons and their heirs and deputies shall be bound and under obligation for their every voyage, as often as they shall arrive at our port of Bristol, at which they are bound and holden only to arrive, all necessary charges and expenses incurred by them having been deducted, to pay to us, either in goods or money, the fifth part of the whole capital gained, we giving and granting to them and to their heirs and deputies, that they shall be free and exempt from all payment of customs on all and singular the goods and merchandise that they may bring back with them from those places thus newly discovered.

And further we have given and granted to them and to their heirs and deputies, that all mainlands, islands, towns, cities, castles and other places whatsoever discovered by them, however numerous they may happen to be, may not be frequented or visited by any other subjects of ours whatsoever without the licence of the aforesaid John and his sons and of their deputies, on pain of the loss as well of the ships or vessels daring to sail to these places discovered, as of all goods whatsoever. Willing and strictly commanding all and singular our subjects as well by land as by sea, that they shall render good assistance to the aforesaid John and his sons and deputies, and that they shall give them all their favour and help as well in fitting out the ships or vessels as in buying stores and provisions with their money and in

providing the other things which they must take with them on the said voyage.

In witness whereof, etc.

Witness ourself at Westminster on the fifth day of March.

By the King himself, etc.

### Amerigo Vespucci's "Mondo Nuovo" letter of 1504

George Tyler Northrup, trans. *Mundus novus. Letter to Lorenzo Pietro d. Medici*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1916).

#### ALBERICUS VESPUCIUS OFFERS HIS BEST COMPLIMENTS TO LORENZO PIETRO DI MEDICI.

On a former occasion I wrote to you at some length concerning my return from those new regions which we found and explored with the fleet, at the cost, and by the command of this Most Serene King of Portugal. And these we may rightly call a New World. Because our ancestors had no knowledge of them, and it will be a matter wholly new to all those who hear about them. For this transcends the view held by our ancients, inasmuch as most of them hold that there is no continent to the south beyond the equator, but only the sea which they named the Atlantic; and if some of them did aver that a continent there was, they denied with abundant argument that it was a habitable land. But that this their opinion is false and utterly opposed to the truth, this my last voyage has made manifest; for in those southern parts I have found a continent more densely peopled and abounding in animals than our Europe or Asia or Africa, and, in addition, a climate milder and more delightful than in any other region known to us, as you shall learn in the following account wherein we shall set succinctly down only capital matters and the things more worthy of comment and memory seen or heard by me in this New World, as will appear below.

On the fourteenth of the month of May, one thousand five hundred and one we set sail from Lisbon under fair sailing conditions, in compliance with the commands of the aforementioned king, with these ships for the purpose of seeking new regions toward the south; and for twenty months we continuously pursued this southern course. The route of this voyage is as follows: Our course was set for the Fortunate Isles, once so called, but which are now termed the Grand Canary Islands; these are in the third climate and on the border of the inhabited west. Thence by sea we skirted the whole African coast and part of Ethiopia as far as the Ethiopic Promontory, so called by Ptolemy, which we now call Cape Verde and the Ethiopians Beseghice. And that region, Mandingha, lies within the torrid zone fourteen

degrees north of the equator; it is inhabited by tribes and nations of blacks. Having there recovered our strength and taken on all that our voyage required, we weighed anchor and made sail. And directing our course over the vast ocean toward the Antarctic we for a time bent westward, owing to the wind called Vultumus; and from the day when we set sail from the said promontory we cruised for the space of two months and three days before any land appeared to us. But what we suffered on that vast expanse of sea, what perils of shipwreck, what discomforts of the body we endured, with what anxiety of mind we toiled, this I leave to the judgment of those who out of rich experience have well learned what it is to seek the uncertain and to attempt discoveries even though ignorant. And that in a word I may briefly narrate all, you must know that of the sixty-seven days of our sailing we had forty-four of constant rain, thunder and lightning—so dark that never did we see sun by day or fair sky by night. By reason of this such fear invaded us that we soon abandoned almost all hope of life. But during these tempests of sea and sky, so numerous and so violent, the Most High was pleased to display before us a continent, new lands, and an unknown world. At sight of these things we were filled with as much joy as anyone can imagine usually falls to the lot of those who have gained refuge from varied calamity and hostile fortune. It was on the seventh day of August, one thousand five hundred and one that we anchored off the shores of those parts, thanking our God with formal ceremonial and with the celebration of a choral mass. We knew that land to be a continent and not an island both because it stretches forth in the form of a very long and unbending coast, and because it is replete with infinite inhabitants. For in it we found innumerable tribes and peoples and species of all manner of wild beasts which are found in our lands and many others never seen by us concerning which it would take long to tell in detail. God's mercy shone upon us much when we landed at that spot, for there had come a shortage of firewood and water, and in a few days we might have ended our lives at sea. To Him be honor, glory, and thanksgiving.

We adopted the plan of following the coast of this continent toward the east and never losing sight of it. We sailed along until at length we reached a bend where the shore made a turn to the south; and from that point where we first touched land to that corner it was about three hundred leagues, in which sailing distance we frequently landed and had friendly relations with those people, as you will hear below. I had forgotten to write you that from the promontory of Cape Verde to the nearest part of that continent is about seven hundred leagues, although I should estimate that we sailed more than eighteen hundred, partly through ignorance of the route and the ship-master's want of knowledge, partly owing to tempests and winds which kept us from the proper course and compelled us to put about frequently. Because, if my companions had not heeded me, who had knowledge of

cosmography, there would have been no ship-master, nay not the leader of our expedition himself, who would have known where we were within five hundred leagues. For we were wandering and uncertain in our course, and only the instruments for taking the altitudes of the heavenly bodies showed us our true course precisely; and these were the quadrant and the astrolabe, which all men have come to know. For this reason they subsequently made me the object of great honor; for I showed them that though a man without practical experience, yet through the teaching of the marine chart for navigators I was more skilled than all the ship-masters of the whole world. For these have no knowledge except of those waters to which they have often sailed. Now, where the said corner of land showed us a southern trend of the coast we agreed to sail beyond it and inquire what there might be in those parts. So we sailed along the coast about six hundred leagues, and often landed and mingled and associated with the natives of those regions, and by them we were received in brotherly fashion; and we would dwell with them too, for fifteen or twenty days continuously, maintaining amicable and hospitable relations, as you shall learn below. Part of this new continent lies in the torrid zone beyond the equator toward the Antarctic pole, for it begins eight degrees beyond the equator. We sailed along this coast until we passed the tropic of Capricorn and found the Antarctic pole fifty degrees higher than that horizon. We advanced to within seventeen and a half degrees of the Antarctic circle, and what I there have seen and learned concerning the nature of those races, their manners, their tractability and the fertility of the soil, the salubrity of the climate, the position of the heavenly bodies in the sky, and especially concerning the fixed stars of the eighth sphere, never seen or studied by our ancestors, these things I shall relate in order.

First then as to the people. We found in those parts such a multitude of people as nobody could enumerate (as we read in the Apocalypse), a race I say gentle and amenable. All of both sexes go about naked, covering no part of their bodies; and just as they spring from their mothers' wombs so they go until death. They have indeed large square-built bodies, well formed and proportioned, and in color verging upon reddish. This I think has come to them, because, going about naked, they are colored by the sun. They have, too, hair plentiful and black. In their gait and when playing their games they are agile and dignified. They are comely, too, of countenance which they nevertheless themselves destroy; for they bore their cheeks, lips, noses and ears. Nor think those holes small or that they have one only. For some I have seen having in a single face seven borings any one of which was capable of holding a plum. They stop up these holes of theirs with blue stones, bits of marble, very beautiful crystals of alabaster, very white bones, and other things artificially prepared according to their customs. But



if you could see a thing so unwonted and monstrous, that is to say a man having in his cheeks and lips alone seven stones some of which are a span and a half in length, you would not be without wonder. For I frequently observed and discovered that seven such stones weighed sixteen ounces, aside from the fact that in their ears, each perforated with three holes, they have other stones dangling on rings; and this usage applies to the men alone. For women do not bore their faces, but their ears only. They have another custom, very shameful and beyond all human belief. For their women, being very lustful, cause the private parts of their husbands to swell up to such a huge size that they appear deformed and disgusting; and this is accomplished by a certain device of theirs, the biting of certain poisonous animals. And in consequence of this many lose their organs which break through lack of attention, and they remain eunuchs. They have no cloth either of wool, linen or cotton, since they need it not; neither do they have goods of their own, but all things are held in common. They live together without king, without government, and each is his own master. They marry as many wives as they please; and son cohabits with mother, brother with sister, male cousin with female, and any man with the first woman he meets. They dissolve their marriages as often as they please, and observe no sort of law with respect to them. Beyond the fact that they have no church, no religion and are not idolaters, what more can I say? They live according to nature, and may be called Epicureans rather than Stoics. There are no merchants among their number, nor is there barter. The nations wage war upon one another without art or order. The elders by means of certain harangues of theirs bend the youths to their will and inflame them to wars in which they cruelly kill one another, and those whom they bring home captives from war they preserve, not to spare their lives, but that they may be slain for food; for they eat one another, the victors the vanquished, and among other kinds of meat human flesh is a common article of diet with them. Nay be the more assured of this fact because the father has already been seen to eat children and wife, and I knew a man whom I also spoke to who was reputed to have eaten more than three hundred human bodies. And I likewise remained twenty-seven days in a certain city where I saw salted human flesh suspended from beams between the houses, just as with us it is the custom to hang bacon and pork. I say further: they themselves wonder why we do not eat our enemies and do not use as food their flesh which they say is most savory. Their weapons are bows and arrows, and when they advance to war they cover no part of their bodies for the sake of protection, so like beasts are they in this matter. We endeavored to the extent of our power to dissuade them and persuade them to desist from these depraved customs, and they did promise us that they would leave off. The women as I have said go about naked and

are very libidinous; yet they have bodies which are tolerably beautiful and cleanly. Nor are they so unsightly as one perchance might imagine; for, inasmuch as they are plump, their ugliness is the less apparent, which indeed is for the most part concealed by the excellence of their bodily structure. It was to us a matter of astonishment that none was to be seen among them who had a flabby breast, and those who had borne children were not to be distinguished from virgins by the shape and shrinking of the womb; and in the other parts of the body similar things were seen of which in the interest of modesty I make no mention. When they had the opportunity of copulating with Christians, urged by excessive lust, they defiled and prostituted themselves. They live one hundred and fifty years, and rarely fall ill, and if they do fall victims to any disease, they cure themselves with certain roots and herbs. These are the most noteworthy things I know about them.—The climate there was very temperate and good, and as I was able to learn from their accounts, there was never there any pest or epidemic caused by corruption of the air; and unless they die a violent death they live long. This I take to be because the south winds are ever blowing there, and especially that which we call liutus, which is the same to them as the Aquilo is to us. They are zealous in the art of fishing, and that sea is replete and abounding in every kind of fish. They are not hunters. This I deem to be because there are there many sorts of wild animals, and especially lions and bears and innumerable serpents and other horrid and ugly beasts, and also because forests and trees of huge size there extend far and wide; and they dare not, naked and without covering and arms, expose themselves to such hazards.

The land in those parts is very fertile and pleasing, abounding in numerous hills and mountains, boundless valleys and mighty rivers, watered by refreshing springs, and filled with broad, dense and wellnigh impenetrable forests full of every sort of wild animal. Trees grow to immense size without cultivation. Many of these yield fruits delectable to the taste and beneficial to the human body; some indeed do not, and no fruits there are like those of ours. Innumerable species of herbs and roots grow there too, of which they make bread and excellent food. They have, too, many seeds altogether unlike these of ours. They have there no metals of any description except gold, of which those regions have a great plenty, although to be sure we have brought none thence on this our first voyage. This the natives called to our attention, who averred that in the districts remote from the coast there is a great abundance of gold, and by them it is in no respect esteemed or valued. They are rich in pearls as I wrote you before. If I were to seek to recount in detail what things are there and to write concerning the numerous species of animals and the great number of them, it would be a matter all too prolix and vast. And I truly believe that our Pliny did not touch upon a thousandth part of the spe-

cies of parrots and other birds and the animals, too, which exist in those same regions so diverse as to form and color; because Policletus, the master of painting in all its perfection would have fallen short in depicting them. There all trees are fragrant and they emit each and all gum, oil, or some sort of sap. If the properties of these were known to us, I doubt not but that they would be salutary to the human body. And surely if the terrestrial paradise be in any part of this earth, I esteem that it is not far distant from those parts. Its situation, as I have related, lies toward the south in such a temperate climate that icy winters and fiery summers alike are never there experienced.

The sky and atmosphere are serene during the greater part of the year, and devoid of thick vapors the rains there fall finely, last three or four hours, and vanish like a mist. The sky is adorned with most beautiful constellations and forms among which I noted about twenty stars as bright as we ever saw Venus or Jupiter. I have considered the movements and orbits of these, I have measured their circumferences and diameters by geometric method, and I ascertained that they are of greater magnitude. I saw in that sky three Canopi, two indeed bright, the third dim. The Antarctic pole is not figured with a Great and a Little Bear as this Arctic pole of ours is seen to be, nor is any bright star to be seen near it, and of those which move around it with the shortest circuit there are three which have the form of an orthogonous triangle, the half circumference, the diameter, has nine and a half degrees. Rising with these to the left is seen a white Canopus of extraordinary size which when they reach mid-heaven have this form:

ss  
 ssss  
 sssss  
 ssss  
 canopus.

After these come two others, the half circumference of which, the diameter, has twelve and a half degrees; and with them is seen another white Canopus. There follow upon these six other most beautiful stars and brightest among all the others of the eighth sphere, which in the upper firmament have a half circumference, a diameter, of thirty-two degrees. With them revolves a black Canopus of huge size. They are seen in the Milky Way and have a form like this when observed on the meridian line:

SS  
 SSSSS  
 SSSSSS  
 SSS

I observed many other very beautiful stars, the movements of which I have diligently noted down and have

described beautifully with diagrams in a certain little book of mine treating of this my voyage. But at present this Most Serene King has it, which I hope he will restore to me. In that hemisphere I saw things incompatible with the opinions of philosophers. A white rainbow was twice seen about midnight, not only by me but by all the sailors. Likewise we have frequently seen the new moon on that day when it was in conjunction with the sun. Every night in that part of the sky innumerable vapors and glowing meteors fly about.—I said a little while ago respecting that hemisphere that it really cannot properly be spoken of as a complete hemisphere comparing it to ours, yet since it approaches such a form, such may we be permitted to call it.

Therefore, as I have said from Lisbon whence we started, which is thirty-nine and a half degrees distant from the equator, we sailed beyond the equator through fifty degrees, which added together make about ninety degrees, which total inasmuch as it makes the fourth part of a great circle according to the true system of measurement transmitted to us by our ancients, it is evident that we sailed over a fourth part of the world. And by this calculation we who live in Lisbon, thirty-nine and a half degrees north latitude this side of the equator, are with respect to those fifty degrees beyond the same line, south latitude, at an angle of five degrees on a transverse line. And that you may the more clearly understand: A perpendicular line drawn, while we stand upright, from a point in the sky overhead, our zenith, hangs over our head; it comes down upon their side or ribs. Thus comes about that we are on an upright line, but they on a line drawn sidewise. A kind of orthogonal triangle is thus formed, the position of whose upright line we occupy, but they the base; and the hypotenuse is drawn from our zenith to theirs, as is seen in the diagram. And these things I have mentioned are sufficient as regards cosmography.

These have been the more noteworthy things which I have seen in this my last voyage which I call my third chapter. For two other chapters consisted of two other voyages which I made to the west by command of the most Serene King of the Spains, during which I noted down the marvellous works wrought by that sublime creator of all things, our God. I kept a diary of noteworthy things that if sometime I am granted leisure I may bring together these singular and wonderful things and write a book of geography or cosmography, that my memory may live with posterity and that the immense work of almighty God, partly unknown to the ancients, but known to us, may be understood. Accordingly I pray the most merciful God to prolong the days of my life that with His good favor and the salvation of my soul I may carry out in the best possible manner this my will. The accounts of the other two journeys I am preserving in my cabinet and when this Most Serene King restores to me the third, I shall endeavor to regain my country and repose.

There I shall be able to consult with experts and to receive from friends the aid and comfort necessary for the completion of this work.

Of you I crave pardon for not having transmitted to you this my last voyage, or rather my last chapter, as I had promised you in my last letter. You have learned the reason when I tell you that I have not yet obtained the principal version from this Most Serene King. I am still privately considering the making of a fourth journey, and of this I am treating; and already I have been promised two ships with their equipment, that I may apply myself to the discovery of new regions to the south along the eastern side following the wind-route called Africus. In which journey I think to perform many things to the glory of God, the advantage of this kingdom, and the honor of my old age; and I await nothing but the consent of this Most Serene King. God grant what is for the best. You shall learn what comes of it.

Jocundus, the translator, is turning this epistle from the Italian into the Latin tongue, that Latinists may know how many wonderful things are daily being discovered, and that the audacity of those who seek to scrutinize heaven and sovereignty and to know more than it is licit to know may be held in check. Inasmuch as ever since that remote time when the world began the vastness of the earth and what therein is contained has been unknown.

Master John Otmar, Vienna, printer, August, 1504.

### Requerimiento (The Requirement), 1513

Lewis Hanke, ed. *History of Latin American Civilizations: Sources and Interpretations*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), 94–95.

On the part of the King, don Fernando, and of doña Juana, his daughter, Queen of Castille and Leon, subduers of the barbarous nations, we their servants notify and make known to you, as best we can, that the Lord our God, Living and Eternal, created the Heaven and the Earth, and one man and one woman, of whom you and I, and all the men of the world, were and are descendants, and all those who came after us. But, on account of the multitude which has sprung from this man and woman in the five thousand years since the world was created, it was necessary that some men should go one way and some another, and that they should be divided into many kingdoms and provinces, for in one alone they could not be sustained.

Of all these nations God our Lord gave charge to one man, called St. Peter, that he should be Lord and Superior of all the men in the world, that all should obey him, and that he should be head of the whole human race, wherever men should live, and under whatever law, sect, or belief

they should be; and he gave them the world for his kingdom and jurisdiction.

And he commanded them to place his seat in Rome, as the spot most fitting to rule the world from; but also he permitted him to have his seat in any other part of the world, and to judge and govern all Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and all other sects. This man was called Pope, as if to say, Admirable Great Father and Governor of men. The men who lived in that time obeyed that St. Peter, and took him for Lord, King, and Superior of the universe; so also have they regarded the others who after him have been elected to the Pontificate, and so it has been continued even until now, and will continue until the end of the world.

One of these Pontiffs, who succeeded that St. Peter as Lord of the world, in the dignity and seat which I have before mentioned, made donation of these isles and Terra-firme to the aforesaid King and Queen and to their successors, our lords, with all that there are in these territories, as is contained in certain writings which passed upon the subject as aforesaid, which you can see if you wish.

So their Highnesses are kings and lords of these islands and the land of Terra-firme by virtue of this donation; and some islands, and indeed almost all those to whom this has been notified, have received and served their Highnesses, as lords and kings, in the way that subjects ought to do, with good will, without any resistance, immediately, without delay, when they were informed of the aforesaid facts. And also they received and obeyed the priests whom their Highnesses sent to preach to them and to teach them our Holy Faith; and all these, of their own free will, without any reward or condition, have become Christians, and are so, and their Highnesses have joyfully and benignantly received them, and also have commanded them to be treated as their subjects and vassals; and you too are held and obliged to do the same. Wherefore as best we can, we ask and require you that you consider what we have said to you, and that you take the time that shall be necessary to understand and deliberate upon it, and that you acknowledge the Church as the Ruler and Superior of the whole world and the high priest called Pope, and in his name the King and Queen doña Juana our lords, in his place, as superiors and lords and kings of these islands and this Terra-firme by virtue of the said donation, and that you consent and give place that these religious fathers should declare and preach to you the aforesaid.

If you do so, you will do well, and that which you are obliged to do to their Highnesses, and we in their name shall receive you in all love and charity, and shall leave you your wives, and your children, and your lands, free without servitude, that you may do with them and with yourselves freely that which you like and think best, and they shall not compel you to turn Christians, unless you yourselves, when informed of the truth, should wish to be converted

to our Holy Catholic Faith, as almost all the inhabitants of the rest of the islands have done. And besides this, their Highnesses award you many privileges and exceptions and will grant you many benefits.

But if you do not do this, and wickedly and intentionally delay to do so, I certify to you that, with the help of God, we shall forcibly enter into your country and shall make war against you in all ways and manners that we can, and shall subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of their Highnesses; we shall take you and your wives and your children, and shall make slaves of them, and as such shall sell and dispose of them as their Highnesses may command; and we shall take away your goods, and shall do all the harm and damage that we can, as to vassals who do not obey, and refuse to receive their lord, and resist and contradict him; and we protest that the deaths and losses which shall accrue from this are your fault, and not that of their Highnesses, or ours, nor of these cavaliers who come with us. And that we have said this to you and made this Requirement, we request the notary here present to give us his testimony in writing, and we ask the rest who are present that they should be witnesses of this Requirement.

### Excerpt from the Codex Aubin, an indigenous account of the Spanish conquest of Tenochtitlán

Miguel Leon-Portilla, ed., *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), 80–81.

Motecuhzoma said to La Malinche: “Please ask the god to hear me. It is almost time to celebrate the fiesta of Toxcatl. It will last for only ten days, and we beg his permission to hold it. We merely burn some incense and dance our dances. There will be a little noise because of the music, but that is all.”

The Captain said: “Very well, tell him they may hold it.” Then he left the city to meet another force of Spaniards who were marching in this direction. Pedro de Alvarado, called The Sun, was in command during his absence.

When the day of the fiesta arrived, Motecuhzoma said to The Sun: “Please hear me, my lord. We beg your permission to begin the fiesta of our god.”

The Sun replied: “Let it begin. We shall be here to watch it.”

The Aztec captains then called for their elder brothers, who were given this order: “You must celebrate the fiesta as grandly as possible.”

The elder brothers replied: “We will dance with all our might.”

Then Tecatzin, the chief of the armory, said: “Please remind the lord that he is here, not in Cholula. You know how they trapped the Cholutecas in their patio! They have

already caused us enough trouble. We should hide our weapons close at hand!”

But Motecuhzoma said: “Are we at war with them? I tell you, we can trust them.”

Tecatzin said: “Very well.”

Then the songs and dances began. A young captain wearing a lip plug guided the dancers; he was Cuatlazol, from Tolnahuac.

But the songs had hardly begun when the Christians came out of the palace. They entered the patio and stationed four guards at each entrance. Then they attacked the captain who was guiding the dance. One of the Spaniards struck the idol in the face, and others attacked the three men who were playing the drums. After that there was a general slaughter until the patio was heaped with corpses.

A priest from the Place of the Canefields cried out in a loud voice: “Mexicanos! Who said we are not at war? Who said we could trust them?”

The Mexicans could only fight back with sticks of wood; they were cut to pieces by the swords. Finally the Spaniards retired to the palace where they were lodged.

### A narrative relating to Francisco Coronado's explorations of the Southwest, 1540–1542

George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, eds., *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540–1542*. Vol 2 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 308–312.

“This is the latest account of Cíbola, and of more than four hundred leagues.”

It is more than three hundred leagues from Culiacan to Cíbola, and little of the way is inhabited. There are very few people, the land is sterile, and the roads are wretched. The people go about entirely naked, except the women, who, from the waist down, wear white dressed deerskins which reach to their feet like skirts. Their houses are built of reed mats, and are round and small, a man being hardly able to stand up inside. The place where they are settled and where they have their planted fields has sandy soil. They grow maize, although not much, and beans and calabashes; they also live on game: rabbits, hares, and deer. They do not offer sacrifices. This is true from Culhuacán to Cíbola.

Cíbola is a pueblo of about two hundred houses, which are two, three, four, and five stories high. Their walls are a span thick. The timbers used in their construction are round, as thick as a wrist; the roofs are built of small reeds with the leaves on, on top of which they add well-packed dirt; the walls are built of dirt and mud; the house doors are like the scuttles of ships. The houses are built compact and adjoining one another. In front of them there are some



estufas built of adobe, in which the natives shelter themselves from cold in winter, for it is extremely cold; it snows six months of the year.

Some of the people wear cotton and maguey blankets, and dressed deerskins. They wear boots made of these skins that come to above their knees. They also make blankets of hare and rabbit skins, with which they keep warm. The women wear maguey blankets reaching to their feet and wear their clothes tight around the waist. They have their hair rolled above their ears like small wheels. These natives grow maize, beans, and calabashes, which is all they need for subsistence, as they are not very numerous. The land they cultivate is all sandy. The water brackish; the land is very dry. They possess some chickens, although not many. They have no knowledge of fish.

In this province of Cíbola there are seven pueblos within a distance of five leagues. The largest one must have 200 houses; two others have 200, and the rest sixty, fifty, and thirty houses.

It is sixty leagues from Cíbola to the river and province of Tibex [Tiguex]. The first pueblo is forty leagues from Cíbola, and it is called Acuco. This pueblo is situated on the top of a very strong rock. It must contain about 200 houses, built similar to Cíbola, which has a different language. It is twenty leagues from there to the Tiguex River. This river is almost as wide as the one at Seville, although not so deep. It flows through level land; its water is fine; it has some fish; it rises in the north.

The one who makes the foregoing statement saw twelve pueblos within a certain region of the river; others claim to have seen more up the river. Down the river the pueblos are all small, except two which must have about 200 houses. These houses have very strong walls made of mud and sand. The walls are a span thick. The houses are two and three stories high. Their woodwork is like that of the houses of Cíbola. The natives have their estufas as at Cíbola. The land is extremely cold, and the river freezes so hard that laden animals cross over it, and carts could cross also. The natives plant maize, beans, and calabashes, enough for their needs, and they possess some chickens, which they keep to make blankets with their feathers. They grow some cotton, although not much. They wear cotton blankets and shoes of hides as at Cíbola. They are people who know how to defend themselves from their very houses, and they are not inclined to leave them. The land is all sandy.

Four days' journey from the province and river of Tiguex the Spaniards found four pueblos. The first must have thirty houses; the second was a large pueblo destroyed by war; the third had about thirty-five houses, all inhabited. These three pueblos are similar in every respect to those on the river. The fourth is a large pueblo situated between mountains, and called Cíbola. It had some fifty houses with

terraces like those of Cíbola, and the walls are of dirt and mud like the Cíbola. The inhabitants have abundant maize, beans, calabashes, and some chickens.

At a distance of four days' travel from this pueblo, the Spaniards came to some land as level as the sea. In these plains there is such a multitude of cattle that they are beyond counting. These cattle are like those of Castile, and some larger. They have small humps on their backs, and are more reddish in color, blending into black. Their hair, over a span long, hangs down between their horns, ears, and chin, and from the neck and shoulders like a mane, and down from the knees. The rest of their bodies is covered with short wool like sheep. Their meat is fine and tender and very fat.

Traveling many days over these plains the Spaniards came to an inhabited rancheria with about two hundred houses. The houses were made of tanned cattle skins, white, and built like pavilions or tents. These Indians live or sustain themselves entirely from the cattle, for they neither grow nor harvest maize. With the skins they build their houses; with the skins they clothe and shoe themselves; from the skins they make ropes and also obtain wool. With the sinews they make thread, with which they sew their clothes and also their tents. From the bones they shape awls. The dung they use for firewood, since there is no other fuel in that land. The bladders they use as jugs and drinking containers. They sustain themselves on their meat, eating it slightly roasted and heated over the dung. Some they eat raw; taking it in their teeth, they pull with one hand, and in the other they hold a large flint knife and cut off mouthfuls. Thus they swallow it, half chewed, like birds. They eat raw fat without warming it. They drink the blood just as it comes out of the cattle. Sometimes they drink it later, raw and cold. They have no other food.

These people have dogs similar to those of this land, except that they are somewhat larger. They load these dogs like beasts of burden and make light packsaddles for them like our packsaddles, cinching them with leather straps. The dogs go about with sores on their backs like pack animals. When the Indians go hunting they load them with provisions. When these Indians move—for they have no permanent residence anywhere, since they follow the cattle to find food—these dogs carry their homes for them. In addition to what they carry on their backs, they carry the poles for the tents, dragging them fastened to their saddles. The load may be from thirty-five to fifty pounds, depending on the dog.

From Cíbola to these plains where the Spaniards came it must be thirty leagues, and perhaps more. The plains extend ahead—we do not know how far. Captain Francisco Vazquez traveled ahead over these plains with thirty mounted men, and Fray Juan de Padilla accompanied him. The rest of the people went back to the settlement by the river to await Francisco Vazquez, for so he had commanded. It is not known whether he has returned.

The land is so level that the men get lost when they draw half a league away. This happened to a man on horseback who got lost and never returned, and also to two horses, with harnesses and bridles, that were never again found. No tracks are left over the places which are traveled. On account of this they must leave land marks of cow dung along the way they follow in order to find their way back, for there are no stones or anything else.

The Venetian, Marco Polo, in chapter xv of his treatise, says that he has seen these same cows, with the same kind of hump. In the same chapter he speaks also of rams the size of horses.

The Venetian, Nicolas, told the Florentine, Micer Poggio, in the second book, toward the end, that in Ethiopia there are oxen with humps like camels, and with horns three cubits long. They throw their horns back over their spine, and one of these horns will hold a pitcher of wine.

In chapter 134, Marco Polo says that in the land of the Tartars, toward the north, there are dogs the size of donkeys, more or less. They hitch them to a sort of cart and enter very marshy land, a real quagmire, where other animals would not be able to enter without drowning. For this reason they use dogs.

### Excerpt from Ambroise Paré, *Des Monstres et Prodiges* (Paris, 1573)

Janis Pallister, trans. and ed., *Ambroise Paré on Monsters and Marvels* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 38–42.

#### Chapter 9: AN EXAMPLE OF MONSTERS THAT ARE CREATED THROUGH THE IMAGINATION

The ancients, who sought out the secrets of Nature (i.e., Aristotle, Hippocrates, Empedocles), have taught of other causes for monstrous children and have referred them to the ardent and obstinate imagination [impression] that the mother might receive at the moment she conceived—through some object, or fantastic dream—of certain nocturnal visions that the man or woman have at the hour of conception. This is even verified by the authority of Moses (Chap. 30 [of Genesis]) when he shows how Jacob deceived his father-in-law Laban and enriched himself with his livestock by having rods barked and putting them in the watering trough, so that when the goats and ewes looked at these rods of various colors, they might form their young spotted in various colors: because the imagination has so much power over seed and reproduction that the stripe and character of them remain [imprinted] on the thing bred.

Whether true or not, Heliodorus (book 10, of his *History of Ethiopia*) writes that Persina, the Queen of Ethiopia, conceived by King Hidustes—both of them being

Ethiopians—a daughter who was white and this [occurred] because of the appearance of the beautiful Andromeda that she summoned up in her imagination, for she had a painting of her before her eyes during the embraces from which she became pregnant.

Damascene, a serious author, attests to having seen a girl as furry as a bear, whom the mother had bred thus deformed and hideous, for having looked too intensely at the image of Saint John [the Baptist] dressed in skins, along with his [own] body hair and beard, which picture was attached to the foot of her bed while she was conceiving.

For a similar reason Hippocrates saved a princess accused of adultery, because she had given birth to a child as black as a Moor, her husband and she both having white skin; which woman was absolved upon Hippocrates' persuasion that it was [caused by] the portrait of a Moor, similar to the child, which was customarily attached to her bed.

Moreover, one can observe that conies [rabbits] and peacocks who are closed up in white places, through the properties of the pagination, give birth to their white young.

As a result, it is necessary that women—at the hour of conception and when the child is not yet formed (which takes from thirty to thirty-five days for males and forty or forty-two, as Hippocrates says, for females)—not be forced to look at or to imagine monstrous things; but once the formation of the child is complete, even though the woman should look at or imagine monstrous things with intensity, nevertheless the imagination will not then play any role, because no transformation occurs at all, since the child is completely formed.

In Saxony in a village named Stecquer, a monster was born having the four feet of an ox; its eyes, mouth and nose similar to a calf, having on top of its head a red flesh, in a round shape; [and] another behind, similar to a monk's hood, and having its thighs mangled.

In the year 1517, in the parish of Bois-le-Roy, in the Forest of Biere, on the road to Fontainebleau, a child was born having the face of a frog, who was seen and visited by Master Jean Bellanger, a surgeon in the company of the King's Artillery, in the presence of gentlemen from the Court of Harmois: notably the honorable gentleman Jacques Briçon, the king's procurer in said place; and Etienne Lardot, a bourgeois from Melun; and Jean de Vircy, king's notary at Melun; and others. The father's name is Esme Petit and the mother Magdaleine Sarboucat. The aforementioned Bellanger, a man of good wit, wanting to know the cause of the monster, inquired of the father what could have been the cause of it; the latter told him that he figured that his wife having a fever, one of her neighbor ladies advised her, in order to cure her fever, to take a live frog in her hand and hold it until said frog should die. That night she went to bed with her husband, still having said

frog in her hand; her husband and she embraced and she conceived; and by the power of her imagination, this monster had thus been produced.

**Excerpt from André Thevet, *Cosmographie universelle* (Paris, 1575).**

Roger Schlesinger and Arthur P. Stabler, trans., *André Thevet's North America: A Sixteenth-Century View* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 27–45.)

**On the Land of Canada and Baccaleos, and on Several Rivers of the Coast of Norumbega**

Having left Florida on the left hand, with a great number of isles, islets, gulfs and promontories, you see one of the most beautiful rivers on earth, named by us Norumbegue and by the Barbarians *Aggoncy*, and marked as “big river” on some marine maps. Several other beautiful rivers enter into this one, and upon it in the past the French had built a little fort some ten or twelve leagues upstream, which was surrounded by the fresh water which empties into it [the river]: and this place was named Fort Norumbega. Several pilots who think themselves the most knowledgeable of Europe, speaking of pilotage, tried to make me believe that this Norumbegian country was Canada proper. But this is not so, as I told them, since this country is at forty-three degrees and that of Canada at fifty-one degrees and fifty-two degrees. This is what it is to lack experience, mistress of all things.

Before approaching this river an isle surrounded by eight very small islets appears before you, which are near the land of green mountains and the Cape of Isles. From there you continue to sail along the coast to the mouth of the river, whose entry is dangerous because of the great number of large, high rocks, and many reefs; and its mouth is marvelously wide. Some three leagues up the said river a beautiful isle presents itself before you, which has about four leagues circumference, inhabited solely by some fishermen and various kinds of birds. [It is] called by them *Aiayascon* because it has the form of an arm which they call thus. Its length is north and south and it could easily be populated; likewise several other islets which are at some distance, and [one could] make a very fine fortress on it to control the entire coast.

Having set foot on land in the surrounding country, we perceived a large number of people who were coming straight to us from all directions, and in such a multitude that you would have said [that they looked like] a flock of starlings. Those who walked in front were the men, whom they call *Aquehuns*; afterwards the women, whom they call *Peragruastas*, then the *Adegestas*, who are the children;

and last were the girls, named *Anias-gestas*. All these people were clothed in pelts (which they call *Rabatatz*) of wild beasts. So observing their appearance and actions, we had some distrust of them and therefore we retired to our ship. However, seeing our fear they raised their hands into the air, signing that we were not to doubt them, and to render us more assured they sent to our ship four of their chiefs who brought us food. In recompense for which we gave them a few cheap trinkets, for which they were as happy as possible.

The following morning I was commissioned with several others to go to them to find out if they would aid us with food, of which we had a great shortage. Having entered the house (which they call *Caneque*) of a certain kinglet whose name was *Peramich*, we saw several dead beasts hanging on the posts of the said house, which they had prepared (as they told us) to send to us. This king gave us a very good welcome, and to show us the good will he bore us he had a good fire made (which they call *Azista*) on which he had meat and fish placed to roast. At this juncture appeared several rogues bringing to the king the heads of six men whom they had taken and massacred in war. This frightened us, fearing that they would do the same to us, so toward evening we stole off to our ship without saying goodbye to our host. At this he was greatly irritated, and so he came to us the next morning accompanied by three of his children, showing a sad countenance because he felt that we had come away discontent. Then he said to us in his language *Cazigno, Cazigno, Casnouy danga addagrin*: which is to say, Come, come ashore my brothers and friends. *Coaguoca Ame Couascon, Kzaconny*: come drink of what we have. *Arca-somioppach, Quenchia dangua ysmay assomaha*: we swear to you by the heaven, the earth, the moon, and the stars: you shall have no more harm than ourselves.

Seeing the good will and attitude of this old man, a score of our men set foot on land, each provided with his arms; and then went with him to his lodge where we were treated with what he had. Meanwhile a great number of people arrived who made over us and offered to do our pleasure, saying that they were our friends. But the climax of this was in the evening when we wished to retire and take leave of the company, giving thanks. This they did not want us to do: the men and the women as well as the children implored us to remain, using these words—*Cazigno aguйда-hoa*: my friends, do not budge from here, you shall sleep with us tonight. However, they harangued and begged in vain; they could not induce us to sleep with them. Rather we retired to our ship, and having remained there five whole days we hoisted anchor and left them with great satisfaction on both sides.

Because of the sandbanks and reefs we made for the open sea. But we had not sailed fifteen leagues out when the east wind was so contrary to us and the sea so swollen

that we all thought we would perish. However, finally the tempest blew us some fifty leagues from there to the mouth of the Arnodie river between [the] Juvid river and the Right Cape, where we were forced to anchor and go upriver about half a league to avoid the tempests and storms of the sea.

The people of this country gave us no less of a welcome than the first. To be sure they did not have as much venison, but in fresh and salt water fish they surpassed them, and especially in salmon, which they name *Ondacon*, and in lampreys, which they call *Zistoz*. Of such fish they brought us once a whole boatload full, of which we salted down about half a *muid*, which served us well to complete our voyage. Leaving this river and sailing straight for Baccaleos you cross and sail the sea to the Isle of Thevet, then to the Isles of Sainte Croix, Isles of the Bretons, [Isle] of the Savages, up to the level of Cape Breton, so named because the Bretons discovered that land in the year 1504.

Having designated for you the course to the north, from the point of Florida to that of Baccaleos, which lies at forty-eight degrees thirty minutes of latitude and 327 degrees longitude, there only remains for me to describe the mainland, after having briefly discussed some islands whose approach is dangerous: into which [the mainland] we entered, having been blown there by the winds where we experienced the rigors of the cold which tormented us for more than twenty days. During this time I had the leisure to walk around and seek out what was rare and singular in this country. [It] extends into the sea in the north for a good two hundred leagues.

The neighboring isles are extremely numerous and very large; [for example] those in the gulf between Arcadia and the Promontory called and named by me Angoulesme for my birthplace; those which are near Flora and Paradise; or those which are enclosed in the port of refuge [Refugio]; or those which afterwards extend along the ocean more northwards near those which are called Bonne veueis (which are close to the isle which bears the name of the country of Baccaleos). Some believe that these islands are continental and joined to the mainland because of their great extent: but I, who have seen them in person, I have seen and recognized that there is a good distance and extent of sea from these isles to the mainland. This country is so named because of a large fish named Baccaleos.

Canada is the country which is bordered on the south by the mountains of Florida, on the north by Baccaleos, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and to the south again faces the point of Florida and the Isles of Cuba; and the point of Baccaleos extends to the port of refuge [Refugio]. I am sure that the land there [Baccaleos] is even better than that of Canada, and there are very fine rivers which enter one hundred leagues into the middle of the country and are navigable, such as the *Barad*, which word in the Indian language means country. And in my judgment

I believe that it would be better to live in this country of Baccaleos, either on the mainland or on the neighboring isles, since the land is not so cold as that of Canada: also the people there are much more approachable and the sea more fertile in fish. Not that I wish to give here a fable, as did a venerable Spaniard in a little history of the Indies of Peru, where he relates that this sea so swarms with fish that they hinder the course of great ships. You might as well lend credence to this as to what Thomas Porcachi from Arrezzo, an Italian, says in a certain booklet on islands: that what we call the New World (which is properly this coast to Peru [South America]) is the Antarctic country. Poorly considered on his part, seeing as there is more than sixteen hundred leagues distance of coast between them. Also the country of Canada is not the one they call Nurumberg [sic], containing a great extent of mainland which several have tried to explore: but not one has so well succeeded as Jacques Cartier, Breton, one of my best friends, from whom I have obtained bits of information since he has explored the country from one end to the other.

Here before passing on I cannot remain silent about those who play the entrepreneur, and promise mountains of gold to the princes and great lords, proposing the subjection of the barbarians, which would be a good thing to do, and [speak of] the great riches which are to be found in the said countries. But even if all that were true, you have to attend to what I have already said to several of them, that if they were not well-advised, wise, and wily in their enterprises, they would get no more profit out of them than some others have who have lost their lives and their capital in them. Although the kings of Spain and Portugal are friends and allies of our own Sovereign Prince, the sea pilots, sailors, and captains pay no attention to such alliances, or whether there is peace or war on land. So once you leave Europe and go into Africa or in some part of the land of Guinea, the sailors no longer know each other, so that the Spaniard makes a slave of the Portuguese even though their kings may be relatives, neighbors, and good friends. The Frenchman, the Scotsman, and the Englishman scarcely pardon one another in these distant countries. And you cannot blame the princes and princesses, seeing as it is done without their knowledge. I have seen this going on in Africa, chiefly around Cape Verde and the Manicongre River, and on both sides of the Equator, under both tropics, even in Florida and on this northern coast. As for what they try to tell our European princes, that there is on this mainland an abundance of gold, silver, and [precious] stones—this is deceiving them, since most of the riches and treasure which can be got out of Florida, Canada, and Baccaleos is in furs and the cod and whale fishery. I think one could find gold and silver deposits just as well as you might find in France: but what kind of deposits? inferior, and more full of sulphur than of good gold,



and which would cost more to doubly refine than any profit you would get out of it. I say the same with regard to gems, which I know from experience.

This country was discovered by our people in the time of the great King François I, regarding which I shall give a brief summary, and I shall speak the least possible number of words that I am able, although I know that few men other than myself have written about it. This country then extends far northwards, and approaches that which is under the Arctic circle, which we call one of the poles or pivots supporting the sphere. Consequently you can imagine how cold the land must be, and yet not uninhabitable. Now Canada is the equivalent of land, and this name came from the first to land there. For when someone asked them what they were looking for in this place, they answered that they were *Segnada Canada*, men seeking land, and since then the name has stuck like a nickname, and also to most of the isles and provinces newly discovered. To the north it extends to the arctic or hyperborean sea. Therefore all this country is included, with Baccaleos and Labrador as well, under the name of Canada. And on the other side there is a mainland called *Campestre de Berge* which extends to the southeast.

In this province to the east lies Cape Lorraine, so named by us, and others call it Cape Breton because it is there that the Bretons, Biscayans, and Normans go and sail, going to the New Land to fish for cod. Near this cape is situated an isle named Heuree to the northeast, four or five leagues in circumference and quite close to the mainland, and another in triangular form named *Carbassa* by the natives and by us Isle of the Virgins. And this land begins at the said cape towards the south, where it lies east-northeast and west-southwest. The majority of it facing Florida is in the form of a half circle, as if looking to the kingdom of Themistitan. The coast of Canada from Cape Lorraine southwards extends into the sea as does Italy into the Adriatic and Ligurian seas, forming a peninsula.

In the region then closest to Florida (which some call French land, and the natives *Norombegue*) the land is quite fertile in various kinds of fruits, as for example mandourles, which is a fruit like a pumpkin, the juice of which is very good and the flesh delicate. The inhabitants of the country are friendly, easy to handle, and pleasant in their conversation. Their range and principal habitat extends westward on the great river of *Hochelaga*, quite close to the promontory called Angoulesme. That is where their king, whom they call in their jargon *Agouhanna*, usually resides, who is quite pleasant to foreigners who come there.

Quite the contrary are those who dwell more inland towards Baccaleos: for they are wicked, deceitful, and cruel, and they mask their faces, not with masks or cloths, but by painting their faces with divers colors, especially with blue and red, so to render themselves more hideous

to those who approach them. These men are big and strong and go around clothed in skins, and pluck out all the hair they have on their body except that of the head, which they draw up in a top-knot just like we tie and bind up our horses' tails over here. And they make their laces and bands from the tendons of wild beasts they kill (and so do all their neighbors, which I had forgotten to tell you). The colors with which they paint their faces are extracted from certain herbs and flowers of which they press out the juice; and so their paints are just as vivid as you would make here with Azure or the finest Lac that they bring you from Oriental countries. They have millet for food and make flour from it. They have melons also, but not as good as ours; and eat much more fish than meat, and especially eels very large and tasty.

If you go farther you will turn towards another great river, which our people have called Chaleur Bay, where there is a great quantity of salmon, larger and meatier than ours. In that country the only trade materials are deer skins, which they call *Aiomesta*, otters, and other furs, for of gold and silver they know little. The inhabitants of this river [Chaleur Bay] usually wage war with those who live on the great *Hochelaga* river, and are different from them in language, customs, and style of life. The Hochelaga ones are those who have been best-known to the French. Indeed our people took two of them [to] King François I, who [later] returned [them] to their own country. [They were] favored and well-treated by all the barbarians who for this reason were more friendly than ever to our people, saying that *Cudragny*, who is their god, was a liar who had told them that their men had been killed by the bearded foreigners. As for the savages who are on the other river [Chaleur Bay], we have not been able to find out what kind of people they are because, having heard that the river got narrower and that it was congealed with ice, Captain Cartier told me that he did not have enough small boats and so put off exploring it for another voyage. As for the other region [the western] and part of Canada, it is situated more than two hundred leagues beyond the Hochelaga River; nevertheless [it was] discovered by our men, although it extends far north and borders the country which is called "unknown."

The country [Canada] is well populated, the inhabitants peaceful and friendly and the most obliging you could see. It was in their country that the French built long ago a fort near a mountain they named Mont Royal, so as to winter there and rest [upon] coming into these lands; plus the fact that the place is in itself pretty. This fort was built [here] because of a fresh-water river, named Stadin which neighbors it, and another of salt water named *Islee* ["full of isles"]. These are not so large as those of Fauve, nor that of Daconie, so named by the barbarians of the country.

As for the great river of Hochelaga, there are very beautiful islands in it, e. g. that of Laisple, which is right at

its mouth, and that of Orleans, so named in honor of the late Duke of Orleans. One could easily fortify oneself on these and populate and cultivate them. Our people lived quite well there because the inhabitants of the country brought them more fish than they wanted and also much venison, to which they are accustomed, using the bow and catching the animals with many clever ruses. Among other things they use a kind of rackets, woven and constructed with animal tendons, square, and whose holes are very small like those of a sieve. They are in the proportion of two and a half feet [long] and almost as wide, as the present illustration portrays and represents to you. And they use these, tying them to their feet, as much against cold as to keep them from sinking into the snow when they are hunting wild beasts, and also so as not to slip on the ice. They clothe themselves with pelts cured and prepared in their fashion, in winter the fur side inside against the flesh, and in summer the leather touching their flesh with the fur on the outside.

So to take these animals you will see ten or twelve of them armed and furnished with long staves, like stakes and partisans [truncheons], lances or pikes, some of them twelve, others fifteen feet long, armed at the end not with iron or other metal but with some good bone of a deer or other beast, a good foot long and moreover pointed, and carrying bows and arrows armed in the same manner. Thus provided they go out into the snow all year long, this [snow] being very familiar to them. When hunting deer, wild boars, wild asses, and reindeer in the depths of these snows they prepare their blinks [trail markers] just as our hunters do, so as not to get lost. And sometimes when the stag has come out, whether to feed or otherwise, knowing the route he has taken they make shelters of cedars (which are abundant in this country), and they hide under these green shelters waiting for the stag to come. As soon as the animal approaches they emerge from their ambush and run upon him with their pikes and bows; and with their hue and cries make him lose the beaten path and get into the deep snow up to his belly so that the poor beast cannot get away—partly because of the snow which hinders it and also because by then they usually are hit and mortally wounded by the bows or lances.

After the massacre is over they skin it and cut it into pieces and drag it in its skin to their retreats. These are small villages and tawdry hamlets of a few houses arranged in the form and figure of a semi-circle, which the people call *Canocas*, large and about twenty-five or thirty paces long and ten paces wide with some covered with tree bark others with skins and with reeds. God knows how piercing the cold is in their houses, seeing as how the wind comes in from all sides; and they are so poorly covered and supported that often the pillars and beams either break or give way under the weight of the snow on top, which they call *Camsa*, so that in their sleep they have this dew and refreshment on their covers.

Since all this barbaric people cannot live without this way of doing things, because civilization and literature do not wean them from it, these Canadians, who are the fiercest known people and who have no arts or trades whatever, are always occupied in warring with some of their neighbors. Now those with whom these savages are angry and whom they often fight, are the *Toutaneans*, *Guadapes*, *Chicorins*, and others. These are located along the two great rivers of the *Saguene* [Saguenay] and *Hochelaga*, which are of such marvelous extent that each enters more than four hundred leagues into the land. On them one can navigate [only] some fifty leagues with large vessels because of the rocks which are very numerous; and the savages travel on them from place to place. The natives of *Baccaleos*, closer to Canada than to anywhere else, are their allies and march with them in war.

The natives say that if you would sail up the said rivers, that *Assomaha*, which is in a few moons (that is how they count and reckon time), you would find masses of gold and silver and a great diversity of peoples. And these two rivers finally join between Florida and the Cape of the Three Brothers, making a crescent as they unite in those regions and flow into the sea, since these regions embrace each other and are neighbors just as are France and Italy. The *Hochelaga* River, which is the wider, has its first source in the *Prat* and the *Gadate* mountains.

Then it makes you a lake—which is at least twenty leagues wide—of fresh water of the rivers named *Estendue*, which comes from the north, the *Corry*, *Tortimage*, and the *Passer* (named by the first to discover it the *Montmorency*): all these rivers make a beautiful promontory surrounded by a great number of little islets. This lake bears the name of *Angoulesme* as does the promontory I have just mentioned, in honor of one of the late royal children, son of the great King François' duke of that city. As for the said *Saguene* River, the entrance is marvelously beautiful and good too and is to the north. And some twenty leagues from its mouth on the right hand is seen a mountain named *Honguade*, at the foot of which was built another fort for greater security against the fury of these people.

When therefore it is a question of war in Canada, their great *Agahanna*, which means king or lord, commands each of his people to come to him in such numbers as he specifies and to bring with them their arms and food for their subsistence during the time in which he intends to make war. The king does not pay anyone (since they have no use or knowledge of gold, silver, or other metal proper for money, no more than the other barbarians of all this country from one pole to the other), rather they are obliged to march according to his will. Most of their combats are waged on rivers, in their little [canoes] which are long and narrow made of tree bark, as savages do in many places.

As soon as the assembly and general muster are made they go find the enemy, and know where he is, being

informed by their spies. At the hour of the encounter they deploy so skillfully their squadrons and show themselves so clever in either attacking or defending, and making use of ruses and stratagems according to their styles of warring, that it proves that it is nature which makes the good soldier and captain. These people deploy no less than fifteen thousand combatants, fortifying themselves in their lodges and cabins.

Now to fortify themselves without loss of their people they have a lot of faggots, bundles, pieces, and branches of cedar wood, all greased with the fat of the sea-bass and other fish and some poisonous compound. Seeing their enemies, they try to turn themselves against the wind and get their adversaries facing it. And then they set fire to these faggots, from which emerges a smoke so thick, black, and dangerous to smell, from the stench of the materials and the poisons mixed into these faggots, that some are suffocated. And even if they do not die from it, since they are blinded by the smoke, the others who are in the clearness of the daylight without hindrance of the smoke fall on them and make such carnage of them as they wish. Which I have tried to picture for you in the present portrait.

They also have trees which are very tall and large, which they use only for this purpose because they are so poisonous that the mere smell of their smoke will kill a man. If anyone falls asleep under one he feels such a stunning in his head that if he does not take immediate measures he risks losing his life. This tree is called *Hoga Athau*, which means "cold tree." I have seen such trees in Stony Arabia: and the Arabs will not let their horses and camels sleep in the shade of these trees, which they name in their language *Alaos* or *Alhalih*, giving it the name of an almond tree because it has similar leaves. These trees, when the leaves and branches are cut into pieces, produce a certain yellowish milk which they rub on their arrows to make them poisonous. It is this juice which the Canadians use in their wars to kill those whom they wish. They attempted to use this trick against our men when they traveled there, but they were foiled: for our men having been warned about this, and that they planned to set fire to the ships, surprised them before they had time to do it.

I have heard that these poor people had good and just cause to do this because some fools and madmen (more cruel than is the nature of Frenchmen) were killing these savages as a pastime and were cutting off their arms and legs as if they had been no more than tree-trunks or animals. This notwithstanding the fact that these poor people had received them with all kindness, saying to them *Aignah Adagrim Casigno Cazahouquea*: Good day, brother, let us go have a drink together. And then being a bit more familiarized, said to them *azaca*, *Agaheda*: give us some knives. And so they began to try to prevent the Christians from landing, thinking they would get the same treatment as

they had had from these madmen. This people rejoiced exceedingly seeing foreigners: and to attract them to them and have them land, they made a fire for them, which they name *Agista*. Having cast anchor, you see around you thousands of these poor people, rejoicing at your coming, bringing their little skiffs to the ships, shouting and constantly repeating these words *Cassigno Casnonydanga*, which mean: come into our skiffs, brothers and friends, to see our beautiful country so greatly desired by you. And you must not go trade there except in good numbers since they still remember this outrage, and once offended it is impossible to conciliate them.

But let us come back to our discussion. When these Canadians go into battle they march four by four and utter frightful howls when they approach (just as we have said about the women who are falsely called Amazons) in order to intimidate their enemies. Do not think that they go in disorder, for they have ensigns of branches of birch or other trees, adorned with large plumes of swans and other birds, which are carried by those with the greatest reputation for valiance. Moreover, they use tambourines made of certain skins stretched and laced, like on a frame on which you stretch parchment, which two men on each side carry, and another behind striking this skin with two batons with as much vim as possible. Their flutes are made of the bones of high-striding wild beasts, which they make correspond to the sound of the drum rather skillfully.

Their combats are so furious that once they have attacked each other they must conquer or die or flee; and they do not take prisoners, but kill all those they can. They fight with arrows, with large round clubs, and with [ordinary] clubs. They have shields made of skins and covered with plumes which they use very skillfully when the occasion requires. Some have head-covers difficult to pierce which are made of the skins of the seawolf and of beavers. These Canadians, although they are definitely not cannibals, i.e. eaters of human flesh, still having taken an enemy, they kill him then throw his body to the animals to eat. They skin the face and the head and they set aside these skins out in a circle to dry, then carry it to their houses to show it to their *Aquehum*, *Peragruasta*, *Addegesta*, *Agniagesta*, i.e. the old men, women, children, and girls (for this is what they call them in these lands), by whom they are praised, with glory to their name and family, and they incite them to carry on proposing the examples of their predecessors. They carry their king (having obtained victory over their enemies) seated on the shoulders of two of the biggest and strongest of the troop, which they call *Cabata*, so that everyone can recognize and honor him in the manner that you will see in the present illustration. Now although they are great warriors, still they do not like bloodshed as much as the natives of Peru [South America] and America [Brazil], since the others attack their enemies just for pleasure and to chase

them out of their territory. These Canadians do not do so, only making war to avenge a wrong received; otherwise they do not make war on anyone.

The skins from which they make their clothes are of beavers, bears, panthers, foxes, hares, rats, wild asses, reindeer and other beasts, and they prepare the leather with the fur. This has given rise to the statement of some (too simple in my opinion) who say that the savages are hairy. The great Hercules, coming to France, found the people living almost like these savages do today. They in their simplicity on seeing our clothing are astonished and ask what kind of trees they grow on, thinking that wool grows on trees just as cotton grows on little bushes. The men and women have very long black hair which the men wear in a top-knot. The women sometimes have their hair loose on their shoulders, and others bind it like the men without putting any pelt on top of it such as the men do. They dress in deer skin prepared in their way so that not a hair falls out of it, and thus enveloped they cover their whole body with it and fasten it with a belt using three or four turns, having always outside this costume one arm and one breast just like a pilgrim's scarf. These *Peragruasta*, or women, do not go bare-legged but have shoes made of tanned and well-worked leather, enriched with divers colors which they make from herbs and fruits.

These northern peoples are great eaters. That is why in Canada they often suffer famine in the regions which I have described above, since being great gluttons their provisions are soon consumed. Very often the freezes spoil the fruits and roots on which they live. And they cannot fish either, because for three or four months of the year the rivers are frozen with ice, on which they also run just like the Russians and Muscovites on the sea. As for their drink, water suffices when other beverages fail for the lack of plants and fruits.

**Excerpt from Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil autrement dite Amerique* (Geneva, 1578).**

Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, trans. Janet Whatley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 15–19, 56–68.

CHAPTER VIII

OF THE NATURAL QUALITIES, STRENGTH, STATURE, NUDITY, DISPOSITION AND ORNAMENTATION OF THE BODY OF THE BRAZILIAN SAVAGES, BOTH MEN AND WOMEN, WHO LIVE IN AMERICA, AND WHOM I FREQUENTED FOR ABOUT A YEAR

Thus far I have recounted both what we saw on the sea on our way to the land of Brazil, and what took place on the

Island and Fort of Coligny, where Villegagnon was staying while we were there; I have also described the bay called *Guanabara*. Since I have gone so far into these matters, before reembarking for France I also want to discuss what I have observed concerning the savages' way of life, as well as other singular things, unknown over here, that I have seen in their country.

In the first place then (so that I begin with the chief subject, and take things in order), the savages of America who live in Brazil, called the *Tupinamba*, whom I lived among and came to know for about a year, are not taller, fatter, or smaller in stature than we Europeans are; their bodies are neither monstrous nor prodigious with respect to ours. In fact, they are stronger, more robust and well filled-out, more nimble, less subject to disease; there are almost none among them who are lame, one-eyed, deformed, or disfigured!

Furthermore, although some of them reach the age of a hundred or a hundred twenty years (for they know how to keep track of their ages and count them by moons), few of the elderly among them have white or gray hair. Now this clearly shows not only the benign air and temperature of their country (in which, as I have said elsewhere, there are no frosts or great cold, and the woods, plants, and fields are always greening), but also—for they all truly drink at the Fountain of Youth—the little care or worry that they have for the things of this world. And indeed, as I will later show in more detail, since they do not in any way drink of those murky, pestilential springs, from which flow so many streams of mistrust, avarice, litigation, and squabbles, of envy and ambition, which eat away our bones, suck out our marrow, waste our bodies, and consume our spirits—in short, poison us and kill us off before our due time—nothing of all that torments them, much less dominates or obsesses them.

As for their natural color, considering the hot region where they live, they are not particularly dark, but merely of a tawny shade, like the Spanish or Provençals.

Now this next thing is no less strange than difficult to believe for those who have not seen it: the men, women, and children do not hide any parts of their bodies; what is more, without any sign of bashfulness or shame, they habitually live and go about their affairs as naked as they come out of their mother's womb. And yet, contrary to what some people think, and what others would have one believe, they are by no means covered with hair; in fact, they are not by nature any hairier than we are over here in this country. Furthermore, as soon as the hair begins to grow on any part of the body, even the beard and eyelashes and eyebrows, it is plucked out, either with their fingernails, or, since the arrival of the Christians, with tweezers that the latter have given them—which makes their gaze seem wall-eyed, wandering, and wild. It has been written that the inhabitants



of the island of Cumana in Peru do the same. As for our Tupinamba, they make an exception only of the hair on the head, which on all the males, from their youth onward, is shaved very close from the forehead to the crown, like the tonsure of a monk; behind, in the style of our forefathers or of those who let their hair grow, they have it trimmed on the neck.

To leave nothing out (if that is possible), I will also add this. There are certain grasses in that land with leaves about two fingers wide, which grow slightly curved both around and lengthwise, something like the sheath that covers the ear of the grain that we call "Saracen wheat." I have seen old men (but not all of them, and none of the young men or children) take two leaves of these grasses and arrange them together and bind them with cotton thread around their virile member; sometimes they wrapped it with handkerchiefs and other small pieces of cloth that we gave them. It would seem, on the face of it, that there remains in them some spark of natural shame, if indeed they did this on account of modesty, but, although I have not made closer inquiry, I am still of the opinion that it is rather to hide some infirmity that their old age may cause in that member.

To go on, they have the custom, which begins in the childhood of all the boys, of piercing the lower lip just above the chin; each of them usually wears in the hole a certain well-polished bone, as white as ivory, shaped like one of those little pegs that we play with over here, that we use as tops to spin on a table. The pointed end sticks out about an inch, or two fingers' width, and is held in place by a stop between the gums and the lip; they can remove it and put it back whenever they please. But they only wear this bodkin of white bone during their adolescence; when they are grown, and are called *conomi-ouassou* (that is, big or tall boy), they replace it by mounting in the lip-hole a green stone (a kind of false emerald), also held in place inside by a stop, which appears on the outside to be of the roundness and width of a festoon, with twice its thickness. There are some who wear a stone as long and round as a finger (I brought one such stone back to France). Sometimes when these stones are removed, our Tupinamba amuse themselves by sticking their tongues through that slit in the lip, giving the impression to the onlooker that they have two mouths; I leave you to judge whether it is pleasant to see them do that, and whether that deforms them or not. What is more, I have seen men who, not content with merely wearing these green stones in their lips, also wore them in both cheeks, which they had likewise had pierced for the purpose.

As for the nose: our midwives over here pull on the noses of newborn babies to make them longer and more handsome; however, our Americans, for whom the beauty of their children lies in their being pug-nosed, have the

noses of their children pushed in and crushed with the thumb as soon as they come out of their mothers' wombs (just as they do in France with spaniels and other puppies). Someone else has said that there is a certain part of Peru where the Indians have such outlandishly long noses that they set in them emeralds, turquoises, and other white and red stones with gold thread.

Our Brazilians often paint their bodies in motley hues; but it is especially their custom to blacken their thighs and legs so thoroughly with the juice of a certain fruit, which they call *genipap*, that seeing them from a little distance, you would think they had donned the hose of a priest; and this black dye is so indelibly fixed on their skin that even if they go into the water, or wash as much as they please, they cannot remove it for ten or twelve days.

They also have crescent-shaped pendants, more than half a foot long, made of very even-textured bone, white as alabaster, which they name *y-aci*, from their name for the moon; they wear them hung from the neck by a little cord made of cotton thread, swinging flat against the chest.

Similarly, they take innumerable little pieces of a sea-shell called *vignol*, and polish them for a long time on a piece of sandstone, until they are as thin, round, and smooth as a penny; these they pierce through the center and string onto cotton threads to make necklaces that they call *boïre*, which they like to wear twisted around their necks, as we do over here with gold chains. I think this is what some people call "porcelain shell"; we see many women over here wearing belts of it. When I arrived back in France, I had more than fifteen feet of it, as fine as you might ever see. The savages also make these *boïre* of a certain kind of black wood, which is very well suited to this since it is almost as heavy and shiny as jet.

Our Americans have a great many ordinary hens, which the Portuguese introduced among them and for which they have a use that I will now describe. They pluck the white ones, and after they have boiled the feathers and the down and dyed them red with brazilwood, they cut them up finer than mincemeat (with iron tools since they have acquired them—before that with sharpened stones). Having first rubbed themselves with a certain gum that they keep for this purpose, they cover themselves with these, so that they are feathered all over: their bodies, arms, and legs all bedecked; in this condition they seem to be all downy, like pigeons or other birds newly hatched. It is likely that some observers, who upon their arrival saw these people thus adorned, went back home without any further acquaintance with them, and proceeded to spread the rumor that the savages were covered with hair. But, as I have said above, they are not so in their natural state; that rumor has been based on ignorance and too easily accepted.

In the same vein, someone has written that the people of Cuman anoint themselves with a certain gum or sticky

unguent, and then cover themselves with feathers of various colors; they are not unhandsome in such a costume.

As for the head ornaments of our Tupinikin, aside from the tonsure in the front and the hair hanging down in back, which I have mentioned, they bind and arrange wing feathers of rosy or red hues, or other colors, to make adornments for their foreheads somewhat resembling the real or false hair, called “rackets” or “batwings,” with which the ladies and young girls of France and of other countries over here have been decorating their heads; you would say that they have acquired this invention from our savages, who call this device *yempenambi*.

They also have pendants in their ears, made from white bone, of almost the same kind as the bodkin that the young boys wear in their pierced lips. Furthermore, they have in their country a bird that they call *toucan*, which (as I will later describe more fully) has a plumage as black as a crow’s, except for a patch under the neck, which is about four fingers’ width long and three wide, all covered with fine little yellow feathers, edged with red on the bottom. They skin off these patches (which they also call *toucan*, from the name of the bird that bears them), of which they have a large supply; after these are dry, they attach them with a wax that they call *yra-yetic*, one on each side of the face in front of the ears. These yellow plaques, worn on their cheeks, seem like two ornaments of gilded copper on the ends of the bit of a horse’s bridle.

If our Brazilians go off to war, or if—as I will recount elsewhere—they ceremonially kill a prisoner in order to eat him, they want to be more gallantly adorned and to look more bold and valiant, and so they put on robes, headdresses, bracelets, and other ornaments of green, red and blue feathers, and of other various true and natural colors of extreme beauty. When these feathers have been mixed and combined, and neatly bound to each other with very small pieces of cane and cotton thread (there is no feather-worker in France who could handle them better, nor arrange them more skillfully), you would judge that the clothes made of them were of a deep-napped velvet. With the same workmanship they make the ornaments for their wooden swords and clubs, which, decorated and adorned with these feathers so well suited and fashioned to this use, are a marvelous sight.

To finish off their outfitting; they procure from their neighbors great gray-hued ostrich feathers (which shows that there are some of these huge, heavy birds in certain parts of those lands, where, however, not to misrepresent anything, I myself have not seen any). Binding all the quill ends together, with the other ends of the feathers spread out like a little tent, or like a rose, they make a great cluster of plumes that they call *araroye*. They tie this around their hips with a cotton string, the narrow part next to the flesh, and the spread-out feathers facing outward. When they are

rigged out in this you would say (as it has no other purpose) that they were carrying a chicken-coop attached to their buttocks.

I will explain more fully in another place how the greatest warriors among them, in order to show their valor—especially to show how many enemies they have killed, and how many prisoners they have massacred to eat—make incisions in their breast, arms, and thighs; they then rub these slashes with a certain black powder, which makes the scars visible for life, as if they were wearing hose and doublets slit with great gashes in the Swiss fashion.

If it is a question of leaping, drinking and *caouinage* (which is just about their daily occupation), to have—besides their voices and the chants that they customarily use in their dances—something more to arouse their spirits, they gather a certain rather firm-skinned fruit of the size and approximately the shape of a water-chestnut. When these are dried and the pits removed, they put little stones inside them and string several of them together, making leggings that, when tied on, make as much noise as snail shells—indeed, almost as much as the bells we have over here (which they greatly covet).

They have a kind of tree in that region, which bears a fruit as big as an ostrich-egg, and of the same shape. The savages pierce it through the middle (as you see children in France pierce big walnuts to make rattles), then hollow it out and put little round stones into it, or else kernels of their coarse grain (of which I will speak later); they then pass a stick about a foot and a half long through it. In this way they make an instrument that they call a *maraca*, which rattles louder than a pig bladder full of peas, and which our Brazilians usually have in hand. When I discuss their religion, I will tell you the idea they have about this *maraca* and its sound once they have adorned it with beautiful feathers and consecrated it to the use that we will see.

There you have their natural condition, and the accoutrements and ornaments with which our Tupinamba customarily outfit themselves in their country. Besides all that, since we had carried in our ships a great quantity of cloth in red, green, yellow, and other colors, we had coats and multicolored breeches made for them, which we exchanged for food supplies, monkeys, parrots, cotton, long peppers, and other things of their region with which our seamen usually load their ships. Now some, with nothing else on their bodies, would sometimes put on these wide, sailor-style trousers, while others, on the contrary, would leave aside the trousers and put on only the jackets, which came down just to their buttocks. After they had gawked at each other a while and paraded around in these outfits (which gave us our fill of laughing), they would take them off and leave them in their houses until the desire came to don them again; they also did this with the hats and shirts we gave them.

Now that I have fully treated what can be said concerning the exterior of the bodies of the American men and of the male children, if you would picture to yourself a savage according to this description, you may imagine in the first place a naked man, well formed and proportioned in his limbs, with all the hair on his body plucked out; his hair shaved in the fashion I have described; the lips and cheeks slit, with pointed bones or green stones set in them; his ears pierced, with pendants in the holes; his body painted; his thighs and legs blackened with the dye that they make from the *genipap* fruit that I mentioned; and with necklaces made up of innumerable little pieces of the big seashell that they call *vignol*. Thus you will see him as he usually is in his country, and, as far as his natural condition is concerned, such as you will see him portrayed in the following illustration, wearing only his crescent of polished bone on his breast, his stone in the hole in his lip, and, to show his general bearing, his unbent bow and his arrows in his hands. To fill out this plate, we have put near this Tupinamba one of his women, who, in their customary way, is holding her child in a cotton scarf, with the child holding on to her side with both legs. Next to the three is a cotton bed, made like a fishing net, hung in the air, which is how they sleep in their country. There is also the figure of the fruit that they call *ananas*, which, as I shall describe hereafter, is one of the best produced in this land of Brazil.

For the second contemplation of a savage, remove all the flourishes described above, and after rubbing him with a glutinous gum, cover his whole torso, arms, and legs with little feathers minced fine, like red-dyed down; when you have made him artificially hairy with this fuzzy down, you can imagine what a fine fellow he is.

In the third place, whether he remains in his natural color, or whether he is painted or covered with feathers, attire him again in his garments, headdresses and bracelets so laboriously wrought of these beautiful natural feathers of various colors that I have described to you; when he is thus outfitted, you might say that he is in his full Papal splendor.

For the fourth description, leave him half-naked and half-dressed, in the way I have described him; give him the breeches and jackets of our colored cloth, with one of the sleeves green and the other yellow; you will judge that he no longer needs anything but a fool's bauble.

Finally, if you add to these the instrument called the *maraca* in his hand, the plumed harness that they call *araroye* on his hips, and his rattles made of fruits around his legs, you will then see him (as I will show him again later) equipped as he is when he dances, leaps, drinks, and capers about.

As for the rest of the devices that the savages use to bedeck and adorn their bodies, according to the description that I have just given: you would need several illustra-

tions to represent them well, and even then you could not convey their appearance without adding painting, which would require a separate book. However, beyond what I have already said about them, when I come to speak of their wars and their arms, lacerating their bodies, and putting in their hands their wooden swords (or clubs), and their bows and arrows, I will portray them as more furious.

But for now let us leave a little to one side our Tupinamba in all their magnificence, frolicking and enjoying the good times that they know so well how to have, and see whether their wives and daughters, whom they call *quondam* (and in some parts, since the arrival of the Portuguese, *Maria*) are better adorned and decked out.

First, besides what I said at the beginning of this chapter—that they ordinarily go naked as well as the men—they also share with them the practice of pulling out all body hair, as well as the eyelashes and eyebrows. They do not follow the men's custom regarding the hair of the head: for while the latter, as I have said above, shave their hair in front and clip it in the back, the women not only let it grow long, but also (like the women over here), comb and wash it very carefully; in fact, they tie it up sometimes with a red-dyed cotton string. However, they more often let it hang on their shoulders, and go about wearing it loose.

They differ also from the men in that they do not slit their lips or cheeks, and so they wear no stones in their faces. But as for their ears, they have them pierced in so extreme a fashion for wearing pendants that when they are removed, you could easily pass a finger through the holes; what is more, when they wear pendants made of that big scallop shell called *vignol*, which are white, round, and as long as a medium-sized tallow candle, their ears swing on their shoulders, even over their breasts; if you see them from a little distance, it looks like the ears of a bloodhound hanging down on each side.

As for their faces, this is how they paint them. A neighbor woman or companion, with a little brush in hand, begins a small circle right in the middle of the cheek of the one who is having her face painted; turning the brush all around to trace a scroll or the shape of a snail-shell, she will continue until she has adorned and bedizened the face with various hues of blue, yellow, and red; also (as some shameless women in France likewise do), where the eyelashes and eyebrows have been plucked, she will not neglect to apply a stroke of the brush.

Moreover, they make big bracelets, composed of several pieces of white bone, cut and notched like big fish-scales, which they know how so closely to match and so nicely to join—with wax and a kind of gum mixed together into a glue—that it could not be better done. When the work is finished, it is about a foot and a half long; it could be best compared to the cuff used in playing ball over here. Likewise, they wear the white necklaces (called *boiire* in

their language) that I have described above, but they do not wear them hung around the neck, as you have heard that the men do; they simply twist them around their arms. That is why, for the same use, they find so pretty the little beads of glass that they call *mauroubi*, in yellow, blue, green, and other colors, strung like a rosary, which we brought over there in great number for barter. Indeed, whether we went into their villages or they came into our fort, they would offer us fruits or some other commodity from their country in exchange for them, and with their customary flattering speech, they would be after us incessantly, pestering us and saying “*Mair, deagatorem, amabé mauroubi*”: that is, “Frenchman, you are good; give me some of your bracelets of glass beads.” They would do the same thing to get combs from us, which they call *guap* or *kuap*, mirrors, which they call *aroua*, and all the other goods and merchandise we had that they desired.

But among the things doubly strange and truly marvelous that I observed in these Brazilian women, there is this: although they do not paint their bodies, arms, thighs, and legs as often as the men do, and do not cover themselves with feathers or with anything else that grows in their land, still, although we tried several times to give them dresses and shifts (as I have said we did for the men, who sometimes put them on), it has never been in our power to make them wear clothes: to such a point were they resolved (and I think they have not changed their minds) not to allow anything at all on their bodies. As a pretext to exempt themselves from wearing clothes and to remain always naked, they would cite their custom, which is this: whenever they come upon springs and clear rivers, crouching on the edge or else getting in, they throw water on their heads with both hands, and wash themselves and plunge in with their whole bodies like ducks—on some days more than a dozen times; and they said that it was too much trouble to get undressed so often. Is that not a fine and pertinent excuse? But whatever it may be, you have to accept it, for to contest it further with them would be in vain, and you would gain nothing by it.

This creature delights so much in her nakedness that it was not only the Tupinamba women of the mainland, living in full liberty with their husbands, fathers, and kinsmen, who were so obstinate in refusing to dress themselves in any way at all; even our women prisoners of war, whom we had bought and whom we held as slaves to work in our fort—even they, although we forced clothing on them, would secretly strip off the shifts and other rags, as soon as night had fallen, and would not be content unless, before going to bed, they could promenade naked all around our island. In short, if it had been up to these poor wretches, and if they had not been compelled by great strokes of the whip to dress themselves, they would choose to bear the heat and burning of the sun, even the continual skinning of

their arms and shoulders carrying earth and stones, rather than to endure having any clothes on.

And there you have a summary of the customary ornaments, rings, and jewelry of the American women and girls. So, without any other epilogue here, let the reader, by this narration, contemplate them as he will.

When I treat the marriage of the savages, I will recount how their children are equipped from birth. As for the children above the age of three or four years, I especially took great pleasure in watching the little boys, whom they call *conomi-miri*; plump and chubby (much more so than those over here), with their bodkins of white bone in their split lips, the hair shaved in their style, and sometimes with their bodies painted, they never failed to come dancing out in a troop to meet us when they saw us arrive in their villages. They would tag behind us and play up to us, repeating continually in their babble, “*Contoiassat, amabé pinda*”: that is, “My friend and my ally, give me some fishhooks.” If thereupon we yielded (which I have often done), and tossed ten or twelve of the smallest hooks into the sand and dust, they would rush to pick them up; it was great sport to see this swarm of naked little rascals stamping on the earth and scratching it like rabbits.

During that year or so when I lived in that country, I took such care in observing all of them, great and small, that even now it seems to me that I have them before my eyes, and I will forever have the idea and image of them in my mind. But their gestures and expressions are so completely different from ours, that it is difficult, I confess, to represent them well by writing or by pictures. To have the pleasure of it, then, you will have to go see and visit them in their own country. “Yes,” you will say, “but the plank is very long.” That is true, and so if you do not have a sure foot and a steady eye, and are afraid of stumbling, do not venture down that path.

We have yet to see more fully, as the matters that I treat present themselves, what their houses are like, and to see their household utensils, their ways of sleeping, and other ways of doing things.

Before closing this chapter, however, I must respond both to those who have written and to those who think that the frequenting of these naked savages, and especially of the women, arouses wanton desire and lust. Here, briefly, is what I have to say on this point. While there is ample cause to judge that, beyond the immodesty of it, seeing these women naked would serve as a predictable enticement to concupiscence; yet, to report what was commonly perceived at the time, this crude nakedness in such a woman is much less alluring than one might expect. And I maintain that the elaborate attire, paint, wigs, curled hair, great ruffs, farthingales’ robes upon robes, and all the infinity of trifles with which the women and girls over here disguise themselves and of which they never have enough, are beyond compari-



son the cause of more ills than the ordinary nakedness of the savage women—whose natural beauty is by no means inferior to that of the others. If decorum allowed me to say more, I make bold to say that I could resolve all the objections to the contrary, and I would give reasons so evident that no one could deny them. Without going into it further, I defer concerning the little that I have said about this to those who have made the voyage to the land of Brazil, and who, like me, have seen both their women and ours.

I do not mean, however, to contradict what the Holy Scripture says about Adam and Eve, who, after their sin, were ashamed when they recognized that they were naked, nor do I wish in any way that this nakedness be approved; indeed, I detest the heretics who have tried in the past to introduce it over here, against the law of nature (which on this particular point is by no means observed among our poor Americans).

But what I have said about these savages is to show that, while we condemn them so austere for going about shamelessly with their bodies entirely uncovered, we ourselves, in the sumptuous display, superfluity, and excess of our own costume, are hardly more laudable. And, to conclude this point, I would to God that each of us dressed modestly, and more for decency and necessity than for glory and worldliness.

### Richard Hakluyt, “A Discourse Concerning Western Planting” (1584)

Reprinted in *The Collections of the Maine Historical Society*  
(1831–1906), Ser. 2, Vol. 2, 152–61.  
Some spelling has been modernized.

#### CHAPTER XX

#### A BRIEF COLLECTION OF CERTAIN REASONS TO INDUCE HER MAJESTY AND THE STATE TO TAKE IN HAND THE WESTERN VOYAGE AND PLANTINGS THERE.

1. The soil yieldth and may be made to yield all the several commodities of Europe, and of all kingdomes, dominions, and territories that England tradeth with that by trade of merchandise cometh into this realm

2. The passage thither and home is neither to long nor to short but easy and to be made twice in the year. . . .

5. And where England now for certain hundreth years last passed, by the peculiar commodity of wools, and of later years by clothing of the same, hath raised itself from meaner state to greater wealth and much higher honour, mighty and power than before, to the equaling of the princes of the same to the greatst potentates of this part

of the world it cometh now so to passe, that by the great endeavour of the increase of the trade of wools in Spain and in the West Indies, now daily more and more multiplying that the wools of England, and the clothe made of the same, will become base, and every day more base then other; which, prudently weighed yet behooveth this realm if it mean not to return to former olde means and baseness but to stand in present and late former honour, glory, and force, and not negligently and sleepingly to slide into beggery, to foresee and to plant at Norumbega or some like place, were it not for any thing else but for the hope of the vent of our wool endraped, the principal and in effect the only enriching continuing natural commodity of this realm. And effectually pursuing that course, we shall not only find on that tract of land, and especially in that firm northward (to whom warm clothe shall be right welcome), an ample vent, but also shall, from the north side of that firm, find out known and unknown islands and dominions replenished with people that may fully vent the abundance of that our commodity, that else will in few years wax of none or of small value by foreign abundance &c.; so as by this enterprise we shall shun the imminent mischief hanging over our heads that else must needs fall upon the realm without breach of peace or sword drawn against this realm by any foreign state; and not offer our ancient riches to scornful neighbors at home, nor sell the same in effect for nothing, as we shall shortly, if presently it be not provided for. . . .

6. This enterprise may stay the Spanish King from flowing over all the face of that waste firm of America, if we seat and plant there in time, in time I say, and we by planting shall [prevent] him from making more short and more safe returns out of the noble ports of the purposed places of our planting, then by any possibility he can from the part of the firm that now his navys by ordinary courses come from, in this that there is no comparison between the ports of the coasts that the King of Spain doth now possess and use and the ports of the coasts that our nation is to possess by planting at Norumbega. . . . And England possessing the purposed place of planting, her Majesty may, by the benefit of the seat having won good and royall havens, have plenty of excellent trees for masts of goodly timber to build ships and to make great navys, of pitch, tar, hemp, and all things incident for a navy royall, and that for no price, and without money or request. How easy a matter may yet be to this realm, swarming at this day with valiant youths, rusting and hurtful by lack of employment, and having good makers of cable and of all sorts of cordage, and the best and most cunning shipwrights of the world, to be lords of all those seas, and to spoil Phillip's Indian navy, and to deprive him of yearly passage of his treasure into Europe, and consequently to abate the pride of Spain and of the supporter of the great Anti-Christ of Rome and to pull him down in equality to his neighbour princes, and consequently to cut

of the common mischiefs that come to all Europe by the peculiar abundance of his Indian treasure, and this without difficulty.

7. . . . this realm shall have by that mean ships of great burden and of great strength for the defense of this realm, and for the defense of that new seat as need shall require, and with all great increase of perfect seamen, which great princes in time of wars want, and which kind of men are neither nourished in few days nor in few years. . . .

10. No foreign commodity that comes into England comes without payment of custom once, twice, or thrice, before it come into the realm, and so all foreign commodities become dearer to the subjects of this realm; and by this course to Norumbega foreign princes customs are avoided; and the foreign commodities cheaply purchased, they become cheap to the subjects of England, to the common benefit of the people, and to the saving of great treasure in the realm; whereas now the realm become the poor by the purchasing of foreign commodities in so great a mass at so excessive prices.

11. At the first traffic with the people of those parts, the subjects of this realm for many years shall change many cheap commodities of these parts for things of high valor there not esteemed; and this to the great enriching of the *realm*, if common use fail not.

12. By the great plenty of those regions the merchants and their factors shall lie there cheap, buy and repair their ships cheap, and shall return at pleasure without stay or restraint of foreign prince; whereas upon stays and restraints the merchant raiseth his charge in sale over of his ware; and, buying his wares cheap, he may maintain trade with small stock, and without taking up money upon interest; and so he shall be rich and not subject to many hazards, but shall be able to afford the commodities for cheap prices to all subjects of the realm.

13. By making of ships and by preparing of things for the same, by making of cables and cordage, by planting of vines and olive trees, and by making of wine and oil, by husbandry, and by thousands of things there to be done, infinite numbers of the English nation may be set on work, to the unburdening of the realm with many that now live chargeable to the state at home.

14. If the sea coast serve for making of salt, and the inland for wine, oils, oranges, lemons, figs, &c., and for making of iron, all which with much more is hoped, without sword drawn, we shall cut the comb of the French, of the Spanish, of the Portugall, and of enemies, and of doubtful friends, to the abating of their wealth and force, and to the great saving of the wealth of the realm. . . .

16. Wee shall by planting there enlarge the glory of the gospel, and from England plant sincere religion, and provide a safe and a sure place to receive people from all

parts of the world that are forced to flee for the truth of God's word.

17. If frontier wars there chance to arise, and if thereupon we shall fortify, yet will occasion the training up of our youth in the discipline of war, and make a number fit for the service of the wars and for the defense of our people there and at home.

18. The Spaniards govern in the Indies with all pride and tyranny; and like as when people of contrary nature at the sea enter into gallies, where men are tied as slaves, all yell and cry with one voice, *Liberta, liberta*, as desirous of liberty and freedom, so no doubt whensoever the Queen of England, a prince of such clemency, shall seat upon that firm of America, and shall be reported throughout all that tract to use the natural people there with all humanity, curtesy, and freedom, they will yield themselves to her government, and revolt clean from the Spaniard, and specially when they shall understand that she hath a noble navy, and that she aboundeth with a people most valiant for their defense. And her Majesty having Sir Frances Drake and other subjects already in credit with the Symerons, a people or great multitude already revolted from the Spanish government, she may with them and a few hundreths of this nation, trained up in the late wars of France and Flanders, bring great things to pass, and that with great ease; and this brought so about, her Majesty and her subjects may both enjoy the treasure of the mines of gold and silver, and the whole trade and all the gain of the trade of merchandise, that now passeth thither by the Spaniards only hand, of all the commodities of Europe; which trade of merchandise only were of it self sufficient (without the benefit of the rich mine) to enrich the subjects, and by customs to fill her Majesty's coffers to the full. And if it be high policy to maintain the poor people of this realm in work, I dare affirm that if the poor people of England were five times so many as they be, yet all might be set on work in and by working linen, and such other things of merchandise as the trade into the Indies doth require.

19. The present short trades causeth the mariner to be cast of, and often to be idle, and so by poverty to fall to piracy. But this course to Norumbega being longer, and a continuance of the employment of the mariner, doth keep the mariner from idleness and from necessity; and so it cutteth of the principal actions of piracy, and the rather because no riche pray for them to take cometh directly in their course or any thing near their course.

20. Many men of excellent wits and of divers singular gifts, overthrown by . . . by some folly of youth, that are not able to live in England, may there be raised again, and do their country good service; and many needful uses there may (to great purpose) require the saving of great

numbers, that for trifles may otherwise be devoured by the gallows.

21. Many soldiers and servitors, in the end of the wars, that might be hurtful to this *realm*, may there be unladen, to the common profit and quiet of this *realm*, and to our foreign benefit there, as they may be employed.

22. The frye [children] of the wandering beggars of England, that grow up idly, and hurteful and burdenous to

this *realm*, may there be unladen, better bred up, and may people waste countries to the home and foreign benefit, and to their own more happy state.

23. If England cry out and affirm, that there is so many in all trades that one cannot live for another, as in all places they doe, this Norumbega (if it be thought so good) offereth the remedy.





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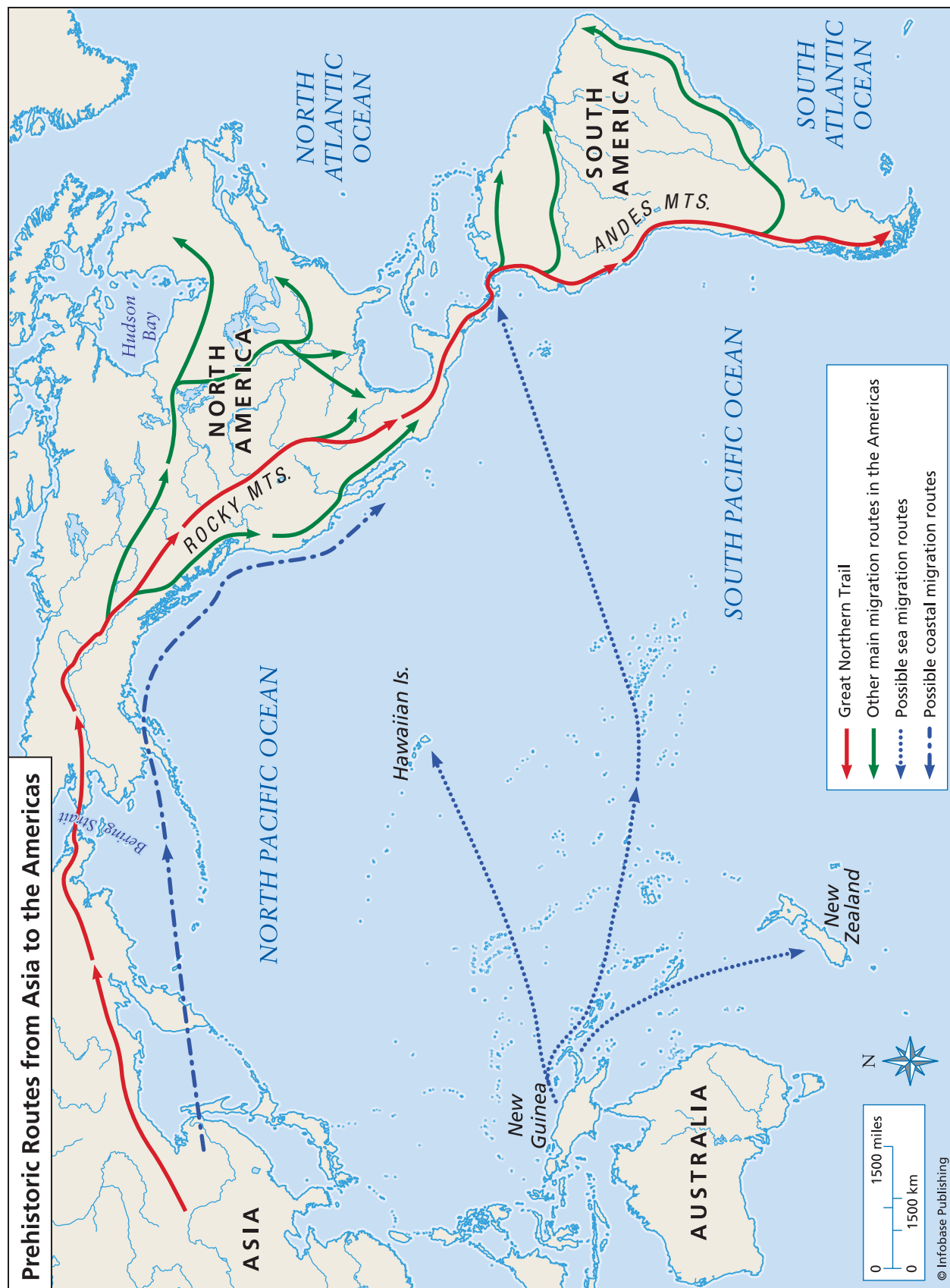
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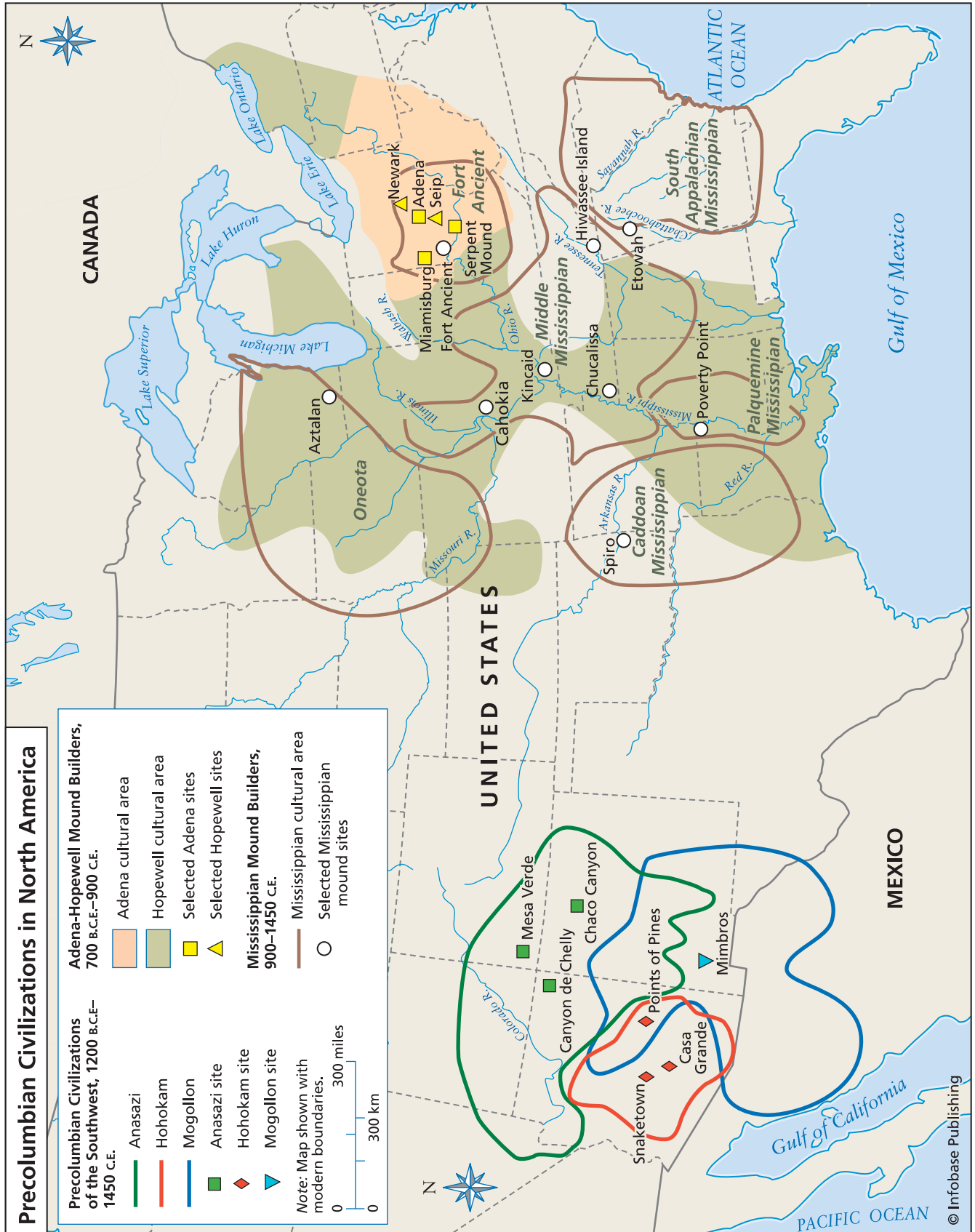
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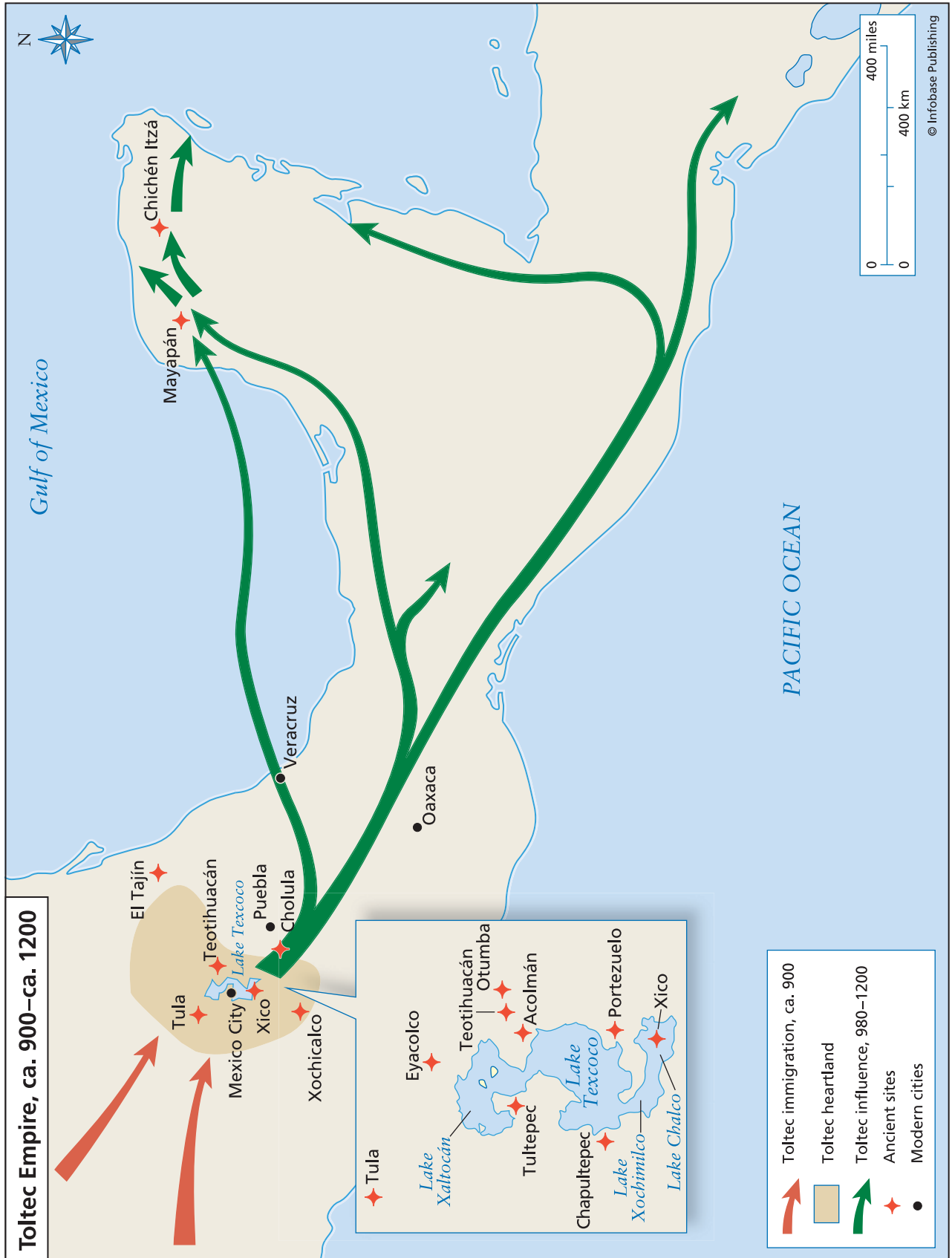
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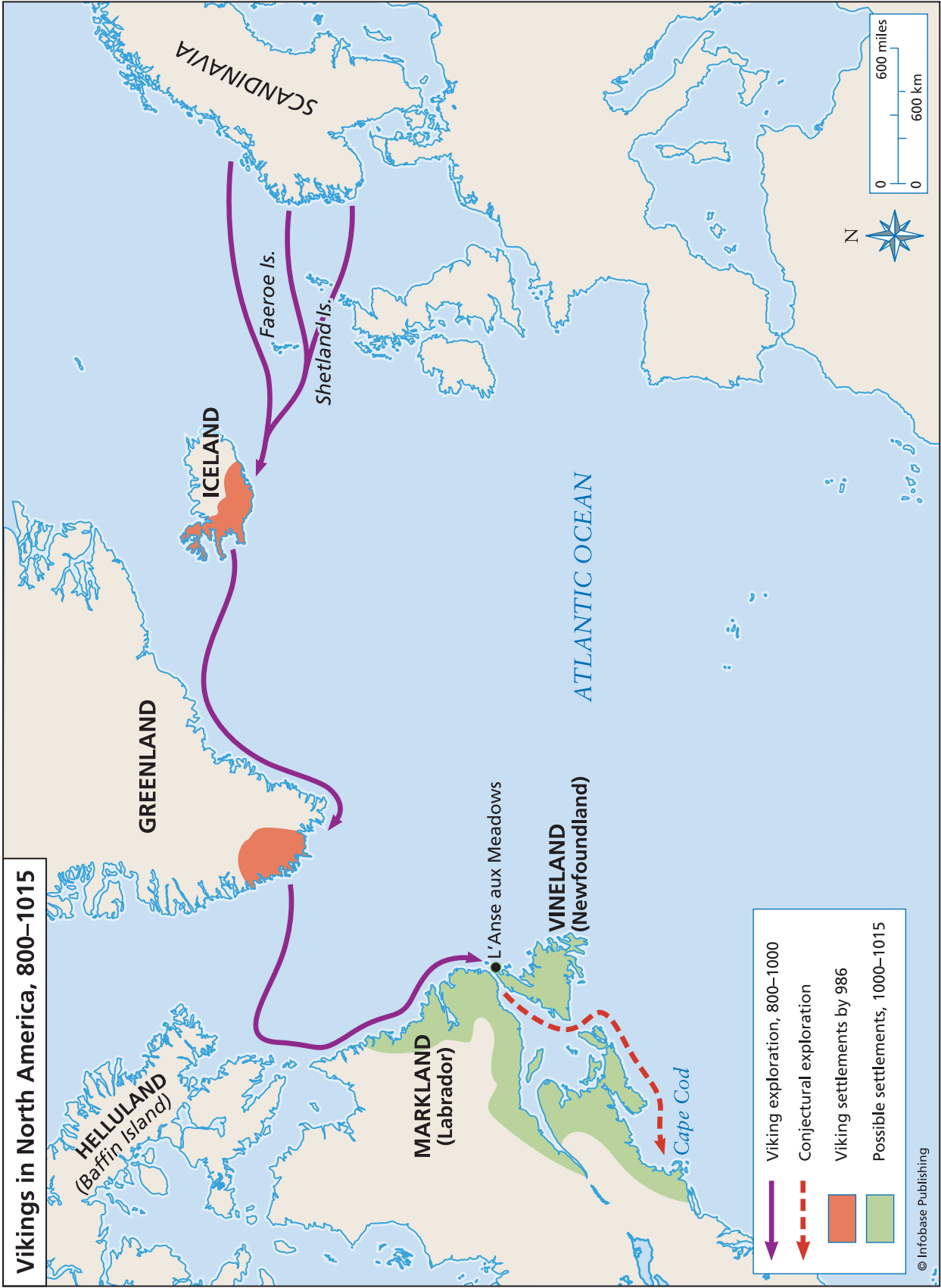




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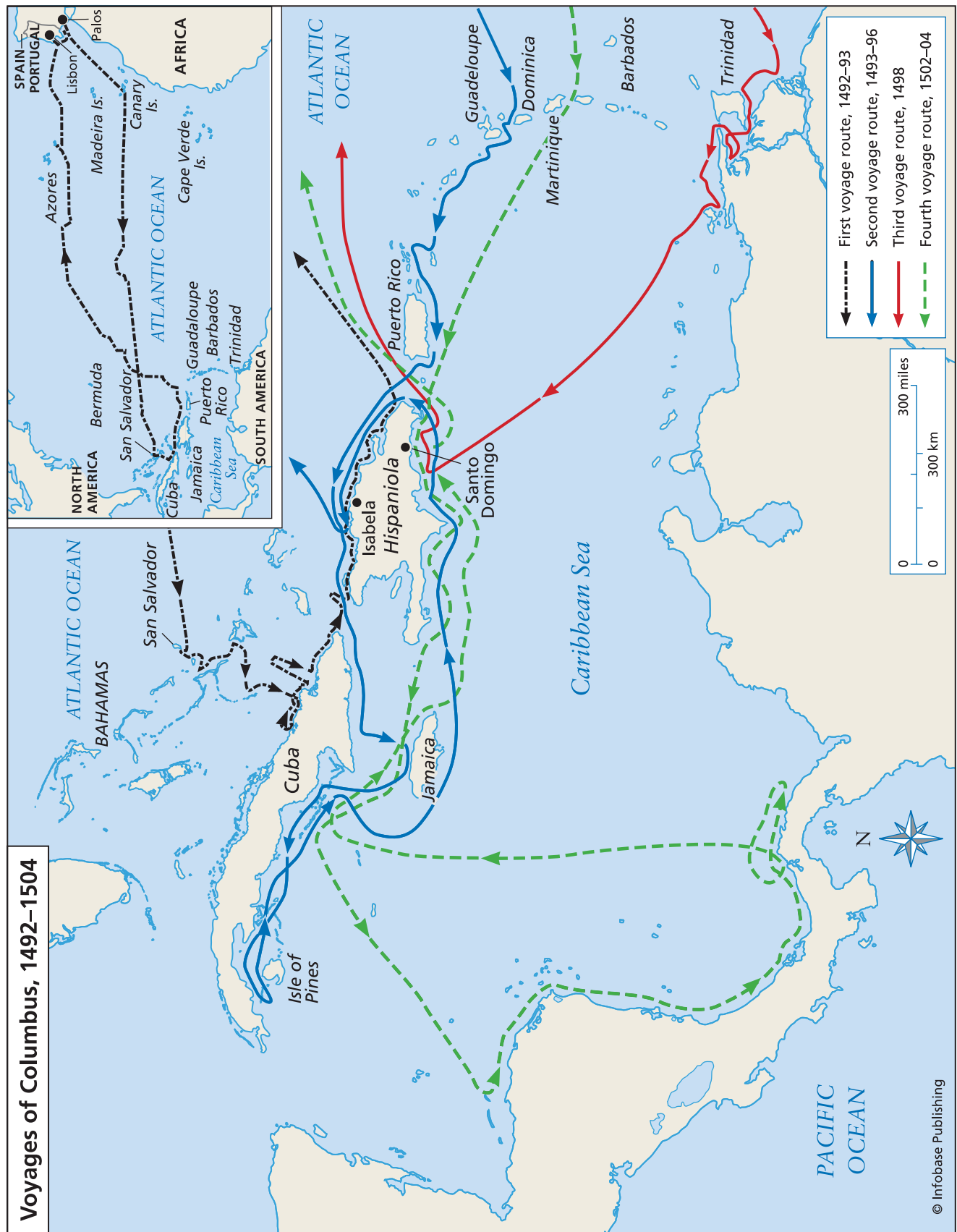








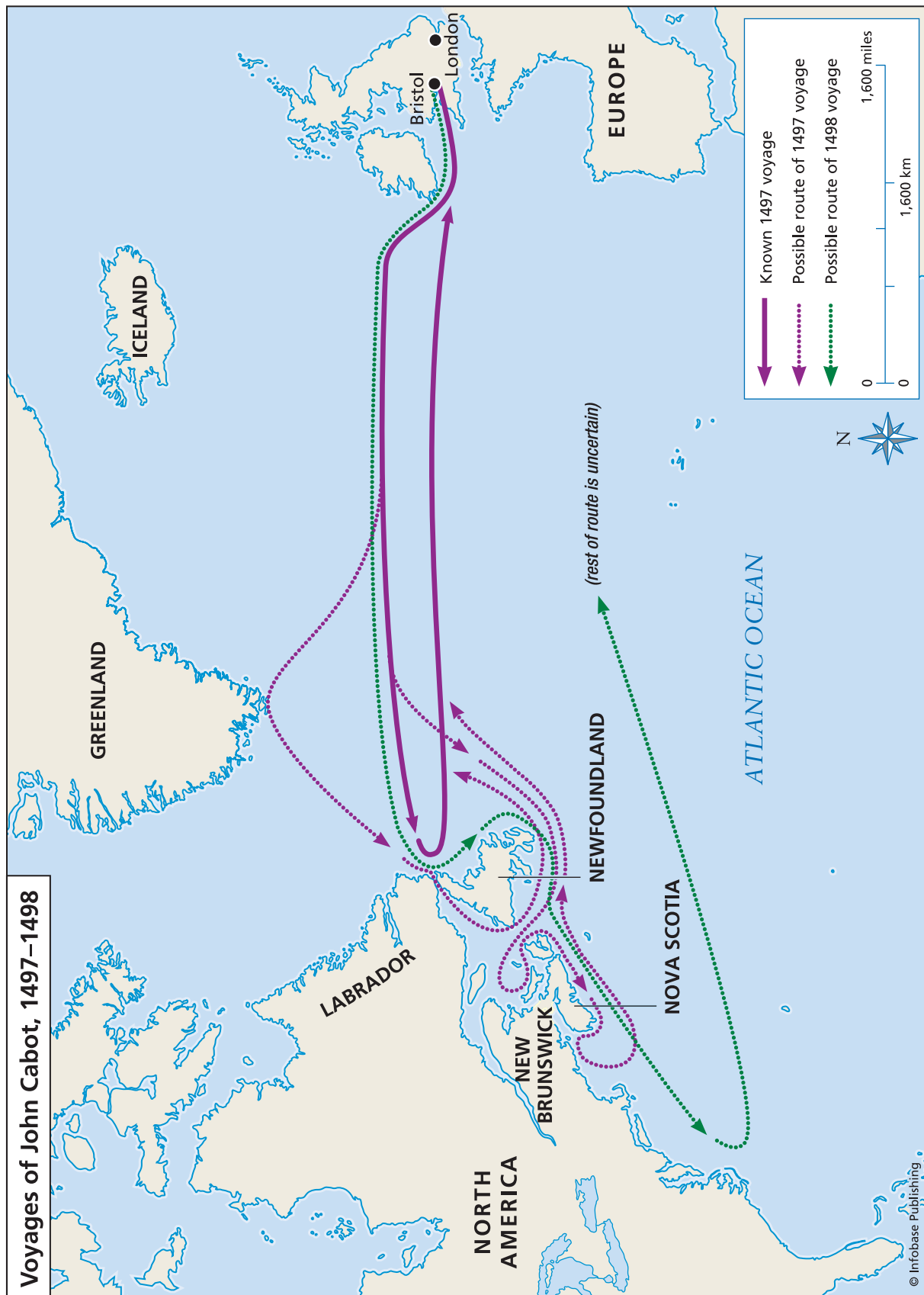


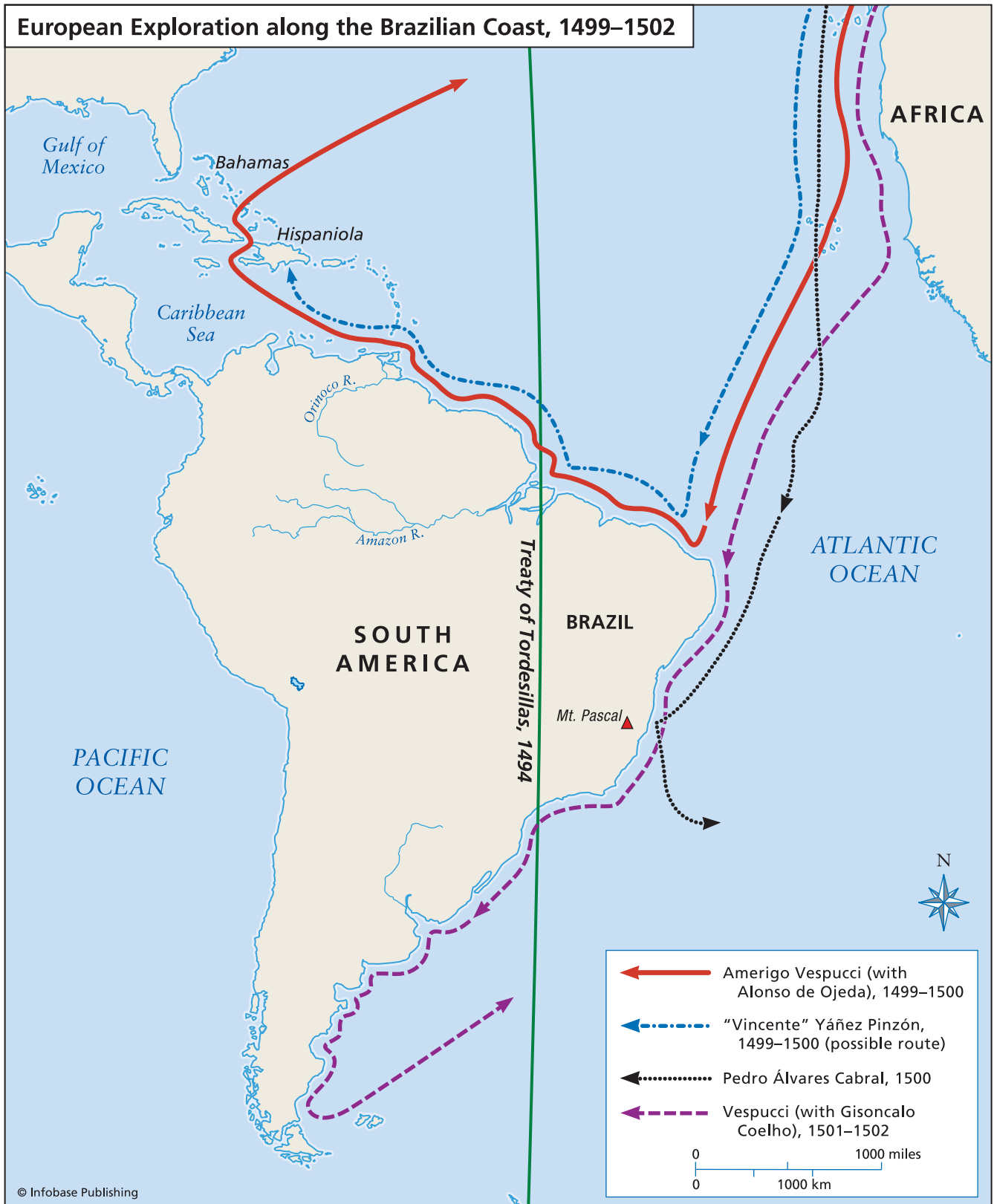


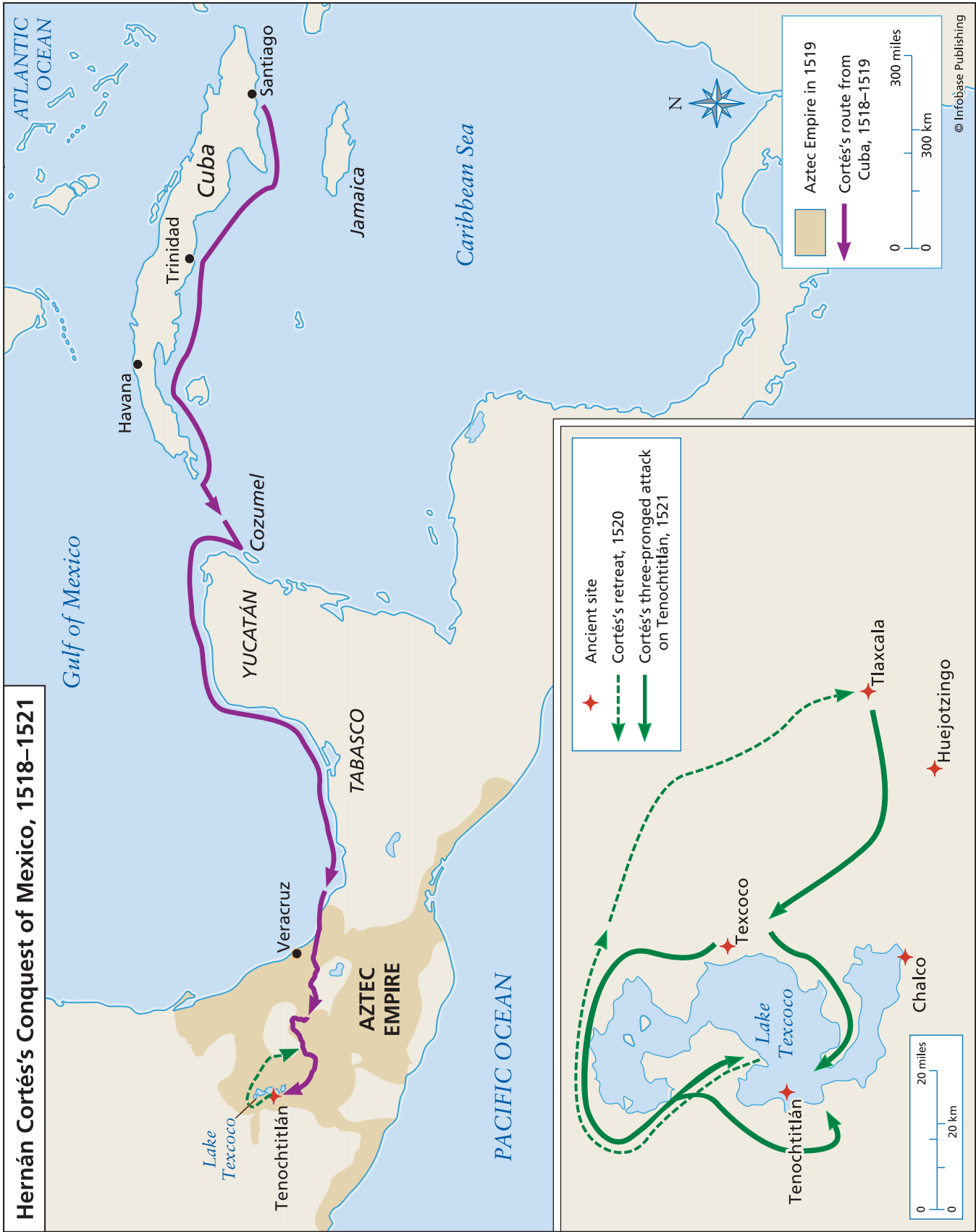








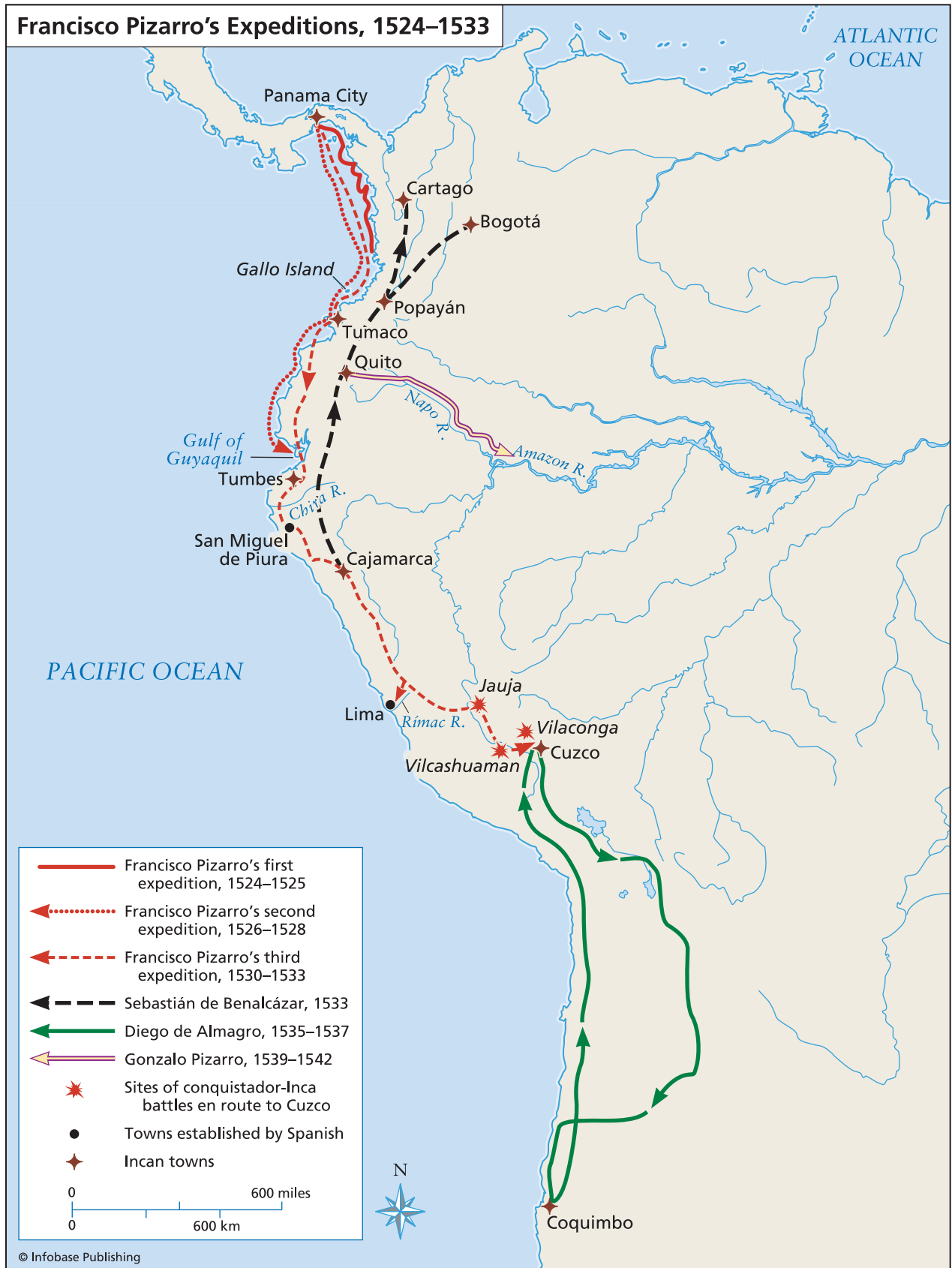


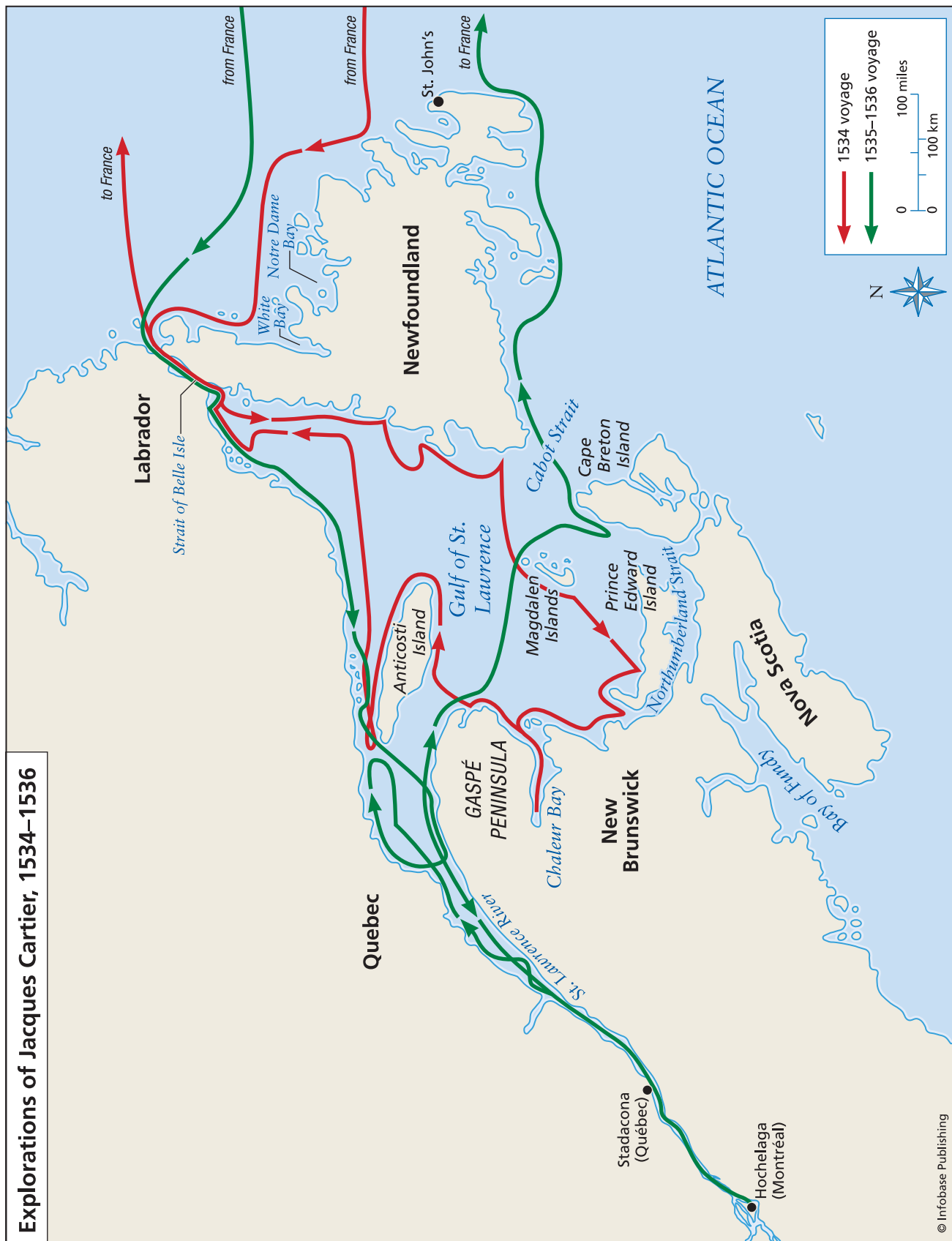






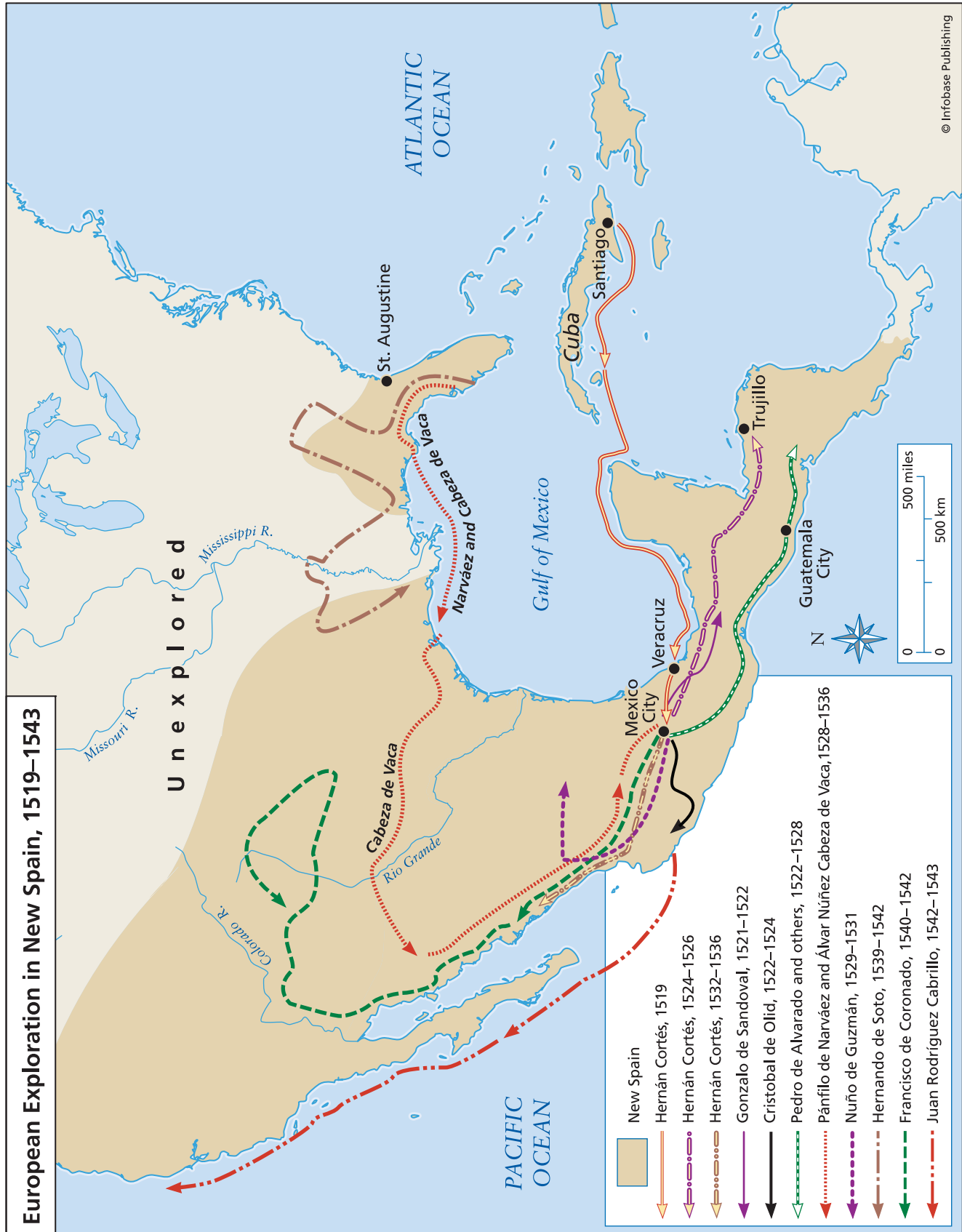


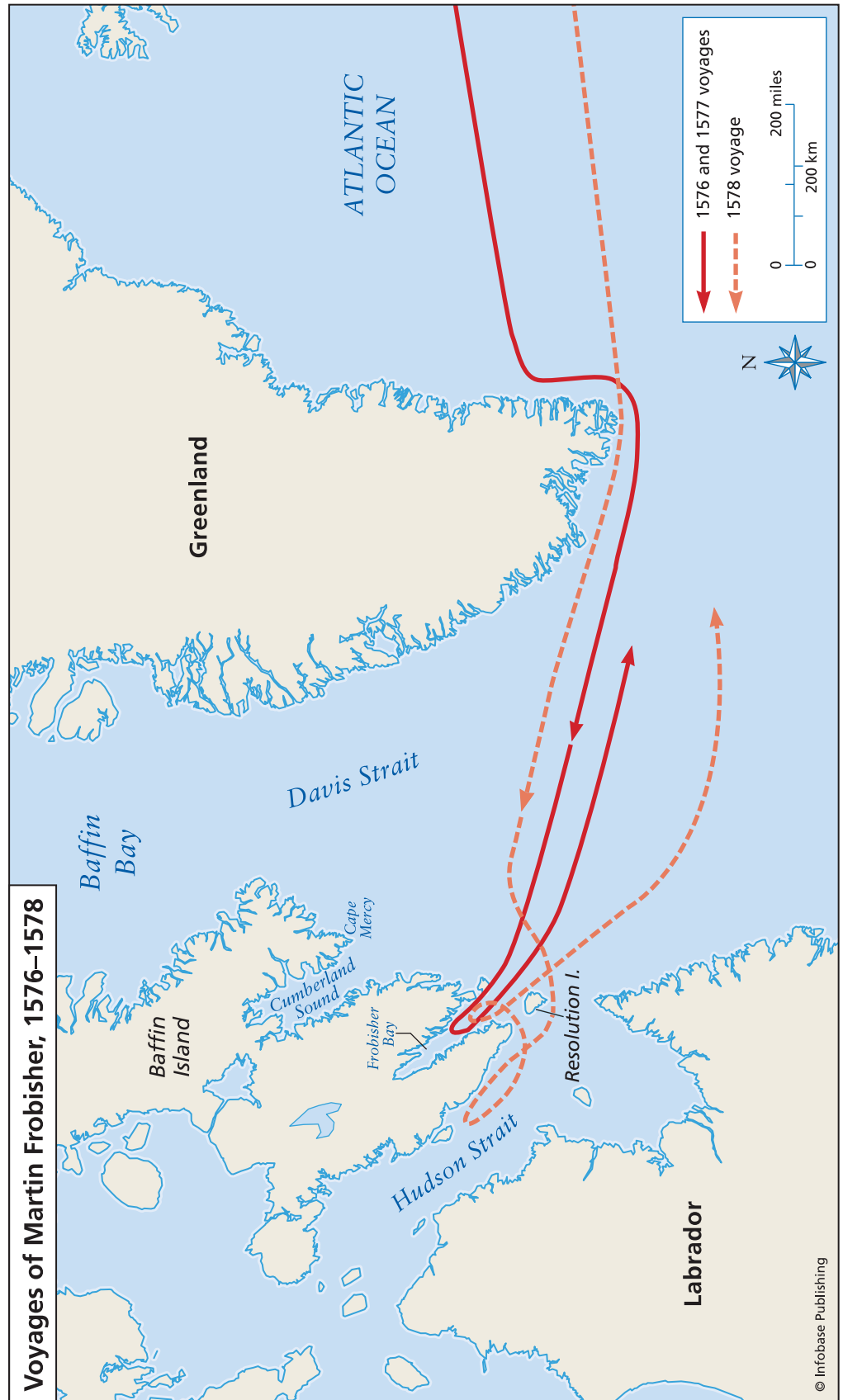
















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*To Sage Adrienne Smith  
and the children of all of the contributors  
to this encyclopedia*





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Nash is an elected member of the Society of American Historians, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Antiquarian Society, and the American Philosophical Society. He has served as past president of the Organization of American Historians in 1994–95

and was a founding member of the National Council for History Education. His latest books include *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (Viking, 2005), and *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Era of Revolution* (Harvard University Press, 2006).

**Volume Editor: Billy G. Smith**, Montana State University, received a Ph.D. from the University of California, Los Angeles. He has published numerous books, including *The “Lower Sort”: Philadelphia’s Laboring People, 1750–1800* (Cornell University Press, 1990), *Down and Out in Early America* (Pennsylvania State Press, 2004), and *Class Matters: Early North America and the Atlantic World* (University of Pennsylvania Press).

# Foreword



The Encyclopedia of American History series is designed as a handy reference to the most important individuals, events, and topics in U.S. history. In 10 volumes, the encyclopedia covers the period from the 15th century, when European explorers first made their way across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas, to the present day. The encyclopedia is written for precollegiate as well as college students, for parents of young learners in the schools, and for the general public. The volume editors are distinguished historians of American history. In writing individual entries, each editor has drawn upon the expertise of scores of specialists. This ensures the scholarly quality of the entire series. Articles contributed by the various volume editors are uncredited.

This 11-volume encyclopedia of “American history” is broadly conceived to include the historical experience of the various peoples of North America. Thus, in the first volume, many essays treat the history of a great range of indigenous people before contact with Europeans. In the same vein, readers will find essays in the first several volumes that sketch Spanish, Dutch, and French explorers and colonizers who opened up territories for European settlement that later would become part of the United States. The venues and cast of characters in the American historical drama are thus widened beyond traditional encyclopedias.

In creating the eras of American history that define the chronological limits of each volume, and in addressing major topics in each era, the encyclopedia follows the architecture of *The National Standards for United States History, Revised Edition* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Mandated by the U.S. Congress, the national standards for U.S. history have been widely used by states and school districts in organizing curricular frameworks and have been followed by many other curriculum-building efforts.

Entries are cross-referenced, when appropriate, with *See also* citations at the end of articles. At the end of most entries, a listing of articles and books allows readers to turn to specialized sources and historical accounts. In each volume, an array of maps provide geographical context, while numerous illustrations help vivify the material covered in the text. A time line is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events occurring in the given era. The selection of historical documents in the back of each volume gives students experience with the raw documents that historians use when researching history. A comprehensive index to each volume also facilitates the reader’s access to particular information.

In each volume, long entries are provided for major categories of American historical experience. These categories may include: African Americans, agriculture, art and architecture, business, economy, education, family life, foreign policy, immigration, labor, Native Americans, politics, population, religion, urbanization, and women. By following these essays from volume to volume, the reader can access what might be called a mini-history of each broad topic, for example, family life, immigration, or religion.

—Gary B. Nash  
University of California, Los Angeles



# Foreword to the Revised Edition



“History has to be rewritten in every generation because, although the past does not change, the present does,” writes Lord Christopher Hill, one of Great Britain’s most eminent historians. “Each generation asks new questions of the past, and finds new areas of sympathy as it re-lives different aspects of the experiences of its predecessors.” It is this understanding, that the pursuit of historical knowledge requires new research and new reflections on the past, that undergirds a revised and extended edition of the *Encyclopedia of American History*.

The individual volume editors of this revised edition have made important additions and revisions to the original edition published in 2003. Most important, they have added many new entries—several hundred for the entire 11-volume set. This puts more meat on the bone of what was already a comprehensive encyclopedia that presented four centuries of American history in all its diversity and complexity. For the 10th volume, covering the period from 1969 to the present, new entries cover momentous events and important figures of the last six years. For the other volumes, new entries increase the diversity of Americans covered by biographical accounts as well as events that new scholarship shows have had greater importance than recognized heretofore.

In addition, careful attention has been given to correcting occasional errors in the massive number of entries in the first edition. Also, many entries have been revised to add further details while making adjustments, based on new scholarship, to the interpretation of key events and movements. Consonant with that effort to make the encyclopedia as fresh and usable as possible, the volume editors have added many new recently published books to the “Further Reading” notes at the ends of the entries, and new full-color historical maps help put history in its geographical context.

—Gary B. Nash



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# Introduction

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*Colonization and Settlement* focuses on the era from 1607, when Jamestown was founded as the first permanent English colony in North America, to 1760, as the Seven Years' War ended and Great Britain became the supreme European power on the continent. The volume concentrates on a century and a half during which the interaction among Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans created a host of new and continually changing cultures and societies. During this period, Europeans struggled to establish colonies (which subsequently evolved in unexpected and complex ways); Indians struggled to maintain their cultures, lands, and independence; and black men, women, and children struggled against the barbarity of slavery. The remarkable societies and unresolved problems thereby left a legacy that Americans still confront today.

While the encyclopedia's geographic spotlight shines most brightly on the eastern portion of the continent that would become the new United States, people and events in other parts of the North American mainland are also illuminated. Readers will find topics ranging from Spanish Florida to Russian Alaska, from Puritan Massachusetts to French New Orleans, and from Virginia's Powhatan Confederacy to California Indians. The entries reflect a major trend in historical interpretation during the past few decades by including not only the rich and politically powerful but also poorer people, immigrants, women, Native Americans, and African Americans. Thus, John Winthrop, John Smith, and Jonathan Edwards appear alongside Anthony and Mary Johnson, William Moraley, Cornstalk, and Squanto. In addition, important environmental issues are treated, as humans, other animals, and plants transformed the North American physical landscape in ways that remain with us in the modern United States.



# ENTRIES

## A TO Z







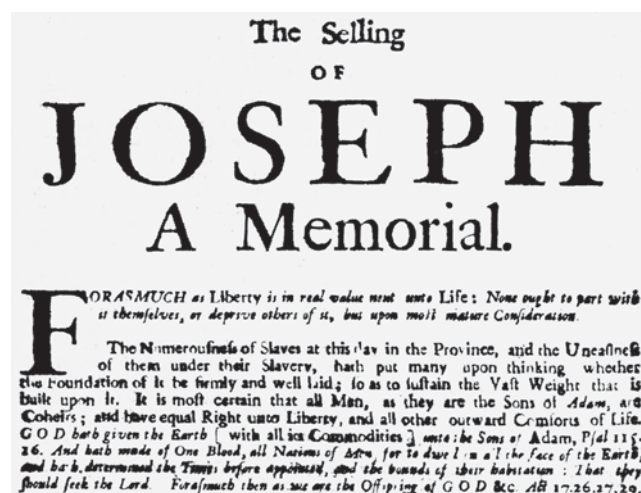
## abolitionism

Before 1763 abolitionists in British North America expressed their opposition to SLAVERY in a variety of ways, including slaves risking their lives through escape and the publication of antislavery tracts. Thousands of enslaved Africans and NATIVE AMERICANS challenged their oppression through daily resistance and flight. Their efforts helped destabilize the institution, particularly in the northern colonies, where no staple crop required huge amounts of LABOR and, therefore, large numbers of slaves. A few slave-owning colonists demonstrated their ambivalence toward slavery by manumitting their slaves, although often only in their wills. The BOSTON judge SAMUEL SEWALL argued in “The Selling of Joseph” (1700) that “all Men, as they are the Sons of Adam, are Coheirs; and have equal Right unto Liberty.” Additionally, an initially small but growing number of QUAKERS published tracts and lobbied within their religion for a ban on purchasing, selling, and owning slaves. These Friends based their opposition to involuntary bondage on the belief that God’s spirit, or the “inner light,” could enter anyone who sought to live without sin, regardless of ethnic background, GENDER, EDUCATION, or social CLASS.

Quakers of the PHILADELPHIA Yearly Meeting, encompassing primarily PENNSYLVANIA and NEW JERSEY, developed the most sustained abolitionist movement among Euro-Americans. The English founder of Quakerism, George Fox, in 1657 reminded Friends to treat their Indian and black slaves well, and he later suggested emancipation after a term of years. In 1688 four members of the Germantown, Pennsylvania, meeting petitioned the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting against slavery. They wrote, “to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against. In Europe there are many oppressed for conscience sake; and here there are those oppressed wh[o] are of a black colour.” During the early 18th century, as slave imports rose in Pennsylvania and other colonies, individual Friends continued to speak out and

publish, including William Southeby, who petitioned the Pennsylvania legislature in 1712 to emancipate all slaves within the colony. In New Jersey John Hepburn published *The American Defence of the Christian Golden Rule, or An Essay to prove the Unlawfulness of making Slaves of Men* (1715). Benjamin Lay took direct action in the 1730s to dramatize the injustice of slavery, “kidnapping” the child of a Quaker couple for several hours to demonstrate the emotional distress of African families who lost their daughters and sons to the SLAVE TRADE. At the 1738 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, he appeared in military dress, plunging a sword into a hollowed-out book disguised as a Bible and filled with red juice, sprinkling “blood” on Friends seated nearby. The Quaker leaders, many of them slaveholders, escorted Lay from the meeting.

The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting moved more actively against slavery in the 1750s, when a new group of leaders took control. Most important were abolitionists JOHN



The first page from “The Selling of Joseph,” a tract by Samuel Sewall (New York Public Library)

## 2 Acadians

WOOLMAN and ANTHONY BENEZET, who linked their effort to end slaveholding to a broader Quaker reform movement. The Yearly Meeting issued its first denunciation of slavery, *An Epistle of Caution and Advice* (1754), warning slave owners that “to live in Ease and Plenty by the Toil of those whom Violence and Cruelty have put in our power, is neither consistent with Christianity, nor common Justice.” Gradually, over the next 20 years, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting moved toward a stronger position, first in 1758 by excluding from leadership men who imported, bought, or sold slaves, then in 1776 prohibiting slaveholding outright. Yearly meetings elsewhere likewise moved against black bondage. The London Yearly Meeting recommended expulsion of slave traders, for example, and in 1773 the New England Yearly Meeting banned slavery. Many Quaker owners freed enslaved men, women, and children, while more obstinate Friends chose to be disowned.

The white abolitionist movement outside the Society of Friends (Quakers) gained steam only during the American Revolution, an era during which many black Americans fought, took flight, and filed petitions for freedom. Since very few slaves could challenge racial bondage legally, many of them took flight to secure their freedom. Thousands of FUGITIVE SLAVES struggled both for their own individual liberty and against the institution of slavery by challenging the ability of masters to keep them in bondage. Runaways often literally risked their lives to take a stand against slavery and for freedom.

**Further reading:** Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Billy G. Smith and Richard Wojtowicz, eds., *Blacks Who Stole Themselves: Advertisements for Runaways in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728–1790* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989).

—Jean R. Soderlund and Billy G. Smith

### Acadians

In April 1604 Pierre du Gua, sieur de Monts, established about 100 French settlers on Saint Croix Island, in Passamaquoddy Bay, an inlet of the Bay of Fundy in what is now Canada. European fishermen had frequented the area since 1497. When conditions on the island proved unsatisfactory, the remnant of the colony was moved across the bay to Port Royal the following summer. The colony, which became known as Acadie (either from 16th-century mapmakers’ Arcadia and/or from a Micmac word), developed a unique culture with a distinctive language, dress, and customs. Although MORTALITY was high in the early years, by 1750 the population had spread throughout the region and had grown to nearly 10,000, due in part to a

high birth rate and large families. The ECONOMY centered on AGRICULTURE and FISHING. Major crops included wheat, oats, barley, rye, peas, corn, flax, and hemp, while colonists ate pork rather than beef, reserving their cattle for milk, TRADE, and as work ANIMALS. They also brewed spruce beer and fir beer. Community life centered on their Roman Catholic faith and was cemented by the constant and long-term labor required for claiming fertile farmland from the waters of the Bay of Fundy by the use of a dyke system.

In the international wars among France, England, and the Netherlands over control of North America, the Acadians remained largely neutral, although the area changed hands among European nations many times throughout the 17th century. In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht awarded the British all of Acadia except Île Royal (Cape Breton) and Île St. Jean (Prince Edward Island). Fourteen years later the Acadians agreed that in return for being allowed to retain their religion, customs, and firearms, they would profess conditional allegiance to England and would not provide aid to the French or their Indian allies.

However, in the aftermath of KING GEORGE’S WAR, Governor Edward Cornwallis insisted that they take an oath of unconditional loyalty to the British Crown. The Acadians refused. Although the British relented, many Acadians fled to French Quebec and swore oaths of unqualified allegiance to the French monarch. Some residents who remained in Acadia sent supplies of grain and cattle to the French garrisons at Louisbourg, Beauséjour, and Gaspereau. The British believed the Acadians presented a potential internal security threat at the onset of the SEVEN YEARS’ WAR. Soon after Fort Beauséjour fell to the British in the spring of 1755, British soldiers seized the property of Acadians and arrested their Catholic priests. Lieutenant Governor Charles Lawrence also ordered many Acadians to be moved to various distant destinations. Conditions on board the transport ships were very inadequate, and perhaps 20 percent of the 6,500 deportees died en route. The refugees were dropped off in groups all along the North American seaboard as well as in the CARIBBEAN and South America. Many ports refused to accept sick and starving strangers, and as many as half of these died on the trans-Atlantic voyage to England. Many who survived eventually made their way to France and to the French colony of LOUISIANA. Deportations from Canada continued for several more years until there were few left in their homeland.

The Treaty of Paris (1763) permitted Acadians to return to their former homeland if they pledged loyalty to Britain, but many had already adapted to new homes elsewhere. Those who did return frequently found their old farms occupied by migrants from New England.

**Further reading:** Charles D. Mahaffie, Jr., *A Land of Discord Always: Acadia from Its Beginnings to the Expulsion of Its People, 1604–1755* (Camden, Me.: Down East Books, 1995).

—Joseph J. Casino

### Acts of Trade and Navigation (Navigation Acts)

Between 1651 and 1733 Parliament passed a series of acts designed to regulate trade in colonial America. These policies reflected the evolving principles of MERCANTILISM: that colonies existed to strengthen the ECONOMY of the mother country. Although not always strictly enforced, these policies did bring additional wealth to the British economy by controlling American trade and protecting the interests of British MERCHANTS and manufacturers. The policies also had unexpected consequences: They stimulated the economic development of colonial North America, especially before the mid-18th century.

England hoped to strengthen its economy and saw its colonies as a means to this end. The colonies would serve as a source of raw materials and a market for finished goods. English manufacturers would process the raw materials, the country would export more than it imported, and it would consequently rely less on resources from competing European nations. The Trade and Navigation Acts were designed to facilitate these goals.

The Navigation Acts of 1651 focused on shipping and were designed to challenge Dutch competition in overseas trade. The law required that most American goods be carried in English or colonial ships and that at least one half of the crew be citizens of the empire (including colonists). This encouraged the growth of England's merchant marines. It also kept revenue "in the family," rather than paying the Dutch to transport colonial goods.

In 1660 Parliament passed a second navigation act that amended the earlier policy. Now, all colonial trade would be carried in English or colonial ships, with the master and three-fourths of the crew being British. In addition, the act gave England greater control over colonial exports and increased the ease of levying taxes on the products. Certain commodities of great value to the mother country (TOBACCO, sugar, INDIGO, and cotton, for example) were to be shipped only to England or to other British ports. They would then be sold within the empire or reexported to other European ports. In later years rice, molasses, furs, and naval stores were added to this list of "enumerated" goods. The law added intermediaries to the transport process, thereby increasing the cost but also providing income to English coffers. In the 1660s the import duties on tobacco from MARYLAND and VIRGINIA amounted to 25 percent of English customs revenue.

In 1663 Parliament passed the Staples Act, specifying that all European exports to British colonial America must be shipped to England first. Prices on these reexported goods were thereby increased, making many British products the cheapest alternative for American consumers.

Colonists reacted to these policies in a variety of ways. Tobacco planters argued that paying customs duties significantly lowered their profit. Small planters, especially, were affected by these higher costs. New England merchants and shippers often ignored the acts; many continued to trade with the Dutch or find other ways, like SMUGGLING, to avoid the new policies.

To further tighten imperial control, Parliament passed the Revenues Act of 1663, requiring that ship captains transporting certain colonial goods pay a "plantation duty" on any enumerated items not delivered to England. In addition, a staff of customs officials was assigned to colonial port cities. These measures were only marginally successful, however, as there were too few customs officials to adequately supervise all of the trade. Parliament tried again in 1696 to close loopholes in earlier acts and established vice-admiralty courts to try cases of smuggling and other trade offenses.

Between 1699 and 1733 Parliament passed other legislation to protect the interests of British merchants and manufacturers from colonial competition. The 1699 Woolen Act and the 1732 Hat Act prohibited the exporting and intercolonial sales of certain textiles and colonial-made hats. The 1733 Molasses Act, designed to protect planters and merchants in the West Indies, levied a high tax on molasses imported to the colonies from non-British ports. New England merchants and distillers largely ignored the policy, however, often bribing customs officials to escape the tariff.

In general, these policies did accomplish their mercantilist goals. England achieved a favorable balance of trade and grew less dependent on foreign markets. The British treasury grew richer from customs duties paid by colonists. The acts also had significant consequences for the American colonies. Although mercantilist theory stressed the economic development of the mother country at the expense of its colonies, these acts actually promoted the development of the colonial economy. The colonists benefited from guaranteed markets and from incentives paid for producing certain commodities. Some acts stimulated New England SHIPBUILDING. Other acts were virtually ignored, as colonial merchants freely traded rum, molasses, and sugar with little interference from customs officials. These trade regulations proved mutually beneficial, at least until the mid-18th century, after which some colonists began to feel the limitations of some of the restrictions.

See also TRADE AND SHIPPING.

## 4 Adair, James

**Further reading:** John McCusker and Kenneth Morgan, eds., *The Early Modern Atlantic Economy: Essays on Transatlantic Enterprise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

—Virginia Jelatis

**Adair, James** (1709–1783) *British trader, writer*

James Adair arrived in colonial South Carolina from Ireland in 1735, where he immediately began a successful career as a trader, first among the Overhill CHEROKEE and, subsequently, with the Catawba and CHICKASAW. He worked to attach Native Americans to the English cause in the lower Mississippi River valley, which in 1743 may have helped persuade the Choctaw to break their alliance with the French. Adair led a Chickasaw warband against the Cherokee in 1760 during the British-Cherokee war and advocated pitting one tribe against another as a means of enhancing English security. He was particularly hostile to the Creek Indians, who in the mid-18th century successfully maintained their independence by dealing with both the French and the English without allying themselves to either side.

Adair was a careful observer of southeastern Indian customs and society. Unable to secure sufficient subscriptions in the colonies, he published a book in London in 1775 of his observations during the previous 15 years. *The History of the American Indians* remains a critical source of anthropological information about the Native Americans of the Southeast, but it is little valued as a historical source today. Adair would not concede to the Native Americans an ability to develop sophisticated cultures on their own. He insisted that Indian culture must have more familiar roots in a Western tradition. Adair devoted nearly half of his book to arguing that the southeast Indians were descended from the Lost Tribes of Israel. Little is known of Adair's last years. He is believed to have died in South Carolina in 1783.

**Further reading:** James Adair, *The History of the American Indians, Particularly those nations adjoining to the Mississippi, East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina and Virginia* (London: Charles and Edward Diley, 1775; reprint, Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968).

—Thomas R. Wessel

## Africa

As the ancestral homeland of many early Americans, Africa was vital in shaping American culture. From the 16th to the 18th century, African societies were neither more monolithic nor static than European ones; they differed greatly and changed over time. The huge continent of Africa consisted of diverse populations with rich histories, practices,

and institutions that constituted various cultures. European traders encountered complex and varying forms of government, economies, religions, and arts that had characterized Africans' lives for many centuries. Contrary to the belief that developed among many Europeans to justify SLAVERY, Africa was not "inferior" to Europe in any of these ways.

Nearly all the African peoples brought to British North America came from the coast and interior of western and west-central Africa. English slavers frequented the ports north of the Congo, bringing many slaves to North America during the early years. Later in the 18th century more slaves came to English colonies from the Portuguese ports of Luanda and Benguela. Approximately one-quarter of the captured population came from the coast of what is now southeastern Nigeria. About 15 percent each came from Senegambia (the land between and around the Senegal and Gambia Rivers), the Gold Coast, and the coast between and including current day Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast. The peoples inhabiting these areas spoke several hundred mutually unintelligible languages and practiced social customs that, in some extremes, were as different from one another as they were from those of Europeans.

African societies also differed politically from one another. Governance ranged from highly militaristic and hierarchical empires, such as Ghana, Mali, and Songhai, to village states, to relatively stateless societies. In many places local identity, customs, and language differences militated against any widespread unity. Individual allegiances were normally to the extended family and the village. Sometimes the allegiances extended more broadly to a kinship group or a clan; sometimes they spread beyond to a larger political unit—a state or an empire. Relations did, however, traverse political and language boundaries. Long-distance traders moved across political boundaries, religions and secret societies spread and provided a commonality in larger areas, and historical events occasionally united groups. However, most frequently, people from western and west-central Africa possessed a worldview idiosyncratic to their own group.

African economic interests varied, revolving around AGRICULTURE, industry, and commerce. Diverse occupations of Africans captured and sold in the SLAVE TRADE reveal the variety of economic activities that existed before Europeans arrived. Farmers, the largest group captured, grew rice, millet, maize, yams, and manioc or harvested bananas, plantains, and palm products. Other early African captives came from long traditions as blacksmiths; weavers; potters; workers in bronze, copper and gold; and traders who had wide-ranging movements over the continent. Others had been herders and fishermen. Even musicians, priests, and the nobility numbered among the captives.



The variety of Africans' artistic expressions flourished long before Europeans' arrival, and they continued, albeit transformed, despite the trans-Atlantic slave trade. MUSIC, DANCE, song, sculpture, and carving flourished throughout the continent, and these ART forms traveled to the New World with the captives. Africans spoke many languages, only a few of which were written. Instead, a vibrant oral literature preserved communities' traditions and stories. Proverbs played important roles in greetings, songs, and folktales.

Indigenous religions commonly involved ancestor veneration, consistent with the family or kinship group as the fundamental unit of social organization. The spirits of ancestors exercised the principal religious influence upon most groups. Indigenous religions continued often side by side with religions that later appeared. Initially some rulers reluctantly accepted Islam, which appeared in sub-Saharan Africa at Bornu around the late 11th century. Although quite different from indigenous religions, Islam was embraced more readily than Christianity. That Christianity did not establish a foothold until the Portuguese established MISSIONS in the 16th century should not come as a surprise, for it preached human unity while simultaneously enslaving Africans.

Slavery had long existed as an economic and social institution among many of the agrarian societies of western and west-central Africa. However, slavery varied considerably among African societies and through time. Some western Africans sold slaves along with gold and spices in commerce that led across the Sahara to North Africa. By the 17th century some Africans had become partners with Europeans in the maritime slave trade, but bondage in Africa exhibited fundamentally different characteristics from slavery in the New World. Unlike European and American bondage, African slavery frequently was characterized by personal relationships between masters and slaves and by a chance for slaves to obtain their freedom and be accepted as equals. Moreover, African slavery was neither hereditary nor racially based.

As in most places where slavery existed, African societies usually obtained slaves by violent means, warfare being the most common method. Another technique involved condemning people to slavery through judicial or religious proceedings for civil crimes or religious offenses. Frequent and severe droughts and famines also forced some Africans to sell themselves or their relatives into slavery so that families might survive. Finally, while many slaves in sub-Saharan Africa were women, western traders primarily sought men as laborers in the colonies.

Africans were the largest group of immigrants, albeit involuntary, to British North America in the 18th century, and the labor of these slaves and their descendants accounted for much of the prosperity of the southern colo-

nies and of America itself. Their African heritage, which many maintained in the New World, shaped the nature of slave communities as well as the culture of early America.

See also SLAVE RESISTANCE; SLAVE TRADE.

**Further reading:** John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

—Leslie Patrick

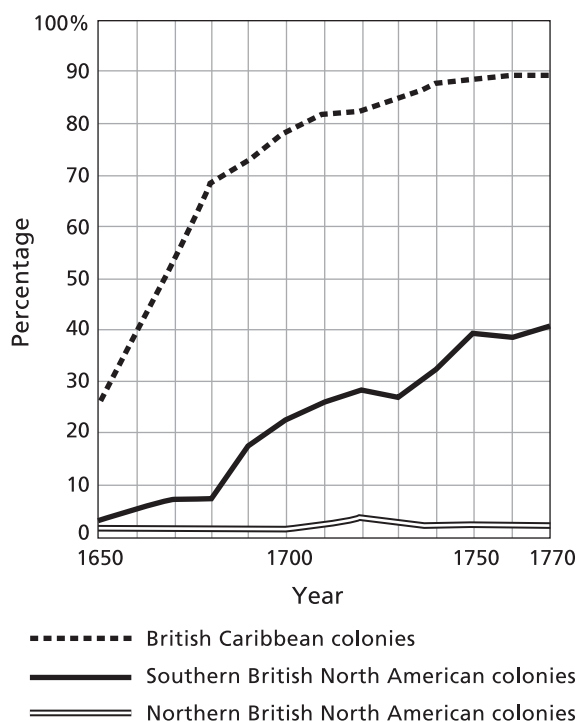
## African Americans

The people referred to today as African Americans were neither African nor American in the colonies. They had been involuntarily captured and transported from AFRICA to colonies throughout the Western Hemisphere for purposes of enslavement, or they were descended from those people. They were not Americans because—slave, servant, or free—with very few exceptions, they had virtually no positive standing before English law, especially as it was interpreted in the North American colonies. Although among the oldest American-born populations, they tragically no longer had a true home.

Myopia among historians has largely contributed to the fact that we know less about the quality of their lives than we might. Scholars once complacently accepted Africans' subservient status in the colonies. By the end of the 19th century, black historians, followed by their white counterparts, began to reverse that perspective by examining the emergence of SLAVERY and the conditions in which enslaved people found themselves. Many historians presently seek to demonstrate the ways that people of African ancestry negotiated both with whites and among themselves for a few freedoms. Despite this recent trend in the scholarship, it remains important to recognize the increasingly severe restrictions under which the vast majority of black people lived.

Until recently, permanent black presence in North America was thought to have begun in 1619, with the arrival of “twenty Negars” at JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA. However, a Virginia muster (census) discovered in the 1990s reveals that there were 32 black people—15 men and 17 women—already present when the 20 captives arrived in 1619. Significantly, the first African people were not slaves; they occupied a status resembling that of white indentured servants. Yet, after completing their servitude, neither were they entirely free. As their numbers grew, their status diminished, so that by the beginning of the 18th century enslavement was reserved almost exclusively for these descendants of the African continent. Yet, some gained freedom after having completed their term of INDENTURED SERVITUDE. Despite nominal freedom, servants and free blacks encountered monumental restrictions

### Africans as a Percentage of the Total Population in the British Colonies in the Americas, 1650–1770



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while living in a society that came to expect the status of the black person to be that of the slave.

Initially, the period of servitude was limited for the black involuntary immigrant, and a modest free black population emerged during the 17th century. This small free black population prospered relative to those who would arrive later. For instance, MARY JOHNSON and ANTHONY JOHNSON of Virginia gained their freedom after completion of their servitude, married, and acquired 250 acres on which they built an estate before 1653. They continued to prosper for much of the 17th century. By 1660, however, the prospect of freedom had evaporated for most people of African descent. Those Africans who arrived or their descendants who were born after the 1660s did not fare so well. Enslavement and strictly drawn racial lines would be finalized throughout the British colonies by the 18th century.

The small population that initially achieved a peculiar sort of freedom grew to one for whom slavery became their “natural” and legal status. While enslavement had already begun in the CARIBBEAN, on the North American continent the institution’s inception would begin in Virginia in the 1660s. Every English mainland colony eventually followed

suit, establishing complex SLAVE CODES that declared and justified slavery as the heritable condition for persons of African ancestry.

Despite their shared experiences of capture in the slave trade, the Middle Passage, and restrictions upon them, the African-born populace was no more monolithic than any other group in North America. They arrived possessing widely differing languages, religious beliefs, and other cultural attributes. They developed various cultural forms that reflected their adaptation to the conditions in which they lived. One important distinction was that African-born people differed from the American-born (CREOLES) populace. Over time, the Creole population also developed distinct cultures, which depended largely upon the region and circumstances in which they lived.

Initially, Africans joined NATIVE AMERICANS and white indentured servants who labored involuntarily in the Chesapeake region, although none of the white workers were enslaved. The population of Africans grew slowly at first; and, at the outset, white servants outnumbered them. Until 1660 most unfree labor in the region was white, but, as the supply of English servants diminished and as Virginia elites became disturbed by the unrest of ex-servants, the labor force changed its color. By 1680 unfree labor was 80 percent black, the largest number of whom resided in the Chesapeake region.

By 1750 black people in all the British mainland colonies numbered roughly 242,100, comprising one of every five inhabitants of the colonies. Their numbers grew initially because of the SLAVE TRADE, and, subsequently, as the result of declining mortality and increasing reproduction among slaves. The slave trade generally delivered more men than women of African ancestry to North America. The early settlers relied primarily upon the labor of males, and, therefore, women were not imported in large numbers at the outset. British ideas about a sexual division of labor did not last long, however. As planters abandoned their reluctance to use female labor, the imbalance between males and females narrowed. The trauma of the Middle Passage and the introduction to the new environment of North America caused the first generation of black women to be largely infertile. Over time, a more balanced sex ratio developed, resulting in a higher birth rate; by 1720 more black people were born in the colonies than were imported.

Black people were widely dispersed throughout the colonies, and they were, in their work and lives, immensely diverse. In southern colonies they were enslaved primarily to toil in TOBACCO, rice, INDIGO, and other crops, which required a great deal of physical labor for a long time each year. Slave labor made sense to the economic calculations of the white colonists, and they also believed that people descended from Africa were better suited than white or Native American laborers for such arduous work. The

northern colonies relied less upon a slave labor force, in part because wheat and other crops required less intensive labor. Consequently, a much smaller population of black men worked in a wider variety of tasks than their southern counterparts. Northern male slaves toiled primarily as field hands in stock and dairy farming in rural areas, in the iron-works as assistants to artisans, and in the maritime trades of the port cities. Black women commonly worked in the fields as well as in homes.

The cultural characteristics of African Americans and the rate of their acculturation varied from region to region and over time. Historian Ira Berlin has usefully designated three different regions determined largely by numbers and types of labor that black people performed. In the farming Mid-Atlantic and New England colonies, slaves were substantially outnumbered by whites, and their culture reflected much white influence. In the Chesapeake region, increasing numbers of Africans were imported after 1680 to join black people who had been born in North America. These two groups, however, remained somewhat separate from each other. Newly arrived African men were “sent . . . to the distant, upland quarters where the slaves did the dull, backbreaking work of clearing the land and tending tobacco.” Many, though not all Creoles, on the other hand, worked as artisans and in households. GEORGIA and SOUTH CAROLINA created yet another cultural context. Although originally illegal in Georgia, slavery had begun on a large scale by 1750. South Carolina was the most unique colony in British North America, with a larger black than white population. Many slaves were transported directly from the African continent to these colonies of the lower South, and they “remained physically separated and psychologically estranged from the Anglo-American world and culturally closer to Africa than any other blacks on continental North America,” writes Berlin.

The extent of the slave trade was one major determinant of acculturation, which occurred most rapidly among American-born blacks who lived in areas where the slave trade imported few, if any, Africans directly from the continent. However, regardless of where and among whom they lived, as historian Donald R. Wright observed, “blacks in America first had to have extensive social contacts with a substantial number of other blacks—they had to exist in black communities—before there could be a real development of group values, ways, and beliefs.” The nature of these interactions, however, changed over time and varied according to location. In colonies such as South Carolina, where there were large numbers of imported Africans, slaves remained somewhat separate from whites and retained more of their traditional ways. Where they resided and worked among an overwhelmingly white population, black people could be isolated and lonely.

Throughout the colonies African Americans sought to overcome the myriad disabilities imposed upon them. One way they did so was by establishing families, often a refuge from the cruelties of enslavement. African Americans pursued stability and security through marriage, which often went unrecognized by owners and the law alike. Marriage and the creation of a family reinforced their humanity, if only to themselves. In rural areas of the Chesapeake and the Low Country, where they were larger in number, African-American men and women negotiated with or blatantly defied owners in creating families that either lived together or in separate communities (abroad marriages). In the North, their numbers were smaller, and distances between rural areas greater, thus making it difficult for African Americans to find marriageable partners. Historian Susan E. Klepp found that in PHILADELPHIA “disrupted families, relatively low fertility, high infant mortality, and the forced out-migration of children produced a population dominated by adolescents and young adults, most born elsewhere.” Although the documentary record is slim, other northern cities resembled Philadelphia as inhospitable to black family life. And, regardless of region, interracial marriage between blacks and whites was illegal in the British colonies.

Formal education was virtually nonexistent, especially for those who were enslaved in the southern colonies. The SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS was among the handful of groups that endeavored to introduce literacy and Christianity to blacks. Its efforts were more successful in the northern colonies than in the southern ones. A few white colonists, like Elias Neau and Quaker ANTHONY BENEZET, worked to provide education for black New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians. Despite these efforts, few black men and women enjoyed literacy, and even fewer published their writing. Not surprisingly, the best-known black authors resided in the North. LUCY TERRY PRINCE (1730–1821) of Massachusetts was probably the first person of African ancestry to publish a poem, “Bars Fight” (1746), in the colonies. In 1760 JUPITOR HAMMON (1720–1806?) published a poem, “An Evening Thought: Salvation by Christ, with Penitential Cries.” While Phillis Wheatley is the most renowned descendant of Africa to publish poetry and a book in early America, she did not do so until 1773. There is an apparent absence of militancy about slavery in all of these writings, in part because these authors likely were primarily concerned to write black people into existence, and in part because severe criticism of racism was unlikely to have been published.

Although most people of African descent did not produce written texts, other evidence reveals that they did not easily accept their subordinated status, whether slave, servant, or free. Some historians have argued that

## 8 agriculture

their conversion to Christianity and appropriation of such beliefs was one form of resistance. Unfortunately, too little is known about the religious beliefs that they brought with them across the Middle Passage, though historians have begun to study Islam and Catholicism as well as indigenous religious beliefs that many of the captives brought to the Western Hemisphere. Many resisted from the moment of their capture, and slaves occasionally mutinied while on board slave ships. Daily individual acts of resistance, including theft, arson, breaking tools, working slowly, and even assault and murder were among the most common ways that slaves demonstrated objection to their subjugation. Escape, though more frequent among men than women, and often only temporary, was another avenue to a hoped-for freedom. Newspapers, including Benjamin Franklin's *Gazette*, advertised for fugitive slaves during the era, revealing how frequently slaves "stole themselves." Finally, some organized revolts with the express desire to overthrow the institution that kept them in bondage. The bloodiest of these was the STONO REBELLION in South Carolina in 1739. Revolts and insurrections were not limited to the South, as the NEGRO PLOT OF 1741 took place in New York.

Regardless of where and when they lived during the colonial era, all black people suffered one disability in common—the laws defining criminal activity were much harsher toward them. Every colony legislated codes to regulate the behavior of both slaves and free blacks. Black people were punished more harshly for crimes against property, people, and the moral and religious order of society. Ironically, slaves were more likely protected from the ultimate punishment, execution, since they were a valuable investment to their owner. If a slave was executed, his or her owner was entitled to petition to the government for reimbursement of their lost property.

Despite temporal and regional differences as well as different conditions—free, servant, or slave—all African Americans were vulnerable because of their racial heritage. After several generations on the North American continent, Africans and their descendants were neither Africans nor Americans. Nor were they truly African Americans.

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—Leslie Patrick

### agriculture

Colonial agriculture was a mix of European, Native American, and African influences. Europeans brought some seed, cultivation techniques, metal tools, and a zeal for material accumulation to the enterprise. NATIVE AMERICANS provided a wealth of new plants and cultivation techniques. Africans contributed significantly to the seed pool, applied skills learned in their homelands, and provided much of the labor that eventually created an agricultural base sufficient to feed a growing population and to accumulate export surpluses. Agriculture was the foundation of the colonial ECONOMY, molded colonial society, and identified political power.

Native Americans practiced agriculture on the North American continent for at least 2,000 years before the arrival of Europeans. By the 16th century extensive Native American agriculture existed from the St. Lawrence River to FLORIDA and west to the Mississippi Valley. Native American agriculture thrived along the river valleys of the Great Plains and reached a level of technological sophistication in the Southwest not seen again until late in the 19th century. Native Americans grew several varieties of maize (corn), beans, squash, pumpkins, TOBACCO, and cotton in fields that in some places extended for miles. Contrary to popular images of Indians as hunters, agriculture provided many tribes with more than half of their FOOD requirements and with important trade items for exchange among the tribes and, later, with Europeans. Maize, or Indian corn, was their most important crop. Maize does not grow naturally; it is the product of at least three different grasses that required generations of cross-breeding and continuous cultivation. By the 16th century it was already the most productive seed grain in the world.

New World agriculture began in present-day Mexico, worked its way to the Southwest and across the Gulf of Mexico to the Mississippi Valley in the Midwest, then spread across the continent. In the Southwest Native Americans created elaborate irrigation systems that diverted stream flow and captured runoff. In the Salt River Valley of Arizona



extensive canals carried water as far as two miles from the river. Southwest farmers developed ingenious methods of diverting runoff by building systems of check dams at the mouths of arroyos that spread the water across their fields.

Southwestern Native American farmers planted at least three varieties of maize, three different kinds of beans, and four varieties of squash and pumpkins. In the moisture-deficient Southwest these crops were planted in separate fields. Native farmers in wetter climates planted their crops in the same field, with cornstalks used to support bean vines and squash and pumpkins used as ground cover to retard weeds. Southwest farmers also cultivated cotton and tobacco. Until Spanish sheep became available, cotton provided the principal fiber for CLOTHING and blankets.

Native farmers in the East planted maize on well-spaced hills; using a digging stick, they cultivated the ground around the plants, and when the maize was well established they planted beans, pumpkins, orache, and sunflowers between the cornstalks. Farmers in the Carolinas planted three varieties of maize with different maturing rates, allowing for ample time to plant and an extended harvest after about three months of growth. Generally, Native agriculturalists also planted large gardens that produced abundant supplies of vegetables until the maize, beans, and other field crops were mature. In the 16th century and earlier these farmers planted large fields of tobacco (*Nicotiana rustica*). Later they adopted a tobacco from the Orinoco region of South America (*Nicotiana tabacum*) that JOHN ROLFE had acquired. Captain JOHN SMITH recorded that Natives in the region girdled trees and then pulled out the upper roots to prepare fields for cultivation. Women did the work of agriculture after the fields were prepared, planting maize and beans on hills from May through June and harvesting the crops from August until October. Carolina and VIRGINIA Native farmers husked their maize after drying it in the sun and then stored the seed in woven baskets.

In the 18th century Virginia Native American farmers were observed growing popcorn that ripened by midsummer, watermelon acquired from the English, and peaches probably obtained from the Spanish or from Florida Natives. CHEROKEE, CHOCTAW, Creek, and CHICKASAW farmers in the interior raised large crops of maize, beans, and squash. Families maintained individual gardens near their houses, but all participated in preparing and planting communal fields. Individual families then harvested their allotted portion of the crops. Although men among these “civilized tribes” participated in all phases of their agriculture, women did most of the work of planting, cultivating, and harvesting. The civilized tribes eventually adopted many European farming methods, including fencing their fields, but, one authority insists, they refused to adopt the plow, perhaps because it was too efficient and might have led to lack of farmwork for older members of the tribes.

Early in the 17th century French explorers in the St. Lawrence Valley area observed extensive Native farming. Native farmers raised large crops of maize, both for their own CONSUMPTION and for trade to the hunting Indians in the interior. HURON men participated in the agricultural enterprise by burning trees and removing brush from fields, although women did most of the work preparing the fields around the dead trees and removing rotting tree roots. The Huron and others in the region raised crops of flint corn and maize as well as sunflowers, squash, and beans. One branch of the Huron raised so much tobacco they became known as the Tobacco Nation. Huron and other Native farmers tried to raise sufficient maize and other crops to last for two or more years as a guard against famine. One authority estimates that Huron fields produced nearly 40 bushels per acre. When the crop fell significantly below that level, the Hurons abandoned the field for several years. Agricultural products probably accounted for more than 60 percent of Huron food needs.

South of the Huron in interior NEW YORK, the Five Nations of the IROQUOIS Confederation engaged in a sophisticated agriculture that yielded food for consumption and an important trade item. Particularly in the 17th century, the Iroquois carried on an aggressive campaign against the Huron that extended to the destruction of smaller agricultural tribes north of Lake Erie in pursuit of dominance in the FUR TRADE. Food stuffs, which the Iroquois had in abundance, were a key trade item with the hunting Indians of Canada. Iroquois men generally participated in burning trees and underbrush to prepare fields while the women performed the work of cultivation and harvesting. The products of the field were the property of the women and added to their unusual influence in the business of the Five Nations. The Iroquois also constructed platforms from which the young and women guarded the crops. In addition, they encircled their fields with snares to trap small ANIMALS, soaked their seed corn in hellebore to poison raiding birds, and hung captured crows by their feet around the fields to discourage other raiders. About every 10 years, when soil fertility declined, the Iroquois abandoned one area for another nearby that previously had been prepared. In the 18th century the Iroquois incorporated cattle, swine, and poultry into their agricultural mix.

When Europeans ventured to the Atlantic coast and later into the interior, they discovered a relatively large, generally sedentary Native population that subsisted on an abundance of agricultural products. Although Europeans often thought Indian agriculture “primitive,” Indian TECHNOLOGY, including wood, shell, flint, and bone hoes, digging sticks, and mattocks, was efficient and tended to preserve soil conditions at a high level of fertility for relatively long periods of time. Indeed, early explorers and later colonists



This mold-board plow was the type often used by Anglo-American farmers. (*National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution*)

from MAINE to GEORGIA benefited and often owed their survival to Indian agriculture.

Agriculture dominated economic activity in the North American colonies, rivaled only by the fur trade in economic importance. By the time English settlers were permanently implanted in the New World, Spanish settlers were already well under way appropriating and exploiting Native American fields and irrigation systems in the Rio Grande Valley of NEW MEXICO, rapidly moving into the Salt River Valley and its extensive irrigation works, and introducing cattle, sheep, horses, and fruit trees to the Southwest. From their entry into the Southwest in the late 16th century until the PUEBLO REVOLT of 1680, Spanish settlers stole LAND and virtually enslaved the Native population for agricultural labor. The Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico and Comanche activity in Texas forced the Spanish back to the lower Rio Grande for more than a decade. Early in the 18th century the Spanish returned to Texas, where they established large cattle ranches that produced for the market in NEW ORLEANS, and to the upper Rio Grande, where they established more cattle ranches and introduced irrigated wheat farming to the PUEBLO. The

Spanish brought a wealth of new crops to the Southwest, including wheat, oats, onions, peas, watermelons, peaches, and apples, as well as sheep, horses, and cattle. Spanish invasions of the Southwest profoundly affected civil government among the Native population and the agriculture they practiced.

Agriculture was always part of the program the VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON intended for the first successful English colony. Colonists at JAMESTOWN were expected to raise their own food as well as produce items for trade with the mother country. Colonists soon learned from local Native farmers how to plant and cultivate maize themselves, but without maize acquired by theft, barter, or gift from Natives, the colony probably would not have survived. Not until Governor SIR THOMAS DALE allotted each settler three acres of fee simple land on which to cultivate his own crops and abandoned communal farming did the colony begin to produce sufficient food to feed itself. Maize became the salvation for many new colonies. It could be cultivated in fields already prepared by Native farmers and harvested late or early with simple hand tools. By contrast, European small grains, such as wheat, required

well-prepared fields and threshing and milling machines to produce sufficient supplies. Maize essentially solved the problem of survival for the Jamestown colony, but it did not provide a product that produced a profit.

In 1612 John Rolfe introduced a tobacco variety that had a milder taste than the locally grown types; the colonists then had their money crop. Within a few years tobacco dominated Virginia agriculture and spread throughout the Chesapeake region. Within a decade Virginia farmers exported more than half a million pounds of tobacco each year. With the exception of relatively small food crops, Virginia farmers planted tobacco exclusively. A crop that quickly depleted soil fertility, tobacco forced constant expansion of fields and rapid movement into the interior, initiating conflict with Natives that twice between 1620 and 1650 led to the near destruction of the colony. By the end of the colonial era Virginia had increased tobacco production to more than 18 million pounds a year.

Tobacco agriculture initiated a system of production that dominated the social, political, and economic life of Virginia and, ultimately, MARYLAND, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Those who could acquire large tracts of land farmed their acreage intensely, then allowed it to lie fallow for as long as 20 years while new acres came into production. Those who could not obtain large tracts were forced to abandon their land and move farther into the interior. Large plantations became the norm in the southern colonies near the coast. Large planters dominated colonial legislatures and sponsored numerous laws to control the production and quality of the tobacco crop. Nevertheless, overproduction plagued the region. Declining prices, as low as a penny per pound by the end of the 17th century, encouraged further legislative efforts to control production and quality. Most small farmers ignored planting restrictions for as long as they could. Then, in 1730, Virginia enacted a comprehensive Inspection Act that established mandated grading of tobacco and required the crop to be sold only through warehouses where government-appointed inspectors ensured the quality of the product. Tobacco that did not meet the standard was destroyed. Large planters benefited from the destruction of tobacco that did not meet quality standards, while smaller farmers were hastened off the land.

South of the Chesapeake Bay in the Carolinas, settlers first produced Indian maize but quickly turned to rice as a staple crop. Early rice planting was only moderately successful, but with a rice variety from AFRICA cultivation expanded rapidly. By the end of the 17th century SOUTH CAROLINA planters exported nearly 400,000 pounds; by 1730 rice exports reached more than 9 million pounds. Exports continued to increase until 1770, when planters exported more than 80 million pounds, primarily to the West Indies. In the early years of cultivation, planters gen-

erally sowed their rice on upland fields and presumed that sufficient rain would nourish the crop. By the mid-18th century, however, planters employed irrigation or planted in swampy areas near the coast. Rice became for South Carolina what tobacco had become for Virginia. Large planters accumulated land, slaves, and wealth that one author noted “provided the economic basis for the most extensive plantation system in colonial America.”

By the middle of the 18th century, rice culture had spread to the Savannah River region of Georgia. There, one enterprising planter developed a method for capturing tidal flow through a series of dikes that held the freshwater on his fields. The method allowed much larger fields, planting farther inland, and the reduction of the time spent eliminating competing weeds. Using the tidal flow along South Carolina and Georgia rivers quickly became the common method for raising rice. At the time of the American Revolution, rice was exceeded only by tobacco and flour in the value of agricultural exports from British North America.

From 40 years before the American Revolution, INDIGO also became an important crop in South Carolina. During KING GEORGE’S WAR shipping became difficult for bulky products like rice, and some planters turned to indigo, which had a high price and relatively small bulk. In 1748 Parliament established a bounty on all indigo grown in the American colonies, which lasted until the revolution. In 1770 South Carolina planters exported more than 150,000 pounds of indigo. Although the cropping of indigo lasted only three or four decades before the end of the British bounty made it unprofitable, profits from its cultivation allowed many planters to accumulate land and slaves that, in turn, permitted them a relatively easy transition to cotton agriculture. Coastal planters in South Carolina and Georgia possessed the land, slave labor, and capital to begin large-scale production of sea island cotton.

While rice remained preeminent in the Deep South, it was generally confined to the coastal regions or limited by tidal flow to relatively few miles inland. New migrants to the region were shut out of the rice culture and turned to livestock instead of planting. Many rice planters also raised extensive herds of cattle. Cattle were already important in North and South Carolina by the end of the 17th century, and this expanded in the half century that followed. Cattle roamed freely, grazing on the public, or “King’s,” lands. Fall cow hunts (round-ups) separated marketable cattle and marked calves. The West Indies provided a ready market for hides, tallow, and dried beef. By the early 18th century South Carolinians grazed nearly 100,000 head of cattle. The cattle industry thrived in the Carolinas and Georgia until midcentury, when deteriorating ranges and disease diminished their numbers. The cattle industry moved west along the Gulf Coast and continued to supply the West

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Indies market, but most shipping by the end of the 18th century was through Mobile and New Orleans rather than CHARLESTON and SAVANNAH.

While staple crops like tobacco and rice continued to dominate southern colonial agriculture, the 18th century witnessed some diversification. Large planters had always planted corn and wheat in fields where tobacco had depleted fertility. A growing domestic population and periodic crop failures in Europe created demand for American-grown small grains and some maize. Western Virginia farmers in the Shenandoah Valley raised wheat for milling and substantial maize that they used for their own consumption and to fatten cattle and hogs. The growth of Baltimore and PHILADELPHIA provided a market outlet for western farmers in Virginia and Maryland. Tobacco planters on Maryland's eastern shore found it more and more difficult to acquire sufficient land to allow worn-out tobacco fields to lie fallow for extended periods. Many consequently switched to wheat and maize in the mid-18th century. Sugar plantations in the CARIBBEAN, with their large slave populations, proved a profitable market for Maryland wheat and maize.

Staple crop production in the southern colonies required extensive land use and intensive labor. Land distribution in the colonies varied according to the status of the colony as either royal (such as Virginia after 1624), proprietary (like PENNSYLVANIA), or corporate (MASSACHUSETTS). English land holding was heavily encumbered by a host of feudal remnants in the form of rents, services, and homage. Whether royal, corporate, or proprietary, attempts to replicate the English system generally failed in the American colonies. Even when quitrents or other services were attached to land, colonial farmers tended to see their land as fee simple, unencumbered by any obligations but to pay local taxes, and then only when they could not be avoided. Inheritance laws in England such as entail and primogeniture, meant to preserve a stable hierarchical society, existed in most colonies but were generally ignored. Farmers and speculators easily transferred land titles by simply registering the fact of the transfer with a local magistrate. The ease of transfer allowed for land accumulation and encouraged white settlement.

Virginia established the pattern of land acquisition that prevailed in the southern colonies as well as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, DELAWARE, and New York. To attract settlers, Virginia in 1618 offered a "headright" of 50 acres to anyone who could pay their own cost of transportation and an additional 50 acres for each family member whose transportation was paid. Although the proprietary colonies preferred to sell land, all eventually employed some variation on the headright system to attract settlers. Early in the 18th century the British government offered Crown lands for purchase. Wealthy Englishmen such as ROBERT

"KING" CARTER and WILLIAM BYRD II acquired tens of thousands of acres by purchase from the Crown. Virginia required no survey before the sale of lands, and farmers frequently found they had purchased or squatted on land that belonged to someone else. Conflicting land claims dominated the Virginia courts until well into the 19th century. Nevertheless, land passed into the hands of farmers who quickly placed as much as they could into commercial crops.

Squatting became nearly institutionalized from Pennsylvania to NORTH CAROLINA in the interior. Scots-Irish settlers with little regard for English law insisted that the abundance of land was a gift from God. During the Revolutionary War, at least in part as a way of retaining the loyalty of back-country farmers, Virginia enacted a preemption act that allowed squatters the first right to purchase land on which they settled or, if someone else purchased the land, to be paid for improvements they had made. In any event, Crown and proprietor efforts to install a land system that replicated the deferential domain of England largely failed. If farmers could not purchase land, they rented with the intent to buy in the future. When all else failed, they moved farther into the interior and squatted on the land until forced to leave.

Some of the agricultural LABOR in the Middle Colonies and most of it in the South was performed by bound laborers. In the 17th and early 18th centuries approximately half the European immigrants to the British colonies came as indentured servants. Mostly young men, servants sold their labor for a period of years, usually four to seven, in return for passage to the colonies. The indenture contract was a negotiable instrument that could be bought and sold along with the indenture. Purchasers of indenture contracts generally agreed to provide food, shelter, and clothing for the term of labor and pay "freedom dues" of clothing, food, tools, and occasionally land at the end of the term if, indeed, the servant survived. Life for a servant was one of work and brutal conditions. They had little recourse from abusive masters while being subject to severe punishment or added years to their servitude for the most trivial crimes. One authority estimates that nearly 40 percent of indentured servants did not survive their term of indenture and that many of those who survived still were unable to obtain land. Nevertheless, some became middling farmers or took advantage of other commercial opportunities in the growing colonies. In the southern colonies beginning in the late 17th century, INDENTURED SERVITUDE largely came to an end, and black SLAVERY became the dominant form of forced labor.

Slaves of African descent accounted for the largest single group of migrants, albeit forced, to British America in the 18th century. Slaves faced a life as harsh as that of servants, but without the saving promise of eventual freedom.



Some scholars argue that many of the first slaves who arrived in Jamestown in 1619 were granted freedom after a term of service, but by the late 17th century slavery became the norm for laborers brought from Africa. Nevertheless, during the 17th century some slaves gained their freedom, established thriving communities, and sometimes even purchased slaves of their own.

Slave labor became more extensively used and more restrictive in the 18th century. In 17th-century South Carolina slaves often raised food for themselves and for sale, enjoyed some freedom to TRAVEL for hunting and FISHING, and, by law, had Sundays free of labor. The development of rice agriculture initially curtailed those freedoms. Rice was labor intense; mastering of tidal pools greatly increased the acres planted and the demand for slave labor. Large plantations bought slaves directly from Africa, kept them relatively isolated during their first months, then placed them under close supervision. Later in the 18th century, as masters began to rely on the “task system,” slaves were assigned a certain amount of work, or task, to accomplish each day. Many slaves managed to use this system to their own advantage to carve out extra time that they controlled.

The restrictions on slaves and their increase coincided with the flowering of the PLANTATION SYSTEM in the 18th century. Wealth produced from tobacco and rice provided planters the opportunity to emulate the country gentlemen of England. Large plantation houses sprang up throughout the South, a command structure of slave overseers and task work systems became the norm, and the master and his family grew more remote from the daily lives of their slaves. Whites seldom joined their black slaves in the fields, and fears of slave rebellion, real and imagined, became more common. Slaves, indeed, did rebel, sometimes by destroying equipment, engaging in work slowdowns, and running away. Violent rebellions occurred in 1710 in Maryland, in New York in 1712 and 1741, and, most well known, in the STONO REBELLION of South Carolina in 1739. Individual and organized resistance occurred among relatively new arrivals and among slaves relatively acculturated to British ways. As slaves successfully created families and communities, kinship ties may have influenced a decline in organized rebellion, although individual acts of resistance continued.

By the end of the first quarter of the 18th century, the pattern of agricultural development around staple crops and cattle raising within a plantation system dominated by slave labor was well established and could not have existed without the continual arrival of African bondpeople. Africans brought agricultural skills from their homelands that were critical to the success of the southern cattle industry. Rice culture clearly would have been seriously retarded in South Carolina and Georgia without rice varieties from Africa and the knowledge of slaves about how

to grow the crop. The large-scale production of tobacco could not have occurred had not black slaves provided the intense labor necessary to produce a crop. Southern agriculture was black agriculture, with the profits going to whites.

While staple-crop agriculture developed through the 17th century south of the Chesapeake, a wholly different agriculture dominated the colonies north of the Chesapeake. European farming began in New England in 1620 with the arrival of the PILGRIMS at PLYMOUTH, Massachusetts. The Plymouth dissenters came to free their souls from the corruption of the ANGLICAN CHURCH but needed to feed their stomachs as well. Stolen caches of corn fed the Pilgrims their first winter, but in spring 1621 Pilgrims began to plant maize in the manner that local Native Americans taught them and in fields that Native farmers had used for generations. Later in the decade Puritan immigrants north of Plymouth brought large numbers of cattle, goats, and swine, and in 1635 Dutch MERCHANTS introduced sheep to the colony.

The Pilgrims had intended to farm communally, but disputes within the congregation soon ended cooperative ventures; by 1627 Plymouth had allotted 20 acres of farmland to each family for their individual use. Individuals were intent on raising surplus crops for profit, and farms quickly expanded production to include wheat, rye, and oats, along with sheep and cattle. Generally, sheep were confined while cattle and hogs grazed freely in the forest. The British West Indies provided a ready market for New England agricultural products. BOSTON and New London, CONNECTICUT, became thriving markets for beef from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and RHODE ISLAND. As one author put it, “if New England had staple crops, they were annual crops of beef, pork and wool.” Until surpassed by South Carolina late in the 17th century, Massachusetts was the largest livestock producing colony in North America. The rapid expansion of English settlements in New England in the 17th century and encroachments on Indian land led to bloody confrontations with Natives in 1636 and 1675. New England farmers praised God, but mammon competed quite well for their affection.

New England farmers also produced quantities of maize and wheat in the 17th century along with tobacco, particularly in the Connecticut Valley. Connecticut tobacco was a different variety from that found in Virginia and had been acquired from Native American farmers. Although never grown in the quantities found in the southern colonies, it still was sold profitably to England in the 18th century. Black stem rust and insects began to seriously deplete wheat culture in New England by the latter part of the 17th century. Farmers consequently increased their production of maize and rye. Wheat cultivation migrated west and south to New York, Pennsylvania, and western

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Maryland. There, wheat production increased dramatically in the 18th century and encouraged the development of a flour milling industry centered around the Chesapeake and Philadelphia. The West Indies again provided the principal market for milled wheat.

Farmers in New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland also raised “neat” cattle intended for beef and milk. Generally, production was low, and farm women converted most milk to cheese and butter for home or local consumption. In the late 18th century better breeding habits and importation of improved livestock led to cattle intended specifically to produce milk. Increased production meant a surplus of cheese and butter. By 1769 Philadelphia had become a center for marketing butter intended for the West Indies trade. Cheese and butter production, nevertheless, tended to remain the work of farm women, and the products sometimes became a principal source of family income.

New England and Middle Colony farms remained comparatively small by the standards of Virginia and the southern colonies. Livestock, wheat, maize, and other small grain cultivation was not as labor intensive as tobacco and rice. Nevertheless, northern farmers were also in need of labor beyond that provided by family members. Slavery entered the northern colonies within a few years after the first slaves arrived in Virginia and spread to every colony north of Maryland. In the northern colonies slaves often lived in towns and worked in the growing SHIPBUILDING industry, in construction, or as assistants to ARTISANS. Most, however, worked on the farms of the countryside, often alongside their owners. Few northern farmers owned more than one or two slaves, who sometimes lived in the master’s house and ate at his table. The largest concentration of slaves in the North was in Rhode Island, near Narragansett Bay, where immigrant planters from the West Indies tried to replicate the plantation system of their former homes. They built manor houses that rivaled those in the South, often owned more than fifteen slaves, bred race horses, and practiced the ways of country gentlemen. The tobacco farms of the Connecticut Valley became the home of another concentration of slaves in New England. Control of slave labor was always more lax in the North, and slaves often were hired out and occasionally were allowed to retain some portion of their earnings. Still, they remained slaves.

By the time of the American Revolution, colonial agriculture had developed into a profitable enterprise. The production of staple crops supported a plantation economy in the southern colonies. Food stuffs, primarily wheat and other small grains, dominated the Middle Colonies, and a mixed agriculture of livestock, wool, and maize characterized most of New England. The enterprise was sufficient to support a rapidly growing population that doubled in size about every 25 years. It provided surpluses for export

that supported merchant concentrations in several cities and a host of auxiliary occupations like MARINERS, teamsters, blacksmiths, land agents, lawyers, doctors, and the like. None would have been possible without land the Indians had long cultivated; crops, particularly maize, that Native American farmers had bred to high levels of return; varieties of crops such as sorghum grains, rice, and indigo brought to North America by slaves; the forced labor of thousands of displaced black Africans; and the insatiable material demands of Europeans. All joined in the mix that produced American agriculture in the colonial era.

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—Thomas R. Wessel

## Alaska, Russia in

Until the mid-18th century only local ALEUT and INUIT Indians knew of Alaska. In 1741 Russian explorers VITUS JONASSEN BERING and Aleksei Chirikov sailed from Kamchatka aboard two ships as part of Russia’s Great Northern Expeditions of 1733 to 1743. Bering had concluded during earlier expeditions that Siberia and Alaska were not connected by land, and together the two explorers sought to map the Alaskan coast and investigate fur trading possibilities. Although a storm separated the two ships, each reached the Alaskan coast. On the return voyage Bering was shipwrecked and died on the island that was later named after him, but Chirikov reached Russia in late 1741, bringing news of excellent trading possibilities.

By the late 1740s Russian maritime routes to the Alaskan peninsula had been expanded, and fur traders competed for sea otter pelts for trade in Asia. The Russians established their first outpost in 1784 at Three Saints Bay on Kodiak Island. They used considerable violence toward indigenous populations, at times enslaving entire villages. By 1799 control of the lucrative FUR TRADE fell under the control of a single monopoly, the Russian American Company, which had strong connections to the Russian royal family. Later that year the company established the larger outpost of Novoarkhangelsk, or Sitka. A Russian

Orthodox mission was also established. With a large port secured, American sea captains and the Russian American Company entered into an exclusive pact under which Aleut Indians were forced to hunt sea otters and the Americans transported the pelts to Asia for trade.

Although trade flourished, the sea otter population slowly declined, forcing the Russians to colonize farther south. The harsh climate and difficult agricultural conditions made supplying the Russian outposts difficult. By the 1830s sea otters along the West Coast of North America were virtually wiped out, which led to the Russian sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867.

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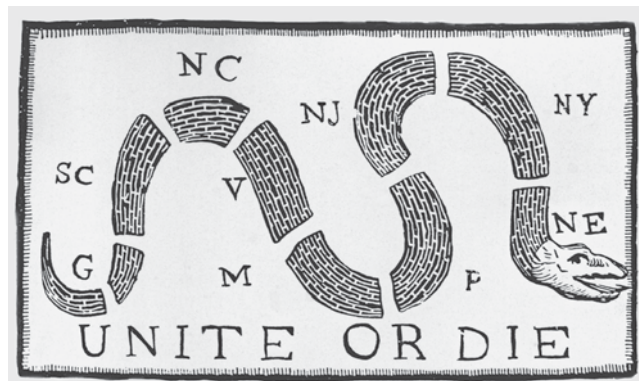
—James Jenks

### Albany Congress (1754)

In June–July 1754 representatives from the Six Nations of the IROQUOIS and seven English colonies—NEW YORK, NEW HAMPSHIRE, MASSACHUSETTS, RHODE ISLAND, CONNECTICUT, PENNSYLVANIA, and MARYLAND—met at Albany to try to resolve differences over trade and land policies and to develop a plan to confront French expansion from Canada into the Ohio Valley. Although the Board of Trade in England had ordered the congress, the disparate and conflicting interests present prevented it from achieving its main goals. Each of the colonies pursued its own self-interest. Outside of the formal proceedings, for example, Pennsylvania managed a huge purchase of Indian land. Rather than peace, the various dealings eventually led to a deadly conflict among New Englanders, Pennsylvanians, and the Indians over the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania.

Chief Hendrick presented the Iroquois grievances to the congress, which included the taking of Mohawk land, the provision of too much rum, encroachments by Virginia and Pennsylvania on Iroquois lands in the west, and continued trade by Albany with the French. The delegates denied all of these grievances, and, not surprisingly, they did not come to an agreement concerning their relationship with the Iroquois.

The colonies did agree on some matters at the congress: They recommended fortifications against the French, the establishment of a single superintendent of Indian affairs, and royal control of future Indian land acquisitions. The most famous, although arguably unimportant, legacy of the congress was a proposal, spearheaded by Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, for a colonial union. Under this



Benjamin Franklin drew this famous cartoon in an unsuccessful effort to promote colonial unity. (Hulton/Archive)

plan the colonies' external affairs, particularly matters of defense, would be controlled by a council of representatives who were to be elected by the colonial assemblies and a president appointed by the Crown. Known as the Albany Plan of Union, not one colonial assembly ratified it. Some have pointed to the plan as a precedent for subsequent American union under the Constitution. Others have suggested that the Iroquois Confederation shaped thinking about the plan and hence indirectly had a role in the writing of the Constitution. Evidence on such matters is not conclusive. Most scholars question this connection on two grounds. First, they are not convinced that Benjamin Franklin and others were influenced by the Iroquois. Second, many scholars do not believe that the Albany plan had an impact on the forms of government that came out of the American Revolution.

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—James D. Drake

### alcohol

At a time when it was believed that drinking water endangered one's health, colonists of every rank, age, race, and size drank alcoholic beverages often and in considerable quantity. Governor WILLIAM BRADFORD of PLYMOUTH, like his contemporaries, distrusted water. When asked why so many men lived such long lives in Plymouth, Bradford listed the enemies to health and the origins of disease: "chaining of air, famine, or unholosome foode, much drinking of

water, sorrows & troubles, etc.” More than a century later the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported on various disasters experienced by individuals as a result of drinking water. On one occasion a laborer “would have died, had not a Person present forced a Quantity of rum down his Throat, by which Means he soon recovered.” Colonists regarded water as “lowly and common,” a drink better suited to barnyard ANIMALS than humans. As a result, colonists avoided water as much as possible and quenched their thirst with a variety of alcoholic beverages.

Alcoholic refreshments did not simply substitute for water, however. They fulfilled a number of specific functions. In the 17th and 18th centuries Americans, along with their counterparts in England and Europe, believed that spiritous liquors were nutritious and healthful. Rum, gin, and brandy did not merely accompany a meal but belonged to the same group as FOOD and, as such, supplemented “limited and monotonous diets.” Ardent spirits had medicinal faculties as well and could cure “colds, fevers, snakebites, frosted toes, and broken legs and as relaxants . . . would relive depression, reduce tension, and enable hard-working laborers to enjoy a moment of happy, frivolous, camaraderie.” A traveler through Virginia witnessed “the vile Practice of giving children, as well as those of all other ages, Rum in the morning as soon as they rise . . . & the Parents encourage it reckoning it wholesome.” MIDWIVES prepared a “caudle” for women in labor, a drink made with ale or wine mixed with spices. The PURITANS believed so deeply in the health benefits derived from strong drink that they permitted imbibing on the Lord’s day “in the case of nesseeitie for the releife of those that are sicke or faint or the like for theire refreshing.”

By the early decades of the 18th century, the beverages of choice were varieties of distilled liquors, referred to as spirits—whiskey, rum, gin, and brandy. The alcohol content averaged 45 percent, or, in distillers’ terms, 90 proof. During the colonial period, according to one authority, the “annual per capita CONSUMPTION of hard liquor alone, mostly rum, approached four gallons.” If the drinking public had had to rely only on spiritous liquors, the supplies would have been ample, but these beverages constituted only one form of the alcoholic beverages consumed. Colonists also drank fermented brews, beer, wine, and most often cider. With an alcoholic content of 10 percent, it is likely that most of the alcohol coursing through colonists’ veins came from cider. Colonists rarely imbibed wine or beer, with the exception of “small beer,” a home brew containing 1 percent alcohol. In the period just before the revolution, Americans consumed an average of only one-tenth gallon of wine per year.

Early Americans did not have equal access to alcoholic beverages. White adult men drank the greatest share, consuming two-thirds of the total. Free laborers’ wages often included a pint of beer or some other alcoholic beverage.

While women did not abstain, it was improper for them to drink in public or to get drunk. Unfree laborers, servants, and slaves had limited opportunity for and circumscribed access to alcoholic beverages. Laws in every colony prohibited tavern keepers from serving them without the express permission of their masters, and because of their status they were unlikely to have the money necessary to pay for drinks. On some occasions masters promised slaves alcoholic beverages as an incentive, but these drinks were often watered.

See also RUM TRADE.

**Further reading:** Peter C. Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997); Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

—Sharon V. Salinger

**Alden, John** (1599?–1687) *settler, government official* John Alden was 21 years old when he was hired in Southampton, England, as a cooper (barrel maker) for the *Mayflower* voyage of the PILGRIMS in 1620. Presumably a member of the Church of England and a common laborer with no previous connection to the Pilgrims, Alden chose to remain in the small settlement of PLYMOUTH after surviving the first winter. Alden was listed among the signers of the MAYFLOWER COMPACT. He married fellow *Mayflower* passenger Priscilla Mullins sometime before 1623. The couple moved across Plymouth Bay to help settle the town of Duxbury in the 1630s. There they farmed, raised a large family of 10 children, and remained for the rest of their lives. Alden served as a magistrate and as treasurer for the Plymouth Colony and occasionally presided as deputy governor. He died in 1687, the last surviving signer of the Mayflower Compact, and was buried in Duxbury.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, a descendant, used the historical Alden as a character in his *Courtship of Myles Standish*. This popular romantic poem, published in 1858, portrayed Alden as the good friend chosen by the rough soldier MYLES STANDISH to woo young Priscilla Mullins. Alden attempted to win Priscilla for Standish but instead fell in love with her himself. Priscilla realized this and asked “Why don’t you speak for yourself, John?” There is no historical evidence for the rivalry among the suitors. The story was probably based on oral family tradition.

—Stephen C. O’Neill

**Alden, Priscilla** (1602–1686?) *settler*

Priscilla Mullins was born in Dorking, Surrey, England, to William and Alice Mullins. The Mullins family were



dissenters from the Church of England and joined the congregation of Separatists, commonly known to history as the PILGRIMS, who journeyed aboard the *Mayflower* in 1620 to New England. William and Alice brought the younger two, Priscilla and Joseph, of their four children. Priscilla, barely 18, was one of only four adult women in the entire company to survive the first winter in PLYMOUTH. Both her parents and her brother died during the “general sickness” of the first winter. Sometime between 1621 and 1623, Priscilla married JOHN ALDEN, a fellow passenger aboard the *Mayflower*, who had been hired as a cooper for the voyage and chose to remain in Plymouth. Priscilla and John moved across Plymouth Bay to Duxbury around 1631, where they farmed and raised a family of 10 children. Priscilla died sometime before her husband’s death in 1687, although the exact date is not recorded.

In the 19th century Priscilla Mullins Alden became the romantic heroine of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s dramatic poem *The Courtship of Myles Standish*, published in 1858. The story is based on oral family tradition and was first printed in Rev. Timothy Alden’s 1814 *Collection of American Epitaphs and Inscriptions*. Longfellow’s *Courtship* portrays Priscilla as a perceptive young woman courted by both Captain MYLES STANDISH, Plymouth’s military leader, and his friend Alden. Priscilla immediately sees through Alden as he attempts to woo her for Standish but falls in love with her himself. There is little evidence for the story’s authenticity, but Longfellow’s poem became an instant bestseller and remained an American classic for generations.

—Stephen C. O’Neill

## Aleut

The people known as the Aleut are the aboriginal inhabitants of the 1,100-mile Aleutian Island chain stretching southwest from mainland Alaska. The earliest of these people, the Paleo-Aleuts, migrated to North America over the Siberian land bridge, most likely between 5,000 and 3,000 B.C.E.

Although first called *Aleut* by Russian maritime explorers, the tribe refers to themselves as *Unangan*, or “the people.” Ethnically related to the INUIT (Eskimo), the Aleut maintain their own dialects and culture. Before contact with Russians in 1741, the Aleut lived in scattered villages usually composed of related families. A chief or head man might govern several small villages, but no single leader reigned over all the Aleut. These villages consisted of semisubterranean dwellings and had a CLASS-based social system that included slaves taken in raids against other indigenous bands. Aleut villages were located near freshwater and in positions safe from attacks from neighboring

tribes. Village sites near rivers also provided an abundance of salmon.

Local SACHEMS practiced MEDICINE, led spiritual activities, and enforced hunting rites and taboos. The Aleut were adept at harvesting the resources of the sea, and bands survived by hunting sea lions, seals, whales, and fish from bidarkas, the small, highly maneuverable vessels used by Aleut hunters. In some areas men hunted caribou, bears, and birds while also collecting eggs and edible plants. Women wove intricately detailed grass baskets and worked stone and bone for decorative and utilitarian uses. Bidarkas also provided an effective vehicle for intertribal trade between islands.

Russian fur traders who came to the Aleutian Islands in the 1740s in search of sea otter pelts exploited Aleut hunting skills. The Russians often held Aleut women and children hostage to force Aleut men to hunt sea otters. As the sea otter population declined near the Aleut home waters, Russians took Aleut men to new hunting grounds, some as far away as southern Alta California. Beginning in 1761 the Aleut rebelled, killing Russian traders and destroying Russian vessels. The Russians struck back in 1766, crushing the rebellion and instituting a policy of genocide against the Aleut. The Aleut population declined dramatically under Russian rule, from a precontact population of approximately 25,000 to only 2,000 by the end of the 19th century. Today approximately 8,000 Aleut live in Alaska.

See also ALASKA, RUSSIA IN.

**Further reading:** William C. Sturtevant, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians: Subarctics*, vol. 6 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982).

—James Jenks

## Alexander, Mary Spratt Provoost (1693–1760) merchant

An important merchant, Alexander was born on April 17, 1693, in NEW YORK CITY, the daughter of John and Maria (DePeyster) Schrick Spratt. In 1697 Alexander’s father died, and her mother married the smuggler David Provoost, whose surname the Spratt children adopted. Three years later Maria Provoost died, and Alexander moved into her maternal grandmother’s home.

Marrying her stepfather’s brother, Samuel Provoost, in 1711, Alexander invested monies gained from her mother’s estate into her husband’s importing ventures and served as his financial partner. Giving birth to three children before her husband died in either 1719 or 1720, Alexander gained sole control of her husband’s business. She wed James Alexander, an influential NEW YORK politician and attorney, in 1721, and they had seven children together. Alexander

## 18 Algonquin

was kin to Scottish aristocracy, and the couple's son William appropriated the title "Lord Stirling" during his military career in the SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

A major New York City importer, Alexander expanded her mercantile pursuits originally obtained from her first husband, selling her own merchandise as well as items her husband received from clients bartering for legal work. According to tradition, she also provided goods for military campaigns, stocking the Fort Niagara expedition led by General William Shirley.

The Alexanders' mansion was considered a nurturing environment for the city's leading citizens to meet and discuss political and business concerns. Alexander was significant for the amount of power and influence she possessed as a businessperson in one of the colonies' major seaports, representing the financial autonomy that the Dutch community encouraged women to obtain. She affected New York colonial political decisions and was credited, probably incorrectly, with advising ANDREW HAMILTON regarding legal proceedings for newspaper editor JOHN PETER ZENGER, acquitted of libel in 1735. Alexander died on April 18, 1760, and was interred in a vault at Manhattan's Trinity Church.

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—Elizabeth D. Schafer

### Algonquin

The term *Algonquin Indians*, also spelled *Algonquian* and *Algonkin*, is used to describe both a specific group of Indians and an entire language group. During the colonial period Algonquin-speaking Indians lived from the Atlantic coast to the Colorado Rockies and from northern Canada to SOUTH CAROLINA. Among the major groups who spoke Algonquin languages were the NARRAGANSETT, Wampanoag, POWHATAN, and Ojibwa Indians. When English boats landed at Roanoke, JAMESTOWN, and PLYMOUTH, Indians belonging to the Algonquin language group met them in each case. The specific group of Indians called Algonquin, the subject of this entry, lived in the Ottawa Valley in southern Canada.

Before Europeans arrived in North America, Algonquin Indians engaged in a wide range of social and economic activities, guided in part by the ENVIRONMENT in which they lived. During the warm summer months, the Algonquin gathered into a large community and focused their activities around FISHING and AGRICULTURE. Although the cool temperatures and marginal soil of the Ottawa Valley made it difficult to rely on farming as a significant subsistence activity, the Algonquin in southern areas

grew corn, beans, and squash. During the winter the communities dispersed into smaller hunting groups. Contrary to the popular image of Indian societies as egalitarian utopias, various forms of stratification marked Algonquin society. A strict GENDER division of LABOR determined the activities of men and women. Men typically hunted, fished, and cleared agricultural fields, while women planted and tended the crops, gathered roots and nuts, and looked after the children. The right to use specific hunting lands was passed patrilineally, from father to son, although in some Algonquin tribes kinship was traced matrilineally.

During the early 17th century the Algonquin expertise in hunting made them ideal allies in the burgeoning FUR TRADE, and they became an important trading partner with the French. Economic competition between the IROQUOIS Indians and the Algonquin exacerbated preexisting tensions and escalated into full-scale war. When the Iroquois virtually shut down the St. Lawrence River as a trade route into the interior of Canada, the Algonquin acted as brokers between the French and the HURON Indians. At first the strategy worked well, and the Algonquin prospered under the new arrangement by exchanging French trade goods for Huron corn. Soon, however, they were caught up in the complex diplomatic and military struggles that marked the fur trade around the Great Lakes. Eliminated as brokers when the French began to trade directly with the Huron, the Algonquin attempted to maintain their economic prominence by negotiating with Dutch traders in the 1620s. This maneuver upset the Mohawk Indians, an Iroquois tribe that had established a trade relationship with the Dutch upon their arrival in the Hudson River Valley in 1609.

War broke out once again as each side sought to defend their access to the European goods they had increasingly come to see as vital to their very existence. In 1645 the French convened a peace conference that temporarily eased the violence, but sporadic fighting continued throughout the 17th century. When England and France engaged in a series of imperial wars in the 18th century, the Algonquin fought alongside the French. After the French loss of Canada in the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, the Algonquin signed a peace treaty with the British in 1760. During the American Revolution the Algonquin fought with the British against the rebellious colonists and once again found themselves on the losing side. Eventually, the Algonquin, like other Native groups, were relegated to reservations.

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—Melanie Perreault

**Alice** (1686–1802) *historian*

The woman whose only name is Alice was both a slave in Pennsylvania and an oral historian of earliest Philadelphia. She was born in Philadelphia in 1686 and died in 1802 at the incredible age of 116. Perhaps Alice was the daughter of two members from the fateful cargo of 150 Africans, the first who entered Philadelphia in 1684. The few words written about her reveal a woman of “dignified deportment” who was “so careful to keep to the truth, that her veracity was never questioned; her honesty also was unimpeached.” Alice recalled Philadelphia’s “wilderness, and when the Indians (its chief inhabitants) hunted wild game in the woods, while the panther, the wolf, and the beasts of the forest were prowling about.” She observed Philadelphia’s growth and population increase, and she personally knew William Penn, James Logan, and other early Philadelphia luminaries. At the age of 10 she was taken to Dunk’s Ferry, where for 40 years she collected ferry fees for her owner, whose name remains unknown. Deeply religious but illiterate, she “lament[ed] that she was not able to read [the Bible].” Yet, at the age of 95 she could be seen riding at full gallop to worship at Christ Church. At 96 her sight began to fail, but this did not deter her from fishing by rowing herself to the middle of the stream and returning with “a handsome supply of fish for her master’s table.” This remarkable woman, whose story is unfortunately incomplete, probably remained enslaved throughout her entire life.

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—Leslie Patrick

**almshouses**

Established in the colonies as early as 1685 in BOSTON and the 1730s in NEW YORK CITY and PHILADELPHIA, almshouses (also called poorhouses) were originally intended as temporary residential institutions to shelter members of a community who were unfortunate in a variety of ways and who had no family able or willing to care for them: the poor, the elderly, abandoned or illegitimate children, the injured, and the mentally ill or defective. The earliest almshouses were small and supported primarily by poor taxes. Almshouses only partially replaced the “outdoor” relief system, which was based on payments of cash or goods directly to the needy, their families, or an overseer

of the poor or member of the community for distribution to the applicants. Many communities combined outdoor relief to applicants considered most worthy of assistance with renting or purchasing a house and supporting paupers within it. Private aid from individuals and organizations continued to provide aid for the “virtuous” poor, but by the mid-18th century larger cities such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia began to move to institutions as the primary way to provide effective aid to the needy while most efficiently spending public funds. Overseers of the poor remained responsible for assessing and collecting the poor taxes but did so as administrators of the institutions.

Within the poorhouse inmates were expected to work around the institution at tasks such as cleaning, cooking, nursing the sick, gardening and husbandry, and some manufacturing. The labor of inmates supposedly accomplished two purposes: to help offset the cost of residents’ room and board and to teach the inmates orderly and virtuous habits so that when they left the institution they would be more likely to support themselves.

Poorhouses were important parts of the local ECONOMY whether they were located in urban or rural areas: They provided employment for area residents and conducted business with local MERCHANTS as well as providing relief to the destitute. By the 1760s poorhouses were important in the political economy of urban areas as well, as local tensions over immigration, expenditure of public funds, increasing numbers of poor folk, and responses to epidemic disease were reflected in elections and appointments of public officials.

In the increasingly unstable colonial economy it was vital for the working classes to have almost continuous employment in order to avoid having to seek assistance from the authorities. Most unskilled labor was seasonal, so poor relief was a part of the survival strategy for many poor families, some of whom retreated to almshouses in the winter, when work was scarce and the cost of firewood high. As poverty in British North America, especially in its urban areas, increased at the end of the colonial era, the number of almshouses grew accordingly. Some institutions became more like prisons, forbidding inmates to leave, setting rigid rules, and apprenticing out young children against the will of their impoverished parents. Poorer people consequently tried to avoid applying for admissions to almshouses whenever possible.

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## 20 American Philosophical Society

*America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

—Monique Bourque and Billy G. Smith

### American Philosophical Society

The American Philosophical Society was founded in 1743, modeled on the Royal Society in London as an intercolonial organization for the exchange of “useful knowledge.” Like so many of the organizations that Benjamin Franklin created, the society was intended to draw men into correspondence and conversations that would prove beneficial both to their own lives and to the community as a whole.

JOHN BARTRAM, a Quaker farmer and botanist, outlined the first plan for the organization in 1739. Writing to London merchant and natural philosopher Peter Collinson, Bartram envisioned a club where the “most ingenious & Curious men” could study “natural secrets arts & sciences.” He thought the group could secure a meeting house, sponsor lectures, and promote other avenues of inquiry.

Bartram, a brilliant student of natural SCIENCE, had little background or ability in organizing public plans. His friend Benjamin Franklin, however, had both that ability as well as a growing interest in expanding the intellectual lives of his fellow colonists, having already created the Junto, a social and study club for PHILADELPHIA ARTISANS, and the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1731. In 1743 Franklin published the plan for the American Philosophical Society that he and Bartram had worked out in “A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America.” With colonies now established, Franklin wrote, “there are many in every Province in Circumstances that set them at Ease, and afford Leisure to cultivate the finer Arts, and improve the common Stock of Knowledge.”

From 1743 to 1746 the society welcomed members, including Franklin, Bartram, physician THOMAS BOND; fellow Junto members THOMAS GODFREY, William Coleman, and William Parsons; and colonial notables such as CADWALLADER COLDEN, Robert Hunter Morris, and James Delancey. Despite an impressive membership list, however, interest in the organization soon faltered. Franklin described the members as “very idle Gentlemen” in 1745, and plans for regular meetings or a publication came to nothing. By 1746 the organization was no longer meeting.

The American Philosophical Society was revived in the 1760s, shortly after the American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge was founded in 1766. On January 2, 1769, the two organizations merged to become the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for Promoting Useful Knowledge.

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—George W. Boudreau

### Andros, Sir Edmund (1637–1714) *soldier, government official*

Edmund Andros was born in London into a family of ardent royalists and professional soldiers long resident in the Channel Island of Guernsey. Andros began his own military training in Dutch service and then, after the 1660 restoration of the Stuart monarchy, in the Grenadier Guards and as a major in an English regiment stationed in the CARIBBEAN. In 1674 the patronage of James, Duke of York, secured him the governorship of the duke’s province of NEW YORK, recently conquered from the Dutch. Andros proved a capable although autocratic executive in establishing English forms of government and forging an enduring alliance, the famous Covenant Chain, with the IROQUOIS Indians. Recalled to London in 1681 to answer charges of misconduct pressed by a faction of New York’s merchants, he was replaced as governor in 1683 but then commissioned royal governor of the newly formed DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND in 1686 with a lavish annual salary of £1,200.

In BOSTON Andros lost no time in implementing his instructions to curb illegal trade, favor the ANGLICAN CHURCH, and govern without a representative assembly, all measures that flew in the face of the colonists’ cherished liberties. Dissent grew, heightened by war with the eastern Indians and Andros’s determination to rule through a clique of officials brought from England and New York. On April 16, 1689, as news of England’s GLORIOUS REVOLUTION reached Boston, a popular uprising overthrew the Dominion government and held Andros and his subordinates prisoners until they could be returned to England. There, charges of misrule were again dismissed, and Andros was sent back to North America in 1692 as royal governor of VIRGINIA.

Andros initially worked effectively with Virginia’s assembly to reorganize its government and defend its frontiers. By 1696, however, powerful local interests led by James Blair, the Bishop of London’s commissary in the colony, began campaigning in London for his removal. In declining health, Andros returned to England and in 1698 surrendered his post. Since 1674 he had held absentee office as bailiff of Guernsey, and he now served briefly as its lieutenant governor. Thrice married, Andros died childless in London in 1714.

Edmund Andros has passed into American history as a legendary tool of Stuart tyranny, with the Boston revolt



celebrated as the forerunner to the events of 1776. More obedient soldier than pliant politician, he scorned to conciliate either his colonial subjects or his London superiors, bringing each of his three colonial governorships to a contentious end. Even so, he was plainly an able, honest, and steadfast servant of the Crown. The very qualities that made him suspect to his English Protestant subjects—his cosmopolitan background, brusque militancy, and skill in dealing with such as Indians, French, and Dutch—also made him an effective, if ill-fated, executive during a time of war and internal strife, the most troubled years of American colonial history.

See also DUDLEY, JOSEPH; RANDOLPH, EDWARD.

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—Richard R. Johnson

### Anglican Church (Church of England)

Seventy-three years before the first permanent English colony was founded in VIRGINIA in 1607, Parliament proclaimed King Henry VIII (1509–47) “the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England.” This Act of Supremacy (1534) was the first step leading the Anglican Church into the Protestant Reformation. The road was long and troubled because the church retained features of its Catholic tradition (like bishops) while incorporating Protestant ideas and principles into its *Book of Common Prayer*. PURITANS in the early 17th century, eager to make the church more thoroughly Protestant, clashed with the authorities of both church and state. The conflict led to civil war (1642–49), the execution of the king, the abolition of bishops and the *Book of Common Prayer*, and a period of Puritan rule under Oliver Cromwell. The exiled Anglican Church returned with the restored BRITISH MONARCHY in 1660.

This religious and civil turmoil, coinciding with the first phase of English settlement in North America, was mirrored in colonial religious geography. The Anglican Church was established in the Chesapeake area, and the Puritan reformers created their own “Bible Commonwealth” in New England. Although Virginia’s system of parishes, vestries (parish governing boards), and *Book of Common Prayer* worship established the English pattern, by the 1660s only a handful of clergy served the Virginia church.

The real Anglican growth in North America began toward the end of the 17th century, when Henry Compton, bishop of London (1675–1713), took direction of the fledgling colonial church. On his initiative, instruc-

tions to colonial governors included public support for Anglican parishes. In 1689 he compensated for the lack of colonial bishops by appointing James Blair, a minister serving in Virginia, as his commissary (bishop’s representative) to provide a modicum of clerical leadership. By the 1740s the commissary system had become a feature of the Anglican Church in nine colonies. The most pressing problem, however, was the shortage of colonial clergy. In 1701 Compton collaborated with Thomas Bray in setting up the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS (SPG) to recruit and support missionaries and teachers. Providing stipends for missionary clergy and schoolmasters, books for parish libraries, and funds and materials for work among NATIVE AMERICANS and slaves, this innovative quasi-public philanthropy became the major vehicle for the expansion of the Anglican Church throughout the colonies until the American Revolution.

By the time GEORGIA, the last colony, was founded in the 1730s, the Anglican Church was the religious establishment in all the southern colonies. Except in NEW YORK CITY, it would never gain legal establishment anywhere in the North, but with SPG aid there was vigorous expansion there. Some northern parishes (King’s Chapel, BOSTON; Christ Church, PHILADELPHIA; Trinity Church, New York) became important centers for growth. New Anglican churches of graceful neoclassical design in imitation of the work of Christopher Wren and James Gibbs in England attracted widening attention, particularly among the urban elite. SPG charity schools opened for slaves, free AFRICAN AMERICANS, and the poor. In New York City throughout the 18th century, SPG schoolmasters worked with the city’s slave population in the face of fears about the danger of educating slaves. SPG missionaries to Native American tribes in the North and South had only mixed results, although there were notable successes among the New York Mohawk, some of whom became schoolmasters and Anglican lay readers (nonordained leaders of worship).

This northern growth was particularly controversial in New England, where the Puritan founders had built a tightly knit society with its own religious establishment (the Congregational Church). New Englanders looked upon the Anglican Church, with its twin traditions of episcopacy (the system of church leadership by bishops) and prescribed worship by the *Book of Common Prayer*, as a threat to their way of life. In 1722 the alarm was raised when seven faculty and recent Yale graduates, themselves clergy of CONNECTICUT’s Congregational establishment, declared for episcopacy. SAMUEL JOHNSON was among those who went to England for ordination. For decades after his return as an SPG missionary, he planted other Anglican churches in Connecticut and trained a generation

of missionary priests to work in New England and the Middle Colonies.

By 1763 the colonial Anglican Church was on firm footing, with parishes, Native American MISSIONS, and charity schools in both North and South. It also sponsored two colleges, the COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY in Virginia (1693) and KING'S COLLEGE (now Columbia University) in New York (1754). One serious problem remained, the absence of colonial bishops to complete its polity. From time to time Anglican leaders had petitioned for a bishop, but in the 1760s they made a concerted effort. Opposition was strong, particularly from New England's leaders like Boston's Jonathan Mayhew, who denounced episcopacy as a tool of oppression: "Is it not enough, that they persecuted us out of the Old World? Will they pursue us into the New to convert us here?" When such strong religious emotions combined with rising discontent over unpopular imperial policies in the 1760s, the ground was laid for the American Revolution. The Anglican Church, closely identified with Crown and empire, faced its most difficult challenge in the years ahead.

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—Donald F. M. Gerardi

## animals

Indigenous animals proved beneficial to NATIVE AMERICANS and to immigrants to the North American colonies. Animals imported to the colonies affected the Native peoples and ENVIRONMENT both usefully and detrimentally. Animals served as sources of labor, FOOD, CLOTHING, and wealth. Wildlife native to the Americas consisted primarily of small mammals, birds, fish, reptiles, and amphibians.

Many Native Americans considered animals sacred. Some ceremonial mounds were formed in symbolic animal shapes. Animals were worshipped, sacrificed, and slaughtered to meet specific religious and dietary needs. Native Americans sometimes believed that specific animals such as eagles were spiritually powerful, appropriating animals for clan names and rituals.

Fur trading was a major colonial economic enterprise, and it served as a catalyst for European immigration, settlement, expansion, and industrialization. Alliances were formed between Europeans and Native Americans based on fur trading. Deer and beaver were especially valued by fur traders for their skins and pelts. Beaver fur was

pressed into felt used to make hats and was in high demand in Europe. In addition, fur from foxes, minks, and otters was prized.

FISHING and whaling were also animal-related economic endeavors along the Atlantic coast. The English Parliament began passing the Navigation Acts in 1651, restricting colonial exports of fur, among other items, solely to England and English colonies. Native Americans began to rely on trading furs and hides for European goods, and, instead of only killing animals necessary to meet individual and tribal survival needs, they trapped and hunted with commercial motivations. Consequently, wildlife populations decreased significantly. Tribes competed to supply furs to European traders, even migrating westward to seek new animal resources.

Because hunting was limited to privileged aristocrats in Europe, colonial settlers of all social classes savored the opportunity to hunt for both personal needs and commercial profit. Squirrels and rabbits provided a local source of meat and skins and were not widely exported. Other wild animals, ranging from raccoons to bears, were targeted by fur traders for their skins, claws, and organs.

The abundance of deer provided additional economic opportunities. Native Americans frequently wore deerskins, known as brain tan, traditionally worn only by the European elite. Natives taught the colonists how to tan skins with brains and smoke. Deerskins proved durable, weather resistant, and stronger than homespun cloth made from cotton and wool, and this leather was sewn to produce shirts, breeches, and moccasins. Colonists quickly developed buckskin trading, selling both raw and tanned skins to domestic and foreign markets.

Exporting deer hides was consistently commercially profitable and a reliable income source for colonists. Skins could be processed at colonists' homes and were shipped from numerous ports, such as SAVANNAH, GEORGIA, which sent 2.6 million pounds of deerskins to England during a 20-year period in the mid-18th century. In 18th-century Europe deerskins were considered both fashionable and functional. Because of its colonial origins, buckskin came to symbolize patriotism, and militiamen wore it in combat against British troops.

Europeans reintroduced large animals, such as oxen, cattle, and horses, that had become extinct in North America thousands of years earlier. Horses fulfilled labor needs by transporting heavy loads. They were swift hunting steeds, which enabled Indians to pursue big game animals, especially bison. They also strengthened the military might of the Plains Indians, helping them maintain their independence against the European onslaught. Cattle allowed Indians to pursue dairy husbandry, processing butter and cheeses to supplement their diets. However, the introduc-

tion of dairy farming encouraged the Cherokee to accrue large herds and to institute SLAVERY to meet the resulting LABOR demands.

Other Old World animals new to the Americas included cats and donkeys. Bees immigrated with settlers and proved valuable for producing honey to sweeten bland foods. Hernando de Soto first brought pigs to North America in 1539, and colonists eventually drove hogs to market over trails that ultimately became major railroad transportation routes. Europeans discovered unfamiliar animals in North America, such as the turkey, which soon supplemented colonial diets. Flocks of turkeys were driven to market similarly to hogs, resting overnight at appointed coop stops. Some naturalists, such as JOHN BARTRAM, studied the variety of colonial animals, both indigenous species and amalgams of imported and native stock.

Most animals imported from Europe adjusted quickly to their new settings and competed with native animals for food and habitats. Many of the new arrivals destroyed vegetation and contaminated water sources that indigenous animals relied on for sustenance, and some species consequently became extinct. Rodents arriving on ships introduced and spread European diseases that killed indigenous animals with no immunity. Some diseases and parasites were also transmitted to humans. Contagious animal diseases included brucellosis, hog cholera, tuberculosis, and rabies.

European immigrants often established agricultural lives dependent on animals. In addition to raising livestock to meet familial needs and to sell locally, some colonial farmers tended animals commercially, shipping meat and milk to colonial and global markets. New England villages often specified a common area for residents' animals to graze. During the early years animals occasionally were accepted to pay taxes to colonial governments. Smaller mammals, such as swine, goats, and sheep, also provided new sources of protein-rich meat. Poultry were vital for meat and eggs, while chickens provided entertainment in the form of cock fighting. European livestock were bred to create new breeds for specific colonial conditions. The Dominique chicken was one of the first chicken breeds developed in the colonies. Colonists also hunted native ducks and geese.

Animals influenced all colonists' daily lives and colonial economies. African-American slaves and white indentured servants, both male and female, interacted with animals as part of their chores and learned how to control these creatures to perform tasks. Contemporary documents reveal how animals were used in the colonies. For example, recipes included entire pigs' heads. Beef altered dietary habits, enriching nutrition with proteins necessary to sustain a higher quality of life and longer life spans and fertile peri-

ods, resulting in larger populations. Archaeological evidence also shows that the distribution of meat from rural to urban areas was based on rural surpluses and cyclical agricultural patterns, with evidence of home butchering predominating in both the country and city in the colonial era.

While many animals were domesticated, nearly all were expected to work, and few fulfilled the modern Western role as pets. In addition to performing labor and protecting villages, many Native American dogs were castrated and fattened for food. The Spanish and British used horses and dogs to subdue Native peoples. Christopher Columbus introduced European dogs—greyhounds and mastiffs—to the New World on his second voyage in 1493. Militarily, dogs served as sentries, scouts, and attackers. Some colonists, like George Washington, carefully bred dogs, specifically hounds, to develop breeds with desirable qualities unique to colonial concerns, such as hunting in new conditions. Often, imported dogs mated with wild WOLVES and coyotes, creating hybrids.

See also AGRICULTURE; DISEASE; FUR TRADE.

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—Elizabeth D. Schafer

## apprentices

Apprenticeship was the first of three stages in the education of a skilled craftsman or woman. Apprenticeship began when a child reached the age of 13 or 14 and was ready to prepare for adult life. Typically, a child's father negotiated a contract or indenture with a master artisan (usually a male) who agreed to take the child into his home, teach the child the "art and mysteries of the trade," and provide a rudimentary education in practical mathematics and accounting. Families seeking to place their children in the more lucrative crafts, such as instrument-making or silver-smithing, were usually required to pay masters an entry fee as part of the apprenticeship agreement. In poorer crafts, such as shoemaking and tailoring, little or no entry fee was required. As poverty rose in colonial America, especially in urban areas, magistrates and overseers of the poor increasingly used apprenticeship indentures to lower the cost of poor relief and to provide destitute children with a minimal livelihood so that they would become tax-paying adults.



## 24 architecture

The apprenticeship period lasted about seven years, with the first year or two occupied performing the laborious, unskilled tasks of lifting, hauling, cleaning, and errand-running for the master and his household. Having proved their loyalty and commitment to the trade in this fashion, at the age of 15 or 16 the apprentice began to learn the rudiments of their craft. By the time the apprentice reached their late teens or early twenties, they had acquired basic skills and were ready to embark on the second stage of craft education as JOURNEYMEN.

**Further reading:** Ronald Schultz, *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720–1830* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

—Ronald Schultz

### architecture

Both NATIVE AMERICANS and European colonists designed and constructed a vast array of structures in North America. In the early 17th century, for example, the HURON and IROQUOIS Indians typically lived in longhouses, which they built by stretching mats or bark over a wooden frame. Some

houses were as large as 100 feet in length and sheltered multiple families. The ALGONQUIN inhabitants of much of the East Coast often lived in wigwams, which they made by lashing saplings together into circular or rectangular frames and sheathing them with grasses, reeds, or woven mats. Meanwhile, the Native residents of the desert Southwest and the Pacific Northwest designed considerably different dwellings and meeting houses.

White colonists brought designs and techniques from Europe that they adapted to the climate, topography, available building materials, and skills of local artisans in North America. The earliest colonial buildings in the New World often were crudely and quickly constructed while lands were cleared for cultivation. Coarse “earthfast” structures appeared in all regions. They lacked foundations, chimneys, or window glass, and, like some Native analogues, were built of posts driven into the ground and covered in mud plaster, roughly split boards, bark, or thatched mats. Indeed, in New England some of the first colonial houses were described by the Algonquin word *wigwam*, and in Manhattan as late as the 1620s shelters were characterized as square cellars covered with sod roofs. The earliest Quaker settlers in PENNSYLVANIA initially lived in caves.



An 18th-century two-story log cabin, with less than 900 square feet of living space (*Library of Congress*)



Between 1650 and 1700 these very rudimentary structures gave way to more substantial building types that generally paralleled the traditional forms of the colonists' ethnic origins. English vernacular models appeared most frequently in New England and VIRGINIA. Houses typically were one- or two-room "open plan" buildings with a central entry, built of timber frames, and covered with rough clapboards and shingles. Variations, including such embellishments as glass windows, interior chimneys, and second stories, reflected not only local material and labor availability but economic stability and social status. While architectural form followed the English vernacular in both the Chesapeake area and New England, building standards did not. Buildings in New England were substantially constructed and progressively expanded to include upper floors and appurtenant wings. Early on in the Chesapeake area, however, houses were often shoddily built and had to be replaced every few years. This crude construction in the Chesapeake area reflects various factors: a hot, humid climate; a significant gender imbalance, with men significantly outnumbering women, which was not conducive to a settled family life; the heavy investment of capital in a labor force of bound workers rather than in an enduringly built environment; and a pervasive psychological sense of impermanence brought about by high mortality and economic uncertainty.

By the third decade of the 18th century, substantial medieval vernacular Dutch style houses and public buildings dominated the built environment in NEW YORK and NEW JERSEY. Framed of timber with masonry facades and parapet gables with either a step- or spout-shaped front gable, these buildings emulated aesthetic conventions, if not construction techniques and materials, commonly found in the Netherlands. Urban Dutch style houses most often were two-room, side-hall plan buildings, designed for both domestic and public functions, with the family residence situated at the back and a shop on the street front.

French and Spanish influences also distinguished buildings in areas of corresponding ethnic settlement. New Orleans, with its French architects and engineers, produced buildings reminiscent of those in France, if on a much more modest scale. The Spanish domination of Florida resulted in very complex structures, like the ST. AUGUSTINE fort. The Spanish left a longer-lasting impression in the Southwest, where colonists employed local Indian techniques of adobe construction.

By the beginning of the 18th century, British culture influenced architecture throughout the British colonies. House and public building design emulated late baroque architecture then in fashion in England. Referred to as Georgian after the reigning monarchs, these structures were based on a one- or two-story box plan with window and door openings arranged in strict symmetry. The typical



Native American longhouses on Manhattan Island before the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam [New York] (*The Granger Collection*)

double-pile Georgian "closed plan" house, with its central passage from which separate rooms were entered, allowed for greater privacy and the division of domestic functions, such as cooking, washing, and sleeping. In all regions throughout the 18th century, Georgian house design was primarily the province of the elite.

Public buildings, the majority of which were churches and government structures, also observed a neoclassical paradigm that adhered to strict symmetry and restrained ornamentation. Consciously symbolizing American stability, variations in size, facade embellishments, and appurtenances generally remained within the design standard. American master-builders, who were, in effect, architects as well as artisans, increasingly drew upon scores of English and European design publications for their inspiration. Most notable among these were James Gibbs's *A Book of Architecture* (1728), Abraham Swan's *The British Architect* (1745), and Andrea Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* (1570). Thus, Peter Harrison planned the Redwood Library (1748–50) in NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, using Edward Hoppus's *Fourth Book of Palladio* (1736). ANDREW HAMILTON designed the Pennsylvania State House (1730–41), now Independence Hall, in PHILADELPHIA, based on typical large English brick houses. Many Protestant churches, like Christ Church (begun 1727) in Philadelphia, were simplified from models designed by such British architects as Christopher Wren and James Gibbs. BOSTON's Christ Church (1723–41), now Old North Church, reflects much of Wren's designs for churches in London after 1666, while many other colonial churches were modeled on Gibbs's St. Martin-in-the-Fields (1721–26) in London. Many of the largest structures built at the end of the colonial era were ALMSHOUSES and jails, reflecting growing social and economic problems, especially in urban areas. Indeed,

significant transformations in early American architecture began in the cities at mid-century, then intensified even more after the Revolution when architects began to distinguish themselves from their European ancestors.

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—Catherine Goetz and Billy G. Smith

## art

During the early colonial period diverse art forms were present throughout North America. NATIVE AMERICANS and European colonists creatively expressed themselves through many mediums, using styles borrowed from earlier generations and other cultures and developed within diverse landscapes.

Native Americans combined utilitarian and aesthetic properties through the decoration of everyday items. The medium and style of these products varied regionally. Wood was a common medium for carving objects such as totem poles in the Northwest and for constructing “false face” masks among the IROQUOIS. Native Americans created symbols and pictures by chipping away rock surfaces (petroglyphs) or by painting on rock with dyes (pictographs). Painted animal skins decorated shields and tepee covers in the Plains region. Painting (common in the Southwest) or incisions (typical in eastern North America) decorated pottery. Artists used bone awls and sinew thread for appliqué on tanned hides (eastern North America regions). The WAMPUM belt was an example of appliqué that was widely used in negotiating protocol with Europeans. The creation of visual arts was GENDER specific. Women generally performed basket-making and needlework, while men engaged in weaving and embroidery.

MUSIC and DANCE were also well-developed art forms among Native Americans; these were interwoven into public and private ceremonies alike. Musical instruments included ceramic, wooden, or cane flutes, gourd rattles, and rawhide or water drums. Music was largely vocal and included various types of song forms. Songs were short and arranged in cycles with many repetitions. Long performances often surrounded these songs. There were many differences in regional styles of music and dance: Eastern Woodlands ceremonies included hand-held rattles and



This painting, known as *A Young Dutch American Girl, 1730*, was the work of the “Gansevoort Limner,” an unknown Dutch portrait painter. (*National Gallery of Art*)

water drums with dances and songs performed by women and men; pulsating vocals accompanied by rawhide rattles and drums were common art forms of Plains groups.

Europeans also expressed a diverse array of art forms. Early explorers from Europe created maps, drawings, and watercolors of the inhabitants, flora, and fauna of North America. In the British colonies imported European art provided models for engravings, mezzotints (a method of engraving that produced effects of lighting and shading), and painting styles. Common art forms produced in the British colonies during this early period included decorated household furniture, carved gravestones, and portrait prints.

By the mid-18th century British colonial wealth and stability increased, as did commissions for artists to paint portraits of wealthy patrons and their families. Art and its production developed into a source of national pride. With this shift in social prominence, artists moved from their former craftsman status into a new professionalism. This rise in artistic status also witnessed a shift from Puritan austerity to a more provincial style. With this new style artists integrated iconographic symbols, landscapes, and material possessions into portraits and prints. An elite CLASS of magistrates, military leaders, naval captains, and

MERCHANTS were among those who commissioned artists. Prints were an inexpensive and popular art form that included portraits, maps, and topographic views. Important British colonial painters included Henrietta Deering Johnston, JUSTUS ENGELHARDT KUHN, JEREMIAH THEUS, JOHN HESSELIUS, ROBERT FEKE, John Singleton Copley, and John Smibert. Prominent British colonial engravers of the period included JEREMIAH DUMMER, PETER PELHAM, and WILLIAM BURGIS. Dutch painters in the British colonies included Sir Anthony Van Dyck, Henri Coutourier, and Pieter Vanderlyn. In addition, colonial artisans produced remarkably fine cabinets, tables, and chairs, certainly matching anything in Europe at the time.

American colonial art integrated cosmopolitan art forms from Europe with provincial perspectives. Without the presence of established academies or apprentice masters, artists in British, French, and SPANISH COLONIES combined and created art forms that reflected a diversity of European artistic traditions. French colonial art forms included altar screens, votive paintings, and portraits. Pierre-Noël Levasseur worked in Canada and created intricate altar screens. NEW ORLEANS painter José Francisco Xavier de Salazar y Mendoza incorporated Spanish and Mexican traditions to create portraits of prominent citizens. LOUISIANA art forms also included watercolors of geographic features of North America and propaganda pieces to lure settlers to the area.

Paintings and sculpture from the Spanish BORDERLANDS of NEW MEXICO and Texas were primarily religious and intended for church mission decoration. Roman Catholic missionaries came to convert Native Americans and used painting and sculpture in this process. Church mission decorations initially consisted of frescos, later replaced by altar screens. Altar screens combined the work of several artists and included painting, ARCHITECTURE, and sculpture. In the 17th century Spanish colonists' religious ceremonies included figural sculptures of Mary, Jesus, and various saints. These images provided processional figures in reenactments and tools for conversion of Native Americans to Christianity.

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—Yolonda Youngs and Billy G. Smith

## artisans

The artisan was a ubiquitous and pivotal figure in colonial America. Whether crafting such simple and commonplace items as shoes, coats, and nails or producing more complex commodities such as homes, furniture, and transatlantic sailing vessels, early American SOCIETY depended on the labor of the skilled craftsman. Together with commerce and AGRICULTURE, artisan production lay at the heart of the North American colonial ECONOMY.

Within a generation of their founding, each of the major European-American settlements supported thriving craft economies. In rural areas farmer-artisans supplied the local milling, blacksmithing, and construction needs of their communities, while in the 17th- and 18th-century cities contemporaries pointed to the fact that American artisans produced virtually any article available in England or continental Europe.

At any time during the colonial era, the surest way to define an artisan was by reference to his or her possession of a skill. It was the knowledge of materials, tools, techniques, production processes, and marketing strategies that set artisans apart from those whose incomes depended on their brawn alone. In a world already divided into those who worked with their heads and others who worked with their hands, artisans occupied a middle ground, combining in their trade a degree of manual labor with the intellectual refinement of rigorous training, thought, and planning.

Artisans purchased this skill through a long period of apprenticeship to their craft. As potential artisans reached the age of 13 or 14, their parents sought to secure their future by placing them with a master craftsman in whose shop they would learn the "mysteries of the trade" that would make them full-fledged craftsmen and craftswomen. Most apprenticeships involved written contracts negotiated between parents and masters that stipulated that the apprentice live in the home of the master until adulthood, learn the skills of the craft as well as fundamentals of reading, writing, and basic mathematics, and receive a gift of CLOTHING and often tools at the expiration of their term.

Apprenticeships lasted through the adolescent years and generally ended by the age of 21. The average period of apprenticeship thus lasted about seven years. Trades requiring less skill often ended earlier, while those that required highly refined skills, such as instrument making and engraving, generally lasted a year or two longer. By the time they approached the end of their service, apprentices were well versed in the everyday operations of their CRAFTS and possessed most of the skills necessary for the practice of their trades. With their "freedom dues" in hand, young craftsmen were ready to embark on the next stage of their training.



In the journeyman phase of their careers, young American artisans who possessed skills but few funds spent the years immediately after their apprenticeships saving the money that would allow them to marry and enter their trade as full-fledged masters. In English America this meant working for a few years on a piecework basis for an established artisan in one of the seaport cities or larger country towns. When the journeymen had accumulated the savings and credit necessary to rent a shop, buy tools and materials, and set up a home, they were ready to join the ranks of the community's master craftsmen. This was the path followed successfully by most young craftspeople before the turn of the 18th century. However, after 1700, especially in urban centers, growing numbers of journeymen found it difficult and often impossible to procure sufficient capital or skills to become independent masters.

Before the end of the 18th century, most masters operated as independent producers, owning their own tools, purchasing their own materials, and relying on the help of their families, journeymen, apprentices, and, less frequently, free or bound laborers to fashion their goods. Most worked in small shops (often attached to their homes) that in urban areas they rented and in rural areas they generally owned. The workday, which typically ran from 10 to 12 hours in winter and 14 to 16 hours in summer, was regulated by the available hours of sunlight, candles being too expensive for nighttime work. Most artisans worked five and a half days during the week, reserving Sundays for rest, recreation, and worship. The artisan's tools were hand-held, and machinery was primitive, usually nothing more elaborate than a foot-driven potter's wheel or a hand-cranked wood lathe. Power thus came from the exercise of human muscle, and the pace of work was governed as much by the strength and endurance of the producers as by the nature of the work itself.

While most colonial products came directly from the shops of small masters, some were too large, complex, or expensive to be produced by a single artisan. In some of the more capital-intensive enterprises, such as shipyards, individual artisans worked as subcontractors to the owners of the concern, providing their own tools and hiring their own journeymen and apprentices to work beside them. In others, such as iron foundries, ropewalks, and tanneries, artisans simply hired their time for an agreed-upon amount. In both cases, however, artisans retained the personal and work autonomy that marked the life of skilled craftspeople everywhere in colonial America.

Defined in these ways, artisans were found throughout colonial America. Craftspeople were located in the countryside as well as the city, in the South as well as the North, and on the high seas as well as on terra firma. In short, artisans were present wherever more than a small handful of colonists congregated for trade and settlement.

Colonial artisans shared with their European counterparts a body of moral precepts and a distinctive view of the world. The cornerstone of the artisan moral tradition was labor, and from this foundation flowed related notions of democracy, competency, independence, and community. Given the critical services rendered by early American artisans, it is easy to understand why they thought of their skilled labor as a central element in the smooth functioning of colonial society. The time spent in apprenticeship, the skills laboriously learned and honed through years of practice, and the lifelong contribution to the well-being of the community gave the artisan a deep-seated feeling of pride, purpose, and social respectability. In practicing their trades, artisans saw themselves as performing a service not only to their families and customers but also to the larger community in which they lived. Colonial artisans thus viewed skilled labor as at once a social, moral, and economic act. To work was to employ their skills in service equally to self, family, and the community at large.

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—Ronald Schultz

**Attakullakulla** (1708?–1780?) *peace chief, ally of colonists*

Attakullakulla, known as Little Carpenter among the English, was a CHEROKEE warrior and diplomat. His membership in the prominent Overhill family led to his being chosen as one of seven Cherokee "Chiefs" to accompany Sir Alexander Cumming (who had been sent by the British government to negotiate a treaty with the Cherokee) to England in 1730. In 1743 Attakullakulla joined a British force fighting in Canada, where he was captured by Ottawas and remained a prisoner for the next five years.

Attakullakulla gained a reputation as a skilled diplomat after successfully negotiating improved trade relations with South Carolina and Virginia. He convinced British authorities to build Fort Loudoun, Fort Prince George, and Fort Dobbs near the Overhill villages in return for a Cherokee alliance against the French. He could not, however, prevent deteriorating relations between Cherokee and European colonists from escalating into the Anglo-Cherokee War in 1759–60. Attakullakulla attempted to mediate the conflict



without success. He was probably responsible for saving the life of John Stuart, later the southern superintendent of Indian affairs, during the Cherokee siege of Fort Loudoun in 1759.

Attakullakulla continued to act as a principal negotiator for the Cherokee with colonial officials. His last service came in the early years of the Revolutionary War, when he successfully convinced militia commander William Christian to withdraw his occupation of Overhill villages.

His influence, however, began to wane among younger members of the Cherokee, who wished to mount a vigorous resistance to encroaching Euro-Americans. Attakullakulla died sometime between 1777 and 1780.

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—Thomas R. Wessel





### **Bacon's Rebellion** (1676–1677)

In 1676 one of the most important rebellions in early North America erupted in VIRGINIA. Settlers had long chafed under their royal governor, SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY. They had many complaints, but it was Berkeley's Indian policy that proved most volatile. Amid a storm of criticism, the governor had earlier conceded the land north of the York River to POWHATAN tribes. To be sure, Berkeley wanted his colony to expand but without creating a conflict with neighboring NATIVE AMERICANS. Mindful of Indian opposition, especially since the powerful Susquehannah had migrated from PENNSYLVANIA to the Virginia backcountry in the 1660s, Berkeley genuinely feared a full-scale war.

Although many settlers shared Berkeley's concern, those fears did not deter land hunger, especially among poorer and western colonists. By 1660 the colony's population had mushroomed as newcomers joined freedmen (former indentured servants) in demanding land. Eastern established planters had acquired most of the acreage in the tidewater counties, leaving the landless with two alternatives: renting permanently from landowners or moving inland. Newcomers and freedmen soon envisioned the Indians, who possessed the land they coveted, as the source of Virginia's growing pains.

This mixture of fear and jealousy produced violent conflict in 1675. It all started, strangely enough, over hogs, when traders from the Doeg tribe confiscated Thomas Mathew's livestock as collateral for unpaid goods. Mathew and his friends gave chase, recovered the hogs, and attacked the traders. The Doeg retaliated, and soon a series of skirmishes and raids swept across the frontier.

Fearing their enemies, settlers expected decisive action from Berkeley, but again he disappointed. In March 1676 Berkeley and the assembly decided to build FORTS, but at locations far from the actual conflict. For settlers, the defensive plan appeared more like a plan for profit, allowing assemblymen the opportunity to monopolize Indian

trade. Having lost faith in their government, the frontiersmen looked for other alternatives.

They found one in a newcomer to the colony, Nathaniel Bacon. Unlike most newcomers, Bacon—a favorite of Berkeley, a council member, and a wealthy landowner—had enjoyed a prosperous start in Virginia. Like most newcomers, Bacon was disdainful of Indians. Assuming that Berkeley would eventually grant him a commission for his actions, Bacon and the western colonists waged war on the Indians. Having earlier sensed the rebellious mood of the frontiersmen, Bacon now realized that hatred of Indians diverted anger away from the government. When he wrote Berkeley for a commission, Bacon informed the governor of the potential for rebellion and how best to avoid it. Under his leadership, Bacon argued, frontiersmen would project their frustrations onto Indians. Racial hatred would thus ease CLASS tensions and unify white people against Indians.

Berkeley refused. He did not want to alienate Indian allies, in part to protect the valuable trade with them, nor did he trust the men whom he considered frontier “rabble.” Indeed, the governor thought it more dangerous to sanction Bacon's men than to rebuke them. Berkeley had another solution for defusing rebellion: He called for a new assembly, removed voting restrictions on landless men, and welcomed criticisms of his leadership, but his plan backfired. The new assembly passed reforms that empowered the common folk, and it legalized the enslavement of Indians.

Meanwhile, Bacon's men proceeded to attack Indians without a commission. Upon hearing the news that Berkeley had labeled them rebels, Bacon and his followers lived up to the label, directing hostility not only toward Indians but the government as well. On June 22, 1676, Bacon entered JAMESTOWN with 500 men and at gunpoint forced Berkeley to grant the commission. Bacon was declared “General of Virginia,” while a “Manifesto and Declaration of the People” called for all Indians to be killed or removed



During Bacon's Rebellion, farmers marched to Jamestown in September 1676, took over the House of Burgesses (shown here), and passed laws for reform. (*Library of Congress*)

and for the rule of elite “parasites” to end. Bacon's men now returned to the frontier to wage war against Indians. However, they soon turned back toward Jamestown when Berkeley nullified the commission and tried to raise troops to fight the rebels. Berkeley fled across the CHESAPEAKE BAY as Bacon reentered the city.

The next months proved among the most chaotic in Virginia's colonial history, as the exile and the rebel vied for control of the colony. The rebel appeared to be winning. As Bacon paraded captured Indians through the countryside, flocks of freedmen and newcomers joined his ranks. Even established planters, who had always opposed the “Bacon rabble,” gravitated toward rebel leadership to prevent the plunder of their estates. Berkeley responded by sailing back to Jamestown with guarantees of freedom to loyal slaves and servants, but Bacon made similar promises before the governor could dock. Never getting off his ship, Berkeley watched as Bacon razed Jamestown.

Bacon's Rebellion officially ended when English troops arrived to secure peace in January 1677, but it unofficially ended when Bacon died of dysentery in October 1676. After the dynamic leader's death, the rebellious spirit expired. Having crushed the Indians, frontiersmen turned their attention to the October harvest.

What began as a crusade against NATIVE AMERICANS nearly became a social revolution. Frontiersmen initially blamed Indians for their problems but later included the upper-class leadership. Although the rebellion never achieved its logical conclusion of political revolution, the threat was enough to initiate change. Unlike Berkeley, who had been dismissed from his duties, the remaining elite followed Bacon's advice. By almost exclusively importing African slaves rather than indentured servants after the rebellion, the elite apparently hoped that racial hatred of

black people would unify white people and thus soothe future class conflict.

See also BERKELEY, LADY FRANCES; POWHATAN CONFEDERACY.

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—C. B. Waldrip

## banking and credit

The banking and credit systems of British North America were very different from the financial institutions of today and were even less developed by 17th-century English standards as well. Commercial banks did not exist in Britain's North American colonies, nor were the colonists disposed to create centralized political or financial establishments. However, a system emerged that adequately satisfied the needs of the growing and developing ECONOMY of the colonies. Personal financial networks and government policies initiated by colonial legislatures to solve the colonies' shortage of currency and investment capital were the main institutions of banking and credit in early America.

Mercantile credit was the foundation of this system in the colonies. English and Scottish merchant houses would extend credit to their intermediaries or colonial MERCHANTS in eastern seaports on the promise of future goods. These “merchant bankers” would then distribute credit to their connections in the countryside. The system functioned along an avenue of credit and debt that ran from the rural farmer to urban mercantile firms to London or Glasgow. This credit was usually short-term and was to be remitted with the next harvest. Outside the mercantile sector access to credit was extremely limited. Merchants or wealthy landowners loaned money locally for the purchase of land or other enterprises. These individuals or firms provided many of the financial services of modern banks.

This system of mercantile credit was generally more beneficial to wealthy individuals than poorer ones. Although certainly an important part of the system, poorer members of SOCIETY were not extended as much credit as were the wealthy. The latter were viewed as better risks because they usually possessed greater assets in land or slaves. This belief also generated a regional disparity in access to British credit. The cultivation of TOBACCO, rice, and INDIGO in the South for the English market made that region a more attractive investment. In this period the South received nearly 80 percent of the British credit lent to the American colonies.

The extension of personal credit played an important role in the formation of colonial society because it helped



community leaders garner political support. By manipulating the creditor/debtor relationship, the early gentry created a patriarchal social order based on hierarchies of dependence in which political power (based on personal loyalty and social rank) rested with those who possessed access to foreign markets and credit.

Colonial governments were important actors in the banking and credit systems of early America. Through loan offices (or “land banks”) colonial legislatures provided loans to white male heads of households with land as collateral. Borrowers usually received currency worth up to half the value of the property being mortgaged and were free to spend the money in any manner they wished. The legislatures placed limits on how much currency one person could receive from the loan office in order to guarantee wide access and to prevent the depreciation of the currency already emitted. The repayment schedule extended over long periods, usually up to 12 years. Interest rates on the loans varied from colony to colony, but they were generally low, ranging from 5 to 6 percent in the Middle Colonies to 12.5 percent in SOUTH CAROLINA. The majority of colonies charged interest either at or slightly below 8 percent, the legally established limit for private transactions. In general, the land banks were successful. They dispensed funds broadly, raised revenues for the colonies through interest, enjoyed widespread support because they provided legal tender to country farmers who lacked gold or silver, and enabled large landowners to turn land into liquid capital.

**Further reading:** Edwin J. Perkins, *American Public Finance and Financial Services, 1700–1815* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1994).

—Peter S. Genovese, Jr.

## Baptists

Although they identified closely with the English PURITANS, Baptists parted ways with their fellow dissenters over the issues of infant baptism and the civil government’s role in matters of religion. Convinced that the New World offered greater opportunities for religious freedom, many Baptists made the voyage to North America. Because of the intolerance these so-called Anabaptists experienced, many of them assimilated into the establishment churches, whether Congregational or Anglican. However, upon the arrival of ROGER WILLIAMS in 1631, Baptists had their much-needed champion for liberty of conscience. Even though his tenure as a Baptist was brief, Williams aided in founding the first Baptist church in North America in Providence, RHODE ISLAND, in 1638. A second church soon followed (1641) under the leadership of John Clarke, who provided stability to the growing denomination.

Following the establishment of their first two churches, Baptists grew slowly in the New England Colonies. The Middle and Southern Colonies, however, provided a more conducive environment for growth, most of which occurred in the latter part of the 18th century. This growth multiplied after the formation of the PHILADELPHIA Association in 1707, which provided an example of church cooperation that would foster the phenomenal expansion of Baptists in the late 1700s. In 1707 about 50 Baptist churches existed; in 1763 there were about 250.

Three major issues arose in Baptist life during this period. The first was the concern for religious liberty, or soul liberty. Under the leadership of figures such as Roger Williams and Isaac Backus, Baptists struggled to avoid granting the government undue authority in matters of religion. For instance, they opposed mandatory church attendance and taxation on behalf of the established church. Second, Baptists expressed great concern for the purity, or regenerate nature, of the visible church. Thus, they sought to secure the conversion of every member through such practices as the administration of church discipline. The third matter Baptists dealt with into the early 19th century was the division between Separate Baptists, who emphasized the continued work of the Holy Spirit, and Regular Baptists, who were wary of much of the enthusiasm prominent in the revivals known as the First GREAT AWAKENING.

During the First Great Awakening some Baptist women assumed new roles. Although most continued in the traditional roles of wives and mothers, some Separate Baptists permitted women to pray aloud during religious meetings. They also defended the practice of female exhorting—the public calling of others to repent. Examples include Martha Stearns Marshall, a Separate Baptist known for her public prayers and exhortations, and Margaret Meuse Clay. Although certainly not the rule, women served as deacons and elders in some churches. They were not always allowed to speak publicly in these capacities, but their congregations still recognized such women as spiritual leaders.

Baptists also welcomed both Native American and African-American converts more warmly than did the established churches. However, most Baptists still shared the common racial prejudices of this period. Thus, they distinguished between Christian fellowship on the one hand and social and racial equality on the other hand. New England Baptists may have relinquished some of these prejudices before their southern counterparts, but Baptists of the South still undertook MISSIONS work to both NATIVE AMERICANS and slaves.

**Further reading:** William G. McLoughlin, *New England Dissent, 1630–1833: The Baptists and the Separation of Church and State*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Uni-

versity Press, 1971); Carla Gardina Pestana, *Quakers and Baptists in Colonial Massachusetts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

—Richard A. Bailey

**Bartram, John** (1699–1777) *American naturalist*

An important scientist and naturalist and known as the originator of American botany, John Bartram was born in Marple, PENNSYLVANIA, the eldest son of farmer William Bartram and his wife, Elizabeth Hunt. After the death of John's mother in 1701, his father remarried in 1707 and took his second wife and their children in 1711 to live in NORTH CAROLINA. John and his younger brother, James, remained behind, living with their grandmother. John married Mary Maris on April 25, 1723, and three months later inherited his grandmother's farm near PHILADELPHIA. They had two children, only one of whom reached adulthood. Two years after Mary's death in 1727, Bartram married Ann Mendenhall. They had nine children, including William Bartram, who followed in his father's role as a scientist.

Despite being raised in a devout Quaker household, John Bartram struggled with his faith. By the mid-1750s he was critical of Quaker pacifism and the divinity of Jesus, prompting the Society of Friends (Quakers) to disown him in 1757. Nevertheless, he was active in his local Quaker community and was buried in the Darby Friends burial ground.

As a child Bartram received only a basic formal EDUCATION, studying for about four years at the Darby Quaker School, yet he was fascinated with SCIENCE, taking a special interest in botany. He produced the American colonies' first botanical garden and worked with Joseph Breintnall to collect and identify specimens of North American trees. Through Breintnall Bartram gained access to the scientific circles of Britain, corresponding with various members of the Royal Society and developing a friendship and 35-year correspondence with one of its leading figures and fellow Quaker, Peter Collinson. Through Collinson Bartram published seven papers in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* and the results of a series of plant experiments in the popular *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Bartram was also an avid explorer, regularly traveling in the North American interior. His expeditions included journeys to the sources of the Schuylkill River in Pennsylvania, the Blue Ridge Mountains of VIRGINIA, the Catskill Mountains, the swamps of DELAWARE, the backcountries of the Carolinas, and FLORIDA. By the 1740s Bartram's reputation had spread, resulting in a steady stream of special requests for North American specimens from scientists throughout the Atlantic world. During his expeditions he collected plants, ANIMALS, and American

Indian artifacts, keeping some specimens for his own collections but sending a great deal to his associates. Several artifacts were sent to Sir Hans Sloane, who founded the British Museum, where a number of Bartram's contributions remain on display to this day.

Bartram's achievement as a naturalist led to international recognition. He was a founding member of the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, was elected to the Veteuskapsakademie (Sweden's Royal Academy of Sciences), and received a medal from the Society of Gentlemen in Edinburgh. In 1765 Bartram was appointed the botanist to King George III (1760–1820), which carried an annual stipend of £50. He died at home on his Kingessing farm.

**Further reading:** E. Berkeley and D. S. Berkeley, *The Life and Travels of John Bartram: From Lake Ontario to the River St. John* (Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida, 1982); Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Natures of John and William Bartram, 1734–1777* (New York: Knopf, 1996).

—Troy O. Bickham

**Batts, Thomas** (fl. 1671) *English colonist*

Explorer Thomas Batts was one of the first known Englishmen to cross the Appalachian Mountains, in 1671. Major General Abraham Wood, commander of Fort Henry, obtained a commission from Governor Berkeley of VIRGINIA charging Batts with investigating the territory west of the mountains in search of the "South Sea." The original group included Robert Fallam, Penecute (an Indian guide), Thomas Woods, and Jack Weason. General Wood sent seven additional Indian guides to join the expedition three days later. The arrival of the seven Apomatack was fortunate because Penecute became ill several days later. Fallam's detailed journal of the expedition provides an important resource for scholars today.

The group traveled along the Roanoke River to the Blue Ridge Mountains, where they discovered a west-flowing stream they called Wood's River (later renamed New River). After following the river to Peter's Fall (near the present-day Virginia–West Virginia border), they were forced to turn back due to threatening weather. Along the way Fallam recorded trees with carvings etched into their trunks, presumably by earlier white explorers.

On the return trip they met WILLIAM BYRD, accompanied by a larger group of men conducting their own EXPLORATION of the area. Batts returned to Fort Henry after traveling 23 days and 720 miles. Significantly, Batts and Fallam's claim to the New River strengthened England's claim to the Ohio Valley and most of the Allegheny territory.

**Further reading:** Robert D. Mitchell, *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society Development in the Preindustrial Era* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1991).

—Lisa A. Ennis

### Beaver Wars

The Beaver Wars of the mid-17th century are associated with the rise to power of the IROQUOIS Confederation of NEW YORK. In a series of attacks between 1649 and 1654, Mohawk and Seneca warriors decimated the HURON, Erie, Petun, and Neutral Indian nations and established themselves as the dominant Indian power from New England to Wisconsin. Later in the century attacks against the Illinois tribes and the Susquehannah in Pennsylvania stretched Iroquois influence to the Ohio Valley and as far south as VIRGINIA.

By 1630 the Huron of Canada had established a lucrative trade in beaver and other animal skins with French traders in Montreal. Their trading empire skirted the north shore of Lakes Huron and Erie into the Michigan peninsula, then north as far as Lake Nippissing. Each year dozens of Huron cargo canoes brought skins down the Ottawa River to Montreal. The Iroquois had established their own beaver trade with the Dutch at Fort Orange (Albany). The Iroquois, however, quickly depleted the fur-bearing animals in New York and attempted to gain access to plentiful supplies in Canada. Failing to reach agreement with the Huron, the Iroquois turned to raiding Huron canoe trains on the Ottawa River. Then, in a daring raid, the Iroquois attacked the principal Huron towns in March 1649, scattering survivors, and brought to an end Huron hegemony over the Canadian fur trade.

The Huron trading system had relied on the agricultural production of the Petun, Erie, and Neutral nations in the area north of Lake Erie. In the absence of the Huron, the Ottawa of Michigan entered the fray, trading with the Erie, Petun, and Neutral nations for foodstuffs and tobacco to carry into the Canadian interior in exchange for furs. Late in 1649 the Iroquois attacked and effectively destroyed the Petun. In 1651 the Neutral nation scattered before an Iroquois attack, and in 1654 the same fate befell the Erie. Continued rivalry with the Ottawa and the movement of the FUR TRADE toward the western Great Lakes encouraged Iroquois ventures to the west. The contest for dominance of the fur trade renewed old rivalries with the Susquehannah in Pennsylvania, ending only in 1675 when the Iroquois drove them south.

Intermixed with efforts to dominate the fur trade was the Iroquois need to recover population lost to battle and disease. The Iroquois tradition of adopting captives to replace lost sons, brothers, and husbands (mourning wars) undoubtedly helped fuel the Beaver Wars. The

Iroquois may also have been intent on extending “The Tree of Peace,” the symbol of their confederation, by bringing other tribes under its protection. Whether to dominate the fur trade, replace lost relatives, or to follow imperialist aims by extending their social and political system, the Beaver Wars propelled the Iroquois to a dominant position among Northeast Indians in the 17th century.

**Further reading:** Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1987).

—Thomas R. Wessel

### Benezet, Anthony (1713–1784) *educator, writer*

Anthony Benezet, an important colonial reform leader, was born in France to Huguenot parents who, in 1715, fled first to Rotterdam, then to England, where the family stayed until immigrating to PHILADELPHIA in 1731. Anthony became a Quaker and considered following his father’s mercantile business but became a schoolteacher instead. That decision limited his income significantly, which suited his goal to adhere strictly to the Quaker doctrine of plainness. The basis of all his efforts—for abolition of SLAVERY, justice for NATIVE AMERICANS and the poor, pacifism, temperance, and EDUCATION—was aversion to greed. He wrote, “The great rock against which our society has dashed” is “the love of the world & the deceitfulness of riches, the desire of amassing wealth.” He taught first in Germantown, then in 1742 became an instructor at the Friends’ English School in Philadelphia.

In 1750 Benezet started free classes for African-American students at his home in the evening while continuing to teach white children during the day. He also established a school for girls in 1755. He considered black students equal to white students and continued the informal classes until 1770, when he convinced the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting to open an “Africans’ School.” Among Benezet’s African-American pupils were former slaves Absalom Jones and Richard Allen, who became ministers and leaders of the Philadelphia black community. Another student was James Forten, who became an abolitionist and wealthy manufacturer. Benezet wrote in 1781 that he had “for many years, had the opportunity of knowing the temper and genius of the Africans; particularly those under his tuition, who have been many, of different ages; and he can with truth and sincerity declare, that he has found among them as great variety of talents, equally capable of improvement, as among a like number of whites.”

Benezet was JOHN WOOLMAN’s chief collaborator in convincing the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to ban

slaveholding. He served as one of the overseers of the press who approved Woolman's 1754 essay and wrote the initial draft of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's first denunciation of slavery, *An Epistle of Caution and Advice* (1754). Benezet worked within the Society of Friends (QUAKERS) to strengthen its testimony against slavery, published numerous articles and pamphlets, and corresponded extensively with abolitionists abroad. His most influential writings include *Observations on the Inslaving, importing and purchasing of Negroes* (1759) and *A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and Her Colonies* (1766). After 1776, when the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting banned slaveholding among its members, anti-slavery Friends sought to abolish slavery among non-Quakers as well. Anthony Benezet played a major role in this transition, urging enactment of the Pennsylvania gradual abolition law (1780), the first in the United States. Although disappointed that a more liberal law was not passed, he lobbied every Pennsylvania legislator for approval.

See also ABOLITIONISM.

**Further reading:** Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

—Jean R. Soderlund

### **Bering, Vitus Jonassen** (1681–1741) *explorer*

Jonassen Bering was a Danish-born Russian naval officer and navigator who led the first expedition that reached America from the West. Bering supervised the large-scale EXPLORATION program initiated by the emperor Peter the Great to expand Russia's Asiatic possessions and to discover if Asia and America were physically united. In 1728 Bering initially examined the water passage between Kamchatka and America. On June 15, 1741, two ships, the *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, commanded by Bering and Aleksei Chirikov, respectively, sailed from Kamchatka. After two weeks the ships became separated in fog. On July 26 a German naturalist, Georg Steller, on board *St. Peter* sighted land, and five days later he spent a few hours on Kayak Island. Bering discovered several more islands near Alaska. He lost nearly half of his crew to scurvy and other hardships. Bering died on December 17, 1741, on an uninhabited island that now bears his name. The rest of Bering's men managed to return to Kamchatka, with Chirikov having discovered several of the Aleutian Islands.

Later, the British explorer Captain James Cook proposed to name the strait that separates Asia and America after Bering. The results of the Bering expedition led to the Russian colonization of the shores of Alaska several decades later.

See also ALASKA, RUSSIA IN.

**Further reading:** Gerhard F. Muller, *Bering's Voyages* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1986).

—Peter Rainow

### **Berkeley, Lady Frances** (1634–1695?) *political activist*

Lady Frances Berkeley was married to three colonial governors, and she wielded political power in her own right. In the 17th century aristocratic women rarely exercised overt political influence. They occasionally engaged in political discussions in parlors and surely swayed influential dinner guests but almost never debated with assemblymen. These political boundaries, however, did not apply to Lady Frances Berkeley. Although she earned a reputation as a gracious hostess, welcoming royalist exiles during the ENGLISH CIVIL WAR, Lady Berkeley formed the "Green Spring faction" that became a dominant political force in VIRGINIA.

Frances Culpeper arrived in Virginia with her aristocratic parents around 1650. Two years later she married Samuel Stephens, governor of Albemarle. Six months following Stephens's death in 1669, the widow became the mistress of Green Spring by marrying Virginia governor SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY. Lady Berkeley obviously garnered the respect of her husband and his peers. During BACON'S REBELLION Lord Berkeley sent his wife to England as his agent. She defended her husband ably, casting her cousin Nathaniel Bacon as an ungrateful traitor. Despite her efforts, however, Lady Berkeley could not prevent the dismissal of her husband at the rebellion's end.

Although Lord Berkeley died in 1677, his wife continued to engage in politics. Determined to empower her husband's coterie, she organized the Green Spring faction. Her political activism brought Lady Berkeley close to Philip Ludwell, the future governor of the Carolinas. They married in 1680 and lived out their days at Green Spring.

**Further reading:** Wesley Frank Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607–1689* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986).

—C. B. Waldrip

### **Berkeley, Sir William** (1606–1677) *British colonial governor of Virginia*

Knighted in 1639, Sir William Berkeley was appointed governor of VIRGINIA in 1641. He arrived in the colony the following year to announce the termination of the VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON. Berkeley early looked and acted the part of royal governor. His fancy dress and comfortable home contrasted with the rugged background of the developing colony, and his words carried the weight of



regal authority. For colonists accustomed to the Virginia Company, life under Berkeley became burdensome. Rich and poor colonists alike grumbled over the governor's high taxes, his centralizing tendencies, and especially his Indian policy. Considering Berkeley's unpopularity, it is remarkable that he governed more than three decades, from 1642 to 1677, with only a brief break during the ENGLISH CIVIL WAR (1652–60).

In 1676 BACON'S REBELLION erupted in the colony. After land hungry colonists clashed with Indians on Virginia's frontier, Berkeley failed to satisfy discontented Virginians despite the advice of frontier leader Nathaniel Bacon. Bacon had implored the governor to wage war against Indians to avoid rebellion, but Berkeley refused, eventually choosing to battle Bacon rather than Indians.

Bacon's Rebellion highlights Berkeley's ineptitude as a leader. Time and again, the gentleman-governor proved incapable of understanding the men he considered "rabble." Berkeley was shocked, for example, when a new assembly, which he fostered, supported Bacon and legalized the enslavement of Indians, nor did Berkeley exercise the decisiveness his words so often implied. He once captured Bacon, but rather than execute the rebel, Berkeley forced a public apology to embarrass him. Bacon did not blush long, however, for he again rallied his men and sent the governor into exile.

After nearly a year of plunder and indiscriminate killing of Indians, Bacon's Rebellion ended. A royal investigative committee laid partial blame on faulty leadership and suggested the governor's removal. Berkeley's harsh program of retaliation cinched the matter, and in May 1677 he grudgingly conceded and returned to England.

See also BERKELEY, LADY FRANCES.

**Further reading:** Wesley Frank Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607–1689* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986); Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton, 1975).

—C. B. Waldrip

**Beverley, Robert** (1673?–1722) *writer, government official*

Born in Virginia and educated in England, Beverley was born a member of high society. His father was a politician and married into one of the oldest VIRGINIA families. By the time the elder Beverley died in 1887, the family owned nearly 50,000 acres on the Appalachian frontier. The couple had three sons, but Robert's brothers died young, making him the sole heir.

At 19 Beverley finished school in England and returned to Virginia, where he began his political career. He served

in a number of judicial, administrative, and legislative posts, including in the House of Burgesses. However, like his father, Beverley's outspokenness hindered his career. In 1703 he wrote numerous letters criticizing Virginia's governor. When the letters were made public, the governor blocked Beverley's every political move, and he soon thereafter retired from public life.

Beverley is best remembered for his book *History and Present State of Virginia* (1705). On a trip to England Beverley was asked to review a work on the BRITISH EMPIRE in America. Finding the section on Virginia full of errors, he offered to correct the work. Instead, he wrote a new history of the colony, full of observations about southern planters. In 1722 he published *The Abridgement of the Public Laws of Virginia*.

In 1696 Beverley married Ursula Byrd, William Byrd's daughter. Within a year the 16-year-old Ursula died in childbirth. Beverley spent the rest of his "retirement" involved in land speculation, hunting, FISHING, gardening, and writing; he even reentered public life on a limited scale.

—Lisa A. Ennis

**Bienville, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne, sieur de** (1680–1767) *French colonialist*

Canadian-born Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville played an important role in founding and shaping the French colony of LOUISIANA. Between 1692 and 1697, he served as a midshipman under his older brother Pierre Le Moyne d'IBERVILLE in naval action against the English. Prompted by French merchant interest in trade and fearing English encroachment in the lower Mississippi River valley, Louis XIV's Ministry of Marine in 1697 dispatched d'Iberville, accompanied by Bienville, in a successful effort to find the mouth of the Mississippi River and to establish a colony there. In Louisiana, Bienville explored widely, commanded military outposts, learned Indian languages, and negotiated a regional network of trade in deerskins with Indians communities. Upon the death of his brother Pierre in 1706, Bienville became Louisiana's de facto governor. For the next two decades, Bienville struggled to assure the survival of French Louisiana. It was threatened by France's failure to adequately support and supply its colony, colonial warfare, epidemic disease, Indian enmity, and infighting among the colony's leaders.

When proprietorship of Louisiana passed to financier Antoine Crozat in 1712, Bienville was superseded as governor by the arrogant Antoine Laumet de Lamothe Cadillac. As Cadillac's subordinate, Bienville pacified the hostile Natchez and founded NEW ORLEANS, but he also sabotaged the administration, occasioning Cadillac's recall and Bienville's eventual appointment as governor in 1718.

When in 1717 the colony passed into the proprietorship of financier John Law, his Company of the Indies imported large numbers of African slaves. Bienville oversaw efforts to transform Louisiana's frontier exchange economy into one based on the export of tobacco and indigo raised on plantations worked by Indian and African slaves under the Code Noir. Lacking sufficient merchandise to compete successfully with the British in the Indian trade, the company formed a political alliance with the Choctaw. Bienville encouraged the Choctaw to attack and enslave the Chickasaw, by then firm allies with British South Carolina.

Recalled to France in 1726 and stripped of his offices when the bankrupt company fell under new management, Bienville was reappointed governor in 1734, when the company returned the colony to the Crown after the NATCHEZ REVOLT of 1729. Fearing enslavement and the appropriation of their lands by the expanding plantation economy, the Natchez, allied with militant Bambara slaves, slaughtered 10 percent of Louisiana's Europeans. Though suppressed, the revolt turned the course of Louisiana away from a slave society toward "a society with slaves," from which a vibrant Creole society would emerge. French colonial ambitions were equally frustrated by Bienville's ill-fated campaigns against the Chickasaw in 1736 and 1739–40, the failure of which led to his resignation in 1741. He returned to France in 1743 and lived to see Louisiana pass into Spanish and British hands.

**Further reading:** Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998); Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

—James G. Bruggeman

**blacks** See AFRICAN AMERICANS.

**Bond, Thomas** (1712–1784) *doctor*

Significant in the development of early American MEDICINE, Thomas Bond was born in Calvert County, MARYLAND, on June 3, 1712, the son of Richard Bond (a planter) and Elizabeth Benson Chew (widow of Benjamin Chew). Bond was a birthright Quaker who drifted away from the Society of Friends (QUAKERS) until disowned around 1742. After studying medicine in Annapolis, he went to Europe for further studies, spending two years in Paris, though not receiving an M.D. Upon returning in 1734 Bond settled in PHILADELPHIA and began practicing

medicine. While interested in hygiene and epidemiology, he was also a skilled surgeon—especially successful at removing stones from the bladder. Bond also advocated SMALLPOX inoculation, publicly recommending the practice in 1737. He was also appointed one of the port physicians in 1741. Two years later Bond entered into a medical partnership with his physician brother Phineas (1717–73) that lasted 40 years.

Like other educated and enlightened citizens of the times, Bond contributed to society in nonmedical ways as well. As a member of Benjamin Franklin's circle, Bond joined the Junto and served as a Franklin family physician. He became a member of the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1741 and a founding member of the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY in 1743, he was elected to the Philadelphia Common Council in 1745, and he conceived the PENNSYLVANIA Hospital, which opened in 1752 with the active support of Franklin. It was the first American institution established explicitly to treat the sick, injured, and mentally troubled. As a frequent board of trustees member for the University of Pennsylvania, Bond supported the establishment of a medical department in 1765.

In 1766 Bond resigned from the board to become an attending physician at both the hospital and the almshouse, where he formalized his earlier practice of taking students on rounds. Strongly believing in the efficacy of clinical instruction, Bond offered the first course of clinical lectures in the colonies, giving students the opportunity to study patients in a hospital setting. As a clinical physician Bond preferred using his observations and experience when treating patients rather than relying on the various systems of medicine advocated by others. Bond also believed in using mild healing measures, such as limited bleeding and a variety of baths. He died in Philadelphia on June 9, 1784.

—Anita DeClue

**Bonnet, Stede** (d. 1718) *pirate*

Born to a wealthy family, Stede Bonnet became a notorious pirate. He served in the royal army and retired with the rank of major. He became a plantation owner on the island of Barbados in the CARIBBEAN. According to some sources, Bonnet could no longer stand living with his constantly nagging wife, although the reality probably was quite different. In 1717 he purchased a sloop, outfitted it with 10 guns, recruited a crew of 70 men, and named his ship *Revenge*. Bonnet then headed off with the express purpose of becoming a pirate. Although the crew bordered on mutiny because of his frowning on the MARINERS' usual drinking, swearing, and debauchery, Bonnet's training as a military officer enabled him to discipline the crew, despite

his apparent seasickness. He took two ships as “prizes” along the VIRGINIA coast, sold some of the pirated goods, then came upon the ship of notorious pirate EDWARD TEACH (Blackbeard). Bonnet’s and Blackbeard’s ships sailed in consort for some time, as Bonnet remained a virtual prisoner aboard Blackbeard’s ship. Bonnet was dismissed by Blackbeard and sailed off on his own, with Blackbeard keeping most of the jointly acquired spoils. Bonnet headed to NORTH CAROLINA, where he received a pardon from Governor Charles Eden.

Bonnet sailed for the Caribbean hoping to secure a privateer’s commission against the Spanish but instead pursued his old nemesis Blackbeard. Outsmarted by Blackbeard, Bonnet returned to PIRACY, taking the alias of “Captain Thomas” and naming his sloop the *Royal James*. He soon captured several prizes off Virginia and in DELAWARE Bay. William Rhett received a commission to capture Bonnet and surprised the pirate in the Cape Fear River, North Carolina. After a fierce battle Bonnet and crew were taken to CHARLESTON, where Bonnet’s light guard and the possible cooperation of Governor Robert Johnson made it possible for Bonnet to escape. Rhett recaptured Bonnet, who was placed under heavy guard. Twenty-five of Bonnet’s crew were found guilty, and on November 8, 1718, 22 of them were hanged. Bonnet was found guilty two days later and hanged.

Bonnet belonged to a generation of pirates who attacked the ships of all nations sailing in the Atlantic Ocean, thereby creating a crisis in the trading system of the Atlantic world. Britain and other European nations responded by launching a war of terror against the pirates, largely subduing them by the late 1720s.

**Further reading:** Marcus Rediker, *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004).

—Stephen C. O’Neill

## borderlands

Borderlands are places between colonies or nation-states. They are usually areas contested by several peoples. For example, in the colonial period the present-day southeastern United States was a borderland, contested by the British, the Spanish, the French, and numerous Native peoples, including the CHEROKEE, the CHOCTAW, and the CHICKASAW.

The historiographic concept of the borderlands has a contested history itself. Historians have long argued over whether we should see the expansion of European peoples onto the lands of NATIVE AMERICANS as a frontier or as many borderlands at specific times and places. Frederick Jackson Turner’s “frontier thesis,” developed in the late

19th century, described a process of white Americans moving west onto new lands. According to Turner, as the frontier spread west, it brought new economic and social stages. Places where Indians had hunted for their livelihoods became populated by traders, then ranchers, farmers, and eventually industrial city dwellers.

Recognizing that Turner’s model omitted both non-British colonizers and a substantial phase of co-occupation, his student Herbert Eugene Bolton pioneered the concept of borderlands to study Spanish North America. In the borderlands that Bolton described, Spanish officials, soldiers, and friars coexisted with Indians for centuries on the same land, in contrast to Turner’s advancing line.

Nearly a century after Turner and Bolton formulated their models, historians still struggle with the question of which concept is more useful for studying Indian-white interactions. Historians following in Turner’s footsteps see white expansion as a process that gradually enveloped Native peoples. They have improved Turner’s deficient attention to the Indian side of the frontier. In Turner’s work Indians appeared only in the first short stage of supposed progress to civilization. His successors have recognized the continuing Indian presence and have tended to see the process as one of the increasing power of white people to control the land rather than Turner’s normative process of “civilization.” However, more recent frontier studies still tend to center on white processes. Indians are present, but usually only react to white actions. Another criticism is that the term *frontier* may be too weighted by its connection with the glorification of European settlement to be of much analytical use.

The concept of borderlands is appealing to many historians who want to study the interactions of various peoples—Native American, European, and African—in colonial America. Because the borderlands school generally recognized a longer and more important Native American role than did Turner, the New Western and New Indian schools of historians have tended to follow a borderlands approach. They see borderlands as places where different peoples came together and had to figure out how to coexist.

By studying borderlands, historians have reached several important general insights. The European conquest of the Americas was not inevitable. In fact, in many places and times, Native Americans converted Europeans to their diplomatic, economic, social, and cultural ways. Colonial power had its limits. Even regions that European powers claimed to rule were often, on the ground, ruled by Native peoples. As places of cross-cultural contact, borderlands are ideal for comparative cultural history. For example, many Europeans who observed Native Americans in the colonial period noted that women did the farming, in contrast to GENDER roles in Europe.

Europeans tended to believe that Native American men forced the women in their societies into the “drudgery” of agricultural work. This misconception reveals much about the gender systems and beliefs of European and Native American societies. Finally, by studying a wide variety of Indian-white reactions, borderlands studies have helped to destroy the myth that Indians were (or are) monolithic and powerless.

See also CORNSTALK; HENDRICK; LA DEMOISELLE.

**Further reading:** Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, “From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History,” (*American Historical Review*, 104 (June 1999): 814–841.

—Kathleen DuVal

**Bosomworth, Mary Musgrove** (1700?–1765) *trader, interpreter*

Mary Musgrove Bosomworth gained distinction in the 18th century as an astute businesswoman and landowner. Born “Coosaponakeesa” to a Muscogean Creek mother of high status and Edward Griffin, a British trader from CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, she became an important intercultural mediator who negotiated peace between the resident Creek population and the British authorities in what became the colony of GEORGIA.

Coosaponakeesa lived as a member of the Creek Wind clan in the central Georgia village of Coweta for the first seven years of her life, before traveling to Pon Pon, South Carolina, to learn the language and culture of her father’s people, who christened her “Mary.” She and her husband John Musgrove, whom she married in 1717, set up a lucrative trading post near the Savannah River, where Mary attracted the attention of British general JAMES OGLETHORPE upon his arrival in 1733. Oglethorpe’s Crown-appointed mission to establish the land between Spanish FLORIDA and South Carolina as a British colony required that he hire an effective liaison to negotiate peaceful relations with the Creek, a task ideally suited to Mary Musgrove due to her mixed heritage and long association with tribal leaders, particularly one of their chiefs, Tomochichi. The political alliance that Coosaponakeesa facilitated between the British and the Creek led to the colonization of Savannah in 1733, followed by all of Georgia later that year.

The Musgroves subsequently expanded trading operations at “the Cowpens” at Yamacraw Bluff, near their original trading post site, where they supplied European settlers with provisions and recruited Creek warriors to assist Oglethorpe in repelling Spanish forces that threatened from the south. This post, stocked with perishables raised in the Musgroves’ own fields with the

help of black, Indian, and Spanish slave labor, grew to represent one-sixth of all the Indian trade that took place in Charleston. Mary’s economic success sustained her through the deaths of her husband and their three young sons from malaria in 1735. Her business acumen, as well as an annual salary of 100 pounds sterling paid by the British ambassador until his departure in 1743, guaranteed her financial security despite the tenuousness of her landownership after John’s death. Although she was born into a matrilineal Indian society in which women controlled the land, widowhood left her vulnerable to losing the holdings she had accumulated with Musgrove. The gender prejudices of British law necessitated Mary’s subsequent marriage to indentured servant Jacob Matthews in 1737, a strategic union meant to secure her property against seizure by colonial trustees. Shortly thereafter, she established another trading post at Mount Venture on Georgia’s Altamaha River, a station that survived Matthews. His premature passing in 1742 made possible the third and final marriage for Coosaponakeesa two years later, this time to an occasional minister named Thomas Bosomworth, for whom she had worked as an interpreter. This partnership signified a sharp rise in status for Mary, whose two previous husbands had belonged to the lower ranks of the colonial social order.

Beginning in 1738, a series of Creek and British land grants, including the Georgia barrier islands of St. Catherines, Ossabaw, and Sapelo, provided additional compensation for her service as a diplomat. The Indian gifts, however, precipitated a legal battle between Musgrove and the British courts over title to the lands, ultimately pitting Creek against English claims to territorial sovereignty. Unfortunately for Mary, the doctrine of discovery utterly privileged British property rights and thereby legally nullified the Creeks’ land gifts, but she continued to petition for title to her alleged holdings. Authorities felt little urgency to settle these land claims, first filed in 1747, until the SEVEN YEARS’ WAR suggested a new potential threat to English colonial security. A change in leadership at mid-century weakened the relationship between the Georgia government and the Creeks, and fear of reprisal for the as yet unresolved claims of the popular and powerful Coosaponakeesa prompted the London courts to seek a swift compromise with the Bosomworths. One colonial official described Musgrove’s esteem among her mother’s people, reporting that she “is looked upon by the whole Creek Nation, as their Natural Princess, and any Injury done to her will be equally resented as if done to the whole Nation.” British land laws notwithstanding, in July 1759 Mary at last received title to St. Catherines Island as well as £2,100 from the sale of Sapelo, Ossabaw, and the Yamacraw Bluff property. The settlement, though considerably less than



her original claims, left Musgrove the largest landowner in the colony that she herself had helped to establish a quarter century earlier.

Coosaponakeesa benefited from a multicultural upbringing that in adulthood engendered compatibility with and allegiance to the English and the Creek alike, earning her tremendous success both as a businesswoman and as a peace negotiator. Musgrove served one last turn as diplomatic liaison in the late 1750s before she finally retired to St. Catherines around 60 years of age. She spent her remaining years on the island until her death in 1765 and presumably remains buried there at a now-lost gravesite.

**Further reading:** Doris Behrman Fisher, “Mary Musgrove: Creek Englishwoman,” Ph.D. diss. (Emory University, 1990); Michael D. Green, “Mary Musgrove: Creating a New World,” in *Sifters: Native American Women’s Lives*, edited by Theda Perdue (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

—Wendy M. Zirngibl

## Boston

Boston’s location on the Shawmut Peninsula, with three lofty hills (the Tremont or Tri-mountain), natural springs, and a deep and protected harbor, was a natural choice for the first wave of Puritan settlers to MASSACHUSETTS, who arrived in 1630. The PURITANS envisioned themselves as establishing a “city on a hill,” and here was the hill. They were invited from Charleston by the Reverend William Blackstone, a hermit who had been living on the peninsula since 1625.

The town of Boston was founded in September 1630 as the capital of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Its form of government was created in 1633 as the town meeting with elected selectmen, and it lasted until Boston was incorporated as a city in 1822. Early Massachusetts governors JOHN WINTHROP and Henry Vane and the leading Puritan ministers John Wilson and JOHN COTTON resided in Boston. The Boston Common was established as the common pasturage in 1632, and the town market was created in 1634. Harvard College was established in neighboring Cambridge across the Charles River in 1636. Boston’s population swelled quickly to nearly 1,700 in the first decade, then slowed as immigration declined.

Trade dramatically affected Boston’s character after the disruption of the ENGLISH CIVIL WAR of the 1640s, transforming the town into one of the most important shipping ports in the BRITISH EMPIRE. Shipping was based heavily on the export of timber, cod, and rum and the import of wine, wheat, molasses, and finished materials. SHIPBUILDING flourished as the need for ships grew.

The city’s MERCHANTS diversified their operations, taking a lead in the African slave trade and dealing directly with smugglers and privateers. Merchants largely ignored the Navigation Acts, resulting in Boston, profiting as a commercial center.

An entrenched elite of several families developed, they provided leadership to the town and the colony from Boston. Leaders from among the Winthrop, Saltonstall, and Sewall families, with popular support, were responsible for arresting Royal Governor SIR EDMUND ANDROS and his associates in 1688, imprisoning him on an island in Boston Harbor. They hoped for the return of the godly Puritan Commonwealth, but the Second Charter of 1691, a compromise achieved by INCREASE MATHER, extended SUFFRAGE to non-Puritans by eliminating church membership as a requirement for franchise status and created a royal governor appointed by the king.

A series of fires, especially the major ones in 1676 and 1711, consumed large portions of the town’s center. Boston quickly recovered each time, aided by legislation requiring brick for new structures in town. This spurred construction of some of the most impressive buildings in the colonies: the Old Brick Church and Old State House between 1711 and 1713, Christ Church (the Old North Church) in 1723, and the Old South Meetinghouse in 1729 (all of which, except for the Old Brick, are still standing). Roads were graded for drainage, paved with cobblestones, and routinely cleaned. Subterranean drainage was created in 420 sections between 1708 and 1720. The most important construction project was Long Wharf in 1711. It extended from King Street nearly a mile into Boston Harbor, making it one of the largest in the world.

By 1720 Boston was the largest British port in North America, with a population close to 12,000. It exerted its cultural and stylistic influence across New England and to the other colonies. Printing and book selling, painting and engraving, goldsmithing and cabinet making were just some of the advanced, specialized trades that flourished in Boston. The bustling town was the home of leading theologians, political aspirants, and a mercantile elite, as well as laborers, mechanics, housewives, prostitutes, slaves, transient seamen, and even the young Benjamin Franklin.

As Boston approached its highest pre-Revolutionary population, more than 16,000, a major economic depression in the 1740s combined with increasing poverty, SMALLPOX epidemics, and deaths resulting from the continual warfare with France. Boston entered a period of declining shipping, decreasing population, and civil unrest. Wealth inequalities increased dramatically. Crowds of people often took to the streets to advocate their own political agendas. The vocally political nature of Bostonians of all classes from the 1740s

to the 1770s gave rise to various discontents and was a vital ingredient to the start of the American Revolution.

Throughout the colonial period, Boston was preeminent as a political, commercial, educational, theological,

and cultural center, rivaled only by PHILADELPHIA and NEW YORK CITY.

See also ENDECOTT, JOHN; KNIGHT, SARAH KEMBLE; MATHER, COTTON; SEWALL, SAMUEL.



This 1728 map shows Boston when it was still the largest city in the thirteen colonies. (Library of Congress)



**Further reading:** Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979); Walter Muir Whitehill, *Boston: Topographical History*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000).

—Stephen C. O'Neill

### Boston Philosophical Society

The Boston Philosophical Society was perhaps the first organization founded in the American colonies for the pursuit of the study of experimental and natural philosophy. Established in April 1683 by the father-son team of INCREASE MATHER and COTTON MATHER, the society was patterned after the Royal Society of London, which had been established in Restoration London in 1660 and chartered by Charles II in 1662. In his autobiography, Increase Mather wrote "I promoted a design for a private philosophical society in Boston, which I hope may have laid the foundation for that which will be our future edification." The two Mathers, as well as their colleagues in the society, saw no contradiction between the study of the natural world and the belief in an all-powerful, active deity. The members, including the Mathers, the Reverend SAMUEL WILLARD, and others sent correspondence to England and presented papers to the periodic meetings of the group.

The society was short lived, however. Dissatisfaction with the Crown's revocation of the Massachusetts Charter in 1684, the subsequent arrival of EDMUND ANDROS as governor in December 1686, and the declaration of the DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND took the members' attention away from natural philosophy. Although few records survive, we may surmise that the society lasted only two to five years.

—George W. Boudreau

### Boylston, Zabdiel (1680–1766) *doctor*

Zabdiel Boylston, a surgeon and physician born at Muddy River (now Brookline), MASSACHUSETTS, introduced SMALLPOX inoculation in America. After an apprenticeship to his physician father, Boylston became a successful surgeon and apothecary shop owner, developing new medications as well as medical procedures. Although his practice was lucrative, little is known about him until 1721, when a smallpox epidemic erupted in BOSTON.

Reverend COTTON MATHER had twice appealed to the Boston medical community to consider inoculation—the little-known method by which a healthy person is deliberately given a mild case of smallpox in order to produce lifetime immunity. Many people and physicians feared that inoculation would only spread the DISEASE because

infected people were contagious. Religious opposition was based on the belief that only God could inflict such maladies. Only a letter from Mather in June 1721 spurred Boylston to action. Mather had included a publication of the Royal Society of London describing the ancient practice of inoculation in Constantinople. Remembering the smallpox epidemic of 1702 and "how narrowly I then escap'd with my Life," Boylston responded by inoculating his six-year-old son Thomas and two servants. Angry mobs threatened Boylston's life, and a bomb was thrown through Reverend Mather's window. However, most of the clergy supported Mather and Boylston, as eventually did Boston's physicians when they examined Boylston's record. Of the 241 people he inoculated (known as "variolated") between July 1721 and February 1722, only six (2 percent) died; among those not inoculated, smallpox killed 844 (14 percent) of the 5,889 Bostonians who contracted the disease.

Noting that more people had been inoculated in Boston than in England, British supporters of inoculation invited Boylston to London, where in 1726 he published *An Historical Account of the Small-pox Inoculated in New England*, a detailed clinical account of his experiments. He was the first American-born physician to be inducted into the prestigious Royal Society of London. After returning to Boston, Boylston resumed his practice and promoted inoculation when smallpox struck again in 1730. In 1740 he sold his shop and retired to the family farm in Brookline, where he engaged in local politics, bred horses, and conducted scientific experiments until his death in 1766.

**Further reading:** Zabdiel Boylston, *An Historical Account of the Small-pox Inoculated in New England* (London: S. Chandler, 1726; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1977); John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953, 1971).

—Anthony Connors

### Braddock, Edward (1695–1755) *British army commander in the French and Indian War*

Edward Braddock was born in 1695 in Perthshire, Scotland, the son of Major General Edward Braddock (d. 1725). He joined the Coldstream Guards in 1710 and had 45 years' experience with the European style of warfare when he was appointed commander of all British forces in North America.

When he arrived in VIRGINIA in the spring of 1755, his main task was to drive the French away from Fort Duquesne (later Pittsburgh), at the strategic confluence of the Allegheny, Ohio, and Monongahela Rivers. Earlier attempts by militia and volunteers to capture the fort had failed. Braddock possessed little knowledge of wilderness fighting and a considerable disdain for Indians and colonial troops. Because the British regiments

were under strength, half the force of 2,000 men was colonial recruits. Indian scouts, carpenters, sailors, and a siege train completed the army. Because of his experience with the abortive expedition the preceding year, George Washington was invited to sign on as an aide, although he had little respect for Braddock's military skills.

Provision and transportation problems plagued the expedition from the beginning. The column experienced hard going, hampered by excess baggage and wagons. In the heat of June, plagued by insects, the engineers had to widen an old Indian trail through the dense forest and then surface it to accommodate both wagons and cannon. Braddock finally decided to rush ahead with 1,500 of his best troops with only bare necessities carried by packhorses. Progress was methodical and by the book, with flankers out and scouts vigilant.

When the advance guard began to cross the Monongahela 10 miles from Fort Duquesne on July 9, a numerically inferior force of 900 French and Indians ambushed them. Exhorting his men to fight like Englishmen, Braddock refused to allow them to shoot from behind cover, as did the provincials. After Braddock was wounded, the British began a chaotic retreat to the river, hotly pursued by the enemy. Washington placed Braddock in a cart and took him to safety while the British organized a rear guard defense. They suffered 977 casualties out of 1,459 troops. Braddock suffered greatly for four days before dying, and he was buried in the middle of the trail so that his grave would be protected from desecration by the Indians. Washington's organization of the retreat earned him a military reputation.

**Further reading:** Lee McCardell, *Ill-Starred General: Braddock of the Coldstream Guards* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986).

—Joseph J. Casino

**Bradford, Cornelia Smith** (d. 1755) *printer, journalist* Cornelia Smith married Andrew Bradford (1686–1742), a prominent printer in PHILADELPHIA, in 1740. Already the publisher of the *American Weekly Mercury*, her husband produced the first *American Magazine* in 1741, beating Benjamin Franklin in publishing the first magazine in the colonies by less than a week. After Andrew's adopted nephew and successor WILLIAM BRADFORD spurned a marriage to Cornelia Smith Bradford's adopted niece, causing great awkwardness in the household, Andrew rewrote his will, leaving the press to his wife. When Andrew died childless in 1742, his widow took over publication in partnership with two men. She dissolved the arrangement in 1744 and operated the press independently until her retire-

ment in 1746, after which the publication of both the magazine and newspaper ceased. Cornelia Smith Bradford died in 1755, having become the first woman independently to operate a newspaper in America.

—Margaret Sankey

**Bradford, William** (1590–1657) *governor of Plymouth Colony*

William Bradford was born in England to a family of prosperous yeoman farmers. Raised by uncles after his father's death, Bradford became literate and read Erasmus and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* avidly. Hearing the preaching of Richard Clifton, Bradford broke with the Church of England and embraced the idea of Protestant Separatism, much to the horror of his family. Under government pressure, the Separatist community at Scrooby, led by Bradford and William Brewster, moved to the Netherlands, joining other dissident Protestant communities. While there Bradford worked in the textile industry and, in 1613, married Dorothy May, by whom he had a son, John. Cultural differences with the Dutch and the prospect of renewed war with Spain led the group to plan a move across the Atlantic to lands held by the London Adventurers company in New England.

In 1619 the group set out in two vessels, the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower*, but only the *Mayflower* was able to complete the crossing. Arriving in New England, Bradford helped to scout the site of the settlement, returning to the ship only to find that his wife had fallen overboard and drowned. Bradford concentrated his energies on holding the colony together as a signatory of the MAYFLOWER COMPACT and as the chief liaison with SQUANTO. When Governor Carver died, Bradford stepped in as the governor of the colony until his death in 1647. Bradford's administration survived constant crises, including sickness, famine, encroachment by squatters on the lands of Natives, and threats from the London investors, whom the colony eventually bought out at great sacrifice. Bradford also maintained good relations with JOHN WINTHROP, whose rival colony in BOSTON began to sap the strength of Plymouth.

Bradford and his second wife, Alice Southworth, adopted many of the colony's orphans. In his later years Bradford wrote the *History of Plymouth Plantation*, a valuable source on the early settlement, as well as poetry and commentary on classical works.

**Further reading:** William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation* (New York: Dover Publications, 2006); James Deetz and Patricia Scott Deetz, *The Times of Their Lives: Life, Love, and Death in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Anchor Books, 2001).

—Margaret Sankey



**Bradford, William** (1663–1752) *printer*

The founder of a large family of printers, William Bradford came to PENNSYLVANIA in 1685 as a distributor of Quaker books published by his master, Andrew Sowle. Bradford married Sowle's daughter Elizabeth and embraced the Quaker faith. Bradford returned to England, then traveled back to Pennsylvania, where he established a printing press. He was called before Pennsylvania's Council for printing an unauthorized version of the colonial charter, an act that won him the support of the QUAKERS, who committed to buy his books and gave him a 40-pound-per-year salary. To ensure materials for printing, Bradford was instrumental in the establishment of America's first paper mill with the help of a Dutchman, William Rittenhouse.

Bradford lost favor with the Quakers when he printed an address of the discredited George Keith. Tried for this offense, the case went unresolved when the jury, handling the actual printing type, accidentally spilled the tray and destroyed the evidence. Governor Benjamin Fletcher of NEW YORK invited him to New York, where he became Royal Printer of New York and New Jersey. He continued to distribute books from his wife's family, including her sister Tace Sowle Raylton. Bradford joined the Church of England in 1703 and received support from them. In 1725 he established the first New York newspaper, the *New York Gazette*. Retiring in 1744, he died in 1752 in NEW YORK CITY, leaving behind a dynasty of American printers.

—Margaret Sankey

**Bradstreet, Anne Dudley** (1612–1672) *poet*

America's first published poet was born in 1612 on the estate of the earl of Lincoln, where her father, THOMAS DUDLEY, was steward. Raised on the estate, she was educated by her mother, Dorothy Yorke Dudley, using the earl's great library, including works by Philip Sidney, Walter Raleigh, and the French Calvinist poet du Bartas. Stricken with SMALLPOX at age 16, Anne recovered and in 1628 married Simon Bradstreet, the Cambridge-educated assistant to her father. The family, which had embraced nonconformist PROTESTANTISM, chose to follow JOHN WINTHROP and his party to MASSACHUSETTS in 1630 on board the *Arbella*. Settling at Cambridge, Ipswich, and finally Andover, the family established themselves as part of the intellectual and political elite, with Thomas Dudley serving as judge and governor.

Many members of the family wrote poetry, shared among themselves, and Anne began writing poems as well as prose meditations and autobiographical material for family consumption. Many of her short poems dealt with the experience of living in the New World, including fear for her often-absent husband, grief at the death of grandchildren, anxiety in childbirth (she bore eight children),

and the loss of her house and 800-volume library to fire in 1666. The longer poems are marked by her Puritan faith and a keen interest in and understanding of SCIENCE, astronomy, and nature. These works show a neglected side of Puritan life, especially in the poems written to celebrate her passionate physical relationship with her husband and her admiration for Queen Elizabeth I (1558–1603) as a Protestant and powerful woman leader.

In 1647 Anne's brother-in-law, Reverend John Woodbridge, returned to England, taking a copy of Anne's long poems, which he had published anonymously in London in 1650 as *The Tenth Muse, Lately Sprung Up in America* and which identified its author as a respectable and esteemed woman from America. The volume met with praise on both sides of the Atlantic and won the admiration of COTTON MATHER, who declared her work "statelier than marble." Anne revised and improved the poems beginning in 1666, and a second edition appeared in 1678, six years after her death. Her shorter works were collected and published by the family after her death.

**Further reading:** Douglas Wilson, *Beyond Stateliest Marble: The Passionate Femininity of Anne Bradstreet* (Nashville, Tenn.: Highland Books, 2001).

—Margaret Sankey

**Brainerd, David** (1718–1747) *missionary, diarist*

A Christian missionary to NATIVE AMERICANS and the author of important personal journals, David Brainerd was born in Haddam, CONNECTICUT. He attended Yale College from 1739 to 1742. He became a New Light during the GREAT AWAKENING and was expelled from Yale for claiming that a tutor had "no more grace than a chair." At the invitation of Ebenezer Pemberton, a Presbyterian clergyman in NEW YORK CITY, Brainerd became a missionary to the Mahican Indians in NEW YORK, then in 1744 accepted an assignment among the DELAWARE of PENNSYLVANIA and NEW JERSEY. The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge sponsored his work.

While Brainerd met an unenthusiastic response among Delaware who had migrated west to the Susquehanna Valley, he achieved greater success in 1745 at Crossweeksung, an Indian town on Crosswicks Creek in Burlington County, New Jersey. Brainerd and his interpreter, Moses (Tunda) Tatamy, a Delaware and recent convert, inspired a revival, converting scores of people within just a few months. When the crowds overflowed Crossweeksung, some moved to better lands at Cranbury, in Middlesex County, where Brainerd tried to create an agricultural mission—essentially a New England-style "praying town." After David Brainerd died of tuberculosis in 1747, his brother John succeeded him as minister. In 1758 the combined missionary efforts of

the brothers contributed to the Delaware loss of traditional New Jersey lands. David Brainerd's deeply introspective journals went through many editions, including one by Jonathan Edwards. Brainerd's religious meditations were particularly influential among 19th-century evangelists.

**Further reading:** Richard W. Pointer, "'Poor Indians' and the 'Poor in Spirit': The Indian Impact on David Brainerd," *New England Quarterly*, 67 (1994): 403–426.

—Jean R. Soderlund

**Brattle, Thomas** (1658–1713) *scientist*

Born in BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, to a wealthy merchant family, Brattle attended Harvard College, focusing on mathematics and science. After receiving his B.A. in 1676, he continued his study of these subjects, in 1680 collaborating on observations of a comet that drew the notice of Sir Isaac Newton and earned Brattle membership in the Royal Society, Britain's oldest, most prestigious scientific organization. Moving to London in 1682, he studied with the chemist Robert Boyle and the astronomer John Flamsteed. He returned to Boston in 1689, after his parents' death, and lived off his considerable inheritance while furthering his research.

During the Salem witch trials of 1692, Brattle joined INCREASE MATHER and most other local ministers in rejecting the evidential basis for the many convictions and executions. Brattle's letter attacking the court's rulings helped motivate Governor William Phips to halt the proceedings. Brattle and his younger brother William, a tutor at Harvard College, later parted company with these same ministers in establishing the Brattle Street Church as a haven for religious liberalism and in helping to oust Mather from Harvard's presidency. These actions helped to prepare the way for the rise of American Unitarianism.

—George W. Harper

**Brébeuf, Jean de** (1593–1649) *Jesuit missionary, scholar*

Jean de Brébeuf, the son of lesser Norman gentry, was educated at the Jesuit College in Rouen, then dispatched to the missions of New France in 1625. Much of what we know of Brébeuf comes from his contributions to the *Jesuit Relations*, which chronicled the Jesuits' struggles to Christianize the ALGONQUINS and the Montagnais, but especially the HURON Indians—who were favored for conversion because they were a settled, agricultural people, French allies, and intermediaries in the fur trade. After a trying apprenticeship with the Montagnais in 1625–26, Brébeuf was dispatched, along with Father Anne de Noué, 800 miles by canoe to Toaché, Huronia. Conversions were

few, but Brébeuf began mastering the Huron language, the paramount task of these early Jesuits. Friendship with the Huron, however, drew the ire of their enemies, the IROQUOIS, who in turn were allied with the Dutch at Fort Orange. When the English captured Quebec in 1629, Brébeuf was recalled to France, but he returned in 1633 when directed by his superior, Paul Le Jeune, to found the Saint-Joseph mission near Ihontiria in Huronia.

Although initially adhering to the French colonial aspirations of molding Indian converts into compliant Christian peasants, Brébeuf and his fellow Jesuits adopted a policy of religious and cultural accommodation based on what they interpreted as divine authorship of the Huron language and culture. Crafting his appeals on what he construed as the divine elements in that culture, Brébeuf engaged the Huron in a sustained cultural dialogue, acting like a shaman, adopting the local rhetoric, performing Christian versions of Huron religious rites, and ignoring those facets of Huron life that did not flagrantly challenge Catholic doctrine.

Though initially successful, Brébeuf's mission ground to a halt in the face of increasing Huron resistance, exacerbated by waves of influenza, smallpox, and dysentery between 1634 and 1639 that killed half the people in the area. Justifiably suspicious that "Faith and death march in company," the Hurons beat, stoned, and reviled Brébeuf. A pariah in Huron country, Brébeuf was recalled in 1642 to establish a mission among the Algonquins. Rumors of Jesuit sorcery forestalled his effort, leaving him with only a comforting premonition of his impending martyrdom and his vow not to refuse it.

Brébeuf returned to Huron country in 1644 at the outbreak of the BEAVER WARS. The Iroquois, armed by Dutch traders, launched devastating offensives upon Huronia and its Jesuit mission, intending to annihilate the French and supplant the Huron as arbiters of the fur trade. In 1648 the Iroquois attacked the Saint-Ignace mission, captured Father Brébeuf and Father Gabriel Lalemant, and inflicted upon them a horrific martyrdom. Subject to relentless assaults and European diseases, the Huron confederacy disintegrated, and its people were killed, captured, or scattered by the Iroquois.

Though Iroquois enmity and French microbes doomed his Huron missions, Brébeuf enjoyed a memorable posthumous career. Across New France and Europe, the gruesome account of his martyrdom depicted the saintly Brébeuf as an object of veneration and an inspiration for conversions. Even the Huron diaspora redounded in the Jesuit's favor. By the 1650s, the Christian Hurons and Algonquins, who had been captured and adopted by the Iroquois, successfully petitioned for French priests and missions in Iroquoia.

**Further reading:** Joseph P. Donnelly, *Jean de Brébeuf, 1593–1649* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1976); Peter

A. Dorsey, "Going to School with Savages: Authorship and Authority among the Jesuits of New France," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 55 (1998): 399–420; Allan Greer, "Colonial Saints: Gender, Race, and Hagiography in New France," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 57 (2000): 323–348; René Latourelle, *Jean de Brébeuf* (Montreal: Belarmin, 1993).

—James G. Bruggeman

**Brent, Margaret Reed** (1601?–1671) *property owner, feminist*

Margaret Reed Brent is often inaccurately described as the first female lawyer who practiced in the colonies. Born at Gloucestershire, England, Brent belonged to a prestigious and powerful Catholic gentry family. Concerned about potential civil and economic restrictions enforced by PURITANS against ROMAN CATHOLICS, Brent and several of her siblings migrated to MARYLAND in 1638. Lord Baltimore, a distant relative and founder of the colony, insisted that the Brents receive favorable land grants. The Brent women secured 70 acres, known as "Sisters Freehold," in the colony's capitol, ST. MARY'S CITY. They also bought 50 acres, and Brent's brother later deeded her 1,000 more. Most Maryland colonists, including the Brents, invested in TOBACCO.

As a single woman landowner, Margaret Brent was permitted certain legal rights and often filed claims independently in the provincial court against debtors. She also addressed the court as her brother's and citizens' legal representative; other unmarried and widowed women acted similarly. The dying Governor LEONARD CALVERT regarded Brent's business acumen so highly that he named her executrix of his personal estate. Brent enacted Calvert's power of attorney as Lord Baltimore's representative to sell his cattle and used the funds to pay mercenary soldiers from VIRGINIA who had quelled a Protestant uprising. Although she defused a potentially volatile situation, Brent's efforts displeased colonial leaders.

In January 1648 Brent insisted that she be given two votes in the assembly, one as a landowner and another as Calvert's attorney, so that she could directly participate in government, making her the first Euro-American woman to demand to vote. The provincial court refused her request because she was a woman. Lord Baltimore criticized her for squandering and usurping his estate, but the colonial assembly recommended that Brent retain her role as executrix based on her peaceful dealings with the soldiers. After losing favor with Lord Baltimore, Brent settled in Virginia on the plantation Peace, which she populated with British migrants to secure large land grants.

Sometimes described as a pioneering feminist, the never-married Brent, unusual for that era and place, where there were six men per woman, is also depicted as an asser-

tive adventurer who protected her personal and property interests, retaining her lifelong affiliation with the upper class. In historical context Brent acted from a sense of entitlement and responsibility rather than as a proponent of changing patriarchal legal traditions restricting the rights of married women. Brent died on her plantation in 1671.

**Further reading:** Karen Berger Morello, *The Invisible Bar: The Woman Lawyer in America 1638 to the Present* (New York: Random House, 1986).

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

**Brims** (fl. 1700–1730) *chief*

"Emperor" Brims of Coweta, one of the founding towns of the Creek Indian Confederacy, was a dominant force in Creek diplomacy during the early 18th century. Brims had the unenviable task of trying to maintain peaceful relations with the English, the French, and the Spanish—all of whom wanted an alliance with the Creek to the exclusion of the others—as well as dealing with neighboring Native tribes.

Early in his career Brims favored the English because of the greater abundance of trade goods they could offer. The alliance was short lived, however, when dishonest English traders caused the Creek to search out the French and Spanish for trade goods. Additionally, the CHEROKEE and Yamasee put strains on the Creek–English alliance. The Cherokee were allies of the English but bitter enemies of the Creek. The Yamasee were related to the Creek but warred on the English.

Brims quickly learned that each of the powers placed demands on the Creek that, if accepted, would cause friction with the other powers. Rather than commit to any single alliance, Brims played one group off against another, seeking benefits from each while using their fear of one another to extract concessions from them and to protect Creek independence. Brims's policies were not always successful, and at times portions of the Creek nation went against his wishes, but during his rule the Creek Confederacy remained key to the balance of power in the region. He died between 1730 and 1733.

**Further reading:** David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540–1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967).

—Jeffrey D. Carlisle

## British Empire

The British Empire, whereby the British spread throughout and controlled much of the globe, evolved in several stages. Historians have conventionally dated a first phase

of the British Empire from King Henry VII's (1485–1509) support of the voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot in 1497–98, through its rapid growth after the English defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588, to its maturity in 1763 at the end of the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. Properly called the British Empire only after the 1707 merger of England and Scotland into the single kingdom of Great Britain, it developed during the period when European colonization and competition was based on theories collectively known as the mercantile system. MERCANTILISM sought to concentrate the profits from world commerce primarily in Europe. Starting in 1651, the English Parliament passed various ACTS OF TRADE AND NAVIGATION that implemented duties, prohibitions, and bounties all meant to stimulate trade. Although these were often evaded through SMUGGLING and never effectively enforced, the Navigation Acts attempted to ensure that English colonies would participate in a system of economic exchange geared to enrich England by providing it with both raw materials and a market for its finished products.

Before 1700 English authors addressing empire and/or English national pride in colonial expansion focused almost exclusively on the Americas and the West Indies. The English presence in India, for example, was dismissed as merely the commercial interests of London MERCHANTS, yet the commercial relationships of this “first” British Empire were arguably primary well into the 19th century. By historian Linda Colley's estimate, one of every five families in 18th-century Britain drew its livelihood from trade and distribution, not including the farmers and manufacturers who profited from domestic and external trading networks. While overseas merchants could not succeed without naval protection, almost all of those engaged in trade benefited in some way from Britain's single-minded and violent pursuit of colonial markets. Furthermore, the great trading companies such as the East India Company, the Levant Company, and the Russia Company, along with London's mercantile community in general, supplied the government's long-term loans that underwrote Britain's imperial wars. Domestic and foreign trade furnished the majority of governmental tax revenues; until the end of the 18th century, customs and excise levies together supplied between 60 and 70 percent of governmental revenue.

International war characterized the expansion of the British Empire in the 17th and 18th centuries. Commercial rivalry with the equally mercantilist Dutch led to three wars between the Netherlands and England between 1652 and 1674. The Dutch colony of NEW NETHERLAND in the Hudson River Valley was one arena for conflict, but contention over trade with India and the lucrative slave trading in AFRICA and the CARIBBEAN were equally important. After the 1688 GLORIOUS REVOLUTION King William III (1689–1702) fanned the well-established antagonism between the

English and French governments; their ministers added competition for empire to their continental and commercial rivalries. From 1689 until 1713 Britain and France were almost continuously at war. In North America these French and British conflicts were known as KING WILLIAM'S WAR (1689–97), QUEEN ANNE'S WAR (1702–13), the WAR OF JENKINS' EAR (1739), KING GEORGE'S WAR (1743–48), and, finally, the French and Indian War (1754–63), which was known in Europe as the Seven Years' War.

The Treaty of Paris (1763), which ended the latter war, gave Britain a vital victory over France and its allies in North America, the West Indies, Africa, and India. France withdrew from the mainland of North America, ceding its claims to Canada and the Ohio and Mississippi Valley regions. Britain also gained control of east and west FLORIDA, Cape Breton Island, the remainder of Nova Scotia, several Caribbean islands (Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago), Senegal in Africa (a slaving post), and the Mediterranean island of Minorca. Britain also realized a greatly increased military and commercial position in India. At this point the British Empire could be said to be a truly worldwide empire, with the original 13 North American colonies temporarily at its core.

Ominously for the consolidation of this worldwide enterprise, London officials had been unable to establish strong institutions of imperial control in North America comparable to those constructed by the Spanish in their Latin American empire. The 17th-century British Stuart monarchs experienced great difficulty controlling the North American colonies despite their interest in exerting royal power. British attempts to bring the American colonies under the direct control of the king or to strengthen the program of mercantilist laws (restricting colonial manufactures, prohibiting paper currency, and regulating trade) were fitful in the early 18th century. The day-to-day administration of colonial affairs was decentralized and inefficient. A Board of Trade and Plantations had been established in 1696 to advise the government, but real colonial authority rested in the Privy Council (the central administrative agency for the government as a whole), the admiralty, and the treasury. None of these concentrated exclusively on colonial affairs because they also were responsible for administering laws at home; all faced a confusion of authority. Both the Crown and Parliament sent their own appointees to administer British interests in the colonies rather than to enlist influential and talented Americans. They thus offered few incentives to local men to join the imperial enterprise and ignored the successful precedents of incorporating native Scots into the administration of the empire in Scotland. If anything, the North American colonies experienced a period of “benign neglect” from the British Empire, allowing the colonies to enjoy a good deal of self-rule.



The various American colonial legislatures generally resisted attempts to exert imperial authority well before the American Revolution. By the 1750s colonial assemblies had established the right to levy taxes, make appropriations, approve appointments, and pass laws for their respective colonies. Such laws were subject to veto by the royal governor or the Privy Council in London, but governors found themselves unable to resist the assemblies' control of the colonial budget. Moreover, the Privy Council could be circumvented by repassing disallowed laws in slightly altered form. Any theoretical distinction that the American colonists wanted to make between royal authority, on the one hand, and parliamentary authority, on the other, made absolutely no sense in London, because the British monarchs had long been unable to function without the consent of Parliament. After 1763 the British government enacted a new set of policies for the American colonies, policies that were dictated by changing international realities and a new set of political circumstances within Britain itself. These new policies were among the decisions that highlighted British Eurocentrism and contributed to American disillusionment with the imperial relationship.

In the 17th- and 18th-century struggles over colonial control in the Americas, a rapidly growing population was one of Britain's strong advantages. By 1700 approximately 250,000 settlers and slaves lived in England's mainland colonies, and the population was doubling every 25 years. New France matched that pace, but with only 14,000 people in 1700, it could not close the gap. By contrast, the population of the Spanish MISSIONS was in continual decline. Of course, Native peoples greatly outnumbered settlers except in eastern New England and the Virginia tidewater.

The ENGLISH CIVIL WAR of the 1640s had given Indians an opportunity to resist European imperialism more effectively, but the Indians of the Eastern Woodlands did not unite into an effective anti-English league at least until KING PHILIP'S WAR (1675–76). By the 1670s most of the coastal Natives had already been devastated by disease or soon would be. Indians played substantial roles in each of the four colonial wars between Britain and France, whether they helped the Spanish and French colonists to survive or aided the British colonists to expand their territory. The histories of NATIVE AMERICANS, until recently structured by narratives of decline and cultural loss, are now being restructured as narratives of mutual influence and hybridity, as in the case of the CATAWBA.

English-language historiography of the British Empire long focused on European influences on the Americas; this has now expanded to investigate colonial influences on England and Scotland. Raw materials from the American colonies and Asian textiles and tea transformed the material cultures of Britain. Addictive colonial foods, such as sugar, TOBACCO, tea, coffee, and chocolate, along with exotic goods

like silk, rice, cotton textiles and dyestuffs, all changed the social and dietary patterns of British society. Perhaps even more important, imperial trade provided a changed context for British conceptions of commerce and empire. The fruits of empire, especially tea and sugar, became so widely available, for example, that by the 1740s English moralists could exaggerate that even haymakers and chambermaids wasted their time drinking tea. New social relations and civil society had developed in coffee shops and around the tea table by the 1750s. Colonial imports into Britain were also reexported, mostly to other European markets. The imperial sector was by far the most dynamic in British commerce; its trading outposts in India, crucial to the China tea trade, and its colonies in North America and the West Indies provided what seemed like limitless expansion. Imports from North America increased almost fourfold in value in the first half of the century, while West Indian imports more than doubled in the same period. Despite widespread and very profitable smuggling, the value of tea brought to London by the East India Company grew more than 40-fold in the same period. Exports to the colonies also boomed, especially compared to a relatively stagnant inter-European trade. The booty in territory and commodities that had accompanied imperial wars in the Americas, Africa, and India, climaxing in the huge gains of the Seven Years' War, seemed to confirm that British imperial power and commercial profit would continue to go hand in hand into the foreseeable future.

**Further reading:** Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992).

—Michelle Maskiell

**Brulé, Étienne** (1592?–1633) *explorer, interpreter*  
Étienne Brulé was the first recorded *truchement*, or interpreter, between the French and the HURON Indians—France's allies and trading partners in the Great Lakes region. He was the first European to see, or at least provide descriptions of, the Ottawa Valley, the Susquehanna Valley, Georgian Bay, and four of the Great Lakes. Details about his life are sketchy because he left no written record of his own; the only traces of him are accounts by French officials and missionaries. He lived most of his life among the Huron and probably had a Huron wife and children, which French missionaries thought immoral.

Brulé probably was born near Paris and came to Quebec in 1608. Two years later he volunteered to winter with the ALGONQUIN and Huron in order to learn the

Huron language and find out more about them and their land. By the next spring Brulé was dressed Huron style and knew enough of the language to interpret for SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN. In 1615 and 1616 Brulé spent some time with an IROQUOIS Indian group, probably Seneca. He later claimed that he had only barely and miraculously escaped death at their hands, but at his departure he agreed to explore trading possibilities for them. By 1620 he was living with the Huron at Toanché and was employed as an agent for the French trading company. He probably helped teach the Huron language to missionary Gabriel Sagard, who compiled the first dictionary of that language.

In 1626 Brulé sailed for France as interpreter for Amantacha, the son of a Huron leader. After his return to New France, he worked for the English, who briefly took control of the colony between 1629 and 1632. Brulé was murdered at Toanché in 1633. The reasons for his death are unclear, but it was likely a byproduct of the FUR TRADE wars; perhaps his dealings with the Seneca threatened Huron dominance in the fur trade. His death fractured Toanché. The Huron abandoned the village and established two new villages at Wenrio and Ihonatiria. Sagard wrote that the Huron killed and ate him; this is unlikely

but has led one historian to call him “the first Frenchman, but by no means the last, to be completely assimilated by the Indians.”

**Further reading:** Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aetna: A History of the Huron People to 1600* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1987).

—Alison Duncan Hirsch

### **Burgesses, House of** (1619–1775)

The House of Burgesses was the first legislative body in British North America. For the first decade of English settlement in VIRGINIA, the colony and its parent organization, the Virginia Company, concentrated on the daily survival of the settlers and the establishment of a viable cash crop. By 1619 the military-style government that had been in place for nearly 10 years was replaced by a more representative system that included the House of Burgesses.

When Sir Edwin Sandys gained control of the founding Virginia Company in 1618, he ordered the colony's newly appointed governor, SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY, to establish a representative governmental body in the hope that it would make Virginia more appealing to potential



The first meeting of the House of Burgesses in Jamestown, Virginia, the first elected legislative assembly in America (Library of Congress)



settlers. This new legislature would meet annually with the governor and the council to address important issues. Once in session, the full assembly could adopt laws that would then be sent to England, where the Virginia Company held veto power. Although its stated powers were limited, the House of Burgesses was the first representative government in the New World and grew to a position of primary importance in Virginia by the time of the American Revolution.

The first meeting of the assembly took place in JAMESTOWN in August 1619. There, 22 burgesses reported from their individual plantations and towns. In this first session the assembly endorsed the system of INDENTURED SERVITUDE in which impoverished Europeans would work for a number of years as servants in exchange for their transport to Virginia. Once freed, they would normally receive some land and possibly tools or money in order to begin farming.

In its early years the House of Burgesses operated under the sometimes oppressive control of the royal governor. In 1661, after the Restoration in England, new burgesses were elected, and SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY was reinstated as governor. This new royalist legislature pleased Berkeley, and he refused to call a general election until BACON'S REBELLION 15 years later. After Bacon's Rebellion the Crown unsuccessfully attempted to rescind the House of Burgesses' ability to initiate legislation.

By the early 18th century the House of Burgesses and the system of government in Virginia was changing. A 1699 law forbade candidates to give FOOD or drink to potential voters. Although seldom enforced, the law illustrates the fear that only wealthy men could afford to "campaign" properly and win a seat in the assembly. Most important to the rise of the House of Burgesses was the close proximity of its members to Virginia's farmers. Through their community ties burgesses often gauged issues far more effectively and could react to them quicker than could the governor or the council.

As the colony moved through the turbulent years after the beginning of the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, the House of Burgesses gained even more importance in the eyes of Virginians. With England's abandonment of the policy of "salutary neglect," the House of Burgesses appeared to be the sole institution standing between full English domination and colonial serfdom. As a result, eligible voters in Virginia paid close attention to the men they sent to Williamsburg to defend what they perceived as their rights as Englishmen in America. After playing an important role in the coming of the American Revolution in Virginia, the House of Burgesses faded out of existence. The final entry in the *Journal of the House of Burgesses* reads: "Monday, the 6th of May, 16 Geo. III. 1776. Several members met, but did neither proceed to

business, nor adjourn, as a House of Burgesses. FINIS." Not long after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the House of Burgesses became the Virginia House of Delegates.

**Further reading:** Lucille Griffith, *The Virginia House of Burgesses, 1750–1774* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1968); Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton, 1975).

—Brian McKnight and Billy G. Smith

### **Burgis, William** (fl. 1715–1731) *artist*

One of colonial America's first artists, Burgis's date and place of birth are unknown. He immigrated from London to NEW YORK CITY in the mid-1710s and soon began publishing illustrations by subscription. Detailed pictures of New York cityscapes, particularly the harbor, were very popular at this time, and Burgis met with great success.

In 1722 Burgis moved to BOSTON, where for the next eight years he published similar pictures, including the first cityscapes of Boston. The popularity of his work reflected the increasing secularism of Boston as the Puritan influence over the city slowly waned and popular ART became more acceptable. Typically, these illustrations were purchased by subscription. Burgis then engraved and printed them; he occasionally sent his drawings to London to be engraved there, after which they would be delivered to his customers. Burgis is known to have drawn, or at least published, pictures of HARVARD COLLEGE, Boston, and several area churches. These probably were framed, glazed, and hung on the walls of people's homes.

When his landlord died in 1728, Burgis married his wealthy widow, Mehitable Selby, thus acquiring her husband's property. Mehitable also owned property in her own right, unusual for a married woman at this time. Clearly, this improved Burgis's economic standing, for over the next two years he was described not only as an artist and property owner but also a "gentleman." By 1731 Burgis placed all of his wife's property in his name and fled town, because he was being sued in civil court. Five and a half years later, his wife petitioned for divorce on the grounds that, having taken all of her estate, he had not been seen or heard from since.

Divorce by desertion was not uncommon during this time. The law did not recognize a wife's property as separate from her husband's, and so Burgis's actions were legal. It is unclear whether her divorce petition was granted, though possibly she had him declared legally dead so that she could escape the debts he had left behind.

—Victoria C. H. Resnick

**Burr, Esther Edwards** (1732–1758) *writer*

Daughter of the great theologian and Congregational minister JONATHAN EDWARDS, wife of the president of the College of New Jersey (later PRINCETON COLLEGE), and mother of a daughter, Sally, and son, Aaron, Jr. (who subsequently became the third vice president of the United States), Esther Edwards Burr's experience is extraordinary not only because of the men who surrounded her but also because of the journal she exchanged with confidante Sally Prince of BOSTON between 1754 and 1757. Burr and Prince, like many Puritan women, developed a close friendship in youth that they maintained in adulthood.

Puritan women frequently kept journals to assist in their efforts toward self-understanding and improvement, but Burr's practice of exchanging journals with Prince was unusual. In her writing Burr expressed the challenges of marriage, homemaking, and motherhood. Burr wrote, for example, of the burden of having many children, already feeling overwhelmed with just two. Her death at an early age cut the journal short, but her observations create a rare and rich firsthand account of the daily life and values of an elite woman in colonial America.

**Further reading:** Carol F. Karlsen and Laurie Crumpacker, eds., *The Journal of Esther Edwards Burr, 1754–1757* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984).

—Jane P. Currie

**Butterworth, Mary Peck** (1686–1775) *criminal*

A suspected counterfeiter, Mary Peck Butterworth was born on July 27, 1686, at Rehoboth, PLYMOUTH Colony (MASSACHUSETTS), the daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth (Smith) Peck. She married John Butterworth, Jr., about 1710. Soon after RHODE ISLAND distributed notes of credit valued at five pounds, Butterworth, collaborating with relatives and residents of Rehoboth, initiated a counterfeiting scheme. During the colonial era counterfeiting was a common practice when greedy individuals took advantage of both the unsophisticated printing processes used to produce money and MERCHANTS' unfamiliarity with the diverse domestic and foreign monies circulated throughout America. Colonial counterfeiters represented a myriad of socioeconomic classes and ethnicities. Both men and women were notorious counterfeiters.

Butterworth devised a method to manufacture fake currency without leaving evidence of her crime. She placed a piece of currency underneath a piece of starched muslin and rubbed a heated iron over the surface. The currency's pattern was imprinted on the cloth, which she used to transfer the image to pieces of paper with an iron. Butterworth improved each note by inking them with quill pens. Afterwards, she burned the cloth, thereby destroy-

ing the evidence. Most counterfeiters used copper plates to achieve an image transfer, but such templates were difficult to demolish and provided evidence for prosecutors to cite in court.

By 1722 Butterworth's prosperity attracted attention. Her husband built an elaborate house, and relatives and townspeople were caught trying to pass fraudulent bills. Officials began investigating the Butterworths' activities and arrested several of her conspirators. Butterworth's brother and sister-in-law, who has participated in the counterfeiting scheme, told authorities how Butterworth created her fake currency. She was subsequently exonerated when the charges against her were dismissed because of lack of proof, and none of her associates was convicted. Ceasing her counterfeiting career, Butterworth lived with her husband and seven children in their extravagant home. Butterworth died on February 7, 1775, at Rehoboth.

**Further reading:** Richard LeBaron Bowen, *Rhode Island Colonial Money and Its Counterfeiting, 1647–1726* (Concord, N.H.: Rumford Press, 1942).

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

**Byrd, William, II** (1674–1744) *historian, diarist, government official*

An important colonial literary figure, William Byrd II was born near Richmond, VIRGINIA, the son and sole heir of William Byrd and Mary Horsmanden Filmer. At the age of seven he was sent to be educated in England and the Netherlands, becoming a licensed attorney in 1695. Unsuccessful as an attorney, Byrd was elected a burgess for Henrico County in 1696 and represented the Virginia colony in London in 1698. As Virginia's representative, Byrd protested the use of the colony's taxes to fund military operations in northern colonies. He was removed from this position when he alienated the Board of Trade by presenting an address from the king to the Virginia Council and HOUSE OF BURGESSES, a function of the governor. After his removal Byrd spent most of his time in England and was active in England's scientific community. He was made a member of the Royal Society in 1697. When his father died in 1705, he claimed his inheritance and his father's posts of receiver general and auditor of the colony, from which he received between 3 and 5 percent of Virginia's tax receipts as a salary. In 1709 he took his father's seat on the Virginia Council.

In addition to his political activities, Byrd was a prolific writer, publishing several books about Virginia, poetry, as well as theatricals. Byrd was also one of Virginia's largest land speculators, acquiring over 100,000 acres along the Roanoke River. Selling little of the land, he amassed 179,400 acres by his death. Byrd engaged in many economic



endeavors, including trade with American Indians, surveying boundaries between Virginia and the Carolinas, and prospecting for raw materials like coal, iron, and copper. Byrd experimented with mixed AGRICULTURE on his plantations; nevertheless, TOBACCO remained his primary cash crop produced by slaves. Despite his outspokenness against the institution of SLAVERY, Byrd participated in the trafficking of slaves and supervised the day-to-day administration of his black laborers to ensure successful yields. He died at his mansion in Charles City County in 1744.

**Further reading:** Kenneth A. Lockridge, *The Diary, and Life, of William Byrd II of Virginia, 1674–1744* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

—Eugene VanSickle

### Byrd family

The history of the Byrd family epitomizes the experience of the “distressed cavaliers” who settled VIRGINIA. By the 17th century this family of London goldsmiths had married its way into England’s aristocracy. In 1670 William Byrd I (1652–1704) moved to Virginia at the invitation of his dying uncle and inherited 1,800 acres, but the estate hardly satisfied him. When Governor WILLIAM BERKELEY sought to raise western settlements to insulate Virginia from Indian attacks, Byrd saw an opportunity. He agreed to settle 250 tithables, and Virginia’s Royal Council rewarded him with more lands. Byrd also married Mary Horsmanden Filmer, a wealthy widow connected to an ancient family from Kent.

WILLIAM BYRD II (1674–1744) left Virginia for England at the age of seven. There, he trained as a lawyer and

imbibed the glittering social milieu of London. Returning to Virginia upon his father’s death, William found himself with both 25,000 acres and boundless marriage prospects. He selected Lucy Parke, daughter of a rakish English gentleman. The course of this stormy marriage—immortalized in the diary Byrd kept from 1709 to 1712—reveals plantation life in gritty detail. Lucy frequently abused their many slaves and berated her often unfaithful husband, yet the couple also indulged in passionate fits of lovemaking. Like his father, William sought higher offices and more lands. In 1727 he explored Virginia’s BORDERLANDS on behalf of the Royal Council. After agreeing to settle families in the lands he surveyed, William received 105,000 acres. At his death Byrd owned some 179,000 acres and a plantation known as Westover.

The Byrd family’s patriarchs did much to settle the Old Dominion, while its matriarchs helped to raise an interconnected set of ruling families, but their achievements came at the expense of indentured and enslaved labor. By the time William Byrd III (1728–77) came of age, Virginia’s gentry had become an insular, powerful aristocracy with the means and will to defy the mother country. In 1775 every member of the Royal Council was descended from a 1660 councilor, and many traced their lines to William Byrd I and Mary Horsmanden Filmer Byrd.

**Further reading:** David Hackett Fischer and James C. Kelly, *Bound Away: Virginia and the Westward Movement* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000); Kenneth A. Lockridge, *The Diary, and Life, of William Byrd II of Virginia, 1674–1744* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

—J. M. Opal





## California Indians

After migrating from Asia across the Bering Strait land bridge and traveling south through Alaska and western Canada, indigenous peoples began the human occupation of the lands now known as California, a habitation that dates back approximately 12,000 years. In about 9,000 B.C. California Indians began to change their **ECONOMY** from primarily hunting to mostly collecting seeds. By 2000 B.C.E. indigenous peoples had developed varied subsistence patterns that included hunting, **FISHING**, and gathering, with acorn as the main staple. Although none engaged in horticulture, this diversification brought impressive population growth, estimated at a maximum precontact number of 320,000 living in more than 500 villages and speaking

more than 100 languages and 300 different dialects. A more complex sociopolitical village network also emerged, known as a **tribelet**. Under this system tribes were divided into small, family-based villages and governed by a single chief. While villages were generally communitarian in nature, especially regarding **FOOD** gathering responsibilities, individual wealth and property were recognized. Men owned hunting and fishing equipment, for example, while women owned baskets and acorn grinding implements. Many tribes also valued shells, which may have represented a form of currency or a highly sought-after trade item. Intertribal trade was common, while organized warfare was rare.

Until the Spanish expedition led by Gaspar de Portolá in 1769, contact between California Indians and Europeans had been fleeting. The establishment of a string of **MIS- SIONS** along the California coast ended indigenous isolation, as coastal Indians were forced into missions and compelled to convert to Catholicism. Traditional life patterns were lost, and the population of the coastal tribes dropped by 35 percent within the first 40 years of Spanish occupation. Resistance by California Indians to Spanish rule included individual flight to the interior, the murder of missionaries, local rebellions at single missions, and even infanticide to preserve children from life in a mission. With mission secularization by the Mexican government in 1834 and the Anglo invasion beginning with the discovery of gold in 1849, California Indians were forced off mission and traditional lands and forced to participate in a capital- istic economy for which they were unprepared. The Indian **MORTALITY** rate remained astronomical, and only 15,000 survivors remained at the close of the 19th century.



The title page of *A Natural and Civil History of California*, an English translation of an account by Miguel Venegas, a Mexican Jesuit. The book describes the land, resources, and people of the region. The illustrations depict the Native inhabitants, women (top) and men (bottom). (Hulton/Archive)

**Further reading:** Steven W. Hackel, *Children of the Coyote, Missionaries of St. Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Robert F. Heizer, *The Destruction of California Indians* (Lin-

coln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974); Alfred Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (New York: Dover, 1976).

—James Jenks

### calumet

The calumet is the term given by the French to the pipe used by the Native peoples of North America for ritual smoking. The pipe consists of a bowl, often elaborately carved, and a stem, typically decorated with feathers, beadwork, or quill work. Such pipes were regarded as sacred objects and used to communicate with supernatural powers. They were considered to be “transmitters;” the smoke carried prayers to the creative forces. Mistakenly called “peace pipes,” calumets were used during many solemn occasions when circumstances demanded the presence of the supernatural, including the conclusion of peace agreements, the declaration of war, adoption, and as tribal ritual or daily prayer. The calumet is a source of great power and one cannot be deceitful or insincere while holding a medicine pipe. According to Cheyenne lore, George Custer knocked TOBACCO from a bowl while smoking with the Cheyenne chiefs, a major breach of respect and an act the Cheyenne believe cost him his life.

The pipes are most closely identified with the Plains Indians (particularly the Siouan and ALGONQUIN peoples), although also commonly used by tribes in the Southeast and Northeast of the present-day United States. On the Plains pipe bowls carved from catlinite, or pipestone, and soapstone are distinctive of tribes such as the Lakota and Blackfeet.

—Walter Fleming

### Calvert, George (Lord Baltimore) (1580?–1632) *government official*

George Calvert was the founder of a colony he never lived to see. He was born in 1580 in Yorkshire, England, to the Catholic family of LEONARD CALVERT and Alicia Crossland. Having finished his studies at All Saints’ College, Oxford, he was appointed Keeper of Writs, Bills, Records, and Rolls during the reign of James I in 1606. As secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, Calvert advanced in the service of the king and was eventually made clerk of the Privy Council as well as Keeper of the King’s Signet (1619–25).

In 1619 Sir George Calvert succeeded Sir Thomas Lake as one of the king’s secretaries of state and continued advancing in positions and securing the confidence of his sovereign by his fidelity and accurate knowledge of business. On February 20, 1624, King James (1603–25), who described Calvert as “right trusty and well-loved,” bestowed on him the title “Lord Baron of Baltimore” in the kingdom of Ireland.

While secretary of state, Calvert obtained a charter from King James granting him the province of Avalon in Newfoundland in 1620. After an unsuccessful attempt at colonization there in 1623, Calvert petitioned the king and received a land grant in the northern Chesapeake region (present-day MARYLAND). Although he dreamed of a colony in the New World as a haven for persecuted ROMAN CATHOLICS, he opened his colony to all religious creeds. He drew up a charter for the colony and named it Terra Mariae, or Mary’s Land, for Queen Henrietta Maria. The charter contained his vision of political and religious freedom, which permitted both Roman Catholics and Protestants to settle Maryland—the first colony to grant religious freedom. Calvert died before the charter was granted, and the task of colonization fell to his oldest son, Cecilius. After months of delay, on November 22, 1633, Cecil Calvert sent what he called “a hopeful colony into Maryland with a fair and probable expectation of good success.”

**Further reading:** Luca Codignola, *The Coldest Harbor of the Land: Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore’s Colony in Newfoundland, 1621–1649* (Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988).

—James F. Adomanis

### Calvert, Leonard (Lord Baltimore) (1606–1647) *settler, government official*

Leonard Calvert, the third lord Baltimore, was born in England in 1606 to GEORGE CALVERT (the first lord Baltimore) and Anne Mynne. His brother Cecilius (the second lord Baltimore), selected Leonard Calvert to lead 300 mostly Catholic settlers to establish the colony of MARYLAND in 1633. Leonard followed his brother’s instructions “to preserve unity and peace among all the passengers.” After a perilous four-month voyage on two small ships, the *Ark* and *Dove*, the colonists arrived at JAMESTOWN. Calvert notified William Claiborne, who had settled Kent Island in the CHESAPEAKE BAY in 1631, that Claiborne was now a member of the Maryland plantation and must relinquish his relations with the VIRGINIA colony. Claiborne protested this demand to the Virginia Council, and when they rejected it, Lord Calvert momentarily ended his challenge.

Leaving Virginia, the Maryland colonists sailed up the Chesapeake Bay to the Potomac River and landed at St. Clement’s (now Blackiston’s) Island on March 25, 1634. New challenges awaited Leonard Calvert, however. He bargained successfully for land, HOUSING, and trade with the Piscataway Indians, who gave up part of their village for immediate use by the colonists and agreed to evacuate the town completely after the harvest. A fort and town were



built, named ST. MARY'S CITY. Conditions were primitive, and settlers were threatened with harsh winters, illness, and Protestant enemies.

In April 1635 a conflict ensued between the Maryland colonists of St. Mary's and the Kent Island settlers led by William Claiborne; he was a formidable foe over the next decade, and he tried to drive Calvert from office in 1645. Calvert was formally commissioned governor in 1637, and he exercised considerable power. A Protestant rebellion in 1644 forced him to flee to Virginia, after which William Claiborne assumed control. Returning with an army from both colonies in 1646, Calvert routed Claiborne and restored his office. Calvert died a few months later on June 9, 1647.

See also NATIVE AMERICANS.

**Further reading:** Gloria L. Main, *Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650–1720* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982).

—James F. Adomanis

**Canada** See FRENCH COLONIES.

**Canonchet** (d. 1676) *grand sachem*

Canonchet was a NARRAGANSETT sachem at the time of KING PHILIP'S WAR. The son of Miantonomo and grand-nephew of CANONICUS, he tried to keep the Narragansett out of the conflict between British colonists and METACOM'S (King Philip) Wampanoags. Nevertheless, in 1675 Canonchet gave sanctuary to a number of Wampanoag women and children at the Narragansetts' stronghold in the Great Swamp near South Kingston, Rhode Island.

Convinced that the Narragansett were preparing to enter the war, colonial authorities sent a militia force to destroy Canonchet's fort. In December 1675 the militia force penetrated the Great Swamp over frozen ice and attacked the fort. Whether Canonchet intended to join with Metacom before the resulting massacre is in doubt, but his entry into the war following the battle is not.

Canonchet led his Narragansett warriors on a number of raids against colonial settlements in Connecticut and Rhode Island, including burning nearly every house in Providence. While camped near Stonington, Connecticut, in April 1676, Canonchet and a number of his warriors were surprised and captured by a Connecticut militia force. Refusing an English offer to spare his life, Canonchet observed that "he liked it well, that he should die before his heart was soft, or had spoken anything unworthy of himself." At his own request, Canonchet was turned over to Oneco, the son of Uncas, for execution. Ironically, Uncas

had also executed Canonchet's father Miantonomo in 1643 at the behest of colonial officials.

**Further reading:** James D. Drake, *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675–1676* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); Eric B. Schultz and Michael J. Tougas, *King Philip's War: The History and Legacy of America's Forgotten Conflict* (Woodstock, Vt.: The Countryman Press, 1999).

—Thomas R. Wessel

**Canonicus** (d. 1647) *sachem*

Canonicus was the sachem (or chief) of the NARRAGANSETT Indians at the time of the English invasion of America. Canonicus's exact origins are unknown, but he was rumored to be a direct descendent of Tashtasick, legendary founder of the Narragansett tribe. Canonicus is perhaps best known for having sold ROGER WILLIAMS, with whom he maintained a lifelong friendship, the land on which Williams founded the city of Providence, RHODE ISLAND. Canonicus regarded the English with deep suspicion, rightly seeing them as a threat to the Narragansett traditional dominance of neighboring tribes. Despite his suspicions, Canonicus allied the Narragansett with the English against their traditional enemies, the PEQUOT, in the PEQUOT WAR of 1636.

After helping defeat the Pequot, the English turned against Canonicus and sided with the Mohegan in a series of brutal military campaigns. This betrayal, together with the formation of the New England Confederation in 1643, marked the beginning of the end for the Narragansett, who, in an attempt to avoid annihilation, declared their allegiance to the English Crown. Nevertheless, a power struggle following Canonicus's death in 1647 served to further weaken the Narragansett and they were eventually decimated during KING PHILIP'S WAR of 1675–76.

**Further reading:** L. Raymond Camp, *Roger Williams, God's Apostle of Advocacy* (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Melon Press, 1989).

—Kenneth A. Deitreich

**captivity**

The first cross-cultural captives in early North America were actually Indians taken by Europeans during the first decades of EXPLORATION and colonization. We know that Columbus captured Arawaks for export to Spain as slaves and exotic symbols of the New World, but even the English in VIRGINIA and New England took Indians hostage during the 17th century to train them as interpreters. Few went willingly. One of the most famous of these Indian captives, SQUANTO, was a Patuxet seized on the New England coast

by seafarers in 1614 and sold into SLAVERY in Spain. He escaped and returned to his home, only to find his people ravaged by DISEASE and a group of English Separatists (PILGRIMS) living at PLYMOUTH. The same year settlers in JAMESTOWN, Virginia, kidnapped POCAHONTAS, the daughter of the ALGONQUIN werowance POWHATAN. Acting as diplomat for her father and a bridge between cultures, Pocahontas agreed to marry JOHN ROLFE and returned with him to England, where she died in 1616.

Nevertheless, popular notions about captivity usually come from the harrowing narratives of white colonists taken by Indian warriors during times of crisis. Indeed, Jamestown more often evokes memories of Captain JOHN SMITH's tale of his own capture and trial before Powhatan, than Pocahontas's captivity. MARY WHITE ROWLANDSON dictated one of the first published accounts of captivity after spending nearly 12 weeks with Narragansett and Wampanoag Indians in 1675 and 1676. Taken from her frontier home in Lancaster, MASSACHUSETTS, at the onset of KING PHILIP'S WAR, Mary described her experience as a test of her faith in God. Demoted from mistress of her own household to the servant of an Indian "Master," Mary struggled with privation and hunger as she tried to make sense of her captors' motives. Although she condemned their actions, Mary's narrative also revealed a familiarity that existed between NATIVE AMERICANS and English colonists even outside of captivity.

For Native Americans, captivity had a variety of purposes. Traditionally, Native groups adopted Indian captives to strengthen political ties and replenish populations decimated by war and disease. Sometimes individuals were taken to replace specific members of a clan. The IROQUOIS, for instance, took captives during mourning-war campaigns against customary enemies and revenged the death of a family member by either killing or adopting a captive. Women and children were most often adopted. By the mid-18th century non-Iroquois people made up as much as two-thirds of the Iroquois population.

Contrary to prevalent fears among colonists, Indians tortured or killed white captives only under specific circumstances. They sometimes killed white people during their initial attack or as an example to force obedience from other captives. More often, Indians kept prisoners alive to exchange for ransom or to adopt them into their households. Once in a Native community, captives were adopted through a series of sometimes dangerous rituals. They might be required to run a gauntlet of villagers wielding sticks and other weapons. Native Americans also symbolically washed and reclothed adopted captives to mark their rebirth as Indians. Although captives sometimes became servants, as did Mary Rowlandson, many white people found themselves equal members of Native families. Some adapted well to Indian life and, especially if

taken as children, even rejected Euro-American society. To her family's horror, Eunice Williams, the daughter of minister John Williams, repeatedly refused to return to Puritan society after her capture from Deerfield, Massachusetts, in 1704 by Catholic Mohawk. Like Eunice, MARY JEMISON, captured at age 15 by Shawnee in western PENNSYLVANIA, stayed with her Native family, eventually marrying a DELAWARE and then a Seneca man. During the SEVEN YEARS' WAR Delaware and Shawnee took many white people captive from frontier plantations in Pennsylvania. When peace came after 1763, Col. Henry Bouquet oversaw the return of more than 200 captives. He found that many of those who had been adopted into Indian families as children could no longer speak the language of their birth and proved difficult to repatriate. Some ran away to rejoin Native American kin but were recaptured by Bouquet's men and forcibly returned to the English. Euro-Americans equated kinship or cultural identity with biology and one's national origins. Native Americans, on the other hand, had more flexible definitions of kin that allowed them to absorb others into their communities more easily, whether by capture or choice.

**Further reading:** John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (New York: Knopf, 1994); June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

—Jane T. Merritt

## Caribbean

A brief overview of the European practices instituted by nations economically dependent on the raw materials and LABOR extracted from the Americas allows some understanding of the multiple and interlocking histories of Caribbean colonization and settlement. This trade escalated as the CONSUMPTION of precious metals, sugar, and other substances increased in continental Europe. In the 1580s European explorers found a series of islands in a small sea, bounded on the west by the Gulf of Mexico and by the Atlantic Ocean on the east. Between 1585 and 1763 the overlay of different cultures combined with the application of new European technologies to alter the ENVIRONMENT (with the introduction of new plants, seeds, and ANIMALS) to shape colonial culture and the function of various Caribbean islands into colonies, FORTS, markets, and ports.

### *Indigenous Peoples of the Caribbean*

The islands were originally the homelands of indigenous peoples who most likely migrated north from South America. The Arawak and Taino inhabited many of the

700 small islands of the Bahamian Archipelago and the larger islands of the Greater Antilles, Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, and Trinidad. Among their immediate neighbors were the Guanahatabey at the west end of Cuba and the Island-Carib, who occupied the Windward Islands, Guadeloupe, and Martinique. At the time of initial European contact, large permanent villages on the Greater Antilles typically contained 1,000 to 2,000 people governed by a chief, or cacique, a position held by either men or women. Over time their organized systems of religion, government, and AGRICULTURE blended with African and European cultural traditions. At times NATIVE AMERICANS were also brought from the North American mainland and sold into slave labor on the islands. The exploitation of indigenous peoples as slaves and, despite their resistance, the combination of overwork, war, and disease decimated the population, which dwindled from precontact estimates of more than 3 million into the tens of thousands. As the population of Native Americans diminished, the trade in indentured European servants and enslaved Africans increased as colonizers sought laborers.

For the Spanish, followed by the English, French, Dutch, and Danes, Caribbean ports provided a central hub of communication for enterprises that established trade and settlement. Spain maintained its commercial monopoly in precious metals, TOBACCO, slaves, and sugar (1530–70) by legally closing its empire to foreign trade. In so doing, Spanish commerce in the Antilles stagnated for the next half century. Beginning in 1625, European mercantile companies began investing in a “triangular trade” that carried manufactured goods to the West African coast that were then exchanged for slaves to bring to the Caribbean. In the West Indies ship captains received cargoes of refined sugar, coffee, and INDIGO to sell in Europe. By 1700 Spain had lost considerable power in the Caribbean, and their trade declined as they were challenged by the expansion of Dutch, English, and French involvement in continental shipping. Spain retained parts of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and eastern Hispaniola as haciendas (rancher societies) that raised cattle for hides. Each European monarchy claimed areas of the Caribbean for conquest and settlement. Despite the hiatus in warfare instituted by treaties signed by colonizing powers, the imperial regimes sought control over the white, black, and mixed-race populations that increased with emigrating settlers and the enslaved.

### *The Rise of Sugar*

In the mid-1600s small-scale cultivation of tobacco that used indentured European servants as its labor force changed. The possibility of earning enormous profits transformed agricultural production with the development of large sugar plantations, which relied on African slave labor for

cultivation and manufacture. The colonial ARCHITECTURE of forts, fields, plantation “big house,” slave quarters, ports, and cities was designed with segregated spaces intended for masters, slaves, and a few free blacks. Responding to European demand for sugar, rum, and molasses, the sugar industry flourished in British Jamaica and French Saint-Domingue. Between 1741 and 1745 Saint Domingue and Jamaica exported more than 42,000 and 15,600 tons of sugar, respectively. Cuba, tightly controlled by Spain, also began to develop sugar estates. The tropical PLANTATION SYSTEM extended across the Caribbean, and the rising ECONOMY of the sugar trade connected the islands. Both the Danish Virgin Islands and the Dutch Leeward Islands operated as “free ports” for the sale of slaves to supply plantation labor.

As the demand for labor intensified, millions of slaves endured the horrors of the Middle Passage as they were shipped from AFRICA to the Caribbean. By the 1750s nearly 90 percent of the population of the sugar islands were slaves. During the 350 years of slavery in the Americas, more than 10 million Africans became bound laborers on French, British, Danish, Dutch, and American tobacco, sugar, coffee, and indigo plantations. In the Caribbean the very small population of white planters freely used violence to control the large number of black slaves. European nations shared in the success of international investors of the trading companies as profits from the SLAVE TRADE and the sugar islands helped finance European economic development.

### *Society and Daily Life*

Planter society was highly stratified, and its castes were determined by segregated racial hierarchies. Each island legally defined a myriad of racial differences and the terms of slave ownership, such as the French *Code Noir*, issued in 1685 and continuously amended until the late 1700s. Other colonial governments passed similar codes to restrict social privileges for people of color.

Before the arrival of European women, Spanish soldiers frequently took Native or African women as sexual partners, whether they were willing or not. In the 17th and 18th centuries MERCHANTS and planters frequently engaged in the practice of concubinage, claiming multiple black women for their partners. Many enslaved women working as domestics, nurses, cooks, and field hands were exploited sexually, yet some relationships were consensual, providing a degree of legal recognition to the children thereby produced and creating a small population of free black people uncommon in mainland North America. As the percentage of people of mixed ancestry increased, colonial governments even more clearly specified privileges for those classified as white, black, or colored by identifying European, Indian, or African descent by degrees.

The system of racial bondage was perhaps physically more brutal in the Caribbean than in any other area of the Americas. At times the average life expectancy of a recently arrived African slave was a mere seven years. Masters found it profitable to work slaves to death, then replace them with newly purchased bondpeople from Africa. Because of the continual importation of Africans, slave culture maintained stronger African roots in the Caribbean than in most areas of mainland North America. Finally, Caribbean slaves suffered from a severe demographic imbalance as men outnumbered women (except in Barbados), making lasting relationships difficult to establish. These conditions created a population that failed to reproduce itself and enslaved communities that struggled to retain their West African cultural heritage. However, out of these horrendous conditions would develop the first successful slave revolution in modern history, when slaves rebelled at the end of the 18th century in Saint-Domingue to create the newly independent nation of Haiti.

**Further reading:** Barbara Bush, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society, 1650–1838* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990); Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973, 2000); Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean 1492–1969* (New York: Vintage, 1984); Samuel M. Wilson, *The Indigenous People of the Caribbean* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).  
—Ellen Fernandez-Sacco and Billy G. Smith

**Carter, Landon** (1710–1778) *writer, scientist, politician*

Plantation owner, diarist, politician, scientist, and revolutionary, Colonel Landon Carter was in many ways the quintessential gentleman of colonial VIRGINIA. The second son and heir to the estates of powerful plantation owner ROBERT “KING” CARTER, Landon Carter was a man of great ability and accomplishment but of even greater expectations. Carter proved an energetic amateur scientist, using his plantation, Sabine Hall, in Richmond County as a laboratory for experimentation. He published many of his findings on animal husbandry, pest control, and management techniques. Additionally, he worked as an amateur physician, practicing on his family, friends, and slaves. Carter also kept a diary from 1752 until 1755 that is a rich historical source about genteel life in early Virginia.

Despite his powerful family background, it took him four tries to gain election to the HOUSE OF BURGESSSES in 1752, in part because of his firm belief in his own superiority. He demanded deference from “lesser” men and objected to the way his son, Robert Wormley Carter, courted politi-

cal office, saying he had “kissed the arse of the people.” Once in office, Landon Carter became a leading figure in the legislature, acting as spokesperson in the “Pistole Fee Dispute” between Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie and the burgesses in 1753.

Carter remained in the House until 1768, and, between his political and scientific writings, he became, according to one historian, “the most published author of his generation in Virginia.” Nevertheless, his dour personality and dark view of human nature won him far less acclaim and success than he felt was due the son of a “King.”

Carter spent his later years in attempts to build his legacy, primarily by promoting his assertion that he, not Patrick Henry, as had been widely reported, had been the first Virginian to speak out for American independence. He died at Sabine Hall in 1778.

**Further reading:** Jack P. Greene, ed., *The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall* (Richmond: University of Virginia Press, 1965).

—Matthew Taylor Raffety

**Carter, Robert “King”** (1663–1732) *merchant*

Robert “King” Carter became by all accounts the richest man in colonial America. As such, he set the style and tone of the emerging planter CLASS in Colonial VIRGINIA. His domineering style and assurance of his position as a gentleman earned him the appellation “King” from both enemies and admirers. From his great hall at Carter’s Grove in Lancaster County, Carter ruled a far-flung empire of TOBACCO plantations throughout Virginia. Carter became the ideal for the aspiring Virginia elite, from the opulence of his great hall to his personal arrogance to his conspicuous gambling and CONSUMPTION.

Carter’s father, John Carter, immigrated to Virginia in 1649 and rapidly ascended to become one of the leading landholders and tobacco planters of the young colony. Robert Carter, John’s second son, was born to John and his fourth wife, Sarah Ludlow, in 1663. Robert spent several of his early years studying in England, but on the death of his elder brother, John Carter, Jr., he returned to manage his father’s holdings.

Robert Carter served as a vestryman at Christ’s Church and as a justice of the peace before being elected to represent Lancaster County in the HOUSE OF BURGESSSES in 1691, where he served as Speaker of the House in 1696 and again in 1699 and sat on the powerful Committee of Propositions and Grievances. His position as agent to Lord Fairfax, proprietor of substantial holdings along the Rappahannock River, enabled Carter to expand his own vast holdings, adding nearly 90,000 acres to his family’s



already substantial lands. He was quick to discover the toll that tobacco production took on the soil, and he continually sought fresh lands to purchase, or, in the case of the North Neck, lease from Lord Fairfax. By the mid-1720s Carter had begun dividing his holdings among his heirs, most notably his son LANDON CARTER, for more efficient operation. By the end of his life Carter had amassed more than 300,000 acres, 1,000 slaves, 2,000 head of cattle, and 100 horses. Carter died in 1732, having secured the Carter family's position of prominence in the Old Dominion for generations to come.

—Matthew Taylor Raffety

**Carteret, Philip** (1639–1682) *naval officer, explorer*

Philip Carteret became deputy governor of the colony of NEW JERSEY in 1665 at the age of 26. Born on the island of Jersey, Carteret was a cousin of Sir George Carteret, who had received the proprietorship of the colony from the duke of York after the English seized it from the Dutch in 1664. Accompanied by 30 colonists from Jersey, Philip Carteret arrived in a colony with a diverse population of Dutch, Swedes, PURITANS from CONNECTICUT and Long Island, a small number of Africans (slave and free), and a few remaining Lenape Indians. Carteret established the new government under a version of Concessions and Agreements largely copied from those of SOUTH CAROLINA.

Carteret faced problems immediately. The New Englanders defied him when he tried to collect taxes and quitrents, and by 1672 their resistance had become a colonywide revolt. Once that was successfully quelled, the Dutch reasserted their authority when they briefly retook NEW YORK from the English in 1673–74. By the time Carteret took charge again, half of the proprietorship had been sold to a group of QUAKERS. The colony was split in two, with Sir George Carteret retaining the proprietorship of East New Jersey. Philip Carteret served as governor of that colony until 1680, when his cousin died and SIR EDMUND ANDROS asserted jurisdiction over New Jersey. After Andros's recall to England, Carteret served as governor for another year until Sir George's widow sold the proprietorship to a group of 24 proprietors and the new governor, Thomas Rudyard, arrived.

**Further reading:** John E. Pomfret, *The Province of East New Jersey: The Rebellious Proprietary* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962).

—Alison Duncan Hirsch

**Castillo, Diego del** (fl. 1650) *explorer*

Along with Captain Hernán Martín, Diego del Castillo led an expedition from Santa Fe in 1650 charged by General

Hernando de la Concha, governor of NEW MEXICO, with exploring north and central Texas. Their 600-mile expedition included a six-month period with the Jumano on the Nueces River, a group that, as well as playing a role in colonial trade, had long inspired a great deal of fascination and cultural analysis among the Spanish colonists. Del Castillo's expedition returned with report of pearl-yielding mussels on the Nueces that led, four years later, to the profit-motivated, although unsuccessful, expedition of Diego de Guadalajara.

—Jonathan Wright

**Catawba**

In 1585 the Catawba Indians were one of many tribes who inhabited the Piedmont region of the American Southeast in the present-day states of NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, and VIRGINIA. Related groups, such as the Saponi, Sugaree, Shuteree, Pedee, Waxhaw, and Wateree, occupied the region between the coastal plain and the Appalachian Mountains. Like many other NATIVE AMERICANS, these groups suffered tremendous losses from European diseases in the late 17th and 18th centuries. As once independent tribes and villages lost massive portions of their populations, they became more susceptible to attacks by enemies. Economic life became difficult, as both male and female providers succumbed to disease. Men were unable to hunt; women were unable to farm.

In addition to decimation by disease, the Catawba also suffered from a growing dependence on English trade goods like guns, metal cooking implements, and metal tips for arrows. Such objects not only made daily life easier but made them more effective in warfare against their enemies, primarily the IROQUOIS Indians to the north and the neighboring TUSCARORA. To acquire these metal objects, the Catawba and other southern Indians engaged in the deerskin trade. The new dynamics of trade altered traditional subsistence patterns for the Catawba, who now ranged farther from home villages for longer periods than in the era before contact with Europeans. Furthermore, their new economic position in the trade made them more vulnerable to changes in the British market. These new realities affected many of the tribes in the South, causing great movement and consolidation among them. Because the Catawba had secured a position as “middlemen” in the deerskin trade and gained a reputation among the English settlers as adept and fierce warriors, they remained somewhat protected from the fiercest of frontier violence with the colonists. Many of their neighbors were not so lucky. Decimated by DISEASE and warfare and threatened economically, remnants of smaller tribes sought refuge among the Catawba, who adopted them into the tribe to replenish their own losses.

By the 1750s Catawba villages contained a generation of refugees from surrounding tribes who all went under the name Catawba, according to British sources. The mid-18th century was a time of hardship as well for the Catawbas, who suffered great losses again from SMALLPOX epidemics in the 1740s and 1750s. Coupled with a declining deer-skin trade, these events undermined the Catawba strength in the Southeast. In the 1760s (and to the present) the Catawba continued to exist as a nation, albeit one that had been replenished by many nearby tribes.

**Further reading:** James Merrell, *The Indians' New World: The Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (New York: Norton, 1989).

—Thomas J. Lappas

**Catesby, Mark** (1682–1749) *naturalist, traveler*

Mark Catesby was a naturalist, illustrator, the author of the first major illustrated work on the natural history of the British colonies in the Americas, and one of the first artists to illustrate birds and ANIMALS in their natural surroundings. He was born in Essex, England. Catesby developed an interest in botany as a child and in his young adulthood developed relationships with other collectors and botanists. Catesby accompanied his sister to Williamsburg, VIRGINIA, in 1712; there he became acquainted with a number of prominent residents interested in horticulture, including Governor William Byrd III. Between 1712 and 1714 Catesby traveled to the Appalachians, the Bahamas, and Jamaica, collecting plant specimens and observing birds and animals. He became interested in the interrelationships between animals and their ENVIRONMENT. Catesby went back to England in 1719 but returned to the New World in 1722, backed by a group of British plant collectors and enthusiasts including Samuel Dale and William Sherard, physician Sir Hans Sloane, and Francis Nicholson, the new governor of SOUTH CAROLINA. Catesby traveled in South Carolina and GEORGIA between 1723 and 1725, returning to the Bahamas in 1725. Already known as a watercolor painter of merit, Catesby learned to etch his own plates for the engravings for his subscription-supported *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands*, published between 1731 and 1743, with an appendix in 1747. He was elected a member of the Royal Society in 1733. A notable figure in the international scientific community, Catesby corresponded with a wide circle of European and colonial artists and collectors. His *Natural History* remained an important reference book well into the 18th century.

**Further reading:** Amy R. W. Meyers and Margaret Beck Pritchard, eds., *Empire's Nature: Mark Catesby's New*

*World Vision* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

—Monique Bourque

**Champlain, Samuel de** (1567–1635) *explorer of Canada*

Perhaps more than any other individual, Samuel de Champlain was responsible for the establishment of permanent French settlement in New France, modern-day Canada. Faced with the competing interests of fur traders, religious leaders, government officials, and, of course, various Native American groups, Champlain remained a tireless advocate for the French colony. Often celebrated in heroic histories as the “Father of New France,” Champlain’s legacy was somewhat more ambiguous, particularly his relationship with the Native peoples he encountered.

Champlain began his career as an explorer in 1599, when he joined an expedition to the West Indies. In 1603 Champlain served as the cartographer on a voyage to New France and the following year began his long association with the effort to colonize the New World. After a series of exploratory missions during which he produced several extraordinarily accurate maps of the region as far south as Cape Cod, Champlain established Quebec as the base for French colonial endeavors. By 1613 he was named a vice regal official in New France and was given the authority to administer the colony as he saw fit. Champlain believed this power to extend over the NATIVE AMERICANS living in lands claimed by the French, and he made numerous attempts to interfere in the affairs of the nearby Montagnais Indians. These efforts only served to exacerbate the relationship between the French and the Native peoples, especially as competition in the FUR TRADE intensified preexisting animosities among various Native groups.

In 1617 Champlain presented his plan for colonization to the Chamber of Commerce in Paris. Like many such plans, Champlain’s was a rather optimistic appraisal of the potential for a mixed ECONOMY based on the exploitation of fish, timber, AGRICULTURE, and livestock, as well as the already established fur trade. His report also emphasized that a strong colony in New France was necessary to prevent competing European interests, such as the English and Dutch, from overtaking the lands. Despite the reluctance of some MERCHANTS to get involved in any activities that might detract from the lucrative fur trade, Champlain eventually was confirmed as commander of New France and returned in 1620.

Convinced that a sedentary lifestyle based primarily on agriculture was a key component of “civilized” living, Champlain attempted to convince the Montagnais to abandon their culture, convert to Christianity, speak French, and adopt a new way of life as farmers, much to the dis-





The defeat of the Iroquois at Lake Champlain. A facsimile of an engraving by Samuel de Champlain from his 1613 edition of *Les voyages de la Nouvelle France* (The New York Public Library)

may of Europeans interested in the fur trade. In 1629 the English captured Quebec and held the settlement until 1632. In the intervening years Champlain continued to act as chief advocate for French colonization, publishing his most ambitious work, *Les voyages de la Nouvelle France*, just after the English returned the colony to France. Champlain returned to the colony and acted as chief administrator until his death there in 1635.

**Further reading:** William J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534–1760* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).

—Melanie Perreault

## Charleston

Founded in 1680 and known as Charles Town throughout the colonial period, this city on the coast of SOUTH CAROLINA was named after English king Charles II (r. 1660–85). English proprietors secured the land grant for their colony from Charles II and laid out this planned city, including streets with a grid pattern, on land taken from Indian nations, including the YAMASEE and the CHEROKEE. Aided by immigrants from the West Indies, particularly

Barbados, the proprietors succeeded in building a profitable city and colony in the late 17th century despite widespread epidemics and exceedingly high death rates. Located between the Ashley and Cooper Rivers and on the Atlantic Ocean, Charles Town became a thriving port city in the early 18th century and the focus of economic life in the colony. In 1719 Charles Town elites overthrew the proprietary government, and the colony came under royal control. Throughout the royal period (1720–76), Charles Town served as the political center of the colony, and wealthy residents of the city monopolized provincial government.

The only city in the southern colonies, Charles Town attracted a very diverse population. Migrants from Barbados and England were joined by JEWS, French Huguenots (Protestants), and other Europeans. Indian traders, free blacks, and a large slave population added to the cultural mix of Charles Town. Power in the colony, however, remained firmly in the hands of Charles Town white elites. Local merchants involves themselves in elaborate and lucrative international markets. INDIGO (introduced by 17-year-old ELIZABETH LUCAS PINCKNEY in the early 18th century), rice (cultivated through the labor and knowledge of African slaves), and deerskins (acquired through Indian trading) produced huge profits for the planters

and merchants of Charles Town. By 1763 the town was home to the wealthiest citizens of British North America. Absentee planters—who resided only occasionally on their plantations—maintained residences in Charles Town, living alongside and socializing with wealthy merchants. City elites built some of the grandest homes in North America and made Charles Town a center of cosmopolitan life. THEATER, horse racing, private clubs, balls, and the first musical society in North America (St. Cecilia, 1762) made Charles Town one of the most culturally sophisticated cities in colonial America.

Most of the wealth that city residents enjoyed came from SLAVERY. The SLAVE TRADE was by far the largest part of Charles Town's commercial interests, and slaves produced highly profitable crops on plantations outside the city. Slavery played a larger role in the economic life of South Carolina than in any other mainland North American colony. South Carolina had the highest percentage of blacks, most of whom toiled in a brutal system of bondage and whose work paid for the lavish lifestyles of local elites. Despite the exploitative nature of slavery, Charles Town also offered AFRICAN AMERICANS a unique opportunity for autonomy and for crafting a vibrant culture. By 1750 more than 40 percent of the city's nearly 7,500 residents were black. Slaves hired for day labor, free sailors and dock hands, and free black women workers enjoyed greater mobility than plantation slaves, and their presence made controlling urban slaves more difficult. Not surprisingly, free black people and slaves sometimes forcibly resisted their abuse by white Charlestonians. In 1739 just 15 miles southwest of Charles Town, African Americans organized the largest revolt against slavery in British North America, the STONO REBELLION.

See also CITIES AND URBAN LIFE.

**Further reading:** Robert Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History* (New York: KTO Press, 1983); Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Norton, 1974).

—Lorri Glover

**Chauncy, Charles** (1705–1787) *Congregationalist minister, antirevivalist*

Charles Chauncy was a Boston minister and critic of the enthusiasms surrounding the GREAT AWAKENING of the mid-18th century. In *Enthusiasm Described and Caution'd Against* (1742), Chauncy warned against some of the charismatic preaching of the Awakening, arguing that enthusiasm was not in fact a true work of the spirit of God but a work of humans. In *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England* (1743), he argued that the problems of the Great Awakening could be solved by the New England

clergy if they would stand against itinerant preaching and enthusiasm.

The Great Awakening questioned some of the central tenets of ministerial authority in New England. Chauncy believed that traveling preachers weakened both the relationships between a minister and his parish as well as the bonds among clergy themselves. Chauncy also criticized the revivalists for permitting women to play a more active and vocal role in religious services.

As tension between Britain and its colonies intensified, Chauncy vociferously attacked the idea of an American bishopric (supposedly encouraged by British officials) and lamented the suffering caused to the people of Boston by the Port Act of 1774.

**Further reading:** Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2006).

—Patrick Callaway

## Cherokee

In 1650 the Cherokee people of North America consisted of some 22,000 NATIVE AMERICANS, probably related to the IROQUOIS nations of the Great Lakes region. Relocated to the southeast area of the Appalachian Mountains (present-day VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA, Tennessee, Kentucky, GEORGIA, and Alabama), they organized three clusters of small towns in what is now North Carolina, SOUTH CAROLINA, and Georgia. From European visitors' reports it would appear that each site consisted of some 40 log cabins. The town chose a leader, men and women shared authority in their agriculture and hunter/gatherer livelihood, and there was a clear division of labor between chiefs who brought peacetime leadership (symbolized by the color white) and those with lesser status who led in wartime (symbolized by red). Peacetime leadership was characterized by careful reasoning and restrained oratory; wartime leaders were expected to raise passions and excite warriors to battle. A good chief might expect to pass on his position to the child of his oldest sister—usually, but not always, a male child. Women played a variety of influential roles in governing Cherokee affairs.

Except for the early presence of Spanish flintlock muskets, little evidence exists of the merging of Cherokee culture with that of the Spanish explorers whom they had encountered before 1600. By the early 18th century, however, there was intermarriage between Cherokee women and the English as well as trade relationships involving exchanges of Indian foodstuffs for European guns, knives, brass kettles, and other manufactured goods. By 1684 two South Carolina Cherokee towns had signed a treaty with the English; over the next five decades they joined forces against



the TUSCARORA, Creek, and French. This alliance even involved several Cherokee representatives traveling to England, in 1729, for an audience with King George II (1727–60). They signed a treaty against the French, who had made a similar compact with the Cherokee towns in present-day Tennessee. One result of this collaboration was a significant change in Cherokee CONSUMPTION patterns, making them dependent on a steady supply of European goods and ultimately eroding their culture. Guns and the supplies to use them were a central focus of this trade, but Cherokee women also sought cloth, sewing tools, cookware, lace, ribbons, buckles, and other manufactured items.

From the beginning of collaboration with Europeans, many of the Cherokee people were wary of the provisions for land divisions set out in the series of treaties and of what might be required of them to maintain these agreements. Between 1730 and 1756 the Cherokee were embroiled in the treacherous politics of the British-American settlers (who promised to build a fort to protect Cherokee families while the men went to war against the French), of the French (to whom some Cherokee towns had sworn loyalty), and of their own communities (where Cherokee leaders often bore the blame for broken European promises). During these years Cherokee leaders ceded to white settlers a large tract of land in what is now western South Carolina.

When hostilities between the French and British escalated during the SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756–63), Cherokee leaders were hard-pressed to distinguish acts of hostility by the French from those perpetrated by the English, who claimed to mistake Cherokee warriors for the enemy. Many Cherokee wished to withdraw from European politics entirely. Still, some of their leaders, remaining loyal to Britain, ceded more land in Tennessee and Virginia. They were rewarded by another trip to England, where George III reiterated his friendship.

In part to meet their rising debt for consumer goods between 1770 and 1775, Cherokee leaders ceded millions of acres of land to American settlers, including areas of North Carolina and Kentucky. During the War for Independence the Cherokee sided with the British against American settlers in hopes that, in return for military support, the Crown would return some of their land. With the American forces victorious in the Southwest, however, the Cherokee were forced to surrender even more land in North and South Carolina. In the 1781 Treaty of Long Island of Holston, the Cherokee nation became completely subordinated to the American government, and Cherokee consumption and cultural patterns became increasingly overwhelmed by European styles.

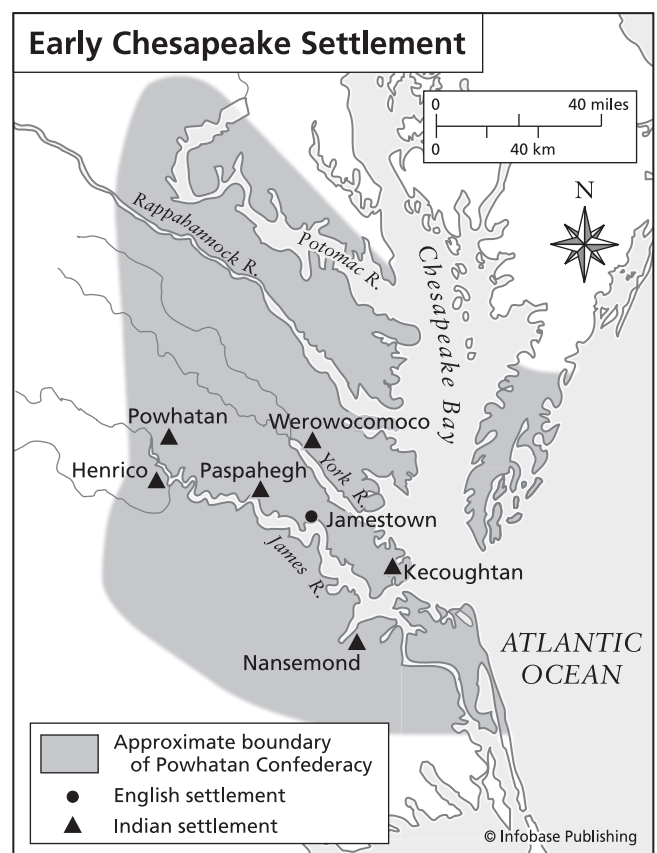
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—Emma Lapsansky

## Chesapeake Bay

Countless generations of NATIVE AMERICANS and European colonists used the resources of the Chesapeake Bay for transportation, FISHING, and hunting. About 11,000 years ago melting glaciers formed the bay. Native Americans settled around the Chesapeake Bay, which they called Chesepioc, meaning “great shellfish bay.” The bay served as the nucleus of Native Americans’ lives, providing a stable FOOD source. Stunned by the bay’s size and resources, the Spanish considered the Chesapeake Bay as a superior port for vessels, calling it Bahía de Santa María. The English referred to it as the Great Bay of the Chesapeakes.

Native peoples built villages and hunting camps along the coast of the bay. Deer and wildlife were attracted to the bay, providing pelts to trade and meat to eat. The ALGONQUIN formed the majority of the Indians around the bay; they tried to retain isolation from the Susquehannock of the IROQUOIS nation. Some tribes entered into alliances, such as the POWHATAN CONFEDERACY. As more tribes settled in the bay area and as European adventurers arrived seeking land and trade, the indigenous people of the region engaged in cultural and other conflicts. Although some transactions were amicable, hostilities between the Algonquin and Europeans often resulted in abductions and murders.



In 1570 a group of Spanish JESUITS established a settlement near the York River, intending to convert Native Americans to Catholicism, but the Algonquin resisted. The English planned to settle the Chesapeake Bay region as early as the 1580s, but three attempts to settle Roanoke Island failed. However, John White, an artist, returned to England with his drawings and maps, which became very well known.

The original JAMESTOWN settlers arrived at the Chesapeake Bay in April 1607, sailing up the James River. This colony suffered from starvation and exposure to the elements. Governor JOHN SMITH ordered men to harvest oysters and sturgeon from the Chesapeake to feed the settlers. The Algonquin taught the English how to grow TOBACCO, which was the catalyst for a massive shipping and economic system depending on the waterways of the colonial Chesapeake Bay. English ROMAN CATHOLICS settled ST. MARY'S CITY, MARYLAND, in 1634, taking advantage of the Chesapeake Bay to develop major SHIP-BUILDING and tobacco industries. The early LABOR force was multiracial, including European indentured servants, a few Indian slaves, and a handful of black servants and slaves. More land was cleared as soil became depleted by the demands of tobacco plants. As the supply of English indentured servants lessened and the Africans became more easily available, a system of racial bondage evolved at the end of the 17th century. The Chesapeake Bay enabled permanent settlements to thrive, and its tributaries were crucial as settlers migrated west. Pirates flourished, and shipwrecks littered the Chesapeake Bay.

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—Elizabeth D. Schafer

## Chickasaw

The Chickasaw Indians resided in present-day northern Mississippi and western Tennessee. Their population declined from about 5,000 in 1700 to around 3,000 by mid-century, then rebounded. Their language and culture closely resembled the CHOCTAW Indians to their south, with whom they shared a similar history of their origins in a region west of the Mississippi River. Their first contact with Europeans most likely occurred in 1541, when Spaniard Hernando de Soto's military expedition encamped near their villages, sparking conflict and unleashing deadly diseases. Contact with the British and French began in the late 1600s, and the Chickasaw established a fruitful trade relationship and alliance with Britain centered around exchanging deer-

skins for guns and other manufactured items. Chickasaw warriors raided Choctaw villages to obtain captives for the Carolina slave market until the Choctaw also acquired guns from the French in the early 1700s.

France sought to sway Chickasaw allegiance away from Britain, but they could never supply enough trade goods to appease the Chickasaw, so they chose to wage war on them instead. France encouraged their Choctaw allies to attack the Chickasaw nearly constantly in the 18th century and even mounted two full-scale military expeditions of their own against the Chickasaw in 1736 and 1739, but both invasions failed. Despite consistent Chickasaw victory and a reputation for fierce and powerful warriors, this constant warfare threatened Chickasaw survival by unduly stressing their population numbers. They compensated by absorbing other peoples into their society. After the French war against the Natchez Indians in the late 1720s, hundreds of Natchez people fled to live among the Chickasaw. In addition, the Chickasaw readily adopted British fur traders into their families and villages. These traders ensured ready access to European trade goods, and they brought new ideas and skills as well as new bicultural children into the nation.

Although their alliance with Britain remained strong throughout the 18th century, the Chickasaw essentially used the British to obtain access to the guns and other supplies that ensured their continuing independence amidst tremendous outside pressure to succumb to foreign domination or migrate from their homeland.

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—Greg O'Brien

## childhood

Parents and guardians in early North America loved and raised their children with the cultural values and skills required by their various societies. Because of high MORTALITY rates, European colonists considered infancy a dangerous state to be endured, and babies were admired more for their progress toward adulthood than for their innate capabilities. Early marriages and large families were common, and members of extended families and kinship groups helped raise children when either the death of parents or forced separation disrupted nuclear families. Children were a crucial part of the labor force in this preindustrial agrarian ECONOMY. They began to contribute to the family welfare at a young age, whether belonging to Puritan or Chesapeake farm families, as members of Indian tribes, or when coerced into the workforce on slave plantations.

In 17th-century New England Puritan families were large, nuclear, and stable, characterized by early marriages and high birth rates. In contrast, in the mid-Atlantic region later marriages and shorter life expectancies created orphans and instability, resulting in more extended and stepfamilies. The family structure of white people in both regions converged during the 18th century. Euro-Americans believed that a parent's duty was to ensure that babies grew straight and erect with the ability to speak, reason, and walk upright, which separated them from wild beasts. The use of swaddling bands and narrow cradles that inhibited movement, walking stools that held babies upright, and CLOTHING that gave the illusion of an adult posture indicate that infants were considered "innately depraved" and in need of shaping. Babies were thus hurried through infancy to physical independence.

Childhood ended at about age seven, when children were given household responsibilities and began lessons in religion and reading. Girls typically learned domestic skills from their mothers, and boys followed their fathers' chores in this predominantly patriarchal world. Clothing indicated age and status—children of both GENDERS wore petticoats and caps until boys were considered mature enough to wear trousers. Most children were apprenticed out of the home at the age of 12 or 13. To "break the will" of uncooperative youngsters, PURITANS and other Europeans often used physical force in the 17th century. Corporal punishment declined in the later 18th century, when parents began to develop a view of childhood as a time of joy and innocence rather than of danger and depravity.

Slave children matured under the very difficult conditions of bondage. Slave owners sometimes hindered family formation, separating children and parents, and harshly punished young slaves. Still, AFRICAN AMERICANS enjoyed some success in creating close family relationships. Following African kinship patterns, slaves formed extended family networks often comprised of friends who became "fictive" kin to raise orphans and maintain family bonds. Community "aunties" and "uncles" looked after girls and boys in the absence of other family members. Because slave owners envisioned infants as future workers, pregnant and nursing mothers usually received brief respite from field labor. Mothers carried babies on their backs into plantation fields, in the manner of their ancestors. At age six or seven some slave children began work as domestics while others began doing small chores around the farm. At nine or 10, most entered fieldwork. Some were apprenticed to skilled ARTISANS at age 14 or 15, also the age at which slaves (called "woman girl" and "man boy") were most often sold.

Slave parents passed on a blended African and European culture, using religion, storytelling, MUSIC, and DANCE to create a sense of group identity. Masters usu-

ally forbade reading, but literate adults occasionally were able to educate girls and boys. Parents also taught children methods of resistance, from daily survival skills to acts of resistance and rebellion, as ways to cope with oppression. Runaway slave women very rarely left their children, often risking capture by taking them along.

Although Native American children grew up in diverse, autonomous tribes, some common themes of childhood emerge. Families were enmeshed in a network of extended family, clan, and tribal relationships. Unlike white children, Indian children often enjoyed close ties with numerous adults. Infants were valued as links to the supernatural world and were often nursed until the age of five. Parents used cradleboards, like the Euro-American swaddle method, to give security and create discipline in babies while they grew. Europeans were often astonished at the freedom that Indian parents afforded their offspring. Children learned skills required for membership in their adult society in the areas of survival, religion, and ethics through play, imitation, and storytelling. Spiritual quests for a personal "guardian spirit" were common rites of passage into adulthood. Informal apprentice relationships trained youth for storytelling and other leadership roles in the community. Adults educated children by using incentives, ridicule, fear of supernatural beings, and, rarely, physical punishment. Because pain tolerance was generally a cultural ideal, children were trained in physical endurance. As contact with Euro-Americans increased, deadly diseases, loss of land, and physical relocation required Native American parents to adapt their methods of child rearing to a changing world.

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—Deborah C. Taylor

## Choctaw

The Choctaw Indians resided in present-day central and eastern Mississippi and claimed rights over territory extending to the Mississippi River, the Gulf Coast, and into present-day Alabama. Their population numbered about 20,000 in 1700, dropped to about 14,000 in the middle of the 18th century, and began to grow again in the latter half of the century. There existed among the Choctaw three principal geographic and political divisions: the western, eastern, and Six Towns (or southern) divisions that reflected the diverse ethnic origins of the Choctaw people. Sometime between Spaniard Hernando de Soto's military expedition through the Southeast in the 1540s and 1699, when the

French arrived on the Gulf Coast, distinct groups of southeastern Indians had joined together to form the historically known Choctaw. The most likely reason for this migration is that SMALLPOX unleashed by de Soto's campaign ravaged southeastern Indian populations, encouraging the refugees to join culturally similar peoples for safety in numbers.

The Choctaw welcomed the new French presence on the Gulf Coast and along the Mississippi River in the early decades of the 18th century because they needed a counterweight to British-sponsored slave raids into their villages. Armed with British guns, the Creek Indians and other groups residing close to British settlements in Carolina seized upwards of 1,000 Choctaw in the late 1600s for sale to the West Indies. Once the French arrived in the area, the Choctaw acquired their own guns and successfully countered the slave-catching attacks. Because of this aid from France, the Choctaw remained closely allied to that country until France's defeat in the SEVEN YEARS' WAR in 1763. In the 1720s and 1730s the Choctaw assisted France in attacking and driving out the Natchez Indians from the Mississippi River area after the Natchez had rebelled against the French presence. Similarly, the Choctaw waged intermittent war against another French enemy, the CHICKASAW Indians, throughout the 18th century until 1763.

Not all Choctaw approved of an alliance solely with France. In the late 1740s a civil war broke out among the Choctaw divisions, in part over whether to form a trade alliance with Britain. Certain western division warriors, such as RED SHOES, attacked French traders and officials in their towns, thus igniting the civil war (1746–50) that caused the deaths of hundreds of Choctaw. Nevertheless, the Choctaw continued to seek a British trade alliance after 1750, and they stubbornly resisted being dependent on only one European power.

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—Greg O'Brien

## cities and urban life

By 1690 five important urban centers in the present-day United States had acquired both similar and unique characteristics. BOSTON, NEWPORT, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, and CHARLESTON, all located on rivers, were positioned to maximize the trade and military advantages of the Atlantic rim communities. Through these centers flowed manufactured goods, money, produce, and—significantly—information. By the 1740s each town had at least a skeleton of municipal government; a weekly newspaper; a variety of

skilled craftspeople; a diversity of cultures and religions; well-developed commercial, consumer, and credit systems; and at least rudimentary city services (e.g., mail, markets, TAVERNS, inns, theaters, constables, poverty relief programs, prisons, and some educational institutions). Although most of the cities were in areas controlled by Britain, other small urban nodes of a few hundred people also had appeared by 1700 and would take shape as cities by the end of the century. NEW ORLEANS and Chicago developed as a result of French-Indian trade. ST. AUGUSTINE (FLORIDA), Tucson (Arizona), and San Antonio (Texas) grew out of Spanish Catholic MISSIONS. By 1775 Spanish explorers had established a beachhead on what would become San Francisco (California).

The urban areas represented economic and social opportunities and challenges. Each had an adjoining agricultural region from which to draw produce for CONSUMPTION and international trade. Each had international political and economic influence disproportionate to its small size; by 1750 Philadelphia—with only about 15,000 residents—was considered to be the second most important city in the BRITISH EMPIRE. Beginning as early as the 1690s, publishing operations in every city began gaining momentum, turning out thousands of books, pamphlets, broadsides, and magazines, including 4,000 titles between 1740 and 1760. Although Boston remained the largest (approximately 7,000 in 1690 and 16,000 in the 1740s), New York and Philadelphia became the most vigorous urban centers after 1740, growing rapidly in both population and independence for women, a significant number of whom chose to remain single in order to control their own assets. Each urban center struggled with municipal administrative challenges: road maintenance, waste disposal and pollution, HOUSING codes, fires, and petty crime.

Regional, religious, economic, and cultural variations helped define unique characteristics of cities. The few urban areas in the South were very small, shaped by a PLANTATION SYSTEM where many plantations were the equivalent of self-sufficient villages containing their own craftspeople, agricultural produce, and private docks. Although Charleston—with only 7,000 residents by 1750—contained furniture-makers and printers who were the equal of those in other cities, it lagged behind with other services. For example, whereas Boston, Philadelphia, and New York all had colleges by the time of the Revolution, Charleston did not. The percentage of slave labor and free black residents in some of the cities also influenced urban culture. New York and Charleston, where slaves accounted for more than 20 percent of the population, both experienced slave uprisings in the 18th century. Philadelphia, under the influence of Quaker values, had a smaller slave population. Quaker influence also caused Philadelphia to lag behind the other cities in the development of THEATER.



As the 18th century progressed, cities also developed a hierarchical CLASS structure, which by 1760 was defined by a dramatically unequal distribution of wealth. Whereas in 1690 the poorest 50 percent of free urban people controlled about 10 percent of the cities' assets, their economic share had declined to less than 5 percent by 1760. This disparity, evident everywhere, was most pronounced in Philadelphia, where the poorest half of the population owned only 3 percent of the city's assets, while the richest 5 percent had more than half of the city's wealth—almost double the percentage they had controlled in 1690. Affluent urbanites strutted their wealth, importing wines, cheeses, books, and ART from abroad and erecting public buildings and private residences copied from opulent British designs.

Easy availability of information, the display of wealth, and wartime booms followed by recessions left urbanites restless and discontent, a factor that fed the desire for reform and led to the Revolution. Frequent communication among urban areas also facilitated the publicizing of revolutionary ideas, such as those espoused by JOHN LOCKE and Thomas Paine. This combined with social class tensions and a growing appetite for consumer goods to highlight the English colonists' concerns about "fairness," "equality," and "freedom"—concepts that appear frequently in Revolutionary rhetoric.

By 1770 the combined population of Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston was only about 60,000, less than 3 percent of the 1.5 million inhabitants in Anglo-America, yet American leadership emerged from these urban areas, and the cities continued to lead the nation for decades to come. Yet, American political leadership emerged from these urban areas, and the cities continued to lead the nation during the decade of resistance preceding the American Revolution. In addition, the multicultural and multiracial characteristics of early cities defined the types of societies that eventually would become a central aspect of the United States itself.

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—Emma Lapsansky and Billy G. Smith

## class

Class was an integral and ever-present part of early American life, although its presence was never felt completely or uniformly. Like much of early American life, the nature of

class relations depended to a great extent on region. In the early years of European settlement, colonial societies bore the heavy imprint of cultural and social dislocation, flux, and recomposition as the first generations of conquerors and settlers attempted to impose their European conceptions of social order on an ever-changing world of multicultural interchange. Before the 17th century in Spanish America and the 18th century in the other Euro-American colonies, they seldom succeeded. The sheer complexity of establishing footholds in the New World, of treating with the indigenous inhabitants, of establishing viable economic connections with the home countries—coupled with the fact that all European colonization efforts excluded whole classes of people—made for a cluster of colonial societies in which social hierarchies were more often chimerical than real. As hard as they may have tried to reconstruct the Old World in the New, Euro-Americans perforce created unique social systems that were, for a time, remarkably fluid and open. Only after several generations of established settlement did CREOLE societies begin to resemble their transatlantic counterparts.

This fluidity is most clearly evident in the two regions of English settlement. In the northeastern arc of English settlements, small family farms predominated. Within these units of agrarian production, male household heads exercised formal legal and public power over family members, although in practice power in families flowed from many sources: men made decisions about fields and livestock; women made decisions about the household and its gardens, about the farmyard, and about the family orchard; older children directed the upbringing and tasks of younger siblings; adults directed the lives of servants and, sometimes, slaves. Family farm communities lacked a center of power. Composed, for the most part, of economically equal members, family farm communities formed one-class societies of small producers that provided little basis for focused, centralized power. Even though often engineered, consensual politics generally obtained in these communities, and age, more than any other factor, formed the locus of local power. This was especially true of New England villages, where several studies have demonstrated the persistence of "town fathers"—older men who guided formal and informal community decision making—in positions of local authority. These decentralized communities realized a degree of centralization only occasionally, whenever the outside world of colonial magistrates and contending armies intruded in local affairs.

In the CONNECTICUT and Hudson River valleys and the countryside surrounding NEW YORK CITY and PHILADELPHIA, AGRICULTURE took on a larger-scale, commercial aspect. In these areas clientage and asymmetrical class relationships made power much more centralized. Wealthy landholders claimed economic, social, and

political power throughout these commercial regions by lending money, renting and leasing land, hiring temporary labor, and helping in hard times. More often than not, these landowners turned their economic power as a rentier class into political power, calling in the suffrages of their clients and lessees as a condition of their obliging paternalism.

If power was more centralized around class relationships in commercial farming areas, it was most concentrated in the northern seaport cities. As Gary B. Nash has shown, from the very beginning of settlement in BOSTON, New York City, and Philadelphia, cities were the most unequal places in the Northeast. Dominated economically by a class of wealthy import/export MERCHANTS, the northern seaport cities supported a diverse SOCIETY made up of independent ARTISANS, retail merchants, laborers, MARINERS, indentured and hired servants, and slaves. In these, the most stratified locales in northern society, a rudimentary class system linked merchant to retailer, retailer to artisan, artisan to journeyman and apprentice, and everyone to the cities' bound laborers and mariners. The nature of this class system is often distorted and misunderstood—indeed it is occasionally even denied—by those who see class existing only in its centralized, industrial form. For although centralized in comparison with its rural counterparts, the commercial ECONOMY of the seaport cities supported class relations that were remarkably decentralized compared with those that would exist in the 19th century. These seaport societies revolved around trade, and this made merchants one center of urban society. Merchants employed mariners for their vessels, bought the time of indentured servants, and purchased slaves as personal and household servants. However, at the same time, they also contracted with independent artisans for goods and farmers for produce. For their part, master artisans hired journeymen and trained apprentices, but they also bought the time and persons of indentured servants and slaves as the supply of dependent LABOR and the size of their purses dictated. Even the position of laborers and mariners (together composing the largest group of working people in the seaport cities) was ambiguous. Servants typically hired themselves on an annual basis and mariners for the duration of a voyage. This brought them under the direct personal supervision of their temporary owners, who controlled not only their working but their personal lives as well. Although they possessed some legal rights and protections, the position of servants and mariners was closer to that of slaves than free wage laborers, at least during the term of their respective indentures. The overlapping diversity of these class relations was typical of mercantile communities throughout the New World and, indeed, characteristic of similar communities in Europe, Asia, and AFRICA as well. Class relations remained diffuse in these communities, and, while in some respects they might prefigure the world of industrial capi-

talism, they mostly represented a semicentralized world of independence and dependence, of clientage and custom, of freedom and bondage.

It is only when we turn to the English plantation complex that we encounter a well-articulated and centralized class system in early America. From their inception the English CARIBBEAN and southern mainland colonies were designed as colonies of exploitation. Unable to find significant mineral wealth or to exploit Native American labor effectively, as had their Spanish predecessors in the New World, the English were able to follow their Iberian counterparts in establishing lucrative staple-producing societies. Relying first on English indentured servants, the southern mainland colonies quickly evolved into societies in which class was the dominant form of inequality. In colonies to which few women came before the mid-17th century, the near absence of family life focused colonial life on the economic nexus. Developing from the English institution of year-long contracts struck between landlords and agricultural servants, the indenture system of MARYLAND and VIRGINIA quickly became a system of quasi SLAVERY. Servants could be bought and sold or their persons and labor gambled away. For those found guilty of increasingly minor infractions, their time in "service" could be extended two-, three-, or four-fold as punishment and as a means of enhancing the wealth and power of the region's planter class. The lines of class were thus clear in the early Chesapeake: the bulk of the work of planting TOBACCO—the region's staple crop—was performed by indentured servants who labored for an increasingly wealthy and powerful class of plantation owners.

If the indenture system represented the most class-centered form of inequality in early British American society, the slave system that supplanted it after 1680 was even more so. Slavery in the Chesapeake was in many respects a direct result of the indenture system of the early and middle 17th century. After 1660 slave prices fell as servant prices rose, making the purchase of slaves increasingly the norm. BACON'S REBELLION, which pitted ex-indentured servants against their former masters, accelerated the purchase of slaves, who by 1650 were already considered a class unto themselves: servants for life. By 1710 the Chesapeake colonies had become fully committed slave societies, with African slaves constituting 42 percent of Virginia's and 23 percent of Maryland's total population. The same held true farther south in the Carolinas, where slavery and its attendant class system arrived with the first white immigrants. Comprised of displaced settlers from the sugar island of Barbados, there was little question about the status of the African slaves they brought with them. Once SOUTH CAROLINA planters had mastered the techniques of rice growing—learned, ironically, from their African bondpeople—they quickly turned the fledgling province into the

most prosperous of the British mainland colonies. By the early 18th century South Carolina had become the mainland's only black-majority colony.

Thus, by the turn of the 18th century, the basic pattern of class relations that would come to dominate the plantation complex was in place in the mainland colonies. It involved the domination of southern society by a small class of very wealthy and powerful planters whose wealth derived from the exploitation of a subaltern class of slaves. That dominance encompassed the white, small-farming population as well. Interspersed throughout the plantation complex were other white people, most of whom were family farmers much like their northern counterparts, although they competed directly with large planters by growing small quantities of the local staple in addition to producing their own FOOD and fodder. The financial power of the plantation grandees coupled with the virtual control they exercised over colonial legislatures and county court systems made the class system of the plantation regions, along with those of New Spain, the most centralized in pre-19th-century America.

Early North America was thus a concatenation of systems of power and inequality. Working outward from colonial families to local communities and on to colonial society as a whole, inequalities of power in all of its aspects took on many forms, but despite the existence of rudimentary forms of capitalism and several configurations of class, outside the plantation complex class was never the central organizing institution of early American society. In fact, within the northeastern arc of the British mainland colonies—except, perhaps, in the large seaport cities—it is difficult to find any stable centers of power at all. That would begin to change as rapid population growth in the 18th and early 19th centuries, repudiation of colonial status, the creation of independent nationhood, and the infusion of capital into productive relationships began to transform early North America into an industrial nation. However, while the impact of commercial expansion and early industrial capitalism on the structure of power and inequality in the new nation was profound, the question of class in early 19th-century American society admitted no unequivocal answer.

Some commonalities of class emerged throughout the larger Atlantic world, especially in Europe and the Americas. In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, imperial settlement, religious change, and the commercial revolution created conditions enabling new identities based on class. This was especially evident in the appearance and development of the “middle classes.” Like Benjamin Franklin, many people (mostly white males) began to aspire to improve their social and economic status by adopting the values of hard work, frugality, and mastery of their own behavior. Pursuing genteel lives in the burgeoning consumer empire, this new middling sort eventually

articulated a clearer sense of their social distinctiveness, economic interests, and political objectives. The appropriate use and display of consumer goods, for example, offered status and symbols of social superiority for some prosperous people at the same time that it excluded others. Even as middling colonists sought common cause with one other and the fashionable Europeans they considered their peers, they sharpened distinctions in colonial communities and nurtured resentment among those who lacked the wherewithal to acquire the trappings of respectability. This newly affluent middle class also increasingly feared the “dangerous classes” comprised of marginalized, impoverished people, who were perceived as too irresponsible to care for themselves or their families.

Of course, new definitions of class had a gender component as well, as some white women began to define themselves according to middle-class respectability. Working outside the home became less acceptable, and appearances (of themselves and their domiciles) grew more important. All of these changes reflected the reconfiguration of class relations and the newer ways of conceptualizing the differences between men and women and between black and white people along increasingly restrictive lines.

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—Ronald Schultz and Billy G. Smith

## clothing

Dress in early North America indicated peoples' CLASS and status, religious beliefs, and, at times, the impulse to escape these social categories. Europeans were used to a system of elaborate social meaning in dress, which was not lost on NATIVE AMERICANS, to whom adornments signified importance. Insensitive to indigenous cultures, the English viewed Indians, who wore “skins of beasts” when not naked, as wild and subhuman. African slaves, who often arrived in North America with virtually nothing on their backs, were allotted the roughest cloth as a mark of their inferior status. In time, Europeans on the frontier adopted pieces of Indian dress, New England women ignored sumptuary laws, Native Americans fashioned clothing out of European cloth, and slaves acquired dyes and tailoring skills to express individuality in dress.





Iroquois women and warrior. The latter carries a wooden shield on his back. The illustration is by Samuel de Champlain. (Hulton/Archive)

Wealthy MERCHANTS imported most of their cloth from England and considered local homespun coarse and suited only for workers and servants. English sumptuary laws prohibited the use of fancy laces, ruffles, and embroidered cloth by any but the upper classes. PURITANS, QUAKERS, and many Dutch, Swedish, and French Protestants believed that simplicity and order in dress reflected order in one's relationship to God. Still, they adhered to the laws' purpose of class differentiation and reserved the best materials for prosperous merchants. After a time colonial women refused to obey English dress laws, which were abolished in the 1680s, opening the way for Americans to imitate the wealthy in their attire. VIRGINIA elites surpassed even the English in their fashionable dress styles, which they wore to display

their wealth and power and to rebel against the Protestant clothing ethic.

Native Americans dressed in various styles according to tribal customs. In general, they wore clothing made from animal skins: boots, dresses, shirts, leggings, a fur cloak in winter, and hats. Ceremonial outfits were decorated with dyes, feathers, quills, and beadwork. Contact with Europeans introduced cloth that Indians adapted to their own styles and items of clothing, such as shirts and hats, that expressed their cross-cultural mobility. Frontiersmen similarly emulated Native dress, whether for practical reasons (leggings and moccasins worked better in the backcountry) or to show their adaptive ability and "American" identity. Colonial militia, for example, wore fringed hunting shirts as a mark of patriotism when fighting the British "redcoats."

The Euro-American workingman's costume consisted of loose breeches, canvas jerkin, woolen hose, and felt or straw hats. Poorer women wore simple short gowns, which allowed for physical labor, and modest linen caps, although farm wives used vegetable dyes to create "Sunday best" outfits from homespun. Prosperous American men dressed in breeches of fine cloth, waistcoats, silk stockings, broadcloth coats with silver buttons, silver buckled shoes, heavy cloaks, and wool or beaver hats. Affluent women wore long broadcloth gowns with lace decorated petticoats in the latest European fashion. In the 18th century, when a greater variety of fabric and styles became available from the East India Company, a loose nightgown dress, turbans, and Spanish capes became fashionable.



Woodcut of a Puritan couple in daily dress (Hulton/Archive)



Slaves made inexpensive “negro cloth” into shirts and pants for men, dresses for women, and long shirts for children. Many abandoned their poorly fitting shoes in favor of bare feet. Women patched discarded items and sewed dressier clothes, dyed bright colors, for special occasions. Slaves often followed African customs of dress, such as breechcloths, wrap-around skirts, and a variety of headwear to express their individuality and origins. Runaway slave advertisements often described the missing person’s clothing in detail, suggesting that dress was an important identifier as well as a mark of personal identity.

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—Deborah C. Taylor

**Coddington, William** (1601–1678) *merchant, government official*

William Coddington was born in Boston, England, in 1601. An assistant director in the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY, he arrived in BOSTON as part of the great migration to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630. For a few years he prospered in a variety of posts, including company treasurer (1634–36) and deputy in the colonial legislature (1636–37). Allying himself with the antinomian religious leader ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON, Coddington left Massachusetts Bay and went to Aquidneck Island (the largest island in Narragansett Bay in eastern RHODE ISLAND) in 1638, where he helped found Portsmouth (then called Pocasset). After a dispute with Hutchinson, he moved to the south of the island and founded the settlement of NEWPORT in 1639. The following year he managed to unite Portsmouth and Newport under his leadership, hoping to build an aristocratic fiefdom under his control. However, the British Parliament united Aquidneck with ROGER WILLIAMS’s Providence in 1644. When a temporary victory undoing that decision (1651) was rescinded in 1652, Coddington returned to Boston for several years. He served as governor of the united colony of Rhode Island in 1674–75 and again in 1678, before he died on November 1, 1678.

**Further reading:** Sidney V. James, *The Colonial Metamorphoses in Rhode Island* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2000).

—Doug Baker

**Colden, Cadwallader** (1688–1776) *scientist, colonial official*

An important doctor and scientist, Cadwallader Colden was born in Ireland and raised in Scotland, where his father, the Reverend Alexander Colden of the Church of Scotland, had a church in Duns. Although meant by his father to follow religion, Colden instead studied MEDICINE in London after graduating from the University of Edinburgh in 1705. He moved to PHILADELPHIA in 1710. Like other educated gentlemen of the day, he was also interested in a variety of sciences, aspiring to achievements primarily in botany. He corresponded with Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Garden (namesake for the gardenia), and Carolus Linnaeus in Sweden. Colden also joined an international group that studied natural history, helping introduce new species and genera of plants found in America. In 1727 he wrote the *History of the Five Indian Nations* along with other treatises, including several on YELLOW FEVER.

His medical career gave way to one in politics and government when Colden moved to NEW YORK in 1718. In 1720 he became surveyor general for the colony, while the following year found him a member of the governor’s council. He rose to lieutenant governor in 1761 and served several times as acting governor. In the turbulent years leading up to the American Revolution, Colden continued to be a strong force in New York, repeatedly earning the enmity of patriots as he steadfastly remained loyal to the British Crown. After the Declaration of Independence, Colden retired to his Spring Hill estate in Flushing, New York, where he died on September 20, 1776.

**Further reading:** Alfred R. Hoermann, *Cadwallader Colden: A Figure of the American Enlightenment* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002).

—Anita DeClue

**Colden, Jane** (1724–1766) *scientist, artist*

Botanist and illustrator, Jane Colden was born in NEW YORK CITY to physician and scientist CADWALLADER COLDEN and Alice Christie. Educated at home, Colden’s interest in botany was fostered and supported by her father, and she handled much of her father’s botanical correspondence. An early proponent of the Linnaean system of plant classification, she corresponded with and/or met many of the most prominent naturalists of her time, including Carolus Linnaeus, Peter Collinson, William and JOHN BARTRAM, and Alexander Garden. An active participant in the growing colonial scientific community, she exchanged plant specimens with other collectors and compiled a substantial catalog of plants from the lower Hudson River Valley. Colden’s only publication appears to have been a description of the gardenia in the *Edinburgh Essays and Observations*, but

she was widely known and respected in scientific circles for her skill in illustration. She developed a technique for making ink impressions of leaves and drew and painted plants.

Like many women of her period, Colden's participation in the burgeoning of colonial SCIENCE was limited primarily to assisting in the researches of a male family member. She resolved the tension between running a household and maintaining scientific activity by abandoning science when she married physician William Farquhar in 1759.

**Further reading:** Marica Bonta, *Women in the Field: America's Pioneering Women Naturalists* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1991).

—Monique Bourque

### College of Philadelphia

The College of Philadelphia began in 1749, when Benjamin Franklin published the anonymous pamphlet *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania* that called for the creation of a public academy along a model unique in Anglo-American educational history. Practicality was Franklin's goal in the academy: "As to their Studies, it would be well if they could be taught every Thing which is useful, and every Thing which is ornamental: But Art is long, and their Time is short." Instead of the "ornamental" classical curriculum that dominated the educations of wealthy young white Americans, students at Franklin's proposed academy would be trained in modern subjects to prepare them for future careers. His educational plan was firmly grounded in his own practical self-education, his grasp of Enlightenment ideas, and the needs of the ethnically and religiously diverse population of PHILADELPHIA.

The academy quickly became an institution far different from what Franklin had envisioned. Much of that transformation was due to the Anglican priest William Smith (1727–1803), whom the trustees hired as a professor in 1754. The following year, under Smith's influence and leadership, the board applied for a new charter that would allow them to grant college degrees, but Smith's personal habits and politics repelled as many as they enticed. He had little interest in forming a coalition with QUAKERS, LUTHERANS, or PRESBYTERIANS in the religiously diverse city. His personal interests were in teaching and befriending the sons of wealthy Anglican MERCHANTS, not in providing charity EDUCATION for ARTISANS' children. Franklin eventually came to consider Smith one of his most bitter enemies, and the College and Academy of Philadelphia became a hotly contested issue in the increasingly divisive PENNSYLVANIA politics, having serious repercussions for the school during the late colonial period and during and immediately after the Revolution.

—George W. Boudreau

### College of William and Mary

Chartered on February 8, 1693, the College of William and Mary in VIRGINIA is the second oldest institution of higher EDUCATION in British America. A college was planned as early as 1618, but the 1622 POWHATAN uprising decimated the planned site. Reverend James Blair secured the 1693 royal charter, which endowed the school with 10,000 acres, nearly £2,000, a steady income from TOBACCO duties, and named the college for William III and Mary II, the ruling English monarchs. The original brick main building, attributed to Sir Christopher Wren, was completed in 1699, and the college's elegant structures inspired the colony's gentry to construct mansions in Wren's architectural style.

Initially, the college's academic standards were minimal, although they improved over time. Blair departed from the traditional English curriculum, adding DANCE in 1715 and mathematics the following year. In his will physicist Robert Boyle endowed an Indian school with land and funds to support a master to teach "reading, writing, and vulgar arithmetick." Established in 1706 as part of the College of William and Mary, the Indian school served as many as 20 NATIVE AMERICANS, but their numbers dwindled to nothing by the 1770s. In 1729 the college completed its faculty of six masters teaching moral and natural philosophy, mathematics, divinity, and grammar and enrolled around 60 students. Distinguished alumni include Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, and Edmund Randolph.

—Michael J. Jarvis

**colleges** See EDUCATION; specific colleges.

### Conestoga (1690–1763)

The Conestoga were descendants of Susquehannock Indians who lived in eastern PENNSYLVANIA during the 17th century and struggled against domination by IROQUOIS Indians to the north. The Susquehannock hunted, fished, and planted corn, beans, and squash for their subsistence and competed with Delaware River tribes to monopolize intercommunity trade along the Susquehanna River. Fearful of Iroquois attack, the Susquehannock sought refuge in MARYLAND in the 1660s, but by 1675 and 1676 VIRGINIA and Maryland colonial militias drove them back north during the crisis of BACON'S REBELLION. The Susquehannock population, which may have reached as high as 6,500, subsequently decreased due to disease and warfare, and the Iroquois and Delaware River Indian communities absorbed some survivors.

A small band also resettled at the confluence of the Susquehanna River and Conestoga Creek some time around 1690 at a town they called Quanistagua (or sometimes Caristauga). Members of Seneca, Oneida, Cayuga,

and TUSCARORA bands joined them, and the inhabitants eventually became known simply as the Conestoga Indians. After his first official visit to the town in 1700, WILLIAM PENN signed a treaty of “Peace and Amity” with the Conestoga, promising to protect them. In 1717 Penn set aside 415 acres of land on his 16,000-acre Conestoga Manor for Indian use with the stipulation that they obey all British laws and become subjects to the king. During its heyday in the early 18th century, Conestoga was a major trade town in Pennsylvania with a highly mobile population of 100 to 150 Indians. Conestoga warriors joined the Iroquois in war against their southern enemies. Their leader, aptly named Civility, cultivated a close relationship with William Penn and his appointed colonial governor and, until their demise in 1763, Conestoga offered gifts whenever a new governor arrived in the colony. In return they expected reciprocity and often asked the governor for gifts of leather or clothing as recognition of their loyalty (a gesture that white settlers too often interpreted as “begging”).

Civility worked hard to regulate the ALCOHOL trade at Conestoga. In 1734 he insisted that the governor limit the number of trade licenses issued and make the sale of liquor illegal. Because of their close contact with white Pennsylvanians, however, by midcentury the Conestoga had adopted many of the cultural practices of their Euro-American neighbors. Some became Christian. All became involved in the market ECONOMY, especially manufacturing and selling brooms and bowls to nearby white settlers. In December 1763 the PAXTON BOYS attacked and killed the 20 Conestoga who still lived on the manor.

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—Jane T. Merritt

## Congregationalists

Congregationalists are Protestants whose congregations govern themselves directly rather than submitting to the government of elected elders or appointed priests and bishops. Congregationalists reject the imposition of more than minimal restraints on a local church’s actions by higher ecclesiastical authorities or on an individual member’s beliefs by prescriptive creeds. Congregationalists have occasionally drafted descriptive creeds, including most notably the Savoy Declaration (1658), a counterpart to the PRESBYTERIANS’ Westminster Confession.

English Congregationalism drew its initial impetus from Robert Browne’s book *A Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for Anie* (1582). Brown and other radicals organized independent underground congregations, with one in the town of Scrooby eventually coming under the lead-

ership of Puritan cleric John Robinson. In 1608 Robinson and lay elder William Brewster oversaw their flock’s flight to the Netherlands; in 1620 Brewster and much of the congregation migrated again, planting PLYMOUTH Colony in North America. Plymouth’s PILGRIMS stressed their autonomy from the Church of England. Within a decade the Massachusetts Bay Colony had been established north of Plymouth by more moderate PURITANS who denied any such autonomy. Nevertheless, Massachusetts Bay’s Puritans followed Plymouth’s Pilgrims in choosing Congregational church government. Migrants from Massachusetts carried Congregationalism with them as they settled the rest of New England.

In 1648 New England’s Congregational churches adopted the Cambridge Platform defining their common polity. Beginning in the latter part of the century, as these churches endured a prolonged period of perceived decline, their ministers responded by modifying that polity in order to give themselves greater leverage over both their lukewarm churches and their secularizing communities. The crisis of “declension” continued until the GREAT AWAKENING, when a surge of conversions brought fresh vitality to churches led by New Light clergy like JONATHAN EDWARDS. At the same time, the Awakening’s excesses triggered resistance on the part of churches led by Old Light clergy like CHARLES CHAUNCEY. Tensions between these two blocs anticipated Congregationalism’s eventual division into distinct Trinitarian and Unitarian denominations.

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—George W. Harper

## Connecticut

In the early 17th century approximately 6,000 to 7,000 NATIVE AMERICANS belonging to several different tribes of the ALGONQUIN confederation lived in present-day Connecticut. The region was less densely settled by Native Americans than the region to the east (present-day RHODE ISLAND), and most of the Algonquin communities cooperated with early European settlers. The Dutch explored the Connecticut River Valley before the English reached it. Adriaen Block, a Dutch explorer, sailed up the Connecticut River as far as present-day Windsor in 1614, and in 1633 the Dutch built a fort on the site of present-day Hartford. In the same year, however, PLYMOUTH colonist William Holmes started a trading post at Windsor, and English settlement soon superseded Dutch claims to the region.

There were two distinct waves of English settlement in the 1630s: the first, from 1633–36, focused on the Connecticut River towns of Windsor (1633), Wethersfield





Illustration depicting Thomas Hooker's party on the way to the Connecticut Valley (*The New York Public Library*)

(1635–36), and Hartford (1636); the second, from late 1635 to 1638, included the coastal towns of Saybrook (1635) and Quinnipiac (New Haven, 1638). Most settlers were disaffected Massachusetts Bay colonists who moved south in search of good farmland and more congenial religious and political leadership. In spite of the close similarities between the two settlements, they were governed separately until 1665: the Connecticut River towns as the Colony of Connecticut under the leadership of John Winthrop, Jr. (the first governor), Zion Gardiner (builder of the English fort at Saybrook), and George Fenwick; and the Quinnipiac region as the Colony of New Haven, under the spiritual leadership of Reverend John Davenport and the secular leadership of merchant Theophilus Eaton.

The first clash between Native Americans and English settlers in Connecticut came in 1636, when the PEQUOT, a powerful Connecticut River Valley tribe, attacked the fort at Saybrook. The English settlers, mustered under Captain JOHN MASON, retaliated in 1637 by launching a surprise nighttime attack on the Pequot fort at Mystic. The English set fire to the fort, killed most of the captured Pequot, and

enslaved others, distributing the captives to their Indian allies as war prizes. This brief but intense military episode, the PEQUOT WAR, effectively ended Native American opposition to English settlement in the Connecticut River Valley. Algonquin tribes other than Pequot generally sold land to English settlers and coexisted peacefully with them. Nevertheless, both the Connecticut and New Haven colonies joined the New England Confederation (1643–84), a regional defense league, and Connecticut sent several hundred men to MASSACHUSETTS and Rhode Island to fight in KING PHILIP'S WAR (1675–76).

Before the Restoration Connecticut's political structure was loose and simple. Initially eight magistrates appointed by the Massachusetts General Court governed the region, but the Connecticut settlers, dissatisfied with the Massachusetts leadership, soon asserted their independence from the mother colony. In 1639 they adopted the Fundamental Orders of Government, a civil covenant that resembled a Puritan church covenant and was, in fact, based on a 1638 sermon by THOMAS HOOKER. The Fundamental Orders provided only a rough outline of the colony's



government, however, and settlers were anxious to secure their claims to the land and to self-government. Governor John Winthrop, Jr., traveled to England in 1661–62 and obtained a charter that legally established the Connecticut colony, licensed it to absorb New Haven (which it did in 1665), defined its boundaries (theoretically extending west to the Pacific Ocean), and granted it generous privileges of self-government. The charter called for annual elections of a governor, deputy governor, and 12 assistants; these men formed the upper house of the colonial legislature. In addition, each town was permitted to send two representatives to the lower house. The upper and lower houses of the legislature together formed the General Assembly, which met twice annually and was empowered to pass laws that did not conflict with English law.

Connecticut, like the other New England colonies, faced a severe threat to self-government when James II attempted to annul the colonial charters and unite all of the northern British-American colonies in the DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND under Governor SIR EDMUND ANDROS. Connecticut was subject to the dominion from the fall of 1683 until the spring of 1689, when news of the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION reached America. The freemen then voted to reinstate the predominance magistrates and appealed to the new monarchs, William and Mary, to restore Connecticut's charter. The restored charter, confirmed in 1693, served as the basis of Connecticut's government until 1818.

After the political struggles of the first two generations of settlement, Connecticut residents turned their attention to trade, EDUCATION, and religious life. The English population grew rapidly, reaching 130,000 by the census of 1766; meanwhile, the black slave population remained small (3,000 in 1766, slightly more than 2 percent of the colony's population), and the Indian population declined from a high of 6,000 or more in the early 17th century to a mere 600 by the mid-18th century. In the 17th century both Indians and Africans were held as slaves, but they constituted only a tiny fraction of the population. In 1715 the General Assembly, frightened by news of the recent Indian wars in the Carolinas, forbade the importation of Indian slaves; Indian SLAVERY died out gradually in the early to mid-18th century. In contrast, the number of Africans and AFRICAN AMERICANS held as slaves in Connecticut tripled between the 1740s and 1760s. Most slaves worked as domestic servants or labored beside their owners on farms and in small craft shops. In the late colonial period it became increasingly common for slaveholders to manumit their slaves, although freedmen's former masters were required to support them if they seemed likely to become charges on the community.

Both free black people and the few Indians who remained in the colony had difficulty supporting themselves. Indians, in particular, were subject to debilitating

commercial restrictions. They could not legally purchase arms, iron, steel, horses, boats, or other goods that would enable them to launch a military challenge to English rule. Their movements within the colony were restricted. Connecticut officials viewed Indians as a corrupting influence on English colonial society. They encouraged them to convert to Christianity but, at the same time, discouraged ordinary English settlers from associating with Indians and imposed stiff penalties on English folk who chose to live in Native American communities. The General Assembly did not condone wanton behavior toward local Indians, however; it also enacted legislation to protect Indian goods from seizure and Indians accused of crimes from summary punishment.

Until the mid-18th century Connecticut's ECONOMY was overwhelmingly agricultural. Capital was scarce, farmers depended on family LABOR supplemented (in wealthier households) by a few servants or slaves, and most families focused their energy on subsistence AGRICULTURE. Maize (Indian corn) was the principal crop; it was even used as money in the 17th century. Farmers also grew wheat, rye, peas, oats, barley, flax, and hemp and raised a wide variety of livestock, including cattle, sheep, and swine. Connecticut farmers exported surplus grain, meat, and livestock to other parts of New England, Newfoundland, and the West Indies. In the 18th century the growth of trade and the expansion of British markets in the West Indies led many Connecticut farmers to specialize in the production of livestock for export. Small industries, such as clock-making, iron-making, and SHIPBUILDING, developed in the colony's principal towns. Although the volume of the colony's trade increased rapidly, its focus remained provincial; BOSTON, NEW YORK, and the British West Indies were Connecticut's most important trading partners.

The growth of commerce and manufacturing fomented economic and political conflict within the colony. MERCHANTS residing in the eastern coastal towns called upon the General Assembly to issue more currency, which would enable them to pay off their debts (debt was a perennial problem for colonial merchants) and purchase more British imports. Residents of agriculturally oriented western Connecticut feared that economic growth in the coastal regions, combined with coastal merchants' land speculation in the Susquehanna River Valley (in present-day PENNSYLVANIA), would drive down property values in western Connecticut, and they succeeded in destroying the New London Society for Trade and Commerce, the merchants' power base. The western residents' ultimate triumph reflects the continuing importance of farming and rural life in late colonial Connecticut. As late as 1766, 90 percent of the colony's population was still engaged in agriculture.

Connecticut was a vigorous, generally conservative center of religious and intellectual life almost from the

period of its founding. Religious enthusiasm animated the region's first English settlers, and the colony's founding documents reflect its Puritan mission. From 1644 colonial law obligated every resident to contribute to the support of the Congregational Church. Although QUAKERS, BAPTISTS, and Anglicans frequently challenged this law, the General Assembly repeatedly upheld it. The Code of 1650 mirrored another overriding Puritan goal, widespread literacy. Every town of 50 or more families was required to employ a teacher of reading and writing, while every town of 100 or more families was required to found a grammar school as well. Many 17th-century New England schools were fleeting and unstable operations, but Connecticut repeatedly reaffirmed its educational mission. A grammar school was founded in New Haven as early as 1660, and in 1700 the General Assembly ordered the maintenance of a grammar school in each of the four county seats.

In the early 18th century Connecticut colonists, like other Puritan New Englanders, struggled with a sense of “declension,” of having fallen away from the spiritual mission of their forebears. Connecticut's clerical and intellectual elite responded by expanding educational opportunities for young men and reforming church government. The colony's Collegiate School (later YALE COLLEGE) was incorporated by the General Assembly in 1701 and opened in Killingworth in 1702. It moved several times before settling permanently in New Haven in 1717. Yale College, created as an alternative to HARVARD COLLEGE, was the third institution of higher EDUCATION in British colonial America. For the first half century of its existence, it functioned primarily as a theological seminary, although it also trained men for political leadership. The college was plunged into controversy in 1722, when rector Timothy Cutler and tutor SAMUEL JOHNSON converted to Anglicanism. Their defection to the ANGLICAN CHURCH provoked a conservative reaction at Yale. In the following decades the college adhered strictly to the orthodox tenets of New England Congregationalism and the traditional classical curriculum.

Meanwhile, the Congregational Church attempted to shore up its power through the Saybrook Platform of 1708, which called for greater coordination of religious life through associations of pastors and consociations of autonomous town churches. The Saybrook Platform failed to resolve the underlying weaknesses in Connecticut's religious life, however, leaving the colony ripe territory for the religious revivals of the 1730s and 1740s. Itinerant preachers converted thousands of Connecticut men and women to evangelical Christianity, leaving a bitter divide between revivalist “New Lights” and antirevivalist “Old Lights.” The religious divide duplicated, to some extent, the emerging economic divide between commercially oriented, New Light, eastern Connecticut and agriculturally oriented,

Old Light, western Connecticut. Many churches, however, were split down the middle; in some cases New Lights seceded and formed autonomous congregations. The Old Lights marshaled their political strength to pass legislation restricting the activities of evangelical preachers. Some New Light judges were thrown off the bench, while New Light assemblymen were denied their seats in the legislature. In the 1760s the New Lights organized a political counterattack and drove the Old Lights from office. These New Light politicians ultimately provided Connecticut's Revolutionary political leadership.

As Connecticut's economy and religious life evolved, so, too, did its social life and legal culture. In the 17th century Puritan culture emphasized social order and consensus. The colony's laws were based on the legal code of the Old Testament. There was relatively little violent crime or sexual misconduct, and most debt and property disputes were resolved through arbitration rather than litigation. By the early 18th century, however, the courts were becoming much busier. Civil litigants increasingly relied on professional lawyers to plead their cases, and the courts gradually instituted a gendered double standard in adjudicating both fornication and slander suits. Divorce suits became more frequent. Evangelical religion, long-distance trade, and the passage of generations gradually eroded the influence of town meetings, village churches, and local gentlefolk, creating a more complex and individualistic society.

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—Darcy R. Fryer

## consumption

Eighteenth-century North America witnessed a marked increase in the purchase and use of imported objects among white colonists. The previous century had seen basic improvements in standards of diet, dress, shelter, and furnishings for the wealthy. However, by the end of the 17th century these improvements started to move further down the social scale. Items of FOOD, drink, and CLOTHING that had been considered “luxuries” or even “decencies” started to become “necessities.” Consumer objects had little productive or explicitly practical value; their purpose was cultural. Elites and nonelites alike spent ever-increasing amounts on goods that could indicate high social status. By midcentury even prisoners in a PHILADELPHIA poorhouse may have drunk “Bohea tea.”

The most common consumer item was cloth. The wide variety of available dry goods made fashionable clothing, and the ability to appear fashionable, accessible even to society's middle and lower ranks. The second most popular consumer goods were groceries and related items: chocolate, sugar, and, most of all, tea and its accoutrements. Tea rapidly replaced coffee as the nonintoxicating drink of choice among all CLASSES. Moreover, most colonists aspired to turn tea-drinking into a social ritual through the use of specialized objects such as tea tables, cups, saucers, teapots, and silver spoons. By the middle of the 18th century almost every household in North America had at least part of a tea equipage, and in some urban counties even the poorest households had full sets. Even more than clothing, tea became a symbol of the colonists' connection to the BRITISH EMPIRE and its markets.

White women, who had long been responsible for the purchase of household goods, found increased cultural authority in consumerism. Women's purchasing allowed them to imitate London styles, thereby creating new standards of polite fashion and behavior. Tea tables became known as female spaces, and fashionable dress became women's prerogative.

One reason for this flood of goods into 18th-century North America was the contemporaneous increase in migration. The enormous mobility of the 18th-century Atlantic world had put new demands on social stratification. As so many people moved beyond the worlds in which they were known, other markers of elite status besides reputation had to be pressed into service. Consumer goods became new indicators of status hierarchies.

Social critics commented on the confusion between classes caused by the array of colorful clothing options and chinaware. Other critics feared the onset of an enervating luxury that might sap the strength of the colonies. They criticized fashionable women and men for their attention to goods and dependence on the consumer market. Their particular concern was the confusion of class hierarchies that consumer goods might provoke. Because so many people could don a fashionable dress, it seemed difficult to separate the elites from their social inferiors.

Eighteenth-century consumption differed from older status systems in its emphasis on the proper use of specific goods. Merely to own teacups or silver spoons was not enough; it became necessary to use them in specific gentrified spaces, such as parlors or assembly rooms. Carriage and demeanor likewise determined the acceptability of fashionable dress. Thus, behavior itself changed as a result of consumption. In addition, the increasing appearance in many households during the 18th century of forks and plates reflected the growing individualism among many Americans. Rather than eat communally from a single pot, as had their ancestors a century earlier, more white

Americans used their own cutlery and earthenware in the late colonial era.

Women and men of all classes participated in the consumer market. Those who could not afford to purchase newly imported cloth bought used clothes. Even criminals became consumers, stealing fashionable clothes, tea sets, and punch bowls. Taverns and pawnshops ran thriving businesses in secondhand consumer goods.

Consumerism was not limited to European immigrants. In Europe, for example, fashionable young men wore beaver hats made of pelts trapped by NATIVE AMERICANS. Native Americans, conversely, had been consuming European items since they met the first European traders. Indians often chose goods for other reasons than European fashions, such as ceremonial uses. They thus participated in the consumer market on their own terms. Many tribes became dependent on European metal goods, which eventually placed them at a disadvantage in their interaction with white people. However, Indians also recognized the social uses that colonists made of consumer goods, and by the 18th century some Indian diplomats, wearing laced hats and ruffled shirts, had become as fashionable as any colonial governor.

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—Serena Zabin and Billy G. Smith

## convict labor

The English government compelled some convicts to emigrate to the colonies to labor as indentured servants. The system of banishing convicts emerged in 1597, when English magistrates were given the power to exile rogues and vagabonds. Beginning in 1718, they used this discretion to transport convicted felons to the New World. Leaders in England considered their ability to exile convicts to be a major innovation in the administration of justice, and the system operated as an intermediate option between capital punishment and lesser sanctions, such as whipping and branding.

The system benefited Great Britain most. Shipping convicts to the colonies provided one means of ridding its society of its unwanted. Convict transportation spared Britain from having to build and maintain a massive prison system. British leaders paid little attention to the servants

themselves. As one authority on the topic noted, they consigned them to a merchant and assumed no further responsibility. It is estimated that 50,000 convicts were transported to the colonies during the colonial period.

Colonial leaders reacted angrily when they realized that they were expected to receive convict servants. Chesapeake area residents accused Britain of dumping its “Scum and Dregs” on colonial shores. They assumed that convicts carried communicable diseases contracted in jail. More troublesome, though, was the potential for unrest from these servants. It seemed unlikely that convict servants would work hard, and colonists assumed that their presence would corrupt the very foundation of society, setting a bad example for honest people. A few colonies took steps to prevent convicts from landing on their shores. Some Caribbean colonies set firm population ratios between white and black residents. They refused convict servants because they were “not considered among the Whites.” Jamaica passed a law to encourage white immigration and specifically excluded convicts. Transporting Britain’s felons to the colonies engendered some of the most heated anti-imperial debate before the American Revolution.

The majority of the convict servants worked in the colonies with the greatest demand for cheap labor, VIRGINIA and MARYLAND. Convicts arrived after the time when the labor system in the Chesapeake area had transformed from white indentured servants to black slaves. Convicts were shipped primarily to regions that were expanding economically and where planters were unable to obtain sufficient numbers of slaves. In Virginia they worked the TOBACCO and grain fields in the region north of the York River. In Maryland convicts landed in four of 14 counties, where they constituted about 7 percent of all labor. The economies of these four counties, Baltimore, Charles, Queen Anne, and Anne Arundel, relied primarily on tobacco production along with smaller quantities of grain and corn. Just before the Revolution, convicts appeared in the Virginia and Maryland backcountry. These more newly settled regions experienced intense labor shortages, and although planters preferred the labor of slaves, they purchased convicts if left with no other options. Western Maryland contained approximately 14,000 inhabitants, including fewer than 150 convict servants.

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—Sharon V. Salinger

**Cooke, Elisha, Jr.** (1678–1737) *politician*

Elisha Cooke, Jr., succeeded his father and namesake as leader of the opposition party in MASSACHUSETTS upon

the latter’s death in 1715. Cooke’s party won control of the assembly beginning in 1720, in part because he and his followers created America’s first political machine, the BOSTON Caucus. Thereafter, slates of caucus candidates were usually elected almost unanimously until Cooke’s death. A wealthy physician, real estate owner, and hospitable fellow who was always ready for a drink, he was easily able to stand election expenses. Cooke served as Massachusetts’s agent to England from 1723 to 1726 in an unsuccessful effort to convince the British government that Massachusetts was right in standing up to its governors. He continued to defend colonial rights and plague British governors until his death. His personal importance appears in the fact that after his death, the caucus went into eclipse as government supporters led by Thomas Hutchinson came to power. However, it came back in the 1760s, and thus Cooke is considered the forerunner of Revolutionary politicians such as Samuel Adams and James Otis.

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—William Pencak

## corn

That “corn” originally referred in English to every grain suggests the importance of the maize plant, or “Indian corn,” to colonial Americans. Domesticated in what is now Mexico some 10,000 years ago, corn (*Zea mays*) is unable to reproduce without human intervention. NATIVE AMERICANS selected plants that could grow in a wide array of environments. Corn produces higher yields than any other grain and is edible when green, ripe, fermented, or dried for storage. Native Americans often treated it with wood ash or lye, which improved the nutritional content of this FOOD.

Corn was fundamental to the social order as well as to diet for Native American cultures across the Americas. Mesoamerican techniques for preparing maize were exceptionally labor-intensive and formed the basis of a strict gender hierarchy. For eastern tribes such as the IROQUOIS, however, women’s importance in tending corn crops tended to bolster gender equality, since female AGRICULTURE and male hunting were equal in sustaining the group. Many tribes held seasonal festivals celebrating planting, harvesting, and processing corn, and corn spirits were often central to Native American RELIGIONS.

Corn arrived in Spain in 1493, a major component of the Columbian exchange. While Europeans primarily used it to feed livestock, Euro-Americans more readily accepted corn, especially where wheat refused to grow. *Hominy* (ALGONQUIN), *Succotash* (NARRAGANSETT), popcorn, hush



puppies, and Johnnycakes (from “Shawnee-cakes”) were just a few Native American dishes that colonists adopted. Unlike Native Americans, Euro-Americans distilled corn beer into stronger forms of ALCOHOL, and they manufactured corn syrup (a molasses substitute in the wake of the Molasses Act of 1733). Finally, cornmeal mush was often the only food SLAVES received during the Middle Passage.

**Further reading:** Betty Fussel, *The Story of Corn* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

—Megan Raby

**Cornbury, Lord** See HYDE, EDWARD, VISCOUNT CORNBURY.

### Cornstalk (1720?–1777)

Cornstalk was an important leader among the Shawnee Indians for almost 25 years during the mid-18th century. He was born in central PENNSYLVANIA but as a child migrated with his people to eastern Ohio to escape the pressures of English colonization. Deeply influenced by the recurring migrations of Native peoples, Cornstalk became a strong proponent of Indian land rights. During the SEVEN YEARS’ WAR his Shawnee warriors attacked white settlements along the Pennsylvania and VIRGINIA frontiers. In 1763–64 Cornstalk supported a unified Indian resistance to British land encroachment and unpopular trade policies. Over the next decade he repeatedly struck Virginia settlements in the Shawnee-claimed hunting grounds along the Greenbrier River. His militant opposition to white encroachment made Cornstalk the principal target of Virginia governor Dunmore’s military invasion of the Ohio country in 1774. Despite inflicting heavy losses on the Virginia militia at the Battle of Point Pleasant in September, Cornstalk was forced to surrender vast amounts of territory in what is now the state of West Virginia. Afterwards military reverses and the seemingly endless tide of colonial settlers induced Cornstalk to abandon military opposition in favor of peaceful interaction with the white settlers. In 1777, while trying to ameliorate escalating tensions between Indians and settlers, Cornstalk and his son were murdered by a mob of angry settlers at Fort Randolph, Virginia. His death triggered decades of conflict between the Shawnee and the United States, which did not conclude until the death of Tecumseh in 1813.

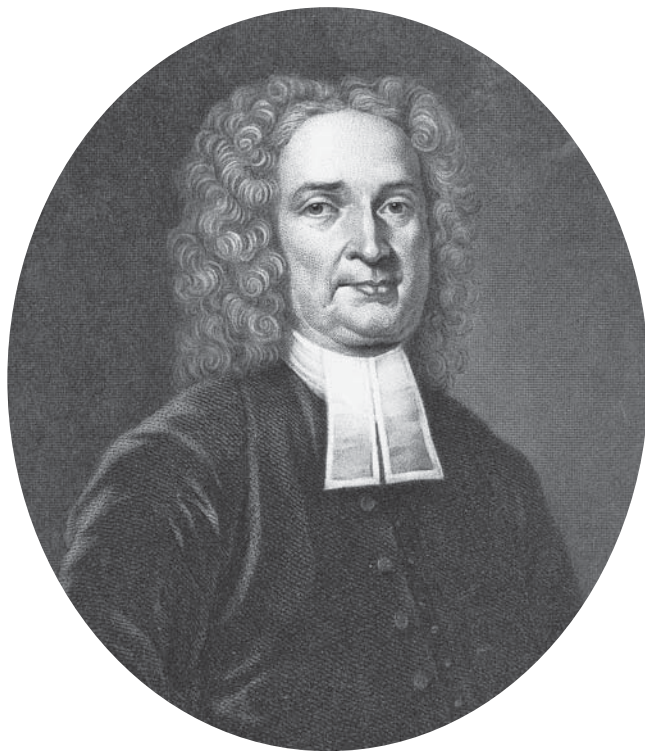
**Further reading:** Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

—Daniel P. Barr

### Cotton, John (1584–1652) *Puritan minister*

John Cotton was the architect of Congregationalism in New England. Born in Derby, in the English midlands, Cotton attended Trinity College, Cambridge, receiving his B.A. in 1602 and his M.A. in 1606. At Trinity he heard William Perkins, whose sermons stressed the role of God’s law in showing sinners their helplessness to save themselves, thus driving them to prepare for conversion; unfortunately, Cotton himself was only driven to dread Perkins’s preaching. Later, after Cotton had joined the faculty of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, he heard Richard Sibbes, whose sermons stressed not the law and human preparation but the Gospel and divine initiative. In 1612 Cotton experienced that initiative in his own conversion.

Later the same year, Cotton took a pastorate in Boston, on England’s Lincolnshire seacoast. There he spent the next 20 years evangelizing his community, catechizing his congregation, and coming to exercise great influence over English Puritanism’s rising generation. After an early run-in with his bishop, he enjoyed at least a measure of peace until 1632, when the ANGLICAN CHURCH’s Court of High Commission finally moved against him. He responded by donning a disguise, fleeing to London, hiding for several months, and then in 1633 sailing for MASSACHUSETTS, arriving in BOSTON on the same ship that carried THOMAS HOOKER.



John Cotton (Boston Public Library)

Cotton was soon chosen to be the “teacher” of Boston’s First (Congregational) Church, of which John Wilson was the pastor. While Cotton followed Sibbes in stressing the dissimilarities potentially differentiating one conversion experience from another and the convert’s essential passivity in the face of God’s irresistible grace, Wilson, instead, followed Perkins in stressing the fundamental similarity of all such experiences and the convert’s active role of preparation. ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON, one of Cotton’s English parishioners who had followed him across the Atlantic, responded that Wilson, Hooker, and other preparationist ministers were preaching salvation by works rather than faith. The result was the Antinomian Controversy of 1637–38, whose resolution left preparationist ministers in control and cast a cloud over Cotton’s reputation.

If Cotton swam against New England’s prevailing current with his understanding of conversion, he used his understanding of church government to help define that current’s main channel. His most important publication on this topic was *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven* (1644). He also helped to draft the Cambridge Platform of 1648, which gave New England Congregationalism its definitive form.

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—George W. Harper

## crafts

Through sheer necessity, colonial Americans engaged in a large variety of crafts. Initially, only the most basic craft services were available, with ARTISANS such as blacksmiths, wheelwrights, and house carpenters providing the products essential to everyday life. As the colonies expanded, so did the variety of trades followed by settlers. At the time of the Revolution, PHILADELPHIA, NEW YORK, BOSTON, and CHARLESTON contained a substantial number of artisans offering manufactures from silver sauceboats to schooners. Fewer artisans lived in the countryside, and backcountry settlers relied more heavily on home manufactures. Many of the poorer farmers were unable to afford the more expensive products of urban artisans, including mahogany furniture and jewelry that were purchased mostly by wealthy MERCHANTS and planters.

America’s artisans were as diverse as their wares. Ranging from affluent master artisans with 10 or more employees to impoverished journeyman workers who roamed the country

in search of a job, New World “mechanics” belonged to different CLASSES. They also came from different races. Thousands of enslaved artisans, or “handicraft slaves,” lived in the southern colonies working as carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, wheelwrights, and blacksmiths, and laboring either on the properties of their planter owners or in the workshops of their mechanic masters. Slaves also fashioned common items like pottery and grass baskets for their own use, incorporating African traditions into their products.

NATIVE AMERICANS constituted a third significant group of artisans in colonial America. The pottery, mats, weapons, and CLOTHING produced by America’s first peoples reflected the distinct cultures and customs of their various societies. Because Native Americans rarely left written records of their lives, these crafts have become tremendously important, as occasionally they are all that remain of the precontact and early settlement eras.

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—Emma Hart

## Creole

The term *Creole* has assumed several meanings and conjured as many images. Meaning “home-grown,” the Latin word originally referred to any person of French or Spanish descent born in the colonies of the CARIBBEAN Basin. The Acadian exiles who settled in southern LOUISIANA represent the sole exception; they were called Cajuns. Thus, the original usage of *Creole* not only accounted for millions of inhabitants in the West Indies, the Gulf Coast, Mexico, and Central America, but also encompassed numerous ethnic combinations of Europeans, Africans, and Indians. Even in Louisiana, where the term has persisted to the present, scholars and inhabitants have disagreed on the exact meaning. At different times *Creole* has been applied to the white aristocracy, to residents of NEW ORLEANS and Baton Rouge, or to all of southern Louisiana’s populace.

According to the inclusive definition, colonial Creoles of Louisiana represented a heterogeneous cultural and racial milieu. France hoped to establish Louisiana as a productive, slave-based, commercial colony—a larger version of Haiti. Toward this goal French officials offered attractive land grants to encourage planters to bring slaves into Louisiana, and they garrisoned their American empire with soldiers and criminals. French settlement of Louisiana, then, represented a multiclass and multiracial endeavor. The French slave societies of AFRICA and the West Indies directly influenced the culture of this new settlement. In Senegal, Saint-Domingue (Haiti), Martinique, and Guadeloupe a scarcity of European women and intimate

daily contact between white and black people nurtured a general acceptance of racial mixing. This established colonial tradition of MISCEGENATION likewise took root in Louisiana.

Miscegenation lent a distinctive quality to Louisiana race relations. Masters manumitted thousands of their enslaved relatives. This liberated class formed the *gens de couleur libre* ("free people of color") and they continued to mix among themselves as well as with other black and white people and with Native Americans. As the races mixed, French, African, and Indian customs combined to create a unique culture. An ethnic fusion of language, MUSIC, DANCE, religion, and cuisine marked Creoles with a distinct cultural character that still exists. Not surprisingly, scholars employ the term creolization to describe the process of creating a distinctive, Native culture from disparate cultural elements.

See also MULATTOES.

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—C. B. Waldrip

## crime and punishment

Crime and punishment run deep in the grain of colonial America. The Salem WITCHCRAFT Trials (1692) are the most well-known case of crime and punishment in the North American English colonies, symbolizing the centrality of religious beliefs in the 17th century and emblematic of the threats to order and stability, yet this spectacular instance of crime and punishment obscures a much more pervasive, if mundane, reality. Crime and punishment permeated the English colonies, grew in number and changed in nature from the 17th to the 18th century, and differed from colony to colony. Although certain groups were more likely to be found guilty and were punished more harshly, members of all classes engaged in some form of criminal activity.

During the 17th century powerful ideas about religion and social order overshadowed other explanations for crime and punishment. Small and scattered settlements may have fostered a neighborly environment for some, but people from outside a particular community were often viewed with suspicion and treated as criminals. Historians once believed that sailors, slaves, and NATIVE AMERICANS committed most crimes during the 17th century. Sailors were suspect because of their imprudent morality and slaves because, despite all pronouncements to the con-

trary, it was well understood that they had reason to rebel. Indians posed the principal threat to the colonists' claims to the land.

However, recent studies have shown that people from all racial and ethnic groups and age cohorts engaged in some type of criminal activity. Ministers and MERCHANTS were rarely disciplined for committing crimes. The most helpless Americans, in both early and modern times, suffered punishments disproportionately.

Crimes of the 17th century, dominated by religious concerns, included breaking the Sabbath, idolatry, blasphemy, and, of course, witchcraft. While MASSACHUSETTS led the way in this regard, VIRGINIA, perhaps the least religiously oriented of colonies, punished similar crimes. Public drunkenness, fighting, and swearing also incurred authorities' retributive justice.

In the 17th century punishments did not aim to rehabilitate. Jails were used primarily to hold suspects awaiting trial. Punishments were physical, publicly inflicted, and intended to make an example of the offender. Shaming penalties such as branding, displaying symbols (as in *The Scarlet Letter*), ducking, and sitting in the stocks and pillory were not used as frequently as were whips and fines. The lash of the whip fell overwhelmingly upon the backs of slaves, servants, apprentices, and the laboring and dependent classes. Fines were reserved for those who had committed infractions and were able to make restitution. This penalty, of course, ruled out servants and slaves, because they did not possess the resources to pay. Thieves paid extra damages in addition to restoring the stolen property. The more times an individual committed a crime, the harsher the penalty.

Punishments fell most heavily upon disobedient children, male and female slaves, single women (especially maidservants), Native Americans, and impoverished white males. In the 17th and 18th centuries men more frequently than women were accused and found guilty of crimes. The worst physical punishments were reserved for the enslaved population, although executions of slaves did not often occur because the slaves were expensive investments and therefore somewhat protected by the property-owning class.

Publicly executing an offender was, in many respects, the most dramatic punishment. The death penalty, although used less frequently than in England, could be visited upon rebellious sons as well as people who committed murder, infanticide, sexual offenses (fornication, bastardy, and sodomy), witchcraft, defying the ban on QUAKERS and JESUITS in Massachusetts, and rape (except when committed against black women). Under the court's sentence to be "hanged 'til you be dead," the condemned offender marched from the jail to the gallows at an appointed time, a solemn affair calculated to leave an indelible impression





This engraving shows a criminal being hanged in public. (Hulton/Archive)

upon the assembled crowd of spectators of the consequences of transgressions.

By the 18th century many small settlements had become established towns where there was considerable growth in wealth and population; the protection of property became central to defining the nature of crime and punishment. Prostitution, public drunkenness, and scandalous public behavior joined Sabbath breaking as the variety of crimes expanded. However, theft of property, including burglary and robbery, became the most prevalent offense. One form of theft was peculiar to slaves; they could steal themselves by escaping. Burning residences, crops, and other buildings of value to a landowner was a crime defined as endangering persons and property. In cities forgery, counterfeiting currency, picking pockets, and other forms of petty theft were among the crimes for which the poor most frequently endured punishment. The wealthy, although they lived off the backs of the laboring classes and slaves, did not often suffer for their economic crimes, just as elite criminals in the modern United States frequently escape harsh penalties.

Although prosecutions could only be private, the court system was public and became more complex as time progressed. Few early Americans were knowledgeable about the law, and, in general, free white men of property sat on juries and acted as judges. Courts did not function, however, to allow all colonists access. While white women and men had access to the courts, black people and Native

Americans rarely were entitled to the legal “rights of Englishmen.”

See also AFRICAN AMERICANS; SLAVE RESISTANCE; SLAVE TRADE.

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—Leslie Patrick

**Croghan, George** (d. 1782) *trader, Indian agent*

Of Scots-Irish origin, George Croghan began his long career as an “Indian trader” in PENNSYLVANIA around 1741 and developed tremendous influence over English trade because of his extensive lines of credit with British and colonial merchants and his close relations with the Native population. He settled on the Aughwick Creek, west of the Susquehanna River, which became a way station for Ohio Indians traveling to PHILADELPHIA. There, he married the daughter of Mohawk chief Nickas, with whom he had a child, Catherine, who later married Joseph Brant. From



1752 to 1756 Croghan acted as a provincial agent to the Ohio Indians, including DELAWARE, IROQUOIS, Shawnee, Wyandot, and Twightwees at Logg's Town near present-day Pittsburgh. In exchange for gifts and promises of protection, he implored the Ohio Indians to reject their French alliances. Croghan's diplomatic efforts entailed more self-interest than self-sacrifice. Deeply in debt, he wanted to make sure that English traders, and his own firm in particular, maintained exclusive economic control over the Ohio Valley.

In 1756, as the SEVEN YEARS' WAR heated up, SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, the newly appointed superintendent of Indian affairs in the northern colonies, made Croghan his deputy and representative. Croghan used his influence with Ohio Indians to negotiate an end to frontier violence. In the 1760s Croghan, still wearing two hats, conducted trade with Indians at Fort Pitt while acting as deputy superintendent of Indian affairs. He did not always succeed in either venture. Croghan failed to stop Ohio Indians from joining compatriots in the Great Lakes region against the English during PONTIAC'S REBELLION. He also suffered economic losses during the Seven Years' War and repeatedly petitioned the Pennsylvania government for compensation. After the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, Croghan speculated on land opened to settlement in the Ohio Valley. Ironically, his own economic interests further eroded peaceful relations with Indians along the frontier, which Croghan had been paramount in creating.

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—Jane T. Merritt

## Crow

The Crow Indians are a Native American tribe of the Siouan language family of the northern Plains culture area. Originally from the country around Lake Winnipeg in Manitoba, Canada, the Crow gradually began to move onto the prairie beginning in approximately 1500, before finally settling in the Yellowstone and Big Horn River Valleys of Montana and Wyoming some time before 1700. The Crow name for themselves is "Absarokee" or "Apsaruke," translated as "Children of the Large-beaked Bird." It is unknown to what bird this might refer, but early interpreters mis-translated this to mean the "Crow."

Initially a northeastern woodlands tribe, the ancestral Crow were horticulturalists, cultivating maize (corn), several types of beans, and squash. According to tribal history, a severe drought forced the Crow to move westward onto

the Plains. By about 1550 the Crow were part-time farmers and part-time bison hunters who settled near Devil's Lake in present-day northeastern North Dakota. Here, two chiefs, No Vitals and Red Scout, were each gifted by a great vision from the "One Above." Red Scout received an ear of corn and was told to settle down and plant that seed for their subsistence. No Vitals received a pod of TOBACCO seeds and was told to go west to the high mountains and plant the sacred seeds there. Using a woman's quarrel over meat as an excuse, some time between 1600 and 1625 No Vitals and his followers split away from Red Scout and began a journey that lasted a century. Red Scout's people remained behind, planted their corn, and became the Hidatsa tribe. No Vitals and his people eventually became the people now known as the Crow. During this century of wandering the Crow traveled north to Cardston, Alberta, then south to the Great Salt Lake, still farther south to the Canadian River in Texas and Oklahoma, and, finally, north, following either the Arkansas River or the Missouri River, eventually entering into what is now northern Wyoming and southern Montana before 1700.

As with many of the northern plains tribes, the Crow lived on the plains for perhaps as long as 100 years before acquiring horses. According to Crow folklore, around 1725 a Crow war party journeyed to the Green River area in present-day Wyoming and either purchased or stole a stallion from another tribe, probably the Shoshone. A more mystical story tells of a Crow man who saw strange ANIMALS in a dream. He later set out to find these animals and finally saw several emerge from a lake. He captured them and brought them to the Crow village. The Crow named this new animal Ichilay, which means "to search with," perhaps referring to its usefulness for searching for game and enemies. Soon the Crow became rich in horses and thus the target of raiding parties from other tribes.

The Crow culture was, in character, northern plains. Within their territory the Crow hunted, lived in hide tepees, fought with their neighbors, and, generally, built a life around the buffalo (bison). They were regarded as superb warriors and buffalo hunters easily recognized by their magnificently decorated CLOTHING. They were called Beaux Hommes ("Handsome Men") by the early French. The Crow social structure is rooted in their clan system, kinship established through matrilineal lines of descent, although still highly respectful of paternal kin. Deeply religious, the Crow practiced the Sun Dance and the Tobacco Society Ceremony, a uniquely Crow ritual of adoption.

Today, the majority of 9,155 Crow people live on the Crow Reservation in south-central Montana, south and east of Billings. The total area of the reservation is 2,235,093 acres, mostly grazing land and farmland.

**Further reading:** Peter Nabokov and William Wildschut, *Two Leggings: The Making of a Crow Warrior* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

—Walter Fleming

### crowd actions

Throughout Europe in the early modern age, crowds frequently gathered to effect some common and specific end. Such crowds acted without official sanction but often enjoyed the informal support of rulers. Unlike today's "mobs," which sometimes are considered (rightly or wrongly) maniacally violent and inherently illegal, early modern crowds acted with a certain decorum and possessed some claim to legitimacy with authority figures. French and British crowds protested food shortages, tax burdens, and price hikes by employing limited and symbolic violence. If bread prices soared, for example, English laborers might impale a loaf of bread on a staff and march to a bakeshop, demanding "fair" prices that would allow poorer people to purchase a basic necessity and permit bakers to earn a decent income. When crowds did resort to violence, they usually targeted property instead of persons. Women often participated in or even led European crowds, particularly those inspired by food shortages.

Material and political peculiarities in colonial North America altered patterns of crowd action. As in Europe, crowds in North America defended the prerogatives of ordinary people, and women often joined in crowd activities. However, the comparative abundance of food in the New World obviated the need for many bread riots, while the relative weakness of state authority encouraged some crowds to move beyond traditional demands. BACON'S REBELLION and LEISLER'S REBELLION, in particular, signified direct challenges to constituted power. In the 1670s thousands of ex-servants who had successfully worked off their indenture to pay off their passage to North America roamed colonial Virginia. They had few prospects of obtaining scarce land other than by seizing it from NATIVE AMERICANS. When a young gentleman named Nathaniel Bacon accused the colony's rulers of pandering to Indians and monopolizing all the arable lands, many of the discontented freedmen rallied behind him. For three months in 1676, Bacon's forces defied royal officials, plundered loyalists, and murdered Indians. They even burned JAMESTOWN on September 19. Only Bacon's death and the arrival of troops from England restored order.

In 1689 the governor of NEW YORK capitulated when the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION across the Atlantic dethroned his sovereign, James II. Into the resulting power vacuum stepped Jacob Leisler, a small merchant of German lineage. Leisler drew support from New York's laboring people and from Dutch inhabitants wearied of English domination.

Leislerian crowds ransacked merchants' mansions during the summer of 1689, while their leaders freed imprisoned debtors and called for the popular election of justices of the peace and militia captains. In 1691 a new governor backed by the new monarchs, William and Mary, arrived to resume power. Recognizing the threat that the Leislerians posed, the governor had Leisler and his chief adjutant hanged and then, for good measure, decapitated.

Most crowds in colonial North America, however, concerned themselves with more pedestrian ends. They defended their presumed right to sell wares, settle land, and obtain subsistence. The typical crowd aimed not to topple rulers but to correct their abuses; not to overturn the social order but to return it to an imagined equilibrium. After Bacon's Rebellion Virginians resumed less dramatic crowd actions. In 1682 TOBACCO planters sought to stem the flow of their product to Europe. The transatlantic trade, they believed, mainly benefited royal officials and wholesalers. Thus, planters large and small cut down whole swaths of tobacco groves to deprive merchants of merchandise. Fifty years later a Tobacco Inspection Act threatened small planters who grew crops of marginal quality. In response inspection warehouses were torched across the Potomac region, often with the tacit approval of wealthy planters. These planters-turned-arsonists supplemented direct action with humble petitions to the Virginia Assembly. In upstate New York tension between TENANTS and Dutch patroons occasionally sparked serious riots as poorer people protested high rents. Crowds freed fellow tenants from prison—often by getting the sentries drunk—and refused to pay rents during lean years, but they rarely demanded redistribution of land or political power.

In BOSTON a midnight crowd dressed in clergymen's robes tore down a new public market in 1736 to preserve the old method of open food marketing. Such symbolic, limited crowd actions persisted above all in frontier regions. In Revolutionary MAINE squatters sometimes dressed like Indians to intimidate proprietors who sought to impose rents. These "White Indians" placed wood chips in their mouths while confronting proprietors, consciously cultivating a savage image in order to face down their opponents. Yet again, the rioters almost never injured anyone and aimed only to preserve the autonomy they enjoyed on their rude settlements.

Crowd actions reflected attitudes toward work and authority in colonial SOCIETY. The plebeian sense of fairness so evident in crowds' demeanor stemmed from a distinctly preindustrial work ethic. Ordinary people considered LABOR an inevitable burden with limited but absolute rewards. Few thought in terms of a career with graded advancements up the social scale. Rather, those who tilled their fields or tended their shops expected little more than a "decent competency" but demanded nothing else. The

elites whom crowds faced generally agreed that diligent commoners deserved basic necessities. This shared sense of entitlement gave crowd actions their moderate, negotiated character and distinguished them from slave revolts.

Crowd actions frequently climaxed with a standoff between an assembly and a single gentleman. Sometimes the crowd intimidated the grandee and gained its demands, while other times the gentleman shamed the many into sheepish submission. Crowds thus exhibited the intensely personal and contingent nature of authority in early America, and the actions of crowds anticipated the popular resistance to Great Britain in the decade preceding the American Revolution.

Euro-Americans accorded scant legitimacy to the demands of AFRICAN AMERICANS and NATIVE AMERICANS. Slave revolts occasioned considerable violence and dread. In 1712 about 20 slaves, many still bearing their African names and tribal markings, may have set fire to a number of buildings in NEW YORK CITY. They had covered themselves with a sacred powder endowed with protective properties, but nothing could defend them from the savage response of the white authorities. Thirteen slaves were hanged on the gallows, three were burned at the stake, one starved in CAPTIVITY, and another was broken upon the wheel. A rash of mysterious fires and thefts in the same city in 1741 and 1742 inspired a similar round of arrests and tortures. The STONO REBELLION in SOUTH CAROLINA in 1739 constituted the largest slave revolt in early America. When the Spanish offered freedom to runaway slaves in FLORIDA, between 75 and 100 slaves rose up along the Stono River in 1739, killed some 30 white people, and headed toward Florida. However, the militia caught them first, and the rebellion ended in bloody repression. Native Americans likewise engaged not only in warfare against white people in British America but also in numerous revolts in the

SPANISH COLONIES and FRENCH COLONIES, including the PUEBLO REVOLT in 1680, the NATCHEZ REVOLT between 1729 and 1731, and the PIMA REVOLT in 1751.

See also NEGRO PLOT OF 1741; SLAVE RESISTANCE.

**Further reading:** Paul A. Gilje, *Rioting in America* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1996).

—J. M. Opal

**Culpeper, Thomas, Lord** (1635–1689) *government official*

Son of Lord John and Judith Culpeper, Thomas inherited his father's title, estate, and a share of a 5.7 million-acre proprietorship in VIRGINIA. In 1673 Thomas and the earl of Arlington, Henry Bennett, were granted the quitrents of Virginia for 31 years. Lord Culpeper was commissioned governor of Virginia for life in 1675 but not sworn in until the death of Governor SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY.

Culpeper governed from London and went to Virginia only after Charles II forced him to go in 1680. Thomas was instantly popular as he pardoned offenses committed during BACON'S REBELLION, expanded the powers of the governor, and returned to England. In 1682 civil unrest forced Culpeper back to Virginia to implement royal prerogative and increase revenues at the expense of the planting CLASS. Despised by Virginians and out of favor with King Charles II (1660–85), Culpeper was tried for leaving his post. He died in London in 1689.

**Further reading:** Stephen Saunders Webb, *The Governors-General: The English Army and the Definition of the Empire, 1569–1681* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

—Eugene VanSickle





# D



**Dale, Sir Thomas** (d. 1619) *government official, soldier*

From 1610 to 1616 Thomas Dale served intermittently as the high marshal and deputy governor of the VIRGINIA colony. Dale began his career, like some of the officials who ruled Virginia in its first decades, as a mercenary in the army of the Dutch Estates General, in which he rose to a captaincy. In the Dutch service (1588–98, 1603–11) and with the earl of Essex’s Irish expedition (1599–1600), Dale became acquainted with SIR THOMAS GATES, Sir Thomas West (subsequently Lord De La Warre), and Sir Robert Cecil, all of whom played major roles in the foundation of the Virginia colony. In 1611, just before his departure for Virginia, Dale married Elizabeth Throckmorton, daughter of Sir Thomas Throckmorton and Elizabeth Berkley, who was related to Sir Walter Raleigh. Dale’s military service, powerful friends, and marriage are emblematic of the alliances of blood, marriage, and common service that tied together the upper CLASS males who led the English colonization of Gaelic Ireland and the Americas.

Knighted by James I in 1606 as “Sir Thomas Dale of Surrey,” Dale won his appointment to the VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON based on his reputation for bravery and discipline, two qualities necessary to bring order, health, and prosperity to a colony that had won the well-deserved enmity of its POWHATAN neighbors and had fallen into civil disorder, disease, and starvation. As deputy governor and later as governor when Gates departed in 1614, Dale labored mightily to insure the colony’s survival.

The colony’s central problem was its inability to raise FOOD and resulting dependency on corn traded or, just as often, pillaged from the Powhatan. This scarcity of foodstuffs was exacerbated by the work habits of the colony’s laborers, who, in the eyes of gentlemen soldiers such as Dale, were of the “vulgar and viler sort,” “roarers” and “loyterers” unwilling to work unless compelled by hunger or harsh discipline. Rather than allow the irregular, casual work habits of the preindustrial English, Gates and Dale

imposed the military discipline of their Netherlands campaigns, forcing the plantation hands to work steady, regular hours, and accounting for their work against provisions disbursed to them by the company storehouse. Under their military regime codified in the *Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall*, Virginia laborers were tortured and executed for crimes ranging from poor workmanship to seeking refuge with the Powhatan Indians. Dale’s treatment of his subordinates was consistent with his belief in the correctional virtues of martial discipline and with genteel Europe’s “bestialization” of the “lower orders”—the peasantry and vagrant laborers—who were traditionally likened to oxen, cattle, or swine and whose station in life was to serve the “better sort.”

The new work regime alleviated but did not eliminate the colony’s dependence on Indian foodstuffs. Dale also improved the health of the colonists somewhat by creating “particular plantations”—Henrico, Rochdale Hundred, and Bermuda City—away from the unhealthy lowlands surrounding JAMESTOWN. He granted independent farmers private allotments of land within these small, palisaded settlements where they could grow their crops and pasture their livestock in return for an annual “Rent of Corn” to the company. Dale’s expansion of the settlements further complicated relationships with the POWHATAN CONFEDERACY. Both sides conducted a cruel guerrilla war against each other, a war that tipped in favor of Governor Dale when, in 1613, Captain Samuel Argall’s expedition captured Powhatan’s beloved daughter Matoaka (POCAHONTAS). Dale “laboured along time” to successfully induce Pocahontas to renounce “publicly her countrey Idolatry” and embrace Christianity. From this conversion and her subsequent marriage to colonist JOHN ROLFE sprang a nine-year truce with the Powhatan.

Dale left for England in 1616, leaving the Virginia Colony with an uneasy peace and prosperity greater than when he first landed on its shores. In 1617 Dale was appointed commander of an East India Company fleet that

sailed for the East Indies to challenge the Dutch domination of the eastern trade. His forces clashed with a Dutch fleet in 1619 in a “cruel bloody fight” near Java. While provisioning his fleet in India, Dale fell ill and died “after twenty days of languishing sickness and many testimonies of good Christianity, contempt of death, and singular zeal and affection towards the Company’s service.”

**Further reading:** Darrett B. Rutman, “The Historian and the Marshal: A Note on the Background of Sir Thomas Dale,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (1960): 284–294.

—James Bruggeman

## dance

In the 17th and 18th centuries colonial dance featured a variety of forms, origins, and purposes. Colonial dance contained significant CLASS and ethnic divisions, as the wealthy European gentry (or landed aristocracy), poorer colonial laborers, enslaved Africans, and NATIVE AMERICANS each danced according to the rhythms of their unique cultural and ethnic heritages.

Wealthy white colonists enjoyed emulating distinctly European dance forms, often hiring formal dance instructors knowledgeable about popular European dances and purchasing elaborate musical instruments with which to accompany their dances. Despite a burgeoning colonial culture of dance—often developed through the integration of ethnic and distinctly colonial techniques—it nevertheless remained fashionable for wealthier colonists to dance in strictly European forms. The colonial gentry danced in their opulent homes for smaller audiences; most often women and young girls danced to demonstrate skills befitting their social and economic class. Outside the private sphere the colonial elite enjoyed formal public dances (such as dances following theater performances), where elite couples would perform their well-practiced formal dances before an audience. Wealthy colonists attempted to maintain their social standing in part through their solitary claim on formal European dance forms.

Poorer European colonists enjoyed dancing without the strict form and structure often followed by their “betters.” Unable to purchase expensive instruments, the less well-to-do colonists danced to the accompaniment of “Jew’s harps” and homemade instruments, such as flutelike wind instruments. The average colonist enjoyed community dances that avoided the strict formality of traditional dance, instead opting to dance in free-form jigs, hornpipes, and reels. The latter involved a blend of individual dancing interspersed with individual dancers weaving figure eights around other solitary and stationary dancers.

Nevertheless, these sharp class divisions did not endure indefinitely. The early 18th century welcomed the advent of dance writing, such as John Essex’s *The Dancing-Master: or the Art of Dancing Explained* (London, 1725). This new writing technique allowed authors to record specific dance steps. Although dance writing did not immediately integrate the upper- and lower-class colonial dance experience, it loosened a portion of the colonial elite’s stranglehold on the knowledge of fashionable European dance.

For slaves, 17th- and 18th-century dances enhanced African cultural identity and provided an expressive outlet for an oppressed segment of colonial society. Enslaved Africans used dance to celebrate, socialize, worship, pray, and relax. African dances often conjoined the spiritual and secular experience. African culture manifested through unique dances thrived in the American colonies. One African dance, the “Ring Dance,” featured barefoot men and women encircled, dancing rhythmically to the sound of their shuffling feet, clapping hands, and collective voice. In a concrete manner, African dance fostered a vibrant culture of resistance fueled by dance’s capacity to nurture unique cultural and ethnic heritages.

Similar to the African-American dance experience, Native American dance sustained indigenous culture. Archaeological evidence and Native American oral history demonstrate that dance was an integral component in virtually all Native American tribes long before the European arrival. During colonial times Native American dance continued to have widespread spiritual and cultural significance, including celebration, religious prayer, courting rituals, and controlling or harmonizing with nature. These dances featured a vast array of forms, as Native Americans danced to the sounds of their unique regional and tribal voices, drums, and rattles. By retaining important cultural and spiritual practices, dance sustained a vibrant Native American culture throughout the colonial period.

**Further reading:** Reginald Laubin, *Indian Dances of North America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977); Maureen Needham, *I See America Dancing: Selected Readings, 1685–2000* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

—Christopher Rodi

## Dare, Virginia (b. 1587) settler

Virginia Dare was the first English child born in North America. Daughter of Ananias Dare, a bricklayer, and Eleanor Dare, daughter of John White, the governor of the fledgling Roanoke colony, Virginia was born in August 1587. The presence of women and children in the 1587 Roanoke colony signaled a fundamental shift in English strategy to populate the island, moving from a military PRIVATEERING

base to an effort to establish a more permanent colony with families as a stabilizing force. Unfortunately, the 1587 group was destined to become the famous “Lost Colony” of Roanoke. When Governor White left the colony to return to England for supplies shortly after Virginia’s birth, the arrival of the Spanish Armada off the English coast delayed his return until 1590. When he finally reached the site of the settlement, White discovered an abandoned fort and indications that the settlers had moved to a nearby island. The colonists were never found, however, and their fate remains a mystery.

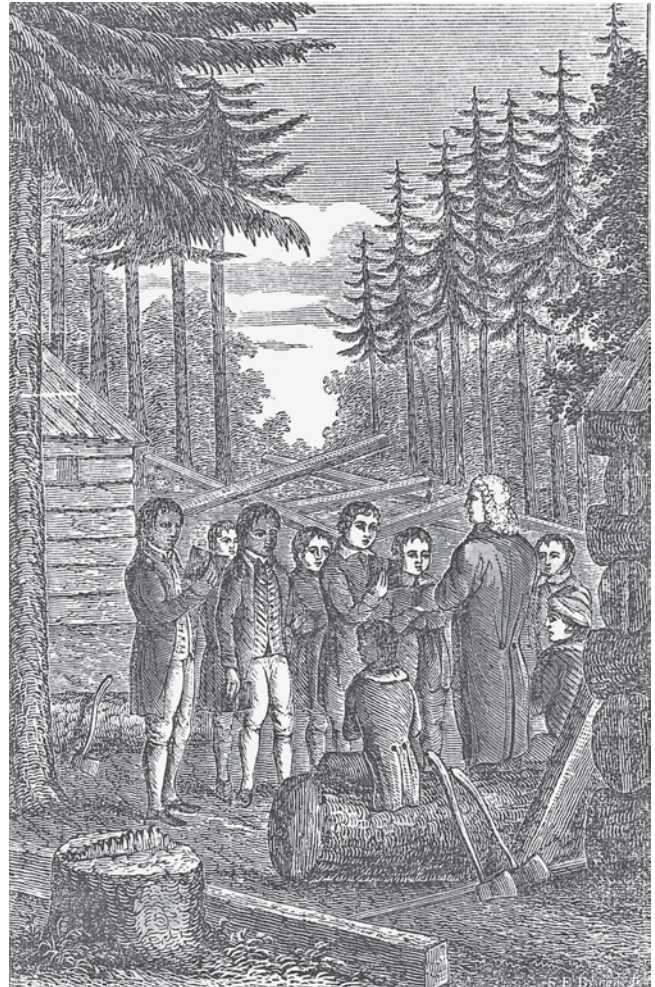
**Further reading:** Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanheld, 1984).

—Melanie Perreault

### Dartmouth College

Dartmouth College had its roots, like several other colonial educational initiatives, in the preachings of GEORGE WHITEFIELD and the enthusiasm of the GREAT AWAKENING. ELEAZAR WHEELOCK, a Yale graduate and Congregational minister in Lebanon, CONNECTICUT, was inspired by Whitefield and turned that inspiration into a desire to educate Native American boys who could then return to their people to serve as missionaries. Wheelock carried out his teaching from his own house at first, but in 1754 he gained the support of Colonel Joshua Moor, a local landowner. The result was Moor’s Indian Charity School.

Wheelock attempted to gain a formal charter for his academy in the early 1760s but was turned down by the upper house of the Connecticut Assembly, perhaps out of fear that the school at Lebanon might compete for admissions with Yale College. The years that immediately followed proved difficult ones for Wheelock and the Indian school. Although he had educated 29 Indian boys and 10 Indian girls as well as eight white students, the number of NATIVE AMERICANS seeking admission declined significantly. Competition was one factor in that decline: KING’S COLLEGE in NEW YORK, under the direction of President Myles Cooper, was attempting to draw in Indian students to the Anglican EDUCATION being provided there. SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, the commissioner of Indian affairs, let it be known that he preferred missionaries of the established church among Native peoples. Wheelock realized that his plans to train missionaries to Native Americans would require that he train white students to carry out that work. Rather than face the competition of Yale and opposition from Connecticut’s leaders, Wheelock accepted the offer of land and a collegiate charter from NEW HAMPSHIRE governor John Wentworth in 1769.



Founding of Dartmouth College (Billy Graham Center)

**Further reading:** Jurgen Herbst, *From Crisis to Crisis: American College Government, 1636–1819* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982).

—George W. Boudreau

### Davenport, James (1716–1757) minister

A significant preacher during the GREAT AWAKENING, James Davenport received his B.A. from Yale College in 1732 and was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1738. In 1740, while serving as a pastor on Long Island, he heard the Anglican itinerant preacher GEORGE WHITEFIELD, then on his first tour of America. During this initial surge of the Great Awakening, Davenport determined to follow Whitefield’s example, abandoning his pastorate and preaching his way across New England. His campaign culminated in 1741 with a visit to New Haven, CONNECTICUT. He warned Yale’s students against their president, cautioned



the townspeople against their pastor, and even established a separatist congregation for those residents he considered truly regenerate. Connecticut's legislature responded by banning itinerancy. When he returned in 1742, he was convicted of disturbing the peace and deported to NEW YORK.

Davenport next visited BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, but most local ministers, even the awakening's supporters, closed their churches' doors to him. He consigned these critics to hell, preaching in the open streets and finding an audience among the urban poor. As before, the authorities took action, this time declaring him insane and again deporting him to New York. In 1743 he made one last foray, visiting New London, Connecticut, where he persuaded his listeners that in order to be saved they must destroy their "idols." They responded by burning books and then building a bonfire for much of their CLOTHING, including Davenport's own trousers. To the awakening's defenders, such actions were an aberration; to its detractors, though, they were the norm. In 1744 Davenport published an apology, *Confessions and Retractions*. He continued in the ministry until his death, serving as moderator of the Presbyterian Synod of New York in 1754.

**Further reading:** Edwin Scott Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957).

—George W. Harper

**Davies, Samuel** (1723–1761) *Presbyterian minister, educator*

Presbyterian minister and college president, Samuel Davies was born on November 3, 1723, in New Castle County, DELAWARE. He was the first son of Welsh parents David Davies, a farmer, and his second wife, Martha Thomas. He was educated at local elementary schools and prepared for the ministry at the Fagg's Manor school in Chester County, PENNSYLVANIA. There, he was influenced by the school's founder, Samuel Blair, a "New Light" Presbyterian minister. Upon completion of his studies in 1746, he was licensed to preach by the New Castle Presbytery. In 1747 he was ordained and assigned to vacant congregations in Hanover and surrounding counties in southeastern VIRGINIA. Because the Church of England was legally established in the colony, he had to contend for the right of Dissenters to preach and worship in the colony.

So many Anglicans joined Davies's congregations that the Synod of New York formed the Hanover Presbytery in 1755. Davies was its first moderator. The synod sent him with GILBERT TENNENT in 1753 to Great Britain to collect donations for the College of New Jersey. In 1759 he was appointed its president. Davies was a prolific writer whose sermons, hymns, and poems were published and distributed widely in North America and Great Britain.

Davies's first wife, Sarah Kirkpatrick, whom he married in 1746, died in childbirth. A year later he married Jane Holt, with whom he had six children, five of whom survived him. His health, never strong, was weakened by overwork and tuberculosis, and he died on February 4, 1761.

**Further reading:** George W. Pilcher, *Samuel Davies: Apostle of Dissent in Colonial Virginia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971).

—John B. Frantz

**Day, Stephen** (1594?–1668) *printer*

Stephen Day (sometimes spelled Daye) is often credited as being the first printer in the American colonies, a claim buttressed by the decision in 1641 of the General Court of MASSACHUSETTS to grant him 300 acres for being "the first that set upon printing." There are, however, serious doubts concerning the validity of this claim, just as there are doubts on most of the details concerning his life.

Born in England, Day arrived in New England in 1638 with Reverend Jose Glover, a wealthy dissenting minister who intended on establishing a printing press in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Day, listed in legal documents as a locksmith, possibly was hired by Glover to put together the cumbersome press upon its arrival in Cambridge. When Glover died from a fever during the voyage, his widow, Elizabeth, maintained ownership of the press and retained Day to do the printing. Six months later the first item to come off the Cambridge press was *The Oath of a Free-Man*, a broadsheet containing an oath that every adult householder had to sign in order to become a legal citizen. Perhaps Stephen's son, Matthew, was responsible for this publication, because he may have served a four-year apprenticeship to a printer in England, while Stephen was barely literate. Day's press printed the first book in the American colonies, the *Bay Psalm Book* (1639). Day's career as a printer ended in 1648, when Henry Dunster, the president of Harvard College and the second husband of Elizabeth, forced him out and sold the press to the college, where it served as the foundation for Harvard University Press.

**Further reading:** Benjamin Franklin V., *Boston Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers, 1640–1800* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1980).

—Kenneth Pearl

**Deerfield Massacre** (1704)

This gruesome episode in QUEEN ANNE'S WAR became famous among English Americans as a case study in the nature of frontier warfare. Deerfield, a small community



of nearly 300 at the confluence of the Connecticut and Deerfield Rivers (just south of present-day VERMONT), stood at the edge of the New England frontier. In February 1704 a force of French regular soldiers, *coureurs de bois*, and their Native American allies descended upon the town, killing 44 men, women, and children and capturing another 109. Twenty-one captives died on the journey north to Canada.

After nearly three years of CAPTIVITY, John Williams, the town's minister, returned home to write *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion* (1707), which became a best-seller and was republished in several editions. Williams recounted his experiences as a captive, the killing of two of his children and his wife, and his struggles against the Catholic priests who worked to convert him and his children. In the end, he and his sons returned with their faith secure. His daughter Eunice, however, chose to remain in Canada. Like 29 other captives, principally young children, she made her life with her father's enemies.

**Further reading:** John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (New York: Knopf, 1994); Richard I. Melvoin, *New England Outpost: War and Society in Colonial Deerfield* (New York: Norton, 1989).

—Michael C. Batinski

### Dekanawideh (Deganawideh, Dekanahwidah) (1550?–1600?)

Dekanawideh, the “Peacemaker,” was a legendary Haudenosaunee (“People of the Longhouse,” or IROQUOIS) who introduced the Law of Great Peace to the warring Haudenosaunee tribes and prompted the confederation of the Five Nations—Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca (the TUSCARORA joined about 1722). The name Dekanawideh (Deganawidah) is variously translated as “setting his teeth together” and “two river currents flowing together.” Little about this legendary figure is certain. Concurrent but not clearly fixed, the dates of the Iroquois confederation and Dekanawideh range from the mid-14th century to the early 17th century. Likewise, Dekanawideh's origin and heritage are variously explained: He was a HURON, an Onondaga adopted by the Mohawk, a healing spirit, a holy man born of a virgin mother, or the reincarnated Good Twin of Iroquois creation myth.

Apart from these differences, Dekanawideh is a crucial figure in Iroquois history and in U.S. history as well. Surviving versions of Dekanawideh's story share a basic narrative in which the visionary consoles Hiawatha (Hayonhwatha), a noble Mohawk who mourns the losses caused by interminable warfare. After teaching Hiawatha the Rituals of Condolence, Dekanawideh communicates

his vision of Great Peace (Ka-yah-ne-renh-ko-wah) and presents the great white WAMPUM belt (Ska-no-dah-ken-rah-ko-wah) and the eagle feather (Ska-weh-yeh-seh-ko-wah). Dekanawideh and Hiawatha pacify the war despot Tadodahoh by combing snakes from his hair and initiate him as the first Firekeeper of the Confederacy. Hiawatha travels from tribe to tribe professing Dekanawideh's plan, which includes the Tree of Great Peace (Ska-renj-heh-se-go-wah) and detailed procedures for the annual Confederate Council meeting around the council fire. The council consists of fifty chiefs (Rodiyaner), each appointed by female clan leaders of his respective tribe. Today, the League of Six Nations continues to function according to Dekanawideh's code. Some recent scholarship argues for a direct Iroquois influence in shaping U.S. democracy and constitutional government.

**Further reading:** Colin G. Calloway, *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History* (Boston: Bedford, 1999); Bruce E. Johansen, *Native America and the Evolution of Democracy* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1999).

—Keat Murray

### De Lancey, James (1703–1760) lawyer, politician

An important NEW YORK politician and judge, James De Lancey, whose family were French Huguenots who immigrated to New York after the 1685 revocation of the Edict of Nantes, inherited a great merchant fortune from his father. He attended law school in England before returning to New York to practice law. Named to the New York Supreme Court in 1731, he was elevated to chief justice by Governor William Cosby, who needed De Lancey's political support to use the Supreme Court as a court of exchequer for the colony. In that position De Lancey presided over the JOHN PETER ZENGER case, in which he attempted to protect the governor by disqualifying Zenger's attorneys until faced with the impeccable ANDREW HAMILTON. As leader of the free-trade political faction, De Lancey supported currency expansion and the primacy of the colonial legislature over the governor, a position that led to problems with Governor William Clinton's plans for defending the colony in 1743. Clinton's plans would have alienated MERCHANTS key to De Lancey's faction by replacing them with government commissioners.

Despite this, De Lancey presided over the ALBANY CONGRESS in 1754, promising the IROQUOIS Indians that their land would never be seized without compensation. In 1755 he parted with his own political faction over a land tax and the colony's policies in the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. Instead, he allied himself to William Johnson, the powerful Clinton-appointed agent to the Iroquois. So displeased

was De Lancey with MASSACHUSETTS governor William Shirley's prosecution of the war that he successfully petitioned the government in London to have him removed. During the war De Lancey also spearheaded the establishment of KING'S COLLEGE (now Columbia University) as a publicly supported but officially Church of England institution, defying the powerful Presbyterian Livingston faction.

De Lancey continued to serve as chief justice until his death in 1760. His son, James De Lancey, continued his political policies and was a prominent Loyalist during the American Revolution, leading to the confiscation and forfeiture of the De Lanceys' substantial estates and fortune.

**Further reading:** D. A. Story, *The De Lanceys: A Romance of a Great Family* (London: T. Nelson, 1931).

—Margaret Sankey

### De Lancey family (1686–1763)

The De Lancey family was one of the foremost in 18th-century NEW YORK. It built its preeminence through trade, real estate investments, strategic marriage alliances, and the steady accretion of political power. Étienne (Stephen) De Lancey (1663–1741), the founder of this aristocratic New York clan, descended from a wealthy Huguenot family. He fled Normandy, France, following the Edict of Nantes (1685) and, in 1686, arrived in NEW YORK CITY, where he established a leading mercantile house that specialized in supplying the goods that Albany merchants bartered for furs. Stephen served as New York City alderman (1691–93) and member of the New York Assembly (1702–09; 1710–15; 1725–37). In 1700 he married Anne Van Cortlandt, daughter of Stephanus (1643–1700), a Dutch landowning aristocrat who at his death was chief justice of the New York Supreme Court.

Five of Stephen's 10 children survived into adulthood. James (1703–60), an English-educated attorney, in 1728 married Anne, daughter of CALEB HEATHCOTE, one of the province's wealthiest men. The family's most gifted politician, James became a member of the Governor's Council (1729–53), chair of the commission appointed to draft the Montgomery Charter for New York City (1730), justice of the colony's Supreme Court (1731–33); and chief justice (1733–60). Appointed lieutenant governor in 1747, he served twice as acting governor (1753–55; 1757–60). He died suddenly on July 30, 1760. Peter (1705–70) represented the Borough of Westchester in the Assembly from 1750 to 1768, at which time he stepped aside for his son John. In 1737 Peter married Elizabeth, daughter of CADWALLADER COLDEN, New York's lieutenant governor from 1761 to 1776. Oliver (1718–85) attained his EDUCATION in his father's trading house before becoming a successful merchant in his own right. Though he could

be belligerent and lacked James's urbanity, he still had a notable political career: alderman (1754–57), assemblyman (1759–60), and councillor to the governor (1760–83). A loyalist in the Revolution, he died in Yorkshire, England, in 1785. Susannah (1707–91) married Sir Peter Warren, hero of Louisbourg (1745) and member of Parliament (1747–52), who shrewdly advanced the De Lancey interests in London. In 1742 Anne (1723–75) married John Watts, Oliver's business partner, assemblyman (1752–57), and councillor to the governor (1758–76).

Because many De Lanceys became Loyalists in the American Revolution and refugees by the war's end, the family's power declined rapidly with Britain's defeat.

**Further reading:** William Smith, Jr., *History of the Province of New York*, ed. Michael Kammen, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972).

—Joseph S. Tiedemann

### Delaware (colony)

Delaware was the second smallest of the 13 original colonies. The boundaries of colonial Delaware contained just 1,982 square miles, divided among three counties: New Castle (the northernmost county), Sussex (the southernmost and largest county), and Kent (situated between Sussex and New Castle). The southern portion of colonial Delaware rested squarely on broad Atlantic coastal plains and contained approximately 190 square miles of wetlands. The northwestern portion of the colony yielded to gently undulating foothills, most prominent in New Castle County. The Delaware River and Delaware Bay dominated the landscape, as the river flowed from north to south, past the towns of New Castle and Wilmington and into the Delaware Bay, ultimately emptying into the Atlantic Ocean. In part due to the trade advantages associated with the region's proximity to a navigable river and the Atlantic Ocean, European powers competed for control of the region.

#### Original Inhabitants

Archaeological evidence suggests that as early as 6500 B.C. nomadic hunters and gatherers subsisted within the Delmarva Peninsula. Between A.D. 1000 and 1300 indigenous populations began developing less nomadic methods of hunting and gathering as they increasingly relied on local FISHING spots and rudimentary agricultural production methods. Thus, by the time Europeans arrived in the region, Native American communities had enjoyed thousands of years of uninterrupted use of the Delmarva Peninsula's FORESTS, streams, wetlands, and bays.

When the first European colonists arrived in the early 17th century, three indigenous tribes considered the

Delmarva Peninsula their homeland. The two most prevalent Native American tribes, the Lenape and the Lenape, shared a common, although slightly varied, ALGONQUIN language. The Lenape and Lenape became distinct tribes in about A.D. 1300. The two tribes migrated seasonally, relied on the fishing resources of seasonal fish migrations and the hunting resources of Delaware's virgin forests, and lived adjacent to the Delaware River and the Delaware Bay. The third Native American tribe, the Nanticoke, lived in the southwest portion of the Delmarva Peninsula in what would later be known as Sussex County. The European colonists referred to these three culturally and ethnically distinct Native American tribes as Delaware Indians.

The relationship between the Lenape and the European colonists is emblematic of the overall relationship between Delaware Indians and the colonists. Beginning in the early 17th century, the Lenape enjoyed more than 50 years of cordial trading with Dutch and Swedish colonists. This often mutually beneficial relationship continued while Quaker-dominated PENNSYLVANIA ruled the Delaware colony.

Yet, the story of European encroachment on Native lands does not involve simply peaceful trading relationships. By the mid-18th century a combination of European settlement of Native hunting grounds, European diseases (to which the Native American population lacked immunity), and a growing European population forced the NATIVE AMERICANS from the lands of their ancestors. This involuntary diaspora resulted in the Lenape's mid-18th-century migration, first to western Pennsylvania (to profit from the lucrative FUR TRADE), and subsequently to Ohio, Canada, and, in some cases, past the Mississippi River to present-day Oklahoma. Despite the Lenape's forced eviction from land their ancestors had roamed for more than 1,000 years, the Lenape language and culture survive to this day.

### ***European Control of Delaware***

The European control of the Delaware colony often resembled an imperial game of musical chairs; many major European powers—including England, the Netherlands, and Sweden—competed for an opportunity to sit in Delaware's chair. It would not be until England wrested control of Delaware from the Dutch in 1664 that the music would finally stop, with England in sole control of Delaware.

Attempting to locate a northwestern water route to Asia, Dutch explorer HENRY HUDSON voyaged into the Delaware River (what he called "South River") in 1609, marking the initial European foray into the Delmarva Peninsula. The Dutch did not attempt a permanent settlement until 1631, when they established a 28-man settlement at Cape Henlopen on Lewes Creek named Zwaanendeal. Ostensibly aimed at harvesting and selling

the lucrative whale oil evident in Delaware Bay's abundant whale population, the settlement lasted less than a year before an unknown band of local Indians killed the colonial settlers, purportedly due to a misunderstanding resulting from an Indian "theft" of a Dutch tin coat of arms. The Dutch did not attempt to resettle in the Delaware region for another 24 years.

In 1638 the New Sweden Company established a permanent settlement on Minquan Kil (eventually renamed Christiana River to honor the queen of Sweden). As the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) raged on the European continent, Sweden aimed to become a strong colonial power, yet from 1648 to 1654 the Swedish settlement did not receive any supply shipments from Sweden. The initial settlement did not number more than 200 Swedes and Finns and ultimately failed to create Swedish hegemony in the Delmarva Peninsula.

By 1655 disputes over the control of the Delaware River and the fur trade that relied on the river's transportation caused the Dutch to reassert control of the Delmarva Peninsula. In that year the Dutch captured the Swedish Fort Christiana and incorporated Delaware into the preexisting NEW NETHERLAND. Dutch colonial successes, however, were short lived, as their appetite for colonial power collided with a more robust and powerful English appetite for colonial supremacy.

In 1664 a British naval force commanded by James, duke of York (who in 1685 became King James II of England), captured NEW AMSTERDAM. A smaller group of warships commanded by Sir Robert Carr subsequently attacked the Dutch stronghold at New Amstel. The British renamed this northern Delaware town New Castle. From 1664 to 1682 a deputy of the duke of York governed the Delaware region as a portion of the English colonial possession.

In 1682 European possession of the colony again changed hands, although this time not between countries but rather between citizens of the same country. Maintaining ultimate English control of Delaware, WILLIAM PENN, proprietor of Pennsylvania, requested and obtained control of the Delaware region from the duke of York. Penn allowed the northernmost of the three counties to remain named New Castle, but he renamed the two southernmost counties Kent and Sussex.

The Delaware colony was not yet independent, as Delaware remained a collection of counties belonging to Pennsylvania, alternately known as the "Government of the Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware" or simply as the "Lower Counties." William Penn's Act of Union in 1682 ensured that residents of the Lower Counties received an equal voice in Pennsylvania's General Assembly. Despite Penn's attempts to maintain union among Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties—including

having the General Assembly meet in New Castle in 1684, 1690, and 1700, away from its traditional seat of power in PHILADELPHIA—Quaker-dominated Pennsylvania and the more heterogeneous Lower Counties were unable to coexist in the same legislature.

In 1701 William Penn allowed the divided legislative assembly to meet separately. In 1704 Delaware's assembly met independently for the first time in New Castle. Although meeting in a separate assembly, the Penn family's proprietary relationship to Delaware would continue until the Revolutionary War.

### ***Slavery and the Delaware Economy***

Beginning in the mid-17th century, enslaved African labor provided the backbone of Delaware's ECONOMY. Swedish control of Delaware (1638–55) brought a limited number of African slaves to the region due in part to the limited maritime assets of the New Sweden Company, yet after only nine years of Dutch control (and colonial access to the DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY's thriving slave trade), in 1664 slaves already represented approximately 20 percent of the Lower County population. Whereas European indentured labor provided the impetus to successful economies in early VIRGINIA and MARYLAND (later to be shifted to slave labor), Delaware's economy lacked sufficient indentured servants; as a result, slave labor almost exclusively developed Delaware's economy.

The late-17th and early-18th century agricultural economy encountered fluctuating (although often high) prices for domestically produced TOBACCO, corn, and wheat. By the mid-18th century tobacco ceased to be a lucrative crop in Delaware, and large planters increasingly used slave labor to produce wheat and corn.

### ***Delaware on the Eve of Revolution***

On the eve of the American Revolution, Delaware had attained its status as one of America's 13 original colonies. European settlement, westward expansion, and DISEASE had caused the death or migration of the vast majority of the colony's Native American population. In 1770 between 20 and 25 percent of Delaware's population was of African descent, and more than 95 percent of the African population continued their enslaved toil in the fields, homes, and parlors of the affluent members of Delaware's white society. Although initially hesitant to sign the Articles of Confederation, Delaware became the first state to ratify the United States Constitution.

**Further reading:** John A. Munroe, *History of Delaware* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993); William H. Williams, *Slavery and Freedom in Delaware 1639–1865* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources Books, 1996).

—Christopher Rodi

### **Delaware (Lenape, Lenni Lenape)**

When the Europeans arrived in the early 17th century, three cultures—the Lenape, Munsee, and Lenape—lived along the Delaware River, then known to Europeans as the “South” river. These Algonquin speakers initially were called “River Indians” by the colonists, but after renaming the river the Delaware Europeans called them “Delaware Indians” or simply “Delaware.” A fourth culture in that area, sometimes included with the “Delaware,” was the Ciconicin (Sikonese), first identified as the “Bay Indians” due to their location on Delaware Bay and because their horticultural lifestyle differed from the River Indians.

In the 19th century some observers adopted the “Heckewelder equation” to describe the three cultures, linking the Turtle clan with the Lenape, the Wolf with the Munsee, and the Turkey with the Lenape. The histories of these three cultures differ somewhat. Before A.D. 1000 the ancestors of all three cultures were among the small, wide-ranging bands that foraged throughout the Middle Atlantic region of the Eastern Woodland zone. Between 1000 and 1200 these foragers developed strategies that were specific to smaller areas. Archaeologically, this is evident in the transition from the Middle Woodland Period (ca. 0 to A.D. 1000) to the Late Woodland Period (ca. 1000 to ca. 1750), when the bow and arrow were developed. By 1300 each group had developed an intensive foraging lifestyle (involving FISHING, hunting, and gathering of foodstuffs) adapted to a specific territory. These cultural patterns were in operation when Europeans first made records of these peoples in the early 17th century.

The best known of the three cultures is the Lenape. Their long and cordial relations with WILLIAM PENN and the QUAKERS in PENNSYLVANIA followed more than 50 years of peaceful trade and land sales with Dutch and Swedish colonists. These were among the longest peaceful relations between NATIVE AMERICANS and European colonists. The Lenape occupied the west side of the lower Delaware River from Old Duck Creek (now the Leipsig River) in northern Delaware to Tohiccon Creek, just south of the Lehigh River. The Lenape were organized into 13 matrilineal bands, each of which used one of the drainage streams that fed the Delaware River. The principal FOOD of the Lenape was the eight species of anadromous fish (including shad, alewives, and striped bass) that spawned in their territory. Other foods were abundant in this region, particularly in the rich swamps and marshes associated with the river system. Migratory waterfowl, their eggs and chicks, and a rich supply of plants provided the Lenape with an extensive and varied diet while at their “summer” fishing stations.

Each Lenape band established a warm weather fishing station in late winter to take advantage of the huge fish migrations that lasted into November. The women of the lineage gathered fish from these overlapping spawning



runs. These fishing stations, used seasonally for between five and 15 years, occupied vaguely defined areas within which the individual families of the band could set up their wickiups near those of their immediate kin. In the fall, with fish and nuts still plentiful and wild ANIMALS fattened for winter, the Lenape held their “annual renewal ceremonies.” All Lenape from every band gathered at one of the fishing stations to feast, arrange marriages, and carry out other family matters.

Like most Native Americans in the area, the Lenape migrated seasonally. At the beginning of winter, when the fish runs had ended and gathering of resources became more difficult, the several Lenape families in each band abandoned their fishing station to begin cold weather foraging in the interior. Before dispersing the families decided whether to return to the same fishing station the following spring. If the resources in that area had become too depleted, they might resolve to establish a new station, usually within a few miles distance and always near the mouth of their principal stream. The general location would be noted before the families in the band broke camp to go on their winter hunt. This winter dispersal took the more agile families to the distant parts of their territory, near the sources of their river and often beyond. The less mobile families, limited by infirm or elderly members, stayed closer to their fishing areas. Families might not see one another for months, but as soon as the first warming days of spring were felt each Lenape family would head downstream to the designated fishing station.

The Munsee occupied the territory east of the upper Delaware River and retained a general foraging lifestyle after A.D. 1000. Only four species of anadromous fish, the subset termed “long-run,” spawned beyond Tohickon Creek, into the Lehigh and upper Delaware drainages. Therefore, the Munsee had access to only half the species that made Lenape fishing a viable way to focus their gathering lifestyle. The Munsee consequently combined hunting and gathering with fishing, and they also grew and stored maize (corn) as an emergency crop. The location of the Munsee homeland, close to New Amsterdam, led to many traditions and details of their lives being recorded by Dutch colonists and traders.

The Lenape occupied southern NEW JERSEY up to, but not including, the Raritan Valley. The similarity between the names Lenape and Lenape led the colonists to call the latter “Jerseys” to avoid confusion. They separated from the Lenape by 1300, but remained related to them both culturally and linguistically. While several of the Lenape bands had access to the Delaware River, most were located along the Delaware Bay and the Atlantic shore, where they had developed their culture to use the specific ecology of southern New Jersey. These bands thus concentrated more heavily on gathering maritime resources.

By 1750 many members of these three cultures had moved out of their homeland. While members of all three Native cultures migrated, the size and patterns of each group differed considerably. The Lenape moved directly west beginning before 1661 to take advantage of and ultimately to control the western Pennsylvania fur trade. The Munsee generally moved north, although many bands moved west along the NEW YORK border and beyond Pennsylvania. Most of the Lenape never left New Jersey, although a few moved into the Forks of Delaware at the Lehigh River, then north and west. The descendants of all three cultures retained their identities into the 20th century. The continuities were so strong that the Lenape language still survives among a few descendants of this Native culture.

See also TEEDYUSCUNG.

**Further reading:** Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1981).

—Marshall Joseph Becker

## disease

Diseases took an incredible toll on human life in early North America in part because people from three continents came together carrying and introducing diseases indigenous to their own societies. NATIVE AMERICANS suffered the worst, and their MORTALITY tragically was higher than perhaps any in human history. When they initially encountered such common European diseases as SMALLPOX, measles, and dysentery, millions died. In extreme cases 90 percent of some Indian groups perished as entire villages were destroyed. In their sexual interaction with Indians, Europeans sometimes contracted a new disease, syphilis (or at least a strain previously unknown to them), and spread it throughout Europe. Most immigrants to the New World experienced a dangerous “seasoning” period during which they likely would catch various new diseases. Africans also endured a seasoning process that cost many lives. In addition, they introduced various tropical diseases like YELLOW FEVER and malaria to the New World.

The best estimates are that more than 400,000 Native Americans lived in the territory east of the Appalachian Mountains by 1600, including about 105,000 Indians in New England, 150,000 in the Mid-Atlantic region, and 150,000 in the Southeast. The arrival of English and Dutch colonists caused a very sudden and dramatic rise in the death rate among Natives due to “virgin-soil” epidemics (outbreaks of disease to which a population has had no previous exposure) of plague, smallpox, chicken pox, mumps, measles, and influenza. The initial exposure of indigenous peoples to these deadly viral diseases often afflicted nearly all of the population. From 1616 to 1619 a mysterious plague,

probably either bubonic or pneumonic, contracted from Europeans sailing along the coast of MAINE killed perhaps 90 percent of the seacoast Algonquins. The Great Lakes Native inhabitants, including the HURON, IROQUOIS, and Mohawk, experienced an epidemic of smallpox that killed at least 50 percent of the inhabitants during the 1630s and 1640s. In 1759 an epidemic of smallpox killed half the CHEROKEE and CATAWBA. The Native populations were often so destabilized by these virgin-soil epidemics that their losses occasionally reached 90 percent or higher.

The virulence of European epidemics in combination with the physical aggressiveness of the settlers eventually depopulated most of the eastern seaboard region of its Native inhabitants as they either died or moved westward. VIRGINIA's Indian people declined so rapidly in the nine decades after the colony was established that only about 1,800 survived in 1700. The Native population of New England fell to about 10,000 by 1675 and only a few hundred by 1750. This depopulation proceeded so rapidly that Natives likely were a minority east of the Appalachians during the late 1680s, and by the 1760s only 150,000 Indians lived east of the Mississippi River.

Virginia was deadly for early colonists as well. During the initial two decades of English settlement, mortality was incredibly high. Conditions on board European ships included the absence of sanitary equipment, overcrowding, insufficient FOOD and MEDICINE, and passengers with contagious diseases, all of which caused colonists to arrive in such a poor state of health that they fell easy victims to typhoid, typhus, and chronic dysentery. Because of their long voyage and poor living conditions in the early settlements, colonists sometimes suffered from scurvy, caused by severe prolonged dietary deprivation of vitamin C. With the advent of long sea voyages, scurvy ranked first among the causes of disability and mortality among sailors. Even on land, scurvy sometimes occurred in early America.

JAMESTOWN and the surrounding communities were ideal sites to maximize the transmission of human pathogens. These early settlements were along a section of the James River where tides carried and mixed saltwater with the freshwater flowing down the river. In the summer, when the river current slowed, the salt tide reached its maximum extent inland and created water levels containing six times the salinity present in normal freshwater. Additionally, the opposing forces of the current from the stream and the tide produced a large stretch of river that was virtually stagnant and polluted with human waste that entered the water by runoff from the shore. The result was that every summer an ENVIRONMENT was produced in which typhus and dysentery flourished. The vulnerability of the settlers was particularly high because of their weakened state from insufficient food, the location of their settlements on the riverbank, and their use of the James River rather than wells as their

main source of drinking water. Between 1618 and 1624 as many as two-thirds of the deaths of colonists resulted from disease. The diseases declined only as the English moved inland, where wells provided drinking water and they could obtain healthier freshwater from the James River.

Malaria, introduced after 1650, became the Chesapeake's most virulent pathogen. Slaves carrying the most lethal variants of malaria came from AFRICA to the New World, and mosquitoes spread it to the European and Native American population. Once established, malaria was impossible to eradicate without draining the mosquito-infested swamps, although colonists were unaware of the mode of transmission of the disease in any case. Malaria profoundly affected public health in the southern tidewater region, and it was a primary reason colonists in the CHESAPEAKE BAY region lived shorter lives than did New Englanders. Malaria also encouraged wealthy white people to live in CHARLESTON during the unhealthy summers, leaving their rice plantations to be run by overseers. The disease rarely killed its victims directly because American settlers used cinchona bark, which contained quinine to limit the ravages of the disease. Still, it weakened the immunity of its victims, who faced recurring bouts of fever, and minor infections sometimes proved fatal in chronic malaria sufferers. Indeed, for every direct malaria fatality, five died of its indirect effects. Pregnant women and new mothers were particularly vulnerable to the disease. The movement inland of southern populations decreased the impact of malaria because the disease is limited to swampy or marshy areas where mosquitoes breed. Therefore, the disease existed almost entirely in the southern tidewater (although it also afflicted a few northern locations). As colonists moved into the Piedmont, the population at risk for acquiring malaria declined.

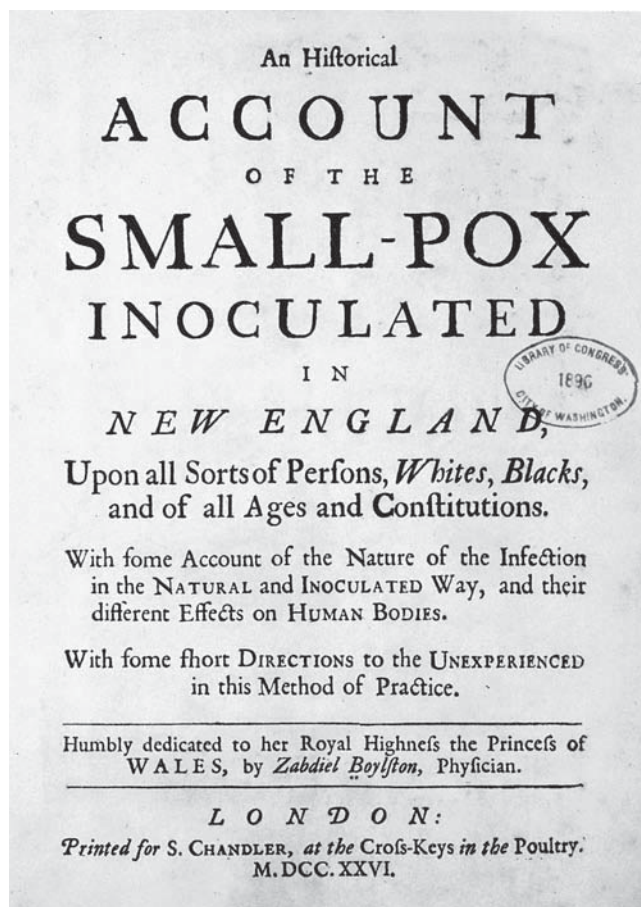
The rapid increase in slaves in the region in the early 18th century also limited malaria-induced deaths. People of African descent, although not immune to the disease, tolerated attacks better and enjoyed a higher survival rate than did whites. This is partly because many of them carry a single mutation in their hemoglobin gene that results in the production of hemoglobin S instead of hemoglobin A. Individuals who carry the S mutation from one parent and the hemoglobin A gene from the other parent are carriers of the sickle-cell trait. When an individual has hemoglobin S genes from both parents, they have sickle-cell disease. In areas where malaria is endemic, individuals with the sickle-cell trait have a significant advantage because it confers significant resistance to malarial infection, which is less able to attack the red blood cells that contain the altered form of hemoglobin. However, this advantage comes with a high price. If both parents carry the sickle-cell trait, 25 percent of their children will have sickle-cell disease, which is devastating.

Most Euro-American colonists outside the tidewater South enjoyed longer, healthier lives than their European contemporaries because of the generally benign disease environment. Euro-Americans suffered from fewer diseases because the low population density reduced the transmission of fatal illnesses among individuals. The winter season, when people were weakest because of the lack of fresh food, was safer because a poor transportation system limited transmission of diseases. Other months generally gave the typical family a better source of nutrients to help ward off sickness and to recover from infectious disease.

Most public health crises occurred in cities, where only a fraction of the population lived. Between 1638 and 1763 more than half the major smallpox outbreaks happened in urban communities; 38 percent occurred in the four largest colonial cities of Charleston, BOSTON, NEW YORK CITY, and PHILADELPHIA. Yellow fever was almost exclusively limited to port cities. The most serious epidemics in the countryside were outbreaks of diphtheria. However, by 1730 in the more densely populated regions of New England and the Delaware Valley, the spread of infectious disease through agricultural regions increased significantly. These regions were struck especially hard during wars, when soldiers were exposed to various diseases while on a campaign, and, returning home, they sometimes spread them to their families and neighbors.

Smallpox (or variola) was the most dangerous disease in North America and eventually became endemic in the major cities. It is a highly communicable febrile viral disease characterized by three or four days of high fevers and rapid pulse followed by the development of widely disseminated vascular, then pustular, skin eruptions. Smallpox is usually transmitted from person to person, but the virus may contaminate CLOTHING, bedding, dust, or inanimate objects and remain infectious for months. Exposure to the disease resulted in almost universal contagion among people who had never been previously exposed to the disease. The occurrence of a large-scale epidemic usually resulted from the absence of the disease from a population for a significant time; when smallpox returned, most inhabitants had no natural defense against the virus. European migrants carried smallpox to the colonies. Indeed, outbreaks of smallpox onboard ships were so common that seaports sometimes mandated that passengers be quarantined before being allowed to land in the city.

American colonials feared smallpox for good reason, because few other diseases had the capacity for infecting and killing a greater portion of people. In 1721 smallpox struck Boston, infecting as many as half the inhabitants and killing perhaps 15 percent of the afflicted. In 1731, during a three-month epidemic in New York City, more than half the inhabitants were infected and 7 percent of the afflicted



A publication describing the administration and results of inoculation against the small pox epidemic, 1726 (Hulton/Archive)

died. Charleston in 1738 was struck by an epidemic of smallpox that infected half the city, and 18 percent of the infected died.

Once contracted, no cure was available then (or now) for smallpox. However, inoculation to provide immunity was gradually introduced in the colonies in the mid-18th century. ZABDIEL BOYLSTON, a surgeon and physician born in MASSACHUSETTS, introduced variolation in America. This procedure called for transferring a small amount of pustular matter from an infected individual to a healthy person in the hopes of bringing on a less virulent case of smallpox. This procedure was dangerous because perhaps 3 percent of its recipients died. In addition, because the variolated person was contagious, many early Americans resisted the procedure, fearing that it would cause widespread epidemics. Both COTTON MATHER and Benjamin Franklin (after losing a son to smallpox) helped popularize the procedure, which accounted for a general decline in smallpox deaths during the 18th century.



After smallpox, the most lethal disease in colonial North America was diphtheria, a communicable disease caused by *Corynebacterium diphtheria*, which produces a powerful exotoxin that inhibits protein synthesis when the bacterium is infected by a bacterial virus called beta. In this disease the throat swells and then becomes congested with a thick membrane over the larynx and trachea. In extreme cases death due to respiratory obstruction, heart failure, or overwhelming toxemia and shock occurs. No age is immune to the disease, but it most commonly affects children younger than five.

The earliest outbreaks may have been recorded in 1659, although it was often confused with scarlet fever before 1730. In the 1730s this pathogen mutated into its current highly virulent form and wreaked havoc among a population that had no acquired immunity against the disease. In 1737 at Kingston, NEW HAMPSHIRE, the first major attack of diphtheria occurred; it was reported that every one of its first 40 victims died. In Hampton Falls, New Hampshire, in 13 months 20 families lost every one of their children, and 210 people (95 percent of them children) out of a population of 1,200 perished, a death rate equal to that caused by smallpox. Half the children younger than 15 died in Haverhill, Massachusetts. This epidemic, unlike others that usually dissipated in less than a year, infested New England, spread to the Delaware Valley, and by 1741 may have claimed 20,000 lives, including a 10th of all children living north of MARYLAND. The occurrence of localized epidemics of diphtheria continued throughout the colonial period, but by 1745 so many children had been exposed to the disease that the immune population was large enough to prevent another major epidemic on this scale. The epidemics of the 1730s and 1740s set a background for the GREAT AWAKENING, as many people sought spiritual understanding in the midst of an incredible tragedy.

The third most spectacular pestilence during the colonial period was yellow fever, a tropical disease brought because of the SLAVE TRADE from Africa to the West Indies to North America. High fever, hemorrhagic diathesis, and signs of renal and liver damage characterize the disease. The fulminating forms of this disease are highly fatal. Death is usually due to renal failure, overwhelming toxemia, liver failure, or intercurrent infection. The transmission of the disease is facilitated by a particular mosquito (*Aedes aegypti*) that was not originally native to North America. These insects breed well in water barrels, and they were often carried on ships trading with the CARIBBEAN. They then spread infection to dockworkers and people living near the wharves. Charleston, Philadelphia and New York felt the brunt of yellow fever. In 1699 the first epidemic struck North America and killed many residents of Charleston and one out of every three

Philadelphians. Severe epidemics returned in the 1740s and early 1760s but did not occur again until the 1790s, when a major epidemic of yellow fever afflicted all the American port cities.

Other illnesses prevalent in the colonies included many still common today: measles, mumps, and chicken pox. Overall, children easily survive these illnesses with good care, but adults are at great risk. Because of the isolation of many colonial settlements, many previously unexposed adults contracted the diseases and died. For example, measles was the leading cause of death in Boston in 1729. Respiratory illnesses also proved dangerous because of the absence of fresh food during the winter months. In 1699 flu struck Fairfield, CONNECTICUT, where 7 percent of the residents died in just three months. In the winter of 1753–54, pneumonia struck Holliston, Massachusetts, killing 13 percent of the inhabitants. These cases were exceptions to the general rule that a low population density and adequate diet spared most Euro-Americans from the severe ravages of infectious diseases, at least outside the major port cities.

In conclusion, colonial Americans fared quite well with regard to infectious diseases when compared with their European counterparts, although the health of the Euro-American population depended partly on its geographic location. AFRICAN AMERICANS enjoyed some limited protection from malaria but suffered from common European diseases to which they had few immunities. Native Americans died in unprecedented numbers because of diseases introduced by Europeans, both inadvertently and occasionally on purpose.

**Further reading:** John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953, 1971).

—Mark R. Geier and David A. Geier

## domesticity

A component of the English patriarchal system that evolved in response to the Protestant Reformation, domesticity describes the female role in the GENDER division of LABOR within the family. PURITANS in particular empowered the family patriarch as the unquestioned authority and established rigid roles for women that they hoped would provide stability, continuity, and order to their lives. Although wives were considered a “necessary good,” women were thought to be inferior to men and given a diminished social position that limited their influence to the private sphere of the home. English colonists, seeking comfort and familiarity, attempted to bring “civilization” to the “wilderness” by replicating their Old World duties and lives in the New World. Circumstances in the colonies, however, led to



a broader definition of domestic life in many regions, as colonists were obliged to adapt their values to new conditions. Consequently, colonial domesticity differed significantly from either the English model or the more narrowly defined 19th-century “domestic feminism.”

Enforced by law and reinforced by religion, domesticity was the main institution in a woman’s life, and the home was a refuge of English custom. Married women had no independent legal rights and were subordinate to their husbands. In the family they were expected to perform both productive and reproductive domestic duties. Their household responsibilities included cooking, cleaning, sewing, weaving, candle-making, butchering, tending a kitchen garden, caring for poultry, and performing dairy work. They spent much of their adult lives in the cycle of pregnancy, birth, and nursing while simultaneously raising older children and executing domestic duties. Mothers passed on “huswife” skills to their daughters, creating strong mother-daughter bonds. Wealthy women also managed servants and slaves.

Because of the scarcity of utensils and tools such as washtubs and candlemolds, housework was more difficult for American than for English women. For the first few generations in the New World, the domestic sphere was often more broadly defined than it had been in England. Domestic products contributed significantly to family welfare and prosperity, and thus many housewives were able to ply their managerial and technical skills and had a relationship with the working world. In New England Puritan “goodwives” submitted both to God’s and their husbands’ wills. The model housewife was compared to a tortoise confined to her shell—a secure and stable domestic world. Seventeenth-century Chesapeake families, on the other hand, were often disrupted by a shortage of women, death, remarriage, and divided loyalties. Patriarchal power was, to a greater extent, shared with widows’ inherited power, and labor was too scarce to maintain the English gendered division of labor. Women worked the fields rarely but when necessary, and they frequently turned a profit from household production, such as spinning, weaving, and churning. Chesapeake women were probably less submissive than their Puritan counterparts, although their family futures and fortunes were less secure.

By the early 18th century the evolution of a colonial aristocracy with inherited land and power strengthened domestic patriarchy among the affluent. White women, equating their domestic lifestyle with civilization and prosperity, believed they were elevated above both slave women, who were employed alongside men, and Native American women, whom they considered to be overworked. Euro-Americans viewed domestic patriarchy as the only civilized family arrangement and perpetuated the system by imposing it on slave and Native American families.

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—Deborah C. Taylor

## Dominicans

The Dominicans, a preaching order founded in the 13th century, quickly became associated with the Inquisition. Because of this and the behavior of highly visible Dominicans like Johan Tetzl, the order was in disrepute by the 16th century. However, because of their association with the family of Christopher Columbus, they were included in the voyages of Spanish EXPLORATION from 1509, establishing MISSIONS in Mexico, Peru, Macao, and the Philippines, as well as in other Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Perhaps the most influential Dominican in the history of colonization was Bartolomé de Las Casas, who protested the Spanish treatment of Natives and demanded reform of the *encomienda* (a system in which NATIVE AMERICANS were required to work for and pay tribute to Spanish colonists).

The Dominicans suffered a number of martyrdoms through their dangerous and far-flung mission activity, including six at Guadalupe in 1604. Because of the need for recruitment and new Dominicans, the order pressed for the ordination of Native and mixed-race priests and nuns, which in turn gave the Dominicans a number of saints, including St. Rose of Lima, St. Martin de Porres, and St. Juan Masias, all of whom were Latin Americans of mixed-race ethnicity. Dominican nuns were influential in the Spanish school systems of the Americas and in a continuing mission of charitable activity with the displaced Natives begun by de Las Casas, who set up workshops and protected agricultural estates. Having lost their reputation through the excesses of the Inquisition and the accusations of the Protestant Reformation, the Dominicans subsequently regained their power and influence as the premier order in the Spanish and Portuguese Americas.

—Margaret Sankey

## Dominion of New England (1686–1689)

The Dominion of New England was a consolidation of the northern English colonies imposed by the British Crown that stood for three years until overthrown by armed revolt in the aftermath of the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION. At its greatest extent, between 1688 and 1689, the dominion stretched from the MAINE frontier to the northern boundary of PENNSYLVANIA. As early as the 1630s, the Crown had sought—unsuccessfully—to send a governor general to rule New England colonies already considered dangerously independent. These colonies, in turn, save

for RHODE ISLAND, formed their own loosely knit alliance, the New England Confederation, for purposes of defense and mutual advice. Following the 1660 restoration of the Stuart MONARCHY, complaints of the colonists' illegal trading and, particularly, of MASSACHUSETTS's encroachment on its neighbors and persecution of religious dissidents brought renewed pressure to conform to Crown authority. In 1676 royal messenger EDWARD RANDOLPH brought back information that led London officials to demand that Massachusetts accept a revision of the charter that formed the basis of its government. NEW HAMPSHIRE, hitherto governed from BOSTON, was set off as the region's first royally governed colony in 1679. Massachusetts's stubborn refusal to compromise delayed a settlement until 1684, by which time the Crown had begun a concerted campaign to remodel charters both in England and North America to establish more direct and autocratic rule. Not only was the charter of Massachusetts now formally annulled, but the colony was gathered with neighboring New Hampshire, PLYMOUTH Colony, and Rhode Island's Narragansett region into a single unit, the Dominion of New England, to be governed directly by the Crown without any of the customary locally elected officials or assemblies. A further argument favoring union was to provide for more coherent defense against French

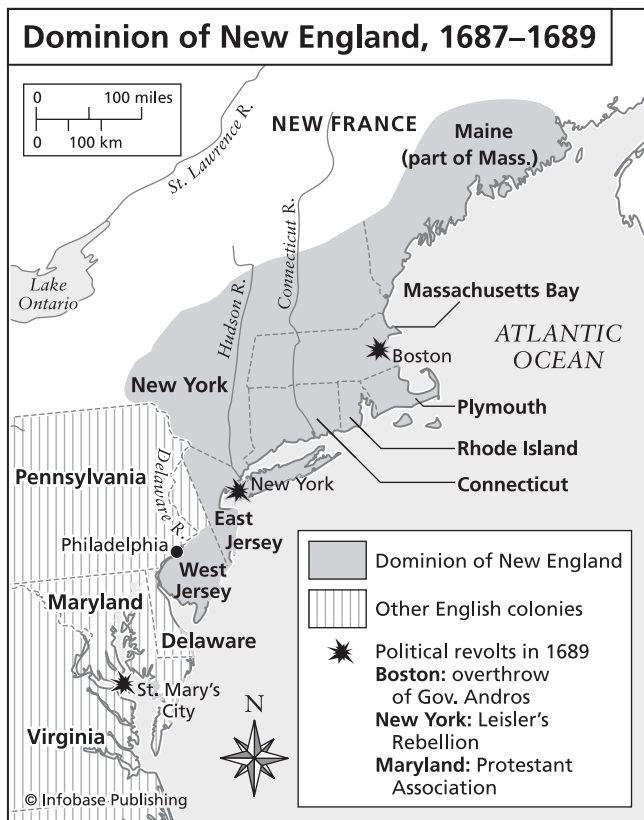
and Indian attack. In September JOSEPH DUDLEY, one of a handful of dissident colonists who had collaborated with Randolph in planning the new government, was commissioned president of the dominion. Dudley presided with a royally appointed council from May until December 1686, when English army officer SIR EDMUND ANDROS arrived as governor, backed by two companies of English soldiers. Legal proceedings had now annulled the charters of Rhode Island and CONNECTICUT, and Andros incorporated them under his control. In 1688, responding to a growing French threat to the colonists' northern border, NEW YORK and East and West Jersey were likewise added to the dominion.

Andros soon alienated his unwieldy province. Sullen submission became open opposition as the governor pressed his instructions to raise taxes without representative consent, review all land titles, and provide for religious toleration while favoring the ANGLICAN CHURCH—all policies that struck at the cornerstones of Puritan life in New England. Andros scorned to conciliate his subjects, ruling through English officials such as Randolph and a group of intimates brought from his former government of New York, some of them ROMAN CATHOLICS. Town meetings were restricted, juries packed, and dissidents jailed. "Either you are Subjects," the governor bluntly informed one protesting group, "or you are Rebels."

His subjects made their choice. In the spring of 1689, as Andros was on the frontier defending against Indian raids, news arrived from England of the overthrow of his patron, James II, by William of Orange. Andros sped back to Boston only to be caught up in a popular uprising in the city on April 18 that imprisoned him and his subordinates, later sending them back to London. The dominion dissolved into its component parts, restoring charter government. In New York a coup headed by Jacob Leisler took power, expelling Andros's lieutenant governor, Francis Nicholson.

As an experiment in royal autocracy and consolidation, the dominion failed. London made no further attempt to emulate the French and Spanish practice of ruling established colonies without the forms of representative government. New Englanders cherished memories of their part in its overthrow, which they would recall in the 1770s. More immediately, however, the dominion represented the formation of a more uniform, London-directed English empire in America. In the settlement that followed its fall, King William (1689–1702) restored both elected assemblies and Crown-appointed governors to Massachusetts and New York, a turning point in defining the constitutional balance subsequently established in the great majority of 18th-century English colonial governments in America.

See also GOVERNMENT, BRITISH AMERICAN.



**Further reading:** Viola F. Barnes, *The Dominion of New England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1923); Richard R. Johnson, *Adjustment to Empire: The New England Colonies, 1675–1715* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1981).

—Richard R. Johnson

**Dudley, Joseph** (1647–1720) *government official*

Joseph Dudley was born in Roxbury, the son of a former MASSACHUSETTS governor. From Harvard and training for the ministry he turned to politics, as deputy and then, in 1676, assistant (ruling magistrate) in the Massachusetts General Court. A turning point followed in 1682, when he was sent to London to defend the colony against charges of illegal trading and abusing its charter powers. There he perceived the reality of growing royal power and the opportunities it offered, and he began to work with EDWARD RANDOLPH and other British officials to undermine the colonists' stubborn resistance to London's regulation of New England. In May 1686, following the annulment of the Massachusetts charter, Dudley accepted the Crown-appointed presidency of a provisional government, the DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND, uniting Massachusetts with its neighboring colonies, but Dudley and his allies had scarcely begun to organize the new regime (and advance their own interests in land speculation) when he was superseded, in December 1686, by royal governor SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

Dudley continued in office as chief justice of the dominion, and in April 1689 he shared in the dominion's overthrow by popular revolt. Imprisoned in Boston and reviled as a traitor to his native land, Dudley was sent back to England early in 1690. There, with other dominion officials, he was exonerated from charges of misrule and in 1691 returned to the colonies as NEW YORK's chief justice, where he presided over the treason trial of Jacob Leisler. By 1694, however, he was back in England seeking the governorship of Massachusetts. He served as lieutenant governor of the Isle of Wight and, briefly, as a member of Parliament. His prolonged solicitation of both English policy makers and former New England opponents finally bore fruit, and in June 1702 Dudley took office as governor of both Massachusetts and NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Dudley's governorships reflected the conflicting promises he had made to obtain them. He worked hard to protect his northern and eastern frontiers from French and Indian attack, mounting expeditions that finally captured French Port Royal in 1710. He showed skill in dealing with suspicious assemblies, but he wavered between advancing Anglicanism and defending Congregationalism, arousing the fierce opposition of INCREASE MATHER and COTTON MATHER. He also became embroiled in several politically embarrassing episodes involving his associates' involve-

ment in illegal trading and schemes for a private bank. He was replaced as governor in 1715 and died five years later.

Dudley, noted his obituary, was "visibly form'd for Government." To his enemies, he was a slippery politician willing to betray his Puritan upbringing for his own advancement. However, he is better assessed as one among a generation of able colonial leaders who chose to hew closer to English imperial models of social behavior and political loyalty.

**Further reading:** Richard R. Johnson, *Adjustment to Empire: The New England Colonies, 1675–1715* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1981).

—Richard R. Johnson

**Dudley, Thomas** (1576–1653) *government official*

Thomas Dudley served four times as governor and 13 times as deputy governor of the MASSACHUSETTS Bay Colony. Born most likely near Northampton, England, his father and mother both died during his youth, and he was raised by family and friends. He married Dorothy Yorke in 1603, and she eventually bore six children. Between 1616 and 1629 he prospered as a very capable steward for the earl of Lincoln Dudley. Meanwhile, he committed himself to the reform of the ANGLICAN CHURCH and became involved with other PURITANS, joining JOHN COTTON's congregation in England and helping to plan the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

He sailed to North America on the *Arabella* as the deputy governor of JOHN WINTHROP in 1630. The next decade was characterized by difficulties between the two men as they struggled for power and to define the political structure of the new colony. The problems were gradually resolved, in part because of the marriage of Dudley's son Samuel to Mary, the daughter of Winthrop. As governor and deputy governor Dudley staunchly defended Puritan orthodoxy against both ROGER WILLIAMS and ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON. While governor in 1650, he signed the charter for Harvard College.

When his first wife died in 1643, Dudley married Katherine Deighton Haghorne, and they had three children. His son Joseph became Massachusetts's governor in 1692. His daughter ANNE DUDLEY BRADSTREET became a talented poet.

**Dummer, Jeremiah** (1645–1718) *artist*

Born in MASSACHUSETTS, the son of a farmer and large landowner, Dummer was a first cousin of SAMUEL SEWALL and an important figure in New England. Apprenticed at age 14, Dummer established his own shop when his indenture ended assisted by a loan from his master. Dummer prospered and eventually took in apprentices, influencing

the ARTISANS of the next generation. In 1672 he married Anna (or Hannah) Atwater, daughter of a prominent New Haven merchant, and they had seven children. They included William Dummer, who became lieutenant and acting governor of Massachusetts, and Jeremiah Dummer, Jr., a political writer and agent in London who helped raise funds for founding YALE COLLEGE.

The first American-born silversmith to practice engraving, Dummer produced much work that remains in churches; he also engraved the plates for CONNECTICUT's paper money. Dummer is the first identifiable portrait painter in New England, and at least four canvases still exist. With the success of his shop and merchant ventures, Dummer became one of the wealthiest men in BOSTON. He entered trade in 1685, soon became the part owner of several ships, and by 1708 was able to abandon silver-smithing to devote his time to shipping. Dummer's wealth facilitated his rise to social prominence. His career began in the local militia in 1671, and Dummer served in government from the 1670s onward in a variety of prominent roles, from treasurer to justice of the peace. Dummer and his sons are examples of the role money, ability, and connections played in the creation of a colonial elite.

—Victoria C. H. Resnick

### **Du Sable, Jean Baptiste Pointe (Jean-Baptiste Pointe du Sable; Jean-Baptiste Pointe DuSable)**

(1745–1818) *explorer, founder of Chicago*

Trader, merchant, and African-American settler of Chicago, Jean Baptiste Pointe Du Sable was an Atlantic CREOLE, born a free man in Saint-Marc, Saint Domingue (modern Haiti) to a French merchant-privateer and planter named Pointe du Sable and Suzanne, a Congolese freedwoman. After the death of his mother in a Spanish raid on their plantation in 1755, the elder Pointe Du Sable enrolled Jean Baptiste in the St. Thomas School near Paris. Well-educated, refined, and multilingual, Pointe Du Sable went on to serve as a seaman on his father's merchant ship and then briefly settled in New Orleans with his classmate Clemorgan, but he chafed under colonial restrictions on interracial intermingling. Schooled in the commercial protocols of the Atlantic world, Pointe Du Sable, with Clemorgan and their Indian friend Choctaw, traveled northward in 1765, establishing themselves by the 1770s as successful merchants whose trading partnership linked St. Louis to the French/Indian/MÉTIS communities, ranging from Peoria to Terre Coupe near Lake Michigan in the Illinois country. Pointe Du Sable developed a friendship with Pontiac (see Volume III), learned the regional languages, and married into a Potawatomi clan.

Often touted as the founder of the first permanent settlement on the present site of Chicago, Pointe Du Sable actually settled there in 1772 as a relative newcomer amid

a complex of permanent Potawatomi, Ojibway, Ottawa, and Sauk villages. These were located near the portage between the Chicago and Des Plaines Rivers, a break-point for trade goods and people traveling to and from the Great Lakes, the Illinois country, and the Gulf of Mexico. These mixed Anishinabeg communities had a long history of close relations with French Jesuits, traders, and officials, ties that were often cemented through marriage and adoption. Along with French *habitants* fleeing the British occupation of the St. Lawrence Valley, they produced a métis community, including the Beaubien, Ouilmette, Chevalier, Bourasss, Mirandeau, and LaFramboise families, closely allied with their Indian kin. These French métis families, in concert with Anglo métis such as the Caldwells, Robinsons, and Kinzies, established Chicago as a fur trading center.

Pointe Du Sable contributed to Chicago's métis ethnogenesis by marrying Kittihawa (Catherine), a skilled interpreter and daughter of a powerful Potawatomi family. Pointe Du Sable thereby gained both access to Indian trade opportunities through Kittihawa's kinship network and considerable reputé as the "Black Chief" within the Potawatomi community while maintaining his Roman Catholicism, a faith also embraced by many Potawatomis. The Pointe Du Sables had two children: Jean Baptiste and Suzanne. Their daughter was baptized into her parent's Roman Catholic faith, and in 1790 she married Jean Baptiste Pelletier at the La Conception Catholic mission in Peoria, where Jean and Catherine had previously taken their vows.

If not the "first settler" of Chicago, Jean Baptiste Pointe Du Sable was certainly an influential leader who successfully navigated contending forces during the American Revolution while becoming an economic power in his community. Pointe Du Sable amicably dissolved his St. Louis business partnership when Clemorgan moved east in 1777 to become an officer in the Virginia militia. Pointe Du Sable then established a commercial arrangement with British merchants in Detroit. In 1779 he refused competing overtures, one by the American rebel forces led by George Rogers Clark and then another by the British army led by Colonel de Peyster, to build forts near his Chicago trading post. De Peyster and his redcoats arrested Pointe Du Sable, but quickly released him, impressed by Pointe Du Sable's protestations of loyalty and his impressive diplomatic skills. During his 12 years' residence at the mouth of the Chicago River, Pointe Du Sable worked as a farmer, cooper, miller, carpenter, and merchant trader. He amassed substantial holdings, including a farm and livestock, a mill, a bake house, a distillery, a dairy, two barns, a storehouse, and an imposing five-room mansion furnished with imported furniture and fine art. Around 1800 Catherine died. By that time, Pointe Du Sable had sold his sizable estate for 6,000 *livres* to an agent of trader John Kinzie and moved to St. Charles in Spanish Louisiana, where he died in 1818.



**Further reading:** Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown, *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001); John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

—James G. Bruggeman

**Duston, Hannah Emerson** (1657–1736?) *captive*

Hannah Emerson Duston, the first American woman honored with a permanent statue, is considered a heroine by some historians and a villainess by others. Born at Haverhill, MASSACHUSETTS, on December 23, 1657, Duston was the daughter of Michael and Hannah (Webster) Emerson. She married Thomas Duston in 1677. Members of the Abenaki tribe abducted her on March 15, 1697. These NATIVE AMERICANS raided British settlements such as Haverhill during KING WILLIAM'S WAR, in part for British prisoners and scalps. Duston was taken prisoner along with her week-old daughter and her nurse, Mary Neff. Thomas Duston eluded capture, rescuing the couple's other seven children.

Duston watched as her abductors killed other captives, including her baby. Over a period of 15 days, she walked approximately 100 miles to the north through snow and mud. On March 30 the Native Americans divided the captives into two groups, and Duston and Neff were kept together on an island (later called Dustin Island) where the Merrimack and Contoocook Rivers intersect. They learned that their captors, a group consisting of two men, three women, and seven children, planned to take them to St. Francis, Canada, where they would be forced to run a gauntlet.

On the evening of March 30 Duston directed Neff and Samuel Leonardson, a teenaged boy, to attack their captors with hatchets that she had stolen. Duston killed nine Indians, and Leonardson slew one; a woman and child, whom Duston had planned to spare, escaped. Duston scalped the victims as evidence to collect a bounty. The trio returned to Haverhill on April 21. Several weeks later Duston narrated her ordeal to the General Court seated in BOSTON. Because she was married, her 25-pound bounty went to her husband. However, Hannah Duston became a heroine throughout the colonies.

Preachers incorporated interpretations of Duston's heroism in sermons that stressed that her spirituality strengthened her to overcome her captors. In 1702 COTTON MATHER wrote about Duston's abduction in *Magnalia Christi Americana*, declaring that she acted in self-defense and should be praised for killing Native Americans who had been converted to Catholicism by the French. Duston died about 1736. She was mostly forgotten until 1861, when the people of Haverhill erected a statue in her honor. Some scholars denounce Duston's actions as unjustifiably murderous.

**Further reading:** Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England 1650–1750* (New York: Knopf, 1982).

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

## Dutch-Indian Wars

The Dutch-Indian Wars were a series of armed conflicts between the Dutch colony of NEW NETHERLAND and neighboring Indian peoples, mostly ALGONQUIN. The clashes developed for a number of reasons, primarily because the growing number of Dutch farmers created land disputes. The Dutch colonial administration widened the rift between settlers and Natives. The DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY maintained friendly relations and traded (including selling of firearms) with the formidable IROQUOIS confederacy—a long-standing enemy of the Algonquin tribes. However, due to security concerns, the Dutch refused to sell arms to their neighbors, the Algonquin. In addition, colonial authorities tried to impose various regulations and restrictions on the Indians.

The Dutch and Indians engaged in three major wars: the Algonquin (Kieft) War, the Peach Tree War, and the Esopus Wars. The Algonquin (Kieft) War (1641–45) began with Indian attacks on Dutch settlers in the summer of 1641. The attacks were provoked both by the mounting mutual accusations over a succession of interracial murders, and by the efforts of the director general (governor) of New Netherland, WILLEM KIEFT, to impose a tax (payable in corn) on nearby tribes.

The campaign in Manhattan and Staten Island went badly for the Dutch, and a truce was arranged in March 1642. The war resumed in February 1643 when the Mohawk from the Iroquois confederacy attacked the Algonquin living along the lower Hudson River. Kieft sought to improve his shattered reputation as a military commander by attacking the Algonquin; Dutch soldiers subsequently massacred 80 people at the encampment at Pavonia. This outrage united 11 Algonquin tribes in common straggle against the Dutch and sparked off a new round of war that devastated the entire colony except New Amsterdam and Fort Orange (Albany). The plantations of the English settlers in nearby Westchester and Long Island were also ruined.

In 1644 the Dutch fortified New Amsterdam with a stone wall—present-day Wall Street takes its name from this wall—and strengthened the garrison with reinforcements from Dutch colonies in Brazil and the West Indies. Additionally, the Dutch hired the experienced English captain John Underhill, who had participated in the PEQUOT WAR in New England. In March 1644 150 soldiers under the new commander attacked the fortified Indian village north of Stamford. Of 700 Indian warriors, only eight escaped; the Anglo-Dutch force lost only 15 men. This appalling

blow on the Indian stronghold destroyed the Algonquin alliance. Confronted with the successful European advance from the south and Iroquois pressure from the north, the Algonquin tribes accepted peace in August 1645.

The Peach Tree War of 1655 ended the temporary policy of coexistence that had been implemented by the Dutch governor PETER STUYVESANT. In the atmosphere of mutual suspicion, one violent episode led to war. On September 6, 1655, a Dutch farmer killed an Indian woman who was stealing peaches. Nine days later, while Dutch soldiers commanded by Stuyvesant attempted to secure the colony of New Sweden, approximately 2,000 Indians raided Manhattan. Within three days Natives killed 100 settlers, captured 150 others, and destroyed the homes of 300 other Dutch people. The Dutch conducted a series of punitive raids in Manhattan and Long Island. Using military force and diplomacy, Peter Stuyvesant ransomed some hostages. While the resulting peace was fragile and short-lived, Manhattan was never again subjected to Indian attacks.

The Esopus Wars (1658–64) resulted from Indian resistance to Dutch encroachments on their lands in the Esopus Valley. In May 1658 Natives killed a Dutch farmer and burned two houses. The Dutch demanded that the Indians deliver the murderers. The Dutch also attempted to fortify their settlements in the valley. This led to increasingly hostile Indian response. The Dutch, supported again by the Mohawk, defeated the Indians. In July 1660 a peace preserving Dutch settlement in the Esopus Valley was concluded. Nevertheless, the Algonquin resentment over the peace terms led to the resumption of hostilities in June 1663. Despite several harsh blows on the Dutch (two villages were annihilated), the Indians were defeated and, by a treaty concluded in May 1664, forced to relinquish most of their lands and to accept Dutch control over the Esopus Valley.

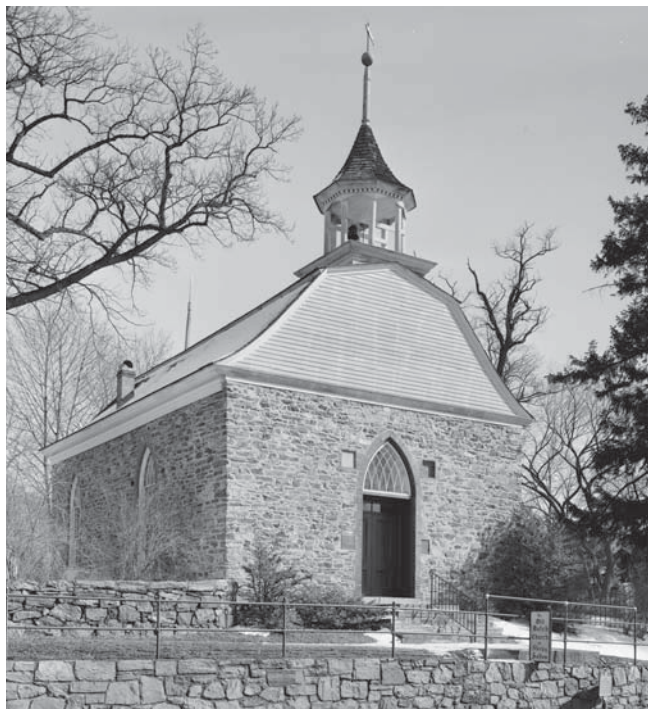
The Dutch-Indian Wars brought about political changes in New Netherland when military failures, particularly Kieft's incompetence, led to the introduction of a representative consultative body. Additionally, while the wars finished with Dutch victory, the state of almost permanent struggle exhausted the colony, making it an easier prize for their English neighbors.

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—Peter Rainow

## Dutch Reformed Church

The Dutch Reformed Church was a Calvinist branch of the Christian faith stemming from the Reformation. Because of its role in the Dutch Revolt against Spain, it was an important facet of Dutch identity and was carefully exported on the ships of the Dutch East and West India Companies. The first congregation in North America was formed in 1626 in NEW AMSTERDAM, following a pattern set by earlier congregations in Dutch Guinea and Brazil: a hierarchy of consistories, classis, provincial and national synods, and adherence to the Heidelberg Confession and the canons of the Synod of Dordrecht. The first congregation, meeting in a specially constructed room over a mill, merited only a “comforter of the sick,” a lay prayer leader and counselor, but by 1628 it merited an ordained minister, Jonas Michaelius, from the Netherlands. These early church workers were recruited by the company and by individual patroons and were expected to act not only as ministers but also as schoolteachers and community spokespeople. As the Dutch settlements expanded to Brooklyn and Flatbush, so did the church, hiring ministers, most of whom had had earlier experience in other Dutch colonies, and building new churches, frequently financed by the selling of pews and private subscriptions.



The Old Dutch Church of Sleepy Hollow, New York, was built in 1685 and is now a National Historic Landmark. (*Library of Congress*)

In lands of the DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY, the Reformed Church was the only legal religious establishment, although the company encouraged toleration of Lutheranism to promote emigration. While making an exception for the Swedish settlers conquered by the Dutch, who were allowed to have their own Lutheran minister, the church dealt harshly with QUAKERS, JEWS, and ROMAN CATHOLICS. However, the Palatine, Swiss, Puritan, and Huguenot settlers, many of whom had come to North America via the Netherlands, fit neatly into the Dutch Reformed Church. The 1664 change to English rule did not disturb the church's monopoly on public funding, because it remained the majority, although it was now required to tolerate the Church of England. The church officially supported SLAVERY but encouraged its members to educate their servants and slaves. Church missionary efforts to the NATIVE AMERICANS, especially the neighboring Mohawk, yielded important ethnographic information but could not compete with the work of the JESUITS. Ministers' plans to seize and educate Native American children were discouraged by the company, which saw it as a provocation of the tribes.

Increasing diversity in the colony created problems in the late 17th century. The government of Peter Leisler, opposed by the church clergy, persecuted the Dutch Reformed Church, as did the English governor, EDWARD HYDE, VISCOUNT CORNBURY, who attempted to place Anglican ministers in Dutch congregations. The church opposed the foundation of KING'S COLLEGE (now Columbia University) as a Church of England institution but was mollified by the foundation of Queen's College (now Rutgers University) in New Jersey as an alternative. Eventually, problems of ordaining ministers trained in the colonies, local religious questions that the hierarchy in the Netherlands was unsuited to answer, and the decline of the Dutch language led to a formal declaration of separation of the colonial church from the Dutch establishment in 1771. The denomination continued to call itself the Dutch Reformed Church until 1867, when it became the Reformed Church in America.

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—Margaret Sankey

### Dutch West India Company (1621–1791)

Modeled on the 1602 Dutch East India Company, the joint-stock Dutch West India Company (*Westindische Compagnie*) was chartered on June 3, 1621, to undertake the settlement and colonial development of AFRICA and the Americas. Willem Usselinx had proposed such a company in

1591 to spread PROTESTANTISM, expand Dutch trade and influence, and strike against Spain's American possessions. A few military and commercial outposts were established in the early 17th century, but colonization remained uncoordinated before 1621. The company blended trade, warfare, and colonization in four principal areas: Brazil and the Wild Coast (modern-day Suriname and Guiana), the CARIBBEAN, NEW NETHERLAND, and West and Central AFRICA. Its earliest efforts were aimed at PRIVATEERING against Spain. Between 1621 and 1637 company vessels captured more than 600 Iberian ships worth 118 million guilders. The company also pursued salt-raking in Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, and St. Martin to support the Dutch dairy and FISHING industries, trade with VIRGINIA, Santo Domingo, and Brazil for TOBACCO and sugar, and fur trading at New Amsterdam and Fort Orange in New Netherland.

The capture of Pernambuco in 1630 inaugurated the company's disastrous colony in Dutch Brazil. The need for LABOR on the large-scale sugar plantations established by Dutch settlers spurred the company to expand into the SLAVE TRADE and to capture various African slaving factories from the Portuguese in the 1630s and 1640s. Heavy capital and military expenditures and a planter rebellion forced the company to abandon Brazil with catastrophic losses in 1654, from which the company never recovered. Three wars with England plunged the company into further debt and resulted in the loss of New Netherland in 1664; meanwhile, English and French mercantile exclusion of Dutch shipping further reduced revenue. In 1674 the States General liquidated the insolvent company and chartered a new one more tightly focused on trade.

The second Dutch West India Company concentrated its efforts in developing Curaçao and St. Eustatius as free-port entrepôts where goods from Spanish, French, and British colonies were exchanged for Dutch manufactures. Sugar and tropical staples production continued, but contraband trade with colonial neighbors was far more profitable, especially during war, when Dutch neutrality made them desirable shippers for European-bound Caribbean produce. With nearly 3,000 annual shipping entries and clearances, St. Eustatius was one of the busiest ports in the Americas in the 1770s. The company was finally abolished in 1791 by the States General and the company's former colonies transferred to the Council of the Colonies.

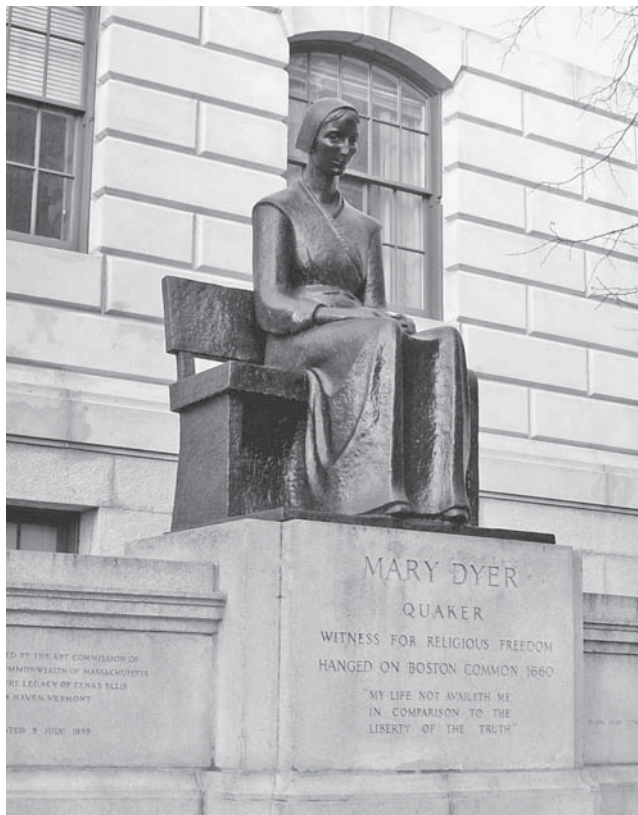
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—Michael J. Jarvis



**Dyer, Mary** (1610?–1660) *religious leader, Quaker martyr*

A Quaker martyred for her faith, Mary Dyer was born in England. By 1635, when she migrated to MASSACHUSETTS Bay, Dyer had married London milliner William Dyer. In Massachusetts she resided in BOSTON, joined the church there, and associated with religious leader ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON. A “monster birth,” a deformed fetus born to Dyer while Hutchinson attended her as midwife, was used by anti-Hutchinson propagandists as evidence of the monstrosity of Hutchinson’s group’s religious views and its defiance of authority. When Hutchinson walked out of the Boston church at her excommunication in March 1638, Dyer demonstrated her support by accompanying her. Dyer’s husband, William, a magistrate and merchant, was disarmed and disfranchised for supporting Hutchinson. The Dyer family moved with the Hutchinsons and others in 1638 to NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND. On a return visit to England in the 1650s Dyer converted to Quakerism. She returned to New England in 1657, after Quaker missionaries had begun to proselytize in the region, and she quickly became prominent in the local movement. Like many other QUAKERS, Dyer heard a divine call to “witness to the truth” in Massachusetts, and she traveled there as a missionary. On September 12, 1659, she was banished on pain of death. Upon her return later that year she was sentenced to die along with some of her coreligionists. At the intervention of her family, the court reprieved her. Letters written by her son on her behalf indicate that although he did not share her new faith, he did not want to see her die for it. She was made to accompany two condemned men and watch them die before being released. In spite of the importuning of family members, Dyer returned to Massachusetts on May 21, 1660. Executed on June 1, she was the only female Quaker missionary so treated anywhere. Quaker publicists jumped to eulogize her and the other martyrs, and she became a symbol of the religious intolerance of Massachusetts and the strength of the early Quaker faith. Her case offers the best example in support of an argument



Statue of Mary Dyer outside the Massachusetts State House, Beacon Street, Massachusetts, by the sculptor Sylvia Shaw Judson. Part of the inscription reads, “My life not availeth me in comparison to the liberty of the truth.” (*Wikipedia*)

that links the early supporters of Hutchinson to the later Quaker successes in Rhode Island.

**Further reading:** Marilyn J. Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America, 1600–1850: The Puritan and Evangelical Traditions* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

—Carla Gardina Pestana



# E



## economy

The economy of colonial North America was shaped by a number of factors. Because it was part of England's imperial empire, the colonies were subject to the controls and policies dictated by Parliament. Within this broad framework, however, the economy of each colony responded to regional factors such as geography, climate, and resources available to the local population.

England believed that its outposts existed to benefit the empire, and it established policies based on the theory of **MERCANTILISM** to regulate colonial economies accordingly. The colonies, for example, would serve as both a source of raw materials and a market for English finished goods. Each region would produce commodities that did not compete with England or with one another. Moreover, unless otherwise stipulated, these commodities would be shipped only to England, where they would be sold or then shipped to other European ports. Although this system did limit economic options, colonists generally benefited from England's oversight, especially before the mid-18th century. The colonists had a guaranteed market for their products and British ships to protect their cargo during transport. On occasion, England even paid incentives to planters and **MERCHANTS**, encouraging them to produce certain commodities. Thus, each colony found exports that fulfilled England's mercantilist policies while also capitalizing on the system's protections.

**TOBACCO** was the cash crop of the Chesapeake colonies and the single most important commodity produced in colonial America. During the colonial period it accounted for more than one-quarter of the value of all exports. Employing the **LABOR** initially of indentured servants from England and, later, of slaves from **AFRICA**, **VIRGINIA** settlers grew tobacco on farms and plantations. A few subsidiary industries, such as wagon and barrel making, developed to support tobacco production. **MARYLAND** also exported tobacco, but by the early 1700s, because of overproduction and decreasing tobacco prices, settlers in both Maryland

and Virginia began to diversify their economy. They cultivated wheat, hemp, and flax and developed local industries to produce iron and textiles. Although most of Virginia's early settlers were men, women also lived and worked in the colony. Female indentured servants worked as domestics and in tobacco fields. Because **MORTALITY** rates among men were high, many women were widowed and left alone to oversee farms and plantations.

Farming was an important part of the New England economy, as settlers cultivated corn and wheat for local **CONSUMPTION** and for export. Much of this work was performed by wage and family labor, including women and children. The rocky soil and cooler climate encouraged settlers to diversify, and colonists also engaged in **FISHING**, **LUMBERING**, and **SHIPBUILDING**. For much of the 17th century, New Englanders also participated in the **FUR TRADE**, buying and exporting pelts from their Indian neighbors.

The Middle Colonies of **PENNSYLVANIA**, **NEW YORK**, **DELAWARE**, and **NEW JERSEY** were rich in farmland, and their economy was based primarily on **AGRICULTURE**. Settlers grew wheat and flax, raised livestock, and processed lumber for export. Early in the colonial era most of their surplus was sold to the West Indies to support planters and their slaves, because planters there focused on the production of sugar rather than foodstuffs. After the mid-18th century the Middle Colonies also shipped flour to Britain.

In the Lower South, Carolina's economy was diverse in the late 17th century when settlers helped supply the West Indies with corn, peas, livestock, lumber, and naval stores. In addition, Carolina traders purchased and exported deerskins from the local Indians. Traders also engaged in a **SLAVE TRADE** of Indians until tensions with neighboring tribes made this enterprise imprudent.

By the early 1700s the economy of **SOUTH CAROLINA** and later **GEORGIA** shifted to plantation agriculture. Rice and **INDIGO** dominated the economic landscape. Rice tended

to be a “rich man’s” crop, as it required large investments of land and labor. Many rice planters also grew indigo as a second staple. Small farmers grew indigo on less expensive upcountry land.

The success of these staple crops was due largely to the talents and labor of African slaves, who worked the farms and plantations. Rice and indigo were grown in West Africa, and many of the slaves imported from there already possessed the knowledge and skill needed to cultivate these crops. White planters took advantage of that knowledge in their workforce.

By the 1750s the southern backcountry was also growing and developing its own regional economy. Located approximately 100 miles inland and stretching from Pennsylvania south to Georgia, the backcountry attracted German and Scots-Irish immigrants who were looking for inexpensive land. Most were subsistence farmers, but by the 1760s small commercial towns, such as Camden, South Carolina, and Winchester, Virginia, grew to support a developing commercial economy.

As the colonies matured, merchant, artisan, and professional classes grew to support local industries. Merchants coordinated long-distance ocean trade, including the buying and selling of black slaves. An artisan CLASS emerged, working as shoemakers, tailors, coopers, blacksmiths, weavers, and potters. Women worked on family farms and businesses and also as domestic servants. A professional class, including doctors and lawyers, also developed, especially in the cities.

By the mid-1700s the colonial economy had matured and developed under England’s protective policies. Rice, livestock, and dairy products were not among Parliament’s enumerated commodities, and thus they could be sold to areas outside England. Ships made in New England carried these foodstuffs to the Lower South, the West Indies, and across the Atlantic. Tobacco production continued as the demand in Europe increased ten-fold during the 18th century. The success of plantation staples encouraged the demand for labor, bringing increased wealth to merchants and traders involved in the slave trade.

As the population grew, more of the farm output was sold locally. The growth in local consumption stimulated demand for other goods and services. The economy of the colonies was thereby becoming integrated. For example, between 1700 and 1770, the volume of trade between CHARLESTON and England doubled, but it increased sevenfold between Charleston and the northern colonies.

The developing economy also brought greater social inequality. Most middle- and upper-class colonists enjoyed improved standards of living, but there was also a growing lower class. In the port city of PHILADELPHIA, for example, the rich were getting richer while the poor got poorer. During the course of the 18th century, the wealthiest 10 percent saw their share of taxable property increase from

40 to 70 percent. The poorest third of the population, however, saw their share drop from 5 to 1 percent.

Recently, some scholars, such as Timothy Breen, have argued that a “consumer revolution” occurred in British North America beginning in the 1740s. Manufactured goods from Britain, including textiles, printed items, and ceramics, spread to many middle- and upper-class households. These material goods formed the basis for the development of new identities, especially those based on CLASS. According to this interpretation, these everyday items and the desire for them revolutionized life in America before the political event known as the American Revolution. Still, other historians reject this hypothesis, arguing instead that most early Americans required relatively few new material goods during the colonial era, surely not enough to transform them into vigorous consumers.

By the 1760s, although the colonies were still part of Britain’s empire, they were no longer simply a source of raw material and a market for finished goods. The colonies had developed a growing internal market and constituted an important component of the Atlantic economy. Many colonies also came to believe that the increasing economic restrictions imposed by Parliament were beginning to limit their economic growth.

See also TRADE AND SHIPPING.

**Further reading:** T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985); Billy G. Smith, “Comment on Standards of Living in British America,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 45 (1988): 163–166.

—Virginia Jelatis and Billy G. Smith

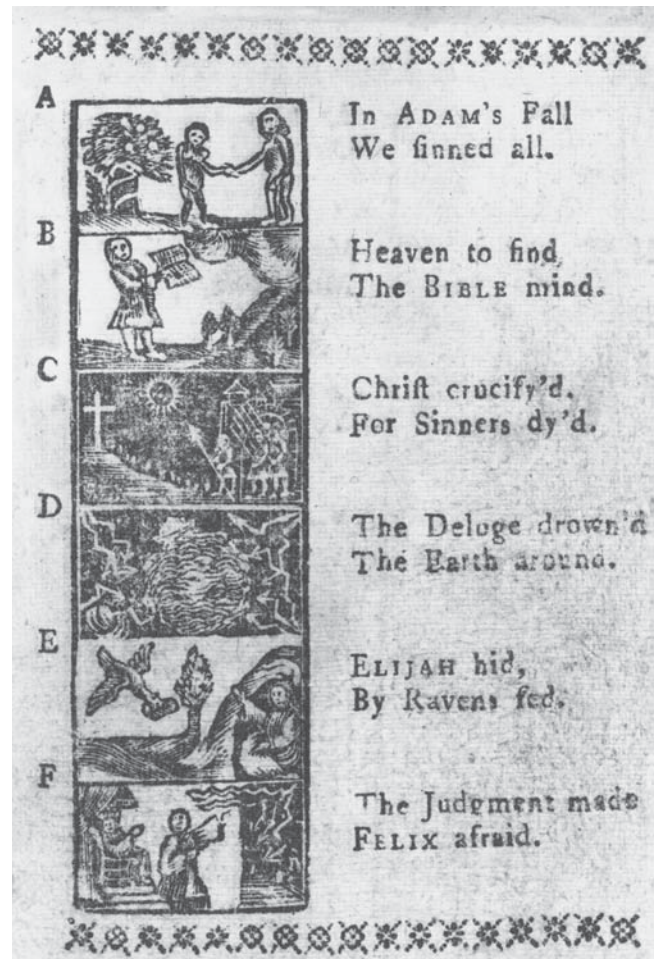
## education

Of all the cultural institutions transplanted to the New World by colonists, education has received the least attention from historians. This historiographical fact is likely the result of the vast differences that separate the realities of colonial education from the expectations of later generations of Americans. None of the British colonies created a free, mandatory, public education system that would dominate the lives of the young for a decade or more, as their descendants created in the mid-19th century, but this is not to say, as historians have often misconstrued, that early Americans cared nothing about education. Instead, they transplanted some pedagogical customs to the New World, created others once there, and developed learning methods that supported their central beliefs and adapted them for the lives they would lead.

When the leaders of the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY chose as their corporate seal a scantily clad Native American saying “Come over and help us,” they were making no idyllic statement. The “help” that this idealized Indian was requesting was a religious education in the Protestant faith. The company’s supporters held the proselytizing of NATIVE AMERICANS to be among the religious and nationalistic goals that they could carry to the New World. By the late 16th century Native Americans were already viewed as enviable prizes in the Protestant–Catholic battle in Europe. JESUITS in New France had been in the New World for decades already, and their annual reports detailed the catechizing and conversion of thousands of Native Americans to the Catholic faith. Those conversions, as well as the ones carried out by Spanish friars in New Spain, left English Protestants both envious and fearful.

England’s earliest discussions of colonization noted teaching and converting Native Americans as a central impetus for settlement in the New World. However, by the time these plans became realities, little effort was actually put into mass conversion of Indians. The struggle for establishing settler colonies, the serious strife that quickly developed between natives and English settlers, the resistance of Natives to proselytizing, and the general difficulty of drawing Natives to the abstractions of Calvinist theology all limited the number of Indian converts to English PROTESTANTISM. Similarly, the 1622 plan for Henrico College in VIRGINIA included a proposal for the instruction of Indians, but the scheme failed because of the Indian uprising that year and the takeover of the colony by the royal government. Where success did occur in teaching and converting Indians, it was on a scale much smaller than that carried out by the Jesuits to the north. Still, there were notable successes enjoyed by Puritan clergyman JOHN ELIOT and the Mayhew family in Massachusetts Bay, ROGER WILLIAMS in RHODE ISLAND, and later by Moravian and Lutheran missionaries in PENNSYLVANIA and ELEAZAR WHELOCK, the founder of DARTMOUTH COLLEGE in NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Education was closely tied to the cultural backgrounds of the groups settling each of the colonies, and each colony developed a unique educational pattern. Religion was the foremost of these characteristics affecting educational culture. For example, the Calvinist beliefs of the people who settled New England in the 1630s strongly emphasized a personal interpretation of the Bible. PURITANS therefore stressed literacy and established community schools that would teach as well as help shape individual lives. Within the first decade of settlement, the Puritans established grammar schools and HARVARD COLLEGE, and by 1642 passed legislation demanding that families and masters be responsible for providing basic literacy to youths. Within the ensuing decades laws required each New England vil-



A page of the *New England Primer*, used by colonists to educate their children and mix Bible lessons with the alphabet (Hulton/Archive)

lage of 50 or more families to have a schoolmaster and that towns with more than 200 inhabitants be able to train young men in a grammar school to prepare them for college.

None of the colonies except New England displayed a similar zeal for formally mandated levels of education, in part because other colonies did not demand the same level of church-state social control that New Englanders required. The different religions’ varying perspectives on CHILDHOOD and the family strongly affected the way colonies developed educational patterns for children. In Quaker Pennsylvania, for example, the Society of Friends’ early emphasis on the importance of nurturing families and the “special” nature of childhood led the colony’s Quaker-led leadership to defer questions of child training to individual families. WILLIAM PENN’s admonition to “have but few books” often led historians of education to misunderstand colonial Quaker educational beliefs. Penn



advocated reading good books rather than limiting literacy; QUAKERS were not anti-intellectual in their policies, but they believed that childhood was a pivotal moment that required careful nurturing overseen by loving parents and guardians. Pennsylvania's educational culture therefore developed in a pattern as unique as the colony's population. Quakers created public academies, including the Friends school established in 1683, in which schoolmaster Enoch Flower taught pupils reading, writing, and basic ciphering. In addition, other religious denominations, including Anglicans, German and Swedish LUTHERANS, Moravians, BAPTISTS, and German Reformed sects all established educational institutions to teach their children in curricula that reflected their beliefs.

Beyond the religiously based schools, few colonists studied classical language or mathematics. As historian Bernard Bailyn observed, to fully understand the educational patterns of colonial America, one must examine the entire process by which people hoped to transmit their cultures from one generation to the next. For a large part of the white population, education entailed a formal period of vocational training when students would learn the "art and mystery" of a specific craft. Apprenticeship, whose customs were rooted in the Middle Ages, was the most common form of education for the "middling sort" of colonists. An apprenticeship agreement, negotiated between the youth's parents and the master, usually prescribed the level of schooling that the child should receive during his or her apprenticeship. The schoolmasters and mistresses whose advertisements filled the columns of newspapers offered instruction in reading, writing, ciphering, and a few other subjects, often in day schools for one set of children and night schools for those required in craft shops during the day. Indeed, it was the differing pedagogical methods of the 17th and 18th centuries that often led historians to misunderstand the educational achievements of colonists. Scholars sometimes tallied the number of people who signed documents as indicative of the literacy of early Americans. However, white colonists usually learned "passive literacy" (reading) rather than "active literacy" (writing). Considering these educational backgrounds, we can estimate that as many as 85 or 90 percent of adults in some areas could read.

One group excluded from formal education in colonial America were those who came to the New World in chains. Some attempts were made to educate AFRICAN AMERICANS, including allowing black New Englanders to attend classes with their white neighbors or teaching segregated classes like those COTTON MATHER offered for black and Indian children in 1717. Religious groups—including NEW YORK missionaries of the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, the ANGLICAN CHURCH, and Philadelphia's Quaker Yearly

Meeting—established some schools for black pupils. Thomas Bray's Associates, an England-based philanthropic organization, was also instrumental in creating schools for African Americans, including schools in Philadelphia and Williamsburg. Men like Philadelphia Quaker ANTHONY BENEZET, who taught black students for four decades, helped educate leaders for African Americans in urban areas, yet only a tiny portion of African Americans received any formal schooling, and their literacy rates consequently were extremely low. Indeed, masters often prohibited the education of their slaves, fearing that literate bondpeople would write passes to aid in their own escape.

As each of the colonies matured and developed a more stratified social hierarchy, education increasingly became a central determinant of where one fit into society. While struggling planters in the 17th-century Chesapeake area put little energy into creating permanent schools, their more prosperous 18th-century descendants used education—as they used material goods, ARCHITECTURE, and leisure practices—to establish themselves at the pinnacle of their colony's society. Much of this gentry education took place on the plantations themselves, with private tutors hired to teach the children residing there. Philip Fithian, who taught the children of planter ROBERT "KING" CARTER in the early 1770s, instructed the five daughters, two sons, and a nephew in various topics. The eldest son, 18-year-old Benjamin Tasker Carter, was "reading Salust; Grammatical Exercises, and Latin Grammar," subjects obviously preparing him for college and, eventually, for the refined behavior expected of a Virginia gentleman. His younger kinsfolk followed in his footsteps, studying English grammar, writing, and mathematics. Eldest daughter Priscilla Carter, preparing for her role as a planter's wife, studied Addison and Steele's *Spectator*; writing, and was "beginning to Cypher" at age 15, while her younger sister was "beginning to write" at 13. Other subjects, such as fencing and dancing, completed the children's education. The lessons learned by the elites were designed to connect them with other gentry children, and no one else. When on January 30, 1774, Fithian found two of his young charges dancing in the schoolroom with a group of slaves, he "dispersed them . . . immediately."

In other colonies creating educational patterns unique to the society's gentry was repeated. Each of the colonial colleges established by the early 1740s—Harvard College, the COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, YALE COLLEGE, the College of New Jersey—were centers of genteel identity as well as places where the young elite could prepare to identify themselves as leaders and to learn classical curricula. Benjamin Franklin reacted against that aspect of college life in the 1720s, when he characterized Harvard students as "fops" and "blockheads." He echoed the charge in 1749, when he himself called for the creation of a public academy in Philadelphia, the school that would eventually





become the College and Academy of Philadelphia and then the University of Pennsylvania. “Art is long, but their time is short,” Franklin wrote, explaining why the students who would attend the school he proposed would learn practical subjects as well as some classical studies. Still, understanding the political realities, he solicited support from the colony’s wealthy Anglican elite and altered his curricular plans to include subjects that they desired for their sons. In the end, the COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA held little of the pedagogical uniqueness that Franklin had proposed. It was essentially one more school training a colony’s gentry for leadership.

Franklin’s creation of the College of Philadelphia was just one such founding in the mid-18th century that reflected the changing beliefs and structures of colonial societies. The GREAT AWAKENING was the leading force in creating new schools. As GEORGE WHITEFIELD and his fellow itinerants crisscrossed the colonies, they spread new religious fervor and called into question the old social order. The new order that arose, as well as the growing prosperity of the various colonies, brought about the creation of the College of New Jersey (PRINCETON COLLEGE), KING’S COLLEGE (Columbia), the College of Rhode Island (Brown), Queen’s College (Rutgers), and DARTMOUTH COLLEGE. By the end of the 1760s, the American colonies

were served by nine institutions of higher learning, each drawing from different theological backgrounds, based on local traditions of support, and each closely tied to their colonies’ leadership and elite.

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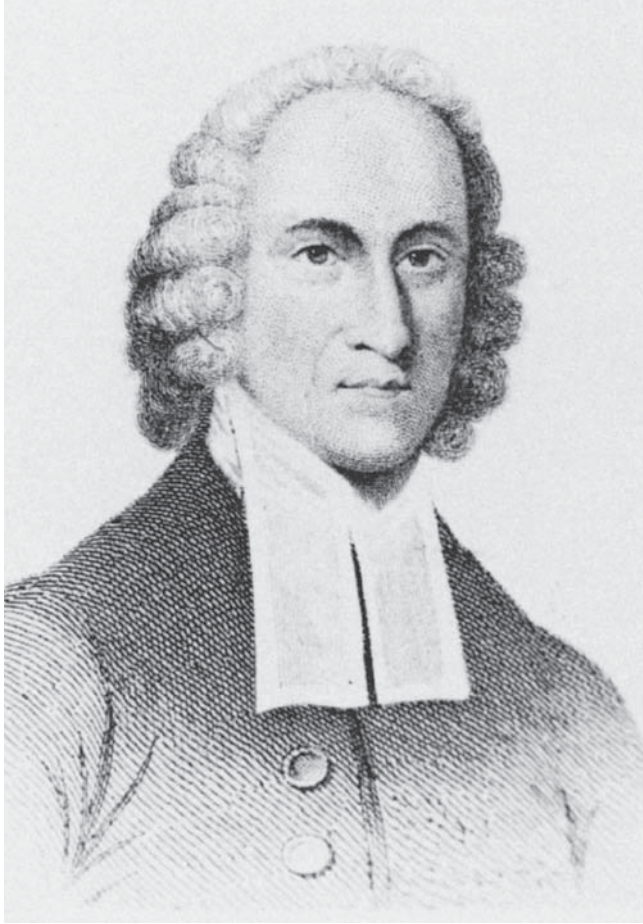
—George W. Boudreau

**Edwards, Jonathan** (1703–1758) *Congregationalist minister, theologian*

Perhaps the greatest minister and theologian in early America, Jonathan Edwards was born on October 5, 1703. He was the fifth child and only son of the Reverend Timothy Edwards, the pastor of the Congregational church of East Windsor (then within the jurisdiction of MASSACHUSETTS) and Esther Stoddard, the daughter of the Reverend Solomon Stoddard, the influential pastor of the Congregational church in Northampton, Massachusetts. Schooled by his father, Edwards was entered in 1716 at the new Collegiate School chartered by the CONNECTICUT colony, renamed YALE COLLEGE in 1718.

The curriculum Edwards encountered at Yale was based on the staples of classical Protestant scholasticism. This “old logic,” which “mightily pleased” him, inclined Edwards to look to the Puritan past for the substance of his theology, yet the generosity of Yale’s British friends had also endowed the college with a library containing some of the newest scientific and philosophical texts, especially those of JOHN LOCKE and Isaac Newton. From these, Edwards acquired, alongside a very traditional Calvinist theology, a sharp curiosity over the scientific revolution of the 1600s and how it might be bent toward serving Calvinist ends. His notebooks, especially on “The Mind” and “Natural Science,” show that Edwards was particularly attracted to the immaterialism usually associated with Bishop George Berkeley and Father Nicholas Malebranche. “That which truly is the substance of all bodies is the infinitely exact and precise and perfectly stable idea in God’s mind,” Edwards concluded in one early notebook entry, “together with his stable will that the same shall gradually be communicated to us and to other minds according to certain fixed and exact established methods and laws.” This did not mean that physical realities did not exist, but it did mean that whatever existence physical realities did have was entirely dependent on God’s will and had “no proper being of their own.”

Edwards graduated from Yale in 1720, served briefly as minister to a Presbyterian congregation in NEW YORK



Jonathan Edwards (Library of Congress)

CITY, and in 1724 returned to Yale as a junior instructor. In November 1726 the Northampton church invited him to become the associate of his aging grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, and he was ordained by the Northampton church on February 22, 1727. Five months later he married Sarah Pierrepont of New Haven. After Stoddard's death in 1729, Edwards succeeded him as pastor of the Northampton church.

Edwards's preaching in his first years in the Northampton pastorate show him as cautious and conventional, but in the winter of 1734–35, as a result of series of sermons that Edwards aimed against the decay of Calvinist orthodoxy, "a Concern about the Great things of Religion began . . . to prevail abundantly in the Town," in which "more than 300 souls were savingly brought home to Christ." Edwards published an account of the revival and a justification of his own encouragement of it in 1737 as *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*. However, a second and far more dramatic revival of religious concern occurred in 1740 in the wake of the

New England preaching tour of the celebrated Anglican itinerant GEORGE WHITEFIELD. At the height of this "awakening," in July 1741, Edwards preached (at Enfield, Connecticut) his most famous sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God."

Unhappily, Edwards soon found that the passionate emphasis on divine sovereignty and personal religious conversion that he demanded aroused suspicion and opposition from the elite pastors of BOSTON's wealthy Congregational churches. He published a series of defenses of revivalism beginning in 1741 with *The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God* and rising in 1746 to his most important work on religious experience, *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*. Edwards also discovered another form of opposition within his own congregation when in 1744 he proposed to change Northampton's practice of open admission to communion and instead begin restricting access to only the demonstrably converted. The congregation resented the criticism of their own sincerity implied by this change, and at the end of a six-year struggle they dismissed Edwards from the Northampton church.

Edwards assumed the post of missionary to the Indian congregation at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where he was able to turn his time and thinking back to the philosophical problems that had dominated his youth. In 1754 he published *Freedom of the Will*, a rigorously logical defense of the compatibility of human responsibility with absolute divine determination of human choice and followed that in 1758 with *The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin Defended*. In 1757 the College of New Jersey (later PRINCETON COLLEGE) invited him to become its third president. However, after only two months in office, Edwards died on March 22, 1758, because of complications arising from a SMALLPOX inoculation. His two "dissertations" on ethics and ontology, *The Nature of True Virtue* and *Concerning the End For Which God Created the World*, were published in 1765.

**Further reading:** A. C. Guelzo, *Edwards on the Will: A Century of American Theological Debate* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989); John E. Smith, *Jonathan Edwards: Puritan, Preacher, Philosopher* (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992).

—Allen C. Guelzo

### Edwards, Sarah Pierpont (1710–1758) missionary

Sara Pierpont Edwards was the wife of JONATHAN EDWARDS, an architect of the GREAT AWAKENING. She wrote an account of her religious conversion during the revival, noting that she was "swallowed up, in the light and joy of the love of God." She was among many women who began to realize that women's and men's souls might be equal before

God and that therefore women might also claim a portion of equality in social and political ways as well.

Sarah Pierpont was the daughter of Rev. James Pierpont, one of the founders of Yale, and Mary Hooker, the daughter of the founder of Hartford, CONNECTICUT. Jonathan Edwards, who would become one of early America's greatest theologians, began a four-year courtship of Sarah Pierpont when she was only 13. After marriage they settled in Northampton, MASSACHUSETTS, where her husband had his first ministry. As the minister's wife, she set an example of hospitality to traveling preachers, friends, and relatives, while raising 11 children, all of whom, unusually for the time, survived CHILDHOOD. Impressed with his wife's management of their home and her participation as his intellectual partner, Jonathan Edwards used his family as the model in his writings. Sarah frequently used her tact to extract her husband's salary from reluctant taxpayers as well as to write kind letters discouraging her daughters' many suitors.

The pressures of public life, combined with the death of her sister and recurring postpartum depression, plunged Sarah into mental breakdown in January 1742, when she was beset with hallucinations and fainting spells. Jonathan, who asked Sarah to recount the entire experience to him, interpreted the episode as a spiritual breakthrough after which she could be assured of salvation. This assurance was crucial, and her husband used her experience as a model for *Some Thoughts Concerning . . . Revival of Religion* (1742). When her husband was dismissed by the Northampton congregation in 1750, the family moved to the mission settlement at Stockbridge, where Sarah aided both her husband's writing and his ministry to NATIVE AMERICANS. In 1752 she accompanied their daughter Esther to Newark to marry Aaron Burr, the president of PRINCETON COLLEGE. Burr died in 1757, followed a year later by Jonathan Edwards, who had gone to New Jersey to replace him as president and was weakened by a SMALLPOX inoculation. When Esther died, Sarah journeyed to retrieve her orphaned grandchildren but contracted dysentery on the return trip and died in PHILADELPHIA in 1758.

—Margaret Sankey

**Eliot, John** (1604–1690) *Puritan minister, missionary*

John Eliot was a Christian missionary to NATIVE AMERICANS and a translator of the Bible into Algonquin. Born in Widford, Hertfordshire, England, Eliot graduated from Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1622. Later, while working as a schoolteacher, he came under the influence of THOMAS HOOKER, embraced Puritan tenets, experienced conversion, and felt a call to the ministry. Forced to flee to MASSACHUSETTS in 1631, a year later he was installed as pastor of the Congregational church in Roxbury, a position he held until his death.

Eventually Eliot became concerned for the evangelization of the Native Americans of eastern Massachusetts, whose numbers were in serious decline. The foundation for his work among them was laid by a series of laws the Massachusetts legislature enacted in 1646 making it illegal for Native Americans to maintain their traditional worship and setting aside land for their settlement in communities. That same year Eliot preached his first sermon in Algonquin without an interpreter. By 1674 he had organized his converts into 14 villages of "Praying Indians" with a total population of about 3,600. Because it was taken for granted that their Christianization required their "civilization," tribal customs were supplanted by a theocratic code derived from the Bible by Eliot himself, with oversight exercised by a Native American magistrate under an English superintendent.

A gifted linguist, Eliot prepared an Algonquin catechism (1654) and grammar (1666), as well as translations of the Westminster Larger Catechism (1654) and both Old (1663) and New (1661) Testaments. The latter constituted the first edition of the Bible printed in the Western Hemisphere. His belief that Native Americans might be descendants of the "Ten Lost Tribes" of Israel animated his own activity, while his recognition as "Apostle to the Indians" energized the efforts of others and inspired the establishment in 1649 of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. Although KING PHILIP'S WAR (Metacom's Rebellion, 1675–76) dealt a near-fatal blow to his settlements, they maintained a tenuous hold on life as late as the early decades of the 18th century.

Eliot's other published works include the *Bay Psalm Book* (1640), a metrical edition of the Psalter prepared in conjunction with Richard Mather and Thomas Welde that was the first book printed in New England, and *The Christian Commonwealth* (1659), a political treatise suppressed by the government of Massachusetts for its ardent republicanism at a time when the Stuarts were poised to retake the throne of England.

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—George W. Harper

**Endecott, John** (1599?–1665) *government official*

A devout Puritan and hard-line conservative, John Endecott (later generations spelled the name Endicott) was the most formidable of the early MASSACHUSETTS Bay Colony leaders. His first wife, Anne Gower, was the cousin of Matthew Craddock, the first governor of the MASSACHUSETTS BAY



COMPANY. Endecott was sent to Massachusetts in 1628 as the first governor of the colony with the specific purpose of preparing the small settlement for the arrival of the PURITANS in the Great Migration of the 1630s. Endecott arrived at Salem and assumed command of the settlement from Roger Conant. He quickly arrested THOMAS MORTON of Merry Mount across Massachusetts Bay for selling GUNS to the Native tribes, cutting down Morton's festive Maypole as well. When JOHN WINTHROP and the Puritan fleet arrived in 1630, Endecott recognized and submitted to their authority, serving as governor, deputy governor, or assistant for the rest of his life.

Endecott was censured by the Massachusetts General Court in 1634 for cutting the cross out of the British flag, calling it too "Popish." Endecott soon afterward commanded an expedition against the PEQUOT in CONNECTICUT in 1636, ostensibly for the killing of two Massachusetts traders after a quarrel. His expedition destroyed a Pequot village on Block Island. In retaliation the Pequot attacked the English frontier settlement at Saybrook, Connecticut. The resulting escalation of hostilities on both sides led to the destruction of an entire Pequot village of 600 people in 1637. Endecott's blunt handling of the first situation was a direct cause of the brutal PEQUOT WAR of 1637, which virtually exterminated the Pequot. Endecott later proved equally harsh to the QUAKERS in Massachusetts. As governor of Massachusetts from 1655 to 1665, he persecuted them relentlessly. Among the Quakers was MARY DYER, a recent convert to the Society of Friends (Quakers). When offered her life if she would accept permanent exile, Dyer refused and was hanged as a martyr to her faith in 1660.

John Endecott helped improve EDUCATION by helping to found a free school in Salem and serving as a HARVARD COLLEGE overseer. He died and was buried in BOSTON in 1665 while serving as governor.

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—Stephen C. O'Neill

**England** See BRITISH EMPIRE.

### English Civil War

The causes of the English Civil War (1642–49) were complex. These included the swelling ranks and rising aspirations of the urban middle CLASS within English society and the Puritan party within the English church; the growing frustration felt by both these groups as well as the rural gentry at the Elizabethan and Stuart monarchies' repeated frustration of their aspirations; and the Stuarts's aggressive

defense of a type of civil and ecclesiastical government and eventually of a theology that threatened these groups' legitimacy and even the lives of many of their members. War loomed when the politically dexterous King James I (1603–25) was succeeded by the maladroit King Charles I (1625–49), who drove these disparate groups into each other's arms.

Relations between Charles and Parliament's House of Commons were poor from the start. When war with Scotland forced Charles to ask the Commons for a military appropriation, it refused; consequently, Charles dissolved this so-called Short Parliament (1640) after just three weeks. Further setbacks at the hands of the Scots compelled him to call for new elections, though, convening what came to be known as the Long Parliament (1640–53). Relations between king and Commons steadily worsened until finally both sides took up arms. After several inconclusive battles during 1642 and 1643, Parliamentary Oliver Cromwell led his New Model Army to triumph at Marston Moor (July 2, 1644), Naseby (June 14, 1645), and Preston (August 17–19, 1648). Charles was executed for treason on January 30, 1649, the monarchy was abolished, and a commonwealth was proclaimed. Cromwell served as lord protector from 1653 until his death five years later, maintaining a measure of order during a time of great social ferment. Eventually, moderates engineered the restoration of the monarchy and the coronation of Charles's eldest son as King Charles II (1660–85).

The war's impact on England's American colonies was significant. VIRGINIA's leaders, siding with the Crown, worked to eradicate Puritan influence in the South. New England's leaders, siding with Parliament, worried that London rather than BOSTON would be the model for the coming universal reform of church and state. The PURITANS' Great Migration of the 1630s halted and even reversed itself as men of action returned to England in order to fight on Parliament's behalf. With the monarchy's restoration, New England became a haven for three of the "regicides" who had signed Charles I's death warrant.

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—George W. Harper

### English immigrants

Most immigrants to British North America in the 17th century were of English extraction. English immigration to North America began with the founding of JAMESTOWN in 1607 and accelerated after the founding of MASSACHUSETTS Bay Colony in 1629. In the Great Migration, which lasted from 1629 until the onset of the ENGLISH CIVIL WAR in 1642, approximately 20,000 English men, women,



and children migrated to New England and as many as 40,000 to other English colonies, particularly MARYLAND and VIRGINIA. Most of the New England settlers were PURITANS (many from East Anglia, the center of English Puritanism), most were people of modest means—farmers, craftspeople, or lesser gentry—and most immigrated in family groups. The Chesapeake region drew a much larger percentage of single adults (mostly men), moneyed investors, and servants.

Immigration patterns changed markedly after 1649. During the English Civil War, some Puritan settlers returned to England. Relatively few English immigrants settled in New England after 1649; later 17th- and 18th-century immigration focused on the South and, above all, PENNSYLVANIA and the Middle Colonies. The population of the Delaware Valley (Pennsylvania, NEW JERSEY, and DELAWARE) escalated from about 3,000 settlers in 1680 to 24,000 in 1700 and 170,000 by 1750. Initially, QUAKERS from Wales and the English midlands dominated the region's culture. They sought to escape religious persecution and to create a society that reflected Quaker ideals. After 1715, however, many non-Quaker English immigrants also settled in these colonies, so that by 1760 Quakers were a minority in the region. The Quaker leadership's liberal social policy quickly made the Delaware Valley one of the most ethnically and religiously diverse regions of British America.

A large percentage of English immigrants to the Delaware Valley and the South were indentured servants, teenagers and young adults who obtained free passage to the New World by bartering their LABOR for a period of years (typically four to seven years, although children were sometimes bound for much longer terms). All the British colonies imported indentured servants, but they were most numerous in Virginia and Maryland in the 17th century, where an average of 2,000 servants arrived each year from the 1630s until 1700. INDENTURED SERVITUDE declined in the southern colonies in the late 17th century as economic conditions in England improved and the cost of importing slaves declined. During the 18th century most indentured servants went to the Middle Colonies. English convicts (and occasionally prisoners of war) were transported to North America in a slow but steady stream throughout the colonial period. Convicts were bound for even longer terms than indentured servants were, typically seven to 14 years. Most went to the southern colonies. The transportation of convicts to the American colonies was controversial, however, and colonists generally discouraged it.

In 1690, 90 percent of the colonists in British America were of British descent. In the 18th century, however, a large percentage of immigrants to the British colonies were German, Scottish, Scots-Irish, and African. Between 1715 and 1775, 250,000 people fled famine and poverty in north-

ern Britain—the north of England, the Scottish lowlands, and northern Ireland—and sought economic refuge in British America. The movement began as a trickle but accelerated rapidly in the 1760s. Both families and young, single adults tried their fortunes in the New World. Many came as indentured servants. They faced horrific conditions aboard immigrant ships and often encountered ethnic prejudice from other British Americans. As the richest land along the eastern seaboard had long since been claimed and cultivated, most of the new northern British immigrants moved west to backcountry regions of Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas, and GEORGIA, where they established small farms. The northern British and Scots-Irish influence is still evident in Appalachia today. Still, the largest group of new arrivals in 18th-century British America were Africans forcibly brought to the New World as slaves.

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—Darcy R. Fryer

## Enlightenment, American

Scholars have most often identified the writings of Francis Bacon, Isaac Newton, and JOHN LOCKE on SCIENCE, philosophy, and government as the wellsprings of the Enlightenment in both Britain and British America, their greatest influence occurring roughly between the 1680s and the era of the French Revolution (1789). Immanuel Kant summarized the aims of “enlightenment” in the phrase *sapere aude*—dare to know for oneself. Traditionally conceived, to be enlightened was to throw off slavish adherence to tradition and insist on one's own critical ability to make judgments about nature, religion, politics, and society. These new freedoms prioritized individual religious conscience and the separation of church and state, the replacement of superstition and merely textual authority by experimental science to investigate nature, the replacement of monarchies and absolutist regimes by representative and constitutional forms of government, and the freedom to attempt a wide range of practical reforms for the good of society.

As a result of increasing transatlantic trade, the British American provinces became culturally more sophisticated during the 18th century and, looking to Britain for models, gradually developed similar social institutions for the exchange of ideas and information within the “public sphere.” These included newspapers and magazines, coffee

houses, Masonic lodges, social clubs, public libraries, and the establishment of new colleges, all of which were knit together by extensive correspondence networks and the circulation of printed books (mostly imported from London), known collectively as the “republic of letters.”

The colonists appropriated some elements of European Enlightenment culture but rejected others. For example, Benjamin Franklin’s leading role in creating the Library Company of PHILADELPHIA, the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, the Pennsylvania Hospital, and other institutions reflected continuity with British traditions of civic-minded improvement and the use of science and TECHNOLOGY to achieve practical benefits in areas like AGRICULTURE and navigation. By contrast, the unabashed anticlericalism of *philosophes* like Voltaire did not resonate as deeply with Americans, whose societies, unlike Catholic France, had never known a socially dominating established church.

Some features of the American Enlightenment were conscious departures from European models. The one stronghold of American anticlericalism was, unsurprisingly, the colony where Anglicanism (the established Religion of England) was also strongest: VIRGINIA. Deism (the view that God constructed the universe as a self-running machine, from which he then withdrew) enjoyed a rare institutional base at the COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, where Thomas Jefferson was a student. In 1786 Jefferson helped legalize the separation of church and state in Virginia. WILLIAM PENN, the Quaker proprietor of Pennsylvania, had made religious toleration the law in his colony a century earlier, but the pluralistic character of American religious life ultimately owed more to the sheer diversity of denominations in the colonies rather than any one program of toleration.

The teachings of liberal English Anglicans like Samuel Clarke and John Tillotson and moderate Scots Episcopalians like Francis Hutcheson found important venues at colleges and churches, promoting enlightened ideas about individual moral and intellectual capacities. Like Quakerism, these traditions sought to reconcile spiritual and commercial free will with benevolent and unifying social activity. Scottish “moral sense” writers argued for the existence of innate benevolence and social sympathy in human beings, while “common sense” philosophers insisted on the trustworthiness of individual sensory knowledge as a basis for making judgments about nature and morality. These ideas became especially dominant after the 1790s as an antidote to the threats of philosophical skepticism and atheism many perceived in the French Revolution and as a way of doing science without contradicting Protestant doctrine.

British American attitudes to nature took shape within an immensely flexible intellectual framework that emphasized that the universe was a divine and rational work whose

structure was intelligible through human reason. There was no decisive conflict between science and religion in this era. All colonial science, or rather “natural philosophy” (later physics and chemistry) and “natural history” (later biology), existed within Protestant thought, never outside it. This framework was often referred to as “physico-theology,” or “natural theology,” both of which indicate that ideas relating to the physical structure of nature were generally considered a branch of religious devotion. American thinkers were eclectic in combining biblical and philosophical views of natural phenomena. COTTON MATHER believed that SMALLPOX was caused both by atomic effluviae and sinful behavior, while JONATHAN EDWARDS, despite his serious interest in Newtonian natural philosophy, retained the orthodox Calvinist view that humans did not possess free will and that their spiritual fate was predetermined.

Examples of art and architecture serve as enduring expressions of the Enlightenment principles of democracy, rationality, and humanism in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Charles Willson Peale, a naturalist, inventor, artist, politician, and Revolutionary War veteran, cofounded the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia. He glorified men such as Benjamin Franklin and George Washington in portraits intended to “represent the mind . . . through the features of the man.” Jefferson regarded Greco-Roman architecture as the embodiment of knowledge, democracy, and science, and he accordingly designed his home at Monticello in the neoclassical style, a popular product of the Enlightenment. More significantly, Jefferson adopted the architecture of republican Rome as a model for the nation’s capital in Washington, D.C., to express permanently and on a monumental scale the principles that informed the establishment of the new government.

The greatest impact of the Enlightenment in North America has most often been thought to be political. The revolution against British rule, from the Declaration of Independence’s affirmation of universal natural rights to the federal Constitution’s system of republican representation, safeguarded by checks and balances between the people and their government, remains the transcendent achievement of the American Enlightenment. More recently, however, scholars have focused on the social groups deliberately excluded from this revolution. Despite their literacy and despite a famous request from Abigail to John Adams to “remember the ladies” in constructing a new polity, British American culture continued to insist that women’s roles as wives and mothers were incompatible with political activity. QUAKERS JOHN WOOLMAN and ANTHONY BENEZET were early antislavery leaders who succeeded in banning the SLAVE TRADE among the Quakers by 1758, but financial self-interest and fear of reprisal on the part of southern slaveholders prevented the extension of the Declaration’s principles to AFRICAN

AMERICANS in 1776. NATIVE AMERICANS suffered directly as a consequence of American independence, because the expulsion of the British removed a major obstacle to the settlement of western lands.

See also BOSTON PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY; MEDICINE; PHILADELPHIA.

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—James Delbourgo

## environment

Environmental conditions greatly shaped the history of colonial America. The environment offered people both opportunities and limitations. How these people chose to exploit the environment affected the development of their ECONOMY and culture. As they pursued their own goals, humans transformed the environment, yet the environment also strongly influenced their societies. At its most basic level, the environment provided Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans in North America with the necessities of life: food, shelter, and clothing. Most Native Americans, over thousands of years, developed a way of life that was highly integrated with the environment, which resulted in diverse economies and complicated cultures. European migrants, in contrast, usually attempted to transplant their own economy and culture by extracting natural resources. They strove to transform the environment into commodities and familiar landscapes.

Native Americans did not think of nature as a category separate from their own existence. They adapted their lifestyles to annual cycles and local conditions. Indians used the natural environment in diverse ways, depending on the particular environmental constraints or prospects in their local area. For this reason, HOUSING styles and food production varied tremendously across the North American continent. Almost every indigenous group practiced some farming, and those living east of the Mississippi River depended overwhelmingly on crops of corn, beans, squash, and other cultivated plants. Women generally controlled this agriculture and thus maintained a high degree of social and political power. Various ceremonies and rituals fostered a respect for other forms of plant and animal life; nevertheless, Indians altered local environments to support their lifestyles. They cleared forests in order to plant crops, and they set fires to increase game habitat. Sometimes, they strained certain natural resources to the limit. Such tensions became particularly obvious when Indians entered into the FUR TRADE with Europeans. With the commodi-

fication of beaver in the north and deer in the south, Indians depleted these animal populations rapidly in order to acquire the European manufactured goods on which many came to depend. The extirpation (at least locally) of these species caused radical environmental changes. Many Native Americans transformed their culture and religion in response to environmental modifications, particularly those created by colonial expansion, market forces, and the introduction of HORSES. Thus, the environment in North America and the Native Americans who lived there were both products of historical interaction.

European colonists influenced this history by causing rapid, extreme environmental change. A vast supply of natural resources—fish, FORESTS, farmland, and fur-bearing animals—encouraged colonization, and Europeans approached the process from an ideology of human dominance over nature. Fish supplied the initial attraction for Europeans to New England, and fishing subsequently developed into a worldwide industry before 1600. The primary fish resources were codfish (from which Cape Cod received its name), sea bass, haddock, herring, Atlantic salmon, lobster, mullet, crab, oysters, clams, and mussels. With access to an enormous quantity of timber, a large SHIPBUILDING industry developed by the 1650s. New Englanders constructed sawmills, shipped white pines to England for ship's masts, sold wood to the West Indies, and extracted potash, tar, pitch, and turpentine for naval stores.

Establishing a new relationship with the land, New England PURITANS tried to make the environment fit human needs rather than fitting themselves into the environment. Wood-frame homes fixed their society in place, and farming transformed the landscape. Women maintained vegetable and herb gardens, while men farmed cash-crops such as wheat and corn. New Englanders practiced row-crop AGRICULTURE and created a domesticated world of fields and fences out of the forests. English colonists initially used Indian-cleared land and then began clearing their own acreage for farms and towns. Their livestock (cattle, horses, hogs) consumed and trampled plants that were not adapted to them. Livestock also competed with and drove away native animal species. The colonists' pattern of establishing permanent settlements exhausted local resources, whereas more mobile Native American societies relieved human environmental pressure and allowed regeneration.

Animal furs provided a profitable commodity. In high demand throughout Europe by the late 1500s, beaver pelts supplied material for hats, winter coats, and castoreum oil that served as a base for perfumes. The beaver fur trade often established the first connection between English and Indians in New England, as well as between the French and Indians in the Great Lakes area. As the fur trade grew, the beaver skin became the primary unit of financial measure.





This sketch shows how early settlers altered the landscape, often by clearing away forests to make way for farming. (*Library of Congress*)

During the peak of the fur trade era, some 200,000 pelts a year were sold to the European market, with a large adult beaver skin yielding enough fur for 18 hats. The fur trade severely depleted beaver numbers by the early to mid-18th century, and it altered the New England landscape by eliminating beaver ponds and the related meadows around them. Thus, New England's rich supplies of forests, fish, and furs allowed the Puritans to create a society based on family farms and small towns, along with ports and merchant centers such as BOSTON.

In the southern colonies, environmental conditions encouraged the development of a different economy and culture. The Virginia Company established its colony in 1607 as a business venture. From the beginning, with surprising disregard for their own subsistence needs, these settlers sought a profit-making product that could be extracted from Virginia and sold in England. JAMESTOWN colonists tried a range of products, such as deerskins, timber, sassafras, silk (with imported silk worms), glassmaking, iron, fruit trees, flax, and hemp, but with little success. Beginning with experiments in 1612, JOHN ROLFE demonstrated that TOBACCO grew well and could produce profits. This emphasis on a single crop reflected the European drive to control the environment.

Although the Virginia climate and soils provided ideal conditions for cultivating tobacco, attempting to grow the

plant in large quantities produced environmental consequences and contributed significantly to the type of SOCIETY and culture that developed in colonial Virginia. Tobacco leached minerals out of the soil very quickly and was therefore a land-intensive business venture. This feature of tobacco farming encouraged settlement in the river valleys of Virginia. Farmers needed to own hundreds and even thousands of acres so that worn-out land could remain fallow while tobacco planting moved onto virgin soil. Naturally, conflicts with Indians arose, and the POWHATAN Indians revolted against English land grabbing with deadly attacks in 1622 and 1644. In addition to being land intensive, tobacco was also labor intensive. The Virginia Company enacted the headright system in the 1610s to encourage immigration. Initially, indentured servants supplied the necessary labor, but Virginia planters switched to African slave labor in the latter half of the 17th century as that labor source became more cost effective.

This need for large landholdings and labor crews produced an almost feudal society in colonial Virginia. Virginia remained overwhelmingly rural, with large plantations and a captive labor force, few towns, a dispersed population living along river banks, and government based in counties rather than in towns. Landed aristocrats in Virginia promoted social cohesion among their ranks and denied competitors access to prime tobacco lands through the ending



of INDENTURED SERVITUDE, passing of tobacco quality laws, and institution of government regulation of the industry in 1730. Those who produced high-quality tobacco gained the designation “crop masters” and acquired credit from English and Scottish MERCHANTS more easily than did other tobacco farmers.

In the long term, the cultural response to differing environments led to the development of starkly different American identities in the northern and southern colonies. As illustrated by the differences between Indian Natives and colonial settlers and the divergence of New England and Virginia cultures, environmental conditions and human intentions combined to create new societies and shape American history.

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—Greg O'Brien and Robert C. Gardner

**epidemics** See DISEASE.

## ethnocentrism

“Monsters shaped and faced like men;” “a fanatical, self-conceited sort of people;” “near beasts;” “ignorant, mean, worthless, beggarly Irish Presbyterians;” “devilish Satyr apes;” “wild and beggarly Irish;” “heathens;” “savages.” These derogatory expressions (ethnophaulisms) are but a small sample of the descriptive terms used by early Americans to classify individuals from cultures and classes unlike their own.

Ethnocentrism is the tendency to judge others in terms of the norms of one's own group, culture, or class and to assert the alleged superiority of one's own group. Ethnocentric beliefs can predispose one ethnic group or social class to derogate, segregate, or commit violence against other people. Ethnocentrism intensified in the 17th-century Atlantic world as immigrants and Natives both confronted other groups of people and often reshaped their own ethnic identities. Indians, Africans, and Europeans initially understood “strangers” through cultural categories and caricatures arising both from their sense of their own superiority and from their anxiety about the sufficiency of their own folkways in comparison to those of “others.” As Europeans increasingly encountered other peoples during the 16th and 17th centuries, their ethnocentrism often

intensified. Economic change stimulated a growing material and cultural disparity between the wealthy and the poor in Europe, and the former often regarded the latter as “the brutish part of Mankind.” Simultaneously, growing domestic migration brought wandering “strangers” to cities like London. As the Reformation shattered Christianity into a myriad of competing ethnoreligious sects, each touted its superiority over others. When Europeans began overseas expansion, they encountered a bewildering variety of exotic cultures that challenged them not only to interpret the alien cultures but also to define themselves as exceptional imperial peoples. The systematic conquest and subjugation by the Tudor and Stuart dynasties of their Celtic peripheries—Scotland, Ireland, and Wales—confirmed and reinforced the assumptions held by the ruling elite of southeastern England that their culture was superior because it combined the benefits of English Christianity with those of classical civility, as defined by the Renaissance humanists. They believed the Celtic groups, especially the “barbarously savage” Catholic Irish, were stuck in an earlier stage of human development and would therefore benefit from English colonization. The English elite subsequently applied this ideological cant to the Native peoples of North America, AFRICA, and the CARIBBEAN.

Similarly, Spanish and Portuguese Christians came to accept invidious associations of Africans with paganism, bestiality, and cultural depravity, and, ultimately, slavery. Influenced by the biblical legend of Ham and religious imagery contrasting white “purity” with black “depravity,” Elizabethan elites, like their Iberian counterparts, ranked black people as a “special category of mankind,” considerably behind the cultural evolution of NATIVE AMERICANS. Aversion to African racial and cultural characteristics, when coupled with the imperatives of the SLAVE TRADE, eventually made Africans vulnerable to exploitation deemed unacceptable for white people.

Still, English intellectuals examined alien cultures for signs of similarities that would answer their own questions about whether English society corresponded to universal, God-given principles of social organization. Many thought of Indians, like the Irish and the English, as springing from a common human stock, and they attributed shared similarities and differences in skin color and physiognomy to be “accidental” or the result of environmental factors. In addition to adherence to English Christianity, English writers judged the “civility” of other cultures according to the degree to which they demarcated CLASS and GENDER distinctions, possessed a hereditary hierarchy, maintained nuclear families, and practiced settled agriculture. Social class was at the heart of the European literati's definition of civilization. French officials identified “savagery” in ALGONQUIN societies in the weakness of political authority, the absence of clear class divisions, and the lack of

subordination of commoners to Native elites. Indeed, English explorers and colonizers were eager to identify Native chiefs, SACHEMS, and werowances as equivalent to European “kings,” “queens,” and even “emperors,” and the English frequently approved of visible distinctions between “betters” and “commoners” among Natives. The superficial congruence of some European and Indian cultural and political practices fostered the illusion among metropolitan elites that Indians could be rapidly and easily assimilated into New World Christian empires.

European elites also categorized the lower classes as “savage.” The wandering rural poor of Europe bore many cultural traits of an alien, “uncivil,” and ungoverned people whose peripatetic ways and fitful work habits were regarded contemptuously by their “betters” as requiring reform by means of involuntary servitude. The metropolitan merchant elite and rural gentry equated “civilization” with a stable, hierarchal social order that “superior” aristocracies imposed on the bestial and depraved lower classes of their respective realms. Early modern elites, thereby, fused race, culture, authority, and class.

Indian and African peoples were also ethnocentric, often contemptuous of European colonists who, despite superior ships and metallurgy, could barely feed themselves without Native help. As ROGER WILLIAMS reported, if “the Europeans are always wrangling and uneasy,” Indians wondered, why do they “not go out of this World, since they are so uneasy and discontented by it.” Nevertheless, Native peoples thought that, perhaps with regular bathing and disciplined education in Native ways, Europeans might become productive and contributing members of their respective clans, villages, and tribes. Convinced of the superiority of their cultures, Indians often encouraged individual Europeans to seek adoption by families in their communities and used persuasion, bribery, and force to incorporate entire European settlements into their polities. Unlike their xenophobic leaders, many lower-class white men and women took up the Natives’ offer.

In the *pays d’en haut* of the Great Lakes region, the *coureurs des bois* (French fur traders of peasant origins) intermarried extensively with the Algonquin to gain access to trade networks and the protection that Native kinship offered. Frequent interracial unions along the English, French, and Spanish frontiers laid the foundation for the mixed raced “new” peoples of North America—the MÉTIS and the Mestizo. Similarly, many white indentured servants did not always share the aversion that their “betters” displayed toward Africans. White and black servants frequently fraternized, engaged in sexual liaisons, and even ran away together, sometimes seeking protection in neighboring Indian villages. Only gradually, through legally enforced segregation, the social construction of race and white skin privileges, and the effects of intercultural competition and

conflict, did European commoners in the Americas come to assimilate the xenophobia and, eventually, racism that their upper class “betters” displayed towards Africans and Native peoples.

Because the power of European states was weak on the peripheries, frontier communities fostered cultural negotiation and accommodation and a degree of acceptance, or at least coexistence, of European and Native cultural traditions. Indians, Europeans, and, to a lesser extent, Africans in the BORDERLANDS were mutually dependent and symbiotic. To realize their religious, imperial, and commercial aspirations, metropolitan elites and their colonial administrators struggled to obtain orderly frontiers by regulating settlement, protecting tributary tribes and their lands from European settlers, and controlling how Europeans, Indians, and Africans interacted. The metropolitan English eventually failed to pacify their frontiers because of resistance to their visions of imperial comity by not just Indians but also by the burgeoning European communities who competed with Indians for control of frontier resources.

When expanding their ethnic communities sparked hostile confrontations with Indians, white colonists were often better able than Indians to overcome some of their ethnic differences. Indians did not see themselves as one people. Throughout the 17th century Algonquin-Iroquoian intercultural conflicts were as bloody and genocidal as many English-Indian clashes. Imperial authorities supported and exploited these Indian rivalries to their advantage, just as the Indians played off competing imperial powers to further their own interests. Despite differences among their vernacular ethnic cultures, Euro-Americans were able to generate a more intense feeling of pan-European ethnic identity because they were predominantly Protestant peoples and shared a common political allegiance to Crown and commonwealth. In contrast, Indian efforts to build pan-Indian ethnic unity were more halting, as in KING PHILIP’S WAR, and did not really bear fruit in the Ohio and Great Lakes region until NEOLIN and Pontiac in the 1760s.

Racism, unlike ethnocentrism, seemingly did not exist widely among European colonists until the late 17th century. The earliest African slaves in VIRGINIA, for instance, may not have been treated significantly differently than white indentured servants. Meanwhile, New Englanders interpreted individual Indian behavior and individual adherence to European cultural norms and religious traditions as standards to distinguish between “good” and “bad” Indians. Protoracist fulminations against the “savages,” therefore, could alternate with claims that the English and Indians were “of one blood.”

OPECHANCANOUGH’S uprisings against the Virginia colonists in 1622 and 1642 were understood by the colonists as an affront to their attempts to transform the POWHATAN

into ethnic English people. The conflicts thereby exacerbated ethnocentric feelings. The intercultural conflicts of King Philip's War, KING WILLIAM'S WAR, and QUEEN ANNE'S WAR intensified distrust of Indian "incivility" and "savagery," undermined distinctions between "civilized" Christian Indians and those they regarded as pagan savages, and led to demands that they be made separate and subordinate to the Anglo-European colonists. Colonial authorities and elites thus became convinced that the solution to the "Indian problem" was their segregation into reservations and PRAYING TOWNS, not integration or amalgamation into European communities. Protracted intercultural warfare encouraged colonial lawmakers to levy increasingly harsh restrictions on all Indians, thereby fusing Christian and non-Christian Indians together into a single category because, as one New Englander claimed, "'tis very difficult, unless upon long knowledge, to distinguish Indians from one another." This shift in the way white people distinguished themselves from alien "others" on the basis of religion and culture would blossom into what is best defined as "racism."

The slow evolution from ethnocentrism and group prejudice to segregation and racism was driven by competition among Indians and Europeans for resources, the breakdown of local and regional accommodations among diverse peoples, intercultural warfare, and a growing self-confidence among Europeans in their ability to survive and prosper in the new environment without the assistance of its Native peoples.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—James Bruggeman

## exploration

The first people to explore North America most probably were northeastern Asians who, thousands of years

ago, crossed the land bridge that once linked Asia and North America. When European explorers began arriving in the late 15th century, Indians had no maps to offer them nor any description of the continent as a whole. The Indians had, however, thoroughly settled and explored the Americas, and they had created a system of trails in North America that guided European adventurers and colonists in their attempts to explore and map the continent. In the 16th century Spanish and Spanish-sponsored expeditions began exploring the eastern portion of North America.

The earliest serious French push toward exploration began in 1603 with SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN, the geographer with a party of fur traders. The FUR TRADE remained the main motive for French exploration of North America. Champlain's responsibility was to make maps of the New World, specifically the St. Lawrence River and the Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Martha's Vineyard. Champlain took the lead in French settlement of Canada, founding Port Royal and Quebec. His cooperative attitude toward the ALGONQUIN and HURON Indians eased French colonization and eventually brought Champlain far enough west to see the lake that now bears his name. In 1609 Champlain explored VERMONT, naming it "Les Monts Verts"; later the Green Mountains were settled by English colonists from CONNECTICUT and NEW YORK. In 1615 he became the first European to see the Great Lakes.

Champlain's successors ÉTIENNE BRULÉ and JEAN NICOLET laid claim to this area. It became a center for the French fur trading industry. At the same time, the French began pushing south into Ohio and down the Mississippi River. During the 1670s Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers explored Hudson Bay and sparked the founding of the HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY. In 1673 the Jesuit father Marquette discovered the junction of the Wisconsin and Mississippi Rivers and, with Louis Jolliet, sailed south as far as the Arkansas River. In 1682 RENÉ-ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE sailed all the way to the Gulf of Mexico. He claimed the fertile area at the mouth of the gulf for France, naming it Louisiana in honor of Louis XIV. La Salle and his party were also the first Europeans to see Niagara Falls (1678).

The French opened up the fur trade in the west with explorations down the Missouri River (1712–17) and the Red River (1713). During the 1730s and 1740s Pierre de La Vérendrye and his sons penetrated the interior of North America to the Black Hills of South Dakota, opening the Grand Portage from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods and extending the water route to Lake Winnipeg. Because their interest was in the fur trade and not in permanently settling the land, the French did not build towns or establish governments, nor did they try to drive away the Indians on whose harvesting of pelts their fur trade depended. Instead, they constructed FORTS and trading

posts along the river systems. The conflict between the French and English over claims to the Ohio Valley was the cause of the French and Indian War (SEVEN YEARS' WAR). The English emerged victorious, poised to expand their exploration and settlements toward the west.

Early English exploration of North America was directed toward finding the elusive (and nonexistent) Northwest Passage—a water route across North America to Asia. In 1607 HENRY HUDSON sailed up the Atlantic coast from VIRGINIA following maps made by JOHN SMITH. Hudson's party found the mouth of the Hudson River and followed its course, hoping this might be the way to the west. As they sailed north, however, the river became shallower, and soon after they passed the site on which Albany was later built they gave up the search. A year later, on his last voyage through the icy waters north of Canada, Hudson was set adrift by a rebellious crew.

During the early 1600s the English continued to sail north and eventually planted long-lasting settlements all along the Atlantic coast. Between 1607 and 1638 the British founded seven colonies and thoroughly explored and mapped the rivers and bays of New England. The royal charters of the colonies granted them the authority to expand their territory throughout the land, as far as they were able. As the population grew and the colonists needed more living space, they began gradually to carry out this command. They were attracted by Indian rumors of great waters beyond the mountains, but the Appalachians were a formidable barrier not breached until late in the century.

Gradually, colonists penetrated the interior of the continent seeking living space and fertile farmland rather than mineral treasures. In 1650 Edward Bland and Abraham Wood penetrated the interior of Virginia, reaching the

fork of the Dan and Roanoke Rivers and returning with the news that the interior land was richer and more fertile than the land on the coast. In 1671 Wood commissioned THOMAS BATTS and Robert Fallam to cross the Appalachians in search of the South Sea. They followed the Roanoke River through the Blue Ridge Mountains to the present-day border between Virginia and West Virginia. In 1698 Thomas Welch became the first English person to cross the Mississippi. In 1669 John Lederer reached the summit of the Blue Ridge Mountains. In 1716 Alexander Spotswood blazed a trail to the Shenandoah Valley; many immigrant families in search of farmland would TRAVEL this trail, and by midcentury they had settled the valley. In the 1770s Daniel Boone opened the final gateway into the interior of North America with his Wilderness Road to Kentucky. The Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804 would nearly complete the task of mapping the continent.

Beginning in the 1570s, Spain's desire to convert the inhabitants of the Americas to Catholicism and to bring the Natives under Spanish control led to missionary explorations. Between 1687 and 1711 Jesuit priest Father Eusebio Kino founded MISSIONS throughout southern California, NEW MEXICO, and southern Arizona. In 1741 Russian fur traders began exploring the West in their attempts to extend the fur trade to the Alaskan coast. Danish-born VITUS JONASSEN BERING first sighted the strait that bears his name in that year.

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—Stephanie Muntone



# F



**family life** See MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE.

**Feke, Robert** (1707?–1752?) *portrait painter*

The son of a Baptist preacher, Robert Feke, a notable colonial painter, was born in Oyster Bay, NEW YORK. Only one painting remains from his time there, and it is not until Feke's move to BOSTON in 1741 that he enters the historical record. His early portraits were seen as provocative, although his color choices were considered a bit stiff and rigid. Feke may have studied in England or Europe in the early 1740s, because his style became less staid after these years, and his preference for strong, bright colors, luxurious fabrics, and background landscape settings began to emerge. Many of Feke's younger patrons, tired of the somber tones of artists from earlier generations, found his preference for silver and bright pastels appealing. Feke's career peaked in 1748, when he painted many large-scale single and group portraits of Boston's leading families. About 60 of Feke's works survive, most from this time.

After his success in Boston, Feke moved to PHILADELPHIA, where he did several additional portraits and influenced the early work of JOHN HESSELIUS. The last record of him is on August 26, 1751; he probably died in Bermuda or Barbados.

Feke had an important influence on the development of painting in the colonies. Because there were few professional painters, Feke's innovations attracted particular attention. Having one's likeness captured by such a man was a luxury available to only a very few.

—Victoria C. H. Resnick

**fertility**

Childbearing was an activity that defined women's lives in early America. Reproduction was essential to the survival of the colonies, and most women repeated the two- or three-year cycle of pregnancy, birth, and nursing an aver-

age of eight to 10 times between marriage and menopause. Perhaps one in five women died from causes associated with childbirth, and newborns died at a rate of one in 10. The birth rate was very high: approximately 50 births per 1,000 people (compared to fewer than 15 per 1,000 in the United States today). This rate of reproduction was key to the success of the English colonies.

In the 17th-century Chesapeake region and in New England, native-born women typically married at age 16, younger than did their immigrant mothers. Women generally bore their last children at about age 37, which allowed for two decades of childbearing and led to a completed fertility rate of eight children per family. As the ratio of women to men equalized and as infant MORTALITY rates decreased in the late 17th century, the Euro-American population began to increase naturally.

The growth of the slave population was a factor in the evolution of American SLAVERY. The first few generations of slaves in British mainland America suffered a natural decrease in population as their deaths outnumbered their births. However, by the 1730s the establishment of slave families produced a rapid natural increase in births. This, in turn, contributed to the growth of a native-born, self-reproducing slave CLASS by the end of the colonial period. American-born slaves had higher birth rates and lower death rates than did African-born slaves. The result was an increasingly CREOLE (native-born) slave population and a more balanced male–female ratio. Because the population increase was unusual in a New World slave society, it has been argued that the evolution of a mature slave society consisting of AFRICAN AMERICANS several generations removed from their African origins led to the uniquely American system of slavery.

Compared to Euro-Americans, Native American and African weaning customs generally caused wider intervals between births, because nursing in preindustrial societies tended to inhibit the new mother's fertility. Slaves commonly nursed their babies for up to 30 months, while

Indian mothers sometimes weaned children at age five or six. Both groups sometimes abstained from sex for several years in order to control the spacing of births. Toward the end of the 18th century fertility among Euro-Americans declined sharply to a completed rate of five or six children per family, nearer that of England and France. Increased efforts to limit family size, such as withdrawal during intercourse and prolonged nursing, suggest the advent of a new idea that fertility could, and perhaps should, be controlled.

Among white people less than 3 percent of babies were born outside of marriage. There was little understanding of fertility, and therefore attempts at contraception were often ineffective. Folk MEDICINE prescribed herbal teas and female douches to prevent unsanctioned pregnancies, although coitus interruptus was probably the most commonly used method of contraception. Because of inexact medical methods for determining pregnancy, quickening, or the first perception of fetal movement that occurred during the fourth or early in the fifth month, was considered proof of the existence of life. Before quickening, abortion was common, legal, and culturally accepted; it was used primarily to terminate illegitimate pregnancies rather than to limit family size. After the fetus showed signs of life, abortion without due cause was considered a crime. The most common technique used to abort an unwanted fetus was the ingestion of an abortifacient, an herbal potion that induced miscarriage. Abortifacient brews contained aloë, pennyroyal, or savin, an extract from juniper bushes. Less common and more dangerous was the use of instruments to mechanically abort a pregnancy.

The birthing process in early North America was the domain of women. Facing an often dangerous and dispiriting experience, women gathered to share in and help with birth, led by experienced MIDWIVES. Men were allowed only if no women were available, and the community ritual created female solidarity and spiritual closeness as well as control over a primary rite of passage. Because medical knowledge was limited, midwifery skills were considered as much spiritual as medical, and a supportive group of experienced and caring women must have been reassuring and empowering.

For many in early North America, children were a gift from God and not to be questioned or planned. Childbirth was also God's trial, and deformed or unusual babies or births could be proof of either spiritual worth or failure. The inevitability of fertility and birth, their attendant dangers, as well as the exhausting work of caring for a seemingly endless stream of babies made life difficult for women.

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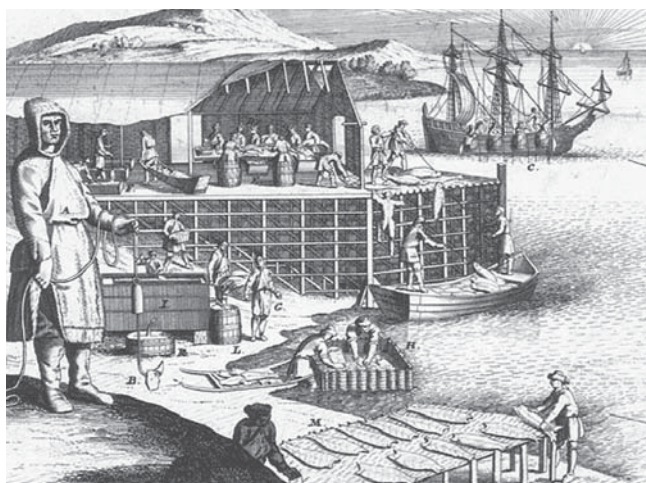
—Deborah C. Taylor

## fishing

Fishing was of great importance in early America. For both NATIVE AMERICANS and European settlers, fish provided a relatively easily assessable FOOD source. Commercial fishing, already important to the ECONOMY of Europe, was also essential to the development of the New England economy.

For Native Americans in the Eastern Woodlands, Great Lakes, and Pacific Northwest, fish were an important source of nutrition and protein. Native peoples took fish with nets, spears, and lines. Along the Atlantic coast they built complex fishing weirs (fish traps) that consisted of stakes driven into shallow water with brush placed between the stakes. Some of these weirs covered areas as large as two acres. The Natives of the Pacific Northwest depended on fish more heavily than people in other regions, from both the ocean and the rivers that interlaced the area. Some peoples of the region, using large dugout canoes, harpoons, and sealskin floats, engaged in whaling.

The fishing methods used by Europeans sometimes determined who made first contact with Native Americans. It is possible that the French, British, and Basques were fishing off the Grand Banks of Newfoundland a decade before Columbus's first voyage. Commercial fishing was a competitive industry, so those who knew of these excellent fishing grounds were not about to share the secret with others. European commercial anglers used two general



Scenes of the French colonial fishing industry in New England and Canada. Fishermen bring in the catch, then salt and dry the fish before shipping it to Europe. (Library of Congress)

methods of fishing. In “wet,” or “green,” fishing, fish were salted immediately after being caught and placed in the ship’s hold. “Dry” fishing, usually used by the English, necessitated going ashore and setting up drying stations. The presence of English MARINERS on shore permitted the early development of trade between the English and Natives. It also likely promoted the spread of European diseases among Native peoples.

In the earliest descriptions of the New World, Europeans commented on the abundance and size of fish. A Dutch minister claimed that one could “catch in one hour as many as ten or twelve [people] can eat,” and the English who extolled the virtues of the New World in colonization tracts also noted the abundance of fish. Fish also served as fertilizer for crops in New England, probably learned from Native Americans.

Fishing became a major component of the New England economy. Indeed, in the early years of settlement, PLYMOUTH and MASSACHUSETTS Bay sought to protect the fishing industry by protesting competition from English commercial anglers. Fishing comprised one-third of New England’s exports to the mother country between the 1680s and the American Revolution.

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—Roger Carpenter

## Flathead Indians

The Flathead Indians lived (and continue to reside) in present-day western Montana. The history of the Flathead illustrates how Native Americans adapted to their environment, how they changed when they came into contact with other Indians, and how their cultures were transformed by the introduction of horses onto the Great Plains and the Columbia Basin.

Europeans sometimes used the term *Flathead* to describe Indians who altered the shape of their skulls by compressing them artificially during infancy, a custom especially popular among peoples of the Northwest Pacific Coast. While some tribes of the region engaged in this practice, the Flathead Indians, ironically, did not. Still, early European traders applied the term to the Flathead because, by contrast to the modified, more pointed skulls of neighboring tribes, the naturally shaped skulls of the Flathead Indians appeared level.

The Flathead lived among a multitude of peoples who inhabited the interior Northwest between the Rocky Mountains and the Cascade Mountains, in the plateau of basins defined by the Columbia and Fraser Rivers. Salish-speaking people, including the Flathead, Pend d’Oreille,

Kalispel, Coeur d’Alene, and Spokane, lived in the northern area of the plateau, while Sahaptin-speaking communities occupied the southern region. The Salish speakers originally migrated from the north, settling along the rivers of the Columbia system. Most remained in the rich salmon areas nearer the Pacific coast, but the Flathead and Pend d’Oreille slowly drifted eastward, reaching their home in Montana approximately 7,000 years ago.

As the Flathead proceeded east, they could no longer depend on catching salmon because waterfalls blocked fish migration from the ocean. Instead, they focused on small game ANIMALS and plants for their food supply. Organized villages headed by chiefs selected by the community characterized the social organization. In contrast to GREAT PLAINS INDIANS, Flathead families changed their affiliation among villages whenever they desired. During winters, people moved to warmer valleys where they constructed earthen-roofed houses, some containing numerous families, which were built partly underground to protect against the cold. In summer, they typically covered poles with mats of bark to create more comfortable dwellings.

The Flathead eventually encountered the Shoshone and other Plains Indians, from whom they learned to hunt buffalo. The Flathead quickly learned to prize these animals, and they began to incorporate products from bison as part of their material culture. They established a half-dozen villages east of the Continental Divide for hunting buffalo, even though stalking bison on foot was a dangerous and difficult venture. A severe smallpox epidemic decimated Flathead villages in the early 18th century, causing them to retreat west of the divide.

Around 1730, the Flathead, having acquired horses from the Shoshone, again began engaging in hunting expeditions onto the plains. However, the more powerful Plains Indians, who controlled more horses and better weapons, limited those forays. The Flathead adjusted by intensifying their dependence on such plants as camas and bitterroot, as well as on smaller game for food, although they continued to pursue buffalo. Many Flathead adopted new cultural patterns that more closely resembled those of the Plains Indians. Some shifted to bison hide tipis as more portable HOUSING to facilitate the mobility necessary for following bison herds. Others abandoned their traditional dress in favor of clothing worn by Plains Indians. Rather than wear long tunics of sheepskin or goatskin, women donned buckskin dresses. Flathead men eschewed the conventional attire of simple long robes in favor of shirts and leggings made from bison. Various ornamentation and feathered headdresses common to Plains Indians also began to make their appearance on Flathead people. By the time Meriwether Lewis and William Clark made contact with the Flathead in 1805, pronounced differences

between them and the other Salish Indians farther west were well established.

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## Florida

Searching for gold and slaves in 1513, Juan Ponce de Leon, the recently deposed governor of Cuba, launched the first organized Spanish venture into what is now the continental United States, in a region the Spanish had named *La Florida*. To the Spanish at that time, *La Florida* was a broad region that encompassed present-day Florida as well as large portions of what is now Georgia and South Carolina. Their major interest in *La Florida* was as a promising place to hunt for slaves. Freebooting slave catchers had in fact raided Florida's Atlantic coast for several years before Ponce's 1513 expedition; as a result, he and his men were driven off by a shower of Ais Indian arrows. Trying his luck on the western side of the peninsula, Ponce fared little better with the Calusas, who forced him to return to Cuba empty-handed. But in 1521, with news of Hernán Cortés's conquest of the Mexica Aztec empire fresh in his mind, Ponce tried again. This time his Florida adventure cost him his life. Wounded by a Calusa arrow, Ponce's men carried him back to Cuba, where, three days later, he died from his wounds. Ponce's death and his failure to find either gold or slaves slaked Spanish interest in *La Florida* for a generation.

When Spanish interest in Florida revived, it was because the route of the Spanish treasure fleets passed from the Gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic Ocean through the Florida Straits. Suddenly, the Atlantic coast of Florida became strategic territory. Thus in 1562, when 150 French Huguenots (Protestants) landed on the northeast coast near present-day Jacksonville, the Spanish took quick action. Led by Jean Ribault, a French naval officer, the expedition was part of a plan by Huguenot merchants to colonize the south Atlantic coast and to create a staging ground for attacks on Spanish galleons. In 1674 the French colonists built Fort Caroline on the bluffs above the St. Johns River. To the Catholic Spanish, Fort Caroline represented both a military and a religious threat because the Huguenot presence promised to "corrupt" Natives with PROTESTANTISM. Determined to maintain their claim on Florida, the Spanish sent Don Pedro Menéndes de Avilés to establish a colony and remove the French. On September 8, 1565, Menéndes and a landing party of nearly 600 settlers and soldiers reclaimed possession of Florida. Located just south of the French colony, Menéndes named the area ST. AUGUSTINE after the bishop of Hippo. Receiving word of the new Spanish settlement, Ribault led the bulk of his

soldiers on board three ships and sailed south to dislodge the Spanish at St. Augustine. Unaware of Ribault's pending assault, Menéndes led his own troops north to obliterate the French presence. Finding Fort Caroline lightly defended in Ribault's absence, Menéndes's troops defeated the French and murdered all of those who survived his assault. Shipwrecked and unaware of Menéndes's assault on Fort Caroline, Ribault and his troops marched north only to be surrounded by Menéndes's army. Greatly outnumbered, the French surrendered and Menéndes's ordered everyone killed, sparing a handful of Catholics, musicians, and artisans, whose skills he needed.

For the Spaniards, the removal of the French created the potential for peace on the peninsula. The only question was how the peninsula's original residents would respond.

Before the Spanish and French arrived, Florida was home to many indigenous groups. Among the many tribes Europeans encountered were the Timucua and Guale in the northeast, the Apalache in the panhandle, and the Calusa and Tequesta across Florida's southern half. Although these peoples spoke different languages, embraced various spiritual beliefs, and maintained distinct cultural traits, many shared similar experiences. Since most tribes lived near or along the water, fish and shellfish provided a reliable source of their protein. In addition, they cultivated corn, beans, and squash. For most Florida tribes, the land allowed for permanent settlement, and seasonal migrations were not necessary. Beyond Florida's contemporary boundaries, Native peoples traded with tribes as far away as the Great Lakes region. Trade goods included copper, soapstone, and quartz crystals, but the most significant exchanges came with the arrival of the Europeans.

Florida's first European settlers lived in a region occupied by the Timucuan tribes. Although speaking a similar language, they were not united as a confederacy and intertribal warfare was common. Each tribe was usually led by a male chief or *cacique*, while a lesser chief headed each village. Both the great and the lesser chiefs inherited the power of authority. However, unlike in Europe, power came through the female line of kinship. When the Spaniards first encountered the Timucuans, they determined to alter this route to power. The Spaniards, like other Europeans, accepted their system of MONARCHY, but took issue with the idea of matrilineal inheritance. This was only one among many areas in which the Spanish attempted to change the traditions of indigenous peoples.

Conflicts frequently arose when Spaniards tried to use force or coercion to transform Natives. While the Spanish challenged certain aspects of all tribal life and often treated Native Americans as potential threats, the colonists were deeply concerned with the state of the Natives' souls. Wherever the Spanish established a colony, they made great efforts to convert Indians to Catholicism. To meet

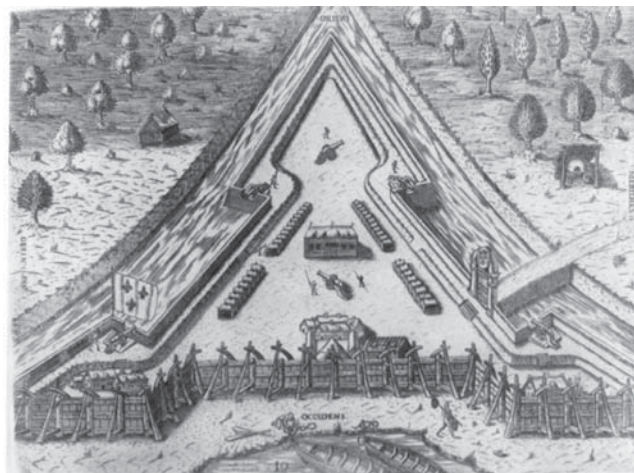


this goal, the Spanish built a significant chain of MISSIONS across the southeastern frontier.

Among the first people to settle Florida were a group of Jesuit missionaries. Their efforts in Florida marked the first Jesuit missionary work in all of Spanish America. Between 1566 and 1572, they constructed 10 missions in the region. These early endeavors included sites along CHESAPEAKE BAY in present-day VIRGINIA, the coast of present-day SOUTH CAROLINA, and into the southern lands of the Tequesta near what is now Miami. Although the JESUITS harbored ambitious plans for converting the continent's "heathens," most Indians did not concur, and they often resisted the missionaries with armed aggression. Fighting between the missionaries and Indians placed a significant strain on the colony's already scant resources, and, in 1572, the Jesuits left Florida, having failed to meet their goals of conversion. Still, the first missionaries helped solidify Spanish claims to additional lands beyond St. Augustine. The Spanish continued to hope that they could establish a significant Catholic base in Florida.

Missionaries returned to Florida in 1595, but instead of Jesuits, FRANCISCANS were selected to manage the Natives' souls. Unlike the Jesuits, the Franciscans started in areas close to St. Augustine and worked their way outward into the interior of Florida and along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. Their missions were often placed inside existing villages, and they normally did not attempt to create new towns, as the Jesuits had. By 1655 Franciscan activities reached their peak in Florida when more than 70 missionaries counted more than 20,000 Indian converts. Although the Franciscans enjoyed greater success converting Indians, this was not accomplished without conflict. Periodically, missionaries were forcibly removed from their assigned tribes. Nevertheless, the missionaries' success enlarged Spain's sphere of influence across the region. While valuable, however, this influence did not guarantee the Spanish expansion of Florida's boundaries.

When the British settled JAMESTOWN in 1607, the Spanish had ample reason to be concerned. Virginia slowly became a viable colony, whereas colonial Florida consisted of little more than St. Augustine, several small military installations, and scattered Catholic missions. Spanish Florida did not truly expand until 1698 when Pensacola was founded along the western panhandle. The creation of Pensacola was a defensive move, however, and came in response to French attempts at colonizing the Gulf coast. Thus began a pattern the Spanish would repeat throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. When forced, the Spanish tried to expand, but, generally, they could only watch as their claims were taken by other European powers. Although Spain sought to maintain its presence in the region, Florida's lack of material wealth undermined its efforts.



A 1591 engraving of Fort Caroline, Florida, by Theodor de Bry, after a painting by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues (*Library of Congress*)

The absence of mines, extensive infrastructure, or an economic base limited settlement of Florida. To most outsiders, Florida was a wasteland of swamps, mosquitoes, and hostile Natives. Ironically, other Europeans were even more threatening than Indians. British forces frequently attacked St. Augustine, pirates burned and looted the city numerous times in the 17th and 18th centuries, and Spanish policies of accepting runaway slaves in Florida often provoked military attacks and reprisals. Thus, Florida was a region the Spanish held but could not populate, while the British thought the peninsula a logical extension of their own coastal empire. Nonetheless, even though Florida was unable to expand, Spanish officials deemed it important enough to defend.

Attacks by privateers proved that St. Augustine was a vulnerable outpost, and, accordingly, Spanish officials decided that substantial defenses were necessary for the colony's survival. Beginning in 1672, the Spanish started building a masonry fort called Castillo de San Marcos. This large coquina fort demonstrated Spanish will to protect passing ships carrying specie from other colonies as they followed the Gulf Stream on the way to Spain. Furthermore, the fort posed a considerable challenge to would-be attackers, although it never proved so threatening as to guarantee peace in Florida. The central tension between Spain's inadequate settlement and British desires to expand created considerable fear and anxiety along the southeastern frontier.

Throughout the 17th century, British settlers continually moved south, along with a few French traders and colonists, ignoring Spanish claims of sovereignty and moving across West Florida. When the British founded GEORGIA in 1733, Spain's loss of Florida appeared inevitable. Still, Spain

exerted some influence on frontier politics. The Spanish policy on offering runaway slaves asylum in St. Augustine encouraged Georgia to maintain its own ban on SLAVERY until 1755. Ultimately, the Spanish lost Florida because of the SEVEN YEARS' WAR rather than from an attack by any British colony.

In the 1763 TREATY OF PARIS, which ended the war, Spain's holdings on the continent drastically changed. The Spanish gained French lands west of the Mississippi, but the British took possession of East Florida and completed their control of the Atlantic coast. Surveying their new possession, the British found that Florida offered little potential since its few towns were abandoned by the Spanish and, according to one observer, the area lay in a "state of Nature . . . not an acre of land planted in the country and nobody to work or at work." Still, St. Augustine's fort provided additional military support for Britain's coastal communities, and its fertile inland carried the potential for agricultural wealth. The British were never able to realize such riches, however, since in 1784 Florida was returned to the Spanish Empire. When the American Revolution began, the Spanish in LOUISIANA saw an opportunity to recover their former territory. Although the Spanish successfully fought the British in West Florida in 1799, they regained Florida through diplomacy, not military action. In the 1783 Treaty of Paris, the British lost all the land they received from their victories in the Seven Years' War, and Florida reverted to Spanish ownership.

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—Shane Runyon and Ronald Schultz

## food

Survival in the New World for all people depended on their ability to adapt their diets to new foods. Europeans, NATIVE AMERICANS, and Africans encountered one another on a basic level, borrowing food growing and gathering techniques, recipes, and tastes. In fact, contact between Europe and the Americas fundamentally changed diet and nutrition worldwide, as the so-called Columbian Exchange carried new foods both ways across the Atlantic and around the world.

The first Europeans to visit the Americas often exaggerated the easy abundance of food compared to conditions on their crowded continent. After a period of adjustment to new tastes and techniques of procurement, colonists generally enjoyed a healthier diet and longer lifespan than did their contemporaries in Europe. Native Americans had developed more than 200 varieties of maize, or Indian corn, a crop high in yield and nutri-

tion, especially when planted the traditional way, together with squash and beans. Maize became the colonial staple once the newcomers learned how to cultivate and prepare the grain. Europeans were astonished by the bounty of the woods, from which Native peoples harvested nuts, berries (some "2 inches around!"), root vegetables, herbs, birds, and game. The sea seethed with hundreds of varieties of fish and shellfish, including lobsters said to be five feet long. Europeans learned a host of skills from Indians, including methods of hunting and FISHING, tapping maple trees and preparing syrup, stewing beans, and parching and grinding corn for meal.

Along with maize, beans, and squash, Europeans exported other Native American foods that enriched and transformed diets around the world, including peanuts, manioc, pumpkin, chile peppers, pineapples, cocoa, and turkeys. Other food, such as tomatoes and potatoes, did not enter the colonial diet until they first became accepted in England. New World crop cultivation in Europe, Asia, and AFRICA improved health, lengthened lives, and resulted in a population boom in northern Europe that, ironically, provided waves of immigrants to the Americas in later centuries.

Native Americans farmed their staple crops, gathered plants, hunted game, and fished in a seasonal cycle that depended on the diversity and balance of their ENVIRONMENT. Some Europeans misunderstood the Indian way of gearing their diet to seasonal products and considered them "paupers in the land of plenty." Eventually, Native Americans adapted their diets and lifestyles to include imported Old World foods, such as wheat, barley, carrots, peas, apples, and grapes, and used new technologies like iron cooking pots and hunting rifles. European livestock made an even greater impact on the American landscape and diet. Colonists, who preferred a diet heavy in meat and who harnessed animal power, imported and bred cows, horses, sheep, goats, chickens, and hogs. These hooved creatures and fowl reproduced rapidly, reshaping Indian lands and lifestyles. Indeed, pigs became so plentiful in VIRGINIA that, according to a European correspondent of the time, Virginians themselves became "hoggish in their temper . . . and prone to grunt." Honeybees, called "English flies," added a new sweetener to the American diet. European settlers, unused to the water, brewed home-made ale, "small beer," and cider as a daily beverage. They made rum from molasses and bourbon from corn and rye, which they drank and traded with Native people.

Euro-American housewives used spices liberally (in part to mask food spoilage) in their stews, hashes, and soups and cooked in large iron pots over the hearth fire. They preserved foods by pickling, salting, smoking, and drying. Meals were plain and simple in farm kitchens and more elaborate in wealthier homes. Colonial style for all

classes favored tables groaning with large quantities of meat and fish dishes. Milk, cheese, and beef were not common on colonial tables until the early 18th century. Cooks adapted recipes from their home countries, such as the NEW HAMPSHIRE housewife who created English mince pies from bear meat, dried pumpkin, maple sugar, and a corn crust. A traditional English pudding became “Indian pudding,” made with ground corn, maple syrup, and eggs. Affluent colonists appreciated the quantity of food available, but some bemoaned the quality of American foods, longing for their accustomed (and, they thought, superior) European fare.

Although they possessed few cookbooks, southern plantation families may have enjoyed a more varied diet than northerners. African slaves did much of the cooking in plantation kitchens and introduced new foods, especially vegetables, into the American diet. Slave owners provided a high starch, low protein diet barely adequate to sustain black field workers, but the impressive natural increase in the slave population suggests supplemental nourishment. African customs as well as their meager rations caused slaves to be frugal and innovative in their cooking, making use, for example, of many parts of an animal or vegetable. Africans brought rice, kidney and lima beans, nuts, okra, yams, sesame, sorghum, and watermelons (called August ham) to the Americas and cultivated these when possible to enhance their diets. Some slaves raised chickens, caught fish, and used the leftover parts of their masters’ pigs, frying the small intestines into chitlins. They introduced traditional African dishes, such as barbecue, cooked nutritious vegetable greens in “pot likker,” and invented dishes from corn, such as hominy grits and hush puppies.

**Further reading:** Sandra L. Oliver, *Food in Colonial and Federal America* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2005).

—Deborah C. Taylor

## forests

When European colonists began to settle in North America, forests covered almost half of the continent. A continuous hardwood forest stretched from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi River. These forests supported diverse Native Americans who, in turn, shaped the woodlands. Although forests provided an immense source of raw material, European colonists eventually viewed them primarily as an obstacle to a properly developed landscape of expanding settlements and agriculture. Thus, forests helped fashion everyday life and gave settlers a common cultural project in domesticating the wilderness.

Indians relied on forests for their survival and for various aspects of their cultures. Forests influenced Indian reli-

gious beliefs (Iroquois spirits inhabited “false-face” masks carved from living trees) and contextualized their identity in relation to other creatures. Nevertheless, like Europeans, Indians imposed their own will on forests. They harvested trees for a wide range of purposes, including building construction, weapons, canoes, footwear, tools, and firewood. During thousands of years, Indians dramatically shaped the appearance and composition of forests. They burned forests regularly in order to clear out underbrush and promote the growth of berry-producing plants and forage for game ANIMALS. They used fire as a hunting tool and in clearing land for small-scale, highly productive agriculture. This periodic burning produced an open, parklike forest in much of eastern North America.

Trees furnished the essential building material in the early colonies, and lumber quickly became a marketable commodity. Colonists fashioned wood into furniture, utensils, tools, and barrels. They built ships, buildings, plank roads, and fences. Trees provided naval stores (turpentine and pitch) and ship masts. They were so important that the British and various colonial governments limited the numbers and types of trees that could be cut, reserving the best white pines with a “broad arrow” mark, although such restrictions generally proved ineffective. Perhaps the greatest use of wood was for fuel, burned to heat homes, cook, and power nascent industrial practices such as blacksmithing. Ashes, too, were a resource, used for fertilizer and soap making, and potash became a major New England export. European colonists constructed their towns and their society with forest products.

In the course of colonization, Europeans had a far greater impact on the forests than did Native peoples. In an effort to transform a “wild” landscape into a pastoral one, they tried to replace forests with farms and wildlife with livestock. Exotic animals, most notably pigs, were turned loose to range in the woods. In clearing large fields, farmers chopped down trees or killed them by girdling the bark. Stumps were burned or allowed to rot and then rooted out. This clearing process, along with timber harvests, caused localized scarcities of wood and significant changes in the environment. While forest resources allowed Europeans to prosper in North America, the rapid development of these resources had important consequences. By the mid-18th century, deforestation resulted in soil depletion and erosion, watershed damage, a decline in wildlife, and increasing timber prices.

**Further reading:** William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983); Michael Williams, *Americans and Their Forests: A Historical Geography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

—Robert C. Gardner



## Fort Detroit

Also known as Fort Pontchartrain du Détroit, Fort Detroit was established in 1701 by Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac. Situated between the Detroit and the Savoyard Rivers, the fort originally enclosed 200 square feet with a 12-foot-high stockade of logs and towers at each corner. The French built the fort to counter growing British influence in the fur trade, but Cadillac also saw it as an opportunity to establish a permanent French settlement. Following the French feudal system, with himself as landlord, Cadillac gave out land grants consisting of lots within the fort and 75 ribbon farms (long thin riverfront parcels) outside the fortification. He also built a church, St. Anne's, inside the fort. By 1760 some 2,000 French residents lived at the fort, and at least as many Indians, including the HURON, Miami, Ottawa, and Chippewa, set up villages nearby.

As a consequence of the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, the French surrendered Fort Detroit to the British in 1760. Unhappy to see the French ousted, and alienated by British administration, local Native Americans united under the leadership of Pontiac against the British. Indians first tried to take the fort by surprise on May 7, 1763, by smuggling weapons under their blankets into a council meeting. British major Henry Gladwin, however, had been forewarned and thwarted the attempt with a strong show of force. Pontiac instead besieged the fort itself. The British withstood the six-month siege with supplies brought from Niagara by ship. Until the end of the Revolutionary War, British forces controlled Fort Detroit, regaining it again from the Americans for a short time during the War of 1812.

**Further reading:** Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York: Knopf, 2000); Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).

—Robert C. Gardner

## Fort Mose (1738–1763)

Located two miles north of ST. AUGUSTINE, Florida, Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, or Fort Mose, housed the first free African-American community in the present-day United States. Established and sanctioned by Florida governor Manuel de Montiano in 1738, Fort Mose was a sanctuary for slaves who successfully escaped their bondage in British colonies. After entering Florida, escaped slaves earned their freedom if they converted to Catholicism and promised to defend the Spanish territory. Once accepted into the Spanish colony, these African-American slaves were settled in Fort Mose, where they were required to join or support the black militia. Led

by former slaves, the militia served as St. Augustine's first line of defense.

The Spanish policy of offering asylum to runaway bondpeople did not reflect an enlightened policy on slave labor. The Spanish in Florida were not against SLAVERY but instead felt the threat of a growing BRITISH EMPIRE. As SOUTH CAROLINA's power grew and British settlers moved into GEORGIA, the Spanish used the British dependence on slavery as a weapon. By offering runaway slaves freedom, the Spanish hoped to inspire massive slave revolts in the British colonies and thus eliminate the growing British threat. This goal nearly became a reality in 1739 when slaves revolted at Stono, South Carolina. After successfully defeating their white owners, the slave leaders of the STONO REBELLION planned to flee to Florida and freedom. In part, this rebellion precipitated a British retaliatory attack on St. Augustine in 1740. One of the first areas to be attacked was Fort Mose. When the fort fell to British forces, the African militia moved into the city and joined the larger garrison; by all accounts, they fought bravely.

For those who gained their freedom in Florida, life at Fort Mose was difficult. Wetlands and a constructed moat isolated the fort from the rest of the community. Consequently, Fort Mose was one of the first segregated communities. While its primary purpose was the maintenance of a militia, it was also home to the soldiers' families. For women and other noncombatants, employment was possible in St. Augustine. However, a constantly weak ECONOMY forced most to remain inside the fort. Although survival was often difficult, residents at least were not in bondage.

For many British slaves Fort Mose was a symbol of freedom. Although the policy of asylum increased tension along the Florida frontier, Spanish officials typically favored the rights of escaped slaves. In 1759 a census of Mose found the fort housed only 67 residents. While few in number, its influence on the region's political climate was considerable. When the British took possession of Florida in 1763, the residents of the fort were evacuated, and the former slaves were moved to Cuba as free Spaniards.

See also SPANISH COLONIES; SPANISH IMMIGRATION.

**Further reading:** Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Shane Runyon, "Fort Mose: The Free African Community and Militia of Spanish St. Augustine," M.A. thesis (Montana State University, 1999).

—Shane Runyon

## Fort Necessity

Fort Necessity was an aptly named structure erected in 1754 by VIRGINIA provincial soldiers under the command



of an inexperienced George Washington. The Virginians were the vanguard of a larger provincial army that intended to oppose the French occupation of the Ohio River forks (present-day Pittsburgh). Originally built as a storehouse, the small stockade at Fort Necessity became a makeshift military fort on July 3, 1754, when Washington and his 400 Virginians retreated to the site after attacking and killing a small French detachment in the forest at nearby Jumonville Glenn. A significantly larger force of French and Indians from Fort Duquesne reached the area during the early morning hours and laid siege to Fort Necessity throughout the day. The result was disaster. The fort occupied a shallow valley surrounded by wooded hills, which allowed the French and Indians to fire downhill into the small palisade with little obstruction. After an eight-hour firefight in a raging thunderstorm, during which time Fort Necessity began to fill with water, Washington surrendered. In exchange for the freedom of his troops, Washington signed a surrender agreement written in French, which he could not read. The document blamed Washington for the battle at Fort Necessity and provided much of the impetus for the British decision to send an army under General EDWARD BRADDOCK to the Ohio forks the following year, which in turn marked the beginning of the SEVEN YEARS' WAR in North America.

**Further reading:** Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York: Knopf, 2000).

—Daniel P. Barr

## forts

Forts were central to all colonization efforts in North America because organized violence against Europeans by other Europeans and by Indians was common in the New World. Indeed, a fort was usually the first building constructed by a new colony. NATIVE AMERICANS like the PEQUOT, although lacking European engineering skills, also produced palisades and forts for defense against both other tribes and European invaders.

While the North American colonial era coincided with the great age of fortification in Europe, colonial forts rarely approached the great masonry piles that dominated the European landscape and mindset. Instead, colonial forts tended to be more rudimentary, constructed most often of wood or earth. Because forts provided protection from cannon bombardment, one major reason colonial forts never achieved the size and strength of their European counterparts was that they did not face comparable threats. Artillery pieces of the power routinely used in Europe could not be transported through the North American wilderness. The largest colonial forts, like the massive fortifications of

Louisbourg protecting the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, were on the coasts because they might encounter heavy guns mounted on ships.

Forts provided both tactical and operational advantages. The most common weapons included the bow and arrow and various personal gunpowder firearms. Loading, aiming, and firing these weapons generally required a person to stand upright, thus exposing himself to enemy fire. A shooter with protection, such as that provided by the walls of a fort, enjoyed a considerable advantage over his opponent. Forts provided secure depots for supplies, protected places for military forces to rest and recover, and a place for a defeated force to retreat. An advancing enemy encountering a fort had to either detail sufficient forces to besiege the garrison, thus weakening the advance, or else bypass the fort, risking an enemy sally in their rear. Forts also provided safety for noncombatants during raids.

Many forts, especially those of the French, served economic as well as military purposes. Trading posts were established within forts, and the garrison of a fort could ensure the safety of nearby traders. The security provided by a fort attracted settlers and traders to the area, and villages, towns, and finally cities often developed on the sites of forts.

Finally, forts served a political purpose, which was sometimes more important than their military usefulness. Establishing a fort legitimized a claim to the surrounding area far more strongly than any other method except populating the region. The English and French disputed ownership of the Ohio River Valley and associated regions for years, but when the French began establishing forts in the region, the English demanded their immediate removal. Fighting broke out shortly thereafter, setting the stage for the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. One particular location exemplifies the political and economic powers of forts. One English aim in the war was to eliminate the French Fort Duquesne, built on a point in western PENNSYLVANIA where the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers meet to form the Ohio River, a strategically valuable spot. The legitimizing effect forts had on a territorial claim demanded an immediate response from the English if they hoped to prevent the French from consolidating their hold on the region. Once the British forced the French to abandon Fort Duquesne, they built Fort Pitt on the same spot, which eventually became the city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

From the earliest efforts at colonization, through the end of the Seven Years' War, and into the Revolutionary Era, forts were central to the lives of colonists. Forts provided economic and political benefits to their possessor as well as operational and tactical military advantages.

See also FORT NECESSITY.

**Further reading:** Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York: Knopf, 2000).

—Grant Weller

### Fort William Henry Massacre (1757)

The British built Fort William Henry in 1755 at the foot of Lake George, where it blocked French access to the Hudson River Valley and posed a threat to the French settlements of Montreal and Quebec. On August 6, 1757, during the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 8,500 French and Indians under Louis Joseph, marquis de Montcalm, laid siege to the fort and its 2,000 military and civilian inhabitants. Within three days the garrison surrendered. According to the terms offered to Lt. Col. George Monro, the French took most of the military stores, but the troops were permitted to depart with the honors of war, carrying their muskets and their baggage.

Many NATIVE AMERICANS with Montcalm felt betrayed by these terms, because they had canoed long distances to join the assault; their only pay was to be in the form of martial trophies because plunder (a customary spoil of war) was now denied to them. On August 9 some Indians invaded the fort's rum stores, then went to the hospital, where they killed and scalped a number of patients. Scalps were also taken from corpses in the cemetery, thus spreading SMALLPOX among the Indians.

The following morning the anxious English departed without waiting for the promised French escort. Within a short time Indians attacked them, murdering between 69 and 184 people, seizing the property of others, and holding still others for future ransom. Montcalm and a detachment of French regulars eventually rescued about 400 people and took them to safety at Fort Edward. The massacre became a rallying cry for the British during the Seven Years' War.

**Further reading:** Ian K. Steele, *Betrayals: Fort William Henry and the "Massacre"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

—Joseph J. Casino

### Franklin, Ann Smith (1696–1763) *printer*

Native Bostonian Ann Smith married James Franklin in 1723 during his struggle for freedom of the press. In 1727 the Franklins moved their family to NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, where James became the first printer in the colony. When James died in 1735, Ann took over the business. Presumably her children assisted, as both her daughters were adept typesetters. Typesetting requires dexterity rather than strength, so this could be done by women

without risk to their femininity. Although her son James (trained by his uncle Benjamin Franklin) assumed control after reaching his maturity in 1748, mother and son billed jointly for the next 10 years. After her son's death in 1762, Ann returned to work. Clearly a skilled craftswoman in addition to her newspaper and many other works, Franklin also did much of the official printing for the Rhode Island General Assembly, including the *Acts and Laws of 1745*. The loss of a husband usually meant economic hardship for the family. By becoming the first female printer in New England, Ann Franklin safeguarded her family's assets and security.

**Further reading:** Elaine Forman Crane, *Ebb Tide in New England: Women, Seaports, and Social Change, 1630–1800* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998).

—Victoria C. H. Resnick

### Franklin, Deborah Read (1705–1774)

*businessperson*

Born in Pennsylvania in 1705, Deborah Read lived the typical life of a colonial girl in the Middle Colonies. She is remembered primarily as the common-law wife of Benjamin Franklin and the mother of prominent PHILADELPHIA patriot Sarah Franklin Bache, who garnered support for the Revolutionary cause and nursed Continental troops in Philadelphia during the American Revolution.

Benjamin Franklin's private life was very complicated. Benjamin and Deborah met briefly when he arrived in Philadelphia, but their relationship faltered when Franklin moved temporarily to London. Deborah married, but her husband abandoned her. Meanwhile, Benjamin had an illegitimate child, William. Benjamin and Deborah became married by common law on September 1, 1730, in part because Deborah technically was still married to her first husband. In addition, because Benjamin was a Deist (that is, he believed in a divine Creator but did not subscribe to an established religion), their marriage was recognized as a common law marriage—English custom recognized the union if the couple lived together for a number of years and treated each other as husband and wife. Their marriage lasted until Deborah's death in 1774. Deborah bore the burden of Franklin's long absences from home and often ran his Philadelphia stationary business while he was away tending to the affairs of the emerging nation. Besides raising William, Deborah had two children, a son who died at age four and Sarah, who survived both her parents. Deborah's portrait was painted by artist Benjamin Wilson in 1758 and now hangs in the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY in Philadelphia.

—Paula Smith-Hawkins

**Frelinghuysen, Theodorus Jacobus** (1691–1747?)  
*religious leader*

A leader of the GREAT AWAKENING in NEW JERSEY and born in present-day Germany near the Dutch border, Frelinghuysen studied at the University of Lingon. The university, a hotbed of pietism, emphasized godly living and fervor over scholasticism. Frelinghuysen would remain a pietist for the rest of his life.

Ordained in 1715, Frelinghuysen served locally before accepting a call to become pastor to five congregations of Dutch Reformed churches in New Jersey under the mistaken impression that they were located in Germany. He immigrated in 1719 with his schoolteacher and friend, Jacobus Schuurman. Frelinghuysen immediately challenged the local clergy. He opposed the Lord's Prayer for being too formal, restricted Communion to those who showed visible signs of spiritual rebirth, and upset the rich by sermonizing that the most faithful people often were poor and unimportant. When Frelinghuysen excommunicated his opponents, he initiated a struggle between orthodoxy and pietism. In 1725 Frelinghuysen's opponents issued a long *Klagte* (complaint) and tried to enlist the aid of traditionalist Dutch Reformed clergy in silencing him. Frelinghuysen, supported by his congregations, invoked the principle of congregational polity, which places all authority in the individual church. His more traditional colleagues resisted his advocacy of greater parish autonomy, although the pietists eventually prevailed.

Frelinghuysen was accused of having a homosexual relationship with Schuurman, and the two men eventually married sisters, in part to end criticism. Frelinghuysen's date of death is unknown; some theorize that he died during one of his struggles with mental illness. Frelinghuysen's evangelical fervor and itinerancy contributed significantly to the Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies. GILBERT TENNENT often shared Frelinghuysen's pulpit, JONATHAN EDWARDS admired him, and GEORGE WHITEFIELD asserted that Frelinghuysen inspired the movement.

—Victoria C. H. Resnick

**French and Indian War** See SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

**French colonies**

During the period 1585–1763, the French established colonies in North America stretching from the Maritime Provinces of present-day Canada, up the St. Lawrence River, through the Great Lakes region, and down the Mississippi to its mouth in LOUISIANA. Although the French settlers were never as populous as their British counterparts, they made up for their limited numbers by establishing alliances with many Indian nations. They realized that through trade

and diplomacy they could maintain their influence among NATIVE AMERICANS who lived in the interior of the country. In addition to establishing strong trading relations and military alliances, the French also relied on missionaries, notably the JESUITS, to convert Indians to the Catholic faith. In this way, the French government maintained good relations with Indian people, but at the expense of the missionary societies rather than the French Crown. This three-part strategy of trade, alliance, and conversion allowed the French to maintain their position in North America until the early 1760s, when the British defeated the French and their Indian allies in the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. By 1763 the French gave up their claims to North America in the Treaty of Paris.

***Fish, Fur, and Exploration***

The French initially arrived in North America in the 16th century when French and Basque fishermen began to fish off the Grand Banks, an area rich in cod southeast of Newfoundland. Some vessels landed on the shore to dry their fish, and Europeans interacted with Indians in the region for the first time. These meetings were characterized by brief trading sessions in which Europeans exchanged copper or iron tools for furs. In the 1530s and 1540s Jacques Cartier made three voyages between Europe and Canada, hoping to find a lucrative gold or silver mine in the woods of Canada. After a series of conflicts with the Indians (often referred to as the St. Lawrence Iroquoian), who lived on the St. Lawrence River, Cartier ceased exploring the river, and French attempts to inhabit the region ground to a halt.

***Tadoussac and the First Settlements***

For the next 60 years there were no serious French attempts to occupy North America. This hiatus ended in 1598, when Mesgouez de la Roche, a nobleman from Breton, received a renewed commission from King Henry IV as lieutenant general in New France. The title allowed La Roche to build FORTS, grant lands, and make laws. In addition, his position gave him monopoly power over the lucrative FUR TRADE. The following year, partly due to some resentment of La Roche's monopoly by French MERCHANTS, other traders were granted licenses as well. Pierre Chauvin was given a 10-year license to build a fur trading post at Tadoussac, a traditional ALGONQUIN and Montagnais trading area at the confluence of the Saguenay and St. Lawrence Rivers. The post represented one of the first attempts at permanent French settlement in the New World, but it would not last long as a year-round post. The harsh weather on the exposed point compelled the would-be settlers to return to France after the first winter. In the ensuing years the French returned to the region seasonally to trade with Native Americans in the area rather than inhabiting

the area all year. In 1603 Pierre de Gua, sieur de Monts, received the title of vice-admiral in Acadia, consisting of most of the Canadian Maritimes and the coast of MAINE. He established Port Royal in Nova Scotia, although it, too, was an early failure, abandoned by 1607.

### *Era of Champlain*

One of the first French officials to realize the importance of fostering good relations with Native Americans was SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN. Although he initially believed that settlement on the islands was superior to colonizing the interior of Canada, he began to envision the development of the interior as the most promising prospect for the French. Champlain allied himself in 1608 with the Montagnais and Algonquin inhabitants of the St. Lawrence area and thereby gained better access to the mainland fur trade. An experienced cartographer and explorer, Champlain knew the region as well as any European, and he chose a strategically located point where the St. Lawrence River narrows to establish a fort. From this site French cannons and firearms could intercept either IROQUOIS or European competitors in the lucrative beaver fur trade. Here, Champlain established Quebec, which would become the center of French political, economic, and religious life. With two strategic positions, at Tadoussac and Quebec, and with the promise of good trading relations with local Indians, the French seemed poised to maintain a successful colony.

Cementing his alliance with the Montagnais, HURON, and Algonquin, Champlain joined them on a raid against the Iroquois, their long-time enemy who inhabited most of what is now NEW YORK State. On July 30, 1609, Champlain and his allies defeated a group of Iroquois on the shores of the lake that bears Champlain's name. The move helped solidify the French relationship with the Indians living north of Iroquois territory, but it caused much resentment among the Iroquois themselves. Furthermore, the northern tribes were receiving French firearms, metal for arrow points, copper kettles, and other trade goods. As the Iroquois became excluded from trading in European goods (especially firearms and arrows), their animosity toward the French grew. Although Iroquois-French relations would vacillate throughout the colonial period, the Iroquois often adopted an anti-French position, caused in part by their exclusion from French trade.

Although there were very few French settlers along the St. Lawrence River, France had established a trade network and military alliances with the northern Indians in addition to securing Tadoussac and Quebec, crucial economic and military positions. Despite these alliances, the French colonies were precarious through the 1630s. King Louis XIII lacked the capital and interest to fund adequately the remote colonies, so the Crown attempted to use private corporations to support the migration of

French Catholic settlers to the New World. The most prominent of these was the Company of One Hundred Associates, which was given large land grants in exchange for agreeing to move 4,000 French settlers to the New World. Although these land grants were designed to attract farmers to New France, the difficulty of farming, the lack of a cash crop, and the harsh winters tended to stifle immigration from France.

The company struggled from the outset. In 1629 the English captured Quebec but eventually returned it to the French in 1632 in the Treaty of St-Germain-en-Laye. Upon its return, Champlain was appointed governor of New France. At the time the population numbered only about 100 permanent settlers, the vast majority of whom lived in or around Quebec. By 1640 the population had grown only slightly, with approximately 300 settlers in addition to 29 Jesuit priests and 53 soldiers. In the same year the Isle of Montreal was granted to the Compagnie du Saint Sacrement, a mission settlement greatly influenced by the Jesuits, which was designed to be a more religiously oriented village than commercial Quebec. One conflict that divided Montreal and Quebec was their perception of the ALCOHOL trade with the Indians. Traders often used alcohol to get Indian trading partners drunk and thereby negotiate favorable trading terms, yet the more religiously minded settlers, and especially the Catholic missionaries, vehemently opposed trading alcohol to Indians. This issue helped hasten the founding of Montreal. Part of their intention in making the village a beacon of Catholic piety was to attract western Indians. For its part, Montreal (or Ville-Marie, as it was originally called) maintained its religious orientation, and its population grew to more than 600 by the 1660s.

### *Missionaries*

One of the most important aspects of the French settlement of North America was the use of missionary societies both to maintain relations with Native Americans and to fund the colonies. The most influential of the missionaries were the Jesuits, a relatively wealthy and well-organized society that had the financial resources and abilities to spread Christianity among the Indians. The French Crown lacked the capital to support expensive TRAVEL into the interior and the giving of gifts to Indians, according to the norms of woodland diplomacy. In exchange for land grants to build colleges, schools, and hospitals and the right to convert Indians to Christianity, the Jesuits acted on behalf of the Crown among Indian peoples, tying the tribes to France by means of religious alliances. Although this was effective, often the Jesuits' perspective on the best interests of their Indian converts overshadowed the demands of French governmental officials, causing conflict between the secular leaders of the colony and the priests.



Of all the French, the Jesuits had some of the most profound effects on Indian peoples. In the 1630s Father Paul Le Jeune formulated the idea to establish permanent, sedentary MISSIONS. Because the Algonquin and Montagnais led a seminomadic lifestyle, they were often hunting, FISHING, or moving between villages, making it difficult for the Jesuits to instruct them in the Catholic faith. Before the 1630s missionaries traveled with Indian peoples and attempted to win converts while following Indian subsistence patterns. Le Jeune believed that if the Indians adopted European-style HOUSING and an agricultural ECONOMY, they would be more accepting of Catholicism as well. Although most Montagnais initially resisted Le Jeune's efforts, the increasing threat of Iroquois raids, which grew more frequent in the late 1630s and 1640s, convinced some Indians that living near the French would be a wise economic and military move.

The sedentary mission of Sillery became the model for other mission villages throughout Canada. The migration to the missions precipitated numerous conflicts within the Montagnais and Algonquin communities. Those who accepted Christianity were favored by the Jesuits and French officials, while traditional Indians were often excluded from positions of power in the missionary governments established by the priests. Not surprisingly, this led to numerous conflicts between the two factions. This pattern of Christian and traditional factions was mirrored in many of the other mission villages as well. The Sillery mission, like many traditional Indian villages, was decimated by epidemics of European diseases. The Indian population of Sillery gradually gave way to French settlers, and by 1663 the village was no longer an active mission. Similar Jesuit missions emerged at Odanak, Kahnawake, St. François de Sales, and other locations that lasted into the 18th century, and some continue to exist as Native villages today. Missions not only altered subsistence patterns by increasing Indian dependence on European trade goods, but they also undermined Native religions, which were directly attacked in the mission villages.

### ***Colbert and New France***

Political changes in Europe greatly affected the colonial effort in the Americas. By the 1660s young King Louis XIV accepted his full regal duties and began a reign characterized by a consolidation of power in the Crown and increased control over his kingdom. His agent of centralization in the colonies was Minister of the Marine Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who fulfilled the mercantilist goals of the king. Colbert sought to open markets in BOSTON to French trade, make peace with the Iroquois, who had been a constant threat to French habitants, and rein in the Jesuits and make them subservient to the Crown. Although good relations with the English were never developed, Colbert succeeded in making a temporary peace with the Iroquois between 1665

and 1685, and he limited the power of the Jesuits in the New World. Moreover, the number of French colonists in Canada increased to 10,000 by 1670.

### ***Exploration and Expansion: La Salle and Tonti***

Another example of Louis XIV's expansionist policies was the successful enlargement of French influence past Montreal into the Great Lakes region and down the Mississippi River. Supported by Intendant Jean Talon and Governor Frontenac, westward expansion would not only provide the French with further influence among the western tribes but also provide new sources of furs. During Colbert's tenure the French established Michilimackinac, an important fort and trading post located between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. This strategic center gave the French a centralized location in the western fur trade. Contrary to Colbert's wishes, the Crown granted 25 licenses to individual fur traders, who became known as *coureurs de bois*, or "runners of the woods." These French frontiersmen did a tremendous business with the western Indians and often married into the tribes. Such economic and social ties to tribes further aided the relationship of France with western Native Americans.

French influence in the American interior took an important turn in April 1682, when RENÉ-ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE and Henri Tonti completed their journey down the Mississippi and arrived at its mouth, which they named Louisiana. In 1700 the French established NEW ORLEANS and formed relations with the tribes near the Mississippi Delta. As in the north, the French allied themselves with neighboring tribes like the CHOCTAW but angered the more distant tribes like the CHICKASAW, who were excluded from the trade, leading to the Chickasaw War of 1736. Also as in the North, French alliances with many tribes solidified their position along the St. Lawrence, Great Lakes, and Mississippi waterways. With the British in control of the East Coast and the French with a tenuous but extensive grasp on the interior, the stage was set for a battle for the continent. Conflict erupted when the French attempted to extend up the Ohio River into lands claimed by the British.

### ***Seven Years' War***

The river valleys that had opened the west to the French became the center of conflict with the British in the middle of the 18th century. When the governor general at Quebec, Roland-Michel Barrin, comte La Galissonnière, suggested that the French build forts in the Ohio and Mississippi River Valleys, the British settlers in VIRGINIA became alarmed. Between the Illinois country and New Orleans, only 2,000 French troops staffed the posts, although the posts were buttressed by alliances with neighboring tribes. The British thus were fearful of even minor threats to their



A map made about 1681 by Abbot Claude Bernou shows the results of the expeditions of Marquette and Jolliet and by the La Salle expedition in the Mississippi Valley. (Library of Congress)

territory. When the French established Fort Duquesne at the confluence of the Ohio, Allegheny, and Monongahela Rivers in PENNSYLVANIA, the British retaliated.

A young George Washington, at the head of Virginia militiamen, rode west to inform the French that they were encroaching on English soil. After a few skirmishes, Washington was defeated at Great Meadows and sent back to Virginia with embarrassing terms of surrender. Following this, the English sent General EDWARD BRADDOCK to

the west, who was defeated as well. The French settlers in Acadia, who had been living under English rule for a few decades, bore the initial brunt of this conflict. Forced to move from their farms in the Maritimes, many sought refuge in Louisiana, where they became known as Cajuns. Although war was not officially declared in Europe until 1756, the American theater had been the scene of conflict for two years. In 1759, on the Plains of Abraham near Quebec, the young British major general JAMES WOLFE



defeated Louis-Joseph Montcalm in a battle that lasted less than half an hour. Although the rest of French Canada fell in 1760, the French did not officially give up their claims to Canada until 1763. In the Treaty of Paris the British received control over Canada, and the French presence in the New World was relegated to the CARIBBEAN.

**Further reading:** William J. Eccles, *The French in North America, 1500–1783* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998); Bruce Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985).

—Thomas J. Lappas

### French immigrants

Most of the French immigrants to the Americas went to French colonies in Canada, Louisiana, the Caribbean, the Great Lakes region, and the Mississippi River Valley. From 1608, with the founding of the first permanent French settlement at Quebec, French interests on the North American continent were both economic, centered on the fur and deer-skin trade, and religious, with Jesuit and Recollet missionaries and Ursuline nuns working to convert the Native population to Catholicism. A few French Protestants (Huguenots) also migrated to French settlements but never established separate churches there. Many more immigrated to English colonies, particularly after 1685, when Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, which had guaranteed Huguenots limited freedom of worship. They constituted the largest group of religious refugees to seek haven in America since the PURITANS' Great Migration of the 1630s.

In the 1660s a few French Protestant families settled in New England and New York, forming small communities in Salem, MASSACHUSETTS, and on Staten Island. In 1678 one group, which had first migrated from France to the German Palatine, founded the town of New Paltz, New York. In the 1680s and 1690s tens of thousands of Huguenots fled France for England and the Protestant nations of continental Europe. Perhaps 2,000 of these eventually made their way to English America, settling primarily in the cities of BOSTON, NEW YORK CITY, and CHARLESTON and in rural SOUTH CAROLINA.

Most Huguenot immigrants were young and unskilled, but many families—the Manigaults of South Carolina, the DeLanceys of New York, the Faneuils of Boston—achieved remarkable economic and political success. WILLIAM PENN made a concerted effort to attract French refugees to PENNSYLVANIA, but only a handful went there, including André Doz, who worked for Penn as gardener and vintner, and Anne and Jacques Le Tort, who traded with the Indians on Pennsylvania's frontiers. Other French traders who migrated from Canada to the Susquehanna Valley

were ROMAN CATHOLICS. The Pennsylvania government suspected men like Martin Chartier and Pierre Bizaillon of being French spies.

Most French immigrants who came to English America became fully assimilated, and their separate cultural identity had disappeared before 1800. Small in numbers and with religious doctrines close to those of the English churches, especially the PRESBYTERIANS, the Huguenots intermarried with the English and the Dutch, and their congregations merged with English ones.

**Further reading:** Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983).

—Alison Duncan Hirsch

**frontier** See BORDERLANDS.

### Fuca, Juan de (fl. 1590s) explorer

Juan de Fuca was a Greek-born sea pilot and the reputed discoverer in 1592 of a Northwest Passage from the northwest coast of North America to the Arctic or Atlantic Ocean. According to an account written by Michael Lok, a prominent English promoter of the search for a Northwest Passage, de Fuca claimed to have led two Spanish ships into an inlet on the Pacific coast between 47° and 48° N. Passing through the inlet, de Fuca's ships sailed for 20 days to a "North Sea" and to lands "rich of gold." While no Northwest Passage extends from the Pacific coast to the Arctic or Atlantic Ocean, and while there is no Pacific inlet lying at the precise latitude indicated by de Fuca, there is a strait on the Pacific coast between 48° and 49° N that leads to Puget Sound and to the Inside Passage between Vancouver Island and the North American mainland. This strait was named after Juan de Fuca in 1787. It remains uncertain whether de Fuca or Lok invented the tale of de Fuca's 1592 voyage, or whether they misinterpreted or embellished the story of a real, possibly undocumented Spanish expedition.

**Further reading:** William H. Goetzmann and Glyndwr Williams, *The Atlas of North American Exploration* (New York: Prentice Hall General Reference, 1992).

—Paul Mapp

### fugitive slaves

Running away was an unambiguous act of rebellion against SLAVERY in early America. Perhaps most frequently, run-aways fled to escape imminent violence or in the aftermath of physical abuse. Others took to their heels for fear of being sold, while a few absconded temporarily, voluntarily

returning to their masters only after protracted negotiations about their future treatment. Trying to secure their permanent freedom, many runaways challenged the system of racial bondage itself.

To prevent and deter runaways, white masters and colonial legislatures put in place all manner of obstacles. Slaves who were discovered beyond the confines of their owners' land without written permission were typically punished by whipping. Virginia laws of 1723 and 1748, for example, punished repeat offenders with dismemberment, castration, branding, whipping, and incarceration. Colonial officials also made it difficult for fugitives to depend on anyone else (especially other black people) for aid. Any free persons found guilty of hiding or otherwise abetting runaway slaves faced heavy fines or 20 lashes. Conversely, any individual who captured or returned a runaway was rewarded; 20 shillings (the equivalent of a week's labor for a laborer) was the going rate in South Carolina for much of the 18th century. Here and elsewhere in the southern colonies, slave owners also subsidized organized slave patrols. Many escapees perished in rivers and woods trying to avoid detection and evade recapture.

Despite such obstacles to gaining freedom, the promise of liberty tempted thousands to try. Newspaper advertisements in which masters sought the return of recent runaways detail the attempts of thousands of such fugitives. Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* included notices detailing 1,324 black escapees between 1728 and 1790. Those fugitives shared many characteristics. American-born, English-speaking young men fled most frequently; eight male runaways appeared in newspaper notices for each female fugitive. Slaves who were physically fit, of mixed race, without families, and possessed of craft skills that might help them find employment were far more likely to attempt to escape slavery in this manner than those newly arrived from Africa or the Caribbean. Still, many "salt-water" slaves (newly imported) also tried to escape, but usually with less success.

In their advertisements, owners revealed some of the tactics by which fugitive slaves attempted to evade suspicion and capture. Roger Saunders of South Carolina warned the public that his slaves Quamino and Quacco would use their fluency in English to create plausible back-stories and pose as freepersons. Other slaves used forged papers and passes. Their choice of destination could also help fugitives find cover. The free black populations of Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston provided at least some security for runaways able to reach them. Other fugitives typically headed for maroon communities in the interior, such as Virginia's Dismal Swamp, or for the free black communities of Spanish Florida. Other blacks who stole away headed for nearby port towns in hopes of securing passage on an undermanned ship and embarking on a career as a mariner.

A handful of escapees headed west to Native Americans, where they were sometimes protected and at other times turned back to white authorities.

**Further reading:** Sally E. Hadden, *Slave Patrols: Law and Violence in Virginia and the Carolinas* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003); Billy G. Smith and Richard Wojtowicz, eds., *Blacks Who Stole Themselves: Advertisements for Runaways in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728–1790* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989).

—Richard J. Bell

## fur trade

Native Americans initiated and controlled the North American fur trade almost one hundred years before Europeans founded JAMESTOWN, PLYMOUTH, and BOSTON. The first Europeans came to North America to fish, not to collect furs or to establish communities. The quantity and quality of the furs NATIVE AMERICANS offered fishermen helped entice Europeans to trade. Furs were a scarce commodity in Europe since most fur-bearing ANIMALS became extinct on that continent by the late Middle Ages. North America was not only rich in furs but also possessed an Indian labor force that trapped, processed, and transported pelts along established indigenous trade routes. The fur trade grew slowly and sporadically, but it eventually emerged as a commercial enterprise in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence during the 1580s.

Among the earliest Indian traders were Tarrentines from Nova Scotia and the Gulf of Maine. Skilled sailors who used European-style shallops to collect furs from coastal Indian villages, the Tarrentines operated as middlemen in the exchange of furs with Europeans. Their shallops weighed up to 12 tons, measured 12 meters long, and had multiple masts. In these vessels, the Indian traders plied the North Atlantic coastline, collecting and storing furs until the summer months, when Europeans arrived. The JESUITS referred to the Tarrentines as "courageous and active sailors," an observation confirmed in the written accounts of other early European explorers.

In addition to the coastal MAINE trade, Indians established trading villages where Native people and foreigners gathered during the summer months to exchange furs and agricultural produce for European trade goods. The most populous of these sites was Tadoussac, controlled by the Montagnais. Their territory included the Saguenay River, a crucial outlet for the vast fur-rich hinterland. Tadoussac stood in close proximity to indigenous and European FISHING grounds, and as many as 20,000 people gathered there during the summer months.

DISEASE disrupted Indian control over the initial trade, and by the early 17th century the French, Dutch,



and British became directly involved in the exchange process. Through an alliance with the Huron and the founding of Quebec (1608), the French gained control of the St. Lawrence River valley, the only inland river from the Atlantic seaboard to the continental interior. Although this provided the French access to vast quantities of prized peltry, their ability to harvest those furs still depended on Indian people. Developing these relationships, French traders traveled throughout Minnesota, the Hudson's Bay, and the Mississippi delta.

The fur trade became an arena of cultural interaction, often referred to as the "middle ground," where French and Indians participated equally in the exchange process, and where French men lived in an Indian world in which indigenous custom held sway. The fur trade encompassed far more than economic gain, and the French proved willing to forego profits to foster their political and diplomatic objectives. Both licensed traders (*voyageurs*) and illegal traders (*coureurs de bois*) married Indian women. Some descendants remained part of Native communities; others founded societies of people of mixed ancestry (*MÉTIS*) at Detroit, Mackinac, Green Bay, and Chicago.

Furs were also a lucrative commodity for the Dutch, who by the early 1600s shipped as many as 40,000 pelts per year from Fort Orange (now Albany) to Amsterdam. Like the French, the Dutch also relied on intermarriage to improve their access to peltry. However, a more distinct profit rather than political motive characterized the Dutch trade, subtly demonstrated by the illegal traders (*Bosch Loopers*) who produced higher volumes of peltry than the officially licensed ones in NEW AMSTERDAM. By 1650 the English had displaced the Dutch traders. English traders displayed less enthusiasm toward intermarriage, often bringing their families to the colonies and usually working from established trading posts. The English considered the fur trade, like the acquisition of Indian lands, as an economic rather than a cultural form of exchange.

By the 18th century, the establishment of towns, the transformation of beaver ponds into farms and pasture lands, and the depletion of fur-bearing animals dramatically reduced the New England fur trade. France dominated the beaver trade, and Britain vigorously contested its control. The 18th-century French trade proved wildly profitable; Great Lakes furs grossed as much as one million livres per year. France had established furs as a viable commercial enterprise, and the beaver, transformed into the felt hat, remained a fashion staple for over three hundred years. Even when silk hats replaced beaver ones in the 1840s, beaver skins remained a high-volume export. Eventually, the fur trade moved from the Great Lakes into the Northwest because furs there were more plentiful and less expensive to harvest.

In the South, deerskins shaped the history of the fur trade. By the mid-18th century, the CATAWBA, CHEROKEE,

CREEK, CHICKASAW, and CHOCTAW annually harvested as many as 400,000 deerskins for shipment to England. French and later Spanish LOUISIANA rivaled the exports of this southeastern trade. The demand for deerskins continued to increase throughout the 18th century because of the repeated disease outbreaks that crippled European livestock herds. Indian deerskins were a welcome substitute for domestic hides, and they produced high-quality breeches, gloves, harnesses, saddles, and book bindings. Toward the end of the 18th century, aggressive hunting had forced the deer population into a precipitous decline.

The fur trade exacerbated national rivalries and intensified colonial conflicts. Britain and France repeatedly challenged each other's access to furs. By 1721 Britain successfully wrested control of Hudson's Bay from the French. In the 1760s, the Franco-Anglo fur trade rivalry in the Ohio River valley helped trigger the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. Following the conquest of Canada, Britain dominated the trade. By the American Revolution, Britain imported 95 percent of all its furs from North America; almost 80 percent of pelts came from recently acquired lands previously claimed by the French, and beaver displaced deerskin as the nation's most valuable import.

Historians have often negatively portrayed the fur trade as a factor in the demise of indigenous peoples by intensifying their materialism, undermining their spiritual connections with animals, and spreading ALCOHOL



An illustration showing Native Americans swapping their furs for rifles with French colonists (Hulton/Archive)

and firearms. Recent research suggests alternative scenarios. The trade offered Indians the opportunity to participate in an emerging global marketplace, and they were not uniformly corrupted by that involvement. The fur trade did not by itself produce material acquisitiveness, nor did uneven profits from the trade necessarily stratify Indian societies. Native Americans did not reflexively and unconsciously respond to market forces. Frequently, Indians angered traders by failing to hunt and by refusing to provide the quantity of furs that traders demanded. Moreover, Indian desires for cloth and CLOTHING rather than GUNS and alcohol were the chief motives fostering trade in the colonial period. At both 18th-century Detroit and Michilimackinac, for example, cloth constituted about three-quarters of the goods traded. The remaining trade items included iron implements for cultivating fields, cooking foods, and carving wood, as well as hunting tools, TOBACCO, silver ornaments, mirrors, musical instruments, and luxury items such as eating utensils and English china. During the 18th century, firearms and alcohol constituted less than 1 percent of the merchandise carried from Montreal to Detroit and Michilimackinac.

The fur trade was more extensive, long-lived, and more familiar to Indians than historians generally envision.

In precontact North America, the exchange of furs and other items was both intracontinental and intercontinental. Before Europeans arrived, Native Americans traded buffalo robes from GREAT PLAINS INDIANS at southwestern markets, and they traded deerskins throughout North America. The trade in furs included a variety of animals, not simply the beaver and the white-tailed deer desired by Europeans. However, the arrival of Europeans transformed the fur trade into a global enterprise. It included not only the French, British, Dutch, and Spanish but also the Russians, who traded among the INUIT for sealskins, and the Swedes, who traded among the DELAWARE INDIANS. Eventually, even an animal as common as black raccoon from Indiana's Kankakee River valley became part of John Jacob Astor's fur-trading empire with the 19th-century Chinese. With deep roots in the colonial era, the fur trade persisted and accelerated into the 19th century.

**Further reading:** Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

—Susan Sleeper-Smith and Michael Wise

# G



**Gates, Sir Thomas** (d. 1621) *soldier, government official*

From 1611 to 1614 Thomas Gates served as acting governor of the VIRGINIA Colony. Born in Colyford, Devonshire, Gates was a “West Countryman,” a member of a closely knit alliance of aristocrats from western England and the Welsh borderlands—men such as Humphrey, Raleigh, Somers, Grenville, and their friends—who in the final decades of Elizabethan England intensely promoted the colonization of Ireland and America and the Protestant cause on both sides of the English Channel. Accordingly, Gates sailed with the Sir Francis Drake expedition of 1585, which captured Cartagena, burned ST. AUGUSTINE, and carried back to England some of the Roanoke colonists. Knighted for bravery after his attack on Cádiz, Gates fought the Spanish in Normandy and the Azores and participated in the English occupation and colonization of Gaelic Ireland. By 1600 Gates and his company were in the Netherlands, where he made acquaintance with SIR THOMAS DALE and other gentlemen who later figured prominently in the Virginia Colony.

Gates and other West Countrymen petitioned James I for a patent to plant a colony in Virginia, and he was prominent among the gentry grantees mentioned in the charter of 1606, which established the Virginia and PLYMOUTH Company. Gates invested heavily in the Virginia Company, reflecting a trend among many gentry—who held more than a third of company stock—to channel rents from their TENANTS or profits from other sources into entrepreneurial activities such as colonial settlement and overseas trading ventures.

Sailing to Virginia with Governor Lord De La Warr in 1609 with 500 men and women, the now Lieutenant General Gates and the crew of the pinnace *Sea Adventurer* were shipwrecked in Bermuda. Poet and fellow castaway William Strachey’s chronicle of this event later inspired William Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*. Escaping Bermuda on two pinnaces built on the island, Gates arrived in

JAMESTOWN to find the colony nearly extinguished after the “starving time” of the previous winter. He began the evacuation of the surviving colonists back to England, only to be turned back at the mouth of the James River by Governor De La Warr, who had just arrived from England. De La Warr resurrected Jamestown and sent Gates back to England for supplies. Gates returned in 1611 with livestock and 280 men, mostly ARTISANS and laborers, but also a few “gallants to escape their evil destinies” and 80 women (most of whom were sold as wives to the settlers), including Lady Gates and their two daughters. Lady Gates died in passage, and, arriving in the colony, Gates sent his daughters back to England. De La Warr, too, had returned to England in ill health, and the colony’s government devolved first upon George Percy, then upon Thomas Dale, and finally upon Gates. As acting governor, he struggled with the inability or unwillingness of the English to raise enough food to feed themselves and their consequent dependence on Indian corn.

Gates’s implementation of the company’s instructions to subjugate the neighboring tribes and force them to pay tribute in foodstuffs inflamed relationships with the POWHATAN, already rubbed raw by George Percy’s earlier butchery of the Powhatan Queen of Paspahegh and her children. Displaying the arrogant and hot-tempered mentality of Elizabethan male aristocrats, Gates, Percy, and Dale were quick to take offense at any perceived threats by the Powhatan and countered with massive retaliation to any challenge—real or perceived—from that quarter in the belief that he who struck first and inspired fear would survive. They seized and killed even those Indians coming to the settlements to trade food, in Percy’s words “for a Terroure to the Reste to cawse them to desiste from their subtell practyses.” Between 1609 and 1614 several hundred English musketeers, under the command of High Marshall Sir Thomas Gates and other veteran captains of the Netherlands campaigns, burned the Powhatan’s villages and fields, wresting from them control of the James River

basin. This first Powhatan war raged until the capture of Powhatan's daughter, POCAHONTAS, and her marriage to JOHN ROLFE.

Gates established fortified settlements and populated them with independent farming families, who profited fabulously from the later TOBACCO boom. He also imposed the same harsh military rule that governed the English troops in the Netherlands, enforcing it mercilessly on those laborers who tilled the company plantation. As retribution for running away to the Indians, "Some he appointed to be hanged Some burned Some broken upon wheles, others to be staked and some shott to death." As punishment for shoddy seamstress work, Ann Leyden and June Write "were whipt, and An Leyden beinge then with childe (the same night thereof miscarried)." Fear, Gates thought, was necessary to keep both intractable Indians and unmanageable laborers in line. Despite the fearful discipline of work gangs, the colony was unable to grow enough to feed itself and continued to beg, buy, and bully food from the Indians throughout its first two decades.

The Gates-Dale administrations secured a tenuous but stable foothold for the colony on the James River from the CHESAPEAKE BAY to the Fall Line, but at the expense of the Indians and the colony's laborers. In 1614 Gates returned to England to take an active role in Virginia Company affairs, but by 1620 he had sold his stock and returned to service in the Netherlands, where he died in 1621, a year before his work in Virginia was nearly undone by the Powhatan uprising of 1622.

**Further reading:** Karen Ordhal Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000).

—James Bruggeman

## gender

Originally a term used to describe a grammatical form, scholars now use the term *gender* to refer to sex roles of men and women in a given society. *Gender* differs from the term *sex*, which distinguishes whether a person is male or female. Therefore, sex involves biological and physiological differences. In discussing gender, scholars examine what is masculine or feminine. What any given society views as manly or womanly concerns gender. For social scientists gender is a category of analysis—a way of examining any given culture by focusing on a specific group of people. Some social scientists argue that gender is revealed through language; we understand our gender roles through the words and phrases that define our identity. Others feel that gender roles reflect essential natures found in one's sex. Another group of scholars argues that gender is a function of our material world; without possessions to pass on to

progeny, prehistoric peoples did not have such rigid gender roles as they did once humans became agricultural, settled down, and were able to pass on their goods to their children. Discussions of gender involve values, norms, and the social roles of men and women.

Different cultures and societies have different understandings of what gender roles are appropriate for their peoples. For example, in 1680 the people of the Taos Pueblo in the Southwest rebelled against the Spanish conquistadores. Part of the conflict arose over conflicting gender roles. In Spain, as in most Western cultures, men did most of the construction on homes and buildings. For the people of the pueblo, the making of the mud and straw adobe bricks was the work of women. This conflict over gender roles contributed to the revolt. Pueblo men felt emasculated by the work and refused to make the bricks. This example of a conflict of gender roles shows how concepts of gender, ideas about what a given society views as masculine or feminine, shape the everyday lives of people.

Ideas of what is manly or womanly vary in specific historical and cultural ways. For example, colonial men and women in North America had sharp LABOR divisions based on gender. Plowing, carpentry, masonry, and animal husbandry were "men's work," whereas cooking, brewing beer, making soap or candles, and sewing served as "women's work." Early Americans lived in a patriarchal society, that is, one in which men had more power than women. Even the Quaker leader WILLIAM PENN (whose religious sect advocated gender equality) organized the first PENNSYLVANIA government providing a special category for "women, children, and idiots." Thus, gender also helps one understand power relations in a given society.

As historians concentrate on change over time, the changing gender roles of men and women in American society over the past four centuries serve as a mechanism for understanding the lives of people in the past. In examining the various cultures that existed in early American society, including English, French, Dutch, Native American, Jewish, and African, we can learn much about gender in early America.

Gender roles and definitions varied regionally among European settlers in early America. In the 17th-century southern colonies, English men greatly outnumbered women. There was considerable pressure on girls to marry or engage in sex at a young age, although many women had to wait until their INDENTURED SERVITUDE ended before they wed. If they were widowed (not uncommon in an era of high MORTALITY), women often inherited their husband's property and bargained for marriages to wealthy plantation owners. Some women, like ELIZABETH LUCAS PINCKNEY, managed plantations in the 18th-century South, regardless of the rigidly prescribed gender roles. As part of their masculine identity, men prided themselves on their



dancing (a well-turned calf meant a man was a good dancer) and loved to drink whisky, gamble, race, and ride horses. Women in early New England more frequently migrated as part of family groups, and they usually functioned within narrowly defined gender roles. On her husband's death a New England woman received "the widow's third." That is, a portion of her marital property was given to her while the rest was distributed among her children. New England inheritance patterns favored men, because gender roles prohibited women from managing their own legal affairs. Meanwhile, Quaker women in the Middle Colonies usually took a more active role, often preaching their religion.

Nearly all African-American men and women came involuntarily to the New World as slaves. Although some lived as free people—for example, large groups of free black people lived in NEW ORLEANS—most did not. For these men and women, their traditional gender roles were often compromised by SLAVERY. Both men and women worked in the fields doing heavy labor. Within the plantation household women often took on the burden of raising not only their own children but the children of the plantation owners.

NATIVE AMERICANS also had clearly differentiated gender roles, although women often exercised considerably more social, economic, and political power than did European women. Among the IROQUOIS, for example, women grew most of the FOOD and exercised considerable political power, as older women selected chiefs. In addition, women could easily divorce their husbands by placing his property outside their longhouse door.

**Further reading:** Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

—Paula Smith-Hawkins

## Georgia

Georgia was the last of the original 13 colonies to be settled by the British. The idea of a new colony south of SOUTH CAROLINA had been discussed in London during the late 1720s, and it eventually came to fruition due to the happy confluence of philanthropic ideals and imperial concerns. Leading British parliamentarians had become concerned about the plight of the poor, and those serving on the Parliamentary Gaols Committee saw at firsthand the treatment of criminals, many of whom had been jailed for debt. In an attempt to break the vicious circle of poverty, debt, and jail, the idea of a new American colony, one that would serve as a safe haven for the poor, became popular. At the same time, British government ministers were acutely aware of the vulnerability of their southern colonies

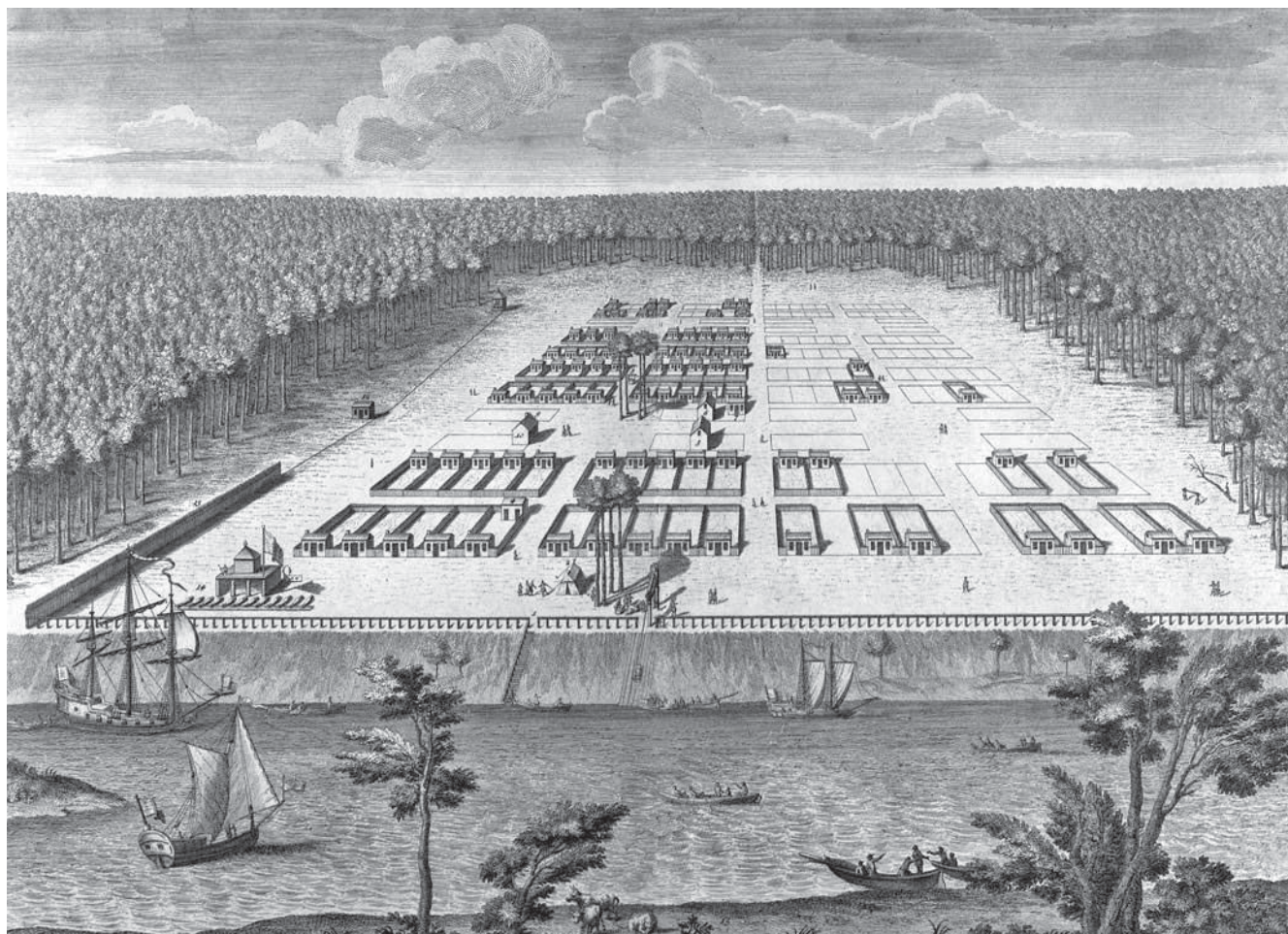
in North America, with both the French in the Mississippi Valley and the Spanish in FLORIDA capable of posing a threat to one of the most profitable parts of the empire. This threat was brought home during the Yamasee War of 1715, which caused great damage to many Carolina plantations. The new colony, it was thought, would be able to act as a buffer state and would enhance British territorial claims in the Southeast.

The job of creating the new colony was delegated to a group of 21 trustees, many of whom sat in Parliament and had access to the highest levels of government. Almost uniquely for a new colony, the British Parliament provided a substantial portion of the initial funding, ultimately amounting to several hundred thousand pounds. This was partly because Prime Minister Walpole often relied on the block votes of the trustees to pass important legislation in Parliament, but it was also confirmation that Georgia was not intended to be a commercial colony.

With a solid financial base the trustees chartered a ship, the *Anne*, and recruited 114 men, women, and children who, together with Trustee General JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE, would be entrusted with founding the new colony. The *Anne* sailed in November 1732 and arrived at the future site of SAVANNAH in February 1733. After obtaining a formal cession of lands from local Indian leader TOMOCHICHI, Oglethorpe had virgin forest cleared in order to lay out the new town of Savannah.

The first settlers in Georgia were a mixed group. Unlike many other southern colonies, whose initial populations consisted almost entirely of young white men, early Georgians were mixed in age, sex, CLASS, and ethnicity. In the first decade of settlement, most arrived "on the charity," meaning that the trustees paid their passage to the New World. These people were supposed to be the "worthy poor," who merited the chance of a new beginning. Only after 1742, when parliamentary money began to dry up, did the number of free settlers paying their own passage begin to rise.

All early settlers shared the color of their skin: They were white. Because of the belief that SLAVERY would make Georgia more difficult to defend from Spanish attacks and that it would not provide the working opportunities for ordinary poor white settlers that the trustees believed were vital, racial bondage was prohibited in Georgia in 1735. This experiment with free labor was unique in British North America, and it was an abject failure. From the outset settlers complained that the heat made work impossible for white people, that Georgia would not be able to compete with South Carolina for settlers due to the existence of slaves there, and that they were unable to exploit the natural resources fully because of a shortage of workers. A vocal group of malcontents emerged in Georgia consisting mainly of English and Lowland Scottish



A map of Savannah, Georgia, created in 1734 by Peter Gordon (*University of Georgia Libraries*)

settlers who repeatedly pressed the trustees to permit slavery, but Highland Scots in the small town of Darien and the Salzburgers in Ebenezer urged the trustees to maintain the ban on racial bondage so that poor white people would not be economically disadvantaged. The malcontents then enlisted the help of Thomas Stephens, son of William Stephens, the trustees' secretary in Georgia. He argued the proslavery case directly to those in power in London, forcing the trustees to publish several defenses of the colony.

The trustees could not escape the fact, however, that Georgia was not an economic success. Experiments with silk production, intended to make the colony self-financing, were constantly set back by poor weather and inexperienced workers. Indentured servants frequently fled to South Carolina, where they were welcomed and released from their remaining years of servitude. Many settlers who had paid their own passage also left for Carolina, knowing it offered better economic opportunities. After nearly 20

years of trustee control, Georgia remained a backwater. Its population was small, its contribution to the imperial economic system was negligible, and it remained a financial burden on the British government.

The decision to permit slavery, made effectively in the late 1740s but not enacted until 1751, was a major turning point in the history of Georgia. Planters from South Carolina, aware of the rice-producing potential of Georgia's sea islands, invested in the colony. As the population grew, so did the demand for goods and services provided by ordinary people. When the trustees surrendered their charter to the British Crown in 1752, they passed on a colony that had a rosy future. By the time the first royal governor, John Reynolds, arrived in 1754, Georgia's population had swelled to 7,000, with 2,000 slaves providing the backbone of the labor force.

Georgia's population, unlike its neighbor South Carolina, retained a white majority, but Euro-Americans were concentrated in the backcountry. In the coastal



parishes containing rice plantations, there were often nine slaves for every white person, many of whom were imported directly from AFRICA. Consequently, African elements of culture, language, religion, and familial relationships lingered in the sea islands far longer than elsewhere in British America. The planters who owned these slaves became the principal men in Georgia. Men such as James Habersham, Jonathan Bryan, and Noble Jones made their fortunes in Georgia and were able to dominate the colony socially, politically, and economically through the number of offices they held. Each justice of the peace, assembly member, and juror tended to be chosen from the same small group of elite white men.

Nevertheless, Georgia continued to be attractive to ordinary poor white families, especially in the later colonial years. The prospect of free lands enticed many from the Chesapeake area and PENNSYLVANIA to move south. Nonslaveholding white people therefore constituted the largest social group in the colony, with some enjoying a comfortable sufficiency. Poverty still existed, however, especially for widows with children, and, lacking widespread public or private charitable help, many poor white people eked out a bare subsistence in conditions of terrible hardship.

Away from the coast the settlement of backcountry areas relied on the Indian trade. Unlike in other southern colonies, few Native American tribes in Georgia lived near the coast. The small and scattered Native groups that had settled in the low country, the most notable being the Yamacraw ruled by Tomochichi, did not possess sufficient trade goods to interest many traders. In order to access the true wealth of the Indian trade, the town of Augusta was founded in 1736, and traders from Georgia and South Carolina both used the town as the starting point for expeditions deep into Creek, CHEROKEE, and other Native American lands. Augusta occupied a strategic position on the Indian trails but also provided the highest point to which boats could navigate up the Savannah River. Despite being more than 130 miles from Savannah, MERCHANTS arriving at Augusta with furs and other goods could ship them easily to the coast; this, above all else, secured the economic future of the backcountry.

Discouraged by the struggling economy and by continuing conflict with the Spanish in Florida, the trustees gave Georgia to Parliament in 1752, a year before the charter was due to expire, and it became a royal colony. The first royal governor, John Reynolds (1754–57) proved inept in dealing with his own council and with Indians. He was replaced in 1757 by Henry Ellis, who maintained an important alliance with the Creek Indians, who rescued the colonists from the Cherokee Indians during the SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

From the 1750s until the Revolution, Georgia developed steadily. Economic output rose phenomenally,

from 500 barrels of rice in 1752 to 10,000 by 1756. The colony's human population continued to grow, reaching 33,000 by 1773, including 15,000 slaves. Georgia also increased in size. Land cessions amounting to 5 million acres from the Creek in 1763 and 1773 saw Georgia expand south to the St. Marys River and northwest to the headwaters of the Savannah River. Of all the new colonies that Britain founded or conquered in the 18th century—a list that includes Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Quebec, and west and east Florida—only Georgia became fully integrated into the imperial mercantilist system, with a flourishing ECONOMY based on African slave labor. By the time of the Revolution, most visitors would have been hard pressed to identify a difference between Georgia and South Carolina.

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—Timothy James Lockley

## German immigrants

Immigrants from the area that eventually became Germany constituted the largest non-British European population in the British colonies. Approximately 100,000 German speakers came to British North America during the colonial period; in 1775 they and their descendants accounted for nearly 10 percent of the American population. Drawn by many of the same factors as their British counterparts, German migrants sought economic opportunity and religious freedom in the New World, and they were often pushed out of Europe by material difficulties, wars, and the threat of conscription into the military. Also mirroring broader colonial trends, German migrants included a combination of free individuals and families as well as unfree indentured servants.

A handful of German speakers were among the original settlers of JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA, in 1607. German Mennonites arrived in PENNSYLVANIA soon after that colony's founding, establishing Germantown near PHILADELPHIA in 1683. German immigration to colonial North America was primarily an 18th-century phenomenon, however. In 1709, 3,000 Protestant refugees from the Palatinate came to North America via England, most settling in NEW YORK's Hudson River Valley. Beginning around 1720 a much larger and more continuous stream of German immigrants began to journey across the Atlantic. They typically landed in Philadelphia, then spread west into Pennsylvania, south through the Shenandoah Valley, and into the piedmont and hill country of the Carolinas.

Between 1730 and 1770 nearly 75,000 German immigrants made this trip. Most came from the areas surrounding the Rhine and Neckar Rivers in southwestern Germany and Switzerland. This region saw tremendous out-migration between 1709 and 1800 due to decades of war followed by increasing population growth. Although somewhat less than a third of the more than 500,000 people who left Germany in this period looked for greener pastures in British North America (the majority moving eastward into central Europe and Russia), these were huge numbers from the American perspective. At the peak of this immigration, 29,100 Germans disembarked in the decade between 1750 and 1759, most before 1754, when the SEVEN YEARS' WAR stemmed the flow.

German immigrants came to North America both individually and with their families as free people and as unfree laborers. Families were more common in the earlier decades of the 18th century; young single men dominated the immigrant stream after it peaked at mid-century. Those who arrived earlier were more likely to have money to establish themselves in their new homes, but as the number of immigrants grew, so, too, did the number who sold their future labor in order to pay for their passage. Overall, about 45 percent of German immigrants indentured themselves as servants. Ship captains either negotiated contracts in Europe or advanced immigrants the cost of passage and received payment in North America when the individual was sold at auction. Periods of servitude typically lasted three or four years. Women received slightly shorter indentures than men; children sometimes served longer terms. Over time the business of immigrant transport and labor became increasingly exploitative, causing Germans on both continents to protest conditions.

A small but important portion of German migrants to British America came for religious refuge and freedom. These groups tended to cross the Atlantic in organized migrations and to settle together in the New World. The Salzburgers, Protestant refugees from Catholic Austria, established Ebenezer, GEORGIA, in the 1730s. Large numbers of Mennonites and Moravians, along with smaller groups of Amish, Schwenkfelders, and Dunkers, also arrived. This religious migration occurred primarily before 1755, and most of these immigrants remained in Pennsylvania. The vast majority of German migrants, however, belonged to the dominant German Protestant churches, Lutheran and German Reformed, and moved for economic rather than religious reasons. The European state churches were slow to send ministers to North America, and consequently many Germans, like numerous others in 18th-century North America, lacked religious leadership. Ministers such as the Lutheran HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG and the Reformed preachers Johann Phillip Boehm and Michael Schlatter worked to organize churches

and to funnel resources from Europe, enjoying increasing success by the end of the colonial period.

German immigrants formed strong ethnic communities in British America, retaining many of their customs even as they embraced many British political ideas. Because they settled near family, friends, and fellow immigrants, some regions, particularly in Pennsylvania, took on a decidedly German character. Moravian and German Reformed churches supported German schools, while printers like Christopher Saur of Germantown offered German-language almanacs, grammars, and newspapers. Indeed, Benjamin Franklin and other Pennsylvanians occasionally complained that Germans maintained their own traditions too successfully.

The Penn family's attempts to revise land policy and the colony's defense of its western frontier from Indian attacks helped spur naturalizations and politicize German immigrants in Pennsylvania, where they became a significant political force. By 1763 Germans were active in many aspects of colonial government while retaining their ethnic identity.

See also MITTELBERGER, GOTTLIEB.

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—Katherine Carté Engel

## German Reformed Church

The German Reformed Church was founded as a result of religious changes evolving from the Protestant Reformation. Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin supported the principles of justification by faith alone and the sole authority of the Bible, but they differed from Martin Luther on other points, especially on the meaning of the Eucharist. Calvin advocated Christ's spiritual presence in the bread and wine, while Zwingli believed that the elements were mere symbols and that the celebration was a memorial service of Christ's life and death. The German Reformed Church came to encompass the teachings of both Zwingli and Calvin, with some contributions from Luther's colleague Philipp Melancthon.

The German Reformed Church was established in the British colonies by German and Swiss pioneers who migrated to PENNSYLVANIA and other colonies in the early 18th century. Their congregations were mostly widely



scattered along the frontier, where most Germans settled because earlier migrants had occupied eastern lands. Because of the scarcity of clergy, the German Reformed Church, like other established denominations, faced difficulties throughout the colonial era; schoolteachers or men who possessed a modicum of religious training often performed the tasks of a minister. Scarce financial resources forced rural congregations to share facilities with other denominations, most commonly LUTHERANS.

Throughout the colonial period the German Reformed Church had a close relationship with the Dutch Reformed synods of Holland. The GREAT AWAKENING that swept the colonies in the 1740s spurred Holland church officials to support their German counterparts by supplying Bibles and catechisms to the people along with additional ministers. When German Reformed ministers formed a denominational organization in 1747, they reported to Reformed Church authorities in Holland and, in return, received financial support from them.

Two pastors, John Philip Boehm and Michael Schlatter, were instrumental in organizing the “Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania.” Boehm immigrated from the region of modern-day Germany to the Perkiomen Valley of southeastern Pennsylvania as a schoolteacher in 1720. Soon the Reformed settlers in the area asked him to lead worship services. By 1725 he began to perform pastoral duties, and in 1729 the Classis of Amsterdam ordained him at the request of his congregations. The classis dispatched Swiss-born Michael Schlatter to the British colonies in 1746 expressly to oversee the German Reformed congregations in the colonies. They chose Schlatter because of his knowledge of both Dutch and German.

Boehm and Schlatter, along with four other German Reformed ministers and elders from the various Pennsylvania congregations, met in PHILADELPHIA to organize the coetus. The group formally adopted the Heidelberg Catechism as the doctrinal standard of their denomination. This synod remained under the supervision of the Holland synods until 1793. At the time of the separation, the coetus supervised more than 230 congregations and more than 15,000 communicants nationwide.

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—Karen Guenther

### **Glorious Revolution** (1688–1689)

The Glorious Revolution, also known as the Bloodless Revolution, was the abdication of the English throne by

Catholic King James II (1685–88) in late 1688 and the subsequent accession of his eldest child, Mary, and her Dutch husband, William of Orange, both Protestants. A major constitutional consequence was the Bill of Rights (1689), which asserted the supremacy of Parliament over William and Mary and all future monarchs. It destroyed the concept of divine-right MONARCHY and automatic hereditary succession, and it limited the monarch’s power over law, taxation, and the military. News of the Glorious Revolution and the Bill of Rights was received enthusiastically in the colonies. The revolution ultimately influenced American justifications for independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights.

Numerous factors worked in concert before 1688 to set the stage. King James II and his elder brother, Charles II (1660–85), both enthralled by the power of the French king, advanced absolute monarchy in England and the colonies. Fears of Catholicism were rife in England and North America, especially after 1685, when Louis XIV revoked the religious liberties of French Protestants and invaded the Protestant Palatinate. With the birth of James’s only son in 1688, a Catholic succession for England and loss of Protestant freedoms seemed imminent. Social unrest was further exacerbated by economic stagnation and propagandistic LITERATURE. Women participated with men in popular protests and served as petitioners and fundraisers. Women were also among the most vocal skeptics of the legitimacy of the elderly king’s infant son. In response to these developments, Parliament encouraged William of Orange to raise an invading army to depose the king. James, however, abdicated and fled to France along with his wife and son.

Rebellions ensued in several colonies. As in England, economic stagnation and hatred of Catholicism were the common denominators. In the Chesapeake area the ongoing social, economic, and political discontents of indentured servants and tenant farmers were further inflamed by depressed TOBACCO prices and fears of Indian raids. Although VIRGINIA experienced violent disturbances before the Glorious Revolution, all but the northernmost counties remained relatively tranquil in its aftermath. The situation was more volatile in neighboring MARYLAND, where most inhabitants were Protestant but most political appointees were Catholic. Despite earlier complaints by the assembly, the Catholic proprietor, Lord Baltimore, who had been absent from the colony since 1684, continued to act arbitrarily. Baltimore issued an order to proclaim the new monarchs, but his messenger died en route to Maryland, and local officials neglected to recognize the change of government. Reacting to rumors of a French-Indian-Catholic plot to take over Maryland and slaughter Protestants, a newly created Protestant Association led by militia officer John Coode successfully removed

the Catholic proprietors from power and requested that Maryland be made a royal colony.

Popular discontent surfaced in the Northeast following James II's dissolution of the MASSACHUSETTS charter and consolidation of the New England colonies, NEW YORK, and NEW JERSEY into the DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND. In 1689 the dominion's governor, SIR EDMUND ANDROS, who had enforced unpopular laws and taxes, was seized and imprisoned by a BOSTON crowd. King William and Queen Mary dissolved the dominion and granted Massachusetts a new charter that safeguarded personal liberties. In New York the incarceration of Andros and the flight of Lieutenant Governor Nicholson prompted Jacob Leisler, a prominent merchant, to proclaim himself lieutenant governor in the names of the new monarchs. Dutch women were especially supportive of Leisler because their economic, religious, and inheritance rights were being eroded under the English, and they felt that he was more sympathetic and responsive to their concerns. But Leisler's backing was not universal, and he and his son-in-law, Jacob Milborne, were executed for treason in 1691. Determined efforts by their supporters facilitated their posthumous exoneration in 1695.

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—Paula Wheeler Carlo

### **Godfrey, Thomas** (1704–1749) *inventor*

The son of a PHILADELPHIA farmer, Thomas Godfrey was a year old when his father died. Upon his mother's remarriage, Godfrey was apprenticed to a glazier, for whom he glazed the windows of present-day Independence Hall. While an apprentice, Godfrey discovered a natural aptitude for mathematics, teaching himself with borrowed books. When Benjamin Franklin started his Philadelphia business in 1728, he rented a first-floor shop and living quarters to Godfrey and invited him to join the Junto. Godfrey soon left the group; Franklin complained that he was too focused on the precision and exactitude of details. They continued to collaborate on public projects, such as the Library Company, the PENNSYLVANIA Hospital, and an insurance company.

Although his work as a glazier provided little firsthand contact with the sea, Godfrey is rumored to have spent many hours in waterfront taverns, where he learned of the problems associated with navigational TECHNOLOGY. After observing the double reflection of a piece of fallen glass, he realized that by the use of a similar reflection it would be possible to draw the image of the sun down to the horizon. By this means one could establish a ship's latitude. First tested in 1730, the quadrant was used on runs

to Newfoundland and Jamaica and then sold commercially in New York.

An active astronomer, Godfrey observed Jupiter's moons and predicted an eclipse of the sun. He died in 1749 survived by a wife and two sons.

—Victoria C. H. Resnick

### **Gorton, Samuel** (1592?–1677) *religious leader*

A radical religious leader, Samuel Gorton was born in Gorton, Lancashire, and lived in the Newgate area of London (a center of radical religious activity) from 1622, where he was employed as a clothier. In 1636 he migrated to New England, residing briefly in BOSTON, PLYMOUTH, and various RHODE ISLAND towns before establishing a settlement at Shawomet (later Warwick, Rhode Island) in 1642. His radical religious views and tendency to challenge colonial civil authority that was not firmly based in English law and a royal charter embroiled him in controversies. In 1643 Gorton and six supporters were seized and carried to trial in MASSACHUSETTS for blasphemy. The magistrates and deputies split over whether to execute him as a heretic, and he and his followers were instead put to hard labor in various towns. When it became clear that Gortonist preaching was influencing some residents, the magistrates reconsidered and banished the seven on pain of death. In a move calculated to forestall further intervention by Massachusetts in the Shawomet area, Gorton arranged the submission of some Narragansett Indians to King Charles I (1625–49). Gorton went to England to lay his case before the parliamentary commission on foreign plantations. He published an attack on Massachusetts, *Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy* (1646). He won the protection of the English authorities and, in 1648, returned to Shawomet, which he renamed after his new patron, the earl of Warwick. Gorton published other tracts, generally religious polemics. He continued as a religious leader and a magistrate until his death in 1677.

Gorton's faith was mystical, influenced by Baptist views on baptism, atonement, and lay prophecy and countered much Puritan orthodox doctrine. He enjoyed complicated scriptural exegesis, priding himself that his abilities exceeded those of eminent minister JOHN COTTON. He supported religious toleration for QUAKERS. His sect apparently continued after his death, for in 1777 Ezra Stiles reportedly met an elderly man who followed the teachings of Gorton.

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—Carla Gardina Pestana

## government, British American

According to a BOSTON doctor writing in the early 1750s, colonial government consisted of “three separate negatives”:

thus, by the governor, representing the King, the colonies are monarchical; by the Council, they are aristocratical; by house of representatives, or the delegates from the people, they are democratical: these are distinct and independent of one another, and the colonies enjoy the conveniences of each of these forms of government without their inconveniences, the several negatives being checks upon one another.

His opinion at the time was entrenched. English adherence to a mixed government gained momentum throughout the 16th century, hinging on the idea that a balanced government indefinitely preserved liberty by juxtaposing society’s basic socioconstitutional elements: king, lords, and commons. This fundamental precept, later popularized by Montesquieu’s *Spirit of the Laws* (1748), structured the theoretical framework within which the earliest settlers established governments throughout colonial America.

### 1607–1660: Foundings

Within this shared framework, British America’s first colonial governments adopted numerous forms. The Crown placed its first successful settlement, VIRGINIA, under the VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON, granting it a charter whose only limitation required the joint-stock company to render laws “agreeable to the laws, statutes, government, and policy of our realm.” Under Governor Edwin Sandys, Virginia convened America’s first representative assembly, composed of the governor, his appointed council, and two elected burgesses from every parish. The assembly met annually, and all laws it passed were subject to the governor’s veto and, ultimately, that of the Virginia Company. The enfranchisement of all landowning white male inhabitants made the assembly a model for future representative institutions that eventually characterized governments throughout British America. When the Privy Council annulled the Virginia Company’s charter in 1624, Charles I turned Virginia into a royal colony. The assembly, despite this shift in authority, remained intact.

A different governmental structure materialized in New England. The MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY followed a charter that called for a governor and a council of 18 assistants to be elected annually by the colony’s freemen. A general court maintained power to render laws consistent with the laws of England. Although the charter was a secular document, a powerful group of Calvinist investors moved to establish the colony as a Bible commonwealth.

An opportunity presented itself when the investors discovered that the charter failed to require the company to remain in England. Thus, in 1630 JOHN WINTHROP, charter in hand, led a fleet to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, where—relatively free from the Crown’s oversight—he established a semitheocratic society. Clergy were denied power to wield secular authority, but the colony’s government demonstrated its theocratic tendencies through the religious mindset of its secular leaders, who, among other decisions, based the colony’s moral codes on biblical rather than common law. In 1648 the colony countered its theocratic bias with the adaptation of “The Book of General Laws and Libertyes,” which defined more clearly the functions of the magistrates, the “liberties” of the people, and due process.

In 1632 GEORGE CALVERT, the first lord Baltimore and a Catholic convert, received a proprietary charter to MARYLAND. Although Calvert was dead when the charter’s status became official, the document granted his heirs the privilege to govern as “absolute Lords and Proprietors.” With respect to legislation the proprietor could make laws subject to “the Advice, Assent, and Approbation of the free men of the same Province . . . or of their Delegates or Deputies.” When Baltimore’s son, the second lord Cecilius, organized a venture to the colony in March 1634, he sent his younger brother LEONARD CALVERT to manage the colony according to the charter’s stipulations. Calvert, while stressing religious tolerance, granted large manors to an elite Catholic gentry and in 1638 mediated this manorial control with the establishment of Maryland’s first representative assembly—a body that was to reflect “the like power . . . as in the House of Commons.” The ascendancy of Parliament in 1640 pushed Baltimore to appoint a Protestant governor and present a bill of religious toleration called the Act Concerning Religion. As the long Parliament became established, however, Calvert’s proprietary status came under fire, and, by 1651, a group of Maryland PURITANS, who rejected the act, had placed themselves in power. Not until 1657, after Oliver Cromwell’s ascent, was Baltimore reinstated, and the Protestants relented, accepting the Act of Toleration and, in turn, a precarious stability.

### 1660–1681: New Foundings

After the restoration the 17th-century colonial governments of Virginia, Massachusetts Bay, and Maryland were joined by Carolina (1663), NEW YORK (1664), and PENNSYLVANIA (1681). The “restoration colonies” were all proprietary governments, but each one took on unique characteristics, further complicating the diverse patchwork that constituted colonial American government.

In 1663 Charles II granted eight proprietors rights to establish a colony in the Carolina region. The earl of Shaftsbury, with the help of JOHN LOCKE, outlined the

colony's government in the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina. To "avoid erecting a numerous democracy," the Fundamental Constitutions instituted a palatinate court, which called for a "parliament," prepared legislation, appointed officers, and dispersed funds. The parliament consisted of the proprietors, landed nobility, and deputies representing the colony's freeholders. Carolina's government distinguished itself from other colonies through its pyramidal landholding structure, whereby proprietors, nobles, yeomen, serfs, and freeholders owned land according to their rigidly defined status. Locke, ironically, later became known for ideologies supporting representative government, propertied individualism, and the political upheavals that ushered these ideas into reality. The Fundamental Constitutions, however, not only failed to foreshadow such republican developments but quickly proved hopelessly inappropriate as Carolina's governing structure. Under the burdens of slow population growth, the refusal to ratify the Fundamental Constitutions, and the popularity of fur trading over farming, Locke's proposed hierarchical blueprint was routinely ignored. Few manors developed, settlers surveyed the land independently, and the proprietors, many of whom were absentee, remained politically weak. The decentralized political authority that subsequently prevailed in Carolina until the 1720s easily accommodated the hundreds of planters from Barbados who arrived to settle large plantations along the Ashley and Cooper Rivers with slaves, rice, and the quest for profit.

New York initiated a form of government especially sensitive to its background. England, which conquered NEW NETHERLAND in 1664, established a chartered government under the leadership of Richard Nicholls that aimed to integrate English laws and Dutch customs. Nicholls immediately instituted the Duke's Laws, named after James, duke of York, which created a governmental structure of overseers elected by the colony's freeholders. New York's lack of an assembly, however, became a conspicuous point of contention. Throughout Governor SIR EDMUND ANDROS's tenure, 1674 to 1683, towns pushed vehemently for an assembly to legitimate the taxation schemes that Charles II wanted imposed. When financial problems became unbearable, James replaced Andros with Thomas Dongan and reluctantly decreed an assembly. New York's assembly, which effectively balanced the interests of the Dutch and English, conferred power on the governor, council, and "the people in general assembly" while granting the vote to all freeholders.

The pressure placed on Nicholls to initiate an assembly was largely in response to the founding of NEW JERSEY in 1665. The duke of York's grant to Sir George Carteret and John, Lord Berkley resulted in a colony in which New Jerseyans could elect an assembly. The establishment of the most democratic system in the BRITISH EMPIRE not

only intensified opposition to New York's lack of an assembly but attracted a large number of Puritans and Dutch Protestants to settle in New Jersey. These religious dissenters, however, posed a problem for Carteret and Berkley when they resisted the ruling and taxation authority of the Restorationists. Faced with this dilemma, Berkley sold his grant to two QUAKERS in 1674, who subsequently turned the grant over to three other trustees, one of whom was WILLIAM PENN. After a division of the colony into East and West Jersey in 1676, Carteret (who owned East Jersey) sold his grant to yet another group of proprietors, one of whom was also William Penn. In 1702 a growing and diverse group of settlers from many backgrounds as well as an emerging Quaker elite united to become the royal colony of New Jersey.

Like Baltimore, William Penn also exploited his royal connections to seek a haven for a religiously persecuted group. Obtaining a charter from Charles II in 1681, Penn secured for his Quaker brothers and sisters the right to grant land on the terms of his choosing, create manors, and make all laws subject to "the approbation of the Freemen of the said Country." He established an assembly, called for religious toleration, and labeled his venture a "holy experiment." Penn articulated his governing vision in a document called the Frame of Government of 1681. It stipulated that all Christians could vote and hold office, that settlers would not be taxed to support a church, that the upper and lower houses of assembly were to be elected by the enfranchised male property holders, and that the governor lacked a veto. To keep Penn's proprietary power in check, the Crown ordered that all laws be reviewed by the king for inspection. In return, the Crown agreed to levy no taxes without the consent of the assembly, Parliament, or the colony's proprietor. Penn settled his colony with the help of an organization of wealthy Quakers called the Free Society of Traders, who funded the arrival of thousands of settlers and worked under Penn's belief that "Governments rather depend on men than men upon governments."

### ***1660–1760: The Emergence of Political Stability***

Despite differences in their specific governmental structures, these colonies—linked as they all were to the same metropolitan political culture—followed a similar trajectory of development throughout the colonial period. After several decades of chronic political disorder, most colonies experienced an era of extraordinary stability lasting into the 1760s.

After a rare period of stability between 1660 and BACON'S REBELLION (1676), Virginia succumbed to conflicts arising from the Crown's effort to control the colony's political and economic mechanisms. These tensions divided Virginia's gentry and led to 50 years of constant political instability, with one governor rapidly succeeding



another. Starting in the late 1710s, however, in the context of Robert Walpole's emphasis on political harmony among all governmental branches and with an increasingly profitable TOBACCO ECONOMY, Virginia benefited from a series of governors who capably managed the interests of the elite planters while tending to those of yeomen and their legislators. During the terms of Hugh Drysdale and Sir William Gooch, voting Virginians continually placed a ruling elite in positions of legislative authority, assumed a position of deferential adherence to its decisions, and ushered in a period of unprecedented political stability.

SOUTH CAROLINA experienced its share of factionalism into the 1720s. Battles between MERCHANTS and planters, West Indian immigrants and ENGLISH IMMIGRANTS, and town and country ripped through the colony and resulted in the overthrow of the weakened proprietors in 1719. Throughout the 1720s the demand for increased paper currency and a severe depression intensified political infighting. With the permanent implementation of a royal government in 1730, however, the political situation began to improve. Disparate groups began to share in the colony's increasing economic prosperity, the common pursuit of profit united the interests of the yeomen, merchants, and planting elite, and the growing slave majority unified whites in a single, if broad, interest group.

Pennsylvania's political turmoil initially centered on the antiauthoritarianism of the Quaker elite and the proprietary interests of William Penn. Later, it flared up between the Quaker elites who secured power and a "country party" led by DAVID LLOYD. Throughout the contentious tenures of Charles Gookin and Sir William Keith, Pennsylvania foundered on the issues of land tenure, paper currency, and proprietary power. As in Virginia and South Carolina, however, stability soon followed. A tight coalition of Quaker elites consolidated economic power, permanently diminished proprietary privilege, and gained control of the assembly. By the 1730s a tightly knit group of wealthy merchants and landholders forged a steady consensus among the colony's traditional warring factions, and, in turn, a stable political environment evolved.

MASSACHUSETTS followed the same basic course. Metropolitan authorities undermined Puritan leadership throughout the late 17th century and, in so doing, created an opportunity for the region's rising merchant CLASS to make a successful power grab, a development that initiated a country-town rift. Fifty years of conflict ensued, with royal governors, including Sir Edmund Andros, attempting to assert power, the Crown claiming monopoly over large trees used for the masts of ships, and merchants trying to bend the assembly to their economic wishes. The contest over royal prerogative had diminished by the 1730s, however, and with it so did the rural-urban tension that had plagued the colony for so many years. As in the

other colonies, a prominent elite—in this case a group of maritime merchants—consolidated political power on the basis of a strong rural–urban consensus. Aside from the land bank controversy in 1740–41, Massachusetts government reached a level of stability on par with governments throughout British America.

New York's path to political stability was the least successful. The Leislerian conflict, the commercial-gentry rivalry of the 1720s, and the Morris-Cosby dispute, among many other factors, precluded the kind of governmental stability that prevailed elsewhere. Nevertheless, by the 1730s New York began to practice a form of politics that one historian has described as "a model of tension within a broad framework of consent." Routine, almost ritualistic, rivalries yielded to loosely organized parties whose very presence minimized the possibility of violent civil disorder. Ironically, New York's constant factionalism may have been the basis for the region's eventual political stability.

### *Underlying Agents of Change*

These remarkable parallels toward political consensus throughout colonial British America speak to a convergence of several underlying factors. Historians have duly noted the emergence of a colonial elite, institutional development, and the rise of the public sphere as factors contributing to the strength of colonial governments in the 18th century, but the glue giving collective shape to these individual factors involved the differences among colonial governments and the political ideology that those differences nurtured.

With royal governors, assemblies, and councils, colonial governments seemed to mirror the ideal English constitution. Beneath the surface, however, the American governments were quite different. In England royal patronage ensured that Parliament remained loyal to the Crown, with often as many as half the Members of Parliament holding Crown offices. The electorate, for its part, was too weak to maintain vigilance over these corrupt arrangements, because only about one-quarter of adult males could vote. One outcome of this concentration of political power was the emergence of a vocal opposition group of "radical Whigs," also known as "commonwealthmen," who drew upon classical republicanism to argue that human beings, who were naturally inclined to abuse power, required a truly representative government to safeguard liberty. In light of England's patronage system, they claimed that corruption had overtaken virtue and that English liberty was falling prey to a sinister executive conspiracy.

The commonwealthmen remained on the fringe in England. In America, however, their message resonated deeply. Not only did royal governors lack patronage power, but the assemblies had achieved a defining voice within colonial governments. With their allegiance not being

swayed by patronage appointments, assemblies in America responded more directly to the will of their constituents, who constituted about 70 percent of the adult white male population. (The land required to vote generally was the same in England and America, but land was much more readily available in America). By the mid-18th century it had become clear to many Americans that their own governments reflected the ideal English constitution more accurately than did England's system. Thus, when England, after the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, abandoned its period of "benign neglect" of the American colonies and started to impose new, restrictive measures on the colonies, Americans eagerly embraced the radical Whig ideology and used it to solidify their opposition to what they perceived as arbitrary rule. It was on this point that the diversity of colonial governments ultimately converged.

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—James E. McWilliams

### **Graffenried, Christopher, baron de** (1661–1743) *settler*

Swiss colonizer Christopher Graffenried, hoping to restore his family's fortunes in North America, immigrated from Switzerland to London, where he formed a partnership in 1707 with Louis Mitchell to organize a Swiss colony in the Proprietorship of Carolina. Mitchell had been appointed by the canton of Bern to find a suitable site to resettle Protestant refugees who were flooding into Switzerland because of Louis XIV's wars. A great favorite of Queen Anne (1702–14), Graffenried used his influence at court to gain royal approval for the project, which also offered the British government a solution for their own resettlement of Protestant refugees from the Palatinate. With the plan subsidized by the Crown and Graffenried created a baron, the settlement seemed viable, and the first boatload of colonists sailed in January 1710.

Unfortunately, more than half the colonists died en route, either onboard ship or during the TRAVEL overland through Virginia. When Graffenried arrived months later, he found the settlers sick and desperate and the government of Carolina in chaos after the death of the governor, who had been too busy with politics to provide the promised support. Struggling to found their settlement, the Swiss and Palatine colonists were caught in the 1711 outbreak of the TUSCARORA WAR and survived only because Graffenried promised neutrality in the fight between the local Indians and Carolina settlers. Even so, the new settle-

ment was battered by the war. Graffenried attempted to secure mining concessions to provide his people with an income, but this scheme failed. Selling his interests in the land, he returned to Switzerland. Eventually, New Bern's location made it successful as a trading post, and it survived to attract further Swiss and Palatine immigration.

—Margaret Sankey

### **Great Awakening**

A manifestation of philosophical, political, economic, institutional, and demographic changes, the Great Awakening was a multifaceted religious movement that swept through American PROTESTANTISM beginning in the 1720s the repercussions of which shaped the religious outlook of America's founding generation. The movement's ideological impetus had its beginnings in Europe in the late 1600s, when visionaries like Sir Isaac Newton and JOHN LOCKE began to describe a universe different from the one previously conceived by religious theorists. This new concept involved a rational rather than capricious order to the universe, one in which, as New England Great Awakening preacher JONATHAN EDWARDS proclaimed, God's overpowering goodness was "irresistible."

Out of the philosophical position of rationalism, residents of western Europe and the American colonies gained increasing understanding of and control over their world. Navigation instruments, printing presses, vaccinations against epidemics, and botanical innovations were among the discoveries and inventions that convinced these innovators that the world was subject to predictable laws. The result was erosion of the general belief in a vengeful God who would arbitrarily choose to save some souls and damn others. A forgiving God gained ascendancy, one who would grant "grace" (forgiveness and salvation) to anyone who would profess faith and dedication. These new ideas had had their origins in Europe, but they acquired special power in the North America colonies, where increasing ideological independence was bolstered by the growing number of people in whom profitable exports and plentiful, inexpensive land bred optimism. For many American yeoman farmers, MERCHANTS, and ARTISANS, increasing economic independence convinced them that they could master and improve their own fate, with or without divine assistance. By 1720 church attendance had declined in all the American colonies.

At the same time American religion faced new institutional challenges. English colonists had been accustomed to a national church sanctioned by the government and supported by taxes levied on members and nonmembers alike. New Englanders had replicated this system, but with a Congregational instead of an ANGLICAN CHURCH. In the South and in parts of NEW YORK, the Anglican Church

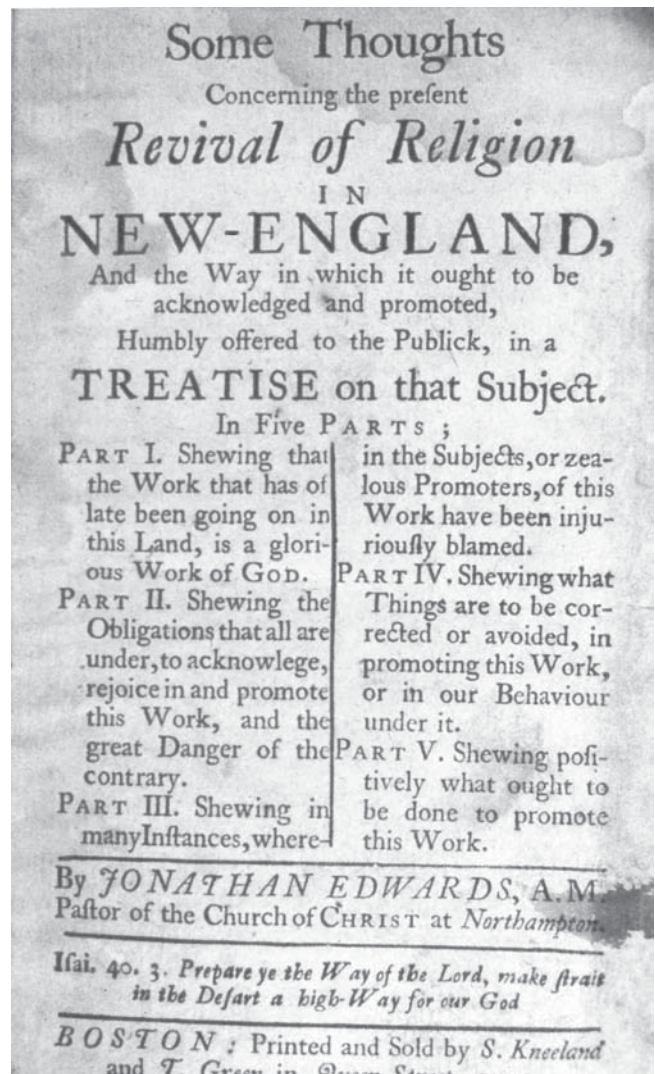
reigned, but in most of the colonies there were also vigorous alternative sects—QUAKERS, Mennonites, and Dutch Reformed, with a few ROMAN CATHOLICS and JEWS added to the mix. Traditional Native American—and even African—religious practices also attracted some English followers. Only in PENNSYLVANIA were citizens free to join the church of their choice without also being taxed in support of the established denomination. Because there were few educational institutions to train ministers and no Anglican bishops in the colonies, there were not enough educated and credentialed religious officials to maintain theological discipline and consistency in American churches. American clergy had to return to England to be ordained, and often their congregations viewed them as incompetent, aloof, and uninspiring. The result by the 1720s was a restless mixture of institutions and individuals ripe for dramatic remodeling.

Transformation came in the form of “revivals” begun by local ministers in NEW JERSEY, Pennsylvania, and MASSACHUSETTS as early as the 1720s. In the Raritan Valley region of New Jersey, much of the ideological leadership came from THEODORUS JACOBUS FRELINGHUYSEN, a Dutch Protestant immigrant of the pietist tradition who, worried that American Christians had grown too lax in the practice of their faith, preached stirring sermons differentiating between the “broad way” and the “narrow way.” The broad way was easier and more attractive, Frelinghuysen argued, but only the narrow way would result in “Eternal Life, everlasting Glory and everlasting Joy and Salvation.” Frelinghuysen’s emotionally stirring sermons prepared the way for Presbyterian evangelical preacher WILLIAM TENNENT, SR., and his three sons to echo a similar message in Pennsylvania and in the western mountains of VIRGINIA. Convinced that individual and community salvation required that community members dedicate themselves to serving the Lord, preachers like Frelinghuysen, the Tennents, and their followers stressed the importance of biblical scripture.

Their revival movement, which gathered momentum during the 1730s, followed a format similar to that of British minister JOHN WESLEY’s. He traveled through England and the colonial South preaching a religion that stressed social service to prisoners, slaves, and other oppressed people and a disdain for the liturgy of traditional Protestant churches. Wesley also emphasized a personal conversion experience frequently involving a dramatic and emotional public confession of sins and embracing of renewed faith, which one observer described as “bitter shrieking and screaming” and “convulsionlike tremblings.” The final spark of America’s Great Awakening was lit by rebel Anglican minister GEORGE WHITEFIELD, who arrived from England, almost single-handedly coalesced a movement, and then left its expansion in the hands of an equally charismatic

New Englander, Jonathan Edwards. Edwards and other itinerant preachers responded to invitations that helped build a network of revivalist communities in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, DELAWARE, and a few outposts in New York, MARYLAND, western Virginia, and CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.

Wesley had worked with Whitefield in England, and the two had developed a compelling preaching style that drew thousands to hear them wherever they spoke. By 1741 Whitefield had become the first person who almost everyone in all the colonies had seen or heard of. Many men who had abandoned the boredom of church services turned out to hear Whitefield, and tens of thousands of women were drawn to carry out their own evangelizing. Jonathan Edwards’s wife, SARAH PIERPONT EDWARDS,



Title page of . . . *Revival of Religion in New-England* by Jonathan Edwards (Billy Graham Center)



wrote a detailed account of her experience of being “swallowed up, in the light and joy of the love of God.” She was but one of many women who began to see that women’s souls might be equal before God and that therefore women might also claim equality in social and political ways as well. Whitefield, an itinerant preacher who modeled himself after him, regularly preached to mixed audiences of men and women, black and white. Through such gatherings many African Americans had their first compelling experience with Christianity. Several noted black religious leaders were recruited in these gatherings. Richard Allen, converted in a Wilmington, Delaware, meeting, later founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church—the world’s first black Christian denomination. Following an emotional conversion, John Marrant of Charleston, South Carolina, began to “read the scripture very much,” and he preached to maritime black communities in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia before settling in England.

English followers of Whitefield and Wesley swept across the American countryside, especially in New England and the South, deputizing lay preachers, distributing FOOD and medical care to the needy, opening some schools for orphans, stirring consciences against SLAVERY, and gathering converts among both free black people and slaves, who would in large numbers adopt the religion of these advocates. Many Methodists, BAPTISTS, and Quakers adopted the idea that all souls were equal before God, and, although they did not openly advocate abolition, they became identified with justice for the dispossessed—including poor white people and AFRICAN AMERICANS. Itinerant ministers and revival meetings were a perfect match for isolated rural communities, and in such areas their impact was phenomenal. Poor white farmers—men, women, and children—found the social aspect of revival meetings compelling and reassuring. Black people—both slave and free—joined in revival meetings and took note of these new ideas, and in subsequent plots for slave insurrections their code of behavior called for leniency for practitioners of these liberal religions. Methodists and Baptists often went beyond Quakers in incorporating black members into their congregations and in appointing black preachers.

The Great Awakening created fissures in the old church communities, with members taking sides and realigning power and authority. “Old Lights,” who tended to be of the upper CLASS, sought to hold on to an educated ministry and a prescribed service, decrying what they viewed as the undignified worship behavior of the revivalists. For their part, “New Lights” viewed their rivals as stodgy, boring, snobbish, “frigid,” and lacking in true religious commitment. Specialized knowledge of the Scriptures and intellectual debate about theology were less important, argued the New Lights, than was a deep and heartfelt connection to God. In New England, some New

Light CONGREGATIONALISTS split off to found Baptist churches; in the South PRESBYTERIANS as well as Baptists made inroads into the traditionally Anglican countryside. In each case establishing congregations offered more immediate and emotional religious experience to artisans, yeoman farmers, and small shopkeepers. These more accessible religions eventually became the religions of the frontier. Despite divisions among themselves, however, the liturgy of American Protestants remained remarkably similar. American Protestants remained unified in their distrust of Roman Catholics and Jews, and most church members felt a new sense of empowerment to examine, question, and judge their leaders. Never again in North America would clergy be imposed upon a congregation; American congregations controlled their ministers, not the other way around.

Despite its apparent antiintellectualism, the Great Awakening also spawned educational institutions designed to train ministers. Presbyterians established PRINCETON COLLEGE and DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH leaders started Rutgers, both in New Jersey. Baptists founded Brown University in Rhode Island, and Congregationalists opened DARTMOUTH COLLEGE in NEW HAMPSHIRE. Soon, other minister-training schools would dot the countryside. Thus, this religious revival movement became the impetus for a burgeoning national EDUCATION system.

Two more enduring legacies of the Great Awakening are its effects on American political leaders and its influence in leading American citizens toward a separation of church and state. The rumblings within traditional religious structure gave permission for thoughtful Americans to embrace the Enlightenment—that European extension of rational thought that encouraged scientists to investigate and test the behavior of the universe and to attempt to explain and harness that behavior in new machines, models of the heavens, and complex studies of flora and fauna. Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson are among the best-known of the advocates of Deism, but many intellectuals subscribed to the idea that the universe might be a system set in motion by a God who then left it for humans to manage. The shaping of the documents that underpin American political life—the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution—are flavored with the idea that religious freedom is the “natural” result of the assumption that “all men are created equal.”

In responding to a *mélange* of class, race, GENDER, regional, and philosophical tensions, the Great Awakening can be described as the first truly unifying event of the British colonies in America. In some ways it was a rehearsal for the unity that would be called upon by white Americans during the Revolution and for the religious themes that would undergird the black communities’ struggles for their freedom. In addition, there are some indications that



leaders of the resistance movement to Great Britain in the decade before the American Revolution were more likely to be radicals if they were adherents to the new religious beliefs popularized during the Great Awakening.

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—Emma Lapsansky and Billy G. Smith

## Great Plains Indians

The Great Plains, also known as the Great American Desert, are a wide swath of land in the center of North America defined partly by scant rainfall. They extend from the Rio Grande in the south to the Arctic Ocean in the north, from the Rocky Mountains in the west to approximately the 100th meridian in the east. People have lived on the Great Plains for millennia—for between 10,000 and 40,000 years. Archaeologists divide Plains Indian history into several periods: the era of Paleo-Indians (before 6000 B.C.); the Archaic Period (6000 to 0 B.C.); the Plains-Woodland period (500 B.C. to A.D. 1000); the Transitional period, Plains-Woodland to Plains Culture (A.D. 900 to 1500); and Historic Plains Indian Culture, rather arbitrarily declared finished 200 years ago.

The Indian population of the plains was never fixed. The plains have always been subject to a drought cycle, causing peoples and ANIMALS to advance onto the plains only to retreat decades or centuries later when a new period of drought occurred. These cycles were unpredictable and of uneven duration.

Many NATIVE AMERICANS who would become the Plains Indians lived in villages on the prairie fringes of the plains or along plains rivers and engaged in AGRICULTURE, supplementing their diets with hunting. Before contact with Europeans, Great Plains people often used dogs to assist them in travel, depending on them to pull travois, a sort of sled made of poles that could carry either goods or children. Indian peoples began to resettle the Great Plains just before the European presence made itself felt in the 17th century. Natives brought and developed elaborate systems of religious and secular art, predominantly quilling and painting.

Plains peoples did not share a single unified culture. Centuries of moving on and off the plains had changed cultural groups considerably. For example, there were six different language groups represented on the plains: Algonquian, Siouan, Caddoan, Uto-Aztecan, Athabaskan,

and Kiowa-Tanoan. Groups speaking these languages did not necessarily live near one another. Although belief systems, artistic practices, and technologies often were similar, they differed from group to group. These people also did not live in peace, as rivalries for the best hunting and territory affected them before European contact intensified intertribal conflict and violence.

In the late 17th century, Plains people began to feel the first ripples of European influence from the Northeast and Southwest, influences that led to the gradual modification of traditional Plains cultures and interactions. Plains Indians also encountered tribes fleeing westward away from European expansion. As contact increased, cultures changed. Some tribes, for instance, incorporated beads and metal obtained from European traders and fashioned new designs influenced by Eastern Woodlands tribes.

Indians struggled to control the flow of European goods onto the Plains. French traders from Upper Canada exposed Plains peoples to the gun, which provided some Indian people's technological and economic power over their rivals. In the late 17th and early 18th centuries the western Sioux gained a monopoly over access to French trade and guns. About the same time Plains Indians in the Spanish Southwest, through trade and raids, acquired their first horses. Despite Spanish attempts to subdue the PUEBLO Indians of the region, the Pueblo managed to remove the Spanish briefly from NEW MEXICO in 1680. After the PUEBLO REVOLT the Comanche traded with the newly liberated Pueblo peoples, obtained horses previously owned by the Spanish, and controlled their spread through intertribal trade north and east onto the Great Plains. The Comanche tried to maintain a monopoly on horses, as the Sioux did on guns. Despite these efforts, both goods spread gradually across the Plains through trade and capture.

The gun and horse revolutionized plains societies. They made TRAVEL easier and nomadism on the dry plains feasible. They also increased violence among Indian peoples as tribes competed for dominance in the 18th century. For example, the Comanche used their control of horses to challenge Apache power on the southern plains, replacing it with their own. The Sioux, meanwhile, used guns to subdue river tribes and to win control of the northern plains. Guns were not the only TECHNOLOGY of violence adopted by Natives to use against one another; Indian peoples in the Southwest adopted Spanish cavalry techniques and leather armor. This change is documented by hide paintings that show unmounted tribes accustomed to infantry fighting facing mounted, armored tribes on the plains. The introduction of the gun and the horse allowed for the creation of tribal "superpowers" on the plains, a state of affairs that lasted into the 19th century.

The Sioux exemplify how guns and horses transformed power on the plains. As the Plains headed into a wet cycle

for most of the 18th century, they abounded in wildlife, useful for both survival and trade. Initially the beaver and then, by the early 19th century, the bison provided ready sources of profit for Natives and, therefore, access to European trade goods. In the north the quest for beaver led the Sioux to abandon horticultural life and to attack and dominate such tribes as the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara along the Missouri River. The Sioux's guns later allowed them to demand tribute from these villages. Agricultural tribute from other tribes enabled the Sioux to farm less and hunt more, thereby increasing their wealth. Another European import, DISEASE, helped the Sioux expansion because diseases struck settled and more populous villages harder than they struck nomadic peoples. This dominance of the Sioux and other groups helps explain why some less powerful and exploited Indians subsequently aided Euro-American expansion onto the Plains. Many Plains tribes who lost power and lands in the mid-18th century hoped that new white allies might make better neighbors than strong Indian enemies.

See also EXPLORATION; POPE.

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—Jenny Turner

## Guadalajara

Less densely populated than the major Native American areas to the south, the Guadalajara region was home to the Nahua Indians, who lived in scattered sedentary agricultural villages. These NATIVE AMERICANS were conquered by Captain Nuño de Guzmán between 1530 and 1532. Guzmán founded the first city of Guadalajara in 1532. The settlement moved several times before finding its permanent home in 1542, after which Guadalajara became one of the dominant cities of western Mexico. By 1550 the bishop of New Galicia had relocated to Guadalajara, and by 1560 Guadalajara had become the administrative center for all of western Mexico and the capital of New Galicia under the authority of the viceroy of New Spain.

Guadalajara grew slowly, containing approximately 1,500 people in 1600, when, according to one scholar, the inhabitants "ran hares through the streets with their hunting dogs." In the early years more than half the Spaniards living in the city were administrative, although MERCHANTS and livestock traders quickly became important

as well. Because the climate was arid, AGRICULTURE was relatively inconsequential, but livestock raising was central. Guadalajarans consequently often lacked wheat and maize but never wanted for inexpensive meat.

By the 18th century Guadalajara became a major, if isolated, urban center comprising 350 city blocks and a large suburban area. Impressive buildings, including a cathedral (consecrated in 1618) and the Government Palace (1643), graced the city by the end of the colonial period.

**Further reading:** Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth-Century Mexico: The Rural Economy of the Guadalajara Region, 1675–1820* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

—Donald Duhadaway

## Gullah

Technically, Gullah encompasses only the distinct black culture found near the southern coast of SOUTH CAROLINA, but historians, folklorists, and anthropologists traditionally link it to the Geechee culture of the GEORGIA Sea Islands. Throughout southern slave societies successive generations of slaves maintained many of their African traditions, influencing white and black culture alike. In a process described as creolization, African and European cultural inheritances fused together to produce distinctive African American cultures. Over time the unending process of cultural fusion often concealed cultural roots, yet the relative isolation of Gullah facilitated the retention of African characteristics that remain highly visible today.

Gullah retained many of its Africanisms through language. The first slaves brought to South Carolina came from the CARIBBEAN, where many had gained familiarity with British culture. Initially, most had constant, intimate contact with white people in South Carolina, and most acquired the English language of their masters. As the colony expanded, based increasingly on rice cultivation, planters obtained more slaves directly from AFRICA, and they revived African culture in their new homes. The development of large rice plantations combined with the rising fear of malaria, which drove planters to absentee ownership during the summer and fall, limited contact with white people and allowed slaves to form a new mode of oral expression.

As a dialect, Gullah largely combined English vocabulary with African grammar. African slaves usually spoke mutually unintelligible languages, but the English of American-born slaves provided a unifying vocabulary. African slaves simply appropriated English words and applied them to familiar speech patterns. Thus, an English-based "pidgin" language developed. The transformation of pidgin—which by definition has no native speakers—into a

CREOLE language occurred as African-American children inherited Gullah from their African parents.

The creolization of Gullah included not only the creation of a distinct language but the use of that language as well. Gullah-speaking slaves, for example, often followed the African tradition of “basket-naming,” bestowing names of social significance or personal circumstance on their children. One practice involved giving temporal names to children to denote time or day of birth; many slaves shared the names Monday, Friday, March, August, Christmas, and Midday. Speaking in parable was another common African feature of Gullah. Indirect and ambigu-

ous language conveyed subtleties to black people while it disguised hidden meanings from whites. Indeed, the notorious trickster, Brer Rabbit, may have first surfaced in Gullah parables.

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—C. B. Waldrip





# H



## **Hamilton, Andrew** (1676–1741) *lawyer*

Andrew Hamilton was born and educated in Scotland, but for unknown reasons he was forced to immigrate to America, most likely because of political troubles during the reign of King William (1689–1702). He assumed the name Trent and lived in VIRGINIA and MARYLAND, where he managed an estate and ran a classical school. By the time of Queen Anne's rule (1702–14), he was using the name Hamilton again. He married the wealthy widow Anne Brown and entered the upper ranks of colonial society. Hamilton made a return trip to England in 1712 and was admitted to Gray's Inn in London, being called to the English Bar only two weeks later. Returning to his plantation in Maryland, Hamilton's legal career gained wide notice. His legal services for WILLIAM PENN and his agents brought about Hamilton's removal to PHILADELPHIA in 1717. There he continued his legal work for the proprietors, who granted him a 153-acre estate; he held several public offices, including recorder of the city, prothonotary of the supreme court, and representative and Speaker of the Assembly. He was known as a political independent but retained his connections with the proprietary family. Hamilton was responsible for designing the State House, which later became known as Independence Hall. He was appointed judge of the vice admiralty court in 1737, just a few years before his death in Philadelphia.

Hamilton's biggest claim to fame, which made his reputation as the greatest colonial lawyer, was his successful defense of NEW YORK printer JOHN PETER ZENGER in 1735. New York's royal governor, William Cosby, had dismissed Chief Justice LEWIS MORRIS in favor of a political crony. Morris and attorneys James Alexander and William Smith attacked the governor's high-handedness in a series of unsigned articles printed in the new *Weekly Journal*, which they had persuaded Zenger to begin publishing. Zenger was arrested on charges of seditious libel. He retained Alexander and Smith to represent him, but the royal judges disbarred them for questioning the validity of

the judges' commissions from Governor Cosby. Zenger's friends invited Hamilton to undertake his defense. The law limited the jury to determining the fact of publication, leaving the question of libel to the judges. Hamilton, taking the case for no fee, masterfully argued for the jury to deliver a "general verdict" on both the law and the facts, concluding that freedom of the press "is the best cause; it is the cause of liberty." It is not libel, he argued, if the statements Zenger printed about public figures were true. Zenger was found not guilty. The trial set a precedent for the independence of juries and was a major victory for the freedom of the press throughout the colonies.

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—Stephen C. O'Neill

## **Hammon, Jupiter** (1711–1800?) *poet*

According to his master's ledger, Jupiter Hammon was born to slave parents on October 17, 1711, at the Lloyd plantation located near Oyster Bay, Long Island, NEW YORK. Hammon enjoyed extraordinary privileges that were denied to most colonial slaves. His master, Henry Lloyd, permitted him to read theological books in his library and attend schools on the plantation. Lloyd sold Hammon a Bible in 1733, which enhanced his literacy and influenced his religious beliefs. Lloyd trusted Hammon as the family's bookkeeper, including maintaining slave-trading records.

Religion was a pivotal force in Hammon's life. He attended the Lloyds' church and became aware of abolitionists because Oyster Bay was the nucleus of New York's antislavery Quaker movement. Hammon listened to abolitionist speakers and major religious figures, including GEORGE WHITEFIELD during the GREAT AWAKENING.

Hammon experienced an epiphany in which he became devoutly religious and determined that his purpose in life was to protest slavery subtly through preaching to slaves on the Lloyd estate.

Hammon incorporated biblical themes in poetry and essays, using hymns as his pattern for rhythm. His 1760 debut poem, "An Evening Thought," expressed the idea that slaves would ultimately be freed through the salvation of Jesus. Hammon was the first American slave to publish antislavery writings that were read by a diverse audience, although many white colonists dismissed him.

After Henry Lloyd's death in 1763, Hammon served his son Joseph. When Lloyd fled to Hartford, CONNECTICUT, in 1776 to evade invading British troops, Hammon accompanied him. In that literary-minded city Hammon published more writings that expressed his antislavery Calvinist views. His first poem published in Hartford addressed the slave poet Phillis Wheatley, suggesting that she should write about religious subjects. His evangelical writing reiterated his main theme that God used slavery to test AFRICAN AMERICANS' faith in heavenly freedom. Hammon urged black people to support one another spiritually while remaining obedient to their masters. Although Hammon did not believe that he would ever be freed on this earth, he tried to improve conditions for younger generations of slaves.

After Joseph Lloyd committed suicide in 1780, John Lloyd inherited Hammon, who continued writing in Hartford until 1783, when Lloyd returned to Oyster Bay. In that year Hammon published "A Dialogue Entitled the Kind Master and the Dutiful Servant," stressing that sin was what divided slaves and masters. Hammon's final short book was *An Address to the Negroes of the State of New York*, printed in 1787. concerned about slaves' suffering economic misfortunes if they were suddenly freed and forced to compete for employment, Hammon argued that gradual emancipation was the best solution. Although a pioneering African-American literary figure, Hammon has often been ignored because Wheatley overshadowed him.

**Further reading:** Philip M. Richard, *Nationalist Themes in the Preaching of Jupiter Hammon* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

**Hamor, Ralph (the Younger)** (1588–1626) *merchant*  
Ralph Hamor, the son of Raphe Hamor, was a prosperous merchant-tailor and early subscriber to the VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON. With the issuance of the second Virginia Company charter in 1609, Hamor the younger sailed to VIRGINIA on the *Sea Venture* in the company of Sir George Somers and JOHN ROLFE. Shipwrecked

on Bermuda (an event that inspired Shakespeare's *The Tempest*), Hamor and survivors eventually made their way to JAMESTOWN, where he was appointed clerk to the Virginia council by Governor Thomas Gates. Hamor subsequently served as colony secretary and councilor. Upon returning to England in 1614, Hamor wrote *A True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia* (1615), a promotional tract that nevertheless realistically chronicles the leading events of Virginia's first years, including the starving time, the abduction of Pocahontas, and her courtship by John Rolfe. The tract provides an interpretation of Virginia's early history that alternately contests, confirms, and complicates the account by JOHN SMITH.

In 1611, both Hamor and John Rolfe experimented with TOBACCO cultivation, which became the foundation of Virginia's economy, and Hamor assisted in securing Deputy Governor Dale's approval of Rolfe's courtship of Pocahontas. Shortly before returning to England in 1614, Hamor was dispatched by Dale on a delicate but unsuccessful mission to negotiate with Powhatan for his 12-year-old daughter to serve as the already married Dale's "nearest companion, wife, and bedfellow." This diplomatic transaction probably was the aged headman's last formal negotiation with the English. Along with his brother Thomas and three servants, Hamor returned to Virginia in 1617 to found a plantation on Hog Island, taking advantage of the Virginia Company's land grants to investors for transporting workers to the colony. During OPECHANCANOUGH's revolt in 1622, Hamor and his servants fought off an attack by the Warrascoyack with "spades, axes, and brickbats," until rescued by a squad of musketeers. During the dissolution of the Virginia Company, the Crown in 1624 issued a commission, delegating Sir Francis Wyatt to rule Virginia as governor with a council composed of Hamor and 11 other "old planters." Hamor lived until about 1626, having married twice and fathered two children.

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—James G. Bruggeman

**Harris, Benjamin** (d. 1716) *publisher*

Benjamin Harris, the first individual to start a newspaper in the American colonies, began his career in the book trade in his native London in 1673 with the publication of an anti-Catholic tract. When the Catholic James II ascended the English throne in 1685, Harris fled to BOSTON, where he resumed publishing and bookselling. His most famous publication, the *New England Primer* (1690), was a spelling text for children that sold for two centuries; it is known as the Little Bible of New England. Harris became the richest

bookseller in Boston in part due to innovative practices such as selling coffee and tea along with his publications. His establishment became known as the city's only coffee-house suitable for respectable women.

Harris recognized that Boston's commercial activity provided advertising possibilities to support a newspaper. In September 1690 he published *Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestick*, the first American newspaper. The newspaper contained three printed pages and one blank page, because the custom was for the first reader to write a letter on the blank page and send it to a friend. While Harris meant for his newspaper to appear regularly, his criticism of the colony's Indian allies and reports on the sexual peccadilloes of the French king led to the newspaper being banned; the official reason was that Harris had printed without a license. In the following years Harris continued to run his coffee shop and publish books, and for a year he served as the governor's official printer. Harris returned to London in 1695 and spent his last years in the publishing trade and in selling quack medicines.

**Further reading:** William David Sloan and Julie Hedgepeth Williams, *The Early American Press, 1690–1783* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994).

—Kenneth Pearl

### **Harrison, Peter** (1716–1775) *architect*

Born in England and raised a Quaker, Peter Harrison became one of the colonies' premier architects. He converted to Anglicanism when he immigrated to America, settling in NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND about 1740. Following his immigration and conversion, Harrison ran a successful business and married a wealthy woman, Elizabeth Pelham, who brought a dowry of more than £20,000. These actions catapulted Harrison to the top of Newport society. Harrison, his wife, and their four children had their portrait painted by JOHN SMIBERT.

Although his early architectural designs were for ships and lighthouses, Harrison soon moved on to larger projects, such as country homes for the wealthy. In 1748 he designed the Redwood Library, basing his work on Greek classical images, which made him well known throughout New England, although he was never paid for this project. Harrison designed several religious structures, including King's Chapel in BOSTON, which was the first stone church in America, and the first Jewish temple built in New England. This last project was especially difficult, because Harrison was ignorant of Jewish ritual and he had no model upon which to base his plans. Harrison also plotted the Brick Market in Newport and many homes for prominent families. Not until the 20th century was Harrison acknowledged as America's "first architect," although he would not

have described himself in those terms. Harrison always considered himself a gentleman and his ARCHITECTURE the work of an amateur.

**Further reading:** Leland M. Roth, *American Architecture: A History* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2003).

—Victoria C. H. Resnick

### **Harvard College**

North America's oldest institution of higher EDUCATION, Harvard College (now Harvard University) was founded in 1636 and officially chartered in 1650. Its patrons used Cambridge University, a Puritan stronghold in England, as an archetype. Throughout the 17th century Harvard's leaders explicitly designed the school to produce Congregational ministers. PURITANS believed that faith had both spiritual and intellectual dimensions. Thus, they considered the education of ministers a matter of first importance. Harvard's early presidents, Henry Dunster and CHARLES CHAUNCEY, also sought to train certain "hopefull Indian youthes" as Protestant ministers in order to deliver Native peoples from "paganism." An Indian College appeared in 1654, but only a handful of pupils attended, and the neglected enterprise vanished by the 1690s. Most of Harvard's students hailed from the upper echelons of New England society. A sizable number of farmers' and ARTISANS' sons also attended, however, making the school a vehicle for a limited kind of social mobility. Students imbibed the classical curriculum of Greek, Latin, and mathematics that had characterized higher learning in the Western world since the late medieval period. In the 18th century the curriculum broadened to include more philosophy and SCIENCE, while the graduates turned increasingly to law, MEDICINE, and politics.

See also COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA; COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY; DARTMOUTH COLLEGE; KING'S COLLEGE; JOHN LEVERETT; PRINCETON COLLEGE; YALE COLLEGE.

**Further reading:** James Axtell, *The School upon a Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974); Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936).

—J. M. Opal

### **Heathcote, Caleb** (1666–1721) *farmer, politician, merchant*

Land speculator, farmer, contractor, merchant, politician, and churchman Caleb Heathcote was an early builder of the NEW YORK colony. Born in Derbyshire, England, to a family actively involved in trade through the British East

India Company, he migrated to New York in 1692, bringing a share of the family wealth and extensive trading connections. He married Martha Smith in 1699. The couple had six children, four of whom died in CHILDHOOD. He settled his family on land he purchased north of Mamaroneck and in 1701 was granted the Manor of Scarsdale (the last manor granted in British North America). A commercial entrepreneur, he built MILLS for sawing wood and grinding corn and linseed, and he urged the British authorities to develop New York naval and textile products for export to the West Indies.

His political activity included service on the governor's council (1692–98, 1702–66) and serving as mayor of NEW YORK CITY (1711–13), colonel of the Westchester militia, and judge of several Westchester county courts. The imperial administration rejected his proposal for a conference of colonial administrators to formulate strategy for dealing with the Indians, yet he was appointed surveyor general of customs for the northern department, where he worked to improve customs administration and collection.

A devoted churchman, Heathcote served as vestryman of Trinity Parish (1697–99, 1711–14) and chaired the committee that built the first church. He corresponded regularly with the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL, of which he was a member, and helped establish Anglican congregations in Westchester, Rye, New Rochelle, Eastchester, and Yonkers. He started a day school and a Sunday school in Rye and as mayor of New York City promoted the development of schools.

**Further reading:** Dixon Ryan Fox, *Caleb Heathcote: Gentleman Colonist* (New York: Scribner's, 1926).

—Mary Sudman Donovan

**Hendrick** (1680?–1755) *Iroquois League leader, diplomat*

Hendrick (Teoniahigarawe, Theyanoquin) was a leader in the IROQUOIS League and the primary negotiator between the league and the British from 1710 until 1755. Born a Mohican, Hendrick was adopted into the Mohawk tribe as a child. A Protestant convert, he believed that the interests of the Iroquois lay in alliance with the British. In 1710 Hendrick traveled to London as one of the “Four Indian Kings” to rally support for an invasion of New France. The Iroquois League did not always support Hendrick's policies. In 1747 he led the Mohawk against the French without the league's support. When land-hungry New Yorkers seized Mohawk land in the 1740s and 1750s, Hendrick told New York governor George Clinton that the British had broken their alliance. Hendrick's threat prompted the ALBANY CONGRESS of 1754, in which representatives of various British colonies promised to respect Indian land

rights. Hendrick died leading a Mohawk force against the French in 1755.

**Further reading:** Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

—Kathleen DuVal

**Herrman, Augustine** (1605–1686) *government official, mapmaker*

A native of Prague in Bohemia, Augustine Herrman was a surveyor and merchant who moved to the Dutch colony of NEW NETHERLAND, where he became a member of PETER STUYVESANT's nine-man advisory council in 1647. He also served as arbitrator, power of attorney, and recorder of judicial cases in the struggling colony. Skilled in the graphic arts, Herrman sketched a view of NEW AMSTERDAM in 1656 that appeared at the bottom of Van der Donck's map of New Netherland.

In 1659 Governor Stuyvesant entrusted Herrman with an embassy to the governor of MARYLAND, whose proprietor, Lord Baltimore, claimed Dutch territory as part of his grant from the king of England. Herrman's mission was threefold: to arrange a future meeting concerning the boundary question; to retrieve servants, slaves, and debtors, who had fled from Dutch to English territory; and to ascertain whether Maryland would stop sending agents into the Delaware Valley to bestir the inhabitants against Dutch rule. Herrman kept a journal of his embassy in which he appears as a formidable debater against Maryland's governor and council. However heated the arguments, Herrman succeeded in exacting no promises or resolutions on any of the disputed issues. Shortly after his embassy Herrman moved to Maryland, where he later used his graphics and surveying skills to produce the first map that accurately showed the waterways of Maryland. Impressed with Herrman's map, Lord Baltimore granted him a large tract of land in present-day Cecil County that Herrman named “Bohemia Manor” in honor of his native land. He died there in 1686.

**Further reading:** Augustine Herrman, *Journal of the Dutch Embassy to Maryland*, in Charles T. Gehring, ed., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1981).

—Judy VanBuskirk

**Hesselius, John** (1728?–1778) *artist*

Born in PHILADELPHIA to a Swedish immigrant family, John Hesselius became a painter like his father, Gustavus Hesselius. Hesselius first appears in the historical record



buying paper at Benjamin Franklin's shop, and later he painted a portrait of Franklin's daughter Sarah. Hesselius learned painting from his father, and he quickly became a popular artist, specializing in original portraits and copies of other likenesses. A prolific artist, Hesselius composed at least 100 portraits, many of influential families such as the Calverts.

His early work is known for the dark shading of flesh typical of his father, but mostly for the influence of ROBERT FEKE, whom he met during one of Feke's visits to Philadelphia. Like Feke, Hesselius emphasized bright colors, lush fabrics, and landscape settings in his backgrounds. His style changed in the late 1750s, about the time he married a wealthy widow and moved to her plantation in MARYLAND. Under the influence of the English painter John Willaston, Hesselius began to include elegant composition and sophisticated modeling while maintaining Feke's emphasis on color and landscape. Hesselius is known for pictorial honesty in capturing the personality of his sitters and for providing documentation on the reverse side of his paintings.

Hesselius's clients demonstrate the interconnected nature of the upper classes in the Middle Colonies. As many of his sitters were related and there are no records of advertisements, it appears that Hesselius's business relied primarily on word of mouth.

See also ART.

—Victoria C. H. Resnick

### **Hooker, Thomas** (1586–1647) *Puritan minister, colonist*

The founder of CONNECTICUT, Thomas Hooker was born in Marfield, Leicestershire, England, to poor but devout Puritan parents. He won a scholarship to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, the premier Puritan educational establishment. While there he experienced conversion according to the common Puritan pattern, passing through profound anguish to equally profound assurance of salvation. After receiving his B.A. in 1608 and his M.A. in 1611, he joined Emmanuel's faculty.

In 1618 Hooker left Emmanuel, serving as Anglican pastor in Esher, Surrey, and later in Chelmsford, Essex. His bold, conversion-centered preaching, which won many followers, attracted the notice of church officials. In 1629 they suspended him from Anglican orders, and the next year they summoned him before the ANGLICAN CHURCH's Court of High Commission. Initially he fled to Holland, but he later returned to England and finally opted for immigration to MASSACHUSETTS, arriving in BOSTON in 1633 on the same ship that carried JOHN COTTON.

In 1634 Hooker became pastor of the Congregational church in Newtown (present-day Cambridge). His insistence on a sharp distinction between the national (religious)

covenant and all civil (political) covenants brought him into immediate conflict with the government of Massachusetts, which had made SUFFRAGE dependent on church membership. For this and other reasons, in 1636 he led his congregation in an exodus to the banks of the Connecticut River, founding the town of Hartford and helping to establish the colony of Connecticut. The new colony's Fundamental Orders, adopted in 1639, reflected Hooker's influence in that they opened the franchise to non-church members.

Hooker was the leading theoretician of New England preparationism, a school of thought that saw conversion as a long, arduous process through which the seeker must pass before attaining salvation. On this point he clashed with Cotton, whose telescoped understanding of the process stressed God's gracious initiative. Their dispute came to a head in the Antinomian Controversy of 1637–38, which revolved around the informal, inflammatory ministry of Cotton's disciple ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON. Hooker's views on conversion found expression in a number of publications, including *The Soules Preparation for Christ* (1632) and *The Sinners Salvation* (1638). He expounded his perspective on ecclesiastical polity in the enormously influential *Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline* (1648). Some scholars have mistakenly labeled Hooker as the "first American democrat" because he advocated that men other than church members had a right to elect their rulers. Still, Hooker was far from an advocate either of the strict separation of church and state or of the widespread exercise of the franchise.

**Further reading:** Sargent Bush, Jr., *The Writings of Thomas Hooker: Spiritual Adventure in Two Worlds* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980); John H. Ball, III, *Chronicling the Soul's Windings: Thomas Hooker and His Morphology of Conversion* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1992).

—George W. Harper and Billy G. Smith

### **horses**

Although the prehistoric ancestors of modern horses lived throughout North America, they had all disappeared by about 7,000 B.C. Europeans reintroduced the animals to the continent as they explored and colonized the "New World." As in the Old World, horses soon served a central role in the Americas. The spread of horses profoundly affected many Native American peoples, as they adopted horses for their own purposes.

Europeans relied on horses as an essential technology. Christopher Columbus brought Andalusian horses to the West Indies in 1493, Ponce de León imported them to Florida in 1521, and Hernando de Soto's 1539 expedition included more than 300 of the valuable animals. Two years

later, the French began exploring Canada on horseback. In 1585 Sir Walter Raleigh sent horses to the Roanoke colony. The first horses brought by Jamestown colonists were eaten during the starving time, but new stocks arrived in 1611 and 1614. By 1630 herds were well established in Florida, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, and Canada. Although oxen remained the primary heavy draft animal, horses, either ridden or driven, provided the overland transportation.

As their numbers increased, horses became economically important. Selective breeding programs developed, and, after 1650, New England exported horses to other colonies and to West Indies sugar plantations on ships with specially built deck pens. Indicative of their value, in 1701 Massachusetts established a government office of Horse Inspector to verify the license numbers of buyers and sellers and the horses' descriptions and registration numbers. Horse racing also became popular, and the country's first Jockey Club formed in Charleston in 1734. Horses in the South were generally kept turned out in large fields without much care. German settlers in Pennsylvania, however, kept theirs in barns through the winter, where they fed on hay, and collected manure to spread on their fields. These farmers began to develop America's first draft horses, which pulled freight wagons, called Conestogas, hauling three to four tons. Eventually, Americans developed several breeds, including Narragansett Pacers, Virginia Quarter-path racers, and Conestoga horses.

Native Americans quickly took advantage of the introduction of this new domestic species. From the original stock Juan de Oñate used in founding the colony of New Mexico, horses spread throughout the Native peoples of the West, particularly after the PUEBLO REVOLT in 1680. Many Natives transformed their cultures as they incorporated horses into their communities. The Lakota and the Cheyenne, for example, de-emphasized agriculture in favor of a bison-hunting economy. The territories of these horse-owning people shifted, often intensifying conflicts with other groups in the region. The ownership of these animals also became a measure of wealth and prestige. They were used in dowry payments and given as extravagant gifts. Horse stealing demonstrated skill and bravery, and new religious significance and rituals institutionalized their importance. Meanwhile, horses became more important among the people living in the region of the Appalachian Mountains. By 1700 the CHICKASAW, CHOCTAW, CHEROKEE, and IROQUOIS possessed significant herds and established breeding programs of their own.

**Further reading:** Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

—Robert C. Gardner

## housing

The types of shelters constructed in early America varied widely as humans adopted styles that reflected the environment and the function of the housing as well as their ethnic affiliation and their social and economic status. Housing among North American Natives also varied widely when the English first landed in Roanoke. From multistory and multiroom buildings in the Southwest to "longhouses" in the Northeast, Indians constructed a myriad of dwellings. Many of these were uncomplicated structures that satisfied basic requirements for shelter and community assembly. In the Ohio Valley, for example, houses ranged from small, domed, single-family buildings to some more than 100 feet in length. These Native dwellings were made of saplings lashed together into frames covered with grasses or woven mats.

Similarly, most houses of the earliest colonists in the late 16th and early 17th centuries were "earthfast" structures constructed of poles driven into the ground and covered in reeds, rough boards, or "wattle and daub" mud plaster. Some were primitive cellars with sod or thatched coverings or were "wigwams," a term describing the ALGONQUIN house. These rudimentary one-room buildings accommodated families and their laborers while lands were cleared for cultivation.

After the middle of the 17th century, more substantial dwellings paralleled the traditional house forms of the colonists' ethnic origins. By the third decade of the 17th century, Dutch vernacular style houses appeared throughout NEW YORK and NEW JERSEY. These timber frame buildings, many having brick masonry facades and distinctive stepped front gables, emulated the design and interior organization of houses found in the Netherlands. In New England and the Chesapeake area, where British settlers were most numerous, the English vernacular house type dominated. These open plan, square or rectangular buildings were timber framed and covered with clapboards and shingles.

Throughout the colonies the "typical" house was a single room of approximately 350 square feet. The finish of interior space depended not only on ethnic difference but on local construction techniques, LABOR and material availability, and social class. Some houses had masonry chimneys, window glass, and plaster walls, while others had dirt floors, open hearths, and wooden shutters.

House construction standards varied across regions. In general, in New England dwellings were substantial and constructed of heavy timbers or masonry. In the Chesapeake area houses of all sizes were often shoddily built and had to be replaced every few years. Climate, GENDER imbalance, and economic considerations, as well as a pervasive psychology of impermanency, accounted for inferior home construction in VIRGINIA and MARYLAND.

CLASS differences became acutely apparent in this region after the middle of the 17th century, when the number of bonded workers increased dramatically. Slaves were removed from planter households to dwellings that mirrored the earliest colonial shelters—small, often windowless one-room buildings. The placement of slave houses on plantations, however, approximated village settings found in their African homelands.

While the one-room house was most common in North America throughout the colonial period, two- and three-room houses also emerged. These hall-and-parlor dwellings allowed for greater separation of domestic activities, such as cooking, washing, sleeping, and receiving visitors. Such segregation of private and more public activities often defined social class and economic status. Some two- and three-room house plans were expanded to include more elaborate hearths, second stories, and appurtenant wings. Urban two-room houses frequently accommodated both domestic and commercial requirements, with the street-side parlor functioning as a shop while the back hall served as cooking and sleeping quarters.

By the beginning of the 18th century, neoclassical, or Georgian, ARCHITECTURE influenced the houses of urban and rural elites in the North American colonies. Georgian house designs were one- or two-story box plans with window and door openings arranged in strict symmetry. The typical “closed plan” Georgian house had an unheated central passage, or hallway, from which separate rooms were entered. Restricted access into living and work areas allowed not only greater privacy and further division of domestic functions but encouraged the creation of social hierarchies within the house and community.

**Further reading:** Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Material Life in America 1600–1860* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988); William H. Pierson, *American Buildings and Their Architects* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Leland M. Roth, *A Concise History of American Architecture* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979).

—Catherine Goetz

### **Howe, George Augustus, Viscount** (1724?–1758) *soldier*

George, Lord Howe was a talented young British officer who was killed during the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. His death ended hopes of success in 1758 and deprived the English of a capable officer noted for his ability to work with colonial troops.

Howe was chosen as second in command to the administratively capable and well connected but uninspiring Major General James Abercromby. Howe gained the respect of colonial troops through his personal bravery and

willingness to disregard the trappings of rank. He shocked his staff officers by washing his own linen and eating with camp utensils. He was one of the few British officers who believed colonial troops could be capable soldiers if properly led and did not dismiss colonial officers as social inferiors. He trained with Captain Robert Rogers's rangers and insisted his regular troops learn the same woodcraft and combat skills.

In a skirmish with French forces while advancing toward Canada through NEW YORK, Howe moved forward with the advance guard of English troops, landing by boat on the west coast of Lake George. He was killed by a musket ball to the chest during a confused woodland battle with a small detachment of French forces sent to harass and slow the English advance. When Howe died, the troops, especially the colonials, lost heart. French forces under the Marquis De Montcalm defeated Abercromby, and the advance failed. The MASSACHUSETTS Assembly appropriated £250 for a testimonial plaque placed in Westminster Abbey, a mark of the respect in which the colonials held him.

See also WAR AND WARFARE.

**Further reading:** Fred Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

—Grant Weller

### **Hudson, Henry** (1565?–1611?) *explorer*

Henry Hudson was an English navigator and explorer who sailed for Holland and England looking first for a north-east and then a Northwest Passage to Asia. Little is known about Hudson's early life, but he must have been a competent navigator because three financial backers hired him to make several dangerous voyages.

The Muscovy Company, an English trading company, initially sponsored Hudson's search for a northeast passage from Europe to the Far East in 1607. That spring Hudson and a small crew sailed on the *Hopewell*, first to Greenland and then the Svalbard (Spitzbergen) islands on their way through the Arctic Ocean. However, he was forced to turn back, as he did again the following year on a similar mission for the same company. In 1609 the Dutch East India Company financed Hudson's third voyage, which he undertook on the *Half Moon* with a crew of fewer than 20 men. Dangerous icebergs and bad weather helped produce tensions that threatened mutiny among his mixed crew of English and Dutch sailors. Therefore, Hudson abandoned the search for a northeast passage and headed the *Half Moon* south along the east coast of North America in search of a Northwest Passage he had heard about while in Holland. Entering present-day NEW YORK Harbor,





English navigator Henry Hudson (Hulton/Archive)

Hudson sailed north for 150 miles on what was later named the Hudson River. North of present-day Albany Hudson became convinced that the river did not lead to the passage, so the expedition returned to England. In England the government seized the ship and forbade him to sail on behalf of any foreign nation.

His final voyage was underwritten by a variety of sponsors, including the British East India Company. In 1610 he set out on the ship *Discovery* to look for a Northwest Passage. By early August he passed through what was later called Hudson Strait and entered into a large “sea” now known as Hudson Bay in northern Canada. Hudson was uncharacteristically timid in his decisions in the bay; he headed south along the east shore of the bay instead of heading due west across it. By the time he had determined that this, too, was a false lead, winter had arrived and froze in the ship. Trouble among the crew finally reached a climax the next June, when Hudson, his son John, and seven other sailors were seized and placed in a small boat. The *Discovery* returned to England, and no more was heard from Hudson and the others.

Although the Northwest Passage did not exist, Henry Hudson's explorations provided the foundation for English claims to Canada and the Dutch settlement of NEW NETHERLAND, which eventually became New York.

**Further reading:** Barbara Saffer, *Henry Hudson: Ill-fated Explorer of North America's Coast* (Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2001).

—Doug Baker

### Hudson's Bay Company (1668)

The Hudson's Bay Company was a successful trading enterprise in North America. It began when Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers, two French adventurers, came up with a plan to reach the great beaver country and the South Seas by way of Hudson Bay and the rivers that flowed into it from the west. Unable to attract any French interest, they offered their ideas to the English, and in 1668 their backers organized a company. Its purpose was to acquire and transport furs and skins from North America to the London market. Groseilliers and his party traveled to the Hudson Bay area, and in 1670 the company was granted the right of sole trade and commerce for all the rivers of Canada east of the Continental Divide that did not flow into the Atlantic, the Arctic, the St. Lawrence, or the Great Lakes and for all the land that they drained.

The company relied on NATIVE AMERICANS to provide furs of bear, beaver, buffalo, deer, elk, fisher, fox, martin, seal, squirrel, and wolf, plus feathers, quills, swan skins, and pemmican. Furs were made into bales and shipped to England each August, where they were sold by auction in London. Most were then shipped to other European countries. The royal charter blocked the company from developing new European markets, placing a severe strain on it whenever demand slowed in Britain. The territory around Hudson Bay was divided into six main areas, with the trade in each area conducted from a post. For the century of its existence, the company did not seek out traders but waited for Native Americans to come to the post. The two French founders, despised as foreigners and suspected of treachery, were unable to persuade the company to penetrate deeper into the West to acquire more customers and circumvent the traders of New France. This trade policy led to the development of tribes, mostly HURON and Assiniboine, who acted as brokers to other tribes who could not easily reach Hudson Bay. In the 1770s the company's traders started to penetrate the inland.

**Further reading:** Ann M. Carlos, *The North American Fur Trade, 1804–1821: A Study in the Life Cycle of a Duopoly* (New York: Garland, 1986).

—Caryn E. Neumann

### Hume, Sophia Wigington (1702–1774) minister

Sophia Wigington Hume was born in 1702 in CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA. Her parents, Henry and Susanna



(Bayley) Wigington, were prominent members of South Carolina society. Hume's father was an official for the colony, and his riches assured that she enjoyed privileges, such as EDUCATION, considered appropriate for upper-CLASS girls. Her maternal grandmother, Mary Fisher, was a Quaker minister, and Hume often argued with her restrictive mother, who followed Fisher's teachings about moral conduct.

Sophia Wigington married Robert Hume, a wealthy lawyer, in 1721, and they had two children. She enjoyed indulging in CLOTHING and jewelry as well as entertainment, such as operas and masquerades. After her husband died in 1737, she endured illnesses and underwent a religious conversion experience. She joined the Society of Friends (QUAKERS) in 1741, selling her material possessions to seek religious salvation. Hume relocated to London, England, where she focused on Quaker teachings. After six years she returned to her hometown and began preaching about her spiritual epiphany.

Hume published *An Exhortation to the Inhabitants of the Province of South Carolina* in 1748, urging others to forsake luxuries, repent, and abandon their pride and vanity. Hume's ideas were not initially well received. She persisted, speaking to both Quakers and non-Quakers in Charleston and traveling to PHILADELPHIA and London, where she wrote *A Caution to Such as Observe Days and Times* in 1763, criticizing formal religious festivals and emphasizing social and spiritual accountability. Hume promoted reform to curb worldliness in *Extracts from Divers Antient Testimonies* in 1766, which reiterated texts by George Fox and WILLIAM PENN. While in England, she was designated a minister and eventually became one of the most prominent female Quaker preachers.

Returning to Charleston in 1767, Hume devoted her energy to distributing her texts and preaching about her beliefs, which included that women should focus on their home, family, and church and not solicit public attention, somewhat paradoxically in view of her own notoriety. A year later, frustrated by the decline of Quakerism in Charleston, Hume sailed for London, where she died on January 26, 1774.

**Further reading:** Sharon M. Harris, ed., *Oxford American Women Writers to 1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

## Huron

Four IROQUOIS-speaking tribes, known as the Wendat ("island people" or "dwellers on a peninsula"), but called Huron ("ruffian") by the French, inhabited the region between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe (in central

Ontario today). Between 1440 and 1610 they formed a confederacy to prevent blood feuds and fighting among themselves. The confederacy council considered issues of peace, war, and trade with outsiders and strove to resolve internal disputes; tribal and village councils decided other matters.

In 1614, when the French had first official contact with the Huron, approximately 25,000 Huron lived in about 20 palisaded villages consisting of bark-covered longhouses, each housing about six families. The Huron traced their origins back to the first woman, Aataentsic, and organized themselves into matrilineal clans that controlled the farmland. Each clan claimed descent from a common female ancestor, and marriages united most villages. Women cooked, sewed, tanned leather, cared for children, gathered food, made baskets, wove mats and FISHING nets, and raised swidden. Men hunted and fished, cleared new fields, grew TOBACCO, and fashioned tools. They also carried on trade and made war and peace. With the development of the European FUR TRADE, as happened in many indigenous societies, male economic and social power in Huron society increased. Huron children were free and undisciplined, at least by European standards. Sexual freedom was the norm, although marriage generally was monogamous and could be terminated easily by either partner.

Huron religion taught that all things in nature possessed spirits, or *oki*. The afterlife was a reunion of family, and there was no last judgment or hell. Dreams were very important and had to be acted on in either real or symbolic terms, otherwise serious illness would result. SHAMANS often deciphered dreams.

In 1614 the Huron entered a formal trading alliance with the French, becoming the chief purveyors of furs to Quebec. They continued to act as intermediaries in the European-Indian trade between the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River Valley.

After unsuccessful attempts by the French Recollects, the JESUITS (called "Black Robes") established a mission at Ihonatiria in 1634, and other MISSIONS soon followed. Conversions were slow until 1634, when major epidemics of European DISEASES killed half the population during the next five years. The conversion of some Huron to Christianity and their consequent separation from the rest of the community helped undermine the unity of Huron villages.

During the BEAVER WARS the NEW YORK Iroquois, who were allied to the Dutch rivals of the French for control of the fur trade, began attacking Huronia. Because the Dutch provided the Iroquois with firearms, the Huron were at a disadvantage. In 1647, after years of merely intercepting Huron shipments of furs to Montreal, the Iroquois began to destroy Huron villages and Jesuit missions and

kill people. Many Huron fled to New France in 1650, some settling north of Quebec at Lorette. Many Huron captives were also adopted into Iroquois tribes.

Some of the Huron refugees, now called Wyandot, subsequently migrated westward to the Great Lakes region. Pursued there by the Iroquois, they joined with Great Lakes ALGONQUIN to drive their enemies back to New York. By 1701 the Wyandot had moved to the Ohio Valley, where they remained until forced by the United States government to move to Kansas in the 1840s.

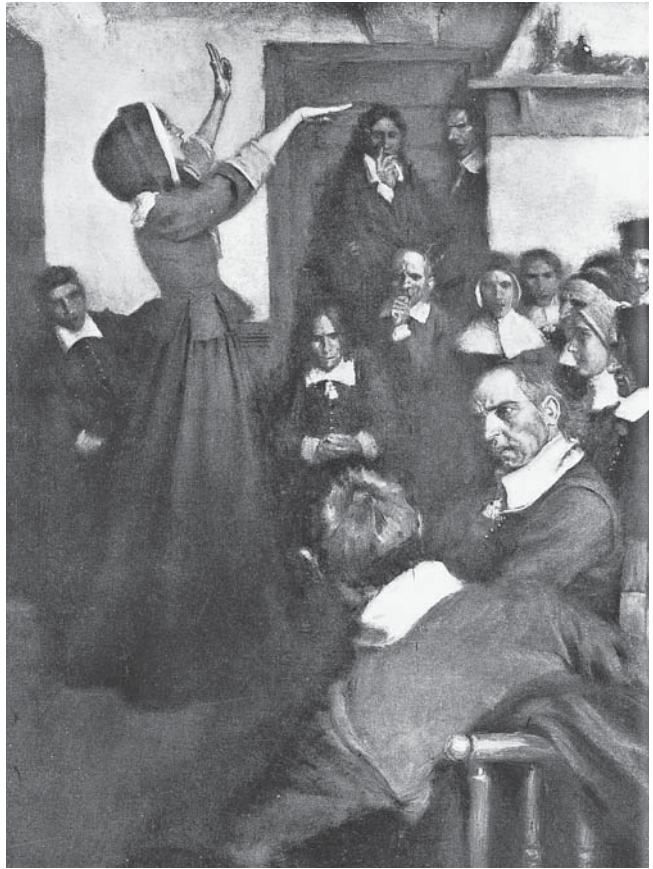
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—Joseph J. Casino

### Hutchinson, Anne Marbury (1591–1643) *religious dissenter*

Born in Alford, England, to an unorthodox minister, Anne Marbury grew up exposed to her father’s radical religious notions, inspiring her deep commitment to religious faith and theological debate that eventually landed her at the center of the Antinomian Controversy in BOSTON between 1636 and 1638. After marrying a merchant and giving birth to a number of children, Hutchinson and her family migrated to MASSACHUSETTS Bay Colony in 1634, primarily to follow JOHN COTTON, a Puritan minister they regarded highly. In Massachusetts Bay it was not uncommon for groups of women to meet in homes during the week to discuss scripture and theology. Hutchinson began holding these meetings at her home soon after her arrival. In addition, JOHN WHEELWRIGHT, Hutchinson’s brother-in-law, began preaching at her Boston home when colonial officials, disturbed by his controversial views, denied him the opportunity to establish his own church. Wheelwright’s preaching, in spite of his failure to receive official consent, constituted a formidable challenge to religious authority. Hutchinson was implicated in this dispute because she provided Wheelwright with a meeting place and because she organized theological discussions among women, an activity suspicious to many male magistrates and ministers.

Concurrently, Massachusetts Bay leaders struggled with what they perceived as a threat from Antinomians—people who embraced a “Covenant of Faith,” believing that only faith is needed for salvation regardless of devotion to the laws of the Bible, church, or state. Although Hutchinson and Wheelwright probably were not Antinomians, their accusations that many Puritan ministers taught a “Covenant of Works” by emphasizing outward behavior rather than inward faith threatened the legitimacy of the clergy. Further complicating matters was a concomi-



Anne Hutchinson preaching in her house in Boston (*Library of Congress*)

tant struggle for political power, especially the authority of the state to regulate the ECONOMY. Questioning that authority, many MERCHANTS and ARTISANS supported Hutchinson, Wheelwright, and Cotton. Adding to the tensions, the PURITANS were engaged in the PEQUOT WAR, which threatened the existence of the colony.

Perhaps most threatened by Anne Hutchinson was Governor JOHN WINTHROP, who served as both prosecutor and judge at Hutchinson’s trial. Winthrop called her before the court in 1637 to answer charges of her alliance with Wheelwright, who had been banished from the colony for sedition, and of holding meetings of women in her home. Hutchinson defended her religious views very ably. She argued further that no law prevented private meetings in homes, and that even if she had committed wrongdoing in allowing those with different theological views to speak, that was a matter of religion rather than an issue to be condemned by a civil court. Thus, she claimed, her trial was without cause. Winthrop ultimately condemned Hutchinson for behaving inappropriately by transcending the confines of her GENDER.

In an almost forgone conclusion the civil trial and the church trial that followed led to Hutchinson's banishment from the church and the colony. She and some of her followers fled to RHODE ISLAND, where her family had resettled, but they soon felt threatened there by a growing influence of Massachusetts Bay leaders and relocated to Dutch-controlled Long Island. In 1643 Hutchinson was killed in an Indian raid, and some Puritans interpreted her death as evidence of God's justice.

Hutchinson's experience is telling of the interconnection between church and state that existed in Massachusetts Bay and the strong response that followed any threat, whether theological or secular, to the colony's stability. Colonial leaders used the power of the state to suppress religious dissent, challenges to the authority of magistrates, and resistance to socially prescribed gender roles.

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—Jane P. Currie

### Hyde, Edward, Viscount Cornbury (1661–1723) *colonial governor*

Edward Hyde served as a member of the British Parliament, but, heavily in debt, he requested and received an appointment as governor of NEW YORK and NEW JERSEY in 1702, where he hoped to gain a fortune. As governor, Hyde stole funds, took bribes, and prosecuted people who did not belong to the ANGLICAN CHURCH. His American enemies accused him, apparently falsely, of scandalous behavior by routinely dressing in women's CLOTHING. His administration of both colonies proved calamitous. Recalled to England in 1708 but threatened with arrest for unpaid debts, Hyde refused to return. Upon inheriting his father's title of earl of Clarendon, Hyde returned to England, but, save for brief service on the Privy Council in 1711, he held no other important posts.

**Further reading:** Patricia U. Bonomi, *The Lord Cornbury Scandal: The Politics of Reputation in British America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

—James Jenks







### **Iberville, Pierre Le Moyne, sieur d' (1661–1706)**

*French naval officer*

The spectacular life of the multitalented swashbuckler, who was the third of 12 sons of Charles Le Moyne, reads like a Hollywood film series. His father arrived in Canada in 1641 at age 15 as an indentured servant of the Jesuits, then quickly learned a number of Native American languages. Charles became the wealthiest person in Montreal through his success in the pelt trade. Pierre expanded his father's networks as a leader in a force gathered in 1682 to drive the English from their lucrative HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY trading forts. Their spectacular initial victories made Pierre very rich. During the next 15 years, control of these various stations alternated. A formal division was made in 1697, by which time Pierre also was making huge profits from the fish trade.

During the ensuing decade, French policy aimed at flanking the English colonies by asserting control over the Mississippi. In 1698–99, Iberville headed an expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi, where the French erected Fort Maurepas. Returning to France, he was awarded the cross of the Order of Saint-Louis, becoming the first Canadian-born recipient. The success of the French southern strategy led to pelts being drained away from northern traders, generating business enemies at home. Iberville's pro-Indian policies and alliances combined with ruthless strategies led to more military successes, but bouts of malaria and strained French naval commitments slowed his new efforts. In 1706 he led a squadron of a dozen vessels to the Caribbean, where they pillaged Nevis and prepared to sweep the islands. However, Iberville died suddenly in Havana, ending his flamboyant career. Allegations of fraud perpetrated during the Caribbean campaign drained the resources of his widow and led the entire family into disrepute.

—Marshall Joseph Becker

### **indentured servitude**

Indentured servitude was a form of bound labor. The most common type of indenture or contract in the British colonies required that the servant serve a master “well and faithfully [in] such employments as the master might assign” for a specified period of time, usually three to four years, and in a particular location. In return, the master promised to pay the passage of the servant to the colonies, provide food, clothing, and HOUSING during the term of indenture, and, depending on the particular transaction, provide the servant “freedom dues” upon completion of service.

The indenture referred to a document, a form that contained the terms of the servitude. It recorded the beginning and ending dates of service and the provisions of freedom dues. At the end of the term, the contract was the only proof that the individual had that she or he was free. An English pamphleteer, John Hammond, strongly urged servants to take special care to guard the document in order to avoid any problems when the term of service was completed.

The precise terms of the indenture ranged widely, depending upon where the servant was located and the type of LABOR performed. Skilled servants occasionally received wages or clauses were included in their contracts to permit them to work outside the master's domain at times when the master had insufficient tasks for the servant. German servants sometimes asked that they be taught English as part of the agreement. Freedom dues varied widely as well and included anything from money and land to tools, new or used clothes, ANIMALS, or seeds. One historian of the Chesapeake described how masters extended the length of servants' contracts for minor infractions in order to keep them from attaining their freedom. If they successfully fulfilled their contracts, servants often had a difficult time collecting their freedom dues. In one case a master literally fled before he paid the servant his dues.

The origins of indentured labor remain somewhat hazy. In the early 1580s the Englishman Sir George Peckham wrote a pamphlet intended to secure subscriptions from individuals who wished to colonize Newfoundland. A portion of the pamphlet analyzed why North American colonies were important for the British, and the concluding section argued that peopling these colonies need not be difficult. Peckham outlined the principle upon which indentured labor was based. English men and women would voluntarily exchange the cost of their passage to the New World for a fixed period of labor servitude.

Historians credit the Virginia Company, the joint stock company authorized to settle and develop Virginia, with inventing the form of indentured servitude used throughout the colonies. A broadside issued by the company in 1609 referred to indentured labor, suggesting that servants arrived in the British North American colonies in the early settling of JAMESTOWN. This one-page advertisement announced that wealthy and noble persons had agreed to emigrate to the new colony in the CHESAPEAKE BAY, and that all those who wished to make the voyage, no matter what their occupation or skill, were to appear at Sir Thomas Smith's house in Philpot Lane, London, to enroll. The "Adventures" or masters who agreed to take the servants received an additional allotment of land for each servant they procured. The servants were promised their transportation and freedom after seven years of labor.

The use of a contract to bind laborers as indentured servants did not originate with English colonization; however, indentured servitude included a series of innovations. The terms of the contract involved a stricter set of obligations than other labor contracts and provided ways to enforce the provisions if the work was not performed. The practice of "selling" servants was new. The Virginia Company arranged the transportation to the colony for hundreds of servants and then sold them to resident planters. In addition, contracts were standardized, replacing what in England tended to be verbal rather than written agreements. Finally, English servants frequently left home at the age of 10, often moved annually from household to household, and labored primarily in AGRICULTURE. Although colonial indentured servants worked in the agricultural sector, especially in the Chesapeake, they also served masters in the cities and towns. While many labored under highly unstable and exploitative circumstances, they commonly served their entire indenture with just one or two masters.

Who were the indentured servants? In the 17th century, most servants immigrated to the colonies from England. Initially they came from a broad segment of English society, usually were about 15 to 25 years of age, were comprised of a mixture of skilled and unskilled laborers, and were predominantly male. White indentured servants from England

performed most of the labor in the earliest British settlements in the New World, and their successors in the 17th and 18th centuries continued to play key roles. By the 18th century Germans, Irish, and Scots joined the English.

In the 17th century these people often became victims of shady emigrant agents, the English "spirit." Merchants hired some spirits to gather a servant cargo; others worked independently and sold individuals to ship masters. Armed with sweets and liquor, spirits roamed the streets and docks of London and lured unsuspecting children and adults on board ships bound for the colonies, where they were sold into servitude. In 1664, in an attempt to control the activities of the spirits and to insure that no one was forced into servitude, the British Parliament authorized an official registry office.

In the early decades of the 18th century a new form of indentured servitude appeared—the redemptioner system. Thousands of German and Swiss families began their passage to the New World only to find that they had insufficient resources to finance the entire voyage. Ship captains took whatever money the passengers possessed and, upon arrival in the colonies, gave the passengers a period of time, usually 14 days, to secure the balance of payment. If the immigrants were unable to raise the additional money, the captain sold them into servitude to satisfy the debt.

Convict labor provided another source of indentured servants to the colonies. These were people who had been convicted of crimes, and rather than suffer corporal or capital punishment, their sentence was transportation to the colonies to serve as indentured laborers. Merchants profited from selling convicts as indentured servants in the colonies. This group of indentured servants were numerous, second in number only to African-descended people as bonded labor in the North American colonies. Between one-half and two-thirds of all of the white immigrants to colonial North America arrived as indentured laborers.

What motivated individuals who were not spirited away or banished as convicts to TRAVEL to the New World and to sign away four or five years of their labor to work for an unknown master? By exchanging their labor for a period of time for the costs of transportation to the New World, some servants dreamed of prosperous futures while others fled Europe out of desperation. WILLIAM MORALEY, for example, left a journal describing his route to indentured servitude. His father was a successful watchmaker in London until 1720, when his fortunes collapsed along with the stock of the South Sea Company. The family moved from London not long after Moraley's father died. He took his small inheritance and ventured back to London to "seek my fortune." London offered him no prospects for his future; indeed, he was imprisoned briefly for debt and released in 1729. Faced with a bleak economic future, Moraley sold himself into servitude, bound for five years.

Other servants left similar though less detailed accounts about what motivated them to leave their homelands to labor in the colonies. Servants embarking from London longed to “procure a better livelihood.” Some attributed their move to a “want of employ,” to better “pursue one’s calling,” or to “better their fortune.” Two Irish men, for instance, opted to emigrate as servants because they thought they could “live much better and with more ease in the country to which they are going than they could in their country.” After they completed their terms of indenture, their economic futures hopefully would brighten. They likely had no realistic notion of what awaited them, but thousands still moved to North America.

Once individuals decided to make the journey, they boarded ships destined for the colonies. Although most 17th-century servants signed indentures before embarking, by the 18th century an increasing number of them arrived in the colonies without contracts. When a ship docked in port, advertisements would appear in the local newspaper announcing the arrival of servants for sale. Potential masters would appear at the dock, examine the human cargo, pay the captain or merchant, record the indenture on an official listing, and take the servant home.

Indentured labor flourished because free laborers were scarce. “Help is not to be had at any rate” came the cry from North America throughout most of the colonial period. Employers could not find free laborers, and when they could, they were extremely costly. As Governor Leete of CONNECTICUT wrote in 1680, “there is seldom any want relief; because labor is deare.” The surveyor general of New York explained in 1723 why workers were in short supply. “Every one is able to procure a piece of land at an inconsiderable rate and therefore is fond to set up for himself rather than work for hire.” Without a sufficient number of free laborers, employers turned to unfree workers.

Indentured servants helped relieve the colonial labor shortage. They were, in the words of one historian, the machines that grew TOBACCO in the 17th-century Chesapeake and carried the burden of labor in the SUGAR plantations of the West Indies before the increased importation of Africans. Rates of MORTALITY for these servants were extremely high; most did not live long enough to finish their terms of service. Gradually, over the course of the 17th century, indentured servitude declined in importance as planters turned increasingly to slave labor. The shift to unfree labor occurred in part because the supply of indentured servants from England diminished. In addition, rates of mortality declined, making the investment in slaves for life more profitable. Some collected their own lands and began to grow tobacco. Others were displaced and fomented uprisings. Established Chesapeake planters did not like the added competition from these former servants and feared their unrest especially after their par-

ticipation in BACON’S REBELLION. Slaves offered planters certain advantages. Because they served for life, slaves would never become competitors in the tobacco market. A carefully designed and repressive legal system would work to prevent slave rebellion.

In contrast to the plantation economies of the Chesapeake, Lower South, and West Indies, New England colonies relied only minimally on indentured labor. Although land was plentiful in the Northeast, no profitable staple crop, such as tobacco or sugar, dominated. Economic organization was based on the family farm, and when additional labor was required, employers hired on a casual basis. Indentured servitude played a more active role in the Middle Colonies. Initially, during the founding years of PENNSYLVANIA, unfree laborers worked in the agricultural sector, but not in a staple-crop ECONOMY. Pennsylvania farmers produced primarily wheat and other commodities for local CONSUMPTION, which did not require as much labor as southern crops. By the second decade of the 18th century, servitude shifted from the rural to the urban sector. Servants labored in the homes of wealthy MERCHANTS or the shops of successful ARTISANS.

Servants’ experiences differed depending upon where they lived and the type of tasks performed. Those who worked in the steamy inhospitable climates of plantation colonies, in the labor-intensive industries of sugar and tobacco production, suffered from hard labor conditions and high death rates. Planters also found it difficult to motivate servants to work. They were, as one historian of the Chesapeake notes, essentially prepaid by the costs of transportation, thus they lacked incentives. As a result, masters threatened servants with extending the length of their service or withholding their freedom dues if they did not perform adequately or if they attempted to run away. In contrast, working for a Quaker family in Pennsylvania, in an artisan’s shop, or as a domestic servant usually meant not only humane treatment but also a better possibility for social and economic success after the term of service ended.

Indentured labor gradually died over the course of the late 18th century. Its demise was not due to a concerted effort to end the system. Rather, transatlantic fares became more affordable, enabling more immigrants to buy their own tickets. Also, the mid-Atlantic colonies depended less and less upon unfree labor because of a steady increase in the number of free workers.

**Further reading:** David Galenson, *White Servitude in Colonial America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Susan E. Klepp and Billy G. Smith, eds., *The Infortunate: The Voyage and Adventures of William Moraley, An Indentured Servant* (University Park: Penn State Press, 1992, revised 2005). Sharon V. Salinger, “To Serve Well and

*Faithfully”: Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682–1800* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 2000); Abbot Emerson Smith, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607–1776* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965).

—Sharon V. Salinger and Leslie Patrick

**Indians** See NATIVE AMERICANS; specific tribes.

### Indians of the desert Southwest

The desert Southwest, extending from the Rio Grande in present-day NEW MEXICO to the California border, was the home of settled Pueblos and mobile raiders. The Pueblo and other settled peoples developed sophisticated forms of agriculture that efficiently used the limited water resources of the region. Some created extensive irrigation canals, while others relied entirely on scarce rainfall, diverting runoff onto planted fields. Nomadic Athabascan people entered the Southwest from the north in the mid-15th century, eventually splitting into the Apache, who remained nomadic raiders well after the 18th century, and the NAVAHO, who combined raiding with agricultural practices learned from their settled neighbors. All were profoundly influenced by the arrival of the Spanish in the 16th century.

While representing several language groups, Pueblo people were organized in a similar fashion. They all lived in multistory adobe dwellings built around a central plaza. Each Pueblo possessed one or more round or square kivas, part of which was built below ground. It was entered by a ladder from the top. Within the kiva priests performed a variety of rituals generally associated with prayers for rain and successful crops. Pueblo society practiced a form of dual leadership that made some priests responsible for civil and internal matters while a second group was responsible for military and external affairs. Agriculture was both individual and communal. Individual families controlled the use of planting grounds, while the entire community worked to repair and clean irrigation ditches. Before the arrival of the Spanish, crops consisted primarily of maize, beans, and squash.

The Akimel Au Authm (Pima) constructed a large elaborate irrigation system in the Salt River Valley in and around present-day Phoenix. This system, developed over several hundred years, consisted of miles of main canals and diversion ditches. Others in the Arizona region relied on a type of flood irrigation that took advantage of runoff from thunderstorms by building numerous small temporary dams to spread the water across a field located at the mouth of an arroyo. The Tohono O’odham (Papago) used such methods in the Gila River Valley, planting numerous fields to ensure that some produced a crop.

The Spanish arrival altered both farming and governance among the sedentary people of the Southwest. Spanish explorers and Catholic priests introduced wheat, fruit trees, and livestock (primarily sheep) to the region. They also imposed a civil government on the Pueblo. While Native priests remained important and powerful within Pueblo societies, an appointed and later elected governor acted as a mediator between the Spanish and the Catholic Church. Over time rivalries between secular leaders and traditional priests created serious factionalism within Pueblo society. By far the most important Spanish introduction altering Southwest Native life, however, was the horse.

Spanish rule was harsh, leading to confiscation of Native land and enslavement of Native people. Several unsuccessful rebellions preceded a major revolt in 1680, led by a warrior priest from San Juan Pueblo named POPÉ. The Rio Grande pueblos, supported by those as far west as Zuni and Hopi, pushed the Spanish out of the region for nearly 12 years, although the Spanish returned and reasserted their control. While the settled people of New Mexico eventually learned to live with their Spanish overseers, the Spanish were never successful in bringing the Apache and Navajo under their control.

Undoubtedly, Spanish horses found their way into Native hands before 1680, but the revolt probably increased the number of horses available to the Apache and Navajo. Horses had few predators to limit their numbers and consequently multiplied rapidly. By the time the Spanish returned to the upper Rio Grande in New Mexico and initiated their invasion of the homeland of the Akimel Au Authm and Tohono O’odham in Arizona after 1690, they confronted skillful, horse-mounted, mobile warriors. The Apache and to a lesser extent the Navajo resisted and terrorized both the Spanish and Native farmers for the next 175 years.

**Further reading:** Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991).

—Thomas R. Wessel

### indigo

A blue dye, indigo is obtained from more than 40 different varieties of perennial shrubs of the genus *Indigofera* within the pea family. Indigo-producing plants are native to tropical and subtropical regions throughout the world, including the Americas, AFRICA, India, and Asia. Indigo has been used as a pigment for inks and paint as well as a dyestuff for cloth and yarns. The dye’s affinity for a variety of natural fibers, such as wool, linen, and cotton, and its colorfastness



to both washing and sunlight have made it popular with textile manufacturers for thousands of years.

Traditionally, the leaves of indigo plants had been harvested and fermented to produce a dye paste, which was used regionally in tropical and subtropical areas of the world, especially India. Later, the addition of a final drying step gave producers a concentrated dye ideal for long-distance trade. Indigo dyes were introduced to western Europe by 16th-century Portuguese and Spanish traders returning from India and the East Indies and soon became an important trade commodity. By the 1700s there was a strong European demand for large quantities of indigo dye for garments and furnishing fabrics as well as for linen for flags and woollens for military uniforms.

Early in the 17th century European colonists in North America and the CARIBBEAN experimented with indigo cultivation. However, by 1650 most West Indian plantations had shifted to hugely profitable sugar production, and SOUTH CAROLINA planters were concentrating on rice cultivation. English textile manufactures, unable to obtain the dye from a British colony, turned to the French West Indies for their indigo supplies.

A young colonial woman, ELIZABETH LUCAS PINCKNEY, worked to hybridize indigo plants to suit the growing conditions of South Carolina. By 1744, aided by slaves and a West Indian overseer knowledgeable about indigo, she was successful and devoted much of that initial crop to seed production. She and her new husband, Charles Pinckney, gave the seeds to their neighbors. As further encouragement to new indigo planters, the South Carolina legislature offered a bounty on the exported dyestuffs. Shortly afterward, Britain, anxious for a source of indigo dye for its growing textile industry, added an additional bounty to the crop. Indigo was a very profitable colonial export commodity for the next 30 years. On the eve of the American Revolution, annual exports from South Carolina's ports were more than 1 million pounds, second only to rice in its importance to the colony. Indigo production complemented rice production very well because the two crops had different growing seasons, and indigo required high ground while rice was grown in the lowlands.

**Further reading:** Jenny Balfour-Paul, *Indigo* (London: British Museum Press, 1998).

—Margo Krager

## Inuit

The Inuit, sometimes referred to as “Eskimo,” are the original inhabitants of the Arctic and Subarctic region extending eastward from the Aleutian Islands, through northwestern Alaska, through northern Canada, and to Greenland. The Inuit and ALEUT arrived in North America during a much

later migration from Asia than did the ancestors of the Indians who inhabit the regions from Subarctic Canada through Tierra del Fuego at the southern tip of South America. By the late 16th century the Inuit had developed into many distinct cultural groups. These include the Yup'ik Eskimo of western Alaska, the Inupiat of northern Alaska, the Mackenzie Delta Eskimo, and the Netsilik of northern Canada. Additionally, there are diverse Inuit in the current territory of Nunavut, the province of Quebec, the Atlantic Provinces, as well as Greenland.

This tremendously diverse geographic area led to the development of equally diverse cultures among the Inuit. While Inuit from the coastal and polar regions focused on sea mammals for their economy, other inland subarctic groups hunted caribou or other game. Additionally, each group developed technologies, whether the kayak, igloo, bow and arrow, or toboggan, that were appropriate to the particular region in which they lived.

During the colonial period, from 1585–1763, Inuit people did not experience the massive cultural changes and upheavals experienced by Indians to the south. English explorer Martin Frobisher sailed into the Arctic in the 1570s and supposedly brought back a captive to England, but there was no prolonged contact between cultures. When the Old World began making more significant contact with the Inuit, it was the Russians who did so rather than western Europeans. Traversing the Bering Strait (named for VITUS JONASSEN BERING, a Russian who sailed through the Strait in 1728), the Russians arrived rather late on the colonial stage, although they had few imperial competitors in the Northwest. The Russians introduced iron tools and Old World diseases to the Yup'ik of the Bering Strait region. Similar patterns emerged, with the Inuit adopting iron tools and suffering from DISEASE in ways similar to the Indians to the south. But unlike the Indian populations of the United States, many Inuit did not come into significant contact with white people until the 19th and sometimes 20th century.

**Further reading:** Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992).

—Thomas J. Lappas

## Iron Acts (1750, 1757)

The purpose of the Iron Acts passed by the British Parliament was to regulate the erection of slitting MILLS, plating mills, and steel furnaces in the colonies. The legislation, passed in 1750, particularly affected London manufacturers, who could import bar iron from the colonies duty free and sell the manufactured iron products in the colonies. Over time merchants from Bristol, Birmingham,

and Liverpool objected to these discriminatory provisions that benefited only London merchants. In 1757 Parliament passed a second Iron Act, this time permitting the importation of colonial bar iron into all British ports duty free.

These acts were part of the system of MERCANTILISM by which Great Britain attempted to protect its own iron industries from competition in its colonies and to maintain a supply of raw iron ore from the colonies. The passage of the two Iron Acts provided colonial ironmasters with a guaranteed market for their product but limited their growth potential. Although imperial authorities failed to enforce the Iron Acts effectively, colonial ironmasters joined the rebellion against Britain in part because they perceived their livelihoods threatened by these restrictive policies.

See also IRON MANUFACTURING.

**Further reading:** Arthur C. Bining, *British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933).

—Karen Guenther

## iron manufacturing

Iron manufacturing in colonial North America had its origins in the promotional tracts of Thomas Harriot during the 16th century. Harriot noted that iron manufacturing in the New World would be of great benefit to England because of the abundance of natural resources, particularly iron ore, limestone, and timber. Early attempts were made to develop iron plantations at JAMESTOWN, but the glow from the furnace stacks alerted NATIVE AMERICANS, who demolished the facilities and killed the workers. The scarcity of capital limited the opportunities for future development in the Chesapeake area throughout most of the 17th century.

New Englanders erected the first successful venture at Saugus, MASSACHUSETTS, in 1646. To promote iron making, workers were exempted from military service and the furnace from taxation. The availability of creeks and streams, along with ore and wood, dictated the success or failure of the operations at Saugus and other locations throughout New England. Not all of the ventures prospered, and fewer than a dozen ironworks existed in New England at the end of the 17th century.

The colonial iron industry began to thrive in the 18th century. After QUEEN ANNE'S WAR iron production boomed in MARYLAND, NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, and VIRGINIA. The Pennsylvania enterprises were the most successful; by the time of the Revolution, more than 70 furnaces, forges, and other ironworks were in operation throughout the colony. "Iron plantations" developed in the interior, located close to water for power, iron mines for ore, and forests for fuel. These plantations were as self-

sufficient as their counterparts in the Chesapeake area, providing HOUSING for the owner and workers as well as other outbuildings to service their needs. In addition to the furnace complex, a typical iron plantation included a general store, blacksmith shop, gristmill, barns, grain fields, orchards, and bake ovens. The workforce was comprised of skilled and unskilled settlers, indentured servants, and slaves. Ironmasters were the largest slaveholders in colonial Pennsylvania.

By the time of the Revolution, more furnaces were in operation in the colonies than in the entire British Isles. The production at these facilities prompted Parliament to pass restrictive legislation beginning in 1750. Like other imperial regulations of the era, the IRON ACTS had little effect on eliminating competition from the colonies. At the time of the Revolution, the iron produced in the colonies exceeded 30,000 tons annually, approximately one-seventh of the world's production.

**Further reading:** Arthur C. Bining, *Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1971).

—Karen Guenther

## Iroquois Indians

Iroquois Indians were among the most numerous and powerful Native Americans in North America. They include all those people who spoke one of the languages of "Iroquoian," a major language family spread over the Northeast. The term *Iroquois* is generally used to refer to the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy of central NEW YORK, including the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk, more specifically identified as "Five Nations Iroquois." In approximately 1722, these confederated peoples defeated the Tuscarora of NORTH CAROLINA and relocated most of the survivors to New York as a "sixth Iroquois nation." The Wendat (Huron) peoples in Canada, the Susquehannock of PENNSYLVANIA, and a number of other tribes such as the Petun and Neutral also spoke Iroquoian languages.

Iroquois oral tradition places the origins of the Five Nations confederacy prior to European contact, but more likely it developed early in the 16th century as a nonaggression pact enabling the member nations to trade pelts from the interior tribes to Europeans along the coast. During the same period, the Wendat peoples developed a parallel trading network from the Saint Lawrence River valley through the northern parts of the Great Lakes. The confederated Susquehannock of central Pennsylvania created a third network, extending to the Monongahela and Ohio Rivers and out into the Great Plains. All three confederacies established these networks by 1580, gaining significant



territory to several eastern coastal peoples. During the 1670s the powerful Five Nations Iroquois signed treaties of peace with the colonial governments of Massachusetts, CONNECTICUT, and Virginia. As allies of these colonies, they profited greatly from raiding while acting as a frontier police force for the colonists. Even after the French brokered the Grand Treaty of 1701, which significantly reduced conflict in this region, the Five Nations continued to send out raiding parties far beyond areas relating to their involvement in the pelt trade. Targets included the Cherokee and other Native peoples far from New York.

Despite their relative isolation from the expanding New York colony, a number of external influences increased the pace of cultural change among the Five Nations Iroquois. Due to the extremely rapid changes in material culture provided by the pelt trade, fundamental social and cultural patterns among these people went largely undisrupted into the 18th century. One of the two major factors of transformation derived from the persistent efforts at conversion of Catholic missionaries. Their activities might have had little effect were it not for the changing structure of Five Nations society. The raids that brought large numbers of prisoners and refugees into and around the heartland of the confederacy altered internal dynamics among people once completely organized around kinship. When many prisoners were “adopted,” their status remained low and their foreign origins rarely forgotten. These people were the most susceptible to Catholic or other conversion, leading to internal divisions that increased through time.

The egalitarian Five Nations Iroquois pledged not to attack each other, but they rarely acted as a single military entity. Raids were conducted by individuals as well as groups of any size or any mix of cultural affiliations. Decisions regarding alliances were based on strict realities of economics, politics, or military concerns. As war in Europe during the 1750s increasingly influenced politics in North America, Native peoples in general avoided participation except when it best suited their interests. After the

SEVEN YEARS’ WAR, political as well as economic power was lost when Canada was ceded to the British in 1763, leaving the Five Nations without the ability to maneuver diplomatically and militarily between the French and the British.

The Iroquois called their confederation the League of the Ho-dee-nau-sau-nee or People of the Long House. The Seneca acted as the “keepers” of the western door, while the Mohawk occupied this role in the east. The centrally located Onondaga served as Keepers of the Fire, guardians of the collection of diplomatic wampum belts, and they often hosted meetings of the confederacy. A group of 50 SACHEMS represented these tribal units at these meetings. While seeking consensus at these gatherings, individuals as well as groups were free to follow their own goals in activities conducted beyond the borders of the confederated group. This egalitarian social organization reflected the importance of the individual as a forager and provider for the immediate family. The Five Nations Iroquois were predominantly maize horticulturalists for whom foraging was essential to their economies. The importance of their maize crop was reflected in their matrilineal descent system, with kinship and rights to property, such as longhouses and fields, passing through the female line. Women elders spoke at meetings and exercised considerable political power, including the selection of representatives to the council meetings and helping to decide questions relating to war or peace.

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—Thomas R. Wessel and Marshall Joseph Becker





## Jamestown

Called “James City” by its English settlers, Jamestown was settled under the auspices of the VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON in 1607 on James Island, a deep-water anchorage 60 miles up the James River from where it empties into CHESAPEAKE BAY. To English eyes the north bank of the James west to its confluence with the Chickahominy may have appeared to be “unused” wilderness, but it actually was the domain of the Paspiheigh tribe of the POWHATAN CONFEDERACY, a people who actively occupied and exploited it, but not in the ways to which the English were accustomed. The Paspiheigh immediately contested the English claims to “ownership through use,” sending clouds of arrows over the palisaded walls surrounding James City’s wattle-and-daub huts. To defend themselves against the Paspiheigh and possible incursions of Spanish warships, the English built James Fort on high ground away from the river, and it became the core around which James City and the colony expanded.

The Virginia Company founded James City at an inauspicious time. The Chesapeake region and its Powhatan inhabitants were suffering under the most severe drought in seven centuries, sparking an agricultural crisis that limited the amount of FOOD the Powhatan could willingly trade for the copper jewelry, glass beads, and other goods manufactured by James City ARTISANS. The English settlers hoped the exchange of these manufactured goods for food would sustain them until they could become self-sufficient producers of their own foodstuffs. When the Powhatan judged trade to be disadvantageous or dishonorable and withheld their foodstuffs, the desperate English under JOHN SMITH bullied and browbeat corn from them and sacked and burned their villages, which unleashed a decades-long guerilla war punctuated by brief periods of uneasy peace.

James City’s neighbors, the Paspiheigh, were the immediate victims of the warfare. In February 1610 the English killed the Paspiheigh werowance Wowinchopunk. After the starving winter of 1609–10, George Percy sallied

forth from James City, burned the Paspiheigh village, and put the captured Paspiheigh queen to the sword after executing her children by “Throweing them overboard and shoteinge owtt their Braynes.” Between 1616 and 1669 the Paspiheigh disappeared from the Virginia census, yet by 1612 there were Indians living in James Fort and working for the colonists. A number of intermarriages occurred between English working men and Indian women, a practice strenuously denounced by the upper-CLASS clergy of James City as “uncivilized.”

Drought also increased the James River’s deadly salinity, thereby contributing to the extreme MORTALITY in the early years. Only 38 of the original 104 settlers survived the first year of settlement, causing the premature evacuation of James City itself. Between 1607 and 1625 nearly 5,000 of the 6,000 European immigrants died from diseases like typhoid as well as malnutrition and conflict with Natives. Virginia became a “death trap,” and were it not for JOHN ROLFE’s successful experiments with TOBACCO, mortality may have outpaced immigration for most of the century. Tobacco quickly became VIRGINIA’s chief and most profitable export. Tobacco exports rose from 20,000 pounds in 1617 to more than 40 million pounds by 1727, overwhelming European competitors. James City became a boomtown, with tobacco cultivated even in its streets.

English MERCHANTS supplied planters with manufactured goods and indentured servants, predominantly young men; merchants returned home with profitable cargoes of the “stinking leafe.” Many servants were from the lower classes—the poor, vagrant, and imprisoned—judged by the English and Virginians to be “the vile and brutish part of mankind,” fit only for forced labor. Others came from respectable artisan and yeoman families, but once in Virginia were worked hard, often mistreated, bought, sold, and even gambled away by their masters. Before 1670 these bonded laborers came from the lower and “middling” classes of southern and western England but were quickly replaced by slaves from AFRICA and the CARIBBEAN.



The reconstructed James Fort at the Jamestown Festival Park, 1957 (*Library of Congress*)

In 1619 John Rolfe, the father of the tobacco boom, reported that “there came in a Dutch man-of-warre that sold us 20 negars,” an addition to the 31 Africans already there “in the service of all planters.” Within a generation of their arrival, lifetime bondage for African servants became an established custom, although not yet recognized in law. In the same year James City witnessed the arrival of “Young maids to make wives for so many of the former Tenants,” to be sold by the Virginia Company for not less than “one hundredth and fiftie [pounds] of the best leafe Tobacco.” The importation of European and African laborers to toil in households and on tobacco fields swelled the colony’s population from a few hundred English colonists in 1618 to 13,000 by 1674, 800 of whom lived in James City.

Under its 1618 charter the Virginia Company hoped to concentrate settlers in four boroughs—James City, Charles City, Henrico, and Kecoughtan—in which life and government would be that of a municipality rather than that of an English county. The tobacco boom, however, sparked a

“plantation revolution” that by the 1620s spread the settlement into 49 tobacco plantations up the James River all the way to the fall line. By the 1620s James City experienced its own suburban sprawl marked by small satellite settlements spreading out farther into Paspiheigh lands. As planters fanned out along rivers and bays, English tobacco merchants were able sail their ships right to the plantations’ wharves, thereby diminishing the commercial importance of the four boroughs; they were soon supplanted by organization of local government by counties. “[T]he Advantage of the many Rivers which afforded a commodious Road for Shipping at every Man’s Door,” ROBERT BEVERLEY noted in 1705, [resulted in] “not any one Place of Cohabitation among them, that may reasonably bear the Name of a Town.” The unceasing intrusion of European settlement into Indian lands also ignited the Powhatan resistances of 1622, 1644, and 1676, resulting in the deaths of substantial numbers of English settlers whose distance from towns made them highly vulnerable to attack. Settlers would

scurry to the protection of James Fort during these outbreaks but just as quickly return to their wide-flung estates when hostilities cooled.

After the demise of the Virginia Company, James City developed in “fits and starts” in three waves: in the 1620s and 1630s, in the 1660s, and in the 1680s. James City’s development was planned and implemented not according to the dispersed settlement patterns dictated by the new maritime tobacco trade but according to a model of what Virginia speculators saw to be the lucrative possibilities of the emerging English manufacturing towns, specifically, developing urban industries and constructing and renting quarters for workers attracted to such enterprises. In the 1630s Governor John Harvey encouraged the commercial development of James City by declaring it Virginia’s sole port of entry. He also encouraged the immigration of skilled artisans, particularly brickmakers and bricklayers, to build up the town and manufacture items for sale at home and abroad. Harvey’s industrial schemes failed, but they were revived after 1660 by speculators such as Philip Ludwell, who invested heavily in James City land, built brick row houses to quarter artisans and workers, and otherwise attempted to create a James City that was more than a statehouse and “a collection of taverns serving those coming to the capital on official business.” The Town Act of 1662 required each of the 19 counties to construct a substantial brick building in James City, and it reimbursed individuals who undertook similar construction. James City’s fire-prone wooden-frame buildings thereby were gradually replaced by brick structures that conformed more closely to the fire and building codes of an English town.

Widespread settlement also shifted political, social, and ecclesiastical control from the governor and his council in James City to the county courts, which were dominated by local elites comprised of the largest planters in the county. These men were not the high-born sons of the English aristocracy who sat on the governor’s council during the company period or who constituted the first General Assembly that met in the choir of the James City church in 1619. They were the tough, ambitious, land-grabbing, Indian-hating, self-made men who preempted lands of the Virginia Company after its dissolution and who ousted Governor Harvey in 1635 for his commercial schemes and conservative Indian policies. They in turn died away and were replaced from the 1640s onward by the immigration of a third generation of leaders—Bland, Byrd, Carter, Culpeper, Digges, Burwell, Ludwell, and Mason—the well-connected younger sons of English merchant families long associated with Virginia. Based on family land in the colony, inherited wealth, or family shares of original Virginia Company stock, they built up substantial plantations from lands already cleared and cultivated by the first and second

generations of Virginians. They gradually assumed places of power and authority in the county courts, the assembly, and the governor’s council and founded the great 18th-century Virginia ruling dynasties.

The transition to a stable, country aristocracy married to the maritime tobacco trade ultimately spelled the demise of James City. It lost its status as the mandatory port of entry for Virginia in 1662, at a time in which tobacco production and, therefore, political power was beginning to shift northward. Conflict between jealous local magnates and Governor Berkeley and his “Green Spring Faction” over their monopoly of provincial offices and patronage ignited BACON’S REBELLION. In 1676 Nathaniel Bacon burned down James City to deny its use to Governor Berkeley.

The final wave of development in James City in the 1680s consisted of its rebuilding after Bacon’s conflagration, but rebuilding on a modest scale without the grandeur of earlier years. Jamestown, thereafter, became little more than the seat of provincial government, although surrounding James City County tripled in population from 1674 to 1699. In 1698 James City’s statehouse again burned to the ground. The growing power held by residents of York County, men such as James Page of Middle Plantation, made that settlement the logical successor to James City as the colony’s new capital. The following year the capital of Virginia was moved to the new town site of Williamsburg, formerly Middle Plantation. James City gradually disappeared, and the old town site on James Island was taken over by the Ambler and Travis plantations, on which the bicentennial of Jamestown was celebrated in 1807.

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—James Bruggeman

### **Jemison, Mary** (1743–1833) *captive*

Mary Jemison was born at sea when her parents, Thomas and Jane Erwin Jemison, were en route from Belfast to PHILADELPHIA. Shawnee Indians and French soldiers attacked their farm near present-day Gettysburg on April 5, 1758, capturing Mary, her parents, three other Jemison children, and several neighbors. While her captors killed most of the prisoners, Mary was adopted by two Shawnee sisters and given the name Dehgewanus.



During the third year of Jemison's captivity, while living in the Ohio country, her sisters arranged a marriage to a Delaware warrior, Sheninjee, with whom she had two children. In 1762 she moved with her Indian relatives to Little Beard's town on the Genesee River in NEW YORK. After Sheninjee's death, Jemison married Hiokatoo, a tribal leader some 50 years older than she, by whom she had six children. She remained his wife until his death in 1811 at the age of 103.

General John Sullivan destroyed Little Beard's town in 1779, and Jemison moved to the Gardeau Flats along the Genesee River. On several occasions Jemison had the opportunity to return to the white community, but she refused and chose to stay with her Indian family. The knowledge that white society would ostracize her children was a determining factor in her decision. In her narrative Jemison spoke firsthand of the destructive effects of ALCOHOL on the Seneca. Her son John killed his brothers Thomas and Jesse in drunken rages before he himself was murdered.

Jemison had acquired land under the Treaty of Big Tree (1797), and her claim was acknowledged by the New York legislature in 1817. For several years Mary supported a white man, calling himself George Jemison, who purported to be her cousin. He eventually cheated her out of several hundred acres of land. In 1831 Jemison moved to the Buffalo Creek Reservation, where she died in 1833.

A figure of great curiosity, Jemison had become known as "the White Woman of the Genesee," and in 1823 she agreed to meet with Dr. James Everett Seaver for three days to record her life story. The resulting book, *The Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (1824), was an overnight best seller. At the time of her meeting with Seaver, she had three living children, 39 grandchildren, and 14 great-grandchildren. In 1874 William Pryor Letchworth moved her remains and her home to his estate, now Letchworth Park, and commissioned H. K. Bush-Brown to sculpt a bronze statue of her, which was erected in 1910. While Seaver and subsequent white male editors couched Jemison's story as that of a woman who retained her whiteness despite a life among the Indians, her narrative can also be read as the autobiography of a Seneca woman.

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—Mary Murphy

## jeremiads

Named for the Old Testament prophet Jeremiah, whose spiritual and political leadership helped his countrymen

survive disasters, jeremiads were political sermons delivered by Puritan ministers that assessed the state of the community's covenant with God. Considered the first distinctively American literary genre, these ritualistic and formulaic sermons were intended to guide an imperiled people toward their divine destiny. They were denunciations, usually delivered in thunderous tones, of moral corruption and spiritual degradation that reinforced the conception of a divine plan for the community, described the consequences of transgressions from the terms of the covenant, and advocated a reformed relationship with God on the part of the individual and the community.

Sermons of this type had been used for centuries in Europe to elicit good behavior from the people through threats of divine punishment. But American PURITANS adapted the message of the jeremiad to their unique situation as God's servants in the New World. In the generations after the original colonization of New England, when the society seemed to be falling away from God, Puritan ministers used jeremiads to denounce the colonists for their sins and bemoan their loss of piety, yet they still promised that God would renew the covenant with them if they repented. Instead of being simply prophecies of doom, Puritan jeremiads were decidedly optimistic, reinterpreting divine punishment as a sign of favor from God. As with a strict but loving father, God's punishments were an indication to Puritans that they were indeed God's chosen people and attested to the promise of success in their endeavor to establish a city of God. In the 17th and early 18th centuries jeremiads were delivered to commemorate important public occasions, such as days of prayer, fasts, or elections. Among the earliest and best known of these is JOHN WINTHROP's *A Model of Christian Charity*, delivered in 1630. They served an important function in early New England by establishing behavioral norms and delineating the contours of the community. Later, in the 18th and 19th centuries, the genre continued to flourish. The influence of jeremiads expanded beyond New England and contributed significantly to early conceptions of American national structure and identity as they were used to define national purpose and garner public support at such critical junctures in the country's history as the American Revolution and the Civil War.

**Further reading:** Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978).

—Jane E. Calvert

## Jesuits

Founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola in the 16th century, the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits, played a significant role in the colonization of the Portuguese, Spanish, and French empires. Intended as a bulwark against the Protestant



Reformation, Jesuits were used primarily to establish institutions of learning to serve the children of Europe's ruling class and to provide confessors and advisers to the elite. Owing special obedience to the Pope and exempted from the strictures of the Council of Trent, the Jesuits were a special task force meant to reestablish Catholicism during the Counter-Reformation in Europe. As a result, fewer than one in 10 Jesuits served outside the continent in mission work.

Those who left Europe, however, followed the explorations and contacts made by their governments, joining Spanish parties in Mexico and Portuguese settlements in Macao and Goa and following their mission to attach themselves to the European and Native rulers of these areas. Jesuits quickly founded schools to serve the European community and educate Natives. Men like St. Francis Xavier and Matteo Ricci worked to learn and translate Chinese and Japanese, producing dictionaries for European use. The French dispatched Jesuits to their possessions in New France, beginning with the 1611 mission to Acadia. Quebec had a Jesuit College by 1635, while other Jesuit fathers labored among the HURON, Ottawa, Miami, and Illinois, working to learn their languages as well as to maintain good relations for France. In Canada the Jesuits became known as the "Black Robes" and won the respect of some Natives because of their willingness and ability to withstand ritual torture. In British North America Jesuits entered MARYLAND in 1634 at the behest of its proprietor, Cecil Calvert, serving the Catholic population as circuit riders; their routes extended into western PENNSYLVANIA.

Jesuits were expelled from Canada in 1763 by the British, but their influence lingered among French Canadians and helped poison the relationship between the older British colonies and their new possession. Fear of Jesuit influence was part of the negative reaction of the colonists to the Quebec Act, which seemed to promise Catholic privileges. Additionally, the Jesuits played a role in the destruction of the Huron, interfering in their animosity with the IROQUOIS, who in 1649 defeated the Huron. Despite these failures, the Jesuits took part in the establishment of French culture and dominion in Canada and the Mississippi River Valley and served as advisers and supporters of the Spanish and Portuguese imperial elite in the Americas.

—Margaret Sankey

## Jews

Jews have been a part of the American story as long as any other European group. Indeed, even if the speculation that Christopher Columbus himself claimed Jewish ancestry is incorrect, it is certain that six Jewish MARINERS accompanied him on his famous voyage to the Americas in



An 18th-century Jewish synagogue (*Library of Congress*)

1492. Jews remained on the vanguard of European settlement in the New World throughout the 16th century as Sephardic Jews from Spain and Portugal came to new colonial outposts. Most of these were *maranos*, who, because of religious persecution, outwardly professed the official Catholicism of their nations but secretly maintained their Jewish belief and practice. Others of Jewish ancestry who did convert permanently were known as Conversos. Always tenuous, the *maranos'* situation became untenable both in the New World and in the Old as the Inquisition proclaimed a series of autos-da-fé to root out and put to death false converts. Fearing for their lives, Latin American Jews fled to the relatively tolerant Holland and to Dutch possessions in the Americas.

North America's first Jewish population arrived as 23 people fleeing from the Portuguese reconquest of Brazil from the Dutch. They came ashore at NEW AMSTERDAM on September 7, 1654. Owing to influential friends in Holland, the DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY ordered that the refugees be granted asylum over the strong objections of Governor PETER STUYVESANT. By the time England took control of New Amsterdam in 1664, renaming it NEW YORK CITY, the Jewish community had become an integral part of the small city's commercial and social life. The

beginning of the 18th century saw the community grown to 100, and other developing trading centers in British North America began to develop small Jewish communities of their own, particularly in NEWPORT, CHARLESTON, PHILADELPHIA, Montreal, and SAVANNAH.

Although the majority of Jews in colonial North America were Sephardic (of Iberian origin), a small but increasing number of Ashkenazic Jews began to trickle in from the Germanic and Slavic parts of Europe. Strife developed between newcomers and the more established Sephardim over the form of religious services and the control of community organizations, although it was not until the 19th century that the Sephardic Jews would lose control over the American Jewish community.

American Jews remained a highly mobile and cosmopolitan minority in the 18th century, and, with strong family and business contacts in both the British and Dutch spheres, they played an important role in the mercantile life of the early Americas. Although Jews generally were not allowed to vote or participate in the political process, anti-Semitism was relatively tame in the wide-open social environment of the colonies. Influential Jews like Aaron Levy of Philadelphia and Gershom Sexias of New York traveled in the most elite of colonial circles.

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—Matthew Taylor Raffety

### Johnson, Anthony (d. 1670) planter

One of the first African people in British North America, Anthony Johnson took advantage of the somewhat ambiguous legal condition of African people in the early colonies to become a successful planter. Before 1660 most black people in VIRGINIA apparently were considered servants for a limited number of years rather than slaves in perpetuity. Details of his early life are sketchy, but he arrived in Virginia in 1621, was purchased as a bound laborer for a fixed number of years, and worked producing TOBACCO.

Fortunately surviving the 1622 Indian rebellion, Johnson received additional good luck when “Mary a Negro Woman” arrived on the Bennett plantation where he worked. In 1625 Mary was the only woman living on the plantation; at some point she and Anthony married. Sometime between 1625 and 1650, both Anthony and Mary gained their freedom and assumed the surname “Johnson.” By 1653 the Johnsons were living at Pungoteague Creek in Northampton County on Virginia’s Eastern Shore. They had built a small estate consisting of at least 250 acres and numerous cattle and hogs.

Beginning in 1653 Anthony Johnson appears more often in official records. That year a fire destroyed a large part of his plantation. Anthony and Mary, who by this time had two sons and two daughters, sought relief from the county court. The court agreed that the fire was devastating and exempted Mary and the two daughters from taxation for life. Significantly, their race did not factor into the court’s decision, and it appears that the court considered Mary and the daughters the equals of white women in the country. Later in 1653 Anthony reappeared in court in a dispute over a cow. He challenged John Neale, an important planter, for ownership, and although the disposition of the case is not known, the court did order an investigation rather than finding for Neale based on his word as a white man.

Shortly after the Neale incident, Johnson again found himself in a legal conflict. John Casor, one of Johnson’s black laborers, claimed that he was being held against his will, although actually he had entered the colony as an indentured servant. Another local planter, Robert Parker, took up Casor’s cause and, through the threat of legal action, convinced Johnson and his family that Casor should be free. Johnson subsequently freed Casor, who immediately went to work on Parker’s farm. A few months later Johnson, obviously still troubled over Parker’s interference in the matter, sued in the Northampton County court. The court found for Johnson in this matter and returned Casor to the Johnson farm, presumably for the remainder of his life. Sometime in the middle 1660s the Johnson family moved northward to Somerset County, MARYLAND.

Anthony Johnson died in 1670, but his family remained successful. Mary negotiated a 99-year lease on their farm, and the family remained close. Little else is known about the Johnson clan except that several of his sons married white women and that one son, John, died in 1706 leaving no heir.

During the last decades of the 17th century, Virginia and other southern colonies passed laws that redefined the status of AFRICAN AMERICANS, making them and their offspring slaves for life. White racism increased accordingly. Anthony Johnson had lived most of his life in an era when racism was less harsh and opportunities for black people were greater.

See also JOHNSON, MARY.

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—Brian McKnight

### Johnson, Mary (d. 1672?) planter

An African immigrant to VIRGINIA, Mary Johnson experienced bondage in the 17th century before racism hardened

in British America. Little information about Mary's early years has survived, but probably she had been forced by slave traders to march to the Atlantic coast of AFRICA while chained with other captives. She was branded and forced to endure the brutal Middle Passage across the Atlantic aboard the *Margrett and John*. Brought against her will to Virginia in the spring of 1622, Mary's age upon arrival is unknown. She was taken to Richard Bennett's large TOBACCO plantation on the James River.

Although Africans were scarce in the colonies, Mary met Anthony and married him, in fact if not by English law. The couple enjoyed a 40-year relationship and raised four children, whom they baptized in the Christian faith. It is not known how the couple made the transition from bondage to freedom, but they left Bennett's plantation seeking land of their own. The Johnsons settled on Pungoteague Creek in a small farming community that included black and white families. By 1650 the Johnsons had accumulated an estate of more than 250 acres, on which they raised cattle and pigs, but in 1653 fire ravaged the plantation. Local authorities helped by granting the Johnsons' petition that Mary and her two daughters be exempt during their lifetimes from local taxes levied on people who worked in AGRICULTURE. The wives and daughters of planters had traditionally been granted this exemption, but race was beginning to become a factor and black women were normally denied this privilege. In the 1660s the Johnsons moved to MARYLAND in search of fresh land. Anthony found work as a tenant on a 300-acre farm that he named Tonies Vineyard in Somerset County, but he died shortly after the move. Mary wrote her will in 1672, and she then disappears from the historical record. Mary Johnson lived at a time when white racism was more benign, and African Americans enjoyed a better opportunity to exercise personal rights, such as individual freedom and property ownership.

See also AFRICAN AMERICANS; JOHNSON, ANTHONY; WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Carol J. Berkin, *First Generations: Women in Colonial America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1996).

—Caryn E. Neumann

**Johnson, Samuel** (1696–1772) *minister, educator*

Anglican priest, philosopher, and educator, Samuel Johnson was born on October 14, 1696, in Guilford, CONNECTICUT, the second child of Mary Sage and Samuel Johnson, Sr., a farmer and operator of a mill. By age five Johnson was studying Hebrew, and at the local grammar school he learned Greek and Latin. He graduated from the Collegiate School at Saybrook in 1714 and became a tutor at his alma mater that moved in 1716 to New Haven, where it is now Yale

University. He received the Master of Arts degree in 1717. Three years later Johnson was ordained and installed by the Connecticut Congregational Association as minister of the nearby West Haven Church. In 1722 he and several ministerial associates created excitement at Yale's commencement by announcing their conversion to the Church of England. After Johnson's Episcopal ordination, he was assigned to the Stratford parish. He organized a regional convention of Anglican clergy, campaigned for the appointment of an Anglican bishop, and established a rectory school where he prepared numerous young men to study for the priesthood.

Simultaneously, Johnson continued his scholarly activities. He was especially interested in encyclopedias. His publications reflected the ideas of the enlightenment. Johnson's scholarship won him an honorary doctorate from Oxford in 1743 and the presidency of KING'S COLLEGE (later Columbia) in NEW YORK CITY in 1754. He implemented an unusually broad curriculum and initiated a building program. He resigned the presidency in 1763 and returned to Stratford, where he again became the rector of its ANGLICAN CHURCH.

His family life was often tragic. In 1725 he married Charity Floyd Nicoll, a New York widow with two sons and a daughter, and they had two sons. After she died in 1756, he married Sara Beach in 1761. During the next two years he lost through death his second wife, a son, two stepchildren, and a grandson. He died in Stratford in 1772.

**Further reading:** Joseph J. Ellis, *The New England Mind in Transition: Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, 1696–1772* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973).

—John B. Frantz

**Johnson, Sir William** (1715–1774) *superintendent of Indian affairs*

As superintendent of northern Indian affairs, Sir William Johnson served as the main linchpin between the Six Nations of the IROQUOIS Indians and the BRITISH EMPIRE during the middle decades of the 18th century. Soon after migrating to North America from Ireland in 1738, Johnson cultivated relations with the Mohawk, the eastern nation of the Iroquois, through involvement in the local Indian trade. Johnson proved an extremely effective middleman: He appropriated Indian dress and mastered their political etiquette. After the death of his first wife, a German indentured servant, he became intimately involved with two tribal women, with whom he had two sets of children. He took Molly Brant, the sister of Chief Joseph Brant, as his common-law wife. His ease at adopting Indian customs won him friendship and respect. He received the Indian name Warraghiyagey ("one who does much business") as a mark of esteem, yet Johnson was first and foremost an agent



of empire whose political and cultural loyalties remained firmly rooted in Anglo-American society. Throughout his career Johnson fashioned a British-Iroquois alliance that served imperial interests: namely, to promote a cost-effective FUR TRADE, to facilitate colonial accumulation of Indian lands, and to enlist Indian political and military support against the French.

Johnson came to prominence during KING GEORGE'S WAR (1774–78) when the NEW YORK governor employed him to enlist the services of Mohawk warriors. Johnson's success raised his profile among imperial officials and facilitated his appointment to the newly created office of superintendent of Indian affairs in 1754. During the SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1754–63) he employed intercultural skills to prevent the Iroquois from siding with the French. His manorial estate, Fort Johnson, functioned as the diplomatic headquarters of the Anglo-Iroquois alliance. In addition, Johnson recruited warriors from all Six Nations to participate in the war and led a number of campaigns, including the Battle of Lake George in 1755 and the defeat of Fort Niagara in 1759. Military success earned him the title of baronet.

Following the war Johnson participated in strenuous efforts to create a system of regulations for the Indian trade. Financial constraints coupled with a new political climate prevented successful implementation. Johnson also convened peace negotiations with Indian nations who had taken up arms during Pontiac's Rebellion (1763–65). The climax of Johnson's career came with the Fort Stanwix Treaty (1768), when he renegotiated a boundary line with the Six Nations, separating Indian country from white settlement. Johnson spent the remaining years of his life consolidating his position as a major New York land baron. Close ties with the Mohawk enabled him to become the largest landowner in the Mohawk Valley, and he settled hundreds of tenant families on his estate. In 1763 Johnson built an even larger home, Johnson Hall, and by the time of his death in 1774 he had founded his own community named Johnstown.

**Further reading:** Gail D. Danvers, "Gendered Encounters: Warriors, Women and William Johnson," *Journal of American Studies*, 35, no. 2 (2001); Milton W. Hamilton, *Sir William Johnson: Colonial American, 1715–1763* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1976); Timothy J. Shannon, "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion," *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 53, no. 1 (1996): 13–142.

—Gail D. Danvers

### Johnston, Henrietta Deering (1670?–1729) *portrait artist*

Henrietta Deering became Gideon Johnston's (1668–1716) second wife in 1705 in Dublin, inheriting four stepchildren.

Her new husband was a Trinity-educated clergyman deeply in debt who decided to immigrate to North America with the assistance of the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL. Arriving in CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, in 1708, they found that a rival clergyman had taken the position Gideon had been promised. Although the family received assistance from Governor Nathaniel Johnson, they kept afloat because Henrietta Johnston was an accomplished, self-taught portrait artist. She quickly attracted the patronage of leading families, who valued her eye for their rich and elegant CLOTHING and possessions. Unusually, she worked in pastels, which were rare in England and unknown in America.

Through these years her husband, who eventually regained his church living, was frequently ill, and the couple lost their only child, Charles, to a CHILDHOOD fever. Often mocked for being Irish, they formed close ties to the powerful French Huguenot community in South Carolina. In 1711 Henrietta Johnston returned to England to buy ART supplies and to successfully petition the society for more support. She also carried samples of Carolina rice to buyers in London. As she returned to North America, her husband traveled to England to enroll his sons and Prince George of the Yamasee Indians in school. While he was gone, Henrietta weathered two hurricanes and the Yamasee War, during which she harbored numerous refugees in the parsonage. Gideon Johnston died in 1716, when his sloop overturned while he was seeing Governor Charles Craven off to England.

As sole support of the family, Henrietta continued to produce portraits, in 1725 following John Moore to New York to answer the commissions of leading families. Significantly, Johnston's sketches of elite members of Charleston society are frequently their only existing likenesses.

—Margaret Sankey

### Jolliet, Louis (1645–1700) *French explorer*

Louis Jolliet is best known for exploring the upper Mississippi River with JACQUES MARQUETTE. At age 10 Jolliet entered the Jesuit college at Quebec to prepare for the priesthood. Attracted by the economic opportunities and adventures of the FUR TRADE, he ceased his clerical training and focused on becoming a *coureur de bois*. For several years Louis Jolliet engaged in trade, EXPLORATION, and diplomatic activities. On June 4, 1671, he signed a declaration at Sault Ste. Marie when Simon Daumont de Saint-Lusson secured formal possession of a vast area of land extending from Hudson Bay to the Pacific Ocean east to west and south to the Gulf of Mexico for French king Louis XIV.

Learning that a great river, perhaps a route to China, existed, Marquette wanted to explore it. In October 1672



Jolliet became partners with six *coureurs de bois* and traveled to the St. Ignace mission at Michillimakinac to join Marquette. By May 1673 the adventurers began canoeing in the headwaters of the river. Within a month they reached the Mississippi River. Heading south, they occasionally stopped at Native American villages along the shores. In July, worried about possible capture by the Spanish in FLORIDA, the group turned around at the modern-day border of Arkansas and LOUISIANA after determining that the river flowed into the Gulf of Mexico. This journey secured long-standing Native American–French alliances in the Mississippi Valley.

En route, Jolliet's diary and maps charting the tributaries of the river were ruined when rapids overturned his canoe, so he recreated both from memory. In New France Jolliet secured grants to pursue fur trading, establishing a company on the St. Lawrence. He also undertook an overland journey to Hudson Bay in April 1679 to assess the threat of English traders to French interests. Refusing the English invitation to join their venture, Jolliet determined that the Hudson Bay area was Canada's best fur-producing region and speculated that the English consequently would dominate Canadian trade. Jolliet drew maps of the St. Lawrence River and kept an elaborate journal of his trip to Labrador in 1694. Three years later Jolliet was named a hydrography professor at the College of Quebec.

**Further reading:** Jean Delanglez, *Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet, 1645–1700* (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History, 1948).

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

## journalism

Although the first newspaper published in the American colonies began in BOSTON in 1690, it proved to be a short-lived experience because government authorities suppressed it immediately. It was not until April 24, 1704, when *The Boston News-Letter* appeared, that the public could enjoy a regularly published newspaper, although only on a weekly basis. Other rival newspapers appeared in Boston quickly, and other cities followed suit as PHILADELPHIA, NEW YORK CITY, Annapolis, CHARLESTON, NEWPORT, and Williamsburg began publishing weeklies.

In 1727 the *Maryland Gazette*, the first newspaper in the province of Maryland and the oldest continuous surviving newspaper, was established at Annapolis by William Parks. At this time there were but six other newspapers published in America. The *Gazette* was discontinued in 1736 but revived again in 1745 under the management of Jonas Green. It is still published today and has been called the “flourishing patriarch of American journals.”

By 1775, 37 weekly newspapers existed in 11 colonies. These newspapers were similar in structure, usually a small weekly folio, four pages in length, with the following format: Page one contained foreign news; page two, domestic news; page three, local news; and page four, advertisements. Political news and the proceedings of legislative bodies aroused lively interest. Issues including ABOLITIONISM, religion, women's rights, EDUCATION, and medical discoveries highlighted the news. Specific events, such as the trial of JOHN PETER ZENGER, the GREAT AWAKENING, the STONO REBELLION, the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, the Stamp Act Crisis, and the Boston Tea Party appeared in colonial weeklies.

Rather than articles penned by reporters, important letters and documents were often quoted at length. This became particularly critical when issues welded people together in their resistance to Britain beginning in 1763. Although local news was sometimes negligible, advertisements told the story of the ECONOMY, society, and cultural events of a particular town or region. Essays and poetry sometimes filled a considerable portion of newspapers, especially in Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*. The use of an occasional editorial cartoon, such as Franklin's famous “Join or Die” woodcut advocating uniting of the colonies during the Seven Years' War, also appeared.

Besides newspapers, early Americans wrote autobiographies, journals, and political pamphlets. These authors sometimes described their own experiences, meditating on their lives, seeking to attract settlers to the colonies, defending a particular religious view, or attacking specific governmental policies. Examples of 17th-century chroniclers include JOHN SMITH, WILLIAM BRADFORD, JOHN WINTHROP, and COTTON MATHER, while 18th-century examples include ROBERT BEVERLEY and WILLIAM BYRD II.

A second phase of American journalism after 1750 was greatly influenced by the Enlightenment. By the middle of the 18th century, the colonists became more aware of the efforts of Sir Isaac Newton and others to explain the mechanical laws of the universe and the philosophy of natural law. Writers began to emphasize rational thought, to think of history as possibly revealing the meaning of life, and to see institutions such as the law as having a life of their own. The works of Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Hutchinson, and David Ramsey are typical of the approach.

Except for what appeared in newspapers, secular LITERATURE was limited to the wealthy. Theological books did abound, but outside of the Bible and almanacs, the newspaper was the only printed medium found in most colonial family homes.

**Further reading:** David A. Copeland, *Debating the Issues in Colonial Newspapers: Primary Documents on the Events of the Period* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000).

—James F. Adomanis

**journeymen**

Journeymanship was the second of three stages of craft education. After completing their apprenticeship, young men and women (usually men) were then able to perform most of the tasks associated with their trades, but they lacked the capital and sometimes the complete set of skills necessary to enter into business for themselves. Thus, following a long European tradition, journeymen worked for master artisans as paid workers, sharpening their skills and saving what money they could in order to become independent producers. In 17th- and early 18th-century English America, journeymen generally worked three to four years before they were able to reach the final stage of independence: mastership. In New France, however, ex-APPRENTICES generally bypassed journeymanship entirely, instead building up their savings by joining fur-trading expeditions or by directly entering into partnerships with local merchants or other investors.

The nature of journeymanship in British America changed fundamentally in the mid-18th century. By the

1740s economic disruption brought on by a series of wars with France, growing unemployment, and competition from imported British manufactures made it increasingly difficult for journeymen and women to amass the savings needed to enter mastership and independence. This was especially true of the more lucrative trades that required more than a £100 investment, roughly equivalent to three to four year's wages. As the century wore on, *journeyman* increasingly became a term meaning employee rather than a skilled artisan approaching the final stage of independent mastership. Thus, the colonial period ended on a note of anxiety for journeymen, as increasing numbers of skilled men and women looked forward to the prospect not of independence but of lifelong labor for someone else.

**Further reading:** Ronald Schultz, *The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720–1830* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

—Ronald Schultz

# K



## **Kalm, Peter** (1716–1779) *scientist*

Peter (Pehr) Kalm was one of dozens of European travelers in North America who recorded their attempts to understand what the 18th-century North American landscape could teach them about the New World and what solutions it might provide for problems in AGRICULTURE and ecology in the Old World. A student of Swedish naturalist Carolus Linnaeus, who is best known for creating a hierarchical ranking of animal species, Kalm visited Norway, Finland, Russia, and North America on behalf of the Swedish Academy of Sciences, investigating what vegetation might be profitably transplanted to European soil. Traveling through Canada, NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, and PENNSYLVANIA in the late 1740s, he compiled an extensive botanical diary. He also made contact with Americans who shared his interests, especially in PHILADELPHIA, where the scientific community surrounding the inquisitive Benjamin Franklin and the naturalist JOHN BARTRAM made him welcome. They encouraged his study of many aspects of American society, from ARCHITECTURE to Indian languages, geography, animal husbandry, and economics, as well as insects, agriculture, and plant experimentation. Kalm was especially fascinated with medicinal uses of plants, with vineyards, and with the possibilities for silk farming. Many Philadelphia QUAKERS, whose connections with men of similar interests in England gave them a rich knowledge of these subjects, willingly exchanged notes with him.

Kalm is best remembered for his insightful reports of his travels, including some early observations on the American national character, which he theorized was born out of the colonists' interactions with their ENVIRONMENT. He assessed their farming techniques as wasteful—"the easy method of getting a rich crop has spoiled [them]." He noted that the abundance of land in North America encouraged his profligacy by supporting mindless population growth, because no one need fear poverty and "a new-married man can, without difficulty, get a spot of ground, where he may sufficiently subsist with his wife and chil-

dren." The result, said Kalm, was that the colonists had no incentive to learn efficient farming, hence their knowledge of agriculture was "imperfect." Kalm's observations, published in Sweden in 1753, were republished in English in 1770 as *Travels into North America, Containing its Natural History and a Circumstantial Account of its Plantations and Agriculture*. He is credited with being the first observer not only to catalog American flora and fauna but also to explore the dangers of Americans' thoughtless use of natural resources.

—Emma Lapsansky

## **Keith, William** (1680–1749) *government official*

William Keith was one of the most competent and popular colonial governors in the 18th century. The son of Jean Smith and William Keith, a baronet, he was born in Scotland. As a young man he supported the return of the Stuart monarchy, for which he was jailed briefly in 1704. Keith won an appointment as surveyor general of the southern colonies in 1714, and three years later was appointed lieutenant governor of PENNSYLVANIA.

Keith wrote several important and influential reports to the British government, warning in particular about the threat of the French encircling the British colonies. He also advocated establishing a stamp tax to raise funds to pay for a standing army on the frontier. As governor, Keith was enormously popular among PHILADELPHIA ARTISANS, whom he courted to the disgruntlement of the city's wealthy MERCHANTS. When replaced as governor by Patrick Gordon, he was never able to regain his power.

Keith returned to Britain in 1728, where he was a Board of Trade adviser. However, he fell into considerable debt, and in 1734 he was sent to debtors' prison.

**Further reading:** Gary B. Nash, *Quakers and Politics, Pennsylvania 1681–1726* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968).

**Kieft, Willem** (1597–1647) *Dutch colonial governor*  
 Willem Kieft became the third director general of New Netherland in 1638. Determined to impose order and discipline in the raucous polyglot colony, he imposed tough new penalties for those illegally involved in the FUR TRADE, restricted liquor licenses, regulated TOBACCO production, and instituted stringent punishments for those engaged in “adulterous intercourse with heathens, blacks and other persons.” Shouldering out local men from decision making, Kieft ruled in an autocratic manner throughout his nine-year tenure.

Kieft’s headaches only began with his unruly colonists. The English claimed title to all of New Netherland, prompting Kieft in his first years in office to purchase most of present-day Queens and Kings Counties from local Indians. Still, Kieft could not stem the flow of English colonists, expelled for heresy by the Calvinist colonies of PLYMOUTH and MASSACHUSETTS Bay, to various settlements on Long Island, nor could he do more than protest against the Swedish settlement on the DELAWARE River.

Kieft himself exhibited little of the self-control and moderation he expected from his subjects, particularly with respect to the Native peoples in the region. In 1640 he levied taxes on the ALGONQUIN to support soldiers’ salaries and the construction of FORTS under the pretense that the Dutch were protecting the local Indians from their enemies. When a band of Raritan resisted, Kieft falsely charged them with theft and authorized a raid that resulted in slaughter and plunder. The Raritan struck back, and so began an escalating conflict that plunged most of the Native people around Fort Amsterdam into bloody confrontation with the Dutch for four years. Kieft’s tactics included bounties on Indian heads, surprise night attacks, and raids on friendly Indians. Kieft’s predicament became so grave that he armed the enslaved population, appealed to the English for help, and assembled committees of prominent men to advise him. Instead of rubber-stamping Kieft’s actions, these committees clamored for more local control and eventually condemned the director general for the Indian wars that had decimated the colony. Their complaints resulted in Kieft’s recall. After greeting his successor, PETER STUYVESANT, Willem Kieft boarded a ship that sank off the coast of Wales in September 1647.

Kieft’s Indian policy effectively counterbalanced developments that attracted settlers, such as the loss of the DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY’s trade monopoly and new land policies. By the end of Kieft’s administration, New Netherland lay desolate and NEW AMSTERDAM’s population had dwindled to 250 souls.

**Further reading:** Oliver A. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986).

—Judy VanBuskirk

### **King George’s War** (1744–1748)

King George’s War was the American conflict between France and England that paralleled the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) in Europe. The northern colonies were not expected to take a major part, but Governor William Shirley of MASSACHUSETTS persuaded his colony’s assembly to approve a force of more than 4,000 volunteers to capture the French base at Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. Motivated by anti-Catholic sermons and the promise of plunder, the province rallied enthusiastically. Assisted by a fleet under Sir Peter Warren that bombarded the fort, Louisbourg surrendered on June 27, 1745. The following spring a French fleet with 7,000 troops under the duc D’Anville headed to attack the British colonies, but it was decimated by SMALLPOX, scurvy, and storms.

Thereafter, the tide turned. An enthusiastic Shirley raised 7,500 New Englanders in hopes of conquering Canada in 1746. However, a promised British fleet never arrived, and NEW YORK, anxious to preserve its profitable and illegal trade with the French and Indians, refused to help. During the winter 900 of the 3,000 provincials who waited at Louisbourg for a British garrison to relieve them died of disease.

British naval vessels also impressed sailors in the colonies into the British navy, somewhat justifiably because American MERCHANTS encouraged deserters to operate their lucrative PRIVATEERING vessels. Two Louisbourg veterans were killed by a press gang in 1745, and in November 1747 the impressment of between 46 and 300 sailors in BOSTON harbor caused the inhabitants to form a crowd, take hostage British officers on shore, and provoke Captain Charles Knowles to threaten to blow up the town. America’s first antiwar newspaper, *The Independent Advertiser*, founded by a young Samuel Adams and others, protested the expense of Shirley’s expeditions in lives and money. For the first time in North America, the newspaper also used the doctrine of British philosopher JOHN LOCKE—that a government that failed to protect life, liberty, and property deserved to be resisted—to justify crowds (or “assemblies of the people”) defending such rights.

At the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle Britain exchanged Louisbourg for Madras in India, leaving unsettled the frontier between Canada and New England. Although Britain reimbursed Massachusetts 183,000 British pounds for war expenses, the colony was bitter that its conquest was so lightly disregarded by a mother country whose sea captains had also proven insensitive to the monumental efforts of the province.

**Further reading:** Douglas E. Leach, *Roots of Conflict: British Armed Forces and Colonial Americans, 1677–1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

—William Pencak



### King Philip's War (1675–1676)

King Philip's War saw Indians in southern New England desperately and violently try to preserve their autonomy in the face of English encroachment. Before 1675 different Indian groups had pursued different strategies to cope with English expansion. For example, many of the surviving members of the Massachusetts tribe accommodated the English by converting, outwardly at least, to Christianity; other Indians had submitted to colonies, as when the Wampanoag swore their loyalty to PLYMOUTH in return for the promise of protection; finally, some, such as the Mohegan and NARRAGANSETT, formed strong alliances with colonies, going so far as to support the English in the PEQUOT WAR. The effectiveness of all these strategies was limited, but they had led to a delicate balance of power in the region. Nevertheless, the Indian population declined steadily in the face of dramatic English growth. Making matters worse, the economic position of Indians had been weakened by the decline of the FUR TRADE and decreased demand for WAMPUM.

In 1675 the Wampanoag, led by METACOM, or, as the English knew him, King Philip, opted to sever their ties of loyalty to Plymouth when that colony executed three Wampanoag for the death of John Sassamon, a Christian Indian. Wampanoag attacked the settlement of Swansea, killing a handful of settlers. Whether they intended to start a large war is unclear, but the English colonies quickly united in an effort to suppress what they perceived to be a rebellion. Even so, English efforts failed, and their poor treatment of nonhostile Indians forced many, including the Narragansett, Nipmuc, and those of the CONNECTICUT River Valley north of Springfield, into alliance with the Wampanoag. More disturbing, in an action that was analogous to the internment of Japanese citizens by the United States in World War II, the English herded up loyal Christian Indians and confined them to a windswept island in BOSTON harbor.

The Wampanoag and their allies initially prosecuted the war effectively, forcing the English to abandon many settlements in western MASSACHUSETTS. They relied on quick surprise attacks wherein fire was their most effective weapon. They were also aided by the internal squabbles of the English, as old disputes over colonial borders and new arguments over the morality of the war surfaced among the colonists. However, their success proved short lived. The English learned to rely more heavily on their Indian allies, including the Mohegan and those Christian Indians earlier confined in Boston harbor. Equally important, during the winter of 1675–76, Metacom's forces sought safety in NEW YORK, only to be attacked by the Mohawk. By spring and summer of 1676 large numbers of Indians were surrendering to the English, and those who continued to fight saw themselves pursued by English troops invigorated by

Indian allies. In August 1676 an Indian loyal to the English killed Philip, and the conflict bearing his name ended.

The war destroyed the possibility of a biracial society and intensified hatreds associated with a latent frontier mentality. Indians had suffered the most in the war, and the depletion of their population significantly reduced their influence in the region. The percentage of NATIVE AMERICANS in the region declined from one-fourth to one-tenth. Indians died not only from combat wounds and disease, but the English sold many of their Indian captives into SLAVERY. The removal of so many Indians from New England destabilized the region as colonists disputed the morality of the war and their entitlement to Indian land. These disputes eventually contributed to the establishment of the DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND in 1686 and the temporary loss of colonial autonomy. Those Indians who survived the war and remained in New England followed a wide variety of paths, but all found their actions more tightly restricted. Many found themselves working as servants for the English and unable to recreate their past community ties. Outside of New England the results of King Philip's War favored the Mohawk. They forged an alliance with New York that proved to be the seeds of the Covenant Chain, a series of English-Indian alliances that shaped relations in the Northeast well into the next century. The memory of King Philip's War and the way that contemporaries wrote about it helped determine relations between Indians and Anglo-Americans into the 19th century.

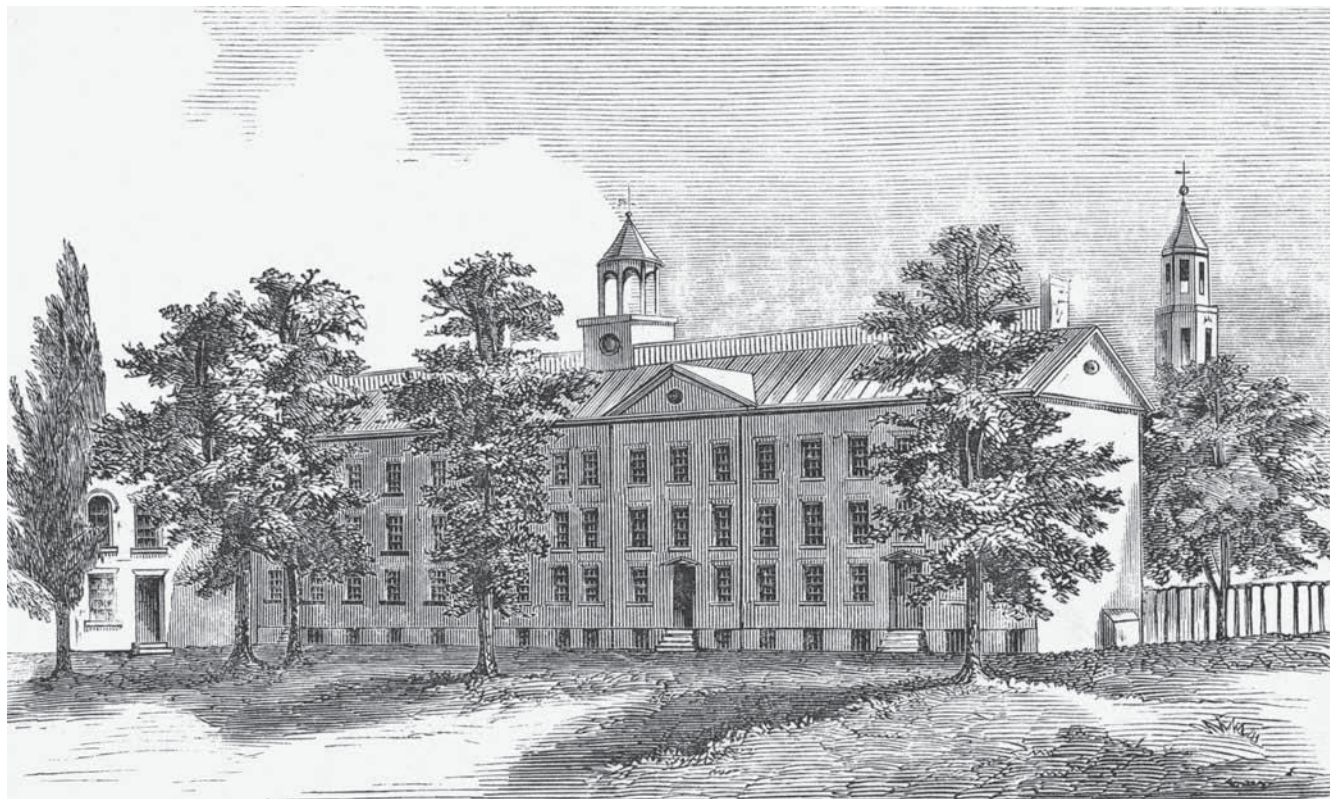
**Further reading:** James D. Drake, *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675–1676* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Knopf, 1998).

—James D. Drake

### King's College (Columbia University)

The founding of King's College reflected the ethnic, religious, and cultural controversies that had shaped colonial NEW YORK's society for almost a century before the college opened its doors. The issues of Dutch versus English leadership, of how Anglicized the colony's culture should become, about battles between locating the center of the colony's culture in NEW YORK CITY or elsewhere, and about the transformations brought by the GREAT AWAKENING all influenced the creation of the school that would one day be Columbia University.

The first mention of a college for the colony of New York was made by LEWIS MORRIS, who described the location as "the center of English American [and] . . . a proper place for a college" in a 1704 letter to the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, but it



An 1859 print of King's College as it appeared in 1756 (*New York Public Library*)

was not until 1746 that the colony's governor, assembly, and council approved a lottery to raise £2,250 for that purpose. The school immediately became the subject of controversy. First, location was the issue. Advocates of a rural setting, among them CADWALLADER COLDEN, railed against the corruption of New York City, its tippling houses, and other base entertainments, but supporters of an urban college overcame that opposition. They raised £13,000 and secured land from Trinity Church in 1752 for the college's location.

The location controversy paled by comparison to the debate over religion at the College of New York. The Rev. SAMUEL JOHNSON, a former tutor at YALE COLLEGE who, like President Timothy Cutler, had converted from Congregationalism to the Church of England, led the charge for New York's college to be an Anglican institution. Cutler was both enthusiastic for his chosen faith and frightened at the widespread support for the Great Awakening and the colleges it inspired. In 1747 Johnson called the College of New Jersey (Princeton) "a fountain of Nonsense" and was angered that this "dissenting" institution, close to New York, would draw support away from the Anglican school he hoped to found.

William Livingston emerged as the leader of non-Anglicans in the college controversy. Raised in the DUTCH

REFORMED CHURCH in Albany, Livingston was a 1741 graduate of Yale who had grown weary both of the religious revivalism going on around him and Thomas Clap's extreme orthodoxy at the college. Livingston and his supporters called for an enlightened, liberal arts curriculum that left theological study to the private hours of the students.

In November 1751 the New York legislature established a board of trustees comprised largely of Anglicans to oversee the school's lottery funds. Two years later that board chose Samuel Johnson as the first president of the college. In May 1754 the controversy flared up again, when Trinity Church repeated its offer of land for the college, but now required that its president always be an Anglican and that its religious services always be conducted in the forms of the Church of England. Livingston again led a vociferous opposition, stating that the church was not established in New York, that using lottery funds to support an Anglican institution was an insult to dissenters, that Trinity's first offer had no such requirements, and that the charter should be submitted to the assembly, not the governor. The trustees ignored the protests by Livingston and others, and on May 20 petitioned the governor and council for a charter. On June 4 Lieutenant Governor James DeLancey ordered the colony's attorney general to prepare



a royal charter. Livingston and his supporters continued their dissent, waging a newspaper war and sending numerous petitions to the colonial assembly. On November 2 the governor signed the charter of the school, now to be known as King's College. The Anglican-dissenter controversy continued until December 1756, when the assembly agreed to allot half the funds raised by the lottery to the city of New York and half to the college.

Samuel Johnson served as president from 1754 to 1763 and established a curriculum that included the standard liberal arts, languages, and sciences as well as husbandry, surveying and navigation, history, geography, government, and commerce. Johnson's repeated goal as master of the college was educating and training New York's future elite in ideas that conformed with the Church of England. He showed little interest in educating pupils outside that goal, including the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel's plan during the SEVEN YEARS' WAR to send Indian students to the college.

**Further reading:** David C. Humphrey, *From King's College to Columbia, 1746–1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976).

—George W. Boudreau

### King William's War (1689–1697)

King William's War was the American equivalent of the War of the League of Augsburg in Europe, which began when King James II (1685–88) of England was overthrown by his son-in-law William III, stadtholder (chief executive officer) of the Netherlands, at the invitation of Parliament. James fled to the court of a fellow Catholic, Louis XIV of France, and warfare between French and English possessions began wherever common boundaries made it possible. In North America the English colonies failed to cooperate against the French. They were severely divided among themselves over the legitimacy of Jacob LEISLER'S REBELLION in NEW YORK and the ability of William Phips of MASSACHUSETTS to direct an intercolonial effort. As a result, for most of the war the mobile NATIVE AMERICANS allied with the French Canadians to raid upstate New York and the MAINE (then part of Massachusetts) frontier, more or less at will. The pro-English IROQUOIS in New York and Massachusetts's settlements in Maine, of which only three survived, endured most of the fighting.

The war's major effort was an expedition to conquer Canada undertaken in 1690 by Massachusetts. Commanded by Phips, it succeeded in capturing Port Royal in Acadia (Nova Scotia), but after reaching the walls of Quebec was forced to withdraw on October 25 as winter and a frozen St. Lawrence River loomed. Although only 30 of 1,300 Massachusetts men died in combat, perhaps 500 others

perished from DISEASE and shipwrecks as the fleet of 32 ships was scattered by storms from Canada to the CARIBBEAN. The expedition put Massachusetts some 40,000 pounds in debt, forced it to adopt a depreciated paper currency, and led to the abandonment of many frontier towns. The early disastrous years of the war were undoubtedly one cause of the Salem WITCHCRAFT episode of 1692, because important people throughout Massachusetts believed Satan was the cause of their troubles. The only positive result of the Quebec Campaign was that it showed the loyalty of the province to Britain and may have won a more liberal royal charter for Massachusetts, with Phips as governor. The Peace of Ryswyck, signed in 1697, settled nothing in North America.

**Further reading:** Richard R. Johnson, *Adjustment to Empire: The New England Colonies, 1675–1715* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1981).

—William Pencak

### Knight, Sarah Kemble (1666–1727) innkeeper, businessperson, diarist

Madam Knight, as she is often called, made a journey in the fall of 1704 from BOSTON to New Haven and NEW YORK CITY. Along the way she kept a journal that recorded not only the progress of her trip, but also her thoughts and observations, providing a detailed glimpse of daily life in colonial New England. Sarah Kemble was raised in Boston, where she married Richard Knight by 1689. She kept a writing school, hence her title of "Madam," supposedly with young Benjamin Franklin as a pupil. She also possibly kept a stationery store in her large house. Several boarders lodged in her house, and, unusually for a woman, she involved herself in a variety of legal matters on their behalf and her own.

Madam Knight made her 1704 trip to settle the estate of her cousin Caleb Trowbridge on behalf of his young widow. Filled with an urbane Bostonian snobbishness, Knight's journal presents the rustic, rural, and difficult nature of people and travel. Sarah Knight's personal journal was left in manuscript form until 1825 when it was published under the title *The Journals of Madam Knight, and Rev. Mr. Buckingham*. Her journal distinguishes her as one of the rare women, and also one of the few secular, authors of the colonial period. Her journal is a travelogue liberally sprinkled with occasional verses and filled with picaresque characters like the country "bumpkin," chewing TOBACCO, spitting, and staring around "like a Catt let out of a Baskett." She viewed local Native "Indians of the Country" as "savages" because of their failure to become more like the English settlers. She describes the dark and hazardous roads of the time, the fording of streams, and the

rustic lodgings along the way. One amusing episode finds Madam Knight being kept awake all night by several other lodgers loudly drinking rum in the room next to hers.

Madam Knight left no other writings. She followed her daughter to the New London/Norwich area of CONNECTICUT, where she continued her small business dealings until her death, leaving a sizable estate of £1,800.

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—Stephen C. O'Neill

**Kuhn, Justus Engelhardt** (d. 1717) *artist*

A German émigré, Kuhn arrived in MARYLAND in 1706 and painted for a time in Annapolis, where he specialized in portraits of several interrelated Catholic families, the Carrolls, the Digges, and the Darnalls. Rather than focusing on the personal character or physical attributes of his subjects, Kuhn's work illustrated the abundance of their estates. His portrait *Eleanor Darnall*, painted about

1710, is remarkable for its depiction of a vast plantation of large gardens replete with multiple buildings, fountains, and colonnades. In this portrait the sitter Eleanor, daughter of Maryland aristocrats, stands before an elegant balustrade in diminished proportion to an elaborately decorated vase nearby. Framing her are heavy draperies and flowers, and beyond the balustrade, a seemingly unattenuated formal landscape. Kuhn also painted a portrait of Eleanor's brother. The setting for *Henry Darnall III* was similar and contains what is thought to be the first American depiction of a black person, one of the family servants. Undoubtedly, Kuhn's patrons appreciated the artistic magnification of their assets. According to his contemporaries, Kuhn held aristocratic pretensions. It was noted that his accouterments were so fine that one would not suspect he was a painter.

Kuhn is the earliest documented portrait painter in the American South. Only one of his 10 known works was signed, his portrait *Ignatius Digges* in 1710. Kuhn was buried in Anne Arundel County, Maryland.

—Catherine Goetz





## labor

The history of labor in colonial America covers more than 200 years, spans a vast geography, and includes important regional diversity. Adding to the complexity, laborers themselves often left little written record, making it difficult to piece together the experiences and stories of their lives. A common theme, however, does appear. Until well into the 18th century, scarcity describes labor everywhere. Potential employers complained that even if laborers were available, wages were too high. This lament came from TOBACCO producers in the Chesapeake area as well as ARTISANS in the port cities. Labor shortages were the result of the rich natural resources found in the colonies, primarily land. Colonists had less need to work for someone when they could own land.

Colonists turned to a variety of solutions to solve some of the problems created by labor scarcity. The three major port cities, BOSTON, PHILADELPHIA, and NEW YORK CITY, and the Middle Colonies blended bound with free workers. The plantation owners in the southern, Chesapeake, and West Indian colonies responded to the shortage of workers by depending primarily on unfree laborers.

Colonial America contained three distinct types of unfree labor—apprentices, indentured servants, and slaves. Each form was used in varying degrees in every colony. However, the nature of each system varied. Apprentices combined EDUCATION with labor. Apprentices were bound to a master for a period of years, and in exchange for obedience and work the master provided FOOD, CLOTHING, lodging, and training in the “art and mysteries” of a trade. The colonial system of apprenticeship came from England, where it was intended to supply society with skilled labor and at the same time to reduce the burden of supporting orphaned and other poor children.

Apprenticeship did little to relieve the labor shortage in the colonies. Unlike servants and slaves, apprentices came primarily from the native-born population. More important, because they started their service at a very young age,

they contributed little in terms of labor, often being relegated to running errands, sweeping floors, lighting and tending fires, and other odd jobs. Older apprentices gained the skills that enabled them to participate more fully in the labor force. Apprentices served artisans most often, although masters who also taught skills ranged from doctors to lawyers, seamstresses to domestic service.

INDENTURED SERVITUDE contributed greatly to easing the labor shortage in the colonies. Between one-half and two-thirds of white immigrants from Great Britain and continental Europe immigrated as indentured servants. The vast majority of colonial servants labored in the agricultural sector. Most entered into servitude because they were too poor to finance their own passage to the colonies and were willing to exchange service for a specified period of time, usually three to four years, for the price of their transportation.

African SLAVERY provided the bulk of workers in the southern colonies, especially after 1700. The brutal system reduced human beings to property. In the early 17th century little distinction apparently existed between servants and slaves. Gradually, white colonists passed laws that bound African slaves for life and passed this condition on to the slaves’ children.

### *The Chesapeake Area and Lower South*

Although the economies of the Chesapeake area and the Lower South developed differently, both regions relied on staple crops that required intensive labor. In the Chesapeake area planters grew primarily tobacco; in the Lower South they focused their energies on rice and INDIGO. The first JAMESTOWN settlers in 1607 worried very little about labor. Many assumed that they could grow rich in Virginia on its natural abundance. They were so confident that they would not have to work that the first ships transported a large percentage of gentlemen (who would not work because of their status) and skilled craftsmen, like silversmiths and jewelers, who could extract precious metals and stones. If they did

need labor, the colonists fully expected to mold the local Indians into a labor force.

Nothing went according to plan. Death stalked the colonists, and gold and silver were nowhere to be found. In addition, the Indians understandably refused to work for them. JOHN ROLFE introduced the one ray of hope for Jamestown beginning in 1612, when he discovered that the lands of Virginia were well suited for the cultivation of tobacco. At that time the English smoked tobacco for its medicinal qualities. This changed, however, when regular shipments of the weed arrived from the New World. People increasingly smoked for pleasure, and the demand for the “jovial weed” rose dramatically. Tobacco helped solve the colony’s financial problems, but it had a hidden difficulty. The cultivation of tobacco was labor intensive—it required many workers over a long planting, growing, and harvesting season.

The VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON, the joint-stock company in charge of promoting and developing Virginia, indentured young English people to solve their immediate labor needs. These servants entered into servitude for the company by exchanging the cost of their transportation to VIRGINIA and food, shelter, and clothing for seven years of service. The company promised this first group of servants a share in the profits from the colony. The company, however, struggled financially and devised another system to entice people to sign on as servants. Instead of buying and shipping the servants, the company encouraged anyone who planned to immigrate to Virginia to pay the costs of their own servants’ travel. For each servant transported, the master received 50 acres of land. The company also promised land to the servants as part of their freedom dues. According to the first population census in 1625, more than 40 percent of Virginia’s residents were indentured servants; almost all of them had emigrated from England.

About three-quarters of the 75,000 whites who immigrated to the Chesapeake colonies from Britain between 1630 and 1680 came as indentured servants. Masters struggled with how to force servants to labor under harsh, inhospitable conditions when they lacked economic motivation. In a sense, servants were prepaid by their transportation to the colonies. They did not earn any additional benefit from their labor. Gradually, legislators devised a legal system that devoted a great deal of attention to controlling servants’ behavior. If servants ran away, masters could add time to their contracts, whip them, crop their hair, or, if they absconded habitually, brand them. The laws licensed masters to use “reasonable” force if they needed to exert control over their servants.

For the first 50 years of Virginia’s existence, servants were the machines that grew tobacco. Gradually, toward the end of the 17th century, slaves began to replace servants. This transformation occurred for a number of reasons. As economic conditions and workers’ incomes improved in

England, the supply of servants dwindled while the demand for labor continued to increase. Simultaneously, the availability and relative costs of slaves decreased. During the early 17th century high MORTALITY rates made it more cost effective to invest in the short-term service of a servant than in the more expensive slave for life. As the risk of early death diminished and when the Royal African Company’s monopoly on the SLAVE TRADE ended in 1698, the costs of Africans decreased, and planters turned to slaves. The decline in mortality also meant that more servants survived their servitude and collected their land. In addition, Chesapeake area planters feared that they would compete in the tobacco market. Because slaves served for life, they posed no risk of competition.

The cycle of tobacco production extended over an entire calendar year. The heaviest labor occurred during the late summer and early fall, but the crop demanded almost daily attention. Because tobacco required so much care, it was well suited for gang labor, small units of about eight to 10 workers. This allowed the tobacco master or overseer to command close supervision of the workers; one member of the gang often set the pace for the group. The slaves who labored in the tobacco fields worked from sunup to sundown, and because their workday was organized around time rather than output, they had little incentive to work quickly. Although masters adhered to strict GENDER division of labor regarding white women and would not place female servants in the fields, they had no reservations about black women. Through the 18th century black women outnumbered men as field workers, and they were often joined by black children.

The story of staple crop development and labor unfolded differently in the Lower South. SOUTH CAROLINA’s settlers came primarily from the West Indies and arrived with their slaves. The system of labor did not evolve from one dependent on white servitude to one dependent on black slavery. Rather, slaves were present in the colony from its inception. In the early decades of the colony, no single crop dominated production. By the second generation planters focused their energies on rice. Rice was not part of the English diet, but planters recognized its potential value because it was an important dietary staple in southern Europe. Even though the boggy soils of the Carolinas were perfectly suited for rice cultivation, the first attempts failed because planters did not know enough about what they were doing. Successful rice cultivation coincided with the arrival of a large number of West Africans who were familiar with rice production. They introduced the style of planting, cultivating, cooking, and even singing work songs that provided the rhythms of production. The key role they played did not soften the effects of slavery. Ironically, the slaves’ ability to grow rice moved the colony more quickly toward a heavy reliance on slave labor.

The cycle of rice cultivation lasted for more than a year, with the most intense activity at midsummer and midwinter. Unlike tobacco, rice growing featured slack periods, and slaves often ended their day before sunset. Nevertheless, rice demanded heavy work, and it was grown near swamplands and stagnant waters that bred DISEASE.

During the mid-18th century Carolina planters developed an additional export crop, indigo. The best varieties of indigo also came from the West Indies, and West African skills contributed to its successful cultivation. Indigo plantations reeked from the smells of fermenting plants, and the odors attracted swarms of flies and other insects.

Both rice and indigo required large labor forces, and planters turned to a number of sources. As in the Chesapeake area, local Indians refused to work for them or often died from European diseases if they were enslaved. Planters imported some indentured servants but never in sufficient numbers to satisfy their labor needs. They relied most heavily on African slaves, who provided more than just their labor. West African expertise allowed for the successful production of rice and indigo. By the third decade of the 18th century, blacks constituted a majority of the South Carolina population.

### ***Caribbean***

The history of labor in the Anglo-CARIBBEAN mirrored that of the Chesapeake area in that the labor force shifted from white indentured workers to African slaves. However, this transformation of labor occurred far earlier than in MARYLAND and Virginia. During the first four decades of the 17th century, the majority of laborers were indentured servants from England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. During the 1640s Barbados planters began to realize the advantages of slave labor. Unlike servants, slaves served for life and could be treated far more harshly. As the island's sugar industry developed, planters increasingly invested in slave labor. Although the smaller islands followed a similar labor pattern, they did so a bit later.

Planters preferred that slave cargoes include a balanced gender ratio, and in the early years of the slave trade an almost equal number of men and women were shipped to the Caribbean. Over time the slave trade consisted almost exclusively of men. Because women played essential roles in agricultural production, African societies could ill afford to lose them; they considered men to be more expendable.

### ***Middle Colonies and New England***

No staple crop dominated agricultural production in the Middle Colonies and New England, and the demand for labor consequently was less intense. Most farmers in these regions practiced a mixed AGRICULTURE and depended on family members for labor. Immigrants to New England set-

tled in townships and divided the lands among the household units. PENNSYLVANIA families gathered in villages, and land was distributed to families based on their status. NEW YORK developed the most unusual organization. In some regions originally settled by the Dutch, patroons controlled vast amounts of land worked by tenant farmers; in newer regions families cultivated smaller acreages.

Immigrants to New England in the 1630s often brought servants with them. They realized how much labor was involved in creating new settlements. However, once these servants achieved their freedom, they were not replaced. Indentured labor never played a significant role in the labor force. Perhaps one-quarter of all MASSACHUSETTS families owned servants. New England farm families did require additional labor, especially during harvesting, building, and birthing. They preferred to rely on their children or, if necessary, exchange or hire labor for specific days and tasks.

Pennsylvania's founding generation predicted that labor would be scarce. The Free Society of Traders, the joint-stock company in charge of the colony's development, planned to import servants and slaves. As in the colonies to the north, unfree laborers did play an important role in establishing the first farms. Approximately 271 servants and between 400 and 500 slaves resided in Pennsylvania in the early decades. By the early 18th century the demand for unfree labor shifted from the rural to the urban sector. By the 18th century Philadelphia accounted for a disproportionate number of unfree laborers. Throughout the history of the colony, servants and slaves were members of interchangeable labor forces. Residents preferred the labor of white servants, but when they were in short supply they bought slaves.

### ***Gendered Division of Labor***

Households everywhere participated in a gendered division of labor. Women had primary responsibility for the house and children, and among middling and poorer families they also cultivated gardens. Men were relegated to the fields. During periods of peak labor demand, this structure altered somewhat. For example, in Pennsylvania when wheat and hay were harvested, men and women formed teams. Women operated slightly lighter scythes and helped reap and pile the grain. Haying followed, and because the scythes for this were considerably heavier, women trailed the men and spread the grass to dry. Both men and women loaded the hay onto the wagons.

Households participated in a range of activities in which the roles of men and women were interdependent. In textile production, for example, men assumed the primary responsibility for growing the flax. Women might do some weeding, but their most important contribution was turning the flax into cloth and then making items of



This engraving shows a colonial carpenter at work. (*Library of Congress*)

clothing. The economic status of the household dictated to a large extent the ways in which women spent their time. Women in middling families devoted a large percentage of their labor to food preparation and preservation. They performed the labor themselves or with the assistance of their daughters. Upper-CLASS women were responsible for the same range of tasks but were more likely to supervise servants than to perform the work themselves. Women in poorer families maintained their households and took care of their children. They also supplemented their families' incomes in various ways. In the cities they took in washing or sewing for a small fee or scavenged in the streets for discarded items; in rural areas they might weed gardens or gather vegetables in exchange for food.

Women contributed to the economic well-being of their families beyond their household tasks. They were involved in an often hidden but essential network that exchanged goods and services. These rarely involved cash but constituted an important part of their families'

incomes. Women who made cheese, for example, might trade with a neighbor for candles or preserves. Women also tended the sick, pulled flax together, and assisted at a birth. New England PURITANS demonstrated how they valued women's work by attaching a symbolic value to their labor. For each man who arrived in the colonies without his family, the Massachusetts Court of Assistance offered him cash to be used to hire the services usually performed by a wife.

The value of women's labor eroded in the 18th century. Key to this shift was the transformation of the ECONOMY. Although women were always subservient to men, this position did not affect their essential contributions to the household economy. During the 18th century money played an increasingly larger role, and market consciousness expanded. Consequently, the value of labor came to be measured more in terms of cash. While women's work remained virtually unchanged and they continued to labor in the home, they received little external cash value. Women were no longer considered to be part of the "real economy," as domestic labor had become marginalized.

### ***Changing Artisanal Labor Conditions***

Important transformations occurred in the nature and the organization of labor among artisans at the end of the colonial era in British North America. Masters began to function more as employers in a free market rather than as craftspeople. Rather than relying on bound APPRENTICES and JOURNEYMEN engaged for long periods, masters began to hire and fire workers as they needed them. Journeymen, consequently, enjoyed more individual freedom, since their personal lives were less frequently supervised by masters outside of the workplace. However, journeymen became more vulnerable to the vagaries of the market, since they were dismissed when the economy in general or the demands for their specific skills decreased. Meanwhile, the apprenticeship system, which taught young people artisanal skills, began a slow decline. All of these changes established the foundation for conflicts between employers and workers that would become considerably more serious in the 19th century.

See also CONVICT LABOR.

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—Sharon V. Salinger and Billy G. Smith



**La Demoiselle (“Old Briton”)** (d. 1752) *Miami leader* La Demoiselle, known among the British as “Old Briton,” was an anti-French leader among the Miami Indians of Ohio during the mid-1740s. A Piankashaw by birth, La Demoiselle married into the tribe and became an influential war leader among the Miamis inhabiting the town of Kekionga on the Maumee River. Around 1745, he became involved in an emerging political dispute that centered upon the Miamis’ wavering economic and military attachment to the French. Increasing trade prices had driven many Miami leaders, including La Demoiselle, to support a rebellion against the French-supported alliance chiefs who dominated the tribe’s political leadership. In opposition to Piedfroid, the headman of Kekionga and a staunch supporter of the French alliance, La Demoiselle and his supporters attacked the French trading post at the town in 1747. Following this attack, La Demoiselle removed his followers to a new village along the Miami River, Pickawillany, where he forged union among anti-French Indian elements in the Ohio country and created a new trade relationship with the English. However, a smallpox epidemic and continued political factionalism among his supporters seriously undermined La Demoiselle’s efforts. His rebellion came to a sudden halt in June 1752, when a French-led force of Ottawas and Chippewas sacked Pickawillany. La Demoiselle, who vowed never to return to the French alliance, was killed and most of his followers, unwilling to emulate his example, returned to the old alliance with the French.

**Further reading:** Richard White, *The Middle-Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Regions, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

—Daniel P. Barr

## land

The study of land policies in colonial North America falls into two general categories. One category examines England’s efforts to claim title to North American territory. Another focuses on the transfer of land from the Crown to specific groups or individuals. In general, while England followed European customs, its land policies were not carefully conceived or uniformly applied.

Before England could claim possession of its “New World” territory, it had to establish the basis for those claims. The Crown based its original title on the commonly accepted right of discovery doctrine. This theory argued that any new territory not already under the dominion of a Christian or Muslim ruler was the property of those who “discovered” it. John Cabot’s voyages to North America in 1497 and 1498 provided justification for English possession.

Spain also claimed North America, but England countered that Spain had not settled the territory, thus it forfeited any claims. This theory of *vacuum domicilium* (that people had a right to inhabit “unsettled land”) was also used to justify usurping Native American land rights. Because the Native population did not develop the land according to European models, England declared the land “vacant” and claimed title.

Although England did not recognize land ownership by NATIVE AMERICANS, it did hope to maintain peaceful relations with local Indians. For this reason officials sometimes negotiated treaties and made token payments to secure large tracts of lands. In PENNSYLVANIA, for example, land treaties between founder WILLIAM PENN and the Lenape Indians led to few tensions and a generally peaceful transfer of land. More often, however, officials obtained land through coercion, deception, or warfare. The PEQUOT Indians, for example, lost all their CONNECTICUT lands after a conflict with New England settlers in 1637. In the WALKING PURCHASE OF 1737 the Lenape Indians of Pennsylvania lost more than 1,000 acres due to British manipulation of treaty language. Indians were also forced to cede land when unable to pay debts to colonial MERCHANTS.

To minimize confusion and conflict, British officials discouraged individual land purchases between colonists and Indians. According to English interpretation, the land was the property of the king and only the Crown could authorize such transactions. Land transfer from the Crown to groups or individuals could occur in a number of ways, including grants, individual purchase, church or corporate group purchase, or by renting or squatting.

VIRGINIA, for example, began as a business venture organized by English stockholders. The company received a land grant, and each member who paid his own way to the colony was given a portion to settle plus a headright of 50 additional acres for each individual whom that member was paid to transport. In exchange for transport, these poor migrants worked as indentured servants for a fixed period of time (usually four to seven years). At the end of their term, many received a small tract of land as part of their “freedom dues.” This system promoted the accumulation of large landholdings by original settlers and smaller holdings on less desirable land by poor laborers.

Other colonies, such as SOUTH CAROLINA and Pennsylvania, were settled through proprietary grants. These land grants were given by the king to reward friends or political supporters. The proprietors would then sell or rent the land and collect fees for its use. These fees, or quitrents, were generally between two and three shillings per acre and were used to help finance local governments. Land for the MASSACHUSETTS Colony was granted to a group of individuals who planned to establish religious

communities. Plots of land were distributed to families for private settlement, with some held in reserve for public use.

As the colonial population grew, land was transferred through individual sales and inheritances as well as by sales through land companies. Land speculators like Benjamin Franklin and George Washington often grew rich by purchasing western lands and then reselling them to new settlers a few years later.

While most property owners were men, single women could buy and sell property and married women might inherit a portion of land from their husbands' estates. When women married, their land became the property of their husbands unless a premarital agreement had been reached. Although it varied by colony, free black people could hold property. In 17th-century Virginia, for example, some black indentured servants received small plots of land when their terms of service concluded. However, these rights were curtailed by legislation in the final decades of the 17th century.

As the population increased, settlement spread westward. Many new settlers were squatters who claimed land ownership simply by their presence. Local officials, hoping to use backcountry settlements as a buffer between coastal communities and Native Americans, sometimes gave immigrants land. Officials also granted thousands of acres to land speculators. By the mid-18th century as many as two-thirds of white colonial families owned land.

**Further reading:** Allan Kulikoff, *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

—Virginia Jelatis

## land riots

Unlike most CROWD ACTIONS in 18th-century colonial America, where urban concerns over issues such as the distribution of provisions served as the impetus for rioting, land riots were a distinctly rural struggle over the distribution of property and about questions concerning who had the legitimate right to claim, control, and occupy a limited amount of land. Imbibing Enlightenment ideals, yeoman farmers argued that the aristocracy broke the social contract between the state and the people by ignoring their right to control the land on which they labored.

Rioters often understood their resistance in class terms, arguing that legal systems unfairly benefited large landholders. In the riots that erupted throughout 18th-century America, yeoman farmers asserted their right to lands on which they labored. This was particularly true in the Hudson Valley, where the very existence of royal patents and manors led to a resistance that began in the 1750s and

climaxed in the great revolt of 1766. This was also true in New Jersey, where rioters opposed a 1664 title that granted the land around Newark and Elizabethtown to English aristocrats, and then passed on to Scottish patricians in 1701. By the 1740s this opposition led to a fully mobilized resistance of aristocratic claims. In northeastern New York (now Vermont), rioters took issue with a slightly different but closely related issue. They rose against a change in the legal status of land in the region that increased the quit-rent and opened the land to speculation, thereby posing a threat to the stability of the agrarian economy. By 1772 this vocal opposition led to a full-blown riot over land rights. Although large landholders generally survived these threats to their claims, land riots helped usher in the American Revolution by transforming the ideological assumptions of the yeomanry and radicalizing rural workers.

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—Paul Michael McCutcheon

**La Salle, René-Robert Cavelier, sieur de** (1643–1687) *fur trader, explorer*

Robert de La Salle, a nobleman from Rouen, France, arrived in Canada in 1667 determined to achieve fame as an explorer. He is best known for his voyages to the lower Mississippi River and Gulf Coast. La Salle departed Canada in 1682 and made his way down the Mississippi River, establishing peaceful contact with several major Native American groups in the region. On April 9, 1682, near the mouth of the Mississippi, La Salle formally claimed for France all lands drained by the great river. He named the area LOUISIANA in honor of King Louis XIV.

La Salle returned to France and gained the king's permission to plant a colony. Four ships containing nearly 300 soldiers, sailors, and settlers (including seven women) left France in 1684 bound for Louisiana. Instead of taking the familiar route by river from Canada, La Salle decided to approach Louisiana from the sea. Navigational errors caused the flotilla to miss the Mississippi River and instead make landfall in modern-day Texas. La Salle and the settlers were off-loaded and left with one ship, the *Belle*, which foundered and sank in 1686.

Discontent soon began to grow. When a crude fort was hastily constructed, living space in it was reserved for those

of wealth and high rank. The common workingmen who built it slept outside, exposed to the elements. Disease, desertion, and occasional Indian raids steadily reduced their numbers and sapped their morale.

Mistakenly believing the Mississippi River to be nearby, La Salle made several fruitless attempts to locate it. Finally realizing his predicament, in 1687 La Salle departed with 17 men on an overland trek to Canada in search of assistance. Unhappy with La Salle's leadership, several of the men staged a mutiny and killed him. A few survivors escaped to finish the journey, but for those left at the settlement help came too late. Most of the settlers that embarked from France with La Salle perished in the New World. Although La Salle's colonization attempt was a spectacular failure, his exploration successfully established France's claim to the Louisiana territory and helped spur Spanish, French, and English interest in exploring the Gulf Coast region.

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—Andrew C. Lannen

### **Lay, Benjamin** (1677–1759) *abolitionist*

Born in Colchester, England, Benjamin Lay was a member of the Society of Friends (QUAKERS) and one of the earliest and most outspoken abolitionists in the American colonies. After his exile from England “for some extravagances in conduct and language” in 1730, Lay traveled with his wife to Barbados, where he observed the cruelties of chattel slavery that inspired his activism in North America.

He arrived in PHILADELPHIA in 1731, took up residence in a cave, and quickly made his position on slavery known at local Quaker meetings. Staging unconventional protests, Lay condemned the injustice and sinfulness of slavery, which he believed was anathema to the central tenets of the Quaker religion: equality among all people, nonviolence, and rejection of ostentation and sloth. To draw attention to the grief experienced by bondpeople who lost family members in the slave trade, Lay once kidnapped a Quaker child for several hours. Another time, he stood with one bare foot in the snow to disgrace those who failed to provide shoes for their slaves. Lay's most scandalous demonstration, though, came at the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1738, where he appeared in military garb, carrying a hollow book that resembled a Bible. Lay plunged a sword through the book, which contained a bladder filled with red pokeberry juice, and sprinkled the “blood” on horrified Friends seated nearby, saying, “Thus shall God shed the blood of those who enslave their fellow creatures.”

His extreme behavior vexed most members of the Quaker community, who repeatedly ejected Lay from meetings and publicly denounced him. Campaigning at a time when a third of the leaders of the Society of Friends were themselves slave owners, Lay faced tremendous opposition. His only book, *All Slave-keepers that Keep the Innocent in Bondage*, published by Lay's acquaintance Benjamin Franklin the same year as the bladder incident (but dated 1737), failed to achieve reform among the Quakers, who repudiated the manuscript as they had his antics.

Dismissed for his eccentricity, Lay had little influence during his lifetime, but his crusade against slavery became legend within the Society of Friends. His zeal inspired later Quakers such as 19th-century poet and abolitionist John Greenleaf Whittier, who described him as “the irrepressible prophet who troubled the Israel of slaveholding Quakerism.” Benjamin Lay died in the town of Abington, Pennsylvania, in 1759, only months after the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting at last moved to abolish slave ownership among its leaders, with Lay in attendance.

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—Wendy M. Zirngibl

### **Leisler's Rebellion** (1689–1691)

Leisler's Rebellion occurred when the predominantly Dutch population of New York ousted royal officials during rumors of political troubles in England. The uprising has been attributed to the threat posed to the Dutch community by English rule, fears of a Catholic plot, and CLASS conflict between rich and poor. Its leader, Jacob Leisler (b. 1641), was a German native who came to NEW NETHERLAND in 1660 as a soldier for the DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY; he joined the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH in Manhattan a year later. He married the widow of a rich merchant, thus becoming one of the wealthiest men in the colony, and became a trader. Leisler gradually lost both money and influence in the 1680s as trading became more expensive and the English established political dominance.

When the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION (1688) took place, confusion reigned in New York, and Leisler seized the chance to restore his power. In June 1689 he gained military control of NEW YORK CITY by taking over Fort James and exploited the population's fear of French attack by sending his armed followers to search and detain all suspicious

people. Leisler and other militia captains formed a committee of safety, with representatives from Westchester, Kings, Queens, Staten Island, and Manhattan Counties, and the committee proclaimed William of Orange to be king. In December 1689 Leisler assumed the roles of lieutenant governor and commander in chief of New York, while England appointed a new governor who did not set sail for the colony until the end of 1690. The uprising ended on March 20, 1691, when regular troops under the control of the governor marched to the fort to demand its surrender. Most militiamen who relinquished their arms were granted pardons. Leisler and his principal supporters were jailed for treason and murder resulting from a skirmish in which two English soldiers died. By May 32 Leislerians had been arrested, and eight were sentenced to death, including Leisler, who was hanged on May 16, 1691. The rebellion failed because Leisler misread the nature of the revolution, failed to comprehend the complexities of English court politics, and did not understand that New York was relatively insignificant on the English schedule of priorities.

**Further reading:** Charles Howard McCormick, *Leisler's Rebellion* (New York: Garland, 1989).

—Caryn E. Neumann

**Lennox, Charlotte Ramsay** (1720?–1804) *British writer, translator*

Heralded as the first American novelist, Charlotte Lennox (birth name Ramsay) was born sometime in the 1720s, although details of her early life are uncertain. Early biographical accounts indicate that she was born in 1720 in NEW YORK, the daughter of that colony's lieutenant governor; however, more recent accounts suggest that she was probably born several years later in Gibraltar, the daughter of James Ramsay, an officer in the British army who was later stationed in America. She lived in North America for only a brief time, probably from 1739 to 1743. She left New York for England in 1743, perhaps because her father died and she became the ward of her aunt, whom Charlotte Ramsay found to be insane on her arrival. Forced to fend for herself, she married Alexander Lennox, a printer, in October 1747. They had two children before separating in 1792.

Lennox turned to professional writing shortly after her marriage, first publishing poetry in *Poems on Several Occasions, Written by a Young Lady* (1747), and then producing novels. Her first celebrated work was *The Life and Times of Harriot Stuart* (1750), a semiautobiographical account of a young struggling woman. Together with *Euphemia* (1790), Lennox offers detailed descriptions of colonial New York life and relationships among the British, Dutch, and American Indians in the colony. In 1752 she produced *The Female Quixote*, which twists Cervantes's

classic story to create a female heroine, Arabella, whose "madness" is that the romance fiction of the day was an accurate portrayal of society. Once unleashed, Arabella has a series of adventures that mix comedy with astute social criticism. The work was a tremendous success, winning the praise of SAMUEL JOHNSON, Henry Fielding, and Horace Walpole. Lennox continued to write, but none of her subsequent publications matched the success of *The Female Quixote*. She produced translations of French works and a collection of Shakespeare's plays, and she edited a women's magazine, *The Lady's Museum*. She also tried her hand at the THEATER, where she met with less success. Her rapid decline in literary circles after the production of her *Old City Manners* (1775) meant that she was impoverished by the time of her death.

**Further reading:** Miriam Rossiter Small, *Charlotte Ramsay Lennox: An Eighteenth-Century Lady of Letters* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1935).

—Troy O. Bickham

**Leverett, John** (1662–1724) *educator*

John Leverett was the first nonministerial president of HARVARD COLLEGE (1707–24). In his youth he attended Harvard College, receiving his B.A. in 1680 and his M.A. in 1683. In 1685 he and William Brattle were hired to serve as resident tutors at Harvard under absentee president INCREASE MATHER. The latitudinarian theological perspective they embraced began Harvard's shift away from the traditional Calvinism of its early years, through the rationalistic moralism of the 18th century, to the overt Unitarianism of the 19th century. Leverett's promotion of liturgical worship motivated the entry of many of his students into the Church of England and even the Anglican priesthood. In 1692 Harvard awarded honorary doctorates to both Leverett and Mather, but within a few years Mather had forced Leverett out.

Leverett subsequently developed a legal practice, entering politics, serving a term in the MASSACHUSETTS legislature, and winning appointment as a judge. In 1699 he joined with William and THOMAS BRATTLE as well as other progressives to establish the Brattle Street Church as a haven for religious liberalism. In 1707, after Mather and his allies had finally lost control of Harvard's governing board, Leverett was elected Harvard's president, serving in that capacity until his death. Under his leadership Harvard continued to broaden its theological perspective. For example, a lavish bequest from Thomas Hollis, an English Baptist merchant, funded the creation in 1721 of a chair of divinity bearing the benefactor's name and requiring of its occupant no explicit affirmation of orthodoxy.

—George W. Harper



## limners

Limners were untrained and semiskilled artists, usually anonymous to us, who worked during the 18th and early 19th centuries in America. Typical examples of their paintings and sketches depict flat, awkward, front-facing individuals in richly detailed costumes or landscape settings copied from European prints. The word *limner* was first used in the medieval era to refer to the illuminations of manuscripts but came to be used for many 16th-century European artists, particularly portrait painters.

The work of limners rose to popularity in the American colonies during the 1720s, particularly in NEW YORK and New England. During the 18th century Puritan standards in cities such as BOSTON relaxed and a larger percentage of the inhabitants in other areas had sufficient time, income, and interest to support the inexpensive work of artists. Many limners were immigrants from England seeking a less competitive environment in which to work.

Successful and established artists of the 18th century would demonstrate their work in their studios, with viewings available for a small fee, but because they traveled extensively most limners used engravings of royalty and other popular figures as models for common people's portraits. American portraits tended to be less idealized than did European, with the subjects portrayed in more honest and unflinching realism.

Illustrations of prominent people, such as clergy and governors, were often available by subscription. Also very popular were detailed cityscapes, such as WILLIAM BURGIS's 1722 depictions of Boston and PETER PELHAM's illustrations of Louisbourg. Prints would be framed and glazed before being used to decorate the home. Nearly all of these ARTISANS had to be itinerant to find enough clients and customers; most also had to diversify into other trades for economic survival. While most limners worked in supplemental fields such as selling paint or carpentry, others worked as DANCE instructors and farmers.

—Victoria C. H. Resnick

## Lining, John (1708–1760) *doctor, scientist*

Born in Scotland in 1708, where he received excellent medical training, John Lining moved to America in 1730 at the age of 22. He settled in CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, where he earned a distinguished reputation as a physician. He was also one of many educated men of the time who demonstrated the inquisitiveness and scientific interest indicative of the American Enlightenment.

In his role as a physician, Lining saw many cases of YELLOW FEVER, especially during the 1732 and 1748 epidemics. After making a thorough study, he sent an account of the DISEASE pathology to Dr. Robert Whytt, professor of

MEDICINE at the University of Edinburgh. An Edinburgh medical journal published it in 1753.

As a scientist, Lining wondered about how different weather conditions influenced human metabolism—growing up in the harsh climate of Scotland, for example, and then moving to the semitropical conditions of South Carolina. To satisfy his curiosity, Lining made daily meteorological observations: air temperature, humidity, levels of cloud cover, rainfall amounts, and wind speed. To track weight loss or gain, Lining carefully recorded the weights of everything he ate and drank, in addition to all bodily elimination: perspiration, urine, and feces. His findings appeared in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of London* in 1743. His were the first published accounts of weather conditions in British North America. Lining was also curious about electricity, repeating Franklin's famous kite experiment. He died on September 21, 1760.

—Anita DeClue

## literature

From the songs, stories, and speeches that form the oral cultures of Native North America to the European EXPLO- RATION narratives, colonization tracts, Puritan sermons, and African slave narratives, literature in the colonial period encompassed a diverse range of texts. Whether it functioned as a means of strengthening tribal identities or as a way to communicate wonder and apprehension at encountering new lands and new peoples, colonial American literature reveals the responses different cultures expressed toward their natural and social worlds.

The earliest narratives produced in North America predate the colonial period. American Indians, who peopled the continent long before Europeans arrived, created a body of oral literature that evolved over a long period of time and in numerous languages. The oral traditions of American Indians offer a complex picture of life in the colonial era and express a worldview that differs markedly from the worldview the colonizers brought with them. European settlers often commented on the Indians' highly developed oratory skills, which were demonstrated in ceremonial songs, chants, prayers, and incantations as well as speeches and treaties. POWHATAN's famous 1609 speech to Captain JOHN SMITH, for instance, testifies to the ways Indians often produced eloquent and pointed responses to the invasion of their homelands. Difficulties arise, however, in studying Native American oral traditions today. This literature has notably diminished from the moment of contact, and the narratives that do remain are often distorted by European translations. Intended to be transmitted orally and communally, this literature may be further misconstrued when removed from its original context. Nevertheless, the oral cultures of American Indians function as a central aspect

of colonial North America and serve as a reminder that literary traditions thrived on the continent long before the appearance of European colonizers.

European literature in the colonial period begins with the exploration narratives written by Spanish, French, English, Dutch, and Russian travelers. Accounts such as Thomas Harriot's 1590 *Brief and True Report . . . of Virginia*, SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN's 1613 *Voyages*, and the reports from VITUS JONASSEN BERING's 1728 journey to present-day Alaska often used European literary conventions to describe their experiences in a new terrain. Drawing on the belief systems of their own lands, these explorers typically portrayed the worlds they encountered in terms that served the social and political needs of their own cultures. Their accounts were often influenced by fables that had long circulated in Europe that told of previously unheard of plants and ANIMALS, unusual geographical formations, and strange people who inhabited the land. This literature frequently borrowed classical imagery from the Greeks and Romans to tell of Golden Age encounters in an Arcadian land. Because the literature typically expressed what explorers hoped to see rather than what they actually encountered, the reliability of these accounts is often questionable. European narratives of exploration are nevertheless valuable documents for what they tell us about the expectations, drives, and desires of the cultures that created them.

Like the accounts penned by explorers, the writings produced by European settler communities were also influenced by imagery that predated settlement. PILGRIMS and PURITANS, for instance, used biblical allegory to make sense of their condition and justify their presence in North America. As indicated by the writings of WILLIAM BRADFORD, JOHN WINTHROP, MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH, ANNE DUDLEY BRADSTREET, and others, these settlers understood their mission as an "errand into the wilderness," a journey much like the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. The settlers understood the land as a blank slate on which they could create a new civilization, "a city on a hill" illustrating God's will to the world. Puritan CAPTIVITY narratives, such as MARY WHITE ROWLANDSON's 1682 account of her capture during an Indian attack and sermons such as JONATHAN EDWARDS's "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." (1741), further developed the idea of settlement as a divine test. With its clear division between hero and enemy, Rowlandson's captivity narrative developed into a literary form that told of the spiritual trial and eventual restoration of the Christian believer. Meanwhile, sermons such as those written by Edwards and others built on the imagery of captivity as a way of addressing personal and communal salvation, countering unruliness and division among settlers, and alleviating Puritan fears of the Indians.

Finally, many of the Africans who were captured and brought to North America as slaves also produced a body of writing. The earliest known literary work created by an African American is Lucy Terry's "Bars Fight," a poem written in the 1740s and preserved orally until its publication in 1855. The piece tells of an Indian ambush of two white settler families in 1746 in MASSACHUSETTS. The first known published work of African-American prose, *A Narrative of the Uncommon Sufferings and Surprising Deliverance of Briton Hammon, a Negro Man*, appeared in 1760. Like the hundreds of slave narratives following it, Hammon's account asserted the humanity of the Africans who were enslaved and justified the black struggle for freedom. Hammon's 1761 poem, "An Evening Thought: Salvation by Christ with Penitential Cries," reflected his deep spirituality. His second poem, published 17 years later, honored the African-American poet, Phyllis Wheatley.

**Further reading:** Colin Calloway, ed., *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 1994); Margaret Goff Clark, *Their Eyes on the Stars: Four Black Writers* (Champaign, Ill.: Garrard Publishing Company, 1973); Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600–1860* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1973).

—Susan Kollin and Billy G. Smith

**Livingston, Philip** (1716–1778) *merchant, politician, signer of the Declaration of Independence*

Grandson of ROBERT LIVINGSTON (the founder of Livingston Manor on the Hudson River), Philip was, like his grandfather, a NEW YORK merchant and politician. He attended YALE COLLEGE with his brothers Peter and John and then used his entrepreneurial skills and social connections to profit from trade during the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. Unlike his grandfather, who was known for his parsimony, Philip donated some of his wealth for the public good. He contributed funds to civic projects, such as KING'S COLLEGE (Columbia University), New York Hospital, the St. Andrew's Benevolent Society, and the New York Society Library, and established a professorship of divinity at Yale in 1746.

In 1754 Livingston began his political career as a NEW YORK CITY alderman, then entered the assembly in 1758, where he represented Livingston Manor with his brother William Livingston and cousin ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON. He was a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress of 1765. Philip was chosen speaker of the assembly in 1768, but, under pressure from the DeLancey faction, he and other family members were voted out of office the following year. Known as "Philip the Signer," he represented New York

at the First and Second Continental Congresses, where he signed the Declaration of Independence. At first reluctant to oppose Britain and hoping for reconciliation, Philip and other Livingston family conservatives ultimately yielded to pressure and committed themselves to independence. In preparation for war, the Livingstons built two MILLS that year—one to grind grain and the other for gunpowder. Philip died in 1778 while active in the Continental Congress and the New York Senate, having helped frame the New York State Constitution.

**Further reading:** Clare Brandt, *An American Aristocracy: The Livingstons* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1986).

—Deborah C. Taylor

**Livingston, Robert** (1654–1728) *merchant, politician*  
Robert Livingston, the “Proprietor of Livingston Manor” and speaker of the provincial assembly, was one of NEW YORK’s richest men when he died in 1728. The son of a Scottish Presbyterian minister, Robert arrived in Albany in 1674 from Rotterdam, Holland, fluent in Dutch and experienced in commercial shipping. He entered the Dutch-controlled FUR TRADE as an agent of a MASSACHUSETTS fur company, where his knowledge of the Dutch and friendly relations with the IROQUOIS contributed to his economic success. Within a year he entered local politics as the secretary to the board of Indian commissioners. Livingston built important social and political connections when he married Alida Schuyler Van Rensselaer in 1679. The daughter of future mayor Peter Schuyler and recent widow of wealthy patroon Nicholas Van Rensselaer, Alida was a socially prominent upper Hudson heir. She was also a hard-working, intelligent Dutch woman who bore and raised 10 children (six grew to adulthood) while active in the family business. Robert relied on her good sense in politics and business throughout their long marriage.

Livingston began building his landholdings in 1684 by purchasing a 2,000-acre tract from his trading partners, the Iroquois, for “three hundred guilders” and a variety of trade goods. Two years later he expanded his holdings to 160,000 acres when he was awarded a royal patent in the form of an English baronial grant. “Livingston Manor,” encompassing parts of today’s Dutchess and Columbia Counties, grew under the next generation to nearly a million acres.

Livingston was well positioned both geographically along the Hudson, a bustling commercial and military waterway, and socially through close alliances with prominent politicians. He profited from political favors and government contracts from his lucrative fur trade as well as from his vast landholdings. Robert was a member of the provincial assembly from 1709 to 1725 and served as

speaker from 1718. Called “the Founder,” he was patriarch to a social and political dynasty of Livingstons who influenced the growth of New York and the nation through the 18th century. Many of his sons and grandsons expanded the social, political, and financial territory that Robert Livingston pioneered.

**Further reading:** Clare Brandt, *An American Aristocracy: The Livingstons* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1986).

—Deborah C. Taylor

**Livingston, Robert R.** (1718–1775) *judge, politician*  
Grandson of ROBERT LIVINGSTON, “the Founder,” and son of Robert Livingston of Clermont, Robert R. Livingston was a NEW YORK judge and politician. With his wife, the former Margaret Beekman, he was proprietor of one of New York’s largest estates and succeeded his father at Clermont. Margaret and Robert had 10 children, in whom they encouraged a love of learning; even their daughters were offered secondary EDUCATION in the humanities. Called “the Judge,” Robert was known as an erudite, distinguished, and temperate man and a devoted husband.

Representing Dutchess County, Robert was elected to the New York provincial assembly in 1758 with his cousins PHILIP LIVINGSTON, representing NEW YORK CITY, and William Livingston, who spoke for Livingston Manor. Together, these members of New York’s landed elite challenged the DeLancey merchant faction. Continuing in the assembly, he was appointed judge of the Admiralty Court the next year. He became associate justice of the New York Supreme Court in 1763. As chair of New York’s Committee of Correspondence, he supported resistance to the Stamp Act. In 1765 Robert R. Livingston is said to have written an address to King George III (1760–1820) that landed him at the top of the king’s list of colonial traitors. Although some in his family were reluctant revolutionaries, in 1775 he built a gunpowder mill on Clermont grounds to aid in the defense of the colonies. An aggressive protector of colonial rights, he, along with other members of the state’s landed gentry, lost his seat in the assembly in 1768 to the merchant faction, or “popular party,” and never regained the position.

**Further reading:** Clare Brandt, *An American Aristocracy: The Livingstons* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1986).

—Deborah C. Taylor

**Lloyd, David** (1656–1731) *judge, politician*

David Lloyd served an important role in the political and legal development of PENNSYLVANIA. A native of Wales, he was practicing law in England when his skills

attracted the attention of WILLIAM PENN. Lloyd was granted a commission by Penn in 1686 to be the attorney general of Pennsylvania. Lloyd moved with his family to PHILADELPHIA, where he soon held the appointed posts of clerk of the county court, clerk of the provincial court, and deputy master of the rolls. He was first elected to the assembly in 1693, often serving as speaker after 1694, and he served on the provincial council between 1695 and 1696 and again from 1698 to 1700.

A political quarrel arose between Lloyd and Robert Quarry, the judge of the new vice admiralty court in 1698. Lloyd was accused of interfering with the enforcement of the Navigation Acts and with having the magistrates take goods from the king's warehouse at Newcastle. Quarry complained to Penn, who subsequently rebuked Lloyd, removed him as attorney general, and dismissed him from the council. Lloyd thereafter became a staunch adversary of the proprietary family and its interests in Pennsylvania.

Lloyd's antiproprietary politics soon made him leader of the Popular Party, consisting mostly of QUAKERS from the countryside. He was elected to several more terms in the assembly. In 1717 he was chosen chief justice of Pennsylvania, an office he held until his death in 1731. As leader of the Popular Party, Lloyd worked to strengthen the power of the assembly, including its right to meet and adjourn at its own discretion. He fought to secure the right of affirmation and opposed the creation of a military force, all of which gained favor with Pennsylvania's Quakers. Lloyd authored the list of grievances addressed to William Penn in 1704 and led the attempt to impeach JAMES LOGAN, the secretary of the province, in 1707. His long efforts against proprietary interests made him one of the most influential early exponents of expanded representative government in the colonies.

**Further reading:** Roy Norman Lokken, *David Lloyd, a Colonial Lawmaker* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1959).

—Stephen C. O'Neill

**Locke, John** (1632–1704) *political philosopher, activist*

Although British philosopher John Locke never set foot in North America, he deeply influenced its political institutions. As one of the foremost theorists of human freedom and sovereignty, Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* (1689) set out the principles of liberal democracy that underlay the U.S. Constitution. Locke based the legitimacy and authority of government on "social contract" theory—that is, the idea that all those who would be governed must freely consent to the rules of civil society. He

hypothesized that humans originally lived in a "state of nature," a kind of perfect freedom and equality under which all individuals enjoyed such "natural rights" as "life, liberty, and estate" (i.e., property), yet nothing protected these rights; in order to safeguard them, individuals came together and agreed upon mutually advantageous rules by which all would abide. These rules, which aimed to preserve humanity's natural rights, formed the basis for a communal or "civil government" by providing the principles for liberal democracy (as opposed to those for absolute monarchy, which Locke opposed). Among these principles were that all people should be considered equally free, that the liberty to do as one wished *within reason* should be preserved, that the property and persons of other people should be respected, and that those who violated these principles could be punished. By remaining in a society governed by such principles, Locke maintained, one agreed to live by them; the only freedoms one relinquished in exchange were those of legislative and executive decision making (that is, making laws and executing them), which were accorded to civil government.

Related to these principles of liberal democracy were Locke's recommendations about EDUCATION. Having been trained under the harsh discipline and memory-based curriculum typical of English schools at that time, he proposed instead that education be guided by freedom, tolerance, and truth. Rather than absolute standards, a child's individual talents and capacities should guide its learning. Parents and educators should teach by example; while children need to learn self-discipline, their natural desire for freedom and play should also be respected. More broadly, Locke maintained that playfulness and humor should be incorporated into learning whenever possible. Even if these ideas appear obvious or unremarkable today, Locke was among the first to offer such recommendations, and they tremendously influenced modern education.

One element of Locke's political theory was that only men had natural rights. Locke was perfectly comfortable with only men enjoying the rights of citizenship. Also necessary was that the politically enfranchised be property owners. One of the state's primary responsibilities, according to Locke, was to protect personal property. To have an original right to property, a person needed to take material not owned by others and to mix one's own LABOR with it. This property could then be sold or bequeathed to others through contracts. However, Locke argued, NATIVE AMERICANS and Africans did not adequately work their lands in order truly to own them. Instead, they merely occupied the land and could legitimately be pushed aside by those, like "industrious" Europeans, who would mix their labor with it. This belief permitted various forms of colonization and conquest, such as of those "inland vacant places in America" that were allegedly uncultivated by



Native Americans and therefore open to ownership by more hard-working colonists. Indeed, Locke claimed that “in the beginning, all the world was America,” by which he meant that all the earth was open for ownership until men began mixing their labor and acquiring it as personal property.

Locke was deeply ambivalent about SLAVERY. On the one hand, he condemned it as a “vile and miserable” estate contrary to a “gentleman’s” generosity; on the other, he invested heavily in the SLAVE TRADE and profited handsomely from the buying and selling of human beings. He was a charter member of the ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY, whose main business was the purchase, transport, and sale of African slaves for the British colonies in the Americas, and he bought into other companies whose purpose was to develop the profitability of New World plantations using slave labor. From 1668 to 1683 and from 1696 to 1700, Locke also helped to administer the North American colonies for the British government. He contributed to the *Fundamental Constitution for the Government of Carolina* (copies exist in his handwriting), which states that “every freeman . . . shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slave.”

However, 17th-century slavery was not entirely coded by skin color, that is, racist. The British, for example, quite willingly sold into servitude the Irish, their own countrymen who were poor or in debt, as well as such believers in “nonconformist” forms of Christianity as Roman Catholics and PURITANS. Thus, it would be a mistake to think that Locke was necessarily a racist, although many of his beliefs and actions contributed to what would later become racist thinking. At the same time, he profited eagerly from the unpaid labor of those who lacked what was, for him, the supreme ingredient of human life—liberty. The legacy of Locke’s contradictory impulses continue to plague American thinking today.

**Further reading:** John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

—Dan Flory

**Logan, James** (1674–1751) *colonial leader, naturalist*

James Logan was born in Ulster into the family of a Scottish schoolteacher. He was educated by his father and replaced him as the teacher of a QUAKERS’ school in Bristol. There he met WILLIAM PENN, who took him to North America in 1699 as his personal secretary. After Penn left PENNSYLVANIA for good in 1701, Logan emerged as his real surrogate there, advising proprietary deputy governors for half a century. He accepted many provincial and proprietary offices, in which he tried to defend

Penn’s prerogatives and interests against the claims of an assertive Quaker elite who controlled the powerful legislative assembly. Logan was largely unsuccessful in checking these provincial infringements. His most creative political years were his first two decades in the colony. He adapted and elaborated Penn’s methods of protecting Pennsylvania against a territorially aggressive MARYLAND and the expansive designs of imperial agents in NEW YORK. Between 1710 and 1718 he worked closely with his fellow Scot Robert Hunter, the royal governor of New York and NEW JERSEY, and their cooperation helped to stabilize political life in the Middle Colonies.

After 1725 Logan’s political career became more routinized. His energy was increasingly devoted to his own commercial interests, especially in the FUR TRADE. This enterprise facilitated Logan’s involvement in proprietary and imperial Indian diplomacy, which spanned the transition between William Penn’s efforts to deal fairly with tribes in the DELAWARE Valley and the cynical designs of Penn’s sons to expel Indians and profit from their father’s landed empire. Logan, with his friend CADWALLADER COLDEN, saw the IROQUOIS confederation as the key to stable Anglo-Indian relations, and he worked to make Pennsylvania’s ALGONQUIN-speaking tribes accept Iroquois dominance.

In 1726 Logan moved from PHILADELPHIA to the stone mansion near Germantown that he called “Stenton.” He subscribed to the enlightenment ideal of gentlemanly “retirement” from the bustle of commerce. He increasingly tended to his library, his astronomical instruments, and his scientific experiments. Some of his botanical and astronomical observations appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, and he corresponded with European scientists while mentoring Americans like JOHN BARTRAM and Benjamin Franklin. Logan’s successors in proprietary office did not have his synoptic vision of Pennsylvania’s place in the natural, economic, and imperial worlds, but many of them had somewhat more pragmatic understandings of the possibilities of Anglo-American politics. Logan died before his adopted country began its long slide into Revolutionary crisis. In many ways, his career in Pennsylvania typified the “Anglicizing” era in colonial life, after the rough edges of frontier society were rubbed off in the Atlantic coastal settlements but before a distinctively “American” cultural identity emerged in tension with a new British imperialism.

**Further reading:** Frederick B. Tolles, *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America* (Boston: Little Brown, 1957); Edwin Wolf II, *The Library of James Logan of Philadelphia, 1674–1771* (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1974).

—Wayne Bodle

## lotteries

Lotteries have a long history, beginning as early as 1612 in JAMESTOWN, when the VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON attempted to raise money for additional colonization efforts in North America. This lottery was conducted in England, with prizes that probably included land in VIRGINIA. The idea succeeded because nearly half of the operating expenses of the Virginia Company likely came from the proceeds of lotteries.

By 1699 lotteries had proliferated in the colonies so much that some officials denounced them as “a cheat.” MASSACHUSETTS outlawed lotteries in 1719 because they had become so rampant; lottery agents were labeled “pillagers of the people.” In 1733 Massachusetts fined people 500 pounds for operating illegal lotteries and 100 pounds for even publicizing them.

Despite these early objections, many colonies used them to raise funds for public projects, including the construction of schools, hospitals, roads, and bridges. Although PHILADELPHIA became the principal center of lotteries in the 18th century, BOSTON and the Massachusetts colony were close behind, endorsing more than 22 government-sponsored lotteries from 1749 to 1765. Harvard, Dartmouth, Yale, Columbia, and Williams Colleges replenished their building funds using lotteries.

**Further reading:** George Sullivan, *By Chance a Winner: The History of Lotteries* (New York: George Mead, 1972).

—James F. Adomanis

## Louisiana

Explorers commanded by the French-born Canadian seigneur RENÉ-ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE, sailed from Canada by interior navigation to the mouth of the Mississippi River, where they claimed for France the Mississippi Valley, naming the region after Louis XIV on April 6, 1682. By subsequent EXPLORATIONS the claim was enlarged to encompass the Mobile and Missouri River systems. A Province of Louisiana was established in 1699, when Jacques and Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne, Canadian sieurs of Iberville and Bienville, respectively, established the first permanent colony between the mouths of the Mississippi and Mobile Rivers. (See JEAN-BAPTISTE LE MOYNE, SIEUR DE BIENVILLE.) This remained a small military outpost of a few hundred people, mostly Canadians, until 1718, when NEW ORLEANS was founded by one of the largest single immigrant waves from the Old World, sponsored by the Company of the Indies between 1718 and 1731. In 1763 Louisiana produced INDIGO and other provisions for export, for the region was rich in natural resources, but it still had a remarkably small population of 11,496 whites and 5,552 black slaves, plus an unknown

number of Indians, in a census of 1766. Few immigrants arrived from France after 1731, and few slaves were carried from AFRICA to the remote seaport of New Orleans. Then, in 1763, the Treaty of Paris awarded the English the territory east of the Mississippi, except for the “Isle” of New Orleans, which lies primarily on the east bank. At that time Louis XV gave the remaining huge province, extending west of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, to his Bourbon relation in Madrid, Charles III. Spain administered it until 1803, when Charles IV yielded it back to France, which sold it to the United States. When the slave rebellion in the French-claimed island of Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) succeeded in the early 19th century, Napoleon Bonaparte decided to abandon his quest for a significant French empire in North America. He, therefore, offered the Louisiana Territory to President Thomas Jefferson, forever altering the future of the new United States.

When the French colonized the region, they encountered powerful NATIVE AMERICANS, including the CHOCTAW, CHICKASAW, and Natchez, living in highly organized societies and producing most of their food by AGRICULTURE. The Crown attached the Illinois region to Louisiana in 1718, inhabited by the Fox, Sauk, Potawatomi, Menominee, Winnebago, and other peoples. Most soon became involved in the FUR TRADE, bartering deerskins and animal furs for European goods.

Most Europeans in Louisiana in 1763 were the descendants of migrants from western France who had arrived in New Orleans between 1718 and 1731, although Canadians from New France were a second important source of the population, but this was predominantly a multiracial society. White Louisianians faced two primary challenges: defending their claims to the province from both Indians and English and keeping their African slaves subordinated. The French generally allied with the Choctaw in chronic imperial warfare with the British and their Chickasaw allies until 1763. In 1729 the Natchez and a few black slaves attacked the French in one of the most dramatic moments of North American colonial history; the colonists rallied and brutally suppressed the Natchez. Their principal antagonists in the upper Mississippi Valley were the Fox Indians.

About 5,400 Africans were brought to New Orleans between 1718 and 1731, most coming from present-day Senegal and neighboring regions. Local planters purchased the great majority of them, so New Orleans Parish became a slave society where blacks formed a large majority. Slaves produced indigo, rice, TOBACCO, wood products, and other items exported to France and the West Indies. Treated much like the slaves in other North American colonies, they formed a comparatively tight-knit and stable community in part because slave imports were so limited between the 1730s and the 1760s. During the war years between 1754 and 1763, however, several large estate sales





This map shows French settlements and expansion in Louisiana. (Library of Congress)

disrupted the family and social lives of many slaves. A tiny number of AFRICAN AMERICANS were free, most of whom were men who fought the Natchez in 1729 and thereby earned their freedom.

See also FRENCH COLONIES; FRENCH IMMIGRANTS.

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—Thomas N. Ingersoll

## lumbering

The abundant FORESTS of eastern North America provided British colonists with one of their most valuable commodities. Although every mainland colony exported a wide variety of timber products, the lumber trade was concentrated in two regions, each with its distinctive assets and LABOR arrangements. New England was the first region to develop timber exports as a mainstay of its ECONOMY. While MASSACHUSETTS and CONNECTICUT also exported wood products, by the early 18th century the lumbering industry was concentrated in NEW HAMPSHIRE and MAINE. Typically, sawmill owners in these colonies hired wage laborers to fell a parcel of trees and then drag the logs

through the snow to a sawmill or harbor. Sawmill workers drew the timber through the blades of a mechanical saw, processing as much as 3,000 feet of lumber a day from March through December. A portion of this lumber was reworked by skilled artisans such as coopers, carpenters, and shipwrights. Most of the unfinished lumber was sent abroad for sale in the West Indies, with the bulk of the profits accruing to MERCHANTS who owned the sawmills and sailing vessels.

Coastal NORTH CAROLINA also developed a flourishing timber economy in the 18th century based primarily on the production of naval stores—the pitch, tar, and turpentine used to waterproof the hulls and decks of sailing ships. By the 1760s North Carolina accounted for seven-tenths of the tar and three-fifths of all the naval stores exported from the colonies. As in New England, the production of naval stores depended on the toil of seasonal workers, but in Carolina this labor was performed by African slaves. The manufacture of tar was a tedious and time-consuming process. Slaves piled logs into conical piles, which they covered with dirt and set afire. As the tar oozed out from beneath their makeshift kilns, slaves collected it into barrels, which they rolled to harbor. The sale of tar and other naval stores earned spectacular profits for the owners of slaves and wooded land.

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—Gavin J. Taylor

## Lutherans

Lutherans are the followers of a denomination founded by Martin Luther following the promulgation of his Ninety-five Theses in 1517 in Saxony. Among their beliefs is the doctrine of salvation by faith alone: God provides salvation regardless of man's good works because of his love and mercy. Luther contended that the Bible was the sole authority for faith. In addition, he rejected all of the sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church except for baptism and the Eucharist, and even his view of the latter differed from the traditional Roman Catholic interpretation. Other beliefs that contributed to the schism included the denial of the validity of indulgences, purgatory, and papal power.

Lutheranism came to the British colonies mainly from Germany and Scandinavia. The first Lutherans to settle

permanently in the New World arrived from Holland in 1623. Although colonists established a congregation in NEW AMSTERDAM in 1649, Lutherans in the region did not experience freedom of worship until the English took over NEW YORK in 1664. In the meantime, Swedish Lutherans established the colony of New Sweden in present-day DELAWARE.

While Lutherans settled throughout the Middle and Southern colonies, PENNSYLVANIA was the focal point of their settlement. The first churches established by GERMAN IMMIGRANTS were small and poor, often without pastors. Because the German settlers were unfamiliar with the responsibilities of voluntarism (in which congregation members voluntarily provided funds rather than depending on taxes), they often confronted problems with obtaining ordained clergy and supporting individual church buildings.

The lack of clergy sometimes resulted in schoolmasters performing the duties of a minister, ultimately contributing to provincial and continental religious officials expressing concern for the conditions of the parishioners. In the early 1730s several Pennsylvania congregations began requesting regular pastors from the Lutheran court preacher in London. The lack of a response to these queries by 1740 forced German Lutherans to ask the king of Sweden for assistance. These requests were finally heeded when HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG accepted the call.

Muhlenberg's arrival guaranteed the success of the Lutheran denomination in the colonies, as his presence preserved many of the rural congregations in Pennsylvania from succumbing to the overtures of the Moravian leader Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf. In 1748 Muhlenberg organized the pastors and congregations of the Middle Colonies into the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the first Lutheran synod in America. By the end of the colonial period, almost 250 Lutheran congregations were established in the British colonies, 11 of which were Swedish. Four-fifths of the adherents were German. Many of the Swedish Lutheran congregations eventually were assimilated into the ANGLICAN CHURCH. The German Lutherans became the antecedents of the varied Lutheran synods of modern times.

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—Karen Guenther



# M



## Maine

The territory lying between the Piscataqua and St. Croix Rivers, the present-day boundaries of the state of Maine, was one of the earliest and most contested sites of European settlement in North America. Its original inhabitants were the Wabanaki, who practiced corn-based AGRICULTURE in villages from the Saco River westward and subsisted by hunting, FISHING, and gathering along the rivers and estuaries farther east. In 1604 a party of French settlers established a short-lived colony on an island at the headwaters of the St. Croix River; three years later the English followed suit with an aborted attempt to establish a settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec River. In 1629 the English Crown granted the territory between the Kennebec and the Piscataqua to Sir Ferdinando Gorges as a proprietary colony named the Province of Maine. This territory was annexed by MASSACHUSETTS from 1652 to 1658 and renamed York County.

By the late 17th century Maine was divided into three distinctive cultural zones. Along the coast as far east as the Kennebec River was a strip of English settlement, characterized by dispersed farms and town government. Small-scale agriculture in this area was supplemented by lumbering and SHIPBUILDING. Although descendants of the original inhabitants of Gorges's colony remained, they were increasingly swamped by migrants from Massachusetts, Scotland, Ireland, and Germany. In port towns and on the islands dotting the coast were small communities of fishermen plying their trade in the North Atlantic. By the 1670s Maine's fisheries fell into a prolonged period of decline, failing to keep pace with the better-capitalized fleets of northern Massachusetts. Farther in the interior was a frontier area characterized by conflict and cultural exchange among Wabanaki, French soldiers and missionaries, and English settlers. The English and Wabanaki fought six wars between 1676 and 1763, with the French lending substantial aid and encouragement to the Indians in all but the first. In peacetime there

was considerable interaction between the Wabanaki and colonists, chiefly through missionary work and the FUR TRADE. Several French settlers established trading posts in western Acadia and married Native women; the English had less success in bridging the cultural divide between Natives and newcomers.

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—Gavin J. Taylor

## malaria

An Old World parasitic blood disease spread by mosquitoes, malaria extracted a fatal and mysterious toll on human life in colonial America. Undiagnosed until the 19th century, most colonists referred to its feverlike symptoms as the “ague,” and they believed the sickness emanated from miasmic air and impure water.

Initially carried to Mexico and the Caribbean by Spanish explorers and soldiers in the early 16th century, malaria thrived in the tropical areas of the Americas. The parasite quickly established a colonial regime of its own, expanding in advance of European settlers along Native American trade routes that followed mosquito-prone streams north into the Sonoran Desert. In British America, malaria arrived at least as early as the JAMESTOWN expedition, and, by the 18th century, the disease had staked its claim along broad swaths of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts.

Malaria flourished particularly in the wet, crowded environs of the southern colonies' low-lying coastal plantations. Lethal on its own, the parasite also weakened human immunities to other infectious diseases. Even though sickle-cell anemia afforded them some resistance to the disease, African and African-American slaves, who

often experienced chronic fatigue and malnourishment, suffered from malaria. Realizing a connection between the ague and swampy coastal plantations, most wealthy whites moved to second homes in inland cities to escape summer outbreaks. Those who could afford it also bought “the bark,” an imported antimalarial agent derived from the South American cinchona plant. Although unconfined to any single class, malaria often struck the poor harder than the rich since the former could not afford to escape infected areas.

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—Michael Wise

### manufacturing and industry

The slow development of industry in North America was due primarily to the relative scarcity of capital and LABOR and the abundance of land in the colonies. For this reason most British Americans preferred the safer and cheaper investment, land. Furthermore, the economic policy of the BRITISH EMPIRE protected industries in Britain and imposed limitations on colonial manufactures. The colonies were thought of as markets for British products, not centers of production. Therefore, Parliament restricted the development of colonial industry that might compete with British goods. The Iron Act, for example, prohibited the construction of new iron MILLS or the production of iron hardware in the colonies. Earlier, the Woolens (1699) and Hat (1732) Acts had similarly been aimed at preventing colonial export, and therefore large-scale production, of these goods. However, the vast natural resources, the cycle of the agricultural seasons—which usually did not require year-round work in northern colonies—and the British demand for certain products all combined to produce some industrial development. The most notable colonial industries were milling, distilling, and SHIPBUILDING.

Most manufacturing was not centralized but rather performed within the household. Women played a central role in these home-based industries. Labor was usually performed without power by simple hand tools, and it consisted primarily of made-to-order goods for customers located in the immediate vicinity.

In SOUTH CAROLINA slaves dominated craft positions to the exclusion of white people in many instances. In the Chesapeake region slaves also played an active role in craft production, although in fewer numbers than in the Lower South. Although principally woodworkers, slaves also worked in shipyards and in the ironworks in Baltimore and elsewhere in the Chesapeake area.

The demand for manufactured goods in the colonies increased steadily throughout the colonial era, which encouraged both imports of British goods and domestic production. Generally, colonial consumers preferred British manufactures to the usually less-refined colonial products. Although the quality of colonial-produced goods improved throughout the 18th century, many colonists, guided more by taste and fashion than by necessity in their purchases, continued to import goods from Britain.

One of the most important finished goods exported from the colonies was rum. Taking advantage of existing trade networks, the New England colonies in particular imported West Indian molasses and distilled it into rum. Similar to shipbuilding and other domestic products, American rum served as a less expensive replacement for West Indian rum and brandy. Although colonists drank much of the rum, a good deal was exported to AFRICA in exchange for slaves. In this and all colonial production, the mercantilist theory of the empire was undermined, because colonies were supposed to serve primarily as consumers rather than producers of manufactured goods.

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—Jonathan Mercantini

### mariners

Throughout the age of European global expansion, the oceans of the world were the highways that linked continents in webs of trade, communication, and migration. In the 15th century improvements in vessel design, cartography, and navigation (the astrolabe and cross-staff) aided the EXPLORATION of the African coast and culminated in Christopher Columbus’s momentous 1492 voyage. Mariners and seamen made first contact with the native peoples of West Africa, the CARIBBEAN, and the Americas and were thus Europe’s first cultural ambassadors.

During the early 16th century Spain and Portugal dominated expansion into AFRICA and the Americas, but the development of the North Atlantic fishery and increased European trade caused English, Dutch, and French ship tonnage to rise sharply by century’s end. As exploration gave way to colonization, ships and the men who manned them shuttled emigrants and equipment to settlements on the Atlantic rim and returned with gold, silver, and staple exports. National navies expanded to defend overseas settlements and trade from both European rivals and pirates. The demand for labor in the Americas fueled the African SLAVE TRADE, which carried an estimated 11.6 million slaves through the Middle Passage. Commercial FISHING and whaling, PRIVATEERING during wartime, and

PIRACY during peace complemented the naval deployments and coastal short- and long-distance trading voyages that employed the bulk of European and colonial mariners. In 1762 an estimated 300,000 men manned the navies and merchant marines of Europe throughout the globe.

The crews of sailing vessels varied in size, but all were hierarchically ordered. *Mariner* usually denoted knowledge of navigation and implied command, while seamen generally had not yet learned or lacked navigational skills. Merchant mariners and seamen were paid monthly wages or by the voyage. Fishermen, privateersmen, whalers, and pirates earned shares of the profits of the voyages they undertook. The Royal Navy paid low wages but awarded “prize” money from captured vessels. There were often regional shortages of maritime labor, which prompted involuntary recruitment, naval impressment during wartime, and “crimping” and “spiriting” (kidnaping) in times of peace.

The 18th-century maritime population was young, mobile, well traveled, multiracial, and multiethnic. A high turnover rate kept crews young as death, infirmity, hardships associated with the work, and opportunities on land took older seamen and mariners away from the sea; the average age of British mariners in the mid-18th century was 26. In their intercolonial and international travels mariners grew familiar with many cultures and languages, traveling farther in a single year than most landsmen did in a lifetime. Africans and AFRICAN AMERICANS were disproportionately represented among the crews of British (including American) vessels. Escaped slaves and free black people found economic opportunity at sea, escaped some elements of racism, and informally linked black communities along the Atlantic rim; indeed, the first five printed slave narratives were penned by black seafarers. NATIVE AMERICANS were also employed on fishing, whaling, and trading vessels, especially in New England.

Many sailors were quick to participate in civil protests and riots, had a reputation for violence and rootlessness, and have been characterized as a resistant early proletarian group. When conditions on board merchant ships became intolerable, mariners sometimes staged a mutiny, which left them with little other option but to become pirates. Alternatively, when pirates seized a merchant vessel, they usually offered sailors on the captured ship the opportunity to join them, and many seized the opportunity to escape the hardships of their life under strict control of the ship captain.

Many others, however, remained closely tied to home port communities, supported families, and advanced throughout their careers. Regardless of disposition, the mariners and sailors drawn from coastal nations and races throughout the early modern world powered the ships that fostered and sustained global geographic and economic integration.

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—Michael J. Jarvis

**Marquette, Jacques** (1637–1675) *missionary, interpreter*

Jacques Marquette served as a Jesuit missionary to NATIVE AMERICANS, and his EXPLORATION enabled the French to claim NEW ORLEANS and to establish domination of the Mississippi River until the mid-18th century. Marquette was born in Laon, France, to the prosperous merchant family of Nicholas Marquette and Rose de La Salle. From an early age Marquette dreamed of mission work. He attended schools tailored to prepare him for entry into the Catholic Church, learning Latin, Greek, and theology before entering the Jesuit college at Reims and the Jesuit seminary at Nancy in 1654. In preparation for taking vows, Marquette learned such practical skills as cooking, nursing, and housekeeping, which would serve him well on his mission. Between 1656 and 1666 Marquette taught at the Jesuit school at Auxerre and finalized his own studies in philosophy before being chosen for the Jesuit mission in Canada.

Arriving in Quebec in 1666, Marquette began to learn the Montagnais language and wilderness skills like carpentry and handling a canoe. He was then sent to the Ottawa, charged with building a mission, which he named Sainte-Marie-du-Sault. Having made contact with numerous other tribes, Marquette took advantage of his contacts to continue the Jesuit practice of map-making and collecting information through a journey to found another mission at Saint Esprit in 1669–71. Rumors abounded of a great river in Illinois lands, and Marquette became determined to find it, especially after establishing a third mission at Saint Ignace, on the upper peninsula of Michigan. In 1673, accompanied by LOUIS JOLLIET, a Jesuit-trained French-Canadian fur trader, Marquette mapped the northern shore of Lake Michigan to Green Bay, then traveled down the lower Fox River to Lake Winnebago. Using the Wisconsin River to access the Mississippi River, the men met several tribes, including the Peoria and the Arkansas, with whom they established friendly relations.

Passing the mouths of the Missouri and the Ohio Rivers, Marquette determined that the Mississippi drained to the south rather than to the west. He broke off the exploration 1,700 miles from Saint-Ignace. Although seriously ill





This engraving shows Marquette and Jolliet exploring the Mississippi River. (Library of Congress)

after returning to Saint-Ignace, Marquette completed his maps, which Jolliet used in subsequent trips. During a mission to the Illinois in 1674, Marquette fell critically ill and died near Ludington, Michigan.

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—Margaret Sankey

### marriage and family life

In all societies the family fills a number of functions, including the primary locus of the rites of passage (birth, mating, and death); the fulfillment of primary physical, economic, and emotional needs; and the transmission of culture. Nowhere was that reality more starkly demonstrated than in colonial North America, where vast wilderness, sparse population, and the intersection of European, African, and Native American cultures helped shape distinctive family dynamics. The nature of families varied greatly over time and region as well as among racial groups.

Family structures and functions varied much more among NATIVE AMERICANS than among Euro-Americans. Among the IROQUOIS, for example, three or four families lived in a longhouse, with elder women exercising a good deal of control over the household. Husbands and wives engaged in an economic as well as emotional partnership, with women tending to AGRICULTURE and men engaging in hunting. Women exercised considerable power within families, including the authority to divorce their husbands by setting their belongings outside the longhouse entrance. Parents provided their children with a great deal of freedom. Although other Indians defined their families quite differently, Europeans were impressed and sometimes shocked by some aspects of family life among Natives, especially the power exercised by women.

The “typical” 17th-century Euro-American family in the Upper South was large and complex; premature deaths of spouses engendered multiple marriages, and households were often comprised of half-siblings, step-siblings, and miscellaneous orphans in addition to extended family members, servants, apprentices, and slaves. Hence,



a colonial child might well be part of a nuclear family in which death and remarriage meant that neither “parent” was biologically related to the child. The rare divorce, the binding out of children to learn a trade, and the frequent relocation of family units also contributed to many changes in a “household” and “family.” On the other hand, all these variables also contributed to a strong community fabric, as cousins, friends, siblings, and step-siblings were often closely related through many different blood lines and shared experiences. White families in New England and the Middle Colonies, where MORTALITY was lower, usually were not broken as often by the death of one of the spouses, and many children consequently grew up in households containing both parents and even grandparents. As death rates declined in the Chesapeake region during the 18th century, white families there began to resemble those in the northern colonies.

Throughout the colonial period, although region, race, CLASS, and culture defined the specifics, Euro-American households shared these and other general characteristics. The predominant pattern was a patriarchal, hierarchical, nuclear family in which one primary focus was subsistence. As the time-consuming tasks of providing fuel, tending livestock and gardens, and providing FOOD and CLOTHING required a team effort, practically no one lived alone. Women were mostly responsible for domestic work—most clothing and food were made at home—and they were answerable to their husbands or fathers, who oversaw agricultural production and hunting. Thus, the household constituted a unit in which production and CONSUMPTION were self-contained.

While white family units were mostly under the authority of men, many Native American women wielded considerable influence in their families and communities. This



This illustration shows an entire colonial family working together to prepare flax to be spun into thread for clothing or twine. (Library of Congress)

contrasted sharply with married white women, who had almost no access to the political process or to the courts, except through their male protectors or, perhaps, through the intervention of their churches. Widowed or single women sometimes exercised slightly greater control over their economic lives, and servant women could occasionally get a hearing in the courts, but slave women had no access to power (or control over their children) except through the intervention of a sympathetic master.

Daily life was strenuous. In the temperate mid-Atlantic climate, for example, it is estimated that simply providing household fuel required the equivalent of the full-time LABOR of one adult man. Because existence in solitude was so difficult, the few people who did live alone aroused the suspicion of their neighbors, and community persecution—such as witch hunts—fell unequally upon people (especially woman) who lived by themselves. As houses were small and privacy and hygiene haphazard, households were constantly coping with illness—either individual or epidemic—and a fair amount of the family energies went into planning for these events or into actually caring for the sick. ALCOHOL was a staple of the MEDICINE cabinet, and some historians have theorized that most colonial Americans, adults and children, consumed some alcohol nearly every day, partly to compensate for polluted water and unbalanced nutrition. Infant mortality was high, and the average adult life span was less than 45 years. However, this average obscures the fact that it was not uncommon for an affluent colonial, who had survived CHILDHOOD epidemics and who might avoid the hazards of hard physical labor, to live more than eight or nine decades. In general, however, the colonial American population was healthier, better housed, better fed, and longer-lived than in Europe.

In New England, where European men migrated along with their families, births began to outnumber deaths before 1700. An affluent woman usually married before the age of 20, and, during the next few decades, she bore a child every two or three years, for a total of seven or eight children. Her husband was usually seven or eight years older, because he needed to wait to inherit land or otherwise to procure an economic foundation. A servant woman, however, who could not legally marry until her term of service ended, might be in her late 20s before she could take a mate—who was likely to be marrying late for the same reason.

By contrast, in the South, where white men greatly outnumbered women in the 17th century, population growth by natural increase (the difference between births and deaths) did not begin until the 18th century. Although the PLANTATION SYSTEM promoted young marriages for both men and women, slave and free, the population remained smaller because mortality and morbidity were higher in the

southern than in the northern colonies. The shortage of white women in the South also promoted limited intermarriage among Europeans, Native Americans, and AFRICAN AMERICANS. In addition, the rape of slave women by white owners produced children of mixed race. By 1700 the South had a significant population of multiracial residents. In New England and the mid-Atlantic colonies the few free black families sometimes intermarried with local Native Americans.

Child rearing, a central part of white family life, was likewise affected by many factors. As many as half of newborns died before their fifth birthday, mostly from illnesses, accidents, and diseases. Birth (attended by MIDWIVES until the mid-18th century, when male doctors gradually assumed this role) was often an event for which family members traveled long distances to be with the expectant mother. While there is some indication that families discouraged emotional attachment to young children until they had survived infant diseases, it is still unclear how much colonial Americans differentiated between adult human nature and child culture. Although a typical household contained some toys and playthings, children often were viewed simply as small adults, as suggested by such diverse evidence as the lack of differentiation in children's clothing and the expectation that they would assume responsibility for household tasks at a very young age. Religion was also important in shaping how children were raised. New England Puritan LITERATURE instructed parents that their role was to break the will of their children to make them obedient to God. However, Quaker assessment of human nature called for protecting the child—assumed to be born innocent—from the decadent influence of the adult world until the child's conscience was strong enough to withstand temptation.

What we now think of as violence was a common part of white family life. Infanticide, although forbidden, was not uncommon. Children, wives, servants, and slaves were routinely thrashed for misbehavior. Public punishments, such as pillorying and hanging, helped reinforce the idea that corporal punishment, often prescribed by the churches, was the best way to maintain discipline.

Among the propertied classes, especially in New England, patriarchs held title to land, while sons waited, sometimes with unveiled hostility, for their fathers to die and leave them the wherewithal to marry. Lacking a system for "retirement," the old could relinquish the burden of economic responsibilities and the young could not take it up. The resulting resentment of the old sometimes erupted into violence or neglect.

EDUCATION, at least teaching sufficient literacy to read the Bible, frequently was carried out in the homes of the affluent but was more erratic for poorer people. New England soon established schools to teach young people

to read the Bible. Even so, reading and writing were often taught separately, and a person might be able to read but unable to write. Southern planters sometimes imported northern teachers to educate their households, and a handful of slaves sometimes managed to acquire some literacy by surreptitiously listening to the lessons. Masters also sometimes taught their apprentices to read and to count. Hence, as with HOUSING, food, and health, typical colonial Americans had better access to information and skills than their European counterparts.

By the mid-18th century home life among affluent white people began to reflect growing leisure. Houses became larger and furnishings more conducive to entertaining because some now contained coffee and tea services, elaborate dishware, and matched seating arrangements. Moreover, white women's roles and authority expanded in both the economic and religious sphere, while technological, social, and political changes encouraged the growth of the nuclear household that would become more common in succeeding generations.

Slaves struggled to create viable and meaningful families, and their physical circumstances often shaped their success in those endeavors. Because more black men than women were imported in the 17th century, the resulting GENDER imbalance and the wide spread of slaves over vast areas often limited the ability of African Americans to form long-lasting families. As white Americans purchased large numbers of slaves to work on TOBACCO and rice plantations in the late 17th and 18th centuries, the possibilities for slaves to establish families increased. Consequently, in the upper south slaves began to reproduce their population by the third decade of the 18th century. Family connection was vitally important in providing meaningful lives for many blacks, in part because it allowed black people to fulfill various human roles that owners tried to discourage. Spouses expressed their love for one another as well as their children. Slave families and their extended kin raised and, as far as possible, protected their offspring, teaching them how to cope with the difficulties of life in bondage. Families also formed the core of the slave community, which was often strongest on large plantations. The success of African Americans in fashioning families is testimony to the human determination to overcome incredible obstacles.

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—Emma Lapsansky

## Maryland

Maryland was a proprietary colony ruled by the lords Baltimore except during a period of royal government from 1689 to 1715. When GEORGE CALVERT, scion of Yorkshire landowners, withdrew from public life, announcing his Catholicism and inability to take the Oath of Supremacy in 1625, James I rewarded his loyal service with the title baron Baltimore (Ireland). Already an East India Company shareholder and member of the VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON board of governors, Calvert was granted "Avalon" (Newfoundland) in 1620. A disappointing 1627 visit convinced him to petition Charles I for land in northern VIRGINIA, and two months after his death in April 1632 a colonial charter was granted his son, Cecilus. The ships *Ark* and *Dove* and around 140 settlers reached Maryland (named after Queen Henrietta Maria) in May 1634.

Maryland's 8,000 to 10,000 mostly ALGONQUIN Indians (40 tribes formed into the Piscataway and Nanticoke federations on the lower western and eastern shores, respectively) offered little resistance to settlement. Seeing European settlers as potential allies after attacks by Virginian and northern Susquehannock, the Yaocomico sold the new arrivals land and helped them grow FOOD. The descendants of Indians who survived European diseases subsequently moved northward out of Maryland in the 18th century. A greater threat to Maryland settlers came from the roughly 100 Virginians under William Claiborne on Kent and Popely's Islands. After a naval encounter in CHESAPEAKE BAY in April 1635, the fur-trading William Clobbery and Company replaced Claiborne with George Evelin and sued for peace.

Long-term threats to the Calverts came through objections to proprietorial despotism and Catholicism. Maryland's charter gave Baltimore palatine powers, including the right to grant lordships and land, to collect quitrents, and to hold manorial courts over TENANTS (payment to the king was two Indian arrows per year and one-fifth of all precious metals). However, the charter was otherwise vague, giving Baltimore "absolute power . . . to ordain, make laws, with the advice, assent, & approbation of the free men," and referring to "delegates . . . called together for the framing of laws." Governor LEONARD CALVERT (Baltimore's brother) initially vetoed all acts of the early assemblies because they were legislative rather than executive initiatives but eventually accepted assembly legislation in 1638.

Conflict over the structure of government and power of assemblies continued, however, and became entwined with English political and religious convulsions during Maryland's mid-century "time of troubles." Maryland was never actually a Catholic colony. Most settlers were Protestant, and Baltimore required "Acts of Romane Catholique Religion to be done as privately as may be and . . . Romane Catholiques to be silent upon all



occasions of discourse concerning matters of Religion.” Still, political and sectarian conflict were inseparable. The ENGLISH CIVIL WAR reached Maryland with Richard Ingle’s arrival in ST. MARY’S CITY in 1644; he proclaimed “the King was no King” and claimed armed ships for Parliament. He fled to England after his arrest but returned with parliamentary letters of marque to raid royalist homes in Maryland in 1645 and 1646 (the “plundering time” during which Claiborne tried to retake his trading post). After Leonard Calvert’s death in 1647, Baltimore appointed Protestant William Stone governor. Stone granted refuge to 300 Virginia PURITANS under Richard Bennett in Ann Arundel County and confirmed acceptance of all Christians with the 1649 Toleration Act. With news of the execution of Charles I, however, acting governor Thomas Greene declared Charles II king. Despite Stone’s retraction, enemies persuaded Oliver Cromwell of Maryland’s rebelliousness, and the Protector appointed a commission headed by Bennett and Claiborne to govern Maryland.

The 1654 assembly, after excluding Roman Catholics from voting, forbade public Mass and abolished oaths of allegiance to Lord Baltimore. Baltimore ordered Stone to reestablish his authority in Maryland, inaugurating Maryland’s Civil War. The commission’s forces routed Stone’s 130 men at the Battle of the Severn on March 25, 1655, but by 1657 Baltimore’s rule and religious toleration were restored, with amnesty given to rebels. New governor Josias Kendall, however, resigned his commission in 1660, accepting one instead from assembly delegates proclaiming themselves “a lawfull Assembly without dependence on any other power.” This “Pygmie rebellion” ended after two months with the Restoration of Charles II.

Calvert’s authority was tested in the Restoration era as well. Baltimore insisted that “What Privileges and Powers I have by my Charter are from the King, & that of Calling of Assemblies in any such manner & way as I think fit being an undeniable one among the rest, I cannot Deem it Honorable Nor safe to Lodge it in the Freeman.” In 1669 Reverend Charles Nicholette urged the assembly to claim “a Liberty equal to the people of England.” Although the council extracted a fine and apology from Nicholette, delegates subsequently complained that “our laws, whereby our Liberty and Property subsists, are subject to Arbitrary Disposition.” Concurrent with BACON’S REBELLION in 1676, rebels in Charles County led by Fendall and John Coode bemoaned Calvert vainglory, despotism, nepotism, corrupting of assembly members, and the lack of an established ANGLICAN CHURCH in *Complaint from Heaven with Huy and Crye & a petition out of Maryland and Virginia*. In 1681 the provincial court found Coode guilty of plotting to kidnap Baltimore, fined him 40,000 pounds of TOBACCO, and banished him from Maryland.

Proprietorial attempts to stifle discontent by limiting votes to men with a 50-acre freehold or £40 estate in 1670 and by reducing the number of delegates from four to two per county in 1681 added to grievances. After learning of James II’s overthrow in the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION of 1688, Coode and others formed the Protestant Association that listed antiproprietary grievances, declared William and Mary king and queen (1689–1702), and captured St. Mary’s City without resistance.

Although Baltimore kept his land and quitrents, Maryland became a royal colony. The new assembly passed acts of establishment and endowment (40 pounds of tobacco per taxable inhabitant annually for ministers’ salaries) for the Anglican Church, banned QUAKERS from sitting in the assembly, and banned ROMAN CATHOLICS from public office holding and worship. Maryland returned to proprietary rule in 1715 following Charles Calvert’s death and the conversion of Benedict Leonard Calvert, fourth Lord Baltimore, to Anglicanism. Royal rule witnessed a governmental revolution as well. In 1694 Governor Francis Nicholson moved the capitol to Annapolis. The assembly established standing committees to expedite business, gained greater control over money bills, reformed the courts, revised laws, and began holding executive officials to account. Royal Governor John Seymour called the assemblymen a “restless and pernicious Crew.” During the second proprietary period the Calverts and their Court Party supporters regularly fought the Country Party opposition over paper money, control of public officials’ and clergy salaries and fees, and, as indicated in the title of Daniel Dulany, Sr.’s, pamphlet, *The Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland to the Benefit of English Laws* (1728).

As with politics, Maryland’s ECONOMY and society developed greater stability over time. Learning from Virginia, Marylanders established tobacco staple AGRICULTURE, producing 100,000 pounds as early as 1639. Assemblymen indicated tobacco’s importance during price depressions in the 1660s and 1680s, agreeing with Virginians to a “stint” limiting production to raise prices and enacting town loading laws to cut transport costs and raise profits, although the Calverts vetoed both measures. In 1747 Maryland enacted tobacco inspection, whereby substandard tobacco was burned at county warehouses, keeping quality and prices high (to the detriment of smaller farmers, who cut and burned planters’ tobacco in response). In 1723 first minister Robert Walpole exempted tobacco from reexport fees under the Navigation Acts, and Maryland exports rose from 30,000 pounds to 100,000,000 between the 1720s and 1770s. Maryland’s economy nevertheless diversified. Wheat dominated agriculture in the west, north, and lower eastern shore by the late 18th century. Ironworks appeared in Cecil County in 1715 and Baltimore Town in 1731. Baltimore’s



population was only 200 in 1755 but grew rapidly with the proliferation of wheat milling and the development of SHIPBUILDING in the later 18th century. These developments encouraged a diverse urban and rural artisan and service economy.

Economic growth and development was reflected in rapidly expanding population, area of settlement, and socioeconomic differentiation. Settler population remained less than 400 in 1642, many dying of “agues and fevers” (primarily malaria) and the “bloody flux” (dysentery). The very high MORTALITY of the 17th century prevented population increase by natural means. It also undermined the nuclear family but intensified the development of extended kinship networks. Elevated mortality rates among men led to extensive property ownership by women as they inherited wealth from their husbands and provided women with greater bargaining power in the marriage market. Subsequent generations were less susceptible to “seasoning” and, with natural increase superseding immigration and a CREOLE majority before 1700, population rose to 8,426 in 1660, 42,741 in 1710, and 162,267 in 1760. Tobacco planting led to scattered settlement, with planters settling riverfront land and smaller farmers living inland. Much of the lower western shore was settled by the mid-17th century, the north and lower eastern shore after the Susquehanna treaty of 1652, and the western and piedmont areas in the 18th century.

The spread of settlement and population growth forced the provincial council and manor courts to relinquish governmental burdens to local institutions, and proliferating landownership further diminished Calvert power. From the 1660s county courts gained jurisdiction in criminal cases not involving life or limb, civil litigation, tax-raising powers, and responsibility for building and maintaining roads and public buildings, licensing taverns, policing weights and measures, overseeing orphans, directing poor relief, appointing county officials, and supervising elections. To encourage settlement, in 1634–35 Baltimore established a headright system in which free settlers received 100 acres for themselves plus 2,000 acres for every five family members or servants brought with them. Between 1635 and 1683 new arrivals received 100 acres plus 50 acres for each child under 16, after which settlers could purchase land. Landowners paid annual quitrents, and if they died intestate, their title reverted to the Calverts. Even so, the widespread availability of land undermined the Calverts’ vision of a manorial society of proprietors, lesser landowners, and tenants, creating instead a powerful planter elite and a large population of smaller independent farmers—at least among whites.

LABOR requirements, always intense in a tobacco-producing economy, were initially met by indentured servants, with SLAVERY developing slowly. Thirteen slaves

appeared in St. Mary’s City in 1642. These early black laborers were sometimes treated similarly to indentured servants, many being freed and given an allowance of CLOTHING and food after four to seven years of service. Servant migration from England declined in the late 17th century. As the prices of white servants increased and of African slaves declined, Maryland planters, many of whom had amassed greater capital, began to invest heavily in slaves. In 1663 and 1664 the assembly legally established slavery, legislating enslavement for life and declaring that baptism gave no entitlement to freedom. Slaves numbered only 750 in 1660 but rose to 8,000 in 1710 and near 50,000 in 1760. By 1763 slaves represented almost a third of Maryland’s total population. Slaves were more heavily concentrated in the predominantly tobacco-growing lower western shore, where they exceeded half the population. In the increasingly wheat-growing remainder of the colony, they formed less than 15 percent of the inhabitants. The growth of slave communities, creolization of most of the slave population, and development of a thriving African-American culture and tradition of resistance by the mid-18th century enabled slaves to carve out a meaningful existence even while suffering brutal conditions.

A planter elite established itself by the end of the 17th century. As well as gaining wealth in slaves (and greater tobacco production), their land values doubled between 1680 and 1700. Wealthy planters enhanced their authority through dynastic alliances and through control of the assembly, the increasingly powerful courts, and the church vestries. They distinguished themselves through a cult of gentility, building brick Georgian mansions, filling them with genteel accoutrements, appearing in more refined clothing and carriages, and pursuing exclusive leisure activities. Increasing inequality also entailed diminished economic opportunity for poorer people. Seventy percent of white Maryland householders (many originally indentured servants) owned land in the 1660s. That figure declined to 50 percent over the next century, and by the 1760s only 15 percent enjoyed all the rights of freemen; even fewer could exercise the vote. Although slavery increased material inequality in white society, it also aided social stability through imposing disciplinary imperatives and creating notions of racial supremacy. Also, British MERCHANTS in the Chesapeake area from the 1730s enhanced access to credit and to slaves (half of southern Marylanders were slaveholders by the 1760s) and other goods so that standards of living generally rose. Not until the Revolution was Maryland’s elite significantly challenged.

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—Steven Sarson

**Mason, John** (1600?–1672) *soldier, government official*

A distinguished English magistrate and soldier, John Mason declined a commission in Oliver Cromwell's parliamentary army and immigrated to North America around 1630. When Mason arrived in MASSACHUSETTS, he was hired to plan and build defenses along BOSTON harbor and to protect the coast from pirates. He also served as captain of the Dorchester militia and helped to found Windsor, CONNECTICUT.

During the PEQUOT WAR Mason and his men, including the Mohegan leader Uncas and 70 of his warriors, set fire to Mystic Fort, killing more than 600 Pequot men, women, and children, including the revered leader Sassacus. The loss of such a leader had a great psychological impact on the NATIVE AMERICANS, as they objected to the brutality of this type of warfare. Many Indians attributed supernatural powers to Mason, and most refused to fight with him again. Mason chronicled this victory in *A Relation of the Troubles that have Happened in New England* (1677).

After the Pequot War Mason held a number of government offices in Connecticut, including chief military officer, magistrate, and deputy governor, but again became most known for his dealings in Indian affairs. Forming an apparently equal partnership, Mason and Uncas significantly increased each other's power and influence. Mason used his military strength to force the PEQUOT to accept Uncas's power. Uncas then was able to break from the Pequot Confederation, thereby increasing his power and authority. Becoming the Mohegan's protector likewise benefited Mason. Uncas reported the activities of other Indian groups to Mason and supplied warriors on occasion. The men seemed truly to be fond of one another, Mason described Uncas as a "great" friend. Uncas even granted Mason permission to establish Norwich, Connecticut, in 1660 in Mohegan territory, although land ownership issues between the English and Indians later complicated the relationship.

After his first wife died, Mason fathered seven children by his second wife, Anne Peck. They lived on a farm in Norwich until Mason's death.

**Further reading:** Wendy B. St. Jean, "Inventing Guardianship: The Mohegan Indians and Their 'Protector,'" *New England Quarterly* 72, no. 3 (1999): 362–387.

—Lisa A. Ennis

## Massachusetts

The name *Massachusetts*, meaning "near the Great Hill," referred to the ALGONQUIN-speaking Natives living in the general vicinity of the Blue Hills near the Charles and Neponset Rivers on Massachusetts Bay in the 16th century. Also inhabiting the land were the Nipmuc, Pennacook, Mahican, NARRAGANSETT, and Pocumtuck. The coast was explored by European MARINERS throughout the 16th century, but no permanent colony was attempted. FISHING fleets from Europe were frequent visitors to Massachusetts coastal waters by the early 1600s. Coastal trade soon developed between the Natives and the Europeans, especially in fur. An epidemic transmitted from one of the visiting European ships took a heavy toll among the Native population along the entire New England coast around 1617. When English settlers began to arrive within the next 10 years, they found cleared lands and little opposition from the devastated Natives.

### Early Settlement and Growth

The PILGRIMS, a small group of radical Protestants called Separatists, successfully founded the town and colony of PLYMOUTH along the interior western side of Cape Cod Bay in 1620. They established relations with the Wampanoag and Nauset. The Pilgrims were followed by several other small settlements around Massachusetts Bay, including Merrymount, Wessagusset, and Winnisimmet within a few years. The most important of these was the small seasonal fishing village at Cape Ann. The abundance of fish, notably cod, attracted numerous fishermen, and their need for a permanent base led to the establishment of Naumkeag (Salem) in 1624 under the leadership of Roger Conant. JOHN ENDECOTT, with a group of followers, became the first governor of the small settlement in 1628. Salem's inhabitants were just the vanguard of the "Great Migration" of English colonists to Massachusetts that followed.

The PURITANS who immigrated were Protestant reformers, dissenters from the ANGLICAN CHURCH who followed the teachings of John Calvin. The MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY, hoping for great profits and looking for settlers, was granted a charter from King Charles I (1625–49) in 1629. Facing increasing persecution in England, an estimated 30,000 Puritans joined the Great Migration to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the decade from 1630 to 1640. Their stated goal was to build a new Jerusalem in the wilderness, to be a "city upon a hill" in the words of JOHN WINTHROP, which would serve as a model for the rest of the world. Towns were established clustering around the capital of BOSTON on Massachusetts Bay and along the Connecticut River Valley 80 miles to the west, like the frontier outpost of Springfield. The few interior settlements were located along old Indian trails that soon became rough colonial roads. Each town was governed by a

town meeting where “freemen” could vote. “Freeman” status was limited to church members who were adult males who owned at least £20 worth of property or its equivalent. The Congregational church, with a simple, or “plain style,” of service, was firmly established as the central focus of every Massachusetts town.

Local magistrates sought close control over their Puritan commonwealth. Religious minds that differed from the expressed tenets would not be allowed to practice or even live in Massachusetts. ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON was banished in 1636 for her Antinomian views, despite sympathetic allies Governor Henry Vane and Reverend JOHN COTTON. Minister ROGER WILLIAMS, a talented but, to Massachusetts minds, too independent theologian, was banished after unsuccessfully trying to preach at Boston, Salem, and Plymouth; he founded RHODE ISLAND on Narragansett Bay.

Massachusetts Puritans quickly put their faith into action, especially by emphasizing EDUCATION. HARVARD COLLEGE, the first English college in the colonies, was founded in 1636 in Cambridge as the training ground for a future Puritan ministry. A printing press, the first in North America, also was set up in Cambridge in 1639. Among its first published works was *The Bay Psalm Book*, a translation of the psalms into English. In 1647 Massachusetts became the first civil society in the world to require compulsory primary education by passing a law called the Old Deluder Satan Act because keeping people ignorant of the Bible supposedly was a tactic of Satan. Massachusetts undertook minting its own currency in 1652, which it continued for many years afterwards, always printing the date 1652 to deceive royal officials. The first codification of laws in the modern world was created with passage of *The Laws and Liberties of 1648*, detailing the rights and responsibilities of individuals in the commonwealth.

Massachusetts took an early theological and political lead in the North American colonies because of its large population and, some would argue, arrogant attitude. A large group from Massachusetts, including Governor John Haynes and Reverend THOMAS HOOKER, traveled inland in 1635 and 1636 to found the Colony of CONNECTICUT. This close relation between Massachusetts and Connecticut, and the smaller colonies of Plymouth and New Haven, led to the formation of the New England Confederation in 1643 for the mutual defense and security of all four colonies. The alliance was formed in the wake of the PEQUOT WAR of 1636 against any more possible threats from Indians or the nearby Dutch and FRENCH COLONIES.

English settlement continued encroaching inland until several events precipitated KING PHILIP’S WAR (1675–76), one of the most devastating wars in American history. One out of every three English settlements in New England was attacked by a combination of several Native

tribes, notably the Wampanoag led by MASSASOIT’s son Philip (METACOM). Attacks on English towns ranged from Deerfield in the west to Plymouth in the east. Half of all the towns in New England suffered raids; 12 towns were completely destroyed. The war proved devastating for New England’s Natives—Philip was ambushed and killed, his captains executed, his villages destroyed, and the Natives in nearly three colonies virtually eliminated. Even the “Praying Indians,” those Natives converted by the Reverend JOHN ELIOT, who had translated and published the Bible in Algonquin in 1663, were incarcerated and left to starve on an island in Boston Harbor. Many Natives, including King Philip’s son, were sold into SLAVERY in the West Indies. The war left the colonies with large debts and one of every 15 men of fighting age dead. The fighting continued off and on in MAINE for some dozen years more. There were later periodic attacks by Natives in Massachusetts following King Philip’s War, notably Haverhill in 1695 and Deerfield in 1704, but these were associated with the shifting allegiances of the Natives among colonists of the continually warring nations of England and France.

With the threat of Native warfare effectively reduced, the English colonists of Massachusetts looked to restoring their colony as the Puritan commonwealth, but times had moved past them. In 1684 the charter was revoked by King James II (1685–88) and the Royal DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND was established, headed by the autocratic and tyrannical Governor SIR EDMUND ANDROS. The Massachusetts Puritans watched with horror as an Anglican Church was forcefully established in Boston, as their annual election of officials was terminated, and as political favor was doled out to Andros’s close circle of cronies. Reverend COTTON MATHER called this “Decennium Luctuosum,” the lamentable decade. When they had finally had enough and heard the news of the overthrow of James II by William of Orange during the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION of 1688, leading Puritans in Boston had Andros and his associates arrested and sent back to England. Reverend INCREASE MATHER was sent to London to secure the return of the charter, but compromise was necessary. After several years of lobbying, Mather was able to secure a new charter for the Province of Massachusetts Bay in 1691, which restored many of the earlier rights but also required many changes. Among the changes were a royally appointed governor, the annexation of the Territory of Maine and Plymouth Colony, and the extension of SUFFRAGE to inhabitants who were not members of the Congregational churches.

### ***The Provincial Period***

Increase Mather returned to Massachusetts in May 1692 with the new charter and the new royal governor, Massachusetts resident Sir William Phips. They immediately found the entire colony consumed by the WITCHCRAFT hysteria that

was occurring in Salem. Governor Phips created a Court of Oyer and Terminer to try the hundreds of people imprisoned on suspicion of witchcraft, hoping to quickly end the whole affair. The hysteria resulted in the deaths of 20 people, the incarceration of hundreds more, and the effective end of Puritan supremacy in Massachusetts. The colony became the royal Province of Massachusetts Bay and soon found itself involved in the politics of the worldwide BRITISH EMPIRE.

As an indication of Massachusetts's new role in the empire, shipping increased dramatically. The port of Boston led the way with a new emphasis on SHIPBUILDING, importing and exporting, and serving as a hub of military activity for the English colonies in North America. Military expeditions were launched from Boston's Long Wharf, which extended nearly half a mile into the harbor. The new emphasis on mercantile affairs also brought about the creation of a bureaucracy of customs officials and a vice admiralty court (1696) based in Boston to administer a close watch on colonial affairs. Several smaller ports, Salem, Marblehead, and Newburyport, grew in population, shipping, and importance as well. The mercantile policies of the Crown were not always followed by the Massachusetts MERCHANTS who, despite the Navigation Acts, were willing to risk breaking the official policies for a profit.

Massachusetts's role in the 18th-century wars for empire was one of supplying soldiers, ships, and goods during the struggles of KING WILLIAM'S WAR, QUEEN ANNE'S WAR, KING GEORGE'S WAR, and the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, as well as defending itself and its interests. In 1745 Governor William Shirley and Sir William Pepperell planned and orchestrated the successful siege of the fortified French town of Louisbourg on the coast of Nova Scotia. This stunning victory was reversed, however, when the fortress was returned to France at the end of King George's War, much to the annoyance of all New Englanders. Massachusetts provided many of the soldiers and sailors necessary for these costly imperial wars. There was also the continual need for defense along the frontier, where the shifting allegiances of the remaining Native tribes and their resistance to encroachment on their lands meant there was always the possibility of hostilities. By the mid-18th century the toll had become apparent as the number of poor rose drastically, particularly with an increase of widows and orphaned children.

Political factionalism during the 1700s took the place of the religious controversies of the 1600s. Career politicians like Governors JOSEPH DUDLEY and William Shirley held the province's highest offices during the next several decades, trying to court favor with both their patrons in England and the general Massachusetts population. Loosely organized political parties developed: a "court" party usually comprised of the governor, his cronies and

political appointees, and several of the wealthier, more powerful families, and a "country" party, generally consisting of Massachusetts's artisan and laboring classes and the rural population.

Political divisions carried over in the Land Bank versus Silver Bank controversy, with the Land Bank providing a temporary boost to the local ECONOMY but creating high inflation, causing its repeal by Parliament in 1741. Party politics, never formally organized, would evolve into the Whig and Tory factionalism of the Revolutionary era. This division was clearly visible in the political feud between the Hutchinson and Otis families, in which the Hutchinson faction was the court party, holding numerous Crown offices, and the Otis faction held many of the popularly elected offices and tirelessly stressed the rights of Massachusetts citizens. James Otis, Jr., brilliantly argued the case against the Writs of Assistance in 1761 and inspired two decades of radical unrest and political fighting by the likes of Samuel Adams and John Hancock against the Hutchinson-dominated government.

### *Culture and Society*

The inhabitants of Massachusetts were far from the typical Puritan caricature of black clothes and grim faces. Probate inventories show people wore many different types of clothes in many colors, followed London fashions, and bought imported fabrics, despite the "sumptuary laws" passed during the 1600s, which attempted to prohibit poorer citizens from wearing expensive CLOTHING. Laws like these were designed to maintain the structure of Massachusetts society, a hierarchy in each family, each church, and each town. CLASS differences, although less drastic than in England, were preserved in Massachusetts. Most people lived in small, modest houses of two or three rooms and a loft, which developed from typical English models. The wide availability of wood encouraged its use instead of brick, even for the grander homes of merchants. Houses of the mid-18th century had assumed the standard layouts of the Cape and the Saltbox, both often constructed around a large, central hearth for warmth. Birth rates were high, causing the population to grow at a rapid pace.

Life in Massachusetts during the colonial period was often difficult. Farms dominated the countryside, as subsistence farming was the most common occupation. The rocky soil of New England meant they could never produce much surplus for export. Small manufacturing and trades developed to supplement farming, including rum distilleries, iron ore forges and foundries, and lumber MILLS. The ports that dotted the coasts provided the more profitable but usually more dangerous enterprises of shipbuilding, fishing, and ocean-going trade. Imports increased as the population grew, until by the 1750s Massachusetts was importing not only manufactured and luxury goods from



England but also raw materials and food like molasses for rum production and grain to feed itself. The Massachusetts merchants exploited the business opportunities afforded in the empire using their own ships to engage in the “Triangle Trade,” bringing Africans as slaves to the West Indies and the southern colonies in return for raw materials to exchange for goods in Europe, some merchants making fortunes in the process.

There were diversions in colonial life. Massachusetts boasted a generally literate population who often read. Favorites included the Bible, works of Milton and Bunyan, Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*, almanacs, newspapers (after 1704), and especially religious tracts like sermons published in pamphlet form. Among the most popular texts were MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH’s long poem *The Day of Doom* and historical works by Cotton Mather and Thomas Prince. The value of education resulted in many local schools, wide readership of various printed materials, and even a knowledge of SCIENCE. SMALLPOX inoculations in the 1720s in Boston, although protested by many, were supported among the clergy, resulting in positive results and many lives saved. Local taverns, or ordinaries, which were licensed by the counties, provided a social gathering place outside the ever-present meetinghouse, where much of the town business was conducted. Rum, hard cider, and punch were favorite drinks and consumed in great quantities. TOBACCO was also commonly smoked. Roads were difficult to travel but were better than in many of the other colonies thanks to a system of post roads used by travelers. The journal kept by SARAH KEMBLE KNIGHT on a trip in 1704 provides one of the best pictures of the hazards of TRAVEL. While the local ministers may not have liked the ideas of travel or other diversions, they grew more accepting with the passing years. Increase Mather preached against dancing, and SAMUEL SEWALL railed indignantly against the fashion of wearing wigs among the young men in the early 1700s, yet Massachusetts grew ever more cosmopolitan and fashionable. Card playing, dice, and games were common, if not always approved.

Luxury trades flourished in the larger towns. Massachusetts gold and silversmiths, like Paul Revere, were recognized master ARTISANS. Furniture makers known as joiners and turners in the 1600s were replaced by professional cabinetmakers in the 1700s, producing some of the finest examples of American colonial furniture. Gravestones, all hand-carved like furniture, started out as a luxury item in the 1670s, but carving workshops could be found across the colony within 50 years. MUSIC developed far more slowly, being limited mostly to Psalm singing, but with the arrival of PETER PELHAM in Boston in the 1730s, it started to be widely enjoyed. Pelham not only played and taught music but was also a dancing master and a skilled engraver who produced quality portraits. His son-in-law,

John Singleton Copley, would carry the ART of portraiture to its greatest form in the colonies. Copley engaged in the one form of fine art, portrait painting, that had been approved of and respected among the Massachusetts Puritans because it preserved images of “visible saints.” By the time of his most famous paintings, the portraits of Paul Revere and Samuel Adams, he was building on nearly a century of portraiture by John Smibert, ROBERT FEKE, Joseph Blackburn, and a number of anonymous artists.

The size of the population of Massachusetts remained second only to VIRGINIA throughout the colonial period, yet it was always foremost in importance in shipping, publishing, culture, political agitation, and independence, the last of which would prove the most troublesome for Parliament and Crown as events in Massachusetts precipitated the start of the American Revolution.

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—Stephen C. O’Neill

### Massachusetts Bay Company (1628–1629)

Begun as a trading venture, the MASSACHUSETTS Bay Company soon took on a spiritual mission as PURITANS used it to emigrate from England to BOSTON. Issued in May 1628 at the instigation of Sir Richard Saltonstall and Issac Johnson, the company received a charter, which, for a limited time of seven years, allowed it to ship people and provisions to establish a “plantation” in New England. If the company had the land surveyed, then the short indenture could be changed to a patent. The company’s subscribers elected a governor, Mathew Cradock, who served with the aid of six associates. The first company ship was sent out under the command of JOHN ENDECOTT to take possession of the Dorchester settlement at Salem. In the following April the company sent out a further five ships carrying an additional 200 passengers, many of them poor.

In England disagreements soon emerged between those who wanted the company to be primarily a trading enterprise and those, like JOHN WINTHROP, who had a more spiritual end in view. The non-Puritan elements sold their interests to the religious men on August 26, 1629, and Winthrop became the new governor. While the company remained headquartered in England, Anglican bishops could easily spy on its operations and anyone could threaten the control of the Puritans by buying into

the company. Fortunately for the Puritans, the company's charter did not specify that it had to remain in the mother country. It was hoped that the members of the company could slip away unnoticed and that the distance of North America would make English interference impossible. The Puritans took the charter and set sail in March 1630 in a fleet of 11 ships with the aim of joining the substantial base of people already established in New England. The Salem location did not prove satisfactory, so the company chose to establish itself in Boston, a thin neck of land protruding into the sea. When the government transferred to North America, the Massachusetts Bay Company became the New England Company.

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—Caryn E. Neumann

### Massachusetts School Act (1647)

The first law in MASSACHUSETTS calling for public education, this act required that all towns of 50 or more families “appoint one within their own town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read.” Towns with 100 households or more were also to hire a master to run a grammar school that would teach youths in a classical curriculum to prepare them to attend HARVARD COLLEGE.

Known also as the Old Deluder Satan Act, the 1647 law followed five years after Massachusetts's first educational legislation, the 1642 law that required that all families or masters of apprentices take responsibility for teaching basic reading and writing to the children in their charge. The 1647 law, then, marked a shift of responsibility for education from the family to the community, although children being taught at home were still not required to attend public schools. The style of the act had wide-ranging effects on New England's educational culture: By 1677 it had been copied by the legal codes of CONNECTICUT, New Haven, and PLYMOUTH.

The 1647 act had many restrictions, though. Its educational provisions were only for boys, as girls were not permitted to attend the grammar schools it created and could only hope for an education in basic literacy at home or in a “dame school.” Although it provided for education, the law did not necessarily create public schools, as teaching was often carried out in private homes. Funding was tenuous, with costs being paid through annual taxation, not through endowments of land or money like most European schools of the period. And the wars of the late 17th century also affected children's school lives. During KING PHILIP'S WAR outlying towns petitioned the assembly for relief from requiring children to attend schools out of fear of capture

by NATIVE AMERICANS. The fear continued into the next century. In March 1703 the Massachusetts House passed a law exempting towns from penalties for not enforcing the 1647 act because “Diverse of the frontier Towns which are by Law Obligated to Maintain a Grammar School, are in such Hazard of the Enemy, that it is unsafe for the children to Passe to and from the Schools.”

**Further reading:** James Axtell, *The School Upon a Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974).

—George W. Boudreau

### Massasoit (1580?–1662?) sachem

Massasoit, meaning “Great Leader,” was the sachem of the Pokanocket Wampanoag Indians and an early ally of the PILGRIMS in PLYMOUTH. He was also called Ousamequin, meaning “Yellow Feather.” The English labeled him “king” of some 6,000 Wampanoag people living in more than 20 villages. The Wampanoag were a loose confederation of ALGONQUIN-speaking Natives in southeastern MASSACHUSETTS and eastern RHODE ISLAND. Massasoit's home village of Pokanocket, also known as Mount Hope, was located 60 miles west of Plymouth on Narragansett Bay, in present-day Bristol and Warren, Rhode Island.

Massasoit visited the Pilgrim settlers in Plymouth in March 1621 with his brother Quadequina and 60 warriors to establish relations with the English settlers. Massasoit and Governor John Carver agreed to a treaty of alliance and mutual respect. For the English in Plymouth, this treaty meant they were free from the fear of an attack by the Wampanoag surrounding them. For the Wampanoag the treaty meant gaining a new ally against their traditional rivals, the powerful Narragansett Indians to the west. Massasoit's treaty would keep the English settlers of Plymouth Colony and the Wampanoag at peace for more than 50 years. As an indication of their friendly relations, sometime in the fall of 1621 Massasoit accompanied 90 of his fellow Wampanoag to join the Pilgrims in Plymouth for several days of feasting and celebrating, known popularly as the first Thanksgiving. Intelligent, diplomatic, and respected by both English and Native populations, Massasoit died around 1662 and was succeeded by his sons Alexander (Wamsutta) and Philip (METACOM), who later led a war against the settlers.

**Further reading:** Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Alden T. Vaughan, *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620–1675* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1995).

—Stephen C. O'Neill

**Mather, Cotton** (1663–1728) *Puritan minister*

Cotton, the son of INCREASE MATHER, joined him as pastor of the Second (Old North) Church of BOSTON in 1683 and remained there until his death. A child prodigy who graduated from HARVARD COLLEGE at age 15, he was more liberal than his father in favoring the controversial Half-Way Covenant (the baptism of the children of “half-way” church members who had been baptized but had not yet experienced salvation). Otherwise, he shared Increase’s strict religious beliefs: Cotton opposed the right of nearby ministers to veto congregations’ choices of their preachers, and he fought the admission of any person of good character to Communion, as favored by Northampton’s Solomon Stoddard. Mather wrote incessantly. His masterpiece, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, published in 1702, related the history of New England as the work of divinely inspired institutions and men who, like JOHN WINTHROP and his own grandfather JOHN COTTON, ranked equally with biblical figures such as Moses and Nehemiah.

Mather was also involved in politics. A key actor in the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION in MASSACHUSETTS, in 1689 he was among those who imprisoned SIR EDMUND ANDROS, the royally appointed governor general of New England, when he learned that King James II (1685–88) had been overthrown in Britain. He welcomed the new governor, Sir William Phips, to Boston and baptized him. At the same time, Mather staunchly defended the proceedings against the supposed witches at Salem, most famously in his book *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1692), which led many to ridicule him once the crisis passed. Mather’s intense spirituality appears in his diary, in which he claimed to receive visits from angels, predicted the end of the world, and considered such minor ailments as toothaches to have divine importance.

Mather remained active in Massachusetts politics throughout his adult life. He switched allegiance frequently, sometimes opposing and sometimes supporting the governor, before settling down as a partisan of Governor Samuel Shute and Lieutenant Governor William Dummer from 1716 until his death. Two reasons explain this: His father negotiated the new charter under which they served, and a fellow agent and his son, Elisha Cooke, Sr., and Jr., led the opposition that charged that the Mathers had sold their countrymen out by acquiescing to royal government.

Despite his traditional religious ways, Mather was a strong advocate of Newtonian SCIENCE and the method of SMALLPOX inoculation introduced in Boston by Dr. ZABDIEL BOYLSTON in 1721. Mather’s tract *The Angel of Bethesda*, although not published until 1976, showed him at his best, as a learned man, aware that religion and science were compatible and contributed to human “progress.” However, he is still best remembered for his belief in witchcraft and some of the extreme statements in his diary,

which can all too easily be used to make the New England Puritans look ridiculous.

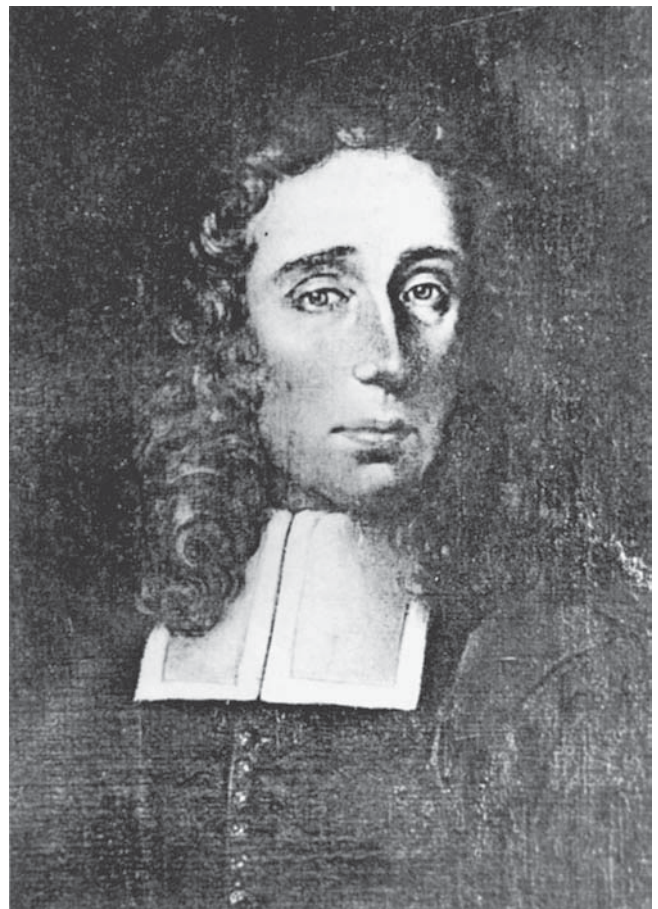
**Further reading:** Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984).

—William Pencak

**Mather, Increase** (1639–1723) *Puritan minister*

Increase Mather was the foremost Puritan minister of his times. Son of another prominent minister, Richard Mather, he received a B.A. from HARVARD COLLEGE in 1656 and then went to England to study, earning an M.A. at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1658. Returning to MASSACHUSETTS in 1661, he married Maria Cotton, daughter of John, the most famous minister of the first generation of PURITANS in New England. Their first son, COTTON MATHER, became in time as influential as his father.

Throughout his life Increase staunchly supported traditional Puritanism, in which the male members of the congregation chose ministers and fellow church members.



Increase Mather (*Library of Congress*)



In the 1660s he opposed the Half-Way Covenant, whose supporters hoped to increase church membership by permitting the children of “half-way” members who had been baptized but had not yet experienced salvation to be baptized themselves. Here he conflicted with his more liberal father, who died during this controversy that plagued Massachusetts for a decade. At its height in 1664, Increase became the pastor of the Old North, or Second, Church of Boston, a position he held until his death 59 years later.

For six decades Mather stuck to his rigorous path, preaching and publishing dozens of books and sermons. He considered the Indian uprising of 1675 (KING PHILIP’S WAR), a Boston fire of 1677, and a SMALLPOX epidemic as divine punishment for the people’s religious laxity. In 1679 he vigorously opposed Northampton’s Solomon Stoddard, who argued that the only way to keep the church alive was to admit those who had not experienced salvation. Mather persuaded a synod of ministers to do likewise. He became president of Harvard College in 1685, reintroducing Greek and Hebrew studies and requiring students to reside at the college and attend their classes. He held this position until 1701, when his political enemies forced him to resign.

Mather began to play an active role in Massachusetts’s politics in the 1680s. He at first staunchly defended the Old Charter of 1629 against the British government, for it, in effect, left Massachusetts completely independent. Upon sailing for England as the province agent in 1688, however, he realized its preservation was impossible. Deftly switching allegiance from King James II (1685–88) to William III (1689–1702) during England’s GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, he was able to obtain a very good deal for Massachusetts: an elected council and a New England sea captain, Sir William Phips, as the first royally appointed governor. However, those of his allies who had remained in New England believed Mather had betrayed them and the Old Charter; throughout the 1690s he defended Phips and his successors, which led to his removal as college president.

Mather changed his political tune and went to the opposition after 1702, when JOSEPH DUDLEY assumed the governorship. He tried to oust this staunch supporter of royal power by supporting charges of corruption against him, but Dudley survived and his enemies faded, given the need to mobilize forces in QUEEN ANNE’S WAR (1702–13). Dudley, like most of the leading ministers in the colony by this time, was more lax on church membership and discipline than was Mather. Dudley wanted the ministers to establish a quasi-Presbyterian government that permitted them to reject pastors chosen by congregations, in general for being too reactionary. Mather successfully fought off this move in 1705. Shortly thereafter he retired from politics, although he continued to write extensively until the

end of his life, urging the inhabitants of Massachusetts to renounce their sinful ways and to revert to their God-given status as a “chosen people.”

**Further reading:** Michael G. Hall, *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1988).

—William Pencak

## Mayflower Compact

The Mayflower Compact was the first governing document of Plymouth colony and an important record for the United States. Passengers aboard the *Mayflower*, known as the PILGRIMS, sailed across the Atlantic in 1620 with a patent to establish a religious settlement in northern VIRGINIA. When they found themselves along the MASSACHUSETTS coast, outside the jurisdiction of Virginia, and unable to go any farther, they realized that any settlement they built would be without any legal authority. Governor WILLIAM BRADFORD wrote that there were soon “discontented and mutinous speeches” from some of the “Strangers” on board the ship, those passengers who were not members of the Separatist Church (the “Saints”). The “Strangers” (mostly members of the Church of England) threatened to “use their own liberty” and go their own way. Bradford realized cooperation was necessary for their common survival.

All the passengers then agreed to form a “civil body politic” that would bind the Separatists and the “Strangers” in a self-governing unit. It was signed by 41 passengers, all the free adult males, in the cabin of the *Mayflower* on November 11 (November 21, new style calendar), 1620, while the ship was anchored in Provincetown Harbor at the tip of Cape Cod. The covenant agreed to was specifically for their “better ordering and preservation.” They agreed to “enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws . . . as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony.” It was a covenant similar to ones used in the Protestant churches of the time providing for those who agreed to the covenant to be bound by “all due submission and obedience.” What the Mayflower Compact created was a secular covenant consented to by its signatories providing for a voluntary government, but one that would still be agreeable to the laws of England.

Many years later Americans believed that the Mayflower Compact was one of the progenitors of American democracy and a forerunner of the idea of self-government as expressed in the U.S. Constitution. However, the compact made on the ship *Mayflower* had only a short life. The Mayflower Compact was superseded by the Patent of 1621, which was sent to the PLYMOUTH colony by John Pierce, one of the merchant adventurers in England who





This painting shows the Pilgrims signing the compact in one of the *Mayflower's* cabins. (Library of Congress)

had helped finance the voyage. The original document of the Mayflower Compact has never been found.

**Further reading:** William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation* (New York: Dover Publications, 2006); James Deetz and Patricia Scott Deetz, *The Times of Their Lives: Life, Love, and Death in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Anchor Books, 2001); George D. Langdon, Jr., *Pilgrim Colony: A History of New Plymouth, 1620–1691* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966).

—Stephen C. O'Neill and Billy G. Smith

## medicine

Medical beliefs and practices were eclectic in colonial North America. Their foundation was the ancient teachings of Hippocrates and Galen, a tradition known as “humoralism” because it explained human health and illness in terms of internal bodily balances and imbalances among the four “humors”: blood (sanguine), phlegm, yellow bile (choler), and black bile (melancholy). Illness was explained as a

result of five types of external cause: invisible, particulate effluvia; contagion (direct physical contact with disease); changes in air temperature; earthquakes, comets and other extraordinary natural phenomena; and divine punishment for sin. Diagnoses according to the Galenic tradition were made on the basis of relations between heat and cold and dryness and moisture in the patient. Treatments (known together as “heroic medicine”) included bleeding, sweating, purges, and emetics of various kinds to restore an equilibrium of the humors.

Other important theories and practices, like “iatrochemistry” (*iatros* is Greek for “physician”), overlapped and combined with Galenic traditions. According to the 16th-century philosopher Paracelsus, illness could be explained by chemical imbalances in human bodily fluids and could therefore be treated by the use of chemical remedies, minerals, and classical botanical drugs. An innovation of the late 17th century, known as “solidism,” located the essential physical imbalance not in bodily fluids but in the body’s solid conducting tubes, like blood vessels and nerves. Solidism laid the basis for the development of theories explaining

illness as the result of excessive or deficient activity in the nervous system. Among elite practitioners there was a direct continuity between European and American physiology, culminating in the centrality of Scottish nervous theory to the program of the first American medical school at the COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA (1765).

Another tradition in colonial medicine was arguably one of the most popular: astrology. English works, imported and reprinted in the colonies, offered advice on how to use astral “sympathies” and “antipathies” to aid healing by performing medical treatments under specific star signs. Anatomical texts served simultaneously as guides to midwifery, sex manuals, and handbooks of astrological physiognomy (the interpretation of facial characteristics). Almanacs, which reached a wide readership, retained astrological advice throughout the 18th century; for many, knowledge of the heavens remained a valuable medical strategy. For example, in the early 1760s Dr. James Greenhill of VIRGINIA noted that one of his patients, an epileptic slave, suffered fits only when the moon was in Capricorn. Greenhill used vomiting, purges, electric shocks, blisters, and internal medicine on his patient in search of a cure. A second striking example of overlapping medical traditions is COTTON MATHER’s support of SMALLPOX inoculation in 1721. Mather evidently saw no inconsistency between championing the cause of inoculation and retaining the moral view that DISEASE was ultimately caused by sin.

The scarcity of physicians and the cost of consulting them meant that the burden of healing often fell to men and women in the home. They treated their families, servants, and slaves; women were particularly important as MIDWIVES. Home healers were largely self-taught, learning from British texts on home medicine and by experience. They bought herbal remedies from apothecaries and also mixed their own. The major remedies included cathartics, diuretics and diaphoretics (to expel foul humors), and tonics (to stimulate the nerves). Other important healers included ministers and their wives. Slaveowners and African-American doctors both treated slaves. NATIVE AMERICANS recognized four main causes of illness—sorcery, spiritual aggression, taboo transgression, and natural causes—and relied on the healing powers of SHAMANS.

Unlike New Spain and New France, British American medical practice lacked centralized organization. As a result, British colonial medicine was probably more individualistic and the traditionally elite CLASS of physicians more open and varied, embracing as it did surgical and apothecarial duties. Decentralization had disadvantages, however. Unlike their Spanish and French counterparts, American physicians were unlicensed, unsalaried, and instead charged fees. Consequently, it was difficult to distinguish legitimate physicians from illegitimate “quacks.”

Moreover, institutions for the care of the sick were slow to emerge. By 1650 Spain and France had established a number of New World hospitals, while British America’s first, the PENNSYLVANIA Hospital, was founded only in 1751.

See also ENVIRONMENT; SCIENCE; YELLOW FEVER.

**Further reading:** Richard Harrison Shryock, *Medicine and Society in America, 1660–1860* (New York: New York University Press, 1960).

—James Delbourgo

## mercantilism

Mercantilism refers to the economic theories followed by western European nations during the American colonial era. This economic theory rationalized the construction of powerful states in western Europe and provided a justification for establishing colonies in the New World.

Mercantilism was an economic system in which trade among nations was seen as a “zero-sum game”—one nation’s gain was another one’s loss. National wealth was measured by the amount of gold and silver bullion a country possessed. If France’s import of British goods increased, for example, then Britain benefited because France had to pay for the balance of trade in precious specie. Thus, not only did increasing exports strengthen a country by adding bullion to the national treasury, it did so at the expense of its trading partner (and occasional adversary). Mercantilism dictated that economic growth and development should be orchestrated by the state. Central governments played a key role in regulating the ECONOMY and seeking to maximize the economic benefits of trade in order to strengthen the nation. Governments also set the prices of certain essential products, like bread, in an effort to minimize economic exploitation of poorer people.

The term *mercantilism* was not used in the 17th and 18th centuries but rather was coined by later generations to better explain the theory that had guided much of the economic development of British America. The first person to define mercantilism was Adam Smith in his pathbreaking book about capitalism, *Inquiry into Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776). As historians John J. McCusker and Russell Menard have argued, “mercantilism was little more than a shared perception among those who controlled northern and western Europe that foreign trade could be made to serve the interests of government—and vice versa.” Nevertheless, the perception was a powerful one.

Mercantilism provided the rationale for establishing colonies because they would produce goods required by the mother country and thereby reduce its dependence on other European nations. Having its own colonial source for the production of raw materials enabled a nation to increase its balance of trade and retain more bullion at

home, making it wealthier and stronger. This is evident in the expansion of sugar and TOBACCO production in Britain's American colonies. During the 17th century the BRITISH EMPIRE became an importer rather than an exporter of both of these valuable products. British officials encouraged the production of commodities that otherwise could not be profitably produced in the colonies; in 1748, for example, Parliament offered a subsidy for the production of INDIGO in SOUTH CAROLINA. By purchasing indigo grown in the British rather than the FRENCH COLONIES, Britain would keep the money in its own empire as well as reduce imports from the French. Colonies also served as markets that would stimulate manufacturing and production in the mother country. Moreover, on both sides of the Atlantic the increase in production would generate job opportunities and perhaps produce a surplus that would be available for export to other nations, further improving the balance of trade and the wealth of the empire.

Britain legislated mercantilist theory into government policy. The Navigation Acts were a series of laws—initially passed in 1651, expanded in 1660, and extended by Parliament in the 18th century—that established guidelines and restrictions for colonial trade. These laws required that trade goods within the British Empire be transported on British ships manned by British MARINERS (which included the American colonists). Moreover, the most valuable colonial products—sugar, tobacco, rice, molasses, and naval stores—could be exported solely to Britain or to other British colonies; American colonists could not ship these items directly to other European nations. Parliament also discouraged the colonial manufacture of finished products, like hats, iron, and woolen goods, and restricted the emission of paper currency in the colonies.

The British colonies benefited from some mercantilist policies, especially from the protection of shipping afforded by the British navy, the restriction of foreign competition, and the easy availability of inexpensive British goods, but Parliament's restrictions on American trade and economic development took a greater toll after 1750, contributing to the rift between Britain and the American colonies that culminated in the War for Independence.

**Further reading:** John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

—Jonathan Mercantini

## merchants

Merchants played a key role in the development of the American colonies because trade was essential to their economic growth and well-being. Merchants operated on scales, from the largest (and wealthiest) who served as factors for the

major British trading firms to small peddlers who traveled through the backcountry providing small necessities to men and women who lived far from towns and cities. Although initially few, the number of merchants increased as the colonies began to produce a surplus. Most merchants who engaged in transatlantic trade lived in the major port cities.

Merchants were expected to be cautious, reliable, and especially trustworthy, because they transacted most of their business on credit and their personal word. The lack of currency and near total absence of bullion in the colonies meant that money changed hands less regularly than in Europe; goods and services were more often bartered or purchased with bills of exchange. Merchants also served as the chief monetary lenders in many communities. Thus, they often functioned like bankers, at the center of a sizable network of both credit and debt. Merchants frequently used their considerable economic resources to wield political power as well, and they were well represented in most colonial assemblies.

Merchants served as a crucial link between NATIVE AMERICANS, the colonists, and European markets. Many of the earliest merchants made their livelihood from trade with Indians. They exchanged metal tools, blankets, firearms, and ALCOHOL for furs and animal skins prized in Europe. Other merchants were involved in exporting the colonies' staple goods, such as rice, TOBACCO, wheat, INDIGO, and naval stores.

Among the wealthiest American merchants were those involved in the SLAVE TRADE. In SOUTH CAROLINA men like Henry Laurens made their fortunes by importing slaves. Laurens used his wealth to become one of the colony's largest landholders, a member of the South Carolina legislature, and, later, president of the Continental Congress during America's War of Independence.

Less wealthy merchants followed settlers into the backcountry, providing necessary goods like gunpowder, iron nails, tools, and rum that could not be easily produced in homes. Even tiny settlements usually contained a small store to provide farm families with essentials in exchange for their surplus produce. For small merchants in particular, women were an essential market, and women occasionally functioned as merchants and storeowners as well.

**Further reading:** Bernard Bailyn, *New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980).

—Jonathan Mercantini

## Metacom (King Philip, Metacomet)

(ca. 1642–1676) *leader in King Philip's War*

Metacom was the youngest son of MASSASOIT, leader of the most powerful Indian group in the area around





Wampanoag chief Metacom (Library of Congress)

PLYMOUTH, the Wampanoag. Metacom was also known as King Philip, a name the English bestowed on him and that he readily accepted. When Massasoit died in 1662, his eldest son, Wamsutta, assumed the leadership of the tribe, but he died later that year, making Metacom the new leader. Like his father, Metacom tried to maintain close and peaceful relations with the Plymouth colonists. One of his first acts as leader in 1662 was to renew the Wampanoag's covenant with the colony, but a growing British population and the resulting pressures on Native lands made keeping peace increasingly difficult. The 1667 settlement of Swansea on Wampanoag land increased tensions. Worsening matters, the English feared that Metacom was planning a general Indian uprising. In 1667 and 1671 Plymouth summoned him before its general court to confront him about his plans. On both occasions Metacom denied preparing for war, but the colony nevertheless charged him with humiliating fines and confiscated some of his followers' weapons. As the colonists pressed him to submit to their authority, Metacom nevertheless renewed oaths of loyalty to the colony.

Not only the English, but other Indians, especially those who had converted to Christianity, began to challenge Metacom's authority. In particular, John Sassamon, a Christian Indian from MASSACHUSETTS who had once served as Metacom's secretary, attempted to establish a ministry within Plymouth. Soon thereafter, Sassamon was found dead in a pond. Plymouth tried and executed three of Philip's followers for the murder of Sassamon. It is unknown if Philip had a role in Sassamon's murder, or even if Sassamon was murdered rather than accidentally drowned. Whatever the case, the resulting executions prompted some Wampanoag to attack Plymouth settlements in 1675, beginning what has come to be known as KING PHILIP'S WAR.

Metacom's role in the war that bears his name is unclear. Nevertheless, he was a marked man. Philip and the Wampanoag fled Plymouth, pursued by British forces. The war expanded to include most, if not all, English and Indian groups within New England, and the conflict involved one of the first widespread alliances among many Indians groups against the colonists. The Wampanoag and their allies enjoyed dramatic success for several months. Beginning in spring 1676, however, the English and their Indian allies turned the tide in their favor and began a campaign of mopping up the remnants of a listless enemy. On August 12, 1676, an Indian fighting for the English managed to kill Metacom near his home in Plymouth. The English posthumously carried out the punishment reserved for traitors by quartering and beheading Metacom's body and mounting his head on a stake. The English also managed to capture Metacom's wife and son. The fate of his wife is uncertain; like many Native American captives, his son was sold into Caribbean slavery.

**Further reading:** James D. Drake, *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675–1676* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); Douglas Edward Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War* (New York: Macmillan, 1958).

—James D. Drake

## **métis**

In the 17th and 18th centuries *métis* referred to people of mixed French and Indian ancestry. The children of English colonists and NATIVE AMERICANS were generally known as “half-breeds,” while those of Spanish and Indian parents were called “mestizos.” Because *half-breed* has come to be considered a derogatory term, scholars now use *métis* to refer to any people of mixed Indian and white ancestry.

Métis people most commonly resided in areas of the French FUR TRADE along the St. Lawrence and Mississippi-



Missouri waterways, where sexual unions between Indian and French peoples offered benefits to both groups. In general, the French, more interested in trade than in the conquest and acquisition of land, used unions with Native peoples to integrate into Native societies. Marrying into an Indian community and establishing local ties helped the French (most often men) to be effective traders. Indian women, on the other hand, may have found marriage to French traders attractive because it gave them, as the source of European goods, higher status and more options within their own communities.

Métis peoples—the offspring of these European-Indian unions—played a special role in fur-trading communities, acting as cultural go-betweens for white and Indian worlds. European traders, for example, found métis women to be particularly attractive marriage partners, as they had knowledge of languages and cultures that could help European men interact with Native societies. Métis men and women who lived within their Native tribes, on the other hand, often became an important, and sometimes divisive, political force within their communities, because generally they were more accepting of European ECONOMY and culture than were Indians who emphasized maintaining traditional ways.

While some métis benefited from their status, it often led to hardship. Some métis, most often men, attained positions of power and even wealth due to their connections in both white and Indian communities. More often, however, the métis were distrusted by both Europeans and Indians, marginalized in Native communities and overlooked by white governments. Some métis lived in communities of their own, developing their own ART, customs, and even linguistic dialects, such as Mischif, spoken today in North Dakota. Many became quite impoverished, and their 20th-century descendants often refer to themselves as “landless Indians.”

The size of the métis population, from the 17th century until today, is difficult to measure. Métis communities have always tended to be relatively isolated, and their peoples can identify themselves (or be identified) as either white or Indian rather than métis. There likely were many more people of mixed ancestry than are generally recognized, but they found it to their advantage to join either white or Indian communities in order to gain “safety in numbers” and greater acceptance.

See also MONTOUR, ANDREW; MONTOUR, MADAME; MUSGROVE, MARY BOSOMWORTH.

**Further reading:** Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds. *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

—Jenny Turner

### **Miantonomo** (1600?–1643) *sachem*

Miantonomo led the NARRAGANSETT, a group of Indians living in what is now RHODE ISLAND, during the early years of English colonization. Like most SACHEMS in New England, Miantonomo's power hinged largely on consensus and persuasion. He had to demonstrate an ability to cope with the changes wrought by colonization. With his uncle CANONICUS, Miantonomo skillfully helped the Narragansett become an economic power. The Narragansett benefited from their access to the shells needed to make WAMPUM, strings of beads viewed as sacred and valued throughout the Northeast as a form of currency in the FUR TRADE. They also avoided a major epidemic that devastated NATIVE AMERICANS in southern New England from 1616 to 1619.

The most immediate challenge to Narragansett power was the neighboring PEQUOT's involvement in the wampum trade with the Dutch. Partially in an effort to counter Pequot power, Miantonomo agreed to ROGER WILLIAMS's settlement in what became Rhode Island. Under Miantonomo's leadership the Narragansett allied with the English in the PEQUOT WAR, although they were horrified by the war's carnage.

In the long run these strategies proved inadequate. Although the Narragansett still vastly outnumbered English settlers in the early 1640s, the English presence threatened Narragansett subsistence. In a 1642 speech to the leaders of the Wyandanch and Montauk Indians of Long Island, Miantonomo lamented the environmental changes caused by the English, raising the prospect of pan-Indian military action against them.

Word of Miantonomo's plan leaked to the English, and they summoned him to BOSTON, forcing him to sign a treaty. The next year Mohegan attacked the Narragansett and captured Miantonomo, sending him to Boston to be tried for the murder of an Indian he had allegedly hired to assassinate the Mohegan leader, Uncas. The colony found him guilty and returned him to the Mohegan, who executed him.

**Further reading:** Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

—James D. Drake

### **Middleton, Arthur** (1681–1737) *government official, businessperson*

Arthur Middleton's family fled Barbados in the wake of slave revolts, establishing themselves outside CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, on a 1,680-acre tract, a plantation enlarged by a further purchase of 3,130 acres from Middleton's uncle. On his father's death in 1685, Middleton inherited the plantation, named “The Oaks,” and its large workforce of

slaves, some of whom were NATIVE AMERICANS. Using the knowledge of the African slaves, Middleton turned to rice cultivation and had made the plantation profitable by 1699. An ambitious young man, he traveled to London in 1710 to petition the Board of Trade on behalf of South Carolina and, returning, joined the governing council, only to lead the opposition to proprietary government in 1719.

Under the Crown-appointed governor Middleton remained active on the council, pushing for a middle ground in the currency dispute that would allow limited local currency with protections against depreciation. In 1725, when Governor William Nicholson returned to England, Middleton became acting governor. His tenure of office was marred by charges of selling offices and by an economic depression in 1727 caused by the currency problems and the end of naval store bounties. Faced with an assembly unwilling to pass a tax bill without currency reform, a tax revolt led by small farmers, and Thomas Smith (who claimed that his seniority in age entitled him to the acting governorship), Middleton called on British ships and troops to keep order. Taking advantage of the crisis, the Yamasee and Creek attacked the colony. Middleton then crossed party lines to appoint his political rival, Colonel John Parker, to lead the colony's forces. Parker defeated the tribes, won a lasting peace treaty, and discredited the Spanish with their Native American allies, a point of particular concern to Middleton and other influential slave owners because their slaves frequently sought asylum in Spanish ST. AUGUSTINE. On the death of William Nicholson in 1728, the Privy Council in London named former governor Robert Johnson to replace Middleton, who retired to his estates upon Johnson's arrival in 1730 and died in 1737.

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—Margaret Sankey

## midwives

Midwifery was a highly valued woman's profession in a time when approximately one in five women and one in 10 newborns died from causes associated with childbirth. The cycle of pregnancy, birth, and nursing was an integral part of most women's lives from their late teens to menopause, and the birth process was an important ritual during which women shared knowledge and spiritual closeness. The midwife cared for a woman's medical and spiritual needs while presiding over labor and birth aided by a gathered group. Women gave birth while supported on other women's arms or seated on the midwife's low, open-seated stool.

Midwives learned through apprenticeships and their own birth experiences and practiced herbal MEDICINE. A

skilled midwife was able to turn a fetus in utero and facilitate a breech birth as well as attend to problems with a newborn. She was often responsible for baptizing babies as well as burying stillborns. Her reputation rested on the exceptional birth experiences she attended. Many of the women accused of WITCHCRAFT in New England were midwives or healers suspected of affecting either curses or good fortunes on births. ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON, whose activities threatened the male-dominated Puritan structure in early BOSTON, was a noted midwife and spiritual teacher. Native American and slave women also gave birth with the assistance of women healers or SHAMANS. Black midwives were called "grannies" and delivered babies for slave women as well as the wives of plantation owners.

Over the course of the 17th century, the Church of England tried to regulate midwifery. Scientific knowledge of birthing increased and "man-midwives" began to enter the profession, albeit sporadically, in the first part of the 18th century. The establishment in 1766 of North America's first medical school encouraged the "professionalization" of childbirth practices. Affluent women increasingly chose physicians with obstetric tools to manage their births, hoping for easier and safer deliveries; midwives eventually became associated with the lower classes. The result was a gradual move away from childbirth as a social ritual controlled by women to an interventive medical process dominated by men.

See also FERTILITY.

**Further reading:** Judith Pence Rooks, *Midwifery and Childbirth in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997); Paula A. Treckel, *To Comfort the Heart: Women in Seventeenth-Century America* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996).

—Deborah C. Taylor and Paul A. Sivitz

## mills

Mills were among the first buildings constructed in colonial North America and became the foundation for mechanical and industrial development. Sawmills were required to cut the lumber necessary for houses, barns, and stores and to produce an important commodity for foreign trade. Sawmills appeared in NEW YORK and MASSACHUSETTS by 1633, RHODE ISLAND by 1639, CONNECTICUT by 1654, NEW HAMPSHIRE by 1659, and PENNSYLVANIA by 1662. In 1671 New Hampshire alone shipped 20,000 tons of boards and exported 10 shiploads of masts. Meanwhile, gristmills were needed to grind grain into flour to feed settlers. Although saw and flour mills were the most widespread types, paper, oil, and fulling mills also dotted the rivers of North America. A fulling mill operated in Roxbury,

Massachusetts, as early as 1657, and by 1700 at least 17 more compacted material into uniform cloth. VIRGINIA's first fulling mill was built in 1692, and one appeared in Pennsylvania in 1698. These mills paved the way for the expansion of textile manufacturing in the 19th century.

Powered by water, mills were among the greatest technologies in the early modern world. Waterfalls provided ideal locations for mills, but in places where falls did not exist, millers used dams and races to create the necessary power. A race paralleled the river bank like a canal, about 10 feet wide and nearly as deep. It created power by descending at a slightly shallower angle than the river itself, which over a distance raised the surface of the water in the race higher than that of the river. A mill was placed at the spot where the vertical difference between the race and the river was large enough to turn a waterwheel. Millers improved their waterpower by using dams to ensure a more constant flow of water into the race, which pooled an important supply of reserve water that helped to limit the impact of droughts and floods. Most dams were shallow, constructed from wooden planks and stones. Wooden gates were placed at the dam and above the waterwheel to control the level and quantity of water. These water systems—a dam, a race, and a waterwheel—required considerable initial capital investment by developers and depended on the expertise of ARTISANS and the brawn of laborers to build them.

Although saw, oil, fulling, and paper mills were commercial enterprises, nearly half of flour mills worked mostly on custom for local neighborhoods. Custom flour millers ground grain for local farmers for a toll, often paid by an exchange of goods or services. Flour millers operated on a larger scale in the “bread colonies” of the mid-Atlantic region as many merchant mills manufactured flour not only for consumers in cities such as PHILADELPHIA, BOSTON, and CHARLESTON but also for export, especially to the West Indies to feed slaves and planters. Around 1750 a combination of political upheaval and crop failures in southern Europe opened up new markets for mid-Atlantic grain farmers and flour producers. This expansion in trade led to several important developments in milling, encouraging millers not only to produce more flour but also to seek better ways of manufacturing it.

Among the most important improvements made in milling around the mid-18th century were the importation of French millstones and Dutch bolting cloth. Before the French burr stone, the “cullin” stone quarried near Cologne, Germany, had been the most popular. The fresh-water quartz quarried in the Marne Valley in northern France was found only in small pieces, called “burrs,” that were assembled into a single millstone, usually after shipment. Less abrasive than other stones, French burr stones produced the whitest flour, which fetched the highest



Water mills like this one were often used to grind corn kernels into grist for cornmeal. (*Library of Congress*)

market price. Improvements in bolting cloth also helped millers to make finer flour. Until the introduction of silk by Dutch MERCHANTS, bolting cloth had been made with wool, linen, and even horsehair. The standard quality of silk cloth allowed millers to regulate more closely the grades of flour they produced. When flour markets expanded around 1750, millers in the Middle Colonies gained a competitive edge by capitalizing on these improvements, their natural advantages, and their abundant wheat supply.

All types of mills served as important points of exchange in colonial communities. They provided goods, services, and employment opportunities for a combination of wage laborers, servants, and slaves. They also functioned as meeting places and cultural centers. The operator of a sawmill or a gristmill brokered information along with lumber and flour. Mills thus stood at the intersection of colonial life and economic development.

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—Brooke Hunter

**Minuit, Peter** (1580–1638) *Dutch colonial governor*  
Peter Minuit's career as a mercenary and adventurer is a clear example of the transnational character of early European EXPLORATION and settlement. Born of French Protestant parents in a German principality in 1590, Minuit eventually worked for both Dutch and Swedish exploration companies. In 1626 the 36-year-old Minuit arrived in the fledgling Dutch colony of NEW NETHERLAND when that



colony's commander was under house arrest. Shortly thereafter, Minuit assumed the leadership of New Netherland's 300 colonists, split equally between Dutch- and French-speaking people.

Minuit found daunting challenges when he came to power, including deplorable conditions on Manhattan island, disarray in the company's account books, deteriorating relations with the area's Native population, and low morale among the European colonists, many of whom wanted to return home. Minuit began by consolidating the Dutch settlement. In the spring of 1626 Minuit bought Manhattan island from local Indians for 60 guilders in trade goods while he moved the tiny settlements from the banks of the CONNECTICUT and DELAWARE Rivers to Manhattan. His building program for this influx of new workers resulted, in the fall of 1626, in 30 log houses, a new blockhouse surrounded by palisades of wood and sod, a solid stone counting house thatched with reed, and a mill whose second level accommodated church services. During Minuit's tenure this tiny European enclave was second in size only to the English settlement of PLYMOUTH in New England.

Beyond basic survival, Minuit's main concern was to send profits back to the DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY, whose board was split over whether to continue sending settlers to New Netherland or to limit Dutch interest in North America to a series of trading posts like that of Fort Orange on the Hudson. Minuit worked tirelessly to promote economic development, even extending feelers to the English colony of Plymouth. In 1630 Minuit extended his base on Manhattan by purchasing another island from the area's Native people for "some duffels, kettles, axes, hoes, wampum, drilling awls, jew's harps and divers other small wares." The new acquisition was named Staten Island in honor of the governing body of the Netherlands. Minuit ruled in a continually precarious situation as disgruntled settlers clamored to go home and as authorities in Europe devised various ill-fated land schemes (patroonships) to promote private investment. Although Minuit's colony sent approximately 63,000 animal pelts home, this windfall may not have been enough to cover the enormous costs of settlement.

In 1631 the company recalled Minuit, who had to defend himself against charges of extravagance and



Dutch colonial officer Peter Minuit purchased Manhattan Island from the local Indians for trinkets valued at \$24. (Hulton/Archive)



mismanagement. Despite such disgrace, Minuit managed to interest Swedish investors in the New World. He cofounded the Swedish West India Company and in 1638 led an expedition to a site near present-day Wilmington, Delaware. Having settled 50 colonists on land claimed by his former Dutch employers, Minuit headed south to the CARIBBEAN, where he perished in a hurricane off the island of St. Christopher.

**Further reading:** Oliver A. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (Ithaca: N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986).

—Judy VanBuskirk

### miscegenation

The definition of miscegenation (racial mixing) encompasses all races and includes a broad range of intimate contact. Although the term had not yet entered European lexicons (the word was invented in 1863), miscegenation played a key role in the development of the early Americas. Beginning with Christopher Columbus's crew, the Spanish engaged in sexual relations with Native American women. As these treasure hunters sought gold to satisfy their material desires, they discovered indigenous women to satiate their physical desires. When such conquests produced progeny, conquistadores identified them as mestizos. Imported African women also provided suitable sexual outlets in the CARIBBEAN. Spaniards applied the label *mustee* to designate the children of indigenous and African heritage, and they called their Iberian-African offspring MULATTOES, then a Spanish word for mule. Although never correcting the pejorative term, Spaniards later recognized *mulatto* as a misnomer, as successive generations of mulattoes proved that, unlike mules, they could reproduce. Throughout Spain's colonial dominion Spaniards, indigenous peoples, Africans, mestizos, mustees, and mulattoes continued to mingle sexually, creating a heterogeneous cultural and racial milieu.

Most historians perceive the blurred racial boundaries in the Caribbean Basin as evidence suggesting that Spanish colonizers harbored a more liberal attitude toward miscegenation than did their English counterparts. This generalization, however, can imply that racial ideologies were rooted primarily in ethnic or national origin, and it obscures the various patterns of demographic and economic development in the various American colonies. Still, almost all British colonies gradually erected legal obstructions to prevent miscegenation. Even in the northern colonies, where SLAVERY affected a considerably smaller number of people than in the southern colonies, legislators attempted to curb racial mixing. In 1726, for example, PENNSYLVANIA enacted legislation prohibiting all interracial unions, but

officials found creating the law much easier than enforcing it. Despite the prohibition, observers often recalled the sight of an interracial couple walking arm-in-arm through the streets of PHILADELPHIA.

Miscegenation proved even more problematic for the TOBACCO colonies of VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, and NORTH CAROLINA. The first generation of settlers of this region often accepted racial mixing between Europeans and NATIVE AMERICANS, in part because white women were so few in number. Before deciding on a policy of Indian eradication, for example, the men of JAMESTOWN occasionally forged loving bonds with women of the POWHATAN CONFEDERACY, and, unlike the legendary marriage of POCAHONTAS and JOHN ROLFE, these relationships were not primarily political arrangements.

Initially, few settlers of these upper southern colonies expressed apprehension about mixing sexually with Africans and their African-American descendants. Rather quickly, however, miscegenation began to involve discussions of not only race but also CLASS in the tobacco colonies. After the introduction of slavery in 1619, slaves and indentured servants worked together in the tobacco fields during the day and sometimes frolicked together in their beds at night. Usually performing menial or labor-intensive tasks, indentured servants constituted the bulk of the Upper South's white population until 1675. These white conscripts had more in common with slaves than with masters, and they sometimes chose their lovers from the pool of black laborers who could sympathize with their plight. In addition, wealthy white men frequently claimed the attention of the few European women in the area.

As unions between servants and slaves increased, the rulers of the tobacco colonies recognized the precariousness of their hierarchical structure and moved inexorably toward proscribing miscegenation. Deemed "fornication," the first laws prohibiting miscegenation in the tobacco colonies had no standard format: Some restrictions applied to white people only, others applied to both races; some violators paid public penance for their offenses, others felt the sting of the lash. The growth of the mulatto class—evidently the most disturbing manifestation of interracial sex—encouraged the 1662 Virginia assembly to outlaw miscegenation and to relegate mulattoes to an inferior status. Because a majority of mulattoes had white fathers, the legislators reversed an age-old English tradition and began associating the status of children by their mother rather than their father. From that point forward, mulatto children born as slaves usually remained in bondage throughout their lives.

Often beyond the geographic and customary reach of the assembly lived the tobacco planters. Perhaps more frequently than historians can discern, white masters in the Upper South engaged in sexual dalliances with enslaved females. Most relationships undoubtedly were nonconsensual. Although

hardly the retainers of absolute power, many planters claimed sexual rights to their slaves and exercised this privilege. Far fewer relationships resulted from mutual affection, but the children of such a bond occasionally enjoyed manumission and an inheritance of land and slaves.

The mulattoes in SOUTH CAROLINA gained freedom more frequently and easily than mulattoes in the CHESAPEAKE BAY region, although it was still a rare occurrence. Indeed, compared to the tobacco farmers of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, white people in the rice and INDIGO cultures of the Low Country maintained a liberal attitude toward miscegenation throughout the colonial period. The first settlers of South Carolina migrated from the island of Barbados, where the scarcity of white women had aided in creating a tradition of miscegenation. The sugar magnates who sailed to South Carolina in the 1670s carried with them an acceptance of interracial sex, and although later migrants hoped to curb “sexual congress” between the races, they hardly threatened traditional practices. White and black people continued to bed in private quarters and cavort in public spaces. Hundreds of mulattoes soon peopled CHARLESTON; thousands more populated the lowland plantations. Overwhelmed by the black majority, planters perceived mulattoes as intermediaries: neither white nor black, but a distinct class deserving of certain rights and privileges.

A similar, albeit significantly larger, class of mulattoes lived in French LOUISIANA. Even more than South Carolina, Louisiana attracted white people from colonies where miscegenation had been widely accepted. French migrants from Senegal and Haiti settled throughout southern Louisiana, bringing with them slaves ranging in hue from black to visibly white. Whites, blacks, and mulattoes continued to mix in the colony, and a distinctive and complex racial system developed. Colonial records abound with six terms designating specific racial categories: *Negro* applied to one with full African heritage; *sacatra*,  $\frac{7}{8}$  Negro; *griffe*,  $\frac{3}{4}$  Negro; *mulatto*,  $\frac{1}{2}$  Negro; *quadroon*,  $\frac{1}{4}$  Negro; *octroon*,  $\frac{1}{8}$  Negro. Although the degree of advantage or degradation sometimes depended on this system of classification, thousands of these people formed the *gens de couleur libre*, the “free people of color.” White planters sometimes freed their own sons and daughters, and these manumitted people enjoyed a privileged status unlike biracial persons in any other colony.

See also CREOLE.

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—C. B. Waldrip

## missions

Situated along Spain's frontiers in the Americas, the Catholic missions served as crucial civil, military, and religious institutions within the empire. Beginning in the late 16th century, they worked in conjunction with the presidios and military colonies to form the first line of imperial defense in areas that remained mostly outside of European control. Most often established in regions with little mineral wealth and separated by long distances from the centers of colonial life, many missions would fail, others would struggle to survive year in and out, but a few would prosper, bringing considerable wealth to the orders under whose tutelage they were founded.

The clergy who made their homes in these settlements were charged with a series of daunting tasks. They were to relocate indigenous populations into their orbit, creating self-contained Christian settlements that could be used to control local populations and spread the Christian gospel. They were also given the right to demand labor, tribute, and taxes, which would be used to make the missions a buffer to the more “barbarous” groups that remained outside Spanish control. The missions were also charged with teaching artisanal skills, animal husbandry, and AGRICULTURE to the local indigenous populations. Together, it was hoped, these activities would “Hispanize” these new colonial subjects. Individual missions also often held vast land grants and worked the land with indigenous labor, both for the CONSUMPTION needs of the friars and as money-making enterprises that would supply other regions with foodstuffs and consumer goods.

The missions sometimes thrived when established among already densely settled peasant populations, where sedentary agriculturalists had little means of relocating and reproducing their communities elsewhere. This was the case among Pueblo, Pima, and Opata in modern-day Sonora, Arizona, NEW MEXICO, and Texas. The Pueblo in particular were restricted by conflicts with their neighbors, making widespread flight very difficult. However, the most successful missions were the Jesuit settlements established in the region around modern Paraguay. The JESUITS founded 11 missions in Paraguay, seven in Brazil, and 13 in Argentina, with some having as many as 1,000 families at their peak. Enjoying considerable agricultural surpluses, many of these missions were quite profitable.

On the other hand, in most regions the missions struggled to function effectively during the three centuries of Spanish colonialism. Finding flight easy and actively hostile to the imperial system that the missions represented, many less sedentary indigenous cultures—the Apache and Comanche of Texas and Arizona, the population of the Gran Chichimeca of Mexico, and the Araucanians of Chile—ultimately ignored, abandoned, or attacked these colonial institutions.

These acts of resistance were common because the missions often created a difficult life for those indigenous peoples who relocated to within their orbits. The friars were typically authoritarian and responded to perceived transgressions with corporal punishment and use of the stocks. Torture was not unknown as punishment in the missions. These practices also contributed to the low birthrate among the Indians in the missions, which meant that constant recruitment (often forcible) was needed to keep these institutions functioning. Such practices ultimately came to haunt some of the missions, as in the Franciscan settlements in New Mexico. In 1680, in the PUEBLO REVOLT, PUEBLO Indians rose up against the missions in the area, killing 21 of the region's 33 Franciscans and driving the Spanish out of the region for 12 years.

As in New Mexico, in much of the empire Franciscans and Jesuits, typically European in origin and often European-born, acted as the principal missionaries. By the 18th century Franciscans established missions as far north as FLORIDA and GEORGIA, and for much of the colonial period the Jesuits exercised exclusive control of California, where the missions acted as the only sources of imperial authority. As the Catholic Church in Latin America became increasingly corrupt during the 17th and 18th centuries, these missions remained one of the few aggressive sites of evangelization.

They also became increasingly central to imperial defense. In response to the threats from both migrating indigenous peoples and competition from other European powers, the Crown expanded the number of missions along the northern frontier. By the mid-18th century 125 Franciscan friars worked in northern missions in Texas, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and New Mexico. These numbers expanded significantly after 1767, when the Jesuits were expelled from the empire and Franciscans took over the responsibility for regions they had formerly controlled. Moving in rapidly, Franciscan missionaries established the missions in San Diego in 1769 and San Francisco in 1776 and assumed control over other Jesuit settlements.

**Further reading:** David Block, *Mission Culture on the Upper Amazon: Native Tradition, Jesuit Enterprise, and Secular Policy in Moxos, 1660–1880* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

—Alexander Dawson

**Mittelberger, Gottlieb** (1715–1779?) writer

Gottlieb Mittelberger's 1756 work *Journey to the Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Pennsylvania in 1754* publicized the horrors of the trade in German immigrant indentured servants in the 18th century. Mittelberger, a native of Württemberg in southwestern

Germany, immigrated to PENNSYLVANIA in 1750 and worked as an organist and schoolteacher in a Lutheran church run by HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG. He returned to Germany in 1754, where he penned his treatise for a German audience. Mittelberger cautioned his compatriots to "carefully avoid this long and difficult voyage and the misfortunes connected with it." He saved his most venomous words for the Newlanders—the middlemen who earned commissions by finding Germans who would migrate to North America and sell themselves as servants to pay for the passage. Mittelberger railed against these "thieves of human beings" and "man-stealing" representatives of the "commerce in human beings." He also described the costs of the journey to the New World and the filthy conditions migrants endured during the passage. If they survived this arduous journey, an unpleasant fate of hard LABOR awaited those who were sold into INDENTURED SERVITUDE. "However hard one may have had to work in his native land, conditions are bound to be equally tough or even tougher in the new country," he observed.

Mittelberger is best remembered for his indictment of the conditions German migrants experienced, but ironically his work also contained a positive description of life in Pennsylvania. Although he condemned the religious and moral chaos that resulted "from the excessive freedom in that country," he noted that people were "amply fed," that "all trades and professions bring in good money," and that it was "possible to obtain all the things one can get in Europe in Pennsylvania." His description of Pennsylvania's natural ENVIRONMENT, its culture and legal traditions, and the area's NATIVE AMERICANS was widely read in Europe and incorporated into other works on the topic. The *Journey to Pennsylvania* was Mittelberger's only published writing; he lived out his days quietly in his homeland. Although his scathing record of the immigrant trade left a lasting impact in historical memory, it had little contemporary effect, as the SEVEN YEARS' WAR interrupted the large-scale migration of Germans at the time the book was published, and that migratory stream never again reached the levels it had during the early 1750s.

See also GERMAN IMMIGRANTS.

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—Katherine Carté Engel

**mobs** See CROWD ACTIONS.

## monarchy, British

Kings and queens ruled England and Scotland during the British American colonial period.

### *Tudor Monarchs*

The first British monarch to sponsor **EXPLORATION** of the New World was the first Tudor king, Henry VII. In 1497 John Cabot received Henry's support for his voyage across the Atlantic and his exploration of the northern coastline. Henry VIII continued his father's policy of consolidation of the monarch's power, which helped expand Britain into an empire. Henry's wars against Spain greatly strengthened the British navy and thus the **SHIPBUILDING** industry necessary for overseas expansion. Henry VIII was also responsible for England's break with the Roman Catholic Church and the founding of the Church of England. This royal act helped fuel the rise of **PROTESTANTISM** that would send so many thousands of religious dissenters to the New World.

In 1558 Elizabeth I (1558–1603) was crowned queen. The wars against Spain continued under her rule, as did the building up of the navy and the British defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. In 1578 she granted Sir Humphrey Gilbert the first royal charter to settle an American colony. When Gilbert failed to establish a colony in Newfoundland, Elizabeth offered a royal charter to Sir Walter Raleigh. This led to the founding of **VIRGINIA** (named for Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen") and the settlement of Roanoke. This colony was established in 1585, evacuated in 1586, and resettled in 1587. By 1590, however, Roanoke had mysteriously vanished; no one has established what became of the colonists. Elizabeth also sponsored the voyage around the world of Sir Francis Drake (1577–80), which attracted enormous attention when he returned with a cargo worth a fortune.

### *Stuart Monarchs*

James I (1601–25) granted a charter to the **VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON**. His reign oversaw the beginning of successful British colonization of North America with the founding of **JAMESTOWN** in 1607. Partly to help the Virginia Company investors and partly for the revenue from import duties, James made it illegal to grow **TOBACCO** in England; by granting North America a monopoly on tobacco sales, he helped establish the colonial **ECONOMY** on a firm footing. In 1624, after the colony floundered, James revoked the charter and took personal control over the colony.

The great westward flow of **PURITANS** to North America began in the 1630s under the reign of the strict Catholic Charles I (1625–49). When Charles recalled Parliament in 1640, Puritan migration declined, but Charles was out of temper with his times and could not lead the country effectively. He was executed by the Puritan opposition in

1649. The British monarchy came to a temporary end with the king's death; the interregnum lasted until 1660. Many royalists fled Britain and settled in Virginia during the rule of the Puritan commoner Oliver Cromwell.

The monarchy was restored in 1660 in the person of the easygoing, permissive Charles II (1660–85). As a result of his anti-Dutch policies, the English seized the Dutch colony of **NEW AMSTERDAM** in 1664. In 1681 Charles granted **WILLIAM PENN** the land that would become **PENNSYLVANIA**. Charles immediately insisted on strict enforcement of the Navigation Act of 1651, attempting to bring efficiency and control to the badly mismanaged colonial system of trade. Further Navigation Acts were passed in 1663. Charles unwittingly sowed some of the seeds of the American Revolution when he granted self-governing charters to **RHODE ISLAND** and **CONNECTICUT**. In 1685, the final year of Charles's reign, **MASSACHUSETTS**'s charter was revoked for noncompliance with the Navigation Acts. This combination of self-government and nonenforcement of the Navigation Acts accustomed the colonists to certain freedoms and explains the colonial outrage when later monarchs tried to achieve greater control over their unruly dominions.

James II (1685–88) abolished the local colonial assemblies and consolidated them into the **DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND**. In 1689 the **GLORIOUS REVOLUTION** brought William III and Mary (1689–1702) to the throne. William restored the individual colonial governments, although most of them reverted to royal control in a 1696 reorganization. **KING WILLIAM'S WAR**, beginning in 1689, marked the beginning of the North American conflict between the British and French colonists. The British and their **IROQUOIS** allies attacked Montreal. The French and their Indian allies attacked towns in **NEW YORK**, **NEW HAMPSHIRE**, and **MAINE**. The war soon faded into a series of border skirmishes.

Queen Anne (1702–14) declared war on France in 1702. British colonists in the South attacked Spanish **MISSIONS** in **FLORIDA** to prevent the French from conquering them, and northern colonies attacked the French settlements in Canada. The war ended in 1713 with Britain the victor. Meanwhile, in 1707 the Act of Union unified Scotland and England into Great Britain.

### *Hanoverian Monarchs*

During the reigns of George I (1714–27) and George II (1727–60) the British government was largely controlled by Parliament and the Whigs. George III, however, was not content to be a figurehead. His insistence on wielding the full power of a monarch meant constant tussles with Parliament. George III made heavy-handed attempts to govern the colonies; he acquired the reputation of a threat to American liberties. Thanks in part to Thomas Paine's



*Common Sense*, George III became the focus of the colonists' grievances against England.

**Further reading:** T. O. Lloyd, *The British Empire 1558–1983* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

—Stephanie Muntone

**Monckton, Robert** (1726?–1782) *soldier, government official*

A leading figure in the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, Robert Monckton achieved considerable military success. He later served as the nonresident governor of NEW YORK.

Colonel Monckton's first success in the war was the conquest of Acadia. In 1755 he captured Fort Beauséjour while a subordinate took Fort Gaspereau. With their fall all of Nova Scotia was in English hands, and Louisbourg, the great French base on Cape Breton Island, was cut off from land communications with the rest of New France. Monckton later participated in the eviction and dispersal of the French ACADIANS following their refusal to swear loyalty to Britain. Tragically, a great many of the 6,500 deportees died on transport ships as they were dispersed among other colonies.

Monckton was also not beloved by British colonists. He recruited 2,000 of them to serve in the Acadian campaign, but his colonial subordinates later accused him of attempting to deny their troops credit and even of personally humiliating colonial officers. This animosity belonged to a larger pattern of distrust and resentment between British regulars and colonials, as even George Washington felt slighted by British officers during the Seven Years' War.

Brigadier General Monckton served as second in command of the 1759 Quebec expedition under General JAMES WOLFE. During the campaign Monckton captured Point Lévis, a bluff across the Saint Lawrence River from Quebec, from which English artillery could batter the city and fortifications. Monckton had a falling out with Wolfe and was not consulted in Wolfe's decision to land troops north of the city, although Monckton and his fellow brigadiers had advocated such a course. Following Wolfe's mortal wounding, Monckton would have assumed command, except he himself was also shot. After his recovery Major General Monckton led troops in the CARIBBEAN, capturing Martinique after a tough fight and participating in the seizure of Havana, among the final actions of the war.

See also FORTS; WAR AND WARFARE.

**Further reading:** Fred Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

—Grant Weller

**Montour, Andrew** (Henry Montour, French Andrew, Andreas Sattelihi) (1710–1772) *diplomat*

Like his mother, MADAME MONTOUR, Andrew Montour acted as interpreter and cultural broker for the British during a 30-year period of tension and conflict in the mid-Atlantic region. He worked initially as a guide to Moravian missionaries in 1742 and then as translator and message-bearer for the PENNSYLVANIA colonial government from 1744 to 1754. Montour later gained the confidence of SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, the superintendent of Indian affairs for Great Britain between 1755 and 1765. His remarkably diverse personal background allowed Andrew Montour to become an effective negotiator between cultures. From an ethnically mixed family, Andrew Montour could speak IROQUOIS, French, and English. The Susquehanna River region around Shamokin where he grew up also provided life lessons in multiculturalism. During the first half of the 18th century, the Susquehanna became home to Tutelo, Nanticoke, DELAWARE, Mahican, Iroquois, Shawnee, as well as Scots-Irish, German, French, and English settlers. Because he was able to translate across cultures, colonial officials hired Montour to perform diplomatic missions for them in NEW YORK and the Ohio Valley. However, his status as go-between also proved difficult because many Euro-Americans distrusted him as much as they relied on his services. Even those who counted the Montour family as friends had a hard time "reading" Andrew Montour's motives once the SEVEN YEARS' WAR began. Despite his assistance in tracking down Delaware and Shawnee who had attacked frontier communities in 1755 and 1756, the English suspected Montour of betrayal because of his French and Iroquois heritage. Unlike New France, Pennsylvania did not have a community of MÉTIS people. Consequently, some historians characterize Montour as an isolated individual who found no place to call his own. This might explain why he struggled with ALCOHOL abuse and insolvency even while he remained an active interpreter at Fort Pitt from 1763 to 1772. In 1772 a Seneca murdered Montour over an unknown offense.

**Further reading:** James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1999).

—Jane T. Merritt

**Montour, Madame** (Elizabeth Couc, La Chenette) (1684?–1752?) *interpreter*

Working for the French briefly and then for the colonial governor of New York, Madame Montour became one of the most important Native American interpreters during the first half of the 18th century. Although her background is often disputed, most probably she was born in Canada of a

French father and HURON mother but was taken captive at 10 years of age by IROQUOIS in NEW YORK. There, she grew up and married an Oneida warrior, Currundawanah (known as Robert Hunter by the English), who became a local hero in the CATAWBA wars. Beginning in 1711 Madame Montour acted as interpreter for New York at a treaty conference in Albany between the chiefs of the Iroquois Five Nations and the colonial governor, Robert Hunter (her husband's namesake). She was very active in diplomacy during the 1720s but became less publicly prominent as the center of Indian diplomacy moved south into PENNSYLVANIA, where her son, ANDREW MONTOUR, emerged as a cultural go-between by the 1740s. Madame Montour continued to attend treaty conferences, such as the Lancaster conference of 1744, and to host traveling diplomats in her home at Ostonwakin (French Town), on the west branch of the Susquehanna River. Among her visitors and acquaintances she counted Conrad Weiser, Pennsylvania proprietary secretary JAMES LOGAN, and several German Moravian missionaries who preached among Indian communities along the Susquehanna River. In turn, colonial governors in New York and Pennsylvania and the commissioners of Indian affairs rewarded her well for her services.

**Further reading:** James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1999).

—Jane T. Merritt

## Montreal

The city of Montreal began with a land grant in 1640 and was settled two years later as the missionary camp Ville-Marie, on an island first surveyed by Jacques Cartier in 1535. The village's JESUIT-influenced founders chose the location in part because it offered access to local Indian peoples via the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers, and also seclusion from the main French presence in QUEBEC.

The missionaries hoped to create a model Catholic community. They wanted to attract potential converts to the fortified village and to keep NATIVE AMERICANS away from the alcohol traders in Quebec, whom the missionaries accused of corrupting and exploiting indigenous peoples. While the city may have been founded to advance religious aims, commerce soon became central to Montreal. The same accessibility that appealed to its founders made the city a critical commercial junction, displacing Quebec's place in the FUR TRADE.

Further waves of immigration in 1653 and 1659 sustained the settlement. Because of its rapid economic growth and its deliberately altruistic purposes, Montreal developed many public institutions, including a hospital, much sooner than did other French colonial cities. Its

complex seigniorial status also afforded it a relatively high degree of autonomy. The former Ville-Marie was soon one of the foremost cities in the FRENCH COLONIES.

Montreal became an obvious objective for France's enemies during the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, and, in 1760, British forces captured the city and subsequently the whole of New France. Though political authority changed dramatically, the French-inflected Creole culture endured, and Montreal remained among the most important cities of the region.

**Further reading:** Louise Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); André Lachance, *La vie urbaine en Nouvelle-France* (Montreal: Boréal Express, 1987).

—Simon Finger

## Moraley, William (1699–1762) writer

One of the few people of his status to leave a written record of his life, William Moraley wrote *The Infortunate*, an autobiographical account of INDENTURED SERVITUDE in the colonies between 1729 and 1734. *The Infortunate* illuminates the desperate circumstances that forced some Europeans to sell themselves into servitude for a few years in return for passage to North America as well as the difficulties encountered by servants in achieving success in the New World.

Moraley admits having “neglected to improve” his talents when his father apprenticed him at age 15 as a clerk to an attorney in London. Two years later his father decided against the profession and urged him to learn the “trade of watch-making.” Moraley's family faced financial ruin when his father lost his investments when the “South Sea Bubble” burst in 1720. When his father died in 1725, Moraley inherited a mere 20 shillings and few prospects.

In 1729 Moraley contracted to indenture himself in “the American Plantations” for five years. After 13 weeks at sea, he landed at PHILADELPHIA. A clockmaker, Isaac Pearson, purchased Moraley's time. Like many servants, Moraley never achieved economic security after his servitude, but despite his various misfortunes he remained buoyant. An adventurous spirit, Moraley journeyed to contiguous colonies, telling entertaining tales, eluding creditors, and begging for charity.

Moraley's travels brought him into contact with people who seldom appear in contemporary accounts. He commiserated with white people in circumstances similar to his, sympathized with slaves, and greatly respected NATIVE AMERICANS' knowledge of their land. Moreover, Moraley candidly described his encounters and liaisons with women, although his behavior toward them in some instances was

less than respectable. An economic failure in America, Moraley returned to England in 1734, where he lived until his death in 1762.

**Further reading:** Susan E. Klepp and Billy G. Smith, eds., *The Infortunate: The Voyage and Adventures of William Moraley, an Indentured Servant* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1992).

—Leslie Patrick

**Morris, Lewis** (1671–1746) *government official*

Lewis Morris was born in NEW YORK CITY to a Welsh merchant and sugar planter from Barbados. His father soon died and his Quaker uncle came to New York to adopt him. In 1691 Morris inherited a large landed estate in NEW YORK and NEW JERSEY. He led the opposition to East New Jersey's proprietary government, and he went to London in 1701 to broker the sale of that government to the Crown. In 1710 Morris shifted his political base to New York, where he became the legislative adjutant to Governor Robert Hunter, who presided over the stabilization of that colony after a generation of political polarization. When Hunter returned to England in 1719, Morris remained the chief adviser to his successor, Governor William Burnet. In the 1730s Morris led his supporters in an unsuccessful effort to regain power by resisting New York's governor, William Cosby. He went to London to seek Cosby's recall while his allies in New York used JOHN PETER ZENGER's press to subvert Cosby's regime. In 1738 Morris became the royal governor of New Jersey. He ended a turbulent career battling with the New Jersey assembly, often defending "prerogative" positions explicitly contrary to the ones he had long advocated in New York.

Morris has been viewed as a hypocrite, a "trimmer," or an ideological chameleon. It may be fairer to say that he was best suited by talent and temperament to serving under strong leaders, mobilizing secure legislative majorities, and executing detailed programmatic instructions. When he had to take personal command or to improvise politically, he often displayed a rash and volatile spirit. Morris was also a self-tutored scholar, author, and ardent Anglophile, who worked as hard to enact the role of the English country gentleman in cultural and social life as he did in politics.

**Further reading:** Eugene R. Sheridan, *Lewis Morris, 1671–1746: A Study in Early American Politics* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1981).

—Wayne Bodle

## mortality

Overall, European settlers found the climate of mainland North America healthier than that of early modern Europe.

Early New England colonists, in particular, enjoyed exceptionally favorable demographic conditions. In the 17th century a New England man who reached the age of 21 could expect to live to 69, on average, while a woman could expect to live to 62. (The GENDER difference resulted largely from the risks of childbirth.) The infant mortality rate in colonial New England was about 10 percent, quite modest by early modern standards. In the malarial regions of the Chesapeake and the Lower South, life was more precarious. In 17th-century VIRGINIA a typical man who reached adulthood could expect to live to 49, while women were slightly less vulnerable to DISEASE but faced the additional risk of childbirth. Estimates of the child mortality rate in the southern colonies range between 25 and 40 percent, with 33 percent being perhaps the most likely figure. While these numbers are shocking by contemporary standards, the demographic regime of 17th-century North America was better than that of early modern England, where the life expectancy of a 20-year-old man was only 52 and urban child mortality rates ran as high as 50 percent.

North American colonists succumbed to a wide variety of diseases, some regionally specific, some nearly universal. The most disease-ridden region was the South, and the most virulent diseases were malaria and YELLOW FEVER, both transmitted by mosquitoes. Yellow fever, endemic in the South, struck the port cities of PHILADELPHIA and NEW YORK CITY periodically as well; it carried off 5 percent of Philadelphia's population in 1699 and 10 percent of New York's population in 1702. Other common diseases, such as typhus, dysentery, influenza, diphtheria, and SMALLPOX, erupted in towns throughout mainland North America,



Pre-1700 New England gravestones often depicted death as a frightening skull, warning sinners to repent of their sins. The one depicted here suggests a more optimistic view of the afterlife. (Library of Congress)



even in relatively healthy New England. European physicians began to develop a technique for smallpox inoculation in the early 18th century, and by the late colonial period many affluent British colonists chose to have themselves and their children inoculated (sometimes after trying it out on their slaves). Non-disease-related causes of death included maternal mortality for women (in New England possibly as many as one woman in six died in childbirth) and maritime and agricultural accidents for men. Health conditions in New England and the Middle Colonies were generally good, however, and most settlers (with the exception of some slaves) throughout North America enjoyed an ample and varied diet.

For new immigrants the most dangerous period was the journey to the New World and the first year or two within it. Enslaved Africans, shackled, despondent, and poorly fed, suffered most severely from the transatlantic passage; 15 to 20 percent of slaves bound from AFRICA to North America died en route. Many European immigrants, crammed in tight quarters and weakened by a monotonous diet, also succumbed to diseases aboard ship. Conditions were particularly bad in the 18th-century servant trade, and passengers occasionally even mutinied. Upon arrival in North America immigrants passed through the “seasoning time,” a period of a year or so in which their immune systems adjusted to the unfamiliar disease climate. Seasoning was particularly strenuous in the South, where many settlers died of malaria, dysentery, and other diseases during their first summer in North America. In 17th-century Virginia only about 60 percent of indentured servants survived their terms of service. High mortality rates contributed to social and economic instability. The Chesapeake area’s demographic regime also shaped planters’ LABOR preferences; they did not shift from servant to slave labor until the late 17th century, when declining mortality rates made it advantageous for planters to purchase slaves.

African and African-American slaves, concentrated in the southern colonies, faced the same epidemiological “seasoning,” but their immune systems, shaped by the West African disease environment, responded somewhat differently. As many Africans had already been exposed to yellow fever and malaria, they succumbed to these diseases less frequently than did Europeans (although many Africans did die of them). On the other hand, they were particularly susceptible to respiratory complaints such as pneumonia and tuberculosis. Between a quarter and a third of slaves imported to the southern colonies died within a year. African and African-American slaves also faced some status-specific health threats, including depression (newly enslaved men and women sometimes committed suicide), exhaustion, and exposure. (These problems also manifested themselves among European settlers living in exceptionally harsh conditions; some of the first Virginia settlers

appear to have suffered from debilitating depression.) In the southern colonies a third or more of children born into SLAVERY died in infancy.

While European and African immigrants struggled with the unfamiliar American epidemiological environment, countless NATIVE AMERICANS succumbed to diseases that were endemic to Europe and Africa but unknown in pre-contact North America. Until the 16th century Native Americans lived in dispersed communities isolated from the rest of the world’s human population and enjoyed a relatively disease-free environment. After 1492, however, European explorers and settlers inadvertently (and sometimes purposefully) introduced a host of virulent diseases from the Old World, including smallpox, measles, and pneumonia. These unfamiliar diseases, combined with famine and warfare, decimated the Native American population. On the eve of European colonization the most widely accepted estimates are that between 7 million and 10 million Native Americans populated the North American continent north of Mexico; four centuries later, less than 1 million Native Americans remained. This extreme depopulation caused recurring political conflict and led to the reconfiguration of many Native American communities and political alliances in the 17th and 18th centuries.

**Further reading:** Robert V. Wells, *Revolutions in Americans’ Lives: A Demographic Perspective on the History of Americans, Their Families, and Their Society* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982).

—Darcy R. Fryer

**Morton, Thomas** (1597?–1647) *trader, writer*

Thomas Morton, trained as a lawyer, arrived in New England in 1625 as part of a small colonizing venture led by Captain Thomas Wollaston. The colonists settled on a tract where Quincy, MASSACHUSETTS, is now located, establishing a trading post and plantation there. In 1626 Wollaston departed with some of the group for VIRGINIA. Morton renamed the post Merry Mount and continued to trade successfully, perhaps by flaunting attempts by other English colonists to restrict sales of firearms to Native people. His success in trade as much as his “rev-els and merriment” upset the Puritans and their leader William Bradford of the Separatist PLYMOUTH Plantation 30 miles to the south. Bradford described Morton as “lascivious,” exhibiting conduct befitting “a School of Atheism” by drinking, dancing, and consorting sexually with Native American women. In 1627 Morton was detained for trading guns to the Indians and exiled. After being acquitted, he returned to Merry Mount in 1629. Arrested again in 1630, he was sent to Charleston for trial, and he then returned to England. Morton spent the next decade trying



to persuade the Crown to revoke the Royal Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

More of a promotional tract than a historical account, Morton's only book, *New English Canaan* (1637), presents a compelling view of a promising new land: "the beauty of the place . . . I did not think that in all the known world it could be paralleled." Divided into three parts, the volume outlines the manners and customs of the friendly Natives, describes the natural endowments of a lush land, and satirizes the Separatists at Plymouth. In contrast to the civil Natives who lead "the more happy and freer life," who "are not delighted in baubles," and who are "full of humanity," the uncivil Puritans massacre Natives at Wessaguscus, practice life-denying austerity, and "make a great show of Religion, but no humanity." The sardonic assault culminates when Morton chronicles how in 1628 Captain Shrimpe (MYLES STANDISH) and his "nine worthies" raid Merry Mount and take Morton prisoner. Blending Renaissance masque, satire, myth, prose, and poetry, Morton's literary production contests the dominance of Bradford's Separatists, substituting Arcadian imagery for biblical typology and privileging secular colonization over a schismatic settlement. Morton's gesture toward cultural amalgamation challenges Puritan exclusionary politics and values.

Morton's timing was less than propitious since Puritan power in England was then rapidly rising. His *New English Canaan* sold few copies, and most of the volumes in the first edition were burned as subversive. Shortly after the English Civil War (1642–49) broke out, Morton made his last journey to New England. Why he returned to the location of his earlier travails is unknown, but by 1644 he was once again in prison. Spending the winter in distress may have completely broken his health. He was released from jail and shortly after left BOSTON for the Massachusetts frontier that later was to become Maine. French influence in that region was strong, and opportunities to live life as he wished were abundant. However, his health was not up to frontier living, and within two years he likely died.

Despite appearing in a Nathaniel Hawthorne short story as an anti-Puritan figure, in two novels by John Lathrop Motley (1839 and 1849), and even in a 1934 opera by Howard Hanson, Morton has endured in history as a licentious and incompetent felon in the image portrayed by the puritanical William Bradford.

**Further reading:** Donald F. Connors, *Thomas Morton* (New York: Twayne, 1969).

—Keat Murray and Marshall Joseph Becker

### Mount Vernon

Mount Vernon, the plantation home of George Washington, initially came into the Washington family's hands in 1674

as Little Hunting Creek Plantation. It remained an unimportant part of Washington family holdings until Lawrence, George's oldest half-brother, inherited the land upon his father's death in 1743. Soon afterward Lawrence built a two-story house with four rooms on each floor, and he named the house and property Mount Vernon after his former commander, Admiral Edward Vernon of the Royal Navy. Upon Lawrence's death in 1752, George leased Mount Vernon with the intentions of becoming a prosperous planter. He inherited the plantation in 1761, when his brother's widow died and control returned to the Washington family.

Washington lived at Mount Vernon for more than 45 years. While under his control, the plantation became highly profitable mostly through its economic diversity. Along with TOBACCO and wheat, Mount Vernon became the base of a thriving FISHING fleet that plied the waters of the Potomac River and CHESAPEAKE BAY. At its height the estate encompassed nearly 8,000 acres and served as home to George and Martha's small family and a large slave community. By Washington's death in 1799, nearly 300 slaves lived there. Washington willed Martha the use of Mount Vernon for the duration of her lifetime, stipulating that his slaves would become free when Martha died, which caused her great anxiety. Fearing that the slaves might expedite her demise, she freed her husband's bondpeople at the end of 1800.

**Further reading:** James Thomas Flexner, *Washington: The Indispensable Man* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969).

—Brian McKnight

### Muhlenberg, Henry Melchior (1711–1787)

#### *Lutheran minister*

Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was one of the primary architects of American Lutheranism. He was born September 6, 1711, at Einbeck, Hannover. He matriculated at Goettingen University in 1735 and became a teacher at the Halle Orphan House three years later. By this time Halle had become a leading center of pietism on the continent, and its ecclesiastical and theological views would greatly influence Muhlenberg throughout his career. The Leipzig Consistory ordained him as a Lutheran pastor in 1739, with his first parish at Grosshennersdorf. On Muhlenberg's 30th birthday Gotthilf August Francke informed him that three PENNSYLVANIA congregations had extended a call for a pastor in 1734 that still had not been filled. Francke recommended that Muhlenberg accept this call, and after careful consideration Muhlenberg agreed.

His first destination in the British colonies was GEORGIA, where he met two other German Lutheran pastors. When Muhlenberg arrived in PHILADELPHIA in November 1742, the three congregations that had

requested a pastor were not expecting him and in the meantime had hired unordained clergy to minister to the congregations. Swedish Lutheran Church officials in the Philadelphia area supported his claim to the charge, and soon most of the officers and members of the congregations accepted him as their regular pastor. Between 1742 and his retirement in 1779 Muhlenberg served Lutheran congregations in Philadelphia, New Hanover, Providence (Trappe), and Germantown.

By the time of Muhlenberg's arrival in Pennsylvania, the province had emerged as a focal point of German immigration and of Lutheran activity. The colony's religious diversity was something that Muhlenberg constantly confronted, and he often commented in his reports to Halle that the religious environment in Pennsylvania presented difficulties that did not exist in Europe. Within a few years of his arrival, Muhlenberg had to deal with the influence of Moravian leader Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf along with the actions of unordained men who were performing the services of clergy along the frontier. Through Muhlenberg's efforts the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania was organized in 1748. Under his leadership this synod attempted to control the quality of clergy throughout the German-speaking areas of the colonies while maintaining lay participation in the selection process.

**Further reading:** Leonard R. Riforgiato, *Missionary of Moderation: Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the Lutheran Church in English America* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1980); Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, eds., *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1942–1958).

—Karen Guenther

## mulattoes

Translated roughly, the Latin-rooted word *mulatto* means “mule.” The Spanish initially applied the term to persons possessing both European and African ancestry, and the Portuguese, French, and English soon adopted the word to describe racially mixed people. Appearing first along the western coast of AFRICA, mulattoes literally belied definition; unlike their mule namesakes, mulatto women bore children to Iberian slave traders. Although these children had more Iberian ancestry than did their mothers, their fathers ignored this distinction, classifying all biracial people as mulattoes.

The French did distinguish mulatto mothers from their generally lighter-skinned children. According to a primitive form of French ethnography, the amount of “white blood” determined a person's racial category.

Colonial records in LOUISIANA cite Negros (black African), *sacatras* (7/8 Negro), *griffes* (3/4 Negro), mulattoes (1/2 Negro), quadroons (1/4 Negro), and octoroons (1/8 Negro). These castes marked the degree of privilege or degradation. Beyond polite society, however, even a hint of white ancestry presented opportunities unimaginable for blacks. When considering manumission, for example, masters usually preferred to free their biracial relatives. These emancipated thousands formed the *gens de couleur libre*—the “free people of color”—an exclusive society of mixed-race people who populated the interior of southern Louisiana.

British colonizers employed the simpler Iberian classification system rather than the more complex system that characterized French America. In the British colonies a person of mixed ancestry, no matter the amount, was a mulatto; very few of them enjoyed the lifestyle of the *gens de couleur libre*. The experience for mulattoes, however, was hardly uniform. The Lower South, the Upper South, and the North developed differently, and white attitudes toward MISCEGENATION and mulattoes generally had a distinctive regional character.

Only in the Lower South did an appreciable number of mulattoes gain their freedom. Thousands of mulattoes populated SOUTH CAROLINA, most living on lowland plantations and in CHARLESTON. Mulattoes took pride in their biracial heritage, and they came to represent an intermediate CLASS. Although white people valued mulattoes more than blacks, mulattoes possessed few of the rights afforded to whites.

In the TOBACCO colonies of NORTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA, and MARYLAND miscegenation became publicly stigmatized as an increasing number of unions between indentured servants and slaves threatened the white aristocracy. Sometimes masters privately gave special attention to their enslaved relatives. Other times, however, masters responded to the conspicuous presence of mulattoes by meting out especially harsh punishment.

Some mulattoes hoped to escape slavery by fleeing to northern colonies, even though slavery was legal and white racism against mulattoes was deeply ingrained in those societies. Urban centers, however, provided mulattoes with some degree of anonymity and the opportunity to improve their lives. As a result, mulatto populations in PHILADELPHIA, NEW YORK CITY, and BOSTON grew slowly throughout the colonial period.

See also CREOLE; MÉTIS.

**Further reading:** Gary B. Mills, *The Forgotten People: Cane River's Creoles of Color* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977); Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995).

—C. B. Waldrip

## music

Music took many forms across the colonies of British North America. European migrants to the New World brought many different varieties of music, both sacred and secular. Ballads crossed the ocean with immigrants and were taught by parents to children, with many regional variations on both sides of the ocean.

The PILGRIMS brought the *Ainsworth Psalter* for use in worship, with tunes edited and composed by the English scholar Henry Ainsworth. The book provided 39 tunes to be used interchangeably. Some congregations, as in Salem, found the music too hard and soon discontinued the *Psalter's* use, while others used it until 1692, when the Pilgrims merged with MASSACHUSETTS Bay.

The Puritans objected to musical instruments in church; they sang liturgy but not psalms. The simplicity of their music may be attributed to their lack of musical training rather than their disapproval of the art. Their 1640 *Bay Psalm Book* was the first book printed in the North American colonies. Though it did not provide tunes, the book gave instructions about meter, and it offered advice about selecting appropriate music. Only the ninth edition of 1698 gave music, and that in just two parts.

Two styles of singing soon developed. Followers of "Regular Singing," common in urban areas, strictly adhered to the rules given in the psalters. "Irregular Singing" followed rural customs and folkways, in which each congregation had its own rules and each person had their own variation on the tune. In the 1720s reformers like THOMAS WALTER began to lecture on the importance of the "Regular" style, and by 1750 liturgical music had been standardized throughout New England.

Many colonists owned musical instruments. People of all classes owned virginals (keyboards), citterns (early guitars), violins, and wind instruments. Fiddles (broadly defined as a violin played anywhere but in the home) commonly were found in taverns. A few performers and composers flourished during the 18th century, most notably William Billings and Francis Hopkinson. Such artists always needed supplemental income, whether through manual LABOR (Billings worked as a tanner) or operating music schools. By the mid-18th century a few organs appeared in Anglican churches.

Attempting to attract more colonists to religious services, Governor JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE invited the Methodist minister JOHN WESLEY to visit GEORGIA in 1735. Two years later, influenced by the hymn singing of Moravian immigrants, Wesley published a collection of hymns and Psalms in CHARLESTON. Wesley's emphasis on music during church services spread, in part due to the GREAT AWAKENING. The Methodists published several hymnals in this period, some to compete with other collections of "popular spiritual songs." John Newton (1725–1807)

published three volumes of hymns of his own composing, the best known being "Amazing Grace."

The Moravians were a particularly musical sect, and their singing inspired many others. They settled primarily in PENNSYLVANIA and NORTH CAROLINA, where they emphasized choral, organ, and brass music (especially trombones) and the works of J. S. Bach. They translated many of their hymns into local Indian dialects for missionary purposes and also used them to outreach to slaves.

The diversity of African cultures makes it difficult to generalize about slave music. However, song was a principal music expression in Africa, used on most major occasions. An alternation between solo and chorus, called "call and response," is common in West AFRICA and was frequently used in America as well. Moreover, performers placed special emphasis on rhythm and improvisation. A song leader might improvise on the main theme while the chorus, sung by everyone else, remained constant. Masters sometimes encouraged slaves to sing work songs, believing that it would improve morale and lower MORTALITY rates.

Slaves brought an early version of the banjo with them from Africa, incorporating it into traditional and new songs. Because it could be constructed in a variety of ways and with different materials, the banjo was well suited to the uncertainties of slave life. Drums were important in Africa and probably would have played a larger role in slave music except that their use was sometimes forbidden in British North America except in time of war.

Most slave music of this era did not include Christian themes since most slaves continued to embrace the religious beliefs of their African ancestors. Slave owners sometimes discouraged evangelizing in the slave quarters, and it was not until the second half of the 18th century that efforts were made to teach the singing of psalms.

**Further reading:** Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); John Ogasapian, *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2004).

—Victoria C. H. Resnick

## Muslims

As part of the great African diaspora of the past four centuries, slaves carried the religion of Islam to the Americas. Approximately 30,000 Muslim slaves were brought forcibly to the North American continent between 1711 and 1808. Perhaps half of North American slaves came from regions with populations that included significant numbers of Muslims (the followers of Islam). Scholars' estimates necessarily rely on enslaved populations known to be either

partially or totally Muslim (Wolof, Tukulor, Fulani, Vai, Mandingo, Hausa, Nago, Nupe, Soninke, and others), since slave dealers and trading companies did not record the religion of their human cargo. Specific African regions that were popular as sources of slaves included Senegambia, an area of significant Muslim populations.

South Carolina planters preferred Senegambians because they were skilled in RICE cultivation, and Muslim slaves from the region were thought to have both positive and negative qualities. Muslims were known to abstain from drinking alcohol, but such a desirable trait in a bound person was tempered by a perceived tendency to resist SLAVERY soon after their arrival. Some historians suggest that Muslim slaves were accorded positions of responsibility in the slave hierarchy, but it is extremely difficult to estimate the likelihood that this would happen anywhere in the Americas. A handful of Muslim slaves wrote Arabic narratives about their lives, including Ayyub ibn Sulayman, also known as Job ben Solomon (1702–73), Bilali Muhammad (1760–1859?), Abderrahman (1762–29), Omar ibn Said (1770–1864), and Lamén Kaba (1780–?), but records about the vast majority of Muslim slaves are both thin and scattered.

Like other bound people, Muslim slaves tried to maintain their culture. They dressed according to their ideas of “decent attire,” for instance, which was particularly difficult in America since few owners supplied enough fabric for even minimal clothing. In Africa, younger males usually wore long, large pants with a long-sleeved shirt and a large tunic that fell to the ankles. Older men and religious leaders wore head coverings. Women typically would have been attired in a skirt down to the ankles and a tunic clearly distinguishable from men’s tunics; they wrapped their heads in a piece of cloth. Such garments distinguished Muslims from non-Muslims in Africa, and indigenous Muslims generally did not adopt European clothing when it was available. Although offensive to all Africans, being forcibly stripped naked when they were inspected by European slave ship captains and doctors was a gross violation of the modesty associated with their religion. In the Americas, Muslim slaves had to wear whatever they could obtain, but they preferred to be adorned by as much clothing as possible, and many maintained those standards for decades. In 1819, for example, Charles Willson Peale painted the portrait of Yarrow Mahmout, a very old slave from Maryland, who was completely covered with a shirt and coat and who wore a hat typical of African Muslims. There is scattered evidence that Muslims generally sought to re-create the clothes and accessories, such as metal rings, bracelets, and amulets (gris-gris), that they wore before their deportation.

Newly arrived African slaves often were given strange names by their owners, although a minority of slaveholders accepted African names. Slaves were generally forced to use these new names, but they could either answer to two names, or, more commonly, use their own names within their own and the master-imposed name only when dealing with Euro-Americans. Occasionally, the English translation of an African name would be used, such as Solomon for Suleyman or Moses for Musa. When Muslim slaves had children, some gave them Islamic names, although there was considerable variation in practice.

Since enslaved women and men exercised little control over the food provided by their masters, many Muslims could not obey Islamic dietary injunctions. Hogs—animals forbidden by Islam—were cheap and easy to keep, so it was a favorite food for planters to feed their slaves. Furthermore, the method of slaughtering animals for food did not follow Muslim dietary requirements (non-*halal*). Some slaves were able to follow an Islamic diet through fishing, hunting, and cultivating vegetables on Sundays, their one day off work each week. Some Muslim slaves refused to eat any meat unless they killed the animals themselves or knew that the animals had been slaughtered appropriately by another Muslim.

Islam has existed in the Americas for five centuries. It was the second major monotheist religion, after Christianity, introduced into the Americas as a result of the European expansion and the African diaspora. Orthodox Islam was embraced by tens of thousands of Muslim slaves and their descendants in the 17th and 18th centuries. With the end of the transatlantic slave trade to the United States in 1807 and the consequent decline in the African-born population, the number of people who could read and write Arabic, who were knowledgeable in the religion, and who could interpret it for other slaves dwindled. Still, some present-day followers of the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) look back to the Muslim religion of their slave ancestors, even if their religious beliefs are radically different. In the Caribbean, Muslims of African origin are today a small group, and Afro-Caribbean Muslims generally represent relatively recent conversions. Elements of Islamic beliefs found their way into Bahian Candomblé in Brazil, Cuban Santería, Haitian Voodoo, and other rituals performed by people in the Americas.

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—Michelle Maskiell





## Narragansett

At the time of contact with Europeans, these Indians inhabited the area around Narragansett Bay in what is now RHODE ISLAND. They relied on the plant and animal life of the bay's diverse estuarial ecosystem for their subsistence. When the English settled in Rhode Island in 1636, the Narragansett had achieved a measure of dominance over many neighboring Indian communities. Their status stemmed partly from their perceived ability to avoid European diseases. From 1616 to 1619 an epidemic had decimated many of the peoples in the eastern bay but spared the Narragansett, who lived primarily along its western side. In subsequent decades the Narragansett enhanced their power through their control of a major part of the WAMPUM trade. People throughout the Northeast coveted wampum—purple and white beads manufactured from shells found along the southern coast of New England—for its economic and spiritual value. Although the Narragansett dominated much of the region, their power was limited by the authority of their leaders, or SACHEMS, who had to rule by consensus. The Narragansett also faced threats from the nearby PEQUOT's increasing participation in the wampum ECONOMY. In 1637 some Narragansett allied with the English in the PEQUOT WAR.

Horrified by the casualties inflicted by their English allies in that war and fearful of the colonists' rapidly growing population, relations with the English soured. Moreover, Narragansett control over some Native American communities had weakened. In 1642 the Narragansett sachem MIANTONOMO conferred with other tribal leaders about resisting the English militarily. Word of the plot leaked, and the English forced Miantonomo to sign a treaty. The next year rival Mohegan captured Miantonomo in battle and handed him over to the English. The English found him guilty of murder and had the Mohegan execute him.

After Miantonomo's death, the Narragansett struggled to maintain their cultural integrity. Their attempted neutrality during the brief period of KING PHILIP'S WAR was

not successful. In November 1675 the English and their Indian allies attacked a Narragansett enclave and killed a number of people who were trying to avoid the war.

The rapid growth of the colonies in New England allowed the English not only to force the Dutch out of the region but also to become the dominant power as they eliminated the major Native polities from contention. These years of struggle to control this part of New England are often identified as the period of the wampum wars, although what are often represented as large-scale conflicts were only episodic events marking the slow expansion of European control that brought, in its wake, cultures into conflict. Throughout the next century, the Narragansett and other Native peoples in this region adapted their foraging lifestyles through various modes to coexist with the different political and economic conditions created by European immigrants. The transition was not successful on a cultural scale. A 1709 agreement between the colony of Rhode Island and Ninigret II identified him as the Narragansett leader, although his family was Niantic. An effort to establish a tribal council in 1770 and many other attempts at maintaining group integrity were not successful.

See also CANONICUS.

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—James D. Drake and Marshall Joseph Becker

## Natchez Revolt (1729–1731)

The Natchez Indians lived near the Mississippi River in modern-day LOUISIANA and Mississippi. The establishment of a permanent French colony on the Gulf Coast in 1699 brought with it new mutual sexual and economic ties that bound the Natchez and French together and helped the new French colony survive its early years. As the French increased their importation of African slave labor, though, their economic ties with the Natchez grew less vital. The

relationship between the two groups rapidly deteriorated as the French pressured the NATIVE AMERICANS for their lands, leading to outbreaks of violence in the 1710s and 1720s.

In 1729 Sieur De Chepart, commander of Fort Rosalie, ordered the Natchez to vacate their town of White Apple so that he could build a plantation. Outraged at De Chepart's demand, Natchez chiefs and elders compared their plight to that of slaves. Every Natchez village agreed to make war against the French.

On November 28, 1729, Natchez warriors entered Fort Rosalie pretending to offer gifts from a hunting expedition. At a prearranged signal the Indians opened fire, taking the French by complete surprise. The attack on the French fort and surrounding settlement killed 145 men, including De Chepart, plus 36 women and 56 children. The Natchez took hostage 50 white women and children plus 300 black slaves, several of whom joined the Natchez in their fight against the French. In a single day most of the white population in the area had been killed, captured, or driven from their homes.

In early 1730 a force of CHOCTAW Indians, allies of the French, inflicted heavy casualties on the Natchez and recaptured many of the hostages. A smaller French force soon arrived and forced the Natchez to hand over the remainder of the captives. A large punitive expedition mounted over the winter of 1730–31 resulted in the capture of nearly 500 Natchez prisoners, mostly women and children, who were sold into SLAVERY in the CARIBBEAN. The remaining Natchez became refugees. Many joined the CHICKASAW, Creek, and other Indian groups in the area. The rebellion begun by the Natchez in defense of their lands ended in the virtual destruction of their society.

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—Andrew C. Lannen

## Native Americans

When Europeans began arriving in North America in large numbers during the late 16th and 17th centuries, they landed in a world inhabited by hundreds of distinct tribes who had developed a variety of cultures independent of the Old World. Because of European diseases, increased warfare, and the introduction of new technologies, the period 1585–1763 witnessed massive changes in the lives of Native Americans throughout the continent. One of the most important characteristics of this transition was the variety of ways in which Indians responded to European encroachment on their lands. Tribes responded to Europeans based

on their preexisting worldviews, religious beliefs, and political alliances. Equally important, different European groups arriving in the New World dealt with Indian peoples according to their own imperialist goals and cultural dispositions. Thus, settlers, fur-traders, and missionaries all had different perspectives on how to deal with Native Americans. The developments in Indian-European relations that occurred in the 17th and 18th centuries had their roots in the first contacts between Indians and Europeans and in European intellectual constructs.

### *Population, Economies, and Cultures*

Native American populations stretched from Tierra del Fuego at the southernmost tip of South America through the Arctic of Canada. The diversity of cultures, political organizations, and languages was tremendous. From village-oriented tribes to small nomadic bands and hierarchical empires to confederacies of allied tribes, Native Americans developed organizations that fit their ecological, social, and political needs. As in every region of the world, these organizations changed over time, and the location of an empire could become the location of a loosely organized set of villages a few hundred years later. The rise and fall of empires, changes in political organization, and other adaptations occurred throughout the Americas before Europeans ever set foot in the Western Hemisphere. Although most Native Americans did not have written languages, scholars have been able to create a picture of the Americas before Europeans arrived. Using linguistic evidence, archaeology, and oral traditions of Native peoples, we have been able to learn a great deal about what the Americas were like before European arrival.

Despite these methods, scholars are unable to answer all the questions they ask. Scholars have had a particularly difficult time trying to gauge population sizes in the Americas prior to European arrival. Population estimates for the Western Hemisphere range from 40 million to nearly 100 million people in the late 15th century. The East Coast of North America, from Canada to FLORIDA, probably contained about 250,000 people at the time of European contact. Although we do not have exact population numbers, historians know that contact with Europeans caused a precipitous decline in the Native population due to imported diseases. Before the arrival of the PILGRIMS, for example, European diseases ravaged the New England Indian population during the epidemic of 1616–17. Without the exact population, precise death rates will never be known, but even with imperfect precontact estimates, scholars estimate that some tribes on the East Coast lost between 70 and 90 percent of their people during the early colonial period.

The East was one of the earliest regions to come into contact with white people, but the tribes who lived there



A print depicting a Delaware Indian family, from Reverend John Campanius's *New Sweden*, 1650 (*The New York Public Library*)

were far from being one homogeneous group. The East Coast of the present-day United States was populated by politically and socially diverse groups of ALGONQUIN, Iroquoian, and Siouan speakers. The POWHATAN CONFEDERACY and the Five Nations IROQUOIS consisted of villages organized in a complex political system, with accompanying rules and traditions of diplomacy among its member villages. These large, relatively sedentary groups relied primarily on a mixed economy of hunting and AGRICULTURE, in which women often did the farming while men hunted deer and small game. In northern New England groups like the Abenaki and Montagnais tended to be semisedentary, traveling during part of the year to hunt and residing in a village during the other seasons to fish or trade. These migration patterns varied from tribe to tribe according to tradition and ecological limitations. In southern New England tribes like the NARRAGANSETT, PEQUOT, and Massachusett tended to be larger and more sedentary than their northern neighbors. When the French, Spanish, and English began arriving in what is now the United States, they encountered this diverse array of civilizations.

### *European Contacts*

Although many of the tribes on the East Coast encountered early explorers in the early 1500s, significant interaction truly began in the 17th century. In the St. Lawrence River Valley, northern New England, and the Canadian Maritime provinces the Micmac, Abenaki, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot had been in contact with Basque and French fishermen by the close of the 16th century. When these Europeans made short trips to the shores to dry fish before their voyage home, they began a small-scale FUR TRADE with the local Indians. This marked the origins of the French-Indian fur trade that would help shape their relationship and the colonial experience for the next centuries. The French who followed sought deerskins, muskrats, and other pelts. However, most valuable was the beaver, whose fur was turned into felt for a type of hat fashionable among French aristocrats. Because the French needed Indians to hunt and trap beavers and other fur-bearing ANIMALS in the interior, they established peaceful alliances with their trading partners. The Indians benefited from the fur trade initially by receiving copper kettles, glass beads, and, most important, firearms and metal with which to tip their arrows. While the French developed amicable relations with the HURON, Montagnais, Algonquin, and other tribes, the new alliances caused sour relationships with the IROQUOIS, long-time enemies of the Indian allies of the French. With firearms and metal-tipped arrows, the Iroquois's enemies were more deadly than ever. Because the French excluded the Iroquois from being trading partners, the Iroquois found themselves at a technological disadvantage to their enemies.

The Iroquois Confederacy, made up of the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk, were a powerful force who lived in what is now upstate NEW YORK and southern Canada, yet their influence spread across much of the land east of the Mississippi. From the St. Lawrence River, through the American South, and west to the Mississippi River, the Iroquois sought to carve out a place in the trade with Europeans to acquire goods by peaceful exchange, if possible, or by raiding if necessary. The Montagnais, Algonquin, and Huron had been at war with the Iroquois before the French arrival, but the French presence affected the balance of power. In 1609 the French explorer and founder of Quebec, SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN, allied himself with a group of northern Indians in a raid against the Iroquois, whom they routed near the lake that bears Champlain's name. Throughout the 17th century the French were frequently at war with the powerful confederacy during the colonial period, yet the Iroquois remained relatively autonomous through the first part of the 18th century, trading with the French, English, and Dutch when it served their interests and raiding European settlements when necessary.



The English, who began to colonize the area from southern New England through VIRGINIA, initially enjoyed somewhat peaceful relations with Indians because they often depended on Natives for FOOD, trade, and TECHNOLOGY. However, English invaders eventually established settlement patterns that were more destructive to Native Americans. While the French economic and social patterns tended to foster more amicable relations with Indian people, the British desire for land led to conflicts with Indians. Whether seeking religious community in New England or staple crop agriculture in Virginia, the British required land for towns and farmland for both crops and livestock. This vision of the land assumed that it was largely unoccupied, and both in New England and Virginia war consequently broke out.

In the 1630s the MASSACHUSETTS Bay Colony began to spread into the CONNECTICUT River valley. The Pequot Indians controlled the mouth of the Connecticut River and directed the WAMPUM trade between the coastal and the interior tribes. DISEASE, which always accompanied Indian-European contact, had been particularly difficult for the Pequot. From 1616 to 1618 an epidemic swept through southern New England, wiping out entire villages. The Pequot were hard hit by this scourge and lost much of their population. In addition to disease, the Pequot suffered from very poor relations with the British. The Puritan settlers conceived of the surrounding Indians as “savages,” attached to the wilderness and ignorant of God. Some thought that Indians might represent malevolent forces of the devil—a perspective that hardly allowed for calm diplomatic relations. Accusing the Pequot of having killed some Englishmen, the colonists sent a military force, which in 1637 massacred women and children as well as Pequot warriors at Fort Mystic. After selling many of the survivors into SLAVERY in the West Indies, the settlers forced those who remained to sign the Treaty of Hartford in 1638, which declared that the Pequot no longer existed as a political entity. The treaty all but eradicated the Pequot. Nevertheless, the few remaining Pequot managed to cling to a tribal identity through the colonial period and to the present day.

In the South English settlers and Native people generally coexisted peacefully for a brief period because both groups desired trade, technological exchange, and allies. However, a series of wars eventually erupted in Virginia between colonists and the powerful POWHATAN CONFEDERACY. When the English settlers landed in Virginia and settled the precarious colony of JAMESTOWN in 1607, they inhabited land controlled by a powerful chief named POWHATAN, who maintained a great deal of influence and received tribute from neighboring villages. By 1609 conflicts had erupted between the Powhatan Confederacy and the English. Skirmishes continued through 1617, when

Powhatan's daughter POCAHONTAS married JOHN ROLFE, cementing through marriage an alliance between the two groups. Relations soured when Pocahontas died in Britain and Powhatan's successor, OPECHANCANOUGH, inherited the chiefdom. The English hunger for land increased greatly with their adoption of TOBACCO as a staple crop. After the 1620s settlers and indentured servants began to arrive in greater numbers. Angered by the British encroachment onto Indian lands, the Powhatan Confederacy launched a number of attacks against Virginia settlers beginning in 1622. By 1632 peace was officially declared, but English farmers continued to invade lands claimed by Native Americans. In 1644 an aged Opechancanough led a final attack against Virginia. However, the English, allied with some Indians who resented the confederacy's power, defeated Opechancanough. Although the Treaty of 1646 prohibited further British expansion, settlers continually violated it, and by 1670 the entire coast of Virginia was in English hands.

The Spanish, who by the 17th century had conquered the Aztecs and decimated or subjugated numerous Native Americans in the CARIBBEAN and Mexico, also made inroads into North America in the 16th century, particularly in the American South. Lucas Vasquez de Allyón, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, and Hernando de Soto all made voyages to the Southeast in the mid-16th century. Long-term Spanish influence was much greater in the American Southwest, particularly in what is now NEW MEXICO among the PUEBLO Indians. After the Spanish introduced missionaries who worked to eradicate Native religions and cultures, the Pueblo attempted to drive the Spanish out of their area in the PUEBLO REVOLT of 1680. Led by a Pueblo leader named POPÉ, the revolt united a diverse group of Pueblo and killed more than 400 Europeans. In the 1690s Spanish military leader Diego de Vargas, allied with other Pueblo, suppressed the rebels, reaffirming Spanish control over New Mexico.

### *Disease*

One of the most disastrous imports from Europe was disease. Measles, SMALLPOX, influenza, and other afflictions destroyed Indian populations, who had no natural immunities to these European diseases. The resulting depopulation weakened Indian military forces, disrupted social and economic life, and challenged Indian MEDICINE men to cure these new illnesses. Disease killed many more Natives than warfare. Entire villages sometimes were wiped out from disease, and the survivors were forced to seek shelter with neighboring Indians. Repeated throughout the Americas, these types of realignments resulted in significant reordering and eradication of tribes and cultures. In the Carolinas the CATAWBA, one of many tribes in the Piedmont region, began to absorb remnants of the surrounding tribes. By



1750 Catawba villages contained people speaking 20 different languages, all called Catawba by the surrounding English settlers.

To replenish their populations, decimated by both disease and war, many eastern tribes participated in “mourning warfare” to capture members from enemy tribes, preferably young children or adolescents, who were then ritually adopted into the tribe. While such activity was common throughout eastern North America, each tribe had its own particular set of rituals of adoption. After the correct rituals were performed, the captive became a member of the tribe and even was said to have become one of the people who had been killed in war or had died by disease.

### ***Missionaries***

The French, Spanish, and English participated in significant efforts to convert Indian peoples to their brand of Christianity. For the French and Spanish this meant Catholicism, and for the British, PROTESTANTISM. Although all three nations supported and used missionaries, the French and Spanish incorporated mission societies most deeply into their colonial policy. Because the expenses of maintaining colonial outposts were too much for some French kings to bear in the 17th century, they gave generous land grants to the Society of Jesus (JESUITS) to establish colleges, hospitals, and mission villages for converting Indian peoples. In these villages the Jesuits sought to transform Indian peoples into European-style farmers, even those who lived in regions that did not support agriculture. They reasoned that urging them to accept European social forms would make them more accepting of European religions. Some of these mission villages, notably Sillery Kahnawake, Odanak, and St. François de Sales, attracted both converts and traditional Indians. While many people were interested in accepting Catholicism, others simply wanted to form alliances with the French. While some Indians accepted baptism as a means to demonstrate their alliance with the French, others believed it a means of salvation. One factor that accelerated conversion was the presence of epidemic disease. In villages decimated by disease, where faith in their own SHAMANS faltered, missionaries were often successful in presenting Christianity as an alternative religion.

The English attempts at converting Indian peoples were more short-lived and generally less effective. The British established a series of PRAYING TOWNS set apart from the English settlers’ towns. Although the Massachusetts Bay Colony’s charter required the settlers to convert Indians to Christianity, they did not make serious missionary efforts until the 1640s. Thomas Mayhew and JOHN ELIOT were two of the pioneers of these praying towns. Unlike the Jesuits, these ministers were Protestant, not from a monastic order, and were paid in salaries supported by the English nobility.

Like the Jesuits, they served a religious and social function. To teach Indians about Christianity, they translated the Bible and prayer books into Indian languages. They also required that Indians abandon their non-Christian relatives, live in European-style homes, and give up traditional hunting and farming techniques in favor of European-style agriculture. The English missionary effort suffered a severe blow in the wake of KING PHILIP’S WAR in 1676. Although the English eventually defeated their Wampanoag enemies with the help of praying town Indians, the event triggered a fear and resentment of Indians among the British, and they dismantled most of the mission villages in New England.

Both the French mission villages and English praying towns copied Spanish models. Although numerous religious orders participated in the conversion of Native Americans in Mexico and the Caribbean, the introduction of Christianity in the American Southwest began with Juan de Oñate, a Franciscan, in 1598. Like the French Jesuits, the Franciscans performed the duties of the Crown while converting souls. Moving through New Mexico along the Rio Grande and its tributaries, the Franciscans attacked Native religions, attempting to win over souls by undermining traditional practices and beliefs. In Florida Franciscans made significant inroads among Native Americans like the Guale from the 1670s through the turn of the century. In the early 1700s war erupted between Spain and England, precipitating attacks by the English and their Indian allies from the North. Under constant fear of attack, most of the Spanish MISSIONS in Florida had collapsed by the opening decades of the 18th century.

### ***Expansion of the Colonies and Their Role in International Politics***

As the British colonies grew in size through the 17th century, they pushed farther into lands occupied by Indian peoples. In western Massachusetts, PENNSYLVANIA, and the Piedmont region of Virginia and the Carolinas, the growth of the colonies led to further conflicts. Neither the French nor the British were blind to the fact that Indian allies could help them in their conflicts with other European countries. While the Iroquois were one of the most frequently courted Indian people because of their military power, France’s geopolitical position continued to exclude the Iroquois from their trade while simultaneously supplying their enemies with trade goods.

When the French explorers RENÉ-ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR DE LA SALLE and Henri Tonti reached the mouth of the Mississippi in 1682, they established a fur trading post in LOUISIANA that incorporated many of the southern tribes into their sphere. In 1699, at present-day Biloxi, Pierre Le Moyne, sieur d’Iberville established a post and allied himself with the neighboring CHOCTAW, Biloxi, Pascgoula, Moctoli, and Capira, who had been at war with

the Creek and CHICKASAW. The British had hired the Chickasaw to capture their old enemies, who were then sold into slavery in the West Indies. In 1709 the British and their Indian allies attacked the French fort at Biloxi. The French Crown, realizing that the only way to secure Louisiana was to develop strong ties with Indian allies, funded a system of FORTS so that they could provide gifts and trade items to Indian allies. The lower Mississippi became an arena of conflict between the French and their Indian allies and pro-British Natchez and Chickasaw in the 1730s. To a certain extent, French Indian policy took on a more genocidal tone in the Chickasaw War, in which they attempted to eradicate their enemies, somewhat similar to the British in the Pequot War.

The increased French presence in the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys angered the British, who also claimed much of this area. Although the British could offer higher quality trade goods and lower prices to Indians, the French followed Indian protocols of trade to a greater extent, and in doing so secured allies through the west. In addition, the French policy of trade rather than land acquisition was understandably perceived by Natives as less threatening to their own autonomy. When warfare broke out between England and France in Pennsylvania in the 1750s, the French were able to muster a large number of Potawatomi, Ottawa, and Chippewa allies, without which the French might easily have been overrun by the stronger British force. The conflict over the continent endured from 1754 through 1759, when the British took Quebec. When peace was officially declared between France and England in 1763, the French relinquished their claims to North America. France's loss was a disaster for many Native Americans, too. The presence of multiple European powers had allowed tribes to negotiate for better prices in trade and to realign themselves militarily when the situation demanded it, that is, to "play off" the British against the French. Lacking a choice of European allies, Native Americans in the North, led by Pontiac, mounted a campaign of resistance against the British at the end of the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. Indians in the South continued to play off the Spanish against the British whenever possible.

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—Thomas J. Lappas

## Navajo

The ancestors of the Navajo and their linguistic relatives, the Apache, appeared in what is now the American Southwest after a long and gradual migration from central Canada. They were probably present in the Southwest by the late 15th century. The Navajo established themselves west of the Rio Grande Valley and began trading the products of their hunting and gathering ECONOMY—principally meat, hides, salt, and alum—for agricultural goods produced by sedentary PUEBLO Indians to their east. The Navajo soon began growing corn themselves, an early step in a process of cultural and economic transformation that would distinguish them from their Apache cousins.

Spanish colonizers settled among the Rio Grande Pueblo in 1598 and apparently came into early conflict with the Navajo. Territorial disputes, the Spanish practice of enslaving "barbarian" Indians, and Navajo raiding of Spanish goods and horses all contributed to a pattern of conflict that characterized the 17th century. Some Navajo seemingly participated in the 1680 PUEBLO REVOLT and helped Pueblo resist the Spanish reconquest of the 1690s. When that resistance failed, Navajo welcomed thousands of Pueblo refugees. Conflicts with the Spanish continued until 1716, when both sides became preoccupied with other enemies, principally the Ute and Comanche.

Pueblo refugees inspired profound changes in Navajo life. In the decades following the rebellion Navajo adapted much of the rich ceremonialism of Pueblo tradition to their own religion. Navajo pottery became more sophisticated and distinctive, while weaving constituted an increasingly important component of the economy. Pueblo irrigation techniques helped produce greater harvests, and Navajo families started cultivating Spanish-introduced plants such as cotton and orchard fruits. Most significantly, the Navajo economy began to reorient itself around horses, cattle, sheep, and goatherding.

By the middle of the 18th century, the Navajo people had incorporated major changes into their lives, and their territory was expanding vigorously. They increasingly fought with the western Pueblo of Hopi and Zuni, certain eastern Pueblo, and the Ute. In 1774 nearly 60 years of peace between Navajo and Spaniards ended, and the next century would be one of nearly perpetual conflict over territory, slaving, and raids.

See also SPANISH COLONIES.

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—Brian DeLay

### Negro Plot of 1741

Throughout the colonial era people of African descent expressed outrage at their enslavement and the conditions to which they were subjected. Those who lived in the northern colonies were no exception. In 1741 fear of a slave uprising came to a head when rumor of an insurrection spread through NEW YORK CITY, which had one of the highest percentages of slaves in British North America; about one in every five of the 11,000 residents was black, nearly all of whom were slaves. Whites remembered the insurrection of 1712, when slaves set a building ablaze and killed nearly 25 people. Nineteen slaves were executed for the arson. Moreover, tension was palpable in the spring of 1741 as fear of KING GEORGE’S WAR with Spain (1740–48) and the potential of a growing black population aiding the Spanish combined to create fear in the minds of whites.

What began with a petty burglary became a rumor of revolt. One night in late February, merchant Robert Hogg’s shop was robbed of a sack of coins, two silver candlesticks, and some linen. Two slaves, Caesar and Prince, were suspected and arrested. They were not alone, however. A white husband and wife, John and Sarah Hughson, were accused of receiving the stolen goods. Authorities investigating the crime discovered as much only when they questioned the Hughson’s indentured servant, Mary Burton, who informed them that she knew about the robbery. The authorities promised Burton that she would be released from indenture, enough of an incentive for her to accuse the Hughsons of receiving the stolen goods. Her accusation proved correct—the purloined goods were found on their premises.

On March 18 new fears erupted when a series of fires broke out in the city. Initially, slaves were not suspected. By raising the possibility that a conspiracy was afoot, however, the city council fueled suspicions that slaves had set the fires. When the fires burned again on April 6, the black populace was suspected. Panic gripped the town and a rumor quickly circulated that blacks and poor whites were conspiring to destroy law and order and to seize control of the city. Suspicions were quickly translated into actions: “The Negroes are rising!” cried many whites. White crowds rounded up black people, taking nearly 100 to the jail.

Officials and townspeople believed that slaves, “silly unthinking creatures,” were led by whites. Daniel Horsmanden, a dedicated and ambitious attorney, rose to prominence in overseeing the prosecutions. When Horsmanden took over the case, matters changed dramatically. Using “money to loosen tongues,” he cast the net wider so that between April 13 and August 29 a number of confessions were secured; more people were arrested, jailed, and executed. Horsmanden, supporting Burton’s allegations, declared that the fires were a conspiracy among the black inhabitants to seize control of the city. Burton’s initial accusations were aided by the confessions of black people sentenced to execution.

Mary Burton achieved freedom by cooperating with the authorities and promoting the belief that the fires resulted from a conspiracy that seemed to grow larger each time she testified. After her first appearance before the grand jury, Burton returned and accused yet more people, both black and white, of conspiring to burn the city. Burton further fueled the general xenophobia that targeted outsiders and newcomers. The ROMAN CATHOLICS and Irish were particularly suspect, according to one scholar, because “a belief persisted that a constant Catholic conspiracy was afoot to subvert the crown and the Church of England; and with war raging in the West Indies and Spanish attacks on the Georgia-Florida borderlands and sorties as close as Charleston, South Carolina.” A dancing master and his indentured servant, two soldiers, and a schoolteacher fell under the suspicion of Judge Horsmanden.

In the end, 21 people were hanged, including 17 black men, two white men, and two white women. Additionally, 13 black men were burned at the stake. Seventy-two black men were pardoned but banished.

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—Leslie Patrick

**Neolin (Delaware Prophet)** (fl. 1760s) *spiritual leader* Neolin, also known as Four, was one of a series of DELAWARE Indian (Lenni Lenape) nativist prophets, whose appeals to regain sacred power through cultural and religious revitalization provided the spiritual support for Indian resistance to Anglo-American colonialism from PONTIAC through Tecumseh. Coinciding with the Anglo-American

GREAT AWAKENING, this “awakening” occurred among the Delaware communities in the upper Susquehanna River valley. Residents there were disheartened refugees from disease, intertribal warfare, and dispossession that accompanied the Euro-American invasion of the mid-18th century. Seeking solutions to these catastrophes of colonialism, Munsee and Unami Delaware prophets, such as Papoonan and Wangomend (the Assinsink Prophet), had come into direct contact with the otherwise distant Master of Life. They began preaching Indian guilt for accepting European traditions, and they called on Indians to seize their destiny by rejecting white people and regaining sacred power. During the SEVEN YEARS’ WAR, the Delaware prophets and their communities fled the Susquehanna, settling in Delaware villages in the Ohio country, where Neolin probably heard Wangomend preach.

Neolin, a Delaware from Tuscarawas on the Muskingum River, first encountered the Master of Life in a vision, which came to him about 1760–61 on a hunting trip. In the vision, Neolin made an arduous journey up treacherous mountains into the sky world where a guardian spirit escorted him to the Master of Life. The Master condemned traditional ALGONQUIN practices of polygamy, invocation of the *manitous*, and shamanism, as well as the abominations that caused Indians to lose sacred power: alcoholism, intertribal strife, and tolerance of Anglo-American intruders. The Master of Life also enjoined Neolin to return and preach a gospel of pan-Indian identity that transcended the divisions of clan and village. This message emphasized a radical doctrine of separate creations of Indian and white people, an aversion to Anglo-Americans (but not the French), the gradual abandonment of European-made goods, and the performance of traditional prescribed prayers and ritual purification. If these practices were followed, the Master of Life guaranteed a return of wild game and Indian success in expelling the Anglo-Americans from Indian lands.

Neolin and the Delaware prophets interwove selected elements of Indian spirituality, such as ritual ceremony as the portal to sacred power, with Christian doctrines, such as the omnipresent and wrathful deity, an afterlife of punishment or reward, and an emphasis on moral transgression. For Indians facing the crisis of colonialism, this spiritual syncretism provided hope and the ideological underpinnings for resistance. Doctrines of divine providence and salvation, which blamed Indian misfortune on their own abominations, allowed NATIVE AMERICANS to reform themselves and to take control of their destiny. More militant, nativist leaders also emerged. They criticized traditional village leaders for accommodating Europeans for personal and political gain.

Employing a “Great Book or Writing,” which mapped life journeys to heaven and hell, Neolin’s teaching achieved rapid success, and he acquired a large intertribal follow-

ing by 1763. The Ottawa war leader, Pontiac, was a Neolin disciple, and he proclaimed his teachings to gather support for the assault on British Detroit in 1763. With Pontiac’s failure to take FORT DETROIT and the British military occupation of the Tuscarawas in 1764, Neolin faced defeat. That year and the next, Neolin reported that the Master of Life ordered him to make peace with the British with the assistance of Quaker negotiators. Paradoxically, the bitter factionalism and uneasy stalemate that ended the rebellion also allowed the nativist movement to survive, since its leaders were able to credit Indian victories to adherence to their doctrines and to blame defeats on their own misdeeds.

Neolin disappears from the historical record after 1765, but the REVITALIZATION MOVEMENTS survived through the American Revolution, particularly in the Unami Delaware towns of Kuskuski and Newcomers. The Shawnees and other insurgent Indians also welcomed the preaching and ideas of Delaware prophets Wangomend and Scattamick. Neolin’s doctrines survived and reappeared 50 years later in the religious teachings of Tenskwatawa (the Shawnee Prophet), which sustained Tecumseh’s pan-Indian uprising.

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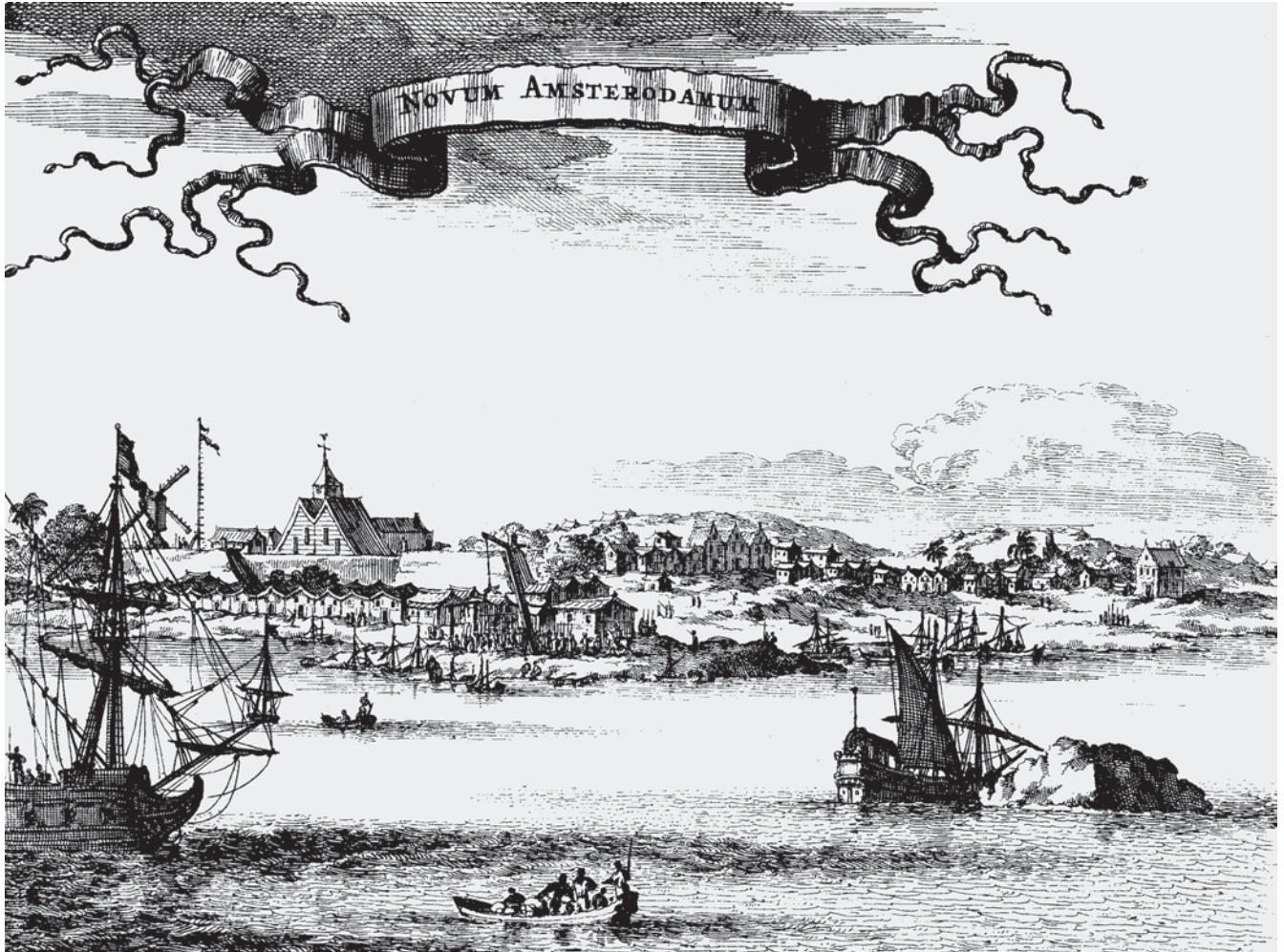
—James Bruggeman

## New Amsterdam

The island of Manhattan, which was to become the site of New Amsterdam, served as a marshy camp and hunting ground for NATIVE AMERICANS, including the Canarsies and the Manhattans. In 1609 HENRY HUDSON became the first European to record the existence of the island. Dutch explorer Adrian Block built a temporary base there in 1613 while repairing his ship. Citing those voyages, the Netherlands laid claim to the entire Hudson River valley by right of discovery, and the Dutch called the area NEW NETHERLAND.

The DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY (WIC) built Fort Orange in 1621 at the northern navigable end of the Hudson River, where merchants operated a fur trade with neighboring Indians. The company subsequently established New Amsterdam in 1625 as a terminal for that trade. The initial wave of settlers consisted mostly of soldiers and traders employed by the WIC, but also included Protestant refugees from the southern Netherlands (present-day





This print shows New Amsterdam's fine natural harbor, which helped make it a commercial center. (*Library of Congress*)

Belgium), who had previously lived on Nut Island in the harbor. The following year, PETER MINUIT, a company official, “purchased” the island from the Canarsies for 60 guilders (about \$24 today), though it is clear that the Indians understood this transaction in a very different way from that of Europeans as not transferring permanent ownership of land. Despite the intention to maintain friendly trading relations with local Natives, a number of DUTCH-INDIAN WARS broke out during the settlement's history.

With its excellent deep-water harbor, New Amsterdam served two main functions: to act as a port and agricultural supply station for the fur trade with Native Americans and as a support base for privateers to harass Spanish shipping in the Caribbean as part of the continuing Dutch war of independence against the Habsburg Empire. Focused on these goals, the Dutch settlers never developed an agrarian economy as extensive as the contemporary English colonists to the north and south.

New Amsterdam played host to varied groups of people, including seamen and traders from throughout Europe, free and enslaved Africans, Jewish refugees from Portuguese Brazil, and Indians. However, this diversity was not uncontested. PETER STUYVESANT, governor of New Netherland from 1647 to 1664, sought to oversee the settlement's cultural composition, refusing to grant toleration to any religious denomination but that of the company-sponsored Dutch Reformed Church. He also planned to expel all Jews from the settlement, but he was overruled by the company, which judged the need for settlers more important than social exclusion. Despite Stuyvesant's efforts, New Amsterdam remained one of the most diverse cities in the New World. Notwithstanding persistent inequalities, women possessed greater legal rights than did women in the English colonies, including the right to own property and to sue for divorce.

New Amsterdam's growing influence, strategic location, and power, significantly evident in its use as the base from

which the Dutch captured the troubled SWEDISH COLONIES to the south, its neighbors. Meanwhile, the growing English presence on Long Island rendered the Dutch position increasingly vulnerable. England seized the fort in the lead up to the second Anglo-Dutch War in September 1664. Stuyvesant initially remained defiant, but, faced with opposition from both the inhabitants and the Dutch West India Company, he relented. Both the colony of New Netherland and the town of New Amsterdam were renamed NEW YORK. Despite a brief reoccupation by Dutch forces in 1673, New York remained in English hands and continued to grow in both size and importance as a commercial center.

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—Simon Finger

### ***New England Primer***

The *New England Primer*, first published in 1690, was the most popular schoolbook in the British American colonies. Combining an introduction to reading with religious instruction, it contained the first published appearance of many familiar religious expressions, including the axiom “In Adam’s fall/ We sinned all.”

The *Primer* was created by a bookseller and newspaperman named Benjamin Harris, who emigrated from London to BOSTON in 1686. Four years later, he produced the first edition of the *Primer*, apparently basing it upon his own previous children’s book, *The Protestant Tutor*. The *Primer* combined alphabet lessons and catechism in a format that certainly had precedent, but was, at the time, still relatively recent.

The *Primer* reveals a great deal about the people who produced it. Above all, its genesis and its spectacular success reflect the paramount importance of literacy to CONGREGATIONALISTS in New England. As a people who spurned clerical authority, PURITANS held that individual mastery of scripture was the key conduit of relationships to, and understanding of, God. The *Primer* thus situated the value of reading within a thoroughly religious framework.

The *Primer* endured as an introduction to literacy and to morality for generations of colonial American children, not only those in New England. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN’s print shop in Philadelphia produced more than 37,000 copies in the years between 1749 and 1766. The text was adapted to changing mores, removing references to monarchy after the American Revolution, for example, but the format remained stable for decades. Well through indepen-

dence, the *New England Primer* remained the most influential children’s book in North America.

**Further Reading:** Patricia Crain, *The Story of A: The Alphabetization of America from The New England Primer to The Scarlet Letter* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000).

—Simon Finger

### **Newfoundland**

Newfoundland is an island in the northeast Atlantic located near the North Atlantic fisheries. Originally settled by Native Americans, Europeans initially arrived there about 1000 B.C., when Viking explorers settled Vinland. Viking colonies lasted only a few years, and it was not until John Cabot “discovered” the island in 1497 that the region came into the imperial purview of western Europe.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert formally claimed Newfoundland for England in 1583. Interest in the island centered on the seasonal exploitation of the productive fisheries of the Grand Banks (particularly cod) rather than on permanent settlement. Thus, a fishing monopoly in the hands of merchant “adventurers” resulted, in which the island’s shores were only seasonally inhabited in order to cure and dry the cod catch. With passage of the Western Charter in 1634, Parliament formalized its anticolonization policy and helped to usher in the era of the “fishing admirals” under which ship masters ruled the few island inhabitants.

Unsuited to widespread agriculture due to a lack of topsoil and poor climate, Newfoundland depended almost totally on the offshore fishery as the basis of its economy. Beginning in the 16th century, fishermen built temporary structures in Newfoundland to provide facilities for the processing of fish. The settlements were hierarchical: capital was controlled in England by West Country merchants, a small class of planters owned much of the land, and bound servants carried out a great deal of the labor. Most work was performed by men; women made up only about 20 percent of the population in the 18th century. English merchants in the West Country attempted to restrict permanent settlements in order to protect their share of the fish trade and on grounds that migratory fishermen would form a base of trained seamen for the navy. The permanent population remained small, amounting to 3,000 settlers in 1720 and only about 6,000 by 1750.

Limited, simple rule characterized government in Newfoundland. By tradition, the master of the first ship to reach a harbor served as the fishing admiral, who exercised jurisdiction over property disputes. No governor or civil officers were appointed for Newfoundland until 1729, and when they were appointed, those officials were primarily naval officers from the offshore fleet.

France established a settlement at Placentia in 1662, which set into motion a series of conflicts among the French, British, and Dutch that resulted in the continual destruction of British settlements on the island. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) forced the French to leave the island, although France continued to hold fishing rights around Newfoundland, which were reinforced by terms of the TREATY OF PARIS in 1763. Newfoundland did not become fully open to European settlement and the island did not receive a full-time resident governor until the early 19th century.

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—Patrick Callaway and E. Jerry Jessee

## New Hampshire

One of the New England colonies, New Hampshire was among the smallest British colonies in both population and area. The future colony of New Hampshire was inhabited for at least 10,000 years. When Europeans first arrived, approximately 4,000 ALGONQUIN-speaking people of the western Abenaki Indians lived in the region. These groups subsisted by hunting and FISHING as well as by cultivating corn and beans. Besides maintaining semipermanent villages, they sent out hunting parties and, at times, migrated seasonally. Politically, western Abenaki tribes had a chief, a council, and regular meetings of all adult tribal members to discuss and decide serious matters.

French and English fishermen probably were among the first Europeans to visit New Hampshire as they stopped to dry their catch or to trade with Natives. The English captain Martin Pring sailed his two ships, the *Speedwell* and *Discoverer*, up the Piscataqua River in June 1603, and the founder of the FRENCH COLONIES in North America, SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN, arrived in July 1605. In 1614 the well-known English explorer JOHN SMITH charted the coast of the region, discovered the Isles of Shoals, and publicized its rich natural resources, particularly forests, fur, and fish in his description of future New England.

The colonization of New Hampshire began in the 1620s, when the Council for New England granted several land patents to establish settlements and trade posts in the area. On August 10, 1622, the former governor of Newfoundland, Captain JOHN MASON, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges received from the council a grant of the territory between the Merrimack and Kennebec Rivers. In 1629, when the new owners divided the territory between themselves, John Mason received the lands between the

Merrimack and Piscataqua Rivers. The proprietor called his domain New Hampshire after his home county in England. In 1623 David Thompson founded the first English settlement in New Hampshire near the mouth of the Piscataqua River, which existed for several years. MERCHANTS from London, including Edward and William Hilton, established a new settlement in 1628 several miles northward that became Dover. In 1631 Mason initiated a settlement at the mouth of the Piscataqua named Strawberry Banke.

Another impetus for the colonization of New Hampshire came from its southern neighbor—the MASSACHUSETTS Bay Colony. While the Puritan dissenters from Massachusetts under the Reverend JOHN WHEELWRIGHT established the town of Exeter in 1638, the BOSTON authorities also supported a settlement in the region in 1639 that became the town of Hampton.

The natural resources of the region shaped the development of the ECONOMY and the primary occupations of the settlers (farming, fishing, fish and fur trading, LUMBERING, and SHIPBUILDING) and propelled the colony into the lucrative transatlantic trade with the CARIBBEAN and European markets. New Hampshire also supplied fish products to Massachusetts and VIRGINIA as well as to Spain, Madeira, and the Canary Islands. Most important, wood and wood products of New Hampshire (clapboards, oak barrels, and casks) were in great demand in the West Indies and southern Europe, primarily for the shipping of rum, molasses, and sugar, and as fuel for sugar processing. By 1671 New Hampshire was exporting 20,000 tons of boards and staves yearly.

The white pine forests of New Hampshire made it a source of ship masts, timber, and naval stores for the Royal Navy. The export of masts from the colony grew from 56 in 1695 to 500 in 1742. The mast trade also gave rise to a protest movement in the Exeter area. In the 1734 Mast Free Riot, colonists registered their opposition to the practice of marking the best trees in the FORESTS for the Royal Navy. With the rapidly expanding settlement of New Hampshire from the 1690s to the 1760s, the economy of the colony grew more diverse. In 1719, for example, Presbyterian colonists from northern Ireland and Scotland founded the town of Londonderry and initiated the cultivation of potatoes.

The expansion of white settlements heightened tensions with local Indians. From 1675 to 1756 there were several wars and numerous clashes between the English and the Abenaki tribes. These conflicts were interconnected with the Anglo-French struggle over North America and the long-standing enmity between the Abenaki and the IROQUOIS, who lived west of Abenaki lands. Because they frequently fought the pro-British Iroquois, the Abenaki sought French military support and trade, and they established a formidable alliance with the French during a long series of ferocious conflicts in the region. New Hampshire



played an active role in this monumental struggle as a theater of military operations, as a recruitment and supply base, and as a communication route for British forces. By 1759 nearly 1,000 men from New Hampshire were enlisted to serve in the army outside the colony. During KING WILLIAM'S WAR (1689–97) the Abenaki tribes raided Dover, Salmon Falls, Exeter, Durham, and other New Hampshire settlements. Large-scale Indian raids resumed during KING GEORGE'S WAR (1744–48). During the SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756–63) the colonial militia, led by Captain Robert Rogers, and British troops, drove the Abenaki tribes northward.

The politics of New Hampshire were dominated by disputes with the neighboring colonies of Massachusetts and NEW YORK. The widespread confusions, false claims, and misinformation about the region's geography led to overlapping land grants, ambiguous borders, and continuous territorial disputes on the southern and western frontiers of New Hampshire. Additionally, developments in the early history of New Hampshire favored claims of the Massachusetts Bay Colony on the entire territory of New Hampshire.

After the sudden death of John Mason, the small colony of only several hundred white inhabitants was left without a central government and existed as a conglomerate of semi-independent settlements. The situation was further complicated by the influx of Puritan settlers from Massachusetts, driven out of that colony by religious disputes. By 1640 these Puritan dissidents constituted more than half of the nearly 1,000 white residents of New Hampshire. There were numerous quarrels between the new Puritan settlements (Exeter, Hampton) and the traditional Anglican Strawberry Banke area; Hilton Point (the future Dover) often fluctuated in its loyalty between the two. The religious and political disputes and instability as well as the consent of local PURITANS invited interference from Boston. Wealthy landowners and merchants of New Hampshire allied themselves with the Massachusetts Puritans to resist John Mason's heirs, who attempted to confirm their land rights in New Hampshire. Additionally, the continuous menace of Indian attacks forced the New Hampshire colonists to turn to Massachusetts and its strong militia for defense. During the 1640s England, involved in its own civil war, was unable to control the territorial ambitions of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

By 1637 Massachusetts laid claim to all of New Hampshire, and within five years nearly all settlements in the colony conceded to the authority of Boston. Strawberry Banke was incorporated by Massachusetts in 1653 and renamed Portsmouth. Because of the religious and political concessions Boston made to New Hampshire, the colony did not experience large-scale religious persecutions except for a brief repression of the QUAKERS in 1659–60.

In 1679 the Crown, to strengthen its control over New England and in response to continuous appeals from the Mason family, reversed the Massachusetts territorial gains and in September 1680 created the separate royal province of New Hampshire. Nevertheless, there were other periods when New Hampshire rejoined Massachusetts for political, economic, and security reasons. The two colonies were joined officially in the DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND from 1686 to 1689, and between 1690 and 1692 they cooperated against the military threat of the French and Indians. From 1698 to 1741 New Hampshire and Massachusetts shared the same governor, with New Hampshire being ruled by the lieutenant governor. After 1741 New Hampshire had its own governor.

After 1749 New Hampshire struggled with New York over the lands between the Connecticut River and Lake Champlain. Before 1769 New Hampshire's governors granted land to more than 130 towns in the region. Although the Crown settled the boundary line between the two colonies in 1764 in favor of New York, the dispute continued until the American Revolution.

In 1680 the Crown established a government for New Hampshire that consisted of a president of the province (later a governor), a council of governor's appointees, and an elected assembly. Voting rights were limited to affluent males by the 50-pound property qualification. By the end of the 17th century the assembly had used its financial prerogatives to broaden its political power. This created numerous conflicts between the executive and the assembly. Governor Edward Cranfield (1682–84), whose commission was finally revoked by the Crown for numerous illegalities and abuse of power, ruled for several years without the assembly, which refused to pass his revenue bills. By 1699 the assembly had established its own leadership, a set of formal rules, and its printed organ—*The House Journal*. Even one of the most effective and pragmatic royal governors in British America—New Hampshire's Benning Wentworth (1741–67)—experienced several rounds of tough confrontation with the assembly, although the situation of the colony stabilized considerably during his tenure.

Several powerful Puritan families of wealthy merchants, landowners, and fish traders (the Cutts, Vaughans, and Waldrons) dominated politics in New Hampshire from 1640 to 1715. After 1715, with the growing importance of the mast trade, the Wentworth dynasty of mast traders came to the center of New Hampshire's political life. The family produced two governors and one lieutenant governor of the colony.

The political stabilization and economic development of the colony led to the growth of its white population (from some 10,000 in 1700 to 25,000 in the mid-1730s). The majority lived in more than 140 towns and villages,



and most were of British ancestry. In 1756 the first newspaper in the colony, *The New Hampshire Gazette*, was established.

**Further reading:** Jere R. Daniell, *Colonial New Hampshire: A History* (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1981); David E. Van Deventer, *The Emergence of Provincial New Hampshire, 1623–1741* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).

—Peter Rainow

## New Jersey

Although one of the smaller colonies in physical terms, New Jersey contained a variety of ethnic and racial groups, produced a considerable amount of wheat and other foodstuffs, and had a complex and contentious political history. Italian traveler Giovanni da Verrazano explored the New Jersey coast in 1524, and in 1609 HENRY HUDSON, an English mariner employed by the Dutch East India Company, sent a party to explore Sandy Hook Bay. Until the mid-17th century, however, the DELAWARE, or Lenape, Indians dominated present-day New Jersey. They numbered between 2,000 and 3,000 people and subsisted mainly by hunting and FISHING. There was little friction between the Lenape and the first European explorers; the Dutch and Swedish colonists were more interested in establishing trading partnerships than in acquiring land, and the Lenape valued the trade for European goods.

In the 1640s Dutch settlers began to move southward from NEW NETHERLAND (present-day NEW YORK), while Swedish settlers moved northward from New Sweden (present-day Delaware). As European settlements expanded and colonists sought to appropriate valuable farmland, their relations with the Lenni Lenape deteriorated. Two Indian wars, Governor Kieft's War (1641–45) and the Peach War (1655), weakened the Dutch settlements, but in 1655 the Dutch nevertheless forced the outnumbered and militarily weak Swedish population to submit to Dutch government. The region's European population remained tiny, however: about 200 Dutch, 100 Swedish, and an undetermined number of English settlers from New England.

When England conquered New Netherland in 1664, it also laid claim to the area that would become New Jersey. King Charles II (1660–85) patented the region to his brother James, who deeded it to two friends, John, Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret. The result was a colony where New Jerseyans could elect an assembly. The establishment of the most democratic system in the English empire attracted a large number of PURITANS and Dutch Protestants to settle in New Jersey. These religious dissenters, however, posed a problem for Carteret and Berkley when they resisted the ruling and taxation authority of the

Restorationists. Faced with this dilemma, Berkley later sold his half-share in the colony to two QUAKERS, John Fenwick and George Billing. In 1676 the colony was divided in half. Fenwick and Billing established West Jersey, while East Jersey was settled slightly later by a group of two dozen proprietors who had purchased shares from Carteret. West Jersey was more religious and egalitarian in tone than East Jersey, while East Jersey was more hierarchical and commercially oriented, but they resembled each other as much as they differed. A mixture of Quaker enthusiasm and economic ambition propelled both settlements.

West Jersey's early decades were stormy. Fenwick and Billing soon quarreled over the terms of their partnership. They submitted the dispute to a Quaker arbitration team, which determined that Fenwick owned 10 shares in the colony while Billing owned 90. WILLIAM PENN, one of the arbitrators, became Billing's trustee; the territorial dispute marked Penn's first involvement in American colonization. Fenwick founded Salem, the first English town in New Jersey, in November 1675. Billing subdivided and sold most of his shares, expanding the proprietary group from two to about 120 investors. Approximately half of these investors immigrated to New Jersey, and by 1682 perhaps 2,000 English Quakers had settled there. The colony's government remained highly unstable, however. Fenwick had initially tried to exercise gubernatorial powers, but his right to do so was disputed by Billing, the other West Jersey proprietors, and the royal governor of New York. Further rifts soon developed within the large and unwieldy group of proprietors; they worsened after 1685, when some shares in the colony's government passed out of Quaker hands. In 1687 Dr. Daniel Coxe, an English speculator, purchased title to the West Jersey government from Billing, and in 1693 Coxe sold it to the West Jersey Society, a corporation that speculated in lands and political interests in the Jersey colonies and PENNSYLVANIA.

The first European settlers in East Jersey were Dutch and English families from New England, Long Island, and New Netherland. When England acquired New York and New Jersey in 1664, there were already 33 families of European immigrants living in Bergen, opposite Manhattan Island. Between 1664 and 1666 English Quakers and Puritans streamed into East Jersey and founded several more towns. In 1681 Carteret's widow sold title to the colony to a group of 12 proprietors (later expanded to 24) who were predominantly Scottish and Quaker and included William Penn. The new proprietors encouraged emigration from Scotland to East Jersey and in 1683 established the town of Perth Amboy. There was continual friction between the proprietors and the English settlers, however; the proprietors challenged the settlers' land titles, while the settlers resented the proprietors' attempts to collect quitrents and dominate the colony's government. Simmering social

and political tensions erupted in a wave of riots between 1698 and 1701.

In 1702 the West Jersey Society and the defeated proprietary government of East Jersey ceded political power to the Crown. The Crown united West and East Jersey as a single colony, New Jersey. Although subject to the royal governor of New York, New Jersey elected its own legislature, which met alternately in Burlington and Perth Amboy. In spite of the Crown's hopes, the unification of New Jersey did little to stabilize its government. Lingering tensions between the original sections, between various religious denominations, and between resident and nonresident proprietors continued to haunt the colony. In 1738 the Crown appointed LEWIS MORRIS, a hotheaded and opportunistic New York politician, to be the first separate governor of New Jersey. Political autonomy did not bring New Jersey peace, however; Morris was unpopular and, like the New York governors who preceded him, fought bitterly with the colonial legislature over the division of political power. Basic disputes about land titles, the supply of paper money, and the location of boundary lines between East and West Jersey and between New Jersey and New York complicated daily life in the colony until the American Revolution. In contrast, local government, based on a combination of town meetings and county courts, was fairly placid.

New Jersey was one of the less populous English colonies in North America. Its non-Indian population numbered about 14,000 in 1702; by then, few Native Americans remained in the colony. New Jersey's European population, however, was exceptionally diverse, including English, Scottish, Irish, Dutch, Swedish, and German settlers, as well as Anglicans, PRESBYTERIANS, CONGREGATIONALISTS, and Quakers. Most colonists farmed, producing grain, vegetables, hemp, flax, livestock, and lumber for export. Coastal residents fished as well. Although some of the Scottish proprietors created large estates and attempted to introduce tenant farming, family farms of 100–200 acres were the rule. New Jersey was overwhelmingly rural; even its twin market and political centers, Burlington and Perth Amboy, numbered only about 500 people each in the 18th century. Puritans from New England and Dutch settlers from New York founded primary schools in several East Jersey towns, but there were few schools in West Jersey until the 19th century.

By 1760 New Jersey's population had grown to 93,800, but its rural townships were still overshadowed by the emerging cities of NEW YORK CITY and PHILADELPHIA. Elizabethtown, Trenton, and New Brunswick gradually overtook Burlington and Perth Amboy as the colony's internal commercial centers. Trenton, founded in 1709 at the head of the Delaware River, was particularly important as a transshipment point for exports from New Jersey's agricultural hinterland; it also attracted skilled ARTISANS. Iron

mining, which had begun on a small scale in the 17th century, became a more important industry after 1750, when Britain lifted the import duty on iron. In the late colonial period some affluent New York and Philadelphia families built country estates in New Jersey, beginning the region's long tradition as a suburban retreat.

By 1750 African and African-American slaves made up about 7 percent of New Jersey's population; in 1775, approximately 10,000 African Americans (mostly slaves) lived in New Jersey. NEW AMSTERDAM (New York City), as a port, was an early center of the slave trade, and Dutch farmers and other immigrants from New York brought slaves with them when they settled in New Jersey. The colony's slave population was concentrated in East Jersey, especially along the New York border. Most New Jersey slaves labored on large farms; in southern New Jersey some affluent settlers established estates that resembled Chesapeake area plantations. Quaker West Jersey, on the other hand, generally frowned on SLAVERY. In the 1740s West Jersey and Pennsylvania Quakers began to debate the morality of slavery, and in 1754 JOHN WOOLMAN published a pamphlet, *Some Consideration on the Keeping of Negroes*, in which he argued that slavery harmed both master and slave.

New Jersey's religious life was complex. West Jersey was originally founded as a refuge for English Quakers, and Scottish Quakers played a prominent role in the settlement of East Jersey. However, Quaker influence diminished over time as non-Quakers purchased proprietary shares and a flood of immigrants from New England, Britain, and Germany diluted the Quaker population. The GREAT AWAKENING, a series of religious revivals that swept through the American colonies in the late 1730s and early 1740s, affected New Jersey's Presbyterian congregations profoundly and influenced the Congregationalists, BAPTISTS, and Dutch Reformed to a lesser extent. In New Jersey as in New England, the Great Awakening divided many congregations and communities; these rifts were gradually healed as the most committed Old Light leaders passed away and were succeeded by more accommodating clergy. The Great Awakening also led to the founding of the College of New Jersey (later PRINCETON COLLEGE), a successor to the New Light Log College, in 1746. The college's innovative curriculum, which included an expanded emphasis on natural and moral philosophy, drew many students from other colonies by the 1760s. By the eve of the Revolution, the Presbyterians had displaced the Quakers as the dominant religious denomination in New Jersey.

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—Darcy R. Fryer

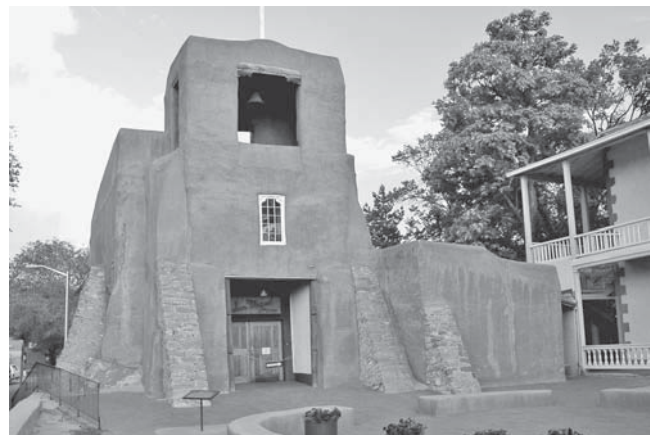
## New Mexico

Situated on the northern frontier of Spain's American empire, the Kingdom of New Mexico was an essential military outpost and center of missionary activity. Early attempts to conquer and settle the region by Francisco Vázquez Coronado in 1540–42 were dismal failures, but after a series of expeditions by FRANCISCAN missionaries in 1581–82 mapped out the region and its peoples, the Spanish were able to conquer the regions along the Rio Grande River in 1598. Led by Juan de Oñate, the 1598 *entrada* established a Spanish presence in New Mexico that would last until the Spanish were driven out in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. An important part of every Spanish *entrada* was religious conversion, and Franciscan friars immediately began proselytizing PUEBLO Indians in Taos, San Juan, and other settled communities, while de Oñate's soldiers dealt severely with Natives who resisted the Spanish presence. European hegemony became clear in the burning of the Pueblo of Ácoma in 1598, along with the brutal punishments meted out to its inhabitants. After this demonstration of Spanish ruthlessness, most communities in the Rio Grande Valley chose to cooperate with the Spaniards rather than fight. Those farther away from the Spanish, such as the Hopi and Pima in western New Mexico and eastern Arizona, maintained their independence. Once established, the Spanish began demanding tribute, while the friars established MISSIONS and insisted that the Pueblo abandon their traditions in favor of Christianity.

From its creation, the colony of New Mexico was charged with producing wealth for the Crown through mines, Indian tribute, and other revenue-generating activities. It was also seen as a forum for evangelization, an ideal source of souls for the Franciscan missionaries who accompanied Oñate's military force. Perhaps most importantly, New Mexico was settled in order to reinforce Spanish territorial claims against French and English explorers and merchants who were beginning to trade with the Indians of the region. The colony was also designed to serve as the first line of defense for the rich and vulnerable mining districts of north-central New Spain. Once in control, the friars established mission pueblos designed to congregate Indians around a single urban setting. After 1598 many Indian communities were forcibly moved to the missions and taught European forms of AGRICULTURE. Many resisted these disruptions and either fought, immediately fled, or ultimately abandoned the missions after a few seasons.

The New Mexico colony faced serious problems from the start. Little mineral wealth was found in the region, and in 1605, the viceroy, 2,000 miles away in Mexico City, recommended withdrawal from New Mexico. The Franciscans, however, refused to leave because they did not want to abandon their successes; by the early 1600s, they had baptized thousands of Pueblo Indians. Deeply committed to proselytizing their Indian "subjects," the Crown allowed the Franciscans to remain in New Mexico, which became a Crown colony in 1608. Santa Fe became its capital the following year. From this date, missionary activity became central to the colony. Even so, the colony retained significant numbers of soldiers and settlers who competed for Indian LABOR with the missionaries. By the early 17th century, approximately 3,000 colonists and friars resided in New Mexico, and they depended almost entirely on a harsh labor regime forced on Indians for agriculture, ranching, tanning, and other activities. These early decades were also characterized by struggles between civil and religious authorities over who controlled the Indian population and who could demand labor and tribute, a complex conflict in which the friars even excommunicated a governor.

Conflicts between the friars and indigenous peoples generated Indian revolts as early as the 1640s. In the late 1670s, as a population decimated by European viruses and alienated by harsh demands by the colonizers grew increasingly desperate, a diverse group of Indian pueblos came together to plan a concerted uprising against their colonizers. The PUEBLO REVOLT, which began on August 10, 1680, drove the Spanish out of the region for 12 years. Returning to the region in the early 1690s, the Spanish once again took advantage of internal divisions to subdue most of New Mexico by 1694, failing to reconquer only the Hopi of Arizona.



San Miguel Chapel, Sante Fe, New Mexico, the oldest church structure in the United States. Its original adobe walls were built in about 1610. (Wikipedia)



After the reconquest, New Mexico became increasingly important as a line of defense against attacks both by other European powers and by Indians. The presence of the French on the edges of the Great Plains in the early 18th century pushed groups such as the Comanche and Pawnee southward into Apache areas, who, in turn, raided Spanish settlements frequently. In response, the Spanish built a string of presidios running from Arizona to Texas. Santa Fe's presidio, with 100 soldiers, was beyond the line of defense.

The population of the colony also slowly grew, from 14,000 in 1693 to 16,500 in 1760. Notably, this growth occurred almost entirely among inhabitants of European ancestry, who increased from 3,000 in 1693 to 7,700 in 1760. Simultaneously, the number of Indians living in the colony actually declined. European settlers concentrated in Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and Santa Cruz, and in farming settlements along the Rio Grande. These regions also included large numbers of mestizos and detribalized Indians (*genízaro* slaves) as well as a great many tribute- and labor-paying Pueblo Indians who lived beyond the settlements. During the 18th century, the Pueblo increasingly abandoned their villages, transformed their traditional ways to more closely approximate European customs (including a change from matrilineal to patrilineal kinship), and reorganized their religious rituals under an increasingly synthetic series of religious practices. By the 1750s these cultural changes led to the creation of a distinctive *Vicino* culture that would characterize life in New Mexico for the next century.

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—Alexander Dawson and Ronald Schultz

## New Netherland

New Netherland, a colony that stretched along the Hudson River from Manhattan Island to present-day Albany, was the principal Dutch outpost in 17th-century North America. The Netherlands was a major commercial power in the 17th century; Dutch MERCHANTS ruled plantations and trading posts around the world, from Brazil to Indonesia, China, and India, and they were eager to gain a foothold in North America as well. In 1609 HENRY HUDSON, an English explorer employed by the Dutch East India Company to seek a Northwest Passage to the East Indies, crossed the Atlantic in the ship *De Halve Maen* (*Half Moon*) and claimed the territory around the mouth of the Hudson River for the Dutch. The English, who were trading rivals of the Dutch, seized *De Halve Maen* from

Hudson and contested Dutch claims to the area, initiating a pattern of Anglo-Dutch friction that would be a recurring motif throughout the half-century of New Netherland's existence. While political negotiations faltered, Dutch merchants financed private voyages to the Hudson River valley and competed to gain control of the regional FUR TRADE.

Historians generally date the Dutch settlement in New Netherland from 1614, the year in which the States-General (Dutch parliament) granted exclusive trading privileges in the region to a group of Dutch merchants incorporated as the New Netherland Company. In the company's charter the settlement was officially named New Netherland. Although the New Netherland Company sponsored annual voyages to its possession and built a trading center, Fort Nassau, on Castle Island near Albany, it failed to establish a permanent settlement in the Hudson River valley. The company's grant of exclusive trade expired in 1618, and it was superseded by a national joint-stock company, the DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY, which in 1621 assumed responsibility for overseeing Dutch trade and settlement in North America.

Early Dutch settlement efforts were divided between Fort Orange (Albany) and NEW AMSTERDAM (Manhattan). Ironically, the first European settlers in New Netherland were not Dutch but Walloon (French-speaking Belgians); 30 Walloon families settled at Fort Orange under the sponsorship of the West India Company in 1624. The Dutch settlement at New Amsterdam was established in 1625. In fact, the West India Company was too deeply absorbed in the fur trade to devote much attention to settlement. It forged an alliance with the IROQUOIS Confederacy and persuaded the Iroquois to channel the fur trade through Dutch (rather than French or English) settlements. West India Company administrators looked disapprovingly on colonists who attempted to break the company's fur trade monopoly rather than breaking farmland.

New Netherland's early years were stormy, but in 1626 PETER MINUIT arrived in New Amsterdam and assumed leadership of the colony. In five brief years (1626–31) Minuit reorganized the colony and put its economic life and military defenses on a firmer footing. Minuit's predecessor, Willem Verhulst, had paid local Indians 60 Dutch guilders (in commercial goods) for Manhattan Island, thereby strengthening Dutch claims to the territory. Minuit followed suit by purchasing Staten Island as well. These land purchases set a precedent for New Netherland colonists' acquisition of land from local Indians by purchase or treaty rather than seizure; this policy, observed in the early settlement years, was abandoned in the 1640s with disastrous results. As New Netherland was still a tiny settlement of about 270 souls, Minuit evacuated most of the soldiers and settlers at Fort Orange, recalled other settlers from the CONNECTICUT and DELAWARE river



valleys, and consolidated settlement on Manhattan Island for mutual security. He also opened diplomatic relations with the English colony at PLYMOUTH. The West India Company dismissed Minuit from office in 1631, but he returned to the Delaware Valley several years later as the governor of New Sweden.

Beginning in the 1620s the Dutch experimented with several plans to lure settlers to America. The most famous of these was the patroonship system, established during Minuit's administration. In 1629 the West India Company invited Dutch citizens to apply for patroonships. Each patroon (literally, patron) who sponsored 50 immigrants to New Netherland would be granted a semifeudal domain along the Hudson River in which to create an agricultural village and manor. Patroons would exercise administrative and judicial powers within their territory, and they were also granted trading privileges, including limited access to the fur trade. Several patroonships were laid out, but only one, RENSSELAERSWYCK, proved successful; the rest were abandoned and resold to the West India Company, which abandoned the patroonship system by the mid-1630s. In 1639 the company addressed settlers' economic needs more directly by revising the company's settlement rules to permit settlers to trade freely in all commodities, including furs. In later years the company also offered free land to all comers, but New Netherland remained a mercantile colony, in contrast to the predominantly agricultural colonies of New England. Settlement proceeded slowly; the political and religious stability and economic prosperity of the 17th-century Netherlands discouraged Dutch families from removing to America.

The 1630s and 1640s were marked by internal conflict between settlers and a series of unpopular governors and by territorial conflict between New Netherland and neighboring English and Native American settlements. From the 1620s on the West India Company had periodically laid claim to parts of present-day Connecticut and had even built a small trading post, the House of Good Hope, on the Connecticut River. However, in the 1630s and 1640s English settlers from MASSACHUSETTS established several flourishing towns in the region, and in 1650 the Dutch were obliged to cede their claims to the Connecticut River valley to the English in the Treaty of Hartford. That treaty was not the diplomatic defeat it appeared to be, however, for it secured all the territory actually occupied by Dutch settlers and forced the English to recognize Dutch claims to New Netherland. Meanwhile, the Dutch achieved another diplomatic coup on the border with Quebec. The Iroquois, armed by the Dutch, attacked the HURON, a powerful Great Lakes tribe that cooperated with the French to channel the fur trade through Montreal. The Iroquois overwhelmed the Huron and thereby drew a vast inland fur-trading region into the Dutch sphere of influence.

Even as the Dutch cooperated with the Iroquois, however, their relations with Indians in the lower Hudson Valley and coastal region deteriorated. Two principal groups of NATIVE AMERICANS lived in present-day NEW YORK before the arrival of the Dutch: the Iroquois Confederacy, formed about 1570 from five constituent tribes, the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca; and the ALGONQUIN tribes, chiefly the Mahican and Munsee. In the Albany region, where the Iroquois Confederacy was a major diplomatic power and Dutch settlers favored fur trading over farming, colonial administrators worked to preserve the peace, but in the lower Hudson River valley land-hungry Dutch settlers clashed bitterly with the Mahican and Munsee. Director General WILLEM KIEFT, appointed by the West India Company in 1638, pursued an aggressive policy of land acquisition and Indian taxation. In the summer of 1641 Indian raids on outlying Dutch settlements touched off an exceptionally violent war that, in spite of brief truces in 1642 and 1643, was not concluded until August 1645. Kieft's war decimated the coastal Indian population—nearly 1,000 Indians died in the war—but it failed to eliminate Native American opposition to Dutch settlement. On the contrary, embittered Algonquin continued to harass Dutch towns for decades.

The arrival of Kieft's successor, PETER STUYVESANT, in 1647 marked a turning point for the colony. In contrast to New Netherland's earlier, mostly transient directors general, Stuyvesant governed the colony for 17 years (1647–64). He guided New Netherland through administrative reform, territorial expansion, and a fresh wave of settlement. Some of his victories were military: In 1655 Stuyvesant led an expedition that captured New Sweden and reabsorbed it into New Netherland under the name New Amstel. Upon his return Stuyvesant discovered that the Mahican and several allied tribes had made a surprise attack on New Amsterdam. He acted quickly to shore up the city's defenses: He forbade Indians to enter the city armed or remain there overnight, imprisoned those who were drunk, and punished white settlers who sold them liquor. New Amsterdam never suffered another Indian attack, although Indians laid siege to Esopus (Kingston) in 1659; hostilities dragged on until 1664, when the Dutch decisively broke the Native American power base in the lower Hudson Valley.

Stuyvesant also granted town governments greater autonomy. By the 1650s English colonists had established several villages on western Long Island, within the Dutch sphere of influence. The English colonists brought with them a vigorous tradition of self-government, and they demanded the same political autonomy that New England settlers enjoyed. Nearby Dutch communities followed suit, requesting local powers patterned on the liberal governmental structures of the English settlements. Under

Stuyvesant's administration town officials, particularly the *schout* (selectman/justice of the peace) and *schepens* (sheriff/district attorney), acquired considerable power. SUFFRAGE remained far more restricted than in New England, however; New Netherland retained the Dutch system of closed corporation government, under which incumbents nominated their successors.

As New Netherland became a more stable and viable settlement, the English viewed it with increasingly covetous eyes. The English and Dutch were long-standing commercial rivals, and New Netherland became a choice prize in the Anglo-Dutch wars. When an English war fleet commanded by Colonel Richard Nicholls sailed into New Amsterdam's harbor in September 1664, Stuyvesant surrendered without a fight. As the Dutch knew from earlier skirmishes with the English in Connecticut, they could not hope to win a military victory over the far more numerous English forces. The English capture of New Netherland in 1664 was not decisive; English and Dutch forces continued to dispute control of the region for several years, and the Dutch recaptured New Amsterdam briefly in the Third Anglo-Dutch War in 1673. New Netherland was restored to the English in the peace treaty of 1674, ending the Dutch colonization project in North America.

Of all the European colonies in North America, New Netherland was the most ethnically and religiously diverse in the 17th century. The first immigrants to the colony were French-speaking Walloons; company officials and patroons also recruited settlers from England, Germany, and Norway. By midcentury scarcely half of New Netherland's European population was ethnically Dutch, and a clergyman reported that 18 languages were spoken in the port city. Numerous religious groups were represented, including LUTHERANS, English CONGREGATIONALISTS, QUAKERS, and JEWS, as well as Dutch Reformed Protestants.

New Netherland also had a substantial African-American slave population. The West India Company began importing slaves in 1626 in response to the colony's more or less permanent LABOR shortage; many were brought from the Dutch plantation colony at Curaçao rather than directly from Africa. Growing demand for slaves among private citizens forced the company to renounce its monopoly on the SLAVE TRADE in 1648. Around the same time the company created a distinctive status called "half-freedom"; "half-free" blacks, imported and owned by the West India Company, were rented out to settlers, an arrangement that saved settlers the cost of purchasing slaves and allowed the "half-free" a modest degree of personal autonomy. New Netherland's enslaved and "half-free" black colonists worked primarily in AGRICULTURE and construction; by 1664 they numbered about 700 out of a total colonial population of 8,000.

New Netherland's ECONOMY, unlike that of most of the British American colonies, was founded on trade

rather than agriculture. Dutch law accorded women much more extensive legal rights than English law did, and women played an active role in commerce in the Dutch settlements. Men and women alike struggled with the West India Company's labyrinthine economic regulations, which extended not only to the lucrative fur trade but also to baking, brewing, butchering, and a host of other basic occupations. Agricultural output was low. Although the West India Company sent several hundred livestock to New Netherland in the 1620s, it ceased to provision the colony in 1626, and immigrants devoted little attention to agriculture. The colony's real strength lay in its cosmopolitan fur-trading centers. The English conquerors were reluctant to disrupt the lucrative fur-trading network established by the Dutch, and Dutch culture and customs continued to flavor New York (as the English renamed New Netherland) long after the English conquest.

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—Darcy R. Fryer

## New Orleans

Founded in 1718 by France, New Orleans was the first major town established in the LOUISIANA colony. The government-sponsored Company of the West undertook the rapid peopling of the city, named after the duke of Orleans, 100 miles up the Mississippi River from the Gulf of Mexico. While the French settled the area principally to protect their interests on the lower Mississippi, settlement was also linked to a massive reform of France's financial system. When that project failed, the huge scale of its vision mocked the weak result in New Orleans. Except for the ACADIANS who arrived in 1755, few immigrants were attracted to the settlement subsequently. As a result, New Orleans Parish contained only about 4,200 inhabitants in 1766, consisting mostly of white settlers and African slaves.

The choice to locate the parish at many bends in the river was precise: It was the site of an ancient Indian portage between the Mississippi River and Lake Pontchartrain, a portage that served as the nexus of trade in the lower Mississippi Valley before the French arrived. This trail commanded the traffic of the river at easily policed narrows and served as the only "backdoor" route into the delta region and to the Gulf of Mexico. Although disease and outmigration had decimated local Native Americans, the area

still functioned as the commercial nodal point of the North American interior between the Appalachian-Allegheny and Rocky Mountain chains as Europeans filled the regions inhabited by NATIVE AMERICANS. Furthermore, settlers developed the natural levees at this particular bend in the river that contained rich alluvial deposits and formed an embankment that protected fields from river flooding.

By 1763 these factors produced a vibrant economic life in New Orleans because virtually all of Louisiana's commerce was brokered there. Its town center was still a small urban space, although studded with a few substantial public and church buildings. Plantations adjoined the geometrically plotted streets of the town center on both sides and formed a continuous strip for miles on the Mississippi's left bank and along a small portion of the opposing right bank.

New Orleans was fundamentally a slave society: Its social organization was based on exports, particularly INDIGO and wood products, produced by African labor. Unlike the British plantation colonies in VIRGINIA and the Carolinas, however, New Orleans—and Louisiana generally—never developed an overwhelming staple crop. Despite the French efforts to build a plantation system, the plantation economy collapsed in the late 1720s due to competition from the English colonies in Virginia and as a consequence of the NATCHEZ REVOLT of 1729. The resulting exchange economy left many slaves to provide for themselves; they used this opportunity to negotiate greater control over their lives. As a result, New Orleans eventually developed a class of free black people, although their autonomy was never fully realized.

Although the town experienced a series of colonial ownership transfers between the French, Spanish and Americans from the mid-18th century to the early 19th century, the town was destined to become much more populous and one of the most legendary of all southern communities.

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—Thomas N. Ingersoll and E. Jerry Jessee

## Newport

Newport was the third English settlement in RHODE ISLAND. Its founder, WILLIAM CODDINGTON, was a follower of clergyman ROGER WILLIAMS, who left MASSACHUSETTS Bay Colony in 1636 in order to create a community that permitted greater religious freedom. Coddington settled at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1638, but in 1639 a dispute with other Portsmouth settlers led him and his adherents to

move to the southern tip of Aquidneck Island, where they built the town of Newport. Like other 17th-century Rhode Island communities, Newport was a haven for religious dissenters. A Quaker meeting was established in Newport in 1657 and a Jewish congregation in 1658.

Newport was an important seaport and commercial center throughout the colonial era. SHIPBUILDING thrived, and merchants exported horses, salt fish, and wood products to the West Indies. In the 18th century Newport also became a center of the infamous “triangle trade.” New England merchants shipped rum to AFRICA and exchanged it for slaves, sold the slaves in the West Indies in exchange for molasses, and carried the molasses back to Newport, where it was distilled into rum. Triangle traders also brought some slaves to Newport, where in 1696 they outnumbered white servants 11 to one. Many urban MERCHANTS and ARTISANS relied on slave labor, as did cattle ranchers and dairy farmers in the surrounding countryside. By 1760 AFRICAN AMERICANS made up nearly 20 percent of Newport's population, perhaps the highest concentration of slaves in the northern colonies.

The combination of long-distance trade and religious liberty made Newport an unusually cosmopolitan community. The town competed with Providence for cultural dominance of the colony. James Franklin, Jr., started printing Rhode Island's first newspaper, the *Mercury*, in Newport in 1758. By the mid-18th century Newport had also begun to attract summer visitors fleeing the malarial climates of SOUTH CAROLINA and the British West Indies. In spite of its diverse population, however, Newport remained a hierarchical society in which a small number of wealthy merchants and shipmasters monopolized political offices and other public leadership roles.

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—Darcy R. Fryer

**Newport, Christopher** (1561–1617) *English mariner* Christopher Newport was born near Harwich, England, around December 1561 and went to sea at an early age. During hostilities with Spain in the 1580s, Newport turned to PRIVATEERING. He participated in the capture of numerous vessels and the assault on Cádiz, losing his right arm in battle. Newport found fame and fortune by capturing a Spanish treasure ship, investing his winnings in privateers of his own.

In 1606 the VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON selected Newport to command the seaborne phase of its upcoming expedition. The fleet sailed in December for VIRGINIA. Arriving at CHESAPEAKE BAY, Newport named the capes

at its mouth for the monarch's sons, Charles and Henry. The expedition proceeded to the site of JAMESTOWN. Newport retained naval command, but a council, of which he was a member, ruled ashore. As settlement building and gold mining commenced, Newport scouted the James River. Upon returning he found a colony under attack from local tribes. Newport recommended conciliation; others demanded retaliation. This debate, fed by personality clashes, polarized the council.

Newport soon sailed for London with news and "gold." Although the gold was identified as base metals, Newport obtained continued funding. In the following years Newport made several round trips, becoming enmeshed in the colony's domestic politics at every turn. Despite poor relations with key council members, Newport became vice admiral of a larger fleet in 1610 and was rewarded with additional shares in the enterprise. He was also given an honorary commission in the Royal Navy. In 1612 Newport transferred his loyalties to the East India Company. After undertaking several cruises he died in those regions, probably in August 1617.

See also JOHN SMITH.

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—Michael S. Casey

## newspapers

The first newspaper published in British North America, *Publick Occurrences*, lasted just one issue. Printed by Benjamin Harris in BOSTON in 1690, the four-page serial drew fire for its criticism of the Massachusetts Bay Colony's Indian allies and was immediately suppressed. Fourteen years elapsed until printers tried again, establishing the *Boston News-Letter* in 1704. Its format and content borrowed heavily from the London weeklies, offering local readers a compendium of warmed-over reports on military, diplomatic, and court matters from Europe. The *News-Letter* was joined by two similarly tame rivals in 1719, William Brooker's *Boston Gazette* and Andrew Bradford's *American Weekly Mercury*, printed in PHILADELPHIA.

Newspapers again became a subject of official scrutiny in the 1720s, when James Franklin attempted to differentiate his *New England Courant* from its competitors by staking out a series of political positions anathema to Boston's elites and critical of the city's government. When such stands landed Franklin in jail in 1722, he transferred legal ownership to his apprentice and younger brother, Benjamin. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN published the *Courant* until his brother's release, then fled to Philadelphia when James

tried to reassert the terms of Benjamin's original indenture. In 1729 Benjamin Franklin took control of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, quickly turning it into one of the most important institutions in the city. Another controversy arose in 1734, when JOHN PETER ZENGER was charged with seditious libel for criticizing the government in the *New-York Weekly Journal*. His case and acquittal have been recognized as one of the first political trials in early America.

By 1749 there were 13 newspapers in the colonies, most of which were clustered in port cities where commercial and information networks converged and where proprietors could raise revenue by advertising the arrival of the latest goods from Europe and the Caribbean. Newspaper printers also supported themselves by publicizing notices describing runaway wives, servants, and slaves; in Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*, for example, more than a quarter of all advertising concerned unfree labor.

For much of the 18th century, domestic news was confined to the margins of newspapers. While the activities of the colonial governors usually made the front page, other notices—typically a mixture of commercial information and sensational stories—appeared on inside pages or clustered along side back-page advertisements. Local news was consistently neglected, a fact that most scholars have attributed to the vitality of face-to-face communication networks in the towns and cities in which newspapers sold. Only as newspapers proliferated did the proportion of domestic news begin to rise as American editors began to exchange papers and copy freely from one another.

The state of the American newspaper industry in the 1760s was decidedly mixed. Most newspapers lasted only a few issues before folding, while their hardworking printers (including female entrepreneurs such as Cornelia Smith Bradford and Ann Smith Franklin) struggled to turn a profit through advertising, sales, and subscriptions. Despite such hardships, the number of newspapers in the colonies continued to grow. By 1765, 26 papers published regularly, not only in port cities but also in a growing number of inland locations. While print runs rarely topped more than a thousand copies per issue before the Revolution, the pervasive presence of newspapers in taverns and coffeehouses ensured that cumulative consumption was vastly higher.

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—Richard J. Bell

## New York

New York's early history was tied to the Hudson River. Navigable for 150 miles from Long Island Sound, it connects with lakes to form a water route to Canada. Most



European settlement and trade happened between the two poles of Albany at the northern end and NEW YORK CITY at the southern. Despite easy water access to the interior via lakes and the Mohawk River, powerful NATIVE AMERICANS and hostile French kept the Dutch and English settlements close to the Hudson and the easternmost parts of the Mohawk. Long Island, reaching northeast from the Hudson along the New England coast, was also heavily settled.

### ***First Inhabitants***

The earliest evidence of human activity in the region comes from 9,000-year-old flint spear tips; settlements have been dated to 4500 B.C. Between these first Paleo-Indian cultures and the emergence of Iroquoian and ALGONQUIN cultures about A.D. 1100, tools and agriculture became increasingly sophisticated to support an increasing population. By 1500, 15,000 people lived on Manhattan Island.

Algonquin-speaking people dominated the eastern regions, Iroquoian the western. Long Island, New York City, and surrounding areas were settled by a people who called themselves Lenape. The Lenape lived in small, mobile communities. Iroquoian societies, by contrast, were more firmly rooted in large palisaded towns, the major structure of which was the longhouse. These extended-family homes were the foundations of a matrilineal and, to some degree, matriarchal society. In the 16th century, just as European explorers and traders began to enter the Hudson Valley, five bands of communities, the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondago, Cayuga, and Seneca, joined together to form the Iroquois League. The league was intended to promote peace, but in practice the confederation more often exercised their power in war.

### ***Exploration***

The first documented European explorer of New York was Giovanni da Verrazano, commissioned by the king of France to find a northern route to China. In 1524 Verrazano anchored between Staten Island and Brooklyn, but a storm forced him to leave without further EXPLORATION. The next year a black Portuguese pilot named Esteban Gómez sailed some distance up the Hudson before he decided that it would not lead him to China. Although other Europeans traded for furs in the area throughout the century, significant exploration and contact did not come until 1609, when HENRY HUDSON, also seeking a northern route to the Indies, sailed 90 miles up the Hudson River. Hudson's voyage had been underwritten by the Dutch East India Company; although they did not take advantage of his discovery, other Dutch MERCHANTS did. By 1614 Dutch merchants had organized a trading post for furs, and in 1621 the DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY was established with a monopoly over all Dutch trade with West AFRICA and the Americas.



"The Surrender of Nieuw Amsterdam in 1664," by Charles Harris (1908). The print shows Dutch soldiers, led by Director-General Peter Stuyvesant, leaving New Amsterdam after ceding it to the English. (*Library of Congress*)

### ***Dutch Settlement***

In 1624 the Dutch West India Company sent 30 families to settle NEW NETHERLAND. Nearly all were Walloons (French-speaking Protestants from the southern Netherlands, now Belgium). Most went north up the Hudson; others were sent to New Netherland's eastern and western borders. Not until the next year did the company send people to settle on Manhattan Island, named NEW AMSTERDAM. The company planned New Netherland as a self-sufficient community whose primary purpose was to advance the Dutch FUR TRADE with local Natives. Compared to its holdings in the CARIBBEAN and in South America, the North American trading post was a disappointment, and the directors gave it little financial support.

Because the colony grew far more slowly than the company had hoped, the directors in Amsterdam offered enormous grants of land—up to 18 miles along the banks of the Hudson, but with unlimited lateral expansion—to any entrepreneur who could bring 50 people to New Netherland and stay there. The landlord, known as a patroon, had nearly complete judicial and economic powers. One of the original investors in the company, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, had one of the few profitable Dutch patroonships, which he called RENSSELAERSWYCK. Because of the company monopoly on the thriving fur trade, however, other potential investors were closed out of the colony, and the patroon system was not an overall success.

The relative peace and prosperity of the Netherlands in the 17th century made many Dutch unwilling to emigrate. The company was forced, therefore, to recruit settlers and laborers from all over northern and western Europe. One visitor claimed that 18 different languages were spoken in the colony. From the beginning fewer than half the colonists were Dutch; the rest were primarily Belgian, Swiss, English, German, and Scandinavian, and most were single

young men. Religious diversity was nearly as widespread. Although the DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH was the official religious establishment of New Netherland, LUTHERANS, JEWS, and even QUAKERS won some tolerance. Over the opposition of the colony's director, the Dutch West India Company pragmatically decided that religious tolerance was necessary for settlement and trade. This practical approach to diversity would characterize the region for most of the colonial period.

New Netherland could not supply its demand for LABOR with Europeans alone. African slaves first arrived in 1626. By the 1640s slave shipments became larger and more frequent, and the proportion of Africans to Europeans rose to 10 percent of the population. As with whites, men far outnumbered women. Under Dutch rule possibilities for slaves were relatively extensive. Slaves had the same religious, economic, and legal rights as whites. In 1644, when some of the first slaves petitioned for their freedom, the company granted them "half-freedom," an arrangement by which slaves received their liberty and some land but were forced to work for the company, for wages, whenever necessary. Their descendants, free black families, owned farms in the countryside outside New Amsterdam.

The European population of English colonies in North America was increasing far more rapidly than New Netherland's. Rapid growth in New England encouraged some PURITANS to move south to Long Island. In 1640 a group from MASSACHUSETTS established the first English settlement in New York. These English settlers shared few cultural ideals with their Dutch neighbors. The contrast between New Netherland's tolerant pluralism and the New Englanders' desire for homogeneous communities quickly led to conflict.

More violent, however, were the DUTCH-INDIAN WARS in the lower Hudson Valley. Although the Dutch carefully maintained peace with the Iroquois Confederacy for the sake of the northern fur trade, tensions over land hampered relations with southern Algonquin. From 1641 to 1645 company director Willem Kieft led a savage war that killed nearly 1,600 Indians, a demographic loss from which the Lenape never fully recovered. Dozens of communities on Long Island and Staten Island were destroyed. Shorter conflicts persisted throughout the Dutch period. The company immediately recalled Kieft to the Netherlands and replaced him with PETER STUYVESANT, the last and among the most competent of the company's directors.

By the middle of the century it seemed clear that New Netherland had not been a profitable investment for the Dutch West India Company. Half the company's debt of 1 million guilders came from the North American colony alone. The English continued to encroach on Long Island, and New Netherland had not yet acquired enough white settlers of its own to hold them off. In 1640 the company

tried to turn the tide. First and most significantly, it gave up its monopoly over the lucrative fur trade. Other merchants could now invest in the colony, revitalizing trade in fur and slaves and sparking other economic activity in the production of TOBACCO and timber. Second, recognizing that land was the most attractive commodity to potential settlers, they revised the patroon system to give 200 acres of land to any colonist who brought along five other settlers.

Stuyvesant transformed New Amsterdam from a struggling trading post into a bustling port city. Immigration brought thousands of new settlers, most as members of healthy families. Stuyvesant negotiated a treaty with New England to curb Puritan settlement on Long Island in 1650. Algonquin-speaking Indians lost several more conflicts in the 1650s and 1660s and ceased to be a threat to Dutch settlement along the lower valley.

### *English Conquest*

Despite the gains in peace and population, however, New Netherland became caught up in the struggle between England and the United Provinces for commercial and naval dominance. As a pawn in the Anglo-Dutch wars, it earned the dubious honor of being the only English colony in North America acquired by conquest.

In 1664 King Charles II (1660–85) granted his brother James, duke of York, a charter for a colony that included all the land between the DELAWARE and CONNECTICUT Rivers. James immediately sent a fleet to Manhattan. Stuyvesant was more reluctant than his officials to surrender, but in the end he gave up the colony without a fight. The English immediately renamed both the city and the colony New York, in James's honor. Dutch influence in the colony persisted, however, and the process of Anglicization continued for more than a generation. Ethnic and religious heterogeneity were too deeply embedded to be eradicated, and diversity continued to be the colony's most salient characteristic.

Both as duke of York and later as king, James attempted to impose an absolute government on the colony. In 1665 Governor Nicholls drew up a law code (the Duke's Laws), drawn mainly from New England statutes but that did not allow for any elected assembly. The English on Long Island were more opposed to the new government than were the Dutch, who had never adopted representative government in New Netherland. The restrictive laws made it difficult to attract English settlers to New York, especially after the governments in NEW JERSEY implemented elected legislatures. In the first nine years after the conquest, the colony remained more Dutch than English. Thus, when a Dutch fleet sailed into Manhattan in 1673, the city again surrendered without a struggle. New York City was renamed New Orange in honor of the new Dutch military leader, William,

prince of Orange. The Dutch held the colony for only 15 months, however. When the Third Anglo-Dutch War ended in 1674, they returned the colony to the English as part of the peace negotiations. Although the duke granted a charter that guaranteed a legislature and personal freedoms (the Charter of Liberties) in 1683, the colony remained a Dutch society ruled by English conquerors. Settlements along the Hudson retained Dutch language and culture well into the 18th century.

Dutch women were particularly resistant to Anglicization. Under the Roman-Dutch law of New Netherland, women had many more legal and economic rights than under English common law. Dutch culture considered marriage an economic partnership; English culture set men at the head of the household. In churches and at home women continued to write and speak Dutch far longer than their male counterparts.

When James II assumed the throne in 1685, he extended his experiments in absolutism by revoking the colony's charter and dissolving its assembly. The next year he established the DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND, an unpopular new government that included New England, the Jerseys, and New York. Even before the news reached North America in 1689 of William and Mary's victory over James in the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, colonists had overthrown the dominion.

The New York militia, under the command of Captain Jacob Leisler, took over Fort James in Manhattan and held it in William's name. Leisler, a German-born immigrant who had married a wealthy Dutch widow, feared that a rumored French invasion would turn the colony over to dreaded Papists. Despite summoning an elective assembly, he instituted an absolute government of his own, frequently flouting English legal and economic rights. The supporters of LEISLER'S REBELLION were primarily Dutch and had few English contacts. Despite a Dutch king on the English throne, Leisler was convicted of treason. He and his son-in-law were hanged, drawn, and quartered in 1691. It would take nearly a generation before the ethnic tensions created by Leisler's execution dissipated. The economic, cultural, and geographic schisms that underlay the rebellion would characterize New York politics for the rest of the colonial period.

After 1691 New York became a royal colony with an assembly, English courts, and traditional English liberties. Anglicization proceeded slowly, however, and certain holdovers from the Dutch period continued to characterize the colony, including tenant farming on enormous manorial estates, political power consolidated in the hands of a few families, conflicts between New York City and the settlements farther up the Hudson, an economic orientation toward Atlantic trade, and, most of all, extensive ethnic and religious diversity.

### **British Settlement**

The factional politics of the Leislerians and anti-Leislerians in the 18th century turned into a conflict between competing "mercantile" and "landed" interests. The legislature acquired more privileges as the royal governor continually sought increased revenues. Governors were rarely able to keep themselves out of the local struggles for political power, which were determined more by family alliances and ethnic differences than by particular political agendas. Political factions often formed around individual personalities. CLASS interests were rarely part of the picture; both sides of any conflict had elite leadership that claimed popular support.

In the mid-1730s political factionalism came to a head. *The New York Weekly Journal*, bankrolled by the antigovernor faction and edited by the printer JOHN PETER ZENGER, printed criticism of Governor William Cosby. Cosby's supporters arrested Zenger for libel, a charge from which he was acquitted. The Zenger case made the press an important component in 18th-century politics and forced factions to broaden their appeal.

In the 1750s and 1760s New Englanders again began to move into New York, putting pressure on the large landholders. Immigrants from western Europe, particularly Palatine Germans but including French Huguenots, Scots, Scots-Irish, and other Germans, also began to settle the area. Some of these farmers, led by New Englanders who had been accustomed to outright land ownership, confronted the owners of manors in the Hudson Valley in violent confrontations. British troops were called in to subdue the rioters.

Increasing numbers of slaves in New York City, Albany, and the surrounding countryside also created tension. In 1712 African slaves burned down a house and killed at least nine people who came to put out the fire. Twenty-five slaves were convicted of revolt; 18 were executed, some by torture. Rumors of other slave rebellions persisted throughout the 1720s and 1730s, culminating in a 1741 investigation of a slave conspiracy to set fire to New York City, murder its white population, and hand the port over to the Spanish, with whom Britain was at war. A yearlong series of trials into the NEGRO PLOT OF 1741 ended in the execution by burning and hanging of 31 people, including four whites, and the banishment of more than 70 others.

New York's ECONOMY was heavily geared toward trade, particularly the export of foodstuffs from the Hudson Valley to the West Indies and of furs to Europe. New York's economic culture was characterized by the active participation of women in trade. Drawing on older Dutch models of female traders and on newer demands of an Atlantic market, women in New York and Albany acted as MERCHANTS and shopkeepers.

The fur trade was entirely dependent on New York's alliance with the Iroquois. Albany and the trading post

Oswego became places of exchange among the French, Indians, and British. New York's most important commerce was closely tied to international conflicts over North America.

### War

The increasing struggles between Britain and France for North America often played out along the New York–New France frontier. Both European empires attempted to gain the support of the Iroquois Confederation (now the Six Nations), but the Iroquois in turn set the Europeans against each other for their own purposes. Because the confederation controlled most of western New York and all access to the fur trade, they were essential participants in North American diplomacy.

Although the first three Anglo-French conflicts (KING WILLIAM'S WAR, 1689–97; QUEEN ANNE'S WAR, 1702–13; and KING GEORGE'S WAR, 1744–48) were essentially inconclusive, they all destroyed frontier settlements, disrupted the fur trade, and made New York increasingly pivotal in the attempt to drive France from the continent. As English settlers encroached on Iroquois land, the Six Nations were increasingly alienated from their former allies. In 1754 British officials held a major conference in Albany to woo Iroquois loyalty. As a result of the Albany conference, when the SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1754–63) erupted that year, the Iroquois fought for the British. Most of the mainland battles were fought north of Albany, and from there the final invasion of Canada was launched. Albany itself became the center of mainland operations. In 1763 the French were driven from North America.

See also AFRICAN AMERICANS; GENDER.

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—Serena Zabin

### New York City

In 1626 the Dutch West India Company's director, PETER MINUIT, "purchased" Manhattan from local Indians in exchange for 60 guilders worth of European goods. He named the new settlement NEW AMSTERDAM. In the first year New Amsterdam was a small settlement on the southern tip of Manhattan with 270 inhabitants, 30 houses, a mill, and a countinghouse.

Ten years later New Amsterdam had hardly expanded in size or population, but its inhabitants had become remarkably diverse. The mayor claimed that 18 different

languages were spoken in the city. Most of the inhabitants were men working for the DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY, which had financed the settlement and owned most of the property.

In 1626 the company bought 11 male slaves and three more in 1628. Initially, slaves had many of the same legal, military, and religious privileges as whites, although MISCEGENATION was later forbidden. In 1644, when some of the first slaves petitioned for their freedom, the company granted them "half-freedom," an arrangement by which slaves received their liberty and some land but were forced to work for the company, for wages, whenever necessary.

Although New Amsterdam had begun as a rough trading post—fully one-fourth of the buildings in 1638 were taverns—by the middle of the 17th century it had developed into a bustling seaport. By 1660 the population had increased to 1,500, including many more families. The inhabitants were still a heterogeneous mix of Europeans and Africans. In 1664 the 300 slaves in New Amsterdam constituted 20 percent of the city's population. That same year James, the duke of York, sent a war fleet to New Amsterdam. The locals surrendered without resistance. The Dutch recaptured the city in 1673 and named it New Orange, but when it was ceded back to England 15 months later, it permanently gained the name New York City.

In the decades after the British reconquest of New York, the city became increasingly Anglicized and connected to the BRITISH EMPIRE. Trade increased to England and the West Indies, and English MERCHANTS owned an ever larger percentage of the city's wealth. During the wars against France and Spain, New York sent out more privateers to harass foreign shipping than any other port in North America. In the early part of the century, pirates, including Captain Kidd, received economic and social support from the governor. Sailors, soldiers, and other transients contributed to the fluidity of New York's culture.

Despite the decline of Dutch culture, which had encouraged women's economic activity, women remained practicing traders in the Atlantic world. Coverture and the exclusion of women from economic life were not characteristic of British New York City. Numerous female merchants and shopkeepers contributed to the city's role as an entrepôt for the British Empire.

The city retained the ethnic diversity that had characterized it in the Dutch era. As late as 1750 the English still did not represent a majority of the people. At midcentury the city was roughly 45 percent English, 21 percent German and Dutch, 15 percent Scots, Scots-Irish, and Irish, and 14 percent African American and African. New York City had the largest urban black population north of MARYLAND.

The British established a more rigorous slave code than had the Dutch, but it was nearly impossible to enforce.



Slaves socialized with whites and each other in taverns and on the streets. In 1712 roughly 25 newly imported African slaves revolted, burning buildings and killing nine whites. In 1741 authorities suspected another plot, though on little evidence. More than 30 people, including four whites, were executed in the NEGRO PLOT OF 1741, and another 70 were banished from the colony.

See also CITIES AND URBAN LIFE.

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—Serena Zabin

**Nicolet, Jean** (1598–1642) *explorer of the Great Lakes region*

Jean Nicolet explored westward from the Atlantic Ocean, extending New France to the Mississippi River. Born in France, Nicolet came to the New World in the late 1620s and learned the ALGONQUIN and HURON-IROQUOIS languages. In the belief that China lay just beyond the Sault, the passage between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, the French decided to explore the region. With his knowledge of Native American languages, Nicolet was the best choice. The explorer and his party traveled to Georgian Bay in 1634 and then, accompanied by seven Huron, retraced Étienne Brulé's line to the Sault. He turned southward at this point, found the Strait of Mackinac, and discovered Lake Michigan for France. On the far shore of the lake, Nicolet entered Green Bay and, having donned a Chinese silk robe for the occasion, met, much to his surprise, the Winnebago instead of the Chinese. The Winnebago informed Nicolet that the "Big Water" was three days' journey away. The NATIVE AMERICANS were referring to the Mississippi, but the Frenchman believed that he had reached the Pacific Ocean, and he returned home. His discoveries were not followed up because of the hostility of the Iroquois and a lack of interest among the French. Nicolet spent the remainder of his life at Three Rivers, working as a commissary and interpreter. In 1637 Nicolet married Marguerite Couillard in Quebec, and the couple subsequently produced one child, a daughter. In October 1642 Nicolet was returning to Three Rivers when his boat sank in rough seas on the St. Lawrence River, and the explorer, who had never learned to swim, drowned.

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—Caryn E. Neumann

## North Carolina

The colony of North Carolina was among the least prominent of the original thirteen colonies, in part because of its geographic semi-isolation. The Outer Banks provided a long, rugged coastline, which blocked most of the colony from easy access to the ocean; the Cape Fear River furnished the sole deepwater port.

### Original Inhabitants

When the first English colonists arrived at Roanoke in 1585 in present-day North Carolina, the CATAWBA, CHEROKEE, TUSCARORA, and various other Indian peoples occupied the area. The Tuscarora lived in the Piedmont in western North Carolina. In their society, both genders carried out essential economic roles, with men hunting and women planting corn and beans and gathering berries and other foods. Related linguistically to the IROQUOIS (of NEW YORK), the Tuscarora sometimes allied with them in raids against their common enemy, the Catawba. Like most NATIVE AMERICANS along the East Coast, the Tuscarora became dependent on European trade goods, which created struggles with neighboring Indians to control hunting grounds and commerce with Europeans. In addition, North Carolina's colonists encroached on the land of the Tuscarora and paid their enemies to capture the Tuscarora and to sell them into slavery. In 1711, the Tuscarora retaliated by killing a British trader and then attacking colonial plantations, thereby setting off the TUSCARORA WAR (1711–13). The North and South Carolinians defeated the Tuscarora, who then moved north to become the final group in the Six Nations of the Iroquois.

Like many other Native Americans, the Catawba sustained huge population losses from European diseases, became dependent on English metal goods, and suffered attacks on their culture and independence. The Catawba acted as brokers in the trade between other Natives and the English, which helped them to maintain their autonomy. As the political structures of neighboring Indians disintegrated, the Catawba adopted many of them into their society, simultaneously creating new cultural groups. Severe SMALLPOX epidemics and the diminishing deerskin trade undermined the power of the Catawba in the mid-18th century.

The Cherokee dominated the Appalachian Mountains in present-day Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and North and South Carolina. Although decimated by diseases contracted from 16th-century Spanish explorers, they were able to recover their population before sustained contact and trade with the English in the 17th century. In 1650, the Iroquoian-speaking Cherokee probably numbered about 22,000. Typically, their villages consisted of a small number of log cabins, where women and men shared political and social power. Women engaged in agriculture while

men hunted. Selected by each town, chiefs had a division of responsibilities between wartime and peacetime leaders. During the late 17th and early 18th centuries, select Cherokee villages signed peace treaties with Carolina's settlers, and a number of Cherokee women married Europeans, especially traders. The Cherokee's excessive reliance on European manufactured goods weakened their political bargaining power and caused them to cede large tracts of lands to white colonists to pay their debts. During the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, some Cherokee towns supported the French and launched sustained attacks on the Carolina backcountry. Generally siding with the British during the American Revolution, the Cherokee eventually lost even more land and became subordinate to the new United States government.

### *The "Lost Colony"*

The French and Spanish explored and claimed the area in the 16th century. They were especially interested in Pamlico Sound, which they hoped to be a gateway to an ocean route to China.

In 1583 Queen Elizabeth I conferred the exclusive license to discover and colonize "remote heathen and barbarous lands" upon Walter Raleigh, who was already intensely involved in colonizing Ireland and heavily invested in lucrative PRIVATEERING forays against Spanish shipping. Planning his American colony as a base for privateering, Raleigh dispatched Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe in 1584 to reconnoiter a settlement site close to the West Indies and the homeward route of the Spanish treasure fleet. They found Roanoke Island, sheltered between the Outer Banks and the mainland of present-day North Carolina, to be a plausible site for a covert naval base. Amadas and Barlowe were warmly welcomed and entertained by Granganimeo, the werowance who ruled Roanoke at the pleasure of his brother WINGINA, the paramount chief of an alliance of local ALGONQUIN villages. Wingina was eager for English allies in intracultural rivalries with his neighbors. He also hoped to enhance his power and prestige by becoming an intermediary in the trade with the English.

On their return to England in September 1584, Amadas and Barlowe brought glowing reports of the New World's potential along with Wingina's advisers, Manteo and Wanchese, who learned English and taught Thomas Harriot the Roanoke Algonquian dialect. Elizabeth knighted Raleigh for his efforts, but forbade him to go to sea. Instead, Sir Richard Grenville (see Volume I) was named admiral of the fleet and general of the expedition. Grenville's expedition reached Wococon Island on June 29, 1585, and he planted the colony on the north end of Roanoke Island, close to Wingina's principal village, Dasamonquepeuc.

The presence of Raleigh's colony profoundly unsettled regional Algonquin life. English demands for corn

threatened the Indians' surplus already made meager by several years of drought. The English also spread deadly diseases, which undermined the Algonquins' confidence in their native RELIGION. Wingina eventually adopted a policy of resistance. He changed his name to Pemisapan ("One who watches"), withdrew from the English, refused to provide them with food, and eventually hatched a plot to eradicate the colony. The colonists responded by raiding Dasamonquepeuc and killing Wingina and his advisers, thereby making most Roanoke implacable enemies of the English.

The Indian embargo on trading foodstuffs, Grenville's delay in resupplying the colony, and the unexpected arrival of Sir Francis Drake and his privateering fleet in June 1586 induced the colonists to take up Drake on his offer to transport them back to England. Shortly thereafter, Grenville arrived with three ships. Finding the colony abandoned, he left 15 men on Roanoke with provisions for two years, "being unwilling to loose the possession of the country which Englishmen had so long held." The failure to find precious metals or even a suitable harbor for refitting privateers quickly soured enthusiasm among wealthy investors for the VIRGINIA enterprise. Raleigh, however, held fast to his dreams of empire and backed John White, the painter, in gathering support for another expedition. After his appointment as governor, White led 14 English families to Roanoke Island in May 1587. In August, White went to England to secure additional supplies and support. White's return was delayed by English naval engagements with the Spanish Armada, and when he arrived in Roanoke in 1590, he found that the colonists had vanished, leaving only clues that they might have tried to relocate the colony inland or to Chesapeake Bay.

### *Colonization*

King Charles I claimed Carolina (the Latin name for "Charles") in 1629 by granting the region to Sir Robert Heath, but he failed to establish any settlements. King Charles II granted the area to eight supporters whom he named the Lords Proprietors over Carolina. Their charter provided them with extensive power over the colony, and they promised political and religious freedom as well as land to settlers. When these promises failed to attract many colonists, Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper (subsequently earl of Shaftesbury) and the philosopher JOHN LOCKE wrote the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina in 1669, which maintained feudal privileges but also provided some popular rights. However, settlers did not adopt the Fundamental Constitutions, and the colony developed along considerably different lines than envisioned by the authors of that document.

The colonization of North Carolina proceeded slowly in the 17th century. Virginians established the first

permanent settlement around Albermarle Sound in the early 1650s, and migration from Virginia continued, especially after BACON'S REBELLION in 1676. In 1689, the Virginia proprietors appointed a governor for the province of Albermarle, which gradually became known as North Carolina. The pace of migration increased after the English Parliament's 1705 passage of the Naval Stores Act, which encouraged the production of turpentine, tar, and pitch, all of which were possible in the area's vast pine forests. Freeholders also relied on indentured servants and black and Indian slaves to produce corn, TOBACCO, and livestock. As Native Americans were pushed west of the Appalachian Mountains, German and Scots-Irish migrants flowed into the Piedmont. Scots and smaller contingents of Swiss and French migrants settled along the Cape Fear River.

The early 18th century was a time of difficulty. The Tuscarora raided white settlements in 1711, and the Yamasee attacked the Carolinas in 1715. Pirate activity near the Outer Banks contributed to the unrest. Dissatisfied Carolinians complained about the proprietors' failure to protect them or to provide additional lands. In 1712, North Carolina was made a separate colony. The boundary between North Carolina and Virginia was surveyed in 1728, and in 1729, North Carolina became a royal colony.

At the end of the colonial era, the colony was deeply divided along regional, class, and racial lines. Small family farmers with few slaves came into conflict with more affluent eastern owners of slaves and larger estates. Western farmers, perpetually in debt, paid high fees and taxes and exercised little power in the colony's general assembly. They organized the Regulators to "regulate" their communities in a more honest and equitable fashion.

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—James Bruggeman and Billy G. Smith

### Northwest Coast Indians

Living on a narrow strip of land along the Pacific coast that runs from present-day southern Alaska to northern California, the Natives of the Northwest Coast developed one of the most materially rich cultures in North America, in part because they lived in a land of abundance. The cli-

mate of the Northwest Coast is mild, yet high in precipitation. The heavy rainfall—sometimes up to 100 inches per year—and the constant mist from the ocean created dense, verdant coniferous forests. Added to this are waters that melt off the mountain snow packs and feed the region's numerous rivers.

Northwest Coast peoples developed a materially rich culture by exploiting the naturally abundant FOOD resources of their ENVIRONMENT. Fish, particularly salmon, constituted the staple food of their diet. Whaling, game ANIMALS, and edibles from wild plants supplemented this. Other than the cultivation of small amounts of TOBACCO for ceremonial purposes, these peoples did not engage in AGRICULTURE. They generally lived in villages composed of extended kinship groups. They usually divided their year into two parts. They spent winters in villages constructed of roomy plank houses, where they occupied themselves with ceremonial and trade activities. During the summer, however, they lived at FISHING camps, catching and preserving their catch.

Northwest Indians evolved a highly complex society that stressed first accumulating, then giving away material goods. This usually took the form of the potlatch, in which a wealthy man would provide a feast for his neighbors and kin during which he would disperse CLOTHING, food, blankets, and other goods. By providing generously for others in the community, the individual acquired increased status. Trade was important, with copper plates, blankets, wood and horn utensils, and dugout canoes being exchanged. The Chinook, located on the Columbia River, served as intermediaries for much of the trade in the Northwest.

Compared with Indians on the East Coast, Northwest Natives encountered Europeans far later and had fewer interactions. While Europeans conducted sporadic EXPLO-RATIONS of the northern Pacific coast in the 16th and 17th centuries, they did not interact with the Native peoples. In the northern part of the region, the Tlingit had their first contacts with Russian fur traders in the 1740s. Farther south, the Spanish ship *Santiago* traded with Hadia in 1774. In 1778 Captain James Cook traded furs with the Nookta during his circumnavigation of the globe. When word spread of the rich furs available in the area, American, English, and Russian fur trading companies began competing in the region in the 1790s and continued to do so throughout the first half of the 19th century.

—Roger Carpenter

### Nurse, Rebecca (1621–1692) *Salem witch hunt victim*

On March 13, 1692, Ann Putnam claimed to have been visited by the apparition of Rebecca Nurse, an elderly woman living in Salem Village, MASSACHUSETTS. Soon,

other accusers stepped forward and described spectral visitations during which Rebecca physically attacked them and attempted to recruit the victims to join in league with the devil. Ten days after the first complaints, Nurse was arrested and faced trial in the notorious Salem WITCHCRAFT trials. Born in England in 1621, Nurse moved to New England in 1640 and married Francis Nurse in 1645. By the time she faced trial in June 1692, Nurse was one of the most unlikely suspects of the witch hunt. At 71 years old, a mother of eight, and with a reputation for piety, Nurse seemed to be unassailable. Indeed, after a public trial the jury initially returned with a verdict of not guilty, despite the testimony of expert witnesses who claimed to have examined Nurse's body and discovered physical evidence of bewitchment. After her alleged victims loudly protested and the judge asked the jury to reconsider their decision, Nurse was convicted and sentenced to death. On

July 19 Nurse stood with four other convicted women at the town gallows. While Sarah Good loudly denounced the men and women responsible for the trials, Nurse reportedly went to her death quietly, a silent rebuke to the community that had once embraced her as a role model only to turn against her in the fear and confusion of the witch hunt craze. Nurse's hanging provoked an outcry in Salem, causing many residents to question the legitimacy of the process. After 19 executions, including that of Nurse's sister Mary Esty, the trials came to an end in October 1692. In 1711 the government compensated the Nurse family for what it finally acknowledged was a wrongful death.

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—Melanie Perreault





**Oglethorpe, James Edward** (1696–1785) *colonial governor of Georgia*

James Oglethorpe was a central figure behind the founding of GEORGIA in 1733. Born on December 22, 1696, the youngest of seven children of a former Jacobite family, Oglethorpe had a privileged upbringing, being educated at Eton and Oxford. At age 21 Oglethorpe gained military experience in the army of Prince Eugene of Savoy before becoming a Tory member of Parliament for Haselmere in Surrey in 1722. Gradually, Oglethorpe became concerned with the social and moral reform of the nation. As chairman of the Parliamentary Gaols Committee, Oglethorpe had observed the plight of the poor firsthand, and he agreed with those who believed that a new American colony in the disputed BORDERLANDS south of SOUTH CAROLINA would provide an excellent opportunity for the “worthy poor.” Subsequently, Oglethorpe became one of the founder trustees for the new colony of Georgia and personally accompanied the first shipload of settlers to the colony.

Once in Georgia, Oglethorpe assumed the position of benevolent paternalist, resolving disputes and dispensing justice and supplies, although he lacked any official jurisdiction. While he officially reported to the trustees, Oglethorpe, in effect, ruled Georgia. On several occasions he ignored or overrode his colleagues to suit his personal whim or when circumstances demanded. For example, a shipload of 40 JEWS who arrived in Georgia in 1733 should have been sent back across the Atlantic, per the instructions of the other trustees. However, Oglethorpe believed these settlers could be a valuable addition to the colony, especially Jacob Nunez, a doctor, the only one in Georgia. Ultimately, Oglethorpe’s view prevailed, and SAVANNAH eventually became home to one of the most vibrant Jewish communities in British America.

During his three visits to Georgia, Oglethorpe made essential alliances with local NATIVE AMERICANS that ensured the survival of the infant colony, and he was intimately involved in designing Georgia’s first settlements,

including Savannah, Augusta, Federica, Ebenezer, and Darien. He was also at the forefront of the defense of the “Georgia plan,” especially the prohibition of SLAVERY, from the attacks of so-called malcontents. He not only wrote repeated letters to his fellow trustees urging



A statue of James Oglethorpe, founder of the Georgia colony  
(Library of Congress)

them to stand firm, he also persuaded certain groups of settlers such as the Scottish Highlanders in Darien and the Salzburgers in Ebenezer to support him. While his defense of the ban was ultimately in vain, Oglethorpe formulated some of the first antislavery sentiments heard in the American colonies.

In addition to his other roles, Oglethorpe took personal charge of Georgia's defense against the Spanish in FLORIDA and the French in the Mississippi Valley. On his final visit to Georgia between 1738 and 1743, Oglethorpe was almost entirely concerned with military matters—partly because his fellow trustees had appointed William Stephens to run the civil government of the colony. Oglethorpe supervised the construction of a network of defensive FORTS and staffed them with the Georgia regiment, the first garrison permanently stationed in America. He led the regiment, together with local militias, in a failed attempt to capture ST. AUGUSTINE in Florida in 1740, but he successfully defeated a Spanish invasion in the Battle of Bloody Marsh in 1742.

After his final return from Georgia in 1743, Oglethorpe gradually lost interest in the colony. In 1745 he was detailed to repel the invasion of England from Scotland, but his half-hearted pursuit of the rebels, together with his family's own sympathies with the rebels, earned Oglethorpe a court-martial, although ultimately he was acquitted.

Oglethorpe's last 35 years were not as star-studded as his first 50. He lost his parliamentary seat in 1752, and although he returned to military service incognito for the king of Prussia for a short time, Oglethorpe eventually became a renowned London literary figure and a friend of Samuel Johnson and James Boswell. He died in July 1785 at the venerable age of 88.

**Further reading:** Phinizy Spalding and Harvey H. Jackson, eds., *Oglethorpe in Perspective: Georgia's Founder after Two Hundred Years* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989).

—Timothy James Lockley

### Ohio Company of Virginia (1747–1770)

In 1747 some of the planter elite in the Northern Neck area of VIRGINIA, led by Thomas Lee and including members of the Carter, Washington, and Mason families, joined with London merchant John Hanbury and the duke of Bedford to form the Ohio Company of Virginia to acquire lands in the Ohio country for later sale to settlers. Living along the Potomac River and near the Ohio frontier threatened by French and Indian claims, the planters developed a pugnacious and self-serving imperial vision that asserted their rights as Englishmen to expand their enterprises across the Appalachians, if necessary by military force. In 1749 the

Crown granted the company's request for 200,000 acres near the forks of the Ohio River on the condition that it would settle 100 families there within seven years and build a fort to protect them.

In 1750 the company dispatched surveyor Christopher Gist to the Ohio country to seek suitable lands for settlement. To forestall Virginia's expansion, the French constructed a string of FORTS in the Ohio country, causing Lieutenant Governor Robert Dinwiddie, a company stockholder, to send George Washington and Gist to convince the French to leave. Unconvinced, the French and their Indian allies captured the Company's Fort St. George at the forks of the Ohio, expelled the English settlers, and built Fort Duquesne. In 1754 the French defeated Washington's militia at FORT NECESSITY, which the Virginians had built to counter the French. This clash between the expansionist interests of the Virginia elite and French imperial policy helped ignite the SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

Their settlement efforts frustrated by the Seven Years' War, then Pontiac's Rebellion, and finally the PROCLAMATION OF 1763 (see Volume III), the Ohio Company eventually merged in 1770 with the Grand Ohio, or Vandalia, Company, whose colonization efforts were interrupted by the Revolutionary War. In 1779 the Virginia legislature extinguished the patent of the original Ohio Company on the pretext that it had never surveyed its lands.

**Further reading:** Marc Egnal, "The Origins of the Revolution in Virginia: A Reinterpretation," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 37 (1980): 401–428; James Alfred Procter, *The Ohio Company: Its Inner History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959).

—James G. Bruggeman

### Opechancanough (1545?–1646) chief of the Powhatan Confederacy

Opechancanough, or Mangapeesomon, was kin and successor of POWHATAN and became the "great general of the Savages" who engineered the Powhatan's political, military, and cultural renaissance after their defeat by the English in the first Anglo-Powhatan War (1609–14). Opechancanough led an unremitting resistance to English conquest and colonization of Tidewater VIRGINIA until his murder in English CAPTIVITY in 1646.

Although his origins are shrouded in mystery, Opechancanough first appears in 1607 as the *werowance* of the Pamunkey, the largest tribal group in Powhatan's domain. In December 1607 Powhatan dispatched the Pamunkey leader to capture JOHN SMITH. After Smith's release Opechancanough chafed under Powhatan's conciliatory and assimilationist policies toward the English but, out of deference to his overlord, stoically suffered English

aggression and insults to his dignity, including manhandling by Smith himself. Opechancanough took a leading role in the first Anglo-Powhatan War, and it was only after a fierce attack by English musketeers on his Pamunkey villages near present-day West Point, Virginia, that Powhatan reluctantly sued for a humiliating peace in 1614.

Even before Powhatan's death in 1618, Opechancanough seized effective leadership of the remnants of Powhatan's once powerful chiefdom and began a process of political consolidation and military rejuvenation. He focused on acquiring English firearms and spiritual revitalization in alliance with his principal adviser, Nemattanew, or "Jack of Feathers," a charismatic prophet intent on preserving Powhatan religious beliefs as well as a powerful warrior skilled in the use of English muskets. Convinced that there could be no Anglo-Powhatan relationship based on peace, Opechancanough prepared for war, masking Powhatan rearmament and lulling the English into complacency by disingenuous promises of Christian conversion and surrender of Powhatan land. The murder of Nemattanew by the English in March 1622 galvanized Opechancanough into launching a surprise attack on English settlements, almost eradicating the colony and killing 320 colonists before a defense could be mounted. The ensuing second Anglo-Powhatan War ground on for a decade, resulting in a qualified victory for the Powhatan. They temporarily preserved their way of life, even though their resistance tipped even sympathetic English authorities toward what would become a long-standing policy in British America of expelling Indians from lands coveted by whites and segregating them from white colonists.

English settlers, hungry for land on which to grow highly lucrative TOBACCO, continued to encroach on Powhatan territory, causing Opechancanough to lead yet another desperate attack on the English plantations in 1644, killing some 500 colonists. Then more than 80 years old, so infirm he had to be carried into battle on a litter, the great Pamunkey werowance, after two years of brutal warfare, was captured by forces under the command of Governor SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY, put on public display, and murdered by his English guards in 1646.

There has been speculation that Opechancanough may have been kidnapped as a youth or perhaps transported voluntarily from Virginia to Spain, thereby acquiring some knowledge of Europeans before the Jamestown settlement. However, the existing evidence is insufficient to support that contention.

**Further reading:** Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough: Three Indian Lives Changed by Jamestown* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006).

—James Bruggeman and Billy G. Smith

### Osborn, Sarah Haggar Wheaten (1714–1796) *religious leader*

Few people today have ever heard of Sarah Osborn, but by the end of her life in 1796, she had become one of the most respected female religious leaders of her time. Born in London in 1714 to devout Puritan parents, Benjamin and Susanna Haggar, she came to North America in 1723 with her family, eventually settling in NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND. Her life was marked by recurring tragedy: She eloped in 1731 at the age of 17 with a sailor, Samuel Wheaten, who died two years later, leaving her with a one-year-old son to support; remarried a tailor, Henry Osborn, a widower with three children, who suffered a breakdown that left him unable to work; and toiled long hours as a schoolteacher and a seamstress in order to pay her family's bills. Despite her constant battle to achieve economic security, she remained so indigent that her name never appeared on Newport's tax lists. Her only child, Samuel, died in 1744 at the age of 12. Through everything, she suffered chronic bouts of illness.

Despite these tragedies, Osborn was so charismatic that many people in Newport sought her spiritual counsel. Inspired by the sermons of GILBERT TENNENT, during the revivals of the GREAT AWAKENING, she devoted the rest of her life to spreading her Calvinist faith. Reputed to be gifted in prayer, she became more popular than any of the ordained ministers in her town. During the winter of 1766–67 as many as 500 people—including more than 100 slaves—flocked to her house each week for prayer meetings. Although she remained poor, strangers from as far away as Canada and the West Indies sent money to defray her expenses, eager to help a woman who had become virtually a Protestant saint.

Under the cloak of anonymity Osborn published one of the earliest theological tracts written by an American woman: *The Nature, Certainty, and Evidence of True Christianity* (Boston, 1755). Like many CONGREGATIONALISTS, she kept a voluminous diary in which she examined her life for evidence of God's grace. Although the majority of her manuscripts have been lost, more than 1,500 pages of her diaries and letters have been preserved in various archives. After her death her pastor, Samuel Hopkins, published two edited volumes containing extracts from her writings: *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Sarah Osborn* (Worcester, Mass., 1799) and *Familiar Letters, Written by Mrs. Sarah Osborn and Miss Susanna Anthony, Late of Newport, Rhode Island* (Newport, 1807).

**Further reading:** Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, "The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Sarah Osborn (1714–1796)," *Church History* 61 (1992): 408–421; Mary Beth Norton, ed., "My Resting Reaping Times': Sarah Osborn's Defense of Her 'Unfeminine Activities,'" *Signs* 2 (1976): 515–529.

—Catherine A. Brekus

**Ostenaco (Outacite or Mankiller)** (ca. 1741–1777)  
*chief*

Born about 1741 to an important Hiwassee Cherokee family, Ostenaco (also known as Outacite or Mankiller) became an important leader of the CHEROKEE Indians and a valuable ally of the British. Ostenaco's political leadership developed within the context of efforts by SOUTH CAROLINA to establish stable trade and diplomatic relationships with the Cherokee. A decentralized coalition of town leaders governed Cherokee affairs. To make negotiations easier, colonial South Carolinians attempted to elevate "emperors" as putative overlords of the entire Cherokee nation. Recognition by the English of the Moytoy of the town of Tellico as an emperor ignited competition with leaders of other Cherokee towns. Tellico and Hiwassee struggled with the village of Chota for leadership of the Cherokee. When Moytoy died in 1741, Ostenaco was designated guardian of Moytoy's young heir, Ammonscoisittie. A costly war with the Creeks and Ammonscoisittie's bungling negotiations with the Virginians in 1752 devastated his status and the preeminence of Tellico and Hiwassee. As Chota asserted its prerogative to negotiate trade and diplomacy for the entire nation, Ostenaco joined the Chota town council, accepting the lesser position of second head warrior of the Cherokees.

Ostenaco was a steadfast ally of the British during the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, leading Cherokees in the Sandy Creek expedition against the French-allied Shawnee in 1755, defending the VIRGINIA frontier in 1757, and supporting another British expedition in 1758. The military prowess of Ostenaco and his warriors impressed both Colonel George Washington and Virginia governor Dinwiddie. However, British leaders, convinced of their superior rank and race, poorly compensated the Cherokee and treated these Indian workers in war as cheap and subordinate mercenaries rather than as allies deserving of generosity and respect. Passing to and from the war, Cherokee warriors also clashed with white colonists in the backcountry, leading to attacks,

counterattacks, and hostage-taking that escalated into the Anglo-Cherokee War of 1760–61. Disgusted by British contempt and parsimony, Ostenaco initiated the successful siege of Fort Loudoun. Cherokee forces were unable to prevent the armies of Colonels Archibald Montgomery and James Grant from destroying the Lower and Middle Cherokee towns in western NORTH CAROLINA.

Ostenaco remained aloof in the peace negotiations with Virginia and South Carolina, but he won the friendship of Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, an emissary who escorted Ostenaco's delegation to Williamsburg, where Ostenaco met the young Thomas Jefferson. At their urging, Timberlake in 1762 took Ostenaco and others to London, where they had an audience with King George III (1760–1820), which further secured Ostenaco's affection for Britain.

In his waning years, Ostenaco remained loyal to Britain, negotiating cessions of Cherokee land to establish boundaries and settle debts but resisting speculator Richard Henderson's efforts in 1775 to obtain cession of Cherokee claims to Kentucky and Middle Tennessee. During the American Revolution, Ostenaco joined the Chickamauga "secession," siding with pro-British Dragging Canoe, who established new settlements on the Tennessee-Alabama border to better to resist the Revolutionaries' appropriation of Cherokee lands. Ostenaco died there about 1777 in the company of his beloved grandson Richard Timberlake, the offspring of his daughter and Henry Timberlake.

**Further reading:** Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change: Constitutional Governments among the Cherokees, the Choctaw, the Chickasaws, and the Creeks* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992); David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740–1762* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); Tom Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Era of the Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

—James G. Bruggeman



# P



## **Parris, Samuel** (1663–1720) *minister*

When nine-year-old Betty Parris began acting strangely in late 1691, her father, the Reverend Samuel Parris, at first believed she was the victim of a physical ailment. Soon, however, Parris determined that Betty and a rapidly growing list of “afflicted girls” were victims of a more sinister agent, the devil. By February 1692 what began as an isolated incident in the minister’s household grew into the infamous Salem WITCHCRAFT trials, with Samuel Parris at the center of the controversy.

Born the son of a London cloth merchant, Samuel Parris began his adult life as a plantation owner in Barbados. Unable to secure a satisfactory living on the island, Parris moved to MASSACHUSETTS in 1680 hoping to make his fortune as a merchant. There he married and began a family, but his business interests soon failed. Parris turned to the ministry in the late 1680s and was settled as the new minister for Salem Village in 1689. The parish was deeply divided over Parris’s appointment, reflecting larger social and economic rifts developing in the area. When investigators determined that the source of the original bewitchment was Tituba, the West Indian slave living in the Parris household, Parris began leading antiwitchcraft sermons and prayer sessions. By increasingly viewing the conflict as diabolical in nature, Parris transformed what might have been an isolated incident into a widespread frenzy pitting neighbor against neighbor. Satan, Parris suggested, was turning previously devout colonists into worldly men and women obsessed more with financial than spiritual rewards. Even the Puritan church was no refuge from the devil’s work, according to Parris, as accusations of bewitchment spread from a few outsiders to prominent church members, including a former minister.

Nineteen executions and hundreds of arrests later, the Salem witch trials ended in October 1692. Only then did Parris’s sermons display a sense of doubt about the righteousness of the divisions and factionalism the minister may not have created but certainly exacerbated. By 1693

Parris began to emphasize the biblical message of reconciliation, but it was too late to save his job. A formal apology to the congregation in 1694 gave Parris a few more years in the pulpit, but he was finally removed in 1697. Parris moved to various frontier towns in the early 18th century until his death in 1720.

**Further reading:** Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974).

—Melanie Perreault

## **Parsons’ Cause** (1755–1765)

The Parsons’ Cause was a dispute in VIRGINIA in 1755 over the salary provided by law to the clergy. It evolved into a debate over the authority of the Virginia assembly (HOUSE OF BURGESSES) to impose internal taxes. The dispute had its roots in the 1630s, when it had been agreed to pay clergy in TOBACCO. The church of Virginia required all people, whether members or not, to contribute to its support, and tobacco took the place of money as a medium of exchange. In 1753 the salary of £80 provided to clergy members was deemed insufficient to attract new clergy and to sustain the existing ministers, many of whom had families to support. The Virginia assembly raised the per annum salary to £100. On May 15, 1755, the clergy requested an increase in salary because the excessive issuance of treasury notes to meet the expenses of the SEVEN YEARS’ WAR had caused inflation, thereby eroding the purchasing power of fixed salaries.

In the 1755 Twopenny Act the assembly allowed a rapidly depreciating currency to be substituted for tobacco in the payment of clergy salaries. According to the laws of England, no act of the assembly could supersede an earlier measure on the same subject that had received royal approval. However, the Twopenny Act did not include a suspending clause that would allow it to take effect after

receiving royal consent. Many of the clergy were determined to refuse depreciated currency and to demand payment in tobacco instead. Led by Reverend John Camm, rector of the York-Hampton Parish, the clergy met in convention on November 24, 1755, and appealed to the Crown for relief. The House of Burgesses argued that the new law allowing payment in tobacco aided poor people on the frontier; the ministers responded that the Virginia assembly aimed to lessen the influence of the Crown and reduce the maintenance of the clergy. Most colonists supported the Twopenny Act, but the Crown disallowed it, thus permitting the clergy to sue for damages. In the most celebrated suit, *James Murry v. Frederickville Parish*, the jury awarded damages of one cent.

**Further reading:** Glenn Curtis Smith, *The Parsons' Cause: Virginia 1755–65*. (Richmond, Va.: Richmond Press, 1939).

—Caryn E. Neumann

### Paxton Boys (1763–1764)

The Paxton Boys mostly came from the Scots-Irish immigrant communities established along the PENNSYLVANIA frontier in the 1720s. Some had ties to local militia groups in Lancaster County and Northampton County, west and north of PHILADELPHIA, and many fought Indians during the 1750s when hostile DELAWARE and Shawnee attacked isolated frontier plantations that had been built on disputed territory claimed by both cultures. After the SEVEN YEARS' WAR Scots-Irish settlers feared the continued presence of NATIVE AMERICANS in the region and, making no distinction between allies and enemies, took out their anger on a peaceful Indian community nearby. The initial attack came on December 14, 1763, when a group of armed men from Paxton township in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, marched on Conestoga Manor, killing and SCALPING six of the Christian Indians living on the small reserve of land. A few weeks after the original attack, 50 or 60 armed men on horseback attacked the surviving CONESTOGA Indians who had been placed under protective custody in the jailhouse at Lancaster.

The Pennsylvania governor and other Pennsylvania leaders, including Benjamin Franklin, condemned the actions of the Paxton Boys as being more “savage” than those of the Indians they hated. The colonial government did not criticize the brutal murder of Indian people but instead worried that poor white frontier inhabitants had challenged their authority and feared that they would continue to do so. Indeed, by early 1764 nearly 250 “Paxton Volunteers,” as they called themselves, gathered and headed for Philadelphia intending to kill several hundred Indians under the protection of the Moravians and

Pennsylvania government. Benjamin Franklin and a small militia force stopped the group in Germantown, just short of their goal, but a pamphlet war quickly ensued that explicated the grievances of the frontier inhabitants. Through satirical verse, cartoons, and pointed prose the largely Presbyterian Scots-Irish group questioned the loyalties, morality, and masculinity of politically powerful QUAKERS in the provincial assembly. Matthew Smith and James Gibson, the most vocal of these pamphlet authors, complained that the largely Quaker assembly had refused to help frontier settlers during the war with funds for a militia and protective FORTS. Instead, those in power had used public monies and private donations to assist Indians, such as the Delaware, who, with Quaker support, claimed rights to land in eastern Pennsylvania. Still, the Paxtons' ultimate complaints revolved around issues of relative political power and their own place within the BRITISH EMPIRE. They contended that frontier inhabitants in the western counties of Pennsylvania had less political representation in the provincial assembly than did the smaller eastern counties and that the legal justice system did not extend into their isolated communities. The Paxtons, demanding that the British treat them as equal subjects, took out their anxieties on the Conestoga Indians, who they thought did not deserve recognition or protection from the Pennsylvania government.

Whether or not the Paxton Boys' actions came from a nascent nationalism, the massacre and its aftermath set a precedent for Indian-white relations on the American frontier. After 1763 the level of “Indian-hating” dramatically increased. Other groups of frontier vigilantes, patterned on the Paxton Boys, attacked peaceful Indian communities in the Ohio Valley during the Revolutionary War. In turn, very few Native American groups allied themselves with colonists against Great Britain.

**Further reading:** Alden T. Vaughn, “Frontier Banditti and the Indians: The Paxton Boys' Legacy, 1763–1775,” *Pennsylvania History* 51 (1984).

—Jane T. Merritt

### Payne, Francis (d. 1673) *farmer, slave*

By any measure, Francis Payne was a remarkable man. His birthplace and date are unknown, but he first appeared in Northampton County, Virginia, records in 1643 as a slave, likely one of thousands of African Creoles who lived lives at the margins of the expanding 17th-century Atlantic world. A contract between Payne and his owner, Jane Eltonhead, gave Payne nearly complete control over his mistress's Virginia plantation. In return for an annual payment of 1,500 pounds of tobacco and six bushels of corn, Payne was allowed to retain whatever else he produced.

The assumption was that he would use the excess to purchase his freedom. By the terms of the contract, Payne was required to purchase and deliver to his mistress three white indentured servants who would serve as a substitute for his own labor. It took Payne a dozen years, but by 1656 he fulfilled the contract and became a free man.

Once free, Payne quickly set about purchasing the remainder of his family. Never able to own land of his own, Payne worked like most free blacks and ex-indentured servants, sharecropping for the Virginia elite. Payne was as diligent in his financial life as a freeman as he was in purchasing his freedom as a slave; until he died in 1673, he produced and traded substantial quantities of tobacco with the tidewater elite. When his wife died, he remarried in 1656, this time to a free white woman with whom he lived out the remainder of his life. From these few surviving facts, it is clear that in the founding generation of African-American slavery some remarkable individuals such as Payne were able to forge independent and relatively prosperous lives. That possibility disappeared abruptly when the plantation system came to dominate southern colonial life in the early 18th century.

**Further reading:** T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, *“Myne Owne Ground”: Race and Freedom on Virginia’s Eastern Shore, 1640–1676* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); J. Douglas Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia: Indians, Englishmen, and Africans on the Eastern Shore of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Garland, 1980).

—Ronald Schultz

### **Pelham, Peter** (1695?–1751) *artist*

One of the most prolific printmakers of his generation, Peter Pelham was the only one to focus on separately published prints instead of book illustrations. Nearly as important is his legacy as an educator; his schools and assemblies helped to transform BOSTON from a provincial town into a leading American cultural center. Born in England, Pelham apprenticed to a mezzotint engraver. Mezzotint was a tool that enabled portrait engravers to use varying shades of gray to depict details in face and apparel using paintings as models. After framing and glazing, these prints usually hung in private homes. Pelham did engravings of many famous people, including members of the MONARCHY and members of the nobility.

Perhaps seeking to avoid disgrace or to escape competition, Pelham and his family immigrated to Boston about 1727. With few portraits available to copy, Pelham painted his own, including one of COTTON MATHER. Sold by subscription, the popular mezzotint was available for distribution four months after Mather’s death in 1728. That same

year Pelham issued mezzotints of clergymen, the governor, and a plan of Louisbourg, site of a key battle during a recent war, each of which sold hundreds of copies.

After JOHN SMIBERT’s arrival in North America in 1730, demand declined for Pelham’s paintings. However, Pelham and Smibert occasionally worked together, with Pelham making engravings of Smibert’s paintings.

Unable to support himself and his growing family (after the death of his first wife, he married twice more), Pelham opened a dancing school in 1730 and began organizing concerts and musical assemblies in his home. While the PURITANS forbade musical instruments in worship settings, they permitted them in secular music, a distinction not lost upon the Anglican Pelham. He soon expanded his school to include reading, writing, and arithmetic. Pelham became a Mason in 1738, which widened his social connections, thus increasing the audience for his prints and the number of parents willing to send their children to his school. The Masons also hired him to make engravings of meeting notices, which boosted his income.

Pelham’s son Henry became a portrait painter and miniature painter, while his stepson, John Singleton Copley, learned painting from Pelham. He died in Boston in December 1751.

—Victoria C. H. Resnick

### **Penn, William** (1644–1718) *Quaker leader, founder of Pennsylvania*

William Penn, a Quaker, was the founder of PENNSYLVANIA. He was born in England, the son of Admiral Sir William Penn and Margaret Jasper Vanderschuren, the daughter of a Rotterdam merchant. Penn studied at Chigwell Free Grammar School, then attended Christ Church College, Oxford, from which he was expelled in 1662 for criticizing the ANGLICAN CHURCH. He traveled in Europe, where he seemed to shed his unorthodox leanings, then returned to England in 1664 and studied law at Lincoln’s Inn.

Penn assisted his father in business until 1667, when, while in Ireland supervising family properties, he adopted Quakerism. He quickly became a leading advocate of the Society of Friends (QUAKERS), using his acquaintances in Charles II’s court, particularly his friendship with the king’s brother, James, duke of York. He defended the Quaker faith against attacks by protagonists of other religions and was jailed for blasphemy and attending Friends meetings, which the English government considered illegal “conventicles.” Penn campaigned against legal requirements to attend Anglican services, pay tithes to the established church, and take oaths, all of which Friends opposed. Through these efforts he engaged the larger principle of religious liberty. Penn also helped to set legal precedent in the landmark Penn-Meade trial of 1670, in which juries

won the authority to reach verdicts contrary to the judge's instructions.

In the 1670s Penn achieved first-rank status in the Society of Friends, traveled to Holland, Germany, and parts of England on missionary visits, and became involved in colonization in North America, specifically in NEW JERSEY. Penn helped to draft the liberal West New Jersey Concessions and Agreements (1676), which gave broad powers to a popularly elected assembly. He inherited his father's fortune and landholdings in 1670, including a debt owed by Charles II, which by 1680 amounted, with interest, to £16,000. Penn negotiated with the Crown for about a year, obtaining a charter for Pennsylvania in March 1681. His reasons for founding the colony were both idealistic and financial. He had not been successful in winning religious liberty for Friends in England, and he thus built on his experience with New Jersey to conceive of a model society in America. He also needed a new source of funds, for he lived well beyond his means and could not collect rents from his English and Irish TENANTS. He hoped that sale of Pennsylvania lands and continuing income from quitrents would solve his financial problems.

Penn was hugely successful in promoting his colony through pamphlets such as *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania* (1681) and among the network of Quakers in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Europe. With advice from Algernon Sidney and several lawyers, he drafted the *Frame of Government* and *Laws Agreed upon in England* (1682). This constitution became more conservative with each draft but still included a popularly elected bicameral legislature and the right to trial by jury. Penn extended religious liberty to everyone who believed in one God, but only Christians could vote and hold political office. Land sales were brisk, and by 1682 Penn had more than 500 buyers. He carefully purchased the property from the Lenape Indians, thereby maintaining peaceful relations. He also obtained the three Lower Counties (DELAWARE) from James, duke of York, incorporating the Swedish, Dutch, and English residents into his government.

While Penn's "holy experiment" was much more successful during his lifetime than were colonies such as VIRGINIA and MASSACHUSETTS in establishing friendly relations with the NATIVE AMERICANS, largely because of the Quakers' pacifism, Pennsylvania quickly became part of the Atlantic slave system. SLAVERY had existed in the Delaware Valley under the Dutch and Swedes; with Quaker settlement many wealthy Friends, including Penn, purchased Africans or brought slaves with them from the West Indies. Pennsylvania became enmeshed in the West Indies trade, exchanging foodstuffs, livestock, and lumber in return for West Indies sugar, molasses, and slaves. Many enslaved Africans lived and worked in PHILADELPHIA, where their estimated portion of the population peaked

at 17 percent in the first decade of the 18th century, then declined. Although Pennsylvania had a less brutal regime than did plantation colonies to the south, its legislators created a caste society based on perceptions of race, including separate courts without juries for all blacks, whether slave or free.

William Penn lived in Pennsylvania for only four years, in 1682–84 and 1699–1701. Despite the colony's rapid demographic and economic growth, the proprietor quickly considered it a failure. When he was unable to collect quitrents, the cost of governing the province put him further in debt. He spent nine months in debtors' prison after the heirs of his steward, Philip Ford, won a judgment against him in 1707. Penn's monetary problems and long legal battle with Charles Calvert, Lord Baltimore, over the MARYLAND-Pennsylvania boundary (which was settled with the Mason-Dixon survey only in 1767) left his proprietorship constantly embattled. Most hurtful, perhaps, was the insubordination and bickering of Pennsylvania colonists, including its Quaker leadership, whom Penn had expected to create a model consensual society. When he suffered a debilitating stroke in 1712, his wife, Hannah, became acting proprietor. The proprietorship remained in the Penn family until the American Revolution.

**Further reading:** Gary B. Nash, *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681–1726* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968, 1997); Jean R. Soderlund, ed., *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983).

—Jean R. Soderlund

## Pennsylvania

From settlement in the late 17th century as a haven for persecuted QUAKERS to its central place in American culture and American independence during the 18th century, Pennsylvania and its capital, PHILADELPHIA, played a crucial part in early American life.

### *Native Americans*

The first inhabitants of the Pennsylvania region were Indians, who had been living in the area for centuries at the time of European settlement. The Lenape (DELAWARE), members of the ALGONQUIN linguistic stock, occupied much of the state's area. The Shawnee were another important Algonquian-speaking tribe who entered the region from the west in the 1690s. Both the Lenape and the Shawnee eventually came into conflict with the settlers, and many of them allied with the French in the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. The Susquehannock were an Iroquian-speaking group who lived along the Susquehanna River



in Pennsylvania and MARYLAND. These three groups, in addition to the Nanticoke, Conoy, and CONESTOGA, constituted most of the approximately 15,000 Natives in the region when WILLIAM PENN arrived.

Relations between NATIVE AMERICANS and white colonists in early Pennsylvania demonstrated that the two groups could peacefully coexist as long as Europeans maintained a commitment to fair dealings with the continent's original inhabitants. Following their high ideals, William Penn and his Quaker followers initially did not occupy Indian lands without purchasing them. Moreover, Natives and colonists alike profited both from trade and from sharing TECHNOLOGY and knowledge. But in the 1730s, with thousands of new Scots-Irish immigrants aggressively seeking land on the frontier and not holding the Quakers' commitment to pacifism, conflict between Natives and white people increased. The WALKING PURCHASE OF 1737 cheated Indians out of much of their lands and betrayed earlier Quaker ideals. Relations between Indians and colonists deteriorated, and various conflicts ensued, from the Seven Years' War to the 1763 slaughter of the Conestoga by the PAXTON BOYS.

### *Early Explorers*

Many explorers visited Pennsylvania before William Penn commenced his Holy Experiment in the colony. Captain JOHN SMITH visited the Susquehannock Indians on the Susquehanna River in 1608. The following year, 1609, HENRY HUDSON, in service to the Dutch West India Company, entered Delaware Bay. In 1610 Captain Samuel Argall of VIRGINIA visited the Delaware Bay, naming it for the governor of Virginia, Lord de la Warr. The Dutch sailors Cornelis Hendricksen and Cornelis Jacobsen explored the region in, respectively, 1616 and 1623. In the early part of the 17th century, posts were established for fur trading with the Indians. Swedish explorers founded the first permanent settlement in 1637–38 at Wilmington, DELAWARE. Governor Johan Printz of New Sweden established his capital on Tinicum Island in present-day Pennsylvania. In 1655 Governor PETER STUYVESANT of NEW NETHERLAND captured New Sweden and incorporated it into the Dutch colony. In 1664 the English conquered the area in the name of the duke of York (later, King James II). Except for a brief period in 1673–74 when the Dutch exercised temporary control, the region remained under the duke of York's control until 1681.

### *William Penn, Quakerism, and Religious Toleration*

Pennsylvania and its capital, Philadelphia, were the result of the vision and ideas of the most famous "American" Quaker, William Penn. The story of the establishment and settlement of Pennsylvania and its capital city is

a familiar one, but it bears relating because so much of what Pennsylvania later became resulted directly from its founding. During the ENGLISH CIVIL WAR of the 1640s, a number of radical religious groups sprang up, each dedicated to remolding English society along the lines of its own religious vision. One of these was founded by George Fox and Margaret Fell and came to be known as the Society of Friends (Quakers). These Quakers, as the Friends were more commonly called, held a number of ideas that were considered heretical to the main body of PURITANS, who dominated England politically. Among these ideas was the belief that all people had an "inner light" that, when developed properly, allowed the individual to commune directly with God. The Quakers differed markedly from the New England Puritans in their belief that with God's help they could approach spiritual perfection. Furthermore, Quakers had little use for the notion of original sin, and they rejected the notion of predestination of a few "elect" people; Quakers believed that everyone could be saved. Friends also had little need for ministers because the individual could intimately know what God's word was, and their meetings were largely silent affairs punctuated by the spontaneous utterances of people who had been moved by the spirit of God.



This painting shows William Penn negotiating a treaty with Native Americans. (*Library of Congress*)

The Quakers had a unique social vision that accompanied their religious views. They believed that all humans, regardless of GENDER and race, were equal in the sight of God (the institution of slavery would soon cause moral problems among the Friends), and they downplayed CLASS divisions. Quakers became known (and sometimes despised) for their pacifism, their refusal to swear oaths or to observe customs of social deference (like doffing their hats to their “superiors”), and the prominent role their society accorded women, even encouraging them to preach.

William Penn converted to Quakerism in the 1660s while in college at Oxford. In 1681 Penn received a huge land grant from King Charles II (1660–85), largely in payment of a debt that the king owed Penn’s father. Penn began to plan carefully because as proprietor of this land grant he desired both to create a haven for Quakers and to realize a profit from land sale and rents. The settlers who eventually migrated to Penn’s land were by no means all Quakers. Because Penn’s only source of revenue was from the sale of land and the collection of rents, he promoted his colony aggressively throughout England, Ireland, and Germany. He even printed and distributed pamphlets in several languages extolling Pennsylvania’s fertile ground. The response was overwhelming, and Penn threw the doors of his territory open to men and women of all nations.

As a result, Pennsylvania became one of the most multicultural regions in the New World. Many who came were English, Irish, and Welsh Quakers, but others hailed from such countries as France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Scotland, and Germany. As a result, they represented diverse religious views. Religious denominations included Quakers, Anglicans, Mennonites, Amish, Moravians, Schwenkfelders, ROMAN CATHOLICS, PRESBYTERIANS, Methodists, JEWS, and LUTHERANS. Several thousand African slaves were also brought to Pennsylvania by 1730, despite protests to slavery by a few Quakers. Penn was not interested in a haven solely for Quakers, but rather a haven for peoples of various ethnic groups and religious persuasions. By 1700 approximately 30,000 persons were living in the colony. This number grew to roughly 300,000 by the American Revolution.

The visiting Dr. Alexander Hamilton depicted the heterogeneity of Philadelphia religious society when he wrote on June 8, 1744:

I dined at a tavern with a very mixed company of different nations and religions. There were Scots, English, Dutch, Germans, and Irish; there were Roman Catholics, Church men, Presbyterians, Quakers, New-lightmen, Methodists, Seventh day men, Moravians, Anabaptists, and one Jew. The whole company consisted of 25 planted round an oblong table in a great hall well stoked with flies. The company divided into committees

in conversation; the prevailing topic was politicks and conjectures of a French war.

Hamilton’s imagery is important because it provides a picture of people living in harmony in the face of significant religious and cultural differences. It is an imagery that largely mirrors historical reality in spite of friction between the Quaker assembly and the Anglican proprietors (William Penn’s successors converted), some anti-Catholicism, and some discomfort over the increasing numbers of “Palatine Boors” from Germany. Furthermore, religion seems not to have been a major source of conflict. Indeed, the German immigrant GOTTLIEB MITTELBERGER was horrified at the plethora of religions in Philadelphia and even more horrified to find that “many pray neither in the morning nor in the evening, nor before or after meals. In the homes of such people are not to be found any devotional books, much less a Bible.” The fact that there were only 18 churches in Philadelphia in 1776 (or one for every 2,200 people) lends support to Mittelberger’s observations that many Pennsylvanians may not have been deeply religious.

### **Politics**

When he arrived in 1682, William Penn brought with him a constitution for his new colony. A second constitution was enacted the following year, which established a bicameral legislature composed of a provincial council and a general assembly. Penn lost his colony between 1692 and 1694 due to his friendship with King James II, who was deposed during the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION of 1688. In the meantime, friction between the two houses of the legislature was growing. A popular movement led by DAVID LLOYD demanded greater powers for the assembly, some of which were granted by Markham’s Frame of Government in 1696. Penn returned to Pennsylvania in 1699 and agreed to a revised form of government. The Charter of Privileges, which was enacted in 1701 and remained in effect until 1776, granted the assembly full legislative powers and gave Delaware (which was part of Pennsylvania until the American Revolution) a separate legislature of its own. Penn died in 1718, but constant tensions between the proprietors (Penn’s descendants who gradually gave up Quakerism for Anglicanism) and the assembly (often dominated by Quakers) characterized Pennsylvania politics until the American Revolution. Another important political theme during the 18th century was the constant battle on the part of frontier peoples for greater representation in the government.

### **The Seven Years’ War**

Pennsylvania was relatively peaceful until the mid-18th century, when war broke out between the colonists and the

French and Indians who opposed the westward expansionism of Pennsylvanians. The Seven Years' War was part of a larger imperial struggle between France and Great Britain over territory ranging from Europe to North America to Asia. In July 1755 British forces commanded by General EDWARD BRADDOCK were defeated near Fort Duquesne. Native Americans subsequently attacked the colonists, burning villages and killing settlers on the frontier and coming within 30 miles of Philadelphia itself. Eventually, the British emerged victorious, as confirmed by the 1763 Treaty of Paris. After the war Indians continued to resist European expansion. Pontiac's Rebellion ensued, which, in part, caused the British to issue the Proclamation of 1763 that supposedly limited the expansion of the colonists into Indian lands.

### ***Economic Life***

Colonial Pennsylvania boasted a varied and dynamic economic life. Aided by rich soils, the colony quickly became an important source of agricultural products, the surplus of which was sold as exports to Europe and the West Indies. Wheat became the most important crop, but corn and rye were also significant. Pennsylvanians also developed manufacturing. Sawmills and gristmills, SHIP-BUILDING, iron production, PRINTING AND PUBLISHING, papermaking, tanning, and gun making were all important enterprises. The Conestoga wagon, soon to be revamped for westward expansion, was a product of the Lancaster region. By 1763 Philadelphia was perhaps the most vital economic center in North America. Like most port cities, it was an entrepôt through which passed foodstuffs bound for Europe and British manufactured goods to be sold in the backcountry.

### ***Culture and Learning: Philadelphia and the American Enlightenment***

Enlightenment SCIENCE exploded in those colonies that would make up the United States, particularly during the last generation before the American Revolution. By this time colonial accomplishments, although still overshadowed by those from abroad, were beginning to rise to the level of those to be found in European nations.

That American scientific accomplishments began to compare favorably with those of Europe was due to a number of factors, not the least of which was the fact that during the 18th century colonial society matured rapidly. It became more populous, city-oriented, interconnected, and wealthy, so that more people (Benjamin Franklin being the prime example) had leisure time to devote themselves to scientific inquiry. Institutions such as libraries, colleges, and learned societies, as well as the growth of printing presses, printed materials, and a more efficient postal system stimulated intellectual interchange among

the colonists and a wider dissemination of innovative ideas. Furthermore, Americans responded favorably to the efforts of British institutions such as the Royal Society of London and individuals such as Peter Collinson to establish science in the colonies. Finally, by the 18th century the British colonists were much less concerned with physical survival and could turn their attention to understanding the universe instead of just attempting to live in it. Unlike many of the European philosophers, Enlightenment figures in the British colonies were working intellectuals; the colonists managed to do quite well despite the fact that they did not enjoy the patronage of king and enlightened nobles that many European intellectuals enjoyed.

From COTTON MATHER's emphasis on SMALLPOX inoculation in BOSTON to Alexander Garden's botany in SOUTH CAROLINA, from CADWALLADER COLDEN and JANE COLDEN's botany in NEW YORK to Thomas Jefferson's gadgets and ARCHITECTURE in Virginia, Enlightenment science influenced the 13 colonies in important ways. However, it was most strongly felt in Philadelphia, which became the center of the Enlightenment in the British North American colonies.

Philadelphia had its share of colonial scientific luminaries. The wealthy and erudite JAMES LOGAN, secretary to William Penn and lifelong defender of proprietary interests, amassed a large library of classical works and scientific treatises (he owned the first copy of Newton's *Principia Mathematica* known to exist in the colonies) and undertook many scientific studies of his own. He was a mathematician and worked on understanding the Moon's motion, prepared a treatise on optics, and even suggested some improvements on Huygen's method of treating lenses. He also published several papers in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London, including studies on astronomy and lightning. Logan's most impressive scientific accomplishment came in the field of botany, in which, demonstrating the function of pollen in fertilizing maize, he explained the functions of the sexual organs of plants. Until his death Logan remained one of the colony's premier scientific minds and could be counted on to lend support to various scientific endeavors.

Other capable men joined Logan in this scientific milieu that existed in Philadelphia in the 18th century. Joseph Breintnall, Quaker merchant and member of Franklin's Junto, published papers on the aurora borealis and the effects of rattlesnake bites in the *Philosophical Transactions*; JOHN BARTRAM became the most significant botanist in the colonies, a difficult feat considering that many dabbled in botany; and Adam Kuhn studied botany with Carolus Linnaeus. The emphasis on botany and natural history was so great in Philadelphia that even William Young, an obscure young German man from Philadelphia, managed to get himself named botanist to the king and



queen. The geographer Nicholas Scull produced a valuable map of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, while THOMAS GODFREY, self-taught in mathematics and familiar with the Newtonian system after teaching himself Latin and borrowing Logan's copy of the *Principia Mathematica*, developed a better quadrant for measuring latitude at sea slightly before Hadley did. Finally, David Rittenhouse, like many AMERICAN ARTISANS who became practical scientists, developed an accurate orrery later in the century, an important accomplishment in light of Brook Hindle's contention that they served as "monuments to the faith of the Enlightenment in the reasonableness of the world." Rittenhouse joined fellow Philadelphians Benjamin Franklin, William Penn, and Dr. John Morgan in becoming colonial Fellows of the Royal Society of London. These were by no means all of the important scientific contributions of the 18th century, but they indicate the extent to which scientific vigor grasped the minds of Philadelphians.

Of course, the foremost scientific mind in the colony belonged to Benjamin Franklin. Born to a candlemaker of modest means, Franklin began as an apprentice to his older brother in the printing business in Boston. Becoming restless, Franklin moved to Philadelphia, where he became a very successful printer, businessman, politician, and scientist. His demonstration, using kite and key, that lightning was electricity made him famous throughout the Western world. He retired from business at age 42 to devote his life to scholarly pursuits and public service. Franklin's life, in a very real sense, stood as a symbol for his age. He demonstrated that it was possible (if not usual) for a poor boy to rise above his station in life to become respected and revered, and he was typical of a large number of philosophers in Philadelphia. Indeed, many, like James Logan, were wealthy men in pursuit of knowledge, but Franklin represented the world of the artisan. A quick glance at the Junto (Leatherstocking Club) would be enough to indicate that common men as well as elites actively engaged in philosophical debate. It was possible for men like Franklin and Thomas Godfrey to make a name for themselves in the realm of science.

In their pursuit of knowledge and rational inquiry, Philadelphians revered usefulness above all else. There were two main reasons for this. First, Enlightenment figures throughout the Western world were reacting against Scholasticism, which, they believed, engendered much brainwork, sometimes without involvement in the everyday world. In this way the Enlightenment rejected what many believed to be wasted energy and inane speculation. Second, Philadelphians were still in the midst of building colonial society, and the practical aspects of that infused their intellectual approach to problems.

A tremendous purveyor of Enlightenment thought was found in Philadelphia's subscription libraries, which

were open to the public. Franklin's library was opened in 1731, and in 1742 the Junior Library Company was formed. The Union Library Company followed, organized by craftsmen and tradesmen in 1747, and in 1757 the Amicable and Association Libraries opened. Over time these libraries were consolidated and finally absorbed by the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1769, making it, perhaps, the best library in the colonies. Despite their importance as innovative institutions, the subscription libraries were not the only voluntary associations that brought Enlightenment ideas to Philadelphia and disseminated them. Franklin's Junto was an important center of discussion and philosophical debate, especially during the 1730s and 1740s. The famous AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY eventually exerted even greater influence in the realm of Enlightenment thought than did the Junto.

### *Pennsylvania on the Edge of Revolution*

By 1763 Pennsylvania was an established colony characterized by general religious toleration, a robust ECONOMY, ethnic and racial diversity, and a growing metropolis that was rapidly becoming the nation's dominant city. However, social fissures were beginning to appear, especially in Philadelphia. After midcentury, wealth inequality intensified substantially. As the rich benefited from the process of economic change, the position of middle- and lower-class people grew more precarious. Declining wages combined with increasing prices for life's necessities to lower the living standards of poorer people. The resulting growth of class tensions formed a backdrop against which resistance to Britain and the American Revolution was played out.

Over the next 20 years Pennsylvania was drawn into the vortex of revolution and new nationhood, emerging on the other side as the center of American political, economic, and cultural life. Birthplace of both the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution, Philadelphia took the lead in establishing the new nation.

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—Donald DuHadaway and Billy G. Smith



## Pequot

When Europeans arrived in southern New England, the Pequot inhabited what is now southern CONNECTICUT. These Indians lived primarily by horticulture, supplemented by hunting, gathering, and FISHING. By the 1630s they had developed into the dominant power in the southern Connecticut Valley and had established regular ties with English and Dutch traders. Their power stemmed partly from their involvement in the trade of purple and white shell beads called WAMPUM. Indians throughout the Northeast attributed both sacred and economic value to wampum. The Pequot lived near the source of the shells needed to produce wampum, and they spent much of each winter producing strings of the highly valued beads.

Efforts to monopolize the wampum trade antagonized the Dutch as well as neighboring Indians, including the Mohegan and NARRAGANSETT. The Pequot then tried to form an alliance with the MASSACHUSETTS Bay Colony, which was eyeing the land of the Connecticut Valley. Instead of accepting the Pequot overtures, the English demanded that the Pequot hand over the alleged killers of some English traders. Pequot refusal led to English vengeance. The English, along with Narragansett and Mohegan allies, attacked the Pequot. The PEQUOT WAR climaxed in a surprise attack against the Pequot at Fort Mystic in May 1637, killing up to 700 Pequot. Most of the dead were non-combatants, including many women and children. Many of the surviving Pequot were doled out to English and other Indians as servants. Some were sold into CARIBBEAN SLAVERY. In the Treaty of Hartford (1638) the English declared the Pequot tribe nonexistent.

Nevertheless, the Pequot survived. Despite the Treaty of Hartford, Connecticut recognized the existence of the Pequot and established towns with Pequot “governors.” Under the close supervision of Connecticut, they eventually evolved into two separate political entities, an Eastern and Western, or Mashantucket, Pequot. From the Pequot War until KING PHILIP’S WAR, these communities participated in an integrated regional ECONOMY, selling services, wampum, and land to other Indians and colonists. This economy unraveled in the mid-1660s with the collapse of the FUR TRADE and a decline in the demand for wampum. The outbreak of King Philip’s War in 1675 ended the delicate balance of power among New England’s Indians and English that had rested upon this economy. Fortunately for the Pequot, they had allied themselves with the victorious English.

After the war and throughout the 18th century the Pequot, numbering at most a few hundred, successfully fought to retain lands. They did so despite a decline in their numbers caused partly by their participation in the SEVEN YEARS’ WAR. However, efforts to fend off illegal land sales in the 19th century failed. Nevertheless, the Pequot survived, achieving federal recognition in 1983.

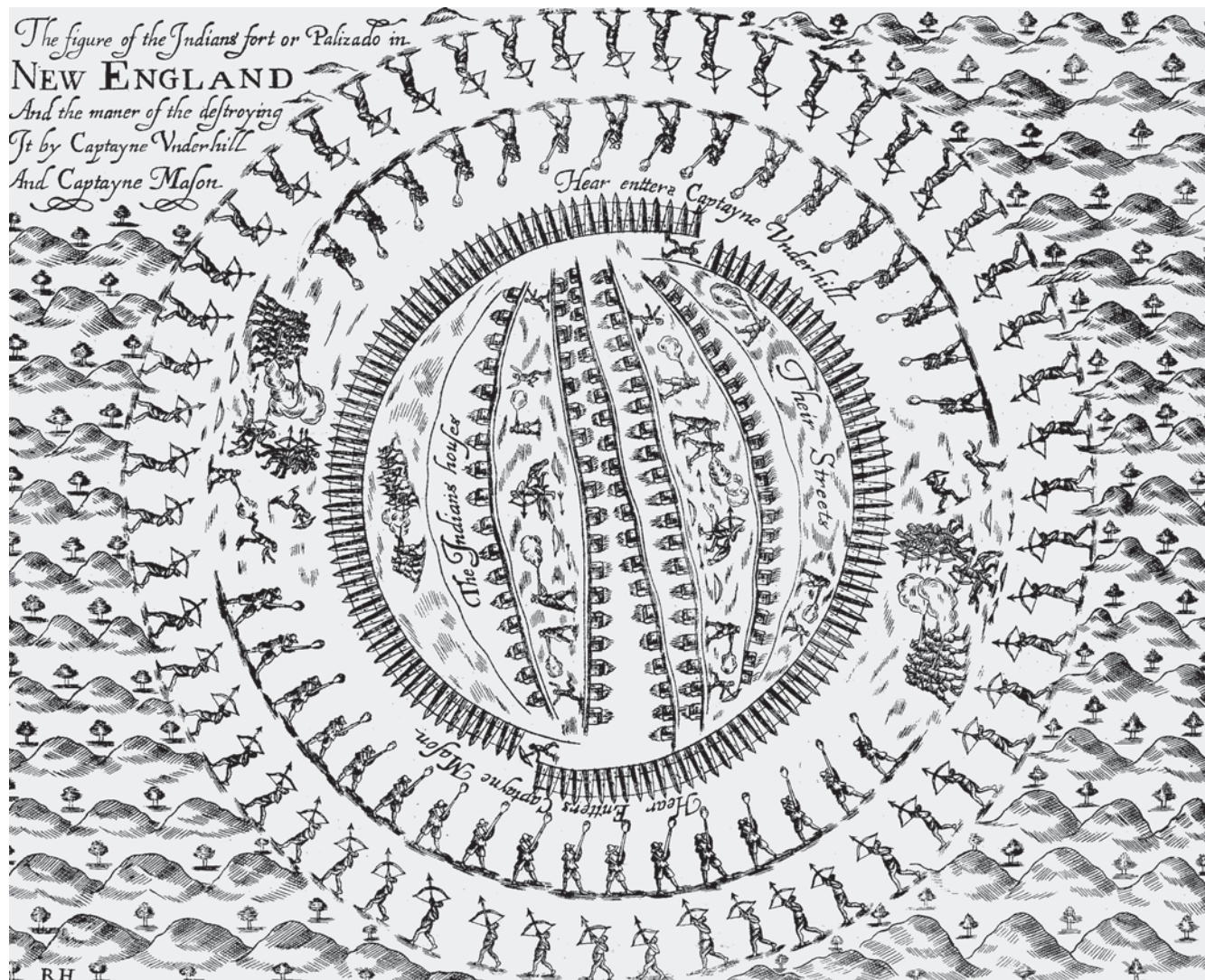
**Further reading:** Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry, eds., *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).

—James D. Drake

## Pequot War (1637)

The Pequot War facilitated permanent English settlements in CONNECTICUT and led to the rise of the Mohegan at the expense of the PEQUOT. It also temporarily unified the factional English despite challenges against Puritan orthodoxy presented by colonists like ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON during the Antinomian controversy. The conflict centered on the Dutch and English efforts to take advantage of the trade rivalry between the NARRAGANSETT and Pequot. These tribes dominated much of southern New England because they controlled the supply of WAMPUM—valuable strings of beads produced from shells found mostly along the coast. Among Europeans the Dutch exercised the greatest influence in the region in the 1620s, with ties to both the Pequot and Narragansett. As parties of English splintered off from MASSACHUSETTS and expanded into the lower Connecticut River valley in the 1630s, the Dutch tried to solidify their claim to the region’s commerce by building a trading post and buying land. The Dutch could not, however, ease discontent within the tribes with whom they traded. Some of these communities had tributary relations with the Pequot and looked to the English as a way of severing these ties. Some signed separate trade agreements with the English or even ceded them land. Others, like the Narragansett, would, partially under the influence of English religious dissenter ROGER WILLIAMS, ally with the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Hostilities arose because the English demanded that the Pequot hand over to Puritan justice the Indians whom they believed had killed Captain John Stone and some members of his crew. The English subsequently demanded that the Pequot pay hefty indemnities and provide hostages to guarantee that they would comply with the colonists’ desires. When the Pequot refused, the colonists sought vengeance. Together with their Narragansett and Mohegan allies, the English set out to subdue the Pequot, who, not coincidentally, occupied some of the most highly sought-after agricultural land in New England. Any hopes that the Pequot had of resisting were quashed in May 1637, when the English and their Indian allies attacked a palisaded Pequot village on the Mystic River. They surprised the village before dawn, and in the ensuing chaos the PURITANS torched the village. As for those Pequot men, women, and children who managed to flee the flames, Englishmen, to the horror of their Indian allies, shot them down with their muskets. By the end of



This engraving depicts the Pequot encampment under attack by Captain John Mason and his men. (New York Public Library)

the day up to 700 Pequot had died. Most were noncombatants. Over the next several months the English captured many of the Pequot who were not at the scene. They executed some of the men and doled out most women and children to colonists or other Indians as servants. They even sold some Pequot into CARIBBEAN SLAVERY. In the Treaty of Hartford (1638), which officially ended the war, the English declared the end of the Pequot nation.

The English and their Indian allies had contrasting views of the war and, particularly, the attack on Mystic River. The English, for the most part, saw the carnage as a sign of divine favor in their struggle against “savages.” The Indians, on the other hand, even if they had allied with the English, had never witnessed warfare of the scope or scale that waged by the English at the Pequot village. Their

culturally prescribed rules of war had in the past dictated low-casualty conflicts characterized by hit and run tactics—often with the aim of acquiring live captives. The torching of the village and shooting of inhabitants as they fled prompted the Narragansett to complain about “the manner of the Englishmen’s fight . . . because it is too furious, and slays too many men.”

Although the Indians were shocked at the conduct of the Pequot War, some benefited from its results. Before the war Uncas’s Mohegan were linked to the Pequot by intermarriage and a tributary status. Uncas himself claimed to be the rightful leader by birth of both the Mohegan and Pequot. However, leadership of the Pequot was not entirely hereditary but stemmed partially from elections. In the first half of the 1630s, Uncas tried several times to depose



the Pequot leader, Sassacus, only to fail repeatedly. When the English arrived looking to avenge John Stone's death, Uncas found a power that could tilt the political balance in his favor. The aftermath of the Pequot defeat in 1637 saw Uncas's emergence as the grand sachem of the Pequot and Mohegan. Uncas's power coincided with the sharp rise of English power in Connecticut. The number of colonists living there increased sixfold in the six years after the war.

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—James D. Drake

### pewter

Pewter was a common metallic alloy for centuries, from late medieval Europe to the founding of the United States. The increasing affluence of urban peoples and the growing middle CLASS on both sides of the Atlantic made it possible for pewter to displace the wood, earthenware, and animal horn that previously had been made into vessels, utensils, and ornaments. As historian Ledlie Laughlin wrote, "From the settlement of Plymouth in 1620 until the founding of the Republic (or later), pewter was probably the commonest metal that entered into the lives of our colonial forebears." A skeptic might respond that iron—inexpensive, strong, durable, and heat resistant—was far more plentiful than pewter, being essential for structural hardware, tools with cutting edges, and objects used in and around fire.

All but the poorest households in British North America had spoons, dishes, and mugs made of pewter. One of the most typical pewter vessels was the porringer, a bowl with one or two flat decorative handles. In prosperous homes pewter appeared widely, including many vessels and utensils for serving FOOD and drink, candlesticks, oil lamps, shaving mugs, chamber pots, and ornamental wares. Taverns served beer in pewter mugs and tankards. Churches had pewter plates, cups, chalices, and baptismal bowls. Distillers made liquor in pewter worms (tubing).

Pewter is an alloy of mostly tin with, for common objects, a smaller amount of lead; for better items the remainder of the alloy was a combination of lead, copper, brass, antimony, or bismuth. Usually of a dull gray color, better quality pewter can approach the luster of silver. A soft alloy with a low melting point, pewter was relatively easy to cast and shape into objects domestic, commercial, and religious. Items worn or broken through years of daily use were easily melted and recast. With its high tin content, pewter does not convey a metallic taste to food and drink.

Most pewter goods in British North America came from England, as intended by a mercantilist economic policy that kept the colonies reliant on British manufacturing. Pewterers in North America were usually limited

to melting worn or broken objects for recasting and finishing with a lathe, other cutting tools, or hammers. The costly investment in metal molds meant that the styles of objects changed slowly. Pewterers, among the most important ARTISANS in early North America, also took on other metal work, such as plumbing, and sold imported pewter and other goods. Pewter remained a common metal into the early 19th century, when consumers switched to newly available, more appealing materials, such as blue-on-white glazed pottery, glassware, and electroplated silver.

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—Dale Martin

### Philadelphia

Philadelphia was the premier city in North America during the late colonial era. Much like Athens in ancient Greece, the City of Brotherly Love served as the political, economic, and cultural center of the colonies and the new nation. From its small beginnings in 1682 WILLIAM PENN played a dominant role in the evolution of Philadelphia. He named the city, chose its location, designed the street plan, and distributed the house lots. Penn's plans were quickly altered by the inhabitants, who ignored Penn's vision of a "greene countrie towne" dominated by large landowners living in big houses set on large lots and surrounded by orchards. Instead, Philadelphians congregated on small lots close to the Delaware River, the lifeline of the ECONOMY. Penn's plan for a central city square also had to be postponed because the city grew north and south along the Delaware River before expanding westward to the Schuylkill River. Still, the city maintained some of the outlines of Penn's original design, including large parks in its center. By the beginning of the 18th century Philadelphia assumed some of the characteristics of a congested urban area, with houses springing up in crowded alleys.

William Penn's decision to open his lands to peoples of all nationalities and religious beliefs and the subsequent influx of people ensured that 18th-century Philadelphia would become one of the most multicultural cities in the world. In the words of the Anglican minister William Smith, Philadelphians were "a people, thrown together from various quarters of the world, differing in all things—language, manners and sentiments." Although they normally managed to keep control of the assembly until the American Revolution, the QUAKERS became a minority in the city, and, according to Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, "after 1735 it is an anachronism to speak of Philadelphia as the Quaker city." Hundreds of thousands of German, Dutch, Swiss, English, Irish, Scots, and Scots-Irish immigrants landed at its port

and either passed through or settled in Philadelphia during the 18th century. For example, in the half century preceding the American Revolution at least 70,000 Germans arrived in Philadelphia, 7,000 in 1739 alone, although most quickly moved through to the countryside. In 1763 Philadelphia contained approximately 22,000 residents, making it the largest city in British North America.

An organized city government began with the Philadelphia Charter of 1701, which created a municipal system based on an English model of a corporation. The key components of Philadelphia's self-perpetuating government were a 12-man council, eight aldermen, a recorder, and a mayor chosen from the aldermen for a one-year term. These officials passed ordinances, regulated trade, and acted as a judiciary. Members who served in the Philadelphia corporation held positions of great honor but increasingly saw their power eroded by the Philadelphia County government as well as the provincial assembly, which had the power to regulate cities.

Philadelphia's economy rested squarely on the foundation of commerce, and water dominated material life in the port city. The majority of Philadelphians depended, either directly or indirectly, on commerce with people scattered throughout the Atlantic world, from small farmers and storekeepers in the neighboring countryside to large manufacturers and MERCHANTS operating from the West Indies to Lisbon and London.

The hundreds of ships that annually docked at wharves lining the city's eastern edge formed the backbone of the economy. They disgorged molasses from the West Indies and manufactured goods from Europe, which were dispersed throughout the city and the surrounding countryside. The abundant grain and livestock products of the city's rich hinterlands, encompassing parts of PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, DELAWARE, and MARYLAND, were loaded onto vessels sailing to Europe and the CARIBBEAN. Producing, transporting, and selling these commodities created a complex economy involving thousands of individuals. MARINERS sailed ships, stevedores moved cargoes, and carters and laborers transferred merchandise between boats and warehouses. Waggoners, farmers, and flatboat operators carried flour, bread, and other foodstuffs into the city and returned to the countryside laden with shoes, textiles, and other processed goods. Coopers fashioned barrels to hold items bound for the sea, while shopkeepers and grocers peddled foreign and local merchandise in retail stores. Subsidiary sectors of the economy developed that provided jobs to workers in the construction of houses and ships, encouraged ARTISANS to fashion wares for local consumption, and stimulated the service roles played by keepers of boardinghouses, inns, and taverns as well as by smiths, farriers, wheelwrights, riggers, sailmakers, and chandlers who cared for horses, carts, and boats. All the

while, merchants, clerks, and other tradesmen directed and organized the entire system.

People in these occupations were divided roughly into three "classes," or, in 18th-century terminology, "sorts." The "lower sort" were unskilled laborers who worked with their hands cleaning chimneys, excavating cellars, draining swamps, hauling building materials, and stowing and unloading ship cargoes. Hundreds of sailors also belonged in this category because they shared with laborers a minimal living standard, low status, and limited occupational and economic mobility.

The "middle sort" was comprised mostly of artisans, people who fashioned items by hand. While most artisans belonged to this category, they were a somewhat amorphous group who were spread along the spectrum of wealth, ranging from impoverished apprentice shoemakers to affluent master carpenters. At the bottom end of the scale, where tailors, shoemakers, and coopers congregated, they had much in common with sailors and laborers, including low income, uncertain prospects of advancement, and, in most cases, exclusion from the ranks of property holders (and therefore from the ranks of voters before the Revolution). At the upper end were tanners, bakers, sugarboilers, brewers, goldsmiths, and some construction contractors, although artisans rarely reached the pinnacle of the social hierarchy.

Many merchants and a few substantial shopkeepers belonged to the "upper sort." Of course, not all merchants were wealthy; some were grocers who lived no better than prosperous master craftsmen, but the pillars of the mercantile community sometimes earned fabulous fortunes, dressed in fashionable finery, and constructed marvelous mansions. Doctors, lawyers, clergymen, government officials, and other professionals also enjoyed high social status, even if their wealth rarely matched that of merchants.

Outside these occupational and social horizontal layers stood unfree people of two kinds. Indentured servants (mostly European migrants) were bound to individual masters, often for three or four years, and their liberties were greatly restricted while under indenture. African and African-American slaves were owned perpetually by another person, their human rights were abridged, and their position was hereditary. These unfree people worked in all areas of the city, from sailors to servants and caulkers to clerks.

Philadelphia's growing population often led to problems associated with urban centers. Early studies of the city, while recognizing the problem of poverty, indicated that society was fluid and that people could relatively easily work their way out of poverty, given the opportunities available in the growing city. More recent studies reveal that Philadelphia's poverty problem grew during the 18th



century and that elite Philadelphians tried to relieve the problem privately by providing charity to the “industrious” poor. An early Quaker almshouse and the PENNSYLVANIA Hospital, a charity hospital that opened in 1752, were among many efforts to help the less fortunate. Meanwhile, public assistance to the needy likewise increased, and the Overseers of the Poor constructed an almshouse in 1767. However, these efforts fell short. Philadelphia, like other cities before and since, experienced poverty in the midst of plenty.

Founded on the notion of religious freedom, Pennsylvania, unlike most other British colonies, never adopted an officially sponsored state religion and was open to anyone who wanted to immigrate. Consequently, the colony’s religious landscape was heterogeneous. Philadelphia was home to many different religious groups and was a microcosm of the European religious spectrum. Overwhelmingly Protestant but welcoming to ROMAN CATHOLICS and JEWS, Philadelphia was, from the beginning, religiously pluralistic and tolerant. Without a heavy hand of church or state, no institutions dictated religious conformity for the society at large.

During the early 18th century revivalism and spiritual awakening spread across Europe and throughout the colonies, including Pennsylvania, as spiritual leaders such as GEORGE WHITEFIELD, JONATHAN EDWARDS, JOHN WESLEY, and the German Pietists attracted large followings with their fear of recidivism and the wrath of God. Even a secular figure like Benjamin Franklin was not immune from the spiritual awakenings of the first half of the 18th century, and he turned out to hear George Whitefield when he visited Philadelphia.

Philadelphia was the home of the AMERICAN ENLIGHTENMENT. If William Penn was the dominant figure in molding the political and religious life of Pennsylvania, then Benjamin Franklin was the emblem of the Enlightenment. Writer and publisher, scientist and diplomat, philosopher and statesman, Franklin was the driving force behind Philadelphia’s cultural and intellectual life until his death in 1790. As the home of Franklin, the Quaker City bore the fruits of his tremendous energy and intellect. Many of its inhabitants embraced both Franklin’s scientific approach to knowledge and his deep commitment to improving his community. Philadelphians thus established the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, the College of Physicians, the first subscription libraries, and the University of Pennsylvania to advance philosophical and practical wisdom. They also supported a host of private and public measures designed to aid the needy, cure the sick, educate the children, clean and light the streets, combat fires, and regulate markets. Nor was Franklin alone: THOMAS GODFREY, JAMES LOGAN, and JOHN BARTRAM were among those who worked with Franklin to make

Philadelphia the home of the American Enlightenment and the center of urban life in the colonies.

See also BOSTON; CHARLESTON; NEWPORT; NEW YORK CITY.

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—Donald DuHadaway and Billy G. Smith

## Pilgrims

A group of 41 Puritan Separatist CONGREGATIONALISTS, known as Pilgrims, were the backbone of the 102 English colonists who sailed to North America on the *Mayflower* in 1620 and established the PLYMOUTH Colony in New England. Puritans felt the Elizabethan church settlement failed adequately to purge the ANGLICAN CHURCH of its traditional Catholic organization and ceremonies. Instead of venerating pomp and ceremony, the Puritans embraced a fanatical piety embedded in the damnation of original sin, predestination, and salvation by faith. In the late 1500s the Puritans split into two groups, Non-Separatists and Separatists. Non-Separatists wanted to work within the Anglican Church for reform. Separatists, like the Pilgrims, adopted a more zealous doctrine, preaching that the established church was incapable of reformation. They consequently severed their local congregation, located in Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, from the Anglican Church.

The Pilgrims embraced Congregationalism, the idea that congregational independence, decentralized authority, and democratic control by elected leadership offered the best chance for salvation. The Pilgrims’ idea of democracy included only male church elders. On a broader social scale the revolt of Puritan factions against the established church also reflected the 17th-century struggle of an emerging middle CLASS against absolute authority and privilege.

The Anglican Church persecuted Separatist congregations. The Ecclesiastical Commission of York imprisoned Scrooby separatists and fined others. William Brewster, WILLIAM BRADFORD, and John Robinson organized an unsuccessful attempt by the Scrooby congregation to leave England in 1607. Local authorities charged and jailed the Separatists for attempting an illegal exit from the country. By 1608 most of the Scrooby congregation arrived in Amsterdam, finally settling in Leiden in 1609.

The Pilgrims never completely adapted to the idea of becoming Dutch instead of remaining English. In 1617 they decided to end their voluntary exile and move to North

America. In 1619 the Pilgrims' representatives, Deacon John Carver and Robert Cushman, obtained financial support from Thomas Weston and his group of adventurers. The Pilgrims agreed to form a joint-stock company with Weston's merchant investors. Their seven-year contract required the Pilgrims to establish a trading post in North America and made all property and profit the communal property of the company. The majority of the Leiden congregation rejected this proposal, and only a minority sailed to England to make final arrangements for the voyage to the New World.

After a 66-day voyage across the Atlantic, the *Mayflower* arrived off Cape Cod on November 11, 1620. The Pilgrims realized they were outside the domain of the original charter. To preserve order and establish control over any non-Congregationalist English "strangers" who might start their own settlement, they persuaded all 41 adult men on board to sign the MAYFLOWER COMPACT and agree to accept a democratically elected communal government. The *Mayflower* anchored in Plymouth Bay on December 16, 1620.

Plymouth Colony differed markedly from JAMESTOWN. Unlike Jamestown's male-dominated company of profit seekers, the *Mayflower* carried families. Of the 41 Pilgrims on board, there were 17 men, 10 women, and 14 children. The site chosen for Plymouth Colony was the abandoned village of the Patuxet that a plague had decimated in 1617. After an initial brutal winter that killed 44 settlers, the spring of 1621 brought contact with the local Natives. Samoset, the first Indian to come to Plymouth Colony, spoke English he had learned from fishermen. He arranged the visit of MASSASOIT, chief of the neighboring Wampanoag, who befriended the settlement. Plymouth Colony also found a friend in Tisquantum, or SQUANTO, the sole survivor of the Patuxet tribe. Squanto showed the colonists how, when, and what to plant in the old Patuxet fields near Plymouth. The Pilgrims also learned where to fish and hunt. In the fall of 1621 the settlement felt established enough to observe the first Thanksgiving day to offer thanks for their survival after the first winter's hardships. The colony became official in November 1621, when the *Fortune* brought 36 new settlers and a charter for Plymouth Plantation from the Council for New England.

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—Tristan Traviolia

### **Pima revolt (1751)**

The Pima Indian tribe of southern Arizona and northern Sonora, Mexico, is centered along the middle Gila River. During Spanish rule, the Arizona tribes were known col-

lectively as Pimerians, with the northerly tribes known as Pimas Altas, or Upper Pima, while those farther south were referred to as Pimas Bajas, or Lower Pima. For much of the early Spanish period, the Pima Indians remained outside the reach of Spanish colonial and mission control. Permanent contact between Europeans and the Pima began in 1687, when Jesuit missionary Eusebio Kino established a mission at Dolores in northern Sonora, Mexico. From this point, the Spanish penetrated Pima lands. In 1694 Father Kino investigated the Gila River, and in 1697, the Spanish military and missionaries explored farther into Pima territory, baptizing nearly 100 Pima. Kino preached among the Pima until his death in 1711. Jesuits continued their conversion work among the Pima until the revolt.

The revolt of 1751 was the last of three revolts against Spanish incursions into Pima territory, and interference with their lifeways, which began in Sonora in 1739–41, broke out there again in 1749 and ended with the northern revolt of 1751. All three rebellions were responses to the expansion of the Spanish mining and agricultural frontier into Pima lands and the forced missionization of Pima by Jesuit missionaries. All three also developed from an escalating series of small-scale guerrilla raids that the Pima had successfully conducted against Spanish settlements and missions since Father Kino's death in 1711. Like the Pueblo revolt before it, the purpose of the Pima revolt was to rid the Pima people of their Spanish oppressors and to restore traditional ways of life. Led by Luis Oacpicagigua, who triggered the rebellion by slaying 18 Spaniards in his hometown of Saric in northern Sonora, in the course of the revolt more than 100 officials and missionaries were killed, and the mission at Tubutama was burned. The Spanish prevailed in the end, but again, as they had done in New Mexico, they restored some degree of political autonomy to Pima leaders and removed the hated Jesuits, replacing them with more understanding and flexible Franciscans in 1769.

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—James Jenks and Ronald Schultz

### **Pinckney, Elizabeth Lucas (1722–1793) pioneering indigo farmer**

An amateur horticulturist, Elizabeth Lucas was born in Antigua, the eldest daughter of George Lucas, a British army officer, and his wife, Anne. Elizabeth, nicknamed Eliza, was educated in England. As a teenager she settled in SOUTH CAROLINA with her parents. In 1738 Lieutenant Colonel Lucas was called back to active duty during the WAR OF JENKINS' EAR and left Eliza in charge of her invalid mother and the three family plantations in South Carolina.

She acted as the steward of her family's holdings and, with the encouragement of her father, experimented with various potential cash crops: INDIGO, ginger, alfalfa, and cotton. These endeavors were driven by her avid interest in horticulture as well as heavy debts on the Lucas family property of both land and slaves. By 1744 Eliza's indigo experiments were successful. That year the Lucas family plantation at Wappoo produced a crop of saleable indigo dye and sufficient seed to allow her to share with many of her neighboring plantation owners. Eliza's efforts in producing a viable indigo crop greatly benefited the ECONOMY of colonial South Carolina, especially as the demand for rice declined. Indigo became an important staple crop, second only to rice. The dye was eagerly sought by textile manufactures in Great Britain and Europe. By 1775 CHARLESTON was exporting more than 1 million pounds of indigo dye annually.

In the same year as her first successful indigo crop, Eliza married widower Charles Pinckney. She spent the next 12 years raising their children: Charles Cotesworth (1746–1825), Harriot (1748–1830), and Thomas (1750–1828). When her husband died suddenly in 1758, Eliza returned to the responsibility of running a plantation and a household, as she had done for her father. Her sons, educated in England, returned to South Carolina and eventually became leaders in the Revolutionary War. At the end of the war Charles Cotesworth was a South Carolina delegate to the Constitutional Convention and Thomas was elected governor of South Carolina. Harriot had married a local rice plantation owner, Daniel Horry.

GENDER prescriptions were somewhat less restrictive on women in colonial North America than was the case in the early 19th century. Eliza, thanks to the advantages of EDUCATION and CLASS, and with the encouragement of both her father and her husband, moved between the worlds of business and plantation management and that of wife and mother. Her legacy comes from both spheres. Her horticultural experiments led to the successful commercialization of indigo dye production. This crop was an important economic contributor to pre-Revolutionary War South Carolina. Her daughter, following her mother's example, managed her husband's estates following his death; her sons made important contributions to colonial South Carolina and later, early American politics. Eliza Lucas Pinckney died in PHILADELPHIA on May 26, 1793.

—Margo Krager

## piracy

The crime of piracy was a pervasive enterprise in the Americas during the 17th and 18th centuries. Although in the 16th century pirates often acted as de facto national military extensions of the developing transatlantic empires

of the Spanish, Dutch, French and British, by the 18th century they consisted largely of multinational, lower-class crews that preyed on their former benefactors. Culminating in the violent deaths of Bartholomew Roberts, William Kidd, and EDWARD TEACH (“Blackbeard”) in the early 1700s, the colonial nations effectively ended the “golden age” of piracy.

The advent of the Elizabethan “Sea Dogs” such as Sir Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish in the 16th century signaled the beginning of the close alliance of the emerging European nation-state and piracy. As quasi-legal privateers, the “Sea Dogs” operated under a royal “letter of marque and reprisal” that licensed the attack and seizure of foreign vessels and goods. The rise of English privateers coincided with England's increasing belligerency toward Spanish control of the Americas; it allowed the English sovereigns simultaneously to weaken the Spanish Empire, fill the royal coffers, and save the cost of building and maintaining a standing navy. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 initiated a period of English pride and maritime confidence.



An illustration of Edward Teach (Blackbeard), from Captain Charles Johnson's *A General History of the Pyrates*, 1724 (Library of Congress)



With the decline of the Spanish Empire in the mid-17th century (and thus the decreasing need for privateers), a new generation of pirates developed, operating mainly in the CARIBBEAN. These “buccaneers,” from the French word *boucanier*, centered around Jamaica, particularly Port Royal. The buccaneers preyed mercilessly on Spanish fleets and towns in Central and South America, quickly gaining a reputation for cruelty and ruthlessness. Although often led by Englishmen, buccaneer crews were multiethnic and represented a variety of social classes.

Perhaps the most famous of the buccaneers was Welshman Sir Henry Morgan (ca. 1635–88) who rose through the ranks of the Jamaican privateers to lead attacks on the Spanish towns of Puerto Principe in Cuba (1668), Maracaibo in Venezuela (1669), and Portobello in Panama (1671). Morgan helped established the English presence in the Caribbean for which he was knighted by Charles II and made deputy governor of Jamaica in 1674. Dutchman Alexander Olivier Exquemelin documented the exploits of buccaneers such as Morgan, François L’Olonnais, and others in 1681 in the widely popular *History of the Buccaneers of America*.

The decades from the 1680s to the 1720s marked the “golden age of piracy,” when the most renowned and famous of all pirates operated, especially along the North American coast. Their exploits, chronicled by Captain Charles Johnson (perhaps a pen name for novelist Daniel Defoe) in *A General History of the Pyrates* (1724), inspired today’s popular representations of piracy.

At least since the founding of the North American colonies, pirates raided coastal colonial cities and ships. In 1621 French pirates stole the Pilgrim’s first shipment of materials to England. BOSTON-based pirate Dixey Bull raided the newly founded towns of coastal MASSACHUSETTS in 1631. Nevertheless, these pirates remained minor threats until the 1690s, when the establishment of trade routes linked lucrative markets in the Atlantic world.

Many pirates, finding the Spanish in the Caribbean now heavily armed, also struck out at new targets beyond the Atlantic world, notably unprotected shipping in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, where convoys of Muslims making pilgrimages to Mecca provided easy targets. Pirate captain Thomas Tew of RHODE ISLAND arrived in NEWPORT in April 1694, his sloop *Amity* filled with gold, silver, and ivory from the capture of an Indian treasure ship. English captain Henry Avery scored one of the largest prizes in history when he and his crew captured the *Fateh Muhammed* and the *Gunjsawai* in 1695.

The Boston, Newport, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, and CHARLESTON ports often welcomed pirates and provided them with safe harbors, since pirates visiting these ports were quick to spend their share of treasure. This was the easiest, and sometimes only, source of hard currency

to come by in the English colonies. William Markham, the lieutenant-governor of PENNSYLVANIA from 1694 to 1699, had a reputation for being the pirates “Steddy Friend.” Governor Sir William Phips of Massachusetts was rumored to have invited pirates to Boston from Philadelphia. Rhode Island was widely considered “the chief refuge for pyrates” in New England. Governor Benjamin Fletcher of New York and merchant Frederick Philipse made fortunes from trading with the pirates based in Madagascar. Pirates were also tolerated in the coastal inlets and islands of the Carolinas.

Nevertheless, this widespread “freebooting” led to the loss of royal customs revenue and merchant profits. After a series of amnesty and pardons failed to suppress piracy in the colonies, the English government commissioned vice-admiralty courts throughout English possessions in 1696 and passed the “Act for More Effectual Suppression of Piracy” in 1700 to stem the increasing profit losses from the pirate raids. Ironically, the government in London commissioned Captain William Kidd of subsequent fame to hunt down pirates in the Indian Ocean, but he turned pirate himself. His former patron, the Earl of Bellomont, who was governor of Massachusetts at the time, arrested Kidd in 1699 in Boston and sent him to London as a sign of Bellomont’s loyalty to the Crown. Kidd was tried, found guilty, and executed. Several years later, in 1704, Captain John Quelch, while attempting to return home with his spoil, was captured, tried, and executed in Boston for piracy. An all-out war against the pirates now began.

A second generation of “golden age” pirates arose with the subsequent unemployment of sailors following the end of QUEEN ANNE’S WAR in 1713. This generation of pirates was indiscriminate and ruthless. Captain Edward Teach, or “Blackbeard,” terrorized the Virginia and Carolina coasts until his death during a battle off the North Carolina coast in 1718. Captain STEDE BONNET, the gentleman turned pirate, vacillated between piracy and legitimate PRIVATEERING, but he ended up on the end of a noose. Captain Black Sam Bellamy and all his crew perished when their ship, the *Whydah Galley*, wrecked in a storm off the coast of Cape Cod. Calico Jack Rackham and his famous female crew members Anne Bonney and Mary Read were sentenced to death in Port Royal, Jamaica, but only Rackham swung. Bonney and Read “pleaded their bellies,” and, because they were both pregnant, escaped the hangman’s noose. The exploits of dozens of pirates of this period made for popular reading in the newspapers and pamphlets that were printed in Britain and the colonies. Moreover, the execution of a captured brigand brought out crowds in the thousands both to hear the Reverend COTTON MATHER in Boston harangue the condemned pirates to repent as well as to witness the gruesome spectacle.

Pirate crews often were comprised of MARINERS who were unemployed, criminals, or otherwise dissatisfied with



the oppressive social structure of colonial and imperial society. They commonly operated under a rough type of democracy, electing their captains, demoting leaders who failed to carry out the wishes of the crew, and dividing the spoils in a roughly egalitarian fashion. Pirates usually did not kill the crews of captured ships; instead, they offered them the opportunity to join in their illegal adventures. Indeed, the composition and actions of pirate crews provides an insightful lens into the world of common people and class antagonism in the early Atlantic world.

By 1726 the major “golden age” of pirates was over, and large-scale piracy moribund. Although occasional piracy in the Atlantic waters occurred after this date, never again were the pirates as organized and pervasive a presence as in the period from 1680 to 1730.

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—Stephen C. O'Neill and E. Jerry Jessee

## plantation system

Export-oriented settlers in the southern colonies relied on a North American version of the New World plantation system. It was an economic and social system of LABOR relations in which a planter with capital invested in bound laborers, land, and buildings that constituted the means of production. In the 15th century the Portuguese forged a general model of the system using African slaves on the Cape Verde Islands off West Africa, subsequently introducing it into Brazil. In the New World it appeared in the CARIBBEAN in the 17th century, then spread in the Americas during the next two centuries. In most colonies of English North America, British and German indentured servants made up most of the unfree laborers in the 17th century. Planters purchased thousands of transported British criminals in the 18th century, but African slaves were imported in much greater numbers in the 18th century. By the 1730s the trend was clear: The richest planters owned labor forces composed almost entirely of black slaves, and society was organized primarily along racial lines in the Tidewater coastal region of the southern colonies. Masters exercised great personal power over slaves and servants in regard to their general treatment and corporal punishment, and a slave code and other legal apparatuses backed up their authority. By 1763 organized white militias maintained the system on a day-to-day basis.

If servants or slaves threatened the planters' power, as occurred in BACON'S REBELLION, soldiers could be summoned from Britain.

The successful planter put together several economic elements, but only the shrewdest and most resolute men and women could arrange these elements to best advantage. The land was the important first decision: The best lands lay in the Tidewater region extending from the CHESAPEAKE BAY to GEORGIA and in the lower Mississippi Valley's NEW ORLEANS region. These bottomlands, sometimes partially cleared by NATIVE AMERICANS, typically were rich, well watered and well drained, and located near major rivers used to transport produce. It did not take much of the best land (250 to 500 acres) to support a highly profitable enterprise, but most of the finest land was quickly bought up by the richest of the earliest colonial families, some of them owning more than 100,000 acres. They monopolized large reserves for the support of future generations, because intensive plantation AGRICULTURE exhausted the soil.

The richest planters erected imposing estates. A mansion house usually was set near the crest of a natural levee, facing the river, often with formal gardens. Barns, separate kitchens, wells, privies, and other necessities were arranged not far from the “big house” in accord with drainage requirements. An overseer's house might also exist. Beyond these premises were located the slave quarters, where slave cabins, crude and lacking in comforts, were arranged in a block pattern. However, most plantations were far more humble.

The fields required highly specific cultivation according to a strictly regulated seasonal agenda to produce rice, TOBACCO, and INDIGO. Hydraulic techniques of flood control and knowledge of rice in AFRICA enabled slaves to establish that very profitable crop along the SOUTH CAROLINA and Georgia coasts. The African tradition of hoe agriculture, with which English ploughjoggers were unfamiliar, was necessary to maximize the production of the crop. The system was a capital-intensive response to rising consumer demand for excellent VIRGINIA quality smoking and snuff tobacco—especially in Europe and particularly in France—to strong demand in southern Europe for rice, and to the demand in all ports for high-quality indigo.

As a social unit the plantation system contained contradictions in all of its relations. Planters used violence to force an arbitrarily defined “race” of people to work and to submit as the planter kept most of the profits of their labor. The plantation was divided socially in another way: Patriarch, wife, and their children lived in the big house as a family, sharply withdrawn from the traditional village life that remained important for the English gentry. Their isolation intensified as the increasing shortage of land drove nonslaveholding whites out of the Tidewater. By contrast, the slave quarters formed a communal space with kin and

unmarried people living in close quarters, often with two or more generations. The plantation system was riddled with weaknesses that redounded to the benefit of slaves. Most important was the ability of most slaves to resist dehumanization and play satisfying roles in the slave community. Many also engaged in subversive social relations with other laborers and free white farmers. As a result planters had to exercise unrelenting vigilance to maintain control of the slave population. In addition, most slaves and servants had family plots of waste lands assigned by the master, and much of the best produce of these plots (hogs, fowls, greens) was purchased by planters for their own CONSUMPTION. While indentured servants had hope of getting free and even prospering in some cases, slaves generally were without hope of purchasing or otherwise gaining their freedom.

The work of bound laborers was long and grueling. Tobacco and rice required germination, transplanting, and frequent weeding and weeding, followed by preparing and curing the product for export. Other seasonal activities were interspersed in the schedule of the main crop: digging drainage ditches and laying by corn, fodder, firewood, and lumber.

See also MARYLAND; SLAVERY.

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—Thomas N. Ingersoll

## Plymouth

When the PILGRIMS—members of the Leiden Separatist congregation and the nondissenting “Strangers”—onboard the *Mayflower* finally reached the MASSACHUSETTS coast, they saw, in Governor WILLIAM BRADFORD’s words, “a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men.” The land where the English settlers began building Plymouth had already been cleared and cultivated years before by the Wampanoag Indians. Their village, Patuxet, was destroyed by DISEASE around 1617. The only survivor, Tisquantum, or SQUANTO, had been kidnapped and brought to England before the epidemic. When he returned he found the village gone. The Pilgrims viewed the epidemic that emptied the village as a providential sign that God wanted them to establish their own town there, but it was still a struggle for the Pilgrims to build Plymouth during the first winter. Bradford wrote, “they had now no

friends to welcome them nor inns to entertain or refresh their weatherbeaten bodies; no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succor.”

Of the 102 passengers that traveled on the *Mayflower*, four died on the voyage, and another 44 did not survive to the following spring; after that, there was never another “starving time.” The first “Thanksgiving” was celebrated in the fall of 1621. It was a harvest festival attended by the English and more than 90 of their Wampanoag allies, including their leader, MASSASOIT.

The first form of government, the MAYFLOWER COMPACT, had been agreed to because the Pilgrims found themselves north of their destination, VIRGINIA, and several passengers threatened to venture out on their own. The compact was necessary for everyone’s survival. In 1621 the Pierce Patent was sent to Plymouth, then replaced by the Bradford Patent in 1630. Plymouth Colony never received a royal charter. The colony finally paid off the debts to its creditors in 1644 from the profits of fur trading. The colony joined Massachusetts, CONNECTICUT, and New Haven in the New England Confederation in 1643.

Plymouth’s government was similar to that of the later New England colonies: an annually elected governor, assistants, and SUFFRAGE limited to freemen admitted to full church membership. Governor Bradford held the office for nearly 30 years, documenting much of it in his thoughtful and literate history *Of Plymouth Plantation*. Governor Thomas Prentice, Bradford’s successor, presided over two WITCHCRAFT trials (both women were acquitted) and was a relentless persecutor of QUAKERS, although Plymouth never executed any.

Plymouth enjoyed peaceful relations with the Wampanoag through the friendship of the sachem Massasoit. He died in 1660 and was succeeded by his sons Alexander (Wamsutta) and Philip (METACOM). Alexander died within a few years, leaving Philip as sachem of the Wampanoag. Tensions had been increasing over the years as more English towns were established, steadily encroaching upon Native lands. The resulting KING PHILIP’S WAR (1675–76) destroyed nearly half the English towns in New England, including several in Plymouth Colony. The war also destroyed the Native tribes as a force in southern New England.

The town of Plymouth, the colony’s seat of government, lacked a deep harbor and therefore never prospered as a major port, but it did support FISHING, SHIPBUILDING, and limited trading throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1685 the colony was divided into three counties, Plymouth, Bristol, and Barnstable, when the colony was included in the short-lived DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND. The “Old Colony,” with a population of about 7,400, ceased to exist as a separate entity when it was annexed under a new charter to the Province of Massachusetts Bay in 1692,

but its mythology and cultural importance outlived it and continue to grow.

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—Stephen C. O'Neill

**Pocahontas** (1595?–1617) *peacemaker, mediator*

Pocahontas was a nickname that translates roughly as “the willful one.” Her proper names included Matoaka, possibly Amonute, Rebecca Rolfe, and Mrs. JOHN ROLFE. She was a POWHATAN-Renape diplomat, a cultural mediator, a favored daughter of Wahunsonakok (Powhatan) and, later, the wife of planter John Rolfe.

Whether by choice, accident, or her father’s will, Matoaka crossed the boundary into English life to mediate relationships between the JAMESTOWN colonists and the Powhatan. The colony’s secretary, William Strachey, noted 11-year-old Pocahontas’s first appearance: “sometymes resorting to our Fort . . . gett [ing] the boyes [to go] forth with her into the markt place and make them wheele, falling on their hands turning their heeles upwards, whome she would follow, and wheele so her self naked as she was all the fort over.” During JOHN SMITH’S CAPTIVITY by the Powhatan in December 1607, Pocahontas participated in Smith’s mock execution, part of a ceremony that initiated him into the tribe and confirmed his role as werowance (subchief), thereby symbolically transforming Jamestown into a subject village under Powhatan’s rule. Pocahontas ritually interceded on Smith’s behalf during the ceremony (“when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her own upon his to save him from death”), thereby becoming Smith’s sponsor into tribal membership.

Perhaps because of her ties to Smith, Pocahontas assumed a special responsibility for English-Indian relations. During the starving months of 1608, after the English storehouses had burned down, Pocahontas and her attendants regularly brought the colonists FOOD “that saved many of their lives, that els[e] for all this [would] had starved.” Pocahontas also served as an intermediary between Powhatan and Smith. In May 1608, after Smith raided several villages and took Indian hostages, Powhatan dispatched Pocahontas, who successfully negotiated their release. Pocahontas’s mediation, however, could not prevent the outbreak of major hostilities between the two peoples, which occurred when Powhatan and Smith failed to agree upon an exchange of Indian corn for English goods. Stranded after a disgruntled Powhatan precipitously removed himself and his people from Werowocomoco



Native American princess Pocahontas in European dress  
(Hulton/Archive)

when negotiations failed, Smith was saved by Pocahontas who, in defiance of her father’s orders, secretly returned to warn him of an impending attack by her people.

After Smith’s departure in 1609, Pocahontas disappeared from the colony. Secretary Strachey claimed that in 1610 she married Kocoum, a “pryvate Captayne” and supporter of Powhatan, but the marriage may have involved another of Powhatan’s daughters, several of whom carried the same nickname. By 1613 Pocahontas was living with the Patowamake along the Potomac River, where Captain Argall, leading an English expedition in search of trading partners, found her. Conspiring with the Patowamake headman, Iapazaws, Argall lured Pocahontas aboard his ship and forcibly took her as a hostage to Jamestown, where Governor Dale hoped she would persuade Powhatan to release the English hostages, swords, and firearms he had captured. Pocahontas refused to participate in the negotiations but, possibly irked by Powhatan’s tough bargaining, accepted her stay on the English side of the cultural boundary. “If her father had loved her,” Governor Dale recounted, “he would not value her lesse then old Swords, Peeeces, or Axes: wherefore shee should



still dwell with the Englishmen, who loved her." Even so, she was not an eager convert to English ways. Dale and Reverend Alexander Whitaker "laboured a long time" to induce Pocahontas to renounce "publicly her country Idolatry" and embrace the Christian faith, taking the baptismal name Rebecca.

John Rolfe, her suitor during the captivity, agonized over his decision to marry the now Christian Pocahontas. The colonists hitherto had rebuffed offers to marry Indian women because English sensibilities concerning civility, decorum, and the proper station of men and women were offended by Powhatan women's monopoly of agricultural work, the flexible division of LABOR in the Powhatan villages, and the sexual openness displayed by Powhatan of both genders. Rolfe finally surrendered to his passions, as he wrote Governor Dale, "for the good of the Plantacon, the honor of or Countrye, for the glorye of God, for myne owne salvacon." His marriage to Rebecca in 1614, therefore, was a significant cultural concession by the English to Indian ethnic sensitivities and resulted in an eight-year truce with the Powhatan. Despite the hope of some English writers that Rolfe and Rebecca would become the progenitors of a new, Christian American people, there was no accompanying rush by xenophobic English men to marry Indian women. The 18th-century VIRGINIA historian ROBERT BEVERLEY felt that the absence of widespread intermarriage was the single greatest cause of the inexorable conflict between the two peoples.

After three years in the colony and the birth of their son, Thomas, in 1615, the young couple was summoned to London by the directors of the Virginia Company to serve as advertisements of the company's successes. In 1616 the Rolfes sailed to England accompanied by Governor Dale, Rebecca's highborn Indian attendants, and Uttamatamakin (Tomocommo), Powhatan's representative, charged with ascertaining the fate of John Smith. During their seven-month stay the couple was received by London society "with festivall, state, and pompe," and feted to a whirlwind of celebrations, interviews, masques, and possibly audiences with Queen Anne and King James. In early 1617 Rebecca fell critically ill, possibly with tuberculosis or pneumonia, and Rolfe removed her to Brentford, where Smith called on her for the last time. Her final, bittersweet words to Smith perhaps reflected her stress and equivocation about returning to Virginia and facing the onerous task of persuading her countrymen to abandon their religious and cultural practices and accept English ways: "your Countriemen will lie much. . . . You did promise Powhatan what was yours should be his, and he the like to you; you called him father, being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I to you. . . . I should call you father . . . and you shall call me child, and so I will be for ever and ever, your countrymen."

The Rolfes departed London in March 1617, reaching only Gravesend at the mouth of the Thames, where Pocahontas died. Rolfe left their son, Thomas, in the care and guardianship of Sir Lewis Stukely and returned to Virginia, where he served as a colonial officer and TOBACCO planter until he was killed by Pocahontas's countrymen during Opechancanough's attack of 1622. Thomas Rolfe, the son of John and Pocahontas, returned to Virginia as a young man in 1635 to reclaim his father's lands.

**Further reading:** Karen Ordahl Kuppermann, *Indians & English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000); Robert S. Tilton, *Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994).

—James Bruggeman

**Pontiac's Rebellion** See VOLUME III.

### *Poor Richard's Almanack*

Produced by Benjamin Franklin in his Philadelphia print shop from 1732 to 1757, "Poor Dick's" (as Franklin's wife Deborah referred to it) was one of early America's most widely distributed and influential publications. It introduced American readers to "Poor Richard" Saunders. He doled out both the standard almanac fare of calendars, movements of heavenly bodies and tides, court dates, imperial history, and other bits of "useful knowledge," along with the string of advisory proverbs that made the character famous for generations to follow.

Franklin rushed his first edition of *Poor Richard's Almanack* into print in late December 1732, when a feud with Thomas Godfrey led Godfrey to take his own almanac to a rival of Franklin's to be printed. Franklin intended the new almanac both to fill the gap in his business income and to provide a forum for his useful and entertaining writings. Franklin's creation, like his competitor's, sold for five shillings (approximately two days' wages for a laboring man). By 1743 it had an annual print run of 10,000 copies, earning Franklin a substantial sum. In 1748 Franklin expanded the almanac into *Poor Richard Improved*, increasing the number of pages from 24 to 36 and including more literary and scientific essays.

In many ways, the almanac was the most public outgrowth of Franklin's fascination with disseminating useful knowledge, communicating in clear words and phrases that also entertained his readers. Comprehensible, useful prose and verse were integral to Franklin's educational ideas by the early 1730s, and they were one of the ways members of his Junto club informed and entertained one another. The proverbs that Poor Richard provided annually



in the marginalia of his almanac—the advice that led D. H. Lawrence subsequently to condemn “Middle-sized, sturdy, snuff-coloured Doctor Franklin”—became the most famous of Franklin’s writings. Sayings such as “Early to bed and early to rise makes a man healthy wealthy and wise” and “Keep your eyes wide open before marriage, half closed after” were taken as serious advice by Franklin devotees and critics alike for generations to follow. However, Poor Richard’s quips were a literary creation, like his Silence Dogood and Busy Body personas had been earlier, and Franklin did not often follow the advice of his characters. While Poor Richard admonished readers to “keep your shop, that your shop may keep you,” Franklin retired from active work in the printing business in 1748, at the age of 42.

In his first almanac, Franklin introduced his readers to the domestic life of Saunders and his wife, Bridget. “I Might in this place attempt to gain thy Favour by declaring that I write Almanacks with no other View than that of the publick Good; but in this I should not be sincere. . . The plain Truth of the Matter is, I am excessive poor, and my Wife, good Woman, is, I tell her, excessive proud.” Accounts of Bridget were a common theme in Poor Richard’s yearly essays, and the 1738 edition disclosed her rebellion while her husband was away, substituting her own introductory comments for her husband’s. “Cannot I have a little Fault or two,” she fumed, “but all the Country must see it in print!”

Franklin produced his last almanac in 1757, as he prepared to depart for London. In it, he created one of his most famous essays, “Father Abraham’s Speech,” widely distributed thereafter as *The Way to Wealth*, a collection of Poor Richard’s proverbs allegedly overheard at a public sale. While Franklin’s love of humor was obvious in the essay’s repeated “As Poor Richard says,” its lessons were widely reprinted on both sides of the Atlantic.

**Further reading:** J. A. Leo Lemay, ed., *Benjamin Franklin: Autobiography, Poor Richard, and Later Writings* (New York: Library of America, 2005).

—George W. Boudreau

### **Popé** (1630?–1690?) *leader in the Pueblo Revolt*

Little is known about the early life of Popé, the man who led the PUEBLO REVOLT of 1680. He was born in the Tewa-speaking village of San Juan around 1630. By that time, Spanish colonizers had lived among the Pueblo for more than a generation, demanding labor and crops from the villages and suppressing traditional religious rites and ceremonies. As a young man, Popé seems to have been a war chief in San Juan and would have been keenly aware of the risks of defying Spanish rule. Several other villages initiated rebellions during his youth, and the Spaniards crushed them all.

By the 1660s and 1670s, when drought and famine threatened the entire valley, Popé was perhaps the principal religious figure in his community. Through elaborate rituals, he openly appealed to the traditional Pueblo gods for rain and relief. Leaders in other villages did the same, and in 1675 Spanish authorities arrested them for “WITCHCRAFT.” Three were executed. Popé and 42 others were flogged in public, and they would have been sold into SLAVERY but for a large party of Pueblo warriors, who demanded their release. Once freed, Popé withdrew to Taos Pueblo and began quietly forging alliances that would lead to one of the most successful pan-Indian uprisings in North American history.

Popé’s brilliant leadership derived from his gifts for explanation and organization. All the valley’s troubles, he insisted, could be traced to the Spanish. The droughts, crop failures, famine, mysterious diseases, and increasing Apache attacks were all consequences of the Spanish presence and the corresponding neglect of traditional religion. Three generations of the Spanish colonizers’ seemingly insatiable demands for land, labor, and tribute only compounded their problems. The way to regain the blessings their ancestors had enjoyed, Popé explained, was to kill the Spaniards and erase their memory from the valley. To convey his message and coordinate the resistance, Popé tirelessly repeated his arguments and enlisted other Native leaders throughout the Rio Grande Valley, forging a consensus that had been missing in previous revolts. Not all villages participated, and some actively worked against him, but Popé secured enough support for a successful general uprising in August 1680.

The revolt was a complete success and with 500 Spaniards dead and the rest in retreat to Sonora, Popé traveled throughout the valley, calling for the destruction of all vestiges of Spanish culture and religion. However, while Popé could forge a military coalition against the Spanish, his leadership skills were not strong enough to prevent conflicts from breaking out among his victorious followers. Many villagers insisted on retaining Spanish ANIMALS and crops. Others wanted to retain Spanish tools and weapons. Most important, the rains that Popé promised never came, and the region endured another decade of drought. As local disagreements reemerged, villagers began to question Popé’s leadership. Increasingly alienated by his arrogance and especially by his claim to lead all of the Pueblo people followers, turned away from Popé. Within a year of the revolt he led, Popé lost his leadership in San Juan and died sometime around 1690, never knowing that the Spaniards would return to reconquer his people in 1694.

**Further reading:** Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942); Joe S. Sando, *Popé: Architect of the*

*First American Revolution* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: Clearlight Publishers, 1998).

—Brian DeLay and Ronald Schultz

### **population trends**

Between 1585 and 1763 the population of British North America increased enormously as growing numbers of Europeans and Africans replaced declining numbers of NATIVE AMERICANS. The best estimates are that the colonies contained approximately 4,600 people of European and African descent in 1630, a quarter million in 1700, and slightly more than 2 million on the eve of the Revolution.

Scholars disagree about the number of Indians who lived north of the Rio Grande before contact with Europeans. Estimates vary from 1 to 13 million inhabitants. Contact with Europeans had a disastrous impact on Native Americans. Common European childhood diseases, such as whooping cough, measles, and especially SMALLPOX, killed tens of thousands of Indians, who had not been previously exposed to these illnesses. Indeed, these diseases often killed Native Americans who had never even seen a white person, because the pathogens that caused these illnesses—often unknowingly carried by Natives who had been infected through contact with whites—frequently preceded the arrival of Europeans.

The first English colonists at Roanoke, unaware that they carried pathogens to which the Natives had no resistance, noted that Indians often became sick and died. English commercial anglers went ashore in present-day New England in the 1610s to dry their catch and trade with the Natives; in the process, they passed diseases to the local peoples. By the time the PILGRIMS arrived in the area in 1620, DISEASE had killed so many Native people that one English trader, noting the skeletons and abandoned wigwams that littered the landscape, called it a “new found Golgotha.”

Disease, however, did not affect only those who died; it also devastated those who survived. When a large number of people in a community fell ill, the healthy often fled, hoping to avoid the contagion. If they went to another village, they unwittingly carried the disease with them. Disease on a large scale meant that no one was available to tend fires, carry water, prepare FOOD, or care for the sick. If crops were not harvested, the survival of the community after the epidemic was jeopardized. Women who survived disease were less likely to bear children, thereby affecting future generations. Indians in the interior of the country usually had sufficient time to renew their population before facing the onslaught of European settlers. However, East Coast Natives sometimes found that the combination of population decline caused by diseases and the aggressive seizure of land by white settlers were too intense to survive.

Among European colonists population growth varied over time and space, although it generally increased rapidly due both to immigration and natural increase (the difference between the number of births and deaths). In New England, despite the 50 percent MORTALITY rate in the first few years among the Pilgrims, the population grew rapidly. The arrival of migrants in family groups, the general good health of the region, and the widespread availability of land all encouraged high fertility and low mortality rates. It was not uncommon for settlers to survive into their 70s, much longer than their counterparts in the mother country. Many lived long enough to exert control over their adult children and to see their grandchildren—another rarity in England. In addition, waves of immigrants increased the number of inhabitants. From a population of 14,000 in 1640, the New England population multiplied to perhaps 87,000 by 1690. It continued to expand, albeit at a somewhat slower rate, during the 18th century.

In sharp contrast to New England, the white population of the Chesapeake area colonies did not increase rapidly in the early 17th century. Indeed, the English population actually declined during the initial decades of settlement. Between 1625 and 1640, 15,000 people immigrated to VIRGINIA, yet only 8,000 whites lived in the colony in 1640. Unlike New England, where entire families immigrated, most immigrants to the Chesapeake area were single males arriving as indentured servants. The resulting GENDER imbalance, with males at times outnumbering females by seven to one, created very low birth rates. In addition, because large planters concentrated almost entirely on raising TOBACCO rather than foodstuffs, diets were often inadequate. Diseases like malaria, common in a hot, damp climate, as well as shallow wells poisoned by saltwater, also took a high toll on human life. Not until the end of the 17th century did the number of births exceed the number of deaths in the Chesapeake area colonies. One stabilizing factor in this period was the constant replenishment, both in settlers and in indentured servants, from England. Unlike New England, the British population of the Chesapeake area did not become self-reproducing until the 18th century, but the population then grew relatively rapidly until the War for Independence.

The Middle Colonies experienced enormous growth resulting from both natural increase and migration. While NEW YORK and NEW JERSEY had steady, although not spectacular, rates of population growth, PENNSYLVANIA, founded in 1681, contained the second largest population in British North America by 1770 and the largest white population by 1780. Much of Pennsylvania's demographic increase in the 18th century can be attributed to the influx of large numbers of German settlers, who by the 1750s accounted for a third of the colony's population. Their huge numbers, language, and observance of German

customs caused some uneasiness among English colonists. Benjamin Franklin, for example, worried that Pennsylvania would soon become a “Colony of Aliens.” Pennsylvania was also the destination of thousands of Scots, Irish, and Scots-Irish immigrants, most of whom headed for the frontier and the land available there.

The 18th-century black slave population of British North America was unique in that it was the only bound population in the New World that reproduced itself. However, this reproduction did not begin in the 17th century. Throughout the first half of the 17th century newly arrived African slaves suffered high mortality rates. Many died within five years after landing in the Chesapeake area as disease, inadequate diets, depression, and brutal working conditions took their toll. After the Middle Passage many Africans were in poor health on arriving in the colonies. The African population in the Chesapeake area was small in the early 17th century because planters invested in less expensive white indentured servants rather than African slaves. After 1675, as planters turned to purchasing African slaves, their population increased substantially. By the end of the first decades of the 18th century, slaves had formed sufficiently stable communities and marriages to enable them to reproduce their numbers. Their population was continually augmented by newly purchased slaves from abroad, as more

than 250,000 blacks were brought into America between 1700 and 1775. Indeed, more Africans than Europeans arrived in British America in the 18th century.

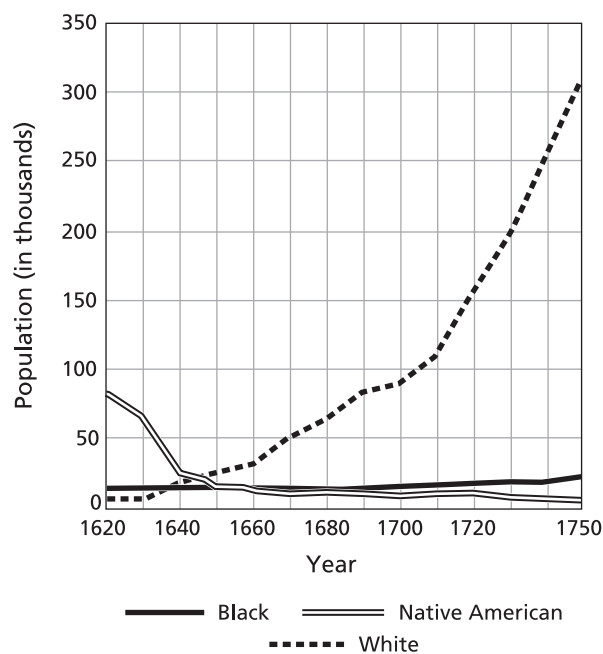
The slave population in SOUTH CAROLINA exploded in the early 18th century, once planters found that rice was a profitable crop and that they could purchase slaves relatively inexpensively. In some rice cultivation areas blacks accounted for 80 to 90 percent of the inhabitants. Bondpeople were forced to labor in very hazardous conditions, detrimental to their health, on those plantations. The only advantage that some enjoyed was partial immunity to malaria.

By the 1730s AFRICAN AMERICANS made up about 15 percent of the population of NEW YORK CITY and accounted for about 8 percent of BOSTON’s population. By the mid-18th century African Americans constituted one-third of the people living in the coastal areas stretching from the CHESAPEAKE BAY to GEORGIA. On the eve of the American Revolution one of every five colonists was black.

**Further reading:** Robert V. Wells, *Revolutions in Americans’ Lives: A Demographic Perspective on the History of Americans, Their Families, and Their Society* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982).

—Roger Carpenter

**Population of the New England Colonies, 1620–1750**



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## postal service

Mail was vital for colonists’ economic, political, and social interactions. Correspondence connected the colonists with people throughout the colonies and with family and officials in Great Britain, Europe, and other parts of the world. The colonial postal service encouraged the distribution of information, raw materials, and finished goods within the colonies and abroad. Mail meant that colonists were less isolated socially and culturally and had more immediate access to news and information. As the postal service expanded, roads were improved and extended into remote areas, and industries were built on these routes, contributing to local economies.

Senders often wrote messages on scraps of paper, which they folded, sealed with wax, and addressed with the recipient’s name and geographic location. Because postage stamps were not sold until the mid-19th century, recipients either paid for the mail that was sent to them (fees were based on the number of sheets and distance conveyed) or refused letters and packages. Such costs prevented many colonists from participating in the postal system. Enslaved AFRICAN AMERICANS were forbidden to write and lacked incomes to purchase paper and pens. Indentured servants also were mostly excluded from the postal system’s benefits, as were poorer settlers and residents on the isolated frontiers in the South and West.

The primary colonial postal patrons were prominent, educated white men living in urban areas who could afford writing supplies and postal fees; some affluent colonial women also sent and received mail. These postal customers had reasons to use the postal system, such as engaging in political and commercial professions. Newspapers and advertisements were circulated by the mail, and some nefarious individuals used the postal system to commit such crimes as mail fraud or even to threaten people. Colonial leaders recorded their philosophical thoughts and concerns in correspondence, which has been preserved in archives and annotated for scholarly use.

Initially, colonists depended on travelers and MERCHANTS to transport letters and packages by walking or driving stagecoaches on land or sailing vessels on rivers and canals. NATIVE AMERICANS occasionally acted as messengers, and mail to and from Britain relied on ships. Because the British traditionally used pubs as mail drops, the general court of MASSACHUSETTS selected Richard Fairbanks's BOSTON tavern as the colonies' first central postal site in 1639. Colonists could both receive and send mail from Fairbanks's tavern. Inns served as additional postal sites, and surveyors designated post roads between the colonies, although delivery was often erratic, especially in remote regions where roads were often swampy.

King Charles II (1660–85) ordered Francis Lovelace and JOHN WINTHROP, the governors of NEW YORK and CONNECTICUT, to initiate a mail route between New York and Boston to encourage colonists to correspond frequently. In January 1673 the first post rider traveled for three weeks on this assignment, and his duties included carrying mail, looking for military deserters and runaway slaves, helping fellow travelers, and identifying useful river crossings. After eight months this postal service was terminated.

The British Crown granted funds to create a postal service in 1691. NEW JERSEY governor ANDREW HAMILTON served as the first colonial deputy postmaster general. By 1737 Alexander Spotswood served in that position and appointed Benjamin Franklin as postmaster for PHILADELPHIA. Sixteen years later Franklin and William Hunter, the Williamsburg, VIRGINIA, postmaster, were named as joint postmasters general of the colonies. Franklin inspected post offices, established regular postal schedules, and initiated surveys of postal roads to determine shorter routes and expand services. In an effort to achieve more efficient delivery, he ordered post riders to TRAVEL at night between Philadelphia and New York.

Franklin also created the position of surveyor, a predecessor to the later Postal Inspection Service. He made the postal system profitable for the British. Colonists, however, were distressed by expensive postal rates, which they viewed as unfair taxation and monopolistic; Franklin attempted to explain that postal fees paid for services that

were unrelated to the Stamp Tax of 1765. Because of his pro-independence political views, however, the British Crown dismissed Franklin in 1774 despite his effective reforms and defense of postal costs. William Goddard created the Constitutional Post, a subscription postal system that colonial committees oversaw.

In July 1775 the Second Continental Congress established a Post Office Department and appointed Franklin as postmaster general. While many colonists sought independence from Great Britain, Franklin built the American postal service's foundation, which has remained essentially unchanged in the centuries since. Many modern postage stamps depict colonial figures and events, such as Christopher Columbus's arrival in the CARIBBEAN.

**Further reading:** Carl H. Scheele, *A Short History of the Mail Service* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970).

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

## potato

The potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) played a significant role in the Columbian exchange. This South American FOOD affected the nutrition and culture of colonial North Americans and people worldwide. Wild relatives of the modern potato have grown in the Americas for tens of thousands of years. Though most potatoes were too bitter to eat, some groups of NATIVE AMERICANS, such as the Navaho, made use of wild *Solanum*. Around 5,000 B.C., however, peoples of the central Andean highlands domesticated the tuber. Due to the potato's extraordinary genetic diversity, Andeans were able to develop varieties adapted to a wide range of environmental conditions. Potatoes became the staple of Incan civilization, and, using terrace AGRICULTURE, they raised over 3,000 varieties.

The Spanish encountered potatoes in what is now Colombia in the 1530s. The first potatoes arrived in Spain about 30 years later. The word *potato* arose out of Spanish confusion with the sweet potato, or *batata* in the Taino language. Reluctant to displace wheat from its central place in their diet and culture, Europeans were notoriously slow to accept the potato. Many feared the plant, claiming it produced a range of disagreeable health effects, from flatulence to leprosy. Some rejected it because of its conspicuous absence from the Bible. Significantly, to eat fine white bread was a mark of high class; only the destitute would forgo grain for the lowly potato.

Despite these cultural aversions, the potato's astounding productivity and hardiness eventually won it favor. The Irish first incorporated the potato into European cuisine during the 17th century. Over the next 100 years, it spread through France, Germany, and into northern Europe. The



introduction of the vitamin-rich potato, along with other American foods, touched off a worldwide nutrition revolution and population explosion.

Ironically, the potato journeyed from Europe back to the American colonies during the 17th century. By 1685 WILLIAM PENN, hoping to attract emigrants, noted an abundance of so-called Irish potatoes growing in PENNSYLVANIA. While Europeans still considered potatoes a food of the poor, colonial Americans of all classes adopted the potato enthusiastically for a variety of reasons. First, difficulties growing wheat forced colonists to look for alternatives. Second, potatoes were not LABOR intensive, so they were valuable in circumstances of labor scarcity and land abundance. Finally, though certainly aware of social divisions, Euro-Americans were somewhat less likely to differentiate them according to diet, because a wider variety of food was available to all classes in the colonies than in Europe.

**Further reading:** Larry Zuckerman, *The Potato: How the Humble Spud Rescued the Western World* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1998).

—Megan Raby

**Pott, John** (1591–1642) *doctor, politician*

A physician, John Pott also served as governor of VIRGINIA. He was born in 1591 in Macclesfield, Cheshire, England, but little else is known about his early life. By age 30, he had become a doctor and had married Elizabeth (maiden name unknown). In early 1621 Pott was hired by the VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON to serve as a physician in the colony as well as to sit on its governing council. By November Pott and his wife had arrived in JAMESTOWN. Within a decade he had increased his small estate to a plantation outside Jamestown nearing 2,000 acres, which he named “Harrop.”

Pott’s career in Virginia was defined by struggle against rampant DISEASE and equally troublesome faction-ridden politics. In August 1624 he was removed from the council, having been accused by his enemies of poisoning local NATIVE AMERICANS. He was restored, however, less than two years later after allied members of the council wrote to London complaining that Pott had been the victim of a smear campaign. The height of Pott’s political career came in March 1629, when he was elected governor of the colony. His tenure was short-lived and generally uneventful. By the following March he had been replaced by Sir John Harvey. They clashed almost immediately. A few months later Pott was dismissed from the council and confined to his estate by orders of the governor. An enraged and armed Pott was said to have attacked Harvey, who put him in prison. In response Pott’s wife and friends in the council called on the Privy Council in England to have him released, declaring

that he had been mistreated. Harvey circumvented these requests by asking the king to pardon Pott, which he did. Within a year Pott had regained his lands, previously forfeited under the terms of the pardon. His animosity toward Harvey intensified as fellow planters grew incensed with Harvey’s conduct. In 1635 Pott instigated a mini-rebellion. Sympathy for the planters was short-lived, and upon arriving in London to plead their case, Pott’s brother Francis was arrested. The consequences for Pott are unknown, but by keeping a low profile thereafter he seems to have maintained his lands, which he passed to his brother upon his death in 1642.

—Troy O. Bickham

**Powhatan** (1540?–1618) *Native American political leader*

Wahunsonacock, or Powhatan, was the founder and supreme chieftain (Mamanatowick) of Tsenacommacah (“densely inhabited land”), a strong Tidewater ALGONQUIN empire, which he forged through conquest, intimidation, and diplomacy during the last quarter of the 16th century. Born into a matrilineal clan of werowances (leading chiefs), Wahunsonacock inherited six to eight village territories in the area of what is now Richmond, VIRGINIA, acquiring his English name—Powhatan—from the most prominent village. Exploiting the depopulation and instability caused by the ravages of European diseases and the effects of climatic change on Indian AGRICULTURE, Wahunsonacock extended his control over another 31 village territories, an accomplishment reflecting a preexisting trend among the coastal Algonquin groups toward greater political consolidation and territorial expansion. From his capital, Werowocomoco, Wahunsonacock ruled by placing sons, brothers, and kinsmen as werowances in the principal villages, thereby creating a chiefdom encompassing 8,000 square miles, probably the largest and most politically complex society east of the Appalachians before European settlement.

At the apogee of his powers, Wahunsonacock dealt confidently with the tiny, squabbling band of starving English who established JAMESTOWN in 1607. The Powhatan overlord sought to incorporate Jamestown into his network of subject villages and assimilate the English colonists into the Powhatan culture through intimidation, gifts of FOOD, and offers of intermarriage. Likewise, the English sought to transform the Powhatan into compliant allies, trading partners, and pious Christians through the enticements of European trade goods and, if necessary, displays of English firearms. Between 1607 and 1609 Wahunsonacock and JOHN SMITH scrutinized each other’s intentions, tested each other’s military strength, and struggled to understand each other’s culture and language in order to find common ground upon which to coexist. The xenophobic

English rebuffed Powhatan offers of social intimacy and kinship through intermarriage. Commercial propensities also blinded the English to the fact that the Powhatan gifts of food and assistance, upon which Jamestown desperately depended for its survival, were regarded by the Powhatan not as capitalist economic exchanges involving profit and loss, but rather as traditional Algonquin social exchanges entailing obligations of reciprocity whose goal was to bind together the two peoples. Similarly, the Powhatan were indifferent to Christianity, annoyed by the English refusal to sell them firearms, and insulted by the English insistence that the Powhatan give corn for whatever the English chose to offer.

At their critical and final meeting at Worowocomoco in January 1609, both Smith and Wahunsonacock realized that the price for peace based on trade and cultural assimilation

was too great for each side to pay. Failing to find a mutually acceptable and voluntary mode of exchange, Smith began to extort desperately needed foodstuffs by intimidating Powhatan villages, taking hostages, and manhandling village werowances. Finally convinced that the English had come “to destroy my Country,” Wahunsonacock was drawn, albeit reluctantly, into the first Anglo-Powhatan War. This cruel and bloody genocide raged on until 1613, when the capture and Christian conversion of Wahunsonacock’s favored daughter, POCAHONTAS, and the destruction of Powhatan forces in the field forced the Powhatan chieftain to accept a humiliating peace treaty. By the conclusion of hostilities in 1614, the English, then under the command of SIR THOMAS DALE and Sir Gates, had wrested effective control of the James River valley from the CHESAPEAKE BAY to the fall line near present-day Richmond.



John Smith's *A Map of Virginia*, published in 1612, shows, in the upper left-hand corner, Powhatan in his royal wigwam, wearing a crown of feathers. (Library of Congress)



Broken by defeat and weakened by age, Wahunsonacock retreated into domestic life, allowing leadership of the Powhatan peoples to slip to his relatives OPECHANCAHOUGH and Opitchapam. “I am old,” he admitted to John Smith during their crucial January 1609 encounter, “and ere long must die. . . . I knowe it is better to eat good meat, lie well, and sleep with my women and children, laugh and be merrie . . . then [to] be forced to flie . . . and be hunted.” Grief-stricken by news of Pocahontas’s death in England in 1617, the once great overlord waned into a shadow of his former greatness. Wahunsonacock died in April 1618, a sad supplicant to the English colonists who in 1607 he could so easily have destroyed.

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—James Bruggeman

### Powhatan Confederacy

The English settlers who established a colony at JAMESTOWN in 1607 faced Wahunsonacock, a powerful ALGONQUIN paramount chief. He controlled an 8,000-square-mile area from the fall line to CHESAPEAKE BAY and from the James River basin to just south of the Potomac River, an area encompassing more than 14,000 people and more than 30 tribal groups, including the Pamunkey, Appomattoc, Paspahegh, Kecoughtan, and the POWHATAN (Wahunsonacock’s home group), from which the English derived their name for him and his confederacy. Known to its inhabitants as Tsenacommacah (“densely inhabited land”), this strong Tidewater Algonquin polity was among the most politically complex tribal societies east of the Appalachians at the time of European arrival.

The Powhatan tribes shared many cultural traits with other Algonquin-speaking peoples along the Atlantic coast, but Powhatan government and society under Wahunsonacock were more autocratic and aristocratic than some of the northern Algonquin groups. Other coastal Indian societies in the late 16th century, such as the Roanoke under WINGINA, were experiencing similar political consolidation, territorial expansion, and CLASS differentiation as chief matrilineages accumulated hereditary power, territory, and riches. Wahunsonacock ruled from his capital, Werowocomoco, by placing sons, brothers, and relatives as werowances (subchiefs) over the principal villages and then exacting, but also redistributing, tribute from the villages under their control. Wahunsonacock’s authority was enhanced by the fact that he, his werowances, and his priests (*quiyoughquisocks*) were considered lesser gods (*quioccasuks*). His divinely enhanced power was tempered somewhat by his need to seek the advice and support of a

council of priests and werowances. Furthermore, the powerful Chickahominy, while accepting Wahunsonacock as their overlord, ruled themselves through their own council. Just before his death in 1618, Wahunsonacock resumed the tradition of dual chiefdoms. He appointed as his successors an inside chief (Itoyatan), who dealt with the council and internal tribal affairs, and a war, or diplomatic, chief (OPECHANCAHOUGH), who dealt with outsiders and external affairs.

The VIRGINIA colony’s aristocratic leadership closely examined Powhatan society, hoping to find social and political demarcations that would mirror and thereby validate those of traditional English society. Although misinterpreting many features of Powhatan society, the English elite found much that met their approval. The Powhatan were a settled, agricultural people who lived in villages ruled by “kings” and a hereditary caste of the “better sort,” who in turn were ruled by “emperor” Wahunsonacock. Other features displayed by these “civil savages” assured, but also disturbed, the English. The English happily perceived that Powhatan society was built around a core of religious values, beliefs, and practices focused on the worship of Okee, but, in English eyes, Powhatan religion was pagan, and the Powhatan would dwell in “darkness” until brought into the “light” of Christianity. Likewise, the Powhatan seemed to respect GENDER differences, honor marriage, and form ordered families, yet the English were incensed that Powhatan women bore sole responsibility for planting, cultivating, harvesting, and preserving crops, which in England was men’s work. They clearly misunderstood the power and esteem that traditional matrilineal descent and women’s monopoly of agricultural work provided Powhatan women. Although they saw the virtues of Powhatan society as a “living reproach to England,” the English pointed to Powhatan paganism and the perceived exploitation of Indian women as justification for colonization. The xenophobic and insecure English leaders also were uncomfortable and abrasive around Indians and spurned Powhatan overtures of social intimacy, particularly intermarriage. The Virginia colony’s lower-class laborers and servants, on the other hand, were far less queasy with Powhatan ways, and in the early years they often deserted, sometimes en masse, to live among them.

During the early years of the Jamestown colony, the Powhatan and the English made mutual efforts to “civilize,” dominate, and incorporate each other into their respective societies through military intimidation, political ritual, trade, negotiation, and religious persuasion. Both Powhatan and English staged displays of affectionate friendship alternating with acts of military aggression to persuade or intimidate in ways that the other deemed “civil.” The Powhatan captured, adopted, and anointed JOHN SMITH as a werowance of Capahowasick, just as Captain Newport crowned a

reluctant Wahunsonacock as a subsidiary monarch to James I. Smith and his successors conducted extensive but ultimately fruitless negotiations to find a mutually acceptable basis for trade of the Indian foodstuffs essential for English survival in return for the European manufactured goods and firearms coveted by the Powhatan. English clergy labored tirelessly among the Indians, even establishing a college to educate Powhatan children, but the proudly ethnocentric Powhatan, led by charismatic priests such as Nemattanew, tenaciously resisted English proselytizing. POCAHONTAS's conversion to Christianity and marriage to JOHN ROLFE in 1613 produced a temporary peace between the two peoples but only a trickle of converts, and many Powhatan who imitated her apostasy did so selectively, adopting only those Christian beliefs and practices that fit into their traditional religious worldview.

Aggressive proselytizing, the increasing expansion of English settlement on Indian lands, and the murder of Nemattanew by the English provoked Powhatan war chief Opechancanough into launching a devastating surprise attack on English settlements in 1622. The ensuing Anglo-Powhatan War ground on for a decade, resulting in a qualified victory for the Powhatans, who temporarily were able to preserve their way of life, yet their resistance tipped even sympathetic English authorities toward a long-standing policy in British America of expelling Indians from lands coveted by whites and segregating them from white colonists in what were to become the first Indian reservations.

English settlers, hungry for land on which to grow highly lucrative TOBACCO, continued to encroach on Powhatan lands. Opechancanough consequently led another desperate attack on the English plantations in 1644. This conflict ultimately ended in Opechancanough's murder while in English CAPTIVITY, and the Powhatan, in the words of the report of the Virginia assembly, were "so routed and dispersed that they are no longer a nation." DISEASE, warfare, and constant killings by white settlers reduced the Powhatan population from about 15,000 in 1607 to fewer than 2,000 in 1669. Murder and enslavement of Powhatan, both friendly and hostile, by English settlers during and after BACON's REBELLION in 1675 further diminished Powhatan power, morale, and unity. By the middle of the 18th century the tattered remnants of the once mighty confederation, largely 700 to 1,000 Pamunkey and Mattaponi, were confined to two reservations, where they intermarried with fugitive white servants and runaway African slaves. Others were banished to the margins of white society, where they eked out a living as servants and day laborers.

The Powhatan survived European colonization. Today, members of the Accomac, Chickahominy, Nansemond, Potomac, Rappahannock, Werowocomoco, Nanticoke, and Wicocomoco bands are scattered throughout communities

in Virginia and NEW JERSEY. The Powhatan-Renape band lives in the Delaware Valley of PENNSYLVANIA. Only the Mattaponi and Pamunkey retain the state reservation lands that are the legacy of Opechancanough's defeat.

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—James Bruggeman

### praying towns

As part of its colonial charter, the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY was required by the English Crown to convert NATIVE AMERICANS to Christianity. Although the PURITANS had made permanent settlements in New England in the 1630s, they placed little priority initially on converting Indians. By the 1640s the Crown began to criticize Puritans for not fulfilling this part of their obligations. Building on the traditions of the Spanish Franciscan MISSIONS of Latin America and the French Jesuit mission villages in Canada, the English began to establish villages set apart from both English towns and Indian communities. Thomas Mayhew and JOHN ELIOT were two of the pioneers of these praying towns. Mayhew established a praying town on Martha's Vineyard, while Eliot established numerous villages throughout New England. While each town served a different population of Indians and had its own particular history, they all served the same fundamental purpose: to eradicate Native religious and social practices that strayed from the English standard.

Unlike the JESUITS and Franciscans, these ministers were Protestant, not from a monastic order, and funded by the British Crown. Like the Jesuits and Franciscans, they served a religious and social function. To teach Indians about Christianity, they translated the Bible and prayer books into Indian languages. They also required that Indians abandon their non-Christian relatives, live in European-style homes, and give up traditional hunting and farming techniques for European-style AGRICULTURE. Indian men were required to cut their hair and take up farming, traditionally women's work among New England Indians. Women were expected to be subservient to their husbands, in accordance with English rather than Indian norms. On the surface the goal of the towns was to instruct the Indians well enough that the town might be considered a congregation, that is, a collection of "saints," or individuals accepted by God for salvation. This Puritan notion suggested the possibility that Indian praying towns might be considered equal with English congregations, yet the acceptance of these towns as congregations was relatively rare. Many historians have



argued that the racism of the Puritans prevented them from fully accepting Christian Indians as religious equals, regardless of their willingness to abandon traditional dress, hairstyle, and social organization.

The English missionary effort suffered a severe blow in the wake of KING PHILIP'S WAR in 1676. Although the English eventually defeated their Wampanoag enemies with the help of praying town Indians, the event triggered fear and resentment of Indians among the colonists, and they dismantled most of the mission villages in New England. The remaining villagers were forced to return to their traditional communities or seek refuge among other tribes to the north.

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—Thomas J. Lappas

## Presbyterians

Presbyterians are Protestants whose congregations are governed by elders (“presbyters”) elected by their membership. These elders govern collectively, as a session, with some of them chosen as representatives to the local presbytery, the regional synod, and the national general assembly. Presbyterians trace their origins to 16th-century Geneva, where John Calvin instituted a rudimentary form of Presbyterianism. Their theological distinctions are summarized in the Westminster Confession (1647) and Shorter (1647) and Larger (1648) Catechisms. English Puritans were too divided to impose these tenets on the Church of England, but they were adopted by the Church of Scotland and later by breakaway denominations in Scotland as well as by daughter churches in America.

The first Presbyterian church in what became the United States was established in Hempstead, NEW YORK, in 1644, with others soon following in Newark (1667), PHILADELPHIA (1692), and elsewhere along the mid-Atlantic coast. Francis Makemie, a Scots-Irish missionary recognized as the father of American Presbyterianism, arrived in 1683. In 1706 he led in organizing the Presbytery of Philadelphia, serving as its first moderator; in 1716 this was reorganized as the Synod of Philadelphia. Most of its growth stemmed from the influx of Scots-Irish immigrants and the southward surge of New England Puritans. While the Scots-Irish generally stressed the centrality of doctrinal orthodoxy as defined by fidelity to the Westminster Confession, New Englanders generally urged the secondary status of all standards other than the Bible and

emphasized the centrality of “experimental” (experiential) religion. Tensions between the two were temporarily eased by the Adopting Act of 1729, in which the synod embraced Westminster as its doctrinal standard while making room for those with scruples about nonessential aspects of Westminster's teaching.

These wings endured a painful separation during the GREAT AWAKENING. Experience-oriented Presbyterians, dubbed New Lights, welcomed the revival as God's work, while doctrine-oriented Presbyterians, dubbed Old Lights, saw New Light excesses as reason enough to reject it outright. At the synod's 1741 meeting the Old Lights revoked the Adopting Act and ousted most New Light ministers. Prorevival Presbyterianism now entered a period of accelerated growth; in 1745 New Lights organized the Synod of New York, and a year later they founded the College of New Jersey, Princeton University's predecessor, primarily to provide their congregations with well-educated pastors. Meanwhile, antirevival Presbyterianism experienced stagnation and numerical decline that eventually forced the Old Lights' reconciliation with the New Lights on the latter's terms. In 1758 their synods merged to form the Synod of New York and Philadelphia.

Recent scholarship has argued that New Lights, including Presbyterians, were more likely to challenge secular as well as religious authority. Many of them consequently engaged in political resistance during the decade preceding the American Revolution.

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—George W. Harper and Billy G. Smith

## Priber, Christian Gottlieb (1697–1744?) missionary, reformer

Christian Gottlieb Priber was a utopian philosopher who advocated a radically different society while living among the CHEROKEE Indians. Despite contemporary and subsequent suspicions that he was a French agent or a French Jesuit, Christian Priber was, in fact, born in Zittau, Saxony, the son of Friedrich Priber, publican and linen merchant, and Anna Dorothea Bergmann. His early career saw him gain a doctorate in jurisprudence at Erfurt University, after which he returned to Zittau to practice law and to marry Christiane Dorothea Hoffman, with whom he had had five children by 1732. By 1735 Priber, who claimed to have fled persecution for his beliefs, was at CHARLESTON. A

500-mile journey over the Appalachians took him to Great Tellico, a principal town of the Cherokee. It was here, after learning the local language, altering his physical appearance to conform with local custom, and gaining the trust and affection of the local Cherokee, that he began (filled with fashionable contemporary notions about the “noble savage”) to build what was described as his “Kingdom of Paradise.” In this utopian state there was to be equality of the sexes, communal care of children, communal possession of all property (which was to be distributed strictly according to need), and a radically limited legal code. Priber’s suggestion that the Cherokee begin to trade on equal terms with both the English and the French and his teaching the Cherokee the use of weights and measures to protect themselves from dishonest merchants annoyed the local English authorities. After several failed attempts to capture him, Priber was finally seized by a group of Creek in 1743, taken to Fort Frederica, and interrogated by JAMES OGLETHORPE. It was at Frederica that, in all likelihood, he died.

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—Jonathan Wright

### **primogeniture and entail**

Primogeniture and entail were ancient feudal rights transplanted to the colonies from England and designed to support and maintain a landed aristocracy of large estates. Primogeniture and entail of estates were found throughout the English colonies in North America but were most common in the Middle and Southern colonies. Primogeniture is the legal right of the first-born son to be the sole inheritor of an entire estate. The process of primogeniture was designed to keep a fiefdom intact and its owner responsible for the feudal services owed to a lord. Entail is the legal restriction of an estate to a grantee (owner) and certain of his direct descendants. An entailed estate could not be removed from the family or sold so long as lineal heirs meeting the proper requirements of the original grant were alive.

During the European Middle Ages and early modern period primogeniture, or the practice of willing all of a family’s immovable goods to the eldest son, was the most common form of property inheritance. The popularity of primogeniture was in large part due to the problems inherent in partible inheritance, the system by which landed property was divided among all eligible heirs, resulting in diminution of patrimony over the course of a few generations. Because noble families worked to consolidate their power, they embraced the concept of primogeniture. The

British so loved the concept that they applied it to noble titles as well as land. The impact of the system on the British peerage was considerable; younger sons of British peers became *de facto* commoners, thus preventing the type of rapid growth of the nobility that had taken place in other western European lands.

Among the New England colonies, only RHODE ISLAND continued the practice of primogeniture. The other colonies actively opposed the process of primogeniture, although in MASSACHUSETTS the eldest son was required to be willed a double share of an inheritance. The lasting effect of this practice was the continued division of lands and farms in New England until, by the 18th century, many sons could not support a family on the tiny plot of land they inherited. The difficulty of farming the poor lands in New England (except for the CONNECTICUT River valley) coupled with smaller and smaller estates made these colonies unprofitable for large-scale AGRICULTURE. Consequently, many New Englanders engaged in other trades, such as SHIPBUILDING, FISHING, and mercantile trade.

Cultural and historical factors in the Middle and Southern colonies made the practice of primogeniture and entail more acceptable. NEW YORK had a tradition of large manors established by Dutch settlers. Large plantations in the Chesapeake area and Tidewater regions of the South favored the practice of maintaining a large estate rather than dividing it among heirs. The lifestyles of the southern aristocracy, made possible by the LABOR of thousands of slaves, were possible and profitable only when a plantation was left intact through successive generations. While large plantation owners like the Byrd and Carter families in VIRGINIA were few, their influence over colonial society was enormous.

The general opinion in the colonies, however, was that primogeniture and entail were not compatible with the growth of viable communities; also, they were viewed as unnecessary because there was a seemingly inexhaustible supply of “vacant” land. By the third generation in New England, those who faced unprofitable farms because of their small size sometimes saw the large frontier areas as an area of opportunity. This intensified the westward movement of colonists as they spread into the interior lands occupied by NATIVE AMERICANS. A similar phenomenon occurred in the Tidewater region when the soil of smaller farms was exhausted, forcing colonists to move toward the interior of the Carolinas and Virginia. By the time of the Revolution, sentiment was so against the use of primogeniture that it was generally abolished, while entail continued in some areas under limited circumstances.

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—Stephen C. O'Neill

### Prince, Lucy Terry (1730–1821) poet

Lucy Terry Prince was probably the first black American poet. She holds this distinction for her only known poem, “Bars Fight,” written in 1746, when she was 16 years old. It was occasioned by the death of two white families during a hostile encounter with NATIVE AMERICANS in Deerfield, MASSACHUSETTS. Her description is the fullest contemporary account of that struggle.

Lucy Terry was a victim of the slave trade. While we do not know where on the African continent she was born, she first appears in the historical record as Lucy Terry, slave of Ensign Ebenezer Wells of Deerfield. She was five when baptized during the GREAT AWAKENING, and she was admitted to the “fellowship of the church” at age 14.

Lucy Terry thrived in part because of New England’s “benign paternalism.” She was literate and a renowned storyteller. In 1756 she married a free black man twice her age, Abijah Prince. Although Prince owned land in a nearby town, they continued to live at Deerfield in a house near a place still known as Bijah’s Brook. They began raising a family that eventually included six children. Meanwhile, Abijah Prince had been bequeathed 100 acres in Guilford, VERMONT. In the 1760s the family moved to the village of 2,000 inhabitants.

Lucy Terry Prince flourished in Vermont. She attempted, unsuccessfully, to persuade the Williams College board of trustees to admit her son, barred because of his color. On another occasion she brought a lawsuit against Colonel Eli Bronson, her neighbor, for falsely claiming part of her family’s land. In extreme old age she rode horseback between Guilford and Bennington, 18 miles away. Lucy Terry Prince died in 1821 at the age of 91.

—Leslie Patrick

### Princeton College

Princeton was one of nine colleges existing in the colonies before the Revolution. Following the English tradition, religious groups founded educational institutions in order to train students for the ministry and for state service. The schools were identified with specific denominations, restricted to males, and generally limited to upper-CLASS families. Their curricula were designed to strengthen the mental and moral powers of students through classical studies (Latin and Greek) and strict discipline. In the 18th century colleges differed more in their theological outlooks than in their approaches to academics.

The founders of the College of NEW JERSEY in 1746 were followers of Irish evangelist WILLIAM TENNENT, SR.’s, work at Log College. Members of the “New Light” wing of Presbyterians, they aimed to train ministers for the GREAT AWAKENING, causing a temporary schism in the church. The first president of the college, housed in New Brunswick, was Reverend Jonathan Dickinson. Reverend Aaron Burr presided over its second home in Newark, and in 1756 the College of New Jersey moved to ROBERT SMITH’s Nassau Hall in Princeton. (It took its present name in 1896.) Princeton was the religious and educational center for Scots-Irish Presbyterians during the Great Awakening. The evangelical community attracted noted ministers JONATHAN EDWARDS and GEORGE WHITEFIELD. Aaron Burr led a religious revival at the college in 1757 that was accompanied by a lively literary culture. Although their goal was to train ministers, the Presbyterian educators at the College of New Jersey were also interested in worldly learning.

—Deborah C. Taylor

### printing and publishing

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY, governor of VIRGINIA for 38 years, wrote in 1671: “But I thank God, we have not free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have these hundred years.” Despite his wish, printing thrived in colonial America.

In 1639, a century after the Spanish had established a printing press in Mexico City, printing began in British North America. The first press was established in Cambridge, MASSACHUSETTS, primarily for the use of HARVARD COLLEGE. The first printed item was *The Oath of a Free-Man*, a broadsheet containing an oath for all citizens of the Massachusetts Bay Colony; the first book was the *Bay Psalm Book* (1639). While BOSTON became the primary center for printing, presses were established in PHILADELPHIA in 1685 and in NEW YORK CITY by 1693. By 1760, 60 printers worked in the colonies.

While the presses in the SPANISH COLONIES printed primarily government documents and religious works, printers in British North America produced a wider collection of materials, including fiction, magazines, almanacs, and schoolbooks. Newspapers, however, were slow to develop in the British colonies. Demand for news was initially satisfied by English papers, which arrived frequently by ship; apparently, there was little interest in local news, because the settlers were more oriented toward their homeland than to their colonial neighbors. The growth of commerce and the possibility of advertising revenue helped the development of newspapers. In 1690 BENJAMIN HARRIS published his *Publick Occurences Both Foreign and Domestick*, the first American newspaper, which authorities banned

after only one issue. There would not be another American newspaper until 1704, when John Campbell, the postmaster of the Boston post office, published the first continuous American newspaper, the *Boston News-Letter*. Campbell clipped items from incoming London newspapers and printed them as foreign news. Circulation never exceeded 300 copies, a small number that reflected the dullness of a newspaper in which the copy was cleared with either the governor or his secretary.

Independent JOURNALISM emerged with the establishment in 1721 of the *New England Courant* by James Franklin (the elder brother of Benjamin). While James Franklin's paper lasted only five years, it was extremely influential. Franklin began what has become known as "crusade" journalism when he attacked INCREASE MATHER and his son COTTON MATHER for supporting the idea of inoculating people with blood from recovered SMALLPOX patients. Franklin was bitingly nasty in his attacks until it became clear that the Mathers were right. This independent style of journalism attracted more readers, and by 1750, 14 weekly newspapers appeared in the six most populous colonies.

Except for a few success stories, such as the Bradfords in New York, the Greens in Boston, and, most famously, Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, colonial printers usually were not prosperous. Most were hardworking ARTISANS who scraped by with whatever business they could find.

While men dominated printing, their widows occasionally inherited and maintained presses and thereby exerted considerable influence in early America. ANN SMITH FRANKLIN, the widow of James Franklin, became the first female printer in New England and successfully ran the printing business for several decades.

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—Kenneth Pearl

## privateering

Privateering, or the state-sanctioned act of piracy, was among the most significant contributions made by British colonies in North America to Great Britain during the 18th century. Privateering, which entailed patrolling the ocean for enemy merchant vessels to capture and loot, was a very lucrative business, especially for owners and ship captains. Affluent men were the ones most likely to seek letters of marque, while poorer men performed the hard, dangerous work on board the ships. A letter of marque legitimized

privateers, dividing them from the ranks of pirates by placing their vessels under the king's flag. The seized ships and cargoes were brought into port to be legally "condemned" before an Admiralty Court. This process ensured that the Crown and the grantors of the commission would receive their entitled shares. The ship's owners and the captain (often part owner) received 40 shares each, while each privateersman received only a single share. This seemingly small portion of the spoil was still often better than the small wages earned on board a Royal Navy or merchant ship, and life at sea often was of a higher quality on a privateer. The shares, though small, still provided a powerful incentive, making privateer crews easy to obtain.

The near-continual state of warfare among Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Spain throughout the 17th and 18th centuries made privateering one of the most profitable ventures for enterprising colonial investors and provincial governors, and it provided a good living for seamen. Privateering, however, was also quite risky. While investors were sometimes able to balance the risk and benefit that came with financial speculation, those who participated aboard privateers took on considerable risk. The fate of men captured while privateering included impressment, imprisonment, and sometimes death.

When England's rivalry with Spain evolved into outright warfare in the late 1500s, this legal version of PIRACY emerged with the rise of English "Sea Dogs." The English need for bases, from which to attack Spanish shipping, spurred both the creation and the demise of such colonial settlements as Roanoke, JAMESTOWN, and the Popham Colony in Maine. As colonies began to thrive, trade increased, incorporating British North America into the fold of Atlantic trade. In an environment of continual trade wars, privateering arose as the legal method for plundering a rival's supply lines and of interrupting an enemy's participation in the growing global economy. Of course, English and colonial MERCHANTS also faced depredations from foreign privateers, resulting in the loss of significant profits and goods.

While volleyed attacks by ships increasingly distinguished methods of warfare, privateers were not inhibited by this mode of battle to the same degree as were nations in general. For example, Captain William Kidd of NEW YORK was granted a privateering commission in 1695 near the end of KING WILLIAM'S WAR (1689–97). The English navy sent Kidd to hunt for pirates in the Red Sea, but he turned pirate himself. Still, Kidd kept a privateer captain's 40 shares of the treasure, when most pirate captains would receive only two shares. Kidd's faltering loyalty enabled him to follow the path most profitable for himself.

The poorly defined distinction between piracy and privateering, as exemplified in Kidd's career, and the disruption of trade convinced British authorities that piracy



had to be crushed and privateering brought under strict control. The wartime necessity for privateering, however, was too great to stifle the number of privateer commissions issued. QUEEN ANNE'S WAR (1702–13) and the WAR OF JENKINS' EAR (1739–43) witnessed the continued deployment of thousands of privateers to attack enemy ships from American colonies. The end of these conflicts forced many unemployed former privateersmen to turn to piracy.

Privateers were sleek, fast ships that were often built in the colonies. They usually preyed on the slower and more cumbersome merchant vessels, which characterized these types of ships throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Merchant ships typically sailed lightly armed and with small crews, as space for cargo was the top priority. Moreover, privateersmen, who only received shares when successful, were far more motivated than the poorly paid crews on merchant ships.

Among the British North American colonies, the cities of New York and NEWPORT were the leading centers of privateering, although almost all ports were involved in privateering to some extent. During war, the profitability of privateering peaked as did the number of available privateersmen. Privateering offered benefits that included the greatest incentives for sailors, including legal safeguards, protection from being pressed into the Royal Navy, and some of the highest returns on commissions. Many privateers may have used the excuse of patriotism to justify their employment on board a privatized warship; however, the ease with which they switched sides suggests profit as a more compelling force behind their actions. Whatever their motivation to engage in privateering, war produced the conditions to make state-sanctioned piracy among the most popular career choices available to lower-class men, enough so that they were enticed onto the ocean in growing numbers. During KING GEORGE'S WAR (1744–48), for example, captured prizes escalated to an estimated worth of £17,000,000. Six years later, the SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1754–63) saw more privateers than any previous conflict, as English and American colonial vessels harried the French ships bound to and from France's colonial holdings. Although quick profit may have been the primary goal of privateersmen, on the high seas and in foreign ports they sometimes formed a literate, multilingual, cultured working-class group. The skills acquired by these British North American privateers were put into effective action once again during the American War for Independence and the War of 1812.

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—Stephen C. O'Neill and Melissa J. Pawlikowski

**Proclamation of 1763** See VOLUME III.

### proprietary colonies

Proprietary colonies were those created by a royal charter granting both land and government to a private actor, usually an individual or a small group of people. The first of these in North America was GEORGE CALVERT's Avalon settlement in NEWFOUNDLAND, but the first in the present-day United States was MARYLAND, granted to Cecil Calvert in 1632. Others include East and West Jersey, NEW YORK, Carolina, and PENNSYLVANIA.

Proprietorship departed from earlier forms of corporate colonization organized by joint-stock companies such as the VIRGINIA COMPANY and the MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY. The insubordination among members of and disappointing profits earned by those companies angered the Crown, subsequently resulting in the assumption of royal authority over the colonies bearing their names. The proprietary structure allowed the Crown to influence colonies more effectively than did the corporate form. The Crown could use its grants as a form of patronage to reward those whose compliance could be assured, rather than the intransigent investors of the corporate colonies.

Proprietors claimed sweeping authority under their charters, and the Crown believed that a strong and loyal executive provided the best guarantee that the colony would remain faithful to England and its interests. For example, Maryland's charter, modeled on the extensive privileges granted to the lord bishop of Durham by William the Conqueror, granted near-feudal powers to its proprietors, including ecclesiastical, military, and diplomatic rights.

Proprietors used their authority not only to pursue profit but also to achieve social goals that eluded them in England. Calvert promoted Maryland as a haven for persecuted Catholics. WILLIAM PENN defended toleration as a basic principle of his colony. The Carolina proprietors, led by Anthony Ashley Cooper and JOHN LOCKE, created an elaborate structure of government they called the Fundamental Constitutions, which provided for broad social toleration within an aristocratic framework. However, proprietors often faced pressure from both their colonial tenants and the Crown. Settlers often sought greater freedom from rulers regarded as

insensitive to their situation. The Crown, meanwhile, also restricted the proprietors' powers.

As the settlements grew larger and brushed up against indigenous and imperial neighbors, the issues involved with their administration grew more complicated. Moreover, the development of substantial colonial estates created classes of increasingly independent colonists, more capable of challenging the proprietors. In Carolina, the 1680s reflected a period of intense rivalry between the proprietors and their increasingly restive tenants, during which the Fundamental Constitutions were revised to expand the role of the assembly.

Under pressure from both Crown and colonist, all of the proprietary colonies in North America, save Pennsylvania, acceded to royal authority by the time of the American Revolution. In some cases, local residents forced the change, as with Carolina, which royalized in two parts between 1719 and 1729. Some proprietors wished to liquidate their claims for profit or to shed the burden of governing their fractious populations. A financially struggling William Penn attempted to sell Pennsylvania for £60,000 during the 1730s. The proprietors of East and West Jersey begged for royal intervention in the face of virulent opposition by their settlers, and their request was granted in 1702.

Other colonies were brought under Crown control by simple royal fiat. In New England, proprietary claims encompassing MAINE and NEW HAMPSHIRE were ultimately folded into the royal government of Massachusetts. New York was royalized when its proprietor, the Duke of York, ascended to England's throne as King James II in 1685. In the years following the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION in 1688, the Calvert and Penn claims were revoked, though both were ultimately reinstated, if only temporarily. By the 18th century, British imperial policy turned in favor of direct royal control of its holdings. GEORGIA, founded in 1731, reflected this new direction, with the grant of a more expansive role for the state and the imposition of limits on the power of the assembly.

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—Simon Finger

## Protestantism

Protestantism was born in 16th-century Europe, which had been primarily Catholic until that time (except for small clusters of JEWS throughout the continent and the Muslim Moors in Spain). The centuries of rule had taken

their toll on the Catholic hierarchy, which by the 15th century seemed corrupt to many. It controlled vast property and wealth, its priests were sometimes immoral, and it demanded too much money from all ranks of society. Protestantism denied the authority and infallibility of the pope and advocated a “return” to the “true” church, with an emphasis on scripture.

## Calvinism

Calvinism, based on the teachings of French religious leader John Calvin (1509–64), emphasized five principal tenets: the total depravity of humans, God's unconditional “election” of certain people to eternal salvation, Jesus Christ's atonement for human sins being limited only to the sins of the elect, the inability of the elect to refuse salvation, and their inability to fall from their state of grace. Calvinists believed that God's will was supreme and that the task of the elect on earth was to compel everyone to carry out God's will. No one on earth had any way of knowing who was predestined for salvation, but a blameless life was an indication that a person might be elected.

Calvinism flourished in the New World initially, especially among PURITANS, but by the end of the early 18th century it was in decline. The logic of predestination suggested that there was little point in leading a moral life, because the elect could not fall from grace. In addition, the seeming arbitrariness of predestination gradually lost its appeal in a society which emphasized rewards and success for merit and hard work.

## Conflict with Catholicism

Protestants believed that ROMAN CATHOLICS were not true Christians. They denied the supremacy of the pope and despised the ritual of the Catholic service, believing that it obscured rather than revealed the true nature of God. Their first attempts were to reform Catholicism, not to destroy it. However, Martin Luther and others soon realized that they would have to leave the church rather than change it.

The Puritans who founded MASSACHUSETTS had no tolerance for Catholicism. Any Catholic found in the colony was banished; if he or she returned, the penalty was death. Most other 17th-century colonies also oppressed Roman Catholics to a greater or lesser degree. Exceptions were MARYLAND, founded as a Catholic colony in 1634, and PENNSYLVANIA, in which all peaceable worshipers of God were welcome. After the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION in England (1688), the Catholic Calvert family who had established Maryland was ousted, and the population became increasingly Anglican.

The French and Spanish explorers who settled Canada and the Southwest were Roman Catholics. The missionaries who sailed with them converted many Indians, both forcibly

and voluntarily; part of the original Spanish mission to the New World was to convert “heathens” to the Catholic faith. Franciscan friars founded MISSIONS throughout the Rio Grande Valley between 1598 and 1630, and Jesuit Father Eusebio Francisco Kino (1654–1711) founded many missions in Arizona in the 1690s. In 1768 the JESUITS withdrew from North America.

### ***Denominationalism***

Denominationalism is a system of voluntary church affiliation. Rather than being coerced by the state to join a particular church, people who live under this system are free to choose a church of their own. It is up to the church to recruit new members without assistance from the state.

Some colonies, such as RHODE ISLAND and Pennsylvania, always operated under this system. In most colonies, however, the state enforced a system of either Anglicanism or Congregationalism. In spite of the first amendment to the Constitution, church and state were not separated in all states until 1833, when Congregationalism was officially disestablished in Massachusetts.

The many differing brands of Protestantism found among the population of the colonies, not to mention other faiths such as Catholicism, made denominationalism almost essential for survival in British America. Colonists in places such as NEW YORK soon realized that they could not bar Protestants from their rights as citizens simply because of the church at which they worshipped.

### ***Protestantism and the English Reformation***

The English Reformation differed from the Lutheran and Calvinist Reformation in continental Europe in an important respect: Its roots were political rather than theological. In fact, Henry VIII opposed Luther; he wrote a defense of the seven sacraments in 1521 for which the pope rewarded him with the title “Defender of the Faith.”

King Henry VIII (1509–47) used the pope’s refusal to grant him a divorce from Catherine of Aragon as his excuse to deny the supremacy of the church in England. In 1534 Henry created the Church of England, named himself as its supreme head, and granted his own divorce. The Church of England made no immediate attempt to change Catholic doctrine; apart from the denial of papal supremacy, Anglicanism and Catholicism seemed identical.

In 1547, when Edward VI became king, the Protestants took control of the government. They instituted significant changes to the church, removing images from churches, forbidding prayer to saints, and repealing the tradition of clerical celibacy. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury during this period, wrote the *Book of Common Prayer* and the Forty-two Articles, which stressed justification by faith and the supreme authority of the Bible.

Under Catholic Queen Mary (1553–58) many of these reforms were repealed, and Cranmer and dozens of other Protestant leaders were executed. When Queen Elizabeth (1558–1603) took the throne in 1558, she restored the Protestant reforms. In 1571 the Forty-two Articles were shortened to the Thirty-nine Articles, which were not quite radical enough to please many Puritans. Thus, the English Reformation did not go far enough for this minority, thousands of whom eventually sailed to North America to worship as they pleased.

### ***Evangelical Protestantism***

Evangelical Protestantism emphasizes individual conversion, the authority of the Bible, and moral and social reform. Evangelicalism began with Dutch theologian Jacob Arminius (1560–1609), who argued that each human being had the power to choose or refuse salvation. This directly contradicted the Calvinist doctrine of predestination.

The prominence of Evangelicalism in early North America began in 1726, when Dutch Reformed minister THEODORUS JACOBUS FRELINGHUYSEN of northern NEW JERSEY demanded that members of his congregation openly repent of their sins and admit their reliance on the Holy Spirit. Church membership grew, and others, notably WILLIAM TENNENT, SR., and his sons Gilbert, John, and William, followed Frelinghuysen’s lead. In the 1720s and 1730s ministers who graduated from Tennent’s Log College spread Evangelicalism further through the colonies.

Probably the most famous of all the evangelical ministers of the period is JONATHAN EDWARDS of Northampton, Massachusetts. Edwards believed in justification by faith, not in the Arminian creed of salvation by choice, and his dramatic, emotional sermons led to a great rise in church membership during the mid-1730s. Edwards published a book about the religious revival he helped to bring about that attracted the attention of GEORGE WHITEFIELD, who preached throughout 1739 and 1740 on the need for spiritual reawakening. The GREAT AWAKENING peaked with Whitefield’s tour of the colonies. It was responsible for a temporary schism within the Presbyterian Church, for the conversion of many Puritan New England congregations into Baptist ones, and for a sudden rise in the number of Baptist congregations in VIRGINIA.

### ***Lutheranism***

Martin Luther argued that civil powers had a right to reform the church. This was an important tenet of Puritanism as it evolved in New England, where status as a church member meant status as a citizen. Luther denied that priests were any closer to God than were other Christians, because God spoke directly to all persons of faith. He held that only two sacraments—baptism and the Lord’s Supper—could be justified on the basis of the New Testament. He believed

in justification by faith, with faith being the unquestioning acceptance of God. Faith could not be earned; it was a gift from God.

Swedish Lutherans founded a settlement called New Sweden in the DELAWARE River Valley during the 1630s; the first Lutheran congregation in North America was established in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1638. By 1669 Lutherans had established churches in Albany and Manhattan. When Pennsylvania was established in the 1680s, Lutherans arrived in large numbers. Their common language and culture led them to join in worship with German Reformed congregations.

In 1742 HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG arrived in North America and formed the Lutheran Church's first American governing body. Muhlenberg used this Pennsylvania Ministerium to return the Lutheran Church in North America to the teachings of Luther.

### **Puritanism**

Puritanism had its roots in Calvinist doctrines of the depravity of humans and the supremacy of the will of God. Puritanism stressed the covenant between God and people and strict standards for church membership. Everyone was required to attend church, but only those who experienced conversion were entitled to be full church members and to have their children baptized. Only full church members could vote; Puritans trusted no one but the elect to decide on matters that affected the community.

New England was the stronghold of Puritanism. In the 1630s thousands of Puritans migrated to New England with the purpose of establishing a "New Jerusalem"—a modern city of God. In 1636 the Puritans established HARVARD COLLEGE across the river from BOSTON to ensure that their ministers would be educated. Ideally, the Puritan minister (always male) was better educated and informed about Scripture than his parishioners, but he was not an intermediary between them and God. Instead, a minister was considered a community leader and a teacher.

As the population of New England grew and the high standards for church membership ensured that membership rolls declined to the point of endangering the faith, Puritan leaders agreed to the "Halfway Covenant" of 1662. According to this covenant, the children of righteous Christians who were not church members were still eligible for baptism.

### **Quaker Doctrine**

The Society of Friends (QUAKERS) followed the teachings of George Fox (1624–91). He rebelled against the strict Puritanism of his parents' home, from which he ran away in his youth. Fox believed that religion was something experienced in the head and the heart, not externally by repeating set prayers or listening to ordained clergymen. When

Fox was 22, he believed he heard God speaking to him. He and his followers preached the doctrine that the enlightening power of the Holy Spirit was conferred directly on all people. Therefore, all members of a congregation were equal; there was no need for ordained clergy. In Quaker meetings any person who felt moved to speak of his or her reception of the Holy Spirit was encouraged to do so.

The doctrine that women and men were equal in the sight of God, both capable of receiving the "inner light" and equally deserving of attention when speaking in meetings, was unique to Quakers. Women held few positions of power in other Protestant denominations until the 20th century. Quakers did not accept the sacraments. They embraced pacifism and were the first denomination officially to condemn SLAVERY.

Quakers were the targets of Puritan persecution throughout New England, except in tolerant Rhode Island. They eventually found a welcome in Pennsylvania, the colony established by Quaker WILLIAM PENN in the 1680s. Inspired by notions about the equality of all peoples, Penn and his Quaker followers initially did not move onto Native American lands without purchasing them. Both Natives and Quakers benefited from peaceful trade and from sharing TECHNOLOGY and knowledge. However, in the 1730s, as Quakers lost control of the boundaries between Indians and colonists, violence intensified between the Euro-Americans and Native peoples.

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—Stephanie Muntone

### **Protestant work ethic**

In 1630 about 1,000 Puritans set sail for the American colonies intending to establish a community that would reflect and embody their religious views. Their beliefs centered not around the individual but on the community, and Puritans emphasized that people were bound together by reciprocal responsibilities and rights. One important aspect of Puritanism lay in their theory of work, associated with the Calvinist notion of a "calling" in which the LABOR of every person was equally valued. Hard work and discipline were for the glory of God. Therefore, idleness was equated with



sin, while work was associated with obedience. Individuals worked not so much to increase their own material wealth as to improve the society. If a person grew wealthier, it was sometimes a sign of God's blessing. This emphasis on dedicated, continual labor had not characterized Western pre-industrial societies, in which work routines were generally much more casual.

As 18th-century American culture began to stress individualism, ambition, and materialism, the Puritan emphasis on self-discipline and hard work for the sake of church and community slowly eroded. Increasingly, colonists viewed work and land as a means to acquire material goods.

In a secular sense, Benjamin Franklin is the quintessential representative of the Protestant work ethic. The 12th child of a BOSTON candle maker, Franklin began his life in poverty but managed to rise to a position of wealth and power. By the age of 23 Benjamin Franklin was a financial success, a self-made human being in material terms. In 1748 he launched *Poor Richard's Almanack*, a collection of common sense, wit, and, most of all, financial advice. One reason for the almanac's incredible success was its advice on how to gain wealth, including such aphorisms as "time is money" and "lost time is never found again." Hard work and frugality were primary values Franklin advocated, thus continuing, in a secular sense, the historical threads of the Protestant work ethic.

—Kate Werner

## Pueblo

By A.D. 700 the ancestors of the Pueblo Indians had adopted irrigation AGRICULTURE, developed sophisticated basketry and pottery traditions, lived in multistory buildings, and practiced an elaborate ceremonial religion. In the 12th and 13th centuries they built massive structures at Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, and elsewhere. Sometime around 1300 they abandoned them, probably because of drought, soil exhaustion, and raids from enemy Indians. Most of the displaced inhabitants established similar but smaller villages in present-day NEW MEXICO and Arizona. Europeans later used the term *Pueblo* to refer simultaneously to the individual villages, the people who inhabited them, and the regional population of Native village-dwellers as a whole.

Different Pueblo villages shared common building technologies and agriculture techniques, and each nourished a rich religious life that revolved around the kiva, or ceremonial lodge. While they settled, worked, and worshiped in similar ways, profound differences separated one community from another. Seven different languages were spoken among the Pueblo. These languages belonged to four entirely different language families and were subdivided into distinctive and often mutually unintelligible dialects. Villages in the relatively well-watered Rio Grande

Valley were separated ecologically from Hopi and Zuni pueblos in the dry west. Each pueblo was a stubbornly autonomous unit, with distinctive cultural priorities and social organizations.

The first significant contact between Spaniards and Pueblo came in 1540, when explorer Francisco Coronado journeyed north from Mexico looking for cities of gold. The Spanish returned in 1598 to colonize the Rio Grande Valley, and they fiercely suppressed Native resistance. Most notoriously, Spaniards brutally punished "rebels" in Acoma by destroying the pueblo itself, killing 800 of its residents, enslaving 500 women and children, and, in a great public ceremony, chopping off one foot from each of 80 surviving men.

Spanish colonists made demands on nearly every facet of Pueblo life. Villagers fulfilled Spanish needs through tributes of crops and manufactured goods and provided LABOR for innumerable public and private projects. Franciscans suppressed traditional Pueblo religion by raiding and burning kivas, confiscating ceremonial objects, and imprisoning Native religious leaders. The burdens of colonization aggravated other, more familiar problems: In 1640 alone, drought and famine resulted in thousands of Pueblo deaths. Several pueblos revolted against Spanish rule unsuccessfully during the 17th century. Finally, under the leadership of Tewa medicine man POPE, a remarkable coalition of villages drove the Spaniards out of New Mexico altogether in the PUEBLO REVOLT of 1680.

When the Spaniards returned in 1692, individual pueblos resisted but without the same coordination. The Spanish had thoroughly reestablished themselves in the Rio Grande Valley by 1700. A great many Pueblo who had resisted the reconquest fled to live among the Apache, the NAVAJO, or with the distant Hopi, who had maintained their independence. For those who stayed, colonial rule was milder in the 18th century. Spanish authorities made fewer demands for labor and tribute, Franciscans interfered less in village life, and officials established new legal protections to safeguard Pueblo lands and property. While still distinct, Pueblo and Spanish worlds integrated more fully after the reconquest as the overall regional ECONOMY gradually improved for both peoples. Still, the Pueblo population reached its historical low point at midcentury. Spaniards estimated that there were 80,000 Pueblo Indians living in at least 134 villages in 1598. By 1750 there were hardly 8,000 Pueblo living in 40 villages. War, famine, flight, and especially DISEASE had utterly transformed the valley.

See also SPANISH COLONIES.

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—Brian DeLay

### Pueblo Revolt (1680)

Spanish colonists throughout NEW MEXICO awoke with alarm on August 10, 1680, to find that a previously deeply divided indigenous population had united in a massive and unprecedented revolt, which would ultimately drive Spaniards out of the colony for more than a decade. The PUEBLO had organized a unified surprise attack, in which rebels used knotted cord calendars to coordinate the attack among villages. Panicked Spaniards quickly retreated to Santa Fe, where Governor Antonio de Otermín tried to defend the city. He was forced to abandon the colony on September 21 and retreat 300 miles across the Rio Grande to El Paso, accompanied by all the Spaniards in the colony. By this time the Pueblo had killed more than 400 of 3,000 Hispanic residents living in the region. They also desecrated churches and killed 21 of the province's 33 Franciscans, torturing many in the process. Part of the wave of Indian revolts that swept northern New Spain in the 1680s (among them, revolts by the Suma, Concho, and Pima), this rebellion signaled that a population believed by the Spanish to be "pacified" was anything but.

The events of the summer of 1680 were rooted in 80 years of Spanish colonization that had left the Pueblo communities of the region in a dire state. European colonists had taken advantage of superior firepower and internal divisions in this ethnically diverse region to force Christianity on the indigenous peoples and to relocate many into Franciscan-ruled mission pueblos. The Pueblo Indians became the principal source of wealth for the Europeans, whose demands for LABOR and tribute sparked Indian revolts as early as the 1640s. Simultaneously, because of European pathogens, unregulated exploitation, and intertribal warfare, the Pueblo population fell from 60,000 in 1600 to 30,000 in the 1640s, and was again nearly halved, to 17,000, by 1680. Conflicts over defending Pueblo religious traditions also grew more acute as the colony expanded. Spanish attacks on religious rituals were interpreted by many as an assault on the very existence of the Pueblo community. In addition, the 1670s were a period of severe drought, famine, DISEASE, and intensified Apache raids on Pueblo communities. These factors contributed to a religious revival among many Pueblo, which the Spanish aggressively repressed. As sedentary agriculturalists, the Pueblo were not likely to flee the region, and so by this period a concerted re-volt seemed their best option. In the weeks prior to August 10, a series of leaders, notably the famed leader POPÉ of the Tewa-speaking Pueblo community of San Juan, traveled the region, garnering support and planning the uprising.

It would be 12 years before a Spanish military force under Diego de Vargas could reconquer the Pueblo. Vargas took advantage of renewed internal divisions to defeat all the Pueblo towns by 1694. Only the Hopi Pueblo in modern-day Arizona were never again subdued. Having regained control, however, the Spanish acted more carefully than they had before the revolt. After 1700 they became more tolerant of Pueblo religious practices and made fewer demands on Pueblo labor. Nonetheless, the following decades continued to see considerable problems for the Pueblo community. Within decades the number of Europeans in the colony surpassed the remaining indigenous peoples, and the loss of land, religion, and customs that many had decried in 1680 accelerated. The number of Indian slaves and detribalized Indians gradually increased, and those seeking to live outside the reach of European hegemony found themselves under pressure not only from Europeans but also from the waves of migration from the Great Plains that followed French and English colonization to the north.

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—Alexander Dawson

### Puritans

Puritanism has proved a particularly vexing concept to define. Scholars have variously denominated it a program to reform the English church, an intellectual construction compounded of covenant theology and Ramist logic, a particular subset of Protestant principles, a political program and the Anglo-American scion of the Calvinist church family. A few have even denied the term's utility, arguing that little distinguished "Puritans" from the mass of English Protestants. Puritanism is best understood, however, as primarily a religious sensibility centered around the protracted experience of conversion—the transforming encounter with the Holy Spirit grounded in God's Word as shaped by Reformed Protestant theology—that effected a triple transformation in those so regenerated, the Saints. Religiously, conversion transformed individuals from damnation to salvation, with the assurance that they would enjoy eternal life. Ecclesiastically, it impelled them to model churches on the Scripture's blueprint and emphasize the importance of discipline, that is, the procedures for securing the church's capacity to proscribe unregenerates from the sacraments. Sociologically, it energized believers to obey God's will, fashioning ministers, magistrates, and laity into a triumvirate zealous to build holy communities obedient to God's laws. Although Puritanism's specific

doctrines, ecclesiastical arrangements, and liturgical practices changed over time, the dual imperatives to gain salvation through conversion and improve society's morals always characterized the movement.

Puritanism emerged among English Protestants unhappy that the Elizabethan Religious Settlement (1559) had arrested the Reformation before the Church of England had achieved the "perfection" of continental churches. From the 1560s to the 1580s Puritans assayed various means to conform their institution to Geneva's template, challenging episcopal demands that they retain "popish" practices in worship, filing bills in Parliament, and erecting clandestine presbyteries to edify ministers and impose proper discipline. All failed, withered by the opposition of Crown and church. In reaction, several hundred "Separatists" fled to the Netherlands, having concluded that the Church of England could never be made true; a portion of one such group founded PLYMOUTH Colony (1620).

More mainstream Puritans remained within the church, however, now concentrating on preaching for conversion and covenanting with like-minded persons to cleanse the church from within. By the 1620s networks of the self-proclaimed "godly" honeycombed the English parishes. When that decade brought Charles I's personal rule, depression in the cloth trade, and the ascendancy of William Laud's Arminian faction, which

imposed a non-Reformed liturgy and persecuted non-conformists, Puritans read these troubles as signs from God to establish his "City on a Hill" in New England. Between 1630 and 1640 some 15,000 migrated, effecting the First Puritan Reformation, the construction of the purified church and society that English conditions had forestalled. Institutionally, the City on a Hill featured a church stripped of Anglican ceremonies in which the congregation (not just the clergy) controlled the disciplinary apparatus and a government chartered by the king was charged (among other tasks) with protecting the church and securing moral order. After a generation of settlement, Puritans could well believe that they had fulfilled their mission to God.

Time's passage corroded their expectations. Population growth (which forced people in search of unclaimed land to quit town centers), the failure of children and grandchildren to own the covenant, the emergence of a counterculture averse to moral rigor, a heightening of contradictions within Reformed theology, natural disasters like SMALLPOX epidemics, and human-made disasters like war and England's newfound desire to govern its American possessions more jealously—all pressured the "New England Way." Conversion rates declined and raucous jollity increased while a host of spiritual plagues—BAPTISTS, QUAKERS, and witches—threatened



A painting of early New England Puritans going to worship armed (*Library of Congress*)

the church's hegemony. Ministers marked the changes in the jeremiad, a rhetorical formula excoriating New Englanders for their sins and bemoaning the loss of piety, yet promising that God would renew his covenant should his people repent.

In a series of piecemeal innovations that collectively constituted the Second Puritan Reformation, Saints tried to accommodate their religious and moral program to the new conditions. The Halfway Covenant allowed baptizing the grandchildren of regenerates, thereby bringing a CLASS of potential outcasts under church government. Ceremonies renewing churches' original covenants sought to excite personal piety, as did calls to read the devotional tracts the nascent book trade made available with greater frequency. The Reforming Synod (1679–80) issued a comprehensive plan to redress the region's sins, while JEREMIAHS implored magistrates to perform their godly duties. Northampton's Solomon Stoddard opened the Lord's Supper, previously restricted to Saints, to all churchgoers in an effort to increase the number of conversions. His fervent preaching, laced (atypically) with threats of damnation, resulted in five "refreshings," a forerunner of revivals, during which worship and new births soared. The Second Puritan Reformation reversed the decline in church membership and brought some of the worst moral excesses (like drunkenness) under control. However, in the end Puritanism as a religious movement succumbed (at least in MASSACHUSETTS) to the English state, which in 1691 issued the Bay Colony a new charter that made

the governor a royal appointee and mandated toleration for certain other Protestants, thereby subverting the holy commonwealth's political foundation. Reformed Protestant theology and its associated spirituality, however, flourished far into the 18th century.

Although Puritanism did not shape American religious development in its image, as some have claimed, it did affect colonial New England profoundly. Its ecclesiology grounded Congregational (and later Baptist) church government and contributed to the strength of popular political participation. The coordination of church and state to promote moral order effected a series of establishments that survived into the 19th century. Puritan mores dominated the region's cultural life, and the Saints' desire to instill God's word in their young as early as possible contributed to the highest literacy rates and only full-fledged public school system in early America. Puritan evangelical preaching and desire for conversion grounded a type of religious revivalism and, eventually, its greatest theorist, JONATHAN EDWARDS. Finally, the religious rhetoric perfected in the 17th century became a vehicle for revolution in the 18th as many New Englanders learned about the "Rights of Man" in the accents of God's Word.

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—Charles L. Cohen





### **Quakers (Society of Friends)**

The Society of Friends, a religious denomination also known as the Quakers, dates from the late 1640s. It began as a radical movement that empowered individuals and encouraged disrespect for prevailing institutions. George Fox is typically identified as the founder of the movement, although others, especially Margaret Fell, also contributed to its creation. The Quakers believed that an educated ministry and a church hierarchy were detrimental to true religion, and instead urged the believer to look to the “light,” or “seed,” within. This divine spark was thought to be a part of Christ within each believer. Their detractors sometimes falsely accused the early Quakers of claiming actually to be Christ. Because their message encouraged people to act independently of established institutions, it offered answers to those who found the English civil wars, regicide, and increased radicalism of the 1640s unsettling. The early Quakers were imbued with the millennialism common in the era. They felt compelled to spread the news of the “inward light.” An early group of converts, later known as the “first publishers of the truth,” traveled throughout England gathering many converts. Any believer, having been convinced of the sect’s message, could begin to preach publicly, and many of them did, including a large number of women. The movement spread from the north of England into London and from there throughout the countryside.

The response to the early Quakers was mixed. An official policy of religious toleration in the 1650s protected them to some extent from persecution and allowed the growth of the movement. After George Fox converted Margaret Askew Fell, wife of a justice of the peace in Lancashire, her home at Swarthmore Hall became central to the movement. Despite the conviction (discovery of truth) of someone of Fell’s social standing, the Quaker message frightened conservatives, who saw it as socially leveling as well as heretical. The aggressive preaching style of the early Quakers, which included harangues aimed at passersby and at congregations gathered for other sorts

of worship services, earned them enmity from crowds as well as magistrates. Such peculiar practices as the refusal to swear an oath or to doff one’s hat to a social superior were often greeted with suspicion. To defend their views and further their movement, the sect published many pamphlets. In 1655 James Nayler outraged conservatives by recreating Christ’s entry into Jerusalem, riding into Bristol on an ass while his followers sang “Hosanna.” Parliament tried Nayler for blasphemy and considered the death sentence but in the end ordered his mutilation, whipping, and imprisonment. Quaker convictions in the British Isles, however, may have reached 30,000, and traveling witnesses had begun to visit other parts of Europe, the Middle East, and the Americas.

The restoration of the Stuart MONARCHY in 1660 brought greater persecution. The Quakers, led by Fox and Fell, responded by developing new policies that would assuage some of the concerns of conservatives. They also organized the movement to sustain it over time. The Society of Friends as a distinctive organization with a structure of monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings, a CLASS of recognized ministers (both male and female), and a generally accepted body of doctrines was born after 1660. The society embraced quietism, the plain style, and pacifism. It continued to grant a greater role and more authority to women than any other religious movement. Elite young men, some of them university trained, joined the movement. WILLIAM PENN, Robert Barclay, George Keith, and Isaac Pemberton were among those converted. The period from 1660 to 1680 was one of modest growth and consolidation. Persecution was heavy, especially initially, and the organization systematically collected accounts of sufferings. This literature of suffering, along with the journals of traveling Friends and doctrinal tracts, became staples of the Quaker library.

Quakers had been drawn to North America from the 1650s, and traveling witnesses had convinced colonists from Barbados to Maine. RHODE ISLAND boasted



The Stony Brook Quaker Meetinghouse in Princeton, New Jersey, was built in 1760. (*Library of Congress*)

an especially active Quaker population. MASSACHUSETTS vigorously opposed the spread of Quakerism, banishing, whipping, and mutilating missionaries who visited there in the 1650s. Finally, it ordered banishment on pain of death, which led to the execution of four Quakers, including former BOSTON resident MARY DYER, between 1659 and 1661. The persecution was scaled back after Charles II ordered an end to the executions in 1661. A Quaker meeting was gathered in the town of Salem, and it continued to meet despite efforts to crush it. In 1672 George Fox toured Quaker meetings in the CARIBBEAN and North America. He, along with other members of the society, sought a colonial site to which British Quakers could migrate to escape persecution. As a result, a number of English Quakers were involved in the establishment of NEW JERSEY. This activity formed a prelude to the major Quaker colonization effort, PENNSYLVANIA.

William Penn, a convert to Quakerism, inherited a debt owed to his father by Charles II, who paid it by naming Penn the proprietor of a large tract in North America. Penn envisioned Pennsylvania as a moneymaking venture for himself (but like most proprietors he would be disappointed in this) and a haven for his coreligionists. In keeping with Quaker principles, he pursued a pacifistic policy with the Native American population, did not require military service of inhabitants, and permitted liberty of conscience. Many Quakers migrated to the colony after it was founded in 1681. The Society of Friends was a dominant force in Pennsylvania society and politics until Quaker men withdrew from politics in large numbers during the French and Indian Wars, or SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

Shortly after the founding of Pennsylvania, the society experienced a major controversy, known as the Keithean

schism. Keith, a well-educated Scottish convert, was serving as a tutor in PHILADELPHIA when he proposed a series of reforms to the society. Had they been adopted, these reforms would have made the society more like other Christian churches of its day, with a confession of faith, tests for membership, and a greater reliance on the Bible. Although Keith did not prevail and eventually left the society to become an Anglican missionary and polemicist, the schism rocked early Pennsylvania and sent reverberations throughout the Atlantic Quaker community. A later schism that led to an orthodox (or evangelical) versus Hicksite split in the 19th century revolved around some similar issues.

The connections between Friends in Britain and North America fostered economic enterprises, and some Quakers grew rich as a result of their commercial activities. The image of the Quaker as hardworking, honest, and sober brought business to Friends, and later sociologist Max Weber would use the society as the primary example of how Protestant religion fostered economic development. These connections were maintained by a unique system of traveling ministers, individual Quakers who felt called to visit other communities of Friends. They traveled, usually in same-sex pairs, with a certificate granted by their original meeting and supplemented by testimonials from other meetings they visited. They traveled back and forth across the Atlantic, around the British Isles, and up and down the coast of North America. Women as well as men made these journeys, occasionally leaving young children at home to be tended by relatives while they went on tours that might last many months. These travelers and the journals they produced of their experiences helped to knit together a transatlantic Quaker community. They also reaffirmed the movement's commitment to spiritual equality.

By 1760, 50,000 to 60,000 Quakers lived in the mainland North American colonies controlled by Britain; half resided around Philadelphia and in MARYLAND. All Friends met in local meetings for weekly worship. Monthly meetings for business handled disciplinary cases, granted permission to couples to marry, and produced certificates and testimonials in support of traveling Friends. A yearly meeting decided policies and handled the most contentious cases of discipline or dissent. By 1760 six yearly meetings met in North America, including meetings for New England, NEW YORK, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and VIRGINIA and NORTH CAROLINA. The Philadelphia yearly meeting (covering the regions of Pennsylvania and New Jersey) was the largest. The smaller meetings might look to the Philadelphia or London yearly meeting for guidance, but each meeting was officially autonomous. Just as the society used suasion to bring recalcitrant members into line, it used similar strategies to keep all Friends "united in the truth."

In Pennsylvania the Society of Friends learned to exercise power, an experience it had not had previously. The danger of becoming a powerful and complacent majority presented new challenges to the American branch of the Society of Friends. The society eventually became concerned about the need to police its own borders, and in the 1750s it began to disown members who married outside the meeting or engaged in other unacceptable activities. This period of renewed attention to the features that made the sect distinctive has been referred to as "the reformation of American Quakerism." It resulted in a decline in membership but also in a recommitment to the principles of the sect among the remaining members.

Because of its principled commitment to social justice, nonviolence, and honesty, the society experienced periodic reform movements intended to reaffirm the sect's commitment to its principles. The withdrawal from politics of Quaker men in the 1750s occurred after members decided that continued involvement required too great a compromise. The issue of SLAVERY was another area of concern, and Friends eventually opposed the traffic in human beings. Germantown Quakers petitioned against the practice as early as 1688, and agitation over the issue continued sporadically thereafter. In the 18th century reformer JOHN WOOLMAN led the way on this issue. Decision making by consensus was a slow process, but the ideal was to bring everyone along. Once the meetings had agreed to phase out first the SLAVE TRADE and later slavery, Quakers could be disowned for trading in slaves (after 1743) or for owning them (1770s). Quakers, especially ANTHONY BENEZET, formed the first antislavery society in 1775 and worked with British Friends to make antislavery an international cause.

See also PROTESTANTISM.

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—Carla Gardina Pestana

## Quebec City

The eventual capital and port city of New France, Quebec was established on the St. Lawrence River by Samuel de Champlain in 1608 as a fur trading and military post. The city was administered by the Company of New France until 1663; subsequently, Quebec City became part of the royal colony of Quebec.

Under the Company of New France, the city and colony remained small due to an economic focus on the fur trade rather than on European settlement. To increase the population, the French Crown encouraged the immi-

gration of families and women of marriageable age. The Roman Catholic Church also supported the settlement by providing for a college, convents, and hospitals. Quebec City was further augmented by the presence of the French military, government structure, and religious organizations. The population grew from about 500 people in 1660 to approximately 5,000 residents by 1760.

A hill separated (and still divides) Quebec City into an upper town on the shore of the St. Lawrence River and a lower town located on the plains above the river. The former consisted of docks, warehouses, and homes of middling and poorer people, and the latter contained houses of the wealthy as well as official buildings.

The fortifications of Quebec City protected New France from attack from the sea and provided the colony's communications link to France. In 1759 the city surrendered to the British after an extensive siege that virtually destroyed the town. The French Crown officially surrendered Quebec and the rest of Canada to Britain in 1763.

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—Patrick Callaway

## Queen Anne's War (1702–1713)

Queen Anne's War was the American counterpart of the European War of the Spanish Succession. The most important early battles entailed attempts by the British in SOUTH CAROLINA (1702) to capture Spanish ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA, and the Spanish attempt to conquer CHARLESTON (1706). Both failed, at great cost to the attackers. In 1703 South Carolina governor James Moore successfully organized 1,500 Yamasee Indians to destroy the Spanish mission among the Apalachee Indians on the Chatahoochee River in West Florida; more than a thousand Apalachee were enslaved or resettled in Carolina.

In the North for the first four years of the war, pro-French Indians raided the NEW YORK and New England frontiers. Their surprise attack on Deerfield in February 1704 left the town uninhabited; 40 were killed and 111 captured. However, MASSACHUSETTS learned from the enemy: "flying columns" of militia relieved sieges of Lancaster, Haverhill, and a repopulated Deerfield, while one under Benjamin Church launched a successful raid against Grand Pré, a French outpost in Acadia (Nova Scotia).

The scale of war increased in 1707. Directed by Massachusetts governor JOSEPH DUDLEY, 1,000 volunteer New England troops, mainly drawn from his colony, unsuccessfully attacked Port Royal, the most important French base in Acadia. The following year Scottish merchant Samuel Vetch persuaded the British government to

aid another Massachusetts attempt on Canada. The expedition of 1709 was a disaster because a diversionary strike by New York and the IROQUOIS never occurred. After raising troops and gathering supplies, the promised British force sailed to Portugal instead.

Britain did come through in 1711, when a huge expedition of 11,000 soldiers and sailors in 15 warships and 46 transports joined 1,500 colonials in an attempt to assault Quebec. However, with British pilots unable to navigate the treacherous St. Lawrence River, the force withdrew after eight transports and more than 800 men perished in a shipwreck. The New York diversionary force of 2,000 soldiers disbanded as well when they learned the news.

Queen Anne's War brought some success to the British in North America. The Peace of Utrecht gave Acadia, Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay to Britain. However, where Acadia ended and Canada began was never established, and the British mistrusted the ACADIANS until they deported them in 1755. Frontier warfare persisted into the 1720s and resumed in the 1740s along both the Carolina and northern frontiers.

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—William Pencak



# R



## race and racial conflict

Despite its common usage, the concept of “race” is elusive, slippery, and elastic. While scholars mostly now agree that race is not a valid human category, a belief in race and racial differences played a decisive and critically important role in the development of colonial North America’s human interactions. Before British contact with the peoples who inhabited the African and North American continents, the term *race* was inconsistently applied to a variety of social groups now conceived of as nations or ethnic groups. Race in the British North American colonies was an idea that acquired strength once contact occurred. The term then assumed meanings that suited the interests of the colonizer, not the colonized; the enslaver, not the enslaved.

Africans and NATIVE AMERICANS did not invent the concept of race; Europeans did. The concept functioned to organize and mediate differences among groups of people who occupied overlapping territories. The term’s content derived from relations of power that frequently resulted in conflict. Indeed, ideas of race and racial conflict are mutually dependent upon each other, and this was especially true in the British colonies of North America.

While most scholars have adopted the view that the concept of race is socially constructed, some historians have enlarged on this idea. For them, the concept of race is not fixed in time or space. Its meaning is historically specific as well as socially constructed. Historian Ira Berlin sums up this point: “Race, no less than class, is the product of history, and it only exists on the contested social terrain in which men and women struggle to control their destinies.” The idea of race gave birth to the reality of racial conflict.

The concept of race has a long history that stretches back to well before British colonization of North America or the later enslavement of people who inhabited the African continent. Before contact with the indigenous peoples of North America, the English maintained simultaneous but contradictory views about Native Americans—that they were friendly and ingenuous on the one hand, but

treacherous and savage on the other. The negative notions of race were used against Native Americans when white colonists demanded their land. Even in those instances in which initial contact had been relatively benign, conflict nearly always ensued.

British ideas about Africans constituting a distinct race were equally vague and imprecise before the middle of the 17th century, that is, before their participation in the SLAVE TRADE. The earliest exchanges suggest that Africans were considered both civil and hospitable. Once England became a major power in the slave trade, however, ideas about the racial inferiority of Africans crystallized. Although historians disagree about whether the slave trade resulted from ideas about race or from the economic necessity for an inexpensive and permanent LABOR force, the concept of race served as the foundation for the belief that people of African ancestry were ideally suited for slavery. Slave revolts and other forms of resistance to enslavement are the most blatant examples of Africans’ opposition to, and hence conflict about, designations that resulted in what was intended to be permanent subjugation based on their “race.”

Despite different and changing perceptions by Europeans of Africans and Native Americans, there was one characteristic in common: Each group came to be described in terms of its “color.” It is, of course, possible to distinguish people by color. However, it was not the color in itself that determined a group’s fate. Rather, color was used in conjunction with an assigned status, such as savage, slave, or civilized. Red, black, and white became insidious shorthand for designating status and power.

Given the circumstances that brought the British into contact with Native Americans and Africans, it was probable that conflict among the groups would ensue. Simply put, the English demanded land from Native Americans and labor from Africans. Although the primary contestants in British North America were the English against Native Americans and Africans, the latter two groups

variously joined forces or fought against each other. The reasons that Native Americans and Africans fought each other during the colonial era, however, rarely included racial considerations of the sort that defined both of them as subjugated groups.

Ideas about race were important in the colonial era and have had a lasting influence on American history. Only rarely, however, have American historians considered how Africans and Native Americans thought about groups other than their own before they encountered the British. Historians have greater knowledge of European than non-European ideas about race, and with few exceptions have little understanding of or concern with the ways that non-Europeans conceived of themselves. Moreover, most American historians have been more concerned with the idea of race than with the conflicts it promotes, although racial conflict is more easily documented than are ideas about race. Their concerns suggest that the very definition of fields of historical inquiry in America is still dominated by unequal relations of power between Western and non-Western worldviews. Arguably, the enterprise of historical writing about race in America is itself a continuation of racial conflict by other means.

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—Leslie Patrick

**Randolph, Edward** (1632–1703) *government official* Edward Randolph, an English colonial official, was born in Canterbury, England, the son of a physician. After some legal training and several minor government positions he was led toward a career in the American colonies by marriage into the family of Robert Tufton Mason, claimant to the proprietorship of NEW HAMPSHIRE. In 1676 Mason secured Randolph's appointment to carry a royal letter to BOSTON concerning Mason's claims and to bring back information on New England's condition and its people's loyalty to the Crown. On his return Randolph charged

the MASSACHUSETTS government with abuse of its charter powers, tolerance of illegal trade, and tyranny over its neighbors. Later he proposed plans for royal intervention. His detailed reports were essential to the Crown's eventual 1684 annulment of the Massachusetts charter of government.

Randolph returned to Boston in 1679 as the king's collector of customs in New England. With a small group of colonists he identified as willing to collaborate with the Crown, he planned the new form of government, the DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND, created in 1685 to replace the Puritan regime in Massachusetts. Within the dominion Randolph held office as councilor, secretary and register, deputy postmaster, surveyor of woods, and deputy auditor general. His sweeping proposals to regulate trade, reissue land titles, and further the cause of the ANGLICAN CHURCH were intensely unpopular. In April 1689 popular discontent exploded into revolt. Randolph and other members of the dominion government were seized and imprisoned before being sent back to England. There, he received new employment in October 1691 as surveyor general of customs throughout the American colonies.

Between 1692 and 1695 Randolph traveled to almost every eastern port between MAINE and NORTH CAROLINA, uncovering illegal trade and criticizing local officials. Back in England he worked with the customs commissioners and Parliament to enact a 1696 law that tightened London's regulation of colonial trade. Following another stay in North America he pressed unsuccessfully to bring all the American colonies under direct royal government. In 1702 he traveled once more to America—his 17th transatlantic voyage—and died in VIRGINIA.

Randolph represented a new kind of immigrant to North America, one of men who joined their own advancement to that of royal authority. He was exceptional in his unbending zeal, in his grasp of larger issues of policy, and in the rigor and accuracy of his countless letters and reports. No English official of his time played a larger role in extending royal authority in colonial America.

See also ACTS OF TRADE AND NAVIGATION; ANDROS, SIR EDMUND; DUDLEY, JOSEPH.

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—Richard R. Johnson

### redemptioners

The redemptioner system appeared in the early decades of the 18th century, a variation of INDENTURED SERVITUDE. It started as a means for German families to immigrate to the colonies but was used extensively by British

immigrants, primarily Irish, traveling to PENNSYLVANIA. The system differed in significant ways from indentured servitude. Servants typically traveled to the colonies alone and exchanged the costs of their transportation for a period of LABOR service. While not all contracts were negotiated before embarking for the New World, most servants signed their indentures before their journey. Redemptioners immigrated more often in family units and typically paid some portion of the costs for TRAVEL to the colonies. Ship captains or MERCHANTS took whatever money they had, shipped the family members to the colonies, and, upon arrival in the New World, gave the passengers a specified amount of time to “redeem” the balance of payment. The fortunate ones could locate relatives or friends who would pay off the remaining debt.

By the mid-18th century it became increasingly difficult for immigrants to count on family and friends to redeem the cost of their passage. When the ship docked in the port, redemptioners began a frantic search to procure funds. In the early part of the century, when ships remained in port for long periods of time, immigrants might have as much as a month to make the necessary contacts to help pay the debt. Eventually, they were limited by law to 14 days. If they could not raise the balance, they were indentured to whomever would pay the amount necessary to satisfy the debt. The master paid the captain the cost, and the redemptioner served out the time until the debt was satisfied.

At times the process functioned smoothly. Lists of servants indentured to PHILADELPHIA masters reveal that redemptioners secured places within a week or two. For others, however, the search was frustrating. Announcements in the Philadelphia newspaper threatened that if redemptioners did not pay, they risked prosecution, and unlike indentured servants who traveled alone, redemptioners had to find places for all members of their family. If the market in servants was slow, “none would take a man with the encumbrances of a Wife or small Children.”

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—Sharon V. Salinger

### **Red Shoes** (1700?–1747) *Choctaw leader*

Red Shoes (Shulush Homa) was a CHOCTAW Indian war leader whose actions precipitated the Choctaw Civil War (1746–50). Red Shoes grew up in a period of adjustment for the Choctaw. He was born around the time that the French first arrived on the Gulf Coast to establish the LOUISIANA colony in 1699. Choctaw trade with France began immediately in order to acquire guns to counter the slave raids

of their British-supplied Native neighbors. Red Shoes rose to prominence in the 1720s and 1730s as the French paid Choctaw warriors to attack the CHICKASAW Indians, and he led others successfully in battle. In addition to gaining the respect and admiration of his fellow Choctaw for demonstrating his mastery over the spiritual powers necessary for success in war, Red Shoes also acquired numerous gifts from the French that further bolstered his authority. France rarely supplied enough manufactured goods for the Indian trade, though, and some Choctaw like Red Shoes sought merchandise from British settlements in the east.

In the 1730s Red Shoes and partisans from his western division (one of three political and geographic divisions among the Choctaw) journeyed to Carolina several times to establish a consistent trade with the British. British trade goods entered Choctaw towns intermittently in the 1730s and 1740s, but France viewed contact between Britain and the Choctaw as a threat. They sought to isolate Red Shoes by denying him the presents distributed to all Choctaw chiefs and war leaders at annual conferences. In addition, eastern division Choctaw chiefs resented Red Shoes's attempts to disrupt the relationship with France and to establish himself as a prominent leader.

At the urging of embittered chiefs in both the western and eastern divisions, and instigated further by France and Britain, Choctaw from those two divisions began fighting one another in 1746. Red Shoes and his followers killed three Frenchmen in August 1746, France placed a price on Red Shoes's head that same year, and an eastern division warrior killed him on June 23, 1747. The war that was started by competition over access to manufactured goods continued, however, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of Choctaw before ending in 1750.

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—Greg O'Brien

### **religion, African-American**

From 1585 to 1763 the religion of AFRICAN AMERICANS underwent a fundamental shift as traditional African faiths gradually gave way to a Protestant-based Christianity that used many features of African religions and became known as slave religion. Africans who were transported to the Americas as slaves came from complex and diverse religious backgrounds. While specific beliefs and practices varied, most West African societies held beliefs about a god

or gods, an afterlife, and a spirit world. Most cultures also shared ancestral worship and certain moral injunctions, such as the condemnation of married women with children who committed adultery. Many slaves arrived in North America with a religious background deeply influenced by Islamic traditions.

The religious heritage of slaves transported from AFRICA was not passed on intact to subsequent generations. Documents left by whites reveal little about the religion of the first slaves except the ignorance that masters appear to have shared. This contemptuous attitude on the American continent toward African religions, as well as factors in the situation of bondage itself, produced an environment that created spiritual difficulties for many slaves. African religious practices were communally based, but newly purchased slaves usually did not share the language and culture of their fellow bondpeople. High MORTALITY rates and a lack of spiritual leadership likewise undermined communal religious experience. This was not alleviated until the slaves had an opportunity to form new communities and begin developing a new culture.

Several elements of African culture were preserved and eventually became a significant portion of the emerging African-American culture. For example, slaves often conducted burials according to African customs, which involved burying items with the dead. Conjuring, a practice involving communication with ancestral spirits, also survived as a common element in African-American culture. Archaeological excavations suggest that African practices such as healing, calling on ancestral spirits, and divination were practiced secretly and on a small scale. A minority of slaves maintained Islamic beliefs and practices they had embraced in Africa and continued to practice them in SLAVERY.

In the 17th century masters often distrusted the idea of Christianity among their slaves, voicing concerns that slaves who converted to Christianity would then consider themselves equal to their masters and in possession of a valid claim to freedom. Early ministers strove to counteract this idea by emphasizing that slaves would always be required to serve their masters and even included promises to do so in the baptismal ceremony of slaves. Evangelicals also attempted to persuade masters that a conversion to Christianity would render slaves more docile, obedient, and trustworthy. There is no conclusive evidence that their claims were fulfilled, and many masters remained hesitant and occasionally openly hostile toward Christianity in their slaves quarters, setting the stage for secret meetings and a movement toward a distinctly African-American Christianity.

A minority of slaves practiced their faith among whites in white churches. Olaudah Equiano and Phillis Wheatley produced LITERATURE heavily influenced by Christian themes. These slaves converted to a Christianity that had

distinctive European roots, and they were often segregated and usually given a minimal role within the church. This did not change until intense efforts were practiced by Evangelicals in the GREAT AWAKENING, when large numbers of slaves converted to Christianity.

BAPTISTS began to actively seek slave converts during the 1760s, and Methodists began in the 1770s. As their ranks grew, black Christians formed their own congregations, chose their own pastors, and attended their own meetings. Their religion began to take on distinct African elements, including active worship with shouting and dancing, an emphasis on freedom, secret meetings, and call and response preaching, which eventually shaped slave religion.

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—Linda Kneeland

## religion, Euro-American

When Europeans sailed west to explore and conquer the New World, one of their goals was to convert the Natives to Christianity. For medieval Europeans, there was no separation between church and state. Religion was an important everyday concern, not just something celebrated once a week. Religion was also used as a weapon against minorities and a rationale for war.

Christianity is a worldwide religion of those who believe that Jesus Christ was the Messiah, the son of God who died for the sins of humankind. Because it is a missionary religion, Christianity has spread to practically every corner of the globe.

Except for small pockets of JEWS in urban areas throughout Europe and the Muslim Moors who invaded Spain, Europe was entirely Catholic throughout the Middle Ages. The Protestant Reformation of the 16th century came about because various Europeans felt that Catholicism had become corrupted; they attempted to force reforms that would “return” the church to “true” Christianity. This Protestant Reformation was one of the reasons for the 17th-century migration to North America and had a lasting effect on American religion.

The Protestant Reformation entailed the rejection of clerical authority as represented by the pope and the celibate orders of clergy. While ROMAN CATHOLICS held that priests were intermediaries between God and the faithful, Protestants emphasized direct communication between God and an individual believer. This emphasis



on the individual had its parallel in the 18th-century Enlightenment ideals of the importance of the individual.

The Reformation resulted in the establishment of numerous Protestant churches. Broadly speaking, followers of Martin Luther believed in justification by faith, while follower of Calvin believed that a chosen few were predestined for eternal salvation. In the North American colonies, Calvinist PURITANS established a stronghold in New England, German and Swedish LUTHERANS in the Middle Colonies, and Anglicans in the South. During the early 1700s a long period of religious revival began, inaugurating evangelical forms of PROTESTANTISM that would later become known as Fundamentalism.

The ANGLICAN CHURCH was born when the pope refused to grant King Henry VIII (1509–47) a divorce from Queen Catherine. Henry's solution was to deny the pope's supremacy over the king of England, to establish an English church with himself as its head, and to grant his own divorce. Anglicanism remains very similar to Catholicism in most respects apart from the supremacy of the pope and a celibate clergy.

Puritans who migrated to New England embraced the idea of "predestination," a Calvinist doctrine holding that God chose some human beings for eternal salvation. These "elect" could not fall from grace nor refuse to be saved. Their salvation did not depend on virtue; it was arbitrarily decided for them, nor could salvation be earned by excessive virtue. A blameless life was no more than a sign that a person might be among the elect. Congregationalism was a brand of Puritanism that vested authority in the hands of each congregation rather than in a church hierarchy. New England was the stronghold of Congregationalism; the punitive measures to which it resorted to uphold its rigid standards were, in part, responsible for its failure to establish itself throughout the rest of the colonies. MASSACHUSETTS and CONNECTICUT were the primary homes of Congregationalism. RHODE ISLAND, on the other hand, declared people of all faiths welcome in 1663; the colony contained hundreds of BAPTISTS and QUAKERS.

PENNSYLVANIA, founded by Quaker WILLIAM PENN in the 1680s, also preached and practiced religious tolerance. Pennsylvania quickly became home to people of such diverse faiths as Calvinism, Judaism, and Catholicism. New England generally resisted religious groups other than Puritans until after 1700, while the Middle Colonies welcomed all faiths.

MARYLAND was founded in 1634 as a Catholic colony and continued thereafter to have the highest percentage of Roman Catholics, although the colony grew more Anglican as time passed. In 1648 Catholic governor Calvert was driven from the colony and a Protestant named in his place. In 1689, with the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION in England, Protestants overthrew Maryland's Catholic government.



A wood engraving of missionary John Eliot preaching to a group of Native Americans (*Library of Congress*)

Protestant-Catholic tussles in the colony continued until the colonies declared their independence.

The Anglican Church in North America was established in VIRGINIA. Church membership, attendance, and conformity were required by law. However, Virginia did not make a success of its attempt to establish the Anglican Church. In the early years of the 17th century mere survival was the most important consideration. Afterward, many factors combined to make it difficult for the church to play a major role in Virginia. The population was too widely scattered, there were no bishops, and economic prosperity was of much greater concern to many than spiritual well-being.

Anglicanism remained limited to the area around the CHESAPEAKE BAY for many years, but by the mid-18th century missionaries from the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL ensured that there were Anglican churches in all the thirteen colonies. American Anglicans pleaded for the English church to send bishops to the New World, but representatives of almost every other faith protested. Experience told them that bishops were far too likely to become politically powerful, and they wanted to weaken rather than strengthen English authority in the colonies. NORTH CAROLINA and GEORGIA were home to a diverse religious population. In 1758 Georgia officially established and supported the Anglican Church.

Deism is a belief in a logical God who created a rational universe. Deists believe that God was bound by the same physical laws and moral standards as his creatures. Although many believed in an afterlife as an incentive for

good behavior on earth, Deists were skeptical of any element of religion that appeared to entail superstition. Deism was a philosophy more than it was a religion. Most deists in the American colonies were Anglicans or Protestants of other denominations.

Deist beliefs in the rationality of the universe, the perfectibility of humankind, and the supremacy of intellect rather than birth or titles all supported the revolutionary mood that swept the colonies after the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. Deism grew especially among urban ARTISANS and among intellectuals like Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. Its insistence on rational thought also helped to secularize the United States, just as was the case in Europe.

During the early days of colonization the church and the state were unified. British Protestants, Swedish Lutherans, and Dutch Reformed all established small communities within which the church was supported by taxes and full church membership was required for citizenship. Only church members could vote, hold public office, and serve on juries.

However, this system was challenged by the arrival of thousands of immigrants of many faiths. Many Protestants, Jews, and Roman Catholics migrated west to escape religious persecution or to establish places in which they could worship as they chose, without state interference. The existence of so many faiths meant that toleration was often necessary to survival. Rhode Island was the first colony to guarantee religious tolerance in its charter of 1663. In the 1680s William Penn made it clear that Pennsylvania welcomed all peaceable worshipers of God—everyone was to be left alone to worship as he or she chose.

During the 18th century important political leaders in both Europe and North America concluded that people should be free to worship in any institution they chose, without fear of political pressure or oppression. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison worked together to try to weaken the Anglican church establishment in Virginia, arguing that officials of the government were no more theologians than they were physicists or mathematicians and thus were not competent to establish the rules by which people worshipped. In 1786 Jefferson wrote a Statute for Religious Freedom that, when passed, carried the case for religious freedom.

The first amendment to the Constitution guarantees the separation of church and state. The roots of this separation lie in the religious pluralism that was always a fact of life in the American colonies.

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—Stephanie Muntone

## religion, Native American

Although anthropologists and archaeologists can only extrapolate precontact forms of worship from surviving artifacts and oral traditions, it is clear that American Indian peoples practiced a wide variety of religious rites and held myriad beliefs about religion and its relationship to the material world. For example, all tribes had creation stories that helped to link them to their physical ENVIRONMENT and the animal world and to explain the social structures of human societies. PUEBLO, NAVAHO, Mandan, and CHOCTAW all believed that their ancestors emerged from under the earth. New England Algonquin insisted that their predecessors had been formed from trees. The IROQUOIS and HURON told slightly different versions of the “world that was built on Turtle’s back,” in which Sky Woman fell or was pushed from the heavens into a vast ocean where different ANIMALS brought her mud to create the world. There, she gave birth to twin brothers and, through their conflicts and actions, life on earth began. This female creation story mirrored the matrilineal nature of Iroquois and Huron societies.

In general, the deity structure of Native American religions was polytheistic. Although highly developed Native civilizations such as the Aztecs believed in a hierarchy of powerful gods, most tribes presumed that a pantheon of spirits, or manitous, possessed the animals, plants, and natural features of their landscape. Others believed that the spirits of their ancestors wandered the earth and potentially might assist or terrorize the living. Religious practices, then, involved the ritual appeasement or manipulation of these manitous for supernatural assistance in everyday life. After the first kill of a hunting expedition, the Algonquin often prepared ritual offerings and a great feast. They set out TOBACCO by a bear or deer carcass or blew smoke into the mouth of the dead animal, asking the spirits to refrain from interfering with their hunt. In the American Southwest Anasazi (and later Pueblo) implored katsina, or the cloud-spirits of their dead ancestors, to bring rain for their crops by offering gifts of prayer sticks, DANCE, and cornmeal. Aztecs performed elaborate rituals, including the sacrifice of captives to appease their war/sun god, Huitzilopochtli. In other words, gods and spirits were not necessarily benign; they required careful handling so they might act on the behalf of humans.

Most Native societies had a priest, or shaman, CLASS who mediated for the gods and performed necessary rituals. They usually had knowledge of herbal remedies and performed curing ceremonies, connecting bodily health with spiritual well-being, but Indians also found ways to appeal directly to spirits. Sweat lodges or extreme privation sometimes induced much sought-after dreams and visions that made up the mainstay of individual spiritual experience.

When European nations colonized North America, traditional Native American religious practices came under pressure. Spanish, French, and English colonization efforts all included a religious component that influenced the development of Native American religious practices in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. During the early 17th century Franciscans from Spain and JESUITS from France established Catholic MISSIONS among the Pueblo and Huron, respectively. Although not supported by a centralized church or by the British monarch, English Protestants also established mission communities, or PRAYING TOWNS, among the sedentary Algonquin tribes in New England during the 17th century. Native Americans often approached the introduction of Christianity by adapting selected elements of the new religion into customary practices, rather than replacing existing religious systems. For instance, Huron and Algonquin of the St. Lawrence River initially invited Jesuits to visit their villages because they recognized them as powerful holy men with access to the spirits. They hoped that the Jesuits might help to slow down or stop the devastation of SMALLPOX epidemics. However, the Huron also assumed that Jesuits might help them in war against their Native enemies. As one historian put it, rather than converting to Christianity, the Huron, in a sense, converted Christ into a manitou. Even women, who had been central to traditional Native religious life in the East, found ways to retain their power in a Christian context. For example, in the 17th century, Kateri Tekakwitha, an Iroquois woman, joined a female order of the Catholic Church in New France and practiced extreme mortification of the flesh through fasting and infliction of pain on herself. Before her death believers sought her blessing during times of crisis, and she is likely to become the first Native American saint.

Only a small percentage of NATIVE AMERICANS accepted Christianity. There were many examples of profound resistance. In 1680, after a century of contact with Franciscan friars and conversion to Catholicism, the Pueblo coordinated a revolt against Spanish rule. Especially angry at the suppression of katsina worship, the medicine men who had kept traditional religious practices alive in hidden kivas encouraged the Pueblo to kill Catholic priests and drive Spanish settlers away. By the 18th century, despite the proliferation of Protestant mission activities in the American Northeast, Native religious REVITALIZATION MOVEMENTS gained momentum.

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—Jane T. Merritt

## Rensselaerswyck

On the governing board of the DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, a diamond merchant, headed a faction that pushed for permanent settlement of the company's property, despite the continued failure of programs to establish small farms on Manhattan to supply company traders and ships. Van Rensselaer was a major proponent and one of the original recipients of a "patroonship" in 1629, a land grant contingent on his importation and settlement of 50 colonists within four years. The patroon controlled all of the land within the grant, leasing it to TENANTS, and had the power to appoint officials and magistrates within the settlements as well as charge fees for milling and other services performed at the patroon's facilities. After meeting company requirements, Van Rensselaer received eight years' exemption from company duties, and his colonists obtained 10 years' exemption from taxes.

By 1635 Rensselaerswyck was the only one of the six original patroonships still in existence. The location along the Hudson River proved ideal for supplying company traders and took advantage of the nearby company garrison at Fort Orange. Despite a large capital expenditure and the dispatch of skilled indentured servants, horses, millstones, and tools from Holland, Van Rensselaer had problems keeping people on his lands. Desperate, he even outfitted a private ship, the *Rensselaerswyck*, to transport colonists, but this proved too expensive to maintain. For their part, tenants were often dissatisfied with not owning land, and they frequently departed to obtain their own property elsewhere in America. When displeased with the company's management of trade with them, local tribes frequently made reprisal raids on Rensselaerswyck, a problem exacerbated by the colonists' illegal sale of ALCOHOL to the Indians.

By diversifying his well-placed settlement's ECONOMY away from total dependence on the FUR TRADE, van Rensselaer ensured its survival, although continued use of the lease system led to resentments on the part of the tenants, which, beginning in 1751, exploded into a series of antirent revolts that were put down violently in 1766. This situation was a major factor in the loyalty of many Rensselaerswyck tenants during the American Revolution, who often reacted in opposition to the politics of their landlords.

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—Margaret Sankey

### **revitalization movements**

When one thinks of Native American revitalization movements, most often the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa, the religion of Handsome Lake at the turn of the 19th century, the Ghost Dance movement a hundred years later, and even the emergence of the Native American Church and its peyote culture in the 20th century come to mind, yet these nativistic movements that periodically revived Indian-centered religious practices had their origins on the upper Susquehanna River and the Ohio Valley in the middle of the 18th century among DELAWARE, Shawnee, and IROQUOIS peoples. Sometimes called the Indians' GREAT AWAKENING, these reform movements had common elements. They were led by a variety of prophets and reformers who often had visions that provided instructions for religious and social solutions to the contemporary crises faced by Native communities. Spiritual leaders believed that the proliferation of DISEASE among Native populations and scarcity of game experienced in the colonial period were part of their god's punishment for bad behavior. Supposedly, Indians had become corrupt through their growing dependence on Euro-American economic systems, which caused a variety of social problems. To make the world right, Indians would have to abandon the vices that white people had introduced, especially the use of alcohol, and return to their past high moral standards.

In part a reaction to the introduction of Christianity and the increased missionary activities in the mid-Atlantic colonies, revivalists began to appear along the Susquehanna River by the 1750s. For instance, one Delaware woman in the Wyoming Valley, reacting to Presbyterian attempts to missionize, demanded that Indians separate themselves from white people. Still, even nativist reformers were influenced by Christian doctrine. They articulated a new theological structure of monotheism, claiming close ties to a supreme being rather than a pantheon of spirits. As they exhorted their followers to return to Native religious practices, reformers began to define Native moral behavior by reference to the immoral and hypocritical actions of white Christians, whom they blamed for problems within Indian communities. By the mid-18th century Native spiritual leaders were less concerned with ritual manipulation and appeasement of gods and spirits and more preoccupied with questions of individual morality and sin. They admonished Indians to reform their behavior or face the hell that awaited them in the afterlife.

One of the most prominent nativist reformers of the colonial period was the Delaware prophet NEOLIN, whom the English called the Imposter. In the 1760s he advocated a radical separation from white society, rejecting Euro-American trade goods and alcohol. He introduced a series of new rituals and devotions that included a diet to purify the body—in essence, physically purging white ways from Indian society. Pontiac, inspired by Neolin's message, believed that the Indians' god would help him fight the English and translated revivalism into a militant resistance movement in his 1763 uprising. Indeed, by the late 18th century religious revivalism became an increasingly important part of pan-Indian resistance that marked the relationship between NATIVE AMERICANS and Euro-Americans. The revitalization movements represented an Indian-based solution to the social problems of colonialism.

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—Jane T. Merritt

### **Rhode Island**

Rhode Island retained a reputation for political and social eccentricity from the time of its founding until the 19th century. In the early 17th century approximately 10,000 NATIVE AMERICANS lived in the area of present-day Rhode Island. The majority (approximately 6,000) were NARRAGANSETT, who dominated the stretch of land from present-day Providence south along Narragansett Bay to South Kingston and Exeter. The Wampanoag Indians held the eastern shore, while the Nipmuc resided inland and the Niantic along the southern coast. All four groups depended on farming, FISHING, and hunting for subsistence. They remained an important presence in Rhode Island during the first decades of English settlement. In 1675, however, the Narragansett and Wampanoag joined forces in KING PHILIP'S WAR, a futile effort to harry English settlers out of the region. Famine and warfare decimated the combatants and their communities. After the war the remnants of the once-powerful Narragansett and Wampanoag tribes took refuge with the Niantic, who had remained neutral in the war, and formed a new Indian community, which eventually adopted the name Narragansett.

ROGER WILLIAMS, a radical and controversial English clergyman, founded the first English settlement in Rhode Island in 1636. Williams had immigrated to Salem, MASSACHUSETTS, in 1631, but he soon disturbed orthodox Puritan settlers by advocating religious toleration, separation of church and state, and negotiation for, rather than seizure of, Indian lands. Massachusetts Bay banished Williams



in 1636, and he and his followers moved south to the head of Narragansett Bay, where they established the town of Providence. In the decade that followed two other small but noteworthy groups of Puritan dissenters settled near Narragansett Bay. ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON, who had been banished from Massachusetts Bay for preaching Antinomianism (the idea that works as well as faith contributed to salvation), arrived with her husband and a small group of followers in 1638. They purchased the island of Aquidneck from the Narragansett Indians and founded the town of Portsmouth; a schism within this community led to the founding of NEWPORT in 1639. SAMUEL GORTON, another Puritan dissident, established Warwick in 1642–43. Other early English settlements in Rhode Island included Wickford (1637) and Pawtuxet (1638).

These early English settlements were insecure, as the settlers' title to their lands rested solely on Indian deeds. Neighboring colonies soon began to cast covetous eyes on Narragansett Bay. In 1643 Roger Williams journeyed to England to obtain a patent to the region. He returned in 1644 with a charter that united the disparate towns into a single colony named Rhode Island and secured settlers' titles to their lands. The towns formed a loose confederate government in 1647, but political problems continued to plague them. The other New England colonies—Massachusetts Bay, PLYMOUTH, CONNECTICUT, and New Haven—were reluctant to recognize Rhode Island's charter; meanwhile, WILLIAM CODDINGTON, founder of Newport, declared himself ruler for life of the island towns, causing a political schism within the colony. Roger Williams and John Clarke, an opponent of Coddington, traveled to England in 1651 and in 1654 succeeded in reestablishing the Rhode Island towns' confederate government. In 1663, following the restoration of the Stuart MONARCHY in England, Clarke secured a royal charter that guaranteed religious liberty and self-government and reaffirmed Rhode Island's territorial claims. This charter was among the most liberal granted to any of the English colonies in North America, and it served as the foundation of Rhode Island's government until long after the American Revolution; it was superseded only in 1843.

Rhode Island suffered severely from the political and military tumults of the late 17th century. Although the colony did not officially join in King Philip's War, many of the English settlements in Massachusetts and Connecticut were burned and most of the mainland settlers were obliged to take refuge in Rhode Island (Aquidneck). The Great Swamp Fight, one of the pivotal battles of the war, took place in December 1675 near present-day Kingston. A decade later James II's plan to consolidate the New England colonies in the DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND (1686–89) under the leadership of SIR EDMUND ANDROS vexed Rhode Island settlers. The cycle of imperial wars that

began in the 1680s and lasted, with intermissions, until the American Revolution frequently disrupted transatlantic trade, which was central to Rhode Island's ECONOMY.

The governorship of Samuel Cranston (1698–1727) ushered in an era of greater political stability. Cranston worked to establish internal political unity and improve Rhode Island's relations with the British imperial government. The most important political development of the 18th century, however, was the growing commercial rivalry between Providence and Newport. By the 1740s sectional parties formed under the leadership of Samuel Ward (Newport) and Stephen Hopkins (Providence) and competed for control of the legislature. Boundary settlements with Connecticut (1726–27) and Massachusetts (1746–47) allowed Rhode Island to annex Cumberland and several East Bay towns, including the port of Bristol.

Rhode Island's population grew steadily in the 18th century, from a modest 6,000 in 1698 to 18,000 in 1731 and 32,000 by midcentury. It was more racially and religiously diverse than the other New England colonies. In addition to the substantial Indian presence, there were a considerable number of African-American slaves who labored on dairy farms and cattle ranches in South County and in the Newport shipping industry. By 1760 AFRICAN AMERICANS composed roughly 20 percent of Newport's population and 17 percent of South Kingston's population. Most Rhode Island slaveholders owned only a handful of slaves, but a few operated large-scale plantations; some experimented with the task system (popular in SOUTH CAROLINA's rice-growing regions), under which slaves performed assigned agricultural tasks with minimal white supervision. Rhode Island's policy of religious toleration attracted many religious minorities, including QUAKERS (1657), JEWS (1658), and Huguenots (1686). In addition, one of the first American Baptist churches was constituted in Providence in 1639.

Rhode Island's economy rested jointly on AGRICULTURE and trade. The colony exported horses, salt fish, and other local products to the West Indies. Prosperous MERCHANTS also participated in the notorious "triangle trade": they exported rum to Africa, exchanged it for slaves, sold the slaves in the West Indies in exchange for molasses, and imported the molasses, which was distilled into rum. Merchants frequently disregarded the Navigation Acts; SMUGGLING was common throughout the 18th century. Most Rhode Islanders, however, reaped their living from agriculture rather than trade. Livestock, grain, and dairy products, raised for subsistence or local markets, were the principal crops. Some farmers also grew flax, hemp, low-grade TOBACCO, and green onions, and many manufactured barrel staves, shingles, clapboards, and other wood products. In spite of bounties, the fishing industry was only moderately successful.

Diverse, commercial Rhode Island devoted less energy to higher EDUCATION and intellectual life than did the stricter Puritan colonies. Several of Rhode Island's early leaders, including Williams, Coddington, and Gorton, argued that it was not necessary for ministers to be college educated, and relatively few Rhode Island boys attended college. The College of Rhode Island (Brown University) was not established until 1770. The Newport and Providence gentry founded literary, philosophical, and musical clubs in the 18th century, but most colonists had little schooling and slight access to high culture. The GREAT AWAKENING affected Rhode Island less profoundly than neighboring Connecticut, as the colony's religious life was already splintered among several Protestant denominations. It was the most liberal of the New England colonies but the least communitarian; a great social gap divided its urban merchants and seafarers from village farm families.

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—Darcy R. Fryer

### rice cultivation

Rice was among the most intensive and extensive crops developed in the British North American colonies, and its cultivation shaped the development of societies in South Carolina and Georgia. Early colonial experiments with rice in Virginia in the 17th century met with little success. By the end of the century, however, rice had become an important subsistence crop in South Carolina. Euro-American colonists quickly realized the economic potential of the crop. Built on the labor and knowledge of slaves who had cultivated rice in their African homeland, by 1720 rice had shifted from mere subsistence to the leading economic export of the colony. From the 1720s through the antebellum period, the development of rice in the most southern colonies was marked by the expansion of the labor-demanding tidal floodplain system that would come to characterize the South Carolina plantation system.

The diffusion of indigenous West African knowledge systems of rice cultivation combined with the slave trade to the Americas largely explains the development of rice in North America. European colonists brought with them little knowledge of rice growing since the crop was not raised in Europe, but the cultivation techniques and rice-milling processes that slaves carried from Africa informed the agricultural practices of their masters. Rice, as part of the Columbian Exchange, involved not only seed transfer

but also the diffusion of West African knowledge systems and technologies.

Early colonial attempts at rice cultivation in the late 17th century were largely confined to productive inland swamps or rain-fed fields. At the end of the century, South Carolinians exported nearly 400,000 pounds of rice annually. By 1720 rice was the leading export commodity of South Carolina. Changes in the Navigation Acts in the 1730s that legalized direct exports to southern Europe further encouraged the expansion of the rice economy. Since rice production realized economies of scale, that is, larger operations were more efficient and earned much more money, rice plantations were among the biggest in the Atlantic world, helping to produce a small elite of wealthy whites who exercised considerable political and social power in the southern colonies.

The development of the more intensive and productive tidal floodplain system led to huge demand for slaves, which, in turn, created a large black majority in rice-producing regions. The tidal floodplain system involved techniques of water control reminiscent of the irrigation systems of West Africa. As the construction of sluices and canals, landscape gradients, and reservoirs increased production, rice cultivation became a year-round labor-intensive project; much of the post-harvest months were devoted to rice milling to ready the product for export and consumption. By the end of the 18th century, South Carolina rice exports averaged 80 million pounds a year and signaled the emergence of the mature plantation system common to the Deep South of antebellum times.

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—E. Jerry Jessee

### Rolfe, John (1585–1622) *colonist, tobacco cultivator*

A VIRGINIA settler and husband of POCAHONTAS, John Rolfe was born into a yeoman family in Heachem, Norfolk, England. He sailed for Virginia in 1609 in the *Sea Venture*, which was wrecked off Bermuda. Stranded for several months, where his first daughter was born, Rolfe and the castaways made their way to Virginia on two Bermuda-made pinnacles. In 1612, after the death of his wife and child, Rolfe began experimental trials in cultivating native Virginian and CARIBBEAN TOBACCO, which by 1617 yielded a leaf that “smoked pleasant, sweet, and strong,” with high value relative to the cost of transporting it to England. Tobacco quickly became Virginia's chief export,

spurring the rapid demographic and economic growth of the Chesapeake area colonies.

Rolfe fell in love with Pocahontas during her CAPTIVITY in Jamestown in 1613. After agonizing over union with a once “heathen Savage,” Rolfe eventually married Pocahontas in 1614, with the blessings of POWHATAN and SIR THOMAS DALE (the leader of the Jamestown colony). The VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON immediately touted their wedlock as an example of successful missionary efforts among the Powhatan, the willingness of the Indians to adopt English “civilized ways,” and a new Anglo-Powhatan accord. To attract new settlers and fresh investments, the company in 1616 sent the Rolfes, their son Thomas (b. 1615), the priest Uttamatmakkin, and an entourage of fellow Powhatan on a promotional tour of England. While touring London, Rolfe sent an optimistic description of Virginia to Sir Robert Rich and King James I (1603–25); meanwhile, Uttamatmakkin was unimpressed by the king’s unimposing physical presence and insulted by his stinginess. King James spurned an audience with Rolfe because, as a commoner, he had transgressed CLASS boundaries by marrying a member of the Powhatan aristocracy. Returning home to Virginia in March 1617, Pocahontas suffered a lung infection and died off Gravesend; she was interred in the nave of St. George’s Church.

Deeply saddened, Rolfe left the sickly Thomas under the guardianship of Sir Lewis Stukly and returned to Virginia, where he resumed his office as the colony’s secretary and recorder until 1619. In the same year Rolfe made note of Virginia’s burgeoning market in indentured servants, the scandalous “buying and selling men and boies,” that his tobacco experiments and the resulting boom had created. In 1619 he married Jane, the daughter of local magnate and councillor Captain William Pierce, who at the time owned Angelo, an African servant woman, among the first brought to Virginia in August 1619. In 1621 Rolfe was appointed to the council of state representing his home settlement, Bermuda Hundred. Bermuda Hundred and Rolfe’s plantation *Varina* were destroyed during Opechancanough’s uprising in 1622 and, probably with it, John Rolfe. Jane Rolfe and their baby Elizabeth somehow survived. Thomas Rolfe, the son of John and Pocahontas, came home to Virginia as a young man in 1635 and reclaimed his father’s lands. Thomas married an Englishwoman, Jane Poythress, and their offspring became the ancestors of Virginia’s great aristocratic families—the Blairs, Bollings, Randolphs, and Lewises.

—James Bruggeman

## Roman Catholics

The number of Roman Catholic settlers in the British colonies was negligible compared to the SPANISH COLONIES

and FRENCH COLONIES, where they constituted a majority. Of the approximately 2.5 million inhabitants of British North America at the time of the American Revolution, only about 1 percent can be identified as Roman Catholics. They were most numerous in MARYLAND and PENNSYLVANIA, where unique conditions of religious toleration were present, either temporarily or permanently.

Cecilius Calvert, the second lord Baltimore and a Catholic, intended to turn his colony of Maryland into a refuge for others of his faith when the first ships sailed for that colony in 1634. However, he also needed to attract enough settlers to make the enterprise a paying proposition, and, ultimately, Maryland enticed more Protestant than Catholic immigrants. In the early years of the colony all settlers were granted land on equal terms, and religious freedom prevailed, although the government was largely Catholic. When the ENGLISH CIVIL WAR broke out, however, Richard Ingle and his Protestant followers seized the Maryland government, and Roman Catholics were singled out for abuse. In the aftermath the Calverts were careful to appoint mostly Protestants to government posts, and they made sure legally to guarantee the religious rights of all the settlers. The 1649 Act Concerning Religion mandated punishments for those who attacked Christianity or violated anyone’s rights to worship freely. Maryland’s Roman Catholics were increasingly marginalized because of official preference for Protestants. In 1655 a Puritan-controlled council seized power, repealed the Act Concerning Religion, and disenfranchised all Roman Catholics. By 1658 the Calverts regained control but remained wary of alienating the Protestant majority.

The Protestant majority protested that they were being taxed for the benefit of a Catholic minority. The Anglicans in particular believed that their inability to grow in numbers resulted from government policy. These charges received increased attention in the wake of the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION in England, when the Maryland governors were accused of being Jacobites (supporters of the deposed James II) and of attempting to make Catholicism the established religion of the colony. Moreover, they charged that the Roman Catholics were in league with NATIVE AMERICANS in a plot to exterminate all Protestants.

A Protestant army under former Anglican minister John Coode seized the capital of ST. MARY’S CITY in 1689. They demanded a thoroughly Protestant government, removal of the Calvert proprietors, and conversion of Maryland into a royal colony. This was implemented in 1691, as well as an oath of allegiance that excluded Roman Catholics from voting and holding public office. Catholic Mass was permitted only in private homes. In 1702 the ANGLICAN CHURCH became the established church in Maryland. By the early 18th century the Calverts again regained control of the colony, although they, along with

many other prominent Roman Catholics, converted to Anglicanism.

Laws were passed to limit immigration of additional Roman Catholics to Maryland. Lacking public support, Catholicism was maintained in secret. Wealthy Roman Catholics could afford to hold Mass in their private chapels and send their children abroad for EDUCATION in European Catholic institutions. Poor Roman Catholics were not so fortunate. For them, itinerant Jesuit missionaries provided what they could. In 1745 the JESUITS opened a secret elementary school at Bohemia Manor in Cecil County near the Pennsylvania border. The Catholic minority was kept under scrutiny because it was rumored that they favored the restoration of the Stuarts to the British throne. During the SEVEN YEARS' WAR Roman Catholics were double-taxed for not serving in the militia, from which they were legally excluded as suspected traitors. By 1763 Roman Catholics constituted only 9 percent of the population of Maryland.

In Pennsylvania Roman Catholics made up an even smaller percentage of the population (approximately 0.6 percent in 1760) than in Maryland, but they enjoyed greater religious freedom. This was due largely to the influence of WILLIAM PENN's belief in religious toleration and his close friendship with prominent Roman Catholics in England, especially King James II (1685–88). As in Maryland, the chief impediments to Catholic growth in Pennsylvania were the Glorious Revolution and the opposition of the Anglican Church. In 1693 Roman Catholics were excluded from holding public office by the requirement that they take an oath of allegiance. William Penn lost control of his colony during this period, but when he regained it he attempted to restore full religious liberty. That was not to be, for the British government insisted on Catholic exclusion from office.

Roman Catholics prospered, however, in the nonpublic sphere. QUAKERS assisted them in obtaining land for their churches, where, unlike in Maryland, they were free to worship openly. The Catholic population grew slowly, principally by immigration from Maryland and Germany. Many Roman Catholics married Protestants, attended Protestant churches, and modified a strict observance of Catholic practices. This was unavoidable given the scarcity of Catholic marriage partners, the shortage of priests, and the generally amicable relations with their neighbors. Jesuit missionaries from Maryland, who traveled secretly into Pennsylvania to minister to rural Roman Catholics, tried to keep the faith alive under difficult circumstances. By 1734 there was a Catholic church in PHILADELPHIA with a resident priest, and a second chapel was built in 1763.

Anglican clergymen frequently complained of Quaker toleration of Roman Catholics. They often interpreted their lack of proselytizing success in Pennsylvania as the result of

an insidious Quaker-Catholic collaboration. As in Maryland, Roman Catholics came under careful scrutiny during times of crisis. After Penn died in 1718 and the conversion of his successors to Anglicanism, limitations were placed on the growing immigration into the colony of the Catholic Irish and German REDEMPTIONERS. Roman Catholics frequently were suspected of being a potential "fifth column" in wartime. During the Seven Years' War anti-Catholic fears reached a peak with attacks on a number of their churches and with the passage of the 1757 Militia Act that taxed Roman Catholics heavily and prohibited them from joining the militia and from owning guns or ammunition.

There were very few Roman Catholics in the other colonies of British North America. Notably, a Catholic governor of NEW YORK, Thomas Dongan, sponsored a bill of rights in 1683 that contained a guarantee of religious freedom. During the Glorious Revolution Jacob Leisler, a German Calvinist, overthrew Dongan's government and forced the Catholic clergy to flee. By 1693 the Church of England was the established religion of the colony, and Roman Catholics were restricted. Subsequent harsh legislation banning priests from the colony meant that few Roman Catholics remained in New York during the 18th century; many of them migrated to Pennsylvania.

Roman Catholics were much more numerous and influential in the Spanish and French colonies. The DOMINICANS, Jesuits, and Franciscans sent missionaries into Spanish FLORIDA, Texas, NEW MEXICO, and California. While converting thousands of Native Americans, the work of these Christians also sometimes had tragic results as the cultures of indigenous peoples were undermined and their populations decimated by European diseases. Spanish Catholicism remains an important religious force in the western United States today. Jesuit JACQUES MARQUETTE led the efforts to convert Indians in New France, especially in the continent's interior along the Mississippi River.

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—Joseph J. Casino

**Rowlandson, Mary White** (1637?–1711) *captivity narrative author*

Author of the first published Indian CAPTIVITY narrative, Mary White Rowlandson was born in Somerset, England, to John White and Joan West White. The Whites immigrated to MASSACHUSETTS in 1639, eventually settling in Lancaster in 1653, where John White became one of the town's wealthiest landowners. In 1656 Mary White married Joseph Rowlandson, Harvard graduate and Lancaster's



first minister. The Rowlandsons had four children, three of whom were living when NARRAGANSETT attacked the town on February 10, 1676, during KING PHILIP'S WAR.

Joseph Rowlandson was away in BOSTON petitioning for military reinforcements when Indians raided and burned their palisaded house, one of six in Lancaster built as a defense against Native American assault. Mary witnessed the death of several relatives before she and 23 others, including her children, a sister, and six nieces and nephews, were captured. Her youngest daughter, Sarah, died as a result of her wounds several days into their captivity.

Rowlandson became the prisoner of Quinnapin, the Narragansett sachem, and his chief wife, Weetamoo, King Philip's sister-in-law. During her captivity she bartered her sewing and knitting skills for FOOD and other supplies from her captors, including King Philip (METACOM). Historians estimate Rowlandson traveled 150 miles in 11 weeks before she was redeemed for £20 on May 2, 1676.

Rowlandson joined her husband in Boston and was soon reunited with her two remaining children, one of whom had also been ransomed and the other of whom had escaped. Called to a new church, Joseph moved the family to Wethersfield, CONNECTICUT, in 1677, where he died on November 24, 1678. Eight months later Mary married Captain Samuel Talcott, another Harvard graduate and community leader. Captain Talcott died on November 11, 1691; Mary died on January 5, 1710.

Rowlandson probably composed her text, *The Sovereignty & Goodness of God, Together with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed; Being a Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, shortly after her release, but it was not published until 1682 in a first edition bracketed by an anonymous preface and her first husband's last sermon. Scholars agree that INCREASE MATHER penned the preface. The narrative quickly became a best seller, and it has rarely been out of print since. Rowlandson constructed a powerful Puritan text of a Christian soul fortified by trial in the wilderness as well as the story of a survivor who ultimately negotiated the price of her own ransom. Her book became the prototype for the Indian captivity narrative.

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—Mary Murphy

### Royal African Company

The Royal African Company, chartered by King Charles II (1660–85) in 1672, held the monopoly on England's

slave traffic until 1698. Beginning in the late 1500s, a few English vessels had trafficked in slave cargo. However, England was a latecomer to the SLAVE TRADE, which had been dominated by Portuguese, Spanish, French, Dutch, and Danish importers. The first British experience with African slaves in its home territory occurred when colonists in JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA, bought a few "negars" from a Dutch trading ship in 1619. The English colonies' involvement in SLAVERY was then haphazard until 1663, when Charles II, the restored Stuart king, chartered the Royal Adventurers Trading to AFRICA. The company floundered during the English-Dutch wars and was then replaced by the Royal African Company, which established FORTS along the coast of West Africa from which to launch raids upon or trade with local Africans to procure slaves. The company's center was on the Gold Coast at Cape Coast Castle. Though slaves were landed at several colonial ports in the Americas, the company concentrated its efforts on Jamaica and other British-controlled West Indian islands, sending an estimated yearly average of more than 100 ships carrying as many as 400 slaves each. In 1698 English MERCHANTS pressured Parliament to throw open the slave trade to individual entrepreneurs, ending the Royal African Company's monopoly. In 1731 the Royal African Company discontinued the commerce in slaves, replacing it with trade in ivory and gold, thereby avoiding the risk of having the cargo resist, fall ill, or die.

In 1750 Parliament replaced the Royal African Company with the nonmonopolistic Company of Merchants Trading to Africa. The new company was not allowed to trade in slaves. Instead, it facilitated England's African trade by maintaining coastal relations through the administration of a series of forts along the coast. This company lasted for 14 years after England abolished its slave trade in 1807.

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—Emma Lapsansky and Ty M. Reese

### royal colonies

Royal colonies were those under the direct and immediate authority of the BRITISH MONARCHY, ruled by governors appointed by the Crown. Except for RHODE ISLAND and CONNECTICUT, all of the original thirteen colonies began as chartered or proprietary colonies. However, most surrendered their charters and became royal colonies as they encountered various governmental problems. By the end of the colonial era, royal colonies had become the dominant form of colonial government.

Following the British political model, royal colonies had a similar three-part structure: a governor, legislature, and a judiciary. The Crown, on the recommendation of

the Board of Trade and Plantations, named the governor. As the chief representative of the Crown, he was invested with wide powers to implement British laws. The governor also enjoyed the right to call and dissolve the legislature, to approve the choice of its speaker, and to initiate and veto its legislation.

The legislatures in most colonies existed as bicameral bodies. The upper house, representing the colonial elite, developed from the advisory council of the governor's wealthy appointees. The lower house (assembly) represented local interests in the lawmaking process; it was elected by the white male property owners. Judges usually were appointed and could be dismissed by governors, while the upper house acted as the highest colonial courts of appeal. Although initially the power of royal governors vis-à-vis the legislature was even greater than the British monarchy had in its relation with Parliament, the colonial assemblies after the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION steadily reduced the prerogatives of the governors, particularly in legislation and finances.

The experience of the royal colonies contributed significantly to the American political tradition, enriching it with ideas and institutions from Britain. At the same time, the development and transformation of these institutions in North America stimulated political trends and processes that ultimately helped create the War for Independence.

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—Peter Rainow

### rum trade

The introduction of sugarcane and SLAVERY into the West Indies gave rise to the PLANTATION SYSTEM, which entailed the transport of more than 11 million Africans as slaves to the Americas and established the foundation for the Atlantic ECONOMY. Sugar (known as a cash crop because of its enormous initial profits) and its by-product rum (distilled from molasses) quickly became incredibly important commodities. As the productive capabilities of the sugar plantations increased, the price of sugar, molasses, and rum decreased. Inexpensive rum thus became the drink of choice in the Americas, especially among the lower classes, who mixed rum and water to produce grog. The demand for rum created a transatlantic trade in the commodity that centered not only on the West Indies, where the best quality rum came from, but also on New England. MERCHANTS in PENNSYLVANIA and especially New England established a lucrative rum trade with the West Indies, thereby earning sufficient credit to purchase

consumer goods from England. Merchants throughout the Atlantic found rum to be a durable, desirable, and easily transportable commodity that served middlemen well.

The rum trade is best known as part of the “triangle trade”: New Englanders purchased molasses in the West Indies, distilled it into rum in New England, carried it to West AFRICA to trade for slaves, then sold Africans in the West Indies and bought more molasses. The rum trade illustrates the ability of colonists to evade the Navigation Acts by which Britain hoped to create a tightly controlled mercantile system. North Americans became capable smugglers, trading illegally with the French, Dutch, and Spanish. They thereby circumvented the Molasses Act of 1733 and increased both their CONSUMPTION and production of rum. By the late 1760s more than 6 million gallons of molasses was imported annually into British North America, while approximately 5 million gallons of rum was produced yearly in 140 distilleries operating mainly in New England.

See also TRADE AND SHIPPING.

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—Ty M. Reese

### Russian settlements

The primary Russian colony in North America was in present-day Alaska, but their interests extended southward along the west coast of North America. At the height of their North American colonization, the Russians made efforts to explore the Columbia River and established a fort 50 miles north of San Francisco. The movement to Alaska was part of the Russian eastward expansion. The period of Russian settlements is generally dated from 1741, beginning with explorations by Aleksei Chirikov and VITUS JONASSEN BERING. Russian fur traders found the region a good source for business, although the first permanent settlement was not established until 1784 as a private venture of Grigorii Shelikhov and Ivan Golikov on Kodiak Island. This enterprise evolved into the Russian American Company in 1799, with the czar as one of the stock owners. The leading characters of the early company were Nikolai Rezanov, the company head, and Alexander Baranov, who was eventually appointed governor. The colony expanded when New Archangel (Sitka) was founded in 1799.

Russian success in the control of the Native populations varied, with their treatment of Native peoples often being brutal. They sometimes held women and children hostage to compel ALEUT men to hunt sea otters. As the ANIMALS

were decimated, the Russians forced Aleut to exploit new hunting grounds as far south as California. The Tlingit's resistance to the Russian advances was more successful. In 1802 they destroyed New Archangel before the Russians were able to gain a permanent foothold in the area. The Russians gained control of territory, but not Tlingit.

In 1867 Russia envisioned its future primarily in Asia and, believing the expansion of the United States to be

almost unstoppable, it sold Alaska to the United States for \$7.2 million.

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—Donald E. Heidenreich, Jr.







### sachems

An ALGONQUIN term, *sachem* refers to leaders of the Algonquin Indians or IROQUOIS Indians who lived in northeastern North America. Indigenous peoples of this region typically were divided into family-based clans and villages. Sachems were generally the acknowledged leaders of a clan who oversaw intertribal diplomacy, village ceremonies, tribal councils, and warfare against rival tribes. Merit as a courageous warrior or skilled hunter was a common path to appointment as a sachem, while among some groups the position was hereditary. Among the Iroquois, however, women made the appointments.

European colonists often interpreted Indian sachems according to their own understanding of a powerful monarchy; in reality sachems possessed much more limited authority. Power was derived from consensus building and concern for the overall welfare of the tribe. Communal in nature, Algonquin and Iroquoian groups expected sachems to put concerns over family, clans, and villages first. Wisdom was associated with generosity and gift giving, in essence providing sachems with the ability to redistribute wealth, a characteristic of a communal society. Such redistribution also provided a tool for persuasion, vital for the tribal unanimity sachems relied on. Dreams also played a powerful role within many of these communities. Sachems were expected to aid in dream fulfillment for a tribal member, and occasionally they derived power from dream interpretation.

See also NATIVE AMERICANS.

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—James Jenks

### St. Augustine (founded 1565)

Founded in 1565 by Don Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, St. Augustine, FLORIDA, was the first permanently settled

European city in the present-day United States. Although Spaniards were aware of Florida long before settling St. Augustine, the decision to settle came in reaction to French colonization attempts near present-day Jacksonville, Florida. The Spanish believed that a presence in Florida would provide military support for Spain's treasure-laden ships that traveled along the Gulf Stream.

Although St. Augustine never produced material wealth, it was frequently the center of military action. British privateer Francis Drake was the first European to attack the city when he nearly destroyed the outpost in 1586. In reaction to frequent attacks the Spanish constructed a large stone fort called the Castillo San Marcos and surrounded the city with earthen, wooden, and stone walls. Although fortified, the presidio was still attacked periodically. The most damaging assaults came in 1702 and 1740. Each time, a British force was sent to remove the Spanish from Florida, and each attempt ended in failure. Throughout the 18th century conquering St. Augustine remained a high priority for British officials in the colonies north of Florida. Thus, defense became St. Augustine's principal purpose.

Life inside the city gates was usually tied to the desires of the military and royal government. Without any significant economic activity, the residents of St. Augustine relied on annual payments from the government. In addition, the local climate and poor soils in the immediate vicinity made the maintenance of a nonmilitary ECONOMY difficult. Malnutrition, DISEASE, and Indian attack were other hazards the Spanish had to accept. Therefore, the city never attracted immigrants, families, or single women. Regardless of the poverty and misery, St. Augustine displayed certain signs of luxury.

More than 50 years before the British first purchased slaves in North America, African slaves were held in Spanish Florida. Because St. Augustine was the first European settlement in North America, it also housed the first slaves. Many of these slaves were owned by the government and came from other Spanish territories. Government slaves



Panoramic photograph of the Castillo de San Marcos fort in St. Augustine, Florida (Wikipedia)

were often skilled laborers sent to build and maintain a city's defensive fortifications. Others belonged to a few wealthy residents and worked primarily as domestics.

From the outset the Spaniards found maintaining the colony a difficult task. While its population was never significant and the economy rarely improved, St. Augustine remained the central settlement in Spanish Florida. In 1763 the British took control of Florida following the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. Twenty-one years later the Spanish regained St. Augustine after the British lost America's War for Independence. St. Augustine remained a part of the Spanish empire until the United States government took possession of Florida in 1819.

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—Shane Runyon

### St. Mary's City

St. Mary's City was the first capital of MARYLAND and the fourth permanent North American English settlement. In 1632 King Charles I (1625–49) granted GEORGE CALVERT, the first lord Baltimore, land from the original VIRGINIA grant to create a colony. Calvert died soon thereafter, and his sons, Cecelius Calvert (the second lord Baltimore) and LEONARD CALVERT (Maryland's first governor) recruited both Catholic and Protestant settlers from various social classes.

Founded in 1634 when Leonard Calvert and 140 English settlers arrived on the pinnaces *Ark* and *Dove*, St. Mary's City was established as the nucleus of lord

Baltimore's colony in the New World. St. Mary's City was a small village located on an inlet where the St. Mary's River flows into the Potomac River. Baltimore envisioned a hierarchical manorial system of landlords and TENANTS, which was common in England, and servants outnumbered gentlemen in St. Mary's City. Laborers composed a greater percentage of the workforce than did skilled workers.

A Catholic refuge promoting religious toleration, St. Mary's City served as the base for ROMAN CATHOLICS in the English colonies. Because of the city's proximity to the Atlantic Ocean, shipbuilders settled in St. Mary's City. The Woodland Indians, primarily the Piscataway, coexisted with the settlers of St. Mary's City, teaching them to plant TOBACCO. The Natives, however, eventually emigrated from their land due to strife with colonists.

Tobacco growers farmed land surrounding St. Mary's City, and their plantations contained vast acreage worked by slaves. Both SLAVERY and INDENTURED SERVITUDE were common in St. Mary's City, with servants helping in homes as well as tending livestock and gardens. A Dutch ship brought 20 Africans to Maryland in 1619. Within four decades almost 400 Africans lived in the area. Because the Maryland colony thrived on its tobacco ECONOMY, a state-house was built at St. Mary's City to serve as a court. Inns and taverns were erected, and such businesses as a printing shop were opened. Men outnumbered women six to one; unmarried women enjoyed rights to land, which was not common in England.

From 1645 to 1646 St. Mary's City was embroiled in Ingle's Rebellion. During the ENGLISH CIVIL WAR this Protestant uprising occurred in Maryland in an attempt to remove the colony's Catholic government. The rebellious forces seized and looted property in St. Mary's City, took prisoners, and caused Leonard Calvert and several hundred residents to flee. Calvert hired mercenary soldiers from Virginia to end the conflict. Some Protestants, such as

William Claiborne, continued to wage attacks on St. Mary's City, but unsuccessfully. After the rebellion yeoman planters dominated St. Mary's City's economy. Some servants became landowners, and earlier unequal land and wealth distribution became more balanced.

In 1689 John Coode paralyzed the government in Maryland by seizing government records and preventing ships from departing St. Mary's City to England. Believing Coode's false accusations that Roman Catholics planned to massacre Protestants, England's rulers, William and Mary, appointed Lionel Copley the first royal governor in 1691. His successor, Francis Nicholson relocated the capital to Annapolis in 1695, and St. Mary's City was abandoned by many of its residents.

See also BRENT, MARGARET REED.

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—Elizabeth D. Schafer

**Sandys, George** (1578–1644) *writer, government official*

George Sandys was an important figure in the early VIRGINIA colony, and he became a renowned poet. The son of Edwin Sandys (archbishop of York) and his second wife, Cecily Wilford, he was educated at St. Peter's School, York, and Corpus Christi, Oxford, before entering the Middle Temple for legal training. By family arrangement he married Elizabeth Norton, his father's ward before 1603, but by 1606 the marriage had collapsed. To avoid this unhappy situation, Sandys embarked on a grand tour of the Near East. He wrote the popular *Relations of a Journey Begun Anno Dom. 1610* about his travels in the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Jerusalem, and Italy, concentrating on the history, government, and religions of those areas and approaching them in a humanistic and scholarly way. Upon his return he became involved with the Virginia and Bermuda Companies through his elder brother, Sir Edwin Sandys, who named him to committees on the colony's government and TOBACCO production.

In 1621 he was elected resident treasurer of Virginia and embarked with the new governor, SIR FRANCIS WYATT, aboard the *George*. Sandys's four plantations sustained heavy losses as part of the 1622 attack by the Powhatan; in retaliation Sandys personally led a counterattack against the Tappanhanock. Sandys wrote promotional letters for the colony to attract settlers, sponsored small industries like silk, glass and iron production, and insisted that FOOD crops had to be grown along with tobacco to feed the colony's inhabitants. Returning to England in 1625, after the dissolution of the VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON, Sandys won

renown for his translations of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, which contained many references to North America, and for his court poetry. He served on a Privy Council subcommittee for plantations and acted as the Virginia colony's legal agent during Wyatt's second term as governor. A firm exponent of the Virginia assembly and of self-government, Sandys continued to promote diversified AGRICULTURE and settlement until his death on his estates in Kent.

—Margaret Sankey

## Savannah

The town of Savannah was laid out in 1733, 18 miles from the Atlantic Ocean on a sandy bluff 50 feet above the Savannah River. The site was chosen partly because of its proximity to a local Indian village, partly because of its defensive merits, and partly to substantiate English claims to lands south of the Savannah River. Savannah was designed according to a precisely organized plan. Each town ward was centered on a square, following the fashion of contemporary Georgian Britain, with four public lots and 40 private lots making up the rest of the ward. The initial plan called for six squares, although as the city expanded in the early 19th century there were eventually to be 24 squares. In addition to the town lots, Savannah's plan called for garden plots of 50 acres to surround the town, where residents could grow FOOD. Early buildings were made of wood and did not last long in GEORGIA's humid climate.

After Georgia became a royal colony in 1752, Savannah's population grew rapidly, and new public and private brick buildings began to be built. By the 1760s the town's increasing economic independence meant it was able to import manufactured goods directly from Britain, sending rice and other staples in return. As a further sign of the increased importance of the town, slave ships from African ports began to TRAVEL directly to Savannah. However, although a number of free and enslaved Africans lived and worked there, Savannah never had a black majority population. Indeed, the various employment opportunities offered in the town meant it contained far more white working people than did surrounding rural areas. The town also had a number of elite residents. As the seat of colonial government, Savannah attracted MERCHANTS, politicians, and planters, and their lifestyles stood in stark contrast to the poverty of the majority of the town's population. Savannah was a cosmopolitan place where rich and poor, slave and free, and black and white interacted in a multitude of complex ways.

—Timothy James Lockley

## scalping

In many Native American societies the removal of a scalp served as a symbol with military and religious significance.





A 1789 engraving entitled *An Indian Warrior Entering His Wigwam with a Scalp* (Library of Congress)

Although some scholars have suggested that Europeans introduced scalping to the Americas, archaeological and other evidence offers convincing proof that scalping was widespread throughout North America before the European arrival. While the particular rituals varied by tribal group, the ceremonial removal of a defeated enemy's scalp was a common feature of Indian warfare.

The scalplock, a long lock of hair typically located on the top of the head, was a source of pride for Indian men. While European visitors often derided the Indian men's apparent obsession with braiding, decorating, and occasional painting of their hair, they failed to recognize the religious significance of the scalplock. Especially for men, the scalplock represented the soul or spirit; elaborate dressings and styles were not so much signs of vanity as they were statements of spiritual power. By cutting off the scalplock, or even by grabbing the lock without actually severing

it, the power of the individual's spirit was transferred from the victim to the conqueror. The removal of the scalp did not always coincide with actual death, but survivors were considered to be spiritually dead. The religious significance of scalping was evident in the elaborate rituals surrounding the cutting of the scalp and in the careful attention to its subsequent display. The scalps also served as visible evidence of a warrior's martial prowess. Public display of the trophies offered a daily reminder of the courage and skill of the possessor.

When Europeans arrived in the Americas, they displayed a mixture of fascination and repulsion over the practice of scalping. Visions of bloody scalps haunted terrified colonists on the frontier, who saw nothing but savagery in the ritual. Other accounts described in almost clinical detail the methods of removal and preservation. Colonial governments quickly set aside their supposed shock at scalping and encouraged the practice through the institution of scalp bounties. As early as the 1630s, authorities in New England offered money for the scalps of their Indian enemies. When the intercolonial wars between France and England broke out in the late 17th century, each side offered financial remuneration not only for Indian scalps but for European scalps as well. The bounties continued into the Revolutionary War despite the protests of some colonists that the practice was morally suspect and militarily ineffective. As Americans pushed westward in the 19th century, scalping continued to be a significant component of the Anglo-Indian conflict, especially in border regions.

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—Melanie Perreault

## science

Early modern investigations of the natural world were not separated into specialized disciplines. The modern fields of mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, and optics were encapsulated in "natural philosophy"; biology, geology, botany, zoology, and mineralogy belonged to "natural history." Moreover, natural studies were generally not thought to conflict with religion. Rather, all such studies were situated within a Protestant framework that cast them as celebrations of the wondrousness, yet also the rationality, of God's creation. Knowledge of nature was godly knowledge, which philosophers felt sure actively supported their religious views. This view of the fundamentally harmonious relation of physical to theological knowledge was often referred to as "physico-theology" or "natural theology," and would not be challenged directly until the evolutionary theories of Charles Darwin in the mid-19th century.



British-American society was emphatically decentralized, so natural studies lacked the support of powerful educational and research institutions and of monarchical or aristocratic patronage. Only a wealthy minority of colonial gentlemen possessed the financial independence and leisure to investigate nature systematically. Where sustained inquiries into nature did thrive, they did so more individually than in Europe. More significant than institutions like the BOSTON PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY (1683–88) and the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY (1768) was the vast and intricate web of personal correspondence throughout the colonies and especially across the Atlantic to centers of scientific activity in Britain. This was the vaunted “republic of letters” of the Enlightenment, which made possible the circulation of new ideas about the natural world, technologies for experimentation, and specimens for examination, as well as organizing and sustaining international efforts like the astronomical observations of the transit of Venus across the sun in 1769.

Natural history was the most popular mode of formal natural inquiry in British America. Descriptions of American flora and fauna in the 17th century, like Thomas Harriot’s, were catalogs of natural commodities that English MERCHANTS wished to exploit for commercial profit. In the 18th century many colonial gentlemen and some ladies (among them JANE COLDEN) worked to classify plants within the less obviously utilitarian framework designed by Carolus Linnaeus, which distinguished species according to their sexual characteristics. Physiological experiments were also conducted along Linnaean lines, like JAMES LOGAN’s on seed fertilization and Dr. John Mitchell’s on male-female opossum anatomy, and numerous specimens were shipped back to the Royal Society. JOHN BARTRAM, whom Linnaeus heralded as “the greatest natural botanist in the world,” lacked extensive formal EDUCATION but won precious British support for his botanical expeditions through the southern colonies and for cultivating and circulating innumerable plant specimens back to Britain. He was named King’s Botanist in 1765.

In natural philosophy Aristotle’s teachings shaped American curricula well into the 18th century, but these were eventually eclipsed by the new mechanical philosophy and experimental method introduced by what is now known as the Scientific Revolution. The transition from older textual accounts of nature to modern mathematical and experimental science was profoundly affected by local religious concerns. Charles Morton’s *Compendium Physicae* introduced the new experimental philosophy at Harvard in 1687, although at Yale SAMUEL JOHNSON continued to study Aristotle’s purely textual accounts into the 1710s. After reading Isaac Newton and JOHN LOCKE Johnson abandoned Aristotle and converted from Calvinism to Anglicanism, because the latter was more sci-

entifically up to date. However, Johnson became alarmed at the potential for atheistic philosophies based on Newton and subsequently embraced the teachings of British divine John Hutchinson, who argued that the Bible provided a pious natural philosophy.

“Newtonianism,” although widely invoked, was diverse in its applications and ambiguous in its implications. Beginning in the 1720s Isaac Greenwood and John Winthrop IV at Harvard taught an experimental version of Newtonianism with applications to practical mechanics. CADWALLADER COLDEN attempted to perfect Newton’s theory of gravity in the 1740s, although religious friends like Samuel Johnson feared that his version of Newtonianism leaned in the direction of philosophical materialism, the view that the natural world sustains itself without any divine assistance. The most celebrated adaptation of Newton was Benjamin Franklin’s experimental work in electricity. Franklin’s achievements exemplified the combination of hypothetical speculation, empirical testing, and close observation characteristic of natural philosophy in the Enlightenment. He explained better than any rival the action of positive and negative electrical charges in the Leyden Jar, was the first to prove the identity of lightning and electricity, and invented the lightning rod. Itinerant lecturers in the major cities gave spectacular demonstrations of his electrical system and thereby disseminated experimental methods through public culture.

Beyond the learned and the urban, a wealth of folk beliefs about “occult” operations in nature, many of them astrological, survived and coexisted with the new philosophies. From the 17th century New England clergymen had publicized Copernican astronomy to discredit what they branded as the ungodly folklore of astrology, but almanacs retained astrological advice on MEDICINE, AGRICULTURE, and weather-prediction throughout the colonial period, while comets, earthquakes, and similar natural phenomena remained both astrologically and providentially significant for many. The learned themselves pursued a mixture of new and arcane natural studies. Christian spiritualists transplanted from Germany to PENNSYLVANIA, like Johannes Kelpius and Christopher Witt, drew on alchemy, magic, and religious mysticism in their natural philosophy and medical practices. Ezra Stiles’s interests included experimental philosophy, the Jewish Kabbala, and angelology (the systematic study of angels). Popular beliefs about WITCHCRAFT, magic, divining, and like practices, although increasingly marginalized, persisted well beyond the colonial period.

See also AMERICAN ENLIGHTENMENT; INCREASE MATHER; TECHNOLOGY.

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—James Delbourgo

### Scots immigrants

Scots immigration to North America in the 17th and 18th centuries included people from the Lowlands, Highlands, and Islands of Scotland (see SCOTS-IRISH IMMIGRANTS for Ulster immigrants). Few Scots moved to North America in the 1600s, as they chose instead to migrate to countries with which they were more familiar, such as England, Ireland, and the Netherlands. Scots immigration increased in the 1700s, but it ebbed and flowed rather than occurring in a massive wave. The years between the SEVEN YEARS' WAR and the American Revolution brought the greatest number of immigrants; an estimated 25,000 Scots arrived in British North America during that time. Perhaps 35,000 Scots immigrants were in the American colonies by 1775. Exact numbers of immigrants are difficult to determine because of limited data and because Scots often were recorded as "British."

Many Scots journeyed to North America as involuntary migrants—exiled criminals banished from their homeland and sold as indentured servants in the New World. In the 1650s Oliver Cromwell sent shiploads of prisoners to Virginia, and soon thereafter, King Charles II and his brother James banished Covenanters (supporters of the Presbyterian faith) to the American plantations. The Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745 also brought a number of involuntary Scots to the colonies, as exiled supporters of the Stuart line were sold to American masters. Repression of Highlanders after the Jacobite defeat in 1746 meant not only prisoners but also persecuted Highlanders, including those who lost their lands, sought refuge in North America. Perhaps 2,000 Highlanders, either by choice or by compulsion, settled in North America after the Jacobite rebellions. Scotland's Privy Council continued to dispatch prisoners and other "undesirables" to North America throughout the 18th century.

Religious and economic factors also caused Scots emigration. Religious persecution and intolerance were particularly severe in Scotland in the late 17th century. In the 1680s Scots Presbyterians immigrated to South Carolina, where the Carolina proprietor Anthony Ashley Cooper, a Covenanter supporter, welcomed them. Some Scots Quakers, likewise persecuted, fled to New Jersey about the same time. In the 18th century, as rents rose sharply across Scotland, economic motivations became more important among migrants. Many of the voluntary immigrants came as INDENTURED SERVANTS, selling themselves into servitude in exchange for passage to the colonies.

The Scots settled principally in the mid-Atlantic and southern colonies, often on the frontier, where they frequently waged war with Indians over the control of land. By the 1770s Pennsylvania had become a primary destination. Highlanders found their way to the frontiers in North Carolina and Georgia, and to the upper Hudson and Mohawk River valleys of New York. Lowland Scots, including many merchants and professionals, inhabited port cities, especially Philadelphia, Charleston, and Boston. Lowland Scots also settled in Virginia, where they played a significant mercantile role in the tobacco trade. Scots immigrants did not usually establish their own communities but often assimilated into English communities. Highlanders sometimes maintained separate cultures, preserving their customs, including the wearing of the traditional Highland kilt.

Scots immigrants contributed greatly to the development of the early American colonies. They established mercantile networks that linked the American colonies to Britain and the West Indies. They played major roles in Virginia and Maryland, from governor to indentured servant. Education benefited from the Scots presence, as many were tutors and schoolmasters. Serving as physicians and establishing medical schools, clinics, and dispensaries, Scots migrants likewise promoted advances in the medical field.

**Further reading:** David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607–1785* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994); Aaron Fogleman, "Migrations to the Thirteen British North American Colonies, 1700–1775: New Estimates," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 22, no. 4 (1992).

—Robin Patten

### Scots-Irish immigrants

"Scots-Irish" (also known as Ulster-Irish or, incorrectly, Scotch-Irish) is an American term that refers to Lowland Presbyterian Scots who migrated to Ulster in northern Ireland in the 1600s, then subsequently moved to the American colonies the following century. Besides Africans and the English, the Scots-Irish were the largest ethnic group of migrants to arrive in 18th-century America. Some scholars believe that as many as 10 percent of the colonists were Scots-Irish by the time of the American Revolution. Estimates for the actual number of Scots-Irish immigrants who arrived in the colonies between 1700 and 1775 vary considerably, ranging from 66,000 to 250,000.

England created the Ulster plantation in the early 1600s as it sought to both extend the empire and protect its flank; by 1625, perhaps 8,000 Scots had settled in

Ulster. The initial peaceful conditions of the divided society ended with the Great Rebellion of 1641, a Catholic Irish uprising against English lords. After that, war and religious persecution against Presbyterians continued in varying degrees, resulting in both religious and economic reasons for immigration to North America. Economic conditions were perhaps the primary reason to emigrate; sanctions such as the 1699 Woolens Act and the practice of rack-renting—increasing rent when a lease expired—created extreme hardships for the Ulster Scots. When many Ulster leases expired in 1718, 1,000 emigrants boarded ship and left for Boston. This first wave of Scots-Irish migrants began a stream that became a river of immigrants to the American colonies.

A combination of economic depression, famine, and rack-renting continued in Ulster throughout the 18th century. Unable to afford the berth on a ship, many of the migrants came to North America as INDENTURED SERVANTS, exchanging between four and seven years of labor for the cost of passage. At the end of their indenture, immigrants supposedly were provided with some necessities to begin their new life: clothes, money, and sometimes tools. Still, many were unable to find financial security in the colonies. Favorable reports from the immigrants along with increased advertising enticed others to leave Ulster and seek opportunity in the New World.

Unwelcome in Puritan New England, the 18th-century Scots-Irish immigrants flocked to the frontier, especially to Pennsylvania. By the American Revolution, perhaps one of every three Pennsylvanians were Ulster Scots. In the mid-18th century, as Pennsylvania became more populated and land grew scarce, the Scots-Irish pushed into Virginia, occupying the Shenandoah Valley. The Scots-Irish continued to move southward into the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee. As explorers and pioneers, their movement played a significant role in “opening up” the American borders to European invasion and settlement, but, in the process, displacing or killing indigenous people.

Although maintaining a distinct identity initially, the Scots-Irish eventually assimilated with others in the colonies and were absorbed into American culture. As a people, the Scots-Irish influenced colonial America, expanding the Presbyterian faith, usually supporting the Revolutionary cause, and contributing greatly to westward expansion.

**Further Reading:** Ronald Chepesiuk, *The Scotch-Irish: From the North of Ireland to the Making of America* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2000); Aaron Fogleman, “Migrations to the Thirteen British North American Colonies, 1700–1775: New Estimates,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 22, no. 4 (1992); Patrick Griffin, *The People with No Name: Ireland’s Ulster Scots, America’s Scots Irish, and*

*the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689–1764* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001).

—Robin Patten

**Serra, Junípero** (1713–1784) *Spanish priest, missionary* A priest in the Franciscan Order of the Spanish Catholic Church, Junípero Serra was a driving force in the Spanish conquest, colonization, and missionization of modern-day Mexico and California. Born Miguel Jose Serra on the island of Mallorca, Spain, Serra entered the Franciscan Order of St. Francis of Assisi in Palma, Mallorca, and took a new first name, Junípero. Already established as a brilliant scholar and orator, Serra was appointed a professor of theology at age 24, and six years later he received a doctorate in philosophy as well as a professorship at the prestigious Lullian University in Palma. Despite his success in the pulpit and as a professor in Spain, he volunteered to serve the Franciscan MISSIONS in the Spanish New World. In 1750 Serra sailed to Vera Cruz, Mexico, then Baja California in New Spain. Upon landing and despite ill health from the voyage, Serra walked 200 miles from Vera Cruz to begin his mission work at the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, near Mexico City. Serra spent the next 17 years involved in mission activities in New Spain, converting NATIVE AMERICANS to Christianity, preaching, and establishing a string of missions in north-central Mexico. Serra also aided in the foundation of Mexico City’s College of San Fernando.

In 1767 the Franciscans were asked to take over the administration of Spanish missions in Alta California following the Jesuit expulsion. In 1769 Serra joined the Gaspar de Portolá expedition to Alta California to found missions at San Diego and Monterey, thereby establishing the Spanish claim to Alta California in the face of competing European powers and converting Native Americans to Christianity. The missions and their Franciscan administrators ushered in many processes enormously destructive to CALIFORNIA INDIANS. Epidemics, poor diet, strenuous work regimens, hostile Spanish soldiers, suppression of indigenous spirituality and social traditions, crowded living conditions, and the destruction of traditional life patterns created a MORTALITY rate of nearly 40 percent at many Alta California missions. Overall, the California Indian population fell by nearly half, from 320,000 to 170,000, during the Spanish occupation.

Serra spent the rest of his life in Alta California overseeing the establishment of eight additional missions along the California coast and more than 6,000 Indian baptisms. He died at the San Carlos Borromeo mission at Carmel, California, in 1784.

**Further reading:** Donna Genet, *Father Junipero Serra: Founder of California Missions* (New York: Enslow, 1996).

—James Jenks

### Seven Years' War (French and Indian War) (1754–1763)

The French and Indian War ensured the dominance of English-speaking peoples over North America and set the stage for the American Revolutionary War (1775–83). At the end of the war France lost all of her lands in present-day Canada to Britain. With the French threat in North America eliminated, Britain and its colonies could wrangle over the nature of the imperial relationship. In addition, many of the men who would later lead the Americans in their struggle against the British, George Washington, Philip Schuyler, and Benjamin Franklin among them, rose to prominence during that conflict.

This war is known by a variety of names, reflecting three increasingly large dimensions of the conflict. As the French and Indian War, it began in 1754 in what is now western PENNSYLVANIA. A VIRGINIA force of some 400 troops under 22-year-old colonel George Washington was defeated and sent home by a French expedition about double its size. Both had arrived to secure the Ohio Valley, but instead of simply considering this one of many border incidents that had troubled colonial relations since the 17th century, the British government, alarmed that the French had constructed a chain of FORTS from Nova Scotia to the Gulf of Mexico since the end of KING GEORGE'S WAR in 1748, decided for the first time to begin a major war over a colonial dispute. In Europe the conflict is known as the Seven Years' War, because more general fighting broke out in 1756 that pitted Britain and Prussia against Russia (until 1762), France, Austria, and (beginning in 1762) Spain. Historian Lawrence Henry Gipson dubbed the conflict "The Great War for Empire" to call attention to the fact that the skirmish fought by Washington mushroomed into a world war fought on every inhabited continent then known, including Asia, Africa, and South America as well as Europe and North America.

The war's first major combat occurred in western Pennsylvania. In 1755 an expedition of more than 2,000 Virginians and British regulars commanded by General EDWARD BRADDOCK was ambushed and annihilated, with a loss of more than 800 of his men and only 39 of the French and Indians, just before it reached its intended goal of Fort Duquesne (present-day Pittsburgh). Pennsylvania, still ruled by the pacifist Quaker faction, had only grudgingly supplied FOOD and wagons to Braddock. NATIVE AMERICANS in western Pennsylvania had been forced off of their lands in the eastern part of the state during the previous 25 years through treaties the colony had negotiated with the IROQUOIS, whom the colony recognized as sovereign in the area. Consequently, following Braddock's defeat, the Indians launched a ferocious series of attacks that forced the line of European settlement eastward about 100 miles, behind the Susquehanna River. Raiding parties

reached the environs of Reading and Bethlehem and came within 30 miles of the port city of PHILADELPHIA.

The British experienced minor victories and major setbacks for two years as they implemented an ambitious plan designed to drive the French from North America once and for all. The British planned to proceed along three fronts toward the center of French power at Quebec: from the west via Forts Duquesne, Niagara, and Oswego; from Louisbourg, the French fort at Cape Breton Island and down the St. Lawrence River from the east; and, after capturing the French Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga), through NEW YORK and up Lakes George and Champlain. However, until 1758, when a large expedition headed by the dying general John Forbes compelled the French to evacuate Fort Duquesne and when Jeffrey Amherst succeeded in conquering Louisbourg, the British enjoyed only minor successes while suffering major disasters. Only the 1755 conquest of Acadia in Nova Scotia—which led to the "ethnic cleansing" of the French ACADIANS ("Cajuns") and their dispersal as far away as LOUISIANA—and the conquest of Kittanning, the main base for Native American attacks in western Pennsylvania, provided relief.

When Sir William Pitt became prime minister in 1757, he realized British forces and resources would be spread thinly throughout the European continent and North America. Thus, he encouraged the raising of royal colonial regiments and funded the various colonies' war efforts to the tune of more than 1 million pounds sterling, perhaps a third of all Britain's expenses. However, the close association of British professional soldiers with colonial volunteers and civilians bred hostility on both sides. The British insisted on subordinating all colonial officers to Europeans, attempted to quarter troops in colonial cities to popular dismay, and, in general, relegated colonial soldiers, whom they treated contemptuously, to garrison duty and support work such as digging trenches. In turn, the colonists considered the British officers impossibly arrogant and their common soldiers badly behaved. The colonists insisted on choosing and following only their own officers and returning home each year to tend their farms and shops. MASSACHUSETTS, which provided the most soldiers—up to 8,000 per year—also was the most rambunctious; its troops mutinied 11 times. Other points of contention included American MERCHANTS trading with the enemy (the French West Indies sugar islands offered high prices for American foodstuffs) and the impressment of American MARINERS into the British navy.

The success of JAMES WOLFE in conquering Quebec in 1759 temporarily eclipsed past misunderstandings. Considered reckless, if not insane, by fellow British officers, Wolfe ascended the St. Lawrence with a force of 4,500 men, who seemed to be helplessly stuck before the high cliffs guarding Quebec. Suffering from DISEASE and fearing the





Montcalm trying to stop Native Americans from attacking British soldiers and civilians as they leave Fort William Henry. Wood engraving by Alfred Bobbett, after a painting of Felix Octavius Carr Darley, published between 1870 and 1880 (*Library of Congress*)

onset of winter, which would trap their ships in the river's ice, Wolfe and his soldiers, in a last-ditch effort, climbed the cliffs and presented themselves on September 12 before the city walls on the Plains of Abraham. Instead of waiting for a relief force that was nearby, the French commander, Marquis de Montcalm, led his approximately equal force out of the city and onto the battlefield. Most of it consisted of poorly disciplined Canadian militia and Indians, no match in the open field for the British, but Montcalm, who had only contempt for Indians and non-professional soldiers, feared his troops would desert unless he fought immediately.

Although victory at Quebec appeared to have secured the British triumph, important operations remained. Amherst conquered Montreal the following year, and Colonel Henry Bouquet, who with Amherst's knowledge distributed SMALLPOX-infected blankets to Native Americans in a primitive version of germ warfare, temporarily pacified the Ohio Valley. The Treaty of Paris (1763), which ended the war, gave Canada and most of the ter-

ritory in North America east of the Mississippi River (except for NEW ORLEANS and a vaguely defined West FLORIDA) to the British. Defying the royal Proclamation of 1763, British colonists poured into the West. Bouquet and the British army were again required, this time to defeat what has been called PONTIAC'S REBELLION (1763–65). It was actually a great intersocietal rebellion of Native Americans who increasingly were acquiring a common identity, even as white people were defining them collectively as racially inferior, suitable only for extermination or removal.

The futile British effort to curtail westward settlement was only one of many policies that made the Seven Years' War the necessary, if not sufficient, prelude to the American Revolution. Efforts to eliminate illegal trade with the West Indies, from which major American merchants such as John Hancock prospered, stemmed from British anger at colonial trading with the enemy during war and the avoidance of taxes through SMUGGLING. The Stamp Act of 1765 was designed in part so Americans might at least pay the

ongoing expenses of the garrisons that Britain was planning for the frontier to prevent future Indian wars.

Perhaps most important, the war ended with two proud and confident victors who had vastly different conceptions of the BRITISH EMPIRE. Convinced that European Britons alone had won the war, the mother country put forth the novel theory that Parliament was sovereign and all colonial legislatures merely subordinate bodies. Pointing to their own substantial efforts during the war, the colonies rejoiced in an empire whose prime virtue was to protect the right to self-government that they had traditionally enjoyed, subject to a vague and loosely enforced British authority. As Britain rejoiced in becoming the world's greatest power, Americans looked forward to a destiny in which their population would continue to grow by leaps and bounds, and they would expand, as a people chosen by their Protestant God, throughout the continent. However, another world war, which developed out of the American Revolution, was required to decide which vision would prevail.

**Further reading:** Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years War and the Fate of the British Empire in North America, 1754–1766* (New York: Knopf, 2000).

—William Pencak

**Sewall, Samuel** (1652–1730) *lawyer, judge, writer, government official*

Puritan, magistrate, diarist, and jurist, Samuel Sewall presents the most complete historical portrait of a MASSACHUSETTS Puritan. Sewall was born in England in 1652 and immigrated with his family to Massachusetts in 1661. He attended HARVARD COLLEGE, class of 1671, and prepared for the ministry. His marriage to Hannah Hull, the daughter of wealthy merchant John Hull, provided a large enough dowry for Sewall to embark on a career in trade. He served several governmental offices. In 1692 he was named to the Salem Court of Oyer and Terminer to judge those accused of WITCHCRAFT, and he was appointed later that year as an associate justice of the Massachusetts Superior Court of Judicature. He served as chief justice of the court from 1718 to 1728 and as a member of the Massachusetts Provincial Council from 1691 to 1725.

Sewall's humanity comes across clearly through his writings. His diary is an encyclopedic account of BOSTON, of Massachusetts, and its people from 1676 to 1728. The diary records everything through Sewall's Puritan eyes: the righteous anger of God at his people during KING PHILIP'S WAR, his sometimes stormy friendships with INCREASE MATHER and COTTON MATHER, his large extended circle of family and friends (their births, marriages, and deaths), and even his old-age indignation at seeing young gentlemen in Boston wearing fashionable wigs. Sewall had a pro-

nounced sense of compassion. He was the only judge of the Salem witches who publicly recanted his judgments and accepted guilt for sending them to their deaths. Sewall stood in front of the congregation of Boston's Old South Church in 1697 while the minister read aloud a prepared statement of repentance.

Sewall also wrote the first antislavery tract in American history, occasioned by "The Numerousness of Slaves at this day in the Province, and the Uneasiness of them under their Slavery." *The Selling of Joseph* was published as a pamphlet in 1700 and decried the practice of importing Africans to America as unlawful and immoral, likening it to the Biblical story of Joseph being sold into slavery in Egypt by his brothers. "It is certain," Sewall wrote, "that all men, as they are the Sons of Adam, are Coheirs; and have equal right unto Liberty, and all other outward Comforts of Life."

**Further reading:** M. Halsey Thomas, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall 1674–1729* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1973).

—Stephen C. O'Neill

## shamans

The term *shaman* traces its origin to Siberia, where the term describes individuals who cure people of illnesses and have some type of contact with the spiritual or metaphysical world. In North America anthropologists have adopted the term to refer to Native American healers and religious figures from many diverse nations, even when the shaman might play a different role in each society or derive his or her power from a different source. In most tribes a shaman was a religious figure who had the ability to cure illnesses using local flora, through rituals, or by properly interpreting a dream or vision. In some tribes the shaman was distinctly different from political or military figures, while in others political and spiritual power might be unified in one individual. Among the IROQUOIS individuals belonged to a particular MEDICINE society, each of which held certain sacred songs. By the 16th and 17th centuries these societies also used a variety of masks in healing ceremonies, which were in high demand due to the numerous European diseases that spread through Indian communities. Shamans, healers, and medicine societies were tested during the period of colonialism due to the epidemics, against which traditional medicines and rituals seemed ineffective.

Shamans were frequently the objects of derision by Christian missionaries, who often saw the shaman as an impediment to conversion at best and a helper of Satan at worst. When a shaman's power was undermined by his or her inability to cure, a Christian missionary might provide an alternative form of medicine or spiritual power. Indeed,



many Indian people turned to missionaries and Christianity only after their traditional shamans seemed to have lost their power.

Shamans remain part of many traditional Native American cultures, existing where Native languages and traditions are still vibrant. New Age religionists sometimes claim powers based on supposed Native descent, although these claimants are more closely related to palm readers and fortune-tellers than to the traditions of any Native American culture.

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—Thomas J. Lappas and Marshall Joseph Becker

### shipbuilding

The tall trees of the New England coast provided English colonists with their most valuable resource (after codfish) and the raw materials for the entire shipbuilding industry. A fleet of vessels was a necessity for the colonists to conduct regular transportation and trade with England and with other colonies. It was the one colonial industry that British officials never sought to regulate because ships were always required, especially in time of war, when the merchant fleet suffered losses by the enemy. Ships built and owned by colonial MERCHANTS also allowed them closer control over their commerce without being dependent on ships and merchants in the mother country.

Colonial shipbuilding began in MASSACHUSETTS in the 1640s, where there was the need, the resources, and a growing merchant community. Throughout the colonial period Massachusetts remained the center of shipbuilding activity, taking the early lead in volume of construction. Before the Revolution Massachusetts-made ships accounted for one-third of all American-built vessels. The most important shipyards clustered around BOSTON and along the Merrimack and North Rivers. The industry expanded along the coast of MAINE (then part of Massachusetts) and to other New England colonies. Ships made in Maine, Massachusetts, and CONNECTICUT ranged from small coastal sloops to larger oceangoing ships, characterized by sound design and solid construction.

Shipbuilding centers developed in other colonies during the early 18th century. PHILADELPHIA, soon after its founding, fostered the industry by welcoming shipbuilders. The Chesapeake region and SOUTH CAROLINA developed their own shipbuilding industry, albeit on a much smaller scale. Throughout the colonies shipbuilding added diversity to local business ventures, such as supplementing the

TOBACCO trade in the Chesapeake area. Shipbuilding also contributed to the development of direct commerce with Europe, AFRICA, and the West Indies.

Shipbuilding employed hundreds of shipwrights and laborers, who often faced difficult and sometimes dangerous working conditions. They usually worked seasonally. Master shipwrights could become wealthy, while lesser-skilled ARTISANS and laborers sometimes struggled to eke out an existence.

**Further reading:** Joseph A. Goldenburg, *Shipbuilding in Colonial America* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976).

—Stephen C. O'Neill

### Shippen, William, Jr. (1736–1808) doctor

Son of William Shippen, Sr., a respected PHILADELPHIA physician and member of the Continental Congress, William was born in Philadelphia in 1736. He graduated from PRINCETON COLLEGE with highest honors in 1754 and began his medical studies immediately, first with his father, then in London and at the University of Edinburgh. After receiving his M.D. in 1761, Shippen spent six more months studying in Paris. While abroad he married Alice Lee, sister of Richard Henry Lee, future VIRGINIA delegate to the Continental Congress.

Upon returning to Philadelphia in 1762, Shippen began the first anatomy lectures and anatomy school in North America. Here, he added the dissection of human bodies to the traditional pictures and casts used for educational purposes, despite the sometimes violent protests of Philadelphians. When the medical school opened at the University of Pennsylvania, he became its first professor of anatomy and surgery and later taught midwifery to both medical students and women training as MIDWIVES. Shippen was also a founding member of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, an attending physician at the Pennsylvania Hospital, and an active member of the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY for many years.

During the Revolutionary War Shippen served the Continental army in several medically related capacities. Congress accepted his plans for the reorganization of the hospital department, appointing him director general of military hospitals in 1777, a position he held until January 3, 1781. Although later court-martialed for suspected financial irregularities while serving in the army, he was exonerated.

While studying MEDICINE in Europe, Shippen realized the need for a medical school in America. His long career as a medical educator brought him recognition in both America and Europe. He died in Philadelphia in 1808.

—Anita DeClue

### slave codes

SLAVERY preceded the emergence of slave codes in colonial North America. Initially, African-American workers' legal status was often ambiguous. Some were held in lifelong slavery, others were treated as indentured servants, and some acquired freedom through manumission or self-purchase. The earliest known reference to lifelong, hereditary black slavery occurs not in a law but in a 1640 VIRGINIA court decision. This indicates that colonial courts enforced local customs regarding African-American slavery before slavery was enshrined in law.

Slave codes developed haphazardly in the second half of the 17th century as the number of African and African-American workers in the American colonies grew. Slaves' activities were restricted: They were forbidden to carry guns, possess liquor, or own property. At the same time, lawmakers closed off possible avenues to freedom by legislating that conversion to Christianity did not justify manumission and that children followed the status of their mother. Laws against MISCEGENATION and interracial marriage separated the social worlds of African-American slaves and poor white settlers and put a premium on "whiteness." The southern gentry used slave laws as tools for social control; legislators aimed not only to restrict the movements of slaves but also to discourage poor white people from associating with them, lest the two groups cooperate in property crimes or political rebellion.

In 1705 the Virginia legislature codified several decades of legislation pertaining to slaves into a single, massive slave code. Other southern colonial legislatures used the Virginia code and, later, the SOUTH CAROLINA code as models for their own slave codes. (The northern colonies, which were less dependent on slavery, seldom codified their scattered slave legislation into formal slave codes.) Slave codes not only restricted slaves' economic and social activities but also defined their relationship to the law; slaves were generally forbidden to testify under oath and were subject to the death penalty for many offenses that were not capital crimes when committed by whites. Colonial legislatures often revised slave codes as social and political conditions changed. The South Carolina assembly, for example, issued a revised slave code in the wake of the STONO REBELLION of 1739.

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—Darcy R. Fryer

### slave resistance

During the 17th and 18th centuries the emergence of SLAVERY as a legalized institution created a violent system of forced LABOR that spurred the social, economic, and political development of British North America. From the point of their enslavement, when they became property, to their life of endless labor throughout North America's plantations, cities, and farms, slaves did not passively accept their fate. African resistance to slavery by men and women of all ages occurred in a variety of aggressive and subtle ways. Through resistance, bondpeople played a significant role in negotiating the relationship between master and slave.

One of the initial ways that slaves resisted their enslavement occurred after they boarded the slave ships off the West African coast. The majority of ship revolts occurred at the beginning of the transatlantic crossing. At this early stage of the Middle Passage—the voyage of slaves from West AFRICA to the Americas—the coastline remained visible, inspiring some slaves to hope that a successful uprising would enable them to return home. Once the coastline disappeared, insurrections were less common because Africans were chained in the hold, and few had any knowledge about operating European-designed vessels. Even if they killed the crew, where could they go and how would they get there? While most ship revolts were not successful, they greatly worried ship captains and crew, who often used brutal measures to control their human cargo.

Africans continued to resist after arriving in the New World. Open revolt was extremely risky because white people responded immediately and brutally. All slave uprisings on the mainland North American continent ended in the death of rebels and sometimes their family and friends as well. Revolt often constituted an act of desperation, when no other solution seemed available and when a chance of success might be possible. Recently arrived Africans were most likely to resist slavery openly, although this does not mean that seasoned, CREOLE, or American-born slaves passively accepted their position. Most major slave revolts between 1585 and 1763 occurred in the West Indies and in Central and South America, in areas where black people significantly outnumbered white people and where distinct geographical features offered a possibility of success. These conditions existed more rarely in British North America, although slave revolts occurred there as well.

In 1712 a group of approximately 20 slaves and fellow conspirators started a fire in NEW YORK CITY, then waited to ambush the arriving firefighters. Their attack killed nine white people and injured others, but the revolt was quickly quashed. White people engaged in brutal retributions. Local authorities arrested 70 people for their alleged roles in the revolt. Twenty-five slaves were found guilty: 13 were taken to the gallows, six committed suicide before



their sentences could be carried out, one starved to death, three were burned at the stake, and one was broken on the wheel. The colony of NEW YORK responded by legislating a very harsh slave code rivaling that of the southern colonies.

In 1739 along the Stono River in SOUTH CAROLINA, the most famous of America's pre-19th-century slave revolts occurred—the STONO REBELLION. A group of 20 slaves forcibly obtained arms and ammunition in the hopes of fleeing to Spanish FLORIDA. One motivation behind this centered on the Spanish king's 1733 declaration making Florida a refuge for runaway slaves. As the slaves started their journey, they attacked, plundered, and burned plantations while killing all the white people they encountered. They also recruited slaves to join them. They were soon engaged by a combination of South Carolinian militia and NATIVE AMERICANS who, because of their superior numbers and firepower, effectively ended the revolt by killing 30 slaves. The colony of South Carolina, greatly fearful that other revolts would follow, prohibited further slave imports and worked to greatly restrict the movement and interaction of slaves.

While slaves initiated the 1712 New York and 1739 Stono rebellions, the NEGRO PLOT OF 1741 in New York City illustrated growing racial and CLASS tensions. In New York, PHILADELPHIA, and other urban areas where masters owned and used slaves, extensive interaction occurred among slaves, indentured servants, and the developing white urban working class. The Negro Plot of 1741 involved not only slaves resisting a system that restricted their freedom as humans, but also the growing economic discrepancies between rich and poor. The plot began when Quack, a slave, was roughly refused entrance into the governor's home to see his wife, a slave cook. Quack, angered by the events that had occurred, went to Hughson's, a tavern frequented by slaves, indentured servants, and members of the working class, to vent his frustrations. Quack soon returned to the governor's home, but rather than visiting his wife he started a fire. As the blaze grew, it threatened the town; soon after, other fires burned throughout the city, causing the free citizens to believe that a slave conspiracy existed. Mobs quickly started to round up slaves, who were tried for conspiracy. In the end, punishments included hanging 17 black people and burning another 13 at the stake; four white people were sent to the gallows for their role in the conspiracy. Another 72 people were banished from the city.

While rebellions constituted the most concerted resistance against the institution of slavery, escape occurred on a continual basis and clearly demonstrated the desire of African slaves to resist bondage. Fleeing was less violent than open rebellion, and the punishment less harsh,

even though it was still an activity that undermined the slave system. Among the problems for fugitive slaves was where they could flee to safety because the British colonies all endorsed slavery. In the 17th century some slaves fled to the frontier, although they met with a mixed reception from Native Americans. A few, especially in Florida, found refuge among Indians.

In the 18th century slaves born in North America, capable of speaking English and understanding Euro-American culture, were more likely than new arrivals to take to their heels. These fugitives often possessed the knowledge of where to go and how to get there. The group of slaves best able to disappear from the plantation or their master were those who already possessed or had acquired specialized skills, such as being a smith, which allowed them more easily to find employment in a new location. Cities, especially Philadelphia, New York, and CHARLESTON, were magnets for runaways seeking to blend into a relatively large free and slave population, where they might carve out new lives. Another option for runaway slaves was to escape North America altogether by going to sea as MARINERS. African and African-American "Black Jacks" thus traveled throughout the Atlantic world, and, as the Atlantic ECONOMY developed, an ever increasing number of sailors were needed.

While revolts and flight constituted visible signs of the determination and desire of slaves to resist their enslavement, bondpeople also engaged in more subtle forms of rebellion. Many masters complained of the "laziness" of their slaves, not realizing that their bondpeople were passively resisting their own exploitation. When slaves refused to work, or worked as little as possible, they hindered their master's ability to profit from their labor. In the same vein, slaves also broke tools, hoed plants instead of weeds, harmed domesticated ANIMALS, destroyed crops, burnt buildings, and stole food, liquor, and other commodities from their masters. These subtle forms of resistance decreased the efficiency and profitability of bondage and provided slaves with power to negotiate their relationship with their owner.

Slaves were not passive pawns who humbly accepted their enslavement. Instead, they employed various forms of resistance, from violent uprisings to nonviolent covert work slowdowns. While the threat of ship revolts and slave rebellions struck fear in the hearts of slave owners, more effective forms of resistance sometimes involved the everyday defiance of slavery.

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—Ty M. Reese

## **slavery**

Slavery was the most exploitative and one of the most common forms of **LABOR** in the New World. Slavery was legal and prevalent throughout all the colonies in North and South America. It was based on a legal definition of a race of slaves, whose status was inherited solely by descent from their mothers and whose lives were subject to special laws or **SLAVE CODES**, concerning chattel property and the treatment of slaves by masters. Slaves were considered property rather than citizens, possessed virtually no legal rights, could not own property, and were subject to severe corporal and psychological punishments. African slavery on plantations, the dominant form, was adopted by various European colonizers of the West Indies in the 17th century to produce export crops. The Tidewater planters of the Chesapeake area colonies and Lower South imitated them and created slave societies by 1700, although the resulting social structure was quite different than in the West Indies. Slaves could outnumber whites by 10 times or more in the islands in the 18th century, but they composed only about two-fifths of the population of the southern colonies by 1776.

A slave society was defined as one in which a planter **CLASS** depended primarily on slave labor for basic production, and the entire social structure was oriented to keeping slaves in their place. It comprised two interlocking social formations: The slaves had a social life and maintained cultural ways in their quarters somewhat apart from the whites' dominant culture, but neither side was free of the influence of the other, and together they created a creolized society. All colonies in the Americas had at least some black and a few Indian slaves. They were not all slave societies, however, which were found only in certain geographic areas in some colonies by 1763. Slave societies existed in enclaves on the Atlantic coast of Brazil; the richest West Indian islands, especially the former Spanish possessions of English Jamaica and French Saint-Domingue; the coastal portions of southern continental colonies from **GEORGIA** to **DELAWARE**; the isolated **NEW ORLEANS** Parish in French **LOUISIANA**; and certain small areas in **NEW JERSEY** and **RHODE ISLAND**.

Ancient empires from the Sumerian to the Egyptian included slaves, but the capture of large numbers of "barbarians" enabled the ancient Greeks and Romans to create true slave societies, with many small slaveholders and some giant slave latifundia. Aristotle described his society

as composed of a small group of natural masters, a poor majority of Greek men who owned no slaves, and a mass of slaves not fit to be citizens. Estimates are that the slaves of Greece at its height formed a third of the population. The final step in the development of ancient slavery was the codification of the law of slavery, carried out by the Christian Roman emperors.

Ancient slavery began to decline into tenantry and serfdom in the later Roman Empire, but some slaves existed in continental Europe in feudal times until the 15th century, most of European birth, many of them Slavs—thus our word *slave*. They were most numerous in certain towns in Italy and Spain. Vikings and Englishmen also carried on a trade in Irish slaves in medieval times. Then the Portuguese opened up the transoceanic African slave trade, importing the first large cargo of Africans to Lisbon in 1441. The best customers during the first century were Europeans, who had imported 275,000 slaves from Africa by 1600.

The African slave trade opened up the possibility of more structured racial slavery than in the past because of the separation of Africans from their homes and allies by an ocean. By contrast with ancient times, in Europe and the American colonies slavery could be defined racially as "black" and as an indefinitely inheritable status. The Spanish and Portuguese established the special status of black slaves in the Americas. They forcibly moved about 184,000 of them across the Atlantic between 1521 and 1640 to serve as a labor force working to produce staples in the New World. The sugar plantation district in Portuguese Brazil became the largest slave society in the world by 1763 and contained a population of 2,061,532 in 1800, with bondpeople constituting three-fourths of the total population in core regions. By contrast, the great period of Spanish colonial slavery did not begin until after 1763, the year reforms were initiated in Cuba that would make it a large slave society producing sugar to rival Brazil and Saint Domingue.

The vast majority of the some 11 million slaves brought to the New World during the era of the slave trade (the 15th through the 19th centuries) were carried to the Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, and Dutch colonies in the West Indies and South America. About 427,000 (or 4.5 percent of the total) arrived in the 13 North American colonies and the United States before prohibition of the African slave trade by the federal government in 1808. In 1763 more than 200,000 slaves had already been imported into the thirteen colonies.

The purpose of slavery was to gain profits for masters from the production of staples for export such as **TOBACCO**, rice, and **INDIGO**. It resulted in part from the planters' desire to replace or reduce their dependence on white indentured labor. In all North American colonies except in New England after 1660, British indentured servants were a principal component of the labor supply, but exploitation

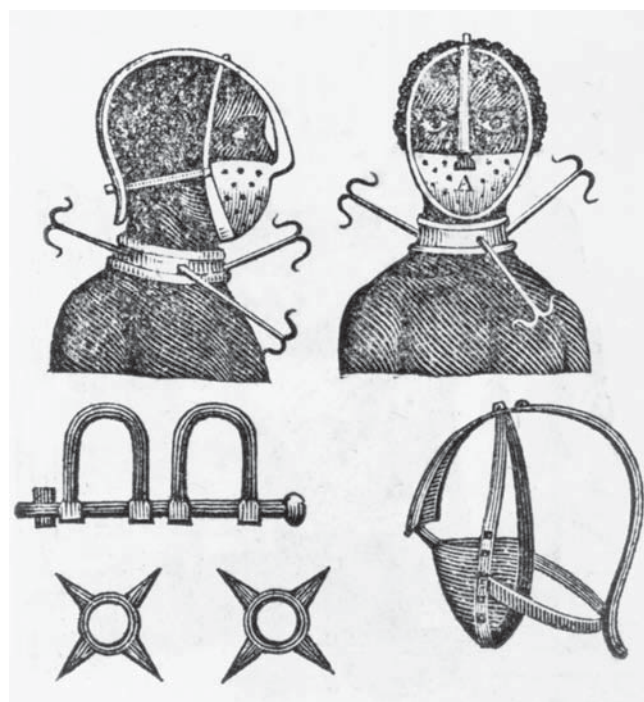
of them was limited in important ways. Indentured servants could not be reduced to slavery. Those who survived their servitude became free; some escaped their contracts and joined neighboring white societies; all were likely, once free, to be turbulently opposed to the restrictive land policies of the Tidewater planters. So eager were they for labor that the planters likely would have reduced white peoples to slavery, but English law, politics in Britain, and the class menace in the colonies represented by white indentured servants led planters to prefer exploiting a race of black slaves. The indentured continued to arrive until the 19th century, but black slaves became the dominant form of labor in the Tidewater region of the South, growing especially numerous during the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

At the time of English arrival in North America, some Native Americans owned a small number of Indian slaves who were neither regarded as a separate race nor intended to labor for their owners' profits. Their children might become respected members of the tribe. In England slavery was not sanctioned by law, nor did it exist there as a social condition. In the New World, however, British colonists, in part from observing slave societies in South America, simply assumed that dark-skinned heathens could be reduced to slaves. British colonists enslaved Indians, especially in the South, but their efforts mostly failed because Indians could too easily escape into neighboring Native societies, because the process of capturing Indian slaves often incited wars, and because Indians were more susceptible than were Africans to European diseases. Colonists in all English colonies enslaved some Indians, mainly to export them for sale in the West Indies. At the time when the SOUTH CAROLINA low country became a black slave society (1708), Indian slavery probably reached its peak, when 1,400 Indians constituted nearly a quarter of the slave force; they were mainly women and children because most men were exported for sale in the islands.

Africans became the preferred choice of white planters in the late 17th century for five major reasons. First, the color of Africans made them easier to identify and control, and the entire white population was supposed to police black Africans to minimize their resistance. Second, AFRICA was somewhat outside Europe's ECONOMY, so European slave traders could purchase and export many members of its workforce without concern about the consequences. Third, the supply of indentured servants from Great Britain declined at the end of the 17th century, just when the ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY began making many more Africans available for sale to Americans. Fourth, some Africans enjoyed partial immunity to malaria, a major scourge of the southern colonies, so they were somewhat less likely to die during the dangerous "seasoning" of people arriving in the New World. Finally, unlike Britons, Africans

were familiar with the cultivation of some of the principal export crops in the New World because they were also grown in Africa; they were also familiar with intensive hoe AGRICULTURE. In short, imported Africans offered planters several distinct advantages over indentured Britons: They could be defined as slaves by color and better policed, separated from their homeland, obtained in more steady supply, invested in with less risk, and exploited more profitably because of their superior agricultural skills.

Black slaves were available for sale in Africa because human bondage already existed there, although in a much different form than it was to assume in North America. African masters initially sold war captives, surplus laborers, and unruly slaves (mainly men) to passing traders. Not consciously part of the Atlantic slave trade, masters eventually funneled exiles into a network leading to coastal slave trading posts dominated by the various European powers. Over time a number of free Africans were also kidnapped into slavery, like the famous writer and abolitionist Olaudah Equiano (1745–97), son of a substantial West African slaveholder, kidnapped from his house and reduced to slavery in Virginia in about 1757. He compared African to American slavery in his 1789 autobiography, noting that in Africa masters and slaves performed similar work and a master's



This engraving depicts an iron mask and collar used by some slaveholders to keep field workers from running away and to prevent them from eating crops such as sugarcane. (*Library of Congress*)

authority was no greater than that “which the head of a family possesses” among free people. Moreover, slavery in Africa was not racial and not regarded as indefinitely inheritable; it often permitted certain astute slaves considerable authority in African societies where property relations were most highly developed.

Scholars have debated the proposition that anti-black British cultural attitudes made Anglo-Americans look with special racial contempt on Africans—that is, that racism caused slavery. The other side in this debate insists that racism was primarily the result of slavery, that to satisfy their demand for labor planters would have enslaved white workers if they could, with no racial rationale. The basic decisions that led to a huge growth in the trade during the 18th century arose from shrewd investment in the best skilled workers available. English colonists simply assumed that blacks were slaves, as they had been in Latin American colonies for a century before the first cargo arrived—in Virginia in 1619—and gradually colonial assemblies passed laws to clarify the status of slaves as necessary. Christians were presumptively free, so an important law was to exempt slaves from the moral right to claim freedom if they converted to Christianity. Before any slave laws were passed in a colony, however, slaves existed as a minority of the population, even in the absence of laws. Racial ideas served primarily to justify black slavery after the fact.

Africans came from very diverse cultural origins. Over time the focus of the slave trade shifted steadily from West Africa to Central Africa. Hence every society in America had a special mix of African cultural influences, depending on when the slaves were imported, the nationality of the slave trader, specific tastes of planters for slaves of particular ethnic groups, and historical conditions in Africa. Most slaves imported to North America came directly from Africa or following brief stops on West Indian islands before transshipment to the mainland. The slave populations of the northern colonies were exceptions, composed primarily of West Indians carried to the continent and sold by their owners. In the South most slaves arrived directly from Africa. In North American slave societies slaves became self-reproducing populations by the middle of the 18th century, whereas they succumbed more readily to epidemic diseases in those places where the slave trade was more active and the DISEASE mix more dangerous, like the West Indies. By 1700 slave culture was a syncretic African mix created out of what they brought with them. By 1763, however, strong African culture remained among the newly arrived and older slaves, while a CREOLE (meaning born in America) population was creating new African-American cultural traditions. The latter were oriented primarily to their need to resist the unnatural human power relation by which masters degraded them.

Individual slave societies varied widely, shaped by a number of factors: the ratio of slaves to the white population; the GENDER ratio among slaves; the percentage of African-born and Creoles among slaves; the concentration of slaveholding as measured by the average plantation size; local environmental conditions; the degree of planter absenteeism; the degree of inequality among planters; the work regime based on the specific local export crop(s); the commercial wealth of the local Atlantic port; and the specific historical era in the imperial contest to control transatlantic commerce. Even so, generalizations about slave societies are possible. In comparison to West Indian and Brazilian societies, slave populations in British North America were relatively smaller; their gender ratio became more balanced over time; Creolization produced by natural reproduction was greater; slaveholding was less concentrated; natural provisions and cultivated foods were more abundant (enough to ship a surplus to the islands); the rate of planter absenteeism was much lower; while the “gang system” of labor prevailed in the Chesapeake area, similar to the islands, the individual “task system” characterized the Lower South; Atlantic ports were smaller and less rich than Caribbean ports; and slave populations increased later in North America and at a slower rate than in the islands. African slaves were abundantly available in English colonies in this era—if not cheap at £25–35—but North American planters had a financial motive to extend the value of their investments by encouraging the slave population to reproduce naturally by making them somewhat more comfortable in their daily conditions of life.

In all slave societies Africans recovered from the shock of the slave trade and attempted to form their own communities, but knowledge about the development of many of their intimate social relations in the slave quarters is limited by lack of evidence. The slave community, or “quarter,” was usually based on the family unless planters deliberately created situations in which conjugal families could not develop. An unbalanced sex distribution existed to a pronounced degree in the early period, but by the early 1700s women slaves were sufficiently numerous for many families to form in most locations in North America. Extensive kinship ties within and between plantations developed, with many of the rights and obligations of kinship that were typical of Africa, as revealed in naming practices. Contrary to an older impressionistic view of chaotic family relations in the quarters, most slave families had two parental heads and were knit into extended networks for mutual support.

Slaves created their own rules of behavior and social status based on standards similar to those in free society. Although their homes and garden plots belonged to the master, slaves tended to become proprietorial about them. Slave societies established parallel cash economies by which some slaves could accumulate money, either by



working for the master or someone else on the free day, Sunday, or by selling on the local domestic market the agricultural and artisanal produce of the soil, forests, and waterways. Masters and other whites purchased most of the pigs and fowls raised by slaves in their patches, the fish they caught, and the firewood and other items they gathered in their free time. As a result slaves might hold a significant portion of the local circulating currency in their possession. Slaves who engaged in local market activities were also more likely to come in contact with white people other than the master and his family. All of these status markers or networking advantages may have strongly affected individual slave status in the quarter. In rare cases it was the key to liberation because individual slaves tried to buy themselves when they had the money, a practice approved by some masters. Probably most slaves who were manumitted somehow earned it. By 1763, moreover, in some places the number of free blacks was becoming sufficient to enlarge their local population mainly by marriage and reproduction. The growth of this additional social layer must have enriched and complicated matters in the slave quarters where relatives of free blacks lived. An individual slave's status began with sex and age, became more specific based on the strength of a kinship network, but could also be shaped by customary relationships with the master and his family, other white people, free blacks, and Native Americans and may well have reflected personal wealth as well.

Cultural factors played an important role in the creation of African-American communities, although they are less useful in comparative analysis because of their variability, instability, and poor documentation. The syncretization of religious beliefs, languages, and productive arts by individuals from a variety of African backgrounds into something African American demonstrates the extraordinary adaptive capacity of human culture and its potential to facilitate rational social relations even in the worst circumstances. Incessant and rapid cultural change provided individual slaves an opportunity to create a flexible cultural matrix in which to fashion a parallel society in the slave quarter, the community that enabled slaves to resist complete dehumanization. They did this in part by adapting elements of European culture to their own needs, in particular the English language they soon learned, into which they introduced many African words, meanings, speech patterns, and subversive intonations. Blacks also imported an abundance of medical lore, music, agricultural knowledge, and other elements that had great and lasting effect on the larger American culture.

One older historical interpretation indicates that slavery was most dehumanizing in English and Dutch slave societies, least so in Spanish and Portuguese slave societies, and somewhat in between in French plantation colonies.

That model relied on comparing laws, the size of free black populations, and religious opportunities. Recently, historians have shown that slave laws and manumission rates were approximately the same in all the colonies before 1763; instead, the nature of slave religion is now playing an especially large role in debate. Roman Catholic priests routinely baptized virtually all slaves in Latin America and in the FRENCH COLONIES, perhaps following the basic catechism, perhaps not, depending on the volume of the slave trade. Beyond that, planters resisted further interference by clergy in their slave quarters, although slaves were usually permitted to attend church services. By contrast, Protestant clergy were more reluctant to baptize slaves, and masters in Protestant colonies were just as resistant as were Catholic masters to thorough Christianization of their slaves and equally fearful that it made them proud and rebellious.

A few historians have emphasized that some slaves in British North America responded along with many free people to the emotion-charged evangelism of the GREAT AWAKENING in the 1740s and 1750s. Others emphasize the continuing primary influence of African religious beliefs, at least in regions like Georgia's rice coast. Another view holds that the planters' policy was both to suppress African beliefs and practices and to prevent Christianization, so that by 1763 slaves were experiencing a religious "holocaust."

A final sociocultural factor that is still little understood and affects comparative analysis is the degree of racial intermixture in a given slave society. People of mixed racial parentage were called mulattoes disparagingly, and North American laws decreed banishment, imprisonment, or stiff fines for racial intermarriage, making the practice rare. The older cultural model holds that this pattern of hostility to racial intermixture and manumission was uniquely characteristic of the English and Dutch, but recent scholarship suggests that these policies were much the same in French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies.

In 1763 the potential of the plantation slave system to spread in North America was limited only by the royal Proclamation of 1763 prohibiting colonial expansion beyond a line marked out along the Appalachian Mountain system and by the potential rebelliousness of the slaves. Many recent historians have described a slave culture deeply imbued with traditions of resistance to dehumanization. The power of masters, although decisive in the end, was limited by slave sabotage and rebellion. The 1720s and 1730s saw considerable plotting or outright rebellion. White South Carolina was terrified by the STONO REBELLION of 1739. Convinced that they had enough slaves by midcentury, the Tidewater planters frequently tried to limit the African slave trade because they saw it as a source of social unrest, but they were opposed by many young white men without slaves, who formed the majority

of free people in all the colonies. Slavery in the southern colonies was depleting the soils in the coastal regions, and it was producing ambitious sons and daughters of slaveowners who were determined to develop the rich soils of the North American interior beyond the mountains. The Crown was of two incompatible minds, eager to protect the fur-producing areas west of the Proclamation Line but now increasingly dependent on the royal revenues arising from the slave trade itself and from slave-produced export staples. The final settlement of this issue would come with the War for Independence, for the slave system expanded into many new regions and created new states beyond the mountains after 1776.

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—Thomas N. Ingersoll

**slaves** See AFRICAN AMERICANS; SLAVERY.

### slave trade

The transatlantic slave trade contributed immense wealth to the development of European states and their colonies, and it hardened the negative racial attitudes toward people of African ancestry, many of which endure to this day. The slave trade between Europe and AFRICA arose when it became clear that neither whites nor NATIVE AMERICANS would suffice as unfree laborers in the New World. This ensured that millions of Africans would be enslaved, and that they would be greatly responsible for building the colonies and securing the wealth accumulated by American MERCHANTS, planters, and politicians.

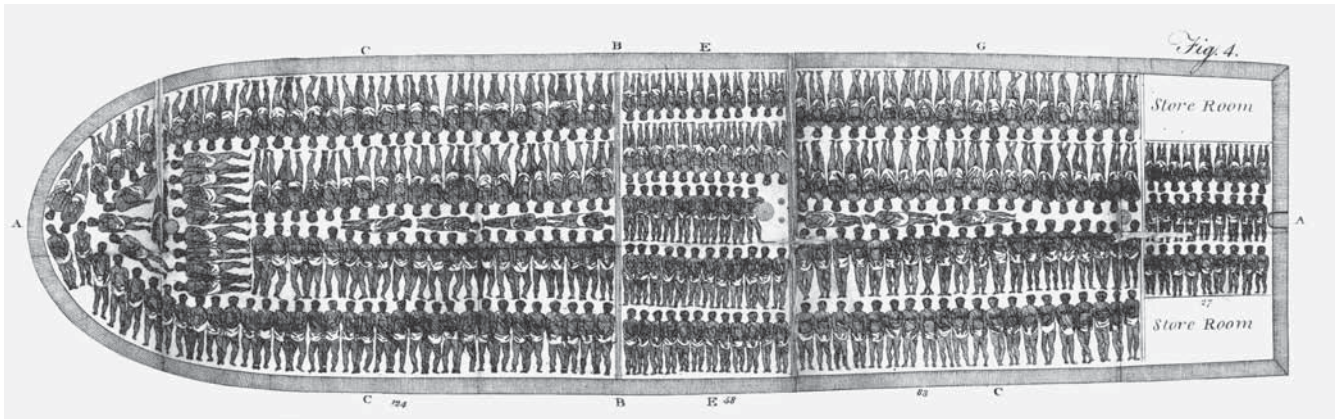
The slave trade was a multifaceted process through which groups of African people were captured or bought, marched to the west coast, and imprisoned in FORTS. There they were forced to await the arrival of ships, in the holds of which they would be involuntarily transported, first to

Europe between 1451 and 1575, and later, between 1526 and 1888, to the Americas and Caribbean. Historians disagree about the aggregate number of Africans transported across the Atlantic. Their estimates range between 11 and 20 million people, with females comprising roughly a third of the total. Generally, captives came primarily from the western areas of Africa, from Angola in the south to Senegal in the north as well as from the west and west-central interior. Farmers and herders, fishermen and women, blacksmiths, weavers, potters, traders, artisans, artists, and religious figures were among the millions stolen from their homes. Recently, historians have begun to more closely examine and refine the numbers of Africans transported, Africans' ideas about gender, gender breakdown, and the regions from which the captives came.

The slave trade was an international enterprise, with Portugal, Spain, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, and England all carrying Africans to the Western Hemisphere. It began in the 1440s, well before the British North American colonies were established, and ended more than 400 years later, long after their independence. Portugal and Spain dominated the trade initially, but after 1670 England transported the largest number of Africans to the Western Hemisphere. The North American colonies received the smallest number of captives directly from Africa. Between 1601 and 1775, according to calculations by David Eltis, 263,200 Africans were transported to the British North American colonies. The vast majority of captives arrived in the CARIBBEAN, Spanish America, and Brazil during these years. The 1619 arrival of 20 Africans at JAMESTOWN, Virginia, is a useful example illustrating the slave trade's international character. The Africans had Spanish given names and were sold to the English colony by a Dutch trader. This transaction marked the introduction of the international slave trade to mainland British North America.

Although the largest number of captives transported to North America during the colonial era arrived in MARYLAND and Virginia, all British colonies participated in the slave trade. By 1700 North American colonists were fully involved in and profiting from the slave trade, which, according to W.E.B. DuBois, "was the very life of the colonies" and had "become an almost unquestioned axiom in British practical economics." New England shipbuilders, mid-Atlantic merchants, and southern planters transported, sold, and bought the African captives.

Often the slave trade is described as a triangle, the sides of which linked Europe, Africa, and the colonies of the Western Hemisphere. This static spatial description, however, fails to capture the complex interactions and negotiations that changed over time. Initially, European merchants financed voyages by investing in and outfitting ships, paying mariners who sailed to the African continent



This diagram, which shows a hold literally packed with human beings, gives some idea of conditions aboard a slave ship. (Library of Congress)

with merchandise such as liquor, cloth, beads, iron, and guns to exchange for human beings. Many captives were transported from inland to be sold on the coast. Prudent captors moved prisoners rapidly and sold them quickly if there were no compelling demands for their labor. Even if there was a great need for labor, it was often advantageous to sell local captives and buy slaves from some distance away. Either trade or raid would bring together individuals, otherwise unknown to each other, who would be forcibly removed from their homes, families, and ancestors.

Another method of acquiring captives resulted from trade organized by African elites, merchants, and warlords, although historians disagree about the extent to which Africans were fully aware of the likely fate of those they sold overseas. For example, in 1700 the Asante state in modern Ghana began supplying slaves to traders in exchange for firearms, a practice that continued into the 19th century. On the other hand, some African states refused to participate in the nefarious practice. In 1516 the Kingdom of Benin prohibited the export of all male slaves, a ban that continued until the 18th century. One African captive, Ottobah Cuguanu from the Fante nation, aptly summarized the dispute about African participation in the slave trade. He wrote that his countrymen “kidnapped and betrayed” him to be exiled into SLAVERY but added, “if there were no buyers there would be no sellers.”

The captives were marched to the coast, shackled and malnourished, and there imprisoned to await their dreadful fate. Not all captives acquiesced. Some organized revolts while imprisoned in the coastal forts where traders awaited the arrival of the vessels for transport across the Atlantic. Others resisted shortly after being driven on board the vessels when, according to historian Robin Blackburn, they realized “that they were in the hands

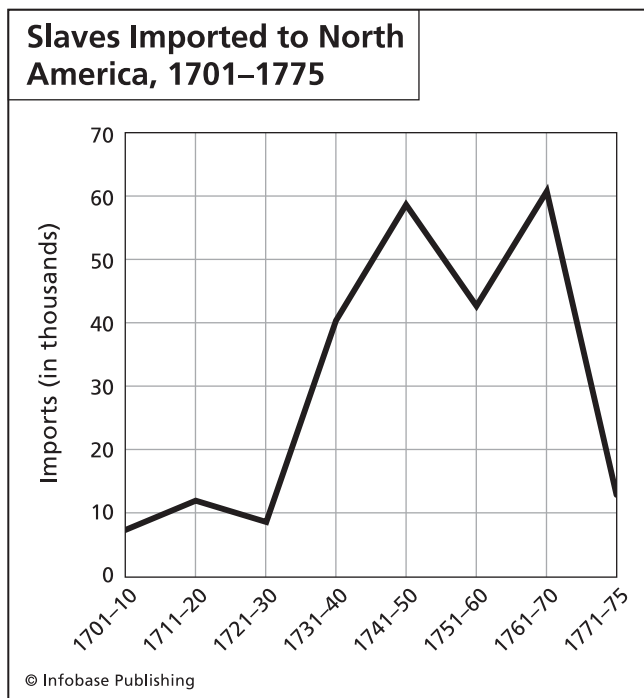
of white men rather than being kept as part of the slave labour force on the coast.”

The route to the Western Hemisphere, commonly referred to as the Middle Passage, was one of the most horrible and terrifying ordeals in human history. Olaudah Equiano, who claimed to have been a captive from Benin, vividly recounted what he and others suffered on the gruesome journey across the Atlantic. Men were chained in the hold of the ship, “which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself.” The involuntary inhabitants produced “copious perspirations, so that the air soon became unfit for respiration, from a variety of loathsome smells.” Captives also suffered from inadequate nutrition and rough handling by sailors. The ship’s crew could subject women to sexual indignities, and black women usually had little power to protect themselves.

Men, women, and children perished or committed suicide during the journey that, depending on conditions, could take from two to four months. Dehydration was a major cause of death, although contagious diseases also took their toll. Rates of MORTALITY were considerable, given the conditions in which people were transported. Between 1500 and 1760, British ships left Africa with 1,662,000 captives and arrived in the Western Hemisphere with 1,252,000 men, women, and children; a loss of one in four captives. After 1750, mortality rates declined significantly due to increased knowledge about providing fresh water and preventing contagious diseases.

The slave trade was not without either its defenders or its detractors. Church and state justified the practice. Theological justification claimed that heathens would benefit from becoming slaves to Christians. Political theorists argued that the slave trade would bring savages to civilization. Opposition to it came from Africans, of course, and a very small number of white people. Unfortunately, there





are only a very few written accounts from Africans who survived and undoubtedly opposed their CAPTIVITY, transport, and enslavement. More prevalent are the eyewitnesses' accounts of Africans throwing themselves overboard or starving themselves to death. The earliest protest by whites in British North America occurred in 1688 in Germantown, PENNSYLVANIA. Four men, who had recently immigrated from the Netherlands, submitted a petition to the Society of Friends' Monthly Meeting, protesting that the slave trade, among other things, violated the Golden Rule. They were ignored.

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—Leslie Patrick

## smallpox

Smallpox, a highly infectious and deadly viral DISEASE known in the West since antiquity, was among the most feared and deadliest diseases in colonial America. Carried to the CARIBBEAN and Mexico by Spanish conquistadores and to North America by French, Dutch, and British traders and explorers, smallpox decimated NATIVE AMERICANS, who had no immunity to European diseases. Smallpox also devastated colonial populations, appearing about once a generation, often killing one-tenth of the inhabitants of an affected city, yet this disease was also one that the primitive medical SCIENCE of the era was increasingly able to understand and, to some extent, to control.

Smallpox was a major factor in the English colonists' success in establishing permanent settlements. Virgin soil epidemics (diseases introduced to people with no immunity) severely eroded the ability of Indians to counter colonial settlement and expansion. Epidemics in 1616, 1618, 1622, and 1633 resulted in Native depopulation as high as 90 percent in some coastal areas of North America. Native populations suffered less in the continent's remote interior, although smallpox still spread to kill many Indians who had never encountered a European. Given the close living conditions and communal orientation of most Natives, just a few contaminated individuals could easily spread the disease to an entire village. Indeed, Indian curing rituals, which often took place in crowded longhouses and involved sweating and fasting, further spread contagious diseases. Not only did ailments such as smallpox tragically reduce the Native American population, they also undermined Indian societies. For example, Natives often were unable to explain such drastic misfortune; they sometimes blamed themselves or questioned their own spiritual beliefs. Among groups such as the IROQUOIS, the loss of so many people led to an increase in "mourning wars" against their Indian enemies—armed conflict intended in part to capture prisoners to "requicken" and replace tribal members lost to disease. Scholars disagree about the extent to which Europeans consciously waged biological warfare by spreading smallpox among Indians. Regardless, European disease fundamentally disrupted Native American culture and patterns of life, altered their relations with white people and other Indians, and undermined their ability to resist the European invasion.

Smallpox was endemic among many of the colonists, meaning that most young children of European ancestry contracted the disease, but more deadly smallpox epidemics also afflicted colonial population centers with alarming regularity. Sailors and immigrants brought the illness (along with measles, influenza, diphtheria, and typhus) into seaports, where crowded conditions aided its diffusion. Frequently the epidemics were isolated to specific geographical areas; sometimes they were more widespread,



such as the contagion that ranged from NEW YORK to Canada in 1689 and 1690. Often smallpox struck a population already weakened by other diseases, such as the 1698–99 epidemic in CHARLESTON, where smallpox and YELLOW FEVER combined to kill at least 400 people.

Colonial physicians did not understand the cause of smallpox, but the symptoms were well known and certain measures were understood to be helpful. Both detaining ships outside the harbor when smallpox was suspected on board and isolating victims of the disease helped prevent its spread, yet there was little to do for the victims except to let the disease take its course. Throughout the colonial period many people believed that smallpox was God's punishment on a sinful populace, for which the only preventative was prayer.

During the smallpox epidemic of 1721–22 in BOSTON, the state of medical science advanced dramatically due primarily to the efforts of Reverend COTTON MATHER and Dr. ZABDIEL BOYLSTON to introduce inoculation. By this method, which had been practiced for centuries in China, Africa, and India, a healthy person was deliberately given a mild case of smallpox to produce lifetime immunity. Boylston's results were impressive: Those who submitted to his experiments were six times less likely to die than were those who contracted the disease naturally. Even so, improperly administered inoculation could and did spread the infection, and the controversy over the treatment of smallpox raged along with the disease throughout the colonial period.

In 1736 Benjamin Franklin became involved in the inoculation controversy when, like so many children in early North America, Franklin's young son contracted smallpox and died. One cruel irony is that during an era when the efficacy of smallpox variolation (an early form of vaccination) was being fiercely debated, Franklin had strongly supported the practice. In the early 1730s his newspaper carried stories praising the success of inoculation in Boston as well as a detailed description of how to perform the procedure. Franklin intended to inoculate his son as soon as he recovered from the flux (dysentery), but by then it was too late. When rumors circulated that his child had died from variolation, Franklin set the record straight in his newspaper: "I do hereby sincerely declare, that he was not inoculated, but receiv'd the Distemper in the common Way of Infection."

Besides mourning his son's death, Franklin, typically, took action. Not only did he continue to praise inoculation in his newspaper, but several decades later, he also convinced William Heberden, a noted London physician, to explain the ease with which anyone could perform the procedure. Variolation cost a good deal of money when performed by a physician, which put it beyond the financial reach of many working people. Heberden's *Plain*

*Instructions for Inoculation in the Small-Pox* appeared in 1759. Franklin sent 1,500 copies of the pamphlet from Britain to Philadelphia, instructing his business partner David Hall to give them away free as a self-guide for poorer residents. The endorsement of inoculation by Franklin and others helped save thousands of lives, and the virulence of smallpox gradually declined during the 18th century.

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—Anthony Connors and Billy G. Smith

### Smibert, John (1688–1751) *artist*

Born in Scotland and apprenticed to a housepainter, from whom he learned to paint designs and decorate plaster ceilings, John Smibert became an important painter in colonial North America. He progressed to copying the works of the old masters, and he eventually attended ART school in London. Twelve years of work in Scotland, Italy, and London followed; although he did several paintings of important people, Smibert never managed to compete with the most successful painters in Europe, receiving few commissions from the nobility.

In 1727 George Berkeley invited Smibert to join the faculty of a university to be established in Bermuda. Smibert arrived in NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, in 1729, where he remained for a few months before making what he thought would be a brief visit to BOSTON. When commissions poured in to his studio, he stayed and painted about 100 portraits in the next five years, including one of SAMUEL SEWALL. Smibert's most influential work, *The Bermuda Group*, honored Berkeley's expedition. Although a commissioned piece that took Smibert two years to complete, it proved impossible to deliver, and the painting remained in his studio, where it became his best-known work.

Smibert married the wealthy Mary Williams in 1730 and fathered four children. After painting religious leaders, MERCHANTS, and politicians, Smibert gradually moved into landscapes in the 1740s, when his sight began to fail. He also became an architect, designing Faneuil Hall, the first public market in Boston, and the Harvard chapel. Smibert influenced other painters, including ROBERT FEKE and John Singleton Copley. After his death Smibert's studio remained intact and became a place of artistic pilgrimage.

—Victoria C. H. Resnick

**Smith, John** (1580?–1631) *explorer, colonist, historian* English explorer, colonizer, geographer, publicist, historian, and, unwittingly by adoption, the first Anglo-POWHATAN werowance (headman). John Smith was born in Willoughby, Lincolnshire, England into a yeoman family. He rose to gentleman status by dint of his enormous energy and self confidence, military experience, and common sense. As counselor and later president of the VIRGINIA colony's council from 1607 to 1609, Smith's aggressive, often ruthless, devotion to establishing and expanding England's precarious foothold at JAMESTOWN was critical to its survival in its early years. Much of what we know of Smith's career comes from his own recounting of events. Smith's writings, including *True Travels* (1630), *True Relations* (1608), and *Generall Historie* (1624), are colored by inconsistencies, self-promotion, and exaggerated accounts of his own exploits, yet their credibility has survived the critical examinations of historians, ethnologists, and geographers.

Smith left home at 16, when his father died, served an apprenticeship in horsemanship and the other arts of war under an Italian nobleman, but soon embarked

on a series of “brave adventures” across Europe and the Levant. Like so many of his fellow leaders of England's Virginia enterprises, Smith joined volunteers to fight against Spain in France and the Low Countries for the cause of PROTESTANTISM and Dutch independence. After two years of service in the Low Countries (“that university of Warr”), Smith sailed the Mediterranean as a mariner on a merchant ship, but in 1600 the lure of military life drew him to join the Habsburg forces fighting the Ottoman Turks in Hungary. He claimed credit for two great Austrian victories and a series of single-handed duels with Turkish warriors—feats of bravery that earned Smith a coat of arms signifying the attainment of gentleman status and a pension from Prince Bathori of Transylvania. While fighting in Transylvania, Smith was captured by the Turks, enslaved, and sent to Istanbul to serve a young noblewoman, Charatza Tragabigzanda. After killing Charatza's brother, to whom he had been sent for safekeeping, Smith escaped the Ottoman Empire through Russia. He later boasted that these “Warres in Europe, Asia, and Affricca taught me how to subdue the wilde Salvages in Virginia.”

After wandering eastern Europe and North Africa, Smith returned to England in 1605, where he involved himself in a scheme to colonize Guiana and, when that fell through, signed on to the VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON's expedition to found a colony in Virginia. Smith's familiarity with foreign cultures, his purported elevation to gentleman status, and his military experience and disposition may account for his selection for leadership by the company directors, who were well aware of their colony's vulnerability to Spanish attack and potential Indian enmity, yet he was to prove to be a thorn in the company's side before, during, and after his career in Virginia.

Although he arrived in the colony as a prisoner accused of plotting mutiny midpassage, Smith eluded hanging and quickly became a dominating influence in the colony's governing council, to which company directors had secretly appointed him. Forever the upstart, Smith was regarded by some fellow colonists as “an Ambitious unworthy and vainglorious fellow.” Relentlessly browbeating and bullying colonists into working diligently for the common good, Smith brought a degree of military discipline, industry, and political order, albeit intermittent, to the factious colony. With a heavy hand he bargained and bullied corn from the neighboring Powhatan Indians, preventing starvation in a colony incapable of raising its own food. Smith's forceful securing of FOOD and his dispersal of the colonists upriver away from the sickly lowlands of Jamestown staved off wholesale starvation and checked for a while the runaway morbidity in the colony.

Smith's explorations and descriptions of the CHESAPEAKE BAY area, as contained in *A True Relation* (1608) and *A Map of Virginia* (1612), added immensely to



John Smith (Library of Congress)

English knowledge of its geography and peoples. While exploring the Chickahominy in December 1607, Smith was captured by Powhatan's warriors and taken on a four-week ritual tour of Powhatan's domains, culminating in a three-day ceremony by which he was adopted as Powhatan's "sonne Nantaquoud" and made a werowance (subordinate chief), thereby transforming Jamestown, in Powhatan eyes, into an allied, subject village within the POWHATAN CONFEDERACY. Unaware of the Powhatan's true intentions and misunderstanding the ritual's meaning, Smith thought that Powhatan's 11-year-old daughter, Moatoka (POCAHONTAS), saved his life during the ceremony, thus giving rise to an American legend. He was released in friendship, but neither the proud Powhatan nor the xenophobic English could accept the social and political reciprocity of closer relationships between the two peoples—whether through trade, intermarriage, or religious conversion—without compromising their respective senses of dignity and ethnic identity. Nevertheless, the Powhatan never disavowed Smith's special status among them, a fact of which Pocahontas (by then Mrs. JOHN ROLFE) bitterly reminded Smith when he visited her in England.

The arrival in 1609 of a fleet of new settlers with a new charter and new government combined with the horrible burns he suffered as result of a gunpowder explosion forced Smith to relinquish the presidency of the council and return to England. For the next decade he petitioned the company for employment but was repeatedly ignored. In 1612 he further alienated his former employers by publishing *A Map of Virginia*, whose graphic layout enhanced his exploits and further diminished those of the company's managers and investors. In 1622 Smith allied himself with Sir Thomas Smyth and the earl of Warwick, who were wresting control of the company from Edwin Sandys and the earl of Southampton. *Smith's General Historie of Virginia* (1624), published at the height of the battle in Parliament and the royal courts, was directed toward swaying public opinion in favor of the Smyth-Warwick faction, whose machinations resulted ultimately in the dissolution of the Virginia Company and control of Virginia by the Crown.

Smith returned to North America in 1614 to explore the coast of New England under the auspices of the PLYMOUTH Company, whose merchant directors were interested in the region's prospects for settlement and trade. Based on this voyage, he wrote *A Description of New England* (1616), which contained a detailed map of the region. Smith's vigorous promotion of colonization in both Virginia and New England kept alive English imperial aspirations for North America in an era when nearby Ireland and the opulent Far East competed for England's attention, investment, and enterprise.

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—James Bruggeman

### **Smith, Robert** (1722–1777) *architect*

Robert Smith was a notable architect who designed graceful Georgian buildings in the colonies. Born in Dalkeith Parish, Midlothian, Scotland, to a family of masons and builders, he apprenticed in these trades, then immigrated to America in the late 1740s. Proficient in woodworking, stone masonry, and contracting, he joined PHILADELPHIA's Carpenters' Company soon after his arrival and became the city's leading craftsman-architect. Acting as principal carpenter, his first major project was the construction of the 196-foot steeple of Christ Church, completed in 1754. As Philadelphia's "city house carpenter" from 1758 to 1761, Smith led the construction of St. Peter's as well as the Zion Lutheran Church, one of the largest churches in North America at the time. He also designed the elegant Carpenters' Hall, completed in 1773, and the Walnut Street Prison, which, with its unique fireproof vaults, was his largest commission for design and execution. In 1770 Smith designed the first insane asylum in the colonies at Williamsburg, VIRGINIA. While his Georgian style public buildings in PENNSYLVANIA, Virginia, RHODE ISLAND, and NEW JERSEY were most notable, Smith also designed residences, among them Benjamin Franklin's house in Philadelphia.

Active in public affairs, Smith supported the crusade for independence and was a member of both the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY and the Continental Congress. The city of Philadelphia appointed him regulator of party walls and partition fences, a desirable position equivalent to building inspector. Working as a military engineer during the American Revolution, Smith designed *cheveaux-de-frise*, underwater spiked barricades used in the DELAWARE River as a defense against British warships.

—Catherine Goetz

**Smith, Venture (Broteer)** (1729–1805) *captive, writer*  
Venture Smith, whose father named him Broteer, was born in AFRICA. In 1798 he published his autobiography, recounting his life in Guinea, enslavement in the colonies, and hard-earned success. Historians disagree about whether Smith thoroughly assimilated to colonial values or maintained African values.

At the age of eight Broteer was among 200 African captives who arrived in Barbados, where a steward bought



him and renamed him “Venture.” His third owner supplied a surname; thus Broteer, son of a Guinea prince, became Venture Smith, colonial slave. He lived variously in RHODE ISLAND, NEW YORK, and CONNECTICUT.

Smith planned for freedom during his 28 years of enslavement. A robust man, he labored unceasingly. At nine he was carding wool and pounding corn. Subsequently, he earned money to buy his freedom by cleaning shoes, hunting game, raising produce, cording wood, threshing grain, and FISHING. Like many black Americans, Smith did not surrender to SLAVERY. He and three indentured whites once stole his master’s boat, intending to reach the Gulf of Mexico. When the conspirators fell out, the plan was abandoned. On another occasion Smith defended his wife, Meg, from a beating by her mistress, who turned her wrath on him. He defended himself and his wife without harming the mistress, only to be punished by his master.

In 1765 Smith purchased his freedom. He had been “sold three different times, made considerable money with seemingly nothing to derive it from, had been cheated out of a large sum of money, lost much by misfortunes and paid an enormous sum for my freedom.”

Although Smith was free, his wife and children were not. He then toiled to buy their liberty. He chartered a 30-ton sloop, took on a crew, and plied the wood trade. He also fished for eels and lobsters, joined a whaling voyage, and raised watermelons for market. His labor paid off, although he had to work harder than white Americans simply to secure freedom for himself and his family. He purchased his wife for £40 and his daughter for £44, paid \$400 to liberate his sons, and also redeemed three black friends from slavery.

Smith’s family settled in Connecticut, where they had bought land, built a house, and hired “two black farmhands.” He died at age 76.

**Further reading:** Venture Smith, *A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture A Native of Africa, But Resident Above Sixty Years in the United States of America* (1798; reprint, Middletown, Conn.: J. S. Stewart, 1897).

—Leslie Patrick

## smuggling

Colonial merchants engaged in widespread smuggling as a means of avoiding taxes levied by the British Parliament. Crown official Edward Randolph decried the flagrant violation of trade regulations by American merchants and loss of revenue to the Crown as early as 1676. Reporting in a pamphlet entitled “The present State of the Affairs in New England,” Randolph charged that Americans “violate all the acts of trade and navigation, by which they have ingrossed the greatest part of the West India Trade, whereby his

Majestie is damaged in his Customs above 100,000 £ yearly.” While his figure is an exaggeration, many MERCHANTS in the colonies were certainly involved in some form of illegal smuggling. Americans saw wealth to be made by avoiding paying customs duties, regardless of the law.

The many inlets, coves, and islands along the Atlantic seaboard provided perfect locations for colonial smugglers of all varieties. The widely accepted process of smuggling in the American colonies helped create some of the largest fortunes. Frederick Philipse of NEW YORK was widely known to traffic with the pirate outpost on Madagascar in the Indian Ocean. John Hancock of MASSACHUSETTS, who inherited his uncle Thomas’s fortune and shipping business at the age of 27, soon became one of the wealthiest men in the colonies, primarily from the profits of smuggling.

Apart from these two famous cases, it is uncertain to what extent smuggling was carried on by colonial merchants. There was no effective force to stop colonial smuggling altogether, and local customs officials could be bribed. Records, beyond the official complaints of Randolph, are not to be found. Two particular areas of smuggling that are known to have developed in the 1600s were the importation of European manufactured goods into the colonies and the West Indies trade of sugar, molasses, and rum. Passage of the Navigation Acts was designed to stop illegal trade by the colonies with any non-English merchants, particularly the Dutch. The acts were passed specifically for the benefit of the mother country but also, as in the case of the Molasses Act of 1733, for the benefit of a particular group. That act was passed for the Barbados sugar planters, who faced competition from colonists buying cheaper French and Spanish sugar in return for colonial foodstuffs. By the 1760s the acts passed to counter colonial smuggling began to be viewed as an attack on the rights and freedom of colonial merchants.

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—Stephen C. O’Neill

## society, British American

“What then is this American, this new man?,” Hector St. John Crèvecoeur inquired in 1782. Twenty-two years earlier Benjamin Franklin questioned the whole idea of a “typical” American. The colonies, he explained, “were not only under different governors, but have different forms of government, different laws, different interests, and some of them different religious persuasions and different manners.”

Crèvecoeur’s question and Franklin’s assessment described coexisting aspects of colonial British American society. Throughout most of the colonial period, British



America consisted of several distinct societies. These cultures distinguished themselves through their demographic conditions, LABOR arrangements, economic structures, racial and GENDER roles, and political frameworks, yet, at the same time, the notion that a single “American” had emerged after the Revolution suggested that colonial America shared unifying characteristics that bound its diverse regions into a single culture. Franklin and Crèvecoeur were two of colonial America’s most astute observers. An understanding of their competing perspectives contributes to an appreciation of colonial America’s social complexity.

Within 10 years of JAMESTOWN’s 1607 founding, the Chesapeake region had created a commercialized TOBACCO ECONOMY strong enough to shape the region’s early social development. A young, male-dominated population of white planters, white and black indentured servants, and African slaves prepared the region’s large plantations for extensive tobacco exportation. The conditions under which these men labored confirmed the planters’ drive for profit. An inadequate FOOD supply, overworked laborers, and unhealthy water resulted in high MORTALITY rates and frequent political instability. These conditions, along with fluid racial categories, the lack of families, and an increasingly skewed distribution of wealth, encouraged personal autonomy and greed while discouraging social deference, traditional gender roles, and political stability. The planters’ ongoing quest for land, moreover, not only strained relations among whites but antagonized relations with NATIVE AMERICANS. Major battles between settlers and Indians broke out in 1622, 1644, and 1675. Early VIRGINIA and MARYLAND thus stood in sharp contrast to society in England.

Chesapeake area settlers ameliorated these destabilizing conditions by approximating familiar metropolitan traditions. Throughout the 17th century the establishment of county courts and parishes, representative lawmaking assemblies, and widespread political participation provided the Chesapeake region with a sociopolitical framework coherent enough to moderate its destructive trends. White planters further contributed to this emerging stability by manipulating race and gender so as to define more rigidly a once ambiguous hierarchy of power. By perpetuating a racial distinction between white servitude and black SLAVERY through SLAVE CODES, white planters defused the CLASS tensions that fueled BACON’S REBELLION in 1676 and established the basis for a white supremacist ideology. Furthermore, the division of labor along gender lines, the regulation of white women’s sexuality, and the condemnation of Native Americans’ division of labor (Indian women managed fieldwork) similarly constructed once fluid gender expectations into less flexible gender roles. As more women arrived in the colony this evolving patriarchal norm

exerted a social influence that contributed to the region’s growing stability.

New England PURITANS established England’s second large North American society in 1629. Although the MASSACHUSETTS Bay Colony and the Chesapeake region were outposts of the same metropolitan culture, the contrasts between these societies were striking. Most migration to New England occurred in a short burst of voyages lasting from 1630 to 1642. It landed about 4,000 white, Puritan, middle-class families in a healthy ENVIRONMENT replete with natural resources, even if the farmland was less rich than in other colonies. The economic quest for transatlantic profits through cod, timber, and fur exports initially yielded to modest family farms that closely replicated English traditions. Puritans employed servant labor rather than slaves, made the family rather than the plantation the central economic unit, and immediately adopted the patriarchal assumption (enforced by the practice of “coverture”) that husbands controlled their wives’ property and person. Puritans did not oppose material gain. Instead, they tempered commercial pursuits with values gleaned from covenant theology, familial stability, and the supposed moral benefits of hard work. Accordingly, they established a political system favoring religiously “elect” white men who monitored social behavior for signs of subversion. The banishment of ROGER WILLIAMS for transgressing Congregational theology and ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON for contradicting the gendered order suggest the magnitude of this vigilance. A low infant mortality rate, a nearly equal sex ratio, and a mixed economy supportive of an equitable wealth distribution allowed New England to evolve without the benefit of constant immigration. New England quickly became a fair approximation of England.

While the early Chesapeake region worked to impose stability on its evolving society, New England labored to preserve it. And while the Chesapeake area largely succeeded, New England generally failed. The theologically driven, socially homogeneous society that the founding generations forged bowed under the weight of several changes. New England became an aggressively commercial society defined less by its ministers’ sermons than its MERCHANTS’ ledgers. The anxiety inspired by a growing commercial elite manifested itself in events such as the Halfway Covenant (1662) and the Salem Witch Trials (1692). New Englanders’ further challenged their founding ideals by abandoning their original towns for cities like BOSTON, NEWPORT, and New Haven, or for frontier communities. Migration and urbanization disrupted church organizations, strained traditional gender roles, and undermined the deferential attitudes once enforced by family, church, and community. Commercialization and internal migration, moreover, ushered in slavery and poverty. By the

late 17th and early 18th centuries growing wealth from the cod, timber, and whale trades enabled a powerful minority of New Englanders to import slave labor. If New England slaveholders and those who fell into poverty were relatively few, their presence nevertheless reflects the larger changes unhinging New England from its original mission. As “peaceable kingdoms” of the 17th century diminished, New England started to look more like the rest of colonial British America.

The Middle Colonies—primarily NEW YORK and PENNSYLVANIA—emerged later in the century (1664 and 1681, respectively) and quickly assumed a unified socio-cultural character. Like the Chesapeake region, the Middle Colonies exhibited materialistic and individualistic tendencies during their settlement years. Unlike the Chesapeake area, though, an influx of immigrants from Scotland, Ireland, and Germany channeled potentially disruptive social impulses into the development of colonial America’s most stable and diverse economy. A healthy balance of family farms, merchant houses (especially among Pennsylvania QUAKERS), and shipping firms enabled this region to negotiate both local and transatlantic markets. Through the exportation of wheat and livestock, a local trade in iron, dairy products, and bread, and the provision of services including SHIPBUILDING and food processing, the Middle Colonies nurtured an economic culture that made it, according to one historian (referring to Pennsylvania), “the best poor man’s country.”

The Middle Colonies’ economic progress was inextricably linked with the region’s social development. As in New England, family labor dominated the Middle Colonies. Quaker families in particular advocated an arrangement whereby parental authority remained weak, the nuclear family prevailed, partible inheritance became common, and children left home at young ages to improve their material conditions. Tenancy and servitude, however, were also common features of the social landscape, and these institutions placed poorer immigrants in positions of extreme dependency. Despite tenant uprisings on New York’s manorial estates in the 1740s, however, tenancy and servitude sometimes became stepping-stones to a freehold in the hinterland or artisanal independence in the city, rather than remaining a permanent condition.

However, opportunities for upward mobility were not ubiquitous. Slavery was a growing reality in the Middle Colonies. NEW YORK CITY and the manufacturing centers around PHILADELPHIA craved skilled slave labor. By 1746 30 percent of New York City’s laborers were slaves. Slaveholders in the Middle Colonies never employed the brutal gang labor techniques used in the Chesapeake region, but slaves still suffered the cruelties of their condition. Slave codes mandated the same racial dichotomy that prevailed in the Chesapeake area, and violent resistance

among disgruntled slaves remained an ongoing and often real threat. Colonial North America’s first slave insurrection took place in New York in 1712. Servitude, tenancy, and slavery, moreover, fostered a differentiated social structure. In cities the wealthiest 10 percent owned more than 50 percent of the taxable wealth, with the bottom 30 percent owning less than 2 percent. Stratification was lower in rural areas, with a distribution of property more equal than in New England. Finally, government in the Middle Colonies reflected the antiauthoritarianism of the Quaker population by remaining weak, highly inclusive, and responsive to the needs of white males.

Planters from Barbados settled the Lower South in the 1680s. By the early 1700s the dominant sociocultural traits of the Lower South included a dedication to staple crops (rice and later INDIGO), an unhealthy environment, rapid demographic growth due to English, Scots, Ulster Scots, and GERMAN IMMIGRANTS, and a fierce commitment to slave labor. The logic behind staple AGRICULTURE required the importation of a slave population that in some counties dramatically exceeded that of whites (as high as 90 percent), a wealth disparity that made a select minority of planters the richest men in colonial North America, and unprecedented displays of conspicuous CONSUMPTION. The Lower South adopted a restrictive approach towards the black population, especially after the 1739 STONO REBELLION, but its stance towards other institutions, such as the family, was comparatively lax. White women in SOUTH CAROLINA, for example, routinely contradicted traditional gender norms. Married women were allowed to maintain an estate, and thus a measure of independence, separate from their husbands’ holdings. This provision, in addition to the many slaves that white widows inherited, conferred unusual economic power upon southern women and perpetuated fluid gender norms inconsistent with the rest of colonial North America. If there was a culture that looked the most different from the metropolis of Britain, it was the Lower South.

The differences among these four colonial regions, stark as they seem, coexisted with four broad social developments that, throughout the 18th century, transcended distinctions among colonial societies and provided colonial British America a shared foundation upon which to negotiate their differences and build a unified, highly complex society. First, scattered pockets of slavery evolved into a comprehensive slave society that influenced life from New England to the Carolinas. Black slaves, unlike indentured servants, lacked formal rights, became cheaper and easier to obtain, and, unlike Native Americans, were initially reluctant to escape into an unfamiliar countryside. In 1640 the mainland colonies had about 1,000 slaves—about 2 percent of the European-American population. By 1780 they had well over 500,000—about 25 percent of the European-

American population. The economic consequences of this transition catapulted the mainland colonies to a position of international significance. Its sociocultural consequences, however, were equally profound. Enslaved Africans negotiated incredible difficulties to establish an influential African-American society that pervaded the British mainland colonies. Slaves from the Carolinas to New England reconstructed family life to incorporate aspects of their African pasts into their colonial present. They conducted extralegal marriages, traveled widely to maintain kinship and friendship connections, and, in so doing, supported vibrant African-American communities. Slaves participated actively in public culture. Through music, marriage ceremonies, storytelling, and dancing, enslaved blacks preserved traditions while carving out a meaningful place within colonial America's growing public sphere. Slaves resisted the institution under which they labored through finely coordinated strategies. Whether it was slacking off work on the plantation, breaking field equipment, running away, or assaulting (and even murdering) whites, slaves honed a sense of community and shared culture unlike any other immigrants to America. Their suffering and strategies to manage that suffering forged a set of common ideals that influenced white societies throughout colonial British America.

Second, although historians have vigorously debated the extent of its impact, religious expression also shaped a discrete American society. As colonists took advantage of North America's comparatively tolerant religious environment to embrace dissenting Protestant ideals, they established social trends that resonated deeply throughout the colonies. Most visibly, congregational expansion after 1700—be it Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, or Presbyterian—transformed America's physical space. Churches and meeting houses replete with bells and spires gradually "sacralized" the colonial landscape. This landscape, in turn, became the context for transcolonial evangelical revivals that grew especially intense in the 1740s, leading some historians to call this movement the GREAT AWAKENING. These periods of spiritual rapture encouraged colonists of all religious backgrounds and from all regions to balance traditional doctrinal loyalty with personal introspection. Colonial American religious development also granted women unique opportunities to assert their independence and authority. Although they could not be ordained, chair meetings (except Quakers), or hold office, women constituted a majority of church membership, and their numerical strength allowed them to influence hiring, policy, and church discipline.

A third factor influencing the convergence of a single American society involved consumer behavior. Throughout the 18th century, European-Americans, slaves, and Native Americans experienced important changes in their material lives. The diet of white Americans improved, incorporating

finer cuts of meat, a wider variety of fruits and vegetables, and more herbs and spices. Slaves also developed more sophisticated diets as masters allotted them time to grow their own food, keep their own livestock, and do their own cooking in separate quarters. Sickness, drought, and dispossession of their land placed Native Americans in a different position. For them, diminished agricultural activity meant dependency on European-Americans for their food. In terms of CLOTHING, white colonists enjoyed both increasing imports from England and clothes made domestically. They could, especially after 1730, choose from a plethora of affordable fabrics and complement their outfits with distinctive hats, shoes, and underwear. Garments became status markers, and as wealthy merchants donned the finest silk shirts and French shoes, slaves, with their rough-cut shirts and threadbare pants, reflected the lowest rung of the sartorial ladder. Native Americans, in contrast, embraced a culturally diverse style of dress, incorporating European styles into traditional garb, often donning European shirts, leggings, and the traditional feathered headdress. Finally, with respect to HOUSING, whites enjoyed the major improvements. Homes grew in size and sophistication, and colonists decorated them with imported furniture, china, carpets, and drapery—items all made affordable by a "consumer revolution." While vernacular styles persisted, the rudiments of an early American ARCHITECTURE slowly cohered.

The final element driving the convergence of colonial America's separate societies involved the relegation of Native Americans to the most distant periphery of British America. Throughout the colonial period Indians and Europeans were engaged in an ongoing battle to shape their own economic and social destinies, and the object of that battle was invariably land. Major wars between Indians and whites included KING PHILIP'S WAR (1676), a battle in Deerfield, Massachusetts (1704), the Tuscarora War in NORTH CAROLINA (1712), and the Yamasee War in South Carolina (1715). During the SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1754–63) Indians were able to achieve substantial diplomatic leverage by playing French and English interests against each other. For groups like the CATAWBA in the South and the IROQUOIS in the North, these strategies proved temporarily beneficial. By the end of the Seven Years' War, however, as the Revolutionary Era approached, white Americans moved West with such force and rapidity that many Indians, who no longer enjoyed the diplomatic advantages that the English-French conflict conferred, disintegrated as coherent tribal entities. Some tribes, like the Mississippi Chickasaw and the FLORIDA Seminole, extended their autonomy, but they were the exceptions. The Oneida took refuge in camps, and the Iroquois Confederacy was dissolved. The marginalization of Native Americans throughout colonial North America unified the colonies in a relentless quest for land.

“What then is this American, this new man?” In light of these four developments, Crèvecoeur’s question has added resonance. Franklin may have been correct in highlighting colonial America’s bewildering diversity (his observation even rings true for contemporary North America), but the emergence of a slave society, the freedom to pursue individual spiritual enlightenment, the acquisition of similar consumer goods, and the elimination of Native Americans as legitimate competitors for America’s most valuable resource all converged in the years before the Revolution to the forge the foundation of a distinctly American society.

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—James E. McWilliams

### Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG)

Founded in England in 1701 by royal charter, the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was formed to strengthen the Church of England and convert non-Christian peoples in the British colonies. The charter provided for a governing board in London headed by the archbishop of Canterbury and comprised of numerous MERCHANTS. The society used both public and private contributions, focusing its activities in the 17th century primarily in British North America and the West Indies.

Between 1701 and 1783 the SPG sent more than 300 ordained clergy and 65 teachers to the 13 colonies and contributed to the construction of many churches and schools. Although only white men were sent from England, the society did support a few women teachers, Native American catechists, and at least two former slaves who were recruited as teachers in the colonies. The missionaries were instructed to live simply, stress loyalty to the monarch, evangelize dissenters, NATIVE AMERICANS, and slaves, minister to Protestants who had immigrated from other lands, and report regularly to London. The SPG also provided Bibles, prayerbooks, and religious monographs for church and college libraries.

While their missionary efforts were most successful among British colonists, SPG ministers also worked among 47 different Native American tribes, from the northern IROQUOIS to the southern Yamasee. The most successful

missionary effort was among the Mohawk, begun in 1712 in response to a plea for Christian instruction from four Mohawk SACHEMS who presented their request to Queen Anne (1702–14) in London in 1710. Over the next 60 years many tribal members were baptized, the *Book of Common Prayer* and much of the Bible were translated into the Mohawk language, and Native leaders were trained as catechists and teachers.

Christian instruction for African slaves was more problematic. Missionaries attempted to provide basic literacy instruction for slaves, contending that church members needed to be able to read to participate in the liturgy, but slaveholders often thwarted these efforts. Many blacks, however, were baptized and enrolled in local congregations. Schools for AFRICAN AMERICANS were also established, such as that taught by Huguenot convert Elias Neau in NEW YORK CITY from 1704 to 1722. The school continued after his death and eventually formed the basis for black public schools after independence.

As revolutionary fervor increased, aside from notable exceptions, most SPG ministers upheld the loyalist cause. In 1783 the society withdrew its support from the newly formed United States. The correspondence between local SPG agents and the London office, available on microfilm, is a rich resource for colonial social history.

**Further reading:** Daniel O’Connor, et al., *Three Centuries of Mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1702–2000* (New York: Continuum, 2000).

—Mary Sudman Donovan

### South Carolina

The colony of South Carolina became one of the most important of the original 13 colonies, as it dominated the political and economic life of the Lower South.

#### Native Americans

Before the European invasion, various Indian groups, including the Cusabo, CATAWBA, Yamasee, and CHEROKEE, inhabited the area that would become South Carolina. When the first English colonists arrived in present-day North Carolina in 1585, the Catawba numbered among the many tribes who lived in the Piedmont region of North and South Carolina. During the next two centuries, European diseases decimated their population, while their independence, culture, and lands came under attack. Like many other NATIVE AMERICANS, they gradually became dependent on European goods, especially metal pots, arrow tips, knives, and guns. The Catawba and their neighbors initially killed deer and exchanged their skins for these articles, but, as the number of deer declined in their territory, the Catawba became the brokers in the trade between



the English settlers and nearby Indians. Their position as merchants and their reputation as fierce warriors provided them with some protection from the excessive violence of the colonists. As neighboring tribes suffered even more severely from DISEASE and war, they often sought refuge with and were adopted into the Catawba, thereby forging new cultures. The SMALLPOX epidemics of the mid-18th century, along with the weakening deerskin trade, diminished the power of the Catawba.

When the Europeans arrived in North America, the Cherokee people dominated the Appalachian Mountains in present-day Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and North and South Carolina. They lost a great many people to the diseases contracted from Spanish explorers during the 16th century, but, unlike many Indians along the eastern seaboard, they had time to regain their population before engaging in sustained contact and trade with the English in the 17th century. In 1650, the Iroquoian-speaking Cherokee probably numbered about 22,000. Their numerous villages typically consisted of a small number of log cabins. Women and men commonly shared political and social power, and women were primarily responsible for the agricultural production and gathering of foods, while men engaged in hunting. Chiefs, chosen by each town, had a division of responsibilities between wartime and peacetime leaders.

The Cherokee began to engage in significant trade with English settlers by the late 17th century. Some Cherokee villages signed treaties with South Carolina settlers, and a number of Cherokee women married Europeans, especially traders. Like the Catawba, the Cherokee came to rely on metal goods and commerce with white settlers, which undermined their power and independence. Their CONSUMPTION of these commodities was so enormous that the Cherokee ceded large tracts of lands, from South Carolina to Tennessee, to British-American settlers in payment for their debts. The Cherokee were entangled in the complex political struggles among the British, French, and Spanish in the 18th century, and they often attempted to play one European power off against the other for their own benefit. During the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, some Cherokee towns supported the French and attacked the Carolina backcountry in 1760, while many others fought with the British. Siding with the British during the American Revolution, the Cherokee eventually lost even more land and became subordinate to the new U.S. government.

Both the Spanish and the French many times attempted but failed to establish settlements in South Carolina in the 16th century. King Charles I of England claimed Carolina (named from the Latin name for "Charles") in 1629 by granting the region to Sir Robert Heath. However, he did not attempt to found settlements. After the Stuart Restoration, King Charles II, responding to the requests

of a group of prominent politicians, granted the area to eight supporters whom he named the Lords Proprietors over Carolina. Their charter provided them with extensive power over the colony, and they promised political and religious freedom as well as land to settlers. When these promises failed to attract many colonists, Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper (subsequently earl of Shaftesbury) and the philosopher JOHN LOCKE wrote the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina in 1669, which maintained feudal privileges but also granted some popular rights. Its purpose was to define a well-ordered, hierarchical colony, with counties of equal size, each of which was apportioned in equal parcels. The proprietors would own the largest number of parcels, the colonial aristocracy the next greatest number, and the least amount of land was reserved for less affluent settlers. Whites without property would enjoy no political rights, while black slaves were to be completely subject to their masters. Political power would rest primarily in the hands of the wealthy.

Settlers did not adopt the Fundamental Constitutions, and the colony developed along considerably different lines than envisioned by the authors of that document. Politically, the proprietors appointed the governor and half of the council, who essentially ruled the colony. The free men elected an assembly with very limited power. Meanwhile, northern and southern Carolina evolved into distinct societies. In NORTH CAROLINA (initially separate in 1712, then officially in 1729 when the king formally divided the region), freeholders used slave laborers and indentured servants to produce corn, TOBACCO, livestock, and naval stores. South Carolina's first permanent English settlement was at Albemarle Point, where immigrants from England and Barbados arrived in 1670. During the next 10 years, most new arrivals were white Barbadians and their black slaves. For the next few decades, South Carolina produced wood staves, corn, and livestock to trade with the sugar-producing island of Barbados, becoming, as one historian has called it, the "colony of a colony." In 1680, the colonists moved their capital to Charles Town (later CHARLESTON), which expanded rapidly and became the center of the colony's political, social, and cultural life. Roughly 5,000 colonists lived in South Carolina at the end of the 17th century, many of whom were Indians and black slaves. Although white settlers quickly established a slave society, many Africans and AFRICAN AMERICANS exercised at least some nominal freedoms and engaged in diverse occupations, at least during the final years of the 17th century.

Cultivated by black slaves familiar with the crop in their homeland, RICE was introduced into South Carolina about 1680, and within a quarter century, it quickly became the colony's most important export. The intense labor demands associated with rice production spurred an

incredible expansion of slavery and the establishment of a harsh plantation regime that brutalized bound laborers. One result was that black inhabitants outnumbered white residents throughout most of the 18th century. In some marshy rice-producing areas, and especially when owners fled to Charleston during the summer to escape malaria and the heat, slaves accounted for more than three-quarters of the population. These conditions, combined with the continual importation of Africans, enabled slaves to blend traditions, religions, and languages from various parts of Africa to create a distinct culture. In 1739, when black bondpeople were more than twice as numerous as white residents in the colony, a group of 50 slaves staged the STONO REBELLION—the largest slave revolt in early North America. Hoping to escape to the freedom promised by the Spanish in FLORIDA, slaves attacked property and killed more than 20 whites before being defeated by the militia. In response, the colony's assembly passed the most severe slave code in mainland North America. Thereafter, slaves adopted subtler, less violent ways to resist their exploitation.

The early 18th century was a time of considerable difficulty. In 1715, the Yamasee attacked the colony, killing more than 400 settlers and causing the colonists to abandon half of their cultivated lands. Meanwhile, the growing number of pirates off the coast contributed to the unrest. Dissatisfied settlers complained about the proprietors' failure to protect them or to grant them additional lands. In 1719, the colonists engaged in a bloodless rebellion and received the protection of the Crown. The next year, the British sent Francis Nicholson to serve as the provincial royal governor. South Carolina became a royal colony in 1729 when the original proprietors' heirs sold their rights to the Crown.

The remainder of the colonial era was somewhat more peaceful and stable. INDIGO became the second most important product of South Carolina during the 1740s. In addition to African forced migrants, large numbers of Germans and Swiss arrived in the 1730s and 1740, while the Scots-Irish moved southward from PENNSYLVANIA and VIRGINIA in the 1760s. Yet, the colony remained fractured in regional, economic, and social terms. Poorer farmers in the backcountry struggled against the powerful rice planters along the coast, and the latter ruled and continued to rule the region for decades.

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University of North Carolina Press, 1966); Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974).

### South Sea Company

The South Sea Company was a British joint-stock company whose failure in 1720 bankrupted many investors and shook the foundations of the British government. The company promised to resolve England's debt by converting it into company shares that would gain value through the monopolization of England's trade with New Spain. In 1710 George Coswall and John Blunt informed Lord Treasurer Robert Harley of their plan to exchange company shares for England's short-term war debt. The scheme relied on the hopes that Britain would succeed in the War of the Spanish Succession and thereby gain access to lucrative markets in New Spain. In 1711 Harley chartered the South Sea Company, and it accepted 10 million in government debt for exclusive trading rights and a perpetual annuity of £576,534. The 1713 Treaty of Utrecht curtailed some of these hopes by limiting England's trading rights in New Spain. While England received the Asiento, which granted it the right to supply New Spain with African slaves, its ventures in New Spain were not as profitable as hoped.

In 1720 Parliament accepted the company's second debt conversion plan. The company's directors popularized this by making numerous false claims concerning the riches of New Spain. This created a speculation bubble as others created joint-stock companies to profit from the investment frenzy. Scandal followed the bubble's collapse when it was learned that various politicians, along with the king's mistresses, pushed the speculation forward to profit at little risks to themselves. Parliament responded by passing the Bubble Act in 1720, stipulating that all joint-stock companies must possess a royal charter.

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—Ty M. Reese

### Spanish colonies

After a century of violent expansion Spain's American colonies were reaching maturity by 1585, as a society dominated by the drive for conquest was giving way to a formal colonial system. Some peripheral regions remained unconquered, but the major agricultural and mining centers of Spain's colonies had been in production for nearly 40 years. Colonial life was centered in the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, both of which produced vast quantities of silver

for the empire. By this date Spain's colonies were also typified by a series of religious, political, caste, and economic hierarchies. Never as rigid in practice as they appeared on paper, these hierarchies nonetheless succeeded in reserving the majority of wealth and privilege in colonial society to a small number of Europeans.

Historians often refer to the period before the 1580s as the "Conquest of Labor and Souls," referring to the fact that Spanish conquistadores had the dual mission of evangelizing indigenous peoples and extracting their LABOR and tribute. By the end of the 16th century these two endeavors were overshadowed by the desire to extract mineral and agricultural wealth from the colonies. Massive silver mines were discovered at Potosí (modern-day Bolivia) in 1545 and in Zacatecas and Guanajuato (modern-day Mexico) between 1548 and 1558. Often worked by forced Indian labor, Potosí was long the greatest silver mine in the world, but silver production from New Spain's mines as well grew to 50 million pesos per year from the 1560s to the 1620s. Although production fluctuated, silver exports from these mines expanded to more than 100 million pesos annually by the 1750s.

Over time AGRICULTURE became similarly crucial to the colonial endeavor. Native producers in Spain's colonies cultivated highly prized cochineal and indigo for the European market. Haciendas—agricultural estates based in part on the medieval idea of the seigneurial manor—also supplied both local and regional markets with foodstuffs and exported some goods to Europe. During the 17th century plantation agriculture also emerged in coastal Mexico and the CARIBBEAN. The plantations, often known as *ingenios*, were heavily capitalized, had significant investments in machinery and slaves, and produced for the international market. Plantation-grown sugar became the dominant export of the region in the 18th century, by which time Saint-Domingue (modern-day Haiti) and Jamaica (followed by the Portuguese colony of Brazil) became the largest sugar producers in the world. Cuban TOBACCO also became an important source of revenue for the Spanish Crown during the 18th century. By the 1740s the revenues from Cuban tobacco were more than four times the total income from New Spain.

Plantations and haciendas profoundly affected the demographics of the Americas, but they also produced lasting impacts on the ecosystem of the Americas. Oxen, mules, sheep, pigs, and horses, which were central to the development of agriculture by the late 16th century, also prompted environmental crises. With few natural predators and agricultural systems that were ill-suited to cope with their grazing patterns, European ANIMALS often turned fertile farmland into deserts. The Spanish plow had similar effects on the topsoil, leading to considerable erosion, particularly in those areas prone to torrential rainfall.

Spain's colonial empire was designed to concentrate as much power as possible in the hands of a clique directly responsible to the Crown. The Council of the Indies in Madrid sat at the apex of a pyramid that included the House of Trade, viceroys (the supreme authority in each colony, controlling the administration, the treasury, and military and religious issues), and a series of subordinate officials. Each viceroyalty was divided into *audiencias*, which were in turn divided into *corregimientos*, *alcaldías*, *mayores*, and *gobernaciones*. The only source of local authority, *cabildos* (town councils), were theoretically elected bodies, but powerful local families typically controlled them.

In spite of these efforts at control, the sheer size of the viceroyalties and their layers of administration produced a highly decentralized system largely centered on the *audiencias*. (New Spain alone comprised the Caribbean, modern-day Venezuela, Central America, Florida, Mexico, and the western United States, and its *audiencias* were in GUADALAJARA, Mexico, Guatemala, and Santo Domingo.) Members of the *audiencias* typically acted as a brake on viceregal authority, often taking conflicts with royal officials to the Council of the Indies and ensuring that Madrid was kept abreast of affairs in the colonies. Nonetheless, the great distances between the colonies and Madrid made effective control nearly impossible.

Often described as a rentier state, the Crown used its political authority and economic restrictions to draw as much revenue as possible from the colonies, while royal officials generally used their positions to amass individual wealth. Official trade with Europe was tightly controlled, and merchant guilds kept local markets deliberately understocked, amassing their wealth through bottlenecks, scarcity, and monopolies. After 1550 the Crown also used the fleet system, which limited trade to two trading fleets per year, one of which traveled to Veracruz and the other to Panama. This generated a series of distortions in the colonial ECONOMY that was typified by shortages, underdevelopment of essential economic sectors, and, by the late 17th century, an informal sector that was larger than the "official" economy. As time passed fewer Spanish goods were involved in the trade, which itself began to break down in the 1620s. By this time most colonial production was simply funneled through Spain to the more dynamic economies of western Europe. By the end of century the fleet system was in a state of collapse, and contraband trade flourished.

Reflecting their own poor dynastic fortunes, Habsburg interest in the colonies declined during the 17th century. The practice of selling colonial offices became widespread, eventually reaching as high as the appointment to viceroy. Appointments on *audiencias* were increasingly sold to *criollos* (Spaniards born in the colonies), expanding local autonomy within the empire. During this period much of the wealth generated in the colonies managed to remain there

to pay for public works and administration, and an increasing array of products were made in the colonies to satisfy local demands. This trend was reversed however, after the death of the last Habsburg monarch at the end of the 17th century and the ascendance of the Bourbon dynasty. The period 1713–62 was characterized by efforts to curb abuses, make the empire function efficiently, and improve revenue collection. The 18th century likewise saw a loosening of restrictions on foreign traders in Spanish American ports, weakening the power of the traditional monopolies. The Crown also increasingly turned to registering ships for trade and abandoned the fleet system by the 1740s.

During the 17th and 18th centuries defense also became a central issue for the colonies. Pirate attacks on Spanish shipping and ports grew more frequent (although the bullion was captured only twice, in 1628 and 1656), and during the 1620s and 1630s the English established settlements in the Caribbean, claiming Jamaica in 1655. Likewise, the French established colonies on Martinique and Guadelupe and ultimately seized the western half of the island of Hispaniola, renaming it Saint-Domingue. Unable to stop these incursions, Spain was forced to recognize the claims of other European powers. PIRACY declined after the Treaty of Madrid between England and Spain in 1670, and with the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 the Spanish recognized St. Domingue. Simultaneously, the Crown expanded the MISSIONS, presidios, and military colonies that ringed the northern frontier of New Spain, from California to Florida. In 1739 the need for defense also led to the creation of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, which included modern-day Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Panama.

As with the economy and political institutions, colonial society was defined by a series of hierarchies. Distinctions were made between *criollos* and *peninsulares* (Spaniards born in Spain), with most of the best positions in the colonies being reserved for the latter. European society was also divided among nobles, clerics, and commoners, with special privileges reserved for only the first two groups. Beyond this, the social hierarchy was based on the concept of *limpieza de sangre*, which organized society according to those whose ancestry could be traced most directly to the “Old Christians,” Spaniards without any mixed ancestry. This system delineated those of pure Spanish ancestry as *gente de razón* (people of reason), and Indians and other caste categories as *gente sin razón* (people without reason). Over time Spaniards developed an increasingly complex set of social conventions to maintain their privilege, a task that was incredibly difficult in an increasingly multicultural society. By the 18th century the hierarchy included no less than 19 categories to describe people of mixed ancestry (among them, mestizo, castizo, and mulatto).

Spaniards migrated to the colonies at a rate of between 3,000 and 4,000 per year during the period 1585–1650.

Immigration slowed after 1650, and by end of the 17th century only 500,000 Iberians had migrated to Spain’s colonies. Along with the native-born Spaniards, Europeans represented about one-fourth of the population (almost 600,000) by the end of the 17th century. After recovering from the epidemics of the 16th and early 17th centuries, the population of the colonies began a long period of growth around 1650, reaching 9.4 million by the mid-18th century. Broken down into ethnic categories, by this time the population was 55 percent Indian, 23 percent Spaniard, 15 percent mixed ancestry (*castas*), and 6 percent black.

Approximately 80 percent of Latin Americans lived in rural areas, residing mostly in small hamlets. Most were poor, peasant holders or workers on haciendas, but rural areas also held a tiny middle strata that included small-scale landowners, lower-level bureaucrats, traders, mule drivers, and peddlers. The countryside included relatively few Europeans, as Spaniards tended overwhelmingly to live in cities and have their lands run by hired managers. Cities were the core of colonial life and were vertically organized, with rich Spaniards living in the center around a central plaza and increasingly poor and less ordered barrios spreading out from there. By the close of the 17th century Mexico City contained 200,000 inhabitants, and while preferable for Europeans, this setting was also ideal for many *castas* (one-third of the population of New Spain at the time). Within the fluid social setting of the cities, the caste system was fairly difficult to enforce; able and fortunate migrants could move up the social scale. The metropolis also experienced occasional riots and upheavals, typified by the 1692 uprising in Mexico City, when crowds, suffering from famine and a general economic crisis, destroyed much of the viceregal palace.

In Spanish society two related notions, honor and virtue, were the essential social codes that determined status. Although people of the lower castes were denied both qualities due to their low birth, in elite circles the concepts of masculine honor and feminine virtue played important roles in determining the place of individuals and their families in the social, political, and economic hierarchy. Women were expected to be chaste and pure and to model their lives on the Virgin Mary. Men were expected to defend themselves and their families from any taint of dishonor, ranging from cowardice to illegitimacy to marriages with people of lower rank. These GENDER codes reflected the profound importance of the Catholic Church in colonial society. Although of marginal importance in many indigenous cultures, the Catholic Church acted as one of the most important social, educational, and economic institutions in the colonies. In some cases, however, the social codes created through Roman Catholic ideology could be breached, especially in families that had the financial means to cover up indiscretions by petitioning for legitimacy through the



court and church. Wealthy mestizos and MULATTOES might also “whiten” themselves by marrying up the caste ladder, a practice that was not uncommon in the region.

Women were not considered citizens in a political sense in Latin America, but Spanish customs created opportunities for some women. Spanish inheritance rules dictated that daughters were entitled to an equal share of their parents’ estates and could continue to control their wealth after marriage. Women of means often conducted their own business, and wealthy widows sometimes became important landowners, MERCHANTS, and miners. Many young women also preferred the convents that proliferated in the colonial capitals to the vagaries of marriage. In convents they could conduct their affairs freely and live a life unencumbered by male authority. The Mexican Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651–95) was perhaps the most famous woman to choose such a life during the colonial period. Born the illegitimate child of a modest provincial family, she was given patronage by the wife of a viceroy to enter a Carmelite convent at age 15. In the convent she produced an opus of poetry that ranks her among the best poets Mexico has ever produced.

Poor and rural women were also essential in the economy, as most poor families relied on female labor. Given the frequency with which males migrated for work, it was common in indigenous communities for women to play a crucial role in trade, local agriculture, religious observances, and even rebellions. Furthermore, for those Indian women who survived the epidemics of the 16th century, the opportunities to acquire property expanded, although in many cases their social position eroded as their traditional roles were devalued under colonialism. Indigenous women faced diminished prestige within the Christian nuclear family, and missionary activities tended to lead to an exaggeration of female subordination.

Those at the lowest levels of the hierarchy were perhaps most deeply affected by colonialism. In the area that was to become New Spain, the population plummeted in one of the worst demographic disasters in world history. The 50 million to 100 million Indians in 1492 fell drastically after 1500 due to epidemics and abuse by colonizers. In the Caribbean the population was completely wiped out by 1570, while in central Mexico it declined from as many as 25 million in 1500 to 1 million in 1605. Because of this crisis, the Crown began to resettle Indian populations and passed a series of laws designed to protect the Indian population from further decimation. The reforms of the 16th century made it illegal for non-Indians to reside or hold lands within a specified radius of an Indian village, except for royal officials and church functionaries. The first new Indian villages, called *congregaciones*, were founded in the 1550s, followed by others between 1593 and 1605. They were governed by traditional indigenous authorities

(caciques) who ruled in conjunction with the royal officials known as *corregidores de indios*. Although charged with protecting Indian communities, these administrators were often their worst exploiters.

The *congregaciones* represented both positive and negative developments for indigenous peoples. On the positive side, they afforded mechanisms to defend indigenous communities against Spanish colonizers. Due to the protections afforded by the Crown, some land-owning Indian communities survived the colonial period. In more commercially active regions, such as Mexico’s Bajío, NATIVE AMERICANS tended to be displaced from villages and became tenant farmers in spite of legal protections. However, in some regions, like Oaxaca, Indian villages successfully held on to their lands in the face of encroaching Spaniards. Far from using their legal protections to completely isolate themselves, in villages that maintained their land indigenous peoples often cultivated a mixture of wheat, maize, beans, and squash for domestic CONSUMPTION and local markets. They also produced other market goods, including pots, homespun cotton, wool, wooden items, and beeswax. Some even developed centers of silver working, weaving, and woodworking.

Native Americans in more remote regions often successfully continued their traditional cultures. These villages maintained solidarity through *cofradías*, religious organizations that funded local rituals and festivals. Religious life tended to preserve indigenous spiritual identities, even if local religious leaders shrouded their practices and beliefs in Catholic ritual. The synthesis between Native religions and Catholic iconography encouraged a type of superficial conversion, most clearly seen in the syncretic Guadalupe-Tonantzin, who remains the most venerated religious icon in Mexico to the present.

On the negative side of the equation, in payment for defending indigenous rights the Crown demanded labor and tribute from Native Americans. Indian goods were taxed, and a head tax was exacted on all Indian adult males. Royal officials forced members of Indian communities to buy goods, mules, and clothes under a system known as the *repartimiento de mercancías*. Labor demands for public works, haciendas, and mines came through the *repartimiento* (taking the form of the *mita* in Peru), which obligated adult male Indians to work 45 days each year for the Crown. However, indigenous peoples quickly adopted strategies, ranging from buying their way out of the work requirement to taking flight. Their resistance was so successful that in most regions the *repartimiento* quickly became unfeasible. Although it survived in Central America into the 19th century, by the end of the 16th century most mineworkers and agricultural laborers in New Spain were Indians hired as wage labor and retained through debt peonage.

The work of enslaved Africans was also essential to this system. The first African slaves arrived in the region in the early stages of conquest, with some even acting as conquistadores. By the 1570s slaves were being imported in significant numbers, arriving mostly from present-day Senegambia, Congo, and Angola, with their population reaching 75,000 by century's end. Initially, slaves mostly worked in urban areas but within a few decades constituted a key source of labor for mines and plantations. There were 3,700 slaves in Mexico's silver mines by 1570, representing about 45 percent of the labor force. By 1590 their number declined to 20 percent of the labor force (approximately 1,000 people), and they mostly worked in less dangerous jobs. SLAVERY in Mexico reached its height during the 1650s, when there were 35,000 African slaves in the colony. After this date slavery steadily declined in both Mexico and Peru as the plantation complexes of the Caribbean and Brazil came to dominate. Estimates of the numbers of slaves brought to the Americas by the end of the 18th century vary widely, but the total was about 8 million. Most of these slaves were taken to the Portuguese colony of Brazil or to French, Dutch, and British colonies in the Caribbean. Spanish colonies, including the mainland colonies of New Spain and Peru, along with their colonies in the Caribbean (notably Cuba), imported about 1 million slaves of the total.

The tempo and type of economic activity was decisive in determining the experience of slaves. In the Spanish colonies African slaves occupied a wide variety of jobs, in agriculture, domestic service, and in some cases even urban trades. Some slaves lived apart from their masters and even traveled as muleteers and sailors. By contrast, life for the millions who found themselves immersed in the plantation complex was horrific. Slave life on the plantations was characterized by short lifespans (as little as seven years for newly imported slaves), sex ratios seriously skewed in favor of men, linguistic diversity, and harsh labor conditions. Slaves born in the region rarely lived beyond their 30s, and those brought from AFRICA had even shorter lives. Prosperous plantations tended to be the worst, because the cost of replacing a slave was often lower than the cost of maintaining healthy workers. A typical plantation in Latin America had about 50 slaves, most of whom lived in communal barracks. Women worked in the fields alongside men but were excluded from more skilled jobs, making their escape from the backbreaking labor unlikely.

In other parts of the region manumission was an uncommon but realizable goal. Slave ARTISANS might use money earned from their trades to purchase freedom for themselves and others. Sex, consensual and forced, between white owners and slave women produced a growing mulatto population, some of whom were freed by their masters. By the end of 18th century there were 650,000 free black and

mulatto people in Spanish America, more than twice the number of slaves. In the urban areas of Spanish America African slaves enjoyed an active communal life through their own *cofradías*. They preserved African social organizations, customs, languages, and religions, creating syncretic cultures that drew from African, European, and indigenous traditions. Escaped slave communities, known in Spanish as *palenques* and Portuguese as *quilombos*, also provided opportunities to undermine the dehumanizing practices of slavery and to challenge the institution of racial bondage. These communities flourished in the Caribbean, parts of Mexico, Central America, and Brazil. At least 35 existed in Brazil, some reaching several thousand members.

By the time of the SEVEN YEAR'S WAR, Spain's American colonies had been a mature system for 200 years. Although still central to the colonial enterprise, the extraction of silver was increasingly overshadowed by the rich plantation complex of the Caribbean. This was itself problematic for the empire, as a region that once had been the preserve of Spain alone was being contested by more prosperous and aggressive colonial competitors. Conquered by the British during the war, Havana was both a strategic and economically crucial lynchpin of the empire. All along the northern frontier as well, the empire was under siege, meaning that expanded militarization (and increased revenue to pay for it) would likely be the only way of preserving the colonies in the future. This was an ominous sign for the *casta*, indigenous, and African peoples throughout the region because growing quantities of their labor, tribute, and military service would be demanded in order to save the empire.

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—Alexander Dawson

### Spanish immigration

The first Spanish immigrants to arrive in the New World were the conquistadores. Following patterns established in the Iberian *reconquista*, the gradual retaking of Spain and Portugal from Moorish invaders between 711 and 1492, the conquistadores sought plunder, but also the political and social advancement that large estates could offer. Thus the most successful of the Spanish conquistadores, Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro, not only gained enormous wealth but also became titled aristocrats in the process. Conquistadores paid for their own equipment and received

permission for their expeditions from the Spanish monarchy in exchange for the “royal fifth,” that is, one-fifth of the plunder confiscated by the conquistadores. While some of the conquistadores came from affluent families, few had much material wealth before their expeditions. The practice of primogeniture in Spain meant that younger sons and daughters inherited little. The New World thus offered an opportunity to acquire wealth and honor denied them in Spain. The majority of the conquistadores were young males who came from the working classes. They hoped to gain the title *hidalgo* (literally “son of someone”), the lowest rank of nobility.

Once the conquest ended, a new type of Spanish immigrant began to arrive in the New World. They were educated and well connected with the mother country. Many of the new arrivals became royal officials or religious leaders. They often received the favor of the royal court, much to the despair of the earlier settlers. Many of the new arrivals saw their positions in the New World as a stepping-stone to better things and never became permanent residents. Artisans, laborers, soldiers, and sailors also arrived to begin new lives in New Spain. Almost a third of the immigrants came from Andalusia whose capital, Seville, was the sole port of debarkation for the New World, and most of the rest came from Extremadura and New Seville in the southwest quarter of the peninsula. Many others came from various outposts of the Spanish Empire, such as the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands, and the Canary Islands.

During the 16th century, approximately 225,000 Spaniards moved to the New World. Another 200,000 had arrived by 1650. Despite the immigration, Spaniards never made up more than 2 percent of the population in New Spain. Few women went to New Spain in the early years. By the 1580s the proportion of women migrating to New Spain was nearly one in three, having increased from a ratio of one in 20 before 1519. Whenever they came, however, immigrants mostly came from the middle sectors of Spanish society, for the nobility found little reason to leave their estates and their positions at court, while the poorest peasants could ill-afford the high transportation costs to the Spanish colonies. In the 18th century, soldiers made up a substantial proportion of immigrants, especially since the vast majority of them either deserted or remained in New Spain when their enlistment contracts expired.

Although small in number, the *peninsulares*, people born on the Iberian Peninsula, were the ruling class. They held the best positions in the government and the church. They outranked pure-blooded Spaniards born in New Spain, the *criollos*. Since relatively few women migrated to New Spain, Spanish men often married Indians or blacks, creating a generation of *mestizos* and *MULATTOES*. Each succeeding generation became more racially diverse, with race an important determinant of social status.

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—Jeffrey D. Carlisle and Ronald Schultz

## spinsters

During the 17th century the term *spinster* came to mean not only a female spinner of wool, cotton, or linen, but also a never-married woman. The two meanings overlapped because many single women earned their living by spinning. Over the course of the 17th and 18th centuries *spinster* took on a derogatory meaning. England apparently leading the way in developing this connotation. Some scholars contend that spinsters, in addition to challenging prevailing models of womanhood that prescribed the proper role of an adult woman to be wife and mother, were seen as impediments to British mercantile and imperialist expansion, which required constant childbearing to reproduce the workforce.

While single women formed between 10 and 20 percent of the adult female population in Europe between 1250 and 1800, they were anomalies in the early North American colonies. For example, between 1619 and 1622 approximately 150 single English women came to VIRGINIA. By the end of 1622 every one of them had married. In 17th-century New England virtually all white women married as well. New England authorities deemed single people, both men and women, to be so potentially disruptive to social order that they were directed to live with “well governed families.” Single women over the age of 23 earned the label *spinster*. If they were still unmarried at 26, they were called “thornbacks,” an unflattering reference to a sea skate with sharp spines on its back and tail. Unmarried women were also more vulnerable to charges of WITCHCRAFT. By the 18th century spinsters were not seen as necessarily threatening to social order, but as objects of derision and scorn. Old maids were considered odd, ugly, ill-natured, nosy, and possessing undue curiosity, childlike credulity, absurd affectations, and spiteful natures.

In Europe spinsters or “maids” most commonly supported themselves as servants, but some also engaged in other wage labor, piece work, petty trading, or small shop-keeping. In 17th-century New England the apprenticeship system trained girls only for housewifery; there is no record of a mercantile establishment hiring a single woman until after KING PHILIP’S WAR. By the 18th century more single women found employment in the kinds of jobs available in Europe, traders were sometimes referred to as “she-merchants,” and some single women worked in newspaper printing, teaching, and sewing. Even so, as was true across the Atlantic, these were usually poorly paid positions, with low status and little hope of economic security.

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—Mary Murphy

**Squanto** (1580?–1622) *interpreter, intermediary*

One of the most pivotal figures in the history of English colonization of North America was Squanto (also known as Tisquantum), a Patuxet Indian. The Patuxet were an ALGONQUIN-speaking tribe who engaged in AGRICULTURE, hunting, and FISHING in the coastal region of what would become southern New England. Europeans visited the area with several exploratory ventures, most notably SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN in 1605 and JOHN SMITH in 1614, describing a land with a substantial population that offered potential for FUR TRADE and agricultural development. Details about Squanto's early life are sketchy, as are the events leading to his departure from the American mainland. One likely scenario offered by historians is that Thomas Hunt, an officer left in charge of the fishing operation in Smith's expedition, captured Squanto along with approximately 20 other NATIVE AMERICANS and attempted to sell them as slaves in Spain. Not surprisingly, Hunt's action served to embitter relations between Europeans and Native Americans in New England.

Not much is known about Squanto's life shortly after his capture, but in 1617 he was living in London in the household of John Slany, an employee of the Newfoundland Company. Through this association Squanto met Sir Ferdinand Gorges, who decided to send Squanto back to New England to act as an interpreter for a 1619 expedition. The New England Squanto encountered upon his return was already radically changed from the one he had left only years earlier. The most dramatic difference was in the Native population, which had fallen victim to an epidemic of European DISEASE in 1616. The Patuxet were hit particularly hard, and the surviving members abandoned their village before Squanto arrived. Left without family or tribal ties, Squanto offered to serve as an interpreter for the Wampanoag Indians and the newly arrived English colony at PLYMOUTH in 1620. Along with Samoset, Squanto served as translator and intermediary between the Pilgrim settlers and MASSASOIT, the Wampanoag sachem.

Like many Natives who worked (willingly or through force) as translators in the early colonial period, Squanto soon found himself caught between two worlds, with one foot in English culture and one ensconced in the Algonquin world. By helping the struggling PILGRIMS learn how to grow crops in the marginal New England soil, Squanto ensured their survival and established himself in a posi-

tion of considerable authority within the English colony. In addition, as the primary interpreter between Massasoit and the Pilgrims, Squanto was central to the increasingly fractious political negotiations that took place after 1620. The balance was impossible to maintain for long, however. In trying to enhance his own political position, Squanto alienated Massasoit. In 1622, while returning from a meeting with the sachem, Squanto succumbed to the same diseases that had ravaged his people in the earlier epidemic.

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—Melanie Perreault and Billy G. Smith

**Standish, Myles** (1584?–1656) *military leader*

As the military commander of the PILGRIMS and the PLYMOUTH Colony, Captain Myles Standish was responsible for the colony's security. Standish claimed descent from the Roman Catholic family Standish and that his inheritance from the family had been "surreptitiously detained." He served in the continental wars in the Low Countries before joining the Pilgrim Separatists in London on their voyage to North America. He was one of the signers of the MAYFLOWER COMPACT. Standish's experiences on various campaigns apparently rendered him hardy enough to escape the "general sickness" of the first winter in Plymouth, which claimed the life of his first wife, Rose. He led several of the exploratory expeditions in and around Plymouth, including the 1622 offensive against the Massachusetts Indians at Wessagusset.

Standish was derisively referred to as "Captaine Shrimp" by THOMAS MORTON of Merrymount. Standish had broken up the Merrymount trading settlement in 1628 and arrested Morton, sending him back to England. Standish remarried in 1623 or 1624 and helped established Duxbury, the first direct offshoot of the Plymouth church, which was incorporated as a town in 1637. Standish was also a chief negotiator with local Natives, learning several dialects and helping to keep peaceful relations between them and the colonists. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow chose Standish as the hero of his 1858 poetic romance, *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, based on the story published in Timothy Alden's *A Collection of American Epitaphs and Inscriptions* (1814). Standish was depicted as a courageous, hot-tempered military man, unable to court Priscilla Mullins because of his lack of words and instead requesting his young friend JOHN ALDEN to court her on Standish's behalf. There is little evidence beyond oral tradition for the romance, but it was one of the most popular poems in 19th- and 20th-century America.

—Stephen C. O'Neill



**Starbuck, Mary Coffin** (1645–1717) *minister*

The youngest daughter of one of the earliest and most prominent settlers of Nantucket, Mary Coffin became an important proselytizer and the first recognized minister of the Society of Friends (QUAKERS) on the island. She was born February 20, 1645, in Haverhill, MASSACHUSETTS, to Tristram Coffin and Dionis Stevens, who moved the family to Nantucket in 1662. That same year Mary became the wife of Nathaniel Starbuck.

Mary's wealth and status afforded her a significant role in the community. Her husband, the wealthiest man on the island, operated a farm and served as a government official. Mary tended their 10 children (two died before reaching adulthood) and the households of her extended family after the deaths of both her and Nathaniel's mothers. Her most remembered role, though, is as a religious leader.

Literate and well-versed in the scriptures but apparently a member of no particular church, Mary joined a Calvinist "circle" attended by her in-laws and ultimately became its leader. In the 1690s, however, a rift in the community over land titles and the deaths of several prominent Nantucket leaders ushered in a new era, allowing Quaker missionaries to gain what at first seemed to be a weak foothold on the island. Mary became one of the earliest to be included among the converted.

That she had assumed a leadership role in her previous religious organization suggests that some similarities existed between the beliefs of that group and those of the Quakers. Most important for Mary was the Quaker support of equal status for women in religious activities, including ministering. By 1708 the Starbucks had begun holding Quaker meetings in their home, known as "Parliament House," and Mary, at age 63, had become an influential leader.

Women of the period typically played a large role in the religious EDUCATION of their children, and Mary was no exception. Although her children had reached adulthood by the time of her conversion, she still maintained significant influence over their lives. Only one of her children did not embrace Quakerism.

—Nicki Walker Carroll

**Stono Rebellion** (1739)

The Stono Rebellion was the largest slave revolt in British North America. It began on Sunday, September 9, 1739, when a group of roughly 20 slaves (the exact number is uncertain), led by a slave named "Jemmy," broke into Hutchenson's store near the Stono River, in St. Paul's parish southwest of CHARLESTON. After beheading two storekeepers and seizing weapons at the store, the rebel band marched southward toward FLORIDA, where they expected to find freedom among the Spanish at ST. AUGUSTINE, who had promised liberty to black fugitives from Carolina.

Beating drums and shouting "liberty," the rebels gathered more than 50 recruits along the way. The rebel "army" attacked and burned selected plantations and killed at least a score of white people before an armed posse of militiamen sent by Lieutenant Governor William Bull from SOUTH CAROLINA defeated the rebels in pitched battles at Stono, only 50 miles from Florida. The rebels did not kill whites indiscriminately, however. For instance, they spared an innkeeper whom they thought "was a good man and kind to his slaves."

Some of the rebels escaped, and several made their way to St. Augustine, where they became integrated into the large black community there and, joined by other run-aways, fought on the side of the Spanish in the border war against their former masters. But the main body of rebels was caught. In a fury of revenge, and also in a calculated move to demonstrate white power, the militiamen shot, hanged, and "Gibbeted alive" the rebels. For weeks thereafter suspected (and real) rebels and black fugitives were captured and killed as Carolina authorities clamped down on SLAVE RESISTANCE of any kind.

Many factors contributed to the Stono Rebellion. The rebellion grew out of the changing structure of race relations and SLAVERY in South Carolina. As the black population came to outnumber the white people in the colony by almost a two-to-one ratio by 1739, and as the slave population increasingly was made up of direct "imports" from Africa, mostly young males from Angola, white control over slaves became more tenuous. White people previously had relied on slaves to join in the defense against Indian attacks and Spanish incursions and entrusted acculturated slaves with large responsibilities as cowherders, boatmen, and planters. However, the demographic change, the emergence of a plantation ECONOMY, an epidemic raging among white inhabitants, and hostilities with the Spanish left the white people feeling exposed. A tighter slave code seemed in the offing as authorities sought to increase white vigilance and curtail black mobility. The first rumblings of the GREAT AWAKENING, with its egalitarian outreach to people of all classes and conditions, added to the social unrest. News of the start of a war between Spain and Britain made everyone in Carolina edgy, but the Spanish promise of liberty to fugitive slaves triggered the uprising. The newly arrived Kongolese rebels were not Protestants, however. Prior to and during their enslavement in North America, they practiced Catholicism, which helped to shape the form and timing of the event. That some of the newly arrived Africans likely had military experience, and that Jemmy and other slaves were attuned to local circumstances and knew the region's geography, no doubt encouraged the rebels to act. The rebels' early success (which included almost capturing the lieutenant governor) attested to their ability and planning. Historians speculate that had the rebels made good

their bid for freedom, the revolt would have spread and possibly threatened slavery in Carolina altogether.

The South Carolina authorities took no chances with any further erosion of white mastery. In 1740 the Assembly enacted the most stringent slave code in the North American colonies, cut back on African importations, and moved against the Spanish and black fugitives in Florida. Ironically, even as the memory of the Stono Rebellion haunted planters, their need for field hands to work the rice plantations led them to resume importations of Africans, whose numbers and large concentrations in the Low Country reinforced African culture and contributed to a higher degree of slave cultural autonomy there than anywhere else in colonial North America. Under such circumstances, resistance took more subtle forms rather than outright collective violence. No more Stono Rebellions occurred in the Carolinas, or anywhere in the colonies thereafter, but the establishment of a free black colony at FORT MOSE, in Florida, served as a haven for Carolina run-away slaves headed south.

Historians have begun to examine more than the effects of enslavement on this group once they were in North America. Looking beyond relations between colonizers and the enslaved, they have explored the role of other European powers such as Spain, the particular African societies from which this group came, and religious influences beyond Protestantism. More important to the memory of Stono, slaves in South Carolina seized the opportunity at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War to flee plantations and remind their masters that ownership of slaves did not mean mastery of them.

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—Randall M. Miller and Leslie Patrick

**Stuart, John** (1718–1784) *colonial Indian superintendent*

John Stuart was born in Inverness, Scotland, into a merchant family. While on a business trip to England in 1740,

he signed on as a clerk to Captain John Anson's deadly and highly lucrative PRIVATEERING expedition against Spanish shipping. After circumnavigating the globe with Anson, Stuart returned to London a considerably richer man. He sailed to SOUTH CAROLINA in 1748, establishing himself in CHARLESTON as a partner in the trading company of Stuart and Reid, which soon failed. Stuart recovered financially, aided by his participation in Charleston's society and the colony's militia. Serving as a captain in the South Carolina provincials during the Anglo-Cherokee War of 1761–62, Stuart was captured at the siege of Fort Loudoun but was rescued by the war chief ATTAKULLAKULLA and returned to Charleston a hero.

Stuart's social standing, knowledge of Indian affairs, and friendship with the CHEROKEE secured him the post of superintendent of Indian affairs for the Southern District in 1761. The father of several Cherokee children and a friend of Attakullakulla, Stuart was intent upon "fixing the British Empire in the Hearts of the Indians" by extending imperial control in the southern backcountry to curb abuses by unscrupulous traders and to regulate colonial appropriation of Indian land. Employing gifts, persuasion, and subterfuge, Stuart sanctioned and provoked hostilities among the Cherokee, IROQUOIS, CREEK, and CHOCTAW, encouraging them to fight each other rather than against the Crown and colonists. Favoring peaceful white expansion as long as it did not intrude into Indian towns, Stuart negotiated the treaties of Hard Labor (1768), Lochaber (1770), and Augusta (1773) to establish boundaries between Euro-American and Indian settlements. While profiting from the Indian trade, Stuart worked hard, but unsuccessfully, with colonial governors to regulate activities of aggressive, unscrupulous traders.

Prospering greatly from his imperial post and his own trading activities, Stuart eventually acquired a mansion in Charleston and a plantation on Lady's Island, which he fled in 1775 when threatened with arrest by the American Revolutionaries. He escaped to ST. AUGUSTINE and Pensacola. There, he struggled to unite Indian nations that he previously had tried to divide, while restraining them from entering the War for Independence out of fear that Indian raids would drive neutral colonists into the rebel camp. Ordered by General Gage to unleash the Indians or lose his post, Stuart reluctantly approved Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw attacks and supplied them from Mobile, Pensacola, and St. Augustine. The British government severely censured Stuart in 1778 for the failure of his Indian and Loyalist units to blockade the Mississippi against a rebel invasion as well as for his inability to rally Indians to support Colonel Archibald Campbell's expedition in GEORGIA. Stuart died shortly thereafter in Pensacola in 1784.

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—James Bruggeman

**Stuyvesant, Peter** (1610?–1672) *Dutch colonial governor*

Peter Stuyvesant served as the director general of the NEW NETHERLAND colony for 17 years, making his tenure the longest of any governor of colonial NEW YORK. Son of a Dutch Reformed minister in the Netherlands, Stuyvesant spent some time at university before becoming an employee of the DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY. His first foreign assignments were in the Dutch colony of Brazil. In 1638 he became the chief commercial officer on the CARIBBEAN island of Curaçao and within four years was promoted to the governor's chair. During his tenure in the West Indies, Stuyvesant lost part of his right leg in a military engagement. While recuperating in the Netherlands, the Dutch West India Company rewarded Stuyvesant for his valor and service by conferring on him its top post in the New Netherland colony.

Stuyvesant's iron determination met a formidable challenge in Holland's fledgling colony. In 1647 he arrived on Manhattan to find a village in shambles, largely the result of his predecessor's disastrous nine-year tenure. A choleric, industrious ruler, Stuyvesant immediately set about reforming the disorderly town, instituting new laws on sanitation, trade with NATIVE AMERICANS, vice, and ALCOHOL. Ordered by his superiors to share power with a council of prominent men chosen by the people, Stuyvesant instead hand-picked his Board of Nine Men and restricted their power, thus ensuring a strained relationship with his counselors for the rest of his term. He was less successful in forcing his will on the towns outside NEW AMSTERDAM. Before his arrival the English settlements on western Long Island had succeeded in procuring local self-government from the Dutch authorities. During Stuyvesant's watch, the Dutch towns on the island followed suit.

Stuyvesant also tried to hold back the tide of religious diversity in this polyglot colony. A devout Calvinist, the director general enforced the establishment of the Dutch Reformed congregation, the only church permitted to hold public services in New Netherland. While successfully restricting other Christian sects from public establishment, Stuyvesant tried to expel both JEWS and QUAKERS. He called the 23 Jewish refugees from Brazil who arrived in 1654 "hateful enemies and blasphemers of the name of Christ." He labeled the Quakers who landed in 1657



Peter Stuyvesant (Hulton/Archive)

as "heretics, deceivers, and seducers." The directors of the West India Company overruled Stuyvesant's attempt to expel these groups, asserting that religious repression would discourage prospective settlers.

Stuyvesant dealt with outside threats as well. In 1655 he organized an expedition of 600 men to conquer the Swedish settlements on the Delaware. Stuyvesant's colony also defeated three major military challenges from the area's Native population, but the most serious outside threat came from England. In 1650 Stuyvesant went to Hartford, CONNECTICUT, to hammer out the terms of a treaty that defined the borders between New Netherland and New England, yet when war erupted in Europe between England and Holland, New England resurrected its old claims and threatened to conquer New Netherland. In response to the English menace, Stuyvesant built a "high stockade" that ran east to west across the island and later became Wall Street. Surviving the First Anglo-Dutch War, New Netherland experienced great growth and prosperity in the waning years of Dutch rule. The beaver trade reached its zenith, and the number of houses tripled in the last years of Stuyvesant's rule. During the Second Anglo-Dutch War, the English finally made good on their threat, sailing to the city in August 1664 and promising a continuation of Dutch trading and property rights. Despite Stuyvesant's strong objections, the inhabitants of the city,



including his eldest son, urged him to surrender peacefully. Stuyvesant spent the next three years in Holland defending his reputation in light of the effortless British conquest. He returned to his farm, then situated in the British colony of New York, to live out the remaining years of his life. He died in February 1672 and is buried in the vault of St. Mark's-in-the-Bowery Church, the site of the chapel built by Stuyvesant on his farm.

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—Judy VanBuskirk

### suffrage

British colonial suffrage laws were modeled on English laws but varied considerably from one colony to another. Political leaders tacitly assumed that only free, white, property-owning men would cast votes, although some jurisdictions occasionally permitted property-holding single women, NATIVE AMERICANS, and free AFRICAN AMERICANS to vote. Suffrage laws became somewhat more uniform in the 18th century, as the American colonies increasingly reserved voting rights for Protestant men of European descent. SOUTH CAROLINA and VIRGINIA disenfranchised free African Americans in 1716 and 1723, respectively. Several colonies also disenfranchised ROMAN CATHOLICS and JEWS in the early 18th century; on the other hand, many colonies repealed suffrage restrictions they had previously placed on Protestant dissenters.

Among white men suffrage was restricted to free property holders. Indentured servants were sometimes permitted to vote in local elections but seldom in colony-wide elections. South Carolina, Virginia, NEW YORK, and PENNSYLVANIA explicitly disenfranchised indentured servants in the 18th century. Property requirements for voting were quite liberal, however: possession of a 40-shilling freehold or an estate worth £40 was a common requirement in the northern colonies, while the plantation colonies typically required voters to own 50 acres of land. By 18th-century European standards, American colonists enjoyed an exceptionally broad suffrage, even if it was very limited by standards in the United States today.

Although many adult white men enjoyed the right to vote, the value of the suffrage was limited. Several colonies instituted property qualifications for assembly candidates that were much higher than were those for voters; local elites dominated colonial legislatures from NEW HAMPSHIRE to GEORGIA. Consensus was an important political value in New England and parts of the plantation South, and many elections were not contested. For all these reasons, voter turnout was relatively low, typically between 20 and 40

percent of adult white men. Many voters attended polling places primarily in order to express fealty to political patrons or to enjoy the refreshments provided by the candidates.

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—Darcy R. Fryer and Billy G. Smith

### Susquehannock War (1676)

The Susquehannock War of 1676 was one of many wars between NATIVE AMERICANS and European settlers that set the East Coast ablaze in 1675–77. The Susquehannock, who had been decimated by SMALLPOX and wars with the IROQUOIS, fled to MARYLAND and camped on Piscataway Creek near the fort occupied by the Piscataway Indians. The Susquehannock asked the governor to allow them to settle in Maryland because they had a treaty of peace and friendship with the colony. Worried about potential conflicts between the Susquehannock and the Piscataway, Maryland officials offered the Susquehannock land above the Potomac's Great Falls, a remote region that the Susquehannock found undesirable. In July 1675 trouble began. Murders and robberies in VIRGINIA and Maryland were attributed by colonists to the Susquehannock. In September Colonel John Washington of Virginia asked permission and cooperation from the Maryland council to attack the Susquehannock in Maryland. Both Maryland and Virginia raised 500 troops each to carry out orders that the Susquehannock "be forthwith forced off from the place they now are and remove themselves to the place they assured the last Assembly they would goe and seate themselves." Many local Indians joined the colonial forces.

The colonial commanders accused the Susquehannock of murders in both colonies, which they denied. Although the treaty with Maryland pledged eternal friendship with the Susquehannock, colonial forces murdered the Indian leaders and laid siege to their encampment. With only 100 warriors, the Susquehannock managed to resist for six weeks, killing between 50 and 100 colonists. Eventually, the Susquehannock escaped and fled into Virginia, where they raided settlements at the heads of the Rappahannock and York Rivers.

This tragedy was a triggering event of BACON'S REBELLION, in which Nathaniel Bacon and his followers attacked peaceful Indian allies and eventually challenged the Virginia government itself. In the process, many of the local Indian groups were exterminated.

**Further reading:** Helen C. Rountree and Thomas E. Davidson, *Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997).

—James F. Adomanis

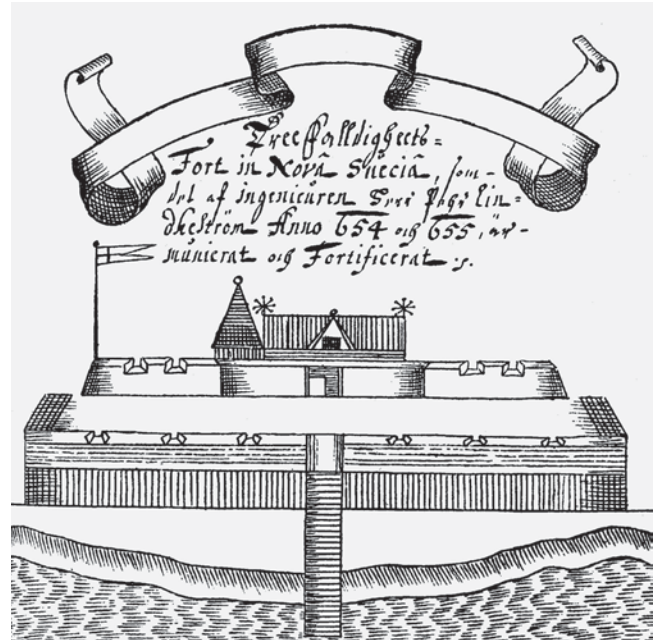


## Swedish colonies

The Swedish colony of Nya Sverige (New Sweden) on the Delaware River was the smallest of all European colonies in North America, with a population of only about 200 for most of its short duration (1638–55), but New Sweden was significant beyond its size and longitude in establishing patterns of population diversity and Indian relations unknown in most of the other colonies. The population included Swedes, Finns, Dutch, Germans, Poles, and English. From the start the colony's leaders purchased lands from the local Lenape and Susquehannock Indians rather than claiming land rights by "first discovery," as the Dutch and English had.

Peter Minuit led the first Swedish expedition and established Fort Christina (now Wilmington, DELAWARE) in 1638 as an outpost of the New Sweden Company, a private company of Dutch and Swedish investors who expected to profit from trade in furs and TOBACCO. By 1641 the Swedish Crown had bought out the Dutch investors. The colony began as a military and trading post but evolved into a successful trading and agricultural settlement under the governorship of Johan Printz (1643–53). Printz's daughter, Armgard, one of the first Swedish women to arrive in the colony, married her father's successor, Johan Papegoja, and achieved notoriety when she refused to accompany her husband back to Sweden.

Over an 18-year period 12 expeditions set out from Sweden for New Sweden; two of these never made it to the colony (one was seized by the Dutch, the other by the Spanish). Most immigrants were from areas then under the control of the Swedish Crown, which encompassed Finland and, during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), extended over much of Poland and Prussia as well as some German towns. The earliest immigrants were mostly soldiers and other single men; some were convicted criminals who had chosen military service in New Sweden instead of death by hanging. Subsequent settlers included nobles, clergy, MERCHANTS, civil servants, peasants, and laborers. The final expedition in 1656 included 350 women, men, and children, most of them Finns or Swedes who had lived in



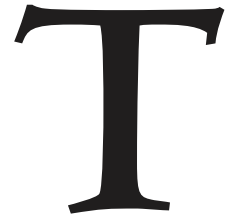
This woodcut shows Fort Christina, the Swedes' main outpost on the Delaware River. (Library of Congress)

Finland. Even before the ships sailed, New Sweden had surrendered to the Dutch, who controlled the region until the English took control in 1664 and again in 1674. After WILLIAM PENN became proprietor in 1681, he relied on Swedish traders and interpreters in his negotiations with the Lenape and other Indians. In 1697 the Swedish and Finnish population in the region numbered at least 1,200; many continued to speak the languages of their ancestors until well into the 18th century.

**Further reading:** C. A. Weslager, *New Sweden on the Delaware, 1638–1655* (Wilmington, Del.: Middle Atlantic Press, 1988).

—Alison Duncan Hirsch





### taverns and inns

Two types of buildings were present in most colonial towns and villages—churches and taverns—and public drinking houses were far more common than public houses of worship. Although *tavern* was the term most commonly employed, *ordinary*, *inn*, and *public house* were used interchangeably.

Taverns assumed many forms. The City Tavern in PHILADELPHIA, for instance, was an elaborate affair, a two-story brick building measuring 50 feet by 46 feet. The building's appearance was especially fashionable because it was set back a considerable distance from the street. The bar and public meeting rooms filled the first floor, each extending for the entire length of the building. In these spaces patrons could find various colonial and British newspapers. Moveable screens provided flexibility for smaller, more private meetings. On the second floor were two clubrooms that could be altered to be one large space measuring nearly 50 feet in length. The second floor also contained a long room appropriate for gaming or, for the more genteel folks opposed to this sort of entertainment, the rooms could be used for meetings. Similarly, the Indian King, a converted Philadelphia mansion, consisted of 18 rooms, 14 with fireplaces, and stables for up to 100 horses.

These upper-end establishments attracted their clientele from society's elite and required experienced, worthy proprietors. One applicant to manage the City Tavern claimed to be qualified because he had kept a tavern in Dublin that "entertained noblemen and gentlemen." Proprietors of such large public houses had a wide range of functions. They cared for the rooms and stables, managed the kitchen, acted as host, greeted new arrivals, assisted with special events, and handled the funds. They also played supervisory roles over a staff that might include cooks and waiters, drivers, and wood carters. They were also responsible for the quality of the entertainments that ranged from food and drink to conversation and diversions.

Taverns open for lower- and middling-status patrons varied enormously. Proprietors often converted houses into ordinaries by posting a sign, serving liquor, and setting up additional beds for guests. Interior spaces were undifferentiated; travelers might encounter sleeping accommodations in any room of the house. Benjamin Bullivant, who journeyed from MASSACHUSETTS, spent a sleepless night in a NEW JERSEY tavern because a group of privateers partied in the public room with "theyr girles." When the tavern was a single room, all activities took place in the same space. Waightstill Avery arrived at Powel's Tavern somewhere in NORTH CAROLINA, where he encountered a drunk assembly—the landlord, a neighbor, and two travelers—eating supper. "There being but one room in the house . . . I watched carefully all night, to keep them from falling over and spewing upon me."

Early Americans entered taverns for a variety of activities, all of which they lubricated generously with drink. Men gathered on a regular basis to transact business, argue about politics, or share a convivial pint with friends. Visitors staying at these establishments might witness a heated argument about the price of wheat in PENNSYLVANIA or the inspirational quality of a minister's sermon in BOSTON. The laboring classes exchanged news of the day, plotted political action, or drank among coworkers and friends. Customers who depended on rural taverns joined mixed company. If these inns were well situated on a main road, the patrons included local residents as well as travelers who needed a night's lodging, a warm fire in winter, and a cool drink in summer. Colonial militias practiced on the village green and then retired to the local tavern to quench their thirst and relive their feats.

Every colony established a legal code to control the behavior inside taverns. The North Carolina statute was typical: Taverns were required to have "good Wholesome, and cleanly Lodging and Dyet for Travellers and Stable, Fodder, and Corn, or Pasturage and Corn . . . for their horses." Massachusetts lawmakers concurred. Public

houses were to be established primarily for the “receiving and refreshment of travailleurs and strangers, and to serve the public occasions of such town or precinct.” Laws also defined who could have access to taverns. Servants and slaves were prohibited from partaking of tavern services unless given explicit permission by their masters. All colonies passed laws making it illegal to sell alcoholic beverages to Indians, and the statutes placed MARINERS in a special category. Their time inside taverns was limited, and tavern keepers could not extend credit to them.

Local leaders determined what forms of alcoholic beverages were to be sold by which establishments. Pennsylvania, for example, designated some public houses for the sale of wine and beer, while others could offer the whole range of spirituous liquors. In addition, a “take out” trade developed that allowed retail establishments to sell larger quantities to be consumed off the tavern premises. In the 17th century all licenses specified what beverages could be sold. Most sold beer and cider. Some had permission to sell wine. The Bay Colony drew the finest distinctions among drink sellers. Richard Knot, for example, was granted a license to sell “strongwater at retail only to his own fishermen [belonging to his boat or concerned in the voyage].” In the first decades of the 18th century, as demands for particular drinks altered, some Boston tavern keepers stocked rum exclusively. Massachusetts magistrates also stipulated how distilled liquors were to be produced in an effort to protect their citizens from potentially lethal drink. In 1723–24 it was unlawful to distill rum or other strong liquors in lead pipes because it was “judged on good grounds to be unwholesome and hurtful.”

All colonies set prices on provisions for horses and for food, drink, and lodging for humans, making it a crime to charge above the rates. Certain localities created very detailed price lists. Overnight rates in Hampshire County, Massachusetts, varied depending on whether the traveler insisted on clean sheets and whether a lodger was willing to share a bed and if so, with how many people. In Edgecomb County, North Carolina, sharing a bed with one other person was half the rate of having one’s own bed. In Rowan County, North Carolina, additional savings were possible if travelers were willing to share the bed “with 2 or more” persons. It appears as if Hampshire County, Massachusetts’s, lawmakers merely toyed with this idea; they crossed out the line “with 2 or more in the same bed each person.” Gradually, in an attempt to protect the patrons, all colonies required that tavern keepers display the rates “in the common entertaining room.”

As in England, operating a tavern in any of the North American colonies required a license. The process to obtain a license varied somewhat from colony to colony, but in the 17th century it was usually initiated by peti-

tioning the office of the governor. The hopeful petitioner stated why he or she was a suitable candidate for selling alcoholic beverages and assured the governor that his or her house was well equipped to tend to the needs of travelers. By the 18th century the licensing procedures had moved from the provincial level exclusively to town or county. For example, a Boston petitioner continued to request a license from the selectmen who made their recommendations to the Court of General Sessions of the Peace. They then gave final approval. Committees annually visited “the taverns and houses of retailers” in Suffolk County towns to assess the quality of accommodations, furnishings, and provisions. They also determined whether the current tavern keepers were suitable for their employment and whether any of the towns might be in need of more taverns. Based on this annual tour, the selectmen presented their recommendations. They identified towns that required taverns and listed tavern licenses to be renewed or canceled. Similarly, Philadelphia residents petitioned the justices of the Court of Quarter Sessions, who passed on their recommendations to the governor. In some cases the petitioner was required to post a bond guaranteeing that the public would display good behavior inside the public house.

Regardless of their size or the quality of their food and drink, colonists conceded that their lives would be incomplete without access to taverns. Contemporaries who wrote about the tavern identified a far greater role than simply a place where colonists gathered to socialize. The public house was, according to a theorist of social relations, a space in which “the informal logic of actual life” could be discovered and reconstructed.

**Further Reading:** Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

—Sharon V. Salinger

**Teach, Edward (“Blackbeard”)** (d. 1718) *pirate*

“Come,” spoke Captain Edward Teach, “let us make a Hell of [our] own, and try how long we can bear it.” These words are attributed to the most well-known pirate of the “Golden Age of Piracy,” known as Blackbeard. Originally from Bristol, England, Teach made his way to the West Indies by working aboard privateers during QUEEN ANNE’S WAR (1702–13). When hostilities ended many privateer crews found themselves suddenly unemployed. Providence Island in the Bahamas became a colony for these ex-privateers, and under the leadership of Captain Benjamin Hornigold, many turned to piracy in 1715 and 1716. Edward Teach, because of his cruelty and fearlessness, became a pirate captain by the spring



of 1717. Hornigold accepted an amnesty from the Crown on returning to Providence Island, but Teach refused and began his piracy career in earnest, sailing his ship, the *Queen Anne's Revenge*, through the CARIBBEAN and then off the Carolina and VIRGINIA coasts.

Blackbeard sailed in consort at various times with other pirate captains STEDE BONNET and Charles Vane. Blackbeard and his crew met with Governor Charles Eden of NORTH CAROLINA to accept an amnesty in January 1718, but Blackbeard clearly had little intention of ceasing his piratical activities. There is evidence that Governor Eden and his secretary, Tobias Knight, were in league with the notorious pirate. In May 1718 Blackbeard, by now commanding a small flotilla of ships, blockaded CHARLESTON Harbor. SOUTH CAROLINA's governor and council had no choice but to pay off the pirates with medical supplies because of the colony's desperate position after several years of fighting the Tuscarora Indians. Blackbeard and his crew then established a base among the islands and inlets of North Carolina. Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia issued a proclamation against pirates, offering rewards for their capture or deaths. Lieutenant Robert Maynard of the Royal Navy soon trapped Blackbeard in Ocracoke Inlet, North Carolina. Maynard and Blackbeard and their crews engaged each other in fierce fighting, much of which was hand-to-hand. Blackbeard was eventually killed during the fighting. Lieutenant Maynard ordered the pirate's severed head to be hung from the bowsprit of the Royal Navy vessel. Blackbeard's surviving crew were arrested; many of them were tried and executed.

Although his career was relatively short, Blackbeard looms large in pirate lore, especially according to the descriptions of him in Captain Charles Johnson's *General History of the Pyrates*, originally published in 1724. His appearance was designed to strike fear in both his friends and his enemies. Blackbeard had a large, thick black beard and long hair, which he tied in small queues and to which he affixed lighted rope matches. The effect was to create a halo of smoke around his head and the smell of burning rope. Blackbeard was a fearsome sight, wearing a sling with three pistols, usually emboldened by rum, and often charging headlong into battle. Blackbeard consciously cultivated an image of himself as Satan, a representation that might scare his enemies into not pursuing a fight.

Blackbeard, apart from his appearance as "Fury from Hell," also played politics in his dealings with the local governors and MERCHANTS, recklessly double-dealing with officials as he saw fit.

**Further reading:** Daniel Defoe, *A General History of the Pyrates* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 1999); Marcus Rediker, *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004); Robert C. Ritchie, *Captain*

*Kidd and the War against the Pirates* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989).

—Stephen C. O'Neill and Billy G. Smith

## technology

Seventeenth-century English colonizers brought with them the technologies of a preindustrial, agricultural society, many of whose tools and techniques dated to the Middle Ages. Colonial North American technologies were defined by four main characteristics. They were based in handicrafts; tools, houses, and ships were built of wood (iron was too precious); instruments were individually handmade from start to finish (there was minimal division of labor); and ARTISANS drove production. NATIVE AMERICANS relied on canoes for transportation, traps for hunting, furs for CLOTHING, and wooden utensils. English settlers, meanwhile, wielded axes to clear woods for cultivating the land and raising livestock. These practices severely disrupted Native land-use and local ecosystems, but there was also significant cross-cultural technological transfer. Natives taught Europeans new FISHING, hunting, and agricultural techniques, while Europeans taught Natives new CRAFTS and traded guns and iron tools to them. Unlike later industrially manufactured goods, most crafts were practiced, and their products used, in the home. This domestic production force included women, servants, and slaves, who acquired many artisanal skills.

The colonists welcomed machines because LABOR was in chronically short supply. Water power drove sawmills for producing lumber (established in New England from the 1630s), the first "fulling" MILLS for cotton textiles in the late 1600s, and gristmills for turning grain into flour (especially important in the Middle Colonies after 1700). The king and later most colonies granted patents for inventions, a system with medieval origins that was codified by Parliament in 1623. Towns, meanwhile, offered rewards for the completion of practical projects for civic improvement (like waterworks), as occasionally did colonial legislatures. Probably the best known colonial invention was the lightning rod by Benjamin Franklin (1752), which anticipated the modern relation between SCIENCE and technology.

The most important overall factor in technological production was membership in the BRITISH EMPIRE. Colonial British America not only lacked a central government to fund and direct technological development but was deliberately maintained as a technological colony within Britain's system of trade and economics (known as MERCANTILISM). Parliamentary legislation prevented Americans from producing and exporting their own finished manufactures and exploited them instead as a source of raw material, such as lumber for SHIPBUILDING. Britain limited colonial production of certain goods to the initial stages; iron ore, for

example, was mined and smelted in North America but sent across the Atlantic for refining. The colonies were producing one-seventh of the world's wrought and pig iron by the time of the Revolution, when boycotts of British goods and calls for manufacturing self-sufficiency finally loosened the mother country's technological stranglehold.

See also ACTS OF TRADE AND NAVIGATION; AGRICULTURE; ENVIRONMENT.

**Further reading:** Judith A. McGaw, ed., *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from the Colonial Era to 1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

—James Delbourgo

### Teedyuscung (1709?–1763)

Teedyuscung, the son of a woman from the Toms River band of Lenape (DELAWARE Indians) and a colonist father, was born near Trenton, New Jersey, about 1709. He grew up along the Atlantic shore as a member of his mother's band, moving with them into the Forks of Delaware in eastern PENNSYLVANIA in 1733. This and several other northern Lenape bands had seasonally hunted in the area bounded by the Lehigh and upper Delaware Rivers known as the Forks since before 1600. This territory had long been a shared resource zone used by the four Native American groups surrounding this region: the Susquehannock, Lenape, Munsee, and Lenape. In 1737 the Pennsylvania colonial government purchased much of the region in a fraudulent land deal known as the WALKING PURCHASE OF 1737, a treaty that Teedyuscung signed as a young adult.

Although converted to Christianity and baptized by the Moravians as "Gideon," Teedyuscung rarely interacted with other converted Indians. Continually opposing the authority of the IROQUOIS over his people, he mastered the art of Indian diplomacy and claimed to represent several groups of Natives in the buffer zone along the NEW YORK–Pennsylvania border. He acted as a cultural broker with colonial authorities. Teedyuscung allied with the British during the SEVEN YEARS' WAR. In his later life he falsely assumed the role of "speaker" for many Native groups.

**Further reading:** Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949).

—Marshall Joseph Becker

### Tekakwitha, Kateri (Catherine) (1656–1680) *candidate for Catholic sainthood*

Known by French Catholics as the "Lily of the Mohawks" and the "Genevieve of New France," Kateri Tekakwitha

is one of the first Native American women candidates for beatification by the Roman Catholic Church. Tekakwitha led a short but difficult life. Her Algonquin mother, raised primarily by French settlers, was a Christian, and her father was a Mohawk. Both died in 1660 in an epidemic of smallpox, which left young Tekakwitha badly pockmarked and partly blind. Six years later, a French expeditionary force led by the Marquis Alexandre de Prouville de Tracy burned her village, Ossernenon.

In 1667 three Jesuit missionaries stayed in Tekakwitha's newly constructed town, exposing her to Christian theology and impressing her with their piety. On Easter Sunday 1676, Tekakwitha converted and was baptized by Father Jacques de Lamberville, a Jesuit. She took the name "Kateri" (a Mohawk pronunciation of "Catherine") at her baptism. Rebuked by other members of her tribe, who were struggling to maintain their own spiritual beliefs against the onslaught of Christian missionaries, Tekakwitha interpreted their persecution as a testament to the strength of her faith.

Tekakwitha escaped in 1677 to Kahnawake, a community of Native American Christians in Canada. There, she led a life of extraordinary sanctity, dedicating herself to prayer, penitential practices, and care for other people. She took a vow of chastity in 1679. She died a year later, but not without leaving an important spiritual legacy. Devotion to the Venerable Kateri Tekakwitha has spread among Catholics in Canada and the United States, with many making annual pilgrimages to Caughnawaga, where her relics are preserved.

—Billy G. Smith

### tenants

From the late 16th through the late 18th centuries the English moved from a feudal system to one of private landholding. The men who worked hardest for that change appropriated land and made it less available to others. Many people found themselves forced to rent land because they could not pay the fees associated with these changes. From roughly 1585 to 1763 (and beyond) English landowners tightened their grip on arable land, political power, and capital, increasingly defined those who did not own land as "the poor," and excluded these landless men from politics. Many tenants found themselves thrown into grinding, landless misery after failing to pay rents because of death, DISEASE, injury, poor harvests, or bad weather. While land practices changed in England, most of the rest of Europe maintained a system in which most people leased land for short periods of time (one to five years), paid high rent (upwards of 70 percent of their harvests), and stood well outside the world of political power.

The promise of land in the New World lured poor migrants from places like Scotland, England, Wales, Ireland,

France, and Germany. They hoped to get what they could not have at home—land—and to become independent householders. Some early colonial landowners aspired to amass huge estates to create a manorial system that resembled landed estates in Europe. They succeeded in places like NEW YORK's Hudson Valley and in MARYLAND. The availability of land in the New World made tenancy less desirable for anyone who could afford to buy it. By the end of the 17th century land sales directly to farmers made land ownership more common in America than in Europe. Even landlords in the Hudson Valley and in Maryland had to entice prospective tenants with low rent (typically 10 percent to 25 percent of their harvests) and long leases (from 60 years to two generations). Still, tenancy attracted primarily those people too poor to buy land.

Tenants throughout North America followed traditional agricultural production practices, and they tended to live frugally. Most built utilitarian houses, barns, fences, and other buildings from the lumber they harvested when they cleared wilderness. Landlords often required tenants to pay rent with a specific crop, such as wheat, but most tenants grew a variety of crops to minimize risk. If one crop failed, they could still survive off the others. In northern colonies they grew wheat, corn, oats, barley, vegetables, and cultivated some fruit trees. In the south some tried to grow TOBACCO as a cash crop. Most farmers also kept a few cattle, pigs, sheep, and chickens for FOOD and sometimes cows for milk. While men in the household worked in the fields and cared for some of the ANIMALS, their wives and daughters typically kept a vegetable and fruit garden near the house, made and repaired clothes, churned butter, cooked all the meals, and cared for the children and some of the animals. Women also worked in the fields during periods of intense labor, such as planting and harvesting. Indeed, everyone on the farm contributed to a household's success.

Tenants did not enjoy the same kinds of independence as freeholders. Many landlords restricted their access to markets and MILLS off the manor and demanded that tenants sell surplus goods to landowners first. Some tenants found their status kept them from participating in politics because nearly all of the colonies required adult males to own a certain amount of property to qualify for SUFFRAGE. Thus, they could neither vote, serve on juries, nor hold political office. As in the Old World, tenants in the New World found themselves on the outside of political power.

Tenancy increased in 18th-century British North America as population growth fueled by immigration and natural increase created more crowded conditions in many colonies, like in New England. In VIRGINIA landed tycoons kept as much as half the land in the colony off the market by requiring that rich men will their estates to only one son. At the same time, more and more people moved into the Middle Colonies, where tenancy had a foothold in the 17th

century. These migrants found that available land was in short supply because landlords refused to sell it or sold it at highly inflated prices. They had little choice but to become tenants. By 1763, even in places like MASSACHUSETTS and PENNSYLVANIA where most people had owned land, tenancy was on the rise throughout British North America.

**Further reading:** Allan Kulikoff, *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

—Thomas J. Humphrey

### **Tennent, Gilbert** (1703–1764) *revivalist*

Presbyterian minister and a leader of the GREAT AWAKENING, Gilbert Tennent was born in Vinnescash, County Armagh, Ireland, on February 5, 1703. He was the first child of William Tennent, Sr. (1673–1746), a University of Edinburgh-educated Scots-Irish Presbyterian clergyman, and Katherine Kennedy, whose father was a well-known Presbyterian minister. Gilbert Tennent came to North America with his parents in 1718. While William



Gilbert Tennent (Library of Congress)



Tennent, Sr., served congregations in NEW YORK and PENNSYLVANIA, he educated his oldest son so thoroughly that in 1725 Gilbert Tennent received the degree of Master of Arts from YALE COLLEGE despite his lack of a baccalaureate degree. A moving religious experience in 1723 led Gilbert Tennent into the ministry. The PHILADELPHIA Presbytery licensed him in 1725 and in 1726 ordained and installed him in New Brunswick, NEW JERSEY. He served that and neighboring congregations until 1743.

During the 1730s and early 1740s Tennent was one of the most active “New Light” revivalists during the Great Awakening. He preached the necessity of “experiential religion” to his own congregation and sometimes intruded, uninvited, into others as well. When the English evangelist GEORGE WHITEFIELD arrived in North America in 1739, Tennent introduced him to his colleagues. He accompanied Whitefield on a preaching mission in the Middle Colonies in 1740 and to New England in 1741. Extremely censorious toward “Old Light” associates whom he suspected were not sufficiently spiritual, Tennent condemned them harshly in a sermon titled *The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry*.

The alleged enthusiastic and disorderly ministry of the Presbyterian New Lights led to their expulsion from the Synod of Philadelphia. Under Tennent’s leadership they formed the New Brunswick Presbytery and joined with northern colleagues to form the Synod of New York. In 1743 Gilbert Tennent left New Brunswick to serve Whitefield’s Philadelphia followers, who formed the Second Presbyterian Church. There he tempered his ministry, preaching to other congregations only when asked, and spoke no longer extemporaneously but from a manuscript. He explained that his new congregation needed EDUCATION, not exhortation. Tennent’s father, William Tennent, Sr., had established the “Log College” in the valley of the Neshaminy Creek in southeastern Pennsylvania, where he educated numerous Presbyterian ministers. After it closed in the early 1740s, Gilbert Tennent and others founded a college at Elizabethtown that became Princeton University. From 1746 until his death he served as a trustee of the new institution. In 1753 he went with SAMUEL DAVIES on a two-year fund-raising tour for the college. Tennent’s later moderation enabled him to assist in the PRESBYTERIANS’ reunion in 1758.

Little information about Tennent’s family life has survived. His first wife died in 1740, and he married Cornelia De Peyster Clarkson in 1742. She died in 1753. His third wife, whom he married sometime before 1762, was Sara Spoffard, with whom he had three children. Tennent’s health declined during his last two years. He died in 1764 and was buried under the center aisle of his church.

**Further reading:** Milton J. Coalter, Jr., *Gilbert Tennent, Son of Thunder: A Case Study of Continental Pietism’s*

*Impact on the First Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).

—John B. Frantz

### **Tennent, William, Jr.** (1705–1777) *minister*

Presbyterian minister William Tennent, Jr., was born on June 3, 1705, in County Armagh, Ireland. He was the second child of WILLIAM TENNENT, SR., clergyman and educator, and Katherine Kennedy, daughter of the prominent Presbyterian minister Gilbert Kennedy. His parents were Scots-Irish. In 1718 Tennent, Jr., moved to North America with his family. He was educated at what was called the “Log College” that his father founded in the Neshaminy area of southeastern Pennsylvania, primarily for the preparation of Presbyterian clergy. He studied also under the supervision of his older brother, GILBERT TENNENT, who served congregations in and around New Brunswick, NEW JERSEY.

The PHILADELPHIA Presbytery ordained and installed Tennent, as minister of the Freehold, New Jersey, congregation, where he succeeded his deceased brother, John (1706–32). He held this position until his death in 1777. Throughout his ministry he was faithful to his calling, visiting his parishioners frequently and preaching regularly to his congregation and to others who invited him. His moderately Calvinistic sermons were well received. He served as a trustee of the Presbyterian College of New Jersey, later Princeton University, and resisted vigorously Royal Governor William Franklin’s attempt to transform it into a public institution. During the GREAT AWAKENING of the 1730s and 1740s, William Tennent, Jr., was a “New Light” who participated in religious revivals. He accompanied Samuel Blair and John Rowland on evangelistic tours to MARYLAND and VIRGINIA. When the Presbyterian Church split, he became an important member of the New Light New Brunswick Presbytery and Synod of NEW YORK.

Because he concentrated so intently on his ministry, he neglected personal matters. A dishonest manager mismanaged his land and caused him to fall into debt. Too busy for romance, a friend advised that a wife could manage his finances effectively and provide “conjugal enjoyment.” The friend introduced him to Catherine van Burgh Noble, whom he married in 1738. They had six children. He died in 1777 and was buried beneath the floor of his church in Freehold.

—John B. Frantz

### **Tennent, William, Sr.** (1673–1746) *minister, educator*

Presbyterian minister and educator William Tennent was born in 1673, probably in Scotland, to John Tennent, Jr., an Edinburgh merchant, and Sarah Hume, from a powerful



Scottish border clan. In 1695 Tennent earned a Master of Arts degree from the University of Edinburgh. He was licensed by a Scottish presbytery and served briefly as a chaplain to Lady Anne, the duchess of Hamilton. By 1701 he had moved to Ireland and was received by the Synod of Ulster. Nevertheless, in 1704 he was ordained by the Church of Ireland (Anglican).

Tennent's dissatisfaction with his situation in Ireland caused him to emigrate with his wife and five children to North America in 1718, where he renounced Anglicanism and became a member of the Presbyterian Synod of PHILADELPHIA. He served congregations in East Chester and Bedford, NEW YORK, until 1726, when he moved to Bucks County, PENNSYLVANIA, and served congregations at Bensalem, New Town, and Neshaminy. At Neshaminy he made his most significant contribution.

Not only did he preach an evangelical Calvinism, but he educated others to follow his example. Having received a classical EDUCATION at Edinburgh, he taught young men, including his four sons, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and theology. Initially he taught students in his home. In 1735, however, he constructed a building that opponents called contemptuously the "Log College." Almost all of Tennent's students became Presbyterian ministers who led the GREAT AWAKENING in the Middle Colonies. The Log College they had attended was a model for academies that they established. Increasingly infirm, Tennent began to curtail his activities in 1742. The "Log College" had closed by the time of his death in 1746.

Details about Tennent's personal life are scarce. In 1702 he married Katherine Kennedy, daughter of a prominent Irish Presbyterian minister. Because of the expenses involved in feeding and HOUSING many of his students as well as in raising four sons and a daughter, he usually struggled with indigence.

**Further reading:** Mary A. Tennent, *Light in Darkness: The Story of William Tennent, Sr., and the Log College* (Greensboro, N.C.: Greensboro Printing Co., 1971).

—John B. Frantz

## theater

Theater had a dim reputation in 17th-century British America. Many American towns and colonies outlawed dramatic productions because supposedly they were associated with promiscuity, drunkenness, and other vices. Colonists who staged amateur productions, such as the three VIRGINIA men who were prosecuted for staging a play in 1665 or the group of Harvard students who produced *Gustavus Vasa* in 1690, often ran into trouble with authorities. In contrast, New France (Quebec) supported frequent theatrical productions from the 1640s onward.

Religious plays were particularly popular and formed part of the curriculum at Jesuit and Ursuline schools. In the West both Spanish colonists and NATIVE AMERICANS staged religious dramas for their communities.

The geography of colonial theatrical productions changed markedly in the early 18th century. Infighting between religious and civil authorities in New France led the colony's bishop to outlaw public theater (including school productions) by 1699. Subsequent French colonial productions were few and amateurish. On the other hand, the British colonies became more interested in theater as the influence of PURITANS and other religious dissenters waned. A professional theater opened in Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1717, only to close six years later. NEW YORK CITY acquired a theater in 1733, CHARLESTON in 1735. By the Revolutionary era several American cities had permanent professional theaters.

British colonial theater was an offshoot of English and Irish provincial theater; American colonists made few innovations in the genre. Young, unsuccessful, and impoverished actors immigrated to the colonies to jumpstart their careers. John Moody, an Irish actor, founded a theater company in Jamaica in 1745, and in 1749 Thomas Keane and Walter Murray organized a professional theater troupe in PHILADELPHIA. The members performed a repertoire of dramas by Shakespeare, Addison, Dryden, Fielding, and other English playwrights in Philadelphia, New York, and Virginia. Theater was a popular diversion in colonial cities (except Puritan BOSTON), but the quality of colonial theatrical productions was quite poor. Not until after the Revolution did British-Americans develop an independent theatrical tradition characterized by distinctively American settings and themes.

**Further reading:** George O. Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre, Before the Revolution*, vol. 1 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968).

—Darcy R. Fryer

## Theus, Jeremiah (1719?–1774) artist

Jeremiah Theus, a colonial artist, was the son of a Swiss Protestant immigrant to Orangeburgh, SOUTH CAROLINA. He moved to CHARLESTON in 1740, where he lived for more than 30 years, marrying twice and fathering nine children. He first advertised his services as a sign and coach painter but soon managed to establish a business as a portrait artist. Early in his career Theus ran an ART school, where he taught painting "in every branch." It is not known where he acquired his skills.

His painting style remained somewhat static throughout his career, with the quality of his work only occasionally matching that of his metropolitan contemporaries.

Traveling throughout the Lower South, Theus painted hundreds of portraits of the region's wealthy planter and merchant CLASS, including Gabriel Manigault, Colonel Daniel Heyward, and Elias Ball. His prodigious output makes him one of colonial America's most important artists. Theus also contributed to one of Charleston's most impressive buildings, St. Michael's Church, where he used his skills to gild the interior and the steeple. The substantial income he received from his various pursuits made him a member of Charleston's elite. He maintained substantial properties in the town, owned four slaves, and was an active participant in the South Carolina Society—a charitable club founded by Huguenots and subsequently populated by wealthy ARTISANS and MERCHANTS. When he died in 1774, he left an estate worth thousands of pounds sterling and was eulogized in the local newspaper as having been a “very ingenious and honest man.”

—Emma Hart

### **Tituba** (1674?–1693) *accused of witchcraft in Salem*

Tituba, an enslaved woman, has become central to scholars' understanding of the 1692 Salem WITCHCRAFT hysteria. She was the first of the accused to confess, yet she was spared execution. Who was Tituba and what role did she play in this tragic drama? Historians, after hundreds of years and numerous volumes, continue to disagree and to discover new information. Earlier accounts isolated Tituba in her surroundings; historians now emphasize the cultural exchange of differing beliefs that arose between nonwhites and Puritans. Despite this progress, however, many uncertainties persist; the documentary record is thin.

Tituba's nativity and the vicissitudes of her life have confounded scholars for centuries. Historians once claimed, and some still do, that Tituba was an African. Documents most recently discovered, however, suggest that she was very likely an Arawak Amerindian born and raised in Guiana. Captured and shipped as a slave to Barbados in 1674, Tituba was purchased by Samuel Parris (subsequently a key figure in the Salem witchcraft episode), then moved first to Boston and then to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1689. By the time she arrived in Boston, Tituba supposedly had married John Indian; at some point, she may have had a child, Violet Indian.

Considered as peripheral in the past, Tituba is now indispensable to understanding the rise and spread of the witchcraft persecutions, which began when four young girls suffered from “bizarre physical symptoms,” purportedly resulting from her witchery. As a servant in the Parris household, Tituba had close contact with his daughter, Betty, one of the afflicted girls. Out of concern for the child and at the urging of Mary Sibley, a neighbor, Tituba and John Indian mixed up a witchcake of rye meal and Betty's

urine that they baked in ashes. They fed it to the dog, which was supposed to reveal who had bewitched the children. Parris learned about the cake and demanded the culprits' names. When the girls identified Tituba, the ordeal began.

Historian Elaine G. Breslaw has argued that Tituba, an Amerindian outsider, deftly and defiantly manipulated Puritan fears. As one of the first to testify during the trials, Tituba's fantastic tales of witches in Salem set the stage for the hysteria that ensued. Over 150 people were arrested on suspicion of witchcraft. Her elaborate descriptions and naming of others, combined with the girls' histrionics and Parris's bombastic sermons, contributed to condemning a number of women and a few men to the gallows. One man was pressed to death. Others languished in jail. Twenty-four people died.

Once the hysteria subsided, Tituba recanted her confession and thereby escaped execution. However, she did not escape punishment; she was confined in jail for 13 months. Furious that the court only incarcerated Tituba, Parris refused to pay her jail fees. There she remained until someone unknown purchased her in 1693. Tituba never appeared in the historical documents again.

**Further reading:** Elaine G. Breslaw, *Tituba, Reluctant Witch of Salem: Devilish Indians and Puritan Fantasies* (New York: New York University Press, 1996); Peter Charles Hoffer, *The Devil's Disciples: Makers of the Salem Witchcraft Trials* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Bernard Rosenthal, “Tituba's Story,” *New England Quarterly* 71 (1998): 190–203; Veta Smith Tucker, “Purloined Identity: The Metamorphosis of Tituba of Salem Village,” *Journal of Black Studies* 30 (2000): 624–634.

—Leslie Patrick

### **tobacco**

The production of tobacco was a significant component of the colonial ECONOMY. The demands of that production encouraged the growth of INDENTURED SERVITUDE and SLAVERY in the Chesapeake area colonies as well as the expansion of white colonists onto Indian lands.

Many NATIVE AMERICANS cultivated *tabacum* and *rustica*, two of 60 species of the genus *Nicotiana* of the Solanaceae, or nightshade, family. They ingested it by chewing, snuffing, and drinking, and even with enemas, but mostly by smoking. Tobacco was used for medicinal, ceremonial (especially peacemaking), and religious purposes. Practice and belief varied, but hallucinations (induced by strong nicotine content or mixing with other substances) were widely construed as representing communication with spirits occupying tobacco plants.

Europeans initially viewed tobacco medicinally, especially after Spanish physician Nicholas Monardes rated it





This engraving shows tobacco leaves being pressed, cured, and packed by slaves. (Hulton/Archive)

a panacea in 1571. CONSUMPTION increased as availability rose and prices fell. English imports, 25,000 pounds in 1603, reached 38,000,000 by 1700; meanwhile prices declined from 40 pence per pound in 1618 to 1 pence by the 1660s. Mass consumption, with 25 percent of adults smoking a pipeful each day, appeared in England by the 1670s and in much of Europe by 1750. Pipes were favored initially (although Iberians, like Native South Americans, preferred cigars), but snuff became more common in the 18th century. Consumption was not restricted by CLASS, race, or GENDER, although 18th-century elites incorporated tobacco into genteel rituals, while others used “sot weed” for their own hallucinogenic and recreational purposes.

Tobacco was cultivated in Amazon settlements and Guiana from 1609, Bermuda and VIRGINIA from 1612, and MARYLAND from 1634, and the CARIBBEAN colonies St. Kitts, Barbados, Providence Island, Nevis, Antigua,

and Montserrat were founded on tobacco. From the mid-17th century island production declined in favor of cotton, INDIGO, and especially sugar.

The Chesapeake region became the New World’s largest producer, exporting more than 100 million pounds in 1771. Tobacco proved so profitable after JOHN ROLFE’s experiments in JAMESTOWN beginning in 1612, Virginians dedicated their efforts almost totally to producing tobacco and failed to grow sufficient food, thereby contributing to the colony’s near collapse. Despite falling prices and wartime disruptions, tobacco remained fundamental to the Chesapeake economy and society: “our meat, drinke, cloathing and monies,” according to Reverend Hugh Jones in 1699.

Cultivation required about 50 acres of land per worker, accounting for rapid but scattered settlement. Although LABOR intensive, the crop yielded little economy of scale,

and small farms remained common in the Chesapeake area. From the 1680s the supply of indentured servants declined, and larger planters amassed sufficient capital to buy slaves. Chesapeake area slaves increased rapidly, from 1,708 in 1660 to 189,000 in 1760, rising from 5 percent to 38 percent of the population. From the 1660s law and custom forged greater distance between the races, and this allowed development of semiautonomous African-American community, culture, and resistance. A slaveholding plantocracy appeared by the 1690s, consolidating its wealth dynastically. It developed a genteel “tobacco culture” that emerged from a consignment system of direct market and social relationships with British MERCHANTS. Material inequality rose (70 percent of white householders owned land in 1660, but only 50 percent by 1760), yet white racial solidarity increased as Euro-Americans envisioned themselves as part of a superior race. Wider access to markets, credit, and imported goods (including slaves) through Scottish merchants in the Chesapeake region raised standards of living among most white people after 1730, creating a more stable white society.

**Further reading:** Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard, and Lorena Walsh, *Robert Cole’s World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

—Steven Sarson

### Tomochichi (1650?–1739) chief

Tomochichi was the chief, or *mico*, of the Yamacraw tribe whose village was adjacent to John and MARY BOSOMWORTH MUSGROVE’s trading post, later to be the site of the town of SAVANNAH. Tomochichi was born in the mid-17th century and during his CHILDHOOD lived in the Creek town of Coweta. The Yamacraw were a small, isolated group who had been expelled from the main Creek lands some years earlier. Tomochichi believed that his people were best served by a close trading relationship with the English, first in Carolina, later in GEORGIA. The English provided them with weapons for defense and with trade goods. When JAMES OGLETHORPE landed on Savannah bluff in February 1733, Tomochichi was quick to forge an alliance with the assistance of the half-Creek, half-English Mary Musgrove. He summoned the Creek to meet with Oglethorpe and arranged for the first land concessions in Georgia to the English. His friendship with Oglethorpe ensured that the infant colony received supplies, advice, and technological aid from NATIVE

AMERICANS. When Oglethorpe returned to England in 1734, he took Tomochichi with him, presenting him to King George II (1727–60) and the Georgia trustees and gaining favorable publicity for the colony in the process. On his death in 1739, Tomochichi was accorded a formal burial by Oglethorpe; his tomb still stands under a monument in one of Savannah’s squares.

—Timothy James Lockley

### trade and shipping

Trade was the foundation of the early American ECONOMY, with commercial ties extending in many directions. Colonists established exchange with NATIVE AMERICANS that ranged from casual to well-developed enterprises. Settlers also participated in transatlantic trade, primarily with England and the West Indies. In addition, an internal trade network developed involving both backcountry and coastal communities. Over time the nature and extent of these networks changed, reflecting the growth and development of colonial America.

Before the arrival of Europeans, Native Americans engaged extensively in trade with one another, and archaeologists have found evidence that goods sometimes were transported across the continent. Most items traded were items of luxury rather than necessity. European colonists were often very interested in trading with Natives because animal furs and pelts gained high prices in the Old World. JAMESTOWN residents traded metal pots, fishhooks, and traps for foodstuffs and furs. MASSACHUSETTS settlers exchanged iron tools, cloth, firearms, and liquor for furs. In the Middle Colonies Indians sold fish, pelts, and venison at town markets.

In the Carolinas traders bought deerskins from the WESTO, Creek, and CHEROKEE Indians. This trade proved significant, accounting for 18 percent of Carolina’s total export earnings before 1749 and remaining at roughly 10 percent until 1775. Carolinians also engaged in trading Indian slaves. Between 1690 and 1710 perhaps 12,000 Indians were exported from the Carolinas to the northern colonies and the CARIBBEAN. This trade increased tensions between settlers and nearby Indians, set off a series of wars, and disrupted the deerskin exchange. As a result, Carolinians abandoned this SLAVE TRADE by the 1720s.

Over time the FUR TRADE became highly organized and one of the most valuable enterprises in the British and French colonies. Some tribes, acting as intermediaries, collected furs from Indians hunting as far west as the Great Lakes. The furs were then traded to colonial MERCHANTS and exported to Europe. As fur-bearing ANIMALS in some areas grew scarce, trade gradually shifted northward. The HUDSON’S BAY COMPANY, established in 1670, focused its operation on fur-rich areas in northern Canada.



Colonists also engaged in transatlantic trade. In the early years of settlement planters and merchants in VIRGINIA exported TOBACCO to England. New Englanders shipped grain and lumber to the West Indies and fish to southern Europe. In exchange colonists imported such goods as molasses, coffee, salt, and wine.

Beginning in the 1650s, Parliament began to issue a series of acts to control trade within the empire. They required that certain enumerated commodities be shipped only to England, on English ships with British (including colonial) crews. Although these policies restricted some aspects of colonial trade, they also protected and stimulated many commercial enterprises. Colonists had a guaranteed market for many of their exports. Their SHIP-BUILDING industry also profited; by the mid-18th century nearly one-third of all British ships were American made. Moreover, many policies were often evaded by colonists and not strictly enforced by Parliament.

The American colonies formed an important link in the transatlantic trade that saw goods flow to and from colonial North America, the West Indies, and England. American merchants shipped furs, naval stores, tobacco, rice, and INDIGO to England. They exported grains, fish, lumber, and livestock to the West Indies. In return colonists imported manufactured products from England and slaves and molasses from the West Indies. Through this route most black slaves were brought to the British mainland colonies.

Between 1619 and 1760 approximately 400,000 slaves were brought to the thirteen colonies. British slave-trade companies supplied the bulk of the slaves, but American merchants, most of them based in RHODE ISLAND, organized the sale of slaves in the colonies. During the 18th century Rhode Island merchants controlled 60 to 90 percent of North America's trade in African slaves.

The colonies also developed internal trade networks. Backcountry farmers sold surplus grain and fresh vegetables to coastal communities. Rice and tobacco from the southern colonies were shipped north and exchanged for meat and grain. By 1760 roughly 30 percent of the total tonnage of colonial ships was destined for other American mainland ports.

These various trade connections combined to stimulate growth and development. The populations of port cities like BOSTON, NEW YORK CITY, and PHILADELPHIA increased, as did job possibilities for merchants, shopkeepers, shipbuilders, ARTISANS, and others in trade-related industries. This intercolonial trade likewise promoted the development of roads and interactions among colonists.

The changing dynamics of trade with England reflect the maturing of colonial America. During the early 17th century the value of exports far exceeded the value of imports, reflecting the relatively low standard of living con-

sistent with early settlement. By the early 18th century the value of imports from Britain was greater than exports to the mother country; this trend continued throughout the century. This transformation in trade indicates the changing consumption patterns of North America before the Revolution.

See also ACTS OF TRADE AND NAVIGATION.

**Further reading:** John J. McCusker and Russell M. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

—Virginia Jelatis

## travel

Early Americans traveled primarily for work. Judges moved from town to town to preside at circuit courts. Ministers, who were responsible for more than one congregation or had no fixed place, traveled to folks eager to hear them preach. Peddlers took to the roads to sell their wares, and traders moved around in the colonial interior to exchange goods with Indians. Occasionally, travel was motivated by an official function. WILLIAM BYRD II journeyed with a small group to mark the boundary between Carolina and VIRGINIA. Colonial leaders met with NATIVE AMERICANS to negotiate treaties and form trading partnerships. Representatives left home for meetings of the assembly.

Water transportation offered the easiest, cheapest, and most favored form of travel. PENNSYLVANIA farmers avoided the bumpy wagon ride by loading their grain onto shallops and relying on the network of rivers to move their produce to market. Southern planters transported their TOBACCO from their farms to the docks of JAMESTOWN or CHARLESTON for shipping to European or British markets. Because tobacco was bulky and fragile, they avoided the jostling from uneven roads and depended upon inland waterways to carry their crop to eastern ports. According to one source, "it was easier and less traumatic in good weather to sail from London to Boston than to reach Charleston from Massachusetts by horse."

Taverns were the first hotels and motels in early America. By law they were required to provide nourishment and lodging for humans and horses. The 1692 MASSACHUSETTS law was typical: "The ancient, true and principal use of Inns . . . is for the Receipt, Relief and Lodging of Travellers and Strangers, and the Refreshment of persons upon lawful Business." Colonial authorities tried spacing taverns at convenient distances; if an individual wished to open a tavern, claiming that they were conveniently located on a well-traveled road offered the most compelling argument. Because people used both land and water transportation, public houses in the Middle and New England colonies were located on public roads and

ferry landings. Very few taverns existed in the Chesapeake region, Lower South, and western regions of the colonies. While surveying the Virginia-Carolina border, William Byrd and his party were forced to camp for much of their journey. Travelers in these regions often had to impose upon private homes for lodging. Virginia law acknowledged the inadequate number of taverns by requiring plantation owners to furnish lodging for passersby.

Travel for most colonists was uncommon. The vast majority of early Americans rarely ventured beyond home, church, and fields, with an occasional trip to market. Only wealthy individuals had the luxury of travel for leisure. Dr. Alexander Hamilton, for example, journeyed from his home in Annapolis, MARYLAND, to New England and back seeking a cure for his ill health. Sons of elite planters or New England leaders often crossed the Atlantic for a European tour or for advanced EDUCATION. Elites moved from their city homes to their country dwellings to escape the summer epidemics.

If travel was unusual for most colonists, it was even rarer for women. SARAH KEMBLE KNIGHT, who journeyed from BOSTON in 1704, complained bitterly about having to stay in taverns, but she was unable to avoid them altogether. At Mr. Havens's inn she was disturbed all night by "the Clamor of some of the Town toppers in the next room, Who were entred into a strong debate." Women did venture inside the tavern. However, respectable women preferred to avoid the discomfort and the risk to their reputations.

The mode of transportation was related to an individual's social and economic status. The earliest settlers moved around primarily on foot. Once horses were introduced, only poorer members of society continued to walk. When Benjamin Franklin moved from Boston to PHILADELPHIA, he followed a typical pattern. He started his journey by sea and then walked from Amboy to Burlington, NEW JERSEY.

Stagecoaches improved travel markedly. They first appeared in 1752, covering the 50 miles between Burlington and Amboy, New Jersey. From these points ferries connected travelers with Philadelphia and NEW YORK CITY. Another stage route linked these two port cities in 1766. If the weather cooperated, travelers could expect to make the trip in two days. One year later stagecoach service was established between Boston and Providence. Soon after, the stagecoaches connected Salem with Boston and Boston with Portsmouth, NEW HAMPSHIRE. The reliability of the stagecoach increased the amount of travel in the colonies.

—Sharon V. Salinger

### **Turell, Jane Colman** (1708–1735) *writer*

Born into a BOSTON Congregationalist family, Jane Colman was precocious, memorizing scripture and reciting the catechism at an early age. Her minister father, Benjamin, to

whom she remained close all her life, encouraged her intellectual development, praising her couplets and hymn lyrics and engaging in epistolary dialogues to improve her writing skills. Poor health resulted in a sedentary CHILDHOOD, and by the age of 18 she had read every volume in her father's library, frequently staying up all night with a book.

At 19 Jane Colman married Ebenezer Turell, a Harvard-educated minister, and they moved to Medford, MASSACHUSETTS. Turell continued to write after her marriage, reading daily and setting aside time each month to compose. The Turells had four children, only one of whom survived infancy. The stress of repeated pregnancies, in addition to her poor health, probably hastened Turell's early death.

Women who pursued literary activities in early America stepped outside the usual female role. Even her supportive father reminded Turell not to prioritize writing over her traditional duties; Turell admitted that she found this difficult. She never sought publication, instead distributing her work privately among friends and family. Although Turell wrote in a variety of ways and on many topics, the only writings that remain are the ones that Ebenezer Turell chose to publish with his memoir. He destroyed her humorous essays so that all would know she prioritized religion, morality, and childbearing.

See also ANNE DUDLEY BRADSTREET.

—Victoria C. H. Resnick

### **Tuscarora**

During much of the colonial period the Tuscarora Indians inhabited the region of western NORTH CAROLINA known as the Piedmont. Linguistically, they were distantly related to the Five Nation IROQUOIS of upstate NEW YORK. At some point in the pre-Columbian period they had separated from them and relocated in the South, where they engaged in a mixed ECONOMY of hunting, gathering, and AGRICULTURE. The Five Nations (Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk) occupied a very powerful position in the East, and the Tuscarora maintained an alliance with them through much of the colonial period. The Iroquois frequently traveled to the South on raids against their joint enemies, the CATAWBA. The Tuscarora, speaking an Iroquoian language and knowledgeable about the Piedmont region, were a valuable ally to the Five Nations.

During the colonial period the Tuscarora became heavily involved in trade with the British. By the 1700s Indian nations were jockeying for position with the Europeans to receive the best and highest quantity of trade goods. This issue, as well as British encroachment on Tuscarora lands, made the Piedmont a tremendously volatile place. Furthermore, British colonists seeking Indian slaves paid

the Tuscarora's enemies handsomely to raid their villages and capture them. In retaliation for this and other offenses, the Tuscarora killed an English trader and attacked the English settlers' plantations in an event known as the TUSCARORA WAR (1711–13).

The North Carolina colonists received help from SOUTH CAROLINA, which sent troops to defend the colony. The joint force from the Carolinas routed the Tuscarora, driving them into the interior. After suffering hundreds of casualties, the Tuscaroras assessed their situation and arranged to move northward to join their allies among the Five Nations Iroquois. Although the Tuscarora had been negotiating with the Five Nations before the war, their recent losses made their situation desperate, and they moved into the region occupied by the Oneida. In the early 1720s the Iroquois officially accepted the Tuscarora as the Sixth Nation, giving them the right to speak in the confederacy's councils. After the 1720s the Iroquois as a whole suffered from a gradual loss of autonomy. With the Tuscarora's fortune tied to the confederacy, they suffered when the SEVEN YEARS' WAR ended with the French departure from North America. Without the need for an Indian ally against their French and Indian foes, the British took greater license in encroaching upon Iroquois lands in upstate New York.

**Further reading:** Daniel Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

—Thomas J. Lappas

### Tuscarora War (1711–1713)

The Tuscarora War was a conflict in a region now encompassed in the state of NORTH CAROLINA between the English settlers of the Carolinas and their NATIVE AMERICAN allies and the TUSCARORA Indians. The area to the west of the coastal plain in the American South, called the Piedmont, had been the site of numerous skirmishes between the Tuscarora, settlers from VIRGINIA and the Carolinas, and other Indian tribes. By the early 18th century most tribes in the Southeast had become heavily

dependent on European trade goods such as guns, metal cooking utensils, and metal tips for arrows. As the Indians became increasingly dependent on their European neighbors for trade, the English settlers grew more desirous of Indian lands in the Piedmont. For the Tuscarora this was extremely problematic, as they were the easternmost tribe in the Piedmont. As Carolina settlers were encroaching upon their lands, they were also using the Tuscarora's enemies to raid their towns, capturing Tuscarora villagers and selling them to the Carolina planters as slaves. Devastated by these events, the Tuscarora sought council with their allies, the Five Nation IROQUOIS from upstate NEW YORK, who shared many of the Tuscarora's enemies and with whom they were linguistically related.

During a council with the Iroquois in 1710, the Tuscarora asked the Five Nations to allow them to live in Iroquoia (the upstate New York territory occupied by the Iroquois Confederacy) to escape the frequent abuse by their neighbors. However, while negotiations were underway, the Tuscarora at home captured and killed a British trader named John Lawson. After the murder the Tuscarora swept through the Carolina plantations in violent retaliation for the incursions on their land. North Carolina, fearful of further attacks, solicited help from their SOUTH CAROLINA neighbors. The South Carolinians forged a two-pronged attack, one led by John Barnwell, the other by James Moore, Jr. Made up of settlers as well as some Shuteree, Sugaree, and Cheraw enemies of the Tuscarora, the war parties fell upon the Tuscarora, killing many of them and capturing others, who were then forced into SLAVERY in the South. Those who escaped fled to the Oneida, one of the eastern members of the Iroquois Confederacy, where they found refuge. The Tuscarora lived in the Susquehanna Valley of New York and eventually became the Sixth Nation of the Iroquois Confederacy in the early 1720s. The war remained in the minds of many Tuscarora, who, with their new allies, continued to raid the southern tribes in the next decades.

**Further reading:** James Merrell, *The Indians' New World: The Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (New York: Norton, 1989).

—Thomas J. Lappas





# V



## **Van Rensselaer, Maria Van Cortlandt** (1645–1689) *businessperson*

Maria Van Cortlandt Van Rensselaer was a tenacious woman who administered one of the major land grants in the NEW YORK colony for more than 12 years until her son could inherit it. Born in NEW AMSTERDAM in 1645, Maria Van Cortlandt married Jeremias Van Rensselaer, the director of the patroonship of RENSSELAERSWYCK, when she was 16 years old. After 12 years of marriage, her husband died, leaving her with six young children and a disputed claim on the 1-million-acre estate.

With no adult children to assume her husband's responsibilities, Maria Van Rensselaer managed the patroonship for slightly more than 10 years. She negotiated land deals, collected rents, administered an extensive payroll, oversaw the construction of houses, and marketed beavers, planks of wood, grain, butter, peas, cattle, and horses to NEW YORK CITY, BOSTON, the West Indies, and various Indian groups. This prodigious activity yielded little profit, a source of great concern to family members in North America and in Holland who benefited from the proceeds of the patroonship.

While sorting through complex tax matters, title claims, and the debts incurred by her husband's family, Van Rensselaer also contended with challenges to her son's right to inherit control of the patroonship. Family members in Holland as well as in-laws in America tried to control the estate or to expropriate large pieces of territory. Maria Van Rensselaer prevailed over the Livingstons, the Schuylers, and the Dutch Van Rensselaers to see her son come into his inheritance with a clear patent from the English royal governor in 1685. She had little time to savor the quiet life she so craved, dying just two years after her son's patrimony was secured.

Her letters from this period survive and chronicle the bad harvests, calculating politicians, grasping relatives, and irate TENANTS with which this physically frail woman had to contend. In one of those letters, she described herself as

a “sorrowful widow who with God’s help . . . seeks to bring up her children and tries to satisfy every one, which in the sorrowful state in which I am at present often makes me sigh.” Despite setbacks, Maria Van Rensselaer managed to keep her “colony” intact for more than a decade.

**Further reading:** A. J. F. Van Laer, ed., *Correspondence of Maria Van Rensselaer, 1669–1689* (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1935).

—Judy VanBuskirk

## **Vargas, Diego de (Diego de Vargas Zapata y Luján Ponce de León y Contreras, Don Diego de Vargas)** (1643–1704) *government official*

Spanish colonial governor of NEW MEXICO, Diego de Vargas (Diego de Vargas Zapata y Luján Ponce de León y Contreras) was chosen to retake New Mexico after a successful rebellion by NATIVE AMERICANS. In 1680 the PUEBLO Indians revolted after decades of forced religious conversion, mandatory labor, and the destruction of traditional life patterns. They drove the Spanish south to El Paso, Texas, and killed more than 100 Spaniards. Two factors, to establish defensible territory against Native American attack and to recolonize through mission-building, especially in the face of European competition, were the essential elements that led to de Vargas's reconquest of New Mexico. De Vargas himself was eager to retake the lands he had been driven from a decade earlier.

De Vargas's first duty was to quash rebellious Pueblo Indian tribes in the area of El Paso. The Pueblo tribes pledged their loyalty to the returning Spanish governor and his forces, who then marched on to reconquer Santa Fe, New Mexico. Pueblo Indians in the Santa Fe area were surprised by the return of the Spanish and submitted to De Vargas's return. He was also able to convince the Indians of his intent to reestablish Spanish rule peacefully, and he gave pardons to all the Pueblo involved in the revolt.

De Vargas's initial return to New Mexico was to secure reconquest. With a semblance of security reestablished, he began to focus on colonization. He returned to New Mexico in 1693, bringing settlers, friars, and more soldiers with him. Many Pueblo Indians rose up against Spanish rule, forcing De Vargas again to capture Santa Fe. Despite this and other small-scale confrontations in 1696, de Vargas was able to maintain the Spanish hold on New Mexico. Apache Indians killed de Vargas during a campaign in 1704.

**Further reading:** John Kessell, Rick Hendricks, Meredith Dodge, and Larry Miller, eds., *A Settling of Accounts: The Journals of Don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1700–1704* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002).

—James Jenks

## Vermont

Originally inhabited by the Abenaki tribe, the area that would become Vermont was first explored by Europeans in 1609, when it was claimed for France by the SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN expedition. French settlers occupied Isle La Motte in 1666, an area claimed by both the French and the Dutch under vague and largely unsurveyed land grants. By 1724 a number of Dutch squatters, fleeing the NEW YORK tenant system, had settled on the Hoosic River, many believing themselves to be in French Canada. Although the 1763 Treaty of Paris placed the entire region in British hands, negating the French and Dutch claims, it introduced new problems as the colonies of both New York and NEW HAMPSHIRE issued land titles in the area to speculators. By 1764 more than 20 townships were sponsored by New Hampshire speculators, leading to New York efforts to dislodge them. Some settlers, like Ethan Allen and his family, took advantage of the situation and bought New Hampshire grants while using force to drive off the New Yorkers. In 1777 Vermont declared itself independent and remained a separate republic until 1791, when the federal government reached an acceptable compromise over the New York grants, and Vermont joined the union as the 14th state.

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—Margaret Sankey

## Virginia

Virginia was the first permanent English settlement in North America. Two earlier British colonization attempts, at Roanoke Island in present-day NORTH CAROLINA and at Newfoundland, ended in disaster. Still, James I hoped to

give the English a foothold in the New World and provide a bulwark against Spanish settlements in the CARIBBEAN. In 1606 he granted the VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON, a joint-stock company formed to speculate in American lands, a patent to an enormous region of southern North America, stretching from the CHESAPEAKE BAY to the Pacific coast. In May 1607 the Virginia Company founded a settlement at JAMESTOWN on the James River, which flows into the mouth of Chesapeake Bay.

Virginia Company entrepreneurs cherished grandiose visions of the colony's potential, both as a tool for Christianizing and "civilizing" local NATIVE AMERICANS and, still more importantly, as a supplier of precious metals, furs, and other valuable raw materials, but the colony floundered because the Virginia Company settlers refused to perform the agricultural and other LABOR necessary to support themselves. They neither farmed, fished, hunted, nor gathered; observers reported that men died of sheer "idleness." The Jamestown settlement was organized as a military expedition, and the Virginia Company's servants likely expected to live off the land and endure high death rates. The English settlers may also have suffered from pellagra, a nutritional DISEASE that leads to apathy and anorexia, or from dysentery resulting from drinking polluted water from the James River. Whatever the cause, however, the first years of the Jamestown settlement were a bitter tragedy of violence, MORTALITY, disappointed hopes, and squandered opportunities.

The Native Americans who lived along the Chesapeake Bay viewed the English settlement ambivalently. At the beginning of the 17th century approximately 20,000 Native Americans lived in the Chesapeake region. The region's preeminent political power was the POWHATAN CONFEDERACY, a diplomatic league of 32 ALGONQUIN-speaking tribes founded by POWHATAN's father in the 16th century. Powhatan, who led the confederacy when the English arrived, hoped to establish a lucrative trade with the new settlers; indeed, he gave them maize to help them through the first difficult winters in Virginia. However, in 1609 the English settlers, who had grown dependent on the crops supplied by Powhatan's people, began to raid Native American communities for FOOD. In an illogical burst of anger, the English killed the Indians who had been supporting them and destroyed their crops. Powhatan retaliated by trying to starve the English settlers out, resulting in catastrophic mortality.

The Virginia Company did not accept defeat; it shipped many new immigrants and livestock to Virginia to revive the faltering colony. Moreover, it launched a vigorous war against the Powhatan Confederacy. By 1613 the Virginia Company colonists dominated the region between the James and York Rivers, and in 1614 Powhatan reluctantly accepted a peace treaty. Virginia's disastrous early years



were followed by a decade of unsteady growth in which several important precedents were set. In 1612 JOHN ROLFE began experimenting with a hybrid strain of TOBACCO that was particularly well suited to the Virginia climate, and for the first time Virginia Company speculators began to see a return on their investments. The introduction of tobacco profoundly affected Virginia's social and economic structure. It was a highly labor-intensive crop and so, in order to recruit sufficient labor, the Virginia Company established the headright system in 1616. It granted a specified number of acres to each immigrant or the person who paid the immigrant's passage and encouraged immigration (by families and single women as well as men); some wealthy colonists amassed substantial plantations by importing indentured servants from England and collecting their headrights. African slaves were first brought to the colony in 1619, but early planters relied mainly on the labor of white indentured servants. In 1619, too, the Virginia Company convened the HOUSE OF BURGESSES, the first representative assembly in colonial North America.

Nevertheless, the Virginia colony remained highly unstable. A series of typhus and dysentery epidemics washed over the settlement between 1617 and 1624; by 1624 more than 85 percent of the colonists who had immigrated to Virginia since 1607 were dead. Meanwhile, Powhatan's successor, OPECHANCANOUGH, marshaled anti-English forces with the Powhatan Confederacy and on Good Friday, March 22, 1622, launched a surprise attack on the Jamestown settlement, killing nearly 350 people, a quarter of Virginia's English population. This attack initiated a destructive 10-year war, but the English Crown did not wait until the war's end to reorganize the colony's government. In 1624 the Crown revoked the Virginia Company's charter and made Virginia a royal colony.

The first decades of royal rule were a prosperous period for the English colony in spite of the continuing problems of disease, famine, and war. By 1640 Virginia's English population had risen to 10,000, while the region's Native American population had declined to an equal



An engraving of a map of Virginia by Ralph Hall (Hulton/Archive)

number. In 1645 the English settlers finally captured Opechancanough; his execution marked the eclipse of the Powhatan Confederacy, whose power declined steadily thereafter. Although the English had conquered Virginia, settlers continued to live in squalid conditions; even the wealthiest planters occupied rough houses of one or two rooms. At least three-quarters of immigrants arrived as indentured servants, having bartered their labor for a number of years (usually between four and seven) in exchange for passage to Virginia. Most indentured servants were single young men; the colony's GENDER ratio was highly imbalanced throughout the 17th century. Free women married quickly (men who courted female indentured servants sometimes offered to buy their freedom), and the high mortality rate enabled planters' widows to amass substantial estates, making them prizes on the marriage market. Tobacco remained the principal crop; soil exhaustion pushed English settlers farther and farther into what had once been Indian territory.

In the 1670s long-simmering social tensions erupted in a violent episode that became known as BACON'S REBELLION. The Susquehannock Indians, who lived along the upper Potomac River, opposed white settlers' encroachment on their land. In response Nathaniel Bacon led frontier planters and landless settlers on raids of Indian villages, killing many Natives. Virginia governor SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY tried to suppress Bacon's raids to preserve social order, but his opposition exacerbated a second axis of conflict: that between the established Virginia gentry and restless freedmen (former indentured servants), who embraced Bacon as their champion. In the spring of 1676 Bacon's troops looted and burned Jamestown. The rebellion collapsed quickly after Bacon's death in October. Nevertheless, it profoundly frightened the planter gentry and probably spurred the transition to slave labor in the colony in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

Virginia planters adopted slave labor for several other reasons. By the late 17th century economic conditions in England had begun to improve, stemming the flow of indentured servants to British North America. At the same time Virginia's demographic regime stabilized so that the majority of European and African immigrants now survived their first few years in the colony. Slaves cost more than indentured servants; it was not cost effective to purchase slaves unless most of them survived longer than a typical indentured servant's term of four to seven years. Around the 1670s, however, it became clear that slaves were a better long-term investment. In addition, the supply of slaves increased and their price declined. The wealthiest planters consequently began to switch from servant to slave labor. Social tensions contributed to their choice; the supply of good land available to ex-servants was decreasing,

and established planters did not want to expand the pool of restless freedmen, laborers, and squatters who threatened their hegemony. By 1700 slaves probably outnumbered indentured servants. Virginia planters did not make the transition from servant to slave labor all at once, however. White indentured servants continued to labor beside African and African-American slaves on Chesapeake area plantations well into the 18th century.

This important transition to SLAVERY was accompanied by the expansion and codification of Virginia's black code. Initially, slavery was regulated by local custom rather than law; many mid-17th century African laborers held an ambiguous status between servant and slave, and quite a few eventually obtained their freedom. In the 1660s, however, the House of Burgesses began to pass laws defining slaves' status as property and blocking off potential paths to freedom: Children of slave mothers were deemed to be slaves; conversion to Christianity did not justify emancipation; the murder of a slave by his or her master did not constitute a felony; slaves could not own firearms. Wealthy planters probably hoped to co-opt the political support of poorer white people by attaching political value to "whiteness"; the concepts of black slavery and white liberty became intricately entangled in the minds of 18th-century white Virginians. In 1705 the Burgesses' restrictive laws were collected in a comprehensive Virginia Slave Code. By then the vast majority of Africans and AFRICAN AMERICANS living in Virginia were held as slaves.

Between 1700 and 1770 approximately 80,000 slaves were imported to Virginia and MARYLAND. Most grew tobacco on properties that ranged in size from small farms, where a handful of slaves and servants labored beside the white family, to sprawling, villagelike plantations worked by 100 or more slaves. Eighteenth-century Virginia slaves were healthier and longer-lived than their counterparts in the Caribbean and South America due to better nutrition, a less extreme work regime, and a less deadly disease ENVIRONMENT. By the 1730s the Virginia slave population had begun to grow by natural increase; it was the first slave population in the Americas to do so. Over the course of the 18th century slaves created a syncretic African-American culture, fusing social and religious traditions from several regions of AFRICA with European influences. MUSIC, DANCE, funeral rites, naming patterns, and CREOLE dialects that blended vocabulary and grammatical patterns from various African and European languages all played a pivotal role in early African-American culture. In the 1760s and 1770s many African-American slaves converted to Christianity and began to fuse Christian beliefs and customs with African religious traditions to form a distinctive mode of Afro-Christianity. African-American culture also influenced white Virginians' material culture, accents, musical tastes, and cuisine.



Virginia was not only the oldest of Britain's mainland North American colonies but also the most populous. After the early years its population grew steadily from 18,700 people in 1650 to 58,600 in 1700 and 340,000 in 1763. Slaves constituted slightly more than a quarter of Virginia's population in 1700 and more than 40 percent by 1760. The colony's white social structure included large planters who owned 20 or more slaves and from one to several plantations; small planters who owned fewer than 20 slaves and one small-scale plantation; backcountry and tenant farmers who grew tobacco and cereal crops on small farms, relying primarily on family rather than slave labor; and indentured servants. ARTISANS and shopkeepers congregated in small towns such as Williamsburg, but in spite of the House of Burgesses's attempts to encourage the creation of towns, Virginia remained overwhelmingly rural throughout the colonial period. The county was the principal unit of local government; in the absence of towns, colonists congregated at court days, militia musters, and rural stores and taverns. In 18th-century Virginia about 60 percent of adult white men held enough land to qualify for the vote. This was an unusually broad SUFFRAGE by European standards. Large planters monopolized the House of Burgesses, which soon superseded the governor's council in political influence.

Eighteenth-century Virginia was a firmly hierarchical society. The Tidewater gentry exercised power not only through political and judicial service but also through patronage and material display. In contrast to 17th-century planters, who often lived in small, bare houses, their 18th-century counterparts constructed elegant Georgian mansions on their estates. Weddings, funerals, and other lifecycle events were celebrated with elaborate banquets and parties that could last as long as three days. Churchgoing was another important occasion for social display; the local elite congregated in the churchyard and made a regal entrance just before the service began. Large planters often marketed tobacco, obtained consumer goods, and did business for smaller neighboring planters, thus drawing them into semidependent relationships. It was also customary for political candidates (mostly large planters) to "treat" voters (mostly small landowners) with liberal allowances of FOOD and ALCOHOL on election days, effectively purchasing their votes not with money but with promises of hospitality and patronage. The social status of the Tidewater gentry within the larger BRITISH EMPIRE remained ambiguous, however. In spite of the enormous influence they exercised in Virginia, many of them struggled with a perennial sense of cultural inferiority to the British gentry they sought to emulate.

The backcountry's social structure differed considerably from that of the Tidewater region. Although many wealthy planters speculated in backcountry lands, few

actually lived in that region, nor were there many slaves in the colonial Virginia backcountry, because most backcountry farmers could not afford to purchase them. After the 1720s new immigrants, many of them German and Scots-Irish, flooded into the Virginia Piedmont; by the 1750s European settlement had reached the edge of the Appalachian Mountains. The new immigrants raised livestock and grew cereal crops and low-grade tobacco on the rich Piedmont soil. Some enjoyed a comfortable standard of living, although they never approached the Tidewater gentry in wealth or political influence; the poorest were squatters, who led a precarious existence without legal title to their land. In the wake of the SEVEN YEARS' WAR the British government attempted to relieve tensions between white settlers and Native Americans in the Ohio Valley by issuing the Proclamation of 1763, which forbade white settlement west of the Appalachians. Many frontier settlers resisted this decree, which contributed to Virginians' growing resentment of British colonial rule.

Virginia's early intellectual and religious life was relatively calm and undistinguished. Because Virginia was a royal colony, the ANGLICAN CHURCH was established as the colony's official church, and all taxpayers contributed to its support. Most white Virginians adhered to the Anglican Church, at least nominally, but the Chesapeake region lacked the religious fervor of the Puritan and Quaker colonies. Anglican clergymen—mostly ENGLISH IMMIGRANTS—exercised little social authority. New backcountry settlements often lacked churches; itinerant ministers performed marriages and baptisms, although many couples cohabited without marrying. The educational situation was similarly bleak. In the 17th century schools were few and far between; wealthy planters sent their children to England for schooling, others simply did without formal EDUCATION. In the 18th century many planter parents hired private tutors for their children or sent them to small local schools, but offspring of poorer families enjoyed little chance to study. The COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY was established at Williamsburg (soon to be the new capital of Virginia) in 1693. The college's elegant buildings introduced the Virginia gentry to the architectural principles of Christopher Wren and inspired a spate of mansion construction, but the college's academic standards were initially low. Careful parents sent their sons to northern institutions to protect them from the dissipations of Williamsburg.

The character of Virginia's religious life changed dramatically during the GREAT AWAKENING, a wave of evangelical religious revivals that spread throughout the mainland British colonies in the mid-18th century. The Great Awakening reached the Virginia Piedmont in the mid-1740s, but its full effect was not felt until the 1760s. Every layer of Virginia society, from rich planters to slaves,

responded to evangelical preaching. The BAPTISTS and METHODISTS, the two leading evangelical denominations, grew rapidly; the revivals also reshaped and invigorated Scots-Irish Presbyterian congregations. Intriguingly, evangelical PROTESTANTISM attracted many African-American slaves to Christianity for the first time. Slaves attended revivals, preached, and joined Baptist and Methodist congregations; for a few decades in the late 18th century many Virginians belonged to interracial churches. (In the early 19th century most of these congregations splintered into separate African-American and white meetings.) The Great Awakening utterly transformed Virginia society in the decades before the American Revolution. Indeed, the revivalists' preaching style and their emphasis on challenging established authority may have prepared Virginians to embrace the Revolutionary rhetoric of liberty. As the largest and oldest mainland colony, Virginia was often in the spotlight and played a leading role in early Revolutionary protests.

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—Darcy R. Fryer

### Virginia Company of London (1606–1624)

Responding to a petition to private individuals with connections of family and interest in Raleigh's and Gilbert's earlier colonies, James I promulgated a charter in 1606 authorizing new English colonies in America under the aegis of two joint-stock companies: the Virginia Company of London, whose grant allowed them to plant colonies from present-day NORTH CAROLINA to Long Island, and the Virginia Company of PLYMOUTH, with colonization rights extending over the New England area.

The Virginia Company of London was primarily a business venture whose goal was to realize a profit, although the company's appeals for investors were couched in terms of broader national and religious interests. A factional cross-section of the English aristocracy capitalized

and led the Virginia Company of London, which established the JAMESTOWN colony in 1607. The “ancient companies” and the great London MERCHANTS, especially Sir Thomas Smith, who served as the company's treasurer, brought to the enterprise their experience of trading with Russia and the Levant. The Rich family, particularly Sir Robert Rich, the second earl of Warwick, aspired to realize the old dream of a PRIVATEERING base in the New World from which to strike at Spain and its treasure fleets. Many landed gentry, eventually championed by Sir Edwin Sandys, invested heavily in the company, hoping that lucrative returns would shore up their incomes, which, heavily dependent on fixed rents, were being rapidly eroded by inflation. Meanwhile, humanitarians and clergy among the founders would assist the unemployed poor who were flooding London by making them indentured servants to work the company plantation. They also aspired to make the Virginia Indians “civilized” and acquire Christian allies and customers for English-made trade goods, the demand for which would stimulate the English domestic ECONOMY. These conflicting goals and interests bred division, suspicion, and intrigue that undermined the cooperation needed to solve the immense problems of debt and insolvency entailed by the expense of sustaining the Jamestown colony until it could become profitable.

Peopling, governing, capitalizing, and making profitable the Jamestown colony was an experiment without precedent, except perhaps the failed Roanoke colony and the brutal English colonization of Celtic Ireland, models that boded ill for English-Indian relations. Unable to find a lucrative export, misruled and beset by DISEASE, unable to feed itself or to keep peace with the POWHATAN Indians, Jamestown floundered, forcing company officials down a path of repeated, but ultimately futile, reforms. The company secured a second charter in 1609 that limited royal control of its affairs, brought the colony under the control of “one able and absolute Governor,” and permitted public sale of stock. Its third charter in 1612 gave control of the financially promising Somers Isles (Bermuda) and allowed fundraising through a public lottery. Dissatisfied with the management of the London merchants, smaller stockholders in 1619 initiated another round of reform and eventually ousted treasurer Sir Thomas Smith, replacing him with Sir Edwin Sandys.

Sandys recruited more than 3,500 settlers for Virginia, many of whom were the unemployed poor forced into INDENTURED SERVITUDE. The company made land grants to private individuals in return for quitrents and established “particular plantations” farmed by TENANTS along the James River, further encroaching on Indian lands. Bowing to stockholder unease over burgeoning and exclusive TOBACCO production, Sandys encouraged the production of commodities such as iron, potash, and lumber. The

company set up a representative assembly that quickly became a means for the wealthiest colonists to control the LABOR of tenants and servants, maintain their own power, and subvert the company's will, especially its discouraging of tobacco cultivation. The failure of the reforms to produce profits and the Powhatan uprising in 1622 accelerated internal dissension among the stockholders, causing

Charles I to dissolve the company in 1624 and declare Virginia a royal colony.

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—James Bruggeman





# W



## wage and price controls

Most 17th-century European states and towns instituted wage and price controls to regulate the local economy. Both the traditional concept of the “moral economy” (an economy regulated by social principles rather than market forces) and the newer theory of MERCANTILISM (the idea that the state should regulate commerce in order to foster its own power) promoted the use of such controls. Moreover, early modern Europeans generally assumed that prices and wages should remain stable over time. Colonists often quibbled over the details of wage and price controls, but both the governors and the governed favored economic regulation.

The English Statute of Artificers (1562) provided a model for colonial regulations of laborers’ hours and wages. It was often difficult to adapt statutory law to local conditions, however, so in most cases justices of the peace actually set maximum and minimum wages. The scarcity of labor in the American colonies tended to drive wages up, to the consternation of those who believed that the real value of work varied little from one place to another. Wages in the American colonies remained higher than wages for comparable work in England, but colonial courts nevertheless indicted some laborers for accepting “excessive” wages. Local officials also regulated the fees that millers, tavern keepers, ferry owners, gravediggers, and other essential community functionaries were permitted to charge.

The quintessential price control was the assize of bread, which specified the proper size, quality, and price of a loaf of bread. Local officials regulated the price of other essential goods, such as meat, leather, bricks, and nails, as they thought necessary. Shipping costs naturally drove up the price of many imported goods, but colonists were initially reluctant to make allowances for this; in the early 17th century BOSTON merchant Thomas Keayne was prosecuted for incorporating shipping costs into the price of imported nails. Indeed, colonial courts vigorously punished individuals who violated the doctrine of the moral economy.

Colonial governments also outlawed market manipulations such as “engrossing” (creating a monopoly) and “forestalling” (buying up the entire stock of a particular commodity) to drive up the costs of goods.

Local economic regulations fell into decline in the mid-18th century. A new generation of economic theorists questioned the value of commercial regulation, while an increasingly diverse and mobile population questioned the concept of a moral economy structured to promote community welfare. Nevertheless, popular support for economic regulation occasionally resurfaced in wartime or during periods of rapid inflation. In the midst of Revolutionary boycotts in 1774, the Continental Congress called on colonial governments to punish price gougers.

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—Darcy R. Fryer

## Walking Purchase of 1737

In the mid-1730s the Lenape Indians (called DELAWARE by Euro-Americans) still owned much of Bucks County and the Lehigh Valley in eastern PENNSYLVANIA. As proprietors of Pennsylvania, Thomas and John Penn (the sons of WILLIAM PENN) and their agent, JAMES LOGAN, conspired to remove the Delaware from these lands. Logan argued that a copy of a deed dated 1686 proved that the Lenape had sold all lands that could be walked in a day and a half north of the previous boundary in Bucks County. Nutimus, a Delaware elder, denied that the deed included his land between Tohickon Creek and the Lehigh River. When the IROQUOIS of NEW YORK sided with the proprietors, the Delaware acquiesced.

In preparation for the “walk” James Logan directed men to clear a path so the “walkers” could move swiftly. From Wrightstown on the morning of September 19, 1737,

three young settlers, Solomon Jennings, James Yeats, and Edward Marshall, accompanied by two Delaware observers, walked north at a very rapid pace. They covered much more ground than Nutimus, Lapowinsa, and other Native leaders expected. In the afternoon, when the walkers crossed the Lehigh River, the Indian observers departed. Lapowinsa refused to send others, objecting that the Penns had “got all the best land, and they might go to the Devil for the bad.” The walkers slept overnight near Hockendauqua, Lapowinsa’s town. The Delaware refused to allow the Euro-Americans to enter the town because they were holding a religious ceremony. The walkers passed Kittatinny (or Blue) Mountain before lunch on September 20, 1737, then continued to a point near present-day Jim Thorpe. After a total of 18 hours only one man completed the entire 64 miles. James Logan drew the boundary there, extending the line northeast to the Delaware River, and set off 10 square miles near Hockendauqua for a reservation called the Indian Tract Manor.

In the 1740s and 1750s the Penns sold lands in the area of the Walking Purchase to growing numbers of European settlers. Some Natives stayed in the region, while others moved west to the Susquehanna and Ohio Valleys. In 1755 many Delaware allied with the French to push out the colonists during the SEVEN YEARS’ WAR. The British and colonists defeated the French in 1763, but not the Delaware. Conflict between NATIVE AMERICANS and settlers continued in the area through the American Revolution.

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—Jean R. Soderlund

### **Walter, Thomas** (1696–1725) *composer*

Thomas Walter composed religious music in early America. Born in Roxbury, MASSACHUSETTS, the son of a minister, Thomas Walter was the grandson of INCREASE MATHER. Although his family tried to shield him from the world, Walter was precocious and earned a reputation for brilliance and conviviality. Despite early association with theological radicals, Walter was ordained in 1718 and installed as assistant pastor to his conservative father. He married Rebekah Belcher on Christmas Day, 1718, and they had one daughter.

In 1719 Walter entered a public dialogue with the theologian John Checkley, debating the order and government of the church. Walter sought to improve the quality of congregational singing at this time, compiling songbooks and preaching sermons on the importance of MUSIC in worship.

In 1721 he published his best-known hymnal, *Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained; or, an Introduction to the Art of Singing By Note, Fittest to the meanest capacity*. This text contained hymns in three parts and emphasized simple technique. Walter’s connection to the Mathers, one of the most influential families in colonial New England, meant that his work drew particular attention. This hymnal went through eight editions by 1764, and a few songs remain in use today.

Walter volunteered to be vaccinated for SMALLPOX, which Increase Mather supported. He nearly died when someone threw a bomb into the room where he lay recovering after the inoculation. Shortly afterward Walter contracted consumption and died after a lengthy and painful illness.

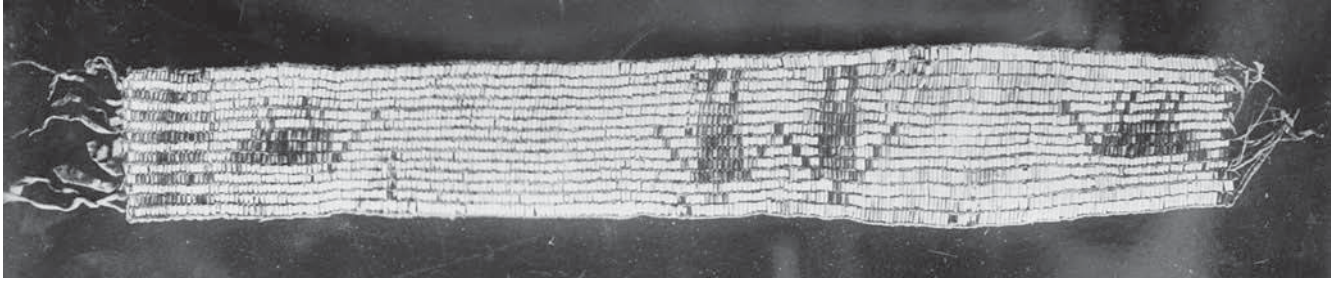
—Victoria C. H. Resnick

### **wampum**

Wampum, or *wampumpeag*, were manufactured strings of purple and white whelk and clam shells found in the Narragansett Bay and Long Island Sound regions of New England. ALGONQUIN Indians worked the shells by grinding and drilling them into small tubular pieces, polishing them, and stringing them together to fashion belts and rectangular matlike pieces.

Before European arrival belts and sections of wampum were sacred objects among New England Indians, denoting the power and prestige of their holders. Wampum usually adorned only SACHEMS or other prominent persons to evince rank and dignity; ordinary Natives rarely possessed or accumulated much. It was exchanged during rituals and used as payment of tribute between peoples, as dowry, and as signs of friendship and diplomatic relations. In their designs wampum belts could also mark special events or occasions, acting as a type of mnemonic or commemorative device recording local history. Wampum thus functioned as both a symbol of personal or tribal identity and as a medium in the culture of gift exchange that marked both inter- and intragroup interactions among New England peoples.

The coming of European colonists transformed the meaning and usage of wampum. Discovering its immense value among many of the peoples they encountered and realizing its potential to facilitate trade and amity with them, first Dutch and later English settlers attempted to corner its manufacture in the 17th century by establishing relations with the Mohegan, NARRAGANSETT, and PEQUOT, who controlled the coastal areas of Long Island Sound, where true wampum shells were found. These Natives obtained metal drillbits from Europeans to replace stone varieties, and wampum production grew far beyond earlier levels. Wampum began to lose much of its formal ceremonial meaning and to take on characteristics of currency. It



The Wolf Treaty belt, representing the alliance of the Mohawks with the French. The wolves symbolize the “door keepers” of the league. (*Library of Congress*)

was used to purchase goods or services. An exchange rate was computed in English money, and a market in counterfeit shells emerged. Wampum ownership became more common among ordinary Indians, and Native peoples from other regions who previously had not participated in its exchange were increasingly drawn into a nascent wampum ECONOMY. Historians have referred to the transformation of wampum shells from sacred and symbolic objects to commodities and versions of money under European influence as the “wampum revolution.”

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—Bradley Scott Schrager

## war and warfare

Organized violence to achieve a particular end existed in North America long before the arrival of Europeans, but the colonists introduced new motives for and methods of warfare that resulted, when combined with Native American traditions, in a blend of the two that is distinctly American. During the colonial period wars were fought between different groups of NATIVE AMERICANS, between colonists from European nations and Native Americans, and between rival colonists, although there is a good deal of overlap in these categories.

Conflicts among Native Americans along the East Coast usually did not entail a large loss of life. Instead, small groups might be killed or captured for adoption into tribes. Wars between Native Americans were transformed by the introduction of new weapons, especially firearms. The adoption of the horse by the Plains peoples transformed their ways of war, which would become a major factor as Europeans, and later white Americans, spread

west. European colonization also introduced a new motive for inter-Native American warfare—access to trade with the new arrivals.

Wars between colonists and Native Americans tended toward raids and reprisals. Europeans were frustrated by the unwillingness of their foes to stand and fight, while Native Americans were mystified by European concepts of battlefield discipline. The colonists turned to such tactics as the destruction of crops and homes when they could not bring their enemies to battle. As they were often unable or unwilling to differentiate between different groups of Native Americans, they tended to strike whatever group was handy, even if that group was friendly. Native Americans generally came from a raiding tradition of warfare that involved striking at isolated outposts and killing or capturing the entire population. Both sides tended to view the other's methods as barbaric and inhuman.

Wars were also common among colonists of rival European powers as they struggled to control the Atlantic World. A series of four major struggles between the British and French resulted in the end of French claims to mainland North America. While these wars were closely related to conflicts on the European continent, they assumed a different character. North America was ill suited to European open-field tactics. It lacked many open fields where linear tactics could be applied (the battle on the Plains of Abraham outside Quebec in 1759 is a notable exception). Despite their reluctance to adopt supposedly “barbaric” methods, colonists combined their European traditions with Native American techniques. This blending was aided by the recruiting by both England and France of substantial numbers of Native American allies. The French more often adopted their allies' tactics, while the English stuck closer to their traditions and used Native Americans as auxiliaries.

Whether involved in the great struggle for continental domination and empire or the smaller but no less violent disputes on the colonial frontier, warfare was an important part of the Native American and colonial experiences.

From these experiences came a blend of European and Native American styles of fighting—a uniquely American way of war.

See also BACON'S REBELLION; DUTCH-INDIAN WARS; FORT NECESSITY; FORTS; KING PHILIP'S WAR; PEQUOT WAR; SEVEN YEARS' WAR; WAR OF JENKINS' EAR.

**Further reading:** Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years War and the Fate of the British Empire in North America, 1754–1766* (New York: Knopf, 2000); Robert Utley and Wilcomb Washburn, *Indian Wars* (New York: American Heritage, 1977).

—Grant Weller

**Ward, Nancy** (1738?–1824) *tribal leader, diplomat*

Nancy Ward was an influential CHEROKEE leader. Biographical details are uncertain because of the lack of written records. According to legend, she was born about 1738 at Chota in eastern Tennessee. First named Nan'yehi, she married a Cherokee warrior whom she accompanied to battles. When her husband was killed at the 1755 Battle of Taliwa, Ward seized his gun and forced the enemy to retreat. After that action she was called Ghigau, or “Beloved Woman,” the highest courtesy title given to Cherokee women. In the Cherokee's matrilineal society Ward gained power, privileges, and responsibilities, including voting rights in the General Council. She married Bryant Ward, a white trader, in the 1750s, but he abandoned her to return to his family in SOUTH CAROLINA.

Serving as an ambassador, Ward negotiated peace with white people who settled on Cherokee lands despite the royal Proclamation of 1763, which recognized NATIVE AMERICANS' land rights. Ward interceded in 1776, when she learned of Cherokee plans to raid white settlements on the Holston and Watauga Rivers, warning white people and saving a white woman captive. Ward learned to weave cloth and tend livestock, part of the transformation of GENDER roles among the Cherokee as women began to work cloth while men farmed. The first Cherokee to own cows and slaves, Ward introduced dairy husbandry to supplement their diet.

Ward protected the Cherokee's interests during peace talks with John Sevier in 1781. Four years later she negotiated on behalf of the Cherokee for the Treaty of Hopewell, the first treaty discussed with representatives of the United States. Aware that white people wanted Cherokee lands, Ward worried about the fate of her tribe. Gradually Native American women's political power waned, but Ward insisted on voicing her opinions. At the 1808 Women's Council that she led, Ward emphasized that the Cherokee should not sell more land to whites. Nine years later she advised the Cherokee to wage war to preserve their territory.

After her tribal lands were sold in 1819, Ward relocated to an inn she managed near the Ocoee River. She died in 1824, five years before women were denied voting and office rights by the Cherokee constitution and 14 years before the southern Cherokee were forcibly removed to western reservations.

**Further reading:** Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992).

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

**War of Jenkins' Ear** (1739–1743)

The War of Jenkins' Ear began in 1739 and involved the international ambitions of Britain and Spain. Although the fighting did not begin in earnest until 1740, the event that led to the conflict occurred nearly 10 years earlier. In 1731 Captain Juan de Leon Fandino, a Spanish naval officer, boarded a British vessel off Havana's coast. Fandino accused British captain Robert Jenkins of SMUGGLING. During the search an argument ensued, and in the heat of the altercation Fandino sliced off Jenkins's ear. Throwing the ear at Jenkins, Fandino reportedly exclaimed “Take this to your king and tell him if he were here I would do the same.”

As tensions increased between the British and Spanish in North America, Jenkins returned to London with ear in hand. Addressing Parliament, Jenkins described his altercation with the Spanish sailor and, to prove his point of Spanish savagery, produced the preserved ear. Although the Jenkins incident was one of numerous altercations along the North American frontier, his ear became a rallying cry for aggressive action. As Parliamentarians protested Spain's belligerency on the coast, further developments near FLORIDA increased tensions. When the British established GEORGIA, SLAVERY was prohibited. This prohibition was supposed to create a buffer zone between British SOUTH CAROLINA's slaves and Spanish Florida's offer of asylum to those who successfully ran away. Despite their best efforts, British planters could not stop escaped slaves from reaching freedom in Florida. FORT MOSE continued to threaten the peace in South Carolina, and in 1739 Britain declared war against Spain, supposedly for Jenkins' ear but more important because of the threat of slave unrest.

In the fall of 1739 slaves in Stono, South Carolina, revolted. For those involved the ultimate goal was passage to ST. AUGUSTINE and freedom. Fort Mose, once an abstract threat to British control, became an immediate concern for the very survival of Britain's southern colonies. Hoping to drive the Spanish from Florida, Georgia founder and general JAMES OGLETHORPE led troops on a mission to take St. Augustine in the spring of 1740. Although the



British destroyed numerous frontier outposts, including Fort Mose, they could not remove the Spanish from St. Augustine. As the British advanced the residents of St. Augustine sought protection in the city's large stone fort. While the Spaniards waited for reinforcements to arrive, Oglethorpe shelled the city. The fort, however, proved impenetrable to the British attack; the British ultimately left Florida in defeat on July 4, 1740.

—Shane Runyon

**Warren, Mary Cole** (1653–1697?) *farmer*

Mary Cole was born at the family TOBACCO farm, St. Clement's Manor, in MARYLAND to prosperous English Roman Catholic immigrants Robert and Rebecca Cole. The first daughter of five children, Mary learned to read the Bible and to sew. Like many Maryland children of the 17th century, Mary became an orphan when her mother died in 1642 and her father a year later. While many orphans suffered abuse or neglect at the hands of strangers, Mary was more fortunate in that Robert had both inventoried his possessions and chosen guardians to provide materially and spiritually for his offspring. Neighbor Luke Gardiner raised the children and sent Mary to live for a short time with her grandmother in England. Following the custom of the day, daughters received movable property from estates, and, accordingly, Mary inherited 11 cattle, a feather bed with sheets, an iron pot, an 18-gallon copper kettle, and a spice mortar when she came of age. By 1673 she had married tobacco planter and innkeeper Ignatius Warren of Newtown Hundred. Mary then disappears from the historical record. It is not known if Mary had any children, and it is believed that she died, aged about 45, before Ignatius went bankrupt.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Lois Green Carr, Russell R. Menard and Lorena S. Walsh, *Robert Cole's World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

—Caryn E. Neumann

**Weiser, Johann Conrad** (1696–1760) *German-American interpreter*

Johann Conrad Weiser helped maintain the alliance between the IROQUOIS Indians and the British. He was born November 2, 1696, in Affstätt, Württemberg, in present-day Germany. Responding to the constant warfare and destruction of their homeland and following the death of his mother, in 1710 Weiser's family heeded the advertisements of the British colonies and joined other migrants from the Palatinate to the New World. After several months

in NEW YORK CITY the Weiser family moved to upstate NEW YORK, joining other Palatines in the Schoharie Valley. When Conrad was 16, he lived in a village of Mohawk. By the end of his visit he had learned to speak Iroquoian fluently, had begun to understand Native American culture, and had developed what would become lifelong friendships. In 1729 Weiser moved from Schoharie and settled in the Tulpehocken Valley of western Berks County, PENNSYLVANIA, where he joined other German migrants and established a prosperous farm. In religious matters he was an active member of the local German Lutheran church and, during a time of personal spiritual crisis, spent time among the religious community at Ephrata. Like many other prosperous farmers and tradesmen, Weiser speculated in land after his arrival in Berks County. Through his investments he cultivated a relationship with the proprietary government that proved mutually beneficial.

His experience with NATIVE AMERICANS as a youth was advantageous for both the Pennsylvania government and the regional Indian confederacies. In 1731 Weiser accompanied Shikellamy, a chieftain of the Oneida, to PHILADELPHIA for negotiations with provincial officials, serving as translator for both parties. Over time Weiser became renowned for his skill at mediating between the agents of the Penn family and the area tribes, earning the name "Holder of the Heavens" for his services. Through his efforts the province was able to maintain peaceful relations with the Native Americans throughout much of the 18th century. On several occasions he assisted with the negotiations for land purchases, as in the notorious WALKING PURCHASE OF 1737 with the DELAWARE Indians. His diplomatic skills extended beyond Pennsylvania, as his efforts also improved Native American relations with MARYLAND and VIRGINIA. His last great act was at Easton in 1758, when he persuaded Native Americans of the Ohio Valley to sever ties with the French. By the time of his death in 1760, Weiser had also succeeded in mediating relations between German and English interests in Pennsylvania as well as among white settlers and the Native Americans.

See also DAVID ZEISBERGER.

**Further reading:** James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1999); Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1696–1760: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945).

—Karen Guenther

**Wesley, John** (1703–1791) *minister*

John Wesley was born in 1703 in Epworth, Lincolnshire. The son of an Anglican rector, Wesley was educated at Christ Church College, Oxford, and was ordained as an



John Wesley (Library of Congress)

Anglican priest in 1725. While at Oxford, Wesley, together with his brother Charles and GEORGE WHITEFIELD, formed a “Holy Club” known as the Oxford Methodists to discuss spiritual issues. Although Wesley gained a reputation for piety and came to the notice of the GEORGIA trustees as a result, his time at Oxford seems only to have deepened his sense of spiritual inadequacy. However, when the trustees offered him the chance to be a missionary to the Indians while acting as the minister in SAVANNAH, Wesley accepted.

Wesley arrived in North America in February 1736 in the throes of a spiritual crisis but determined to bring a new religious discipline to Savannah. Even at this young age, Wesley’s implementation of Anglicanism was more rigorous than that of many other ministers. While his sober habits and his willingness to hold regular services in Savannah earned him the initial respect of colonists, Wesley eventually fell foul of his own stern morality. Like his brother Charles, who had taken the post as minister in Frederica farther south, John found that Georgians did not enjoy having their numerous faults and moral failings repeatedly

pointed out to them. Charles returned to England after only six months, but John remained in Georgia for nearly two years.

His strict moral code earned Wesley the animosity of Savannah’s citizenry, but his personal failings brought Wesley’s downfall in the colony. Wesley had formed an attachment to Sophia Hopkey, niece of Thomas Causton, who managed the trustees’ store and was one of the most powerful and influential men in Savannah. Many, including JAMES OGLETHORPE and Causton, believed that the pair would marry. However, when Sophia rejected a marriage proposal from Wesley and wed another man instead, Wesley reacted by singling out the newlyweds for criticism. After Sophia missed several church services, Wesley felt justified in denying her Holy Communion. The decision caused an uproar and led to a defamation suit from Sophia’s husband, John Williamson. Under this threat of court action, Wesley fled Savannah in 1737.

Despite claiming later that his time in Georgia had been a success, it is clear that Wesley failed to have a significant impact in colonial America. However, shortly after his return to London in 1738 Wesley underwent a religious conversion experience and embarked on a nationwide evangelical revival. Until his death in 1791 Wesley shaped religious revivalism in England and North America and the future of the Methodist faith.

See also GREAT AWAKENING.

**Further reading:** David T. Morgan, “John Wesley’s Sojourn in Georgia Revisited,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (1980): 253–262.

—Timothy James Lockley

**West Indies** See CARIBBEAN.

### Westo

The Westo were a Native people of the Middle Atlantic and Southeast region during the middle and late 17th century. They played a significant role in the early stages of European colonial incursion into North America, acting both as partners to the expansionary English colony of Carolina as well as feared enemies of Spanish FLORIDA and the Native peoples within its orbit of MISSIONS and towns. The Westo are best known as allies of early English settlers of Carolina, with whom they formed a tenuous partnership in the 1670s that featured trade in firearms and English goods, Indian slaving, and mutual defense. Contemporary descriptions of them survive in reports and narratives by English colonial agents, like Dr. Henry Woodward, who spent much time among them as the representative of Carolina.

The exact identification of the Westo has caused confusion among historians because of migrations between the Chesapeake region and the Lower South as far as central GEORGIA. Their ethnohistory remains mysterious; some scholars have suggested an Iroquoian connection that places their origins in the Northeast, others a Yuchean background that implies southern roots. Because the Westo ranged across a southeastern imperial landscape contested by both Spaniards and English, European documents concerning them include incongruous mentions and conflicting information. English settlers in the Chesapeake area knew the Westo initially by the name Recohockrians, a people of the James River region with whom they had several confrontations in the 1650s. Spaniards in Florida first met the group through Native refugees fleeing the raids staged by Westo, armed with English guns, deep into the Southeast in the early 1660s. Spaniards called the Westo *chichimecos*, a term the Spanish also used in other New World settings to denote fierce and uncontrollable Indians who threatened Spanish and Native settlements.

The English in Carolina during the 1670s sought powerful Native partners to help support their fledgling colony, and the Westo, described by one correspondent as “bold and warlike,” fit their requirements. For most of that decade Westo served as the primary Native allies of Carolina, providing Englishmen with the Indian slaves, deerskins, and defensive protection that fueled that settlement’s expansion. Indeed, English officials and traders often seemed quite wary of their Westo partners, fearful that they might turn upon Carolina. Correspondents spoke of the arrangement between Westo and Carolinians in terms that belied the power of the Natives and the weakness of the colony; one admitted that “if trade were not permitted the Westos . . . they would cut all [our] throats.”

Disputes between English traders and the Westo escalated in the late 1670s, and Carolinians moved to destroy their Native partners, who now seemed less likely to submit to the colonial arrangement. The motivation for the Westo War of 1680 originated with planters and traders who dominated the Indian trade; the lords proprietors of Carolina saw the campaign from England as ill-advised and charged local leaders with putting personal gain before the welfare of the colony. Despite those objections, Carolinians along with newly allied Savannah Indians attacked the Westo. By 1683 correspondents claimed there were “not fifty Westos left alive, and those scattered,” and the Savannah had usurped the role of primary Native allies of Carolina, a station clearly as fraught with peril as opportunity.

**Further reading:** Verner Crane, *The Southern Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1981); J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *The Only*

*Land They Knew: American Indians in the Old South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981).

—Bradley Scott Schrager

**Wetamo** (d. 1676) *leader in King Philip’s War*

Wetamo was an influential leader whose life reflects the increasing tensions between NATIVE AMERICANS and English colonists. Born to a distinguished Native American family, Wetamo took Wamsutta, the son of the Wampanoag leader and the older brother of METACOM, for her husband. Following her husband’s mysterious 1664 death while in English custody, Wetamo became the sachem of the Wampanoag town of Pocasset, a position of authority that placed more than 300 warriors under her guidance and made her a political power in her own right. She also embarked upon a second marriage to Petanauet, the sachem of a smaller Wampanoag community. This relationship became a casualty of the split among the Native Americans when Metacom’s War erupted in 1675. Her husband cast his lot with the English, while Wetamo, who had tried to keep the peace, joined with Metacom. Because of family ties to Metacom, she had firmly opposed concessions of land and authority to the English. The war went badly for Wetamo’s side, and in the summer of 1675 she fled to the safety of the neutral NARRAGANSETT. According to New England Indian ethics, the Narragansett were obliged to honor a request for refuge, but the English interpreted Wetamo’s arrival as a hostile act and invaded Narragansett territory. Wetamo resumed fighting with her new husband, Quanopin, one of the Narragansett leaders. Together the two successfully invaded the town of Lancaster, MASSACHUSETTS. With Wetamo proving to be a formidable foe, the English sought her defeat for military reasons but also because the lands that Wetamo held would pay for the cost of the war. In 1676, with the English in hot pursuit, the newly widowed Wetamo fled through a field and tried to cross a river in the area of PLYMOUTH. She drowned. When the English discovered her body a few days later, they cut off her head and placed it on a pole at Taunton.

See also WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Carol J. Berkin, *First Generations: Women in Colonial America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1996).

—Caryn E. Neumann

**Wheelock, Eleazar** (1711–1779) *missionary, educator*

A leading exponent of the GREAT AWAKENING, Wheelock trained Native American missionaries and founded DARTMOUTH COLLEGE. Born to a prosperous farm family in



Windham, CONNECTICUT, Wheelock graduated from YALE COLLEGE in 1733 and two years later settled into a pastorate at Lebanon, Connecticut. He preached widely in his home state and in neighboring MASSACHUSETTS. Interested in the conversion of NATIVE AMERICANS to Christianity, Wheelock in 1754 entered the missionary field by starting a school for Indian youths. The school would remove Native American children from what Wheelock viewed as the destructive influence of their parents, and he aimed to train the young men as missionaries to their own people. Not surprisingly, recruitment of Native Americans always proved a challenge, but Wheelock filled the seats by attracting white students. This new institution, known as Moor's Indian Charity School, was established in Lebanon, Connecticut. Because all the Native Americans were charity students and only about a third of the white scholars paid tuition, Wheelock supported his school by raising funds through various means, including targeting missionary societies of Great Britain and their American branches.

Among Wheelock's more prominent students were Samson Occom, a Mohegan, and Joseph Brant, a Mohawk. Wheelock hoped to produce students who would convert their people, but the school's record in Indian EDUCATION was mixed at best, and much of Wheelock's energy was devoted to fundraising.

Further adding to his woes, the number of Indian students dwindled steadily, with many of the students complaining that the school required more labor than studying. Wheelock eventually had to concentrate on recruiting Indian students from Canada after the IROQUOIS completely rejected his overtures and other Native Americans expressed reluctance to send their children to work with him. Occom traveled to England to raise funds but later complained that Wheelock's school resembled *Alba Mater* ("White Mother") rather than *Alma Mater*. At no time had Indians outnumbered white people at the school. In 1769 the school moved with 30 students to Hanover, NEW HAMPSHIRE and became Dartmouth College. Despite its goal of Native American education, Dartmouth produced only three Native American graduates in the 18th century.

**Further reading:** Colin G. Calloway, ed., *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1994).

—Caryn E. Neumann

### **Wheelwright, John** (1592?–1679) *minister*

The founder of Exeter, NEW HAMPSHIRE, John Wheelwright was a minister who became involved in religious controversy in early MASSACHUSETTS. He was born in Lincolnshire, England, the son of Robert Wheelwright and Katherine Mawer. A large landowner, Robert Wheelwright had the

means not only to send his son to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, but also to leave him a substantial estate. After receiving a B.A. in 1615 and an M.A. in 1618, Wheelwright was ordained a priest and became vicar at Bilsby. A critic of the Church of England, Wheelwright lost his Bilsby living in 1632. Following the death of his first wife, Marie Storre, Wheelwright married Mary Hutchinson, a union that eventually led to an alliance with his new sister-in-law, ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON.

In 1636 Wheelwright and his family joined the Puritan migration to Massachusetts, where he quickly became involved in the controversy surrounding his sister-in-law. Anne Hutchinson accused the clergy of the colony, except JOHN COTTON and Wheelwright, of preaching a covenant of works. Hutchinson and her supporters promoted the appointment of her brother-in-law as a minister for the congregation in BOSTON. After a powerful minority in the congregation, led by former governor JOHN WINTHROP, blocked the appointment, Wheelwright accepted a position in Mount Wollaston.

Wheelwright, however, could not steer clear of controversy. He accepted an opportunity to give a Fast Day sermon in Boston in early 1637. Wheelwright outraged many when he argued, as had Anne Hutchinson, that too many church members knew Christ only through the good works they performed rather than acknowledging that justification came through faith alone. The province's General Court found Wheelwright guilty of sedition and banished him to New Hampshire shortly before they likewise banished his sister-in-law.

In 1644, after receiving conciliatory letters from Wheelwright, the General Court lifted his banishment. In the mid-1650s he sailed to England but returned to Massachusetts shortly after the restoration of Charles II. He became pastor at a church in Salisbury and died there in 1679. Wheelwright remains a significant figure largely because of his alliance with Anne Hutchinson, an accomplished woman who challenged a patriarchal culture.

**Further reading:** John Heard, *John Wheelwright, 1592–1679* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930).

—Larry Gragg

### **White, Andrew** (1579–1656) *missionary*

Known as the "Apostle of Maryland," Andrew White was a missionary to Indians and often involved in religious controversy. Born in England, he studied in France and took vows there as a Roman Catholic priest in 1605. He returned to England, where priests were prosecuted following the Gunpowder Plot. Banished, White fled to Belgium, where he became a Jesuit. He returned to London in 1612, then alternated between missionary

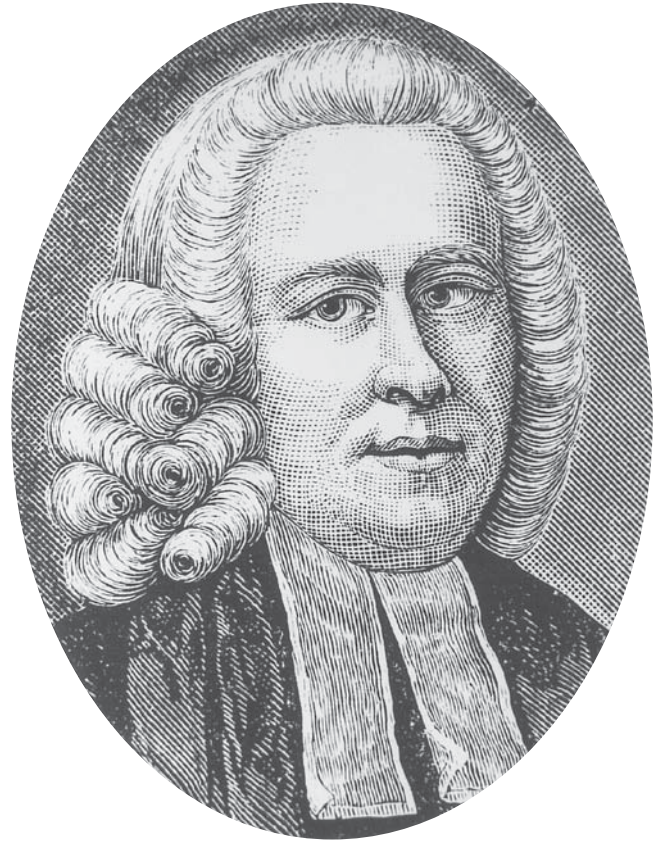


work in that city and teaching positions on the European continent for 21 years.

In 1633 White wrote a promotional tract encouraging settlers to move to MARYLAND; he also wrote a version in Latin for the Jesuit leaders. Cecil Calvert approved both the terms that White offered to would-be settlers and his glowing descriptions of the land. In November 1633 White and two other JESUITS accompanied the first Maryland colonists. He wrote several widely circulated accounts of the voyage, EXPLORATION, and settlement, in Latin and English, describing the local vegetation and geography, using wry humor, and including information on the Indians of the area. White devoted much of his time as a missionary to Indians and to learning their languages. In 1640 he baptized Chief Chitomachon of the Canoy, along with several other important members of the tribe. Accounts of this episode appeared throughout Jesuit LITERATURE and inspired other priests to go as missionaries to the New World.

During political struggles in Maryland White was captured and sent in chains to England on charges of being a Roman Catholic priest. Acquitted because he had been forced to return to England, he fled to Belgium and started a never-completed history of Maryland. After his 1650 return to England White repeatedly requested to be allowed to visit Maryland but was refused; he died in England.

—Victoria C. H. Resnick



George Whitefield (Library of Congress)

### **Whitefield, George** (1714–1770) *evangelist*

George Whitefield was the itinerant evangelist whose preaching spread the religious revival known as the GREAT AWAKENING throughout British America. From his native Britain he made several voyages to North America, preaching to open-air crowds from MASSACHUSETTS to GEORGIA to proclaim a message of spiritual rebirth and personal salvation.

Born in Gloucester, England, Whitefield attended Pembroke College, Oxford. There he met Charles and JOHN WESLEY and joined the “Holy Club,” a group of men who followed John Wesley’s method of focused scriptural study and prayer. One evening as he studied, he suddenly felt an overwhelming sense of God’s presence, pardon, and love—a spiritual rebirth. This experience transformed his religious life and became the central core of his preaching. His description of this conversion, *A Short Account of God’s Dealings with the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield* (Philadelphia, 1740), was widely sold in Britain and America.

Whitefield was ordained a deacon in the Church of England in 1736, and two years later he followed the Wesley brothers to Georgia. Although they had left by the time that Whitefield arrived, he became active in the new colony, preaching and starting schools in SAVANNAH and outlying settlements. After four months Whitefield

returned to England to raise funds to establish an orphanage in Georgia.

On January 14, 1739, Bishop Martin Benson ordained Whitefield an Anglican priest. However, his evangelistic emphasis on spiritual rebirth and his collecting money for personal causes angered the established clergy, and Church of England pulpits generally were closed to him. He preached in public halls and outdoors, with crowds growing as his oratorical fame spread.

Returning to North America in 1739 with funds and supplies for the Georgia orphanage, he spent most of this visit as an itinerant evangelist, preaching at stops from PHILADELPHIA southward along the East Coast. Arriving in Georgia in January 1740, he opened the orphanage (Bethesda) and settled many orphans there, although angering some people by wresting the children from families already pledged to care for them. In CHARLESTON Whitefield became involved in a preaching duel with the Church of England commissary, Reverend Alexander Garden. Both men’s attacks were subsequently published, adding to the enmity between Anglicans and Whitefield.

The remainder of his life followed a similar pattern. He made six more visits to North America, generally collecting

funds for the orphanage and visiting the major urban centers from BOSTON to Savannah. Often he traveled on horseback, preaching daily to crowds gathered in open fields. His eloquent voice and uncanny ability to speak to the needs of his audience inspired and enthused the crowds. He was clear about his own mission: He had come to plant; others would water and reap the harvest. Skillfully using advertising techniques, he provided newspapers with his itinerary and articles on his preaching campaigns in Britain. He steadily produced printed works and corresponded with a network of evangelical clergymen, sending them notices of his latest publications and sermons. Even opposition from major church leaders expanded into pamphlets that attracted notoriety.

His message was consistent. God was spreading across the Atlantic world a “GREAT AWAKENING” to the power of spiritual rebirth. Diligent biblical study was the means by which individuals might appropriate that new birth for themselves; its reality would become evident in amended lives. In this he remained theologically a Calvinist, stressing that though no one had the certainty of God’s “election” (salvation), the proclamation of God’s love should be made available to all.

Recent scholars stress the importance of Whitefield’s work in enabling revolutionary discourse. His travels throughout the colonies and his refusal to be identified with a particular church or sect provided a unifying vocabulary. The effectiveness of his preaching in arousing individual action inspired a later generation of patriot orators. His message of individual empowerment and his castigation of religious leaders who had abandoned their ecclesiastical responsibilities gave courage to common people who would later hold governors, even the king himself, accountable for their misdeeds.

Whitefield’s oratorical skills were stunning. Benjamin Franklin, a religious skeptic, relates how he was inspired by Whitefield’s sermons. Although initially resolving not to make a donation when the collection plate was passed, Franklin was so impressed during the course of the sermon that he emptied his pocket into the plate.

Whitefield died in Newburyport, Massachusetts, in the midst of a revival journey through New England. His collected works were published after his death.

**Further reading:** Frank Lambert, *“Pedlar in Divinity”: George Whitefield and the Transatlantic Revivals* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).

—Mary Sudman Donovan and Billy G. Smith

**Wigglesworth, Edward** (1693–1765) *minister, writer*  
Edward Wigglesworth was born in Malden, MASSACHUSETTS, the son of MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH, a Puritan

minister and author of the popular 1662 poems *The Day of Doom* and *Sybel Sparhawk*. He was educated at Boston Latin School and HARVARD COLLEGE, graduating from the latter in 1710. After a decade of preaching at several churches and teaching at Boston Latin School, Wigglesworth became Harvard’s first Hollis Professor of Divinity in 1721. Nine years later he received a doctorate in divinity from Edinburgh University in Scotland. Following the death of his first wife, Sarah Leverett, he married Rebecca Coolidge. The couple had four children.

Wigglesworth remained at Harvard for the rest of his life, twice declining the rectorship of YALE COLLEGE. Despite increasing deafness, he had a distinguished career as an educator and theologian. He also served several years as a commissioner for London’s Society for Propagating the Gospel among Indians. The mid-18th-century evangelical movement known as the GREAT AWAKENING posed a particular challenge to “Old Light” theologians like Wigglesworth. Intensely critical of itinerant ministers like the famed Englishmen GEORGE WHITEFIELD, Wigglesworth charged that such men caused considerable religious disorder with their emphasis upon emotion and enthusiasm, views he published in *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield* (1745).

Although he railed against the “New Light” ministers, Wigglesworth was willing to reconsider his own religious views, and an examination of his published sermons and pamphlets reveals a shift away from predestination, the notion that God arbitrarily determined one’s salvation. Over time he began to embrace Arminian beliefs, acknowledging the free will of individuals and the importance of good works in assuring salvation. This is most evident in a work he published very late in life, *The Doctrine of Reprobation* (1763). Wigglesworth was also involved in an important public policy debate. In 1720 he published a number of letters in opposition to a proposed land bank scheme to improve farmers’ access to credit, a proposal Wigglesworth believed would lead to crippling indebtedness. Despite his opposition, Massachusetts instituted a land bank two decades later. Still, Wigglesworth’s was an important voice in the religious and secular controversies in 18th-century Massachusetts.

**Further reading:** Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953).

—Larry Gragg

**Wigglesworth, Michael** (1631–1705) *poet*

Michael Wigglesworth was a popular religious poet who warned the PURITANS to follow their God. Born in England, he immigrated with his family in 1638, settling in New Haven, CONNECTICUT. CHILDHOOD illness left him

physically unwell for the rest of his life. Wigglesworth was educated at HARVARD COLLEGE and taught there briefly.

In 1654 he moved to Malden, MASSACHUSETTS, to serve as minister. He preached there for several years without being ordained. Wigglesworth's diary from this time describes his confusion, illnesses, sexual desires, and doubts about his calling. Marriage to a cousin, Mary Reyner, in 1656 and the birth of a daughter helped ease his mind, as did living with his mother and sister. At last ordained in 1657, ill health frequently necessitated the hiring of substitute preachers.

The 1659 death of his wife and troubles with his parish in 1661 led Wigglesworth to write "The Day of Doom." This lengthy poem vividly describes the horrors of Judgment Day for the community according to Puritan doctrine, using familiar scriptural passages and millennial fears. Written in common meter and using an internal rhyme scheme, it is easy to memorize, as many did; for more than a century, "The Day of Doom" was the most popular poem in New England.

Profits from this work permitted Wigglesworth to visit Bermuda, where he studied medicine and attempted to regain his health. He returned to Malden a year later to find that his congregation had hired a replacement, so he became the town doctor. Wigglesworth continued writing; his best known work from this period, "Meat Out of the Eater" (1669), emphasizes the instruction of individual souls, arguing that affliction is a purifying experience.

In 1679 Wigglesworth scandalized Malden by marrying his much younger housekeeper and subsequently fathering six children; he married a third time in 1791. His health and spirits improved, and in 1686 Wigglesworth returned to the pulpit, remaining there until his death.

**Further reading:** David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment* (New York: Knopf, 1989).

—Victoria C. H. Resnick

**Willard, Samuel** (1640–1707) *minister, essayist, theologian*

Part of the second generation of New England PURITANS, Samuel Willard promoted and defended orthodoxy in an era of change. Born in Concord, MASSACHUSETTS, to Simon and Mary Willard, Samuel entered HARVARD COLLEGE in 1655. In 1663 he began preaching at Groton. A year later Samuel wed Abigail Sherman, who bore him six children. Widowed in 1676, Willard married Eunice Tyng in 1679 and fathered 14 more children. When Groton was destroyed in 1675 during KING PHILIP'S WAR, Willard moved to BOSTON and soon joined the South Church. After a brief span as copastor, Willard became a full minister in the church in 1678.

A conservative, Willard championed the New England theocracy and did much to obstruct the inroads of BAPTISTS and QUAKERS. He saw Antinomianism as a distortion of the essential elements of Christianity, such as revelation, and in his preachings he sought to preserve the balance of divine sovereignty and human responsibility. His major concern was to devise a system by which checks and balances would preserve the cause of orthodoxy. To protect the faith, Willard tried to halt the excesses of the 1692 Salem witch trials by urging caution in the accusing individuals and by arguing that greater evidence than suspected WITCHCRAFT was needed for prosecutions. Unable to stop the hysteria at Salem, Willard sought to atone for the hangings by arranging a day of humiliation. A prolific author, he produced 50 works, including *Covenant Keeping* (1682), an exploration of the key elements of Puritanism, *Heavenly Merchandise* (1686), an examination of the meaning of truth, and *A Compleat Book of Divinity* (1726), a full statement of the Puritan synthesis. Always interested in strengthening orthodoxy, Willard helped secure a charter for Harvard College that would protect the interests of Puritanism. In 1701 he became the president of the college. Shortly before his death Willard prepared a number of sermons on the sacraments that elaborated upon traditional views. Among other points, he argued that the second commandment established the ministry, and therefore public maintenance of the church (opposed by Quakers) was not a human choice but a divine order.

**Further reading:** Seymour Van Dyken, *Samuel Willard 1640–1707: Preacher of Orthodoxy in an Era of Change* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1972).

—Caryn E. Neumann

**Williams, Roger** (1603?–1683) *founder of Rhode Island*

The founder of the RHODE ISLAND colony, Roger Williams was an advocate for the cause of religious liberty in colonial New England. Likely born in 1603, Williams spent the majority of his life embroiled in controversy and exile. After graduating from Pembroke College of Cambridge University (1627), Williams accepted an Anglican post as the private chaplain of William Masham. During his tenure in this position, Williams aligned with the Puritan efforts to reform the Church of England. With the threat of persecution looming for such dissenters and nonconformists, Williams followed his friend JOHN WINTHROP to the New World, landing at Nantasket, MASSACHUSETTS, on February 5, 1631. Initially excited about the arrival of the young minister, the Massachusetts Bay Colony soon lost interest in Williams due to his tendencies toward separatism—a movement of strict CONGREGATIONALISTS





Exiled by the Massachusetts Bay Colony for his radical religious views, Roger Williams found asylum among the Narragansett Indians in what became the colony of Rhode Island. Shown is *Roger Williams and the Narragansett Indians*, a 19th-century engraving by J. C. Armytage and A. H. Wray. (Library of Congress)

who questioned the piety of the established New England churches. Convinced of the illegitimacy of an established church, Williams entered a polemical war with JOHN COTTON over the issue of religious liberty. This controversy culminated in Williams's banishment from Massachusetts Bay on October 9, 1635.

After a difficult winter in the New England wilderness, Williams entered an agreement with the NARRAGANSETT to occupy a tract of land at the headwaters of Narragansett Bay. With the aid of Native American allies, Williams established the settlement of Providence, which soon became a haven for other exiles, such as ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON and SAMUEL GORTON. Shortly after settling at Providence, Williams assisted in founding the first Baptist church in North America (1638). Even though his adherence to the Baptist faith ended in 1639, his affiliation

with Baptist principles fostered his friendship and cooperation with John Clarke, who founded a Baptist congregation at NEWPORT, Rhode Island. Hoping to secure the right to freedom of worship, Williams returned to England in 1643 to seek a charter for his fledgling colony. After a brief yet intense struggle, Williams successfully petitioned for a royal charter in March 1644 (although it was not officially signed until 1663).

With the colony's charter granted, Williams again turned his attention toward the dangers of established religion. His *Queries of Highest Consideration* (1644) addressed the hesitancy of other dissenters toward religious liberty. Williams followed this collection of 12 questions with *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution, for Cause of Conscience* (1644), which was received with much criticism, including public burning in London. These volumes,



along with *The Bloudy Tenent Yet More Bloudy: By Mr Cottons Endeavor to Wash it White in the Blood of the Lambe* (1652) and *The Examiner Defended* (1652), relate Williams's arguments against the establishment of religion and for religious liberty.

In addition to striving for religious freedom, Williams labored on behalf of NATIVE AMERICANS both politically and religiously. In the political realm he questioned the right of the Europeans to seize Indian lands. When the Massachusetts Bay Colony banished Williams, he turned to his Native American allies, in particular the Narragansett chiefs CANONICUS and MIANTONOMO, for land. Not only did Williams believe the Native Americans owned North America, he also supported their right to worship as they pleased, as evidenced in *Christenings Make Not Christians* (1645), in which he argues against forced conversions. His interaction with Native Americans prompted Williams to publish *A Key into the Language of America* (1643). Largely due to the influence of this volume, Williams often served, albeit not always successfully, as a mediator between the colonists and the various tribes.

**Further reading:** Edwin S. Gaustad, *Liberty of Conscience: Roger Williams in America* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1999).

—Richard A. Bailey

**Wingina (Pemisapan)** (d. 1586) *Roanoke sachem*

Wingina was an ALGONQUIN overlord of the Albemarle and Pamlico Sound (NORTH CAROLINA) area during Raleigh's first two expeditions to establish the first English colony in America. Ruling the Roanoke Algonquin from his principal town, Dasamonquepeuc, on the mainland immediately across the sound from the Roanoke Island colony, Wingina was informally allied through kinship with the werowances of the neighboring Weapemeoc and Choanoke tribes. Wingina ruled Roanoke Island itself through his brother, the werowance Granganimeo, who hospitably greeted and feasted Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, the two MARINERS dispatched by Raleigh in 1584 to reconnoiter sites for his proposed colony. When Richard Grenville's expedition arrived to establish a colony in 1584 (see Volume I), Wingina immediately directed his people to plant crops and set fish weirs for the English in return for their trade goods. From these first friendly encounters, the English mistakenly concluded that the Indians would, in Thomas Harriot's words, come to "honour, obey, feare, and love" them.

His "love" of English trade goods and "fear" of their seemingly supernatural powers shaped Wingina's initial friendly but cautious policy toward the English. His proximity to the Roanoke colony allowed Wingina to become

the intermediary for coveted English goods, which he funneled into the already existent intertribal trade networks, thereby enhancing his influence over neighboring tribes. The absence of women and children among the English and the spreading devastation of European DISEASE induced a fearful belief in Wingina—who himself became "so grievously sick that he was like to die"—that the English had risen from the dead and could kill people from a great distance with invisible bullets. Fear quickly overcame love.

Grenville's burning of the Secotan town of Aquascogok in retaliation for the theft of a silver cup and Ralph Lane's armed extortion of scarce POWHATAN foodstuffs throughout the winter of 1585–86 convinced Wingina that the English meant to deal with his people in a violent, military manner. After the deaths of Granganimeo and his "savage father" Esenore in April 1586 silenced the most powerful pro-English voices on Wingina's council, Wingina signaled a new policy of resistance by changing his name to Pemisapan. The Roanoke and the neighboring tribes withdrew from the English, broke their fish weirs, refused to plant corn for them, and eventually formulated a plot to kill Ralph Lane and the colonists. Raiding Esenore's memorial service, Lane took Skiko, the Secotan werowance's son, hostage. When Skiko eventually revealed the details of Wingina's plot, Lane and 25 armed Englishmen raided Dasemunkepeuc. Wounded in the ensuing fight, Wingina escaped. Lane's Irish servant boy pursued the werowance into the forest, emerging shortly thereafter "with Pemisapan's head in his hand." The murder of Wingina left the Roanoke temporarily leaderless but implacably hostile to the English.

**Further reading:** Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanheld, 1984).

—James Bruggeman

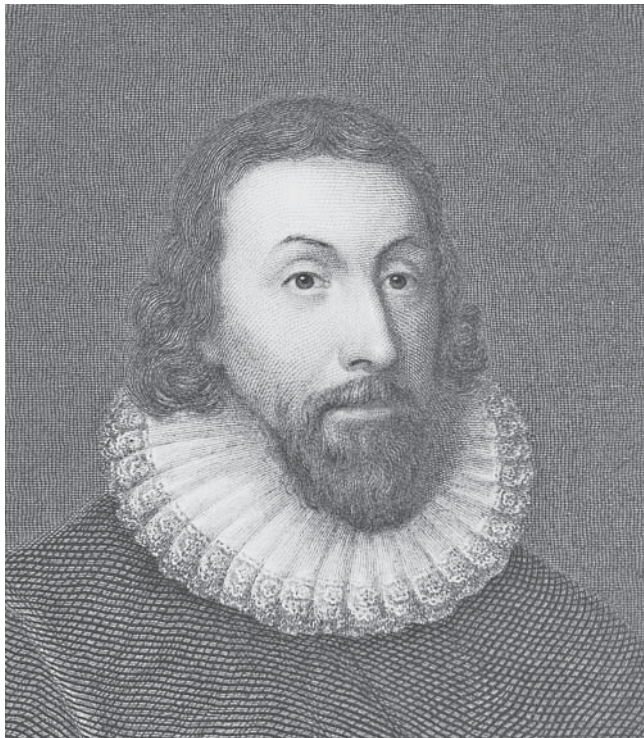
**Winthrop, John** (1588–1649) *colonial governor, diarist, religious leader*

No other single figure is so completely identified with the Puritan movement that founded the MASSACHUSETTS Bay colony as is John Winthrop. A firm believer in the godly commonwealth of "visible saints," Winthrop was the leading figure in Massachusetts for 19 years. His history of the colony, written in the form of annals, provides a closely detailed account of the first two decades.

John Winthrop was the son of Adam Winthrop, a lawyer and the lord of the manor of Groton, and his second wife, Anne Browne, the daughter of a trader. Winthrop attended Trinity College, Cambridge, but left without taking a degree. He then became an attorney himself, being admitted to both Gray's Inn (1613) and the Inner Temple

(1628), received the lordship of the manor of Groton from his father (1619), and was appointed an attorney for the Court of Wards and Liveries in London (1626). Winthrop had become a devout Puritan while still at Cambridge, and suffered along with other PURITANS in England during the restrictive era of Archbishop Laud. Winthrop decided to emigrate with his family to New England when Charles I granted a charter incorporating the governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay, and he was quickly drawn into a leadership position.

Winthrop's Puritan ideology was stated clearly in "A Model of Christian Charity," a secular sermon he delivered aboard the *Arbella*, flagship of the first fleet of Puritan immigrants in 1630. "We shall be as a city upon a hill," he warned his fellow emigrants, so that if they should fail to build their new Jerusalem properly, the entire world would see their disgrace. Winthrop helped to establish BOSTON in September of 1630 as the capital of a Puritan commonwealth. Winthrop, like most other English settlers, argued that the Puritans of Massachusetts had a legal right to the land despite the Native American inhabitants. It was, to English thinking, a vacant land "which we took peaceably, built a house upon it, and so it hath continued in our peaceable possession ever since," land the settlers had "taken and possessed as *vacuum domicilium* [which] gives us a sufficient title against all men."



John Winthrop (Library of Congress)

Far from wanting a democracy for Massachusetts, Winthrop attempted to transfer the English concept of CLASS to the colony. He reluctantly gave in to the pressure from the freemen of the colony to have more control of and say in the government. Political dissensions arose between Winthrop and his rival, THOMAS DUDLEY, in 1636, the same time that the Antinomian crisis of ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON threatened the colony. Winthrop proved successful in defending the colony's actions against her, denouncing Hutchinson, whom he called "a woman of ready wit and bold spirit." Hutchinson and her followers were banished despite the support of Governor Henry Vane and Reverend JOHN COTTON. At the same time as the Hutchinson controversy, Winthrop was accused of being too lenient with ROGER WILLIAMS; Winthrop was suspected of harboring and assisting Williams both before and after his exile from the Bay Colony.

In the same year that the Massachusetts General Court divided itself into two houses of deputies and magistrates in 1643, Winthrop finally saw realized his goal of a protective league among the New England colonies of Massachusetts, PLYMOUTH, CONNECTICUT, and New Haven, with the notable exception of RHODE ISLAND. Winthrop, however, still followed an individual course when he privately assisted the French Acadian official La Tour against his rival D'Aulnay, despite the protests of the confederation commissioners. Winthrop was singled out for impeachment in 1645 as an example of the magistrates attempting to take too much power away from the freemen. He was acquitted and delivered a secular sermon on the acceptance of liberty as instituted by God.

Winthrop was a sometimes vain and arrogant Puritan, often at odds with those around him and deeply stung by any criticism of his actions, but he was aware of these faults and communicated them through his journal and published writings. Winthrop was also the foremost defender of Massachusetts against all perceived foes, whether other religious adherents, Crown officials, or NATIVE AMERICANS. He thought the colony should be spiritually and secularly combined in a "Godly" Puritan commonwealth.

**Further reading:** Richard S. Dunn, James Savage, and Laetitia Yeandle, eds., *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630–1649* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996); Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (New York: HarperCollins, 1958).

—Stephen C. O'Neill

**Wistar, Caspar** (1696–1752) *businessperson*

Caspar Wistar (Hans Caspar Wüster) became a colonial leader and glass manufacturer. He was born in February

1696 in Waldhilsbach, a small village in the Palatinate, in present-day Germany. The first-born son of a forester or hunter, Wistar received little formal EDUCATION. Instead, he worked for his father, hunting and fowling, until he was 17, when he began a four-year hunting apprenticeship. In 1717 the “Lord of all Lords inspired” Wistar to TRAVEL to PENNSYLVANIA.

Wistar was one of 100,000 German-speaking immigrants who arrived in British North America during the 18th century. Unlike many of these immigrants, he avoided INDENTURED SERVITUDE because he could pay for most of his transportation costs. On his arrival Wistar worked briefly for a soap maker and then apprenticed as a brass button maker. Four years after his voyage he purchased a prime city lot in PHILADELPHIA and set up shop as a brazier and a merchant. In addition to buttons, he sold dry goods, hardware, made-to-order long rifles, and German-language LITERATURE. In 1726, after joining the Society of Friends (QUAKERS), Wistar married Catherine Jansen, the daughter of prominent Quakers in Germantown. By the early 1730s he was speculating in backcountry land. In the process he provided credit to his fellow German-speaking immigrants squatting on the land, aided the Penn family in clearing land titles, and earned tremendous profits. In 1738, relying on knowledge from his forestry background and skilled European glassblowers, Wistar established the United Glass Company in Salem County, New Jersey, the business for which he is best known. In each of his enterprises Wistar succeeded by creatively adapting his European knowledge to his American circumstances. He also made shrewd use of his ethnic identity to craft a position as mediator between GERMAN IMMIGRANTS and their Anglo-American neighbors. When he died in 1752, Wistar, who still considered himself primarily a brass button maker, left his widow and his six adult children a large estate valued at 26,000 Pennsylvania pounds.

**Further reading:** Marianne S. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

—Rosalind J. Beiler

## witchcraft

The widespread belief in witches and witchcraft was transported to the colonies from Europe. Colonists, especially in MASSACHUSETTS and CONNECTICUT, believed in a very real devil and very real witches. It was common belief that some women and men signed the devil’s book, thereby gaining power over their neighbors through sorcery. Many colonial communities had a “wise” woman or man, someone who had a store of folk knowledge and traditional

MEDICINE, and these people often faced the possibility of persecution. Single women were particularly vulnerable to accusations of witchcraft, in part because they lacked much power and in part because some widows had inherited land and wealth from their husbands, placing them in an unusual situation in 17th-century New England.

Suspected witches in Europe were executed on a vast scale in both Protestant and Catholic countries. The English colonies in America copied Europe, but on a much smaller, more personal scale. Many authorities, particularly the PURITANS, took the Biblical command “Thou shall not suffer a witch to live” literally. The New England colonies witnessed 57 trials for witchcraft between 1647 and 1691, although only a few cases were tried in NEW YORK and VIRGINIA. Witchcraft cases began to occur sporadically in the colonies during the 1640s. The handful of accusations, indictments, and trials for witchcraft in Virginia and New York resulted in only one conviction, in 1655. The convicted Virginia warlock (male witch) was sentenced to 10 lashes and banishment. Authorities in Connecticut and Massachusetts, however, were more zealous, executing at least 14 people found guilty of witchcraft. The cases of witchcraft before 1692 were usually characterized by reasonably fair legal proceedings and a skeptical attitude. Even in the New England colonies, more than 70 percent of those brought to trial for witchcraft were acquitted. Trials in New England for offenses other than witchcraft usually ended in acquittal only 10 percent of the time.

The “supernatural” element of witchcraft cases made them popular topics for gossip and publishing. One particular case in BOSTON, that of the widow Glover (a Gaelic-speaking Irish Catholic) who was executed in 1688, attracted the attention of the Puritan reverend COTTON MATHER. He published a detailed account of the case, complete with descriptions of the symptoms of possession, the following year in his *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcraft and Possessions*. He warned the people of Massachusetts of the threat of a witchcraft epidemic as punishment for running away from their former religious conviction. Mather’s prediction soon came true.

The outbreak of the infamous witchcraft hysteria in Salem Village, Massachusetts, began in January 1692. A group of local girls gathered in the home of Reverend SAMUEL PARRIS, the minister of the parish. They listened to stories told by TITUBA, a slave of the Parris household who arrived in the colonies from Barbados. The girls joined Tituba in rituals, then, fearful of being caught after acting possessed, accused Tituba of being a witch. Tituba in turn accused two other women of being witches. Events spiraled out of control as various factors, long-standing feuds, jealousies, and family rivalries made the situation more serious. The group of girls, the “afflicted children,” began





This 1876 engraving depicts a Salem witchcraft trial. (*Library of Congress*)

accusing dozens of people, until finally more than 200 were arrested and jailed on charges of witchcraft.

Governor Sir William Phips, arriving home in Boston with Reverend INCREASE MATHER (Cotton's father) and the second Massachusetts charter in May, commissioned a special Court of Oyer and Terminer, hoping to put an end to the hysteria. The court began to try several of the accused witches, relying heavily on eyewitness testimony and "spectral evidence," which manifested its presence in the fits of screaming and frenzied behavior of the girls. The court initially found all accused witches guilty and convinced many to confess to escape the gallows by identifying other witches. Most who maintained their innocence were convicted and sentenced to death.

Indictments during the hysteria ranged from a few social outcasts to prominent and wealthy colonists, including MERCHANTS and even a minister. Seventy-five percent of those accused of witchcraft were married or widowed women between the ages of 40 and 60 years old, while most of the accusers were single adolescent girls between 11 and 20. Fourteen women and five men were convicted and executed by hanging. One older man, Giles Corey, was pressed to death by stones for not entering a plea of guilty

or not guilty at his trial; his final words reportedly were "more weight." One man and three women died in jail.

Legal proceedings against 156 people from 24 towns had been initiated by the end of September. Several leading ministers, notably Increase Mather, began to doubt the legality of the proceedings in Salem, especially the use of the spectral evidence. Governor Phips, whose wife was among the accused, suspended the proceedings and dismissed the court. General pardons were soon issued. When the newly created Massachusetts Superior Court of Judicature (with many of the Salem court's judges) convened in January, spectral evidence was not admitted. The remaining cases were quickly acquitted and the hysteria subsided. Many jurors publicly apologized for their verdicts four years later, and in 1714 the Massachusetts legislature officially exonerated the victims.

The Salem witchcraft hysteria was the final and largest outbreak of witchcraft in the colonies. Isolated accusations would occasionally appear afterwards, in Virginia in 1706 and in PHILADELPHIA as late as 1787 (where one woman was killed), but nothing came close to the scale or the religious intensity that surrounded the Salem trials. By the mid-18th century, prominent colonists like Benjamin



Franklin made open fun of accusations of witchcraft. Skepticism marked legal proceedings against witches after 1692. The lessons of Salem had apparently been learned.

**Further reading:** Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974); John Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Mary Beth Norton, *In the Devil's Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692* (New York: Vintage, 2003).

—Stephen C. O'Neill and Billy G. Smith

### **Wolfe, James** (1727–1759) *soldier*

James Wolfe was the British general who captured Louisbourg and Quebec during the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, thereby helping to ensure a British victory in that conflict. Wolfe was born in Westerham, England, the elder son of General Edward Wolfe. At the age of 14, James joined the British army, in which he served with honor during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48) and against the Scottish pretender to the throne, Charles Edward Stuart, in 1746. Early in the Seven Years' War Wolfe was serving as a brigadier general under Major General Jeffrey Amherst when he captured the French fort at Louisbourg, Nova Scotia, in July 1758. In failing health Wolfe returned to England, where the British political leader William Pitt promoted him to the rank of major general and returned him to Canada to lead the expedition against the French at Quebec. In June 1759 Wolfe led about 9,000 troops up the St. Lawrence River and camped on the river island of Orleans, across from Quebec. Built on a high bluff overlooking the river, the city was easy to defend. General Marquis de Montcalm, the French commander, kept his troops inside the fortress city. As a result Wolfe ordered a frontal assault east of the city on July 31, but the French repelled it. For more than a month the British siege of Quebec lingered. Finally, on September 12, Wolfe surprised Montcalm by secretly moving 5,000 soldiers up the river and onto the Plains of Abraham west of the city. Montcalm realized that he must either face the British in an open battle outside the city or be cut off by land and river. The next day the British defeated the French, and the city surrendered a few days later. However, Wolfe died of a third wound suffered in the battle, his career cut short at the age of 32. This victory essentially won the war for the British in North America, although Montreal did not fall for another year. The Treaty of Paris officially ended the war in 1763.

**Further reading:** Christopher Hibbert, *Wolfe at Quebec* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 1999).

—Doug Baker

### **wolves**

"The wolves in Carolina are very numerous, and more destructive than [other] animal[s]," wrote naturalist MARK CATESBY in 1743. "They go in droves by night, and hunt deer like hounds, with dismal yelling cries." This was the ALGONQUIN park wolf, *Canis lupus lycaon* (sometimes called the eastern wolf and thought by many modern taxonomists to be related to the red wolf), a canid that once inhabited the broadest range of any North American subspecies. When the first Europeans arrived the range of the Algonquin wolf stretched from Hudson Bay south along the eastern seaboard to FLORIDA and west as far as eastern Minnesota, where it likely intermixed with another subspecies, the Minnesota wolf (*Canis lupus nubilus*). Today the Algonquin wolf remains confined to parts of Ontario, Quebec, and possibly northern Minnesota (although taxonomists debate the status of these wolves). Morphological and physiological measurements of extant skull specimens from the eastern seaboard demonstrate that it, like the red wolf, was smaller than most other North American subspecies.

With its "dismal yelling cries" echoing in the North American wilderness, the very wilderness that European colonists sought to transform into cultivated farmland, it should not be surprising that these settlers had essentially exterminated the wolf in the East by the 19th century. In England, homeland of many colonists, wolves had been hunted to extinction nearly a century earlier, during the reign of Henry VII (1485–1509). In Scotland wolves survived until 1743, while in Ireland populations of the animal lasted until the 1770s. In North America part of the motivation for exterminating wolves was economic. In 1610 VIRGINIA colonists brought cattle from the West Indies, while other settlers raised sheep. Legislation against killing livestock in the early years sought to ensure that the ANIMALS proliferated, but "sheep for a few years suffered greatly from the ravages of wolves," wrote one observer, and stock never reached anticipated numbers. A 1638 letter by colonist Edmund Browne succinctly explained, "Our greatest enemies are our wolves."

Colonists reacted swiftly and relentlessly against "marauding companies" of wolves. MASSACHUSETTS Bay Colony, for example, offered bounties to colonists for dead wolves throughout the 1630s and 1640s; in exchange for a severed wolf head (which constables later buried after cutting off its ears and tongue), NATIVE AMERICANS received corn and wine. In May 1645 Massachusetts Bay colonists formed a committee to "consider . . . the best ways and means to destroy the wolves which are such ravenous cruel creatures." Three years later BOSTON bought dogs "for the destruction of wolves." Similar legislation appeared in the New PLYMOUTH and Virginia colonies, where Native Americans brought in wolf heads as tribute to their new

colonial masters. In 1640 RHODE ISLAND witnessed the birth of professional wolf hunters whom they paid “thirty shillings a head for every one killed.” ROGER WILLIAMS led a “grand hunt” to “extirpate” the wolves of Rhode Island, but he met with limited success as wolves “continued to be a source of annoyance.”

The threat of wolves in North America was more than economic, however. Eighteenth-century theologian COTTON MATHER preached to colonists that they needed to turn America’s “howling wilderness” into a “fruitful field.” Similarly, in 1756 John Adams wrote that once the “whole [North American] continent [had been] one of continued dismal wilderness, the haunt of wolves and bears and more savage men,” but after the tilling and killing of this wilderness it had been made the “magnificent habitations of rational and civilized people.” Religious Pilgrims to the New World often viewed the wilderness as a place without God, and wolves, symbolic of such wilderness, were targeted as animals that needed to be extirpated. In this sense, wolf killing should be understood as part of the “errand into the wilderness.” This need to extirpate wolves, moreover, later became part of the migration of white settlers into the American West, where they hunted wolves to near extinction.

**Further reading:** Rick McIntyre, ed., *War against the Wolf: America’s Campaign to Exterminate the Wolf* (Stillwater, Minn.: Voyageur Press, 1995).

—Brett L. Walker

### women's status and rights

The status of women in the British North American colonies varied significantly according to the ethnic group and CLASS to which they belonged. Religion, region, and maturity of the colonial settlement also had an impact on women’s lives.

Within European settlements English law, custom, and religion established distinct yet flexible boundaries between the roles of women and men. Men were dominant in politics and society as well as within families; they were responsible for the financial support and protection of their wives and children. Women had a constricted public role, and within the household they contributed unpaid LABOR and promised obedience to their husbands.

The GENDER ideology of early modern England contained the contradictory constructs of women’s inferiority, on the one hand, and capability, on the other. The English, like other Europeans, believed that men and women had different natures, with males assuming central, dominant, and positive characteristics and females portrayed with marginal, subordinate, and negative traits. Europeans believed that women were intellectually and morally infe-

rior to men, less able to control their passions, and more likely (as in the case of Eve) to make compacts with Satan. While females were weaker physically and mentally, their openness to the devil’s deception gave them powers that men feared and sought to control.

English common law contained both the means of subordinating women and recognition of their potential strength. Under the concept of unity of person, a woman and a man became a single entity upon marriage. The husband received legal authority to act for both—to sell, buy, transfer, and bequeath property, control earnings, sue and be sued, make contracts, and act as guardian of the children. The wife, as a married woman, held the legal status called *feme covert*; she could take none of these actions independent of her husband. She did retain the right to dower, the use of one-third of the couple’s real estate upon her husband’s death.

If her husband became incapacitated or was absent for a long time, a woman was often expected to manage his affairs—to become a “deputy husband,” as historian Laurel T. Ulrich has explained. Courts recognized the authority of women in such situations to make contracts and to carry on business regardless of whether they had a formal power of attorney. Thus, English common law placed married women in an inferior position but recognized their ability to manage family business. It further confirmed women’s capacity in the *feme sole* status accorded unmarried women. *Femes soles* retained or, in the case of widows, regained the property rights that married women lost. Thus, they could legally establish businesses and support themselves and their families.

Among Eastern Woodlands Indians the lack of private ownership of land worked to women’s benefit. The tribe as a whole claimed ownership rights, not individual members or families. Kinship groups, or extended families, formed the basis of Native American society and government. The heads of kinship groups chose the band’s primary leaders (called SACHEMS) who, with advice, assigned fields for planting, decided where and when to hunt, managed trade and diplomacy, and judged whether to go to war. Among ALGONQUIN-speaking people the heads of extended families were usually men, as were the sachems they chose. However, in IROQUOIS culture women served as clan leaders, taking a share of political power. Iroquois society was matrilineal, with family membership passing from mother to children, and matrilocal, as the husband left his family upon marriage to live with his wife’s family. A woman divorced her husband by setting his possessions outside the door; a man could divorce his wife by removing his belongings from her family’s longhouse. Women elders could not speak publicly at tribal councils or serve as sachems, but they chose these political leaders and advised them on such matters as waging war.

While the family lives of slave women are difficult to reconstruct from the existing records, scholars have argued that they exercised more power within their families than did white women. As slaves, black men did not possess the economic means to provide them a foundation for claims of authority over their wives. In addition, many husbands and wives lived apart, on separate plantations in the South or in separate households in the North, further encouraging the independence of slave women. Bound women, like free women, undertook both productive and reproductive work. In addition, slave women were liable to sexual exploitation by their masters.

### **Work**

In general, women's work roles differed from those of men and varied by class, ethnic origin, and individual need or opportunity. Except in far northern New England, where the growing season was short, East Coast Indians had a mixed economy of AGRICULTURE, gathering, FISHING, and hunting. Native American women were responsible for raising corn, squash, beans, and (where possible) TOBACCO. They also gathered nuts and fruit, built houses, made CLOTHING, took care of the children, and prepared meals, while men cleared land, hunted, fished, and protected the town from enemies. This gender division of labor was somewhat different than that of the English, who believed free women should avoid field work and thus considered Indian women's agricultural labor too onerous.

English women were primarily responsible for domestic tasks, whether they supervised servants and slaves or performed these necessary, productive chores themselves. Their workplace encompassed the house and yard. They prepared and served meals, baked bread, cared for children, built fires, carried water and waste, cleaned the house and furnishings, washed and ironed laundry, gardened, tended poultry, milked cows, and made clothing and other household articles. Some women specialized in one or more activities and traded surplus production with neighbors and shopkeepers. Women in established rural communities were more likely to produce textiles and dairy products than either frontier women, who with their husbands were too busy meeting the challenges of establishing farms, or urban women, who lacked space for spinning wheels, looms, or livestock and could readily purchase manufactured goods and foodstuffs at the market.

Colonial women took responsibility for a large part of medical care, delivering babies, treating wounds and illnesses, and administering drugs. Literate mothers taught their own children to read, and in New England towns some women opened dame schools for young girls and boys. Women throughout the provinces transmitted skills to young women in the "art, trade, and mystery" of housewifery or a specific craft such as weaving. In the ministry

and law, women did not have access to formal professional training, in college or apprenticeships. They did often assist their husbands in trades and took control of businesses after their deaths. Women thus worked in shoemaking, cabinet-making, brewing, printing, and similar CRAFTS; some ran shops, taverns, and inns.

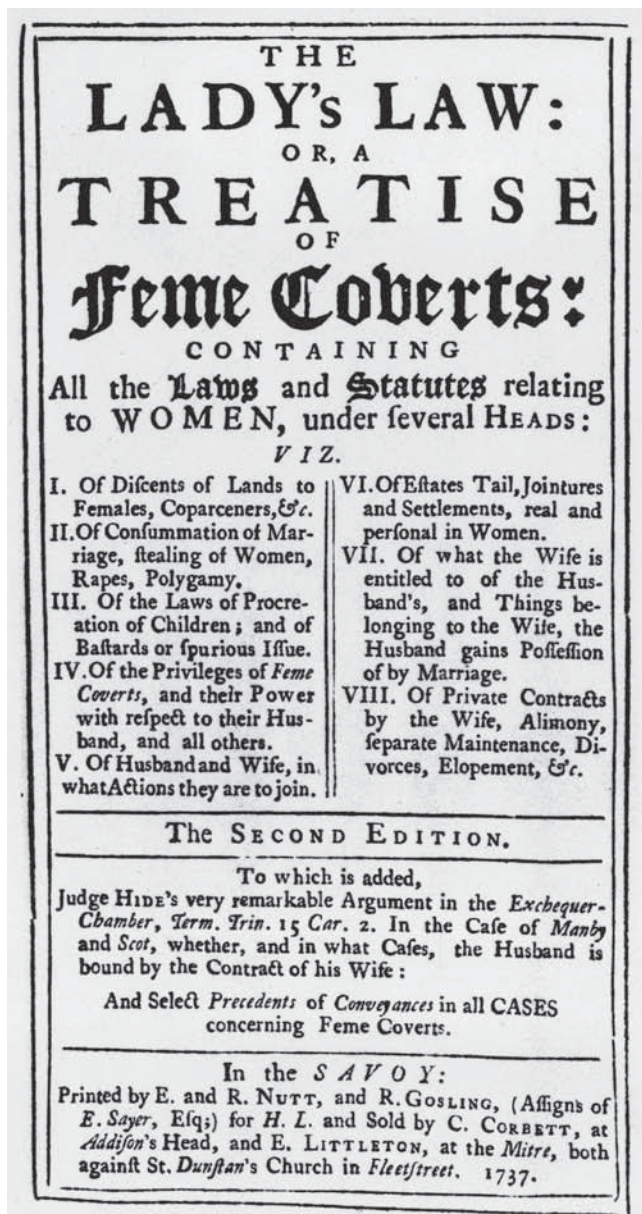
On plantations and farms, where most women lived in colonial British America, their work varied widely by class, ethnicity, and stage of settlement. Under normal circumstances a British colonial farm woman expected to escape heavy fieldwork, except at harvest, just as her husband avoided domestic chores. However, many women and girls worked side by side with men in the fields. Immigrants to 17th-century VIRGINIA and MARYLAND included female indentured servants, who paid for the cost of their transportation by tending a master's tobacco for four or more years. In NEW JERSEY and PENNSYLVANIA servant women from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany spent at least part of their labor in the fields. Indeed, German farm women, whether free or bound, customarily tended and harvested crops.

Enslaved African and Native American women worked in many occupations. In areas like the Chesapeake and the Carolinas, with labor-intensive staple crops, most spent long hours performing hard physical labor raising tobacco, corn, and rice. Masters differentiated between men and women in the assignment of tasks other than ordinary fieldwork. Only men had the opportunity to become drivers and ARTISANS. Slave women, usually those too old or too young for fieldwork, served as nurses, cooks, and spinners. Both women and men performed domestic service. At the same time, female slaves were responsible for the household needs of their own families, including laundry, FOOD preparation, and sewing. In the northern colonies enslaved women engaged in a wide variety of tasks, as these colonies lacked staple crops that consumed huge amounts of agricultural labor.

### ***Inheritance Practices***

According to English common law and colonial statutes, a widow had the right of dower to one-third of the couple's real estate for use during her life. The children or other heirs, if adults, received the other two-thirds immediately and the widow's third at her death. If the husband left a will, he was obligated to grant his wife dower (otherwise she could contest the will), but he was free to distribute his personal estate as he saw fit. In regard to the rights of sons and daughters, English common law specified primogeniture, with the eldest son normally receiving all of the real estate. Most colonial parents divided their estates more evenly, attempting to provide all of their children with a start in life, whether a farm, college tuition, an apprenticeship, livestock, or cash. Sons more often received real





Shown here is the title page of a 1737 work on the legal status of women that was imported to Virginia from Britain. (Hulton/Archive)

estate, while daughters received personalty such as slaves, household furniture, or money.

Historians have measured the degree to which husbands adhered to the legal guidelines in making bequests to their wives. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh discovered how men in 17th-century Maryland often gave their wives responsibility for managing their entire estates, including the children's share, despite the fact that widows quickly remarried and thereby ceded control of the prop-

erty to their new mates. Early Maryland society was highly unstable and fragmented, with high MORTALITY and disrupted kinship networks. Husbands chose, perhaps because in their minds they had little alternative, to give greater authority to their wives than was customary in England.

In northern colonies, in contrast, more testators lived long enough to see sons reach maturity. They gave less authority to their widows and sometimes adopted a practice that was rare in the Chesapeake area: They devised all of their real estate to one or more sons and made the heirs responsible for supporting their mother. Instead of receiving her dower right of one-third of the real estate for life, the widow obtained possession of a room; the right to pass through the house to and from her room; and firewood, food, use of a horse, and a small amount of cash paid annually.

Ethnicity as well as demographic conditions influenced men's testamentary practices. In NEW YORK during the first generations after the English conquest, Dutch colonists retained the tradition of community property within marriage, that is, that the wife and husband held property jointly. Dying husbands left most or all of their possessions to their wives, who kept control during their widowhood. Sons and daughters, even if mature at the death of their father, had to wait until their mother died or remarried before receiving their inheritance. At that point the children obtained equal portions, with daughters as well as sons receiving real estate.

### Religion

The degree to which a woman could take part in religious affairs depended on her faith. In Native American communities women occasionally served as SHAMANS (priests). Indian religions often recognized both female and male characteristics in their deities. Christianity, which dominated the British settlements, was more patriarchal. In all Christian denominations women stood equal with men in the eyes of God, but the extent to which they could participate in decision making and the ministry varied widely.

Among New England PURITANS women sat separately from the men, could not speak except to sing hymns, and were allowed no leadership role. Their status improved little over the colonial period and, in fact, probably deteriorated after 1650 as they became an increasing proportion of members. Puritan women challenged these restrictions in a variety of ways. Most often they used their influence, or informal authority, to sway the church fathers. Although men alone had the right to cast votes and sign petitions for new churches, women spurred the establishment of new congregations by convincing their husbands of the need. Women of Rowley, MASSACHUSETTS, in 1674 successfully opposed the ordination of their young minister, Jeremiah Shepard, at least in part because he was disrespectful to female members. Other women



challenged the 17th-century Puritan order more dramatically, expressing publicly their less-than-orthodox beliefs. Most famous was ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON, who in 1637 was tried for defaming ministers. She defended herself well and nearly escaped conviction but then shocked her judges by announcing that God had told her that they would be destroyed. Hutchinson was banished from the commonwealth and settled in RHODE ISLAND with family and supporters.

The ANGLICAN CHURCH also expected women to accept a subordinate role, as only men could preach, administer the sacraments, and serve on the vestry boards that were in charge of all parish business, including aid to the poor, sick, and elderly. Like Puritans, however, Anglican women wielded informal authority that emanated from their responsibility for religious practice in their families, supervising preparations for burials and marriages, most of which took place at home.

QUAKERS, on the other hand, believed that revelation did not end with the Bible and that the “inner light” could bring new understanding, which revealed that women should serve as ministers, missionaries, and leaders of the church. Quakers also denied any continuing significance of the fall of Adam and Eve, arguing that equality of women and men returned with spiritual rebirth. In their own separate monthly meetings for business, Quaker women made disciplinary decisions concerning women and girls, supervised marriages, and provided relief to the poor. While women Friends lacked complete equality with the men, because most women’s meetings technically were required to seek the men’s permission before disowning anyone, the men’s meetings apparently always approved the women’s decisions.

### *Women and Community*

When women exercised authority in colonial British society, they did so primarily among women and girls. Middle-aged and elderly women took responsibility for the female half of the population. They observed the actions of the community’s young women—not just their own daughters and granddaughters—to guard against sexual offenses and disorderly marriages. If a young girl showed signs of departing from the straight and narrow, they warned her of the consequences of sin. In the Society of Friends, women’s meetings dealt most frequently with unsupervised weddings, marriages to non-Friends, fornication before marriage, and bastardy; these constituted the misdeeds of most female offenders. In Puritan New England, although elder women lacked the institutionalized power of the Quaker meetings, they took responsibility for the behavior and well-being of younger women. Everywhere in colonial British America women were barred from serving as justices or members of juries. Nevertheless, they counseled, reprimanded, and

aided girls and young women who were victims or accused of crimes.

By law the woman held most accountable for reporting sexual misconduct was the midwife, a respected and mature member of the female community. She had such official and semiofficial functions as testifying in court as to whether an unmarried mother had named an infant’s father during labor, reporting whether an infant was born prematurely or at full term, verifying birth dates, and examining female prisoners to determine whether they were truly pregnant or just claiming that condition to avoid punishment. More important to nurturing a community of women, however, was the midwife’s role in orchestrating the activity that brought women together and excluded men—childbirth. During the colonial period professional MIDWIVES presided over most births, which a group of female relatives and neighbors also attended. Childbirth, or “travail,” as the English colonists called it, was imbued with female ritual and tradition, including special bed linen, food, and paraphernalia such as the “midwife’s stool.”

Although elder women carried weight as the guardians of younger women and girls, they lacked political power and thus were subject, like all women, to the judgment and domination of men. In fact, elder women were most at risk of being charged with WITCHCRAFT, defined legally as making a compact or conversing with Satan. The colonists, like their Old World contemporaries, believed that God and the devil both influenced everyday events. Weak individuals, especially women, could be recruited by Satan to perform evil deeds against God’s people. In the British colonies the New England governments prosecuted the great majority of witchcraft cases; this was partly the result of the centrality of religion in society. Also important was the fact that elder women, the people most at risk, were much more numerous in the Puritan colonies than elsewhere during the 17th century, when witchcraft hysteria peaked. According to historian Carol Karlsen, between 1620 and 1725 about 350 New Englanders, mostly women, faced accusations of witchcraft. The most famous episode occurred in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692, when almost 200 people were accused and 20 persons executed for conspiring with the devil.

Gender differences also existed in the prosecution of other kinds of crime. Women were convicted of murder, theft, fraud, and assault, but at rates much lower than men. The prosecution of women most often stemmed from sexual crimes, especially fornication. A double standard existed in English law granting property rights in the chastity of women to husbands and fathers. A woman’s sexual purity was valued as property, belonging to her father before marriage and her husband after, but wives and mothers had no similar rights in the chastity of men. Thus, adultery committed by a woman was considered more serious than that

committed by a man. The 1648 Massachusetts legal code, for example, defined adultery, which was punishable by death, as illicit sexual relations involving a married woman. If a married man and a single woman had intercourse, they committed fornication, which was not a capital crime. In practice, magistrates reduced the charges of most people accused of adultery, and just a few were put to death for the crime. The same was true in the case of rape, which was also a capital offense in the Bay Colony. Women had difficulty proving that they had not consented to the act. Men of higher status were likely to escape punishment, while white servants and black people received harsh punishment for attacks on white women. Consistent with the double standard, rapes were considered trespasses on the property rights of the assaulted woman's husband or father.

Before 1763, then, the conflicting concepts of women's capability and inferiority defined gender relations in British North America. English custom and law and Protestant theology held women responsible for guaranteeing the smooth operation of households, representing and protecting their families in the absence of husbands, and maintaining God's providence over the community, but required their subordination to men. Indian women held a higher status in their communities, as NATIVE AMERICANS respected women as full participants in the ECONOMY and in land ownership. Iroquois and some Algonquin-speaking groups practiced matrilineal descent and recognized women's leadership in politics and society. Most African-American women in pre-1763 British America were slaves, as the emancipation movement expanded only after that date. As slaves, women had little control over their work and family and were less likely than men to escape their bonds.

**Further reading:** Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650–1750* (New York: Knopf, 1982).

—Jean R. Soderlund

**Wood, William** (fl. 1629–1635) *writer, explorer*

William Wood arrived in the MASSACHUSETTS Bay region in 1629 as an agent of English PURITANS who were interested in learning more about North America before they made the decision to migrate. Settling in an area that would become Lynn, he surveyed the region from Dorchester to the Merrimack River, taking extensive notes on the region's Indian inhabitants, including their physical appearance and economic habits, as well as the region's topography and natural resources. Wood was also an enthusiastic entrepreneur who traveled widely up and down the coast in support of

Massachusetts's early FISHING ventures and burgeoning trade with the Natives.

When he returned to England in 1633, Wood became particularly well known for a book that he published in London in 1639 called *New England's Prospect: A True, Lively, and Experimental Description of that Part of America commonly called New England*. He wrote, "To enter into a serious discourse concerning the natural disposition of these Indians might procure admiration from the people of any civilized nations, in regard of their civility and good natures." *New England's Prospect* also included a rare map of the New England coast, entitled "The South Part of New England, as it is planted this yeare, 1634," which became a very accurate guide for many migrants. Together, Wood's account and map played an important role in fueling the great migration of Puritan families to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

—James E. McWilliams

**Woolman, John** (1720–1772) *theologian, essayist*

John Woolman was born to a prosperous Quaker farm family in Burlington County, NEW JERSEY. He became a shopkeeper, tailor, and schoolteacher rather than follow his father's occupation of farming. He focused early in his life on spiritual matters, becoming a Quaker lay minister at age 22 and beginning the writing that became his enduring legacy.

Influenced by Quaker theology that God's spirit, or the "inner light," could enter everyone regardless of ethnicity or gender, Woolman devoted his life to eradicating SLAVERY. He first indicated his concern when, in his early 20s, his employer asked him to write a bill of sale for an enslaved woman. Although slaveholding was common in his neighborhood, Woolman became committed to the antislavery cause during a 1746 ministerial journey to MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, and NORTH CAROLINA. Upon his return home he wrote *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes; Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of Every Denomination* (1754) but delayed submitting it to the PHILADELPHIA Yearly Meeting overseers of the press because he expected opposition from prominent slaveholding Friends who served on the committee. The essay gently reminded masters of the rule "not to do that to another which . . . we would not have done to us," then warned prophetically of God's wrath if owners refused to free their slaves. This essay, along with the 1754 epistle of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting that he probably assisted ANTHONY BENEZET in drafting, swayed Quaker opinion against the SLAVE TRADE and later slavery itself.

From 1746 to 1772 Woolman made numerous journeys throughout the mainland British colonies and collaborated with Benezet and other abolitionists to strengthen Friends' discipline against black bondage. He served on

a Philadelphia Yearly Meeting committee to visit every Quaker slave owner in the DELAWARE Valley. He cut back his retail business when it became “attended with more outward care and cumber than was required of me to engage in.” Because Woolman believed that “conduct is more convincing than language,” he tried to live simply because of his belief that luxury had “connection with some degree of oppression” of others. Thus, Woolman stopped wearing dyed CLOTHING because of the use of slave LABOR in producing dyes and sometimes traveled by foot on his ministerial journeys. He tried to live simply because he recognized that luxury for some demanded the exploitation of others. In 1762 Woolman published *Considerations on Keeping Negroes: Part Second*, then recommended monetary restitution to former slaves or their heirs in his remarkable essay *A Plea for the Poor* (1793), published posthumously.

In his *Journal* (1774) and essays Woolman addressed many issues, including EDUCATION, violence and war, injustice toward Indians, the suffering of working animals, and the sinfulness of greed and ostentation. He was particularly insightful in linking the expropriation of Indians, “the offspring of those ancient possessors of the country (in whose eyes we appear as newcomers),” with the oppression of slaves, particularly through the sale of rum made from West Indies sugarcane. The focus of his energies and his enduring legacy remained unequivocal opposition to slavery. In 1772 Woolman died of SMALLPOX at York while visiting England and thus witnessed neither the Quaker prohibition of slave ownership in the mid-1770s nor the gradual emancipation movement in the northern United States.

See also ABOLITIONISM; QUAKERS.

**Further reading:** Phillips P. Moulton, ed., *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

—Jean R. Soderlund and Dale Martin

**Wyatt, Sir Francis** (1588–1644) *government official*

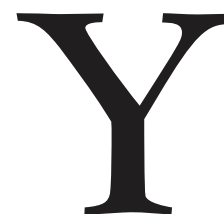
Sir Francis Wyatt served as governor of Virginia from 1621 to 1626 and again from 1639 to 1641. During Wyatt's first term in office, in 1624, Parliament revoked the Virginia Company's charter, thus making him the colony's first royal governor. Wyatt was an able administrator and guided the colony through some of its most difficult trials, including an Indian rebellion in 1622 and the plague of 1622–23, both of which claimed thousands of colonists' lives. Wyatt was also an outspoken advocate for the colony, and he openly criticized company officials for their unreasonable demands and general ignorance of conditions in the colony. He also made repeated appeals to the king for the restoration of Virginia's charter rights, an effort that eventually bore fruit in 1639. Wyatt's second term, largely taken up with matters of TOBACCO regulation, was cut short by the outbreak of the ENGLISH CIVIL WAR in 1641. Charles I, desiring a more compliant representative in Virginia, removed Wyatt in favor of SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY.

**Further reading:** Wesley Frank Craven, *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607–1689* (Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 1949).

—Kenneth A. Deitreich







**Yale, Elihu** (1649–1721) *businessperson, philanthropist*

Born in BOSTON to American colonists who returned to England in 1651, Elihu Yale was educated in London. In 1670 he went to India in the service of the East India Company in Madras (now Chennai) and rose to the position of governor of the company at Fort St. George in 1682. His work contributed to the consolidation of British power on the subcontinent. A financial scandal within his administration caused his removal as governor in 1692. He returned to England in 1699, having amassed a large fortune from his private trading ventures, and became a high sheriff in 1704. Yale was a generous donor to schools, churches, and missionary societies. In 1718 COTTON MATHER wrote him suggesting the need for a benefactor after whom the Collegiate School of Saybrook, CONNECTICUT, might be named. Yale responded with a gift of nine bales of East India Company goods, which the college sold for 562 British pounds to buy books and erect its new building at New Haven. In 1718 the school was renamed YALE COLLEGE. This was the largest private gift to a college up to that time.

—Deborah C. Taylor

**Yale College**

The “Collegiate School within his Majesties Colony of Connecticut” was founded in 1701 by a group of ministers, including COTTON MATHER, the influential Puritan theologian and writer. Designed to maintain order and tradition, early American colleges followed the English system of training young upper-CLASS men for the ministry and for service to the state. Ministers taught theological and classical studies accompanied by strict discipline. The first classes were held at the home of Rector Abraham Pierson in Killingworth, CONNECTICUT, then moved to Saybrook in 1707. In 1716 the Collegiate School moved to its permanent home in New Haven. Two years later the college

was renamed in honor of ELIHU YALE, who responded to a request for donations from Mather. Yale, born in BOSTON and educated in England, was a wealthy East India Company trader, British civil servant, and philanthropist. He sent nine bales of East India Company goods to New Haven that the college then sold for 562 British pounds to buy books and buildings. In 1731 George Berkeley donated books and his RHODE ISLAND farm to provide further support for the school. The present charter for Yale College, now University, was drawn up in 1745.

—Deborah C. Taylor

**Yamasee**

The Yamasee were a diverse group of Native Americans whose roots lay with the Guale of coastal north FLORIDA. Leaving the major Guale settlements in the early 16th century, the Yamasee settled near the Savannah River in present-day South Carolina. By the 1580s, when Spanish Franciscans established a string of missions throughout Florida and coastal South Carolina, the Yamasee were recognized as a separate people distinct from the Guale of Florida. Much to the frustration of the Spanish missionaries, the Yamasee refused to convert to Roman Catholicism and retained their own religion and cultural integrity.

When the English settled the Carolinas in the 1660s, the Yamasee became central players in a complex system of European-Indian diplomacy and trade. The first traders in the Carolinas were Virginians who allied with the WESTO, who themselves used the coalition with the Virginians to become the dominant Indian power in the region. As part of this process, the Westo drove the Yamasee into northern Florida and southern GEORGIA.

By the 1670s the Virginians were supplanted by a new group of English settlers, many coming from the English Caribbean colony of Barbados. Viewing the Westo as allies of their Virginian enemies and hence as a threat to their control over the South Carolina colony, the new Carolinians

allied with a band of refugee Shawnee, the Savannah. During the first half of the 1680s, they destroyed the Westo as a people. Returning to their homelands, the Yamasee soon became staunch allies of the new South Carolinians.

Heavily involved in trade with the English, during the final decades of the 17th century, the Yamasee joined with their fellow Muskogean speakers, the Creek, to raid Spanish MISSIONS in Florida and southern Georgia. Many of the Yamasee raids took them as far south as the Spanish capital of ST. AUGUSTINE. However, by the 1710s, English traders and settlers began to see the growing strength of their Yamasee and Creek allies as a potential threat; many merchants also viewed all Indian peoples on the southern frontier as potential slaves. Faced with increasing cheating, enslavement, and violence, the Yamasee mounted a coordinated surprise attack on a number of English settlement and trading posts in 1715. The resulting YAMASEE WAR lasted until 1718, when the English and their Cherokee allies defeated the main body of Yamasee warriors at Saltketchers on the South Carolina frontier.

Following their defeat in the Yamasee War, the remaining Yamasee people migrated south into Florida, where they allied with the Spanish for protection. In 1727 most of the remaining Yamasee were killed in an English raid against the Spanish. The handful of survivors sought refuge with the Seminoles and were quickly absorbed into their villages.

—Ronald Schultz

### Yamasee War (1715–1718)

The Yamasee War involved a pan-Indian attempt to retain territorial and cultural integrity on the SOUTH CAROLINA frontier in the face of increasingly violent English attacks on their former Indian allies. Beginning in 1715 with a series of coordinated attacks by the YAMASEE, Creek, and CATAWBA on English traders and frontier settlements, the scale and success of the attacks seriously threatened the existence of the fledgling South Carolina colony. The war continued intermittently for three years as English colonists struggled to suppress the Indian coalition. Only when the Cherokee decided to ally with the British against their Creek enemies were the English able decisively to defeat the Indian alliance. The English coalition crushed the Yamasee and drove the survivors into FLORIDA, where they sought refuge with the Spanish. The Creek and Catawba remained intact as a people, but they were chased well away from established English settlements. To protect themselves further, British South Carolinians entered into an alliance with the IROQUOIS, who systematically attacked the Catawba for the next decade, seriously weakening them as a potential military force.

Like many conflicts between Europeans and Indians, the Yamasee War was ultimately about sovereignty: who would control land and trade. The Yamasee as well as the

Creek and Catawba were eager to trade with British colonists. However, the increasing integration of Indian peoples into larger trade networks worried the English, who both feared and profited from their Indian allies. As a result, English traders turned to fraud, intimidation, and force in their increasingly contentious relations with the Indian people around them. The Yamasee War was an Indian attempt to halt this process and restore their independent position in South Carolina.

**Further reading:** Steven J. Oatis, *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680–1730* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

—Ronald Schultz

### Yeadley, Sir George (1587–1627) *government official*

George Yeadley served as an early governor of VIRGINIA, and he arranged the purchase of the first African slaves in British North America. Born in the Southwark borough of London, England, the son of Ralph Yeadley and Rhoda Marston, Yeadley became a ward of Sir Henry Peyton, his godfather, after his parents died in 1601. Peyton arranged a military apprenticeship, which Yeadley served in the Netherlands. Attaining the rank of captain, he sailed for Virginia in 1609. Delayed by shipwreck, he did not arrive until May 1610. Yeadley served various officials in a military capacity until 1616, when he became deputy governor to Thomas West, baron De La Warr. West spent most of his time in England, leaving Yeadley to govern Virginia until Samuel Argall replaced him on May 15, 1617.

Yeadley returned to England, when he married Temperance Flowerdieu. On November 18, 1618, he was appointed governor of Virginia for a three-year term and knighted by King James I (1603–25) on November 22. Yeadley returned to Virginia to institute a new government that included an assembly comprised of his council and eight elected burgesses. The Virginia Company instructed Yeadley to distribute land to individuals, which, combined with the growth of TOBACCO cultivation, created demand for laborers. Yeadley worked to bring English indentured servants to the colony while governor. He also organized buying the first African slaves in British North America in 1619 as well as purchasing brides for the colony's predominantly male settlers. He became wealthy and one of the largest owners of servants in Virginia. Yeadley died after being reappointed governor.

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—Eugene VanSickle

## yellow fever

One of the most horrific diseases to plague the coastal cities of colonial America was yellow fever. Considered a common CHILDHOOD DISEASE in AFRICA, the yellow fever virus came to the New World on slave ships along with the *Aedes aegypti* mosquito—the insect vector required for transmission. This mosquito preferred living in urban environments, breeding in water-filled artificial containers provided for them by their human hosts. Once infected by this winged vector, patients often suffered high fevers, pains in head, back, and legs, nausea and vomiting, and acute exhaustion. The most serious cases displayed the classic signs of yellow fever: jaundice, black vomit (partially digested blood), and liver or kidney failure. Eventually, many patients slipped into comas, dying from a series of organ failures, internal bleeding, and shock. Survivors, however, enjoyed immunity for life.

Medical historians believe the first yellow fever outbreak in the colonies occurred in the summer of 1693, when the British fleet carried it from Barbados to the port city of BOSTON. The *Aedes aegypti* survived in the water barrels on board ship and kept the infection in circulation by biting nonimmune soldiers and sailors. Although colonial officials instituted a strict quarantine, yellow fever spread into the city. The Native American population, already decimated by other foreign diseases, lived well inland and were thus spared from another new deadly epidemic. Although unaware of how the disease was spread, officials noted that the fever abruptly ended with the advent of cold weather.

Other colonial cities along the eastern seaboard also suffered from yellow fever epidemics. NEW YORK CITY suffered epidemics in 1702 and then on three occasions in the 1740s—1743, 1745, and 1748. In the mid-Atlantic region PHILADELPHIA lost one in six citizens in its 1699 epidemic. It again suffered in 1741, 1747, and 1762. CHARLESTON, a semitropical port city where mosquitoes thrived, endured more epidemics than northern cities. Yellow fever attacked there at least seven times in less than 50 years. The first epidemic struck in 1699, but others followed it in 1703, 1728, 1732, 1739, 1745, and 1748. During the epidemics of the 1740s, West Indian and southern colonial physicians noted that few African slaves sickened or died. They asserted “black” immunity quite erroneously because few American-born slaves experienced yellow fever as a childhood disease, especially in northern seaport towns. After 1748 only Philadelphia in the summer of 1762 had confirmed cases of yellow fever until the 1790s. When yellow fever returned to Philadelphia in 1793, it killed more than 4,000 people and brought the nation’s capital to a standstill.

Yellow fever had political implications for the larger Atlantic world. In combination with MALARIA and other tropical diseases, yellow fever provided a biological shield, protecting West Africa from European invasion until the

invention of tropical medicine in the 19th century. In addition, once Europeans successfully conquered and colonized an island in the CARIBBEAN, the disease aided them in defending their colonies from nonimmune invaders from other European nations.

**Further reading:** John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953, 1971); J. Worth Estes and Billy G. Smith, “A Melancholy Scene of Devastation”: *The Public Response to the 1793 Philadelphia Yellow Fever Epidemic* (Philadelphia: Science History Publications, 1997).

—Anita DeClue and Billy G. Smith

## Youngs, John (1623–1698) politician

A political agitator and power broker on Long Island, John Youngs was born in April 1623 in Southwold, England, to Joan Herrington Youngs and the Reverend John Youngs, a Puritan minister. His teen years were spent on the move as his family secretly left England, settled briefly in MASSACHUSETTS and CONNECTICUT, and then crossed the Long Island Sound to found the town of Southold on eastern Long Island. Living on land claimed by both Dutch and English, Youngs looked for direction at first from the colony of New Haven and later from Connecticut. The New England colonies enlisted Youngs in 1655 to command a vessel of observation in the Long Island Sound that monitored a group of NARRAGANSETT who threatened to attack the Montauk on Long Island. Eight years later Youngs marched with a band of English raiders who swept Long Island “making a great uproar with colors flying, drums beating, and trumpets sounding” to inform the Dutch population that Long Island belonged to the English. Captain Youngs in particular was singled out by the Dutch as the man who threatened to burn a Dutch village to the ground. In 1664 Youngs participated in the English conquest of NEW NETHERLAND.

With the Dutch obstacle eliminated, Youngs began anew his campaign to place Long Island within the colony of Connecticut, whose religious and ethnic composition and representative government were undoubtedly more appealing to Youngs and his constituents. Nevertheless, Long Island became part of the new colony of NEW YORK and remained so even after Youngs used the brief Dutch reconquest of 1673 and the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION of 1689 to swing the island back to Connecticut.

Youngs served his community as magistrate, deputy, high sheriff, boundary commissioner, and colonel of the militia. He was a member of the panel of judges that convicted Jacob Leisler of treason. Youngs spent his last 12 years on the governor’s council and died in 1698.

—Judy VanBuskirk





# Z



**Zeisberger, David** (1721–1808) *missionary, scholar*  
Born in Moravia, David Zeisberger joined the PENNSYLVANIA Moravian community in 1739 and trained as a missionary. He spent most of his life as a missionary to NATIVE AMERICANS. Blessed with extraordinary linguistic skills, he learned to speak many Indian languages, including Mohawk, Onondaga, and DELAWARE, and was adopted into the Onondaga IROQUOIS nation. Zeisberger served as an interpreter for Moravian church officials during their visits to the Indian nations of Pennsylvania and NEW YORK. In 1763 he accompanied 125 Delaware converts who had been ordered to PHILADELPHIA by the governor. One convert had been accused of murder, and the PAXTON BOYS had threatened to kill all the converts. The accused was acquitted in 1764, and the surviving Moravian Delaware and their missionaries were released from protective custody in 1765.

As a missionary Zeisberger followed the Moravian Church's guidelines. Male and female converts, in the role of assistants, helped run the MISSIONS, approving new residents and new candidates for baptism and communion. Women assistants were responsible for ministering to female converts. Zeisberger made it very clear that race was not important, culture was. There were "white Indians" (white Americans who had been captured, usually as children, by Native Americans) at his missions, and he always referred to them and treated them as Indians. One of his own white Moravian assistants married an Indian convert, was adopted into her nation, and consequently "became" an Indian to Zeisberger. Zeisberger's only requirement for conversion was religious conversion; he left all other social constructs alone. Zeisberger's greatest accomplishments occurred after the Revolution, when he founded several villages in Ohio.

**Further reading:** Earl P. Olmstead, *David Zeisberger: A Life among the Indians* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1997).

**Zenger, John Peter** (1697–1746) *journalist, printer*  
John Peter Zenger, a journalist and printer, was involved in an important political court case that had implications for freedom of the press in early America. He was born in the German Palatinate and came to North America in 1710 with a group of refugees sponsored by NEW YORK's incoming governor, Robert Hunter. Zenger was apprenticed to New York printer WILLIAM BRADFORD. In 1719 he set up a printing shop in MARYLAND, but by 1723 he was back in New York working for Bradford. After 1726 he tried, with little success, to compete with his former master. In 1732 and 1733 he joined with LEWIS MORRIS and a group of dissident New York politicians who were trying to end the tenure of that colony's new governor, William Cosby. In 1733 Zenger became the printer and publisher of the *New-York Weekly Journal*, which competed with Bradford's *New-York Gazette* and which featured political satire and criticism of Cosby. James Alexander, a lawyer and ally of Morris's, was the real editor of the newspaper. Zenger printed furiously critical essays of Alexander, Morris, and their associates as well as texts borrowed from English "opposition" authors opposed to the Whig hegemony of Robert Walpole. This development illustrates the increasing attractiveness to American political thinkers of "Commonwealth" or republican political ideas, a phenomenon that continued into the Revolutionary era. Cosby and his allies at first tried to ignore Zenger's jibes, then to ridicule and intimidate their authors, and finally to suppress them. Issues of the *Weekly Journal* were publicly burned, and in late 1734 Zenger was charged with seditious libel against the government. When the case came to trial in 1735 Cosby and New York's chief justice, James DeLancey, tried to rig the proceedings by disbaring Zenger's attorney, Alexander, and by manipulating the jury selection process. They were frustrated by Alexander's old friend ANDREW HAMILTON, a PHILADELPHIA lawyer, who persuaded a jury—over the state's strong objections and to the dismay of DeLancey—that public statements that were "true" could not be libelous. Zenger was acquitted, and,

after a brief period as a symbolic hero, he spent the rest of his life as a relatively obscure printer and publisher. For a long time it was believed that his trial was a landmark in the evolution of American libel and free speech jurisprudence, but scholars have largely abandoned that interpretation. Instead, they recognize the Zenger case as an early and important example of the “political trial” in America.

**Further reading:** Stanley N. Katz, ed., *A Brief Narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger: Printer of the New York Weekly Journal* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972); Leonard W. Levy, *Emergence of a Free Press* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

—Wayne Bodle

# Chronology

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## **1606–1700**

Dutch monopolize slave trade.

## **1606**

Virginia Companies of London and Plymouth receive patents to colonize lands in North America.

## **1607**

English settlement established at Jamestown.

## **1608**

Champlain founds Quebec.

## **1613–14**

Rolfe experiments with tobacco and marries Pocahontas.

## **1616–21**

European diseases decimate Native American population in New England.

## **1617**

Tobacco first shipped from Virginia.

## **1619**

Africans arrive and are sold in Virginia.

House of Burgesses, the first elected colonial legislature, meets in Virginia.

## **1620**

Pilgrims adopt Mayflower Compact and land at Plymouth.

## **1621**

The Wampanoag sign a peace pact with the Plymouth Pilgrims.

## **1622**

Opechancanough and Powhatan tribes attack Virginia settlements.

## **1624**

Dutch colonize mouth of Hudson River.

English king assumes control of Virginia.

## **1626**

Minuit establishes New Amsterdam.

## **1629**

King Charles I dissolves Parliament in England, encouraging many people to leave for the colonies in North America.

## **1630**

Puritan migration to Massachusetts Bay begins.

## **1632**

Lord Baltimore (George Calvert) receives land grant to establish Maryland.

## **1633–34**

New England Native Americans again attacked by European diseases.

## **1635**

Williams is banished to Rhode Island.

Virginia's Council deports Governor John Harvey, thereby challenging the power of officials appointed by the Crown.

## **1636**

Hutchinson is banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Williams founds Providence.

Hooker establishes Hartford.

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### 1637

New England colonists wage war against the Pequot Indians.

### 1638

Minuit founds New Sweden.

### 1640s

New England merchants begin their engagement in the African slave trade.

Virginia forbids black residents to carry guns.

### 1642–49

English Civil War halts the great Puritan migration to New England.

### 1643

Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven establish the first intercolonial union, the United Colonies of New England.

### 1644

Opechancanough's second attack on colonial Virginians.

### 1650–70

Judicial and legislative decisions in the Chesapeake colonies harden racial differences.

### 1651

Parliament passes the first Navigation Act.

### 1659–61

Puritans execute four Quakers in Boston.

### 1660

Charles II is restored to the English throne.  
Parliament passes new Navigation Act.

### 1662

Half-Way Covenant is introduced in New England.

### 1663

Eight proprietors receive the first Carolina charter.

### 1664

English capture New Netherland and rename it New York.  
Royal grant of the Jersey lands to proprietors.

### 1665

New Jersey becomes a separate colony.

### 1670

First permanent English settlement in South Carolina.

### 1673–85

French expand into Mississippi Valley.

### 1675–76

King Philip's War is fought in New England.

### 1676

Bacon's Rebellion begins in Virginia.

### 1677

The Laws, Concessions and Agreements for West New Jersey provide for the most democratic government of any colony.

### 1680–1700

Transition from white indentured servants to black slave laborers begins in Chesapeake.

### 1680

Charleston is established.  
Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico.

### 1681

William Penn receives Pennsylvania charter.

### 1682

La Salle explores the Mississippi River and claims Louisiana for France.

### 1684

Massachusetts charter is revoked.

### 1685–1715

Stagnation takes hold in the tobacco market.

### 1686

Dominion of New England is established.

### 1688

Pennsylvania Quakers issue a formal protest against slavery in America.

### 1688–89

Glorious Revolution occurs in England.

### 1689

Leisler's Rebellion breaks out in New York.  
Overthrow of Governor Andros in New England takes place.

As a result of the Glorious Revolution, royal governors are removed in Massachusetts, New York, and Maryland.

### 1689–97

King William's War is fought.



**1691**

Leisler is executed in New York.

**1692**

Witchcraft hysteria occurs in Salem; 19 people are executed.

**1696**

Parliament creates Board of Trade.

The Royal African Trade Company loses its monopoly on the African slave trade, encouraging New England merchants to enter into the trade.

**1699**

French establish Louisiana.

**1700**

Spanish install first mission in Arizona.

**1701**

First colonial unicameral legislature meets in Pennsylvania.

Iroquois establish a policy of neutrality among European nations.

**1702–13**

Queen Anne's War is fought.

**1704**

The first colonial newspaper, the *Boston News-Letter*, is published.

**1705**

Virginia adopts a comprehensive slave code.

**1707**

English-Scottish union creates kingdom of Great Britain.

**1712**

Slaves revolt in New York City.

**1713**

Peace of Utrecht ends Queen Anne's War.

Scots-Irish and German immigration to North America begins.

**1715**

Yamasee War devastates South Carolina.

**1715–30**

Volume of African slave trade doubles.

**1716**

Spanish begin to colonize Texas.

**1718**

French establish New Orleans.

**1720s**

Black population begins to increase naturally.

**1721**

Smallpox variolation (inoculation) is introduced in Boston.

**1726**

Poor people in Philadelphia riot, tearing down and burning the pillories and stocks.

**1732**

Georgia charter is granted by Parliament.

**1733**

Molasses Act is passed.

**1734–36**

Great Awakening begins in Northampton, Massachusetts.

**1735**

Zenger is acquitted of seditious libel in New York.

**1739**

Slave revolt in Stono, South Carolina, occurs.

Whitefield's first American visit spreads the Great Awakening.

**1740s**

Indigo becomes a major crop in the Lower South.

**1741**

Slave conspiracy in New York City takes place.

**1744–48**

King George's War is fought.

**1747**

Benjamin Franklin publishes the first *Poor Richard's Almanack*.

A major riot in Boston breaks out against impressment by the Royal Navy.

**1754**

The first congress of all the colonies meets at Albany and agrees on a Plan of Union (which the British government rejects).

**1755**

Braddock is defeated by the Indians and their French allies.

British exile Acadians from Nova Scotia.

**1756–63**

Seven Years' War is fought.

## 438 Chronology

### 1758

British seize Fort Duquesne, Fortress Louisbourg, and Fort Frontenac.

### 1759

Wolfe dies while defeating the French at Quebec.

### 1760

French Canada surrenders to the British.

Africans account for 20 percent of the inhabitants in the colonies.

### 1760–61

Cherokee War is fought against the colonists in South Carolina.

### 1760s

Economic depression occurs in many colonies.

Spanish found California mission system.

### 1763

Treaty of Paris ends Seven Years' War.

Proclamation of 1763 legally limits westward expansion of colonists.

# Documents



## Governor John Winthrop, “Model of Christian Charity” (1630)

*The Winthrop Papers* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), Vol. 2, pp. 282–295

1. For the persons, we are a Company professing ourselves fellow members of Christ. . .

2. for the work we have in hand, it is by mutual consent through a special overruling providence, and more than an ordinary approbation of the Churches of Christ to seek out a place of Cohabitation and Consortship under a due form of Government both civil and ecclesiastical. . . .

3. The end is to improve our lives to do more service to the Lord the comfort and increase of the body of christ whereof we are members that ourselves and posterity may be the better preserved from the Common corruptions of this evil world. . . .

4. for the means whereby this must be effected, they are 2fold, a Conformity with the work and end we aim at, these we see are extraordinary, therefore we must not content ourselves with usual ordinary means whatsoever we did or ought to have done when we lived in England, the same must we do and more also where we go: That which the most in their Churches maintain as a truth in profession only, we must bring into familiar and constant practice, as in this duty of love we must love brotherly without dissimulation, we must love one another with a pure heart fervently we must bear one another’s burdens, we must not look only on our own things, but also on the things of our brethren, neither must we think that the lord will bear with such failings at our hands as he doth from those among whom we have lived. . . .

. . . [F]or we must Consider that we shall be as a City upon a Hill, the eyes of all people are upon us; so that if we shall deal falsely with our god in this work we have

undertaken and so caused him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world, we shall open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of god and all professors for God’s sake; we shall shame the faces of many of gods worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into Curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whether we are going.

## John Mason’s Account of the Puritan-Pequot War (1637)

David J. Rothman and Sheila M. Rothman, eds.,  
*Sources of the American Social Tradition*  
(New York: Basic Books, 1975 ), pp. 32–35

### To the Honourable the General Court of Connecticut

Honoured Gentlemen, . . .

In the Beginning of May 1637 there were sent out by Connecticut Colony Ninety Men under the Command of Capt. John Mason against the Pequots, with Onkos an Indian Sachem living at Mohegan, who was newly revolted from the Pequots. . . .

In the Morning, we awaking and seeing it very light, supposing it had been day, and so we might have lost our Opportunity, having purposed to make our Assault before Day; rowed the Men with all expedition, and briefly commended ourselves and Design to God, thinking immediately to go to the Assault; the Indians shewing us a Path, told us that it led directly to the Fort. . . . Then Capt. Underhill came up, who marched in the Rear; and commending ourselves to God, divided our Men: There being two Entrances into the Fort, intending to enter both at once: Captain Mason leading up to that on the North East Side;

who approaching within one Rod, heard a Dog bark and an Indian crying Owanux! Owanux! Which is Englishmen! Englishmen! We called up our Forces with all expedition, gave Fire upon them through the Pallizado; the Indians being in a dead indeed their last Sleep: Then we wheeling off fell upon the main Entrance, which was blocked up with Bushes about Breast high, over which the Captain passed, intending to make good the Entrance, encouraging the rest to follow. Lieutenant Seeley endeavoured to enter; but being somewhat cumbred, stepped back and pulled out the Bushes and so entred, and with him about sixteen Men: We had formerly concluded to destroy them by the Sword and save the Plunder.

Whereupon Captain Mason seeing no Indians, entred a Wigwam; where he was beset wit many Indians, waiting all opportunities to lay Hands on him, but could not prevail. At length William Heydon espying the Breach in the Wigwam, supposing some English might be there, entred; but in his Entrance fell over a dead Indian; but speedily recovering himself, the Indians some fled, others crept under their Beds: The Captain going out of the Wigwam saw many Indians in the Lane or Street; he making towards them, they fled, were pursued to the End of the Lane, where they were met by Edward Pattison, Thomas Barber, with some others; where seven of them were Slain, as they said. The Captain facing about, Marched a slow pace up the Lane he came down, perceiving himself very much out of Breath; and coming to the other End near the Place where he first entered, saw two Soldiers standing close to the Pallizado with their Swords pointed to the Ground: The Captain told them that We should never kill them after that manner: The Captain also said, We must Burn them; and immediately stepping into the Wigwam where he had been before, brought out a Firebrand, and putting it into the Matts with which they were covered, set the Wigwams on Fire. Lieutenant Thomas Bull and Nicholas Omsted beholding, came up; and when it was thoroughly kindled, the Indians ran as Men most dreadfully Amazed.

And indeed such a dreadful Terror did the Almighty let fall upon their Spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very Flames, where many of them perished. And when the Fort was thoroughly Fired, Command was given, that all should fall off and surround the Fort; which was readily attended by all; only one Arthur Smith being so wounded that he could not move out of the Place, who was happily espied by Lieutenant Bull, and by him rescued. . . .

Thus were they now at their Wits End, who not many Hours before exalted themselves in their great Pride, threatning and resolving the utter Ruin and Destruction of all English, Exulting and Rejoycing with Songs and Dances: But God was above them, who laughed his Enemies and the Enemies of his People to Scorn, making them as a fiery Oven: Thus were the Stout Hearted spoiled, having slept

their last Sleep, and none of their Men could find their Hands: Thus did the Lord judge among the Heathen, filling the Place with dead Bodies!

And here we may see the just Judgment of God, in sending even the very Night before this Assault, One hundred and fifty Men from their other Fort, to join with them of that Place, who were designed as some of themselves reported to go forth against the English, at that very Instant when this heavy Stroak came upon them where they perished with their Fellows. So that the Mischief they intended to us, came upon their own Plate: They were taken in their own snare, and we through Mercy escaped. And thus in little more than one Hour's space was their impregnable Fort with themselves utterly Destroyed, to the Number of six or seven Hundred, as some of themselves confessed. There were only seven taken captive, and about seven escaped.

Of the English, there were two Slain outright, and about twenty Wounded: Some Fainted by reason of the sharpness of the Weather, it being a cool Morning, and the want of such Comforts and Necessaries as were needful in such a Case. . . .

And was not the Finger of God in all this? . . . What shall I say: God was pleased to hide us in the Hollow of his Hand; I still remember a Speech of Mr. Hooker at our going abroad; That they should be Bread for us. And thus when the Lord turned the Captivity of his People, and turned the Wheel upon their Enemies; we were like Men in a Dream; then was our Mouth filled with Laughter, and our Tongues with Singing; thus we may say the Lord hath done great Things for us among the Heathen, whereof we are glad. Praise ye the Lord!

### Chrestien LeCler, "A Micmac Indian Responds to the French," (ca. 1677)

Chrestien LeCler, *New Relation of Gaspesia, with the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians*, ed. and trans. William F. Ganong (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1910), pp. 104–106

I am greatly astonished that the French have so little cleverness, as they seem to exhibit in the manner of which thou hast just told me on their behalf, in the effort to persuade us to convert our poles, our barks, and our wigwams into those houses of stone and of wood which are tall and lofty, according to their account, as these trees. Very well! But why now, . . . do men of five to six feet in height need houses which are sixty to eighty? For, in fact, as thou knowest very well thyself, Patriarch—do we not find in our own all the conveniences and the advantages that you have with yours, such as reposing, drinking, sleeping, eating, and amusing ourselves with our friends when we wish? This is not all, . . . my brother, hast thou as much ingenuity and



cleverness as the Indians, who carry their houses and their wigwams with them so that they may lodge wheresoever they please, independently of any seignior whatsoever? Thou art not as bold nor as stout as we, because when thou goest on a voyage thou canst not carry upon thy shoulders thy buildings and thy edifices. Therefore it is necessary that thou preparest as many lodgings as thou makest changes of residence, or else thou lodgest in a hired house which does not belong to thee. As for us, we find ourselves secure from all these inconveniences, and we can always say, more truly than thou, that we are at home everywhere, because we set up our wigwams with ease wheresoever we go, and without asking permission of anybody. Thou reproachest us, very inappropriately, that our country is a little hell in contrast with France, which thou comparest to a terrestrial paradise, inasmuch as it yields thee, so thou sayest, every kind of provision in abundance. Thou sayest of us also that we are the most miserable and most unhappy of all men, living without religion, without manners, without honour, without social order, and, in a word, without any rules, like the beasts in our woods and our forests, lacking bread, wine, and a thousand other comforts which thou hast in superfluity in Europe. Well, my brother, if thou dost not yet know the real feelings with our Indians have towards thy country and towards all thy nation, it is proper that I inform thee at once. I beg thee now to believe that, all miserable as we seem in thine eyes, we consider ourselves nevertheless much happier than thou in this, that we are very content with the little that we have; and believe also once for all, I pray, that thou deceivest thyself greatly if thou thinkest to persuade us that thy country is better than ours. For if France, as thou sayest, is a little terrestrial paradise, art thou sensible to leave it? And why abandon wives, children, relatives, and friends? Why risk thy life and thy property every year, and why venture thyself with such risk, in any season whatsoever, to the storms and tempests of the sea in order to come to a strange and barbarous country which thou considerest the poorest and least fortunate of the world? Besides, since we are wholly convinced of the contrary, we scarcely take the trouble to go to France, because we fear, with good reason, lest we find little satisfaction there, seeing, in our own experience, that those who are natives thereof leave it every year in order to enrich themselves on our shores. We believe, further, that you are also incomparably poorer than we, and that you are only simple journeymen, valets, servants, and slaves, all masters and grand captains though you may appear, seeing that you glory in our old rags and in our miserable suits of beaver which can no longer be of use to us, and that you find among us, in the fishery for cod which you make in these parts, the wherewithal to comfort your misery and the poverty which oppresses you. As to us, we find all our riches and all our conveniences among

ourselves, without trouble and without exposing our lives to the dangers in which you find yourselves constantly through your long voyages. And, whilst feeling compassion for you in the sweetness of our repose, we wonder at the anxieties and cares which you give yourselves night and day in order to load your ship. We see also that all your people live, as a rule, only upon cod which you catch among us. It is everlastingly nothing but cod—cod in the morning, cod at midday, cod at evening, and always cod, until things come to such a pass that if you wish some good morsels, it is at our expense; and you are obliged to have recourse to the Indians, who you despise so much, and to beg them to go a-hunting that you may be regaled. Now tell me this one little thing, if thou hast any sense: Which of these two is the wisest and happiest—he who labours without ceasing and only obtains, and that with great trouble, enough to live on, or he who rests in comfort and finds all that he needs in the pleasure of hunting and fishing? It is true, . . . that we have not always had the use of bread and of wine which your France produces; but, in fact, before the arrival of the French in these parts, did not the Gaspesians live much longer than now? And if we have not any longer among us any of those old men of a hundred and thirty to forty years, it is only because we are gradually adopting your manner of living, for experience is making it very plain that those of us live longest who, despising your bread, your wine, and your brandy, are content with their natural food of beaver, of moose, of waterfowl, and fish, in accord with the custom of our ancestors and of all the Gaspesian nation. Learn now, my brother, once for all, because I must open to thee my heart: there is no Indian who does not consider himself infinitely more happy and more powerful than the French.

### Nathaniel Bacon's Charges against the Virginia Governor (1676)

Nathaniel Bacon, "Declaration of Nathaniel Bacon in the Name of the People of Virginia, July 30, 1676," in *The Southern Colonies*, Vol. 3, part 2 of *Foundations of Colonial America: A Documentary History*, ed. W. Keith Kavenagh (New York: Chelsea House, 1973), pp. 1,783–1,784

1. For having, upon spacious pretences of public works, raised great unjust taxes upon the commonalty for the advancement of private favorites and other sinister ends, but no visible effects in any measure adequate; for not having, during this long time of his government, in any measure advanced this hopeful colony either by fortifications, towns, or trade.
2. For having abused and rendered contemptible the magistrates of justice by advancing to places of judicature scandalous and ignorant favorites.

3. For having wronged his Majesty's prerogative and interest by assuming monopoly of the beaver trade and for having in it unjust gain betrayed and sold his Majesty's country and the lives of his loyal subjects to the barbarous heathen.

4. For having protected, favored, and emboldened the Indians against his Majesty's loyal subjects, never contriving, requiring, or appointing any due or proper means of satisfaction for their many invasions, robberies, and murders committed upon us.

5. For having, when the army of English was just upon the track of those Indians, who now in all places, burn, spoil, murder, and when we might with ease have destroyed them who then were in open hostility, for then having expressly countermanded and sent back our army by passing his word for the peaceable demeanor of the said Indians, who immediately prosecuted their evil intentions, committing horrid murders and robberies in all places, being protected by the said engagement and word past of him the said Sir William Berkeley, having ruined and laid desolate a great part of his majesty's country, and have now drawn themselves into such obscure and remote places and are by their success so emboldened and confirmed by their confederacy so strengthened that the cries of blood are in all places, and the terror and consternation of people so great, are now become not only a difficult but a formidable enemy who might at first with ease have been destroyed.

6. And lately, when upon the loud outcries of blood, the assembly had, with all care, raised and framed an army for the preventing of further mischief and safe-guard of this his Majesty's colony.

7. For having, with only the privacy of some few favorites without acquainting the people, only by the alteration of a figure, forged a commission, by we know not what hand, not only without but even against the consent of the people, for the raising and effecting civil war and destruction, which being happily and without bloodshed prevented; for having the second time attempted the same, thereby calling down our forces from the defense of the frontiers and most weakly exposed places.

8. For the prevention of civil mischief and ruin amongst ourselves while the barbarous enemy in all places did invade, murder, and spoil us, his Majesty's most faithful subjects.

Of this and the aforesaid articles we accuse Sir William Berkeley as guilty of each and every one of the same, and as one who traitorously attempted, violated, and injured his Majesty's interest here by a loss of a great part of this his colony and many of his faithful loyal subjects by him betrayed and in a barbarous and shameful manner exposed to the incursions and murder of the heathen. And we do further declare these the ensuing persons in this list to have been wicked and pernicious councillors, confederates, aid-

ers, and assisters against the commonalty in these our civil commotions.

*Sir Henry Chichley   Nicholas Spencer  
Lt. Col. Christopher Wormeley   Joseph Bridger  
Phillip Ludwell   William Claiborne, Jr.  
Ri: Lee   Thomas Hawkins  
Thomas Ballard   William Sherwood  
William Cole   John Page Clerke  
Richard Whitacre   John Cluffe Clerk  
John West, Hubert Farrell, Thomas Reade, Math. Kempe*

And we do further demand that the said Sir William Berkeley with all the persons on this list be forthwith delivered up or surrender themselves within four days after the notice hereof, or otherwise we declare as follows.

That in whatsoever place, house, or ship, any of the said persons shall reside, be hid, or protected, we declare the owners, masters, or inhabitants of the said places to be confederates and traitors to the people and the estates of them is also of all the aforesaid persons to be confiscated. And this we, the commons of Virginia, do declare, desiring a firm union amongst ourselves that we may jointly and with one accord defend ourselves against the common enemy. And let not the faults of the guilty be the reproach of the innocent, or the faults or crimes of the oppressors divide and separate us who have suffered by their oppressions.

These are, therefore, in his Majesty's name, to command you forthwith to seize the persons above mentioned as traitors to the King and country and them to bring to Middle Plantation and there to secure them until further order, and, in case of opposition, if you want any further assistance you are forthwith to demand it in the name of the people in all countries of Virginia.

*Nathaniel Bacon*  
General by consent of the people.

### Jonathan Edwards, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" (1741)

Samuel Austin, ed., *The Works of President Edwards*,  
6 vols. (Worcester, Mass.: Isaiah Thomas, 1808),  
Vol. 2, pp. 72–79

. . . This that you have heard is the case of every one of you that are out of Christ. That world of misery, that lake of burning brimstone, is extended abroad under you. There is the dreadful pit of glowing flames of the wrath of God; there is hell's wide gaping mouth open; and you have nothing to stand upon, nor any thing to take hold of; there is nothing between you and hell but the air; 'tis only the power and mere pleasure of God that hold you up.

You probably are not sensible of this; you find you are kept out of hell, but don't see the hand of God in it, but look at other things, as the good state of your bodily constitution, your care of your own life, and the means you use for your own preservation. But indeed these things are nothing; if God should withdraw his hand, they would avail no more to keep you from falling, than the thin air to hold up a person that is suspended in it.

Your wickedness makes you as it were heavy as lead, and to tend downwards with great weight and pressure towards hell; and, if God should let you go, you would immediately sink, and swiftly descend and plunge into the bottomless gulf; and your healthy constitution, and your own care and prudence, and best contrivance, and all your righteousness, would have no more influence to uphold you and keep you out of hell, than a spider's web would have to stop a falling rock. . . .

The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked. His wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else but to be cast into the fire. He is of purer eyes than to bear you his sight; you are ten thousand times as abominable in his eyes as the most hateful, venomous serpent is in ours. You have offended him infinitely more than ever a stubborn rebel did his prince, and yet 'tis nothing but his hand that holds you from falling into the fire every moment. . . .

O sinner! Consider the fearful danger you are in! 'Tis a great furnace of wrath, a wide and bottomless pit, full of fire and of wrath that you are held over in the hand of that God whose wrath is provoked and incensed as much against you as against many of the damned in hell. You hang by a slender thread, with the flames of Divine wrath flashing about it, and ready every moment to singe it and burn it asunder. . . .

It would be dreadful to suffer this fierceness and wrath of Almighty God one moment; but you must suffer it to all eternity. There will be no end to this exquisite, horrible, misery. . . .

How dreadful is the state of those that are daily and hourly in danger of this great wrath and infinite misery! But this is the dismal case of every soul in this congregation that has not been born again, however moral and strict, sober and religious, they may otherwise be. Oh! that you would consider it, whether you be young or old!

### William Moraley's Account of Slaves, Servants, and Witches (1743)

William Moraley, *The Infortunate: The Voyage and Adventures of William Moraley, an Indentured Servant*, 2nd ed., eds. Susan E. Klepp and Billy G. Smith (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005)

At the first Peopling [of] these Colonies, there was a Necessity of employing a great Number of Hands, for the clearing the Land, being over-grown with Wood for some Hundred of Miles; to which Intent, the first Settlers not being sufficient of themselves to improve those Lands, were not only obliged to purchase a great Number of *English* Servants to assist them, to whom they granted great Immunities, and at the Expiration of their Servitude, Land was given to encourage them to continue there; but were likewise obliged to purchase Multitudes of Negro Slaves from *Africa*, by which Means they are become the richest Farmers in the World, paying no Rent, nor giving Wages either to purchased Servants or Negro Slaves; so that instead of finding the Planter Rack-rented, as the *English* Farmer, you will taste of their Liberality, they living in Affluence and Plenty.

The Condition of the Negroes is very bad, by reason of the Severity of the Laws, there being no Laws made in Favour of these unhap[p]y Wretches: For the least Trespass, they undergo the severest Punishment; but their Masters make them some amends, by suffering them to marry, which makes them easier, and often prevents their running away. The Consequence of their marrying is this, all their Posterity are Slaves without Redemption; and it is in vain to attempt an Escape, tho' they often endeavour it; for the Laws against them are so severe, that being caught after running away, they are unmercifully whipped; and if they die under the Discipline, their Masters suffer no Punishment, there being no Law against murdering them. So if one Man kills another's Slave, he is only obliged to pay his Value to the Master, besides Damages that may accrue for the Loss of him in his Business.

The Masters generally allow them a Piece of Ground, with Materials for improving it. The Time of working for themselves, is *Sundays*, when they raise on their own Account divers Sorts of Corn and Grain, and sell it in the Markets. They buy with the Money Cloaths for themselves and Wives; as for the Children, they belong to the Wives Master, who bring them up; so the Negro need fear no Expense, his Business being to get them for his Master's use, who is as tender of them as his own Children. On *Sundays* in the evening they converse with their Wives, and drink Rum, or Bumbo, and smook Tobacco, and the next Morning return to their Master's Labour.

They are seldom made free, for fear of being burthensome to the Provinces, there being a Law, that no Master shall manumise them, unless he gives Security they shall not be thrown upon the Province, by settling Land on them for their Support.

Their Marriages are diverting; for when the Day is appointed for the Solemnization, Notice is given to all the Negroes and their Wives to be ready. The Masters of the new Couple provide handsomely for the Entertainment of

the Company. The Inhabitants generally grace the Nuptials with their Presence, when all Sorts of the best Provisions are to be met with. They chuse some *Englishman* to read the Marriage Ceremony out of the Common Prayer Book; after which they sing and dance and drink till they get drunk. Then a Negro goes about the Company and collects Money for the Use of the Person who marry'd them, which is laid out in a Handkerchief, and presented to him.

This is the only free Day they have, except Sundays, throughout the whole Course of their Lives, for then they banish from them all Thoughts of the Wretchedness of their Condition. The Day being over, they return to their Slavery. I have often heard them say, they did not think God made them Slaves, any more than other Men, and wondered that Christians, especially *Englishmen*, should use them so barbarously. But there is a Necessity of using them hardly, being of an obdurate, stubborn Disposition; and when they have it in their Power to rebel, are extremely cruel.

The Condition of bought Servants is very hard, notwithstanding their indentures are made in *England*, wherein it is expressly stipulated, that they shall have, at their Arrival, all the Necessaries specified in those Indentures, to be given 'em by their future Masters, such as Clothes, Meat, and Drink; yet upon Complaint made to a Magistrate against the Master for Nonperformance, the Master is generally heard before the Servant, and it is ten to one if he does not get his Licks for his Pains, as I have experienced upon the like Occassion, to my Cost.

If they endeavor to escape, which is next to impossible, there being a Reward for taking up any Person who travels without a Pass, which is extended all over the *British* Colonies, their Masters immediately issue out a Reward for the apprehending them, from Thirty Shillings to Five Pound, as they think proper, and this generally brings them back again. Printed and Written Advertisements are also set up against the Trees and publick Places in the Town, besides those in the News-papers. Notwithstanding these Difficulties, they are perpetually running away, but seldom escape; for a hot Pursuit being made, brings them back, when a Justice settles the Expences, and the Servant is oblig'd to serve a longer time. . . .

After I had continued with this Gentleman some time, I returned towards *Burlington*, and went and lived with my first Master, who sent me to *Mount Holly*, where I was witness to one of the strangest Pieces of Folly that was ever acted. Certain old Women, of Melancholick Physognomy, had got the Character of Witches; and being questioned on that Account, and not able to clear themselves, were obliged to undergo a Ducking, in order to prove whether or not they were such.

The Notion run, if they sunk, they were no Witches; but if they swam, they were, and shou'd be punished as such. But they miraculously escaped the Censure of the Law, by sink-

ing, tho' they remained a considerable Time on the Surface of the Water. But this not satisfying one *Jonathan Wright* he proposed to weigh them in Scales against the Bible, and concluded, if they were Witches, they would not weigh so heavy as the Bible; but to the Surprise of the Beholders, they weighed down both Prophets and Apostles.

After this foolish Adventure, I went back to *Burlington*, and lived again with the Blacksmith. This being the Time they gather the *Indian* Corn into their Grannaries, the Townspeople were busy in husking it for that Purpose. The Neighbours assist one another in stripping the Corn from the Husks, and are treated with Rum and Punch; but Persons of Figure provide a grand Entertainment. Every Night, for a Fortnight, I was busy at one or other of these Meetings.

### Gottlieb Mittelberger's Account of Immigration (1750)

Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Journey to Pennsylvania*, eds. Oscar Handlin and John Clive (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960)

When the ships have weighed anchor for the last time, usually off Cowes in Old England, then both the long sea voyage and misery begin in earnest. For from there the ships often take eight, nine, ten, or twelve weeks sailing to Philadelphia, if the wind is unfavorable. But even given the most favorable winds, the voyage takes seven weeks.

During the journey the ship is full of pitiful signs of distress—smells, fumes, horrors, vomiting, various kinds of sea sickness, fever, dysentery, headaches, heat, constipation, boils, scurvy, cancer, mouth-rot, and similar afflictions, all of them caused by the age and the highly-salted state of the food, especially of the meat, as well as by the very bad and filthy water, which brings about the miserable destruction and death of many. Add to all that shortage of food, hunger, thirst, frost, heat, dampness, fear, misery, vexation, and lamentation as well as other troubles. Thus, for example, there are so many lice, especially on the sick people, that they have to be scraped off the bodies. All this misery reaches its climax when in addition to everything else one must also suffer through two to three days and nights of storm, with everyone convinced that the ship with all aboard is bound to sink. In such misery all the people on board pray and cry pitifully together. . . .

Among those who are in good health impatience sometimes grows so great and bitter that one person begins to curse the other, or himself and the day of his birth, and people sometimes come close to murdering one another. Misery and malice are readily associated, so that people begin to cheat and steal from one another. And then one always blames the other for having undertaken the voyage.



Often the children cry out against their parents, husbands against wives and wives against husbands, brothers against sisters, friends and acquaintances against one another.

But most of all they cry out against the thieves of human beings! Many groan and exclaim: "Oh! If only I were back at home, even lying in my pig-sty!" Or they call out: "Ah, dear God, if I only once again had a piece of good bread or a good fresh drop of water." Many people whimper, sigh, and cry out pitifully for home. . . .

When at last after the long and difficult voyage the ships finally approach land, when one gets to see the headlands for the sight of which the people on board had longed so passionately, then everyone crawls from below to the deck, in order to look at the land from afar. And people cry for joy, pray and sing praises and thanks to God. The glimpse of land revives the passengers, especially those who are half-dead of illness. Their spirits, however weak they had become, leap up, triumph, and rejoice within them. . . .

When the ships finally arrive in Philadelphia after the long voyage only those are let off who can pay their sea freight or can give good security. The others, who lack the money to pay, have to remain on board until they are purchased and until their purchasers can thus pry them loose from the ship. In this whole process the sick are the worst off, for the healthy are preferred and are more readily paid for. The miserable people who are ill must often still remain at sea and in sight of the city for another two or three weeks—which in many cases means death. Yet many of them, were they able to pay their debts and to leave the ships at once, might escape with their lives. . . .

This is how the commerce in human beings on board ships takes place. Every day Englishmen, Dutchmen, and High Germans come from Philadelphia and other places, some of them very far away, sometime twenty or thirty or forty hours' journey, and go on board the newly arrived vessel that has brought people from Europe and offers them for sale. From among the healthy they pick those suitable for the purposes for which they require them. Then they negotiate with them as to the length of the period for which they will go into service in order to pay off their passage, the whole amount of which they generally still owe. When an agreement has been reached, adult persons by written contract bind themselves to serve for three, four, five or six years, according to their health and age. The very young, between the ages of ten and fifteen, have to serve until they are twenty-one however.

Many parents in order to pay their fares in this way and get off the ship must barter and sell their children as if they were cattle. Since the fathers and mothers often do not know where or to what masters their children are to be sent, it frequently happens that after leaving the vessel, parents and children do not see each other for years on end, or even for the rest of their lives.

## Mary Jemison's Account of Her Capture by the Iroquois (1755)

James E. Seaver, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (n.p., 1824)

. . . Our family, as usual, was busily employed about their common business. Father was shaving an axe-helve at the side of the house; mother was making preparations for breakfast;—my two oldest brothers were at work near the barn; and the little ones, with myself, and the woman and her three children, were in the house.

Breakfast was not yet ready, when we were alarmed by the discharge of a number of guns, that seemed to be near. Mother and the women before mentioned, almost fainted at the report, and every one trembled with fear. . . .

. . . They first secured my father, and then rushed into the house, and without the least resistance made prisoners of my mother, Robert, Matthew, Betsey, the woman and her three children, and myself, and then commenced plundering. . . .

The party that took us consisted of six Indians and four Frenchmen, who immediately commenced plundering, as I just observed, and took what they considered most valuable; consisting principally of bread, meal and meat. Having taken as much provision as they could carry, they set out with their prisoners in great haste, for fear of detection, and soon entered the woods. . . .

Early the next morning the Indians and Frenchmen that we had left the night before, came to us; but our friends were left behind. It is impossible for any one to form a correct idea of what my feelings were at the sight of those savages, whom I supposed had murdered my parents and brothers, sister and friends, and left them in the swamp to be devoured by wild beasts! But what could I do? . . .

My suspicions as to the fate of my parents proved too true; for soon after I left them they were killed and scalped, together with Robert, Matthew, Betsey, and the woman and her two children, and mangled in the most shocking manner. . . .

After a hard day's march we encamped in a thicket, where the Indians made a shelter of boughs, and then built a good fire to warm and dry our benumbed limbs and clothing; for it had rained some through the day. . . .

In the course of the night they made me to understand that they should not have killed the family if the whites had not pursued them. . . .

At the place where we halted, the Indians combed the hair of the young man, the boy and myself, and then painted our faces and hair red, in the finest Indian style. We were then conducted into the fort, where we received a little bread and were then shut up and left to tarry alone through the night. . . .

The morning at length arrived, and our masters came early and let us out of the house. . . .

. . . [I]t was not long before I was in some measure relieved by the appearance of two pleasant looking squaws of the Seneca tribe, who came and examined me attentively for a short time, and then went out. After a few minutes absence they returned with my former masters, who gave me to them to dispose of as they pleased. . . .

At night we arrived at a small Seneca Indian town, at the mouth of a small river, that was called by the Indians, in the Seneca language, She-nan-jee. . . .

Having made fast to the shore, the Squaws left me in the canoe while they went to their wigwam or house in the town, and returned with a suit of Indian clothing, all new, and very clean and nice. My clothes, though whole and good when I was taken, were now torn in pieces, so that I was almost naked. They first undressed me and threw my rags into the river; then washed me clean and dressed me in the new suit they had just brought, in complete Indian style; and then led me home and seated me in the center of their wigwam.

I had been in that situation but a few minutes, before all the Squaws in the town came in to see me. I was soon surrounded by them, and they immediately set up a most dismal howling, crying bitterly, and wringing their hands in all the agonies of grief for a deceased relative. . . .

"Of our brother! Alas! He is dead—he has gone; he will never return! Friendless he died on the field of the slain, where his bones are yet lying unburied! Oh, who will mourn his sad fate? No tears dropped around him; oh no! No tears of his sisters were there! . . .

. . . His spirit has seen our distress, and sent us a helper whom with pleasure we greet. Dickewamis has come: then let us receive her with joy! She is handsome and pleasant! Oh! She is our sister, and gladly we welcome her here. In the place of our brother she stands in our tribe. With care we will guard her from trouble; and may she be happy till her spirit shall leave us."

In the course of that ceremony, from mourning they became serene—joy sparkled in their countenances, and they seemed to rejoice over me as over a long lost child. I was made welcome amongst them as a sister to the two Squaws before mentioned, and was called Dickewamis; which being interpreted, signifies a pretty girl, a handsome girl, or a pleasant, good thing. That is the name by which I have ever since been called by the Indians.

I afterwards learned that the ceremony I at the time passed through, was that of adoption. The two squaws had lost a brother in Washington's war, sometime in the year before, and in consequence of his death went up to Fort Pitt, on the day on which I arrived there, in order to receive a prisoner or an enemy's scalp, to supply their loss.

. . . If they receive a prisoner, it is at their option either to satiate their vengeance by taking his life in the most cruel manner they can conceive of; or, to receive and adopt him into the family, in the place of him whom they have lost. All the prisoners that are taken in battle and carried to the encampment or town by the Indians, are given to the bereaved families, till their number is made good.

### Olaudah Equiano's Account of His Capture and Enslavement (1757)

Olaudah Equiano, *The Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa the African Written by Himself* (London:1789; reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969)

One day, when all our people were gone to their works as usual, and only I and my dear sister were left to mind the house, two men and a woman got over our walls, and seized us both, and they stopped our mouths, and ran off with us into the nearest wood. Here they tied our hands, and continued to carry us as far as they could, till night came on, when we reached a small house, where the robbers halted for refreshment, and spent the night. We were then unbound, but were unable to take any food; and being quite overpowered by fatigue and grief, our only relief was some sleep, which allayed our misfortune for a short time. The next morning we left the house, and continued travelling all the day. . . . When we went to rest the following night they offered us some victuals; but we refused it; and the only comfort we had was in being in one another's arms all that night, and bathing each other with our tears. But alas! we were soon deprived of even the small comfort of weeping together. The next day proved a day of greater sorrow than I had yet experienced; for my sister and I were then separated, while we lay clasped in each other's arms. It was in vain that we besought them not to part us; she was torn from me, and immediately carried away, while I was left in a state of distraction not to be described. I cried and grieved continually; and for several days I did not eat anything but what they forced into my mouth. . . .

The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived at the coast was the sea, and a slave ship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with astonishment, which was soon converted into terror when I was carried on board. . . . I was now persuaded that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me. Their complexions too differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke, (which was very different from any I had ever heard) united to confirm me in this belief. . . . When I looked round the ship too and saw a large furnace of copper boiling, and a multitude of black people of every description chained

together, every one of their countenances expressing dejection and sorrow, I no longer doubted of my fate; and, quite overpowered with horror and anguish, I fell motionless on the deck and fainted. When I recovered a little I found some black people about me, who I believed were some of those who brought me on board, and had been receiving their pay; they talked to me in order to cheer me, but all in vain. I asked them if we were not to be eaten by those white men with horrible looks, red faces, and loose hair. They told me I was not. . . . Soon after this the blacks who brought me on board went off, and left me abandoned to despair. I now saw myself deprived of all chance of returning to my native country, or even the least glimpse of hope of gaining the shore, which I now considered as friendly; and I even wished for my former slavery in preference to my present situation, which was filled with horrors of every kind, still heightened by my ignorance of what I was to undergo. I was not long suffered to indulge my grief; I was soon put down under the decks, and there I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life: so that, with the loathsomeness of the stench, and crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste anything. I now wished for the last friend, death, to relieve me; but soon to my grief, two of the white men offered me eatables; and, on my refusing to eat, one of them held me fast by the hands, and laid me across I think the windlass, and tied my feet, while the other flogged me severely. I had never experienced any thing of this kind before; and although, not being used to the water, I naturally feared that element the first time I saw it, yet nevertheless, could I have got over the nettings, I would have jumped over the side, but I could not; and, besides, the crew used to watch us very closely who were not chained down to the decks, lest we should leap into the water: and I have seen some of these poor African prisoners most severely cut for attempting to do so, and hourly whipped for not eating. This indeed was often the case with myself. In a little time after, amongst the poor chained men, I found some of my own nation, which in a small degree gave ease to my mind. I inquired of these what was to be done with us; they gave me to understand we were to be carried to these white people's country to work for them. I then was a little revived, and thought, if it were no worse than working, my situation was not so desperate: but still I feared I should be put to death, the white people looked and acted, as I thought, in so savage a manner; for I had never seen among any people such instances of brutal cruelty; and this not only shewn towards us blacks, but also to some whites themselves. One white man in particular I saw, when we were permitted to be on deck, flogged so unmercifully with a large rope near the foremast that he died in consequence of it; and they tossed him over the side as they would have done a brute. This made me fear

these people the more; and I expected nothing less than to be treated in the same manner. I could not help expressing my fears and apprehensions to some of my countrymen: I asked them if these people had no country, but lived in this hollow place (ship): they told me they did not, but came from a distant one. "Then," said I, "how comes it in all our country we never heard of them?" They told me because they lived so very far off. I then asked where were their women? had they any like themselves? I was told them had "and why" said I, "do we not see them?" they answered, because they were left behind. I asked how the vessel could go? they told me they could not tell; but that there were cloths put upon the masts by the help of ropes I saw, and then the vessel went on and the white men had some spell or magic they put in the water when they liked in order to stop the vessel. I was exceedingly amazed at this account, and really thought they were spirits. I therefore wished much to be from amongst them, for I expected they would sacrifice me: but my wishes were vain. . .

At last we came in sight of the island of Barbadoes, at which the whites on board gave a great shout, and made many signs of joy to us. We did not know what to think of this; but as the vessel drew nearer we plainly saw the harbour, and other ships of different kinds and sizes; and we soon anchored amongst them off Bridge Town. Many merchants and planters now came on board, though it was in the evening. They put us in separate parcels, and examined us attentively. They also made us jump, and pointed to the land, signifying we were to go there. We thought by this we should be eaten by these ugly men as they appeared to us; and, when soon after we were all put down under the decks again, there was much dread and trembling among us, and nothing but bitter cries to be heard all the night from these apprehensions, insomuch that at last the white people got some old slaves from the land to pacify us. They told us we were not to be eaten, but to work, and were soon to go on land, where we should see many of our country people. This report eased us much; and sure enough, soon after we were landed, there came to us Africans of all languages. We were conducted immediately to the merchant's yard, where we were all pent up together like so many sheep in a fold, without regard of sex or age. As every object was new to me every thing I saw filled me with surprise. What struck me first was that the houses were built with stories, and in every other respect different from those in Africa; but I was still more astonished on seeing people on horseback. I did not know what this could mean; and indeed I thought these people were full of nothing but magical arts. . . . We were not many days in the merchant's custody before we were sold after their usual manner, which is this: On a signal given (as the beat of a drum), the buyers rush at once into the yard where the slaves are confined, and make choice of that parcel they like best. The noise and

clamour with which this is attended, and the eagerness visible in the countenances of the buyers, serve not a little to increase the apprehensions of the terrified Africans, who may well be supposed to consider them as the ministers of that destruction to which they think themselves devoted. In this manner, without scruple, I remember in the vessel in which I was brought over, in the men's apartment, there were several brothers, who, in the sale, were sold in different lots; and it was very moving on this occasion to see and hear their cries at parting. . . .

While I was thus employed by my master I was often a witness to cruelties of every kind, which were exercised on my unhappy fellow slaves. I used frequently to have different cargoes of new negroes in my care for sale; and it was almost a constant practice with our clerks, and other whites, to commit violent depredations on the chastity of the female slaves; and these I was, though with reluctance, obliged to submit to at all times, being unable to help them. When we have had some of these slaves on board my mas-

ter's vessels to carry them to other islands, or to America, I have known our mates to commit these acts most shamefully, to the disgrace, not of Christians only, but of men. I have even known them to gratify their brutal passion with females not ten years old; . . . And yet in Montserrat I have seen a negro man staked to the ground, and cut most shockingly, and then his ears cut off bit by bit, because he had been connected with a white woman who was a common prostitute: as if it were no crime in the whites to rob an innocent African girl of her virtue; but most heinous in a black man only to gratify a passion of nature, where the temptation was offered by one of a different colour, though the most abandoned woman of her species. Another negro man was half hanged, and then burnt, for attempting to poison a cruel overseer. Thus by repeated cruelties are the wretched first urged to despair, and then murdered, because they still retain so much of human nature about them as to wish to put an end to their misery, and retaliate their tyrants!



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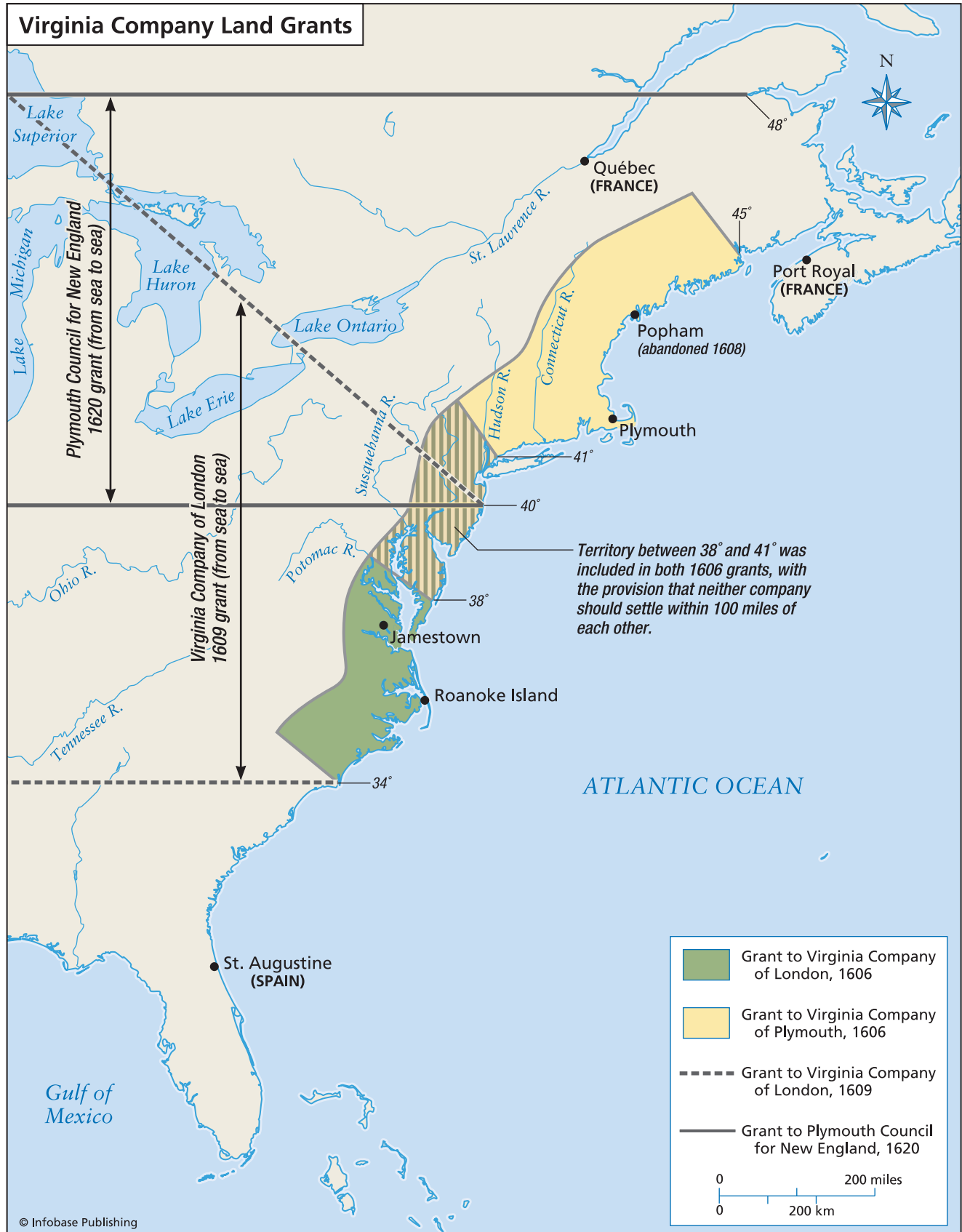
Revised Edition



Colonization and Settlement  
1608 to 1760

# MAPS

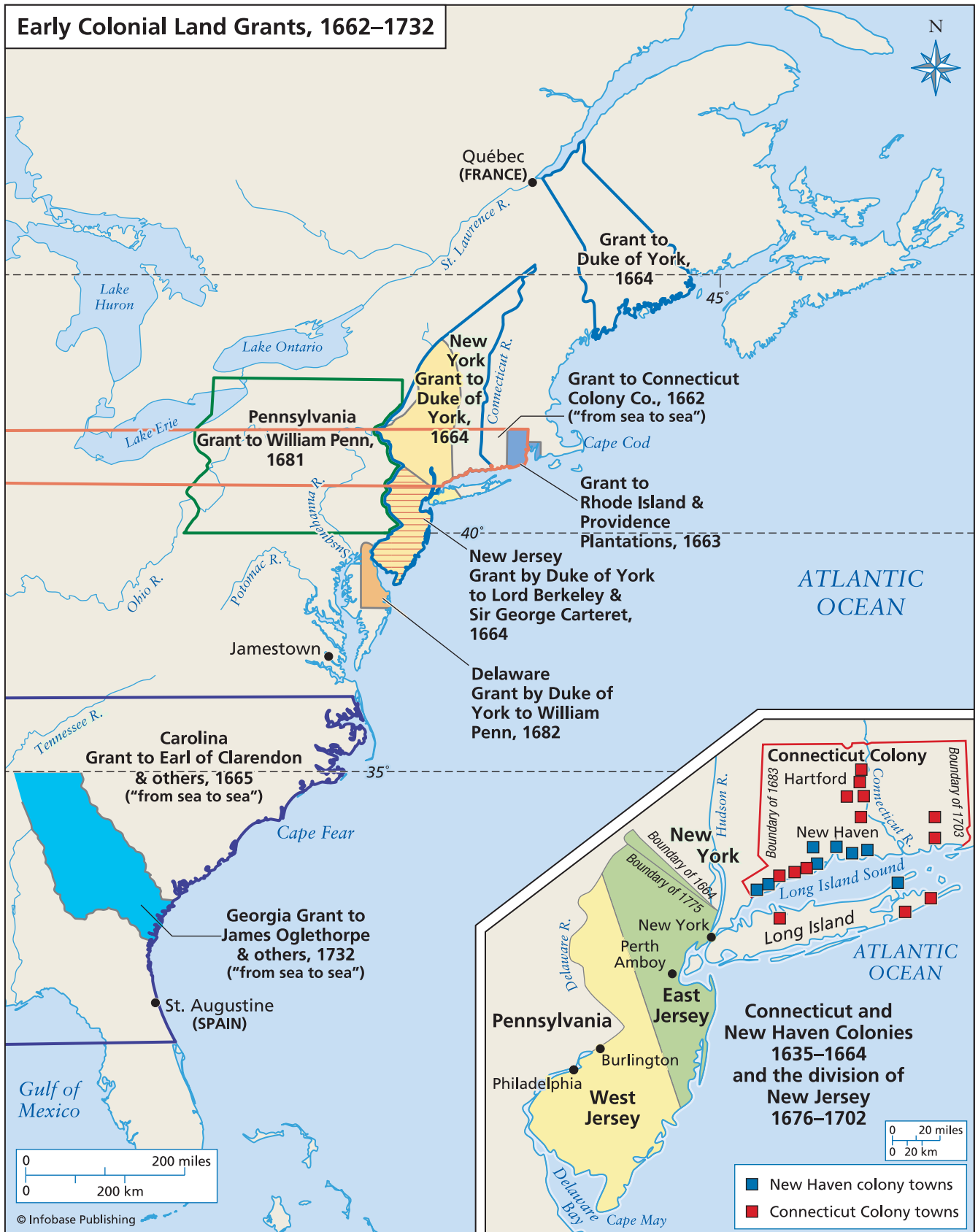


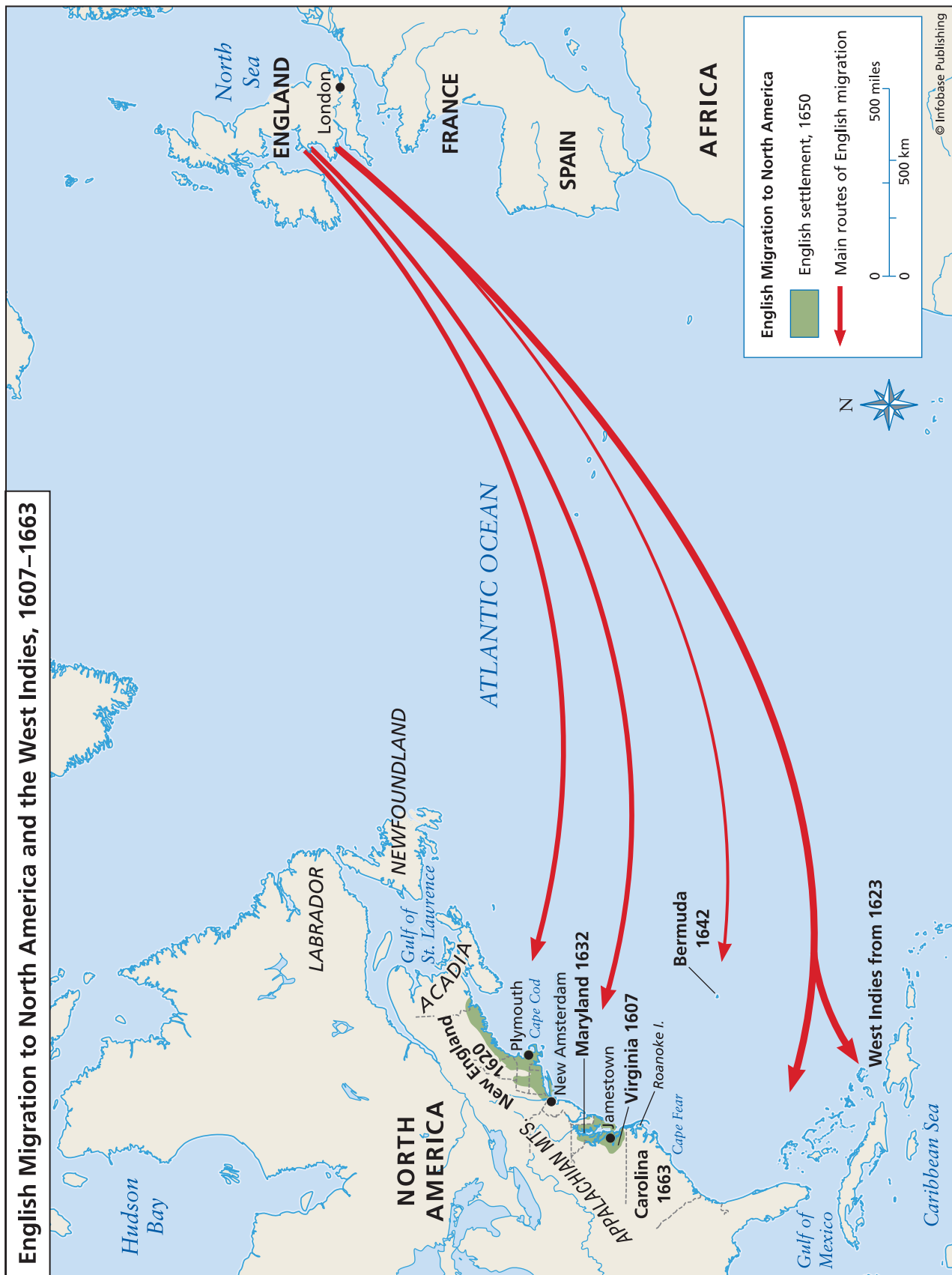


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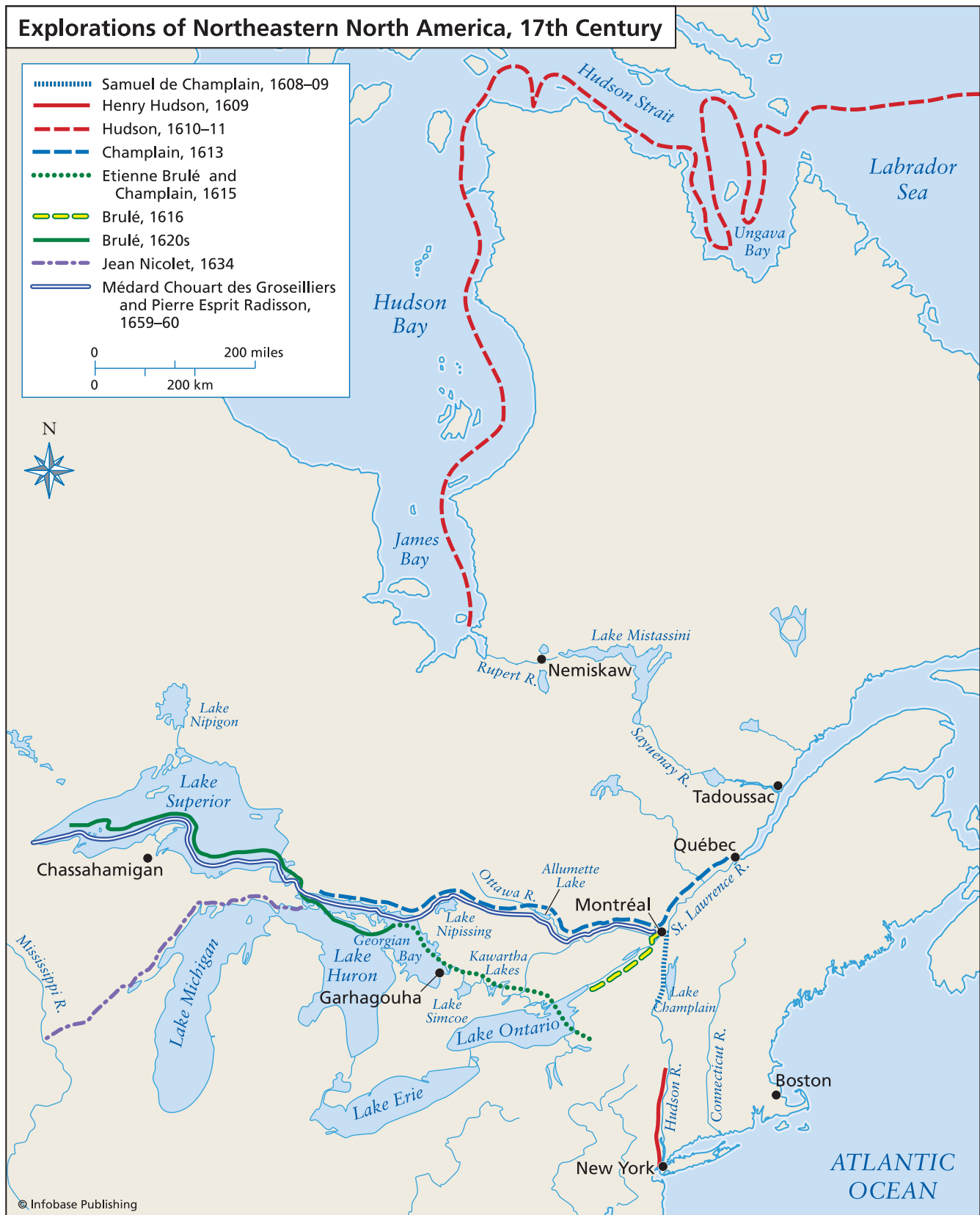






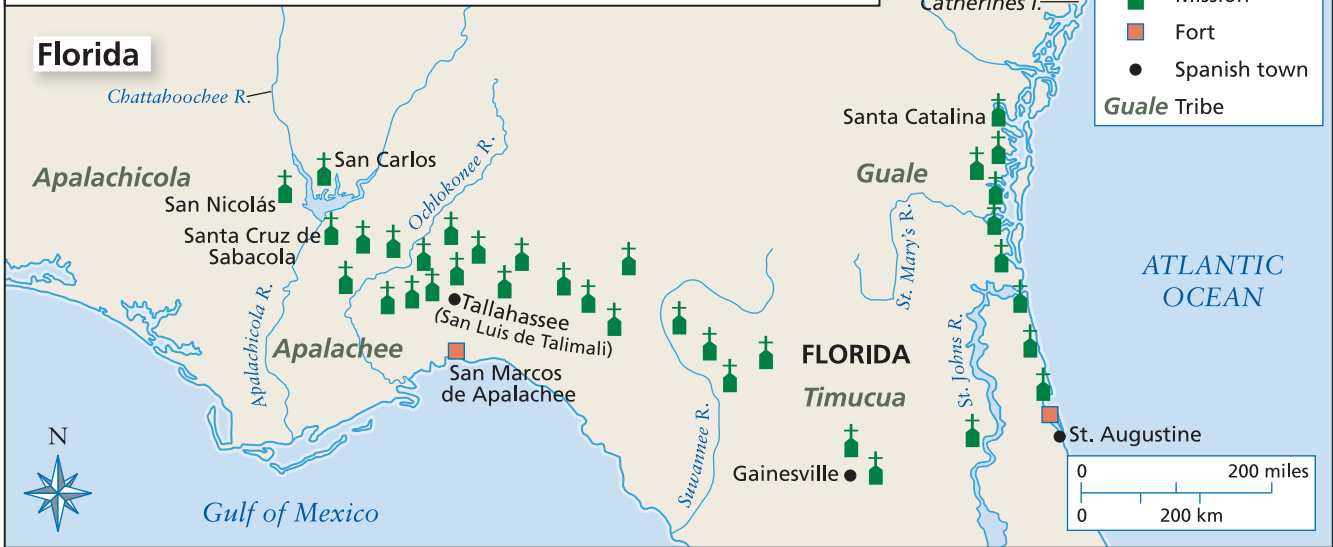






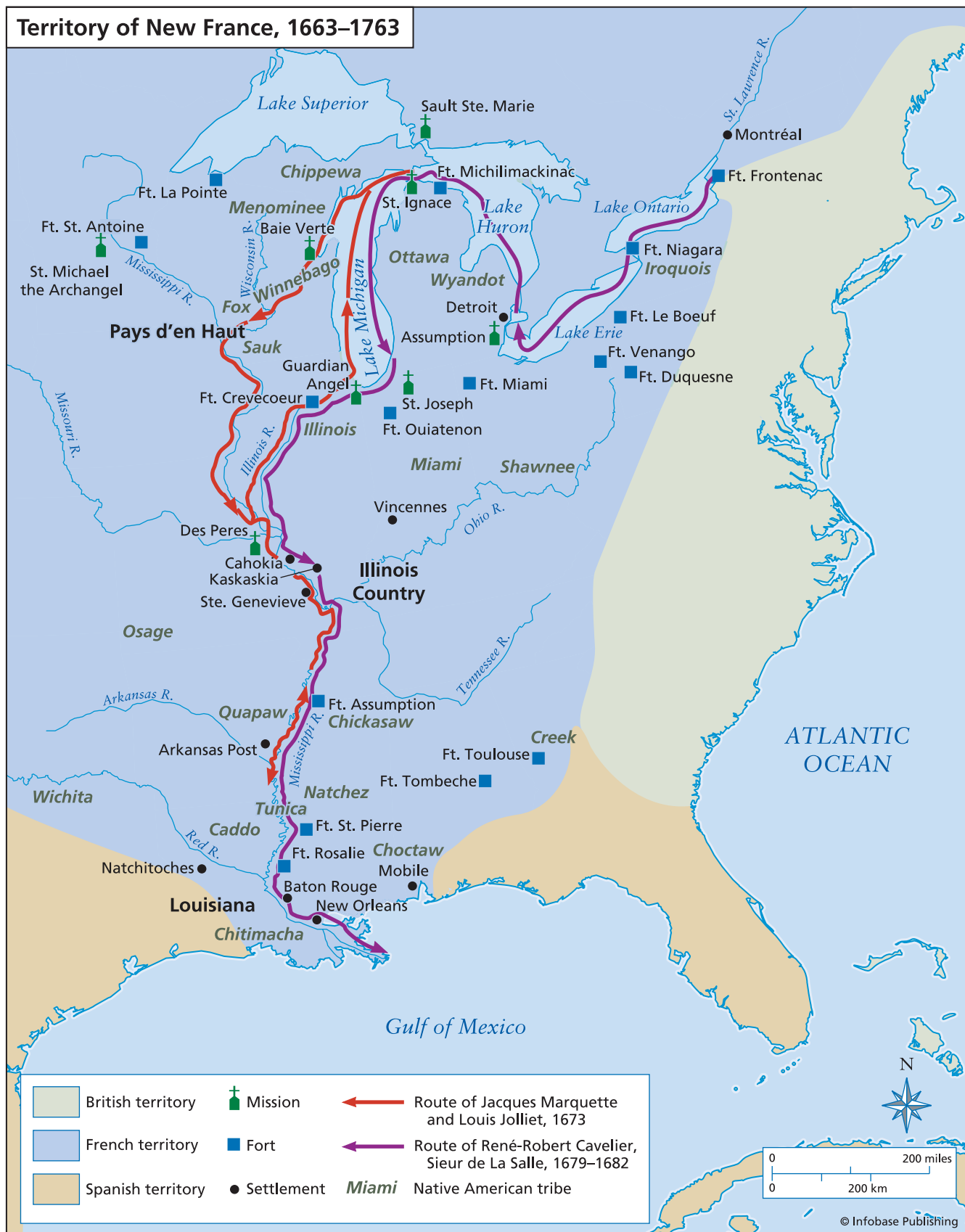


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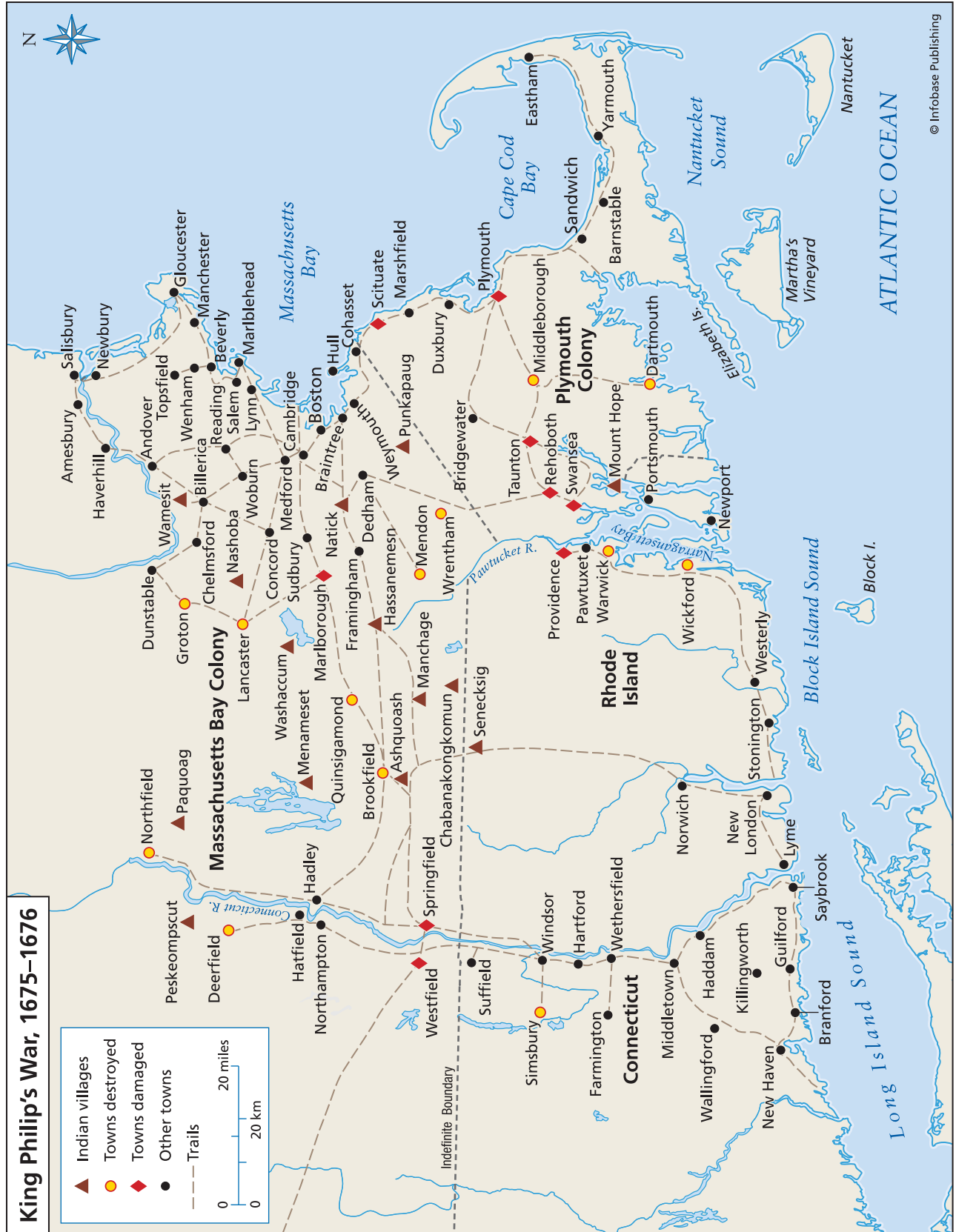


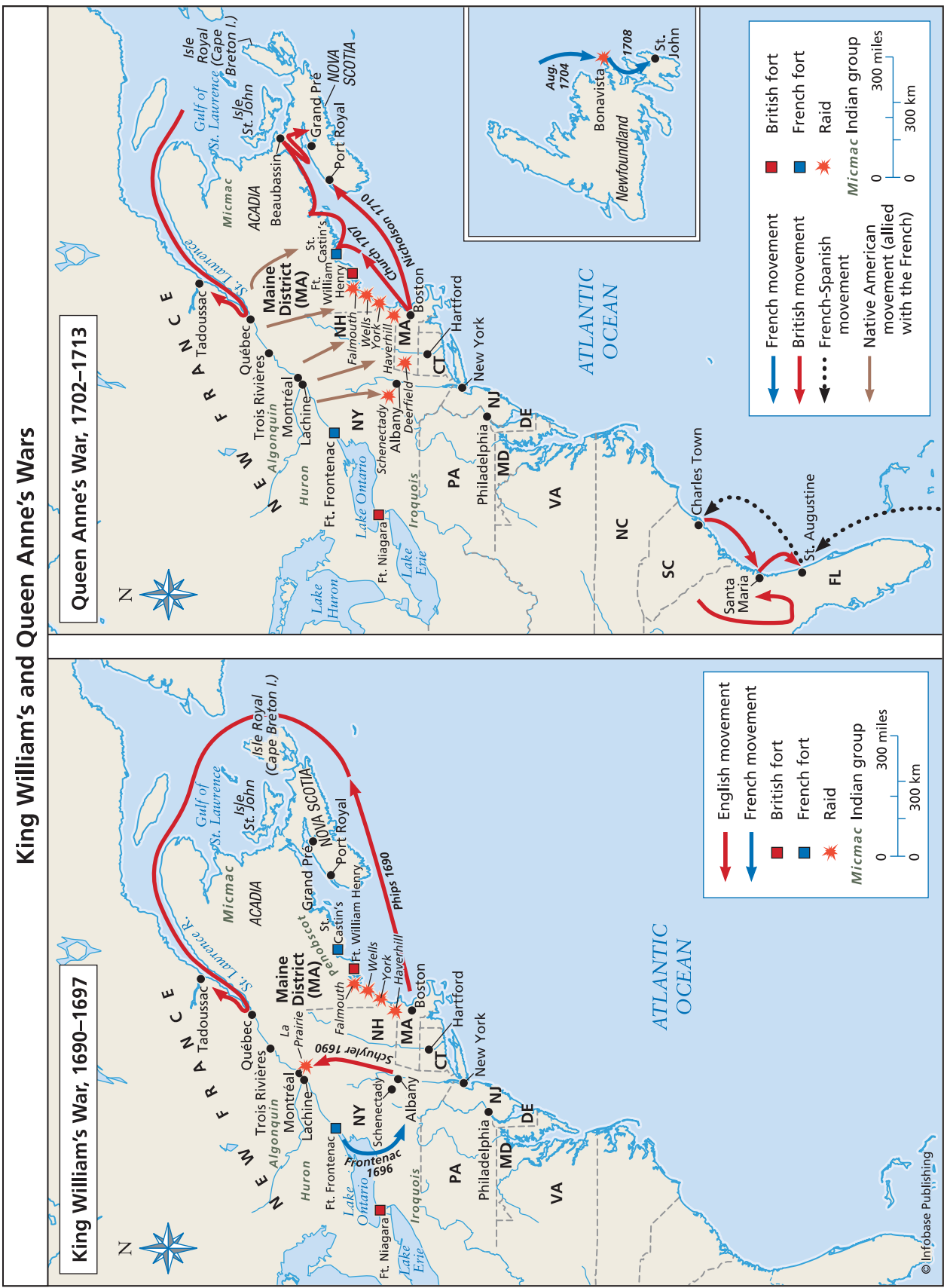








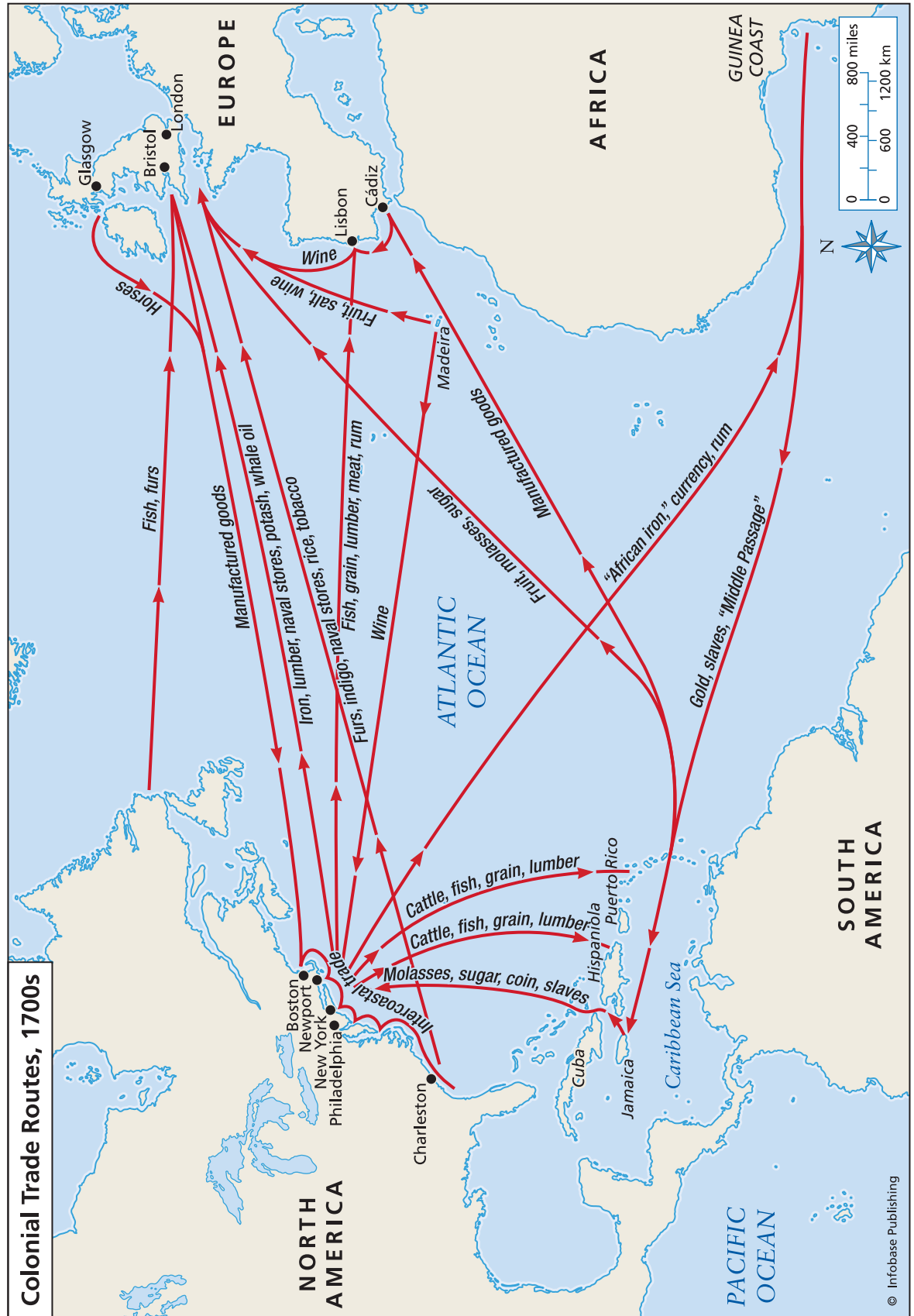


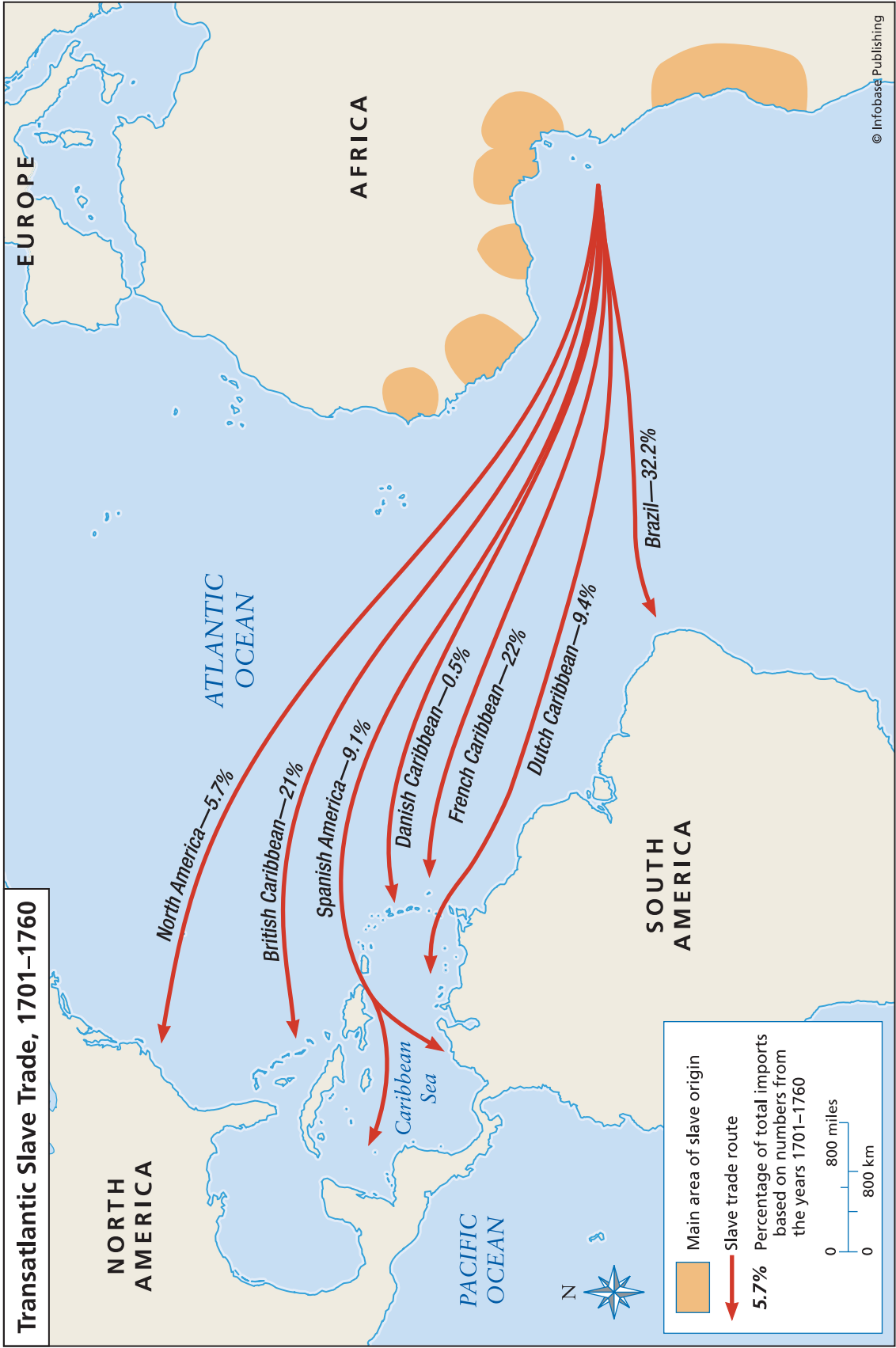










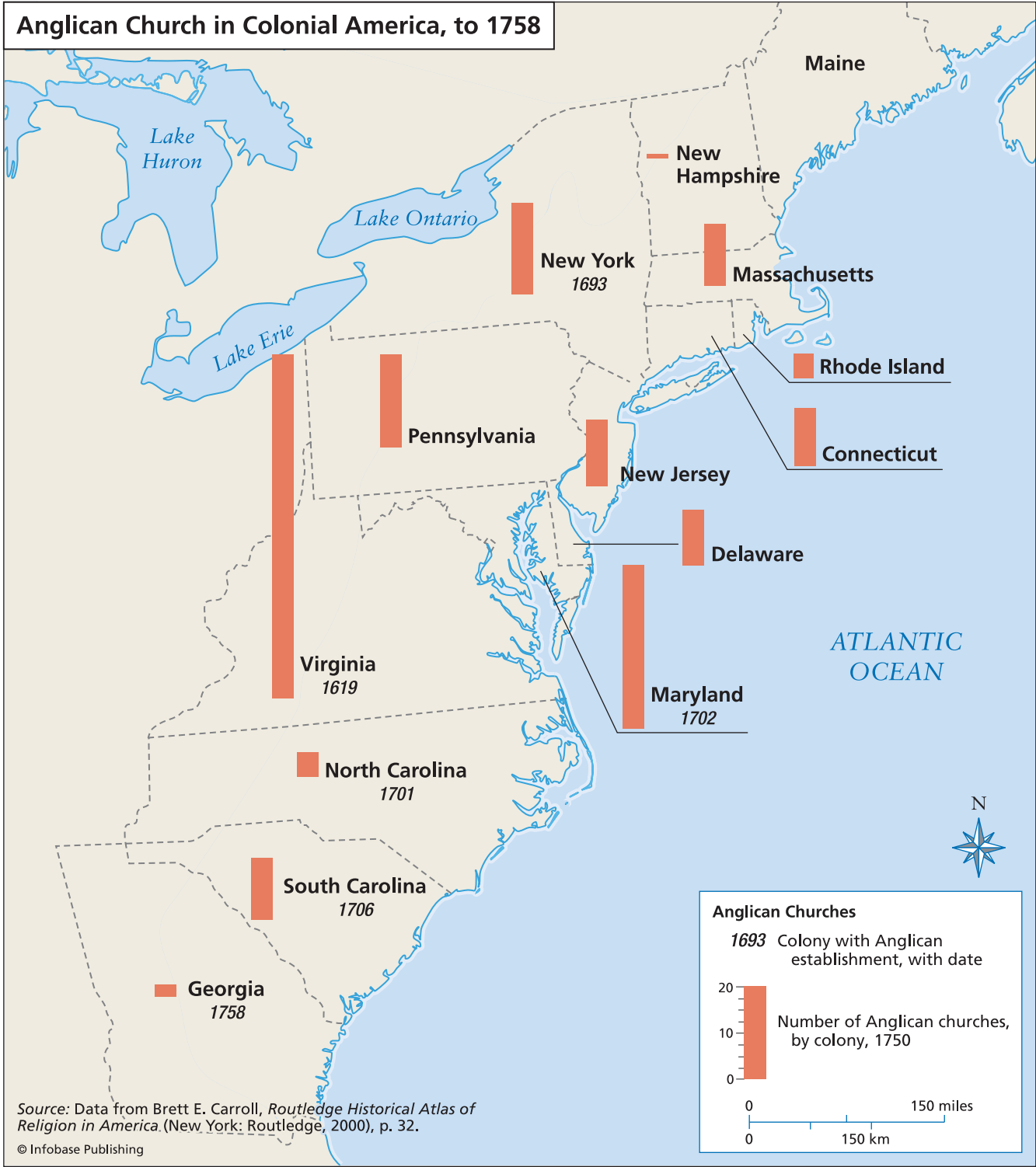






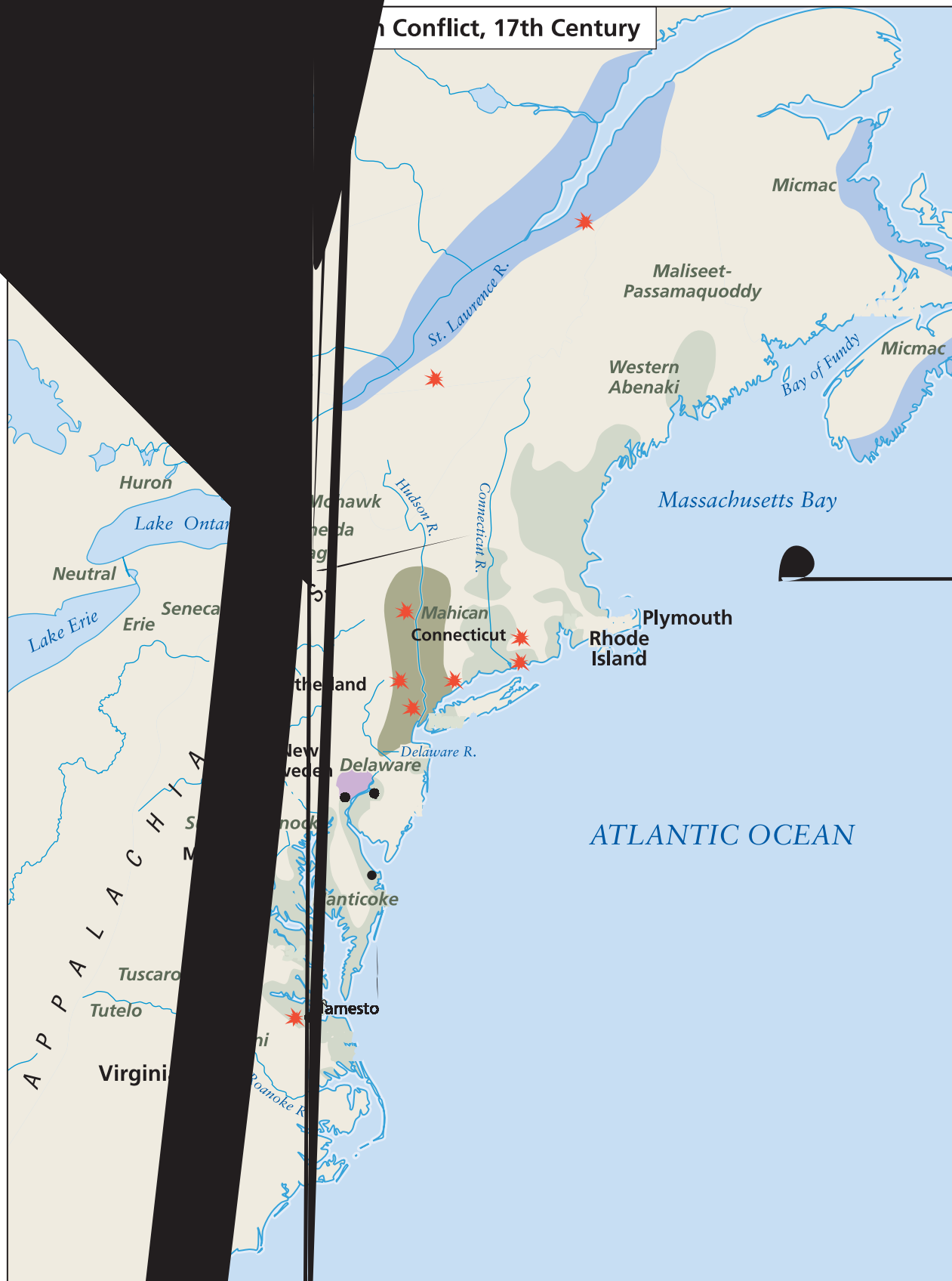








# Indian Conflict, 17th Century



















































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































































opposition to Russian control of Poland through King Stanislaw II. Although this movement crumbled in the wake of military defeat, Pulaski continued to lead periodic campaigns against the Russians. For a short time he became the nation's most venerated hero. This fame came to a crashing halt, however, when he was framed for the attempted murder of the Polish king. Stigmatized and in terrible debt from his futile military campaigns, Pulaski fled to France only to be thrown into debtors' prison. With virtually nowhere else to go, Pulaski appealed to the American revolutionaries and offered his services in the summer of 1776.

In July 1777, Pulaski arrived in North America, the beneficiary of a deal between representatives from the governments of France and the United States. Armed with a letter of introduction from BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Pulaski met with GEORGE WASHINGTON in August. Although he had yet to receive his commission and had only volunteered to serve as an aid to Washington, he was pressed into service at the BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE (September 11, 1777). The Pole led a dramatic counterattack on the British that, at the very least, afforded time for Washington's collapsing right flank to retreat.

Pulaski also led cavalry at Haddonsfield in support of General ANTHONY WAYNE's expedition to round up cattle. After resigning in protest of having to take orders from Wayne rather than Washington, he gained reappointment in March 28, 1778, to lead Pulaski's Legion, a force composed of 68 dragoons and 200 foot soldiers. Pulaski's policy of recruiting German deserters from the British army, in violation of Washington's orders, proved disastrous. During the British raid on Little Egg Harbor (October 6–22, 1778) in southern New Jersey, one of these men defected back to the British and led a devastating attack on Pulaski's unsuspecting infantry. Fifty of his 200 infantrymen died in the night assault.

After a brief stint at the town of Minisink on the Delaware River, Pulaski was sent south to help meet the British invasion of Georgia. On May 11, 1779, during this southern campaign, Pulaski's Legion was cut to pieces by a 900-man advanced guard. Already in ill repute, Pulaski found himself involved in yet another bungled operation when the British, tipped off by a deserter, defeated the revolutionaries during their attack on Savannah on October 9, 1779.

Pulaski suffered a fatal wound that day and died en route to a hospital on the U.S. ship *Wasp*. He was buried at sea. Still a national hero in his native country, Pulaski remains a symbol of the bonds between Poland and the United States.

See also SIEGE OF SAVANNAH.

**Further reading:** Clarence A. Manning, *A Soldier of Liberty: Casimir Pulaski* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945).

—Daniel M. Cobb

**Putnam, Israel (Old Put)** (1718–1790) *Continental army general*

By the beginning of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) Israel Putnam had established a reputation as a soldier. Born in present-day Danvers, Massachusetts, Putnam moved to Pomfret, Connecticut, where he farmed for a living. He fought in the French and Indian War (1754–63), serving in campaigns at Montreal in 1760 and the siege of Havana in 1762, before commanding Connecticut forces during PONTIAC'S WAR (1763–64) at Detroit. He was also a member of the general assembly and the SONS OF LIBERTY during the 1760s and 1770s. An outspoken critic of the British, legend has it that he immediately abandoned his farm to join the war effort after hearing about the fighting at the BATTLES OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD (April 19, 1775). During the Revolutionary War he rose to the rank of major general in the CONTINENTAL ARMY. He played a key role in the BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL (June 17, 1775) but blundered in subsequent actions, suffering blame for losses in the BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND (August 27–30, 1776) and the capture of Fort Montgomery and Fort Clinton (October 6, 1777). Court-martialed for negligence, he was exonerated, but he had lost the faith of GEORGE WASHINGTON. In 1779 Putnam succumbed to a paralytic stroke while on leave thus bringing his military career to an end. He died 11 years later.

**Further reading:** William Farrand Livingston, *Israel Putnam: Pioneer, Ranger, and Major-General* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905).

—Sarah Eppler Janda



### **Quakers (Society of Friends)**

The revolutionary era brought challenges and opportunities to Quakers—members of the Religious Society of Friends founded in England in 1652. Advocating pacifism and withdrawal from politics, Quakers, who first came to British North America in 1656, found themselves in an awkward position during the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), when the internecine nature of the conflict confronted every American with difficult choices. If their principles left Quakers susceptible to charges of disloyalty and even treason to the new United States, those same principles also placed them in the forefront of the reform movements of the age, especially ANTISLAVERY and ABOLITION.

Quakers in North America faced a crisis in the 1750s during the French and Indian War (1754–63). Since the beginning of the colony of Pennsylvania in the late 17th century, Quakers had played a prominent—even dominant—role in local politics. Until 1754 the Quakers had managed to hold on to their pacifist beliefs and limited their colony's participation in the wars between France and Great Britain. They could do so in part because of their willingness to make some compromises concerning their pacifism and because of the Quakers' long history of peaceful relations with NATIVE AMERICANS. The conflict that began on the Pennsylvania FRONTIER in 1754, however, was different. Indian attacks led to demands by back-country settlers that some action be taken by the colonial government. Unable to control the colony as they once had, and confronted with frontier violence, many Quakers decided that the only way for them to maintain their beliefs was by withdrawing from politics and concentrating their efforts on reforming society.

The decision to limit their political involvement left the Quakers in an awkward position in the 1760s and 1770s. During the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75) many Quakers objected to British policies but offered only

muted protests. Some Quakers in Pennsylvania, who continued to participate in colonial politics in a limited way, did not want to complain too loudly about imperial policy because they did not want to alienate the king in the hope that the British would do away with the proprietary government and make Pennsylvania a Crown colony. For many other Quakers, noninvolvement in the controversy also stemmed from the movement begun in the 1750s to reform the Society of Friends, step away from political discourse, and focus efforts on aiding others through private means. While some Quakers participated in nonimportation movements, the sect as a whole sought to discourage its members from participating in COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE and any extralegal body that opposed royal government.

The onset of war divided the Quakers and left the reformists exposed to charges of being LOYALISTS in sympathy and action. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting disowned almost 1,000 members for joining militias, serving in local committees, and actively supporting the revolutionary cause. By the end of the war, a separate group of expelled former Quakers organized themselves into the Free Quakers and unsuccessfully sought control of Society of Friends meetinghouses. Those who wanted to remain neutral, or had Loyalist leanings, found themselves persecuted. Arguing that the payment of taxes to support the war or participating in the revolutionary government in any way was a violation of their pacifism, Quakers found themselves distrusted by many. Revolutionary committees levied heavy fines on pacifist Quakers, and when they did not pay, seized Quaker property by force. When Quakers crossed enemy lines for business or to attend their quarterly and yearly meetings, they provoked further animosity. Likewise, the Quakers sought to live under any government that was in place. If a British army occupied a city, the Quakers went about their business; if the CONTINENTAL ARMY occupied the same location, the Quakers



attempted to live as they had under the British. In a brutal and long war, neutrality became increasingly difficult to maintain. In 1777 and 1778 the revolutionary government of Pennsylvania arrested 17 leading Quakers and sent them to harsh imprisonment in Winchester, Virginia. Two elderly and infirm Quakers died during the incarceration; a third died a year later, having never fully recovered from his confinement. Besides loss of civil rights, Quakers also occasionally suffered mob harassment when crowds broke the windows of Quaker property and threatened further action.

If some Quakers suffered during the Revolutionary War, they also demonstrated an increasing commitment to reform. Since the 1750s Quakers had steadily moved against SLAVERY. By 1774 Philadelphia Quakers resolved to disown any member who refused to manumit his slaves. Quakers helped to organize manumission societies and supported legal action by state governments against slavery. In the 1790s Quakers petitioned Congress to end the slave trade and were in the forefront of the movement to abolish slavery. Quakers also reached out to Native Americans, sending missionaries to groups such as the Seneca in the 1780s and 1790s. Quakers became active in other areas of reform, including supporting changes in punishment of criminals and seeking ways to help the poor. Although Quakers in the early republic no longer played a prominent role in politics, their involvement in philanthropy helped to mold the future course of HUMANITARIANISM in the United States.

**Further reading:** Jack D. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748–1783* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984).

### **Quartering Act (1765)**

As a part of the effort to reorganize the British Empire, including the revenue bills called the SUGAR ACT (1764) and the STAMP ACT (1765), Parliament passed the Quartering Act on May 3, 1765, to guarantee housing and supplies for troops stationed in colonial America. Although the act contributed to the tension created by the imperial crisis, it was not as offensive nor as onerous as the revenue regulations. In fact, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, as a colonial agent in London, helped to write the final wording of the law. The Quartering Act had two key provisions. First, the law stipulated that the colony in which the troops were stationed had to find billeting in vacant buildings or barracks. This clause was considered a major concession to colonial Americans because it did not allow for the housing of soldiers in private houses. It also created problems for the British army since it made it difficult to find hous-

ing for soldiers on the march. The second key provision, connected to the first, was that the act depended upon the colonial legislature to raise the money to support the soldiers. In essence, this clause gave the colony local control. There was no taxation without representation here. On the surface, it also made it appear easy to oppose the measure; a colonial assembly could nullify the law by refusing to fund the billeting of the troops.

Most colonies, however, complied with the law. When New York did not do so, it faced parliamentary wrath. In reaction to the New York assembly's noncompliance, Parliament enacted a law that prevented the assembly from passing any legislation until it met its obligations under the Quartering Act. New York's opposition to the Quartering Act also helped to convince Parliament to pass the TOWNSHEND DUTIES (1767). The New York assembly compromised and provided some money for British troops before the New York Suspending Act (July 2, 1767) was to go into effect.

Parliament renewed the Quartering Act several times during the 1760s and 1770s, since it always had an expiration date attached. In 1774 a slightly stiffer measure was added in reaction to the BOSTON TEA PARTY (1773)—and as part of the COERCIVE ACTS (1774)—indicating that the troop commander had the right to locate his troops geographically. The idea here was to prevent an assembly from offering to pay for quartering troops at a location away from where British officials believed they needed to have the troops stationed.

See also RESISTANCE MOVEMENT.

**Further reading:** John Shy, *Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965).

### **Quasi-War (1798–1800)**

The United States fought an undeclared naval war with France, that is referred to as the Quasi-War (1798–1800). The diplomatic rift began in 1796. France viewed JAY'S TREATY (1794), which gave Great Britain most favored nation trading status, as a repudiation of its treaties of commerce and alliance (1778) with the United States. In addition, victories in the WEST INDIES strengthened the French position in the Caribbean. In the spring of 1796, French privateers (see also PRIVATEERING) and warships began to seize U.S. shipping in the West Indies. This policy was made official by a French decree on July 2, 1796. Soon the French were even cruising off the coast of North America. Within two years more than 330 vessels from the United States were captured, driving INSURANCE

rates from less than 6 percent to as high as 40 percent. At such rates, shipping was crippled. Efforts at negotiating a settlement ended in disaster when the French refused to begin discussion until the United States paid a bribe. After this so-called XYZ AFFAIR (1797–98), hope for a peaceful settlement disappeared. Clamoring “millions for defense and not one cent for tribute,” the United States prepared for war by expanding the army and creating a navy.

Fortunately for the United States, the construction of three frigates—the *Constellation*, the *United States*, and the *CONSTITUTION*—was almost complete after four years of work. Launched in the summer of 1798 these ships added some real punch to a newly organized naval department under Benjamin Stoddert. Other frigates and warships began to be built, and merchantmen were bought and converted to naval purposes. As early as July 7, 1798, when the newly commissioned *Delaware* captured the *Croyable* off the coast of New Jersey, United States vessels began to strike back. While naval action could not drive every privateer from the sea, the United States was able to punish France for the depredations. Two frigate size actions were also fought, both by the *Constellation*. On February 9, 1799, the *Constellation* met *L'Insurgente* off the island of Nevis and pounded it into surrender. Near Guadeloupe almost a year later, on February 1, 1800, the *Constellation* met a superior *La Vengeance* in an indecisive action that left both ships severely damaged—the Americans claimed that had *La Vengeance* not veered off in the dark of night they would have captured or sunk the French ship.

The Quasi-War had a dramatic impact within the United States. Riding a wave of war fever, the FEDERALIST PARTY gained in popularity over the DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PARTY. The Federalist Party then passed the ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS (1798) to limit immigrant voting and stifle the opposition press. The navy and larger army needed money. The Federalist Party increased taxes, leading to FRIES'S REBELLION (1799) in Pennsylvania. But the momentum could not be sustained, especially when President JOHN ADAMS opted to avoid outright war and reopened negotiations. The peace commissioners sent by Adams found that conditions in France had shifted, and that with the rise of NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, a settlement was possible. The result was the Convention of 1800. This peace accord was not a diplomatic triumph. The French refused to pay any reparations for the seizures during the conflict and they insisted on equal trading status with Great Britain. For the time being, however, they recognized neutral rights of the United States and they stopped capturing merchant vessels. Perhaps most importantly, Napoleon agreed that

the FRENCH ALLIANCE (1778) with the United States no longer existed. The Senate initially balked at these terms as conceding almost nothing, but eventually ratified the treaty. Napoleon's true aims remained hidden. Within days of his acceptance of the treaty, he had forced Spain to retrocede the Louisiana Territory to France and began dreaming of a French-American empire. The French failure to reconquer Saint Domingue (HAITI) forced Napoleon to abandon these dreams in 1803 and agree to the LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

See also FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

**Further reading:** Alexander DeConde, *The Quasi-War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War, 1797–1801* (New York: Scribner's, 1966); Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

### Quebec, Battle of (Québec) (December 31, 1775)

In an effort to drive the British out of North America entirely, the revolutionaries launched a two-pronged invasion of CANADA in the summer and fall of 1775. One prong, led by General RICHARD MONTGOMERY, attacked from New York and captured St. John's and Montreal. The other, headed by BENEDICT ARNOLD, had a difficult march through the Maine wilderness. Both expeditions started late in the campaign year. Arnold's forces had to cross swollen streams, deal with rainstorms and snow, and managed to get to the St. Lawrence River only by November 9. More than one-third of his troops turned back. In early December, Arnold's 675 men were joined by Montgomery with about 300 men. They faced almost twice that many defenders in Quebec. Since many of the enlistments were about to expire with the coming of the new year, Montgomery and Arnold led an assault during a blizzard on December 31. Although the attack demonstrated daring and bravery, it was also foolhardy. Montgomery was killed almost as soon as the battle began; Arnold suffered a serious wound to his leg. The revolutionaries were beaten back and about 400 were taken prisoner. A small force remained to besiege the city, with some reinforcements added before spring. But with the thaw, British ships sailed up the unfrozen St. Lawrence. The revolutionaries pulled back to Montreal, then retreated further to FORT TICONDEROGA, almost in complete rout. Although the campaign was a disaster, it demonstrated the ardor that some Americans had for their Revolution. Montgomery's death before Quebec, mirroring the great British hero General James Wolfe's death in 1759, became an important symbol for the cause of independence, and Montgomery was held up as a martyr.



Death of General Richard Montgomery during the Battle of Quebec. Engraving (Library of Congress)

### Quincy, Josiah (1744–1775) lawyer, writer

Josiah Quincy was an important leader in the events before the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83). Born in Boston, Massachusetts, on February 23, 1744, to Josiah and Hannah Sturgis Quincy, when he was 12 he moved with his family to Braintree, Massachusetts. After completing his B.A. in 1763 and his M.A. in 1766 at Harvard, he began practicing law in Boston and quickly rose to the top of his profession. On October 26, 1769, Quincy married Abigail Phillips and eventually fathered two children.

In 1770 the young and ambitious Quincy joined with JOHN ADAMS in defending the British soldiers on trial for murder in what came to be called the BOSTON MASSACRE (March 5, 1770). Despite the concerns of his patriot father, who was flabbergasted by his son's involvement, Quincy's reputation grew even more after he and Adams successfully defended the British soldiers. In 1772 Quincy was appointed to the COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE, and in 1773 he began traveling extensively to meet with officials about the perceived English threat to local rights and liberty. In addition to his skills as a lawyer and orator, Quincy was also a gifted writer and authored several essays

decrying British imperial measures. He became one of the most vocal critics of Massachusetts governor THOMAS HUTCHINSON and wrote a defense of the BOSTON TEA PARTY (December 16, 1773) in the *Boston Gazette*. His most influential work was *Observations of the Act of Parliament Commonly Called the Boston Port Bill with Thoughts on Civil Society and Standing Armies* (1774).

Quincy's life proved to be brief, and he died on April 26, 1775 from tuberculosis. Unbeknownst to him, his infant daughter had passed away just two weeks earlier, leaving his wife with only their son, also named Josiah Quincy, who went on to have a long and distinguished political career.

**Further reading:** Phillip McFarland, *The Brave Bostonians: Hutchinson, Quincy, Franklin, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1998).

—Sarah Eppler Janda

### Quok Walker Case

The Quok Walker Case, often cited as abolishing SLAVERY in Massachusetts, was actually a series of cases in which the



final outcome was not as definitive as commonly believed. Quok Walker was a slave who had run away from his master Nathaniel Jennison in Barre, Massachusetts. In 1781 Jennison found Walker working as a farm laborer for John and Seth Caldwell. Jennison went to claim his slave, beat him, and forcefully brought him home. Walker sued Jennison for assault and battery in Worcester Court of Common Pleas, asserting that he was not a slave since he had been promised his freedom upon turning 25. The court decided that Walker was “a Freeman and not the proper Negro slave” and awarded £50 damages.

Subsequently, Jennison sued the Caldwells for enticing Walker away from him, and in contrast to the first judgment, the Worcester Court of Common Pleas ruled in Jennison’s favor and awarded him damages. No explanation for these contradictory decisions was recorded. In September 1781 both decisions were appealed to the state supreme court. The court decided against Jennison in the Walker case, since Jennison’s lawyers failed to file the appropriate paperwork, and then overturned the decision in *Caldwell v. Jennison*, ruling that the Caldwells had every right to employ Walker since he was free. However, there is no record as to the reasoning in the decision. It could have been that the jury—who made the final judg-

ment in the case—had decided that Walker was free based on earlier promises by his master or that he was free because slavery was illegal under the Massachusetts constitution of 1780.

Although there was no written record of the arguments in the case or the reasoning of the jury—nor is there conclusive evidence that, after this case, slavery ended in Massachusetts—an important precedent had been set, and other cases in Massachusetts against escaped slaves were subsequently dropped. Thus, the Quok Walker case marks an important milepost in the ABOLITION of slavery in the United States.

A third Quok Walker case was brought in civil court charging Jennison with an assault and battery on Walker, which was not heard until April 1783. This case, too, is significant because in his charge to the jury, Judge William Cushing—who was only one of five judges listening to the case—declared that slavery was unconstitutional since it violated the state’s “Declaration of Rights,” which proclaimed that “All men are born free and equal.”

**Further reading:** Arthur Zilversmit, “Quok Walker, Mumbet, and the Abolition of Slavery in Massachusetts,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 25 (1968): 614–624.







### race and racial conflict

European Americans held race as an important element distinguishing one social group from another in the revolutionary and early national periods. Throughout this era, there were three major races identified in North America. There were European Americans or whites, NATIVE AMERICANS or Indians, and AFRICAN AMERICANS or “Negroes.” Most European Americans assumed an attitude of racial superiority over the other two races and enforced their ideas through war and repression.

Ideas concerning Native Americans during the late colonial and early national periods reflected a mixture of nearly 200 years of contact and the ideals of the Enlightenment. On the one hand, years of conflict convinced many European Americans that Indians were savages who needed to be exterminated. On the other hand, based on the laws of nature and reason that emphasized different stages of cultural development, some European Americans believed that Native Americans were primitives who clung to a simpler form of life centered on hunting and gathering. Neither approach reflected the reality of the Native Americans living east of the Mississippi River. Those European Americans who emphasized the need to kill Indians as unregenerate heathens and obstacles to progress ignored the fact that the warring Native Americans were defending their land from invaders. They also turned a blind eye to the thousands of Indians who accommodated European-American society by accepting Christianity and adopting many European-American cultural traits. Those European Americans influenced by the Enlightenment were also wrong-headed because they persisted in looking upon Indians as some less civilized group and created a mythology that the Native American relied almost entirely upon hunting and gathering. Since women did most of the labor in AGRICULTURE, European Americans did not think that farming was important to Indians. This position led a few philanthropists to argue that the Indians should be either converted to the ways of “civilization” or removed for their

own safety from contact with the European Americans. Ultimately these ideas led to the removal policies of the Jacksonian period.

European-American attitudes toward African Americans, although challenged in the period, were less mixed. In 1761 most African Americans were slaves. Rationales existed for enslaving Africans—running the gamut from the belief in racial inferiority to the idea that slaves were captives in war—but not many European Americans worried enough about explaining the institution of SLAVERY to fully develop such ideas. The AMERICAN REVOLUTION changed the situation by emphasizing the ideal of liberty and leading to the freedom of tens of thousands of slaves. It now became necessary to articulate a more elaborate rationale for defending racial slavery. Although men such as THOMAS JEFFERSON had held that Africans did not have the same intellectual capacities as European Americans, it was only in the early 19th century that white Americans, especially in the South, developed extensive scientific arguments for racial differences.

The Enlightenment also had an impact on ideas about race concerning African Americans. About the middle of the 18th century, following the new emphasis on SCIENCE embedded in the Enlightenment, an increasing number of slaveholders began to accept the humanity of their African-American slaves. However, this insight did not inevitably lead to ideas of emancipation. Instead, European Americans began to talk about the burden of owning slaves, and slave owners came to rely increasingly on subtle manipulation of the humanity of African Americans to control their slaves. Simultaneously, this new recognition did begin to challenge slavery in two ways. First, an increasing number of European Americans came to recognize the inhumanity of the international SLAVE TRADE, leading to its official termination in 1808. Second, some people began to argue for the equality of all mankind, black and white. In particular, free African Americans seized upon the rhetoric of the American Revolution and turned it against the racist ideas

of European Americans. Some whites also began to speak of the equality of all humans.

Racial conflict between white and black Americans assumed a variety of forms. The institution of slavery represented a type of racial conflict, since European-American masters ultimately relied upon violence in order to subjugate slaves. African-American slaves turned to intermittent violence—destruction of property, physical attacks, and occasional rebellion—to resist slavery. However, even in northern states, where slavery was abolished or was in the process of being abolished, racism existed. White Americans occasionally used collective action to attack African Americans and their developing institutions.

See also GABRIEL'S REBELLION; RIOTS.

**Further reading:** Joyce E. Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730–1815* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975); Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968); Gary B. Nash, *Race and Revolution* (Madison, Wisc.: Madison House, 1990); Bernard W. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975).

**Randolph, Edmund** (1753–1813) *Constitutional Convention delegate, attorney general, secretary of state* Edmund Randolph was born into a wealthy Virginia planter family and became an important leader in the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Randolph studied at the College of William and Mary. When the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) broke out, father and son were torn apart by their opposing political views concerning the future of the colonies. Edmund's father, John Randolph, remained loyal to the Crown and followed the royal governor, JOHN MURRAY, LORD DUNMORE, to England in 1776. But his son Edmund embraced the revolutionary cause and served as an aide-de-camp to General GEORGE WASHINGTON. Only 23 years old, Randolph became the youngest delegate in Virginia, and he emerged as an ardent supporter of the adoption of Virginia's first state constitution in 1776 (see also CONSTITUTIONS, STATE).

During the war Randolph continued to pursue an ambitious political career. He first became mayor of Williamsburg and then Virginia's attorney general. In 1779 he attended the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS and was elected governor of Virginia in 1785. His great moment in U.S. history came when Randolph, the leader of the Vir-

ginia delegation, submitted the so-called Virginia Plan to the CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION in Philadelphia in 1787. This bold plan called for the annulment of the ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION and the creation of an entirely new constitution. The Virginia Plan proposed a strong central government with separate legislative, executive, and judicial branches. The plan also called for a bicameral Congress with the lower house (House of Representatives) elected by the people and an upper house (Senate) chosen by the lower house from nominees proposed by the state legislatures. After three days of furious debate and revision, the Virginia Plan became the basis of the UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

By the time the Constitution was adopted, Randolph ironically declined to sign it because he worried about the increased power of the presidential office, which he saw as a "foetus of monarchy." When the Constitution was submitted to the Virginia convention, Randolph, however, urged the delegates to approve the document to prevent a breakup of the United States into a loose confederation. Under President Washington, Edmund Randolph became the attorney general of the United States, and he succeeded THOMAS JEFFERSON as secretary of state in 1794. The next year, the British minister to the United States released French diplomatic papers that falsely accused Randolph of seeking bribes from foreign diplomats for giving secret information. The compromised Randolph resigned from public office the same year and his political career never recovered from this denunciation. He resumed his law practice but returned once again to the public arena when he became AARON BURR's major legal counsel in his trial for treason in 1807. Randolph's name was completely cleared after his death in 1813.

**Further reading:** Melvin E. Bradford, *Edmund Randolph: Lawyer, Political Leader of Virginia, and American Statesman* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1994); John J. Reardon, *Edmund Randolph: A Biography* (New York: Macmillan, 1975).

—Dirk Voss

**Randolph, John** (1773–1833) *representative, senator* John Randolph was an independent-minded member of the DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PARTY. He was born on June 2, 1773, in Prince George County, Virginia. His formal EDUCATION was sporadic, including stints at Princeton, Columbia, and William and Mary, none of which produced a completed degree. With the death of his mother in 1787, and his brothers in the 1790s (Randolph's father died in 1775), he settled down to manage the family estate. By 1799 he entered politics as a Democratic-Republican and a supporter of THOMAS JEFFERSON.

With Jefferson's election in 1800, Randolph exercised considerable power in Congress. He served as chair of the important Ways and Means Committee. He set aside his growing concern over centralized federal power to help Jefferson accomplish the LOUISIANA PURCHASE (1803).

Randolph believed in a strict constructionist, STATES' RIGHTS interpretation of the UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION. He distrusted the modernizing democracy of early 19th-century America. He once said, "I am an aristocrat. . . . I love liberty; I hate equality." Randolph's political inflexibility would characterize his political career. Paradoxically, he grew to oppose Jefferson the man, while espousing what he believed were the true, and betrayed, Jeffersonian principles.

Yet Randolph did not limit his opposition to Jefferson. He challenged JAMES MADISON and James Monroe, even as he attacked the FEDERALIST PARTY. Speaking before Congress in 1806, Randolph declared himself a *tertium quid*, which is to say someone who cannot be defined. He led a failed attempt to impeach Justice SAMUEL CHASE; the bungled case caused lasting damage to Randolph's reputation. He opposed the Democratic-Republican administration's position on the YAZOO CLAIMS and the purchase of FLORIDA.

Randolph had been plagued by health problems his whole life, but in his later years heavy drinking and opium use accelerated the physical decline. He died on May 24, 1833. Even in death, Randolph proved defiant of convention. He was buried facing west, purportedly so he could "keep an eye on Henry Clay."

**Further reading:** Robert Dawidoff, *The Education of John Randolph* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979).

—Jay R. Dew

### Red Bank, Battle of (October 22, 1777)

As a part of his effort to clear the DELAWARE RIVER FORTS to allow water-borne supplies to reach his army in Philadelphia, General WILLIAM HOWE ordered 1,500 HESSIANS, under Colonel Karl Emit Kurt Von Donop, to seize Fort Mercer near Red Bank, New Jersey. Von Donop underestimated the tenacity of the 600 Continentals under Colonel Christopher Greene defending Fort Mercer. The revolutionaries had dug trenches, set up abatis, built parapets, and created a formidable fortress. Recognizing that the initial fortifications were too expansive for the number of men he had available, Greene had also built an inner wall on the northern side of the fort. Expecting to overrun the revolutionaries, Von Donop attacked from three sides. He led the assault on the north face, clamored over the outer wall, only to discover the Continentals defending the inner wall. The space between the two lines of defense became a

killing ground for the Hessians as they were mowed down by Greene's protected troops. Von Donop was mortally wounded and his men soon scrambled back across the outer wall in retreat. The attacks on the other two sides did not fare any better, as the defensive position proved too strong. The Hessians lost 400 men killed and wounded; the revolutionaries had 14 killed and 23 wounded. A month later the CONTINENTAL ARMY had to abandon Fort Mercer after the British pounded nearby Fort Mifflin into ruins.

**Further reading:** Stephen R. Taaffe, *The Philadelphia Campaign, 1777–1778* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2003).

### Red Jacket (Sagoyewatha) (1750?–1830) Iroquois League spokesman and diplomat

After the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), Red Jacket led the diplomatic struggle to keep the young United States from swallowing all of the IROQUOIS territory. His arguments for resisting the ever-increasing pressure of the settlers were heard in numerous tribal conferences at the close of the 18th century.

Red Jacket first appeared in historical records as a courier for the British during the Revolutionary War. A British officer took a liking to the young man and gave him a red coat as a gift. Through the years, Sagoyewatha acquired similar coats and made them his trademark. He defended his homeland against the CONTINENTAL ARMY led by General JOHN SULLIVAN in 1779. There is little information to distinguish him as a warrior. Red Jacket said that he considered himself an orator and not much of a fighter. He was reputed to be physically weak.

After the war, the state of New York was anxious to exert its authority over the western counties that made up the Iroquois Nation. Massachusetts claimed this same region as its own. Without a strong central government to resolve the disputes, New Yorkers decided the best way to solve the problem was to "extinguish" the property rights of the NATIVE AMERICANS there.

The Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1784) was the first of the postwar agreements that whittled down the Iroquois holdings. Many of the Six Nations fled to CANADA, where the British gave them land. Red Jacket wanted to stay in his own country and did not want to sell any of it to the whites. He spoke out at Fort Stanwix and later at Buffalo Creek (1788) and Geneseo (1797). At each of these conferences he tried to persuade the Iroquois not to part with any more land. Each time he lost.

Red Jacket thought that the Iroquois should protect their homes by force. He wanted the Six Nations to join the Miami confederacy and defended his views at the multitribal MEETING AT THE GLAIZE. CORNPLANTER, another



Red Jacket. Painting by Charles Bird King (*Library of Congress*)

Iroquois leader, thwarted his efforts. The Miami Confederation suffered a defeat at the **BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS** (August 20, 1794) and soon broke up. Cornplanter and Red Jacket argued at several more council fires over the fate of the Iroquois land. Red Jacket always refused to sell more land. Cornplanter, on the other hand, believed that the Iroquois needed to face what he thought was the inevitable, arguing that the Iroquois had to get the best deal they could while the Iroquois were still strong.

By the War of 1812 (1812–15), the Iroquois held only a tiny reservation in New York State out of what was once a vast empire. Red Jacket, who was too old to fight, decided that it was best to side with the United States and helped to raise Iroquois warriors to fight against the British. Many of these Indians fought for the United States in the Battle of the Chippewa (July 5, 1814). For his efforts, the government made Red Jacket a lieutenant and awarded him a pension.

**Further reading:** Anthony F. C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Knopf, 1969).

—George Milne

## religion

Between 1761 and 1812, religion in what became the United States underwent a great transformation in the wake of the **AMERICAN REVOLUTION**. The Revolution freed individuals to make their own decisions concerning religious affiliation. For many ordinary people, this freedom was novel and exciting. In response, ministers learned to use new persuasive techniques to convince people to join their churches. This combination of freedom and persuasion proved very effective, and by 1812 more people in the United States had joined churches than ever before.

During the colonial period, religious diversity differed greatly from colony to colony. The middle colonies—Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey—were the most diverse. In each of these colonies, Presbyterians, BAPTISTS, Anglicans, and QUAKERS shared the stage with various other religious and ethnic groups, the most notable being German pietists. The southern colonies were also diverse, but less so. The **ANGLICAN CHURCH** was publicly supported, but the growth of active Presbyterian and Baptist populations increasingly threatened Virginia's Anglicans. Moreover, southern colonies had fewer religious institutions than their counterparts in the North. In New England, the Congregational church remained supported by local taxes. Most churchgoers belonged to the Congregational church, although there were significant populations of Quakers and Baptists.

In the middle of the 18th century, a revival now known as the First Great Awakening divided churches between New and Old Light congregations. These divisions affected Calvinist churches most deeply, and were inspired in part by the English preacher George Whitefield. Whitefield first came to North America in 1739 and introduced a more enthusiastic form of religion, gathering people into large groups and using emotional language to convince them to accept their dependence upon God. Similarly, Gilbert Tennent, a famous Presbyterian New Light minister, warned against the “danger of an unconverted ministry” in his 1740 sermon of the same name. Tennent believed that many Calvinist ministers were more interested in worldly ends than in bringing salvation to ordinary people. Despite their divisions, both New and Old Light churches remained committed to the central tenets of Calvinism, including predestination and salvation by God's irresistible grace. As Tennent suggested, New Lights hoped to re-invigorate Calvinism by purifying it from any worldly influence.

Historians have sought to connect the divisions caused by the Great Awakening to the American Revolution. The causal relationship between the two events, however, remains uncertain. For starters, many of the founding fathers were more concerned with the political ideas of the Enlightenment than with religion, and some, such as **THOMAS JEFFERSON** and **JOHN ADAMS**, leaned toward



DEISM. The UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION itself makes no mention of God, except in the First Amendment. The First Amendment, however, was added to appease the Constitution's opponents, who worried that Congress might threaten RELIGIOUS LIBERTY. Moreover, it is important to note that the First Amendment applied only to Congress's powers over religion, not to the states. (Seven states maintained some aid to religion when the First Amendment was ratified.) On the other hand, New England ministers were central to securing popular support for the revolutionary cause. Most Americans, after all, organized their beliefs according to religion and not the Enlightenment. Many ministers worried that efforts to expand the Church of England (Anglicanism) in New England threatened their religious autonomy. For these ministers, Anglicanism was as serious a threat to the colonies as the political machinations of king and Parliament. The Revolution took its toll on Anglicanism even in strongholds such as Virginia. Although most elite Virginians remained members of the Anglican church, the Revolution provided an opportunity for Baptists and other dissenters to vocalize their hostilities toward paying church taxes. Moreover, many Anglican ministers remained loyal to England and fled during the war. These two forces combined created a vacuum that new religious movements would fill.

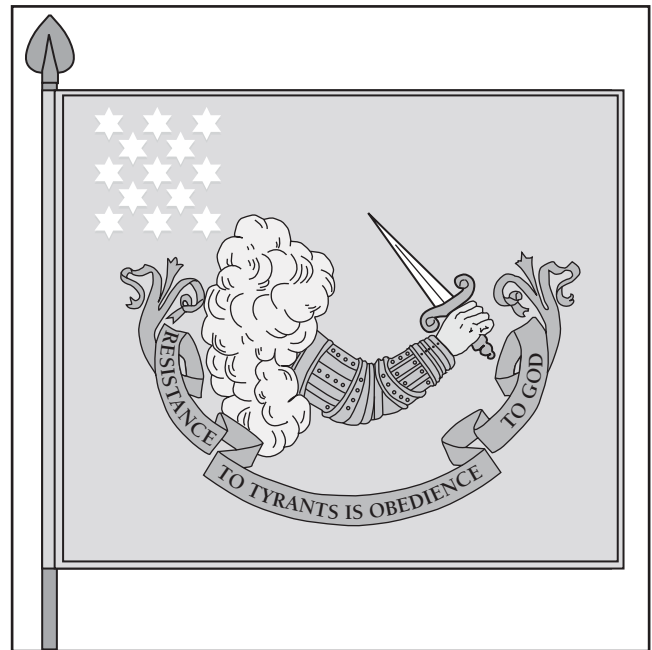
Following the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), each state guaranteed religious liberty to its citizens. In doing so, they cleared the space for the dramatic growth of new sects, such as Baptists, METHODISTS and Universalists, none of whom had been major forces during the colonial period. In the absence of state support, religions developed the organizational structures that we now associate with denominationalism, including central committees and independent colleges. Denominationalism was a uniquely American invention, allowing each religious community to support its own institutions independent of the state. Moreover, the development of denominations enabled each religious group to control their own populations across the extended space of an expanding United States.

In the immediate post-revolutionary years, however, Methodists and Baptists benefited less from their nascent denominational structures than from their status as outsiders. Baptists were actually the least denominationally inclined of the primary religious sects. They strongly believed that each church should be locally governed. This localism was a great asset to the democratic-minded people of the United States who sought to wrest control of their religious lives from established authorities. Methodism, on the other hand, was more centrally organized, but its theology embraced many aspects of popular religion, including supernaturalism and enthusiasm. Methodism's success had much to do with its openness to the religious beliefs of ordinary people. In addition, the educational and social

backgrounds of Methodist, Baptist and Universalist ministers were often much closer to those of ordinary people than the well-educated Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Anglicans. By the middle of the 19th century, Methodists and Baptists would become the largest Protestant denominations in the country. In 1780 there were 400 Baptist and about 50 Methodist congregations; by 1820, Baptists and Methodists had about 2,700 congregations each. After 1820 these numbers would rise even faster.

In the South, Methodists welcomed free and enslaved AFRICAN AMERICANS to join their churches, making great inroads among this group in the post-revolutionary decades. Nonetheless, many white Methodists remained uncomfortable with the intermingling of races in worship, especially when African Americans brought their own spiritual traditions into Methodist churches. In 1816 African Americans established their own church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church. In part, the success of Methodists among black Americans was due to parallels between Methodist enthusiasm and African-American spiritual traditions. The Christianizing of the South's African-American population during this period was an important development in the larger history of religion in the United States.

In the West, the ramifications of the Revolution can be seen most clearly. Following the Revolutionary War, thousands of settlers moved westward into New York, Vermont, and the Ohio Valley. While many brought their religious beliefs with them, the lack of existing institutions or a legal



Many battle flags of the American Revolution carried religious inscriptions. (*Library of Congress*)



establishment made settlers open game for Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and other denominations competing for members. The result was a veritable battle for converts. Denominations established missionary societies in the East to send ministers and money to the FRONTIER. The battle for the West spurred denominations to organize more effectively, giving shape to the diverse, voluntary character of religion in the United States.

The most successful western preachers employed emotional language and hosted large revivals during which many anxious souls could be converted. This Second Great Awakening, which in many ways was merely a continuation of the First Great Awakening, created great outbursts of religiosity, which churches and voluntary associations channeled into denominational growth. The most famous revival took place in August 1801 in Cane Ridge, Kentucky (see also CAMP MEETINGS). More than 10,000 persons were converted during a span of six intense days. To conservative eastern Presbyterians and Congregationalists, revivals posed a serious threat to Calvinism. Calvinists struggled to hold on to their predestinarian creed and argued that western enthusiasts confused intensity of experience with the presence of divine grace. New Englanders, especially debated the role of individuals in bringing about their own salvation, continuing conflicts that began during the First Great Awakening. Methodists understood, however, that on the frontier, individuals were in charge of their own religious choices. In the absence of an establishment, people would no longer defer to clerical authority. Despite their initial resistance, most Presbyterians and Congregationalists, such as the theologian Nathaniel Taylor, came to accept a greater role for the individual.

The combination of revivals, the growth of new denominations and the desire of ordinary people to choose which church they joined resulted in tremendous growth for religious institutions. By 1815 Americans founded and attended more churches than ever before in their history. Success, however, led to millennial thinking. People started to believe that the United States was paving the way for the second coming of Christ. Protestants established Bible, tract, and missionary societies to spread the Gospel to all Americans. Millennial beliefs allowed many people to conflate the purpose of the nation and of Protestantism. The tendency to combine religious and national identity led to deep conflicts. To many in the North, the continuation of SLAVERY in the South was a gross violation of church doctrine. Northern Protestants also worried that CATHOLICS immigrating from Ireland would threaten their millennial hopes. In the early 19th century, anti-Catholicism was a central element of American Protestantism. In time, the belief that the United States was God's nation would legitimate the nation's imperial expansion across the continent.

See also EDUCATION.

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—Johann Neem

### religious liberty

Since the Glorious Revolution in 1689, all Britons had been guaranteed religious liberty. Religious liberty in the 17th century, however, meant something very different than it did after the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, or today. For the most part, the goal of religious liberty was to limit social conflict. In Great Britain and in the colonies, office-holding could still be denied to persons of different faiths, most notably CATHOLICS and JEWS. Moreover, an established church was not seen as a violation of religious liberty. In England, the king and queen remained the heads of the ANGLICAN CHURCH. Similar institutions existed in colonial America as well. In New England, each colony had a tax-supported church. In the South, the Anglican Church was also publicly supported. The only area in the British Empire that embraced religious diversity during the colonial era was the middle Atlantic. With the exception of the region surrounding New York City, neither New York, New Jersey, nor Pennsylvania had a state-sponsored church. Pennsylvania's founder, William Penn, was a QUAKER who believed strongly in the separation of church and state. Even more important, all three colonies had extremely diverse religious populations, including Quakers, Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Anglicans. New York had been settled originally by the Dutch, and Dutch Protestant churches remained prominent. On the eve of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), one-third of Pennsylvania's population was composed of German immigrants. In such an environment, it was impossible to establish any particular RELIGION.

Despite this diversity, residents of the middle colonies did not share our modern notion of religious liberty. Although they accepted religious diversity, most churchgoers never exercised choice about their religious affiliations. Instead, people were usually born into a church and belonged to it for the rest of their lives. Their notion of religion was similar to the way we think about ethnicity today. The one major exception was the divisions inspired by the First Great Awakening in the middle of the 18th century. During the Great Awakening, churches split over doctrine and preach-

ing styles. Many dissenters established their own churches. But the Great Awakening was deeply divisive because most churchgoers did not believe that ordinary individuals should be allowed to form their own churches. Instead, they considered the splitting of congregations abhorrent, and many divided churches strove to re-create unity.

Ideas about religious liberty were deeply affected by the Revolution. In Virginia, BAPTISTS, Presbyterians and others were frustrated by the Anglican Church's official monopoly, and they supported disestablishment. THOMAS JEFFERSON actively feared the ministry, believing that ministers used religion to pursue their own interests over those of the people. Jefferson wrote the now famous "Statute of Religious Freedom," passed in 1786 by the Virginia legislature. In the statute, Jefferson proclaimed that the state ought to play no part in religious affairs. Jefferson's goal was to free the state from religion, and he believed that most people once freed from a religious establishment would embrace DEISM. But for ordinary Virginians, the statute enabled them to choose their own religious affiliations, and many decided to become evangelicals. Jefferson's statute,

then, did not accomplish his goals. Rather than diluting the role of religion in public life, the statute allowed ordinary people to become more active in their own religious destinies, and thus to strengthen the place of religion in the public sphere.

In New England, disestablishment was not as easily won. In Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, the clergy of the Congregational Church joined ranks with the FEDERALIST PARTY to maintain the establishment. Outsiders, such as Baptists, Universalists, and METHODISTS, had to struggle to earn legal recognition of their own churches. After 1800 these dissenters joined the DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PARTY (Jeffersonians) to challenge the Federalist Party–Congregational alliance. In 1811 in Massachusetts, Jeffersonians passed the Religious Freedom Act, granting all churches the same rights and seriously undermining the established church. In New Hampshire, Jeffersonians ended public support of religion in 1819. In Connecticut, conflict between the established ministry and Democratic-Republican dissenters was particularly intense. Connecticut's ministers struggled to retain control over the



The first prayer in Congress illustrates the complex relationship of religion and government in the United States. (Billy Graham Center Museum)

state's religious life, but they were eventually outnumbered by dissenters and, in 1818, the church was disestablished.

The First Amendment of the UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION did not end state-supported religion in the United States. Instead, it eased fears among ANTI-FEDERALISTS that the new federal government would use its power to favor one religion over another at the national level. The establishment clause specifically prevented Congress from interfering with religious affairs, but it applied solely to Congress and not to the states. As seen above, most New England states maintained tax support for the Congregational Church well into the 19th century. While today we think of the First Amendment as protecting us from any state or federal support of religion, in the early republican era it also protected the rights of states to support the church of their choice.

The battle over disestablishment concerned the role of religion in society. To members of the Federalist Party, the established church was the most effective means of providing all citizens with moral EDUCATION. They feared that without an established church, citizens would lack the virtue necessary to live in a free society. Jeffersonians, joined by Baptists and other dissenters, suggested that voluntary religion was more effective at gaining adherents and teaching morality. Few Democratic-Republicans in New England accepted Jefferson's assertion that religion was a threat to the state. Instead, they believed that people were more inclined to support religion when they did so of their own free will. According to a delegate to Massachusetts's 1820 constitutional convention, religion would "be best promoted, by recognizing the inalienable right of every man to render that worship in the mode most consistent with the dictates of his own conscience." Disestablishment in New England, unlike in Virginia, was intended to increase the effectiveness of churches while accommodating the right and desire of people to choose their own religious affiliations.

By the second decade of the 19th century, most people in the United States faced new choices in their religious lives. Competing denominations arose in the place of the establishment, each with its own theology and its own benefits. With the growth of Baptists, Methodists, and other denominations, all of the United States became as diverse as the middle Atlantic. In all states, choice became the defining essence of religious liberty. No longer could a denomination take itself for granted; instead, each would have to struggle continuously to gain new adherents. Religious liberty did not lead to the demise of religion, but it made religious affiliations purely voluntary.

See also BILL OF RIGHTS; RELIGION.

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—Johann Neem

## republicanism

Republicanism is the word historians use to describe the ideology of the American revolutionaries. The term derives from the Latin phrase *res publica*, which means the public thing or the commonwealth. Today we define a republic as any form of representative government. In the 18th century, at least before the independence of the United States, a republic could be any government for the common good. It was thus possible to have a monarchy that, since the king was guardian of the public good, was a republic. From this perspective the ideal form of government was one in which there existed a balance between various elements in society: the one (monarch); the few (aristocrats); and the many (the demos, or the people). In theory, the English government of the 18th century could be considered a republic because the king represented one element of society (monarchy); the House of Lords another (aristocracy); and the House of Commons the third (democracy). Of course this theory did not reflect the reality of English politics. The House of Commons was packed with aristocrats—but not nobility—the House of Lords was not that important, and government operated as a series of compromises between Commons and the king worked out after the Glorious Revolution (1688–89). Many colonists believed that their own colonial governments mirrored this mythical balance with the governor representing the monarchy, the council representing the aristocracy, and the lower house representing the demos. But, as in England, this ideal was a pale reflection of reality.

Whatever the reality, the theory held that the balance between these various elements ensured that no one element would become corrupt and take away the liberty of the people. A corrupt monarchy would be despotism, a corrupt aristocracy would be an oligarchy, and a corrupt democracy would be a mobocracy and lead to anarchy. Each of the corrupt forms would threaten the sanctity of property, which was closely connected in 18th-century minds to liberty.

Beyond balancing these various elements, a republic depended on the virtue of each element of society. Virtue in the 18th century could be defined as a willingness to put aside your interests for the public good. The opposite of virtue was corruption. In the 18th century, corruption was pursuing your own interests at the expense of the public interest. The best safeguard of a republic was having virtu-



ous individuals at all levels of society. Since the 18th century was a period of intense study of the classics, republican thinkers cited the example of the Roman general Cincinnatus as the virtuous citizen par excellence. Cincinnatus lived in the early years of Roman history, when Rome was a small city-state. He was working in the field when a neighboring state invaded. Knowing his reputation as a great warrior and leader, the people of Rome came to Cincinnatus and asked him to beat back the invaders. Cincinnatus left the plow and, at the head of the Roman army, defeated the invaders. Upon his return, the people hailed Cincinnatus and wanted to make him a king. But Cincinnatus put aside the riches and personal glory that the crown would provide—his own interest—and returned to his plow in his field. This image was extremely important to revolutionary Americans and GEORGE WASHINGTON strove to live up to it.

Republicanism also entailed a cyclical view of history. All nations were seen as organic, that is, they were perceived as having a life cycle. In youth they were strong and vigorous; at maturity they were powerful and wise; in old age they were decrepit and ready to die. This vision of history was sustained by example from antiquity. Israel, Greece, and Rome all were seen as following this basic cycle. The key in each instance was that when a state had become too large and too powerful, it was liable to corruption and the loss of virtue. Edward Gibbon demonstrated this progression in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776).

The problem for American revolutionaries became determining where they as a society fit into this cycle. Great Britain could be labeled as on the downswing, having conquered a huge empire it had passed maturity and was entering its last stages before it collapsed. Colonial America, on the other hand, was a new country, with rigor and youth still before it. One of the arguments for independence held that the colonies should separate from Great Britain before its corrupting influence destroyed the virtue of the American people.

With republican ideas as a starting point, revolutionary Americans sought to establish new state governments and eventually created the national government of the UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION in 1787. In the process, many Americans came to believe that a republic could only exist without a king. This idea was best articulated by THOMAS PAINE in *COMMON SENSE* (1776). Paine and others believed that by its very nature, kingship was a corrupting influence and threatened virtue throughout society. Paine also attacked the idea of an aristocracy. Many revolutionaries ended up agreeing with him on this point as well. They argued that aristocrats depended on their title from the king and by their intrinsic nature were sycophants who pursued their own interests at the expense of the public good. Having rejected dependence upon the king and the aristocracy, the revolutionaries had to find a new rationale

for their understanding of the balance among the different branches of government. The idea that the revolutionaries ultimately hit upon, and which was used to defend the creation of the government under the United States Constitution, was that all elements of the government represented the people. The president was thus not akin to the king, who had represented the one; instead, regardless of the fact that he was chosen by the electoral college, he represented the people. Similarly, the Senate did not represent the aristocracy even though they too were not popularly elected under the original procedures of the Constitution; as a body, the Senate represented the people. Finally, members of the House of Representatives were elected by the people (at least adult white male property holders) and represented the people (and three-fifths of each slave). With this logic underpinning the new form of government, a new understanding of the word *republic* began to emerge, equating it with a representative form of government.

Together with these changes there also occurred another important shift. Virtue was no longer seen as simply sacrificing your own personal good for the public good. As Americans adjusted to the new republicanism and a new democratic egalitarian competitive society, virtue came to be seen as working hard for your own good. But since everyone was theoretically on the same playing field and competed as equals, out of this competition, as if guided by some unseen hand, the greater good of all in society would somehow be met. This shift was never complete, and Americans still debate how much restraint should be placed on open competition in the market place and in politics.

See also COMMONWEALTHMEN; CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION; CONSTITUTIONS, STATE.

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### resistance movement (1764–1775)

Although some colonists objected to the SUGAR ACT (1764) it was during the STAMP ACT (1765) controversy that a pattern of resistance emerged that was repeated, with some variations, in reaction to the TOWNSHEND DUTIES (1767) and the TEA ACT (1773). This resistance usually consisted of three parts. First, members of the colonial elite wrote pamphlets and newspaper articles articulating an ideological position opposed to imperial regulation, grounding their arguments on their understanding of the English constitution and the ideal of English liberty. Second, there was some effort at local and colonial organization through committees or congresses. Thus in reaction to the Stamp Act, colonists formed the SONS OF LIBERTY to guide opposition

and there was a STAMP ACT CONGRESS (1765) to offer a petition and statement of grievances to the king. Although there were no large intercolonial meetings in response to the Townshend Duties, Sons of Liberty and other committees organized on a local level and corresponded with each other. Local committees took the lead in the opposition to the Tea Act, but after the COERCIVE ACTS (1774), the FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS met to coordinate activities. In all three cases opposition leaders called for a non-importation movement to put economic pressure on Great Britain. Third, there were RIOTS in the street demonstrating against the imperial regulations and expressing some lower-class resentment against wealth. The committees, often recruited from the middle of society, sought to guide and limit the extent of this popular disorder. But without the mob in the street, it would have been impossible to sustain the resistance movement and enforce the resolutions passed by the committees and congresses.

Although from the perspective of July 4, 1776, it appears as if the resistance movement led inevitably to independence, it is important to remember that the process was long (over a decade) and never intended to break the colonies away from Great Britain. Resistance began in the name of English rights and was based on traditions inherited from Great Britain: The arguments in the pamphlets and newspaper articles were all based on a reading of English political thinkers, and the traditions of popular disorder—belief that the people had a right to riot to express their grievances in the street—came from Great Britain. Similarly, the imperial crisis did not escalate with each new measure. Resistance was extremely intense in 1765 and 1766, but was defused by the repeal of the Stamp Act. Colonists had a difficult time speaking with a unified voice in reaction to the Townshend Duties, and opposition never gained the strength it had in 1765–66. The Tea Act itself also did not bring about a strong opposition everywhere. But once Parliament passed the Coercive Acts, many (but not all) colonial Americans felt compelled to resist.

Resistance, however, was not revolution. Few people even in 1774 saw the war on the horizon. Nor did they see the coming of independence and the renouncing of King GEORGE III. It would take the course of events at the BATTLES OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD (April 19, 1775) and another year of conflict before many Americans were ready for the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (July 4, 1776). During that year, colonial Americans became a divided people. Some remained loyal to their king. Others were shocked that his majesty would wage war on them. On August 23, 1775, King George declared his colonies to be in a state of rebellion and authorized the use of force, and even mercenaries, to put down the rebellion. In January 1776, THOMAS PAINE published his *COMMON SENSE* advo-

cating not just independence, but also a whole new social system without a monarchy. In July, the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS declared that the king had sought to destroy American liberty and thereby abrogated the social contract. Only then did independence become an option pursued by many Americans.

See also DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE; LOYALISTS; REPUBLICANISM.

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**Revere, Paul** (1734–1818) *revolutionary, businessman*

Paul Revere was a skilled silversmith and astute businessman who has become a national icon thanks to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's patriotic poem "Paul Revere's Ride" (written in 1860). Revere was the son of a French Huguenot immigrant and Boston silversmith. Paul Revere continued the family business when his father died and he gained a reputation throughout the colonies as a master in his craft. Today, his creations are considered among the most outstanding achievements in American decorative arts.

Revere served as a second lieutenant in a failed campaign against the French fortifications on Lake Champlain at the beginning of the French and Indian War (1754–63). Returning to Boston in late 1756, Revere supplemented his family's income by engraving copper plates and by dentistry. Revere was also very active in the St. Andrew's Lodge of Freemasons (see also FREEMASONRY), along with JAMES OTIS and Dr. JOSEPH WARREN. Besides discussing business issues, members of the Lodge also discussed Enlightenment ideas that would later influence their reactions to events in Boston.

Revere joined the opposition to the STAMP ACT (1765), becoming a member of the SONS OF LIBERTY and the North End Caucus. Revere also began engraving political cartoons for the *Boston Gazette*. After the BOSTON MASSACRE (March 5, 1770), Revere captured the scene in his engraving "The BLOODY MASSACRE perpetrated in King Street," which fueled colonial resentment. While no one knows if Revere participated directly in the BOSTON TEA PARTY (December 16, 1773), the Boston COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE sent him to New York bearing news of the incident. In 1774 Revere became the direct link between the Boston Committee of Correspondence





Paul Revere's ride. Painting (National Archives)

and the FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS in Philadelphia, transmitting information about the resistance in Massachusetts to the COERCIVE ACTS (1774). Revere not only served as a courier, but also gathered intelligence concerning the movement of British soldiers, including the preparations of General THOMAS GAGE in Boston in mid-April 1775. Revere's famous ride took place on the night of April 18 and the morning of April 19, 1775. British officers intercepted Revere and another rider, William Dawes, after Revere had reached Lexington. However, the British officers released Revere, and he returned to Lexington to retrieve JOHN HANCOCK's trunk full of papers and was there when the Battle of Lexington began on April 19, 1775 (see also BATTLES OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD).

During the war, Revere served as lieutenant colonel in the Massachusetts militia, commanding the troops defending Castle Island in Boston Harbor. Revere also opened a powder mill where he cast musket balls and cannon for the CONTINENTAL ARMY. Also Congress commissioned him to design and print the first Continental currency and the first official seal. Revere's chances of advancement in the military ended with accusations of insubordination in the failed PENOBSCOT CAMPAIGN (July 25–August 14, 1779), although a court-martial acquitted Revere of all charges.

Revere returned to Boston and his business interests, which by the end of the war included importation of European goods and a small hardware store. Revere became a successful businessman, and in 1801 opened the first copper rolling mill in the United States. This enterprise expanded rapidly, and Revere provided the copper sheet-

ing for the hull of the USS *CONSTITUTION* and the dome of the Massachusetts State House. Revere turned all his business interests over to his sons and grandsons in 1810 and died in Boston on May 10, 1818.

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—Heather Clemmer

### Revolutionary War (1775–1783)

The Revolutionary War was the military conflict that gained independence for the United States. It began with the BATTLES OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD on April 19, 1775, and lasted until the British evacuated New York City on November 25, 1783. The conflict engulfed all of the British mainland colonies and included battles of regular armies numbering into the thousands as well as partisan local warfare of bands of men less than 100. While Americans today often view the war in cut and dry terms of patriots versus the British, the actual conflict was a civil war that pitted one group of Anglo-Americans against another group of Anglo-Americans. For the people who lived through this long contest, the period was marked by difficulties and ambiguities.

Military historian John Shy suggests that the British strategy can be divided into three phases. At first the British believed that they were involved in a police action where their army was to put down a civil disturbance. When the British left Boston for Lexington and Concord on the night of April 18, 1775, they believed that the colonial rabble could not stand up to trained professional troops. They hoped a strong show of force would throw the colonists into confusion and convince them to obey the law. While this belief was sustained on Lexington Green—the local militia quickly ran before the military might of the British—it did not hold as true at Concord Bridge or during the long retreat back to Boston. A similar belief in the weakness of colonial militia when confronted by professional soldiers lay behind the frontal assault at the BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL (June 17, 1775). Thereafter, the British decided to retrench and engage in a more conventional form of war. They thus withdrew from Boston and sought a strategic base for operations.

In the conventional warfare of the 18th century, according to historian Shy's claims about the second phase of the war, the ideal was to outmaneuver the enemy and minimize casualties. In the 18th century it took time and money to train armies to march under fire, stand a few hundred yards from the enemy and exchange volleys of musketry. When the British invaded New York in the summer

of 1776, they succeeded brilliantly in outmaneuvering General GEORGE WASHINGTON and the CONTINENTAL ARMY. In a series of engagements, Washington was forced to retreat, first from after the BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND (August 27–30), then after the British captured Manhattan, then after the BATTLE OF WHITE PLAINS (October 28, 1778), across the Hudson, and out of New Jersey. The counterpunch that Washington launched at the BATTLES OF TRENTON AND PRINCETON (December 26, 1776, and January 3, 1777) hurt the British and compelled them to withdraw from most of New Jersey but did not change their strategy. The campaign of 1777 was also to be a war of maneuvers. The army under General WILLIAM HOWE may have taken the long route to Philadelphia via the Chesapeake Bay but beat Washington at the BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE (September 11, 1777) and captured Philadelphia. Unfortunately for the British, their larger strategic aims were not clearly defined. General JOHN BURGOTNE advanced south from CANADA throughout the summer of 1777, hoping to link up with Howe coming from New York City. Efforts by General HENRY CLINTON to do so with a smaller force were too little too late. Burgoyne had to surrender his army at SARATOGA (October 17, 1777), changing the complexion of the war.

With the defeat in Saratoga, and with France entering the war on the side of the United States, Great Britain had to rethink its position. This reassessment began a third phase of British strategy during the war, one that Shy calls pacification. The idea was for the British army to occupy an area of the southern colonies, solidify support with LOYALISTS, secure the southern colonies, and eventually work its way up to Virginia and the northern colonies. Simultaneously, the army would hold onto strategic bases like New York and Newport. The British evacuated Philadelphia and centered an army on New York. At the end of 1778, the British captured Savannah (see also BATTLE OF SAVANNAH). On May 12, 1780, they captured a large Continental force at Charleston and began to move into the backcountry, but they overextended themselves (see also SIEGE OF CHARLESTON). Although many Loyalists flocked to their cause, they had trouble controlling territory. Moreover, the British suffered serious setbacks at the BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN (October 6, 1780), where a large Loyalist force was wiped out, and at the BATTLE OF COWPENS (January 17, 1781), where Colonel BANASTRE TARLETON was lucky to escape with his life and a handful of soldiers. The commander of the southern army, CHARLES, LORD CORNWALLIS, abandoned his supply lines and the strategy of pacification and, seeking to punish the revolutionaries for these defeats, pursued General NATHANIEL GREENE's troops through North Carolina. A pyrrhic victory at the BATTLE OF GUILFORD COURTHOUSE (March 15, 1781) left Cornwallis in no better position than he had been when

he entered North Carolina. Eventually, he made his way into Virginia, hoping to join British forces there and to connect with Clinton in New York. Unfortunately for the British, he found himself isolated at YORKTOWN and compelled to surrender to a Franco-American army on October 19, 1781. The war continued for two more years, but few major battles were fought.

Although much of the revolutionary-American strategy was reactive, it had four major components. First, there was an effort to drive the British off of the North American continent. Thus the troops that surrounded Boston in the spring and summer of 1775 hoped to see the British abandon the city and the colonies. In this they were partially successful. The British left Boston but went to Halifax, Nova Scotia, from which they launched a massive invasion of New York. Likewise, revolutionaries attacked Canada, capturing Montreal on November 13, 1775. The invasion, however, faltered after the failed assault in the BATTLE OF QUEBEC (December 31, 1775) during a snowstorm. In early spring, the remnants of the revolutionary forces retreated back to New York.

After the effort to expel the British from the continent failed, the United States settled down to create a Continental army. The image of the embattled farmer defending his country against the British does not quite fit the reality of the Continental army. What General George Washington wanted was a professional army just like the army that the British had. Washington's genius was less on the battlefield—he lost most of the battles he fought—than in building and maintaining an army. Enlistments lengthened as the war continued, and mainly the poor filled its ranks. But the Continental army gave the new nation a focus, and it provided a reason for the existence of a national government. As long as there was a Continental army, there was a United States. By the time the British surrendered at Yorktown, the army had a professional officer corps and well-trained men in the ranks.

The third major component to American strategy was to find allies. Colonial Americans had fought repeated wars against the French. They now sought support from their former enemies. Almost as soon as the rebellion began, France sent some aid to the colonists hoping to weaken its long-time nemesis, Great Britain. The French, however, delayed entry into the war until 1778, after the victory of Saratoga and after they had finished preparing their fleet for action. This alliance was crucial to the success of the Revolution. Without a French fleet off the Virginia capes, Cornwallis would have escaped the trap of Yorktown. Moreover, half the troops surrounding Cornwallis at Yorktown were French. The French supplied money, weapons, and uniforms throughout the war. Privateers (see also PRIVATEERING) and warships from the United States used French ports as bases. And the French

extended the conflict to the WEST INDIES and beyond. The French also helped to bring in other nations into the war—not in formal alliance with the United States—such as Spain and the Netherlands.

The fourth component of the revolutionary strategy involved the militia. These volunteer units were notoriously unreliable in battle. When confronted by the bright red uniforms of the British, and the steel of their bayonets, the militia usually ran, exposing the flank of the Continental regulars. But the militia helped to win the war. At crucial times during the conflict, the militia filled the ranks of the army. Many of the men at Saratoga were militia. Similarly, in the guerilla warfare that spread in the wake of the British invasion of the South, the militia played an important role. But perhaps the most significant contribution of the militia was local. Organized by committees of safety, in community after community, the militia were the means by which individuals were compelled to join the cause of independence. There was no better litmus test to measure the loyalty of an individual than to see if he showed up at the militia muster. If he did not come to the monthly drill, local leaders labeled him a Tory and declared him in opposition to Congress. Fines were then levied, and sometimes nonmilitia members were imprisoned and their property confiscated. This type of coercion helped to solidify support and raise money to fight the conflict. There were also some Loyalist militias. But by definition, the Tories relied on the regular functioning government. During the revolution, that government broke down. In its place came the WHIG committees and (patriot) militia.

The Revolutionary War was often a messy conflict. Armies marched across whole colonies, and, regardless of allegiances, property might be seized by hungry soldiers. There were also zones between the camps of the opposing armies where no law seemed to be in force. Similarly, the war saw neighbors fighting against each other and families divided. Local battles might be fought between contending groups of militias. Even if there were no invading armies or battles fought nearby, there was a constant drain of supplies and manpower. Continental currency was highly inflationary, and TRADE was often disrupted. While some men joined the war for ideological reasons—either supporting independence or opposing it—others were mainly concerned with the recruitment bounty. Men switched sides during the conflict. They also deserted, leaving the army to return to their farms or civilian occupations. They would also desert to sign aboard a privateer—either for the United States or Great Britain—hoping to make money in legalized piracy. While some men struck it rich, most were less fortunate. More than 10,000 sailors were captured at sea and imprisoned by the British. In this long drawn-out conflict, high-sounding ideas sometimes evaporated in the face of harsh realities.

The war took its toll among women as well as men. Often left behind when the men went off to war, women had to expand their already extensive household duties to run farms and businesses. Some women joined the army as CAMP FOLLOWERS. It was their job to nurse the wounded, cook the food, and wash the clothes. Both the British and Continental armies included such women in their regimental account books. Whatever their sacrifices during the conflict, the men who created the new governments in the United States continued to exclude women from the political process.

See also FRENCH ALLIANCE; WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

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### Rhode Island, Battle of (August 29, 1778)

The Battle of Rhode Island was the culmination of the first major effort of Franco-American cooperation after the FRENCH ALLIANCE (February 6, 1778) had been agreed upon. Despite a promising beginning, a combination of bad luck and misunderstandings almost led to disaster. As it was, the American revolutionary army that was left to attack the British at Newport by itself managed a tactical victory but was ultimately forced to lift the siege and withdraw.

The British had occupied Aquidneck Island (the large island in Narragansett Bay sometimes called Rhode Island) almost unopposed on December 7, 1776. Newport, which was on the island, was used as a base of operations against New England and afforded one of the best harbors on the continent for the British navy. Until they withdrew from Newport on October 25, 1779, the British maintained a garrison of about 5,000 on the island. For most of this period, the occupation was marked by raid and counter-raid between the revolutionary forces on the mainland and the British on the island. But in the summer of 1778, when campaigns on the Delaware and in New York Harbor appeared unviable, a major Franco-American effort to dislodge the British was launched.



The plan was for the CHARLES-HENRI-VICTOR-THÉODAT, COMTE D'ESTAING to land the French troops he brought with him and, with his naval superiority, act in concert with a large contingent of the CONTINENTAL ARMY and New England militia to capture Newport. When the French arrived off Newport on July 29, the revolutionaries were not quite ready. After some discussion, General JOHN SULLIVAN of the Continental army and d'Estaing agreed to a coordinated attack on August 10. But when General John Pigot, the British commander, withdrew from his advanced positions on the northern end of the island, Sullivan decided to move without the French. From a tactical standpoint he had little choice. From a diplomatic point of view, this action injured Gallic pride since the French believed that they were the senior allies and ought to have precedence in any attack. The question became moot, however, when a British fleet arrived from New York on August 9. D'Estaing immediately put out to sea. The two fleets maneuvered for position, but before the battle could be closed a hurricane came up, scattering the ships of both nations. By August 14 the storm had ended. Both fleets were in need of repair. The British returned to New York. D'Estaing, following the advice of his captains, decided to sail to Boston to refit. The French headed for Boston on August 22, leaving Sullivan to face the British alone. To make matters worse, thousands of militia had had enough of the campaign and went home.

Sullivan, enraged by the French withdrawal, had to lift the siege of Newport. He dug in with the remaining 7,000 troops on the northern end of Aquidneck Island. Pigot, sensing an advantage, decided to attack. An intense battle ensued in which Sullivan's men repeatedly smashed the British advances. By the end of the day, the revolutionaries had held their ground, with losses of 30 killed, 137 wounded, and 44 missing to the British losses of 38 killed, 210 wounded, and 44 missing. Both sides were too exhausted to continue the fight. Sullivan, recognizing that he was in danger of being cut off from the mainland by the British navy, successfully removed his troops from the island on the night of August 30. Two days later, 5,000 British reinforcements arrived. Had Pigot waited to attack, this addition may well have crushed Sullivan.

See also REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

### Riedesel, Frederica Charlotte, baroness von

(1746–1807) *wife of German mercenary officer*

The daughter of a Prussian general, Frederica Charlotte, baroness von Riedesel was married to General Baron Friederich von Riedesel, who commanded the Brunswick contingent of the so-called HESSIAN or German troops used by the British to fight the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83). After waiting in Germany for the birth of a child she was



Frederica Riedesel (National Archives)

expecting, and then experiencing further delays in transit in England, the baroness traveled to CANADA in 1777 with three young children to be with her husband as he campaigned in North America. The baroness was with her husband during the fighting that led up to General JOHN BURGOYNE's surrender at SARATOGA (October 17, 1777). She also was with him throughout his captivity, first at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and then at Charlottesville, Virginia. When he was paroled and then exchanged, she traveled with General von Riedesel to New York and Canada, leaving North America in August 1783. During her sojourn the baroness gave birth to two children, one named "America" and another who was generally called by one of her middle names—"Canada."

The baroness is most noted for her detailed diary of her experiences in North America. The diary provides a wonderful insight into the experiences of traveling with an 18th-century army and offers graphic detail of the suffering and dying of the wounded in the aftermath of battle. The baroness first published her memoir in Berlin in 1800, and it has since been published many times.

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## riots

Riots were an important part of American life in the second half of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. Colonial Americans resisted imperial regulation, expressed deep-felt grievances, and sought to regulate their community through rioting. By the opening decades of the 19th century, riots increasingly represented divisions within the community. Thus, rioting shifted from an almost legitimate activity to an increasingly illegitimate activity from 1761 to 1812.

A riot is a form of collective action taken by 12 or more individuals to effect their will immediately through the use of force, or the threat of the use of force, outside the normal channels of the legal process. A wide variety of types of crowd behavior can be included within this definition of rioting. Parading with an effigy, as was done during many STAMP ACT (1765) disturbances in an effort to threaten and coerce an individual, would be considered a riot. Similarly, the destruction of property, as in the attack on THOMAS HUTCHINSON's house on August 26, 1765, or in the BOSTON TEA PARTY (December 16, 1773), would also be a riot. So, too, would be an attack on an individual or a group of individuals, as occurred in Baltimore in the summer of 1812.

During the 18th century, many colonial and revolutionary Americans believed that they had a legitimate right to riot when official channels of redress of grievances were closed to them or did not respond to their needs. This sense of legitimacy was directly connected to a belief in CORPORATISM—the idea that everyone within society shared a single interest. Ordinarily it was assumed that within the hierarchical structure of society those on top would paternalistically protect those on the bottom of society. When for some reason this protection did not appear, then the people in the street believed that they had a right, almost a duty, to act in concert to defend the common interest. The crowd would seldom violently attack an individual. Instead it focused its attention on property. The classic case of this type of rioting in England, from where these principles were inherited, concerned the regulation of the price of bread. It was a common belief that there was a just price—one that was fair to both the baker and the purchaser—for bread. If prices rose too high, then the people could riot and compel the distribution or sale of the bread for a just price. This type of riot occurred infrequently in colonial America. However, during the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), when goods sometimes became scarce and inflation forced the price of staples beyond the reach of the poor, scores of such riots erupted.

Rioting was instrumental to the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75). Colonial Americans demonstrated their opposition to the Stamp Act by rioting. Usually these disturbances, raised in the spirit of defending the community against outside intrusion, focused on an object that symbolized the immediate grievance. Thus anti-Stamp Act riots used effigies to intimidate stamp distributors into resigning. When Bostonians wanted to express their opposition to the Tea Act, they destroyed the tea by dumping it into the harbor. Colonial Americans also developed some more painful tactics. Applying a coat of tar and feathers to an individual, begun in Massachusetts seaports in 1767, could inflict some personal harm. But its main intent was to hold the victim up to public ridicule, making him appear more an effigy of the devil than a real person. No one was ever killed by tar and feathers alone.

Other riots broke out in the same period, most of them fitting into the 18th-century pattern of disorder. Opposition to smallpox inoculation in Norfolk (1768 and 1769) and Marblehead (1774) led to disturbances centered on the destruction of property. In Marblehead the crowd broke some windows, burned a boat that transported the inoculated, and pulled down the hospital. Pulling down buildings was a favorite tactic of colonial crowds and occurred frequently in the many LAND RIOTS that took place in what is now Vermont, on Hudson River estates, and in New Jersey and the Carolinas. These land riots, however, could sometimes turn more violent because they often pitted one segment of the community against another. Fatalities occurred in the WYOMING VALLEY WAR of Pennsylvania and the Regulator movements of the Carolinas.

Rioting shaded into outright warfare between supporters and opponents of independence during the Revolutionary War. But the community based riot focused on property persisted in the post war years. New York City residents, for example, demonstrated their anger against grave robbing by destroying a hospital in the Doctor's Riot (April 13–14, 1788) and tore down some bawdy houses in 1793 and 1799. The Shays rebels in 1786–87 limited most of their activity to closing courts and followed patterns of collective action established during the resistance movement. They quickly dispersed once confronted by armed troops representing the state. The Whiskey rebels in 1794 generally confined themselves to tarring and feathering excise men, although they did engage in one gun battle. They, too, disbanded in the face of government opposition.

While similar disturbances continued to appear after 1800, rioting also began to change. In the democratic world created by the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, many argued that it was no longer necessary for people to riot since they had a truly representative government and official channels for a redress of grievances. Moreover, with the rise of equality, people were cut off from a sense of dependence upon one



another and began to associate more on political, racial, class, and ethnic lines. Along these fissures in society the potential for personal physical violence grew. In the summer of 1812, as the United States entered a war with Great Britain, a wave of rioting swept over Baltimore that demonstrated this transition. In a riot reminiscent of the 18th century, Baltimore DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS dismantled a FEDERALIST PARTY newspaper office on June 22. The action represented a standard attack on property like the pulling down of a house. Other riots followed that featured ethnic and racial attacks. Finally, on July 27–28, when some members of the Federalist Party strove to reestablish the newspaper in the city, a bloody conflict ensued that saw the murder of two men and the brutal beating of several more. After 1812 riots increasingly included personal physical violence and fatalities.

See also SHAYS'S REBELLION; WHISKEY REBELLION.

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**Rittenhouse, David** (1732–1796) *scientist, inventor, publisher*

Other than BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, David Rittenhouse was the most prominent North American scientist in the 18th century. Rittenhouse had little formal EDUCATION, growing up on a farm in rural Pennsylvania. But he had a natural penchant for mechanics and mathematics, and at an early age he began studying on his own and developing skills as an instrument maker. By the time he was 19, he had constructed a shop on his father's farm and made clocks and mathematical instruments. Starting in the 1750s, Rittenhouse's astronomical and surveying instruments became known as the best available in North America. Rittenhouse constantly strove to improve the mechanics of these instruments and thus became an inventor as well as a highly skilled ARTISAN. Rittenhouse also put his technical knowledge to use. He was frequently employed as a surveyor. He was hired to fix the southwest boundary of Pennsylvania, and in the 1770s and 1780s he surveyed the boundaries of several states, including New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. Rittenhouse also built his own observatory and helped to coordinate the North American observations of the transit of Venus in 1769. He built two orreries—working models of the solar system—one for the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and the other for the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania).

He was granted several honorary degrees and published papers on mathematics and astronomy. He also taught at the University of Pennsylvania and served on its Board of Trustees. Active in the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY (APS) when Franklin died, Rittenhouse was named the second president of the APS in 1791. His fame as an astronomer and mathematician spread across the Atlantic, and he was appointed as a foreign member of the Royal Society in London in 1795.

Rittenhouse supported the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. He had moved to Philadelphia in 1770, where he served as an engineer for Philadelphia's Committee of Safety in 1775 and was later selected the committee's vice president and president. He was also elected to the general assembly and participated in the writing of Pennsylvania's state constitution in 1776 (see also CONSTITUTIONS, STATE). He was state treasurer from 1779 to 1787. During the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) he helped to organize munitions in Philadelphia, even to the point of supervising the exchange of iron for lead in the city's clocks, since the lead was needed for bullets. In 1792 GEORGE WASHINGTON appointed him director of the United States Mint.

See also SCIENCE.

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**Rochambeau, Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur, comte de** (1725–1817) *soldier*

Comte de Rochambeau was the commander of the French army in North America during the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83). Born into the French nobility at Vendôme, France, he had already established a successful military career when the fighting in North America broke out, reaching the rank of brigadier general and inspector of the cavalry in 1761. In 1780 he was assigned the command of French land forces in the United States. Rochambeau and his troops arrived in Newport, Rhode Island, in July 1780, where the British navy bottled them up for nearly a year while Rochambeau waited in vain for French naval support. In June 1781, without naval support, he combined his troops with those of General GEORGE WASHINGTON at White Plains, New York, and slipped past the British and headed south to YORKTOWN. At Yorktown, the French and Continental armies, with support from the French navy under admiral the COMTE DE GRASSE, trapped CHARLES, LORD CORNWALLIS and a British army on a peninsula. Cornwallis surrendered on October 19, 1781, effectively ending the war.

Rochambeau stayed in the United States for more than another year, sailing home in January 1783. King Louis XVI rewarded him handsomely for his efforts in North America by appointing him to the position of commander of Calais.

Back in France, Rochambeau supported the FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789–99) from the outset. He was a successful commander of revolutionary forces—he commanded the northern army and was made a field marshal in 1791. In time though, he became alarmed at the direction of the Revolution and retired from his post in July 1792. He was arrested by the government of Maximilian Robespierre during the Reign of Terror, and only Robespierre's fall from power saved him from the guillotine. He was released from prison in 1794 and had his rank and lands restored by NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

See also FRENCH ALLIANCE.

**Further reading:** Arnold Whitridge, *Rochambeau* (New York: Macmillan, 1965).

—J. Brett Adams

**Rodney, Caesar** (1728–1784) *lawyer, politician*

Inheriting a substantial estate in Delaware freed Caesar Rodney to devote his life to public service. Although he had little formal EDUCATION, Rodney held a variety of local offices such as sheriff and clerk to different courts. In 1769 he was even appointed to the Delaware Supreme Court. Rodney also served in Delaware's colonial assembly in 1758 and then in every year but one from 1761 until independence. He was chosen speaker of the Delaware Assembly in 1769 and from 1773 to 1776. More importantly, Rodney became a leader in the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75) to British imperial regulation in Delaware, attending the STAMP ACT CONGRESS (1765). As speaker of the Delaware Assembly in 1774, Rodney called a special session of the legislature—an illegal act—that met as a convention and chose delegates to the FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. Rodney was one of those delegates and was selected again to attend the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. Upon meeting Rodney, JOHN ADAMS wrote that he was “the oddest looking Man in the World; he is tall, thin and slender as a Reed, pale; his Face is not bigger than a large Apple, Yet there is Sense and Fire, Spirit, Wit, and Humour in his Countenance.”

Rodney is most famous for traveling 80 miles to vote for independence in Congress. The Delaware delegation was divided with George Read ready to vote against independence and Thomas McKean ready to vote for it. McKean sent word to Rodney, who was in Delaware quelling LOYALIST opposition to the revolutionary government. Rodney dropped everything on July 1 and rode through the night to cast the deciding vote for Delaware's delegation to support independence. All three Delaware representatives, however, signed the final document.

Most of Rodney's efforts in the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) centered on his home state. Although conser-

vative opposition prevented his election to Delaware's state constitutional convention (see also CONSTITUTIONS, STATE), and prevented his reelection to the Continental Congress in 1776, Rodney remained active in local committees and as an officer in the state militia. Rodney was not politically unpopular for long; he became a major general in command of the militia in September 1777, was returned to the Continental Congress in December 1777, and was elected president (chef executive) of Delaware in March 1778. He served as president for three crucial years, organizing the state's defenses, mobilizing support for the Revolution, dealing with neutrals and Loyalists, and providing supplies for the army. He stepped down from office in November 1781. By this time, he was struggling with a cancer on his face that had grown worse with time and eventually killed him in 1784. Rodney died having left no children, and his heir was his nephew, CAESAR AUGUSTUS RODNEY.

**Rodney, Caesar Augustus** (1772–1824) *lawyer, politician, senator*

The nephew and principal heir of CAESAR RODNEY, Caesar Augustus Rodney was born in Delaware but spent part of his youth in Pennsylvania. He attended the University of Pennsylvania, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in both states in 1793. Rodney settled in Delaware and became a leader of the state DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PARTY. From 1796 to 1802 Rodney sat in the Delaware legislature. President THOMAS JEFFERSON urged Rodney to run for Congress in 1802 against James A. Bayard. Rodney won the seat and became an important supporter of the administration in the House of Representatives, helping to manage the IMPEACHMENT of John Pickering and SAMUEL CHASE.

Rodney left Congress after 1804, preferring to pursue his lucrative legal practice. Although Rodney represented some affluent clients, he was also the lead attorney in the defense of the Philadelphia cordwainers in the 1806 conspiracy labor trials in which he declared that convicting the shoemakers would be refuting the achievement of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. He also appealed to a sense of social justice and the egalitarian ideals of the Revolution in the case. Rodney called the master shoemakers greedy because they were unsatisfied “with the rapid rate at which they were at present amassing wealth” and wished “to make their fortunes by a single turn of the wheel.” In 1807 Rodney became Jefferson's attorney general, a position he continued to hold under JAMES MADISON until 1812, when he resigned.

Elected to the state senate in 1815, Rodney was appointed in 1817 to a commission to study the political status of the new Latin American republics. Rodney returned

from Buenos Aires in 1818, and he was elected to Congress in 1820. In 1822 the Delaware legislature selected Rodney as a U.S. senator. Rodney's career in the Senate was short-lived when he accepted the appointment as the first U.S. minister to Argentina in 1823. Unfortunately, Rodney died soon after his arrival in Buenos Aires.

**Ross, Betsy** (1752–1836) *artisan*

A seamstress in Philadelphia during the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), Elizabeth “Betsy” Ross is the reputed creator of the first national flag of the United States. Born into a QUAKER family as Elizabeth Griscom, Ross was the eighth child of 16. Apprenticed to a leading upholstery firm, Betsy was 21 when she married John Ross, an Episcopalian (see also ANGLICAN CHURCH). Because she had married outside her faith, the Society of Friends disowned Ross. The Rosses set up their own upholstery shop on Arch Street, but John died in a munitions explosion in 1776. Undaunted, Ross kept the business going, applying her skill with a needle and thread to diverse projects. Records indicate she made flags for various naval vessels, and according to family tradition, she embroidered ruffles on shirts belonging to General GEORGE WASHINGTON.

It was not until 1870 that word of her most famous commission came to light. At a meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, William Canby, one of Ross's grandsons, told of a meeting at her shop in June 1776 in which Washington and two members of the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, ROBERT MORRIS and Colonel George Ross, her late husband's uncle, asked the seamstress to make the first flag for the United States. Ross recommended alterations to Washington's proposed design, and the finished banner incorporated her suggestion of five-pointed stars rather than those with six in the general's sketch. The public embraced Canby's story, its purported authenticity bolstered by the facts of Ross's occasional employment as a flag maker and her acquaintance with Washington. Though no conclusive evidence has yet proven the validity of Ross's claim to fame, the Arch Street shop nevertheless stands as a shrine to the birthplace of the U.S. flag. Still maintaining her upholstery business, Ross married John Ashburn in 1777 and had two children. Ashburn was captured by the British, however, and died in Old Mill Prison in 1782. A year later, Betsy took her third husband, John Claypoole, who had shared a prison cell with Ashburn. The Claypooles had five daughters. Betsy was widowed again in 1817. She lived in Philadelphia until her death and is buried in Mt. Moriah Cemetery.

**Further reading:** Grace Humphrey, *Women in American History* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1919).

—Rita M. Broyles

**Rowson, Susanna Haswell** (1762–1824) *novelist, poet, playwright*

Most noted as the author of the best-selling *Charlotte, a Tale of Truth* (1791), Susanna Rowson wrote novels, poetry, and plays, as well as performed on stage. In later life she operated a school for young females.

Although born in England, she spent much of her youth in Massachusetts. When the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) broke out, she had to return to England because her father was a British officer. She remained in Great Britain until 1793, when she moved to the United States. By that time she was married and had become an author and actress. Her sentimental novel about Charlotte Temple, a woman seduced and abandoned by a British officer, was hugely successful in the United States. It sold more copies than any other book for decades to come. Rowson's book was a morality tale that appealed to popular sensibilities, demonstrating how a British officer could deceive even a virtuous young woman. Rowson and her husband had turned to the stage in 1792 to earn a living, and they were recruited to go the United States and perform. Once in the United States, Rowson not only appeared in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, and Annapolis, but she also wrote plays. She capitalized on interest with the BARBARY WARS in 1795 by writing *Slaves in Algiers*, and she composed poetry verses with patriotic themes, which were recited in THEATERS. In 1797 she decided to leave the stage to set up a school for young ladies in the Boston area. She remained an educator for the rest of her life. She kept her pen active by writing textbooks as well as poetry, songs, essays, and additional novels.

See also EDUCATION.

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**rural life**

Most Americans before 1812 lived in rural settings and worked on farms. While historical events sometimes intruded on this world and there were geographical differences, we can make some generalizations about the agrarian experience.

Life in the countryside was dictated by the seasons. This observation is logical when applied to the arena of work: For most of North America sowing and harvesting follow a set rhythm come spring, summer, and autumn. But it also holds for other aspects of the agrarian world. Marriages usually occurred in March and April, as farmers prepared for the new growing year, or in November and December after harvest and before the darkest winter. Similarly, babies were born most frequently in late win-

ter and early spring, indicating that conception often took place in late spring and early summer. Death and disease could strike at any time, but most deaths occurred in the winter when not only was the weather colder but also nutrition poorer with less work (thus less income) and fresh food (see also DISEASE AND EPIDEMICS).

People in the countryside lived in family units. Men married in their mid-20s, women a few years younger. Within a year of the wedding, a couple would likely have their first child, and then average another pregnancy every two years. Few families did not experience serious illness and the death of some children. However large their family grew, housing was limited. Only the very wealthy could afford homes with several rooms. Instead, the landscape was littered with “indifferent,” “poor and old,” and “small and mean” dwellings of one or two rooms. Privacy hardly existed, as space served multiple purposes. In small houses there were no separate bedrooms, living rooms, or kitchens. Often all members of a family shared sleeping quarters. Chamber pots and nearby privies served their “necessary” function. Both the exteriors and the interiors were messy. One English traveler in 1818 wrote that there was “a sort of out-of-doors slovenliness. . . . You see bits of wood, timber, boards, chips, lying about, here and there, and pigs tramping about in a sort of confusion.” Inside there was not much furniture—beds, a table, and a few chairs—and little in the way of decoration. At night the open fireplace and a candle or two might serve for illumination. In the summertime there was no escape from the heat, and in winter limited comfort from the cold in the fireplace or stove. Dirt was everywhere.

While these generalizations about rural life hold throughout the period and for most European Americans, there were some important variations. Many farm families suffered during war. Those who lived closest to the FRONTIER could experience depredations from NATIVE AMERICANS, but it is also important to remember that Indian warfare was not a constant and that European Americans and Native Americans frequently learned to deal with one another on a daily basis. The REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) had extensive and prolonged impact on people in the countryside. Both British and revolutionary military demands for manpower drained labor, leaving women to run the farm and labor in the fields (ordinarily white women worked mainly in the barnyard and household). Since the war sooner or later reached almost every community directly, with raiding militia units or marching armies, farms might suffer destruction, looting, or attacks on individuals, including rape. The QUASI-WAR (1798–1800) had little effect on rural life, and the War of 1812 (1812–15) was not as much of a drain on manpower as the Revolutionary War and had a more limited geographical impact.

Regionally, the biggest difference was between the North and the South. The northern states had never relied heavily on SLAVERY for labor, although some slaves had worked on farms. The emancipation of slaves therefore made little difference on the agrarian scene, except that many rural AFRICAN AMERICANS left the countryside for the city once they were freed. The southern states remained committed to slavery, though only a large minority of southerners owned slaves. Many people in the South farmed and lived in the same manner as those in the North. But the presence of slavery in the region provided a whole other standard of living that was lower than the white farmstead—the slave quarter. It also offered examples of affluence to aspire to—the plantation house.

The family farm was never entirely self-sufficient and had always participated in the market to some extent. During the revolutionary and early national periods profit became even more important. With this development there was also a growing consumerism, first in the Northeast and then spreading south and west. With increased income from surplus production, people began to replace wooden bowls with porcelain plates, purchase more furniture, and decorate their homes. By 1812 rural Americans had started to notice the dirt and buy brooms.

See also AGRICULTURE; POPULAR CULTURE; POPULATION TRENDS.

**Further reading:** Allan Kulikoff, *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Jack Larkin, *The Shaping of Everyday Life, 1789–1840* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

**Rush, Benjamin** (1746–1813) *scientist, physician, social reformer, signer of the Declaration of Independence*

Benjamin Rush exemplified the ideals of the Enlightenment and earned his well-deserved place in history due to his contributions to both SCIENCE and the founding of the United States of America.

Rush was born in Byberry, Pennsylvania, on January 4, 1746, to John and Susanna Rush, and he died in Philadelphia on April 19, 1813. Rush's early EDUCATION and devout religious views grew together, first in a private school and then at Princeton, where he graduated in 1760. Following a six-year medical apprenticeship and formal education in MEDICINE and chemistry, Rush enrolled in the medical program at the University of Edinburgh. After completing his education at Edinburgh in 1768, Rush investigated the use of chemical reactions in factories in England. Upon his return to North America in 1769, Rush was appointed professor of chemistry at the College of Philadelphia. In 1770, he published *Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on*





Benjamin Rush (Library of Congress)

*Chemistry*, a slim volume of lectures on chemistry presented in a medical context.

Throughout Rush's career he taught more than 3,000 students in chemistry and medicine, instilling in them a methodology of clinical interpretation of disease. (See also *DISEASE AND EPIDEMICS*.) Rush's belief that all disease stemmed from one cause, which could be cured by debilitating methods such as bloodletting and purging, while not unusual in his time, has led to excessive condemnation by historians. During the yellow fever outbreak in Philadelphia in 1793, Rush's cures were feared by some more than the disease itself.

Rush served as surgeon and physician general of the Middle Department of the CONTINENTAL ARMY during the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) but resigned in 1778, believing that his superior, William Shippen, mismanaged military hospitals. Shippen, however, was supported by General GEORGE WASHINGTON, and this eventually led to Rush's questioning Washington's judgment on many things, including military matters. Rush later regretted his criticism of Washington.

In addition to his work in chemistry and medicine, Rush was considered the father of psychiatry in the United States. His belief in the connection between the body and the mind led to an unorthodox approach to treating the insane. His lectures and discussions on the operation of the mind, along with his practical experience, culminated in 1812 in his book *Medical Inquiries and Observations Upon the Diseases of the Mind*.

Aside from his medical influence, Rush's political influence in a turbulent era is equally impressive. In 1776 Rush was a member of the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS and a signer of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (July 4, 1776). He supported greater education for women, helped found Dickinson College, and served as a trustee for that institution. Rush also differed from many politicians of his day in his outspoken opposition to SLAVERY and capital punishment. He also called for both penal and educational reform, the latter in the form of a network of colleges, eventually leading to a national university. President JOHN ADAMS appointed him to the duties of the treasurer of the United States Mint, a post he held until his death.

See also PRISONS.

**Further reading:** N. G. Goodman, *Benjamin Rush: Physician and Citizen, 1746–1813* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934); David Freeman Hawke, *Benjamin Rush: Revolutionary Gadfly* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1972).

—Susan Jorgenson





**Sacagawea** (1790?–1812?) *interpreter for the Lewis and Clark Expedition*

Popular mythology holds that Sacagawea, a young Shoshone woman married to Toussaint Charbonneau, not only saved the LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION (1803–06) by obtaining horses from her Shoshone relatives but also acted as a chief guide. However, while Sacagawea accompanied the “Corps of Discovery” under MERIWETHER LEWIS and WILLIAM CLARK from the bend of the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean and back, her role was more limited than legend would have it.

Historians have few hard facts about Sacagawea. We do know that she was a Shoshone born around 1790 somewhere near the source of the Missouri River. At a young age, Hidatsa warriors captured and enslaved her, teaching her their language. Toussaint Charbonneau, a trader of French descent, probably bought Sacagawea as a wife, and in February 1805 she gave birth to Jean Baptiste Charbonneau in a Mandan village. Lewis and Clark wintered in the same village in 1804–05 and thought that the Charbonneaus might help them as translators because Toussaint Charbonneau spoke Hidatsa and French, and Sacagawea was fluent in Shoshone and Hidatsa. In April 1805 the couple and their newborn baby joined the Corps of Discovery as it traveled up the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. After Lewis and Clark met the Shoshone in the foothills of the Rockies, Sacagawea, whose brother was in the band of Shoshone, interpreted the Shoshone speeches into Hidatsa, her husband translated the Hidatsa into French, and a French-speaking member of the expedition delivered them in English to Lewis or Clark. Out of these negotiations Lewis and Clark obtained horses to carry them over the mountains.

Sacagawea did not guide the expedition through the Rockies, but she continued to aid the expedition whenever they ran into Shoshone speakers. Her presence with an infant child, too, was important since it helped to convince many NATIVE AMERICANS that the expedition was not a

war party. When the couple returned to St. Louis, Captain Clark offered their son an EDUCATION, and the Charbonneaus agreed. They later had a daughter named Lizette. The most reliable sources indicate that Sacagawea died from fever in 1812, but there are some reports claiming she lived on the Wind River Reservation until 1884.

**Further reading:** Ella E. Clark and Margot Edmonds Clark, *Sacagawea of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); James P. Ronda, *Lewis and Clark among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

**St. Clair, Arthur** (1736–1818) *U.S. army officer*

Arthur St. Clair was an able but not always successful officer in the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) who became the first governor of the Northwest Territory. St. Clair was born in Scotland and joined the British army to fight in CANADA during the French and Indian War (1754–63). He married into the wealthy Boston family of Governor James Bowdoin in 1760. Two years later, he resigned his commission as a lieutenant in the British army and bought a large estate of 4,000 acres in western Pennsylvania. Governor John Penn made him the official agent of the colonial administration on the FRONTIER, where he became embroiled in a boundary dispute with Virginian officials who claimed the forks of Ohio (Fort Pitt) for their colony.

Soon after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS appointed him colonel. He personally raised the best regiment in Pennsylvania in only six weeks. “Be the sacrifice ever so great,” he wrote to a friend, “it must be yielded upon the altar of patriotism.” His troops arrived in Canada in 1776, just in time to cover the retreat of the revolutionary army. In the winter of 1776–77, Congress appointed him brigadier general and he participated in the BATTLES OF TRENTON AND PRINCETON (December 26, 1776, and January 3, 1777). In the

spring of 1777, now promoted to major general, Congress ordered him to defend FORT TICONDEROGA to prevent any British invasions from the north. When a superior British force marched on Fort Ticonderoga, St. Clair's decision to evacuate the fort created an uproar since public opinion thought the fortress impregnable. A court-martial under Benjamin Lincoln exonerated St. Clair, but he was never given an independent command again during the Revolutionary War. He worked as aide-de-camp to GEORGE WASHINGTON at the BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE (September 11, 1777), organized exchanges of PRISONERS OF WAR, and recruited soldiers in Pennsylvania.

After the war, he became Pennsylvania's delegate to the Continental Congress from 1785 to 1787. In his last year of office Congress elected him its president and governor of the Northwest Territory. As governor he defended the treaties made in 1784 and 1785 that had deprived the tribes of most of their land. Native-American leaders complained that military compulsion and fraud had coerced them to sign the treaties. In the Fort Harmar Council in 1789, St. Clair sought to play the different tribes against each other but this manipulation backfired and led to war. Native Americans surprised and defeated the larger U.S. army under the personal command of St. Clair in 1791. Again, a congressional committee and George Washington exonerated St. Clair of any guilt for this humiliating defeat, but his political career began to stall.

St. Clair also had a tumultuous career as governor trying to control the settlement of European Americans in the Northwest Territory. As a member of the FEDERALIST PARTY, St. Clair wanted a systematic development instead of the helter-skelter pattern of frontiersmen scrambling to establish themselves on land north of the Ohio River. Not only did St. Clair hope that a more regular progression onto the frontier would limit conflict with the Indians, but it would also establish a moral and well-ordered community modeled after the "eastern states" (New England). In such a world, traditional notions of hierarchy could be maintained. Unfortunately for St. Clair, his vision of the frontier did not reflect the democratic reality of the clamoring free-for-all of squatters, speculators, and conflicting land claims in the region. As a part of St. Clair's effort to restrain the swelling mass of migrants into the Northwest in the 1790s and early 1800s, he sought to prevent the creation of new territories and states. When St. Clair opposed the formation of the new state of Ohio, President THOMAS JEFFERSON removed him from office in 1802. St. Clair died impoverished in 1818.

**Further reading:** Andrew R. L. Cayton, *The Frontier Republic: Ideology and Politics in the Ohio Country, 1780–1825* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1986); Frazer E. Wilson, *Arthur St. Clair, Rugged Ruler of the*

*Old Northwest: An Epic of the American Frontier* (1944; reprint, Greenville, Ohio: Windmill Publications, 1990).

### **Saintes, Battle of the** (April 12, 1782)

In a major fleet action involving more than 60 ships of the line (vessels with 64 or more guns) on both sides, the British beat the French in the Battle of the Saintes, which saved Jamaica from invasion and allowed the British to recapture several islands in the Caribbean. Ultimately, the battle also contributed to facilitating the TREATY OF PARIS (1783) by reasserting British naval supremacy in the WEST INDIES, allowing the British to take some pride in an otherwise disastrous war and convincing the French that they needed to end the conflict before the costs drove them to bankruptcy.

Admiral COMTE DE GRASSE had hoped to avoid a fleet action when he put to sea from Martinique with a convoy of 150 ships protected by 33 ships of the line on April 8. He planned to rendezvous with a smaller Spanish squadron off Hispaniola, which would provide the numerical superiority that would allow the allies to conquer Jamaica. The British navy, under the command of Sir George Rodney, numbering 37 ships of the line, was intent on preventing that conjunction. Rodney set off in pursuit of the French. On the evening of April 10, two or three of the French ships collided into one another. Rather than abandoning these vessels to the British, de Grasse turned around and engaged the enemy in the water passage between the islands of Guadaloupe and Dominica and near a small chain of islands called the Saintes. After a day of maneuvering for position, both fleets approached each other in what appeared to be a standard naval attack, with each fleet drawn up in a line passing each other and exchanging cannon fire. At this stage, the British had a slight edge because of their gunnery. However, some of the French ships failed to follow de Grasse's signals and adjust their line. Just then there was a slight shift in the wind, and Rodney decided to break with naval tradition. He changed direction of his flagship to cross the French line. Several other British warships did the same. This maneuver allowed the British to rake two French ships simultaneously with batteries on both sides blazing. Once through the line, Rodney had several French vessels surrounded. De Grasse's flagship, the *Ville de Paris*, was pounded so heavily that he was forced to surrender. Another French ship was sunk outright, with the loss of all hands. The blood from the dead tossed overboard had attracted hoards of sharks, making the water a death trap for anyone who fell overboard. The French fleet scattered. Most of the convoy escaped to Guadaloupe, where the ships were protected by the harbor fortifications. Four other French ships were captured that day, and two were seized a week later. More than 3,000 Frenchmen lost their

lives, and France's greatest admiral had been captured. In addition, the *Ville de Paris* contained a huge treasure in gold to pay for the expedition against Jamaica.

As complete as the victory was, there was a downside for the British. Rodney, whose own ships needed repairs, did not destroy the convoy, nor did he pursue the French to annihilation. Within a month the battered remnants of the French fleet met with the Spanish, making their numbers approximately equal to the British in the Caribbean. Moreover, when the captured French ships were sent to England several months later, a hurricane struck, sinking the *Ville de Paris* and other captures, as well as several escorting British ships of war. By that time, however, France, Great Britain, and the United States were ready for peace.

**Further reading:** Jonathan R. Dull, *The French Navy and American Independence: A Study of Arms and Diplomacy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975); C. S. Forester, "The Battle of the Saintes," *American Heritage* 9 (June 1958).

### **Sampson, Deborah** (1760–1827) *soldier*

An adventurous young woman from Massachusetts, Deborah Sampson is the only woman who, disguised as a man, officially served as a soldier during the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83). One of eight children her father abandoned, Sampson was not yet six when her mother began boarding her outside the home. At 10, Sampson became an indentured servant on a Middleborough farm. There she acquired domestic skills, becoming an excellent spinner and weaver. She also tended the garden and livestock, learned to hunt and shoot, and to wield farm implements as adeptly as her master's eight sons. And she learned to read and write, a privilege not accorded all young women at the time.

The Revolutionary War was into its fourth year when Sampson turned 18 and her indentured servitude ended. She taught school for a time, but she primarily earned her board with various families in the community by spinning and weaving their cloth. Scholars are not exactly sure why Deborah Sampson decided to join the army. Perhaps she was not content with a woman's secondary and largely domestic role in the patriarchal society of the 18th century. Or perhaps she simply wanted the enlistment bonus and to travel to see some of the world. She may have been motivated by patriotism. Whatever her reasons, she acquired men's clothes, bound her breasts, cut her hair, and went to the local tavern to enlist. A tall woman for the period—five feet, nine inches—with a sturdy figure and plain features, Sampson was accepted as a recruit named Timothy Thayer. However, she got drunk afterward and failed to show up for assembly. People questioned the identity of the delin-

quent soldier, and soon Sampson's hoax was exposed. She claimed she had meant it as a joke. However, her local Baptist assembly condemned her action. Sampson was also liable to legal prosecution for disguising herself as a man. Despite these obstacles, she sought to reenlist in the army under a new name.

On her next attempt, Sampson left the familiarity of Middleborough and successfully signed on at Worcester on May 20, 1782, for a three-year term in the fourth Massachusetts Regiment of the CONTINENTAL ARMY. She called herself Robert Shurtliff, taking the first and middle names of a dead elder brother. Her compatriots accepted her guise and teased her for being too young to shave. Fearful of discovery, she became adept at tending to her personal hygiene and laundry needs while almost constantly in the company of men. Even when wounded in action, she managed to extract the musket ball from her thigh and dress the wound herself, avoiding the need for a doctor to undress her. Throughout her service, Sampson performed the tasks put to her as Shurtliff and endured every hardship. No one suspected her true sex. She avoided as much as possible the close living quarters of the large army camp at New Windsor, New York, by serving in an elite light infantry company that was frequently stationed in the field and fighting in the no-man's land between British and Continental lines. She also became a waiter—personal servant—of General John Paterson. This position, too, allowed her some additional



An engraving showing Deborah Sampson, disguised as a man, delivering a message to George Washington (*Library of Congress*)



privacy to hide her true identity and gained her the patronage of several officers.

Falling victim to a fever while in Philadelphia in 1783 proved her undoing. While trying to check the heartbeat of the stricken soldier, a doctor unwound the binding around Sampson's breasts and discovered her secret. It was not until after her recovery, however, that her true identity became generally known. She had promised her sympathetic Philadelphia physician that, upon returning to her regiment, she would personally deliver his letter to her commanding officer. All who knew Private Shurtliff were amazed to learn the truth, and most applauded Sampson's efforts.

Having served 18 months, Deborah Sampson received an honorable discharge at WEST POINT on October 25, 1783. She returned to Massachusetts and to a woman's life, marrying Benjamin Gannett in 1785 and having three children. A 1797 book of her exploits preceded Sampson-Gannett's 1802–03 lecture tour regarding her service in the Continental army. In 1792 she petitioned Massachusetts for her unpaid wages, and in 1818 she applied to the U.S. Congress for a veteran's pension. She was successful in both cases. When she died in 1827 at age 63, her husband asked Congress to continue his wife's allotment. Though Benjamin Gannett did not live to see it, he was the first man awarded a U.S. government pension for military service performed by his wife.

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, interest in Deborah Sampson increased as she came to represent an individual who rejected gender roles and served as a symbol for women asserting equal rights.

See also WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

**Further reading:** Lucy Freeman and Alma Bond, *America's First Woman Warrior: The Courage of Deborah Sampson* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1992); Alfred F. Young, *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier* (New York: Knopf, 2004).

—Rita M. Broyles

**San Lorenzo, Treaty of** See PINCKNEY TREATY.

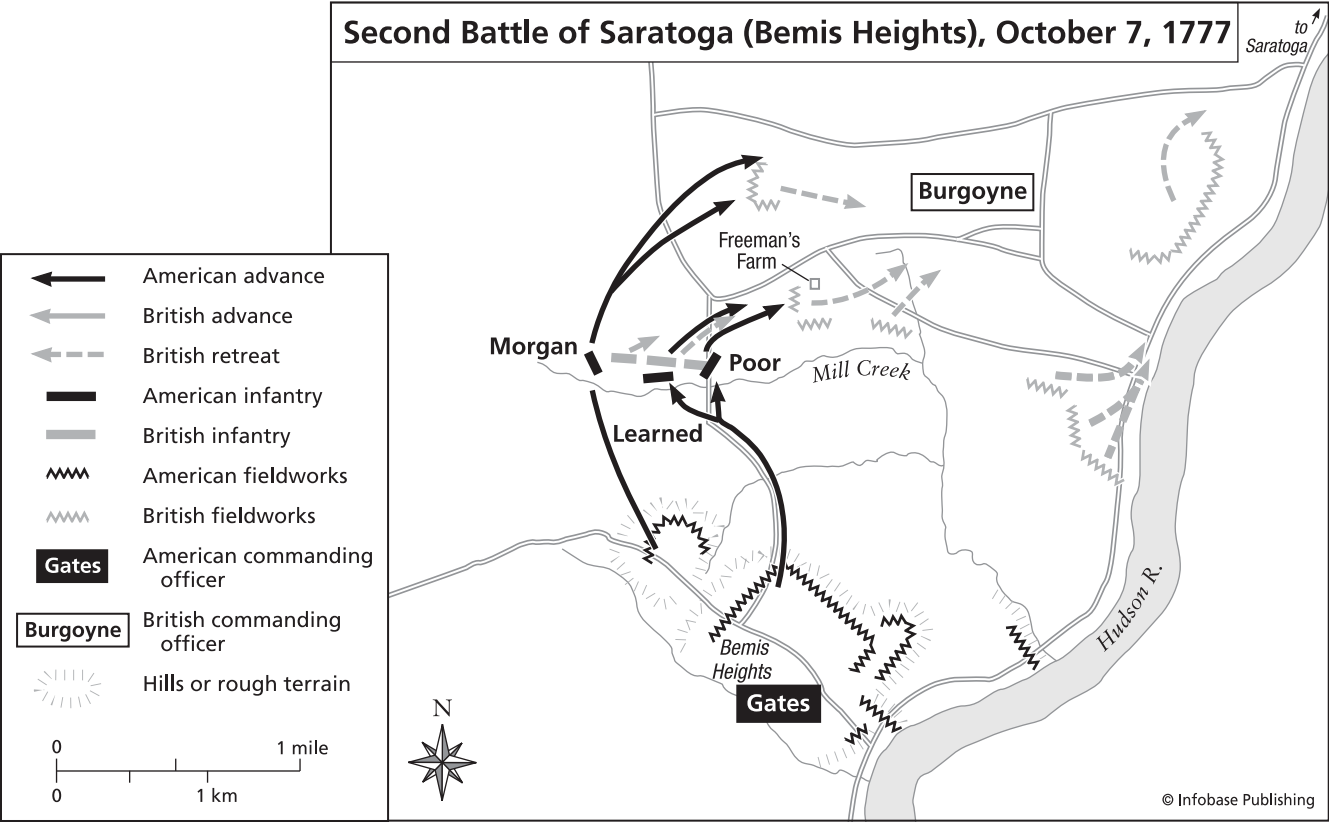
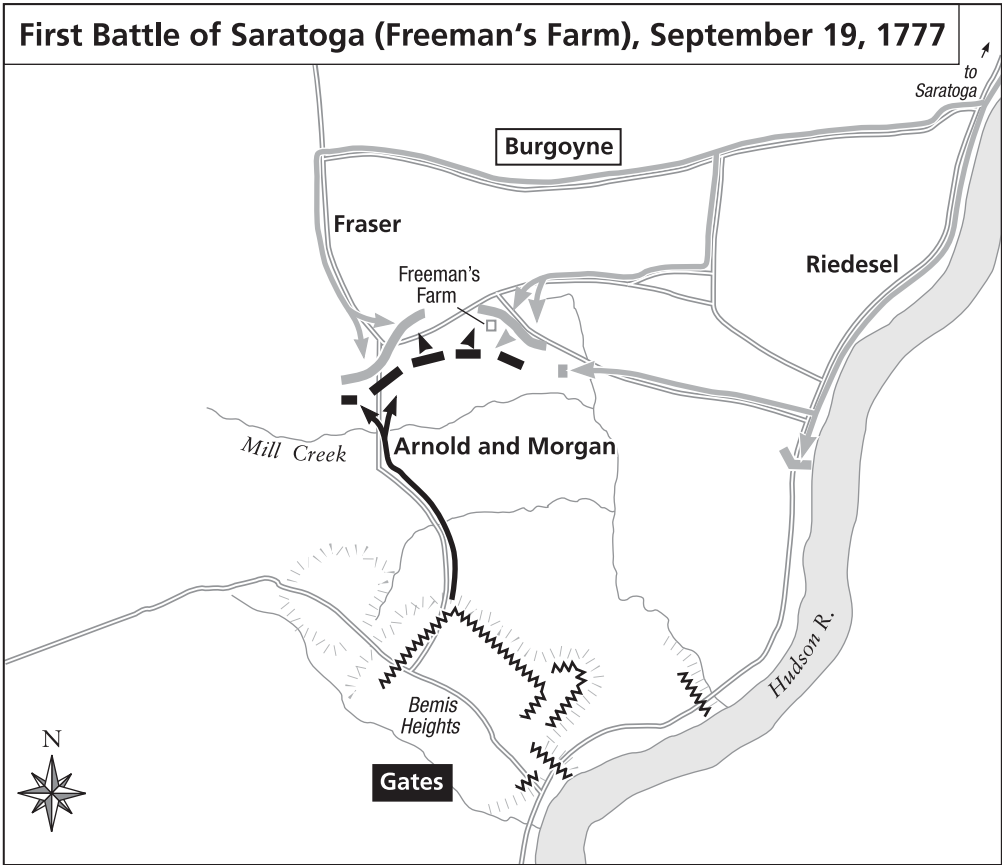
**Saratoga, surrender at** (October 17, 1777)

The surrender of General JOHN BURGOYNE's army at Saratoga changed the course of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83). It was the first great victory in the war for the United States, and it convinced the French to join the conflict before the British made peace with their rebellious colonists. It also culminated a campaign that had the potential to harm seriously the cause of North American independence.

Historians have long debated the failure of the British to coordinate their activities in the summer of 1777. As Burgoyne launched an invasion from CANADA, General WILLIAM HOWE, headed in the opposite direction, leaving New York City by sea to attack Philadelphia from the Chesapeake. Lieutenant Colonel Barry St. Leger's thrust from the Great Lakes did not have enough punch to be of much help to Burgoyne either. Criticism of the British for not acting in concert misses an important point. When Burgoyne left Canada with a well trained and well led army, no one thought he needed help. His force of close to 9,000 men was expected to defeat the revolutionaries.

Burgoyne easily captured FORT TICONDEROGA (July 6, 1777) at the foot of Lake Champlain, and his troops defeated retreating revolutionaries at the Battle of Hubbardton on July 7, 1777. At this point his army began to get bogged down by the terrain and the delaying tactics of obstructing the road from Lake Champlain to the Hudson River. Had the British immediately after these victories managed to engage the forces under General PHILIP SCHUYLER, they might well have won the day. Schuyler had only a few thousand men under his command at the time. But Burgoyne did not reach the Hudson until July 30, and his supplies began to run low. To remedy this deficit, he sent a raiding party into Vermont. That unit was almost wiped out at the Battle of Bennington (August 16, 1777). In the meantime, the revolutionary command fell to HORATIO GATES, and reinforcements began to pour into his lines by the thousands.

Gates decided to dig his troops in on Bemis Heights, south of Saratoga on the west side of the Hudson River. For Burgoyne to advance on Albany, he would have to attack Gates, who now held fortified high ground in the British path. Two battles ensued. First was the Battle of Freeman's Farm (September 19, 1777). Burgoyne divided his army into three columns and advanced toward the revolutionaries. This might have provided a wonderful opportunity to defeat the British in detail, since the columns remained separated for most of the battle. Instead, Gates kept the majority of his troops in their entrenchments, allowing only some of his regiments to advance and meet the British attack. Even so, on the scene of the battle, the revolutionaries outnumbered the British by a margin of two to one. The fighting was intense, with the front line of Continentals led by DANIEL MORGAN and BENEDICT ARNOLD. The British column on the right hardly participated in the battle. In the evening, about 500 men from General Friedrich Adolph Baron von Riedesel's column of German mercenaries that had advanced along the Hudson River joined the battle and swept Gates's right. Had Gates listened to the pleas of Arnold, with whom he had a personality conflict, and sent more troops into the fray, the revolutionaries might have won a decisive victory. Similarly, had Gates





attacked the now poorly defended baggage train along the Hudson, he could have destroyed Burgoyne's supplies and left the British army in desperate straits. Instead, Gates himself never got too close to the fighting, and his troops around Freeman's farm had to withdraw to the safety of Gate's entrenched position. Exhausted, the British occupied the battlefield they had won at the cost of 600 casualties. The revolutionaries were still in front of them on Bemis Heights.

Burgoyne should have followed up his tactical victory by assaulting the Continental positions immediately after the fighting on the 19th. Every day he waited, in part in the vain hope that General HENRY CLINTON would arrive with a relief force from New York City, more revolutionary troops arrived on the scene. In the meantime, more of his own men deserted, and his supplies dwindled. Burgoyne ordered his men to dig in a few miles from the enemy lines.

Burgoyne's position was desperate by the time of the Battle of Bemis Heights (October 7, 1777). He had only about 5,000 men left in his army; the revolutionaries numbered more than 10,000. Clinton's expedition up the Hudson captured some forts below Albany, but he could not relieve Burgoyne (see also HUDSON HIGHLANDS CAMPAIGN). Faced with retreat through hostile territory, followed by a large enemy army, and the possible onslaught of winter, Burgoyne decided that his only hope was to smash the enemy in front of him. Unsure of the strength of his opponent's position, Burgoyne ordered a large reconnaissance in force of about 1,500 men to Gates's left flank. These troops were also to cover a foraging party. When Gates saw the movement, he ordered an attack. The British line had been strung out too long, were attacked on both flanks, and driven back. Benedict Arnold, whom Gates had relieved of command after Freeman's Farm, joined the battle of his own initiative. Seeing an opportunity to push the British further, Arnold directed an assault on entrenchments protecting the right of the British encampment. This effort met with mixed results with the revolutionaries overrunning one redoubt but not the other. As night fell both armies separated. Burgoyne's army was shattered. The British suffered almost 900 men killed, captured, and wounded. British losses included many officers, including General Simon Fraser, Burgoyne's most trusted commander. The revolutionaries sustained about 30 to 40 dead and 120 wounded. Arnold was shot in the leg during the last stages of the battle. As in the previous engagement, Gates never got close to the fighting. With the revolutionaries hovering on Burgoyne's right, he retreated to Saratoga in the vain hope that either Clinton would arrive or that he could continue the retreat to Fort Ticonderoga. His hesitation cost him his army. Within a few days, a sufficient number of Gates's troops had fallen behind him that he had to surrender his entire force on October 17, 1777.

Although Gates initially demanded harsh terms for surrender, the eventual agreement was relatively lenient to the British. This convention, as the document of surrender was called, stipulated that the British would march out of their camp, surrender their arms, and then head to Boston where they were to be allowed to return to Great Britain on the promise that these soldiers would never again fight in North America in the war. The Convention Army, as the almost 5,000 surrendered British, German, and Canadian forces were now called, led to controversy. The Continental Congress feared either that the British would ignore the agreement once the troops were released or that the British would simply station the men elsewhere and thereby free up other soldiers to fight in North America. For more than a year the prisoners of war were kept in Massachusetts. In early 1779, they were sent to Virginia, where they waited out the rest of the war. By that time, many of the men had deserted, especially the Germans, and only about half of Burgoyne's army that had surrendered at Saratoga made it back to Europe.

**Further reading:** Richard M. Ketchum, *Saratoga: Turning Point of America's Revolutionary War* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997); Max M. Mintz, *The Generals at Saratoga: John Burgoyne and Horatio Gates* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990).

### **Savannah, Battle of** (December 29, 1778)

The British army successfully began its campaign to capture and secure the South with a victory at the Battle of Savannah. In November 1778, General HENRY CLINTON in New York sent Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell with 3,000 seasoned troops to capture Savannah, Georgia. Despite a rough sea passage, Campbell arrived off the Savannah River on December 23, and he landed most of his men unopposed at a plantation about two miles from Savannah on December 29. General Robert Howe of the CONTINENTAL ARMY had stationed a small force on a bluff overlooking the landing place, which was quickly driven off with a bayonet charge by some light infantry. Howe had only about 850 men, but local officials convinced him he should at least attempt to oppose Campbell's advance on Savannah. Howe drew his men up in a good defensive position in front of Savannah. However, a slave informed Campbell of a trail through the marshes to the rear of Howe's line. Campbell sent about 600 men with the slave and waited to strike at Howe until he saw the attack from his flanking maneuver. This combined assault worked with devastating efficiency. As soon as Howe recognized his predicament, he ordered a general withdrawal. Given the circumstances and the inexperienced nature of both the Continentals and the militia, the retreat turned into a rout. The British lost

seven dead and 17 wounded. The revolutionaries suffered at least 83 killed and 453 captured. Campbell also seized vast quantities of stores, including 48 cannon, 23 other fieldpieces, 617 muskets, several ships, and a variety of goods and foodstuffs.

**Further reading:** David K. Wilson, *The Southern Strategy: Britain's Conquest of South Carolina and Georgia, 1775–1780* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005).

### **Savannah, siege of** (September 1–October 20, 1779)

The siege of Savannah represented the second attempt to coordinate revolutionary and French forces in a campaign against the British in North America. The first effort failed when the French navy under CHARLES-HENRI-VICTOR-THÉODAT, COMTE D'ESTAING was struck by a hurricane as it maneuvered for position to engage a British fleet defending Newport, Rhode Island (see also BATTLE OF RHODE ISLAND). Stung by criticism that he did not do all that he could to assist the revolutionaries in 1778, d'Estaing sought to redeem himself by driving the British out of Georgia in 1779. He thus committed his fleet and army to attack Savannah in September even though it was hurricane season along the North American coast.

D'Estaing's fleet surprised the British when it arrived off the Savannah River on September 1, 1779. Unsure of French intentions, General Augustine Prevost prepared to abandon his outlying posts and concentrate his army at Savannah. D'Estaing in the meantime arranged to rendezvous with the CONTINENTAL ARMY under General Benjamin Lincoln on September 11. The French troops started coming ashore on September 9, but it would take longer for the revolutionaries to arrive. Perhaps d'Estaing should have attacked immediately before the British were fully prepared; instead, he delayed. He waited for Lincoln and entered into negotiations for the city's surrender. Prevost stalled and made believe that he was considering surrendering. In the meantime, his troops and requisitioned slave labor continued to dig fortifications and to prepare defenses. In addition, he brought another 800 regulars into the city from Beaufort via intercoastal waterways, which were unguarded by either the French, who blocked the seaward passage, or the Continental army, which guarded the land routes. By the time the siege opened in earnest on September 22, the British had about 4,800 soldiers in Savannah manning carefully designed fortifications in five layers. The French had about 4,500 troops and complete naval superiority, while the revolutionaries had around 3,100 men.

Between September 22 and October 3, the French built trenches and brought their artillery into position. Occasional British sorties disrupted this work, but the

French were able to begin their bombardment of Savannah at midnight on October 3. Although the allied forces used 57 guns to lob shells into the city, after several days of artillery fire, d'Estaing decided to avoid a prolonged siege and launched a direct assault on the British on the morning of October 9. D'Estaing's plan was to concentrate his forces on one redoubt—called Spring Hill—and have several smaller groups tie down the British elsewhere with feints. However, d'Estaing mismanaged his preparations, and his men were delayed in getting into position. Instead of launching a coordinated attack at 4:00 A.M. before the sun rose, d'Estaing led only a few hundred men in a fixed-bayonet charge at dawn as the British discovered the pending battle. As unit after unit came into position, the French continued with this piecemeal approach. Continentals and militia also joined the fray. British musket fire and cannon grape shot inflicted major casualties during these uncoordinated attacks by the revolutionaries and the French. At one point General CASIMIR PULASKI arrived on the scene and sought to carry the day by leading his cavalry into the heat of the battle. Pulaski was fatally wounded, and the cavalry beaten back. D'Estaing was wounded in the arm in the first wave of attack, but he continued to rally his troops only to be shot in the leg. The French and revolutionaries pulled back in disorder and were saved from total disaster when the French rear guard broke up a British counterattack.

The casualties for the allies on October 9 were very heavy: The revolutionaries lost 58 killed and 181 wounded; the French lost 59 killed and 526 wounded; the British lost only 16 killed and 39 wounded. Perhaps as important as the overall losses, which for the entire campaign totaled almost 1,000 men for the allies and not quite 300 for the British, was the dismal sense of failure and the recriminations between the French and the revolutionary Americans. Moreover, without the British success at Savannah, the British would not have launched an invasion into South Carolina in 1780.

**Further reading:** David Lee Russell, *The American Revolution in the Southern Colonies* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 2000); David K. Wilson, *The Southern Strategy: Britain's Conquest of South Carolina and Georgia, 1775–1780* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005).

### **Schuyler, Philip John** (1733–1804) *Continental army general*

Philip John Schuyler was an accomplished soldier, statesman, and revolutionary. He first rose to prominence as a member of the Albany city council in 1756. His land holdings and political career grew, securing a place for Schuyler among the provincial gentry.

Credited with distinguished service in the French and Indian War (1754–63), Schuyler was elected in 1768 to the New York colonial assembly. In the revolutionary atmosphere of the 1770s, he was selected to be a delegate to the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. In June 1775, GEORGE WASHINGTON named Schuyler one of four major generals, assigning him command of the Northern Department of New York. While planning the campaign of 1775–76 in CANADA, recurring attacks of rheumatism forced Schuyler to delegate operational command to General RICHARD MONTGOMERY, who went on to capture Montreal. Montgomery's defeat at the BATTLE OF QUEBEC (December 31, 1775), coupled with the loss of FORT TICONDEROGA (July 6, 1777), discredited Schuyler. He was replaced by HORATIO GATES. Schuyler's personal loss was compounded shortly before the British surrender at SARATOGA (October 17, 1777), when British forces sacked his New York estate. Schuyler wanted to clear his name and, in October 1778, demanded a court-martial. Although acquitted with honor, Schuyler resigned from the military.

After the war he held a series of public offices, including intermittent service in the New York State senate and the U.S. Senate. He advised the FEDERALISTS in their drive to ratify the UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION and remained a close friend to Washington. Schuyler and his wife, Catharine Van Rensselaer, had 15 children; eight survived childhood, including one daughter who married ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Schuyler died in 1804.

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—Jay R. Dew

## science

The expansion of new areas of settlement, the preoccupation with fighting the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), and the creation of a new nation left little room for purely theoretical science in the United States. Practical science became dominant—called natural philosophy at the time—and included biology, botany, invention, and the physical sciences.

There were two kinds of pure scientists in this period: those who had the money and leisure to pursue their investigations independently and those who taught at colleges. Because of the religious orientation of most institutions of higher learning before the Revolutionary War, science was not initially an important part of the curriculum. Thus most scientists were independent scholars. After the war,

the number of colleges expanded, and science became regularly taught. Despite the addition of science to the curriculum, the universities were still only training undergraduates, not postgraduate scientists.

The pursuit of science also depended upon communicating the results of study. Before the 1760s, no major scientific societies existed in British North America. Therefore, most of the publications by colonial scientists appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, a journal produced by the Royal Society of London. This participation in an English scientific society diminished in the decade preceding the Revolutionary War, due mostly to the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75) but also to the rise of two important North American societies. The first appeared in Philadelphia and was called the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY (1769). BENJAMIN FRANKLIN helped to attract scientific interest in the City of Brotherly Love with his experiments and lectures on electricity. The second major society was American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1780) established in Boston.

Government provided little support for science. A survey of the active scientists of the time and their work illustrates the crucial role that individual men played in the foundations of science in the United States. In the realm of theory, mathematician Robert Adrian independently proved the law of least squares, and Theodore Strong proved Stewart's circle theorem in 1814. Born in colonial America, Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford) went into exile after the Revolutionary War because of his work as a spy for the British. He was, however, an important physicist whose investigations on heat served as the foundation for the modern theory on the mechanical nature of heat.

Most science in this period was not theoretical; instead, it was practical and observable. DAVID RITTENHOUSE was an important Philadelphian astronomer and inventor, proficient in practical and observational astronomy. In 1769 he built the first astronomical telescope in British North America, and in 1793 he discovered a comet. Another important astronomer was W. C. Bond, an untrained instrument and clockmaker who later became the director of Harvard College Observatory. In 1811 he discovered a comet, using the telescope he had set up in the parlor of his home. Robert Hare was a professor of chemistry who invented two important tools for chemical analysis: the oxy-hydrogen blowpipe, in 1801, and the deflagrator, a device that created a powerful electric arc, in 1820. In geology, Amos Eaton published his famous work, *Index to the Geology of the Northern States*, in 1818.

North Americans were active in botany and zoology. Scientists in Europe were interested in North American flora and fauna for comparative study. In the early colonial period, the emphasis was on collecting plants and ANIMALS to be shipped back to Europe for study and analysis. In the



late colonial and revolutionary periods, North American scientists began to undertake their own study and publish their own collections of data. The foremost botanist of colonial America was John Bartram. He traveled extensively throughout the East Coast collecting plants and seeds. He exchanged information, as well as specimens, with many of the leading European botanist of the time. He published two books, one on the area from Lake Ontario to Pennsylvania, in 1751, and one on FLORIDA, in 1766. Benjamin Smith Barton, W. P. C. Barton, Jacob Bigelow, Thomas Nuttall, and John Terry all published important botanical works in the early 19th century. The two Bartons were an uncle and nephew who worked as professors at the University of Pennsylvania. Bigelow and Nuttall were both students of Benjamin Smith Barton, and Terry was a doctor who worked as a professor at WEST POINT, Princeton, and Columbia. In zoology, the work of Alexander Wilson was the most important of this time. Born in Scotland, he moved to Philadelphia in 1794. In 1802 he met the son of John Bartram, WILLIAM BARTRAM, who stimulated his interest in ornithology. From 1808 to 1813 he published the seven volumes of his work *American Ornithology*.

Practical inventors and tinkerers had the greatest impact on society. While not trained scientists, such men

pushed technological innovation in important directions. SAMUEL SLATER left England in 1789 with the blueprints of textile machinery in his head. He built the first successful textile factory in the United States and began the INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION in North America. ROBERT FULTON experimented with the steam engine as a means of driving boats on rivers. His steamboat, the *Clermont*, transformed communication and transportation within a decade of its first appearance on the Hudson River in 1807. And ELI WHITNEY's cotton gin altered the course of AGRICULTURE in the South and allowed for the establishment of the Cotton Kingdom.

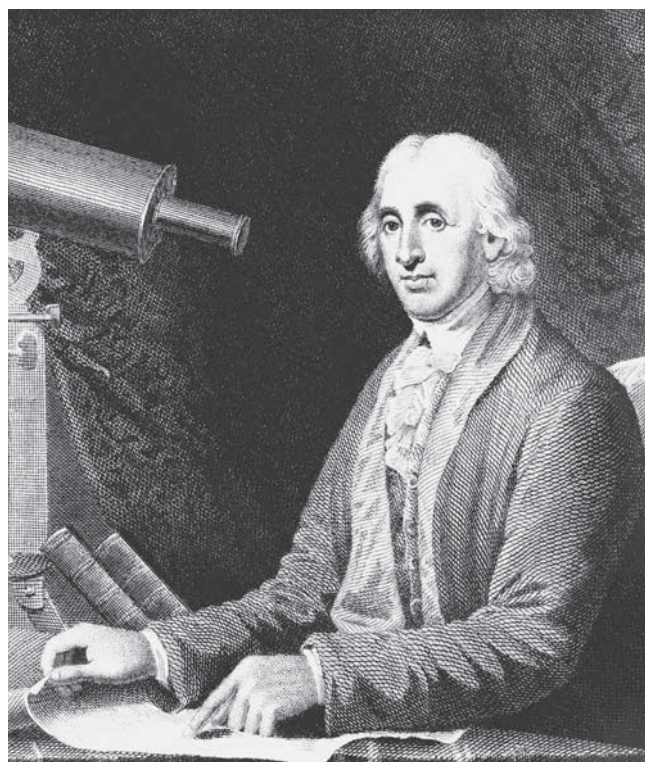
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## Scots-Irish

More properly called Ulster Scots, these 18th-century immigrants were one of the largest and most important minorities in the British North American colonies. Their hostility to English rule and their antiauthoritarian attitudes made them an important factor in the events of the revolutionary era, especially on the FRONTIER where they were often in the majority.

The Ulster Scots were part of a large migration from Scotland to Northern Ireland in the early 17th century. The English intended to pacify the Irish CATHOLICS of the north by introducing a loyal population of Protestant landowners. They enticed the Presbyterian Scots with land grants and other incentives, but the arrangement was never a satisfactory one. The Scots-Irish experience in Ireland only served to intensify their hatred of the English. By the 18th century they had become objects of ethnic, religious, and economic discrimination. Irish Catholics hated them, and the Anglo-Irish considered them inferior. As Presbyterians they were religious nonconformists, and laws such as the Test Act of 1704 excluded them from government jobs and attendance at universities. Making matters worse, the British Navigation Acts gave English industries preference over those in Ireland and unfair taxation further magnified the sense of grievance.

Poor harvests and an economic depression in the early 18th century made conditions unbearable for many Ulster Scots. Around 1717 there began an exodus to the North American colonies. This movement made up



David Rittenhouse constructed the first working model of the solar system in 1767 and built an observatory to watch the movement of Venus. Engraving (Library of Congress)

part of a broader migration of “border Britons,” including the Scots, Welsh, Irish, Cornish, and the Scots-Irish from the periphery of the British Isles to the colonies. Between 1717 and 1775 over 250,000 Scots-Irish crossed the Atlantic to settle in British North America. At the beginning of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) the Scots-Irish comprised roughly 10 percent of the colonial population.

On arriving in the colonies, many Scots-Irish moved into the backcountry. The move to the frontier partly resulted from POVERTY and the need for cheap land. It also reflected a desire to settle as far as possible away from the English, who dominated the coastal areas. By the mid-18th century, the Scots-Irish could be found in the western portions of most colonies. The largest number settled in the lands in the western sections of Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and Georgia. By the last quarter of the 18th century, the Scots-Irish were moving west across the Appalachians.

In many respects the Scots-Irish were ideal frontiersmen. They were tough people, hardened by years of bad fortune and worse treatment. On the frontier they often lived in isolated settlements and under trying conditions. Celtic tribal values governed these frontier communities. The Scots-Irish were proud and protective of their honor and took their RELIGION seriously, but drinking and violence were also a part of their heritage. However, rich traditions of hospitality, MUSIC, and storytelling softened the rigors of frontier life.

Their toughness was sometimes a disadvantage. As settlements moved westward, the Scots-Irish increasingly came into contact with NATIVE AMERICANS for whom they had only disdain. The resulting violence threatened settlements and upset trading patterns between the tribes and eastern merchants. This conflict forced colonial governments to bear the expense of sending troops to protect the frontier. Further complicating matters, the backcountry folk were frequently at odds with their own colonial governments concerning issues of unfair taxation and lack of representation.

The years from 1740 to 1765 were full of tension and conflict in the colonies. The Scots-Irish were often involved in such backcountry disturbances as the Paxton Boys revolt in Pennsylvania (1763) and the Regulator movements in the Carolinas (1766–70). Many resisted the PROCLAMATION OF 1763, which was intended to limit access to the country west of the Appalachians.

The large Scots-Irish population guaranteed the importance of Presbyterianism, and when evangelical revivals swept the colonies in the 1730s, the Irish evangelist William Tennant and his sons found a ready harvest among the Scots-Irish in the middle colonies. This Great Awakening was in many respects a precursor to the AMERICAN REVO-

LUTION, encouraging sectarianism, individualism, and anti-authoritarianism, attitudes that were common among the Scotch-Irish. Concern that an Anglican bishop would be appointed for the colonies at times drove them to cooperate with QUAKERS and other groups who shared their fear (see also ANGLICAN CHURCH).

During the early national era, the Scots-Irish continued to be an important factor on the frontier, spearheading westward expansion and playing an increasingly active role in the politics of the new republic. Scots-Irish culture was particularly influential in the South and the West where its values formed part of the core of those emerging regional cultures.

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—Robert Lively

### Seabury, Samuel (1729–1796) *Episcopal bishop*

LOYALIST spokesman and a founder of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Samuel Seabury was born in Groton, Connecticut on November 30, 1729. He was the son of wealthy parents who encouraged him to pursue an advanced EDUCATION. He graduated from Yale College in 1748, became a doctor shortly after studying MEDICINE at the University of Edinburgh between 1752 and 1753, and was ordained in the ANGLICAN CHURCH before returning to New England.

After being made a missionary by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Seabury preached to followers in New Brunswick, New Jersey, between 1753 and 1757. He then moved to Jamaica, New York, to serve as a parish rector. In 1766 he moved yet again, this time to Westchester, New York, where he became a leading figure in the community.

A devout Loyalist, Seabury noted with alarm the drift toward revolution in British North America after 1773. In 1774–75 he wrote pamphlets opposing the formation of the FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS under the name A. W. Farmer (as in a Westchester farmer). These essays questioned the authority of the Congress and viewed the local WHIG committees as nothing more than “half a dozen foolish people” who had chosen themselves to speak for the community. Seabury also argued that the real threat to liberty did not come from the king. Instead, Seabury asserted, “the bands of civil society” were broken and “the author-



ity of government weakened” leading to individuals being “deprived of their liberty” and their “property is frequently invaded by violence” through “a flagrant instance of injustice and cruelty committed by a riotous mob.” His activities in support of the Crown eventually led to his arrest and brief imprisonment by supporters of the Revolution. He escaped from prison and fled to New York City and the protection of the British in 1776, and he lived there for the duration of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) as a doctor, political essayist, and cleric.

Seabury led the Loyalist exodus to Nova Scotia when the war ended in 1783, but his widely admired work in the church led Connecticut’s Anglican clergy to name him a bishop in spite of his opposition to the creation of the United States. Church officials in England refused to consecrate him for fear of meddling in internal American affairs, but the Scottish Episcopal Church did, and Seabury returned to North America as the rector of St. James’ Church and the bishop of Connecticut. He quickly organized a diocese centered on New London, and in 1789 he helped form the American Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1793 he published a collection of sermons titled *Discourses on Several Subjects*, and in 1798 (two years after his death) supporters revised and added to the collection, publishing it as *Discourses on Several Important Subjects*. Seabury died in New London on February 25, 1796, and he left behind a formidable legacy as a defender of New England’s High Church.

See also RELIGION.

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—Lance Janda

## Shakers

The United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing, more commonly known as the Shakers, established religious communities in the United States in the last decades of the 18th century. Members of this millenarian sect practiced celibacy, publicly professed their sins, and engaged in hard labor—creating a unique style of ARCHITECTURE, furniture, and handicraft, which was distinct in its functional simplicity and fine workmanship.

The founder of the American Shakers was ANN LEE, a Manchester-born woman who moved from England to North America in 1774. Lee, known to her followers as Mother Ann, was perceived as the female embodiment of Christ’s dual nature. Lee’s early influences derived from the Wardley Society, a radical offshoot of the QUAKERS, which she joined in Manchester in 1758. The members of the Wardley Society distinguished themselves by their unique

form of worship, which included shaking, trembling, dancing, shouting, and generally motioning their bodies in a chaotic manner, thus earning them the name “Shaking Quakers.” Lee led a group of eight across the Atlantic to North America, landing in New York in 1774. They established a community near Albany, New York, called Niskeyuna (now Watervliet) in 1776, although through revivals and preaching tours their influence extended well beyond their modest community.

The Shaker movement was deeply influenced by the prevalent millennial beliefs of the late 18th century. Many millenarian sects believed that the “judgment day” was near, and through their devout faith and practices, they would ultimately be saved. Shakers established celibacy as a principal tenant of their sect—since the end was near, there was no need to procreate. New members came from either conversions or adoptions. Further, Mother Ann believed that sexual relations impeded one’s relationship with God. Between their “shaking” ritual and their celibacy, the Shakers were ridiculed and scorned by other religious denominations of the period. However, they garnered admiration from their contemporaries for the order, simplicity, and prosperity of their farming communities. Their labor and ingenuity resulted in a number of unpatented inventions as well as a distinct design of architecture (usually barns) and furniture. Shakers designed furniture without needless decoration, reflecting their conviction that the appearance of an item should follow its function. Since Shakers viewed the process of constructing goods as in itself an act of prayer, austere Shaker furniture reflected the piety and fine workmanship of its creator.

Mother Ann died in 1784 and, shortly thereafter, elders in the sect structured their followers into a communal pattern that served as the model for Shaker communities throughout the early national period. The first Shaker community, established on this model in 1787, was located at New Lebanon, New York. It served as the center for the Shaker RELIGION as the movement gradually spread to New England, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. The period between 1774 and 1820 represents the building stage for Shakerism in the United States; by 1826, there were 18 Shaker villages in eight states. By the end of the 19th century membership steadily declined, and today there are few surviving Shakers.

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—Linda English

**Shays's Rebellion** (1786–1787)

In 1786 and 1787 farmers in western Massachusetts, following patterns of crowd behavior practiced in the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75), closed courts, freed men imprisoned for debt, and fought with government forces. Because Daniel Shays, a former revolutionary army captain, led some of this action this insurrection was called Shays's Rebellion. FEDERALISTS cited this uprising, which occurred shortly before the meeting of the CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787, as an argument for the creation of a stronger national government.

The postwar years of the 1780s were a period of economic turmoil. When British creditors demanded payment from eastern New England merchants in the mid-1780s, these businessmen had little choice but to shift the burden onto their debtors—those who lived in the countryside. But with low prices for their products, and almost no cash, the rural debtors could not meet their obligations. Compounding these difficulties, the government of Massachusetts had imposed high taxes to pay the state debt from the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), especially for the costs of the failed PENOBSCOT CAMPAIGN (July 25–August 14, 1779). This policy to repay the debt favored eastern speculators who had purchased state notes at a discount, often from soldiers and farmers, and now expected the state to pay full value. The rebels lambasted the state constitution, which seemed to favor the rich as a “tyrannical government” and complained that the legislature was compensating speculators in full, a policy that rewarded men who had “sauntered at home during the war, enjoying the smiles of fortune, wallowing in affluence, and fattening in the sunshine of ease and prosperity.” These grievances were real—the average Massachusetts farmer in the mid-1780s had to pay six times the amount of taxes they had to pay King GEORGE III before the Revolutionary War. Pressed by creditors and tax collectors, farmers in western Massachusetts sought tax relief from the legislature and asked to pay their debts with paper money or commodities instead of specie. These pleas were rejected by members of the upper house, who were more sympathetic to eastern creditors and merchants.

Faced with the threat of losing their property and livelihood to pay taxes and debts, poor farmers in western Massachusetts formed committees and held conventions to condemn the government, and they began closing courts in the summer and fall of 1786. Many of these men had been in the forefront of the revolutionary movement, having served in the CONTINENTAL ARMY or WHIG militia. They wondered how the government could forget their sacrifices in the name of “liberty.” With a force that numbered as high as 2,000 men, the rebels reached a turning point that winter when they tried to capture the arsenal at

Springfield, Massachusetts. Fearing a large-scale uprising, nervous eastern merchants contributed money and lobbied state officials to recruit an army to put down the rebellion. The state government ordered 600 men, led by General William Shepard, to Springfield. Confronted by armed rebels under the leadership of Shays on January 25, 1787, a nervous Shepard fired cannon into the crowd, killing four and wounding at least a score of others. Over the next few weeks, the state militia from eastern Massachusetts, led by General Benjamin Lincoln, defeated the rebels in several encounters. Daniel Shays and other rebel leaders had to flee the state.

While this movement for debtor relief was most intense in Massachusetts, similar actions occurred elsewhere in 1786 and 1787. In New Hampshire, angry farmers surrounded the legislature in the state capital in an effort to have their grievances redressed. Crowds also closed courts in Rhode Island, Maryland, and South Carolina to prevent legal action against debtors. Governor GEORGE CLINTON of New York was so concerned with the spread of the disorder that he ordered the apprehension of any Shaysites who sought to escape to his state. Once the authorities in Massachusetts had regained control in the western part of the state, they were relatively lenient, pardoning all but Shays and three other leaders almost immediately, and then pardoning the rest later. Ironically, too, the next round of elections swept debt relief supporters into the legislature, which then passed measures to ease the situation.

Although the rebellion did not seriously threaten the stability of the state or national government, Federalists argued that the Shaysites had exposed a flaw in the structure of the national government. The government under the ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION had been ineffectual in suppressing the uprising. Similarly, the Federalists claimed that the insurrection revealed the impotence of the national government in dealing with economic problems. Both positions ignored the fact that the state government had successfully suppressed the rebels, and eventually dealt with the economic distress of its citizens. Regardless of the ability of Massachusetts to solve its own difficulties, the aftermath of Shays's Rebellion played a significant role in the framing and RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

See also CONSTITUTIONS, STATE; LAND RIOTS; RIOTS.

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—Jeffrey Davis

**Sherman, Roger** (1721–1793) *signer of the Declaration of Independence*

A leading figure in the FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, and author of the Connecticut Compromise at the CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, Roger Sherman is perhaps Connecticut's most prominent revolutionary leader. The third of seven children raised by William Sherman and his second wife Mehetabel, he was born in Newton, Massachusetts, on April 19, 1721. Sherman moved to Connecticut when he was a young man, and worked as a shoe cobbler and county surveyor before being admitted to the bar in 1754. With a license to practice law in hand, he then threw himself into colonial politics.

Sherman was elected to the Connecticut General Assembly in 1755, served as a justice of the peace for Litchfield County between 1755 and 1761, and then moved to New Haven to become a successful retail merchant. Sherman was a judge in New Haven in 1765–66 and a superior court judge between 1766 and 1789. During those years he became an ardent supporter of independence, attending Congress from 1774 to 1781 and from 1783 to 1784. He agreed to the cession of Connecticut's western land claims, helped codify Connecticut laws in 1783, and was elected mayor of New Haven in 1784.

Three years later he was one of Connecticut's delegates to the Constitutional Convention, where he proposed the Connecticut Compromise to break a deadlock between large and small states regarding the manner in which congressional seats were apportioned. States with large populations argued for representation based on the number of people in each state, while states with smaller populations feared political obscurity in such an arrangement and pushed for equal representation for every state. Sherman proposed a bicameral Congress in which representation in the upper house (the Senate) was the same for every state while in the lower house (the House of Representatives) it was based on population. The compromise appeased parties on all sides, and proved one of the key building blocks on which the Constitution was based.

A devout Christian and the father of 15 children via two wives, Sherman was a member of the House of Representatives from 1789 to 1791 and of the Senate from 1791 until his death in 1793. He is famous for having signed each of the key documents associated with the creation of the United States: the Articles of ASSOCIATION (1774), the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (July 4, 1776), the ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION (1781), and the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES (1787). No one else signed all four.

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—Lance Janda

**Slater, Samuel** (1768–1835) *industrialist*

Samuel Slater was a British immigrant to the United States who developed the first mechanized COTTON textile mill in the United States. Slater grew up in Belper, England, and began an apprenticeship to Jedediah Strutt, a local textile mill operator, in 1783. As Strutt's apprentice, Slater learned the mechanics, finance, and labor organization of a typical English textile mill. The British government had imposed regulations forbidding anyone with knowledge of textile machinery from leaving the country, consequently, when Slater left for the United States in 1789 he had to wear a disguise and hide his identity. Soon after arrival in the United States, he met Moses Brown and William Almy, two entrepreneurs from Providence, Rhode Island. Almy and Brown had attempted to build a textile factory, but they needed the expertise of an experienced mill operator. Slater, Brown, and Almy formed a business partnership for which Brown and Almy would provide funds for Slater to build and run a textile mill in Pawtucket in exchange for a half-share in the venture.

The mill was driven by waterpower and Slater developed a special labor system. By 1792 whole families found employment in the mill, including children aged seven to 12. Slater sometimes ran into opposition from fathers who resented the paternal authority he expressed towards the child workers. These difficulties led Slater to strive to form meaningful partnerships with families, and prompted him to allow a high degree of family autonomy in the mills. More significantly, he found himself caught between the profit driven Almy and Brown and the worker families when conditions deteriorated and pay was too low to feed the children adequately. He tried in vain to convince Almy and Brown to improve conditions and provide more pay. Consequently, the families struck the mill in 1795 and 1796.

The partnership between Almy, Brown, and Slater broke down after a decade, with the two venture capitalists losing faith in the determined Slater. Meanwhile, Slater found other partners in Providence and set about replicating the Pawtucket mill in other New England states, New York and Pennsylvania. By 1810 approximately 15 mills operated in the northeastern states, with Slater holding financial interest in three. Slater personally put up funds to build more textile mills in New England between 1810 and 1830. Other Slater-style mills appeared; by 1820 there were literally hundreds of mill towns in the Northeast. The Slater mills system also provided a partial model for

entrepreneur Francis Cabot Lowell and others who built a large textile operation around Waltham, Massachusetts, beginning in 1813. Lowell and his partners developed an alternative system known as the Waltham or Lowell system, in which girls and young women were recruited to leave their families to work in the mills. Slater's mill operations continued well into the 19th century under the name Slater and Sons.

See also INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

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—James R. Karmel

## slavery

Although North American slavery accounted for a relatively small proportion of New World slaves, it assumed increasing importance worldwide during the 19th century and North American slavery became a focal point of debates over justice and humanity by the time of the American Civil War. In part, this had to do with the paradox of slavery in the world's leading democratic republic; it also stemmed from the increasingly public debates over slavery and ABOLITION waged in politics and social life in the United States, debates that dated to the era of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Slavery's roots on North American soil dated to the early 1600s, when British colonists began importing slaves as laborers. For a century prior to this time, the colonial powers of Portugal and Spain had dominated the international SLAVE TRADE. Nevertheless, from 1619, when a ship landed at Jamestown with 20 "Negroes," through the 1860s, slavery became a definitive part of Anglo-American culture. North American slave systems diverged from Old World bondage in two ways. First, slavery existed in perpetuity. This meant that all descendants of the enslaved person—usually following the mother's status—were themselves enslaved. The only way to attain freedom was to run away or to be freed by a private manumission (which might require special permission from the colonial legislature). Second, North American slave laws defined bondage in racial terms. In Virginia during the 1660s, new slave laws differentiated between white indentured servitude and black slavery: The former was a temporary status, the latter permanent. By the early 1700s, every North American colony sanctioned slavery in such a statutory manner. In short, slavery and race became intertwined in British North America.

Slavery's growth paralleled that of the British-American colonies. Planters in Virginia and Maryland turned to slave labor to cultivate tobacco during the 1600s. By the

time of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), Chesapeake slaveholders would own the largest number of slaves in the new nation. Beginning in the early 1700s, South Carolina slave owners utilized slaves for rice production. Labor needs and racial attitudes combined to make slavery an integral part of colonial life. In southern colonies, enslaved people worked often on plantations, but, particularly in the middle colonies of Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, they might also work on smaller farms, in urban settings, and at sea as mariners. In Massachusetts and Connecticut, where the overall population of enslaved persons remained relatively small, slaves worked as household servants and did other menial tasks.

Slavery was a significant part of the North American ECONOMY. Cash crops such as tobacco and rice commanded worldwide markets for slave owners, not to mention wealth for colonial merchants and British agents. Slavery also indirectly shaped North American enterprise. Before independence, the North American colonists constituted an integral part of the Atlantic world and had an extensive trade network that provided slave-based economies in the WEST INDIES with vital foodstuffs and other products. Many colonial farmers, fishermen, lumberjacks, and, of course, merchants thus obtained a part of their livelihood from this exchange. After the Revolutionary War, even though much of the trade with the West Indies was technically prohibited by the European colonial powers, it continued. North American involvement with the Atlantic world of slavery was often even more direct. About one-seventh of the New England shipbuilding business was engaged in the overseas slave trade before 1800.

Slavery grew for both technological and ideological reasons during the early republic. The development of the cotton gin rejuvenated slavery by making COTTON production more efficient and profitable. During the 1780s, as tobacco prices sagged and some Chesapeake slave owners began embracing ANTISLAVERY schemes, planters of the Deep South saw a possible future in cotton production and began experimenting with cotton machinery to separate seeds from cotton. ELI WHITNEY's invention merely improved upon this machinery. At the same time, slaveholders in South Carolina, Georgia, and North Carolina expressed proslavery sentiments that were aimed squarely at undercutting the early abolition movement. When Pennsylvania QUAKERS presented a petition seeking an end to the overseas slave trade in the first federal Congress in 1790, representatives from both Georgia and South Carolina harshly criticized them. Southern society relied on AFRICAN-AMERICAN bondage, these men argued. Without slaves to clear fields, drain swamps, plant and harvest crops, and engage in other forms of backbreaking labor, they claimed that their economy and society would be hampered. The petition was accepted but not acted upon.



During the second half of the 18th century and the first few decades of the 19th century, the institution of slavery underwent a number of important transformations. For the first time in Anglo-American culture, an abolitionist movement appeared to put slavery on the defensive. Until about the 1750s, most of the major religious institutions in Anglo-American culture sanctioned bondage. The Society of Friends, better known as Quakers, initiated the first attack on slavery during the 1750s and 1760s when it forced slaveholders from their ranks. During the revolutionary era, many conscience-stricken slave owners emancipated slaves by private deed. And abolition gained a foothold in politics and law. In 1780 Pennsylvania became the first state in the new union to adopt a gradual abolition statute by which newly born slaves would be slowly freed over the next several decades. Between the 1780s and early 1800s, every other northern state would banish bondage through constitutional, legislative, or judicial action. By 1812 there were still slaves in the North, but slavery was on its way toward extinction in the region above the Ohio River and north of Maryland.

In the South, on the other hand, slavery expanded and became an increasingly sectional institution, spreading into many new states and territories: Kentucky and Tennessee in the 1790s; Alabama, Arkansas, FLORIDA, Mississippi, and Missouri during the next few decades. In 1790 the first federal census (which although it contained some errors remains a reliable gauge of slavery at the time) counted more than 700,000 bondspersons and more than 60,000 free people of color. By 1830, according to the census, the number of slaves had more than doubled. By the Civil War, the number of slaves would total 3.5 million. Since slave importations were limited during this period—only a trickle of slaves arrived illegally after federal law abolished the international slave trade in 1808—this growth largely resulted from a natural increase. There was a rough balance in the North American slave population between males and females. Although not sanctioned by law, slaves often married and raised families. This development helped foster an emerging African-American culture but was tempered by the power of the white slave owner who could at any moment sell family members, separating husbands and wives, parents and children. Slave owners could also disrupt families by sexually exploiting females or physically punishing any family member.

The study of slavery has changed significantly over the past 30 years, emphasizing more than ever the lives, struggles, and worldviews of the enslaved. Enslaved people created many defensive mechanisms to survive bondage. Resistance included running away, both to achieve freedom itself and to protest particularly harsh treatment; sabotage and work slowdowns; and outright rebellion. The revolutionary era saw a substantial number of runaways,



Most of the founding fathers from the southern colonies, including Thomas Jefferson and George Washington, owned slaves. Washington is depicted here with slaves on his estate in Mount Vernon. Lithograph by Currier & Ives (*Library of Congress*)

in large measure due to the Revolutionary War. Virginia's last royal governor, JOHN MURRAY, EARL OF DUNMORE, issued a proclamation promising freedom to all slaves fleeing owners involved in the rebellion. Whether or not they knew of Dunmore's offer, several thousand African Americans ran to British-controlled territory, especially New York City and Charleston. For decades after the war, a number of slave rebellions occurred in southern states: In 1794 a slave rebellion was planned and foiled in Southampton County, Virginia; in 1800 one of the most famous slave plots (GABRIEL'S REBELLION) was uncovered outside of Richmond, Virginia, but torrential rains and betrayals wiped out the conspiracy before it started; and in 1811 a large uprising occurred outside Natchez, Mississippi. In Gabriel's Rebellion at least one slave made the connection between the revolutionary ideology of the age and the liberation of slaves explicit by declaring at his trial: "I have nothing more to offer than what George Washington would have had to offer, had he been taken by the British . . . I have ventured my life endeavouring to obtain the liberty of my countrymen, and am a willing sacrifice in their cause." Such slave rebels sought to close by violence the contradictions between American slavery and American freedom, believing that slave owners would never emancipate enslaved people of their own volition.

The formation of a solidified slave culture was also an important mechanism of survival for bondspersons. Generally defined as a melding of African and Western religious principles and customs under slavery, slave culture was much more than that. Slave culture represented the beginning of a black nationalist ethos with direct connections to African custom and belief. It also took the more practical form of community values shaped from a common



experience of oppression—a web of relationships and ideas that offered black families strength in the face of constant threats of violence and separation. Finally, slave culture formed an autonomous space from oppressive European-American society, where enslaved people might simply carry on certain religious practices and celebrate in a particular manner. Slave culture might include transcendent customs such as the ring shout, a dance derived from African religious ceremonies. It might also include such things as naming practices: While slaveholders often insisted on naming slave children (as a means of control), African Americans renamed them in honor of ancestors, parents, and African customs.

Slave culture was not uniform throughout the United States, however. The type of slave system, as well as geography, influenced the formation and deeper meaning of slave culture. In South Carolina, for example, rice cultivation occurred through the task system: Slaves were assigned certain tasks (such as clearing a field or working on an irrigation ditch) that, when completed, allowed bondspersons to engage in other activities such as tending a garden to supplement food rations. In addition, South Carolina masters often lived apart from slaves during the hottest summer months, leaving bondspersons under the eye of white overseers and black slave drivers. Thus, while South Carolina bondage was one of the most brutal slave systems on the North American continent, it also ironically offered the most distance from white authority. African-derived cultural patterns and linguistic systems developed more fully in South Carolina than anywhere else—and some still survive (such as Gullah). Finally, South Carolinians probably learned rice-cultivation techniques from enslaved people forcibly removed from rice-growing regions of Western Africa, such as modern-day Angola. At the beginning of the 18th century, and extending through the early 1800s, South Carolina slaveholders prized African rice cultivators. Their traditions survived the horrors of the Middle Passage and took root in South Carolina.

In the Chesapeake states of Virginia and Maryland, however, the relatively smaller size of plantations dictated a different slave cultural development. Slave owners often lived in closer proximity to bondspersons, and they sought to influence their daily lives to a much greater extent. Evangelical Christianity spread more rapidly among slaves in the Chesapeake during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, because slaves were less isolated from European-American institutions. In addition, Virginia and Maryland slaveholders preferred to import slaves from the Caribbean, not directly from African shores as did South Carolinians. By the revolutionary era, the lagging tobacco fortunes of Virginia and Maryland plantation owners created a surplus of slave labor. Many Chesapeake planters even supported calls

to end the overseas slave trade. On the other hand, South Carolinians brought in 40,000 slaves before a congressional ban of the trade took effect in 1808—ironically rejuvenating the African presence on South Carolina plantations in the early 19th century.

Because of the excess slaves in the Chesapeake region, and because of the expansion of settlement across the Appalachians, between 1783 and 1815 many African-American slaves experienced disruption in their lives as they were either brought to the FRONTIER by their owners or were sold in areas of new settlement. This forced migration is often overlooked in the saga of early westward expansion, which focuses more on the mythical European-American backwoodsman than on the bondsperson brought over the mountains in chains. Slaves on the frontier engaged in a variety of activities, including hunting, herding, and breaking new ground for farming. More often than not, sooner or later, their work settled upon the daily grind of tending a tobacco or cotton crop. In the meantime, these slaves usually experienced permanent separation from family and friends, and a life of isolation compared to the more accustomed African-American communities of the slave quarter in the tidewater regions near the Atlantic.

Ultimately, African traditions survived and even thrived among Chesapeake and frontier slaves, as they did even in northern locations. Still, regional variations proved telling in the formation and development of slave culture in North America.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—Richard Newman

## slave trade

Although the overseas slave trade in North America accounted for a relatively small percentage of slaves exported from Africa, it became a focal point for ANTI-SLAVERY reformers in the final decades of the 18th century. According to the most recent scholarly estimates, the slave trade forcibly removed from 12 to 15 million Africans between the 16th and 19th centuries—with many Africans being sent to Brazil or to the WEST INDIES. Less than 5 percent of enslaved Africans came to North America. Between 1700 and the 1780s, roughly 250,000 Africans arrived in North America via the slave trade. Routes of the slave trade to North America differed according to the needs and predilections of slave owners. Colonial Virginians imported slaves from the West Indies, preferring that they be “seasoned”—having experience as slaves and having survived the first disease ridden years of SLAVERY (see also DISEASE AND EPIDEMIC). South Carolinians, on the other hand, purchased slaves directly from African shores, favoring ethnic groups who had cultivated rice and could transfer their skills to New World plantations. Northern colonies imported slaves as well, although in fewer numbers. Between 1757 and 1766 Philadelphians brought about 1,300 slaves to the city’s port—much fewer than either Virginians or South Carolinians might import in a given year. But even though northern colonies were not the largest slave importers, northern mer-

chants directed much of the overseas slave trade to North America, particularly following the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83). During the 1790s, for example, Pennsylvania abolitionists tracked dozens of cases in which New England ships brought slaves to the southern plantations.

The slave trade came under intense public attack during the revolutionary era. The concern for human rights and self-determination that accompanied the AMERICAN REVOLUTION led many ministers, statesmen, and even slaveholders to view the slave trade as a violation of both natural rights and religious dictates. THOMAS JEFFERSON’s initial draft of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE chastised King GEORGE III for forcing the slave trade upon colonial Americans. Celebrated Philadelphia physician and reformer BENJAMIN RUSH issued one of the most stirring attacks on the trade: a 1773 pamphlet, *An Address to the Inhabitant of the British Settlements in America, upon Slave-Keeping*. New England clergyman ISAAC BACKUS, Virginia politician GEORGE MASON, and President GEORGE WASHINGTON were some of the other figures who similarly came to oppose the slave trade. In fact, although the UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION prohibited a federal ban on imports for 20 years—until 1808—every state legislature outlawed the slave trade in the 1780s and 1790s, although South Carolina rescinded its ban in 1803.

The slave trade became one of the first points of sectional conflict in early congressional politics. In the first Congress in 1790, early abolitionists petitioned the government to curtail African imports before the 1807 date. Proslavery advocates in South Carolina and Georgia threatened disunion if any slave trade ban occurred before the constitutional deadline. Congress backed away from the issue but revisited it briefly in 1794 by passing a law against U.S. ships from visiting foreign ports for the purposes of carrying out the slave trade. By 1807, however, Congress, with little debate, could pass legislation ending the international slave trade on January 1, 1808—“a day of public thanksgiving,” as Philadelphian ABSALOM JONES put it, for free black communities.

See also ABOLITION; AFRICAN AMERICANS.

**Further reading:** Ira Berlin, *Many Thousand Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); Gary B. Nash, *Red, White and Black: The Peoples of Early America*, 5th ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2006); Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997).

—Richard Newman

TO BE SOLD on board the  
Ship *Batte Island*, on tuesday the 6th  
of May next, at *Appley-Ferry*; a choice  
cargo of about 250 fine healthy  
**NEGROES,**  
just arrived from the  
Windward & Rice Coast.  
—The utmost care has  
already been taken, and  
shall be continued, to keep them free from  
the least danger of being infected with the  
SMALL-POX, no boat having been on  
board, and all other communication with  
people from *Charles-Town* prevented.  
*Austin, Laurens, & Appleby.*  
N. B. Full one Half of the above Negroes have had the  
SMALL-POX in their own Country.

A 1780s broadside advertising a slave auction (*Library of Congress*)

**Society of Friends** See QUAKERS.

### Sons of Liberty

Although the term came to represent almost anyone who opposed imperial regulation in the 1760s, and was extended to those who fought for independence after 1776, originally the Sons of Liberty referred to the committee in each community that organized the opposition to the STAMP ACT (1765). The size and social standing of these committees varied from town to town. Boston's committee, originally called the LOYAL NINE, did not have many members, and most came from the middling ranks of society. New York City had either 10 or 18 members, depending on what list is used, but had more merchants and LAWYERS represented among the number. Charleston, South Carolina, had 26 members, including Christopher Gadsden, a wealthy merchant, and many ARTISANS. Albany had more than 90 Sons of Liberty, while other groups had more than 100.

Whatever their number and social standing, the Sons of Liberty played a central role in the resistance to the Stamp Act by placing themselves between the colonial leadership and the mob in the street. The Sons of Liberty thereby added muscle to nonimportation agreements and declarations in opposition to imperial regulation while striving to restrain crowd behavior. Without rioting to coerce stamp distributors into resigning, to close courts, and to ensure noncompliance with the Stamp Act, all the petitions and pamphlets in the world would have been meaningless. But if the RIOTS went too far, then the political message of the anti-Stamp Act forces would be harmed. The Sons of Liberty engaged in a precarious balancing act by organizing crowd demonstrations, developing contacts with mob leaders, and by interceding at crucial moments to mute the full impact of the mob. They were not always successful; but they managed to control or guide the situation often enough to sustain the opposition to imperial regulation and nullify the effect of the Stamp Act.

The Sons of Liberty was a local association within each community; there was no pan-colonial group called Sons of Liberty. However, as the crisis wore on, different Sons of Liberty began to correspond with each other to coordinate positions, and some groups even sent delegations to visit one another.

Once the Stamp Act was repealed, in some communities the Sons of Liberty disbanded and continued in others. The experience of organizing resistance, contacting other communities, and working with both the mob and colonial leadership had two long lasting results. First, the Sons of Liberty gave additional political voice to men from the middle of society. Second, in reaction to other imperial measures, many of the same men either reasserted the Sons of Liberty, or organized new committees, to coordinate resistance. When rebellion turned to revolution, these committees even began to take over the functions of government.

See also COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE.

**Further reading:** Paul A. Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763–1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765–1776* (New York: Knopf, 1972); Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

### South Carolina Regulation (1767–1769)

During the late 1760s the South Carolina Regulation—an elite-led social reform movement employing vigilante methods—erupted on the southern FRONTIER. This movement had its origin in the history of the southern backcountry. The defeat of powerful coastal Indians in the Yamasee War early in the 18th century allowed European-American hunters and Indian traders to move into the South Carolina backcountry. Colonists did not settle the region in large numbers until the 1740s, when they began pouring into the area from colonies to the north. Despite prolonged conflicts with the CHEROKEE that lasted until the mid-1760s, backcountry settlers rapidly developed the region's ECONOMY. Initially most farmers concentrated on feeding their families through hunting and growing a little corn, but many quickly began to take advantage of commercial crops such as grain, COTTON, indigo, and tobacco. The most ambitious individuals invested in enslaved workers to help them expand production. Forced black laborers provided aspiring planters with wealth and status. The problem for these backcountry elites was the absence of government institutions and laws to deal with discontented Indians, rebellious slaves, greedy bandits, and squatters who lived from hunting and gathering. All of these people threatened the sanctity of property and the needs of a commercial economy based on SLAVERY.

While the area expanded economically and the number of colonists grew exponentially, the infrastructure did not keep pace. Government institutions—civil and criminal courts, jails, even a land office—did not exist in the backcountry. The lack of courts and jails made debts difficult to collect and attracted horse thieves and bandits. When planters wanted to collect debts, bring criminals to justice, or patent land, they had to travel to Charleston, which could take two weeks. The South Carolina assembly, overwhelmingly made up of easterners eager to protect their own interests, did little to rectify the situation.

Responding to a wave of crimes in the mid-1760s, property holders, led by slave owners, took the law into their own hands. Outraged over their lack of success in getting bandits and horse thieves convicted in the Charleston court, they began in the fall of 1767 to attack outlaw



communities, burning houses, taking property, and flogging suspects. Adopting the name Regulators, they sent a petition to the governor and assembly calling for the establishment of courts in the backcountry, legal reforms, changes in the poor law, and the creation of new laws to force people without visible means of subsistence, such as hunters, to work. While the assembly set about obtaining the Crown's approval of a circuit court act, it legitimated the vigilante actions of the Regulators by appointing two companies of Rangers, made up largely of Regulators, to suppress outlaw gangs. These Rangers tracked outlaws even in North Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia. They killed large numbers of law breakers; others they took to Charleston to stand trial. By March 1768 the campaign was deemed a success.

But rather than end their activities, Regulators now turned their attention to such marginal people as squatters, vagrants, and hunters, who either could not, or would not, make AGRICULTURE and land ownership their main goals in life. Such people were flogged, expelled from their communities, or forced to work. Women who transgressed traditional sexual norms were whipped or dunked. Emboldened by their successes, the Regulators defied authorities by preventing them from serving all warrants or writs, except writs of debt, in the backcountry. The governor and the assembly, aware of how much they needed the support of Regulators in case of slave uprisings or renewed conflict with NATIVE AMERICANS, did little to suppress the vigilante movement which was soon in complete control of the backcountry. Yet opposition developed among backcountry inhabitants who abhorred the violence and the choice of victims. Their resistance, in some instances itself violent, and the eventual passage of a circuit court act, ended the movement in 1769. In late 1771 the governor issued pardons for Regulators facing damage suits brought by their victims. Unlike the North Carolina Regulators who demanded a more equitable economic system for free farmers, the South Carolina Regulators enabled elite men to consolidate their power and push the backcountry several steps closer to becoming a well-ordered slave society.

See also NORTH CAROLINA REGULATION; RIOTS.

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—Marjoleine Kars

### Stamp Act (March 22, 1765)

Along with the SUGAR ACT (1764), the Stamp Act was intended to raise revenue in the colonies explicitly for paying part of “the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing” the colonies from NATIVE AMERICAN and foreign threats. Since Great Britain had accumulated a debt over £135 million the British first minister, GEORGE GRENVILLE, thought it only appropriate that the colonies contribute to their own defense. Maintaining an army in North America would cost about £200,000 per year. The Sugar and Stamp Acts together were to raise about half that sum, with the rest of the money provided by Parliament. The British believed that Stamp duties were an innocuous tax and would be self-enforceable. Great Britain already had a stamp tax, and since the duty would be levied on all legal and commercial papers, liquor licenses, land instruments, indentures, cards, dice, newspapers, pamphlets, advertisements, academic degrees, and appointments to office, colonists could not undertake any business without the stamped paper. Anyone interested in any transaction—whether it was buying a piece of property, sailing a ship, or exchanging goods—would use the stamped paper to ensure the transaction was legal. To make the law more acceptable, the British government chose local politicians within the colonies as stamp agents.

The law, however, was not acceptable to most colonists. The Stamp Act created a crisis in the relationship between Great Britain and the colonies. The opposition took many forms, and established a pattern that would be followed throughout the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75). On one level was the reaction of the elite. The Virginia House of Burgesses and eight other colonial houses of assembly passed resolves asserting that only representatives elected by the colonists had the right to tax the colonies. Nine colonies also sent representatives to a STAMP ACT CONGRESS in New York in October 1765 that declared that Parliament had no right to tax the colonies. Men like DANIEL DULANY wrote pamphlets exploring the constitutional issues. Dulany, for instance, denied the idea that colonial Americans were virtually represented in Parliament, and asserted the right of the colonists to be taxed only by their actual representatives that they voted into office. Other colonial Americans struggled to distinguish between internal taxation—to raise revenue within the colonies—and external taxation—to regulate the empire, declaring that Parliament had a right to the second form of taxation, but not the first. In addition, groups of merchants in several seaports passed agreements against importing goods from Great Britain in an effort to put economic pressure on their British counterparts to have the measure repealed.

On another level was the reaction of the people in the street. The Stamp Act led to a wave of rioting that swept through the colonies. Mobs in Boston marched through



An angry mob protests against the Stamp Act by throwing stamped documents onto a bonfire in Boston, August 1765. (Hulton/Archive)

town with an effigy of stamp distributor ANDREW OLIVER and tore down a building he had constructed on the waterfront on August 14, 1765. Twelve days later, another Boston mob gutted the house of Lieutenant Governor THOMAS HUTCHINSON. Similar disturbances occurred in several seaports, forcing stamp distributors to resign and making the law a dead letter. The mob seemed to rule the streets in community after community. The Stamp Act was to take effect on November 1, 1765. That day came and went with, after some coercion by the people in the streets, business continuing as usual. Crowds also added muscle to the non-importation agreements by coercing those who imported goods from Great Britain. The mob made a self-enforceable law, unenforceable.

Local leaders formed a series of loose associations to coordinate the crowd action and the resolves of the elite. In Boston the group at first called itself the LOYAL NINE, but they later took the name that was used elsewhere—SONS OF LIBERTY. These groups strove to guide the mob,

correspond between towns and colonies to coordinate their positions, and sought to enforce resolves against the use of stamped paper. In most colonies it was the Sons of Liberty, with mobs close by, that saw to it that ships sailed without stamped paper and that all judicial proceedings were stopped. They even sought to put additional pressures on merchants who did not comply with non-importation agreements.

All of these measures had some impact on Great Britain. British merchants, unable to collect debts in closed colonial courts and suffering a decline in TRADE, petitioned Parliament to repeal the law. Oddly, what made the most difference in Parliament was neither the colonial opposition nor the merchant's petitions. Instead, the crucial factor in the repeal of the Stamp Act was the fact that there was a change in government. Grenville, who was never popular with King GEORGE III, was forced from office in the summer of 1765 over issues unrelated to colonial policy. In Grenville's place the king appointed a new administration headed by Charles, Lord Rockingham who had opposed the Stamp Act in the first place. Given the colonial resistance, and the pressure of British merchants, Rockingham had the act repealed (March 18, 1766). However, to placate his political opposition, and so as not give in on the constitutional issues, he also had Parliament pass the DECLARATORY ACT (1766), which stated that Parliament had the right to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

**Further reading:** Paul A. Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763–1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765–1776* (New York: Knopf, 1972); Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

### Stamp Act Congress (October 1765)

In reaction to the STAMP ACT (1765), the Massachusetts assembly circulated a letter to the other colonies in North America to meet in a congress in New York City to discuss how they should oppose the tax measure. Nine colonies responded to the invitation. Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia could not send delegates because their governors refused to call the assemblies to choose delegates. New Hampshire did not send a delegate but approved the proceedings.

Twenty-seven delegates attended the meeting, and although they chose conservative Timothy Ruggles to preside over the congress, they drew up a strongly worded petition against the Stamp Act. Like most petitions of the



18th century, the congress began with a statement of loyalty to king, proclaiming that they were “sincerely devoted” and had “the warmest Sentiments of Affection and Duty to His Majesty’s Person and Government.” However, they also asserted “that his Majesty’s Subjects in these Colonies, are entitled to all the inherent Rights and Liberties of his Natural born Subjects, within the Kingdom of *Great Britain*” and “that it is inseparably essential to the Freedom of a People, and the undoubted Right of *Englishmen*, that no Taxes be imposed on them, but with their own Consent, given personally, or by their Representatives.” Besides protesting the Stamp Act, the delegates also officially objected to the SUGAR ACT (1764).

The delegates believed that Parliament had the right to pass laws regulating the empire but held that Parliament did not have the right to raise taxes within the colonies. They hotly debated including an explicit statement admitting Parliament’s role in legislating external affairs in their petition but decided not to do so. The congress also did not advocate any overt resistance to the law. While neither too radical nor too conservative, the Stamp Act Congress represented an important early effort at intercolonial cooperation

**Further reading:** Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to a Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

### states' rights

The issue of states’ rights—the idea that a state had the right to resist federal intrusion on its laws—arose almost as soon as the United States first became a nation. American WHIGS fought the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) in part as a means to guarantee that a central government, in this case Parliament, should not dictate taxes to each colony. When the revolutionaries established their first form of government under the ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION, they asserted that “each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence,” and that all powers not expressly granted in the Articles of Confederation were left to the states. Taxes were to be levied in proportion to the population of each state and raised by each state on its own.

The members of the Philadelphia CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION found these restrictions too limiting, and therefore they created a more powerful government, dependent on simple majorities (or two-thirds majority to override a presidential veto) and capable of raising and collecting its own taxes. The founding fathers also inserted a loophole into the UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION: Article 1, Section 8 included a statement that Congress had the power “to make all Laws which shall be necessary and

proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States. . . .”

ANTI-FEDERALISTS had many objections to the Constitution, including the belief that the new government destroyed the rights of individual states. As a result of anti-Federalist complaints, supporters of the Constitution agreed to pass the BILL OF RIGHTS. The last and 10th of this list of rights, and amended unto the Constitution, stated: “The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, or to the people.” Between this article and the “necessary and proper clause” there was a great deal of room for debate over the relative power of the federal and state governments.

That debate was joined as the first party system emerged in the 1790s. ALEXANDER HAMILTON and the FEDERALIST PARTY used the “necessary and proper” clause to expand the powers of government and create institutions like the FIRST BANK OF THE UNITED STATES. The DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PARTY opposition, led by THOMAS JEFFERSON and JAMES MADISON, held that this interpretation of the Constitution was too broad and drained power from the states. While each side jockeyed for position during the mid-1790s, it was only when the Federalist Party government passed the ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS (1798) that Jefferson and Madison fully articulated a states’ rights argument. Writing the VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS (1798), Madison and Jefferson asserted that “whensoever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force.” While staking out an extreme state’s rights position, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions did not have a big impact on the rest of the nation. The ELECTION OF 1800 and Jefferson’s victory left the repressive measures of the Alien and Sedition Acts moot.

As the Democratic-Republicans gained power in the early 1800s, the Federalist Party had to turn to states’ rights arguments. Some members of the Federalist Party opposed the LOUISIANA PURCHASE because they believed there was no constitutional provision to permit the acquisition of territory and because any new states that might result would weaken the political voice of the existing states. Similarly, Federalists Party leaders argued against the EMBARGO OF 1807 and provisions to support the trade ban because it hurt the interests of the New England states, the stronghold of the Federalist Party. The most extreme statement of states’ rights by the Federalist Party occurred in opposition to the War of 1812 (1812–15). The resolutions passed at the Hartford Convention asked the New England state legislators to protect their citizens from forcible enlistment into the militia, army, or navy—in effect nullifying the war effort. With the war over even before the Hartford Convention

adjourned, the resolutions had little real impact beyond further discrediting the Federalist Party.

In the years after 1815, states' rights would emerge repeatedly as a divisive issue concerning internal improvements, TARIFFS, BANKS, and SLAVERY. Ultimately, the issue would contribute to the origins of the Civil War.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES.

**Further reading:** Saul Cornell, *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

**Steuben, Frederick, baron von** (1730–1794) *military trainer of the Continental army*

A relatively obscure foreign officer who arrived at VALLEY FORGE in the bleak winter of 1777–78, Baron Frederick von Steuben became a crucial element in the CONTINENTAL ARMY's development and success as a fighting unit. Born into a Prussian military family in 1730, Steuben entered the officer corps of the Prussian army while still in his teens. He attained the rank of captain while serving in the Seven Years' War—in North America the conflict



Baron von Steuben (National Archives)

was called the French and Indian War (1754–63)—and was attached for a time to the general staff of Frederick the Great, Europe's foremost military genius. When peace came in 1763, Steuben left the army. For the next 12 years, he was court chamberlain to the prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, during which time he supposedly acquired the title of baron. Heavily in debt when he left that situation in 1775, he sought various military and civilian posts in Europe. Finally, in 1777, he came to BENJAMIN FRANKLIN's attention in Paris. After securing an endorsement and a loan, Steuben was soon on his way to North America.

Upon his arrival, Steuben wrote to the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS and offered his services to the fledgling nation, asking only payment of his expenses. Satisfied that this military expert was flexible enough to adapt his training methods to the raw Continental troops, GEORGE WASHINGTON welcomed Steuben into the fold. The baron's robust personality and military expertise had an energizing effect on the ragtag volunteer army he found wintering at Valley Forge. Unable to speak English, Steuben worked through interpreters as he undertook to transform the demoralized, disorganized men into confident, efficient soldiers. He began by composing a uniform code of drill, writing his instructions in French, which were then translated into English. The drill regulations were transcribed daily and passed along to all levels of command, so that eventually every officer and drill instructor could make his own copy. Steuben formed a model company of 100 specially chosen men; wishing to train them personally for maximum effect, he learned the English words for his instructions and delivered them by rote. The men from the model company would then become drill sergeants for their own units. As the soldiers became more proficient under Steuben's demanding yet good-humored tutelage, enthusiasm for precision drilling spread throughout the army and morale increased. Washington recognized Steuben's remarkable achievement by recommending him for the post of inspector general with the rank of major general. When the Continental army marched out of Valley Forge in June 1778, it had attained a level of discipline almost comparable to that of the professional British regulars. Steuben's drill manual grew into the *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*, which remained the official guide for military training and procedure until 1812.

In 1780 Washington granted Steuben's wish for a field command, and he served as a division commander during the siege at YORKTOWN (October 19, 1781). After the Revolutionary War, Steuben became a citizen of the United States and resided in upstate New York. Rising debts almost forced him into bankruptcy in 1790, but the federal government awarded him an annual pension of \$2,500 for his wartime services. Baron Steuben died on November 28, 1794.

**Further reading:** Page Smith, *A New Age Now Begins: A People's History of the American Revolution*, vol. 2 (New York: McGraw Hill, 1989); Frederick William Baron von Steuben, *Baron Von Steuben's Revolutionary War Drill Manual: A Facsimile Reprint of the 1794 Edition* (New York: Dover Publications, 1985).

—Rita M. Broyles

### **Stoney Point, Battle of** (July 16, 1779)

General ANTHONY WAYNE led a successful assault on the British position at Stoney Point on the west bank of the Hudson River at King's Ferry on July 16, 1779. Defended by 500 British soldiers under the command of Colonel Henry Johnson, Stoney Point looked impregnable since it sat on a peninsula and was atop a steep hill 150 feet above the river. Moreover, the landward approach was through a swamp. Wayne planned a midnight assault and divided his light infantry corps into three columns. A small contingent would feign an attack from the landward side, firing their weapons and making as much noise as they could. The other two columns would advance in total silence and scale the heights along the river with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. The attack on the two wings was preceded by small detachments to clear the abatis and other obstructions. The plan worked to perfection, and the men climbing both sides of the hill arrived almost simultaneously and overwhelmed the British garrison. After a brief but furious fight, Johnson surrendered. Of the 1,300 men in Wayne's force, 15 were killed and 85 wounded. The British lost 20 killed and 442 captured (including 74 wounded). The victory was an important boost to the morale of the CONTINENTAL ARMY, although three days after the battle, GEORGE WASHINGTON ordered Stoney Point abandoned since he did not want to detach too many troops to defend a position that was vulnerable to British army and naval attack.

**Further reading:** Paul David Nelson, *Anthony Wayne: Soldier of the Early Republic* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1985).

### **Story, Joseph** (1779–1845) *associate justice of the Supreme Court*

Joseph Story was the leading academic on the early SUPREME COURT of the United States. Born in Massachusetts on September 18, 1779, and educated at Harvard, Story studied law in the office of Samuel Sewall, later chief justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. In 1801 he began practicing law and was soon elected to the Massachusetts legislature. An avowed DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN (Jeffersonian), in 1808–09 he represented Massachusetts in

the U.S. House of Representatives, where he opposed the EMBARGO OF 1807 and earned the distrust of many leading Democratic-Republicans, including Jefferson himself. He then returned to Massachusetts, where he served again in the legislature.

On November 18, 1811, President JAMES MADISON appointed Story an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. At age 32, he was the youngest person ever appointed to the Supreme Court. He remained on the Court for 34 years. As a justice, Story quickly allied himself with chief justice JOHN MARSHALL. Perhaps the most important majority opinion he wrote was in *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee* (1816) upholding the Supreme Court's jurisdiction over the state courts. Story also wrote the Court's opinion in the case of the *Amistad*, directing that the alleged slaves who seized that vessel be freed and returned to their homes in Africa. In 1835, when John Marshall died, Story was widely thought to be the most capable successor as Chief Justice, but President Andrew Jackson opted not to make the appointment, largely because he considered Story dangerous to the cause of STATES' RIGHTS.

Story was extraordinarily productive. His position as Supreme Court justice allowed him some free time, and in 1829 he decided to teach at Harvard Law School. Between 1832 and 1845, he published a series of commentaries covering such diverse subjects as the Constitution, equity jurisprudence and pleading, and bailments. These gained Story an international reputation and a fairly large income. He died on September 10, 1845.

**Further reading:** R. Kent Newmyer, *Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story: Statesman of the Old Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985); William Wetmore Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1851).

—Lindsay Robertson

### **Stuart, Gilbert** (1755–1829) *painter*

Gilbert Stuart, a provincial artist in the 1770s, became the leading portraitist in the new nation, especially renowned for his paintings of the revolutionary hero and president, GEORGE WASHINGTON. Stuart's father operated a snuff mill in North Kingston, Rhode Island, where he was born in 1755. The family moved to Newport when he was a young boy where he met the traveling artist Cosmo Alexander, who provided the young Stuart with lessons and employment as his assistant on his travels to Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Scotland where Alexander's unexpected death in 1772 left Stuart stranded. Stuart made his way back to Newport and continued his portrait work. When his LOYALIST father moved to Nova Scotia in 1775 to avoid the revolutionary crisis, the young patriot artist departed for



London where he struggled for work, although BENJAMIN WEST helped him with lessons and employment. His *Self Portrait* of 1778 shows his increasing knowledge of English and European styles and models. He began to achieve success and commissions from prominent people but was forced to flee London in 1787 to escape his creditors.

Stuart arrived in New York in 1793 to seek the patronage of the new nation's merchants, politicians, and REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) heroes. Armed with a letter from Chief Justice JOHN JAY, he secured a sitting of President GEORGE WASHINGTON in Philadelphia in 1795, the first of several Stuart paintings of Washington. MARTHA WASHINGTON commissioned another likeness, the *George Washington Athenaeum Portrait*, (1796, National Portrait Gallery). He worked in Philadelphia for nine years before moving briefly to the new capital, WASHINGTON, D.C., in 1803, then leaving for Boston in 1805, where he remained for the rest of his life.

Stuart's cosmopolitan painterly technique featured rapid and facile brushwork along with subtle blending of color to create an atmospheric style. However, the artist had difficulty finishing his sittings and often was perilously in debt. He died insolvent in Boston in 1828.

See also ART.

**Further reading:** Carrie Rebora Barratt and Ellen G. Miles, *Gilbert Stuart* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005); James Tomas Flexner, *Gilbert Stuart: A Great Life in Brief* (New York: Knopf, 1955).

—David Jaffe

**Stuart, John** See BUTE, JOHN STUART, EARL OF.

### Suffolk Resolves (September 9, 1774)

In an effort to provide a course of action to resist further imperial regulation, SAMUEL ADAMS had the county convention in Suffolk, Massachusetts, draw up a series of resolves opposing the changes in Massachusetts government dictated by the COERCIVE ACTS (1774). Written by JOSEPH WARREN, the resolves were delivered to the FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS by PAUL REVERE on September 16, 1774. As its first official action, Congress endorsed the Suffolk Resolves, thus assuming a supervisory role over the resistance to the Coercive Acts in Massachusetts.

The resolves began with a fiery preamble that referred to FREDERICK, LORD NORTH as having “the arbitrary will of a licentious minister,” and decried the British soldiers in Boston as “military executioners.” The Coercive Acts were labeled “murderous.” The resolves also outlined a series of measures intended to circumvent or nullify the British legislation. Tax collectors were not to send their receipts

to the treasury. The colony's councillors, now appointed by the governor instead of elected, were urged to resign. Everyone was to ignore the action of judges appointed with new commissions, and all judicial orders were not to be followed. The Suffolk Resolves also called for a nonimportation movement. As radical as these steps appeared, many in Congress saw them as following a moderate course. All measures were viewed as defensive, and the resolves reasserted the colonial “affection for his majesty.” There was no call to drive the British troops out of Boston, and there was no unilateral assumption of the previous colonial government. The Suffolk Resolves were an important first step in Congress's emergence as a guiding force in the crisis caused by the Coercive Acts, and they helped to prepare the way for the ASSOCIATION that led to a nonimportation movement that further aggravated the imperial crisis.

**Further reading:** Jack N. Rakove, *The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress* (New York: Knopf, 1979).

### suffrage

Revolutionary Americans took the broad right to vote that had existed during the colonial period and expanded it after independence. In England the franchise was based on property. The standard requirement was a 40-shilling freehold, which meant the right to vote was given to adult males who owned property that was worth 40 shillings annually in income or rent. In the 18th century this limited who voted in England to about one-fifth of the adult male population. Property qualifications in colonial North America had a less restrictive effect because property ownership was much more widespread. Some colonies, such as Massachusetts and Rhode Island, simply adopted the 40-shilling freehold. In other colonies, such as Virginia and North Carolina, the right to vote was restricted to those who owned a certain amount of acreage. Taken as a whole, more than 50 percent of the adult white males in the colonies had the right to vote.

The RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75) and the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) compelled revolutionary Americans to rethink suffrage. Because the relationship between taxation and representation became such a big issue, and because large numbers of men were called upon to fight the war for independence, there was a clamor for including more people in the political process. The writing of new state constitutions (see also CONSTITUTIONS, STATE) provided the opportunity to do so. Only Vermont in 1777, which was not yet recognized as a legitimate entity by the other states, provided for universal manhood suffrage. Other states came close. Pennsylvania granted the right to vote to all adult male taxpayers and their adult sons.

New York and Maryland reduced the property qualification by about half. New York even allowed tenants to vote if they rented sufficient property and paid taxes. Several states detached voting requirements from owning property to paying taxes, a move that generally increased those eligible to vote and altered the rationale behind the franchise. Traditionally, WHIG theory held that a voter should own a permanent stake in society—property—to ensure his independent judgement. Now, just the fact that a person was taxed meant that he should have some say in government. The new requirements became so inclusive that in some states free AFRICAN AMERICANS, if they met the other requirements, were allowed to vote, and, until 1807, propertied women could vote in New Jersey.

Not everyone was pleased with these developments. Men such as JOHN ADAMS wanted property to be more broadly distributed but still clung to the stake in society ideal. Adams wished that more people owned land so that they could “take Care of Liberty, Virtue, and Interest of the Multitude in all Acts of Government.” But he also held that giving propertyless men the right to vote would corrupt the republic. “Such is the Frailty of the human Heart,” Adams wrote “that very few Men, who have no Property, have any Judgement of their own.” Instead of being independent, the propertyless will be “directed by Some Man of property, who has attached their Minds to his Interest.”

Adams, however, never understood the full force of the democratic movement. Over the course of the next few decades, state after state abandoned property qualifications for voting. Leading the way were the new states admitted into the union. Vermont, when it finally became a state in 1791, and Kentucky, in 1792, both wrote universal manhood suffrage into their constitutions. Most other new states did the same. By the early 1800s the more established eastern states followed suit. Often, however, this expansion of the franchise came with some cost. When New York State removed its property qualifications for adult white men in 1821, it retained them for African Americans. By 1824 every state but Louisiana, Virginia, and Rhode Island had universal white manhood suffrage.

See also REPUBLICANISM.

**Further reading:** Marc W. Kruman, *Between Authority and Liberty: State Constitution Making in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); J. R. Pole, *Political Representation in England and the Origins of the American Republic* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966).

### Sugar Act (1764)

Confronted with the need to raise revenue to help support an army to defend the colonies, the British govern-

ment under the leadership of GEORGE GRENVILLE passed the American Duties Act—generally known as the Sugar Act (passed April 5, 1764)—to generate revenue and make customs collection more efficient. The law is known as the Sugar Act since most colonists focused on its impact on sugar imports. From the British perspective, this measure was logical. Under the previous legislation, the Molasses Act of 1733, colonists were to pay six pence per gallon on foreign molasses. This duty was prohibitive and was intended to help British WEST INDIES planters, since British officials assumed that if the colonists could not afford to buy the foreign product, they would be compelled to buy molasses produced in the British West Indies. However, under the old law smuggling had become so profitable that little molasses was imported from the British islands. The new law therefore reduced the price of imported molasses and represented a net gain in customs collections, since the new rate made legally imported molasses competitive with smuggled molasses.

To help enforce this measure, the Grenville government, which had already begun to tighten up customs enforcement, added provisions to further assist the customs service. In particular, the Sugar Act allowed customs agents to take their court cases to an Admiralty Court away from the immediate neighborhood of the customs violation. Prior to this provision, it was very difficult for a customs officer to gain a conviction when a merchant violated the law because the trial would be held before a local jury that would side with the merchant. The new VICE ADMIRALTY COURT, to be located in Halifax, Nova Scotia, would not have a jury and not be under local influence. In addition, the law limited fines and costs levied against customs collectors for false arrest and gave the Crown, rather than the defendant, the option of what court would hear the case. The British also added provisions that would keep better track of cargoes on intercolonial trade and compel ship owners to post bond to guarantee compliance with the customs laws.

The American Duties Act also affected other trade goods in the colonies. It added some items to the list of enumerated goods—items that could be exported only to Great Britain. The new enumerated goods included hides, whale fins, and iron. The measure also made it more difficult to import textiles such as silk, linens, and calicoes directly to the colonies from foreign ports. It taxed Madeira wine imported directly from Portuguese possessions more heavily than the wine shipped through England. Finally, the new law prohibited the importation of any rum from the French West Indies. This last measure, the British hoped, would force French West Indies planters to export their sugar and molasses to the British North American colonies, where distilleries would make the rum, thereby helping the colonial ECONOMY and forcing France to, in effect, subsidize British colonial production.



Many colonists objected to this law. Merchants had long-established procedures to sidestep imperial measures and had developed smuggling to an art form. Thus, even during the French and Indian War (1754–63) they had illegally imported molasses from the French and other foreign West Indies colonies. The Sugar Act threatened to disrupt their business and hurt their profits. Moreover, the measure was passed at a time when the colonies were struggling economically in a postwar recession. Merchants in several colonies therefore organized to express their discontent with the law. For the most part, they concentrated on economic arguments, saying that the act would hurt their ability to pay their debts to British merchants. In a few instances, the merchants also addressed the ideological issues, expressing concern over being taxed without being represented and declaring their disapproval of the arbitrary nature of the new customs laws. These protests had limited impact on either the colonies or Great Britain. The Sugar Act remained in force and, in fact, to make it even more acceptable the British government, in 1766 reduced the duty to one pence per gallon. It would take other imperial regulations, especially the STAMP ACT (1765), to galvanize colonial resistance further.

See also RESISTANCE MOVEMENT.

**Further reading:** Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York: Knopf, 2000); Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

**Sullivan, John** (1740–1795) *Continental army officer*  
John Sullivan was a capable but controversial general in the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83). A lawyer and major in the New Hampshire militia, Sullivan was a delegate to the FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS in 1774. In 1775 he became a member of the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, which appointed him a brigadier general. He helped General GEORGE WASHINGTON's troops lay siege to Boston until the British evacuated the city (March 17, 1776).

After promotion to major-general in 1776, Sullivan was captured by the British in the BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND (August 27–30, 1776). As a sign of goodwill for peace negotiations the British admiral LORD RICHARD HOWE exchanged Sullivan for the British general Richard Prescott. Sullivan immediately rejoined the CONTINENTAL ARMY, participating in the retreat in New Jersey, commanding the right flank in the Battle of Trenton on December 26, 1776, and fighting the British at Princeton January 3, 1777 (see also BATTLES OF TRENTON AND PRINCETON).

Sullivan's failed raid on Staten Island (August 22, 1777) and growing criticism of his conduct at the BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE (September 11, 1777) caused members of Congress to question his competence and propose suspending Sullivan from active duty. Washington, however, supported Sullivan and further investigations cleared his name from any wrong doings. Sullivan hurriedly rejoined Washington to fight in the BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN (October 4, 1777). Although the British repulsed the attack, Sullivan achieved his assigned task, restoring his reputation.

Sullivan spent the winter with Washington in VALLEY FORGE (1777–78) and took command of the troops in Rhode Island in the spring of 1778 in an attempt to drive the British from Newport. The siege of the coastal town depended on the close operation with the French fleet under CHARLES-HENRI-VICTOR-THÉODAT, COMTE D'ESTAING. D'Estaing, however, withdrew after a hurricane scattered his ships. The British counterattacked at the BATTLE OF RHODE ISLAND (August 29, 1778). Sullivan's troops retreated in good order, preventing many casualties and loss of supplies. However, Sullivan openly criticized d'Estaing and the French for the failure to fully support his attack on Rhode Island.

In 1779 Congress ordered Sullivan to wage a scorched earth campaign against the IROQUOIS in New York. Under Sullivan, joined by General GEORGE CLINTON, the revolutionaries burned 18 Iroquois towns, destroyed 160,000 bushels of corn, and laid waste to the Indians' fruit and vegetable gardens, depriving the Iroquois of their economic resources. Feeling ill from his campaign in the wilderness, and still harassed by critics, Sullivan resigned in November 1779.

Sullivan continued his political career as a member of the Continental Congress for two more years. In 1782, he became a member of the New Hampshire constitutional convention and served until 1786 as attorney-general and as speaker of the state assembly (in 1785). In 1786 he was elected president (governor) of New Hampshire and was reelected two more times and ended his political career as a U.S. district judge, a position he held until his death in 1795.

See also NATIVE AMERICANS.

**Further reading:** Charles P. Whittemore, *A General of the Revolution, John Sullivan of New Hampshire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).

—Dirk Voss

## Supreme Court

The Supreme Court of the United States was established by Article III of the UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION. Article III contains far less detail than Article I (establishing the Congress) and Article II (establishing the Executive), and

much of the operation of the judiciary was worked out over ensuing decades by the Supreme Court itself and by Congress. Article III contains three sections. Section 1 vests the “judicial power of the United States” in “one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as Congress may from time to time establish.” The Supreme Court was thus created directly by the Constitution; all lower federal courts were created by Congress. Section 1 also provides that the justices (and all other federal judges) “shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour,” which means they are not subject to removal from office except by IMPEACHMENT. Section 2 lists those cases in which the Supreme Court has appellate jurisdiction and those in which it has original jurisdiction—where it can act as a trial court. Section 3 deals with the crime of treason. Nothing in Article III gave the Supreme Court the power to say what the Constitution meant and to invalidate the acts of the other branches (or the states) if it found them unconstitutional. Power over state legislation was given the Supreme Court by Congress in the JUDICIARY ACT OF 1789. Power over federal acts was claimed by the Court in *MARBURY V. MADISON* (1803). The march to claim and keep this power, which is called the power of judicial review, defines the history of the Court during the early republican period.

Dispute persists over whether the framers intended the Court to exercise the power of judicial review. ALEXANDER HAMILTON, in the *FEDERALIST PAPERS*, urged that while the federal courts would be “beyond comparison the weakest of the three departments of power,” it would “belong” to the federal courts to “ascertain” the meaning of the Constitution “as well as the meaning of any particular act proceeding from the legislative body.” As history has demonstrated, it is hard to reconcile these two statements.

Whatever the case, the first two Supreme Courts declined to assert the power to invalidate legislation. GEORGE WASHINGTON named as the first chief justice JOHN JAY of New York, who had coauthored the *Federalist Papers*. Joining him as associate justices were John Rutledge of South Carolina, John Blair of Virginia, JAMES WILSON of Pennsylvania, William Cushing of Massachusetts, and James Iredell of North Carolina. The Supreme Court met for the first time in the then capital New York on February 1, 1790. Three years passed before the Supreme Court heard a case of consequence. Finally, in 1793 *Chisholm v. Georgia* arrived on the docket. Alexander Chisholm was a South Carolinian who had brought a federal lawsuit against Georgia for failing to pay him under a state bond. Georgia claimed that as a sovereign state it could not be sued in federal court. The Supreme Court held otherwise. The states and Congress balked at the decision, and within five years the ELEVENTH AMENDMENT to the Constitution was ratified overturning the decision. In 1794 Chief Justice John

Jay accepted an appointment as special ambassador to England, where he negotiated what came to be known as JAY’S TREATY (1794). On his return to the United States in 1795, he resigned from the Supreme Court to become governor of New York. Washington appointed as his successor Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, principal author of the Judiciary Act of 1789, which established the lower federal courts. Other justices also joined the Supreme Court. Justice Rutledge had resigned in 1791, and he was replaced by Thomas Johnson of Maryland. Johnson resigned a year later, and he was replaced by William Paterson of New Jersey. Justice Blair resigned in 1796, and his place was filled by SAMUEL CHASE of Maryland, who would later be impeached. Justice James Wilson, a notorious speculator, died in 1798 in North Carolina, to which he had fled from New Jersey creditors. Justice James Iredell died in 1799. President JOHN ADAMS named successors to the latter two. To replace Wilson, Adams nominated Bushrod Washington, the nephew and heir of President George Washington. Adams named Alfred Moore of North Carolina to Iredell’s seat.

In 1800 the capital moved from Philadelphia to WASHINGTON, D.C., and the FEDERALIST PARTY lost the presidency. Immediately before Adams turned power over to the incoming Jefferson administration, Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth tendered his resignation, and Adams hurriedly appointed his secretary of state, JOHN MARSHALL, to fill his place. Marshall’s appointment was the single most important event in the history of the Supreme Court.

John Marshall revolutionized the Supreme Court. During the course of his 34-year tenure as chief justice, he abolished (for the most part) the justices’ practice of writing separate (*seriatim*) opinions, forged the members of the Supreme Court into a unified whole under his command, and established the power of judicial review, thereby fixing the Supreme Court as the central player in the definition of constitutional rights and responsibilities. His tenure began with the landmark case of *Marbury v. Madison*, in which for the first time the Supreme Court invalidated a federal act as unconstitutional. There followed a series of decisions, including *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810), *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), and *Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), in which the Supreme Court invalidated as unconstitutional acts of various states. The centralizing tendency of his constitutional opinions was controversial, and Marshall won many enemies, particularly in the South. Nevertheless, his legacy persists.

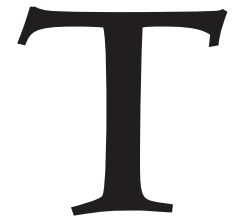
The political and constitutional impact of the Marshall Court years is well known. Less well known is the structure of the institution over which he presided. The Supreme Court itself, as noted, was established directly by the Constitution. The lower federal courts—the federal district and circuit courts—were established by the Judiciary Act of 1789, then briefly reformed by the JUDICIARY ACT OF 1801,

then reestablished along the lines set forth in the Judiciary Act of 1789 when the 1801 Judiciary Act was repealed in 1802. From the justices' vantage, the worst part of the structure established by the 1789 act was the circuit court. The circuit courts acted both as appellate courts over the district courts and as trial courts. The circuit courts comprised the district judge for the district in which the court sat and the Supreme Court justice(s) assigned to that circuit. For most of the working year, the justices were not hearing cases in the capital; instead, they were riding around the country presiding over appeals from district court decisions and trials. The circuit responsibility was removed temporarily by the Judiciary Act of 1801 and then reinstated when that act was repealed the following year. Circuit riding continued to occupy the major part of the justices' time during most of the 19th century.

Where did the Supreme Court meet? Perhaps surprisingly, the Supreme Court lacked its own building until the 1930s. During its first two decades, when the capital was in New York, Philadelphia, and then Washington, D.C., the Supreme Court met in a variety of places, from state courtrooms to congressional committee rooms. In 1810 the justices were finally given a courtroom of their own in the basement of the United States Capitol. It was here that most of the major landmark cases of the Marshall Court were heard and decided, and here that our modern constitutional order was largely fashioned.

**Further reading:** Robert Shnayerson, *The Illustrated History of the Supreme Court of the United States* (New York: Harry N. Abrahms, 1986).

—Lindsay Robertson



**Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de, prince de Bénévent** (1754–1838) *politician, diplomat*

The nimble politician and diplomat, Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, prince de Bénévent (usually called Prince Talleyrand), served in seven different governments in France. He is most noted for his role in the Congress of Vienna, where he managed to ensure that France, even though defeated, would still be considered a power in Europe. As French foreign minister in the late 1790s and early 1800s, he was involved in the XYZ AFFAIR (1797–98) and the LOUISIANA PURCHASE (1803).

The second son of a minor French noble family, Talleyrand was trained as a priest. By the beginning of the FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789–99), he was a bishop. Supporting moderate reform, he advocated the surrender of all church lands to the French state and government support for the clergy. His position on the church led to his excommunication. During the most radical phase of the French Revolution he was sent to England on a diplomatic mission. Rather than return to France, where he might have been guillotined, he went to the United States. In 1796, after a more conservative regime had seized power in France, he went back to his native country and was appointed foreign minister. It was from this position that he had his agents, labeled X, Y, and Z, demand bribes from U.S. negotiators. This mistake led to the QUASI-WAR (1798–1800) between France and the United States. But it was also Talleyrand, after NAPOLEON BONAPARTE had seized power, who orchestrated the negotiations that ended the undeclared war. Similarly, Talleyrand played a key role in the discussions leading up to the purchase of Louisiana by the administration of THOMAS JEFFERSON, insisting that if France gave up New Orleans, it would have little use for the entire territory. Although he was made a prince by Napoleon, he disagreed with the emperor's ambition to dominate Europe and retired in 1807. He came out of retirement for the Congress of Vienna, representing the Bourbon kings of France. He retired again in 1815. He subsequently served

the July Monarchy, established in 1830, as ambassador to Great Britain.

See also FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

**Tammany Society**

The Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, was founded in 1786 in New York City as a fraternal organization. Centering on the figure of the legendary Delaware chief Tamanend, members developed a ritual based on NATIVE AMERICAN symbols: The leaders were sachems, the members braves; Tammanyites wore Native costume at celebrations; and they called their meeting place a wigwam. Although the Tammany Society had some more affluent members, it attracted a disproportionate number of ARTISANS. Initially, its aim was “to cherish . . . the great principles of civil liberty . . . to cultivate political information . . . to give exercise to the divine emotions of charity—and finally . . . to enjoy without restraint the generous effusions of national enthusiasm.” Given its membership, the Tammany Society quickly took on an egalitarian and democratic caste.

In the early 1790s Tammany centered its activities on celebrating various patriotic holidays, but the controversies of 1793 and 1794 brought it into politics, supporting the DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS and THOMAS JEFFERSON. With almost 500 members, Tammany helped to garner artisan support for Jefferson in the ELECTION OF 1800. By that time, Tammany was a political bastion of AARON BURR. After Burr's fall from grace, Tammany continued to be important in Democratic-Republican politics. Representing worker interests, Tammany supported a number of democratic causes, including ending imprisonment for debt and universal manhood SUFFRAGE. Tammany became part of the political organization of Martin Van Buren and the Democratic Party. By the 1830s Tammany had become a political machine that many viewed as the epitome of corrupt urban politics.



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## tariffs

Taxes on imported goods are called tariffs. Such taxes have been important in the political controversies in the history of the United States, from colonial complaints over imperial policy to debates over the use of tariffs to raise revenue and protect industry.

Although imperial TRADE regulations passed by Parliament are not often considered tariffs, these measures often functioned just like the tariffs of the national period. Laws such as the Molasses Act (1733) that taxed imported sugar, were meant to encourage agricultural production in the British WEST INDIES at the expense of France and other foreign powers. Both the SUGAR ACT (1764), which decreased the tax on sugar but provided for better enforcement, and the TOWNSHEND DUTIES (1767) were taxes on imports intended to raise revenue. While such measures led to the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75) and contributed to the outbreak of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), the United States had to rely on customs duties once

it achieved independence. The SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS failed to successfully impose such regulations, while several states, such as Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, collected tariffs in the 1780s to protect production of manufactured items and raise revenue.

Almost as soon as the new Congress under the UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION met, it passed a tariff. The Tariff Act of 1789 placed a 5 percent impost on all imported items but added extra duties to other items. Carriages, for example, carried a 15 percent duty. JAMES MADISON and THOMAS JEFFERSON wanted to pass additional imposts against British imports to compel the British to sign a commercial treaty and open the WEST INDIES to trade from the United States. ALEXANDER HAMILTON and the FEDERALIST PARTY opposed this policy of discrimination since it would severely cut revenue and thereby damage the credit of the United States. Although successful in preventing discrimination against Great Britain, Hamilton failed in another part of his program—the desire to use increased imposts to protect manufacturers. The only legislative encouragement for industry before the War of 1812 (1812–15) was incidental and came from measures such as the EMBARGO OF 1807. The decline of trade that occurred after 1808 through the War of 1812 helped to spur industry in the United States. Recognizing this growth as a positive development, DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS passed a protective tariff in 1816. Importers of items such as COTTON and woolen goods had to pay a 25 percent tax until 1819. In 1818 the tariff deadline was extended to 1826. By that time, tariffs had become a central political issue, separating the developing POLITICAL PARTIES and dividing the nation into sections.

See also FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

**Further reading:** F. W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892).

## Tarleton, Banastre (1754–1833) soldier

A brilliant cavalry officer, renowned for his tactics of relentless pursuit, sudden appearance, and swift assault with sabers and bayonets, Banastre Tarleton became one of the most hated men of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83). Born in Liverpool, England, on August 21, 1754, he was the third of seven children in a wealthy merchant family whose money came from sugar and slaves. He attended Oxford for two years and briefly studied law at the prestigious Middle Temple. When he was 19, his father died and left him a sizeable fortune, which Tarleton quickly squandered. In April 1775 he purchased a commission as a cornet in the king's cavalry, the lowest and cheapest commissioned officer rank one could buy.

With rebellion underway in North America, he took leave of his regiment the following year and crossed the



Bostonians paying the exciseman (National Archives)



Atlantic with CHARLES, LORD CORNWALLIS and participated in the failed CHARLESTON EXPEDITION OF 1776. When Cornwallis headed for New York in August, Tarleton volunteered to serve in the 16th Light Dragoons. He found his niche in the cavalry, and his rise as an officer was rapid. In January 1778 Tarleton was promoted to captain, skipping over the rank of lieutenant, and by August he was a lieutenant colonel in the British Legion, a regiment of cavalry and infantry recruited from among New York LOYALISTS. He was not yet 24 years old.

Generally described as a short, well-proportioned, and powerful man, Tarleton became infamous to the revolutionaries while becoming a national hero in Great Britain. More than once, Tarleton's British Legion drew criticism from revolutionaries for its perceived brutal behavior, earning its leader the epithets "Bloody Tarleton" and "Bloody Ban." Often this reputation came from the fact that Tarleton's men so completely overwhelmed their enemy that the battles ended up lopsided with such heavy casualties that the WHIG press declared that they were massacres. Thus after battles at Monck's Corner (April 14, 1780) and at the Waxhaws (May 29, 1780) in South Carolina, revolutionary propaganda claimed Tarleton and his men refused to give quarter to surrendering soldiers. Those same victories, especially the battle at the Waxhaws, were praised in the British press. In retaliation for his supposed actions, revolutionary soldiers at the BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN (October 7, 1780) shouted "Tarleton's Quarter" as they slaughtered surrendering Loyalists. Until the end of the war, the British Legion fought primarily in the Carolinas, participating in the successes at the BATTLE OF CAMDEN (August 16, 1780) and the BATTLE OF GUILFORD COURTHOUSE (March 15, 1780), where Tarleton lost two fingers on his right hand, and in the disastrous defeat at the BATTLE OF COWPENS (January 17, 1781), where he narrowly escaped but lost most of his men. While keeping British supply lines open in South Carolina, the legion combed the swamps in a fruitless attempt to capture guerrilla leader FRANCIS MARION. Referring to his elusive quarry as "this damned old fox," Tarleton is thus responsible for General Marion's enduring nickname of "Swamp Fox."

Tarleton's fighting days in the war ended at YORKTOWN (October 19, 1781), but the hostility toward the cavalryman did not cease. His reputation was such that, in the round of dinner parties that followed the surrender among officers of the Continental, French, and British armies, Tarleton was the only British officer not invited. He was outraged, feared for his life, and sought protection from the French, though COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU remarked that he, too, viewed the outcast as a butcher and a barbarian. Nevertheless, Tarleton returned to adulation in England in 1782, and to a life of dissipation within the circle of friends surrounding the Prince of Wales. In 1787 Tarleton drew

fierce criticism for a published attack on his former mentor, Cornwallis, and wrote his own chronicle of the southern campaigns in the United States during 1780 and 1781, omitting reference to the disaster at Cowpens, for which he had always denied blame.

Tarleton represented Liverpool in the House of Commons for seven terms between 1790 and 1812, but his military career languished. Though he attained the rank of general in 1812, he served only in domestic backwaters and never saw action again. In 1816 he asked for and received a baronetcy, and when his old friend ascended to the throne as George IV, Tarleton became a Knight of the Bath. Infirm and ailing from gout, he died at home in 1833.

**Further reading:** John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse: The American Revolution in the Carolinas* (New York: Redman, 1997); Robert D. Bass, *The Green Dragoon: The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson* (New York: John Wiley, 1957).

## taverns

Taverns were important institutions in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Food, drink, and sometimes lodging could be found at a tavern. They were also a prominent locus of sociability. Whether in the city or in the country, whole communities depended on taverns to gather people together to exchange gossip and news. Taverns had economic functions as well. Deals were made in taverns and jobs could be found. Taverns along the waterfront were often rendezvous houses for recruiting sailors. Illicit activity also occurred in some taverns, including gambling and prostitution.

Before the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), a wide spectrum of society patronized the same tavern in cities; rich and poor sat in the same room and interacted. Political discussion flowed as freely as ALCOHOL. During the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75), groups such as the SONS OF LIBERTY often met in taverns. In New York City, for example, Montagne's Tavern, was the center of organization activity in the LIBERTY TREE controversies. At the same time there was growing social stratification in tavern going. Philadelphia's City Tavern, founded in 1773, was more expensive than others and catered to LAWYERS and merchants. Because of this stratification, some members of the elite argued against using taverns for political discussion; the first Pennsylvania state constitution (see also CONSTITUTIONS, STATE), which provided that all laws had to be published and presented before the public, was accused of encouraging tavern government. Regardless of this charge, taverns remained important in politics. During the 1790s and early 1800s, different political organizations, like the DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN SOCIETIES, met in taverns.

Beyond politics, all kinds of associations met at taverns as a convenient and public location for people to congregate, including ethnic societies and early labor organizations. Within a community, a tavern owner often exerted influence on his customers, and sometimes acted as an informal banker to people who lived on the margins.

See also TEMPERANCE.

**Further reading:** David W. Conroy, *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790–1840* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Tavern Going and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

**Taylor, John, of Caroline** (1753–1824) *politician, writer*

During the early national period, John Taylor of Caroline was a leading political theorist and advocate of the type of liberal democratic thought known as Jeffersonian democracy. Born in Caroline County, Virginia, Taylor's parents died when he was a child. His uncle Edmund Pendleton took him in and gave him a good EDUCATION. After attending the College of William and Mary he studied law with his uncle and was admitted to the Virginia bar in 1774. During the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), Taylor served in the CONTINENTAL ARMY where he attained the rank of colonel. He resigned in 1779 to serve with the Virginia militia.

Taylor was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates from 1779 to 1781, 1783 to 1785 and 1796 to 1800. As a legislator his libertarian and democratic leanings were obvious from the beginning. He was most interested in such democratic issues as RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, voting rights, and fair representation. Taylor filled two unexpired terms in the U.S. Senate and was elected to the Senate twice in his own right. In 1797 he served as a presidential elector.

A leading ANTI-FEDERALIST, Taylor's opposition to the new UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION reflected his concern that a strong central government would fail to respect individual rights. He believed that the freedom of the individual was much more secure under state governments. Taylor particularly disagreed with the ideas of nationalists like JOHN ADAMS and ALEXANDER HAMILTON, and throughout his life he remained a strong supporter of THOMAS JEFFERSON. However, he objected to President Jefferson's willingness to compromise. During a third term in the House of Delegates, his STATES' RIGHTS convictions led him to introduce JAMES MADISON's Virginia Resolu-

tion (part of the VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS, 1798). In his later years he was associated with a dissident group of old DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS led by JOHN RANDOLPH and sometimes called the *Tertium Quid*.

Despite his active political life, John Taylor thought of himself as a gentleman farmer and author. His writings, although long and difficult, provide one of the best examples of the mixture of classical republican and more modern laissez faire ideals that characterized Jeffersonian political thought. Taylor produced his most important works during the last decade of his life. *An Inquiry into the Principle and Policy of the United States Government* (1814) was Taylor's long delayed response to John Adams' *Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States* (1787). His *Construction Construed and Constitutions Vindicated* (1820) contained strong arguments in favor of states' rights and a strict interpretation of the Constitution. The *Arator*, a book of essays on scientific AGRICULTURE published in 1813, provides the best examples of his agricultural ideas. As a southern planter and a slaveholder, Taylor was typical of his class in his belief that Congress could not restrict the expansion of SLAVERY into the territories. John Taylor died at Hazlewood, his Caroline County, Virginia, plantation in 1824 while filling another unexpired Senate term.

See also REPUBLICANISM.

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—Robert Lively

**Tea Act** (May 10, 1773)

Parliament passed the Tea Act in 1773 to aid the British East India Company, which was on the verge of bankruptcy, by allowing it to sell its tea directly to the North American colonies. There was nothing sinister in the plan, and it was not intended to corrupt American liberty. Colonial appetite for luxury items like tea had been growing in the second half of the 18th century, and much of the colonial demand for tea was met by smuggling tea from the Dutch. Before the Tea Act, British East India tea had to be shipped to England, sold on the wholesale market there, pay an English tax, and then be reshipped to the colonies, where it paid another tax since it was the only item still taxed under the TOWNSHEND DUTIES (1767) after 1770. The Tea Act did away with the reselling process and the tax in England, making it less expensive than smuggled tea. To facilitate the process further, the East India Company would contract the selling of tea to specific firms in each colony. Theoretically, everyone would win from this measure. The East

India Company would make some money. Colonists would have a cheaper product. And Great Britain would gain revenue from the Townshend Duty.

Many colonists, however, objected to the Tea Act. Smugglers and merchants who were not given the tea contracts saw their livelihood jeopardized. Others believed that the measure would corrupt colonial American society by establishing a monopoly and was a subtle way to compel compliance with the Townshend Duties. Besides protesting and petitioning against the measure, colonists in Boston staged the BOSTON TEA PARTY (December 16, 1773). Other colonies also destroyed the imported tea. These actions led to an escalating conflict with Great Britain, which passed the COERCIVE ACTS (1774), and the eventual opening of hostilities in the BATTLES OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD (April 19, 1775).

See also REPUBLICANISM; RESISTANCE MOVEMENT.

**Further reading:** Leonard Woods Labaree, *The Boston Tea Party* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).

### **Tecumseh** (1768–1813) *Shawnee chief*

In the early 19th century, Tecumseh tried to unite NATIVE AMERICANS to defend against the expansion of the United States into territories beyond the Appalachian Mountains. This movement marked the last serious opposition of Native Americans east of the Mississippi River and north of the Ohio River against the relentless European-American demands for more land.

Born in a village on the Mad River in what is now Ohio, Tecumseh had a Shawnee father and a CREEK mother. His father died fighting British and Virginians in Dunmore's War (1774). Soon after, Tecumseh's mother gave birth to triplets. One of the babies died but the surviving boy and girl grew into adulthood. The baby boy, Tenskwatawa (1775–1836), became an important religious leader known as the Shawnee PROPHET.

For many Indians in the Ohio River valley, the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) did not end with the TREATY OF PARIS (1783). By the early 1780s, Native groups such as the Shawnee believed they were winning the war against the United States and felt as if the British peace treaty had given away their land—the treaty ceded to the United States the territory south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi River—without concern for the Native Americans living there. Throughout the 1780s and into the early 1790s, the Indians north of the Ohio River resisted incursions of European Americans. Tecumseh participated in this resistance. In 1790 and in 1791 an Indian confederacy defeated armies under Josiah Harmer and ARTHUR ST. CLAIR in defense of their lands. Although the United States finally won a victory at the BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS (August

20, 1794) and opened half of Ohio to European-American settlement with the TREATY OF GREENVILLE (1795), many Indians remained unhappy with the situation.

Against this backdrop, Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa began to develop a pan-Indian movement in the early 1800s that had both a religious and a military dimension. In April 1805 Tenskwatawa had a vision that changed his life. He told his friends and neighbors that they must return to the old ways, to give up drinking and to avoid relying on the manufactured goods brought in by the traders. Tecumseh listened to his brother's vision and believed that his message might unite the various tribes west of the Appalachians. For the next few years, the two brothers spread their ideas from Alabama to Wisconsin. Tenskwatawa settled at Prophetstown on the Tippecanoe River in what is now western Indiana, where his followers could live far from the corrupting European-American society. Tecumseh traveled to many different tribes to convince them to join together to protect their lands. This mission was difficult since many of tribes were bitter enemies.

The territorial governor of Indiana, William Henry Harrison, recognized the threat posed by this revitalization movement and suspected that the British in CANADA were helping Tecumseh with weapons and supplies. Tecumseh and the governor met several times in the first decade of the 19th century but could not reach any agreement. During one conference in Vincennes (1810) they became so angry at each other they drew weapons and almost started fighting.

Harrison marched on Prophetstown with an army of about 1,000 men while Tecumseh was traveling and Tenskwatawa was in charge. Against his brother's advice, the Prophet attacked Harrison's camp, promising his warriors that the enemy bullets would not harm them and hoping to catch Harrison by surprise. Although they had some initial success in the battle, the Indians were beaten back with heavy casualties. The defeat in the BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE (November 7, 1811) hurt Tecumseh's pan-Indian movement, and he retreated to British Canada.

During the War of 1812 (1812–15), Harrison invaded Canada and defeated a mixed force of Native Americans and British soldiers at the Battle of the Thames (October 5, 1813). Tecumseh died in the fighting. Many people in the United States viewed Tecumseh's death as a great triumph, marking the end of serious Native American resistance in the old Northwest. Congressman Richard M. Johnson, who led a unit of Kentucky militia in the battle, claimed to have killed Tecumseh and became a national hero. Some of his soldiers took locks of Tecumseh's hair, pieces of clothing, and even patches of his skin (which were then cured for storage) as souvenirs. Subsequently, Tecumseh has become a symbol for both Native Americans and European Americans of the noble Indian willing to risk all to defend his land and his people.

**Further reading:** R. David Edmunds, *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984).

## temperance

Temperance, the drive to restrict ALCOHOL consumption, was the longest running social reform movement in the United States, beginning in the 1740s and culminating with the Eighteenth Amendment. From 1761 to 1812, Americans, for the first time, began to express concerns about alcohol consumption and to envision a world in which alcohol was not permitted.

The first stirring of temperance arose in the medical community in the 1740s. Physicians, particularly Philadelphian BENJAMIN RUSH, noted a new disease then called the WEST INDIES dry gripes, which caused a painful death in those who drank rum (later discovered to be lead poisoning from the West Indies lead stills). Rush's experiences during the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), when he worked for the CONTINENTAL ARMY, furthered his concerns regarding alcohol and led him to publish pamphlets detailing the dangers of hard liquor. For example, in Rush's 1784 booklet, "Inquiry into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors on the Human Body and Mind," he asserted that spirits transformed a person into "in fetor, a skunk; in filthiness, a hog; in obesity, a he-goat."

Rush's recommendations went mostly unheeded until the early 19th century. By then an increasing consumption of whiskey and resulting drunkenness began to lead to anxiety about the moral rectitude of the newborn republic. When a doctor named William Clark read Rush's pamphlet about the evils of drunkenness he showed it to his minister, who in turn shared it with influential members of their small New York town. These citizens banded together on April 30, 1808, to establish the first formal temperance group in the United States, the Union Temperance Society of Moreau and Northumberland. In 1813 Reverend Lyman Beecher also read Rush's pamphlet and helped to found the Connecticut Society for the Reformation of Morals, a group focused on temperance. Other clergy soon founded similar organizations.

The success of ministers in establishing temperance groups is partly explained by the worry of the developing middle class about finding sober workers. Businessmen also feared that increased alcohol consumption would disrupt social relationships, particularly as employer-employee relationships changed during the early 19th century. Until this period, employees generally lived with their employers, and employers were responsible for the welfare of their workers. The new emphasis on family privacy and on the home as a refuge from the workplace in the early 19th century led employers to remove workers from their

homes. Businessmen, especially in New England, may have felt guilty about leaving workers to fend for themselves and fearful of the workers over whom they exercised less and less control. When Presbyterian and Congregationalist ministers began preaching about self-discipline and sobriety, the new business class, perhaps in order to relieve their guilt, agreed with this message enthusiastically.

Employers discovered that the ministers' message released them from responsibility for their workers. Employers' wives found the new message exciting because it gave them an important role in instilling self-discipline in the republic. Women founded organizations to curb prostitution, reform asylums and orphanages, help widows with young children, and reduce drinking. Women's temperance efforts were more successful than their other social reform labors. Their exertions were aided by improvements in water sanitation, which made water safe to drink. However, the temperance movement remained in an embryonic stage before 1812 and tended to emphasize moderation rather than complete abstinence. Only in the 1830s and 1840s did the movement push for the complete abandonment of all consumption of alcohol and achieve national prominence.

See also MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE; RELIGION; WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

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—Sarah Hand Meacham

## theater

North American theater underwent a dramatic transformation from 1761 to 1812. In the colonial period theaters had a difficult time sustaining themselves and performances were usually in barns or a building that had been adopted temporarily for stage production. By 1812 almost every self-respecting city had a theater of its own.

During the 1750s theatrical troupes traveled to New York, Philadelphia, Williamsburg, and other locations, but they could not find a permanent home. Part of the problem was that the cities and towns were too small to sustain permanent establishments, and part of the problem was the moral objections to the theater held by many among the public. During the STAMP ACT (1765) crisis, for example, New York's theater closed its doors. When the theater opened again in the spring of 1766, a crowd shouting "Liberty, Liberty" stormed into the building, attacked the patrons, and tore the place apart because the theater





Philadelphia's Chestnut Street Theater opened in 1794 but was destroyed by fire in 1820. A new theater with the same name opened in 1822. Engraving (*Library of Congress*)

seemed an inappropriate extravagance at the time. During the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), WHIGS continued to oppose theaters as a violation of their REPUBLICANISM. British officers, however, loved the theater and often organized their own performances. Major JOHN ANDRÉ was known for this type of activity.

Although the debate over theater continued in the United States after the war was over, opposition was not so strong as to prevent performances. GEORGE WASHINGTON enjoyed the theater and believed that it could be a means to inculcate morality. It is in this spirit that ROYALL TYLER wrote his play *The Contrast* (1787). Opponents, however, viewed theaters as a symbol of corrupt aristocracy and a place of immorality. As theaters developed in the 1790s and early 1800s in several cities, the antitheater adherents had an argument. Prostitutes used the theater as a place to rendezvous with customers, and audiences became rowdy and disorderly.

Regardless of their morality or lack of morality, theaters spread throughout the United States in the early national period. Philadelphia's Chestnut Street Theater opened in 1793, followed by New York's Park Theater in 1795. Other cities and towns built theaters as well. Productions were varied. Sometimes the theater would include Shakespeare or a more contemporary play. Often, the theater production would contain greater variety, with different skits, short plays, and musical performances. Theater managers, such as WILLIAM DUNLAP, strove to hire popular talent from England to draw in an audience. But actors from the United States became increasingly popular on their own.

Despite the popularity of theaters, they remained controversial. After the fire at the Richmond Theater on

December 26, 1811, which killed 72 theatergoers, many people wondered if the tragedy was an act of God punishing those attending the sinful production.

**Further reading:** Heather S. Nathans, *Early American Theater from the Revolution to Thomas Jefferson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Jason Shaffer, *Performing Patriotism: National Identity in the Colonial and Revolutionary American Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

### Tippecanoe, Battle of (November 7, 1811)

The Battle of Tippecanoe (near present-day Lafayette, Indiana) disrupted TECUMSEH's federation of NATIVE AMERICAN tribes in the Old Northwest, allowing the United States to strengthen its hold on the region. After the battle, Tecumseh and his followers relied even more heavily on British aid and sanctuary in CANADA, unable to mount effective resistance in the United States. The engagement also brought the territorial governor of Indiana, William Henry Harrison, to national prominence.

The Tippecanoe River ran near the village of Prophetstown, named for Tecumseh's brother, the Shawnee Prophet, Tenskwatawa. The settlement thrived during the end of the first decade of the 19th century, attracting members of many different tribes who joined Tecumseh's pan-Indian movement and responded to Tenskwatawa's call for a return to Indian traditions. The site also offered access to Canada so the inhabitants could draw upon supplies and weapons from the British. However, more and more European-American settlers poured into the region, leading to conflict. Governor Harrison, in particular, came to view Prophetstown as an obstacle to further development in Indiana territory. Several meetings between Harrison and Tecumseh only convinced Harrison that he needed to strike before the Indians gathered more strength. In 1811 he collected about 700 militia and, with 350 regulars under Colonel John P. Boyd, marched on Prophetstown. When this army reached its destination on November 6, Tenskwatawa and Harrison agreed not to attack one another so that they could open negotiations the next day.

Unfortunately for the Indians, Tecumseh had traveled to the South to see if he could get tribes in that region to join his pan-Indian movement. Tecumseh had warned his brother to avoid open hostilities until he could gather enough warriors to assure victory. Tenskwatawa, however, decided that he needed to attack Harrison and Boyd before they could attack him. He therefore told his followers that the enemy bullets would have no effect on them and planned a predawn attack. Harrison and Boyd had prepared for this contingency, ordering their men to sleep by their arms, setting camp behind fieldworks formed



into a rough square, and posting plenty of pickets. A few hours before daybreak about 600 to 700 Indians launched a ferocious assault. The militia and regulars responded well to the surprise and in an intense two-hour battle finally compelled the Indians to retreat. Thirty-seven soldiers lay dead and more than 126 were wounded (another 25 were to die from their wounds). Native American casualties are unknown but must have been high as well, since the Indians abandoned the town and dispersed. The situation for Harrison and Boyd remained tense as they expected another attack at any moment from Tecumseh, who they believed to be returning from the South. After a sleepless night on November 7, the army moved into the village the next day and burnt it together with all of the food supplies.

In the aftermath of the battle, Tenskwatawa lost credibility, and Tecumseh decided to head for Canada to work more closely with the British. Although Harrison eventually emerged with an enhanced reputation, at first there was some controversy about who deserved credit for the victory—Harrison or Boyd—and there was some debate over the tactics used in the battle.

**Further reading:** R. David Edmunds, *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984).

### Townshend Duties (June 29, 1767)

Led by Charles Townshend, the British Parliament passed customs duties in 1767, called the Townshend Duties, to raise revenue from the North American colonies. This measure triggered a new wave of conflict between the colonies and Great Britain.

The Rockingham administration that had repealed the STAMP ACT (1765) in the spring of 1766, and that appeared so favorable to the colonies, did not last through the summer after repeal. In its place WILLIAM PITT, now Lord Chatham, organized a new government. Chatham, however, was not the same energetic man who had led Britain to victory in the French and Indian War (1754–63). The leadership of his administration soon fell into drift, and Charles Townshend ended up playing a leading role in molding policy by the spring of 1767. A £500,000 tax cut in Great Britain, combined with continued colonial expenses, convinced Townshend to raise revenue in North America for colonial administration. News that the colonial assembly in New York had refused to comply with the QUARTERING ACT of 1765 further aggravated the situation. Some colonial Americans had distinguished between internal and external taxation, including BENJAMIN FRANKLIN in testimony before Parliament, during the Stamp Act crisis. Internal taxes, like the Stamp Act were intended to raise revenue within the colonies and were by right, so colonial

Americans claimed, the province of their own assemblies. External taxes were duties and regulations that governed imperial relations and were within the powers of Parliament to manage the empire. Townshend decided to use this distinction and have Parliament pass duties on glass, lead, painter's colors, paper, and tea imported into the colonies. These "external" taxes would raise about £40,000. This money was to be used to pay royal officials in the colonies and make them independent of the colonial assemblies. In addition, Townshend also had passed a series of rules and regulations to make customs collection more efficient, including the expansion of the Admiralty Court system (see also VICE-ADMIRALTY COURTS).

Colonial Americans were unsure of how to respond to the Townshend Duties, and the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75) never assumed the full proportions it had against the Stamp Act. Some colonists acknowledged that Parliament may have acted within its proper bounds by passing the customs regulations, even if the intent was to raise revenue. Others began to argue that the distinction between internal and external taxes was invalid if the external tax was not to regulate the empire, but to raise money. This point gained in popularity after it appeared in JOHN DICKINSON's *Letters from a Pennsylvanian Farmer* (1767–68). Still, attempts to set up nonimportation agreements had difficulty getting started, as merchants in some seaports refused to join in, undercutting the efforts of merchants in other seaports. The Massachusetts legislature strove to take the lead, issuing a Circular Letter (February 11, 1768) admitting the right of Parliament to be "the supreme legislative Power over the whole Empire," but asserting that it was one of the "fundamental Rules of the British Constitution" that an individual could not have his property taken away from him without his own consent—in other words, only the direct representatives of the colonists could tax the colonies. Since only a few colonial assemblies were in session, the response to this letter was not great.

In 1768 and 1769, however, tensions between the colonies and Great Britain increased, especially in Boston. The Massachusetts Circular Letter had alienated Governor FRANCIS BERNARD from the assembly. Simultaneously, conflicts erupted in the street between newly appointed customs officials and the people of Boston. Several RIOTS ensued, especially after custom's agents seized JOHN HANCOCK's sloop the *Liberty* in June 1768 (see also LIBERTY RIOT). To help control the situation, the British government ordered troops to Boston. Against this backdrop, resistance began to spread. Customs officials were harassed in several ports, and some crowds began to use tarring and feathering as a means to humiliate a few lower officials. By 1769 a nonimportation movement finally began to take hold across the colonies. Animosity between the British troops in Boston and New York City, which was as much

over the competition for jobs as imperial problems, led to confrontations known as the **BATTLE OF GOLDEN HILL** in New York (January 18, 1770) and the **BOSTON MASSACRE** (March 5, 1770) in New England's leading port.

By the time those two conflicts took place, the leaders of Parliament had decided to abandon the Townshend Duties. Recognizing the unpopularity of the measures in the colonies, and realizing that the hoped for revenue was not forthcoming, a new set of ministers decided to abandon the regulations. The government under **LORD FREDERICK NORTH** in April 1770 repealed all the duties, except the tax on tea. Like the **DECLARATORY ACT** (1766), the one remaining duty on tea was meant as a symbolic gesture to assert Parliamentary supremacy. The repeal effectively defused the imperial crisis until 1773.

**Further reading:** Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

## trade

The British North American colonies had always been involved in overseas trade. By the mid-18th century the colonies were well integrated into an Atlantic trade network not only with western Europe but also with Africa and the **WEST INDIES**. Much of this trade was connected to **SLAVERY** since crucial colonial exports such as tobacco and rice depended upon slave labor. In addition, because the West Indies produced sugar to the exclusion of other goods, the North American colonies also exported lumber, fish, and grains to the Caribbean. Much of the North American contact with Africa centered on the international **SLAVE TRADE**. Before 1750, on the other hand, intercolonial trade was not well developed.

In the revolutionary era, the Atlantic trade continued to be important, but inland or domestic trade began to increase. Colonial farming families produced a variety of items, including cloth, hats, deerskin, beaver pelts, barrels, rum, cider, and whiskey, to supplement incomes. Towns such as Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and Elizabeth, New Jersey, became important centers for this trade. By the 1770s more and more colonial Americans focused on buying, selling, and making profits. The trade expansion of the mid- and late 18th century also produced an increased demand for paper money, which was restricted by British regulations.

While in many ways the **REVOLUTIONARY WAR** (1775–83) disrupted these developments, the conflict also created new opportunities. Warships and privateers (see also **PRIVATEERING**) threatened the overseas trade of both sides. But independence opened new markets. Similarly, marching armies and military depredations might cut off some trade.

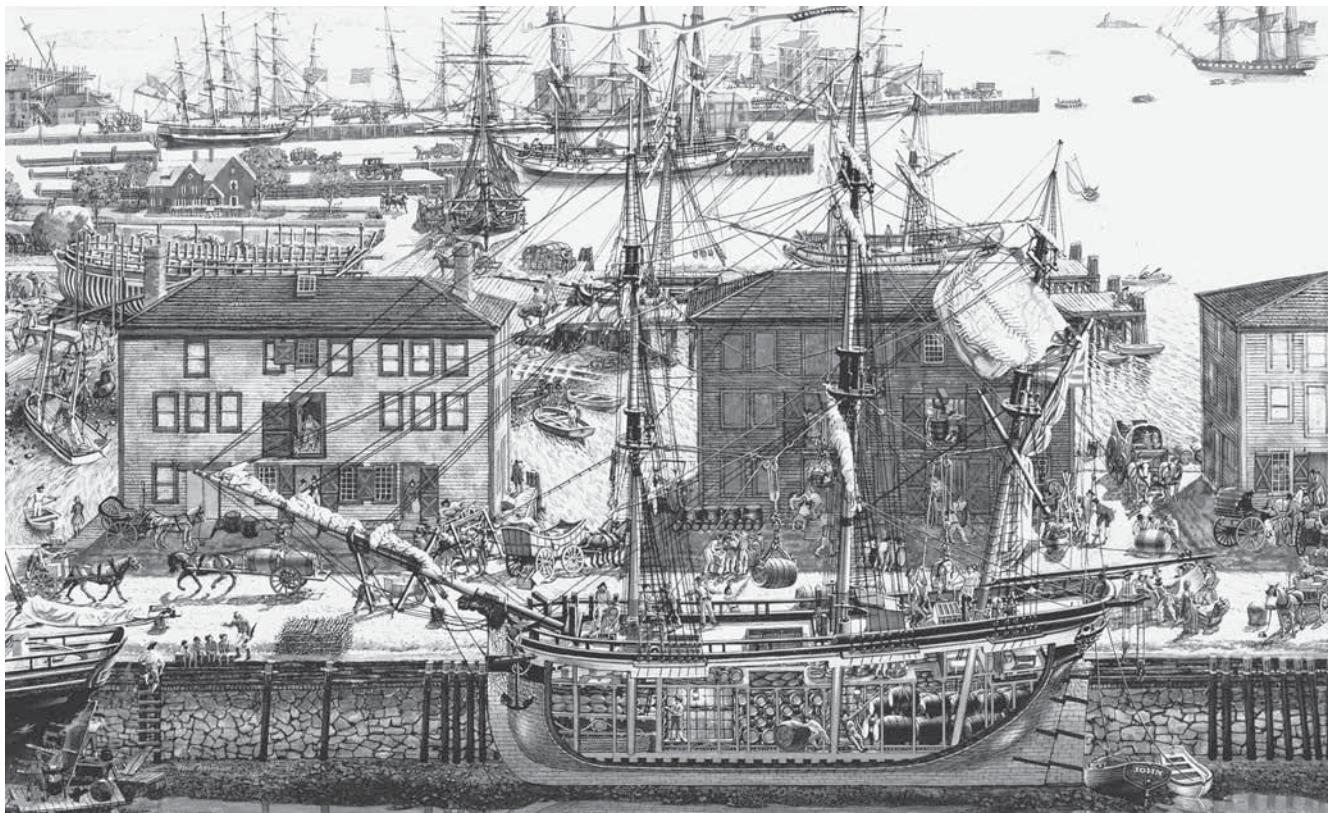
But the goods required to wage war increased the demand for domestic trade. Equipping the British, Continental, and French armies meant big business for farmers now preoccupied with the market. They produced foodstuffs and supplies for armies on the move. Increased inland trade during the war and just after led to many political efforts to create a ready supply of paper money in various states in the 1780s.

The **SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS** hoped to usher in a new age in foreign relations by asserting a policy of free trade. Even before the **DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE** (July 4, 1776), Congress opened up all ports to foreign vessels on April 6, 1776. Congress created a model commercial treaty, written largely by **JOHN ADAMS**, in the fall of 1776, which it hoped would form the basis of relations with France and other countries. This model treaty stipulated that merchants from the United States should pay the same duties as the merchants from the other nation signing the treaty. The French commercial treaty of 1778 fell short of this ideal, granting a reciprocal “most-favored-nation” status instead—stating that merchants from the United States would pay the same duties as those merchants from countries who paid the lowest duties. However, the treaty still asserted a belief in “free ships make free goods,” which reflected the ideals of the Enlightenment and guaranteed the rights of neutral shipping. The commercial treaties signed with the Netherlands (1782), Sweden (1783), and Prussia (1785) all followed the pattern set by the French commercial treaty.

Despite these commercial treaties, a postwar recession and regulations by foreign nations led to problems in international trade during the 1780s. The commercial treaties with European nations had little real impact on commerce in the United States since American merchants had limited access to credit in these nations. Great Britain, which refused to make a commercial agreement with the United States, continued to dominate American commerce because of longtime credit relations and the fact that the British manufactured inexpensive goods desired by many consumers in the United States. Moreover, the mercantilism of the European powers continued to keep their colonies officially closed to the United States. This situation not only made trade with the West Indies difficult—illegal trade continued and local governors might suspend restrictions in dire circumstances—but it also blocked trade on the Mississippi River since Spain had no treaty with the United States and refused to allow western farmers to export products through New Orleans.

There were also problems with internal trade. The economic downturn severely depressed all manner of commercial exchange in the nation and underscored the need for more available and stable paper currency. The various commercial policies of the states contributed to trade confusion.





Painting showing dockworkers unloading sugar and cotton from the *John*, a merchant trade vessel, at a busy Salem, Massachusetts, wharf (Library of Congress)

Some states had their own imposts leading to a maze of regulations that confused the status of interstate trade.

The UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION attempted to address these problems by creating a uniform trade policy. Under the Constitution, only the national government could make treaties and levy an impost. In addition, the document mandated a national market, asserting “No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.” The men at the CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION (1787) also addressed currency problems by barring states from issuing their own currencies and creating a legal tender that was exclusively national. (However, individual BANKS continued to issue banknotes to be used as currency well into the 19th century, both facilitating and complicating domestic trade.)

The Constitution and even ALEXANDER HAMILTON’s financial plan had a limited impact on trade and the national ECONOMY. However, the FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789–99) and the Anglo-French wars that began in 1793 dramatically altered the situation. Exports from the United States of items such as whale oil, wheat, tobacco, COTTON, and fish grew from \$20.2 million in 1790 to \$108.3 million in 1807. Imports expanded at a similar rate. Merchants attained

unprecedented wealth by shipping goods from French and British colonies through a reexport market to the United States and then to Europe. This trade barely existed in 1790 and reached \$60 million by 1807. Products of this reexport trade from the West and East Indies included coffee, sugar, cocoa, silk, spices, and dyes. Some merchants amassed huge fortunes, such as STEPHEN GIRARD of Philadelphia, Robert Oliver of Baltimore, and Thomas Boylston of Salem. An entrepreneurial spirit abounded, and the CHINA TRADE, which began in 1784 when the *Empress of China* sailed from New York to Canton, China, expanded with items such as tea, silk, and porcelain. INSURANCE companies proliferated, and large commercial banks prospered by providing merchants with credit and capital to sustain operations. Examples of these commercial banks include the BANK OF THE UNITED STATES (Philadelphia), BANK OF NORTH AMERICA (Philadelphia), and the Bank of New York (New York).

This prosperity spread through much of the society. The mercantile boom was especially good for port cities such as Baltimore, Salem, Boston, Philadelphia, Portsmouth, Charleston, New York, and Savannah. For example, Baltimore’s population grew by 156 percent between 1790

and 1810, as the city became a center of trade through the reexport market and by exporting flour milled from Susquehanna and Chesapeake wheat. New opportunities arose for ARTISANS, sailors, shipbuilders, and others sharing in the commercial wealth. Even THOMAS JEFFERSON's vaunted yeoman farmers benefited since they produced the grains that filled the ships heading across the Atlantic.

The difficulty for the United States was maintaining neutrality in a world at war. From 1793 to 1812 the United States teetered on the edge—and sometimes over the edge—of hostilities a number of times. In 1793 the British government asserted an extensive definition of contraband and instituted the Rule of 1756 outlawing trade between France and its colonies carried by neutral countries. This action almost led to war as Congress discussed reprisals and passed a trade embargo for 60 days in the spring of 1794. JAY'S TREATY (1794) defused the crisis by establishing most-favored-nation status between Great Britain and the United States and by abandoning the idea that free ships made free goods. The United States, however, could continue with some reexport trade as long as the products were not contraband as defined in the treaty and were actually taken to a port in the United States before being shipped across the Atlantic.

Jay's Treaty had an impact on the relations between the United States and other nations. The Anglo-American accord convinced Spain to agree to the PINCKNEY TREATY (1795), which regularized commercial relations, conceded generous boundaries, opened navigation of the Mississippi, and provided the right of deposit in New Orleans. This agreement facilitated both the international and the internal trade of the United States. The French saw Jay's Treaty as a refutation of the treaties of 1778 and began to seize U.S. merchant vessels in 1797, leading to the QUASI-WAR (1798–1800). The Convention of 1800 ended this undeclared war. The Peace of Amiens between Great Britain and France (1801–03), while hurting U.S. overseas trade, also removed any reason for conflict concerning trade.

Inland trade steadily expanded in the 1790s as foreign trade increased. Gradually, more and more farmers and artisans earned profits from AGRICULTURE and manufacturing. Inland villages grew into towns as centers of specialized production for sale in regional markets. One example of this phenomenon was Franklin, Massachusetts, which produced 6,000 hats annually by 1810. Gettysburg and Carlisle, Pennsylvania, are two more villages that expanded into market towns between 1790 and 1810. Inland trade in textiles, leather goods, beer, bricks, wheat, iron, paper, vegetables, meats, iron tools, wagons, shoes, and other products increased throughout the period. With this trade expansion there was an increase in transportation facilities with the building of roads and turnpikes. In 1792 there were 1,875 miles of post roads; by 1812 there were almost

40,000 miles of post roads connecting vast swaths of new territory.

The international trade situation worsened in Jefferson's second term. Resumption of the war between France and Great Britain led to another expansion of neutral trade, but it ultimately created insurmountable problems for the United States. Both France and Great Britain passed a series of regulations that made neutral trade almost impossible by 1807. The Jefferson administration responded with the EMBARGO OF 1807, believing that Europe needed American food more than Americans needed European luxuries. The embargo was a failure and devastated the trade of the United States. Efforts to continue to use trade as a diplomatic weapon with the NON-INTERCOURSE ACT (1809) and MACON'S BILL NO. 2 (1810) did little to alleviate the crisis in foreign relations, and the United States drifted toward war with Great Britain in 1812.

See also FOREIGN AFFAIRS; INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

**Further reading:** T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Stuart Bruchey, *Enterprise: The Dynamic Economy of a Free People* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Diane Lindstrom, *Economic Development in the Philadelphia Region, 1810–1850* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978); Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951).

**Trenton and Princeton, Battles of** (December 26, 1776, and January 3, 1777)

After the disastrous campaign of the summer and fall of 1776, General GEORGE WASHINGTON gained two crucial victories by attacking outposts at Trenton and Princeton in New Jersey and forcing a British withdrawal to the area immediately surrounding New York City. While these victories did not significantly impair the British army, they represented a major political coup, rallying the supporters of independence and gaining international attention.

Washington's army experienced a string of defeats starting with the BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND (August 27–30, 1776) that compelled him to abandon New York City, the lower Hudson River valley, and most of New Jersey. He was lucky to escape the British war machine with any troops. By the beginning of December he had been driven into Pennsylvania and had only a few thousand men, many of whom would soon go home as their enlistments ran out. In this circumstance, he planned something daring.

Flush with victory, General WILLIAM HOWE ordered his army into winter quarters on December 14. Not



expecting an attack, he strung out his forces along a line in New Jersey that ran from the Delaware near Trenton to New Brunswick in the east. Howe knew he was vulnerable, but having issued a proclamation offering a pardon to all who signed a loyalty oath to the king, he sought to defend the king's newly identified subjects. Winter weather and the dispirited condition of the CONTINENTAL ARMY, he believed, would help protect his exposed forces.

Washington devised a multipronged attack across the Delaware for late December. He crossed the river on Christmas night, but ice and blizzard conditions prevented two other units farther south from doing the same. Washington divided his 2,300 men in New Jersey into two columns, ordering them to advance on Trenton and attack simultaneously. Amazingly, they arrived at Trenton almost at the same time on the morning of December 26, and their combined assault surprised the HESSIAN garrison. Despite the element of shock, and the completeness of the victory, 500 Hessians escaped from Trenton. With other British forces nearby to the south at Mt. Holly, and to the north at Princeton, Washington recrossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania. During the next several days, Washington began to realize the effectiveness of his attack, as the Hessians withdrew from all of their advanced positions. He crossed the Delaware again and by December 31, 1776, had concentrated 5,000 men and 40 howitzers at Trenton.

The British, however, wanted to reverse the loss of Trenton. CHARLES, LORD CORNWALLIS, with 5,500 regulars, advanced on Washington's position. By January 2, 1777, Cornwallis believed that he had Washington trapped at Trenton, pinned down between a superior British force and the Delaware River. Delayed by small units from Washington's army, Cornwallis arrived at Trenton toward the end of the day and decided to wait until the next morning to finish Washington and end the rebellion. That night, Washington slipped the trap. Keeping a small force in Trenton to maintain campfires and to make noise digging entrenchments, the Continental army used a road to the south to advance on Princeton. On the morning of January 3, 1777, a British regiment under Colonel Charles Mahwood heading to support Cornwallis detected Washington's army near Princeton. Mahwood, with much fewer men, attacked. An intense battle ensued, and the revolutionaries were almost driven back before Washington rallied his men, drove Mahwood off, and captured the outpost at Trenton. Again, however, many of the British soldiers escaped, some to join Cornwallis at Trenton, others to the British depot at New Brunswick. Regardless of this shortcoming, Washington's victories were complete. The British decided to abandon most of New Jersey, maintaining posts only at Amboy and New Brunswick. Washington took his army to a winter encampment at MORRISTOWN, New Jer-

sey, and both armies awaited the spring of 1777 to renew the campaign.

See also REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

**Further reading:** David Hackett Fischer, *Washington's Crossing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practices, 1763–1789* (New York: Macmillan, 1971); Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1783–1789* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

### **Trumbull, John** (1756–1843) *painter*

More than any other artist, John Trumbull is responsible for our image of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83). His 250 to 300 historical paintings of battles and events, such as the signing of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (July 4, 1776), faithfully represent the people and the scenes that made the United States.

The son of Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, a young John Trumbull wanted to study art with JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY. His father packed him off to Harvard instead. Shortly after he graduated, the Revolutionary War broke out and Trumbull obtained a commission in the CONTINENTAL ARMY. He saw action at DORCHESTER HEIGHTS (March 4–5, 1776), and was in high demand as an aide because of his ability to draw. He left the army in 1777, serving briefly again as a volunteer in the Rhode Island campaign in 1778. He tried his hand in several speculative ventures during the war, but in 1780 he obtained special permission to go to England where he studied with BENJAMIN WEST. On November 19, 1780, the British government arrested him for treason—the arrest may have been in retaliation for the execution of Major JOHN ANDRÉ. Trumbull was quickly released and left for the Continent.

He returned to the United States in 1783. Over the next decade Trumbull traveled extensively in Europe and the United States. It was also his most productive period as an artist, during which he painted some of his best known historical works such as the *Battle of Bunker Hill* and the *Death of General Montgomery in the Attack on Quebec*. He began his most famous painting, *The Declaration of Independence*, by 1789 but took eight years to complete it. He painted 36 of the 48 individuals in the work from life. He also used a sketch of the arrangement of the room by THOMAS JEFFERSON to capture the surrounding detail. Between 1794 and 1800 he served as secretary to JOHN JAY. After 1800 he relied on his painting to earn a living, which became increasingly difficult for him as most critics believed that his best work was behind him. He painted large, if imperfect, copies of some of his historical paintings for the new U.S. Capitol building in 1816 and 1817. Yale



set up a gallery for his work in 1832 and provided Trumbull with a stipend for the remainder of his life.

See also ART.

**Further reading:** Irma B. Jaffe, *John Trumbull, Patriot-Artist of the American Revolution* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975).

### **Tyler, Royall** (1757–1826) *playwright*

Even with a successful career as a jurist, Royall Tyler's greatest accomplishments appeared in LITERATURE and the THEATER. Tyler wrote *The Contrast* in 1787, a comic play that satirizes social pretensions. In the wake of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), Tyler became a literary voice of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Tyler was born in 1757 to a prominent Boston family. With his inheritance, Tyler attended Harvard College, earning a B.A. in 1776. He continued his studies, receiving a Harvard M.A. in 1778 and admission to the bar in 1780. Tyler practiced law in Maine for two years before returning to Boston.

After an unsuccessful courtship of Abigail Adams, daughter of JOHN and ABIGAIL ADAMS, Tyler sought to mend his broken heart by joining the campaign against the SHAYS'S REBELLION (1786–87) in western Massachusetts.

Despite Tyler's limited success in the campaign, his efforts caught the attention of Governor James Bowdoin. Tyler was sent to New York City in March 1787. It was his first encounter with New York City and its theater. In just over a month, Tyler wrote *The Contrast* and saw it performed by the American Company at the John Street Theater. The play was the first professionally produced American comedy.

Influenced by Richard Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* (1777), Tyler's *The Contrast* highlights the differences between American and British values and manners. In the end, the play champions blunt American pragmatism over duplicitous British formalism. One character, Brother Jonathan, stands out as a no-nonsense, honest fellow. This character developed a life of its own in American folklore and literature. Some scholars have even claimed that the character is the prototype for Uncle Sam, the personification of the U.S. government.

A successful essayist and author, Tyler continued to practice law, eventually serving as chief justice of the Vermont Supreme Court. As the initially unsigned playwright of *The Contrast*, however, he captured elements of the era in a comedy of manners.

**Further reading:** G. Thomas Tanselle, *Royall Tyler* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).

—Jay R. Dew



# U



## Unitarianism

American Unitarianism developed in Boston and eastern Massachusetts during the decades following the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83). Unitarians questioned many of the central tenets of orthodox Calvinism. They downplayed original sin, arguing instead that humans were capable of both good and bad acts and that they were responsible for their own moral decisions. Moreover, Unitarianism was greatly influenced by the historicism of German biblical criticism. Although Unitarians agreed with their orthodox counterparts that the Bible was the final authority in all matters of theology, they also believed that the Bible was a historical product written by men. Thus, the Bible could not be taken at face value but must be interpreted through scholarship and the use of reason. For some Unitarians, this approach—a tradition that dated back to 17th-century radical Protestantism—offered the possibility to access the “true” Bible without the corruptions of subsequent writers and theologians. To orthodox thinkers, however, any questioning of the Bible was tantamount to heresy.

The roots of Unitarianism can be traced into the 18th century. In North America, many proto-Unitarian ministers, such as Charles Chauncy, were critical of the enthusiasm associated with the revivals of the First Great Awakening. More importantly, Unitarianism owed much to the Enlightenment. Unitarians valued the application of reason over faith, and were therefore more willing to question the Bible when it challenged common sense or the laws of nature. A central contention of Unitarians was that the Trinity was unjustified both by Scripture and by reason. They believed that Jesus was the subordinate son of God, and not his equal, hence the term “unitarian.” God was a single entity, and not a composite of three disparate parts.

The most famous moment in American Unitarianism is no doubt the “Unitarian Controversy” of 1805. The controversy was caused by the decision of Harvard to appoint

Henry Ware to the Hollis Professor of Divinity. A known liberal, Ware’s appointment was seen as an affront to orthodox Congregationalists. Moreover, the controversy exposed a class division within Massachusetts Congregationalism with many members of the eastern political elite aligned with Unitarianism’s liberal theology, even though it was a minority within the state. Orthodox minister JEDIDIAH MORSE launched a vitriolic campaign against Ware and, by 1807, many orthodox ministers deemed Harvard unfit to prepare ministers. They turned instead to Williams College and the newly established Andover Seminary.

The 1805 controversy brought divisions between liberals and orthodoxy into the open, making it more difficult for the two camps to exist peaceably within the same parish churches. In 1812, prominent orthodox ministers refused to share pulpits with liberal clergymen. Throughout the 1810s and 1820s, parishes divided between liberal and orthodox elements, making the establishment ineffective and unwieldy. In the context of these divisions, Unitarian leader Reverend William Ellery Channing’s 1819 speech “Unitarian Christianity” laid the groundwork for a complete break between liberal and orthodox Congregationalists. In this speech, Channing made clear that reason and SCIENCE must mediate the truths within the Bible. In 1825 Channing and others founded the American Unitarian Association, thus making their separation from orthodox Congregationalism official.

See also DEISM; RELIGION.

**Further reading:** Daniel Walker Howe, *The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philosophy, 1805–1861* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970); Conrad Wright, ed., *A Stream of Light: A Short History of American Unitarianism* (Boston: Skinner House Books, 1970); ———, *The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philosophy, 1805–1861* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955).

—Johann Neem



# V



## **Valcour Island, Battle of** (October 11, 1776)

Although the British won the Battle of Valcour Island on Lake Champlain, the fact that they had to build a fleet of ships to fight a revolutionary flotilla delayed an invasion from CANADA for a year. That extra year was vital. When General JOHN BURGOYNE advanced south from Canada in 1777, he ultimately met a huge army and was compelled to surrender at SARATOGA (October 17, 1777).

From the autumn of 1775 to the summer of 1776, the revolutionaries gained control of Lake Champlain and created a small fleet of vessels to prevent any British invasion from Canada. They built several gunboats and galleys at a shipyard at Skenesborough, below FORT TICONDEROGA. The revolutionaries succeeded almost in spite of themselves, as petty differences between the military leaders, and between the states, hampered military activity. Ultimately, command of the lake forces fell to BENEDICT ARNOLD, who combined his experience at sea with his energy as a leader. The British, who held St. Johns on the northern shore of the lake, built a more powerful fleet of their own. Arnold sailed up the lake to Valcour Island, anchoring his vessels in a defensive line, hoping that his stationary vessels could outgun the heavier British vessels as they tacked to get into position to fire. The idea was to have the British sail south of Valcour Island and attack them from the weather gauge. The British spotted Arnold's ships as they cleared the southern end of the island. Their superior seamanship and firepower pummeled Arnold's forces. By nightfall, Arnold was lucky to escape south along the lakeshore past the British ships. Pursued the next day, Arnold's men ran the vessels that had not been captured ashore and set fire to them. Arnold then led the remnants of his men to Fort Ticonderoga, just ahead of pursuing NATIVE AMERICANS. The Continental naval forces on Lake Champlain had been destroyed or captured and the path for invasion cleared. But with winter coming on, the British had to wait until the spring of the next year to push farther south.

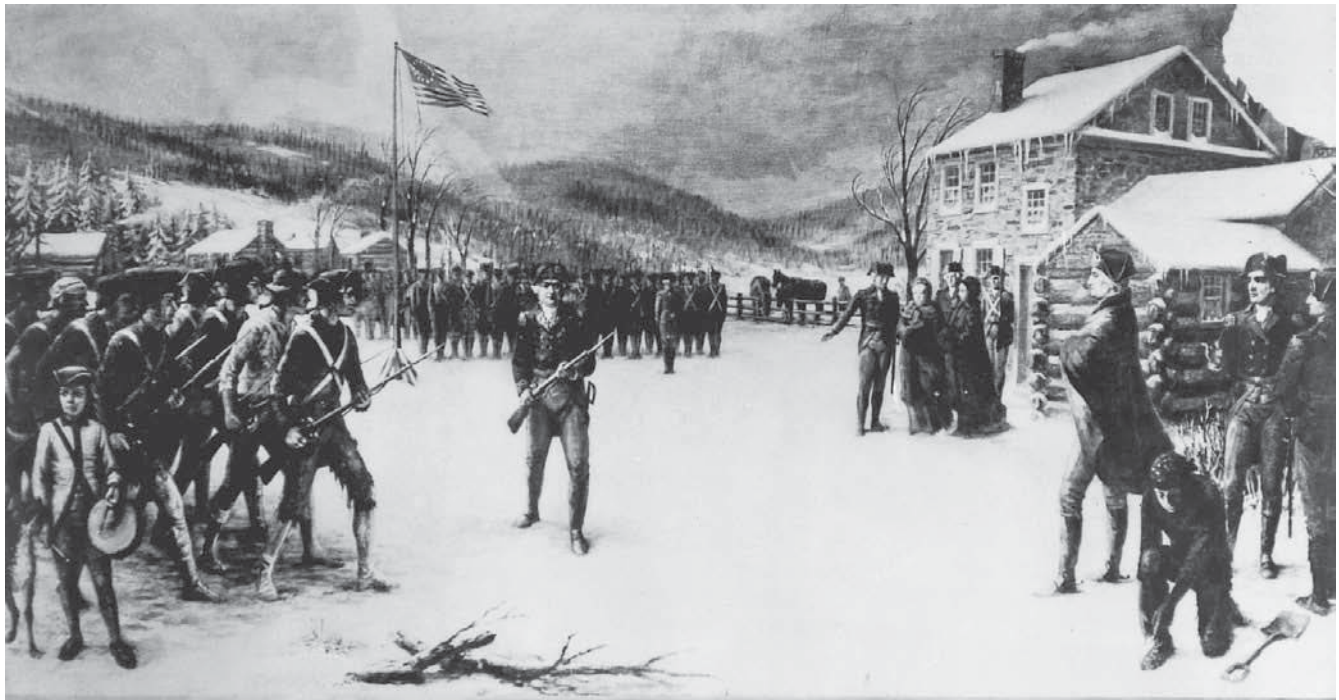
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## **Valley Forge** (1777–1778)

On December 19, 1777, with the campaign season at an end and the British in control of Philadelphia, GEORGE WASHINGTON took his ragged CONTINENTAL ARMY into winter quarters at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, about 20 miles northwest of the occupied capital. It was a hilly, wooded site at the junction of the Schuylkill River and Valley Creek, far enough from the city so the British could not approach unnoticed, and a secure base from which the revolutionaries could counter enemy expeditions into the area. With the implementation of a skillfully planned system of entrenchments, fortifications, and artillery placements, Valley Forge was virtually impregnable by late winter. Battling deep snow and freezing temperatures was another matter, however. That winter, of the approximately 11,000 soldiers that constituted Washington's army, almost 3,000 were unfit for duty due to lack of shoes and clothing. Adequate shelter became their first priority, and the men immediately began felling trees and building log huts. Washington offered cash prizes for the best and fastest built and for the best roofing material they could concoct. More than 1,000 huts were built, most being completed by the end of the year. Once his men were adequately housed, Washington moved out of his own tent and into rented quarters in the village, the Isaac Potts house.

The general's troubles were many that winter. Aware that factions within the army and in the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS doubted his leadership abilities and wanted him removed as commander in chief, Washington weathered the CONWAY CABAL while at Valley Forge.





Baron von Steuben at Valley Forge, 1777 (*National Archives*)

Despite the fact that Pennsylvania and the other colonies were not destitute of supplies, procuring and issuing provisions to the army through official channels was a continual problem. Meat and bread were often unavailable for days at a time. Medicines, bedding straw, blankets, drinking water, salt, and ALCOHOL (an integral part of the 18th-century diet) were also severely limited. Much of the army was virtually naked, forcing men to borrow clothes from one another when called upon to stand guard duty. Those without shoes stood on their hats to protect their feet from the snow. And when the various states did send provisions for their Continental regiments, they were for their own state troops only, resulting in an uneven distribution of goods, with units from the larger and wealthier states being the best supplied. Nor was the want limited to the army's human contingent. Horses, used as cavalry mounts and to pull wagons and artillery pieces, also faced starvation. To ease the demands on what fodder was available, Washington sent a detachment of cavalry to Trenton for the winter. Nevertheless, more than 1,500 horses died at Valley Forge.

Not surprisingly, such drastic shortages of food and supplies—not to mention back wages—kept the men on the verge of mutiny, though somehow many persevered with wry good humor. Officers and men alike, however, indulged in brawling, drinking, and gambling. Hunger drove many marauding bands of soldiers into the surrounding countryside, prompting Washington to institute pun-

ishment for unauthorized absences and looting. Desertion among the men was rampant, and those caught routinely received 100 lashes as punishment, though two extreme cases resulted in hanging. The officers, who paid most of their own expenses while in the field, were also not immune to the lure of home and family and better conditions outside the army. They began resigning by the dozen in December, one division alone lost 50 of its leaders. Those not resigning requested furloughs in such numbers that Washington was compelled to reserve approval to himself for leaves of those above the rank of captain. Chronic absences among his senior staff forced much of the burden of command onto Washington alone.

Within the camp, problems of boredom and cleanliness needed to be addressed. Soldiers were put to work making cartridges and spittoons. Latrines were dug in the frozen turf, filled in, and dug again as necessary. Huts needed inspection for repairs, and dead horses and rotting garbage had to be buried. Although the worst of the sick cases were sent to hospitals in outlying areas, illness seriously depleted the ranks of men in camp. Exposure and overcrowding made colds endemic among the troops and often turned to pneumonia. Severe frostbite required amputation, with shock and infection the resultant dangers. Unsanitary conditions contributed to dysentery, typhoid, and typhus, as well as to the proliferation of lice and bedbugs. Cases of insanity were also noted among the men. Smallpox was a

major threat to the health of the army, and with the end of the campaign season, inoculation was ordered for those who had not already had the disease (see also DISEASE AND EPIDEMICS). Of the 4,000 men who were inoculated against smallpox throughout the winter, only 10 died.

The bleakness of the situation at Valley Forge was brightened, however, by the arrival of Baron FREDERICK VON STEUBEN, a Prussian army officer who volunteered his services to Washington and instituted a uniform system of drill. As various units were intermixed in the training process, a new sense of belonging to a truly Continental army developed, and the precision and skill the men acquired in the maneuvers on the field increased their morale and self-confidence. In February, MARTHA WASHINGTON arrived from Virginia and set to work organizing the officers' wives for darning, mending, and nursing duties, as well as overseeing various social activities. The onset of spring still found the army near starvation, and Washington organized foraging parties that particularly targeted LOYALIST sympathizers. The soldiers took all they could find, but most of the surrounding farms had already been picked clean by scavengers from both armies. The sense of desperation finally began to ease in March, when a herd of 500 cattle was expected at the end of the month, and in April as the shad began running in the Schuylkill, providing fish for immediate consumption and, once salted and preserved, for later use. The weather was variable but gradually progressed from warm to hot. When the Continental army left its winter encampment on June 19, 1778, the conditions were a far cry from those that had greeted its arrival. The attitude of the men had changed as well. No longer the starved, naked, ill-trained disparate force they had been six months earlier, the soldiers who emerged from Valley Forge were a confident, cohesive unit with a renewed commitment to the war effort.

See also REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

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—Rita M. Broyles

**Vergennes, Charles Gravier, comte de** (1717–1787)  
*French diplomat*

An experienced diplomat, as French foreign minister (1774–87), Charles Gravier, comte de Vergennes was the architect behind France's support of the United States in the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–87). Concerned with

both the humiliation suffered by France in the French and Indian War (1754–63) and the balance of power in Europe, Vergennes saw the North American rebellion as an opportunity to weaken Great Britain. His position was pragmatic, not ideological; if the British North American colonies became independent he believed Britain's commercial power would be crushed. In early 1776 he persuaded King Louis XVI to begin secret preparations for war and encouraged Spain to do the same. On May 2, 1776, the French government began clandestine financial aid to the United States, providing 1 million livres to buy arms and supplies. After the revolutionary victory at SARATOGA (October 17, 1777), Vergennes sought a greater commitment to the United States to prevent an accommodation between the colonists and the British. He had also waited until France had built up its navy so that it might challenge the British command of the sea. On February 8, 1778, he concluded two treaties with the United States: one for commerce and the other a military alliance. War broke out openly between France and Great Britain on June 17, 1778.

The support of Vergennes was crucial to the winning of independence by the United States. France provided money, supplies, armies, and a navy—all of which played a major role in the victory at YORKTOWN (October 19, 1781). France also helped to bring Spain into the war, although not as a direct ally of the United States. Despite the popularity of the war in France, it did not have the long-term effects Vergennes had hoped. The negotiators for the United States violated the terms of alliance with France and instructions from the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS by holding separate peace talks with Great Britain and gaining a highly favorable agreement in the TREATY OF PARIS (1783). Vergennes knew about these negotiations and even encouraged them. By 1782 France was on the brink of bankruptcy, and Vergennes wanted the war to end. But the French were committed to fight until Spain conquered Gibraltar. Vergennes believed that once Great Britain and the United States came to terms, Spain would have to follow suit and abandon its hopes for Gibraltar. Although the peace negotiations concluded as Vergennes expected after the Anglo-American agreement, France was still left with dire financial problems, which helped to precipitate the FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789–99). Great Britain, on the other hand, may have lost the jewel in its imperial crown, but it quickly recovered its commercial prowess and expanded its empire territorially elsewhere.

See also FOREIGN AFFAIRS; FRENCH ALLIANCE.

**Further reading:** Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Diplomacy and the Revolution: The Franco-American Alliance of 1778* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981); Richard B. Morris, *The Peacemakers: The Great Powers and American Independence* (Syracuse, N.Y.:

Syracuse University Press, 1985); William C. Stinchcombe, *The American Revolution and the French Alliance* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969).

### Vice-Admiralty Courts

When the British Parliament decided to strengthen its imperial control over the colonies in the early 1760s, it turned to the use of Vice-Admiralty Courts to enforce customs regulations. Colonial Americans had developed customs evasion to a fine art. Customs officials had found that it was almost impossible to gain a conviction in a colonial court because the juries would be sympathetic to the accused customs evaders. Vice-Admiralty Courts were originally an arm of the Admiralty to determine lawful prizes during war, disputes between masters and seamen, and violations of the Acts of Trade. These courts did not use juries and would therefore be immune to local pressure. From the British perspective they were the perfect tool to guarantee that customs regulations would be followed. As a part of the SUGAR ACT (1764) a new Vice-Admiralty Court was established in Halifax. The act also permitted the customs officials to choose the court that they wished to prosecute the case and placed the burden of proof on the accused customs offender. The British expanded the Vice-Admiralty Court system in 1768 by creating Vice-Admiralty District Courts in Halifax, Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston. Believing that trial by a jury of one's peers was the right of every Englishman, colonial Americans saw this measure as an effort to destroy their liberty.

See also RESISTANCE MOVEMENT.

**Further reading:** Carl Ubbelohde, *The Vice Admiralty Courts and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960).

### Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798)

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were passed in 1798 by the state legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky, protesting the ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS (1798). The resolutions addressed STATES' RIGHTS, nullification, and the question of arbitration between the federal government and state governments. They recalled the themes of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, arguing that tyranny and corruption were not necessarily imposed by external forces but could also develop internally, thus threatening a government from within.

JAMES MADISON secretly authored the Virginia Resolution. The Virginia legislature passed it on December 24, 1798. Madison argued that an individual state had the right to challenge any use of federal power it deemed unconstitutional. When the federal government exceeded its power

and broke the compact that formed government, Madison wrote that "the states, who are parties thereto, have the right and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil."

The Kentucky state legislature passed two resolutions, each anonymously written by THOMAS JEFFERSON, then vice president of the United States. Jefferson could have been charged with violating the Sedition Act, making the need for secrecy all the more compelling. The first Kentucky Resolution, passed on November 16, 1798, said that each state "has an equal right to judge for itself" the validity of any federal activity that extended beyond the delegated powers. Echoing the rhetoric of the Revolution, Jefferson also argued that each state had the right to determine its own "measure of redress." The Kentucky legislature passed a second resolution on December 3, 1799, further sharpening the case for nullification. The Kentucky Resolutions presented the most aggressive argument for states' rights.

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions argued that the federal government should operate only with the consent of the individual states. The central government could not be trusted to police itself, Madison and Jefferson contended, so the states had a duty to restrict the federal government to its delegated powers. When passed along to the other states for approval, however, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were for the most part dismissed. The arguments for nullification were resurrected by southern slaveholders during the sectional crisis leading to the Civil War. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina especially leaned on the words of Madison and Jefferson to support his justification of states' rights. Madison vigorously opposed Calhoun, claiming that his arguments were taken out of context. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were a reaction to the Alien and Sedition Acts in particular, and they became an issue in the struggle between the FEDERALIST PARTY and DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS.

**Further reading:** James Morton Smith, *Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966).

—Jay R. Dew

### Virginia dynasty

Four of the first five presidents of the United States, for a total of eight of nine terms, came from the same state—Virginia. This early trend has been called the Virginia dynasty. At the time of the CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, Virginia was the largest and most populous state. Excluding its claim to the Northwest Territories, Virginia comprised the present states of Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky. Perhaps equally important was the fact that Virginia had developed an articulate and outstanding group of leaders



drawn from the ranks of LAWYERS and slave-owning plantation holders. Given this leadership and the size and population of Virginia, it appeared only natural that the state would provide prominent national leaders.

Foremost among these men was GEORGE WASHINGTON, who, during the CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION in Philadelphia, was expected to become the first president. Washington chose to serve only two terms. His immediate successor was JOHN ADAMS from Massachusetts. Adams, however, served only one term and was defeated in the ELECTION OF 1800 by THOMAS JEFFERSON. While Jefferson had come to oppose many of the FEDERALIST PARTY policies of Washington and Adams, he had been Washington's first secretary of state and was a Virginian. His two terms were followed by his protégé, secretary of state and fellow Virginian JAMES MADISON. By this time, members of the Federalist Party were complaining that there ought to be a constitutional amendment against having two individuals from the same state elected in succession. Madison's political success led to the complete dominance of the DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PARTY and the election of James Monroe in 1816. Monroe was also from Virginia and had been Madison's secretary of state. The Virginia dynasty was finally broken by the election of John Quincy Adams in 1824.

### Virginia Resolves (1765)

At the instigation of PATRICK HENRY, the Virginia House of Burgesses—its lower house of assembly—passed a set of resolutions on May 30, 1765, declaring opposition to the STAMP ACT (1765). Henry was a relatively new member of the Burgesses, but he had already earned something of a reputation as a firebrand. He introduced the resolutions after the majority of members had left and as the Burgesses were about to adjourn; only 39 of 117 members were in attendance. While the resolves merely echoed the message of previous petitions against imperial regulation agreed to by the Virginia legislature, the language and tone

of these resolves was more intense. The first two resolves traced the rights of Virginians to the earliest settlements and the charters for colonial government issued by the kings of England. The next two resolves asserted that “the distinguishing Characteristick of *British* Freedom, without which the ancient Constitution cannot exist” is that taxation could be exacted only by “the People themselves, or by Persons chosen by themselves” and that the right to be governed and taxed by laws of their own choosing “hath been constantly recognized by the Kings and People of *Great Britain*.”

There remains some confusion over the exact process by which these resolutions were passed. On May 30, 1765, the Burgesses agreed to five resolutions. The next day it rescinded the fifth resolution, which declared that only the Virginia general assembly had the right to tax the colonies and that any challenge to this right “has a manifest Tendency to destroy British as well as American Freedom.” When newspapers throughout the colonies printed the Virginia Resolves, however, they included the fifth and one or two others. Historians are unsure how the newspapers obtained the sixth and seventh resolves. The additional resolutions were highly inflammatory, declaring that colonists “are not bound to yield Obedience” to any taxes other than passed by the colonial legislature, and that anyone speaking or writing that Parliament had the right to tax the colony would be deemed “AN ENEMY TO THIS HIS MAJESTY'S COLONY.” The seven resolves together had a tremendous impact on the other colonies, and when eight other colonial assemblies passed their own resolutions, they used the more provocative seven resolutions as a model.

See also RESISTANCE MOVEMENT.

**Further reading:** Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765–1776* (New York: Knopf, 1972); Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).





# W



**Warren, Joseph** (1741–1775) *physician, revolutionary*  
A spokesman in the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75) to imperial regulation, Joseph Warren died at the beginning of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83).

Warren was born in Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1741. In 1755, the same year his father died, Warren entered Harvard College. After graduation, he apprenticed with Dr. James Lloyd and became an established physician. During a smallpox epidemic in Boston in 1763, the new doctor quickly became known as a successful inoculator (see also DISEASE AND EPIDEMICS). Indeed, Warren became friends with a patient named JOHN ADAMS as a result of the epidemic. By 1769 he had emerged as one of Boston's most celebrated physicians.

Warren also was active in politics, giving numerous speeches at Faneuil Hall alongside men like JOHN HANCOCK and SAMUEL ADAMS. In the aftermath of the BOSTON MASSACRE (March 5, 1770), Warren became a skilled propagandist, frequently urging military preparation. The BOSTON TEA PARTY (December 16, 1773) increased his standing in the Resistance Movement. In 1774 Warren led the committee that drafted the SUFFOLK RESOLVES. On April 18, 1775, Warren dispatched PAUL REVERE and William Dawes on their famous journeys. Warren served in three provincial congresses in Massachusetts, rising to president of the third.

On June 14, 1775, Warren was named a major general in the provincial army. Three days later, acting as a volunteer because his commission had not arrived, Warren was swept up in the BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL (June 17, 1775). Warren moved to hold Breed's Hill. Though resisting two waves of attack, Warren was caught in the third British charge. Among the last of the revolutionary forces left on Breed's Hill, Warren was shot in the head and killed.

**Further reading:** John Cary, *Joseph Warren: Physician, Politician, Patriot* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961).

—Jay R. Dew

**Warren, Mercy Otis** (1728–1814) *poet, playwright, historian, critic*

As a historian, poet and dramatist, Mercy Otis Warren provided both fascinating political commentary and a valuable insider's look at the events surrounding the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Born in Barnstable, Massachusetts, in 1728, Mercy received little formal EDUCATION, except what she gleaned from her brothers' tutoring sessions. Mercy's brother, JAMES OTIS, was a leading political activist during the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75), who publicly opposed various English measures, including the STAMP ACT (1765). Relationships to prominent revolutionary figures, such as James Warren, ABIGAIL ADAMS, and JOHN ADAMS, gave Mercy expert knowledge of the turbulent events surrounding the American Revolution, which she subsequently applied to her creative works.

On November 14, 1754, Mercy Otis married James Warren, a Massachusetts political leader, and the couple resided mainly in Plymouth, Massachusetts, except for the 10 years in which they lived in Milton at the house once owned by Governor THOMAS HUTCHINSON. They had five sons, compelling Warren to juggle motherhood with her writing career. Warren held strong views on women's roles in society. Although she believed in the importance of motherhood, she felt that women had the right to pursue other career interests. Women needed to manage their time wisely, thus allowing them to live in both the world of intellect and the world of domesticity. In letters she wrote to her friend Abigail Adams, Warren asserted that a good education proved critical to sharpening women's minds and distracting them from frivolous pursuits. She recognized that domestic responsibilities often hindered a woman's ability to challenge herself intellectually; however, it was worth the effort.

Warren applied her intellectual skills towards writing plays and recording the experiences of the revolutionary period. Her major works include *The Adulateur* (1773), *The Group* (1775), *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous*

(1790), and *A History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution* (3 volumes, 1805). In the political satires *The Adulateur* and *The Group*, Warren directed her attacks at the increasingly unpopular governor Thomas Hutchinson. She also predicted that a war against Great Britain would inevitably occur. The playwright maintained strong republican convictions and criticized those who exhibited “aristocratic” tendencies. Through personal correspondence, Warren offered her opinions on political matters to a number of major political figures, including John Adams, SAMUEL ADAMS, James Winthrop, JOHN DICKINSON, THOMAS JEFFERSON, GEORGE WASHINGTON, ELBRIDGE GERRY, and HENRY KNOX.

In her history of the Revolution, few people escaped Warren’s biting political commentary, including the second president of the United States, John Adams. For example, Warren questioned Adam’s ability to keep his passions and prejudices intact, and she noted his excessive “pride of talents” and ambition. Adams objected to Warren’s depiction of him, and consequently, a rift developed in their friendship that lasted for almost five years. Mercy Otis Warren’s influence waned as a new generation of politicians came into power in the early 19th century. However, through her literary contribution, her imprint on the Revolution remains firm. She died in Plymouth, Massachusetts, on October 19, 1814.

See also REPUBLICANISM; WOMEN’S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

**Further reading:** Jeffrey H. Richards, *Mercy Otis Warren* (New York: Twayne, 1995); Rosemarie Zagari, *A Woman’s*

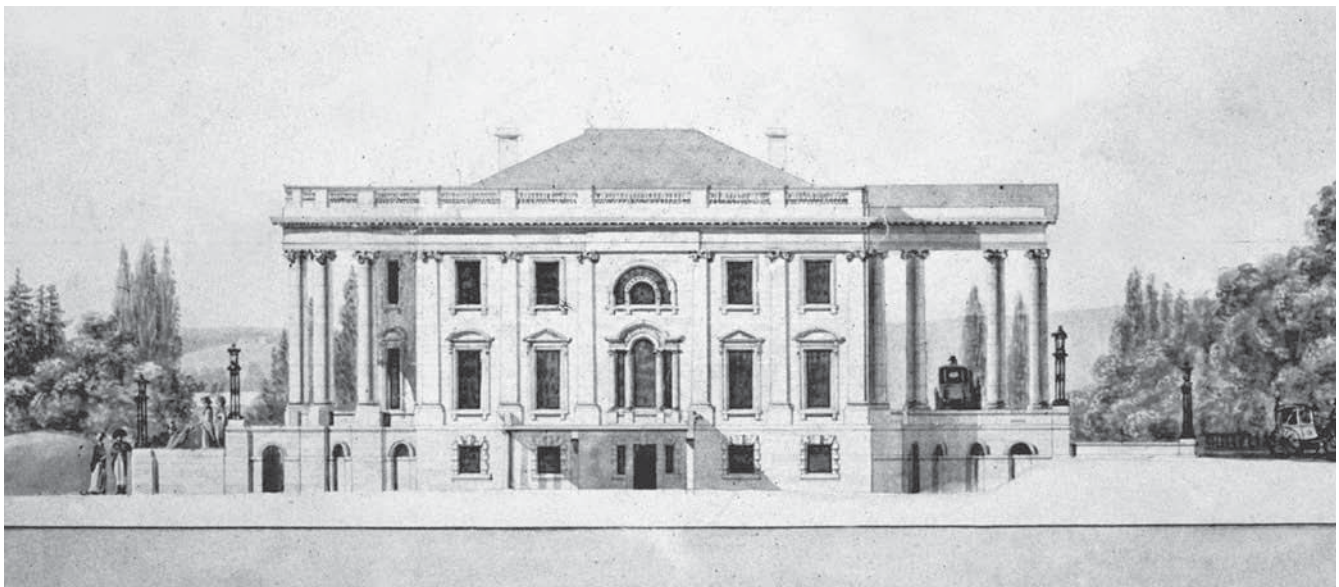
*Dilemma: Mercy Otis Warren and the American Revolution* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1995).

—Linda English

## Washington, District of Columbia

Washington, D.C., is a planned national capital and one of the few founded solely for the purpose of government. Established in 1791 as the District of Columbia, Washington became the seat of power as the result of the “dinner table bargain” between JAMES MADISON and ALEXANDER HAMILTON, whereby Madison agreed to support the assumption of state debts in exchange for locating the capital on the Potomac River. THOMAS JEFFERSON, who reported that he brokered this deal, said later that he regretted the bargain since it helped solidify the hold by the FEDERALIST PARTY on the national government in the 1790s. The actual site was chosen by GEORGE WASHINGTON, and it comprised land near Mount Vernon in both Virginia and Maryland. (In 1846 Congress ceded the Virginia portion of the District of Columbia—Alexandria—back to Virginia.) In the early 1800s, the area selected was swampy, hot, and largely undeveloped. When President JOHN ADAMS moved to the city in 1800, and when Jefferson became the first president inaugurated there, the “republican city” remained half-built and insignificant.

The city plan reflected the order and balance of the Enlightenment run amuck. The Frenchman PIERRE-CHARLES L’ENFANT designed the city in the 1790s. He used a grid with four unequal quadrants overlapped by avenues that meet at different angles, creating a series of strange



The White House as it appeared in 1807 (Library of Congress)

intersections that often open into traffic circles. L'Enfant's ambitious plans were beyond the resources available. He had envisioned a city built around grand buildings for each of the three branches of government. However, only the capitol, housing the legislative branch, and the executive mansion were built. A separate building for the SUPREME COURT would not be constructed until the 20th century. For most of the first half of the 19th century, Washington would have a half-finished look.

L'Enfant's extravagance created difficulties, and the government had to dismiss him as the city's architect. Efforts to raise money by selling city lots inevitably fell short—those few people who invested in city real estate seldom gained a profit and often went bankrupt. Moreover, the penny-pinching policies of the DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PARTY limited the amount of money the government was willing to put into the city. Although the British capture of Washington (August 24–25, 1814) and the burning of many of the public buildings was an embarrassment during the War of 1812 (1812–15), the capital was so insignificant as a population or business center that its destruction had little real impact on the war effort.

The grand city today, with its many public buildings, museums, and monuments, is a product of developments in the 20th century.

**Further reading:** James Sterling Young, *The Washington Community, 1800–1828* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966).

**Washington, George** (1732–1799) *first U.S. president* No one looms larger in the pantheon of national heroes than George Washington, whose service in the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) and as the first president of the United States earned him adulation bordering on worship from contemporaries and future generations alike. ABIGAIL ADAMS said Washington was made of “majestick fabric,” and upon his death in 1799 the House of Representatives proclaimed him “first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.” Americans have named the national capital, an imposing monument, and a state in his honor, while towns such as Stoughtonham Township in Massachusetts paid their respects by changing their name to Washington as well. They did so as early as 1776, while Washington was alive and the outcome of the Revolutionary War remained uncertain. Families rushed to name their children after him years before and long after he became president.

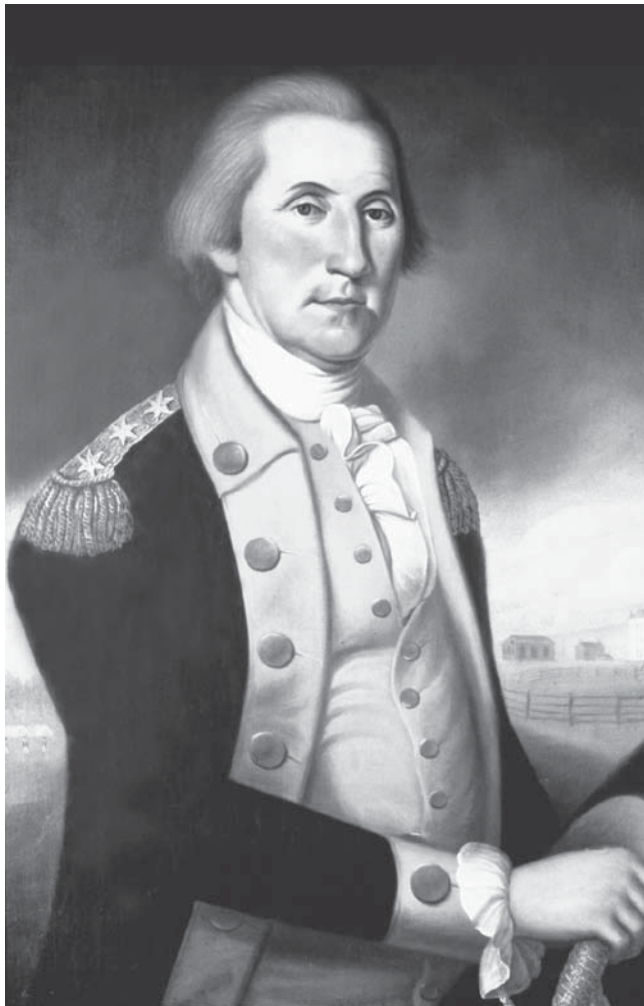
The larger-than-life image of Washington as father of his country has made his more human side difficult to understand. The first president seems cold and aloof to our skeptical age, and we look past his imposing visage

on the one dollar bill for cracks in his Olympian legend. Our collective cynicism is fueled by the knowledge that writers such as MASON LOCKE WEEMS fabricated stories about Washington, including the famous (and completely fictional) account in which a young Washington confesses his role in destroying a family cherry tree by proclaiming to his father, “I can’t tell a lie Pa; you know I can’t tell a lie. I did cut it with my hatchet.” Similar myths remain prevalent even today, and they combine with facts regarding Washington’s virtues to create a portrait of a man so seemingly great that few people today can relate to him. This is unfortunate, for the real Washington was both more and less heroic than his legend suggests.

He was born on February 22, 1732, at Wakefield, a country home in Westmoreland County, Virginia, near the Potomac River. His father Augustine was a successful farmer and land speculator, and he trained George in the ways of a Virginia planter prior to his death in 1743. Washington learned to ride and shoot, traveled with his father on business, and developed a strong ambition to become a wealthy and successful landowner in his own right. One of seven children, and the oldest son of Augustine’s second marriage, Washington became a land surveyor in 1749 after his mother blocked his plan to join the Royal Navy. He surveyed much of Virginia’s vast western land claims until he inherited Mount Vernon following the death of his brother Lawrence in 1752. Thereafter he lived as a country gentleman.

Yet financial success as a planter could not satisfy Washington’s desire for renown, and he joined the Virginia militia as a lieutenant colonel in 1754 in the hope of finding fame on the battlefield. His actions on the FRONTIER helped to bring on the French and Indian War (1754–63). At the head of a small group of Virginians and Indians, Washington beat a smaller French force in what is now western Pennsylvania on May 28, 1754. He then watched helpless as his Indian allies butchered a French officer and the surviving French soldiers. Washington also had his men build Fort Necessity in the same area, in an almost indefensible position, and had to surrender the outpost to the French after a brief siege on July 3–4, 1754. This debacle marked the opening round of the French and Indian War and clouded Washington’s reputation. He subsequently left the militia rather than accept a demotion in rank. Yet Washington quickly sought to redeem himself, volunteering to accompany a British army led by General Edward Braddock in an attack on the French and NATIVE AMERICANS west of the Appalachians. This expedition suffered ambush and virtual annihilation (July 9, 1755), but Washington fought bravely and had two horses shot out from under him. He emerged from the battle a hero, and Virginia governor Robert Dinwiddie rewarded him with promotion to full colonel and command of the Virginia regiment.





George Washington. Painting by Charles Willson Peale (*West Point Museum Collections, United States Military Academy*)

Washington fought in the ensuing war for 40 frustrating months, pleading for reinforcements and gradually losing one-third of his men. He failed in attempts to gain a commission in the British army, but he accompanied a column commanded by General John Forbes, which finally captured Fort Duquesne in 1758. With the French threat to Virginia's western frontier eliminated, Washington retired from the militia and married a fabulously wealthy widow named Martha Custis (see also *MARTHA WASHINGTON*), who owned hundreds of slaves and almost 18,000 acres of land. By 1759 Martha and George were among the most celebrated families in Virginia.

They embraced a comfortable life during the 1760s, hosting countless parties and successfully winning a seat for George in the House of Burgesses. Washington excelled as a horseman and dancer, and he loved wearing fine clothes. He also worked hard as a land speculator and wheat farmer.

While expanding Mount Vernon he devoted himself to his two stepchildren, John and Martha, and served as a justice of the peace even as he acquired more than 20,000 acres of land near the Great Kanawha River as a reward for his war service. Critics accused him of impropriety for scheming to have the House of Burgesses name a good friend surveyor of the land and for buying territory at low prices from other veterans. In 1772 Washington commissioned CHARLES WILLSON PEALE to paint his portrait and characteristically posed for the painting wearing his militia uniform. Whatever his financial successes, he wanted to be remembered as a soldier.

Washington grew increasingly frustrated with British policy in North America, which blocked westward expansion and prevented him from selling his lucrative western land to settlers. He also believed that the Crown was denying colonial Americans their rights as Englishmen, and he supported the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75), serving as a delegate to both the FIRST and the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. After war began at the BATTLES OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD (April 19, 1775), he wore his militia uniform to meetings as a not-so-subtle reminder that he deserved command of the new CONTINENTAL ARMY, and when JOHN ADAMS nominated him for the post his peers quickly assented. They recognized his military experience, dignified bearing, sense of command, and his reputation as a man of character and high principles. Moreover, as a Virginian, his role as a commander of troops in New England, where the war began, would help bind his colony to the rebellion.

Washington assumed command of the revolutionary army in June, and he surrounded Boston with thousands of eager recruits. However, the British retained possession of Boston until the spring of 1776. Washington ended the stalemate by ordering his troops to seize DORCHESTER HEIGHTS (March 4–5, 1776), compelling the British to evacuate Boston on March 17. In August the British landed an army of 34,000 men commanded by General WILLIAM HOWE near New York City. In a series of contests, beginning with the BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND (August 27–30, 1776), Howe battered Washington's army time and again. Jeering British troops blew fox horns while pursuing the broken Continental army, and only Howe's tentative advance, the intervention of bad weather, and the onset of winter saved the revolutionary forces from outright destruction. Washington's inexperience as a field commander led to most of the defeats. In his defense, he learned his lessons well. Washington thereafter avoided risking his entire army in a general engagement, adopting instead a cautious Fabian approach to warfare designed to keep his army intact.

After the string of defeats, Washington faced a crisis toward the end of December. With many enlistments expir-

ing, he was afraid he would not be able to gain new recruits without some positive action by the army. Washington therefore took a chance and launched a foolhardy attack in a snowstorm against an outpost of HESSIANS at Trenton on December 26, 1776. Amazingly, he surprised the garrison. Then, a few days later, when he found himself cornered between the Delaware River and a superior British army under CHARLES, LORD CORNWALLIS, he slipped his troops to the side and won another victory against a smaller force at Princeton on January 3, 1777 (see also BATTLES OF TRENTON AND PRINCETON).

Although Washington did not win many battles during the war, he continued to exhibit an incredible sense of leadership. He managed to keep an army together during the winter of 1776–77 at MORRISTOWN, New Jersey, but that next spring faced defeat again and was compelled to give up Philadelphia to the British. The winter of 1777–78 was spent building the army at VALLEY FORGE. When the British evacuated Philadelphia in June 1778, Washington followed, fighting a battle at the BATTLE OF MONMOUTH (June 28, 1778) and then stationing his army around New York City for most of the rest of the war. In eight and a half years in the field he slept only three nights at Mount Vernon. He also refused a salary and supported civilian rule over his army, even when Congress seemed to have forgotten about his starving and ill-equipped men. Washington confronted mutinies among his troops and conspiracies among his officers to have him replaced. He also struggled with chronic shortages of men and supplies. But he never abandoned hope.

In 1781 Washington made the most brilliant decision of the war when he marched his army south from New York to join combined French and Continental forces besieging a British army commanded by General Cornwallis at YORKTOWN, Virginia. When a French fleet blocked Cornwallis's seaward escape a great victory was assured, and the British surrendered on October 19th. Triumph at Yorktown led to the end of the war and the signing of the TREATY OF PARIS (1783), which recognized the independence of the United States. After the British evacuated New York City in November 1783, Washington stunned the world by resigning his commission and returning to Mount Vernon.

His resignation became the most admired act of his life, for it demonstrated civic virtue and an unselfish sense of duty that awed his generation. Washington knew the way in which his resignation would be received, and he acted in large measure to enhance his reputation. Yet he could have been a king or a dictator in North America and used the army for his own ends, or he might have demanded vast rewards for his service to his country. Instead, he went home and expected to live the remainder of his days at Mount Vernon as a modern-day Cincinnatus. (A general in

ancient Rome who returned to his farm after winning a war and saving the Roman Republic.)

To his dismay, Washington found that his fame precluded isolation from public life. He emerged from retirement to preside over the CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION in 1787, and he then served two terms as the first president of the United States, 1789–97. In each case he left Mount Vernon reluctantly, wary of damaging his reputation through association with political endeavors that might have failed, and in each case his role proved vital. His prestige gave credibility to the Constitutional Convention, and it is difficult to imagine the delegates reaching any sort of consensus without his leadership. Moreover, many of them approved the strong, centralized powers of the new federal government only because they believed Washington would be the first president, and that only he could be trusted not to abuse those powers. Washington acceded to popular pressure and became the first president of the United States in April 1789.

As president he oversaw the creation of the federal government, sided with ALEXANDER HAMILTON in disputes over the UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION, and noted with dismay the increasing factionalism of his countrymen. He wanted to retire following his first term, but he was persuaded to stay by supporters and was unanimously reelected. Washington crushed the WHISKEY REBELLION in 1794, kept the United States neutral after the outbreak of the FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789–99) and the ensuing wars between the French and the British, and sent an army led by ANTHONY WAYNE to defeat NATIVE AMERICANS in the Ohio River valley in 1794.

He declined a third term in office in 1796, peacefully transferred power to his successor, John Adams, in 1797, and established the tradition that no president should serve more than two terms. In his FAREWELL ADDRESS he urged the nation to avoid permanent alliances with foreign countries and warned against the development of POLITICAL PARTIES. He died two years later on December 14, 1799.

Washington left behind a compelling record of military and political achievement. He almost single-handedly held the Continental army together for eight years, battling the British, mutinies, conspiracies, and supply shortages that would have broken more ordinary leaders. He was not a great field commander, but he learned from his mistakes and bided his time until conditions were ripe for the master stroke at Yorktown. Politically, he proved remarkably astute at discerning the will of Congress and at creating an image of himself that strongly appealed to his generation. Less politically experienced and intellectually gifted than founders such as THOMAS JEFFERSON or John Adams, he retained a sense of pragmatism and virtue as president that encouraged popular faith in the government and kept the



United States out of war in the early years of the republic. Most important, he oversaw the creation of the Constitution, which provided a foundation on which a new form of government could be built.

As a human being, Washington's legacy is more complex. He treated his slaves harshly yet provided for their emancipation following his death. (However, they were to be freed only with Martha's consent or after she died. Wisely, she freed his slaves, but not the ones that had belonged to her estate, before her own death.) He proved a loving husband and stepfather, yet nurtured an abiding affection for Sally Fairfax, the wife of a good friend, for almost all of his life. He was vain, hot-tempered, and ambitious, but he balanced these qualities with a zealous self-discipline that made him a model of civil and gentlemanly behavior. Less educated than any of the galaxy of great minds that crowd the revolutionary era, he earned the universal admiration of his peers through force of will and devotion to principle. And though popular to the point of deification in many parts of the country, he struggled to maintain a relationship with his Loyalist mother, who opposed the Revolution all of her life.

What all this effort—24 years that followed his nomination to command the Continental army in 1775—cost him can never be known. If his popular epitaph as the “Father of His Country” is well deserved, so, too, is the one he unwittingly wrote for himself in a letter to the MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE in 1784. Faced with old age and the prospect of death, Washington said, he would not repine, for “I have had my day.”

See also CONTINENTAL ARMY, MUTINIES OF; CONWAY CABAL.

**Further reading:** Marcus Cunliffe, *George Washington: Man and Monument* (Boston: Little Brown, 1958); Joseph J. Ellis, *His Excellency: George Washington* (New York: Knopf, 2004); John Ferling, *Setting the World Ablaze: Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); James Thomas Flexner, *Washington: The Indispensable Man* (New York: New American Library, 1984); Henry Wiencek, *An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves and the Creation of America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003).

—Lance Janda

### Washington, Martha (1731–1802) *first lady*

Martha Dandridge Custis Washington was the wife of GEORGE WASHINGTON, the first president of the United States and commander in chief of the CONTINENTAL ARMY during the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83). Although she had no role model to follow, Martha diligently and gra-

ciously served her country in her capacity as First Lady. Embracing her domestic responsibilities, she proved to be a dutiful wife and attentive mother to both her children and her grandchildren.

Martha Dandridge was born at Chestnut Grove in New Kent County, Virginia, on June 2, 1731. She received a traditional EDUCATION for young women in the 18th century, which emphasized such domestic skills as sewing, housekeeping, cooking, as well as reading, writing, dance, and MUSIC. At the age of 18, Martha married Daniel Parke Custis, a wealthy plantation owner who was 20 years her senior. The couple had four children, although two died in infancy. In 1757 Custis died, leaving Martha with a substantial estate and two small children, John Parke (Jacky) and Martha (Patsy).

On January 6, 1759, after a short courtship, Martha married George Washington, a young colonel in the Virginia militia, who had served in the French and Indian War (1754–63). The couple and Martha's two small children moved to Washington's plantation, Mount Vernon, in April 1759. Although Mount Vernon remained the Washington's family home, future events dictated that the couple spend a number of years living elsewhere. During the Revolutionary War, Martha joined her husband at VALLEY FORGE (1777–78). She also joined him on some of his later campaigns, including in New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, living simply and doing all she could to support the war effort. When her last surviving son, John Parke, died of “camp fever” in 1781, Martha and George adopted his two youngest children, Eleanor Parke Custis (Nelly) and George Washington Parke Custis (Wash or Tub).

After the inauguration of her husband as president on April 30, 1789, Martha and her grandchildren uprooted themselves from their home in Mount Vernon and moved to New York, then the national capital. Shortly thereafter, the family moved to the new capital in Philadelphia, until the end of George's presidency. While in Philadelphia, Martha, or “Lady Washington” as she came to be known, diligently performed her duties as a hostess for the weekly receptions held by the first couple. Although cast in a very public role, Martha confided to friends her preference for a more private life. She gladly returned home to Mount Vernon with her family on March 15, 1797, after the completion of George's second term. The couple enjoyed two short years surrounded by their loved ones at Mount Vernon before George's death in 1799. Martha burned all but two of the letters written between the couple over the course of their courtship and marriage, again reaffirming her desire for privacy. Martha Dandridge Custis Washington died on May 22, 1802, in the presence of her beloved granddaughter Nelly. Fittingly, she was buried next to her husband at Mount Vernon in a family tomb.

**Further reading:** Joseph E. Fields, *“Worthy Partner:” The Papers of Martha Washington* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press 1994).

—Linda English

### Washington Benevolent Societies

Members of the second generation of the FEDERALIST PARTY founded Washington Benevolent Societies in an effort to revive their party's flagging political fortunes during the first decades of the 19th century. Although older party leaders instinctively mistrusted grassroots politics, young members of the Federalist Party believed that such efforts were the only way to sustain their cause. Thus, the Washington Benevolent Societies epitomized belated Federalist Party efforts to adapt to the changing political culture of the early republic and embrace popular politics. The first society appeared shortly after GEORGE WASHINGTON's death in 1799 and, although most societies disappeared by 1824, the Philadelphia society remained active through the 1830s.

The first society, named the Washington Society of Alexandria, began as an effort to honor George Washington. Founded in January 1800 by a group of Washington's friends and acquaintances, the society pledged to support charities that Washington favored as well as sponsoring celebrations on Washington's birthday, February 22. Membership was by invitation only, and dues were prohibitively high so as to restrict who joined. Unlike its successors, the Alexandria group did not have an explicitly political agenda.

President THOMAS JEFFERSON'S EMBARGO OF 1807 hastened the creation of other Washington Societies. In 1808 Young Federalist Party supporters founded societies in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and elsewhere, eventually leading to more than 200 such organizations. The New York group was the first to call itself the Washington Benevolent Society. Like the original Alexandria society, these societies engaged in charitable activities although the extent and commitment varied widely from society to society. These activities included direct grants to the needy, employment training, legal advice, firewood, clothing, and support for free schools. Charitable activities, however, were secondary to politics.

In contrast to the Alexandria club, these newer groups opened their membership, with some qualification, to all voters. The societies still required annual dues, but these dues were nominal, and the president could waive them based on need. Members were required to be citizens, have good moral character, and be firmly attached to the UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION. In practice, these requirements meant that members had to support the Federalist Party.

The societies' political activities fell into two categories. The societies served as auxiliaries to the local Federal-

ist Party, and in areas where there was no local committee, societies performed the responsibilities of nominating candidates and conducting campaigns. In addition, societies sponsored celebrations, orations, and parades on Washington's birthday, July 4, and the anniversary of Washington's first inauguration.

With the irreversible decline of the Federalist Party after the Hartford Convention and the Treaty of Ghent in 1814, Washington Benevolent Societies also lost their relevance. No additional societies were founded, and eventually the others faded away.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES.

**Further reading:** David Hackett Fischer, *The Revolution in American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).

—Terri Halperin

### Wayne, Anthony (1745–1796) *army officer*

Nicknamed “Mad Anthony” because of his rash decisions in battle, Anthony Wayne was born in 1745 in Pennsylvania into a prosperous farming family. On March 25, 1766, Wayne married Mary Penrose, the daughter of a Pennsylvania merchant.

Wayne entered public life in 1774, when he was elected to the provincial convention to discuss the COERCIVE ACTS (1774). In 1776 the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety nominated Wayne to serve as a colonel in the CONTINENTAL ARMY and later that year he assumed command of FORT TICONDEROGA. Wayne disliked his time at Fort Ticonderoga but impressed higher officials with his discipline, orderliness, and military successes in CANADA. In 1777 Wayne was promoted to brigadier general. Wayne suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the British army at the Battle of Paoli (September 21, 1777). General WILLIAM HOWE's army killed 200 and injured 100 more colonial troops under Wayne during the Paoli “massacre.” A court-martial investigating the affair acquitted Wayne of any misconduct. Wayne gained his greatest success at the BATTLE OF STONEY POINT (July 16, 1779), when he led his men up a steep cliff in the Hudson Highlands and surprised and overwhelmed the British garrison. In 1781 GEORGE WASHINGTON ordered Wayne to accompany the MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE to Virginia. He enjoyed successful campaigns in Virginia and Georgia until the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) ended.

After the war, Wayne entered private life. Sickness weakened his constitution, and along with many slaves that he acquired during the war he devoted time to the rice plantation in Georgia. His plantation endeavor failed, and Wayne returned to Pennsylvania, where he was elected

to the House of Representatives. His political career was short-lived, but he used his time to expand the military and pressed for settler claims against NATIVE AMERICANS in the South. In 1792 President George Washington appointed Wayne commander of the Legion of the United States. The United States had experienced problems with Native Americans in the Old Northwest since the conclusion of the Revolutionary War. Many Indians in the Ohio River valley did not recognize land cessions that occurred after the Revolutionary War and actively resisted European Americans settling on the FRONTIER. Federal efforts to quell resistance failed. In 1790 a pan-Indian army (mostly Miami and Shawnee) ambushed Josiah Harmer's army, and in 1791 another pan-Indian army routed ARTHUR ST. CLAIR on the Wabash River.

Battling health problems, Wayne instilled discipline into his legion and prepared to move against the Native Americans in the Old Northwest in 1793. However, it was not until 1794 that Wayne could strike a decisive blow. Wayne led an army of about 3,000 troops that defeated Miami Little Turtle's pan-Indian army at the BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS (August 20, 1794). To assure peace between U.S. settlers and Native Americans, Wayne presided over the TREATY OF GREENVILLE (1795) that ceded the southeast half of the present-day state of Ohio to the United States and established two forts to prevent Indian and settlers from attacking each other. Wayne did not live long after his military successes in the Old Northwest. He died on December 15, 1796, at Fort Presque Isle (present-day Erie, Pennsylvania).

**Further reading:** Paul Nelson, *Anthony Wayne: Soldier of the Early Republic* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1985); John Preston, *A Gentleman Rebel: Mad Anthony Wayne* (Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing, 1930)

—William J. Bauer, Jr.

**Webster, Noah** (1758–1843) *lexicographer, educator, publisher*

Long a proponent of a national culture, Noah Webster standardized a distinctly American form of the English language. In his spellers, readers, and grammar books, Webster provided a more uniform means of spelling, pronunciation, and writing. In books such as *The American Spelling Book* (1831) and *An American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking* (1804), Webster evoked a strong nationalism. In addition to authoring *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828), Webster also assisted in the founding of Massachusetts's Amherst College. Like many of his generation, Webster looked upon the masses as crude and potentially destructive. He considered religious

and educational training essential to the formation of a virtuous and moral citizenry.

Born in West Hartford, Connecticut, Noah Webster showed an early proclivity for higher learning. After graduating from Yale College in 1778, he worked as both a teacher and clerk before beginning a short career in law. Webster published *Speller*, the first part of his *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, in 1783 and followed it with a grammar and reader over the course of the next two years. Aimed at an elementary audience, his speller proved a surprising success. By the end of the 1830s, some 15 million copies were in print. The goal of these and later works was nothing short of establishing a national linguistic standard.

An ardent supporter of a strong central government and advocate for the ratification of the Constitution, Webster also invested tremendous time, energy, and money into securing copyright legislation. To do so, he traveled throughout the country, visiting the state capitals and forming close connections with political leaders from South Carolina to Connecticut. He counted BENJAMIN FRANKLIN an ally in his effort to formalize and simplify English spelling. Despite the fact that few of his spelling reforms took hold, Webster did make a lasting impression in the realm of orthography.

Webster married Rebecca Greenleaf on October 26, 1789, and soon moved to New York to begin work as an editor for two FEDERALIST PARTY newspapers, the *Minerva* and the *Herald*. Ten years passed before he and his family relocated to New Haven. The political climate changed, however, as the Federalist Party was defeated by THOMAS JEFFERSON in 1800. Already alienated by political divisiveness, Webster left his newspaper editorship in 1803.

Webster then returned to a life devoted to learning. He published works on reading, epidemics (see also DISEASE AND EPIDEMICS), economics, and SCIENCE throughout the latter years of his life. His lexicographical triumph came with the 1806 publication of *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language*. In this short volume, Webster recorded words that had yet to be incorporated into other dictionaries. During the next 20 years, he continued to build on this work, publishing the stunning *An American Dictionary of the English Language* in 1828. Webster's dictionary incorporated words from both LITERATURE and everyday speech, provided primary as well as secondary and tertiary definitions, and included etymologies. In retrospect, many of his definitions were flawed, and his etymologies lagged behind the work of more advanced linguists. Nonetheless, Webster gained renown both within and outside the United States through his many publications and particularly his dictionaries.

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—Daniel M. Cobb

**Weems, "Parson" Mason Locke** (1759–1825)  
*biographer*

Mason Locke Weems was a minister, book agent, traveling salesman, and author. He was born near Herring Bay, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, in 1759, and little is known about his childhood. It is believed that around the age of 14 he traveled abroad for an EDUCATION in London and at the University of Edinburgh. With the onset of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), Weems returned to Maryland. There is some evidence that he and his brother became blockade-runners to supply the revolutionary effort during the war, but this is not firmly established.

Weems's life after the war is better documented. He studied theology, hoping eventually to be ordained into the ministry. He initially encountered difficulty in securing ordination in the ANGLICAN CHURCH, but once Parliament relaxed the allegiance requirements for ordination, Weems was able to enter the ministry in 1784. He served for seven years as rector in Anne Arundel County.

Parson Weems soon began moving beyond the confined life of a parish and entered the wider world of writing, publishing, and bookselling. By 1792 Weems had become a traveling bookseller for publisher MATHEW CAREY of Philadelphia. He continued selling books and Bibles for three decades, bringing the written word to cities and farm communities along the Atlantic seaboard. Weems also began to write his own stories. In 1800 he wrote and published his most influential work, a biography of GEORGE WASHINGTON, which included the fabricated cherry tree story. Since Weems occasionally preached at the Pohick Church, he could advertise himself as Parson Weems, "Formerly Rector of Mt. Vernon Parish," thus lending an air of credibility to his book. *The Life of Washington* is hardly an objective biography of Washington. On the contrary, it is a fictionalized tale of heroism, portraying Washington as just a regular buckskin and an average man who, Moses-like, was sent from God to deliver his people from the bondage of the British Empire. Weems's "biography" was widely successful, achieving publication in more than 70 editions and in a variety of languages. The book told the story of the Revolutionary War in an exciting, dramatic, and personal way that appealed to readers of all ages.

Weems wrote several other books about "heroes of the revolutionary and colonial past," including books

about BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, General FRANCIS MARION, and William Penn. His Franklin biography even outsold the "lightning tamer's" own autobiography. Weems saw himself on a mission—bringing inexpensive knowledge to the masses. As he explained to Carey, "I deem it a great glory to circulate valuable books. I would circulate millions. This cannot be effected without the character of cheapness."

Although money was important to Weems, the moral component of his work was also crucial. He penned one of the first TEMPERANCE books published in the United States, *The Drunkard's Looking Glass: Reflecting a Faithful Likeness of the Drunkard* (1812). He turned his attention to other sins as well, including *God's Revenge Against Murder* (ca. 1807), *God's Revenge Against Gambling* (ca. 1810), *God's Revenge Against Adultery* (1815), *God's Revenge Against Dueling* (1820), and *The Bad Wife's Looking Glass* (1823).

These books sold and appealed to a certain audience, though none reached the success of the Washington biography. Weems died in Beaufort, South Carolina, in 1825. His version of the Revolutionary War lived on, shaping the myths and collective memory of countless readers.

**Further reading:** Lewis Leary, *The Book-Peddling Parson* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

**West, Benjamin** (1738–1820) *portrait and history painter*

Beginning as a provincial artist in British North America, Benjamin West ended up as the court painter of King GEORGE III and president of the Royal Academy in London. Along the way he completed more than 700 paintings and his London studio became the center of influence and training for the generation of aspiring American artists in the revolutionary era who returned to the new nation; West, however, remained in Europe.

West was born in 1738 in the Quaker community of Springfield, Pennsylvania, outside Philadelphia. His training came from a series of the European and American itinerant artists who traveled through the colonies painting portraits of the local gentry. West's early work in portraiture drew upon English mezzotints for models; he also expanded into history paintings and landscapes. Several significant Pennsylvanians provided patronage to the young artist. One, the Reverend William Smith, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, made possible a trip to Italy to study the Old Masters and immerse himself in the contemporary European art world. These European travels to Italy, France, and eventually Great Britain took West to London in 1763, where exhibitions of his work brought him notice and success. His fiancée Elizabeth Shewell



joined him there along with her cousin Matthew Pratt, who became the first of West's pupils from North America. West would correspond with JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY and welcomed to his studio CHARLES WILLSON PEALE, GILBERT STUART, RALPH EARLE, JOHN TRUMBULL, and Washington Allston.

Increasingly, West turned toward history paintings after the 1760s. He used neoclassical style and topics from Roman antiquity for his works such as *Agrippina Landing at Brundisium with the Ashes of Gemanicus* (1768, Yale University Art Gallery). This painting brought West his first commission from George III of an eventual 60 portraits and history paintings for the British monarch along with an ambitious and uncompleted project to decorate the royal chapel at Windsor with religious paintings. By 1780 West was receiving a royal stipend of £1,000 a year and took for himself the title of "Historical Painter to the King of England."

See also ART.

**Further reading:** Robert C. Alberts, *Benjamin West: A Biography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978); Dorinda Evans, *Benjamin West and His American Students* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980); Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986).

—David Jaffe

## West Indies

The term "West Indies" refers to the region of the Caribbean Sea. The islands of the West Indies exerted an important influence on North Americans in the colonial, revolutionary, and early republican eras. The West Indies and North America were tied through TRADE, shared the institution of SLAVERY, and were politically and diplomatically interconnected.

During the colonial period, from the British perspective, the West Indies colonies of Jamaica and Barbados were their most important colonies in the Americas. Great profits could be earned from plantations growing sugar on these islands. The North American colonists fit into this equation as suppliers of food and carriers of slaves from Africa. Not content with this role for the British colonies, colonial North Americans also engaged in illicit trade with the French, Dutch, and Spanish of the region. It was in response to this trade that Great Britain began to tighten imperial regulations in the 1760s and passed the SUGAR ACT (1764). After the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), much of the West Indies trade was closed to the United States. The Anglo-French Wars after 1793 helped to rein-vigorate West Indies trade, especially with the French

colonies. The revolutions in the Spanish colonies following the Anglo-French Wars also increased trade with the region, although contact with the British colonies remained restricted.

Throughout this period, slavery tied North America and the West Indies together. Most colonies in the Caribbean had a more extensively developed plantation economy than in what became the mainland colonies. But there were many similarities between slavery in the two areas, especially in coastal South Carolina and tidewater Virginia, both densely populated with slaves. Elsewhere, merchant connections, slave traders, and even the slaves themselves (many of whom had Caribbean roots) had direct personal knowledge of the West Indies slave system. During the 1790s and early 1800s the great slave revolt in the French colony of Saint Domingue (HAITI), had a searing impact on North American slaveholders, suggesting to them their own fate if they did not fully control their chattel workers. In turn, the movement to free slaves in some parts of the United States had an influence on slaves throughout the West Indies.

The West Indies were often the centerpiece for contests over empire. During the French and Indian War (1754–63), the British were as much concerned with controlling the West Indies as North America. During the peace negotiation, France gave up CANADA so that it could retain possessions in the Caribbean.

The West Indies were also an import locus of action during the Revolutionary War. Although the British colonists in the West Indies shared some of the same grievances as their North American cousins, they generally opposed the resistance that broke into revolution in 1775. Many plantation owners had strong connections to Great Britain, with several having seats in Parliament, and therefore opposed independence. Moreover, the island colonies were more dependant on Great Britain for protection from other nations and from the overwhelming majority of black slaves in their midst. Thus, although there were some revolutionary sympathizers in the islands, they generally became bastions for LOYALISTS. Moreover, during the war, the naval control of the region was vital to both the French and the British. Once France entered the war in 1778, the British focused as much on protecting their possessions in the West Indies as fighting the war in North America. It was the arrival of a French fleet from the West Indies that set up the victory at YORKTOWN (October 19, 1781). Moreover, the French disaster at the BATTLE OF THE SAINTES (April 12, 1782)—a naval engagement fought in the straits between Dominica and Guadeloupe—helped to bring both Great Britain and France to the peace table to end the conflict.

During the 1790s and early 1800s the West Indies became the locus of much of the conflict over neutral



rights, as British and French navies seized merchant ships from the United States. The profitable carrying trade was mainly between French and British colonies in the West Indies and Europe. The QUASI-WAR (1798–1800) was largely fought in the West Indies. French failure to regain control of Saint Domingue in 1803 convinced NAPOLEON BONAPARTE to sell the LOUISIANA PURCHASE (1803).

See also FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

**Further Reading:** Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press); Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Barbara W. Tuchman, *The First Salute* (New York: Knopf, 1988).

## West Point

West Point, New York, is where the United States Military Academy was established in 1802. This former fort is located at a curve in the Hudson River that was the most defensible point in the Hudson Highlands. Built during the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), with Tadeusz Kościuszko putting his military engineering skills into play, this New York fort became the strategic base connecting New England with the rest of the states. BENEDICT ARNOLD, the commander of West Point, plotted to surrender the fortifications to the British but was foiled in his treason by the capture of Major JOHN ANDRÉ. After the war the United States government maintained an outpost at West Point, purchasing the land in the 1790s.

A military academy had been a dream of GEORGE WASHINGTON and the FEDERALIST PARTY, but they never successfully put one into place. However, the academy was finally established under the administration of THOMAS JEFFERSON. Unlike the Federalist Party, Jefferson and the DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PARTY did not see the academy as the training ground for the children of the well-born. Instead, they viewed it as a republican institution, and Jefferson insisted that West Point be open to the sons of all citizens. His hope was to replace the Federalist Party–dominated officer corps, where appointments had often been based on personal connections, with a more republican officer corps, where talent and ability would be crucial. For Jefferson, establishing a military academy became another way for him to counter what he saw as the aristocratic pretensions of the Federalist Party.

**Further reading:** Theodore J. Crackel, *Mr. Jefferson's Army: Political and Social Reform of the Military Establishment, 1801–1809* (New York: New York University

Press, 1987); ———, *The Illustrated History of West Point* (West Point, N.Y.: Harry N. Abrams, 1991).

## Whately, Thomas (d. 1772) government official

Although a minor official in Great Britain, Thomas Whately played a significant role in the developing imperial crisis of the 1760s and 1770s. As a secretary for GEORGE GRENVILLE in the treasury office, Whately drew up the STAMP ACT (1765). In the process he solicited the opinion of as many experts on colonial affairs as possible, including THOMAS HUTCHINSON. Ignoring most of this advice, which indicated that colonists would oppose the measure, Whately drafted a reasonable law that the British thought would be self-enforceable.

Whately also wrote the pamphlet, *The Regulations Lately Made concerning the Colonies and the Taxes Imposed Upon Them, Considered* (London, 1765), which not only defended the SUGAR ACT (1764) but also elaborated upon the idea of virtual representation. Whately admitted that it was a violation of liberty to impose taxes without the consent of representatives of the taxed. However, he argued that the colonists were represented in Parliament in the same manner that all British subjects were represented: “for every Member of Parliament sits in the House not as a Representative of his own Constituents, but as one of that August Assembly by which all the Commons of *Great Britain* are represented.” In other words, each member of Parliament protects the “Rights and Interests” of the whole empire. This was a powerful argument in the 18th century and was taken seriously by many colonists. DANIEL DULANY responded by arguing that since Parliament could pass taxes on the colonists that had no impact on the people of Great Britain, even by the standards of virtual representation, Parliament did not represent the colonists.

Whately remained an active politician and member of Parliament until his death in 1772. But even from the grave, he exerted some influence on the imperial crisis. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN had gained possession of a series of letters written by Thomas Hutchinson to Whately, in which the Massachusetts official had decried the course of events in Boston in the late 1760s. Franklin forwarded the letters to Boston, where they were made public in 1773, destroying the last vestiges of Hutchinson's popularity and leading to his recall as governor.

See also CORPORATISM; RESISTANCE MOVEMENT.

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*The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

**Wheatley, Phillis** (1753?–1784) *Senegalese-born American poet and former slave*

This AFRICAN-AMERICAN prodigy surprised European Americans of the revolutionary generation with her ability to command language and write poetry. Wheatley was born in Africa and was captured by slave traders when she was about eight years old. She was fortunate in that she was brought to Boston and sold to an affluent family—the Wheatleys—as a household slave. Susanna Wheatley treated young Phillis kindly, teaching her to read and write English. Phillis's extraordinary talents soon became apparent, and she even learned enough Latin to translate Ovid. Still only a teenager, she began to write poetry on religious themes that astonished her white patrons. By 1772 several

of her poems had been published, and her fame spread across the Atlantic. The Wheatleys sent Phillis to England in 1773, where she impressed a new round of patrons. A volume of her poetry was published in England, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (1773). But the illness of her North American patroness, Susanna Wheatley, compelled her to return to Boston. Soon after arriving in Boston, Phillis received her manumission papers. For the next few years, even though her ex-owners both died, she continued to write poetry, some of which supported the resistance to Great Britain. In 1778 Phillis married a free black, named John Peters. Their life was a struggle together. She had three children, but two died in early infancy. Never of a strong composition, Phillis died in poverty and obscurity in 1784, about age 30.

Phillis Wheatley was an important symbol for her time. She was the first African-American writer to get published. In an age when men such as THOMAS JEFFERSON denied



Published according to Act of Parliament, Sept. 1. 1773 by Arch.<sup>d</sup> Bell,  
Bookfeller N<sup>o</sup>. 8 near the Saracens Head Aldgate.

# P O E M S

O N

## VARIOUS SUBJECTS,

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL.

B Y

PHILLIS WHEATLEY,

NEGRO SERVANT to Mr. JOHN WHEATLEY,  
of BOSTON, in NEW ENGLAND.

L O N D O N:

Printed for A. BELL, Bookfeller, Aldgate; and sold by  
Messrs. COX and BERRY, King-Street, BOSTON.

M DCC LXXIII.

Title page of Phillis Wheatley's most famous work, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (1773) (Library of Congress)

the intellectual equality of blacks, the achievements of an African American such as Phillis Wheatley came to be a powerful ANTISLAVERY argument. While much of her work was religious, she not only wrote some patriotic poetry but also explored issues of race. In her 1773 poem “On Being Brought from Africa to America” she wrote:

‘Twas mercy brought me from my *Pagan* land,  
Taught my benighted soul to understand  
That there’s a God, that there’s a *Savior* too:  
Once I redemption neither sought nor knew.  
Some view our sable race with scornful eye,  
“Their colour is a diabolic die.”  
Remember *Christians*, *Negroes*, black as *Cain*,  
May be refin’d, and join th’ angelic train.

See also SLAVERY; SLAVE TRADE.

**Further reading:** William H. Robinson, *Phillis Wheatley and Her Writings* (New York: Garland, 1984); David Grimsted, “Anglo-American Racism and Phillis Wheatley’s ‘Sable Veil,’ ‘Lengthened Chain, and ‘Knitted Heart,’” in *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, eds. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, 338–444 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989).

## Whigs

The term “Whig” has several different meanings, depending on the historical context. The term emerged in the second half of the 17th century in Great Britain as a derogatory word to describe those individuals who opposed James, the duke of York, inheriting the Crown of his brother Charles II. Supporters of the Stuart monarchy derived the word from “whigamore,” which had been applied to Scottish coveneters (Presbyterians who helped to bring on the English civil wars of the 1640s) as an insult. Whigs supported parliamentary supremacy and the Protestant succession. They thus became the prime movers behind the Glorious Revolution (1688–89) that drove the CATHOLIC James II from the throne and enhanced the role of Parliament in government. The Whigs then coalesced into a political party opposed by the Tories who supported a stronger monarchy. With the Hanoverian succession in 1714, the Whigs emerged as the dominant political force and in one form or another they controlled the government for most of the rest of the 18th century.

However, in the 18th century important divisions also emerged among the Whigs. While the political party became entrenched under leaders like Sir Robert Walpole (sometimes this group is referred to as the Whig Oligarchy), another group, referred to as COMMONWEALTHMEN or the real or true Whigs, began to criticize Walpole and his

supporters for abandoning Whig principles and engrossing too much power at the expense of the liberty of the people. The individuals who would later become the leaders of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION became avid readers of the pamphlets and articles written by the true Whigs. Throughout the 1760s and 1770s, opposition to imperial regulation was often defended in the name of Whig principles. In fact, once the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) broke out, the supporters of the resistance movement called themselves Whigs and their opponents Tories.

There are two other important uses of the word Whig. First, an American Whig political party, advocating a more active government, emerged in the 1830s and 1840s. And second, historians sometimes use the phrase “Whig history” to describe an interpretation of either the English or the American past that de-emphasizes conflict among social groups and centers on the inevitable unfolding of the triumph of liberty and democracy. Critics of this interpretation do not see that triumph as inevitable or complete. They also believe that Whig history tends to focus on stories of great white men and ignore the history of race, class, and gender.

See also REPUBLICANISM.

**Further reading:** Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969).

## Whiskey Rebellion (1794)

The Whiskey Rebellion was an outbreak of armed violence and collective disorder that erupted in 1794 in western Pennsylvania when federal tax collectors attempted to serve court summonses for failure by farmers and distillers to pay an excise tax on whiskey.

In 1791 Secretary of the Treasury ALEXANDER HAMILTON proposed, as a part of his financial plan for the United States, a series of excise taxes to raise revenue for the new federal government. The most controversial of these taxes fell on distilled spirits with a 25 percent tax on all whiskey production. This new excise tax was particularly burdensome on farmers in the West, where whiskey was used as a form of barter and was an integral part of the ECONOMY.

The excise tax met with widespread resistance, especially in the FRONTIER areas of Pennsylvania and its collection was difficult. That region, and the frontier as a whole, suffered from a lack of hard currency that was required to pay the taxes. Without ready cash, farmers became increasingly frustrated at what they perceived to be an unresponsive government that did not understand the hardships they faced due to a lack of specie. Moreover, citizens in the West resented having to travel to distant courts in Philadelphia to plead their cases rather than using local courts.



Throughout 1792 and 1793, local resistance to the tax oftentimes led to violence. After several meetings denouncing the law, farmers took matters into their own hands. Following a pattern of collective behavior similar to the action practiced during the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75) against Great Britain, a group of individuals calling themselves the “whiskey boys” attacked federal tax collectors, shaving their heads, stripping them naked, tarring and feathering them, and leaving them tied to trees deep in the woods. Even the nonviolent protest became heated as DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN SOCIETIES (anti-Washington administration political clubs) in the East as well as the West called for a repeal of the tax.

Failed efforts to collect the tax only strengthened the federal government’s resolve. In the summer of 1794, at the urging of Alexander Hamilton, Marshal David Lennox and Supervisor of Collection John Neville tried to serve writs to western Pennsylvanians to appear in Philadelphia courts to answer for non-compliance with the tax law. In response to these efforts by the government, some 50 armed local men assembled at the Mingo Creek Church in Washington County. Word spread quickly, and soon an even larger group gathered to confront the marshal and Neville. On the morning of July 16, the men surrounded John Neville’s house on Bower Hill. These individuals believed they would find David Lennox there, and they planned to demand the surrender of both the writs and Neville’s commission as tax collector. However, only Neville, his wife, and granddaughter were in the house. In a brief skirmish, Neville repulsed the attackers, wounding several and killing one. The next day, after Neville left his house in the hands of a military guard, the whiskey rebels renewed the assault. During this exchange of gunfire at Bower Hill several men were wounded and at least two were killed before the government forces surrendered and the rebels destroyed the house. Among the dead was insurgent leader James McFarland, a REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) hero and militia captain, who became a martyr to the insurrectionists and a regional symbol of the anti-excite cause.

Events moved faster after the violence at Bower Hill. At a meeting on July 23, David Bradford, a DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN PARTY politician and the county’s attorney general, emerged as a spokesman for the more radical insurgents. Bradford called for the raising of a militia as well as confiscating the federal mails to determine government sympathizers. Angered by what he found in the captured mail Bradford threatened to march the local militia on Pittsburgh as a show of force. Moderates managed to convince the whiskey rebels not to follow Bradford’s call to occupy Pittsburgh. In the meantime, the federal government sent a commission to western Pennsylvania to assess the situation, and it determined that it was impossible

to resolve the conflict peacefully. Approximately 12,000 troops were then mustered, from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and New Jersey by order of the administration of GEORGE WASHINGTON to quell the rebellion. With Washington in the lead, the army marched to Fort Cumberland, where Washington turned command of the army over to General HENRY LEE. By the time the federal army reached Pittsburgh, the rebel leaders, including David Bradford, had already fled the region. Still, the army arrested about 150 insurgents. Many of these individuals were released, but about 20 men were marched back to Philadelphia to stand trial; only two were found guilty, and they were later pardoned by President Washington.

The suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion strengthened the power and legitimacy of the federal government to enforce law. It also allowed the president to lay the blame for the rebellion squarely on the Democratic-Republican Societies, thus discrediting and permanently damaging their effectiveness to criticize the Washington administration.

See also BRACKENRIDGE, HUGH HENRY.

**Further reading:** Leland D. Baldwin, *Whiskey Rebels: The Story of a Frontier Uprising* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1939); Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

### White Plains, Battle of (October 28, 1776)

At the Battle of White Plains General WILLIAM HOWE’s superior British forces outmaneuvered and outfought the CONTINENTAL ARMY under General GEORGE WASHINGTON but failed to crush the revolutionaries. Howe had compelled Washington to move most of his army out of the northern part of Manhattan by landing in Westchester County, threatening to cut Washington off from the mainland. The Continental army, numbering as many as 14,000, dug in along a series of hills at the village of White Plains. While the entrenchments presented a formidable obstacle, Washington initially failed to recognize that they were dominated by Chatterton Hill across the Bronx River and on his right. Just before the battle, Washington realized his mistake and quickly sent troops to fortify the position.

The Continentals began the battle by sending several regiments (about 1,500 men) against the British. This force was driven back by repeated flanking movements. Although Howe planned a frontal assault against the Continental line, it was never carried out. Instead, he sent British and HESSIAN units against the hastily constructed position on Chatterton’s Hill. The first assault was beaten back, but ultimately the Hessians and some British dragoons swung

around the far Continental right, routed the militia units in front of them, and swept the revolutionaries off the hill. With a few hours of daylight left, the British, however, did not then take advantage of their position to roll up the entire enemy line. The British suffered 231 casualties. The revolutionary losses are less certain; they numbered anywhere from 150 to 350 men.

A second attack on October 30 was canceled because of a heavy rainstorm. Washington used the cover of the weather to withdraw a few miles farther to stronger positions. But this move also allowed Howe to cut back toward Manhattan, surround FORT WASHINGTON, and capture 3,000 revolutionary troops.

See also REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

**Further reading:** Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

**Whitney, Eli** (1765–1825) *inventor of the cotton gin, arms manufacturer*

Eli Whitney not only invented the cotton gin, but he also pioneered the use of interchangeable parts in the production of firearms. Whitney grew up on a small farm in Westboro, Massachusetts. At age 17 he left home to attend Yale College. After graduating in 1792, he headed south to pursue a teaching career. He accepted a job as a tutor in Savannah, Georgia, where he made the acquaintance of Catherine Greene, widow of REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) general NATHANAEL GREENE. While visiting her plantation, Whitney saw the need for a machine that could separate the sticky seeds from the cotton-lint in green-seed, short-staple COTTON. Demand for cotton to feed English mills was high, and a cheap way to clean cotton was needed to make large-scale production possible in the South. Whitney produced a workable cotton gin in 1793, and he patented it 1794. However, he was unable to protect



Engraving showing slaves operating a cotton gin while owners inspect the cotton (Library of Congress)



his patent, and he and his partner, Phineas Miller, made very little money for the invention. Because he could not protect his patent, unlicensed copies of Whitney's cotton gin spread throughout the South, helping cotton become the most valuable crop in the region. More ominously, the cotton boom breathed new life in the institution of southern SLAVERY.

Whitney found his way to financial success in the fire-arms industry while making an important contribution to the development of mass production and industrialization. In 1797, when the United States faced a possible war with France, Whitney won a contract from the federal government to produce 10,000 muskets for the army. Whitney promised to produce the muskets in two years. He built a factory in Hamden, Connecticut, and designed a system of manufacturing parts in standard sizes that could be used interchangeably to build complete muskets. This approach was revolutionary since guns at the time were made separately by individual gunsmiths, which meant that if a part broke, it had to be remade by hand to fit that particular gun. Whitney's method of making standardized individual parts was ultimately successful, although it took him 10 years instead of the promised two. Whitney convinced many who doubted his methods in 1801 when he arranged a demonstration for incoming president THOMAS JEFFERSON. At that demonstration in WASHINGTON, D.C., witnesses picked random parts from scattered piles and then were able to use those parts to assemble complete working muskets. Whitney's method marked an important step in the development of techniques of mass production.

Whitney married Henrietta Edwards in 1817. They had four children, three of whom survived into adulthood. His son, Eli Whitney, Jr., continued to manufacture arms in the Hamden plant after his father's death in 1825.

**Further reading:** Constance McLaughlin Green, *Eli Whitney and the Birth of American Technology* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1956); Jeanette Mirsky and Allen Nevins, *The World of Eli Whitney* (New York: Macmillan, 1952).

—J. Brett Adams

## Wilderness Road

The land speculating Transylvania Company hired DANIEL BOONE to establish a path to the west of the Appalachian Mountains to allow new settlers to reach the firm's property in what is now Kentucky. Before the creation of the new route—the Wilderness Road—travel to the region south of the Ohio River was tedious and dangerous. One route started in Pittsburgh and continued down the Ohio to present day Louisville. Boats made for easy targets for NATIVE AMERICANS on the banks who wanted to stop the intruders from settling on their hunting grounds. The road

was actually safer. People could travel in large groups, and if they were attacked they could seek shelter in the woods and hills that lined the way. The road stretched from the southern reaches of Pennsylvania through the Cumberland Gap in western Virginia to the banks of the Ohio River at Louisville. Parts of the trail branched off to Boonesborough and Lexington.

On March 10, 1775, Daniel Boone and about 30 men set out to blaze the trail. The pioneers soon ran into trouble. Immediately to the south lay the Chickamauga, a confederation of refugees from CHEROKEE, Shawnee, and other Native Americans. Their leader, DRAGGING CANOE, promised that Kentucky would be “a dark and bloody ground.” He believed that the Native Americans who sold the lands to the Transylvania Company and other European Americans had no right to do so. On March 24, 1775, a war party attacked the advanced elements of the road builders, killing one of the leaders and his slave. The main group withstood another attack by quickly building a fort of logs. After beating back the assault, they continued with the road. By May 1775, the men arrived at the lush bluegrass country of western Kentucky where they built Boonesborough. The site had many of the essentials for a thriving town: water, fertile soil, and access to the salt licks for their livestock.

The REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) soon threw Kentucky into turmoil. Great Britain allied itself with the Native Americans of the region, and warriors attacked settlements throughout the territory. European Americans retaliated by hunting down and killing Indians without bothering to find out if they were friendly or not. After the war, the road became a pathway for a flood of new immigrants from the East seeking cheap lands.

See also FRONTIER.

**Further reading:** Hazel Dickens-Garcia, *To Western Woods: The Breckenridge Family Moves to Kentucky in 1793* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1991); Otis Rice, *Frontier Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975).

—George Milne

## Wilkes, John (1725–1797) politician, writer

In the eyes of many North American colonists, the Englishman John Wilkes was a champion for liberty and justice who fought for these rights against a dishonest government. Born into a modest family—his father, a member of the middle class, was a successful distiller—Wilkes was well educated, witty, and exuberant. He attended school in Europe and, after returning to Great Britain, won election to Parliament in 1757. In his early political career, Wilkes was a close friend and supporter of WILLIAM PITT.

In 1763 Wilkes started publication of the satirical journal, *The North Briton*. The publication of this journal was in direct opposition to *The Briton*, which was a journal financed and backed by the British government. In the infamous No. 45 issue of *The North Briton*, Wilkes overstepped his bounds and aggressively attacked the integrity of the British government. He accused British politicians of putting lies into the mouth of the king. The government labeled his attack as seditious libel, a serious charge that required a trial. Wilkes also ran into trouble for publishing a pornographic satire called "An Essay on Woman," which was a parody on Alexander Pope's "Essay on Man." In 1764 the king and his ministers dismissed Wilkes from his seat in Parliament. In order to avoid the libel suit and legal prosecution, Wilkes fled across the English Channel to France. However, after running out of funds in 1768, he had no choice but to return to his home country. The government had not forgotten his attack and forced him to stand trial. He was found guilty and sentenced to several months of light probation.

During his trial, Wilkes ran for election to Parliament. Although he won the election, the government barred Wilkes from his seat and called for a new election. Wilkes won election to Parliament again, not once, not twice, but four times. Each time he was prevented from taking his proper place.

The American colonists followed the struggle between Wilkes and Parliament with great interest. Many colonists thought Parliament had treated Wilkes unjustly and, believing he was fighting for the rights of all Englishmen, came to view Wilkes as a symbol of liberty. Fearing that if the British could crush liberties at home they would do the same in North America, colonists actively sought to help Wilkes in his plight. Virginia sent him tobacco, and South Carolina sent money to pay down his debts. Colonial Americans did not express support for Wilkes more risqué publications. However, the phrase "Wilkes and Liberty" became commonplace, and the number "45," for the *North Briton* No. 45, also became symbolically important throughout the colonies. (Both Wilkes and colonial Americans knew that the number also suggested a challenge to the House of Hanover, since the last invasion of the Stuart heir to the throne—the so-called pretender—occurred in Scotland in 1745.) In 1774 Wilkes was elected again to the House of Commons and was allowed to take his seat.

While in Parliament during the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), Wilkes often spoke in favor of independence for the United States. He believed the war was unreasonable and brutal. He felt what was lost could not be regained by force, a viewpoint that furthered his popularity in North America. Along with Isaac Barré, the city of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania was named after him. Besides serving in Parliament, Wilkes became lord mayor of London in 1774 and

city chamberlain—in charge of administrative expenses—in 1779.

**Further reading:** Louis Kronenberger, *The Extraordinary Mr. Wilkes, His Life and Times* (New York: Doubleday, 1974); Peter D. G. Thomas, *John Wilkes, A Friend to Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

**Wilkinson, James** (1757–1825) *army officer, conspirator*

EDMUND RANDOLPH once remarked that James Wilkinson was "the only man that I ever saw who was from bark to the very core a villain." Wilkinson was born in 1757 in Maryland, and his father was a merchant-planter. In 1773 Wilkinson traveled to Pennsylvania, where he studied to be a doctor. MEDICINE did not seem to be his calling, and Wilkinson's peripatetic spirit soon led him north to Boston where he lived until the beginning of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83).

In 1775 he served as an aid to General NATHANIEL GREENE and supplied the revolutionary army with information about the maneuvers of the British troops in Boston. Wilkinson moved up the ranks of the CONTINENTAL ARMY and participated in the BATTLES OF TRENTON AND PRINCETON (December 26, 1776, and January 3, 1777). Between 1777 and 1781, he served as secretary on the Board of War. Wilkinson's personality—he had a tendency to self-promotion—led to dispute with other officers, and he even fought a bloodless duel with General HORATIO GATES. On November 12, 1778, Wilkinson married Ann Biddle, the daughter of a Pennsylvania businessman.

After the war ended, Wilkinson settled in Pennsylvania and began farming. In 1784 he moved to Kentucky, where he continued to be more interested in his own welfare than in serving the government of the United States. While still in the army's pay, he began a long connection with Spanish officials, whereby he collected a subsidy of \$2,000 a year for information and support. He even swore an oath of loyalty to the king of Spain. He was also given special privileges allowing him to ship goods down the Mississippi and began discussions for a separatist movement on the FRONTIER to create an independent state allied with Spain. Yet, as a military officer he served under General ANTHONY WAYNE at the BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS (August 20, 1794) and was later made commandant of the fort at Detroit.

Despite his secret connections to Spain, Wilkinson's star continued to rise in the United States. In 1805 Congress separated the Territory of Orleans (most of the present state of Louisiana) and the Louisiana Territory—the rest of the land that came with the LOUISIANA PURCHASE (1803)—and President THOMAS JEFFERSON appointed Wilkinson to serve as military governor of the Louisiana

Territory, headquartered in St. Louis. As governor, Wilkinson was a busy man, especially in 1806. In that year he sent Zebulan Pike to the Rocky Mountains to explore the southern limits of the Louisiana Purchase (and probably to spy on the Spanish). Wilkinson also headed to the Sabine River district to settle a boundary dispute in Texas. Simultaneously, Wilkinson engaged in discussions with AARON BURR to set up some sort of western empire, either in Louisiana or in Mexico. Historians remain unsure of Burr's exact plans. Then, as Burr headed down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to his rendezvous with Wilkinson and other western leaders, the ever-duplicitous Wilkinson changed his mind and reported the plot to Jefferson. Wilkinson marched on New Orleans, summarily arrested a few "conspirators," and sought to cover his own tracks by preparing for a Burr invasion that would never come.

Somehow Wilkinson emerged from the Burr conspiracy relatively unscathed. In 1808 Jefferson sent Wilkinson to New York to put down opposition to the EMBARGO OF 1807. Wilkinson, however, also had to face two courts of inquiry. One focused on the high number of deaths from disease (see also DISEASE AND EPIDEMICS) among his troops at a camp at Terre aux Boufs in Louisiana, and the other centered on Wilkinson's involvement in the Burr conspiracy. In both cases Wilkinson was acquitted of any malfeasance. During the War of 1812 (1812–15), Wilkinson commanded troops in the southwest, which captured Mobile from the Spanish early in 1813. Later in that year and in 1814 Wilkinson commanded some of the troops along the Canadian border, but his effort at invading CANADA fell apart because of his poor planning and because other senior officers had little confidence in him.

In 1810 Wilkinson had married for the second time; his new wife was Celestine Laveau Trudeau. They had three children. Between 1821 and 1825 Wilkinson entered land speculation schemes in Texas and Mexico. He died on December 28, 1825, in Mexico City and is buried at Iglesia de San Miguel Archangel.

**Further reading:** Thomas Hay and M. R. Werner, *The Admirable Trumpeter: A Biography of James Wilkinson* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1941); James Jacobs, *Tarnished Warrior: Major-General James Wilkinson* (New York: Macmillan, 1938).

**Wilson, James** (1742–1798) *signer of the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution, associate justice of the Supreme Court*

Wilson was a progressive legal thinker, a signer of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (July 4, 1776), and an important member of the CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. Born at Carskerdo, near St. Andrews, Scotland, Wilson's farmer

parents, intending him perhaps for the Presbyterian ministry, provided him with a superior EDUCATION. He studied at the University of St. Andrews, the University of Glasgow, and at the divinity school attached to St. Mary's College, an important seat for the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment. Wilson, however, did not complete his theological studies, and with an eye toward secular advancement, in 1765 he sailed for North America. Once in Pennsylvania, he applied to and was accepted at the law offices of JOHN DICKINSON, where he studied for the bar and to which he was admitted in late 1767. In 1771 Wilson married the heiress Rachel Bird. In July 1774 he was elected to the Cumberland County COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE and to the first Pennsylvania provincial convention. That year Wilson amended a manuscript he wrote as a law student in 1768 and had it published under the title *Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament*. In this pamphlet, distributed to the members of the FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, Wilson asserted that the British Parliament had no authority whatsoever over the colonies and stated his political conviction that "all power is derived from the people." Though Wilson originally opposed the colonists' drive for independence (his interest was to preserve Pennsylvania's balanced government), as a member of the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS he voted for and signed the Declaration of Independence.

While Wilson held that government rested on the consent of the governed, he sought to impede what he feared was the unchecked will of the majority. At heart he was a conservative revolutionary. He was disgusted at the state's radical and democratic 1776 constitution that abolished the office of governor and placed all political power in a unicameral legislature (see also CONSTITUTIONS, STATE). His continued support of the independence movement, legal defenses of LOYALISTS, his position on the state constitution, and his opposition to price controls generated popular animosity against him. In what would be labeled the Fort Wilson riot, shots were exchanged between militiamen in the street with a group of Wilson's supporters at his home on October 4, 1779. Several men in the street, and one person in Wilson's house, were killed before an elite troop of horse dispersed the crowd.

Political conservatives regained control of Pennsylvania in 1782 and sent Wilson to Congress, where he served in 1782–83 and again from 1785 to 1787. At the Constitutional Convention, Wilson strongly supported the creation of a national government and then led the efforts for the RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION in Pennsylvania.

Seeking to be named as the first chief justice of the SUPREME COURT, Wilson in 1789 wrote to President GEORGE WASHINGTON expressly to ask for the post. Washington instead invited JOHN JAY to become chief justice,

and he appointed Wilson as an associate justice. Wilson supported judicial review (the power of the courts to decide if government acts adhere to the Constitution) and believed in the inherent importance of the Supreme Court. In the end, Wilson's financial problems stemming from land speculation and entrepreneurial ventures ruined him and cast shadows across his reputation. He died insolvent.

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—Robyn Davis McMillin

### **Witherspoon, John** (1723–1794) *minister, educator*

John Witherspoon was an educator, Presbyterian clergyman, and signer of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (July 4, 1776). He was born and educated in Scotland, where he entered the University of Edinburgh at the age of 13 to study theology. After serving as pastor at several Presbyterian churches in Scotland, he was offered the presidency of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University). Witherspoon moved to Princeton in 1768.

As a college president, Witherspoon brought the ideals of the Enlightenment to Princeton. Under his leadership, Princeton attendance rivaled that of Yale, and the financial endowment blossomed. He raised teaching standards and expanded the curriculum to emphasize instruction through lecture. Library holdings increased in quantity as well as quality. Some scholars have credited Witherspoon with inventing the word “Americanism,” based on a 1781 article that explored the differences between the language spoken in North America and that in England.

As a clergyman, Witherspoon's theology was evangelical but moderate, appealing to Old Side and New Side Presbyterians alike. Witherspoon's theology also connected Christianity to REPUBLICANISM, emphasizing what he called “the rights of private judgement . . . universal and unalienable.” In Scotland, Witherspoon had defended the right of people to choose their own ministers. In North America, the ideology of popular rights and the resistance to arbitrary power found renewed favor in Witherspoon's messages.

In June 1776 Witherspoon was a delegate to the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS in Philadelphia. He became the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence. Witherspoon continued to work in Congress, laboring on more than 100 committees and contributing to the construction of the ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION. In 1787 he attended the New Jersey convention that ratified the Constitution.

Witherspoon's final years were a struggle. His wife, Elizabeth, died in 1789. Witherspoon married again at

the age of 68. His second wife, Ann Dill, was a 24-year-old widow; the age difference caused a minor scandal in the halls of Princeton. After two years of suffering from blindness, Witherspoon died in 1794. He was buried on the grounds of the university he had guided since arriving in North America.

**Further reading:** Henry F. May, *The Enlightenment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976); Douglas Sloan, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal* (New York: Teacher's College Press, Columbia University, 1971).

—Jay R. Dew

### **women's rights and status**

Prior to the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, most European-American women identified themselves primarily as members of households and families, deriving their status less from their own abilities and ambitions than from the statuses of their fathers and husbands. Women's work focused largely on the household, including cleaning, child rearing, making clothing, processing and preserving food, and managing the dairy and the kitchen garden. The small number of women who managed businesses, farms, or plantations typically did so following a husband's death (and even then this practice was exceptional). In New England, married women could serve as “deputy husbands,” an informal status allowing them to make legally recognized business decisions when their husbands were absent or ill. But a woman assumed the role of deputy husband as a temporary addition to their primary responsibilities, which remained centered in households. Even very wealthy women did not escape housework, although after midcentury, they were increasingly valued as loving wives and mothers rather than as productive household managers. The economic value of European-American women's household labor was widely recognized, for few households could survive without the services that women provided. Nevertheless, gender relations within households were hierarchical, subordinating women to their fathers and husbands.

European-American women's precise legal rights varied from colony to colony, although the shared British common law tradition made most practices fairly similar throughout the 13 colonies. Coverture was the most important legal principle in determining women's rights and status. Under coverture, a woman's legal and political identity was absorbed by her husband, who assumed control over his wife along with her property, earnings, and children. Coverture could be mitigated by antenuptial contracts, which allowed women to maintain control over property they inherited or acquired after marriage. But antenuptial contracts required the prospective husband's consent



and were only signed by a minority of wealthy couples. Women whose husbands were absent for extended periods or whose husbands had deserted them or gone bankrupt could petition for “feme sole” status, allowing them to engage in TRADE and control property. Widows were typically guaranteed of receiving a “dower right,” one-third of their husbands’ property; even so, they lacked total control over their inheritances. For example, in most colonies a widow could not sell inherited land without permission from the court; similarly, a husband might choose to make his wife’s inheritance contingent on remaining single. Access to divorce was extraordinarily limited, requiring a legislative act in most colonies. Although the New England colonies permitted “absolute divorce,” which allowed both parties to remarry, these divorces were granted rarely and mostly to men.

The development of colonial economic and legal systems affected enslaved women and NATIVE AMERICAN women differently. By midcentury, the expansion of SLAVERY dramatically increased the total number of slaves in the Chesapeake and the coastal South, enabling enslaved women to find partners and establish families and kin networks. And although most enslaved women continued to work in the fields, a small percentage worked as house servants, nurses, or midwives. Although these changes improved the quality of women’s lives, they did not mitigate the legal constraints of slavery. Slave marriages were not recognized by law; all children born to enslaved women followed the condition of their mother, regardless of their fathers’ status, and enslaved parents had no legal authority over their children. Native American women saw their status deteriorate over the course of the 18th century, as the growing reliance on European trade upset the balance of power between women and men in Indian communities. European traders sought goods such as skins and furs that resulted from hunting and trapping, work traditionally performed by Native American men; in return, they offered European weapons, clothing, and cooking utensils. When Indian communities became dependent on European goods, women were devalued because their work did not produce tradeable commodities. Women in many tribes, including the CHEROKEE and IROQUOIS, also appear to have lost political power during this period, partly because of men’s new economic dominance and partly because Native American–European diplomacy, which was conducted almost exclusively by men, played an increasingly pivotal role in political decision making.

The RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75) and the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) changed women’s status within both their households and the larger public sphere. Much of the agitation during the imperial crisis was aimed at encouraging resistance to taxation and the undermining of parliamentary authority by boycotting the imported goods

that Parliament had taxed. Because many of these goods, especially tea and cloth, were purchased by women for use in households, European-American women’s work became politicized. A woman’s decision to buy tea for her family or boycott it was no longer private and personal; instead, it was a political choice with repercussions that affected her community and even the 13 colonies. Similarly, in order to avoid purchasing British cloth, women began spinning and weaving, tasks that many had abandoned by the 1760s. In the South, slave women were removed from the fields and set to spinning and weaving. And in northern urban areas, many women and children began making cloth at home for sale. Compared to British manufactures, “homespun” cloth was rough and coarse; wearing homespun became a visible badge of patriotism. And during the war, homespun was used not only for regular clothing but also for soldiers’ shirts and blankets. Domestic textile manufacture became even more explicitly politicized when women formed associations, often calling themselves “Daughters of Liberty,” to spin, weave, and sew.

With the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, many WHIG and LOYALIST women faced new challenges. The absence of their husbands, sons, and fathers left them responsible for managing farms, plantations, and businesses under uncertain and dangerous conditions. Other women became CAMP FOLLOWERS, traveling with the CONTINENTAL ARMY to provide laundry, cooking, and sewing. Elite urban women formed associations to raise money in support of the revolution. While some women saw these new responsibilities as burdens, others saw them as opportunities. All these activities enlarged women’s interests, turning many into passionate political advocates, broadening their vision of the world, and changing their understanding of themselves. Many women no longer identified themselves only as members of families and communities. Instead, women and men alike began to see themselves as patriots, as participants in a political process that extended far beyond their households and communities.

Revolutionary agitation and a deepening commitment to REPUBLICANISM also politicized European-American households in more abstract ways. Political thinkers had long drawn analogies between political and family structures, arguing, for example, that a king’s right to rule his subjects was analogous to a man’s right to rule his wife and children. In the revolutionary context, the tyranny of Crown and Parliament seemed to parallel the tyranny of an unequal marriage. Revolutionaries aspiring to create a society based upon virtue, in which citizens were bound by affection and respect rather than duty, invoked more egalitarian marriages as the model for a republic. This less hierarchical vision of marriage celebrated husbands and wives as each other’s companions and gave Anglo-American women new stature. Sermons, periodicals, and fiction





This drawing of women voting in New Jersey depicts the sole instance in revolutionary America when property qualifications for suffrage were defined without regard to sex, from 1790 to 1807. (*Howard Pyle Collection, Delaware Art Museum*)

trumpeted the republican woman for her virtue, patience, and industry, qualities that had been valued long before the war. But this literature also singled out new qualities for praise, including reason, EDUCATION, and civic-mindedness. By emphasizing the virtue and importance of the abstract, idealized wife, politicians and writers necessarily raised the status of real European-American women.

Although the American Revolution did not abolish slavery, enslaved African-American women and men took advantage of the war to pursue freedom. In peacetime, both before and after the Revolutionary War, runaway slaves were disproportionately male; women's ties to children made escape especially difficult. During the war, however, the British army offered enslaved women and men protection and freedom in return for abandoning their Whig masters, enabling entire families to escape together. And the chaos of war made it possible for groups of slaves to escape regardless of the presence of the British army. THOMAS JEFFERSON later estimated that some 30,000 Virginia slaves ran away over the course of the war, many of them women. Of the 23 slaves who escaped from Jefferson

himself, more than half were female. In Massachusetts, groups of slaves, including women, joined together to petition the legislature for freedom. Immediately after the war, a small flurry of voluntary manumissions helped create a free black community in the Upper South. Both during and after the war, slaves throughout the colonies and states pointed out the contradiction between the defense of slavery and the revolutionary ideal of self-determination.

Just as the Revolution did not abolish slavery, it did not change European-American women's legal status. Nevertheless, the creation of a republic did lead to subtle changes in white women's status. Although the founders never considered granting women suffrage, they did consider them to be citizens of the nation. Thus, women were entitled to civil rights, which included representation in the lower house of Congress, where legislators were apportioned by a state's population, male and female alike. From the founders' perspective, not all citizens were entitled to the same rights; suffrage depended not on CITIZENSHIP, but on a combination of factors, including gender, race, and property ownership, that excluded many men as well

as women from voting. Men who could vote were expected to represent the interests of their dependents, including women, children, and slaves, at the polls. European-American women were thus excluded from full political rights but entitled to civil rights such as representation and legal protection. (A few propertied women in New Jersey could vote from 1790 to 1807, when the right of the franchise was deliberately removed from them.) Significantly, this ambiguous status did nothing to challenge the fundamental legal principle of coverture, which continued to restrict married women's property rights and structure their relationship to the state.

As nonvoting citizens, European-American women were expected to serve the state primarily through their families as "republican wives" and "republican mothers." The ideology of republican wife- and motherhood incorporated the notions of female virtue that had emerged during the Revolution into a broad program for producing virtuous citizens. The republican wife inspired and encouraged her husband, the voting citizen, to adhere to the highest moral standards both at home and in the public sphere. The republican mother was charged with inculcating republican virtues in her children, especially her sons, from early infancy. Revolutionary Americans thus imbued traditional female roles with new political significance. This new valuation of wife- and motherhood appears to have changed expectations of marriage, at least among the middle and upper classes. Diaries and letters suggest that both women and men began to view marriage as a source of emotional fulfillment and personal happiness rather than as only Christian duty and economic strategy.

These new expectations manifested themselves in divorce proceedings and in new educational opportunities. Following the Revolutionary War, several states enacted legislation to make divorce more accessible, allowing "loss of affection" to be cited as grounds for divorce. Moreover, although divorce remained rare, a greater percentage of divorces were sought and received by women. Indeed, access to divorce was women's clearest legal gain in the early republic. But these changes did not benefit poor women, who could not afford legal costs. Nor did they apply to women of any class in the South. There, state legislatures retained the right to grant divorce through individual acts of law until well into the 19th century.

Ideals of republican womanhood contributed to a dramatic expansion of educational institutions that benefited middle-class and wealthy women throughout the nation. Because republican virtue demanded reason and intellect as well as affection, increasing numbers of people in the United States committed family resources to finance their daughters' educations. Hundreds of private female academies opened throughout the nation, offering young women an unprecedented curriculum in reading,

composition and rhetoric, mathematics, history, the sciences, ART, MUSIC, and, less frequently, Greek and Latin. But these gains did not extend to poor women or African-American women.

See also MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE.

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—Catherine E. Kelly

### writs of assistance

In 1761 a famous legal case came before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts challenging the general search warrants—writs of assistance—issued to British-appointed customs officials. This case is often cited as the opening salvo in the imperial crisis that led to the AMERICAN REVOLUTION. More than half a century later, JOHN ADAMS, who watched the court case and was entranced with the brilliant oratory of JAMES OTIS, JR., attacking the writs, proclaimed "Then and there the Child of Independence was born."

Writs of assistance had long been issued in both the colonies and in Great Britain as an efficient and effective means of customs enforcement. These writs allowed a customs official to search property without obtaining a specific court order. Without this power, it would be possible for smugglers to move goods while the customs official searched for a judge to issue a specific search warrant. There is little question that within the confines of Anglo-American law as practiced in the 18th century the writs of assistance were legal. However, they were irksome to many Boston merchants who made money smuggling and trading with the enemy during the French and Indian War (1754–63). The ascension of King GEORGE III to the throne in England in 1760 compelled the Massachusetts Supreme Court, headed by THOMAS HUTCHINSON, to reissue the writs. Whenever a new monarch became king, standard legal orders had to be reissued.

Massachusetts politics was at the time fiercely contested between a faction led by the Otis family, on one side, and the Hutchinson family, on the other. James Otis, Jr., seized the opportunity of the reissuing of the writs to

embarrass Thomas Hutchinson and to gain both merchant and popular support. Although law and precedence were on the side of the writs and Hutchinson, Otis made his case by applying to a higher ideal. He declared that the writ “is against the fundamental principles of law. The privilege of house. A man who is quiet is as secure in his house as a prince in his castle.” Otis turned this basic assertion into a challenge to Parliament by contending that “An act against the constitution is void, an act against natural equity is void.” Otis thus put the constitution, nature, and equity, above Parliament and precedent. The implications of this position, as Adams later stated, were revolutionary. In 1761, however, few were willing to pursue those implications since the British constitution was little more than a series of laws and unwritten precedents, and no one knew for sure what nature and equity would dictate. In the next two decades colonial and revolutionary Americans would return to this challenge and explore the meaning of the principles articulated by Otis. Hutchinson and the four other judges on the Supreme Court, of course, decided that the writs of assistance were legal.

See also RESISTANCE MOVEMENT.

**Further reading:** Bernard Bailyn, *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974); John J. Waters, *The Otis Family in Provincial and Revolutionary Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968).

### Wyoming Valley Massacre (July 3–4, 1778)

NATIVE AMERICAN and LOYALIST forces raided the communities in northeast Pennsylvania in an action that came to be known as the Wyoming Valley Massacre. The Wyoming Valley—near present-day Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania—had been a scene of conflict between Native Americans, Yankees from Connecticut, and Pennamites from Pennsylvania since the 1760s. The REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) merely added another and confusing set of divisions between revolutionary WHIGS and Loyalists. By the spring of 1778, the revolutionaries had come to dominate the valley, imprisoning some Loyalists and driving many others to join the British in CANADA. John Butler had recruited a number of these refugees into his ranger unit. Butler led his rangers, along with many Indians—chiefly Seneca and Cayuga—on a raid to the Wyoming Valley in the summer of 1778 to neutralize the region in the war. With approximately 800 men—about 100 were rangers—Butler arrived at the outskirts of the Wyoming settlements in late June. As the settlers received word of Butler’s imminent attack, they gathered in a series of forts for protection and sent for reinforcements. The forts did the settlers little good. On July 1, 1778, Butler’s men com-

pelled the surrender of Wintermoot and Jenkins Forts, leaving the only significant revolutionary presence in the valley at Forty Fort.

On July 3 about 360 defenders under Zebulon Butler and Nathan Denison left Forty Fort to attack the rangers and Indians. As the revolutionaries advanced, the raiders burned the two forts they had captured, leaving the impression that they were in retreat. Emboldened by the apparent withdrawal of the rangers and Indians, the revolutionaries advanced too quickly and began to fire on the enemy before they were in full range. When John Butler’s men returned fire at 100 yards, it was more effective. Denison, seeing that the rangers might outflank him, attempted to extend his line, a maneuver that his unskilled recruits proved unable to perform. In the confusion, many of the revolutionaries thought they were ordered to retreat, and as they pulled back, the battle quickly turned into a rout. Casualty figures are imprecise, but the revolutionaries may have sustained as many as 300 dead—suggesting that the rangers and Indians offered little quarter to the men trying to retreat to Forty Fort. Zebulon Butler escaped with a few men and left the valley. Denison made it back to Forty Fort with some of the other survivors.

The next day John Butler offered generous terms to the garrison at Forty Fort. He was willing to allow the settlers to remain in the valley as long they stayed neutral in the war and he was allowed to destroy the fort. He promised to protect private property but wanted the property of Loyalists that had been confiscated returned to its original owners. Denison surrendered the fort. Only one person in the fort was killed after the surrender—a deserter from the Loyalists. However, the settlers were so afraid of the loss of life, capture, and destruction of property, that they began to leave the area in droves. Women and children set off on foot across mountains and swamps, beginning what was referred to as the “great runaway.” Many of these refugees died as they abandoned their homes in the Wyoming Valley. The rangers and Indians ransacked much of this abandoned property, burning as many as 1,000 homes, destroying the local mills, and killing 1,000 head of cattle.

Labeling this raid a massacre may be something of a misnomer. There is little doubt that the battle on July 3 was unusually sanguine. John Butler himself reported the taking of 227 scalps in the fighting. Such bloodshed and “take no prisoners” attitude—although the Indians took at least five prisoners—was not unusual for both sides in the FRONTIER warfare of the period. The truly infamous part of the notion of a “Wyoming Massacre,” however, came from the rumors of atrocities during the “great runaway.” Although many people suffered and died during their trek to other settlements, those losses resulted from their own panicked exodus rather than the actions of Loyalist rangers and Native Americans.



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### Wyoming Valley Wars

Between 1769 and 1807, a series of land wars broke out among Connecticut and Pennsylvania settlers in the Wyoming Valley—the region of Pennsylvania along the upper Susquehanna River near present-day Scranton and Wilkes-Barre. As the population increased in the American colonies during the 18th century, the need for land prompted many people to move to the western FRONTIER. This migration alleviated overcrowding in eastern communities and offered new opportunities for settlers, but it also sparked heated disputes over western land titles.

In the 1750s a group of Connecticut settlers formed the Susquehannah Company and laid claim to lands in

the Wyoming Valley region of Pennsylvania. The settlers argued that the company had a legal right to the land based on the 1662 royal charter, which outlined Connecticut's borders as extending to the Pacific Ocean. On the other side of the dispute was the Penn family who also claimed the region based on their 1681 royal charter, which laid out the family's land rights. The Pennsylvania Assembly endorsed the Penns' position and supported Pennsylvania settlers who had claims in the same region. Soon sporadic fighting broke out. Pennsylvania and Connecticut farmers raided and burned each others barns and fields. An arbitration committee under the ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION granted the contested territory to Pennsylvania. However, confrontations over property ownership lasted until 1807, when a Pennsylvania statute was finally passed that endorsed the Connecticut settler property claims and reimbursed the Pennsylvania claimants in cash for the loss of their lands.

See also LAND RIOTS; RIOTS.

—Jeffrey A. Davis

# X



## **XYZ affair** (1797–1798)

The XYZ affair was an incident between the United States and France that almost led to war. Diplomatic relations between the two nations were first strained when the United States refused to aid France in its war with Great Britain, as the Franco-American Treaty of 1778 seemed to require. The situation was further aggravated with the signing of JAY'S TREATY (1794), under which the United States appeared to accept the British definition of "neutrality." President JOHN ADAMS sought to relieve the diplomatic tensions and sent CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY, JOHN MARSHALL, and ELBRIDGE GERRY to France as envoys.

By the time Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry arrived in Paris in October 1797, the French legislature had been ejected from power. Out of this coup d'état a new French government emerged, the "Directory." CHARLES-MAURICE DE TALLEYRAND-PÉRIGORD (usually referred to as Talleyrand, and, later, Prince Talleyrand), the French foreign minister, believed he could exploit the political feuds and divisions within the United States to French advantage. He met with the envoys briefly and unofficially, promising that a more thorough discussion would follow. Weeks passed before the delegation was contacted again, and even then only by three agents of Talleyrand, not the minister himself. The agents said that the Directory would not engage in diplomatic discussion with the United States without an apology for comments made by John Adams in which the president lambasted the French for attempting to alienate the American people from their government. The agents also insisted on a "loan" of about \$10 million to the French government, plus a payment of \$250,000 for Talleyrand himself. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry balked at the French demands. Out of these "negotiations" devel-

oped the FEDERALIST PARTY slogan, "millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute."

The envoys reported the incident to President Adams, who initially did not relay the information to Congress. However, the DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS in Congress, believing Adams was hiding information favorable to France, insisted on seeing the dispatches. Once the diplomatic letters were sent to Congress in early April 1798, they were quickly released to the public, with the names of the three French agents substituted with the letters X, Y, and Z, adding to the sense of intrigue. The incident stirred up public outrage, anger, and indignation. Congress suspended all relations with France and began to strengthen military forces.

The two nations skirmished on the seas in the QUASI-WAR (1798–1800) but avoided a full declaration of war. After several more months of waiting to negotiate, Marshall and Pinckney returned to the United States. Gerry waited in France, hoping for an opening. By the time Gerry sailed for the United States in the fall of 1798, the French government suggested that it might be open to serious negotiations. Based on this information and other reports from diplomats in Europe, Adams sent another commission to France in 1799 to resolve the growing hostility. In 1800 this team of negotiators reached an agreement with NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, who had taken control of France, and signed the Convention of 1800.

See also FOREIGN AFFAIRS; FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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## “Yankee Doodle”

This popular song came to symbolize the American character during the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83). It emphasized the rural nature of the new United States and took pride in the lack of sophistication and the flouting of authority typical of the “yankees.” At one time the song was believed to have been composed by a British officer to deride colonials during the French and Indian War (1754–63). Subsequently, scholars have discovered that the song originated in the colonies, reflecting provincial satiric and self-mocking humor. British soldiers used the song in both the French and Indian War and the Revolutionary War to make fun of their North American cousins. Colonial and revolutionary Americans, in turn, seized upon the tune, added stanzas, and made it their own. Soldiers in the CONTINENTAL ARMY sang “Yankee Doodle” when celebrating victories, and they played it as the British stacked their arms during the surrender at SARATOGA (October 17, 1777). In the FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789–99), the Paris Guard played the song after the surrender of the Bastille. Ever since the Revolutionary War, “Yankee Doodle” has remained popular in the United States and taught to children across the nation.

See also MUSIC.

## Yates, Abraham (Abraham Yates, Jr.) (1724–1796) *politician*

Abraham Yates, Jr., a civil servant most of his life, supported the rights of the common man and gave voice to the ANTI-FEDERALIST viewpoint during the 1780s. Yates’s father, a blacksmith, apprenticed young Abraham as a cobbler, but Yates yearned for more. By his late 20s, Yates was working at the law office of Peter Silvester, where he read for the bar and discovered the writings of John Locke and other thinkers of the English Enlightenment. With the support of ROBERT LIVINGSTON, JR., Yates won appointment as sheriff of Albany County in 1754. During his five

years in this position, Yates became increasingly aware of the disparity between both colonists and British subjects back in England and inequalities that existed between the colonists themselves. Having to remove poor squatters from land held, but not used, by wealthy titleholders forced Yates to confront the issue of the rights of the poor. Yates also served as sheriff during the early years of the French and Indian War (1754–63), giving him many opportunities to witness how British officers treated colonists. While serving as sheriff, Yates won election to Albany’s Common Council in 1753. As a man who had worked hard to obtain his economic and political status in the community, Yates found many supporters in Albany who reelected him every year to the council until 1773. From 1774 to 1776 he was a member and chairman of the Albany COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE.

With the start of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83), Yates’s political fortunes grew beyond city and county positions to statewide prominence. In 1775 he was elected to represent Albany at New York’s provincial congress and continued in that capacity until the dissolution of the congress in 1777, serving as president pro tem in 1775 and 1776. While in the provincial congress, Yates also served as a member of the Council of Safety. He chaired the convention committee that produced the first New York State constitution, a document ratified by state convention in April 1777. (See also CONSTITUTIONS, STATE.) Yates was in the New York State Senate from 1778 to 1790, where he supported Governor GEORGE CLINTON’s legislative program. In 1783 Yates was also given the distinction of becoming the first postmaster of Albany.

During the 1780s, Yates’s concern for the equitable rights of all citizens increased, especially after the cessation of war with Great Britain. Yates opposed what he saw as a privileged elite trying to gain control of the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS and attempting to centralize governmental power. Writing under the pseudonyms, “Cato,” “Sydney,” and “Rough Hewer,” Yates defended the

sovereignty of the 13 states and represented the anti-Federalist point of view. He served in Congress in 1787–88 and wrote several unpublished manuscripts on New York history, highlighting examples of instances when aristocrats had repressed the common man. In 1790 Yates was elected mayor of Albany, a position he held until his death.

**Further reading:** Stefan Bielinski, *Abraham Yates, Jr. and the New Political Order in Revolutionary New York* (Albany: New York State American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1975).

—Heather Clemmer

### Yazoo claims

The Yazoo claims arose from perhaps the grandest land speculation effort in the early republic. The story of the Yazoo claims is rife with corruption and intrigue. The resolution of Yazoo claims set the course for the expansion of federal judicial power in the era of the Marshall Court.

In 1795 the Georgia Mississippi Company and three other land speculation concerns purchased from the state of Georgia 35 million acres of land in the region centered on the Yazoo River in what became the Mississippi Territory for \$500,000. The act authorizing the sale was the product of widespread corruption. When a preliminary sale bill passed in December 1794, for example, only one of the legislators voting for it had not been bribed. In 1796 the Georgia Mississippi Company sold an 11 million acre stake in the Yazoo lands to the New England Mississippi Land Company for \$1,138,000. On the very day this deal closed, all of the Yazoo grants were repudiated by the succeeding Georgia legislature. So complete was this repudiation that all records of the grants were ordered excised from Georgia's public records and the original act of sale was burned in the public square at Louisville, where the legislature had convened, by a REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) veteran holding a magnifying glass and bringing the destroying fire down "from God."

The ensuing battle concerning the title carried over to Congress when the United States acquired Georgia's western land claims in 1802. Opposition to the claims of the Yazoo transferees was focused on the circumstances of the passage of the original act of sale. On the floor of Congress, pro- and anti-Yazooists debated incessantly after 1802 the legitimacy of the original grants and the validity of the subsequent repeal. The Yazooists were aggressive in pressing their claims, regularly employing numerous high-ranking agents, including soon-to-be Associate Justice JOSEPH STORY, as Capitol Hill lobbyists. Despite their efforts, they had no luck at forcing a compromise. The anti-Yazooists refused to recognize the land titles of speculators whose claims traced to widespread bribery and the corruption of public officials.

After failing in Congress, the speculators opted to look to the SUPREME COURT for relief. In 1803, the New England Mississippi Land Company engineered a lawsuit that ultimately reached the Supreme Court as *Fletcher v. Peck*. The speculators argued that the repeal act was unconstitutional because it violated the contracts clause of the Constitution, which provided that "[n]o State shall . . . pass any . . . Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts. . . ." The Supreme Court, under Chief Justice JOHN MARSHALL, agreed, issuing an opinion in 1810 holding that the Yazoo speculators did indeed have a valid claim, as the act of the Georgia legislature repealing the sale was unconstitutional. This marked the Supreme Court's first exercise of the judicial review power to invalidate the legislative act of a state. Anti-Yazooists in Congress were furious. Some even proposed sending federal troops into the Yazoo territory to keep the speculators out, and Congress debated whether the Supreme Court had to be obeyed. Ultimately, the federal legislature decided to abide by the Supreme Court's decision. In 1814 Congress implemented a plan for providing compensation to the Yazoo speculators.

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—Lindsay Robertson

### Yorktown, surrender at (October 19, 1781)

The British surrender at Yorktown signaled the end of the last major campaign of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83) and ensured independence for the United States. The campaign was marked by confusion, poor choices, and misfortune on the part of the British, and superb planning, coordination between land and sea forces, and good luck on the part of the revolutionary Americans and the French.

The campaign began with General CHARLES, LORD CORNWALLIS's decision to march into Virginia after his efforts in North Carolina brought few tangible results. Leaving Wilmington, North Carolina, on April 25, 1781, Cornwallis reached Petersburg, Virginia, by May 20. Once in Virginia he met BENEDICT ARNOLD, and another British army. With about 7,000 men, he unleashed a devastating series of raids that sacked the state's capital and almost captured Governor THOMAS JEFFERSON. Continental troops under the command of the MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE were no match for Cornwallis and could do little more than keep their distance and shadow his movements. In July the British commander in chief, General HENRY CLINTON, began to send a series of contradictory orders to Cornwallis. Clinton and Cornwallis had for some time had difficulty working together. Now Clinton sent Cornwallis reinforcements, then asked for them back, then told him to prepare to march





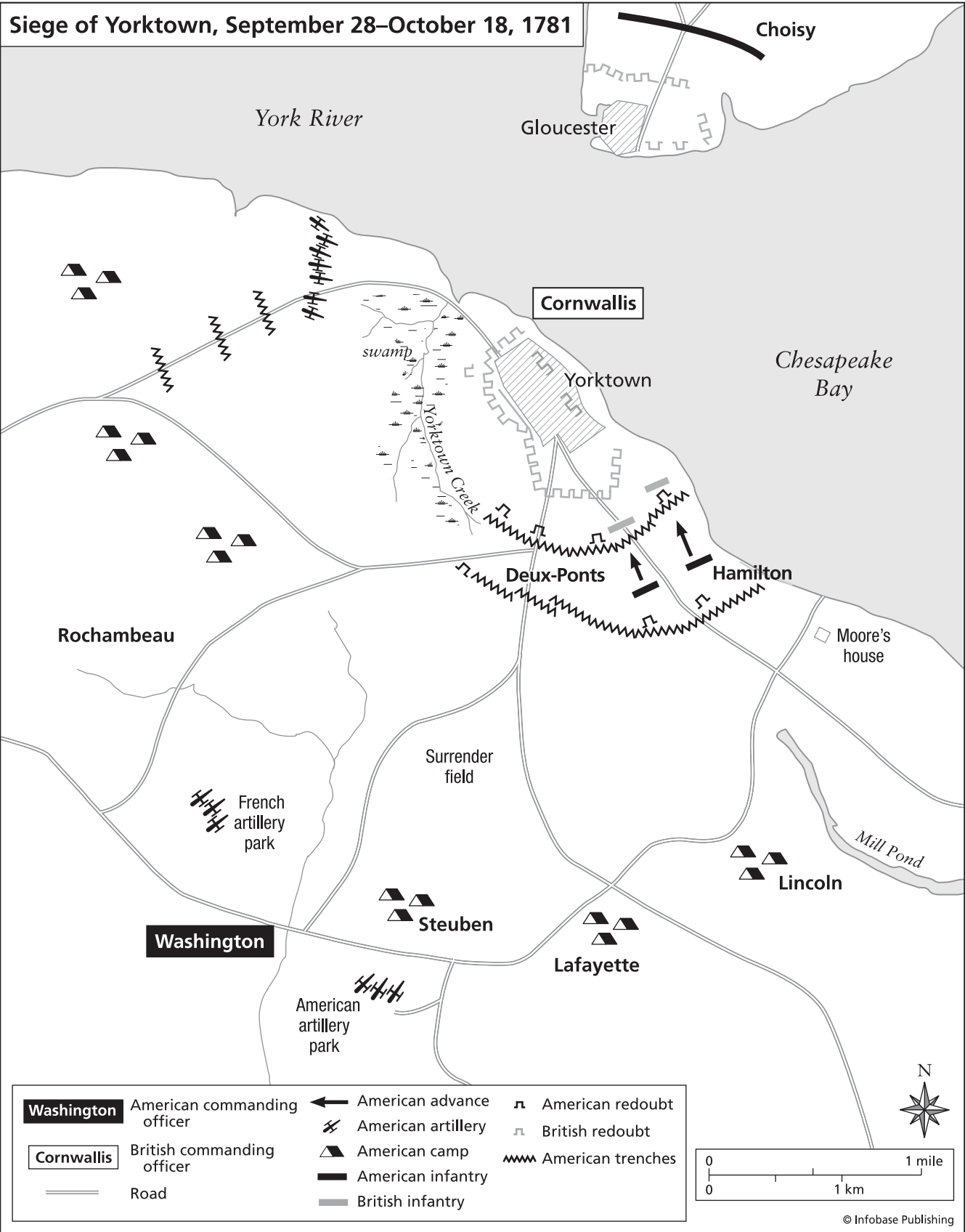
General Washington and the comte de Grasse surrounded British forces under General Cornwallis at Yorktown, leading to the eventual surrender of Cornwallis and a decisive victory for the Americans in their Revolution. (*U.S. Army Center of Military History*)

north to coordinate an attack on Philadelphia, then told him to occupy a town on the seacoast that could harbor the British navy. Cornwallis himself waffled, finally deciding to fortify a small tobacco port called Yorktown in August.

In the meantime General **GEORGE WASHINGTON** and the French commander General **COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU** were planning an allied attack on New York City. That task began to look increasingly impossible in the summer of 1781. Then, on August 14, word arrived that the French fleet in the **WEST INDIES** under the command of Admiral **COMTE DE GRASSE** was going to sail to the Chesapeake. With the possibility of obtaining, however briefly, naval superiority, Washington decided to try to trap Cornwallis at Yorktown. The French ships arrived off the Chesapeake on August 30 but could stay in the area only to the end of October. In the meantime, the revolutionary and French armies began a complex maneuver, marching and sailing

their combined troops 400 miles south to the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, while convincing Clinton that they still intended to attack New York. Washington, in particular, played a central role in planning this delicate operation. As the combined armies concentrated in southern Virginia in the first half of September, there was still the British fleet to worry about. Admiral Samuel Hood had left the West Indies in anticipation of de Grasse's move and had joined Admiral Thomas Graves in New York. This British naval force was roughly equal to the French. The British navy sallied forth and met de Grasse in the **BATTLE OF THE CAPES** (September 5, 1781), an indecisive contest. Although undefeated, the British ships returned to New York. The French headed back to the Chesapeake, sealing the fate of Cornwallis in Yorktown.

With half as many ground troops as the Franco-American armies, and boxed in by the French navy, Cornwallis was





trapped. He did little to help himself. The British did not attack the Continentals and French as they approached Yorktown. Then, confronted with an overwhelming force, Cornwallis withdrew his men from their first line of entrenchments, ceding the earthworks to his enemy and simplifying the siege process. On October 7, the allied troops began to build their first parallel—a series of trenches parallel to the British position. When that was completed, a second parallel was started on October 11 and finished on October 14. The Franco-American lines were then 300 yards from the British. To protect the parallel, two redoubts had to be taken; Continental troops, under Colonel ALEXANDER HAMILTON, captured Redoubt #10, while the French seized Redoubt #9 on the evening of October 14. With the parallels complete, the attackers poured a devastating artillery fire into the British. Cornwallis launched one counterattack on October 16, which had little success. On the same night, he attempted to cross the York River and escape, but bad weather forced him to abandon this last effort to save his army. On October 17, he asked for a parley, and the next day agreed to terms. During the siege the British lost 156 killed and more than 300 wounded. The revolutionary casualties were 20 killed and 56 wounded; the French had 52 killed and 134 wounded. On October 19, 1781, the British force of more than 8,000 soldiers and sailors surrendered.

**Further reading:** Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practices, 1763–1789* (New York: Macmillan, 1971); Richard M. Ketchum, *Victory at Yorktown: The Campaign That Won the Revolution* (New York: Henry Holt, 2004); Willard M. Wallace, *Appeal to Arms: A Military History of the American Revolution* (New York: Harper, 1951).

**Young, Thomas** (1731–1777) *doctor, orator*

Emerging from obscure origins in the colony of New York, Thomas Young was a strident revolutionary who had a major impact on the RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (1764–75) in Albany and Boston, and he also played a leading role in the radical politics of Pennsylvania and Vermont in the opening years of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–83)

Young managed to gain a medical EDUCATION and set himself up as a physician in Dutchess County, New York, by 1753. He bought land in what is now Vermont sometime around 1760, but he lost the investment because of a faulty title. He moved to Albany in the mid-1760s, and became involved in the opposition to the STAMP ACT (1765). He then moved to Boston and again became a leader against British imperial regulation. He delivered the first oration commemorating the anniversary of the BOSTON MASSACRE (March 5, 1770) and was active in Boston's COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE. He also spoke at the OLD SOUTH CHURCH shortly before the BOSTON TEA PARTY (December 16, 1773) and joined in the dumping of tea into the harbor. He left Boston in September of 1774 for Newport but moved to Philadelphia in April 1775. In Philadelphia he aligned with the radical party, helped to draw up the Pennsylvania state constitution, and in the spring of 1777, supported Vermont's bid for status as a state. As a part of his efforts on behalf of the GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS, he provided a copy of the Pennsylvania constitution to the representatives from Vermont, who then used the democratic document as a model for their own constitution. Serving as a doctor tending to sick revolutionary soldiers, Young caught a fever and died almost impoverished on June 22, 1777.

See also CONSTITUTIONS, STATE.



# Chronology

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## 1761

Boston attorney James Otis makes a legal argument denouncing the use of writs of assistance, which allow British customs officials to search property without obtaining a specific court order.

## 1763

The Treaty of Paris ends the French and Indian War. France cedes Canada and virtually all territory east of the Mississippi River in North America to Great Britain.

Chief Pontiac and his warriors attack Fort Detroit in a failed attempt to drive out the British.

King George III issues the Proclamation of 1763 to establish British colonies Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida and to protect Indian land west of the Appalachians from British settlement.

## 1764

Britain enacts the Sugar Act, which reduces the tax on British sugar imports but provides for better enforcement of tax collection. Colonists object to the law.

James Otis's *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* is published. The pamphlet asserts that the Sugar Act is inconsistent with natural law.

The British Currency Act of 1764 prohibits the printing and distribution of paper money in any of the 13 colonies.

## 1765

English law professor William Blackstone begins publishing *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. These lucid, widely available volumes lead to a democratization of the legal profession in the United States.

The British Parliament enacts the Stamp Act of 1765 in order to raise revenue to pay the costs of governing and protecting the American colonies; mobs in more than 40

American communities demonstrate against the tax, often compelling stamp masters to resign.

The Quartering Act of 1765 compels American colonists to provide housing for British soldiers where barracks are unavailable.

Daniel Dulany's pamphlet *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies* attacks the claim that colonial Americans are virtually represented in Parliament.

Led by Patrick Henry, the Virginia House of Burgesses passes the Virginia Resolves, which declare opposition to the Stamp Act and assert colonists' right to be governed and taxed by laws of their own choosing.

The Loyal Nine, a group of men from the middle ranks of Boston society, organize street resistance to the Stamp Act.

Representatives from nine American colonies participate in the Stamp Act Congress; the congress issues a petition to the king to voice colonist disapproval of the Stamp Act of 1765.

## 1766

Parliament repeals the Stamp Act but reserves the right to levy future taxes on British colonies.

## 1767

Daniel Boone begins to explore Kentucky.

Parliament imposes the Townshend Duties of 1767 to raise revenues from the North American colonies.

John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* is published to object to the Townshend Duties.

Property holders in the frontier west of South Carolina respond to the region's lawlessness by organizing as the Regulators. This vigilante group attacks bandit encampments in the backcountry.

**1768**

Customs officials impound the *Liberty*, a sloop owned by Boston merchant John Hancock. Riots result and the British government decides to send troops to Boston.

The Massachusetts legislature issues a circular letter, written by Samuel Adams, to urge other American colonies to join in petitioning Parliament opposing the Townshend Duties.

British officials purchase lands in what will become West Virginia, Kentucky, and western Pennsylvania from the Iroquois Confederacy through the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix.

**1769**

A nonimportation movement begins to take hold in the colonies in defiance of the Townshend Duties of 1767.

The American Philosophical Society is founded in Philadelphia.

**1770**

A series of confrontations between New York civilians and British soldiers culminates in a riot popularly known as the Battle of Golden Hill.

The Green Mountain Boys organize under Ethan Allen to resist New York authorities' efforts to enforce their land claims in Vermont territory.

Benjamin Rush publishes *Syllabus of a Course of Lectures in Chemistry*, a textbook that begins to formalize chemistry as an academic discipline.

Parliament rescinds the Townshend Duties except for the tax on tea.

British troops fire on a Boston crowd, killing five. The incident, known as the Boston Massacre, was a result of the tensions between soldiers and civilians over jobs and between the British Parliament and the American colonists following the passage of the Townshend Duties of 1767. Following the "massacre," Samuel Adams organizes the successful movement demanding the removal of British troops from Boston.

John Adams and Josiah Quincy serve as attorneys for the British soldiers accused of participating in the so-called Boston Massacre.

**1771**

At the behest of the North Carolina assembly, Governor William Tryon's troops crush the North Carolina Regulators, farmers who had been sporadically rioting since 1766 to protest oppressive local and colonial authorities, in the Battle of Alamance.

**1772**

A group of Providence merchants burn the British customs-enforcement schooner *Gaspée*.

Samuel Adams calls for the creation of committees of correspondence to coordinate anti-British resistance in Massachusetts and, ultimately, throughout the colonies.

**1773**

The Tea Act of 1773 permits the British East India Company to bypass middlemen and sell tea directly to colonial distributors in America, undermining the colonies' thriving traffic in smuggling. The act reduces the price on tea while leaving the Townshend Duties on tea intact.

The Boston Tea Party takes place: Citizens dump British tea into Boston Harbor to protest the Tea Act.

The poems of Phillis Wheatley are published in England.

**1774**

The Transylvania Company buys a large tract in Kentucky from the Cherokee Nation; Cherokee warrior Dragging Canoe refuses to recognize the sale and vows to kill any whites who settle the claim.

Religious leader Ann Lee migrates to the American colonies, where she founds Shaker societies.

Parliament passes the Coercive Acts in an effort to force colonists to recognize Parliament's sovereignty. Known in the colonies as the "Intolerable Acts," they consist of the Boston Port Bill, which closes the port; the Massachusetts Government Act, which curtails colonists' participation in local government; the Administration of Justice Act, which permits the Crown to choose the location of trials; and the Quartering Act, which compels colonists to pay for the housing of British soldiers enforcing these laws.

The Quebec Act of 1774 grants territory west of the Appalachians to Canada.

The First Continental Congress meets in Philadelphia to form a unified response to the Coercive Acts and assumes a supervisory role in Massachusetts's resistance.

Continental Congress unanimously endorses the Suffolk Resolves, which declare the Coercive Acts "murderous" and recommend economic sanctions against Great Britain.

Continental Congress unanimously approves an economic boycott of Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies. The congress forms the Continental Association to execute this "non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement."

Continental Congress debates and approves a petition to King George III declaring colonists' rights and grievances.

Virginia royal governor John Murray, Lord Dunmore, defeats the Shawnee in Ohio Territory in Lord Dunmore's War.

Pennsylvania Quakers found the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, the first antislavery society in the colonies.

**1775**

As an agent of the Transylvania Company, Daniel Boone blazes the Wilderness Road and establishes the frontier community of Boonesborough.

Patrick Henry delivers his “Give Me Liberty” speech to members of the Second Virginia Convention.

Paul Revere, William Dawes, and others ride through the countryside around Boston to warn colonial minutemen of the approach of British troops.

The Revolutionary War begins as British soldiers clash with colonial minutemen at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts.

The Committee of One Hundred organizes a provisional government for New York.

The Second Continental Congress, or Confederation Congress, convenes on May 10.

Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allen capture the British fort at Ticonderoga, New York.

Continental Congress names Virginian George Washington commander in chief of the Continental army.

Colonial forces resist British efforts to break the siege of Boston in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

King George III declares that the American colonies are in a state of open rebellion and authorizes the use of force to restore order.

Continental Congress founds the Continental navy.

The royal governor of Virginia, John Murray, Lord Dunmore, issues the Dunmore Proclamation, offering freedom for all slaves and servants who rally to the king's cause.

Benedict Arnold and General Richard Montgomery launch an attack on Montreal on December 31; a blizzard impedes their efforts and Montgomery is killed.

**1776**

Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, an influential radical pamphlet against monarchy and tyranny, is published. It urges independence and formation of a republic.

Henry Knox brings cannons that were captured at Ticonderoga to Boston.

Faced with entrenched American forces on Dorchester Heights, the British evacuate Boston.

Captain John Barry's *Lexington* captures the United States's first British prize, the HMS *Edward*.

The Virginia Constitutional Convention adopts the Virginia Bill of Rights, which later serves as the foundation of the United States Bill of Rights.

Continental Congress appoints a committee to draft the Declaration of Independence; it consists of Thomas Jefferson (writer), John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Livingston, and Roger Sherman. The Declaration is debated and signed. It asserts that the thirteen colonies are now “free and independent states.”

The Second Continental Congress appoints a committee to draft a plan of perpetual union; the result, the Articles of Confederation, is to be the new nation's first constitution.

The British win a resounding victory at the Battle of Long Island, nearly entrapping Washington's army.

Tadeusz Kościuszko, a Polish military engineer, joins the Continental army, lending his expertise to the American cause.

Washington crosses the Delaware River and captures a force composed of Hessian soldiers at the Battle of Trenton.

**1777**

Washington's army defeats British forces at the Battle of Princeton.

Benjamin Franklin goes to France to negotiate for a French alliance.

British forces under General William Howe defeat American forces under George Washington at the Battle of Brandywine. The British march into Philadelphia.

Iroquois forces under Chief Joseph Brant allied with the English attack frontier settlers.

British general John Burgoyne surrenders at Saratoga, New York.

The Second Continental Congress sends a draft of the first constitution of the United States, the Articles of Confederation, to each of the 13 original states.

Washington and his army endure a brutal winter at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania; Baron Frederick von Steuben arrives in America and helps train the Continental army.

**1778**

France becomes a formal ally of the United States.

General William Howe resigns command of the British armies in North America; General Henry Clinton becomes commander in chief.

Continental forces strike General Clinton's army at the indecisive Battle of Monmouth Courthouse. Mary Hays McCaully, or “Molly Pitcher,” performs services for the Revolutionary cause and enters American legend.

U.S. lieutenant colonel George Rogers Clark captures two British forts in the West.

**1779**

John Adams helps draft the Massachusetts state constitution, which later serves among James Madison's models in drafting the U.S. Constitution.

American forces under General John Sullivan invade Iroquois territory, burning crops and villages to destroy Iroquois's ability to make war.

Captain John Paul Jones, aboard the *Bonhomme Richard*, captures the British warship *Serapis*.



**1780**

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences is founded in Boston.

British forces under General Henry Clinton capture Charleston, South Carolina, costing Americans virtually the entire southern army.

The marquis de Lafayette convinces the French government to send 12 additional battalions to fight with Washington's army.

The plot of U.S. general Benedict Arnold to surrender West Point to the British is uncovered; he escapes to British lines.

Pennsylvania becomes the first state in the new union to adopt a gradual emancipation statute.

Robert Morris organizes the Bank of Pennsylvania with private investments to support the Continental army.

African-American Paul Cuffe and six other men petition the Massachusetts Legislature against taxing them without their consent.

Benedict Arnold, now allied with the British, attacks Virginia, capturing Richmond and destroying American supplies.

**1781**

American troops under General Daniel Morgan decisively defeat British forces under Colonel Banastre Tarleton at the Battle of Cowpens.

British general Charles, Lord Cornwallis defeats American forces at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse but sustains heavy casualties.

By June all 13 former colonies have ratified the first constitution of the United States, the Articles of Confederation.

Continental Congress charts the Bank of North America, directed by Robert Morris.

An estimated 16,000 Continental and French troops lay Siege to the British army under General Charles Cornwallis, numbering 7,250, at Yorktown, Virginia. Lord Cornwallis surrenders on October 19.

**1782**

Large numbers of British loyalists begin abandoning their homes in the United States for Canada and England; some 100,000 eventually leave the United States.

J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur publishes *Letters from an American Farmer*.

**1783**

Noah Webster publishes *The American Spelling Book*.

The Treaty of Paris of 1783, which officially ends the Revolutionary War, is signed. John Adams, John Jay, and Benjamin Franklin are the principal negotiators for the United States. The treaty cedes all Iroquois land to

the United States; returns Florida, in British hands since 1763, to Spain; expands U.S. territory to the Mississippi River and assures free Mississippi navigation; and promises fishing rights to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

The last British troops evacuate New York City, ending British occupation of its former colonies. George Washington stuns the world by resigning his commission and returning home to Mount Vernon.

John Trumbull embarks on his most productive period as an artist, painting more than 250 historical pictures commemorating the defining events of the Revolutionary War.

**1784**

Continental Congress selects New York City as the temporary capital of the United States.

The New York Manumission Society is founded.

Iroquois Indians surrender their lands west of Pennsylvania to the United States in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1784.

**1785**

Thomas Jefferson replaces Benjamin Franklin as minister to France. John Adams is named minister to Britain.

Continental Congress passes the Land Ordinance of 1785 to outline a framework for the settlement of the Northwest Territory.

Algerians seize several U.S. merchant ships in the Mediterranean Sea.

**1786**

Thomas Jefferson pens the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom, which is the first attempt to guarantee absolute religious liberty in the United States.

Shays's rebellion breaks out in Massachusetts when the state refuses to help debt-ridden farmers. The uprising is put down within a year.

Delegates from five states convene in Annapolis, Maryland, to consider federal regulation of commerce; Alexander Hamilton calls for a constitutional convention to be attended by all the states to amend the Articles of Confederation.

The Tammany Society is founded in New York City as a fraternal organization.

**1787**

Continental Congress passes the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which states that the Northwest Territory will be divided into no fewer than three but no more than five new states. It prohibits slavery in the territory and establishes the process by which a territory becomes a state.

Royall Tylor's *The Contrast*, the first professionally produced American comedy, opens in New York City.

Meeting in Philadelphia to revise the Articles of Confederation, the delegates at the Constitutional Convention instead vote to create an entirely new form of government.

Edmund Randolph of Virginia presents the Virginia Plan, which places power into the hands of a strong centralized federal government, with representation proportional to each state's population.

The New Jersey Plan advocates a national government that does not infringe on the rights of individual states, with all states represented equally regardless of population.

Roger Sherman's "Connecticut Compromise" resolves the differences between the New Jersey Plan and the Virginia Plan.

The Great Compromise of 1787 counts five slaves as three people for the purpose of congressional representation.

The Constitutional Convention approves the Constitution of the United States.

Benjamin Franklin's influential essay "On the Constitution" is released to promote the recently drafted Constitution.

The *Federalist Papers*, 85 political essays written in support of the Constitution by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison, begin to appear in a New York newspaper under the pseudonym "Publius."

The Free African Society is founded.

## 1788

By summer nine of the 13 states have ratified the U.S. Constitution, giving it legal force.

## 1789

The Constitution takes effect on March 4, 1789; ballots of presidential electors are announced when the U.S. Congress formally convenes in April.

George Washington is inaugurated as the first president of the United States at Federal Hall in New York City on April 30. John Adams is sworn in as vice president.

Former slave Olaudah Equiano publishes his memoir *The Interesting Life of Olaudah Equiano*. It is the first published American slave narrative.

John Fenno publishes the pro-Federalist Party *Gazette of the United States*, the first U.S. newspaper founded solely as an organ of one political faction.

The Judiciary Act of 1789 establishes the structure of the judiciary branch.

## 1790

Maryland and Virginia grant a 10-mile square of land on the Potomac River to the federal government to be designated the District of Columbia, the new capital city.

Rhode Island merchant Moses Brown backs Samuel Slater's textile mill in Rhode Island; Slater's mill brings the Industrial Revolution to the United States.

The first federal census counts a population of nearly 4 million people.

## 1791

Benjamin Banneker, a black mathematician and astronomer, publishes his *Almanack and Ephemeris*.

A confederation of tribes under the leadership of Miami chief Little Turtle defeats General Arthur St. Clair in the Northwest Territory.

Benjamin Franklin's autobiography is published.

The United States admits Vermont as a state.

The First Bank of the United States begins operations. Democratic-Republicans oppose the bank, holding that the ability to charter corporations such as banks is exclusively a state's right.

William Bartram publishes his *Travels*, an illustrated naturalist study of the flora and fauna of North America.

Pierre-Charles L'Enfant designs the street plan and public buildings of the District of Columbia.

The first 10 amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights, are adopted; they guarantee U.S. citizens certain basic freedoms.

## 1792

Stock speculation creates the first great financial panic to rock the new nation.

George Washington is elected to his second term as president of the United States.

## 1793

France declares war on Britain.

"Citizen" Edmond Genêt, ambassador of France, comes to the United States seeking American support for France in its war against Britain.

President Washington's Neutrality Proclamation declares the intent of the United States to maintain friendly relations with both Britain and France while the two countries are at war.

Eli Whitney invents the cotton gin; the machine makes it profitable to grow short-staple cotton, spurring the growth of slavery in the South.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision *Chisholm v. Georgia* upholds the right of a citizen to sue a state government in federal court.

The Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 permits the owner of a runaway slave or his agent to arrest and return the slave to captivity.

Benjamin Rush performs valuable services during a yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia.

A group of Philadelphia citizens founds the first Democratic-Republican Society, and dozens of similar clubs soon begin around the country; these grassroots organizations are the first to oppose President Washington.

#### 1794

Methodist preacher Richard Allen forms the first separate African-American congregation.

The federal government commissions a series of super frigates to protect American merchant ships.

Settlement of the Northwest Territory (now the states of Ohio and Indiana) increases.

General Anthony Wayne defeats the Northwest Indian Confederation in the Battle of Fallen Timbers.

Richard Allen and Absalom Jones publish *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Black People During the late Awful Calamity in Philadelphia* to admonish Philadelphia leadership for rumormongering against blacks.

Settlers in Pennsylvania wage the Whiskey Rebellion to protest the federal excise tax on liquor. President Washington musters 12,000 militiamen to quell the uprising.

Special envoy John Jay and British foreign minister William Grenville negotiate Jay's Treaty of 1794 to resolve tensions between the United States and Great Britain. Britain agrees to remove troops from America's western territories, pay reparations to American merchants, and permit limited American trade in the West Indies, while the United States grants the British trading rights.

#### 1795

In the Greenville Treaty of 1795 the Native Americans of Ohio end their war against the United States, cede half of what is now Ohio to the U.S. government, and agree to move westward.

In the Treaty of San Lorenzo, Spain grants the United States free navigation of the Mississippi River, access to New Orleans, and a favorable Florida boundary.

The Naturalization Act of 1795 allows free white immigrants to apply for U.S. citizenship after five years of residence.

#### 1796

English physician Edward Jenner improves inoculation against smallpox using a weakened form of cowpox.

Gilbert Stuart paints his most famous portrait of George Washington.

Philadelphia's *American Daily Advertiser* prints President Washington's farewell address. This influential statement recommends a policy of political isolation from Europe and warns Americans to be wary of political parties.

The Federalist Party's John Adams is elected as the nation's second president.

#### 1797

French anger over the Jay's Treaty leads to an undeclared naval war known as the Quasi-War of 1798–1800. The situation is further complicated by an implied request by France for cash bribes to accept U.S. diplomatic officials. The incident becomes known as the XYZ affair.

John Trumbull completes his most famous painting, *The Declaration of Independence*.

#### 1798

U.S. Congress passes the Eleventh Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, prohibiting citizens of one state from suing the government of another.

The Naturalization Act of 1798 changes the necessary period of residence before citizenship is granted from five to 14 years.

Federalists in U.S. Congress enact the Alien Act of 1798, the Alien Enemies Act of 1798, and the Sedition Act of 1798, all of which give the U.S. government broad abilities to punish treasonable activities and deport foreigners.

The Democratic-Republican led legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia react to the Alien and Sedition Acts by declaring that federal legislation operates only with the consent of the states.

#### 1799

The federal government's direct tax on land prompts violent protest in eastern Pennsylvania, culminating in Fries's Rebellion.

Leading free black Philadelphians, including Absalom Jones, Richard Allen, and James Forten, unsuccessfully petition Congress to halt the slave trade.

#### 1800

Gabriel's Rebellion, a planned uprising of 1,000 blacks in Richmond, is foiled by informers and a massive rainstorm.

The Franco-American Convention of 1800 ends the undeclared naval war (the Quasi-War) precipitated by French attacks on U.S. commercial vessels. There, Napoleon agrees that the French alliance of 1778 is no longer binding.

Washington, D.C., becomes the capital of the United States.

The Democratic-Republican candidate, Thomas Jefferson, defeats the incumbent Federalist Party candidate, John Adams, in the presidential election. Political parties dominate a presidential contest for the first time; the result is the first peaceful transfer of power from one party to another.

#### 1801

John Marshall becomes chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Judiciary Act of 1801 reorganizes the federal court system, giving President Adams the power to appoint 16 new federal judges, including the infamous “midnight judges,” before Thomas Jefferson is inaugurated.

At a demonstration of Eli Whitney’s mass production techniques for incoming president Thomas Jefferson, witnesses are able to assemble working muskets from random parts.

After the United States refuses to increase its tribute for protection from the Barbary States, Tripoli declares war on the United States.

Tent revivals inspire thousands of Americans in remote frontier regions to commit to Protestant faiths.

### 1803

The U.S. Supreme Court decides *Marbury v. Madison*, establishing the precedent of judicial review.

Thomas Jefferson signs the Louisiana Purchase Treaty, acquiring millions of acres of land from the French and putting a large population of Indians, including the Plains tribes, under U.S. jurisdiction.

William Clark and Meriwether Lewis begin a three-year expedition to explore the western territories that have been added to the United States.

The United States blockades Tripoli.

### 1804

Absalom Jones becomes the first black priest ordained by the Episcopal Church.

The Twelfth Amendment, which requires separate votes for president and vice president, is ratified.

The House of Representatives impeaches Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase, a Federalist, for making partisan comments from the bench, but the Senate acquits him.

Tripoli captures the grounded USS *Philadelphia*; American sailors burn the ship in Tripoli harbor.

Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton duel at Weehawken, New Jersey, over Hamilton’s attacks on Burr’s reputation; Hamilton is mortally wounded.

Democratic-Republican Thomas Jefferson is reelected president over Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

Following the Haitian slave revolt, Haiti becomes the first independent black republic in the Western Hemisphere. President Jefferson refuses diplomatic recognition of the nation.

### 1805

In the *Essex* decision, the British Admiralty Court rules that U.S. merchant ships must prove their neutrality to British maritime authorities.

A final peace treaty between Tripoli and the United States is signed aboard the USS *Constitution*.

Lewis and Clark’s “Corps of Discovery” reaches the Pacific Ocean.

### 1806

The Non-Importation Act of 1806 prohibits importing certain British goods.

Lewis and Clark reach St. Louis, Missouri, after a 28-month journey of exploration.

### 1807

The first commercially successful American steamboat, later known as the *Clermont*, travels up the Hudson River from New York City to Albany. It was built by Robert Fulton.

U.S. Congress passes the Slave Trade Abolition Act of 1807, which outlaws the African slave trade.

The British ship HMS *Leopard* fires on the USS *Chesapeake* just outside Chesapeake Bay.

Scandal erupts when the plan of former U.S. vice president Aaron Burr to either form an independent republic in the Southwest or invade Spanish territory becomes public. He is accused of treason but acquitted by Chief Justice John Marshall.

The Embargo Act of 1807 prohibits all international trade from U.S. ports. Intended to counteract British and French legislation that is disrupting U.S. commercial activity, the act proves devastating to the economy.

### 1808

The fur trading industry flourishes; John Jacob Astor establishes the American Fur Company Inc., which expands to the West.

Helped by his brother Tecumseh, Tenskwatawa, known as the Shawnee Prophet, establishes Prophetstown in Indiana Territory as a traditionalist spiritual enclave for Native Americans.

The Union Temperance Society of Moreau and Northumberland is founded. It is the first formal temperance group in the United States.

Democratic-Republican James Madison wins the presidential race against Federalist Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of the Federalist Party.

### 1809

The Non-Intercourse Act of 1809 repeals the Embargo Act of 1807 and restores international trade with all nations except France and Great Britain.

### 1810

The Macon Act of 1810, or Macon’s Bill No. 2, restores U.S. trade with France and Great Britain but promises to resume nonintercourse with one power if the other lifts its trade constraints.

*Fletcher v. Peck* declares a Georgia state law void under the U.S. Constitution. It is the first ruling to nullify a state law.

Elkanah Watson organizes the first agricultural fair, beginning the rural American tradition of the county fair.

**1811**

Construction of the National Road begins in Cumberland, Maryland. The road will facilitate European-American settlement west of the Appalachians.

Tecumseh calls for a confederation of Native American tribes to forcibly resist white settlement of western lands.

William Henry Harrison defeats a confederation of Native American forces led by Tenskwatawa in the Battle of Tippecanoe in Indiana Territory.

By a narrow margin, Congress votes against rechartering the First Bank of the United States.

**1812**

In response to British attacks on U.S. shipping, Congress declares war on Britain; the conflict is known as the War of 1812.

Indian leaders Tecumseh and Black Hawk ally their forces with the British, conducting raids on U.S. settlements.

James Madison is reelected to the presidency.

On President Madison's orders, General William Hull attempts an invasion of Canada; the attack fails and Hull surrenders Detroit to the British.



# Documents



## **The Declaration of Independence (A Transcription from the National Archives)**

IN CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

### **The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,**

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been

the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences.

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare,

That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

**Georgia:**

Button Gwinnett  
Lyman Hall  
George Walton

**North Carolina:**

William Hooper  
Joseph Hewes  
John Penn

**South Carolina:**

Edward Rutledge  
Thomas Heyward, Jr.  
Thomas Lynch, Jr.  
Arthur Middleton

**Massachusetts:**

John Hancock

**Maryland:**

Samuel Chase  
William Paca  
Thomas Stone  
Charles Carroll of Carrollton

**Virginia:**

George Wythe  
Richard Henry Lee  
Thomas Jefferson  
Benjamin Harrison  
Thomas Nelson, Jr.  
Francis Lightfoot Lee  
Carter Braxton

**Pennsylvania:**

Robert Morris  
Benjamin Rush  
Benjamin Franklin  
John Morton  
George Clymer  
James Smith  
George Taylor  
James Wilson  
George Ross

**Delaware:**

Caesar Rodney

George Read  
Thomas McKean

**New York:**

William Floyd  
Philip Livingston  
Francis Lewis  
Lewis Morris

**New Jersey:**

Richard Stockton  
John Witherspoon  
Francis Hopkinson  
John Hart  
Abraham Clark

**New Hampshire:**

Josiah Bartlett  
William Whipple

**Massachusetts:**

Samuel Adams  
John Adams  
Robert Treat Paine  
Elbridge Gerry

**Rhode Island:**

Stephen Hopkins  
William Ellery

**Connecticut:**

Roger Sherman  
Samuel Huntington  
William Williams  
Oliver Wolcott

**New Hampshire:**

Matthew Thornton

**The Articles of Confederation**

***Agreed to by Congress November 15, 1777; ratified and in force, March 1, 1781***

James D. Richardson, ed. *A Compilation of the Messages and-Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897*. Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: 1898), p. 9 ff.

To ALL TO WHOM these Presents shall come, we the undersigned Delegates to the States affixed to our Names send greeting. Whereas the Delegates of the United States of American in Congress assembled did on the fifteenth day of November in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy seven, and in the Second Year of the Independence of America agree to certain articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of Newhampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhodeisland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia in the Words following, viz. “Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the

states of New-hampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhodeisland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia.

Art. I. The Stile of this confederacy shall be "The United States of America."

Art. II. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every Power, Jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.

Art. III. The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their Liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other, against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

Art. IV. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different states in this union, the free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from Justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the people of each state shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other state, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restriction shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any state, to any other state of which the Owner is an inhabitant; provided also that no imposition, duties or restriction shall be laid by any state, on the property of the united states, or either of them.

If any Person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any state, shall flee from Justice, and be found in any of the united states, he shall upon demand of the Governor or executive power, of the state from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offence.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these states to the records, acts and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other state.

Art. V. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the united states, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each state, to recal its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the Year.

No state shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven Members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in

any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the united states, for which he, or another for his benefit receives any salary, fees or emolument of any kind.

Each state shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the states, and while they act as members of the committee of the states.

In determining questions in the united states, in Congress assembled, each state shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any Court, or place out of Congress, and the members of congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

Art. VI. No state without the Consent of the united states in congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, or alliance or treaty with any King, prince or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the united states, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any king, prince or foreign state; nor shall the united states in congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more states shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the united states in congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No state shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties, entered into by the united states in congress assembled, with any king, prince or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by congress, to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any state, except such number only, as shall be deemed necessary by the united states in congress assembled, for the defence of such state, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any state, in time of peace, except such number only, as in the judgment of the united states, in congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such state; but every state shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.

No state shall engage in any war without the consent of the united states in congress assembled, unless such state be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such state, and the danger is so imminent

as not to admit of a delay, till the united states in congress assembled can be consulted: nor shall any state grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the united states in congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the united states in congress assembled, unless such state be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the united states in congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

Art. VII. When land-forces are raised by any state for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each state respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such state shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the state which first made the appointment.

Art. VIII. All charges of war, and all other expences that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the united states in congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states, in proportion to the value of all land within each state, granted to or surveyed for any Person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the united states in congress assembled, shall from time to time direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states within the time agreed upon by the united states in congress assembled.

Art. IX. The united states in congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article—of sending and receiving ambassadors—entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective states shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever—of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the united states shall be divided or appropriated—of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace—appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures, provided that no member of congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The united states in congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now

subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more states concerning boundary, jurisdiction or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following. Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any state in controversy with another shall present a petition to congress, stating the matter in question and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other state in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question: but if they cannot agree, congress shall name three persons out of each of the united states, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names as congress shall direct, shall in the presence of congress be drawn out by lot, and the persons whose names shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without shewing reasons, which congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each state, and the secretary of congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed, in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear to defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence, or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to congress, and lodged among the acts of congress for the security of the parties concerned: provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the state, where the cause shall be tried, “well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favour, affection or hope of reward:” provided also that no states shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the united states.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more states, whose jurisdictions as they may respect such lands, and the states which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall on the petition of either party to the congress of



the united states, be finally determined as near as may be in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different states.

The united states in congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states—fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the united states—regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the states, provided that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated—establishing and regulating post-offices from one state to another, throughout all the united states, and exacting such postage on the papers passing thro' the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office—appointing all officers of the land forces, in the service of the united states, excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the united states.—making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The united states in congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of congress, to be denominated “A Committee of the States,” and to consist of one delegate from each state; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the united states under their direction—to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of Money to be raised for the service of the united states, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expences—to borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the united states, transmitting every half year to the respective states an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state; which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the legislature of each state shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men and cloath, arm and equip them in a soldier like manner, at the expence of the united states, and the officers and men so cloathed, armed and equipped shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the united states in congress assembled: But if the united states in congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances judge proper that any state should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other state should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, cloathed, armed and equipped in the

same manner as the quota of such state, unless the legislature of such state shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise officer, cloath, arm and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so cloathed, armed and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the united states in congress assembled.

The united states in congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expences necessary for the defence and welfare of the united states, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the united states, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war, to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander in chief of the army or navy, unless nine states assent to the same: nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the united states in congress assembled.

The congress of the united states shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the united states, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six Months, and shall publish the Journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances or military operations as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each state on any question shall be entered on the Journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a state, or any of them, at his or their request shall be furnished with a transcript of the said Journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several states.

Art. X. The committee of the states, or any nine of them, shall be authorised to execute, in the recess of congress, such of the powers of congress as the united states in congress assembled, by the consent of nine states, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the articles of confederation, the voice of nine states in the congress of the united states assembled is requisite.

Art. XI. Canada acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the united states, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this union: but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine states.

Art. XII. All bills of credit emitted, monies borrowed and debts contracted by, or under the authority of congress, before the assembling of the united states, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered

as a charge against the united states, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said united states, and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

Art. XIII. Every state shall abide by the determinations of the united states in congress assembled, on all questions which by this confederation are submitted to them. And the Articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a congress of the united states, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every state.

AND WHEREAS it hath pleased the Great Governor of the World to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said articles of confederation and perpetual union. KNOW YE that we the under-signed del-

egates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said articles of confederation and perpetual union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained: And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the united states in congress assembled, on all questions, which by the said confederation are submitted to them. And that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the states we respectively represent, and that the union shall be perpetual. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia in the state of Pennsylvania the ninth Day of July in the Year of our Lord one Thousand seven Hundred and Seventy-eight, and in the third year of the independence of America.

JOSIAH BARTLETT  
JOHN WENTWORTH JUN<sup>r</sup>  
AUGUST 8th 1778

} On the part and behalf of the  
State of New Hampshire

JOHN HANCOCK  
SAMUEL ADAMS  
ELBRIDGE GERRY  
FRANCIS DANA  
JAMES LOVELL  
SAMUEL HOLTEN

} On the part and behalf of the  
State of Massachusetts Bay

WILLIAM ELLERY  
HENRY MARCHANT  
JOHN COLLINS

} On the part and behalf of the  
State of Rhode-Island and  
Providence Plantations

ROGER SHERMAN  
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON  
OLIVER WOLCOTT  
TITUS HOSMER  
ANDREW ADAMS

} On the part and behalf of the  
State of Connecticut

JA<sup>s</sup> DUANE  
FRA<sup>s</sup> LEWIS  
W<sup>m</sup> DUER  
GOUV MORRIS

} On the Part and Behalf of the  
State of New York

JNO WITHERSPOON  
NATH<sup>l</sup> SCUDDER

} On the Part and in Behalf of the  
State of New Jersey. Nov<sup>r</sup> 26,  
1778.—

ROB<sup>t</sup> MORRIS  
DANIEL ROBERDEAU  
JON<sup>A</sup> BAYARD SMITH.  
WILLIAM CLINGAN  
JOSEPH REED 22d July 1778

} On the part and behalf of the  
State of Pennsylvania

THO M:KEAN  
Feby 12 1779  
JOHN DICKINSON  
May 5th 1779  
NICHOLAS VAN DYKE,

} On the part & behalf of the  
State of Delaware

JOHN HANSON  
March 1 1781  
DANIEL CARROLL d<sup>o</sup>

} On the Part and behalf of the  
State of Maryland

RICHARD HENRY LEE  
JOHN BANISTER  
THOMAS ADAMS  
JN<sup>o</sup> HARVIE  
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE

} On the Part and Behalf of the  
State of Virginia

JOHN PENN  
July 21st 1778  
CORN<sup>s</sup> HARNETT  
JN<sup>o</sup> WILLIAMS

} On the part and Behalf of the  
State of N<sup>o</sup> Carolina

HENRY LAURENS  
WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON  
JN<sup>o</sup> MATHEWS  
RICH<sup>d</sup> HUTSON  
THO<sup>s</sup> HEYWARD Jun<sup>r</sup>

} On the part & behalf of the  
State of South-Carolina

JN<sup>o</sup> WALTON  
24th July 1778  
EDW<sup>d</sup> TELFAIR  
EDW<sup>d</sup> LANGWORTHY

} On the part of & behalf of the  
State of Georgia

## The Constitution of the United States

James D. Richardson, ed. *A Compilation of the Messages and-Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897*, Vol. 1, (Washington, D.C., 1898–1906), p. 21 ff.

WE THE PEOPLE of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

### Art. I

Sec. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Sec. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizens of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Sec. 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

Sec. 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and

may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Sec. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Sec. 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays

excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Sec. 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;



To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Sec. 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince or foreign State.

Sec. 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

## Art. II

Sec. 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain



two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Sec. 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the

President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Sec. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Sec. 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

### Art. III

Sec. 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Sec. 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact,

with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Sec. 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attained.

#### Art. IV

Sec. 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the Public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

Sec. 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

Sec. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no States shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Sec. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

#### Art. V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

#### Art. VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

#### Art. VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON—Presid<sup>t</sup>  
and deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire	{ JOHN LANGDON NICHOLAS GILMAN	Delaware	{ GEO: READ GUNNING BEDFORD jun JOHN DICKINSON RICHARD BASSETT JACO: BROOM
Massachusetts	{ NATHANIEL GORHAM RUFUS KING		
Connecticut	{ W <sup>M</sup> SAM <sup>L</sup> : JOHNSON ROGER SHERMAN	Maryland	{ JAMES McHENRY DAN OF ST THO <sup>S</sup> JENIFER DAN <sup>L</sup> : CARROLL
New York	ALEXANDER HAMILTON	Virginia	{ JOHN BLAIR— JAMES MADISON, JR.
New Jersey	{ WIL: LIVINGSTON DAVID BREARLEY W <sup>M</sup> PATERSON JONA: DAYTON	North Carolina	{ W <sup>M</sup> BLOUNT RICH <sup>D</sup> DOBBS SPAIGHT HU WILLIAMSON
Pennsylvania	{ B FRANKLIN THOMAS MIFFLIN ROB <sup>T</sup> MORRIS GEO. CLYMER THO <sup>S</sup> FITZSIMONS JARED INGERSOLL JAMES WILSON GOUV MORRIS	South Carolina	{ J. RUTLEDGE CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY CHARLES PINCKNEY PIERCE BUTLER
		Georgia	{ WILLIAM FEW ABR BALDWINC

Articles in addition to, and Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.

[The first 10 amendments went into effect November 3, 1791.]

#### Art. I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

#### Art. II

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

#### Art. III

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

#### Art. IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

#### Art. V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

#### Art. VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been

committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

#### **Art. VII**

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars the right of trial by jury shall be preserved and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

#### **Art. VIII**

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

#### **Art. IX**

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

#### **Art. X**

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

#### **Art. XI**

Jan. 8, 1798

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or subjects of any Foreign State.

#### **Art. XII**

Sept. 25, 1804

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of

whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

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Revolution and New Nation  
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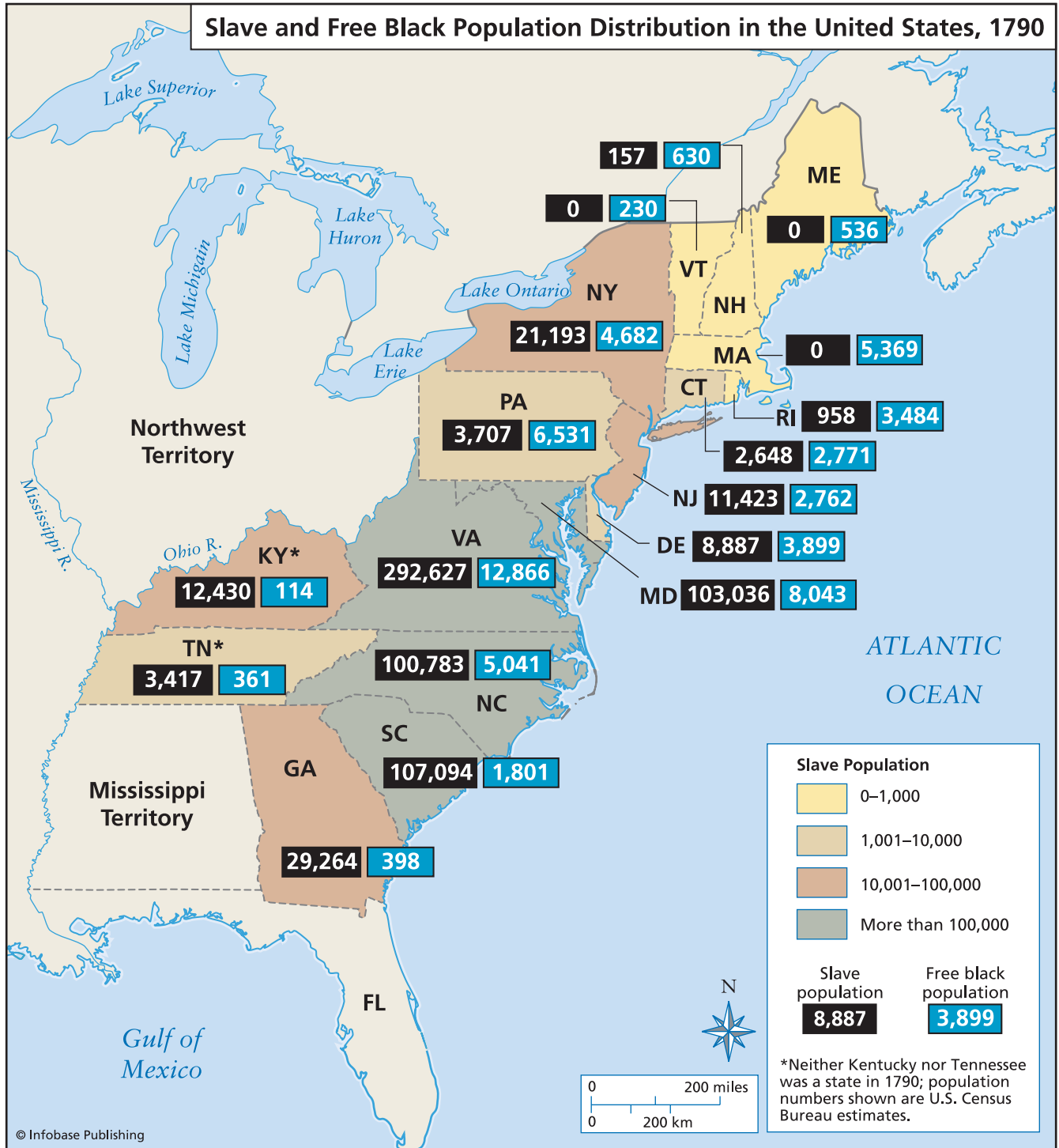






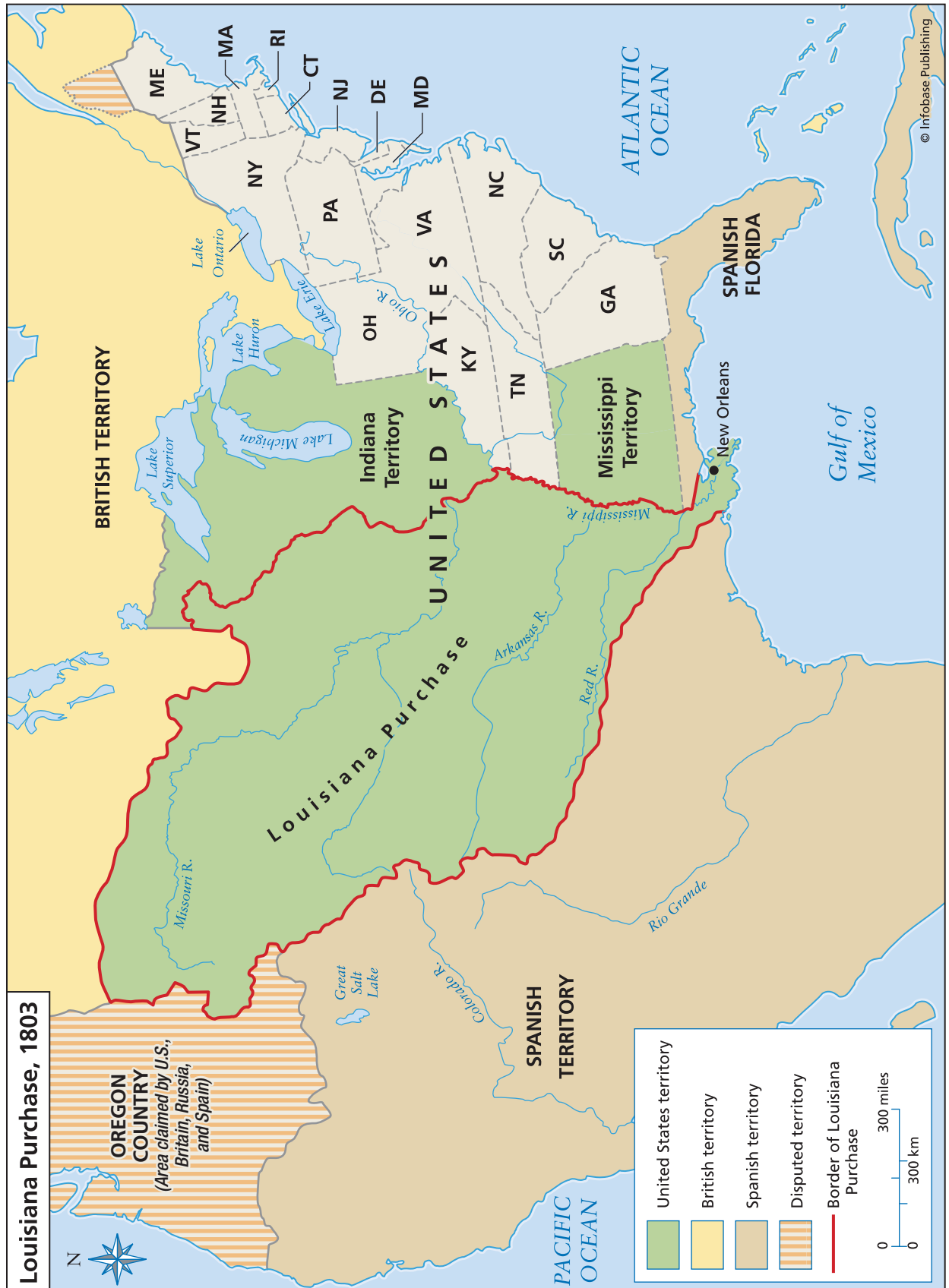


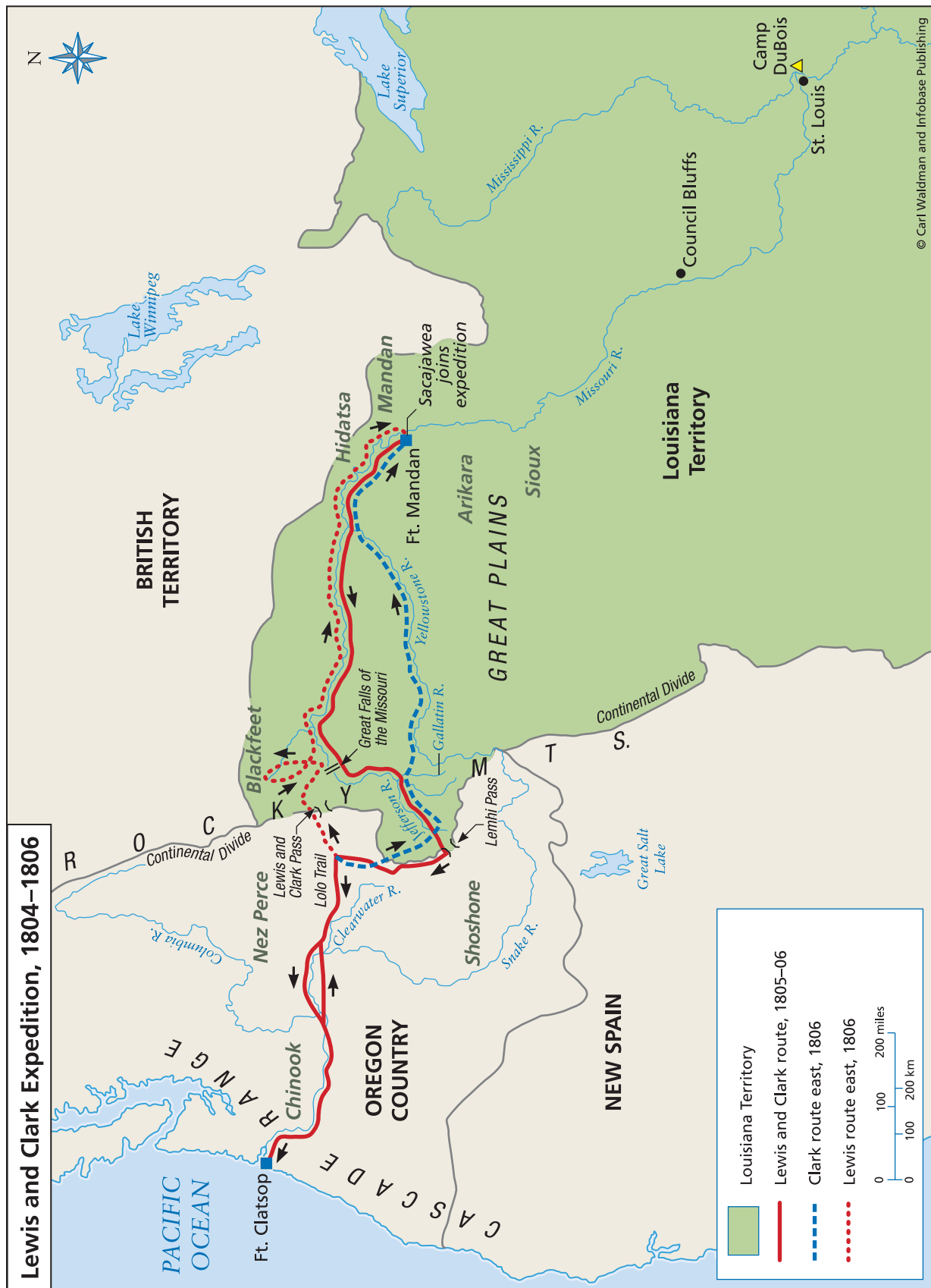












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Malcolm J. Rohrbough, Editor  
Gary B. Nash, General Editor

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Expansion and Reform (1813 to 1855)**

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# Foreword



The Encyclopedia of American History series is designed as a handy reference to the most important individuals, events, and topics in U.S. history. In 10 volumes, the encyclopedia covers the period from the 15th century, when European explorers first made their way across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas, to the present day. The encyclopedia is written for precollegiate as well as college students, for parents of young learners in the schools, and for the general public. The volume editors are distinguished historians of American history. In writing individual entries, each editor has drawn upon the expertise of scores of specialists. This ensures the scholarly quality of the entire series. Articles contributed by the various volume editors are uncredited.

This 11-volume encyclopedia of “American history” is broadly conceived to include the historical experience of the various peoples of North America. Thus, in the first volume, many essays treat the history of a great range of indigenous people before contact with Europeans. In the same vein, readers will find essays in the first several volumes that sketch Spanish, Dutch, and French explorers and colonizers who opened up territories for European settlement that later would become part of the United States. The venues and cast of characters in the American historical drama are thus widened beyond traditional encyclopedias.

In creating the eras of American history that define the chronological limits of each volume, and in addressing major topics in each era, the encyclopedia follows the architecture of *The National Standards for United States History, Revised Edition* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Mandated by the U.S. Congress, the national standards for U.S. history have been widely used by states and school districts in organizing curricular frameworks and have been followed by many other curriculum-building efforts.

Entries are cross-referenced, when appropriate, with *See also* citations at the end of articles. At the end of most entries, a listing of articles and books allows readers to turn to specialized sources and historical accounts. In each volume, an array of maps provide geographical context, while numerous illustrations help vivify the material covered in the text. A time line is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events occurring in the given era. The selection of historical documents in the back of each volume gives students experience with the raw documents that historians use when researching history. A comprehensive index to each volume also facilitates the reader’s access to particular information.

In each volume, long entries are provided for major categories of American historical experience. These categories may include: African Americans, agriculture, art and architecture, business, economy, education, family life, foreign policy, immigration, labor, Native Americans, politics, population, religion, urbanization, and women. By following these essays from volume to volume, the reader can access what might be called a mini-history of each broad topic, for example, family life, immigration, or religion.

—Gary B. Nash  
University of California, Los Angeles

# Foreword to the Revised Edition



“History has to be rewritten in every generation because, although the past does not change, the present does,” writes Lord Christopher Hill, one of Great Britain’s most eminent historians. “Each generation asks new questions of the past, and finds new areas of sympathy as it re-lives different aspects of the experiences of its predecessors.” It is this understanding, that the pursuit of historical knowledge requires new research and new reflections on the past, that undergirds a revised and extended edition of the *Encyclopedia of American History*.

The individual volume editors of this revised edition have made important additions and revisions to the original edition published in 2003. Most important, they have added many new entries—several hundred for the entire 11-volume set. This puts more meat on the bone of what was already a comprehensive encyclopedia that presented four centuries of American history in all its diversity and complexity. For the 10th volume, covering the period from 1969 to the present, new entries cover momentous events and important figures of the last six years. For the other volumes, new entries increase the diversity of Americans covered by biographical accounts as well as events that new scholarship shows have had greater importance than recognized heretofore.

In addition, careful attention has been given to correcting occasional errors in the massive number of entries in the first edition. Also, many entries have been revised to add further details while making adjustments, based on new scholarship, to the interpretation of key events and movements. Consonant with that effort to make the encyclopedia as fresh and usable as possible, the volume editors have added many new recently published books to the “Further Reading” notes at the ends of the entries, and new full-color historical maps help put history in its geographical context.

—Gary B. Nash



# Introduction

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In the 60 years from 1800 to the opening of the Civil War, the American nation expanded, matured, and divided. Expansion came first. It began in 1803 with Thomas Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory, and in 1819 the United States acquired the rest of Florida by treaty. Then, in the decade of the 1840s, with stunning suddenness amidst a burst of expansionist sentiment, the country extended its boundaries westward. The nation first annexed Texas (1845) as the 31st state, gained the Oregon Country by treaty (1846), and, after a war, seized the northern third of Mexico (1848), which would become the states of California, New Mexico, and Arizona. The Gadsden Purchase of 1854 would complete this expansion. At the conclusion of this growth, the United States had become a continental nation, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

At the same time that the United States expanded, and in part because of it, the civil contract of the nation and its political unity began to unravel. The issue of African slavery became the dominant theme of American political life. Opposition to the "peculiar institution" grew as the country expanded to the West. And the abolitionist movement, as it would be called, was only one of many reform movements that engaged the energies of men and women. Among the more important of these were women's rights and the temperance movement. These issues would continue to engage the nation through the Civil War and well into the 20th century.

—Malcolm J. Rohrbough





# ENTRIES A TO Z





### abolition movement

Opposition to **SLAVERY** in America dates to the early years of European settlement, when small numbers of Quakers criticized the practice. Antislavery sentiment increased during the revolutionary period, when American protests against the “slavery” enforced by the English king made some question the morality of enslaving Africans in the colonies. After the American Revolution, antislavery sentiment grew, as the rhetoric of liberty influenced the way some Americans thought about owning other people. During the afterglow of victory, many southern slave owners freed their slaves in a spate of Revolutionary altruism, inspired by the Declaration of Independence, which held that “all men are created equal.” Hence, sizable populations of legally free blacks in Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina flourished throughout the antebellum period.

In the northern states, where slaves were fewer in number and less essential to the **ECONOMY**, abolitionist societies began to form in 1775. These societies successfully lobbied for abolition in the state legislatures of the North. By 1800, most northern states had abolished slavery—either immediately or through gradual manumission (e.g., upon reaching a certain age, a slave would be freed). In the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Congress prohibited carrying slaves into the Northwest Territory. In 1808, Congress outlawed the foreign slave trade. To antislavery activists, both of these measures seemed to point to the eventual dissolution of the slave economy.

Thus, with the successes of antislavery advocates in the North, many Americans thought that the slavery system was becoming untenable in the new land of liberty and would soon die out. But with the invention of the cotton gin and new opportunities for expansion into the Old Southwest, slave-centered **AGRICULTURE** flourished after 1800. Also, because the U.S. Constitution did not grant the federal government the power to regulate slavery, southern states maintained enormous power to defeat any antislavery measures proposed in their state legislatures. Antislavery groups

had effected change in the northern states where most of their members lived, but these groups had little influence in the South. Without an obvious way to combat slavery in the South, abolition societies became less powerful and lost momentum. Around this time the domestic or internal slave trade also began to flourish, resulting in the transfer of nearly 1 million individuals from the Upper South to the Cotton Belt by 1860, along with the concomitant rise of a professional class of slave traders. The seemingly innocuous cotton gin had inadvertently granted slavery a new lease on life and with it the potential for meaningful profit. Thus, given the incessant demand for cheap labor to work new farmlands in the Old Southwest, the “peculiar institution” and its defenders became more entrenched than ever in the American polity.

But the conflict over slavery did not disappear. Indeed, as white Americans moved west, became property owners, and gained more political rights, the rhetoric of American liberty became ever more tied to ideas of white supremacy. Just as Indians were being removed from land to make way for white settlers, some also worried that the presence of free blacks was a danger to white liberty. The number of free blacks had increased since the Revolution, but they were ill-treated and denied the rights of citizens. The presence of free blacks was, therefore, a problem for a society that was supposed to provide equal opportunity. With this growing skepticism about whether blacks could ever be accepted as free American citizens, societies such as the **AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY** began to emerge in the 1810s. These groups advocated removing free blacks from American society and sending them back to Africa. Moreover, the movement had its own spokesman in the person of Baltimore Quaker Benjamin Lundy, who edited and published a weekly newspaper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. Despite threats of violence and Lundy’s own near death at the hands of an enraged mob, his paper made eloquent pleas for gradual emancipation and colonization, and in 1829 he attracted



An engraving of an antislavery meeting on Boston Common showing free blacks among the crowd (*Library of Congress*)

the services of a young and idealistic Boston reporter, William Lloyd Garrison.

The motives of the colonizationists varied. Some whites supported colonization because they wanted to rid the nation of African people, whom they deemed unfit to live in a democracy. Some southern slave owners promoted the removal of free blacks, whom they considered a threat to their ability to control their slaves. Other whites were more sympathetic about the discrimination experienced by free blacks in the United States; they argued that blacks would be free from such racism if they returned to Africa. Other whites advocated colonization because they believed ex-slaves who returned to Africa could bring Christianity and European civilization to the continent. But all of these factions were doubtful about whether African Americans would ever be accepted by a white populace whose political identifications were increasingly racist. Fearing the social consequences of freeing a previously subject group, many argued that

removal was the only way to abolish slavery while preserving order.

Some free blacks also doubted whether they could ever prosper in America and supported colonization because they believed they would never be treated fairly if they stayed in the United States. They also thought that southern slave owners might be more likely to free their slaves if the ex-slaves were safely removed from threatening former masters. But many free blacks disagreed with the concept of colonization, arguing that blacks should stay in the United States to fight for their rights as citizens and to demand the abolition of slavery. Implicitly they argued that American identity was not race-specific, that African Americans had the capacity to be good citizens and the right to demand inclusion in the promise of American liberty. This more positive view of the purposes of abolition would grow as the movement focused more on inherent human equality.

The colonization movement was only moderately successful. The American Colonization Society (ACS) estab-



lished the West African colony of LIBERIA, and several thousand free blacks emigrated. But the removal plan was costly, impractical, and therefore affected very few African Americans. Also, the ACS was attacked by other reformers who saw colonization as a cynical strategy designed to appease slave owners and vilify blacks. Black leaders such as James Forten and David Walker accused the colonizationists of the same racism that made life so difficult for African Americans. In the 1820s new reform societies arose in opposition to colonization, thus laying the groundwork for the next phase of the abolition movement.

Anticolonizationists in the black communities of the North protested the influence of the ACS. They realized that in order to challenge the ACS, they needed to build a coalition with sympathetic whites. By the early 1830s a new radical kind of abolitionism was growing. These new abolitionists advocated an immediate end to slavery, based on the concept of universal human equality. "Immediatists" argued that slavery was such a great moral evil that it must be ended at once. The most prominent proponent of immediatism was William Lloyd Garrison, a white newspaper editor. Once a colonizationist, Garrison was greatly influenced by Forten, Walker, and other black leaders to become more radical in his approach. In 1831, he began publishing *The Liberator* in Boston. Most of his early subscribers were black, and many welcomed his commitment to the movement. It was politically expedient for the immediatists to put forth a white man as the leader of the movement, but Garrison was not alone. Many other black and white writers contributed to the magazine. Other sympathetic leaders emerged, such as the fiery lecturer THEODORE DWIGHT WELD and ARTHUR AND LEWIS TAPPAN, wealthy New York City merchants who were prominent in the evangelical movement. The charismatic influence of the immediatists converted many people who were previously attached to the colonization cause. In 1832 the New England Anti-Slavery Society was formed—the first such organization in the United States. The following year the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY (AASS) was founded, a national group that combined efforts of the many local groups. By 1837 there were more than 500 local societies in northern states. Some of these societies were founded and operated by women—and were often interracial. Indeed, several women, such as ANGELINA AND SARAH GRIMKÉ, became outspoken leaders in the movement.

So what was the immediatist strategy? The mainstream movement could not advocate violent change and remain respectable. Nor could abolitionists campaign for federal action, since the Constitution gave the federal government no authority over state slavery laws. Thus, abolitionists hoped to change slave owners' minds through moral persuasion and indirect political pressure. As was the standard practice of many contemporary reform movements,

the abolitionists got their message across by public speaking tours, disseminating tracts, and selling subscriptions to antislavery periodicals. They attacked slavery as, first and foremost, a sin. They dismissed economic arguments as a distraction from the true cause: uplifting American society by eradicating the corrupting presence of slavery. Some abolitionists seemed more concerned with the endangered souls of slave owners than with the circumstances of the slaves themselves. But others, especially free black abolitionists, were primarily concerned with the liberation of enslaved black people. Whatever the emphasis, the strategy that evolved in the 1830s centered around convincing southern slave owners that abolition was morally right. If slave owners came to believe that they were committing a sin, they would voluntarily free their slaves.

But by the end of the 1830s it became clear that slave owners were not changing their ways, no matter which tactic the abolitionists employed. Tensions arose within the movement as well. The more conservative leaders, such as the Tappan brothers, protested the involvement of women on committees. In 1840 the AASS split into two organizations because of this dispute. Garrison, whose endorsement of women's rights and international pacifism finally caused a fissure, went on to control the new AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which functioned as the radical, extremist wing of abolitionist thinking in opposition to the newer, more mainstream American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of Lewis Tappan. Conservative abolitionists worried that Garrison and the radicals were too unconventional and controversial and would damage the respectability of the movement. This schism was the first of many splits among abolitionists, as the debate over slavery became increasingly high-pitched and volatile.

As the abolitionist movement and its message grew, so too did a campaign of organized violence against it in the North, usually orchestrated by ordinary laborers who feared economic competition from newly freed blacks. Their most celebrated victim, and the first abolitionist martyr, was ELIJAH LOVEJOY, a Princeton Theological Seminary graduate. He edited the *St. Louis Observer* for several years in Missouri, a slave state, until threats of violence induced him to close shop and relocate to Alton, Illinois. His cries for immediate emancipation met with derision and proved equally unpalatable in this new clime, hence his printing press was tossed into the Mississippi River by angry mobs on three occasions. Undaunted, Lovejoy received monetary support from the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society and purchased a fourth press. He then bravely weathered a spate of violent threats until November 7, 1837, when his office was stormed by a mob that finally killed him. His murder elicited increased sympathy and support for the movement throughout the North, although more out of concern for free speech than outright abolition. Yet mob violence

## 4 abolition movement

continued with little remission. Shortly after, Theodore Weld, a prominent speaker, was pelted by eggs during one gathering. Garrison himself was dragged down the streets of Boston with a rope around his neck and nearly lynched before authorities could rescue him. Political resistance to abolition also grew during this period and southerners in Congress forced adoption of the so-called Gag rule, which tabled any or all discussion of antislavery petitions between 1836 and 1844. They also convinced the government to ban all abolitionist newspapers and pamphlets from the southern mail. By 1840 the movement could only count on the support of men like JOHN QUINCY ADAMS of Massachusetts and Joshua Giddings of Ohio as the vast majority of politicians simply ignored abolitionists and their pleas. This complete lack of progress caused many within the movement to question and reevaluate the effectiveness of “moral suasion” as either an intellectual stance or a political tactic. It certainly spurred men like Garrison to adopt a harsher, more strident tone to their writings and public agitation, ultimately mixed results for the movement itself.

While Garrison was unwilling to compromise on the principle of human equality, some black abolitionists began to question the effectiveness of his “moral suasion” strategy. They began to formulate their own separate strategies, again centered on the right of slaves to revolt and take their freedom. The specter of black violence frightened many white abolitionists, who insisted that the movement could only succeed by seeming morally above reproach (and by being led by elite whites). It was clear by 1850 that not only had the abolitionists failed to transform southern slave society, but the plight of slaves had actually worsened. Southern politicians misused the federal authority over the mail in order to keep abolition material out of the South. In addition, the passage of harsher FUGITIVE SLAVE LAWS signaled a northern complicity with southern slavery that seemed catastrophic to abolitionists. Some black leaders began to see the situation as hopeless and revived the emigration solution. Some promoted emigration to Liberia, while others argued for going to Canada or Haiti.

Political opposition to slavery developed along several lines. The “Free-Soil” advocates in the new Republican Party viewed the slave system of labor as a threat to the liberty of all Americans because it endangered the ability of ordinary farmers and laborers to prosper. This kind of antislavery thought was centered more on the problems slavery created for whites than on the problems of slaves themselves. Only a minority of northerners opposed slavery because it was a racist system; most were persuaded to oppose slavery for other reasons: economic resentment of the South, a belief that slavery corrupted the spirit of liberty, concern about whether new territories would be slave or free. These reasons for being antislavery were connected to Garrison’s moral suasion argument, but they

were more about self-interest and less about social welfare. Many of the people who subscribed to antislavery politics in the 1850s were extremely prejudiced against blacks and not especially concerned about integrating freed slaves into American society.

When tensions over slavery and territorial expansion erupted into civil war, abolitionists were still a minority presence among Abraham Lincoln’s Republicans. They continued to push the administration to take a bolder stand on ending slavery. Many abolitionists enlisted in the Union army and encouraged the army to open its ranks to black soldiers. Others worked in army hospitals, and some traveled south, setting up services for freed slaves in Union-occupied areas (an endeavor that would continue with the Freedmen’s Bureaus and other educational efforts during Reconstruction).

Abolitionists felt a sense of triumph with the Union victory, and, most important, the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery. Judging that their work was done, some of the older abolition organizations like the AASS dissolved. Other abolitionists recognized the need to continue helping freed slaves by providing education and fighting for their legal rights. Indeed, the violent backlash against African Americans after Reconstruction troops withdrew pointed to the continuing relevance of the abolitionist cause. Some former abolitionists realized what freed blacks learned almost immediately—that achieving equality required more than simply changing the laws. Unfortunately, without abolition to mobilize around, reformers who were concerned about the plight of African Americans lost an easy rallying point after the Civil War.

The abolition cause was never embraced by the majority of Americans, nor did abolitionists possess the political power their southern opponents accused them of having. However, this small section of society did change the debate about slavery in 19th-century America. And in retrospect, they helped achieve the abolition of slavery in a relatively short period of time. As one of the first organized reform movements, the abolition cause has served as an example to 20th-century activists advocating civil rights.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

**Adams, John Quincy** (1767–1848) *sixth U.S. president* Born in Braintree (now Quincy), Massachusetts on July 11, 1767, John Quincy Adams was the most gifted American diplomat during the early republic and later served as the sixth president of the United States. Adams was uniquely qualified for a life of public service. The son of the revolutionary leader John Adams and Abigail Adams, he was also a gifted and articulate supporter of the revolution.

John Quincy Adams received his earliest education from his parents. At the age of 10, the younger Adams accompanied his father on diplomatic missions to Europe. He became fluent in French and was educated in a private school in Paris and at the University of Leiden. In 1782–83 he served as secretary and interpreter for the American diplomat Francis Dana on a journey to the Russian court in St. Petersburg. They traveled by way of Holland, the German states, and Scandinavia. When Adams returned to the United States in 1785, age 18, he was extraordinarily well-traveled, an accomplished linguist, and well-read in the classics, history, and mathematics. He completed his education at Harvard College, graduating in 1787, then read law in Newburyport, Massachusetts under the supervision of Theophilus Parsons, a distinguished and conservative Massachusetts jurist. In 1790, he was admitted to the bar and settled down to practice law in Boston.

Like his father, Adams identified with the emerging Federalist Party. He came to the attention of President George Washington as the author of newspaper articles defending the administration's neutrality policies during the wars of the French Revolution (1789–1815). In consequence, Washington appointed the younger Adams as

the American minister to the Netherlands (1794–97). After serving in the Hague, Adams represented the United States at the Prussian court from 1797 to 1801. While on diplomatic business in London, he met and courted Louisa Catherine Johnson, daughter of Joshua Johnson, an American diplomat in Britain; they were married on July 26, 1797.

President John Adams recalled his son from Berlin after he lost the bitterly contested election of 1800, and the younger Adams returned to Boston to pursue his legal career. Public life continued to exert a pull on him, and in 1803 he was elected to represent Massachusetts in the U.S. Senate. Although a Federalist, Adams was independent-minded, and to the dismay of his party, he voted in support of the Jeffersonian embargo in 1807. Because of his independent stance, he was not reelected to the Senate, so he returned to Boston to resume his legal career and serve as Boylston professor of oratory and rhetoric at Harvard.

Adams's return to Massachusetts would be brief, as President James Madison appointed him the first American ambassador to Russia, a post he held from 1809 to 1814. He left the Russian court to act as the chief of the American mission at Ghent during the negotiations to end the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15). When the TREATY OF GHENT (1814) was concluded, Adams served as the American ambassador to Britain, a post his father had held 30 years before. He represented the United States in Britain from 1815 to 1817. (Between 1794 and 1817 Adams had represented the United States in the Netherlands, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain. During that period he was an astute observer and reporter of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars.)

President JAMES MONROE recalled Adams from London to serve as his secretary of state, a post Adams held from 1817 until 1825. Schooled in European ways and experienced in European affairs, Adams believed strongly that the United States should remain isolated from Europe's conflicts, articulating this view as the chief architect of the MONROE DOCTRINE. As secretary of state, Adams was responsible for negotiating the ADAMS-ONÍS TREATY, by which the United States acquired East and West FLORIDA and recognized the border of the United States as extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Rocky Mountains and thence along the 42nd parallel to the Pacific Ocean. He also asserted that the border between Oregon and British Canada should run along the 49th parallel.

John Quincy Adams enjoyed a varied and successful career as lawyer, scholar, and diplomat until he ran for president in 1824. A crowded field of five candidates divided the popular vote. ANDREW JACKSON won the popular vote, but as no candidate had a majority in the electoral college, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, and HENRY CLAY supported Adams to make the New

## 6 Adams-Onís Treaty

England president. His presidency, undermined from the beginning by the circumstances of his election, encountered much opposition. The Jacksonians attacked his presidency as an exercise in “bargain and corruption,” the term used to describe the charge that Adams and Clay colluded to cheat Jackson out of the office. Adams’s nationalist views and his reluctance to make use of patronage further hindered his four years in office. In 1828 he lost the election to Jackson.

Adams was 62 years old when he left the White House in 1829. Rather than retire to Quincy, he ran for Congress and represented Massachusetts in the House of Representatives from 1830 until his death in 1848. During this period, Adams emerged as an articulate and forceful opponent of slavery. He crusaded against the “gag rule” that forbade the House from considering antislavery petitions, and in 1844 the House repealed the rule. In 1841 Adams actively participated in the successful arguments before the Supreme Court over the legal status of a group of former African slaves who had revolted and seized the Spanish ship *Amistad*. He also vigorously opposed the annexation of Texas and the U.S. declaration of war against Mexico as attempts to expand the institution of slavery. He died at his desk in the House of Representatives on February 23, 1848.

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### Adams-Onís Treaty (1819)

The Adams-Onís Treaty (or Transcontinental Treaty) of 1819 is significant in the expansion of the United States for adding the FLORIDA territory to the country at relatively little cost and for giving the United States its first internationally recognized claim to territory on the Pacific Ocean.

Spain had established its control of the territory of Florida, which included the entire Gulf of Mexico shore from the Mississippi River to the current state of Florida, in the early 16th century. In 1763 Spain was forced to cede control to England after being on the losing side in the Seven Years’ War, but the Treaty of Paris ending the American Revolution restored Spanish authority in Florida. After making the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, however, the United States slowly began to seize pieces of Florida from Spain. Settlers occupied the area around Baton Rouge in 1810, prompting its annexation to the United States. The

U.S. Army then occupied Mobile Bay and other parts of West Florida during the WAR OF 1812, ostensibly to keep those lands from falling into British hands. In 1818 General ANDREW JACKSON, on the pretext of fighting Seminole Indians who were raiding the southern United States from Florida, occupied much of the rest of the territory. Meanwhile, there was an ongoing dispute between the United States and Spain concerning the boundary of the Louisiana Purchase. The United States claimed that the Louisiana Purchase territory extended to the Rio Grande; the Spanish rejected this, asserting the Sabine River as the boundary.

Negotiated by Secretary of State JOHN QUINCY ADAMS with Luis de Onís, the Spanish ambassador in the United States, the Adams-Onís Treaty contained several provisions. First and foremost, the Spanish relinquished all claim to Florida. Additionally, the treaty settled the southwestern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase at the Sabine River. In exchange for the United States, accepting the Spanish interpretation of the Louisiana boundary, Spain relinquished its claims to the Oregon Territory in the Pacific Northwest, fixing the boundary between United States and Spanish territory on the Pacific coast at the 42nd parallel. Oregon remained disputed territory, however, as the United States and England had agreed to joint occupation in the Convention of 1818; the boundary between the United States and Canada in the Northwest would not be settled until the OREGON TREATY OF 1846. Finally, although the United States did not “buy” Florida from Spain, the Adams-Onís Treaty relieved the Spanish government of \$5 million worth of monetary claims made by American citizens against it. No actual money changed hands between the two countries.

The U.S. Senate readily ratified the treaty in 1819, though some criticism of Adams emerged for surrendering Texas when Onís might have been induced to cede that land as well. The Spanish, however, delayed ratification, hoping to secure a promise from the United States not to aid revolutions in Spanish colonies in Latin America. The United States demurred, and two years later, after Spain accepted the original treaty, the Senate ratified the treaty again on Washington’s birthday in 1821.

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—Russell L. Johnson

### African Americans

Throughout the antebellum period, African Americans were the nation’s largest racial minority bloc and by 1860



numbered close to 4 million individuals. The greatest concentration of blacks was in the South, where the majority of them were slaves, but no less than 488,070 were also legally free and resided in communities there and in the North. Practically speaking, there was little distinction between slave and free in terms of the treatment afforded African-American citizens, which, overall, was deplorable. Blacks in every part of the country were dogged by a racial hierarchy based upon widely held beliefs of European white superiority. These ideas, in the South at least, became a moral justification for slavery on the basis that it helped to “civilize” its charges. This deeply ingrained racial oppression did not end with the passing of the Civil War, but rather, simply transmuted itself into new forms under Reconstruction. Regardless, most blacks carved out a unique niche for themselves, with their own rituals, socialization patterns, and other adaptive mechanisms for coping with this essentially negative situation.

African-American men and women in the antebellum United States shared common experiences in their struggle for freedom. Despite disparate lives created by regional differences, labor patterns, religious beliefs, and legal sanctions, enslaved and free people alike fought an unending battle to define and possess their own liberty. Freedom was not simply the opposite of **SLAVERY**, nor did slavery mean the absolute absence of freedom. Liberty was experienced across a spectrum and won by deliberate and conscious action.

Most African Americans in the antebellum period were enslaved. After the abolition of the external slave trade in 1808, the majority of enslaved men and women were born in the country, rather than imported from Africa or other slaveholding nations in South America and the Caribbean. As slaves, men and women shared a common legal status. They were considered property, and as such could be willed, sold, and transported at the whim of their owners. For the purposes of the census and the legislative districting based on that count, slaves were considered three-fifths of a person. This guaranteed the South greater representation in Congress than if free people had been counted alone. Despite their importance to the business of legislative representation, however, enslaved men and women could not vote. They were rarely granted legal redress against physical or sexual abuse, and their marriages and families enjoyed no legal protection. Education, unsupervised religious meetings, large social gatherings, and the freedom to travel were all prohibited or restricted to some degree.

The experience of slavery did not simply depend on legal restrictions, however, but on the type of labor enslaved men and women were expected to perform. Most slaves worked in **AGRICULTURE**, raising cotton, rice, tobacco, indigo, and food crops on small farms.

Each crop demanded a different labor cycle. Tobacco required constant attention but facilitated a steady pace of work. Rice cultivation was a relentless process requiring that the crop be dried, buried, stacked, threshed, winnowed, and pounded by hand to transform it into a marketable good. Accidents were common from the complexity of the work and the exhaustion felt by those involved in production, while water-borne diseases were a constant hazard. Cotton cultivation required physical strength and endurance, especially during picking season, when an average enslaved man or woman was expected to pick between 150 and 200 pounds of cotton a day. The rhythms of each production cycle dictated how much time slaves had to spend on their own concerns, such as raising and tending their own gardens, maintaining their homes, performing chores, and enjoying each other's company. Hard labor also affected the life expectancy of each slave.

Not all slaves lived in rural communities, however, and urban slaves generally enjoyed greater freedom of movement, the chance to earn money from their labor, and the opportunity to acquire and perfect a marketable skill. Many urban slave owners allowed enslaved men and women to hire themselves out for wages in return for a weekly fee. Enslaved men often worked in construction, in skilled trades such as carpentry, at railroad terminals, and on docks. Women were sometimes employed as midwives, although they were more usually hired for domestic work. Urban enslaved men generally enjoyed greater freedom than enslaved women as they were less likely to work in a home under the direct and constant supervision of an owner or employer and had a greater range of jobs open to them.



This engraving shows a group of free blacks worshipping at an African-American church in Cincinnati, Ohio. (*Library of Congress*)



## 8 African Americans

All of these factors, however, constituted a range of expectations placed upon enslaved men and women by those outside the slave community. Slaves themselves took conscious action to carve out different liberties from the system that held them. While labor patterns were largely dictated by the industry in which slaves worked, those demands could be alleviated to a degree. Slaves broke tools and engaged in slowdowns in order to ease the pressure of the workday. Some slaves took more dramatic action, committing arson or sabotage in order to slow the pace at which tasks were performed. Throughout the 19th century, slaves ran away in order to gain their freedom or reunite with loved ones. There were also outright rebellions in which slaves violently resisted the demands of white southerners and attempted to secure their personal liberty and that of others.

On a day-to-day level, enslaved men and women resisted the attempts of outsiders to establish meaningful relationships and family life for them. While their status as slaves prevented them from entering into legally recognized contracts such as marriage, they formed such relationships, regardless of their legality, and solemnized them through local customs. Men and women enjoyed long and short-term sexual relationships and bore children who were raised, where and whenever possible, within a family unit. Even when parents were separated from one another, family ties remained extremely important, as demonstrated by the tireless attempts of many newly freed men and women to reunite with loved ones during and after the Civil War. The concept of family was, in and of itself, something that slaves negotiated in their own way. While mothers, fathers, and children were central to the concept of family, kinship was experienced and perpetuated in a much more expanded fashion, drawing in cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents and friends. Family structures drew from African traditions as well as American models, and obligations extended beyond individual households to the community and neighborhoods beyond.

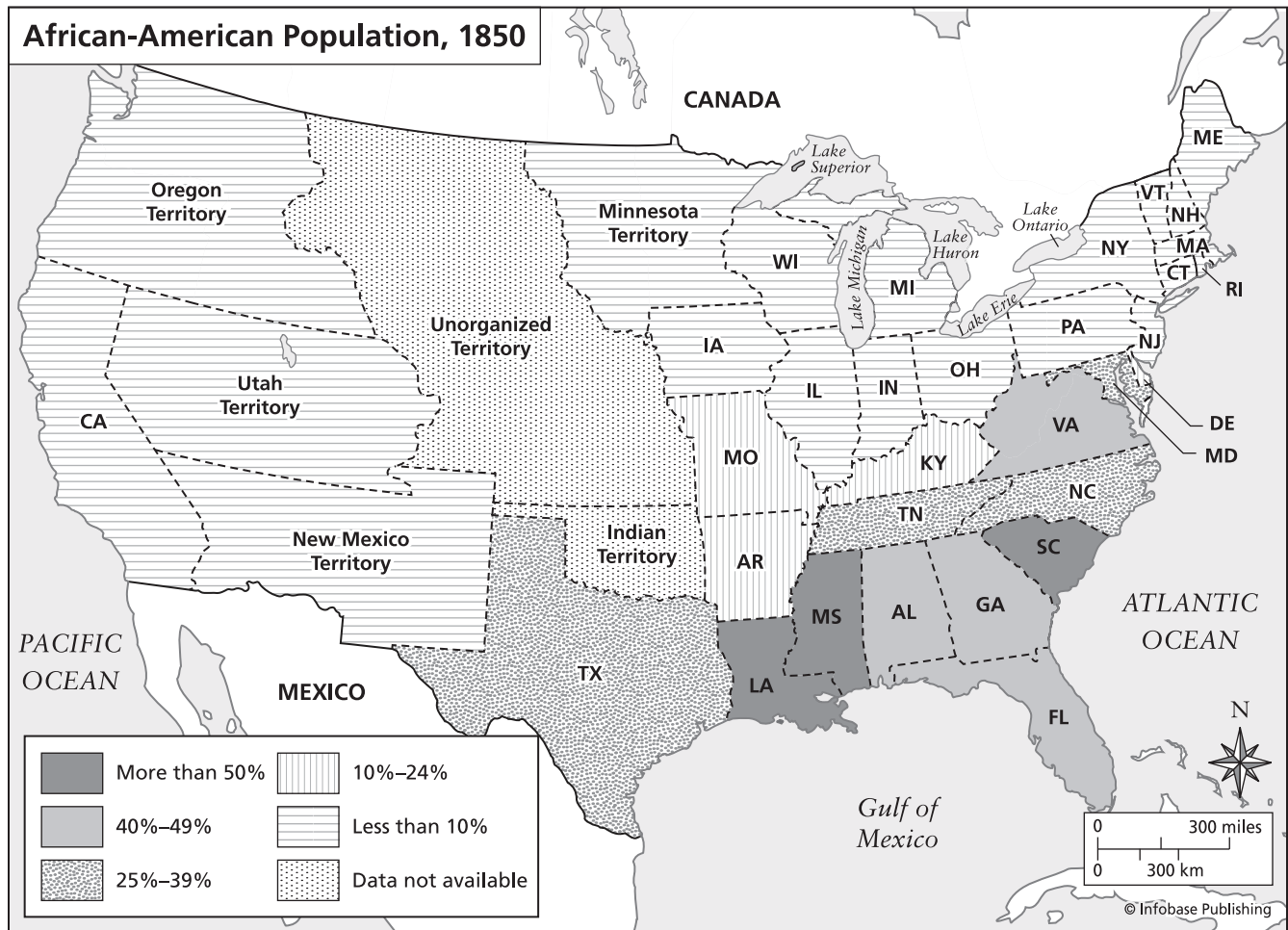
Despite the best attempts of slaveholders to restrict their pastimes, some enslaved men and women did receive a rudimentary education from literate members of their community or sympathetic free whites and blacks. While large gatherings of slaves were often prohibited, owners could do little to prevent women from performing chores such as laundry and cooking together, and such labor gave participants the chance to spend time together away from the eyes of overseers or employers. Religious meetings also took place, with slaves creating their own interpretation of the Bible and often drawing on their African heritage to create their own expressions of spirituality.

In reality, church was one of very few spheres available to blacks where white interference remained at a minimum. Given their plight as slaves, many African Americans

welcomed the arrival of evangelical Protestantism earlier in the century, whose lively sermons, open emotionalism, and spiritual egalitarianism were a dramatic departure from the staid, formal instruction of traditional Protestantism. The sheer emotion inherent in evangelical Christianity also mimicked that of traditional African worship, with all its weeping, singing, and trancelike stages. Furthermore, camp meetings and revivals were open to white and black alike, regardless of class or status, and blacks were also free to preach as licensed ministers. This spurred the development of several exclusively black churches in the North and South, and both fulfilled a similar service in granting attendants some spiritual and psychological relief from their mutual predicament.

Black churches also became the locus of community efforts in the North and a center for educating members and collectively addressing social issues. Moreover, after the 1830s, black ministers began using the pulpit to assail the institution of slavery as a moral evil that no Christian, white or black, could readily condone. Noted black ministers such as Samuel Cornish used their position and affluence to publish abolitionist newspapers such as *Freedom's Journal*, while others such as HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET beseeched whites to consider the negative impact that racism exerted on both communities. For many blacks, both free and slave alike, religion was an escape from reality and an outlet for advocacy, providing them with moral uplift, a promise of redemption, and ultimate deliverance from the manifest evils besetting them.

Yet not all African Americans were enslaved, and the free black population of the United States grew throughout the 19th century. Prejudice, however, tempered what it meant to be free. Local and state laws often prohibited free African Americans from unrestricted freedom of movement, owning property, or voting. In the North, racial prejudice against African Americans resulted in segregated neighborhoods and the threat of violence. Competing with new immigrants for employment, few northern African-American men and women were able to significantly change their economic status over time. Blacks were usually denied entrance into the professions to preclude any possible competition from them, and for the most part they were forced to accept menial positions at scant pay. Thus disposed, they were condemned by poverty to live within segregated ghettos, attend inferior segregated schools, and be interred in segregated cemeteries. Mounting anti-abolitionist mob violence only exacerbated their plight. The aid of sympathetic and wealthy whites, however, did provide some legal recourse to improve their lot. In the South, free African Americans faced less competition for the jobs they held, but white fears of cooperation between slaves and free blacks leading to rebellion meant that their lives outside the workplace were greatly circumscribed.



The political and social activism of free African Americans was nevertheless wide-ranging. Through churches, fraternal orders, and voluntary organizations, free African Americans often provided social services to their communities, aiding one another in times of economic or medical hardship. Such organizations were also key to the expansion of literacy within the African-American community.

Free African Americans were a central force of the 19th-century ABOLITION MOVEMENT. While individuals and religious groups such as the Quakers had opposed the operation of slavery in the United States, it was not until the 1830s that a formal abolition movement coalesced. In 1832, the New England Anti-Slavery Society was founded by William Lloyd Garrison, a white liberal, in Boston. In that same year, the first Female Anti-Slavery Society was established in Salem, Massachusetts, convened by a group of free African-American women. Since women of all colors were originally excluded from Garrison's society, the Boston Female Anti-Slavery society was also founded in 1832. The society welcomed white and black members, as did the Philadel-

phia Female Anti-Slavery Society, founded by LUCRETIA MOTT in 1833. Throughout the antebellum period, whites and free African Americans, along with a growing number of fugitive slaves, worked to attain the abolition of slavery through speaking tours and the publication and dissemination of antislavery literature. Some of the most significant publications to spring from the movement were the autobiographies of escaped slaves, including *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, A Slave*, published in 1845.

The success of the Underground Railroad also depended on the activism of many free African Americans and escaped slaves. The Underground Railroad was neither underground nor a real railroad. Instead, it was a loose coalition of free men and women of all racial backgrounds, as well as a number of escaped slaves, who aided enslaved men and women in their quest to escape to the North. Many black abolitionists, including Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth helped shelter or guide fugitive slaves on their journeys. Perhaps the most famous participant in the work of the Underground Railroad, however, was Harriet

Tubman. Born into slavery in 1821, Harriet was married to John Tubman, a free black, in 1848. Her marriage did not secure her freedom, however, and her husband opposed any talk of escape. Rather than be sent to Georgia after the death of her original master and the failure of an escape attempt (her husband's opinion notwithstanding), Harriet escaped again and made it to Philadelphia. She then went back into the slaveholding territories to assist her sister and her children to escape, and continued to travel into the South to do the same for others. It is estimated that she aided over 300 enslaved men and women in her lifetime, acting as their guide and directing them to homes where they would be sheltered before the next leg of their journey. Numerous other African Americans made similar journeys or offered their homes as "stations" along the railroad.

While the contentious issue of whether they were considered the property of another human divided free and enslaved African Americans in the 19th century, many other considerations joined the communities together. All African Americans battled against racial prejudice and its effect on their legal and economic status. All experienced, to a greater or lesser degree, the presumption that whiteness was an inherent part of citizenship in the United States. Despite the definitions and expectations of mainstream America, African-American men and women refused to ever acquiesce completely to the demands of those outside their communities. Whether free or enslaved, African Americans faced the challenges of legal, social, and political prejudice with creativity and established patterns of association and activism that would support them far into the post-Civil War period.

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—Catherine J. Denial

## agriculture

In the first half of the 19th century, agriculture defined the U.S. way of life economically and socially. It was the primary means of sustaining the ECONOMY, through the production of raw products such as cotton, which between 1815 and 1845 generated between one-third and more than one-half of the value of all U.S. exports. On the more than 2 million farms that existed by 1860, most farmers were able to juggle a mix of commercial and subsistence farming and to see profit. What accounted for these advancements in agriculture during the antebellum years? In large part, it depended on geographic expansion and technological innovation. Both changed the face of U.S. agriculture before the Civil War. And both contributed to the striking dichotomy of American agricultural systems throughout the antebellum period, namely the proliferation of small-scale farmers in the North and large-scale plantations in the South.

Throughout the 19th century, various regions developed crops that reflected their particular geographic riches. Tobacco was grown across Virginia and the entire Upper South. Rice was harvested along the tidal rivers of Georgia and South Carolina. Hemp was produced in Kentucky, sugar in Louisiana. Across the South and West, cotton was grown. In the North, Ohio was known for pork, Ohio and Illinois for cattle. New York and Ohio were centers for cheese.

Also during this period, migration patterns, which moved largely westward, reflected the search for new fertile land. The rapid settlement of rich agricultural lands west of the Appalachians led to the founding of several states during the antebellum period: Indiana (admitted to the Union in 1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), Michigan (1837), Texas (annexed in 1845), and Iowa (1846). Curiously, this trend coincided with the westward drift of the wheat belt. A significant northern staple, wheat was experiencing difficult times in New York, Pennsylvania, and New England owing to weather and parasite-related factors, but it rapidly adapted to the prairies with considerable success. By the Civil War era Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota were the chief wheat-producing states.

The first major changes in farming came about through new technologies. As the 19th century began, a farmer's main agricultural tools were the axe and plow. Led by the cotton gin in 1793, a number of labor-saving devices were invented, reducing the hours of labor involved in nearly all aspects of farming. Among the labor-saving items that came into common use during the first half of the 19th century were the thresher, reaper, iron and steel plows, grain drills, corn and cotton planters, seed drills, and iron harrows and cultivators. Distinguishing many of these implements was the fact that they were designed to employ animal rather than human power, which reduced the farmer's workload.

The trend toward animal power boosted the ease and efficiency of nascent farming technology and increased demand for high-quality draft animals like the Clydesdale. It is estimated that by the turn of the century, no less than 25 million horses labored in agricultural capacities, a period that also witnessed the percentage of Americans engaged in farming decline to less than 38 percent.

For settlers and farmers, clearing land was a central task, and most northern and southern farmers in the early 19th century did so with a Carey plow. Using its wooden moldboard and wrought-iron share, farmers plowed up to one acre per day. For much of the antebellum period, prairie farmers employed the breaking plow or prairie breaker, which could crack fibrous soil. A major drawback was that it required multiple oxen and men. Much more efficient were steel plows, which were devised by various inventors beginning in the 1830s and refined by blacksmith JOHN DEERE. As refining processes reduced the price of steel during the 1840s and 1850s, the steel moldboard plow, known as the “singing plow,” became popular on the prairie. Demand for the device proved nearly insatiable, and by 1858 the John Deere Company was manufacturing an average of 13,000 steel plows per year. By 1835, iron and steel plows also entered common use in the North; but in parts of the South, a one-horse wood-and-wrought-iron shovel plow was used. The cast-iron Eagle plow, with a long, curved moldboard, was popular in the North and South.

Other mechanical advances included the hand corn planter and the horse-drawn corn planter, which was developed in the 1850s. These planters greatly increased the amount of seed a farmer could plant with a hoe. Developed in the 1820s, the horse-hoe used horse-drawn power to cultivate crops more efficiently. For harvesting crops, farmers finally found a labor-saving alternative to the scythe when the horse-drawn reaper was developed. Created in 1831 and patented in 1834 by CYRUS HALL McCORMICK, it cut down 10–12 acres of wheat per day. By 1860, the reaper was used in 70 percent of U.S. farms. By 1857 rising wheat prices allowed farmers greater purchasing power to buy expensive McCormick reapers, and the factory was hard-pressed to maintain a yearly output of 1,000 machines. Thirty years later sales continued to rise in the vast wheat-growing regions to 250,000 units every year. Shortly before the end of the antebellum period, in 1854, an automatic raking mechanism was developed to gather cut grain for harvest. It later gained common use.

The thresher, which separated the grain from the stalks, was developed in the 1820s. It was refined in 1837 with a device that separated the chaff from the straw. By the 1850s they were in common use. The grain combine, which joins the reaper, thresher, and winnower, was developed in 1835, but its weight and multiple-horse requirement made

it unappealing to small to medium-sized farmers. This implement was refined later in the century. Other advances of the period include the steam planter and steam-powered cotton gin.

The movement toward agricultural mechanization also involved the building of factories for food production. Beginning in the 1820s meatpacking facilities handled pork and cattle at Cincinnati, Chicago, and other sites. By the 1850s factories in the North and West produced cheese in standardized form. This form of industrialization rid homes of the chore of producing cheese for commercial use while also providing farmers a ready outlet for excess dairy products.

In the South the lifetime labor of slaves was central to the region’s agricultural expansion and success. Here, the essential technology most closely identified with the region was Eli Whitney’s cotton gin, which first appeared in 1794 and helped indelibly cement the South to the cotton culture. Deceptively simple in appearance, it consisted of a rotary cylinder attached to a fixed comb for removing the seed from raw cotton. Yet when hand cranked, it efficiently rendered slavery profitable and—in effect—crowned “King Cotton.” Cotton exports became the major American cash crop by 1860, accounting for nearly 60 percent of all total exports by value. Output that year also crested at 4.5 million bales, which also constituted three-fourths of the world’s total cotton production. None of this could have been possible without the coerced labor provided by AFRICAN AMERICANS. Male slaves, controlled by the white overseer and African-American driver, were expected to pick about 200 pounds of cotton per day, plow fields, and plant, among other tasks. Female slaves picked about 150 pounds of cotton per day and wove linen and wool, in addition to other domestic jobs. The increased production of bonded workers encouraged plantation farming and especially enriched owners. Given the South’s large population of 11 million people and the region’s dependence on a single, slave-driven crop, there was also a large market for corn and beef from northern states.

In all regions, farm women planted and harvested crops in addition to supervising the household, cooking, and caring for the gardens and household livestock. Women of slave-owning families also supervised slaves’ domestic activities. As one farm woman wrote, it was “boiling and baking, turning the spinning wheel and rocking the cradle.” They also engaged in a variety of home manufactures for trade. In the North, dairy products were popular home manufactures, and until factory-made clothing became available, women spun flax and wool as well as made linen cloth for trade. The rise of manufactured goods increased the ability of a woman to leave the farm but decreased her ability to contribute directly through farm manufactures to the family economy.



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In general, life for the farm family was one of work, isolation, and limited social contact. The church provided social connections, with its rhythms of baptisms, marriages, and funerals. Similarly, communal labor-related activities such as barn-raising and threshings contributed to the frontier society. To fuel increasing demand and in response to the changing soil, farmers developed new varieties of crops and refined animal breeds for specific agricultural uses. In Virginia during the 1850s, farmers created a new variety of tobacco called bright yellow, which, when specially cured, was used to wrap chewing tobacco. In the North, farmers bred and fed their cattle to produce dairy products with revenue-producing higher butterfat content. Western farmers also pioneered the importation of cattle such as the Shorthorn variety to improve livestock quality. Dairy farmers imported the Jersey cow in 1817, the Guernsey in 1830. Farmers also adjusted their crops to fill specialized markets. For example, when western farmers cornered their market by delivering low-cost grain, corn, and livestock, eastern farmers responded by adapting their crops and focusing on perishables such as dairy products and produce for ongoing delivery to cities.

Driven by increased demand for and production of foodstuffs, antebellum inventors developed various improvements to transport crops. Refined in 1807 by Robert Fulton, the steamboat, which could navigate a river or ocean, came into use from the 1810s to transport foodstuffs from west to east and along coastlines. By 1850, just under 750 steamboats were transporting raw materials and food along the Delaware, Hudson, and Mississippi Rivers, and along the coastlines. To link various strategic bodies of water, more than 1,000 miles of canals were dug following the success of the ERIE CANAL. Built between 1817 and 1825, the Erie Canal connected the agriculture-rich Ohio Valley at Lake Erie to the Hudson River and the commercial hub of New York City. By 1835 the price for shipping goods along the canal dramatically declined from a high of \$22 per ton to only \$4, which facilitated the shipment of market crops to New York by small farmers. That metropolis soon emerged as the nation's largest market for agricultural goods. Once the new railroad technology linked New York City to other burgeoning urban centers along the eastern seaboard, this network ensured a steady market for small-scale northern farmers engaged in traditional farming and production of high-value commodities such as milk, butter, cheese, and fruits.

Finally, while steam-powered water and wheel-based land transportation dominated much of early 19th-century transport, RAILROADS came into use for agricultural transport by the 1840s and within decades became the dominant form of transportation for humans and foodstuffs alike. Some 30,000 miles of track were in use by 1860.

Financed in part through state and federal funds, transportation routes also increased and became more efficient during this period. The barriers to transatlantic trade during the WAR OF 1812 gave rise to trade along the Atlantic coast, with important northern ports in Boston and New York and southern ports in Mobile and New Orleans. Inland transport of foodstuffs, particularly from the western states of Ohio and Pennsylvania, was improved by the NATIONAL ROAD, which linked the Ohio Valley and the mid-Atlantic states, and the many side roads constructed during the period. In addition to streamlining food transport, these improvements spurred productivity and shifted areas of agricultural specialization. For example, the West became a major supplier of food and grain to the Northeast once farmers in the Ohio Valley region could ship wheat and corn along the Erie Canal and Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

Conservation practices among most U.S. farmers of the age centered on labor conservation through the widespread use of implements such as the cotton gin (1793). Time conservation was also practiced through transportation advances such as the steamboat. But as of the mid-19th century, there was relatively little soil conservation. Given the amount of fertile land in the United States and the crudeness of fertilizers, farmers who had exhausted their land migrated to new soil. This practice was evident in the migration south and west to plant cotton once the soil in the Upper South had been exhausted in the early 1800s. One observer of the time said of the South, "The new country seemed to be a reservoir . . . and every road leading to it a vagrant stream of enterprise and adventure."

Despite these anticonservation tendencies, some farmers and agricultural reformers formulated soil and other conservation practices. The U.S. government helped the cause, to an extent. Beginning in 1839, the U.S. Patent Office offered reports on farming advances and technology, including a lengthy annual report distributed to farmers free of charge. The work of the Patent Office, along with the advocacy of the U.S. Agricultural Society, laid the groundwork for the development of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Of all farmers, northeasters were generally the most well-versed in the common preservation practices of crop rotation and letting land lie fallow. These practices were not applicable for farmers of a single crop in great demand, such as cotton. However, one group of farmers along the coasts of Georgia and South Carolina did practice a form of crop rotation, turning to rice after the soil had been depleted by cotton or when rice might yield a higher return than cotton, as it did in the 1830s. Still, given generally declining prices for rice over the antebellum years, only large-volume, slave-labor plantations could still make money from the crop. In any event, cotton eclipsed rice, moving rice cultivation westward after the Civil War.



As the antebellum years came to a close in 1860, agricultural products remained central to the U.S. economy, accounting for 82 percent of U.S. exports. Producing 838 million bushels of corn, 172 million bushels of wheat, and over 2 billion pounds of cotton, the United States was its own primary supplier to domestic food processors and manufacturers. These products from across the nation's 2 million farms included food-related crops such as corn, wheat, other grains, fruits, and vegetables as well as livestock; and raw materials such as cotton and tobacco. Together, they revealed the wealth of the U.S. agricultural landscape and the efficiency of new cultivation methods and technological refinements. By the last quarter of the 19th century, these advances, coupled with the large number of working U.S. farmers, would provide the means by which the United States (along with the rest of North America and Australia) would overtake Europe as the world's leading producer of food.

Apart from the measurable advantages of improving farming practices and increasing productivity, the country's success with commercial agriculture brought lasting changes to the ways U.S. citizens lived. Farmers who once produced all the items they needed for daily life now purchased manufactured goods. This practice pointed to another overall shift, toward regional interdependence. As one region like the Ohio Valley specialized in grain, it depended on another specialized region, such as the Northeast, for textiles. Although for the most part the South produced its own foodstuffs, it depended on the North for many manufactured goods, for storing some of its cotton before export, and for providing credit to establish planting sites. In all, these practices promoted a national sense of self-sufficiency.

As the century moved on, agriculture continued to dominate the economy, but challenges to its position were in process. Increasingly, people were moving to urban areas and engaging in nonagricultural vocations. In 1860 more than 75 percent of southerners made their living through agriculture, but this percentage would erode greatly during the next several decades.

Still, whether small-time farmer or plantation owner, farmers of the 19th century believed in the importance of owning land. To this end, the U.S. government offered several bills which, to varying extents, served settlers' needs. After the PANIC OF 1819, many farmers were unable to pay for the lands they had purchased from the government on credit. In response, the government ended its credit practices and opened land at \$1.25 per acre, to be paid by farmers in full. Still unable to pay for the land, the squatters who had settled their land were granted another chance through the Preemption Act of 1830. This law allowed them to buy surveyed land from the federal government and granted a year to pay costs. Given that this provision was used in large

part by speculators, the law was superseded by the Preemption Act of 1841, which required claimants on surveyed land to live on and settle the public-owned land. Unclaimed or western lands came to be subject to the Graduation Act of 1854, which reduced the price of land not sold over the course of 10–30 years.

Politically, this developed into a battle between established southern landowners who wished to retain power, the westerners who wished to settle large quantities of land, and a government undecided on whether selling land or providing it for quick settlement would best serve the economy. These questions would be debated on a national level for years to come.

The issue of free public land was not resolved until after the South had seceded and Congress passed the Homestead Act of 1862, which allowed heads of households to claim 160 acres of frontier land at no cost in exchange for five years of residency and cultivation. Such legislation underscored the government's commitment to the preservation of small family farms as the bulwark of the national economy.

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—Melinda Corey

## The Alamo

The Alamo, a mission fortress located in San Antonio, TEXAS, is the site of one of the most famous battles in American history, although it was located outside of the United States at the time of the siege that made it famous in 1836. The original building was a Spanish mission that Franciscan priests established in 1718. The Spanish government converted it into a fort and army barracks in the late 18th century.

In the early 19th century the Spanish, seeking to revitalize parts of their American empire, encouraged white

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citizens of the United States to settle the desolate province of Texas. Not many did at first. In the meantime the new republic of Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821, and its government urged its own citizens to settle in Texas. In part as a reaction to the economic distress caused by the PANIC OF 1819, land-hungry Americans from the South were pushing toward the lands beyond the boundaries of the United States in the 1820s. “Gone to Texas” was the cry of emigrants from Kentucky, Tennessee, and other states. Initially, the new Mexican government considered this immigration to be illegal, but, realizing they could not stop it, they finally welcomed the Americans to Texas, as long as the immigrants agreed to live by the laws of Mexico. Texas then became a state in the new republic of Mexico.

American *empresarios*, adventurers who were given land in return for bringing in new settlers and families to Texas and converting to Catholicism, tended to be aggressive, ignoring Mexican laws and customs, and thought of themselves as Americans, not Mexicans. They also remained Protestant. Some of the settlers brought their slaves into the rich cotton fields of east Texas, even after Mexico had outlawed slavery. Alarmed by these developments, Mexico passed a law in 1830 banning further immigration into Texas, but it was widely ignored. By 1835 Texas was home to 27,000 Americans, some of whom were small slaveholders; 3,000 of their slaves; and only 4,000 Mexicans, most of whom lived in the towns of Goliad and San Antonio.

The government of the United States tried to buy Texas from Mexico in the middle of the 1830s but was rebuffed. This interest in Texas was encouraged by the idea of MANIFEST DESTINY, which held that the United States was destined by God and nature to rule all of North America; there was even some talk that the nation would eventually encompass all of the Western Hemisphere. Concerned that it might eventually lose Texas to the United States, Mexico tried to exert its authority over the region and enforce the ban on slavery. In response, the Texans split into two camps. A “peace party” under STEPHEN AUSTIN’s leadership favored working with the Mexican government for more local autonomy and recognized the ultimate sovereignty of the national government in Mexico City. But another group of Texans, the “war party,” wanted no negotiations and immediate independence from Mexico. Austin did get some concessions from the Mexican government, but then General ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA became president and then dictator. Uninterested in negotiating with the Anglo-Texans, he appointed a military commander for Texas who answered directly to Mexico City, and he ordered Mexican troops into Texas as a show of strength. The American settlers rebelled and forced out the small contingent of Mexican soldiers. Santa Anna, angered by this defiance, personally led a large army into Texas to

subdue the rebellion, reaching San Antonio in February 1836. Texans in the meantime had declared their independence from Mexico and adopted a constitution.

Santa Anna’s army of 5,000 advanced on the Alamo in San Antonio, which was defended by about 180 men. Most prominent among them was DAVY CROCKETT, the legendary frontiersman and former Whig congressman from Tennessee; and JIM BOWIE, the well-known adventurer and popularizer of the “Bowie Knife.” The small garrison’s commander was WILLIAM B. TRAVIS, another southerner and a slave owner. Travis was only 26 and was originally supposed to share the command with Bowie, but the latter fell seriously ill and had to be confined to bed. Although most of the garrison were Anglo-Americans, half from Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama, their number also included native Mexicans who opposed Santa Anna and his dictatorship.

Santa Anna ordered the immediate surrender of the Alamo by its defenders. One of the many legends that have shaped popular understanding of the siege at the Alamo holds that Travis gave permission to his men to leave if they wished, but supposedly only one took the chance to leave the fort. Travis also sent appeals throughout Texas asking for volunteers to defend the Alamo. Only a few dozen men found their way to the besieged fort. Having refused to surrender, the defenders of the Alamo faced hopeless odds as Santa Anna’s huge army prepared to attack. In the early morning of March 6, 1836, the Mexicans launched their assault on the Alamo, and suffered heavy initial losses. Eventually some of the attackers were able to scale the walls of the fort, however, and they engaged in ferocious hand-to-hand combat with the Texans in the courtyard and interior of the Alamo. By the time the fighting had ended, all of the Alamo’s defenders had been killed, along with about 1,500 soldiers in Santa Anna’s army. Travis’s slave, Joe, was among the handful of noncombatants who survived the slaughter.

The Mexicans quickly moved on to the settlement of Goliad, hoping to deliver the Texas rebellion a second crushing blow. There a small and overwhelmed army of 371 Texans surrendered with the expectation that they would be treated as prisoners of war. Instead, Santa Anna declared them pirates and ordered them executed, after which he believed the rebellion to be over, with more than 500 Texas insurgents now dead. However, the fallen defenders of the Alamo became instant heroes and legends in the United States, immortalized in penny newspapers from New Orleans to New York. Santa Anna and his men were portrayed as henchman of the pope and a threat to American liberty. There were demonstrations in U.S. cities against Mexico, and Santa Anna was burned in effigy. Buoyed by the spirit of revenge, adventurers and soldiers from all over the United States rushed to Texas and joined an army led by SAM HOUSTON. At this point,

Santa Anna made the mistake of dividing his army, which allowed Houston and his Texans to defeat his forces decisively at San Jacinto in April of 1836. Texas had won its independence, and the cry of “Remember the Alamo” had entered American lore.

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—Jason K. Duncan

### American Anti-Slavery Society

Founded in Philadelphia on December 4, 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) advocated the immediate and complete abolition of slavery throughout the United States and its territories.

Although abolitionism became a nationwide movement in the 1830s, its roots go back to the American colonies. Prior to the Revolutionary War, Quakers and other religious groups opposed slavery as anti-Christian. Free blacks, many of whom had escaped slavery, spoke out vociferously against the “peculiar institution” and helped publicize many of its horrors.

At the founding convention of the AASS, three key figures shaped the fledgling organization: William Lloyd Garrison and two brothers, ARTHUR and LEWIS TAPPAN. Arthur Tappan became the group’s first president. Impetus for forming the AASS had come from the first Black National Convention, which had taken place in Philadelphia two years earlier. Organizers had invited several white men to the meeting, where delegates determined that an immediatist, biracial organization was needed. According to a contemporary account by John G. Whittier describing the 1833 meeting, most of the 60 attendees were white, with only “two or three colored members.” Those black men—Robert Purvis, James G. Barbadoes, and James C. McCrumbell—were all prominent abolitionists. Also attending the 1833 convention were four white women, all Quakers.

Garrison drafted the new society’s constitution, which pledged its members to work for emancipation through nonviolent means, such as “moral suasion,” and “the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love.” Membership in the organization grew rapidly; by 1835 there were more than 400 chapters, and by 1838 the number had grown to 1,350, with more than 250,000 members. Many of the offshoot groups included African Americans and women,

although black and women’s auxiliaries were also common. The local chapters of the AASS sponsored meetings, adopted resolutions, signed antislavery petitions to be sent to Congress, published journals, and sponsored lecturers to carry the antislavery message to northern audiences.

Antislavery petitions were sent to Congress at such a high rate that a number of southern members of the House, with the support of a significant portion of northern representatives, succeeded in passing the Gag Rule in 1836. This regulation prevented any petition regarding slavery from being read aloud; instead, antislavery petitions would be tabled indefinitely. By 1844 the Gag Rule, which had come under fire from JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, was repealed.

Garrison, one of the best-known abolitionists of the mid-19th century, is considered by many historians to have been more of a lightning rod than a true leader. Although he served as president of the AASS from 1843 through 1865, his was largely a symbolic role, as he was not known as an effective organizer. His outspoken editorials in *The Liberator*, a newspaper he published between 1831 and 1865, called for an immediate end to slavery without reparations to slaveholders. Most of the general public of the North considered this an extreme position; even those who felt morally opposed to slavery preferred a more gradual phasing out of a complex political economic system that was protected by the Constitution. But Garrison, who drew a clear moral distinction regarding the ownership of human beings, was not one to consider compromise an option. Advocating secession from the Union by northern states on the grounds that the Constitution permitted slavery, he even burned a copy of the Constitution in protest on July 4, 1854.

During a meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1835, Garrison was attacked by a mob of seemingly peaceful attendees. This event gained him considerable sympathy and inspired WENDELL PHILLIPS, a Boston lawyer, to devote himself full-time to the cause of eradicating slavery. Phillips contributed frequently to *The Liberator*. He became known for his impassioned and eloquent speeches against slavery, most notably his 1837 address delivered after the assassination of fellow abolitionist ELIJAH LOVEJOY. Along with Garrison, Phillips supported women’s rights.

THEODORE DWIGHT WELD, a minister and skillful political organizer, is considered by many historians to have been more influential than Garrison. In 1834, while a teacher at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Weld organized a series of infamous student debates. These debates spurred a rash of student abolitionist organizing, which led to Weld’s dismissal from the faculty. Weld married ANGELINA GRIMKÉ, a fellow abolitionist and women’s rights activist, in 1838. A skilled writer, he edited AASS’s paper *The Emancipator* from 1836 to 1840. Weld published many writings pseudonymously, including the highly influential *American Slavery as It Is* in 1839, which



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served in part as a basis for Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

The AASS published a number of books and periodicals, including *The Emancipator*, *Human Rights*, *Slave's Friend*, *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine*, and the *Anti-Slavery Record*, with highly regarded writers of the period contributing their talents. The *Slave's Friend* was aimed at children and included poems, songs, and drawings. In addition to supporting the formation of juvenile antislavery societies, the *Slave's Friend* also encouraged children to collect money for the cause.

In addition to its prolific publications, the AASS sponsored lectures by its own members as well as former slaves like Frederick Douglass, publisher of *The North Star*,

an abolitionist newspaper; and William Wells Brown, a novelist.

The AASS provided fertile ground for debates over many of the period's most controversial issues. The organization opposed the movement to send free blacks to Africa under the auspices of AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, arguing that removing free blacks was a means of strengthening slavery. Garrison railed against colonization time and time again in *The Emancipator*; many issues of which were devoted exclusively to anticolonization arguments.

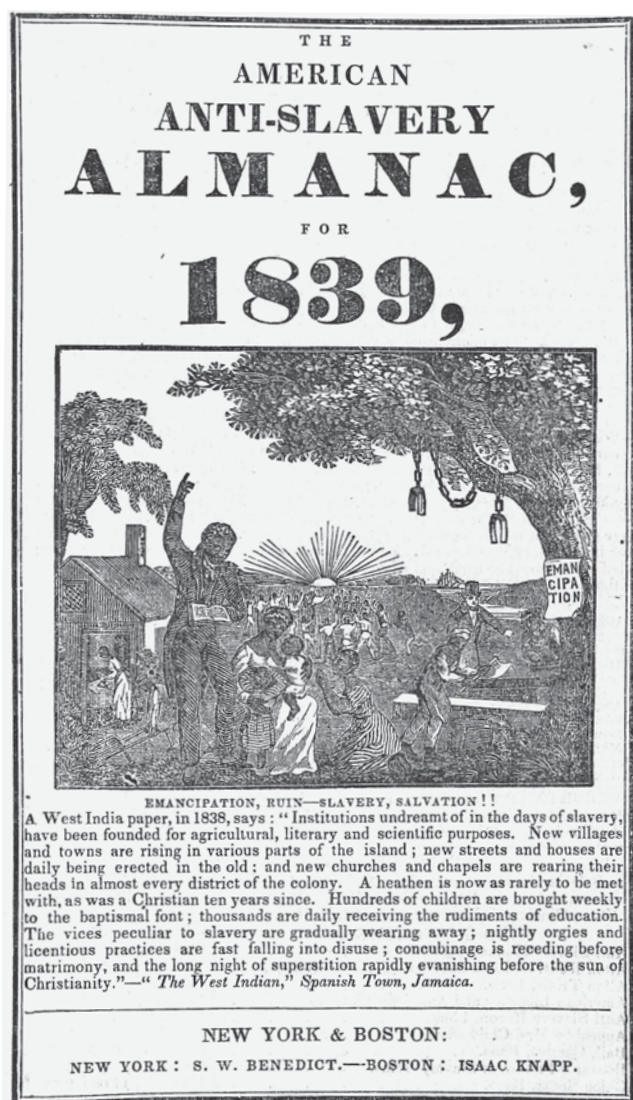
Perhaps the most divisive issue faced by the AASS was that of the place of women in the antislavery movement as well as in society at large. By the mid-1830s more than 100 female antislavery societies had been created, and female abolitionists were circulating petitions, editing abolitionist tracts, and organizing antislavery conventions. This issue reached the boiling point in 1840 at the annual meeting of the AASS in New York, leading the Tappan brothers, who opposed the full inclusion of women out of fear of alienating the churches, to form a new organization, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

The American Anti-Slavery Society elected ABIGAIL KELLEY FOSTER to its business committee and named three women delegates (Foster, LUCRETIA MOTT, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton) as delegates to the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. These women were then relegated to seats in a balcony on the grounds that their participation would offend British public opinion. The exclusion of women from the floor led Garrison and three other male abolitionists to boycott the convention and sit with the women in the balcony.

The American Anti-Slavery Society disbanded in 1870, after the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution granted black men the right to vote.

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—Eva Pendleton



Shown here is The Anti-Slavery Almanac, published yearly by the American Anti-Slavery Society. (Library of Congress)

### American Colonization Society

The American Colonization Society (ACS) was formed in 1816 to send free African Americans to African shores. Created by a coalition of white philanthropists who wanted to provide incentives for ending SLAVERY and slaveholders who wanted to deport free blacks (whom they deemed to be subversive to plantation discipline), the colonization society grew steadily during the 1820s and 1830s. In fact, it became one of the largest reform organizations of the

early antebellum era, with more local chapters than even abolitionists had in such northern states as Pennsylvania. In addition, the colonization society attracted the support of some of the nation's leading political figures, such as ex-president James Madison, presidential hopeful Henry Clay of Kentucky and Massachusetts governor and renowned orator Edward Everett. The colonization society sponsored the expatriate colony of Liberia and generated intense debate among black as well as white reformers over the society's goals and motivations. The group existed through the Civil War before formally ending operations in 1865.

The American Colonization Society operated through national and branch organizations. It held an annual convention and published its proceedings every year. In addition, it printed a newspaper promulgating the society's activities, *The African Repository*. Perhaps the group's most famous single undertaking was the establishment of Liberia, a colony of former slaves located on the western coast of Africa. Founded in 1823, Liberia achieved independence in 1847, becoming a destination for a number of free black activists, including former anticolonizationist John Russwurm, a coeditor of the first black newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, published in New York City between 1827 and 1829; Martin Delany; and Thomas Morris Chester. The American Colonization Society garnered donations totaling nearly \$2.5 million for the colony of Liberia. Roughly 12,000 free blacks and former slaves eventually traveled there. The ACS initially headed most of the colony's main posts: White appointees from the American Colonization Society controlled Liberia until 1841, although black settlers held a variety of powerful administrative positions, including secretary to the colonial agent, acting governor, and superintendent of education.

Beyond Liberia, the American Colonization Society spurred two important and interrelated events after its founding in 1816. The first involved colonization's impact on black activism; the second, colonization's impact on the broader cause of abolition. Although some African-American leaders, such as James Forten of Philadelphia, listened to early colonizationist plans with an open mind, most black Americans vehemently opposed the group. Arguing that the American nation was a black homeland too, and that Americans must end slavery immediately rather than export black activists, they organized against colonization in cities and towns ranging from Boston to Baltimore. The largest black anticolonization demonstration occurred in Philadelphia at Richard Allen's African Methodist Episcopal Church. Several hundred protesters forced the city's black leaders to publicly condemn colonization. Black leaders in other communities did likewise between 1817 and the early 1830s.

This groundswell of black activism was the only public movement against colonization before the 1830s, when a

new generation of radical abolitionists emerged in American culture. The nation's leading antislavery societies during the early 1800s disavowed colonization as a strategy for ending slavery but also refrained from publicly attacking the American Colonization Society or its leaders. Early abolitionists, led by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society and the New York Manumission Society, sought to curry favor with the nation's leading politicians, jurists, and philanthropists. In this manner, early reformers hoped to slowly but surely build political support for gradual abolition plans. Early abolitionist groups did not accept black members, either, although they did work with local black leaders in community schools and in courts of law.

African Americans hoped to prevail upon early white abolitionists to support their anticolonizationist struggle. They petitioned white reformers and met with them privately on several occasions. For over a decade, however, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society and American Convention of Abolition Societies refused to unleash public condemnations of colonization. African-American reformers filled this void. During the 1820s Boston's David Walker issued perhaps the most famous black pamphlet of the antebellum era, "An Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World." Walker called on African Americans to organize anew against slavery and racial injustice. In particular he focused on the evil of colonization, arguing that the plan merely sought to rid the country of free blacks as a means of strengthening slavery. According to Walker, African Americans had to raise national voices of protest in response.

In this way, colonization became a springboard for a new and more radical brand of abolitionism. William Lloyd Garrison, the famed editor of *The Liberator*, was influenced by black anticolonization protest during the late 1820s. After meeting such black activists as James Forten and Baltimore's William Watkins, both of whom provided Garrison with black protest documents, the young white printer shifted his beliefs. No longer a quasicolonizationist or gradual abolitionist, he vowed to become the most ardent opponent of slavery and colonization in the country. Garrison began publishing his own newspaper in Boston in 1831, and he consistently debated colonization speakers throughout the mid-Atlantic and New England. In 1832 Garrison also published a pamphlet opposing colonization, "Thoughts on African colonization," which prominently featured black protest documents.

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—Richard Newman



## American Fur Company

A fur-trading company started in New York by JOHN JACOB ASTOR in 1808, the American Fur Company eventually came to monopolize the American fur trade. Originally the only stockholder, Astor began the company in an effort to compete with two Canadian fur companies that were encroaching into American territory to do business, mainly in beaver hides. To challenge the North West Company and the Michilimackinac Company, Astor first tried to gain trading rights to the Great Lakes region. In 1811 he made an agreement with the two Canadian companies to form a partnership called the Southwest Fur Company, which would restrict its business to south of the Canadian border.

Also in 1811, his employees established ASTORIA, a trading post in Oregon located where the COLUMBIA RIVER meets the Pacific Ocean. These efforts to control the Pacific Northwest through another subsidiary, the Pacific Fur Company, were thwarted when Astoria was captured by rival trading companies and then fell into British hands during the WAR OF 1812. When Astoria was restored to the United States by the TREATY OF GHENT in 1814, the Astor interests had already been sold to the North West Company. But while some of the company's trading activities were temporarily sidelined during the war, Astor's enterprises recovered soon after and continued to grow. By 1817, he had bought out the two Canadian companies and established his own northern department of the American Fur Company as the main trading company in the Great Lakes area, centered at the Mackinac trading post. From this time on, he was no longer the only stockholder but added partners as he bought out or negotiated with competitors.

After securing his stake in the North, Astor began establishing his presence in the rapidly developing western fur trade, which was then centered in St. Louis. Upon negotiating terms with existing St. Louis companies such as the St. Louis MISSOURI FUR COMPANY (see also CHOUTEAU FAMILY), Astor was able to open a western department of his firm by 1822, concentrating on the Missouri River fur trade. Still intent on monopolizing the American fur trade as much as possible, Astor continued to plan ways to undermine his competitors. He still faced formidable competition from Kenneth McKenzie's Columbia Fur Company and from federally supported Indian factories. Started in 1795, the Indian factory system was intended to protect Indians from exploitation by private traders and promote peaceful relations between the United States and Indian nations by establishing trading posts at which Indians could trade pelts for goods, priced at cost. Astor and other independent traders opposed the factory system as a corrupt operation that hindered profitable trade. Along with powerful political allies such as THOMAS HART BENTON and

LEWIS CASS, Astor pushed the federal government to end the factory system, which it did in 1822.

This was neither the first nor the last time that Astor would use financial dominance and political connections to aggressively push the interests of his company in order to eliminate competition. The American Fur Company prompted the federal government to pass laws that excluded foreigners from trade and established official trading locations—both of which favored Astor's interests over those of other companies and individuals. After merging with its main remaining rival, the Columbia Fur Company, in 1827, the American Fur Company finally acquired, if not a monopoly, then at least a formidable financial edge in the fur trade of the United States.

From 1828 to 1834 the company became more systematized and began to look more like a modern bureaucratic business. At their headquarters in New York City, Astor and his son oversaw general operations and supervised the head agents for each division of the company. Ramsay Crooks acted as the company's general manager. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., ran the western department out of St. Louis. Robert Stuart managed the Great Lakes region. Kenneth McKenzie (the former head of the Columbia Fur Company) acted as the main agent in the West, managing the Fort Union post at the convergence of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers.

Partly through McKenzie's influence, the company's trappers infiltrated the fur-rich lands of the Blackfoot Indians in 1829. By 1830 they had built a new post, Fort McKenzie, on the Marias River. While these actions secured Astor's hold on the upper Missouri, he still faced challenges in the Rocky Mountains. From 1830 to 1834 the American Fur Company fought another trading war with St. Louis entrepreneurs (WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY, WILLIAM SUBLETTE, and THOMAS CAMPBELL) who were attempting to take over the Rockies trade. With Astor's financial resources and political clout, his interests eventually won out, and yet another group of rivals were absorbed into his company.

While profits from the American fur trade continued to grow, Astor realized that his business was built on a resource with inherent limitations. The fur trade depended on the accessibility of pelts and the continued demand for fur products. Past experience had shown him that the availability of beaver, bison, muskrat, bear, and other fur was readily affected by environmental factors human agents could not always control. Also, the rise of the textile industry meant that demand for fur to make hats and coats might decline over time. As a businessman interested in maximizing profit, Astor decided to sell out while the trade was still prosperous. He therefore sold his interests in the company to his partners in 1834. The western department, including the upper Missouri outfit, was bought by Pratte, Chouteau and Company. The northern department was purchased by a group led by Ramsay Crooks.

Crooks' group now took the name American Fur Company and continued to do business until 1842. Up to its 1842 failure, the company continued to operate in the region between Detroit, the Ohio River, and the Red River, diversifying from fur trading into shipbuilding and fisheries. The company continued a trading relationship with the West through Pratte, Chouteau and Company (later Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company), and attempted to compete with new rivals. The American Fur Company was reconfigured once more in 1846 as a commission house, but it was no longer a viable concern after 1847. Portions of the old company continued to exist until the 1860s, but the fur trade that thrived after the Civil War—most notably the trade in bison hides—was not transacted through the American Fur Company.

The American Fur Company and its subsidiaries were a powerful national (and international) presence for half a century. At the height of its power, the company controlled three-fourths of the American fur trade. As one of the nation's first monopolistic corporations, the American Fur Company set an early example for later American capitalists. Astor's method—using his formidable assets and political influence to intimidate and absorb rivals—became a standard strategy for American industrialists later in the 19th century.

Astor's imperious behavior and questionable ethics also set the standard for his capitalistic successors. His company has often been accused of using alcohol in trade to exploit the Indians. The American Fur Company was certainly not the only firm to use alcohol as leverage, however, and some scholars have pointed out that the trading relationship between Astor's agents and the Indians was not a completely one-sided story of exploitation through addictive commodities such as liquor. Indians were skillful bargainers who knew they had resources and knowledge traders would be willing to pay for. However, this leverage diminished over the first half of the 19th century, partly due to the abolition of the factory system and the forced cession of valuable lands to the United States. Indeed traders like Astor helped instigate a new relationship between Indians and whites that was much more one-sided: As Indians lost their economic clout and homelands through the efforts of interested parties like the American Fur Company, they became vulnerable and thus more easily exploitable.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

## American System

The American System was a philosophy of political economy in the 19th century which held that the federal government had a legitimate role to play in spurring economic development and growth. This program of economic nationalism was most closely associated with HENRY CLAY of Kentucky, first a representative and then for many years a senator. Clay borrowed some of his ideas from Alexander Hamilton, the first secretary of the Treasury and a Federalist. Hamilton was the most forceful and prominent spokesman in the early republic for the idea that the national government should take an active role in developing an integrated, commercial economy based in part on manufactures.

Early in his congressional career, Henry Clay had been one of the nationalist WAR HAWKS who pushed for war with England in 1812. He had also been among the majority who opposed the rechartering of the first Bank of the United States in 1811, believing it to be unconstitutional and unnecessary. However, the experiences of the WAR OF 1812, in which the United States struggled to fund its military effort, changed the minds of Clay and many other Republicans, who by the 1820s had formed the National Republican Party. This faction was crucial in the chartering of the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES in 1816. The war had also highlighted the inadequacy of existing transportation networks, which led to calls for improved transportation after the war.

It was during the administration of President JAMES MONROE that Henry Clay first articulated a program that became known as "The American System." It was in part a response to the changes, economic and otherwise, that the United States underwent after the War of 1812. Manufacturing was increasing, people were moving to cities for work, and there was a growing number of Americans migrating into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys in search of farmland. In 1819 during the crisis over the admission of Missouri as a state, the United States had a serious debate on the question of slavery, which caused some to fear for national unity. The PANIC OF 1819 also convinced some Republicans that the United States needed to provide safeguards against further panics or depressions. Clay and others believed that a series of policies was needed to make the ties between sections stronger and help to forge a more united country. With Clay now a committed economic nationalist as well, the core elements of his American System were (1) a high protective

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tariff to protect U.S. manufactured goods and secure the domestic market against foreign competition; (2) a federal bank to regulate domestic currency and the economy; (3) funding of internal improvements by the federal government, especially transportation networks to better enable the American people to distribute their goods and crops; and (4) the maintenance of a high price for lands that the federal government would sell to companies and individuals. The revenue from these sales would be sent to states to use on their own “internal improvements,” as they were called.

Clay genuinely believed that the American System would encourage a harmony of interests from which all classes and regions would benefit. Much as Hamilton had before him, Clay argued that if the United States failed to develop its own manufacturing capability, it was destined to remain an economic colony of European powers. The lack of a strong manufacturing base to the national economy would place the nation’s ability to defend itself in wartime in jeopardy. Such a situation was unacceptable to Americans who thought of their nation as destined for greatness. Clay believed that his system would benefit American cities, allowing them to become manufacturing and commercial centers and provide a balance in a nation that was still overwhelmingly rural and agricultural. Urban workers would see a raise in wages and jobs less prone to panics. Farmers would benefit as well, as by trading their produce to city dwellers for manufactured goods, their own standard of living, as well as their agricultural outputs, would rise. The improvements in transportation that the American System promised would help goods to move faster and more freely around the country. The Bank of the United States was needed to oversee and guide all of this financial activity and bring needed stability to an increasingly complex economy.

Henry Clay wanted to be president, and he was convinced that his advocacy for the American System would enable him to build a political base in all sections of the country and send him to the White House. Clay’s ambitious plan, however, met with spirited opposition. From the founding of the republic, there had been a great many Americans, both northerners and southerners, who were resolutely opposed to enlarging the powers of government beyond those explicitly given to it in the Constitution. Originally this party, the Republicans, was led by Thomas Jefferson. Although James Madison had signed into law the chartering of the Second Bank of the United States, before he left office in 1817 he had also vetoed funds to help New York build a canal, asserting that the power to do so was not in the Constitution. His successor, JAMES MONROE, also believed that the federal government did not possess such authority under the Constitution. Therefore, Monroe vetoed a plan that would have allowed Washington to administer toll gates on the Cumberland Road. The domi-

nant Republican Party subsequently divided in the 1820s, in part over the proper role of the federal government in making internal improvements.

Despite this formidable tradition in American politics, Clay did have some success in getting Congress to enact into law some parts of the American System. Proponents of the protective tariff passed several measures raising duties on imported goods, including one in 1824 and another in 1828. The latter was described as the “Tariff of Abominations” by its critics and nearly caused disunion, as South Carolina protested bitterly and claimed to have the right to nullify federal laws it believed not in its interest. Clay helped to craft a compromise tariff in 1833 that lowered duties and helped to mollify the South while maintaining the integrity of the Union. By that time, another distinct party, led by ANDREW JACKSON and MARTIN VAN BUREN, had emerged by 1830; they referred to themselves as Democrats. During his successful bid for the presidency in 1828, although Jackson had given the impression in the West that he was not opposed to the American System, over the course of his time as president he came to be a pronounced enemy of its principles. In 1830 Jackson vetoed the Maysville Road bill, which allowed federal monies to buy stock in a private company that was building a road that happened to run through Henry Clay’s state of Kentucky. Jackson based his decision both on constitutional grounds and on the more pragmatic grounds that it benefited only one state. As former president JOHN QUINCY ADAMS described it, the veto was a blow to “the system of internal improvements by national energies.”

Jacksonian Democrats believed that the American System was unjust because it put the federal government on the side of the wealthy and property-owning classes, and what was worse, it called for the government to exercise powers on behalf of the affluent that it did not possess under the Constitution. Some critics of the American System feared that it favored urban growth at the expense of farming interests and denied poorer Americans the opportunity to own land in the West because it promised to keep federal land prices too high. Southerners, led by JOHN C. CALHOUN of South Carolina, were wary of any plan that would bolster the powers of the federal government, which might then turn its increased authority toward the question of slavery. Slave owners also objected to the prospect of paying artificially high prices for manufactured goods, since their own agricultural products would suffer as trade between the United States and Europe declined as a result of the American System. Virtually all opponents of the American System feared that it was bent on creating a new aristocracy, this one economic, and that the creation of a small privileged class would gravely harm the republican ideals of equality before the law and a rough social egalitarianism.

Clay vigorously defended his system as in keeping with the Constitution. Indeed, he saw his plan as embodying the spirit of that document, which was to encourage a more perfect union. He also argued that the “necessary and proper” clause of the Constitution gave the federal government the power to build roads; after all, the same Constitution had created a national post office, the object of which was to deliver mail. This mission, Clay maintained, implied the building of roads and their maintenance, if necessary, by the federal government. Despite this, the American System suffered another serious defeat in 1832 when its opponents succeeded in abolishing the Bank of the United States. With the bank a key issue, Jackson easily won reelection in 1832 over his National Republican opponent, Henry Clay.

In 1834 the WHIG PARTY formed and became the proponent of the American System. But because the Democrats held the White House for most of the remainder of the antebellum period, the Whigs were unable to revive the Bank of United States or keep the price of federal lands high enough to suit them. The nation’s economic growth and expansion continued in the 1830s and 1840s, however, even if the federal role in this process was not quite what Clay and the others had hoped for. Not until after the secession of southern states in the 1860s and then in the decades after the Civil War did Henry Clay’s vision of an economically integrated United States come to pass, as the nation, with federal assistance, moved into an era of great industrial growth and improvements in transportation.

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—Jason Duncan

## Amistad incident

The *Amistad* controversy centered around a slave mutiny off the coast of CUBA in July 1839. The African captives who mutinied on board the Spanish ship *Amistad* had originally been transported to Cuba in a Portuguese slave ship sailing from Lombokor, an island off the West African coast. This transport violated the 1817 treaty between England and Spain which banned the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Thus, the contraband Africans were smuggled into Havana after dark. Two Spaniards, José Ruiz and Pedro Montes, purchased 53 of the Africans and sailed with them toward Puerto Príncipe aboard *La Amistad*.

The captives revolted soon after the ship set out from the northern coast of Cuba. Sengbe Pieh (also known as Joseph Cinqué) led the revolt. The captives freed themselves and then strangled the captain and stabbed some of

the crew. Ruiz and Montes were spared, on the condition that they guide the ship back to Africa. Instead of returning them, the Spaniards deceived the mutineers by steering east by day, then west by night, slowly directing the vessel northward. By August the tattered ship had reached U.S. waters off the coast of Long Island near Montauk, New York, where the desperately hungry passengers went ashore to find food. The USS *Washington* discovered them, and the mutineers surrendered after some resistance. The Africans were sent to a New Haven jail, where they would remain for the next two years. News of the *Amistad* case spread quickly, and legal arguments over the fate of the Africans began in the Connecticut courts. Central to these legal proceedings was a conflict between the human right to rebel when held by force and the rights of property owners to recover their property. The same could be said for all legal arguments over slavery, but adding to this controversy was the problem of international laws and treaties. Thus, the fate of the *Amistad* rebels was shaped not only by state courts, but by federal and international concerns over U.S. relations to Spain.

Abolitionists in the United States reacted strongly to the incident, as did southern slave owners. Each side viewed the fate of the mutineers as a statement about the morality of the slave system. Ruiz and Montes maintained that the mutineers had been slaves in Cuba prior to the voyage, and thus as the legal property of the Spaniards, they were subject to punishment for their actions aboard the *Amistad*. Prominent abolitionist LEWIS TAPPAN and others created the Amistad Committee to help defend Cinqué and the other rebels. Tappan argued that the “Mendians” (as they became known because many were from Mende) were illegal captives who had the human right to defend their freedom through revolt.

The committee began to publicize the plight of the captives in an effort to raise money for their defense and promote awareness of the evils of slavery. Along with receiving substantial newspaper coverage, the Mendians were also sketched, and the sketches circulated at abolitionist speaking engagements. With the help of two African-born sailors, supporters were able to communicate with the prisoners, especially with the leader Cinqué. While imprisoned awaiting trial, sympathetic activists taught the Mendians some English and introduced them to Christianity. Tappan secured the services of attorney Roger Baldwin for the upcoming legal battle.

In September 1839 the *Amistad* case was brought before the U.S. Circuit Court in Hartford, Connecticut. This court denied the prisoners’ pleas for release, remanding the case to the higher U.S. District Court. In January 1840 District Judge Andrew T. Judson ruled that the Africans had been illegally kidnapped and sold, in violation of the 1817 treaty. Judson also ruled that, as legally free





This engraving depicts Joseph Cinqué and about 50 other enslaved Africans rising up against the captain and crew of the *Amistad*. (Library of Congress)

people, Cinqué and his followers had the right to revolt against their captors in order to regain their freedom. Judson ordered that the mutineers be returned to Africa.

However, the federal government and President MARTIN VAN BUREN had expected a verdict that would have required the mutineers to be returned to Spain in accordance with Pinckney's Treaty of 1795 between the United States and Spain. Worried that Judson's verdict would provoke further diplomatic tension with Spain as well as southern hostility toward his administration, Van Buren appealed the District Court decision. The Court of Appeals upheld the verdict in May 1840, so the government continued the appeal at the highest level, the U.S. Supreme Court. The attorneys for the *Amistad* mutineers convinced former president JOHN QUINCY ADAMS to address the Court on their behalf. Baldwin's arguments and Adams's stirring address persuaded the Court. Although the majority of the justices (including Chief Justice Roger Taney) were southerners and slave owners, they affirmed the original District Court decision in March 1841 by a margin of 8-1: The mutineers had been kidnapped, which entitled them to use force to free themselves. The sanctity of property did not apply in this case, because the property was taken illegally through fraud and deceit. The rebels were free to return to Africa. Tappan and the *Amistad* Committee began to raise funds in order to return Cinqué and his comrades to Africa. Only 35 of the original captives remained, the others having died in the New Haven jail.

In November 1841 the remaining Africans, their translator, and five white missionaries set sail for Sierra Leone. Cinqué maintained some contact with Tappan after his return, but for the most part historians know little about the fate of the mutineers after 1841. Whether the Africans were able to return to their homelands and families is not known. Cinqué supposedly lived until 1879, com-

ing to the surviving Tappan mission in Freetown to die. Still claiming material damages, Spain continued to ask for reparations from the United States for its lost "cargo." These demands for recompense were drowned out by the sectional controversies in Congress that eventually led to the Civil War.

The *Amistad* controversy itself helped kindle the flames of sectional dispute, pitting human-rights arguments against property-rights arguments in ways that influenced the domestic battle over slavery. The incident did not set a legal precedent that contributed to slavery's demise; indeed, the Taney Court that affirmed the mutineers' rights would go on to rule against the human rights of American blacks in the 1857 *Dred Scott* decision. Nevertheless, the arguments presented by Tappan, Baldwin, and Adams resonated within the antislavery community, and the publicity surrounding the captives helped illuminate the horrors of the slave trade and strengthen the argument for the human rights of African-American slaves.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

### anti-Catholic riots

Beginning in the 1820s, the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING, which occurred among mainly evangelical Protestants, included an element of hostility against Catholicism. Some Protestants published novels and tracts which purported to expose the true, and menacing, face of Catholicism to the American public. This burst of religious enthusiasm occurred as the immigration of Catholics into the



United States, mainly from Ireland and Germany, began to increase. These two factors contributed to a revival of traditional American anti-Catholicism, which was an inheritance of European religious rivalries. Between 1830 and 1860 there were numerous acts of group violence directed against Catholics and Catholic institutions.

One of the first such outbreaks occurred in Charlestown, Massachusetts, just outside of Boston, in 1834. A group of Ursuline sisters had established a convent there in 1818, and built a large school for girls on a hill overlooking the town. The size and extravagant design of the school drew much attention. There was also concern that the school enrolled wealthy Protestant girls, who, it was alleged, were held there against their will and were the victims of sexual abuse by Catholic clergy. These rumors contributed to raising the ire of local townspeople who were not Catholic. Adding to the tension was well known Protestant preacher Lyman Beecher, who began a series of sermons in Boston in August of 1834, the theme of which was the alleged threat of the Catholic Church to American republicanism. A group of local workingmen began to plot an assault on the convent and school, and shouting “no popery” and “down with the cross,” burned down the school and an adjacent building belonging to the Ursuline sisters. This successful attack on the Charlestown school was followed by similar episodes in other cities, including New York and Detroit.

In the 1840s tensions between Catholics and Protestants flared up again when Catholics protested against the use of the King James Bible, which was essentially Protestant in character, in public schools. In response, Catholics requested public funds to set up their own private, religious schools. Many Protestants reacted strongly to this, accusing Catholics of using public money for their own purposes and for opposing the use of Bibles in the schools. As the immigration of Catholics from Europe continued into the 1840s, this contributed to fears on the part of some Protestants that the U.S. was in danger of being transformed by the large influx of Catholics, and anti-Catholic literature continued to flourish. In the summer of 1844 Philadelphia became the site of a serious anti-Catholic disturbance. “Native Americans” were encouraged to join a party of that name and fight the alleged threat to American institutions and liberties from the Catholic newcomers. Many of the Catholic immigrants were from Ireland, and they organized as well to prepare for what they believed were impending attacks on their churches and neighborhoods. A large crowd, proclaiming themselves “American Republicans,” marched through an Irish section of Kensington, which was directly north of Philadelphia. They were met there with violence, with one of their number shot to death, possibly by an Irish Catholic sniper. Seeking revenge, nativist crowds reassembled a few days later,

and once again marched through Kensington. They were encouraged by street corner speakers exhorting them to retaliate. Three days of rioting followed, in which nativist crowds burned to the ground three Catholic Churches, many of the homes in the Irish neighborhood, and an Irish fire company house. The fear among Catholics was so great that the bishop of Philadelphia, Francis Kendrick, ordered all Catholic churches in the area to be closed on the following Sunday.

The hysteria soon spread to New York City, which by that point also had several Catholic churches as well and a growing population of immigrant Catholics. Nativists there



This cartoon of Pope Pius IX crumbling the U.S. Constitution captured the fears of American Protestants at the height of Irish immigration in the mid-19th century. (*Library of Congress*)

blamed Catholics in Philadelphia for the disturbances in that city, and urged Protestant New Yorkers to gird themselves for similar trouble. To John Hughes, an Irish immigrant and Catholic bishop of New York City, this seemed to be a pretext for assaults on Catholics and Catholic property. Bishop Hughes issued the statement for which he is best known, warning that “if a single Catholic Church were burned in New York, the city would become a second Moscow,” a reference to the burning of the Russian city in 1812. Acting with his encouragement, more than a thousand Catholics armed themselves and stood guard in front of the city’s Catholic churches. This show of determination appeared to have its desired effect, as nativists, alarmed by Hughes’s threat and the aggressive response of Catholics, called off plans for a mass meeting and the tension eventually dissipated. Disturbed by the violence, bloodshed and destruction of private property in Philadelphia and elsewhere, most Protestant Americans came to see the nativists as dangerous extremists. The immediate physical danger to Catholics ebbed after 1844, but anti-Catholicism remained a part of American political culture, as the rise of the Know-Nothings in the 1850s demonstrated. When an archbishop of the Vatican, Gaetano Bedini, toured the United States in the 1850s, angry nativist crowds burned his effigy in Boston, Cincinnati, New York, and Baltimore, and shots were fired into his hotel room in the latter city. Horrific clashes between Catholics and nativists in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1855 on what is known as “Bloody Monday” in that city’s history, left at least 20 people dead. Along with fears of the slave power and Mormonism, fear of Catholicism was a defining feature of American life in the decades before the Civil War.

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—Jason K. Duncan

### anti-Chinese agitation, rise of

It was the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH that first attracted large numbers of Chinese people to the United States, and more particularly to the American West. Chinese emigration from Guangdong Province to “Gold Mountain,” as California was called, had begun in 1851 and reached substantial numbers in 1852, when perhaps as many as 25,000 Chinese came through San Francisco. The majority came as contract laborers, and from the beginning they were the most distinctive of the several groups that came from all over the world in response to the discovery of gold in Cali-

fornia in 1848. Most of these sojourners—for they intended to return to their families and villages as soon as possible—arrived under a system of debt bondage that bound them to Chinese merchants for the price of their passage. They worked to pay this extended credit under such conditions and such terms that the indentured immigrants were slaves to well-to-do Chinese merchants.

Initially the new arrivals worked claims that were considered exhausted. That they would work for less and needed minimal subsistence gave them an advantage in the gold fields that soon generated hostility toward them. Since they worked for lower wages than Euro-Americans, and given the increasing competition in the California goldfields in the 1850s, the Chinese miners were targets for physical intimidation that could escalate into violence quickly. In addition to being mining competition, the Chinese were set apart from other foreign groups; they lived and worked together, they did not associate with other mining groups, they did not learn English, they made no attempts to assimilate, and they were non-Christian. Although they had come on a temporary basis, their financial bondage assured that their stay would be long. The California census of 1860 recorded almost 35,000 Chinese among the state’s population of some 380,000. Of the Chinese enumerated (and the number is probably an undercount because of the difficulty of listing Chinese names), three-fourths were found in the mining counties. The rest were in San Francisco, where they found work in laundries and restaurants or as servants. Indeed, as the rich claims played out, the numbers of Chinese miners probably grew in proportion to the whole, and this only increased the hostility toward them.

Beginning in the mid-1860s, as the mining opportunities diminished, the Chinese took jobs as contract laborers on the railroads under construction across the West. Anti-Chinese feelings then transferred from the mining districts to the cities, especially San Francisco, where they became the targets of xenophobic political campaigns that sought scapegoats for unemployment, low wages, and hard times. Politicians vied with one another to make the most anti-Chinese statements in the course of their campaigns. That San Francisco was a growing city with a seasonal surplus of laborers (especially in winter, when there was an influx of miners into the city) added weight to the charge that Chinese laborers were taking jobs from Americans.

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## anti-Masonry

The political and social movement that became known as anti-Masonry burst suddenly on the American scene in the 1820s. Anti-Masonry was a reaction to the Freemasons, who made up fraternal lodges of men active in fields such as commerce, politics, and law, primarily in the northern United States. Masonic groups, or lodges, had existed in the United States since the colonial period but had become more influential in the decades after the American Revolution. Many important leaders of the United States in the early republic were Masons, including George Washington. Masons, who were all men, engaged in a series of somewhat mysterious rituals, including secret handshakes and passwords. They believed that they should do good works for the new nation and inspire a sense of moral virtue and learning among its citizens. At ceremonial events such as groundbreakings and dedication of buildings, Masons were usually very much in evidence, as they laid cornerstones and inscribed them with their insignias. In 1793 for example, President George Washington laid the cornerstone of the U.S. Capitol in the District of Columbia wearing a Masonic apron.

Although Masons considered themselves pillars of republican society, others began to suspect them of having aristocratic and antirepublican tendencies, due in great part to the secretive aspects of their fraternal activities. Masonry was at its peak of influence and membership between approximately 1790 and 1825, when suddenly it became quite controversial. In 1826 William Morgan was a member of a Masonic lodge and a wandering stonemason who moved from city to city in search of work. He became embroiled in a dispute with a lodge in Batavia, New York, and threatened to publish a book that would reveal all the secrets of Masonry. Local Masons, angered by Morgan's threat, had him arrested and thrown in jail on charges of debt. After being released from jail, Morgan was immediately kidnapped by a group of Masons and was never seen alive again. It was generally believed that he was drowned in the Niagara River as punishment for his actions against Masonry.

Many people in western New York were not only shocked by Morgan's disappearance and apparent murder but outraged that local authorities, who were Masons, did not seem particularly eager to investigate and prosecute the case. An appeal by local residents to the state legislature went unheeded, and soon a growing number of residents in western New York became convinced that a conspiracy of silence was at work to protect Masonic wrongdoing. Anti-Masonry as a political movement was born when a growing number of citizens announced that they would support no candidates for office who would not renounce Masonry.

Anti-Masonry appealed to many different types of Americans. There were a number who believed that the

Morgan case was conclusive proof that Masons considered themselves above the law. Masons were becoming an aristocracy of sorts, one that was incompatible with republicanism. Evangelical Christians, swept up in the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING that took hold in western New York and other parts of the North, found Masons to be a threat to Christianity. Anti-Masons decried the practice of meeting in secret, away from families, in places where alcohol was thought to be served. These practices offended those who were active in the various benevolent and reform movements, such as temperance (antialcohol) and sabbatarianism (those who wanted to keep Sunday free of commercial activity) that stemmed from the Second Great Awakening.

Anti-Masonry grew so rapidly in popularity in New York State that it began to be seen by some as a vehicle for opposing the Albany regency, the political faction of MARTIN VAN BUREN and the Democrats. The movement also spread into Ohio and Pennsylvania, as well as parts of New England. By the 1830s there were more than 100 anti-Masonic newspapers throughout the North. The anti-Masons by that time had become a genuine political party, winning state legislative seats in New York, and in the 1830s they elected governors in Vermont and Pennsylvania. There was little anti-Masonic activity in the South, however, nor in western states such as Illinois and Missouri. Even so, ambitious anti-Masons set their sights on national power. In 1831 they held what is generally regarded as the nation's first modern political convention, meeting in Baltimore to nominate William Wirt, a former attorney general, for president. Although not entirely committed to anti-Masonry, Wirt accepted the nomination as much out of ambition as principle. He won only Vermont's seven electoral votes in the 1832 presidential election, and about 8 percent of the popular vote nationwide. Much of his support appears to have come from voters who disliked the Jacksonian Democrats but saw National Republican candidate HENRY CLAY as morally compromised.

Anti-Masonry fell quickly from its peak of popularity and influence in the early 1830s. When the WHIG PARTY formed in 1834 in opposition to the Jacksonian Democrats, most anti-Masons joined it. Although that signaled the end of anti-Masonry as a formal political movement, their crusade was successful in that many Masonic lodges across the North closed in the 1830s as a result of the public pressure that anti-Masons brought to bear on them.

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—Jason Duncan

**Applegate, Jesse** (1811–1888) *settler, expedition guide*  
A pioneering figure of the Oregon Territory, Jesse Applegate was born in Kentucky on July 5, 1811, the son of a Revolutionary War veteran. He relocated with his family to Missouri at the age of 10 and was subsequently educated at the Rock Springs Seminary in Illinois, where he displayed considerable aptitude for surveying. Applegate eventually settled in St. Clair County, Missouri, where he farmed, surveyed, and raised his large family.

A Whig by inclination, Applegate adamantly opposed SLAVERY. Because slavery was then a growing factor in the region, in 1843 he joined the migration of 1,000 people who trekked to what was then known as Oregon Country to begin new lives. This was the first group of settlers to take wagons along the OREGON TRAIL as far as the COLUMBIA RIVER. Applegate was entrusted with conducting the cattle-heavy “Cow Column” during the migration. He settled at Salt Creek and in 1845 gained election as a delegate to the region’s provisional government. In this capacity he penned a noted petition to the federal government for funds to help the region’s development and also requested admission as a U.S. territory. Blunt and honest to a fault, Applegate enjoyed great success negotiating with British residents and secured their support for the provisional government. In 1844 he was appointed surveyor general in American parts of the region, despite his fearsome temper and prickly independence.

By 1846 Applegate became convinced of the need for an easier route to the Willamette Valley. In that year he uncovered a southern route from Fort Hall, Idaho, through Nevada and northern California. While in the process he observed a new valley in south-central Oregon that he dubbed the Yoncalla; he relocated his family there in 1849. Applegate continued farming and surveying, but he also gained local renown as a man of letters who published on a variety of political subjects. His opinions became much sought after. In 1857 he served as a delegate to Oregon’s constitutional convention as a Republican, but he quit in disgust after the legislators refused to abolish slavery. Returning to private life, Applegate remained active in party politics and helped secure the party’s vote for Abraham Lincoln after 1860. He also found the time to serve on a board responsible for settling disputes with Britain’s Hudson’s Bay Company, which he did with his usual honesty. Applegate never again sought public office, but he remained highly respected as one of the founders of his new state. He died in Yoncalla Valley on April 22, 1888.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Armijo, Manuel** (ca. 1792–1853) *farmer, leader in the Navajo War*

The last Mexican governor of New Mexico, Manuel Armijo was born in Albuquerque, New Mexico, around 1792, to wealthy landowners. He served competently as a lieutenant in the militia, acquiring a reputation for sound administration, and in 1824 he served as the *alcalde* (chief administrator) of colonial Albuquerque. Three years later Armijo gained appointment as governor of New Mexico, where he confronted a host of problems, including hostile Apaches, low tax revenues, American fur traders smuggling goods into the territory, and increasing numbers of traders along the SANTA FE TRAIL who dodged the tax on imports. He handled himself capably but, suffering from an old leg wound, resigned from office in 1829 and returned to Albuquerque.

Armijo functioned as a trader for the next seven years and amassed great wealth, reputedly through corrupt bargaining with Mexican officials, local merchants, and American traders. In 1837, however, a rebellion against new taxes led to the death of Governor Albino Perez, so Armijo raised a private army, marched on Santa Fe, and defeated the rebels. As a reward, officials in Mexico City appointed him to a second term as governor. Once again he performed well as an administrator, and in 1841 he gained a degree of notoriety when he ambushed and captured a 300-man TEXAS expedition intending to seize eastern New Mexico and annex it to the Republic of Texas. The prisoners were then marched south to Mexico City for trial under brutal conditions, which did little to enhance Armijo’s reputation among Americans with whom he dealt. Throughout his tenure he also parceled out a greater number of land grants than any previous governor, including many to American businessmen in his inner circle.

Armijo retired from the governorship a second time in 1845 on account of ill health, but dissatisfaction over his successor, Mariano Chavez, led to his reappointment for a third term as governor the following November. Once the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR commenced in 1846, he was secretly warned by the wealthy Santa Fe trader JAMES W. MAGOFFIN that an American column of 1,700 men under General STEPHEN W. KEARNY was en route to Santa Fe from Kansas, and that resistance was foolish. Armijo nonetheless rallied the local militia and prepared defensive positions, but at the last minute he dismissed the levies and withdrew south with his

bodyguard. He was arrested in Chihuahua and charged with treason, but as his position was essentially hopeless, Armijo was released by the court. He subsequently returned to New Mexico to work as a rancher and died there on December 9, 1853.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Aroostook War

The Aroostook War was an undeclared 1838–39 conflict between Maine and New Brunswick over contested territory in the Aroostook Valley (now Maine). It was resolved peacefully, with no violence or bloodshed.

The 1783 Treaty of Paris, which ended the American Revolution and established the United States as an independent nation, was vague on a number of boundary questions. One of these disputed regions was the Aroostook area north of the St. Croix River, a 12,000-square-mile piece of sparsely settled but timber-rich land, larger than the entire state of Massachusetts. The region was claimed by both the U.S. state of Maine and the Canadian province of New Brunswick. Neither of the central governments of Britain or the United States was much concerned about the inexactitude of the area's official borderline—after all, it took more than half a century for the matter to come to any sort of a head. But to local residents, especially after Maine achieved statehood in 1820, the boundary question was one of national importance and a matter of state honor. In an era when states' rights had come to the fore, this question demanded important consideration. In fact, it was Mainers' indignation over the national government's failure to resolve the Aroostook dispute that very nearly drove them to violence.

The new state of Maine had begun to grant parcels to settlers in the Aroostook Valley after 1820, despite New Brunswick's claim to the land. When Canadian lumberjacks began logging the area in the winter of 1838–39, the dispute finally boiled over. A Maine land agent, Rufus McIntire, attempted to send the Canadians home, and the loggers seized him in February 1839. That was enough for Maine to raise a 10,000-man militia and send it marching north. New Brunswick called up its own militia. The U.S. Congress authorized \$10 million in spending for a 50,000-man contingent, and dispatched General WINFIELD SCOTT to Maine.

Scott quickly managed to negotiate a truce, and by March 1839—before any U.S. troops had had a chance to arrive, much less engage in battle—the “Bloodless Aroo-

stook War” was over. But it was not until the WEBSTER-ASHBURTON TREATY (1842) that the border question was settled. In the end, more than half of the disputed territory was awarded to Maine, and both the United States and New Brunswick were given navigation rights on the St. John River. New Brunswick retained the northern part of the territory, thus preserving communication routes among the eastern Canadian provinces. Britain agreed to pay \$150,000 to Maine and to Massachusetts for their lost land, and the U.S. federal government was to reimburse those states for the funds they had spent on the region's defense.

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—Mary Kay Linge

### art and architecture

In the United States, the decades between 1810 and 1860 were a time of energy, invention, creativity, and accomplishment. It was also an exciting and inventive period for the arts, which reflected or reacted against remarkable changes happening in the nation. More than anything, American artists and architects of the antebellum period sought to free themselves from conventional and contemporary European dictates in taste and to establish their own uniquely American style of creativity.

#### Art

If American culture was still rooted in a European heritage, there was nevertheless a unique quality about the land. Unlike Europe, the United States seemed to have unlimited land available to all citizens, regardless of class. A romance grew out of the land, out of Americans' relationship to it, and out of their accomplishments on it.

In the East, Americans became nostalgic for a wilderness they knew they had lost to progress, as forests were cleared, factories rose, trestle bridges crossed rivers, and trains cut through the landscape. The doctrine of Manifest Destiny dictated that progress must take place across the land if America's future were to be fulfilled, and in the 19th century, few who went west doubted the rightfulness of their mission. As early as 1804, the painter Washington Allston (1779–1843) grappled with the notion of breaking free from his traditional European training and exploring new tableaux. He sought to bridge the two prevailing schools of painting: traditionalism, in which nature and objects are faithfully and realistically reproduced, usually couched in some kind of moral message, and romanticism, an emerging approach that impelled artists to color their works by



what they felt as well as what they beheld. Allston's subsequent body of work represents the first American attempt to meld a universal moral message with the personal subjectivity of an artist. His work pleased homegrown critics and greatly influenced the next generation of painters.

From about 1825 Americans wanted images of the land itself: its mountains, forests, prairies; the lives and customs of the Native Americans who dwelt in it; the adventurous men and women who moved into and settled it. To some the landscape became a metaphor for moral, religious, and poetic sentiments, and so it must be preserved. To others it represented the American Dream because of the opportunities it offered, and so it must be utilized. Some saw interminable forests as a biblical Eden, awaiting a new Adam and Eve in the form of the American pioneers, who had a chance to regain grace in a land uncorrupted by the Industrial Revolution.

The patrons of these artists were often prosperous merchants, bankers, or factory owners, desiring scenes of natural splendor as an antidote to the harsh world of business; or rural scenes reminiscent of the days spent on the farm, when life was slower and easier—somehow better. Armchair travelers enjoyed paintings of the exotic West, which they might never see for themselves. To satisfy this



*Kindred Spirits*, painting by Asher B. Durand, 1849 (Library of Congress)

demand, a large and talented corps of landscape artists emerged to paint essentially naturalistic visions altered by romantic sentiment. Landscape painting before 1825 had been sporadic, often quite good, but generally lacking a strong thematic focus. After 1825, it enjoyed a great flowering.

The initial impetus for an American school of art arose in the intense nationalism that followed the WAR OF 1812, when a number of cultural institutions that were dedicated to cultivating a unique national aesthetic were established. The first such organization was the National Academy of Design, created in New York in 1826 by the painter SAMUEL F. B. MORSE (1791–1872). Morse was one of a group of dissident artists who rebelled against the restrictive mores of the older American Academy of Fine Arts. The National Academy of Design was founded and run entirely by artists, and it limited exhibits to contemporary American painters, sculptors, and related artisans. Its success inspired Philadelphia's Artist Fund Society in 1835 and New York's American Art Union in 1838, both committed to showcasing American art exclusively. Within a decade the latter boasted 18,000 members and several thousand visitors in daily attendance.

The first American school of landscape painting was the Hudson River School. Many of these artists painted in and around the Hudson River Valley and the nearby Catskill and Adirondack Mountains. Beginning with the works of Thomas Cole (1801–48) and Asher B. Durand (1796–1886), the Hudson River painters helped to shape the mythos of the American landscape. At the time America was a nation yearning for artistic identity. The Hudson River style provided what Americans craved; dramatic and uniquely American landscapes. Artists, along with poets, novelists, and essayists, delighted in describing and depicting native scenery. Influenced by 17th-century European landscapes, the work of the Hudson River School is characterized by panoramic views rendered with precise detail. These serene and awe-inspiring vistas, in which a small figure often communes with nature, were intended to evoke elevated thoughts and feelings. With roots in European romanticism, the Hudson River painters, nonetheless, heeded RALPH WALDO EMERSON's call "to ignore the courtly Muses of Europe" and define a distinct vision for American art. The artists who came to maturity in the years of egalitarian Jacksonian democracy and expansion translated these ideals into an aesthetic that was sweeping and spontaneous. Sharing the philosophy of the American transcendentalists, the Hudson River painters created visual embodiments of the ideals set out in the writings of Emerson, HENRY DAVID THOREAU, William Cullen Bryant, and Walt Whitman. Concurring with Emerson, who had written in his 1841 essay, *Thoughts on Art*, that painting should become a

vehicle through which the universal mind could reach the mind of mankind, the Hudson River painters believed art to be an agent of moral and spiritual transformation. A painting that has become a virtual emblem of the Hudson River School is the dramatic canvas by Asher B. Durand entitled *Kindred Spirits* (1849). In it Durand depicts himself, together with Thomas Cole, on a rocky promontory in serene contemplation of the scene before them, the gorge with its running stream, the Catskill mists framed by foliage. Tiny as the human beings are in this composition, they are nevertheless elevated by the grandeur of the landscape in which they are in harmony.

But America's fascination with landscapes was not solely confined to the eastern part of the nation. As America expanded beyond the Allegheny Mountains into the Great Plains, the arts soon followed. The frontier had its own chronicler in George Caleb Bingham (1811–79), who took his inspiration from the spirited life along the Missouri and the Mississippi Rivers. Bingham's work comes into historical focus with *Fur Traders Descending the Missouri* (ca. 1845). In the golden haze of a misty dawn, a French trader and his half-breed son move along the mirror-placid waters of the great river in a dugout canoe. They wear the typical colorful costumes of their culture, and have a wild-animal pet tied to the bow. Bingham saw something exciting and exotic in the men who lived in the solitary wilderness of the upper Missouri, running their traps or trading with Native Americans, and he captured the romance surrounding them. Pictures like this depicted a new type of folk hero, created by the land itself. Europe had no counterpart, and so here was a subject that was uniquely American.

Another significant school gaining popularity was genre painting, which, by 1840, proved equally as popular as landscapes and portraiture. Genre painting embraced the depiction of everyday life and activities by average, anonymous people. Farmers, frontiersmen, and riverboat men all figured prominently on the canvas, because in their simplicity and commonness they embodied the uniquely American sense of individualism and optimism about the future. Their usual placement in a frontier setting also celebrated both humans' mastery of nature and a pristine, idealized concept of the West. The most important artist of this genre was John Lewis Krimmel, a native of Germany who immigrated to the United States in 1809 and settled in Philadelphia. Krimmel first worked for his brother, a merchant, but he soon left business to pursue a career as an artist. In the course of his significant but brief artistic life (he accidentally drowned in Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1821), he painted scenes from daily life, and he was probably the first American artist to do so. Among the paintings that he exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy in 1813

were *Quilting Frolic* (a very American subject) and *The Blind Fiddler* (adapted from Sir David Wilkie's English painting of the same name, but given an American identity). Krimmel was the first painter of American scenes (he never became an American citizen) whose reputation rested on his adaptation of contemporary American life as an appropriate subject for an American artist.

As some American artists pursued American subjects, African-American artists found themselves severely restricted in artistic life, as they were in all aspects of civil and professional life in the United States. While their chances of pursuing careers as artists were severely circumscribed, they did find opportunities for artistic expression in painting signs, firebuckets, and helmets.

### Architecture

The period 1825–70 produced an architecture that can only be described as romantic and eclectic. Architects adapted Greek, Roman, Gothic, Oriental, and Egyptian styles to suit American ambition, ideology, or institutions, as well as nationalistic, religious, or moral sentiments. The range reached from austere classicism to picturesque Victorian “gingerbread.” New technologies and materials, such as cast iron, were forced into old forms, as in the classical dome of the enlarged U.S. Capitol. While popular in some circles, this eclectic style of architecture usually clashed with contemporary European practices. Neither approach fully excluded the other, and the debate they occasioned in architectural circles went unresolved. Curiously, devotees of the new national architecture were either self-taught or trained in Europe, as formal education in this discipline did not begin at home until after the Civil War.

The Greek Revival in America spanned the years 1820 to 1845. From the design of chairs to the style of women's dresses, the Greek mode was enormously popular. Americans identified strongly with the Greek cause when in the 1820s Greece fought to free itself from the Ottoman Empire and Turkish despotism. The Greek War for Independence was associated with America's own valiant struggle of a few decades earlier. Americans also recognized in Greece the cradle of democracy and the fountainhead of learning, culture, and the arts. To design a chair or a building in the Greek mode was to pay allegiance to the democratic spirit and to the timelessness of Western culture. For much of the mid-19th century, the Greek Revival style dominated residential and public architecture. Many European-trained architects designed in the popular Grecian style, and the fashion spread via carpenter's guides and pattern books. It was so popular it became known as the National Style. William Strickland (1788–1854) contributed greatly to the rise of the Greek Revival style in America. Strickland was the designer of the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES building in Philadelphia,

which is a classic example of the American Greek Revival style. Strickland's influence extended from his designs to his instruction of a new generation of young architects. Among those who studied with him was Thomas Ustick Walter (1804–1887). Born in Philadelphia, Walter made the transition to architect about 1830, after several years as an apprentice in the building trades and of study with Strickland. Among his most important buildings were Girard College (1833–47) and the extension of the U.S. Capitol (1851–59). The work over his long career eventually included some 400 designs, most of them classical residences and churches.

The model for Greek Revival architecture was the ancient Greek temple, in which a series of columns support a horizontal superstructure called an entablature and a triangular pediment. (The pediment of a temple is the narrow end of a gable roof forming a triangle, often filled with a decorative relief.) In the United States, the style was based on the Greek orders: sets of building elements determined by the type of columns that were used. The columns ranged from the simple Doric, with a fluted shaft; the Ionic, with a capital shaped like an inverted double scroll; and the Corinthian, with a capital shaped in an elaborate leaflike form. The shape of the building was rectangular, with columns placed in various ways. They could be at the front of the building, full height, down the side, or all around it, and frequently they were indicated by pilasters at the corners or elsewhere on the building.

Brick and stone were the favored materials, though wood was often used and covered with a thin coat of plaster, then scored to resemble stone. The doorway was usually impressive. Paired columns with a pediment over the door, transom lights, side lights, and pilasters against the wall were all used to embellish the entry. Windows were often floor-length, double- or triple-hung. There were also often small horizontal windows set in a row under the cornice and sometimes covered by a decorative wooden or iron grille. In the early to mid-1800s Greek temples appeared everywhere from Maine to Mississippi. Colonnaded Greek Revival mansions—sometimes called Southern Colonial houses—sprang up throughout the American South. With its classic clapboard exterior and bold, simple lines, Greek Revival architecture became the predominant housing style in the United States. The public proved entirely receptive to the style, so Greek Revival was applied to all manner of buildings, including banks, courthouses, city halls, and even farmhouses. Its widespread acceptance and application render it the first truly national architectural style.

The most enduring legacy of the Greek Revival style is the gable-front 19th-century farmhouse, often ornamented by only a flat pilaster doorway or corners. Usually called the New England Farmhouse, this became a popular form

for detached urban houses in cities of the Northeast until well into the 20th century. In rural areas, the form of Greek Revival known as gable-front and wing (called, similarly, New England Farm) remained a popular form for farmhouses until the 1930s.

During the second half of the 19th century, Gothic Revival and Italianate styles captured the American imagination, and Grecian ideas faded from popularity. Most American Gothic Revival houses were built between 1840 and 1870. The Gothic Revival began in England and became the dominant style for country houses there. After it became accepted for English church building, it was promoted as the popular style for all English buildings from 1840 to 1870. In contrast to the ordered symmetry of Greek Revival, churches constructed as Gothic Revival were decidedly upswept and asymmetrical, with high pointed arches, steeples, and pinnacles much like their Medieval progenitors. Americans also liked this form, but only as one of several romantic styles to be modeled to Victorian American tastes.

The most important architect associated with the Gothic Revival style was Richard Upjohn. Born in England in 1802, in 1829 he immigrated to the United States, where he first worked in the building trades and, beginning in 1833, advertised himself as an architect. Among his first commissions were requests from the city of Boston to design street lamps and cast-iron fences and gates for the Boston Common. Upjohn's first important work was Trinity Church in New York City, which was a landmark Gothic Revival style and established Upjohn as one of the leading architects in the nation. Over the next 20 years, Upjohn designed a score of major churches and numerous minor ones, and in addition, he extended the Gothic style to domestic buildings. In 1852 he published *Upjohn's Rural Architecture*, in which he laid out a wide range of plans from cottages to churches for individuals and congregations unable to afford his personal services. Upjohn's eldest son, Richard Mitchell Upjohn, joined the firm in 1846, and in the 1860s the elder Upjohn gradually retired in favor of his son.

As a result of the economic opportunities of the Industrial Revolution, the growing middle class had more money to spend on housing and wanted to build attractive homes outside the cities in healthy surroundings. Horse-drawn railcars brought the man of the house to and from work, gas lights and indoor plumbing were becoming available, and all sorts of new devices and household machines (including iron cook stoves) were being invented. With these developments, the Gothic Revival bloomed. Perhaps the style achieved its greatest and most famous expression in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City, which was designed by James Renwick (1818–95) and constructed from 1858 to 1879. The Gothic Revival style briefly faced competi-



tion from the more ornate Romanesque Revival style of the 1840s. The Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., also designed by Renwick, is a prime example of Romanesque Revival architecture.

Alexander Jackson Davis (1803–92) was the first American architect to champion Gothic domestic buildings. Works by him include the New York Customs House (1832), now the Subtreasury; the state capitols of Indiana (1832–35), North Carolina (1831), Illinois (1837), and Ohio (1839); and a number of villas along the Hudson River, including Lyndhurst (1838–42).

But it was Davis's friend Andrew Jackson Downing (1815–52) who expanded the Gothic Revival movement with pattern books and tireless public speaking about the virtues of the style. Previous publications had shown details, parts, pieces and occasional elevations of houses, but Downing's book *Cottage Residences* (1842), was the first to show three-dimensional views complete with floor plans. The Gothic Style fed public fascination with the romance of the medieval past. Downing's books—including *Architecture for Country Houses* (1850)—offered not only designs for houses but also site and landscape plans to ensure a "happy union." Downing is considered the founder of landscape gardening in this country. While Frederick Law Olmstead (1822–1903) dealt with the grander landscapes on a larger scale, Downing dealt more with American middle-class homes and emphasized gardening and plants, as he was also a nurseryman. Like those of Olmstead, his landscapes were influenced by the English style and were natural in appearance, as he described in his book *The Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1841).

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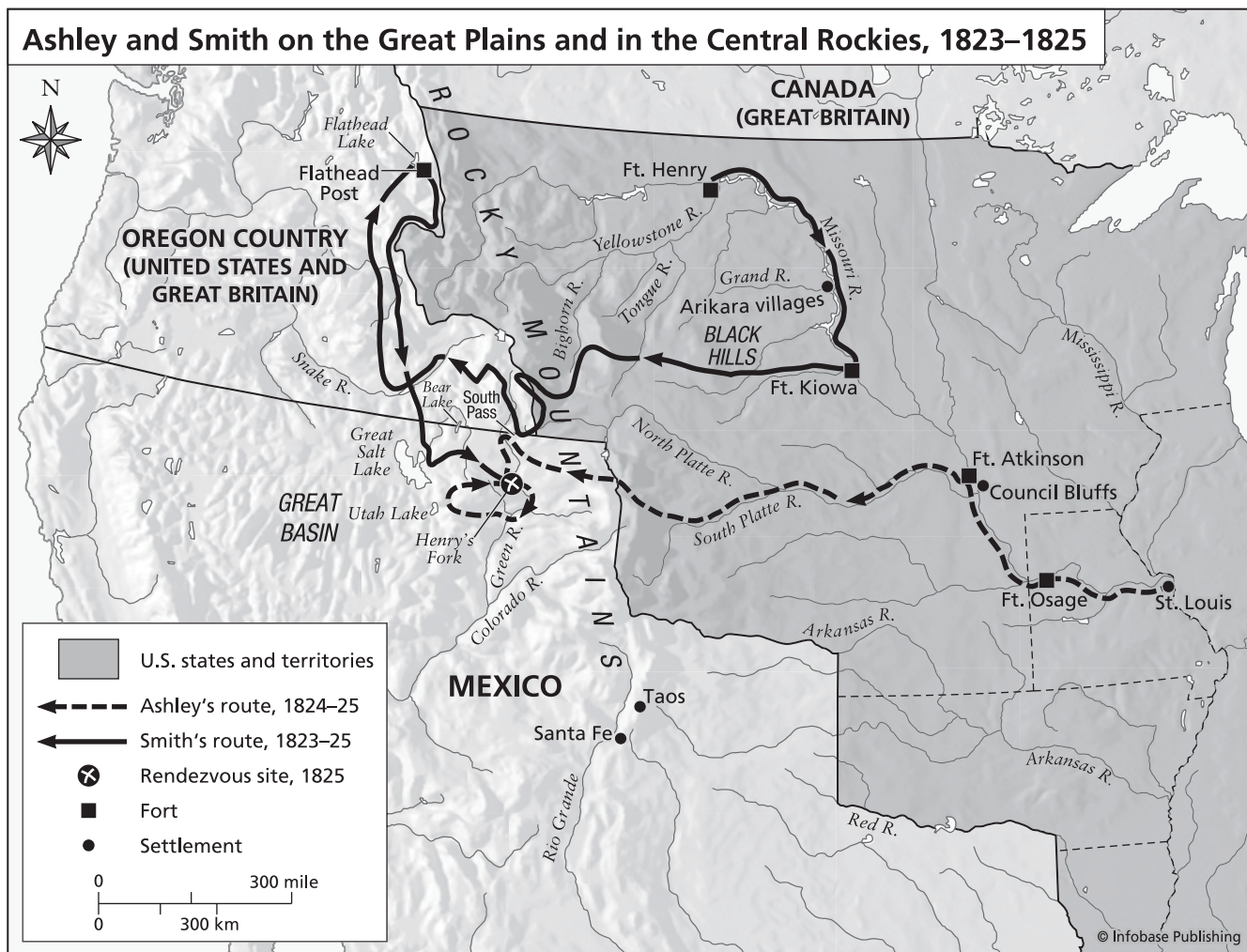
**Ashley, William Henry** (1778–1838) *American fur trader, soldier, politician*

Born in Chesterfield County, Virginia, in 1778, William Henry Ashley moved to Missouri in 1803, soon after the Louisiana Purchase had taken place. Over the next generation, he was a fur trader, land speculator, and politician. As a fur trade entrepreneur, Ashley outfitted expeditions that covered much of the Rocky Mountains and plateaus of the West. Ashley also organized the brigade system of trapping, including the annual RENDEZVOUS that would become associated with the emergence of free trappers and MOUNTAIN MEN as features of the American fur trade.

After Ashley settled in Missouri in 1803, he manufactured gunpowder and lead, items that became enormously profitable during the WAR OF 1812. As a result, when the war ended, he was a wealthy man. Ashley was also a prominent figure in the territorial (and later state) militia, where he was elected lieutenant colonel during the war and later rose to the rank of brigadier general. He would later use this title to enhance his political career, and when Missouri entered the Union in 1821, he was elected lieutenant governor.

Like many others, Ashley's economic circumstances suffered in the PANIC OF 1819, and he sought opportunities to recoup his losses. Even as he served his state in its second highest office, he remained active in fur-trade ventures. In 1822 Ashley and Andrew Henry advertised in the Missouri Gazette for "enterprising young men" to undertake an expedition into the upper Missouri. When eventually formed, the expedition was financed by Ashley and led by JEDEDIAH STRONG SMITH. Although the party of veteran fur traders penetrated as far as the Missouri's junction with the Yellowstone River, where they established Fort Henry, the opposition of the Arikara Indians was too strong. A second expedition the following year was ambushed by the Arikara, with the loss of a dozen trappers.

Concluding that the Missouri was too dangerous, Ashley sought other routes to the fur sources of the Rocky Mountains. His solution was to dispatch parties on horseback overland to the Rockies; these groups of trappers were called "brigades." One of the first overland parties, under Henry, traveled across Nebraska to reach Fort Henry on the Yellowstone. Another, under Jedediah Smith, went by way of the Black Hills to the Wind River Mountains. In early 1824 Smith's party discovered South Pass (previously discovered by Robert Stuart in 1812), which was to become a key route through the Rockies on the overland trail to California and Oregon. Ashley soon followed Smith to the rich, fur-bearing streams of the Green River Valley. He subsequently redirected the fur trade away from Canada and his main rival, the Hudson's Bay Company, and into the southern areas of the Louisiana Territory.



In autumn 1824 Ashley started out from St. Louis with supplies for the trappers who were to remain in the mountains for the winter. His pack trains succeeded in making their way through the winter snows. In April 1825 his trappers dispersed to travel and trap in small groups, agreeing to meet on the Green River in the summer of 1825 (at the close of the trapping season). The first celebrated rendezvous was held near Henry's Fort on the Green River. It was to be followed by a series of annual rendezvous, in which trappers would convene at an agreed site to drink, gamble, fight, and generally make merry, and to trade their furs for Ashley's supplies. Ashley then brought the furs out of the mountains by pack train. The annual rendezvous continued in the Rockies until 1840. Ashley was present at the first two but after the second, in 1826, he sold his business for \$16,000 to Jedediah Smith, David E. Jackson, and the William L. Sublette Company. This company was, in turn, succeeded in 1830 by the ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY. Although he had left the business and no longer par-

ticipated in the annual rendezvous, Ashley remained active in the fur trade by handling financial matters for various St. Louis companies.

Ashley's strategies changed the direction of the fur trade. Previously, trappers had been forced to sign on for service in large companies, for only such an arrangement could provide supplies on credit and physical safety in numbers during the trapping season. In return, the trappers agreed to sell their furs to the company at a specified price. Amidst this large-scale organization, so-called free trappers or free traders were rare. Ashley revived the free trappers by giving them a support and safety system in the form of brigades and supplies provided in the field. Aside from the high degree of business acumen he displayed, Ashley also understood the demands of the trappers from personal experience. His presence on the expeditions and at the first two rendezvous made him not only a planner but also a participant. Furthermore, in addition to his use of free trappers in brigades and horses as transportation,



his system supported St. Louis in its continuing connection to the fur trade, bounded on one side by the Hudson's Bay Company and on the other by the financial colossus of JOHN JACOB ASTOR'S AMERICAN FUR COMPANY. Ashley's personal bravery and ingenious business strategies for putting men in the field and supplying them made St. Louis an important city in the fur trade. Ashley himself was one of the first St. Louis-based businessmen (as opposed to Astor in New York) to make a fortune in furs.

Upon his retirement from the fur trade, the wealthy Ashley settled in St. Louis, where he pursued other trading and banking interests as well as politics. In his revived political career, he had the misfortune to be a dedicated member of the WHIG PARTY at a time when the Jacksonian Democrats had a large majority following in the state of Missouri. As a man of strong principles, Ashley refused to change his political allegiance, and he continued to campaign as a Whig throughout the next decade. As a result he failed in his campaigns for governor and senator, although he was elected to Congress for three terms, serving from 1831 to 1837. In the House of Representatives, he devoted himself to what he regarded as western interests, especially western expansion and the fur trade. Ashley also ran unsuccessfully for governor twice. He intended to run for Congress again when he was suddenly taken ill and died in 1838.

Although he was slight of stature, Ashley was acknowledged by those in the fur trade as brave and daring. He was also a natural leader in the field, perhaps reflecting his service in the militia. His business methods were enormously creative in an enterprise that had become increasingly the monopoly of two large groups, the Hudson's Bay Company and Astor's American Fur Company. Through such innovations as the trapping brigade and rendezvous, Ashley made St. Louis an important city in the fur trade. Furthermore, the geographic discoveries of those trappers in his employ would be significant in subsequent expansion across the continent.

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**Astor, John Jacob** (1763–1848) *fur trader, merchant, entrepreneur*

The son of a poor butcher in Waldorf, Germany, John Jacob Astor was born on July 17, 1763. He would become America's most notable fur trade entrepreneur, and at his death, its wealthiest citizen. Astor's early life paralleled noteworthy changes in the continent of North America that would directly influence his career. Born at the close of the

French and Indian War, in 1780 he immigrated to Great Britain, where he joined his brother George. He worked for his brother for three years, during which he learned English and saved his money for emigration to the United States.

Astor crossed the Atlantic in 1783, the same year that the Treaty of Paris confirmed America's independence. Because his vessel remained icebound in Chesapeake Bay for two months, it was not until March 1784 that Astor reached New York City, where he joined his brother Henry. Although he brought with him a modest capital in flutes, Astor's future was not in musical instruments but in the fur trade. He soon found a position in a fur store in New York City, where for two years he learned how to purchase furs in upper New York State and ship them through New York City to London. It was a lucrative business, and within two years, Astor had set up his own business.

After Jay's Treaty (1794) forced the British evacuation of the frontier posts in the Northwest Territory and reduced tensions and trade restrictions between the United States and Canada, Astor began to trade with the North West Company in Montreal. His business prospered, profiting from his astute negotiations with suppliers and his knowledge of the fur business in New York City. By 1800 he had amassed a fortune of \$250,000, making him the leading fur entrepreneur in America. It was about this time that Astor began to ship furs to China; the first trading voyage to Canton netted him \$50,000. He also made his first large purchase of New York real estate when in 1803 he bought 70 acres at the northern edge of the city, a tract that would become the heart of one of his several fortunes.

After President Thomas Jefferson acquired the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803, he dispatched Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the region. Astor immediately recognized the significance of both the purchase and the expedition for the fur trade. Lewis and Clark crossed the continent to the Pacific Coast (1804–06) through some of the richest fur-bearing landscape on the continent, and Astor fully intended to exploit their discoveries. In 1808 he founded the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY as a corporation chartered by the state of New York for \$2 million; Astor owned all the stock. At this time, the fur companies of St. Louis (the largest in the West) were each capitalized at less than \$25,000.

Astor's strategy, as it developed over years, was to establish a post at the mouth of the COLUMBIA RIVER, from which his employees would trade with Indian peoples throughout the reach of the Columbia and its tributaries. Astor's ship would then carry the furs gathered at the mouth of the Columbia to Canton, where they would be sold to Chinese merchants. The goods acquired there would be traded in Europe, and eventually the profits

would accrue to Astor in New York City. Astor calculated that on an annual basis, a single supply vessel would be sufficient to support the operation in the Pacific Northwest. In 1810 he organized the Pacific Fur Company—a direct competitor of the North West Company (Montreal) and the Hudson's Bay Company (London)—and recruited and dispatched two expeditions to the Pacific Coast. His employees founded ASTORIA at the mouth of the Columbia River in the spring of 1811, acquiring a key location in the fur trade for transshipping furs to Canton, and providing testimony to the capital that Astor was willing to invest. His triumph was brief. News of the declaration of war with Great Britain reached Astoria in January 1813. In autumn of that year, Duncan McDougall, head of Astor's operations, sold the fort and the surrounding tract of land to representatives of the North West Company for \$58,000. This sum represented only a fraction of Astor's investment. Within little more than a month, a British warship arrived at the mouth of the Columbia, and on December 12, 1813,



John Jacob Astor (Hulton/Archive)

its captain took possession of the region and renamed the post Fort George, to honor the British monarch.

Although Astoria was a severe financial loss, in other respects Astor found the war very profitable. His Manhattan real estate holdings rose in value throughout the conflict. He also profited enormously from a large loan to the federal government. By 1814 the American government was in a desperate financial situation. The WAR OF 1812 had been fought on credit, and in the face of military reverses, finances had become tight. Along with two Philadelphia bankers, Astor bought a large block of loan bonds from the government at 80 cents on the dollar. He then paid for the bonds with notes worth approximately half their face value. The war ended in less than a year, and Astor made a fortune from the government bonds. Although he always thought of himself as a patriotic citizen, he considered the war another of a series of business transactions, and he saw no reason not to take advantage of generous terms.

At the close of the war, Astor turned once again to the fur trade. The TREATY OF GHENT, signed in 1814, specified that territory seized during the war should be returned. As a result, Astor sued for the return of Astoria, but the British government argued that Astoria had been sold, not seized. In a technical sense, this was true, but Astor was able to show that the purchase price represented only a fraction of his investment. His case won, Astoria was once again in his hands.

When Astor had lost the outpost in the Pacific Northwest, he had also lost a considerable investment with it. No other entrepreneur associated with the fur trade could have absorbed such losses and remained in business. Whatever the size of Astor's operations—and they were huge—his company was an American concern at a time when the major competitors were British or Canadian. Thus, American officials at many levels applauded his aggressive plans as something that served the national interest. In 1816, at his urging, Congress passed a law that excluded foreigners from engaging in fur trading on American soil except as employees.

Astor also used his immense political power to force the U.S. government out of the fur-trade business. Under legislation passed in 1795, Congress had created a factory system through which the federal government established factories, or trading posts, to serve as a model of honest and ethical practices with Indian peoples. These government posts would offer high-quality goods at reasonable prices but without alcohol. However idealistic the concept, Indians continued to trade at the private posts, preferring traders as friends to doing business with government employees. Astor resented the federal competition, however mild. In 1822 Congress succumbed to the powerful political influence of the private American fur-trading companies and Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, the representa-

tive of fur interests in the Senate. Consequently, the private companies, reduced in number by fusion (including the melding of the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company by Act of Parliament in 1821) but strong in influence, had the field to themselves.

After the War of 1812, Astor extended his trading operations to control the fur trade from the Great Lakes to the Ohio River. He established a key post at Mackinac, through which he expanding his trading operations into the upper reaches of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. To pursue this end, in 1822 he established the western department of the American Fur Company. In so doing, he gained a virtual monopoly of the fur trade in the upper Missouri country, and his operations bankrupted many small traders.

For years, Astor was hated and feared by the St. Louis fur-trade interests, which were much smaller operations. Although one of Astor's great skills as an entrepreneur was reaching an accommodation with the competition, he was never able to do so with the traders in St. Louis. Astoria and his plans for the Pacific Northwest bypassed these competitors, but his expanded operations in the 1820s brought him increasingly into direct competition with the St. Louis companies. He mounted a direct challenge to the ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY that was characterized by his usual daring and resourceful campaign, but his efforts failed. The returns were lower than expected, and conflicts with the Indians (especially the Blackfeet) resulted in serious losses. The Rocky Mountain Fur Company was composed of some of the best trappers and traders in the history of the fur trade—the Sublette brothers, Thomas Fitzpatrick, and Jim Bridger—but these were men at home in the mountains and around the lodge fires, not in the counting house. Although they managed to hold Astor at bay, their triumph was a short one. Fashion was changing, and the fur business was in decline. In June 1834 Astor sold his fur business. It marked the close of an era in the American West.

Astor spent his remaining years in New York City. His astute investments in real estate—financed by profits from the fur trade—had made him the wealthiest man in America. More than any other individual, including WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY, Astor turned the fur trade into a profitable business. In order to survive against the rival North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, he created a series of large companies. That he succeeded was testimony to his remarkable acumen in corporate organization and in shrewdly assessing the rise and decline of the fur business. He died at his home in New York City in 1848, leaving an estate in excess of \$40 million.

**Further reading:** John Denis Haeger, *John Jacob Astor: Business and Finance in the Early Republic* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992); David Lavender, *The Fist in the Wilderness* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964).

## Astoria

JOHN JACOB ASTOR had a vision of the fur trade as a worldwide business. With furs gathered in the northern reaches of North America's streams and mountains, ships would carry the harvest around the world. In 1800 China was an especially lucrative market. Astor's first step was the organization of the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY in 1808, but he needed a separate company to open the trade to the Pacific. To this end, in 1810 he organized the Pacific Fur Company. At a time when the fur trade also represented national interests, Astor's companies represented the United States, and they were arrayed against powerful rivals: the Canadian-based North West Company and the British-owned Hudson's Bay Company. Thus as relations with England became tenser in the decade after the Louisiana Purchase (leading to the WAR OF 1812), Astor and his fur-trading companies might be seen as representing American strategic interests. Nowhere was this confrontation more evident than in the Pacific Northwest. It was there that Astor hoped to build a post, thwart the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, and establish trade with China.

The foundation of Astor's plan was information derived from the expedition of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark (1804–06). Lewis and Clark had traveled across some of the richest fur-bearing lands on the continent. Their experiences demonstrated that furs could be gathered and transported to the Pacific Coast and from there shipped to China. This could be done with less expense than shipping from the East Coast, as his rivals and he were currently doing. Astor gained additional knowledge from some Canadian friends in the North West Company who were also in competition with the Hudson's Bay Company.

To establish his post and put it into operation, Astor organized two separate parties, the first to travel to Oregon overland and the second by sea. To staff the companies, he hired the very best fur traders and explorers, most of them from the North West Company. The most important of these was Alexander McKay, who had been a member of Alexander Mackenzie's expedition to the Pacific Coast in 1793. Astor offered shares in his enterprise to McKay and other recruits from the North West Company and also signed on several veteran French-Canadian and American independent trappers. In 1810 the seagoing expedition left with 33 men on the brig *Tonquin* from New York City to sail around Cape Horn to the Oregon coast. These Astorians suffered from a tyrannical captain, who had little experience or sympathy for his cargo of fur trappers. After the vessel reached the mouth of the COLUMBIA RIVER in March 1811, the company immediately laid out the site of the future post and began construction. Within a few weeks, Captain Jonathan Thorn provoked the surrounding Indian peoples into an attack that destroyed the *Tonquin* and its crew.



The “overland Astorians” were slower but, in the end, more successful. Wilson Price Hunt’s party of 64 left St. Louis in April 1811 to cross the continent. It was a hard passage, with desertions, hostile Indians, and missed trails. The party eventually splintered into smaller groups, Hunt and his group reached the site of Astoria in February 1812, and they soon constructed the fort. Astor’s dream seemed on the verge of success; at this point, his investment was more than \$200,000.

Astor’s expensive gamble seemed to have succeeded, but then fate intervened in the form of war between the United States and Great Britain. Most of Astor’s employees were Canadian, and they did not support the United States in the conflict. In October 1813 Astor’s representative, Duncan McDougall, sold Astoria to the North West Company for \$58,000, a price that represented only a fraction of Astor’s investment in the enterprise. Within a month a British warship appeared at the mouth of the Columbia, and on December 12, 1813, its captain took possession of the fort and renamed it Fort George, in honor of the British monarch.

In October 1814 the TREATY OF GHENT ended the war between the United States and Great Britain. The terms of the treaty specified that property should be restored to a condition that had existed before the declaration of war. The trading post of Astoria had been sold, not seized, but Astor sued to recover the post on the grounds that the sale had been forced and made for only a fraction of his original investment. The international tribunal agreed.

Astor again had his post on the Pacific, but the fur trade was changing. Twenty-five years of war had impoverished much of Europe, especially the rich merchants and nobility who were the buyers for American furs. Astoria as the center of the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest had already been replaced by FORT VANCOUVER, the headquarters of the Hudson’s Bay Company operations. In 1821 Astoria was absorbed into the Hudson’s Bay Company.

In its brief history, Astoria was an important strategic location for the fur trade and a symbol of the American presence in the region. At a time when the young American nation could mount only a single expedition of exploration, an American entrepreneur, John Jacob Astor, built a trading post that flew the American flag and proclaimed America’s presence. The significance was the greater because Astoria was located at the mouth of the Columbia River, already seen as the great inland waterway of the West Coast.

**Further reading:** John Denis Haeger, *John Jacob Astor, Business and Finance in the Early Republic* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991).

### **Atkinson, Henry** (1782–1842) *U.S. Army officer*

Henry Atkinson was a professional soldier who spent much of his career on the frontier of the trans-Mississippi West. Born in North Carolina in 1782, he entered the army as a captain of the Third Infantry Regiment in 1808 and was promoted to colonel of the Sixth Infantry Regiment in May 1815. With the close of the WAR OF 1812, the American government determined to make its influence felt among the Indian nations of the trans-Mississippi West, some of whom were heretofore allied with the British. To this end, Secretary of War JOHN C. CALHOUN organized an expedition to the mouth of the Yellowstone River. Calhoun named Atkinson to command the expedition, which would include an army of 1,000 men. The main force never traveled past Council Bluffs, but in summer 1820 Atkinson dispatched parties of exploration under Major Stephen H. Long and Captain Matthew M. Magee to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains (Pike’s Peak) and to the mouth of the Minnesota River. That same summer, Atkinson was promoted to brigadier general and transferred to St. Louis, where he assumed command of the western department.

In 1824 Atkinson was given command of a second expedition to the Yellowstone River, and with 476 soldiers he left Council Bluffs on the voyage north on May 16, 1825. The group successfully reached its objective, and Atkinson opened negotiations with several Indian groups along the way. These treaties inaugurated relations between the U.S. government and several of the most important tribal groups in the interior of the continent. While on the headwaters of the Missouri River, Atkinson met WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY returning to St. Louis with furs and escorted him downriver. In autumn 1825 Atkinson returned to St. Louis and chose the site of Jefferson Barracks nearby. Two years later, he authorized the expedition of Colonel Henry Leavenworth that established FORT LEAVENWORTH in what would become eastern Kansas.

When the BLACK HAWK WAR broke out in 1832, Atkinson was in command of the U.S. force. He supervised the pursuit of the Black Hawk and his band, culminating in the Battle at Bad Axe in August 1832, when the Sauk peoples were virtually destroyed. In 1840 Atkinson directed the removal of the Winnebago people from Wisconsin to Iowa. Fort Atkinson, established that year, was a tribute to his long service on the frontier.

Atkinson died June 14, 1842, at Jefferson Barracks with the rank of brigadier general.

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**Audubon, John James** (1785–1851) *naturalist, artist*

One of America's best-known naturalists, John James Audubon is remembered principally for his bird paintings. He was born in Santo Domingo (Haiti) in 1785, the illegitimate son of Jean Audubon, a French ship captain, and Jeanne Rabin, a French domestic servant who died soon after his birth. Audubon grew up in France, where he was adopted by his biological father and his wife, Anne Moynet Audubon. As the son of a wealthy member of the bourgeoisie, Audubon studied serious academic subjects as well as music and fencing. For the most part, however, he was an indifferent student. The one subject that interested him was art—especially the depiction of natural subjects in the scientific spirit of Théodore Rousseau, George-Louis Leclerc de Buffon, and Jean-Baptiste Lamarck. He also claimed to have studied with the famous painter Jacques-Louis David, but the authenticity of this assertion is open to question. From an early age, he was interested in painting and cataloging wildlife. By the age of 15 he had created a considerable collection of drawings of French birds.

Audubon served as a naval cadet at Rochefort-sur-Mer from 1796 to 1800. After his time in the French military, he immigrated to the United States in 1803 to manage Mill Grove, an estate in Norristown, Pennsylvania, owned by his father. There he lived as a well-to-do planter, hunting and exploring his natural surroundings. Intrigued by the behavior of the local birds, he became the first person in America to conduct a “banding” experiment, tying threads to the legs of young peewees and observing their return the following year to a spot near their birthplace.

In 1808 he married Lucy Bakewell, the daughter of a neighbor. The couple subsequently moved to Louisville, Kentucky, where Audubon had established a general store with his business partner, Ferdinand Rozier. He was drawn to Louisville because of the frontier town's commercial potential and its closeness to the wildlife he wished to paint. As a recently settled part of the young nation, Kentucky was much closer to wilderness than Pennsylvania, providing Audubon with fresh ideas and numerous new birds to paint. While in Louisville, he met the Scottish ornithologist Alexander Wilson, who had come to the area to paint birds. Realizing that his own artistic efforts were superior to Wilson's, Audubon began to consider developing his hobby into a career.

In the meantime, he and Rozier continued to seek financial gain by relocating farther down the Ohio River to Henderson, Kentucky, in 1810. Their first years in Henderson were prosperous, and Audubon continued to paint new bird species he encountered on his business travels. By 1818, however, he was in debt after several businesses failed. He was forced to sell his family's belongings, and



John James Audubon (Hulton/Archive)

the Audubons moved back to Louisville, where he was jailed for a short time for failure to pay debts. He was finally bankrupted by the PANIC OF 1819. During this low period, two of the Audubons' children died in infancy. The family then moved across the Ohio River to Cincinnati, where he found work as a taxidermist at the new Western Museum. He also painted portraits and gave lessons in painting.

By 1820 Audubon had determined to end his business career and set out to publish his bird paintings. He and his assistant, Joseph Mason, embarked on an expedition to catalog and depict the birds of North America. The two men traveled down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, through Louisiana, and around the Great Lakes region, attempting to document all the birds in the United States east of the Mississippi River. Audubon created paintings of all the birds they found; in the background, Mason illustrated the plants and landscapes in which the birds lived. Audubon planned to publish his paintings in a comprehensive collection.

Audubon attempted to publish his work in the United States, but encountered scorn and opposition from the influential ornithologist Wilson. He subsequently joined



his wife and children in Louisiana, where Lucy Audubon was working as a governess and teacher to support the family. After several years of helping his wife by teaching drawing and music to her students, he used the family savings to travel to Great Britain in 1826, where he hoped to generate interest for his project. Unlike the cold response he received in New York and Philadelphia, Audubon and his ideas were greeted with great enthusiasm in Liverpool and Edinburgh, where he was elected to the Royal Society. He began to sell subscriptions to raise money for his publication, upon which he traveled to London, where he eventually secured the support of a crucial subscriber: the king. With this support, he was able to publish *The Birds of America* incrementally over the next 11 years (1827–38). The massive collection contained 435 hand-colored aquatint engravings depicting 1,065 different birds, all in life size. To pay for this extravagant book, Audubon continued to sell subscriptions to wealthy patrons for about \$1,000 each. He also returned to America to find more birds and generate more subscriptions. Later he wrote the five-volume *The Ornithological Biography* (1831–39) to complement the color plates; and a catalog of the birds, *Synopsis of Birds of North America* (1839).

His reputation established, Audubon returned to the United States in 1839. He purchased an estate on the Hudson River, which he named Minnie's Land. He also began working on *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*, in which he planned to document mammals in the same manner that he did birds. Various sections of his work were published incrementally between 1842 and 1854 and included 150 hand-colored lithographs. By the late 1840s, Audubon was becoming senile. Thus, his son, John Woodhouse Audubon, painted or completed roughly half of the illustrations in *Viviparous Quadrupeds*.

John James Audubon envisioned his subjects romantically, showing the beauty and grace he saw in the natural world. He created anthropomorphic compositions that showed birds and animals as heroic Americans. Despite this tendency to idealize his subjects (and to place them in anatomically unrealistic poses), his paintings are closely observed and remain scientifically and historically significant. His works also provide important documentation of the American landscape that was altering quickly during his lifetime. Audubon died on January 27, 1851, at his Hudson River home.

**Further reading:** Richard Rhodes, *John James Audubon: The Making of an American* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004); Shirley Streshinsky, *Audubon: Life and Art in the American Wilderness* (New York: Villard Books, 1993); Alexander D. Wainwright, ed. *John James Audubon* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960).

### **Austin, Moses** (1761–1821) *businessman*

An important figure in the early American lead industry and later a pioneer American entrepreneur in the settlement of TEXAS, Moses Austin was born in Durham, Connecticut. Orphaned at 15, he worked in the family dry goods business in Middletown, Connecticut, and later in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Eventually, he moved his general merchandising business to Richmond, Virginia, where he became interested in lead mining and processing. In 1789 he gained control of Virginia's richest lead deposits, and three years later he imported experienced lead miners and smelter workers from England. In so doing, he established the American lead industry, but his expanded ambition led him to look west.

In 1797 Austin moved to Missouri, then in Spanish upper Louisiana, where he acquired the rights to a rich lead deposit. There, near present-day Potosi, he established what was perhaps the first Anglo-American settlement west of the Mississippi River in what was to become Missouri. Near Potosi, he opened LEAD MINES and soon built smelting furnaces. Austin brought with him the advanced techniques that he had put into place in Virginia, and his Missouri lead enterprise soon prospered. With the most efficient smelting furnaces, he soon outdistanced his competitors, gradually taking control of the lead mining and smelting in the region. His techniques were to become standard in the lead industry for the next two generations, changing only after the Civil War. He also established a town at Herculaneum as a point from which to ship his lead product downriver.

Although Austin made a substantial fortune, his economic prospects, like so many others at the time, fell victim to the changing international situation. After Thomas Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803, Missouri was a part of the new, enlarged United States, and Austin was once more a citizen of the republic. As Jefferson and his successor, James Madison, attempted to deal with worsening relations with Great Britain, they tried a variety of strategies, including an embargo and on-intercourse acts forbidding trade with European belligerents. None of these would work, and finally Madison sent a declaration of war to Congress in spring 1812. The prolonged controversy of the previous decade had severely disrupted those portions of the American economy concerned with trade and exports. Austin's lead-mining enterprises suffered, and his substantial fortune disappeared. His economic prospects continued to decline with the depression that followed the end of the war. In 1816 Austin left Potosi and his lead mines to the management of his son, STEPHEN F. AUSTIN. By this time, he had become a prominent citizen of the territory. To bring relief to his economic difficulties and the hardships of others,

he helped to establish a bank in St. Louis. The enlarged money supply would have assisted all debtors. Unfortunately, the bank fell victim to the economic crunch associated with the PANIC OF 1819. Austin was now on the edge of bankruptcy.

It was at this point, in 1819, that he developed a plan to settle an American colony in what was then Spanish Texas. He was spurred in this direction by the economic crisis of 1819, whose baneful results had created a substantial pool of willing immigrants; and also by the recent ADAMS-ONÍS TREATY, which laid out the boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase. In 1820, Austin traveled to San Antonio de Bexar to make the case for his colony to Spanish officials. His argument was that he was a former subject of the Spanish king (in Spanish Louisiana before 1803), that he proposed to swear loyalty again to the monarch, and that in exchange for a substantial grant of land he would provide a large number of settler families who would also become Spanish subjects.

The Spanish governor refused his request, but Austin was persistent. Working through influential friends, he eventually convinced the governor to accept the plan. In March 1821 officials notified Austin that he had received a land grant of some 200,000 acres, which he could settle with 300 families in accordance with the conditions that he had proposed. Austin would choose the families and serve as the intermediary between his colony and government officials. In exchange for a generous grant of land, the immigrants would swear allegiance to the Spanish Crown and become Catholic. Austin returned to St. Louis and was preparing to carry out the provisions of his grant when he became ill from the effects of his trip and died. He left the responsibilities of the colonization scheme to his son, Stephen Austin.

**Further reading:** David B. Gracy, *Moses Austin: His Life* (San Antonio, Tex.: Trinity University Press, 1987).

**Austin, Stephen F.** (1793–1836) *diplomat, settler*

The most important figure in the American colonization of Spanish and later Mexican Texas, Stephen Fuller Austin was the son of MOSES AUSTIN. Born in Virginia, Austin attended Yale College and Transylvania University. His formal schooling ended, he moved to Missouri, assisting his father in lead mining and in the mercantile business in Potosi. The younger Austin was a public figure of some importance in the early history of the territory, serving as a militia officer and a member of the Missouri Territorial Legislature from 1814 to 1820. With the decline of the family fortunes in Missouri, Stephen Austin moved to Arkansas Territory in 1820, where he accepted

an appointment as judge in the first circuit court. He left before assuming the judgeship, however, traveling downriver to New Orleans, where he read law and worked on a newspaper. In 1821, when Austin was 27 years old, his father died. He returned to Missouri and prepared to carry out the TEXAS colonization project that Moses Austin had begun. Although he was originally skeptical of his father's plans to colonize Texas, Stephen Austin eventually became a wholehearted convert and entered into the arrangement with enthusiasm and great intelligence.

In implementing his father's plans, Austin was to exhibit extraordinary qualities of tact and patience in the face of continually changing circumstances. He visited Texas in 1821, confirmed the arrangement to settle 300 families, and selected the Brazos and Colorado River valleys as the site of his colony. His colonists arrived at the site in late 1821, but in the meantime Mexico had established its independence from Spain. As the holder of a Spanish land grant, Austin became the object of suspicion for his loyalty to the Spanish colonial government. In the face of these mounting difficulties, he journeyed to the capital, Mexico City, to make his case to the government of the new, independent Mexican nation. Austin had to wait a year for his colonization plan to be confirmed, but he was a patient man who used the time wisely in the study of language and history of his new country. He also made numerous influential friends in the new government.

Austin returned to his colony in Texas with great authority. In an attempt to establish order in its distant north, the Mexican government had made him chief executive, judge, and military commander. Perhaps most significant, he had absolute authority in granting land to settlers. By 1825 Austin had met the terms of his original grant, settling some 300 families on his huge tract. The passage of a general colonization law spelled out the terms under which Austin had acted. This system, reflecting the original Austin colony, named agents of the government, known as *empresarios*, to contract for the introduction of families into Texas. The empresarios were responsible for selecting the families, granting lands, and maintaining order. Settler families chosen were entitled to as much as a league of land (4,428 acres) under generous terms. In exchange for these responsibilities, empresarios received large land grants from the government and great authority over the immigrants. Several individuals contracted with the Mexican government under this system, but Austin was the most prominent in both influence and numbers. Under the law, Austin contracted in 1825, 1827, and 1828 to bring in 900 families; he succeeded in settling more than 750. The scale of his work was astonishing, and his influence was in like proportion. As land grantee and governor, Austin distributed—and settled innumerable disputes over—land titles. Increasingly, he also

mediated relations between Mexican officials in Texas and the Anglo-American settlers. The terms of the land grants specified that the settler families should become Roman Catholic and citizens of Mexico. In reality, the American settlers paid little attention to such provisions.

During the first decade of the colonization of Texas, Austin labored tirelessly on behalf of the Mexican government, to whom he gave complete and unqualified allegiance, and on behalf of his colony and its settler families. Among the many items to which he gave his attention were the land system, mapping the state of Texas, pacification of the Indians, and the growing commercial functions of the American colony. He supervised the construction and operation of cotton gins and saw mills and also promoted the construction of public schools. Throughout his work on all these projects, he maintained great influence with the government in Mexico City. Indeed, he persuaded the government to permit the continued introduction of slaves into the Texas colony at a time when the government of Mexico was committed to the abolition of slavery in the nation at large.

The very success of the colonization system generally and Austin's colony in particular aroused growing concerns on the part of both the colonists and the Mexican officials. By 1830 the newly arrived American colonists in Texas had become increasingly numerous. These Americans were predominantly Protestant and indifferent or even hostile to the government of Mexico and its officials. When a new Mexican law in 1830 forbade the immigration of Americans into Texas, Austin worked for its repeal. At the same time, his role as arbiter between the growing tide of American settlers and the Mexican officials in the state of Coahuila-Texas and Mexico City was becoming increasingly more difficult. The Americans were impatient with Mexican authorities and their insistence on observance of local and national laws. Mexican officials thought of American Texans as disrespectful of Mexican authority and indifferent to the conditions under which they had been granted their lands. In the midst of these divergent views, Austin advised patience and tolerance in permitting Mexican officials to work out relations with the Texas colonists. Austin's neutrality extended to Mexico itself, where, in spite of his influence, he never entered into the many national political contests. Instead, he continued to argue that the interests of Texas and Texans were best served in the long run by their continuing loyalty as citizens of Mexico.

However, events in Mexico City that Austin could not control made his counsel moot. In 1832 General ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA seized power in Mexico, and his authority was soon absolute. Declaring that democracy was not appropriate for the nation of Mexico, Santa Anna abolished the federal constitution of 1824. Texans began to organize in defense of what they saw as their rights. A

convention called in 1833 petitioned the federal government of Mexico for a separation of the states of Coahuila and Texas and the establishment of a separate state government in Texas. It also urged a series of judicial reforms to make the legal system more responsible to the needs of Texas settlers. As the most influential Texan and a known Mexican loyalist, the convention chose Austin to carry the petitions to Mexico City and plead for their acceptance. Austin himself thought the reforms appropriate, that the separation of Texas was the only way to prevent a separatist movement. But he suspected that the conventions and the petitions would be seen in Mexico City as little short of treason. He was soon proved right. Many officials in Mexico had long viewed the establishment of a separate state of Texas as a prelude to a revolution for independence on the part of Texans. In the political confusion of Mexico City, Austin and his arguments were seen as the essence of disloyalty. Mexican officials charged Austin with organizing a rebellion in Texas and imprisoned him. He was incarcerated for a year and then under house arrest for another six months. As Santa Anna moved to consolidate his power and bring Mexico under his authority, Austin—the one figure who might have found a compromise—was under arrest in Mexico City. Never brought to trial, he was finally released in July 1835 under a general amnesty law.

Austin returned to find Texas in revolt. Santa Anna's attempts to unite all of Mexico (including Texas) under his authority by force had generated grave apprehension. In spite of his imprisonment, Austin remained opposed to Texas independence. He thought Texans were not strong enough to establish independence, and he thought the interests of Texas were best served by a political alliance with Santa Anna's opponents in Mexico City. But before Austin could organize a convention to draft a response to the crisis, he was overtaken by a series of events beyond his control. Armed clashes between Texan military groups and elements of the Mexican army made his efforts at compromise no longer credible. As Texans struggled to organize a military resistance to what they regarded as an invasion of their homeland, military leaders such as SAM HOUSTON came to prominence as civil leaders like Austin faded in influence.

In the aftermath of military disasters at THE ALAMO, Austin was briefly head of the new revolutionary government of Texas and commander of its armed forces. Acceding to the argument that he was the Texan best known to the American people, he undertook a diplomatic mission to the United States. He served in this capacity from 1835 to 1836, while Houston became commander of the Texas army. Although Austin was warmly received by the American people, the government of ANDREW JACKSON attempted to maintain a neutral stance regarding the conflict in Texas. Accordingly, Jackson was cool to the idea of annexation.

After Houston's decisive victory at San Jacinto assured Texan independence, Austin returned to Texas. Although he had been the most influential and significant Texan over the previous 15 years, he lost decisively in September 1836 to Houston in the contest for president of the Republic of Texas. Houston's decisive triumph confirmed the preference of citizens for the military in the aftermath of a successful revolution. Austin accepted Houston's offer to serve in the new government, and he was appointed secretary of state for the new republic. He died in December 1836 at the age of 43. He never married and was survived by his sister and her children.

Austin was slight of stature and never robust. His health was seriously damaged by his 18 months (six in solitary confinement) in a jail in Mexico City. It is one of the ironies of that period in Texas and Mexican history that he had gone to Mexico City in search of a compromise that would keep Texas a part of the Republic of Mexico. His physical condition continued to deteriorate under the stresses of trying to influence a society on the edge of a revolution for independence, and later, as a diplomat dispatched to the United States.

Although Austin did not prove successful in taking control of a revolution that demanded military leaders, he was

ideally suited to the role of colonizer that he practiced so successfully for 15 years. He was an excellent manager, whether in his father's store in Potosi or in planning the settlement of the hundreds of families who would settle on his grants. His early sojourn in Mexico City gave him an understanding of language and culture that no other Texans could match. Having accepted the land and trust of the Republic of Mexico, he was intensely loyal to that country, and he worked tirelessly in search of compromises that would keep Texas a part of the republic. Austin's very success proved, in the end, his undoing. His Texan colonies (in addition to the hundreds of families brought in by other empresarios) created a presence that looked north to the United States rather than south to Mexico City. Few leaders on the American frontier made such an impact; and it is for this reason that Stephen F. Austin is considered the Father of Texas, at least the independent Republic of Texas and, later, the state of Texas, after its annexation by a U.S. joint resolution in 1845.

**Further reading:** Eugene C. Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin, Founder of Texas, 1793–1836* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1929); Gregg Cantrell, *Stephen F. Austin, Empresario of Texas* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999).







### **Baltimore, Battle of** (September 12–14, 1814)

As a result of this battle in the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15), the British were driven back during their offensive in the Chesapeake Bay region. After they had burned Washington, D.C., the British turned their attention to the northern Chesapeake Bay and the seaport of Baltimore. This city had commissioned many privateers that wreaked havoc on British commerce. Baltimore was also the seedbed of strong Anglophobia and thus domestic support for the war. On the morning of September 12, British general Robert Ross landed 4,500 troops at North Point, about 14 miles from the city. As they proceeded to Baltimore, they were met by 3,200 American militia led by General John Stricker. Although they forced the Americans to retreat, the British suffered heavy casualties, and an American sharpshooter killed Ross. The next day, demoralized by the loss of their commanding officer and confronted by even more American troops dug in just outside of Baltimore, the British decided to halt their assault by land.

At the same time, Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane conducted an unsuccessful naval approach up the Patapsco River. Cochrane had hoped to capture Fort McHenry, defended by 1,000 Americans, and thus support the British land attack. Cochrane used bomb-and-rocket ships to fire more than 1,500 rounds at the fort on September 13 and 14. This spectacular bombardment did little serious damage, killing only four and wounding 24 Americans. An attempt to send 1,200 men in barges to force their way up the river to Baltimore was driven back by American fire from the shore. The British withdrew and left the Chesapeake area. As they did so, they liberated more than 2,000 runaway slaves, most of whom subsequently settled in British Maritime Canada.

The inability to capture Baltimore, after their great success in sacking the nation's capital, reflected the difficulty the British had in invading any population center. Despite their superior training and firepower and their ability to capture territory, the 10,000–15,000

American militia in Baltimore provided too strong a defense.

The Battle of Baltimore is also noteworthy as the inspiration for FRANCIS SCOTT KEY's "Star Spangled Banner." Key had boarded a British ship to negotiate the release of a prisoner of war. Although he was successful in this effort, the British did not allow him to return to the American lines until after the bombardment of Fort McHenry. Key thus watched the "rockets' red glare" and the "bombs bursting in air" throughout the night of September 13 and 14. In the morning, despite the tremendous uproar and incredible fireworks, and with the American flag somewhat tattered, Fort McHenry remained in American hands. Inspired by this sight, Key penned the words, which he put to the MUSIC of an 18th-century drinking tune. The song became popular instantly, and Congress made it the national anthem in 1931.

**Further reading:** Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

### **Baltimore & Ohio Railroad**

Chartered by Maryland in 1827, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad (B&O) was the first railway projected westward over the Allegheny Mountains to the Ohio Valley. The businessmen of Baltimore were worried about the increased western trade that New York City was gaining from the ERIE CANAL. They feared that the NATIONAL ROAD could not successfully compete with either the Erie or a proposed canal system planned by Pennsylvania. The Baltimore leaders soon decided that a railroad to the West was the answer to the commercial competition from the North. Of the \$3 million of capital stock issued by the company under the charter, the state of Maryland took \$1 million and the city of Baltimore \$500,000, while the remainder was made available to individuals and corporations. The company was

organized in April 1827, and a merchant banker from Baltimore, Philip E. Thomas, was elected president. Surveying parties were sent out to seek a route to the Potomac, and the first stone for the new railroad was laid on July 4, 1828.

The first track was laid in the English standard gauge of 4 feet, 8 1/2 inches in October 1829; in May 1830 daily passenger service was started from Baltimore to Ellicotts Mills, 13 miles west of Baltimore. Horses pulled the first trains on the B&O even though some experts thought steam locomotion was practical. A small experimental steam engine, the Tom Thumb, built by Peter Cooper, convinced the B&O directors that steam power was possible; in 1831 they ordered steam locomotives for their road. B&O officials soon learned that such locomotives could pull moderate loads up a 2-percent inclined plane, an important ability considering the mountainous terrain of western Maryland and Virginia. In fact, the multitude of engineering problems faced and solved by B&O officials was so great that D. Kimball Minor, the editor of *American Railroad Journal*, described the Baltimore & Ohio as the Railroad University of the United States.

The B&O reached Frederick, 61 miles west of Baltimore, late in 1831 and Harpers Ferry in 1837. A 32-mile branch to Washington, D.C., was opened in 1835. By 1836, the revenue on the 84-mile Main Stem to Harpers Ferry was \$281,000, more than 40 percent of which came from passenger service.

Under the presidency of Louis McLane (1836–48) much of the original line of the B&O was upgraded, and the line was pushed westward to Cumberland. Late in 1842, the line to Cumberland, the eastern terminal of the National Road 128 miles west of Baltimore, was opened to service. Important coal mines were located in the Cumberland area, and by 1848 coal moving to Baltimore made up 40 percent of eastbound tonnage. Thomas Swann, who succeeded McLane as president from 1848 to 1853, financed the building of the B&O over the mountains of Western Virginia to Wheeling by obtaining new stock subscriptions and selling bonds in England. The last rails of the new line to Wheeling were laid on December 24, 1852. Between 1851 and 1857, a second route to the Ohio River (the B&O-controlled Northwestern Virginia Railroad) was built. The 104-mile road ran from Grafton, 100 miles west of Cumberland, to Parkersburg, 90 miles downstream from Wheeling. By 1860 B&O revenue on the 379-mile main stem from Baltimore to Wheeling amounted to \$4 million. The economic importance of the growing B&O was reflected in the population of the city of Baltimore, which climbed from 80,000 in 1830 to 212,000 in 1860.

John W. Garrett, a Baltimore commission merchant and banker, became the B&O president in 1858, a position he would hold until his death in 1884. He was a champion

of the individual shareholder and successfully pushed for more frequent dividends on the common stock. He also ran the company during the crisis of the Civil War, which came early to the Baltimore & Ohio when John Brown stopped a B&O passenger train during his raid on the U.S. arsenal at Harpers Ferry in October 1859. Because of its location in a border state, the B&O was destined to experience far more than its share of the violence and destruction in the Civil War. Early in the conflict Garrett spoke of the line as a “southern” railroad, but the increasing destruction of B&O property by Colonel Thomas J. (Stonewall) Jackson led him to speak of Confederates as “rebels.” Because of the destruction, portions of the B&O in the mountains of Virginia could not be fully restored for weeks and months at a time. In early autumn 1863 Garrett played a major role in helping to direct the rail movement of 25,000 Union troops from Washington, D.C., via the B&O and other lines in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee, to the aid of General Rosencrans near Chattanooga. Throughout the war, the Baltimore & Ohio line to Washington, D.C., was the only rail connection to the nation’s capital. Despite the destruction it suffered, the B&O prospered during the war years. By 1865 annual revenue on the main stem was up to \$10 million.

In the years after Civil War, John Garrett greatly expanded his railroad. In the late 1860s he started to build two giant wrought-iron bridges across the Ohio River. Between 1868 and 1873 he built the metropolitan branch northwest of Washington and linked it with the main stem near Point of Rocks. In the early 1880s Garrett began to build a line into Philadelphia.

The B&O, which was operating only 520 miles of line in 1865, had grown to a rail network of 1,700 miles by 1884. Most of the expansion had been paid for with borrowed money rather than new share capital. During the postwar years, Garrett’s railroad had engaged in several rate wars with the Pennsylvania, the New York Central, and the Erie, with the final result being a general lowering of freight rates. During the late 1880s and early 1890s, operating expenses on the B&O climbed faster than the total revenue. On March 1, 1896, the Baltimore & Ohio was placed in the hands of receivers.

**Further reading:** Edward Hungerford, *The Story of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad: 1827–1927* (New York: Putnam’s, 1928); John Stover, *History of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 1987).

### banking and currency

As institutions that safeguard, lend, invest, and exchange money, banks have been vital to economic growth since

the earliest days of the United States. With the economy expanding vigorously in the early 19th century, issues related to the country's banking and currency, or the medium of exchange, were hotly debated. For 50 years from 1791 to 1841, the focus of the debate was the Bank of the United States, a federally created central bank that housed the federal government's revenues and acted as its fiscal agent. The Bank of the United States was established twice, the first time in 1791, over opposition from Thomas Jefferson, who claimed that the Constitution did not grant Congress the authority to create a bank. Shortly afterward, in 1792, a national currency was established, using the decimal system of coinage, with the dollar as the national monetary unit. A mint to produce currency was established in 1794.

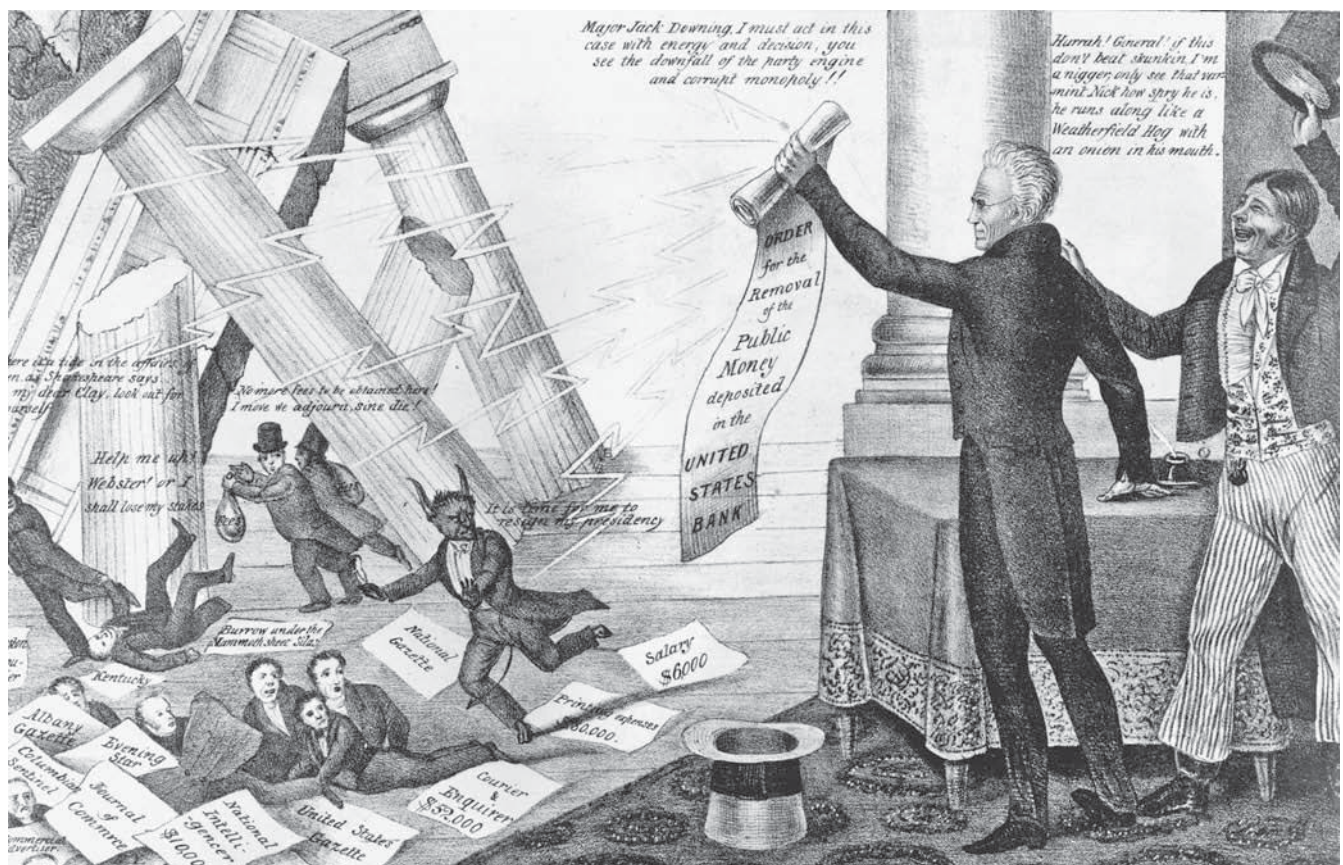
With eight branches in major cities, the first Bank of the United States issued banknotes exchangeable for gold as legal tender and operated a commercial business, making loans to state-chartered banks (known as state banks) and to the public at large. State banks issued their own paper money, but the central bank exerted a conserva-

tive influence by refusing to accept state banknotes not redeemable in specie, or gold and silver actually possessed in their vaults.

State banks varied considerably in their structure throughout the antebellum period. Some were state monopolies, with the state as principal stockholder and all other banks prohibited. In other states, competing, privately owned banks were permitted, while in still others, no banks were allowed.

In any case, the Bank of the United States was opposed by state bankers, who chafed at the restrictions on their activity, and by those who followed Jefferson in favoring agrarian interests over mercantile interests. Because of the heavy political opposition, the bank's 20-year charter went unrenewed in 1811, and the first Bank of the United States went out of existence.

Events soon prompted Congress to reconsider. During the WAR OF 1812, the lack of a central bank made it difficult for the federal government to finance the war. Financial chaos spread as 120 new banks were chartered in the wake of the first bank's demise, often with little regulation



In this cartoon, President Andrew Jackson refuses to renew the charter of the Bank of the United States. Pandemonium ensues amid "The Downfall of Mother Bank." (Hulton/Archive)



and a tendency to extend credit out of proportion with their reserves. Many of these banks failed. In 1816 Congress granted a 20-year charter for a SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, this one even larger, with \$35 million in capital stock and, eventually, 25 branches. Its constitutionality was affirmed in *MCCULLOCH V. MARYLAND* (1819), in which the Supreme Court decided that the federal government was permitted to operate a national bank exempt from state regulation.

The Second Bank of the United States had a rocky start. Its first president, William Jones, encouraged over-speculation by state banks and nearly ruined the institution. The second president, Langdon Cheves, appointed in 1819, rescued the bank by calling in loans and foreclosing mortgages, but many state banks were too overextended to pay their debts, and hundreds of businesses closed down, ruining investors. The result was the PANIC OF 1819, a depression that sent prices tumbling and unemployment soaring, and left widespread enmity against the bank as a ruthless institution answerable to no one.

In 1823 Nicholas Biddle became president of the second bank. Under his management, the bank prospered and the nation's currency was stabilized, counteracting the inflationary tendencies of the era and earning a degree of public approval. To get around congressional restrictions on the bank's printing of small-denomination notes, Biddle created branch drafts, bank-issued checks payable to the bearer that served as a uniform, stable form of money.

While many Americans supported the second bank, others opposed it, especially state bankers, thwarted credit-seekers, and small farmers who argued that it served the exclusive interests of wealthy businessmen in the East. The champion of the antibank movement was ANDREW JACKSON, a self-made backwoodsman and war hero who claimed to defend the small farmers of the South and West against the eastern moneyed elite. The first candidate of the emerging Democratic Party, Jackson narrowly lost the election of 1824 but won in 1828, setting the stage for a struggle with Congress over the Second Bank of the United States.

With the encouragement of Senator HENRY CLAY, Biddle applied to renew the bank's charter four years early, in 1832, and both houses of Congress passed a bill to do so. But in July 1832 President Jackson vetoed the bill, arguing that some of the bank's powers and privileges were "unauthorized by the Constitution, subversive of the rights of the States, and dangerous to the liberties of the people." He even charged that the bank had interfered in the electoral process by using bank funds to try to defeat him in the 1828 election. Jackson's veto set off what became known as the Bank War.

Reelected in 1832, Jackson took his electoral victory as a mandate to destroy the bank, which he called "this

hydra of corruption." In 1833 he and the bank's supporters waged war against each other with all the legal means at their disposal. Jackson ordered Secretary of the Treasury William Duane to withdraw federal funds from the bank. When Duane refused, Jackson fired him and replaced him with Roger B. Taney, who removed the funds as ordered and distributed them among selected state banks known as "pet banks." In 1834 the Senate fought back by adopting two resolutions to censure Jackson and rejecting Taney's permanent appointment to the Cabinet. Jackson formally protested the censures, which were removed from the Senate record in 1837. Bank president Biddle restricted credit and called in state bank loans. With public opinion supporting Jackson, Biddle was pressured into restoring the credit and loans.

In 1836 the second bank's charter was not renewed, but Biddle obtained a state charter from Pennsylvania, and the bank became known as the Bank of the United States of Pennsylvania. The reconstructed institution didn't last long. With the bank's finances rocked by the PANIC OF 1837, Biddle resigned as its president in 1839, and the bank's doors closed in 1841.

The panic of 1837 was a worldwide depression, but its particular force in the United States could be traced to the Bank War and to Jackson's policy of transferring federal funds to the pet banks. Thanks to income from tariffs and the sale of western public lands, Jackson succeeded in paying off the national debt, but this economic good news was short-lived. The surplus of government funds was deposited in the pet banks, which, unhampered by federal oversight, used the monies for risky speculation. In an era of economic expansion, there was no shortage of ventures craving capital, including land deals, industrial projects, and canal and railroad construction. The pet banks over-extended credit to these ventures by issuing banknotes that greatly exceeded their specie reserves. Following their example, wildcat banks, so called for their financial recklessness, did the same, particularly in the West. State banks freely printed paper money, until there were hundreds of different kinds of notes in circulation. The ratio of paper notes to gold or silver reached 12 to 1.

Under these conditions, inflation mushroomed, as prices climbed to keep up with the perceived low value of the money in circulation. Interest rates rose, as the Bank of England, suspicious of the stability of the U.S. boom, raised the interest rates it charged to American borrowers. Since the U.S. government accepted paper money for sales of western land, speculators eagerly bought up vast tracts, leaving the government with banknotes of questionable value while the speculators made exorbitant profits by reselling the land to settlers.

In 1836, alarmed at the growing chaos, Jackson issued the Specie Circular, which decreed that henceforth only

gold and silver coin would be accepted for the purchase of public lands. The presidential order brought a halt to the speculation, but it also led to the collapse of the pet banks. Taking the Specie Circular as a vote of nonconfidence in paper money, investors rushed in panic to their banks to demand that their banknotes be exchanged for gold and silver. The banks lacked enough specie reserve to pay all the debts, so they called in loans that borrowers could not repay. Banks closed, businesses failed, investors were ruined, production ground to a halt, and many people were thrown out of work. The ensuing depression lasted for seven years.

In the midst of the economic calamity, newly elected president MARTIN VAN BUREN, handpicked by Jackson as his successor, tried to prevent a recurrence of the damage done by Jackson's policy of placing federal funds in pet banks. In 1837 he proposed that federal funds be placed in an independent treasury, or subtreasury, separate from all banks. The proposal met with much congressional opposition and failed to pass in three successive sessions. Congress finally enacted it in 1840, founding the Independent Treasury System. By that time, Van Buren's political support was so low that he was easily defeated in the 1840 election by WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, the candidate of the WHIG PARTY that had formed in the 1830s to oppose Jackson.

In 1841, before the Independent Treasury act could be completely carried out, congressional Whigs repealed it, hoping to establish a new central bank with Harrison's support. But Harrison died only one month after taking office, and his successor, JOHN TYLER, a former Jacksonian Democrat, alienated the Whigs by vetoing the bills that would have restored the Bank of the United States. In 1844, the Democrats won back the presidency, and in 1846 the Independent Treasury System was resurrected. Public revenues were to be stored in the Treasury building and in subtreasuries across the country. All payments to and by the federal government were to be in specie, and the Treasury would be completely independent of the country's banking system. In practice, however, the Treasury continued to exert influence on the banking system, because specie payments to and by the government affected the amount of gold and silver in circulation.

The Independent Treasury System was not ideal. It did restrain overspeculation, but it also kept gold and silver out of the market and tightened credit more than was necessary. The effect was to dampen legitimate economic expansion in good times and delay economic recovery in bad times.

Meanwhile, the banking and currency system underwent its own changes. Free-banking laws, enacted in New York in 1838 and adopted by about half the states by 1860, widened the banking system by permitting anyone to open

a bank who complied with stated statutory conditions. The number of banks swelled, each issuing its own banknotes. States imposed regulations on the banks, including reserve requirements and mandatory reports to public officials. Yet counterfeiting, speculation, and other abuses were commonplace. By 1852 nine of the 31 states, convinced that banks were incorrigible, prohibited banking altogether. Some have called the period from the demise of the Second Bank of the United States to the early 1860s the dark decades of American banking.

The situation did not improve substantially until the Civil War, when military necessity led Congress to revisit the Independent Treasury System and reform the banking system. The National Currency Act (1863) and the National Bank Act (1864) created a national banking system and national currency alongside the state banking system. The national currency took hold as a uniform medium of exchange after a tax on nonnational banknotes in 1865 made them unprofitable for their issuers. The Civil War-era legislation also established exceptions to the bans against placing government funds in private banks and paying the government with paper. Nevertheless, the subtreasuries continued in existence until 1921.

Also in flux throughout the early 19th century was the preferred metal for coining. At this time America's monetary system was on a bimetallic standard, in which both gold and silver could be coined without limit and were legally acceptable for payments. The ratio of value between gold and silver was fixed by legislation; for example, the Coinage Act of 1792 made 15 ounces of silver equivalent to one ounce of gold, a mint ratio of 15:1. In practice the commercial value of the metals was always changing, so that one metal was usually worth more on the open market than the mint ratio indicated. That metal was usually hoarded by members of the public, who tended to pay their debts with the commercially cheaper metal. In the early 19th century the commercial value of one ounce of gold was higher than 15 ounces of silver, so gold was hoarded as a metal while silver was coined and used as money. However, relatively few coins were minted each year, and paper money and foreign coins were widely used. In the Coinage Acts of 1834 and 1837, Congress changed the mint ratio to 16:1, and silver became undervalued at the mint. After 1849, with the commercial value of gold falling because of gold strikes in California, silver became the metal to hoard while gold was increasingly minted and used as money. In 1873, the United States shifted to a gold standard, abandoning bimetallicism altogether.

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—George Ochoa

### Bank of the United States, Second (1816–1836)

The Second Bank of the United States existed between 1816 and 1836 as a controversial institution of national finance and economic regulation. The bank came into being in 1816, following the national financial difficulties that became clear during the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15). The war had been fought without benefit of a national bank, owing to its rejection by a divided Congress in 1811. Since 1814 members of Congress and a few wealthy Jeffersonian (Democratic-Republican) merchants had been publicly attempting to bring back a national bank. In 1816 President James Madison proposed a new national bank to institute and maintain a stable national currency in the absence of a consistent currency from the state banks. To Madison and the bank's supporters, the war had exposed considerable problems stemming from the lack of a national institution to raise revenue and stabilize the money supply.

The second bank's 20-year charter passed both houses of Congress and was signed into law by Madison in 1816. It represented one component of the economic nationalism that had become popular in the postwar years. Other components of economic nationalism included protectionist legislation and national INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS. The prevailing theory behind the idea was to develop a more economically independent nation that was based on domestic production rather than foreign commerce. Maintaining a stable source of capital for the federal government was key to this effort and the overriding reason for another national bank.

The bank was established at a difficult financial moment due to a growing currency crisis over too many different and unequal banknotes in circulation. Under the direction of bank president William Jones, the new bank soon implemented a strict policy to build up its own reserves of hard money (specie) as a way to develop its own credit and satisfy a new United States Treasury requirement that all payments to the federal government be in specie. However, the plan did not work, and the bank soon resorted to borrowing specie from abroad and severely curtailing its own lending. The bank's actions contributed to the financial chaos that ensued as notes issued by rural southern and western banks plummeted in value and the central bank had no ability to provide regulation or direction. A severe economic depression took place in part due to the national financial problems, which coalesced into the PANIC OF 1819.

The bank's early years were also marked by substantial political and legal controversy. Many Americans remained unconvinced of the bank's legitimacy, and a grassroots movement to get rid of the institution emerged between 1817 and 1819. This led to a number of state legislatures passing taxes on branches of the bank that were designed to drive it out of business in their states. In Maryland, the branch bank at Baltimore refused to pay its exorbitant tax and took the issue to court under the direction of its president, James McCulloch. The case ended up in the Supreme Court as *MCCULLOCH V. MARYLAND* (1819) and stirred up a considerable amount of controversy in the process. Chief Justice John Marshall issued a definitive judgment for the bank and against the state of Maryland. The court's decision is an important one, since it defined the Supreme Court of the era as nationalist. It also spurred considerable anger among bank opponents who felt that the court had affirmed an unconstitutional act of Congress, which violated the states' rights principle that only state governments could charter and control banks.

Following the Supreme Court's action and under new management, the bank functioned as a repository for government funds, government creditor, and lending agent for state banks, and also contributed to the regulation of national finance through 1831. At that time old political antipathies against the bank resurfaced under the leadership of President ANDREW JACKSON. The bank became a major political issue in 1831–32 after Jackson vetoed its recharter. The bank's president, Nicholas Biddle, had successfully waged an early congressional campaign for an early recharter, but in doing so he aroused the ire of Jackson, a longtime opponent of the bank. After vetoing the recharter, Jackson used the issue in the election of 1832 by portraying himself as the people's champion against the business and political elites symbolized by the national bank. In his second term Jackson ended the federal government's close association with the bank by removing government deposits from it and relying instead on state banks for capital and repositories of federal funds. In the wake of the new circumstances, the bank severely curtailed its own credit allocations. After losing its federal charter in 1836, the bank won a state charter from Pennsylvania as the United States Bank of Pennsylvania. It continued to operate until 1841, when it went out of business due to excessive loans made on stock security rather than actual capital, and economic conditions caused by the PANIC OF 1837.

See also BANKING AND CURRENCY.

**Further reading:** Bray Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America: From the Revolution to the Civil War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957); Stuart Weems Bruchey, *Enterprise: The Dynamic Economy of a Free People* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990);

Ralph Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); Charles Gries Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1840* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

—James R. Karmel

### Bear Flag Revolt (1846)

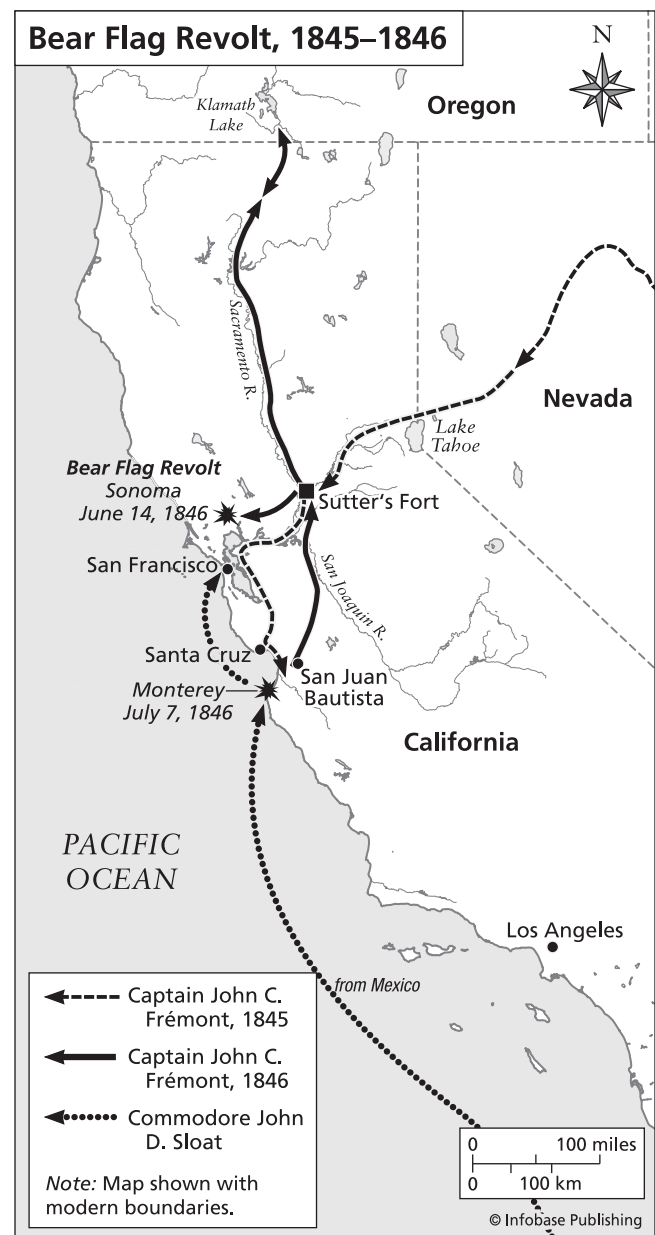
The Bear Flag Revolt was a rebellion against Mexican rule by American settlers in CALIFORNIA, who adopted a flag featuring a black bear. During the 1840s, the number of American settlers drawn to the Pacific coast was small but steadily growing. Lured by rumors of free land, the settlers began to swarm into California. Only 30 arrived in 1841, but by 1845 that number had increased to 250. The Mexican government at the time prohibited these settlers from owning land or holding office, but it was so involved with affairs closer to home that its influence over California was beginning to slip away. Many Californios—the Mexican population of California—were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with Mexican rule. At that time, it was feared that Mexico might transfer California to Great Britain in an effort to keep the region out of American hands, given the possibility of war over increasing tensions regarding the U.S.–Mexico border in TEXAS. Concerned that some foreign power might take control of California, President JAMES K. POLK sent his “confidential agent,” THOMAS OLIVER LARKIN, to make known to the Californios that they would be received as brethren should they decide to unite with the United States.

Early in 1846 U.S. Army captain JOHN C. FRÉMONT and a force of 60 men entered the Mexican province of Alta California, ostensibly to map the West Coast area. Although Frémont made contact with the Mexican authorities, his movement around the province was a point of consternation to Mexico’s northern regional commander, General José Castro. Although Frémont at first defied the Mexican authorities by establishing a temporary base at Hawk’s Peak near Salinas in the San Joaquin Valley, he withdrew northward to the region around Klamath Lake in the Oregon Country. There, in May 1846, he was contacted by an American agent, Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie of the U.S. Marine Corps, who instructed him to return to northern California and lend assistance if hostilities broke out between the United States and Mexico.

In the meantime, a group of American settlers heard about Frémont’s presence in California, and this was enough to spur them into action. Leaders of this group, who called themselves the “Osos” (Spanish for bears), included Ezekiel Merritt and William B. Ide. At Sonoma, California, the settlers under Merritt and Ide organized an uprising against the Mexican government, fueled in part by a simmering personal vendetta against the Vallejo fam-

ily, who wielded Mexican authority in the North. Added to this was the rivalry between General Castro and the civilian governor in Los Angeles, Pío Pico. Captain Frémont gladly accepted the 20 Osos and appointed Merritt as a lieutenant of the irregulars. On June 14, 1846, Merritt, Ide, and the American settlers rode into Sonoma and arrested Colonel Mariano Vallejo at his northern headquarters. With the acceptance of Colonel Vallejo’s surrender, the Osos declared California a republic, independent of Mexican rule.

Finding that they could not count on the support of Frémont and the U.S. military, some of the Osos wanted



to abandon the town and retreat. At this crucial moment, William Ide made a rousing speech declaring that he would rather die than retreat in disgrace. The party rallied around Ide, declaring him “president” of the new republic, and raised the famous Bear Flag.

On July 9, 1846, after learning that the United States had declared war on Mexico, the settlers lowered the Bear Flag and raised the American flag. California became a protectorate of the United States until it was made a state in 1850.

**Further reading:** Neal Harlow, *California Conquered: The Annexation of a Mexican Province, 1846–1850* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989); Dale L. Walker, *Bear Flag Rising: The Conquest of California, 1846* (New York: Forge, 1999).

### **Becknell, William** (ca. 1790–1865) *trader*

A trader and explorer, William Becknell was probably born in Amherst County, Virginia, around 1790, but little is known of his early days. He apparently settled as a merchant in Franklin, Saline County, Missouri, just following the WAR OF 1812. In September 1821, to circumvent the effects of a nationwide depression, Becknell and four compatriots took a small convoy of pack animals from Missouri and into Colorado. They originally intended to trade with Indians along the southern Rocky Mountains, but while en route a group of Mexican soldiers informed them of Mexico’s newly acquired independence from Spain. Prior to this, Spanish officials had scrupulously arrested any American traders found on their territory, so Becknell was eager to market his wares in Santa Fe. He did so at considerable profit and determined to return the following year.

In August 1822, Becknell organized a larger expedition, including the first wagons laden with goods to travel west. However, this time he cut across the Kansas plains and followed the Cimarron River to the south and into New Mexico. It was a move calculated to circumvent the treacherous Colorado mountain passes and allow wagons to be taken directly to Santa Fe for the first time. However, this new route also occasioned considerable hardship to men and draft animals alike owing to its arid climate and lack of water. Nevertheless, Becknell’s expedition again proved successful and highly lucrative. Moreover, he had inaugurated a new trade route that came to be known as the SANTA FE TRAIL. This quickly developed into a major avenue of commerce with Mexico, and within a few years hundreds of traders and wagon trains were making the journey. Becknell’s success constituted a major turning point in the development of trade between the two nations and lent greater impetus for migration and settlement into the southwestern plains region. The sheer volume of trade,

coupled with the menace of hostile Indians, also impelled the government to assign the first sizable contingent of U.S. military forces on the southern plains.

In 1824 Becknell conducted an even larger expedition of 25 wagons and 81 men, again acquiring considerable profit. He is also known to have explored the region around the Green River Valley, Colorado, but this proved his final trading venture. By 1828 Becknell was operating a small ferry service on the Missouri River. That year he developed a taste for politics, and subsequently he was twice elected to the Missouri state legislature representing Saline County. In 1835 Becknell relocated to Texas, where he commanded a ranger company during the war for independence against Mexico. He eventually settled at Clarksville, Texas, dying there on April 30, 1865. His pioneering efforts established him as the “Father of the Santa Fe Trail.”

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—John C. Fredriksen

### **Beckwourth, Jim (James)** (ca. 1798–ca. 1866) *explorer*

African-American mountain man, trapper, trader, miner, and pioneer, James Pierson Beckwourth was born in Virginia, the son of Sir Jennings Beckwith (from a family of Irish aristocrats) and a mulatto slave woman. In 1810, his father moved to Louisiana Territory and eventually settled in St. Louis. Beckwith apparently freed his slave son when the young man reached legal age in Missouri.

In 1822 Jim Beckwourth (he had changed the spelling of his last name) was part of the rush to the LEAD MINES in northern Illinois. The important change in the direction of his life occurred in 1824, when he joined the supply caravan of WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY to outfit the fur trappers in the Rocky Mountains. Ashley’s expedition became the first RENDEZVOUS at the Green River in the summer of 1825. Once in the mountains and exposed to the freedom associated with the lives of MOUNTAIN MEN, Beckwourth left Ashley’s employ and became a trapper, spending the winter of 1825–26 with the celebrated mountain man JEDEDIAH STRONG SMITH. Over the next few years, he followed the seasonal cycle of trapping during the winter and spring in the mountains, and enjoying the society of other mountain men at the annual rendezvous in the summer. He also took part in skirmishes against Indian parties. Although his main employer was the ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY, like

all trappers his allegiance was flexible. Mountain men generally owed loyalty to each other rather than to an absentee employer in St. Louis, Montreal, or London.

In 1828 Beckwourth was adopted into the Crow nation. He lived with the Crow for extended periods over six years and was married at least three times, to women from the Blackfeet, Crow, and Shoshone nations. He became an honorary chief of the Crow and joined them in raiding parties against other Indian groups, earning him the nickname "Bloody Arm." After he left the Crow, he used his influence to promote the trade in furs between Indian peoples and his new employer, the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY. In 1837 Beckwourth left the company's employ and went to Florida, where he served as a mule wrangler for a volunteer Missouri company in the war against the Seminole Indians. After he returned to St. Louis, he worked for Andrew Sublette (the young brother of WILLIAM SUBLETTE) in the Santa Fe fur trade. He then found employment as a teamster at BENT'S FORT, after which he became a trader in Taos and, in 1842, a settler on the land near Pueblo, Colorado.

Two years later Beckwourth left Colorado for CALIFORNIA, where he engaged in political intrigue against Mexican officials and worked as a horse trader (some said horse thief). With the arrival of American military forces in California on the outbreak of war with Mexico, Beckwourth served as a guide for the U.S. Army. After the discovery of gold in California, he immediately left for the mining camps, where he operated a ranch, trading post, and hotel, all occupations associated with the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH. Most significantly, in 1850 he discovered a pass through the Sierra Nevada that made access to California easier for miners and pioneers. It was named Beckwourth Pass and is still used today.

In 1854 Thomas D. Bonner, a New Englander who was also a justice of the peace in the gold country, interviewed Beckwourth and published *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth, Mountaineer, Scout, Pioneer and Chief of the Crow Nation*. This account, which established Beckwourth's reputation as a pioneer a generation across the West, has gone through several editions and is still in print.

Beckwourth returned to St. Louis in 1858, but when he heard news of the discovery of gold in Colorado, he immediately headed west again to work at his old occupations of supplier, trader, and storekeeper. Later, as a guide and interpreter, he joined the Colorado troops that massacred the Cheyenne camp at Sand Creek in 1864. He died in 1866 or 1867, at a place still in dispute.

**Further reading:** Elinor Wilson, *Jim Beckwourth: Black Mountain Man and War Chief of the Crows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972).

### **Bent, Charles** (1799–1847) *trader, pioneer*

The oldest of four Bent brothers, Charles Bent was an important figure in the opening of the Southwest to Anglo-American settlement, a leader in the development of trade connections with Santa Fe, and one of the founders of the trading company that built BENT'S FORT. He was born in Charleston, Virginia (later West Virginia), the son of Silas and Martha (Kerr) Bent. His father was an educated man who constantly moved his growing family (ultimately seven sons and four daughters) to the West, eventually settling in St. Louis in 1806.

Charles Bent grew up in St. Louis, a frontier community energized by the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition. He was always attracted to the fur trade. Before he went west, however, he attended Jefferson College in Canonsburg, Pennsylvania. He never received a diploma and what he studied is not known, but the years at Jefferson College showed that the Bent family valued education and a degree of formal learning rare on the frontier at the time. By 1822 Bent was a member of the MISSOURI FUR COMPANY; three years later, he became a partner in the company. The trade on the upper Missouri was both competitive and dangerous. The Indian groups, especially the Blackfeet, were often hostile. Both the Hudson's Bay Company and the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY offered continuous cutthroat competition. With the failure of the Missouri Fur Company, Bent turned his attention to the Southwest and the emerging trade with Santa Fe. He made his first visit to Santa Fe in 1829 as the head of a wagon train, experimenting with oxen as draft animals and organizing his train to defend against an attack by a large group of Kiowa Indians.

In 1830, with the pioneer merchant Ceran St. Vrain, Bent organized Bent and St. Vrain (later Bent, St. Vrain and Company), which would become the largest trading firm in the Southwest. Bent's brother WILLIAM BENT became an early partner, and their younger brothers George and Robert also joined the firm, which had trading stores in Taos and Santa Fe. In 1833, the company built BENT'S FORT on the upper reaches of the Arkansas to tap into the Indian trade. The fort became the center of an extraordinarily successful trading enterprise, with goods from Mexico and St. Louis exchanged for buffalo robes and beaver pelts. The fort also became the outfitting center for the last generation of Anglo-American MOUNTAIN MEN who trapped in the southern Rockies, and it possibly replaced the RENDEZVOUS, which disappeared after 1840. Certainly Bent's Fort performed the same kinds of function on a regular (not simply seasonal) basis: as a way to resupply, market furs, and provide recreation and sociability. Charles Bent pursued a policy of accommodation with the Indian peoples, and in 1842 his peace with the Comanche and Kiowa further expanded his trading range and options.



Increasingly interested in the economic development and politics of New Mexico (then part of the independent Republic of Mexico), Bent moved to Taos and married Maria Ignacia Jaramillo, a widow with a four-year-old daughter. The couple had five children of their own, two of whom died in infancy. As Bent's trading empire expanded, he became allied politically with Manuel Armijo, the Mexican governor of New Mexico, and used his influence with Armijo to extract several large land grants for favored friends. This favoritism made him powerful enemies. Yet despite his alliance with Armijo, when the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR began, Bent immediately supported the Americans. After the arrival of an American force under General STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY, Bent achieved great influence under the military occupation authorities, and Kearny made him governor of New Mexico. But the whole region of New Mexico was unsettled by the violence of war, which seemed to offer the opportunity to play out personal grudges. Bent had made many enemies. Various Indian groups resented his trade practices, while old Mexican (formerly Spanish) settlers were outraged by the large land grants with which he was associated. He had allied himself with one political faction, making enemies of the others. Although he had a Mexican wife and lived in a Mexican community, on the outbreak of war, he favored the United States and then became the political appointee of the conquering army. In January 1847 the Taos Indians rebelled against American occupation, and they assassinated Governor Charles Bent. Bent was 48 years old when he died, having lived a full and eventful life on the frontier of the Southwest.

**Further reading:** David Lavender, *Bent's Fort* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1954).

### **Bent, William** (1809–1869) *trader, pioneer*

One of several brothers who pioneered in the development of trade in the Southwest, William Bent was an important figure in relations between Americans and Indian peoples in the generations after 1840. He was born in St. Louis in 1809, the younger brother of CHARLES BENT and the second son of Silas Bent, a native of Virginia. The elder Bent had moved to St. Louis in 1806 and was a deputy surveyor for the Louisiana Territory and later a justice of the supreme court of the territory from 1813 to 1821.

William Bent followed his brothers into the fur trade, trapping on the upper Arkansas in 1824 and then becoming a partner in trade with his brother Charles and another merchant, Ceran St. Vrain. When the company made the decision to build a trading fort on the upper Arkansas River, Bent supervised the construction and was also its

first manager. Indeed, the fort was sometimes called William's Fort because of his central role in its building and early operations.

Although he had trading ties to Mexico through Santa Fe, William Bent also favored the American side in the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, which began in 1846. That same year, he guided General STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY's American army from Bent's Fort to Santa Fe. Upon the death of his brother Charles in 1847 and St. Vrain's retirement from the trade in 1849, William Bent became the sole owner of the firm and the fort. He subsequently offered to sell Bent's Fort to the U.S. government for what he thought was a reasonable price. The sale made sense, since the government already used the fort to outfit expeditions of exploration, and during the war against Mexico, it became a center of American military logistics. But the government refused, and, deeply affronted, William used powder stored there to blow up the fort, an act of destruction that he personally supervised. Three years later, he built another fort, generally known as New Bent's Fort, some 40 miles downstream.

Immediately on his entrance into the Southwest in the 1830s, Bent developed close relations with its Indian peoples. He liked the life of the MOUNTAIN MEN, and he liked trading with individual Indians and tribal groups. He had three marriages, each to an Indian woman. Of all the Bents, he was the one most associated with the open life of the frontier and the fur trade.

Even as Bent expanded his operations on the upper Arkansas with New Bent's Fort, the fur trade was in decline, and relations among Americans, Mexicans, and Indians were increasingly strained, in large part because of the war with Mexico. The COLORADO GOLD RUSH to the area of Pike's Peak in 1859 was a final act of closure. The large numbers of miners who crossed the plains that summer—something on the order of 50,000—forever fractured relations between Americans and Indians. The Great Plains had scant natural resources to maintain life throughout the year, and the march of thousands of settlers across the landscape endangered and depleted these natural resources. Physical confrontations were numerous and inevitable. Bent's trading empire, which had been based on forbearance and toleration in the interests of trade, was lost. Now the Americans, empowered by the doctrines of MANIFEST DESTINY, pursued gold, using whatever resources they needed, and they would thrust aside any individual or group that attempted to restrict them.

Bent worked as an Indian agent, attempting to bridge the gap between the two sides. The outbreak of the Civil War and the perceived Confederate threat to Colorado further inflamed relations. Periodic clashes degenerated into open warfare. The climax of this conflict was the attack of territorial volunteers led by Colonel John M. Chiving-



ton against a Cheyenne encampment at Sand Creek. The deaths of some 400 Indians might be said to mark the end of the world of William Bent, whose part-Indian son, Robert, participated in the battle.

Bent did leave one physical monument. A stockade that he built in 1857 at the mouth of the Purgatoire River became the site of an expanding community of settlers, the first American settlement within what would become the state of Colorado. The longest lived of the four Bent brothers, William Bent spent the remainder of his life in Westport, Kansas, near his longtime friend and fellow mountain man JAMES BRIDGER.

**Further reading:** David Lavender, *Bent's Fort* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1954).

**Benton, Thomas Hart** (1782–1858) *U.S. senator and representative*

A leading Jacksonian Democrat, Thomas Hart Benton was a longtime, senator from Missouri. He was born during the American Revolution on March 14, 1782, in Hillsborough, North Carolina, to an affluent Loyalist family. His father died when the young Benton was only eight. As a youth of 16, Benton enrolled at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. After a promising beginning, he was expelled for stealing money from his roommates. The memory of that shame and humiliation stayed with him for the rest of his life, driving him to prove himself worthy and to overcome his mistake. It also made him very touchy on questions of personal honor and perhaps kept him from running for president, lest his early scandal become general knowledge.

In 1799 the Benton family left North Carolina for Tennessee, where they owned land near Nashville. In 1809, at the age of 27, Thomas Hart Benton was elected to the Tennessee state senate as a Jeffersonian Republican. He served two years and was admitted to the bar in 1811. When the WAR OF 1812 broke out, Benton became a captain in the Tennessee Militia, which was commanded by Major General ANDREW JACKSON. Although Benton and Jackson initially got along well, trouble arose when a tavern brawl broke out involving, among others, Benton, his brother Jesse, and Jackson. In the confusion, one of the Benton brothers shot and wounded Jackson.

Sensing that his path to power might be blocked by Jackson in Tennessee, Benton removed to St. Louis, Missouri, where he became active in land speculation and banking and rose quickly in politics. He was, however, also involved in a duel in which he shot and killed his opponent, Charles Lucas, a U.S. attorney. Mortified by what he had done, Benton never dueled again. This scandal notwithstanding, Benton was elected one of the first two U.S. sena-



Thomas Hart Benton (Library of Congress)

tors from the new state of Missouri in 1820. During the campaign, Benton, who himself owned several slaves, was adamant in his opposition to all attempts to limit slavery in Missouri. Soon after becoming senator, in March 1821, he married Elizabeth McDowell, who came from a well-known Virginia family.

In the Senate, Benton quickly became known as a champion of “hard money,” working against the speculation of bankers, whom he blamed for the PANIC OF 1819. Early in his Senate career, he also became a strong advocate for the small farmer, and was especially interested in making western lands available to them at a cheap price and as quickly as possible. One idea he embraced, which anticipated the Homestead Act of the 1860s, was that settlers be granted 160 acres of land free if they improved the property over five years. He was an exuberant champion of American expansionism, declaring that the United States would eventually spread its institutions all the way to Asia. Marking himself as a firm democrat, Benton also urged, unsuccessfully, that the electoral college be abolished and that the president be elected directly by the people.

As Andrew Jackson became a serious candidate for president in the 1820s, he and Benton put aside their old feud and became political allies. Although he had supported HENRY CLAY in 1824, Benton was firmly in Jackson’s camp for the latter’s successful bid for the White House in 1828. He became President Jackson’s leading spokesman in the Senate, especially during the Bank War

of the early 1830s. He denounced the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES in flamboyant terms, saying that "All the flourishing cities of the West are mortgaged to this money power. . . . They are in the jaws of the monster! A lump of butter in the mouth of a dog! One gulp, one swallow, and all is gone!"

Benton so strongly favored "hard money," or gold and silver, over paper currency that he earned the nickname "Old Bullion." Benton also became staunchly opposed to southern proslavery champions such as JOHN C. CALHOUN of South Carolina, believing that their uncompromising views threatened the Union. As a firm supporter of western expansion, he also concluded that slavery hindered the movement of yeoman farmers into the West, and while he was by no means an abolitionist, he did think that the eventual demise of slavery was in the nation's best interests. This view put him at odds with many of his constituents and ultimately damaged his political fortunes. When MARTIN VAN BUREN ran for president in 1848 on a Free-Soil ticket that opposed the extension of slavery, Benton remained neutral, declining to support Democratic nominee LEWIS CASS. This, along with his opposition to the concessions granted to the South in the Compromise of 1850 (which was contrary to the wishes of the Missouri legislature), made him an increasingly isolated figure within the DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Denied reelection in 1850, Benton made a political comeback when he was elected to the House of Representatives two years later. In Congress, he strenuously denounced the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which effectively repealed the MISSOURI COMPROMISE of 1820. However, his long political career came to a disappointing end when he was defeated for reelection in 1854 and then lost a bid for governor of Missouri in 1856. That same year, his son-in-law JOHN C. FRÉMONT, the husband of his daughter JESSIE BENTON FRÉMONT, ran for president as the first nominee of the Republican Party. Despite the family ties, Benton campaigned for Frémont's opponent, Democrat James Buchanan. A staunch unionist to the end, he feared that a Republican victory would mean the end of the Union.

In his retirement and facing death from cancer, Benton nevertheless managed to write one of the most valuable and important memoirs of American politics in the first half of the 19th century. Entitled *Thirty Years View*, the book was based on his recollections of the eventful years of 1820–50, in which he had played such an important role. He also published the *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress from 1789 to 1856*, finishing it less than a day before he died in Washington, D.C., on April 10, 1858.

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—Jason Duncan

### Bent's Fort

A trading post located in southeastern Colorado on the north bank of the Arkansas River near the mouth of the Purgatoire River, Bent's Fort was one of the most successful fur-trading posts on the Great Plains. In 1831 CHARLES BENT and Ceran St. Vrain established Bent, St. Vrain, and Company, which would become the largest venture of its kind in the Southwest. Previously, Bent had been a major trader with the MISSOURI FUR COMPANY. That company ceased operations in 1828, and a year later he refocused his efforts on the Santa Fe trade. By 1833, the company had set up stores in Taos and Santa Fe. That same year, they constructed Bent's Fort to confirm its presence and dominate the trade of the region. It lay 600 miles from the nearest American settlement in Missouri, and for many years it functioned as the only permanent community on the SANTA FE TRAIL between that territory and Mexico.

In considering the significance of the fort as a physical presence, it should be remembered that at the time of its construction, it was the most imposing structure of its kind in the 2,000 miles between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean. As planned by WILLIAM BENT, Charles's brother and a partner in the firm, the fort was a large adobe structure, not quite rectangular, and built around an interior quadrangle. In its final form, Bent's Fort measured 137 feet by 178 feet. It was surrounded by walls 14 feet high and some 30 inches (three adobe bricks) thick. There was also an irregular second story in places, rows of apartments added as the numbers of permanent occupants of the fort grew in response to the growing trade. The structure was topped by a watchtower with a belfry that signaled the alarm and meals; atop the belfry was a flagstaff flying the Stars and Stripes. Some 150 Mexican laborers were brought from Taos to make the adobe bricks and lay them. These workers were probably paid \$10 a month, most of the wage in trade goods. When completed, in addition to warehouses for trade goods and living quarters for the permanent residents and itinerant visitors, the fort contained a kitchen, a dining hall, and shops for blacksmithing and carpentering. Rudimentary creature comforts, as well as the services of a barber and a tailor who lived on location, were available for the benefit of visitors. There was also, within the main court, a reliable well for fresh water, a press for packing buffalo, and a brass cannon. The entire structure was ringed with round bastion towers 18 feet high and 17 feet across that could serve as observation and firing platforms for the large number of skilled riflemen and frontier marksmen present. In 1839, a reporter for a New Orleans

newspaper estimated that the fort could garrison 200 men with twice that number of animals. It was the site of the first irrigation ditch constructed in Colorado and witnessed the first registered cattle brand employed in that region.

Bent's Fort was strategically located at the crossroads of a trading network that included the Cheyenne, Comanche, Arapaho, Ute, and Kiowa Indians. It was also situated favorably close to the path of migrating buffalo herds, which always drew large numbers of Plains Indians and had ample supplies of fresh water. These dispersed peoples traded buffalo robes, animal hides, and beaver pelts with the Bent brothers and St. Vrain. Charles Bent was himself married to a Southern Cheyenne woman, which gave him a distinct advantage when trading with the members of that tribe. The fort also did a substantial business with Mexican traders and white trappers, as well as with the army. The fort kept on hand a large number of horses and mules that were always in demand. Bent's Fort also outfitted U.S. Army exploratory expeditions into the Southwest. The Bent brothers had an anchor at the west end of the Santa Fe Trail, with connections to the army, to Mexican officials in Santa Fe, and to the most important white trappers of the period as well as leading Indian trading groups. Thus, Bent's Fort had powerful political influence, making it more than just a trading post. Unlike many similar enterprises in the American West, Bent's Fort was soundly financed, with established financial backers and lines of credit. Business was conducted with a high degree of integrity, as the Bents sought to maintain a balance among diverse groups of people. They soon established a principle that any conflicts among their clients should not be played out at the fort. As a result, Bent's Fort became an island of peace in a region of growing unrest.

The strategic location of the fort was, in a sense, its undoing. As the U.S. government became more interested in the Southwest, the military presence increased. Although the army was a good customer, it had the effect of inhibiting other trading groups, many of whom resented both its presence and its expeditions. The success of the TEXAS REVOLUTION and the establishment of the independent Republic of Texas contributed a national edge to the tensions of the region. The Republic of Mexico refused to recognize the independence of Texas and conducted an ongoing armed struggle over independence and boundary lines. Texas, for its part, embarked upon an expansionist policy that included claims to the upper reaches of the Rio Grande and, finally, a military expedition against Santa Fe. That this expedition was a fiasco did not lessen the sense of uneasiness over the lack of stability in the region. The outbreak of the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR in 1846 was a final blow to trading patterns that had depended on peace and forbearance among the many groups involved. That year the fort served as the staging area for the 1,700-man Army

of the Southwest led by General STEPHEN W. KEARNY, who commandeered it as a military outpost during initial phases of his bloodless conquest of New Mexico.

Charles Bent, appointed the first American governor of New Mexico, was assassinated in the Taos Indian rebellion of January 1847. The TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO ceded the landed area of northern Mexico to the United States, including California and the future states of Arizona and New Mexico, and ended the war. In 1849 William Bent offered to sell Bent's Fort to the U.S. government. The price seemed reasonable, but the government refused, apparently believing that the fort would eventually come into its possession for nothing. Angered by this snub, Bent blew up the fort with gunpowder on August 21, 1849. Four years later, he built a new fort 40 miles downstream, which he leased to the government in 1860. A few years later the original site was rebuilt and functioned as a stage coach station and a frontier settlement, but the locale's heyday had clearly passed.

Bent's Fort was a powerful presence in the Southwest for 16 years. Located at the intersection of streams of Mexican, Indian, and Anglo-American trade and exploration, the fort served as a peaceful gathering point for diverse elements of Indians, trappers, and soldiers. It was a large and impressive physical presence, which dominated the landscape even as it controlled the fur trade. As the largest trader's base in the region, Bent's Fort was also influential in directing the fur trade north and east toward St. Louis rather than south and west to Mexican settlements.

In recognition of its historical significance, Bent's Fort was declared a National Historic Site. In 1960 the National Park Service began an elaborate scheme to restore it exactly as it had been in the 1840s. Work was finally completed in 1976, and the fort remains a popular tourist attraction.

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**Bidwell, John** (1819–1900) *pioneer, politician*

A California pioneer, politician, and rancher, John Bidwell was born in upper New York State in 1819 and later moved with his family to Pennsylvania. In 1834 the family relocated again to Darke County, Ohio, and two years later



young Bidwell, determined to gain an education, walked 230 miles to Ashtabula to attend the Kingsville Academy. He proved himself something of a child prodigy: Within a year he was elected principal of that institution. In 1838 Bidwell returned home to teach for a year, but gradually he grew enthralled by better prospects farther west. In 1839, he claimed a 160-acre tract near Weston, Missouri, that he subsequently lost to a claim jumper. He then made the decision to go to California, and in the winter of 1840–41, he organized the Western Emigration Society and signed up some 500 members to make the trip west. When the caravan left in the spring, he had 69 emigrants in his party. As Bidwell had no experience in traveling to the West, he signed on a group of MOUNTAIN MEN led by Thomas Fitzpatrick. At the Bear River in Idaho, the party divided; the Oregon emigrants headed west with the fur trappers, and the California group turned south. The California party suffered great hardships, got lost, and were hungry much of the time. Arriving in California on November 4, 1841, Bidwell's party was the first to make the journey over what would become the CALIFORNIA TRAIL.

Once in California, Bidwell found work at Fort Sutter. He clerked with JOHN SUTTER for several years. In 1844 Bidwell became a naturalized Mexican and also received a grant of land. That December he rallied to the side of Governor Micheltorena against rebels, but he was captured and imprisoned by them for several weeks. In 1846, on the outbreak of the BEAR FLAG REBELLION, he joined the American rebels and rose to the rank of major. In this capacity he accompanied Colonel JOHN C. FRÉMONT's California Battalion south to Los Angeles, becoming magistrate of the San Luis Rey district. A revolt by Mexican nationals subsequently drove him to San Diego, where he joined up with Commodore ROBERT STOCKTON's forces as a quartermaster. He then assisted in the reconquest of Los Angeles. At the close of the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, he prospected in the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH without success, and in 1849 he received a grant of 22,000 acres in Northern California. This would become the Rancho Chico, which later gave its name to a nearby town. For the rest of his life, Bidwell worked to develop his ranch, and over half a century, he became a pioneer in California agriculture.

Bidwell was also politically active. In 1849 he was chosen as a delegate to the state constitutional convention, although he was informed too late to serve. He later won election to the state senate as a Democrat. Bidwell opposed secession, and in 1860 he attended the party convention in Charleston, South Carolina, as a supporter of Stephen A. Douglas. With the approach of the Civil War in 1861 he switched over to the Union Party, a move that resulted in his appointment as brigadier general of the California militia in 1863. He was elected to the California House of Representatives in 1864, and he ran for governor three times

without success. In 1892 he was the presidential candidate of the National Prohibition Party. His lack of success never dimmed his interest in political life, although the ranch and its development remained his main interest. He was also acutely interested in the well-being of local NATIVE AMERICANS around his ranch and spent considerable time, effort, and money attempting to teach them rudiments of agriculture. He also served as a regent of the nascent University of California and donated land to construct a state normal school. Bidwell apparently never lost his sense of civic obligation. At the time of his death in 1900, he was probably the most celebrated agriculturalist in California. Bidwell's life spanned the continent from East to West and over the best part of the 19th century. At a time when much of California was mesmerized by mining, he saw its future in agriculture.

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## Black Hawk War

The Black Hawk War of 1832 was the last attempt of the Sac (Sauk) nation to hold on to their traditional fishing, hunting, and planting grounds on the east side of the Mississippi River, in what is now Illinois and Wisconsin. Their defeat signaled an end to Native American resistance east of the Mississippi River and the beginning of white encroachment onto the prairies and upper Great Plains. Along with the SECOND SEMINOLE WAR and the Cherokee TRAIL OF TEARS, the Black Hawk War demonstrated President ANDREW JACKSON's determination to relocate Native Americans en masse.

Black Hawk, or Makataimeshiekiakiak (1767–1838), was the war chief of the Sac at a time when pressure from white settlers had begun to mount. He fought with Shawnee chief TECUMSEH on the side of the British during the WAR OF 1812. Previously, Sac representatives had signed the first treaty of land cession in 1804, giving up their territory east of the Mississippi River. At that time Governor WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON diplomatically stipulated that the tribes would be allowed to remain on their land until

such time that the whites were ready to settle there. The fact that this process took over two decades compromised chances of a peaceful evacuation of the area. In 1816, at another treaty gathering at Fort Armstrong on Rock Island, Black Hawk and other Sac chiefs confirmed the original cession, although the Indians surely did not understand fully its final nature. Taken together, these treaties evicted the Sac and their allies, the Fox, from their fertile homelands on and near the Rock River in Illinois and Wisconsin.

As American settlers moved to the West in increasing numbers, the time for the Sac's evacuation approached. With the help of Indian agents, a substantial portion of the Sac under the leadership of Chief Keokuk moved across the Mississippi River into Iowa and established new villages. Black Hawk, however, refused to leave the old territory, remaining at the principal Sac village, Saukenuk (now Rock Island, Illinois). The local Indian agent continued to press for his departure, and white settlers began to occupy tracts of land around the village—even claiming the village graveyard and Black Hawk's own lodge. His followers spent several nervous months in close proximity to the white intruders, but no violence resulted. Before leaving for the seasonal hunt in winter 1830–31, Black Hawk told the squatters that he and his band would return again in the fall. At this Governor John Reynolds of Illinois declared that the state was being invaded. Consequently, General Edmund P. Gaines sailed north from St. Louis, Missouri, with a detachment of U.S. Army troops and several armed steamers. In autumn 1831, under threat from the Illinois militia, Black Hawk finally moved his people across the Mississippi.

Black Hawk had made the journey to Iowa, but he remained irate over the treaties of cession. Over the winter, he gathered around him others who were discontented over the land cession and some who objected to Keokuk's leadership. Black Hawk believed that in the event of an armed clash with the Americans, the British would send supplies from Canada as they had so many times in the past. He also believed that the Winnebago in Wisconsin would support his resistance. Driven by the desire to return to his village and confident of Winnebago assistance, he crossed the river into Illinois on April 6, 1832, in a futile attempt to reclaim his native homeland. His party, numbering perhaps as many as 1,000, included a large number of warriors as well as women and children. They initially moved up the Rock River to a Winnebago village where, Black Hawk later stated, he had come to grow a crop of corn. When word of Black Hawk's return reached the frontier settlements, families began to flee their homes. A military force of volunteers and regulars, under the command of General HENRY ATKINSON, moved north to confront Black Hawk and force his return to Iowa. Moreover, the federal Indian authorities' demand that the rebels recross the Mississippi



Black Hawk (Hulton/Archive)

immediately was backed by the Sac and Fox tribal councils. Black Hawk now recognized that his hopes of assistance from the Winnebago and the British were without foundation. By May 9, the Indians had proceeded as far as Stillman's Run, where they confronted a skittish party of American militia. He attempted to surrender in order to ensure the safe conduct of his band across the river, but overeager soldiers fired on his flag of truce, and one of his negotiators was killed. Black Hawk assumed that henceforth the only recourse for himself and his band of followers was war.

As Black Hawk and his party of warriors began to raid isolated settlements, the civil population and state political leaders demanded the active intervention of Illinois militia volunteers and the U.S. Army. The ranks of the volunteers were rapidly swelled by those anxious to battle against an ancient enemy of barbarous reputation, and editors and politicians led the cry for the use of overwhelming force in a campaign to be conducted without mercy.

In May Black Hawk won a series of bloody skirmishes, but the state and federal forces continued to gather strength. By midsummer, about 8,000 members of the Illinois state militia (including the future president Abraham Lincoln, elected captain of his company) and several



companies of federal troops had arrived on the scene. Black Hawk led his Sac band in a retreat north toward Wisconsin, but their mobility was severely restricted by the presence of women and children. Throughout the march north, the Indians had to forage for food as they moved, increasingly harassed by pursuing soldiers. The troops followed them across northern Illinois and into Wisconsin. In July, at the Wisconsin River, the troops and militia defeated a portion of the Sac force, using a steamboat-mounted cannon.

Meanwhile, General WINFIELD SCOTT had assembled a force of 1,000 regulars in Buffalo, New York, and boarded steamers for the voyage across Lake Erie to Chicago. En route the soldiers contracted cholera, which spread rapidly among them. Nearly the entire force was infected by the time they reached Chicago, at which point Scott abandoned any notion of lending military assistance. He remained in place to tend his sick and dying soldiers. It was a stunning display of this pathogen's mortality: Just 200 survived.

Still led by Black Hawk, the remaining Sac continued to retreat. At the Bad Axe River, a small tributary of the Mississippi, they were trapped by the militia and 1,300 newly arrived federal troops. These were backed by the newly arrived steamboat *Warrior*, which mounted a single cannon and controlled the river. There, on August 3, as Black Hawk and his band attempted to cross the Mississippi, they were defeated in what came to be known as the Battle of Bad Axe. Troops firing from the shore and boats virtually annihilated the Indians exposed in open boats. Only a remnant of the original band reached the safety of Iowa. These had no sooner arrived than they were set upon by Sioux warriors, their traditional enemies, who added to the heavy death toll.

The so-called Black Hawk War lasted about four months. It was characterized by few encounters, but these produced numerous casualties. Killed on each side were an estimated 70 soldiers and settlers and between 450 and 600 Indians. Most of the Indians were killed in the crossing of the Mississippi in August, although some were killed by the Sioux, ancient enemies of the Sac and Fox who attacked the survivors.

Black Hawk and a small number of his band survived the battle and fled to safety in a Winnebago village. They surrendered on August 27. The terms of the peace treaty were dictated by Governor John Reynolds of Illinois and General Winfield Scott representing the U.S. Army. As punishment for the war, the Sac were forced to cede the eastern half of their Iowa territory, a 50-mile wide tract of land running from the southern boundary of the neutral line to the Missouri border—some 9,000 square miles of land. Under the terms of the treaty, the Indians pledged never again to claim or attempt to plant, fish, or hunt in their old home in Illinois. In exchange for the large ces-

sion of land, the government of the United States assumed debts of the Sac band up to \$40,000 and promised an annuity of \$20,000 a year for 30 years, plus 40 barrels each of tobacco and salt.

Once captured, Black Hawk was escorted by Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, future president of the Confederacy, from Wisconsin to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, and from there to the east. After being imprisoned for a time in Virginia, Black Hawk was conducted on a tour of eastern cities, during which he met President ANDREW JACKSON. The chief also dictated his memoirs for publication, which added to his national celebrity. In his memoirs he bitterly denounced whites for their lies and treachery toward Native Americans. When he finally returned to Iowa, Black Hawk was allowed to settle on the Sac and Fox reservation lands governed by Keokuk. He died there in 1838, near Fort Des Moines, Iowa.

The Black Hawk War was a brief but intense confrontation between Indian peoples being forced from their lands and the advancing American settlers who intended to occupy them. It was a rare interlude of war in the generally peaceful period between the close of the War of 1812 and the outbreak of the wars against the Seminole. The Black Hawk War reflected divisions within the Sac nation, as Black Hawk led a dissident group that refused to accept Keokuk's leadership of accommodation. It recalled the support of the British and the confederation of several Indian nations (associated with Tecumseh) to block the further cession of Indian lands. It also spotlighted the continuing view of white Americans that Indians were basically treacherous and not to be trusted, that they waged war in the most barbaric manner, and that they could only be dealt with by the use of overwhelming force. And in a new state like Illinois, where the removal of Indians had become a powerful political issue, the cry of politicians for the use of the state militia and the summoning of units of the federal army meant that only a military solution was possible.

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—Mary Kay Linge

**Bloomer, Amelia** (1818–1894) *women's rights and temperance activist, publisher*

Although her name has become synonymous with a particular type of dress reform, Amelia Bloomer's greater claim to fame is as a publisher, editor, lobbyist, women's rights activist, and member of the TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT. Born Amelia Jenks in Homer, New York, on May 27, 1818, Bloomer attended a local school and spent a great deal of time in personal study. As a young adult, she worked as both a teacher and governess. In 1840 she married a Quaker named Dexter Chamberlain Bloomer in a service where she omitted the promise to "obey." The couple established a home in SENECA FALLS, New York, where her husband was a newspaper editor. There Amelia Bloomer became increasingly interested in matters of social justice and formed a lifelong commitment to the issue of temperance. She also took up a position as the deputy postmistress of Seneca Falls.

In July 1848 the first women's rights convention convened in Seneca Falls. Bloomer attended the two-day event but had strong reservations about the ideas that she heard there. Four years later, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, one of the organizers of the event and a leader of the women's rights movement in the United States, would recall in a letter to Susan B. Anthony that Bloomer "stood aloof, and laughed at us." Nevertheless, Amelia Bloomer would go on to become a fierce champion of women's rights. The first step in that process was the January 1849 publication of *The Lily*, a monthly publication that initially focused on temperance issues and cost 50 cents for a year's subscription. Bloomer was the newspaper's owner, publisher, and editor. While other women had owned newspapers in the United States, she was arguably the first woman editor of such a publication. Over time *The Lily* grew in circulation and scope. Approximately 300 subscribers bought the newspaper in its first year; in four years that number had swollen to 6,000. Thanks to contributions from women such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the paper grew to tackle questions of suffrage, legal marital rights, and public policy. It also became a vehicle for the advocacy of dress reform.

Fashion and culture dictated that free women in mid-19th century America should wear a very specific style of clothing. Small waists were imperative, so women wore tight corsets lined with steel or whalebone and laced at the back in order to achieve this end. Corsets were uncomfortable, could displace internal organs, and made it difficult for women to breathe or move about easily. Large skirts, supported by layers of petticoats and hoops, also emphasized a woman's small waist. The effect often required 20 petticoats at a time, and the entire costume could weight between 15 and 30 pounds.

Dress reform was not a frivolous issue. A woman's freedom of movement and therefore her liberty of person

were intrinsically tied to what she wore. Numerous women's rights advocates such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, LUCRETIA MOTT, and ANGELINA AND SARAH GRIMKÉ therefore adopted a style of dress that eliminated



Amelia Bloomer wearing the "trousers" she designed, which were called "bloomers" (Hulton/Archive)

the corset, shortened a woman's skirt, and added a pair of loose trousers to the outfit, gathered at the ankles. The costume was most likely introduced to the group by Elizabeth Smith Miller, yet since Bloomer not only wore the outfit but promoted and defended it in *The Lily*, she became most famously associated with it.

The Bloomer costume was ridiculed in the press. Opponents believed that it was immodest, that it compromised a woman's femininity, and that it was an example of the gross disorder that would result from allowing women to tamper with American culture and law. While the publicity and debate surrounding the costume was helpful to women's rights advocates for a time, they ultimately feared that it would undermine their efforts to effect other kinds of change. One by one, the advocates went back to their old styles of dress.

Bloomer continued to work on temperance and women's rights issues throughout the 1850s, and she began giving public lectures on such subjects after 1852. In the mid-1850s, Bloomer moved to Mt. Vernon, Ohio, with her husband, and later to Council Bluffs, Iowa, where she adopted and raised two children. *The Lily* was sold to Mary Birdsall in 1856, but this did not mark the end of Bloomer's activism. She continued to write, became involved in local groups such as the Good Templar lodges, and worked in the Soldiers Aid Society during the Civil War. After the war, Bloomer went on to petition Congress for the political rights she felt were owed her for her payment of taxes, as well as to lobby for woman suffrage both in Iowa and across the United States. She died in Council Bluffs on December 30, 1894, 26 years before American women finally gained the right to vote.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Catherine J. Denial

### **Bodmer, Karl** (1809–1893) *Swiss artist*

Considered one of the premier frontier artists of his day, Karl Bodmer was born near Riesbach (Zurich), Switzerland, on February 11, 1809, the son of a cotton merchant. He was apprenticed to his uncle, noted draftsman Johann Jakob Meier, for the purpose of learning art, and was tutored in sketching, engraving, and water colors. He subsequently received advanced artistic training in Paris while studying under Sebastian Cornu. By 1828, Bodmer had settled in Germany, where he enjoyed considerable

success as a landscape illustrator. Even at this early stage, his art was well received and frequently utilized for book and magazine engravings. In 1832, while traveling in the Moselle region, Bodmer met Prince Alexander Philipp Maximilian von Wied, a naturalist and explorer of some repute. This aristocrat had previously undertaken an extensive exploration of the Brazilian coastal forests in 1815–17, which was subsequently published. The prince at this time was contemplating an extended journey in the American West for the purpose of studying Native American tribes, flora, and fauna. He naturally required an artist to chronicle the sights, and Bodmer readily agreed to accompany him. In July 1832, both men arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, and they spent several months wintering in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and New Harmony, Indiana, in preparation for their outing.

In March 1833 Bodmer's party arrived at St. Louis, Missouri, and contracted with the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY for transportation up the Missouri River. Their sojourn commenced by steamboat up to Fort McKenzie (present-day Great Falls, Montana), which largely retraced the steps of Lewis and Clark three decades earlier. While at Fort McKenzie, Bodmer became intimately acquainted with the Blackfeet men residing there. The Indians he encountered proved amicable and cooperative, although periodic wars among them made travel somewhat hazardous. While soliciting portraits, he witnessed a surprise attack on the Blackfeet by Assiniboiné and Cree Indians, an event he later rendered as a painting. Bodmer and the prince then traveled south to winter at Fort Clark (modern Bismark, North Dakota), where they wintered among the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians. It was here that Bodmer produced some of his most impressive and significant works, capturing on canvas numerous and long-forgotten tribal ceremonies, costumes, and scenes from everyday life. He plied his craft by producing around 400 watercolors, including landscapes and Native American portraiture. Bodmer had thus become the first European artist to venture west of the Mississippi River and, as events proved, among the most talented and prolific.

Though never previously known for portraiture, Bodmer's work established him as one of the premier frontier artists of his day. In fact, he is celebrated for his uncanny ability to render highly lifelike, detailed renditions of his subjects. His use of color, lighting, attire, composition, and facial expression render his techniques superior to his closest American contemporary, the celebrated GEORGE CATLIN. Collectively, his work constitutes a valuable historical source of ethnographical information, and it is seldom matched as artwork.

Within a year, Bodmer and Maximilian departed the West for New York, and they arrived back in Europe by July 1834. Ironically, within a few years of their depar-



ture, the Mandan Indians with whom they had become so well-acquainted were nearly wiped out by smallpox, a disease introduced by white men. Bodmer's paintings are an important historic record of their way of life.

Once home, Maximilian published a detailed account of his experiences, *Travels in the Interior of America*, in 1838. The book featured 81 engraved aquatints based on Bodmer's watercolors, and the artist ventured to Paris in 1836 to supervise preparation of the plates for publication. The book was well received and ultimately published in German, French, and English editions, but, being a limited edition and highly expensive, it failed to produce the wind-fall expected. Nevertheless, the book is generally regarded as one of the greatest examples of Native American iconography published in the first half of the 19th century.

This publication concluded Bodmer's collaboration with Maximilian, and he subsequently settled among the artistic community of Paris. But for many years thereafter, his American works were continually engraved and reproduced for various publications, being copied, recopied, and embellished by innumerable European and American artists. It is likely that few, if any, of these individuals had ever beheld a live Native American.

The remainder of Bodmer's artistic career proved productive, but critically unremarkable. Around 1850, he became part of the flourishing Barbizon art community south of Paris and struck up useful relationships with such early impressionists as Théodore Rousseau and Jean-François Millet. He initially sustained his previous reputation as an illustrator and engraver of popular magazine illustrations. As late as the 1860s, his watercolors remained standard fare throughout the numerous Paris art salons, and in recognition of his work, he received the prestigious Legion of Honor from the French government. By the 1880s, however, his artistic style was soon increasingly passé, and a period of financial distress ensued. Bodmer died at Paris in poverty and relative obscurity on October 30, 1893.

The majority of the paintings produced by Bodmer during his North American sojourn remained with the family of Prince Maximilian. These were largely forgotten until after World War II, when they were successively purchased by a New York art gallery, the Northern Natural Gas Company, and the Joslyn Art Museum, the latter two both of Omaha, Nebraska. Bodmer's works thus remain on permanent display not far from the region which inspired their creation and are still highly regarded depictions of the early upper Missouri region. Ironically, Bodmer himself came to regard his American interlude with regret, feeling that the experience had actually retarded his growth as an artist.

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*American Indians: The Arts and Travels of Charles Bird King, George Catlin, and Karl Bodmer* (New York: Stewart, Tabori, and Chang, 1997); Brandon K. Ruud, ed., *Karl Bodmer's North American Prints* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Prinz Maximilian von Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America During the Years 1832–1834* (New York: Taschen, 2001); Raymond W. Wood, *Karl Bodmer's Studio Art* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

—John C. Fredriksen

### **Boudinot, Elias** (ca. 1803–1839) *editor, writer*

The Cherokee editor Elias Boudinot was born into the CHEROKEE Nation near Rome, Georgia, around 1803. Originally named Galagina (Male Buck), he belonged to a prominent tribal family. His father, David Oowatie, was an individual of some repute, and his younger brother Stand Watie later became a Confederate general. The Cherokee were by this time partly acculturated by their exposure to American settlers, and in 1818 Galagina was sent north to attend a missionary school in Cornwall, Connecticut. His benefactor in this regard was the New Jersey philanthropist Elias Boudinot; Galagina adopted his name as a token of respect. Boudinot performed well in his studies, progressing to Andover Seminary in 1822. But he stirred controversy when he fell in love with a local white girl, Harriet Ruggles Gold, and married her over parental objections. This act led authorities to close the Indian school in Cornwall.

Boudinot returned home to his tribe in Georgia in 1823. In 1828 his countryman SEQUOYAH developed the Cherokee alphabet, and in that year Boudinot, with his relatively strong education, was appointed editor of the tribal newspaper *Cherokee Phoenix*. He thereby became the first Native American editor of a major publication. Boudinot wrote extensively in his native language. Later, in 1833, he published the first novel in the Cherokee language, entitled *Poor Sarah; or, The Indian Woman*.

In the 1820s and early 1830s, Georgia authorities were buffeting the Cherokee with demands to sell their lands and migrate west. The tribe was increasingly torn by factions both for and against relocating. Boudinot, printing in both English and Cherokee, argued strenuously against the sale of any tribal holdings. A major shift in Boudinot's career occurred in 1832, however. After returning from a fund-raising event in Boston, he switched sides and advocated selling traditional Cherokee lands under the best possible terms before they were seized by whites. This stance brought him in direct conflict with Chief JOHN ROSS, who vigorously condemned the practice of selling land without consent of the entire tribe. As a result, Boudinot was forced out as editor.

By 1835 the so-called Treaty Party, consisting of those who were willing to sell their land to the American government, had evolved within the Cherokee nation. That year Boudinot, JOHN RIDGE, Major Ridge, Stand Watie, and other Cherokee visited Washington, D.C., and signed the Treaty of New Echota for the tribe's removal to the Indian Territory. This was accomplished without the consent of Ross and other senior chiefs, but on May 23, 1836, the U.S. Senate ratified the treaty by a single vote. The treaty set in motion the notorious TRAIL OF TEARS, whereby one fourth of the Cherokee died en route to new homes in the West. Boudinot established himself in Indian Territory in September 1837 and resumed his publishing activities, principally the translation of the New Testament and other religious tracts into Cherokee. Tribal loyalists, however, never forgave him for his role in signing the relocation treaty, and on June 22, 1839, Boudinot, the Ridges, and others associated with it were assassinated in Park Hill, Arkansas.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Bonus Bill** (December 23, 1816; vetoed March 3, 1817)

The Bonus Bill promised to provide federal funding for roads and canals, but President James Madison vetoed it in 1817 because he believed the U.S. Constitution did not grant the power to provide money for INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

With the increase in population and territory, the expanding market ECONOMY, and the introduction of steam-powered ships, the United States needed a new infrastructure of roads and canals. The WAR OF 1812 (1812–15) convinced even many Democratic-Republicans that the federal government had to provide assistance in its development. The eloquent South Carolinian congressman JOHN C. CALHOUN passionately advocated programs to enhance the wealth and power of the American nation. The main problem was the funding of such expensive programs. Most Americans rejected the idea of federal taxes. In the face of this opposition, Calhoun proposed a bold plan, the so-called Bonus Bill to raise funds for the construction and maintenance of roads and canals.

On December 16, 1816, Calhoun recommended that the House of Representatives appoint a committee to investigate the possibilities of creating funds for internal improvements by tapping into the profits of the SECOND

BANK OF THE UNITED STATES. Calhoun, the chairman of this committee, introduced a bill on December 23, 1816, to appropriate a \$1.5 million bonus payable to the federal government for chartering the bank and the future profits of the bank stock owned by the government. The plan would have provided for a series of canals and roads across the Appalachians, improvement of river transportation on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and a NATIONAL ROAD to the Deep South through the interior to New Orleans. With the support of HENRY CLAY, the Bonus Bill passed both houses.

To the surprise of Calhoun and many congressmen, President James Madison vetoed the bill on March 3, 1817, two days before he left office. Although Madison supported federally funded internal improvements, he objected to the bill on the grounds that the constitutional power to provide for the “common defense and general welfare” did not authorize the national government to subsidize internal improvements. Madison recalled that the power to build federal canals had been explicitly rejected in the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Thus, he objected to the doctrine of implied powers in the “general welfare” clause of the Constitution. However, he suggested an amendment to the Constitution to allow for the appropriation of funds for federal projects.

After attempts to pass an amendment or override the presidential veto failed, New York State began building the ERIE CANAL without federal support in 1817. The issue of federal funding and planning for internal improvements was raised again in 1822 when Congress sought to collect tolls on the Cumberland Road; it was finally settled by Jackson's Maysville Road Veto in 1830.

**Further reading:** Drew R. McCoy, *The Last of the Fathers: James Madison and the Republican Legacy* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

—Dirk Voss

**Bowie, Jim** (1796–1836) *pioneer, soldier*

One of the legendary figures of the early TEXAS frontier, James (Jim) Bowie is best known for his death at THE ALAMO in 1836 and for the hunting knife he helped to make famous. Although the details of his birth are sketchy, Bowie was most likely born in Logan County, Kentucky, in 1796 to Rezin and Elvy Jones Bowie. The Bowie family was of Scottish ancestry and had been in America since the early 18th century. When he was a boy, young Jim moved with his family to Rapides Parish, Louisiana, shortly before the United States bought that land from France as part of the Louisiana Purchase.

In early 1815, Jim Bowie and his older brother Rezin enlisted in the Louisiana Militia and started out for New



Orleans to join General ANDREW JACKSON's army. However, the BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS concluded before their arrival. After the war, Bowie joined a group of adventurers, including his brother, who went to Texas in the hope of separating that land from Spain. The Bowie brothers became involved with the pirate JEAN LAFITTE in a scheme to smuggle slaves into Louisiana, by then one of the United States, through Texas. It was at that point that Bowie first began to acquire a reputation as an especially tough character who was more than willing to defend his interests and honor with his fists and any other available weapon. It was in one of his many fights that Bowie supposedly first used the knife that was later named for him. However, it is quite possible that his brother Rezin actually designed the knife, which many on the southwestern frontier used.

Bowie went back to Texas and was baptized into the Catholic Church, which Mexican authorities required for all those who desired to settle there and own land. He also married Ursula María de Veramendi, whose father was a vice governor of one of the Mexican states. This union with the daughter of a wealthy man boosted Bowie's financial fortunes considerably. Although his search for a lost mine in Texas yielded no riches, his reputation as a tough frontiersman grew when he led a group of adventurers in fighting off a party of raiding Caddo Indians; he barely escaped with his life. Bowie experienced personal tragedy when a cholera outbreak claimed his wife Ursula in 1833. Still seeking wealth, he turned to a more profitable venture: land speculation. He acquired the title to considerable acreage in Texas by persuading Mexicans to apply for land grants and then buying the land from them for a reduced price.

In the 1830s, tensions developed between those who favored more autonomy for Texas and those who wanted a closer connection to the central Mexican government in Mexico City. Bowie sided with other expatriates from the United States who were increasingly skeptical of Mexican authority and were beginning to agitate for resistance. He fought with Texans in the Battle of Nacogdoches in 1832, one of the early confrontations in what became the TEXAS REVOLUTION. When that movement grew more serious two years later, Bowie became one of its leaders as a member of the first committee of safety. He later became a colonel in the fledgling Texas army, fighting to expel Mexican troops from Texas in 1835. When Mexican president ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA returned with a large army of several thousand in early 1836 to punish the Texans, Bowie was among a force of about 180 men who took up defensive positions at the Alamo, an abandoned Spanish mission in San Antonio.

Bowie became the commander of an informal volunteer militia that converged at the Alamo along with the regular Texas army. He apparently did not take well initially to the idea of being subordinate to the army's leader,

Colonel WILLIAM BARRET TRAVIS, who was much younger than Bowie. The two managed to work out a plan for joint command, but they disagreed about whether to seek a negotiated end to the conflict before the shooting started in earnest. Bowie favored doing so and sent a message to Santa Anna to that effect through a messenger. When the Mexican leader refused to consider any compromise, Travis and those in the Alamo, including Bowie, rejected any surrender. In the meantime, Bowie had become seriously ill, most likely with typhoid, and was in his sickbed when the Mexicans began their siege of the Alamo. His worsening condition left Travis to lead the beleaguered Texans. With no help coming from other Texas armies and with the Alamo now completely surrounded, the situation quickly became hopeless. The Mexicans, after a sustained artillery barrage, began to scale the walls of the mission on March 6, 1836. Bowie by this time was far too sick to join in the defense and was killed by Mexican troops in his bed as the Alamo fell. Along with Travis and DAVY CROCKETT of Tennessee, Bowie became among the most celebrated of the defenders of the Alamo, all of whom were elevated to the rank of American legends.

**Further reading:** William C. Davis, *Three Roads to the Alamo: The Lives and Fortunes of David Crockett, James Bowie and William Barrett Travis* (New York: HarperCollins, 1998); Jean Flynn, *Jim Bowie: A Texas Legend* (Burnet, Tex.: Eakin Press, 1980).

—Jason K. Duncan

**Brannan, Samuel** (1819–1889) *settler, journalist*

A pioneer, printer, and merchant who became CALIFORNIA's first millionaire, Samuel Brannan was born in Saco, Maine, on March 2, 1819. In 1833 his family moved to Kirtland, Ohio, where the 14-year-old Brannan became a printer's apprentice. In the mid-1830s the founder of the CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS, JOSEPH SMITH, JR., established a Mormon settlement in Kirtland, and in 1842 Brannan converted to the faith. Soon after, he married a Mormon woman and moved to New York City to work as a church publisher. Brannan amassed a small fortune in this capacity. In 1844, however, Joseph Smith was murdered by an Illinois mob, and his successor, BRIGHAM YOUNG, ordered Brannan to collect all the Mormons in the city and emigrate from the United States.

Brannan accordingly chartered the schooner *Brooklyn* at his own expense and undertook the lengthy voyage around Cape Horn to California, then officially a Mexican territory. In July 1846 they finally dropped anchor at Yerba Buena. That port, soon renamed San Francisco, had been seized by American settlers and was now part of the United States. (California became a U.S. state in 1850.) Brannan

and his 238 Saints (Mormon faithful) nonetheless blended in with the locals, and he began an ambitious program of economic development. He quickly opened several flour mills operated by Mormons, all the while accepting tithes from them, which he invested in other business schemes. He also established some of the earliest printing presses on the West Coast and edited the newspaper *California Star*. These endeavors were quite lucrative. In 1847 Brannan visited Brigham Young in Salt Lake City, Utah, and tried to convince Young to relocate the main church to California. When this failed, Brannan determined to run Mormon affairs along the West Coast to his own benefit.

In 1848 Brannan became aware of the presence of gold in and around Sutter's Fort. Quietly buying up all adjacent territory, he stocked his stores with utensils and items that prospective gold seekers might need. Then he announced his discovery to the world. He made a fortune during the ensuing CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH (1848–49) and continued diversifying his business interests to include office buildings, banks, a cattle ranch, and a vineyard. By 1856 Brannan was California's first millionaire, though the Mormon church ultimately excommunicated him for refusing to return church money. He nonetheless maintained high visibility in San Francisco politics, serving as head of the vigilante movement to eliminate city crime. His stridency in that role, however, led to his dismissal, and he lost heavily during a costly 1870 divorce. Thereafter Brannan took to drinking, squandered his fortune, and ended up living in poverty. He died in Escondido, California, on May 2, 1889, reputedly so poor that his body lay in the undertaker's vault for 16 months until a well-intentioned nephew paid the embalming bill. A pioneering, if slippery, entrepreneur of the California frontier, Brannan was finally laid to rest in San Diego.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Bridger, James** (1804–1881) *trader, trapper, guide, scout, explorer*

James Bridger was one of the most famous of the celebrated MOUNTAIN MEN and a guide whose knowledge of the geography of the West made him a legend in his lifetime. He was born in Richmond, Virginia, but his family soon moved to St. Louis, Missouri. When his parents died, the 13-year-old Bridger was apprenticed to a blacksmith, but he left the trade in 1822 to accompany WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY on

his first expedition to the Rocky Mountains. The next year, he and Thomas Fitzpatrick made the trip west overland with Major Andrew Henry. Another man on the journey was Hugh Glass, who had been severely mauled by a grizzly bear near Grand River, South Dakota. Although Henry had instructed them to care for and comfort Glass, Bridger and Fitzpatrick abandoned him in the belief he was about to die. Glass survived, and the story followed Bridger the rest of his life.

In late 1824 or early 1825 Bridger discovered the Great Salt Lake; he was probably the first American to see it. After Ashley's retirement, Bridger went to work for the company ran by JEDEDIAH STRONG SMITH and WILLIAM SUBLETTE. He was later employed by the ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY as a partner from 1830 until the dissolution of the company in 1834. In 1838, he signed on with the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY.

By 1843 Bridger had retired from the fur trade. With Louis Vasquez he built Fort Bridger at the Black Fork of the Green River in present-day western Wyoming. Here he offered an outfitting station for transcontinental emigrants headed to Oregon and California, with goods at high prices, fresh draft animals, and useful advice on schedules and routes. He sold his share in the fort to the CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS 10 years later. Throughout these years, he continued to be in great demand as a guide. He found and named Bridger's Pass and Cheyenne Pass in the Wasatch and the Rockies. On the outbreak of the MORMON WAR in 1856, Bridger guided Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston's federal troops to the Great Salt Lake. Two years later, he accompanied Captain William Reynolds's expedition to the Yellowstone River. Bridger also guided exploring parties over the Powder River route (1865–66) and surveyed the Bozeman Trail for the federal government. He subsequently worked with Colonel Grenville M. Dodge on a survey for the Union Pacific Railroad.

During his years in the West, Bridger married three Indian women: a Flathead, a Ute, and a Shoshone. He sent the children of these marriages to Missouri for education. In 1868, his eyesight having declined, Bridger left the employ of the Union Pacific and bought a house at Westport, Missouri, near his friends WILLIAM BENT and Louis Vasquez.

Bridger's knowledge of the western landscape was unsurpassed, and his knowledge of the Indian peoples who had lived there was almost as great. He was one of those rare western pioneer figures who lived long enough to be celebrated as an icon of the American frontier. He appeared in the reports of the many prominent military officers, explorers, and writers whom he had guided. E. C. Judson, who wrote under the pen name Ned Buntline,

wrote popular adventure stories about Bridger's career in the West. When he died in 1881, Bridger had joined that select group of western heroes who seemed to exemplify the human responses to the challenges of the frontier: uneducated but savvy, a man who could respond to every challenge from Indians to snowstorms, and who emerged with a story to tell.

**Further reading:** Dale L. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1953); Stanley Vestal, *Jim Bridger, Mountain Man* (New York: Morrow, 1946).

### Brook Farm

Former Unitarian minister George Ripley and his followers founded this experimental farm, also known as the Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education, on 200 acres of land in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, in April 1841. The farming operations were designed around the ideals of cooperative living, in which members combined manual labor and intellectual activities in an effort to regain a sense of higher calling that they felt was being destroyed by industrialization and the increasing division of labor.

At the beginning, prospective members financed the farm through a joint-stock company, with stocks selling for \$500 per share. Individual Brook farmers were supposed to devote part of each day to the manual labor necessary for agriculture and another part of the day to developing their minds and improving their souls. Artistic and social pursuits were highly valued, and the members enthusiastically participated in plays, musical performances, cardplaying, picnics, and other amusements. Several important social thinkers and artists joined this experimental farm, including Nathaniel Hawthorne, Isaac Hecker, and Charles A. Dana. The farm also attracted many prominent visitors such as MARGARET FULLER, RALPH WALDO EMERSON, William Ellery Channing, and Horace Greeley. These influential visitors spread the word about Brook Farm and its philosophy in their writings. As such, Brook Farm was an embodiment of the TRANSCENDENTAL MOVEMENT, and was also influenced by George Ripley's experiences with Unitarianism.

The farmers produced crops for subsistence and for sale, but their agricultural efforts were hampered by poor soil and inexperience. More economically successful was the Brook Farm school, which implemented the farmers' progressive ideas about learning by doing. This combination of thought and action was part of Ripley's desire to reconnect the social classes by requiring each person to engage in both manual and intellectual tasks. By requir-

ing members to participate in all aspects of farm living, the founders hoped to reach greater social harmony and personal development in society.

Influenced by the writings of French philosopher CHARLES FOURIER, the members of Brook Farm decided to convert to his phalanx model in 1844. Fourier's ideas fitted well with the original aims of Brook Farm, since he advocated the reorganization of civilization into agricultural groupings (phalanxes). These phalanxes would develop social harmony through an economic system in which people worked on the tasks for which they were most suited, shedding the confines of industrial society and cultivating their whole selves. Each phalanx would live in a community dwelling called a phalanstery. The Brook Farm phalanstery burned down in 1846, while still under construction. The fire was a major financial setback for the farm and led to its dissolution in 1847. Even though Brook Farm existed only briefly, the ideas it tried to embody continued to be influential among Transcendentalists and other social utopians. Other more successful phalanxes were founded in the United States, and Ripley's experimental farm continued on in the memories and writings of the people who participated in it.

**Further reading:** Sterling F. Delano, *Brook Farm: The Dark Side of Utopia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004); Richard Francis, *Transcendental Utopias: Individual and Community at Brook Farm, Fruitlands, and Walden* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997); Lindsay Swift, *Brook Farm: Its Members, Scholars, and Visitors* (Secaucus, N.J.: Citadel Press, 1961).

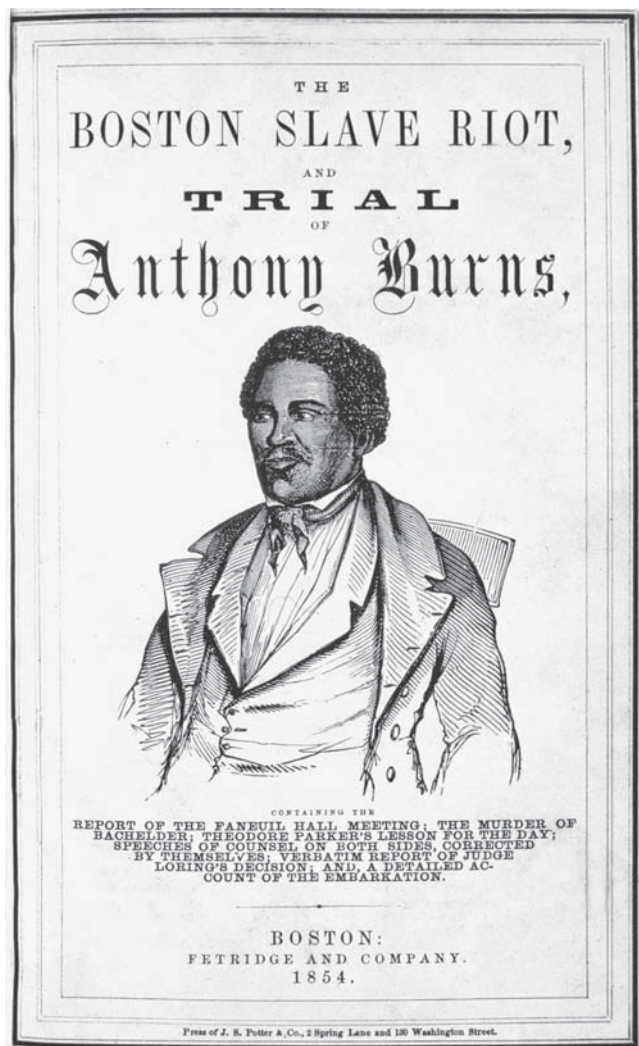
—Eleanor H. McConnell

**Brown, John** See VOLUME V.

### Burns, Anthony (1829–1862) antislavery activist

A fugitive slave whose capture and return to his owners generated controversy among northern abolitionists, Anthony Burns was born in Stafford County, Virginia, on May 31, 1829. Though denied a formal education, he learned the alphabet from playing with white children and taught himself to read and write. He subsequently converted to the Baptist faith and found fulfillment serving as a "slave preacher" to his fellow African Americans. Having injured his right hand and being no longer capable of sustained labor, Burns became convinced that deportation to the Deep South and even harsher treatment was imminent. He thereupon decided to escape and, while working as a stevedore and with the assistance of an obliging white sailor, he fled to Boston in March





Cover of *The Boston Slave Riot and Trial of Anthony Burns*  
(Hulton/Archive)

1854. There, on May 24, 1854, Burns was arrested at the behest of his former master under the controversial FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW of 1850. This legislation reaffirmed the status of slaves as property and mandated returning

them to their rightful owners. Failure to comply was a federal offense.

Word of Burns's arrest and impending extradition back to Virginia caused considerable unrest among Boston's abolitionist community. A mass protest was staged by WENDELL PHILLIPS outside of Faneuil Hall, and when violence broke out in an attempt to free Burns from the municipal court house, a deputy sheriff was killed. During court proceedings, Burns was represented by noted attorney RICHARD HENRY DANA, who argued strenuously but futilely for his release. The following day, the militia was called out to escort the prisoner from the court to the dock, where he was placed on a boat and shipped back to Virginia. The entire episode cost the U.S. government an estimated \$15,000 for the return of one fugitive slave.

Once back in Virginia, Burns was imprisoned for five months as punishment. During this time, he was sold by his original owner to David McDaniel, a speculator. McDaniel had been contacted by a group of Bostonians who procured \$1,500 to purchase Burns's freedom. Accordingly, in March 1855 he returned north a free man and was publicly hailed as the "Lion of Boston." Further donations allowed Burns to attend the Preparatory Department of Oberlin College, Ohio, where he formally studied theology and became a Baptist minister. He preached briefly in Indianapolis before an atmosphere of racial intolerance induced him to relocate to St. Catharines, Ontario, as pastor of the fugitive slave community. He died there in that capacity on July 27, 1862. Burns's notoriety had been brief but decisive; in the wake of his ordeal, no other fugitive slave was forcibly returned. Moreover, the entire episode added greater moral and political impetus to the rising cause of abolitionism. Eight northern states subsequently passed "personal liberty laws" to further infringe on compliance with the Fugitive Slave Law.

**Further reading:** Albert J. Von Frank, *The Trials of Anthony Burns: Freedom and Slavery in Emerson's Boston* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

—John C. Fredriksen



**Cabet, Étienne** (1788–1856) *settler, writer*

A socialist community founder, Étienne Cabet was born into a working class family in Dijon, France, in 1788. He grew up in an atmosphere suffused with the sights and sounds of the great revolution of 1789. Educated at the local lycée (school), he became a medical student, but law was his real interest. After pursuing legal studies, he was admitted to the bar and then took a doctoral degree in law. When the courts in Dijon became hostile toward his legal defense of political radicals, he moved to Paris, where he identified himself with radical causes, culminating in his support of the July Revolution of 1830. The new monarch, Louis-Philippe, appointed him procureur-general for Corsica, but his extreme views led to his recall. He then sought political office and was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, where he allied with the radical faction. In 1833, Cabet established his own newspaper, *Le Populaire*, which became a voice for the workers. The following year, he published articles that incited readers to overthrow the government. He was indicted, and in order to avoid prison, he went into exile in London for five years.

In London, Cabet wrote a utopian novel, *Voyage et Aventures de Lord William Carisdell en Icarie*. When he returned to France in 1839, he republished the volume with the title *Voyage en Icarie*. The book was an immediate sensation. Into the economic and political ferment of the 1840s, Cabet and his book spoke to a vision of a just and equitable society. In May 1847, he wrote an article that described a utopian community in the United States.

Cabet correctly sensed that the PUBLIC LAND POLICY of the United States offered opportunities for land acquisition not available elsewhere. Unfortunately, instead of dealing with the federal land system, he negotiated with a Texas land company for 1 million acres on the Red River in Texas. When the advance party of some 70 Icariens arrived at the site, they found the holdings widely scat-

tered and not especially fertile. Cabet gathered the main body of 500 adherents in New Orleans for a new start. In 1849, he leased the land and buildings of the former Mormon community at NAUVOO, Illinois. The community of Icariens settled into the new site under Cabet's leadership, and New Icaria began a six-year period of prosperity and growth.

In the midst of this success, Cabet found himself besieged by the courts in France and by a dissident faction in Nauvoo. Some of the French Icariens, irate at the failure of the Texas colony, brought suit for fraud against Cabet in French courts. The French courts supported the plaintiffs and sentenced Cabet in absentia to prison and a fine. In 1852, Cabet returned to Paris to defend himself against the judgment. Even as he achieved a degree of vindication in the French courts, the dissident faction in Nauvoo grew. In 1856, this group elected a majority to the board of directors governing the colony. Cabet challenged the legitimacy of the election, but civil authorities in the state of Illinois upheld the results of the election. Cabet then moved with 180 followers to the outskirts of St. Louis, where he suffered a stroke and died in 1856. The Icarian colonies survived him, including communities at Cheltenham, Missouri; Corning, Iowa; and Cloverdale, California.

Although French in origin and French in his views of society, the economy, and politics, Cabet's great social experiments were in the United States. As a part of his commitment to the nation that offered a refuge to himself and his followers, he became a citizen of the United States in 1854. Ridiculed in much of the French press, Cabet's communities nevertheless continued to attract adherents on a regular basis throughout the 19th century well after his death.

**Further reading:** Étienne Cabet, *Travels in Icaria*, translated by Leslie Roberts (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2003); Christopher H. Johnson, *Utopian Communi-*



*ties in France: Cabet and the Icarians, 1839–1851* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974).

**Calhoun, John C.** (1782–1850) *secretary of state, secretary of war, U.S. vice president*

One of the leading senators of the first half of the 19th century as well as the most prominent ideological and political defenders of southern rights and slavery, John Caldwell Calhoun was born on March 18, 1782, in what is now Abbeville, South Carolina. The Calhouns were a prominent slave-owning family of Scotch-Irish ancestry. John Calhoun was named for his uncle, John Caldwell, his mother's brother, who was killed by Tories during the intense civil struggle that marked the American Revolution in the Carolinas. His father, Patrick Calhoun, rose to political prominence, and as a member of the South Carolina legislature he opposed the federal Constitution during the 1780s.

Young John Calhoun attended school in Georgia, where he studied history and philosophy, including the works of the English political thinker John Locke. After graduating from Yale College with a strong academic record, he enrolled at the well-known law school in Litchfield, Connecticut, run by Tapping Reeve. In both New England

schools, Calhoun was a rare Republican, and, unlike his classmates, he exhibited little interest in formal religion. After completing his legal education, Calhoun returned to South Carolina, where he opened a law office in Abbeville and quickly gained a reputation for sharp thinking and honesty. He soon turned to politics, making his inaugural speech a defense of American national honor as he lambasted Britain for its navy's attack on the U.S. ship *Chesapeake* in 1807.

Shortly after his political debut, Calhoun won election to the South Carolina legislature in 1808 at the age of 26. While serving there, the legislature devised a plan to share power between the lowland section of the state, ruled by large slave-owning planters and merchants, and upcountry, which was home to yeoman farmers. Each section of the state was effectively given control over one house of the legislature when it reapportioned its seats. This was Calhoun's first experience with the idea of the "concurrent majorities," by which two competing interests would each be equally represented within one government.

John C. Calhoun's service in the South Carolina legislature was brief. Following his first term, he was elected to the U.S. Congress as a Republican. Around the time of his election, Calhoun married his distant cousin Floride Bonneau Calhoun, who was 11 years younger than he and a member of a prominent Charleston family of French Huguenot, or Protestant, ancestry. The couple had 10 children, seven of whom survived until adulthood. The marriage served to advance Calhoun's political status in South Carolina.

Upon his arrival in Washington, Calhoun and the rest of Congress were faced with a growing crisis with Britain and the likelihood of a second war with that country. Calhoun and a group of young congressmen, mainly from the South and West, emerged as fierce advocates of defending national pride and were named the WAR HAWKS for their exuberance. Although a newcomer to Washington and to Congress, Calhoun was named chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee, and it was his committee that passed a key resolution calling for war with Britain. Once the WAR OF 1812 had commenced, Calhoun was active in organizing and sustaining logistical and financial support for the war. The pace and scope of his actions were such that one observer of wartime Washington described him as "the young Hercules who carried the war on his shoulders."

Once the war had ended, Calhoun resumed his fervent and strengthened nationalism in Congress; he was instrumental, for example, in chartering the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES in 1816. He also advocated federal support for internal improvements and for a high tariff to protect American goods from foreign competition. Calhoun also spoke for the need for a standing federal army, even in peacetime, as well as for strengthening the navy.



John C. Calhoun (Library of Congress)

He dismissed objections to nationalist measures that were based on sectional interests and on what he called “refined arguments on the constitution.”

Calhoun’s nationalism, which was forged in the War of 1812, would not ultimately govern the rest of his career. He did, however, resign his seat in Congress to join the cabinet of President JAMES MONROE as secretary of war. He served with distinction in that office, although his mind had more of a philosophical bent than an administrative one.

In 1824 Calhoun briefly entered the presidential contest to succeed the retiring Monroe. Unable to garner enough support for the presidency, he accepted the Republican nomination for vice president and assumed that office when JOHN QUINCY ADAMS became president. Although part of the Adams administration, Calhoun soon forged a political alliance with ANDREW JACKSON and New Yorker MARTIN VAN BUREN. They and others began building support for Jackson’s 1828 White House bid almost immediately after Adams took office. This tactical decision by Calhoun did not mean that he had abandoned his own presidential ambitions. His hope was to succeed Jackson after the aging general served one term in the White House.

It was during his years as vice president that Calhoun started to modify his unqualified nationalism. Southerners came to despise the high tariffs designed to protect New England manufacturing interests, which they believed artificially raised their agricultural costs. South Carolina took the lead in opposing what its political leaders in the 1820s referred to as the “Tariff of Abominations.” In his trips back home to his native state, Calhoun could not but notice how the deep feeling of resentment toward the North was based not only on the tariff but on a more general and wide-ranging critique of the nation’s federal system. Calhoun for his part agreed to write a political treatise in which he insisted that South Carolina had the right to nullify any national law it determined was contrary to its own interests. He further argued that the federal union was made by the states, and they remained the sovereign body within it. The Constitution itself was fundamentally an agreement, or compact between the states, and the federal government was their instrument. Hence, Calhoun took a crucial step away from his nationalism and began to embrace fully the doctrine of states’ rights. His newfound sectionalism helped to end any hopes that he had of succeeding Jackson. Calhoun resigned the vice presidency in 1832 and was subsequently elected to the U.S. Senate from South Carolina.

The dispute between South Carolina and the federal government over the tariff issue came to a head in 1833. At one point, President Jackson threatened to lead an army into South Carolina and hang John Calhoun. Hoping to avoid a crisis, Calhoun helped to forge a compromise on the tariff. But in the wake of Nat Turner’s rebellion in

Virginia and as abolitionism burgeoned in the North, Calhoun emerged as the leading spokesman for the cause of southern rights. A slaveholder and confirmed believer in white superiority, Calhoun began a vigorous defense of SLAVERY, which covered the final two decades of his life, on a range of political, economic, philosophical and moral grounds. He asserted that the rights of slaveholding states must should be protected within a nation that was increasingly dominated by the North and its manufacturing- and wage-based economy. One way to do so, Calhoun argued, was by a concurrent majority, a concept he had originally encountered in the South Carolina legislature.

Calhoun’s antiabolitionist activity included supporting the “Gag Rule” by which Congress refused to even consider antislavery petitions; he also strongly favored the right of southern postmasters to remove abolitionist literature from the mail. Calhoun served briefly as secretary of state under President JOHN TYLER, and in that post he enthusiastically supported the U.S. annexation of TEXAS and argued for adding more slave states to the Union. Upon his return to the Senate in 1845, however, he came to oppose the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, in the belief that the incorporation of so much new territory into the United States would push the question of slavery once again to the forefront and threaten the Union. Unfortunately, Calhoun was right in that fear; Congress soon found itself debating a proposal to ban slavery in all lands that the United States would gain in the war with Mexico. Calhoun stepped forward once more to defend the interests of the South, arguing that the addition of the free states of Oregon and CALIFORNIA would tip the balance of power against the South and cripple its ability to protect slavery from abolitionists.

The culmination of Calhoun’s thinking on this subject came in his two essays, “The Disquisition on Government” and “Discourse on the Constitution.” In them, he once again spelled out the need for southern interests, unique as they were, to be guaranteed with special safeguards or else the continuation of the Union would not be possible. He repeated his view that the American political system was uniquely federal, not national, with ultimate sovereignty residing not with the federal government but rather with the people of the states. He went so far as to propose that the North and South would each elect its own president, and the consent of both would be needed to enact legislation into law.

In his final year of life, Calhoun remained opposed to compromise over the question of the territory acquired from Mexico. Sick and rapidly failing, he sat by in the Senate while a colleague read his final speech on March 4, 1850, in which he traced the change of the United States from a federal republic to a “consolidated democracy” increasingly dominated by the North. The South, meaning its slaveholders, would have no way to protect their rights

and interests in such a transformed polity. Having offered little hope for saving the Union, he died on March 31, 1850, and was buried in Charleston, South Carolina. The COMPROMISE OF 1850 staved off civil war for another decade, but John C. Calhoun had already laid the intellectual foundation for the doctrine of states' rights and of secession itself.

**Further reading:** Irving H. Bartlett, *John C. Calhoun: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1993); Richard N. Current, *John C. Calhoun* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1963).

—Jason Duncan

## California

The original human inhabitants of what was to become California were Indians who had crossed the bridge from Asia to northern North America some 15,000 years ago. As Indian peoples spread across the continent, south and then east, they extended human habitation across the range of South and North America. Amidst this movement over generations and centuries, large numbers remained clustered in what would become California. The pleasant climate and the varieties of accessible foods—fish, game, and seeds especially—made the place attractive for permanent settlement. As the natural resources were so extensive, California Indians had little reason to make a transition to agriculture, and they remained hunters, fishers, and gatherers. They were also diverse in their cultures, with the northern Modoc and Shasta connected culturally to the nations of the Pacific Northwest, the Miwok in the central valleys, the several nations of the south, and the Mojave and Yuma in the eastern deserts. These varied groups were sedentary and generally peaceful. The plentiful natural resources and mild climate had reduced the friction associated with expansion in search of food sources.

The ships of several European nations had passed up and down the California coastline for 200 years before European settlement began. Spanish explorers landed and spied out Alta California (the name given to Upper California by the Spanish) as early as the 1540s. In spite of its physical appeal, California did not fit easily into the Spanish empire. There was no readily exploitable source of wealth, and the ocean currents and winds made it difficult to sail up the coast from Mexico.

Among those in the first expedition who established a permanent Spanish settlement in San Diego in 1769 was Father Junípero Serra, who would found many of Alta California's missions. Spain's resources for expansion were declining, and given the great distances in Upper California, it was the missions that became the centers of Spanish settlement. Ultimately, there were 21 missions

established on important sites. The missions established effective agricultural enterprise aided by the attractive weather and fertile soil, but they were far less successful in bringing together large numbers of Indians on a voluntary basis. Instead, missionaries frequently enslaved the Indians to establish an agricultural labor system and keep it in place. Partly because of this failure and partly because of the pleasant life they enjoyed, the padres made no effort to secularize the missions and deliver them into Indian hands after a period of years. It should also be noted that the important sites and lands in Alta California were in the hands of the church rather than secular entrepreneurs, and the missionaries hoped to isolate the Indians on the missions from what they regarded as dangerous temptations of the secular world.

In 1821 Mexico revolted against Spanish imperial rule and established its independence, upon which Alta California became a state in the Republic of Mexico. As the new Mexican republic worked to establish its authority over an enormous area with a diverse population, the state of California came to exercise a high degree of independence. The appointed governors resident in Monterey were a long way from Mexico City, and the authority of the republic was weak at such a distance.

The new republic felt strongly about one aspect of life in California. In the aftermath of the revolution of 1821, the federal government of the Mexican republic turned its attention to the missions of California, which it thought exploited the Native peoples. After extended deliberations, the missions were secularized. Unhappily, the Indians themselves did not benefit from the secularization process; instead, the fertile mission lands were appropriated by large ranchos that were to spread across much of southern and central California following independence from Spain.

After 1821 the new government of Mexico also set up plans to develop the nation's northern provinces. The new settlements would protect the distant reaches of the new, independent nation from the incursions of the Russians from the North or the Anglo-Americans from the East. Spain had used the missions to establish its nominal control; Mexico turned to independent ranchos in the hands of individual families. It was a solution to the problem appropriate to the new nation: secularization mixed with private land ownership. The spread of the rancho system was also natural because the experiences of the missions over two generations had demonstrated that California was an ideal climate and landscape for the pastoral industry.

The federal government in Mexico City now made a number of large grants to individuals. In 1820, there were perhaps 20 sizable private land holdings in Upper California; in 1840, there were 600 such tracts. Most of these new land grants were very large, up to several thousand acres. Ranchos became distinct and separate independent politi-



cal, economic, and social units. They were run by families as private fiefs with total control over every aspect of life. Much of the work was done by former mission Indians, now laboring under conditions of debt peonage, or an economic situation close to permanent slavery. This semiféudal system did not owe allegiance to any central government, and other than making further land grants, the government in Mexico City exercised little influence or sovereignty in California, where the dominant influence had become that of the local ranchos.

As the pastoral industry of livestock grazing took hold on a large scale and soon prospered, the ranchos became, inevitably, involved in trade with the outside world. The traders turned out to be New England sea captains and their ships, which began to make regular stops at sites along the California coast to pick up cargoes of cattle hides and tallow. The classic description of this trade is depicted in RICHARD HENRY DANA's *Two Years Before the Mast*. Over a period of 20 years after independence, the strongest influence in Alta California was not the federal government in Mexico City but the resident trade representatives established by New England merchant companies in the port towns of California. By the 1840s, there were many such agents, of whom the most significant was THOMAS OLIVER LARKIN. Seagoing commerce made the California ranchos wealthy, and the dependence of the ranchos on trade made the agents of trading companies enormously influential. This relationship was the beginning of a widening American influence in California affairs.

The numbers of Euro-American peoples involved remained small. In 1845, after a quarter-century of Mexican independence and on the eve of war between Mexico and the United States, the non-Indian population of California was probably on the order of 7,000. American immigration overland had begun on what would become the CALIFORNIA TRAIL, a branch of the OREGON TRAIL. Perhaps as many as several hundred people a year were arriving in California after a transcontinental journey.

In 1846, as relations between the United States and Mexico worsened, a group of itinerant hunters and trappers organized a rebellion against Mexican rule in California with a view to its annexation to the United States. Known as the BEAR FLAG REVOLT, this miscellaneous force was led by JOHN C. FRÉMONT. However, their ineffectual but sometimes violent actions were overtaken by larger events.

The outbreak of the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR in May 1846 changed the direction of California's history. The harbor at San Francisco Bay was considered the most important naval anchorage on the West Coast, and California had always played a central role in American expansionist plans. As part of military operations, General STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY's army reached California in December 1846.

Kearny and Commodore ROBERT FIELD STOCKTON, in command of American naval forces, defeated the Mexican army at Los Angeles on January 8, 1847, and on March 1, Kearny established an American civil government in California. At the TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO, signed on February 2, 1848, Mexico ceded to the United States one-third of her northern national territory, including California.

Even before the signatures had been affixed to the treaty, the U.S. plans for California were overtaken by an unforeseen event. On January 24, 1848, at the site of JOHN SUTTER's mill in Coloma on the American River, a carpenter named James W. Marshall discovered gold. The ensuing immigration from around the world, known as the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH, would change the face of California and shape its development for the next half-century. By 1850, the census of California showed nearly 100,000 people, almost all of them arrived in the previous year. This influx of humanity would submerge the Mexican population of California, call into question many of the land grants made by the Mexican government, and quickly make California an American area. The constitution drafted at Monterey in the autumn of 1850 prohibited slavery, in large part because of the fear on the part of miners that slaves would become competition for free miners. Congress conferred statehood in 1850, as part of a settlement of territorial acquisitions from the Mexican-American War known as the COMPROMISE OF 1850.

California grew rapidly in the 1850s as mining expanded and prospered; AGRICULTURE developed on the fertile soil, tended by a burgeoning population; and San Francisco became the leading metropolitan center on the West Coast, with a population that became the most cosmopolitan in the nation. To the waves of Americans who came across the continent in 1849 and 1850—and in subsequent years by sea—were added large numbers of Mexicans, Chileans, Peruvians, and Hawaiians; from Europe, Germans, English, and French; and finally Australians and Chinese. All were subject to a growing unhappiness with the influx of foreigners, and in response to such sentiments, the legislature passed a heavy tax of \$20 a month against foreign miners in 1850. After extensive protests, the tax was reduced in 1851 to \$4 a month.

Of these groups, the Chinese would become the most visible feature of life in California. Arriving in large numbers for the first time in 1852, they had come in response to the lure of "Gold Mountain," the opportunity associated with the gold rush for poor men without name or education to make a fortune. The Chinese came, for the most part, as contract laborers, and of all the immigrant groups, they were the most distinctive. As the economic opportunities associated with the gold rush waned, they became the universal victims of the rising discontent against newcomers.

Indians were also targets of violence. Isolated raids against itinerant miners in the mountains were met with massive reprisals. The state government promulgated an official policy under which Indians were to be hunted down as dangerous to civil order. The Indian population in California was decimated within a decade of the opening of the gold rush.

By 1860, on the eve of the Civil War, California had completed a decade of extraordinary growth. Agriculture had begun to take hold in the central valleys. The towns of Sacramento and Stockton were growing as commercial centers. Yet it was also a time of uneasiness and civil disorder. In response to a rising level of crime and violence, “committees of vigilance” took power in San Francisco in 1851 and 1856, enforcing justice through extra-legal means. In the latter year, a private army controlled the city for three months, and several notorious characters were hung. Nevertheless, despite its uneasiness and violence, San Francisco emerged as a financial center of the West Coast as well as a cosmopolitan center of theater, literature, and journalism. In 1859, for example, San Francisco had 12 daily newspapers. They all paid tribute to the fastest-growing city in the rapidly growing Golden State.

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### California gold rush

The California gold rush was the mass movement of men and women to California in response to the discovery of gold by James W. Marshall, a carpenter, who found nuggets at JOHN SUTTER’s mill on January 24, 1848. Although Marshall and his employer Sutter tried to keep the news quiet, rumors spread quickly. First arrivals came from along the West Coast, from Sonora and Oregon, and from the HAWAIIAN ISLANDS. The news then spread to the eastern states, from Maine to Mississippi, Wisconsin to Florida, and finally around the world. In response to the news of gold that was available to everyone, Americans initially set forth by sea as early as the winter of 1848–49, some on voyages of 8–10 months around Cape Horn; others took a shorter route to Panama, where they crossed the isthmus and then sought a ship to take them up the coast to San Francisco. Overland emigration began in the spring of 1849 from Independence and St. Joseph, by way of the CALIFORNIA TRAIL. The appeal of gold in California turned out to be universal. Those who would become known as the FORTY-NINERS came from farms, small towns, and large cities, with representatives of every class, from the wealthy

to those in average circumstances and from every state and territory, including slaves brought by their owners to the goldfields.

The prospect of the wealth opened by news of the dazzling discoveries at Sutter’s mill offered young people escape from what they thought of as the limited horizons of the village, the farm, or the shop, and the daily demand of labor associated with these places. It was not the young alone, however, who were spurred into action. Men of all ages and conditions made plans to go to California, and a surprising number of women wished to join them.

The response to the California gold discoveries was the greatest westward migration in the history of the nation. Some 80,000 went to California in 1849 and probably 300,000 by 1854. It was an immigration that was made by land across half a continent and by sea over thousands of miles of ocean to new and heretofore unimagined adventure and wealth. In the end, the California gold rush drew people from all over the world, including peasants from China and lawyers from Paris, miners from Wales and merchants from Chile. California would become in a few short years the most cosmopolitan place in the world, and San Francisco the most cosmopolitan city.

Astonishing as it might seem (and did to the Americans at the time) in a world of rumor and exaggeration, the stories of riches in California were true. The Golden State—it would join in Union in 1850—produced a seemingly endless flood of gold. While agricultural laborers in the East earned a dollar a day for 12 hours of work in the fields, and artisans and craftsmen received perhaps a dollar and a half for the same hours, men who were recently farmers and mechanics made \$16 and even \$20 a day washing gravel in the streambeds of California’s foothills. In the six years from 1849 to 1855, the argonauts (as they were sometimes called) harvested some \$300 million in gold from California.

The other astonishing feature of the California gold rush was that gold was available to everyone. This greatest bonanza in the history of the young republic and newly crowned continental nation was open to all, regardless of wealth, social standing, education, or family name. No experience was necessary, mining skills could be learned in 15 minutes, and the only tools necessary were a pick, pan, and a shovel, at least in the early years.

Those who went to California overland in 1849 and subsequent years often did so with their friends and neighbors, joining together in what they called a company. This was a group of people who shared the duties of work on the trail and looked after one another—in other words, a support network. As the young and inexperienced argonauts confronted an unknown adventure involving great distances and a strange and alien landscape, such a network was both welcome and necessary.





Gold mining in California (Hulton/Archive)

The first companies went by ship or by wagon overland from St. Joseph or Independence, Missouri, to Placerville (or Hangtown, as the argonauts affectionately referred to it). By 1852, the newest victims of gold mania—and it seemed to produce annual outbreaks in different parts of the nation—were traveling by railroad to steamships and then by sea to the golden shores of California in a fraction of the time taken by their predecessors in the first great overland emigration only three years earlier.

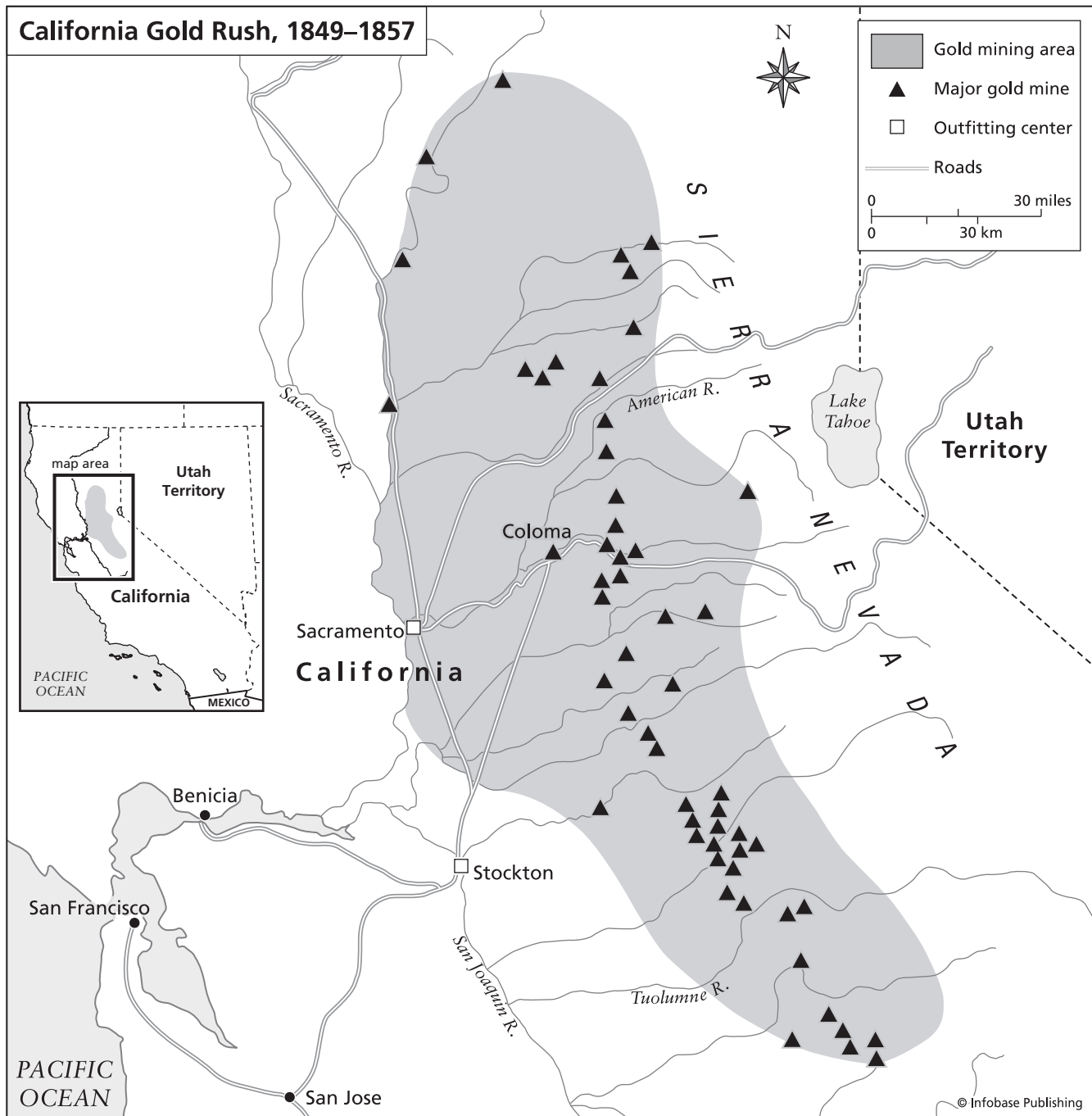
Once arrived in California, whether by land or by sea, the Forty-niners reassembled once more in groups for living and working. They called these groups mining companies or messes, after the domestic duties that were as much a part of their lives as the work in the rushing streams of the mountains. It was one of the unexpected characteristics of the California gold rush that mining, viewed as a lonely and selfish enterprise, was in reality an intensely cooperative experience.

With his new companions, the average Forty-niner established a new set of economic and social bonds. As early as the summer and fall of 1848, the first observers in the goldfields commented on the advantage of working in groups of at least three or four. These divisions for mining, with its unending hard physical labor, long hours,

and collective work, also helped to develop the new living arrangements. For the argonauts, it was cheaper and more practical to live in groups. As few as three men, but often from six to eight, would occupy a large tent or cabin, where they would take turns cooking, cleaning, and making trips to town for food and mail.

The mining company as a unit of work and living offered support in case of sickness and even death. The Forty-niner's companions would sit up with an ill miner, fetch the doctor, and arrange the burial. They would settle the estate, and they would write to the dead man's family and carry out his last wishes.

The work of mining was arduous, repetitive, and took place under difficult physical conditions. Gold mining in California at mid-century—called placer mining—was among the most onerous work performed by free labor anywhere. Working a claim was a continuous round of digging, shoveling, carrying, and washing that continued unabated and with little variation throughout the day from sunrise to sunset. For many members of the company or mess, the work was carried out in swift, ice-cold, moving water up to their knees. Overhead was the burning summer California sun that shone into the canyons and watercourses. The summer months were crucial for digging and washing, for



the dry season meant a drop in the water level, exposing the bars and riffles with the richest dirt. So hot were the days that even during the best mining season, the company often rested during the heat of the day. Placer mining was repetitive and exhausting.

When the miners had finished a day's work, they returned to the cabin and a round of chores. The domestic duties associated with the goldfields were as necessary and

repetitive as the search for gold itself. They included cooking, serving, and fetching firewood and water, all rotated on a weekly basis. For those who preferred to live alone, there were boardinghouses, complete with meals. Miners also washed and mended their clothes. Although cleanliness does not seem to have been a high priority, mending had a certain practical aspect, saving the cost of expensive new clothing.

The domestic dimension of the gold rush reflected the powerful influence of women, who dominated aspects of life in California by their absence rather than their presence. With the mining counties 97% male, the gold rush was also a continuing search for a scarce and valuable commodity—women, who turned out to be, for some years, even rarer than gold. The Forty-niners came from a world in which they had taken the presence of women for granted, but in California the argonauts confronted for the first time the prospect of a society without women, and they struggled to make the adjustment.

The growth of numbers in the goldfields was explosive. At the end of 1848, observers estimated there were 5,000 miners in California; 50,000 at the end of 1849; 100,000 at the close of 1850 and 125,000 miners in subsequent years. These numbers produced great returns, although unevenly spread across the range of mining and miners. Such astonishing numbers of miners generated new markets for goods and services. Every crossroads and mining camp of any size had a store, and towns had three or four or more. Miners took Sunday as a day off and went into town, so the entertainment business flourished, especially gambling. San Francisco became a thriving port of entry for people and goods, and the volume of commerce demanded a growing transportation network of wagons, animals, and facilities to care for them. Saloons, eateries, and boardinghouses sprang up everywhere in the goldfields, and they flourished.

The annual immigrations of new argonauts continued throughout the 1850s. As new Forty-niners arrived, others went home. The patterns of movement to and from the goldfields were continuous. Mining gradually changed, becoming less and less the work of individuals or even mining companies. First, large groups of miners joined together to build a dam to divert the flow of a stream, with a view to mining the streambed. This technique, known as river mining, demanded large numbers of miners and a substantial capital investment for a major construction project. River mining was soon followed by quartz mining, digging shafts into the sides of hills to follow seams of gold; and then hydraulic mining, in which a powerful stream of water would be used to wash away a hillside and produce gravels that could be processed for gold. All these techniques needed capital investment, and mining entrepreneurs soon began to sell stock in such ventures to the public.

From the first primitive venture, mining changed the landscape, and with larger numbers and larger-scale techniques, the changes created devastation. Beyond the physical reconfiguration of the streams and rivers of central California were the endless signs of indifferent human habitation. Old camps and mining sites marked the passage of tens of thousands and eventually hundreds of thousands through

the California landscape. The common quality that bound all these individuals over a generation was that they had come to get rich, and since they intended to stay the briefest possible time, they were not interested in the devastation wreaked on the countryside. Most miners were not purposefully destructive; they were simply intent on wealth.

The California gold rush also had a catastrophic impact on the Indian peoples of California. Driven from the meadows and streams that had provided their places of habitation for centuries, they retreated to the isolation of the high mountains. But no matter how remote the location, prospecting parties of miners would invade their habitats. As their economic condition worsened, the Indians raided mining camps in search of food. Their incursions were met with organized violence by large numbers. Miners and others reacted with a rage born of uneasiness and racial superiority. They organized expeditions into the distant Indian sanctuaries, especially in the winter when miners were idle. These expeditions were often undertaken as official acts of the state government. The violence, in conjunction with a legalized form of indentured service, reduced the Indian population from 250,000 to 15,000 between 1850 and 1900. This was among the most calamitous outcomes of any Indian group from first contact with Euro-Americans.

By the end of the 1850s, gold production in California had stabilized at about \$40 million annually. Agriculture had become increasingly significant for the Golden State, especially the development of wheat and grazing in the Central Valley, while San Francisco had made the transition from mining town to a cosmopolitan city. Yet the influences of the California gold rush were everywhere. The discovery of gold had affected the history of California and its peoples (including Mexican and Indian peoples) in dramatic and sometimes final ways.

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### California missions

As early as 1542 Spanish explorer Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo (ca. 1500–1543) had reached and explored the coast of CALIFORNIA, while in 1702 the Jesuit cartographer Father Eusebio Kino had concluded that the region was not an island, but rather part of a continental landmass. Nonetheless, two centuries lapsed before any concerted attempts at colonization arose. When they did, California



missions were established by Spain as a way of extending its imperial authority. By the middle of the 18th century, Spain's resources had become strained, and the far northern boundaries of the empire needed to be extended and safeguarded against incursion by European rivals, particularly the Russians and English, who were pressing in from the north and east, respectively. Committed missionaries became the means to this end. That the mission enterprises saved the souls of heathen Indian peoples also fitted in with Spain's goals for New Spain in the Western Hemisphere. The missions left an indelible imprint on this part of the American West in terms of culture, religion, language, and architecture.

The extension of missions into California began in 1769 with an expedition to Alta (Upper) California, led by Gaspar de Portolá and Father Junípero Serra, that established a Spanish outpost and mission at San Diego. Over the next 20 years, Father Serra and other missionaries established a total of 21 missions—Father Serra personally founded nine—within Upper California, stretching from San Diego to Sonoma, including sites at Santa Barbara, Santa Clara, San Carlos (Carmel), San Jose, San Francisco, and San Luis Obispo. Missions were established at strategic points, especially those on the ocean, and they were about 30 miles apart (a day's ride on horseback). As such they anticipated an elaborate and interlocking chain of garrisons, towns, and missions all interconnected by a dirt path graced by the official name of *El Camino Real*, "the royal road."

The mission in California was a self-contained economic, social, and religious unit. The padres would gather Indian peoples into the mission and give them religious instruction and have them labor to establish a self-sufficient agricultural enterprise. Those who refused to leave were generally rounded up by soldiers and forcibly relocated to the sites. The religious instruction would lead to conversion and the saving of souls; the work would provide systematic discipline that would lead the Indian peoples toward European values; the success of the mission as agricultural enterprise would attract other Indian peoples; the mission system would serve the Spanish imperial policies at little or no cost to the Crown. In this manner, the unwilling Indians were forced to take up agriculture but were also exposed to marketable skills such as weaving, blacksmithing, tanning, and candle making. Through these expedients the Spanish hoped to convert the indigenous population from a subsistence existence into self-sustaining and loyal subjects of Spain. Missions, and their attendant presidios, thus became standard settlements of the Spanish frontier and functioned as self-sustaining outposts of the empire.

That the missions generally succeeded and even flourished owed much to the attractive landscape and gentle climate of California, but the presence of Indians was

increasingly involuntary. The missionaries thought physical compulsion to remain was necessary to save souls and to ensure the continuing success of the enterprise. Many Indians sought the missions as places of safety from the raids of other Native peoples, but when they wished to leave, they were restrained. Those who did leave the missions were pursued, returned to the mission, and punished. Although individual missions had devoted Native resident families, the system was characterized by intimidation and force, policies that kept the Indian presence in the missions at a fixed number. Dissent was not tolerated. The punishments inflicted, while identical to those meted out to the lower social orders in Spain, were harsh, even draconian. The missions continued to prosper economically, but the relationship of Native peoples to the missionary system often remained an uneasy one, and as a result, the padres' work of religious and cultural conversion was not very successful.

As the missions became established and prospered economically, the entire system became embroiled in larger church and national issues. According to the directive conveyed from New Spain, the missionaries were to establish the missions, give the Native peoples religious instruction, train them in the management of agricultural or grazing enterprises, and then hand the mission over to them, depart, and establish another mission elsewhere. However, the padres did not make plans for the secularization of the missions, arguing instead that the Indians were not ready to take over the economic initiatives. The issue resonated in Spain itself, where clergy and state clashed over greater freedom of popular expression. Furthermore, wars of liberation and independence had begun in the Spanish colonies in the early years of the century, uprisings that gathered momentum with Napoleon's invasion of Spain. In this period of confusion, the church appeared as a conservative bulwark against change. The missions were a symbol of the traditional values of church and Crown.

Although the mission was an important instrument of imperial expansion for the Spanish, expanding the area of their control without colonization, in many respects, the missions were a failure. They systematically destroyed autonomous Indian cultures, and the effects of disease and malnutrition may be seen in the dramatic decline of California's Indian peoples, from about 150,000 in 1500 to some 98,000 in 1832.

With the independence of Mexico in 1821, the new Republic of Mexico assumed sovereignty over California and its missions. The Mexican government pressed forward the issue of secularization of the missions. The reasons for promoting secularization were the long apprenticeship of the Indians and their readiness for such a step as well as the knowledge that the Catholic Church was generally a conservative influence against the revolution and the

independence of Mexico. This was undertaken with considerable delicacy, however, to avoid offending the still influential Franciscans or disrupting the economic viability of their missions, which were among the more robust in all of California. A law providing for the secularization of the missions was enacted in 1834, but its impact was mixed. The government in Mexico City was far from California and only able to enforce its will sporadically. Furthermore, the padres were reluctant to leave and the growing rancho system in California seized the mission lands as soon as secularization took place. In the end, the Indian peoples of the missions were driven into the hills or enrolled as laborers under a form of debt peonage. The missions themselves were allowed to fall into an advanced state of decay and ruin, although the descendants of their original inhabitants still carry on today as part of 28 small reservations dotting Southern California.

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## California Trail

The trail that carried immigrants from Independence, Missouri, and St. Joseph, Missouri, to CALIFORNIA, was heavily used between 1849 and 1860 by FORTY-NINERS on their way to the California goldfields. The early section of the California Trail was the original OREGON TRAIL. It ran from the Missouri outfitting towns of Independence and St. Joseph north to the Platte River, west along the Platte, and then across SOUTH PASS. From this point, the trail moved along the Snake River until it struck out across the Blue Mountains to the Columbia River Valley.

The difficulty with travel to California lay in the landscape imposed by the wide and sterile intermontane plateaus, leading to the abrupt barrier of the Sierra Nevada, with its high passes and 14,000-foot peaks. Because of these obstacles, access to California in the 1830s was mainly by sea. Here, on the western coast, the trading ships of New England maintained a lively seagoing trade in hides and tallow, as depicted by RICHARD HENRY DANA in *Two Years Before the Mast*. Fur traders were the first Americans to

make overland expeditions to Mexican California, and JEDEDIAH STRONG SMITH led a party of trappers across the Sierra Nevada in 1827. Although there were other groups that crossed in the next decade, no reliable route for immigrants could be found across the mountains.

In 1841 an immigrant party led by JOHN BIDWELL left the Oregon Trail in Idaho and followed the Humboldt River across the Carson Sink to the Walker River, which they followed across the sierra to the headwaters of the Stanislaus in California. They were the first to travel a large part of what would become known as the California Trail. Bidwell's party was composed almost entirely of young men (there was one woman and child), but it was the first group of overland immigrants (as opposed to trappers and traders) to make the journey. In 1844 the first overland party with wagons made the crossing. The necessary variation was the route of the Truckee River, which was to become the route of access by trail, and later by railroad and highway. The next season of immigration, 1845, was noteworthy for the increase in numbers to a half dozen parties with perhaps 250 immigrants, among whom was JOHN C. FRÉMONT. Remembering the surge of American immigrants to TEXAS that led to the TEXAS REVOLUTION, officials in Mexican California were suspicious of the rising number of American immigrants. Nevertheless, JOHN SUTTER offered a warm welcome at his large estate in the valley of the Sacramento River. For the immigrants on the trail, Sutter's New Helvetia was the end of their long journey.

The outbreak of the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR in spring 1846 changed the dynamics of immigration to California. By summer of that year, American troops and naval contingents had taken possession of much of strategic California—the main towns and the coastal harbors—and immigrants were coming to what was assumed would shortly become an American possession. Perhaps as many as 1,500 men, women, and children followed the California Trail that year, of which the most famous would be the DONNER PARTY (who left in 1846; survivors reached California in 1847).

The discovery of gold in California in January 1848 led to a dramatic rise in numbers using the California Trail. In 1849, the first big season of overland immigration, perhaps 80,000 Forty-niners crowded the trail from May to the end of September. The demands of the overland trail itself were basic and uncompromising. Over the 2,000 miles from Independence or St. Joseph in Missouri to Placerville, California, the immigrant gold-seeker moved into a landscape that was progressively drier and higher. The first landmark was FORT LARAMIE in Wyoming, some 800 miles out. Here, the Forty-niner companies would resupply, repack, trade tired mules or oxen for fresh draft animals, send mail, trade stories, and sign the register. Most of them did not tarry long. The overlanders of 1849 and subsequent years thought of the search for gold as an intensely



competitive business. The advantage would go to those who arrived first and worked hardest. So they soon departed Fort Laramie, repacked and reenergized, following the Sweetwater River to South Pass. From this almost level crossing of the Continental Divide, they moved to Fort Hall on the Snake River, a second major stop for rest and supplies.

Leaving Fort Hall, the California Trail offered two options. The first ran through Salt Lake City, where the companies of argonauts entered Utah and BRIGHAM YOUNG's Mormon Church empire. Alternatively, the immigrant train might head overland to the source of the Humboldt, follow this watercourse to its disappearance, and then cross the desert of Nevada to the Truckee. Throughout, the second half of the trail was drier and harsher than the first, and it offered fewer places where the overland parties could find supplies or assistance. The immigrant groups who used the California Trail went heavily armed against possible attack by the Indians of the plains and the intermontane plateaus. In truth, however, the real dangers of the trail turned out to be accidents with firearms and the hazards of dangerous river crossings.

The California Trail was heavily used, beginning with the 1849 overland immigration of the Forty-niners. The more than 400 surviving diaries of immigrants using the trail in that year alone celebrated its landmark status as part of America's pioneering experience. Between 1849 and 1860, something on the order of 200,000 immigrants journeyed over it to California. The crossing was less expensive than the sea route—at least in the early years—and it used wagons, draft animals, and supplies widely available to Americans at the time. It also required skills shared almost universally by families from the farms that were characteristic of the nation at the time. As ship services expanded and the cost declined, many newer argonauts went to California by sea. The development of the transcontinental railroad, completed in 1869, ended the use of the California Trail.

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### **Campbell, Thomas** (1763–1854) *religious leader*

Thomas Campbell was a Protestant minister and, with his father, Thomas, cofounder of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Thomas Campbell was born in County Down, Ireland, on February 1, 1763. Though raised an Anglican, he joined the Seceder branch of the Presbyterian church, was educated at the University of Glasgow, and was especially trained for preaching in the Antiburgher faction of the church. Adept at classical Greek and Latin, Campbell also adopted the Common Sense theories of the

Scottish philosopher Thomas Reid. He began preaching in 1798 and assumed the pulpit of the Ahorey Church but grew disillusioned by the rampant factionalism he encountered. In 1805 he made a concerted attempt to unite the Burgher and Antiburgher cliques of the Seceder Church during their annual synod, but failed. Discouraged, by 1807 he had begun questioning Presbyterian practices, and he subsequently relocated to the wilds of western Pennsylvania to hone his theological concepts. In 1808, Campbell was assigned to the presbytery of Chartiers, Pennsylvania, where he expressed doubts as to the legitimacy of creeds, confessions, fast days, and other facets he ascribed to human authority. This apostasy resulted in Campbell's dismissal from the Presbyterian Church in September 1808, but he continued on as an itinerant preacher.

In August 1809 Campbell founded the Christian Association of Washington (Pennsylvania), which served as a pulpit for his Restorationist program. Here he formally denounced creeds and confessions as divisive and espoused a primitive form of Christianity based solely on New Testament precepts. "Where the Scripture speak, we will Speak," the church dictum rang, "Where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent." Campbell further enunciated his principles by publishing *A Declaration and an Address* (1809), which held that understanding the Bible, being the word of God, is within the grasp of any rational person. Furthermore, any church practices not mentioned in Scripture are human and not divine in origin, hence irrelevant. To Campbell, the New Testament alone formed the sole basis for uniting all Christians.

By 1812 Campbell was joined by his son, Alexander Campbell, and together they preached and established small academies throughout the Old Northwest. Reaction was mixed: Although the laity responded favorably to calls for unity, the Presbyterian community looked askance at the notion of Restorationism. In 1812 Campbell enjoyed a brief union with the Redstone Baptist Association, but he became a pariah for attacking Baptist emotionalism at the expense of rationalism and was expelled.

Eventually the Campbellites merged with Barton W. Stone's followers, thus giving rise to a new church, the Disciples of Christ. Thomas Campbell continued working closely with his son and successor until his death in Bethany, (West) Virginia on January 4, 1854. His advocacy of unity and rationality amongst Christians renders him an important theological figure, whose tenets found their greatest expression in the forthcoming Fundamentalist Movement.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## canal era

From the beginning of the 19th century until the rise of the railroads, canals were extremely important to the internal transportation and trade of the United States. Best described as artificially constructed waterways or existing rivers modified, canals straightened and regularized water passages to make them more accessible to boat traffic. River transportation into the West had been limited because of the Appalachian Mountains and the fall line (the line of waterfalls on major American rivers that marked a significant drop in the land level). Through a sophisticated system of locks and levels, canals provided a dependable, controllable route over the uneven terrain that separated the East Coast from the developing frontier.

Canal building fed on the dream of connecting all of the major American waterways into a continuous, low-cost transportation network. The construction of a series of canals made the mass transport of goods and people to the inland frontier easier, and triggered wild speculation along the developing canal routes. The enthusiasm for canals during the first half of the 19th century exemplified the energetic optimism of American entrepreneurs looking to maximize opportunities in the developing West.

The earliest canals operated in limited areas near the eastern coast, but some of these engineering projects did succeed in bypassing the fall line. The first American canals to circumvent the line were the Patowmack Company's canal at Great Falls, Maryland (built between 1786 and 1808), and the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company's canal on the Mohawk River near Little Falls, New York (1795). Other canals connected important rivers and commercial centers, such as the Santee and Cooper Canal in South Carolina (1792–1800); and the Middlesex Canal, which connected Boston to the Merrimac River and thus to the interior of New England (1793). These early canals often had engineering flaws due to the builders' lack of knowledge about their proper construction. Gradually, experienced engineers—mostly from England—were recruited to correct these problems.

The true test of canal engineering skill would be the ERIE CANAL, for many years the most important and successful of all the canal projects. Built from 1817 to 1826, the Erie Canal connected the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Erie, and thus the entire Great Lakes region, creating a commercial artery able to transport goods easily to and from the developing Northwest. The Erie was so profitable that tolls collected from it financed a system of auxiliary lateral canals in New York State. This canal also provided a valuable basis for future canal engineering. Led by Benjamin Wright, the "Erie School" of engineers would go on to build canals across the expanding United States.

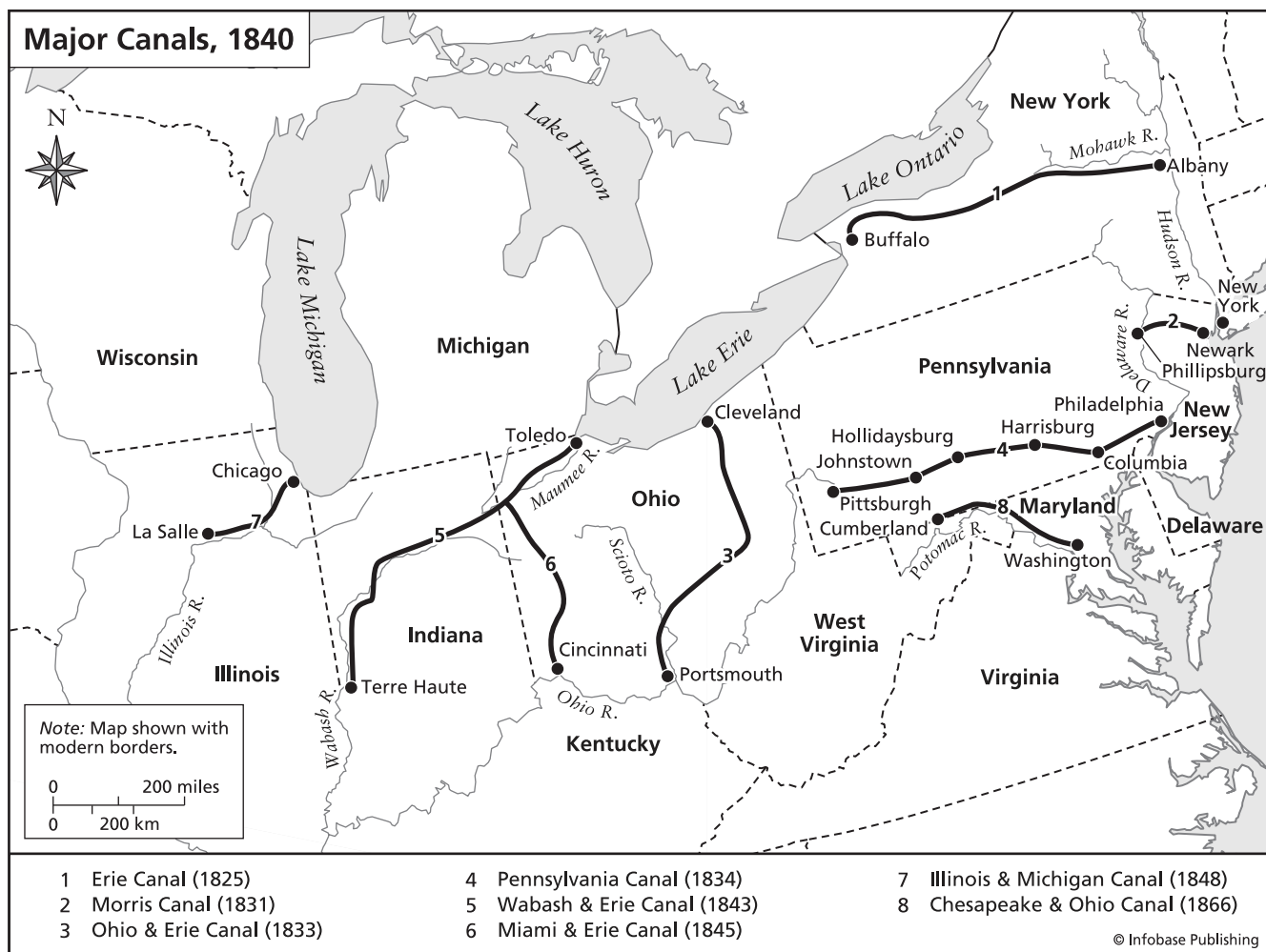
The Erie Canal transformed the economy of New York City and brought about the rapid development of

the inland towns located near the canal in upstate New York. Successfully completed through state and private—but no federal—funding, the Erie example inspired other engineers and entrepreneurs to propose canal projects in other states. No canal project would approach the success of the Erie Canal, but builders tried. Some of the other canals built during the height of the canal era include the Pennsylvania Main Line Canal (1826–34), the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal (1828–50), the Lehigh Canal (1827–29), the Whitewater Canal (1836–43), and the Union Canal (1821–27).

Financing canal projects was a risky, complicated proposition. Usually canals were funded either by states or by private companies. States bore the brunt of costs in cases where canals were planned in newly developing areas without established industries. When canals were proposed along existing trade routes or centered on the transport of a single resource, private companies usually financed them. State-funded projects received land subsidies and other advantages but were the least successful ventures due to poor management or unsound construction. Privately funded canals were more profitable, since they were constructed to meet business needs, not to accommodate political objectives. Besides land subsidies, the other financing methods common in promoting canals included issuing stock, conducting lotteries, toll collecting on existing canals, local grants, and direct cash funding.

The success of the Erie Canal encouraged speculators and investors to believe that every canal project would be equally profitable. With the opening up of the Northwest to settlement, entrepreneurs and state boosters considered canal building the best way to capitalize on the abundant natural resources in new states like Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. "Wildcat" bankers gambled on far-fetched projects, and gullible foreign investors were encouraged by the federal government to buy state bond issues in order to finance canal construction. These states were not as fiscally strong as the national government, and they were often unable to repay the enormous debts they took on to build canals. During the 1840s, four states defaulted on their canal debts: Indiana, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. None of these projects combined the ingredients that made the Erie Canal prosper.

The construction and operation of canals required enormous manpower. Construction crews—many of them recent immigrants from Ireland and Germany—carved out the canals with only horsepower and blasting powder. Once constructed, canals required numerous specialized personnel, including lock tenders, maintenance people, ratters (to control the vermin population), level walkers, carpenters, and section bosses. Personnel on the canal boats usually consisted of a captain, mule or horse driver, and sometimes a night crew for around-the-clock operation.



People and goods traveled on canals in two different kinds of canal boats. Packet boats carried passengers and were drawn by horses. Before the railroad, packet travel was the fastest form of inland transportation available. Freight was transported by two different kinds of vessels: company boats and private boats. Company boats were more uniform in size and design and carried greater weight. Operated by the established industries along the canal route, these boats comprised a line distinguished by specific markings. Private boats were, as the name would indicate, individually owned and varied in size, capacity, and design. Freight boats were drawn by mules and thus slower than packets. Packet travel declined rapidly with the advent of railroads, but freight boats continued to operate profitably for considerably longer. Rail transportation eclipsed canals by the 1870s, offering a quicker, more versatile way to move people and commodities. The American canal system did not die out completely—in many coastal regions and along major rivers, canals still provide the most efficient method for shipping goods. While canals failed

to become the national transportation network, the mania for canal building presaged many of the patterns visible in later efforts to build transportation infrastructure through railways and roads.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

### The Caroline affair

On the night of December 29, 1837, Canadian militia operating under British command burned the U.S.-flagged steamer ship *Caroline*, which was moored in U.S. waters at the settlement of Fort Schlosser, New York, at Niagara Falls. The incursion briefly threatened to throw the United States and the British Empire into war.

In 1837 anticolonial uprisings had broken out in Lower Canada (now Quebec and vicinity), Upper Canada (now Ontario and vicinity), and the western British territories. The rebel “Patriots” (or “*Patriotes*” in the francophone sections) called for the establishment of independent republics and eventual annexation to the United States.

Seeking to nip the brewing revolution in the bud, the British had preemptively arrested the rebel leaders, forcing the Patriot volunteers into battle before they had organized as a militia. Consequently, the disorganized and poorly led Patriot army in Upper Canada had been routed almost from the moment the new republic was declared. The rebel leader, William Lyon MacKenzie, made a daring flight to safety in the United States, where sympathizers were already forming support organizations, called “Hunter’s Lodges” along the Upper Canada border and “*Freres Chasseurs*” along Lower Canada, to help launch a guerrilla campaign. Arriving in Buffalo, New York, on December 11, 1837, MacKenzie was given a hero’s welcome by the citizenry, many of whom immediately volunteered for his cause.

Having procured the use of the USS *Caroline* and a considerable arsenal from local law-enforcement and militia groups, MacKenzie established himself on Navy Island, lying between the Canadian and American shores just above Niagara Falls, and began to ferry arms, ammunition, and supplies to the republican guerrillas across the river. Two weeks later, loyalist units assaulted the island and burned the *Caroline* as it lay off the opposite shore. An American was killed in the assault, and when one of the loyalists, Alexander McLeod, was later arrested on the New York side of the river, he was criminally charged with murder and arson.

Great Britain, already enraged by the widespread participation of American citizens in the guerrilla attacks, threatened full-scale war. The British threat to widen and formalize the hostilities grew out of their belief that Canada was ultimately indefensible in the face of a sustained onslaught from the populous new American nation. The threat was intended to remind American officials that the British navy could still inflict vast damage on the already troubled American economy in retribution if Canada was lost.

For their part, President MARTIN VAN BUREN and his advisers were well aware that only last-minute American victories had turned humiliating defeat to honorable peace in the WAR OF 1812. Already struggling with the unprecedented economic crisis of the PANIC OF 1837, they had no desire for a costly rematch with their nemesis. Van Buren’s administration applied increasing pressure on the local authorities along the northern border to disarm the Patriot armies and halt the smuggling of supplies. MacKenzie and other Patriot leaders were arrested and jailed for violation

of the Neutrality Act. By the end of 1838, the Canadian revolution had been brutally crushed through the execution and deportation to Australia of rebels, including U.S. citizens.

The 1837–38 revolution prompted sweeping reforms in Canada, but their experience in the United States embittered MacKenzie and other Patriot leaders towards the republic they had previously idealized. A general pardon allowed them to return to Canada in 1849. Relations between the United States and Great Britain remained tense, however, and raw anger along the border fed the so-called AROOSTOOK WAR of 1838–39.

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—Dorothy Cummings

### **Carson, Kit** (1809–1868) *frontiersman, soldier*

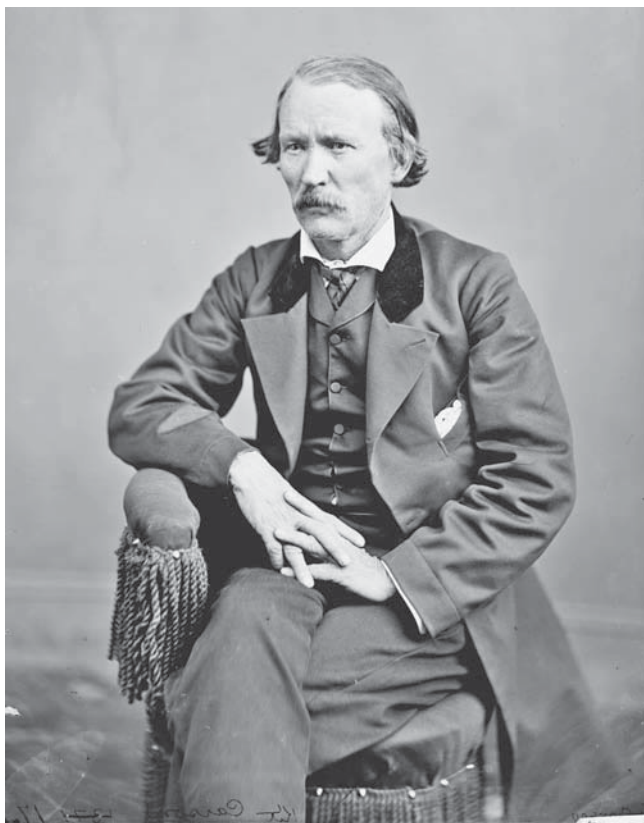
Kit Carson was a frontier scout and Indian agent whose contributions to westward expansion made him a folk hero. Christopher (Kit) Carson was born in Madison, Kentucky, on December 24, 1809, and shortly thereafter moved with his family to Howard County, Missouri. He was almost bereft of education and functionally illiterate throughout his life. In 1824, while he was in his teens, Carson’s father died, and the young Kit became apprenticed to a saddle maker. Finding the work distasteful, he ran away by joining a wagon train on the SANTA FE TRAIL in 1826. For three years, he worked as a teamster, interpreter, and cook, but in 1829 Carson accompanied Ewing Young on a fur-trapping expedition into the Southwest. The experience impressed him indelibly, and over the next 10 years Carson hunted, trapped, and roamed throughout the western interior. He took readily to such an arduous, adventurous lifestyle and eventually became renowned as a skilled, honest, yet soft-spoken frontiersmen. Also well known among the various Plains Indians, he successively took Arapaho and Cheyenne women as wives. Carson met his third and final wife, Maria Josepha Jaramilla, at Taos, New Mexico, where he was also baptized into the Roman Catholic Church. The dusty frontier community of Taos then became the beloved home to which he inevitably returned.

The defining moment in Carson’s life occurred in 1842, when he had a chance encounter with Army explorer Lieutenant JOHN C. FRÉMONT, then headed west on an expedition to SOUTH PASS. The two men formed an abiding



friendship, and Carson became employed as a scout. In 1843, he again assisted Frémont on a second expedition to the Rocky Mountains, and accompanied a third to CALIFORNIA in 1846. There Carson became caught up in the BEAR FLAG REVOLT against Mexico at Frémont's behest and also participated in the capture of Los Angeles and San Diego. In 1847, he was entrusted with carrying important dispatches back to Washington, D.C., but en route he ran into Brigadier General STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY. In need of an experienced guide, Kearney ordered Carson to accompany his column back to California, and he complied. He subsequently played a conspicuous role in the ill-fated, December 1847 Battle of San Pascual against mounted Californians, and he further distinguished himself by riding singlehandedly back to San Diego for reinforcements. Given this exemplary performance, President JAMES K. POLK proffered him a lieutenant's commission in the elite Mounted Rifles Regiment. However, the Senate obstructed his confirmation in an attempt to further embarrass Frémont, who was then being court-martialed over a dispute with Kearny.

After the Mexican-American War, Carson returned to Taos and served as an Indian agent among the Ute, Pueblo,



Christopher "Kit" Carson (Library of Congress)

and Apache tribes. He functioned quietly and capably in this capacity and distinguished himself from many contemporaries by calling for better and fairer treatment of NATIVE AMERICANS. Shortly after the Civil War commenced in April 1861, Carson was commissioned colonel of the First New Mexico Volunteer Infantry. He skirmished with an invading Confederate column advancing from Texas and won plaudits for his handling of the Navajo crisis of 1863. When this large nation refused to move peacefully onto reservations, Carson was dispatched by General James H. Carlton to subdue them by force. This he accomplished by waging a scorched-earth policy that destroyed dwellings, crops, and livestock. Such harassment eventually drove the weary and half-frozen warriors onto the Bosque Redondo Reservation. However, when war erupted in the Texas panhandle, Carson further enhanced his reputation as a peerless Indian fighter by battling several thousand mounted warriors to a standstill at the Battle of Adobe Walls, November 1864. In light of such sterling service, Carson's final wartime rank was brevet brigadier general of volunteers.

After the war, Carson resigned his commission, resumed his Indian agent activity at Taos, and gained appointment as superintendent of Indian affairs for Colorado Territory. However, he had no sooner assumed that office than he died at Fort Lyon, Colorado, on May 23, 1868. Carson's remains were subsequently interred near his home at Taos. By this time, he was a legendary frontier figure, renowned for his honesty, humility, and sagacity. Carson's activities were also celebrated nationally, thanks to the various publications of Frémont, and he had proved supremely important to the exploration, conquest, and settlement of the far West. Short and physically nondescript, Carson was certainly among the most skilled frontiersmen of his generation, an icon whose reputation only increased with his passing. A river, a mountain pass, and the capital of Nevada perpetuate his memory.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### **Cass, Lewis** (1782–1866) *politician*

Lewis Cass's 54 years of public service spanned the tumultuous early to mid-19th century. Born in Exeter, New Hampshire, Cass emigrated to the Northwest Territory in 1801, where he studied law privately and was admitted to the bar in 1802. In 1806 he was elected to the Ohio legislature,



where his staunch opposition to Aaron Burr's endeavors and strong support of President Thomas Jefferson resulted in his appointment by Jefferson as United States Marshal for the District of Ohio in 1807.

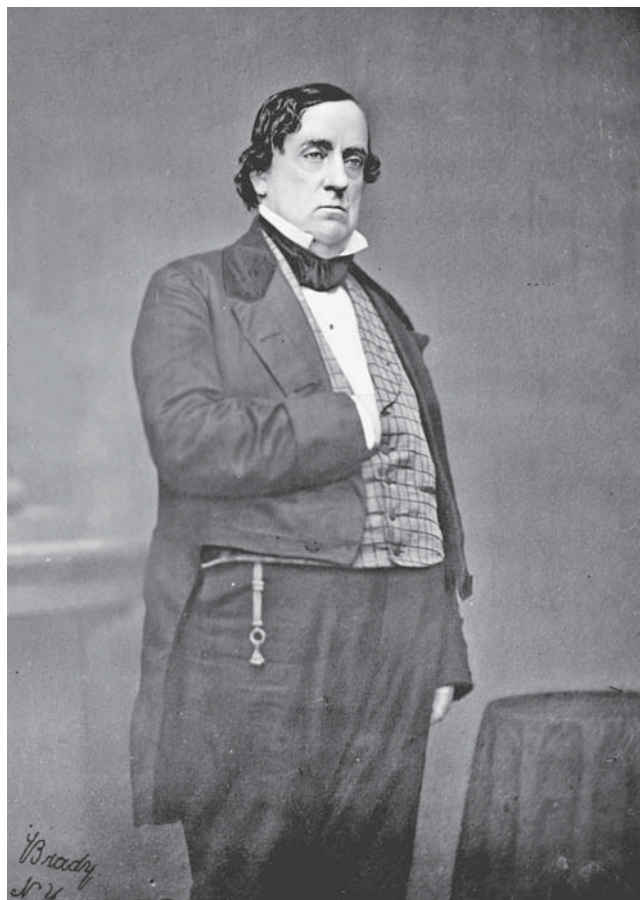
At the outbreak of the WAR OF 1812, Cass resigned his position as marshal to enlist in the army where he served as a colonel of the Third Infantry under the command of General WILLIAM HULL, a former Revolutionary War hero who was in command of Fort Detroit and who surrendered the fort to a much smaller British force without firing a shot. Cass was present at the surrender, wrote a report scathingly critical of Hull's performance, and testified against Hull at the court-martial proceedings. Hull was found guilty of treason and was sentenced to death by firing squad. Only his Revolutionary War service record allowed him to avoid execution.

Promoted to brigadier general in March 1813, Cass went on to be instrumental in the American victory at the BATTLE OF THE THAMES the following year. Cass's distinguished military service, as well as his Jeffersonian political views, resulted in his appointment as military and civil governor of Michigan Territory, a post he would hold until 1831. During his tenure, Cass secured the territory around the Great Lakes, improved the territory's infrastructure, and negotiated treaties with the Chippewa and other Native American nations.

Cass's experience in dealing with the NATIVE AMERICANS of the Northwest Territory and his ideas about the "Indian Question" were instrumental in his appointment by President ANDREW JACKSON as secretary of war in 1831. Cass was at the forefront of formulating government policy regarding Native Americans, and he was a central figure in promoting their removal as a general policy during his tenures as governor and as secretary of war.

In 1836 Cass resigned from the cabinet when Jackson appointed him to a diplomatic post, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to France. He served in this capacity until 1842. While Cass was successful in many of his diplomatic endeavors regarding American and French relations, he was often at odds with the Jackson administration because of his outspoken anti-British views. Such negative public rhetoric led to a serious disagreement with Secretary of State DANIEL WEBSTER and prompted Cass's resignation in 1842.

Returning to Detroit, Michigan, Cass decided to reenter public service. He was easily elected to the U.S. Senate in 1845, but resigned his seat when he received the presidential nomination of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY in 1848. The nominating conventions and presidential election of 1848 reflected the divisiveness of the nation over the issue of the expansion of SLAVERY. Cass favored letting the residents of territories decide for themselves whether they wanted slavery—a concept that he termed POPULAR



Lewis Cass (Library of Congress)

SOVEREIGNTY. That did not sit well with southern Democrats, who wanted the areas acquired as a result of the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR to allow slavery. The WHIGS nominated Mexican War hero ZACHARY TAYLOR. His long military record would appeal to northerners; his ownership of slaves would lure southern votes. Taylor would not commit himself on the issue of Congress's power over slavery in the territories.

A third party, the FREE-SOIL PARTY, made its debut in 1848. Formed by New York Democrats who unequivocally opposed the extension of slavery into the new territories, the Free-Soilers nominated former president MARTIN VAN BUREN. The Free-Soil platform appealed to antislavery Whigs and northern Democrats, and Van Buren won more than 10 percent of the national vote. In New York, he won more than 120,000 votes—votes that otherwise would have been cast, largely, for Cass. This effectively gave Taylor New York's electoral votes.

After his unsuccessful bid for the presidency, Cass returned to the U.S. Senate, serving there until 1857, when President James Buchanan named him secretary of state. As

a senator, Lewis Cass was a strong advocate of compromise, and worked diligently for passage of the COMPROMISE OF 1850. However, after joining the Buchanan cabinet as secretary of state, Cass became convinced that stronger measures were necessary. When President Buchanan refused to fortify Fort Sumter and other federal garrisons as the South began to threaten disunion, Cass resigned from the cabinet. He retired to his home in Detroit, where he spent his last years writing and where he died on June 17, 1866.

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—Richard L. Friedline

### **Catlin, George** (1796–1872) *American artist*

Best known for his paintings of NATIVE AMERICANS and Western scenes—the first American artist to focus on these subjects—George Catlin was born in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, in 1796. His interest in Native American cultures can be partially traced to his family experiences. Catlin's mother, Polly Sutton Catlin, was captured by Indians as a child. He learned about Indian ways from her and from the visitors to the Catlin home during his childhood: trappers, traders, and soldiers who had dealings with the Indian of the trans-Appalachian region. Although Catlin received little formal education, he learned hunting, fishing, and other skills necessary for life in rural Pennsylvania. He was always interested in exploring nature and collected Indians artifacts on his outings.

In 1817 Catlin went to Litchfield, Connecticut, to study law in the offices of the well-known jurist Tapping Reeve. While in Litchfield, he began to make a name for himself as an amateur artist, painting mostly portraits of political figures. After finishing his studies in 1818, he practiced law in Luzerne, Pennsylvania, until 1823. He then moved to Philadelphia, determined to paint professionally. He studied painting at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and at the National Academy of Design in New York. For the next few years, he earned his living by painting portraits, many of prominent figures such as New York governor DeWitt Clinton and former First Lady Dolly Madison. From 1824 to 1829 he spent most of his time in Washington, D.C., painting political figures. In 1828 he married Clara B. Gregory in Albany, New York. She was supportive of his career and joined him on many of his later journeys to the West.

During his time in Philadelphia, Catlin encountered Indian chieftains who visited Charles Willson Peale's famous American Museum. The young artist was enthralled

with these Native Americans and the cultural artifacts they brought with them. Believing that the Indians and their ways of life were declining, he decided to use his artistic abilities to document their vanishing culture for posterity. He began by painting Indians on reservations in western New York, and then traveled to the Ohio River and Mississippi River regions. Catlin's premonition that he was documenting an endangered culture was perceptive. As European-American settlement moved further west, demand for Indian lands increased, and thus the trans-Appalachian Indians were forced further west onto reservations. The decline of the fur trade and the spread of disease also threatened their cultural stability. Catlin's paintings depict a conflicted, chaotic time for these displaced nations as they struggled to maintain their cultural practices and economic viability.

From 1830 to 1836 he spent his summers following various Indian nations; in winter, he would return to the East to paint what he had seen and to raise money so he could return to the West. One of his most important early works was his moving portrait of the aging Shawnee Prophet, Tenskwatawa (brother of Tecumseh), painted in 1830. Also that year, Catlin met explorer William Clark, then the superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis. He accompanied Clark on a trip to solidify Indian treaties. During the journey, he painted Iowa, Missouri, Otoe, Omaha, Sauk and Fox, and Sioux Indians. In 1832 he traveled up the Missouri on the *Yellow Stone*. Owned by the American Fur Company, this steamboat was the first to reach Fort Union at the mouth of the Yellowstone River. By traveling to this remote territory, Catlin was able to depict nations not previously familiar to Americans in the East and Europeans, such as the Blackfeet, Crow, Plains Cree, Mandan, and Yankton Sioux. He continued to travel further west, journeying to Pawnee and Comanche country in 1834 and becoming the first non-Indian to see the red stone quarry in southwestern Minnesota. The distinctive red stone, used by many tribes to make pipes, was later named Catlinite in his honor.

During the 1830s Catlin painted over 500 portraits of Indian men and women in Native dress. He also painted scenes of Indian villages, religious ceremonies, games, and legends. From 1837 to 1852 he lectured and exhibited his paintings in the United States and Europe. Called "Catlin's Indian Gallery," this exhibition was a success in other countries but not particularly well received in America. In an attempt to ease his financial woes, he offered to sell his collection of Indian paintings to Congress in 1852 but was refused. Instead, he borrowed money from Joseph Harrison of Philadelphia, who took the collection as collateral. Catlin was never able to recover the paintings, but Joseph Harrison's family eventually donated the collection to the United States National Museum.

After 1852, Catlin continued to paint and write about his experiences with Indians. His most important early writings were published in a series of accounts, "Notes of Eight Years Travel Amongst the North American Indians," in the New York *Daily Commercial Advertiser* from 1830 to 1839. Other works include: *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (1841); *Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio: Hunting, Rocky Mountains and Prairies of America* (1845); *Catlin's Notes of Eight Years' Travels and Residence in Europe* (1848); and *Life Among the Indians* (1867). In later years, he traveled among and depicted the Indians of South America as well, writing *Last Rambles Amongst the Indians of the Rocky Mountains and the Andes* (1868).

Catlin's paintings of Indian life are important because he captured a disappearing way of life, depicting Indians specifically and candidly. He respected his Indian subjects and worked tirelessly to educate whites about their culture. His works provide valuable records of nations that did not survive contact with Europeans. His documentation of the Mandan of the upper Missouri was particularly important, since they were practically wiped out by smallpox in 1837. Most respected for his descriptive powers, he was less concerned with technical accuracy in perspective. Thus, his paintings evoke historically significant figures and themes, not classical aesthetic concerns. Most of his works are now owned by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.; the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha; and the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

George Catlin died in Jersey City, New Jersey, in 1872. Although he was financially unsuccessful and received only little recognition during his lifetime, he is now considered one of the most important and original American artists of the 19th century. As he had intended, Catlin's works have visually preserved the vital Indian cultures that were forever transformed by the American expansion to the West.

**Further reading:** George Catlin, *The George Catlin Book of American Indians* (New York: Watson-Guption, 1977); William H. Truettner, *The Natural Man Observed: A Study of Catlin's Indian Gallery* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979).

—Eleanor H. McConnell

## Cherokee

One of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes the Cherokee were forcibly removed from Georgia in 1838. The Cherokee were an Iroquoian-speaking tribe who, at one point in their history, controlled large parts of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama. In their heyday they constituted a formidable body of warriors and an obstacle to white migration over the Appalachian

Mountains. In the 18th century, however, numerous wars with British and American forces dissipated their strength and resulted in several land cessions to the United States. By the dawn of the 19th century, tribal holdings had been reduced to swaths of land in Georgia and western North Carolina.

The Cherokee were also cognizant of the great military strength of their neighbor, the Creek, so during the WAR OF 1812 they fought on behalf of General ANDREW JACKSON in 1814 at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. After the war, white settlers continued to encroach on Cherokee lands and violence occasionally broke out. But the Cherokee were determined to demonstrate their ability to become "civilized" as a strategy to stave off further encroachment. Many tribesmen consequently abandoned traditional hunting in favor of farming, even acquiring several thousand African-American slaves. Missionaries were also prevalent on Cherokee land, operating 18 tribal schools. In 1826 SEQUOYAH (1770–1843) single-handedly invented a Cherokee alphabet in anticipation of the first tribal newsletter, the *Cherokee Phoenix*. The Cherokee also adopted many trappings of American-style governance, including a bicameral legislature with eight voting districts. Moreover, in 1829 their government declared that all Cherokee held the land in common and that only their government could sell it to the United States.

The turning point in Cherokee fortunes happened in 1829 with the discovery of GOLD. The government of Georgia began to apply pressure upon the tribesmen to sell their land and relocate across the Mississippi River. The administration of President Andrew Jackson intensified this pressure by signing the INDIAN REMOVAL ACT of 1830. Tribal leaders appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court for assistance, but the Court ruled it lacked jurisdiction. The following year Chief Justice John Marshall ruled in the case of *Worcester v. Georgia* that state authorities had acted unconstitutionally by imposing authority over the Cherokee people. When Jackson refused to intercede on behalf of the Indians, however, a small group of mixed-blood dissenters under JOHN RIDGE (1803–39) concluded it was better to sell their land for cash than have it forcibly taken, so they signed the Treaty of New Echota in 1834. Ridge and his followers then took their families and belongings to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) to begin new lives, but the bulk of the tribe under Chief JOHN ROSS (1790–1866) resisted deportation to the very last moment. Jackson then ordered the army to evict the Indians over the winter of 1838–39. Thus began the infamous TRAIL OF TEARS, the forced migration along whose route some 4,000 Indians, representing one-fourth of the Cherokee people, perished.

No sooner had Ross and his followers arrived in Oklahoma than frictions and factions arose with Ridge's followers, the so-called Old Settlers, who had arrived years before.



On June 22, 1839, Ridge, his son, and ELIAS BOUDINOT (ca. 1803–39) were assassinated by Cherokee who felt that these men had betrayed their people. A bloody civil war loomed. Ross, however, managed to bring all parties together in an Act of Union the following year. For the next two decades the Cherokee rebuilt their society, introducing farms, schools, towns, and a new newspaper, the *Cherokee Advocate*. That the tribesmen succeeded and acquired considerable wealth is a tribute to Ross's leadership and devotion to his people. The outbreak of the American Civil War (1861–65), however, rent the tribe apart again, opening old wounds and further decimating the population. The plight of the Cherokee has since come to symbolize the abuse that most Native Americans suffered at the hands of the U.S. government.

**Further reading:** Robert J. Conley, *The Cherokee Nation: A History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Theda Perdue, *The Cherokee Nation and the Trail of Tears* (New York: Viking, 2007).

—John C. Fredriksen

## Chickasaw

One of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes, the Chickasaw were a Muskogean-speaking people living in northern Mississippi and western Tennessee by the time of the American Revolution. They were renowned locally for their prowess in battle and tactful diplomacy in peace. The Chickasaw had weathered contact with various European powers as early as 1540 and fought either with or against the Spanish, the French, and the English. After 1783 they readily acquiesced to the Treaty of Hopewell in 1785 to deal with the newly emergent United States. Contact with Americans increased following the Treaty of San Lorenzo in 1795, whereby Spain renounced all claims to land west of the Mississippi River. This resulted in an influx of settlers and missionaries along the Natchez Trace, a route that cut directly through Chickasaw land. The U.S. government made unofficial attempts to “civilize” the tribesmen through farming and other domestic skills, which the Indians were determined to resist.

When Mississippi was admitted to the Union in 1817, the new state began to press for new NATIVE AMERICAN land cessions, and the pressure increased throughout the 1820s. Cognizant of their weakness, the Chickasaw sent a deputation to meet with President ANDREW JACKSON in Franklin, Tennessee. In the Treaty of Pontotoc Creek, signed on October 20, 1832, they formally surrendered all land ownership in Mississippi. In 1836 the Chickasaw relocated to new homes in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) and temporarily occupied land owned by the Choctaw until they formally acquired territory for their own new settle-

ments. A total of 5,000 Indians and roughly 1,100 African-American slaves made the journey in comparative safety and comfort.

The Chickasaw finally conferred with their Choctaw neighbors in January 1837 in Doaksville, whereby they acquired the western portion of their tribal lands. This agreement was approved by the U.S. Senate the following month. Once established, the Chickasaw readily adapted to their new environment and grew relatively wealthy through cattle raising, health spas, and other economic activities. In 1856 they adopted their own constitution and established a new capital at Tishomingo, where it remains today.

**Further reading:** James R. Atkinson, *Splendid Land, Splendid People: The Chickasaw Indians to Removal* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004); Duane Champagne, *Social Order and Political Change: Constitutional Governments Among the Cherokee, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Creek* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992); Fulsom C. Scrivner, *The Early Chickasaws: Profile of Courage* (New York: Vantage Press, 2006).

—John C. Fredriksen

## Choctaw

One of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes, the Choctaw were a group of Muskogean-speaking NATIVE AMERICANS originally from the southeastern United States, principally Mississippi. Unlike their neighbors, the Creek and Chickasaw, they were sedentary farmers who lived in villages and employed a democratic style of governance. The Choctaw were also unique among regional cultures in that men and women alike wore their hair very long, whereas in neighboring tribes men usually shaved their heads. Their first contact with Europeans came in 1541 when they skirmished with the Spanish under Hernando de Soto (ca. 1496–1542). They alternately sided with the English or French through 1763.

After the American Revolution ended in 1783, the Choctaw grew increasingly dependent upon the Spanish for arms and ammunition. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 left the Choctaw isolated from their Spanish allies and under increasing pressure from American settlers moving westward. Despite this friction, the Choctaw remained amicably disposed toward the United States. In 1811 Chief PUSHMATAHA rejected Tecumseh's call for a pan-Indian alliance against the Americans. When the Creek War erupted in August 1813, the Choctaw allied themselves with their white neighbors, contributing about 1,000 warriors to serve under General ANDREW JACKSON at the BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS in 1815.

Their faithfulness did not avail them any permanent advantages with their allies, however. Again they faced

coercion to sell their lands to the government. The Choctaw refused to comply at first, and in 1826 they even adopted a written constitution and a representative government to demonstrate how well they could adapt to European-style civilization. In 1816 the Choctaw nonetheless signed treaties with the United States ceding additional lands, at which time the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established schools to aid in their assimilation. Four years later the tribe reached an agreement with the United States to relinquish all their land in Mississippi. The government did not immediately evict the Choctaw from their land, but with the signing of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830, President Andrew Jackson began the process of removing entire nations across the Mississippi River in the winter of 1831–32. Many Choctaw died of hunger or exposure during this trip, known to them as the TRAIL OF TEARS, before they resettled along the banks of the Arkansas River in Indian Territory (Oklahoma).

A period of difficult readjustment ensued, but gradually the Choctaw acclimated themselves to farming and hunting in this new land. In 1834 the Choctaw rewrote their constitution, and in 1842 the tribal government seized control of all schools from the missionaries, although whites were still allowed to staff them. A small portion of the tribe was also allowed to remain in Mississippi as sharecroppers and wage laborers; yet they maintained their identity and community through traditional games such as stickball and traditional rites such as funeral ceremonies.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## Chouteau family

The Chouteaus were successful businessmen on the American frontier, facilitating the lucrative FUR TRADE between Indians (particularly the Osage), white Americans, and Europeans for nearly a century. They were also influential in the development of St. Louis and the surrounding region, acting as bankers, land speculators, public officials, and governmental advisers for the frontier settlement.

The matriarch of the dynasty was Marie Thérèse Bourgeois (1733–1814), who was born in New Orleans. She married tavern keeper René Chouteau, and their first son, René Auguste, was born in 1749. René Chouteau soon returned home to France, abandoning his young bride and child. But Marie, who styled herself “Widow Chouteau,” was determined to eke out an existence. In about 1755 she entered into a common-law marriage with the French-born

fur trader Pierre Laclède (1724–78), and the union produced another four children. All the siblings subsequently adopted the name Chouteau to avoid stigmatization arising from their illegitimacy. In 1765 Madame Chouteau joined her new husband at his new settlement in St. Louis, where she proved herself an accomplished businesswoman. From 1767 she also successfully thwarted attempts by her former husband, now back at New Orleans, to assert his marital rights over her property and children, which persisted until his death in 1776. Madame Chouteau died in St. Louis in 1814, much beloved and highly regarded as the matriarch of her city.

Originally from New Orleans, René Auguste Chouteau (1749–1829) began his life as a trader at age 14, working for his stepfather, Pierre Laclède. In 1764 he helped establish a fur-trading post and fort near the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, the area now known as St. Louis. He became Laclède's partner in 1768 and acquired principal ownership after his stepfather's death in 1778. In the late 18th century the Chouteau company monopolized trade with the Osage and would continue to be closely connected to their interests for the next half-century. René Auguste also acted as a diplomat to the Osage from the Spanish government during the years they controlled the Louisiana area. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 induced him to switch allegiances over to the United States, and his opinion on trade and Indian matters was much sought after. In 1809, he became the chairman of the board of trustees in the newly incorporated town of St. Louis. He also represented the United States in various treaty negotiations with Indians in the Louisiana Territory. He maintained an active interest in the fur trade until the end of the WAR OF 1812, at which point he finally retired from the family business. He died in St. Louis in 1829.

Jean Pierre Chouteau (1758–1849) joined his brother René Auguste's enterprise and established a trading post at Salina, Oklahoma, in 1802. He was appointed as U.S. Indian agent for the upper Louisiana region by President Thomas Jefferson in 1804, the first such official designated for tribes west of the Mississippi River. In this role, he mediated relations between whites and Indians, helping to keep the peace by negotiating trade between these groups. He even twice accompanied Indian delegations to Washington, D.C., to confer with the president, and in 1809 he joined the trader Manuel Lisa to found the St. Louis MISSOURI FUR COMPANY. Because trade was encouraged as the way to maintain peace, some accused Jean Pierre of taking advantage of his position as both a trader and a government agent to advance his own commercial interests. Whatever his motive, Jean Pierre's diplomatic efforts among the Osage helped secure that nation's loyalty during the WAR OF 1812 and saved St. Louis from direct attack. Asked to leave his position as agent



in 1818, he returned to the family's trading business in Salina, occasionally advising the U.S. government about Indian affairs.

Jean Pierre's eldest son, Auguste Pierre Chouteau (1786–1838) was born in St. Louis. He attended the U.S. Military Academy at West Point (he was nominated by Meriwether Lewis), after which he joined the family business. He was also instrumental in founding the St. Louis-based MISSOURI FUR COMPANY, along with his father Jean Pierre, William Clark, Manuel Lisa, and others. He served in the War of 1812 as a captain of the territorial militia. After the conflict, Auguste Pierre continued to expand his family's trading empire by extending trade relations to the southern Arapaho and to fur traders in the Rocky Mountains. In 1815 he joined Jule DeMun in an unfortunate expedition to Santa Fe, New Mexico, in which Spanish authorities imprisoned both men for trade violations and confiscated all their goods. He also acted as a government representative, helping to mediate treaties between the United States and the Kiowa and Comanche from 1834 to 1838. He succeeded in this only after abandoning his wife in St. Louis, taking an Osage wife, and fathering several mixed-blood children. He died still heavily in debt at Fort Gibson in the Indian Territory.

Jean Pierre's younger son, Pierre Chouteau, Jr. (1789–1865), was also born in St. Louis, and entered the family business in 1805. He later became an agent for JOHN JACOB ASTOR'S AMERICAN FUR COMPANY and eventually bought the Missouri River interests of the company from Astor in 1834. In 1838 he started the highly successful Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company, which traded over the vast region between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains until about 1865. In this capacity he was responsible for introducing the first steamboats on the upper Missouri. Following Astor's retirement in 1834, he also obtained and profitably managed the company's western department. He became the most powerful financier in the West in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. He spent his final years in New York as a wealthy fur trader and as an investor in newer western endeavors such as mining and railroads. By the time of his death in St. Louis in 1865, the Chouteau family had finally severed its long and historic ties to the fur trade and turned its attention to other fields.

As clever and cosmopolitan entrepreneurs, the Chouteaus played a major part in shaping the development of the trans-Mississippi West before 1865. While their private business ventures thrived in this new market, they also acted as public leaders, mediating relations among France, Spain, Great Britain, the United States, and Native Americans in this contested region. From the standpoint of impact, legacy, and longevity, the Chouteaus were in many respects the First Family of the American frontier.

**Further reading:** David Boutros, ed., *Cher Oncle/Cher Papa: The Letters of François and Berenice Chouteau* (Kansas City, Mo.: Western History Manuscript Collection, 2001); Shirley Christian, *Before Lewis and Clark: The Story of the Chouteaus, the French Dynasty that Ruled America's Frontier* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 2004); William E. Foley and C. David Rice, *The First Chouteaus: River Barons of Early St. Louis* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000); Frederick A. Hodes, *Beyond the Frontiers: A History of St. Louis to 1821* (Tucson, Ariz.: Patrice Press, 2004).

—Eleanor H. McConnell

## Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (more commonly known as the Mormon Church) was organized by JOSEPH SMITH, JR., in 1830 in Fayette, New York. In 1820, according to his own account, Smith received a direct revelation in the form of God the Father and his son, Jesus Christ, who anointed Smith a prophet, through whom the new church of Christ would be restored on earth. In later revelations, an angel named Moroni gave Smith the location of Golden Plates and the means to translate them. Smith completed the translation of the Book of Mormon from the plates in 1829. With its publication in 1830, Smith incorporated his church under New York law and began to preach his gospel to all who would listen to him.

The history of the church under its founder and first prophet, Joseph Smith, falls into three divisions. In the first, the church was located in Kirtland, Ohio, south and east of Cleveland, where Smith moved his headquarters after one of his disciples converted a congregation there. The Kirtland community of Saints grew rapidly, and Smith laid plans to erect the first church temple. Completed in 1836, the temple became the center of new religious ceremonies received by Smith in divine revelations. The church and its leaders were part of the prosperity associated with the time and place, and to take further advantage, Smith sought to establish a bank. His application denied, the bank went into operation anyway. When the PANIC OF 1837 brought chaos to the state banking system, the Kirtland Anti-Banking Society Bank collapsed, along with most of the other local banks. This failure intensified divisions within the church, based in part on the rumors that Smith had sanctioned POLYGAMY (plural wives) as a part of church doctrine. Some members of the church left, and Smith and his loyal followers left Kirtland and moved to Mormon settlements in Missouri.

The Mormon community in Missouri dated from a missionary enterprise of the early 1830s, which had gone west to convert Indians. The centers of Mormon settlements were originally in Jackson County, north of Kansas City,

and later farther north in Ray County. The sudden growth of the Mormon community by the influx from Kirtland began a period of expansion. Tensions with the surrounding population eventually developed, centering around the Mormons' growth and prosperity, their strong sense of group loyalty, their sympathy toward slaves, and their belligerence in defending what they thought of as their rights. As their neighbors began armed raids against outlying Mormon settlements, church leaders responded by organizing a paramilitary group known as the Sons of Dan, or the Danites. The attacks on the Mormons grew to include armed raids, arson, and murder. The Mormons responded in kind to what they saw as unprovoked aggression and the failure of the civil legal system to protect them.

The governor of Missouri, Lillburn W. Boggs, called out the militia. Believing that the Mormons were an undisciplined mob of religious fanatics, Boggs ordered them to leave Missouri or face extermination. Smith realized that his followers, however loyal and disciplined, stood no chance in conflict with a militia that had unlimited numbers and artillery, and he ordered the surrender of the church. He and other church leaders were imprisoned for several months without formal charges, while the members of the church were driven from the state. After six months in prison, Smith and the church leaders were permitted to leave the state of Missouri.

The third site of the Mormon community was a town on the Mississippi River north of Quincy, Illinois. Church leaders purchased the site in 1839, and Smith changed the name of the town from Commerce to NAUVOO, which he said derived from the Hebrew word for "beautiful." The new Mormon settlements came to embody the church's continuing growth and Smith's search for security in what seemed a perpetually hostile world.

As the Mormon settlements grew, enlarged by natural increase and the arrival of Mormon converts from England, the population swelled from 1,000 in 1839 to more than 10,000 in 1844. By 1845, Nauvoo was one of the largest cities in Illinois. In addition to economic prosperity, these numbers gave Smith a degree of political power. With the Whigs and Democrats evenly balanced within the state, he used the voting bloc of the Mormons to bargain for the security of the church community. The state legislature voted the Mormon community a special charter, the so-called Nauvoo Charter, which seemed to give the community, its city, and its leaders special privileges and rights. These rights included a university, founded in 1844 although never actually organized. Smith was elected mayor of Nauvoo in 1842, and the governor of Illinois appointed him a lieutenant general in the state militia. With state arms, Smith enrolled and trained the Nauvoo Legion, a carefully selected body of men whose training, discipline, and zeal was reassuring to members of

the church community and threatening to outsiders. This series of events culminated in spring 1844, when Smith announced himself a candidate for president of the United States.

As the community grew in numbers and political and military power, Smith's revelations brought new theological directions for the church. Among these were the baptism of the dead, so that all might have the benefit of a church baptism. In conjunction with these revelations, Smith ordered the construction of a temple. Amidst distinctive religious rituals that became part of the church doctrine, rumors again circulated that church leaders sanctioned and, indeed, practiced polygamy. These rumors generated a strong degree of dissent within the church itself.

In spring 1844, a group of estranged members of the church published a single issue of a newspaper that exposed polygamy and other practices by church leaders. Smith called a special meeting of the town council, declared the newspaper and its press a public nuisance, and ordered the press destroyed. The dissident leaders sought refuge outside the Mormon settlements and charged Smith with arson. After his safety was guaranteed by the governor, Smith surrendered and was imprisoned with other church leaders at Carthage, where he was to stand trial. On June 27, 1844, a mob broke into the jail and shot Smith and his brother Hyrum. The death of the church's founder and prophet closed the first crucial period in the church's history.

Among the leaders who sought to follow Joseph Smith as the church's leader, BRIGHAM YOUNG was the logical choice. He took charge of a community in mourning over the death of their founder and prophet, divided internally over the issue of polygamy, and under physical assault from the outside. As soon as he received the sanction of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles (a committee of senior Mormon leaders), Young displayed the remarkable qualities of leadership that he would bring to the church over the next 30 years. He first sought a truce to stave off further mob violence and attempted to negotiate an orderly departure of the church from Nauvoo, but he was only partially successful. Even as he and other church leaders prepared for an emigration to the West, the Mormon settlements in Nauvoo were under attack from the surrounding countryside. Invading mobs burned homes and pillaged what they did not burn. In winter 1846, the Mormons fled across the river and headed west to a new and as yet undisclosed location.

After crossing the state of Iowa, the Mormon migration paused for a year in Winter Quarters (near Omaha, Nebraska). Here, Young and other leaders prepared the organization of a large encampment of church members near Omaha and began to lay plans for an emigration of the church into the distant Inter-Mountain West.

The first wagon company, led by Young himself, departed Winter Quarters in the spring of 1847 and reached the Valley of the Great Salt Lake in July 1847. Here, Young declared that the valley was to become the site of the future City of Zion. What followed was the systematic immigration of the church from Winter Quarters to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, a process that lasted two years. Even then, later emigrations across the plains (some in the form of “hand cart brigades”) took place for another decade.

Within what was to become the state of Utah (although Young initially called it the STATE OF DESERET), Young systematically organized the Saints into a theocracy that controlled land, water, and other natural resources. When the federal government organized Utah Territory in 1850, Young was appointed governor. However, the federal judges appointed to the territorial court were non-Mormons, and they feared the theocracy that surrounded them. The hostility against the Mormons received fresh impetus in 1852 with the announcement that polygamy, practiced in secret by certain church leaders, was indeed a fundamental belief and practice within the church.

The open avowal of polygamy began a half-century of conflict and hostility between the church and the rest of the nation. Mormons saw the practice as a normal custom and their right as a chosen people headed by a farsighted prophet, seer, and revelator. To non-Mormons, the practice of plural wives was a violation of every tenet held by 19th-century America.

The sense of the Mormons as living in violation of the laws of the nation reached its climax in 1857, when President James Buchanan dispatched units of the U.S. Army to Utah to suppress what he regarded as a rebellion. At the same time, he removed Young as governor of the territory. Aware of the impending arrival of federal troops, the Mormon community began defensive preparations for an armed conflict. In this tense climate, Mormons and Indians attacked a wagon train at Mountain Meadows in southwest Utah. Some 120 men, women, and children died in what came to be called “The Mountain Meadows Massacre.” Young, who had originally ordered the wagon trains to pass in safety, did little to bring the perpetrators to justice, preferring loyalty to the church to a public exposure of the church members involved in the attack. Twenty years later, the federal government tried and executed John D. Lee, a Mormon leader and Indian agent, for the crime.

The federal army occupied parts of Utah, in what historians call the Utah War. Young decided not to oppose the invading expedition by force. Instead, he burned forts and towns and destroyed crops in hopes of delaying the army’s advance. Eventually, the two sides reached a degree of mutual accommodation. In 1858, the federal government pardoned Young for offenses, and the army gradually

retired, with the last of the forces leaving Utah on the outbreak of the Civil War.

The rest of the nation now turned its attention to the great war that divided it, and Young and the Mormon community turned their attention to growth and consolidation. Missionary efforts, an integral part of the church since its founding, revived and expanded. Converts from the East and from Europe (especially Great Britain) poured into Utah, whose church settlement had expanded across hundreds of miles, as far distant as Arizona and Nevada. When Brigham Young died in 1877, Utah’s population was 145,000, almost all members of the church community. In this prolonged period of independence, the institution of polygamy developed without internal or external opposition to become an accepted part of the church.

Mormon economic affairs also prospered. The agricultural enterprises associated with arable land irrigation grew and expanded, viewed throughout as arms of the church. Economic activity at all levels revolved around the church and church leaders. The joining of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads at Promontory Point, Utah, in 1869, ended Utah’s isolation from the rest of the nation. Thereafter, groups in Congress and the federal government were to launch a growing campaign of restrictive legislation against the church. These acts and court decisions against polygamy and the Mormon economic domination of the territory led to a series of compromises and Utah’s eventual admission to the Union in 1896.

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## cities and urban life

During the first half of the 19th century, American cities differed substantially from their European counterparts. The process had begun long before, when the cities were planned without the protective walls, highly structured street systems, or charters that characterized European cities. Instead, 19th-century American cities developed as independent entities. The differences intensified as U.S. cities transformed themselves from trade and commerce centers with limited populations to ever-expanding arenas of public services, economic growth, and fluid populations that reflected the influx of foreign and rural immigrants. This unprecedented growth stimulated the expansion and maturation of the United States as a cohesive and extensive nation with significant urbanized centers that arose relatively quickly. It also laid economic foundations for the country to function as an industrial power despite the

upheaval, displacement, and population losses of the Civil War period.

For the first years of the 19th century, the urban population of the United States remained relatively stable. Cities such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore were, as they had been since colonial days, East Coast port cities situated on major waterways with populations of under 100,000. They generated their commerce by shipping raw materials to European countries and receiving their manufactured goods in return.

But beginning in the 1820s, U.S. cities experienced unbroken growth that would last for a century. In large part, the source of this increase was large-scale immigration. By the mid-19th century, 5 million Irish, German, English, and other Europeans entered the United States. Between 1820 and 1850 alone, the combined population of Baltimore, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia climbed to 1.2 million people. Moreover, western cities such as Pittsburgh marked an inland urban expansion and the population of urban areas overall increased as towns with populations of 8,000 or more grew by 36 percent. Between 1830 and 1840, the total urban population grew from 0.9 million to 1.5 million people, and by 1850, close to 15 percent of all Americans lived in urban areas. Consequently, most urban centers of the North had been gradually transformed into important hubs of commerce and manufacturing, but with a concomitant price in terms of socialization. Gone were the days of small village life where inhabitants knew their neighbors; now city dwellers confronted a never-ending *mélange* of strangers in their midst. Lacking a sense of overall community in the city, most people retreated to smaller comfort zones based mostly on race, class, religion, or ethnicity. On the upside, the sheer size of the city environment gave young men and women a degree of freedom from parental supervision and community watchfulness heretofore unthinkable in smaller settlements. Basic distrust of people was fast becoming a facet of everyday urban life, and contemporary moral reformers were quick to point out that cities had become hotbeds of licentiousness, danger, and vice.

An early fixture of 19th-century U.S. urban life was industrialization, seen initially in the adaptation of steam power for mechanical use. By mid-century, the power used to drive steamboats 30 years earlier was running factory machines. This development freed business owners from situating factories along abundant water supplies. Instead, industries could follow the population and be established near popular transportation hubs. As technology improved and became more cost effective, it enabled new links to arise between urban centers and the interior, which in turn fostered greater economic growth and prosperity. Chicago, Illinois, is the most dramatic example. By the construction of a canal in 1848 and rail lines throughout the 1850s, it had

become a major hub of the lumber, cattle, and agricultural industry. Southern cities such as Memphis, Tennessee, and Atlanta, Georgia, once hooked into the railroad infrastructure, also experienced similar growth patterns for identical reasons.

Technological advances helped to transform city transportation and extend the city's geographic reach. They opened the city beyond the bounds of those who could walk within it to include anyone served by a public transport system. To move the growing numbers of residents living far away from work and entertainment, inventions such as the horse-drawn omnibus and trolley became popular. Introduced in the 1830s, the omnibus was a horse-drawn roofed wagon that carried over two dozen riders. More successful as public transportation was the horse-drawn trolley, a conveyance holding dozens of riders that ran along railroad tracks installed flush with the street. So well-fitted to city life were trolleys that they remained in service into the mid-20th century. This same technology also spawned the rise of suburbs by consigning the inner city to the poor and newly arrived, while more affluent families withdrew from the confusion and bustle by commuting on trains or trolleys. Real estate developers consequently flexed their political muscle with local legislatures to secure charters for municipal improvements in the form of strategically placed streetcar lines, designed to lure middle- and upper-middle-class residents to settle in upscale subdivisions on the urban periphery. Thus, most cities began reshaping their demographic landscape along transportation routes featuring distinct commerce, housing, and manufacturing sectors.

From the late 1820s, railroads served an increasingly important role in providing inter- and extraurban transportation. They linked cities and towns across the United States, and as the century progressed, cities devoted considerable funds to their creation. In many cities, railroad construction was underwritten by transportation bonds. Other forms of transportation were less well advanced. Plank walkways were only occasionally available for pedestrians; roads were unpaved.

Advanced technology and necessity were combined to develop urban commercial and residential housing. To accommodate increasing urban industry in limited city space, architects and city planners tried to find ways to build upward. In the late 1840s, inventor James Bogardus developed a cast-iron support process for buildings; by the 1850s, this form of columnar support allowed for the construction of multistory buildings. Elevators would also lead to the increased construction of multistory buildings. Once inventor Elisha Otis had improved their design to incorporate safety features, elevators became particularly useful to construction in the 1850s and afterward.

Such advanced housing was unavailable for most mid-19th century urban dwellers. Instead, one- and two-story





Broadway in New York City, 1855 (Hulton/Archive)

buildings, divided into small apartments, provided much of the housing. Inadequate in size and number for the many thousands of new city dwellers, these low-rise apartment houses resulted in severe overcrowding. Several dozen people might share a room meant for a few, and all parts of a building were used for shelter. In New York City in 1850, over 28,000 people lived in cellars. In response to the public-health risk posed by apartment overcrowding, some cities passed reform legislation. An early New York law was passed in 1860, mandating that apartment buildings have fire escapes.

Information exchange became increasingly important to maintaining order within a city, and it was achieved in large part through the large-circulation penny paper. While at the beginning of the 19th century, newspapers were primarily six-cent periodicals underwritten by a political party and sold by annual subscription, the penny paper was sold on the streets by newsboys and was supported by commercial advertising. Unlike its predecessors, the penny paper often declined to promote political ideologies and attempted objectivity and up-to-date reporting of events. The combination of news and objectivity proved highly

popular among immigrants, laborers, and the middle class, resulting in an increase in the number of daily and weekly penny papers from 715 to 1,279 between 1830 and 1840 alone. Notable penny papers included the *New York Herald*, *New York Sun*, and *Baltimore Sun*.

For profit, prestige, and civic-mindedness, cities supported various types of entertainment, including libraries, theaters, concert halls, and outdoor entertainment palaces, which were very popular. Impresarios such as P. T. Barnum imported European artists, such as operatic singer Jenny (the “Swedish Nightingale”) Lind for U.S. tours. Such displays of high artistic enjoyment increased the overall perception of the United States as an increasingly sophisticated nation.

While 19th-century cities improved their stature by attending to their arts and industries, they also faced wide-ranging and daunting problems of public health. For example, the average New York street was overrun with swine and manure; a former New York mayor called the city a “pigsty.” Disease was also a major problem. With tens of thousands of people sharing the same water supply and refuse system, and ships from across the world



arriving daily at port cities, contagious diseases spread quickly. A cholera epidemic occurred in New York City and Newark (New Jersey), Cleveland, Chicago, and other cities in 1832; in 1849, another cholera epidemic occurred when the disease spread from New Orleans to St. Louis and through the middle and eastern United States. Other epidemics during the period included smallpox and cerebral meningitis.

Establishing public services to alleviate these problems became a major concern for 19th-century cities. Eighteenth-century cities had distributed funds for basic uses such as street and public building maintenance and as alms to the poor, but the more diverse and populous 19th-century city required a broader range of services. Among them were schools, public works, transportation, public health services, and government administration.

For example, creating a waterworks for a city was a primary, extensive endeavor. The New York tunnel system, which extended 50 miles to the upstate Croton reservoir, took several years to build, from 1835 to 1842. Dozens of citywide water systems were built by the end of the 1850s. Funding them, as well as other public works projects, sometimes involved federal, state, and city government funds. In one successful partnership, the U.S. Army and city governments cofunded various harbor and river projects, such as the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in the mid-Atlantic region.

Similarly, crime-control units began to be expanded and developed during the mid-19th century. They were transformed from plainclothes night-watch groups into uniformed police departments. In addition, they were now designed to take a more active role than they had in the 18th century. Instead of simply responding to crimes, the 19th-century police force was expected to uncover and prevent crime. New York City became the first to have a department of regularly uniformed policemen in 1856. Similarly, government-controlled fire-fighting departments were being developed, if not yet implemented, during the mid-19th century. Created in part to replace the various groups of volunteers and private subscription companies, some of whom belonged to warring ethnic groups and gangs, the forces were also established to provide fire coverage to property owners and businesses.

Providing citywide public education was another concern for mid-19th century cities. Because cities such as New York had a large percentage of foreign-born students, educators and public policy planners viewed public education as vital to developing an able workforce and patriotic citizenry. As common school reformers like HORACE MANN and Catharine Beecher viewed it, schooling was both practical and idealistic. It would prepare U.S. citizens for an increasingly industrialized society and would decrease social unrest.

City planners and members of government viewed the need for such public works—for water, transportation, housing, crime control, EDUCATION—as crucial. Their thinking led to the transformation of city government into an active force. While at the beginning of the 19th century, city government depended on regulations to be devised as problems arose, the mid- to late-century city was marked by active government involvement, including civic promotion, health campaigns, and financial incentives. In the years after the Civil War, city governments would become more responsive, even as they fell under the control of corrupt political bosses.

To finance the increasingly expensive city, legislators in the 19th century granted cities the power to levy taxes. Property taxes became a major source of city funds; other sources included fees, fines, and property sales. Western cities also financed themselves by issuing bonds to established European countries or eastern U.S. cities, while some new cities and villages were formed through a process of general incorporation. A popular entrepreneurial effort, incorporation of a city, allowed founders to seek private investments and government loans.

As the 19th century reached its midpoint, some changes in cities were evident. New York City, with its favorable coastal position, large harbor, and proximity to the Hudson River, was the commercial and information center of the East Coast, surpassing larger, 18th-century rival Philadelphia. In the Midwest, the dominant city of 1840 was St. Louis, with its central frontier location and population of 16,469. During the 1860s, it would be challenged and eventually overtaken by the port-and-market center city of Chicago, whose population would increase 60-fold between 1840 and 1870. Although southern cities did experience some effects of industrialization and increased immigrant population, they grew at slower rates. Important 19th-century southern cities included Birmingham, Memphis, and New Orleans.

By mid-century many city planners had begun deliberately reserving urban space for parks and other development-free zones in which residents could temporarily escape from the humdrum of everyday life. In New York, the best example is Central Park, which arose in 1858 and served a dual purpose; middle-class inhabitants sought out its balmy openness as a natural haven to relax in, while the lower classes utilized it as a recreational area to play sports and release pent-up energies. In either case, most metropolitan areas in America began setting aside space with a view toward granting the relentless urbanizing onslaught a human face.

In 1853 the nation's largest city hosted its largest promotional event, the New York Crystal Palace Exhibition. Modeled on London's 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition, it was meant to mark New York's status as a cosmopolitan center

on a par with London and promote the nation's industrial accomplishments and public entertainments. Although it lasted for more than two months, attracted a million visitors, and collected over \$330,000, it was considered a failure by its promoters, lacking the international representation and prestige of London's Crystal Palace exhibition of 1851.

The fair may have been considered a disaster, but its size, examples of industry, and mass of people reflected the complexities of the contemporary U.S. city. Throughout the 19th century, U.S. cities would grow in size and population, become repositories and generators of American inventions such as the elevator and telegraph, and become home to industries such as steelmaking and textiles. Public entertainments would develop, and U.S. cities would continue to showcase themselves at even more elaborate expositions like the Centennial Exposition of 1876 and the World's Fair of 1904. Although in 1860, 80 percent of Americans still lived in farms or villages, the move toward widespread urban life was well underway.

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—Melinda Corey

**Claiborne, William C. C.** (1775–1817) *government official*

A territorial official and the first governor of the state of Louisiana, William Charles Coles Claiborne helped to bring the Louisiana Territory into the Union. Descended from an old Virginia family, Claiborne was born in Sussex,

Virginia, in 1775. Through his family connections, he was appointed at the age of 15 as a clerk to Congress and soon thereafter began to study law. He later moved to Sullivan County, Tennessee, where he established a legal practice. Like many lawyers on the frontier, Claiborne gravitated to politics, and when Tennessee (territory southwest of the Ohio) sought admission to the Union, he was a member of the constitutional convention. After Tennessee became a state in 1796, he was appointed to the state supreme court. While serving on this court, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives to fill out ANDREW JACKSON's term. Although Claiborne was not yet 25 years old and thus ineligible to serve in the House of Representatives, he nonetheless took his seat. In 1798 his constituents reelected him to the House.

In Congress, Claiborne headed the committee to investigate charges made against Governor Winthrop Sargent of Mississippi Territory. Residents of the territory had petitioned that the territory be advanced to the second stage, which would permit them to elect a legislature and send a nonvoting delegate to Congress. Claiborne's committee's report supported the petitioners. When the presidential election of 1800 ended in a tie between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, the decision was thrown into the House of Representatives. Claiborne voted for Jefferson, and his reward was an appointment as governor of the Mississippi Territory, succeeding Winthrop Sargent.

During his two years as governor, Claiborne demonstrated his political skills. He supervised the first elections in the territory and was remarkably successful in reducing the bitter political partisanship that was characteristic of Mississippi and other territories. The achievement was all the more remarkable since Claiborne had arrived as an outsider. When Jefferson bought Louisiana in 1803, Congress soon established the Territory of Orleans, and the president made Claiborne governor of the new territory. It was an important appointment, for he was representative of the national government to a political and social community that was generally not happy about coming under U.S. sovereignty.

Claiborne's early years in New Orleans were difficult, given that he was the representative of an alien government and he spoke no French. The president and Congress had chosen to give Louisianians a minimal share of self-government out of concern for the loyalty of the new region, and their actions made Claiborne's position even more difficult. The new government also imposed English as an official language and the English common law on the court system. Furthermore, the rigid enforcement of the customs duties after years of lax Spanish administration further angered the New Orleans trading community. However, Claiborne gradually won the trust of the citizens of New Orleans and the Territory of Orleans. He also married into a Louisiana

family and learned French. When Congress admitted the Territory of Orleans to the Union as the new state of Louisiana in 1812, Claiborne was elected its first governor.

Claiborne was a political leader of consummate personal skills. Even as an outsider in the territories of Mississippi and Orleans, he laid the foundation of trust and compromise. Yet the turmoil of the frontier at the opening of the 19th century demanded more aggressive solutions on certain occasions. Claiborne's first encounter with such new challenges was the behavior of General James Wilkinson and former vice president Aaron Burr in the series of events that would become known as Burr's Conspiracy. Claiborne's responses were slow and indecisive. The same difficulties reemerged a decade later during the threatened siege of New Orleans by the British in late 1814 during the WAR OF 1812. Claiborne's slow response to a British invasion force infuriated General ANDREW JACKSON and other American military leaders. Throughout these mishaps, Claiborne retained the loyalty and support of Louisianans. In 1817, at the close of his term as governor, the legislature of the state of Louisiana elected him to the U.S. Senate, but he died that year before he could take office.

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## claim clubs

In the early decades of the 19th century, settlers who arrived in western lands (what is now the Middle West) ahead of government land offices established claim clubs, makeshift associations also known as claim associations or squatter courts, to protect themselves and provide order on the frontier. Each club usually assumed authority over an area the size of a township, settling disputes over land rights and, when no officers were present, enforcing general matters of law and order.

Although these clubs were not, strictly speaking, legal entities, they proceeded as though they were sanctioned. By meeting, electing officers, and often forming constitutions, the clubs tried to reproduce political structures from settled regions of the United States. They grew out of the settlers' desire to protect their claims from the intrusions of other unofficial settlers and, especially, from wealthy speculators. Before the Preemption Act of 1841, anyone squatting on land prior to its public sale could be ejected by speculators. After the law was passed, squatting on surveyed lands was legal, and the squatter had the right to preempt his claim before public sale, thus circumventing the bidding power of the speculators. This law did not solve squatters' problems with speculators completely, since

many would-be claimants who wanted to preempt their claims lacked the funds to pay for the land up front. Thus, claim clubs mediated disputes between competing claimants and speculators as well.

Joining a claim club was a simple process. For one dollar, members of a claim club could register a claim with the association. Elected secretaries or registrars kept records of each claim. If more than one settler claimed a given piece of land, the club arbitrated the dispute through a five-member jury. Disputants could also appeal any jury verdict by consulting the entire membership. This procedure was designed to deal both with the powerful speculators and with another common problem in these newly settled areas: claim jumpers. Without the official federal presence necessary to decide who owned what, jumpers often attempted to claim land that had already been registered with the claim association by another party. In these cases, the association's elected marshal issued a verbal warning to the jumper. If this effort failed, the marshal and other members of the association would issue a "physical warning"—destroying a jumper's personal property and improvements or even physically harming the jumper. Sometimes these attempts to oust the claim jumper led to deaths. Even when clubs were unsuccessful in their attempts to expel a supposed claim jumper, they ostracized these outlaws from the community, refusing to do business with them.

Most common in territories such as Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, claim clubs often operated under different criteria than those authorized by federal land law. Against official policy, clubs allowed minors to make claims and allowed claimants to register more than the standard 160 acres. Clubs established a kind of order on the frontier designed to withstand the influence of more powerful outsiders. When public land auctions finally occurred, members of claim associations would mobilize to protect their gains from any rivals. Though only quasi-legal themselves, the organized claim clubs were able to persuade many speculators to leave them alone. At land auctions, squatters would gather around a designated bidder, who was supposed to bid the minimum government price for each claim. If any outsider or speculator tried to bid higher on the property, claim associates would intimidate him, sometimes physically. Any speculator who resisted this coercion could expect to be treated the same way claimants treated jumpers.

Claim associations provided a means through which squatters could register, transfer, and mortgage claims without the presence of the federal land office. The clubs promoted self-sufficiency and often developed into powerful speculative organizations in their own right. They also proved that in the absence of federal authority, settlers could govern themselves efficiently. The spirited philosophy of self-defense and self-government found among the claim clubbers influenced the way laws were formed in

these developing regions. State and territorial legislatures often validated the doctrines of the claim clubs, upholding the claims of settlers who came first and improved their land. While speculators wielded considerable power on the frontier, claim club ideals—mobilizing individuals to protect against outsiders—also exerted significant influence in the Middle West.

The establishment of claim clubs in frontier areas continued as standard practice until about 1870. Usually these clubs lasted only a few years, until federal officials took control. Although short-lived, the clubs were crucial to the formation of local communities and shaped the beliefs and attitudes of settlers determined to stake a permanent claim on the American frontier.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

### Clay, Henry (1777–1852) *politician*

Henry Clay was an American statesman, secretary of state under JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, an unsuccessful candidate for the presidency in 1824, 1832, and 1844, and in 1850, the architect of an important compromise to preserve the Union. A representative for the border state Kentucky and spokesman for the middle-of-the-road WHIG PARTY, Clay sought to reconcile differences between the North and South on slavery. Clay also represented the nationalist outlook of the young, expanding Middle West. In support of the region's territorial interests, he boldly urged war with Britain in 1812. His AMERICAN SYSTEM political platform called for protective tariffs for eastern manufacturers, federal financing for internal improvements in the West, and a national bank as he sought to link the industrial East with the agrarian West.

Henry Clay was born on April 12, 1777, in Hanover County, Virginia, to a middle-class family. At the age of 20, after studying for the bar with the eminent George Wythe, Clay moved to Lexington, Kentucky, where he developed a thriving practice. He was blessed with a quick mind, a flair for oratory, and an ability to charm both sexes with his easy, attractive manner. That he loved to drink and gamble was no drawback in an age that admired both vices. Ambitious for worldly success, Clay married into a wealthy and socially prominent family and soon gained entry into Kentucky's most influential circles. While still in his 20s, he was elected to the state legislature, in which he served for six years, until 1809.

In 1810 Clay was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, and from 1811 he served as Speaker of the House. As a spokesman of western expansionist interests and leader of the WAR HAWKS, he stirred up enthusiasm for war with Great Britain and helped bring on the WAR OF 1812. After a brief absence in 1814 to aid in the peace negotiations leading to the TREATY OF GHENT, Clay returned to Congress and began to formulate his “American System,” a national program that ultimately included federal aid for internal improvements and tariff protection of American industries.

While Henry Clay was not the author of the MISSOURI COMPROMISE, he was instrumental in facilitating its final form and passage through Congress. In 1818 the Territory of Missouri, which was part of the Louisiana Purchase, applied for admission to the Union. SLAVERY was legal in the Territory of Missouri, and about 10,000 slaves lived there. Most people expected Missouri to become a slave state. When the bill to admit Missouri to the Union was introduced, there were an equal number of free and slave states. The admission of Missouri threatened to destroy this balance. But during the next session of Congress, Maine applied for admission to the Union. Missouri and Maine could then be accepted without upsetting the balance between free and slave states, and the Missouri Compromise became possible.

The compromise admitted Maine as a free state and authorized Missouri to form a state constitution. The compromise also banned slavery from the Louisiana Purchase north of the southern boundary of Missouri, the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, except in the state of Missouri. This compromise was not immediately acceptable to all parties, especially those in Missouri Territory. Working hand-in-hand with Senator John Holmes of Maine, Clay ironed out the wrinkles, and in 1821 he pushed the amended Missouri Compromise through Congress.

In 1828 Clay again supported Adams for president, but Jackson won the White House. Three years later, Clay was elected to the U.S. Senate and led the National Republicans, who were beginning to call themselves the WHIG PARTY. Hoping to embarrass Jackson, Clay led the Senate opposition to the president's policies, but when the election came, Jackson was overwhelmingly reelected.

Around this time, a crisis developed over tariffs. South Carolina's nullification of the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 as well as Jackson's threats of an armed invasion of that state allowed Clay to gain political ground. Working, even at the cost of his own protectionist views, toward a compromise with the faction led by JOHN C. CALHOUN, he helped to promote the Compromise Tariff of 1833.

As a candidate for the presidency in 1824, Clay had the fourth-largest number of electoral votes. With no candidate having a majority, the election was decided in the



House of Representatives. Clay released his electoral votes to John Quincy Adams in return for Adams naming Clay secretary of state. Adams won the election by a one-vote margin. The deal struck between Adams and Clay became referred to as the “corrupt bargain,” and many thought Jackson had been “robbed” of the presidency. The public outcry was strong, and the stigma of the “corrupt bargain” would haunt Adams’s presidency and be instrumental in his serving only a single term. It would also be an impediment to Clay’s future political fortunes.

In December 1831 the National Republicans once again nominated Henry Clay for the presidency. Clay returned to the national spotlight feeling pessimistic about his chances of defeating Jackson. He therefore made his primary goal to bring a measure to Congress that would put the administration in an embarrassing position. Clay proposed a modification of the tariff. This would have reduced revenues and put off Jackson’s intended repayment of the national debt by nearly a year. If Jackson vetoed it, he would alienate northern states, like Pennsylvania, whose votes he needed. If he signed it, it would alienate Jackson’s southern supporters. In the end Clay’s strategy failed when Congress passed a bill moderate enough to enable Jackson to sign it without alienating either faction.

Clay opposed the Jackson regime at every turn, particularly on the issue of a national bank. When, in 1833, Jackson had the deposits removed from the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES to various other banks, Clay secured a Senate resolution censuring the president.

In 1840 Clay lost the Whig nomination to WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, but Clay supported him. When Harrison was elected, Clay was offered the post of secretary of state, but he chose to stay in the Senate, where he planned to reestablish the Bank of the United States. However, the unexpected accession of JOHN TYLER to the presidency upon the death of Harrison less than a month after taking office, and Tyler’s vetoes of Clay’s bills, caused Clay to resign his Senate seat in 1842.

In 1844 Clay ran for president against JAMES K. POLK, an avowed expansionist. Earlier Clay had publicly opposed the annexation of TEXAS. During the campaign, however, he modified his position, agreeing to annexation if it could be accomplished with the common consent of the Union and without war. This shift probably lost him New York State, with which he could have won the election. His failure was crushing for him and for the Whig Party. In 1848, his party refused him its nomination, feeling that he had no chance, and his presidential aspirations were never fulfilled.

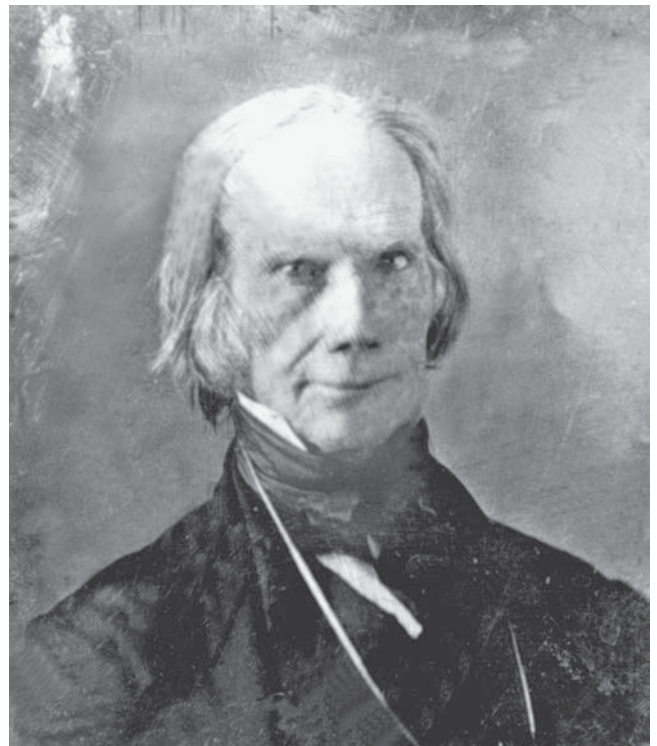
Slavery had been given limits by the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and for some time there was no opportunity to overstep those limits. However, the new territories made renewed expansion of slavery a real likelihood. After the

MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, Texas, which already permitted slavery, naturally entered the Union as a slave state. But CALIFORNIA, New Mexico, and Utah did not have slavery, and when the United States prepared to take over these areas in 1846, there was great sectional conflict on what to do with them.

Southern opinion held that all the territories had the right to sanction slavery. The North asserted that no territories had that right. In 1848, nearly 300,000 men voted for FREE-SOIL PARTY candidates who declared that the best policy was to contain and discourage slavery. The Midwestern and border-state regions (Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri) were even more divided, however, with many favoring popular sovereignty as a compromise.

After being reelected to the Senate in 1849, Henry Clay denounced the extremists in both North and South, asserted the superior claims of the Union, and was chiefly instrumental in shaping the COMPROMISE OF 1850. It was the third time that he had stepped forward to avert a breakup of the Union in a crisis, and thus he has been called the Great Pacificator and the Great Compromiser.

The key provisions of the compromise were: California was to be admitted as a Free-Soil state; that the remainder of the new annexation be divided into the two territories of New Mexico and Utah and organized without mention of slavery; that the claims of Texas to a portion of New



Henry Clay (*Library of Congress*)



Mexico should be satisfied by a payment of \$10 million; that more effective machinery be established for catching runaway slaves and returning them to their masters; and that the buying and selling of slaves (but not slavery itself) be abolished in the District of Columbia. For the last time, Henry Clay had been instrumental in pacifying the growing sectional unrest. The country breathed a collective, albeit temporary, sigh of relief.

Clay was not to live much longer after the passage of the compromise. He spent the summer of 1851 at Ashland, where he made his will, providing for the disposition of his estate and the freeing of his slaves. Though dying of tuberculosis, he returned to Washington that fall and answered the first Senate roll call. Thereafter he was closely confined to his room in the National Hotel, where he died on the morning of June 29, 1852.

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—Richard L. Friedline

### Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850)

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was an agreement between the United States and England to cooperate in the construction of any canal through Central America to link the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The end result of the treaty may have been to delay construction of an isthmian canal for more than 50 years. Nevertheless, in 1850 it represented an important diplomatic triumph for the United States since it forestalled British expansion in Central America and recognized the United States as equal to the more powerful British in the region. At the same time, however, it meant that American settlers in CALIFORNIA and Oregon had to wait many years for improved transportation links with the East.

During the period of American conflict with Mexico, both the United States and Britain made significant moves to enhance their position in Central America. In the 1840s, the most favored route for a potential isthmian canal went through Nicaragua. From their colony in British Honduras (Belize), the British asserted a protectorate over the Mosquito Coast (the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua), the most likely Atlantic starting point for a canal. Later, in 1849, they also temporarily occupied Tigre Island near the most likely Pacific terminus for a canal through Nicaragua. The United States had not been idle in Central America, either. Democratic president JAMES K. POLK's administration negotiated and signed two treaties with Latin American countries which would affect any canal-building effort. The first, the Bidlack Treaty (1846) with Colombia, gave

the United States exclusive rights to build a canal via what was then the second most desirable route, the Colombian province of Panama. In exchange, the United States guaranteed Colombian control over the province and the canal's neutrality in times of war. The second treaty, this one with Nicaragua, offered the United States exclusive control over a Nicaraguan canal in exchange for guarantees of Nicaraguan sovereignty.

The OREGON TREATY OF 1846, the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH, and the consequent flow of settlers to Oregon and, especially, California increased both American and British interest in Central America and a possible isthmian canal. In the United States, a canal was increasingly popular with shipping magnates such as CORNELIUS VANDERBILT who sought to control trade with the West Coast. Central America was also attracting the attention of southern politicians who saw the region as potential slave territory to offset the free-state advantage gained in California and (later) ratified in the COMPROMISE OF 1850. Meanwhile, the British sought to maintain their dominant position in the Caribbean, a position that would be threatened by American control over an isthmian canal. The British also wanted to participate in the trade of the Pacific coast of the United States.

Thus, both the United States and Great Britain had interests in Central America and had reasons to be concerned about the other's moves in the region. Accordingly, conditions were favorable for a resolution of potential conflicts. During the Whig presidency of ZACHARY TAYLOR, Secretary of State John Clayton sat down with the new British ambassador to the United States, Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, to resolve the disputes over Central America. The resulting treaty guaranteed both countries a role in any canal by denying either exclusive rights to any canal route. It also committed both to the neutrality of any canal and to policies of founding no new colonies and building no new fortifications in Central America. The treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate on May 22, 1850.

Apart from the provisions relating to a possible isthmian canal, other provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty were violated almost immediately. Britain refused to surrender its protectorate over the Mosquito Coast, which the United States believed fell under the provisions of the treaty. More egregiously from the American perspective, in 1852 the British fashioned the Colony of the Bay Islands out of islands in the Bay of Honduras. For their part, the British were angered in 1856 when Democratic president Franklin Pierce recognized the government in Nicaragua established by American adventurer William Walker; though he disavowed any aim to join the United States, Walker seemed to be aiming for annexation. In the long run, these treaty violations came to little. The British gave

up the Mosquito Coast and the Bay Islands in 1859 and 1860, and Walker's government was destroyed in 1857.

Finally, although the requirement of American and British cooperation in the construction of any canal seems to have made it more difficult to build a canal, an isthmian canal project was probably beyond the capabilities of mid-19th-century technology and science—as the French tragically discovered in Panama in the late 19th century when disease decimated their work crews. Nevertheless, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty remains an important landmark in U.S. diplomatic history, with important consequences for westward expansion.

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—Russell L. Johnson

### Colorado gold rush

The name generally given to the surge of people across the Great Plains to Colorado in the summer of 1858 was the Colorado gold rush, whose predecessor was the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH a decade earlier. The response to the discovery of gold in Colorado was just as intense as that in CALIFORNIA, but the location and the circumstances made for a varied outcome.

In the aftermath of the discovery of gold in California in January 1848, the search spread across the breadth of the American West. Surely the riches of the Golden State lay in other locations just awaiting the enterprising prospector, or so ran the argument. In July 1858 a party of prospectors, led by William Green Russell, camped near the mouth of Cherry Creek and the headwaters of the South Platte River, where they found placer gold in modest quantities. Russell's report of the find exaggerated the richness and range of the discoveries, but America had long awaited another California bonanza, and news of their discoveries precipitated a flood of immigrants across the plains to the new diggings. The imagined Colorado goldfields were only 700 miles from Independence, Missouri, so the Colorado gold rush drew most of its participants from the eastern United States.

The so-called Pike's Peak rush in 1859 generated an enthusiasm and a movement of people not seen since 1849. Perhaps as many as 50,000 crossed the plains that summer, and some have estimated a higher number. The immigra-

tion created a mining culture in the town of Denver and in the camps farther into the Rockies, with boisterous and optimistic crowds intent on the prospect of wealth. The rush to Colorado had an early impact on the landscape of the plains and the lives of the Plains Indians. Heretofore, various groups of Indian peoples had largely escaped the impact of Euro-Americans on the West by accidents of geography and landforms. The tens of thousands who rushed to California had following the well-worn CALIFORNIA TRAIL along the Platte River Valley, and they pressed rapidly across the plains, intent on reaching the crest of the Sierra Nevada before the early snowfalls. The rush to Colorado in 1859 followed the Platte River and several alternative routes, arriving in the staging area around present-day Denver. The large numbers and the variety of routes meant extensive contact with Indians. On the dry plains, the Colorado argonauts found themselves in competition for the same natural resources as Indians, especially water, grass, and shelter. This competition for scarce resources produced inevitable conflicts.

Something in the order of 50,000 men (and a few women) reached the site of the new bonanzas in the spring and summer of 1859. In the traditional proportions that had emerged in California, about the half of the arrivals headed for the gold diggings; the other half turned their attention to the many ways of profiting from the miners. These included supplies, transportation of men and supplies to the gold camps, entertainment in all its various forms, and the many professional opportunities available to doctors, lawyers, and others.

The mining enterprise itself followed a cycle much like that in California, but accelerated in time. During the first season, miners wielded the pick, pan, and shovel in washing gravels, work routines familiar to their predecessors in California. Soon, however, prospectors found rich leads of gold ore that demanded more systematic and complex mining techniques. The Colorado gold rush soon passed from individual mining to larger operations requiring large capital investment and the latest in metallurgy techniques. Entrepreneurs soon built smelters in Denver to process the ores from the richest of the quartz leads. And, as in California and the more recent COMSTOCK LODE, mines began to burrow underground, following the gold leads as they sank farther and farther from the surface.

The immigration experience in the Colorado gold rush was markedly different from that of California. Because of the abbreviated distances, the prospective 59ers (as they were soon called) could return to the East. Many of them did; this was in the nature of mining enterprise. But the ease of return meant that miners could move back and forth almost seasonally. This continuous movement across the plains over the half-dozen years after 1858 further disrupted the lives of NATIVE AMERICANS. The Colorado gold

rush began a period of continuous conflict on the plains, with the reinforcement of racial stereotypes that had long characterized contact between the two groups. In November 1864, in a campaign that reflected continuing racial hostility set in a context of the American Civil War, Colonel John M. Chivington led a force of 1,000 territorial volunteers in an attack on a Cheyenne camp at Sand Creek. The massacre of some 400 Indian people, who had been confident of the government's benevolent protection, was the climax to a continuing conflict begun by the great immigration to Colorado in the summer of 1859.

In these early years, the center of Colorado's mining enterprise was William Green Russell's original settlement on Cherry Creek. In 1860, the little mining town merged with Auraria, its main rival. The following year, the consolidated town was incorporated with the name of Denver. This collection of log houses, false storefronts, and a modest tent city would become the commercial center of the Colorado gold rush and most important city in the West between Kansas City and San Francisco. Its success was owed to effective promotion, continuing mineral production in Colorado, and, beginning in 1859, the presence of a newspaper, the *Rocky Mountain News*. Denver was initially a supply center, later the site of industrial processes associated with mining, and finally a financial base. The important mining towns, farther in the mountains, were Central City, Black Hawk, Georgetown, Silver Plume, and Idaho Springs. Most of the significant early mining was in Gilpin County.

Early Colorado mining camps drew their institutional form from California camps. With the organization of the territory some years away and the conflicts and tensions created by large numbers rubbing elbows and jockeying for a claim in shallow narrow streams, the miners soon formed districts and established rules to preserve order and to provide for the adjudication of disputes. Without formal structure for order, the miners established their own miners' courts and enforced a high degree of order. As in other camps, foreigners and non-English speakers were at a disadvantage, but unlike the California Gold Rush, the Colorado gold rush was not a world event; it attracted immigrants from the East Coast but few foreigners.

The Colorado gold rush provided the nucleus of a Euro-American population that offered the basis for organizing a territory. Town founders and promoters (who were generally the organizers) called the territory Jefferson Territory. Congress did not concur. Still, the initiative may have helped. In 1861, Kansas became a state, and soon thereafter, Congress created Colorado Territory, with the same boundaries as the present state.

Colorado's gold-rush country had every institution and facility that a prosperous El Dorado could provide—except the regular consistent production of gold. Gold leaders in quartz strata soon supplemented the placer mining of the

first summer. But the gold harvest from placer mining was low—some would even have said disappointing—and the development of an effective deep quartz-mining enterprise was handicapped by the difficulties of extracting from Colorado's quartz with the technology then available. Colorado minerals presented difficulties beyond the mining techniques of the day. The quartz camps hung on while the new generation of mining engineers—appearing on the scene for the first time—searched for solutions that would transform Colorado's mining into another California.

The final resolution of the issue was largely the work of Nathaniel Hill, a professor of chemistry at Brown University in Rhode Island. Hill began his work in Colorado in 1864—even as most of the placer mining in Colorado was ending—and he sent a quantity of Colorado ore to Wales, where it was examined in the most modern mining laboratory of the day. Based on the findings, Hill organized a smelting company in 1867 and then began construction on a new kind of smelter in Black Hawk. Hill's smelter, which went into operation within a year, helped to revive Colorado's declining mining economy. Ten years later, a larger smelter was built in Denver, which became the center of Colorado's smelting industry. Denver's dominance was notably assisted by the development of a railroad network that connected the distant isolated mining camps to the Mile High City.

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### **Colt, Samuel** (1814–1862) *inventor of the repeating revolver*

Samuel Colt was a U.S. inventor most famous for his handgun, the Colt .45, and considered one of the first to use mass production techniques in America. He was born in Hartford, Connecticut, on July 19, 1814, the son of a successful fabric manufacturer. His mother died when he was seven, and Colt lived with various relatives during his early years, acquiring an imperfect education. However, even as a child he displayed great interest in and an aptitude for firearms and explosives. He was attending a prep school in Amherst, Massachusetts, in 1829 when, at the age of 13, he put on an impressive display of pyrotechnics on Ware Pond. However, his father decided he needed discipline, so in 1830 Colt accompanied the ship *Corvo* on a yearlong voyage to India. En route, while observing the mechanics of the ship's wheel and steering system, it occurred to him that the same principles could be applied to handguns. Thereafter, he spent many hours whittling a wooden model of what became his trademark legacy: the revolving pistol.

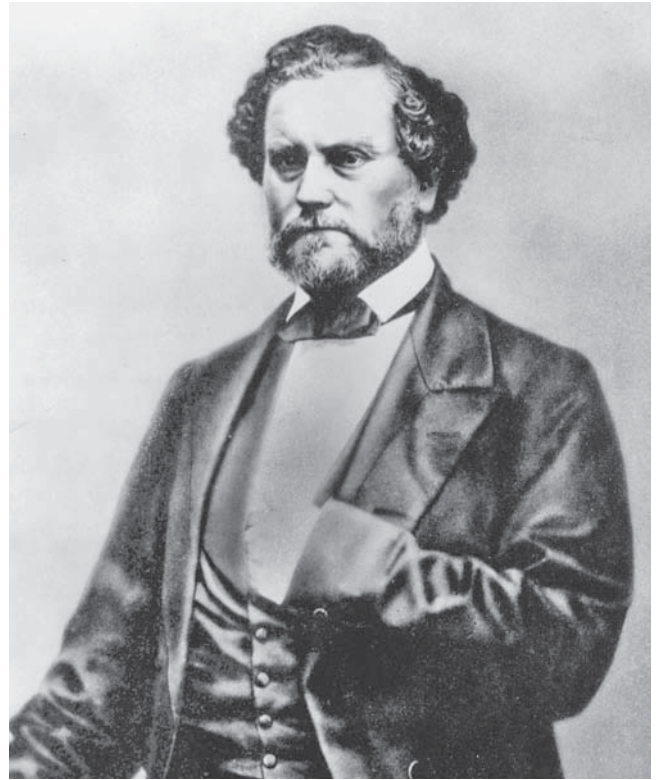


The concept was not entirely new or original; multibarreled weapons (or “pepperboxes”) had been in existence since 1813. However, Colt saw much greater practicality in employing a single barrel with a revolving cylinder. Such a mechanism promised much greater rates of fire than traditional, muzzle-loading handguns.

When Colt returned home in 1831, he dedicated his energies to having a working model of his device developed by local gunsmiths. To help raise money for the effort, he toured the country giving demonstrations of “laughing gas” (nitrous oxide), and in 1835 he applied for a U.S. patent on his pistol. That year he also traveled to England and France to promote his ideas, but with little success. It was not until the outbreak of the SEMINOLE WAR in 1836 that the military displayed any interest in his weapon. By this time, Colt had established the Patent Arms Manufacturing Company in Paterson, New Jersey, and he received a government contract for 100 weapons. Though crude, these functioned well in the swamps of Florida, and orders were received from the Texas Rangers, then engaged in a war of independence against Mexico. It was here that the high rate of fire and accuracy of Colt’s revolvers became immediately apparent. Part of Colt’s success was his system of manufacture, which was based entirely upon factory production, assembly-line procedures, and interchangeable parts, all of which facilitated both production and quality control. Despite this success, unfortunately, no future government contracts were forthcoming, and Colt liquidated his assets in 1842.

For the next four years, Colt applied his talents to creating a submarine battery (underwater mine) for the U.S. Navy, as well as a submergible battery system. The latter was instrumental in assisting SAMUEL F. B. MORSE to perfect his own telegraph cable. Fortunately, on the eve of war with Mexico, General ZACHARY TAYLOR dispatched Captain Samuel Walker to confer with Colt about producing more weapons. The result was a heavier, more refined weapon, the “Walker Colt,” which fired a .44 caliber ball and functioned as a standard sidearm throughout the conflict in 1846–48. However, lacking a factory of his own, Colt forged a partnership with Eli Whitney, Jr., to manufacture the new weapons at Whitneyville, Connecticut. His most significant weapon here was the Improved Holster Model, which was lighter and more manageable in the saddle. Over the next 20 years, an estimated 200,000 of this pistol were sold to military and civilian customers alike. In time, the fame of Colt weaponry spilled over into the civilian sector, where they became the most popular weapon during the conquest of the western frontier. Mass production brought down the price of individual weapons, thereby ensuring their availability to Americans of the middle and lower classes, who formed the bulk of settlers.

Buoyed by success, in 1856 Colt established a large manufacturing center at Hartford, Connecticut, where he



Samuel Colt (Library of Congress)

turned out continually improved versions of pistols and rifles in ever-increasing numbers. His endeavors made him a millionaire, while his factory employed some of the best-paid and most highly skilled workers in the nation. In 1860, when civil war seemed imminent, Colt introduced a new model handgun, the New Model Army Pistol, of which 200,000 were purchased. Colt, however, proved somewhat over-businesslike in his dealings as he unhesitatingly shipped several hundred of the guns to southern sympathizers in Richmond, Virginia, prior to the outbreak of hostilities. Thereafter, he was firmly in the Union camp.

Colt died of heart disease on January 10, 1862; although only 47, he had a net worth estimated at \$15 million at his death. Having become one of the most important arms manufacturers in American history, he had also wielded an indelible impact on the field of early mass production.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## Colt revolver

The Colt revolver takes its name from both its inventor, SAMUEL COLT, as well as its firing method. Featuring a revolving cylinder, which contained a separate chamber for each bullet, the revolver was one of the first handguns capable of firing multiple rounds without reloading.

Colt patented his first model in 1836. By all accounts, his early revolver was flawed in many aspects: difficult to load, prone to accidental discharge, and in danger of exploding if dropped. Regardless of his pistol's imperfections, Colt was a master salesman; he conducted a relentless marketing and public-relations campaign aimed at the military, government officials, the press, and potential investors.

Initially based in Paterson, New Jersey, Colt's first factory manufactured approximately 3,000 pistols and 1,500 other guns during its six years in operation. But high manufacturing costs and an inherently flawed design led to the failure of Colt's early venture. In 1849, however, his fortunes began to turn. After being granted a renewal of his patent, he developed a much-improved .31-caliber revolver. Until the legendary Colt .45 came along in 1872, the 1849 revolver sold 325,000 and stood as the best-selling handgun of its time.

While this gun marked a definite improvement over the initial revolver, its success was not due to quality alone. Gun culture exploded during the 1840s and 1850s. MANIFEST DESTINY—the ideology that posited Americans as a kind of chosen people with an inalienable right of conquest—proved the best marketing tool possible. The CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH, the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, and other westward-expansion movements played a significant role in the Colt explosion. But Colt's greatest advocates, the men who would embody the spirit of the American West, were the Texas Rangers.

Captain Samuel H. Walker, a commander during an 1844 clash between 15 Texas Rangers and nearly 80 Comanches known as Hays's Big Fight, recounted the battle in a letter to Samuel Colt and credited his revolver with the Texan victory. Walker and Colt began working together, resulting in design improvements and government contracts that proved highly lucrative for Colt.

What distinguished the revolver was, of course, its rapid-fire capacity. In earlier skirmishes, the Rangers were armed with single-shot guns. Riding on horseback, they found the guns easy to shoot but awkward to reload. Comanche and Apache warriors developed a fighting strategy based on the limitations of the Rangers' weaponry. They would mount an initial assault, using just a few fighters, during which the Rangers would discharge their weapons. Then, as the Rangers dismounted in order to reload, the Indians would converge in much greater numbers and overwhelm the Rangers before they were able to fire again.

Walker credited the Colt revolver with intimidating the Indians enough to halt their attacks on TEXAS settlements and negotiate a treaty. He also brought the revolver into widespread military use during the Mexican-American War, giving the Colt revolver its reputation for being the "Gun that Won the West." SAM HOUSTON, the first U.S. senator from Texas, lobbied President JAMES K. POLK and his secretary of war to arm every soldier on the American frontier with Colt's pistols.

Colt harnessed the power of the Texas publicity, incorporating engravings of scenes from Hays's Big Fight and other Texan tableaux into the design of his pistols. He used his success in Texas as a springboard from which to generate military sales both within the United States and abroad. By the time of the Civil War, Colt had become the weapon of choice for the U.S. military.

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—Eva Pendleton

## Columbia River

Because of its location, the Columbia River played a vital role in the United States's expansion into the Pacific Northwest. Rising in southeast British Columbia, this river of southwestern Canada and the northwestern United States flows approximately 1,200 miles before emptying into the Pacific Ocean west of Portland, Oregon. After 465 miles, it enters the state of Washington, and thereafter forms the boundary between Washington and Oregon.

The Columbia pours the largest volume of water into the Pacific Ocean of any river in North America, and long before the Europeans arrived, the Native Americans fished it for salmon. The earliest archaeological evidence of human habitation in the Columbia River basin dates to 10,000 years ago. The earliest groups lived by fishing, hunting large mammals, and gathering plants for food. Cultures in the protohistoric and historic periods varied greatly along the river. On the lower Columbia, groups lived in large multifamily longhouses, while on the middle- and upper-river sections, people moved seasonally and lived in smaller groups. Native fishers took salmon at Willamette Falls on the Willamette River and at Kettle Falls on the upper Columbia. Celilo Falls on the middle river was the most important Native fishery. Thousands gathered there during the spring and summer fish runs to harvest chinook salmon and trade. In the early 19th century, Pacific Fur Company trader Alexander Ross called Celilo "the great emporium or mart of the Columbia."



The Columbia River first appeared on European maps in the early 17th century as “River of the West,” when the Spanish maritime explorer Martin de Aguilar located a major river near the 42nd parallel. Cartographers often labeled the “River of the West” as an estuary to the mythical Straits of Anian, or the Northwest Passage, and located it anywhere from the 42nd to the 50th parallel. In 1765, British major Robert Rogers called the river “Ouragon”—later spelled “Oregon” by Jonathan Carver in 1778—as a derivative name referring to the “ouisconsin” river in present-day Wisconsin. The first confirmation of its location came in 1775, when Bruno de Hezeta described a river estuary at the Columbia’s correct latitude. In May 1792, American trader Captain Robert Gray sailed across the bar in the first documented visit to the river and named it after his ship, the *Columbia*. In October that same year, British explorer George Vancouver sent Lt. William Broughton up the river more than 100 miles, and Broughton produced the first detailed map of the lower river. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark explored the river in 1805–06 for the United States. North West Company fur trader David Thompson made the first map of the full river in 1811–12. After the War of 1812, England and the United States jointly occupied the Columbia River Basin territory.

In 1811 JOHN JACOB ASTOR established the first fur trading post, known as Fort ASTORIA, on the mouth of the Columbia River. Britain’s Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) established a fur-trading hegemony in the region and built a headquarters post at FORT VANCOUVER in 1825. HBC trappers and traders spread throughout the Columbia River basin and beyond, bringing furs back to Fort Vancouver for shipment to England. Americans returned to the region as settlers during the 1840s, when overland migrants came to the Columbia and Willamette River valleys on the OREGON TRAIL. In 1846, the Oregon Country south of the 49th parallel became U.S. territory by treaty with Great Britain. Oregon achieved statehood in 1859, Washington and Montana in 1889, and Idaho in 1890.

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### Compromise of 1850

The Compromise of 1850 was a group of measures agreed to by northern and southern interests in Congress that imposed limits on the expansion of SLAVERY, but protected it where it already existed. After the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR and the TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO, the United States gained the territory north of the Rio Grande and south of the 49th parallel. The acquisition of new land rekindled the flames of animosity between northerners and

southerners over the extension of slavery into the West. This controversy was really a continuation of the problems first addressed by the MISSOURI COMPROMISE in 1820, which had temporarily settled the issue of which states within the Louisiana Purchase would be free and which slave. This new territory, however, was not part of Louisiana and thus did not fall under the 1820 agreement. Tensions over slavery had worsened since the Missouri controversy, as abolitionists launched their impassioned antislavery campaigns and new FUGITIVE SLAVE LAWS were passed that angered northerners.

In 1842 the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled that officials in free states were not required to enforce fugitive slave laws—enforcement of a law that involves more than one state should be a federal responsibility. With this ruling in mind, southerners pushed for the creation of a national fugitive slave law. Usually the southern slaveholder position relied on the rhetoric of states’ rights, but in this instance their economic interest in seeing runaway slaves returned outweighed their devotion to state sovereignty. At the same time, abolitionists were campaigning to end the slave trade in Washington, D.C., seeing this practice as especially offensive when committed in the capital of a democratic nation. Tensions were also rising on the border between TEXAS and New Mexico. Texas claimed almost half of what is now the state of New Mexico. The terms of Texas’s annexation to the United States permitted the territory to be divided into as many as five new states. Because Texas was a slave state, the acquisition of the new territory in New Mexico could mean the creation of yet another slave state. Concern over balancing the number of free and slave states made the problems between Texas and New Mexico a troubling development.

These three controversies—all connected to slavery and its future—angered southerners and northerners more than any problem since the Missouri controversy. Some southern states began to decry northern aggression and call for secession. Animosity was so great in Congress that representatives could not agree on a new Speaker of the House, and debates became shrill to the point of violence. Senator HENRY CLAY of Kentucky, the promoter of compromise in 1820, once again proposed a solution to save the Union, introducing eight proposals in the Senate in January 1850. The first six proposals were grouped in pairs, one favorable to the north, one to the south. In the first pair of proposals, California would be admitted as a free state while allowing the Mexico cession to be established without any restrictions on slavery. In the second, the border conflict between Texas and New Mexico would be resolved in New Mexico’s favor, while Texas would be compensated for its loss by helping the state pay off bonds it had issued when it was a republic (a plan that benefited the mostly southern bondholders). In the third set of proposals, the

slave trade would be abolished in the nation's capital, but slavery would remain legal there unless neighbor states Maryland and Virginia approved its abolition. The final two proposals eventually proved to be the most thorny and contradictory: Congress would have no jurisdiction over the interstate slave trade, while the last element of the proposal supported the creation of a national fugitive slave law.

Debate over Clay's compromise was prolonged and fierce. Senate leaders JOHN C. CALHOUN, DANIEL WEBSTER, and William H. Seward gave powerful speeches on the proposals. At the heart of their remarks was the basic conflict between states' rights and the preservation of the Union. Calhoun argued that the Constitution protected slavery and that states' rights were sacrosanct. Webster called for compromise, appealing to the idea of an American identity larger than any single state interest. In his desire to compromise, Webster accepted the national fugitive slave law. Seward rejected this compromise position. For him, slavery and compromise were both wrong. He appealed to the concept of a higher moral law, one that valued the liberty of all over the privileges of a few.

In the end, after exhaustive arguments, the compromise package that passed in the Senate resembled Clay's initial proposals closely. He had decided to group all the proposals in one bill, hoping the whole compromise would pass because senators and congressmen would vote for the parts of which they approved. The opposite happened: legislators mostly voted against the package because they opposed certain proposals within it. After months of hard work fashioning a solution, Clay was discouraged. Retreating to Newport for his health, he charged Senator Stephen A. Douglas with the task of defending the compromise. Douglas decided to shift tactics, separating the elements of the compromise into different bills and building coalitions to support each one. In July 1850 President ZACHARY TAYLOR died suddenly. Taylor had opposed the compromise, but the new president, MILLARD FILLMORE, approved of it. Fillmore's support, combined with Douglas's division of the proposals, led to the successive passage of the compromise measures in August and September of 1850.

Most legislators were pleased and relieved by the result, hoping the Compromise of 1850 would at last heal the divisions between North and South, but diehard partisans on both sides viewed the compromise as a betrayal. The results of the compromise were different than predicted: California and the western territories voted in favor of the South throughout the 1850s, and slavery would actually be legalized in New Mexico and Utah. But by far the most incendiary feature of the compromise was the passage of a national fugitive slave law, which allowed federal commissioners to issue warrants for fugitive slaves. Once runaways were captured, slaveholders came before the

commissioner to prove ownership. The standards of proof were minimal, and fugitives were barred from testifying. These slave-catching endeavors were paid for with federal money, and federal marshals were required to assist in the retrieval of runaways. Northerners who harbored fugitives or refused to help find them could be heavily fined or even imprisoned.

Abolitionists condemned the law for violating civil liberties and accused southern slaveholders of immorality and hypocrisy. After decades of promoting states' rights, southerners were relying on the power of the federal government to return their property. This self-serving shift, and the blatant abuses of the slave-catchers, angered some northerners who had never before considered themselves abolitionists. Most did not consider blacks as equals, but they were shocked by the violation of liberties they witnessed as the fugitive slave law was enforced. Some northern states passed personal-liberty laws in the mid-1850s and refused to help southerners recapture their slaves. Thus, the divisions between North and South actually increased as a result of the Compromise of 1850. The violent incidents and political hostility steadily increased over the next 10 years, leading eventually to southern secession and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

## Comstock Lode

The Comstock Lode lies in the Carson Valley in northwestern Nevada, on the side of Mount Davidson, where the towns of Virginia City and Gold Hill would mark its presence. It runs two and a half miles across the eastern face of the mountain, with significant mineral veins as deep as 3,280 feet (1,000 meters) below the surface. Beginning in 1859, the mines and mining operations associated with the deposits of the Comstock Lode were to be among the most significant in the history of mining. Between 1860 and 1880 alone, Comstock mines produced more than \$300 million in gold and silver—the richest in the West at the time. Along with profits, the Comstock led to a series of innovations in mining technology that influenced mining across the length and breadth of the West.

The Comstock Lode had its origins in the enthusiasm for the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH, whose riches produced a widespread search for similar gold deposits across the

American West. In the summer of 1859, Peter O'Riley and Patrick McLaughlin found the site of what would become the Orphir mine. The rush to the new El Dorado began with the discovery that the "blasted blue stuff" that interfered with placer mining for gold turned out to be very rich silver ore. In the rush to the region that followed, prospectors and investors of varying degrees of skill would eventually register more than 17,000 claims, most of which were worthless. One-half of the Comstock's ore production and almost four-fifths of the mining dividends came from pairs of adjacent mines: the Belcher and Crown Point and the California and Consolidated Virginia. Such odds of success, however, were much like those of other mining districts in the West.

The Comstock Lode was to be the West's first great silver bonanza. Unlike the early CALIFORNIA experience, mining in the Comstock demanded large investments of capital, so the best claims soon passed into the hands of California entrepreneurs with capital to develop the sites. Because the ore lay deep underground in several major concentrations, experienced mining men and preparatory investment were required to bring it to the surface for processing. In this respect, the Comstock would become the first large mining enterprise in the West to resemble an industrial city. Furthermore, with investment demands that could be met only in San Francisco and other cities, the best mines in the Comstock were the property of absentee owners and developers almost from the beginning. The absentee nature of the exercise created all the benefits and disadvantages of such enterprise, and professionals on the site worked with shadowy and shady financial figures in San Francisco.

From the first ore discoveries in 1859, technology was crucial to opening the Comstock. The technical challenges silver mining posed were immense, simply because Americans had virtually no prior experience with the process. With huge stamp mills soon in operation, vast underground mining works, and complex operations to treat the crushed ore, the Comstock was a complex operation far removed from individual miners. The first major difficulty was how to prevent cave-ins in the deepening shaft. The solution was the "square-set" timbering process that permitted deep mining in unstable rock formations. The invention of Philip Deidesheimer, a German-born engineer, the technique quickly spread to underground mines everywhere in the West. Another technical problem desperate for resolution was physically hauling the extracted ore to the surface, a task made immeasurably more complicated by the great depths encountered. Traditional hemp ropes simply weighed too much, given the long length required, and they constituted a significant part of the breaking load. The solution came in 1864, when A. S. Hallide developed the first flat woven

wire rope. Both much stronger and lighter than hemp, it enabled heavier loads to be brought up to the surface from greater depths. This device proved so handy that it subsequently powered San Francisco's noted cable car system.

Very early in mining operations in the Comstock, large quantities of water had to be pumped out of the works by the Cornish pump. Pumping became a dire necessity at deeper intervals, where the water was scalding hot and deadly to any miner unfortunate enough to fall in the sumps. This required the development and installment of new and more efficient fans, blowers, and ventilation devices to keep workers constantly supplied with fresh, cool air. Otherwise, miners were reduced to work shifts of only one-half hour, the limit of human endurance at such temperatures. Prior to the addition of direct ventilation shafts, miners also received a daily allotment of 95 pounds of ice per man, which they would chew on to cool themselves between shifts.

Once the ore had been removed, it had to be separated and refined to extract the silver. The Mexican patio system of adobe smelting furnaces was employed initially for want of a better system, but at length the process proved too time-consuming. The system of crushing the ores with stamping mills was then employed in concert with steam-heated iron pans to hasten the process of amalgamation. Soon the pan-amalgamation process evolved to allow the separation of gold and silver ores quickly and cheaply.

Functional, efficient transportation to and from the mines was yet another technological obstacle that had to be addressed. At first, teams of horse- or mule-drawn wagons were employed to haul ore out to processing centers and then return with requisite supplies, but this system grew increasingly impractical as the rates of production increased. Improvement came in 1859, when the Central Pacific Railroad was completed. It ran through Reno, where the teams could drop off their cargoes for shipment to the East or West. This route was refined in 1869, when the new Virginia and Truckee Railroad ran a direct line from Virginia City to Reno and a direct connection to the Central Pacific. This modern transportation network facilitated the rapid shipment of tons of ore and completely eliminated the need for animal-powered hauling.

With the large capital investments and the rumors of the great profits to be made, the mines of the Comstock Lode soon made their appearance on the San Francisco Stock Exchange. Stocks in Comstock mines fluctuated wildly, producing some fortunes for the favored insiders, but whatever the results, the dramatic rises in the value of a few stocks kept the market in a state of continuous turmoil. The experience of the Comstock Lode first demonstrated that more money might be made in buying and selling shares of mining stocks than in actual mining operations. In this respect, the Comstock style of stock and stock

manipulation would become a model for railroads and speculation in railroad stocks in the next generation.

Technical innovations contributed to the first boom period from 1860 to 1863, but then Comstock profits languished. However rich the silver ores—and they were very rich indeed—mining for them posed continuing difficulties: deep shafts, rising water, impossible heat, and poor ventilation. With the decline in production and the falling stock prices, officers in the Bank of California bought up large numbers of shares at low prices. With new discoveries in the early 1870s, the bankers were in a position to reap great profits, and they did.

Other mining entrepreneurs soon took control of the Comstock. The so-called “Silver Kings” combined practical mining experience with stock manipulation to gain control of the “Big Bonanza” mines that produced the next generation of great profits. From 1873 to 1882, these mines produced \$105 million in silver bullion. The new discoveries were at astonishing depths, up to 3,000 feet underground. The technical difficulties of mining at such levels were notably eased by Adolph Sutro’s four-mile tunnel under Mt. Davidson. The tunnel offered ventilation, drainage, and easy access to ores. Various mine owners had opposed Sutro’s tunnel for a decade, fearful of the power that it would confer on him. Finally, with foreign capital, he completed the tunnel in 1878 and sold out the following year. Sutro’s exit with his fortune to San Francisco marked the beginning of the decline of the Comstock Lode. By 1880, the output and the profits were falling. Although exploration continued for years, the Comstock never recaptured its former leadership in silver mining.

The Comstock Lode had an impact on mining in the West that went beyond even its great profits. The technical knowledge acquired from mining at such deep levels and in processing the ores brought to the surface was transferred to mines all over the West. In this sense, the Comstock was a mining laboratory of exceptional significance, and the mining engineers who labored there would later open the great silver mines in Leadville and Aspen (Colorado), the next generation of silver bonanzas. Finally, the profits of the Comstock produced a group of mining entrepreneurs who would take their money and skills not only throughout the West but also around the world. The most important of these was George Hearst, who would go on to become the owner of the Homestake Mine in Lead, South Dakota, and an important figure in California politics.

The Comstock was also significant in the development of a mining city. Virginia City was the first great mining city: the political, financial, and social center of mining enterprise in Nevada. Indeed, it was Nevada’s most important site and mining its most important industry for a half century. Local editors and civic boosters declared that the population reached 30,000 in the bonanza years; the official

census number from 1870 was 10,917. Not until the rise of legal gambling in the 20th century and the emergence of Reno and Las Vegas has any city been as influential in Nevada as Virginia City. By 1880, as the mines shut down, Virginia City had also declined. But for as long as it was productive, the Comstock Lode transformed that settlement into one of the most influential technical, financial, and social centers of the West.

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### cotton culture

During the first half of the 19th century, cotton defined the South as no other crop did before or since. Its growing range and yield were enormous, encompassing at least a dozen states from North Carolina to TEXAS and producing at rates that doubled every decade between 1820 and 1860. Already by 1820, cotton accounted for nearly 50 percent of the value of U.S. exports. It also brought great growth to the region, as the population, despite the relocation of thousands of NATIVE AMERICANS, increased fivefold. During the 1840s and 1850s, the population grew from 7 million to 11 million. Among them were as many as 3.5 million slaves, whose labor was central to the success of medium-sized farmers and large planters alike. By mid-century cotton was indelibly associated with the southern economy, lifestyle, and political outlook, and for good reason: By 1860 the United States produced and exported 4.5 million bales of cotton (2 billion pounds), which constituted two-thirds of the world’s total cotton production and nearly 60 percent of the nation’s exports by value. And while 75 percent of all cotton was exported to England and the mid-Atlantic states, the remainder ended up in the textile mills of New England, where a cordial and profitable economic connection had evolved between factory and plantation owners.

Accounting for more than 65 percent of the world’s cotton by the 1850s, the south was a major contributor to the U.S. national ECONOMY. In 1855, David King published *Cotton Is King*, in which he noted that cotton was royalty, in constant international demand for textiles and other uses. The erosion of the practices that built an effective single-crop economy—on economic, political, and moral grounds—marked the later antebellum years and laid the foundation for the coming civil war. This dogged overreliance on a single crop, however, stagnated the southern economic infrastructure, especially compared with the rising



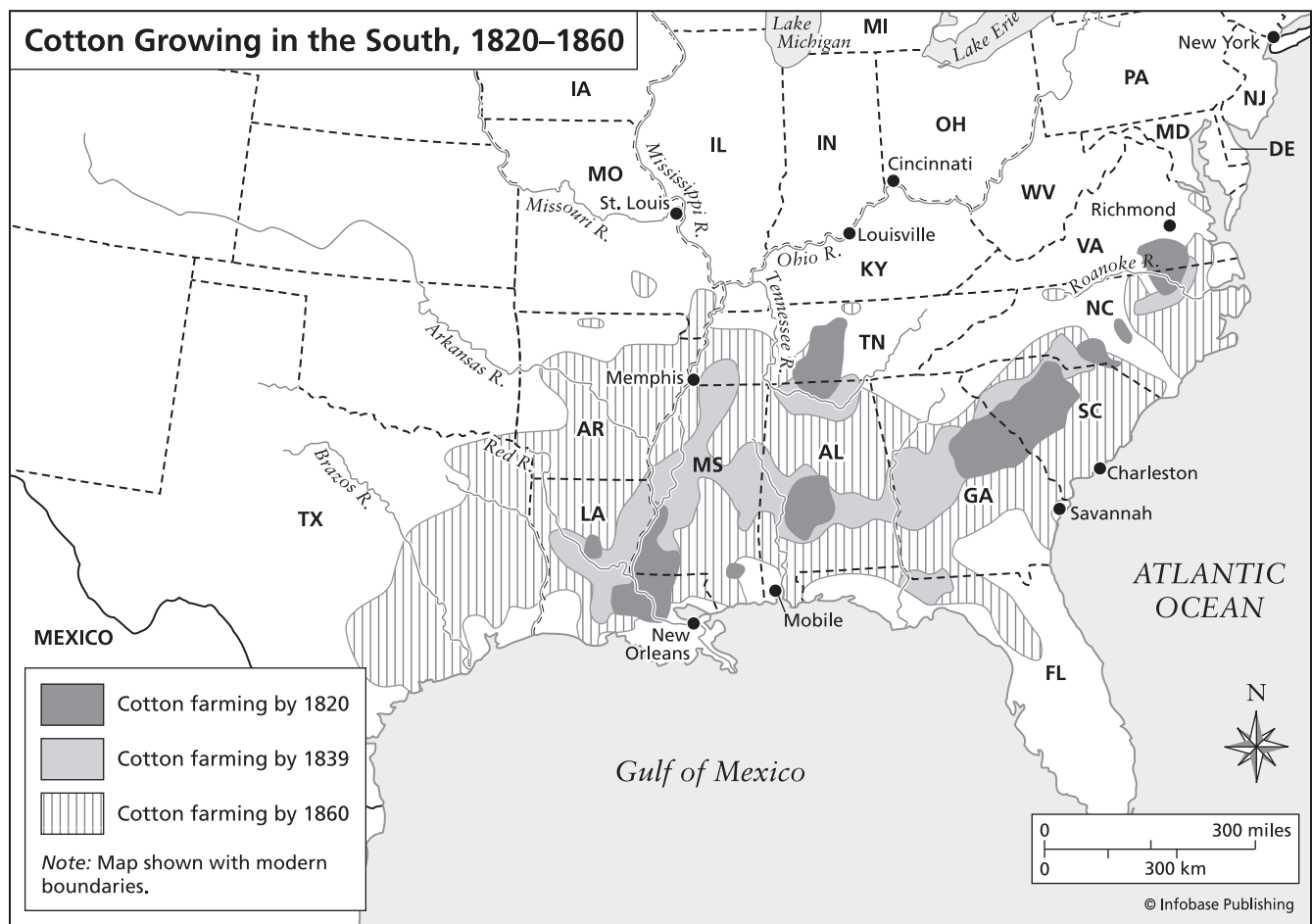
industrialization and central financing of the North. This ultimately laid the seeds for defeat in the Civil War. But the cotton culture ran deep throughout the fabric of southern life, and it was not until 1865—and then at the point of Union bayonets—that “King Cotton” and the SLAVERY sustaining it were effectively dethroned.

Before the early 18th century, tobacco and rice were the primary commercial crops in the South, and both depended on slave labor. Although the southern states of Virginia and Maryland had successfully raised tobacco in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, with production levels climbing to what they had been before the Revolutionary War, by the 1810s and 1820s they had become transformed by cotton. Tobacco, which had yielded 15 percent of the value of U.S. exports in 1820 brought only 6 percent of that amount in 1845. Rice had also been an important export crop, but beginning at the end of the 18th century, exports stagnated and remained low until the 1850s. In the early 19th century, sugar developed into an important commercial crop, first in the Upper South and later in the Gulf region, and would be another slave-based crop that provided no eco-

nomic reason for the South to free slaves, as would occur in the North during the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

At the same time, a new crop was being grown: cotton. It arose to serve an increasing export market for textile businesses in the newly industrialized Britain. But the type of cotton being grown, long-staple cotton, could be raised successfully only in the sea-island areas of Georgia and North and South Carolina. Another variety, short-staple cotton, was more geographically adaptable but had gummy seeds that were too labor-intensive to remove by hand and keep the crop profitable. The success in 1793 of Eli Whitney’s invention of the cotton gin, which removed seeds from cotton, transformed short-staple cotton harvesting and began its titanic expansion across the South and West. In 1815, southern cotton production stood at 150,000 bales (one bale equals 500 pounds); by 1826, it was 600,000 bales per year; by 1851, it had reached 2.4 million bales per year.

Since their initial migration south and west to Alabama and the western parts of the Carolinas, Florida, and Arkansas, white planters fought with several Native American nations including the Creek, Cherokee, and Choctaw for





control of the region. Agreements such as the 1814 Treaty of Fort Jackson ceded former Native American lands to the U.S. In the 1830s, nations in the Southeast including the Choctaw, Cherokee, and Chickasaw were relocated west of the Mississippi River, some traveling along the TRAIL OF TEARS to Oklahoma. Even nations that adopted settlers' ways, such as the Cherokee, were forced to remove themselves from the South during the 1830s. Ironically, many of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes adopted slavery and cotton growing in their new homeland, a circumstance that contributed to their siding with the Confederacy in 1861.

At the same time (and continuing through 1860), up to a million slaves were brought to the South, particularly to the millions of acres of the soil-rich Lower South. To farmers and planters, slaves provided a secure, self-perpetuating source of labor that increased at the rate of 30 percent each decade between 1820 and 1860. Slaves were considered even more valuable to agricultural success than they had been two or three decades earlier, before the rise of cotton. As a result, the South considered any move away from SLAVERY to be a threat to self-preservation. Accordingly, southern support for the emancipation of slaves nearly vanished. While in the 1820s southern antislavery societies outnumbered those in the North, they were virtually nonexistent in the South by the late 1830s. In addition, the number of slave states in the region more than doubled, from six to 15. Following the abolition of the African slave trade in 1808, there arose an equally insidious domestic SLAVE TRADE, whereby surplus chattels from the tidewater regions of Virginia and Maryland were sold to new masters in the cotton-producing regions of the Old Southwest. Not only were slaves transported there in chains and work gangs, but their sale frequently involved the breakup of established family units. It is estimated that by 1860 nearly 1 million blacks had been forcibly relocated to a harsh existence in the Deep South.

Yet only a minority of the population was slaveholders, a number that decreased due to increased slave costs over the course of the 19th century. In 1850, 347,825 of 6 million white residents of the South owned slaves. Further, as fewer planters owned slaves, cotton production, property, and wealth became concentrated in those families holding the largest number of slaves. Of the 10,000 families holding 50 or more slaves, the wealthiest among them were the 3,000 families owning more than 100 slaves each. About 90,000 farmers owned between 10 and 99 slaves; about 255,000 other farmers owned fewer than 10 slaves. Two percent of slaveowners owned half of all U.S. slaves.

There was great variety among slave-owning cotton farms in the South. While the 3,000–4,000 large slave-owning plantations had a greater role in cotton production by mid-century, much of 19th-century cotton was

grown on small to medium-sized farms with limited slave labor. For example, a middle-class planter might have 10–50 slaves on his farm, which, if managed correctly, could yield substantial profit; a workingman's farm would have less than 10 slaves. Generally, such small farms were characterized by their overall poverty, with owner and slave working side by side in the field on cotton that yielded only \$125 per year. As Mark Twain described it in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, this was "one of those little one-horse cotton plantations" with a "rail fence around a two-acre yard . . . [and] some sickly grass-patches in the big yard."

Life on large plantations was vastly different. The family home on the site would have been fashioned in what architect Frederick Law Olmstead called "a Grecian style," with wooden slave housing situated far from the house. Slave labor was monitored by the overseer, whom the plantation owner hired to discipline slaves and maintain profits. An intelligent and able slave was given the job of driver; he was the overseer's closest subordinate and was responsible for managing the slaves. One common factor for all slaves was the long workday, which ran for 12–15 hours per day, and longer if the moon allowed.

The demands and rewards of the "King Cotton" economy resulted in a fivefold population increase during the first six decades of the 19th century, but it kept the South an unsophisticated agricultural economy. Because it produced few other goods, it needed to import goods from northern manufacturing states; and because prices for cotton fluctuated greatly, the South had little capital to invest in manufacturing and therefore had to purchase goods and rent storage space for cotton from northern suppliers on credit. In the 19th century, such practices left the South in a chronic state of financial instability. The social implications of the cotton culture were equally stark; the rise of large plantation systems retarded the growth and maturation of urbanized areas and, with it, viable banking and transportation systems. An unsavory result of this state of affairs was that yeoman farmers were forced to turn to their richer neighbors for assistance in marketing their produce. Given the near-total absence of social services, virtually every aspect of social life was the de facto domain of the landed gentry, including community services, education, and government. Church life was the only facet of private life available to non-slaveholding whites. This overt dependency stimulated the rise of a dominant planter class wielding political influence far in excess of its actual numbers, and it is no exaggeration to say that the abiding interests of the planters came to represent or embody the basic interests of the South in general.

Some southern spokesmen attempted to counter encroaching northern dominance by rallying the next generation to embrace industrialism. In 1849, according

to an editorial in the *Sumpter Banner* of South Carolina, the current generation should feel compelled to cast aside the timeworn call to preserve gentility and prepare “the rising generation for mechanical business.” But it was too late to catch up to the urbanized, industrialized North. In the northeast, one-third of residents lived in cities and towns; less than 13 percent of residents of the Southeast were similarly urbanized. The distinction between industry and agriculture was similar: As late as 1860, 60 percent of northern workers were employed in nonagricultural jobs, while only 16 percent of southerners were employed in nonagricultural work. That meant there were 1.3 million industrialized workers in the North but only 110,000 in the South.

Meanwhile, the South encountered an immediate, chronic threat to cotton planting: overplanted, exhausted crop land. In 1826, the Upper, or old, South, accounted for more than half of cotton produced. But the cultivation of a single crop depleted the soil and reduced yields dramatically—in some areas, up to 50 percent. In response, planters entered what would become a common situation: being compelled to move westward for fresh soil. In the 1840s and 1850s, planters and slaves from the formerly fertile cotton states of Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina moved to the rich Gulf and Mississippi River states of Louisiana, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Texas. Over the next several decades, they moved even farther west, to Arizona and California.

While cotton production in the Lower South soon doubled or tripled the production of the old South, it resulted in wealth for only the few large plantations and farms, which were able to replenish their ranks of slaves from within. In response, smaller farms unable to find or afford slaves called for the resumption of African slave trade, which had been outlawed for several decades. This position, which stood in opposition to national law and Northern sensibilities, became one of the many factors that hastened the Civil War and brought an end to the “peculiar institution” of slavery and the cotton culture it supported.

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—Melinda Corey

## Creek

The Muskogean-speaking peoples known better and collectively as the Creek were one of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes occupying the southeastern United States. The Creek were a multilingual confederation for most of their history. They employed a relatively advanced political organization based upon individual towns (*talwa*), each ruled by its own chief, or *micco*. The Creek began coalescing in the wake of Spanish intrusions into the southeastern United States after 1540 and by the 18th century had developed into a formidable confederation of tribesmen actively trading and intermarrying with English settlers. Relations between the Creek and the United States were stormy until late 1790, when Chief Alexander McGillivray (1750–1793) signed the Treaty of New York to stop white encroachment upon traditional tribal grounds in Georgia and Alabama.

By the early 19th century, the U.S. government had begun a concerted effort to help “civilize” the tribes by encouraging them to adopt agriculture, Christianity, African slaves, and other trappings of modernity. The principal catalyst for change was the noted Creek agent Benjamin Hawkins (1754–1816), who consistently worked to protect his charges against illegal settlers. The ensuing friction between traditional ways and assimilation crested in August 1813. Inspired by the Shawnee leader Tecumseh, the Upper Creek of Alabama precipitated the Creek War by attacking Fort Mims, Alabama Territory, and slaughtering the inhabitants. This drew a sharp response from General ANDREW JACKSON and his Tennessee militia who, aided by the Lower Creek under WILLIAM MCINTOSH, crushed Indian resistance at Horseshoe Bend. Chief William Weatherford (1780–1824), leader of the “Red Stick” faction, then surrendered to Jackson, who imposed the Treaty of Fort Jackson. This stripped the Creek Indians, friendly and hostile alike, of 22 million acres of pristine land in Alabama.

In the 1820s the pace of Indian removal quickened as throngs of settlers moved into land previously populated by the Creek, while ambitious land speculators coveted the remainder. In 1825 Chief William McIntosh (1775–1825) was assassinated by discontented Creek for illegally selling more land to whites. The Creek also countered encroachment by adopting republican forms of governance to convince the whites of their ability to assimilate. Nonetheless, in 1830 President Andrew Jackson signed the INDIAN REMOVAL ACT into law. This mandated the forced relocation of all NATIVE AMERICANS in Georgia and Alabama to new homes across the Mississippi River in the designated Indian Territory (Oklahoma). The Creek pursued every legal avenue available to forestall this, but by 1836 they had exhausted their appeals. Forced out, an estimated 3,500 of the 15,000 Creek died en route from hunger, disease, or exposure. The ensuing period of transition to a new land

also proved costly and the population suffered further decline, but eventually an elaborate plantation system, manned by slaves, began to generate wealth for the owners. In 1839 a major gulf was crossed when representatives of the Upper Creek and Lower Creek merged into a single national body for the first time in their history. The Creek suffered further deprivation and population loss in the course of the U.S. Civil War (1861–65) after they, like most of the Five Civilized Tribes, sided with the Confederacy.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### **Crockett, Davy** (1786–1836) *frontiersman*

Politician, soldier, and Texas patriot, Davy Crockett became most famous for his frontier exploits. Born in Greene County, Tennessee, in 1786, the young David Crockett had minimal schooling. By the time he was 12, he was at work, first as a cattle drover, then as a freight hauler, and, in slack times, as a farm laborer. He married Polly Finley, and on a rented tract of land he built a cabin and began to farm. Crockett was an excellent hunter and adept in the woods, but he had little interest in the regular labor associated with farming. In 1811, with his wife and two children, he moved from what was then eastern Tennessee to middle Tennessee, settling in Lincoln County near the Alabama line. The countryside was then in turmoil over Indian raids and news of a battle at Fort Mims. ANDREW JACKSON had begun to recruit volunteers, and Crockett immediately joined the local militia. He participated in the campaigns that followed the outbreak of the WAR OF 1812, but he was not present in 1814 at Jackson's great victory over the Creek Confederation at the BATTLE OF HORSESHOE BEND. In another twist of fate, Crockett joined a mounted Tennessee battalion that went to confront Indians in southern Alabama and northern Florida, as a result of which he missed Jackson's even greater triumph at New Orleans.

With the war over, Crockett returned to middle Tennessee. In 1816, upon the death of his wife Polly, he married a widow, Elizabeth Patton. Sometime during these years, he contracted malaria and only gradually recovered his strength. Meanwhile he tried, seemingly without success, to find some way to profit from the great internal migrations that characterized the years immediately after the war. In 1817, he moved to west Tennessee, and when Giles County was established, Crockett became a justice of



David "Davy" Crockett (Library of Congress)

the peace and was also elected a colonel in the militia. In 1821, he was elected to the Tennessee Legislature, where he supported the claims of squatters and small landholders. Reelected after a spirited campaign, he now represented a larger constituency, as west Tennessee had begun to grow. During this term, Crockett incurred the wrath of Jackson and his party by failing to support their candidate for the U.S. Senate.

Over the next decade, Crockett shifted his attention to the national political scene. In 1825, he was defeated in an election for the U.S. House of Representatives. He was subsequently elected in 1827, reelected in 1829, defeated in 1831, reelected in 1833, and finally defeated again in 1835. His mixed political success in contests for the House of Representatives reflected the close balance between the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and the WHIG PARTY. It also reflected a political fact of life about this 10-year period—namely, that Andrew Jackson (elected president in 1828) and his party were the dominant political force in Crockett's native Tennessee. Crockett was a Whig in a Democratic world.



Jackson was the state's favored son, the first western president, and the pride of the state. Throughout his terms in Congress, Crockett generally voted against Jackson's measures. That he was elected to the House three times in this 10 years reflected his great personal popularity, an appeal that in the final analysis could not counter the power of the Democratic Party and the leadership of "Old Hickory."

With the end of his political career in the 1835 election, Crockett left his family and went to TEXAS in search of new opportunities. In February 1836, he and his companions arrived in San Antonio, where they joined the Texan force that was holding THE ALAMO. On March 6, the army of General ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA launched a frontal assault, and all the defenders of the Alamo mission died, including Crockett.

Crockett was one of the first politicians on the national scene to make a virtue of rural origins with minimal education. Throughout his career—whether as justice of the peace, colonel in the militia, or representative in Congress—he prided himself on his wide experience in the world and his good common sense. He delighted in debunking proper spelling and grammar. His autobiography, *A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett . . . Written by Himself* (1834) confirmed these eccentricities of style. Even in life, Crockett had been the subject of much legend and myth. His death at the Alamo further enhanced his qualities as the natural frontier figure, representing freedom of movement and action, good judgment, and common sense. His death also confirmed him as a man of principle, willing to die for the cause in which he believed.

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## Cuba

The island nation of Cuba found itself the object of American advocates of MANIFEST DESTINY and proslavery expansionists in the antebellum period, as the United States sought to extend its influence and continue to wrestle with the issue of SLAVERY.

The sugar industry exploded after 1791, when French planters fled a slave revolt in Haiti and settled in Cuba. Sugarcane rapidly blanketed the island, and as a result 700,000 Africans were imported to work the plantations over the next 40 years; they eventually outnumbered whites on the island. Cuba was the world's largest sugar producer, and the newly independent United States was its biggest market. Meanwhile, the criollo bourgeoisie (born in Cuba of Spanish descent) was becoming wealthier and impatient with Spanish rule. By 1825, there were only two Spanish

colonies left in the Americas: Cuba and Puerto Rico. The United States twice attempted to buy Cuba from Spain, in 1848 and 1854, but the colonial power refused to sell. In the 1850s, nationalist pressure for self-rule began to build and soon became unstoppable.

Having acquired EAST AND WEST FLORIDA from Spain in 1819, the United States had expanded to within 90 miles of Cuba. In a letter to Minister to Spain Hugh Nelson, Secretary of State JOHN QUINCY ADAMS described the likelihood of U.S. "annexation of Cuba" within half a century despite obstacles: "But there are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation; and if an apple severed by the tempest from its native tree cannot choose but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjoined from its own unnatural connection with Spain, and incapable of self support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union, which by the same law of nature cannot cast her off from its bosom." Cubans called this policy *la fruta madura* (ripe fruit); Washington would wait until the fruit was considered ripe for the picking.

By the end of the 18th century the United States had begun to play an increasingly prominent role in Cuba. With Spain involved in the European wars of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the U.S. government was in a good position to take advantage of the situation. It was geographically well-positioned, since Cuba was only 90 miles away; the United States was growing in population; and the U.S. economy was expanding.

By 1850 the United States, Great Britain, and Spain accounted for 80 percent of Cuba's total foreign trade, with the Americans capturing 39 percent of the market, the British 34 percent, and the Spanish 7 percent. Spain's importance to Cuba had diminished relative to that of the United States, and Spain could guarantee neither adequate markets for Cuban goods nor sufficient supplies. Yet while Spain's importance was declining, the government refused to relinquish its hands-on approach to Cuban affairs and continued to regulate Cuban trade by levying customs duties on imports and taxes on exports, thereby lowering profits for Cuban producers and increasing prices for the island's consumers.

In 1825 Mexico and Venezuela planned an expedition to Cuba in order to help the struggle for independence. But the United States, fearing an independent Cuba would lead to the end of slavery with repercussions in the southern states, let it be known that it would block any move to liberate Cuba from Spain.

Throughout the 1840s there had been several invasion attempts by southern expansionists, in the hopes that the slave-owning elite would declare independence from Spain. Once Cuba was independent, it would be invited to join the Union as a slave state. In October 1849, the first filibustering expedition by Narciso López, with the intention

of invading Cuba, ended in abject failure. López led a second expedition in May 1850 and, after that failed, another expedition in August 1851. On this third attempt, López was captured by the Spanish army and publicly executed in Havana.

In 1853 President Franklin Pierce covertly supported a new Cuban expedition led by John A. Quitman, an associate of Narciso López and former governor of Missouri. While Quitman was building his forces, Pierce offered Spain \$130 million for Cuba, which was refused. In Havana, Spanish police boarded an American merchant ship, the *Black Warrior*, and imprisoned her crew under the charge of “violating customs regulations.” The Pierce administration tried to take advantage of the situation by threatening to declare war on Spain, but northern Democrats would not support Pierce’s attempt to take Cuba by force, so the ploy failed.

Under instructions from Secretary of State William Marcy to put pressure on Pierce to seize the island, the American minister to Spain, as well as the ambassadors to France and Great Britain, sent an inflammatory message to Pierce that became known as the Ostend Manifesto. Invoking the rhetoric of Manifest Destiny, the three American diplomats declared that the United States was justified in seizing Cuba. Quickly leaked to the press by antiexpansionists, the Ostend Manifesto triggered a new wave of northern resentment against the South and forced Pierce to halt his efforts to acquire Cuba.

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—Richard Friedline



# D



## **Dana, Richard Henry** (1815–1882) *lawyer, writer*

Author and lawyer Richard Henry Dana was among a small group of Eastern literary figures (including Francis Parkman) who wrote about the West. Born in Massachusetts in 1815, Dana entered Harvard College in 1831 at the age of 16. Dogged by health problems, especially failing eyesight as a result of an earlier bout with measles, he withdrew from college. His family then sent him on a long sea voyage to recover his health. In 1834, he sailed as a common seaman on the brig *Pilgrim*, bound from Boston to CALIFORNIA by way of Cape Horn. Arriving in California in 1835, Dana witnessed the trade in hides and tallow characteristic of the California economy at the time. He returned to Boston in excellent health in 1836, reenrolled in Harvard College, graduated in 1837, and then read law and was admitted to the bar in 1840. That same year, he published *Two Years Before the Mast*, an account of his two-year voyage and sojourn in California.

Dana's book gave him something of a national literary reputation and became known for its descriptions of the brutal treatment of common sailors on ship. In addition to the physical hardships of poor food, little sanitation, and crowded living conditions, sailors were subjected to arbitrary and brutal punishment by officers, especially flogging, for a variety of transgressions. The book was also an invaluable account of life in Mexican California, if not the most important detailed description of the Californios's existence before their lands and culture were submerged by the great influx of Americans after the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH of 1849. Dana's depictions of the California ranchos and the elaborate pastoral economic and social life built on trade in hides and tallow have become a necessary historical document for understanding life in California before 1848. The book was later reprinted in English and French editions.

Dana practiced law with great success, specializing in admiralty cases. He also pursued an interest in politics, becoming an important figure in the FREE-SOIL PARTY. In 1851 he acted as attorney for the defense for Shadrach

Minkins, who was rescued by abolitionists, in Boston and also defended fugitive slave ANTHONY BURNS in 1854. Dana's interest in politics had a patrician slant to it. He believed strongly in the principles associated with political parties and their platforms (hence his support of the antislavery doctrines of the Free-Soil Party), but he had no taste for campaigning, and he intensely disliked the corruption and favoritism popularly associated with successful political campaigns.

Dana continued his successful law practice for the next 30 years. In 1866 he lost a contest for a seat in the U.S. Senate to Benjamin Butler. A decade later, President Ulysses S. Grant nominated Dana as ambassador to England, but the Senate refused to confirm him because Grant had acted without consulting party leaders. In 1882 Dana died in Rome, Italy, while on a tour of the continent.

**Further reading:** Robert L. Gale, *Richard Henry Dana* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1968).

## **Dartmoor Prison**

Located in southwest England near Plymouth, Dartmoor Prison was the compound used by the British in the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15) to hold as many as 6,000 captured American sailors and privateersmen. American prisoners of war hated its desolate location on a barren moor. While many suffered illness and malnourishment, others set up trades and stores within its walls to service their fellow prisoners. In a world unto itself, the prisoners even established schools to teach navigation, dancing, and boxing.

The most famous section of the compound was Prison Number 4. In 1814 the British placed all of the African-American prisoners in this prison, along with whites who were considered undesirable by other prisoners. The black prisoners were led by Richard Craftus, a huge African American also called King Dick, and they were known for holding religious services and theatrical performances

in their prison house. The American prisoners were often unruly and challenged the authority of the British guards. Conditions became even more explosive after the peace agreement of the TREATY OF GHENT (December 24, 1814). Without an easy means of accommodating the prisoners and returning them to the United States, and preoccupied by the return of Napoleon to France in the spring of 1815, the British did not release their prisoners of war. The Americans rioted on April 4, 1815, when the British commissary attempted to serve them hard biscuits instead of the usual soft bread. The Americans won that confrontation, and the British found the appropriate bread for them.

On April 6, 1815, an incident along the wall of the prison, where some prisoners were thought to be trying to escape, led to a general alarm. Amid the confusion, and as the prisoners began to rush the gate, the British guards opened fire on the Americans, killing six and wounding many more. This event was called the Dartmoor Massacre and remained a searing testimony of British perfidy for the American maritime community. A joint American and British diplomatic commission, however, determined that no one was at fault, thus defusing a potentially divisive diplomatic incident immediately after the War of 1812.

### **Dartmouth College case (*Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 1819)**

In 1816 the New Hampshire state legislature altered the charter of Dartmouth College (granted by the colonial New Hampshire legislature in 1769) to assert state control over the institution. The private board of trustees of the college opposed this action, but the New Hampshire supreme court decided in favor of the state. In 1819, the case was brought before the U.S. Supreme Court, with Chief Justice John Marshall presiding. DANIEL WEBSTER, a Dartmouth graduate, represented the college. He argued that the New Hampshire legislature's action was an abrogation of contract, since it altered the act of incorporation that created Dartmouth College. As such, the change was a violation of the contract clause of the U.S. Constitution and was therefore unconstitutional. In a 3–1 vote, Marshall and the Supreme Court were convinced by Webster.

Although the decision was rendered in a case involving the incorporation of a private institution of higher learning, it had a larger application to the world of business in that it helped to secure the sanctity of the corporation, a legal entity that was in this period just taking on much of its modern form. Because of the Dartmouth decision, private companies with acts of incorporation believed they were protected from state legislative interference. To get around this problem, many state legislatures started inserting a reserve clause into acts of incorporation creating private companies. The sanctity of the corporation was also

subsequently weakened by the Charles River Bridge Case of 1837.

**Further reading:** G. Edward White, *The Marshall Court and Cultural Change, 1815–1835* (New York: Macmillan, 1988).

### **Decatur, Stephen (1779–1820) naval officer**

Stephen Decatur was a swashbuckling officer of the American navy in the early 19th century. Born in Maryland on January 5, 1779, Decatur grew up in Philadelphia in a seafaring family. He became a midshipman in the U.S. Navy in 1798 and fought in the Quasi War (1798–1800) with France. But he first gained fame in action off the coast of Tripoli in the war against the Barbary pirates, by which time he had been promoted to lieutenant. In 1804, the American frigate *Philadelphia* had run aground off Tripoli harbor and been captured. On the night of February 16, 1804, Decatur led a raid into the harbor to deny the vessel to the Tripolitans. He and his men entered the harbor on a captured schooner named the *Intrepid*, seized and burned the *Philadelphia*, and made a safe getaway. Decatur was



Stephen Decatur (Library of Congress)

promoted to captain on the basis of this expedition. He also was involved in several other engagements at Tripoli, including hand-to-hand combat, that captured the imagination of the American public.

At the beginning of the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15), Decatur was captain of the frigate *United States*. On October 15, 1812, he outmaneuvered a slightly less powerful foe, the *HMS Macedonian*, pummeling her with over 70 broadsides, killing or wounding a third of her crew, and forcing the British captain to strike her colors. This action was one of a series of spectacular single-ship victories at the beginning of the war, but the British blockade kept Decatur trapped in American harbors for over two years. On January 15, 1815, unaware of the TREATY OF GHENT of December 24, 1814, Decatur took advantage of weather conditions to slip out of New York harbor in the frigate *President*, but he struck a sandbar off Sandy Hook, damaging the ship. Winds prevented his reentry to New York harbor, so he continued his efforts to run the blockade. Several British frigates pursued him. He was able to defeat the fastest of these, but, almost crippled from the battle and running aground while dealing with a storm at sea, he was compelled to surrender to the other two.

Later that year, Decatur took command of the American squadron sent to destroy the Algerian ships that had attacked and exacted tribute from American vessels. In a short and brilliant campaign, he defeated the naval forces of Algiers, forced Tunis and Tripoli officials to sign peace treaties and pay indemnities, and helped bring to an end the power of the Barbary Coast pirates who had been the scourge of the western Mediterranean.

When James Barron, who had been court-martialed after the *Chesapeake-Leopard Affair* in 1807, issued a challenge because of statements Decatur made concerning Barron's reinstatement in the navy the two agreed to meet in a duel. Decatur wounded Barron, but the shot he received was fatal. Decatur died on March 20, 1820. He is best remembered today for the toast he gave at a dinner: "Our country . . . may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong."

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**Deere, John** (1804–1886) *inventor of the steel plow*  
John Deere was an innovative inventor and manufacturer of the plows and farming equipment that helped make Amer-

ican AGRICULTURE more productive. Deere was born in Rutland, Vermont, on February 7, 1804, the son of a tailor. His parents were both formerly British subjects who had sided with Great Britain during the American Revolution and later settled in New England. Deere received scant formal education and was apprenticed to a blacksmith at 17. He proved himself an excellent worker and established a reputation for high-quality metalwork. For 12 years he worked at or owned several blacksmith shops around Vermont with considerable success, until fires and the depression of 1837 forced him into bankruptcy. To escape his debts, Deere relocated to Grand Detour, Illinois, at the behest of a friend, Leonard Andrus, through whom he established another shop. As before, Deere cemented his reputation for high-quality smithing. He also encountered farming conditions radically different from those of New England, especially difficulties associated with plowing on the prairie. He set about resolving them between bouts of the usual blacksmith work.

The soil of the Midwest was rich and fertile, but particularly heavy and sticky. Under these conditions, a farmer tilling land with a conventional iron plow was forced to stop and periodically clean the moldboards (which did the actual plowing), as sod accumulated in clumps. Deere immediately saw the need for a better-designed device that would clean itself while in operation. His first efforts were unsuccessful but displayed an innovative streak that characterized his later life. Deere's first plow was actually a broken blade saw made of steel, which he bent over a log, hammered into place, and fashioned into a curved plow blade. During trials it cut through the prairie clay better than any iron device extant. Thereafter, using only polished steel in place of iron, he perfected a series of new, wedge-shaped plows capable of tilling through heavy prairie soil without the necessity of constant cleaning. The result was greater acreage covered and far less effort expended. However, sales were slow. In 1837 Deere sold only three plows. Two years later, he sold 10 and in 1840 a mere 40, forcing him to concentrate upon his routine blacksmith activities for income. But by 1848 Deere had relocated to Moline, Illinois, by the Mississippi River; acquired a business partner; and expanded his sideline into a full-fledged business. This move afforded the company closer proximity to water power and river-borne transport, and hence easier access to raw materials and new markets.

Intent on producing the finest plows available, Deere had to import steel from Sheffield, England, and also took on several business associates. After the introduction of harder steel from the Bessemer-Kelly process, he was able to acquire high-quality steel from Pittsburgh. Significantly, the nation's first supply of agricultural steel was made at the behest of the John Deere Company in 1846.



Deere spent considerable effort perfecting his plows, especially developing the optimum curvature for steel moldboards. By 1857 the John Deere Company was firmly established and selling 13,000 plows a year, making him the largest farm-tool manufacturer in the Midwest. Moreover, his constant flow of inventions greatly enhanced the agricultural resources of his region, with tremendous profits to farmers and their attendant markets.

Outside the realm of improved farm technology, Deere was a pioneer in aggressive marketing techniques. Rather than wait for orders, he continually built up a backlog of inventory while dispatching company agents throughout the countryside and Canada to demonstrate his wares. Deere products were a common sight at state fairs nationwide, and he was among the earliest manufacturers to take out regular advertisements in publications such as the *Prairie Farmer*. He also established one of the earliest national networks of wholesalers and retailers. The result was a constant influx of capital, which Deere inevitably reinvested in upgrading and improving his line of products. At one point he was able to offer prospective customers five sizes of walking plows and three sizes of breaking plows. During the 1850s his company pioneered work in developing seed-drills and plows for large, steam-propelled tractors. By the mid-1860s he was making metal plows with interchangeable parts.

After weathering several national depressions, Deere became an important supplier of wagons, carriages, harnesses, and other useful articles for the Union army during the Civil War. His steady stream of effective plows also insured that the North enjoyed great abundance of food throughout this conflict. By 1868 the business was incorporated as Deere & Company, and actual leadership was passed on to his son Charles. Freed from administrative demands, Deere focused his energy and talents on continued development of agricultural equipment. His company also continued to be a leader with respect to sales, distribution, and service organizations nationwide.

Deere died in Moline on April 16, 1886, having significantly contributed to the expansion and profitability of American agriculture, along with modern promotional and servicing strategies. As such he was directly responsible for helping the first wave of farmers to populate the Midwest. Deere was not the first designer to use steel in designing a plow but, rather, the first to successfully market one. His was the plow, literally, that broke the plains.

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(Moline, Ill.: Deere & Company, 2000); R. Douglas Hurt, "The Tractor: Iron Horse for the Farmer," *Journal of the West* 30, no. 2 (1991): 9–29; Yngve P. Magnuson, "John Deere: A Study of an Industrialist on the Illinois Frontier, 1837–1857" (unpublished master's thesis, St. Cloud State College, 1956).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Delany, Martin** See VOLUME V.

### Democratic Party

The Democratic Party of the 19th century traced its roots to the Democratic-Republicans in the early republic. This party emerged in the 1790s out of a dispute over the proper role of the federal government within the framework of the new Constitution. A group in Congress coalesced around the leadership of Representative James Madison of Virginia. In the first administration, the spokesman for the opposition was Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, also of Virginia. This Democratic-Republican "interest" believed that the administration of President George Washington and Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton (the latter of whom was a Federalist) assumed powers for the national government that were not explicitly delegated to it in the Constitution. The Republicans, as they called themselves (the longer name Democratic-Republicans was sometimes used in the early 19th century), charged that Federalists also secretly desired to impose a monarchy on the young republic and harbored far too much sympathy for the English model of government and economy. They pointed to the Jay Treaty of 1794, negotiated by the Washington administration with Great Britain to resolve outstanding issues from the American Revolution, as further proof of this tendency on the part of the Federalists.

The party of Jefferson and Madison saw itself as representing ordinary people, including farmers and urban laborers in the North and plantation and slave owners in the South against the pretensions of would-be aristocrats in the Federalist ranks. In turn, Federalists derided Republicans as too enthusiastic for the excesses of the French Revolution and for being irreligious. The Republicans did attract the support of deists and free thinkers, as well as Catholics and others drawn to Jefferson's advocacy of religious tolerance and Republican championing of political equality for white men.

Republicans and Federalists both believed that the other posed a genuine threat to liberty and to the republic that must be resisted whenever possible. In one of the most important elections in the political history of the United States, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia and Aaron Burr of New York defeated Federalist incumbent John Adams in

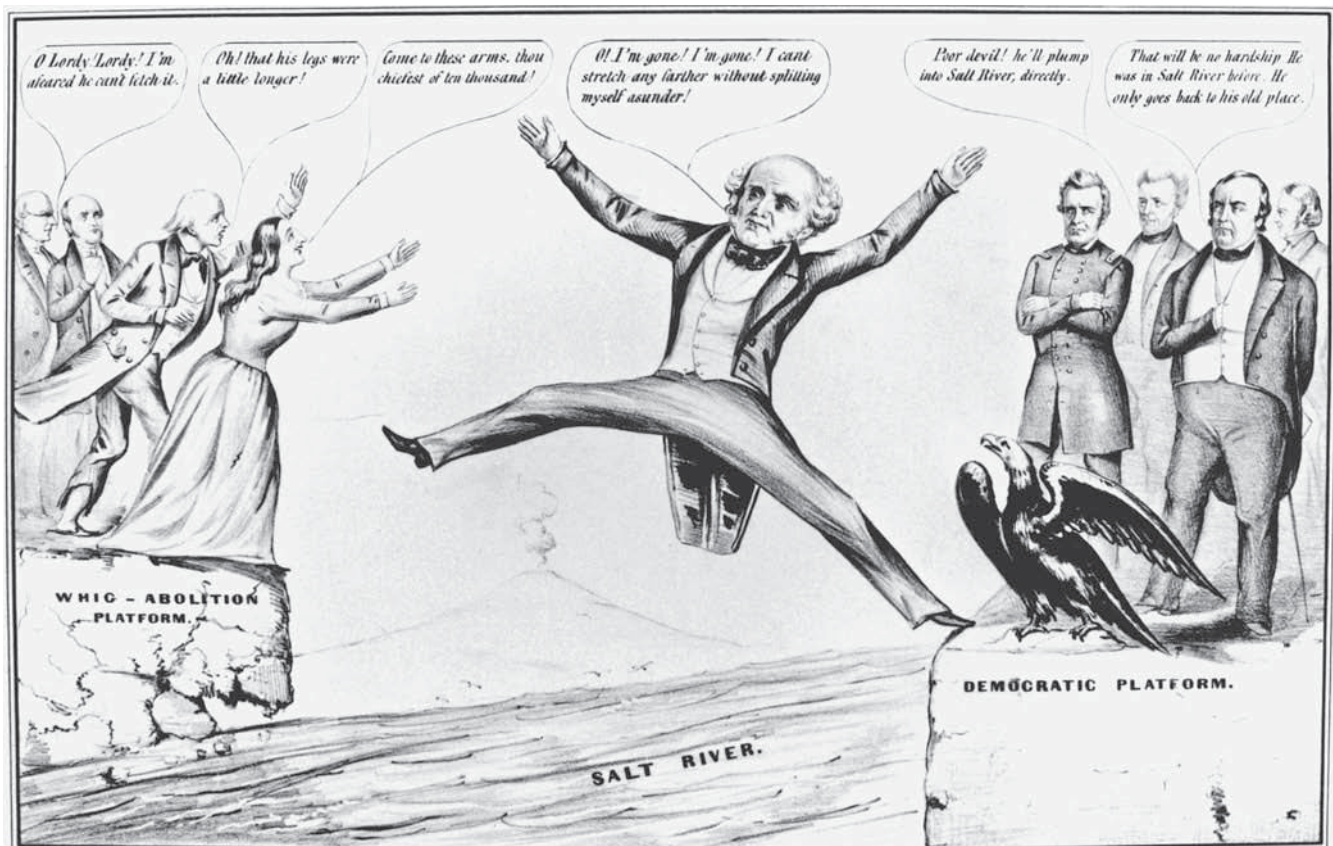
1800. Although Jefferson was generally acknowledged to be the leader of the party, neither he nor Burr received a majority of the votes in the electoral college, thus leaving the election to be decided by the House of Representatives. Jefferson was finally elected president, and he and his party assumed power. Although outgoing Federalist president John Adams did not remain in Washington to see his successor inaugurated, the ascendancy of Jefferson to the presidency by a peaceful transition of power was the first in the history of the young nation, thus setting a precedent.

Once in office, the Republicans pursued policies of reduced government spending, an enhanced respect for states' rights, minimal federal authority, and a belief that the federal government should not serve the interests of economic elites. Under Jefferson's leadership, taxes were cut, the national debt was paid off, and the Alien and Sedition Acts—laws passed by the Federalists to squelch political dissent—were revoked or allowed to lapse. Republicans, especially those from the slaveholding states of the South, did not want the federal government strong enough to threaten the institution of SLAVERY. They also generally supported the aspirations of poorer white men to gain

access to the ballot between 1800 and 1830, and most of these new voters supported Republican candidates when they gained the right of suffrage. Many workers in the cities and towns supported Republicans as well.

The Democratic-Republicans won every presidential election from 1800 through 1820 and took the country through the trauma of the WAR OF 1812, which the nation barely survived. After the war, the Federalists, due in part to their opposition to it, began a rapid decline into their final oblivion. During the 1820s—the so-called ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS—it seemed for a while that parties might fade from the American scene. When, for example, JAMES MONROE was reelected in 1820, he won every electoral vote but one. But in 1824, in a controversial election, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was elected as a National Republican over ANDREW JACKSON, most famously known for defeating the British in the BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS at the end of the War of 1812.

MARTIN VAN BUREN of New York played a crucial role in revitalizing the old Jeffersonian party in the 1820s. Forging alliances with southerners such as Richmond, Virginia, newspaper editor Thomas Ritchie, Van Buren thought that



This cartoon depicts Martin Van Buren, the presidential candidate for the Free-Soil Party, stretching over the Salt River (the slang term for political defeat) in his attempts to unite his party's Democratic and Whig factions against slavery. (Hulton/Archive)



political parties were crucial to the health of the nation in that they blunted sectional tensions and resulted in honest and healthy political competition. He saw the Democratic Party, as it was becoming known, as an alliance between “plain republicans of the North and planters of the South.” Meanwhile, Jackson and his devoted supporters continued to campaign over the ensuing four years of John Quincy Adams’s presidency, winning a convincing victory in the campaign of 1828.

The Democratic Party under the leadership of Jackson and Van Buren in the 1830s was committed to a strict interpretation of the Constitution and a limited role for the federal government in the life of the nation. Supporters of the party included farmers in the North and slave owners in the South, as well as mechanics and immigrants in the cities of the North. Jackson vetoed bills to promote internal improvements and the bill to recharter the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, as the Democrats decried privilege and economic monopolies and saw itself as the party of the small producers, i.e., farmers and working men.

The “Bank War” of 1832 was crucial in shaping the second party system. In vetoing the rechartering of the Second Bank of the United States, Jackson saw himself as acting on behalf of the common people by striking at an economic power that had grown so powerful it threatened the integrity of the republic. Supporters of the bank saw Jackson as a demagogue playing on popular fears and overstepping his authority under the Constitution in issuing the veto. Opponents of the president, who was reelected in 1832 following the bank veto, began to call him “King Andrew.”

The Democrats also defended the rights of slaveholders and supported the removal of American Indians to lands west of the Mississippi. The party systematically rewarded its supporters with jobs and offices, as part of the so-called spoils system. Democrats also favored low tariffs, as they believed that a high tariff (or tax) on imported goods would enrich manufacturers and merchants at the expense of ordinary workers and farmers. Their support of such political rights did not, however, extend to women.

The Democrats between 1830 and 1860 opposed moral reforms such as the TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT, Sabbatarianism, and most important, abolitionism. They became the defenders of the desire of their constituents, including immigrants, to resist the reforming crusades that swept through the United States in the antebellum era. Democrats believed that the federal government should not coerce people on moral issues, just as it should not grant special privileges to economic elites. In this sense, the party’s program was essentially negative.

Andrew Jackson’s use of the presidential veto power encouraged the formation of an opposition party that called themselves Whigs. Using popular political techniques bor-

rowed in part from the Democrats, the WHIG PARTY nominated the aging general WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, who subsequently denied Van Buren, Jackson’s successor, a second term in 1840.

Democrats in the antebellum period were not of one mind, however, especially on issues of the ECONOMY. In many states, especially in the North, Democrats were divided between those who favored extensive banking, paper money, and economic expansion and those who feared that changes in the economy, such as the growth of wage labor, were potentially harmful to ordinary people. In New York, the latter group were known as Locofocos, a name that to Whigs and probusiness Democrats became synonymous with economic radicalism.

Where Democrats were more united was on the question of political democracy. This included defending the rights of immigrants in the face of nativism and the KNOW-NOTHING PARTY. Although the Democrats had support from native-born Protestants in all regions, they came to rely on the votes of immigrants in the larger cities of the Northeast. It was these voters who helped to elect Democrat JAMES K. POLK of Tennessee over HENRY CLAY in 1844.

In the 1840s the Democratic Party was the party of expansion, encouraging the annexation of TEXAS and settlement of the Pacific Northwest. They also supported the rights of white planters to take their slaves with them into new territories. This expansionist impulse led to the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR (1846–48), a conflict begun and prosecuted by President Polk.

In the war’s aftermath, growing sectional tensions over slavery caused severe conflicts within the Democratic Party. Northern Democrats were increasingly troubled by the expansion of SLAVERY, and one of them, Congressman David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, introduced a measure to ban slavery from all territory gained in the Mexican-American War. Martin Van Buren himself left the Democratic Party in 1848 to run as the nominee of the FREE-SOIL PARTY, which proposed that slavery be confined to those states where it already existed.

Despite the COMPROMISE OF 1850, the controversy over slavery continued to threaten the unity and stability of the nation and its political system. Although two northern Democrats were elected president in the 1850s—Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire and James Buchanan of Pennsylvania—neither was able to defuse the growing crisis. Tensions over slavery led to the collapse of the Whig Party in the 1850s. The Democrats desperately wanted to keep the entire question of slavery out of politics in order to keep the Union intact and to perpetuate their political alliances. But events overtook that strategy. The ill-advised Kansas-Nebraska Act, shepherded through Congress by Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois, revoked the ban on slavery north of a line established by the MISSOURI COMPROMISE

of 1820. Under the act's provisions, slavery was permitted north of this line if the settlers of a territory voted to accept it. Northern Democrats who found themselves in profound disagreement with Douglas's doctrine of POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY began to desert the party. Some of them joined the new REPUBLICAN PARTY that was emerging in the northern section of the country. President James Buchanan, acting in what he believed was the spirit of the decision handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court that forbade territories from outlawing slavery, supported the admission of Kansas to the Union as a slave state. This series of events outraged many Democrats in the North, who now saw the slaveholding power expanding its influence over the nation's political institutions and soon, they feared, over the land of the United States itself.

Meeting in convention at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1860, the Democrats could not agree on a candidate for president. Reconvening a few weeks later in Baltimore, they selected Stephen Douglas. Several southern delegations walked out, fearing that the national Democratic Party was no longer fully committed to protecting slavery and states' rights. Southern Democrats nominated John Breckinridge of Kentucky. Douglas lost every northern state except New Jersey to Republican nominee Abraham Lincoln and the South to Breckinridge. Seeing Lincoln's victory as tantamount to the abolition of slavery, 11 southern states seceded from the United States, thus triggering the Civil War (1861–65). The Democratic Party, which traced its roots to Thomas Jefferson and which had held national power almost continuously from 1800 to 1860, lay in shambles, discredited and seen by most northerners as the party of slavery and, after 1861, of treason. The party ultimately survived these calamities, but only in the defeated South of the old Confederacy would it regularly hold power in the decades following the Civil War.

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—Jason Duncan

## Deseret, State of

The State of Deseret was a Mormon political community in what is now Utah. Though its period of official existence was short, from 1849 to 1850, "Deseret" more broadly refers to the Mormon community in Utah in its early decades, after its migration there in 1847 and before the admission of Utah into the Union as a state in 1896.

Officially known as the CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS, the Mormon Church was founded in 1830 in Fayette, New York, by JOSEPH SMITH, JR., who that year published the Book of Mormon, which he claimed to have translated from gold plates bestowed by an angel. (The name "Deseret" is said to mean "honey bee" in this book.) Based on the Book of Mormon and private revelations, Smith preached what he considered to be a restored version of Christianity, with a distinctive, highly centralized church structure and a strong emphasis on missionary activity and dedication to the community. The church grew rapidly, attracting converts from England as well as the United States. But the Mormons, or Saints as they called themselves, were repeatedly forced to move because of persecution from neighbors who objected to their unorthodox beliefs, communal economic practices, and bloc voting in public elections, among other sources of contention. The church's advocacy of POLYGAMY, by which men could have more than one wife, also attracted condemnation, although it did not become an official doctrine until 1852.

In the 1830s the church moved from New York to Ohio to Missouri to NAUVOO, Illinois. In 1844 Smith and his brother Hyrum were assassinated by a mob while being held in prison in Carthage, Illinois, on charges of treason. A schism developed over who should succeed Smith as leader of the church, but the largest group rallied behind BRIGHAM YOUNG, head of the policy-making body called the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

Young sought a safe haven for his church, a Mormon homeland far from "Gentiles" (as his people called non-Mormons). He identified it more than a thousand miles west in the Great Basin, an area of the Rocky Mountains then claimed by Mexico, though inhabited at the time only by Native Americans and a few American fur trappers and traders called MOUNTAIN MEN. Bordered by the Wasatch Range in the east and the Sierra Nevada and Cascade Range in the west, it was called the Great Basin because waterways drained into it as into an inland sink; it had no outlet to the sea. Full of strange and forbidding scenery, the region was protected from intruders by arid wastelands such as the Mojave Desert, and it contained several saline lakes, including the Great Salt Lake in what is now Utah. Young selected the Great Salt Lake Valley as the Mormons' destination. This would be the site of the "Gathering," the spiritually significant bringing together of all the Saints.

In 1846 Young led the first group of Mormon pioneers on the first leg of the journey, from Illinois to Winter Quarters (now Omaha, Nebraska). The following year, on July 24, 1847 (remembered in Utah as Pioneer Day), the epic migration, known as the Mormon trek, was completed when an advance party of about 150 Mormons arrived in Great Salt Lake Valley. Trees were scarce, but

the soil was fertile. William Clayton, one of the Mormon pioneers, called it “one of the most beautiful valleys and pleasant places for a home for the Saints which could be found.”

Wasting no time, the pioneers dammed a stream to provide water and planted corn, potatoes, winter wheat, and other crops. Land was parceled out to individual families. A city was planned in plots of 10 acres (four hectares) around Temple Square, a central plot of 40 acres (16 hectares) that would be reserved for a temple. That city received the name Great Salt Lake City, later (in 1868) abbreviated to Salt Lake City. In autumn 1847, Young was elected president and prophet of the Mormon church, officially becoming Smith’s successor.

While the Mormon trek was underway, the United States fought Mexico in the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR (1846–48). About 500 Saints, known as the Mormon Battalion, served on the U.S. side, affirming Mormon loyalty to the United States (often questioned by the church’s critics) and laying the ground for a claim to remain in the territory they had occupied. In the TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO, which ended the war in 1848, the Great Basin passed from Mexican to American sovereignty.

In 1849, expecting that the Mormon homeland would eventually become a state of the Union, Young called a convention to draft a constitution. The constitution that resulted that year formally created the State of Deseret, with Great Salt Lake City as its capital. The constitution provided for a bicameral legislature and supreme court, but in practice the state was a theocracy run by the church hierarchy headed by Young, who, running unopposed, was elected governor of Deseret on March 12, 1849. It was funded by tithing, the Saints’ contribution of 10 percent of their incomes to the church. Among the state’s official acts were the incorporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, a charter for Great Salt Lake City, the establishment of what is now the University of Utah, and the founding of a Perpetual Emigrating Fund to lend money for migration expenses to poor Saints who wanted to come to Deseret.

As conceived by Young, Deseret included not only the Great Salt Lake Valley but almost a half-million square miles of territory, including an outlet to the Pacific Ocean in southern CALIFORNIA. It encompassed all of present-day Utah, nearly all of Nevada, most of Arizona, and parts of California, Oregon, New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming. To stake the Mormon claim, Young founded settlements at key points throughout this vast region, selecting by name the Saints who would colonize them. The chosen colonists usually complied willingly, though not always gladly. One Mormon girl cried when she learned that her father had been selected, but told a friend, “I should not own him as a father if he would not go when he is called.” In this

manner, about 350 settlements were established, including Moab, Utah; Carson Valley and Las Vegas, Nevada; San Bernardino, California; Fort Supply and Fort Bridger, Wyoming; and Lemhi, Idaho.

Deseret petitioned the United States for territorial status, but Congress refused to consider the petition. Anti-Mormon sentiment was still high: President ZACHARY TAYLOR called the Mormons “a pack of outlaws” who “had been driven out of two states and were not fit for self-government.” Territorial status did come soon, but on U.S. terms. In September 1850 Congress created the Territory of Utah, rejecting the name Deseret for one derived from the region’s Ute Indians. The territory’s scale, limited principally to Utah and Nevada and later reduced to Utah alone, was much smaller than that proposed for Deseret. However, President MILLARD FILLMORE, who had succeeded Taylor after the latter’s death from cholera that year, allowed Young to continue holding power as territorial governor, and the territorial legislature continued to be dominated by Mormons. Although Deseret officially ceased to exist, the Mormon Church hierarchy was still the most potent authority in Utah. From at least 1862 to 1870 the State of Deseret was clandestinely revived, with a “ghost” government of Deseret, composed of the same Mormons as those in Utah’s territorial government, meeting in secret as a sign of their commitment to Deseret as originally conceived.

In the meantime, the number of Mormons in Utah continued to grow, to about 40,000 by 1859. They included thousands of converts from England and Scandinavia and, from 1856 to 1860, thousands who came hauling handcarts because they were too poor to afford ox-drawn wagons. By 1869, when the opening of the transcontinental railroad made it easier to come to Utah, the territory’s population had reached 80,000.

The early years were hard. In 1848 crickets devoured much of the harvest, with complete disaster averted only by the intervention of cricket-eating seagulls, an event the Mormons took to be a divine miracle. Young’s efforts to establish industries, such as pottery, cloth, lead, and iron, were largely unsuccessful, though the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH provided a bonanza in 1849–50 as the Saints traded and did business with prospective gold diggers passing through Utah. There were some clashes with NATIVE AMERICANS, including the Walker War of 1853, though relations were relatively good, since the Mormons regarded Native Americans as descendants of Israel. The Ute learned to distinguish between “Mormonee” and “Merocats,” or other Americans.

The Mormons’ biggest problem was continuing animosity from white non-Mormons. The Saints had fled to Utah to escape conflict with Gentiles, but now that Utah was a U.S. territory, that conflict was renewed. Polygamy,

which the Mormons began to preach openly in 1852, was considered immoral and barbarous by most Americans. The Mormon tendencies to band together economically and vote in unison were regarded as harmful to free enterprise and free elections. A new Mormon alphabet of 38 letters, which was meant to reform and replace the English alphabet, was viewed by outsiders as a nefarious secret code, while the Mormons' close relationship with Native Americans raised suspicions of treason.

Amid increasing reports of disloyalty and disregard for American law, President James Buchanan replaced Young with a non-Mormon governor, Alfred Cumming, and sent him along with federal troops to Utah in 1857 to put down what he saw as "substantial rebellion" and restore "the supremacy of the Constitution." In what was known as the Utah War (1857–58), the Mormons called in their distant colonists and missionaries and massed in their heartland, ready to defend themselves against what they saw as invaders. Mormon raiders destroyed federal property, but no lives were lost in combat. The affair was settled peacefully, with Cumming becoming governor, while Young remained as powerful as before in his capacity as head of the church. The most serious loss of life, the Mountain Meadows massacre of 1857, involved noncombatants: About 140 non-Mormon migrants bound for California were massacred by Native Americans and Mormon settlers.

Throughout the remainder of the 19th century, the relationship between the United States and the Mormons in Utah remained one of tension. Utah applications for statehood were refused, largely because of the polygamy issue. Congress passed laws against polygamy that were targeted directly at the Mormons, most notably the Edmunds-Tucker Act, or Anti-Polygamy Act, of 1887, which dissolved the corporation of the church, forbade Mormon participation in government, abolished woman suffrage (which the Utah territorial legislature had granted in 1870, 50 years before women nationwide would receive the vote), and otherwise attempted to end the temporal power of the Mormon Church. The standoff did not end until 1890, when the church formally renounced polygamy. Statehood followed in 1896.

The beehive, a symbol of industriousness and a reminder of the meaning of Deseret, is featured in the State Seal of Utah. The *Deseret News*, a newspaper founded in 1850, is still in publication.

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—George Ochoa

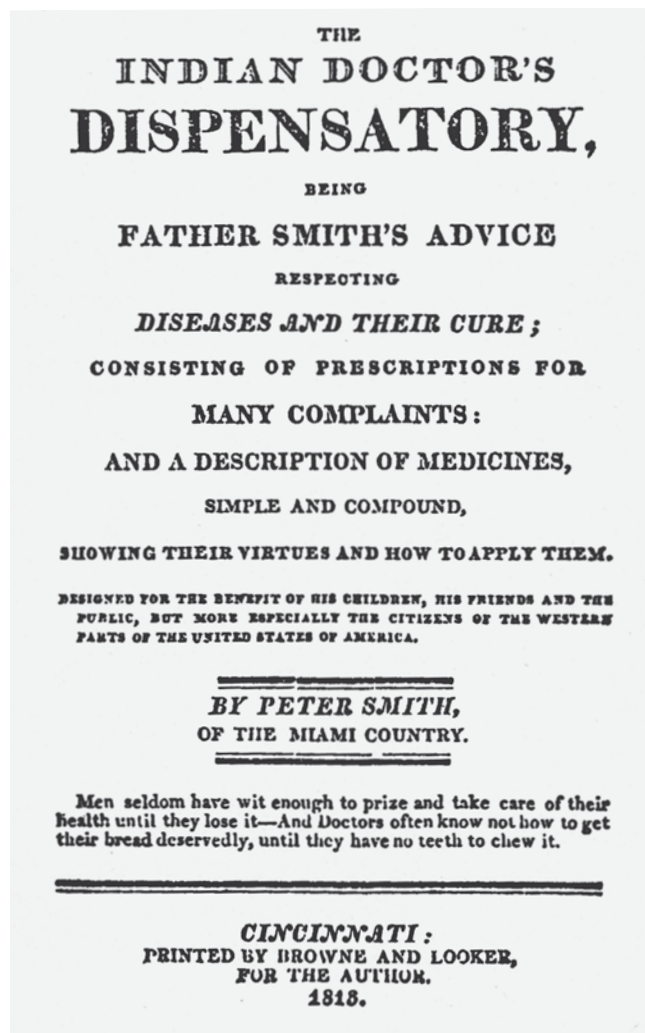
## disease and epidemics

As American cities grew in the early 19th century, so did the risk to public health. The urban poor were increasingly crowded in filthy conditions ripe for the spread of infectious disease. The germ theory of disease—understanding the role of microorganisms in causing illness—would not be developed until the second half of the century, but improved trade and transportation were already enabling the swifter spread of germs around the globe. With no clear understanding of disease or how to combat it, it was not surprising that deadly epidemics frequently wracked antebellum America. The problem was compounded by a widespread belief that public health was a private responsibility and that outbreaks were best handled by episodic health boards. These bodies, however, lacked the resources and expertise needed to cope with or even mitigate a problem of such magnitude.

Perhaps the most devastating illness of this period was cholera. Also called Asiatic cholera, it is now known to be caused by the bacterium *Vibrio comma*, which spreads when water and food supplies are contaminated with stools from infected people. The problem was intensified by poor or nonexistent sanitation in regard to public drinking water supplies, especially in urban regions, where contamination directly exposed the entire population to the disease. Cholera causes severe diarrhea, vomiting, and cramps, and, if left untreated, swiftly brings about death through dehydration in more than 50 percent of patients. In 19th-century epidemics, the mortality rate among cholera patients could run as high as 90 percent. Though still endemic in poorer nations, cholera has mostly been eradicated from developed countries by proper sanitation, especially safeguards to keep sewage out of drinking water. But in the early 19th century, when it first became pandemic, or epidemic over a wide region, its speed and brutality made it inexplicable to many except as the scourge of an angry God.

The first major cholera pandemic began in 1817 in India. It spread to most of Asia and East Africa, reaching China in 1820 and Russia in 1823. This first pandemic did not reach western Europe or America, but from 1826 to 1837, a new pandemic did. This one too began in India, reached Russia by 1831, and struck France and the British Isles by 1831–32. Irish immigrants carried it to North America in 1832, where it raged until 1834. It reached New York City in June 1832 and spread south and west across the country, killing thousands of Americans and sending people fleeing in terror from infected places. Wrote one diarist, "To see individuals well in the morning & buried before night . . . is something





The title page of a medical guide published for the Native American population, which was devastated by diseases such as measles and small pox (Hulton/Archive)

which is appalling to the boldest heart.” Nor was the civilian sector its primary victim: Soldiers were disproportionately infected with cholera. In the summer of 1832, for example, an army detachment of 1,000 soldiers under General WINFIELD SCOTT departed Buffalo, New York, for service in the BLACK HAWK WAR in Wisconsin. But cholera sidelined Scott and his entire command. While steaming across Lake Erie, the soldiers suffered a virulent cholera outbreak that quickly reduced their ranks. By the time the expedition docked at Chicago, Illinois, fewer than 200 soldiers remained capable of service.

Many Americans considered cholera a disease of the sinful, visited selectively by God on immoral, dissolute, low-class people with filthy habits. “The cholera is not *caused* by intemperance and filth, in themselves, but it is a

*scourge*, a rod in the hand of God,” wrote one clergyman. Doctors of the time did what they could to save patients, which was very little. Common but futile remedies to treat the disease included bleeding, calomel (a mercury compound), and laudanum (an opium solution). Most physicians believed incorrectly that the disease had a miasmatic or atmospheric origin, arising from filth and foul fumes and spread through the air. One genuine health benefit of this view was the spread of public sanitation measures such as cleaning streets, installing sewers, and collecting garbage. Health reformers such as Sylvester Graham and William Alcott helped spread the view that cleanliness meant health. In many places, quarantines were instituted, though public opinion was divided as to whether cholera was contagious. In any case, the increasing efficiency of trade and transportation in the early 19th century ensured that cholera continued to spread. It was particularly brutal for less privileged members of society, who were frequently crowded together in squalid conditions and without access to safe drinking water.

In 1840 a new worldwide cholera pandemic began, this one killing millions of people into the 1850s. Reaching the United States in late 1848, it had struck every part of the country east of the Rocky Mountains by 1849. In that year of the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH, ships from Panama carried the disease to San Francisco, where it advanced throughout California. Meanwhile, in Great Britain, research was beginning to show a way of fighting cholera. In 1854, British physician John Snow demonstrated that cholera was spread through water contaminated by sewage. In one striking case, he brought an end to a local cholera epidemic by removing the handle from a pump that drew water from a sewage-laden area of the Thames River.

Yellow fever was another disease that regularly took epidemic form in antebellum America. Yellow fever is now known to be caused by a virus transmitted through the bites of infected mosquitoes. Symptoms include fever; headache; chills; and jaundice, the yellowing of the skin that gives the disease its name. In the worst cases, the disease ends in death through internal hemorrhage. Endemic in the tropics, yellow fever can spread into cooler regions during warm seasons, as it did repeatedly in the United States in the early 19th century. During epidemics, the death rate could run as high as 85 percent.

In 1819 yellow-fever epidemics struck Baltimore and Philadelphia and reached as far north as Boston. In 1820, one-third of the population of Savannah, Georgia, came down with yellow fever. In 1822, New York suffered an epidemic. After that, areas north of Virginia remained free of yellow fever, but it remained a killer in the South. In 1843, yellow fever swept the Mississippi Valley, killing 13,000. An 1855 outbreak in Norfolk, Virginia, raged so uncontrollably that, according to contemporary accounts, “All Commerce



stopped. The only industry became that of fighting yellow fever." The editor of the *Daily Southern Argus* had to suspend publication because only one employee was left in the plant. The editor wrote, "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people!"

Dengue fever sometimes swept southern areas as well. Like yellow fever, it is a viral disease carried by mosquitoes, and has similar symptoms—fever, headache, chills, prostration—though it is rarely fatal. The two ailments are so similar that doctors sometimes had trouble distinguishing them, and sometimes epidemics of both occurred simultaneously. In the United States, the first pandemic of dengue fever struck in 1827–28, afflicting Charleston, New Orleans, Pensacola, and Savannah. Another pandemic in 1850–51 caused illness from Georgia to Louisiana.

Other deadly diseases of the period included typhus, which took epidemic form in Philadelphia in 1837; and influenza, which took pandemic form in 1847–48 and 1850–51. Spotted fever was another killer. Known today as meningococcal or cerebrospinal meningitis, this disease is caused by the bacterium *meningococcus*. It received the name spotted fever because it can cause spotting of the skin, along with fever, headache, projectile vomiting, delirium, and convulsions. An inflammation of the membranes of the brain or spinal cord, meningococcal meningitis can be fatal or can leave devastating aftereffects, such as paralysis or deafness. It was a new disease to the doctors who first encountered it in 1805 in Geneva, Switzerland; a year later, it appeared in the United States for the first time, in an outbreak in Medfield, Massachusetts, in which nine people died. Epidemics occurred periodically, notably in 1856–57 in North Carolina and New York State.

Though epidemic disease hit crowded cities especially hard, rural and frontier areas were not free of ailment. Settlers carried disease wherever they went, including Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and other areas of what is now the Midwest. According to historian of disease Howard N. Simpson, "The most lethal dangers the pioneers had to face were neither savages nor wild animals. They were typhoid, malaria, dysentery, malignant scarlet fever, pneumonia, erysipelas in epidemic form, spotted fever, or what would now be called meningococcal meningitis, and diphtheria."

Certain situations made people particularly liable to disease. Soldiers camped in close quarters in unfamiliar places had reason to fear disease more than bullets. In the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR (1846–48), approximately 13,000 Americans died, but only 1,733 were killed in battle. Most of the remaining 87 percent died from disease. Nor did peacetime garrison duty at forts along the frontier ensure healthier conditions. In this respect the principal villain proved to be diet: Military rations consisting of bacon, salt beef, biscuits, beans, grease, and black coffee

left personnel undernourished and susceptible to scurvy. It had long been known that Indians and frontiersmen were relatively free of this condition owing to a regular intake of wild onions, berries, and cactus juice, but the U.S. military was slow to make recommendations. For instance, sensible regulations that encouraged commanders of frontier garrisons to plant gardens and grow their own green vegetables were not promulgated until the middle of the 19th century. Slaves were more prone than their owners to most kinds of disease. Overwork, malnutrition, and poor living conditions increased the susceptibility of slaves to such killers as pneumonia and tuberculosis. However, slaves were more resistant than their masters to yellow fever and malaria, diseases to which the slaves' ancestors had become resistant in Africa.

NATIVE AMERICANS were particularly liable to disease when first coming into contact with white people. Low resistance to previously unencountered germs often resulted in fatal epidemics among Indians, as it had since the time of Columbus. From 1830 to 1833, influenza and other diseases swept through Native American communities in CALIFORNIA, Oregon, and British Columbia. In 1837, a smallpox epidemic ravaged the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara peoples of the upper Missouri River.

Some diseases were specific to certain segments of the population. Women frequently suffered from puerperal fever, or childbed fever, an often fatal illness now known to be a bacterial infection that occurs in women after childbirth because of aseptic, or unclean, procedures during delivery. In 1843 Boston physician Oliver Wendell Holmes, father of the Supreme Court justice of the same name, used case studies to demonstrate that puerperal fever was contagious, spread by physicians who attended childbirths after being in contact with the living or dead bodies of puerperal fever patients. He urged physicians to wash their hands and wear clean clothes to prevent the spread of this disease. His findings were supported four years later by the studies of Hungarian physician Ignaz P. Semmelweis.

Other steps were taken in antebellum America toward improved cure and prevention of disease. One was the establishment in 1820 by New York physician Lyman Spalding of the *U.S. Pharmacopoeia*, a government-approved list of medical drugs that set standards for their formulation and purity. This prescient document advocated the creation of the first state boards of health, the statewide collection and analysis of disease statistics, an official smallpox vaccination program, health education programs for children, improved sanitation and ventilation of school buildings, state care programs and facilities for the mentally ill, and extensive preventive medicine instruction for all physicians and nurses. Another was the founding of the American Medical Association, inaugurated in 1847 to promote medical knowledge and maintain

standards for medical education and ethics. These far-sighted suggestions were largely ignored by the political establishment. Another spate of cholera epidemics in 1849 and 1854 finally spurred a broad movement to establish full-time public health boards, and the cholera episodes ceased. The first conventions held by sanitary reformers in 1857 and 1860 marked the beginning of improved national sanitation and disease control efforts.

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—George Ochoa

### **Dix, Dorothea** (1802–1887) *mental health reformer*

Almost single-handedly responsible for changes in the way that mentally ill individuals were treated in 19th-century America, Dorothea Dix was one of the most effective activists and reformers of the era. Born on April 4, 1802, Dorothea was the eldest child of Mary Bigelow Dix and Joseph Dix, a traveling preacher. Her childhood—spent in Hampden, Maine, and Worcester Massachusetts—was dominated by her mother's ill health, her father's alcoholism, and the responsibility of caring for her two younger siblings. At the age of 12, Dix was sent to live with her wealthy grandmother in Boston, but she found adjustment to her new social status extremely difficult. By the age of 14, she was back in Worcester, living with her great-aunt. During the next year Dix began her career as a teacher, founding a dame school for young girls in the area. After breaking off an engagement in 1821, she returned to her grandmother's house in Boston and continued to teach there until the mid-1830s. Dix also published a number of books, including *Conversations on Common Things* in 1824, *Hymns for Children: Selected and Altered* in 1825, and *Meditations for Private Hours* in 1828.

Dix suffered from poor health through most of her life, and by the mid-1830s she was extremely sick with what many scholars now believe to be tuberculosis. She traveled to England to recuperate, staying at the home of the



Dorothea Dix (Hulton/Archive)

Rathbone family. There she met a number of intellectuals and activists, including Dr. Samuel Tuke, whose family was involved in mental health-care reform in England. During her convalescence, Dix learned that her mother and grandmother had died and that she had inherited enough money to give up teaching on her return to the United States. Influenced by the religious beliefs of her Methodist upbringing and her Unitarian sympathies, Dix took the opportunity to look for ways in which she could make the best use of this financial freedom.

In March 1841 Dix was invited to establish a Sunday school class in the East Cambridge House of Correction, Massachusetts. The conditions she witnessed inside the jail appalled her. Mentally ill individuals had been thrown into cells with criminals of every degree, left unclothed, without heat, and lacking anything but the most basic sanitary provisions. Many inmates were found chained to walls and had been flogged in an attempt to control their behavior. Determined to change the situation, Dix set out to tour prisons throughout Massachusetts. Her experience in East Cambridge was repeated over and over again, and Dix carefully cataloged the conditions she observed. In 1843 she submitted a report on her work to the Massachusetts legislature and lobbied fiercely for the overhaul of the penitentiary system. Thanks to her efforts,

a law was passed to facilitate the expansion of the Worcester State Hospital in order to provide better care for the mentally ill.

Dix's career as a reformer had barely begun. Over the next 11 years, she toured prisons across the eastern United States and lobbied other state legislatures for changes in the treatment of the mentally ill. In 1845 she published *Remarks on Prisons and Prison Discipline in the United States*. As a direct result of her efforts, 15 states passed reform legislation, and 32 hospitals for the mentally ill were built.

In Dix's opinion, wholesale reform in mental health care could only be achieved with the assistance of the federal government. Dix repeatedly lobbied Congress to sell parcels of public land and channel the proceeds into the treatment of the mentally ill. Congress voted on the issue twice, rejecting the idea in 1848 and passing it in 1854. Vetoed by President Franklin Pierce, however, the legislation was never put into effect. Drained by the demands of her reform work, Dix left the United States that same year, hoping to be able to rest.

Once in Europe, however, Dix continued to work on issues of mental health reform, visiting jails across the continent over the next two years. At each stop, she advocated the building of new hospitals and better training for prison and hospital staff. In Italy, Dix personally persuaded Pope Pius IX to become involved in her cause and to witness the conditions in local jails.

Dix returned to the United States in 1856, where she continued her reform work despite lasting difficulties with her health. She would go on to become chief superintendent of nurses for the Union army during the Civil War, a job for which she was not well suited. After peace was declared, Dix continued to work as a reformer until her health deteriorated to the point at which she needed hospital care. In 1881 Dix admitted herself into the state hospital at Trenton, New Jersey, a hospital she had founded. It was there she died on July 17, 1887.

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—Catherine J. Denial

### Donner party (1846–1847)

This disastrous emigrant expedition to CALIFORNIA, which began in spring 1846, was planned by two prosperous brothers, Jacob and George Donner. The Donners were among the earliest and most successful settlers to begin farming in Sangamon County, Illinois, near Springfield. Along with hundreds of others at this time, the brothers

were drawn by the lure of California and decided to uproot their families and head further west, searching for even fairer prospects. They were inspired to make the journey by reading the *Emigrant's Guide to Oregon and California*, an enthusiastic promotion of western settlement written by Lansford W. Hastings.

Hastings had encouraged his readers to follow a new and quicker route over the mountains, which he dubbed the "Hastings Cutoff." Instead of following the established CALIFORNIA TRAIL, Hastings suggested emigrants leave it at Fort Bridger and head towards the Great Salt Lake. The Donners decided to follow his advice. Their group, which now included the James Reed family and numbered 31 people in nine wagons, left from Springfield in April 1846. After reaching Independence, Missouri, they joined a wagon train captained by Colonel William H. Russell. The larger party traveled along the Platte River for a month, reaching FORT LARAMIE, Wyoming, where they discussed the Hastings Cutoff with a mountain man, James Clyman. Clyman had just traveled the route with Hastings himself and warned them not to take the cutoff, but they learned from another traveler that Hastings had promised to meet emigrant groups at Fort Bridger and lead them through his cutoff personally.

Now known as the Boggs company, the group continued on and, in mid-July, a large number decided to follow Hastings's shortcut and elected George Donner as their captain. Now known as the Donner party, they reached Fort Bridger a week later but found that Hastings had already gone, leading a different party across his trail. After resting for a few days, they continued on, hoping to catch up with him. Soon after, a few members of the party, led by James Reed, traveled ahead to find Hastings and get his advice. With the addition of other emigrants, the Donner party now numbered 87 people and 23 wagons. Reed's group soon returned with more specific directions.

The party crossed the Great Salt Lake Desert at the end of August, a trek that took six days, not the two that Hastings predicted. After this arduous leg of the journey, almost all the cattle were dead or lost, and food supplies were getting low. Donner sent two men ahead to Fort Sutter to obtain more supplies. At the end of September, they reached the California Trail, which they followed along the Humboldt River for two weeks. Tensions among the emigrants began to flare. In early October, James Reed killed another man in the party during a dispute. The party banished Reed from the wagon train, and he traveled ahead to find supplies. Troubles continued to multiply as they encountered hostile Paiute raiders, who killed at least one straggler unable to keep up with the wagon train.

The Donner party reached the Truckee River in mid-October and began their grueling journey across the Sierra



Nevada. But they had lost precious time following a route that proved much longer and more difficult than Hastings had promised. Before they reached the pass through the mountains, snow stopped their travels. Some emigrants constructed makeshift cabins near the Truckee Lake, while others camped near Alder Creek. They waited, hoping this early snow was a fluke occurrence and would soon melt. But the snowfall persisted, and their attempts to cross the mountains failed. Although some supplies had been brought back from Fort Sutter, provisions remained meager, and they had slaughtered all their remaining livestock by the end of November. By mid-December, a small group known as “Forlorn Hope” set out on snowshoes to find help. Soon the Truckee Lake group learned that several people at the Alder Creek camp, including Jacob Donner, were dead. In late December, the Forlorn Hope expedition was caught in a blizzard, and many of their number died. The remaining people, out of food, were forced to eat their remains.

Seven members of the Forlorn Hope group survived, arriving at Johnson’s Ranch in mid-January 1847. Word spread about the disasters that had befallen the Donner party, and in San Francisco, settlers began to plan rescue missions and raise money. Back at Truckee Lake, members of the Donner party began to die in large numbers. The first rescuers arrived at the lake in mid-February and found that 11 people had died; the rest were traumatized and weak. When the relief party began the journey west, they took 23 refugees with them. The second relief mission, led by James Reed, arrived at the lake on March 1 and learned that the remaining migrants had, like the Forlorn Hope group, resorted to cannibalism. The rescuers left with 17 people, but this party was trapped by a blizzard. A third rescue party reached them at “Starved Camp,” then continued on to the lake and creek camps, where they found few migrants still alive. Most were too weak to travel. By the time the fourth rescue party arrived, only one man was still alive, surrounded by the horrifying evidence of cannibalism. Of the 89 original members of the Donner party, only 45 survived. All the rest, including George Donner, perished. Their journey became famous as the most horrible tragedy to befall emigrants heading for California.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

**Douglass, Frederick** See VOLUME V.

**Dow, Lorenzo** (1777–1834) *American Methodist preacher*

One of the most influential preachers of the early republic, known for his animated, fervent speaking style, Lorenzo Dow traveled across the United States and Great Britain, spreading his impassioned evangelism through camp meetings and other revivals. He was born in Coventry, Connecticut, in 1777, the fifth child of Humphrey and Tabitha (Parker) Dow. According to his own writings, he was drawn to spiritual matters from an early age.

In 1794 Dow began traveling and preaching. Two years later, he became associated with the Methodists, who assigned him to a circuit in New York State. This connection with an established church was short-lived because of Dow’s unconventional exhortations. He continued to live as an impoverished itinerant preacher, often covering more than 100 miles in a week on horseback. The Methodist Conference readmitted him in 1798, but he almost immediately created new controversy when he went to Ireland in an unappreciated attempt to convert Roman Catholics. After this controversy, his formal association with the Methodists ended, but not his own adherence to Methodist doctrine as he saw it.

Returning to the United States after 18 months in Ireland, Dow sailed to Georgia to preach, went briefly to New York, and then returned to the South in 1802 for an extended evangelizing tour. His hellfire-and-damnation style of preaching won many converts in the newly settling inland South. He evangelized among both Indians and pioneering whites, preaching the first Protestant sermon in the Tensaw and Tombigbee settlements in Alabama in 1803. Dow also toured Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas, offending some and inspiring others.

He returned to New York in 1804 to marry Peggy Holcomb, who agreed to allow his nomadic ministry to take highest priority; he returned to the South to preach on the day after their wedding. He continued to shuttle back and forth between New York and the southern states, and then embarked for England with Peggy, who gave birth to a daughter while they were abroad; the baby died soon after. In England, Dow popularized the camp-meeting revival and inspired the formation of the Primitive Methodists. Returning to the United States in 1807, the Dows resumed their revival tours across the country. Lorenzo Dow’s reputation as a charismatic preacher grew, and he often referred to himself as “Cosmopolite,” a wealthy and dashing prophet. As he railed against vice, Dow dazzled audiences with his dramatic long hair and convulsive movements. His wit, charm, and fierceness were especially compelling to back-country settlers living under harsh conditions.

Peggy Dow continued to support his enterprises until her death in 1820. Soon after, he remarried and began to settle into a more sedentary, but still vigorous, lifestyle. He

wrote journals and kept publishing numerous pamphlets, as had been his practice for several years. These religious tracts were as much self-promotion as they were spiritual instruction. Dow published several volumes, including sermons and accounts of the controversies he inspired. Notable among these publications were *Polemical Works* (1814) and *History of a Cosmopolite, or, the Writings of the Rev. Lorenzo Dow, Containing his Experience and Travels in Europe and America* (1848). He remained a persistent antagonist towards his opponents—namely Whigs, Catholics, and established Methodists. Lorenzo Dow died in Washington, D.C., in 1834. While always a maverick in American Protestantism, he greatly influenced mainstream spiritual beliefs and practices during the early decades of the 19th century.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

**Drayton, William H.** (1776–1846) *American planter, lawyer, and politician*

The South Carolina politician William Drayton was born in St. Augustine, Florida, on December 30, 1776, the son of a chief justice of the province. He was educated in London until the death of his father in 1790, when he moved to Charleston, South Carolina. Drayton studied law on his own, was admitted to the bar, and gradually gained renown as a leading attorney. In 1806 he gained a seat in the state House of Representatives as a Federalist, where he served two years.

Drayton, like most Federalists, opposed the WAR OF 1812 against the British. He nonetheless extended his services to the government. On March 12, 1812, he was appointed lieutenant colonel of the 10th U.S. Infantry, and he rose to the rank of full colonel and inspector general on

August 1, 1814. Drayton saw no action in the war, but he handled his administrative duties so admirably that in 1816 General ANDREW JACKSON recommended him to President JAMES MONROE for secretary of war. When that position went to JOHN C. CALHOUN, Drayton resumed his legal practice in Charleston, rising to city judge. He also became politically active in the nascent DEMOCRATIC PARTY, and in 1825 he gained election to the U.S. House of Representatives to replace a seat vacated by Joel R. Poinsett.

By this time the nation was becoming embroiled in controversy over tariffs, which favored northern industrial states and penalized agricultural states like South Carolina. Drayton staked out a position as head of the South Carolina Unionists, and in this capacity he opposed the imposition of high tariffs but also rejected any attempts at nullification or secession. During the stormy winter of 1832–33, Drayton was instrumental in persuading President Andrew Jackson not to dispatch federal troops to South Carolina, although he secretly provided the government with intelligence as to nullifier strength and intentions. The NULLIFICATION CONTROVERSY finally was resolved following passage of the compromise Tariff of 1833, which Drayton strongly endorsed. He finally left Congress in March 1833.

Once out of office, Drayton moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, as a private citizen. In 1840 he reentered the public sphere as president of the Bank of Philadelphia, previously known as the Bank of the United States, and oversaw the liquidation of its assets. Drayton died in Philadelphia on May 24, 1846, a well-regarded leader of the southern Unionists in Congress.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Dred Scott decision** See VOLUME V.





# E



## **Easton, Hosea** (1798–1837) *abolitionist, minister*

Hosea Easton was a prominent African-American abolitionist. He was born on September 1, 1798, in Middleborough, Massachusetts, to a family of mixed African, white, and NATIVE AMERICAN heritage who had carved out a niche for themselves within the regional black elite. His father was James Easton, a veteran of the Revolutionary War and a skilled ironworker.

Little is known of Easton's youth or education, but in 1828 he wrote his first tract, "Thanksgiving Day Address," for blacks living in Providence, Rhode Island. In time he became known as one of the leading African-American abolitionists of New England. Not simply exhorting blacks to excel, he was unique among his contemporaries for also demanding that whites consider the debilitating effects of racism on their black neighbors.

In 1831 Easton was a delegate to the first National Colored Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. One outgrowth of this undertaking was his attempt to found a manual labor school for black youth in Hartford, Connecticut; this failed, however, owing to entrenched white resistance. Easton served as president of the Hartford Literary and Religious Institution, founded in 1834 and dedicated to the moral and social uplift of blacks. Two years later he became pastor of the Talcott Street Congregational Church in Hartford. Racial tensions in Connecticut ran extremely high at this time. In 1836 Easton became the first pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, but it was shortly burned down by enraged whites. Easton immediately led a funding drive to rebuild the church.

In the following year he published his seminal tract, *Treatise on the Intellectual Character, and Civil and Political Condition of the Colored People of the United States*, which addressed the discrimination facing the black community in a comprehensive and erudite manner. Here Easton again pleaded with whites to consider the negative effects racism had on their respective communities, invoking scripture in support of racial equality. He steadfastly

maintained that all people, regardless of skin color, were created by God and that blacks should celebrate, not denigrate, their African heritage. Easton died in Boston, little recognized, in 1837.

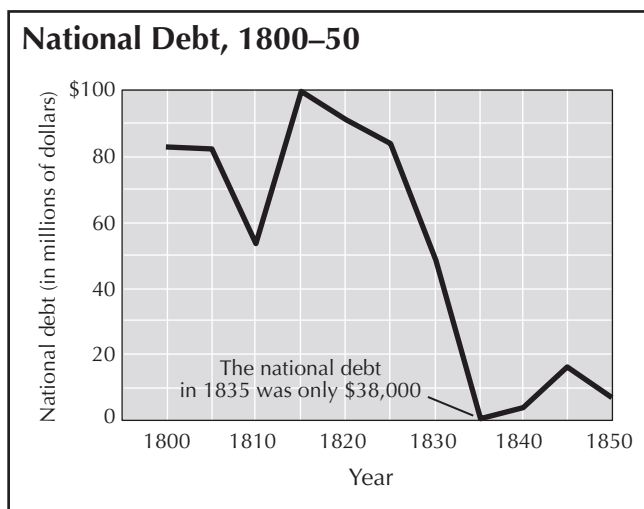
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—John C. Fredriksen

## **economy**

The American economy, the nation's system for producing and distributing wealth, grew dramatically in the period 1813–55. Growth was fed by an expanding land base, a burgeoning and productive population, industrialization, an improved transportation system, and technological advances. It was facilitated by a stable government that encouraged private enterprise and investment, and it was fueled by the ambition, energy, and creativity of Americans. However, the generally bright economic picture contained dark areas. The economy was periodically rocked by panics, or financial alarms leading to depressions. The BANKING AND CURRENCY systems were unstable. The gap between rich and poor was growing, with NATIVE AMERICANS and enslaved AFRICAN AMERICANS left out of the nation's growing prosperity. Furthermore, a serious divide was developing between the economies of North and South, the former increasingly based on manufacturing and the latter on cotton farming by slaves. But, overall, the majority of Americans did in one way or another benefit from the new opportunities afforded them throughout the antebellum period.

By any measure, the antebellum economy was surging. Per-capita real gross domestic product increased by 60 percent from 1800 to 1840. Real reproducible wealth per capita, a measure of how much wealth each American



possessed, grew from \$166 in 1805 to \$441 in 1850 (in 1929 dollars). In the late 1830s, the United States began to export more goods than it imported.

This rise of a truly national market economy was aided by the liberal economic theory of Adam Smith, the 18th-century British philosopher. Simply put, Smith embraced a notion of rugged entrepreneurialism, whereby individuals pursuing their own self-interest in a free marketplace were the best agent for generating wealth for themselves. The expected result, Smith said, would invariably come in the form of inexpensive goods and services, accompanied by a rise in wealth for that individual and everybody connected to them. Smith's philosophy resonated strongly with ANDREW JACKSON, who viewed his age as the "Age of the Common Man," and Americans proved both willing and innovative in the pursuit of free trade. Unlike in Europe, birth and title meant little in the free-market battleground of the United States in the early 19th century, and people's prosperity depended principally on their intrinsic talent for making money. Opportunities in new technologies and their economic application abounded throughout the antebellum period, and restless Americans, aided by an influx of equally eager immigrants, sparked and sustained a period of unprecedented economic growth.

Territorial expansion was crucial to American economic growth in this period. In the TREATY OF GHENT (1814), which ended the WAR OF 1812, Britain acknowledged undisputed American possession of the Northwest Territory, or the Old Northwest, an expanse of 266,000 square miles that comprises what are now Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota. Farther west, the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 added an additional 800,000 square miles of territory, while the acquisition of Florida (1821), the annexation of TEXAS (1845), the

OREGON TREATY (1846), the Mexican cession (1848, comprising California and the Southwest), and the GADSDEN PURCHASE (1853) brought the United States to its present continental borders. From 1800 to 1860, the territory of the United States more than tripled.

Population growth more than matched territorial expansion. Thanks to natural increase and surging immigration from Ireland, Germany, and elsewhere, the U.S. population rose from fewer than 4 million to more than 31 million from 1790 to 1860. Much of the new territory was in the public domain, and the government made it available to settlers at low prices. In 1832, for example, a family could buy 40 acres of public land in the West for \$50. As a result, pioneers to settle and create wealth in the new territory were easy to find. The percentage of Americans remaining in the East fell every decade from 1810 to 1860, so that by the latter date only 50 percent of Americans lived east of the Appalachians.

In the North, the Old Northwest attracted so many settlers that the region soon produced more agricultural goods than the Northeast, supplying sufficient food to allow the latter region to specialize in industrial production. In the South, farmers moved west to Alabama and Mississippi, in pursuit of new land for growing cotton, while the United States forced Native Americans in those areas to give up their lands and relocate farther west.

Another key to the nation's growth was an efficient transportation system. Frontier farmland was a worthless investment if crops could not be gotten to market. With federal and state aid, turnpikes proliferated throughout the antebellum period, including the NATIONAL ROAD, which linked Washington, D.C., with the Ohio Valley in 1818 and reached Vandalia, Illinois, by mid-century. By 1840 so many major arteries had been built east of the Mississippi that few others were added until the 20th century.

Waterways were even more attractive than roads for transporting goods, since a heavier load could be carried more cheaply on a barge than on a wagon. Steam power contributed to the growth in water traffic, by allowing goods and people to be shipped cheaply against a river's current or in the absence of favorable winds. Steamboats first became commercially viable in 1807, with American engineer Robert Fulton's launch of the *Clermont*. After the War of 1812 steamboats multiplied exponentially on the Mississippi River and its tributaries, opening up Midwestern farm products to larger and more lucrative markets at New Orleans and beyond. The steamboats also constituted a relatively cheap and reliable system of transportation for the new wave of settlers traveling through the region. Where rivers and lakes did not connect with each other, canals were dug. By 1840, the nation had more than 3,000 miles of canals, including the ERIE CANAL, completed in 1825 and 13 times longer than any previously attempted.

It spanned 365 miles from Albany to Buffalo, linking the Hudson River and the Great Lakes. The opening of the canal led to a dramatic drop in freighting costs from 20 cents a ton per mile to only two cents, again to the advantage of both producers and consumers.

Railroads provided yet another transportation solution, one that soon eclipsed that of canals. The first railways, opening in the 1820s, were horse-drawn, but the steam locomotive was vastly more powerful, as Peter Cooper demonstrated in 1830 with the *Tom Thumb*, the first U.S.-built locomotive. By 1860, the country was crisscrossed by about 30,000 miles of railroad track laid down by many railroad companies, including the BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD (B&O), the Pennsylvania Railroad, Pacific Railroad, and New York Central Railroad. The amount of track dwarfed the total railroad track laid elsewhere in the world and greatly reduced the travel time between major metropolitan centers. For example, by 1850, the time required to travel the important route between New York on the Atlantic coast and Chicago in the interior, previously six weeks, fell to only three days. The transportation revolution played an essential role in the explosion of the American economy and the ceaseless migration west.

The growing web of transportation served an economy that was still largely agricultural. As late as 1860, agricultural products accounted for 82 percent of U.S. exports. Leading American agricultural products included corn, wheat, rice, livestock, cotton, and tobacco. Most farmers practiced both subsistence and commercial AGRICULTURE, meeting their own country's food needs while also producing goods for export. The South was particularly agricultural in character; as late as 1860, more than 75 percent of southern workers were farmers, with most of the rest involved in processing or otherwise handling agricultural products.

Yet the national economy as a whole was beginning to be industrialized, moving away from an agricultural basis toward one based on large-scale, mechanized factory production. The South's most profitable crop, cotton, was shipped to northern factories and transformed into textiles. The proportion of American workers engaged in agriculture declined from 71.8 percent in 1820 to 58.9 percent in 1860. By 1849, manufacturing was the economy's most rapidly growing segment.

Industrialization in America began with New England's textile industry, which flourished throughout the antebellum period. Entrepreneurs such as Samuel Slater and Francis Cabot Lowell adapted British textile machinery for use in American factories, including those in Lowell, Massachusetts, incorporated as a city in 1836. By 1840, about 2.25 million spindles were at work producing cotton cloth in 1,200 factories, most of them in New England. Woolen manufacturing also advanced during this period, as did

other industries, everything from guns in Connecticut to straight pins in New York. From 1810 to 1850, the annual output of pig iron grew from 50,000 to 600,000 gross tons. Manufacturers such as Peter Cooper, SAMUEL COLT, Eleuthère Irénée Du Pont, William Colgate, and William Procter and James Gamble began to make fortunes that rivaled those of contemporaries such as CORNELIUS VANDERBILT, who made his money with shipping, and JOHN JACOB ASTOR, who made it with fur and real estate.

The rise of the factory system ushered in a gradual and unforeseen transformation of women's status in America. Textile mills set the precedent by demanding large numbers of unskilled but fairly intelligent workers, and these jobs proved an ideal outlet for young, unmarried, middle-class women, who constituted the nation's first wave of factory workers. Factory work involved living in dormitories and working long hours, but the women drew \$3.20 per week, roughly twice what they could expect as seamstresses, washerwomen, or domestic servants. They in turn acquired an independence heretofore unattainable in the close confines of village life, where most women were not expected to work outside the home. Nor did they passively accept their lot; in 1836, when the Lowell managers reduced their wages, 2,000 women walked off their jobs in protest and had their pay restored. By mid-century women were beginning to be replaced by male immigrants, who were not averse to working long hours at meager wages. At the same time females replaced many males in the teaching profession, and from this position many, such as Susan B. Anthony, began agitating for better social conditions and rights for women in general. Thus, the introduction of new technology and the mass participation of women in work outside the home leveled society's playing field in many respects. This set the groundwork for a gradual improvement of conditions for women.

Technological innovation brought growth in both the agricultural and industrial sectors, including CYRUS HALL MCCORMICK's mechanical, horse-drawn reaper (1831); Charles Goodyear's process for vulcanizing rubber, rendering it elastic in all weather (1839); and SAMUEL F. B. MORSE's telegraph, a form of long-distance communication by wire (demonstrated in 1844). Federal and state government support also helped, including tariffs that protected domestic industries, tax exemptions, monopoly privileges, and laws that made it easy to organize corporations and obtain financing.

For economic growth to occur, capital (accumulated wealth) was needed to finance land purchases and new business enterprises. Most entrepreneurs in the young nation had relatively little capital, but they found financing from a variety of sources, including direct or indirect aid from federal and state governments, loans from banks, sales of stock to investors, and capital from overseas, mainly

Britain. Up to 1839, Britain had invested more than \$170 million in American businesses. Capitalization in general was growing rapidly. From 1820 to 1840, capital funds invested in the nation's factories grew fivefold, from \$50 million to \$250 million.

Banks played an important role by pooling capital, in the form of deposits, and lending it out at interest to those who could put it to use. Most banks were state-chartered institutions, known as state banks, each with a reserve of gold and silver, known as specie, and its own paper money, issued in the form of banknotes. (Both gold and silver could be coined freely at the time, a monetary system called bimetallism, though by mid-century gold was increasingly displacing silver as the preferred coin.) In the absence of a uniform national currency, the spread of banknotes as a fluid medium of exchange was itself a spur to economic development, especially in frontier areas, where farmers otherwise had to rely on awkward media such as animal pelts or old foreign coins to complete transactions. The banks' loans—for construction, manufacturing, commerce, agriculture, and other enterprises—further stimulated growth. One study found that commercial banks supplied about 90 percent of the short-term credit needs of eight prominent textile mills in Massachusetts.

Although state banks were important in fueling economic expansion, they were also a source of economic instability when they printed too many banknotes or extended credit out of proportion with their reserves. They thereby contributed to panics, financial collapses that resulted when frightened depositors, no longer confident in the banks, tried to withdraw their deposits en masse, and banks responded by calling in loans from borrowers who could not pay. Panics struck in 1819, 1837, and 1857, each time with devastating consequences for those thrown out of work or left with worthless banknotes or foreclosed property.

Proponents of a federal central bank twice established a Bank of the United States to exert a stabilizing influence by refusing to accept banknotes from state banks not redeemable in specie actually possessed in their vaults. The first Bank of the United States lasted from 1791 to 1811, the second from 1816 to 1836. Political opposition brought about the demise of both. In the second case, President ANDREW JACKSON led the opposition, arguing that the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES was anti-democratic and served the exclusive interests of wealthy eastern businessmen against farmers and western frontiersmen. Jackson waged a successful "Bank War" in Congress to ensure that the bank's charter was not renewed in 1836. Even before then, he drained the bank's assets, shifting them to state banks called "pet banks."

With income from tariffs and the sale of western public lands, Jackson succeeded in paying off the national debt

in 1835. But his economic victories were short-lived. The risky speculation of the pet banks and of even more reckless institutions called wildcat banks led to higher interest rates and rampant inflation. In response to the growing financial chaos, Jackson in 1836 issued the Specie Circular, which declared that only gold and silver coin would henceforth be acceptable for purchase of public lands. Taking the Specie Circular as a sign that paper money had lost its value, investors rushed to their banks to demand that their banknotes be exchanged for specie. The result was the PANIC OF 1837. The ensuing slump, part of a worldwide depression, lasted seven years and left a trail of closed banks and failed businesses. One unexpected outcome of the panic was a mass migration of debt-ridden Americans to the frontier, especially to Texas, which was newly independent and promised new arrivals free homesteads. Within a decade its population surged from 30,000 to 146,000. Other families wishing to escape creditors and start new lives triggered the initial surge of settlers headed for Oregon and CALIFORNIA, both of which would be in American hands by mid-century.

In 1846 Congress tried again to add a stabilizing force to the economy with the Independent Treasury System. Federal funds were placed in an independent treasury, or subtreasury, system separate from all banks, with all payments to and by the federal government in specie. The Independent Treasury System restrained overspeculation, but it also kept specie out of the market and tightened credit excessively. Meanwhile, banking abuses, such as overspeculation, remained commonplace, and currency remained confusing, with each bank issuing its own notes. The National Currency Act (1863) and the National Bank Act (1864) helped by creating a national banking system and national currency alongside the state banking system.

As the economy grew, society changed and new social tensions emerged. The lure of factory jobs drew immigrants and rural residents to towns and cities, increasing such urban problems as poor sanitation and epidemic disease. During the 1840s, towns and cities of 8,000 or more people grew by 90 percent, a rate much greater than that of the U.S. population as a whole (36 percent). Economic inequality grew as wealth became concentrated in fewer hands. A growing class of factory wage laborers took the place of a shrinking class of independent artisans and craft workers. From 1774 to 1860 the share of wealth owned by the top 1 percent of Americans grew from 13 to 29 percent. While industrialization improved standards of living by lowering prices for manufactured goods, in many cases it also made for bad working conditions. In the 1830s, labor unions began to grow as workers protested wage cuts and demanded that workdays be reduced from 13½ to 10 hours.

The most serious national tension in this period was that between North and South, which worsened as a result of economic change. North and South were increasingly



becoming two nations, the former progressing through industrialization, the latter stagnating as a result of its commitment to a single crop, cotton, and an economically inefficient system of mobilizing labor, SLAVERY. Up through the mid-century, southern cotton proved indispensable to New England and mid-Atlantic textile mills, whose business leaders enjoyed cordial and profitable relations with aristocratic planters of the Cotton Belt. But perception changed through the agitation of abolitionists, who gradually turned public opinion against slave labor. That system was increasingly viewed by northerners as morally intolerable and defended by southerners as indispensable. The two societies, with their radically different economies, ultimately clashed in the cataclysm of the Civil War (1861–65).

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—George Ochoa

## education

American education in the first half of the 19th century was marked by idealistic reform and economic necessity. Its development was closely tied to the needs of a growing and geographically expanding populace as well as to the desires of a country determined to distinguish itself from Europe, in part by developing public and private roles for educating the country.

In 1797 the American Philosophical Society sponsored a contest requesting essays on a “system of liberal education and literary instruction, adapted to the genius of the govern-

ment of the United States.” Generally, the essayists called for an educational system that would create a literate citizenry who could support and defend the new country. Two decades earlier, in 1779, Thomas Jefferson envisioned a more expansive plan for a national school system that spanned free grammar schools to universities and encompassed training in the classical and modern arts and sciences. Further, he posited that those who excelled at school, whatever their social rank, should be called on to be the nation’s leaders. This, he believed, would bring fresh ideas to the nation. Yet despite agreement on the importance of education among early American thinkers and philosophers, it took much of the first half of the 19th century to transform the government and its people into supporters of regulated public education.

In the early 19th century, movement toward public education began slowly. Most elementary schooling at the time occurred in the district school. Funded through taxation of district households, it was open to all children of the community, usually from ages three to 17. In the average school, students of all ages shared the same single classroom.

Beginning in the 1820s, Whig-affiliated educational reformers introduced one of the most successful movements of the century, the public-school program called the common school movement. Headed by leading thinkers such as Henry Barnard and HORACE MANN, the movement pushed for the public education of all elementary-age white children in local schools supervised by the state and regularized under the guidance of state boards of education.

Mann, in particular, was instrumental in promoting the common school and public education. A lawyer and Massachusetts state legislator, he became the first secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education in 1837, in answer to a desire to engage in good works following his wife’s death. He served in this role until 1848, working to raise statewide support for public education. He spoke throughout the state on how public education promoted an efficient workforce and a culturally and personally enriched citizenry. Through his *Common School Journal*, teachers gained pedagogical skills; through his annual reports, circulated nationwide, the country became interested in public education. Also through his efforts, public school-teachers’ salaries were increased substantially.

Over the course of two decades, school construction increased, and by the mid-19th century, there were many varieties of educational facilities in the United States, reaching increasing numbers and types of students. In 1830, combined attendance for white students between five and 19 years of age was 35 percent; by 1850, it had increased to 50.4 percent. Public common-school attendance in 1850 totaled about 4 million, or over 55 percent of the common school-age population. The greatest number of public schools were located in New England, followed



This engraving shows a white teacher barring African-American children from entering a school. (Library of Congress)

by the Midwest, while public schooling in the southern states would become commonplace within the next half-century.

Other changes accompanied this rise in school attendance. One was the development of mass teaching materials, particularly schoolbooks. While 18th- and early 19th-century children had been trained on Noah Webster's *American Spelling Book* and the Bible, many mid-19th century public schoolchildren learned from professor and Presbyterian minister WILLIAM HOLMES MCGUFFEY's *Eclectic First Reader* and its later editions. First published in 1836, the books were graded readers that presented a wide variety of material reinforcing Western morality and ethics as well as a common culture. By 1857, six McGuffey editions had been published, with 7 million copies sold.

Another change begun in the antebellum years was an increase in the number of female schoolteachers. Formerly a male preserve, the growing number of schools created a need for morally upright, low-wage sources of labor in large quantity. The feminization of education was championed by educator and reformer Catharine Beecher. Founder of academies for women, she wrote works including *An Essay on the Education of Female Teachers* (1835), which proclaimed that the expertise of women in developing moral sensibility would make them superior teachers. She also understood that teaching was one of the few professions open to women. Together, Beecher's moral and practical arguments served their purpose and turned the teaching profession into a women's bastion by the post-Civil War years.

Higher education was represented in great numbers of schools but educated relatively few students. According to estimates in the *American Journal of Education*, 6,000 academies existed in the United States in 1856, serving approximately 250,000 students. Given that the prewar secondary school-age white population of 15 to 24 totaled about 4.1 million, this meant that between 10 and 15 percent of students were receiving higher education.

While overall involvement in higher education was lower than it was for primary grades, the increasing number of academies represented a commitment to U.S. secondary education.

This commitment extended to colleges, with several dozens founded between the American Revolution and the American Civil War. According to the *American Almanac*, 46 colleges were established by 1831; less than two decades later, the 1850 census listed 119 colleges. Many of these antebellum schools have been long-lived: Sixty-six of the 173 colleges lasting into the 20th century were founded in the 1850s. Notably, these colleges were established across the United States, not concentrated in one region. This development also attested to a national interest in developing educational outlets.

As the number of U.S. colleges grew, so did the percentage of college-educated students. According to historical estimates, in 1830, 17 out of 10,000 students had received some form of American college education. In 1850, the number had risen to 1.25 percent of the U.S. college-age population.

Despite this overall increase in college attendance, more sites for higher education were built than the populace could use. One reason for this overdevelopment in the first half of the 19th century was the financial worth of an academy or college to a new community. The promise of such an institution brought more settlers and more money to a community than did an elementary school.

Most of these antebellum schools were affiliated with religious denominations. In large part, these affiliations to various Christian denominations reflected the religion of the community and those leaders who would support the institution. In this early part of the 19th century, the affiliations were less concerned with the particulars of the religion than in providing a source of financial support. To convey their own religious tenets, many of these civic-minded school supporters would build their own religiously grounded colleges.

Befitting the many changes to education during the period, higher education was also being transformed, particularly at elite schools. After centuries of a standard classical curriculum, the educational programs at colleges such as Harvard or Yale were about to change. Up until the 1820s, students followed a course of study that included learning Latin and Greek languages and history in order to prepare them for entry into the professions. Specialized study of subjects was seen as secondary.

As late as the 1820s, this support of the classical standard was upheld by public statements such as the Yale Report of 1828, but several factors would change this approach. Among these factors were the pervasive effects of atheistic Enlightenment thinking; inadequate college teaching of the classical languages, which diluted their

power; and the move toward granting specialized degrees in subject area and level of schooling. By the 1850s, religiously affiliated colleges were undergoing a period of transition that culminated in higher educational reform in the post-Civil War years.

Along with the founding of colleges was the flourishing of learning through noninstitutional means such as newspapers, agricultural fairs, and particularly the adult-education program known as the lyceum. Begun in 1826 in Massachusetts, lyceums soon expanded nationally, and within a decade, several thousand such institutions were operating. Culture in variety was the lyceum's hallmark, with major lyceums such as the Cooper Union in New York City presenting speeches and demonstrations by writers, artists, and statesmen. The lyceum was influential in promoting a national culture and ideas of social progress.

Throughout the first half of the 19th century, hundreds of thousands of AFRICAN AMERICANS faced increasingly stringent codes that forbade slave education. Although this undercut the 18th-century move toward building African free schools in the cities, educational training still continued, privately, among African Americans and with whites, though the literacy rate among slaves stood at about 5 percent. Just before the Civil War, in 1855, Boston became the first city to integrate its public schools.

By the mid-1850s, school enrollment on all levels was rising, mirroring growing government support and an increasing population, much of it foreign-born. With 50 percent of the population of New York City born outside the United States and other cities also containing high immigrant populations, public education was being viewed as vital public policy. Such thinking stemmed from reformers like Horace Mann and Catharine Beecher, who believed that schooling was both practical and idealistic. It would prepare U.S. citizens for an increasingly industrialized society and would decrease such potential social problems as, according to one reformer, "intemperance, avarice, war, slavery, [and] bigotry." By raising literacy and mathematical skills, American education would provide a surer social footing to immigrants and reduce their need to return to the country they once called home. After all, few countries—not France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, or Scotland—could match the 90-percent literacy rate among whites that the United States would enjoy in 1860.

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—Melinda Corey

## election of 1828

The election of 1828 is widely considered a watershed in the history of the American state, primarily because it brought ANDREW JACKSON to power, inaugurating a westward shift in the nation's center of political gravity and a dramatic increase in the power of the presidency. It is also significant for the emergence of the first true political party machine, created by MARTIN VAN BUREN to deliver the White House to Jackson.

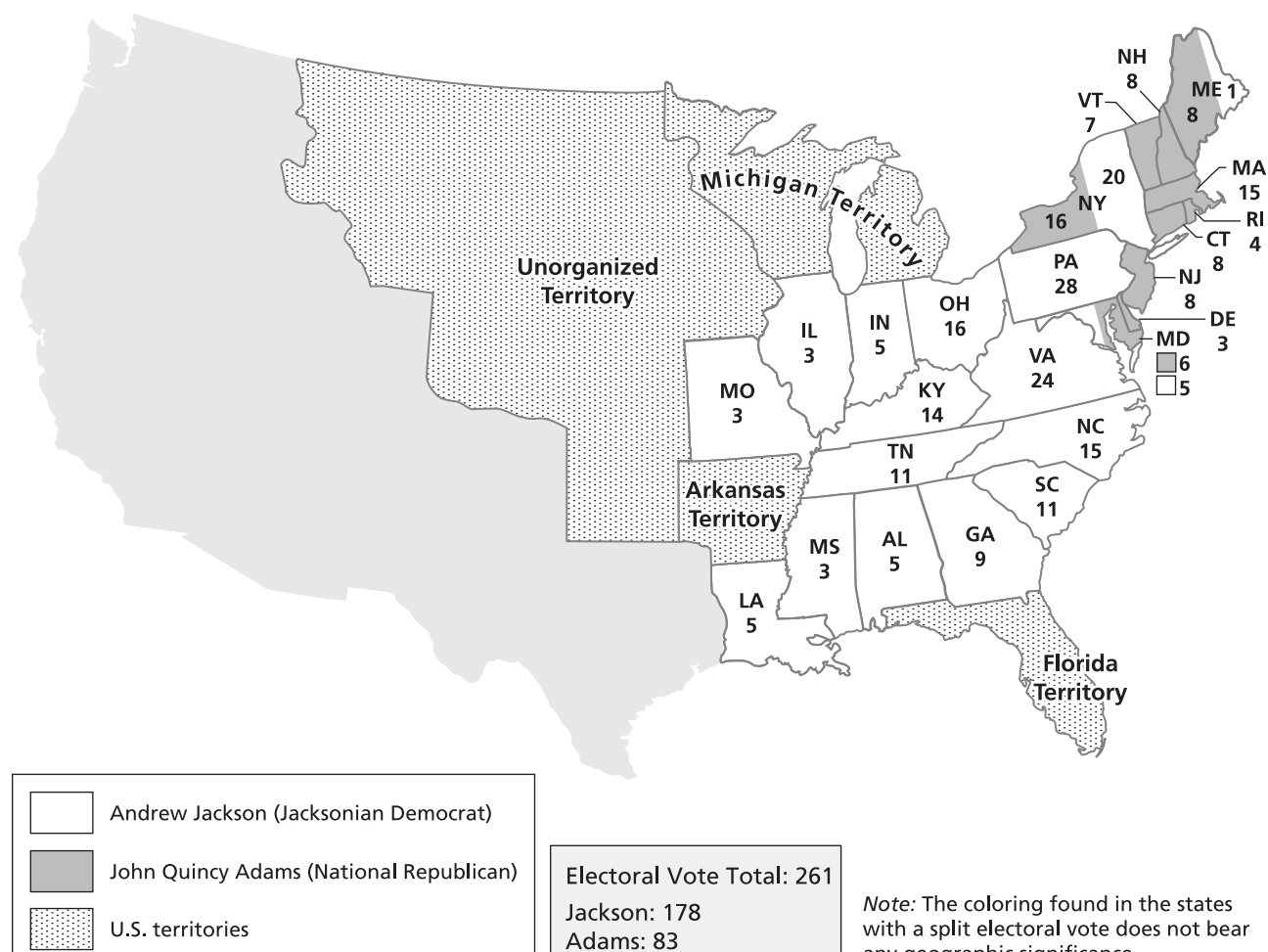
Both Van Buren's machine and Jackson's election were direct consequences of the disastrous electoral deadlock of 1824. That year, the Democratic-Republican Party (or DEMOCRATIC PARTY) of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, which had been without rival since the disintegration of the Federalist Party during the WAR OF 1812, had fractured. Unable to agree on a successor to the almost universally beloved JAMES MONROE, party leaders had broken into regional factions, with southern agrarian interests generally favoring Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford, northern traders and manufacturers halfheartedly backing Secretary of State JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, and Speaker of the House HENRY CLAY seeking to represent the settlers of the newer western territories. Unfortunately for Clay, the West chose a different champion: Andrew Jackson. Elected a U.S. senator of Tennessee, Jackson had skillfully positioned himself as the champion of the poor and the scourge of wealth and privilege, to the horror of his initial patrons.

Jackson won a plurality of both the popular and the electoral vote, but fell well short of the absolute electoral majority necessary. For the second time in the life of the young republic, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives. Jackson's partisans argued that his twin pluralities were a mandate to the House for his election; Henry Clay, having been eliminated by virtue of his fourth-place finish, disagreed and lobbied his colleagues assiduously for the election of Adams, who eventually emerged victorious in the House by a single vote. When Adams then appointed Clay secretary of state, a position he had long sought, furious Jacksonians denounced it as evidence of a "corrupt bargain" which had blocked the ascension of the "legitimate" victor, Jackson.

Whether an explicit deal had in fact been made and whether leading Jacksonians believed it had remain subjects of historical debate. What is clear is that the "bargain" led to an irreparable breach within the Democratic-Republican Party, with the supporters of the victorious Adams styling themselves as the National Republican Party (1825–1833) and the adherents of Jackson retaining the older name.

The Jacksonian movement is often seen as the product of a western clique. In truth, however, no man did more than New Yorker Martin Van Buren to ensure Jackson's ascent. It was Van Buren who led the four-year siege that

## U.S. Presidential Elections: Electoral Vote, 1828



was the John Quincy Adams administration. Van Buren fashioned a disciplined, nationwide network that relentlessly promoted the central myth of the Jacksonian cause: that Old Hickory, the simple honest man of the frontier, was chosen by the people but swindled of his and their destiny by the corrupt aristocracy of the wealthy and well connected. Van Buren oversaw the systematic placement of pro-Jackson editors atop newspapers across the country, most notably Duff Green, who as editor of the Washington-based *Telegraph* tirelessly questioned Adams's honesty and patriotism.

In this campaign of character assassination, the Jacksonians were ably assisted by Adams himself. Urbane, educated, and cosmopolitan, Adams was likely the finest mind on the North American continent. Unfortunately,

his stubborn high-mindedness, aloof manner, and contentious nature were off-putting to many, who viewed him as snobbish and egotistical. His father's role as founder of the Federalist Party and an alleged monarchist likewise did not promote the image of Adams as "a man of the people." Even more serious, in his patrician disdain for factionalism of all kinds, Adams refused to reward friends and punish enemies. Seeking always to assemble the ablest men in the public's service, he did not discharge even those who openly joined his opposition or called for his defeat.

Adams's ambitious vision of strong federal leadership also hindered his cause. His calls for federal control of public lands to ensure more rational settlement and for federal protection of Native American lands to uphold



treaty rights were anathema to Jackson's supporters in the West. His various proposals for a national university, an education system, scientific and artistic institutions, comprehensive public works, and infrastructure programs all generated fear among the southern elites, who increasingly viewed strong states' rights as a necessity in the maintenance of slavery. His support for the BANK OF THE UNITED STATES alienated a broad array of its debtors and competitors. Most damaging was his support for a strong tariff to aid the development of American manufacturing and development. The southern planters, who faced stiff retaliation on their agricultural exports by the European nations, denounced the 1828 tariff as the "Tariff of Abominations."

Led by Van Buren, the Jacksonians promoted their hero as everything they said Adams was not: self-made, gruff, plainspoken, passionate, agrarian, democratic, manly, anti-intellectual, a strict states'-rights constructionist, and, most of all, opposed to economic privilege. Jackson's image of inarticulate morality proved quite useful in his party's strategy. To be as many things to as many men as possible, Jackson avoided detailing his views on the complicated economic and legal issues of the day, instead campaigning on his personal biography and charisma.

Running on values and biography had its risks, however. Adams and his supporters did not appreciate being called "corrupt," "aristocratic," and "undemocratic," or being constantly portrayed as closet monarchists and stooges of the rich. They fought back hard, labeling Jackson as "vicious," "barbaric," and "bloodthirsty." They accused him of conducting atrocities against Indians and army deserters, and they described him as having ungovernable passions manifested by fits of fury and "intemperate behavior." (This last charge had the virtue of being true.) Most disgraceful of all were the aspersions spread by the Adams forces on the character of Jackson's wife, Rachel, for the unknowing bigamy of her first years of marriage to Jackson; so distressing were the slanders that Rachel died of a heart attack shortly after the election. In return, Jackson's followers accused Adams of misappropriating federal funds, spending public monies lavishly on extreme personal luxury, and of acting as a pimp.

The Jacksonians also made attractive campaign promises, perhaps the most significant of which was "rotation in office," more commonly known as the spoils system. Arguing the democratically flattering view that any decent man of basic education could perform most of the jobs in government, the Jacksonians promised to sweep out the hated appointees of Adams and, incidentally, replace them with Jackson loyalists. As Jackson adherent William Macy famously said, "To the victor belong the spoils!" How, in fact, this was different from the arrangement Adams allegedly made with Clay was tactfully left unexplained.

In the end, Jackson defeated Adams by a healthy margin, 56 percent to 44 percent in the popular vote and 178 to 83 in the electoral count. Van Buren went so far as to resign from the Senate and run for governor of New York to ensure that its electors would be in Jackson's camp.

Despite the outrageous mudslinging and the debates about the tariff, the rights of the states, and the power of the Bank of the United States, in the end there was really only one issue in 1828: the election of 1824. Jackson had not won in 1824, but in the scramble to build an enduring majority that followed, his party had built both a myth and a machine that would carry the day in 1828, and in five of the seven presidential elections thereafter.

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—Dorothy Cummings

## election of 1840

The election of 1840 saw two milestones in American history. The victory of the WHIG PARTY opposition marked the end of the ad-hoc factionalism that had characterized the earlier era and firmly established the two-party system of American politics. At the same time, the innovative Whig campaign pioneered the modes and patterns of voter persuasion that have dominated campaigns ever since.

The nation approached the 1840 election preoccupied by four great issues: the extent of states' rights, the power of the executive, the structure of the financial system, and the expansion of the union. The contours of federalism continued to divide the nation into sections. On one hand, the NULLIFICATION CONTROVERSY of seven years earlier remained an open wound, estranging hard-line states' rights advocates like JOHN C. CALHOUN from the dominant DEMOCRATIC PARTY. On the other hand, nationalists such as HENRY CLAY and DANIEL WEBSTER had never reconciled themselves to the Democrats' states'-rights stance and became the organizing force of the new Whig coalition.

An individual's preference as to the relative power of the federal government and the states was not necessarily an indicator of his views on the balance of power between Congress and the presidency, however. Clay and Webster, for instance, both supported a strong central government but a weak executive within it; Calhoun opposed measures that strengthened either the national government or its president; while ANDREW JACKSON and MARTIN VAN BUREN supported states' rights and a powerful executive.

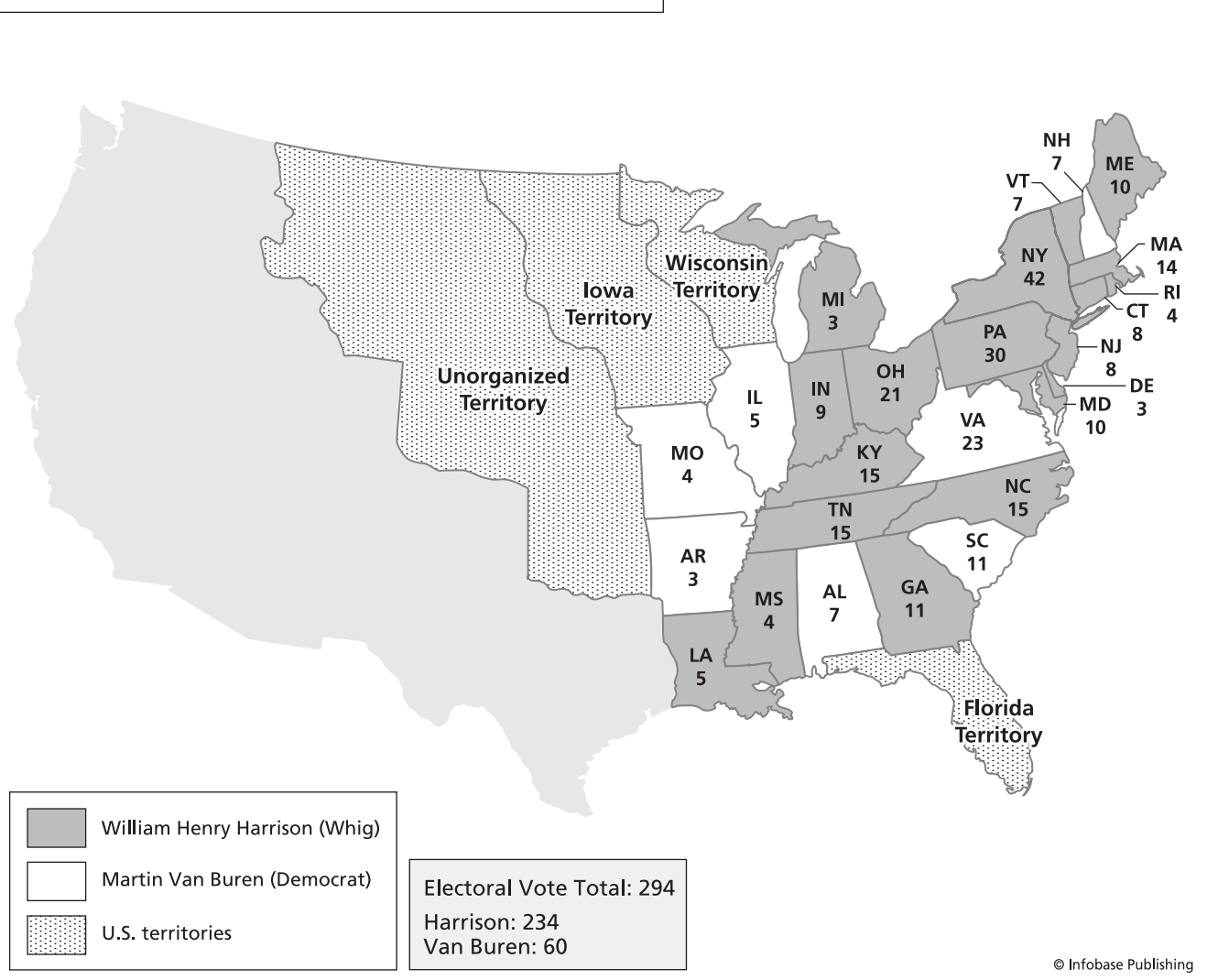


Disagreements over the proper model of federalism were enmeshed in the economic interests of the various factions and sections. These issues had come to a head in the struggle over the **SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES**. After his reelection in 1832, President Jackson had refused to recharter the Bank of the United States, whose policies favored his political opponents. The efforts of bank president Nicholas Biddle to compel charter renewal by constricting the nation's credit supply had led to an alarming deflation. An unregulated increase in the issuing of state banknotes following the bank's closure in 1836 further aggravated the situation, leading to the **PANIC OF 1837** and crashing the national economy just weeks after Van Buren's inauguration. President Van Buren correctly diagnosed the underlying cause of the nation's economic ills to be overspeculation and, true to his party's stated principles, called for an independent

treasury to remove the federal government from the banking system altogether. Further hewing to laissez-faire economics, Van Buren declined to provide general relief to failing businesses. This stand provoked sustained public criticism from the Whigs, who insisted that the federal government was responsible for safeguarding the economic well-being of its citizens when prosperity failed; this novel view became an enduring theme of American politics.

Adding to the nation's sense of frustration were a long and inconclusive war with the Seminole nation of Florida and southern Georgia and Van Buren's deliberate foot-dragging on the annexation of Texas. The recent Texas revolution, led by close Jackson ally and Democrat Sam Houston, had successfully defeated the Mexican army, and sentiment in favor of the "inevitable" admission of Texas to the union was strong in the South and West. Van Buren

### U.S. Presidential Elections: Electoral Vote, 1840



was cautious, however. Mexico still claimed sovereignty and threatened war, and the admission of another slave state could upset the delicate balance on the smoldering issue of SLAVERY.

It was against this background of economic depression and expansionist frustration that the new Whig Party made its most important decision: to unite behind a single candidate. In 1836, the loose anti-Jacksonian coalition had nominated several sectional candidates for the presidency in an attempt to deadlock the electoral college and throw the selection of a president into the House of Representatives; that plan had proved disastrous in the face of the truly national party the Democrats had become. The Whig Party's single-candidate decision in 1840 sealed the future of American politics as a continuing clash between two broad, ideologically vague coalitions.

The Whigs would prove no less trailblazing in their decision as to who that single man would be. Henry Clay, the primary architect of the new coalition, wanted the job and was the expected choice. But the other leaders of the new party had learned much observing the hated Jackson and Van Buren. In 1840, they resolved to out-Jackson the Democrats in their choice of candidate and out-Van Buren them in their electioneering antics. Rather than initiating the "great debate" always sought by Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, the Whigs ran a cheerfully irrelevant campaign of images, slogans, and symbolism.

The nominee chosen for this new project was William Henry Harrison, who had run as one of the sectional candidates four years before. Tall and lean—like Jackson—Harrison was a former general and Indian fighter from the West—like Jackson. In truth, that was where the similarities ended. While Jackson had risen from humble beginnings on merit and compiled a glittering war record, Harrison was the scion of a wealthy old Virginia family who owed his military appointments and political career to social connections. His education was elite but undistinguished and his military record respectable but unimpressive in achievement.

By the time the Whig "Log Cabin and Cider" campaign was finished, all such distinctions between the hardscrabble Jackson and the aristocratic Harrison had been erased. Deliberately echoing Jackson's nickname of "Old Hickory," Harrison was christened "Old Tippecanoe" after his most notable military action, a minor Indian skirmish recast as a great and heroic American victory. In a campaign that marked the emergence of banners, placards, buttons, bunting, and grandiloquent nonsense as the trappings of American politics, the reserved Harrison was misrepresented to the public as a cider-drinking, two-fisted frontiersman who lived in a log cabin.

The Democrats rallied behind Van Buren—who was known variously as "The Little Magician," "The

Red Fox of Kinderhook" and, in a bow to Jackson, "Old Kinderhook"—and fought back. Supporters organized themselves into "O.K. Clubs" (for "Old Kinderhook"), a phenomenon that introduced the idiom "OK" into the American vernacular. Van Buren's partisans attacked Harrison's alleged lack of intellectual ability, citing no less an authority than Harrison campaign manager Henry Clay, who had referred to his party's standard-bearer as a "bumpkin." But their assaults proved no more effective than their opponents' similar charges had against Jackson. Indeed, Whig leaders managed to reprise many of the anti-intellectual and class aspersions Democrats had cast on JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The result was another innovation that would become commonplace in American politics: an inversion in which Martin Van Buren, the self-made tavern keeper's son and dogged battler of entrenched privilege, was portrayed as an elitist, while William Henry Harrison, the aristocratic mediocrity, was presented as the common man's soul mate.

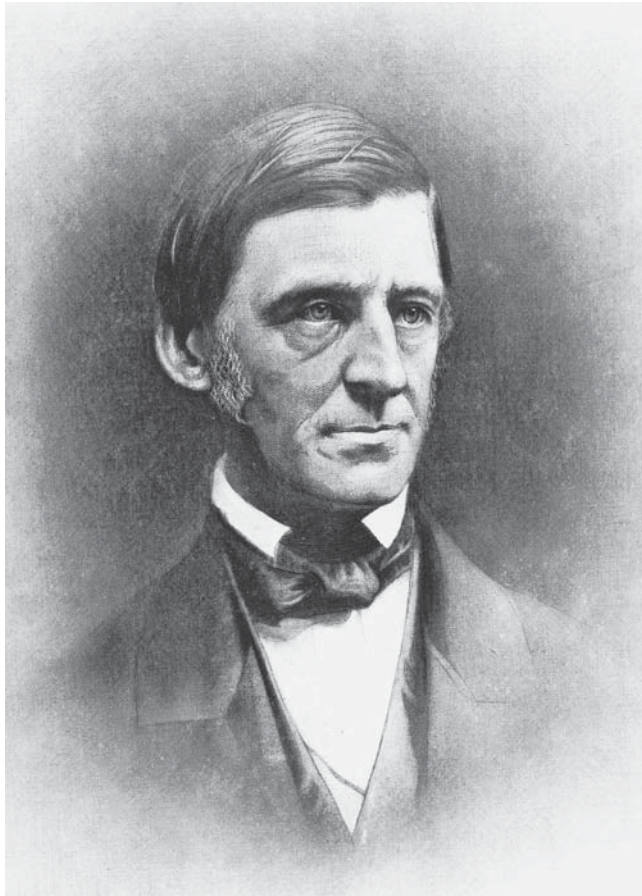
It is impossible in retrospect to determine which was more decisive in the race's result—Harrison's dynamic persona or the continuing economic malaise. What is clear is that the Whig refrain of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" (referring also to vice presidential candidate JOHN TYLER) carried the day. Harrison swamped Van Buren in the electoral college 234 to 60, though the popular vote was much closer at 53 percent to 47 percent.

Harrison, trying to live up to his freshly minted myth, went coatless on inauguration day and died of pneumonia a month later. The Whigs would survive only until 1858. But in their landmark campaign of 1840, they firmly imprinted both the underlying structure and the surface decoration on the American party system.

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—Dorothy Cummings

**Emerson, Ralph Waldo** (1803–1882) *scholar, writer* Philosopher, lecturer, poet, essayist, and the father of transcendentalism, Ralph Waldo Emerson was also a passionate abolitionist whose writings condemned both southern slaveholders and those northerners who were not fully committed to freedom for AFRICAN AMERICANS. Initially unenthusiastic about Abraham Lincoln, Emerson became a supporter during the Civil War and delivered a widely reprinted eulogy upon the death of the president.



Ralph Waldo Emerson (Library of Congress)

Born on May 25, 1803, Emerson was the son of a Unitarian pastor named William Emerson, who died in 1811, and Ruth Haskins Emerson. He was educated at the Boston Latin School, then at the Harvard Divinity School, and in 1829 he was ordained. After obtaining a position as second pastor at the Second Church of Boston, he married Ellen Tucker, who died only 18 months later. Because of his doubts about Unitarian doctrine, Emerson left the church and traveled to Europe, seeking knowledge and exposure to a wider range of thought.

In Britain, Emerson met Thomas Carlyle and other thinkers, whose ideas prompted a reexamination of his spirituality when he returned to Massachusetts in 1833. That same year, Emerson married for a second time, to Lydia Jackson. He began to lecture widely on spiritual issues, developing a philosophy that is known today as transcendentalism. In 1836, he published *Nature*, his first book, which outlined transcendentalism broadly. In 1837, at Harvard, Emerson delivered an address entitled "The American Scholar," which called for America to establish its own intellectual traditions apart from Europe. From

1840 until 1844, he and Margaret Fuller edited a literary journal dedicated to the TRANSCENDENTAL MOVEMENT called *The Dial*. Emerson would publish essays and poems throughout his life, always emphasizing individuality and the importance of the self.

Emerson succeeded Margaret Fuller as editor of *The Dial*, and during its continuance, until April 1844, he published more than 40 of his own pieces, prose and verse, in its columns. The poems included such famous ones as "The Problem," "Woodnotes," "The Sphinx," and "Fate." While the periodical contained much delicate and valuable writing, it failed due to lack of financial support. As chief intellectual leader of the idealists, Emerson took a close interest in the semisocialistic experiment at BROOK FARM (1840–47), with which some of the cleverest New England men and women of that day were connected, but he did not join the community. Nathaniel Hawthorne, who was actually a member and lost money in the undertaking, has been criticized for having viewed it independently; but Emerson, outside, held a similar neutral attitude, and wrote an account of the affair, in which, touching it humorously at points, he called it "*a French Revolution in small, an Age of Reason in a patty pan.*"

In addition to its focus on individuality, transcendentalism also embraced change. Perhaps this reflected, in part, Emerson's conviction that the society in which he lived was flawed by SLAVERY. A committed abolitionist, Emerson traveled widely before the Civil War, arguing everywhere that slavery should be destroyed. Occasionally these beliefs spurred a violent reaction, as when he was mobbed in 1861. During the war, he wrote widely on the progress of the conflict and on its aims.

Early in the Civil War, Emerson's reaction to Abraham Lincoln was guarded. Lincoln's folksy manner and lack of interest in the trappings of refinement were distasteful to the philosopher. In addition, Emerson was disappointed by Lincoln's avowed preference for a war to save the Union rather than a war to abolish slavery. Over time, however, Emerson came to believe in Lincoln's leadership. The two men met in 1862, very close to the publication of Emerson's essay "American Civilization," which argued that northerners could not plead innocence with regard to slavery. Because northern citizens were not fully committed to abolition, he suggested, they bore a portion of the blame for slavery. In 1863, Emerson expressed his support of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in a poem entitled "Boston Hymn." After the president's assassination, he spoke at a memorial in Concord, Massachusetts, calling Lincoln "the father of his country."

Although Emerson continued to write and speak for the rest of his life, his work after the Civil War was focused mainly on his philosophy of life rather than on politics. On April 27, 1882, he died of pneumonia.

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—Gina Ladinsky

### Era of Good Feelings

The Era of Good Feelings (or Feeling) is usually placed between the TREATY OF GHENT (1814) and the election of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS in 1824. It was marked by three characteristics: nationalism, prosperity, and party unity. Although the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15) ended in a stalemate, Americans came to believe that it was a great triumph. In part, this sense of pride stemmed from the war's last battle, the BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS (January 8, 1815), which was a tremendous victory for American arms. In part, too, just the idea of having fought the greatest power on earth to a standstill represented a victory for the republic. With the war behind them, Americans could concentrate on their own continent, acquiring FLORIDA in 1819 and coveting much of the rest of the continent. Everything seemed possible, and this optimism spread to the ECONOMY as a wild economic boom swept the nation. Land speculation was rampant, fed by the expansion of banking within the states and in the creation of the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES. Cotton prices, too, increased dramatically leading to greater production. Good feelings even seemed to enter politics. The first party system, pitting Federalists against Democratic-Republicans, disintegrated in the wake of the HARTFORD CONVENTION. The Federalists had been losing ground since 1800, and their opposition to the war destroyed them as a national force. JAMES MONROE won the 1816 election, 183–34, in the electoral college; by 1820, single-party government led to a 231–1 electoral college margin—and the single vote was for a member of Monroe's own cabinet.

Although the pride in American nationhood continued, neither the booming economy nor the party unity could last. The PANIC OF 1819 led to a recession that continued into the 1820s. Democratic-Republican politicians soon divided into warring camps and gave birth to a second-party system. By the time John Quincy Adams was elected president in 1824, growing conflicts over SLAVERY and other issues had brought the Era of Good Feelings to an end.

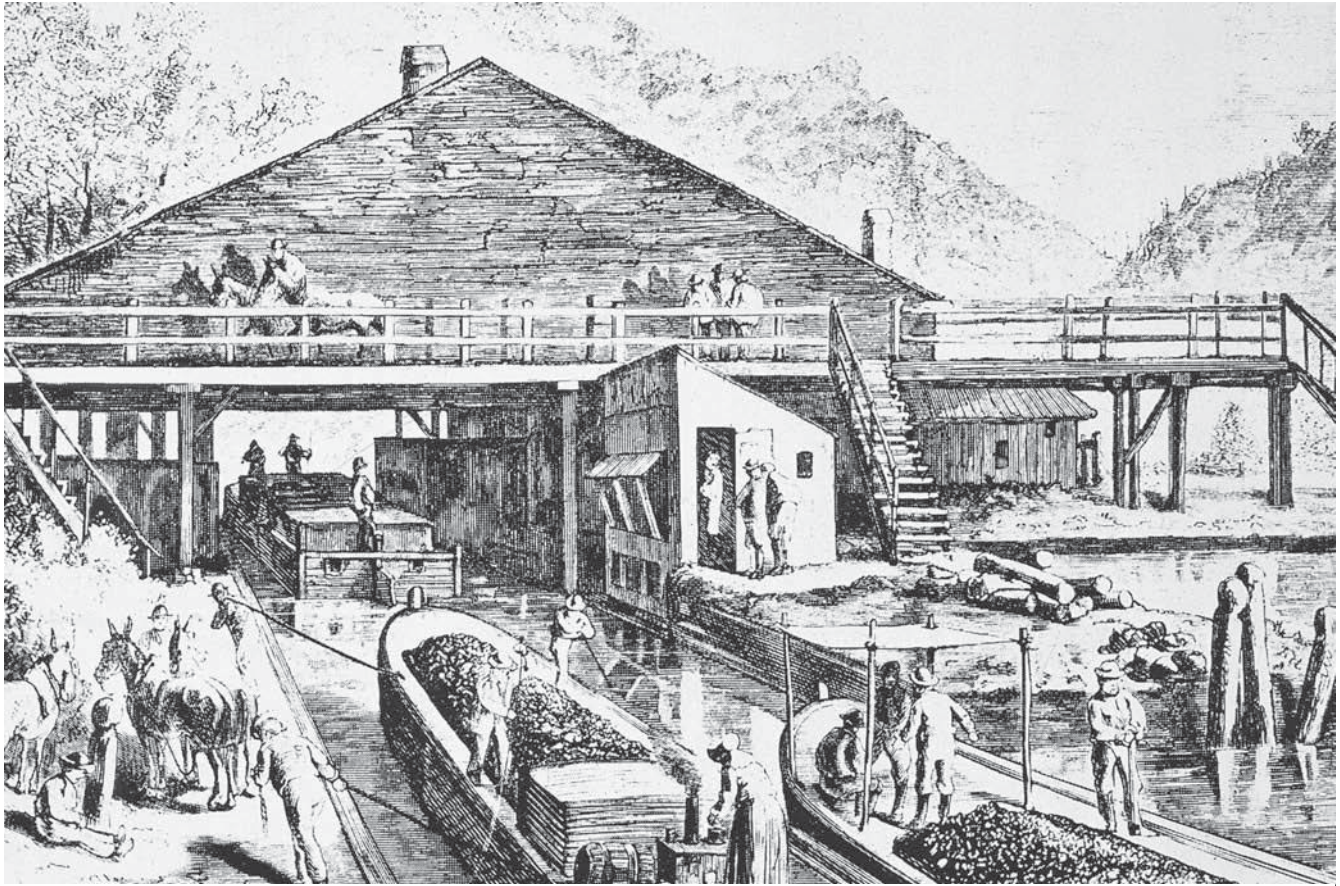
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### Erie Canal

The most important and successful building project of the CANAL ERA was the construction of the Erie Canal. With the rapid increase of settlement in New York State after the American Revolution, businessmen and politicians began to discuss the possibility of constructing a waterway to facilitate trade and transportation between Lake Erie and the Hudson River, thereby connecting the port of New York City with the developing Northwest. As early as 1792, the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company began to build dams, locks, and canals, but never managed to construct more than a few miles of waterway. In the 1800s, new proposals for a canal system began to appear. In 1807, Jesse Hawley wrote a series of essays arguing that an east-west route was indeed possible. He thought that the route of an “artificial river” had already been laid out by God and only needed to be finished by humans. The following year, the New York legislature passed a bill authorizing surveyors to search for possible routes. In 1810, a canal commission was created to begin searching for ways to finance this project. The commission asked for federal funding, but President James Madison eventually vetoed their proposal in 1817. That same year, DeWitt Clinton, one of the canal project's main promoters, was elected governor of New York. He decided to proceed with the proposed canal plan using state funding. He persuaded the legislature to authorize construction of the Erie Canal as well as the Champlain Canal, which would connect Albany to Lake Champlain in the northeastern corner of the state. On July 4, 1817, with much fanfare, Clinton and his supporters broke the ground for the beginning of canal construction.

Construction of the canal began in the middle section, 98 miles of which were completed by 1819. By 1820, the western and middle portions of the canal were already in use. In 1823 the canal finally reached the Hudson. Two years later, the enormous project was complete from Buffalo to Albany. This unprecedented engineering accomplishment was celebrated across the region, as farmers, merchants, and artisans looked forward to an expanded market for their goods. The Erie Canal was an instant financial and public relations success; tolls paid for its construction costs in only a short time. Almost immediately, the legislature authorized the creation of 17 lateral canals that would connect even more towns to the new trade artery. The Canal Board, which would manage the new waterway, was established in 1826. Only 10 years later, the Erie Canal Enlargement project began, to ease the traffic congestion which was by then a common feature of canal travel. This major expansion was not completed until 1862. Because of the Erie Canal's stunning success, the demand for canal construction intensified throughout the United States. Unlike the Erie, most of the later canals were federally or privately funded, not state-funded.





An engraving depicting the first barges en route from Buffalo to New York City via the newly opened Erie Canal (Hulton/Archive)

But none of these projects proved as successful or culturally significant.

The original canal was four feet deep, 40 feet wide, and 363 miles long. It cost \$7 million to build and contained 83 locks and 18 aqueducts. Benjamin Wright and his associates (later referred to as the “Erie School” of engineers) oversaw the construction. In the process, Wright and his workers developed new machines to help remove roots and stumps and invented a new watertight mortar to line the canal bottom. They built aqueducts across valleys and rivers and locks to level out less-dramatic changes in elevation.

Canal-digging was backbreaking, dangerous work. Laborers were hired not by the state but by private contractors who placed bids for constructing certain sections of the canal. Many of the diggers were local farmers, hired by these contractors to work on the stretch of canal near their towns. Many other diggers were recent immigrants, mostly from Ireland. The presence of these immigrant wage-laborers concerned some of the canal’s proponents. Often uneducated and without a permanent home, these

men symbolized the kind of wage slavery that, according to popular ideology in the early republic, was not supposed to exist in the United States. The Erie Canal was supposed to embody the proposition that all men could become independent landowners, prospering through the democracy of property ownership and trade. The fact that this canal of progress was built by the seemingly un-American was unimportant. Once the canal was completed, some of these same workers became part of the huge workforce required to operate the canal and canal boats.

The new canal revolutionized travel and trade in the region as transporting goods became quicker and cheaper. Farmers who previously had no accessible market for their produce were now able make the transition from subsistence farming to commercial AGRICULTURE. Land near the canal rose in value, and new cities grew up seemingly overnight, ready to take advantage of the commerce the canal would create. The ease with which goods could be transported to New York City gave it an economic advantage over other American coastal cities. Always an important port, New York became *the* center of American and trans-



Atlantic commerce—a preeminent position that would endure for more than a century.

The canal also promoted travel and tourism in the region. Sightseers reveled in the wild scenery and bustling towns. While canal travel could sometimes be uncomfortable, most people found it exciting at first. New kinds of travel boats were created, providing meals, foldout sleeping cots, and entertainment. Previously isolated from the outside world, families were able to visit commercial centers and keep in touch with relatives through the rapid transit of canal boats (and the increasingly speedy mail service). For the first time, big-city luxury goods could be easily shipped to the developing West, rapidly transforming the quality of life in the hinterland. Journeys that used to take weeks could now be completed in a few days.

But with the canal's triumphs came troubles. The canal cut across private property, and many landowners complained that they were never adequately reimbursed for losing their property. Farmers whose land had been bisected by the canal lobbied the Canal Board for the right to construct bridges over the canal. Without bridges, some landowners were unable to travel to the towns to sell their goods without trespassing on neighbors' property. In turn, shipping companies lobbied against these bridges, which created increased navigation obstacles and safety hazards.

The culture that developed among canal workers was troubling to merchants and civic leaders. These workers were mostly unmarried, often recent immigrants, and sometimes young boys. The mobile nature of boat life seemed to promote vice; saloons multiplied in port towns, and prostitutes became a visible presence along the route. The canal operated 24 hours a day, seven days a week, creating noisy nightlife and increased crime. In the 1830s, the Canal area became known as the "burned-over district" because of an explosion of evangelical fervor and reform campaigns. The reformers were especially concerned about the behavior of the canal workers and tried to force the Canal Board to close operations on Sundays, so that drivers and longshoremen could attend church. Others argued that, given idle time, vice among the workers would increase. Another serious problem was what to do with the canal workers during the winter months, when canal operations completely shut down. Port towns were forced to deal with groups of unemployed or marginally employed men for months at a time.

Of course, not all canal workers were dangerous and immoral; many boating operations were run by families, and not all single men were a threat to civilized life. However, troublemakers loomed large in the imaginations of local farmers, worried again that their vision of ordered, moral progress was being undermined by the seemingly alien values of canal culture.

The Erie Canal became too successful for its own good as swarms of boats crowded in, slowing down what was sup-

posed to be the most rapid form of transit. The increased congestion and numerous locks in the eastern part of the canal proved so tedious that many shipping companies were forced to circumvent these sections in order to save time, transporting their goods by road during these sections of the journey.

Many observers worried that the progress created by the canal was made at too high a cost, morally and economically. The "canal mania" that accompanied its completion caused wild speculation among bankers and merchants that often resulted in ruin. Fortunes could be made and lost very quickly in this new environment, causing many to question whether the canal really was a financial boon. The structure that was supposed to stabilize and improve their lives was proving to be a volatile force beyond their control. Small farmers began to suspect that, while the state had originally built the canal to benefit everyone, the parties who ended up gaining the most were big corporations. More and more people in the canal region felt that the state government was more interested in protecting powerful companies than ordinary voters.

The Erie Canal permanently altered the landscape and economy of New York. It was one of the first INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS designed to expand American mobility and trade during the early 19th century. Although it continued to prosper for many years, it was eventually eclipsed by railroads, which were much faster and could operate year round. The canal survived well into the 20th century as an important auxiliary method for transporting freight. It remains an important exemplar of American ambition, engineering, and resourcefulness. For historians, the Erie Canal provides a revealing case study about the complexities of labor, property, and ideas about progress in American culture.

See also CANAL ERA.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

## Essex, USS

The USS *Essex*, a 46-gun frigate, is most famous for its voyage to the Pacific in the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15), wreaking havoc on British shipping until it was captured by the frigate HMS *Phoebe* and another vessel. The *Essex* was built in Salem, Massachusetts, as part of the expansion of the

U.S. Navy in the late 1790s. In 1799, along with the USS *Congress*, the *Essex* under Edward Preble was dispatched to the Far East to escort an American convoy of merchantmen back to the United States. The *Congress* was damaged in a storm soon after it left port, leaving the *Essex* to proceed on its own. The *Essex* was thus the first American naval vessel to cross the equator, venture into the Indian Ocean, and show its flag in the East Indies. She returned after almost a year at sea in 1800.

The *Essex* also participated in the campaign against Tripoli (1803–05), but only really became famous at the beginning of the War of 1812. In July 1812, the *Essex* under the command of Captain David Porter missed a British convoy in the Atlantic, but in two months she captured nine prizes, including the first British warship to surrender to an American vessel in the war. The total value of the prizes was over \$300,000, an impressive sum at the time. In autumn 1812, the *Essex* was ordered to rendezvous with the *Constitution* and the *Hornet* in the South Atlantic. Those two ships, however, successfully fought with British counterparts and returned to the United States. Left on his own, and fearing that he was surrounded by British warships, Captain Porter headed for the Pacific. By early spring 1813, he was capturing British whalers and other vessels, accumulating a small fleet for himself. In September, he decided he needed to refit and set sail for the Marquesas. After spending seven weeks in the Pacific island paradise of Nukahiva, Porter left the island group with the *Essex* and a consort he had captured earlier and called the *Essex Junior*. Unfortunately, soon after they arrived in Valparaíso, Chile, then still a Spanish possession, two British ships appeared. Since they were in a neutral port, the British did not attack, but when Porter finally made an attempt to run past them, a gale came up and damaged some of the rigging of the *Essex*. Although Porter made it back to neutral waters, the two British ships pursued him and pounded him into surrender while remaining out of range of most of the *Essex*'s heavy guns.

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## exploration

The U.S. purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803 opened up a vast area for American exploration, more than 800,000 square miles from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. After Meriwether Lewis and William Clark reconnoitered that region and, further west, the Oregon Territory, in their expedition of 1804–06, other explorers soon followed. In 1806–07, soldier ZEBULON PIKE ventured into what is now Colorado, where he

sighted Pike's Peak, and into New Mexico, then held by Spain. John Colter and George Drouillard, veterans of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, explored what are now Montana and Wyoming in 1807. As the United States stretched its territory from coast to coast in the remaining antebellum years, many more explorers sent back reports about these and other little-known lands.

Not all expeditions were government-sponsored. Much exploration in the period 1813–55 was done by adventurous private citizens motivated by profit and working for themselves or on behalf of companies. They ventured not only into Louisiana but into the Spanish-owned, and later Mexican-owned, areas of CALIFORNIA and the present-day Southwest, as well as into the disputed Oregon Territory.

Among the most notable private explorers were MOUNTAIN MEN, professional fur trappers and traders such as JEDEDIAH STRONG SMITH, JAMES BRIDGER, Joseph Walker, and JIM BECKWORTH. These men lived a rugged existence in the Rocky Mountain wilderness, trapping beavers and other animals. They learned survival techniques and cultural practices from the region's NATIVE AMERICANS and often married Indian women. The explorations of these frontiersmen were vital to charting the territories that became part of the United States.

The heyday of the mountain men began in the 1820s, when fur traders WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY and Andrew Henry developed the brigade-RENDEZVOUS system for financing and supplying them. Brigades, or teams of trappers, lived and worked in the wilderness, supplied by pack or wagon trains from Missouri that would meet them every summer at a boisterous trading event called a rendezvous. A similar system developed in the Southwest, where the mountain men spent summers trading and carousing at town fairs, such as at Taos, New Mexico. The era of the mountain man faded in the 1840s, when overtrapping sent the beaver population into decline and changing tastes made beaver hats unfashionable. Mountain men also often served as scouts or guides for other people's expeditions, both before and after the decline of the FUR TRADE.

Probably the most renowned mountain man was Jedediah Strong Smith, who blazed several trails from 1822 until his death in 1831. In 1824 or 1825, he discovered an overland route to California through SOUTH PASS, which later became part of a well-traversed westward route known as the Overland Trail. (He actually rediscovered South Pass; it had first been discovered in 1812 by Robert Stuart of ASTORIA.) In 1826–27, Smith led his greatest expedition, becoming the first American to go overland to California through the Southwest. His route took him to the Great Salt Lake and across the Colorado Plateau, Mojave Desert, and Sierra Nevada to San Gabriel, California. On the return trip, he traveled northward through the San Joaquin Valley and through Ebbetts Pass across the Great Basin, where his

party of three almost perished from thirst. They became the first non-Indians to cross the Sierras from the east and the first to traverse the Great Basin. Smith also explored the Black Hills of what is now South Dakota, survived a grizzly bear attack, and waged numerous battles with Native Americans. He was finally killed by the Comanche.

James Bridger worked with northeastern fur companies from 1822 to 1842. In 1824, Bridger became the first non-Indian to see the Great Salt Lake. He founded Fort Bridger, Wyoming, in 1843 and discovered Bridger's Pass in 1849. Joseph Reddeford Walker trapped and traded in the upper Missouri region from 1820 to 1840. His name was bequeathed to Walker Lake and Walker's Pass. He was a guide for several exploratory expeditions between 1832 and 1860.

James Pierson Beckwourth, an African American, had been born a slave but was raised free in Missouri. He took part in the Ashley-Henry fur-trading expeditions into the Rocky Mountains (1823–26) and lived with the Crow from 1826 to 1837. From 1837 to 1850, he was variously a guide, army scout, trapper, trader, and hunter. In 1850, he discovered the Beckwourth Pass in the Sierra Nevada, which opened a route to the Sacramento Valley of California.

Other mountain men included James Ohio Pattie and his father, Sylvester Pattie, who together in 1827 traveled from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Southern California; and Ewing Young and William Wolfskill, who helped to blaze the Old Spanish Trail from Santa Fe to Los Angeles. KIT CARSON was a saddlemaker's apprentice who ran away to join an expedition to Santa Fe in the 1820s. He became a mountain man and served as guide for JOHN C. FRÉMONT's three government-sponsored expeditions.

Those who traded with mountain men also did their part in exploring the West. The SANTA FE TRAIL was established in 1821 by American merchant WILLIAM BECKNELL, who drew on knowledge of trails first used by Native Americans. The Santa Fe Trail ran about 780 miles from western Missouri to Santa Fe. Every summer from the 1820s to the 1840s, Becknell and other merchants brought wagon caravans laden with goods to trade with Mexicans, Indians, mountain men, and anyone else in New Mexico.

The 1820s constitutes a low point as far as government-sponsored expeditions are concerned, but in 1820 Major Stephen Harriman Long of the Corps of Topographical Engineers was entrusted to explore the region from the Platte River to the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains and from there down the Canadian River. His endeavors charted a great deal of what became known as the MORMON and OREGON TRAILS two decades later, and his *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* was also well-received. In it Long presented one of the first descriptions of the Central Plains or, as he termed it, the Great American Desert, which he erroneously asserted was

unsuitable for agrarian expansion. Long's explorations were unique in that he was accompanied by noted artists Samuel Seymour and Titian Ramsay Peale, whose quaint imagery provided the American public with their first glimpses of the Rocky Mountain area. They also accurately rendered exotic plants, animals, landscapes, and scenes taken from Native American life.

After Long's initial charts, the Oregon Trail developed from Native American trails, the explorations of Lewis and Clark, and the pioneering of mountain men such as Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth, who founded Fort Hall, Idaho, in 1834. Stretching 2,000 miles from Independence, Missouri, to Oregon's Willamette Valley, the Oregon Trail passed through what are now Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Idaho. It was heavily used by westward-moving pioneers in the 1840s and 1850s.

As the era of the mountain men faded, government-sponsored expeditions became more important. In 1838, the Corps of Topographical Engineers was founded as a distinct army unit to explore, survey, and report on little-known lands. Their greatest officer was John C. Frémont, known as the Pathfinder, who in the 1840s surveyed areas along routes into Oregon and California. In 1841, he traced the headwaters of the Des Moines River. In 1842, guided by Kit Carson, he explored Rocky Mountain territory along the Oregon Trail. In 1843–44, Frémont and Carson explored the Nevada country, crossed the Sierra Nevada to California, visited Oregon, and returned home by a more southerly route. Frémont's reports roused interest back east about the western territories, especially California. In 1845–46 Frémont and Carson surveyed the central Rockies and the Great Salt Lake region.

The son-in-law of Senator THOMAS HART BENTON, Frémont was much admired back home, but he sometimes went too far, playing a central role, for instance, in the controversial BEAR FLAG REVOLT in 1846. He helped to capture California for the United States during the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR (1846–48), but was court-martialed for mutiny and insubordination when he fell out with a superior. His sentence was remitted, but he resigned from the army. In 1856, he became the Republican Party's first presidential candidate.

The 1840s brought many more Americans to the West, pioneers who aided in exploring and mapping territory even though they followed trails blazed by others. In 1846–47, in what was known as the Mormon trek, BRIGHAM YOUNG led a group of Mormons fleeing persecution from Illinois to Nebraska to the Great Salt Lake Valley in what is now Utah. They covered 1,300 miles, some of it over old Native-American trails and parts of the Ox-Bow, Oregon, and California trails. In the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH of 1849, the discovery of gold in California brought would-be prospectors into regions that had previously been

little known. Missionaries, some of them foreign-born, also advanced the cause of exploration. Belgian-born Jesuit missionary Pierre-Jean De Smet founded a chain of missions in the Pacific Northwest that ministered to Native Americans and added to knowledge of the region.

Once the TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO (1848) at the end of the Mexican-American War brought California and the Southwest into American possession, the era of exploration was gradually replaced by one of scientific mapping and pioneer settlement. By that time, Oregon had become a settled issue. Spain and Russia had abandoned their claims to the Oregon territory in, respectively, 1819 and 1824, leaving the United States and Britain to argue over it. In 1846, the OREGON TREATY set the border between U.S.-owned Oregon and Canada at the 49th parallel from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. Further south, the GADSDEN PURCHASE (1853) expanded U.S. territory in the Southwest to its present boundaries. The Transcontinental Railroad Surveys of 1853–55, conducted by the U.S. Army in search of a railroad route to the Pacific, added more knowledge of the West. These expeditions were conducted by Lieutenant Colonel Gouverneur Kemble Warren, a West Point graduate who went on to a distinguished military career in the Civil War. Warren covered and mapped the river systems of present-day Nebraska, Wyoming, South Dakota, and North Dakota. While not an object of settlement at the time, these regions were destined to draw white settlers within a decade. Warren's expedition never met with the celebrity of Frémont's, but with his topographical expertise he accurately recorded, for the first time, the Platte, White, Missouri, Yellowstone, Cheyenne, and Niobara Rivers, benefiting military and civilians alike. By the end of the 1850s, the major features of the continent were well known, though more detailed mapping would be done after the Civil War.

With so much territory at home to explore, Americans had little time for more far-flung expeditions. Nevertheless, some intrepid Americans pushed beyond their country's shores. On a whaling voyage in 1820, American sea captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer reached the Antarctic Peninsula and the South Orkney Islands. In 1839, American traveler and author John Lloyd Stephens and English artist Frederick Catherwood conducted explorations in Central

America, discovering Mayan ruins in Copán and elsewhere. In 1838–42, naval officer Charles Wilkes led the Wilkes expedition to Antarctica, Hawaii, the Pacific islands, and the Oregon coast. Wilkes arrived off the Oregon coast in the spring of 1841 and dispatched boat expeditions up the COLUMBIA RIVER to the mouth of the Snake River while other teams paddled southward down the Willamette River. He subsequently explored the Olympic Peninsula and the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and in his official report he suggested that authorities draw the border with Canada at the top of Puget Sound. This contributed to the assertiveness of President JAMES K. POLK (1845–49), who claimed the Pacific Northwest for the United States and forced Great Britain to make concessions. Besides exploring, Wilkes edited and published his highly detailed five-volume work, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, which helped raise public awareness of the trans-Mississippi West and the Pacific region. It also established a precedent of scientific excellence in terms of observation and cataloging that would characterize American government exploration until the end of the century. In fact, many of the detailed maps and charts created during the Wilkes expedition were still in use by the U.S. Navy throughout World War II. Wilkes is credited with naming Antarctica and discovering that it is a continent.

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—George Ochoa





### female antislavery societies

For as long as SLAVERY flourished in the United States, opposition to its existence was its dogged partner. Whether by individuals or by groups such as the Quakers, antislavery sentiment predated the Revolutionary War and continued through the early years of the new republic. As early as 1820 Benjamin Lundy's colonization newspaper *The Genius of Universal Emancipation* featured articles written by Elizabeth Chandler, a Quaker, in a column entitled "Ladies Repository." It was not until the 1830s, however, that abolitionist opinion found formal expression through the formation of antislavery societies across the United States. The first such society is commonly considered to be the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, founded by William Lloyd Garrison in 1832. That group excluded women from its proceedings, causing Boston's female abolitionists to create their own organization, the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, in the same year. Independently of these bodies, a group of free black women formed the Female Anti-Slavery Society in Salem, Massachusetts, also in 1832. This group, drawn from a diverse assemblage of Unitarians, Quakers, Congregationalists, and Baptists, took the process a step further by nominating Charlotte Phelps, wife of Reverend Amos Phelps, to serve as their president. Their high-profile fund-raising and petitioning occasioned much indignation in the press and even mob violence at their gatherings. One year later, after being refused entry to the meetings of the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society, LUCRETIA MOTT founded the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. At its inception, the society had 19 members, including two Quaker sisters from South Carolina, ANGELINA GRIMKÉ AND SARAH GRIMKÉ. It was also unique for including African-American women among its members, drawn from that city's sizable free black population.

Female antislavery societies had much the same goal as their male counterparts: the end of the institution of slavery within the United States. Most abolitionists objected

to slavery on moral grounds, believing that it was expressly wrong for one human to hold another in bondage, and, using the rhetoric of the new republic, calling for equality, justice, and liberty for all. Abolitionists convened public meetings to explain their position and used the power of the printing press to try to educate the general citizenry in their beliefs. Garrison and other prominent abolitionists such as Frederick Douglass published antislavery newspapers, while numerous activists wrote pamphlets and tracts for distribution across the North and South. Despite prohibitions against direct organizational participation, Garrison was the first abolitionist leader to encourage women to get involved in the movement. He did so by invoking the widely held 19th-century idea that women were intrinsically superior to men in terms of morality and religiosity. His newspaper, *The Liberator*, featured a women's column with the masthead "Am I not a woman and a sister?"

Female antislavery activists were central to these endeavors. Male abolitionists were generally comfortable with the idea of women raising funds for the movement, particularly as this mirrored the gender roles found in many churches of the period. Women also became adept at writing and circulating petitions, flooding the federal government with requests for the abolition of slavery through the 1830s and 1840s. Women were welcome to participate, provided their involvement was restricted to the background and did not violate social taboos against activities such as public speaking. In time, however, these restrictions became the impetus for the creation of female antislavery societies, which by their very existence directly challenged traditional social behaviors for the perceived weaker sex.

Although women, like men, often wrote and spoke publicly about their antislavery beliefs, they were frequently perceived to be stepping outside the acceptable boundaries of a woman's "place" when they did so. To opponents of such female activism, it was especially disturbing that many female abolitionist writings appealed directly to other women, politicizing their roles as sisters, wives, and



mothers. Angelina Grimké's 1836 pamphlet *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South*, for example, pressed southern women to use their familial ties to men to exert influence over the business of the legislature and the ballot box. Sarah Grimké published a theological critique of slavery that same year, implicitly stepping into a sphere—ministry—that was generally, although not exclusively, the domain of men. In 1837 they went on to conduct an extensive speaking tour of New England, which garnered them additional notoriety. When the sisters and other women, including Lucretia Mott, followed up their published works with lecture tours, outrage at their behavior reached fever pitch. Catharine Beecher publicly criticized the Grimkés for their “unfeminine” behavior, while the collective clergy of Massachusetts issued a pastoral letter condemning the sisters. But the precedent had been set. After 1837 the doors continued to open for a growing list of paid female lecturers and public speakers, despite the already sharp and increasing antipathy against them.

Regardless, female antislavery societies flourished in the North and by 1837 were of sufficient number to warrant the first National Female Anti-Slavery Society convention in New York. Eighty-one delegates from 12 states attended the convention, an event that was multiracial, as were the female antislavery societies themselves. Opposition to the political and abolitionist activism of women, however, continued, and after the second national convention was held in Philadelphia in 1838, the meeting hall in which it had taken place was burned to the ground. Such violence exerted little impact on female petitioning. Having been proscribed from the political arena, women continued to pursue this convenient and publicly visible outlet for expressing political views.

By 1840 the American Anti-Slavery Society had, amid bitter acrimony, conceded women's right to join its ranks. This, in turn, prompted dissenters to form their own women-free organizations. Thereafter the ABOLITION MOVEMENT lacked the unanimity it had enjoyed throughout the 1830s. Yet out of this bitter contretemps a new generation of female leaders and new levels of female participation emerged. It was as a delegate of the American Anti-Slavery Society that Lucretia Mott traveled to the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840. There she was refused admittance, male delegates arguing that the presence of women would trivialize the proceedings and undermine everything they hoped to achieve. Mott found a sympathetic supporter in Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the wife of another delegate to the convention. The two talked at length about the continued inequities experienced by women and resolved to hold a convention that expressly tackled the issue of women's rights. Helped by numerous other women's activists, that convention took place in SENECA FALLS, New York, in 1848. For the next

two decades the causes of abolition and women's rights became closely entwined, although the pairing was never completely harmonious.

Female antislavery societies were crucial to the success of the abolitionist movement and also acted as a catalyst to the formation of a women's rights movement later in the century. Using the tactics and political expertise they had gleaned from their abolitionist activism, women fought not only for the rights of the enslaved but for themselves. Their actions fueled the debate about gender equality for the rest of the century.

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—Catherine J. Denial

### **Figueroa, José** (1792–1835) *government official*

José Figueroa was the Mexican governor of California responsible for establishing a central government. Born in Jonacatepec, Morelos, Figueroa made his appearance on the national scene in 1821 at the time of the movement for the independence of Mexico, when he served as the personal secretary of General Vicente Guerrero. After Mexico became an independent nation, Figueroa assumed several military and political positions. In 1824, he was commanding general of Sinaloa and Sonora, where he actively suppressed Indian revolts. He was appointed governor (commandante general and *jefe político*) of Upper (Alta) California in 1833. Among his duties were presiding over the education of the recently secularized mission neophytes, dividing up the Indian lands, and fostering the colonization of skilled workingmen and artisans into the province. He also had instructions to keep an eye on trade with the Russians and the American whaling ships.

Figueroa became embroiled in domestic political squabbles when he set about administering the law of the Mexican Congress to secularize the California missions. At issue were some of the most attractive lands in the province. Figueroa acted to thwart the schemes of José María Padres and José María Híjar (the latter already appointed

as Figueroa's successor as governor) in their colonization plans for mission lands. When General ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA took office in 1834, he reappointed Figueroa to the office of governor of Alta California. Figueroa used the authority of his office to order the Padres-Hijar colonies off the mission lands and directed that they settle along the northern frontier of Sonoma, Solano, and Petaluma as a buffer against Russian expansion to the south. His quarrel with Padres and Hajar continued, and he eventually expelled them from California. He then wrote a political testament defending his actions, under the title *The Manifesto to the Mexican Republic*. Figueroa's last actions as governor were concerned with securing the northern border against Indian revolt and Russian penetration. In 1835, he died in Monterey and was buried in Santa Barbara.

Figueroa was an important figure in the establishment of the authority of the central government in California. During his administration, he worked on the issues that were important to the Republic of Mexico. These included the administration of the Secularization Law of 1833 and safeguarding mission lands, securing the northern frontier against penetration by the Russians, and monitoring the expansion of American companies into the trades in hides and tallow. Loyal to his superiors in Mexico City, he was a man who stood up against the corruption and cronyism associated with much of Mexican political life at the time.

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**filibustering** See VOLUME V.

**Fillmore, Millard** (1800–1874) *U.S. vice president, 13th U.S. president*

Millard Fillmore ascended to the presidency as the United States was descending into strife over the issue of slavery. As president, Fillmore tried to preserve the Union but was unable to change the nation's path to civil war. Millard Fillmore was born in New York City in 1800, the second-oldest child in a family of nine children. He spent his early years working on the family farm and attended school until the age of 17. Fillmore began to pursue a career in law at the age of 19, and in 1823 he opened a law office in East Aurora, New York. Three years later he married Abigail Powers, a teacher, and had two children, Mary Abigail and Millard Powers.

Millard Fillmore became involved in politics in 1826, and, with his handsome looks and professional manner, began to earn the respect and admiration of the local population. He caught the attention of the Anti-Masonic poli-



Millard Fillmore (Library of Congress)

ticians, who were looking for appealing candidates. As an associate of the Anti-Masonic politician Thurlow Weed, Fillmore held state office and for eight years was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

In Congress, Fillmore lent his support to HENRY CLAY, the leader of the WHIG PARTY. He was largely responsible for the Tariff of 1842 that raised rates as high as the Tariff of 1833, which caused the nullification crisis in South Carolina. Fillmore did not run for reelection in 1842. He hoped for the vice presidential nomination on Clay's Whig presidential ticket, but the party's national convention of 1844 gave that spot to Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. Fillmore then accepted the Whig nomination for governor of New York. In the election, however, Fillmore and Clay lost the New York vote, and Fillmore was beaten by Silas Wright, his DEMOCRATIC PARTY opponent.

Millard Fillmore was elected vice president of the United States as the running mate of ZACHARY TAYLOR in the election of 1848. In his first six months in office, debates raged in the Senate between northern and southern sectionalists over the status of SLAVERY in the recently acquired lands. Fillmore's fairness and sense of humor in the chair were not enough to restore peace among the contending senators. The antislavery faction, led by Senators Salmon P. Chase and William H. Seward, clashed with the southerners, led by Senators JOHN C. CALHOUN of South

Carolina and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. Heated debates took place at all levels of government. President Taylor leaned more toward Seward's antislavery views, despite being a slaveholder from Louisiana. Taylor threatened to send federal troops to protect disputed New Mexico territory from an invasion by proslavery Texans. Southerners countered that this act would be the signal for an armed Southern rebellion against federal power. In June 1850 Mississippi called for a convention to meet at Nashville, Tennessee, to consider secession.

A bill to admit California caused heated debate for and against the extension of slavery, and no progress was made on the issue of slavery. Clay, exhausted, left Washington to recuperate, throwing leadership upon Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. On July 9 President Taylor died, elevating Fillmore to the presidency. President Fillmore announced in favor of the COMPROMISE OF 1850. On August 6, 1850, he sent a message to Congress recommending that TEXAS be paid to abandon its claims to part of New Mexico. This helped influence a critical number of northern Whigs in Congress away from their insistence upon the Wilmot Proviso—the stipulation that all land gained by the Mexican War be closed to slavery. Douglas's effective strategy in Congress combined with Fillmore's pressure from the White House to give impetus to the compromise movement.

Some of the more militant northern Whigs remained irreconcilable, refusing to forgive Fillmore for having signed the FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT. They helped deprive him of the presidential nomination in 1852, which went to General WINFIELD SCOTT. Within a few years it was apparent that although the compromise had been intended to settle the slavery controversy, it served rather as an uneasy sectional truce.

In the area of foreign policy Fillmore could claim some significant achievements, chief among them being the beginning of relations between the United States and Japan. Long closed to foreigners, Japan was “opened” by MATTHEW CALBRAITH PERRY with a fleet of American warships. Also, Fillmore did not support a failed filibustering expedition to Cuba by a proslavery group, receiving much southern criticism in the process.

As the Whig Party disintegrated in the 1850s, Fillmore refused to join the REPUBLICAN PARTY but, instead, in 1856 accepted the American, or KNOW NOTHING, Party nomination for President, only to lose to the Republicans. Throughout the Civil War he opposed President Abraham Lincoln, and during Reconstruction he supported President Johnson. He died in 1874.

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### **Finney, Charles Grandison** (1792–1875) *revivalist preacher*

One of the leading evangelical preachers of the 19th century, Charles Grandison Finney was a key figure in the series of revivals known as the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING that swept parts of the United States in the 1820s and 1830s. Widely considered to be one of the most important figures in the religious history of the United States, he saw himself as acting firmly in the tradition of Protestantism as articulated by John Calvin and the American Jonathan Edwards, among others.

Finney was born in western Connecticut, near Warren, on August 29, 1792, to Sylvester and Rebecca Rice Finney, Yankee farmers who traced their ancestry to the Pilgrims of Plymouth. The Finneys later moved to upstate New York, settling first in Oneida County before moving to Henderson, in Jefferson County, when Charles was eight. After receiving an education in New York and Connecticut, he taught school in New Jersey. While still a young man, he returned to Adams in northern New York to apprentice with a lawyer.

Over six feet in height and a natural leader, Finney seemed to be heading toward a successful career in law and perhaps politics. While a practicing attorney, he began to turn his attentions more to matters of religion, reading the Bible and leading the choir of the Presbyterian Church in Adams. As many around him began to be caught up in the excitement of religious revivals in the 1820s, Finney despaired at ever experiencing a dramatic conversion that would change his heart and lead him to Christ. He promised God that if he were ever to have such an epiphany, he would devote the remainder of his life to preaching the Gospel. On October 10, 1821, as he neared his 30th birthday, Finney had such a dramatic conversion during a community revival meeting near Adams. Recognizing his talent and potential, the local Presbyterian clergy shortly authorized him to begin preaching. Soon after, he married Lydia Andrews; the couple had six children, four of whom survived to adulthood.



Finney's style from the pulpit was simple, direct, and highly effective. He spoke without notes, urging his listeners to commit their lives to Christ at that moment or risk damnation. He spoke of hell in very vivid terms as a real place that awaited those who failed to believe. He was so persuasive that many in his audiences would convert on the spot, falling to the floor and weeping as they did. He preached throughout upstate New York, meeting with special success in towns along the Erie Canal, such as Utica and Rome, and, later, in Rochester. These were places that were on the forefront of economic change in the United States, and Finney's message of redemption found many willing listeners among the new middle class of managers, business owners, and professionals. He preached a somewhat more optimistic brand of Christianity than traditional Calvinism in arguing that the individual was not necessarily predestined to damnation and could overcome his or her sinfulness by a conversion of the heart and by establishing a personal relationship with Christ through prayer.

One of the other keys to the success of Finney's revivals was that he persuaded people they were more likely to experience God's saving grace if they came into the presence of others who had already undergone a conversion. The saved and the unsaved alike would pray together publicly at Finney's revivals. Another part of his method was to come into a community and create excitement by having his assistants, some of whom were women, go door to door, encouraging families and groups of friends and neighbors to attend the revivals together. Then he would hold all-night prayer meetings in which the conversions, often theatrical in appearance, would follow one after another. In one of his most successful revival campaigns, in Rochester during 1830–31, Finney first made use of "the anxious bench," calling forward members of his audience to give their heart over to Jesus at the bench placed near his pulpit, adding to the dramatic effect. As he described his manner for saving souls in his book *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* (1853), which was based on his work at Rochester and other places, appealing to the individual's precarious situation was crucial. He would directly ask the persons sitting in the rows before him: "Will you submit to God tonight—NOW?"

Finney ranged far and wide in the Northeast in his preaching, traveling to Delaware, Philadelphia, Boston (where he met with mixed results) and New York City. He eventually linked his religious message to social-reform causes such as temperance, which drew the support of many evangelical Protestants. In 1835, he accepted a position teaching theology at the new Oberlin Collegiate Institute in Ohio. His Christian mission led him to observe strict guidelines on personal behavior, as he avoided alcohol, tobacco, and caffeine. He also became a vigorous abolition-

ist, and Oberlin developed into an important station on the Underground Railroad. His work at Oberlin did not stop him from continuing to preach throughout the northern United States, even after he came the president of the college at Oberlin in 1851.

During middle age, Finney had a crisis of faith after the death of his wife Lydia, but he came out of it with a renewed belief in the redeeming power of Christianity. He remained active into his later years, even after retiring as college president and pastor in the 1860s. As a staunch opponent of SLAVERY, he did not support Abraham Lincoln in either 1860 or 1864 because he considered Lincoln too cautious on the questions of emancipation and racial equality. He successfully completed his *Memoirs*, which was published after his death on August 16, 1875, in Oberlin. He was survived by his wife Rebecca, whom he had married after his second wife, Elizabeth, died.

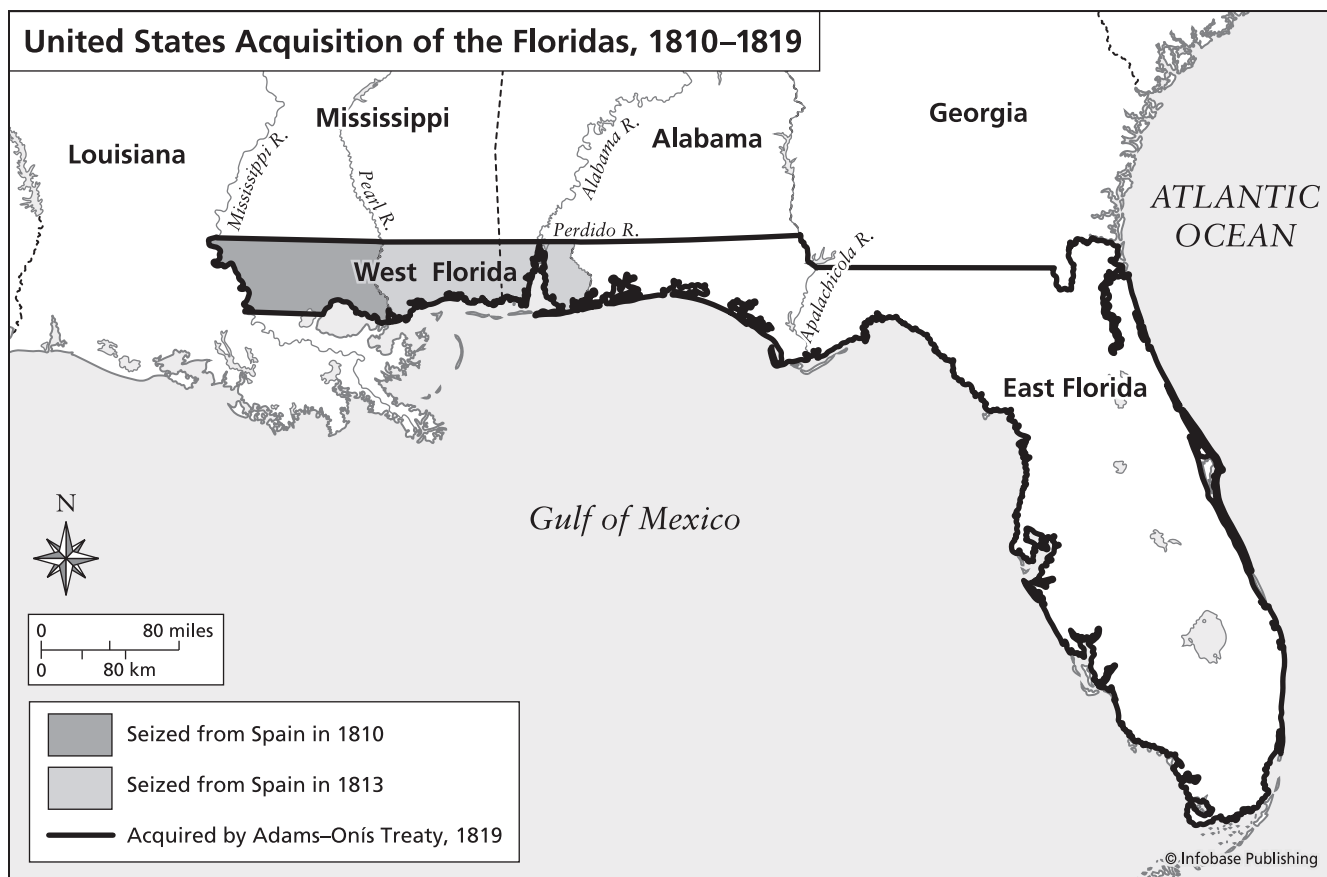
Charles Grandison Finney was a leading example of the evangelical and reform spirit which did much to shape the United States in the 19th century. A major figure of the Second Great Awakening and an innovator in terms of method, Finney considered himself a part of the great tradition of Anglo-American Protestantism and saw his duty as bringing the lone sinner to a new life in Christ.

**Further reading:** Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1996); Keith J. Hardman, *Charles Grandison Finney, 1792–1875: Revivalist and Reformer* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1987).

—Jason K. Duncan

## Florida, East and West

The area that is now the state of Florida was contested by the French, Spanish, British, and American governments for over a century before it became part of the United States in 1819. France and Spain fought a minor territorial war over the area in 1719. After fighting stopped, the two empires agreed that the border between French Louisiana and Spanish Florida would be the Perdido River (now the western border of the state). When France was defeated by Great Britain in the Seven Years' War in 1763, French Louisiana became the property of Spain, and Spanish Florida was given to the British. During this realignment, Britain claimed the strip of land running from the Perdido River west to the Mississippi River (what is now part of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana), with the exception of the island of New Orleans, which remained Spanish. The British called this small, remote territory West Florida and administered it separately. They also extended West Florida eastward to the Apalachicola River and the town of



Pensacola, which became the capital of the territory. The area east of the Apalachicola, including the entire peninsula, became known as East Florida.

In the Peace of Paris ending the American Revolution in 1783, Spain reacquired both Floridas from Great Britain, including the strip west of the Perdido River that had once belonged to France. The Floridas were under the Spanish colonial government of Louisiana until 1800, when Spain secretly ceded Louisiana once again to France. When the United States purchased Louisiana from France in 1803, the status of the Floridas was unclear. The Treaty of San Lorenzo in 1795 fixed the northern border between the United States and the Spanish Floridas at the 31st parallel, which seemed to imply that the Floridas were still separate from Louisiana. With the purchase of Louisiana, however, the United States argued that the acquisition included East and West Florida. Putting aside the misleading, confusing logic of this claim, the American government pressed its case for ownership of both Floridas. They based their claim on two different arguments. First, the American government argued that Napoleon had sold the Floridas when he sold Louisiana. Second, if Napoleon did not sell Florida and it was still Spanish territory, Spain should give it to the

United States as compensation because the Spanish had not upheld the terms of the Treaty of San Lorenzo. The United States claimed that the Spanish had violated the treaty by failing to keep Indians from raiding American settlements and by protecting American slaves who escaped to Florida.

The dispute over which empire held the Floridas continued for the next 15 years. The United States slowly encroached on the territory, declaring West Florida a U.S. customs district in 1804 and then appropriating the territory up to the Pearl River in 1810. In 1812, most of West Florida was incorporated into the new state of Louisiana, while the section between the Perdido and Pearl Rivers became part of Mississippi Territory. In 1818, General ANDREW JACKSON invaded Pensacola, where he implemented violent frontier justice on those Spanish colonists who opposed him. The aggressive behavior of Jackson and President JAMES MONROE soon led to Spain's capitulation. In 1819, Spain agreed to the ADAMS-ONÍS TREATY, which ceded the Floridas to the United States.

Florida was a problematic territory not only because of contested ownership. It was ideally located to be a center for Caribbean trade, but the region's malarial climate



and treacherous geography made permanent settlement difficult for the Spanish, British, and Americans. Indian resistance to white settlement was also more persistent in Florida than anywhere else in the eastern part of the country. Jackson established a skeletal civil government in Florida Territory, and a territorial legislature was created by 1826. Settlement and economic growth seemed to be progressing until the SEMINOLE WARS and the PANIC OF 1837 temporarily shut down speculation in Florida's future. Only after the second Seminole war concluded in 1842 did the stabilized territory begin pushing for statehood. Florida was admitted as a slave state in 1845.

In retrospect, the international feud over Florida may seem unimportant, but this struggle can be seen as one of the first acts of an imperial United States in an effort to gain more territory. Through the annexation of Florida, the nation began to develop strategies for becoming truly continental. These aggressive tactics for expansion eventually led to conflicts with the Republic of Texas and Mexico, as well as the eventual acquisition of the territory between the Rio Grande and the 49th parallel.

—Eleanor H. McConnell

## foreign policy

National sovereignty, commercial freedom, and territorial expansion were the three primary objectives that shaped U.S. foreign policy over the course of the 19th century. Between 1800 and 1861, America emerged as a nation with great potential for global influence. The country expanded its borders from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, while also establishing borders with Canada and Mexico. Before it plunged into the tragedy of the Civil War in 1861, the United States had begun cultivating what would become a seemingly insatiable hunger by the century's end for commercial, cultural, and military success beyond its own vast boundaries and onto the world stage. Success here was not always uniform or conducive to political unity, but events did have the effect of transforming the United States from a minor collection of states into a major world power.

At the dawn of the 19th century, the newly independent United States was grudgingly recognized by the great powers of Europe as a sovereign nation. Jay's Treaty with Britain (1794) and Pinckney's Treaty with Spain (1795) solidified U.S. territorial acquisition in the Northwest and Florida and secured American trade along the Mississippi River. Although these treaties represented a minor advance of U.S. legitimacy, the British and French continued their attempts to influence and manipulate the young and fragile nation.

The wars between Britain and France that raged in Europe during the early part of the 19th century provided the United States and its people not only with significant

challenges but also with great opportunities to achieve international integrity, commercial growth, and territorial acquisition. Despite its best efforts to remain neutral, the young nation was eventually swept up in conflict among several European powers. The United States and France nearly went to war over the so-called XYZ Affair in 1798, in which French officials demanded a bribe from American envoys in Paris as a prerequisite to begin negotiations over the growing differences between the two nations. Continuing disputes over U.S. neutrality in commercial shipping, over free navigation of the Mississippi, and over American use of the port of New Orleans heightened tensions.

Many of these problems were resolved in 1803, when the United States purchased Louisiana, including the port city of New Orleans, and vast, largely unexplored territories west of the Mississippi River from a financially strapped France. Although Napoleon Bonaparte had hoped to resurrect the French colonial empire in North America, his ambitions in Europe were more significant. Additionally, the inability of French forces to put down a slave rebellion on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola (now shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic) led by the indomitable Toussaint Louverture severely limited the French emperor's designs on the Western Hemisphere. Although it meant abandoning direct influence across the Atlantic, the sale of the Louisiana territory provided Napoleon with sufficient funds to sustain his military campaigns in Europe and dreams of continental supremacy until his final defeat by Britain in 1815. The Louisiana Purchase was an unexpected windfall for the United States and President Thomas Jefferson, because he had instructed his emissaries to Paris only to acquire New Orleans and parts of Spanish Florida. With the Louisiana Purchase, the thrust of U.S. westward expansion took a great leap forward.

Although the United States avoided war with France, it would not do so with Great Britain. After 1803 and the resumption of fighting between Britain and France, the British resumed the seizure of American merchant ships suspected of carrying on trade with the French. The U.S. government demanded that the British respect American neutrality. Tension between the two nations mounted as the British navy ignored this demand and impressed over 10,000 American citizens into service. A frustrated President Jefferson and Congress knew that their navy was no match against the most powerful fleet in the world, so they first sought to boycott British imports. After this policy failed, the federal government imposed the 1807 Embargo Act, which was intended to harm Britain by denying it access to American raw materials. Like the boycott, the embargo also failed and, in fact, actually did more harm than good for American trade, as U.S. exports plummeted and desperate merchants continued to find ways to get their goods to Britain. Discouraged, Congress repealed the

act in 1809 and passed subsequent acts to stop the harassment of U.S. vessels by both the British and the French, but witnessed little success.

The conflict between the United States and Britain was only made worse by the part the British played in the U.S. war with Indian nations in the Northwest Territory. Led by TECUMSEH, the charismatic and fiercely independent Shawnee leader, these NATIVE AMERICANS violently resisted American encroachment onto their lands. The British entered into various alliances with these Indian nations and encouraged their struggles against U.S. domination. Most Americans saw British support as yet another in a series of insults and outrages. The tension between the two countries finally resulted in open armed hostility in June 1812, when President James Madison sent a declaration of war to Great Britain.

With war declared by Washington, American forces invaded Canada to stop the British support of Indian nations. The invasion achieved little more than a stalemate at the U.S.-Canadian border. Additionally, it created regional conflict in the United States because the residents of New England states, who had British sympathies, ignored illegal trade across the Canadian border and refused to support the American cause with troops or supplies. Because the small U.S. Navy was no match for their own, the British easily blockaded the Atlantic seaboard. British troops attacked, sacked and burned many coastal cities, including Washington, D.C. Meanwhile, the Indian wars of resistance continued in the Northwest and the South. American forces under the command of ANDREW JACKSON won significant military victories in 1814 against Indian peoples in these territories. Native American resistance was suppressed, and some of their lands were ceded as part of the burgeoning American nation. Finally, fatigue brought on by the Napoleonic wars in Europe compelled the British to end their war in North America. The two nations signed the TREATY OF GHENT in December 1814, with the British ending their advocacy for a separate, independent state for neutral Indian peoples. Because of poor communication, Andrew Jackson's famous victory over the British in New Orleans in 1815 actually happened after the treaty was signed. Notwithstanding what appeared to be only minor U.S. gains, the war was significant because it marked the final British recognition of U.S. independence. More important, the experience of war and the perceived "defeat" of Great Britain ushered in a period of intense nationalism, the so-called ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS.

The conclusion of the WAR OF 1812 signaled the emergence of the United States as an independent and sovereign world nation, although a relatively underdeveloped one. Over the next half-century, U.S. foreign policy focused on further territorial acquisition. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, President JAMES MONROE's secretary of state, proved an excep-

tionally skilled diplomat. He was a shrewd negotiator and one of the chief architects of early 19th century U.S. foreign policy. Moreover, Adams was dedicated to a basic but far-reaching rapprochement with Great Britain, heretofore viewed as an implacable enemy. The War of 1812 had no sooner ended than Adams managed to sign the Commercial Convention of 1815, which opened most of the British empire to American goods and shipping. In 1817, he negotiated a fixed boundary between the United States and British Canada. This agreement, the Rush-Bagot Treaty, completely demilitarized the Great Lakes region between the United States and Canada, setting the tone for a generally unfortified border. Adams followed up with the Convention of 1818, which had the triple effect of establishing the border between American and British North America along the 49th parallel; securing a renewable, 10-year joint occupation of the Oregon Territory as far west as the Rocky Mountains; and also obtaining British guarantees to respect American fishing rights along the Grand Banks and in the North Atlantic. Despite this admirable start, relations deteriorated somewhat during the Patriot War of 1837–38 in Canada, when fighting spilled over the border and resulted in the destruction of the American vessel *Carolina* at Niagara. Tensions also increased along the border of Maine and New Brunswick during the so-called AROOSTOOK WAR of 1839, which was peacefully arbitrated and settled by the next significant agreement, the WEBSTER-ASHBURTON TREATY of 1842. Normal diplomatic relations with Great Britain then resumed. On April 19, 1850, both nations consented to the CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY, which declared joint use of a proposed Central American canal.

More significant, however, was Adams's diplomacy in acquiring the Spanish territories of Florida for the United States. Adams's negotiating position was greatly enhanced when an overzealous General Andrew Jackson invaded Spanish Florida in "self-defense" against Florida's Seminole Indians. The Spanish protested what they considered to be an act of U.S. aggression. However, Adams countered by making the argument that Spain did not have an adequate military presence in its Florida territories to prevent Seminole incursion into the United States. Spain, recognizing that it did not have the capacity to control the Seminole or, for that matter, American invasion forces, ceded Florida to the United States with the ADAMS-ONÍS TREATY in 1819 for \$5 million. It also settled the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase (1803), with the United States relinquishing all claims to the province of TEXAS, if only temporarily. Five years later, Adams also managed to obtain for the United States those parts of Oregon claimed by imperial Russia, thereby bringing the nation closer to continental unification.

Under Adams's guidance, in 1823 President Monroe articulated the famous MONROE DOCTRINE that would

become one of the key pillars of U.S. foreign policy for the remainder of the century and well into the next. Monroe initially wanted to work jointly with the British in securing the independence of the region from European powers, backed by the formidable presence of the Royal Navy. But Adams successfully argued that the United States ought to be responsible for defending its own backyard without British help. The doctrine called for the end of colonization in the Western Hemisphere and promised U.S. protection of newly independent Central and South American countries from European intervention. Monroe declared that any attempt by the European powers to violate the sovereignty of these new countries would be viewed “as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.” The nation would continue to take a special interest in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, and Monroe’s original doctrine would be rearticulated in various forms such as Theodore Roosevelt’s Corollary at the turn of the century and the Good Neighbor policy of the 1930s.

Following Monroe’s presidency, U.S. territorial acquisition and Atlantic-to-Pacific consolidation became chief cornerstones of both foreign policy and American cultural identity. In 1845, journalist John O’Sullivan gave the American expansionist urge a name: **MANIFEST DESTINY**. He declared that it was America’s “Manifest Destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions.” Inspired by this mission statement, Americans continued to pursue expansion with both impressive zeal and ruthless violence. What this meant in terms of foreign policy was a near-war with Great Britain over the Oregon territory and a two-year war between the United States and Mexico. Until 1846, Great Britain and the United States accepted joint occupancy of Oregon. President **JAMES K. POLK** sought to claim all of Oregon below the 54th parallel as solely American. Peace was maintained through the **OREGON TREATY OF 1846** that established the 49th parallel as the U.S.-Canada border. In exchange for this new boundary, the United States allowed the British to keep control of Vancouver Island.

Along the southern border, relations with the newly independent nation of Mexico were growing complicated as a result of continual American migration into the northern province of Texas. The Mexican government, eager to populate that spare region, had begun offering free homesteads to any settlers who wished to migrate under a system of sponsored immigration, provided that they obey Mexican law, practice Catholicism, and free all slaves. By 1836 the 30,000 Americans settled in Texas had largely evaded the law, but in that year a conservative revolution swept into power General **ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA**, who vowed to bring the Americans to heel.

The ensuing Texas war for independence witnessed such bloody events as the fall of **THE ALAMO** and the Battle of **SAN JACINTO** and ended in a complete American triumph. The victors then formally asked to be annexed to the United States as a new territory, but presidents **ANDREW JACKSON** and **MARTIN VAN BUREN**, seeking to avoid further conflict with Mexico, declined their offer. Annexation sentiment also roiled growing Whig opposition in Congress, which adamantly resisted any extension of **SLAVERY**. But Democrats, more favorably disposed toward slavery, viewed annexation as a natural outlet for American liberty. In 1844 Whig president **JOHN TYLER** broke with his party over the Texas issue and authorized Secretary of State **JOHN C. CALHOUN** to secretly negotiate a treaty to that effect. After the Senate blocked it, Tyler circumvented the usual political channels by passing an annexation bill through a joint resolution of Congress, requiring only a simple majority. Thus, Texas became part of the United States on March 1, 1845. Mexico, which never recognized the move, angrily broke off all diplomatic relations with the United States and braced itself for war.

Polk’s claims for lands that belonged to or were claimed by Mexico led to the **MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR (1846–48)**. His justification for armed conflict was the American annexation of **TEXAS**, which the Mexican government disputed. The Mexican army’s defeat by the forces of **SAM HOUSTON** in 1836 secured Texan independence from Mexico, and in 1845 the United States annexed Texas out of expansionist desires and concerns about foreign influence, namely that of the British. However, the Mexican government refused to recognize Texas’s annexation. Polk had larger designs than adding Texas to the nation; he was determined to acquire, by force if necessary, large portions of northern Mexico, including the territory of California and what would become New Mexico. Using the dispute with Mexico over Texas and the Rio Grande border as a pretext, the United States invaded its southern neighbor in 1846. American troops pushed easily down to Mexico City and forced the Mexican government to surrender. According to the terms of **TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO (1848)**, Mexico ceded to the United States two-fifths of its territory (including Texas, **CALIFORNIA**, and New Mexico) for \$15 million. Whether they liked or not, the inhabitants of these lands were incorporated into the United States.

The war with and victory over Mexico only whetted the American appetite for territory and bolstered the federal government’s confidence in international affairs. Polk offered Spain as much as \$100 million for **CUBA** in 1848, but his offer was rejected. President Franklin Pierce made a similar offer and even threatened the use of force to compel the sale of Cuba. He withdrew this intimidating offer, however, because of negative domestic public reaction.

The expansionist lust of some Americans spurred them on to seek territory in the Caribbean and Central America as private endeavors. During the early 1850s, these adventuresome Americans, also called filibusters, attempted to invade and conquer Cuba, Nicaragua, and even parts of Mexico. Ardent proslavery southerners who professed the doctrine of Manifest Destiny, these filibusters hoped to increase the power and influence of the slave states through conquest, but none of their private expeditions was successful. Foremost among them was William Walker, who was repeatedly arrested for filibustering activity in Mexico, Nicaragua, and Honduras. He was finally arrested and executed by a firing squad in 1860. Despite the filibusters' failure to seize new lands and that of U.S. presidents to buy them, Americans coveted much of what they saw south of Mexico for the remainder of the century.

U.S. expansionist desires did not stop in the Western Hemisphere. In an effort to establish a presence in the Pacific, to promote commerce, to find coaling stations and to protect shipwrecked American sailors, President MILLARD FILLMORE sent U.S. Navy Commodore MATTHEW CALBRAITH PERRY to "open" Japan. In 1853, four U.S. warships, two of them intimidating steam-powered vessels that belched black smoke, dropped anchor off the coast of Japan. Perry's efforts and determination to fulfill his orders produced in 1854 a commercial trade treaty with Japan. The Treaty of Kanagawa granted the Americans favored-nation status and opened up several ports to U.S. trading vessels. It also ensured the safety of all sailors who washed up on Japanese shores due to storms; previously, shipwrecked survivors were often tortured and executed by the xenophobic samurai regime. The Tokugawa Shogunate rulers of Japan capitulated to Perry's demands because of superior U.S. military power. They also hoped to avoid the humiliating domination several European powers exercised over other Asian nations like India and China. The "opening" of Japan was only a beginning for the United States. The Americans would return to the Pacific later in the century in order to seize the HAWAIIAN ISLANDS and, during the Spanish-American War (1898), to secure a more permanent foothold and influence in Asia.

U.S. international concerns took secondary importance when civil war erupted at Fort Sumter off the coast of South Carolina in 1861. Following the defeat of the Confederacy in 1865, the United States would once again return to an expansionist foreign policy. For the next half-century and beyond, Manifest Destiny would encourage U.S. commercial and territorial desires well beyond national borders and into Central and South America as well as the far-flung Pacific. The lives of millions had been and would continue to be irrevocably changed as the American expansionist juggernaut pushed west and south. By 1899, the expansionism that drove U.S. foreign policy for over a century

was ushering the country into the international arena and towards superpower ascendancy in the 20th century.

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—Charles Hawley

## Fort Laramie

Built by 1834 by fur traders, Fort Laramie was a focal point of the FUR TRADE, the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH, and relations with NATIVE AMERICANS over a half-century, until its closing in 1890. WILLIAM SUBLETTE and Robert Campbell built Fort William (its original name) at the junction of the Laramie and North Platte Rivers as part of the expansion of the fur trade onto the northern Great Plains. Like BENT'S FORT farther to the south, it was designed to become a focal point of contact and exchange between the traders and the surrounding Indians. The stockade was soon called Fort Laramie, after a French trader who had been killed on the Laramie River. The appearance of these fixed posts reflected the declining significance of the RENDEZVOUS as an instrument of contact and trade. In 1835, Sublette and associates sold the fort to another fur-trading company headed by Thomas Fitzpatrick, and the next year, the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY absorbed Fitzpatrick's group. The fort attracted the trade of the Indians from the Rocky Mountains as well as several groups of Sioux, confirming the significance of its location. The fur business was steady, but trading on the Platte was never as important as that on the upper Missouri or that of the southern Great Plains (Bent's Fort).

As the fur trade stagnated, the fort assumed another significance. Beginning in 1841, a growing number of settler families began an annual overland trek to Oregon over what became known as the OREGON TRAIL. For the west-





This painting shows a Native American encampment outside Fort Laramie in Wyoming. (Hulton/Archive)

ward pioneers, Fort Laramie became the first significant stop after leaving Independence, Missouri. After 800 miles on the overland trail, settlers, guides, and draft animals all used the fort as a site to rest, refit, and organize for the mountain challenges ahead. As the numbers of overland immigrants grew, from 1,000 in 1843 to 5,000 in 1845, the significance of the fort as an oasis on the land trail grew even as the fur trade declined.

In 1849 the U.S. government bought the fort as a military post. The previous year, gold had been discovered in CALIFORNIA. The California gold rush stimulated the largest overland immigration in the history of the republic. In 1849, some 80,000 FORTY-NINERS took the overland trail to California, and Fort Laramie became the most important landmark on their way West. Every Forty-niner diary—and there are more than 400 preserved—remarked on the arrival at Fort Laramie and the significance of the place to travelers heading west. Among its other services, the fort (now under the command of an Army officer) kept a register of wagons and a roster of immigrants. National newspapers used these numbers as evidence of the large numbers rushing to California in search of gold.

The large overland immigrations of 1849 and subsequent years were the work of inexperienced argonauts intent on reaching California to find gold. They saw the CALIFORNIA TRAIL, as it came to be called, as an obstacle

to their ambitions. Most of them carried too much, and the strain on their draft animals was obvious by the time they reached Fort Laramie. During the stop at the fort, the hurried and harried Forty-niners discarded weight and repacked their wagons. In the middle of the summer, observers commented on the piles of bacon and trunks outside the fort. Indians came not to trade but to pick up the bounty around the fort.

As the focus and number of immigrants to California shifted from overland travel to seagoing transportation in the 1850s, Fort Laramie became a focal point of relations between the U.S. government and the Indian nations of the northern plains. The California gold rush, the annexation of new lands through the TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO, and the signing of the OREGON TREATY OF 1846 had intensified Euro-American traffic across the plains. The fur trade had begun to decline, and the Indians' bargaining power was reduced as increasing numbers of non-Indians moved over what they regarded as their hunting areas. In an attempt to settle Indian affairs on the northern plains and to fit Native Americans into new national policies, the federal government convened a large gathering of Indians. The year was 1851, and the site of the meeting was Fort Laramie. Perhaps as many as 10,000 Indians attended a series of meetings.

With the doctrine of the permanent Indian frontier now obsolete, the Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851) laid down



federal policy toward the Indians of the plains. Even as nations east of the Mississippi River were moved to the vast area known as Indian Territory on the grounds that such landscape would never be attractive for American settlement, the movement of settlers farther onto the plains indicated that Indian policy must be recast. Under the terms of the Treaty of Fort Laramie, nations of the plains agreed to pursue peaceful relations among themselves and to permit the federal government to construct and maintain roads and other fixed posts within the Indian territories. The treaty also divided the northern plains into specific tracts for individual signatory nations. This division was part of the federal government's intention to assign specific boundaries to Indian groups, a legal nicety that was probably not clearly understood by the treaty signers. Even if the leaders had understood the various provisions, they lacked power to enforce their will on all members of their tribal groups, which were inherently decentralized. Among those who eventually affixed their marks to the treaty were representatives of the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Crow, and Mandan nations. In return for these concessions, the federal government promised that the designated Indian lands would be theirs forever and that the government would protect the Indians from Euro-American trespassers. Finally, the representatives of the government agreed to pay annuities of supplies and provisions worth \$50,000 for the next 50 years.

In an arbitrary decision that would become a pattern of relations with the Indians, the Senate reduced length of the annuity to 15 years and increased the amount of goods to \$70,000. None of the Indian signatories agreed to these changes, and the peaceful respite was brief. The continuing movement of Euro-American settlers onto the plains, which accelerated after the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), produced the inevitable physical confrontations. The COLORADO GOLD RUSH and the immigration of 50,000 gold seekers across Kansas and Nebraska in the summer of 1859 brought the situation to a head. The large numbers of Colorado Fifty-niners were competitors for the scarce natural resources of the plains, making subsistence for the Plains Indians difficult if not impossible. Conflict between the two groups produced the inevitable number of depredations and reprisals, and within a decade of the great gathering and treaty-making exercise at Fort Laramie, the arrangements for peace had irrevocably broken down.

Fort Laramie remained an important post on the plains for another generation. The enlarged American presence in the form of settlers, the Pony Express, the telegraph, and, finally, the railroad led to escalating clashes. The American government was preoccupied by the Civil War, but with the end of this conflict, expansion onto the plains accelerated. The great Sioux War of 1876 was the most noteworthy example of U.S. and Indian clashes but far from the only

one. Meanwhile, Fort Laramie continued to play a central role in affairs on the plains until its closure in 1890.

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### Fort Leavenworth

The U.S. Army established Fort Leavenworth in 1827 in what would become the territory and later state of Kansas, at the head of the SANTA FE TRAIL and OREGON TRAIL. It was named for Colonel Henry Leavenworth, one of the army officers most associated with the frontier. Built to protect western travelers and maintain a military presence against the Plains Indians, the fort was a significant anchor to American defense in the West.

Fort Leavenworth was the staging site for several important expeditions to the West, one commanded by Colonel Henry Dodge (1835) and two others led by Colonel (later General) STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY (1839 and 1845). On the outbreak of the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR in 1846, Kearny gathered a force of 1,600 at the fort, trained and outfitted his army, and began his trek to conquer New Mexico and California. During the Civil War, Fort Leavenworth served as an important supply depot and as the headquarters of the Department of the Missouri. In 1881, the army established a Command and Staff School at the fort, and this course of study became the required career step for all officers of staff rank. As such, the fort and its environs became one of the few (along with West Point) common factors in the experience of career officers. It continues to fill that same function up to the present day.

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### Fort Vancouver

The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) built Fort Vancouver in 1824–25 to serve as the headquarters of its Columbia Department. The HBC was locked in a continuing competition with the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY of JOHN JACOB ASTOR for control of the rich FUR TRADE in the Pacific Northwest. Fort Vancouver—located on the north bank of the COLUMBIA RIVER about six miles from the mouth of the Willamette River (the gateway to the interior of the Oregon Country) and some 100 miles from the Columbia's mouth—was intended to perform the functions of physical presence and trading center, to rival Astor's ASTORIA.

For a quarter-century after its founding, Fort Vancouver dominated the trading and commercial life of the



the ports of Portland, Boston, Nantucket, New York, and Philadelphia on the East Coast; and, farther to the South, from Wilmington, Charleston, and New Orleans, bound for the goldfields of the new El Dorado in California.

With the coming of spring in 1849, a great body of Forty-niners assembled in the staging towns of Independence and St. Joseph in Missouri. There, they organized into companies, bought mules and broke them to the harness, acquired wagons, elected officers, and drew up constitutions. They also packed and repacked their supplies in order to conform to the general rule that with four men to a wagon, each could not exceed 250 pounds. The overland Forty-niners, using mules or oxen, would travel to California by traditional means, using the same wagons that had carried their grandparents to Ohio and Kentucky and parents to Wisconsin and Missouri and Mississippi. Overland Forty-niners expected to make the trip for a cost of about \$250. The wagon trains would follow the OREGON TRAIL through SOUTH PASS, where they would turn west and then south for California. The distance of some 2,000 miles had to be covered by late September, when the snows would close the passes of the Sierra Nevada. Furthermore, the many wagon trains would become competitors for the same grass and water. Because grass would not appear on the prairies in sufficient growth to support draft animals until the end of May, all parties of overland Forty-niners had to leave at about the same time.

The overland Forty-niners left with strong feelings about the search for gold and the enterprise on which they were about to embark. They believed, first, that they were going to become rich, or so the stories from California indicated; the sober, hard-working miner must invariably make a fortune. Second, they were convinced that this wealth could be used for the benefit of the family as a whole. In this sense, the venture was not selfish but something for the advantage of many. Third, they supposed that they were doing both God's will and the national will. After all, part of the issue in the enterprise was to assist in the transformation of California (recently acquired through the TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO) from a Mexican to an American cultural identity. The Forty-niners saw themselves as embodying the ideas associated with MANIFEST DESTINY. Finally, the Forty-niners had a strong sense of history and the significance of their overland enterprise. They were part of a long line of heroic pioneers who opened the West for the benefit of the nation. Part of the evidence of this strong belief was the number of journal keepers on the overland voyage to California. Some 400 diaries and journals of Forty-niners survive for the summer of 1849 alone, and many others must have been lost. Their entries, taken in conjunction with the letters that the argonauts sent to their families, confirm their sense of a national destiny of which they were a part.

The Forty-niners had to cross 2,000 miles in five months. To assist them, they had companies of friends and relatives, constitutions that identified the responsibilities of every member, and elected officers. They were well equipped—although many had packed more weight than the livestock could carry over the journey—and they were heavily armed. Indeed, accidents with firearms would become one of the major sources of casualties. Another was the cholera epidemic of that summer, which reached the departure towns of St. Joseph and Independence and often went west with the Forty-niners. Dangers from Indians, of which all Forty-niners were conscious, turned out to be limited to occasional theft.

Once arrived in California, most Forty-niners ceased to keep a journal and dispersed to the mining camps to dig for gold or to the numerous and growing towns of California's gold-rush country, where they sought other ways to profit from the search for gold. Yet each one had been welcomed to that mystical club of Forty-niners that would become so significant in later life, in recounting the travels and deeds that made them a part of America's westward march of empire. The annual migrations to California continued for the next decade, increasingly by sea as steam connections joined the Atlantic Coast ports to Panama and the steamers on the West Coast side carried cargoes of later Forty-niners to California.

Within a few years, many Forty-niners returned to their homes. Their arrival was celebrated by their families if not always by their creditors. They resumed their lives in their communities, although some later moved elsewhere. Others remained in California to make their lives on the West Coast. Some simply disappeared from view, forever lost to their families in the vast landscape of the West. For those who returned or even those who remained in California, their years as a Forty-niner were almost certainly the most memorable of their otherwise routine lives. Forty-niners began to remember and celebrate those years as pioneers, individually and collectively. Some joined in family celebrations, perhaps on the date that the absent argonaut had returned. Others came together in groups, with annual dinners, speeches, and list of members.

The term Forty-niner came to have a general application to all those who went to California in search of gold over a decade, but the nation's true Forty-niners were forever enshrined in a special category. Not even the Civil War and its half-century of remembrance could diminish the permanent identification associated with the Forty-niner. Songs, speeches, poems, stories, and stage plays about Forty-niners served as a reminder of the time when America went west to California in search of gold.

**Further reading:** Rodman W. Paul, *California Gold: The Beginnings of Mining in the Far West* (Cambridge, Mass.:

Harvard University Press, 1947); Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

**Foster, Abigail Kelley** (1811–1887) *activist*

Abigail Kelley Foster was a prominent abolitionist and advocate of WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS. Abby Kelley was born January 15, 1811, in Pelham in west-central Massachusetts. She was the fifth of Wing Kelley's seven children by his second wife, Diana Daniels. Abby spent her childhood in the rural districts of Worcester, Massachusetts, where her family moved in 1811. Reared in the Quaker faith, she early developed a spirit of independence and moral commitment, after completing her education, which according to her daughter included several years at the Providence Friends School. She then became a teacher in the Friends school at Lynn, Massachusetts. While there, she was converted to the ABOLITION MOVEMENT through reading William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*. As secretary of the Lynn Female Anti-Slavery Society, she circulated petitions, distributed literature, and raised funds. Also an officer of the Lynn Female Peach Society, she was among the first to accept Garrison's radical doctrine of nonresistance, and in 1838 she joined him in founding the New England Non-Resistant Society.

In 1837 Kelley attended the first national woman's antislavery convention in New York, where she met ANGELINA AND SARAH GRIMKÉ. When these abolitionist sisters lectured in Massachusetts that summer, the friendship deepened. Kelley shared with them the Quaker conviction that men and women were equally susceptible to the promptings of the "inner light,") and by December 1837 she was convinced that to "improve mankind" was "the only object worth living for."

Her deepening concern with both antislavery and the role of women in public life was demonstrated in May 1838, when she made her first public address before a "promiscuous," or mixed, audience, at the second women's antislavery convention. Held in Philadelphia at Pennsylvania Hall, the hall was burned to the ground by a proslavery mob after only one day. So effective was her speech that THEODORE DWIGHT WELD begged her to become an abolitionist lecturer, exclaiming, "Abby, if you don't, God will smite you!" Influenced by such appeals, she resigned her teaching post and returned to Millbury, Massachusetts, where her family had moved, for six months of soul-searching and studying in preparation for a reformer's vocation. Encouragement from the Grimkés, reformist and abolitionist Henry Wright, feminist and abolitionist LUCRETIA MOTT, and others helped counteract family efforts to dissuade her.

In May 1839 in Connecticut, Kelley began her long and tempestuous career as a lecturer and agitator. One vil-

lage minister denounced her, taking as his text a Biblical reference to "that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess." In Norfolk, where Kelley was forbidden to speak, a hotelkeeper explained that they believed her to be a bad woman, no better than the vilest of New York. Undaunted, she declared in the *Connecticut Observer*: "Whatever ways and men are right for men to adopt in reforming the world are right also for women to adopt in pursuing the same object." Notoriety also had its rewards, as the spectacle of a woman addressing the public attracted listeners otherwise cool to the anti-slavery message.

The abolition movement at this time was deeply troubled by dissension between moderate and radical factions over nonresistance, the role of women, political action, abusive language, and anticlericalism. These were all matters on which Abby Kelley had firm views, and she played a part in the open break, which came at the 1840 convention of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. When a conservative attempt to block her appointment to the business committee was defeated by a vote of 560-450, a large block of delegates left the conference and organized a new antislavery group.

During the next 15 years Abby Kelley traveled great distances, carrying her message throughout New England and into New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. Preaching Garrison's doctrine of "No Union with Slaveholders" and his denunciation of the constitution as "a covenant with death," she also helped to advance the feminist cause by opening public platforms to women. In March 1841, she resigned from the Society of Friends because of its equivocal position on slavery. She then joined a small band of radicals who disclaimed allegiance to both church and state. One of these companions in the early 1840s was Stephen Symonds Foster, a New Hampshire radical who, after leaving Dartmouth with the intention of studying theology, had rejected all clerical institutions as proslavery and set out to topple them. He often interrupted religious services to denounce slavery. In 1843, he published the "Brotherhood of Thieves, or, A True Picture Of The American Clergy and Church."

In Foster, Abby Kelley found a man thoroughly in sympathy with her beliefs and practices. Their courtship extended for four years as their desire to wed conflicted with their devotion to abolition. Finally married on December 21, 1845, in Pennsylvania, they thereafter often traveled as a lecture team. A noteworthy example of their effectiveness together occurred early in 1846 when they visited Oberlin College during a religious revival. In a series of meetings that drew much interest, they attacked preachers, politicians, and the government. The faculty, including the evangelist CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY, denounced them as infidels. Nevertheless, they returned



in the fall, at which time Stephen conducted a brawling debate with Oberlin's president, Asa Mahan. At least one Oberlin student, Lucy Stone, was as deeply moved by the Fosters' visit as the faculty was dismayed.

An acrimonious break with Garrison, under whose strict regime the Fosters became increasingly restive during the 1850s, pushed Foster further to the margins of the movement. By 1856, the Fosters had become convinced that abolitionists must organize politically, or the growing Republican Party would win over their supporters with halfway measures. Their demand for an abolitionist third party was too extreme for Garrison, who saw some good in the rise of the Republicans. In 1859, at the annual meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, Garrison publicly accused Foster of dishonesty in collecting funds. Although tempers cooled after the Civil War, the rift was never fully healed.

With the exception of a final fund-raising tour of New England in 1870, poor health and a failing voice generally limited Abby Kelley Foster, postwar activities to local affairs. She died on January 14, 1887.

**Further reading:** Dorothy Sterling, *Ahead of Her Time: Abby Kelley and the Politics of Anti-Slavery* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991).

### **Fourier, Charles** (1772–1837) *socialist philosopher*

A French philosopher whose ideas influenced several American utopian movements, Charles Fourier was born at Besançon in 1772, the son of a businessman. Largely self-educated, he had hoped to join the military as an engineer but instead joined the family business, working as a tradesman in Marseilles. His lack of interest and skill in the business world, coupled with the family firm's financial difficulties, led him to abandon the trade in 1799 and take a job as a civil servant in Lyons. He wrote his first book, *The Social Destiny of Man: Or, Theory of the Four Movements*, in 1808. Little else is known about his life until 1816, when he inherited money from his mother and began spending all of his time writing. In 1823, he moved to Paris, where he would live and write until his death in 1837.

While Fourier's theories contained singular and peculiar interpretations of the cosmos, he also analyzed the burgeoning capitalist society around him. It is for these ideas about the social order that he is remembered today. Troubled by the chaos and volatile imbalances he saw in capitalist societies, Fourier proposed to reorganize them into balanced structures that would create social harmony. These new organizing units would be called phalanxes, agricultural groupings in which people worked on the tasks for which they were most suited, thus shedding the confines of industrial life and cultivating their whole selves.

Each phalanx would live in a community dwelling called a phalanstery, where all residents could live in the apartments that best fit their budgets (Fourier even planned the dimensions of the rooms). Each phalanstery would operate efficiently and profitably by centralizing daily activities such as eating and cleaning and by assigning all other kinds of work to the people most interested in doing them. Fourier predicted that people would compete in a friendly way, thus producing good products without creating conflicts. All profits would be community property, divided among members of each phalanx along these lines: five-twelfths to labor, four-twelfths to capital, three-twelfths to ability.

Phalanxes would thus be cooperative organizations, where workers would ideally become part-owners as well. Once the entire world had been divided into phalanxes, human society would become more ordered and harmonious. Capitalist impulses would not be abandoned, but rather redirected. In Fourier's utopian vision, humankind would be able to cultivate the positive aspects of industrial capitalism (such as productivity and ingenuity) while eliminating the venality and despair that he saw in the industrial societies of his time.

Despite the bizarre aspects of Fourier's world view, his theories attracted numerous followers, most notably in France and the United States. His utopian notions about human perfectability corresponded well with some of the ideas being expressed by transcendentalists and religious reformers in America. The most famous American community to adopt Fourierist principles was BROOK FARM, which operated in Massachusetts from 1841 to 1847. Other Fourierist phalansteries were founded during these years, but none lasted long.

While Fourier's ideas seem impractical and naïve today, he and other utopian socialists are historically significant because they criticized a capitalist system that was creating enormous social change, anxiety, and financial insecurity, and proposed to reorganize society through rational planning and humane working conditions.

See also TRANSCENDENTAL MOVEMENT.

**Further reading:** Jonathan Beecher, *Charles Fourier: The Visionary and His World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Robert L. Heilbroner, *The Worldly Philosophers: The Lives, Times, and Ideas of the Great Economic Thinkers*, 7th ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999).

—Eleanor H. McConnell

### **Franklin Institute**

The Franklin Institute, organized as a memorial to Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), sought to study and promote mechanics and the applied sciences. Founded in Philadel-



phia in 1824, it is the oldest such institution in the United States. The institute publishes a peer-reviewed scientific journal on new theoretical developments and their practical applications, especially in engineering and mathematics; the *Journal of the Franklin Institute* has been issued continuously since 1826. The institute also bestows the annual Bower Award and Prize for advances in science and technology, as well the Cresson Medal, the Franklin Medal, and other awards and prizes. The list of its honorees includes Alexander Graham Bell, Marie and Pierre Curie, Thomas Edison, Albert Einstein, Max Planck, Niels Bohr, and a host of other leading scientists.

The institute was incorporated as the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts, and its first headquarters was in Independence Hall (then the Philadelphia County Court House). Intended as a lasting tribute to Franklin, the statesman, printer, and writer who was also well known for his scientific experiments and inventions, the institute's headquarters incorporates an impressive Franklin memorial and museum complex that was erected in 1933. Today, the Franklin Institute Science Museum includes exhibits on mechanics, aviation, meteorology, anatomy, electricity, transportation, astronomy, and the elements—some of the many subjects in which Franklin himself was most interested. A major part of its mission is providing educational programs for children, in the hope of inspiring new generations of scientists and inventors.

**Further reading:** The Franklin Institute Science Museum, “Legacy of the Franklin Institute.” URL: [www.fi.edu/tfi/legacy.html](http://www.fi.edu/tfi/legacy.html). Downloaded 2001.

—Mary Kay Linge

## Free-Soil Party

The Free-Soilers were a small but influential political party that came into existence in 1847–48 and opposed the extension of slavery into the western territories. Democratic factionalism in a single state created the new Free-Soil Party. The New York Democratic Party represented a complex coalition particularly sensitive to shifts in national, state, and local developments. One of the most important of the northern state organizations, it achieved direct national importance with the 1836 election of MARTIN VAN BUREN, but his unwillingness to cooperate in the admission of TEXAS to the Union led to his abandonment by the party's southern wing in 1840 and its fierce hostility to him in 1844. On a statewide level, the party divided between “Hunkers” and “Barnburners,” with whom Van Buren was identified. When the tenant-farmer and rural vote shifted against the Democrats, Barnburners blamed the Hunkers. Barnburners also opposed President JAMES K. POLK's use

of patronage to secure southern control of the national party through Hunker cooperation.

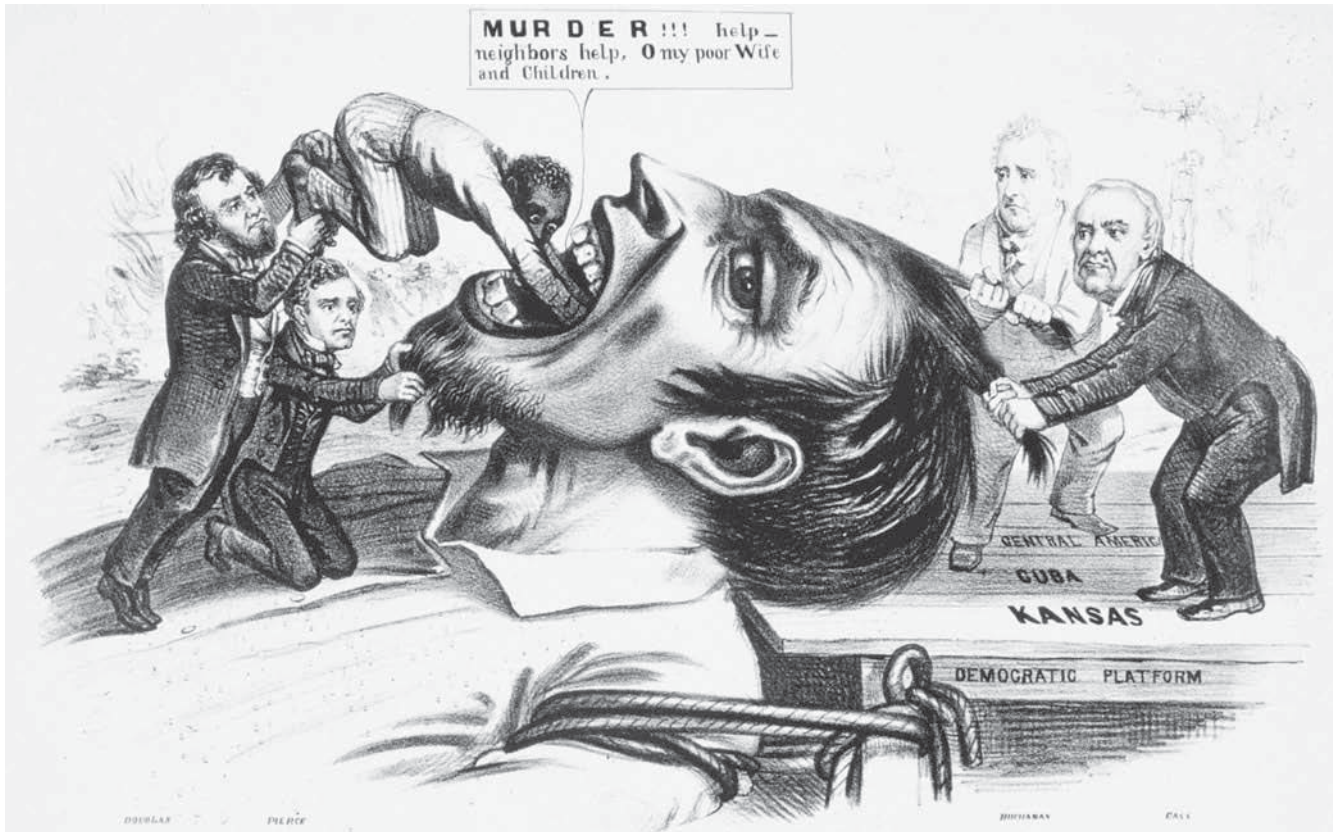
The Wilmot Proviso was the cause of much debate. Introduced by David Wilmot—a Democrat from Pennsylvania—the proviso stated that the institution of slavery was forbidden in territories acquired from Mexico. The Democratic state convention at Syracuse on September 29, 1847, split over adopting the Wilmot Proviso, as the Barnburners walked out. The Hunkers met January 26, 1848, at Albany while the Barnburners held their own convention on February 16 at Utica. Both sent delegations to the May national convention at Baltimore. The conflict over which New York delegation should be seated split the party nationally. In the end, the Barnburners withdrew, calling another national convention for Utica, June 22. Delegations from Wisconsin, Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts and Connecticut joined the Barnburners there to nominate Van Buren. The convention then called for another national convention to unite the country on a “free-soil” basis.

There were already several such moves underway. A similar convention had already been called by the People's Convention of Friends of Free Territory, which met in Columbus, Ohio, on June 20. The WHIG PARTY's nomination of ZACHARY TAYLOR at their convention on June 7 led to the departure of the “Conscience Whigs,” which itself consisted of two factions, and the LIBERTY PARTY with its National Reform allies.

The Buffalo convention of August 9 was bedlam, more like a public mass meeting than a delegated convention. Managed by the Barnburners, a Committee of Conference transacted all the business while the majority sat in a big tent to hear speeches. The platform pledged to discourage slavery, abolish it where possible (e.g., in the District of Columbia), prohibit its extension, guarantee retrenchment, provide cheap postage, abolish unnecessary offices, create more elective offices, promote internal improvements, secure a homestead law, pay the public debt, and levy a tariff for revenue. Conscience Whigs generally concurred, although they had little confidence in the Barnburner Democrats who seemed to see the movement primarily as a means to put the Democrats back on the right track.

The party had momentous importance for the antislavery movement. Noted abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison thought the party was a good beginning toward a loftier goal, “a party for keeping Free-Soil and not for setting men free.” Other political abolitionists and National Reformers around Gerrit Smith favored retaining the Liberty Party. Still, most abolitionists, including the prominent black spokesman Frederick Douglass, supported the party of “Free Soil, free speech, free labor, and free men.”

The new party threatened components of both the existing parties. Whig statesman DANIEL WEBSTER called them “Free Spoilers” and the *National Intelligencer*



This cartoon depicting the Free-Soil controversy lays on the Democrats the major blame for violence perpetrated against antislavery settlers in Kansas. (Hulton/Archive)

denounced their hypocrisy and insincerity as a device for Van Buren's revenge. *The Democratic Washington Union* called the party simply a gathering of Whig Abolitionists. Free-Soilers in the "Old Northwest" demonstrated both the values and pitfalls of coalition politics. Michigan Free-Soilers rallied Whigs and others hostile to Democratic leader LEWIS CASS, while Ohio Free-Soilers worked with the Democrats who declared for free territory. In the 1848 election, Van Buren polled 291,616 votes, and the Free-Soil party elected 14 congressmen and two senators.

In Massachusetts, Henry Wilson and Charles Sumner engineered an understanding of sorts between the Free-Soilers and the Democrats who were desperate to overthrow the Whig dominance in the state. By 1850, the tentative coalition had won a majority in the legislature in which Free-Soilers agreed to leave the state offices to the Democrats in return for the Senate. As a result, Sumner joined the growing antislavery contingent in Washington.

In some ways, the party seemed to lose much in the East after the elections, as the New York Barnburners soon drifted back into the Democratic Party. However, the two major parties rallied to the COMPROMISE OF 1850 and its

new fugitive-slave provision, repudiating some of its state and local professions of sympathy for Free-Soil.

While the process lost the party politicians, it radicalized its electoral base, particularly in the Old Northwest. The unrepentant Free-Soilers attacked these policies. Former Democrats like Preston King and David Wilmot and former Whigs like Giddings, Henry Wilson, and Charles F. Adams would not return to their old parties. An 1851 Cleveland, Ohio, meeting of the remaining leaders called a national Free-Soil Democratic Convention to meet August 11, 1852, at Pittsburgh. Under Giddings, this enthusiastic convention proclaimed themselves "Free-Soil Democrats," "Independent Democrats," or, most commonly "Free Democrats." It adopted a platform based on the 1848 Buffalo platform, but added planks condemning the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Bill, denouncing South Carolina's seamen laws, demanding recognition of Haiti, and stating that it was the duty of the U.S. government to protest against European monarchical intervention in countries trying to establish republican governments. The party nominated a presidential ticket of John P. Hale of New Hampshire and George W. Julian

of Indiana as his running mate. In the 1852 election, the ticket polled only 156,297 votes, but these were far more radical than the earlier Free-Soil Party votes.

The party disappeared with the 1854 crisis over Kansas and the emergence of the new REPUBLICAN PARTY.

**Further reading:** Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

—Richard L. Friedline

### Free Trade and Sailor's Rights

This political slogan became popular as the United States entered the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15). It represented in succinct form the two main maritime grievances that Americans had against Great Britain. “Free trade” referred to the various impositions that Great Britain had put on American neutral trading in the midst of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars (1793–1815), including the Essex Decision (1805) and the Orders in Council (1806–12). Americans claimed that as neutrals they had a right to trade with any country, whether that nation was at war with Great Britain or not. “Sailor’s rights” referred to the right of a sailor to contract for himself on American merchantmen ships, and that once he did so, he should be protected from being seized and forced to serve in the British Navy.

Although it remains unclear when the slogan first appeared, it quickly gained widespread usage in the maritime community. Politicians like HENRY CLAY used the phrase in the halls of Congress, and it appeared in several publications. American privateers and warships sometimes flew a pennant from a mast with the slogan emblazoned on it. Captain David Porter raised such a banner from the masthead when he headed for the Pacific on the USS *Essex* in 1813, and Captain James Lawrence flew a similar banner when he left Boston aboard the *Chesapeake* to fight the HMS *Shannon* in May of the same year. American sailors made the slogan their own. When the captives held at DARTMOOR PRISON heard of the TREATY OF GHENT (1814), they were excited that they would soon be released. Confident that both impressment and limitations on American commerce had been ended by the treaty—officially it did not deal with either issue—they raised an American flag and a pennant proclaiming “Free Trade and Sailor’s Rights” over the British compound. For many years thereafter, the slogan would appear occasionally as a statement not only of sailors’ rights but of the rights of the poor. Day laborers in New York City struck for higher wages in 1816 and used a banner with the slogan on it. Whalers etched the phrase on whalebone for decades, and as late as 1840, banners appeared in election campaigns proclaiming “Free Trade and Sailor’s Rights.”

### Frémont, Jessie Benton (1824–1902) *writer, politician*

Born the daughter of leading Jacksonian Democrat THOMAS HART BENTON and his wife, Elizabeth, and later married to famous explorer and presidential nominee JOHN C. FRÉMONT, Jessie Benton Frémont was a strong presence and accomplished individual in her own right. She was born Jessie Ann Benton on May 31, 1824, on her grandfather’s estate in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia. As a young girl, she was known for her strong and energetic personality; the family often commented how she took after her father, a U.S. senator representing Missouri.

The Bentons had six children, but Jessie, the second-born, was usually the center of attention. The family spent part of each year in Washington, and Jessie as a young girl would accompany her father to the Capitol and also to the White House when he called on his friend and political ally, President ANDREW JACKSON. Jessie also spent considerable time at her grandparents’ estate in Virginia as well as in St. Louis, where her parents had a home. She was educated in Washington, however, at Miss English’s Female Seminary in Georgetown. It was in Washington that she met and fell in love with John Frémont, then a lieutenant in the Topographical Corps of the United States. Although her father was strongly opposed to the two getting married, in part due to his teenaged daughter’s youth, Jessie Benton and John Frémont were married in Washington, D.C., on October 19, 1841.

Jessie Benton Frémont did not join her husband on his government-sponsored travels and explorations in the western part of the continental United States, but she was instrumental in popularizing accounts of his expeditions (which included the scout KIT CARSON). In addition to raising the couple’s children, she and her husband collaborated on a series of reports, mainly written by Jessie, that proved to be very popular with the reading public. These reports included valuable and generally accurate scientific and topographical information, and also told of the natural beauty and adventures encountered on Frémont’s expeditions. In 1849, she traveled west with her young daughter to meet her well-traveled husband and later published an account of her own journey, including observations on the environment in California, as *A Year of American Travel*.

During the 1850s, the Frémonts lived in both San Francisco and Washington, when John Frémont represented California briefly in the U.S. Senate and then ran for president in 1856 as the first nominee of the new REPUBLICAN PARTY. Although they made a strong initial showing, the Republicans went down to defeat. Jessie Benton Frémont, however, made a positive impression during the campaign and was the center of attention in a way that was truly remarkable for a woman in 19th-century America. Only 32 years old, she had charmed many of the leading



politicians of the day, impressing them with both her vivacious personality and sharp intellect.

During the Civil War, the Frémonts entered in the national spotlight again when John C. Frémont was a general in the Union army. With Jessie at his side, he ran afoul of the Lincoln administration, in part because he had emancipated slaves in Missouri without prior approval from Washington. Relations between President Lincoln and the Frémonts deteriorated rapidly; at one point Lincoln denounced Jessie Frémont as “a female politician” and she in turn referring to him as “sly” and “slimy.”

After the war, Jessie Frémont and her husband were much less prominent on the national stage, although she continued to write, publishing a number of stories for periodicals on her travels and history as well as some children’s stories. John C. Frémont died in 1890, and Jessie lived for 12 more years, remaining active in women’s clubs until her own death in Los Angeles in 1902. Given the norms of the society in which she lived, it would have been quite understandable if she had been entirely overshadowed by her dynamic and powerful father and husband, yet Jessie Benton Frémont succeeded admirably in making her own mark on the world.

**Further reading:** Pamela Herr, *Jessie Benton Fremont: A Biography* (New York: F. Watts, 1987); Ilene Stone, *Jesse Benton Fremont, Missouri’s Trailblazer* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005).

—Jason K. Duncan

**Frémont, John C.** (1813–1890) *explorer, soldier, politician*

Previously well known as a western explorer and adventurer, John Charles Frémont, referred to as “The Pathfinder,” was the first presidential candidate of the REPUBLICAN PARTY in 1856. He was born on January 21, 1813 in Savannah, Georgia, to Jean Fremon, a French immigrant, and Anne Beverly Whiting, who were not married. The young Fremon was five when his father died, and he grew up in Charleston, South Carolina, in circumstances that were less than prosperous.

Having added a t and an accent to his name, John C. Frémont as a young man was notable for being ambitious and proud as well as somewhat reckless and headstrong. After working in a Charleston law office, he entered the College of Charleston in 1829. Although considered very bright, especially in mathematics, he proved to be an indifferent student and was expelled for “incorrigible negligence” before he could graduate. He did, however, apply for and receive his degree five years later. Frémont later joined the navy as a math teacher, but resigned his commission to enlist in the U.S. Army as a second lieutenant

in the late 1830s, joining a topographical study charged with surveying Cherokee lands in northwestern Georgia. This was Frémont’s first real work as an explorer, and he took an instant liking to it, saying later in his memoirs that “through many of the years to come the occupation of my prime of life was to be among Indians and in waste places.”

After the Georgia survey was finished, Frémont, who spoke French, was assigned by the U.S. government to assist Joseph Nicollet, a scientist and explorer from France who was surveying the land between the upper Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Nicollet was among the best in his field, and he gave Frémont a solid grounding in natural sciences as they pertained to western exploration in the United States. Upon returning to Washington, the two men collaborated on a report of their travels and a map of the lands they had surveyed together. Senator THOMAS HART BENTON of Missouri, a vigorous champion of western expansion, invited them to his home to discuss their findings, and it was there that Frémont met Benton’s teenaged daughter, Jessie. The two fell in love almost immediately, but Senator Benton thought his daughter too young to marry and arranged to have Frémont sent west to make an expedition in the Iowa Territory. Although Frémont went to Iowa and produced a generally reliable map, the journey did nothing to stem his romance with Jessie Benton, and the two (both Protestants) were married in secret by a Catholic priest in Washington in October 1841. Frémont thus gained not only a wife in JESSIE BENTON FRÉMONT but an influential patron in the powerful Senator Benton.

The following year, Frémont led his first major expedition along the OREGON TRAIL, and afterwards, with much assistance from his wife, he published *A Report of the Exploring Expedition to Oregon and California*, which captured the nation’s imagination with its vivid descriptions of natural wonders and riches awaiting brave adventurers. It was on this trip that Frémont first met KIT CARSON, a scout who became famous in his own right from his travels with the Pathfinder. The two undertook another large expedition in 1843, traveling west from the Missouri River toward the Oregon territory, investigating the Great Salt Lake, going into Nevada and in the winter crossing over the Sierra Nevada and into CALIFORNIA, which then belonged to Mexico. The journey took the party nearly 6,500 miles, and the Frémonts subsequently published *A Report of the Exploring Expedition to Oregon and California*. The report was widely popular, as it included tales of adventure, scientific information, and a well-drawn map, along with information for anyone seeking to move west.

As relations between the United States and Mexico worsened, President JAMES K. POLK approved a third expedition for Frémont, and he generously supplied the

Pathfinder with men and money. This journey lasted from 1845 to 1847, and when Frémont and his party moved once again into California, Mexican authorities ordered them to leave. Frémont defied the order by raising an American flag and later joined with other migrants from the United States in instigating what became known as the BEAR FLAG REVOLT.

When war between the United States and Mexico was formally declared, Frémont helped to capture the California city of Los Angeles. However, he became involved in a serious dispute between two high-ranking members of the American military, Commodore ROBERT FIELD STOCKTON and General STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY, both of whom claimed authority over California. Frémont backed Stockton's bid for leadership, and the naval officer appointed him governor of California. As Frémont was technically still an officer in the army, an incensed Kearny, upon learning from Washington that he was in fact the one entitled to appoint the governor, detained Frémont and then marched him eastward to FORT LEAVENWORTH, where he was arrested. Frémont was found guilty by a military court of mutiny and disobedience. President Polk, grateful for the services he had rendered and aware of his great popularity, overturned the verdict, but Frémont was humiliated by the entire affair and resigned his commission.

The Pathfinder subsequently set out on a fourth expedition, this one financed not by the federal government but by his father-in-law and some businessmen in St. Louis. Once again his party included Kit Carson, but this expedition met with tragedy during the winter as they got lost in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado while searching for a railroad route. Ten of the party's 30 members died as a result, and some of the survivors blamed Frémont for the disaster. He later ended up back in California, where in the late 1840s gold was discovered on land he owned. Armed with this new wealth, Frémont was elected as the first U.S. senator from California; a Democrat, he served for less than a year due to a prior agreement.

In 1856 the new REPUBLICAN PARTY nominated the still well-known and popular Frémont as its first presidential candidate. A born southerner, he had come out in favor of antislavery forces in Kansas earlier that year, and this, combined with his heroic persona and colorful past, convinced Republicans that he would be a natural vote-getter despite his limited political experience. The Republican rallying cry in 1856 was "Free men, free soil, free labor and Frémont!" At 43, Frémont was then the youngest man in the country's history to be nominated for president. During the campaign, the DEMOCRATIC PARTY spread the false rumors that he was a secret Catholic.

Frémont was essentially a sectional candidate, as the Republicans were only on the ballot in four southern states,



John C. Frémont (Library of Congress)

all in the Upper South, and the party received virtually no votes in those states. There were thus two contests that year; Frémont vs. Democrat James Buchanan in the North and Buchanan vs. former President MILLARD FILLMORE, running on the American Party ticket, in the South. Frémont did very well in most parts of the North, winning 60 percent of the vote to Buchanan's 36 percent. He carried 11 states and won 114 electoral votes, but Buchanan won enough states in the lower North that, combined with his victory in the South, gave him a comfortable victory and the presidency.

During the Civil War, Frémont served unsuccessfully as a general, infuriating President Abraham Lincoln in 1861 by emancipating slaves in Missouri without authorization. In 1864 dissident Republicans dissatisfied with Lincoln's wartime leadership nominated him for the presidency, but Lincoln was able to persuade him to withdraw in return for a political favor. Although Frémont served as territorial governor of Arizona between 1878 and 1883, he depended on his wife's income from writing during his later years. He died in New York City in 1890.

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—Jason K. Duncan

### fugitive slave laws

Laws giving slaveholders the right to capture slaves who had escaped their bondage, as well as the enforcement of those laws, were at the center of much of the bitterness and growing divisions between North and South in the decade prior to the Civil War. The U.S. Constitution had given slave owners the legal right to capture runaway slaves and return them to servitude. Article IV, Section 2, stated that any “person held to service or labor in one state” who fled his or her bondage by going to another state “shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor shall be due.” This original language proved to be somewhat vague, and in 1793 Congress passed a measure, which became law, that gave slaveholders the right to actually bring those persons they claimed were their slaves into any local or federal court to prove ownership.

During the court proceedings that eventually stemmed from this law, those accused of being runaway slaves were denied trial by jury or the right to testify on their own behalf. Such a situation did not sit well with an increasing number of people in the North, especially as the ABOLITION MOVEMENT gained strength after 1830. Northern states therefore responded by passing a series of PERSONAL LIBERTY LAWS. The measures included protecting the rights of runaway slaves by providing criminal punishments for kidnapping and allowing those brought to court as fugitives to testify on their own behalf, have a jury trial, and not be imprisoned without due process of the law. Some of these laws were challenged in the courts, and in 1842 the U.S. Supreme Court handed down an important decision when it ruled that the 1793 Fugitive Slave Law was constitutional. The Court also ruled, however, that state governments were not required to enforce the language in the Constitution pertaining to fugitive slaves, as that responsibility rested with the federal government. This ruling paved the way for another series of state personal liberty laws in the North between 1842 and 1850, which denied the use of state government facilities and prohibited state officers from assisting those involved in the capture and extradition of runaway slaves. Among the states passing such laws were Massachusetts, Vermont, and Ohio in 1843; Connecticut in 1844; Pennsylvania in 1847; and Rhode Island in 1848. These measures drew a torrent of criticism from the South, with slaveholders denouncing the North for aiding abolition and encouraging lawlessness and disrespect for property. Although the exact number of slaves who made

their way to freedom in the North or to Canada remains in doubt, it is very possible that as many as several hundred enslaved people a year escaped their bondage along the route of the legendary Underground Railroad.

The question of fugitive slave laws remained a source of mutual hostility between North and South, and in 1850 Congress addressed the matter at the urging of southerners who wished to see the entire system of laws governing fugitive slaves strengthened to their advantage. The debate over the bill immediately broke down along sectional lines; predictably, southerners believed that the proposed measure did not do enough to protect their property, i.e., their slaves. Senators from the North complained that the proposed law did not give enough protection to free African Americans living in their states. The efforts of northern senators, mainly Whigs, to get amendments passed to the bill that would guarantee some rights to slaves were defeated. The Fugitive Slave Law was the only measure passed as part of the COMPROMISE OF 1850 that explicitly protected the rights of slaveholders. Consequently, it was the North that in general felt most aggrieved by it. Under the law’s provisions, a person could bring an accused runaway slave before a federal commissioner and provide “satisfactory proof” of ownership, either by testimony of witnesses (whites only) or documentation from a court in a southern state. The law also included penalties for those, including federal officials, who aided or abetted runaway slaves or who refused to assist in their capture and extradition.

In practice, the enforcement of the 1850 law favored slaveholders at the expense of African Americans. During the decade after its passage, over 300 persons accused of being runaway slaves were forced to return to bondage, while only 11 were allowed to remain free. Tragically, some of those who were sent south against their will had been previously free. Abolitionists refused to accept the law as it was written, however. A crowd in Boston stormed a federal courthouse in 1851 and rescued a runaway slave named Shadrach Minkins, who was facing certain return to the South. Three years later, also in Boston, federal officials responded with force of their own when hundreds of deputies and soldiers escorted runaway slave ANTHONY BURNS to a ship waiting to return him to his owner.

Opponents of slavery challenged the law in the courts, but in 1859 the Supreme Court ruled that it was constitutional. Even so, opposition to the law helped to drive many Whigs and some Democrats who opposed slavery out of their parties and led them to create a new one, the REPUBLICAN PARTY. Southerners increasingly took the stance that strict enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law was necessary for them to stay in the Union. As a result of some highly publicized cases in which runaway slaves were forcibly returned to the South under the provisions of the 1850 law, northern states from New England to the Middle

West passed yet another series of personal liberty laws in the 1850s. Ultimately, it was the controversy over slavery in the Kansas and Nebraska Territories and the election of Republican Abraham Lincoln to the presidency in 1860 that led to the outbreak of the Civil War (1861–65). Even so, the intense disagreement over whether slaveholders had the right to capture runaway slaves and return them to the South from anywhere in the United States illustrated as much as anything that the slavery question was causing an unbridgeable gulf between North and South. During the Civil War, the Republican-dominated Congress revoked the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

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—Jason K. Duncan

**Fuller, Margaret** (1810–1850) *author, women's rights advocate*

Born on May 23, 1810, in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, Sarah Margaret Fuller went on to become one of the foremost American philosophers, feminists, and social critics of the 19th century. The eldest child of Margaret Crane Fuller and Timothy Fuller, Margaret received a classical education from an early age. Save for two years spent at the Misses Prescott's school in Groton, Connecticut, from 1824 to 1826, she was educated entirely by her father, a lawyer and U.S. congressman. By the age of seven, she was reading Ovid, Virgil, and Horace, and by adulthood she was proficient in French, German, Italian, Latin, and Greek. A formidable scholar, Fuller applied for and gained access to the libraries at Harvard University, a male-only institution.

In the mid-1830s, Fuller met RALPH WALDO EMERSON and became increasingly devoted to the philosophy of transcendentalism. She befriended many other New England intellectuals including Elizabeth Peabody, W. E. Channing, and Bronson Alcott, father of Louisa May. In December 1836, she became a teacher at Alcott's Temple School in Boston, before moving to Providence, Rhode Island, where she taught until 1839. That year she returned to Boston and founded a weekly group for women to discuss matters of art, philosophy, mythology, and women's rights. These 'conversations,' as the meetings were called, took place until 1844. Fuller concurrently deepened her commitment to the TRANSCENDENTAL MOVEMENT, helping to plan the utopian community of BROOK FARM in 1841 and cofounding *The Dial*, a quarterly journal, with Emerson and George Ripley in 1840. As editor of the journal from 1840 to 1842, and as contributor until its demise

in 1844, Fuller was one of its most ardent supporters. In 1843, she published "The Great Lawsuit: Man *versus* Men. Woman *versus* Women," in *The Dial's* pages, an essay that she would revise and expand to publish as *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* in 1845. Both works sharply criticized the inequality between men and women in 19th-century America, particularly in terms of education and legal rights. *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* is believed to have been a major influence on the organizers and participants at the women's rights convention of 1848 in SENECA FALLS.

In 1844 Fuller published *Summer on the Lakes*, a travel journal that contained her thoughts on America's westward expansion and included commentary on the education of women. Impressed by her literary skills, Horace Greeley hired Fuller as a critic for the *New York Tribune* in 1845. While she lived in New York for only a year, it was a year that compounded her commitment to social activism, particularly in support of abolitionism, prison reform, and women's rights. In 1846, she left New York to become the *Tribune's* foreign correspondent, visiting England and France to meet with numerous writers and politicians. Eventually she settled in Rome, where she became an increasingly active participant in the revolutionary campaign to unify Italy. There she met Giovanni Angelo, Marchesse d'Ossoli, a fellow revolutionary with whom she conceived a son, born in 1848. Sometime in the next two years, Fuller and d'Ossoli were married, but not, to the chagrin of many of Fuller's compatriots, until after the birth of their son. In 1849 the revolution was defeated, and the d'Ossolis fled Rome. Hoping for a new beginning and, some suggest, in spite of a nagging feeling of impending disaster, the d'Ossolis boarded the ship *Elizabeth*, bound for New York in 1850. A mile from the shores of Fire Island, New York, the ship ran aground and sank. Only the body of Eugene, the d'Ossolis' son, was ever found.

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—Catherine J. Denial

## fur trade

From the beginning of European contact with North America, the fur trade drew entrepreneurs who hoped to tap its lucrative potential. For three centuries, the fur business shaped the international economy, Indian-white relations, and the American landscape and settlement patterns. As European colonization in North America moved west from the Atlantic Ocean and east from the Pacific,

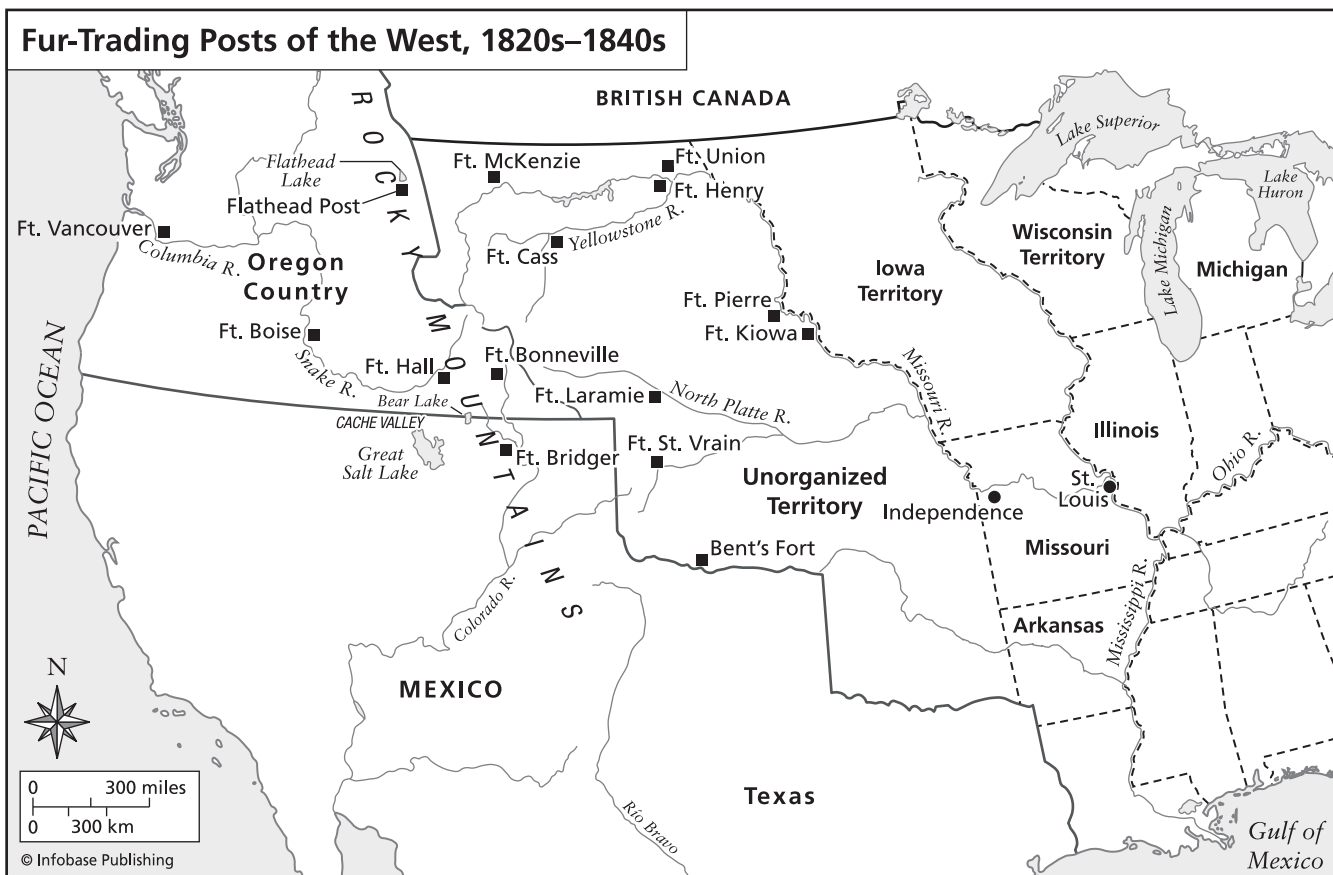
trappers and traders traveled with explorers, continuously expanding into new territories possessing new sources of fur. Much of the diplomatic and economic relationship between Native Americans and Europeans depended initially on the trade in beaver pelts in the Northeast, deer in the Southeast, sea otters along the Northwest Pacific coast, and bear in the Rocky Mountains. These furs were in high demand in Europe for manufactures such as coats and felt hats.

Of the commodities Europeans found in North America, fur was the easiest to acquire and sell for immediate profit. Both officially government-sanctioned companies and private individuals competed for trading rights, which were contested among the European nations then involved in international trade and colonization: Spain, France, Great Britain, Russia, and Holland. Each of these countries developed trading agreements with different groups of NATIVE AMERICANS, often using existing animosities among Indian nations to strengthen their own trading alliances. Cooperation with Indians was absolutely necessary, since they understood the American terrain and how to hunt most effectively for beaver and other valuable fur

producers. Initially, Indian men hunted, and Indian women prepared the pelts for trade. Then middlemen or certain tribes would trade these pelts for items produced in Europe such as tinware, tools, textiles, and liquor.

In the early years, non-Indian hunters stayed clear of activities that would compete with Indian hunting, preferring to act only as traders. This arrangement, however, did not last, and the trading networks that had been established between whites and Indians were disrupted by competition among different nations and their European allies. These changes led to the disastrous Iroquois wars of the 17th century, in which the Iroquois and their trading allies from England and Holland decimated the Huron, the major intermediaries in the inland fur trade and key allies of France.

After these conflicts, English and French trading interests continued to clash, especially in northern Canada and the Great Lakes region. By sending missionaries, traders, and explorers inland and establishing successful trading posts at Montreal and Detroit, the French successfully expanded their trading power. English influence also grew with the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in



1670. While the French strategy for capitalizing on North American trade was to mingle with Native Americans and promote political as well as economical allegiances between the royal France and its American subjects, the aims of the English trading companies were more driven by private profit and economic power. French and English animosities continued to grow, eventually leading to the French and Indian War, or Seven Years' War, which ended in 1763 with the fall of New France. Old French trading companies in Montreal continued to compete privately with the Hudson's Bay Company by forming the new North West Company. These two firms continued to contend for new trade among Indians from the Great Lakes all the way to the Pacific Ocean, finally merging their operations in 1821.

During the first half of the 19th century, the American fur trade was dominated by the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY and other powerful trading organizations such those run by the CHOUTEAU FAMILY and Manuel Lisa. Because extensive settlement in the eastern United States before and after the Revolutionary War had eradicated the fur-producing animals from that region, traders needed to expand to the interior and find new sources of fur. After the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804–06) mapped potential trade routes through the trans-Mississippi West, this vast territory and its fur resources were easier for traders to exploit. In 1822, WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY's expeditions explored and discovered routes for travel across the Rocky Mountains and the Continental Divide, which opened up this region to transcontinental trade. The various branches of JOHN JACOB ASTOR's American Fur Company dominated the American market from 1808 to the mid-1840s, establishing trading posts from St. Louis to Oregon. Beginning in 1810, St. Louis was the market center of the western fur trade for three decades.

By the beginning of the 19th century, it was clear that the fur trade and its subsequent industries had transformed Indian economies and ways of living, leading Native Americans to primarily supply pelts while relying on trade for goods they had once produced for themselves and for new goods they wanted, such as kettles, guns, and blankets. In a larger sense, the fur trade transformed Indian ideas about how to live with the world, giving monetary value to things that were previously not commercial in their cultures. Until the abolition of the Indian factory system in 1822, Native-American groups could compete with the fur companies and maintain some level of economic power in the production of fur goods. The Indian factory system consisted of U.S. government-owned and -operated fur trading posts, whose policies of fair prices and no alcohol were designed as a model of fur trading posts. After the factory system was eliminated

by the federal government (at the strong urging of its competitor, Astor), Indians became more dependent for their trading livelihood on white traders and white companies. Native Americans had participated willingly in the fur trade, drawn to the prospect of materially improving their lives just as white Europeans were doing. But over time, Indian participation in the American market economy became less negotiated and more coerced. From the beginning, the fur trade introduced Native Americans to an international capitalist economy—one that would eventually contribute to the depletion of their resources and their eviction from valuable lands. As their lands were taken and the finite resources (such as fur) that they depended on for economic agency diminished, Indians were increasingly forced into debt with white traders in order to survive.

The fur trade altered Native-American cultures permanently. Social interactions and family relationships changed as the older customs gave way to new practices that disrupted old roles. The economic imperative to process more and more pelts meant that older limits imposed on hunting were discarded, which led to over-hunting and the destruction of the food chain in many areas. As beaver and other desirable fur-bearers declined in number, Indians and white traders relocated to fresh hunting grounds, and the process was repeated. Disease spread from European traders to Indians along trade routes. Because Native Americans had not developed immunity to European diseases such as smallpox and measles, the death toll could be devastatingly high, destroying whole villages and tribes. The ravages of disease and the destruction of North American ecosystems followed in the wake of traders and settlers as they penetrated further into the continent in search of furs and other commodities.

The fur trade eventually dwindled in importance due to the depletion of available pelts and changes in European fashions and market demands. In North America, the major fur companies were finished by the 1870s. But the lure of fur as a quick moneymaker continued. Despite the breakdown of trading companies and reciprocal trade relationships, the fur trade continued with the availability of a new product: bison. As the Plains Indians were cleared from their lands by settling Europeans after the Civil War, companies and individuals hunted the Plains bison nearly to extinction. Even without the powerful fur companies or Indian trading partners, American and foreign entrepreneurs were still drawn to harvest the abundant fur in America, and continued to threaten the future of the ecosystem.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell





### Gadsden Purchase

The Gadsden Purchase was, in essence, a diplomatic follow-up to the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, which was brought to a formal conclusion by the TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO in 1848. In the years immediately after the end of the war, Mexico accused the United States of not fulfilling some of its obligations under the treaty, including protecting Mexico from incursions of American Indians who lived in the United States. There was also a boundary dispute between the two nations over land south of the Gila River. This territory had not been sufficiently surveyed to reflect the boundaries agreed to in the treaty. These lands in Mexico also included important low mountain passes that American investors looking to build a southern railroad from New Orleans to the Pacific Ocean sought to acquire. In addition, two American speculators, P. A. Hargous of New York City and A. G. Sloo had purchased tracts of land in the disputed territory and demanded that the United States protect their property in Mexico.

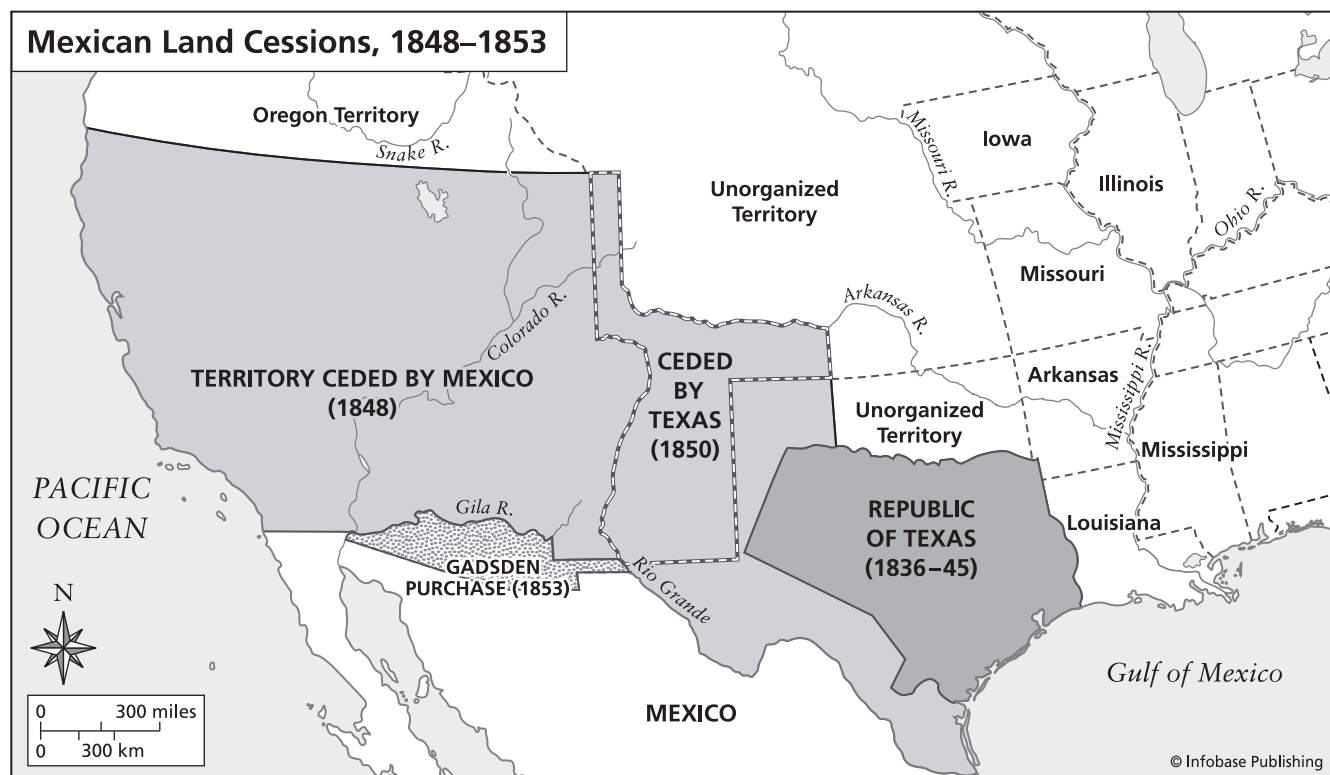
In 1853 President Franklin A. Pierce, a Democrat and leader of a party favoring westward expansion, appointed James Gadsden, a native of South Carolina, as minister to Mexico. Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, a friend of Gadsden who also favored the building of a southern railroad, was instrumental in the appointment. The grandson of Christopher Gadsden, a leader of the American Revolution in South Carolina, James Gadsden was a railroad promoter who in 1840 was elected as president of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad and later successfully managed the South Carolina Railroad, the most extensive railroad in the southern United States. Gadsden had been less successful in politics, having failed on several occasions to win election to Congress as delegate from the Florida Territory. He had earlier served as an officer under General ANDREW JACKSON in the First Seminole War in Florida.

At the time of his appointment as minister to Mexico, Gadsden had a financial interest in the disputed territory. Pierce instructed him to arrange a purchase of the land

in question from Mexico. The original hope of the Pierce administration was to acquire lower CALIFORNIA as well, which belonged to Mexico. However, there were many in Congress, especially those from the northern states staunchly opposed to the expansion of SLAVERY, who were wary of Gadsden, suspecting him of seeking the land in order to create more slave states. This was a reasonable assumption, because as early as 1850 he favored not only the extension of slavery and the construction of a southern railroad, but, if need be, the South's secession from the United States to protect its rights.

After arriving in Mexico City, Gadsden offered Mexican president ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA \$50 million for about 250,000 square miles in the northern part of the country. That square mileage represented nearly one-third of Mexico's entire territory. Since his country needed the money badly, Santa Anna agreed to a treaty with the United States by which he would sell 55,000 square miles for \$15 million. Opposition to the treaty persisted in the Senate, and a contentious debate ensued that contributed to the growing sectional tension between North and South. Supporters of the proposed treaty were also hampered by the flagrant lobbying of speculators looking to enrich themselves, and there was opposition in the Senate to providing Santa Anna, a hated figure to many Americans dating back to the attack he led on THE ALAMO in 1836, with such a large sum of American money.

The Senate narrowly approved the treaty on April 25, 1854, but only after cutting 9,000 square miles and \$5 million from the original agreement that Gadsden had reached with the Mexican government. Reflecting the fears over the expansion of slavery, it also reduced the territory that the United States stood to acquire to only that land deemed necessary for the railroad route. The Gadsden Purchase benefited the United States much more than it did Mexico. The year after the treaty was signed, Santa Anna was overthrown, the Gadsden treaty being a contributing factor in his demise. Railroad interests in the United States



subsequently succeeded in building a line through the territory acquired from Mexico as part of the Southern Pacific Railroad in the 1870s and 1880s.

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—Jason K. Duncan

**Garnet, Henry Highland** (1815–1882) *minister, abolitionist*

Henry Highland Garnet was an important African-American abolitionist. Born a slave in New Market, Maryland, on December 23, 1815, the young Garnet escaped with his family to Wilmington, Delaware. He was educated at the African Free School in New York City, then served as a cabin boy beginning in 1828. After an accident cost him the use of his right leg, Garnet resumed his studies at the Noyes Academy in Canaan, New Hampshire, until the school was destroyed by a white mob in 1834. Undaunted, Garnet finished his education at the Beriah Green Oneida Institute.

In 1841 Garnet was ordained minister for the Liberty Street Presbyterian Church in Troy, New York. Here he turned his church into a hotbed of abolitionist and black

self-help ideology, as well as an important station on the underground railroad to Canada. It was in this capacity that Garnet gained notoriety in abolitionist circles for his “Address to the Slaves of the United States of America,” delivered at the National Negro Convention in Buffalo, New York, in 1843. In this speech Garnet urged those held in bondage to use whatever means necessary to throw off their chains, although he carefully couched his militancy in biblical terms. Moderates like Frederick Douglass interpreted Garnet’s directive as an appeal to a slave uprising, and Douglass successfully opposed having the speech distributed to convention attendees. Garnet, however, reintroduced the speech at a convention in Troy four years later, when it was published and distributed. By this time Douglass was no longer allied to the moderate Garrisonians and spoke publicly in favor of a slave uprising.

In 1850 Garnet traveled to England to lecture and preach on behalf of a national boycott of goods made by slave labor. Three years later he settled in Jamaica as a missionary. Illness necessitated his return to the United States in 1856, where he preached in New York City and Washington, D.C. Garnet actively recruited African-American soldiers throughout the Civil War, and in February 1865 he became the first black to deliver a memorial sermon in the U.S. House of Representatives. Garnet spent the remainder of his life working on behalf of civil rights. He continually railed against the failures of Reconstruction. He

was also active in encouraging black emigration to Africa. In 1881 President James Garfield appointed Garnet minister to LIBERIA, where he died of illness on February 13, 1882. He is remembered as one of the earliest proponents of black nationalism in America.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### ***Genius of Universal Emancipation* (1821–35)**

This antislavery periodical was started in 1821 by Benjamin Lundy (1789–1839) in Mount Pleasant, Ohio. While not the first serial publication to advocate the abolition of SLAVERY, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* was the first to be entirely devoted to the abolitionist cause. Previous newspapers such as the *Emancipator* and the *Philanthropist* considered other reform issues in addition to slavery, and were addressed primarily to the Quaker community. A Quaker himself, Lundy realized the limited usefulness of addressing only fellow Quakers. After witnessing the failure of abolitionists to influence policy during the Missouri controversy of 1820, he began to think that a more effective way to force changes in the slave system would be to use his newspaper to galvanize the general public about the evils of slavery.

Soon after the periodical's beginning, Lundy moved his operation to Jonesborough, Tennessee, publishing his antislavery views from within a slave state. For most of the 1820s, the *Genius* was the only newspaper in the United States focusing exclusively on the slavery question. Lundy's efforts attracted the anger of the opposition, and he was threatened with physical harm several times. The newspaper, however, continued to grow in circulation and influence. Tireless in his efforts, Lundy traveled widely, spreading the word about abolition and the *Genius*. He later moved its operations to Baltimore, while continuing in his attempt to build a nationwide antislavery movement with the political clout necessary to challenge proslavery interests. He organized antislavery societies in New England with the help of clergymen and abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, whom he convinced to embrace slavery as the crucial reform issue. Garrison coedited the newspaper with Lundy after 1829.

With a combination of zeal and practicality, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* advocated the end of slavery by various possible means. Lundy at first considered the efforts of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY to be legitimate but later repudiated the proslavery elements of the movement. Open to any ideas that would undermine the slave system, he also advocated gradual emancipation

through political means and the inclusion of former slaves into American society. While based on many of the moral appeals that characterized the later ABOLITION MOVEMENT, Lundy was also interested in undermining slavery politically by creating a groundswell of voter opposition through the *Genius*. His newspaper continued to be published in various incarnations until his death in 1839.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

### **Ghent, Treaty of (1814)**

The Treaty of Ghent between the United States and Great Britain ended the WAR OF 1812 by restoring the status quo antebellum. On the one hand, that result disappointed many Americans who believed the country had important grievances against the British. On the other hand, since the war had been a near-disaster for the United States, a treaty that effectively declared the war a draw was a better result than might have been expected. Further, following the Treaty of Ghent, the British withdrew their support for the Native American nations in the U.S.-held Great Lakes territories. Removal of this support made the Great Lakes region—the Old Northwest—more open for non-Indian settlement.

War engulfed Europe in the early 19th century. On the fringes of this struggle, the United States tried to assert its neutrality and its right to trade with both sides in the European conflict. This failed as the European combatants, primarily the British and the French, each tried to block the other's trade with the United States. The British went further, however, boarding American ships on the high seas and impressing (removing) any sailors who either had been members of the British navy or were former British subjects; the latter category included many American citizens, since the nation had gained its independence from England as recently as 1783. In one incident, aboard the USS *Chesapeake*, American citizens were killed as alleged deserters from the British navy. The United States also accused the British of encouraging Native Americans to resist U.S. authority and to attack settlers in the Great Lakes region. Each of these grievances—interference with trading rights, impressment, the *Chesapeake* incident, and the problems with the Native Americans—was featured in President James Madison's war message to Congress in 1812.

Interestingly, although the United States had declared war on England, the nation did not become an ally of France but chose instead to enter and fight the war alone.

It was almost a fatal mistake. The Americans wrongly believed that they could easily conquer Canada; indeed, they expected the Canadians to welcome incorporation into the American nation. Instead, the Canadians fought successfully against the American invasion, though American forces did burn the Canadian capital city. The most notable American military successes before the end of the war came in naval battles on the Great Lakes and HARRISON's defeat of the Native Americans led by Tecumseh at the BATTLE OF THE THAMES. By summer 1814, Napoleon's France had been defeated in Europe, and the British had turned their full attention to the war in North America. They tightened their blockade of the U.S. coast and invaded the Chesapeake area, capturing Washington, D.C., and burning the Capitol building and the president's residence. Both sides were ready for peace, however, and in December 1814, negotiators concluded the Treaty of Ghent. Two weeks later (because of poor communications), the last battle of the War of 1812 occurred at New Orleans, where ANDREW JACKSON repelled a British invasion force.

In fact, like the BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS, the war itself was perhaps unnecessary. Shortly after the American declaration of war, the British repealed their Parliamentary acts that had interfered with American trade, a change brought about by a depression and a change of government. Meanwhile, the war was deeply unpopular in certain parts of the United States, especially in New England, where merchants continued to trade with the British, and at the HARTFORD CONVENTION, Connecticut hinted at the possible secession of New England from the Union. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that negotiations to end the war started soon after it began; the two countries even maintained diplomatic relations throughout the war.

The war's ebb and flow directly affected the negotiations. Early on, the Americans demanded that a peace treaty redress all their grievances involving trade, neutral rights, and especially impressment. By 1814, American negotiators had dropped the impressment issue and sought a treaty which merely restored the status quo antebellum. By then, however, the British were demanding more: territorial concessions in Maine, northern New York State, and the northern part of the future state of Minnesota; and an independent Native-American state in the Great Lakes region as a buffer between the United States and Canada. War weariness and the still-volatile situation in Europe soon led the British to drop their most extreme demands and accept the American idea of status quo antebellum.

For the United States, the Treaty of Ghent had advantages. The end of war in Europe—temporary, as it turned out—had removed the causes for interference with neutral trading rights and impressment. The treaty also restored to the United States the territories the British had occupied

during the war. Further, it demilitarized the Great Lakes and established a lasting peace between the United States and the British in North America and in the world, laying the groundwork for later Anglo-American friendship. Finally, British abandonment of their Indian allies in the treaty, combined with the death of Tecumseh in 1813 and the consequent collapse of his dreams for an Indian confederation in the Old Northwest, largely ended the Native-American threat to white settlement in the Great Lakes region.

Though the United States failed in its primary objective of adding Canada to the Union, the Treaty of Ghent confirmed certain gains made during the War of 1812. In particular, American nationalism had been enhanced. New England sectionalists failed to disrupt the Union, and important symbols of American patriotism emerged from the war, including the "Star Spangled Banner" (written as FRANCIS SCOTT KEY watched the British bombard but fail to invade Baltimore), "Uncle Sam" (a character based on a real person who helped get supplies to American troops), and the White House (painted to cover smoke damage from the fire that had burned it).

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—Russell L. Johnson

## gold, discovery and mining

The first important gold mining within the United States took place in the states of North Carolina and Georgia in the 1820s and 1830s. While they camped on the rushing streams of the Appalachian Mountains, this first generation of American miners panned and washed for gold (a process called placer mining). In the years 1828, 1829, and 1830, placer gold discoveries in Georgia drew a crowd of prospective miners. Gold production in Georgia reached \$110,000 in 1828, a dramatic amount for the age, which would within a generation be dwarfed by events in CALIFORNIA.

The important gold discoveries were those connected with California at mid-century. On January 24, 1848, James W. Marshall, employed by the entrepreneur JOHN SUTTER to construct a sawmill on the American River, picked some mineral flakes out of the tailrace. He identified these specimens as gold, and later primitive tests confirmed his view. Marshall's gold discovery began a series of events that would change the history of California and the history of mining, by bringing the discovery and mining of gold to the





Daguerreotype by R. H. Vance of James Marshall at Sutter's sawmill, Coloma, California, where he discovered gold (*Library of Congress*)

center of events associated with the American West. These influences would last for the rest of the century.

From the first news of its discovery, gold production in California was large and it grew for the next few years, before stabilizing for the rest of the decade. In the first six years from 1849 to 1855, the argonauts (as they were sometimes called) harvested some \$300 million in gold from California.

Gold mining was important to Americans everywhere at mid-century because of the nature of the enterprise. From the beginning of mining in California in spring 1848, the gold was available to everyone, regardless of wealth and technical skill, and it was an enterprise that rewarded hard work, without need for capital investment—or so it initially seemed. New arrivals in the goldfields could learn the rudiments of mining in 15 minutes. Anyone with a pick, pan,

and shovel could become a gold miner, and in 1848, 1849, and even 1850, a miner could expect to make unheard-of sums. Indeed, ordinary miners expected to make from \$15 to \$20 a day, at a time when the normal wage for agricultural laborers was \$1 a day. It is no wonder that so many FORTY-NINERS headed west to the Golden State to participate in this bonanza.

From the beginning, miners worked in groups called “mining companies.” As early as the summer and fall of 1848, the first arrivals in the goldfields immediately understood the advantages of working in clusters of at least three or four; most companies settled on six to eight. By the mining season of 1849, the “mining company” was everywhere in the goldfields.

Whatever the organization, the basic unit of work in the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH—at least for the first



half-dozen years—was the human body. The hard, repetitive labor of digging, carrying, and washing was often done in swift, ice-cold, moving water. Contrasting with the icy water of the snowmelt watercourses was the heat of the summer California sun, beating down on the bars and into the still canyons. The work was exhausting, and during the long workdays that stretched into a long mining season, Forty-niners drove themselves forward on a daily basis through a combination of restless energy, hope, self-interest, and group loyalty. The mining companies carried over to living arrangements. For the Forty-niners, it was cheaper and more efficient to live and work in groups. From five to eight men would occupy a large tent or cabin as close to the work site as possible, where they would take turns cooking, cleaning, and making trips to the larger camps for food and mail.

The act of mining in California in the middle of the 19th century was straightforward. Gold was found in the nooks and crannies of old streambeds and in the bottoms of existing watercourses, where it had been left during thousands of years by moving water carrying the mineral downstream until the flow was insufficient to support the weight. Thus, water was a crucial agent in early gold mining, as an instrument in transporting and dropping the mineral, and as a force for its separation from the dirt around it. The first American miners—often tutored by early-arriving Mexicans—quickly mastered the primitive techniques by which moving water flowing through a tin container would separate the gravel carried off by the force of the flow of water from the heavier gold particles, which would sink to the bottom of the pan, where they could be easily retrieved and stored in a small sack. The widespread presence of gold in the streams draining the western slope of the Sierra Nevada and in gold streambeds—where it might be uncovered by removing a layer of top soil—meant an accessibility that made the early gold rush an exercise open to everyone. All that was necessary to participate were the most elementary and easily available tools.

Furthermore, the search for gold was uninhibited by institutional influences. Access to the rivers, streams, and valleys was open, and no licenses were issued by any kind of central authority (although the state of California levied a tax on alien miners in 1850). The issue of land ownership was in abeyance, since the land was sparsely settled and largely unclaimed in a European sense (except for the tracts belonging to John Sutter). The California Indians were sufficiently weakened by two generations of the mission experience and the trauma associated with its destruction to offer little or no resistance, although this did not prevent American miners and politicians from waging an undeclared war against California's NATIVE AMERICANS.

As mining became more crowded—the number of miners in the goldfields grew from 50,000 in 1849 to 100,000 in 1850 to 125,000 in 1851—the Americans felt a rising hostility toward other national groups. The issue began as a struggle over attractive mining claims and the xenophobic argument that the mines were for Americans alone. The initial targets were the Mexicans, followed by the Chileans and the French. This animosity toward foreigners reached a climax with attacks on the Chinese—who came in large numbers after 1851—the group most different by appearance and culture. Anti-Chinese riots became a focus of politics in San Francisco over the last half of the 19th century.

Advances in technology quickly changed the nature of mining. The first new machine was the “rocker” or “cradle” earlier in use in the gold mines of Georgia and North Carolina. The cradle was a rectangular box six or eight feet long, open at the foot, with a coarse grate and sieve at its head and small cleats nailed across a rounded bottom. The principle was the same as before—namely, to let the water do the work of separating the gold from the gravel. The difference was the economy and efficiency provided by a machine that would allow men to pool their labor into larger units. The pan and the cradle—simple to purchase or easy to make from boards of lumber and both relying on the washing action of the water—provided the technology for the first two years of the California gold rush. Most companies operated one or more “cradles.” The universality of both instruments, in spite of rising prices in accordance with supply and demand, ensured that every prospective argonaut could have access to the latest technology in the goldfields.

Mining was changing in other ways, too. By the close of 1849, some miners had banded together to construct dams to divert streambeds for washing. Mercury to separate the gold particles from gravels was rapidly introduced, and by the beginning of 1851, miners had begun what they called quartz mining: the retrieval of gold-bearing rock from deep shafts, the crushing of these gravels, and their processing to capture the gold. River damming, hydraulic mining, and quartz mining gradually transformed or at least severely restricted the opportunities of individuals in opposition to large-scale companies with substantial capital that soon sold shares to the public. Larger units of production with new techniques had replaced simple placer mining, and individuals had become parts of larger companies, with increased investment in season-long mining enterprises. The expanded opportunities for gold recovery were associated with the concentrations of capital and increasingly the sale of shares to the public. Capitalists (or even individuals of modest means) could invest in distant gold-mining enterprises or water companies (almost as profitable as gold) without leaving the comfort of their homes in San Francisco.

It is impossible to overestimate the significance of the California gold rush for mining in the American West. The 10 years of the rush would produce an explosive immigration to the goldfields; transform California into an American state; and establish the basic institutional forms for mining (that would later be codified in the Mining Law of 1872), especially the principle that mining was to proceed without interference from the federal government. It would also serve as a laboratory for the development of mining technology for the next half-century, especially as an introduction to the COMSTOCK LODE, where so many of these technical skills were perfected. Finally, the rush introduced the large-scale forms that would transform mining from an individual into a corporate enterprise, with a large labor force, sophisticated technology, and large capital investment, including absentee ownership and investment. California also proved that in the face of mining strikes, neither well-meaning individuals nor governments at any level could protect the rights of Native Americans from rapacious prospectors, and the California experience outlined a future in which foreign miners (especially non-English speakers) would be subject to discrimination and harassment. California was also the site of the first struggles over mining and the environment.

The gold strikes in California in 1848 and over the next decade generated an ever-widening search for gold throughout the West. Among the most significant of the new discoveries was that associated with the Comstock Lode, which a decade later would become a great silver-producing complex in the future Nevada Territory.

The more immediate gold discoveries that followed the pattern of the rush to California took place in Colorado. The COLORADO GOLD RUSH began in 1857, with strikes along the Platte River close to the present site of Denver, and spread into the mountains in subsequent months. Soon news of the gold finds spread east and west, ushering in a great movement of gold seekers to Colorado in the summer of 1858. Most of these prospective miners came from the East, and they crossed the plains in companies (like their California counterparts a decade earlier) to the village of Denver, from where they moved into the mountains. The Colorado gold rush showed many of the same characteristics as the original rush to California, but in Colorado the actual discoveries were less rich and numerous. For the rest of the century, the California gold rush was the standard by which other gold strikes around the world would be judged.

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**Gregg, Josiah** (1806–1850) *historian, trader, explorer*  
The pioneer historian Josiah Gregg was born in Overton County, Tennessee, on July 19, 1806, and he relocated to Missouri with his parents at an early age. He later settled in Independence, Missouri, where he studied mathematics, surveying, medicine, and law. In 1831 poor health compelled him to move to the frontier to recuperate, and he joined a wagon train headed for Santa Fe, New Mexico.

The trip proved beneficial. Having studied Spanish en route, Gregg began working as a trader in the Mexican state. Over the next nine years he made the wagon trip seven more times, all the while recording his observations and experiences in painstaking detail. In 1844 Gregg published these writings as a two-volume set entitled *Commerce of the Prairies*. This memoir provided interesting passages of prairie travel for the entire length of the 800-mile trek, along with observations of Mexican life and culture, which he regarded as degenerate. Gregg's was one of the first and best-written accounts of the early western frontier, and it became enormously popular. It was reprinted five times over the ensuing decade, including three editions in German, and it sparked considerable economic interest and migration to that region.

In 1846 Gregg enthusiastically supported the war against Mexico. He rode 1,200 miles to San Antonio, Texas, to join General William J. Worth's army as a member of the Arkansas Volunteers. In this capacity he wrote several accounts of the Battle of Buena Vista for the newspapers before briefly settling in Saltillo, Mexico, to practice medicine. Gregg soon joined an expedition seeking an overland trail to Northern CALIFORNIA, which finally reached Humboldt Bay in December 1849. He next commanded a party of seven men across the Coast Range of the Pacific on the return leg of the voyage. On February 25, 1850, greatly weakened by hunger and exposure, he died of injuries from a fall off his horse. Gregg is regarded as one of the best of the early western historians, and his rendition of the SANTA FE TRAIL remains a classic of frontier literature.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Grimké, Angelina** (1805–1879), and **Grimké, Sarah** (1792–1873) *abolitionists*

The children of wealthy planters, Sarah and Angelina Grimké worked the greater part of their lives to abolish the institution of SLAVERY that surrounded them from birth. Born to Mary Smith Grimké and John Faucheraud

Grimké—Sarah on November 26, 1792, and Angelina on February 20, 1805—the sisters were raised on a plantation in Charleston, South Carolina. There they received an education considered fitting for young southern women, consisting mostly of basic literacy and social arts. In addition, the sisters attended the law classes that their father, a legislator and judge, held for his sons. Perhaps the most lasting EDUCATION they received in the South, however, was on the cruelties of slavery. Both Grimké sisters grew to hate the institution that supported them.

In 1816, Sarah Grimké traveled with her father to Philadelphia, where the latter hoped to find treatment for his continued ill health. It was there that Sarah first came into contact with Quakers and became increasingly impressed by their simple lifestyle and opposition to holding slaves. When John Grimké died in 1821, Sarah moved to Philadelphia and joined the Society of Friends, immersing herself in Biblical studies. Angelina Grimké followed her sister to Philadelphia in 1829 and quickly joined the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. Over the next six years, the sisters became regular attendees at antislavery meetings. In 1835, Angelina Grimké wrote a letter of support to William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator*. When Garrison printed her letter, the Grimké's public life had begun.

Joined in their commitment to abolitionism, the Grimké sisters nevertheless had their own particular strengths. Angelina began the sisters' public attacks on the institution of slavery with her 1836 pamphlet *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South*. In it she urged southern women to embrace the political nature of their roles as mothers, wives, and daughters. While the formal avenues of power were closed to women—they could not vote and they could not run for elected office—they were ideally disposed, she argued, to influence the hearts and minds of the men who did. “[I]f you really suppose *you* can do nothing to overthrow slavery, you are greatly mistaken,” she wrote. Her ideas caused outrage across the South, and pamphlets sent to her hometown were burned by the postmaster before they could be distributed. Sarah, meanwhile, used her biblical training to write *An Epistle to the Clergy of the Southern States*, published in the same year. In it she flatly denied that there was any scriptural defense for slavery. The sisters followed up their publications with lectures, first in private homes and then at public meetings, attended by men and women alike.

Opposition to the Grimké sisters' work was varied and strong. In the South, the sisters were reviled for their abolitionist opinions and warned never to return to South Carolina. In the North, however, their public speaking engagements were considered by many to be improper. It

was rare for women to speak in public, and even more so for them to address mixed crowds. The collective clergy of Massachusetts were so disturbed by the Grimké's public appearances that in 1837 they issued a pastoral letter condemning the sisters. Women, they argued, were weak and dependent, their “appropriate duties and influence . . . clearly stated in the New Testament. . . . But when a woman assumes the place and tone of man as a public reformer . . . her character becomes unnatural.” The Grimké sisters, they suggested, were opening the way for general “degeneracy and ruin.”

Rather than persuade the sisters to stop their public work, the letter rejuvenated their determination. In 1838, Sarah published *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women*. The book argued that women deserved nothing less than full equality with men in every area of life, including the right to speak in public, and that all women should work toward that end. In turn, Angelina wrote *Letters to Catharine Beecher* (1838), answering that prominent reformer's similar charge that their work stepped too far outside the boundaries of acceptable female behavior. The idea that equality and human dignity were off-limits to women was unacceptable to either sister. As such, their fortitude and eloquent defense of their beliefs became an inspiration to later advocates of women's rights.

On May 14, 1838, Angelina Grimké married Theodore Weld, a fellow abolitionist. The next day, she attended the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, one of her last public acts before retiring to private life. Both sisters withdrew from the limelight after Angelina's marriage. Angelina bore three children, whom Sarah helped to raise, and both sisters became teachers in New Jersey as the children grew. On December 23, 1873, Sarah Grimké died in Hyde Park, now part of present-day Boston. Angelina followed on October 26, 1879.

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—Catherine J. Denial

### Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848)

Named for the small town near Mexico City where it was negotiated, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR by settling the TEXAS border with Mexico, confirming American control of CALIFORNIA, and granting the United States control of the territory of New Mexico, a vast area containing all or parts of six future

states. Although the treaty achieved the territorial goals of President JAMES K. POLK and his administration going into the war, it satisfied few. Many northerners believed the Mexican War had been started under false pretenses simply to acquire more territory for slave states, and they opposed dismembering Mexico for such a purpose. For their part, southerners demanded the right to move their slaves into any territories acquired from Mexico. There was also a political faction throughout the country which believed that, since the United States had conquered all of Mexico, it should annex the whole country. In the end, the extremes cancelled each other, and the treaty was ratified. The controversy over the status of slavery in the new territory, however, helped provoke the Civil War in the 1860s.

Ostensibly worried about British and French designs in California, after taking office in 1845, Polk had tried to purchase California as well as New Mexico. The Mexicans' refusal to sell was one of the issues cited in Polk's declaration of war in 1846. Another issue was the yet-to-be-determined southern border of Texas, which the United States had annexed in 1845. The United States wanted to set the border at the Rio Grande, while Mexico insisted the Nueces River had been the boundary of Texas before 1836, when it was a Mexican province. The latter dispute most directly precipitated the Mexican-American War, when Polk directed General ZACHARY TAYLOR to occupy the disputed territory, and Mexico sent its army to dispute the occupation.

Once the war began, Polk sent an emissary, Nicholas P. Trist, to accompany General WINFIELD SCOTT's army, which landed on the Mexican coast at Veracruz and marched inland toward Mexico City. Trist, chief clerk at the State Department, was chosen as much for his loyalty as a Democrat and lack of political aspirations (in each case a contrast to Taylor and Scott) as for his acknowledged ability, record of success in Latin American diplomacy, and Spanish language skills. Polk instructed Trist to continue to offer to end the war in exchange for California, New Mexico, and the Rio Grande border for Texas; Trist could also offer up to \$30 million in compensation. After joining Scott's army in May 1847, Trist accepted a British-mediated armistice in August to begin negotiations. The armistice soon broke down, but before it did, Trist indicated his willingness to accept less territory for Texas than Polk wanted. After the war resumed, Scott's army continued its march through Mexico, and by mid-September it had occupied Mexico City. Meanwhile, Polk had gotten wind of the armistice (which he opposed) and of Trist's willingness to make concessions on the Texas boundary. Displeased, the president recalled his emissary to Washington.

Events outpaced Polk's efforts to control them, however. His order for Trist to return to Washington did not reach the diplomat until mid-November, by which time the Mexican government of General ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA had fallen and been replaced by one more amenable to negotiations. General Scott and the British consulate in Mexico City urged Trist to ignore Polk's instructions and stay long enough to conclude a peace treaty. This Trist did, and in February 1848 he forwarded the proposed Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to Washington. Perhaps justifiably angry at what he considered Trist's insubordination, Polk nevertheless decided the treaty was one he could accept. Most important, it met his minimum territorial requirements, including the Texas border he wanted at the Rio Grande. Further, Polk decided the treaty could prevent a political collision damaging to the nation. Early in the war, northern antislavery forces had introduced the Wilmot Proviso, trying to prevent the spread of slavery into territory acquired in the war but also angering the president's southern Democratic friends. At the end of the war, ardent expansionists, primarily northern and western Democrats, demanded that the United States annex all of Mexico as the only appropriate compensation for the loss of American lives in the war. Southerners were unhappy that slavery apparently would be excluded from California and had an uncertain status in New Mexico. Still, opponents of the treaty could muster just 14 votes against it in the Senate; 38 Senators voted to accept it.

As approved by the Senate in March 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo acknowledged the American conquest of California, ceded control of the New Mexico Territory to the United States, and established the Rio Grande as the southern border of Texas. Adding Texas, which had become part of the United States in 1845, Mexico lost over one-half of its territory to the United States in the 1840s. For its part, the United States agreed to pay Mexico \$15 million and to take responsibility for more than \$3 million owed by Mexico to U.S. citizens. In sum, apart from the territory acquired from Mexico in the GADSDEN PURCHASE (1854), the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo completed the United States' continental empire from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Perhaps because the nation's continental empire was complete, the controversy over the status of slavery in the territories worsened after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Northern opponents of slavery periodically reintroduced the Wilmot Proviso in Congress, without any success in enacting it into law. An important part of the COMPROMISE OF 1850 allowed for slavery's status in New Mexico to be determined by POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY; this idea held that the actual inhabitants of a territory should decide whether

## 182 Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of

or not they wanted slavery in that territory. Popular sovereignty ultimately satisfied neither pro- nor antislavery forces, and the issue of slavery in the territories, reopened by the acquisition of California and New Mexico, remained unresolved until the Civil War.

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—Russell L. Johnson



# H



## Hale, Sarah Josepha (1788–1879) *writer*

One of the most influential women of letters in the 19th century, Sarah Josepha Hale was born in rural Newport, New Hampshire, the third child of Gordon Buell and Martha Whittlesey Buell. Her family encouraged her in her EDUCATION and intellectual development, an advantage not normally available to girls at this time. She studied literature and the classics at home, and her older brother, a student at Dartmouth, tutored her. When she was 18, she started a private school for boys and girls, where she taught for seven years.

In 1813 Sarah Buell stopped teaching to marry David Hale, a local attorney. While no longer instructing students, she continued her own education and began publishing her prose and poetry in local newspapers. The Hales had four children, and Sarah spent most of her time raising them. She became ill with tuberculosis in 1819, but ultimately survived this affliction. Then, in 1822, David Hale died suddenly of pneumonia, just a few weeks before the birth of their fifth child.

Sarah Hale was now the sole provider for her family, a responsibility she assumed with characteristic vigor and creativity. After a brief stint in her sister-in-law's millinery shop, she decided to earn her living by writing. Only a year later, she published a book of poetry, *The Genius of Oblivion* (1823). She also wrote articles for magazines such as the *Boston Spectator* and *Ladies' Album*, and published the influential novel *Northwood: A Tale of New England* (1827). Hale's successes attracted the admiration of Boston publisher John Lauris Blake. In 1828, he asked her to be the editor of his new venture, *Ladies' Magazine*. Thus the 39-year-old Hale began the editing and writing career that would bring her national influence and regard.

At a time when most American periodicals merely reprinted English articles, Hale published the work of American writers such as Lydia Sigourney and Lydia Maria Child. She also wrote a large portion of the magazine's text. Her articles were republished in two collections, *Sketches of American Character* (1829) and *Traits of American Life*

(1835). In 1830, she published *Poems for our Children*, a collection that included her most famous verse, "Mary's Lamb" (more commonly known as "Mary Had a Little Lamb"). She continued to produce and edit works for children and briefly edited *Juvenile Miscellany*, a children's magazine. Many of her verses for children also appeared in the popular children's readers created by WILLIAM HOLMES MCGUFFEY.

In 1836, the *Ladies' Magazine* failed and was purchased by Philadelphian Louis Godey, successful publisher



Sarah Josepha Hale (Hulton/Archive)

of the *Lady's Book*, a fashion magazine. Godey offered Hale the highest position in the new joint publication, which she accepted. She ran the magazine from Boston until 1841, when she moved to Philadelphia. It was as editor of this publication, soon renamed *Godey's Lady's Book*, that Sarah Josepha Hale became a nationally influential figure. Uninterested in fashion, she nevertheless continued to print the innovative engravings of new women's fashions that set *Godey's Lady's Book* apart from other women's magazines. More interested in literary pursuits, Hale elevated the magazine's profile by commissioning the work of respected writers such as Emerson, Longfellow, and Hawthorne. She also wrote large portions of the text, examining numerous topics. She was best known for her articles on what she called "domestic science"—parenting, homemaking, health, and fitness.

Hale also promoted political reforms in her editorials, advocating women's education and the reform of women's property rights. Like her friend EMMA WILLARD, she believed in expanding women's educational and career opportunities but opposed woman suffrage as unfeminine. She advocated separate spheres for men and women and argued that women could best change public morality through private, domestic example. Yet she herself was a public figure who sought changes in the condition of American women.

While she transformed *Godey's Lady's Book* into a literary power, she continued to write books for women, including volumes on cooking and household management. She also compiled an ambitious 900-page reference, *Woman's Record; or, Sketches of All Distinguished Women from "the Beginning" till A.D. 1850*, first published in 1853. She persistently updated this reference, aiming to give her readers a more accurate picture of women's accomplishments throughout history. She kept up her support for philanthropic and civic causes, helping to found the Women's Medical College of Philadelphia and the Philadelphia School of Design for Women. During the years leading to the Civil War, she wrote books and editorials advocating the gradual abolition of slavery and the repatriation of former slaves to Africa. Her most famous civic endeavor was undoubtedly her effort to make Thanksgiving a national holiday. After years of campaigning on her part, Abraham Lincoln proclaimed this holiday in 1863.

By 1860 *Godey's Lady's Book* was the most widely read periodical in America, with a paid readership of 150,000. Sarah Josepha Hale continued to edit the magazine until 1877, when she retired at the age of 89; she died two years later. In her 50-year publishing career, Hale became a powerful force in American culture, promoting her belief in domesticity while gaining a kind of public stature and power rarely attained by women in the 19th century.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

**Harpers Ferry** See VOLUME V.

**Harrison, William Henry** (1773–1841) *ninth U.S. president*

Soldier, statesman of the WHIG PARTY, and ninth president of the United States, William Henry Harrison was born in Charles City, Virginia, on February 22, 1773, the son of Benjamin Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was educated at Hampton-Sidney College and subsequently studied medicine at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in Philadelphia. However, he became attracted to military service and joined the U.S. Army as an ensign in August 1791. Reporting to the army of Major General Anthony Wayne in western Pennsylvania, he initially served as an aide-de-camp. On August 20, 1794, Harrison distinguished himself at the victory of Fallen Timbers, whereby the Shawnee coalition of Blue Jacket and Little Turtle met defeat. He consequently advanced to captain in May 1797 and assumed command of Fort Washington, Ohio, but then resigned his commission the following year to pursue politics.

In 1799 Harrison gained an appointment as secretary of the Northwest Territory under Governor Arthur St. Clair. The following year he was elected the territory's first congressional delegate. His most notable accomplishment was passage of the Land Act Bill of 1800, which encouraged settlement and granted borrowers up to five years to pay back loans. In May 1800, President John Adams made Harrison governor of the Indiana Territory, a large wilderness tract encompassing present-day Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and western Michigan. Harrison held this post for 12 years, proving instrumental in establishing a legal system, managing land disputes, and supervising Indian affairs. His tenure was also marked by sincere attempts to maintain peace with indigenous Native American nations in the region and included efforts to suppress the sale of liquor and widespread inoculation to curtail smallpox.

Unfortunately, Harrison was also authorized to negotiate as much Indian land away from them as possible. His efforts climaxed in the 1803 Treaty of Fort Wayne, whereby the United States acquired 2.9 million acres of pristine wilderness in exchange for annual subsidies. However, within six years further negotiations were thwarted by two

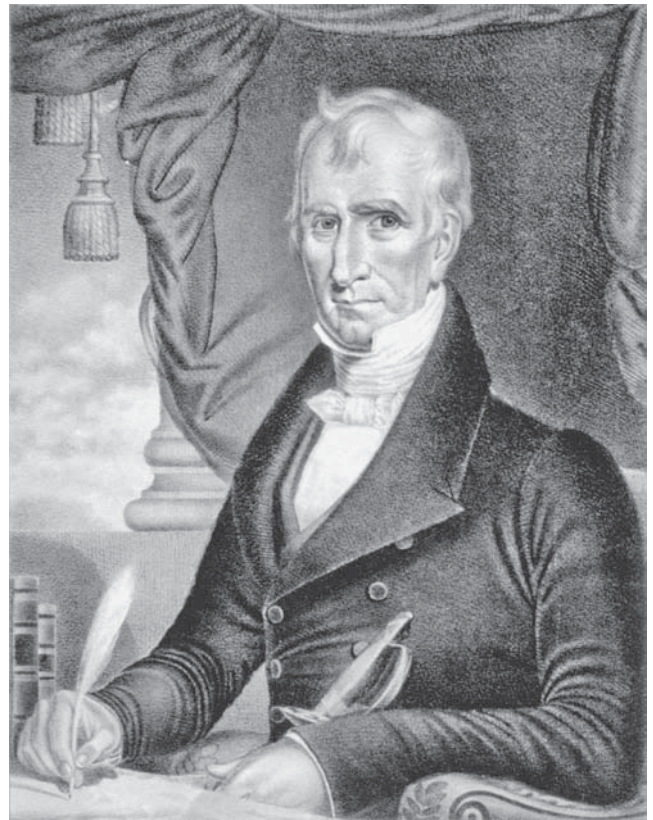
Shawnee brothers, TECUMSEH and his one-eyed brother, Tenskwatawa ("The Prophet"). Tecumseh maintained that the chiefs who signed the Fort Wayne treaty did not represent all Indians present and therefore it was invalid. His brother, meanwhile, had originated a new religion that called for the expelling of Americans and their culture from the Indian world. Indian resistance to further white encroachment coalesced around these two figures. Harrison met with Tecumseh repeatedly at Vincennes, the capital of Indian Territory, to seek accommodation but failed to sway his mind. The course was now set for a confrontation between civilizations.

In autumn 1811 Tecumseh ventured south to recruit Creek Indians into his anti-white confederation. Harrison availed himself of this absence by advancing with 1,000 men toward the Indian village of Prophetstown on Tippecanoe Creek. This was a move calculated to intimidate the inhabitants, but on November 7, 1811, Tenskwatawa's warriors suddenly lashed out at the intruders. A stiff fight ensued with heavy losses to both sides, but Harrison ultimately prevailed. The victorious Americans then burned Prophetstown and retired back to Vincennes without ceremony. Harrison's "victory," a close call militarily, was portrayed in the newspapers as decisive, and he basked in the newly acquired glow of national fame. Tippecanoe, however, was simply the first salvo in a bloody and protracted frontier war. It also threw Tecumseh's people into an armed alliance with Great Britain just as the WAR OF 1812 was beginning.

When war with England recommenced in June 1812, Harrison was not a major contender for a regular army commission, so through the intercession of HENRY CLAY he became a major general of the Kentucky militia. By August, the war effort was in serious trouble, and he became a brigadier general in the regular army. His orders were to recapture Detroit, disgracefully surrendered that month by General WILLIAM HULL. However, he was unable to weather endemic manpower and supply shortages, and his campaign stalled. Worse, when the army of General James Winchester was destroyed at Frenchtown, Michigan, in January 1813, British forces under General Henry Procter went on the offensive. Harrison, now a major general, countered by constructing Fort Meigs at the headwaters of the Maumee River, Ohio, and awaited their approach. Procter besieged the Americans and defeated a determined sortie by Harrison on May 5, 1813, but he lacked the manpower to storm the fort. The British withdrew to Canada, while Harrison kept accumulating men and supplies. Once Procter returned and suffered a sharp repulse at Fort Stephenson in August 1813, he withdrew from American soil altogether. Harrison then waited for Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry to win the decisive BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE on September 10, which gave Ameri-

can forces command of the waterways. Detroit was finally recaptured, and Perry thereupon transported the bulk of Harrison's army across the lake and into Canada. Several days of hard marching ensued before Harrison cornered Procter and Tecumseh at the Thames River on October 5. The affair was settled quickly by a mounted cavalry charge under Colonel Richard M. Johnson that crushed all opposition. Procter managed to escape, but Tecumseh was slain and with him died the last hope of a viable Indian confederation. In 1815 a victorious Harrison presided over the Spring Wells Treaty, which sealed the fate of Indian lands in the Old Northwest. In light of his services, Harrison was feted as a national war hero, and he received a congressional gold medal.

After the war Harrison settled in Ohio, where he gained election to state office. He returned to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1816 and also served a term in the Senate from 1825. Harrison initially functioned as a close ally and confidant of Henry Clay, a longtime aspirant to the presidency, but the two ambitious men drifted apart. In 1828 President JOHN QUINCY ADAMS appointed Harrison ambassador to Colombia, where he remained until the election of ANDREW JACKSON to the presidency. His only



William Henry Harrison (*Library of Congress*)



notable accomplishment was to enter into a dispute with General Simón Bolívar over the latter's alleged intention to establish a monarchy. Harrison then resumed a quiet life at his home in North Bend, Ohio. As a politician and diplomat, he had handled himself competently but without great distinction. Meanwhile, growing resistance to Jackson and the DEMOCRATIC PARTY culminated in the foundation of a new political party, the Whigs, in 1836. This prompted Harrison to reenter politics, and he campaigned to win the Whig nomination for president against Democrat MARTIN VAN BUREN. However, he failed for being a sectional candidate whose name appeared in only a few states. Fortunately for the Whigs, the PANIC OF 1837 ensued the following year, and public support for the Democrats dropped precipitously.

In 1840 Harrison again determined to run for the White House. Taking a leaf from Andrew Jackson, popularly known as "Old Hickory," Harrison sought broad-based, national voter appeal by packaging himself as "Old Tippecanoe," a reference to his War of 1812 endeavors. Moreover, the Whig party leadership was searching for a candidate that, in contrast to the assertive Jackson, would be more pliant towards congressional wishes. For this reason, Harrison edged out Clay as the party's nominee, despite the latter's attempt to portray him as something of a bumpkin. Thus was born the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign. Harrison was quick to adopt and exploit the imagery, contrasting his "homespun" persona against the solidly aristocratic credentials of Van Buren. His efforts were greatly abetted by a new political strategy that bore all the trappings of a modern presidential campaign: souvenirs, slick campaign publications, songs, and slogans all emerged in abundance for the first time. Harrison himself broke new ground by becoming the first American presidential candidate to stump for votes around the country. Buoyed by the famous slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too" (in reference to running mate JOHN TYLER of Virginia) Harrison easily defeated Van Buren in autumn 1840 to become the first Whig president.

Harrison did not live long enough to savor his victory. He caught a cold during his inauguration in March and died of pneumonia on April 4, 1841. Having become the first American executive to die in office, he was succeeded by Tyler, and his political legacy remains conjectural. Harrison is best remembered as a competent, if not brilliant, militia leader during the War of 1812, who did much to resurrect the reputation of American "citizen-soldiery." Regardless of his shortcomings as a politician, the memory of his earlier victories was sufficient to carry him into the White House.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## Hartford Convention

Beginning December 15, 1814, delegates from the five New England states, representing the Federalist Party, met at Hartford, Connecticut, to discuss the alleged encroachments of the national government. The convention was primarily a protest of the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15), and much has been made of the fact that the delegates discussed secession from the Union. Although such drastic steps were not taken, the Hartford Convention still made its mark by declaring the rights of states to deny the legitimacy of government acts that they believed were unconstitutional.

Some tension had begun prior to the start of the war, as New England Federalists had opposed the embargo of 1807 and other government measures against the British. Since their ECONOMY was closely linked to Britain, New Englanders were understandably alarmed by the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain in June 1812. However, the increased wartime demand for provisions was quite a benefit, and many New Englanders ignored the embargo Congress had passed and sold supplies to British troops. On the other hand, the war was harmful to other foreign commerce and to the fishing industry. In spite of whatever profits there were to be gained from the conflict, Federalist leaders believed the interests of New England were being pushed aside for the interests of the southern states and the Democratic-Republican Party. Some New England states began to try to hinder the war effort, initially by refusing to supply militia to the federal government, and they did not support the federal loan of 1814. Finally, in 1814, several leaders in Massachusetts issued a call for a convention to address the regional grievances.

In December that year, 26 Federalists representing Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, sent by their state legislatures, and New Hampshire and Vermont, chosen by the Federalist Party, met in Hartford, Connecticut. George Cabot, a moderate Federalist from Massachu-

setts, presided, while Theodore Dwight served as secretary of the convention. The underlying aim of the convention was to protect the privileges of the individual states against apparent violations by the federal government. The meetings were held in absolute secrecy. Although the moderates prevailed at the convention, some extremists proposed secession from the Union and others suggested a separate peace between New England and Great Britain. The proposal to secede was ultimately rejected, but the delegates did produce a final report that was critical of James Madison and the war. The convention also recommended several changes to be enacted through constitutional amendments that would remedy the advantage New Englanders felt the South had gained. The convention urged that taxation and representation in each state should be proportionate to its free population, that no naturalized citizens should be allowed to hold office in the federal government, that the presidency should not exceed one term and the president should never be chosen twice successively from the same state, and that Congress should not interfere with foreign commerce or declare offensive war except by a two-thirds vote.

Unfortunately for the cause of the Federalists, their recommendations had little power, because the TREATY OF GHENT had been signed on December 24, 1814, while the convention was still in session. The futile Hartford Convention, which concluded on January 15, 1815, signaled the approaching end of the Federalist Party, which was already in decline because of its pro-British reputation.

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—Crystal Williams

### Hastings, Lansford W. (1819–1868) *developer of Hastings Cutoff*

The influential pioneer Lansford Warren Hastings was born in Mount Vernon, Ohio, in 1819, where he studied law and became a practicing attorney. In 1842 he encountered Dr. Elijah White, then passing through town with a party of emigrants bound for Oregon, and he joined the group. Hastings adapted quickly to pioneer life. Once in Oregon, he helped to survey the settlement of Oregon City for the Hudson's Bay Company.

After delving into work as a fur trader and a salmon packer, Hastings quit Oregon and ventured to Northern CALIFORNIA, where he settled in the area of present-day Sacramento to become a business partner to JOHN SUTTER. It dawned on him that business could be greatly expanded if prospective settlers back east had a com-

prehensive guidebook to facilitate their migration west. Therefore, throughout the winter of 1843, he composed *The Emigrant's Guide to Oregon and California*, which he had published in Cincinnati in 1844. Among the routes the book discussed was the so-called Hastings Cutoff to Northern California, which the author knew of but had never personally traveled. In 1846 the unfortunate DONNER PARTY attempted this route, became stranded in the High Sierras during wintertime, and lost half of its 80 members. That same year Hastings himself led the first party of California migrants across the Salt Desert to Fort Bridger. There he joined Colonel JOHN C. FRÉMONT's California Battalion and served capably during the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR of 1846–48.

In 1849 Hastings served as a territorial delegate to the state constitutional convention, and throughout the ensuing gold rush he resumed his legal activities in Northern California. In the late 1850s he relocated to Arizona City (Yuma) to recover his health. During the Civil War years Hastings sided with the Confederacy. His most memorable act on its behalf was an elaborate but hopelessly futile scheme to capture California, Arizona, and New Mexico for the South. After the war ended, Hastings fled to Brazil, where he again became active in colonization efforts, this time along the Amazon River. In 1867 he returned to Alabama to publish an emigrant's guide to the region. He died the following year on a voyage to recruit prospective settlers. Despite his quixotic nature, Hastings is regarded as an important force in the drive toward western migration in the 1840s.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Hawaiian Islands

The "Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it," declared the U.S. minister to the Hawaiian Islands John L. Stevens in 1893. Five years later, Hawaii was "picked" by the United States and officially annexed by the government of President William McKinley. The archipelago was fully incorporated into the nation when it became the 50th state in 1959. The U.S. government had been eager to absorb the Hawaiian Islands into its plans for expansion into the Pacific and Asia at the end of the 19th century. However, it was private American citizens more than government officials who took the lead in wresting the islands away from the Hawaiian monarchy and securing them under U.S. sovereignty.

Hawaii is composed of eight main islands (including Kauai, Oahu, Maui and Hawaii, also called the "Big



Island”) and located nearly 2,500 miles from the U.S. mainland. Various Polynesian peoples, principally the Marquesans and Tahitians, originally settled the archipelago more than 1,000 years before English naval captain James Cook first reached it in 1778. Over the course of its early history, Hawaii existed in virtual isolation and remained unknown to the world beyond Polynesia.

The unification of the Hawaiian Islands under a single indigenous monarch, KAMEHAMEHA I (also known as “the Great”) occurred almost simultaneously with the arrival of the first European explorers. As late as the 1780s Hawaii was divided into three kingdoms. By the end of the 1790s Kamehameha had conquered a significant portion of the archipelago, including the islands of Hawaii, Oahu, and Maui. In 1810 the islands of Kauai and Niihau submitted to his rule and signaled the unification of the entire island chain under the Kamehameha dynasty, which would last until the 1890s.

During Kamehameha’s early struggle for domination over Hawaii, Captain James Cook and the crews of his ships the *HMS Resolution* and the *HMS Discovery* first sighted Oahu on January 18, 1778. Two days later, they made landfall on the island of Kauai, introducing the isolated archipelago to the western world. Cook stumbled across the islands as he was attempting to find the legendary pathway across the North American continent known as the Northwest Passage. The initial interaction between the British and the Hawaiians was generally very cordial; the British traded various metal trinkets, which completely fascinated the Hawaiians, for essential provisions.

Almost immediately, social and sexual fraternization began between Cook’s crew and Hawaiian women. The local *kahunas* (Hawaiian shamans) encouraged this interaction as a way to test the divinity of the British in the belief that if these men were gods, they would not desire the women. Cook’s men proved themselves to be quite mortal. Unfortunately, sexual exchange introduced various forms of venereal and other diseases to the Hawaiians. The Native population, which was estimated to have been about 300,000 at the time of Cook’s arrival, fell to under 150,000 by 1820.

Cook named the island chain the Sandwich Islands in honor of his patron, the British noble John Montagu, the Fourth Earl of Sandwich. The name would eventually be replaced as American influence overtook that of the British in subsequent decades. Despite this auspicious beginning, which included Cook’s deification as a local god, hostility developed between the British and Hawaiians over the theft of one of Cook’s boats. This antagonism turned into armed conflict on a return visit in 1779 during which Cook was killed.

Cook’s death, however, did not signal the end of relations between Hawaii and the West. The islands became

a significant provisioning port for American and European trading ships sailing to and from Asia. The Hawaiians felt the impact of the West, and not only in terms of trade and the unfortunate consequences of disease. Kamehameha made use of two captured sailors, John Young and Isaac Davis, as well as a confiscated American vessel and cannons, in his efforts to consolidate power over the archipelago.

Whites, called *haoles* by the Native population, began settling the islands in the early 19th century. Although most of the white settlers were sailors and entrepreneurs, Christian missionaries also came to Hawaii in search of new converts. They played a significant role in imposing western domination over the islands. Under their influence, the traditional Hawaiian cultural system, *kapu*, was terminated, the Hawaiian language was altered, and an extensive public school system was created. Not only were whites exercising social influence in the islands, but they came to dominate local politics and threaten the power of the Hawaiian monarchy throughout the 1800s. In 1840 Kamehameha III called for a change in rule from an autocracy to a constitutional monarchy with a bicameral legislature. Hawaiians also adopted their first constitution and bill of rights that same year. Missionaries were influential in these reform efforts.

Under the Great *Mahele*, carried out in 1848, royal lands were made public and commoners were granted the right to purchase their own property. Unfortunately for the majority of Hawaiians who hoped to benefit from this land distribution, foreigners were granted permission to buy lands in 1850. By the end of the century, rich white businessmen had purchased almost four times as much land as Hawaiians, reducing much of the local population to propertyless tenancy.

White settlement also had great economic impact on the islands. The early 19th century witnessed the massive expansion of whaling in the northern Pacific. As a consequence, Hawaii became the chief port for whaling vessels, particularly those owned and operated by Americans. Much of Hawaii’s agriculture was directed towards provisioning whaling vessels. Yet by the 1850s, interest in whaling was declining and sugar production, introduced to the islands by the American George Wilfong in the late 1840s, was expanding. Sugar production in Hawaii exploded in the second half of the 19th century as an almost insatiable demand for refined sugar in the United States grew. The sugar industry would irrevocably change Hawaiian society.

Because sugarcane production is labor-intensive and the Hawaiian labor force was declining as a result of disease, planters began to import labor in massive numbers with the passage of the 1850 Masters and Servants Act. More than 200,000 laborers, mostly Japanese and Chinese,

would be brought to the islands by the turn of the century. This demographic shift would make Hawaii a veritable rainbow of ethnic diversity. However, it would also push indigenous Hawaiian influence to the periphery of social and political life.

The final blow to Hawaiian rule came in the 1890s. American planters and merchants, led by Sanford B. Dole, instigated the overthrow of the Hawaiian government. The Americans saw their economic interests endangered by indigenous rule and sought closer ties to the United States. They carried out an outrageous, if bloodless, coup in January 1893. They were given armed assistance by Marines from the USS *Boston* and easily toppled the Hawaiian monarchy. Not wanting to see any of her people killed, Queen Liliuokalani reluctantly capitulated. Upon taking over the government, Americans sought the islands' annexation by the federal government, which happened in August 1898. In June 1900 Hawaii became a U.S. territory, and all those residing in Hawaii, whether they wanted to or not, became U.S. citizens.

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—Charles Hawley

### **Hicks, Elias** (1748–1830) *Quaker reformer*

A Quaker reformer, Elias Hicks was born in Hempstead Township, Long Island, New York. His parents were formally Anglicans, but his father joined the Society of Friends (Quakers) shortly before his birth. As a youth, Hicks received little formal education and was apprenticed as a carpenter. In 1777 he inherited his family farm, which he managed until his death 53 years later. Throughout his early manhood, Hicks behaved like a typical Quaker of his class. Being well versed in the Bible, early Quaker literature, and basic Christian history, he was commonly present at annual gatherings of Friends in New York and Philadelphia. However, by the early 19th century, he began espousing a radically different interpretation of his sect's beliefs.

During childhood, Hicks had apparently experienced visitations of "divine grace." As he matured, he frequently lectured on the fundamental necessity of acknowledging the "Inner Light." This manifestation of God's will and love, he maintained, was self-evident and open to all. Furthermore, in placing great emphasis on personal revelation from God, he openly downplayed the significance of the Bible as a guide to salvation. He also reinterpreted the story of Jesus as an example of a perfect man aware of the presence of God within him. Hicks's teachings were a radical departure from the established tenets of Quakerism and the source of

a contentious schism among the Friends. Henceforth, from 1828, the Quakers became divided between two distinct sects. The so-called Hicksites embraced their founder's notion of personal revelations for spiritual guidance, while the more traditional Orthodox reaffirmed their emphasis on the Bible and the teachings of Christ as the only source of salvation. Hicks's centrality of the importance of personal salvation also called into question the moral and religious authority of elders guiding the Quaker movement.

In a more practical sense, Hicks was at odds with modernity. He waxed highly critical of fellow Quakers who had grown wealthy and participated actively in the larger community about them. He demanded that they remain aloof from the world and not pursue money or other activities that ground "the faces of the poor." Moreover, Hicks was profoundly abolitionist in outlook and openly condemned Quakers who owned slaves. His beliefs mandated that AFRICAN AMERICANS should enjoy the same intrinsic right to liberty as all human beings, and he advocated the boycott of slave-produced goods such as rice and cotton.

Hicks died at his farm in Jericho, New York, on February 27, 1830. The schism he started, and the theological recriminations it engendered, endured among the Society of Friends long after his passing. For this reason, Hicks is regarded as a major religious reformer of the early to mid-19th century.

See also RELIGION.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### **Horseshoe Bend, Battle of (Tohopeka)**

(March 27, 1814)

This battle between American forces and rebel CREEK (Muskogee) Indians known as the "Red Sticks" effectively ended the Red Stick War of 1812–14. The Red Sticks resisted the Americanization (adoption of white cultural practices) of the Creek, which had been taking place within the nation for decades. There was increasing pressure on the Creek to abandon communal land ownership and adopt the white practice of private land ownership, which would allow them to sell much of their land to the United States. Many of the Creek, led by mixed-blood chiefs, were open to change. However, a considerable number rejected the

changes taking place and erupted into open rebellion with the United States and the pro-American Creek in 1812, causing a civil war within the nation. These rebel Creek, or Red Sticks, wished to return to a more traditional way of living centered on a new prophetic movement designed to restore traditional values. This new religious movement also called for little or no contact with white people and an abandonment of most facets of white culture which the Creek had adopted.

Throughout 1812 and 1813 the Red Sticks skirmished with the pro-American Creek. In 1813, the United States and the Red Sticks began open warfare at the Battle of Burnt Corn. By March 1814 about 1,000 Red Stick warriors and 400 women and children had assembled along the Tallapoosa River in modern-day Alabama. Tohopeka, the town the Red Sticks built there, lay in a horseshoe-shaped bend in the river. Under the guidance of the war chief Menawa, they built fortifications on the land side of the town, enclosing it effectively against attack. Less than one-third of the Red Sticks had guns (although they did not reject the use of guns, they could not acquire any); most had clubs, knives, and bows and arrows. However, the Red Sticks did not fear the upcoming battle, for their religious leaders (or shamans) had assured them that they were protected by sacred forces and could not be harmed by their enemies' bullets.

As the Red Sticks prepared for war, about 1,500 Americans—commanded by ANDREW JACKSON and supported by 500 CHEROKEE and 100 pro-American Creek—marched to Tohopeka. On March 27, 1814, the Americans attacked. The Red Sticks withstood the siege for hours, despite the much larger force and superior arms of their attackers. However, the Americans charged the fortifications while their Cherokee allies crossed the river and assaulted the Red Sticks from the rear, which cut off their means of escape and broke their resistance.

Andrew Jackson promised that no quarter (mercy) would be given to the Red Sticks if they chose to fight. As a result, many of the rebel Creek were killed in the river while trying to escape. The Red Sticks suffered catastrophic losses, as 800 warriors died and 350 women and children were captured. Many of the surviving Red Sticks surrendered after the battle, while some fled to FLORIDA to join with the Seminole. Many of these rebel Creeks fought in the subsequent SEMINOLE WARS of 1818–19. However, the Battle of Horseshoe Bend effectively ended the Red Stick War and allowed for further American expansion into the southern United States.

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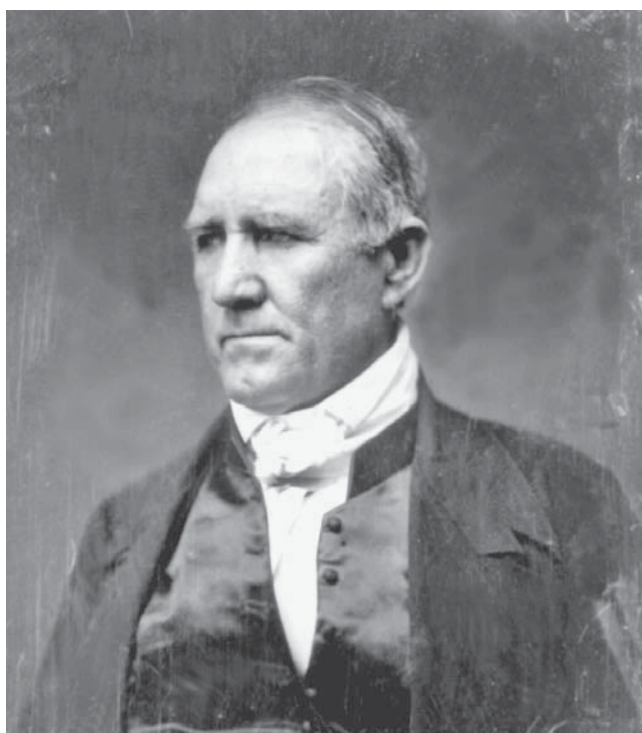
—Michael L. Cox

**Houston, Sam** (1793–1863) *Texas statesman and military commander*

Born in Virginia and later a congressman from Tennessee as well as a political protégé of ANDREW JACKSON, Sam Houston was most significant for his role in the early history of TEXAS. Immigrating to that territory in 1832, he became commander in chief of the army during the TEXAS REVOLUTION and later first president of the Republic of Texas. After Texas was admitted to the Union as a state in 1845, he served as a U.S. senator and finally as governor.

Houston had minimal formal schooling in Virginia. His family moved to Tennessee when he was 13, and he grew up on the Tennessee frontier. During the WAR OF 1812, he served as a lieutenant in the army commanded by Major General Andrew Jackson, and he participated in Jackson's campaigns throughout the South. When the war ended, Houston returned to Tennessee, read law, and became a practicing attorney. It was a youth and adolescence similar to that of many ambitious young men on the early frontier of the trans-Appalachian West.

Like other energetic young men, Houston found himself drawn to politics. He was a friend and partisan of Andrew Jackson's at a time when Jackson was the most famous figure in the state. Houston was elected to the U.S. Congress in 1823, and four years later, he was elected governor of the state of Tennessee. In 1829 he married Eliza



Sam Houston (Library of Congress)

Allen. At this point, his successful personal and political career took another direction. For reasons that he never explained, but perhaps because his wife had left him, Houston resigned the governorship and took up residence in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), where he became a member of the CHEROKEE nation, taking an Indian name, assuming the dress of that nation, and marrying a Cherokee woman. He lived among the Cherokee until 1832, when he and his Indian family moved to Texas.

Texas was then a state called Coahuila-Texas in the Republic of Mexico. Nevertheless, its population was predominantly Anglo-American settlers recently arrived from the Mississippi Valley. These approximately 20,000 settlers had come to Texas under a system of contracted immigration, arranged by STEPHEN F. AUSTIN, another figure who would be indelibly associated with the formative years of the American occupation of Texas. Houston was a natural leader with important political connections with the government of the United States, and his arrival was widely noted. There were even suggestions that he had come as the personal representative of his friend, President Andrew Jackson, although this connection was never made directly.

Houston found Texas in a state of uneasy confusion. Many prominent Texans were agitating for a greater degree of autonomy—perhaps even independence preparatory to a future union with the United States. The officials of the Republic of Mexico in both Texas and Mexico City were aware of this interest and opposed to it. Austin, the most prominent figure in Texas, favored searching for a redress of grievance through official means, and he supported a continued connection with the Republic of Mexico. When the American settlements drafted a series of petitions to the government in Mexico City, Austin was the unanimous choice to make the case for the Anglo-Texans. Although he gained much of what the Texans sought, Austin was arrested and confined in Mexico City. During his two-year absence, others, including Houston, assumed positions of leadership in the Texas community.

Houston was among those who wanted greater independence for Texas, and this feeling was increasingly shared after the ascendancy to power of General ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA, who seemed to threaten the rights that Texans thought were guaranteed to them under the Mexican Constitution of 1824. As Santa Anna pursued a series of military campaigns to solidify his power, he eventually turned his attention to the north, where he saw Texas in what he considered a state of open rebellion. Divided Texan voices and poor military leadership led to military disasters at Goliad and at THE ALAMO, but these defeats only strengthened their resolve for independence. Houston was a delegate to the Convention of 1836, and he signed the Declaration of Independence drafted by that body. In March

1836 the delegates to the convention chose him as commander in chief of the Texas army. Given charge of a small and poorly trained body of men, he pursued an unpopular policy by retreating to the east and north toward the Louisiana border. Then, in a surprise move, he marshaled his forces to confront Santa Anna and the much larger Mexican army near the San Jacinto River, where Houston ordered a frontal assault. In 20 minutes the Texas army had won an overwhelming victory. The Mexican army lost 630 killed and an equal number taken prisoner; the Texan losses were a mere handful. Against all odds, Houston had saved Texas.

As the most popular figure in the republic, Houston easily defeated Austin for the presidency of the new Republic of Texas. The election showed that the immediacy of a military victory had easily overshadowed Austin's contributions in building Anglo-Texas over 15 years. As president of the republic, Houston pursued a cautious policy of engagement with the United States. The American government had backed away from immediate annexation, sensitive to diplomatic criticism of its conduct during the war. Texas's status had also become embroiled in the controversy over SLAVERY, since it was sure to make application to enter the Union as a slave state. In spite of these difficulties, Houston remained convinced that the destiny of Texas was inevitably bound to the United States.

Houston's policy of correct diplomatic engagement with the United States and European nations and even his attempts to come to terms with Mexico aroused political opposition within Texas itself. Furthermore, he was a strong personality who made no secret of his likes and dislikes. Mirabeau B. Lamar led the opposition, and he became Houston's political rival over the next decade. At the end of Houston's first term as president of the Republic of Texas (he could later serve a second, though nonconsecutive, term), Lamar was elected his successor. Lamar pursued a policy of expansion and confrontation with Mexico, with the Indian peoples of Texas, and eventually with the United States over Texan claims to the upper reaches of the Rio Grande. Most important, Lamar moved the capital from Houston to a frontier village soon renamed Austin; it was the most enduring of all his policies.

When Houston was elected governor again, he resumed his patient negotiations with the United States over annexation. With the election of JAMES K. POLK in November 1844, the American nation signaled its expansionist interest, and Texas was a logical object of it. Consequently, both houses of Congress approved a joint resolution for annexation in January 1845. Houston's policy of engagement with the United States had succeeded.

Upon the admission of Texas to the Union in 1845, Houston was elected a U.S. senator. Throughout the 1850s he walked a fine line in his allegiance, always the Texas patriot but often critical of rising southern nationalism.



By the mid-1850s he had come to support the KNOW-NOTHING PARTY as an alternative to southern sectionalism. Increasingly, he showed a strong commitment to the preservation of the Union in the face of growing southern sentiment for secession.

Again elected governor of the state in 1859, Houston immediately expressed his opposition to the convention called in support of secession. When the convention met in early 1861, he refused to take an oath of loyalty to the newly formed Confederate States of America. The state legislature declined to impeach him, probably because of his many services to the republic and the state over 30 years. Instead, it simply declared the office of governor vacant, and his duties were assumed by the lieutenant governor. Houston retired to his home, where he declined to accept an offer of federal troops to support him and his stand. Houston firmly supported the Union, but he refused to engage in a policy that would pit Texan against Texan in a violent confrontation. Houston spent the rest of his life at his home, embittered by Texan secession and the loss of the governorship. He died in 1863.

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### **Hull, William** (1759–1825) *soldier*

Distinguished service marked the beginning of William Hull's military career, and a court-martial brought it to an end. Hull was born in Derby, Connecticut, on June 24, 1753. He attended Yale College, where he contemplated entering the ministry but later decided on a career in law. He practiced law in Litchfield, Connecticut, but even the legal profession did not hold Hull's attention. At the onset of the Revolutionary War (1775–83), he devoted himself to the military. Serving admirably in the Continental army, he was promoted to major in 1777 and lieutenant colonel in 1779. He also fought at the battles of Trenton (December 26, 1776) and Princeton (January 3, 1777). After the war, Hull practiced law in Massachusetts and married Sarah Fuller in 1781. In 1787 he assisted in putting down

Shays's Rebellion (1786–87). Elected to the Massachusetts state senate in 1798, he openly sided with the Democratic-Republican Party. In 1805 President Thomas Jefferson appointed Hull governor of Michigan Territory, where he served for seven years. During his terms as governor, Hull successfully acquired land cessions from Indian nations in the territory, including the Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Shawnee and Wyandot. Many Indian leaders, such as Tecumseh, disliked Hull for his dealings with NATIVE AMERICANS.

The WAR OF 1812 (1812–15) brought Hull back to the military when he reluctantly accepted a position as a general in the Old Northwest. President James Madison ordered him to invade Upper Canada at the onset of the war, but the campaign foundered immediately. British general Sir Isaac Brock drove Hull's force of 2,000 soldiers back to Detroit, even though the American troops were larger in number. Meanwhile, the British and their Native American allies (many of whom were injured by Hull's Indian policy as governor of Michigan Territory) cut off reinforcements. On August 16, 1812, fearing for the town's population, Hull surrendered Detroit to Brock and returned ignominiously to the United States to face a court-martial. The court found him guilty of cowardice, neglect of duty, and misconduct as an officer, and sentenced him to death for the Detroit debacle. However, President Madison pardoned Hull from the death penalty because of his service during the Revolutionary War and his advanced age. Hull's nephew, Commodore Isaac Hull, restored the family name with his naval performance during the War of 1812.

Hull spent the rest of his life acquitting himself. He wrote two books—*Defense of Brig. Gen. Wm. Hull* (1814) and *Memoirs of the Campaign of the Northwestern Army of the United States: A.D. 1812* (1824)—which sought to explain his actions at Detroit. He died in Newton, Massachusetts on November 29, 1825.

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—William J. Bauer, Jr.





## immigration

In the first great wave of 19th-century immigration, about 5 million people entered the United States between 1820 and 1860. Nearly 1.6 million were natives of Ireland, and 1.5 million more were from Germany. During the 1820s, the Irish and Germans accounted for more than 40 percent of immigrants; in the 1830s, they accounted for approximately 60 percent; and in the 1840s and 1850s, they made up more than 70 percent of immigrants. English immigrants accounted for 15 percent or less of the total. Small numbers of Scandinavian and Canadian immigrants also entered the United States during the time. Approximately 80,000 Mexicans became U.S. residents during the mid-19th century, but not through immigration. Instead, they gained the rights of American citizens following the American absorption of TEXAS and much of the American Southwest (comprising modern-day CALIFORNIA, Nevada, Utah, and parts of New Mexico, Arizona, Wyoming, and Colorado) following the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR (1846–48). These lands were ceded in the 1848 TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO between the United States and Mexico. Also in the late 1840s, some 25,000 Chinese immigrants arrived during the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH and established residence.

Necessity and opportunity were the primary driving forces for immigration. From the 1830s, declining economic conditions led Irish farmers to emigrate to the United States. During the mid-1840s, the numbers of immigrants increased sharply after potato blights destroyed Ireland's primary source of food and commerce. Compounding the problem was the treatment of farmers by the landowners. Although dairy products and other foodstuffs were raised successfully in Ireland, they were used mainly for export to England. This left tenant farmers dependent on potatoes, and when those rotted from blight, many starved. One million of Ireland's 8 million inhabitants died of hunger and other related conditions during this time. One quarter of those remaining even-

tually immigrated to the United States, in what became known as the Great Migration.

For Germans, economic necessity and failed revolutionary movements in 1830 and 1848 led them to migrate to North America. So many thousands came to the U.S. after the failures of the 1848 European revolutions that they were known as Forty-Eighters. As they had been for decades, peasants and artisans were also solicited by U.S. labor agents, who offered work in a rapidly industrializing country. Agents further enticed potential immigrants with the chance to own inexpensive land in the West. For many European Jews, the United States also offered a chance to escape religious discrimination.

Other Europeans became immigrants for economic reasons. Certain factors were common to all these groups; industrialization and commercial agriculture played important roles. As the large-scale practices of commercial agriculture increased during the early 19th century, small farmers throughout Europe were unable to support themselves. Similarly, the low-cost, factory-made products that industrialization brought to the market ended the livelihood of many European craftsmen. A further stimulus to migrate to the United States was the low cost of steamboat transportation, which made the transoceanic trip possible.

One characteristic of migration was its growth as the 19th century progressed. During the 1820s, 152,000 immigrants entered the United States, which had a population in 1820 of 9.6 million. The 1830 population was 12.9 million, and in the decade that followed, 599,000 immigrants entered the country. The population in 1840 was 17 million; 1,713,000 immigrants entered during the next 10 years. By 1850, the population was 23.2 million; that decade saw the entry of 2,598,000 immigrants. In the 1820s, slightly more than one of every 1,000 U.S. residents was a new immigrant; in the 1850s, it was more than nine of every 1,000. Immigrant Irish brought New York City unprecedented increases in numbers, accounting for 343,000 of the city's 1850 population of 515,547. Overall, the millions of



This engraving shows Irish emigrants getting ready to leave their famine-stricken homeland for the United States. (*Library of Congress*)

immigrants and a fertile young populace combined to make the United States grow more quickly than any other nation during the 19th century, increasing from 5 million to about 31 million between 1800 and 1860.

The boat voyage that brought immigrants to North America was lengthy and hazardous, usually taking place aboard a steamer (known to Irish immigrants as a “coffin ship”) that was overcrowded and invited disease. In 1832, Irish immigrants carried cholera aboard ship to Canada and through to New York, resulting in hundreds of deaths. Most of these and other Irish immigrants were young (under 35 years old) and without money, traveling in small groups or alone. Other family members came when the new immigrant was able to raise funds. In contrast, most German

immigrants traveled as families, and, at least with the early groups, had more money. From 1849, most European immigrants entering New York passed through a receiving station called Castle Garden, in lower Manhattan.

Immigrants from all countries adopted various methods to adjust to an unfamiliar land. From friends and relatives, they learned about the country and of relatively hospitable regions. Although both Irish and German groups settled in northeastern coastal cities, including Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, some settlers moved into the nation’s midsection to work on canals, railroads, and roads. Eventually, many German immigrants settled widely across the United States, establishing farms and homes in the Ohio Valley, along the Mississippi River to Missouri, within



the Great Lakes region in Wisconsin and Minnesota, and in Texas. More than 950,000 Germans migrated to the United States during the 1850s. So great and varied was German settlement that its well-populated states formed a continuous line from New York to Minnesota known as the “German Belt.” Only one in eight of all new immigrants entered the cotton-dominated South.

Once arrived, new immigrants turned to formal and informal ethnic networks that provided information and leads for housing and jobs. Although most colonial-era Irish and German immigrants were Protestants, those arriving during the 19th century were largely Roman Catholics who looked to the church for social support. Ethnic newspapers and social clubs, particularly those for German immigrants, also provided community support.

Types of work and working conditions varied among these immigrants. Although there were some skilled craftsmen, professionally trained people, and intellectuals in the immigrant mix who became artists, journalists, shopkeepers, and political leaders, most immigrants were former farmers and manual laborers. This was particularly true among Irish immigrants. Along the eastern coastal cities, laborers found work (much of it day labor) in construction sites, factories, canals, railroads, or textile mills. Given their need for labor, textile mills were favored sites of employment for Irish immigrant families, since they provided ready sources of work for entire families that needed money. Female Irish immigrants, however, were often subjected to faster work paces and lower pay rates than their native-born counterparts. Some Irish immigrant women were also employed at home doing piecework or as domestic servants. As one journalist wrote in 1860, “There are several sorts of power working at the fabric of this Republic: water-power, steam-power, horse-power, Irish-power. The last works hardest of all.” German immigrants were more likely to work in light industry or crafts work, which utilized their earlier training as artisans. Other immigrants of the era from England, Canada, or elsewhere were less likely to take jobs as domestic servants or day laborers. Instead, they worked as farmers, in construction, or in higher-level machinery work.

Over time, immigrant groups also developed various social and cultural specialties that allowed them to enrich and be integrated into the American way of life. German immigrants became known for their ability to provide various types of entertainment, which spanned the popular venues of dance halls and beer gardens to choral and classical music. For example, in 1835 German immigrants founded the first U.S. vocal music society, the *Maennerchor* (Men’s Choir); in later decades, they led in the formation of musical societies in other cities. German immigrants were also central to bringing classical music to the United States; in 1855, an early conductor of the New York Phil-

harmonic Symphony Orchestra was German immigrant Carl Bergmann.

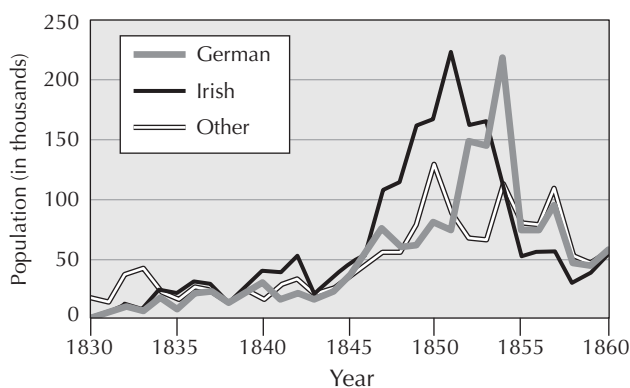
Many Irish immigrants developed a political expertise that won them local and statewide positions. (President ANDREW JACKSON was the son of Irish immigrants who arrived before the Great Migration.) They were able to establish voting blocs and infiltrate traditionally English and old-immigrant neighborhoods.

From the 1830s through the 1850s, the influx of 2.2 million immigrants, many of them destitute and Roman Catholic in an overwhelmingly Protestant nation, roused deep anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States. Most earlier Irish immigrants were Protestants from northern Ireland and thus easily accepted into American society. Newly arrived German Roman Catholic immigrants held beliefs that were more agreeable with prevailing northern thinking, such as participation in public schools. Pro-Union, in later years they were instrumental in the presidential victory of Abraham Lincoln. Additionally, when they arrived in the United States, German immigrants often had more money than their Irish counterparts and possessed greater training for skilled work.

These anti-immigrant attitudes, which represented the first large-scale nativist movement in U.S. history, were manifested in many ways. Newspaper postings for work and housing often included the catchphrase “Nina”—“No Irish Need Apply.” Beginning in the 1830s, periodicals featured warnings of “popish” plots for the Catholic appropriation of the nation. One notable anti-Catholic spokesman was SAMUEL F. B. MORSE. Now best known for his invention of the telegraph, he was famous then for his 1834 series of letters, *A Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States*.

Violent demonstrations of anti-Catholic opinion occurred throughout the period of the Great Migration, usually in cities with large immigrant populations. One

Immigration to the United States, 1830–60



prolonged argument centered on the ongoing Irish objection to using the Protestant King James Bible in public schools and one school board's response to it. In 1844 the Philadelphia school system exempted Catholics from using Protestant-leaning textbooks and permitted the use of the Catholic Douay version of the Bible. In response, Protestant and Catholic rallies and demonstrations erupted and resulted in two riots, ending in 30 deaths, 150 injuries, and the destruction of two Catholic churches. It was the most violent religious confrontation in the United States to date. In the 1850s ANTI-CATHOLIC RIOTS occurred in Boston and elsewhere.

Anti-immigrant forces also attempted to control immigration and immigrants' rights through political means, forming various political parties to promote their goals. In 1837 the Native American Association was founded to counter nonnative groups, particularly Catholics; its formal political party, the Native America Party, was founded in 1845. Also organized to curtail immigrant rights was the American Republican Party, founded in 1843. Its goal was to prevent immigrants from holding elected office. Most influential nationally was the American Party, more commonly known as the KNOW-NOTHING PARTY. Founded in mid-century as memories of the bloody 1844 Philadelphia riots faded, the Know-Nothing Party aimed to bar immigrants and any Catholic from public office. Affiliated with this party was MILLARD FILLMORE, who became president following the death of ZACHARY TAYLOR in 1850.

In the West during the gold rush, Chinese immigrants faced what would in later decades become escalating discrimination. As prospectors, they were granted access only to gold claims already examined by white prospectors.

Nativist movements and focus on anti-immigration diminished at the end of the 1850s as conflicts escalated between the North and the South. Immigrants were needed to defend the Union; thousands did, serving in many Irish- and German-immigrant divisions. Their participation in the Union army during the Civil War was important to the Northern triumph. Among notable Irish commanders were General Philip Sheridan and immigrant General Thomas Francis Meagher, leader of a Union Irish brigade. German immigrant Civil War generals included Carl Schurz, who later worked for President Lincoln. Such soldiers helped to contribute to the assimilation of all 19th-century immigrants into the United States.

Despite adversity, immigrants who arrived between 1820 and 1860 would be the last group to have relative freedom from immigration laws. The second wave of immigrants, who would arrive between 1880 and 1920, would face more stringent legislation, beginning with an 1862 law prohibiting American ships from bringing Chinese immigrants to the United States. Such legal measures would

increase in scope throughout the century. Still, the immigration surge that began in the early 19th century continued to grow until World War I, seeing its largest number of arrivals—20 million—during the highly regulated period of 1880 to 1920.

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—Melinda Corey

## Indian Affairs, Bureau of

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) is the office of the federal government responsible for many aspects of NATIVE AMERICANS life. Among the several different activities within its jurisdiction in the 20th century are EDUCATION, employment, police, welfare, AGRICULTURE, and industrial development. Because of the BIA's enormous influence over Indian affairs, from the beginning it has been the source of great controversy among Native Americans and white Americans over its duties and their execution.

The BIA has a long history that is deeply enmeshed in the thorny relationship between the United States's majority population and its Indian minority. After the U.S. Constitution was written and ratified, the new government organized in 1789 gave the War Department responsibility for overseeing all relations with Native peoples. This structure reflected the view that Indian peoples were a military issue, and so they were to be dealt with by the military arm of the government. Given the continuing confrontations between settlers and Native Americans in the 1780s and early 1790s, this position was understandable.

In 1806 a separate Office of Indian Trade was organized, again under the aegis of the War Department, to manage the factory system, an attempt to regulate trade with Indian peoples in a fairer and more honest manner than that pursued by private fur-trading companies. Although the factory system was a success in fostering better relations with Indian peoples, it was constantly under attack by fur-trading interests as unfair competition, and Congress abolished the system in 1822. Two years later, Secretary of War JOHN C. CALHOUN established a Bureau of Indian Affairs within the War Department, appointing Thomas L. McKenney its first chief. McKenney had been superintendent of Indian trade from 1816 to 1822. His duties, as defined by Congress, were to supervise the financial arrangements that arose out of "laws regulating

intercourse with the Indian tribes.” In his reports, McKenney called the agency the “Office of Indian Affairs.” (The name remained in use until 1947, when “Bureau of Indian Affairs” again came into use.) In some ways, McKenney was more a financial officer than one concerned with policy. But as in so many cases having to do with the federal government, especially in the 19th century, financial issues became closely associated with issues of policy.

In 1830, when Congress passed and President ANDREW JACKSON signed the INDIAN REMOVAL ACT, it became clear that removal was to become the government’s favored solution to the Indian presence east of the Mississippi River. Partly in response to this new direction, Jackson replaced McKenney, although the latter had strongly supported the Removal Act in 1832. Congress then established the bureau-level Office of Indian Affairs, headed by a commissioner appointed by the president and confirmed by Congress. The office was still an agency of the War Department, and the new commissioner reported to the secretary of war. The commissioner was charged with the “direction and management of all Indian affairs and all matters arising out of Indian relations.” Two years later, another law provided for the reorganization of the Department of Indian Affairs, establishing several new agencies and superintendencies.

The Office of Indian Affairs was responsible for conducting removal negotiations as well as for oversight of existing treaties. In cooperation with the U.S. Army, the Office directed the removal of the remaining nations east of the Mississippi to new reservations in Indian Territory (later the state of Oklahoma). This process was accomplished through a series of treaties of questionable legality and legitimacy, and, where necessary, through the use of force. The most noteworthy example of enforced removal and its disastrous results was the roundup of the remaining Cherokee in Georgia in autumn 1838, and their enforced removal during the winter of 1838–39 on a march known as the TRAIL OF TEARS.

With the removal of Indians east of the Mississippi to the West, debate began anew over whether the management of Native American affairs properly lay within the War Department. In 1849, the Office of Indian Affairs was transferred to the newly created Department of the Interior. By this time, the bulk of its responsibilities had to do with the administration of the Indian Territory reservations as well as the other reservations scattered throughout the nation. The office has frequently been accused of fostering government dependency among Native peoples during this period by arbitrarily depriving them of their traditional lifeways, social structures, and even their own names. Certainly, there have been many examples of unscrupulous government agents. Some agents were known to withhold food rations from recalcitrant individu-

als; others cheated nations out of funds that the government had held in trust. Such experiences spurred feelings of bitterness and distrust on the part of Native Americans toward the government.

The agency’s name was changed to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1947, although its mission and its place within the Department of the Interior remained the same. Today, the BIA attempts to work in concert with tribal governments to establish health, education, and economic development programs to benefit Native groups.

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—Mary Kay Linge

## Indian Removal Act

The Indian Removal Act was passed by Congress on May 28, 1830. Most commonly associated with the removal of the CHOCTAW, CHICKASAW, CHEROKEE, CREEK and SEMINOLE nations from the American Southeast, the act authorized the president of the United States to facilitate the exchange of NATIVE AMERICANS lands anywhere in the East for lands west of the Mississippi River. Passed because of pressure from whites, the act marked the beginning of vigorous era of government-sponsored removal. For American Indian nations, the policy would exact a tremendous material, spiritual, and human cost.

Pressure for the government to institute a national removal policy came from several sectors of American society. Proponents of such a policy shared two main concerns. The first was that the United States had a compelling need to expand westward. The second was a fear of Indian attack as such expansion took place.

At the turn of the century, the United States had yet to significantly expand its territory. The fur trade provided the most important contact between white settlers and American Indians across the Midwest. The government had long hoped to open the Ohio Valley up to settlement, believing it would provide the means to settle war debts. The region was rich with timber, while its waterways offered the makings of a transportation network and source of mechanical power. In the Southeast, American Indian communities controlled a significant part of Georgia and most of present-day Florida, Mississippi, and Alabama. To white Americans, this region’s fertile soil held the prospect of expanded cotton production, a lucrative



enterprise thanks to improvements in spinning technology in industrial Britain. This and the increase of the American population pressured the government to smooth the way for expansion into the West.

American designs on Indian lands were compounded by cultural prejudice. Few Americans believed that American Indians made productive or sensible use of their land. Many observers, journalists, and politicians argued that Native American groups relied on hunting, an enterprise that ought to give way to settled agriculture under the principles of natural law. Confusion over appropriate gender roles lay at the root of much of this belief. To white Americans, a society was best judged by the actions of men. Observers therefore viewed the business of hunting, diplomacy, warfare, or limited participation in AGRICULTURE as a male prerogative. In most American Indian communities, farming was a female activity, a fact that many observers argued showed the laziness of Indian men and the backwardness of Native American culture. In reality, many American Indian communities across the Southeast thrived on the intensive agriculture they practiced. Men and women had their own particular responsibilities which contributed to the health of the nation, and even those Native groups who relied on hunting and gathering engaged in the careful and purposeful cultivation of wild food sources.

While most Americans shared the idea that Indian communities were a 'problem' for the expanding nation, not all agreed that removal was an appropriate response. A reform movement flourished in the first three decades of the 19th century, arguing that through education and religious instruction, Native American communities could be remade in the image of the U.S. ideal. Religious groups such as the Quakers, Moravians, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions made heavy investments of time and money to this end.

Many Americans believed, however, that Native American groups were fundamentally hostile. In 1800, peace in the Ohio Valley was only five years old. After the Revolutionary War, a series of fraudulent treaties were imposed upon the Iroquois and their allies, who had battled to protect their lands. In the South, the Creek and Cherokee had engaged in similar conflicts. Skirmishes between American settlers and American Indian nations continued through the early 19th century, becoming particularly fierce during the WAR OF 1812. The result was that a generation of Americans, living at the boundaries of the existing United States, remembered war with Indian nations from personal experience. They demanded protection from the threat they perceived.

The fusion of these considerations resulted in pressure for Indian removal. ANDREW JACKSON was the president who put the policy into effect. A renowned Indian fighter

who had personally negotiated treaties between the government and the nations of the American Southeast, Jackson was in favor of removal for economic and military reasons. A shrewd politician, Jackson used the rhetoric of reform to further justify his ideas during his presidential campaign. Native American communities must be moved out of the way of white settlement, he argued, in order to give them a real chance to adapt to western ways of life.

While Jackson supported removal, it was events in Georgia that forced him to act on his beliefs. Many of the southeastern nations had made cultural adaptations over the course of the early 19th century, in an effort to nullify criticism of their lifestyles and forestall attempts to remove them. While adaptations took place among each southeastern nation, it was the Cherokee who made the most widespread changes. Indigo, tobacco, and cotton were grown as cash crops, while prominent families built large, plantation-style homes and kept slaves. By 1817, the Cherokee had their own legislature, judicial system, and chief executive, and a written constitution was passed in 1827. Education was readily available at a number of schools, and in 1821 a Cherokee syllabary (vocabulary) was adopted. The Bible was at least partially available in Cherokee by 1824, and by 1828 the nation was publishing a bilingual newspaper, *The Cherokee Phoenix*.

Rather than assuage the concerns of white Americans in the region, however, these changes convinced them that the Cherokee would never give up their lands of their own free will. In order to force the issue, proponents of Cherokee removal pointed to splits in the nation between those who had made cultural adaptations to the world around them and those who had not. The latter suffered grave poverty and alcoholism, and Georgian citizens argued that it was imperative that all Cherokees be removed for their own survival.

The passing of the Cherokee constitution infuriated Georgia's legislators. Claiming that it was unconstitutional for a state to exist within a state, Georgia extended jurisdiction over the Cherokee nation on December 20, 1828. The state gave notice that it would refuse to recognize Cherokee laws or law enforcement and would make Cherokees citizens liable for taxation. These changes would go into effect on June 1, 1830. Newly elected as president of the United States, Andrew Jackson had until that date to resolve the conflict between the two groups.

Jackson's solution was to press forward with removal. In his first State of the Union address, the president committed himself to the policy of moving Indians to the West and urged Congress to act on the matter with haste. By February 24, 1830, the removal bill was out of committee and the subject of bitter debate in Congress. Despite eloquent arguments made in favor of leaving American Indian communities alone, the bill passed the Senate 28-19 on

April 23, 1830, and passed the House 102-97 on May 24. Jackson signed the bill into law that same day.

The Removal Act was used to displace Native American communities across the United States, often by force. The experience of the southeastern tribes was particularly harrowing. Despite appealing their case to the Supreme Court and insisting that the government treat them fairly, the nations were ultimately divested of their lands. Forced to travel to present-day Oklahoma without adequate notice, clothing, food, or transportation, thousands of Indian men, women and children died. The removal process became known as the TRAIL OF TEARS.

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—Catherine J. Denial

## industrialization

Industrialization is the process by which an agricultural society is transformed into one based primarily on large-scale, mechanized factory production. It first occurred in Great Britain in the Industrial Revolution starting in the mid-18th century, and began to spread to the United States in the early 19th century, though a full-scale industrial revolution did not take place there until after the American Civil War (1861–65).

Industrialization in America first took root in New England. The WAR OF 1812 stimulated manufacturing in New England by encouraging reliance on domestic industries rather than those of the British enemy. But just as important was the ingenuity of enterprising textile manufacturers. Britain prohibited export of its profitable textile machinery, but British-born Samuel Slater memorized blueprints and brought them to America, where he and partner Moses Brown built the country's first mechanized cotton-spinning mill, or factory, in Rhode Island in 1790. Soon several mills owned by their firm, Almy, Brown, & Slater, were churning out mass quantities of cotton yarn. As is characteristic of industrial facilities, Slater's mills achieved efficient, inexpensive mass production of goods by using machines worked by large numbers of employees.

In 1814 Francis Cabot Lowell, a Boston merchant, developed the first American power loom, an improved version of English prototypes. With partners, he founded the Boston Manufacturing Company in 1813, the first mill or factory in America to handle all the operations involved in turning raw cotton into finished cloth. After his death in 1817, his partners gave his name to Lowell, Massachu-

setts, a textile manufacturing center incorporated as a city in 1836.

Through operations such as Slater's and Lowell's, the factory system for cotton spinning and weaving became established. It depended on raw cotton from the South, a product that had itself been affected by mechanization: The cotton gin, invented by Eli Whitney in 1793 to separate seeds from fibers, had greatly increased the profitability of cotton farming and made it the basis of the southern economy. By the presidency of JAMES MONROE (1817–25), manufacturing was overtaking shipping as the primary interest in New England and Pennsylvania. By 1840 about 2.25 million spindles were in use in 1,200 cotton cloth factories, two-thirds of them in New England. Woolen manufacturing also advanced during this period, though at a slower pace. By 1850 more than 1,500 wool factories at places like Lawrence, Massachusetts, were producing flannel and blankets.

In addition to textile plants, numerous other kinds of factories sprang up in antebellum America. Near New Haven, Connecticut, Eli Whitney developed a system of interchangeable, standardized parts to mass-produce guns for the U.S. government. The system worked well enough to be widely copied, and Whitney applied it to making clocks. In Delaware, Oliver Evans founded a grist mill that mechanized the entire process from grinding to packing. In North Salem, New York, in 1835, the Howe Company began mass-producing straight pins at the rate of 50 a minute. In Philadelphia, Stuart & Company manufactured hollow ironware while the Disston Company made saws. SAMUEL COLT perfected Whitney's techniques for mass-producing guns in his arms plant at Hartford, Connecticut, where, beginning in 1848, he turned out six-shooters (pistols with six revolving chambers). Other thriving industries in this period included gunpowder, associated with manufacturer Eleuthère Irénée Du Pont; soap and candles, linked with such entrepreneurs as William Colgate and the partnership of William Procter and James Gamble; and rubber, which flourished after Charles Goodyear discovered in 1839 how to vulcanize rubber to keep it elastic in all weathers.

As a result of all this activity, from 1819 to 1849 private production income from manufacturing grew from \$64 million to \$291 million. In 1850, more than \$1 billion worth of manufactured goods were produced in America. In the late 1830s the United States began to export more goods than it imported, a characteristic shift in nations undergoing industrialization. However, manufactured goods remained a relatively small percentage of sales to other countries, accounting for only 12 percent of exports as late as 1860.

Manufacturing in America at this stage was mainly powered by water. The domestic coal industry, essential to steam power, was still developing, as were the iron and steel industries. By 1850 Americans were still importing almost



Showing the power looms of textile manufacture, this label was the early trademark of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company. (*Museum of American Textile History*)

twice as much iron and steel as they were manufacturing at home. But iron production had begun to move out of small blacksmith shops to industrial forges and mills. From 1810 to 1850 the annual output of pig iron increased from 50,000 to 600,000 gross tons. Peter Cooper was among the entrepreneurs who shaped the American iron industry in this period.

In many cases, industrialization was helped by government support. For example, at the urging of textile magnate Francis Cabot Lowell, the tariff law of 1816 imposed duties on imported cotton cloth, aiding the domestic textile industry. Local, state, and federal governments directly or indirectly financed many enterprises through such means as tax exemptions and special franchise and monopoly privileges. Increasingly liberal state laws made it easier for enterprises to obtain financing from banks and to be organized as corporations that could sell stocks and bonds to raise money.

From 1820 to 1840 capital funds invested in the nation's factories increased fivefold, from \$50 million to \$250 million. Much of the capital came from overseas: Up to 1839, the British had invested more than \$170 million in American businesses. The relatively unrestricted flow of capital spurred industrial growth but also contributed to financial instability and devastating panics, or depressions, when confidence in the economy fell, notably the PANIC OF 1819 and PANIC OF 1837.

For industrialization to increase its pace, it was vital to have faster ways to get finished goods to far-flung markets and to get food, supplies, and raw materials to industrial centers. Steamboats, canals, and RAILROADS provided solutions. In 1807 American engineer Robert Fulton launched the first commercially viable steamboat, the *Clermont*, and this mode of transportation was improved and adapted throughout the antebellum years. In 1815 regular steam-

boat service began on the Mississippi River. However, rivers and lakes did not connect every market or production center, so a spate of canal-building began. From 1817 to 1825 the ERIE CANAL was constructed, spanning 365 miles from Albany to Buffalo, linking the Hudson River and the Great Lakes. By 1840 there were over 3,000 miles of canals in the United States. (See CANAL ERA.)

Horse-drawn railways went into operation, such as the Granite Railway in Massachusetts between Quincy and the Neponset River, opened in 1826. But these were only a precursor to the steam locomotive, which was soon everywhere. Industrialist Peter Cooper introduced the first U.S.-built locomotive, the *Tom Thumb*, in 1830, the same year that the BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD (B&O), based in Baltimore, began using steam locomotives for rail service. Other railroads followed quickly, linking cities along the eastern seaboard to each other and the West. The Pennsylvania Railroad was chartered in 1846; the Pacific Railroad Company, the first railroad west of the Mississippi, was begun in 1849; and the New York Central Railroad was started in 1853. By 1850 there were more than 9,000 miles of railroad track; by 1860, about 30,000 miles. Railroad manufacturing itself became an important industry, as factories were established to build locomotives, car parts, and track. The telegraph, demonstrated by SAMUEL F. B. MORSE in 1844, became important in scheduling and dispatching trains, as well as in facilitating other kinds of business communications.

Improved transportation was useful not only for shipping goods, but for moving people. By steamboat or train, as well as by older modes of transport, rural residents and new immigrants migrated to urban centers to take up jobs in factories. During the 1840s alone, towns and cities of 8,000 or more people grew by 90 percent, a much faster rate than the U.S. population as a whole, 36 percent. Between 1820 and 1850 the combined population of Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, and New York more than tripled to 1.2 million. The state of transportation was such that daily commutes over long distances were still difficult to manage, so company towns, built to house workers, sprang up around mills.

Farm mechanization freed laborers for factory work while also ensuring enough food for the growing cities. In 1831 CYRUS HALL MCCORMICK invented a mechanical, horse-drawn reaper that dramatically improved the efficiency of harvesting. In 1838 JOHN DEERE began manufacturing steel plows, which was an improvement over iron plows and initiated a new industrial empire, that of Deere agricultural equipment.

As is usual with nations undergoing industrialization, the economy grew and per capita income rose, but it did not do so equally. It is estimated that the share of wealth owned by the top 1 percent of Americans grew from 13



percent in 1774 to 29 percent in 1860. In Boston from 1833 to 1848 alone, the share of wealth held by the top 10 percent grew from 75 percent to 82 percent, while the share owned by the bottom 80 percent fell from 14 percent to 4 percent.

Industrialization lowered prices for many goods, making them more available to the middle and lower classes and so improving their standard of living. Wages were relatively high at first, especially for skilled mechanics who understood or could learn how to repair and build machines. American factories attracted immigrants by paying wages that were a third to a half higher than were available in Europe. But as more workers became available, wages fell. Men in general earned more than women or children: Men in Massachusetts earned \$5 a week, women \$1.75–\$2.50, and children \$1–\$2.

Working conditions were often hard. Factory workers typically toiled from dusk to dawn for 11–13½ hours a day. The Lowell Mills, under the influence of British socialist Robert Owen, offered a neat, educational, chaperoned environment for the young women who worked there as “factory girls.” But working conditions in other factories were not so attractive. In the company towns of New York and Pennsylvania, workers had to buy what they needed at company-owned stores, frequently going into long-lasting debt to their employers.

The factory system was rapidly making domestic craft labor obsolete. Before industrialization, most manufactured products had come out of the homes and workshops of skilled artisans. Cloth manufacturing, for example, had been done at home, in domestic weaving operations where the worker owned her own tools. Increasingly, domestic enterprises were replaced: by 1840, more goods were manufactured in mills than in homes and workshops. However, in many businesses, such as boot- and shoe-making, skilled craftsmanship and domestic manufacturing remained the norm until after the Civil War.

Even as workers carried the burden of industrialization, capitalist entrepreneurs prospered. Whereas wealth before the 19th century had been primarily measured by land ownership, industrialists such as Lowell, Cooper, Du Pont, Colt, and Colgate made fortunes. By the 1840s, the phrases “millionaire” and “labor union” had both entered the American lexicon, an indication of the development of new social classes and of the growing struggle between them. In the 1830s, textile and craft workers organized to demand a 10-hour day. From 1834 to 1837, union membership grew from 26,000 to hundreds of thousands.

The benefits of manufacturing were distributed unequally by region as well as class. The North was far more heavily industrialized than the South, particularly in the Northeast, site of the first textile factories in New England; and in the Midwest, where Cincinnati, Chicago, and

St. Louis became industrial centers by the 1850s, providing manufactured goods for settlers. In the South, however, the heavily agricultural economy was centered on cotton farming, with slaves picking cotton to be shipped north to be spun and woven into textiles.

By the end of the antebellum period, the majority of American workers were still on farms, but industrialization was clearly in the ascendancy. The proportion of American workers engaged in AGRICULTURE declined from 71.8 percent in 1820 to 68.6 percent in 1840 and to 58.9 percent in 1860. By 1849, private manufacturing income amounted to an eighth of total national income from private sources, with manufacturing the economy’s most rapidly growing segment. The pace of industrialization quickened even more from 1860 to 1890. By the late 19th century, the United States was the world’s largest industrial power.

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—George Ochoa

## Interior, Department of

The Department of the Interior, a cabinet-level office of the federal government’s executive branch, was established by an act of Congress on March 3, 1849. The department was originally organized to bring together many of the government’s disparate procedural responsibilities. A number of independent offices and bureaus, as well as large departments such as the Department of State and the Department of War, had been in charge of such tasks as patent registration, census administration, supervision of federal buildings, oversight of Indian affairs, enforcement of land laws, and the administration of military pensions. All these areas were reorganized under the auspices of the new Department of the Interior.

Over time, the department’s mandate has changed. Today it is responsible for the protection and use of the United States’ natural resources, national parks, historic sites, and wildlife. While many of its original responsibilities have now been given over to other federal agencies, the BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS remains within the Department of the Interior, as it has since 1849.

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—Mary Kay Linge

### internal improvements

By the beginning of the 19th century, Americans began to advocate for the construction of new transportation routes in order to facilitate western settlement and efficient trade. These “improvements” on the natural landscape—roads, canals, bridges, turnpikes, and, later, RAILROADS—would allow Americans to take advantage of the abundant resources in the West. Proponents also argued that, by connecting different regions, these improvements would create a more unified and prosperous nation. By the 1830s, enthusiasm for the transformative power of internal improvements was widespread, as various states and the federal government planned new transportation projects.

In newly settling western states, officials thought that they could encourage rapid development by building canals and roads, thereby providing access to huge tracts of federally owned land. Once transportation routes had been provided, settlers would be more likely to buy tracts in these unsettled areas. The sooner these areas were settled, the sooner the state could become solvent via a substantial tax base. With increased revenue, still more infrastructural improvements could be started.

Beginning in the first two decades of the 19th century, the first major improvement to receive federal support was a system of toll roads or turnpikes. By 1810, approximately 300 turnpike companies had been chartered in the Mid-Atlantic states and New England. By the 1820s, all major northern cities were connected by roads; in the South, efforts to improve transportation routes would proceed much more slowly. But how would roads be established in the new western territories? Thomas Jefferson’s original grid plan for western settlement did not include space or provisions for roads. Congress began to rectify that oversight in 1802 and 1803. In the acts that admitted Ohio as a state, members of Congress placed stipulations requiring that 5 percent of the proceeds from the sale of public lands be used to build roads in the state. These funds financed construction of the Cumberland Road, also called the NATIONAL ROAD. This western road would begin in Cumberland, Maryland, then go to Wheeling, Virginia, then on to Columbus, Ohio, and then Indiana, terminating in Vandalia, Illinois. The plan for the National Road was approved in 1806, with the Army Corps of Engineers responsible for surveying and constructing it. Actual construction began in 1811, and the road reached Wheeling by 1818, Columbus by 1833, and Indianapolis by 1850. At this point, the federal government handed over funding and construction to the states through which the road would run. In thinly

populated states like Wisconsin, Michigan, and Indiana, settlers asked the federal government to help build other roads. The government offered land grants to construct three roads in this region. Slowly, a system of smaller roads developed that connected larger areas to the main arteries. In the trans-Mississippi West, most roads were constructed by military forces as part of their efforts to impose white settlement and contain Native American populations. These efforts were assisted by the INDIAN REMOVAL ACT, which became official federal policy in 1830.

The evolving road system was heavily traveled, but maintaining it was difficult and expensive. Enthusiasm for completing the National Road project diminished as roads became more common, and less-cumbersome transportation methods, such as canals, emerged.

Thus, the second great improvement initiative centered around the construction of artificial waterways, or canals. Although costly and difficult to build, canals were supposed to be quicker and easier routes than the bumpy, muddy roads. The stunning success of the ERIE CANAL in New York encouraged other states to view canals as an essential element of development. State officials hoped these canals would promote rapid settlement in the Northwest and strengthen regional economies. While the Erie Canal was state-funded, most of the canal projects in the West relied more heavily on federal support and private funding, because the new states had few sources of capital. One of the few states to succeed on the New York model, Ohio began to construct a canal system the year before the Erie Canal was completed.

By 1833, 341 miles of canal had been built from Portsmouth (on the Ohio River) to Cleveland, and from Cincinnati to Dayton. As hoped, this canal system raised land values and increased settlement and commerce. Other projects meant to connect the Northwestern states to the Great Lakes through lateral canals were not completed until the 1830s, when the states were finally able to borrow the money they needed for construction. Still, many states defaulted on loans they had taken out to build canals. The PANIC OF 1837, along with risky and unsound planning, caused many improvement projects to fail. Nevertheless, traveling by canal or by Robert Fulton’s new steamboats was the fastest, most efficient method of transportation until the 1840s, triggering rapid development in the trans-Appalachian West.

Railroads displaced canals as the favorite internal improvement by the 1850s. Faster and more versatile than canal or river travel, railroads became the major carriers of people and goods to and from the West. The first railroad companies, such as the Mohawk and Hudson Railroad (1826), connected coastal cities and seaports with the surrounding regions. The first American rail company to reach over the Appalachians, the BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD



(B&O) was chartered in 1828 and began running trains in 1830. Construction to Wheeling was completed by 1852. The Chicago and Rock Island Railroad reached the Mississippi River in 1854, connecting this crucial river system with the Great Lakes region for the first time. Other important early railroads include the New York Central Railroad; the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad; the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad; and the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad. Just as the Erie Canal had transformed New York City into the most important American seaport, the railroad system made Chicago the center of the expanding western market. While the whole nation would not be connected from sea to sea until 1869, railroads were well on their way to transforming space, time, and production before the Civil War.

Throughout this period of infrastructural expansion, Americans contended with a key question: Who should fund these improvements—private parties, states, or the federal government? Officials debated whether the federal government should be financing such projects, since the Constitution did not specifically name internal improvements as a federal responsibility. HENRY CLAY and other Whig proponents of the AMERICAN SYSTEM argued that federal funding for improvements was necessary for the nation to grow economically strong. In order to reach a compromise with Democratic opponents (among them President ANDREW JACKSON), Clay proposed that the proceeds from land sales be distributed to the states, where they could then use this money to build improvements. A similar plan proposed by JOHN C. CALHOUN was eventually passed in 1836, making \$28 million available to states to build improvements. Before this point, some projects had been funded federally, others by the states or private parties.

In 1841 Congress tried to equalize the federal contributions to state road construction. Through the Distri-

bution-Preemption Act, Congress granted half a million acres of public land to every state that had not yet received federal money for constructing internal improvements. Less-populous western states were angry about the distribution method, which granted funds based on population figures. But preemption rights, or giving settlers already on the land the right to purchase that land first, was a welcome change in the law. The distribution requirement was eliminated in 1842. Some states used the half-million acre grant to complete existing canal and road projects; others used the acreage to begin building that most revolutionary 19th-century improvement, railroads. In 1850 Congress began to grant lands specifically for railroad construction, usually by designating alternate sections along a proposed route.

In the first half of the 19th century, the craze for internal improvements exemplified high hopes about the nation's future growth and a commitment to rapid economic expansion in many segments of American society. The antebellum debate over how to accomplish internal improvements reveals concerns over the role of government in promoting the economy that still divide Americans today. The first improvements in road, canal, and rail construction provided the initial transportation web that enabled Americans to spread throughout the continent and begin connecting regions together in trade networks.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell





**Jackson, Andrew** (1767–1845) *seventh U.S. president* Seventh president of the United States and the first president who did not reside in one of the original thirteen colonies, Andrew Jackson was a frontier general and Indian fighter. Elected president on a platform that anointed him as the candidate of democracy and the common man, he served two terms of office (1829–37) that were marked by bitter controversies over states' rights, the tariff, the spoils system, Indian removal, and banking policies. A man of volatile temperament and strong convictions, Jackson used his presidential power vigorously and left his mark on the era.

The period of Jackson's influence, approximately 1820–45, has been dubbed by many historians as "The Jackson Era," or "The Age of Jackson." This was a time of rampant economic, political, and social growth, as the market economy burgeoned with revolutions in transportation and manufacturing, and westward expansion took place at an amazingly fast pace. Regional diversification was the result of much of this expanding economy, but so was regional separation and enmity; the views of North and South moved toward diametrically opposed positions regarding matters of states' rights and the expansion of SLAVERY.

The child of poor Scots-Irish immigrants, Jackson grew up in the backcountry of the South Carolina-North Carolina border, where he attended frontier schools. He was orphaned during the American Revolution when his widowed mother died of smallpox. Although still a boy, Jackson participated in the war as a messenger and orderly. Afterwards, he set himself up as a saddlemaker and sometime schoolteacher on the South Carolina frontier. He eventually moved to Charleston and then to North Carolina, where he read law and gained admission to the bar. In 1787 Jackson established a law practice and soon became a successful lawyer and land speculator. Shortly thereafter, he migrated to Nashville, Tennessee, where he became involved in politics.

In 1791 Jackson married Rachel Donelson Robards. This was Rachel's second marriage, which was risk enough to an aspiring politician during this period. However, when it was learned that no divorce from her first husband had ever been granted, it became a personal and political nightmare for the Jacksons. After Robards's divorce, they remarried in 1794, but the damage had already been done. Gossips and political opponents attempted to make a scandal out of Jackson's happy marriage. While Rachel suffered the slanders in silence, Andrew often preferred to use dueling pistols to avenge his wife's honor.

Jackson served as a delegate to the Tennessee constitutional convention in 1796 and as congressman from Tennessee (1796–97). His congressional career was undistinguished, marked primarily by his fierce opposition to the Washington administration's conciliatory stance toward Great Britain and the western Indian nations. He was elected U.S. senator in 1797, but financial problems forced his resignation and return to Tennessee in less than a year. After serving as a Tennessee superior court judge (1798–1804), he retired from the bench to devote all his energies to business ventures and to his plantation, the Hermitage, near Nashville. His political career seemed to be over, as his efforts to gain appointment as governor of Louisiana were rebuffed by President Thomas Jefferson.

The WAR OF 1812 changed his political fortunes. In March 1814, assisted by Native American allies, Jackson crushed CREEK resistance at the BATTLE OF HORSESHOE BEND. As terms of surrender, he demanded and got enormous tracts of land ceded by Indians—friend and foe alike—in both Alabama and Georgia. This stunning victory impressed the federal government sufficiently to place him in command of the defense of New Orleans, which "Old Hickory," as Jackson was called by his admirers, swiftly organized. On January 8, 1815, his forces completely routed an invading British army, unaware that Britain and the United States had signed a peace treaty several weeks earlier.



Andrew Jackson (*National Archives*)

Jackson's victory at New Orleans, coming at the end of a war marked by military ineptness and humiliating defeats by the United States, was seized upon widely by an American public hungry for vindication of national honor. Not even the news that the war had been officially over could diminish the national fervor attached to its new hero. The BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS had made Andrew Jackson a legend—a symbol of American virtue and power.

General Jackson continued to add to his legend during subsequent years. After pursuing the Seminole Indians into FLORIDA (a Spanish possession) in 1818, Jackson exceeded his authority when he deposed Spanish authorities and executed two British subjects. This brought about the U.S. acquisition of Florida in 1819. Not only did Jackson avoid censure and dismissal for his actions, he was appointed territorial governor of Florida in 1821.

A traditional westerner, pro-tariff and pro-internal improvement, Jackson became a presidential candidate in 1824. The demise of the Federalist Party, long out of presidential power and now discredited by its opposition to the War of 1812, had left the nation, for all practical purposes, with a one-party system in 1824. The Demo-

cratic-Republicans were unable, however, to agree on a common presidential candidate. Riddled with factions, the party put four major candidates on the ballot: William H. Crawford of Georgia, Henry Clay of Kentucky, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, and John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts.

Jackson won the popular vote but not a majority of the electoral vote, forcing the election to be decided in the House of Representatives. Henry Clay released his electoral votes to Adams in return for Adams naming Clay secretary of state. Adams won the election by a one-vote margin. The deal struck between Adams and Clay became referred to as the "corrupt bargain," and many thought Jackson had been robbed of the presidency. The public outcry was strong, and the stigma would haunt Adams's presidency; it would be instrumental in allowing him only a single term.

Capitalizing on the public and political outrage over the Adams-Clay "corrupt bargain," MARTIN VAN BUREN, a staunch Jeffersonian Republican, put his formidable skills as an organizer to work and began to forge a national alliance between the Democratic-Republicans of the North and the planters of the South. Because of these changes, the Democratic-Republicans became known as the Democratic Party, which nominated Jackson as their candidate for president in 1828.

Critical of Adams's nationalist policies and lack of concern for states' rights, the Jackson organization represented Old Hickory as a champion of the common man. They attacked Adams and Clay for the "corrupt bargain" that, they alleged, revealed the aristocratic principles of both men and their contempt for democracy. Adams's supporters in turn attacked Jackson for the irregularity of the first years of his marriage and portrayed him as an ignorant and uncouth barbarian. Yet the Jacksonian Democracy was triumphant in 1828. In an election marked by mudslinging and character assassination on both sides, Jackson defeated Adams's bid for a second term.

Jackson's victory was marred when Rachel Jackson died of an apparent heart attack soon after the election. While the occasional local reference to the "bigamist" Rachel had occurred over the years, for the most part the Jacksons' marriage scandal blew over until the 1828 election, when Adams tried to raise the old slurs and gossip for his advantage. Jackson was convinced that his wife's death was the fault of Adams and his administration, and he never forgave them for it. As president, Jackson introduced the spoils system into national politics, which rewarded party loyalty and service with political offices. The system, with its official label of "rotation in office," was hailed by Jackson as a Democratic device for allowing the common man a voice in the government. In any event, he relied more heavily on his "Kitchen Cabinet" of personal advisers than he did on his official cabinet.

In 1830 Jackson signed the INDIAN REMOVAL ACT, which called for the general resettlement of Indians to lands west of the Mississippi River. The following year, the Supreme Court ruled in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* that the CHEROKEE were not a “foreign nation” within the meaning of the Constitution, but a “dependent nation.” This essentially made the Indian Removal Act of 1830 unconstitutional. Undaunted, Jackson was reputed to have said, “[Chief Justice] John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it.” The decision was ignored, and between 1831 and 1839 the Five Civilized Tribes of the Southeast (CHOCTAW, CHICKASAW, Cherokee, Creek, and SEMINOLE) were forcibly relocated to Indian Territory (Oklahoma). On the TRAIL OF TEARS, thousands of Native Americans perished in this removal. Henry Clay called Jackson’s Native-American policy “a stain on the nation’s honor.” However, Jackson’s antipathy toward Indians was typical of the frontier mindset, and because this policy opened more land to settlement, a majority of the public and Congress supported it with enthusiasm.

In December 1831 the National Republicans once again nominated Henry Clay for the presidency. Clay, senator from Kentucky, returned to the national spotlight feeling pessimistic about his chances against Jackson. His main goal was to bring a measure to Congress that would put the administration in an embarrassing position. He therefore proposed a modification of the tariff, lowering it but leaving the protective elements in. By lowering revenues, this would have put off Jackson’s intended repayment of the national debt by nearly a year. If the president vetoed it, he would alienate northern states, like Pennsylvania, whose votes he needed. If he signed it, it would alienate his southern supporters. In the end, Clay’s strategy failed when Congress passed a bill moderate enough that Jackson could sign it without alienating either faction.

The election of 1832 marked the first time that presidential candidates were chosen by party conventions. The chartering of the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES was the most important campaign issue. The National Republicans, with Henry Clay as their candidate, supported the bank, while Jackson and the Democrats were adamantly opposed to it. Jackson won a second term easily.

Before Jackson entered his second term, South Carolina threatened nullification of the tariff of 1832. Although Jackson was a champion of states’ rights, he always stood firm behind the supreme powers of the federal government in any struggle that placed the interests of a state above those of the Union. He therefore made it clear that he considered a state’s nullification of a federal law to be unconstitutional, inconsistent with the principles and spirit on which the union was founded, and destructive to its continued existence. Jackson also pushed through Congress a

force bill that authorized the use of federal troops to collect the tariff.

The crisis was eased when Henry Clay promoted a compromise tariff in 1833 along with the force bill. As a last defiant gesture, South Carolina accepted the tariff but nullified the force bill. Jackson had preserved the Union, but NULLIFICATION remained a great question.

In spring 1833 Jackson embarked on a tour of the country, mostly in the Northeast, where pro-Union sentiment was especially strong. He was greeted by huge cheering crowds wherever he went and received an honorary doctorate of law from Harvard, to the disgust of John Quincy Adams. He finally had to cut the trip short because of “bleeding at the lungs,” at least partly due to a bullet he had carried in his chest for more than 20 years (the result of a duel).

At this height of his popularity, Jackson set out to ensure the demise of the Second Bank of the United States. He spent the summer of 1833 looking for banks into which federal deposits could be made should they be withdrawn from the Bank of the United States. As the withdrawal of funds went forward, the bank began a severe tightening of funds, restricting loans, and calling in as many debts as it could. This caused a financial panic resulting in an economic recession.

As the recession continued and deepened in 1834, the country became more polarized. It was during this period that the National Republicans became the WHIG PARTY. This name conjured the ghost of the antiroyal, pro-Parliament, English factions of the 17th and 18th centuries. In that spirit, Whigs labeled Jackson “King Andrew I” and drew political cartoons depicting him as a king, with a scepter labeled “Veto.”

Before 1834 was over, many former friends of the Second Bank became disgusted at its conduct, and in the end, the Bank of the United States was stripped of the funds the government had placed in its keeping. It lost its friends, including Clay, and quietly lost its standing as a national bank. Rechartered as a state bank in Pennsylvania, it only lasted a few years more.

Jackson lived to the age of 78, despite chronic sickness and a bullet in his chest, and died peacefully at home on June 8, 1845. His era had radically changed the American party system and methods of electioneering. The firmness and arguably violent nature of his positions and actions gave birth to a strong new opposition, the Whigs. He left the presidency much stronger than it had been, and he strengthened the notion of the United States as a nation rather than a number of states with an agreement to act in concert.

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—Richard L. Friedline

## journalism

During the first half of the 19th century, technological advances, the growing U.S. population, an emerging market economy, and a widespread egalitarian sensibility brought tremendous growth to the popular press. Between 1830 and 1840 alone, the urban U.S. population increased by over one-third to 1.5 million; the number of weekly newspapers swelled from 650 to 1,141, and daily newspapers increased from 65 to 138.

Nearly all of these papers were inexpensive journals called “penny papers” such as the *New York Journal*, which drew a large circulation of two to five times as much as an 18th-century paper. Antebellum magazine readership also grew markedly, with the *Godey’s Lady’s Book* reaching the highest circulation—150,000 by the end of the 1850s.

While traditional newspapers continued to be published, they were eclipsed in number and importance by penny papers. These self-proclaimed democratic publications gained popularity by serving all members of society and by offering a variety of up-to-date information that came to be known as “news.”

### Newspapers

From the 18th century into the 1820s, most newspapers were relatively expensive items that cost a few pennies—usually six cents—and were sold by subscription to a select portion of society, the mercantile class and political leaders. These papers depended on political parties, not commercial advertising, to support them. Popular newspapers of the era included the *Boston Daily Advertiser* and the *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*.

Reflecting their audience, subscription newspapers held definite views on what were considered proper topics for coverage and advertising. Among them were business-related segments such as stock listings, ship dockings, and foreign reports; political information consisted largely of

editorials, which favored the party supporting the newspaper. Considered unfit for the paper were topics concerning everyday life, from local problems to crime. Also improper were advertisements for personal products and services as well as entertainment.

During the 1830s, the look and content of newspapers were transformed with the introduction of the commercially driven “penny paper.” Unlike the six-cent paper, this newspaper was priced at a penny. Not underwritten by political parties, it accepted advertising to pay for itself. It was also not sold by yearly subscription to those who could afford it, but rather bought on the streets by all social classes. It was particularly favored by middle-class urban dwellers—shopkeepers and salesmen, for example—who bought the paper from roaming child vendors known as newsboys.

Within months of their introduction, the penny papers’ circulation more than doubled subscription paper rates and became the cities’ primary sources of information and idea exchange. In New York, 11 penny papers were available by 1835; among the most influential were New York’s *New York Sun* (founded 1833), *Evening Transcript*, and *New York Herald* (both 1835). Other notable urban newspapers included Philadelphia’s *Philadelphia Public Ledger* (1836), Boston’s *Boston Daily Times* (1836), and Baltimore’s *Baltimore Sun* (1837).

Who ran the penny papers and what did they contain? Many of the founding editors of the penny papers were entrepreneurial businessmen whose newspaper ownership reflected the increasingly heterogeneous society in which they lived. Among them were James Gordon Bennett, who controlled the *New York Herald* (1835), the most widely read penny paper in the United States and Europe. Bennett founded the paper in 1835 on \$500 and simple goals: to concentrate on news reporting but aim it, in his words, “to interest the merchant and man of learning, as well as the mechanic and the man of labor.” Politician and veteran newspaper editor Horace Greeley founded the *New York Tribune* in 1841 and distinguished it from competitors through its eclectic views, which included abolitionism, women’s rights, and nationalism. Influential in shaping public opinion, the *Tribune* was also known for such writers as MARGARET FULLER and Karl Marx, who was a foreign correspondent.

Other notable editors included Benjamin Day, founder of the *New York Sun*, whose newspaper grew to a readership of 10,000 within months of its 1833 founding. Day was also known for his early use of newsboys to sell papers. Borrowing from the London practice of selling newspapers on the street, Day sold boys and girls copies of 100 papers wholesale (at 67 cents) or on credit (at 75 cents); the street sellers then sold papers at a profit to readers.

Amidst the general-interest newspapers were several important specialized papers arising during the period.

Representing the African-American audience was the pioneering black-press-published *Freedom's Journal*, founded in 1828 by the Reverend Samuel E. Cornish and John B. Russwurm. Before ceasing publication in 1831 (under the name *Rights of All*), the newspaper championed the antislavery movement and contested black stereotyping in other newspapers. Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison inaugurated his weekly newspaper *The Liberator* in 1831. Campaigning in print against SLAVERY and other social ills, it generated violent public response before it ended publication in 1865.

Influential as specialized newspapers were, they did not have the large audience of the general-interest penny-press newspapers. In part, this was due to the overriding aim of most penny papers: to appeal to the widest possible audience by following no set political views and being non-partisan in reporting. While some papers, such as the *New York Transcript*, initially professed disinterest in political issues, most, like the *New York Tribune*, pledged itself to covering the broad world of politics and local events. This shared stance of the penny papers marked the beginning of modern-day news coverage: the timely, accurate, and adept presentation of events.

As reporting of news events increased in the penny papers, the importance of the editorial page of opinion declined. A central element of the six-cent paper, the editorial page had previously been written for a circumscribed audience. Such a set opinion would not represent the varied penny-press audience. Instead, accuracy and timeliness became the impartial standards by which a heterogeneous audience judged a newspaper.

The up-to-date information required for the penny paper sharpened the role of the news reporter. Rather than reprinting a political speech as was done in six-cent papers, penny-press newspapers unearthed news. They did so through the innovative practice of assigning reporters on regular assignments or beats, or postings at foreign locations. For example, by the mid-1830s New York papers established reporters on regular court, police, sports, and society duty; others were stationed domestically in Washington, D.C., in eastern cities, and in Europe.

In addition to offering reporting from specified beats, some penny papers offered analyses of important issues. Pioneered by the *New York Tribune*, these writings, notably what became known as the “money articles,” provided original analysis and business speculations for readers who might otherwise have shunned the inexpensive paper. Through this coverage, penny papers came to represent varieties of everyday life, from marriages to habits of political and cultural leaders to analysis of economic trends.

Central to the proliferation of the popular press were the technological and transportation advances that improved the speed and efficiency of the printing and delivering of

periodicals. Printing advances had been improving the speed and quality of printing since the early 19th century and entered domestic use in 1823, when the European-based steam-driven press was first used to print U.S. books. Simultaneously, printing for major newspapers and other periodicals was also being adapted to the cylinder press, which was first used in 1835 by the *New York Sun*. After being refined into a two-cylinder version, it was used to print a newspaper, the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, in 1847, and gained widespread use shortly after the Civil War.

Making fast newspaper delivery possible was the growth of the railroad across several states during the antebellum years. Between 1830 and 1850, several thousand miles of train track were laid over several states, a vast increase from the several dozen miles of track laid in the 1820s.

Another technological development increased the speed of information delivery and raised questions about the content of reporting: the telegraph. Invented in the 1840s, the telegraph made it possible to transmit news by wire nationwide. In an early application, the telegraph was particularly useful to penny papers in delivering news during the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR (1846–48).

To provide the largest number of newspapers with this timely information, several New York-based newspapers formed the first wire service, the Associated Press, in 1848. To resolve the problem of how to present the information to varying newspapers, the Associated Press reported news without political slant or commentary. Other similarly objective wire news services followed, including United Press (later United Press International).

Another change in newspapers was its source of financial support. Unlike its subscription predecessors, the penny paper paid for itself through commercial advertising. No longer limiting its advertising sources, penny papers accepted ads from various commercial sources, including personal products and popular entertainments. Summarizing the common penny-press position, one paper wrote, “It is sufficient for our purpose that the advertisements are paid for, and that . . . we are impartial, and show no respect to persons, or to the various kinds of business that fill up this little world of ours.”

### Magazines

To a lesser extent during this period, magazines also gained wider readership and influence. The 19th century began with the dominance of literary and political journals such as *The Monthly Magazine and American Review* (1799) and *The American Register* (1807), both founded by Charles Brockden Brown; and the Federalist *Port Folio*, edited by Joseph Dennie (1801).

Founded in 1815, the intellectual journal the *North American Review* was an early champion of American

letters and the most influential journal of its kind until the mid-19th century. Contributors included Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and historian Francis Parkman; editors included clergyman Edward Everett and historian John Palfrey. Other notable journals of the 1820s included *American Quarterly Review* (1828).

The introduction of penny-press newspapers and the technology that accompanied them gave rise to a new kind of periodical, the general circulation monthly magazine. Influential representatives of the era included *Graham's Magazine* (1826). Founded by Samuel C. Atkinson and Charles Alexander as the *Casket*, it gained dominance under the editorship of George Rex Graham, who changed the magazine's name and paid unprecedented fees for contributions by important writers, such as James Russell Lowell and RICHARD HENRY DANA. Also prominent during the era, particularly in New York, was the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, founded in 1833 and edited by Washington Irving.

Also gaining popularity was the diverse regional weekly, which was designed to offer a wide range of information for weekend readers. Prominent among these entries was the *Saturday Evening Post*. Founded in 1821 by Charles Alexander and Samuel Atkinson, it became hugely popular in the 1840s and 1850s after incorporating the magazine the *Saturday Bulletin* in 1832 and including popular serial fiction.

Notable antebellum literary quarterlies included the literary magazine the *Dial* (1840), which represented the thinking of the TRANSCENDENTAL MOVEMENT through its contributors and editors RALPH WALDO EMERSON and Margaret Fuller. Southern writing was represented in *The Southern Review* (1828) and the *Southern Quarterly Review* (1842).

Political magazines during the period were often distinguished by their regional views. Reflecting northern attitudes were the *Democratic Review* (1837), which featured noted writers of the day including Nathaniel Hawthorne; and *Niles' Weekly Register*, a newspaper digest. Southern views were presented in the *Southern Literary Messenger* (1834) and *DeBow's Review*, the former edited for two years by Edgar Allan Poe.

Female readers were considered an important, separate group that was represented largely by *Godey's Lady's Book* (1830). Reaching an audience of 40,000 readers, *Godey's Lady's Book* was the most influential women's magazine during the pre-Civil War years and beyond. Founded by Louis A. Godey, it was driven by SARAH JOSEPHA HALE, who became its editor in 1836. In addition to shaping opinion on fashion and matters of domestic life, it

published works by leading writers including Edgar Allan Poe and Ralph Waldo Emerson. In later years, Hale and the magazine were central to establishing Thanksgiving as a national holiday. *Godey's* closest competition was *Peterson's Ladies' National Magazine* (1842).

Another magazine that proved influential after the Civil War was founded in 1855 by Frank Leslie. Combining the magazine *Frank Leslie's Ladies Gazette of Fashion and Fancy Needle Work* and the *New York Journal*, a newspaper, he founded *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, a hybrid of periodical and newspaper that would become known for its timeliness and colorful writing.

Aside from the observable changes of INDUSTRIALIZATION and the growth of the urban population, newspapers and periodicals during the 19th century grew in popularity for an intangible reason: The U.S. public considered newspapers important on a personal basis. As a more democratic, commercial ECONOMY developed, newspapers and periodicals became significant items that an up-to-date household could acquire.

Along with this attraction to periodicals came a growing skepticism at the press's aims. Nearly two centuries before current critiques of the media, author and critic James Fenimore Cooper perceived the problem. In his 1838 nonfiction work *The American Democrat*, he wrote, "If newspapers are useful in overthrowing tyrants, it is only to establish a tyranny of their own. The press tyrannizes over publick [sic] men, letters, the arts, the stage, and even over private life."

At the same time, the American press was coming to view its own role as central to promoting democracy. Unlike subscription papers of the past, whose titles reflected their business or political ties, papers founded in the mid-19th century bore names such as the *Beacon* or *Herald* that looked outward to the wider world. As the *Baltimore Sun* promised, "Our object will be the common good, without regard to that of sects, factions, or parties; and for this object we shall labor without fear or partiality." The ideal of the honorable presentation of knowledge has clung to newspapers for two centuries.

**Further reading:** Robert Rutland, *Newsmongers: Journalism in the Life of the Nation* (New York: Dial Press, 1973); Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); Carl Senna, *The Black Press and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1993).

—Melinda Corey

# K



## **Kamehameha I** (ca. 1753–1819)

Historians are uncertain when and under what circumstances Hawaii's great warrior king and national unifier was born. The year ranges between 1753 and 1758. According to legend, Kamehameha's mother, Kekuiapoiwa, gave birth to the future king on the island of Hawaii (the "Big Island") in secret because *kahunas* (Hawaiian shamans) prophesied that he would grow up to slay his rival chiefs and rule the HAWAIIAN ISLANDS. To protect her son from the murderous plots of chiefs who saw the infant as a threat, Kekuiapoiwa entrusted Kamehameha to a faithful servant. Kamehameha was raised in relative isolation, and because of this he acquired the nickname "the Lonely One."

Kamehameha proved himself to be a ferocious, intelligent, and successful warrior. When the great chief of the Big Island and Kamehameha's uncle, Kalaniopuu, died, he passed his kingdom on to his son Kiwalao. However, he made Kamehameha the keeper of the family war god. The result of this was jealous rivalry between cousins. Kamehameha began a war against his cousins Kiwalao and Keoua for dominance of the Big Island; it lasted almost nine years. The result of this warfare was a shaky truce between Kamehameha and Keoua; Kiwalao was killed in battle.

By the 1780s, the Hawaiian Islands were divided roughly into three kingdoms. The Big Island and a small portion of Oahu were under the rule of Kalaniopuu and his heirs. The chief Kahekili ruled the rest of Oahu as well as the islands of Kahoolawe, Lanai and Oahu. His brother Kaeo had control over Kauai. As Kalaniopuu's heirs were struggling for power on the Big Island, Kahekili conquered Kalaniopuu's portion of Oahu and gained influence over Kauai through family marriage. Power in the islands was at a deadlock, and only the arrival of westerners and their technology tipped the balance in Kamehameha's favor. The Lonely One made an immediate and lasting impression on

British captain James Cook and other westerners he met. According to one of Cook's officers, Kamehameha had "as savage a looking face as I ever saw, it however by no means seemed an emblem of his disposition, which was good natur'd & humorous."

Following a fatal encounter between Hawaiians and an American vessel, which occurred shortly after Cook's death in 1779, Kamehameha took two sailors, Isaac Davis and John Young, prisoner. He also captured their vessel, the *Fair American*. The two sailors were soon won over by Kamehameha's humane treatment and, with the *Fair American's* cannons, helped him vanquish his rivals and gain control over the entire archipelago. By 1796, Kamehameha was the undisputed ruler of all the major islands of Hawaii. The entire chain fell under his sovereignty in 1810 when Kauai, which was nominally independent, and Niihau submitted entirely to him.

Under Kamehameha's rule, which lasted from 1796 to his death in 1819, Hawaii flourished in peace and enjoyed its last period of traditional Polynesian culture and society. The political economy resembled European feudalism with the *ali'i* (warriors) and the *maka'ainana* (peasants) functioning as vassals and serfs respectively. The *kahunas* served in significant positions as advisers and doctors. The Lonely One also enacted laws that gave greater equality to commoners by restricting their exploitation at the hands of the nobility. Finally, under Kamehameha, Hawaiians lived according to the traditional *kapu* system that regulated daily life, family relations, divisions of labor, and gender dynamics. Kamehameha made Lahaina, on the island of Maui, the royal court. The monarchy he established would continue for another 100 years. However, as more westerners came to settle in the islands after 1819, particularly whalers and missionaries from the United States, the Hawaiian society Kamehameha created would gradually give way in almost every respect to American political, economic, and cultural dominance.



**Further reading:** Richard Tregaskis, *The Warrior King: Hawaii's Kamehameha the Great* (New York: Macmillan, 1973).

—Charles Hawley

**Kansas-Nebraska Act** See VOLUME V.

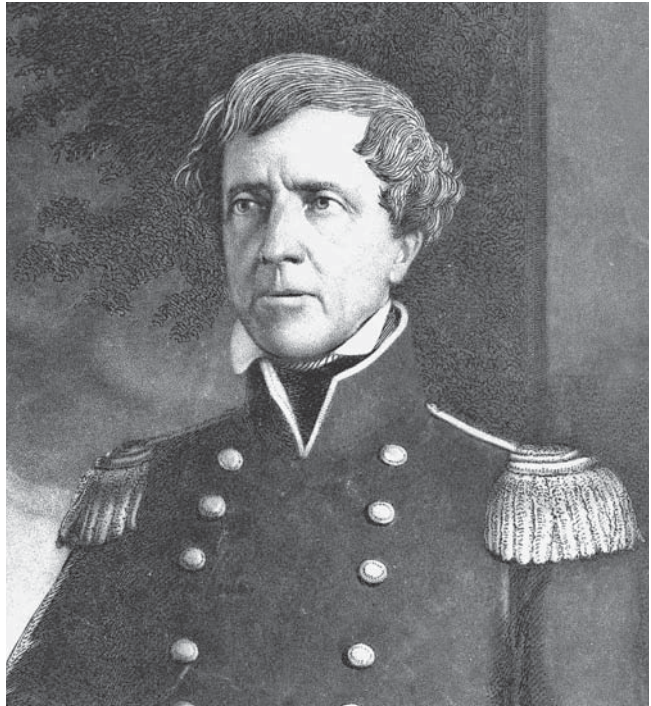
**Kearny, Stephen Watts** (1794–1848) *U.S. Army officer, American explorer*

An American general in the Mexican War, Stephen Watts Kearny's expeditions in the Southwest served to enlarge U.S. territorial holdings by more than a million square miles. Born in Newark, New Jersey, Kearny enrolled at Columbia College. On the outbreak of the WAR OF 1812, he served as an officer in the Thirteenth Infantry Regiment. A brave troop leader, he was wounded and captured by British forces. At the close of the war, he remained in the army, transferring to the Second Infantry Regiment. In 1819, he was transferred to the West, where he joined an expedition exploring a part of the Louisiana Purchase acquired by the United States in 1803. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark had first crossed this vast landscape between 1804 and 1806. Further exploration had been delayed by worsening relations with Great Britain and with the Indian nations of the region. After signing the TREATY OF GHENT in 1814, ending the War of 1812, the government renewed its interest in the huge domain west of the Mississippi River. Kearny was among the first army officers to make a professional career in the West.

As a means of exerting control over the many Indian peoples of the region, Kearny commanded a regiment of mounted dragoons that established the nation's military presence on the Great Plains. He was an excellent unit commander, a strict disciplinarian, and a fine representative of the strength of the American government. He made the dragoons into an elite unit, renowned for their discipline, mobility, and ability to intimidate. As a result, over the next 20 years, Kearny rose steadily in rank.

With the outbreak of the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR in 1846, the War Department ordered Kearny to organize an army to conduct a campaign across the West into New Mexico and California, two of the main objectives of American military operations. With 1,600 men in his command, Kearny and his "Army of the West" left FORT LEAVENWORTH for the Southwest. In August 1846, they entered Santa Fe, where the officials in New Mexico surrendered without a fight. Kearny declared New Mexico a part of the United States and appointed CHARLES BENT as governor.

It was in Santa Fe that Kearny received news of his promotion to brigadier general. He soon left New Mexico and headed west to CALIFORNIA by way of the Gila River. With



Stephen Watts Kearny (Library of Congress)

a much-reduced army numbering no more than 120 men, he defeated a Mexican force at San Pasqual, California, and early in 1847 he and his army reached San Diego. There he joined Commodore ROBERT FIELD STOCKTON in a brisk and bloody campaign to subdue Mexican forces along the coast of Southern California. The combined force won a series of engagements and captured Los Angeles in January 1847.

Before Commodore Stockton retired, he appointed Captain JOHN C. FRÉMONT as governor of the conquered province of California. Kearny was outraged and challenged the appointment, arguing that Stockton had no authority to appoint the governor. On March 1, 1847, Kearny organized his own government with himself as governor, but Frémont refused to recognize this authority. Kearny charged Frémont with insubordination (failure to obey the orders of a superior officer) and mutiny. A court-martial found Frémont guilty, and he resigned from the army.

In summer 1848, Kearny was military governor at Vera Cruz and Mexico City. Promoted to the rank of major general, he returned to St. Louis to command the Sixth Military Department. In autumn that year, he died from yellow fever.

**Further reading:** Dwight L. Clarke, *Stephen Watts Kearny, Soldier of the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961).



**Keokuk** (ca. 1790–1848) *ally of Americans, rival of Black Hawk*

Keokuk (Watchful Fox) was a Sac and Fox chief who facilitated U.S. military and expansion interests. He was born in Saukenuk (Rock Island, Illinois) to a Sauk warrior and a French mother. His mixed-blood status would normally have precluded any access to tribal leadership positions, but Keokuk proved himself ambitious and eloquent. By the WAR OF 1812 he had risen to become a war chief of significance. In this capacity he established himself as a rival to the ardently pro-British Black Hawk, and thereafter Keokuk became closely identified with American interests.

After the War of 1812 Keokuk went to great lengths to accommodate U.S. demands and effectively persuaded his followers to do likewise. Such compliance only increased the belligerence of Black Hawk and his faction, which sought to retain traditional tribal hunting lands in Illinois. The issue came to a head in 1832, when Keokuk sold his tribe's remaining lands to the United States and led his followers across the Mississippi River to Iowa. Meanwhile, Black Hawk returned to wage the disastrous BLACK HAWK WAR of that year. The outcome—an American victory—basically eliminated Native American resistance east of the Mississippi, and the victors gave Keokuk authority over the now disgraced Black Hawk.



Keokuk, chief of the Sac and Fox (Library of Congress)

After the Black Hawk War, the Sac and Fox formally relocated to new lands in Iowa. Here Keokuk increased his tribal power by diverting government annuities into the hands of other chiefs and supporters, raising accusations of cronyism from his own people. But he strongly resisted government attempts to allow missionaries on his lands. He also secured the right for them to war against neighboring Sioux, a traditional enemy. In 1836, 1837, and 1842, the chief was involved in further negotiations with the American government, and he concluded treaties that forced the Sac and Fox to abandon Iowa for new homes in Kansas. Keokuk, always cognizant that armed resistance would be disastrous for the tribe, acquiesced and moved as requested; his acquiescence, however, only deepened divisions in tribal relations. The chief died of dysentery after an alcoholic binge in 1848. Nevertheless, the grateful government constructed a bronze statue of him in the Capitol Building in Washington, D.C. He was succeeded by his son, Moses Keokuk, a Baptist preacher.

**Further reading:** William T. Hagan, *The Sac and Fox Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958); H. Glenn Jordan and Thomas M. Holm, eds., *Indian Leaders: Oklahoma's First Statesmen* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1979).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Key, Francis Scott** (1779–1843) *lawyer, author, poet*  
Best known as the author of “The Star Spangled Banner,” Francis Scott Key was a lawyer from Maryland. His moment of fame came near the end of the WAR OF 1812, when he was a spectator aboard a British ship during the attack on Fort McHenry in the BATTLE OF BALTIMORE (September 12–14, 1814). Key had traveled through the British lines to arrange the release of Dr. William Beanes, who had been taken captive in the British campaign against Washington, D.C. Although the British agreed to release Beanes, they detained the Americans during the night of September 12–13, as they launched a massive bombardment on Fort McHenry. After watching the attack from aboard a British warship, and seeing the American flag still flying in the morning, Key was inspired to write a poem—“The Star Spangled Banner.” Although it is not known with certainty when he wrote the words, family and friends claim that he did so while in a British longboat taking him ashore on September 13. Nevertheless, he soon shared the lines with others, and within days of the great victory at Baltimore, the poem was published as a handbill. Soon it was being sung to the tune of the British drinking song, “To Anacreon in Heaven,” in taverns throughout the nation.

Key wrote some other poetry, but little of real note. He focused most of his energies on his law career and served as the U.S. district attorney in Washington, D.C., from 1833 to 1841. Written at a time of rising American nationalism, his best-known work remained popular. In 1931, Congress adopted “The Star-Spangled Banner” as the U.S. national anthem.

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### Know-Nothing Party

The Know-Nothings were members of a nativist political movement in the United States in the 1840s and 1850s that was organized to oppose the great wave of immigrants who entered the United States after 1846. Know-Nothings began as a secret fraternity called the “Order of the Star Spangled Banner” who enlisted over a million members across the country in 1854 and 1855. When asked any questions about it they replied “I know nothing.” Thus, they were swiftly labeled the “Know-Nothings.”

IMMIGRATION grew sharply in the 1830s and 1840s and became increasingly Roman Catholic with the arrival of large waves of Irish and Germans. Simultaneously, a Protestant revival flourished in a climate of economic change and insecurity. Evangelists demonized Catholics as “Papists” who followed authoritarian leaders, imported crime and disease, stole jobs, and practiced moral depravities. A barrage of such agitation led Protestant workingmen to burn

the Ursuline Convent near Boston and to riot in several cities; 30 were killed and hundreds injured in Philadelphia in 1844. The Know-Nothings grew out of this increasingly nativist atmosphere. Their anti-immigrant doctrines became even more popular when Irish and German Catholic immigration swelled to unprecedented numbers after 1845.

The new immigrants appeared to assimilate too slowly, clinging tenaciously to their old ways. The Germans retained their language, and the Irish adhered closely to the Catholic Church. Both, moreover, depressed the labor market while the Irish, especially, showed considerable political zeal—and usually voted the Democratic ticket.

The Know-Nothings attracted working-class and middle-class voters angered by the job competition from immigrants, the increase in crime, public drunkenness, and pauperism that accompanied immigration; the supposed pollution of the body politic by ignorant immigrant voters; and an assertiveness by Catholic clergymen that supposedly threatened the nation’s Protestant values and institutions. Such nativist sentiments had long existed among many Americans, but they had never before been expressed in such powerful form.

Among the chief legislative aims of the Know-Nothings were an extension in the period required for naturalization from five to 21 years, the exclusion of the foreign-born and Catholics from public office, the limitation (or prohibition) of alcohol sales, and the restriction of public-school teaching to Protestants.

As early as the 1840s, there were local nativist parties in several northern states that drew support away from the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and WHIG PARTY. The movement was temporarily eclipsed by the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR and the debates over SLAVERY. However, when the slavery issue was temporarily quieted by the COMPROMISE OF 1850, the nativist movement again came to the fore. By the early 1850s, there was a trend to organize nationally against the presumed immigrant threat. The old parties, the nativists said, had not confronted the danger. The Democrats, it was charged, were supported by the aliens; the party needed their votes and catered to their whims.

Growing rapidly, the Know-Nothings allied themselves with the group of Whigs who followed MILLARD FILLMORE. In the 1854 election, they almost captured New York State, swept the polls in Massachusetts and Delaware, and had local successes in other states. The disintegration of the Whig Party aided them in their strides toward national influence. Looking toward extension into the South, in 1855 they openly assumed the name American Party and cast aside much of their characteristic secrecy. By the mid-1850s the nativist American Party (a.k.a. “Know-Nothings”) had won six governorships and controlled legislatures in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island,



A pronativist cartoon that depicts an Irish and a German immigrant stealing a ballot box (Library of Congress)

Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and California. They enacted numerous laws to harass and penalize immigrants (as well as newly annexed Mexicans), including the first literacy tests for voting, which were designed to disenfranchise the Irish in particular.

By 1855, 90 U.S. congressmen were linked to the party. They attracted many northern Whigs to their point of view, along with an important number of Democrats. Southern Whigs also joined because of growing sectional tensions caused by the reintroduction of the slavery issue into national politics in 1854. For a time it seemed as if the Know-Nothings would be the main opposition party in the United States.

By 1856, when the party had abandoned secrecy and campaigned publicly as the American Party, many people expected it to elect the next president. But at the national convention in February 1856, which nominated ex-Whig Millard Fillmore for president, Know-Nothings split along sectional lines over the slavery extension issue. The Know-Nothings of the South supported slavery, while northern members opposed it. At the 1856 convention, 42

northern delegates walked out when a motion to support the MISSOURI COMPROMISE was ignored. This time the slavery issue split the Know-Nothing movement as it had the Whigs. While the American Party presidential candidate, Fillmore, won more than 21 percent of the popular vote and eight electoral votes, the national strength of the Know-Nothing movement was broken.

That same year, the great majority of northern Know-Nothings joined the Republicans in supporting JOHN C. FRÉMONT for president, and between 1856 and 1860 almost all the rest of Fillmore's northern supporters became Republicans. Those converts helped Lincoln garner 500,000 more votes in 1860 than Frémont had won in 1856.

Know-Nothing parties remained strong in a number of northern states in the late 1850s, but the party was spent as a national force before the election of 1860.

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—Richard Friedline





### labor movements

Given the divergent regional economies in the antebellum North and South, laborers' efforts to get fair treatment for their work varied widely. In the North, wage-earning workers fought and sometimes struck for direct improvements to work conditions and in the ability to organize as an affiliated group, such as a union. Although these efforts were often bloody, they marked what would become a standard employee-owner/employer state of coexistence. In the slave-labor South, slaves lacked the standing as employed workers to present such demands. Nonetheless, slaves entered into varieties of negotiations and work slowdowns with planters, overseers, and other members of the staple-crop (cotton, rice, sugar) hierarchy to acquire and maintain a modicum of independence.

A factor militating against union formation was the geographic mobility of American workers. Throughout the antebellum period, laborers were seldom stationary for more than a decade, and they were readily replaced by other transients or by newly arrived Irish and German immigrants. When workers, regardless of gender or skill level, acquired the wherewithal to move, most simply did so. The ongoing transportation revolution promoted this trend; it is doubtful that any other nation possessed so mobile a working class as the United States in this period. Such lack of personnel continuity discouraged any sustained unionism in the trades.

#### *The North*

After the American Revolution, many people searched for ways to create a more just and perfect society. At the same time, an increasingly industrialized workplace was bringing various constraints to workers. The interaction of high-minded reform and the practical fight for humane work conditions helped to fuel early labor movements during the first half of the 19th century. Since the late 18th century, skilled urban workers had joined in local groups to protest wage cuts, but trade unions did not begin in earnest

until the 1820s, with the formation of unions such as the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations in Philadelphia in 1827. Over the next decades, several skilled trade unions formed, with some, such as the International Typographical Union (1852), representing several countries.

As industrial capitalism increased over the period, workers experienced growing financial and social distance between themselves and owners. In addition to work-related demands, this perceived inequality fostered another reason for labor reform: changes that would build a more socially equal society. Thus, in addition to fighting for higher wages, the labor movement also enacted reforms such as labor-related political parties and campaigns for equal rights. These two strands of the labor movement—one for improving job-related concerns, one for improving society—would dominate northern labor reform during the antebellum years. But generally, most trade unions were galvanized into action through pursuit of a 10-hour workday; this became a rallying point for the New England Association, which represented factory hands, mill workers, and skilled craftsmen. The association unsuccessfully struck for a 10-hour day in Boston in 1832 and 1835, but its efforts induced a successful movement for workers in Philadelphia.

For much of the antebellum period, journeyman workers (those less experienced and below master workers) linked their case for better working conditions to the ongoing universal aim of a just society, the ideal that Americans fought for during the American Revolution. For example, when the ECONOMY revived after the PANIC OF 1819, many unions called for improved conditions, such as the ongoing call for the 10-hour workday. Among them were New York workers in 1827, who contended that employers who sought to extend the workday to 11 hours were "aggressors upon the rights of their fellow citizens . . . [and] justly obnoxious to the indignation of every honest man." At mass demonstrations in eastern cities such as Philadelphia and New York, workers of various craft unions united in their



goals for what the Philadelphia Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations called the need to fight "the desolating evils which must invariably arise from a depreciation of the intrinsic value of human labour . . ."

Workers also took direct action in the form of strikes to demonstrate displeasure with owner actions. Continuing a practice that began with artisans during the late 18th century, workers often staged a turnout, in which a group of workers remained unemployed until wages reached a given level. Generally, strikes in the early 19th centuries occurred in cities and involved skilled members of trade groups, such as shoemakers and tailors. Concerns involved improving the pay scale or reducing the length of the workday. As strikes increased during the 1820s and 1830s, small labor groups that discovered shared goals united to form larger and potentially more powerful associations. Although violence occurred during these strike protests, no strike-related deaths occurred until 1850, when two tailors were killed as police attempted to break up a striking crowd.

To increase the chances for labor reform, laborers and reformers during this time sought political representation and power by forming political parties. In the late 1820s, the Philadelphia Mechanics' Union, a pioneering multicraft union, formed the Workingmen's Party of Philadelphia. Other Workingmen's Parties arose in eastern cities, including Boston and New York, and at least one representative was elected to a position in local government. Some party leaders' positions undercut support among more moderate party members. New Yorker Thomas Skidmore, for instance, called for equal rights, an end to inherited land, and the redistribution of wealth. But some ideas, such as reducing special privilege among the financial elite, controlling monopolies, opening public lands for homesteading, and creating a large-scale public school system, gained widespread popularity between the 1820s and the 1840s. Further, many of the Workingmen's Party's ideas came to be expressed by more powerful political parties, notably Democrats and Whigs. As a result, most Workingmen's Parties dissolved during the 1830s.

However, the unity among trade unions that developed during the 1820s continued and resulted in several dozen new multitrade unions during the next two decades, such as the General Trades Union and the National Trades Union. These unions embodied an increasing understanding of the need for all workers to pool their efforts to counter increasingly sophisticated campaigns of commercial interests. Such efforts were epitomized in an opinion in the *Journal of Commerce*, which equated strikes with "war with the order of things which the Creator has established for the general good." Debate over which public policy was true to democratic ideals—building a society upon accepted views of equality and justice or allowing society to emerge amidst

economic freedom—continued throughout the antebellum period (and beyond).

Shortly after strikes became regular practices after the close of the 18th century, employers sought defense through the courts. Successful prosecutions of striking workers were mounted before the 1820s on criminal conspiracy charges. By 1829 in New York, a law was passed to censure any collective action that is "injurious to public morals or to trade and commerce."

Despite such rulings, strikes for improved hours and pay continued through the 1830s, as did employer and other forms of community-based attacks. In 1836, New York journeymen tailors began a strike over violations of negotiated agreements on pay rates and hiring union labor. After an outdoor protest, a grand jury indicted several of the protesters, 20 of whom were convicted on conspiracy charges. A massive demonstration that included over 10 percent of all New York residents protested the decision.

Although popular support for the labor demands of male workers was increasing, women often gained little favor for their labor protests. Since the 1810s, females dominated the textile mills in Massachusetts and formed associations in the 1820s. Many male laborers disparaged female workers and considered the presence of women in the workforce a twofold attack. The female worker attacked domestic society, in which women were to restrict their sphere of influence to the home; and the workforce in general, where their menial jobs lowered the overall standard of a trade. Still, female workers continued to form other trade associations, such as the Tailoresses' Society, and protested wage cuts. At the Lowell, Massachusetts, textile mills in 1834 and 1836, women staged two widespread strikes over increases in room and board charges and reductions in pay, one involving over 15 percent of mill workers. At one point, more than 1,000 girls marched through Lowell streets, singing, "Oh, isn't it a pity, such a pretty girl as I / Should be sent to the factory to pine away and die?"

This first wave of unionizing began to lose ground in 1836, when employers made concerted efforts to break strikes and collapse unions. The unions themselves were politically divided over their exact jurisdiction and how to effectively respond to the challenge posed by management. Then they suffered a tremendous blow when the PANIC OF 1837 swept the land. The ensuing depression, which was economically profound and lasted seven long years, basically erased all union gains to that point.

As mid-century approached, however, unions began to gain more rights under U.S. law. In 1842, the appeal ruling of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw in *Commonwealth v. Hunt* granted unions the right to organize. The case involved an 1840 conviction of seven labor leaders for criminal conspiracy in calling a strike by the Boston Journeymen Boot-

makers' Society against the hiring of nonunion employees. Justice Shaw's ruling allowed the right of a union to make its presence and requests known by a strike. Nonetheless, strikes did not resume in earnest until the early 1850s, when hundreds of strikes were launched.

Well into the 1830s, trade unions represented only skilled workers such as tailors and printers. But the issue of unskilled labor and unionization came into discussion as tens of thousands of European, primarily Irish, immigrants entered the United States during the 1820s and 1830s to toil as unskilled laborers. Working at ship construction, railroad building, and as dock workers, these workers often formed secret groups to stage protests and targeted acts of violence. In 1835, skilled and unskilled workers united for a general strike in Philadelphia. This joint experience led the large General Trades Union to open membership to unskilled workers and pointed to the workers' understanding that all workers share common goals. As striking tradesmen on the street yelled, "We are all day laborers!"

Throughout the antebellum decades, economic conditions directly affected union growth. Particularly destructive were economic declines. The depression of 1819 caused businesses to close, dismiss workers, or drastically reduce wages. In turn, workers viewed unions as tangential to creating work, and many of them ended their existence. Businesses welcomed the erosion of unions; the *Journal of Commerce* called it a welcome step toward eliminating morally diseased unions "thoroughly." The PANIC OF 1837 and a depression that lasted from 1839 to 1843 generated prolonged unemployment that similarly diminished union power.

By the early 1850s unions and union membership had increased, with ethnic groups such as the Irish and Germans now actively mobilizing and joining forces. While craft hierarchy and ethnic tensions continued, labor leaders sought to unite workers. As one leader said of business in 1855, "They wish to separate the American mechanics from the German, and the German from the Irish; they want to keep you in a divided condition so that you cannot concentrate your action for the benefit of yourselves and fellow workingmen." This solidarity aided workers in the panic of 1854–55 and for decades to come, as voiced by a German worker: "We all belong to one great family—the Workingmen's family!"

### ***The South***

Although large-scale plantation owners viewed themselves, in the words of one planter, as "kind masters" and the slaves' lot as protected, the millions of slaves who worked the farms viewed their lives differently: as paths of modification and resistance. The negotiations that slaves devised in working under their owners and overseers mark the pri-

mary form of labor action in the South during the antebellum period and the slaves' main method for achieving some scraps of independence.

Slaves on large plantations, which held between 20 and 100 of them, had the greatest chance for family stability; their work was needed, and for that reason families might be kept together. How they would be treated by their masters was less predictable. All masters wanted productivity from their slaves, but some used physical punishment to achieve it, while others employed various types of personal inducements. Among them might be the right to hunt, fish, and plant one's own garden and market its crops. Such activities allowed slaves to have some portion of life that belonged to them, not to the plantation.

In coastal cities, transient day laborers (who were often white but without land) working the plantations and farms displayed different methods for gaining acceptable treatment. They argued with workers and owners, were unruly and unpredictable, and maintained a sense of social superiority. Through these actions, they demonstrated that they were above slaves and had no connection to the plantation (where slaves worked).

Acts of slave resistance were common, as they consisted of any action not requested by an owner. Typical behaviors included spilling food and drink on a member of the owner's family, breaking equipment, or working inefficiently. Slaves viewed such rebelliousness with equanimity. As one young slave said, "They always tell us it's wrong to lie and steal, but why did the white folks steal my mammy and her mammy?" Other slave practices of self-preservation included the establishment of secret trading groups that exchanged liquor for stolen plantation goods. In addition to providing goods, this secret trading allowed slaves and white traders to discuss matters from family concerns to escape. Any of these interactions was considered an act of disobedience and subject to punishment.

Rarer and more feared by owners were overt acts of physical aggression or sabotage. Among such acts were the 1822 insurrection led by a free slave named DENMARK VESEY and the 1831 insurrection of NAT TURNER. Concerned about curtailing such unrest, political leaders passed laws limiting slave education. In Virginia and North Carolina, slaves were prohibited from learning to read. The just society that reformers and workers were fighting for in the North was far more distant in the South.

In sum, labor movements of the antebellum period were fractious and episodic, but also demonstrated a nascent class conscientiousness across a spectrum of workers, all of whom determined to secure a more equitable share of profits produced by their labor. Still, organized labor as a whole would not revive until after the Civil War, when many veterans of that conflict went on to found the Knights of Labor in the 1870s.

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—Melinda Corey

### Lafitte, Jean (ca. 1780–ca. 1825) *pirate*

A notorious pirate and hero of the BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS (January 8, 1815), Jean Lafitte lived an adventurous life packed with intrigue. Believed to have been born in France, Lafitte eventually made his way to the United States, where he led a group of pirates headquartered on the Baratarian coast, south of New Orleans. Starting around 1810, he and his cohorts frequently targeted Spanish ships, and, with the help of Lafitte's brother Pierre, used New Orleans as a depository for the confiscated goods and slaves that came into their possession.

The WAR OF 1812 (1812–15) interrupted the smuggling and piracy enterprise of Lafitte's operation. In September 1814 he was approached by the British and offered a large sum of money as well as land and a commission in the Royal Navy if he and his men would join with British forces in an assault on New Orleans. Lafitte turned down the offer, and a few days later his ships and headquarters at Barataria were raided by the U.S. Navy. In exchange for a pardon, Lafitte told the Americans about the British offer and agreed to help the United States stop the impending British attack. Indeed, Lafitte and a number of his men served admirably in the Battle of New Orleans, dutifully manning artillery pieces and earning the praise of General ANDREW JACKSON for bravely contributing to the American victory. After the war, Lafitte received a pardon from President James Madison for attacks on U.S. citizens and property as a reward for his service.

Lafitte took advantage of this new lease on life and almost immediately returned to piracy. With the United States in firm control of Louisiana and the eastern approaches to the Gulf of Mexico, Lafitte and his men moved westward. In 1817 they settled near present-day Galveston, on the southern coast of the province of Tejas, in Spanish territory. From there they engaged in numerous smuggling and piracy operations, and Lafitte's empire expanded. He went from having only a few hundred men to just over a thousand, and for the next three years he successfully attacked American and Spanish ships in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean without any trouble. In 1820, however, the U.S. Navy went in search of Lafitte after some of his men seized American property. Under pressure and fearing capture, he and a band of followers left Galveston in 1821 and probably continued their activities from the coast of newly independent Mexico. The cause of his death is unknown, but he is believed to have died around 1825.

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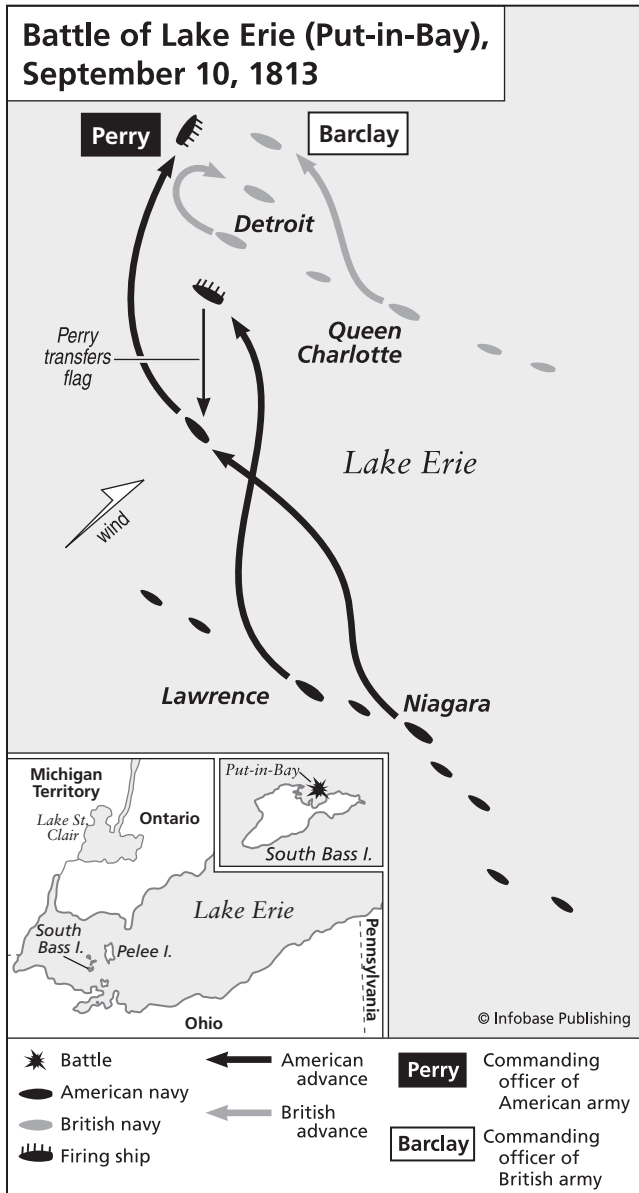
—Sarah Eppler Janda

### Lake Erie, Battle of (September 10, 1813)

The Battle of Lake Erie was a pivotal contest during the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15). It gave American forces control of Lake Erie and compelled the British to retreat from western Canada.

In the early months of the war, the British controlled both Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, enabling them to capture Fort Detroit and supply their troops and Indian allies farther west. The Americans, realizing the need to take control of Lake Erie, assigned the task to Lieutenant Oliver Hazard Perry. Perry was only 27 years old, but he had been in the U.S. Navy since the age of 13. He was the ideal man for the job, with great confidence, excellent administrative skills, and experience in shipbuilding. As commodore, Perry immediately had his men begin constructing ships on the beach near present-day Erie, Pennsylvania. Within a few months, they had produced two brigs and four schooners.

The British commander on Lake Erie was Lieutenant Robert Barclay, who, like Perry, was young, energetic, and ambitious. Although he temporarily held the upper hand, he had a smaller fleet and fewer men and resources. Barclay was unable to convince his superiors to divert men and supplies to Lake Erie from the Lake Ontario region. Eventually he was forced to improvise in equipping his ships. He even stripped local forts of their guns for his squadron. As a result, Barclay's flagship alone had guns of six different calibers, many of dubious effectiveness.



After considerable jockeying for position on the lake and attempting to blockade each other, the two sides met on September 10, 1813. The more heavily armed American force had 10 vessels to the British six. Nevertheless, the battle was a closely fought affair, with each side inflicting severe damage on the other. Perry's flagship the *Lawrence* was disabled, and he was forced to transfer to the *Niagara*. He then daringly sailed straight at the British line and in a matter of minutes was able capture the British flagship and force their squadron to surrender. There were many killed and wounded on both sides, including the seriously wounded Barclay. After the battle, Perry sent the message "We have met the enemy and they are ours" to General HARRISON.

As a result of his victory Commodore Perry became a national hero, and Congress voted extra pay and generous prize money for him and his crew. The victory gave the Americans a substantial psychological boost and control of Lake Erie. The British general Henry Procter was forced to retreat, and the British relinquished control of Lake Erie to the Americans. This helped to eliminate the danger of British attacks on American forces in the West. Less than a month later, American troops crossed the lake into Canada and won an important victory at the **BATTLE OF THE THAMES** (October 5, 1813), forcing the British to relinquish their control of the area and cancel their invasion plans. The navy promoted Perry to captain, and he went on to commands in the Mediterranean and the South Atlantic. He never again engaged in combat and died of yellow fever in 1819. Following the War of 1812, there was no more naval warfare on the Great Lakes, and the Canadian-American border was eventually demilitarized.

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—Robert Lively

### Lamar, Mirabeau B. (1798–1859) politician

Mirabeau Lamar was the second president of the Republic of Texas. Lamar was born in Louisville, Georgia, on August 16, 1798, and raised in Milledgeville, Georgia. He was educated at several academies and expressed an early interest in poetry and art, but he ultimately pursued a career in politics. In 1823 Lamar became the secretary of Governor George M. Troup. By 1828 he was editor of the *Columbus Enquirer*, which endorsed Troup's policies. The next year, however, he withdrew from a state senate race following his wife's death. A strong proponent of states' rights and SLAVERY, Lamar lost two elections for a seat in Congress in 1832 and 1834.

In 1835 he accompanied James W. Fanin to Texas. That region was then in the throes of a revolution against Mexico, and Lamar cast his lot with the rebels. Good conduct in battle won him command of a regiment of cavalry, and Lamar distinguished himself at San Jacinto in 1836. That September he parlayed his newfound fame into politics and was elected the first vice president, under President SAM HOUSTON, of the new Republic of Texas. Nonetheless he spent the majority of his time traveling, studying Spanish, writing poetry, and establishing the Philosophical Society of Texas.

In 1838 Lamar cleverly arranged the defeat of Houston's handpicked successor and was himself elected president of Texas. In this capacity, Lamar proceeded to spend the



fledgling country into bankruptcy by promoting an extensive public education system, launching several preemptive wars against the Cherokee and Comanche in Texas, and supporting several ill-timed and unfortunate filibustering expeditions against Mexico. ("Filibusters" were American citizens who sought to gain territory by waging private wars in Central America and the Caribbean.) He also relocated the capital from Houston to its present-day location of Austin, much closer to the republic's center. His expensive education system provided for the creation of two universities, including the modern University of Texas, which adopted his slogan, "A cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy."

After Lamar was succeeded in office by Houston in 1841, he returned to private life in Richmond, Texas. He spent several years writing history and poetry. During the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR of 1846–48, he served as lieutenant colonel of the Texas Volunteers under General ZACHARY TAYLOR. In 1857 he gained appointment as the U.S. minister to Costa Rica. Poor health necessitated his return to Texas, where he died at his Richmond plantation on December 19, 1859.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Lamy, Jean Baptiste (Jean-Baptiste Lamy)** (1814–1888) *Roman Catholic missionary*

Roman Catholic missionary and later archbishop in the American Southwest, Jean Baptiste Lamy was responsible for the establishment of the first school for teaching English in Santa Fe. Lamy was born in 1814 in Lempdes, France, and ordained a priest at Clermont-Ferrand in December 1838. After volunteering for missionary work, he came to the United States to minister to the growing Catholic community in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Under the terms of the TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO, which ended the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, the United States took the northern third of the Republic of Mexico, a vast area that today includes the states of CALIFORNIA, New Mexico, and Arizona. In response to the new U.S. sovereignty, Lamy was named vicar apostolic of New Mexico. His authority extended over New Mexico, Arizona, and parts of modern Colorado, Nevada, and Utah, a vast area with a then-sparse population mostly Mexican in origin, living in small and widely dispersed villages.

From the beginning, Lamy's new office was a challenging one. He arrived in Santa Fe to find great resentment at the appointment of an outsider to a position of such author-

ity. In 1853 he was named bishop. He worked with Anglo-Americans, Mexicans (Mexican Americans after the treaty), and NATIVE AMERICANS across a vast landscape. In New Mexico he encountered a church that had become self-contained and partly secularized by distance, neglect, and personal choice. Some local priests had married into the most influential families in New Mexico, and Lamy's attempts at reform became closely intertwined with politics. One of the defrocked priests, Jose Manuel Gallegos, became head of an anti-Lamy faction and won election as New Mexico's territorial delegate in 1853. Father Jose Antonio Martinez represented this local authority, and after continuing disagreements, Lamy removed Martinez.

In 1875 Lamy was raised to archbishop. He was again drawn into politics by a bill in the Territorial Assembly that proposed to limit the Catholic Church's influence in the territory's educational system. Lamy actively opposed the bill, and it was defeated. He died at Santa Fe in 1888 after more than 35 years of service to his adopted region. His reforms reshaped the Catholic Church in the American Southwest.

**Further reading:** Paul Horgan, *Lamy of Santa Fe; His Life and Times* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1975).

**Larkin, Thomas Oliver** (1802–1858) *businessman, diplomat*

Merchant and U.S. consul in Mexican California, Larkin mounted an extended propaganda campaign in favor of the American acquisition of CALIFORNIA. A native of Massachusetts, Larkin moved to California in 1832. Settling in Monterey, he quickly became a powerful commercial force in the town. He used his connections with Boston and the New England merchants to direct the growing trade of California's pastoral economy. With the secularization of the CALIFORNIA MISSIONS after 1833, the region's economy shifted from the missions to the growing number of ranchos. These large pastoral estates, many of them benefiting from the acquisition of mission lands, began to develop a thriving trade in hides and tallow, carried almost exclusively in ships from New England ports. Larkin was at the heart of this growing trade.

Many American merchants who settled in California in the 1830s and 1840s married into the leading Californio families and established roots in the local Mexican community. Larkin, by contrast, remained a citizen of the United States. He married Rachel Hobson Holmes, a widow, and he was proud that his children were the first born in California to U.S. citizens. As an alien resident, he did not participate in politics, but he did discreetly support the activities of Juan Bautista Alvarado to establish an independent California.



In 1844 Secretary of State James Buchanan appointed Larkin American consul in California. In this capacity, Larkin wrote long and detailed letters to the secretary about affairs in Mexican California, ever mindful of the nation's economic and strategic interests there. He came to believe strongly in British designs on naval anchorages along the Pacific coast, especially the harbor at San Francisco. In October 1845 Buchanan gave him an additional appointment as "confidential agent." Buchanan asked Larkin to work for the secession of California from Mexico, with a view to its eventual annexation to the United States. In January 1845, Congress had annexed the Republic of Texas as the 31st state, and this provided a model of the direction in which Buchanan wished to move American policy regarding California. Larkin was to play a vital role in the U.S. plans.

However, these plans were cut short by JOHN C. FRÉMONT's activities, and with the outbreak of the BEAR FLAG REVOLT, Larkin found his diplomatic initiatives superseded. The beginning of the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR the next year was President JAMES K. POLK's shortcut to the acquisition of California.

With the discovery of gold in California in January 1848, Larkin became one of the American government's main sources of information about developments in the region. His correspondence with Buchanan offers one of the clearest and most insightful commentaries on the early impact of gold on California's society and economy. In late 1848, Larkin served as a delegate to the California Constitutional Convention. Thereafter, he left public life to concentrate on his business and real estate holdings. He died in 1858.

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## lead mines

Lead mining first achieved significance in the English-speaking colonies in 1750, when quantities of that ore were extracted and smelted in Dutchess County, New York, and at what became known as the Austinville mine in Virginia. The industry grew exponentially during the Revolutionary War, when demand for lead bullets led to the mining of deposits in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina. The relative abundance of lead and the ease of smelting this useful metal allowed a homegrown armaments industry to flourish and greatly facilitated the ultimate victory over Great Britain.

Out west, the first important lead mines were found in upper Louisiana, in what would become the state of Missouri. Located in St. Francis County, some 70 miles south of St. Louis, these deposits produced some 9 million tons of pig lead, most produced after 1800. The first

Europeans to work the surface ores included the sieur de Bienville, one of the founders of French Louisiana. In 1719, Philippe Renaut began systematic mining in the Illinois Country with 200 experienced French miners and 500 slaves purchased in St. Domingue and brought to the site. Mine La Motte and Mine à Breton produced the first lead for trade. The mines and the trade they fostered were an important part of the French settlements by the 1740s. Still, the Missouri mines remained only marginally productive, as the attention of colonial entrepreneurs shifted to trade in furs. In the years of Spanish rule, MOSES AUSTIN moved from Virginia to Missouri and took an active part in the lead-mining business. Austin established a large furnace and a shot tower along the Mississippi River as early as 1798, and within a few years his company was producing 3 million pounds of lead annually. These facilities were added to the national resources in 1803 after the Louisiana Purchase gave the United States control of the region. With the profits from his mines, Austin moved his family (including son STEPHEN F. AUSTIN) to St. Louis in 1816.

The second area of lead mineral lay in the upper Mississippi Valley, at the intersection of what would become the states of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa. The area was much larger but less rich than the deposits in Missouri. The earliest leading figure in the region was Julien Dubuque, a French-Canadian entrepreneur who began mining on the Upper Mississippi in 1788, near the site of the present city of Dubuque. Indian peoples knew of these mineral deposits and had mined them sporadically. Dubuque urged the Sauk and Fox to resume work, and he bought lead ore from the Indian miners and shipped it south to St. Louis. By the time of his death in 1810, Dubuque had also begun mining on the Fever River (later renamed the Galena River) and other sites along the Mississippi. The NATIVE AMERICANS continued to mine and smelt lead until the late 1820s, when an influx of American settlers and their African-American slaves led to their gradual displacement. The Sauk and Fox were subsequently relocated across the Mississippi River in the wake of the aborted BLACK HAWK WAR of 1832, at which point lead-mining activities became an exclusive purview of Americans.

In 1819, after the close of the WAR OF 1812 had established a degree of peace with NATIVE AMERICANS, American miners moved into the region. By the middle of the 1820s, an early mining rush—much like those later to mining sites in the Far West—was underway to the area. Important towns appeared to mark the sites of these mining enterprises: Galena (Illinois), Mineral Point (Wisconsin), and Dubuque (Iowa). Of these towns, Galena was the most important, perhaps because Illinois was early organized as a territory and so offered a degree of institutional structure. Miners here, as later in the Far West, made do

with their own rules and regulations. They organized mining districts and adopted local rules for claims and adjudicating disputes, thus laying the foundation for many techniques in mining and organization that would later be used in the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH. The so-called Scotch hearth, invented in 1834 by Peter Lorimer, simultaneously increased productivity and lowered production costs. With this technology the lead-mining industry was able to spread farther into the Midwest, and there was a commensurate rise of communities dedicated to that process. By 1845 Dubuque and Galena boasted a combined population of 10,000 people and an annual output of 54 million pounds of lead. The final product was either shipped down the Mississippi to New Orleans or transported overland by wagon to the ERIE CANAL and then shipped to ready markets along the East Coast. The growth and profitability of lead mining had an indelible impact on the Upper Midwest: It was probably the leading factor propelling the region's relatively rapid early settlement. After 1848 this trend was accelerated when Congress decided to abolish the reservation of mineral lands; these lands became available to any prospective miner or entrepreneur wishing to mine lead. Lead mining expanded across the three sites through the 1830s, but by 1840 the richest of the deposits had been mined out. With the news of the gold strikes in California, an emigration of lead miners to the West depleted the lead region.

The experiences of lead mining in Missouri and on the upper Mississippi River were important in preparing a foundation for large-scale mining activities in California and eventually across the length and breadth of the West. Underground mining in the lead mines evolved slowly and through trial and error, but it did evolve. Furthermore, many of regulations and procedures that emerged from the lead mines would be transported across the plains with the FORTY-NINERS and reappear in the goldfields. These included the mining claim—namely, how claims would be laid off, recorded, and worked and under what conditions claims might be vacated and sold. The institution of the miner's court first appeared in the lead mines, along with the idea of the mining district as a sovereign body empowered to make and change its rules of conduct.

The lead mines also represented a significant challenge to the orderly distribution of public lands. Since 1785, the nation had evolved a procedure for the survey and sale of acreage to the public. PUBLIC LAND POLICY had consumed much time in Congress, and the continuing advance of settlement to the West had made land sales a necessary part of the frontier's development. In the lead mines of the upper Mississippi, the federal government confronted an awkward variation in its policies. In response to the spread of population and the land system to the upper Mississippi Country, the federal government issued a proclamation

reserving lead lands from sale. The policy proved unworkable, and like so many infringements on the public domain, was ignored and reversed.

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**Lee, Jason** (1803–1845) *settler, missionary*

Jason Lee was a Methodist missionary and a leader of the settlers' movement in Oregon Territory. Born in Stanstead, Vermont, on June 28, 1803, Lee eventually relocated to Wilbraham, Massachusetts, where he studied at the local academy and converted to Methodism in 1830. Three years later he became a church elder and, consistent with the teaching of that faith, volunteered for missionary work among NATIVE AMERICANS out West. Accordingly, on April 28, 1834, Lee accompanied NATHANIEL J. WYETH's second expedition from Independence, Missouri, to the West Coast. Lee arrived at FORT VANCOUVER five months later and there encountered resistance from local authorities toward the establishment of a mission. He therefore headed south and took up residence along the Willamette River near present-day Salem, Oregon, where he conducted religious work among the Chinook (or Flathead) Indians.

Lee was conscientious in his work but gradually grew convinced that the mission, if it were to succeed at all, required more New England settlers to spur economic development. In March 1838 he departed Oregon for the East Coast, briefly visiting Washington, D.C., to drop off the settlers' territorial petition to Congress, and eventually found 51 willing recruits for the mission. These people, known in the Methodist Church's history as "The Great Reinforcement," accompanied him back to the West Coast aboard the ship *Lausanne*, arriving at the COLUMBIA RIVER in May 1840.

Lee resumed his missionary duties, but he also became increasingly drawn into the growing political arena of the region. As a major political figure himself, he authored the plan for what eventually became Willamette University. In February 1844 Lee once more departed Oregon for the East Coast to find additional volunteers, only to learn that the Methodist Board of Overseers had relieved him of his duties as head missionary. He angrily appealed their decision but grew despondent when he was not reappointed to the mission. He returned to Vermont later that year, where he contracted a severe illness and died on March 12, 1845. Lee's decade-long association with the settlers' movement in Oregon renders him a significant pioneer figure of that region. His detailed accounts of the western frontier, when

published in the next decade, spurred thousands of settlers to venture down the OREGON TRAIL.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## Liberia

Liberia is a West African nation founded in 1822 by American ex-slaves and subsidized by the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY. The circumstances surrounding Liberia's founding reveal the conflicting motivations of Americans, black and white, who were concerned about SLAVERY and the presence of Africans in the young republic. Some whites supported colonization because they wanted to rid the nation of African people, whom they deemed unfit to live in a democracy. Some southern slaveholders advocated the removal of free blacks, whom they considered a threat to their ability to control their slaves. Other whites were more sympathetic to the discrimination experienced by free blacks in the United States; they argued that blacks would be relieved of such racism if they were returned to Africa. Other whites believed that ex-slaves should return to Africa to bring Christianity and European civilization to the continent. All of these groups were skeptical about whether African Americans would ever be accepted by a white populace whose political ideologies were increasingly racist.

Free blacks were also conflicted about the colonization issue. Some shared the view that African Americans would never be treated fairly in the United States, and should therefore return to Africa. Others disagreed, arguing that ex-slaves should stay in the United States to fight for civil rights as citizens and demand the abolition of slavery. Many saw the colonization effort as a cynical plot devised by slave owners to secure domination of their slaves.

Amid this growing debate, the American Colonization Society (ACS) was founded in 1817. As was common practice among reform societies of the time, the ACS raised funds by selling lifetime membership. By 1820, the society had published the first issue of *The African Intelligencer*, a magazine designed to spread the word about colonization. Edited by aspiring missionary Jehudi Ashmun, the journal contained articles about the slave trade, the prospects for founding an African colony, and a copy of the ACS constitution. Support for the cause was meager, however, and publication ceased after the first issue. However, by 1822 the Society was able to purchase land and establish a colony on the West African coast. Ashmun traveled to the new colony that same year, becoming one of the early leaders of the repatriation effort.

By the mid-1820s, support for the ACS had grown, and emigrants began to sail for the new colony, called Liberia. Influential political figures such as HENRY CLAY and former President James Madison were heavily involved in the organization. Sale of lifetime memberships had increased, giving the society the funds needed to continue developing and expanding the venture. Ashmun purchased or leased additional lands along major waterways, establishing the colony as a regional power able to intimidate neighboring tribes. In an 1825 treaty, several native kings agreed (often because Ashmun threatened to use force) to cede land in return for tobacco, rum, gunpowder, and other goods. The colonists established the first Liberian town at Cape Montserado, which they renamed Monrovia after President James Monroe. Members of the ACS continued to promote settlement, sending dispatches back to the United States that told of the emigrants' great success.

By the 1830s, colonization efforts were coming under attack by more radical reform groups working to abolish slavery. Abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison criticized the ACS for colluding with slave owners. This new school of abolitionists thought that colonization efforts were an attempt to strengthen slaveholders by removing the members of society most likely to question the slave system: free blacks. Abolitionists believed that colonizationists were undermining efforts to eradicate slavery by removing slave allies and by implicitly arguing that blacks should not be part of American society. The colonization effort continued, however, as free blacks emigrated to Liberia, and the ACS maintained their financial support. The organization even managed to convince some American state legislatures to help finance the effort.

Yet by the 1840s, the ACS could no longer afford to financially support Liberia. The colony was also in political jeopardy because it was not an official colony of the U.S. government, nor was it a sovereign nation. This precarious position endangered its future, because Liberians had no way to repel a political takeover by the British. In 1846, when the U.S. government refused to claim Liberia as an official colony, ACS leaders urged a declaration of independence. Thus, in 1847 the colony became the independent nation of Liberia, with Americo-Liberians (ex-slave emigrants and their descendants) controlling the government.

In the first decades after its founding, Liberian relations with the United States were strained. Because of the worsening American controversy over slavery, the federal government did not recognize Liberia until 1862. African Americans continued to emigrate to Liberia before and after the Civil War, but never in huge numbers. By the 1870s, the American Colonization Society had helped send over about 15,000 emigrants. The nation prospered at first, but it soon experienced economic decline due to competition from European commercial interests. Conflicts

between the American-Liberian elite and indigenous tribes also jeopardized political stability. These problems continue to plague the West African nation, which went on to endure civil war and rampant political corruption during the 20th century.

**Further reading:** Raymond Leslie Buell, *Liberia: A Century of Survival, 1847–1947* (New York: Krause Reprint Company, 1969); Charles Spurgeon Johnson, *Bitter Canaan: The Story of the Negro Republic* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1987); Tom W. Shick *Behold the Promised Land: A History of Afro-American Settler Society in Nineteenth-Century Liberia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980).

—Eleanor H. McConnell

## Liberty Party

The Liberty Party was the first political party to run on an explicitly antislavery platform, nominating candidates for president in 1840 and 1844. The party, which was dominated by abolitionists, had little to say on issues other than SLAVERY. It generally garnered only scattered support at the polls but helped to lay the foundations for the FREE-SOIL PARTY in 1848 and then the REPUBLICAN PARTY of the 1850s. Members of the Liberty Party, many of whom were evangelical Christians, focused on the sinful nature of slavery and on rights for African Americans. They were also abolitionists who had broken with William Lloyd Garrison over whether they should involve themselves in electoral politics.

The AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which had been wracked by internal disputes for years, finally collapsed completely in 1839–40. Abolitionists such as Gerrit Smith of New York grew disillusioned with the WHIG PARTY when their leader HENRY CLAY came out in support of compromising with slave interests. They therefore began to search for a way to advance their cause in the political arena. The beginning of the Liberty Party as an independent political organization was controversial among many abolitionists, who feared that their efforts would divide their ranks and ultimately benefit the Democrats, the party most associated with slavery. The Liberty Party at its inception drew support from both Whigs and Democrats, but mainly from the former.

James Birney, the party's nominee in both of its presidential elections, was a Democrat. Born in Kentucky, Birney's father was a slaveholder who supported emancipation, as some of that class did at the turn of the 19th century. Birney himself later moved to Alabama, where he became one of the few proabolition members of that state's legislature. An early supporter of colonization, Birney freed his own slaves in 1834 when he moved back

to Kentucky. He later moved across the Ohio River to the state of Ohio, where he was indicted for harboring a runaway slave. Having renounced colonization, he embraced abolitionism and subsequently broke with the followers of William Lloyd Garrison in that he wanted a political and constitutional solution to slavery. Birney and others also did not share Garrison's belief that women should have equal voting and officeholding rights with men within abolitionist societies.

Members of the new Liberty Party believed that slaveholders could be persuaded to get rid of their slaves, as Birney had done. He was nominated at the first convention of the Liberty Party in Albany, New York, in 1840, along with Thomas Earle, an abolitionist Democrat from Pennsylvania, as six states sent delegates. He did not conduct anything resembling a campaign; in fact, he was in London attending the World Anti-Slavery Convention throughout the 1840 election season. When the votes were counted, his total was about 7,000, nearly all of them from the New England states as well as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan. Thus, the center of Liberty Party support, such as it was, came from areas strongly influenced by New England Yankee culture. The party ran candidates for state and local office in New England and in other northern states. Among those who supported the Liberty Party were Quakers and Presbyterians, including some from the South who had migrated into the states of the old Northwest.

The debut of the Liberty Party, despite its lack of success at the polls, was significant, as this was the first time there had been a national political party which ran on an avowed antislavery platform. Its weakness in its initial outing was demonstrated by the fact that an estimated 90% of those in abolitionist societies did not vote for the Liberty Party but instead mainly supported the Whigs and their successful candidate, HARRISON. When Harrison died soon after taking office and was replaced by a southern slaveowner, JOHN TYLER, some Whigs who had hesitated to leave their party for the Liberty Party now joined the ranks of the latter.

In 1844 the Liberty Party nominated Birney once again, this time with Thomas Morris, a former Democratic senator from Ohio, as the vice presidential candidate. That year, Joshua Leavitt, the editor of the *Emancipator*, the Liberty Party newspaper, published a controversial pamphlet, *The Great Duelist*, in which he linked Whig nominee Henry Clay to dueling and slavery. Leavitt portrayed Clay as a violent and sinful man who did not possess sufficient moral character to be president. In the election that year, the Liberty Party garnered 62,000 votes, which represented a nearly ninefold increase over their 1840 results and 2 percent of the national total. In the key northern states of New York and Michigan, Liberty Party voters, most of whom would have otherwise gone to Clay, were a crucial factor



in deciding the election in favor of Democratic nominee JAMES K. POLK of Tennessee.

The Liberty Party met again in convention at Buffalo, New York, in late 1847 to nominate a ticket for the next year's election. With Birney became incapacitated from injuries suffered in a fall from his horse, delegates nominated Senator John P. Hale of New Hampshire, an anti-slavery Democrat. Hale opposed slavery in principle but for constitutional reasons was reluctant to support the Liberty Party goals of abolishing slavery in Washington, D.C., and banning the interstate slave trade. For this reason, he waited almost two months before accepting the nomination. Before the campaign could begin in earnest, however, the Liberty Party dissolved as its members became one of the main groups that formed the new Free-Soil Party. That party had a broader constituency and wider set of goals, including providing settlers in the West with free homesteads and other provisions to draw Democrats and Whigs, than did the single-issue Liberty Party. Nonetheless, the Liberty Party had influenced the outcome of at least one presidential election and forced the nation as a whole to face more squarely the entire question of slavery. The party did fail in that its solution to slavery, that of repentance and peaceful dismantling of the slave system, did not come to pass, but rather its demise came about only after a horrific civil war. Even so, the Liberty Party can be considered one of the more important third parties of the 19th century.

**Further reading:** Richard H. Sewell, *Ballots for Freedom: Antislavery Politics in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976); Vernon L. Volpe, *Forlorn Hope of Freedom: The Liberty Party in the Old Northwest, 1838–1848* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1990).

—Jason K. Duncan

## literature

In the years following the Revolutionary War Americans began to develop new forms of political and social life. At the same time, they began to create a new literary culture—one that was influenced by a combination of European sources and North American experience. In the colonial period, Americans were heavily influenced by literature from Britain and western Europe. Novels, poetry, religious tracts, political treatises, and other kinds of literature circulated in the colonies, shaping cultural and political identity. But the exchange was not one-sided. Not only did European works discuss America, Americans increasingly published homegrown literary works in response to conditions in the colonies and Europe. While American writers looked to European models and established writing techniques, they also looked to the frontier world around them to examine new American themes, concerns, and experiences.

In the course of the generation after 1815, new strands appeared in American literature, including writings by Native Americans, African Americans, and a new kind of popular literature, aimed at a more broad-based audience. William Apess (or Apes) (1798–1839) was a Native American whose varied writings made him a literary figure of some influence. Born in Franklin County, Massachusetts, to a Pequot mother and a mixed race father (part Pequot, part Anglo-American), Apess aspired to be a Methodist minister. Denied a license to preach as a Methodist because of his Indian ancestry, Apess left the Methodist Episcopal Church and joined the Methodist Society, which ordained him without reservation in 1829. The same year, Apess published *A Son of the Forest: The Experience of William Apess, a Native of the Forest*. Although this autobiography may have been written as part of a church requirement to document his religious life, its publication was a powerful statement that Native Americans were equal to Euro-Americans in the sight of God, and it called for fair and equitable treatment of these people. Over the next nine years, Apess preached and wrote. He published three other books and a collection of sermons. The message of these works, like his first, was a challenge to the prevalent Euro-American assumptions of racial superiority. He also attacked the uses of European missions to the Indians as an exploitation of Native peoples and he described missionaries as agents of Euro-American imperialism bent on keeping the Indian peoples in an inferior position in American life. These strands came together in the practical arena with Apess's defense of the Mashpee and their lands in Massachusetts.

The 19th century saw the appearance of a broad-based popular literature for the first time. Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper were among the first American authors with a wide appeal to an American audience, but others who wrote in an even more popular vein followed them. The most important of these authors was George Lippard. Born on a farm in Chester County, Pennsylvania, Lippard first worked as a lawyer's assistant in Philadelphia, where he encountered the underside of American urban life. In 1842 he left the law to write a satirical column for a Philadelphia newspaper, *The Spirit of the Times*. In 1844 he published his first novel, *The Ladye Annabel; or, The Doom of the Poisoner*, a gothic tale of torture and the grotesque. His friend Edgar Allan Poe praised the inventive nature of the work. The next year, Lippard published the novel that would make him famous and would give him a place in the annals of American literature. *The Quaker City; or, The Monks of Monk-Hall* (1845) was an account of sexual depravity and drunkenness among Philadelphia's upper class. It marked Lippard's transition to social reformer and social commentator as well as gothic novelist. The novel was an instant best-seller, and it sold some 60,000 copies in



the first year, the largest sale for an American novel until the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Lippard wrote several other novels that dramatized upper-class depravity and urban corruption. Among the most important were *The Empire City* (1850) and *New York; Its Upper Ten and Lower Million* (1853). Lippard became a popular lecturer, and he worked tirelessly on behalf of labor groups. His novels are noteworthy as among the first products of a popular culture, whose themes had a pointed social message mixed with the gothic formula of the period.

With the emergence of the abolitionist movement in the 1830s came an interest in slave narratives. Written with a striking immediacy, these accounts of life in slavery became an important part of the abolition movement and entered into the life of American literary publications. The most important of these writings was Frederick Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, Written by Himself*. This autobiography, an account of his early life in slavery and his escape, was written in part as exposition of the evils of the institution of slavery and in part as a way to establish the legitimacy of Douglass's early life as a slave. The book sold 30,000 copies in the United States and Britain, and it helped to make Douglass the most important African-American representative in the abolition movement and the most significant African-American author of the day. An accomplished writer and charismatic public speaker, Douglass appeared before northern audiences for 30 years. His autobiography was perhaps the most powerful literary statement in the anti-slavery roster of written accounts. Douglass also founded and edited his own newspaper, *The Northern Star* (1847). In 1852, Douglass published a novel, *The Heroic Slave*, which is generally considered the first major African-American fiction. The novel's central character was the leader of a violent slave revolt, and the book represented Douglass's shift in opposing slavery from moral suasion to activism, including armed rebellion.

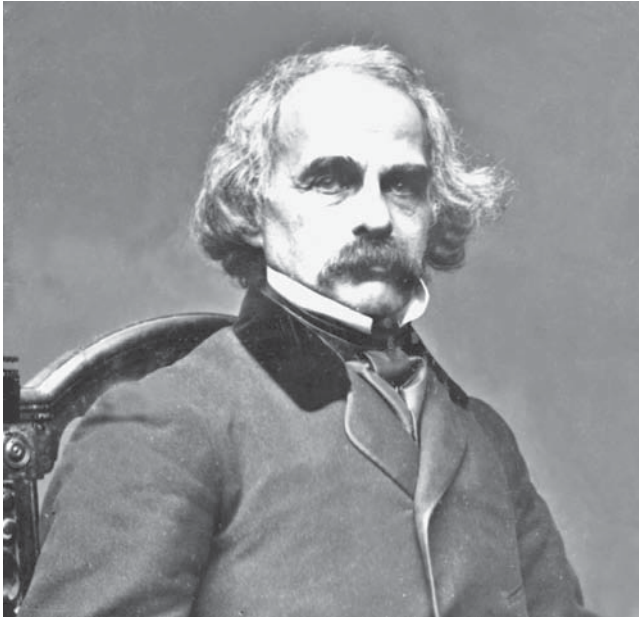
The most prominent writers of the early 19th century included Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper, members of what became known as the Knickerbocker School. Irving's writings attempted to create a kind of American folk literature, with his satirical stories of early New York told by "Diedrich Knickerbocker." His *Sketch Book* (1819–20) introduced the famous stories "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow." He also published several histories, including his famous *Life of Washington* (1855–59). Irving's characterizations of American life were intended not only to entertain but also to develop his ideas about national identity and his sense of specifically American values.

Cooper's most important works were collectively known as the *Leather-stocking Tales*, some of the first American novels set in the rapidly developing American frontier.

In *The Pioneers* (1823), Cooper combines elements of the sentimental and adventure novels to tell the story of life in the frontier town of Templeton (based on Cooperstown, New York, the settlement started by his father in the post-revolutionary years). He continued this story of the struggle between civilization and primitive savagery on the frontier at various points in American history with *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), *The Prairie* (1827), *The Pathfinder* (1840), and *The Deerslayer* (1841). Cooper also wrote sea-adventure stories and volumes of social criticism that detailed his aristocratic fears about democracy run amok in the Jacksonian era. Other writers in the Knickerbocker School included poet William Cullen Bryant, James Kirke Paulding, and Fitz-Greene Halleck.

In a movement that became known as the "New England Renaissance," writers from this region developed a distinctive literature and philosophy from the 1830s to the Civil War. The transformation of intellectual life in New England could be said to begin with the Unitarian sermons of William Ellery Channing, who challenged religious orthodoxy and promoted a more liberal vision of spiritual life. The critiques raised by Unitarians later influenced the thinking behind the TRANSCENDENTAL MOVEMENT. Transcendentalists like RALPH WALDO EMERSON and HENRY DAVID THOREAU believed in the sanctity of individual experience and the divinity of nature. They promoted self-determination, the primacy of individual experience, and the divine connection between all living things. This philosophy was most apparent in Emerson's *Nature* (1836), *The American Scholar* (1837), and *Poems* (1847). Thoreau's most famous work, *Walden* (1854), detailed his experience living the simple life by Walden Pond in Concord, Massachusetts. In this account and his 1849 essay "Civil Disobedience," Thoreau presented a vision of principled action against the state and the right of individuals to listen to a higher moral law in place of a state law. Other transcendentalists included MARGARET FULLER, George Ripley (founder of the influential but short-lived BROOK FARM), Bronson Alcott, and Orestes A. Brownson. These thinkers were interested not only in realizing individual consciousness but in reshaping society to help people better realize social harmony.

Transcendentalist ideas about the place of the individual in the universe influenced other New England writers, most notably Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville. Both writers were more pessimistic about human potential than the transcendentalists were, but their singular styles owed a great deal to the ethos of the New England Renaissance. Hawthorne's greatest works examined the interior lives and sins of New Englanders. In *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), he gives his interpretation of the moral and spiritual conflicts of Puritan New England. In *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851), he again uses history as a major



Nathaniel Hawthorne (Library of Congress)

theme, showing how the sins of the past are revisited on the present within an old New England family. His other writings include *Twice-Told Tales* (1837) and *The Blithedale Romance* (1852).

Melville began his writing career with sea romances like *Typee* (1846), *Omoo* (1847), *Mardi* (1849), and *Redburn* (1849). These tales derived partly from his own experiences as a sailor, and were well received by the public. His later works, beginning with his masterpiece *Moby-Dick; or The Whale* (1851), transcended the sea-tale genre, developing a completely singular style and a dark sensibility. Indeed, although several of his later works were set at sea, they were more concerned with larger moral questions than in detailing life on the sea. His story “Benito Cereno” (1856) deals with the horrors of slavery, and his novella *Billy Budd* (published posthumously in 1924) describes conflicts between loyalty and justice, love and betrayal. Melville also wrote several works dealing with the dark side of the emerging American urban life, most notably “Bartleby the Scrivener” (1856) and *The Confidence-Man* (1857).

Other major writers examining the emerging urban America were Walt Whitman and Edgar Allan Poe. Whitman’s poetry collection *Leaves of Grass* (1855, later expanded) expressed his optimism about human potential, celebrating democracy and the teeming urban life of New York City. Poe’s style, in poems and prose, was much darker, dwelling on elements of the romantic, horrific, and grotesque. His major poems include “Annabelle Lee” (1847) and “The Raven” (1845). He published only one

novel, the bizarre sea adventure *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* (1837); and numerous masterful and macabre stories, including “The Gold Bug” (1843), “The Murders in the Rue Morgue” (1843), “The Pit and the Pendulum” (1842), and “The Tell-Tale Heart” (1843). Other important poets of this period include Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and James Russell Lowell.

Probably the most influential and popular literary works of this period were written by women. Writers like Lydia Maria Child, Catharine Maria Sedgwick, Harriet Beecher Stowe, SARAH JOSEPHA HALE, Susan Warner, and Mrs. E.D.E.N. Southworth wrote some of the most loved and esteemed works in the decades before the Civil War. Their writing could be categorized as sentimental and concerned with social and individual reform. These “reform novels” addressed some of the most controversial issues of the day, attempting to reach a wide audience and appeal to their moral conscience. Warner’s *The Wide, Wide World* (1850) became the best-selling novel since *Charlotte Temple*, only to be topped two years later by the phenomenal success of Stowe’s antislavery novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852). Stowe continued her attack on SLAVERY and FUGITIVE SLAVE LAWS with *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* (1856). Her novels are credited as among the most influential forces to bring the conflict over slavery to a head in the 1860s. The rise of professional women writers in America signalled an advance in women’s opportunities to become part of the public sphere.

Another important literary development in the antebellum period was the increasing availability of reading materials. Improvements in the printing process triggered the rise in periodicals and the penny press—pulp genre fiction that could be mass-produced and sold cheaply. The establishment of free public education, libraries, and lyceums provided ready access to all types of literature. These institutions and the books they supplied were supposed to promote moral and social improvement through learning. The dissemination of such a diverse American literature reflected and shaped the controversies of the antebellum period, such as slavery, the position of women, the expansion and settlement of the West, and the rapid growth and INDUSTRIALIZATION of cities.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell



**Lovejoy, Elijah** (1802–1837) *abolitionist, editor*

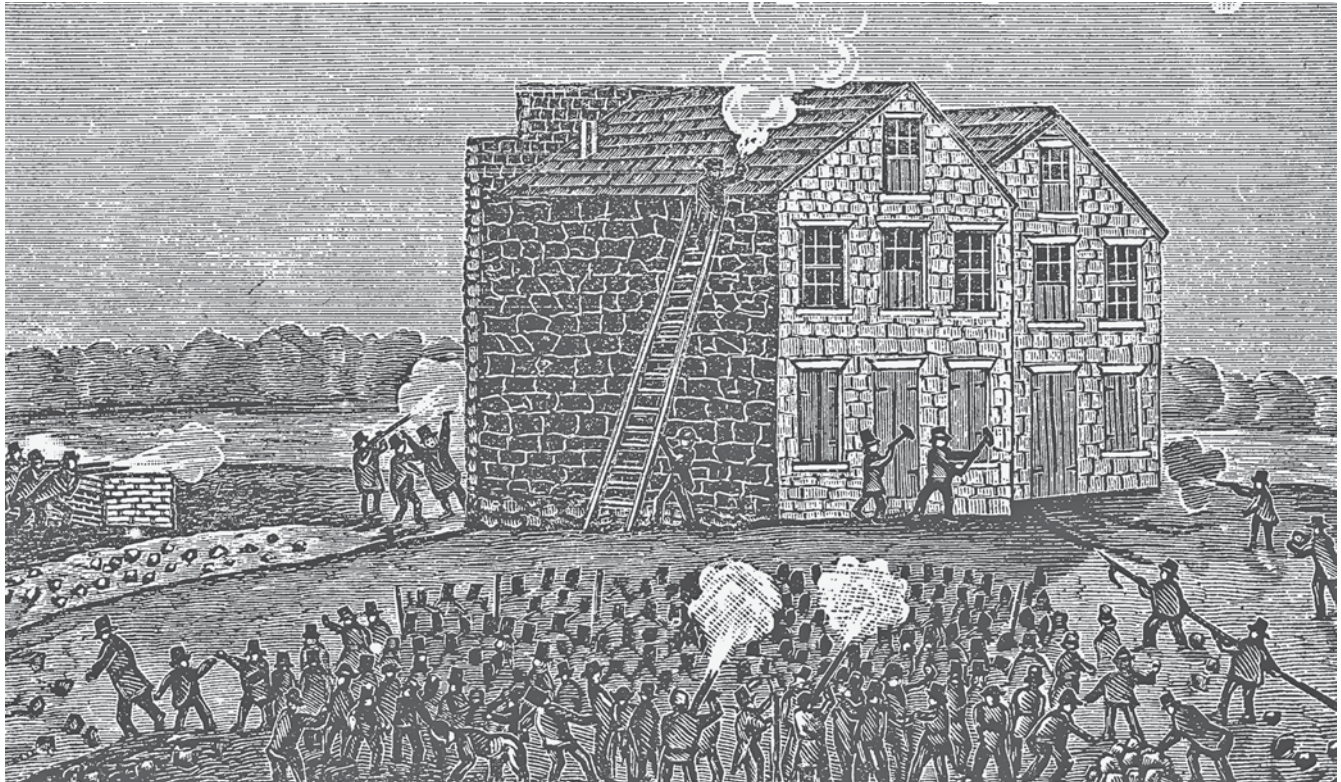
An abolitionist and editor of several antislavery newspapers, Elijah Lovejoy lost his life while guarding one of his presses. Born in Maine in 1802, he graduated from Colby College in 1826, taught school, and in 1827 moved to St. Louis. In 1832, having made the decision to enter the ministry, Lovejoy enrolled in the Princeton Seminary. After receiving his license to preach, he returned to St. Louis to edit the *St. Louis Observer*, the Presbyterian weekly paper. Gradually over the next few years, his editorials in the paper moved from theology to antislavery and the TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT. The St. Louis area was a hostile one for his new principles. Rather than change the content and tone of his writings, in 1836 Lovejoy moved across the Mississippi River to Alton, Illinois.

Illinois was a free state, but its southern and western boundaries were the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and SLAVERY was entrenched on the far side in Kentucky and Missouri. Alton had a strong community of former New Englanders who welcomed Lovejoy's views. It also had a surrounding countryside and a southern reach toward Cairo that supported the institution of slavery and violently opposed any suggestion of greater rights—whether political, economic, or social—for African Americans. Lovejoy changed the name of his paper to the *Alton Observer*

and continued to publish his outspoken views on the evils of slavery.

Lovejoy's struggle to express his increasingly radical views and the appearance of a violent resistance against him came to revolve around his printing press. His first press was seized from the wharf in Alton and dumped into the river. A meeting of local citizens deplored this act and pledged support for another press; at the same time, they were careful to distance themselves from the editor's abolitionist ideas. The views of this meeting seemed to express a consensus of the town: Lovejoy was welcome to publish a newspaper about Presbyterian Church issues; he was at risk when he ventured into the areas of slavery and abolition.

Lovejoy promised to confine his published views to church issues, but he gradually returned to his abolitionist foundations. On July 4, 1837, he printed an editorial that called for a meeting of antislavery followers in the Alton area to form a branch of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. This call reawakened his opposition, and attacks on his newspaper became ever more vehement. The meeting took place, and the new antislavery society was organized in October 1837. As anger and tension rose, Lovejoy's friends urged him to leave Alton, if only temporarily. He refused. The Ohio Anti-Slavery Society promised him another press to continue his work. When the new press



This engraving shows the mob attack on the offices of Elijah P. Lovejoy. (Library of Congress)

arrived on November 7, a riot took place between proslavery and antislavery factions, and in the confusion that followed, Lovejoy was shot and killed. He thus became one of the great martyrs of the ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

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## lumbering

Wood had been an essential commodity to Americans since colonial times, and in the first half of the 19th century lumbering became one of the most important parts of the national economy. Its products were used in virtually every aspect of everyday life, from construction of housing and bridges to nails, hinges, locks, tools, and other household implements. As early as 1839, no less than 84 percent of all personal dwellings were made from wood. A high volume of wood was made into staves, which were used to construct barrels for such perishable items as tobacco, sugar, whiskey, pork, and pickled beef, as well as tar and pitch, which were essential for the naval stores industry. But above all, wood was a cheap and reliable source of energy for home and industrial heating.

By the 1840s the demand for wood increased because of the growth and spread of RAILROADS: Wood was a far easier and cheaper fuel to procure than coal. As late as 1860, the majority of 4,000 locomotives operating in the United States were fired by wood, with only 400 or so powered by coal. Wood was also a vital construction material for railroad ties, railcars, water towers, and bridges.

Not surprisingly, the need for wood grew exponentially with the rising American population. Lumber production rose with demand, expanding from 1.6 million board feet in 1839 to 8 billion board feet by 1859. Not until the 1880s did wood begin to be replaced by iron and stone in the construction industry. Meanwhile, increased mining of coal made that material sufficiently inexpensive to compete with and eventually eclipse wood as a source of fuel.

Initially, there was major lumbering activity in northern New England and the southern coastal states, but the industry drifted westward as supplies of white pine, the most sought-after wood, were exhausted in those regions. By 1839 the center of the industry had relocated to western New York and Pennsylvania, and within a decade lumbermen migrated farther west to exploit the tall timber of the Great Lakes states. By 1840 Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota were the most important sources of wood production in the United States, and they remained the industry locus until the turn of the century.

Lumbering's growth was helped along by the adoption of new technology. Common axes gave way to two-man

crosscut saws, and sawmills began to use water- and steam-powered machinery to cut planks and boards. For many years transportation was limited to shipment by water, which required lumbering operations to be situated near rivers so workers could float log rafts to market. By the 1850s, however, an extensive network of railroads allowed lumbering concerns to arise in relatively remote areas along established railroad lines. In this manner Chicago and other interior cities accessible by railroads became major marketing and wholesale centers for the lumbering industry.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## lyceum movement

The lyceum movement was the first adult-education program in America. It was a major force in American cultural life from the mid-1820s through the 1850s. From its origins in New England, the lyceum concept spread across the nation's northern states and territories, traveling to the West Coast with the movement of the frontier settlers. It influenced the development of public education, fostered such ideas as abolitionism and women's rights, and nurtured the rise of American arts and letters.

Connecticut-born educator Josiah Holbrook (1788–1854) opened the first American lyceum in 1826 in Millbury, Massachusetts. Holbrook aimed to use lectures and debates to bring new ideas—both philosophical and practical—to members of his own community. The name and, to some extent, the concept was based on Aristotle's famous Lyceum in ancient Athens. Holbrook hoped that his lyceum would become a study group that would meet on a regular basis and allow all members to teach one another and share learning experiences. He believed that learning should continue through the course of a lifetime and that no social factor such as class, gender, age, profession, or lack of previous education should be permitted to stop that process.

Holbrook's lyceum was so successful that local lyceums began to spring up throughout Massachusetts. In 1831, he formed the National American Lyceum, which encouraged the development of local lyceum groups, first in New England and later across the country. By 1834, there were an estimated 3,000 lyceums in the United States. Some were set

up under the aegis of Holbrook's national organization, but many more were independent groups. The National American Lyceum closed in 1839, but the lyceum movement itself continued to grow. Holbrook toured the country, speaking about and gaining favor for his ideas until his death in 1854.

Many lyceums soon began to offer lectures given by outside speakers, de-emphasizing the mutual learning model envisioned by Holbrook. The speakers initially worked for little or no money, but as demand for their services grew, their fees rose. It was as difficult then as it is now to support oneself by one's pen, and men and women of letters quickly realized that the speaking fees offered by lyceums could make up a crucial component of their income. RALPH WALDO EMERSON, HENRY DAVID THOREAU, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Frederick Douglass, and many more of the leading intellectual lights of the day made lecture tours on the lyceum circuit. It was a common practice for writers to "test-market" their latest poems or philosophical ideas on lyceum audiences before attempting to publish them. Inevitably, booking agencies sprang up to

place speakers in the lyceum venues, whose numbers had grown to perhaps 5,000 nationwide by 1839.

The lyceum movement remained forceful throughout the 1850s, but the turmoil brought by the Civil War forced many local lyceums to close. The movement never regained its strength once the war was over, although individual lyceums continued to thrive in subsequent decades. The lyceum movement did raise public expectations for educational opportunities for both adults and youths, and these expectations encouraged communities to establish public schools, libraries, publicly supported museums, endowed lecture series, university extension courses, home-study programs, and the Chautauqua movement of the 1870s.

**Further reading:** Carl Bode, *The American Lyceum; Town Meeting of the Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952); Malcolm Knowles, *The Adult Education Movement in the United States* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962).

—Mary Kay Linge



# M



## **Magoffin, James W.** (1799–1868) *trader, spy*

James Wiley Magoffin was a successful Santa Fe trader, a spy in the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, and the founder of El Paso. Magoffin was born in Harrodsburg, Kentucky, in 1799, although little else is known of his early years. He was apparently active in trade along the SANTA FE TRAIL, and in 1824 he was dispatched by boat to serve as the American consul in Tampico, Mexico. Magoffin managed to survive a shipwreck in Matagorda Bay before taking up residence there, and over the next decade he married a Mexican woman and established a lucrative mercantile business. When the TEXAS REVOLUTION began in 1836, he relocated his family from Saltillo to Chihuahua City and resumed his thriving business activities in the Santa Fe trade. In time Magoffin became prominent in local politics and was hailed as “Don Santiago” by his neighbors.

In 1844 Magoffin moved his family to Independence, Missouri, where he maintained two wagon trains in the Santa Fe trade. In 1846 he tendered his services to General STEPHEN W. KEARNY in the Mexican-American War (1846–48). His knowledge of northern Mexico proved extremely useful, and it was apparently a clandestine meeting with Governor MANUEL ARMIJO, his wife’s cousin, that induced the governor to abandon New Mexico without firing a shot. Magoffin subsequently worked as a spy for General John E. Wool in Chihuahua, but he was caught and imprisoned for the remainder of the war. In 1849 Magoffin received a secret payment of \$30,000 from the United States government for his intelligence work.

After the war Magoffin attempted to resume his trading activities in Mexico, but he found the business environment too hostile. In 1849 he consequently settled on the American side of the Rio Grande and established a settlement he called Magoffinville, better known as El Paso. His impressive hacienda, where he regularly entertained army officers and business officials, became a prominent local landmark. Magoffin also enlarged his business empire by expanding into agriculture, freighting, and merchandising

and by serving as sutler to nearby Fort Bliss. In 1861 he threw his support behind the Confederacy, and the following year he supported the southern campaign to conquer New Mexico. After the Civil War, Magoffin withdrew with the defeated Confederates. He took up residence in San Antonio, where he died in relative obscurity on September 27, 1868.

**Further reading:** Christine Preston, Douglas J. Preston, and Jose A. Esquibel, *The Royal Road: El Camino Real from Mexico City to Santa Fe* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); W. H. Timmons, *James Wiley Magoffin: Don Santiago, El Paso Pioneer* (El Paso: Texas Western University Press, 1999).

—John C. Fredriksen

## **Maine Law** (1851)

The Maine Law was an early attempt at prohibition. The territory of Maine possessed a strong temperance streak, and as early as 1815 the city of Portland boasted the Total Abstinence Society, the world’s first. The religious revival movement known as the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING only increased public awareness and support for prohibition. Many middle-class Protestants grew alarmed by the rapid effects that the Industrial Revolution and increased IMMIGRATION brought to their new state. The Irish and Germans, culturally heavy drinkers and usually consigned to low-wage menial jobs, were singled out as examples of who or what behavior to avoid.

In time, the state’s prohibition campaign crystallized around Neal Dow, a former Quaker who had organized the Maine Temperance Union in 1838. Through his ceaseless agitation, his native city of Portland adopted a citywide prohibition of all alcoholic beverages in 1842, which passed by a two-to-one margin. Four years later, Dow spearheaded a petition drive that collected 4,000 signatures on a 59-foot-long petition, which he delivered to the state legislature.

This document called for no less than a complete statewide ban on all alcoholic substances in amounts of less than 28 gallons, a quantity too costly for most people to afford.

But the defining moment in Maine's temperance efforts happened in 1851, when Dow was elected mayor of Portland. He used his political clout with the state legislature to have them pass the so-called Maine Law on May 31. Subsequently signed by Governor John Hubbard on June 2, 1851, this statute was the first law in the nation to expressly forbid the ownership or consumption of alcoholic beverages other than for medicinal purposes. Moreover, the law granted state authorities the right of search and seizure following the complaint of three citizens. The Maine Law exerted immediate national influence. By 1855 all of the New England states were likewise "dry," and similar laws were put on the books in New York, Michigan, Indiana, Iowa, and Delaware, along with the Minnesota and Nebraska territories.

In Maine, however, the law's popularity declined following the so-called Portland Rum Riot of June 2, 1855, when Mayor Dow called in the militia to suppress an anti-prohibition protest and an Irish immigrant was killed. Consequently, the Maine Law was repealed in 1856 with little ceremony, although minor restrictions on alcohol remained. By 1861, when only Maine, Vermont, and Connecticut had prohibition laws of any kind still in effect, temperance as a national issue had been completely overtaken by secession. Still, Maine's experience in the 1850s was a precursor of what would happen nationally with the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1920.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## Manifest Destiny

Throughout the first half of the 19th century, it was the ambition of both U.S. citizens and the federal government to expand the nation's borders west to the Pacific, north into present-day Canada, and south to the Rio Grande. In July 1845, John O'Sullivan, editor and publisher of the pro-Democratic Party *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, gave this American expansionist urge a name and an ideological definition: Manifest Destiny. This was the belief that the United States had the divinely ordained responsibility to expand its borders across the entire North American continent and, in the process, to spread its democratic principle and its Christian civilization to less-developed and unenlightened people.

O'Sullivan represented the pro-expansionist wing of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, commonly referred to as the "Young America" Movement. In his newspaper he published the works of Walt Whitman, Edgar Allan Poe, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, among others, and trumpeted the Democratic cause. In his 1839 treatise, "The Great Nation of Futurity," O'Sullivan declared that the young republic was "the nation of human progress," and he arrogantly queried, "who will, what can, set limits to our onward march?" Six years later, in "Annexation," a manifesto demanding that the U.S. government annex the independent state of TEXAS, he was even more blatant in his declaration. He argued that it was America's "Manifest Destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions." Yet Texas, according to O'Sullivan, was not enough; CALIFORNIA, he insisted, was also the just right of U.S. conquest.

Inspired by this mission statement, Americans continued to pursue expansion with both impressive zeal and ruthless violence. O'Sullivan and other pro-expansionists found a willing agent to carry out their aims in Democratic president JAMES K. POLK, who was elected to the nation's high office in 1844. Polk echoed O'Sullivan's desires, asserting that "The jurisdiction of our laws and the benefits of our republican institutions should be extended" to American settlers who had staked claims in western territory beyond current U.S. dominion. With Polk as its chief proponent, what Manifest Destiny meant in terms of national policy was a near-war with Great Britain over the Oregon Territory and a two-year war with Mexico.

Although tension existed between the United States and Great Britain over the territory of Oregon since the Americans had acquired portions of it from Russia in the 1820s, both nations had accepted joint occupancy of it. However, in the early 1840s, pressure was brought to bear on the U.S. government to claim the territory for its own by an increasing number of Oregon settlers. After assuming office in 1845, President Polk took up the Oregon cause and sought to claim all of Oregon below the 54th parallel (54° 40') solely of the United States. Despite shouts of "Fifty-four forty or fight" from such extreme expansionists as Missouri senator THOMAS HART BENTON, Polk resisted armed conflict and sought a diplomatic solution. Although negotiations between the two nations were at times thorny and precarious, peace was maintained through the OREGON TREATY OF 1846. The United States agreed to the establishment of the 49th parallel as the permanent U.S.-Canada border. In exchange for this concession, the Americans allowed the British to keep control of Vancouver Island.

Although the situation with Britain was resolved short of war, no such compromise could be reached between the United States and Mexico over Polk's claims for territory that Mexico called its own. His justification for armed con-

flict was the U.S. annexation of Texas, which the Mexican government bitterly contested. The 1836 defeat of General ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA's Mexican army by the forces of SAM HOUSTON secured Texas's independence from Mexico. By 1845 Texans were seeking annexation, and Polk and Congress obliged, disregarding Mexico's protests. The federal government annexed Texas out of expansionist desires; concerns about foreign influence, namely the British; and to further provoke Mexico into a military encounter. This was because Polk had larger designs than Texas. He was determined to acquire, by force if necessary, large portions of northern Mexico, including the territory of California and what would become New Mexico. Although the Mexican government refused to recognize Texas's annexation, it also refused direct military confrontation with its belligerent and aggressive neighbor to the north. Nevertheless, using as provocation the dispute with Mexico over Texas and a dubious act of Mexican military aggression, the United States invaded its southern neighbor in May 1846. After a string of victories, U.S. troops pushed easily down to Mexico City and forced the Mexican government to surrender, ending the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR. According to the terms of the TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO (1848), Mexico ceded to the U.S. two-fifths of its territory (including Texas, California, and New Mexico) for \$15 million. Whether they wanted it or not, the inhabitants of these lands were incorporated into the United States.

The victory over Mexico only whetted the American appetite for territory. Bolstered by its success on the southern border, the federal government shifted its manifest-destiny ambitions in other directions. Expansionists began to covet lands beyond the North American continent and turned their attention toward Central America and the Caribbean. CUBA, for example, was, by the 1840s, a sought-after gem for pro-expansionists like O'Sullivan. A like-minded Polk, who was not completely satisfied with the acquisitions from Mexico and Great Britain, offered Spain as much as \$100 million for the archipelago in 1848. The Spanish rejected his offer, and France and Britain diplomatically blocked it. President Franklin Pierce made a similar offer to the Spanish government for Cuba and even threatened the use of force to compel the sale. He withdrew this intimidating offer, however, because of negative domestic public reaction. Pierce's successor, President James Buchanan, also supported the acquisition of Cuba and urged Congress to pass a bill for its purchase. Only the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 put the issue of Cuba to rest. Lincoln opposed any purchase because he thought it part of a southern states' plot to extend slavery beyond its current borders.

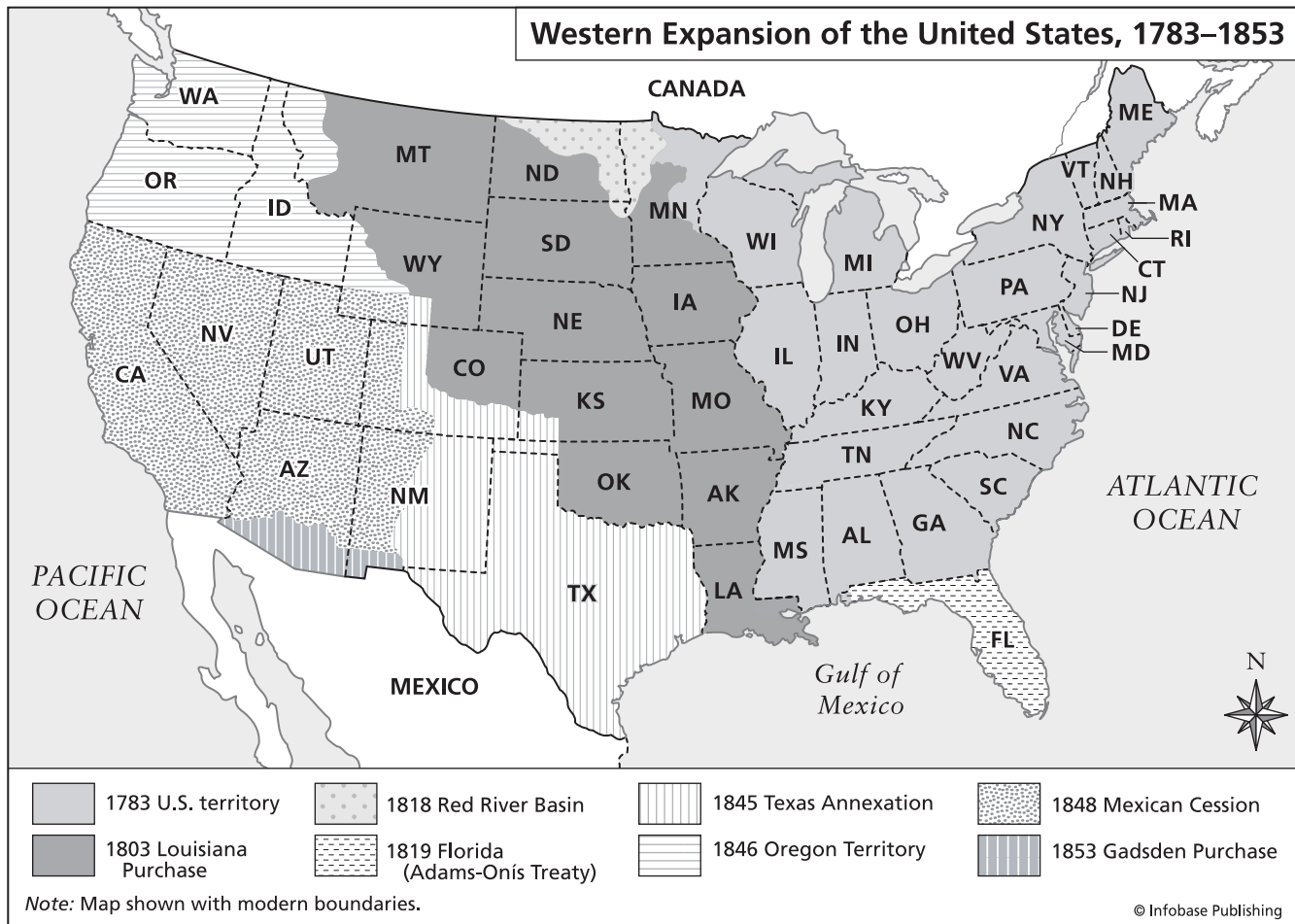
The expansionist lust of some Americans spurred them on to seek territory in the Caribbean and Central America as private enterprises. During the early 1850s, these adven-



This engraving depicts an American settlement with school, church, and a railroad train, ca. 1868 (*Library of Congress*)

turesome Americans, also called "filibusters," attempted to invade and conquer Cuba, Nicaragua, and even parts of Mexico. Ardent proslavery southerners who professed the doctrine of Manifest Destiny, these filibusters hoped to increase the power and influence of the slave states through conquest. None of the private filibuster expeditions was successful, including an attempted invasion of Cuba in 1850 by, among others, John L. O'Sullivan. The ruthless Tennessean William Walker was able to seize control of and rule the rudderless Nicaragua periodically between 1855 and 1860. In 1856, the Pierce administration even briefly recognized one of Walker's Nicaraguan governments before it collapsed. Four years later, Walker was executed by the government of Honduras for his filibustering. Despite the filibusters' failures to seize new lands and U.S. presidents to buy them, Americans hungered for much of what they saw south of Mexico throughout the remainder of the century.

U.S. expansionist desires and Manifest Destiny was not restricted to the Western Hemisphere. In an effort to establish a presence in the Pacific, promote commerce, find coaling stations and protect shipwrecked American sailors, President Pierce sent U.S. Navy Commodore MATTHEW CALBRAITH PERRY to "open" Japan. In 1853, four U.S. warships, two of them intimidating, steam-powered vessels that belched black smoke, dropped anchor off the coast of Japan. Perry's efforts and determination to fulfill his orders produced a commercial trade treaty with Japan in 1854. The Tokugawa Shogunate rulers of Japan capitulated to Perry's demands because of superior U.S. military power. They also hoped to avoid the humiliating domination several European powers exercised over other Asian nations like India and China. The opening of Japan was only a beginning of direct U.S. interest in Asia and the Pacific.



With the outbreak of the Civil War at Fort Sumter in 1861, U.S. expansionism took secondary importance as Americans became consumed with this costly, bloody, and tragic domestic crisis. However, manifest-destiny sentiments were only temporarily replaced by this more immediate concern. Following the defeat of the Confederacy in 1865, the U.S. government once again returned to an expansionist foreign policy. For the next half-century and beyond, the concept of Manifest Destiny encouraged U.S. commercial and territorial desires well beyond national borders and onto the global stage. It provided the battle cry for the 1898 Spanish-American War, legitimized the seizure of the HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, justified the colonization of the Philippine Islands, and motivated continued economic domination and political manipulation in Latin America. At the close of the 19th century, the pro-expansionist Republican senator Albert J. Beveridge, drawing on the ideas of John L. O'Sullivan, argued for U.S. empire. According to the bellicose senator, "[God] has marked the American people as his chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world" and "[t]his is the divine mission

of America." In 1898, as the United States was embarking on a war with Spain, President William McKinley was more direct in his reference to O'Sullivan, arguing that U.S. expansion into the Pacific and Asia "is Manifest Destiny."

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—Charles Hawley

**Mann, Horace** (1796–1859) *education reformer*

As an educational reformer, Horace Mann was responsible for improving the educational system in the antebellum United States. He was born on his family farm in



Franklin, Massachusetts, on May 4, 1796. The product of a strict Puritan upbringing, his education proved episodic, although he displayed a great aptitude for learning. Mann disliked farming, so he prevailed upon his mother to hire personal tutors to study geometry, Greek, and Latin. Consequently, in 1816 he gained admittance to prestigious Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island. He graduated with honors three years later and, after serving as a tutor and librarian at Brown, subsequently studied law under Tapping Reeve in Litchfield, Connecticut.

Mann was admitted to the Boston bar in 1823 and gained election to the General Court of Massachusetts (the state legislature) four years later. In this capacity he quickly established himself as an activist Whig reformer, championing prison reform and better treatment for the mentally retarded. In concert with DOROTHEA DIX, he created the state's first mental hospital. Mann was also active in promoting the TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT through moral suasion, and in 1831 he sponsored the state's first liquor-licensing regulations. However, it was in the field of EDUCATION reform, an area in which he had previously displayed little interest, that Mann exerted his biggest influence.

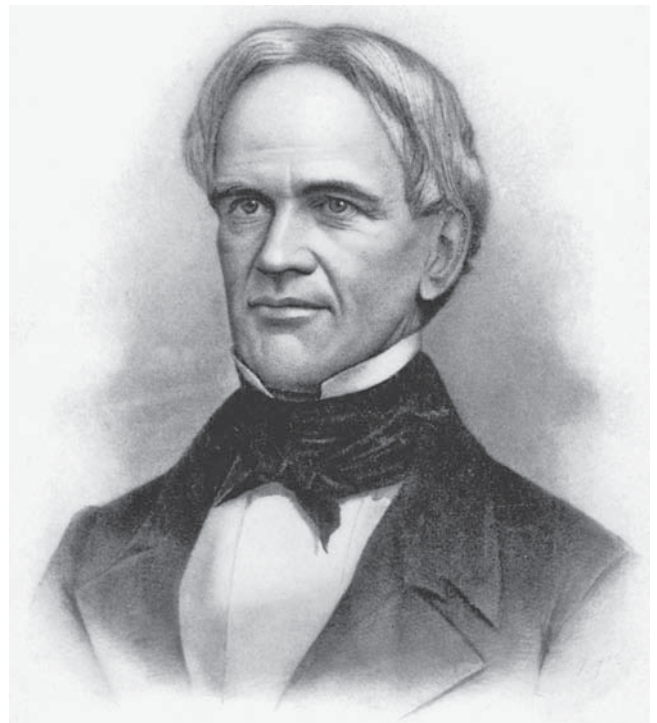
As a legislator, Mann had become aware that barely a third of school-age children in Massachusetts received any instruction. The public-school system was in a shambles and generally avoided by families affluent enough to afford private academics. Moreover, the curriculum was either outdated or imperfectly taught, and the buildings themselves were usually dilapidated. In 1837, Mann pushed through legislation creating the Massachusetts School Board of Education, for which he resigned from politics to become secretary. It was Mann's belief from the start that common schools, as public institutions, could serve as a great equalizer for all classes, extending positive influences into fields of morality and social mobility. As such, he placed great emphasis on teacher education, creating three of the first normal schools to train teachers in the nation. Moreover, he standardized the curriculum, spent state money on a variety of instructional texts, and doubled the wages of teachers. Mann was also the first educator to recognize the importance of personal hygiene and physical fitness. As a result, Massachusetts students became the first to spend one hour each day either studying or practicing these topics. Most important of all, Mann formally extended the school year to six months and made it compulsory for all Massachusetts children.

Mann toured his state incessantly and lectured public officials on the direct connection between public learning and public morality. As a reflection of his treatment of education as a profession, he compiled and published annual education reports that statistically reflected progress and anticipated problems statewide. He also founded the *Common School Journal*, one of the earliest educational peri-

odicals, and served as its editor for a decade. During his tenure no less than 50 new public schools were founded, replete with new textbooks and school libraries. Through all these expedients, Mann single-handedly revolutionized both the quality and the concept of public education in America. He made an indelible impact on the educational process in Massachusetts for over a decade, with dramatic and sustainable results. His methods were also exported to other states and abroad to other countries, granting him considerable renown.

In 1848 Mann resigned from the educational board to run for the U.S. House of Representatives as a Whig. He was elected and proved a vocal opponent of the extension of slavery. However, Mann was unprepared for the enmity this stance engendered, and in 1852 he declined to run again. That year he made an unsuccessful bid to become governor of Massachusetts as a FREE-SOIL PARTY candidate. Afterwards, he accepted the presidency of Antioch College in Ohio. Mann applied himself vigorously to his charge and was active in creating a curriculum and teaching program. He further distinguished himself among contemporaries by insisting on equal treatment for female students. However, the school failed financially and was ultimately sold.

Mann died of exhaustion in Ohio on August 2, 1858, only two weeks after exhorting Antioch's graduating class to win "some victory for humanity." His strong belief in



Horace Mann (Hulton/Archive)



the virtues of public education, coupled with an unyielding determination to enhance it for the benefit of all citizens, established him as an influential social reformer of the 19th century.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### marriage and family life

Few social institutions were of greater importance to antebellum Americans than marriage and family. Though the United States was comprised of different cultural groups holding different beliefs, the basic family structure was valued by many of these communities. Marriage is basically a contractual agreement between consenting individuals, but the individual roles assigned to man and wife were closely prescribed and virtually unalterable from a legal standpoint. States, which had a vested interest in the survival and regulation of marriage, concocted legislation to reinforce existing norms.

Several hundred Native American nations existed in North America in the 19th century, and each held a set of culturally specific beliefs about family. Family was defined by reference to the taboos, rights, privileges, and respect owed to members of an individual's household, clan, moiety, or band. Residency patterns emphasized the expansive nature of such kinship systems. While husbands and wives in some northern and western nations maintained their own homes, most Native American households consisted of extended family groups, including married couples and their brothers, sisters, parents, cousins, and children. Some cultures allowed men to marry several wives; a handful permitted women to do the same in reverse. Multiple marriages were usually a sign of a household's high status or rank, indicating the family's wealth as well as its obligation to provide hospitality and support to others in the community. Child care was usually a shared responsibility. Among the nomadic bands of the northern plains, for example, grandparents took particular responsibility for childcare, freeing their own adult sons and daughters to engage in the labor necessary to maintain the economic health of the nation.

Clan membership linked men and women together across household and community lines. Individuals were

prohibited from marrying members of their own clan, so each household would contain representatives from at least two. Clan obligation resulted in a network of father and mother figures in every child's life. Among matrilineal societies such as the Hopi of the Southwest, for example, children traced their clan membership through their mother. While their biological father had a significant place in their life, children considered their mother's brothers of equal importance, especially in learning clan-appropriate behavior.

For most Native American groups, kinship was not limited to relationships between humans. The physical world in which communities existed, the animal and plant life found there, elements such as wind and water, and manifestations of the spiritual world were frequently addressed in kinship terms such as father, mother, grandparent, or cousin. Taboos, traditions, and rites governed these relationships as much as those between the human members of an individual's nation.

Kinship practices became a major source of conflict between Euro- and Native Americans as the 19th century progressed. (This despite the fact that Europeans and Native Americans had been intermarrying on the frontier for at least two centuries with little fanfare, and that their offspring, steeped in either culture, invariably enjoyed useful employment as translators and facilitators.) To many non-Indians, the observation of extended kinship, the recognition of obligation beyond the nuclear family, and female-centered households represented moral, economic, and political disorder. Missionaries, government officials, and voluntary organizations all considered the reorganization of family structures to be central to "civilizing" Native Americans. These groups brought pressure to bear on Native communities through the establishment of churches and schools, the provision of domestic goods and agricultural equipment in treaty settlements, and the administrative regulations of government agencies. These efforts would culminate in the Dawes Act of 1887, which divided reservations into individual parcels of land to be distributed to households that reflected Euro-American definitions of "family." Many Native kinship systems were drastically disrupted by such practices, yet family also became the locus of resistance and cultural continuity. The recognition of extended kinship ties and responsibilities survives among Native communities to this day.

For enslaved men and women, the creation and maintenance of family was a complex endeavor. Anglo-American law classified slaves as property, lacking the legal capacity to enter into contracts. Committed relationships between enslaved men and women were therefore never recognized as marriage by law. Without this legal protection, parents and children could be sold or traded away from

one another without any consideration to family ties. Working and living conditions compounded the difficulty of this situation. Many parents lived on neighboring but separate farms and plantations. Enslaved women were often the targets of sexual abuse by the men who owned them, and their children were considered slaves even if the father was free. Poor nutrition and heavy labor during pregnancy caused many women to miscarry, while numerous children died in infancy for want of food and medical care. Those children who survived were put to work at a very young age.

Yet enslaved men and women resisted the attempts of individuals and institutions from outside the slave community to define (or undermine) their idea of family. Enslaved families were variously united through African tradition, Christian belief, and the everyday exchange of neighborly obligation and support. Blood relations, sexual companions, neighbors, and friends could all be counted as family, and kinship traced through mothers as much as fathers. Customs such as “jumping the broom” solemnized marital relationships even as federal or state law denied their legality. Family provided enslaved Americans with the opportunity to forge an identity separate from that ascribed to them by the law. These kinship ties would ultimately survive the rigors of the institution that bound them and sustain the African-American community through the dislocations of the Civil War and the national upheaval that marked Reconstruction.

Interracial marriages were another point of contention in the highly charged racial atmosphere of 19th-century America. Such unions were far from rare in places such as French and Spanish Louisiana, where little stigma was attached among the Creole population. As the century progressed, however, more and more states forbade interracial unions, and antiscegenation legislation reached its peak during Reconstruction. Farther west, similar state statutes were adopted to prevent black-white and Indian-white marriages, as well as marriages between whites and newly arrived Asians. In 1855 Congress joined the rising tide of intolerance by passing a law that granted citizenship to all foreign women who married American men, provided that they were neither of African nor Asian descent.

For free people, Anglo-American common law governed the form and function of family life and prescribed specific responsibilities for husbands and wives. Upon marriage, women surrendered most of their legal capabilities to their husbands. Husbands controlled their wives' property, any income they earned, their ability to sue, their ability to contract, and sexual access to their body. Wives who committed a crime, signed premarital agreements, had trusts created in their name, or appealed to a court with equity jurisdiction could find exceptions to this general rule. In the words of English jurist Sir William Blackstone, however, a wife was ideally considered to be under the legal

“wing, protection, and *cover*” of her husband during marriage. Men, in turn, were expected to provide economic support to their wives, and act as their representatives in political matters.

Throughout the 19th century, courtship rituals were an essential precursor to legal union. In middle-class white culture, courtship entailed the notion of romantic love and wooing, but overt sexual relations were deplored. Contact between males and females, when it occurred at all, took place in a controlled setting with little opportunity for intimacy. This was a radical change from earlier notions of sex: In colonial and 18th-century America, one in three brides was pregnant. For most of the 1800s, restraints on sexual contact reduced the number of pregnant brides to roughly one in five. Parents played a small but significant part in the process, as it was usually deemed necessary for the would-be groom to get the approval of the bride-to-be's father. Courtship involved the newly developed practice of giving an engagement ring to one's betrothed and the now-common bridal custom of wearing a white veil and gown during the marriage ceremony. Urban and southern whites were less likely to observe any of these formalities, however. More frequently than their peers elsewhere in the United States, unmarried couples engaged in public displays of affection that culminated in common-law marriage.

Marriage was meant to be a lifetime contract. While divorce did exist within the American legal system, it was not intended to remedy general unhappiness. Instead, the law's function was to protect “innocent” husbands and wives from moral or physical abuse by their partners. A husband or wife who committed adultery, for example, was considered to have revealed their fundamentally immoral character. As such, it was only proper that their blameless spouse should be able to petition for a divorce, and dissolve the connection between them. Should both partners commit adultery, however, their moral characters were considered equally blemished, and their petition for divorce was likely to be denied. Couples who actively worked together to try and arrange the dissolution of their marriage were similarly penalized. Collusion was one of the primary reasons that legislatures and judges turned down petitions for divorce.

Faced with an inflexible legal system, many husbands and wives chose to separate rather than seek a divorce. Separation was a common occurrence for even the happiest couples in the 19th century, as war, financial crises, and the search for work forced many husbands and wives to spend months, even years, apart. For couples who had come to the conclusion that they could not happily live together, however, separation offered relief where the law could not. Some spouses fled, abandoning their families to move to a different state and begin again. Others did their best to formalize the process through separation agreements, docu-

ments that were generally unenforceable at law but laid out the terms and conditions by which unhappy husbands and wives would try to live. Such agreements often contained financial provisions and made custodial arrangements for children.

Over time the American legal system did make room for formal changes in the institution of marriage. From 1839 onward, states and territories passed a series of married women's property acts, allowing women to retain ownership of their property even after marriage. These acts were not intended to equalize the position of men and women within marriage but to offer some relief to families hit hard by the PANIC OF 1837. By allowing a married woman to own property separately from her husband, legislators prevented a wife's assets from being seized to pay for her husband's debts. Over the course of the 19th century, divorce also became easier to obtain, with states such as Indiana and Utah gaining a reputation for allowing couples to divorce on a whim. While the reality was less titillating, many states and territories did add to the grounds on which couples could petition for the dissolution of their marriage. South Carolina, however, did not sanction divorce until 1868.

Anglo-American law dealt with ideals. Marriage was the taking up of specific responsibilities—the knowing adoption of privileges and obligations, one with the other. Wives were ideally dependent on their husbands, husbands ideally provided for their wives, and once married, they were faithful to one another. Marriage was intended to last for a lifetime, and children were meant to be born within its protective bounds. This legal ideal reflected and supported popular Victorian culture, which idealized the domesticity of women and the economic and political accomplishments of men. It remained, however, a model. For the vast majority of free Americans, it did not describe their daily life.

While husbands and wives regularly adopted different responsibilities within marriage, those obligations were not discrete. In rural America, for example, men and women carried out their marital responsibilities in the same physical space. The house in which women cooked, washed, spun cloth, made soap, and raised children was the same house in which men conducted trade and managed the farm. Husbands, wives, and children were also likely to work alongside each other in planting, raising, and harvesting crops. In the cities, factory owners employed men and women in separate spaces for different tasks, but the low wages earned by most working men made it impossible for them to support a wife and family on their own. The work of maintaining the family economy was a collective venture, dependent on the wages earned by wives and children as well as husbands. The comforts of home were unlikely to be a poorer woman's primary concern. Even if she pos-

sessed the inclination to attain the standards of housekeeping lauded by Victorian culture, her home was likely to be a space shared with other families, without easy access to water, the benefit of a functioning sewer system, or the most basic concepts of privacy.

For wealthier Americans, especially members of the new industrial middle class, husbands and wives did occupy seemingly separate worlds. It was a mark of prestige for a husband to be able to earn enough money for his wife and children to stay out of the workforce. Creating and maintaining social prestige was a joint venture, however, reinforced by the labor of wives within their households. Wives stretched their husbands' financial contributions by their housekeeping skills, and reinforced the reputation of their families as members of the "leisure class" by their modes of dress, fashion, home decoration, and entertainment. While these activities were labor intensive, and helped create and maintain a family's high social status, they were rarely considered "work." As America became more and more industrialized, work became synonymous with earning wages, and the labor of wives within the home was increasingly ignored.

Many journalists, educators, members of religious organizations, and everyday middle-class men and women acknowledged there to be a crisis of the family in the 19th century. Birth rates fell, divorce rates rose, middle-class women agitated for the right to enter professions rather than confine themselves to the home, and the practice of POLYGAMY was adopted by the CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS in 1843. Despite these fears, however, monogamous marriage continued to be the defining act of adulthood for millions of Americans. Family remained important to every community, defined in different times and places in vastly different ways, but in each instance providing the most basic building block upon which society was founded, both for good and for ill.

The rights and obligations of marriage, as disadvantageous as they were to women, did not remain fixed throughout the 19th century. As more and more middle-class women became active in such reforming crusades as temperance and abolition, there arose a cry to end coverture and allow for greater equity in marriage. In 1848 the SENECA FALLS Women's Rights Convention promulgated its "Declaration of Sentiments," which protested, among other things, the "civilly dead" status of married women. Elizabeth Cady Stanton agitated loudly against women's second-class status in matrimony, which she maintained amounted to little more than slavery, and in 1848 she convinced the New York legislature to pass laws protecting women's property from their husbands' creditors, while simultaneously recognizing women's right to manage that property. The drive for equality gained traction as the decades passed, and by 1865 no fewer than 29 states had

passed laws allowing wives to legally own property in their own names. But the smothering patriarchal imbalance inherent in married life would not be fully addressed by legislatures and courts until the 20th century.

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—Catherine J. Denial

**Mason, Richard B.** (1797–1850) *military officer, governor of California*

Richard Barnes Mason was the military governor of CALIFORNIA at the time of the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH. Born in Fairfax County, Virginia, on January 16, 1797, Mason was a grandson of the noted constitutional scholar George Mason. He joined the U.S. Army as a second lieutenant in 1817 and made the military his lifelong career.

In 1832 Mason commanded an infantry company during the BLACK HAWK WAR. He gained the reputation as a capable and honest military administrator, but also a draconian disciplinarian. In 1833 he was promoted to major in the newly created 1st U.S. Dragoons, the army's first cavalry unit since the WAR OF 1812. This was considered the army's elite organization, and selection to command in it was a mark of distinction. In this capacity Mason accompanied many dragoon expeditions into the southern plains to impress upon tribes living there the military power of the United States. Afterward he commanded Fort Gibson in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) for many years.

In 1846 Mason was ordered to New York on recruiting service, and that June he was promoted to colonel of the regiment. He soon set sail on a naval vessel to California, where he was to relieve General STEPHEN W. KEARNY, formerly his regimental superior. Mason arrived in California in November 1846 to find the province in political turmoil. Though the United States had technically conquered California six months earlier, American political authority there had been shattered in a dispute between Kearny and Colonel JOHN C. FRÉMONT, who also claimed to be governor. In May 1847, after the two feuding officers had left

California to settle their dispute, Mason was appointed to replace them as both civil and military governor.

Mason took a conservative approach to governance and allowed the Mexican system of *alcaldes* (municipal officials) to administer affairs at the local level, although he appointed the majority of them. But governance became greatly complicated by the gold rush of 1849, which prompted a large influx of fortune hunters. The American inhabitants clamored for a civil administration, and his adjutant, Lieutenant Henry W. Halleck, had actually drawn up a law code for the territory. But Mason was reluctant to impose any code of law without congressional approval. Congress, meanwhile, was grappling with whether to even allow California into the Union as a free state, so it never addressed the issue of civilian rule during Mason's two-year tenure. At length he was replaced by Colonel Bennett Riley and ordered to Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. Mason died there of cholera shortly after his arrival on July 27, 1850, an earnest but essentially flawed military administrator.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society

The Emigrant Aid Society was an organization that promoted organized antislavery immigration to the Kansas territory from the Northeast. It was formed shortly before the Kansas-Nebraska Act became law on May 30, 1854. The opening of these territories to white settlement had long been a controversial subject in Congress as the North and South fought to keep a balance of representation in Washington. As a compromise, the doctrine of POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY was included in the new law, which meant that residents of the territories should be allowed to choose for themselves whether SLAVERY would be permitted when the time for statehood arrived.

There was little question that Nebraska would prohibit slavery, for presumably it was too far north for the institution to survive. The South assumed that Kansas was destined for slavery. However, the early activities of northern abolitionists, who were determined not to let Kansas go by default, spurred both the North and South to send in every settler they could.

In the North, one of the organizations created to encourage abolitionist settlement of Kansas was the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company. Incorporated under the guidance of Eli Thayer of Worcester in April 1854, the company was a venture designed both for benevolence and



moneymaking. Its aims were to secure reduced transportation fares to the West for emigrants traveling in groups organized and directed by the company and to provide temporary accommodations, in the form of boarding or receiving houses, while settlers located and built their own homes. The society also looked to build or buy steam saw and grist mills "and such other machines as shall be of constant service in a new settlement," to aid settlers in building homes and feeding families; and to establish a weekly newspaper in Kansas to act as the voice of the company and be an "index of the love of freedom and of good morals, which it is hoped may characterize the state now to be formed."

In February 1855 a new charter changing the name to the New England Emigrant Aid Company and making organizational improvements was secured. In March the company was reorganized, and business began in earnest as mills were established in Lawrence, Topeka, Manhattan, Osawatomie, Burlington, Wabaunsee, Atchison, Batcheller (now Milford) and Mapleton. In Kansas City, the Gillis House was purchased and renamed the American Hotel. Many other Kansas aid societies were subsequently formed throughout the North (e.g., the Kansas Emigrant Aid Society of Northern Ohio and the New York Kansas League), but the New England group was preeminent in the field, and the name Emigrant Aid Company is associated exclusively with it. Amos A. Lawrence served as treasurer of the company, which, despite its earnest soliciting of the support of clergymen throughout New England, remained in bad financial condition until November 1855, when a notably successful campaign to raise money was launched.

For Thayer, who was vice president of the company, the venture was not only philanthropic but profitable. The company planned to make a profit on its investments by purchasing the land on which its hotels and mills stood and, when settlement had increased and land values correspondingly elevated, selling to the eventual benefit of the stockholders. As stock-subscription agent, he received 10 percent of all the money he collected, provided he gathered \$20,000 or more. Thayer easily exceeded that figure, and by May 1856 the company had received over \$100,000.

The first party sent to Kansas left Massachusetts even before the company had been completely organized. This pioneer party arrived at the site of Lawrence on August 1, 1854. That summer and fall, five other parties arrived in Kansas, bringing the total of aid-company settlers to about 450. The following spring, seven more groups brought about 800 persons. All told, the company sent out an aggregate of 1,250 settlers under agents such as Charles Robinson, who founded Lawrence and other towns in Kansas. Southerners, at first confident that Kansas was safe for slavery, were moved to organize similar, though proslavery, societies of their own. However, such ill-advised actions by

the proslavery societies as the sacking (on May 21, 1856) of the town of Lawrence only stimulated the Kansas aid movement further. Once the territory of Kansas was admitted as a free state, the directors were to dispose of all the company's interests and declare a dividend to the stockholders. The company was then to choose a new area of operation and commence the program again, until another free state had been admitted to the Union.

The backers of the company hoped to raise \$5 million and send 20,000 settlers into Kansas. The plan received wide publicity in the newspapers of Horace Greeley, William Cullen Bryant, Thurlow Weed, and others. The company itself issued descriptive pamphlets, and its advocates toured New England lecturing on the benefits to be derived.

As the company's influence waned, some of its agents remained to continue their active roles in Kansas territorial and early state history. Prominent among them were Charles Robinson, who became the state's first governor; Samuel C. Pomeroy, one of its two initial United States senators; and Martin F. Conway, its first representative in Congress.

In spite of the company's initial spurt of activity, there is some question as to its total contribution toward the settling of Kansas. After June 1855, company emigrant parties became smaller and less frequent. Instead of the \$5 million it hoped to have, the company actually accumulated only about \$190,000. In terms of persons relocated in Kansas, it has been estimated that the company was directly responsible for only about 2,000, of whom perhaps a third returned to the East.

Delegates from 12 states and Kansas convened at Buffalo, New York, in July 1856 and formed a National Kansas Committee. Its goal of establishing Kansas aid committees in every state, county, and town throughout the North was never realized. For one thing, the national committee was divided; one group, in which Amos Lawrence was most conspicuous, advocated peaceful protest against proslavery excesses in Kansas and financial help to the Free Staters; while the other, led by extreme abolitionists such as Gerrit Smith and the Reverend Thomas W. Higginson, urged the creation of state military forces to be used against Union troops in Kansas if necessary. This group also proposed disunion at a convention in Worcester, Massachusetts, in January 1857.

Kansas was admitted to the Union in January 1861, and the following year the stockholders of the New England Emigrant Aid Company ordered that all its properties in Kansas and Missouri be sold. When this was eventually accomplished, the company realized a total of \$16,150, which was just about enough to pay outstanding debts.

After 1861 the company transferred its activities to other areas. In 1864 and 1865, it promoted the migration of



working women to Oregon; and from 1866 to 1868, it was active in settling northerners in Florida. By 1870, however, the company had fallen idle and never again was active in emigrant aid. No more meetings of the stockholders were held until 1897, when an extension of the charter was requested and granted. That year the company presented its single asset—a claim against the U.S. government for loss of the Free-State Hotel at Lawrence in 1856—to the University of Kansas, and for all practical purposes it ceased to exist thereafter. The extended charter expired on February 19, 1907, and the company was no more.

In spite of its financial failure, the principal stockholders seemed well pleased with the results of the society's operations. Under its influence, several important towns were founded, schools were established, churches were built, and the cause of freedom was served. Indeed, there is some evidence that investors purchased stock knowing full well they would never see their money again. Amos A. Lawrence, a principal stockholder and treasurer of the company, had advised his associates not to invest any more than they felt they could afford to lose.

**Further reading:** Samuel A. Johnson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom, The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1954).

**McCormick, Cyrus Hall** (1809–1884) *inventor of the mechanical reaper*

Cyrus Hall McCormick was the inventor of the world's first effective mechanical reaper, which helped to transform American AGRICULTURE. He was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, on February 15, 1809. His father owned a large farm and had invented some minor farm machinery, although without commercial success. McCormick, the product of a stern Presbyterian upbringing, enjoyed little formal education, but he proved adept in mechanical tinkering. In 1831, his talents manifested themselves in the creation of a hillside plow for uneven ground. That same year also gave rise to the famous McCormick reaper, a horse-drawn device that allowed wheat and other grains to be harvested mechanically and with greater efficiency. Over the next few years, McCormick continued improving on his device and sold several units to neighboring farms. In 1836, he acquired the Cotopaxi Iron Works and discontinued small-scale manufacturing in favor of other pursuits. However, when the ensuing PANIC OF 1837 drove McCormick's firm into bankruptcy, he resumed perfecting his reaper. This was accomplished over the objection of Obed Hussey, who had invented a similar machine, and resulted in a long series of bitterly disputed court actions. Ultimately, the

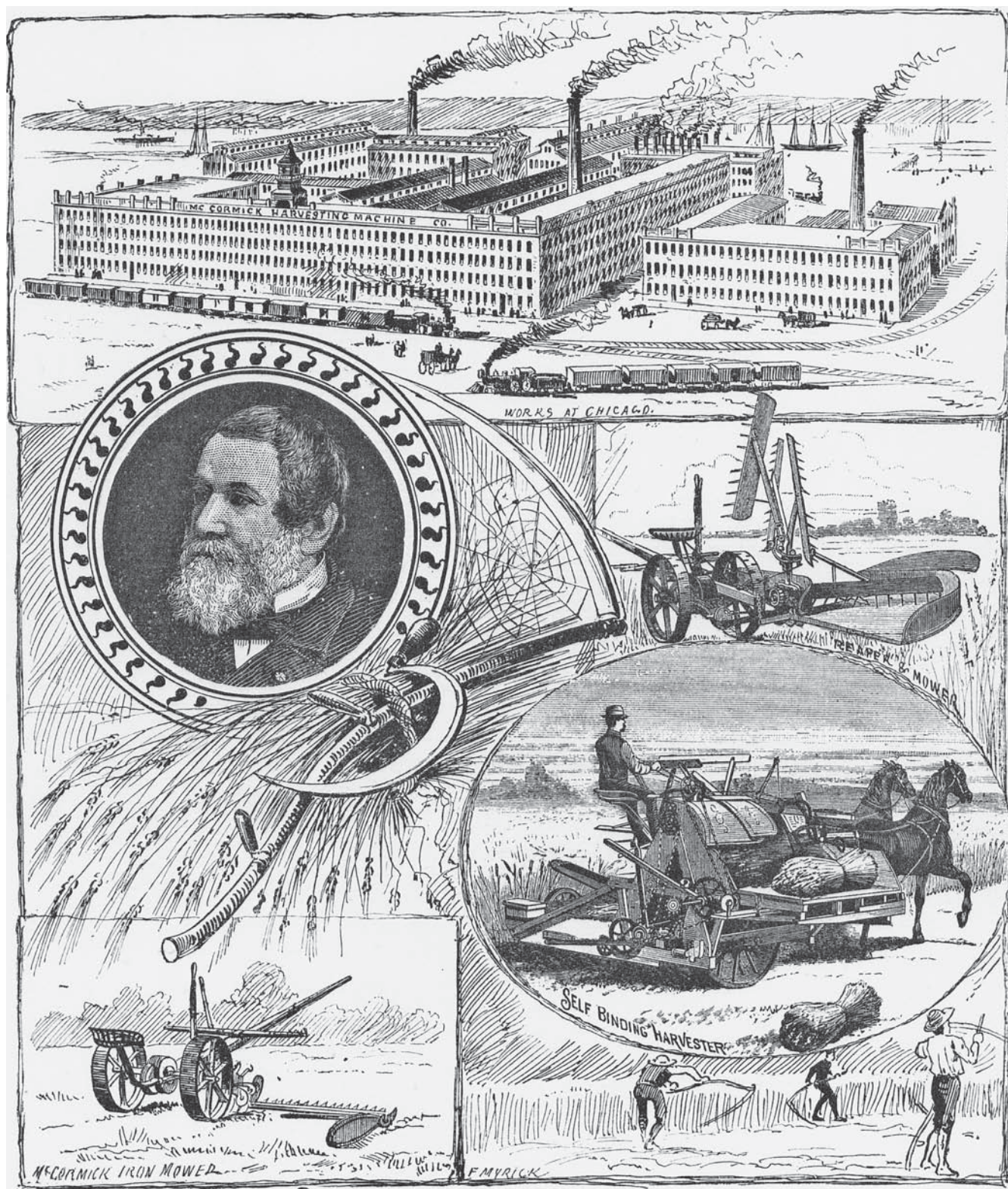
patent for McCormick's famous device entered into the public domain.

By 1843 McCormick had finally realized that the small-scale farms of Virginia and New England did not represent the optimum market for his product. He then licensed production of his reaper to various subsidiaries in New York and Ohio. However, when these products turned out to be inferior to his own, McCormick decided to centralize production under his personal supervision. In 1847, he relocated his thriving business to Chicago and began catering to the bigger farming interests in Ohio, Illinois, and the Midwest. Chicago—being centrally located, affording greater access to water transport, and on the verge of becoming a major railroad hub—was destined to serve as the center of midwestern agriculture. Accordingly, McCormick established his own factory, adopted a modern mass-production system, and stocked it with the latest time-saving industrial technology to boost productivity. His workforce, which eventually numbered 1,500, were also among the best-trained and most highly paid in the nation.

As the prairies were settled and converted into farmland, the sale of reapers grew exponentially. In 1848, McCormick sold 700 units; by 1860 that number had risen to 5,000 annually. Despite continuous lawsuits, he failed to have his patent secured, and he faced stiff competition from nearly 100 other firms marketing reapers. He countered by developing the best business organization available, completely outpacing his contemporaries. McCormick initially relied upon an extensive series of distributors, who handled sales, repairs, and credit arrangements individually. However, the depression of 1870 forced him to centralize operations, which allowed him to maintain tighter control on subordinates. Moreover, regional offices were established across the country to better coordinate business matters with an extensive network of dealers. In this manner, McCormick pioneered creation of a sales organization to support and monitor dealers, who made the actual sales. The company was also unique in offering generous credit arrangements for customers, and it sponsored one of the first money-back guarantees in business history. The high quality of McCormick's reapers, coupled with consumer satisfaction, made the firm a giant among America's early industrial efforts.

Early on, McCormick tried marketing his revolutionary device in Europe through various farm and trade shows. His reaper won several competitions, but the small size of European farms mitigated against their popular use. Nonetheless, the numerous prizes accrued were subsequently utilized in marketing and advertising campaigns, along with printed testimony from satisfied customers. By the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, McCormick was uniquely situated to make enormous contributions to





Cyrus McCormick, depicted with his factory at Chicago and his mechanical reaper (Granger Collection)



national development. At that time, an estimated 80,000–90,000 of his reapers were in use throughout the Midwest. Being very efficient compared to manual labor, they allowed farmers to collect harvests in less time, leading to greater yield and higher profits than before. This, in turn, released large numbers of farm workers from the field, who then transferred their energies to either urban industry or military service. The South, by comparison, was equally agrarian but largely unmechanized, so their quest for sufficient foodstuffs always competed with increasing demands for military manpower. Moreover, the North produced such a surplus that it kept both its population and military victuals, and it also exported food to Europe, which helped to fund the war effort. Simply put, the McCormick reaper was a significant but overlooked factor in the ultimate Union victory of 1865.

Not surprisingly, McCormick, southern-born and bred, was outspoken in his support for the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and the Confederacy. He ran for Congress in 1864 on a peace ticket, but lost. He exerted far greater influence in religious matters through his close association with the Presbyterian Church. McCormick was a devout advocate of the Old School, and he used his great wealth to finance the McCormick Theological Seminary of Chicago. This was an important theological body that sought to curtail expansion of the New School doctrines, which McCormick felt were spiritually unsound. McCormick himself largely personified the strict Calvinistic approach to life, being hard-working and pious and refraining from drinking or smoking. His conservative approach to theology, coupled with a willingness to invest part of his fortune to promote it, renders him a pivotal influence in the history of his church.

McCormick died in Chicago on May 13, 1884, one of the most successful and far-sighted entrepreneurs of his day. His reaper, which he continually updated and improved throughout his life, made possible the rapid settlement of the western frontier and also contributed to the overall accumulation of national wealth. In 1878, he received the Legion of Honor from the prestigious French Academy of Sciences, which extolled him for “having done more for the cause of agriculture than any other living man.”

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—John C. Fredriksen

### ***McCulloch v. Maryland* (McCulloch v. Maryland, 1819)**

*McCulloch v. Maryland* was one of the leading early SUPREME COURT DECISIONS establishing the scope of Congress’s power to legislate under the Constitution. It was also an important early example of the Court’s invalidation of a state statute. The case arose from the State of Maryland’s attempt to tax the Bank of the United States. First chartered by Congress in 1791, the bank was a public/private concern tasked with holding and investing the nation’s money and issuing national banknotes. Controversial from the start and routinely charged with looking more to the interests of its shareholders than the public good, the bank’s charter was allowed to lapse in 1811.

A SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES was chartered in 1816, when the United States’s experience with the difficulties of noncentralized finance during the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15) persuaded Congress that even if evil, a national bank was necessary. The Second Bank moved aggressively into a thriving ECONOMY, establishing branches in the various states. Many of these branches engaged in speculation and were run by corrupt officers, a situation brought to light in 1818 when a drop in the cotton market caused a financial panic and many bank customers were unable to get their money out. Several states responded by regulating the bank branches. Maryland imposed a tax on all notes issued by all non-state-chartered banks, including the Bank of the United States. James McCulloch, cashier for the Baltimore branch of the Bank of the United States, refused to pay, and Maryland sued in a case that was argued before the Supreme Court in 1819.

Daniel Webster, William Wirt, and William Pinkney argued the case for the bank; Luther Martin, Joseph Hopkinson and Walter Jones appeared for Maryland. Two issues were foremost: Did Congress have the power to create the bank in the first place? If so, did the state of Maryland have the power to tax it? Resolving the first question required the Court to interpret Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution, which set forth Congress’s powers. Nothing in the section explicitly authorized Congress to create a bank. Nevertheless, the Court found the section did authorize Congress to do a lot of things that would be easier to accomplish with a national bank in place—raise armies and regulate commerce, for example. The existence of the bank made transferring federal funds from one part of the country to another far easier. And Section 8 closed with the “Necessary and Proper Clause,” which authorized Congress to exercise powers not listed in Section 8 if the exercise of those additional powers was “necessary and proper” to the exercise of the listed powers. If the words “necessary and proper” were expansively interpreted, they might be held to allow

for the creation of the Bank. That is precisely what the Court did.

*McCulloch* thus saved the bank. More important, it also expanded the permissible scope of Congress's broad power to legislate. The federal government was indeed a government of limited and defined powers, but "[l]et the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consistent with the letter and spirit of the constitution, are constitutional." As for the state's imposition of the tax, the Court held it unconstitutional. "The power to tax," Chief Justice Marshall wrote, "involves the power to destroy." The structure of the federal union denied the power of one state to destroy an enterprise constitutionally created by the federal Congress. James McCulloch was therefore not liable for the tax.

Marshall delivered the *McCulloch* opinion for the Court on March 7, 1819, inspiring an immediate hostile backlash. Virginians in particular identified the opinion as a major blow to states' rights. Among other things, the case stood for the proposition that the federal court could decide the constitutional scope of the federal Congress's authority. This doctrine was unpalatable to those who viewed the Constitution as a compact among sovereign states. The debate engendered by *McCulloch* would not go away. In the near term, the Court battled with states throughout the 1820s, staving off, among other threats, efforts by opponents to lodge the ultimate judicial review power in the U.S. Senate. In the longer term, the broader questions raised in *McCulloch* were at the forefront of the constitutional component of the secession debate of the 1850s.

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—Lindsay Robertson

**McGuffey, William Holmes** (1800–1873) *educator*  
Best known for his popular *Eclectic Readers* for schoolchildren, William Holmes McGuffey was an influential university professor who helped shape American EDUCATION in the 19th century. He was born in 1800 in Washington County, Pennsylvania, to Alexander McGuffey, a former Indian fighter, and Anna Holmes. In 1802 the McGuffeys moved to Connecticut's Western Reserve in what is now

northeastern Ohio, settling on a homestead near Youngstown. William spent the next 16 years at his family's farm. Like most rural children at this time, he attended school in fits and starts between the growing and harvesting seasons. His mother also instructed him at home. When McGuffey was a teenager, his parents sent him to study Latin in Youngstown. His teacher was immediately impressed with his intelligence and his remarkable ability to memorize large portions of the Bible. After his success in Youngstown, McGuffey left home in 1818 to attend the Old Stone Academy in Darlington, Pennsylvania. He then entered Washington College, graduating in 1826. During his college years, he also taught school intermittently, mostly in Kentucky.

In 1826 McGuffey joined the faculty of Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, as a professor of languages. He soon married Harriet Spinning, with whom he had five children. While engaged as a professor, he also received a license to preach in the Presbyterian Church. During the years of his professorship at Miami, he preached every week at a local church.

In 1836 McGuffey became the president of Cincinnati College. After years of teaching and preaching, he was becoming well known for his eloquent lectures on morality and the Bible. He was also heavily involved in the effort to establish a public school system in Ohio. In 1839, he was elected to the presidency of Ohio University in Athens, which he administered until the school temporarily closed in 1843 due to financial disputes. He returned briefly to Cincinnati, teaching at Woodward College until he was elected to a professorship in moral philosophy at the University of Virginia in 1845.

McGuffey continued to promote public education in his new home, persisting in what became his most important endeavor: creating educational readers for children. He began compiling the *Eclectic Readers* while at Miami. The First and Second Readers were published in 1836, the next two in 1837. The Fifth Reader was published in 1844, and the Sixth in 1857. McGuffey's brother, Alexander Hamilton McGuffey, contributed the *Eclectic Spelling Book* in 1846. These volumes were used in all the states, in the kinds of public schools McGuffey worked so hard to establish. Over 122 million copies of his books were eventually sold.

McGuffey's Readers instructed schoolchildren through a simple, effective format. Making use of the "phonic," "word," and "alphabet" educational methods, McGuffey presented morally instructive literary selections designed to gain children's attention. His readers also included appealing illustrations, and dealt with a variety of subjects, including art, philosophy, economics, history, and science. His selections were unabashedly patriotic, promoting virtue, duty, and love of country. The advanced readers contained selections from the most revered English writers,

thus introducing millions of students to the classics of world literature. The *Eclectic Readers* became intellectual building blocks for the nation, remaining extremely popular until the end of the 19th century. While his work as a college professor and education advocate was acknowledged during his lifetime, his lasting reputation derives from the elementary textbooks that became a shared experience for millions of American children.

William Holmes McGuffey remained at the University of Virginia for the rest of his life. Harriet Spinning McGuffey died in 1853, and he remarried Laura Howard four years later; the couple had one daughter who died in childhood. During the Civil War, McGuffey was known for his philanthropy toward the poor, both black and white. He continued to teach philosophy in Charlottesville until a few weeks before his death in 1873.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

**McIntosh, William** (ca. 1778–1825) *principal chief, ally of Americans*

The Creek chief William McIntosh (Wetumpka) was an American ally and signer of the Treaty of Indian Springs, which ceded the last vestiges of Creek lands to the United States. McIntosh was born in the Lower Creek village of Coweta, Georgia, around 1778, the son of a Creek woman and a Scottish military officer. He parlayed his mixed-race heritage to his advantage, becoming fully immersed in both cultures. He gradually rose to the rank of war chief, and by 1796 he fell under the sway of Indian Agent Benjamin Hawkins. In this way he became a leading proponent of the “White Sticks,” or pro-American party.

In 1805 McIntosh gained a measure of national recognition by negotiating a land cession treaty with President Thomas Jefferson, but at a rate of 10 cents per acre, not one cent as proposed by the U.S. Senate. Thereafter the Americans considered McIntosh a nominal ally, especially during a period of growing restlessness among the Upper Creek. These tribesmen had been induced by the Shawnee leader Tecumseh to join his anti-American confederacy, and in August 1813 they launched a surprise attack on Fort Mims, Alabama, massacring the inhabitants. The ensuing Creek War proved disastrous to the Creek, but McIntosh, whom the government made a major in the U.S. Army, fought on the side of General ANDREW JACKSON with a contingent of warriors. In August 1814 Jackson and the Creek signed the

Treaty of Fort Jackson. The treaty stripped the Creek of 20 million acres of land, whether they fought for the United States or not. Despite this, McIntosh joined Jackson as a brigadier general to fight in the FIRST SEMINOLE WAR of 1818–19, commanding 1,500 Creek warriors. For his cooperation he received 1,640 acres of land, upon which he built a lavish resort hotel and lived in relative luxury.

The postwar period proved increasingly difficult for the Creek, because state authorities in Georgia were determined to seize all their remaining territory and ship them west of the Mississippi River. McIntosh realized this, but he considered it more realistic to sell the land for money than have it expropriated by force. On February 7, 1825, he and five lesser chiefs traveled to Washington, D.C., to sign the Treaty of Indian Springs, which effectively stripped his people of all their land. Consequently, the Upper Creek council sentenced him to death. On April 30, 1825, McIntosh was attacked and killed in his home by a party of Creek warriors under Menawa. His plight was considered typical of chiefs struggling to preserve a threatened way of life while holding off avaricious whites as long as possible.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**McLoughlin, John** (1784–1857) *Canadian-born fur trader*

Physician and fur-trade official, John McLoughlin was chief agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in the COLUMBIA RIVER region. He was also one of the most important figures in the FUR TRADE and a towering figure in the early European occupation of the Pacific Northwest. Born in Riviere-du-Loup, Quebec, Canada, McLoughlin was connected on his mother's side to the Frasers, one of Canada's leading fur-trading families. Under the influence of his uncles, Simon and Alexander Fraser, the young John McLoughlin began a career in medicine. After he was licensed to practice in 1803, however, he became interested in employment with the North West Company, a leading company of the fur trade at the turn of the century. McLoughlin first served as resident company physician at Fort William. Even as he performed his duties as physician, he became fascinated with the trading dimension of life at the fort. From his earliest contact, he showed great rapport with Indian peoples, especially in attracting their trust, a necessary dimension of the fur-trade enterprise. These qualities were the more important as the North West Company was engaged in a



struggle with the Hudson's Bay Company for the allegiance and trade of Indian groups.

In recognition of his skills, the North West Company made McLoughlin a partner in 1811. He continued in this capacity for another decade, and in 1821, when Parliament forced a merger of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company (taking the latter's name), McLoughlin was made a chief factor, working under Governor George Simpson. McLoughlin administered the border district from 1822 to 1824 with his usual ability, always mindful of the company's interest in profits. In July 1824, Simpson appointed him superintendent of the huge Columbia District, a domain much larger than Great Britain itself. McLoughlin assumed his responsibilities at FORT VANCOUVER on the Columbia River in early 1825. He remained the most important European figure on the coast of the Pacific Northwest for the next 20 years.

McLoughlin had two main responsibilities. His first allegiance was to the Hudson's Bay Company and his need to support and enhance the profitability of their trading enterprise. But since the Oregon Country was the center of a dispute between the United States and Great Britain, he also needed to keep imperial considerations in mind. His responsibilities in this area were enhanced by the Oregon Joint Occupation Treaty of 1827, which opened the territory to the unrestricted settlement by citizens of both nations. McLoughlin had to manage the Columbia Department to protect both the profits of the company and the national interests of Great Britain. His duties were the more challenging because he had no control over the U.S. citizens within his purview. As he worked to make the Oregon Country a profitable supplier of furs, he supplemented his department's economic prospects by organizing an agricultural enterprise that would also provide profits for the company.

JEDEDIAH STRONG SMITH represented the competition in the fur trade. His generous terms and loose financial arrangements attracted several Hudson's Bay Company employees to his standard. The influence of WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY and the annual American RENDEZVOUS were among the difficulties McLoughlin faced. He worked with some success to persuade the Hudson's Bay Company to offer more flexible arrangements to its trappers. Under his leadership, the trade of the Columbia Department continued to be profitable through the 1820s and into the 1830s.

The decade of the 1830s brought another challenge in the form of missionaries from the United States. Jason Lee arrived in 1834 with a party of Methodist missionaries, and two years later, Marcus and Narcissa Whitman. Lee's party settled along the Willamette River, an attractive agricultural area removed from McLoughlin's trading operations. The Whitmans settled in Walla Walla on the

Columbia, a more central location. McLoughlin freely provided information and supplies to the missionaries, and, in turn, their widely reprinted reports praising the agricultural settlement possibilities of the Oregon Country increased overland immigration to Oregon. Even as the missionaries received reinforcements in the form of people, supplies, and money, the OREGON TRAIL had become the route of growing annual caravans.

McLoughlin continued to believe in the continuing presence of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Columbia, but imperial and company interests increasingly favored evacuation to the north. After 1841, Governor George Simpson himself favored moving the company's base of operations to Vancouver Island. At the same time, the fur-trade revenues had declined in McLoughlin's Columbia Department, as they were declining everywhere. McLoughlin retired in 1845 and died 12 years later.

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## medicine

As the 19th century began, Americans had witnessed many revolutionary changes in their lives, but medicine had not kept pace. Medical practices differed little from those of the 18th century. Citizens of antebellum America were faced with a life filled with DISEASES AND EPIDEMICS, poorly trained doctors, unsafe cures, poor diet, and generally unsanitary living conditions.

Scientific medicine at the beginning of the century was heroic medicine. All diseases resulted from an excess of fluids, and the cure was to relieve the body of the excesses through bloodletting and purging. The basic scientific knowledge necessary to disprove such beliefs was slow to develop in America. The generation of men like Franklin and Jefferson, who dominated the intellectual life of the country from 1750 to 1800 and promoted scientific research, was largely gone by 1800. Besides, the country had little time and little use for such aristocrats as it was swept up in the Age of Common Man. As Alexis de Tocqueville commented, the combination of democracy and economic opportunity in the Jacksonian era placed an emphasis on profitable technology over basic science. As a consequence, medical science based on empirical research suffered too.

Contributing to the stagnation of scientific advances in the 19th century was the philosophical movement that dominated American society: Romanticism. Romanticism came to America from Europe between 1812 and 1861 as a revolt against the Age of Reason. Rather than rational empirical thought, Romanticism emphasized feeling, sensitivity, and the supernatural. As this philosophy mixed with

Jacksonian democracy in the 1820s and 1830s, it developed many uniquely American traits, one of them being religious evangelism.

By the mid-1800s, scientific medicine had taken a back seat to quackery. Scientific medicine was hampered by poor training, the continued practice of heroic medicine despite patient protests, and quarreling among the brightest physicians. Proprietary medical schools and their common practice of grave-robbing to obtain dissection specimens did little to improve the public's image of the medical profession.

These factors combined in the 1820s and 1830s with a wave of Jacksonian democracy, producing an egalitarian America with no use for aristocratic physicians. The public came to believe that anyone could cure the ill if they applied the common-sense principles promoted by quack doctors. Physician licensing, once commonplace, was abolished in most states in the 1840s, so anyone was free to practice. Scientific medicine was rapidly replaced by quackery such as hydropathy, patent medicines, phrenology, and mesmerism. When quackery became inextricably linked to the religious revivalism and social reform movements sweeping the country at mid-century, it was unstoppable.

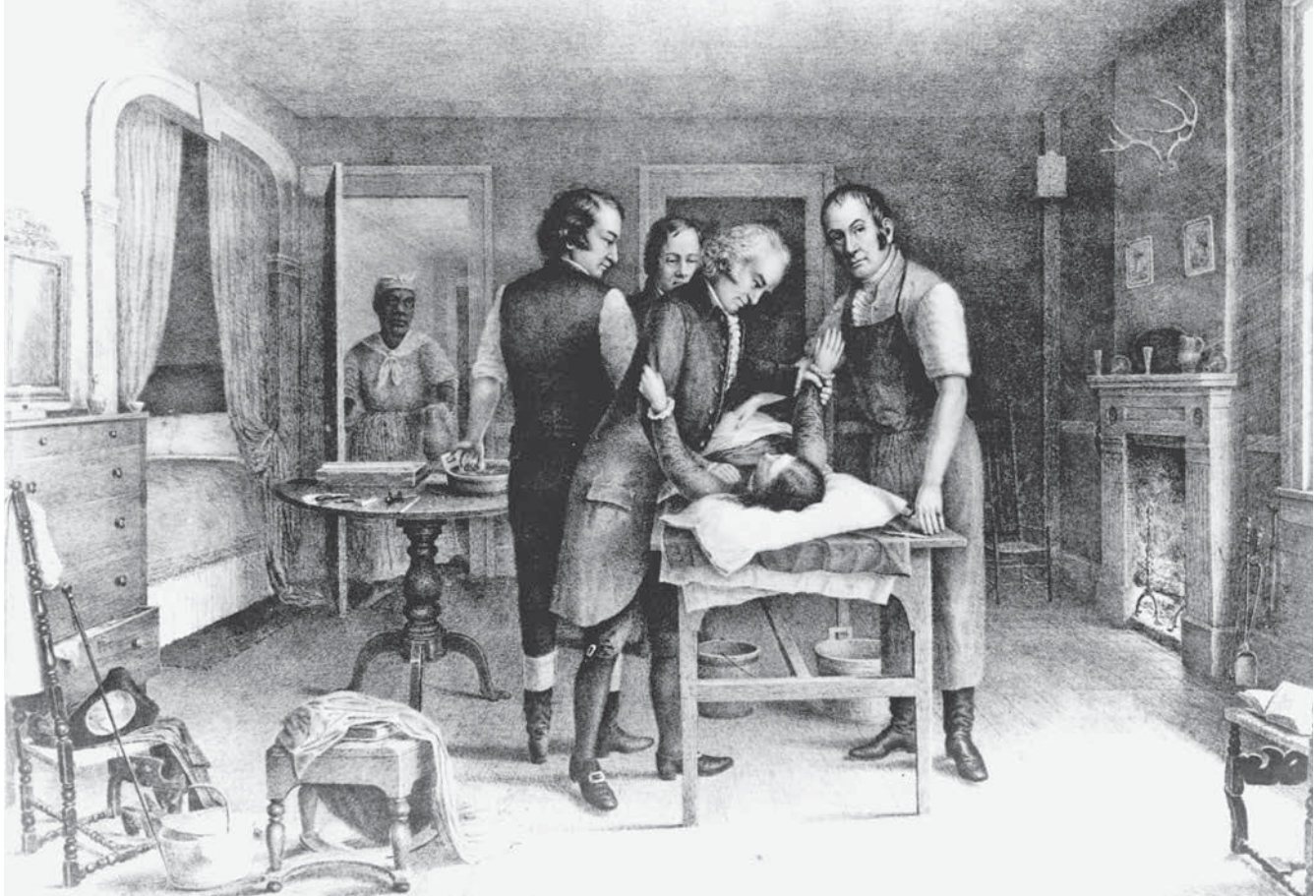
Since the scientific community was doing little to improve medicine, and the public was rebelling against the painful and debilitating treatments of heroics, a void developed in medical treatment. With no organizing body or set of standards for physicians to follow, few could agree to what constituted appropriate practice. Lay health reformers and practitioners, filled with the millennial, democratic spirit, rushed in with theories of their own. Their treatments included water, electricity, manipulation of animal magnetism, and vegetable compounds. Many of the quack theories took on qualities of social reform and religious revivalism to become movements of their own. Each practitioner claimed to be from a specific "school" of medicine. The result was a wide selection of treatments for patients from which to choose. Almost all doctors were "general" practitioners, with very few specializing in one area, such as surgery.

Meanwhile, a new European movement began in Paris. French doctors who caught the spirit of their country's revolution did not feel confined by the writings of the "masters" and instead observed for themselves how patients reacted to disease. Dubbed the French Clinical School, it emphasized both clinical and pathological observations to determine treatments. Doctors collected statistical evidence such as temperatures and pulse rates. Diagnostics were stressed over heroics. Some 700 of the best American doctors traveled to France to study between 1820 and 1860. Yet despite the opposition of those who returned from abroad, heroic medicine continued to be practiced, and eventually the public developed a deep skepticism of doctors and an increased interest in quackery.

The United States produced some of the best surgeons, many of whom studied in France. The rigors of life on the frontier also stimulated the advancement of surgical techniques, as doctors living there often had no alternative to surgery, because they lacked drugs and access to the latest medical advances. Surgery was the last resort because it was often fatal and always painful. Performed with no regard for cleanliness, doctors wore filthy coats—often directly from the autopsy room to the operating room—with pride. This practice spread deadly infections like septicemia or gangrene. The only anesthetics were opium and alcohol. In the 1840s, chloroform, nitrous oxide, and ether began to be used as social drugs by the upper classes, and were eventually applied to surgery. Anesthetics removed the pain of surgery, allowing for longer, more complex and delicate operations.

Three doctors who emphasized diagnostics over heroics were especially influential. Dr. Daniel Drake lived most his life on the frontier rather than on the East Coast, where medical training was centered. Realizing that the frontier lacked adequate facilities to train doctors, he started the Medical College of Ohio in Cincinnati in 1819. He is best known for his exhaustive study *Systematic Treatise on the Principal Diseases of the Interior Valley of North America*. The work not only examined disease but detailed geography, climate, and frontier society. Dr. William Beaumont used an unusual method to study how the digestive system worked. An army doctor at Fort Mackinac, he encountered a patient with a severe stomach wound that would not heal. Beaumont used the opening in the unfortunate victim as a window into the gastrointestinal tract, and his 1833 work *Experiments and Observations on the Gastric Juice and Physiology of Digestion* explained the chemical process of digestion. The work of Dr. Samuel Gross to improve surgical techniques resulted in *A System of Surgery; Pathological, Diagnostic, Therapeutic, and Operative*, used by Gross in his lectures at the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, and by many other medical schools.

This was also the era when women would start to gain a foothold in the medical profession. The prevailing stereotype at the time defined women as sympathetic and nurturing, making them ideally suited to care for children. Women had a long tradition as midwives and lay practitioners, but they were not considered suitable for professional medicine, given their irrational and delicate sensibilities. During the 1840s, supporters of the training of female physicians received a boost from a controversy surrounding midwives and childbirth. Male doctors were starting to claim that only they had the medical training and the instruments (namely forceps) that could safely deliver a child. However, many doctors were accused of interfering too much in the process of delivery, sometimes injuring the mother or child (or both). Supporters of female medical training used the



This lithograph depicts the first ovariectomy (removal of an ovary) being performed by Dr. Ephraim McDowell in 1809 in Danville, Kentucky. During the operation, McDowell successfully removed a 20-pound tumor from his 45-year-old patient—without anesthesia. (*National Library of Medicine*)

resultant backlash to argue that it was immoral for men to be involved in gynecological and obstetric practice. As a result, several schools started to allow women into their programs. In 1849, Elizabeth Blackwell graduated from Geneva Medical College in New York to become the first woman anywhere to receive a medical degree. Blackwell's achievement spurred further advances for women in the medical field, such as the establishment of women's medical colleges. The first such institution was the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania, which opened in Philadelphia in 1850.

In 1847 the American Medical Association (AMA) was established by Nathan Davis Smith, and for the first time a code of medical ethics and educational standards for physicians was published in an effort to improve and standardize medical practice. The AMA also launched an investigation into quack remedies in an effort to enlighten the public in regard to the nature and dangerous tendencies of such remedies. Soon many medical schools were also involved

in standardizing medical education, and physicians were now engaged in clinical teaching and research in hospitals. New medical institutions were emerging to provide a more scientific approach to medicine, and new instruments were being developed to assist doctors in treating patients. The 19th century started out with a bleak outlook for American medicine, yet by mid-century it had entered an age of improvement and reform.

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### **Mexican-American War (1846–1848)**

The war between the United States and Mexico, which lasted for less than two years, resulted in the United States



gaining a huge swath of territory from the defeated Mexicans. Its origins were based in part on a dispute about the proper boundary between the two nations and the United States's annexation of TEXAS, formerly a state in the Republic of Mexico, in 1845. Texas had broken away from Mexico in 1836, defeating the Mexican army after the siege at THE ALAMO and establishing itself as a republic in its own right. American president ANDREW JACKSON of Tennessee, where many Texans were originally from, immediately recognized Texas, although Mexico did not. Soon thereafter, Texas applied for statehood; most Texans had migrated from the United States, and many of them desired to join the new republic to their former country. However, new president MARTIN VAN BUREN, a northerner, was cool to the idea, believing correctly that northern states might object to admitting another state that permitted slavery, as Texas did. The United States therefore passed on its first opportunity to admit Texas into the Union.

When the WHIG PARTY, which was increasingly opposed to the expansion of slavery, elected its first president, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, in 1840, it looked as though any U.S. annexation of Texas would be postponed for some time. However, Harrison died soon after taking office and was replaced by Vice President JOHN TYLER, a southerner and former Democrat. In the United States at that time was a growing belief in the idea of MANIFEST DESTINY, which held that the nation was destined to rule all of North America, including much of Mexico. This idea was tinged with racial and cultural superiority, with some Americans believing that Anglo-Saxons were entitled to lands that the darker-skinned (and Catholic) Mexicans were not using properly: the vast territories of New Mexico and CALIFORNIA. The Mexican government, for its part, continued not to recognize the independence of Texas, although Great Britain and France later did. Mexico itself was struggling as an independent nation and suffered from unstable government, with rule by dictators. It had failed to establish a republican form of government, although this had been its goal when it won independence from Spain in 1821. Few people lived in its northern provinces of California and New Mexico; California had only 15,000 Americans of European ancestry and 24,000 American Indians living on missions. (The total Indian population was much higher.) Many in the United States coveted these territories to complete national expansion. Yet despite its internal problems, Mexico was determined to keep all of its sovereignties intact.

Northern and southern states began to line up on different sides of the question of admitting Texas, due to the problem of SLAVERY. Some proslavery southerners even hoped to divide the massive territory into several smaller slave states so as to increase the power of slaveholders in Congress. South Carolina, the most militantly proslavery

and antiabolition state, went so far as to declare that if Texas was not admitted into the United States, then southern states should secede from the Union. There were not enough votes in the Senate, however, to get the needed two-thirds of the votes to ratify a treaty that would result in admitting Texas to the Union. But in the final days of his administration, President Tyler persuaded Congress to pass a joint resolution on the matter, which needed only a simple majority to pass. Tyler promptly extended the offer of statehood to Texas on his last day in office. Opponents of the measure argued that annexation would provoke a war with Mexico. Certainly the Mexican government was outraged; it had stated plainly in 1843 that it would regard any annexation of Texas as a declaration of war by the United States on Mexico. In response to the formal annexation in 1845 that occurred when Texas accepted the American offer of statehood, Mexico broke off diplomatic relations with the United States.

The new president, JAMES K. POLK, had been nominated by the Democrats over Van Buren in 1844 in part because Polk had favored annexation, and the issue contributed to his victory in the general election over Whig candidate HENRY CLAY, who opposed it. Committed to expansionism, Polk was especially interested in acquiring California, which he offered to buy from Mexico. The southern nation refused, however, and also declined to negotiate with the United States about the boundary between the two nations. Mexico had maintained that the proper border was the Nueces River, which had been generally recognized as the boundary of Texas since the 18th century. Polk, pressing his expansionist agenda, contended that it was the river further south, the Rio Grande, which marked the true border between Mexico and the United States. To make the point that he was serious about the matter, in January 1846 he sent an army led by General ZACHARY TAYLOR to occupy the land in question between the Nueces and Rio Grande. The reason he gave to justify the action was that the soldiers were needed there to protect the new American state from a Mexican attack. However, Mexico saw this as a provocation and moved troops of its own into what it believed to be its territory by right.

Now face to face, soldiers of the two armies clashed and exchanged fire, with the Americans suffering 16 casualties in winning two encounters with the Mexicans, even though they were outmanned. Polk used the incident to ask Congress for a declaration of war against Mexico, charging that it had "invaded our territory and shed American blood on American soil." Some in Congress, especially Whigs, remained skeptical of the whole business; first-term congressman Abraham Lincoln of Illinois famously asked Polk to specify where exactly U.S. sovereignty had been violated. There was other vocal opposition to war, especially in the Northeast; the Massachusetts legislature passed a



Engraving of the Battle of Buena Vista, February 23, 1847  
(Library of Congress)

resolution opposing it. Nevertheless, led by the Democrats, Congress went along with the president and declared war on Mexico on May 13, 1846. There was an especially great outcry of support for the decision in the South and West. It was from the states closest to Mexico, including Texas, that most of the military volunteers came—49,000 in all. Along the eastern seaboard, there was much less enthusiasm; the original 13 states contributed only about 13,000 volunteers.

In the conflict that followed, the United States won a series of military victories. Its initial strategy was to launch a two-pronged invasion of Mexico. Zachary Taylor's goal was to invade central Mexico, and on the way he scored some victories in the northeastern part of the country, including capturing the crucial city of Monterrey. The American advance was slowed by severe problems with illness, as many U.S. soldiers fell sick and died from subtropical diseases to which they had no immunity. Taylor also halted progress until his army could receive further supplies, making the American army vulnerable to a Mexican attack. Fortunately for the Americans, though, the Mexican leadership was in chaos, as the government of President Mariano Paredes was overthrown and replaced by one led by the controversial former dictator, ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA. He had been in secret negotiations with the Americans and had promised that if he regained control of the Mexican government, he would seek to negotiate a peace treaty under which Mexico would cede territory to the United States.

Polk ordered the American navy and army to let Santa Anna, who had been living in exile in Cuba, pass through a naval blockade. The Mexican general landed and proceeded safely to Mexico City, where he proclaimed himself the new president of Mexico. Having done this, he quickly forgot the promise he had made to the United States and

instead began to rally his nation to recommit to the war. He organized a large army of about 20,000 and led them north out of Mexico City toward the American position at Monterrey. Along the way he made the rash statement that he would defeat Taylor's army, march all the way to Washington, and sign his peace treaty there. Many of Taylor's men had been withdrawn from Monterrey and sent to Veracruz to take part in a seaborne landing led by General WINFIELD SCOTT. This left the remaining force under Taylor's command at a 3-1 disadvantage to Santa Anna's army as it took up defensive positions at Buena Vista. A fierce battle ensued with both sides suffering heavy casualties—especially the Mexicans, who were defeated despite their superior size. Among the American soldiers who distinguished themselves in this battle was Mississippi colonel Jefferson Davis, later president of the Confederate States of America.

Meanwhile, a second American force, led by Colonel STEPHEN KEARNY, occupied New Mexico, including Santa Fe, and continued west into California, where it met with American naval forces to complete the conquest of that state. Kearny's expedition was very successful, as he met with only token resistance from the inhabitants of those states, most of whom accepted the American victory.

Determined to capture Mexico City and bring the war to a successful conclusion, Polk ordered the opening of a third front. Winfield Scott led an army of volunteers, including some of Taylor's men, in a coastal landing and proceeded to bombard the city of Veracruz; 1,500 Mexican civilians died in the attack. After inflicting heavy casualties on the Mexican army in street fighting, Scott's forces marched on to Mexico City. The Mexican capital was well defended, and the U.S. Army, which included junior officers such as future Civil War generals Robert E. Lee, Ulysses S. Grant, and George McClellan, regrouped outside of the city to plan their assault. On the approach to Mexico City, the Americans met stiff resistance, but after heavy fighting they captured the Mexican capital in September 1847. Scott and his officers entered the presidential palace, over which the American flag was raised.

One of the Mexican units that inflicted the most punishment on the Americans was the San Patricio battalion, which consisted largely of Irish-American deserters from the U.S. Army. In all, more than 10 percent of American soldiers, many of whom were poor and some of whom were recent immigrants, had deserted from the all-volunteer army.

The American capture of Mexico City effectively ended the war. The relatively swift and decisive U.S. victory was due in large part to some important advantages in the areas of transportation and communications; the Americans had put telegraph, railroads and steamboats to good use in their



military effort. In winning the war, the United States had suffered only about 1,700 combat-related deaths, although 11,000 more soldiers died of disease and related health problems.

In the postwar negotiations, the United States was represented by Nicholas Trist. Dealing from a position of strength, Trist persuaded the Mexican government to sign a treaty highly favorable to U.S. interests. Under the provisions of the *TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO*, signed in February 1848, the Rio Grande was established as the boundary between Mexico and Texas. Mexico also ceded New Mexico and most of California, recognized Texas as part of the United States, and received about \$15 million in compensation. Some expansionist Democrats in the Senate demanded that all of Mexico be brought under the American flag, but Polk rebuffed that idea and was content with the astonishing gains agreed to in the treaty. In all, the United States gained 529,000 square miles from Mexico, including the part of California where the gold rush soon began, bringing people to that territory from around the nation and the world. The victory turned out to be a mixed blessing, however, as northerners and southerners began to disagree strenuously over whether the lands gained from Mexico would be slave or free. It took the Civil War to finally settle the question.

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—Jason Duncan

## migration

The era between the American Revolution (1775–83) and the Civil War (1861–65) saw large tracts of territory added to the United States. The country's expansion attracted pioneers and settlers in a westward drive across the continent that became the dominant feature of American migration in the early 19th century—a drive that was encouraged by the U.S. government. A distinct pattern, entrenched since the 18th century, continued to play out: Waves of new and restless immigrants arrived in North America and headed west to acquire cheap land and new lives. These pioneers usually made the trip in groups linked by kinship, business interests, or accepted proximity in their former communities. For most, the principal motivation for migration was economic gain, but those with strong religious convictions, such as Shakers or Mormons, frequently sought out isolated communities based upon their own religious and social

ideals. Migrants cannot be exclusively ascribed to any one part of the social stratum, although the vast majority were basically middle or lower middle class and determined to improve their lot.

Westward expansion was a spontaneous, disorderly swarming of people along the trails and rivers leading into the interior of the continent and finally to the Pacific coast. This frontier raised basic questions: Who owned the land? How should it be surveyed, sold, and settled? The federal government responded to these questions with policies for Indian removal, land disposal, and the territorial system. The *INDIAN REMOVAL ACT* of 1830 allowed the government to move *NATIVE AMERICANS* off large areas of land, thereby making it available to white settlers. The government's *PUBLIC LAND POLICY* had the greatest impact on the flow of people to the West. Between 1800 and 1860, the federal government enacted a series of laws that were generally advantageous to settler families. This legislation included providing large parcels of land to settlers at very low prices, as long as they agreed to farm the land. Congress also established a system for surveying new territories and organizing governments within them.

This new domain was still not enough to satisfy America's hunger for new lands. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 nearly doubled the area of the United States available for settlement, and control of the Mississippi greatly facilitated both the flow of barge-borne commerce and the first influx of settlers into the region. Roads, however, were slower to manifest, and it took nearly two decades for the region to become fully developed. Early 19th-century farmers and settlers viewed the unforested plains west of the Mississippi as an uninviting wasteland that lacked timber for building homes and towns, navigable rivers for shipping their goods to markets, and adequate rainfall for the crops they raised. In the first decade of the 19th century, the country was experiencing economic turmoil, and—contrary to what might be assumed—hard times in the East slowed westward movement. Renewed Indian warfare in the Ohio Valley and the *WAR OF 1812* further discouraged settlers from heading west. However, the rate of settlement increased rapidly after 1815, as the economy in the Northeast improved and America resumed normal trading relations with England. *WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON*'s triumph over *TECUMSEH* north of the Ohio River and *ANDREW JACKSON*'s victorious campaigns against the Creek in the South had forced many Native Americans to vacate those territories, opening up millions of acres of land to white settlement. This period of increased settlement is known as the Great Migration.

At first, the major thrust of settlement beyond the Appalachians was heavily concentrated in Kentucky and Tennessee. This was shortly followed by immigrants coming into the Old Northwest, north of the Ohio River, which served as a way into the interior. Although settlers

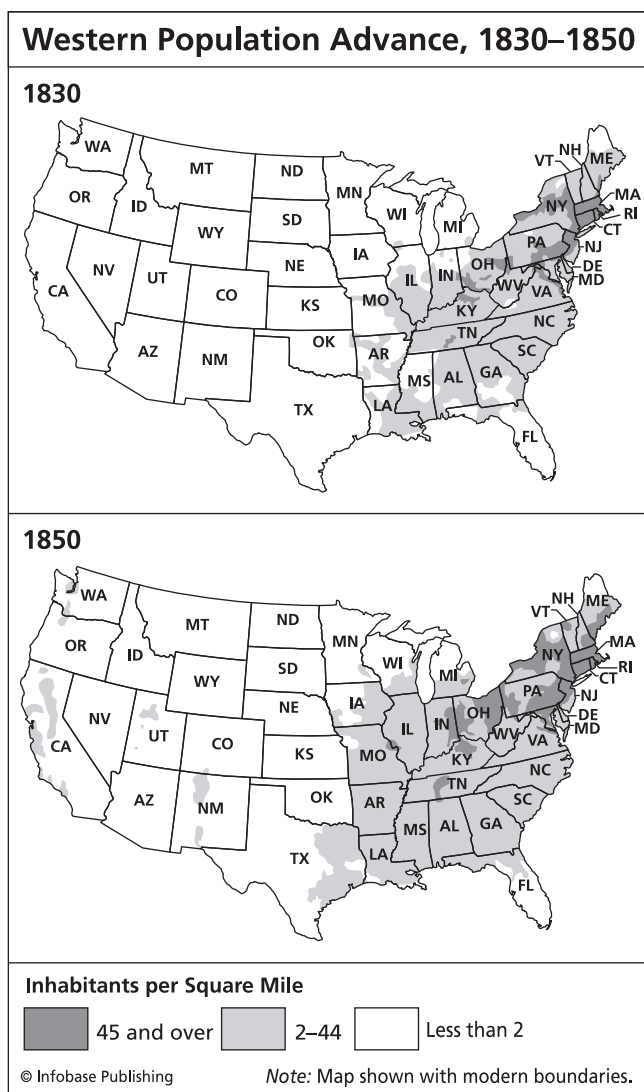
came from every state in the Union, the majority of early pioneers of Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio were southerners from Kentucky and Tennessee. Improved transportation played a major role in bringing on the Great Migration. In 1818, the NATIONAL ROAD stretched from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling in what is now West Virginia. This road, along with other new and improved routes, provided an all-weather pathway for westbound emigrants. Steamboats were another major innovation in transportation, helping spur the rapid development of the region between the Appalachians and the Mississippi. The ERIE CANAL, completed in 1825, opened a new water route to the West. It was now possible, cheaply and conveniently, to board a barge on the Hudson River, float all the way to Buffalo in the western reaches of the state, and then catch a steam vessel for transit across Lake Erie to Detroit or Chicago and the frontier.

The impact of the Great Migration was also felt in the southern territories. This region was primarily settled by planters engaged in expanding the COTTON CULTURE. The pressure of soil exhaustion in the southern Atlantic states and the attraction of fertile soil in the Gulf plains combined to produce a swelling westward movement of southerners and cotton production. Settlers poured into the country along the southern Mississippi River region and as far west as western Mississippi and eastern Arkansas territory. Louisiana also saw a great influx of newcomers, most of them wealthier than their northern counterparts, who poured into Louisiana to found new plantations and spread the slave economy of the Southeast.

The PANIC OF 1819 brought a sudden end to the Great Migration. Nevertheless, it had made some tremendous changes in the distribution of the nation's population. According to the 1820 census, there were 1,140,000 more people living west of the Appalachians than had lived there in 1810. Ohio, with 600,000 inhabitants, was the most populous of the trans-Appalachian states. By 1820, roughly one-quarter of the nation's population was living in the West.

By the mid-1820s, great numbers of settlers were advancing into the Lake Plains of the Old Northwest. Settlers from Kentucky and the Northeast sought the fertile land of northern Illinois and present-day southern Michigan and Wisconsin. Migration into the Great Lake plains also came from the South. Farmers of smaller holdings in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, unable to compete with the expanding plantation economy, were attracted by the affordable lands of the public domain. In the South itself, Native Americans found themselves surrounded as settlement advanced into the lands of western Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi. In order to clear the way for settlement of these lands, the federal government began enacting legislation such as the Indian Removal Act, which relocated Native Americans to reservations further west, in present-day Kansas and Oklahoma. Contrary to the government's intentions, the establishment of an Indian Country west of the Mississippi did little to stem the nation's rapid westward movement. Instead, it created a two-pronged advance, with the stream of migrating settlers deflected northwestward to the Oregon Country and southwestward into TEXAS.

In 1840 most of Iowa and Wisconsin were still unsettled, and only a few people had advanced into Minnesota. Further south, the westward movement had reached the edge of the PERMANENT INDIAN FRONTIER. Rather than risk entering hostile territory, settlers aimed their sights on Oregon and CALIFORNIA. The overland migrations to the Pacific coast began in 1841, when 69 settlers set out from Missouri along the OREGON TRAIL. In the succeeding years, the volume of migration increased to more than a thousand persons annually. Some went to California, but



a majority of them followed the Snake River and COLUMBIA RIVER to the Willamette Valley, which seemed to have a better chance of becoming a part of the United States. By 1845, the American population of the Oregon Country, most of it centered in the Willamette Valley, had grown to more than 6,000. The steady procession of covered wagons into Oregon helped to strengthen American claims to that region, which for a generation had been dominated by the British, specifically the Hudson's Bay Company. To pioneers bound for Oregon and California, the region beyond the Rockies seemed hostile to habitation. Yet this isolated aspect attracted the Mormons, who settled the Salt Lake region of Utah and made a failed attempt to establish their own state along Mormon lines, known as the STATE OF DESERET.

California's rapid transformation from Mexico's sparsely populated northern province in 1847 to its incorporation into the United States in 1850 marked the culmination of half a century of American interest and settlement. Settlement, however, was slow growing, until the discovery of gold in California in 1848, which set off the greatest gold rush in history; thousands headed to the West Coast from all points in the United States and from foreign lands as well. More than 75,000 "Forty-niners" crossed the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains to California, the population of which had exploded from 20,000 to 100,000 by the end of 1849. Within three years, a steady stream of new arrivals, mostly overlanders, would more than double that figure.

By mid-century, the westward movement was abetted and accelerated by a transportation revolution: rail travel. RAILROADS opened up wide swaths of inhospitable terrain to rapid transit and connected migrants to greater opportunities on the Pacific Coast, which by now constituted the de facto "national frontier." Railroad companies were central to the process. They bought up all available land along their routes, then sold the surplus to farmers at a profit. The newcomers, once settled, conveniently found themselves adjacent to ready-made transportation routes capable of sending their products back east. The completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869 was the final step in the process of westward migration, begun three decades earlier, and led to the final conquest and settlement of the prairies, Great Plains, and Rocky Mountain regions.

Less heralded than westward migration but equally significant was the trend toward urbanization in the East and Midwest. Immigrants who were too poor to move West usually found work in new, steam-powered factories or other facets of the Industrial Revolution. Affluent middle-class residents, who were invariably Protestant, came to view the horde of non-English-speaking migrants as sources of crime and immorality. Their wealth enabled them to relo-

cate to newly flourishing suburbs, while still using newly developed train, trolley, and subway lines to commute to the city for work. By the end of the century roughly one-third of the U.S. population was clustered in and around cities, now thriving industrial and cultural centers.

The growth of the United States in the first half of the 19th century, propelled by the doctrine of MANIFEST DESTINY, was viewed as a success for white settlers. However, it exacted a human cost. With California, Oregon, and the Southwest as part of the United States, the Permanent Indian Frontier came to be ignored as a geographic boundary; the people it protected were viewed as an inconvenient obstacle. There was a political price as well. Although overland migrations across the Great Plains continued, all pioneers were not headed for the Far West. Public lands newly open to settlement and available at low cost drew thousands of settlers into the eastern prairie regions between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Territories were created to meet the needs of the new population in these areas and also prepare the way for transportation intended to cross the continent. The creation of new territorial governments in the nation's Midwest would reignite the controversy over the spread of SLAVERY. The issue would grow to threaten the survival of the Union.

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### Missouri Compromise (1819–1821)

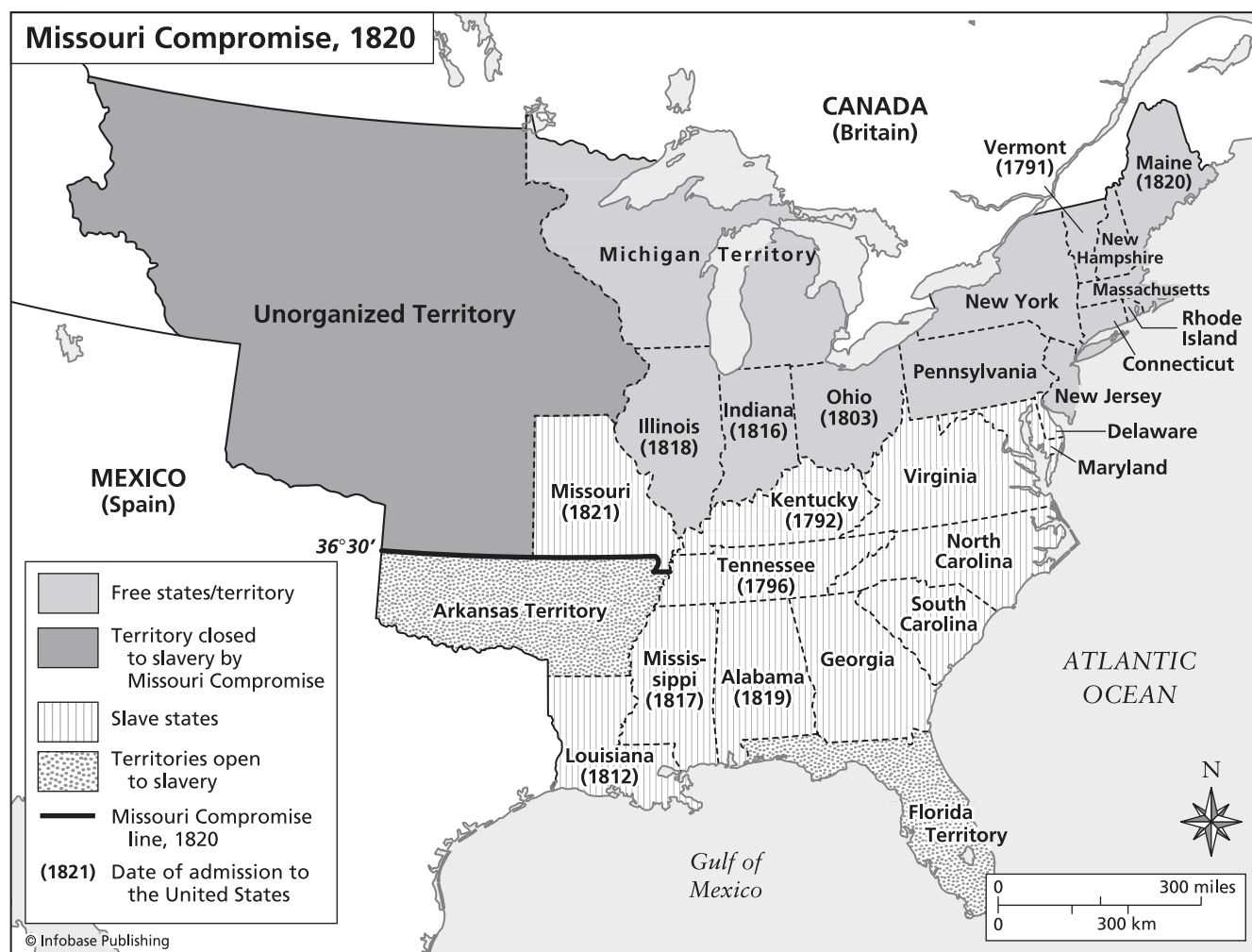
A series of events and debates concerning the admission of Missouri to statehood and the question of whether SLAVERY should be allowed to extend into the western territories resulted in the Missouri Compromise. In 1818, the legislature of Missouri Territory petitioned Congress for statehood. By this time, the territory had gained sufficient population to become a state, with most of its residents hailing from the South. Many of these settlers had brought

slaves with them; slavery had also existed in the territory when it was a French colony. Thus, the territorial legislature wanted Missouri to be admitted to the Union as a slave state. In February 1819, Representative James Tallmadge of New York proposed an amendment to the Missouri statehood bill. The Tallmadge amendment banned the importation of slaves to Missouri and called for the gradual emancipation of slaves already living there. Southern opposition to his amendment was immediate and nearly universal. The issue of slavery had not caused such tension since the Constitutional Convention of 1787. As was the case in 1787, the new controversy over slavery centered on a battle for power between free northern states and southern states with slave economies. Northern politicians were still bitter about the constitutional compromise, which allowed southern states to count each slave as three-fifths of a person for the purpose of representation. Because northern politicians already believed the southern states possessed an unfair advantage in representation in Congress, the prospect of Missouri

entering the Union as a slave state further threatened northern power.

But the battle over slavery during the Missouri controversy was not only about political representation. On the proslavery side, the increased passion with which southern slaveholders defended the slave system was due to the increasing value of their slaves. After the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 and given the expansion into new territories with a climate ideal for growing cotton, the profitability of the slave system (previously believed to be on the wane) soared. Thus, slaveholders began to respond to any anti-slavery proposals with increased vehemence. Tallmadge's proposal triggered intense debate in Congress, dividing the North and the South into sectional interests—an early version of the ideological and economic divide that would lead to war four decades later.

The Tallmadge amendment eventually passed in the House but was defeated in the Senate. Southern senators passed another version of the statehood bill, omitting the





Tallmadge Amendment. Thus, negotiations began about how to reconcile the two bills. The heated debates centered on two central problems: maintaining a balance of power between slave and free states in Congress and whether the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery north of the Ohio River, applied to Missouri. Concerning the first point, by 1819 there were 11 free states and 11 slave states. Northerners were concerned that admitting Missouri as a slave state would upset this balance of power in Congress and give southern interests control over the federal government. The problem of a shift in the balance of legislative power was temporarily solved when Maine petitioned for statehood as a free state in 1820. With the addition of Maine, northerners' fears of a southern-controlled Congress were temporarily allayed.

Confronting the second point of contention proved more difficult. Because Missouri was part of the 1803 Louisiana Purchase and therefore not covered under the Northwest Ordinance, debates arose over whether the 1787 law applied to this territory. (The constitutional compromise had been to allow slavery to continue in the South but ban it from the territories north of the Ohio River through the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.) A settlement was eventually reached in which Missouri would be a slave state, but all other parts of the Louisiana Territory north of the 36°30' line (roughly the extension of the border between Missouri and Arkansas) would be free. Although this element of the compromise is usually attributed to HENRY CLAY, it was actually proposed by Senator J. B. Thomas of Illinois. The admission of Maine as a free state and the designation of Thomas's compromise line seemed to put an end to the conflict, until Missouri proposed a constitution that banned free blacks and mulattoes from the state. This new provision rekindled northern anger. Henry Clay proposed another compromise, offering a vaguely worded resolution stating that this exclusionary clause in the Missouri constitution should never be interpreted so as to violate the rights of any citizen. This resolution implicitly weakened the ability of free blacks to claim the rights of citizenship—a handicap that would become increasingly oppressive in the following decades. But this last compromise resolution succeeded in saving the larger agreement. The compromise legislation finally passed on February 26, 1821. One week later, Missouri was admitted into the Union as a slave state.

This sectional divide over the Missouri question brought to the surface the elemental problem that the founding fathers had failed to resolve in the constitutional debates—namely, how to reconcile the creation of a free republic with a society that relied on and sanctioned slavery. Were the provisions in the Constitution allowing for slavery in the South meant to imply that slavery should expand into new territories or simply be maintained as custom in the places where it was firmly entrenched? Did the

Constitution's framers intend to allow slavery to expand or just to exist where it already was? Was society in the newly settling West going to be controlled by slaveholding southerners or by nonslaveholding northerners? These crucial, divisive questions would only temporarily be addressed by the compromises reached in 1820 and 1821. The underlying problems would continue to fester, coming to a head again during the controversies surrounding FUGITIVE SLAVE LAWS and the COMPROMISE OF 1850. The Thomas Proviso prohibiting slavery north of the compromise line was repealed by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 and by the Supreme Court's decision in the Dred Scott case of 1857. The bitter conflict over the extension of slavery into the West finally exploded in the violent upheaval of the Civil War, which broke out in 1861. While it failed to provide a permanent solution to the conflict over slavery, the Missouri Compromise temporarily eased the tensions between rival states and established a pattern for the future entrance of slave and free states into the Union.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell and Rita M. Broyles

### Missouri Fur Company (1807–1825)

The first of the important St. Louis fur companies, the Missouri Fur Company opened the trade of the upper Missouri River, but throughout its precarious existence, it struggled against hostile Indians and against formidable rival fur companies.

Inspired by the explorations of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804–06), Manuel Lisa and his partners—William Morrison and Pierre Menard—founded the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company in 1807. They were all veterans of the fur trade. In that same year, the three partners financed a fur-trading expedition by keelboats into the upper Missouri River. The boats and their crews penetrated to the Yellowstone River, where Lisa supervised the construction of a trading post at the mouth of the Bighorn River. From this base of operations, the company sent out several trapping expeditions into the northern Rocky Mountains. In 1809, Lisa and his partners enlarged the company. The fur-trapping and trading ventures made contact with local Indian peoples, but several nations were hostile, and the



distances of the trading posts from St. Louis made reinforcement and resupply difficult and expensive. The most important result of the first years of the enterprise was the vastly expanded geographic knowledge of the region. Exploration in these remote areas was always difficult, and the enterprise confronted almost constant hostility from some Indian nations, especially the Blackfeet.

The outbreak of the WAR OF 1812 made the conduct of the fur trade especially dangerous, since it involved NATIVE AMERICANS allied with the Americans and the British. The company reorganized with three partners—Lisa, Clark, and Sylvestre Labbadie—in 1812, changing its name to the Missouri Fur Company. In 1814, the American government appointed Lisa as Indian subagent, requiring him to use his influence to hold the loyalties of the western tribes. Although Lisa proved useful in this regard, the company was out of business by 1814.

With the close of the war, the rivalries of the fur trade resumed, intensified by the growing reach of the Hudson's Bay Company to the north and the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY on the Pacific coast. In 1819, the Missouri Fur Company reorganized again, in search of new partners and fresh capital. When he died in 1820, Lisa left a legacy of exploration and entrepreneurial activity that had captured the attention of the first generation of American fur traders.

Under the leadership of Joshua Pilcher, the Missouri Fur Company embarked on a new set of expeditions along the upper Missouri. The company initially did well, but a series of attacks by the Blackfeet in 1823 killed several veteran trappers and severely damaged the company's strength. The business threats posed by WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY and JOHN JACOB ASTOR made the Missouri Fur Company increasingly unprofitable. The company employed some of the foremost veteran trappers of the fur trade, but these men were inexperienced in business at a time when the trade was increasingly competitive and business experience had become as important as skill in the field. Ashley's use of the RENDEZVOUS was an innovative step in the trade's evolution to which the Missouri Fur Company had no answer. Astor's scale of operations further dwarfed the small, almost intimate nature practices of the Missouri Fur Company traders. In 1825, the company failed and went out of business. Pilcher formed another company, but it was never successful, and in 1833 he joined the American Fur Company. In a sense, the failure of the Missouri Fur Company signaled the decline of the fur trade.

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### **Monroe, James** (1758–1831) *fifth U.S. president*

A Democratic-Republican and lifelong public servant, James Monroe served two terms as president of the United States from 1817 to 1825 during the ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS. Born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on April 28, 1758, he was the oldest of four children. His parents, Spence and Elizabeth Jones Monroe, raised their children on a farm in Orange County in the Piedmont region, and Monroe began attending Campbelltown Academy at age 11. He entered the College of William and Mary in June 1774, following the death of his father and his subsequent inheritance of all family property. At 16, he also found himself responsible for his mother and the care of his siblings until they reached maturity.

Caught up in the volatile political climate of Williamsburg, the capital of colonial Virginia, Monroe often allowed his studies to take a back seat to the excitement fostered by the coming of the Revolutionary War (1775–83). With the war in full swing by spring 1776, he enlisted in the Third Virginia Infantry Regiment under the command of Colonel Hugh Mercer to fight for independence from Great Britain. Monroe was trained by General Andrew Lewis, quickly commissioned a lieutenant, and saw his first action at the Battle of Harlem Heights (September 16, 1776) in New York. He later fought in the Battle of Trenton (December 26, 1776), where he was shot in the shoulder while fighting Hessian soldiers after crossing the icy Delaware River; it took three months for him to recover from his wounds. Afterward he was promoted to captain and participated in the Battles of Brandywine (September 11, 1777) and Germantown (October 4, 1777) in Pennsylvania. He then received a promotion to major and served as an aide-de-camp to William Alexander, also known as Lord Stirling.

After suffering through the infamously difficult winter at Valley Forge with George Washington and the rest of the Continental Army in 1777–78, Monroe's final military engagement took place at the Battle of Monmouth Court House (June 28, 1778). Increasingly frustrated in subsequent months because he never received his own command, he left Stirling's staff and the army for good in December. Monroe returned to his academic pursuits in Virginia and studied law under Thomas Jefferson, who became his lifelong mentor. He took a brief hiatus from his legal studies in 1780 when he was appointed a special military agent for Virginia, and in that capacity he helped establish a communications system to monitor British movement.

The future president began his political career when he was elected to the Virginia legislature in 1782. Between 1783 and 1786, he served in the congress formed under the Articles of Confederation. As a member of the Confederation Congress, he chaired a com-



President James Monroe (Library of Congress)

mittee in 1785 that eventually called for the framing of a new constitution, but Monroe did not participate in the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Suspicious of concentrated power, he believed the Constitution gave too much power to the federal government. He did, however, serve as a senator from 1790 to 1794 and remained a vocal opponent of the Federalist Party and many policies of the Washington administration. Despite his political disagreements with President Washington, he served as ambassador to France from 1794 to 1796, until his opposition to the Jay Treaty (1794) led Washington to revoke his appointment. Monroe returned to Virginia and was elected governor, serving from 1799 to 1802. He was politically aligned with his mentor, Thomas Jefferson, who was elected president in 1800. During the Jefferson administration, Monroe helped negotiate the Louisiana Purchase (1803). He also served as minister to France, Spain, and England. His record continued to grow as he was elected for a second time as governor of Virginia in 1811. He resigned the same year when President James Madison appointed him secretary of state, a post he held until 1817. Praised for his foresight when he predicted that the British would assault Washington, D.C., during the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15), Monroe also served as secretary of war between 1814 and 1815.

Monroe's long and distinguished public career culminated in his election as the fifth president of the United States in 1816. As president, he enjoyed great popularity, and he came just one vote short of being unanimously elected to his second term in office in 1820. His two-term presidency is often described as the "Era of Good Feelings" because of the general climate of domestic tranquility and political harmony in the United States. Optimism had swept the nation after the War of 1812, and it marked Monroe's presidency, which lacked serious political opposition due to the demise of the Federalist Party.

A strong nationalist, Monroe supported an economic nationalism that led to the creation of the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES in 1816. He signed the legislation for the MISSOURI COMPROMISE, although he never quite felt comfortable with the idea of the federal government having the power to limit the expansion of SLAVERY. Other notable accomplishments of his administration include the acquisition of FLORIDA from Spain in 1819 and the issuance of the famous MONROE DOCTRINE in 1823, which warned European powers to stay out of the Western Hemisphere and pledged that the United States would not interfere in European internal affairs.

After leaving office, Monroe served as a regent of the University of Virginia from 1826 to 1830. He passed away at the age of 73 on July 4, 1831. His death marked the end of an era, for he was the last revolutionary war hero to be elected president.

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—Sarah Eppler Janda

## Monroe Doctrine

The Monroe Doctrine, named after the president who announced it, JAMES MONROE, has been an enduring principle of American FOREIGN POLICY since the 1820s, especially with regard to Central and South America. Its origins lie both in the Old World and the New. Between 1815 and 1822, the weakened Spanish Empire in the Americas all but collapsed, resulting in the creation of several new republics. The United States in 1822 recognized the independence of its new sister republics of Mexico, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and La Plata (later Argentina). Working with his able and experienced secretary of state, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, President Monroe was anxious to defend and advance American interests, including economic ones, in the face of new political conditions that were emerging in the western hemisphere. One of the origins of the Monroe Doctrine, however, came from an

unlikely source: Great Britain. The British, who had just concluded their second war with the United States less than a decade earlier, had benefited economically from the crumbling of the Spanish Empire in the New World. They did not want to see Spain, and possibly its old rival France, rebuild their colonial empires in the western hemisphere. In 1823, France invaded Spain and replaced that nation's liberal government with a more conservative one. This led to speculation that the two nations would combine their military might and undertake an invasion of the Americas in order to reclaim sovereignty over Spain's former colonies. The United States was also concerned that the Holy Alliance, which consisted of Russia, Austria and Prussia, and was based on the shared ideals of Christianity and monarchy between them, would support such a move by Spain and France. The British foreign minister, George Canning, thereby tried to convince the U.S. government that the interests of the two nations were in concert with regards to the Spanish and other continental European powers. Canning suggested that the United States and Britain formulate an official, joint, policy opposing any possible moves by European powers in the Americas. The United States wished to see Britain recognize the independence of the new republics in the western hemisphere, but Britain, not wanting to encourage republicanism in Ireland, refused to do so. Monroe and Adams consulted with former presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, who advised that the United States accept Canning's offer. The president and secretary of state expected, however, that whether or not the United States issued a joint pronouncement with Britain or acted unilaterally, the powerful British navy would back up that policy. They also cooled to Canning's offer when they realized that Britain would not recognize any acquisition of territory by the United States that currently was part of the Spanish Empire. Many in the United States hoped, and indeed expected, that CUBA would at some point become one of the United States, and so it became clear that American and British interests in the New World were not necessarily one and the same. Monroe and Adams further concluded that such a joint U.S.-British policy would not be politically popular with the majority of the American people. The Monroe administration also wanted to maintain the American foreign policy tradition of avoiding formal alliances with European nations if at all possible.

In addition to being concerned about a possible threat from Spain, the United States was also alarmed by an expanding Russian presence in the northwestern part of North America. Russia had an interest in Alaska dating back to the first decades of the 18th century. In 1799, the czar's government had established the Russian-American Company, to which it granted exclusive rights to trade

and to make settlements in the parts of northwest North America not claimed by any other nation. American traders, however, did not recognize the rights of the Russian-American Company, and they resisted its mandate from Moscow, trading with the Native peoples, and selling them guns and ammunition, among other items. This activity by American citizens generated diplomatic protests from the czar's government to Washington. Russians had begun moving southward from Alaska, their possession; at one point there were Russian settlers in what is now CALIFORNIA, in the vicinity of present-day San Francisco. The U.S. government was concerned that the Russian expansion in the Pacific Northwest might conceivably lead to Americans becoming, at least formally, colonial subjects of the Russian Empire. In 1821, Czar Alexander I, in renewing the monopoly privileges of the Russian-American Company, set their domain at a point further southward than it had been previously, and sent a ship of the Russian navy to protect that claim. When Adams protested in a diplomatic note in 1823, the czar's government responded by dismissing the power of "expiring republicanism." Russian actions in the early 1820s in North America alarmed not just the United States, but Great Britain as well. Even so, the United States decided to reject Britain's offer of formal cooperation and act on its own. As Secretary Adams put it, "it would be more candid, as well as more dignified, to avow our principles explicitly to Russia and France, than to come in as a cockboat in the wake of the British man-of-war."

The actual pronouncement that became known as the Monroe Doctrine was included in the president's message to Congress on December 2, 1823. Although not known for the quality of his mind or breadth of vision in the way that his two Virginia predecessors, Jefferson and Madison, had been, Monroe's own view of the world was a factor in making this policy. He had been a firm advocate of republicanism in his own right, and maintained a strong belief that the institutions of the United States were worthy of emulation by other nations, especially the new republics to the south. From his first year in the White House, 1817, he had expressed a particular solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of America to break free from the Spanish Empire. He was supported in these views by his secretary of state, who joined Monroe in his dislike for European monarchies and their claims on America.

In his message to Congress, Monroe developed two main points. The first was his assertion that the era of European colonization of the New World was over, and that all of the Americas from that point forward should be considered off limits to the nations of Europe who sought to establish new colonies or claim existing ones. That meant that the United States would not accept any European state transferring one of its colonies to another. His second point



involved the general principle of nonintervention. Monroe declared that the United States would not involve itself in general European wars, such as the last of the Napoleonic Wars, which had ended just eight years previously. As the political systems of Republican America differed from those of the European nations, this would be inappropriate. At the same time, Monroe also bluntly warned the European nations that they must respect the sovereignty of the newly independent states of South America and not interfere in the hemisphere with military power. The Monroe Doctrine, as it was stated, did not have the force of law; in fact, European nations were openly skeptical and even contemptuous of it. In retrospect, it is not likely that the European powers would have embarked on any large-scale efforts to lay claim to the former American colonies of Spain. Even so, the nationalist and patriotic overtones of Monroe's message proved to be quite popular within the United States. In real terms it was not binding on any nation, as it was a unilateral declaration and not a treaty. What was more, the United States failed to back up the doctrine with force when Britain acquired some possessions in Central America and as well as the Falkland Islands off the coast of Argentina later in the 19th century. As a result of Monroe's pronouncement, however, Russia agreed not to pursue the acquisition of any territory in northwestern North America below a point satisfactory to the United States. This agreement essentially ended any chance that Russia would emerge as a power, colonial or otherwise, in North America.

The Monroe Doctrine, as it became known in the later 19th century, was not immediately recognized as having long-term significance. It became relevant during the crisis that led to the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR of the 1840s. President JAMES K. POLK in 1845 invoked the Monroe Doctrine when criticizing continued British claims to parts of the Oregon Territory that the United States considered to be rightfully theirs. As the United States grew into a world power in the 20th century, it became much easier for it to act in explicit defense of the principles first articulated by Monroe in 1823. Critics of the Monroe Doctrine have labeled it as providing a cover for American economic and military domination of the entire Western Hemisphere. The U.S. government, however, has never revoked the Monroe Doctrine as a general principle, finding occasion to both distance itself from the doctrine, and to invoke it, when it suited its interests in specific instances.

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—Jason K. Duncan

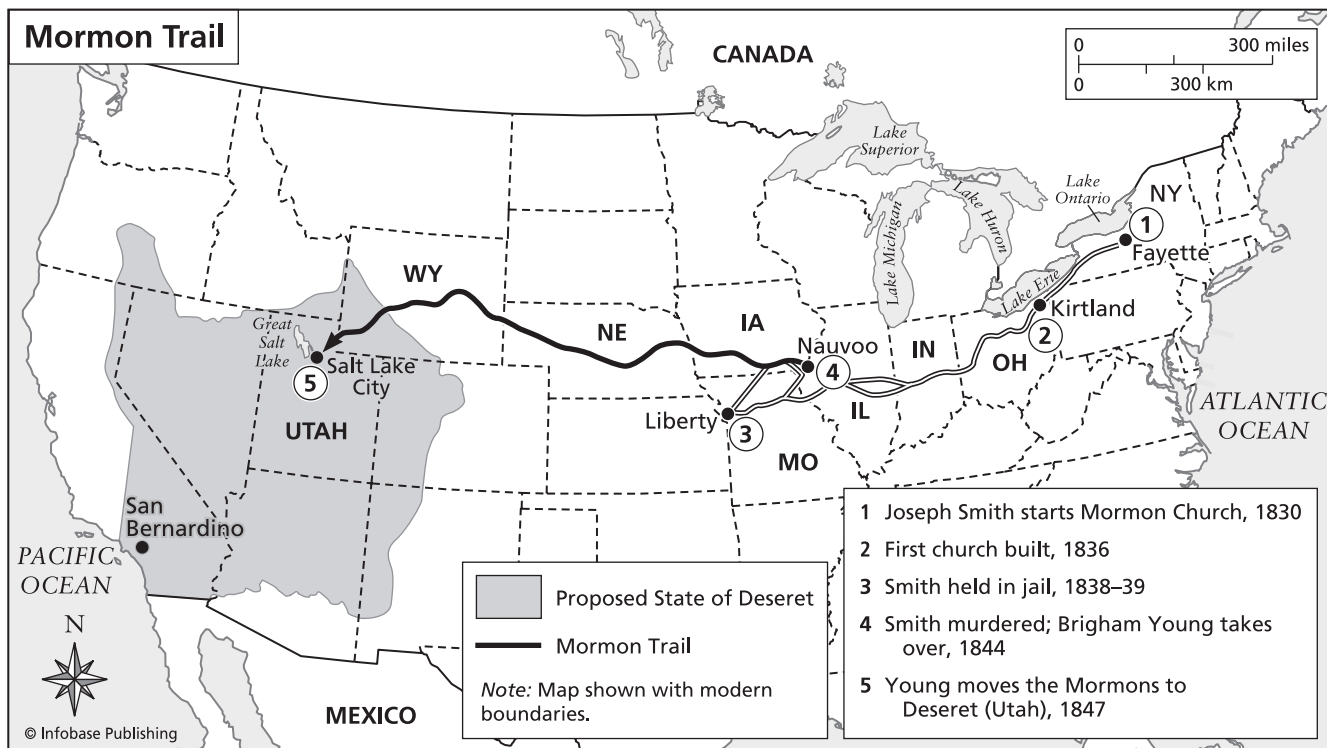
## Mormon Trail

On their overland emigrations from the towns on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers to the Mormon settlements in Utah, members of the CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS followed what came to be known as the Mormon Trail. The first, shortest, and most briefly used segment of the trail ran from Nauvoo, Illinois, to Winter Quarters, Nebraska (near present-day Omaha). In winter 1845–46 the Mormon Community in Nauvoo, under the leadership of BRIGHAM YOUNG, faced the rising hostility of the surrounding countryside. Young had hoped to arrange a truce that would allow the church to emigrate in spring 1846, but armed mobs surrounding the city refused to give him such respite. Instead, as early as late autumn 1845, they began raids on outlying Mormon settlements and soon near the city of Nauvoo itself. Young now directed that the emigrations begin immediately, and in the middle of winter, carefully organized groups of Mormon families crossed the ice on the frozen Mississippi and moved across the Territory of Iowa toward the West.

Advance parties, designated “pioneers,” marked the trail, built log cabins for shelter, established a mail service, dug wells, and even planted fields of corn to be harvested by later bands of Mormons. By October 1847 some 12,000 Mormons had reached Winter Quarters, near Omaha on the Missouri River. Winter Quarters was a temporary resting place, but the onset of winter demanded the rapid organization of the community and preparations for the changing season. Work parties built shelter, while others fanned out into the countryside to purchase supplies of food. In spite of the energetic preparations, the winter season was a difficult one. Some 600 Mormons died from exposure and disease.

Even as he struggled to provide for the Mormon encampment in the face of winter, Young and his counselors were planning the emigration to the West. Building on their successful experience in crossing Iowa, he designated pioneers to mark the route and provide support. He then divided the entire Mormon community into bands of tens, fifties, and hundreds, each group with a designated leader. The chain of command ran up to Young himself. He also issued instructions for driving the wagons, managing the livestock, and maintaining security in camping at night. The Sabbath was to be strictly observed, and in the tradition of looking to the future, Young directed that records of the overland journey to the West be kept and carefully preserved.

In April 1847, the “Pioneer Band” of 148 persons set out from Winter Quarters. The well-marked and well-used OREGON TRAIL followed the south bank of the Platte River, but Young did not follow this trail, probably concluding that any parties encountered would be hostile to the Mormons. Instead, he established a new route along



the north bank of the Platte that would become known as the Mormon Trail. The advance party reached FORT LARAMIE in early June, then followed the Oregon Trail for some 400 miles to Fort Bridger. At this point, Young and his party left the Oregon Trail and struck across the Wasatch Range into the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. It was at the entrance to the valley that Young called his party together and announced the site as the future gathering of Zion.

Young now returned east to make preparations for the emigration of the main body of the church to the valley. Using the revised Mormon Trail and supported by the planning of church leaders and the work of the pioneers, the church gradually moved west. Some 1,600 members arrived in 1847, and another 2,500 in 1848. The costs proved daunting, even with the funds acquired from enlisting the Mormon Battalion, a military unit organized by Brigham Young, for the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR. In order to economize, Mormon leaders introduced a plan under which emigrants would push handcarts across the plains to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. The first of the handcart companies departed from Coralville, Iowa, in spring 1856, and over five years, almost 3,000 emigrants pushed or pulled handcarts to the valley. The handcart expeditions were arduous and risky. Two of the first five companies departing in 1856 failed to reach the crest of the mountains before the first major snowfall, and numerous

Mormons lost their lives. Eventually the church dispatched supply wagons to accompany the handcart companies. This expedition of the handcart companies was one of the most remarkable stories of the overland migration across the plains.

The Mormon Trail remained in use through the 1860s, although the numbers using it declined steadily. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 and its extension into Salt Lake City, railroad travel became the standard means of transportation to the Mormon settlements in Utah. Over its life, approximately 70,000 Mormons followed the trail. It was an important chapter in overland travel to the West.

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### Mormon War (1857–1858)

The Mormon War was a conflict between the CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS and the federal government that led to the invasion and occupation of Utah Territory by the U.S. Army. The war had its origins in 25 years of continuing hostility between the Mormon Church and its neighbors and eventually American society as a whole. These ongoing clashes led to Mormon emigra-



tions from Kirtland, Ohio, to western Missouri; from western Missouri to Nauvoo, Illinois; and, finally, from Nauvoo to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake in Utah.

By the time the main body of the church, under its leader BRIGHAM YOUNG, arrived in Utah in 1847, public distaste for the church had transformed to violent hostility. The original Mormon prophet, JOSEPH SMITH, JR., had been assassinated by a mob in Carthage, Illinois, in 1844. Attacks on Mormons and their property had forced them to move from Nauvoo to the West. The primary causes of the hostility were Mormon growth and prosperity, in-group loyalty and identification at the expense of outsiders, and issues of local and state politics. To these issues were added stories of peculiar Mormon religious rituals and, beginning in 1842, rumors of POLYGAMY among Mormon leaders. These continuing conflicts forced Smith's successor, Brigham Young, and the church to flee west to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake.

Once arrived in the valley, Young organized the landscape and the community to serve the needs of the church. When the U.S. Congress organized Utah Territory as a part of the COMPROMISE OF 1850, Young was appointed governor of the territory; this recognized that the residents of the territory were predominantly Mormon in character. Along with a governor, the Northwest Ordinance, still the organic law for organizing new territories, provided for three judges to be appointed. The judges would form the supreme court of the territory, and the judges and the governor would draft a code of law for the new territory. In company with Young as governor, the president appointed three non-Mormon judges from the East. It would prove to be an awkward mix.

Suspicion of and antagonism toward Mormons experienced a strong revival in 1852 with the public announcement that polygamy, long practiced in secret, was indeed a fundamental belief of the church. To Mormons, polygamy was a holy doctrine, commanded by the Lord through the words of Joseph Smith. To non-Mormons, polygamy was the ultimate proof of the immorality of the church and its leaders, whose real purpose in its promulgation was lust and lawlessness. Certainly adherence to the doctrine of polygamy laid the basis for the revival of conflict that would continue for a half-century.

When the newly appointed federal judges arrived in Utah Territory, they found a large church community organized as a theocracy, with church leaders in control of the natural resources (land and water) of the territory, dominant in political life, and influential in issues of law. Residents were obedient to church doctrine and leaders at every level. Young saw the judges as meddling outsiders, distant from and perhaps even hostile to the Mormon community. The judges saw themselves as representatives of the authority of the national government, whose pres-

ence was alternately ignored or circumvented. Young and the church leaders actively schemed to bypass the federal courts and handle cases in local courts, where the influence of the church was paramount.

The judges complained to Washington that the authority of the federal government was being undermined and even contravened by the church. As anti-Mormon sentiment rose with the public outcry over polygamy, politicians and parties moved to condemn the Saints. The REPUBLICAN PARTY platform of 1856 singled out for condemnation "those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery." The DEMOCRATIC PARTY won the election, but the administration of President James Buchanan faced an unending series of insoluble problems associated with sectionalism and SLAVERY. Mormon behavior in the Utah Territory became one of the few issues on which anything like a national consensus could be found. In 1857, Buchanan issued a proclamation accusing the Mormons of rebellion against the constituted authority of the U.S. government. In order to put down this rebellion, the president sent a military expedition to reestablish the American government's authority.

News of the dispatch of an armed expedition heightened the suspicion and hostility of the church and its leaders against non-Mormons. The arrival of an armed expedition produced bombastic rhetoric from church pulpits: Mormons were being subjected to another in a series of persecutions, and the community must defend itself. As war fever swept across the territory, Young and church leaders organized for a spirited armed defense. Soon, however, Young decided in favor of a more passive response. The church leadership went into hiding, and bands of volunteers raided the supply wagons of the advancing federal army. The Mormons burned Fort Bridger, fearing that the outpost would be of assistance to the troops. They also set fire to the grasslands, intent on denying the federal troops the use of forage for livestock.

In late June 1858, the invading army passed through a largely deserted Salt Lake City. It established Camp Floyd some 40 miles away. The two sides now settled down to maintaining a continuing federal presence, while various individuals tried to draft some kind of truce between the two sides. An accommodation of sorts was eventually reached, but armed forces continued to occupy portions of Utah Territory. After much initial suspicion and even hostility, the opposing parties began communicating, and federal officers started buying supplies from Mormon farmers. The federal troops and the Mormon community never entirely accepted one another, but they did meet on a regular basis for mutual benefit. The occupation of Utah as a permanent feature of life in the territory came to an end with the outbreak of the Civil War (1861–65). The elements of the army withdrew.

By this time, Young had been removed as governor of Utah Territory, but discord over authority in Utah Territory continued. In 1862, during the civil conflict over the future of the Union, the government dispatched another armed force to Utah to observe the activities of the church and its leaders. The second expedition was withdrawn later that year, but the conflict between the church and the nation would continue for another 30 years, ending only when the church issued a revised doctrine that outlawed polygamy and Utah was admitted to the Union in 1896.

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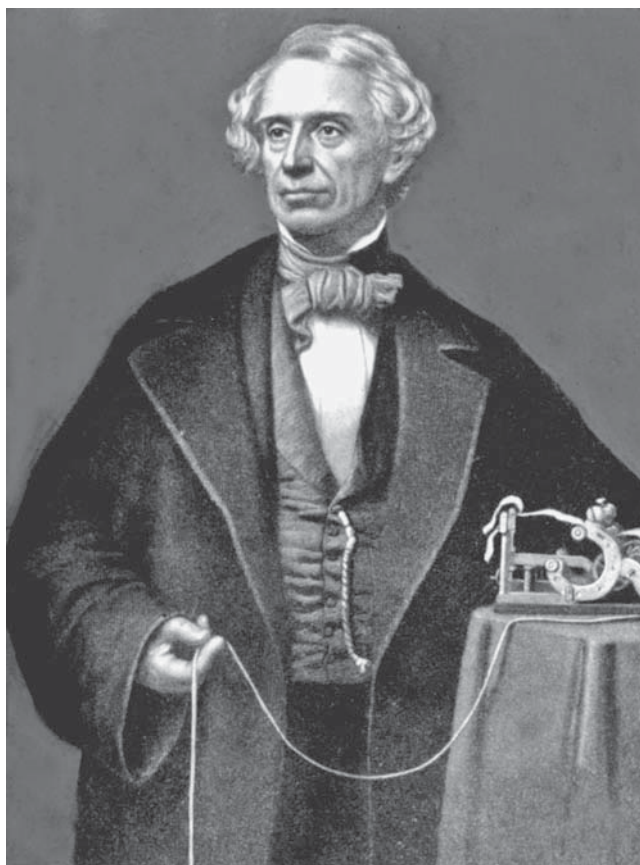
**Morse, Samuel F. B.** (1791–1872) *inventor of the telegraph*

Artist and inventor of the telegraph, Samuel Finley Breese Morse was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on April 27, 1791, the eldest son of a Calvinist minister. He was educated at the elite Phillips Academy in Andover before attending Yale College. Morse proved an indifferent student, but while at Yale he displayed considerable artistic talent and painted miniature portraits. This brought him to the attention of noted artist Washington Allston, who convinced him to study at his studio in England. Morse quickly gained renown as a promising painter, winning several awards. However, he had less success following his return home in 1815 and subsequently returned to painting miniatures. Morse married Lucretia Walker in 1818, and eventually settled in New York City, where he helped establish the National Academy of the Arts of Design in 1826.

Morse endured a hardscrabble existence as a painter, talented but lacking sufficient patronage to thrive. Following the deaths of his wife, father, and mother in 1826–28, he spent some time in Europe. While returning home in 1829, he met inventor Charles Thomas Jackson, who convinced him of the practicality of sending messages with electrical impulses. This notion subsequently became the driving force in Morse's life. He eventually found work as a painting and sculpture instructor at the fledgling University of the City of New York (later New York University), investing all of his spare time and money making electromagnetic signals a reality. At length he acquired two partners—Leonard Gale, a chemistry professor; and Alfred Vail, a talented mechanic—in 1837. Together, the three men came up with a viable scheme for sending signals over wire through a transmitter and a receiver. The mechanism

employed a system of dots and dashes, combinations of which represented a number or letter, making it possible to decipher messages quickly. This eventually became known as the Morse Code.

Although Morse's telegraph worked and had practical applications, it generated very little enthusiasm. He initially proffered it to the federal government in 1837, but they displayed no interest. Despite his acquisition of a government patent, the telegraph languished from lack of funding. It was not until 1844 that Congress appropriated \$30,000 for Morse to lay down a 40-mile telegraph line between Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, Maryland. On May 24, 1844, Morse tapped out the cryptic message "What has God wrought?"—and a communications revolution began. In fact, the telegraph made an indelible impact on the course of subsequent American history. The device accompanied the railroad lines westward and, through instantaneous transmission of messages, conquered distance. For the first time a network of wires could connect even the remotest frontier settlement with large urban centers on the East Coast, promoting a greater sense of national unity. Telegraphs were also extensively employed



Samuel F. B. Morse (Hulton/Archive)

by both sides during the Civil War, proving useful for communications and intelligence work.

Morse founded the Magnetic Telegraph Company in 1845, although the company struggled and he ultimately merged with the Western Union Corporation in 1866. Within a few years, telegraphs were being employed throughout the world. Morse eventually retired to his home in Poughkeepsie, New York, to reap a fortune in licensing fees. He died on April 2, 1872, having ushered in the age of global communications.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Mott, Lucretia** (1793–1880) *abolitionist, women's rights activist*

Born January 3, 1793, into a Quaker family on Nantucket, Lucretia Coffin Mott was a lifelong activist for abolition and women's rights. The daughter of Anna Folger and Thomas Coffin, Mott credited her childhood with the formation of her independent character. She was surrounded by strong female role models from an early age. Since most men on the island gained their livelihood from the sea, women frequently spent long periods of time alone, raising families and running businesses in the absence of their fathers, husbands, and brothers. "The exercise of women's talents in this line," Mott later wrote, "tended to develop their intellectual powers and strengthen them mentally and physically."

In 1804 the Coffin family left Nantucket for Boston, where she attended a series of public and private schools. At the age of 14, she and a sister left home to attend a coeducational Quaker boarding school near Poughkeepsie, New York. The following year, Lucretia Coffin was asked to become an assistant teacher, and at 16 she joined the staff full-time. It was there that she became friends with another teacher, James Mott, whom she married on April 10, 1811.

Mott remembered the early years of her marriage as a time of considerable difficulty. The WAR OF 1812, her father's death, and general economic uncertainty in the United States presented the couple with a number

of financial challenges. To survive, the Motts taught, ran a school for a period of time, and operated a dry-goods business. They welcomed their first child into the world in 1812 and would go on to have five more before 1828. While deeply involved in the raising of her children, Mott confessed later in life that she always read books rather than apply herself to the "unnecessary stitching and ornamental work" that occupied many other women of her class.

At the age of 25, Mott began to take on a more active role within the Society of Friends, becoming a minister in 1821. Following a split in the society in 1827, the Motts became Hicksite Quakers. They believed in a liberal interpretation of the Bible and the power of each individual to understand God on their own terms. Throughout these years, Mott worked diligently on a variety of social issues. She was a devout believer in the TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT, campaigned on a variety of working-class concerns, and became an increasingly vocal participant in the ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

In 1833 Mott organized the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia. Early members of the society included ANGELINA GRIMKÉ AND SARAH GRIMKÉ, sisters who would themselves go on to prominent careers as public abolitionists. In 1837, Mott helped to organize the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women. In 1838, two days after the annual convention had been held at Pennsylvania Hall, Philadelphia, the meeting rooms were burned by opponents of the abolition movement. The protestors tried to attack the Motts' home later the same night.

In 1840 Mott traveled to London with her husband to attend the World Anti-Slavery Convention. Despite attending as an elected delegate of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, she was refused entry to the convention because she was a woman. Five other female delegates were also turned away. Mott noted in her diary that she and the other women were treated politely by the organizers of the convention. This did not, however, lessen her offense at having been turned away. Many prominent male delegates to the convention argued that having women in attendance would trivialize their cause and open them up to ridicule. Mott and her allies countered that the same arguments were used in the United States by those who believed black men and women should not attend public meetings.

This was not the first time that Mott had been confronted by prejudice toward her sex. Female teachers at the Quaker boarding school where she had finished her education earned only half the salary of their male colleagues. Later in life, she had established the Female-Anti Slavery Society of Philadelphia because women were initially prohibited from joining William Lloyd Garrison's American Anti-Slavery Society. Mott had also been heckled and threatened for speaking in public and for daring to address



mixed crowds, activities considered by many Americans to be improper.

These past experiences were compounded by the situation at the London convention. There Mott met Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the wife of another American delegate, who expressed her sympathies and outrage at the turn of events. In conversation, the two women decided that legal and cultural inequalities suffered by women in the United States must end. They began to plan a convention at which women could meet one another, become educated, and adopt a course of activism to win the rights they had long been denied.

In 1848 the first women's rights convention was held at SENECA FALLS, New York. It was the product of Mott and Stanton's 1840 conversations, their ensuing friendship, and the assistance of many other reform-minded women. The convention was the beginning of a long-term women's rights movement in the United States. It was also the beginning of a new chapter in Mott's life. For the remainder of her years, she worked tirelessly for WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS. In 1850, she published *Discourses on Women*, a pamphlet that argued there was nothing natural about woman's subordination to man. Instead, argued Mott, the inequities women experienced were created by laws, customs, and a lack of education. All three things, she asserted, needed to be changed.

Throughout the 1850s, Mott lectured and attended women's rights conventions across the United States. Still fiercely abolitionist, she and her husband also opened their home to enslaved men and women escaping the institution of slavery on the Underground Railroad. She remained a devout pacifist and was severely discomfited by the Civil War. Her religious beliefs condemned violence, but she hoped, like many others, that the conflict would bring SLAVERY to a final end. Mott continued to be active in Quaker circles, and she preached regularly for the rest of her life. She died on November 11, 1880.

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—Catherine J. Denial

## mountain men

Following the Lewis and Clark expedition (1804–06), fur trappers began moving into the mountains of the West, where they pursued a free and unstructured life. Over time, they became known as mountain men.

The FUR TRADE was among the earliest profitable enterprises for early Europeans in the New World. They

traded with Indian peoples who brought them furs; they then took the goods to England and Europe, where there was a ready market. With the development of great European empires, the fur trade took on national as well as economic meaning, and each nation centralized its operations. Eventually the fur trade became dominated by national monopolies. The British government pursued its interests through the Hudson's Bay Company and the upstart North West Company (of Montreal origin); the two companies merged in 1821. The American entrepreneur JOHN JACOB ASTOR and his AMERICAN FUR COMPANY rounded out the field with a few independent traders, such as Manuel Lisa and the CHOUTEAU FAMILY, operating out of St. Louis. Almost all trappers and traders were affiliated with one of these organizations. The fur-trade enterprise involved long journeys over distant uncharted landscapes and interactions with Indian peoples, some of them hostile: while there were great profits, there were also great risks. Therefore the support of a large organization that could provide both safety in numbers and credit was deemed necessary.

After the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15), American fur traders began to provide stiff competition for the previously dominant British. Mountain men were an important part of the process. In February 1822, WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY advertised in the *St. Louis Gazette* for "Enterprising Young Men . . . to ascend the Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two, or three years." Ashley's first expedition brought together the fur trade's most celebrated figures, those men who would become the most famous of the mountain men. They included JEDEDIAH STRONG SMITH, JAMES BRIDGER, Thomas Fitzpatrick, JIM BECKWORTH, and Milton and WILLIAM SUBLETTE. These men were independent trappers and traders who functioned within a system established by Ashley known as the RENDEZVOUS. Trappers would assemble annually in the summer at an agreed-upon location, while Ashley came from St. Louis with supplies. In a four-week-long event, the trappers would trade their annual harvest of furs to Ashley for guns, powder, knives, metal tools, and whiskey. An enterprising mountain man might have 400 beaver pelts and perhaps more. The trade would produce a balance sheet that favored both sides: Ashley received the furs, the trapper the necessary supplies to remain in the field for another year.

The rendezvous was more than a market; it was also a social occasion of great importance. Trappers isolated by solitary lives in the mountain landscape of the West gathered to meet one another in what amounted to a celebration marked by eating and drinking to excess, contests of skill, gambling, and occasional fights.

Mountain men adopted an identity and mastered the wilderness skills necessary to the life they pursued. In appearance and dress, they were much like the NATIVE AMERICANS in the regions where they lived and trapped.



American mountain man with his pony laden with luggage (Hulton/Archive)

A typical mountain man wore a long hunting shirt, leggings, moccasins, and long shoulder-length hair. Many married Indian women, sometimes to keep peace with their Native American neighbors; some had more than one wife. Observers commented that they often adopted the habits and gait of the Indians with whom they shared the landscape. The mountain man's life was sometimes viewed as romantic, but it was also highly dangerous. Trappers were killed by Indians, mauled by grizzly bears, and frozen to death in the savage winters of the Rocky Mountains.

The long list of mountain men's deaths and injuries emphasized the mortality of the fur trade itself. Independent trappers and contract trappers from the Hudson's Bay Company and the American Fur Company were exceptionally skillful at their trade. Whether individually or in groups called brigades, they trapped the beaver in the most distant reaches of the mountains. As a result the annual harvest of beaver went into a dramatic decline, and it was eventually replaced by trade in buffalo hides. The year 1840 marked the last official rendezvous. Mountain men who still survived settled down to run outfitting stations on the OREGON TRAIL and CALIFORNIA TRAIL, or they became professional guides and explorers.

The exploits of the mountain men helped to open up the West as they found new paths to the Pacific Coast and charted previously unexplored regions. But they represented only a fleeting part of the West's history as their economic enterprise and lifestyle became doomed to extinction.

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### **Murrieta, Joaquín** (ca. 1830–1853 or 1878) *rebel*

A legendary figure from the California goldfields, Joaquín Murrieta (or Murieta) was a Mexican bandit and revolutionary who fought against the U.S. incursion into CALIFORNIA. Murrieta's life was intertwined with myth and fact. The first record of his presence was a baptismal certificate dated 1830 in Sonora, Mexico, identifying him as the son of a laborer in a silver-mining camp. His mother traced her heritage to Cadiz, Spain. The young Murrieta grew up in a world charged with violence. The province of Sonora was in constant turmoil, rebelling against the new, independent Republic of Mexico. The Mayo and Yaqui Indians, laborers in the silver mines, were in revolt against the mine owners.

When he was 13, in about 1843, young Murrieta enrolled in a Jesuit school in Alamos but did not stay long. Leaving the school, he married the daughter of a local laborer and went to work. In 1848, responding to news of the discovery of gold, the young couple joined the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH, as thousands of Sonorans migrated north. Indeed, during the early months of the rush, Mexican miners dominated the goldfields of the Sierra Nevada, where their presence was characterized by large numbers and mining skills that they shared with arriving neophyte miners from the United States and, soon, around the world. Murrieta found work on a ranch near Stockton, where he worked with the horses used for transportation of supplies to the mines. In 1850, officials in Stockton arrested him on robbery charges; he was jailed and subsequently released as innocent. Murrieta then moved with his wife to Sonora, the center of the Mexican population in the goldfields. In a gold camp named Saw Mill Flat, he built a cabin and staked a claim.

Murrieta and his wife now fell victim to the growing hostility of American miners toward foreign miners, especially those who did not speak English. The Mexican



miners were among the first targets, for they were alien in culture, present in large numbers in the southern mines, and had possession of some of the richest claims. At a time of increased competition in the mines, the Mexicans became the first and most obvious victims of discrimination. The institutional lever was the Foreign Miners Tax of 1850, sometimes called the “Greaser Act” because Mexicans were the acknowledged targets. Passed by the legislature and signed by the governor in 1850, the act soon drove Mexican miners out of the goldfields. However, unlike other foreign nationals—the Chileans, Peruvians, and French, for example—Mexicans always had the option of returning south to home, and most of them did.

At about this time, according to the popular story of Murrieta’s life, a band of American miners came to Murrieta’s claim, raped his wife, and drove him away. Murrieta now took refuge in the hills and turned to banditry, which was both an economic advantage and an act of revenge for the outrages committed against him and his family. Some came to describe him then and later as a revolutionary, leading an armed insurrection against officials and citizens of the State of California. Whatever the truth, his first attempts at banditry were awkward. But other dispossessed Mexican miners flocked to his standard, along with occasional professional thieves. Within a year, Murrieta commanded a large band, perhaps even several bands, which raided throughout the San Joaquin Valley. In the style of bandits with a political agenda, Murrieta’s gang found refuge with the old Californio families in the valley, the group that had been victimized by the arrival of the waves of American miners and lawyers in response to the discovery of gold.

As Murrieta’s legend grew, so did demands for his capture and trial. The legislature offered a large reward for him, dead or alive. In July 1853, the California Rangers, a vigilante organization, claimed to have captured, tried, and beheaded Murrieta. His raids ceased about that time, but over the years, his presence reemerged in the California sierra. According to legend, the so-called “Ghost of the Sonora” had escaped his pursuers, and he was ranching in the mountains of Sonora or living in a village. As late as the 1870s, reports of him continued to appear. A final note recorded that he died in 1878 and was buried in an old Jesuit cemetery high in the Sierra Madre.

The political dimension of Murrieta’s banditry grew with time, moving him along a path from bandit to rebel to revolutionary. This transition received its fullest statement by a cousin of Murrieta in 1932: “To the Mexicans, he was a great liberator, come out of Mexico to take California back from the hands of the gringos. They did not call his ‘looting’ and ‘killing’ banditry. They called it ‘war.’” Thus, Murrieta became a rallying cry for a revolution, a war of liberation.

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## music

Americans in the first half of the 19th century had few musical resources but a great urge to incorporate music into their daily lives. They wanted to hear good tunes and be entertained. This desire, combined with the rapidly increasing population of the United States, created a mass market for music. Consequently, music creators profited from a ready audience, and America began to develop a national musical culture.

The United States in 1813 was a nation of few musical instruments and little formal musical training. A few professional musicians had by then emigrated from Europe, but music-making remained largely an amateur proposition. Amateurs fervently pursued their interest, however, even—or especially—when times did not favor the pursuit. For example, pioneers traveling west of the Mississippi River reported not only the dangers and privations of the journey but also the determined music-making of the travelers. Likewise, miners in the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH of 1848–49 eagerly sought sheet music and whatever musical instruments were available—accordions, violins, guitars, flutes, horns—to entertain themselves in camp after each long, tiring day of panning for gold. Throughout the United States, cheap instruments such as Jew’s harps could be had and frequently were. Those too remote to buy instruments sometimes fashioned their own, occasionally inventing new kinds of instruments if, due to isolation, they did not know what existing instruments elsewhere looked and sounded like. Music-making was equally ubiquitous in more favorable environments: Saloons everywhere tried to provide music; and singing on trains was so common as to be unavoidable.

The most common form of music to be found in the United States as of 1813 was vocal music. Since the arrival of the first New England settlers, vocal music had been an important form of worship. Hence, sacred songbooks were in demand throughout the United States in the early 19th century. Lowell Mason knew this when he prepared the *Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music*, published in 1821. Yet the degree of demand astounded even him; the collection was an extraordinary success, going through 22 editions and making Mason a very rich man. Competition grew for the sacred music market; in 1836, for example, came *The Billings and Holden Collection of Ancient Psalmody*, which claimed to republish pioneer song “as originally written,” in contrast to Mason’s versions, which he had “improved” to elevate the public

taste. Meanwhile, music had acquired all the trappings of “big business”: First, composers could now get rich from sales of their work to the public, a novel development. Second, American mass production and distribution techniques had become sophisticated enough to permit broad dissemination. Finally, sensational advertising and promotion of composers’ work propelled sales.

By the 1820s, local manufacture of musical instruments commenced in response to public demand for the means to make music. As the availability of popular sheet music and musical instruments expanded, so did the variety of music performance available in the United States. Half a century before, when professional musicians were especially scarce, the semiprivate subscription concerts of “gentlemen” amateurs had been among the few skilled performances available. By contrast, in the early to mid-19th century, assorted performers toured communities of all sizes. The minister Robert Kemp, for example, tapped into the vogue for “authentically American” music in the 1830s with a series of “Old Folks Concerts,” in which singers dressed in 18th-century clothing and sang old-fashioned hymns and ballads; these concerts flourished well into the 1860s and reached millions, almost throughout America. Family groups such as the famous Hutchinson Family Singers were acclaimed for their republican approach to music: Dressed in ordinary clothes, the three brothers and one sister sang hymns and popular ballads both in concert halls and in common taverns all through the 1840s. The family singers genre became so well-known and successful that it was parodied mercilessly by the end of the decade.

The most successful of all mid-19th-century American entertainments, however, was the minstrel show. This form, which entered northern theaters in about 1840, is believed to be an imitation of the plantation shows mounted by slaves on days when they were not permitted to work. Consisting of singing and dancing by both individuals and groups, plantation shows drew large crowds in the South. The imitation—and later, burlesque—that was the minstrel show was a variety show composed of dancing, singing, and skits. Performers entered ceremonially and seated themselves in a semicircle, with musicians spaced for antiphonal effect. All wore blackface (even black performers) except for the master of ceremonies or “interlocutor,” who wore whiteface. The skits borrowed some stock characters—the “Negro type,” for example, was a variation of the standard Irish buffoon—and developed some of its own, such as Jim Crow and Zip Coon. Performers sang comic songs and sentimental ballads, known as “Ethiopian songs,” in a style imitating African-American idiom. Audiences moved spontaneously to the rhythmic music. By the mid 1840s, the minstrel show was the most popular entertainment in the United States, drawing racially and economically diverse

crowds. As time went on, minstrelsy presented increasingly derisive depictions of African Americans before being surpassed in popularity by vaudeville in the 1870s.

Despite Americans’ professed admiration for unpretentious performers, snob appeal was effective in drawing crowds, and musical performers and their managers frequently claimed high-class connections. The indefatigable showman P. T. Barnum was a master of such promotional finesse, convincing the public, for example, that the “Swedish nightingale” Jenny Lind was not only a singer of extraordinary ability but also the personification of womanly virtue. Crowds flocked to see Lind throughout her 1850–52 tour. They were not disappointed. Lind excelled in the art of “descriptive” singing, or dramatically acting out the story of a song while singing it. Such histrionic singing, performance of which often moved audiences to tears of pity, shrieks of terror, or gales of delighted laughter, was in great demand. An earlier master of “descriptive” performance was the English singer Henry Russell, who toured the United States in 1833–41. Russell attributed his inspiration to sing in this style to the politician and orator HENRY CLAY. “Why, if Henry Clay could create such an impression by his distinct enunciation of every word,” Russell reported having asked himself, “should it not be possible for me to make music the vehicle of grand thoughts and noble sentiments, to speak to the world through the power of poetry and song!”

Such dramatic performances were not limited to urban centers, and amateur performers likewise attempted to evoke the moods of the songs they sang at home with expression, diction, gesture, and often appropriate costuming. Besides modes of performance, private and public America shared the same tunes everywhere: Although class distinctions were still carefully noted in “republican” America, particularly in the antebellum South, the same melodies were as popular in the parlor as on the minstrel stage.

Popular music was thus a shared point of reference for Americans of diverse backgrounds in the first half of the 19th century. While somewhat anachronistic, better reflecting the tastes of Americans’ 18th-century European forebears than the new romantic style then emerging in Europe, American popular music of 1813–55 served as a touchstone of the developing national culture of the United States.

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—Dorothy Cummings





## National Road

The National Road refers to a highway constructed with the authorization of the U.S. government in the early 19th century that eventually connected the eastern seaboard with the Ohio River Valley and points west. Also known as the Cumberland Road and the National Pike, it began as a proposal in Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin's plan for the federal government to support INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS in 1808. Gallatin's plan was comprehensive but controversial, as no clear consensus existed in the government for the federal government to finance public roads. Consequently, state governments paid for the road's construction. Much of the financing came from the state of Ohio, whose 1803 state charter included a stipulation that the federal government and the state would share in the cost of road construction. Five percent of all proceeds from public land sales in Ohio were set aside from the construction of roads. Of this amount, Congress spent two-fifths, while three-fifths was spent by the Ohio legislature.

Construction began in 1811 in Cumberland, Maryland, along an old military road used in the French and Indian War (1754–63). The road connected to the privately built Baltimore Pike, providing a link to coastal roads. By 1818, the National Road cut through western Pennsylvania to Wheeling, Virginia. By 1833, it had reached Vandalia, Illinois. The road spurred western expansion and commerce, improving the ability of pioneers to cut through the Appalachian Mountains to the fertile river valleys and plains to the west. Towns such as Brownsville, Pennsylvania, and Wheeling, Virginia (now West Virginia), boomed with new taverns, blacksmiths, stables, and other businesses to aid travelers.

By 1820 the road had become an important link between the steamboat trade of the Ohio River Valley and the East Coast. It also had significant political implications because of concerns that the federal government did not have constitutional authority to finance its construction. Previously, Thomas Jefferson's initial response to Gallatin's original proposal had been to suggest that it needed a constitutional amendment. Momentum for all internal improvements increased between 1808 and 1825 as a consequence of the Embargo of 1807 and WAR OF 1812 (1812–15). Federal support for internal improvements (including road building) became a pillar of the AMERICAN SYSTEM for economic development pushed from 1816 to 1825 by national political leaders such as HENRY CLAY and JOHN C. CALHOUN. Yet James Madison was a steadfast opponent of federally funded roads and canals on constitutional grounds, and JAMES MONROE also had reservations about the constitutionality of such projects. The issue became prominent in 1817, when Madison vetoed the BONUS BILL, which would have provided federal funds for an array of new roads and canals around the country. In 1822, Monroe expressed his own principles when he vetoed a bill to provide national funding for road repairs. However, in his veto message Monroe also indicated that he would accept federal support for roads as long as the plans met with approval from the states that the roads cut across. Thus, in 1824 he signed the General Survey Act authorizing extensive federal plans for road and canal projects across the nation. Under the General Survey Act, Congress approved plans to extend the National Road across Illinois and the Mississippi River to central Missouri.

The establishment of the National Road saw thousands of travelers heading west over the Allegheny Mountains to settle the rich lands of the Ohio River Valley. Small towns along the road's path began to grow and prosper with the increase in population. Towns such as Cumberland, Maryland; Uniontown, Pennsylvania; Brownsville, Pennsylvania; Washington, Pennsylvania; and Wheeling, West Virginia evolved into commercial centers of business and industry. Uniontown was the headquarters for three major stagecoach lines carrying passengers over the National Road. Brownsville, on the Monongahela River, was a center for steamboat building and river-freight hauling. Many small towns and villages along the road contained taverns,





blacksmith shops, and livery stables. During the heyday of the National Road, traffic was heavy throughout the day and into the early evening. Almost every kind of vehicle could be seen on the road. The two most common vehicles were the stagecoach and the Conestoga wagon. Stagecoach travel was designed with speed in mind; stages would average 60–70 miles in one day.

By the early 1850s, technology was changing the way people traveled. The steam locomotive was being perfected, and soon railroads began to cross the Allegheny Mountains. The people of southwestern Pennsylvania fought strongly to keep the railroad out of the area, knowing the impact it would have on the National Road. In 1852, the Pennsylvania Railroad was completed to Pittsburgh and shortly after, the BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD reached Wheeling. This spelled doom for the National Road. As the traffic quickly declined, many taverns went out of business. The National Road became part of U.S. 40 highway in 1926.

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—James R. Karmel

## Native Americans

At the opening of the 19th century, Native American cultures had already been under assault by disease and displacement for 200 years. The events of the next two generations would accelerate the conflicts between Native and Euro-Americans. Despite alternating periods of assimilation and fierce resistance, events culminated in the forced removal and relocation of virtually all eastern Native American nations across the Mississippi River. While many whites believed this was the only rational alternative to eventual annihilation, many more simply coveted their land and were determined to acquire it by whatever means available. The ensuing TRAIL OF TEARS came to symbolize the pervasive mistreatment that most Indians suffered at the hands of a callous and indifferent U.S. government.

When Meriwether Lewis and William Clark went west in 1804, their mission was to explore the new Louisiana Purchase, find a water route to the Pacific, and make contact with the great nations of the West. At that time, the U.S. government had scant influence over the nations inhabiting its new territory west of the Mississippi River. To the east of the great river, however, the balance between Native Americans and white Americans would be substantially altered by the WAR OF 1812. Up to the War of 1812, the United States's Indian policy had reflected recognition of Indian peoples as strong and independent and treated

them as equals in negotiations; after 1815, this policy increasingly treated Indian peoples as dependent on American guidance and authority. This change culminated in their removal from lands east of the Mississippi River. This change received institutional approval in the passage of the INDIAN REMOVAL ACT of 1830, a law identified with the views of ANDREW JACKSON. In the 15 years after the end of the War of 1812, the U.S. population had grown, and its settlers had continued to press to the west with undiminished enthusiasm. The demand for land was intense, and the Native Americans were seen as an obstacle to the white settlers' inevitable progress. Already, the Indians up to the edge of the Appalachians had been effectively expelled from their lands by disease, assimilation, and force. Over the next 30 years, the major nations east of the Mississippi would be removed from their homelands or destroyed altogether, while those of the Plains and Far West found their ways of life increasingly under assault. The Native peoples reacted in varied ways to these attacks on their lands and their cultures.

### Active Resistance

The 19th century opened with the leadership of Tecumseh (ca. 1768–1813), the most brilliant Native American leader since Pontiac and a remarkable force for Indian unity amidst the many varied tribal groups at the beginning of the 1800s. Tecumseh, a Shawnee, was to become the main symbol of opposition to white American expansion in this period, determined to keep the Ohio Valley, the traditional Shawnee homeland, in his people's hands. To that end, he was willing to create alliances with other Indian leaders and even with the British. In this respect his career closely parallels that of the great Miami chief Little Turtle. Little Turtle cobbled together a pan-Indian alliance to confront American expansion into Ohio, which came to grief at the hands of General Anthony Wayne in the Battle of Fallen Timbers (1794).

American settlers had surged into the territory northwest of the Ohio (or the Northwest Territory, as the Ohio-Great Lakes region was called at the time), after the Revolutionary War. The United States had signed various treaties guaranteeing specific tracts to Indian peoples, but in the face of illegal trespassing on Indian lands, the federal government did little or nothing to stop the encroachment. In response, Tecumseh engineered an alliance of the Shawnee, Delaware, Ottawa, Ojibwa, Kickapoo, and Wyandot in 1805. His goal was to create a permanent Indian state in which the members of the confederacy could govern themselves, free of U.S. influence.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, the governor of Indiana Territory became the federal government's representative in making treaties of land cession with representatives of Indian peoples (or factions of tribal groups). He aggressively

pursued his mission over a decade, and in his determination to force land cessions by Native Americans, he often made illegal or quasilegal treaties with tribal members not authorized to make agreements for their nations. In this way, between 1803 and 1809 he made treaties that ceded 33 million acres of land to the United States. Despite Tecumseh's repudiation of these treaties and the Shawnee leader's growing outrage at the cession of land and the tactics used to achieve it, Harrison continued to pursue his policies of dividing nations and making treaties of cession with one or more factions. Tecumseh and Harrison finally reached the point where open conflict replaced talk. Encouraged by the British, Tecumseh called for attacks on isolated illegal settlements, even as he pursued his larger vision of a great Indian confederation. When the Shawnee chief went south in 1811 to enlist the support of the numerous and powerful nations there, Harrison organized a force to march on Prophetstown, the main Shawnee village on the Tippecanoe River. The Indian defense was led by Tecumseh's brother Tenskwatawa, known as the Shawnee Prophet. After an inconclusive battle, the Indian force retired from the field, and Harrison and his troops entered the village, burned it to the ground, and declared victory. This fragile military victory, immortalized in the slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," would help Harrison win the presidency in 1840.

In response to the defeat, Tecumseh allied himself with the British. During the War of 1812, he was made a brigadier general and led both whites and Indians into battle. His group helped to capture Fort Detroit in 1813, forcing the surrender of the American force there. But despite the victory, over the next year, the British commander General Henry Procter pulled his forces back into Canada. Harrison pursued with 3,000 men. On October 5, 1813, Tecumseh's warriors, badly outnumbered, stood against Harrison's forces at the **BATTLE OF THE THAMES** in Ontario, where they were defeated and Tecumseh was killed. With him died much of the Indian resistance in the Northwest Territories. Over the next decades, the Ohio and Great Lakes nations would be confined to small reservations or removed altogether to Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma).

Among the **CREEK** in Georgia and Florida, Tecumseh's message of resistance had gained a substantial, but not unanimous, following. The Upper Creek, called the Red Sticks for their battle insignia, wanted to forcefully end the creeping American settlement in their lands. The Lower Creek, or White Sticks, wanted peace, even if it meant cultural assimilation. In 1813, the Red Sticks attacked Fort Mims in southern Alabama, killing 350 Americans. The United States' response was massive: A force of 5,000 men under Andrew Jackson, joined by White Stick allies, attacked the Red Sticks at the **BATTLE OF HORSESHOE BEND**. At least 1,000 Red Sticks were killed. But as punishment, the entire Creek nation—Upper and Lower alike—

was forced to cede 20 million acres of land to the United States. In 1832, in the wake of additional treaties of questionable legitimacy, as well as the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the Creek lost all their southeastern lands and were removed to an Indian Territory reservation.

Tecumseh's doctrine of resistance to land cession and illegal white settlement was taken up by Black Hawk, the Sac leader who led the last major Indian resistance effort in the Northwest Territories. But the **BLACK HAWK WAR** of 1832 was a complete failure, leading to the massacre of Black Hawk's band at the Bad Axe River and the loss of much of the Sac and Fox's assigned reservation lands in the present State of Iowa.

Only the **SEMINOLE** in northern **FLORIDA** had any success in resisting the tide of American settlement, and their success was limited. Starting in 1817, the Seminole fought three separate wars against the United States. The first **SEMINOLE WAR** (1817–18) began with Andrew Jackson's invasion of Florida, which then still belonged to Spain (excepting Western Florida, which had been seized during the War of 1812). The incursion—ostensibly carried out to capture runaway slaves—was part of a scheme to force Spain to cede the remainder of Florida to the United States. This was finally accomplished in 1819, by means of the **ADAMS-ONÍS TREATY**. With the arrival of the Americans, Seminole resistance intensified. Even though they were forced to leave their farming lands on the Florida-Georgia border, they did not surrender; they merely retreated to the swamps of central Florida. From this base, they conducted the guerrilla operations known as the Second (1835–42) and Third (1855–58) Seminole Wars. The Seminole Wars reflected the alliance between the Seminole peoples and the many escaped African-American slaves, who fled bondage in the Lower South and made their way to the Seminole Nation, where they found acceptance and eventually a common cause against the American army. In some respects, the Second and Third Seminole Wars were as much black as Indian wars. Despite the death of their charismatic leader Osceola (ca. 1803–38) and the removal of most of the nation, a core of Seminole remained in Florida. They never formally surrendered or signed a treaty, and the Seminole Wars are regarded as a costly military failure for the United States. For Native Americans in general, this conflict exerted little or no influence on the pace of removal, which accelerated and was basically complete by 1840.

### ***Alliance and Assimilation***

Other nations attempted more subtle resistance strategies. Some, like the **CHOCTAW**, believed that Native traditions of reciprocity would hold true in their dealings with the Americans. This led them to make alliances with the United States, in the understanding that the relationship

would protect their culture and lands from incursion. The Choctaw fought on the American side in the War of 1812, and their help was decisive in Jackson's 1815 victory in the BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS. Many Choctaw intermarried with whites and adopted Anglo farming methods, housing styles, and modes of dress. But when Jackson, newly elected president, signed the Indian Removal Act into law in 1830, the Choctaw were the first nation to be forced into Indian Territory. Their migration in 1830, in which a third of the nation died, was an ominous sign for the other eastern Native Americans.

The CHEROKEE hoped to maintain themselves as a nation by succeeding in economic and cultural terms that white America could understand. Many Cherokee willingly adopted American economic practices, opening profitable mills and farming in family groups rather than communally. A large number converted to Christianity. Members of the elite established plantations modeled on those of their neighbors in Georgia and North Carolina, even owning black slaves. The Cherokee could boast of some extraordinarily gifted people, most notably SEQUOYAH (1776–1843), who invented a Cherokee writing system in 1821; it was so elegantly usable that his people rapidly embraced the written word. By 1828, the Cherokee had their own Bible in translation and their own weekly newspaper.

But while Cherokee life and culture flourished, their homeland was under serious threat. The process began in 1817, when several Cherokee leaders signed a treaty that traded a large area of the nation's traditional land for a tract in Indian Territory. A few thousand Cherokee voluntarily moved to Indian Territory at this time, the first of the eastern peoples to arrive there. Meanwhile, the Cherokee back in Georgia became, in a sense, victims of their own success: the more their farms and businesses thrived, the more permanent they seemed and the more the Georgians coveted their land. In 1828, Georgia asserted authority over the Cherokee lands, nullifying federal authority. When gold was discovered in Cherokee country in 1829, the pressure intensified. The Cherokee sued to overturn the Georgia laws, attempting to use the American legal system to maintain their sovereignty. In 1832 the tribe took their case before the U.S. Supreme Court in the landmark *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, which was argued on their behalf by the distinguished attorney William Wirt. However, Chief Justice John Marshall countered by declaring that Native Americans were not sovereign nations, but rather a dependent people and wards of the federal government, and therefore unable to approach the court for redress. The U.S. Supreme Court eventually supported their legal position in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). But President Jackson refused to enforce the Court's ruling against Georgia. The state held a lottery and parceled the Cherokee lands out from under the nation. In 1838–39, they were forc-

ibly removed in a long and badly managed emigration that became known as the TRAIL OF TEARS. By the time the surviving remnants of the nation had reached Indian Territory, perhaps as many as a quarter of those who started the journey had perished. Ironically, all of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes successfully took root in their new homes and prospered economically, in part by using African-American slaves as forced laborers. This system undoubtedly induced them to join the Confederacy in 1861. The ensuing civil war and its aftermath led to yet another period of dislocation and hardship for these Indian people.

### *The Far West*

For most of the first half of the 19th century, few Americans imagined that the Native peoples west of the Mississippi would ever be of much concern to them. The removal policies of the 1830s were largely successful by the end of the decade, and the survivors had been placed in a landscape described in many maps as "The Great American Desert," removing them out of the way of American settlement and into a vast and mostly uninhabited and sterile land. But the inexorable westward movement of white America would not be halted at the Mississippi. By the mid-1840s, wagon trains on the OREGON TRAIL were bringing hundreds, and then thousands, of settlers to the Oregon Territory. The overland migrations of the Mormons to Utah increased traffic across the plains, and with the discovery of gold in CALIFORNIA in 1848, the rising trickle of immigration across the plains and the mountains became a flood.

The Indians of the mountains and coast were experienced traders, with a long history of economic contact with trappers and explorers of many nationalities. Some nations saw the overland migrants and the settlers primarily as a new market. The 1837 smallpox epidemic that destroyed the Mandan nation in North Dakota and the continuing assaults on Indian peoples in California after the arrival of the FORTY-NINERS suggested the hazards associated with any kind of contact with Anglo-Americans. It seemed that Native peoples west of the Mississippi River were no safer in their homelands than those in the East had been. The dangers were particularly acute for those Indian peoples who occupied lands that became the target of mining rushes. The goldfields in California became a killing ground as far as Indians were concerned, as they were systematically hunted down in the most remote reaches of the Sierra Nevada. And later, Indian peoples would come under systematic assault in mining strikes associated with Nevada (1858), Montana (1862), and Colorado (1858).

The federal government attempted to reshape its policies to accommodate immigration across the plains and increasing contact between groups of settlers and Indian peoples. At a large gathering at FORT LARAMIE in 1851, government representatives tried to persuade Plains Indi-

ans to accept boundaries to their lands, however vague. In exchange for these lines of maps, signatories solemnly guaranteed large tracts of the plains to the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Crow, Arikara, Assiniboiné, and Gros Ventre nations. In future years, the government would deal separately with each of these groups for cessions and concessions. Resistance had already begun among certain groups. As early as 1846, the Apache in Arizona began campaigns to keep their lands clear of white settlement. It was a series of military confrontations that would stretch over a half-century and conclude with Geronimo's surrender and exile. Ominously, U.S. Army stations on the Great Plains began rubbing up against the various tribes of the powerful Sioux nation, setting the stage for a new round of open conflict. On August 19, 1854, a U.S. Army patrol near Fort Laramie, Nebraska, angrily confronted a large party of Brule Lakota about a missing cow and gunfire broke out. Chief Conquering Bear was killed outright, along with Lieutenant John L. Grattan and all 27 of his men. Predictably, this massacre drew a sharp response from the government. On September 3, 1855, a combined infantry and cavalry force under Colonel William S. Harney surprised a party of Lakota in their camp at Ash Hollow (Blue Water Creek), killing 86 Indians and capturing 70 women and children. The survivors quickly sued for peace on the promise of good behavior, and order was restored. But this initial bloodshed merely anticipated the much larger and costlier Sioux uprising of 1862.

Throughout the century, Americans saw it as their MANIFEST DESTINY to occupy their continent from coast to coast and to use the land in the ways they saw fit. Native Americans stood in the way of that vision, whether they were allies or enemies, Christian or "savage," accommodating or resistant. In the years from 1815 to 1860, the federal government as the representative of the American people used its growing power and authority to remove Indian peoples west of the Mississippi and then to lay the groundwork for expansion onto the plains and into the mountains.

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—Mary Kay Linge

## Native Americans in the War of 1812

The second war between the United States and Great Britain was the last conflict where the support or opposition of NATIVE AMERICANS played a significant role, though it broke the military power of nations east of the Mississippi River forever. The Indian conflict in the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15) helped to build the reputation of future American presidents such as ANDREW JACKSON, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, and ZACHARY TAYLOR.

The republic's expansion after the American Revolution (1775–83) put most Native Americans under pressure. Indian leaders tried a number of different strategies to deal with the ever-increasing demands for more land for white American settlers. Some of the Iroquois sold off their holdings and moved west or north into Canada. The Shawnee, under Tecumseh, wanted to put aside old tribal feuds and unite to stop the advancing Americans. In the South, Native peoples tried several solutions. The Creek Confederacy fought among themselves, with those who wanted to accommodate the United States pitted against those who thought they could best protect their people by allying with the British.

Before the United States entered hostilities with Great Britain, an army commanded by William Henry Harrison dispersed many of the warriors based around Prophetstown at the Battle of Tippecanoe (November 7, 1811). Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa, better known as the Shawnee Prophet, had spent the previous few years preaching a political and religious revival to the nations west of the Appalachians. Many Native peoples flocked to the town in northwestern Indiana to practice their traditional lifestyles free from the corrupting influence of whiskey and manufactured trade goods.

Harrison used his position as the territorial governor of Indiana to persuade the federal government to allow him to strike at the town. A series of raids on Ohio and Indiana settlements launched from Prophetstown gave Harrison the evidence he needed to convince President James Madison to retaliate. The American government feared that the



British in Canada were encouraging the Native Americans to fight, since everybody was sure war was coming. Harrison's victory at Tippecanoe neutralized the threatened alliance between Native Americans and the British. Many warriors lost faith in Tenskwatawa's message and returned to their villages.

When the United States declared war on Great Britain in June 1812, the British quickly seized Mackinac in the northern Michigan Territory. The Americans responded by invading Canada across the narrow straits at Detroit. The American army commanded by General WILLIAM HULL fumbled the opportunity and found itself facing a well-led British and Native American force. Hull and his subordinates were not up to the job and were chased back into Michigan, where the British captured them.

Throughout the winter, the British and their allies raided the southern shores of the Great Lakes. At Fort Dearborn, many American prisoners met their deaths at the hands of their captors. Lurid tales of massacres helped to stir widespread support among the backwoods communities throughout the Ohio Valley and Tennessee. Harrison received a general's commission and raised an army. By spring 1813, the Americans stood ready to push into Canada once more.

Harrison's command was temporarily besieged at Fort Meigs in that spring. The attack was repulsed, and many of the Native Americans who followed Tecumseh during the siege deserted him. In a series of battles around Detroit, Harrison defeated the British forces and pushed them back into Canada. He followed them into British territory and defeated 800 Native Americans and 450 British troops at the BATTLE OF THE THAMES (October 5, 1813). Tecumseh died in the fighting, and the dreams of his great confederacy died with him.

Only a small number of Native Americans fought on for the British in the North after the battle. Some Mohawk led by John Brant (son of Joseph Brant) fought around Fort Niagara. Most other nations stayed out of the conflict or threw their lot in with the Americans. The Iroquois left on American territory followed the advice of Seneca chief Cornplanter and fought for the United States. The nations that had followed Tecumseh left the Indiana Territory and went back home to await the end of the war.

In the South, the War of 1812 sharply divided some of the nations. Many stayed neutral while others supported the United States against Britain. The Spanish in FLORIDA helped the British supply Native Americans who wanted to fight the Americans.

Tecumseh had visited the southern nations in October 1811 (at the same time Harrison was marching on Tippecanoe). He did not succeed in rallying the Choctaw or the Cherokee into supporting the confederation of Native peoples. However, he did convince many of the North-

ern Creek (Muskogee) to take up arms in defense of their homes. Tecumseh was reported to have given red sticks, or rods, to the Creek warriors who followed his advice to resist the Americans. The warriors were to throw away one stick each day until the last stick was gone; the last stick marked the day when they were to attack the white settlers in their part of the country. The practice gave rise to the name "Red Sticks" for those Creeks who took up the hatchet. Most of the southern Creek towns disagreed with Tecumseh and did not go to battle along with the northerners; this faction was called the "White Sticks."

The northern Creek carried out a series of isolated raids on settlements in lower Tennessee in 1812. The raiders attacked individual homesteads, which often resulted in the deaths of entire families. The American inhabitants of Tennessee reacted with threats to retaliate. Creek leaders caught and executed many of the raiders to keep the white settlers from seeking revenge against the entire nation. Far from solving the problem, though, this enraged the families and friends of the Red Sticks, who threatened to kill the White Stick leaders who had ordered the executions. The Creek Nation soon found itself divided into two camps, those who favored peace with the Americans and those who wanted bloodshed. The situation soon deteriorated into civil war between the two factions. Before long the entire region between the Mississippi and the Appalachians burst into guerrilla warfare.

The Cherokee wanted to stay neutral at first. Although some of their warriors favored siding with the British, most wanted to steer clear of any fighting; memories of the devastating American invasions during the Revolutionary War ran deep. The Cherokee also had a long and bitter rivalry with their neighbors, the Creek, and few wanted to see them grow stronger. When a band of Northern Creek murdered a Cherokee woman, the debate ended and the Cherokee joined the Americans in the Creek War.

Settlers and traders all over the Mississippi Territory feared for their lives. They stockaded themselves into small forts for protection. On the Alabama River, some settlers huddled behind the walls of Fort Mims. On August 31, 1813, more than 1,000 warriors under Creek leaders attacked and took the fort; almost all of the surviving whites were put to death. News of the disaster traveled fast. When Andrew Jackson heard the reports on Fort Mims, he left his sickbed to organize a counterattack. The Choctaw also agreed to fight against the Creek.

In autumn 1813, Jackson attacked the Northern Creek at Tallussahatchie and inflicted heavy casualties on them. Another column of Georgia volunteers under General John Floyd successfully stormed a Creek stronghold at Eccanachaca. Both Jackson and Floyd harassed the Creek for several months. After some inconclusive fighting, Jackson surrounded the Red Stick stronghold at Tohopeka on



March 28, 1814, with 2,000 men. General Jackson's force included 500 Cherokees. A thousand Creeks trapped in the fortified town refused to surrender; their religious leaders had assured them they would beat the Americans. Jackson and his men wiped out the entire village, sparing only the women and children in what came to be called the **BATTLE OF HORSESHOE BEND**.

After Tohopeka, some of the surviving Creek warriors slipped into Florida. The British arranged to help them with the permission of the Spanish government. General Jackson invaded Florida and defeated the British and Spanish at Pensacola. He threatened to make war on the Seminole in the interior of Florida if they dared to help the Creek. Meanwhile, the Americans defeated a British invasion of Mobile Bay aimed at aiding the Creek. The Creek's ability to resist was shattered. After the war, Jackson not only demanded territory from the warring Northern Creek, he also wanted land from his own allies the Southern Creek in order to prevent any more assistance from England or Spain.

The War of 1812 effectively ended the military power of all the Native peoples east of the Mississippi except for the Seminole deep in the forests and swamps of Florida. It also set the stage for the removal of all Native Americans to the Indian Territories in the Great Plains.

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—George Milne

## Nauvoo

Located on the Mississippi River in central-western Illinois, the town of Nauvoo was home to the **CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS** (the Mormons) from 1839 to 1846. After moving his persecuted flock from New York to Missouri, violent local opposition in Missouri forced Mormon leader **JOSEPH SMITH, JR.**, and his followers to relocate to Hancock County, Illinois. They purchased a fledgling settlement on the Mississippi called Commerce and renamed it Nauvoo. The new name derived from Biblical sources, and, according to Smith, meant “a beautiful location, a place of rest.”

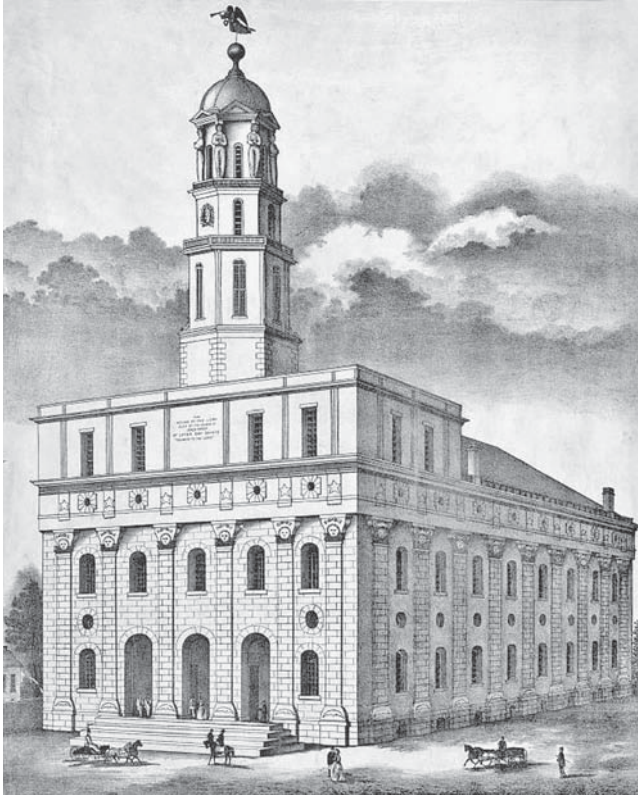
The Illinois legislature initially supported the new Mormon settlement, granting Nauvoo a municipal charter in 1840. The charter allowed the town to be incorporated as a city, with its own university and militia; the latter would prove a much-needed benefit for Mormons fearing mob persecution. Nauvoo grew rapidly, as Mormon missionaries encouraged converts from Canada and England as well as the United States to move to the new town. Though population figures for the era are inex-act—reflecting the desires of both Mormon boosters and

detractors—it is estimated that Nauvoo was, for a brief time, the biggest city in Illinois, with a population of 20,000 in 1845.

The influx of new residents created a housing shortage as builders struggled to keep up with the rising population. But more important to Joseph Smith than creating housing was constructing the Nauvoo temple, begun in 1841. With a design was inspired by Smith's visions, the temple cost well over \$1 million to build. Smith also promoted the construction of the extravagant Nauvoo House hotel, meant to be a monument to Mormon hospitality, but it was never fully completed. Nauvoo's rapid growth seemed to indicate that the Mormon settlement had been unaffected by the economic depression that hit the rest of the United States in the late 1830s and early 1840s. However, it is more likely that the cost of constructing prominent Mormon structures was heavily subsidized by wealthy Mormon leaders and the continuous contributions of church members. Thus, the community seemed prosperous, but the basis of this prosperity was shaky, depending on newcomers' contributions. The everyday local economy was more often based on barter, with tithed church members investing excess income in the church.

Mormon religion spread throughout the region, but non-Mormons were also a significant part of the community. As the Saints' political and economic clout grew, tensions between Mormons and non-Mormons grew. Mormon power over local government seemed almost absolute. The city charter, though not particularly unusual for the time, granted Nauvoo a municipal court. Joseph Smith acted as mayor and also sat as the chief justice, while his city aldermen doubled as associate justices. Thus, Smith served as the mayor, head of the city council, and head of the local court simultaneously. Non-Mormons felt that this blending of government function was antirepublican and caused abuses of power. The existence of the militia, called the Nauvoo Legion, also contributed to the appearance of corruption, since it was commanded by Smith and enlisted about 5,000 Mormon members.

In his efforts to establish a secure settlement for his followers, Smith became an astute follower of state politics. He ably courted both Democrats and Whigs in his attempts to secure self-government and safety from persecution for the Saints. But as a voting bloc, the Mormons had little influence over the state legislature, and Smith resorted to vote-trading to achieve his goals. By 1843, even internal Nauvoo politics involved rowdy conflicts. The following year, many of these conflicts came to a head. Hoping to reestablish a political base, Smith announced his candidacy for president, but dissenting community members established an anti-Smith newspaper, the *Nauvoo Expositor*. After the publication of the first issue, Smith and the city council declared the *Expositor* to be “a public nuisance” and



Mormon temple in Nauvoo, Illinois, where Joseph Smith preached (*Library of Congress*)

ordered the press and all copies of the paper destroyed. As tempers flared, Smith mobilized the militia and declared martial law. The Illinois militia arrested Smith and his brother Hyrum, incarcerating them in the jail at Carthage, about 10 miles away. Soon thereafter, both brothers were killed by an armed mob. Six months later, the Illinois legislature revoked the city charter. The Nauvoo economy was also in trouble, as the boom town's financial conditions deflated and poverty began to rise.

By 1845, with the charter gone and an increase in religious infighting and anti-Mormon mob violence, BRIGHAM YOUNG and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles began to plan a new westward migration. Plans were made to evacuate the church from Nauvoo just as Smith's cherished temple was near completion. The building was rushed so that the Saints could receive their temple endowments, the financial contributions that had made the edifice possible. In 1846, under the threat of violence, a majority of the Saints left Nauvoo and began their migration to what would become their permanent settlement in Utah. Even without the anti-Mormon violence, Nauvoo was in danger of collapsing economically, and moving on seemed the best way to save the Mormon Church.

After the departure of most of the Saints in 1846, the elaborate temple was vandalized by anti-Mormon mobs. In 1848, the building was heavily damaged by fire, and soon after, the remains were knocked down by a tornado. Although the Mormon settlement at Nauvoo failed, it was an important interlude in the history of the Mormons, providing a key case study of religiously based settlements on the American frontier in the 19th century.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

### Negro Convention movement

The National Negro Convention, which first convened in 1830 under the leadership of Richard Allen (1760–1831), Methodist preacher and founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1816, was the most successful of three efforts by African-American leaders to form a grand coalition uniting all the major ideological factions in the black community. The Negro Convention, which met off and on from 1830 to 1864, was the most successful because it lasted longer than the subsequent ones in the 1930s and 1970s. The 1830 convention, like the subsequent ones, included proponents of all the major ideological tendencies in African-American politics: conservatives and radicals, integrationists and nationalists, nonviolent “moral suasionists” and advocates of violence. It also attracted the leading African Americans of the time, including Frederick Douglass, Martin Delany, and Henry Highland Garnet. While these diverse personalities and ideologies provided strength to the convention they were also a source of its weakness and its ultimate collapse, since differences over ideology made it difficult for this and other conventions to reach a consensus for a black agenda. Delany and his followers favored emigration and back-to-Africa movements. Douglass was a leader in the ABOLITION MOVEMENT who favored integrationism, and nonviolence, and moral suasion, while Garnet called for violent slave revolts.

In addition to these differences over ideology and strategy, there were other, continuing disagreements, including the controversy over what the race should be called—African, Colored American, Negro, Oppressed Americans; debates over the merits of building separate black-community institutions such as schools, newspapers, and businesses; and arguments over whether whites should be allowed to participate in the convention. (Whites were included for a time, but eventually the convention voted

to exclude them based on principles of black nationalism.) There were also class and institutional conflicts between the middle-class black establishment of ministers, teachers, and businesspeople who tended toward conservatism and integration; and the more radical, less well-off persons who tended toward extremism and emigration. In 1854, the radical emigrationists formed their own convention and began to develop plans for emigration to Haiti and other places outside of the United States. Douglass condemned the emigration convention as providing “proof to the enemies of the Negro that they were divided in thought and plans.” By 1854, the divisions were plain for all to see, and the Negro Convention could not surmount them. The convention therefore dissolved, although it reconvened one last time in 1864 after the Civil War in order to develop plans for Reconstruction.

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—Robert Smith

### New Madrid earthquake

The most powerful earthquake ever recorded within the continental limits of the United States was generally referred to as the New Madrid earthquake, although there were really three separate earthquakes. The first, on December 15, 1811, in New Madrid County, Missouri, was followed by a second on January 23, 1812, and a third on February 7, 1812. Later scientific analysis estimated that the first and greatest of these earthquakes measured between 8.4 and 8.8 on the Richter Scale (the San Francisco earthquake of 1906 was 8.3). These three major earthquakes were followed by more than 1,800 aftershocks. The quakes occurred along the New Madrid fault line, some 40 miles wide and 200 miles in length, running from the Illinois-Missouri border to Memphis, Tennessee.

The physical changes to the landscape were dramatic. In the aftermath of the first quake (1811), the town of New Madrid dropped more than 10 feet, and the Mississippi River swept in to flood the town. In an instant, houses were crushed, forests disappeared, and the course of the river was changed. For several hours after the original earthquake, the river ran north in a temporary channel. After the quakes, river traffic on the most important artery of communication and trade in the West was suspended for several months. Only gradually did the north-south axis reassert itself.

The New Madrid earthquakes were a disaster of enormous proportions for those who lived near the floods.

Towns were evacuated as residents fled for their lives, a panic confirmed by the two later earthquakes and the hundreds of aftershocks. The greatest natural disaster of the age called for massive assistance at a time when federal and state/territorial governments were ill-equipped by experience or ideology to give such aid. Finally, in 1815, Congress passed a law that permitted residents of the stricken area to relocate to tracts of equal size in the public domain. It was an appropriate response in an age when federal lands were far more plentiful than federal monies. The New Madrid grants were part of a PUBLIC LAND POLICY that offered land grants for many worthy projects. Speculators hastened to the scene of the disaster, where they bought the entry permits at low prices. As a result, one of the federal government's first large-scale attempts to deal with a natural disaster ended in confusion over land titles and outrage on the part of many earthquake sufferers, now further victimized by unscrupulous land agents. In 1820, Congress passed a second law to disallow the claims transferred from the original victims to third parties, further confusing the issue.

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### New Orleans, Battle of (January 8, 1815)

Although it took place after the TREATY OF GHENT (1814) officially ended the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15), the Battle of New Orleans gave the United States a clear victory over Great Britain and boosted American national pride. The battle also made the American commander, ANDREW JACKSON, a national hero.

After the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1814, the British turned their attention to the conflict in North America. The United States remained an enemy and was threatening to invade Canada. With its armies freed from commitments on the European continent, Britain could send its best men to America. Their plan was to invade Louisiana, capture New Orleans, and march up the Mississippi Valley to link up with another force coming south from Canada. The British expected to get help from the NATIVE AMERICANS in the Southeast, particularly the Creek and the Seminole. After the disastrous performance of the American forces outside Washington, D.C., earlier that year, it seemed certain that veteran British troops would easily defeat the U.S. forces.

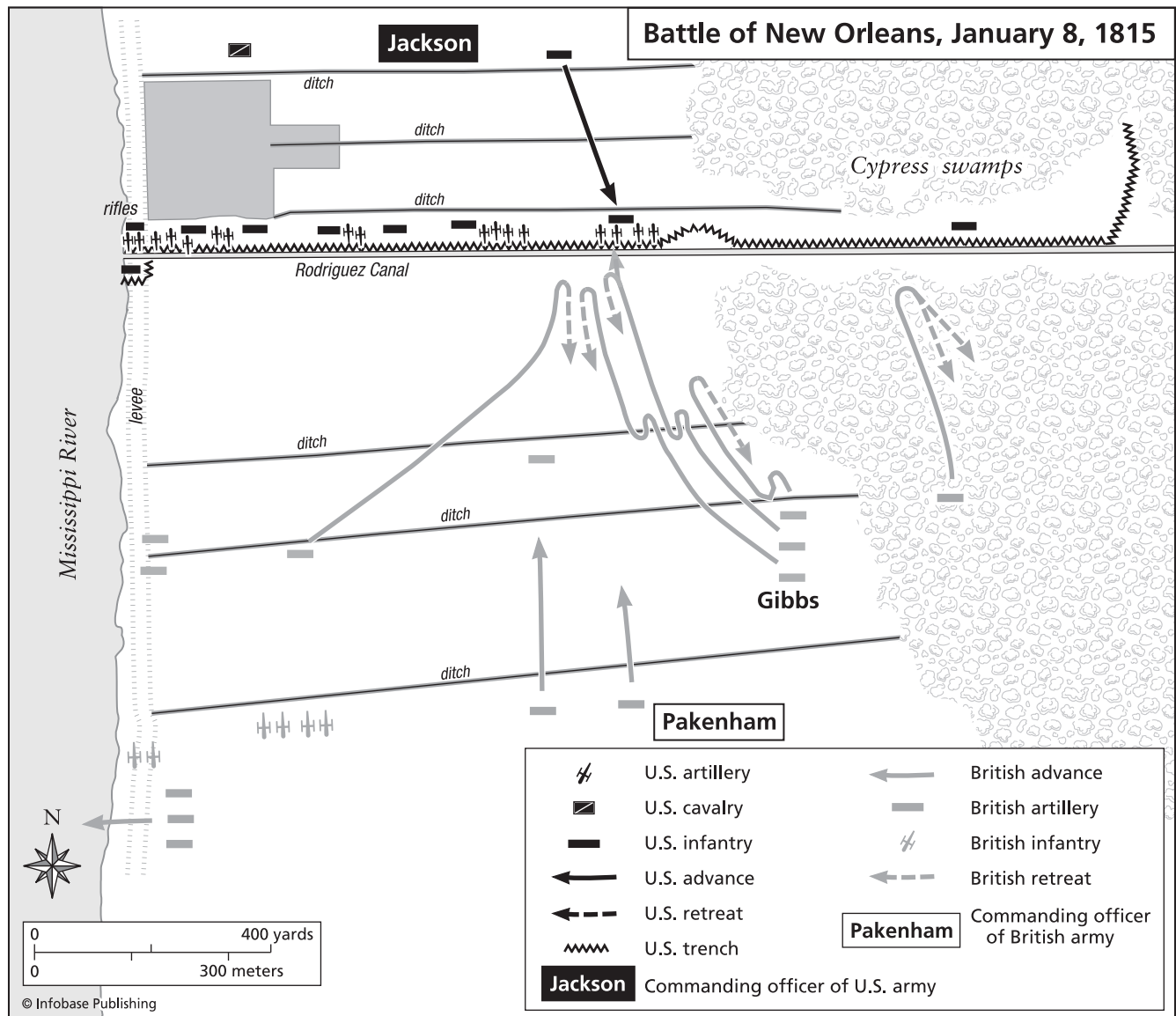
However, General Jackson's men were not raw militia. He gathered a collection of Kentucky and Tennessee

volunteers, experienced soldiers with several years of hard fighting against the Creek and Shawnee to their credit; a regiment of the regular army; pirates under JEAN LAFITTE; some armed slaves; and a band of Choctaw warriors led by the great chief Pushmataha. Although most of Jackson's men did not wear splendid uniforms or perform parade ground drills as well as the British, they were crack shots with their long-range rifles. The English and Scottish regiments, who fought with smoothbore muskets effective only for short distances, counted on discipline and the cold steel of their bayonets.

The British commander, General Edward Pakenham, landed more than 8,000 troops a few miles east of New Orleans in late December 1814. Jackson drew his 4,000 men into an entrenched line between the British and the

town of New Orleans on the grounds of Chalmette Plantation. The Mississippi River guarded one side of the position, while the other flank ended in a dense swamp where the Choctaw waited to stop any British soldiers from marching around the line.

After a few skirmishes and an artillery duel, Pakenham launched his main attack on January 8. Regiment after regiment marched forward in perfect ranks. The Americans waited for them behind their fortifications. Cannon balls tore huge gaps in the British ranks, and well-aimed volleys of rifle fire shattered their formations. In a few hours, thousands of British soldiers, including Pakenham, were dead or wounded. When the smoke cleared, it was apparent that the Americans had won a great victory at a very small price. The British suffered between 2,100 and 2,600





killed, wounded, and captured. Only 55 Americans died, with another 278 wounded or missing. A few days later, the British slipped back to their fleet. The United States could now feel that they had defeated their old enemy at last.

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—George Milne

## Nullification Controversy

Nullification, in U.S. history, refers to the concept that a state may reject or ignore a federal law or regulation, refusing to allow its enforcement upon its citizens or within its boundaries. In the early decades of the United States, when the federal government and the states were in a continuing battle over sovereignty and power, nullification was central to the arguments of states'-rights advocates. Many of the nation's founders, fearful of tyranny and recognizing the need to check federal power, believed that nullification by the states could be a legitimate way of keeping the government in bounds.

The right of nullification took on significance when the new federal government provided for by the Constitution (drafted 1787, ratified 1789) supplanted the weak, ineffective structure mandated by the Articles of Confederation. Among its leading early proponents were James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, who asserted a state's right to nullify onerous or offensive federal laws in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798 and 1799.

At times, nullification movements might be used by officials in the federal government itself to achieve controversial or contested political ends. In 1828, for example, the Georgia state legislature voted to take control of Cherokee tribal lands within the state, directly contravening several federal treaties that guaranteed the territory to the Cherokee. But the land had become extremely attractive to white settlers, since the Cherokee had adopted modern farming methods with great success, and gold had been discovered within the tribal lands in 1827. President ANDREW JACKSON was vigorously pursuing the policy of Indian removal, the frequently forcible moving of Native peoples from their traditional homelands in the eastern states to newly carved reservations west of the Mississippi River. The Cherokee were literate and increasingly assimilated; they had more allies in white society than did most nations, and they were stubbornly resistant to removal. Georgia's action, even though it nullified federal policy, coincided neatly with

Jackson's own aims, and so he refused to enforce the federal law. Even when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against Georgia in the matter in 1832, Jackson would not intervene. "[Chief Justice] John Marshall has made his decision," he reportedly said, "now let him enforce it." Georgia parceled the Cherokee lands to white settlers, and the Cherokee were left with little choice but to leave their homeland. Thus, nullification led directly to the enforced removal known as the TRAIL OF TEARS.

The event widely known as the Nullification Controversy occurred in 1832. By this time, the nation was in the throes of continuous change. Industrialization had begun, international and domestic trade was expanding, and the business of individual states was becoming more and more intertwined. Legislators and opinion makers, particularly in the business-oriented northern states, clamored for increased federal power and protections. As the northern states were growing rapidly in population, they had begun to outstrip the South in political representation. In response to this outcry and this political influence, the U.S. Congress passed protective tariffs in 1828 and 1832, giving domestic manufactured products further protection from foreign competition. Of course, the lack of competition meant that southern consumers would often pay higher prices.

This federal intervention, so valued by northern business owners, was anathema to southern agriculturalists. The tariffs at once raised consumer prices of finished goods and depressed the value of cotton and other raw materials produced by southern farms. Southern legislators, aware that the old plantation system was a delicately balanced financial proposition even at the best of times, feared that tariffs would mean its doom. They were also concerned at what they regarded as the blatant economic favoritism made possible by increasing northern political strength, numbers would only grow in the future. Mobilized over what they regarded as a matter of principle, they loudly protested the new fees.

South Carolina's reaction went beyond protest. In November 1832, led by U.S. senator JOHN C. CALHOUN, Governor James Hamilton, Jr., and Robert Barnwell Rheet, the state called a special convention on the tariff matter. Calhoun published two papers in support of his position. The first reaffirmed and analyzed the doctrine of the concurrent majority, by which such divisive issues had to be approved by majorities from each section of the Union, not simply enacted through the majority representation of one section. The second argued that nullification was a legitimate means of redress for acts directed against a state, a means fully recognized by the Constitution. When the convention met in November 1832, the nullifiers (as they were called) were in a decisive majority. They quickly passed an ordinance nullifying the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832. The ordinance prohibited the federal government from collect-



ing tariff duties within the State of South Carolina after February 1, 1833. Furthermore, the ordinance mandated a test oath from all state officeholders to uphold the doctrine of nullification, and it forbade any appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. Finally, if the federal government used military measures in an attempt to enforce the law, this use would be grounds for secession from the Union. The state legislature then passed laws to provide for raising an armed force and appropriating monies to defend the state against attack by the federal government.

President Jackson's reaction to South Carolina's nullification was as furious as his response to Georgia's had been passive. He denounced the convention's ordinance as treasonous, spurring some South Carolinians to speak openly of secession. While he urged Congress to lower the tariff, Jackson ordered the secretary of war to alert the federal forts in Charleston Harbor to defend themselves. He issued a "Proclamation to the People of South Carolina" in which he characterized nullification as an "impractical absurdity." He went on to assert in clear and direct terms the absolute supremacy of the indivisible federal government. Accordingly, no state could refuse to obey a law of the land and no state would leave the Union. To pursue disunion by armed force was "treason." It was a powerful statement. Jackson also persuaded the U.S. Congress to pass a force bill that would let the government use military action to collect the tariff in the port of Charleston. The debate over the bill produced a notable debate between Calhoun and Senator DANIEL WEBSTER on the nation and the rights of states.

South Carolina replied to Jackson's proclamation with defiance as the legislature adopted a series of hostile resolu-

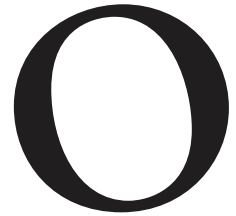
tions. The new governor, Robert Y. Hayne, called for a convocation of southern states to consider relations between states and the federal government. Responses from the state legislatures generally condemned nullification and refused to consider secession. South Carolina would have to pursue its defiant course alone. While Jackson assumed a strong public posture in defense of federal authority and the Union, he privately reached out to southerners through Kentucky senator HENRY CLAY. With Jackson's support, Clay engineered the Compromise Tariff of 1833 to resolve the matter. When South Carolina learned of the forthcoming tariff compromise, the state suspended its implementation of the nullification ordinance and accepted the reduced tariff rates. Thus the most serious states-rights crisis in the history of the nation was resolved. In order to have the last word on matters of principle, though, the state of South Carolina adopted an ordinance nullifying the Force Bill.

The Nullification Controversy was a forerunner of the crisis over the balance of power between the federal government and individual states that would later lead to a secession movement by South Carolina in December 1860. No compromise would be forthcoming this time, and the state's secession would be followed by others, the establishment of the Confederate States of America, and four years of civil war.

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—Mary Kay Linge





## Oregon Trail

From the 1840s to the 1870s, the Oregon Trail was the primary westward route for some 200,000 Americans seeking new lives and opportunities in the West. The trail was generally considered to have begun in Independence, Missouri and ended in Oregon City, Oregon, with a length of about 2,000 miles. In practice, however, emigrants on the trail could join it at any of a number of “jumping-off points,” including St. Joseph, Missouri, and Council Bluffs, Iowa. They could also leave the trail to reach individual destinations in Utah, CALIFORNIA, and other spots in the western territories. Since so many settlers used the trail network to get to places other than Oregon, the Oregon Trail is sometimes called the Great Platte River Road, after the river it parallels for much of its length.

Much of the Oregon Trail incorporated routes that had for centuries been used by NATIVE AMERICANS for trade and communications. Other portions were blazed by French and British trappers in an area that had long been a matter of dispute between France and England. Once the United States asserted its own claims to the Oregon Territory, exploration became more systematic. After Thomas Jefferson purchased the Louisiana Territory from the French in 1803, one of his first acts was to dispatch an expedition to explore the vast region. Commanded by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, the expedition followed rivers and mountain passes to reach the coast of the Pacific Ocean. Their return to St. Louis after 28 months (1804–06) marked the first official exploration of the region by the U.S. government. Within a few short years, American fur traders began moving over the same landscape. The most important of these early fur-trade parties were the overland and seagoing expeditions financed by JOHN JACOB ASTOR, whose employees founded the post of ASTORIA at the mouth of the COLUMBIA RIVER. Over the next 20 years, MOUNTAIN MEN, or independent trappers and traders, explored the region in search of furs, in the process blazing several shortcuts and alternate routes to the West.

In the 1830s the continuing dispute with the British over the ownership of the Oregon Country combined with the activities of Protestant missionaries in the region raised public awareness of Oregon. Adding to information about the routes west were exploring parties sent by the U.S. government. The most important of these was commanded by JOHN C. FRÉMONT, whose 1843 expedition generated favorable publicity for the Oregon Country as a place for settlement. Furthermore, Frémont’s report provided for a precise and accurate description of an overland route to Oregon for the first time. His report became the first handbook for immigrants.

The first overland migration of farming families to Oregon took place in spring 1842. Annual migrations followed, with ever-rising numbers. The route was soon known as the Oregon Trail, although the discovery of gold in California in 1848 led to the large immigration of FORTY-NINERS the following year along a variation known as the CALIFORNIA TRAIL.

Beginning in Independence or St. Joseph, the Oregon Trail first followed the Platte River to the west, crossing the river at several points. The first major landmark on the trek was FORT LARAMIE, some 665 miles from the starting point, where travelers paused for rest and resupply. Here too they sent mail to their families in the East and exchanged their fatigued draft animals for fresh stock, at a high price. Once more on the trail, immigrant parties followed the North Platte to the Sweetwater River, and thence by this river to SOUTH PASS. The pass was the level and gradual gateway across the Continental Divide to the interior of the continent. South Pass was about 950 miles from Independence, and it approximately marked the midway point in the overland voyage. Another 100 miles, and the trail came to Fort Bridger, where it turned northwest toward Fort Hall on the Snake River. Pioneers then trekked along the Snake to the valley of the Grande Ronde River, and then across the Blue Mountains to the Columbia River. The trail down the Columbia to FORT VANCOUVER was the

final stage. After reaching the fort, where they might be welcomed by JOHN MCLOUGHLIN, most of the pioneers traveled south down the Willamette River to the growing agricultural settlements around the Protestant missions.

Initially, the Oregon Trail was difficult to follow, and an experienced guide was a necessity. Within a few years, however, settlers could practically follow the wheel ruts carved by their predecessors' wagons all the way to the Pacific. (These marks can still be seen in places today.) Most emigrants used the Oregon Trail to bring west their entire families and all that they owned, and a special transport system accommodated their needs. The Conestoga wagon, or "prairie schooner," was the method of choice. This was a canvas-covered wooden wagon with a concave bottom, the better to retain its cargo on the bumpy, rutted route. The wagon had to be packed with six months' worth of provisions for each family, along with their tents, blankets, tools, clothing, and all their possessions. The immigrants typically walked the entire way so as not to burden the oxen or mules.

Travel over the Oregon Trail was, in many respects, routine. In confronting the challenges of the western half of the continent, however, the immigrants had to exercise care and judgment. There were few places to find help. To begin with, the travel window was limited. Parties had to depart Independence in May, after grass had begun to appear on the prairie, to support the livestock. They also had to cross the Blue Mountains before the first blizzards of October closed the mountain passes. Therefore the pace on the trail had to be continuous, since the wagon trains could count on only five months to make the journey. Foremost among the priorities was management of the draft animals, and ensuring their continuing health meant that the party needed to travel as lightly as possible.

The great popular danger of the Oregon Trail was always assumed to be Native Americans, but in fact Indian attacks on wagon trains were rare, despite the settlers' fears. Some of the Native peoples along the Oregon Trail saw trade opportunities in the newcomers' arrival; others were disturbed by the influx of white settlers in their lands, especially as their numbers grew. But for the overland immigrants on the Oregon Trail, a far greater danger than Indians was disease, for the exhausting trip left migrants vulnerable to many illnesses. Cholera was a particular danger, and epidemics on the trail in some years led to deaths from disease for several weeks after departure. Indeed, given the health dangers associated with river towns, the emigrants probably increased their chances of survival once they had left the towns and were on the trail west.

After 1869, when the Union Pacific Railroad completed its transcontinental line, the Oregon Trail began to fall into disuse. Any settler who could afford it preferred the ease and comfort of a two-week rail journey to a six-

month wagon trek. But for the less well-off, the Oregon Trail remained a viable route to the west even into the early part of the 20th century.

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—Mary Kay Linge

## Oregon Treaty of 1846

The Oregon Treaty of 1846 settled the boundary between British and American claims in the Pacific Northwest. In agreeing on this boundary, which had been unclear since the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the United States avoided a war with Great Britain at the same time that it was approaching war with Mexico following the annexation of TEXAS in 1845.

Lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, the Oregon Country was bounded to the south by Spanish-controlled CALIFORNIA and to the north by Russian-controlled Alaska. In 1819, the ADAMS-ONÍS TREATY established the southern boundary of the U.S. claim on the West Coast at the 42nd parallel (the present-day southern boundary of the state of Oregon), and an 1824 treaty established the border between the U.S. claim in Oregon and Alaska at the line of 54 degrees, 40 minutes (the southernmost point in present-day Alaska) in the north. The other contender for supremacy in Oregon was the British in Canada, with the result that the border between U.S. and British claims required almost 30 years to resolve.

The primary disputed area lay between the COLUMBIA RIVER in the south and the 49th parallel in the north, a region that contained valuable forests, fur-trapping areas, and ports on Puget Sound. The Convention of 1818, which established the 49th parallel as the border between the United States and Canada from the Lake of the Woods (in northern Minnesota) west to the Rocky Mountains, failed to resolve the disputed Oregon boundary. The American negotiator, Richard Rush and Albert Gallatin, were willing simply to extend the line at the 49th parallel to the Pacific Ocean as the Oregon boundary. But the British contingent balked, preferring a boundary following the Columbia River from its mouth to the 49th parallel, then the 49th parallel for the remaining portion of the boundary, leaving the Columbia entirely under British control. Neither side felt much urgency about the Oregon issue in 1818, how-

ever. Few American settlers moved to the area at that time, partly because the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804–06) had reported the territory inhospitable. Furthermore, the British North West Company controlled the fur trade in Oregon, having bought out JOHN JACOB ASTOR's interests in 1813; the North West Company would itself merge with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. Accordingly, the negotiators in 1818 agreed to a 10-year, joint American-British occupation of Oregon. As that agreement neared expiration in 1828, the two countries agreed to an indefinite extension of joint control, which could be terminated by either nation with one-year's notice to the other.

In subsequent years, various attempts failed to settle the issue permanently. The United States continued to offer the 49th parallel as a compromise border; the British continued to insist on the Columbia River, sweetening the deal by offering the United States a detached piece of territory on the Olympian peninsula, giving the Americans access to harbors in Puget Sound. However, by the 1840s, conditions had changed, requiring a long-term solution. Most important, several thousand American settlers had made homes in the Willamette Valley south of the Columbia River. This was territory the British never claimed, but clearly it was only a matter of time before American settlers in large numbers crossed into the disputed area. The negotiations that produced the 1842 WEBSTER-ASHBURTON TREATY, which settled other disputed borders between the United States and Canada, made little headway on the Oregon issue. Rumors that DANIEL WEBSTER had offered to trade northern Oregon in exchange for British pressure on Spain to surrender California to the United States caused a firestorm of criticism in the West, where many people believed the Americans should take both California and all of Oregon. The 1840s witnessed the flourishing of ideas of MANIFEST DESTINY, which in its most extreme form asserted that the United States had a divine right to possess the entire North American continent.

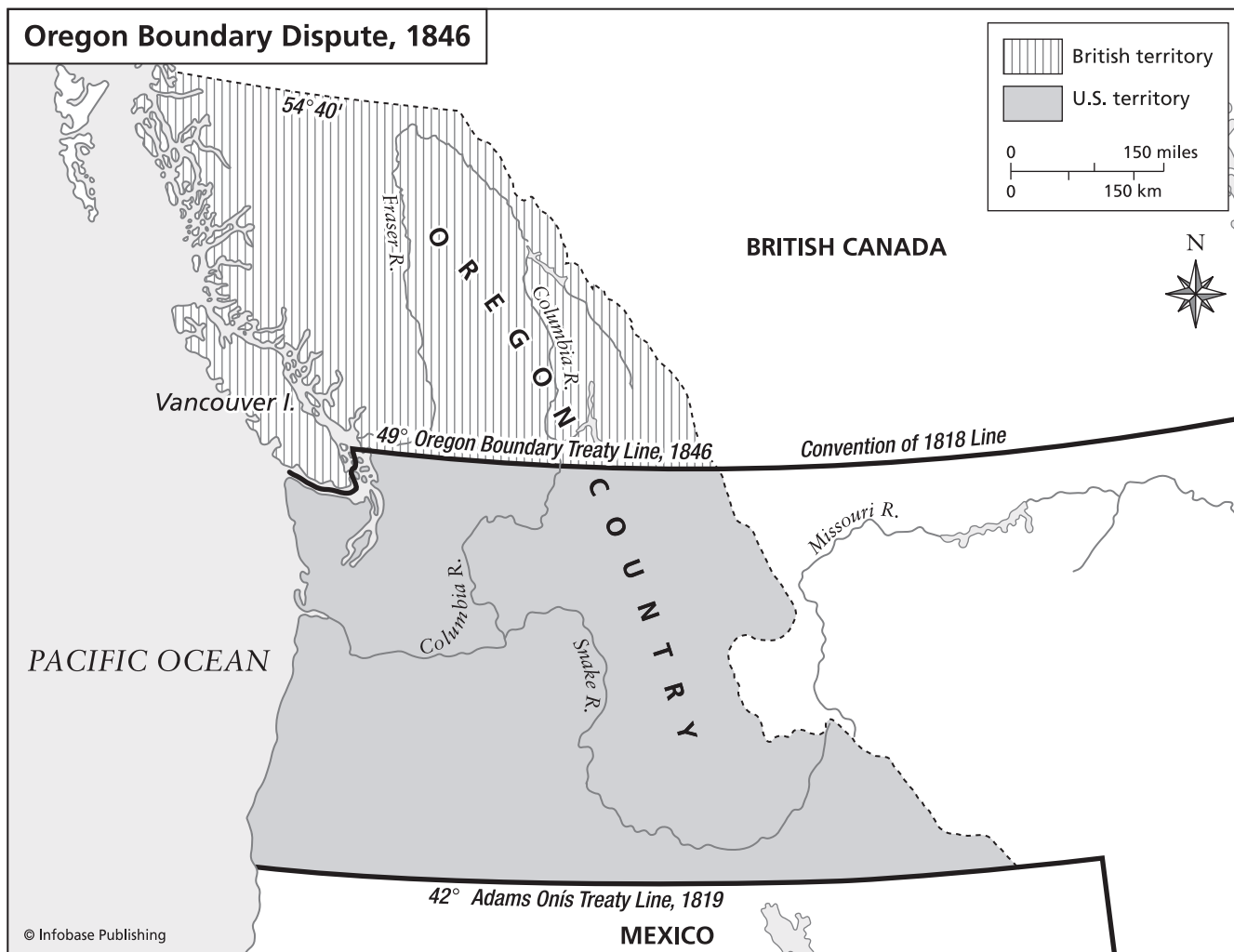
Oregon then became one of the important issues in the presidential election of 1844, an election largely contested over questions of expansion. Texas was the most important such question, and former president MARTIN VAN BUREN was denied the Democratic nomination because he opposed annexation of Texas. The nomination instead went to JAMES K. POLK, who ran on a platform favoring both Texas annexation and taking all of Oregon. The WHIG PARTY and its candidate, HENRY CLAY, were considered generally opposed to expansion, especially in Texas. Expansionists therefore considered Polk's electoral victory to be a mandate for their ideas. Following the election, Senator William "Foghorn Bill" Allen of Ohio coined the phrase "fifty-four forty or fight" to describe U.S. policy in Oregon. In essence, Allen asserted that the

United States would go to war rather than surrender any of Oregon to the British. Senators from other western states joined Allen to press Polk to secure all of Oregon by whatever means necessary.

Despite Polk's apparent support for the most belligerent position, upon taking office he directed his secretary of state, James Buchanan, to offer the British the same compromise Americans had been offering since 1818, namely a border to the Pacific at the 49th parallel. When the British again rejected this idea, Polk withdrew the offer and asked Congress to approve the necessary one-year's notice that the United States was terminating joint occupation and preparing to assert its claim to all of Oregon. In the meantime, the settlers in Oregon had established a provisional government and petitioned the United States to take control of the territory; the document creating the provisional government specified that it would expire as soon as U.S. authority was established over the territory. Polk knew, however, that opponents of the "fifty-four forty" position controlled the Senate. Southern Democrats had lost interest in Oregon after the annexation and subsequent admission of Texas as a state before the end of 1845. They no longer had anything to gain by supporting the extreme position in Oregon, and together with the less expansionist Whigs in the Senate, they could block any action on Oregon they did not like. With a fight brewing with Mexico, moreover, both southern senators and the president wished to avoid a simultaneous fight with Great Britain over Oregon. Hence, Polk left the door open for compromise, conveying to the British his willingness to submit any reasonable treaty for Senate approval and to accept any treaty that could gain the Senate's consent.

For their own reasons, the British were ready for a compromise by 1846. For one thing, the strong nationalism and belligerency expressed during and after the 1844 presidential campaign concerned the British government, which wanted to improve relations. With the Polk administration committed to lowering American tariffs and the Corn Laws limiting food imports in the United Kingdom about to be repealed, Britain sensed opportunities for increased trade that would be disrupted if the Oregon issue came to a crisis point. Further, the fur trade in Oregon had declined substantially, and for that reason and because of increased friction with settlers south of the Columbia River, the Hudson's Bay Company had moved its headquarters northward to Vancouver Island and out of the most hotly disputed area between the Columbia and the 49th parallel. Finally, the British foreign secretary, Lord Aberdeen, believed Oregon to be of little value to England and convinced Prime Minister Robert Peel that compromise was in Britain's interest. Aberdeen thus offered to extend the boundary at the 49th parallel to Puget Sound and thence around the southern end of Vancouver Island to the Pacific Ocean, giving the





British control over all of Vancouver Island. Aberdeen also insisted on protection for the property rights of the Hudson's Bay Company and other British subjects in the ceded territory and free navigation of the Columbia River to its mouth.

Though Polk personally rejected the last provision, he submitted the British proposal to the Senate. The Senate approved, and a formal treaty was soon negotiated and ratified by the Senate. The Oregon Treaty became official on August 5, 1846. Polk thus successfully resolved the last outstanding border disagreement with the British in Canada, even though his methods might be considered somewhat clumsy. By initially appearing to support the “fifty-four forty or fight” position, he raised the stakes in Oregon by encouraging extremists in the United States and almost provoking a war with Great Britain. On the other hand, it might also be argued that by raising the stakes, Polk focused British attention on the need to reach a final resolution of the Oregon question. In this view,

Polk's diplomacy appears less clumsy than shrewd. While making a show of belligerency in public, behind the scenes he promoted compromise by encouraging the British to make an offer he could get past the United States Senate. In the end, the compromise reached was almost precisely the position the United States had maintained since 1818, minus only the southern tip of Vancouver Island. And with the Oregon dispute settled, the United States could direct its martial resources undividedly to the war with Mexico on its southern border.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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—Russell L. Johnson

**Osceola** (ca. 1804–1838) *leader in the Second Seminole War*

The Seminole chief Osceola was an influential leader of the SECOND SEMINOLE WAR. Osceola was probably born around 1804 along the Tallapoosa River on the Georgia-Alabama border, a part of the Lower Creek nation. This group had been under duress in the face of white encroachment, and some members had relocated to Florida in concert with escaped African-American slaves, both to become part of the related SEMINOLE Nation. Little is known of his youth, but Osceola's name is most likely a corruption of the phrase *asi yohola* ("black drink crier"), a term with religious connotations.

Osceola apparently matured into a fine warrior with a commanding presence, and around 1832 he was recognized as a *tustenugge*, or war chief. In this capacity, Osceola railed against the continuing loss of land to the United States. Two years earlier Congress had approved the Indian Removal Bill, which ordered the forced relocation of NATIVE AMERICANS across the Mississippi River to new homes in Arkansas. But the bill violated an earlier treaty

signed in 1823, which granted the Indians the right to existing lands until 1832. Moreover, that year the government forced tribal elders to conclude the Treaty of Payne's Landing, whereby the Seminole were to surrender all their holdings in Florida and move to Arkansas. It also stipulated the surrender of all African-American refugees who had since been absorbed into the tribe. Because one of Osceola's two wives was a mulatto he refused to comply. In 1833 Indian Agent Wiley Thompson arrived in Florida with the Treaty of Fort Gibson, intending to enforce earlier agreements. In response Osceola reputedly drew his knife and stabbed the parchment in defiance of the Americans. He was then arrested and held in shackles for several days until, feigning a change of heart, he was released.

Once free, Osceola made immediate preparations for war. On December 28, 1835, he attacked the Indian Agency at Fort King, killing Thompson, while other Seminole massacred the army patrol of Major Francis L. Dade near Wahoo Swamp. This violence precipitated the Second Seminole War (1835–42), one of the costliest guerrilla conflicts ever waged by the United States. For seven years the Americans dispatched thousands of troops and militia and fought skirmishes large and small, but they failed to awe the Indians into surrendering. Osceola, for his part, was tricked into a parley by General Thomas S. Jesup and then treacherously captured on October 21, 1837. He was then transported to Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, where he was imprisoned and his portrait painted by GEORGE CATLIN. Despite public outrage over the manner in which the chief was taken, Osceola remained behind bars and died there of illness on January 30, 1838. He was buried with full military honors.

Despite Osceola's death, his Seminole compatriots waged an incessant partisan war until 1842, when a truce was signed. At that time the exhausted tribesmen decided to allow the government to deport 3,000 of their number to new homes in Arkansas. But at least 300 holdouts, inspired by Osceola's example, defiantly refused. The fact that Seminole still reside in Florida to this day is his greatest legacy.

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—John C. Fredriksen



Osceola, drawn on stone by George Catlin, after his original portrait (*Library of Congress*)

**Ostend Manifesto** See VOLUME V.

**overland mail**

As settlement in the Far West increased in the years following the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, Americans began



to call for a regular mail service to the Pacific Coast. In 1857, Congress authorized the creation of an overland mail service, run by private joint stock companies but subsidized by the federal government. The first of these companies, the Overland Mail Company, was founded by individuals already financially connected to express mail companies such as American; National; and Wells, Fargo and Company.

The postmaster general determined the two starting points that would be used for the transcontinental mail service. Routes leading from Memphis and St. Louis would meet at Fort Smith, Arkansas, where the route would extend through Texas, Arizona, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. The service along this route was supposed to be semiweekly, with the round-trip completed in 25 days. This southern route was over 2,500 miles long. Before any mail service could commence, the entire route needed to be surveyed and the road conditions improved. The company needed to position way stations along the route, buy and transport Concord stagecoaches, and stock the route with supplies and horses. Preparing the route took over a year. The first stagecoaches departed in September 1858, successfully completing the journey in only 21 days.

Soon the procedure for transporting people and mail along the line was firmly in place. The company maintained the route very efficiently in the more settled areas but required help from station guards in isolated stretches where Indians were a threat. The road was much rougher in the isolated areas as well, making stagecoach travel a jarring, unpleasant experience. Coaches could carry nine passengers inside, plus a few riding on the outside with the drivers. Mail was stored in the rear of the coach and on top. Passengers who wanted a break from the jolting coach could stop at way stations, some of which had bunks for sleeping. For many passengers, the possibility for stopping did not make up for the poor toilet facilities, overpriced food, and occasionally drunk drivers.

Customers and other commentators complained even more forcefully about the company's inadequate, circuitous route. Critics supported the construction of a new central route that would lead west from Missouri, through Denver, Utah, and on to CALIFORNIA. The Pony Express Company was created by backers of this new route, who promoted its greater speed and efficiency. Conflicts between Wells, Fargo representatives and Overland Mail Company president John Butterfield prevented the Overland Mail Com-



The overland mail starts from the East. Wood engraving from Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, October 23, 1858 (Hulton/Archive)

pany from establishing a competing express service along the new central route. The company was reorganized in 1860 with Wells, Fargo shareholders occupying most of the seats on the board of directors.

Conflicts over which route to use were rendered moot with the beginning of the Civil War (1861–65). Because Texas was part of the Confederacy, overland mail operations had to be relocated to the central route. A new contract was awarded in 1861, granting both Pony Express service and stagecoach service to the Overland Mail Company. The company continued as sole operator of the line until 1864, when the contract was divided again between Overland Mail and the Holladay Overland Stage Company. Under the terms of the 1864 contract, only first-class mail and passengers would be carried overland, with newspapers and other documents transported by the much-longer sea route to California. Ownership of the line changed again in 1866, with Wells, Fargo assuming the control of all mail and transport operations in the West.

Stage travel to the West continued to be profitable until the completion of the transcontinental railroad in May 1869. The Wells, Fargo mail contract was canceled with the completion of the railroad line, thus ending the era of the Overland Mail Company. Stage travel continued to be viable for shorter trips for several years, but it eventually died out as railroads flourished. Until this point, the overland mail operation served as a key channel for communication, transport, and settlement across the continent.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

**Owen, Robert** (1771–1858) *industrialist, social reformer*

An industrialist and social reformer known for his radical and unorthodox views of society, Robert Owen was born in Newtown, Wales, on May 14, 1771. Although he attended local schools only through the age of nine, he was nonetheless bright and inquisitive and reputedly borrowed and read a book a day. At the age of 10, Owen left home for Manchester to work in a textile store. By 1791, Britain's Industrial Revolution was starting to develop, and Owen was eager to play his part. That year, despite his youth, Owen became a partner in a small cotton mill. Shortly after, he was hired as the manager of a large cotton-spinning factory. An excellent organizer, his mill became renowned for high-quality work, and in 1795 he advanced to serve as manager and co-owner of the large Chorlton Twist Com-

pany. The owner was so pleased by his performance that he offered the 24-year-old Owen annual salary increases and a share of the profits.

In 1799 Owen married the daughter of industrialist David Dale and acquired his factories in New Lanark, Scotland. His wealth and position were now secure, but he became very aware of the dislocation and hardships occasioned by industrialization. Having now acquired the wherewithal, he was determined to address them personally. While at Lanark, he singlehandedly instituted wide-reaching reforms to ameliorate the usually horrid living and working conditions associated with the mills. Long hours and monotonous tasks created great unhappiness and a concomitant rise in alcoholism. Owen countered the drudgery with higher wages, better sanitation, and mandatory temperance. He also invested large sums of money in improving the housing situation for workers and providing schools for their children. Further, he purchased supplies in bulk and sold them to his miniature communities at very reduced prices. Consequently, the happy, healthy workforce at Lanark became one of the most productive in all of Britain. Owen had proved beyond all doubt that contented workers enhanced productivity.

In 1806 when his mills temporarily closed due to the American embargo, Owen furthered his reputation for benevolence by continuing to pay out wages. In 1813, he printed a pamphlet entitled *A New View of Society*, which called for all surplus profit to be spent for the benefit of workers and their children. His political influence crested with the passage of the 1819 Factory Act, which mandated improved working conditions, forbade children younger than 10 from working, and strictly regulated the hours of those under 18.

Owen's reforms garnered him international fame, but his influence as a reformer was marred by a number of radical, seemingly anti-institutional ideas, which were enunciated to promote his vision of a perfect, utopian society. Foremost among them was a determined attack on the existence of organized religion that basically gutted his credibility as a reformer. He also strongly believed that poverty could be eradicated by concentrating the poor in small, self-sustaining villages based on agriculture. For such a strategy to succeed, he insisted, cooperation would have to supplant competition as a guiding human principle. In 1825, Owen acted out his beliefs by purchasing the settlement of New Harmony, Indiana, which he stocked with 900 followers. This was intended as a nonreligious, socialist community but, despite the best of intentions and investment of most of his personal fortune, the experiment failed and closed in 1828. Owen tried implementing a similar scheme in Mexico that year before political instability convinced him to return to England.

Owen returned home somewhat dejected, but he remained a vocal advocate of utopian socialism. Ever attentive to the needs of workers, he was active in the establishment of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union in 1833, which enjoyed half a million members. He also came to openly promote atheism and oppose the institution of marriage. By 1854, Owen had converted to spiritualism, which placed him even further on the fringes of the reform movement. He died in Newtown on November 17, 1858, a leading pioneer of social reform. Owen's efforts were beset by a tendency toward radicalism that alienated political support, but he functioned simultaneously as one of INDUSTRIALIZATION's greatest practitioners and its most strident critic. His pioneering views subsequently became the basis for socialist and cooperative ideologies of the later 19th century.

See also RELIGION; WARREN, JOSIAH.

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—John C. Fredriksen





### panic of 1819

The panic of 1819 is generally considered to be the first major economic depression in the United States, although there had been some distress associated with the Embargo of 1807. After the WAR OF 1812, which the nation had survived intact and independent, there was a burst of patriotism and optimism. The United States enjoyed a postwar economic boom, as farmers sold more of their goods on the world market and trade with Europe opened up after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

The PUBLIC LAND POLICY helped to fuel this boom as well. Under the Public Land Act of 1800, the federal government has been very generous in extending credit. In the South, many plantation owners left the exhausted soil of the Southeast for fertile lands in Mississippi and Alabama, where they hoped to grow cotton. Cotton prices had risen in these new southern states, and planters paid exorbitant prices for uncleared land in the expectation that prices would remain high. In the western United States, there was much speculation in public lands, as Americans were interested in developing their country but for the most part lacked the capital to do so. In response, many banks, both state and unchartered, sprang into existence. These “wildcat” banks fed the expansionist frenzy by printing enormous amounts of paper money. Western banks were often especially reckless in this regard. As the number of banks grew, so did prices, particularly that of real estate. Much of this apparently booming economy, however, was supported only by paper currency, without much hard currency, or specie, to support it.

Many individuals and businesses fell into heavy debt due to the mania for expansion and growth. For example, in 1819, \$22 million was owed to the federal government for debts on public lands. A good number of debtors also owed money to the unregulated wildcat banks. The boom fueled by cheap land, high commodity prices, and easy credit suddenly burst in 1819; one trigger was a collapse in world commodity prices. Part of the problem was that the SECOND

BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, which had been chartered in 1816, called in specie from various state banks; those banks could not meet the demands, and thus hard currency dried up. In addition, in 1819, the U.S. Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice John Marshall, ruled that states could not tax the Bank of the United States, which was declared to be constitutional and of more immediate concern. This decision placed further strain on the financial health of the states. Some critics of the bank went so far as to accuse it of causing the panic of 1819, which is an exaggeration, although it did little to rein in irresponsible state and local banks that contributed to the panic by their liberal lending of paper money. The bank at this point concerned itself primarily with its own financial well-being and was more interested in making profits for its stockholders than it was in regulating the dangerous practices of reckless banks.

As the crisis deepened, much overseas trade and economic growth at home came to a halt. The collapse of wheat prices hurt farmers everywhere. Wheat had sold in some regions for \$2.41 a bushel in 1817; four years later, it was getting only 88 cents on the open market. The downturn in prices often made it impossible for indebted farmers to pay off their obligations, and many of them lost their land to the banks. Much economic suffering was also felt in urban areas. Philadelphia, the nation’s second largest city, had 75 percent of its people out of work, according to one estimate; nearly 2,000 of its citizens were put in jail for debt. Some cities and towns across the country actually lost population, as people returned to their relatives’ homes in the countryside. New England was less affected by the crisis than were other regions, having not experienced so much of a banking-and credit-fueled boom. The West, however, was severely distressed, and several states passed laws suspending debt collection until conditions improved—among them Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri.

In response to the crisis, President JAMES MONROE and the federal government did very little. One measure

Congress did take was to pass a law, which Monroe signed in 1820, lowering the price of public lands. Unlike several of the above-mentioned states, the federal government maintained a strict policy of not interfering in economic matters it thought beyond its constitutional powers. Although their traditional rival, the Federalists, were in disarray and on the verge of formal extinction, Republicans, and especially their supporters in the South, still feared any expansion of the powers of a national government, which might someday threaten slavery.

The economic effects of the panic were felt until at least 1824, with a general prosperity not returning until almost 1830. The political and psychological impact was as important as the economic consequences, however. Much of the optimism that swept the nation following the BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS and the end of the War of 1812 ended with the panic. This doubt over whether an economy increasingly based on market values was in the nation's best interest coincided with the congressional dispute between North and South in 1819–21. In that controversy, the debate was whether Missouri should be admitted to the Union as a free or slave state. It combined with the anxieties that came with the panic to produce some genuine concern over the future of the republic. There were proposals for keeping the country largely agricultural, while others continued to point the finger of blame at the Bank of the United States and called for a government vigorous enough to contest its powers. The economic distress sparked a renewed interest in politics, as farmers, merchants, workers, and others began to think of what type of government might be needed to avoid a repeat of the hard times that erupted in 1819. One possible remedy was higher tariffs that would protect infant American industries from overseas competition; a major step in that direction was taken with the Tariff of 1824, which raised duties considerably on imports. In the 1820s and beyond, voters would begin to demand more of their elected officials as the American economy become more complex and diversified and the threats of panics remained.

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—Jason Duncan

### **panic of 1837**

The panic of 1837 brought to an end an extended economic boom, one of the most productive in the history of the United States. It began in the 1820s, when British investors poured large amounts of capital into American canals in the North, as well as into Southern cotton, and

basic commodities tripled in price. The nation's economy was undergoing a transformation that had accelerated in the decades since the WAR OF 1812, one marked by the development of an interconnected market and a workforce characterized more and more by wage labor. During the boom, there was a rage for speculation and credit, and it began to spin out of control.

One effort by the federal government to discourage speculation, which was blamed by some for rising inflation, was to issue the so-called Specie Circular in 1836. Drawn up by Senator THOMAS HART BENTON of Missouri and issued as an executive order by President ANDREW JACKSON over the objections of the WHIG PARTY, the Specie Circular mandated that only specie—i.e., gold and silver—would be acceptable payment for public lands. This was essentially an effort to end speculation with banknotes and allow ordinary people a better chance to buy land. The result, however, was that specie became harder to come by, especially in the Northeast, and it went west to pay for lands.

Another potential economic problem was rooted in the Bank War of 1832, which had resulted in the expiration of the charter of the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES in 1836. This took away a major force against runaway credit, and therefore inflation had increased because state and local banks were issuing too many notes.

The boom reached its peak between 1834–37, but some saw danger in all of the speculation and easy credit. One skeptic famously asked “When Will the Bubble Burst?” One of the first signs of trouble on the economic horizon was a series of crop failures in the United States, beginning in 1835; as a result, farmers could not repay their bank loans. As agriculture began to decline, the international balance of trade began to work against the United States. In the South, cotton firms began to fail and agricultural production in general slipped. Overexpansion had led to great amounts of debt and bad currency. Overtrading on Wall Street had led to a real-estate boom that also began to bust.

Although these domestic factors all played a role in the onset of the panic, it appears that its most important causes originated overseas. There came to be concern in London over the increased export of specie, especially gold, from their vaults to the United States. The Bank of England therefore decided to restrict the outflow of specie to the United States and demand the payment of specie that was owed to them. It also rather suddenly ceased granting credit to English firms doing business with their American counterparts. At the same time, a poor harvest in England caused a dip in the demand for American cotton, probably the most important commodity in the United States. These developments in England, which was the center of the Western world's financial system, contributed

to a collapse of world prices that affected many sectors of the U.S. ECONOMY. Banks began to suspend specie payments in spring 1837, meaning they would not redeem any paper notes for gold or silver. This helped to create a panic, as investors were fearful of losing their savings and rushed to withdraw them from the banks. As paper money became devalued, the notes in which workers were paid lost much of their purchasing power.

By early 1837, business failures had begun to mount. The distress was especially devastating in northern cities. Commerce and transportation declined; most construction, an important source of jobs, ceased; and goods went unsold. Wage-dependent workers in the new economy were especially vulnerable. Some of them were thrown out of their homes when they could not pay rent, and moved into cellars and basements. There were food riots that were reminiscent of colonial times. As the number of unemployed and food prices both soared, there was looting of bakeries and shops. In the South, cotton plantations were sold on the market for only 10 percent of their original price. To make matters even worse, hopes for economic recovery and a relatively brief panic were dashed in 1839, as another wave of business failures, unemployment, and general economic suffering hit the nation.

In response to the crisis, radical antibank Democrats, known as the Locofocos, began to call for hard currency so that workers and farmers could pay their debts, while Whigs and conservative Democrats called for paper money to ease the panic. There were many accusations in Washington over who was responsible for the panic. Whigs cried "Locofocoism" and blamed Democrats and their economic policies during the Jackson presidency; the Democrats pointed the finger at the now-defunct Bank of the United States. The initial response of President MARTIN VAN BUREN, who had taken office in 1837 just as the crisis was deepening, was that the panic was a healthy corrective to an overheated economy. He steadfastly refused to provide federal funds to relieve the distress caused by panic. Van Buren did eventually propose a policy known as the independent treasuries, or subtreasury. It called for the federal government to take its funds out of the banking system altogether and place them in government vaults. The idea behind this policy was that it would keep the federal government out of reach of economic elites and eliminate government-backed speculation in public lands. There was much opposition to this plan, both among the Whigs and the more business-minded Democrats, but Congress eventually passed it in 1840.

The impact of the panics of the late 1830s was such that general economic prosperity did not return until about 1844. Among the long-range consequences of the economic crisis was that labor organizations, which had begun to form in the late 1820s and early 1830s, essen-

tially collapsed in the face of a massive loss of bargaining power and would not return in force until after the Civil War. The DEMOCRATIC PARTY, which lost the White House in 1840 because the Whigs were able to blame them for the nation's economic troubles, in the future would be reluctant to pursue antibank and anticredit policies which, rightly or wrongly, had cost them so much politically. Debates over these issues would also soon be supplanted by the growing controversy brought by expansion, as the United States once and for all confronted the question of SLAVERY.

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—Jason Duncan

**panic of 1857** See VOLUME V.

**Paul, Nathaniel** (ca. 1793–1839) *abolitionist, minister* Nathaniel Paul, an African-American abolitionist minister, was a pioneering voice for the black community. Paul was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, around 1793, the son of a Revolutionary War veteran. He attended a school run by the Free Baptist Church. In 1820 he founded the Albany African Church Association in Albany, New York. Paul was a charismatic speaker who attracted large audiences, and he used the pulpit to advocate education and self-improvement as a means out of poverty and discrimination. To this end he served as founder and president of the Union Society of Albany for the Improvement of the Colored People in Morals, Education, and the Mechanical Arts.

Paul was also active in publishing and contributed regularly to newspapers such as *Freedom's Journal* and *The Rights of All*. In his writings he attacked both slavery and the efforts of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY. Nonetheless, in 1830 Paul himself migrated to a free black community in Canada at Wilberforce, Ontario, where he served as pastor. In 1831 he visited England to raise money for a manual training college in Wilberforce, and he spent the next five years lecturing and preaching in concert with British and Irish abolitionist figures, as well as William Lloyd Garrison. Paul remained in England six years and raised \$8,000, but because the expenses he incurred ran upward of \$7,000, he refused to hand over the money to the Wilberforce community. He was then driven from the community, which failed soon after, and he renewed his

residency in Albany as pastor of the Hamilton Street Baptist Church. Paul died there on July 17, 1839.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## penitentiary movement

Historians have argued about the origins of the penitential reform movement. Enlightenment thought, urbanization, the Industrial Revolution, and bourgeois fear of social disorder have all been suggested as causes of this historical development. Historians can all agree that in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, liberal republics shifted their major form of state punishment from public displays such as whippings to the incarceration of criminals in institutions.

The social movement to end public displays as the state's primary form of punishment may have originated in 18th-century philosophical thought. Age of Enlightenment penal theorists influenced reformers and state officials in late 18th-century America. Cesare Beccaria, who wrote *An Essay on Crimes and Punishments* (1764), advocated the consistency of punishment through a standard criminal code and the eradication of arbitrary punishment. Whipping, stocks, and other public humiliations had been effective methods in small, close-knit communities, but in rapidly growing urban areas with rising crime rates, developing a uniform punishment system was more efficient and manageable.

These new theories and the increasing level of disorder in urban centers influenced city officials to eradicate public punishments and build a new kind of system for dealing with crime. Philadelphia, for example, ceased public whipping for punishments in 1786 and instituted penal labor as the primary punishment for crime. When Philadelphia officials decided that chain-gang labor on public works did not properly reform the criminals to lead virtuous lives as good citizens, the idea of placing criminals in institutions began to gain support. The noted physician Benjamin Rush, for example, advocated the cessation of all public punishment, believing that this interaction with the citizenry would contaminate the public morals. In 1787, he published a pamphlet, *An Enquiring into the Effects of Public Punishments upon Criminals and upon Society*, which criticized current state punishments. He believed that public executions and punishments degraded both the criminal and the spectators. Social reformers like Rush supported the institutionalization of criminals, believing that a highly

structured program of organized activity could encourage repentance and develop the virtue needed for citizens in the new republic.

Prison reformers adopted the practice of social isolation as a technique for the moral rehabilitation of inmates. Early jails tended to be lightly monitored, with the prisoners largely governing themselves; they could often mingle freely, and their families could visit them regularly. Because the penitential reformers viewed the origins of criminal behavior as arising from corrupting social influences, the movement's proponents insisted on separating criminals from society and isolating them from their families and friends. For reformers who believed that virtue was rooted in individual responsibility and religious devotion, the goals of the penitential movement were ideologically appealing. Americans involved in this movement included such well-known reformers as DOROTHEA DIX and Louis Dwight.

As states with growing cities and populations, New York and Pennsylvania would lead the nation in developing new ways to punish criminals. The prison reforms adopted by these two states were later embraced by other states with some modifications. The Jacksonian era introduced the construction of large penitentiaries. In 1829, Pennsylvania opened the Eastern State Penitentiary, the first large institution designed by supporters of penitential reformers. This institution aimed to inculcate virtue through isolation, silence, and religious instruction. The architects who designed Eastern State carefully arranged the structure to facilitate this separation of prisoners, even during exercise and eating periods.

A debate emerged between social reformers who advocated the Pennsylvania system of incarceration and those who supported the treatment of prisoners in New York institutions. This debate centered around the degree of solitude institutions should require of prisoners. The New York system allowed prisoners to labor outside of their cells in workshops with other inmates, although prison regulations still required silence. The Pennsylvania system, in contrast, advocated as much separation as possible, including solitary confinement. Both systems embodied the belief that prisoner isolation would lead criminals to atone for their past vices and absorb a new sense of morality. Letters from family and friends were carefully censored, and the prisoners were only allowed reading material that could be depended upon to teach them moral behavior. This carefully controlled environment and lack of communication with the outside world was supposed to both produce repentance and teach the inmate the steady work habits necessary to a successful American citizen.

The expense of separating prisoners and keeping the institutions carefully regulated was often difficult for other states to reproduce; most adopted only some aspects of the New York or Pennsylvania system. But the general model





This detail rendering of an iron gag is an attack on the cruelty in Pennsylvania's Eastern Penitentiary, a prison notorious for its abuses and atrocities against prisoners, 1835. (Library of Congress)

of incarceration and separation was implemented throughout the country and remains a basic characteristic of the American criminal justice system to this day. The penitentiary reformers' disciplinary strategies spurred the building of all sorts of other institutions, including asylums for the poor and the insane. The construction of these new kinds of institutions signified an expansion of the state's power to control social behavior and punish those who deviated from established norms.

See also CITIES AND URBAN LIFE.

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—Sharon E. Romeo

### Permanent Indian Frontier (1840)

A policy for permanently separating NATIVE AMERICANS from white settlers, the Permanent Indian Frontier had its roots in earlier plans suggested by presidents Thomas Jefferson and JAMES MONROE for dealing with conflicts between Indians and whites. Jefferson had proposed in 1803 that these conflicts could be solved by persuading nations to trade their lands east of the Mississippi for lands west of the river. Clearly dividing Indian and white lands would, he hoped, eliminate the violent confrontations on the frontier that were making western expansion difficult. He assumed that the amount of land east of the Mississippi would satisfy white demand for many generations. In 1825, Monroe officially proposed the concept of a permanent dividing line west of Missouri. He asserted that this policy would protect the Indians, who could form and administer their own separate government.

President ANDREW JACKSON supported removal to the West but opposed treating Native Americans as an independent nation. His concept of permanent relocation was passed in the INDIAN REMOVAL ACT (1830). After this policy was initiated in the 1830s, almost all eastern Native Americans were forced to move west of the Mississippi River. However, violent conflict between Indians and whites persisted, as American settlers continued to encroach on Indian lands. The U.S. government began looking for a way to defuse the conflict between Indians and white settlers for good. In an effort to establish the boundaries of settlement, the government proposed the creation of a “permanent Indian frontier” at about the 95th meridian (near the present-day western boundaries of Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa). Officials hoped that by setting aside this large area for Native Americans, further conflicts with white settlers could be avoided. This frontier would, in essence, be a single large reservation for Indians.

But before this new policy had been implemented, white emigrants were already crossing the line on overland trails to CALIFORNIA and trespassing onto the Indian territory itself in an attempt to settle there. The Permanent Indian Frontier was difficult to enforce, and within 10 years the federal government had caved in to pressure from white settlers, abandoning the idea of one large Indian reservation. After the 1850s, government policy was to relocate Indian nations to many smaller, isolated reservations. Indian leaders were forced by economic necessity and intimidation into signing land cession treaties. They accepted goods, annuities, and small reservations in exchange for the large tracts needed to quench the white thirst for new lands. The new small-reservation plan was the latest in a string of policies that rendered Native Americans increasingly dependent on white traders and government officials in order to survive. The annuity money did not go far and was often not even paid, and soon Indians



in the West were suffering from disease, malnutrition, and alcoholism.

Trapped on reservations, Indian nations were less and less able to support themselves through their traditional means of hunting and agriculture. On small reservations, they were supposed to learn Euro-American farming practices and live like whites. Most continued to resist this pressure to adopt white ways, and open conflict between the United States and Native Americans continued in scattered pockets until the 1890s. The fate of the Permanent Indian Frontier embodies the general trend of U.S. Indian policy throughout the 19th century: Indian rights to land were consistently discarded because white Americans would not accept limits on their own settlement rights.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

**Perry, Matthew Calbraith** (1794–1858) *naval officer who opened Japan to U.S. trade*

Commander of the naval expedition that established U.S. relations with Japan, Matthew Calbraith Perry was born on April 10, 1794, in South Kingstown, Rhode Island, the brother of Oliver Hazard Perry. He began his naval career as midshipman at the age of 15, advancing to lieutenant in 1813 and to commander in 1826. Perry supervised the construction of the first naval steamship, the *Fulton*, and upon its completion in 1837, he took command with the rank of captain. He was promoted to commodore in 1842. In 1846–47, he commanded the Gulf squadron during the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR.

As commander of U.S. naval forces in the China seas, Perry was a staunch expansionist. In 1852, he warned President MILLARD FILLMORE that the British, who had already taken control of Hong Kong and Singapore, would soon control all trade in the area. Perry recommended that the United States take “active measures to secure a number of ports of refuge” in Japan. Fillmore agreed with Perry, and in 1853 he ordered the commodore to open negotiations with the emperor of Japan.

American ships had long been active in the Pacific, as New England whaling fleets scoured the ocean in search of their prey. The China trade had been enriching Yankee merchants since 1784. Japan, however, had effectively closed its doors to outsiders, and it restricted foreign ships to a small port of Nagasaki. For more than 200 years, a

strict feudal system operated, and no foreigner was allowed to enter Japan at all. Even shipwrecked sailors were forced to remain so that no information about the country could leak out. The Dutch had established trading relations with the Japanese in the early 1600s, but were then forced, in 1641, to remove themselves and all future trading via an artificial island called Decima.

On July 8, 1853, Perry led a squadron of four ships into Tokyo Bay and presented representatives of the emperor with the text of a proposed treaty for commerce and friendship. To give the reluctant Japanese time to consider the offer, he then sailed for China. With an even more powerful fleet, he returned to Tokyo in February 1854 and came ashore to meet with representatives of the ruling shogun. He was accompanied by 600 men and a naval band. The Japanese signed the Treaty of Kanagawa on March 31, 1854, providing that humane treatment be extended to sailors shipwrecked in Japanese territory, that U.S. ships be permitted to buy coal in Japan, and that the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate be opened to U.S. commerce. Perry’s mission ended Japan’s isolation, a prerequisite for its subsequent development into a modern nation. Matthew Calbraith Perry died in New York City on March 4, 1858.

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### personal liberty laws

Personal liberty laws were statutes passed by northern U.S. states to counter the FUGITIVE SLAVE LAWS. Article IV, Section 2 of the Constitution called for states to surrender escaped slaves to their owners, but as the ABOLITION MOVEMENT had grown, northern states not only refused to extradite runaway slaves but protected them from their owners and from hired slave catchers. Several northern states responded by passing so-called “personal liberty” laws aimed at thwarting the federal requirements. Among other things, these laws guaranteed the writ of habeas corpus, the right to a jury trial, and other procedural devices that protected the runaways, made it difficult for slave owners to prove their case in court, and made it costly for them to do so. Indiana and Connecticut, for example, passed liberty laws that assured fugitives the right to a jury trial and provided them with attorneys. In 1842, the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*, ruled that obstructing the rights of slave owners to reclaim their slaves was unconstitutional. This ruling crippled the liberty laws that were currently in effect.

Several states responded by taking new approaches. Massachusetts passed a new liberty law in 1843 that prohibited the use of state resources to catch fugitive slaves. This required slave owners to rely on federal officials, who were in short supply, or hire their own slave catchers. As part of the COMPROMISE OF 1850 designed to reduce tensions between North and South, Congress passed a new and tougher fugitive slave law that so one-sidedly favored slave owners that it became a major propaganda weapon for the abolitionists. The Fugitive Slave Act called for all citizens to help apprehend fugitives, or face stiff penalties. However, the North continued to pass laws intended to help fugitive slaves, while the South cited these laws as an assault on states' rights and a justification for secession.

**Further reading:** Paul Finkelman, *An Imperfect Union: Slavery, Federalism, and Comity* (Union, N.J.: Lawbook Exchange, 2000); Thomas D. Morris, *Free Men All: The Personal Liberty Laws of the North, 1780–1861* (Union, N.J.: Lawbook Exchange, 2001).

### **Phillips, Wendell** (1811–1884) *abolitionist orator*

As an abolitionist, Wendell Phillips was considered one of the great orators of the antislavery movement. He was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on November 29, 1811, into one of the state's oldest and most distinguished families. He was educated at the Boston Latin School, where he already displayed unusual ability as an orator, and subsequently studied at Harvard under the noted jurist Joseph Story. Phillips received his law degree in 1833 and set up a successful practice in Boston. By dint of his patrician lineage and background, he was expected to enjoy an accomplished career in law and a pursuit of public office. However, his life reached an important crossroads in 1835 when he witnessed a mob accost William Lloyd Garrison, the outspoken Massachusetts abolitionist, and drag him through the streets by a rope. Phillips was so outraged by the event that he adopted the protection of civil liberties as a personal cause.

Two years later, in 1837, the death of abolitionist editor Elijah Lovejoy in Illinois prompted Phillips to issue the first of his celebrated public ripostes that praised Lovejoy as a martyr to the cause of liberty. Hereafter, he became a vocal proponent of free speech for abolitionists, whose movement he had yet to embrace. Another turning point in Phillips's life occurred in 1837 when he met and fell in love with Ann Terry Greene, the wealthy daughter of a prominent merchant and an active member of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. They married in December 1837. Through her influence, he formally abandoned his legal practice altogether to become active in the ABOLITION MOVEMENT. Within a few years, he gained national

renown as one of abolition's most eloquent and outspoken proponents after Garrison. He also began to champion the rights of Irish Catholics, whom he viewed as another exploited class.

Being in great demand, Phillips toured the country widely as a speaker, earning considerable fees for his lectures. He also spoke on a number of nonpolitical issues; one speech, "The Lost Arts," was rendered more than 2,000 times. A dynamic, vigorous orator, Phillips captivated and entertained his audiences through clever use of invective, which simultaneously demonized and insulted the opposition. Throughout his career, he also relied heavily on his wife Ann's advice, and he freely admitted that she was usually ahead of him with respect to social issues. By deft use of his acerbic wit and thunderous delivery, Phillips found his niche as the nation's most sought-after political agitator.

The onset of the Civil War in 1861 further enhanced Phillips' image as a social and political radical. He forcefully advocated having the Union be dissolved rather than compromise its moral integrity by remaining associated with the slave-owning South. He also attacked the Constitution for becoming the legal basis for SLAVERY. Phillips refused to support Abraham Lincoln during the war years, regarding the president as essentially accommodating toward the "peculiar institution."

After 1865, Phillips ended his long association with Garrison, who withdrew from politics, and succeeded him as head of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Using this organization as a pulpit, he agitated for the civil rights of African Americans and for WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS. Toward the end of his long career, Phillips also espoused labor rights, including an eight-hour workday. He died in Boston on February 2, 1884, one of the most memorable orators of American history and a strident advocate for change.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### **Pike, Zebulon Montgomery** (1779–1813) *explorer, army officer*

Army officer and explorer, Zebulon Pike led expeditions through lands acquired in the Louisiana Purchase. Born in Trenton, New Jersey, in 1779, Pike enlisted in the army

in 1794 at the age of 15 and participated in the campaigns in the Old Northwest under General Anthony Wayne. In 1799, at 20, he was commissioned a lieutenant and went on to serve in various forts on the trans-Appalachian frontier, including Fort Washington and Fort Knox. His formal education was limited, and Pike determined to make the most of his career opportunities in the army by a vigorous program of self-study. He read widely on military tactics, mathematics, and science, and he also studied the French and Spanish languages. Brave and a natural leader, Pike was ideally suited to serve on the frontier of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

In 1805 General James Wilkinson ordered Pike to make a reconnaissance of the upper Mississippi River. Thomas Jefferson's recent purchase of the Louisiana Territory had turned the attention of the nation to its western possessions. With 20 soldiers, Pike left St. Louis in August 1805 in a 70-foot keelboat. Wilkinson had directed him to explore to the headwaters of the Mississippi and to do so before the onset of winter. Pike was given a list of items to observe: furs and minerals, the Indian peoples of the territory, and the population (Indian and European), among other things. He was also given authority to purchase sites for future military posts and to invite important Indian leaders to St. Louis to meet Wilkinson personally. Pike eventually left the keelboat at Prairie du Chien (then part of Michigan Territory and later Wisconsin), and he proceeded with his command upriver in small boats. With the onset of winter, he determined that his work was not yet finished and so decided to make a winter camp with his men at the present site of Little Falls, Minnesota. From this spot, he moved by sled up the Mississippi to what he thought was the river's source. In fact he had failed to find the real source, which lies in Lake Itasca.

Pike returned to St. Louis in late April 1806. Throughout the course of the expedition, he had displayed the highest qualities of leadership through a difficult winter in one of the most remote regions of the nation. The more practical aspects of the trip were less successful. Few Indian leaders accepted his invitation to visit St. Louis, and the U.S. Senate declined to ratify the treaty he had negotiated with the Sioux. His map and journal were of lasting importance, however, as they provided the first picture of the upper Mississippi Country.

Within three months, by July 15, 1806, Pike had received further orders from Wilkinson. This time he accompanied 50 Osage Indian captives to their homes in western Missouri; then he swung north to the Pawnee villages in Nebraska, where he presided over a treaty of peace among the nations of the region. From here, he headed west, eventually exploring the headwaters of the Arkansas River in present-day Colorado. While on this leg of his trip, he and his men tried without success to climb the peak

that would bear his name. Pike then moved south across the Sangre de Cristo range and eventually reached the Rio Grande. Although the boundary line of the recent Louisiana Purchase was not yet mapped, Pike had clearly passed into Spanish territory. In February 1807, a Spanish patrol captured him at a stockade they had constructed on the Rio Grande. Pike and his men were first taken to Santa Fe, then to Chihuahua, and finally released near Natchitoches, Louisiana. They returned to American territory on June 30, 1807.

In subsequent debate about the expedition, there was a consensus that Pike had been lost. At the same time, his journey had been a voyage of exploration. What was important was that he saw new places and could report on them. In this part of his mission, he was eminently successful. Furthermore, his capture and incarceration by the Spanish allowed him to see many Spanish towns and fortifications that would otherwise have been closed to him as an officer representing the U.S. Army. In 1810, Pike published his travel narrative, which later appeared in British, German, French, and Dutch editions. Pike had established something of an international reputation as an explorer, but this fame had little effect on his military career.

The expedition to the West enhanced Pike's reputation as an excellent officer. At the outbreak of the WAR OF 1812, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general. In April 1813, he was killed while leading an attack on Toronto. A brave officer and effective troop leader, Pike is remembered now for his expeditions to the West and for the peak in the Rocky Mountains that bears his name.

**Further reading:** Eugene W. Hollen, *The Lost Pathfinder; Zebulon Montgomery Pike* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949); Donald Jackson, *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966).

### "Pike's Peak or Bust"

In 1858, the discovery of gold in Cherry Creek, Colorado, near the site of present-day Denver, triggered a large overland migration known as the COLORADO GOLD RUSH. The CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH had provided the original model for a mass migration across the continent. The discoveries in Colorado a decade later produced many of the same outbursts of enthusiasm.

The first parties to go west headed for Pike's Peak, under the mistaken impression that this was the site of the strikes. The immigration to Colorado of as many as 100,000 miners in the summer of 1859 was based on better information, and most of these overlanders headed to Cherry Creek. Nevertheless, Pike's Peak retained a prominent place in the gold rush as the site, however erroneously



identified, of the original strikes. In addition, the peak itself was, from a distance, the most prominent and visible sign of the Rocky Mountains. That it could be seen some 40 miles distant on a clear day gave the eager argonauts of '59 their first glimpse of what they hoped would be the New El Dorado, the new CALIFORNIA. Consequently, many of the prospective miners who headed west in the summer of 1859 painted "Pike's Peak or Bust" on the sides of their wagons. After the original enthusiasm had spent itself in disappointment, Pike's Peak had another life as a familiar landmark for the flood of gold seekers moving through the area to the Continental Divide.

**Further reading:** Elliott West, *The Contested Plains: Indians, Gold Seekers, and the Rush to Colorado* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997).

**Polk, James K.** (1795–1849) *11th U.S. president*

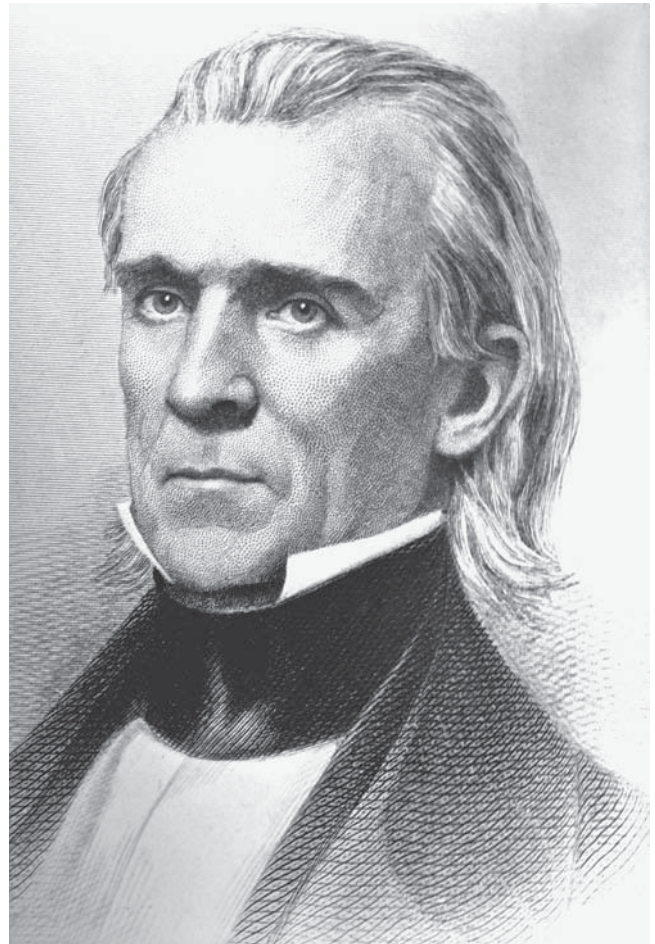
The 11th president of the United States, James Knox Polk served only one term in office but is generally credited with accomplishing all of his major goals. Born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, into a Presbyterian family of Scottish ancestry, Polk later attended school in Tennessee. He returned to North Carolina to attend the state university at Chapel Hill, graduating from there in 1818 with a reputation for hard work and achievement. After moving back to Tennessee to study law, he was admitted to the bar in 1820 and went on to practice law for three years.

In 1823, Polk was elected to the Tennessee legislature, serving for two years and establishing a friendship with ANDREW JACKSON, the state's most prominent political figure. During that time, he married Sarah Childress. In 1825, he was elected to the U.S. Congress, where he opposed the policies of President JOHN QUINCY ADAMS and was a strong Jackson supporter, a political alliance that continued after Jackson was elected president in 1828. From his position as chairman of the influential Ways and Means Committee, Polk pursued the Jacksonian line of opposition to the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES. He also supported the president when he issued his controversial veto of the Maysville Road Bill. Polk served a total of 14 years in Congress, rising to become speaker of the House in 1835, a position he held for four years. While in Congress, Polk became a target of criticism from the new WHIG PARTY, which alleged he was nothing more than Jackson's errand boy.

Although a powerful member of Congress, Polk was drafted by his party to run for governor in Tennessee after the Whigs had captured the state's highest office. He was elected governor in 1839, serving ably during his two-year term. He was subsequently defeated for reelection in 1841, however, and lost again two years later when he tried to

regain the governorship. The second defeat seemed to end any serious political future for him, but Polk stubbornly continued to remain active, both in Tennessee and nationally.

The DEMOCRATIC PARTY was determined to regain the White House, and most assumed they would nominate former president MARTIN VAN BUREN in 1844. Polk's name was circulated early on as a possible candidate for vice president. The main issue of that year's campaign was the annexation of the Republic of Texas, where SLAVERY was legal, to the United States. Van Buren hurt his hopes for nomination by coming out in opposition to annexation, which he did to head off protests from northern Democrats opposed to the influence of slaveholders within the party. With that stroke, Van Buren opened up the door for another candidate, especially one agreeable to the South. Former president Andrew Jackson was upset with Van Buren's stance on TEXAS, and he began to search for another candidate, eventually throwing his support behind his old protégé, James Knox Polk. The party as a whole



President James K. Polk (Library of Congress)

remained divided, with Van Buren retaining significant support as the Democratic convention opened in Baltimore in May of 1844. After deadlocking between Van Buren and LEWIS CASS of Michigan, the convention finally turned to Polk, who did support annexation, as a compromise “dark horse” candidate. In accepting the nomination, Polk pledged himself to a single term as president, in an effort to heal the divisions within the party. Polk and running mate George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, running on an expansionist platform that called for American sovereignty over Texas and the disputed Oregon territory, then defeated Whig stalwart HENRY CLAY of Kentucky in a close election. Polk had been a consistent critic over the years of Clay’s AMERICAN SYSTEM. The LIBERTY PARTY candidate, James Birney, had drawn antislavery votes away from Clay that were crucial in a few states, including the key one of New York.

The 49-year-old Polk took office in 1845 as the youngest man to that point to serve as president. Although hampered somewhat by his one-term pledge, he proved to be an extraordinarily hard-working, focused, and in many ways successful president in terms of carrying out his program. He saw his four major goals in office as reducing the tariff; supporting an independent treasury, an institution by which the government kept its deposits separate from private banking interests; settling the Oregon boundary dispute with Britain; and acquiring the huge territory of California from Mexico. Thus, foreign affairs occupied much of his time, to a greater extent than it had most of his predecessors.

Although the United States and Britain had been negotiating over the Oregon territory and what should be the boundary between the United States and Canada, Polk forced the issue to a conclusion. He did so despite some disagreement within his own party on the issue, with Democrats from the Old Northwest favoring expansion and southern Democrats wary of war with Britain and skeptical of adding what was certain to be non-slave territory to the Union. The prospect of armed conflict with Britain ended when the two nations signed the OREGON TREATY OF 1846, with the United States gaining most of the territory in question and Britain retaining Vancouver Island.

Relations with Mexico, however, continued to be strained and had been made worse when the United States annexed Texas shortly before Polk took office. Polk pursued the acquisition of CALIFORNIA by offering to buy it from Mexico, which also owed the United States unpaid debts. When Mexico refused to repay its debts by selling California, Polk planned to ask Congress to declare war on that basis. In the meantime, however, American troops in a disputed area were fired on and killed by the Mexican army. Polk claimed that Mexican forces had actually invaded the United States and attacked its soldiers, which was arguable.

In any event, Congress declared war on Mexico, and the United States successfully prosecuted the war, conquering the enemy in a series of spectacular victories and capturing much territory in doing so. The MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR was not without its critics, with some decrying it as “Mr. Polk’s War” and condemning it as a conflict of aggression and expansionism. Polk proved to be a capable wartime leader, as the partisan Democrat was able to work with Whig generals such as WINFIELD SCOTT. Determined to both win the peace and secure California, the Polk administration negotiated with Mexico from a position of strength. Under the TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO, which formally ended the war, the United States gained title to the huge territory of California and New Mexico. However, the victory contained within it the seeds of civil war, as North and South clashed sharply in the aftermath of the conflict about whether slavery should be allowed in the new territory.

Polk also succeeded politically on the domestic front. At his urging, Congress lowered the tariff, with the new rates remaining in effect for 11 years. As a consistently antibank Democrat, Polk threw his support behind the idea of an independent treasury as well. Overshadowed by the tariff question and the war with Mexico, the independent treasury did not generate the controversy or interest it had in the late 1830s; Polk himself paid minimal attention to it. Nonetheless, the measure became law.

Another important domestic issue which Polk tackled as president was that of INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS. As befitting a staunch Jacksonian Democrat, he had consistently opposed efforts to use federal funds to build transportation networks, finding such plans to be beyond the constitutional boundaries of the federal government. In vetoing a bill that called for improvements in several western rivers and harbors, Polk said that federal funds for local projects would “produce a disreputable scramble for the public money.” Congress failed to override this particular veto, and when Polk later vetoed a similar piece of legislation, he again placed himself firmly in the Jacksonian tradition as he cited Jackson’s Maysville Road veto in his own message to Congress. Not only was the Constitution at stake, but the treasury and financial stability of the nation itself would be threatened by federal expenditures for so many projects, he warned.

Having kept his pledge to not run for reelection, Polk left office at the end of his term in 1849. He lived only a few months more, having exhausted himself through his hard work as president. One of the leading examples of a Jacksonian Democrat, Polk has generally received high marks from historians for having set out a specific set of goals as president and then proceeding to achieve them. While not quite as charismatic as his mentor, Polk, who was sometimes called “Little Hickory,” is generally consid-



ered to have been the most able president between Jackson and Lincoln. He died on June 15, 1849, and was buried in Nashville.

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### polygamy

In 19th-century America, jurisdiction for the regulation of marriage was a state concern. This resulted in variations in marital law, particularly with regard to the age at which single individuals could marry and which races could marry one another. Under Euro-American law, however, marriage was, universally, a contract entered into by a single man and single woman. Upon marriage, women surrendered most of their legal rights and capabilities to their husbands. Husbands controlled their wives' property, any income they earned, their ability to sue, their ability to contract, and sexual access to their bodies. Wives who committed a crime, signed premarital agreements, had trusts created in their name, or appealed to a court with equity jurisdiction could find exceptions to this general rule. In the words of English jurist Sir William Blackstone, however, a wife was ideally considered to be under the legal "wing, protection, and cover" of her husband during marriage. Since women could not vote or be elected to public office, their husbands became their civic representatives. Marriage was the cornerstone of orderly government, prescribing ideal roles for men and women in civil society.

Polygamy, the practice of one man having several wives, was therefore the antithesis of orderly government. From the revolutionary period on, polygamy had been linked with the worst abuses of imperial rule. A husband who took several wives, argued theorists, was akin to a political despot whose power was predicated on the negation of other people's liberty. Bigamy and polygamy were abuses of the roles and responsibilities inherent within the marriage contract—the equal exchange of obligation and privilege between one man and one woman.

Polygamy was a moral and political issue to 19th-century Americans, who looked upon its practice in certain Native American communities as a sign of the latter's uncivilized state of being. Transforming Indian marital practices to mirror those of Euro-Americans was a central priority of the government and of missionary organizations

throughout the 19th century. By transforming MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE, they hoped to transform tribal culture. Since Euro-American marriage was weighted with civic meaning, replacing polygamy with monogamy was a stepping-stone to replacing tribal government with a democratic civil order.

It was the practice of polygamy in Utah's Mormon communities, however, that gave many Americans their greatest concern. While settled in Illinois in 1843, JOSEPH SMITH, JR., the leader of the CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS, received a vision in which Mormons were instructed to practice polygamy. It was nine more years before the revelation was widely known, by which time the Saints had migrated to Utah and Smith had died. While only the wealthiest Mormon men could afford to have several wives, the fact remained that polygamy was being practiced in a U.S. territory. Many Americans were outraged.

For the Mormons, the issue was one of states' rights. The regulation of marriage was of state concern, and the territorial government of Utah resisted attempts to force it to outlaw the practice. As a states' rights issue, the Mormons theoretically should have enjoyed southern support, as the right of a state to regulate domestic law was central to the South's defense of SLAVERY. Southern members of Congress, however, rejected such comparisons, preferring to paint polygamy as northern liberalism run amok. They were aided in this decision by northern arguments that compared slavery and polygamy. Slaveholders were, argued many northern politicians, no better than polygamous husbands themselves, since their female slaves were under their sexual control as much as their wives. To northerners, slavery and polygamy were both breakdowns of democratic social order. Despite the public outcry and moral outrage on all sides, however, Congress did not outlaw the practice of polygamy until well after the Civil War (1861–65).

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### popular sovereignty

Popular sovereignty was put forth in the late 1840s as the moderate answer to the question of whether or not SLAVERY should be extended into the territories. It offered a deceptively simple solution: let the settlers of a territory decide for themselves if they wished to enter the Union as a slave or a free state, without the interference, for or against, of the federal government.

Significantly, northern Democrats first developed the concept as an alternative to the Wilmot Proviso (1846), which would have unilaterally banned slavery from the territories acquired in the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR. The proviso was alarmingly popular in the North among both Democrats and Whigs, but deeply repugnant to the southern wing of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Popular sovereignty seemed to offer a middle way between the extremes of the proslavery advocates and free-labor positions that were threatening the harmony of the Union. It would also preserve the strength of the national Democratic Party.

First introduced in Congress by New York's Democratic senator Daniel S. Dickinson, popular sovereignty received its most important early support in 1847 from LEWIS CASS, a Democratic senator from Michigan and presidential hopeful. Cass declared that the doctrine should become a policy of the Democratic Party. He denied that Congress had the constitutional right to exclude slavery from the territories, and emphasized the pleasing but ambiguous notion that such decisions were best left to the people themselves. Voters of both sections could support the doctrine, but among other flaws, popular sovereignty left wide open the question of when settlers should make this decision.

Northerners wanted territorial legislatures to make the decision before applying for statehood. They worried that by the time a territory became a state, it would be too late to vote slavery out. This was because the legal structure supporting slavery would already exist and would in turn promote the continued settlement of slaveholders. Southerners assumed the exact opposite and were adamant that neither Congress nor territorial governments had the right to exclude slavery from a territory. To the contrary, they believed that slavery could not be voted in or out until after the territory drafted its constitution in the process of applying for statehood.

Popular sovereignty was included in the COMPROMISE OF 1850, which allowed territorial legislatures in New Mexico and Utah to pass slave codes before filing their state constitutions. The key test of the doctrine of popular sovereignty, however, came in its application to the organization and settlement of land that was not acquired from the Mexican-American War, but rather the last parcel of unorganized land from an earlier land purchase.

In order to get the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 passed with southern support, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois agreed to abolish the 1820 MISSOURI COMPROMISE line that divided free and slave states in the Louisiana Territories. This act set off a firestorm of protest in the North that led to the "little civil war" in the Kansas territory. It was the beginning of the end for popular sovereignty, which was now in danger of being rejected by both northerners and southerners. As the Kansas fiasco unfolded, the

newly elected president James Buchanan hoped that the Supreme Court would decide once and for all the question of slavery in the territories.

In December 1857, the Court's verdict against Dred Scott dealt popular sovereignty and the Missouri Compromise the final blow. The decision in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* asserted that Congress had no power to exclude slavery from the territories, which alarmed many northerners. The decision went further to state that no one, not even the territorial legislatures, could properly exclude slave property from the territories, popular will or not. This part of the opinion was problematical for Democrats. Ever the optimist, Stephen A. Douglas asserted that while *Dred Scott* guaranteed the slaveholder's constitutional rights, slavery could not exist without protective laws voted on by a majority of settlers, whom he assumed would be antislavery. Douglas failed to revive the doctrine in any meaningful fashion, and popular sovereignty faded from the political arena as a viable compromise position to deciding the fate of slavery in the territories.

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—Chad Vanderford

### public land policy

In 1800, as the new American nation began two generations of the greatest expansion in its history, the guidelines for public land policy reflected the Ordinance of 1785. The Land Ordinance (as it was known) embodied certain lasting principles that would continue to guide the evolution of land policy throughout the new century. These fixed principles included: (1) The federal government would acquire title to Indian lands through honorable negotiations; (2) the government would then survey the land before sale based on rectangular divisions of land into townships of six miles square, with the townships divided into 36 sections, or one mile square; (3) section 16 would be set aside to maintain public schools; (4) the government would sell the surveyed lands in minimum lots of 640 acres at the price of \$1 per acre; (5) the title would pass in fee simple, that is to say, absolutely, without other annual dues.

Under the Land Act of 1796, the Congress of the new national government under the Constitution of 1789 confirmed the rectangular survey system. The new law raised the minimum price of public land from \$1 to \$2 an acre with credit of one year. Alternate tiers of townships would be sold in quarter-township lots (5,760 acres) at the national capital, and the other townships would be sold in

sections of 640 acres at the newly established land offices at Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. Sales under the new law were few because of the high price, the short period of credit, and the large minimum size of salable tracts. Furthermore, the designated land offices were great distances from settler families. But Congress had begun its first adjustment of terms and the size of tracts; there would be many others. Between 1800 and 1860, Congress would enact more than 3,000 laws dealing with the public domain, but the basic principles of rectangular survey before sale, public auction, and title in fee simple issued by the federal government would remain constant.

The first major change in the land system was the Land Law of 1800 (sometimes known as the Harrison Law for its sponsor, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, territorial delegate from the Northwest Territory). Within the broad guidelines of the Land Ordinance, the Land Law of 1800 offered several important modifications to the advantage of individual settler families. It retained the price of \$2 an acre but offered four years of credit; the minimum size of a tract to be purchased was reduced from 640 to 320 acres; and it provided for establishing four district land offices in the Northwest Territory, making it more convenient for settler families to transact their land business. Tracts of land would first be sold at public auction held at the district land offices; after the individual tracts had been offered for sale, these lands would be open for private entry at the minimum price. The easier terms and more convenient access encouraged sales, and settlers and speculators alike responded. The credit provisions, however, produced a continuing administrative nightmare of payment calculations. In 1804, Congress further reduced the minimum tract that might be purchased to 160 acres. The sales of the public domain immediately increased.

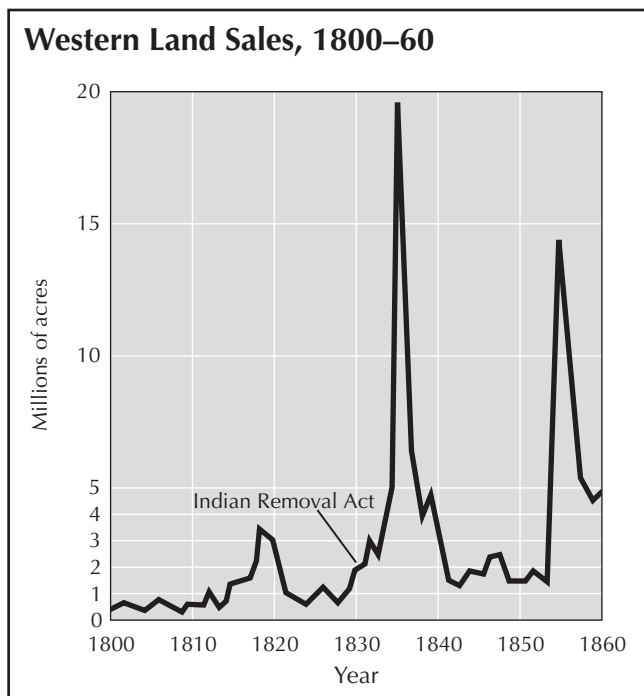
With the close of the WAR OF 1812, a great surge of immigration to the West began. Settler families moved down the Ohio River and up tributaries into the Old Northwest, across the mountains and into the new southwest of Alabama and Mississippi Territories. Land sales surged; competitive bidding, especially on cotton lands in the South, rose to unheard-of levels of \$40 an acre and, in a few cases, to \$70 an acre. The credit system encouraged cultivators and speculators to bid and to acquire beyond their means. With the collapse of the ECONOMY in the PANIC OF 1819, a reckoning was at hand. That year, the secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford, reported that since 1789, the government had sold lands for \$44 million, but only half that sum had been paid, while the other half was still owed. Congress eventually passed 12 relief acts to retire these debts incurred in optimistic times. For the future, and to ensure that the system would never again produce a large land debt owed by the nation's citizens, Congress enacted the Land Law of 1820. This new law abolished the

credit system, requiring that all land be paid for in cash (hereafter known as "land office money"). The price was reduced to \$1.25 an acre, and the minimum tract was fixed at 80 acres. A family could now buy a farm for \$100. Unfortunately for the government, the process of public land sales was completely disrupted by the panic of 1819. The ensuing depression made it virtually impossible for most prospective pioneers to come up with the requisite \$100. The government compounded the problem by ending all land sales on credit and demanding cash. The result was a surge of illegal squatters who settled and cultivated unsurveyed land in the hopes of eventually raising the money to purchase a title. The practice became so widespread that Congress was forced to enact new policies the following decade to accommodate them.

Land legislation over the next generation reflected several threads of settlement patterns and sectional politics. Congress had to pass numerous laws to deal with land claims dating from French and Spanish grants, attempting to meld the two legal and land traditions. The purchase of Louisiana in 1803 and the subsequent organization of the Territory of Orleans (later the state of Louisiana) and the Territory of Louisiana (later the state of Missouri) came to involve the large-scale examination of earlier land grants in these territories west of the Mississippi River. The acquisition of FLORIDA in 1819 would raise the same issues in this new territory. Congress also made numerous gifts of land to individuals and special interests, ranging from veterans of the War of 1812 to educational institutions to cultivators of the vine and the olive. The rising sectional issues reflected the emergence of the West as a distinctive section with its representatives and senators in the Congress and its own special interests. Among these interests was the liberalization of land laws. Whatever the differences that emerged between the Northwest and the Southwest over the issue of SLAVERY, they would agree that liberal access to land would serve the interests of the nation's frontier peoples.

The first major issue was preemption. The principle of preemption affirmed that settlers who made improvements as evidence of their serious intention to occupy and cultivate the land should be entitled to purchase their tracts, up to 160 acres, for the minimum price without competitive bidding. Eastern representatives in Congress argued that preemption rewarded trespassing and illegal settlement, and they were right. But whatever their feelings, it was not possible for the federal government to evict illegal settlers, for no elected official who had hope for a future in politics would use force to eject settler families from the public domain.

While the Congress in Washington debated the merits of preemption, settlers on the frontier fashioned their own remedy. The CLAIM CLUBS brought together settlers in a land district to protect their holdings against bidding by



speculators at public auctions. Settlers thus agreed to bid only the minimum, and they physically threatened competitors who might bid against them. Although an extralegal institution, most state, territorial, and local governments accepted claim clubs.

In 1830, the West mustered sufficient support to enact a temporary preemption act. It provided that settlers who had cultivated land on the public domain might purchase their improvements and as many as 160 acres at the minimum price of \$1.25 an acre. The act was approved for a year, and Congress renewed the law annually until a permanent preemption law was enacted on 1841. The Preemption Act of 1841 reflected a shift in principle that dated back to the Ordinance of 1785 by making settlement by individuals and families a priority over revenue. Henceforth, the land laws of the nation would reflect an increasing liberalization and an acknowledgement that the public domain was to be distributed as widely and generously as possible to actual settler families. Legislation would reflect both the liberalization of terms and attempts to benefit individuals and families as opposed to large-scale speculators. The new policy also received a unique political twist when opposition Whigs, determined to return some of the land-generated revenue back to the seaboard states, managed to pass the Distribution Act of 1841 (repealed 1842).

The question of land and how to best dispense it also gave rise to a unique third party movement. In the late 1830s, several politicians including HENRY CLAY sought to keep the price of land artificially inflated in order to gener-

ate monetary surpluses subject to distribution among established states. Others with a more altruistic bent argued that land prices west of the Mississippi should be kept high to discourage western settlement and keep NATIVE AMERICANS living there free from additional depredations. But in eastern circles, labor leader George Henry Evans and *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley championed the notion of free land in the West to draw off surplus workers from eastern cities, thereby improving labor's bargaining power throughout the East. This free-soil movement was strongly resisted by slave-owning southerners, who feared the addition of new free states, but in 1848 it resulted in creation of the FREE-SOIL PARTY to formalize its advocacy. One of the largest third parties to arise in the 19th century, it was partly responsible for passage of the Homestead Act of 1862, one of the most significant land distribution schemes in American history. The Free-Soil philosophy also marked a complete shift in attitude toward land from a source of revenue to one of guaranteeing ownership and the creation of small farms to ensure the nation's republican heritage.

Despite this general tendency toward liberalism and leniency, the admission of CALIFORNIA to the Union in 1850 turned the process against Californio (Mexican) residents living throughout that region when the new Land Law of 1851 required all non-American inhabitants of California to produce valid titles to be approved in U.S. courts. Most landowners consequently spent several years in litigation to prove their ownership. The courts eventually approved 14 million acres as legal, while the remaining 700,000 were declared null and void. Meanwhile, many Californios were forced to sell off portions of their holdings to finance legal expenses. Others fell heavily in debt to lenders, bankers, and tax collectors and likewise lost additional acreage to cover their obligations. In turn, the existing rancho system of landownership gradually vanished as Spanish-speaking rancheros, vaqueros, sheepherders, and other laborers relocated to the new urban barrios of Los Angeles and other cities to find work. As a new minority subject to intense discrimination, they never recovered their former social or economic significance.

In 1854, in the next landmark law, Congress enacted the principle of graduation. It was introduced largely at the behest of Missouri's influential senator THOMAS HART BENTON, whose state had the largest supply of unsold public land. This act provided that lands unsold on the market for long periods would be offered at graduated prices. Lands available on the market for more than 10 years would be sold at \$1 an acre; more than 15 years, 75 cents an acre; more than twenty years, 25 cents an acre; more than 30 years, 12½ cents an acre. The law represented a political alliance between East and West (with the South opposed), coming as it did in the midst of a decade characterized by



growing sectional feeling. Millions of acres were sold as a result of this liberal law, which was repealed in 1862.

This same East-West alliance worked to enact a Homestead Law that would give free homesteads of 160 acres to settler families. In 1860, President James Buchanan vetoed a homestead law passed by both houses of Congress. In response, the REPUBLICAN PARTY inserted a strong homestead plank in its platform for the presidential election of 1860. It was a promise that spoke in the strongest terms to western voters.

After Abraham Lincoln's victory in November 1860, the South seceded from the Union, and the Civil War began. Amidst the chaos and confusion of a nation at war, the Republican Congress passed a Homestead Act in 1862, fulfilling an important election promise. The law offered any citizen of the republic—or any immigrant who intended to become a citizen, was head of a family, and was over 21 year of age—a tract of 160 acres in the public domain after five years of residence. The entrant had to pay registration fees and administrative costs, but the idea of “free land” to settlers was as much a reality as Congress and the president could make it. As an added benefit, the homestead was exempt from attachment for debt.

With the passage of the Homestead Law, an era in the history of the public domain had ended. This 60-year period was characterized by adherence to the basic principles of the Ordinance of 1785; by the continuous liberalizing of terms under which the public domain might be acquired; and by the gradual acceptance of the principle that the public domain was not a source of revenue but, instead, a resource to be distributed to the citizens of the republic on the most liberal terms possible. The public land system had provided guidelines for the greatest physical expansion in the nation's history, and it had offered to the citizens of the republic generally fertile and well-watered lands. If it was true that some had benefited more than others in the sense of acquiring larger tracts, it was also true that almost everyone who had sought lands had acquired something. The opportunities for landownership under this system were unique in the history of the world.

In the next generation, from the close of the Civil War to the end of the century, the nation would continue its expansion at an unparalleled pace into the distant lands of the trans-Mississippi West and then to the shores of the Pacific. In so doing, settlers and speculators would find new landscape and new climates that would dramatically transform the ways that Americans thought about the public domain. It would gradually dawn on citizens, pioneer families, and officials alike that the old land laws were inapplicable to the challenges of the new, distant West.

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**Pushmataha** (ca. 1764–1824) *ally of Americans in the Creek War, orator, negotiator*

Pushmataha was a CHOCTAW chief who sided with the United States in the Creek War (1813–14). He was born into the Choctaw Nation near the future site of Macon, Mississippi, around 1764. Orphaned at an early age, he displayed unusual prowess as a warrior, rose steadily through tribal ranks, and around 1805 became a war chief and leader of the Six Towns District. That same year he first entered into treaty negotiations with the United States and concluded the Treaty of Mount Dexter, whereby he sold Choctaw land in return for a \$500 gift and an annuity of \$150 a year for as long as he remained chief.

Through this process Pushmataha met and befriended trader John Pitchlynn and became amicably disposed toward the Americans. Ample proof of this was afforded in 1811, when the Shawnee leader Tecumseh visited the southern Indians and beseeched them to join his antiwhite confederacy. Pushmataha, who was in attendance, then rose and delivered a forceful speech of his own, effectively persuading many of his tribesmen and neighbors not to forsake the friendship of the United States for the sake of a stranger. In August 1813 the Upper CREEK Indians attacked American settlements. Pushmataha readily joined the ranks of General ANDREW JACKSON with 500 Choctaw warriors. These he personally commanded in several stiff engagements with the Creek, gaining Jackson's respect as an effective leader. In recognition of his conduct Pushmataha was made a brigadier general in the U.S. Army. In 1818–19 his Choctaw warriors performed similar work against the Seminole of Florida, and he became widely hailed as “the Indian general.”

The postwar period proved difficult for the Choctaw, who came under increasing pressure from the United States to sell their lands in Mississippi and migrate across the Mississippi River. Pushmataha was present at several treaty signings in 1816 and 1824, where he proved himself adept as a negotiator in talks with General Jackson. In 1824 Pushmataha visited Washington, D.C., with a tribal delegation to discuss forthcoming land cessions, and he was



cordially introduced to President JAMES MONROE and the marquis de Lafayette. However, the aged chief fell ill during the proceedings and died there on December 24, 1824. His final request to his hosts was to “fire the big guns over me,” and he received a formal military funeral replete with a cannon salute. Pushmataha is one of few NATIVE AMERICANS interred in the Congressional Cemetery. His passing created a void in Choctaw leadership that was never filled, and within a decade the tribe was relocated across the Mississippi.

**Further reading:** James T. Carson, *Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaw from Prehistory to Removal* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Gideon Lincecum, *Pushmataha: A Choctaw Leader and His People* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004).

—John C. Fredriksen

# R



## race and race relations

The notion of race is ancient, dating back at least to Classical antiquity. Ancient Greek thinkers held that discernible physical and cultural differences between various peoples could be ascribed more to environmental conditions than to any inherited quality, and later theorists expanded on this idea. The 17th-century English philosopher John Locke postulated that the human mind was the equivalent of a blank slate at birth and, as such, was malleable as long as environmental surroundings helped shape its attendant character, personality, and intellectual traits. The 18th-century French philosopher Voltaire maintained that Western Europeans had achieved their presumed superior level of civilization, compared with the people of other regions, owing to favorable environmental conditions. Despite ingrained notions of superiority, virtually all Enlightenment figures held that humanity, regardless of race, was capable of improvement and, hence, that all could theoretically rise to the same level of advanced civilization.

Though the racist concept of biological determinism had not yet been formulated in the early 19th century, conditions in the United States, characterized by SLAVERY and expansionism, led to the widespread acceptance of this pseudoscientific outlook. The idea grew slowly and was not universally embraced. It was prevalent enough, however, to inform U.S. policies that directly and adversely affected nonwhite peoples. Many politicians who enacted these racist policies, like many Americans in general, believed that nonwhites were intellectually inferior to whites and condemned to either subservience or extinction; they regarded racial minorities as incapable of rising to the level of “Anglo-Saxon” Americans, regardless of their education or acculturation. Americans with this outlook viewed “non-white” races—blacks and Indians initially, followed by Irish and Chinese immigrants later in the century—as essentially doomed on account of inherited racial weaknesses.

The United States in the 19th century was a nation composed of a rapidly growing and racially diverse pop-

ulation. It was also a nation in which social, economic, and political power and legal status were determined by race. Despite the 1776 pronouncement in the Declaration of Independence that the fledgling nation was to be one founded on the principle that “all men are created equal,” race, racism, and racial inequality would, by 1865, be deeply woven into the U.S. legal, societal, and cultural fabric. Throughout the century, members of the so-called white race (also referred to commonly as the Anglo-Saxon or European race) dominated over those deemed members of different, and allegedly inferior, racial groups. Prior to the Civil War (1861–65), three processes—slavery, expansion, and IMMIGRATION—that were fundamental to the development of the nation also fostered and structured its system of race relations. The precedents these processes set for racial interaction during the first half of the 19th century would persist well into the 20th century.

Americans did not invent “race” and “racism,” but these concepts determined life in the 19th-century United States as a nation of political power and privilege for white males. After the U.S. Constitution was ratified in 1788, the nascent federal government passed the Naturalization Act in 1790. According to this act, only “free white persons” were entitled to become U.S. citizens. Even more significant than the laws governing who could become citizens were the laws that defined which citizens could vote. Initially, these were only white, male property owners and taxpayers. This initial restriction on democratic participation was directed not only toward nonwhite and female populations but toward landless and poor white males. However, by the 1850s, most states lifted economic requirements, and suffrage became universal—but only for white men. Although the laws for citizenship and voting were modified several times prior to the Civil War, it was not until after the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 and the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 that voting and citizenship were extended to freed slaves and people of African descent. It would be several more decades before other

non-whites, and women generally, were granted eligibility to citizenship and enfranchisement.

Nothing shaped racial thinking and race relations more than the institution of slavery. By the middle of the 19th century, to be a slave meant to be black, to be of African heritage, and to be burdened with the weight of dehumanizing negative racial stereotyping. Almost from the beginning of British and European settlement, various colonies, particularly those with slave-labor economies, established laws demarcating lines between slave and the white populations. The colony of Virginia, for example, passed laws in the 1670s prohibiting free blacks from owning white servants or striking or physically harming white persons. Laws were promulgated in various colonies that denied slaves the right to vote, prohibited their testimony in court, and prevented them from holding any public office.

Yet the laws that were designed to separate the races were those that prohibited miscegenation, or interracial relationships. Whites were greatly troubled by such relationships for numerous reasons, including the general fear of interracial sexual unions, the blurring of a child's status as a slave or free person, and a child's inheritance rights. Miscegenation made clear the malleability of racial classification. In 1691, Virginia passed the first antimiscegenation law "for the prevention of that abominable mixture and spurious issue." Other colonies followed suit. Most of these laws targeted "Negroes" and "mulattoes" (mixed-race people), but Native Americans were usually included in the list of those prohibited from romantic or sexual relations with whites. These laws also uniformly barred such relations only with regard to white women. White men were not legally prevented from entering into relationships with slave women or other nonwhite women. However, their children, should paternity be proved, would be considered slaves and nonwhite. Because determining a person's racial lineage was so difficult and the anxieties about racial separation so great, many laws were later adopted stating that even "one drop" of nonwhite blood meant a person was nonwhite.

Laws that limited the political activity of slaves and prevented interracial marriage were designed, in part, to reinforce racial attitudes and the notion that blacks were less than human and, as slaves, were to be considered property. The U.S. Constitution did not recognize a slave as a whole person but only as three-fifths of a person. In 1850, the federal government passed the Fugitive Slave Law, which empowered slaveholders to retrieve their slaves, as private property, in free states and territories. The notion that slaves were merely chattel was reinforced by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857). The Court ruled that black people, slave or free, were not U.S. citizens and therefore could not sue in federal courts and that U.S. government could not interfere with a slave owner's right to his property.

What made the Supreme Court's ruling in the *Dred Scott* case unsurprising was a U.S. culture greatly influenced by theories about race and racial difference. In order to defend slavery, an institution that denied slaves their freedom and humanity, southern slave owners and proslavery advocates from the 17th century onward propounded theories based on racial difference that set slaves apart from free people. These racial theories defined people of African descent as suitable only for slavery and servitude. Although proslavery thinking differed and at times conflicted, it always relied on an assumption of racial distinction between "black" slaves and "white" free people. Slavery was defended on biblical grounds as well as on outward physical difference. Some proslavery advocates believed in monogenesis, having one origin, and argued that differing environmental conditions promoted racial variation. A superior environment enabled white people to emerge as a superior race. Other proslavery Christians maintained that black people were the children of Ham, the disgraced son of Noah, and therefore condemned to a life of servitude. Those who believed in polygenesis, or having many sources, defended slavery and maintained that black people were a completely separate species and therefore excluded from the rules governing white humanity. Proslavery advocates explained that slavery was a positive good either because it regulated slaves, who were subhuman and dangerous, or paternalistically cared for slaves, who were childlike and helpless. Even enlightened thinkers such as Thomas Jefferson posited that blacks were intrinsically inferior to whites and therefore could never be successfully assimilated into the greater American society. He succinctly outlined this belief as early as 1785 in his eminent publication *Notes on the State of Virginia*. Jefferson carried his prejudice a step further by suggesting that Americans of African descent were, in effect, a distinct genus or species and separate from whites, an attitude anticipating later racial theories.

In the 1820s, "scientific" studies of race first appeared in numbers. These studies and their authors were to have a growing influence on how Americans saw race and racial groups. The following half-century was a period of growing study of science and the impact of science on American life. Among the most important figures were Louis Agassiz (1807–73) and Arnold Henry Guyot (1807–84), who represented the gradual separation of science from theology, and the efforts on the part of men like Guyot to reconcile the growing scientific discoveries of the 19th century with the Bible. Agassiz, a respected Swiss biologist and Harvard professor, argued for the separate creation of races, or polygenesis. He asserted that the differences in physical anatomy between Asians, Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans could only be attributed to different origins and evolution. This approach dovetailed with the prevailing scriptural view that the black races were descended from

Ham, the disgraced son of Noah, and were therefore destined for servitude.

Issues of race and the racial dimension of scientific theories had its first important scientific spokesman in Samuel George Morton (1799–1851). Like other scientific figures of the period, Morton trained as a doctor and began his professional career practicing medicine. While Morton's career as a doctor developed gradually over time, he used his spare time to pursue scientific interests. Among his early pursuits were a study in paleontology that analyzed the fossils collected by MERIWETHER LEWIS and WILLIAM CLARK on their celebrated expedition to the West. But Morton's most important study, begun in 1830, focused on the study of human skulls, or craniology. His work eventually encompassed the scientific measurement of more than 1,000 skulls. Through a wide correspondence network that stretched around the world, Morton had access to specimens from all over the globe, from which he deduced capacity of the skulls' interior. In 1839 he published *Crania Americana* (1839), a study that confirmed the division of humankind into five races: American, Caucasian, Ethiopian, Malay, and Mongolian. In this study, Morton argued that the American race was one species that included groups from South America to the Canadian border, and that the physical characteristics of different races were independent of external causes. But most tellingly, he concluded that the average skull size of whites generally accommodated a larger brain mass than those of Africans or Native Americans and, by default, whites were more intelligent and more capable of higher civilization. Many scientists praised Morton's theories, including Agassiz, but they were particularly popular among southern supporters of slavery, who energetically proposed and defended the theory that human races had different origins and did not belong to the same family. Morton's work was so important that scientists at the time referred to an "American school" of physical anthropology.

The most important racial theorist of the first half of the 19th century was Josiah Clark Nott (1804–73). Also trained as a medical doctor, Nott was first associated with the growing independence of scientific research from theologians and religion. In 1843, he published an article on mulattoes that began his work on race, which would lead to an international reputation. He became a leader in the American School of Ethnology, a group that included Samuel George Morton. Nott came to be regarded as a friend and respected scientist by many northern men of science, including Louis Agassiz. Nott believed that wide differences in innate capacity marked the different races; these differences were especially marked between blacks and whites. Like others, Nott argued that blacks and whites belonged to separate species without a common origin. Because of these innate differences, blacks were suitable to slavery because their

limited capacity prevented them from competing against superior races. In the long run, American Indians and the colored races were doomed to extinction unless they had a protected role in slavery. An important corollary of these theories was the central role of the superior races in human progress over the centuries, and to continue this progress, the superior races should be kept pure, hence the fear of racial amalgamation. Nott brought these theories together in his *Types of Mankind* (jointly written with George R. Gidden). Published in 1854, this work was regarded as the accepted account of racial origins in the 1850s, and it was republished in several editions over the next 20 years.

Even opponents of slavery, primarily northern abolitionists who argued for the abolishment of the institution on biblical grounds and believed in the slaves' basic humanity, viewed African Americans as racially different and inferior. Most abolitionists were neither egalitarians nor integrationists. They shared the same attitudes as proslavery paternalists. In fact, during the first half of the 19th century, many abolitionists and moderate critics of slavery, including Harriet Beecher Stowe and Abraham Lincoln, supported recolonization of slaves and free blacks to Africa. Such a plan was actively pursued by the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY. Only William Lloyd Garrison and fellow radicals argued in favor of racial equality and integration, but they were on the distant fringe of the ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

Racial animus was directed not just at black slaves but at free blacks as well. Even in liberal northern states, such as Massachusetts, free blacks suffered from racial discrimination in the larger society and culture, particularly among the growing white working-class population, who saw free blacks as a challenge to their employment. Despite the prominent role free black Americans like Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth played in the abolition movement, the majority of white Americans viewed slaves and free blacks as being a distinct and lesser race.

By the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, the debates over slavery and theories of race were largely inseparable. Slavery proponents and critics not only marshaled existing race ideologies for their causes, they also refined and altered such ideologies to fit their needs. Even those who condemned slavery and demanded immediate emancipation considered blacks to be a separate race, and, consequently, saw themselves as the superior race because of their white skins. In 1859, British scientist Charles Darwin published *Origin of Species*. Although Darwin's theories of evolution and natural selection were popularized too late to help the cause of slavery on the eve of the Civil War, these theories would add scientific legitimacy to racial thinking and racism during the second half of the 19th century.

Race thinking and racism were as integral to U.S. expansionism in the 19th century as they were to slavery.

Proexpansionist Americans used racial difference, primarily that between American Indian peoples and white settlers, to justify their quest for territory. From the beginning of European colonization of North America, whites encountered indigenous people. Most white settlers viewed the Native American population as a dangerous obstacle occupying valuable territory. They constructed their struggles with indigenous people in racial terms. Whites cast Native Americans as “uncivilized” and “savages” in order to validate the breaking of treaties and the use of violence to seize land. More charitable white Americans did not see Native Americans as inherently “savage.” In fact, in a racial hierarchy that was developing over the course of the 19th century, Native Americans were placed above slaves. However, they were still considered by most whites as racially subordinate. Thomas Jefferson, for example, held such views, and as president offered Native American people incorporation into U.S. society and good treatment if they agreed to surrender their lands and assimilate white behaviors. For those who refused this option, Jefferson offered them lands west of the Mississippi.

Jefferson’s views, however, were not predominant in the United States. President ANDREW JACKSON, a Tennessee slave owner, who gained his reputation as a violent “Indian Fighter” against the Creek and Seminole peoples during the War of 1812, rejected the notion that Indians were assimilable. As president, he won the passage of the INDIAN REMOVAL ACT in 1830, which forcibly pushed all Indian peoples west. Native Americans were thus presented with the miserable choices of evacuation, assimilation, or extinction. By the 1850s, federal policy ensured the racial separation of Native Americans by consigning them to reservations. White Americans justified this harsh treatment with race ideologies.

Over the course of the 19th century, race thinking and racism would continue to bolster white Americans’ expansionism. The notion of MANIFEST DESTINY characterized the U.S. domestic, expansionist policy. According to Manifest Destiny, white Americans, specifically Anglo-Saxons, were preordained to expand across the North American continent. Anglo-Saxons were to rule over, “Christianize” and “civilize” nonwhites, including black slaves, the Indian peoples, and Mexicans, who were incorporated into the United States after the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR (1846–48). This racially charged expansionism would lead to more violent clashes with Native Americans and other nonwhite peoples following the Civil War. It would also be used as a rationale for overseas expansion at the century’s conclusion.

Ironically, President Jackson’s term in office was also called the period of “Jacksonian Democracy” and the celebration of equality among Americans. However, this democracy was open only to white American men. It stressed the

unity of white people at a time when even “whiteness” was not necessarily racially uniform. From the 1830s through the Civil War period, the United States witnessed a dramatic increase in immigration from famine-stricken Ireland and politically turbulent Germany. In 1854, the number of immigrants entering the country was nearly 500,000. For the majority population of Protestant Americans, this influx of new immigrants, who were primarily poor, uneducated, and Catholic, was threatening. Irish immigrants in particular drew the ire of Anglo-Saxon Americans, who initially characterized them as a substandard race. Such anti-immigrant sentiment spawned pride in Anglo-Saxonism and the formation of short-lived, but dramatic nativist politics at mid-century.

Although white Protestant Americans were concerned about the increasing immigration of non-Protestant Europeans, the influx of Chinese immigrants created even greater anxiety. The Chinese came to the United States during the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH of 1849. Full-blown anti-Asian racism would not develop until the late 19th century, but white Americans, especially those on the West Coast, began establishing early barricades against Chinese immigration and integration into U.S. society. In the 1850s, white state legislatures passed laws that taxed only Chinese miners. Naturalization laws prevented Chinese immigrants, defined as nonwhite, from becoming citizens. Even the U.S. Supreme Court denied Chinese the right to testify in court in the *People v. Hall* decision (1854). As with slavery and expansionism, race and racial difference justified the white American response to and regulation of immigration.

By the time the Civil War concluded in 1865, race thinking and racism were well-entrenched in U.S. culture, society, and law. Although the post-Civil War amendments to the Constitution ended slavery, gave free slaves citizenship, and enfranchised black men, this did not usher in an alteration in race relations. In fact, race became a more significant factor in U.S. life and politics as white Americans confronted a newly freed black population, a more intransigent Native American population, and an ever-increasing non-Protestant, nonwhite immigrant population. In their struggle to maintain supremacy, white Americans would rely on race and race theories, especially scientific theory, to legitimize the use of violence and terror, segregation, race-based immigrant exclusion, and war to maintain their hold on power. It would not be until World War II that the United States would see a gradual liberalization in racial thinking, a rollback of racist policies, and the recognition of nonwhite peoples’ civil rights.

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—Charles V. Hawley

## railroads

By 1815 there were few nations in the world with a greater need for an effective transportation system than the United States. With the uncertainties of national survival overcome, Americans were beginning to move west over the Allegheny Mountains. Although most of the nation's population lived near the seaboard, and the rivers draining into the ocean provided adequate local transportation, the need to travel inland was increasing, and the lack of transportation across the mountains was a major hindrance.

The first idea of a railroad in the United States had been advanced before the Revolutionary War when the great American inventor Oliver Evans suggested the construction of a steam-powered railroad between Philadelphia and New York. Evans, who was not adequately appreciated by his contemporaries, had been experimenting with steam engines to power millstones. By 1801, he had constructed an amphibious steam carriage that chugged around Philadelphia, convincing people that Evans was deranged. Unfortunately, his inventions were ahead of their time, and he was unable to secure funds to perfect them. He died in 1819, convinced that future steam locomotives would pull passenger trains up to 300 miles per day. Most of his contemporaries continued to derive great mirth from Evan's predictions, but many of them lived to see him vindicated.

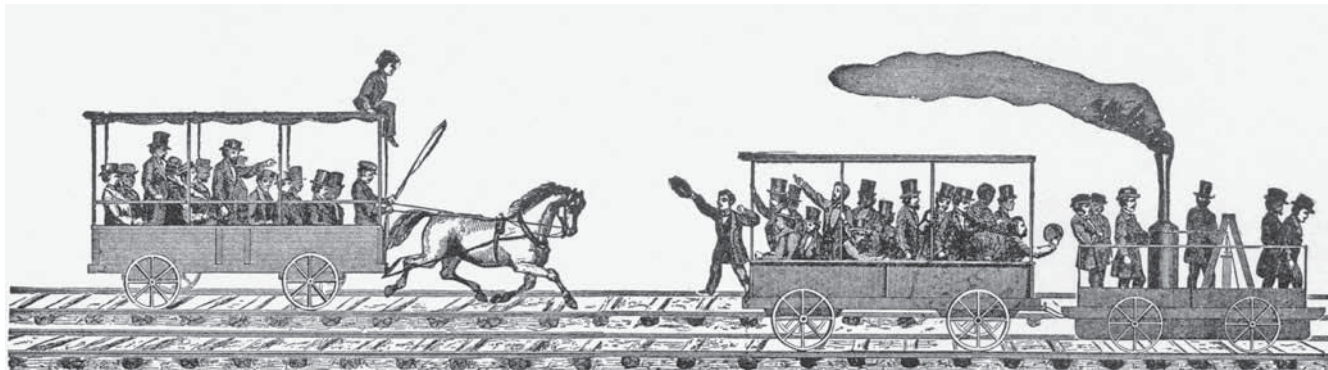
Probably the first known transportation system to actually use rails in the United States was constructed in 1795 to transport rock and cement in the Boston area. In 1807,

another railway was constructed in Boston by Silas Whitney. Two years later, Thomas Leiper built a railroad to a stone quarry near Philadelphia, and in May 1827 a nine-mile line was constructed to a coal mine in Pennsylvania. The longest early railroad was the Delaware & Hudson (D&H) Canal Company's 29-mile gravity railroad from its Honesdale, Pennsylvania, coal mines to the D&H canal at Rondout, New York. All of these railroads, however, used wooden rails and horse or mule power. Most of the lines were gravity lines, where cars coasted downgrade with loads and were drawn back up to the mine or oven by animal power. With the exception of the D&H line, they were also quite short. These lines were designed to haul a single cargo to the point where it was to be used or to haul it to a better-developed and more efficient source of water transportation.

The first incorporated railroad in the United States was the Granite Railway Company of Massachusetts, which was chartered by the state on March 4, 1826. Its purpose, hauling blocks of granite for the construction of the Bunker Hill Monument, was similar to that of the earliest railroads. The Granite Railway was only three miles long and was powered by horses. It was also the first railroad to utilize wooden rails overlaid with iron. The line eventually became part of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad.

The first known charter for an intercity railroad in the United States was granted to New Jersey in 1815 to Colonel John Stevens. Stevens had been attempting to secure this charter since 1811, and in 1812 he petitioned Congress to support a national railroad. Since Colonel Stevens was not as eccentric as Evans, he was regarded more seriously. In 1825, he operated one of the first live-steam model railroads—a locomotive that ran around a loop of track on his lawn.

One of the major reasons people were unwilling to back Stevens was that most Americans believed an effective transportation system had already been developed. The same year Stevens first operated his live-steam model, the great engineering marvel of the new nation, the ERIE CANAL, had been opened. The canal opened the west to New York City and, furthermore, provided a laboratory for the training of many American civil and mechanical engineers, such as John Jervis. Until the 1840s, canals remained competitive with railroads in the question over which could provide better transportation. Eventually, the high initial cost of canals, the fact that they froze over in the winter in many parts of the country, and the slow speed of the boats allowed the railroad to win out. Canals continued, however, to transport bulk commodities, such as coal, that did not require speedy or timely delivery. Canals never were able to overcome their problem dealing with mountainous terrain. Railroads proved to be more adaptable to the severe grades faced by projects moving to the West.



This engraving depicts a race between Peter Cooper's locomotive Tom Thumb and a railcar pulled by a horse. (Hulton/Archive)

Thus, by the late 1820s, railroads clearly promised to be one facet of a transportation system that the new nation could utilize to, in the words of JOHN C. CALHOUN, “bind the Republic together with a perfect system of roads and canals.” Although railroads were in their infancy when Calhoun made his statement in 1817, by 1830 they were already looming as a major factor in interstate transportation. Two major factors combined in the 1820s to increase the need for all forms of transportation. One was the tremendous population growth of the states west of the original 13 states (Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, and Missouri). In 1810, these states or territories contained 15 percent of the total U.S. population, but by 1830 this figure had grown to 28 percent. Trade with this increasingly populous region was extremely important for the East. The topography of the Midwest provided adequate river transportation down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to New Orleans. Early efforts were made to improve transportation by connecting the Great Lakes and the Ohio River by canal. If the East did not develop an effective transportation link with these western states, those in the West would be forced to trade primarily with New Orleans. By 1825, a significant number of steamboats were already competing to make the best time to and from New Orleans.

The second major factor was the rivalry that developed between the major eastern cities for dominance in the western trade. There were five major American coastal cities in the early 19th century: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston. New York and Philadelphia had the initial edge for the western trade because of their size and huge financial resources. Baltimore's convenient and strategically placed harbor allowed it to join the “big two.” Both Boston and Charleston gradually fell behind in the battle for the western trade, Boston because it was located farther from the western states than the other cities, and Charleston because it did not have the capital base of the merchant-oriented northern cities. Boston, in particular,

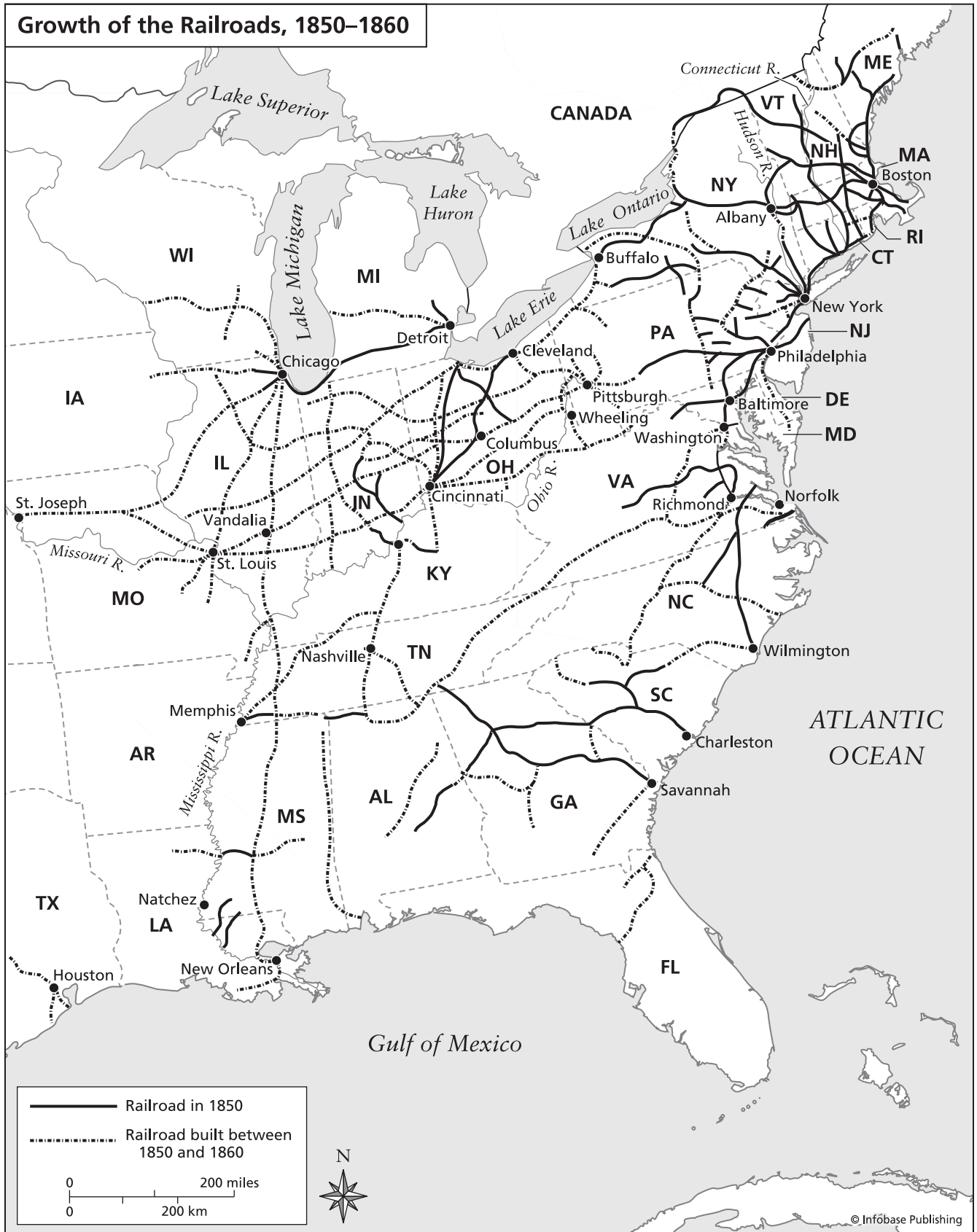
still attempted to gain its share of the western trade indirectly by trading with New Orleans, but the city was less and less successful as the century progressed.

Early railroads had one of three purposes. First, there were the short lines, like the Granite Railway of Massachusetts, whose major purpose was to carry a single product a short distance. Second, there were the intercity railroads or western lines that attempted to link up cities or markets in a linear fashion, the BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD being a primary example. Finally, there were railroads designed to provide transportation to local markets in a major city. Such cities usually had lines radiating out from them like the spokes on a wheel. Boston was the leading example of this type of railroad system, with lines running to Lowell, Fitchburg, and Worcester, Massachusetts; Norwich, Connecticut; and Providence, Rhode Island.

With the success of such railroads as the Baltimore & Ohio, the South Carolina, and the Mohawk & Hudson, a type of “railroad fever” swept many parts of the nation. Opposition to the railroads came from people who stood to lose business and money because of their introduction. Sometimes railroad workers were shot at and beaten up, sections of railroad were torn up, and locomotives and rolling stock were damaged. But such opposition did not last long. Railroads were infinitely superior to canals and turnpikes, and the feared displacement of workers did not occur.

The Baltimore & Ohio was not the first railroad to reach the western waters from one of three competing eastern cities; rail service between the Hudson River and the Great Lakes had been available since the 1840s. About 10 short connecting railroads, including the Mohawk & Hudson, constituted an unincorporated “Central Line,” but the trip from New York to Albany had to be made by riverboat until 1852, when it was possible to travel from New York to Lake Erie by rail. Philadelphia businessmen began a western railroad late compared to Baltimore, but, once started, they pushed its construction across Pennsylvania

# Growth of the Railroads, 1850–1860



with vigor. The Pennsylvania Railroad was incorporated in 1846, and by 1852, also a little ahead of the B&O, the line was completed to Pittsburgh. Until 1854, this line had to use inclined planes to reach over the Allegheny Mountains. Thus, rail lines from all three cities reached western waters at Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and Wheeling at about the same time.

Another early railroad associated with Philadelphia and New York was the Camden & Amboy (C&A), built by Robert L. and Edwin A. Stevens, the sons of Colonel John Stevens. After acquiring a charter in 1830, the C&A was constructed from Camden, New Jersey, across the river from Philadelphia, to South Amboy, New Jersey, on the ocean 30 miles south of New York City. Final connections to both cities involved ferry boats. Direct connections on rails leased or owned by the Pennsylvania Railroad from west of Philadelphia to New York were not obtained until after the Civil War. From the 1850s to 1863, New York-bound traffic from Pennsylvania had to be turned over to Philadelphia & Reading at Harrisburg. The C&A dominated transportation between Philadelphia and New York for over 30 years.

Railroad construction in New England did not lag behind that in the Middle Atlantic states merely because Boston appeared to be out of the race for western trade. Eventually the railroads radiating out of Boston made efforts to connect with key markets in three specific directions. First, a series of lines, including the Fitchburg and the Vermont Central, attempted to link Boston with eastern Canada, thus directing Canadian trade to and from Boston. Second, attempts were made, primarily through the Western Railroad of Massachusetts, to link Boston with Albany and the "Central Line" to Buffalo and the western trade. Third, via predecessors of the Boston & Maine and the New York, New Haven & Hartford, efforts were made to link Boston with New York. All of these efforts succeeded to some degree, but they were unable to restore Boston to the economic preeminence it enjoyed in the 18th century.

Until the 1850s, the financing of railroads involved a combination of private and public capital. The coal-mine lines were low-cost affairs financed by the owners of the mines and quarries themselves. The Baltimore & Ohio and the South Carolina Railroad were essentially city projects, and most of the money came in the form of municipal bonds or other forms of public support. Exceptions such as the Camden & Amboy were financed primarily by individual investors, who also played a minor early role in the B&O and the South Carolina Railroad. The Pennsylvania Railroad, during the late 1840s and early 1850s, was heavily financed by state and local commitments; in 1857, however, an amendment to the Pennsylvania state constitution made it illegal for counties, municipalities, or townships to invest public funds in railway construction. Thereafter, the

issuance of stocks and bonds formed the basis for financing Pennsylvania's railroads. Several other states developed similar prohibitions on using public money to support what were frequently dubious railroad construction projects. Prior to the Civil War, little capital to support railroad construction came from outside the United States.

In 1830, 23 miles of railroad were in operation. This figure grew to 2,818 miles in 1840 and to 9,021 miles in 1850. The year in which the greatest mileage was put into service was 1850, with 1,261 miles added. By 1860, 30,626 miles of railroad were in operation. Part of the reason for the success of railroads was the speed and relatively low cost of the transportation. In 1853, the cost of moving a ton of freight one mile by turnpike was approximately \$15, while the rate on most railroads ranged between \$1 and \$2. River transportation, costing about 37 cents, was the least expensive, but rivers did not always flow where the freight had to go.

By the time of the Civil War, an extensive network of railroads covered New England, the Middle Atlantic states, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the southern Michigan and Wisconsin. Lines in the South were less numerous, but all states had at least one rail line. In states like Texas, Florida, Louisiana, and Alabama, many of the lines were isolated with no outside connections, which was seldom the case in the North. The South had little of what could be termed a railroad system, but the North had already progressed a long way toward developing such a system.

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## religion

The early 19th century was a time of great religious ferment in the United States. Most Americans were Christians, but the unity of this background disguised great variety. New forms of Christianity, such as Mormonism, were being born; old denominations were undergoing revival, change, conflict, and fragmentation. IMMIGRATION was changing religious demographics, as Roman Catholics arrived in large numbers. The fact that churches in America had been officially disestablished by the adoption of the Constitution in 1789 meant that they were responsible for their own funding, yet it also left them free to experiment with new doctrines, concepts, and appeals to attract as wide a following as possible. Religious ideas inspired social reform, utopian experiments, and movements as varied as transcendentalism and spiritual communication with the dead.

Religious revivals swept the nation from the 1790s to the 1830s in a movement called the SECOND GREAT



AWAKENING; this commemorated the Great Awakening in the thirteen colonies in the 1730s and 1740s. The Second Great Awakening was marked by Evangelicalism, an enthusiastic way of spreading the Gospel that deemphasized reason and learning in favor of emotional, personal acceptance of God's offer of grace. Coming into being at the end of the 18th century, the movement sprang forward from two areas. In Kentucky, Presbyterian pastor James McGready started the tradition of outdoor revivals called camp meetings. In Connecticut, Congregationalist Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College from 1795 to 1817, sought to correct the irreligion of Yale students by heartfelt preaching and common-sense application of religious truths to life.

One of Dwight's students, Presbyterian Lyman Beecher, furthered the Second Great Awakening with revival services in Boston beginning in 1826. CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY left his law practice in 1821 to make upstate New York a hotbed of revivalism. Methodist bishop Francis Asbury used revivalistic preaching to spread Methodism in western frontier areas and in settled regions of the East. Tirelessly crisscrossing the country on horseback, Asbury set an example for other circuit riders, Methodist preachers who covered a large territory through regular travel. The countryside was not the sole focus of the spreading fervor: Throughout this period evangelical preachers like Finney worked the crowds of New York and Boston and found willing and enthusiastic audiences. Perhaps ironically, INDUSTRIALIZATION contributed to religious revivalism. Its uprooting effect upon heretofore agrarian populations, male and female alike, and the drudgery of factory and mill work left many young, single people isolated and hoping for a better future. The Protestant revival answered many of the spiritual, moral, and social needs of laborers in major metropolitan centers, and thus brought many thousands of converts into the religious mainstream.

Women found opportunities to testify and preach at revival meetings, though usually without being ordained as clergy. A prominent woman preacher was Phoebe Palmer, who in the 1830s began to preach a message of holiness later promoted through her periodical *Guide to Holiness* (1864–74).

The printing of Bibles and a growing interest in religious education were indicators of the spiritual fervor of the times. In 1816, the American Bible Society was founded to distribute English-language Bibles to Americans; it was soon publishing 300,000 copies a year. This zealotry also led to the founding of new groups like the American Tract Society and the American Temperance Society, whose purpose was to spread the Gospel while also imparting positive social change. In 1824, the American Sunday School Union was formed to provide general and religious instruction. The spread of missions and the formation of missionary societies were other signs of widespread zeal.

Congregationalist missionaries brought the Gospel to the Sandwich Islands, now Hawaii, in 1819. Other American missionaries were venturing as far as Burma and Africa by the 1820s. Closer to home, missionaries, with federal government aid, proselytized and educated Native Americans, particularly the Five Civilized Tribes (CHEROKEE, CHOC-TAW, CREEK, CHICKASAW, and SEMINOLE). This mission effort was severely disrupted by the forced removal of Native Americans from the Southeast in the 1830s.

Evangelical Christianity was linked to reform movements such as temperance, the movement against alcohol consumption; and abolitionism, the movement to end SLAVERY. Christians were involved in founding the Society for the Promotion of Temperance in 1826 and the American Temperance Union in 1836. Christian teaching about human equality before God was an important spur to the antislavery activists who founded the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY (1819), which was aimed at resettling freed slaves in Africa; and the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY (1833). Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of the antislavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), was a daughter of the revivalist preacher Lyman Beecher. Some Christians, particularly Quakers, took grave risks to participate in the Underground Railroad, a clandestine network that transported fugitive southern slaves to free regions in the northern United States and Canada.

Although Christians in the North were increasingly likely to oppose slavery, those in the South, where slavery was concentrated, were increasingly likely to justify it, often on Biblical grounds. From the 1760s to about the 1820s, southern Methodists and Baptists had opposed slavery, but by the 1830s they had largely joined the South's defense of its "peculiar institution." Differences about slavery led to schisms in many denominations, including Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists. The Southern Baptist Convention, which would become the largest body of Baptists, formed in 1845 to distinguish itself from northern Baptists who forbade missionaries to own slaves.

African Americans, whether slave or free, sometimes worshiped with whites during this period (usually in separate sections) and sometimes formed churches of their own. Baptist and Methodist preachers in the early 19th century converted a growing number of southern slaves to evangelical Christian worship. Black Christians formed their own meeting houses and developed distinctive spirituals, folk hymns indebted both to African tradition and to the white spirituals sung at revivalist camp meetings. Some blacks kept alive the religious traditions of West Africa, often mingled with Christianity. Voodoo or vodun, practiced in Louisiana, was a blend of Roman Catholicism and West African religion.

African-American preaching often contained references to Moses and Exodus, drawing an analogy between





Engraving showing a preacher and his audience on a southern plantation (Billy Graham Center Museum)

black slaves and the Hebrew slaves whom God had freed from bondage in Egypt. Sometimes the radical implications of this imagery went beyond preaching. In the South, Christian teaching, with its message of equality before God, was sometimes used to justify slave rebellions, such as Denmark Vesey's in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822; and Nat Turner's in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1831.

Black churches took shape in the North as well as the South. The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, an independent Methodist denomination, was founded in Philadelphia in 1816 by former slave Richard Allen, who became its first bishop. Allen started the church after being outraged by enforcement of segregation rules in a white-controlled Methodist church. The African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) Church, another black Methodist denomination, was established as a national body in 1821.

With all the changes underway, it was no wonder that religious demographics shifted. In 1800, the Congregationalists were the nation's largest denomination, followed in order by Presbyterians, Baptists, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Roman Catholics. But by 1850, Roman Catholics and Methodists were vying for first place, followed by Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. Episcopalians were no longer in the top five, and the wholly new Disciples of Christ were in sixth place.

Congregationalism, a denomination descended from New England's Puritans, was split by the secession of Unitarianism. Rejecting the Trinity and preaching human

perfectibility and universal salvation, Unitarians had been active in the United States since the late 18th century, drawing on roots that dated to the 16th century in Switzerland and Poland. Many Congregationalists, particularly the intellectual and social elite, quietly embraced Unitarian belief, but the sect did not fully come into its own until after William Ellery Channing's influential sermon "Unitarian Christianity," delivered in Baltimore in 1819. In the 1820s, the American Unitarian Association formed, with Channing as its first president, attracting many Congregational churches.

Unitarians shifted in the early 19th century from emphasizing scripture to stressing reason and service to humankind. This shift gathered force in New England in the 1830s and 1840s under the influence of Unitarian minister Theodore Parker and essayist RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Universalism, a denomination with tenets similar to Unitarianism, spread about this time in rural and small-town areas of the Midwest, particularly Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

Those churches that remained Congregationalist retained the Calvinist orthodoxy inherited from 16th-century Protestant theologian John Calvin, but exhibited tensions between liberals and conservatives. Nathaniel W. Taylor, first professor of theology at Yale Divinity School, created a schism when he questioned the doctrine of election and other Calvinist tenets. "Taylorism," as it was known, was so detested by conservatives as to prompt the

formation of a pastoral Union for the suppression of heresy (1833). Horace Bushnell, Congregational minister, author of *Christian Nurture* (1847) and *God in Christ* (1849), stressed the presence of divinity in nature and humanity and spoke against the traditional severity of Calvinism.

Among Protestant denominations, Methodists and Baptists made the greatest gains in antebellum America; by the 1850s, about 70 percent of all Protestants were Methodists and Baptists. Methodism spread thanks to the efforts of the circuit riders. Baptists, who advocated baptism of believers by total immersion, spread their emotionally charged faith throughout frontier areas by entrusting the Gospel to individual farmers who became licensed preachers in their local congregations.

After a period as a small minority, Roman Catholicism was on its way to becoming the country's single largest denomination, as it is to this day. The great increase in Catholic numbers before the Civil War was due largely to Irish immigrants. Driven from Ireland by poverty and oppression, these devoted Catholics began migrating to America in large numbers in the 1820s. Immigration rose to a new height in the 1840s, when the Irish potato famine of 1845–46 forced many to either leave home or starve. Between 1845 and 1854 alone, about 1.3 million Irish emigrated to America. Catholic immigrants from Germany, another major source of immigration during this period, also swelled the numbers of Catholics in America. The U.S. acquisition of CALIFORNIA and major parts of the Southwest from Mexico in the 1840s brought in still more Catholics, as the Mexican population in that region was absorbed into the U.S. citizenry. Moreover, the Catholic church was the only major Christian group of this period not rent by competing doctrines. As the oldest and most highly organized branch of Christianity, it was authoritarian in tone and intolerant of criticism, requiring the laity to show unquestioned obedience to the pope in Rome. It usually won and retained the spiritual loyalty of millions of immigrants and was in many respects a counterweight to the overwhelming Protestant religious culture of America.

With the growing numbers of Catholics came a growing anti-Catholic movement among Protestants who saw the new immigrants as a threat. Tracts denouncing Catholicism proliferated, and in the 1854 local and state elections, the anti-Catholic KNOW-NOTHING PARTY scored numerous victories. This nativist impulse was stridently anti-Catholic in tenor and agitated against what it saw as a discernible tendency toward papist authoritarianism. The war of words escalated in 1864, when Pope Pius IX promulgated his *Syllabus of Errors* to denounce the trends of modernity, republicanism, and other tenets of "heresy" then prevalent in Protestant America.

To a much smaller degree, immigration during this period also increased the numbers of Jews in America.

They came mainly from Germany, beginning in the 1820s. In the 1850s, Cincinnati rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise spearheaded the development of Reform Judaism, a liberal form of the faith that incorporated Enlightenment ideals. These Jews conducted their services in both English and German and allowed men and women to be seated together. However, the firmly established Sephardic and newly arrived German communities tended to be mutually exclusive, and they lived their lives and their religion apart from each other. The CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH, which began in 1849, brought still other groups of believers, this time from China. The Chinese imported to America Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and various traditional beliefs.

Some wholly new forms of belief sprouted in the United States during this period. One of the most successful was Mormonism, or the CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS. This religion was established in 1830 in Fayette, New York, by JOSEPH SMITH, JR. That year, Smith published the Book of Mormon, which he said he had translated from gold plates given to him by an angel. Smith regarded his faith as a restored version of Christianity, but it was different enough in its teachings to be regarded by outsiders as a new religion. Mormonism taught that Jesus Christ had visited the New World to preach to ancient peoples of Hebrew descent; claimed that the Second Coming would take place in America; advocated POLYGAMY; and established a centralized church structure with a strong emphasis on communal activity. The Mormon church grew rapidly but was persecuted for its beliefs, with Smith murdered in 1844. Seeking refuge, the Mormons under BRIGHAM YOUNG began migrating to Utah in 1847, where they established a distinctive community they called the STATE OF DESERET.

Another new denomination in this period was the Disciples of Christ, or Christian Churches. This group grew out of what was called the Restoration Movement, which sought to unite all Christian churches by restoring what it viewed as the simple Christianity of the New Testament. In Kentucky in 1803, Presbyterian minister Barton Warren Stone and like-minded colleagues founded a group who called themselves "Christians." In Pennsylvania in 1809, Presbyterian minister THOMAS CAMPBELL and his son Alexander formed the Christian Association of Washington, Pennsylvania, which temporarily joined forces with the Baptists. The Stoneites and the Campbellites (as they were sometimes called) merged in 1832, united around such principles as the autonomy of congregations and the importance of individual interpretation of scripture.

Around the same time, another new Christian movement, Adventism, was making its mark. In 1831, New York farmer William Miller began preaching his interpretation of scripture, according to which Christ's second coming would occur on March 21, 1843. Through periodicals,



tracts, camp meetings, and lectures, Miller developed a large following of tens of thousands of Millerites or Adventists (from Latin *advent*, coming). When the second coming did not take place in 1843, the date was shifted to 1844, but again Christ failed to appear as scheduled. Miller and other true believers remained convinced that Christ would come soon, and they formed several Adventist churches to prepare. The largest of these, the Seventh-Day Adventists, adopted Saturday, not Sunday, as the Sabbath in 1844.

Still another new denomination was the Christadelphians (Greek, “Brothers of Christ”), founded by John Thomas in 1848. It also emphasized belief in Christ’s Second Coming, but it had distinctive touches, including pacifism, nonparticipation in government, and rejection of the doctrines of the Trinity and hell.

Some spiritual movements of the time were not so much sects or denominations as intellectual currents. Most prominent among these was transcendentalism, a philosophical and literary movement that called for the individual to encounter God directly. Influenced by German Romanticism, the TRANSCENDENTAL MOVEMENT celebrated the presence of divinity in nature, encouraged self-reliance, and belittled organized religion. Its greatest spokesperson was Ralph Waldo Emerson, who had been trained as a Unitarian minister. In 1838, at Harvard Divinity School, Emerson delivered his “Divinity School Address” marking the beginning of transcendentalism and drawing controversy for his criticism of traditional Christianity. HENRY DAVID THOREAU’s *Walden* (1854), based on his experiment in living simply and “deliberately” at Walden Pond near Concord, Massachusetts, further developed transcendentalist ideas.

SPIRITUALISM, a religious movement focused on contact with the spirits of the dead, emerged in the 1840s. In 1848, Margaret, Leah, and Catherine Fox of New York claimed to hear rappings that were messages from spirits. Paying audiences flocked to theaters to see the Fox sisters communicate with the dead. Spiritualism drew much skepticism but also many followers, including newspaper editor Horace Greeley. A leading spiritualist was Andrew Jackson Davis, clairvoyant and author of *Nature’s Divine Revelations* (1847).

Utopian experiments attempting to reestablish society on a sounder basis were characteristic of this period of spiritual fervor. New Harmony, Indiana, was founded in 1814 by the Harmony Society, a German Separatist group espousing communal ownership and celibacy. (They were also known as Harmonists or Rappites, for their leader George Rapp.) New Harmony was sold in 1825 to British socialist reformer ROBERT OWEN, who turned it into a communistic colony that quickly broke up due to internal dissension. The Shakers, or the United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing, also espoused commu-

nal ownership and celibacy. Founded in the 18th century, the movement established 18 Shaker communities in eight states by 1826. In decline after 1860, the Shakers left a legacy of fine furniture and handcrafts.

At Putney, Vermont, in 1839, John Humphrey Noyes founded a society that sought to carry out his perfectionist teachings of Biblical communism. Forced to flee when neighbors became outraged at the colony’s polygamy, Noyes moved to Oneida, New York, in 1848, where his experiments in communal living continued until the 1870s. At BROOK FARM near Boston, several transcendentalists tried an experiment in communal living (1841–47). And in Iowa, the Amana Church Society, a group of seven colonies, was founded by a German Pietist group called the Ebenezer Society in 1855. Known for their fine woollens and expert farming, the cooperative villages would survive into the 20th century.

As previously mentioned, the Bible was central to the proselytizing that accompanied the Second Great Awakening. The first organization to actively distribute this seminal text was the Philadelphia Bible Society, which first arose in 1808 and locally distributed several hundred bibles every year. The scope of spreading religious texts reached national proportions in 1816 with the founding of the American Bible Society (ABS) under ELIAS BOUDINOT, formerly the first head of the United States Congress. Its self-proclaimed goal was to place a copy of the King James Bible in every household in the nation, and within two years it had enlisted the active support of 41 like-minded societies. The ABS found Americans to be receptive to their goal, and within four years it had distributed 100,000 Bibles across the nation. Between 1829 and 1831 it subsequently published 1 million copies of the Scriptures at a time when the country’s population hovered around 13 million.

However, in 1835 the ABS experienced a major schism when its Baptist auxiliaries protested the translation of the Greek word for “baptize” and sought to substitute “immerse,” a word more consistent with their own doctrine. Neither side yielded in this semantical dispute, so in 1836 the Baptists withdrew from the ABS to found their own American and Foreign Bible Society. Further squabbling among Baptists led to another dispute and creation of the new American Bible Union in 1850 under the aegis of philanthropist William Colgate. Trouble also arose with the influx of Catholic immigrants, mostly Irish, in the 1840s and 1850s. When their children were required to read the King James Bible in public schools, Catholic parents sometimes resisted, and in 1844 a violent riot in Philadelphia over precisely which Bible to use at school left 13 people dead and scores of houses in ruins. Despite this sometimes rocky reception, the Bible and Bible societies were a permanent fixture of 19th-century America and a vital conduit for disseminating Christian scripture to the citizenry.

Another significant development in this period was the rise of the Sunday school movement, whereby reading and writing was taught using the Bible as the central text. This movement was largely the outgrowth of British efforts in the 1780s to provide rudimentary education and moral training to urban youth, as well as to restrain them from impious behavior on the Sabbath. The first American “Sunday schools” arose around 1790, and the movement persisted until the 1830s. In this context, education came first and religious indoctrination was a secondary concern. However, with the coming of the Second Great Awakening at the beginning of the 19th century, the Sunday school movement acquired an evangelical bent it previously lacked.

The American Sunday School Union (ASSU) was founded in Philadelphia in 1817, entirely committed to providing, for both children and adults, religious instruction consistent with the norms of evangelical Protestantism. ASSU even published its own *Sunday School Magazine* to help propagate its mission and message nationwide. Sunday schools flourished in America’s urban settings and subsequently branched out to the frontier, where schools and churches were few and far between. Other branches arose for the specific purpose of training and educating African Americans, free and slave alike. These institutions constituted part of a much larger reform movement in American life, which also included the rise of hospitals, prisons, asylums, orphanages, and free public schools.

The first national convention of Sunday school workers was held in New York in 1832, and by the opening of the Civil War in 1861 Sunday schools were located in virtually every major city and many rural districts. Sunday schools earned their success largely by trying to be more than simply institutions for the poor, and proponents deliberately sought patrons among the middle and upper classes. Many different Protestant sects were involved with the movement, and despite doctrinal differences, all were concerned with evangelizing their youthful charges for active participation in church life. They also strove to impart such socially useful principles as cleanliness, neatness, punctuality, honesty, and hard work. Overall, the Sunday school movement in America was a useful institutional adjunct to Protestant religious instruction, and it continues to play an important role in that process in present times.

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—George Ochoa

## rendezvous

The rendezvous, an annual gathering of independent fur traders at a prearranged site in the Rocky Mountains, was held for the first time in 1825 and for the last time in 1840. From the beginnings of the fur trade, traders often worked in groups for ease of operation in handling tasks requiring more than a single individual and, increasingly, for mutual protection. The system of contracted allegiance to a large-scale employer became more common over time as the trade increasingly became controlled by a few large companies. The most influential of these—the Hudson’s Bay Company, the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY, and the North West Company—signed on large numbers of trappers and other fur-trade personnel. At the same time that these large companies provided credit and protection, they also paid minimal prices for furs and contracted with trappers who could sell only to them. As the fur trade became more competitive in the early 19th century, the great companies tried to hire trappers away from competitors.

Amidst this consolidation of fur-trading companies came the reemergence of the individual fur trader. The person most responsible for this change was WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY, a trader from St. Louis. The difficulty for Ashley and others was purchasing furs from the trappers in the field and resupplying them on a regular basis. Ashley proposed to do both by freighting supplies to a designated point in the Rocky Mountains on an annual basis. (One of the unusual features of Ashley’s plan was that he freighted the supplies overland rather than up the Missouri River). Trappers would then bring their winter harvest of furs to this site, where Ashley would purchase the furs and sell them supplies for the coming year.

This annual gathering came to be called the “rendezvous.” It was a week of commercial transactions, but it also served as a social occasion. The trappers ate, drank, gambled, sometimes fought, and engaged in contests of skill. The first rendezvous was held at Henry’s Fort on the Green River in spring 1825. Although Ashley sold out his interests and left the fur trade for land speculation and politics after the second rendezvous in 1826, it continued annually until

1840. The rendezvous provided an occasion for bringing together some of the most famous MOUNTAIN MEN associated with the frontier of the West. Its passing marked the decline of the fur trade.

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## Republican Party

The modern Republican Party has its roots in a northern, antislavery party of the 1850s. The Republicans emerged rather suddenly and came to play a major role in events preceding the Civil War. Most historians agree that the party's origins stem from northern outrage over Congress's passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which Democratic President Franklin Pierce signed into law in 1854. That act, whose most prominent champion was Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois, essentially overturned the MISSOURI COMPROMISE of 1820 and permitted SLAVERY in the Nebraska Territory north of the line that the compromise had set as its limit. Under the Kansas-Nebraska Act, POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY, i.e., the desires of the people who settled a territory, would now determine whether or not it would enter the Union as a slave or free state. Northerners believed that the Kansas Territory, which was carved out from the Nebraska Territory under the act's provisions, was being targeted by southerners who wanted to bring their slaves there.

Even before Congress passed the controversial bill, the beginnings of what was to become the Republican Party were apparent when a group of Whigs, Democrats, and Free-Soilers opposed to the Nebraska bill met in Ripon, Wisconsin in 1854. Other anti-Nebraska gatherings were held in Illinois and in Jackson, Michigan. American politics was in a period of great change in 1854 and 1855. The WHIG PARTY had tried to keep its members at arm's length from the ABOLITION MOVEMENT, but the storm of protest that was forming as the "anti-Nebraska" movement made this task much more difficult. The American Party, more commonly referred to as the KNOW-NOTHING PARTY, included a diverse number of Nativists united by their fear and mistrust of immigrants, especially Catholics, who had entered the United States in recent years. The Know-Nothings showed great strength in elections in 1854 in states such as Massachusetts. That party, however, was in danger of splitting because of differing views on slavery.

Across the North, the anti-Nebraska movement quickly became a political force. Its adherents at first called themselves anti-Nebraska Whigs or anti-Nebraska Democrats. In the 1854 election, the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, which voters identified with the Kansas-Nebraska Act, lost badly in

northern states. Some Whigs were not yet ready to give up on their party, and its supporters ran candidates under the old name in New York as well as other states. The existence of the Whig Party was threatened by a deep and growing split over the slavery issue, and it finally collapsed altogether.

Abolitionists sensed that they had a significant opportunity to organize a new antislavery party that might attract former Whigs, Know-Nothings, and disaffected northern Democrats. The new movement first met to organize itself on a national basis in Pittsburgh in early 1856. Proposed names for the fledgling party included the People's and Union Party, but no formal name was adopted at that time. Later that year, however, the movement began to call itself the Republican Party, after Thomas Jefferson's party of the same name at the turn of the 19th century. In summer 1856, the Republicans had their inaugural convention, nominating JOHN C. FRÉMONT, a former Democrat from California, for president. Frémont had some Catholic roots; his father had been a Catholic, and the candidate himself had been married by a Catholic priest. This bothered some of the nativists and Know-Nothings in the emerging Republican coalition.

Slavery was now becoming the defining issue in American politics, and the Republicans were poised to take advantage of this shift in focus away from other issues. The new party was building a coalition that included those who had supported the antislavery LIBERTY PARTY and FREE-SOIL PARTY of the 1840s; former nativists and Know-Nothings; and former Whigs of New England origin, many of whom now lived in the states of the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys and others who had been active in the various reform movements that arose during the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING. From the beginning, Republicans also attracted the votes of Protestant immigrants from Britain and Scandinavia, although Catholics remained for the most part loyal to the Democratic Party. In addition, the Republican ranks included those who were committed to free-market economics and capitalist development. At its birth, then, the Republican Party was very much a sectional party. Its 1856 convention had been attended by a few delegates from Upper South slave states, but it had no hope of winning any southern states. Its platform called for a Kansas free of slavery and opposed Democratic plans of annexing CUBA as a slave territory. Its first slogan in 1856 stated clearly what the party stood for, and who it hoped to represent: "Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men and Frémont."

In the election, the new Republican Party did very well across the North, winning 45 percent of the popular vote there (former president MILLARD FILLMORE was running as the American Party nominee) and capturing 11 of the 16 free states. Democrat James Buchanan, largely on



the strength of the solid South, was elected president, but the Republican Party had shown impressive strength in its first national election. One danger sign for the party and the future of the union was that their ticket appeared on the ballot in only four slave states, all in the Upper South, and the party did not approach even 1 percent of the vote in any of them. Democrats would charge over the course of the next four years that a national victory by the “Black Republicans” (so called for their antislavery views) would mean the dissolution of the union.

In 1857 the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford* galvanized much of the North around Republican antislavery principles. The U.S. Supreme Court, in a decision written by Jacksonian Democrat Roger Taney, declared that Dred Scott, a slave attempting to claim his freedom based on his residence in the North, had “no rights which the white man was bound to respect,” due to Scott’s race. The Scott decision essentially overruled the Missouri Compromise and appeared to make the expansion of slavery easier by insisting that African Americans could not be citizens of the United States. While the decision was met with enthusiastic approval in the slave states, and with cheers from some northern Democrats as well, Republicans denounced it in the most bitter terms. They were most outraged by the Taney Court’s contention that Congress had no authority to exclude slavery from the territories, as it had done in the Missouri Compromise. Republicans now attracted to their party former Democrats and others who began to see, for the first time in some cases, a conspiracy by the slavery supporters to extend their “peculiar institution” across the country. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois said that the next step could well be a decision by the Supreme Court “declaring that the Constitution of the United States does not permit a state to exclude slavery from its limits.”

In the late 1850s, the Republicans continued to show impressive strength across the North. Political blame for the PANIC OF 1857 was placed on the floundering Buchanan administration. There were still many Democrats in the North, however, who remained wary of the Republicans on a range of issues, including slavery. Then the Kansas question boiled again, as President Buchanan put his support behind a contested state constitution written by proslavery advocates. He went so far as to declare that Kansas was “as much a slave state as Georgia or South Carolina.” Although the Senate approved a bill granting Kansas entrance into the Union as a slave state, the House rejected the measure. Leading Senate Democrat Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois broke with his party on this crucial issue, earning him the enmity of southern Democrats and presaging the splitting of the country along sectional lines.

The question of slavery continued to roil the nation as abolitionist John Brown led a band of his followers on a raid

on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Although the attempt failed badly and Brown was captured, tried, and executed, many in the North, especially those who were already in or moving toward the Republican Party, looked on him as a hero and martyr.

In its second attempt to win the presidency, the Republicans in 1860 turned to Abraham Lincoln, who had lost a Senate seat to Douglas in Illinois just two years earlier. Although not an outright abolitionist by any means, Lincoln was firmly opposed to the further expansion of slavery. He was a relative newcomer on the national political scene, and Republicans were determined to win the crucial state of Illinois, which they had lost in 1856. A former Whig who was acceptable to all wings of the new party, Lincoln and his running mate Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, a former Democrat, faced the same difficulty as did Frémont: Their party’s political support remained entirely in the North. The difference in 1860 was that the Democrats had fractured into northern and southern wings, with Stephen Douglas as the regular nominee and John Breckinridge as the southern Democrat. There was a fourth candidate, John Bell of Tennessee, who was nominated by the Constitutional Union Party, which drew its support in the Upper South from former Whigs. Lincoln campaigned on a platform of Free Soil, which would stop slavery’s expansion, but he and the Republicans were careful to distance themselves from abolitionists, especially the radical wing as personified by John Brown.

Although there was increasing talk of secession by the South if Lincoln won, the Republican nominee was elected the 16th president on the strength of his showing in the North, as he won the electoral votes in every free state except for New Jersey, where he split them with Douglas. As Lincoln prepared to assume office, South Carolina and several other slave states seceded from the Union as a direct result of the Republican triumph, and North and South lurched toward a civil war.

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—Jason Duncan

**Ridge, John** (1803–1839) *planter, Cherokee leader, and signer of the Treaty of New Echota*

John Ridge was born in Oothcaloga (Calhoun), Georgia, in 1803. A member of the CHEROKEE Nation, he was the son of Major Ridge and grandson to a Scottish trader. When Ridge was a youth, his parents sent him to a boarding school in Cornwall, Connecticut, with his cousin ELIAS BOUDINOT. There he learned English, converted to



John Ridge (Library of Congress)

Christianity, and fell in love with a white girl named Sarah Bird Northrup. In 1824 they were married over community objections, and Ridge and his young bride were soon forced to depart, moving to his homeland.

In Georgia, Ridge established himself as a wealthy planter who owned 24 slaves. Politically, while he favored acculturation of the Cherokee, he strongly opposed selling land and forced relocation. He was also active in tribal affairs, helping to found the Moral and Literary Society of the Cherokee Nation (1824) becoming clerk of the Cherokee National Council in 1829, and serving as president of the National Committee in 1830. It fell upon Ridge, in this last capacity, to play out the singular tragedy of his people. In the wake of the Cherokee Removal Act of 1830, Ridge and several other tribal authorities visited Washington, D.C., to plead for reconsideration. None was forthcoming. When the federal government under President ANDREW JACKSON refused to rein in avaricious Georgia authorities in 1832, Ridge concluded that his people had no choice but to leave Georgia. This stance placed him squarely at odds with Chief JOHN ROSS, the head of the Cherokee Nation, and deep factions arose over the issue of forced relocation. Ridge believed that a war with the United States would prove disastrous to the tribe, so he argued that it was better to sell their land for cash than have it forcibly taken. On December 29, 1835, Ridge and his followers signed the Treaty of New Echota, which was ratified in the U.S. Congress by the margin of a single vote. Cherokee in the opposing faction accused Ridge and his followers of treason, and most refused to leave Georgia.

In fall 1837 the Ridges and their followers constituted the first wave of Cherokee to migrate to new lands in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Ridge himself settled in the vicinity of Honey Springs and founded a prosperous plantation, all the while insisting that relocation was the only realistic solution to the Cherokee Nation's dilemma. Meanwhile, the vast majority of his tribesmen remained in Georgia until they were physically removed by U.S. troops and forced to travel the infamous TRAIL OF TEARS. Many of the half-starved survivors resented the wealth that Ridge had accumulated for himself. On June 22, 1839, tribal assassins killed Ridge, his father, and Elias Boudinot over what many Cherokee considered a betrayal of their people.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Rocky Mountain Fur Company

A latecomer to the North American fur-trading business, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was the fourth such business to operate within the Pacific Northwest. It was organized in St. Louis in 1823 by Andrew Henry and WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY. Henry had already gained fame for having built Fort Henry in what is now southern Idaho. Ashley was described as a “little man who always had a stomach ache,” but this did not prevent him from earning \$50,000–\$60,000 a year during the first four years of the company's life.

In 1826, JEDEDIAH STRONG SMITH, Milton and WILLIAM SUBLETTE, and David Jackson bought the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and for the next seven years it continued to prosper. Unlike its competitors (such as the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY), the company did not build forts or trading houses. This meant that trappers had no home base but lived independently, fending for themselves. They caught their own food, found their own shelter, and fought off wild animals and hostile Indians. These independent trappers, who were known as MOUNTAIN MEN, led exciting but lonely lives and in time became the subject of many a dime novel. In addition to Smith and the Sublettes, some of these men included JAMES BRIDGER, JIM BECKWORTH, Joe Meek, Robert Newell, and KIT CARSON. Every summer the mountain men and traders for the Rocky Mountain Fur Company would gather at a RENDEZVOUS to trade pelts and purchase supplies. It was a chance to relax and enjoy themselves after a long season in the mountains, so there was much drinking, gambling, and dancing.

The Rocky Mountain Fur Company was constantly challenging the domain of the Hudson's Bay Company. Their rendezvous were consistently located near a Hudson's Bay Company post in an attempt to draw off some of the Indian trade. A number of the mountain men went into the Snake River region of Oregon, where they competed with the Hudson's Bay's Snake River brigade for trade with the Indians. They also penetrated the Umpqua and Rogue River Valley, which was considered the domain of the Hudson's Bay Company.

In 1826, Jedediah Smith pioneered a trail from the Bear Lake rendezvous to a Spanish mission in southern California. After a trapping expedition into northern California, he made his way back to Bear Lake. In 1827, he led a party of 20 men over the northern California mountains into Oregon country. This expedition proved to be a disaster. Not only did they suffer terrible hardship in crossing the mountains, they were attacked by Indians in the Umpqua River region and all but three of the party were massacred. Smith was out scouting at the time of the attack and survived.

After the attack, Smith traveled north to the COLUMBIA RIVER and FORT VANCOUVER, which was under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. While there, he was able to obtain firsthand knowledge about the fort. He reported in letters to the East that the fort looked like a permanent establishment, with its many inhabitants, its gardens, livestock, and shops. He complained to the American government that the British were trying to keep Americans out of the Oregon Territory. Smith subsequently realized that the future of the fur trade lay in the Southwest region, and he organized an expedition in late May 1831. While on that expedition, he was killed by some Comanche Indians near the Cimarron River in present-day southwestern Kansas.

One of the biggest factors in the demise of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was the campaign of opposition that the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY mounted after 1830. The expansion of the American Fur Company from the upper Missouri into the Rocky Mountains was part of JOHN JACOB ASTOR's ambition to monopolize the U.S. fur trade. This competition produced a temporary inflation, forcing the fur traders to bear the brunt of the increase. The American Fur Company could bear the short-term losses. The Rocky Mountain Fur Company, on the other hand, simply did not have the financial resources to compete, and in 1833 it was bought out by Astor.

**Further reading:** Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West: A History of the Pioneer Trading Posts and Early Fur Companies of the Missouri Valley and Rocky Mountains, and of the Overland Commerce with Santa Fe* (Stanford, Calif.: Academic Reprints, 1954).

**Ross, John** (1790–1866) *principal chief and spokesperson of the Cherokee*

John Ross was a CHEROKEE chief who was compelled to lead the Cherokee on the TRAIL OF TEARS. Ross was born on October 3, 1790, in Turkey Town (Center), Alabama, and educated at a white school in Tennessee. The son of a Scottish trader, he was only one-eighth Cherokee, a fact that may have helped him assimilate into the white business world as a merchant. In 1813 he married a nearly full-blood Cherokee named Quatie (Elizabeth Brown Henley). He fought as a U.S. ally in the Creek War (1813–14).

After the war Ross began operating a ferry and warehouse at Ross's Landing (Chattanooga), Tennessee. Later he relocated to Head of Coosa (Rome), Georgia, where he lived as an affluent planter. By the 1820s Ross was possibly the wealthiest man in the Cherokee Nation, and he turned his attention to tribal politics. He was instrumental in writing the Cherokee Constitution of 1827, the first such document ever adopted by NATIVE AMERICANS. He was elected head chief of the nation in 1828, a position he held for nearly four decades. In this capacity Ross confronted the most agonizing period of Cherokee history.

In 1828–31 Georgia officials maneuvered to seize Cherokee lands and drive the Cherokee west beyond the Mississippi River. Ross adamantly opposed forced relocation, and he turned to the U.S. Supreme Court to stop the state government. When this failed, he appealed to President ANDREW JACKSON for federal help against Georgia, but he found an unsympathetic audience. In 1835 JOHN RIDGE and several other mixed-blood Cherokee signed the Treaty of New Echota, which effectively cleared the way for removal. Ross condemned their action and refused to leave his land. In 1838, however, the U.S. military finally evicted the Cherokee remaining in Georgia. Ross and his people were forced to embark on the infamous Trail of Tears over the winter of 1838–39, in which a quarter of the migrants died before they could set up new homes in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Among the dead was Ross's wife.

Once established in Oklahoma, Ross was confronted by lingering resentments against those who signed the treaty, and a civil war broke out. Cherokee vigilantes murdered Ridge and several of his followers, and it was not until 1846 that peace and tribal unity were finally restored. In 1861 Ross faced an even larger military threat when the Civil War erupted and Confederate agents demanded that the Cherokee fight on their behalf. Ross, though a slave owner, was firmly in the Union camp, but he felt it imperative to forestall a southern invasion and consented to an alliance. He then fled the territory in 1862, all the while assuring the federal government of his loyalty. He finally returned home in 1865. By then in poor health, he spent his final months working to heal the recent divisions and promote unity.

Ross died on August 1, 1866, shortly after learning that the new Treaty of 1866 with the U.S. government would not divide his nation. For his unceasing efforts to improve the lot of his people, Ross is regarded as the greatest leader of the Cherokee.

**Further reading:** Andrew Denson, *Demanding the Cherokee Nation: Indian Autonomy and American Culture,*

*1830–1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Circe Sturm, *Blood Politics: Race, Class, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

—John C. Fredriksen



### Sac and Fox Nation

This combined tribe waged the last armed resistance to white migration in the Old Northwest in 1832. The Sac (Sauk) and Fox (Mesquaki) are an amalgamation of two Algonquian-speaking tribes closely related in tongue and culture to the Kickapoo. They originally inhabited the region near the Saginaw River of Michigan before being driven westward into Green Bay, Wisconsin, by the Iroquois. The Fox were one of few Algonquian-speaking tribes to side against France in the 1730s, and they were decimated in a series of wars. Thereafter, the Fox sought shelter within or near their Sauk allies and the two more or less functioned as one group. In the 1790s they joined the nativist, anti-American alliance of Miami chief Little Turtle, yet in 1804 a small group of tribal elders signed a treaty which ceded most of their land in Michigan and Illinois. White rapaciousness led to the rise of Indian nativism under the Shawnee leader Tecumseh, and the Sac and many Fox Indians fought against the United States in the WAR OF 1812. The most notable figure in this regard was the Sac war chief Black Hawk, leader of the pro-British band.

After 1818, with the establishment of the state of Illinois, whites began settling in the Old Northwest in alarming numbers, and the American government began pressuring the Sac and Fox, among others, to sell their lands and relocate across the Mississippi River. Many Indians complied and moved to Iowa, but Black Hawk's band defiantly refused to abandon their traditional hunting grounds. Tensions flared in 1829 when whites moved in and occupied Indian huts, left vacant for the winter, but Black Hawk returned the following spring and built new lodgings. In 1830 the Indians again returned to reclaim their grounds, at which point the white authorities warned them to keep out.

The breaking point occurred in May 1832, when Black Hawk determined to relocate his band east of the Mississippi to Saukenuk (Rock Island), Illinois. This time federal

and Illinois officials gathered troops to stop the Indians and fired upon them even when Black Hawk hoisted a white flag in surrender. The Indians defeated the local militia in a few engagements until the arrival of U.S. Army troops under General HENRY ATKINSON. This unit crushed Black Hawk's band at the Battle of Bad Axe River, in which 300 Indians were slain. The surviving Sac and Fox were then set upon by marauding bands of Sioux, their traditional enemy, and Black Hawk was arrested and released into the custody of KEOKUK, a pro-American chief. The defeat of the Sac and Fox in 1832 removed the final Native American obstacle to western migration in the Old Northwest and marked the beginning of U.S. tensions with the prairie tribes of Minnesota and Wisconsin.

In 1842 Keokuk agreed to sell his lands in Iowa to the United States, and in 1845 he moved his people to new homes in Kansas. By the 1850s the arrival of more whites in the area brought pressure on the federal government to further relocate part of the tribe into Oklahoma. Meanwhile, a smaller, prosperous segment returned to Iowa and bought back part of their previous land.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### St. Vrain, Cérán (Cérán de St. Vrain) (1802–1870)

*American fur trader, businessman*

Cérán de Hault de Lassus St. Vrain was a merchant who was a significant figure in the early Santa Fe trade. St. Vrain was born near St. Louis, Missouri, on May 5, 1802, the son of a former French naval officer. By 1824 he had entered the fur trade, working for François Guerin. He made a number of trips to the Mexican trading center of Taos, New Mexico, where he also clerked for several



other companies. To facilitate his business arrangements in Mexico, he became a Mexican citizen and also married a Mexican woman.

In 1832, after several months of trapping for himself, St. Vrain joined a partnership with CHARLES BENT. Two years later they constructed the famous BENT'S FORT on the bank of the Arkansas River. This locale quickly became one of the major trading centers of the entire region, surpassed in volume only by the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY. St. Vrain himself proved a commanding and popular figure on both sides of the border by virtue of his physical size, genteel bearing, and honesty in business relations. He acquired several large tracts of land thanks to the liberal policies of New Mexico Governor MANUEL ARMIJO. Following the assassination of Charles Bent in Taos in 1847, St. Vrain formed a new partnership with Bent's brother William.

After the war with Mexico ended in 1848, St. Vrain became active in local politics and also agitated for Congress to grant New Mexico territorial status. He was recognized as a leading citizen of the region, well respected by contemporaries for many years. In 1854–55 he served as a colonel of volunteers to help repel Apache raiders. After the Civil War broke out in April 1861, St. Vrain accepted an appointment as colonel of the 1st New Mexico Volunteers. He resigned the following October for health reasons and was replaced by noted scout KIT CARSON. St. Vrain died in Mora, New Mexico, on October 28, 1870. His funeral was attended by the officers of nearby Fort Union and 2,000 of his neighbors.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### **San Jacinto, Battle of** (April 21, 1836)

The Battle of San Jacinto was the conflict that established the independence of the Republic of TEXAS. In the wake of the Mexican victory at THE ALAMO on March 6, 1835, General SAM HOUSTON commanded fewer than 400 recruits in his Texas army, all wretchedly trained, poorly equipped, and no match for the professional forces of General ANTONIO LOPEZ DE SANTA ANNA. He therefore, over the protests of his men, commenced a strategic withdrawal to buy time to train his force and add additional volunteers before risking a confrontation.

Having encamped on the banks of Groce's Ferry for 12 days, the Americans were strengthened by the welcome addition of the "Two Sisters," a pair of 6-pounder cannons, on April 11, 1836. Houston kept a close watch on Mexican movements through an active and intelligent scouting ser-

vice. He then learned that Santa Anna had split up his army into small detachments and fanned out across the countryside to intimidate the civilian population. Thousands of American settlers fled before them in what became known as the "Runaway Scrape." When Houston learned that Santa Anna himself was leading a small detachment on the banks of the nearby San Jacinto River, he immediately decided to engage him. The choice was well received by the Americans, who were clearly spoiling for a fight and whose numbers had since swelled to 900. On April 20 Houston marched to the confluence of Buffalo Bayou and the San Jacinto River, where the Mexicans were encamped, and the two forces briefly exchanged fire. That night Santa Anna was reinforced by the arrival of General Perfecto de Cos, which brought his numbers up to 1,400 men and dissuaded him from taking any security precautions against surprise.

On the afternoon of April 21, 1836, Houston led his ragged band in two columns across the river, infantry on the left and cavalry on the right, and plunged into the Mexican camp nearly undetected. Their advance was screened by a high river bank that had been left unguarded, and they took the defenders completely by surprise. The ensuing battle was more of a massacre, as the vengeful Texans swept all before them, killing 630 Mexicans and taking 730 captive at a cost of two killed and 30 wounded. Houston himself was wounded in the foot. On the following day a patrol captured Santa Anna himself, disguised as a common soldier, and he was forced to sign an order for all Mexican forces to withdraw south of the Rio Grande. The Republic of Texas was thus preserved in a single blow, although Mexico did not relinquish its claim on the area until the TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO in 1848.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### **Santa Anna, Antonio López de** (1794–1876) *soldier*

A leading military and political figure in the history of Mexico for more than half a century, Antonio López de Santa Anna was born in Veracruz. In 1810, at the age of 16, he joined a Veracruz regiment of the Royal Spanish Infantry, where he initially fought against the Mexican independence movements. As the rebels became stronger and Spanish resistance in Mexico and elsewhere in the New World declined, Santa Anna moved to the side of the rebels, fighting in the final struggles to establish an independent Republic of Mexico. In 1821, he allied him-

self with Agustín de Iturbide, a self-appointed leader of the revolution, who soon crowned himself Emperor Agustín I of Mexico. Augustín's reign was characterized by growing discontent over his excesses, as a result of which Santa Anna turned against the emperor and joined with others to overthrow him.

Mexico became a republic and drafted a constitution in 1824. Santa Anna retired from public life, living as a country squire while remaining in touch with his military friends. In 1829, King Ferdinand of Spain mounted a military expedition to regain control of his former colony. Santa Anna returned to lead the Mexican army in resisting the invasion. The Spanish military force attempted a landing at Tampico that was plagued by poor organization and bad luck. The Mexican army's victory was overwhelming, and Santa Anna was proclaimed the "hero of Tampico." Now tremendously popular, he went to Mexico City, deposed the president, and installed his friend, Anastasio Bustamante, as president.

After Bustamante had governed for three years, Santa Anna overthrew him in 1832 and chose Valentín Gómez Farías as the new president before again retiring to his estate. Gómez Farías was a reformer whose policies alienated the Catholic Church, the large landholders, and the military. Once more, Santa Anna stepped in to remove the president, but this time he assumed the office himself. In 1833 he was elected president in a popular election, and he began to consolidate his power in a series of campaigns to destroy his opposition. He extended his presidential term to eight years and abolished the constitution of 1824. His authority was now absolute, but there was much opposition to him in liberal circles in Mexico.

In 1835 Santa Anna turned his army toward TEXAS, which he found in a state of rebellion. Since the late 1820s, factions in Texas had long talked of secession and independence from Mexico, followed by union with the United States. STEPHEN F. AUSTIN, the voice of moderate loyalty to Mexico, opposed this policy. Santa Anna's abolition of



Drawing showing Texan leader and soldier Sam Houston accepting the surrender of General Santa Anna and Perfecto de Cos after the Battle of San Jacinto during the Texan War of Independence (Hulton/Archive)

the constitution and his invasion of Texas in 1835 strengthened the hand of the rebels. That same year, under the leadership of SAM HOUSTON, Texans called a convention that issued a declaration of independence. Angered by this expression of disloyalty, Santa Anna intended to crush the revolution and force Texans to accept their former status within the nation of Mexico.

The advance guard of Santa Anna's army crossed the frontier into Texas on October 2, 1835. The first serious objective was the old Spanish mission at THE ALAMO in San Antonio. Rebellious Texans had seized the mission, and in spite of orders to evacuate, they fortified the place, convinced that they could defeat a force several times larger than their own. Santa Anna would give them the opportunity. After a prolonged artillery bombardment, he ordered a frontal assault, which overwhelmed the Alamo's defenders. Santa Anna ordered that no survivors should be taken alive. None were, and the handful of prisoners was immediately executed. Next, he ordered the execution of prisoners recently taken at Goliad. These brutal tactics confirmed him in his belief that the TEXAS REVOLUTION could be put down by ruthless force.

For Texans, Santa Anna's actions offered conclusive proof that they must come together, appoint a commander, train an army, and defeat him in the field. The commander was Sam Houston, and he quickly assembled and trained a small force of some 800 men. Houston retreated up the coast, and Santa Anna followed with an army three times the size. On April 21, Santa Anna confronted Houston at the San Jacinto River, and in a brief and savage battle, the Texans routed his Mexican army. Although disguised, Santa Anna was recognized and taken prisoner. After he had signed the Treaty of Velasco that recognized Texas independence, and against the advice of many who wished to execute Santa Anna for his treatment of prisoners, Houston permitted him to leave for Veracruz. In Mexico, Santa Anna immediately repudiated the treaty of Texas independence, and the two sides faced one another for nine years in an uneasy truce across the Rio Grande.

With the outbreak of the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR in 1846, Santa Anna offered his service to his nation once again. With an army of some 20,000, he attacked General ZACHARY TAYLOR at Buena Vista. In one of the bloodiest engagements of the war, Taylor defeated Santa Anna after two days of hard fighting. He then engaged the American army under General WINFIELD SCOTT at the Battle of Cerro Gordo, where he was defeated. The TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO, signed in February 1848, set the boundaries of the State of Texas and added the northern third of Mexico to the expanding American continental empire. Santa Anna's long campaign to preserve Mexico's North had failed.

With the close of the war, Santa Anna went into self-imposed exile. The Conservative Party recalled him in

1853, and he was once again appointed president. To support his empty treasury, he sold 45,000 acres (the GADSDEN PURCHASE) to the United States for \$10 million. Two years later, the Liberal Party overthrew his government, and Santa Anna was forced into exile. Forbidden to return to Mexico, he traveled, including one trip to the United States. He continually petitioned the government to return to his native land, and his request was granted in 1874. Santa Anna died at the age of 82.

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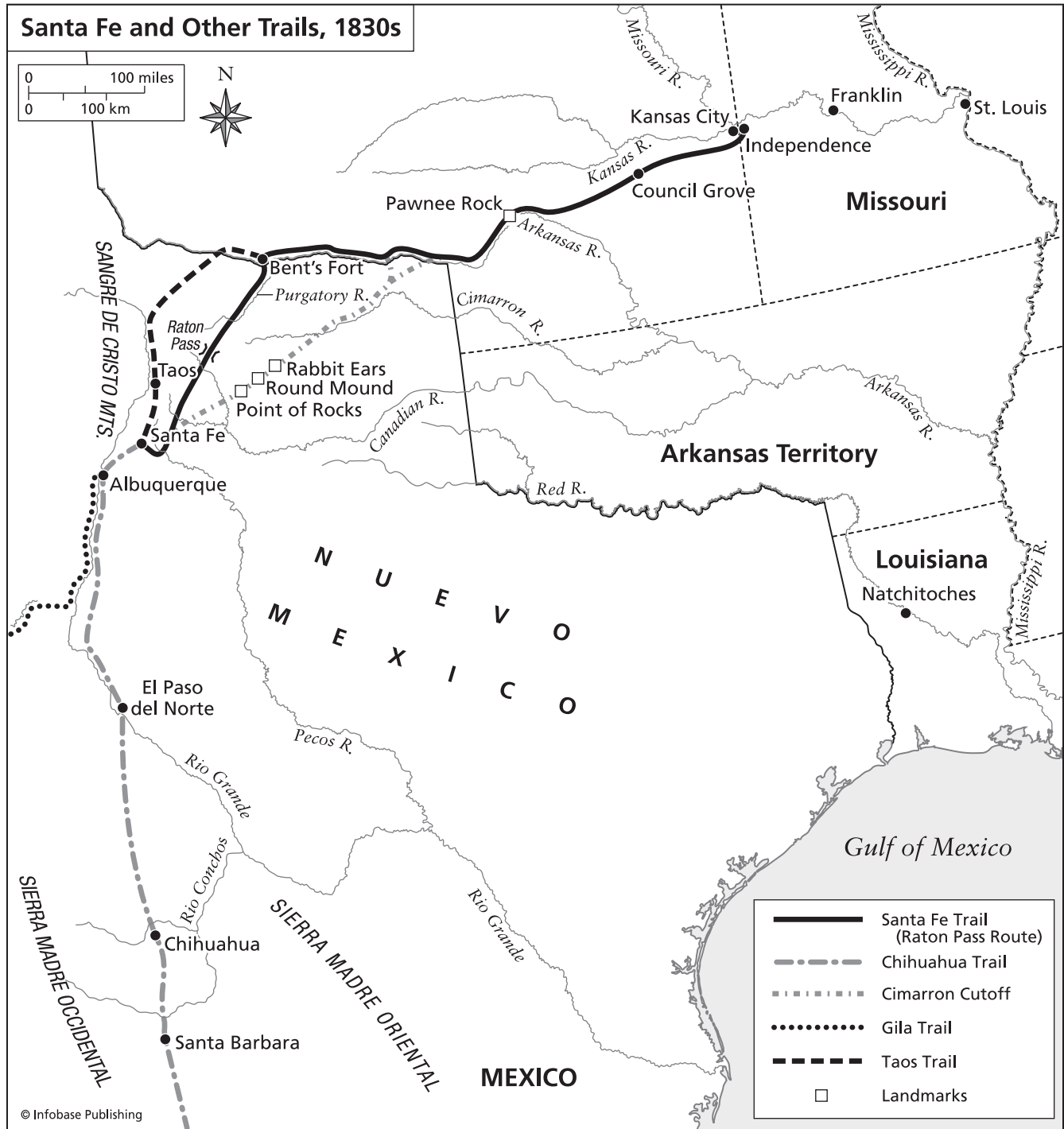
### Santa Fe Trail

The Santa Fe Trail was an overland commercial route between Independence, Missouri, and Santa Fe, New Mexico. It was used from the establishment of the Republic of Mexico in 1821 until railroads put it out of business in the years following the Civil War.

For 300 years, Spain had protected her empire in the Americas by forbidding the visits or residence of foreigners. After the United States achieved independence from Great Britain in 1783, American traders or explorers who ventured into Spanish territory in the Southwest were routinely arrested and confined. However, after gaining independence from Spain in 1821, the new republic of Mexico pursued a policy of trade and open access. One dimension of this new direction was the law that STEPHEN F. AUSTIN used to colonize TEXAS. Another was the opening of the southwest of New Mexico to trade. When WILLIAM BECKNELL, the first Missouri trader to visit under the new policy, returned to Missouri in 1822 with bags of Spanish silver, others were anxious to follow his example. In summer that year, Becknell returned to Santa Fe with a wagon train of goods, pioneering a route across the Cimarron desert that avoided the hazardous Raton Pass across the Raton Mountains linking southeast Colorado and northern New Mexico. As subsequent trading expeditions began using this route, Becknell became known as the "Father of the Santa Fe Trade."

By 1824 Becknell and other merchants had established a regular trade with Santa Fe, with gross returns that year on the order of \$200,000. With the appearance of regular caravans on the trail, the Indian peoples adjacent to the passage—mostly Kiowa and Comanche—began regular raids on the wagon trains. The combination of profits for Missouri traders and Indian raiders brought the trail and its trade to the attention of the U.S. government. Senator THOMAS HART BENTON of Missouri introduced legislation to mark the trail and protect the traders. In 1825 one law provided for an official survey of the Santa Fe Trail and a second appropriated \$20,000 to negotiate with





the Indians for a right of way. Beginning in 1828, military escorts accompanied the wagons, but this protection ended after two years; thereafter, the traders had to defend themselves.

As William Becknell was from Franklin, Missouri, for the first few years, this town marked the beginning of

the trail. By 1830, though, the starting point had become Independence, a town at the bend of the Missouri River that had become the staging place for overland travel to the West. From Independence, the trail ran south and west to Council Grove, across the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers to San Miguel on the Pecos. From this point, the

wagons moved directly to Santa Fe over Glorietta Pass. An alternate route from the Arkansas River ran west to BENT'S FORT and thence south over Raton Pass to Santa Fe. The second trail was longer and steeper, but it avoided most of the Indian dangers and the 60-mile Cimarron desert. Many chose the alternate trail because of Bent's Fort (completed in 1832), the most permanent and secure outpost on the southern plains. Whatever the southern route of the trail, the end of the 800-mile journey was Santa Fe. With a full load of wagons, the trip from Missouri to Santa Fe took three months. The return trip with empty wagons took perhaps half that time.

Arriving at Santa Fe with the trail and its dangers behind them, the American traders now had to deal with customs duties and the officials who collected them. The entrance into the town could be a frustrating and sometimes expensive exercise. Taxes levied on the Santa Fe trade were arbitrary and inconsistent. Mexican officials charged with enforcing the customs laws were virtually independent of oversight and far removed from Mexico City. Little of what was actually collected found its way into the national treasury. Sometimes powerful individuals levied their own duties. For some time, Governor Manuel Armijo levied his personal tax of \$500 on each wagon. Faced with such an array of officials and charges, the American traders evaded them at every turn. Sometimes they used little-known trails. They also tried to sneak into town in the middle of the night, a difficult feat in view of the warm welcome accorded them by the Mexican population.

The arrival of a wagon train in Santa Fe was a moment of universal enthusiasm. The Mexican peoples lined the street to celebrate. The business of the day transacted, the drives and the local population met at a fandango, a raucous public dance that provided a suitable end to the privations of three months on the trail and often ended in personal confrontations of various kinds. Whatever the social occasions, the business of the trail and its trade was good for Santa Fe. Leading town merchants had stores on the square, and the Mexican merchants sometimes traveled to Independence to choose their goods. Even with the vagaries of customs duties and officials, the 1830s was a time of mutual accommodation and prosperity for the Santa Fe Trail and for its twin terminals of Independence and Santa Fe.

Beginning about 1840, the Mexican government became less welcoming. The TEXAS REVOLUTION had showed the dangers of American immigration and commercial connections. The independent Republic of Texas claimed boundary lines to include the upper Arkansas River, placing Santa Fe within its territory. Although Texas was never able to extend its authority over Santa Fe, its presence and expansionist policies disturbed Mexican officials. In 1841 the Republic of Texas mounted an invasion

of New Mexico. Although the enterprise failed, it added to the uneasiness that seemed to surround the regular arrival of caravans of trade goods and traders from Missouri.

In 1846 the outbreak of the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR confirmed the Mexican view of American designs on Mexican territory in the Southwest. In the summer of that year, General STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY occupied Santa Fe and claimed New Mexico as part of the United States. In 1848 the TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO confirmed the cession of New Mexico to the continental American empire.

The Santa Fe Trail now assumed a new and expanded form. Mexican officials and customs duties disappeared with American sovereignty. The U.S. Army constructed a series of forts along the trail to protect wagon trains, and traffic expanded to include mail and stagecoach service. The discovery of gold in California in 1848 and the subsequent CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH further enlarged the business of the Santa Fe Trail. By 1855 the volume of trade reached \$5 million annually.

Trade along the Santa Fe Trail continued during the Civil War (1816–65), enlarged by supplies sent to Union military forces assembled to meet a perceived Confederate threat in the West. With the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad in Santa Fe, the trail vanished as a trade route. Having served the Republic of Mexico and the United States for a half-century it was a symbol of the significance of trade in the opening of the Southwest.

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### science and technology

In the period of 1813–55, the United States was not known for achievements in pure science. Most of the major advances in physics, chemistry, biology, and other sciences had been taking place in Europe. In Britain, Michael Faraday researched electromagnetism and Charles Darwin began to develop his theory of evolution; in Germany, Friedrich Wöhler made the first synthetic organic compound; in France, Jean-Bernard-Léon Foucault constructed a pendulum that demonstrated the rotation of the Earth. Americans of this period showed an interest in such investigations, but, as pragmatic citizens of a young and growing nation, they were more prone to distinguish themselves as inventors and adapters of practical technology. American innovations of the period included the telegraph, the mechanical reaper, the six-shooter, and ether anesthesia. In the meantime, through the foundation of professional societies and journals, the nation took steps



toward establishing itself as the scientific power it would become in the 20th century.

An important example of American ingenuity was the electromagnetic telegraph, patented by SAMUEL F. B. MORSE in 1837. This device for transmitting messages via wire greatly increased humanity's capacity to communicate swiftly over long distances. Morse and his assistant Alfred Vail also developed Morse code, a system for encoding messages to be telegraphed. In 1844, Morse demonstrated the practicality of his invention by sending the telegraph message "What hath God wrought!" from Washington, D.C., to Baltimore, Maryland. Morse was indebted to earlier scientists and rivaled by contemporaries, notably Charles Wheatstone and W. F. Cooke in England. But his business sense and his system's practical advantages soon made it the world's standard.

In 1831 CYRUS HALL MCCORMICK invented a mechanical, horse-drawn reaper that greatly improved the efficiency of harvesting. For McCormick, as it had been for Morse, business acumen was key to supplanting rivals and making his machine the leader in its market. In 1835–36, another skillful entrepreneur, SAMUEL COLT, patented his six-shooter, a pistol with six revolving chambers. The Colt revolver would become popular worldwide and became identified in folklore with the nation's "Wild West."

Some inventors were better at inventing than at profiting from their technology. In 1839, Charles Goodyear discovered a process for vulcanizing rubber, through which it kept its elasticity in all weather. Previously, rubber had tended to become sticky in warm weather and brittle in cold. Goodyear's process made rubber a much more practical material for industrial and consumer uses, but it did not make him rich. What with debts and failure to keep control of his patents, he died in poverty.

In 1852, Elisha Graves Otis patented an automatic safety device to prevent an elevator from falling. His safety elevator would become vital to the spread of multistory buildings, but not until after his death in 1861.

A technology with more immediate uses was anesthesia. Previously, surgery and dental work had been accompanied by unavoidable pain. In 1846, dentist William Thomas Morton publicly demonstrated the effectiveness of ether as an anesthetic, or pain-deadening agent, in tooth extraction. That same year, collaborating with surgeon John Warren, Morton also used ether for the first time in surgery, during an operation to remove a neck tumor.

Americans were resourceful adapters of existing technology. The steam engine had been invented in Britain in 1769, but it was American engineer Robert Fulton who, in 1807, used it to launch the first commercially viable steamboat, the *Clermont*. Throughout the years 1813–55, the steamboat was improved and adapted for many purposes,

including war: Fulton introduced the first steam warship in 1814–15. In 1819, the USS *Savannah*, traveling from Georgia to Liverpool, England, completed the first transatlantic trip powered by a combination of sail and steam. With the steamboat's spread, canals became increasingly important. In 1819, Rome and Utica, New York, were joined in the opening of the first part of the ERIE CANAL. In 1825, the full length of the canal, spanning over 300 miles, opened for business, linking the Hudson River to the Great Lakes and inspiring other canal projects.

Steam locomotives had been operating on RAILROADS in Britain since 1804, but American engineers added refinements. In 1830, Robert Livingston Stevens invented the T-rail, which would become standard equipment on rail lines. That same year, the first U.S.-built locomotive, the Tom Thumb, was introduced, and the BALTIMORE & OHIO RAILROAD (B&O) began using steam locomotives for rail service. Based in Baltimore, the B&O steadily extended its reach, to St. Louis, Missouri, by 1857.

During the early years of American railroads, locomotives were imported from England, but these imported engines proved poorly adapted to the uneven rails, sharp curves, and heavy grades of the early American railroads. American locomotive designs and manufacture soon developed engines to meet the American needs, with headlights, cowcatchers, and the Baldwin "flexible beam" truck to hold locomotives and cars on the track in sharp curves. The American locomotive builders Matthias Baldwin and William Norris of Philadelphia began as jewelers and then shifted to machine shops. The Baldwin Locomotive Works, first in Philadelphia and then in Eddystone, Pennsylvania, became the largest builder in the nation and Norris's railroad engines were exported around the world. The two companies produced a sizable portion of all the locomotives that carried freight and passengers in South America, Australia, Russia, Africa, and the Middle East.

Another important step in transportation technology was the wire-cable suspension bridge, which German-American engineer John Augustus Roebling pioneered in the 1840s in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Wheeling, Virginia (later West Virginia).

American innovations of the period were as varied as Americans themselves. Dentist Anthony Plantson introduced the dental plate in 1817–18. A few years later, in 1824, Shakers in Hancock, New York, built the first round barn, a design that became popular with dairy farmers. Other inventions included the platform scale or Fairbanks scale, produced by Thaddeus Fairbanks, 1830; a compression machine for cooling water, a precursor of modern refrigerators, Jacob Perkins, 1834; a corn harvester, Henry Blair (the first African American to receive a patent, 1836); a steam-powered thresher, John and Hiram Pitts, 1837; a safety pin, Walter Hunt, 1849; prefabricated homes, James



The Delaware Aqueduct, one of several suspension bridges designed by John A. Roebling, was built and operational by 1848. It is still in service more than 150 years later as a vehicular bridge. (*Library of Congress*)

Bogardus, 1849; and a process for condensing milk, Gail Borden, 1855.

Despite the emphasis on technology, the young United States did produce some advances in pure science. In 1831, American physicist Joseph Henry and British physicist Michael Faraday independently discovered the principle of electromagnetic induction. In the course of doing so, they invented the dynamo, or electric generator, which would make possible the widespread use of electric power from the late 19th century onward. Henry also improved the electromagnet, built one of the first electric motors, and was important in institutionalizing and stimulating scientific research in America. He was a professor at Princeton (1832–46), the first secretary and director of the Smithsonian Institution (1846–78), and a founder of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) in 1847. At the Smithsonian, he set up a weather-reporting system that led to the creation of the U.S. Weather Bureau.

Medical science was advanced by physician Oliver Wendell Holmes, father of the Supreme Court justice of the same name. In 1843, the elder Holmes demon-

strated, based on many case studies, that puerperal fever, or childbed fever, was contagious, a finding supported four years later by the studies of Hungarian physician Ignaz P. Semmelweis.

More generally during this period, science was being transformed from the hobby of amateurs, known as natural philosophers, to the profession of specialized scholars called scientists (a word coined at this time by British philosopher William Whewell). The founding of the AAAS was a key step in that direction, as was the founding of other scientific and professional societies, including the American Medical Association, established in 1847; and the American Psychiatric Association, started in 1844. Earlier, in 1818, chemist Benjamin Silliman had founded the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, which prided itself on publishing serious scientific research, even when too arcane for the general public. Silliman also became important in the 1850s for his distillation of crude oil and his report of the many uses to which it could be put—a prescient view, given that the invention of the petroleum-driven internal combustion engine was still years away.



Despite the growing shift toward professional science, there was still ample scope for the dedicated amateur in early 19th-century America, particularly when it came to natural observation and collection rather than theory and experiment. Astronomy, paleontology, geology, botany, and zoology were all areas in which gentlemen could dabble, whether they were clergymen, lawyers, doctors, merchants, or planters. Sometimes the results were astonishing. From 1827 to 1838, one-time storekeeper JOHN JAMES AUDUBON published his landmark, multivolume collection of ornithological drawings, *Birds of America*. In the Connecticut Valley in 1818, Solomon Ellsworth, Jr., and Nathan Smith discovered fossil bones of the dinosaur *Anchisaurus* without understanding the significance of their find. From 1818 to 1858, no fewer than 13 academies of science were founded in the Middle West alone, from Ohio to Wisconsin. Most of their members were amateur natural scientists.

Despite their more restricted opportunities, women too could achieve impressive results. Maria Mitchell, librarian and amateur astronomer, established the orbit of a newly discovered comet in 1847. For this feat, she became the first woman admitted to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Archaeology and oceanography were fields of growing interest. Ephraim George Squier and Edwin H. Davis made the first major exploration of the earthworks of the Native American Mound Builders in Ohio in 1845–47. In 1854, naval officer Matthew Fontaine Maury discovered Telegraph Plateau, a shallow section of the Atlantic Ocean, while searching for an undersea route for the transatlantic cable. Maury charted the Gulf Stream and wrote *Physical Geography of the Sea* (1855), the first textbook of modern oceanography.

In *Democracy in America* (1835), French visitor Alexis de Tocqueville devoted a chapter to the subject “Why Americans Prefer the Practice Rather Than the Theory of Science.” Tocqueville was probably right that Americans were more interested in practical inventions than in theoretical findings, yet there was popular interest in loftier matters. Through newspapers, books, and popular lectures (often in a local lyceum), Americans learned about findings in astronomy, botany, chemistry, physics, and other areas. The passage of the Great Comet of 1843 was eagerly followed. Much of this popular science was confined to “curiosities” and “wonders” rather than deep inquiry into the causes of phenomena. But it showed that Americans at this time were not averse to scientific learning. In fact, many viewed it as morally uplifting. Naturalist Increase A. Lapham, lecturing in Milwaukee in 1840, said: “Teach young persons to relish the pure and simple beauties of nature—excite in their bosoms an ardent and enthusiastic love of the wonderful works of the Great Creator and you have one of the surest safeguards against immorality and vice.”

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—George Ochoa

**Scott, Winfield** (1786–1866) *Mexican-American war hero, politician*

U.S. Army general and Whig politician, Winfield Scott's victories during the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR made him a national hero. Scott was born in Petersburg, Virginia, on June 13, 1786, the son of a Revolutionary War veteran. He attended William and Mary College briefly in 1806, but dropped out the following year to study law. Scott joined the U.S. Army as a captain in 1808. He proved himself a studious and capable individual, but extremely sensitive about matters concerning personal honor. In 1810, for publicly denouncing his superior, General James Wilkinson,



Winfield Scott (National Archives)

Scott was court-martialed and suspended for a year. More determined than ever to be a good officer, he spent that interval reading and mastering several European manuals on the art of war. He reemerged as one of the most promising young officers in the American army.

When the WAR OF 1812 commenced in June 1812, Scott was a lieutenant colonel of the Second U.S. Artillery. In October that year, he fought with great bravery at the debacle at Queenston Heights on the Niagara frontier and was captured. Exchanged the following year, and promoted to full colonel, he accompanied General Henry Dearborn's amphibious expedition against Fort George in May 1813 and was conspicuous in its capture. Scott pursued the defeated enemy vigorously and would have taken them prisoner but for Dearborn's premature order to withdraw. He spent the balance of the year along the Niagara Frontier before joining General Wilkinson's ill-fated St. Lawrence expedition that fall.

As one of several junior officers to acquire distinction in service, in March 1814 Scott became the youngest brigadier general in the army. He was then assigned to the Left Division under General Jacob Brown at Buffalo, New York, where he instituted the first systematized training regimen for American troops. On July 5, 1814, his intense drilling paid dividends when his brigade won an overwhelming victory over a larger British force at Chippawa Creek, Canada. This was the first time in the War of 1812 that American troops had defeated their professional adversaries in an open field and proof of their growing professionalism. Three weeks later, Scott commanded the American front line at the Battle of Lundy's Lane. The battle was a draw, and Scott was seriously wounded. Sent to Baltimore to convalesce, he saw no further fighting, but he had acquired a military reputation second only to ANDREW JACKSON.

After the war, Scott convinced the War Department to send him to Europe to study military institutions there. Thus began a 50-year quest for promoting and sustaining military professionalism in the U.S. Army. In this capacity, Scott authored several widely read drill manuals and regulations, some of which remained in use until 1861. However, he remained stubbornly opinionated about personal affairs and publicly quarreled with General Edmund P. Gaines over seniority. This row resulted in the selection of Alexander Macomb as commanding general of the army in 1828. Such was Scott's insistence on military protocol that he was widely derided as "Old Fuss and Feathers."

Scott continued to function effectively as a soldier, and he was actively involved in the Second Seminole War, the Cherokee removal, and border disputes with Canada. He became the army's senior military leader in 1841, and six years later he led the decisive campaign of the Mexi-

can-American War. Landing at Veracruz, he bested a series of larger Mexican armies in a brilliant campaign of maneuvers that included cutting off his own lines of communication. Mexico City was subsequently taken, and the government of General ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA sued for peace.

As a national hero, Scott tried to secure the WHIG PARTY's nomination for president in 1848, but lost to ZACHARY TAYLOR. He achieved his quest in 1852, but badly lost the election that year to Franklin Pierce. He was nonetheless honored the following year by being elevated to lieutenant general, the first officer to hold such a distinction since George Washington.

Scott remained the nation's senior military figure until the outbreak of the Civil War in April 1861, when he was succeeded by General George McClellan. Before retiring, he promulgated the so-called Anaconda Plan for defeating the Confederacy. This entailed establishment of a naval blockade coupled with a series of western advances down the Mississippi River that carved up enemy territory methodically and slowly strangled the South. The strategy brought him into direct conflict with younger officers like McClellan, who sought to attack immediately before the army was properly trained. Much lampooned at first, Scott's strategy eventually triumphed. The old soldier died at West Point on 29 May 1866, having bequeathed to the U.S. Army traditions of professionalism and victory that it heretofore had not possessed.

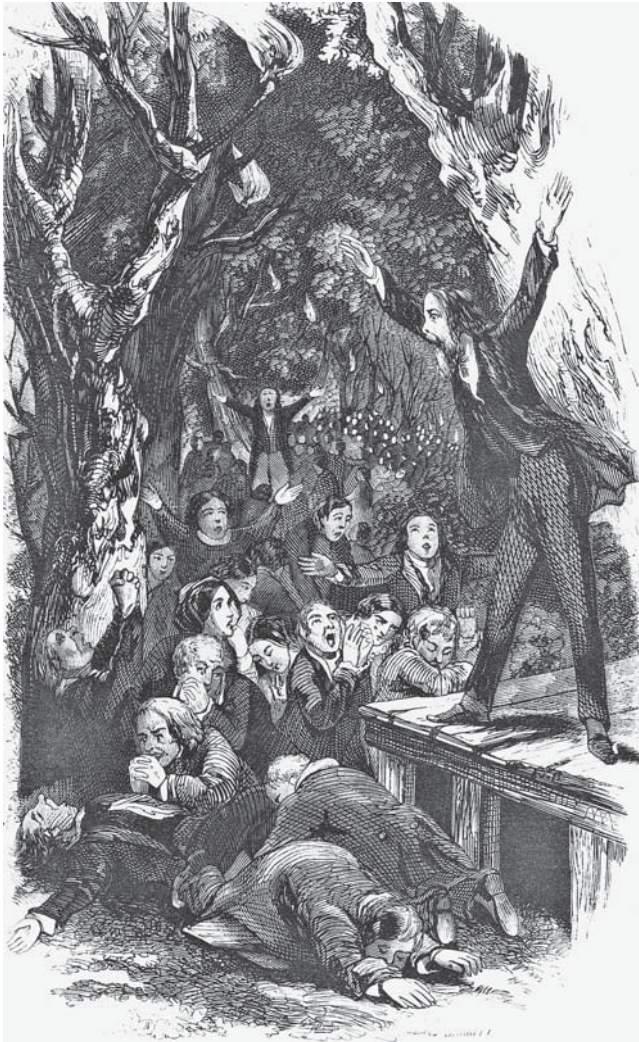
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—John C. Fredriksen

## Second Great Awakening

Beginning in the 1790s, a wave of revivalism swept across the United States that ultimately transformed the religious and social landscape. The revival reflected tremendous faith in the ability of an individual to affect his own salvation. In an age when the clarion of equality was gaining in tempo, suddenly every man was equal before God. All a person had to do, so many revivalists declared, was open his or her heart up to Jesus, and the individual





Camp meetings, such as the one shown here, helped to spread Protestantism to the scattered frontier population. (Library of Congress)

would be saved. Harsh Calvinism was shunted aside, and the learned minister was no longer needed to guide the layman. Evangelicals did not write formal and reasoned sermons. Instead, they preached as the Lord moved them, threatening sinners with fire and brimstone and speaking in an impassioned voice.

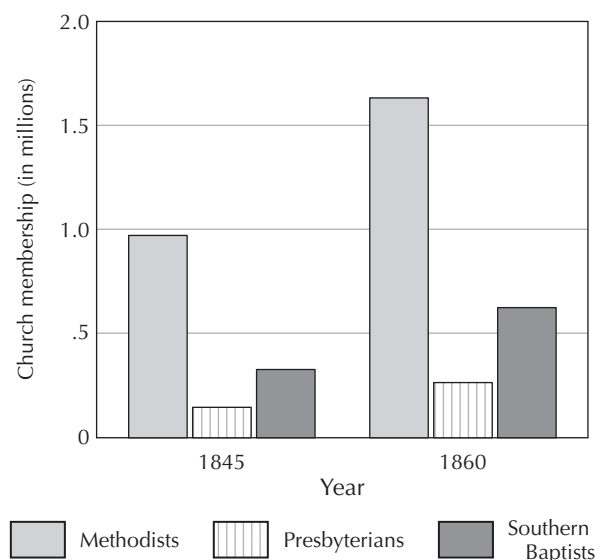
While regular church services might be a part of the revival, the camp meeting became its special tool. In rural areas where population was dispersed, the camp meeting provided a reason for hundreds, sometimes thousands, to assemble together in both a social and religious setting. In summer 1801, over 12,000 people attended the Cane Ridge camp meeting in Kentucky. Similar gatherings occurred throughout the early 19th century. The behavior of the participants at such camp meetings could border on

the bizarre, with some individuals barking like dogs, others shouting and screaming for the glory of God, and still others sobbing in the recognition of their own sin.

The enthusiastic RELIGION associated with this revival had its greatest impact on the frontier both in the North and the South. Kentucky and Tennessee were particularly responsive to the revival. Western upstate New York, recently occupied by European Americans, experienced so many revivals that it was known as the “burned over district,” because the fires of religion had repeatedly burned over the area. Charismatic and imposing preachers such as CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY would draw large crowds. In newly settled regions, Americans were looking for some order in an unstructured social environment. The Awakening, even with some of its extravagant behavior, provided individuals with reassurance that they were guaranteed salvation and had a special relationship with God. Many evangelical denominations also emphasized the need for personal discipline and attacked drinking, gambling, and other forms of misbehavior.

The implications of the revival on society were profound. The Awakening brought an ever-increasing number of Americans into church attendance. It was also at this time that many African-American slaves became Christians, responding to the evangelical currents swirling about them. Denominations like the Methodists and Baptists swelled in numbers, quickly becoming the predominant religious groups in many sections of the nation. Eventually, after 1820, new denominations like the Mormons and the Church of Christ appeared. The call for self-discipline also helped to spawn a host of reform

### The Second Great Awakening





movements in the United States. With the emphasis on an individual's personal relationship with God, the need to spread the gospel led to Bible and Sunday school societies. In turn, other groups emerged to help the poor and disadvantaged and to reform society. While these reform movements gained their fullest expression in the 1830s and 1840s, it is in the opening decades of the 19th century that they began. Ultimately, however, the greatest impact of the revival was the further impetus it gave to the developing central creed of the American nation. In the face of this massive religious upheaval, it became increasingly difficult to sustain social distinctions and oppose the rise of equality.

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## Seminole

A southern Native American tribe, the Seminole were the target of the longest and most costly Indian war in U.S. history. The Seminole are a Muskogean-speaking offshoot of the Lower CREEK tribes of Georgia and Alabama that first appeared during the early 18th century. Like their forebears, they were an agrarian, hunting culture centered upon various "towns." These were headed by senior chiefs and gathered into larger confederacies under paramount chiefs. By the end of the century the Seminole had struck up cordial relations with Spain and Great Britain and viewed the newly independent United States with ambivalence.

Despite their Creek roots, the Seminole were neutral during the Creek War of 1813–14, in which the Americans under General ANDREW JACKSON decimated the Upper Creek of northern Alabama. But they openly welcomed Upper Creek refugees into their ranks as they had welcomed escaped African-American slaves, who had also intermingled with the tribe. After the WAR OF 1812 these two elements formed war bands that raided American settlements along the Georgia frontier, which Spanish authorities proved helpless to prevent. This lax security resulted in the FIRST SEMINOLE WAR (1817–18). In 1816 General Edmund P. Gaines of the United States invaded Florida and destroyed a large fort occupied by escaped slaves. Angry Seminole then ambushed a convoy of American troops on the Apalachicola River on November 30, 1817. This act drew a sharp response by General Jackson. Without wait-

ing for governmental permission, Jackson took 4,000 men to raid Indian towns, burning several and effectively extinguishing Spanish rule in the region. In 1819 Spain signed the ADAMS-ONÍS TREATY, which ceded Florida to the United States and placed the nation on a collision course with the Seminole people.

In 1823 the Seminole signed the Treaty of Moultrie Creek, whereby they agreed to be placed on a reservation in central Florida. The treaty also led to their first unified government to replace the rule of town chiefs. White settlers coveted Indian land, however, and the U.S. government began pressuring the Seminole to migrate to new land west of the Mississippi River. In the Treaty of Payne's Landing of 1832, the bulk of Seminole chiefs yielded to this pressure and agreed to move. However, rebel factions under chiefs like OSCEOLA refused. On December 28, 1835, these dissidents ambushed and massacred a column of troops under Major Francis L. Dade, precipitating the SECOND SEMINOLE WAR (1835–42). This proved to be the most protracted and costly Indian conflict in U.S. history. The Seminole waged a relentless guerrilla campaign against the invaders. U.S. troops did manage to deport roughly 3,000 Seminole by force, but at a cost of \$20 million and 1,500 lives—roughly two Indians deported for every white life lost. A body of 300 Seminole managed to remain in the south of Florida, oblivious to any treaties.

By 1855 renewed white encroachment was answered by Seminole reprisals led by Billy Bowlegs in the Third Seminole War (1855–58), which resulted in another handful of deportations before hostilities ceased in March 1858. However, a body of 150 Seminole under Sam Jones remained sequestered in the Everglades and did not move. The bulk of the Seminole Nation now lived in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma), where they reestablished their communities and government. They also clashed with neighboring Creeks who had arrived earlier, and in 1849 a large party of Seminole under Chief Wildcat emigrated to northern Mexico. Those who remained eventually adopted agriculture and ranching with some success. This relative prosperity faltered with the outbreak of the American Civil War, in which the Indian Territory sided with the Confederacy.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### **Seminole War, First and Second** (1817–1818), (1835–1842)

The history of the Seminole Indians begins with the early 18th-century conflicts between English and Spanish interests in what is now northern Florida. After Creek and English incursions destroyed the Spanish mission system and the Indians associated with it, the Spanish wanted protection from their enemies in order to rebuild their strength. They invited groups of Lower Creek Indians to move into northern Florida, hoping their presence would act as a shield against the English settlements to the north. By the mid-18th century, these Lower Creek had developed a distinct society and were known as the Seminole, a corruption of the Spanish word “cimarron,” or “runaway.” The Seminole fought on the Loyalist side in the Revolutionary War, and when Spain resumed control of the Floridas from Great Britain in 1783, they continued to act as important strategic partners.

Over time the Seminole became what is known as a “triracial isolate” because they welcomed runaway slaves and others escaping from established colonial society. Their willingness to welcome escaped slaves would prove pivotal in the First Seminole War. American slaveholders resented the presence of havens for runaway slaves in Florida and pushed the government to roust out fugitives. Seminole were known to be hostile to the Americans, a position that led to violence in 1817. The previous year, the United States had built Fort Scott on the border between Florida and Georgia in Spanish territory, near the Seminole village of Fowlstown. This village was a hotbed of anti-American sentiment, and its chief, Neamathla, used the area to stage raids on Georgia. Runaway slaves were also known to congregate in Fowlstown. By 1817, the Seminole’s hostility in Fowlstown induced General Edmund P. Gaines, commander of Fort Scott, to attack the Indian settlement. The Seminole were forced to retreat and join forces with another band further south.

In 1818, General ANDREW JACKSON invaded West Florida, partly to assert U.S. jurisdiction over the territory, partly to capture escaping Red Stick Creek and partly to recover fugitive slaves. Jackson and his troops pushed the Seminole eastward, destroying their villages along the way. This aggressive American behavior induced the Spanish to cede EAST AND WEST FLORIDA to the United States, which they did through the ADAMS-ONÍS TREATY of 1819. All of Florida, including Seminole lands, now officially belonged to the United States.

In 1830 Congress passed the INDIAN REMOVAL ACT, which required Indians east of the Mississippi River to be removed from their lands and relocated to the West. Seminole resistance to Indian removal led to the Second Seminole War. In 1835, their leader Osceola ordered the killing of an Indian agent and two companies under Major

Francis L. Dade. Indian forces achieved major victories in attacks on northeastern Florida. Joining the Seminole in battle were escaped slaves who had become part of the nation. The presence of these former slaves among the Indians angered American southerners, who continued to pressure the federal government to stamp out the rebellions.

Following Osceola’s victories, President Andrew Jackson sent military hero General WINFIELD SCOTT to lead the fight against the Seminole. Scott’s troops were stymied by the Indians’ guerrilla tactics, and his campaign failed. Jackson replaced Scott with General Thomas S. Jesup, who used a more ruthless approach for battling the Seminole, violating the rules of war and using torture and execution. In 1837, Jesup captured Osceola, even though a truce was supposedly in effect; the Seminole leader died in captivity a few months later. That same year, a major battle was fought at Lake Okeechobee, with American troops commanded by General ZACHARY TAYLOR. By 1838, 100 Indians had been killed and over 2,500 captured and transported to Oklahoma. Among those transported were former slaves who had fought for their freedom alongside the Indians.

The fighting continued, the combatants locked in a stalemate. Jesup lost his command, and the cast of American generals would continue to change over the next four years. The Seminole also fought under the leadership of various men after Osceola’s death, but no single leader emerged. As the war advanced, both sides used Indian fighting tactics—the only viable method for fighting in the subtropical environment.

By 1842 only about 300 Seminole remained in Florida. The last American commander, General William J. Worth, proposed that the United States cease fighting in Florida and strike an agreement with the Seminole holdouts. In August, the Seminole agreed with Worth to stay in the region south of Pease Creek and west of Lake Okeechobee. This agreement was not an official treaty, but it did end seven years of fighting, the longest and most expensive war ever fought by Indians against the United States.

Florida Territory petitioned for statehood in 1845 and was admitted as a slave state. Soon state officials were demanding the removal of the remaining Seminole in order to make white settlement safe. Military forces provoked a confrontation by destroying the property of Seminole leader Billy Bowlegs. The Indians retaliated in 1855, starting a smaller conflict that became known as the Third Seminole War (1855–58). By 1858, Billy Bowlegs and 165 others had agreed to go to Oklahoma; he later convinced another 75 to join the migration. After all the bloodshed, 125 Seminole resisters remained in the remote swampland of Florida. They were never removed. The Seminole who moved to Oklahoma lived on the Creek reservation until 1856, when they were given their own

reservation. The nation's alliances were divided during the Civil War, and those in Indian Territory continued to be isolated from the remaining Florida Seminole. The nation strove to regain a unified identity after the war. Like other Native Americans in the last half of the 19th century, the Seminole were plagued by poverty, disease, and the indifference of the U.S. government. By the beginning of the 20th century, the nation had traded its reserved land for allotments, and their tribal government provided less and less protection for the most resistant eastern nation.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

### Seneca Falls convention

On July 19 and 20, 1848, nearly 300 men and women gathered at the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls to attend a women's rights convention. Considered by many historians to mark the beginning of an organized movement for WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS in the United States, the convention built on decades of political activism by women devoted to the causes of abolitionism, temperance, and religious reform. The convention broadened and sometimes redirected women's political action. It used familiar language to articulate new political goals. Most of all, however, it gave notice that the legal and cultural identity of women in America could not and would not remain the same.

While the American Revolution severed the former colonies' ties to Great Britain, it did little to alter the balance of power between women and men. Denied equal access to education, prohibited from joining professions, and without the benefit of apprenticeships in profitable trades, most women of the new republic were forced into economic dependency on men. Young women were taught the business of home management and child care, skills with their own economic worth that were nevertheless rarely sufficient to provide a woman with financial independence. Marriage was therefore a largely economic transaction, in which women and men exchanged their financial skills in order to form a household. Marriage also wrought another transformation on women. Upon marriage, women became "civilly dead"—that is, their legal identities were largely suspended in those of their husbands, who controlled their

property, earnings, ability to contract and sue, sexual access to their bodies, and custody of their children. In general, only men were allowed to vote, serve on juries, enter the legal profession, or become elected officials. Women relied on men to act on their behalf in each of these arenas.

This left women on the civic fringes of the new republic forged during the Revolutionary War. What would their stake be in the perpetuation of the state? What role should the women who had upheld economic sanctions, worked on battlelines, and run households in the absence of their husbands be expected to shoulder now that the war was done?

The answer was a political identity rooted in motherhood. For the republic to flourish, it was necessary that the sons and daughters of the revolutionary generation understand the civic identity they had inherited. Who better to instill this in the youngest generation of Americans than their mothers? Seized upon by women as well as men as a means to channel their political expression, "Republican Motherhood" became the very definition of a woman's political role.

It was as mothers (and for young women, mothers-to-be) that women made the majority of their political claims in the early 19th century. Early temperance activists used the rhetoric of motherhood to urge politicians to protect women against drunken husbands, financial ruin, and physical violence. Many women who lobbied state legislatures for the better protection of married women's property rights did so with the argument that mothers and children needed protection from the wasteful financial habits of neglectful men. Rarely did anyone argue that women deserved equal legal rights with men out of basic justice. Those who did ran the risk of alienating the politicians they hoped to sway, opening themselves to ridicule or scaring their constituents with the possibility of a radically changed social order.

Yet the women at Seneca Falls did not make their claims to political activism on the basis of motherhood. The lasting impact of the convention was their plainspoken demand to be considered the equals of men and to be understood as citizens in their own right. The resolutions of the convention did not suggest that women deserved rights because they deserved protection from a harsh and violently male world. Instead, the organizers and attendees argued that the business begun by the American Revolution was not finished and could not be until the laws of the land recognized that "all men and women were created equal."

The evolution of this particular brand of women's activism owed much to the influence of Quakerism in the United States. More egalitarian than many religious groups, the Quakers encouraged women to speak at religious meetings and allowed them to become ministers. Members often considered social activism indistinguish-

able from spiritual responsibility. As a group, Quakers were fiercely opposed to SLAVERY, and many of the most prominent women's rights activists of the 19th century learned their organizing and public speaking skills as Quaker advocates of abolitionism. ANGELINA AND SARAH GRIMKÉ, for example, became Quakers after moving to Philadelphia in the 1820s and were outspoken abolitionists throughout the 1830s. The public condemnation of their lectures to mixed-sex crowds propelled them to defend a woman's right to political action.

LUCRETIA MOTT was another Quaker abolitionist who became an advocate for women's rights. In her youth, she had worked as a teacher and was paid only half the salary of her male colleagues. As an adult, she had hoped to join William Lloyd Garrison's AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY but was denied membership because of her sex. In response, she formed the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia and organized a series of conventions for women abolitionists. In 1839, after fierce debate, the American Anti-Slavery Society admitted women to its ranks, causing many who opposed this development to break with the organization and form their own society. Mott joined Garrison's organization and was elected as a delegate to the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention in London.

Mott, along with five other women delegates, was refused entrance to the convention because of her sex. The occurrence compounded her earlier experiences with prejudice and persuaded her that a movement to advance women's rights was as necessary as the ABOLITION MOVEMENT. Many of her ideas were honed in conversation with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the young wife of another American delegate to the convention, who was staying at the same boardinghouse as Mott. Stanton possessed only a fraction of Mott's experience with reform movements, but she was nevertheless appalled by the treatment of the women delegates to the convention. The two agreed that a women's rights convention should be organized in the United States as soon as possible.

It was eight more years before the convention would take place. Mott returned to Philadelphia, where she remained active in abolitionist circles and continued to preach as a Quaker minister. Stanton was absorbed by the birth and care of her children—three before 1847—and the management of her homes, first in New York, then in Boston. Everywhere reformists continued to press for changes in American society. Persistent lobbying eventually secured the passage of a married women's property act in New York in April 1848. Antislavery petitions continued to pour into Congress, and the TRANSCENDENTAL MOVEMENT was flourishing in the Northeast. Within the ranks of Hicksite Quakerism, the pressure brought to bear by many liberals who wanted greater equality for women and

a deeper commitment to secular activism resulted in a split in the movement. It was a time replete with the possibility of change.

In 1847 Stanton moved with her husband and children to Seneca Falls, New York. Close to the Quaker community in Waterloo and populated by many abolitionists, Henry Stanton hoped the town would offer him the opportunity to launch a political career. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, however, disliked her new home. She felt cut off from the intellectual circles of Boston and New York, could find no hired help, and found her children hard to control and frequently sick. As her husband began to travel, Stanton felt increasingly isolated. The home that had once been her solace began to feel like her jail.

In July 1848 Lucretia Mott traveled to Seneca Falls to visit her sister, Martha Wright. On July 13, Wright invited Stanton to join the sisters in a visit to their friends Mary Ann McClintock and Jane Hunt. The five women conversed, and in the course of the day, Stanton confessed her discontent with her life at home. The women sympathized and began to talk of the connections between domestic unhappiness and political dependency. By the end of the day, the five had resolved to call the convention that Mott and Stanton had proposed eight years before. The five sent announcements to local newspapers for a convention to be held in six days, on July 19.

It was harvest season around Seneca Falls, and the organizers expected only a few people to attend. Confounding their expectations, some 300 people flocked to the Wesleyan Chapel for the two-day conference, most from the local area, some from great distances, all from upstate New York. Almost everyone in attendance had experience in reform work, whether as Quakers, abolitionists, temperance workers, lawyers, writers, or newspaper editors. Some, such as Mott and Frederick Douglass, were already well known. Others, such as Stanton and AMELIA BLOOMER, would gain their greatest notoriety after the event. Unprepared for such a turnout, the organizers asked James Mott, Lucretia's husband, to chair the event. (Within two weeks, another women's rights convention was held in Rochester, New York; it was chaired by a woman.)

The centerpiece of the Seneca Falls convention was the "Declaration of Sentiments," a list of political grievances generated by the five organizers and written by Stanton. Using the Declaration of Independence as a model, Stanton claimed that "[t]he history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her." The document then listed the grievances the women felt most keenly. Women were, they argued, prohibited from voting, from making laws, from securing elected office, from entering profitable employment, from gaining a useful education,



and from gaining positions of authority in church. Women had no legal claim to their property, their earnings, or their children, were forced into unnatural obedience to their husbands before the law, were oppressed by divorce laws that favored men, forced to pay taxes without gaining representation, and subject to a moral double standard. In short, charged the women, man had “usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for [woman] . . . a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to God.” Worthy women, they argued, lacked the rights that men, regardless of character, enjoyed.

The Declaration of Sentiments was both shrewd and revolutionary. It was shrewd because it used the language on which the republic was formed to demonstrate the failings of government toward half of those it governed. It was revolutionary because it removed husbands, fathers, brothers, and children from a woman’s claim to citizenship. Women did not ask for the opportunity to serve others more faithfully. Instead, they demanded the right to serve themselves.

For two days, the men and women in attendance at the convention debated the declaration. Thirteen resolutions were offered and passed, 12 of them unanimously. One passed by majority vote—a resolution offered on the second day by Elizabeth Cady Stanton in which she called for a campaign for woman’s suffrage. It was a controversial resolution, not because the idea was new but because many activists feared that the idea would garner so much negative attention that it would make their other goals impossible to achieve. There were also Quaker women in attendance who did not want the vote, as it would make them party to a political system that approved of war.

At the end of the second day, 68 women and 32 men signed the Declaration of Sentiments. They ranged in age from 14 to 68 and came from a variety of backgrounds. Under immense pressure from their families and friends, many—including Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s sister Harriet—would later recant their support for the declaration. The principles and ideas it contain continued to spread, however, communicated through family and reform networks across the country. Women’s rights conventions were held in numerous states for years to come. The political and social demands of women became impossible to ignore.

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—Catherine J. Denial

### **Sequoyah** (ca. 1770–1843) *inventor of the Cherokee syllabary*

The Cherokee linguist Sequoyah (“Sparrow”) was the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet and written language. Sequoyah was born in the Cherokee village Taskigi (Fort Loudoun), Tennessee, around 1770, a member of the Paint Clan. His mother, Wurttee, was related to several important chiefs. It is believed that his father was the American soldier and trader Nathaniel Gist. The two apparently never married, and she relocated with part of her tribe to present-day Willstown, Alabama, where Sequoyah learned to tend cattle and hunt. During one hunting foray, however, he sustained a leg injury that left him permanently lame. Excluded from the usual tribal activities because of his injury, he took to drink and nearly died before embarking on a life of abstinence.

Sequoyah then began a career as a silversmith, gaining renown in this profession. As he actively traded with white settlers and traders in the region, he developed a fascination with their “talking leaves,” or books. Being intellectually inclined, he envisioned the advantages Cherokee could enjoy if they had their own alphabet and could transmit and preserve important information on paper. Around 1809 Sequoyah began experimenting with an Indian syllabary using pictorial symbols, but he abandoned this



Sequoyah, Cherokee linguist (Library of Congress)



approach when the sheer number of symbols required became untenable. The Creek War of 1813–14 interrupted his studies, and he joined a noted Cherokee battalion that served under General ANDREW JACKSON.

In 1818 Sequoyah departed Alabama with his family and settled down in present-day Pope County, Arkansas, part of an early wave of Cherokee to move westward. Around this time he resumed his work creating a Cherokee alphabet. Fellow tribesmen taunted him and accused him of engaging in witchcraft, and on one occasion his home was burned down. But he persevered. By 1821 Sequoyah finally perfected his system, which utilized 87 characters to represent all the sounds of the Cherokee language. He had arrived at this solution by closely studying English, Greek, and Hebrew characters depicted in mission schoolbooks. That year he faced a gathering of elders in the tribal assembly and tested his system with his six-year-old daughter. When, to their amazement, she answered all written questions perfectly, the Tribal Council authorized adoption of Sequoyah's syllabary. Formal instruction began, and within a few months large numbers of Cherokee could communicate over vast distances by the written word. Tribal literacy was firmly established in 1828 with the founding of the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate*, the first Native American newspaper, which was written partly in English and partly in Cherokee. White missionaries also availed themselves of Sequoyah's system by translating parts of the Bible into Cherokee.

In 1829 Sequoyah moved farther west to Indian Territory (Oklahoma), where many other Cherokee were compelled to settle. He was among the Cherokee leaders who prepared a revised constitution for their reconstructed nation in 1839. For his role as the only person to ever single-handedly invent a viable alphabet, Sequoyah was awarded a silver medal by his tribe and was also the first Native American awarded a pension. In 1843 he departed his new home in Oklahoma to search for a missing band of Cherokee purportedly farther west. While on this journey, Sequoyah died of dysentery in Tamaulipas, Mexico.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Seton, Elizabeth Ann** (1774–1821) *educator, religious leader*

The first American-born Roman Catholic saint, Elizabeth Ann Seton founded the Catholic order known as the Sisters of Charity, the first American-based community of Roman



Elizabeth Ann Seton (Library of Congress)

Catholic women. She is also regarded as the mother of the parochial school system in the United States.

Seton was born into the prominent Bayley family of New York City. Her father, physician Richard Bayley, was an educator and a public servant who served as Columbia University's first professor of anatomy and New York City's first public-health officer. Her mother, the daughter of an Episcopalian minister, saw that their children were reared in the Protestant faith. Elizabeth would often accompany her father as he cared for the desperately sick Irish immigrants in the city's quarantine on Staten Island. She was struck by both their poverty and their strong, sustaining Catholic faith.

In 1794 Elizabeth Bayley married William Magee Seton, a prosperous financier. They had five children, but as she raised her young family, she found herself drawn toward religious contemplation and charity. Early each morning, she left her fashionable house on the Bowery with a basket filled with medicines and food for the poor. Though pregnant, she ministered to the quarantined immigrants by her father's side and nursed him through the course of the yellow fever he contracted from his patients. He died of the illness in 1801.

At the same time, her own family's financial and physical health declined. William Seton had inherited his father's troubled banking and shipping businesses, and they continued to founder. Meanwhile, a lingering tubercular condition left him a near-invalid. By 1803, William was convinced that only a sojourn in Italy, where he had lived for a time as a young man, would cure him. The couple set off with their eldest child, but to no avail; William died in Italy.

Elizabeth Seton found herself in a strange country, widowed, separated from her children, and without funds, but she was unbowed by all this hardship. Instead, she made many friends, all of whom were Roman Catholics. Again, she was fascinated by their faith. She began to study Catholicism in earnest, returned to New York in 1804, and there was confirmed a Catholic in 1805.

Her new faith made her very nearly an outcast in the New York of the day. Catholics were a distinct minority, made up largely of working-class immigrants. Seton found work as a teacher, but her notoriety and several incidents of anti-Catholic violence soon made life in New York impossible.

In 1808, the Archdiocese of Baltimore came to the rescue. Seton was invited to come, children and all, and open the first Catholic elementary school in America. Her school for girls was an immediate success—Catholics were a majority in Maryland, not the oddity they were in New York—and “Mother Seton,” as she soon became known, attracted four postulants, or nuns-in-training, within a year of her arrival. The women took vows, chose a habit, and lived, studied, taught, and worshipped together. The first American religious order had been born.

When a tract of land in Emmitsburg, Maryland, was donated to Mother Seton in 1809, she established the Sisters of Charity's motherhouse there. During the next several decades, the sisters opened schools and hospitals in cities throughout the Northeast and as far west as Cincinnati. The order's rule was influenced by St. Vincent de Paul and was organized along the lines of his Daughters of Charity in France. More than 150 of the sisters would serve as nurses in the Civil War.

Mother Seton was the order's superior until her death in 1821. In 1975, she was canonized as a saint of the Catholic Church.

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—Mary Kay Linge

## slavery

An economic, political, and cultural institution lasting for more than two centuries, slavery affected every man,

woman, and child in the 19th century United States. In broad terms, American slavery could be considered a labor system in which enslaved men and women, overwhelmingly of African descent, were owned by free men and women, overwhelmingly white. Yet such a definition obscures the complexity of the system and the ways in which it was shaped by those who participated in it, whether by coercion or by choice. Slavery varied by industry, by region, through personal relationships, and by the actions of owners and enslaved men and women themselves. Often defined in total opposition to liberty, slavery was in fact a complicated cultural system in which enslaved men and women actively negotiated and fought for multiple freedoms on the road to their emancipation. While the institution of slavery ended with the Civil War and Reconstruction, this fight for freedom continued well into the 20th century.

Politically, slavery was a contentious issue with the power to divide the United States. All of the original 13 colonies had permitted slavery before the Revolutionary War, although the highest concentration of enslaved people was in the South. Less dependent on slave labor to support its more diversified economy, the North was able to move cautiously toward abolition after the war. Historians have debated the reasons for this shift. Some contend that the rhetoric of the American Revolution, with its emphasis on personal liberty and the natural rights of man, convinced individuals that it was hypocritical to own slaves. Others contend that the shift was motivated purely by economics or religious conviction. Whatever combination of motivations spurred northern states toward abolition, slavery came to a slow end in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Northern abolition was neither uniform nor immediate. Many states chose to free enslaved men and women once they reached adulthood or if they accepted Christianity. Others legislated that existing slaves would live in bondage, but their children would be born free. This gradual emancipation meant that a significant number of slaves existed in the North well into the 19th century, although their numbers dropped steadily with time. Congress had endeavored to make new northern territories free as early as 1787. The Northwest Ordinance, passed in that year to govern the expansion, settlement, and government of the Ohio region and beyond, prohibited “involuntary servitude” in the territory. Slaves accompanying their owners on travel or to military service in the northern territories remained enslaved despite these legislative developments.

In the South, slavery was so firmly entrenched in the region's culture and so central to its economic health that abolition was widely opposed. There had been efforts during the revolutionary period to relax the grounds on which owners might manumit their slaves, but these were not widespread. They were further scaled back after events like the aborted Prosser Slave Rebellion in 1800 outside Rich-



mond, Virginia, convinced many southerners that their lives were at risk. Unlike most slave regimes in South America, the slave population of the American South grew through natural reproduction, sometimes through consensual sex, sometimes through abuse and rape, often at the hands of slave owners. This natural increase in the slave population made slavery especially profitable for whites. After a one-time investment in slaves, slaveholders expected them to increase in number and value with only a moderate additional investment of food and shelter. Since slaves were considered property that could be willed and inherited, many individuals became slave owners without buying a slave themselves. The entire economic structure of slaveholding was based on the idea of free labor. Paying slaves a wage, argued the slaveholders, would completely undermine the region's economy.

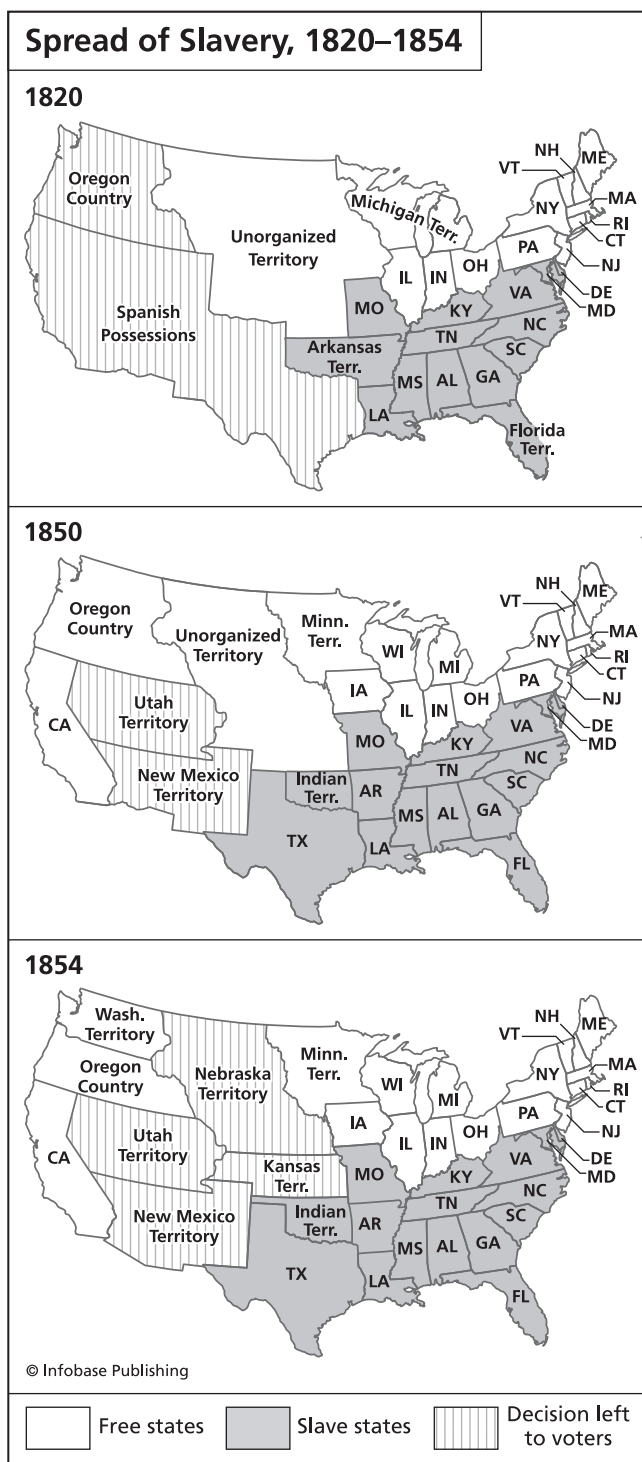
Southerners did not argue that slavery was a purely economic necessity. Many argued that it was a moral blessing. Proponents of slavery contended that conditions in the factories of the North were far worse than those in the slave

communities of the South. They suggested that northerners should turn their reformist zeal toward their own poor rather than demanding an end to slavery, an institution which they argued provided food, clothing, and shelter to those within its bounds. Conditioned by racial prejudice, proponents of slavery often argued that AFRICAN AMERICANS lacked intelligence, common sense, and a work ethic, making them incapable of supporting themselves outside the confines of the institution. Southerners also defended the long workdays imposed on slaves as well as the prohibition of education and noninstitutional religious meetings. Too much education, too little work, and the unsupervised practice of religion, they argued, would make slaves a danger to white citizens across the South.

Slavery was also bound up with the issue of states' rights. From its inception, the republic had struggled with the issue of slavery and the right of the federal government to govern its existence. Article One of the Constitution, which decreed that slaves would be counted as three-fifths of a person for the purpose of census counts (thus allowing



This illustration idealizes slavery; the reality was that picking cotton for long hours, six days a week, was grueling work. (*Library of Congress*)



southern states to gain a greater number of Congressional representatives than if free-born men had been counted alone) recorded such struggle and compromise. By 1819, as Missouri and Maine both applied to become states in the Union, the struggle had become particularly severe.

Eleven free states and 11 slave states existed in the Union, with the free states supporting 105 delegates to the House of Representatives, as opposed to the South's 81. Several antislavery delegates offered amendments to the legislation making Missouri a state, demanding that the slavery be prohibited within the region. A bitter debate ensued in which the arguments for and against slavery—political, economic, and cultural—were all aired. At the crux of the matter lay the Constitution. Antislavery delegates insisted that Congress's power to set the terms by which new states entered the Union gave the federal government the power to prohibit slavery. Proponents of slavery argued that the government possessed no such power, and that the Constitution protected state and personal liberties. A compromise was eventually forged in which Maine entered the Union as a free state, Missouri as a slave state, and slavery was prohibited in all remaining territories of the Louisiana Purchase, north of 30°36'.

This was not the end of sectional difficulties, however, nor a permanent answer to the question of which rights legitimately belonged to the states. The issue was revisited with the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 and the decision in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), both of which undermined the federal government's ability to regulate slavery in the states. In December 1860, South Carolina seceded from the Union, believing that the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency would result in a concerted attempt to limit states' rights. Ten other southern states followed suit, and within the year a civil war had begun.

Yet slavery was much more than a political question. For millions of Americans, it was a way of life. At the outbreak of the Civil War, an estimated 4 million African Americans were held as slaves in the southern and western territories of the United States. Despite sharing a common legal identity, their experiences differed widely depending on the type of labor they were expected to perform.

The practice of slavery also crossed various ethnic and racial lines. A small number of French-speaking free blacks in Louisiana owned plantations and held slaves throughout this period, and slavery was also adopted by a number of Native American tribes in the South. In the first third of the 19th century, members of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes (Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole, Creek, and Cherokee) deliberately assimilated to the outward norms of white civilization in an attempt to forestall their removal to the far West. To this end they adopted the same racial hierarchy as whites and obtained several thousand African-American slaves to work their farms and plantations. Many Indians, principally mixed-blood chiefs among the Cherokee, acquired considerable wealth in this manner. Those members of the Five Civilized Tribes transplanted to the new Indian Territory (Oklahoma) took their slaves in



tow. Again, the Indians adroitly managed their plantations and acquired considerable wealth. The success of the slave economy on Indian land prompted the tribes to support the Confederacy in 1861, but four years later, following the Union victory, they were forced to manumit their slaves.

The vast majority of slaves lived in rural areas. Contrary to popular imagination, few lived on sprawling plantations but instead lived and worked on small farms. The most popular crops grown by slave labor were cotton, rice, sugar, and tobacco, with smaller investments in corn and indigo. Field labor was notoriously harsh no matter what was grown, but each crop demanded a specific cycle of cultivation and harvest. While tobacco required constant attention, it facilitated a steady pace of work and was relatively safe to grow, harvest, and process. Rice, on the other hand, grew in water, and slaves were easy prey for waterborne diseases. Rice cultivation required relentless labor, and while workdays might be short, they were exhausting. In order to turn rice into a viable product for market, it had to be watered, harvested, dried, buried, stacked, threshed, winnowed, and pounded by hand. Accidents were common from the complexity of the work and the fatigue that accompanied production. Cotton cultivation required physical strength and endurance since workdays were always long, especially in picking season. An average enslaved man or woman was expected to pick between 150 and 200 pounds of cotton a day. All slaves had a supervisor, whether their owner, an overseer, or the head of their field gang. The level of supervision varied, from task systems where enslaved men or women were allowed a degree of control over how long it took to complete a job to oppressive regimes where the work pace was enforced by whippings or beatings.

Even in rural areas, not all enslaved men and women worked in the fields. Many slave owners used slave labor in their homes where women worked as housekeepers, cooks, nursery maids, and laundresses; and men were employed as blacksmiths, wheelwrights, valets, and stable hands. These positions often offered physically comfortable working conditions when compared to field labor, but they required slaves to work under the direct supervision of their owners. The result was too often the physical and sexual abuse of slaves by slaveholders and their families.

A sizeable number of slaves worked in urban communities during the antebellum period. Urban slavery generally offered enslaved men and women greater freedom of movement, the chance to earn money from their labor, and the opportunity to acquire and perfect a marketable skill. As well as employing slaves in their homes, many urban slave owners allowed enslaved men and women to hire themselves out for wages in return for paying a fee every week. Such opportunities were more plentiful for men than for women. Men could work in construction, in

skilled trades such as carpentry, at railroad terminals, and on docks. Women were more limited in their options; the most skilled profession open to them was midwifery, and their more usual choices included dressmaking, laundry, and market work. This inequality of opportunity also existed in rural slave communities, where skilled positions were most likely given to men. Inequalities spilled over into the home lives of slaves, where the burdens of housekeeping, laundry, cooking, and child care fell heavily on the shoulders of women.

Overall, the living standard of typical southern slaves gradually deteriorated as the 19th century progressed. Many states had already adopted legislation making it nearly impossible for owners to manumit slaves, and after 1830 laws were enacted forbidding them from learning how to read or write. Hard workloads and declining nutrition for pregnant slaves also incurred low birth weights and high infant mortality rates. The rise of sugar plantations in the Deep South, notably Louisiana, increased the number of adult slaves worked to death while growing this demanding crop. Planters, however, were usually sustained by the high prices sugar fetched on the open market, coupled with a thriving internal SLAVE TRADE that assured them a steady stream of replacements. Internal slave trading served to destroy nuclear families in the African-American community as family members, usually young males and females, were ripped from their parents and transported to a life of hard labor in the Old South. By 1860 the number of individuals transferred in this way totaled nearly 1 million, making the internal slave trade one of the largest forced migrations in American history.

In all aspects of their lives, slaves fought to maintain and protect their own traditions and communities, even in the face of opposition from white society. At work, slaves engaged in slowdowns and sabotage to regulate the pace of work imposed on them by overseers and owners. Some slaves offered physical resistance to their ill-treatment, and many ran away in the hopes of reuniting with loved ones or escaping the harsh conditions under which they worked. Slaves sometimes resorted to conspiracy and violence to improve their plight. Slave rebellions had occurred previously on a small scale, but in the 19th century two episodes stood out. The first involved the former slave DENMARK VESEY, who worked as a carpenter in Charleston, South Carolina. Vesey had won a lottery and purchased his freedom in 1799. Deeply religious, he helped found a branch of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Vesey was inspired by the successful 1791 revolt of black Haitians against their French masters on Santo Domingo. After his church was closed by white authorities, he began fomenting a black uprising in Charleston that would have entailed thousands of slaves and a mass exodus to Haiti. The revolt was set to unfold on July 14, 1822—Bastille Day—but white



authorities were informed of the plot and the conspirators were arrested. Vesey and 35 coconspirators were then publicly executed. Afterward city officials installed a 150-man garrison at an arsenal named the Citadel (at the site of the present-day South Carolina Military Academy).

A much more serious affair was the violent revolt led by Virginia slave NAT TURNER in Southampton County, Virginia. Like Vesey, Turner was highly intelligent and very religious, so much so that he regularly received what he deemed visions from God, and his fellow slaves consequently nicknamed him “The Prophet.” On August 22, 1831, he led a rebellion against local slave masters, killing 57 white men, women, and children. The alarmed countryside quickly raised a large militia force that hunted down the rebels and killed upwards of 100 blacks, guilty and innocent alike. Turner managed to elude capture until October 30, 1831, when he was seized in a swamp. He stood trial and went to the gallows quietly on November 5, 1831. The Virginia legislature then passed new laws forbidding the teaching of literacy to slaves, a trend that was subsequently copied throughout the South.

On a day-to-day level, enslaved men and women worked hard to create a meaningful life away from work. Men and women entered into marriage, solemnizing their relationships through customs such as “jumping the broom” even as Anglo law denied the legality of such ceremonies. Blending African tradition, neighborly obligation, and friendship, enslaved men and women observed extended kinship networks that stretched beyond individual farms to surrounding counties, even as slave owners wielded the power to divide families and sell individuals far from home. Despite frequent bans on unorganized religious activity, slaves interpreted the Bible for themselves, practiced multiple African religions, and often blended these to create wholly new expressions of spirituality. Despite the widespread prohibition of slave education, literate slaves and sympathetic free whites and blacks did teach others to read and write. Often barely sustained by rations of food and clothing from their owners, enslaved men and women supplemented their lot by hunting and raising gardens where possible. For many slaves, these activities represented a measure of freedom, hard won amid an oppressive system of exploitation.

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—Catherine J. Denial

## slave trade, internal

Although increasingly confined to the South, American SLAVERY underwent massive expansion in the antebellum period. From some 700,000 in 1790, the number of slaves had more than quintupled to almost 4 million in 1860. The African slave trade was stopped in 1808, only to be supplanted by an equally horrific domestic slave trade. Hundreds of thousands of black Americans were taken west in irons to sustain the growth of a vast southern empire based on slave labor.

The Louisiana Purchase of 1803, coupled with the mass deportation of NATIVE AMERICANS, opened to settlement a vast wilderness tract known as the Old Southwest. Over the following decades millions of white settlers moved into what eventually became the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Arkansas. The newly settled region was economically skewed toward the production of cotton, spurring demand for cheap labor. Meanwhile, the Chesapeake region had declining agricultural output and a surplus chattel population. These circumstances stimulated an elaborate system of domestic slave trade through which, between about 1815 and 1855, an estimated 1 million slaves were forcibly relocated to work the region known as the Cotton Belt. By 1860, slavery had spread to nine new states and extended more than halfway across the continent into Texas.

In the half-century after the legal termination of the African slave trade, the slave population of the United States first surpassed that of any other country in the New World and then went on to exceed that of all the other American countries combined. This growth was due almost entirely to natural increase, as the number of slaves smuggled into the United States roughly equaled the number gaining freedom through manumission or escape.

There are several reasons for the much higher growth rate in the United States. The generally healthy and mild climate of the South kept slaves from succumbing to the kinds of diseases more prevalent in the tropics. Work as a field hand was an unrelenting ordeal, but the cultivation of cotton and tobacco was less physically demanding than that of sugar or coffee. Most important, though, was that slaves themselves became the crop.

Cotton cultivation, which required a minimum growing season of 200 frostless days, was confined to the Lower South. The rapid expansion of cotton plantations across the Deep South created an intense demand for slave labor. Slave owners in the Upper South quickly realized that their "surplus" slaves were a valuable commodity. With the decline in tobacco production, it was a commodity the Chesapeake states, particularly Virginia, had in abundance. By 1800 a domestic slave trade had developed, with slave traders purchasing excess slaves in non-cotton-producing states and then moving them to cotton-producing areas for sale. This domestic commerce had already reached the point in 1808 where it could readily replace the newly closed African slave trade as the regular source of slaves.

The Deep South's cotton boom, combined with the ban on slave importations, kept the domestic slave trade a lucrative business throughout the antebellum period. The price of a field hand eventually rose from about \$300 in 1795 to between \$1,200 and \$1,800 in 1860. It was not unusual for the average trader's annual rate of return to reach 30 percent. Such profits bound the South together in a slave economy.

As the COTTON CULTURE moved westward into Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, so did the domestic slave trade. It is estimated about 1 million slaves were taken west between 1790 and 1860. Many accompanied masters who left home in search of new opportunities. This was the case with the majority of the early black migrants into Kentucky and Tennessee, as many of the states' first settlers were slave owners from Virginia and North Carolina. Later in the Deep South, entire plantation staffs would be moved westward by slave-owning families relocating or expanding their holdings.

After 1815, the domestic slave trade predominated in the forced internal migration of slaves. Eventually, the commerce accounted for as much as 70 percent of the

massive transfer of slaves westward. In doing so it replicated many of the horrors of the African slave trade; it also created new ones. One of these was the virtual breeding of slaves. Almost all the blacks relocated by the domestic slave trade came from the more northern slave states and almost all went to the cotton-producing tier of states along the Gulf of Mexico. Maryland, North Carolina, and Kentucky all had active slave markets, but Virginia was by far the biggest provider, sending roughly 300,000 slaves to the Gulf states between 1830 and 1860. Both Baltimore, Maryland, and Alexandria, Virginia, functioned as major receiving centers for these chattels, who were then loaded up on vessels bound for New Orleans.

To ensure a steady supply of slaves, slave owners in the Upper South took to guaranteeing the constant replenishment of their slave populations through the most basic means of human reproduction. Some chose mates for young slaves and forced them to live together. More often, owners would encourage slaves to marry, and thus to procreate, at an early age.

When it came time to sell, however, there was little or no respect for slave marriages, much less the slave families. In many cases, slaves were sold and moved without regard for family ties. In the Upper South, about one in three marriages was broken by the slave trade, and close to half of all children were sold away from at least one parent. Most sellers kept children with their mothers until about age 13, at which point they were deemed capable of work and thus ready for market. Understandably, the fear of being shipped south generated considerable fear in slave families throughout the Upper South, and it was probably a frequent motivation for attempts to escape to the North. Owners did not hesitate to use the threat of sale as a way of enforcing discipline among those selected to remain behind.

Slaves were normally bought and sold at auction like cattle. Most in demand, not surprisingly, were prime field hands, ranging in age from 15 to 30. Next in order of value were slaves capable of household and industrial tasks. A disproportionate share of the slaves sent west were young adults between the ages of 15 and 25. Both men and women toiled as field hands. Except to Louisiana, where the premium was on young men for the backbreaking work in the sugar fields, slave merchants shipped roughly equal numbers of males and females.

It was not uncommon for a young female slave in Virginia to find herself suddenly torn from her family and transported hundreds of miles to a strange new plantation in Mississippi. Separation from relatives and friends was probably the most devastating experience endured by slaves. The physical ordeal of the journey west was made even worse by the psychological cruelty involved in the permanent forced parting from loved ones.

Most of the domestic slave trade moved overland, and the logistics involved were invariably complicated, expensive, and cruel. As well as being housed and fed en route to their destination, most slaves had to be insured against loss by death or escape. Next came local transportation charges, overhead costs such as advertising and legal fees, sales commissions to local agents, and other business expenses. At regular intervals throughout the trip, slaves were confined in either jails or specially designed pens until they could be safely transported by boat, train, or on foot, like any common commodity. Slaves were formed into coffles, or chain gangs, and marched under guard into boats that plied the coastal waters from Virginia to Texas. Major marketing and distribution points included Richmond, Norfolk, and Louisville in the slave-sending Upper South and Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans in the slave-receiving Lower South. The trade was relentless, with at least 100,000 slaves taken west every decade between 1810 and 1860. The internal slave trade conferred economic benefits to those who sold or used slaves in the antebellum period. But its macabre practices—breaking up family units, binding human beings in manacles, transporting them far from home, and compelling them to endure a life of forced labor once there—marks the internal slave trade as one of the most dehumanizing facets of the “peculiar institution.”

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**Smith, Jedediah Strong** (1799–1831) *explorer, trader, trapper*

Fur trader and explorer who opened up trails and territory that were followed by settlers of the West, Jedediah Strong Smith was born in Bainbridge, New York, in 1799. As a young man, he had a good basic education by the standards of the day. At 13, he found a job as a clerk on a Lake Erie commercial vessel and gained experience in business transactions. He may also have met fur trappers and traders from the Great Lakes and southern Canada. He left the Lake Erie trade for St. Louis, perhaps as early as 1816 but certainly by the end of the decade. There he saw WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY's notice in the *St. Louis Gazette*, with a call to “Enterprising Young Men . . . to ascend the Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two, or three

years.” Smith responded to the appeal and discovered the opportunities associated with the FUR TRADE.

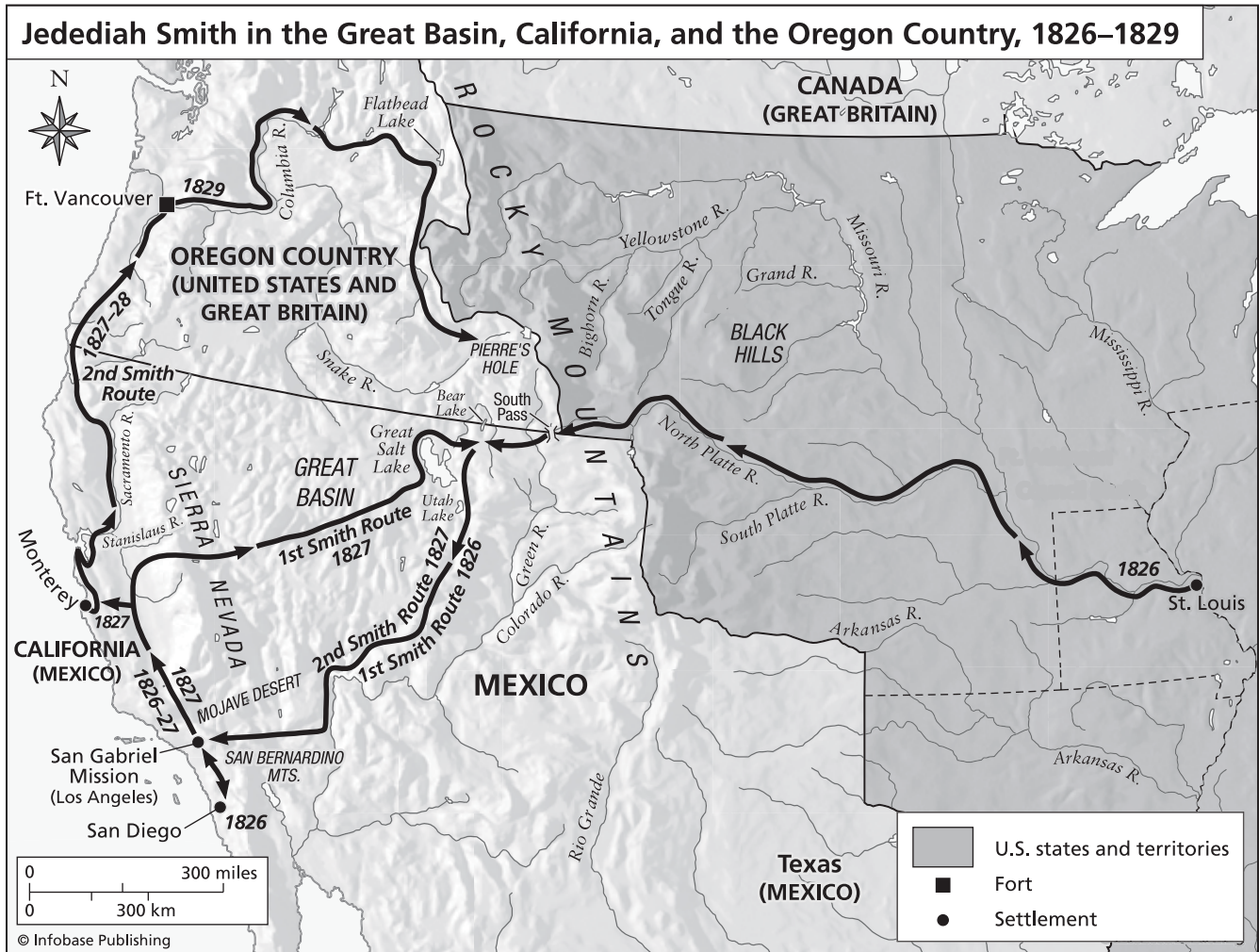
In 1822, Smith joined Ashley's first expedition up the Missouri River. The following year, he was once again on the upper Missouri when his party was attacked by the Arikara and suffered several casualties. He next led an overland party to the Black Hills, where he was badly injured in an encounter with a grizzly bear. From this point, Smith and his group went west, wintering in Wyoming. From encounters with Native Americans, he learned of an easy gateway through the Rocky Mountains. Expeditions from Fort ASTORIA had used SOUTH PASS as a gateway to the West in 1811, but Smith's rediscovery of it in 1824 made it a vital part of transcontinental travel. Over the next generation, South Pass would become the access route by way of the Platte and Sweetwater Rivers through the mountains used by overlanders on both the CALIFORNIA TRAIL and the OREGON TRAIL. Not only was South Pass a gentle slope, it was also wide enough to allow the use of wagons.

In 1824, still in Ashley's employ, Smith met the Hudson's Bay Company expedition to the Snake River Country, and he visited the HBC post at Flathead Lake. Based on his observations, he wrote a report for Ashley on the outfitting and trading policies of their chief rival. The following year, Ashley made Smith a full partner and placed him in charge of field operations. At the second great RENDEZVOUS in 1826, Smith (with David Jackson and WILLIAM SUBLETTE) bought out Ashley, who retired to St. Louis and politics.

As a managing partner in his own company, Smith and a few chosen companions now set out to explore the West in search of new fur-trapping and trading opportunities. They went from the rendezvous to the south, past the Great Salt Lake, along the Colorado River, and through the Mohave Desert, crossing into California and coming to the San Gabriel Mission in late November 1826. The Americans' presence aroused the suspicion of the Mexican governor of California, and Smith soon departed north through the San Joaquin Valley. In spite of repeated attempts in the face of difficult conditions, Smith failed to find a passage through the Sierra Nevada, and he and his company had to winter in the valley. The following spring, they crossed the mountains and made their way back to the Rockies by way of the Great Salt Lake to the annual rendezvous, arriving in July 1827. In making this journey, Smith and his companions were the first Americans to cross the Sierra Nevada from west to east.

In late summer 1827, Smith set out to retrace his earlier year's route, but this time he and his party were attacked by the Mohave Indians. Ten members of the party were killed, and Smith led the eight survivors across the mountains into California and the mission at San Gabriel. Although he





had only just survived the Indian assault, Smith's second appearance in California intensified the suspicion of Mexican officials. Eventually permitted to leave, he made his way by San Francisco and the San Joaquin Valley north to Oregon. In July 1828, Indians attacked Smith and his party on the Umpqua River. Of 18 men in the party, only Smith and three others escaped to find refuge at FORT VANCOUVER. There, JOHN MCLOUGHLIN gave Smith assistance, including the recovery of some of his furs seized at the Umpqua River. The meeting of Smith and McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver brought together two of the most important figures in the fur trade, and each represented the separate lines associated with the enterprise: McLoughlin the savvy administrator for the Hudson's Bay Company, who ran his empire from a fort; Smith, the explorer constantly on the move, who represented the independent trader.

Based on his stay at Fort Vancouver, Smith wrote a report for the secretary of war assessing the British presence in the Oregon Country. In 1828, he once again attended

the annual rendezvous, when he decided to retire from the fur-trading business. In 1830, however, he was persuaded to enter the Santa Fe trade. Like CHARLES BENT and WILLIAM BENT, Smith recognized that the future of the trade lay in the Southwest. He organized and captained a caravan of goods headed for the New Mexican capital of Santa Fe. As he scouted ahead to find a water hole, he was attacked and killed by Comanche Indians on the Cimarron River.

When Smith died in 1831 at the age of 32, he was one of the nation's most accomplished fur traders and explorers. Modern scholars have acknowledged his many accomplishments; transcontinental travelers were indebted to him for identifying South Pass as the universal route to the west; and his fellow trappers and traders widely admired him for his modesty, faithfulness, and kindness.

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**Smith, Joseph, Jr.** (1805–1844) *founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*

Founder, prophet, and first president of the CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS, Joseph Smith, Jr., was born in Sharon, Vermont. He was the fourth of nine children in a family with marginal economic prospects, and his father failed at a variety of enterprises, most of them associated with farming and storekeeping. The young Smith moved with his family several times across northern New England and finally in 1816 to Palmyra, New York. Like other children in similar circumstances, Joseph had little formal schooling, and from an early age, he sought employment to assist the family's marginal circumstances. In this capacity, he worked as a hired laborer on neighboring farms. As others in that time sometimes did, he looked for buried treasure, and he claimed to have special powers to find hidden riches.



Joseph Smith, Jr. (Library of Congress)

Smith's family bequeathed him a heritage of intense religious introspection. His mother joined the Presbyterian Church, but his father remained outside any religious denomination and maintained a belief in dreams and revelations. The surrounding countryside and indeed the whole of upstate New York was caught up in religious feelings and disputations that gave it the name "burned-over district." It was in this context that Smith claimed to be visited by God and Jesus Christ in the spring of 1820. On this occasion, according to Smith, these divine personages indicated to him that he had been chosen for a special task that would be revealed subsequently. Three years later, according to Smith, he was visited by the Angel Moroni and informed that he had been chosen to translate a text from golden plates. The text was the history of pre-Columbian inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere. According to Smith's account, between 1823 and 1827 he made periodic visits to the site of the hidden plates, and he received instructions that would make him the modern prophet of a new religion. Completed in 1830, the publication of the *Book of Mormon* provided the text for the new religion, and Joseph Smith, Jr., was its prophet. On April 6, 1830, Smith incorporated the new church under New York law and revealed a revelation that designated him "a seer, a translator, a prophet, and apostle of Jesus Christ."

Smith's first converts were members of his own family, but he soon recruited others, including Heber C. Kimball and BRIGHAM YOUNG. Smith's continuing revelations—on subjects ranging from heaven and hell to the economy and banking—kept the church in turmoil. But whatever the day-to-day confusion, the church grew, from perhaps 300 at the close of 1830 to 700 at the close of 1831. With the conversion of Sidney Rigdon and his congregation of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Smith moved the church to Kirtland, Ohio. At the same time, he established a strong missionary presence in western Missouri, near the frontier town of Independence. The church grew and prospered in Kirtland, and by 1835 its numbers exceeded 8,500, although exact numbers are unknown. In Kirtland, Smith directed the construction of a temple, the first of what would become several Mormon temples. Just as the Mormon community in Kirtland prospered in the boom times of the early 1830s, so it suffered with the onset of the PANIC OF 1837 and the subsequent depression. The situation was especially serious because the church had become involved in the banking business, and when the bank failed, the church was confronted by furious non-Mormon creditors.

Smith and his church fled Kirtland for the Mormon settlements in western Missouri, although apostasy thinned the ranks of the faithful. In Missouri, the church soon found itself in escalating conflict with its surrounding neighbors. As the membership continued to expand, so



did the church's need for land, and aggressive, expansionist Mormons made neighbors uneasy. Furthermore, the Mormons were a closed and self-righteous group, openly proclaiming their virtues as a "chosen people" and denouncing the sins of the rest of the world. They were eastern in their cultural characteristics, alien to the frontier environment of western Missouri, and sympathetic to the plight of slaves and Indians alike. These views made their presence unwelcome to other settlements in western Missouri. Conflicts escalated in the late 1830s, especially after the arrival of the church members from Kirtland. Missourians raided Mormon settlements, and Smith, tired of turning the other cheek, organized a quasi-military body known as "the Danites" to protect the church and its leadership. The church and Joseph Smith now became an issue in state politics. Missouri governor Lilburn Boggs apparently saw the Mormons and their prophet as a useful political target, and, speaking of them as threats to domestic order, he issued what became known as an "order of extermination," ordering Mormons to leave the state or face expulsion.

What became known as the Mormon War of 1838–39 cost Smith and his church severe losses. Men and women were killed, property destroyed, and when Boggs called up the state militia to enter the war, Smith's position was hopeless. He agreed to surrender, and he and other Mormon leaders were jailed for five months without formal charges. While they were incarcerated, Brigham Young took command and organized the emigration of the Mormon community from Missouri to Illinois, where, they took over a small village, Commerce, on the upper Missouri River. Smith, released from a Missouri jail in April 1839 and once more leader of the church, renamed the town NAUVOO. Here, beginning in 1839, the church and its leader began another cycle of prosperity and growth. Bolstered by numbers of converts from aggressive missionary activities and natural increase, the population of Nauvoo grew steadily, and by 1845 Mormons claimed 12,000 people in the city, numbers that rivaled Chicago as the most rapidly growing and progressive in the state.

Smith's plans for Nauvoo were three-dimensional. To begin with, alarmed by the Missouri experience and its threat to the Mormon community, he sought political and military power. He found political influence by bargaining with the state's Whig and Democratic parties, almost equally balanced in numbers. Using his leverage to deliver a bloc of votes, Smith received the concessions of independence and security that he sought. The state legislature passed, and the governor signed, the so-called "Nauvoo Charter," which gave specific rights to the Mormon community. These included the authority to establish a university (founded but never organized) and its own court system. Smith was elected mayor of Nauvoo under the charter in 1842, and at the same time, the governor made

him a major general in the Illinois state militia. Smith organized the Nauvoo Legion, a training body of men armed with guns from the state arsenals who were the answer to his search for military security.

In spring 1844, Smith announced himself a candidate for president of the United States, confirming Mormon views of his destiny to lead the nation and non-Mormon views that he was a danger to the nation. He also embarked on religious growth that paralleled the secular prosperity of Nauvoo. He ordered the construction of a large temple, which would become the center of church life and rituals, and experienced a series of religious revelations that laid the basis for the church's future. Included among these were the ordinance sealing husbands and wives for eternity and his declaration that men could become godlike. But the most important of these revelations for the immediate future of the church was the one sanctioning POLYGAMY, under which a chosen church leader would have more than one wife. Smith may have taken his first plural wife as early as 1841, but the revelation on polygamy is dated 1843, and within a year, other prominent church leaders had secretly married plural wives. When the practice became known, deep divisions within the church developed over it. Smith at first publicly disavowed the practice of polygamy. Some of those who left the church (or were expelled) wrote vivid accounts, quite horrifying to a 19th-century Protestant America that saw marriage based on monogamy.

In the face of this controversy, various church leaders remained loyal to the church itself but agitated for the removal of Smith as president. Consequently, Smith surrounded himself with a personal bodyguard to insure his office. In spring 1844, a group of dissident church leaders published a newspaper, the *Nauvoo Expositor*, which exposed the doctrine of polygamy and called Smith "a fallen prophet." He now used his authority to condemn the press as a danger to the public and ordered the destruction of the press. The dissidents fled Nauvoo in fear of their lives, and they swore out a warrant for Smith's arrest, charging him with disorderly conduct. Assured by the governor of his personal safety, Smith surrendered and was lodged in the Carthage jail. On June 27, 1844, a mob broke into the jail and assassinated Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum. The Mormon prophet was 38 years old.

In his short life, Joseph Smith became one of the most charismatic American religious leaders of the 19th century. Indeed, in terms of the lasting influence of his church, no other religious leader compares to his presence over almost two centuries. Smith established a church with great appeal to Americans in his time, one that spoke to men and women of small means (like the family from which he came), that condemned the rich and powerful, and that praised success in economic ventures. Furthermore, if the church was male-dominated through the priesthood, so was every

other church at the time, and Smith made the perfection of the church and the godlike stature of its members available to all men, women, and children. By opening salvation to families through conversion, ancestors could gain this exalted status. With continuing prophecies, Smith could meet the changing conditions faced by the church, and he did so. Tall, distinguished, commanding, and articulate, he seemed to embody physically the prophets that he spoke of, wrote about, and represented.

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### South Pass

South Pass is a route across the Continental Divide, between the northern and southern Rocky Mountains. Part of the OREGON TRAIL, CALIFORNIA TRAIL, and MORMON TRAIL, it was used by overland immigrants from the 1830s to the late 1860s.

Although Native Americans had known of South Pass for centuries, the first Euro-American to use it was Robert Stuart and a group of Astorians, who were returning eastward from ASTORIA on the Oregon Coast in 1812. Stuart's discovery was ignored, since trading companies at that time viewed transcontinental travel as more difficult than travel by sea. In opening up the trade of the Pacific Coast, JOHN JACOB ASTOR primarily used sea vessels. With the close of the WAR OF 1812, fur traders and explorers resumed overland travel. In spring 1824, JEDEDIAH STRONG SMITH and a party of trappers used the pass, apparently after being informed by a Crow Indian of the easy route across the Continental Divide. Smith recognized the significance of the pass for the FUR TRADE: Furs and supplies could be moved this way across the Rocky Mountains and in so doing avoid the dangerous route via the upper Missouri River. WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY subsequently used South Pass to bring supplies to the RENDEZVOUS in 1825.

South Pass, as used by the fur traders and later overland travelers, was a gentle slope at the southern end of the Wind River Mountains. A broad, high plain, some 20 miles wide, it in no way resembled the image of a jagged gap in a mountain range. Travelers followed the Sweetwater River to its source and then continued up the gradual rise, to a height of 7,550 feet; a few miles later, the waters flowed west. Overland travelers confided in their journals

that they found the "pass" something of a disappointment, although they came to appreciate its easy access across a formidable mountain barrier.

In 1830, Jedediah Smith and his trading partners informed the secretary of war that South Pass offered easy access to the Oregon Country. At a time when the issue of Oregon was still a contentious one (later settled by the OREGON TREATY OF 1846), South Pass provided an important means to move settlers and supplies into this contested region. In 1832, Captain Benjamin Bonneville brought wagons through the pass, thus demonstrating the trail's usefulness for settler families traveling to Oregon and CALIFORNIA. Four years later, Narcissa Whitman and Eliza Spaulding, going west as the wives of missionaries, were the first white women to cross South Pass.

By the late 1830s and early 1840s, annual wagon trains of several hundred settler families went overland to Oregon by way of South Pass. In 1843, the federal government dispatched JOHN C. FRÉMONT to explore routes to the West, but Frémont's well-publicized expedition added nothing to the accepted consensus that South Pass was the best route to Oregon and the Pacific Northwest. It soon also became the standard route to California.

With the discovery of gold in 1848, California became a national obsession, and the numbers on the overland trail grew in like proportion. In 1849, some 75,000 FORTY-NINERS crossed the pass in a single season, and annual numbers thereafter remained high. The large number of diaries and travel accounts of the gold-seekers and the numbers of published accounts established South Pass—along with FORT LARAMIE, Independence Rock, the Humboldt River, and Sutter's Fort—as a landmark in the great overland pioneering experience. Mormons, who also used the trail to the Utah settlement of the CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS, joined the argonauts on the way west. Although the Mormons continued to use the overland trail, with its variations to Salt Lake City, until the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, by the middle of 1850s, many California-bound migrants had shifted to the sea route. Between 1836 and 1853, some 160,000 overland migrants used South Pass.

**Further reading:** John D. Unruh, *The Plains Across* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979).

### spiritualism

The central tenet of spiritualism, a 19th-century American religious movement, is that spirits of the dead can communicate with the living through mediums. The spiritualist movement began in 1845 when two sisters, Kate and Margaret Fox, heard knocks on walls and tables in their upstate New York home. Amy and Isaac Post, well-known Quaker

activists in Rochester, New York, publicized the Fox sisters' experiences and invited many progressive friends to view the young girls' preternatural abilities. The sisters toured the United States in the 1850s, spreading the spiritualist ideology to such far-reaching sites as Philadelphia, Ohio, New York City, and Washington, D.C. This tour helped spread spiritualism in the Midwest and along the eastern seaboard.

Spiritualists believed that humans could communicate with the souls of the dead. Séances and the use of ouija boards (known as planchettes) aided them in their quest to speak to their dead loved ones. The desire to contact the dead reflected the anxieties of a rising middle class, for whom family life centered on sentimental affection rather than economic survival. Thus, spiritualists were drawn to the idea that they could stay connected to the loved ones they had relied upon for emotional comfort. Spiritualists strove to be effective mediums, possessing the powerful sensory and spiritual abilities necessary to reach the deceased. Famous spiritualist converts included many individuals from radical and socially active families. William Lloyd Garrison, ANGELINA AND SARAH GRIMKÉ, and Isabella Beecher Hooker were all attracted to the spiritualist faith.

The so-called burned-over district (see RELIGION) of upstate New York had been the center of several popular religious movements. Quakerism, which had supported the antislavery activity organized in western New York, merged with the new spiritualism movement. The spiritualist concept of individuals having direct connections to the beyond echoed the Quaker doctrine of the inner light, which declared that every individual held the divinity of God within themselves and formal authority should not outweigh this divine source of inspiration and thought. Quaker meetings allowed those moved by the divine light to stand and testify to the congregation. Likewise, in spiritualist circles, ordinary people were encouraged to speak out in public about their communications with the dead.

The belief that all individuals possessed the divine spirit granted authority to women and provided them with opportunities to speak at religious gatherings. Like the Fox sisters, mediums were often young women, supposedly innocent and pure and thus the ideal vessels for transmitting messages from beyond. Those who were identified as spiritualists often belonged to religious denominations with liberal dogmas, such as the Quakers, Unitarians, and Universalists. Spiritualists rejected the orthodoxy of Calvinism and conservative evangelical doctrines. Those who were identified as spiritualists often doubted the divinity of Jesus and were skeptical of the Bible as a literal translation of God's will. The Universalist church drew the most interest in spiritualism from its members, since the Universalist faith declared that all souls would be saved, and their rejection

of Hell and damnation fed into the spiritualist rejection of Protestant orthodoxy. Politically and socially, spiritualists tended to support a variety of both progressive and radical causes, such as marriage reform, the ABOLITION MOVEMENT, religious freedom, WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS, and the TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT. The social and theological ideologies followed by spiritualists supported their individualistic and heterodox belief systems.

Spiritualists viewed the family and the home as the true center of religious life. They subscribed to no official doctrines and were not organized nationally. Because there was no official affiliation required to be a spiritualist and no group theological consensus, the spiritualists' main sources of linkage were conferences and the dissemination of journals, newspapers, and books. A well-known spiritualist newspaper was the *Banner of Light*, published in Boston. The popularity of the movement can be seen in the many books and pamphlets sold in the second half of the 19th century. Spiritualist bookstores appeared throughout the United States, and more than 50,000 books on spiritualism were sold in 1871.

Spiritualists strongly supported the 19th-century women's rights movement. Radical, "ultraist" women's rights supporters were often attracted to the spiritualist faith. They promoted women's self-ownership of both body and soul and believed that orthodox religions oppressed women as a group. In an era when women were not supposed to speak in public gatherings, spiritualist gatherings allowed them to assert a powerful public presence, even if they were technically only supposed to be mediums for the dead. Thus, spiritualist meetings helped remove the stigma from women in the public sphere, making women's rights activities gradually more acceptable. These activists also criticized the legal and social restrictions that marriage placed on women. Their criticism included calling attention to the potential for sexual coercion in marriage, and they accepted divorce as a reasonable solution for unhappy marriages. Spiritualist beliefs promoted spiritual attraction as a necessary basis for a loving relationship. Spiritualists believed this affinity of souls would then produce a "true" marriage of body, mind, and spirit. Their beliefs about marriage resulted in critics labeling spiritualists as promiscuous and supporters of "free love." Victoria Woodhull, a supporter of woman's suffrage and a practicing spiritualist, popularized the criticisms of free love as a result of sensational newspaper reports about her. Spiritualists often had to fight their stereotype as promiscuous sex radicals in the popular mind due to their promotion of "true marriages."

By the 1890s, the spiritualist movement was in decline in terms of membership and popularity. But during the height of its influence, spiritualism provided a forum wherein many reform-minded people gathered and formulated radical new ideas about the capacities of the living and the dead.

**Further reading:** Ann Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989).

—Sharon E. Romeo

**Stanton, Elizabeth Cady** See VOLUME V.

**Stearns, Abel** (1798–1871) *businessman*

Abel Stearns was a pioneer merchant in CALIFORNIA. Born in Lunenburg, Massachusetts, on February 9, 1798, Stearns went to sea at an early age. He acquired his own ship by 1822, and for many years he plied the trade routes to China, the West Indies, and South America. Four years later, he relocated to Mexico City and became a naturalized citizen.

In 1828, Stearns migrated to Monterey, California, where he spent two years trying to obtain a land grant. He subsequently enjoyed better luck in Los Angeles, where he was operating a mercantile house by 1831. Stearns quickly acquired great wealth as part of the local hide and tallow trade then prevalent in Mexican California. He also cemented many friendships among the ruling elite, gained election to the Los Angeles *ayuntamiento* (town council), and later functioned as its *sindico procurador* (treasurer/tax collector). In 1835, he experienced an unfortunate brawl with a Kentucky mountain man that left him disfigured facially and suffering from a permanent speech impairment. Nonetheless, Stearns's popularity remained undiminished, and in 1836 and 1844 he wielded sufficient influence to assist two uprisings against unpopular Mexican governors who were then replaced by native Californians more sympathetic to the popular will.

Stearns proved himself a successful businessman, but his physical demeanor was so grotesque that he acquired the sobriquet of *Cara de Caballo* (horse face). Looks notwithstanding, he married into the local nobility, which also boosted his reputation and popularity among neighboring *rancheros*. He also built an impressive home, El Palacio, which served as a social center to facilitate his many transactions.

When the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR broke out in 1846, California was invaded by American forces. Stearns, as a Mexican national, maintained a studious neutrality. Afterwards, he retained all his property under the new regime, and in 1849 he participated in the state constitutional convention at Monterey. The following year, Stearns gained election to the new state assembly first as a WHIG PARTY candidate and, after 1860, as a member of the REPUBLICAN PARTY. He also amassed a considerable fortune by buying up the property of dispossessed *rancheros*; by 1858, he owned an estimated 450,000 acres. However, between

1856 and 1865, declining cattle prices, coupled with flood and droughts, severely impacted his holdings, and Stearns liquidated most of his assets to pay off his debts. He subsequently reentered the real-estate market, then enjoying a postwar boom, and regained most of his wealth. By the time Stearns died in San Francisco on August 23, 1871, he ranked as one of the richest individuals in that state. His life personified the first generation of Anglo settlers to California who prospered under Mexican rule and then assisted its transition to self-government.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Stewart, Maria** (1803–1879) *activist*

Maria Stewart was one of the first African-American female abolitionists and feminists. She was born Maria Miller in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1803. Orphaned at an early age, she matured in the home of an African-American clergyman and subsequently worked as an indentured servant. She had previously attended Sabbath school, showing an aptitude for literacy and theology. In 1826, she married James W. Stewart, a black merchant and WAR OF 1812 veteran from Boston, and adopted his middle initial and family name. She resided in Boston in relative comfort until 1829, when her husband died and she was cheated from her inheritance by dishonest executors. In despair, she experienced a religious conversion in 1830 and thereafter dedicated her life to proselytizing religion and civil rights.

Over the next few years, Stewart gained notoriety as the first African American to lecture publicly on national issues. Drawing on her religious background, she heartily condemned SLAVERY in biblical terms, but white northern communities were also castigated for their systematic discrimination against people of color. She therefore exhorted the free African-American community to band together, educate themselves, and demand their civil rights. She also distinguished herself by calling out for women's rights with concomitant larger roles in civic and political affairs. Stewart's stridency brought her to the attention of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, and the two struck up a fruitful association. In January 1832, when he printed several of Stewart's remarks in his newspaper, *The Liberator*, she became one of the first African-American woman to be published. This was followed up by several radically tinged



pamphlets containing harsh language and open criticism of men, the first from a woman of any race, which brought her acrimony and resistance from her own community. At length, Stewart decided she accomplished little by remaining in Boston, so she resettled in New York City in 1833. Intent on becoming a teacher, she sought further enlightenment by joining the Female Literary Society there.

Stewart successively taught in New York, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C., until the advent of the Civil War in 1861. She then organized a school for poor black students and also gained appointment as matron of the Freedman's Hospital. Ever conscious of the need for educating children, in 1871 she opened another school near the newly founded Howard University and called on the faculty there to assist her. In March 1879, Stewart received a government pension based on her late husband's military service, and with the proceeds she published a second edition of her *Meditations from the Pen of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart* (1879), now featuring supporting letters from Garrison and other leading abolitionists. Stewart died in Washington on December 17, 1879, generally regarded as the first African-American feminist.

**Further reading:** Jami L. Carlacio, "In Their Own Words: The Rhetorical Practices of Maria Stewart and Sarah Grimke" (unpublished Ph.D. dis., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2001); Lora Romero, *Home Fronts: Domesticity and Its Critics in the Antebellum United States* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University, 1997); Rodger Streitmatter, "Maria W. Stewart: The First Female African-American Journalist," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 21, no. 2 (1993): 44–49.

—John C. Fredriksen

**Still, William** (1821–1902) *abolitionist, civil rights, Underground Railroad Conductor*

An abolitionist and businessman, William Still personally sheltered most of the slave fugitives who made it as far as Philadelphia. He was born in Medford, New Jersey, on October 7, 1821, the youngest of 18 children. His parents were both former slaves who either purchased their freedom or escaped. Barely educated and largely self-taught, Still worked on his father's farm until the age of 20, then left home to work as a laborer. In 1844, he arrived in Philadelphia, site of the largest community of free African Americans in the country. He worked at numerous odd jobs until 1847, when he joined the Anti-Slavery Society office. This was a front organization of the famous "underground railroad," which smuggled slaves to northern cities and Canada. Still performed well, and in 1852 he gained appointment as secretary and chairman of the society's General Vigilance Committee. He was then tasked with raising money for the effort and keeping accurate records.

At this time, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 made it a federal offense not to aid in the recovery of escaped slaves, but Philadelphia nonetheless thrived as an important station in the underground railroad. Still became directly responsible for assigning shelter to fugitives, feeding them, and sending them north to Canada. He also carefully interviewed each escaped slave to record their individual experiences. In this manner, Still inadvertently encountered his long-lost brother, who had been abandoned by his mother 40 years earlier. In 1855 Still also ventured to Canada to report favorably on the progress of fugitive slaves settling there.

When the Civil War erupted in 1861, Still left the ABOLITION MOVEMENT to concentrate on business matters. After opening a lucrative coal yard, he was called on to service Camp William Penn outside the city, where African-American soldiers were stationed. Postwar emancipation further intensified Still's social activism. He subsequently initiated a drive to fight the prohibition against African Americans' using the city's streetcars, and in 1867 the state legislature complied, forbidding such discrimination. He also gained a measure of national attention through publication of his eloquent book *The Underground Railroad* (1872), which related the experience through the eyes of the fugitives. This landmark publication went through three editions, with several thousand copies sold.

Still further enhanced his reputation for philanthropy by providing material assistance to the African-American community of Philadelphia. He remained a longtime member of the Freedmen's Aid Commission as well as a number of charitable and welfare agencies. Despite his advanced years, Still was active in founding a YMCA for black youth and the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons. Still died in Philadelphia on July 14, 1902, a leading African-American reformer and civil rights champion of the 19th century.

**Further reading:** William C. Kashatus, "Two Stationmasters on the Underground Railroad: A Tale of Black and White," *Pennsylvania Heritage* 27 (Fall 2001): 5–11; Lurey Khan, *One Day, Levin . . . he be free: William Still and the Underground Railroad* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1972); William Still, *The Underground Railroad* (New York: Arno Press, 1968); William J. Switala, *The Underground Railroad in Pennsylvania* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2001).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Stockton, Robert Field** (1795–1966) *naval officer*  
Commodore Robert Field Stockton was an American naval officer who commanded the Pacific squadron during the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR (1846–48). With a small naval force, he occupied southern CALIFORNIA,



fought two battles, and broke Mexican resistance by early 1847.

Stockton was born in Princeton, New Jersey, on August 20, 1795, the grandson of Richard Stockton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He left the College of New Jersey (now Princeton) to enter the U.S. Navy at the age of 16. Commissioned a midshipman on September 5, 1811 he served under Commodore John Rodgers aboard the USS *President* during the WAR OF 1812. Promoted to lieutenant, Stockton sailed to the Mediterranean aboard the USS *Guerrière* and took part in the campaign against the Barbary pirates.

Stockton was selected by President JOHN TYLER to bring a proposal for annexation to TEXAS in 1845. Following the outbreak of the Mexican-American War, in July 1846, he sailed around Cape Horn to take command of the Pacific squadron, arriving in Monterey to relieve Commodore John Sloat as commander. Stockton proceeded to occupy the ports of Southern California, capturing Santa Barbara on August 4, 1846 and Los Angeles several weeks later with the aid of Colonel JOHN C. FRÉMONT's California Battalion. He declared California a territory of the United States and named himself the governor of the new civil and military government.

While Stockton was in the north, Mexican loyalists recaptured most of the southern California towns. In January 1847, he joined forces with Brigadier General STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY in recapturing Los Angeles and ending Mexican resistance in California. Stockton and Kearny feuded over who had U.S. governmental authority in California. Kearny's position was upheld, and Stockton returned to the East Coast. He retired from the navy in May 1850 and became a U.S. senator from New Jersey for a brief time (1851–53). While in the Senate, he urged the abolition of flogging as punishment in the U.S. Navy. Stockton retired to Princeton, New Jersey, where he died on October 7, 1866.

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**Stowe, Harriet Beecher** See VOLUME V.

**Strang, James Jesse** (1813–1856) *religious leader*

James Jesse Strang was the founder and self-proclaimed king of a religious colony in Michigan. Born in Scipio, New York, in 1836, he married and became postmaster and editor of the *Randolph Herald* in western New York. In 1843,

he moved to Wisconsin, where he became interested in Mormonism, converting in 1844. The following year, after the murder of JOSEPH SMITH, JR., Strang announced that he was the new prophet. He was cast out of the Mormon church and subsequently established a colony in Wisconsin called Voree, which attracted Mormons disaffected by BRIGHAM YOUNG's rule.

The community lasted until 1847, when Strang decided to move his followers to Beaver Island in Lake Michigan. Although he sought to establish a benevolent theocracy, in reality he ruled as a harsh despot, which caused friction between the native inhabitants and the "Strangites," as they were called. The public outcry eventually became so great that the federal government brought charges against Strang, but he successfully defended himself. His influence grew, and in 1850 he crowned himself "king" of the island. He was later elected to the Michigan House of Representatives. The conflict between the colony and the surrounding population increased, finally resulting in a raid on the island in July 1853, which the Strangites repelled. However, Strang's autocratic rule made him enemies, and he was assassinated in 1856 by some of his own followers. The colony disbanded soon after, and the land was reclaimed by its original inhabitants.

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**Strauss, Levi** (1829–1902) *work pants designer and entrepreneur*

Clothier to the American West and later to the nation, Levi Strauss made his fortune selling dry goods to the gold-rush miners who flooded into CALIFORNIA after 1848. Born Loeb Strauss in Buttenheim, Bavaria, Strauss immigrated to the United States with his family in 1847. Two of his older brothers were already in the dry-goods business in New York City, and Levi Strauss (as he would be called) joined them. In 1850, he established Levi Strauss and Company, and three years later, he moved to San Francisco to join his brother-in-law, David Stern, in a business there. The CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH was underway, and tens of thousands of new miners arrived annually. Every miner needed tools, food, and clothing. Stores in San Francisco and smaller emporia in the towns and mining camps did a booming business. Strauss and Company supplied miners with a strong canvas and denim pants that were ideal for work in the streams of the sierra. The Strauss brothers in New York manufactured the pants and shipped them to California, where Levi Strauss and David Stern sold pants as rapidly as they could be unpacked and shelved. Mining ran in seasonal cycles,

but whatever their luck on the streams, miners had to have good clothing. The Levi Strauss and Company pants quickly established a reputation for protection and durability.

In 1872, Jacob Davis, a tailor in Nevada and sometime customer of Strauss, made an important advance in work clothing. He perfected a way to reinforce the pocket seams and long seams of work trousers with copper rivets. This reinforcement made the durable pants even more durable. In May 1873, Strauss and Davis became partners in patenting the new clothing idea. Strauss immediately established a factory on Fremont Street, San Francisco, to manufacture the new pants. He later carried the new reinforcing technique over to work shirts, hunting coats, and other outdoor wear. In all these enterprises, the company continued to prosper.

As the century ended, Strauss gradually left the business in the hands of his four nephews. He was a bachelor, and David Stern had died in 1874. Strauss had a remarkable reputation for fairness to customers and employees alike. He served on the board of directors of many of San Francisco's most important companies. He was also known for his philanthropy. The University of California at Berkeley was one of the greatest beneficiaries of his financial support. Strauss died in San Francisco in 1902. He left an estate of more than \$6 million, with beneficiaries ranging from the university to orphans. His nephews continued to operate the company on his principles, rebuilding the factory and the business after the devastating earthquake that leveled San Francisco in 1906. An entrepreneur who formed a bridge from the California gold rush to the modern city, Levi Strauss produced a quality product for sale at a reasonable price, and the public responded with its continuing patronage.

**Further reading:** Ed Cray, *Levi's* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978).

### **Sublette, William** (1799–1845) *fur trader, merchant*

Fur trader and mountain man, William Sublette was one of the major figures of the American FUR TRADE. Born in Kentucky in 1799, Sublette was the eldest of five brothers, all associated with the fur trade; the others were Milton, Andrew, Pinckney, and Solomon. In 1816–17, the entire Sublette family moved to Missouri Territory. In 1823, William Sublette joined the second expedition of WILLIAM HENRY ASHLEY to the upper Missouri River, where they were attacked by the Arikara. Sublette, JEDEDIAH STRONG SMITH, and Ashley were among the few that escaped. Sublette joined Colonel Henry Leavenworth's force in the hunt for the Indians involved, but they were not successful. Still, the presence of the troops, whatever their numbers,

did bring a degree of calm to the vast region of the upper Missouri.

As Ashley and other traders resumed trading operations, Sublette joined Smith's overland trek in search of new routes of communication and new sites for trapping. It was this party that reopened SOUTH PASS as a route of access across the Rocky Mountains. For the next 15 years, overland caravans would use the South Pass route, which became part of the CALIFORNIA TRAIL and the OREGON TRAIL. For Sublette and his fellow trappers, South Pass opened up access to the rich fur-trapping region of the Green River.

In 1826 Sublette joined Smith and David Jackson in purchasing Ashley's fur company. Four years later, he sold his interest in the ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY, whose other partners now included JAMES BRIDGER, Thomas Fitzpatrick, and Milton Sublette, one of William's younger brothers. Sublette himself continued to play a strong role in the fur business, building FORT LARAMIE in eastern Wyoming (which he later lost to the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY). Throughout these years, from 1830 to 1836, he continued to attend the annual RENDEZVOUS, where he was a major supplier and trader.

In 1836 Sublette retired from the fur trade, one of the most revered of the original MOUNTAIN MEN, and went into the mercantile business in St. Louis. He bought a country estate near Sulphur Springs, complete with racetrack and hotel, and stayed in close touch with his younger brothers, who were still active in the fur trade. A vigorous supporter of Senator THOMAS HART BENTON and the Missouri Democratic Party, his main interest in retirement was politics. In 1844, he married Frances Hereford. The last years of his life were a continuing struggle against tuberculosis. He died at a hotel in Pittsburgh while on his way east to convalesce on the New Jersey shore.

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### **suffrage**

Voting rights in the United States expanded greatly in the period 1813–55, especially as related to white males, who proved the greatest beneficiaries. It is estimated that by the WAR OF 1812, suffrage extended to around 50 percent of all white households, or freeholders—namely, families who owned property. The next decade witnessed a drive to expand voting rights for white males. In 1824 JOHN QUINCY ADAMS became the first president elected by this enlarged franchise. But it fell upon his successor, ANDREW JACKSON, to usher in what became known as the “Age of the Common Man.”

As a frontier lawyer, land speculator, and army general, Jackson had rubbed shoulders with all manner of

trappers, traders, Indian fighters, and frontiersmen, and he clearly identified with them far more than with the landed elites of the East Coast. After his inauguration in 1829, Jackson acted upon the precept that voting rights should be extended beyond landowners to all white male adult citizens. Greater power for the common man came at the expense of moneyed institutions such as the National Bank. Jackson also introduced the practice of patronage, or appointing political friends to high political office, because he firmly believed that it reduced the power of social elites and forestalled the creation of an aristocracy.

Despite its apparent egalitarianism, the ideology of “Jacksonian democracy” was wedded to the notion of racial supremacy. It promoted the continuation of SLAVERY and the removal of NATIVE AMERICANS to western lands across the Mississippi River. Nor were voting benefits extended to free African-American males throughout the country, although those living in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina (among other states) had legally cast ballots since the 1790s. In this era states gradually repealed property qualifications, poll taxes, and religious requirements. But they remained free to legislate racial restrictions on the right to vote. Under the Constitution, state legislatures could disenfranchise black males, and up through 1860 only a third of all states permitted free minorities to vote. For white males, however, Jackson was the apotheosis of popular democracy, and the changes he wrought ushered out the old republican elitism of the previous Jeffersonian period.

The antebellum period also witnessed the first stirrings of the women’s movement and, with it, the drive for suffrage. New Jersey was the first state to grant women the right to vote in 1776, although it was repealed in 1807. Thereafter, females officially languished as second-class citizens without the franchise and, in many instances, without the right to own property, conduct business, or even keep the wages they earned, which automatically belonged to their husbands. These gross inequities found their undoing in the rise of social reform movements, such as temperance and abolitionism, in which women actively participated: As women campaigned for reform, they began equating their own plight with that of slaves. But as female delegates in these reform movements increasingly demanded gender equality, others in the movements resisted. The result was continuous strife, which actually split the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in 1840.

The drive for female emancipation crystallized in 1848, when New York activists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and LUCRETIA MOTT advertised a convention in SENECA FALLS to discuss the “social, civil, and religious rights of women.” Convened on July 14, 1848, this conference was widely attended by delegates of both genders. Stanton and Mott couched their “Declaration of Sentiments” in

principles drawn from the Declaration of Independence, informed by abolitionism and the ideals of Quakerism, a sect that gave women relative equality. The proceedings provoked an uproar in the press, inducing many of the 100 or so signatories to have their names struck from the document. Nonetheless, the American women’s movement had been born, and in the following month an even larger convention gathered in Rochester, New York. Progress proved painfully slow, retarded by the deep-rooted cultural ambivalence from a male-dominated political establishment. It was not until Reconstruction, when slavery had been legally abolished, that the movement for female suffrage gathered impetus.

Prospects were even more dismal for African-American females. The suffrage movement consisted mostly of middle-class women, who were fully cognizant that the presence of minorities at their conventions might hinder recruiting efforts. Thus black women were either discouraged from attending or forbidden outright. In 1851, when the black abolitionist Sojourner Truth appeared at a women’s rights convention in Akron, Ohio, she was booed by many whites in the audience. Her “Ain’t I a Woman” speech may have rocked the halls, but it failed to gather many converts. As a rule women’s rights organizations throughout the antebellum period were largely all-white affairs and deliberately kept that way. The determination to keep abolitionism distinct from the women’s rights movement led to the creation of black women’s advocacy groups. One such was the American Moral Reform Society, which allowed African-American women a public, albeit limited, speaking platform in 1839. Some 80 years later, in 1920, the 19th Amendment finally granted the franchise to white women. But it was not until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that African Americans of either gender could freely exercise the same suffrage rights.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Supreme Court decisions

The United States Supreme Court was created by the Judiciary Act of 1789, in conformity with Article III of the Constitution. As the highest tribunal in the nation, the Court’s decisions on various issues of law have shaped American

life and concepts of justice throughout the history of the United States. During its first 70 years, the Supreme Court ruled on dozens of landmark cases with far-reaching consequences for American society. The driving force behind what became known as “judicial nationalism” was none other than Chief Justice John Marshall. Marshall used his Federalist political leanings and penetrating jurisprudence to elevate his court to first among equals with respect to other branches of government, and he used the Court effectively to scale back state influence in matters of national importance. In his 34-year tenure as the head of the highest court in the land, Marshall oversaw several landmark decisions. These indelibly altered the judicial and political landscape of the nation, setting the conditions for robust economic growth and increased centralized authority.

During its first years, the Court considered several cases in which it clarified the constitutional roles of the states, the federal government, and the three branches of government. In *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793) the Court ruled that federal judicial power could, among other things, extend to controversies between two or more states. This decision was later overturned by the passage of the Eleventh Amendment (1798), which declared that the judicial power of the United States would not extend to cases in which a person in one state files a suit in equity law against another state. *Marbury v. Madison* (1803) concerned the validity of a judicial appointment. In this case, Chief Justice John Marshall first introduced the concept of “judicial review,” or the power of the Supreme Court to determine the constitutionality of a law or statute passed by Congress. Although judicial review was not mentioned in Article III of the Constitution as a power of the Supreme Court, Marshall and his associate justices ruled that the Court did possess this power. This seminal decision instituted a powerful and specific role for the judiciary branch, and Americans ever since have assumed the principles in the case: that in a conflict between the Constitution and a federal or state law, the Constitution is paramount, and that it is the Supreme Court’s ultimate responsibility to interpret American laws. In Marshall’s hands, the select application of judicial authority reaffirmed the superiority of the federal government and its prerogatives over the states, granting it a degree of centrality that would have been otherwise unthinkable in the hands of the Jeffersonian Republicans. It can be argued that Marshall achieved judicially what Alexander Hamilton had failed to accomplish through political ends in the 1790s.

In *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810) the Court ruled that a contract in which Indian lands were sold to Georgia speculators was valid, even though the land sale was later revoked by the Georgia legislature because of fraud and bribery in the original transaction. This decision invalidated the state law, upholding a contract despite the shady circum-

stances of the agreement. In other words, the Court held that the Constitution does not permit state legislatures to pass laws voiding contracts made by previous legislatures. After *Fletcher*, there were many other key cases decided on issues of contract and land titles. This was a primary concern in the early republic, because contracts concerning property affected the ability of Americans to purchase frontier lands. In *Martin v. Hunter’s Lessee* (1816), another case concerning land title, the Court ruled that state courts must obey the Constitution, reaffirming the supremacy of the Supreme Court and the uniformity of federal law from state to state. In *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), the Court ruled that Dartmouth’s private corporate charter was protected from any state law that aimed to change the nature and purpose of the original contract. Here again, the Court sided with the individual right to contract over the state’s legislative power. The same year, in *MCCULLOCH V. MARYLAND*, the Court decided that the Bank of the United States was not subject to state taxation, and that a bank legitimately established by Congress should be regulated and taxed by Congress. Again, the Court addressed the relationship between the rights of states, individuals, and the federal government. Marshall, in this instance, grafted the concept of implied powers to constitutional law, ruling that whenever federal and state powers were at cross-purposes, federal power invariably exercised ultimate authority. *McCulloch v. Maryland* thus constitutes the latest and possibly best example of the chief justice’s nationalist stance to addressing issues that pertained to federalism.

The Court also decided several commerce cases in this period. In *Cohens v. Virginia* (1821), a case concerning the sale of lottery tickets in a state where lotteries were illegal, the justices reaffirmed the judicial supremacy of the Supreme Court over state laws. In *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824), the Court ruled that a New York law prohibiting vessels licensed by the U.S. from navigating in state waters was unconstitutional. These vessels were commercial and conducted trade with vessels from other states; therefore the New York law was void. This decision reaffirmed that Congress alone had the power to regulate all aspects of interstate commerce, and states only had the power to regulate commerce that was entirely internal. These two cases exemplify Marshall’s judicial nationalism regarding the institution of a common market throughout the United States. His strident defense of contractual property rights established the Supreme Court as an invaluable ally for both corporate enterprise and capitalist development at the national level.

In the *Charles River Bridge* case (1837) the Court reconsidered the purposes of contract. Marshall’s recently appointed successor as chief justice, Roger B. Taney, ruled that the Constitution was primarily responsible for fostering “the happiness and prosperity of the community,” not



simply protecting the right to property. The proprietors of the Charles River Bridge sought to enjoin the Warren Bridge Company from constructing a bridge that would compete with their own. The Charles River Bridge proprietors argued that their exclusive contract for bridge transport prevented Warren from erecting a competing bridge. Taney ruled in favor of Warren, arguing that in a prosperous young nation, exclusive contracts dampened competition and slowed down the economic expansion of the nation. This decision implied that the interests of developers building new roads and other improvements would take precedence over established companies with exclusive contracts. The case had far-reaching consequences, since it connected “happiness and prosperity” with the right of capitalists to develop new structures and industries. While friendly toward capitalism overall, the Taney Court backed off somewhat from its predecessor’s nationalist tenor and granted states, through the doctrine of concurrent powers, the ability to regulate economic matters where federal legislation was clearly lacking.

Several significant cases throughout this period also bore a strong racial component and were indicative of mounting sectional strife. With the passage of the INDIAN REMOVAL ACT of 1830 and the increasing conflict over Indian lands came cases concerning the sovereignty of Indian nations and the powers of states to pass laws affecting those nations. In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), the Court decided that it did not have jurisdiction to rule on a case where a state enforced its laws upon the Cherokee. This decision seemed to contradict the previous efforts of the Court to assert its supremacy. In *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), another Cherokee case concerning state powers and tribal sovereignty, the Court ruled that Indian tribes were “dependent domestic nations.” As such, they retained rights to any lands they had not voluntarily ceded to the United States. Marshall’s ruling in this case did not prevent the administration of President ANDREW JACKSON from forcing eastern nations to isolated reservations in the West. “Marshall has made his decision,” Jackson declared; “now let him enforce it!” Clearly, the Court’s authority would be sacrificed to popular opinion in the case of Native American removal.

The relationship between nonwhite peoples and American law would arise again with the AMISTAD INCIDENT (1841) and the first Supreme Court case that dealt with the issue of slavery. Ostensibly an issue of international law, the fate of the Africans who mutinied on the *Amistad* became a high-profile public referendum on SLAVERY. Justice Joseph Story in his majority opinion upheld a lower-court ruling that the Africans had been kidnapped and thus were not the legitimate property of the Spanish traders who had captured them. The Court ordered the Africans returned to their own land. Notably, the justification for this rul-

ing was not that slavery was unlawful but that the *Amistad* Africans were not lawfully slaves. The Taney Court also demonstrated a proslavery slant through its ruling in *Prigg v. Pennsylvania* (1842), which struck down a state law enacted to prevent the kidnapping or re-enslavement of escaped slaves. The Court insisted that any state legislation interfering with the return of fugitive slaves was null and void, even if invoked for the protection of free blacks. The Court reaffirmed its proslavery leanings in *Jones v. Van Zandt* (1847), whereby it sustained the Federal Fugitive Slave Law, defended the right of property in man, and characterized slavery as a “sacred component” upon which the Constitution and the Union arose.

The Taney Court’s position on the legality of slavery became clearer in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857). Scott, a slave, was transported to northern (free) territory by his owner, John Sandford. Scott believed that by entering free territory, he had been freed. When he and Sandford returned to St. Louis, he sued for his freedom. At issue in the case was whether slaves were citizens of the United States with the right to sue in court. In this case, the Court emphasized the rights of the owner, Sandford, over the rights of his black slave. Slaves were property, not citizens, and thus could not use the courts for redress. As Taney famously remarked in his opinion, black people had no rights that white people were bound to respect. Freeing Scott would violate Sandford’s Fifth Amendment right to due process. In this case, unlike *Charles River Bridge*, Taney upheld the rights to property. Taney added that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the territories, which rendered the MISSOURI COMPROMISE unconstitutional. This controversial decision infuriated abolitionists and was one of the main factors contributing to the outbreak of the Civil War four years later.

Throughout the history of the United States, the Supreme Court has been a visible and powerful mediator between the federal and state governments and between the three branches of the federal government. Like any other institution, the Court has reflected the priorities and anxieties of the nation. During the first half of the 19th century, the Court often took a conservative position on matters of individual liberties while adopting a more liberal stance on economic matters like contracts and property rights. As the *Dred Scott* case shows, Supreme Court decisions often reflected the self-interest of the judges in establishing the supremacy of the Court. Many of the cases described also demonstrate the Court’s unwillingness to apply judicial powers to what they saw as legislative responsibilities.

The Supreme Court made indelible contributions to national growth in the antebellum period by asserting its own constitutional authority, expanding central authority overall, and clearly defining the heretofore muddled relationship between state and federal authority.



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—Eleanor H. McConnell

**Sutter, John** (1803–1880) *landowner in the California gold rush*

Intimately associated with the discovery of gold in CALIFORNIA in 1848 and the European colonization of the Sacramento River Valley, John Sutter was also a victim of the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH. He was born Johann Augustus Sutter near Basel, Switzerland (the German-speaking part of trilingual nation), in 1803. After elementary schooling, he married and became a dry-goods merchant, but both ventures failed. To escape the prospect of debtor's prison, Sutter abandoned his wife and traveled to America. On the frontier of settlement in Missouri, he gave himself the military title of captain and engaged in trade over the SANTA FE TRAIL. His ventures failed here as well, and he traveled overland to Oregon and then to Hawaii before arriving in California in 1839.

That year Sutter petitioned the Mexican governor, Juan Bautista Alvarado, for a grant of land. Alvarado gave him 11 square leagues (nearly 50,000 acres) in the Sacramento River Valley and also authorized him to serve as a local justice and law officer. With his large landholdings and official status, Sutter was soon the most important Euro-American in central California. As the command post of his new empire, which he named New Helvetia, Sutter built a fort on the site of the present city of Sacramento. He soon made his fort the center of a series of economic enterprises that included AGRICULTURE, grazing, trapping, and the FUR TRADE. He traded extensively and supplied the trappers who had visited the region for a decade before his arrival. This expansive enterprise was created in substantial part through the use of Indian labor. Native Americans worked his fields under conditions that varied from debt peonage to slavery. He also recruited an Indian army,



John Sutter (Library of Congress)

which he armed and used to enforce order and his own style of justice in the interior of California.

Sutter also befriended arriving American immigrants, and his warm welcome at Fort Sutter symbolized the end of the CALIFORNIA TRAIL. Some of the immigrant families settled on his lands; others were employed in his various economic enterprises. As the largest economic force in central California, he assisted the immigrants while enriching himself at the same time. Sutter held a commission and lands from the republic of Mexico, but he distrusted Mexicans and favored the Americans. With the outbreak of the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR in 1846, he openly sided with the Americans, and he was enthusiastic about the prospect of an American victory and California's annexation to the United States.

As part of the expansion of his many enterprises, Sutter employed a carpenter, James W. Marshall, to build a sawmill on the American River. It was in the race of the mill that Marshall discovered gold on January 24, 1848. Marshall shared his news with his employer, but Sutter (like so many others) did not sense the immense implications of the discovery, and he asked Marshall to keep the news quiet so that the mill could be completed. However, the news began to circulate through the interior valleys and then to San Francisco, and soon the California gold rush was under way. From within California, from Monterey and San Francisco, from Oregon and the HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,

from the East Coast, from Chile and Peru, and eventually from all over the world, men and women by the tens and eventually hundreds of thousands swarmed over the watercourses of central California. By far the largest numbers were the Americans from the East Coast. Several thousand came by sea in the late 1848 and the first half of 1849, but they began flooding into California in the summer of 1849. Sutter's New Helvetia was at the center of this uncontrollable rush. His workers, including the Indians, deserted him for the gold that seemed to lie everywhere. Prospective miners invaded his property, destroyed his crops, stole his livestock, and took the gold from his lands as their own. Sutter could not stop them; no individual could, and eventually the federal government simply threw up its hands and let the gold rush proceed.

The California gold rush ruined Sutter. Although by proximity he was the individual best placed to profit from it, his vantage point was too close. When he tried

to hold on to part of his claim, he found himself without the abundance of paper records that the American land commissioners demanded. By 1852, the great empire of New Helvetia was in ruins. In 1865, Sutter abandoned any attempt to claim part of his grant, and he moved to Pennsylvania, bankrupt. For the rest of his life, he petitioned the federal government on an annual basis for compensation. He asked for damages for the losses he suffered during the Mexican-American War and for the losses that he sustained during the gold rush. He was never successful. In a final blow to his prospects, the Supreme Court denied his land claims in the Sacramento River Valley.

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### Tallmadge Amendment (1819)

Missouri's application for statehood in 1818 caused little concern in Congress, and Speaker HENRY CLAY presented it to that body on December 18, 1818, with little fanfare. However, on February 13, 1819, Representative James Tallmadge of New York, a Jeffersonian Republican, completely upset the routine proceedings by introducing an amendment laced with sectional ramifications. This document, the so-called Tallmadge Amendment, called for a ban on the importation of new slaves to Missouri and stipulated that all slave children born after the state was admitted were to be manumitted at the age of 25. Slaves already in that territory would remain unaffected, but the process of gradual emancipation would eventually eliminate SLAVERY within two generations.

The Tallmadge Amendment was the first piece of legislation to directly address the "peculiar institution" since the debates of the late 1780s; these had resulted in adoption of the Northwest Ordinance (1787), which banned slavery in the Northwest Territory. Not surprisingly, the Tallmadge Amendment unleashed a firestorm of criticism from southern politicians, who passionately defended the institution of slavery and claimed that Congress possessed no Constitutional authority to restrict it. Moreover, they held that Missouri's gradual transformation into a free state would upset the delicate political balance of power between North and South. Northerners, meanwhile, rallied to the proposal's defense. They claimed that the Northwest Ordinance had set the requisite legal precedent to legitimize the Tallmadge Amendment. Thoroughly roiled, Congress debated Tallmadge's proposal for an entire year. It was repeatedly passed in the House of Representatives, where northern delegates enjoyed a slight edge, then defeated in the Senate, where slave and free states were balanced. Meanwhile, the admission of Missouri into the Union was postponed.

The impasse was finally broken in February 1820, when Illinois Senator Jesse B. Thomas offered an amendment to the proceedings that would allow Maine, which

had recently voted to separate itself from Massachusetts, to gain entrance as a free state, while Missouri became a slave state. Thomas's compromise proposal would thereby preserve the existing balance of power. Moreover, slavery would be banned from all land acquired from the Louisiana Purchase above 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. Congress adopted this legislation, better known as the MISSOURI COMPROMISE, later that year. While it resolved Missouri's long-pending request for statehood, it only postponed sectional tensions first underscored by the Tallmadge Amendment. These were ultimately resolved by the Civil War (1861–65), which finally exorcized slavery from the American polity.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Taney, Roger B. (1777–1864) *chief justice of the United States*

Roger Brooke Taney was the fifth chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Taney was born in Calvert County, Maryland, on March 17, 1777, into a slave-owning family associated with the minor gentry. Tutored at home, he entered Dickinson College at the age of 15 and graduated with honors in 1795. He then pursued law, gaining admission to the Maryland state bar in 1799. Politically, Taney began as a Federalist, but he broke with his party over the WAR OF 1812 and subsequently aligned himself with the Democratic-Republicans. In 1816 he was elected to the state senate, where he served five years, and in 1827 he accepted the position as state attorney general.

Taney was widely regarded as an outstanding lawyer and legal scholar and was known for his outspoken support of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY under ANDREW JACKSON. As such, he came to President Jackson's attention through party officials,

and in 1831 Taney joined Jackson's cabinet as U.S. attorney general. A strict loyalist, he always upheld the president's political agenda in this capacity. In 1832 Taney authored the legal reasoning behind the president's veto against extending the charter of the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES. The following year he supported the constitutionality of Jackson's decision to withdraw federal money from the Second Bank of the United States, and he was ultimately appointed Secretary of the Treasury when no other individual was willing to perform the task. A southerner, Taney upheld the institution of SLAVERY, supporting South Carolina's legislation to forbid free blacks from entering that state. Despite his opinions about AFRICAN AMERICANS, Taney enjoyed a reputation as one of the country's best legal minds.

The biggest turn in Taney's career happened on December 28, 1835, when President Jackson nominated him chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, to succeed the late John Marshall. His succession changed the overall tenor of the Court from Marshall's consistent pro-government outlook to one more favorably disposed toward states' rights. Proof of this manifested in the landmark case *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge*, in which Taney decided in favor of the state of Massachusetts over a company with monopoly rights. His refusal to recognize the doctrine of implied contract allowed states greater latitude in matters of public interest. Taney's most notorious decision, however, was in *Dred Scott v. Sanford* in 1857. The *Dred Scott* decision determined that slaves were property and could be moved across state lines with impunity. This ruling not only negated the MISSOURI COMPROMISE, which restricted slavery from the northern area of the nation, but also called for increased enforcement of FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW. The negative reaction to Taney's reasoning soured public opinion of him, and during the Civil War he functioned far less effectively. He died in Washington, D.C., on October 12, 1864. Reviled by abolitionist contemporaries as a proslavery judge, Taney has since come to be regarded as one of the most effective chief justices of American history.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### **Tappan, Arthur** (1786–1865), and **Tappan, Lewis** (1788–1863) *abolitionists*

Two of the most influential abolitionists in the antebellum United States, Arthur and Lewis Tappan were born

in Northampton, Massachusetts. Growing up in a devoutly Calvinistic family, both were deeply influenced by their parents' evangelical beliefs. The PANIC OF 1837 caused the family's dry-goods business to fail, but the brothers quickly started another venture, founding America's first credit-rating service (later to be known as Dun & Bradstreet). The brothers accumulated enough wealth to found a newspaper, the *New York Journal of Commerce*, and to fund various humanitarian causes ranging from abolition to temperance.

The Tappans' concern for the abolition of SLAVERY dates from the early 1830s, a dangerous period for public expression of antislavery sentiment. At that time, the ABOLITION MOVEMENT had not made much progress because many businessmen saw it as a threat to law and order. This feeling repeatedly incited mob action against the abolitionists and free blacks in the Northeast and in the Midwest.

It took courage to speak out, but in 1833 Lewis and Arthur Tappan and Theodore Weld formed the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. That same year, the Tappan brothers founded Oberlin College, open to blacks and whites alike. Lewis Tappan financially backed the *Emancipator*, the most widely circulated antislavery journal. To his brother Benjamin, a U.S. senator from Ohio, Lewis wrote that slavery "was the worm at the tree of liberty. Unless killed, the tree will die."

The Tappans' public statements against slavery brought about public reaction on July 4, 1834, when a mob trashed Lewis's home and burned his furniture in the street. Tappan wrote to Weld that he wanted his house to remain "this summer as it is, a silent anti-slavery preacher to the crowds who will see it." The next year, a church built by the Tappans was set on fire when it was rumored that they intended to promote racial "amalgamation."

Undeterred, the Tappans continued their efforts to bring about a peaceful end to slavery. Like many abolitionists, they proposed reforming the system from within and worked tirelessly to win over churches and missionary societies to their views. Lewis was more fully committed than his brother Arthur, who stopped short of associating with blacks. Lewis tried to eliminate the "black pew" in New York churches and caused a furor in upstate New York when he and his family sat in the pews reserved for black communicants. On another occasion, members of the American Anti-Slavery Association blocked his proposal to invite a black minister to speak to the association.

In the AMISTAD incident, Lewis Tappan recognized the opportunity not only to help the captured Africans but also to dramatize the evils of the slave trade. He had been handed a "Providential occurrence," he admitted when the district court opened proceedings. Ultimately, he hoped to use the opportunity to strike at slavery itself, "the market that invites the supply," he concluded, in suitably business-like fashion.



He assumed major responsibility for mapping out the strategy for the court trials, raised money in “the voice of humanity and liberty,” visited the imprisoned Mendian captives, located Africans who could talk with them, and wrote letters to the *New York Journal of Commerce* presenting the Africans’ side of the mutiny. In company with Ellis Gray Loring, John Quincy Adams’s friend of many years, Tappan pleaded eloquently with Adams to join Roger Sherman Baldwin in arguing the case for the defense before the U.S. Supreme Court. Adams did so, and on hearing the Court’s decision, he wrote to Tappan, “The captives are free . . . ‘Not unto us, not unto us!’ but thanks, thanks, in the name of humanity and justice to you.”

In the year following the release of the Mendians, Lewis Tappan devoted his energy to arranging for their transportation home to Sierra Leone, and he very likely helped spirit away Antonio (the *Amistad*’s slave cabin boy) to freedom in Canada. Lewis Tappan’s participation in the *Amistad* case may be considered the high point of his career as an abolitionist. At Adams’s suggestion, he attended an antislavery convention in London in 1843, and in 1846 he was instrumental in merging the *Amistad* committee with other missionary groups to form the American Missionary Society (1846).

In the 1840s, the Tappan brothers split with abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, who wanted to branch off into other kinds of reform, including WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS. Arthur Tappan continued to work for abolition, helping to found the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (1840). With the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, he declared himself now willing to disobey the law and actively supported the efforts of the underground railroad to help slaves escape to freedom. He lived long enough to witness the emancipation of slaves and died as the Civil War ended, in 1865. His brother Lewis had predeceased him by two years.

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### **Taylor, Zachary** (1784–1850) *12th U.S. president*

Zachary Taylor, 12th president of the United States, was in office for little more than a year but proved to be influential at a pivotal moment in American history. In 1850 the crisis of the slavery issue was continuing to build. Taylor was a slaveholder but also a nationalist with western roots. With the possibility of civil war in the air, Taylor was determined to hold the Union together at all costs.



Zachary Taylor (Library of Congress)

Born in Virginia on November 24, 1784, Taylor was taken as an infant to Kentucky and raised on a plantation. By 1800, his family owned 10,000 acres in Kentucky and a number of slaves. In 1808, he received his first commission as an army officer, commanding the garrison at Fort Pickering, site of modern-day Memphis. Two years later, he married Margaret Mackall Smith of Calvert County, Maryland. As a captain in the WAR OF 1812, Taylor won distinction in September 1812 for his defense of Fort Harrison in Indiana Territory against an Indian attack. For this achievement, the young officer became the first brevet major in the U.S. Army. In 1814, Taylor led U.S. troops against British and Indians at Credit Island in Illinois Territory. Outnumbered three to one, he scored temporary successes before withdrawing. In 1815, he was promoted to the lineal grade of major.

After a year as a civilian, Taylor reentered the army in 1816. At various times, he served in the states or future states of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. Commissioned a colonel in 1832, he fought in the BLACK HAWK WAR that year, participating in the climactic Battle of Bad Axe River. Taylor acquired his nickname, “Old Rough and Ready,” while fighting the Seminole Indians in FLORIDA Territory from 1837 to 1840. His victory at the Battle of Okeechobee in 1837 was the single most successful U.S. effort of the



protracted SECOND SEMINOLE WAR. Brevetted a brigadier general in 1838, he commanded all U.S. troops in Florida. He emerged from the struggle with the reputation of a determined, resourceful leader.

From 1840 to 1845, Taylor remained in the army but also gave careful attention to his plantation in Mississippi. The annexation of TEXAS, however, enabled him to receive his most important military assignment. In August 1845 he was in command of a small army of regulars near the mouth of the Nueces River at Corpus Christi, Texas. Both the United States and Mexico claimed the region between this river and the Rio Grande, and because Mexican military activity was rumored, Taylor augmented his troops and awaited specific instructions before moving through the disputed region. President JAMES K. POLK ordered Taylor and his troops into the contested area. After winning two decisive encounters, Taylor triumphed against overwhelming odds in a battle with the Mexican general ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA at Buena Vista. When the smoke cleared, Taylor's army of 6,000 had defeated a Mexican force of 20,000, and Zachary Taylor, "Old Rough and Ready," was a national hero.

Taylor was reluctant to enter politics. Initially, he did not publicly commit himself to any political party, although, because he was a slaveholder, the South hoped he would promote the expansion of SLAVERY. Because of his military record, the North claimed him as a man of the Union. Taylor had problems with the two major political parties: He disagreed with the WHIG PARTY on the issue of strong protective tariffs, and he opposed the DEMOCRATIC PARTY plank of extending slavery in western territories and the concept of a strong national bank. He eventually joined the Whig Party. At the 1848 convention, the Whigs nominated Taylor to run against the Democratic Party candidate, LEWIS CASS, who favored POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY, allowing the residents of territories to decide for themselves whether they supported the extension of slavery. MILLARD FILLMORE, comptroller of New York, was chosen as his running mate.

Northerners who opposed the extension of slavery formed the FREE-SOIL PARTY and nominated MARTIN VAN BUREN. In a close election, the Free-Soilers pulled enough votes away from Cass to elect Taylor. Taylor won eight southern states and seven northern states, giving him 163 electoral votes to Cass's 127. Taylor did not win a majority of the popular votes. He had 1,360,099, compared to 1,220,544 for Cass and 291,263 for Van Buren. However, because Van Buren took Democratic votes away from Cass in New York, all of that state's 36 electoral votes went to Taylor, who thereby won the election.

As president, Zachary Taylor adopted the spoils system, awarding offices to party loyalists. As a result, much of his time and many of his problems concerned the

demands of unemployed Whig politicians. His administration was marked, however, by his personal honesty and courage, especially in the handling of the delicate question of slavery.

The expansion of slavery in the new territories gained in the Mexican War had been the major concern of Congress since the introduction in 1846 of the Wilmot Proviso, which would have banned slavery there. The demands of two such territories, CALIFORNIA and New Mexico, for statehood brought the issue to a head, because both territories wanted to be admitted to the federal Union as free states.

President Taylor's position on this issue surprised both his supporters and his opponents. He considered the solution simple. Because California wanted statehood, it should be granted promptly. The president also felt that if the people of California wanted to prohibit slavery, they and not Congress had the right to make that decision. Therefore, compromises and concessions were unnecessary. Taylor's stand drew the support of the Free-Soilers and the anti-slavery, or "conscience," Whigs, who were led by Senator William H. Seward of New York.

On the other extreme was a small but vocal faction of Southerners who would accept no changes to the arrangements of the MISSOURI COMPROMISE of 1820, in which Congress had drawn a line at 36°30' north latitude as the northern limit of slave territory. This line bisected California and would have put Los Angeles and San Diego in slave territory. These so-called diehards, led by Senator JOHN C. CALHOUN of South Carolina, talked of seceding from the Union if Taylor's plan was followed. Taylor responded with tough talk of his own. He personally pledged that he would lead an army against any state that attempted secession.

In the middle was a group of moderate Whigs and Democrats who were trying to find a compromise. Its leaders were Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and HENRY CLAY, who had brokered the Missouri Compromise 30 years earlier. As long as Taylor was in office, the moderates' cause was hopeless. However, when Vice President Fillmore succeeded to the presidency in 1850, the moderates got his support for compromise. On July 4, 1850, Taylor stood in the hot sun at the site of the Washington Monument in Washington, D.C., listening to patriotic speeches celebrating Independence Day. That night he had an attack of cholera morbus, or acute indigestion, and he died five days later. His last words were, "I regret nothing, but I am sorry to leave my friends."

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**Tecumseh** See VOLUME III.

### temperance movement

The temperance movement was a reaction to a national trend toward increased alcohol consumption at the beginning of the 19th century. Americans had been heavy drinkers since colonial times, but the opening of western lands such as Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Tennessee led to the mass production of grains from which whiskey could be made. Whiskey was both cheaper and more potent than rum, the traditional standby, and it began flooding markets nationwide. By the 1830s each American of drinking age (15 and older) was imbibing an estimated 6.6 to 7.1 gallons of hard liquor every year—and suffering commensurate debilitating effects. These were particularly evident among the lower classes, who drank the most, but did not spare wealthier individuals with little resistance to alcohol.

Using tactics as varied as moral suasion, strict licensing, and outright prohibition, the temperance movement aimed to eradicate the use of alcoholic beverages throughout American society. While local groups had been advocating abstinence from alcohol since the turn of the 19th century, temperance societies with a broader reach began to emerge in 1813. That year, the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance (MSSI), was founded in Boston. An elitist group seeking to control the behavior of those lower in the social hierarchy, the MSSI focused its efforts on moderation rather than abstinence. But the drinking culture proved too powerful for a group with such limited appeal, and its efforts soon failed.

Boston would later give rise to the national organization responsible for temperance's widespread influence. It was there that, in 1826, the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance was born. This group later changed its name to the American Temperance Society (ATS). The ATS had a radically different approach from that of the MSSI, seeking mass appeal on a grassroots level. Founded by evangelical ministers who had emerged from a culture of religious revivalism, the ATS used the same tactics to spread the gospel of abstinence from distilled spirits. By distributing printed materials such as vivid tracts and weekly newspapers and sending itinerant organizers to far-flung communities, the ATS grew rapidly. By 1835, the society claimed over 1.5 million members in more than 8,000 auxiliaries, nearly 20 percent of the free adult population. Tactically, the group was committed to moderation of, not complete abstinence from, alcoholic consumption. To get its message across, ATS co-opted the tactic of moral suasion, usually used in concert with education and good example.

The success of the temperance movement was possibly due to the overall climate of progressive reform during this

period. Many historians have dubbed the years between 1830 and 1850 as an "age of reform." Religious revivalism, the ABOLITION MOVEMENT, pacifism, WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS, intentional communities, and universal EDUCATION were only a few of the causes embraced by segments of the American public. INDUSTRIALIZATION, westward expansion, and urbanization contributed to the notion of inevitable American progress. Within these contexts, religious and moral reform could be seen as intrinsic to the new nation's future.

Evangelical clergy, businessmen, and farmers were at the forefront of this economic and social change. Although they operated within divergent spheres, these men found common cause in seeking to improve society as a whole by urging their parishioners and employees to improve themselves.

Intellectual elites also took part in temperance reform. The movement spread rapidly on college campuses as administrators, faculty, and students sponsored revivals and built reform networks. Doctors soon followed suit, as the 19th-century drive to professionalize MEDICINE depended on distinguishing it from midwifery and other folk-healing practices. Adopting a view of alcohol as harmful helped solidify the role of physicians as experts in health-related matters.

In the 1840s temperance experienced a minor revival at the hands of activists called the Washingtonians, who, in contrast to traditional middle-class advocates, directed their appeal to the working and lower middle classes. Their efforts to redeem inebriates used the testimony of former drunkards in gatherings akin to revival meetings of the SECOND GREAT AWAKENING. Women were also invited to join Martha Washington societies to help husbands and sons abstain from alcohol. Indeed, their goal was no less than total abstinence. Washingtonians, however, still delivered their message through moral suasion, a tactic that mainstream temperance societies had long since abandoned. The movement also suffered from a lack of formal organization at the national level and a lack of farsighted leaders. Accordingly, after a few years of notoriety, the Washingtonian movement faded away and was replaced by a spate of fraternal organizations such as the Sons of Temperance. These introduced the temperance movement to secret handshakes, rituals, ceremonies, and other trappings of fraternal behavior. By 1850 the Sons of Temperance had chapters in every state and a membership estimated at over 238,000, but they enjoyed no greater success than their antecedents.

Temperance reform attracted women for a variety of reasons. The mid-19th century ideology casting men and women as belonging to separate spheres valued women as moral gatekeepers of the home in what historians describe as the "cult of true womanhood." The growing market

ECONOMY brought about an increase in female dependence on male wages earned outside the home. Excessive drunkenness among men could thus imperil women's financial stability.

Initially, the temperance movement was less grounded in political activism than in moral suasion; as such, women were encouraged to participate within a seemingly nonpolitical sphere of activity. However, that distinction would later break down as moral reform gave way to the drive for prohibition. By 1852, prominent female activists such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and AMELIA BLOOMER began to link the temperance crusade to broader campaigns for women's rights.

The first temperance pledges, which members would sign, vowed abstinence from distilled spirits but allowed for the continued consumption of fermented beverages such as beer, wine, and cider. These were considered to contain some elements of alcohol but not alcohol itself. A new pledge rose during the 1830s, known as the "long" and "teetotal" pledge, which included both distilled and fermented beverages. The teetotal movement came about from the earlier reform movement's success and sense of progress, as well as from changing scientific knowledge about the alcohol content of fermented beverages. The discovery by a chemist during the 1820s that alcohol was also present in wine, beer, and cider became widely publicized, changing the popular view of fermented beverages as essentially harmless.

Teetotalism marked a major shift in temperance activism, one that was not universally adopted by reformers. Some found it too radical, especially wealthy elites who were not eager to abandon wine. Wine also became a subject of controversy within organized religion due to the practice of distributing fermented wine for communion. Many mainstream clergy, who had been central to the temperance movement, withdrew their support.

During the 1830s, temperance advocates began to shift their efforts from moral suasion to more coercive methods, including legal reform. Foremost among them was the American Temperance Union (ATU), which had replaced the more accommodating American Temperance Society by 1836. Initial legal efforts by temperance activists were designed to be symbolic. Various states adopted no-license laws in order to send a moral message to their constituents that the sale of liquor was no longer a respectable profession; their intention was not to use the law to prevent people from drinking. Regardless of the law's intent, liquor became hard to come by in these areas. As a result, illegal sales proliferated much as they would under nationwide prohibition during the 1920s. Moreover, with its radicalized stance the new temperance movement began losing adherents nationally, first among wealthy supporters and then among southerners of all classes and backgrounds.

It remained relatively strong in terms of numbers only in New England and New York, whose polity was by then also hotly embroiled in other reform issues such as abolition. Prohibition activity continued throughout the 1840s, until the landmark passage of the Maine Law in 1851 banning the manufacture of liquor and restricting its sale to agents of the state for medicinal and industrial users.

The success of the Maine Law spurred other states to implement prohibition. Between 1851 and 1855, 13 states and territories passed legislation forbidding the manufacture and sale of alcohol. Other states passed narrower laws restricting sales to a specific amount or location. Such efforts met with strong opposition from liquor manufacturers, who formed liquor leagues to finance and organize repeal efforts. Some drinkers became vehemently opposed to prohibition as well, sparking violence in cities like Chicago and New York. Repeal efforts were successful in many states, to the dismay of temperance advocates.

This groundswell of public opposition, combined with growing sectional strife and the approaching Civil War, caused the temperance movement to founder. Its revival did not take place until the formation of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in the 1870s. The new temperance movement, unlike earlier male-driven ones, proved a formidable platform for a broader women's rights agenda.

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—Eva Pendleton

## Texas

The largest of the continental U.S. states, Texas has a widely varied landscape and a long history of diverse human occupation. The geographic boundaries of Texas are defined by the Gulf of Mexico on the east, the Rio Grande to the south and west, the Sabine River to the east, and the Red River to the north. The geography extends from a part of the Gulf Coast plains associated with Louisiana and Arkansas in the East across the Great Plains to the arid peaks in the West. The coastal plain, first occupied by American settler families in the 1820s and 1830s, included grazing and the COTTON CULTURE (with slave labor) at that time. This area includes the present cities of Dallas/Fort Worth, San

Antonio, and Austin. To the west lies the southern extension of the Great Plains. Here, grazing was the basis of the ECONOMY of this vast landed area stretching north to the panhandle. The western part of Texas is the high plains, an extension of the southern Rockies, with a landscape reflecting a climate that is semiarid. The climate in Texas is as varied as its topography. While the east and areas along the gulf are wet and humid, the west and north are dry. Texas is home to dramatic storms, hurricanes from the Gulf Coast, and winter blizzards in the west and north.

The first Native American peoples probably appeared in what is now Texas some 15,000 years ago. The variations in these peoples reflected the size and varied landscape of the region. In the east were the Caddo, forest dwellers related to the Indian peoples of Louisiana. To the south were the Jumano, who pursued AGRICULTURE. The Apache, the essence of the mounted raiders associated with the Indians of the Great Plains, were in the west.

The Spanish were the first of the European explorers and colonizers to reach the area, having already conquered the region that is now Mexico. Spanish explorers had visited the mouth of the Rio Grande in 1520, and Álar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and the survivors of Pánfilo de Narváez's expedition to Florida crossed Texas beginning in 1528. Of these, only Cabeza da Vaca and a black Moroccan slave named Esteban survived to reach Mexico. Their reports prompted others to set out in search of golden cities, most notably the expedition led by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado.

At the end of the 17th century, Spain established its first settlements at the sites of El Paso and Santa Fe (now New Mexico). Spanish officials occasionally dispatched small expeditions to Texas, but it lay at the far northern edge of an empire that was already in decline. Still, the Spanish took note of the ill-fated expedition of Sieur de la Salle, who sought the mouth of the Mississippi River and landed instead at Matagorda Bay. LaSalle and his men almost all perished, but his presence indicated an expanded French interest in the area. LaSalle's expedition and the founding of Mobile and New Orleans as the southern anchor of the French empire galvanized the Spanish into action, and they settled what is today eastern Texas by a series of missions that ran from Laredo on the Rio Grande to Nacogdoches on the Louisiana border. The most important center of Spanish influence was San Antonio, founded in 1718. Although the French were ineffectual in opposing Spanish expansion, the Indians were a continuing obstacle, especially the Apache and, in the 17th century, the Comanche, who expanded from the mountains out onto the plains. As Native Americans acquired horses, they became even more warlike and nomadic, forcing the Spanish to confine themselves to the missions and settlements in the eastern part of Texas.

Although opposed by the French, the Comanche, and the Apache, Spanish settlements and missions in east Texas grew throughout the first half of the 18th century. With the expulsion of the French under the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the Spanish position in Texas seemed secure, with the French gone and the victorious English far distant along the East Coast. This security was short-lived. With the success of the American Revolution and the recognition of American independence in another Treaty of Paris in 1783, the Spanish found a new, expansionist neighbor. Under the terms of the treaty, the American boundary on the west was the Mississippi River. The desire of Americans for Spanish possessions was first felt in Florida but soon moved closer to Texas. At the turn of the century, Spain retroceded Louisiana to the French as part of the endless imperial trading characteristic of Europe at the time. In 1803, in an astonishing act of national self-interest and intrigue, Napoleon Bonaparte sold Louisiana to the United States. Although the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase was in dispute, the ADAMS-ONÍS TREATY of 1819, in which Spain ceded Florida to the United States, also established the Sabine River as the border. Texas was now on the edge of an expanding American nation looking to the west and the south.

Spain's empire in the Americas was already under assault from national independence movements. In Mexico, isolated revolutionary outbreaks began in 1811; Spain finally recognized Mexican independence in 1821. In a last desperate attempt to colonize American settlers in Texas, the Spanish government had experimented with a system of contracted immigration under the direction of an individual who would serve as an intermediary between the Spanish government and the new settlements. The original contact was with MOSES AUSTIN, a St. Louis entrepreneur who had failed in the PANIC OF 1819 and subsequent depression. Upon his death in 1821, Austin's project was taken over by his son, STEPHEN F. AUSTIN. The success of the Mexican Revolution intervened to delay the younger Austin's plans, but the new, independent government of the Republic of Mexico finally agreed to proceed with the policy of contracted immigration.

Between 1820 and 1830, Austin and other "empresarios" brought hundreds of American families into Texas. Austin's settlements, by far the largest, were in the Brazos and Colorado River valleys. Other immigrant groups settled along the coast. The very success of the republic of Mexico's contracted immigration policy soon created innumerable problems for Mexican officials in Texas and in Mexico City. By 1830, the American population of Texas was 20,000, all arrived within the last 10 years. Texan residents of Hispanic descent were approximately 4,000, the same as in 1820.

Austin was intensely loyal to the Republic of Mexico, but the settler families, in spite of the generous grants of



land given to them, remained American. They were impatient with the local state government of Coahuila-Texas and inclined to pursue the American frontier doctrine of taking collective action rather than calling on the government for assistance. To the American settlers in Texas, this was an appropriate solution to their complaints about local government, the court system, and protection against the Indians. To officials of the Republic of Mexico in Texas and in Mexico, such actions were tantamount to rebellion against constituted authority. That Americans in the age of MANIFEST DESTINY often looked on Mexicans as inferior and incompetent increased the tensions.

Austin counseled patience and forbearance, but his imprisonment in Mexico City for 18 months in 1834 and 1835 removed from Texas the most important voice of compromise. In autumn 1835, scattered armed clashes took place between Texans and Mexican authorities. The fact that numbers of armed Texans had gathered together in pursuit of political freedom only confirmed the view of Mexican officials that an armed rebellion was imminent. General ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA, to consolidate his authority and suppress a rebellion, led a large army into Texas in early 1836. The Texans suffered disastrous defeats at Goliad and at THE ALAMO, but SAM HOUSTON organized the scattered volunteers into something like an army and defeated Santa Anna at the Battle of San Jacinto. Santa Anna signed a treaty recognizing Texan independence, and the Republic of Texas was established.

The leaders of the new Republic of Texas had always assumed that they would seek annexation to the United States. With the republic established, however, several issues caused a distinctly cool response on the part of the government in Washington to the suggestion of annexation. Within the international community, the United States had been heavily criticized for what was perceived as its partisan attitude during the TEXAS REVOLUTION. That Americans individuals and collectively should support the Texas cause was understandable, but as a government, the United States was bound to pursue a policy of neutrality. Nevertheless, large quantities of men, arms, supplies, and financial support made their way from American soil to Texas—much of it through southern ports, especially New Orleans, with little or no attempt at interdiction on the part of Washington. In view of such lax enforcement of neutrality laws, it was awkward for the United States to hastily annex a state so recently a part of the Republic of Mexico.

Sam Houston, the victorious commander at San Jacinto, was elected president of the Republic of Texas. His successors were Mirabeau B. Lamar and Anson Jones. Although vigorously committed by public oratory to independence, the Republic of Texas had many problems to overcome. Among these were a continuing war with Mexico, an ongoing conflict with many Native Americans, and

uncertain financial policies. The prevailing philosophy of government was based on the policies of ANDREW JACKSON: minimal intrusion on the part of government into the lives of individual citizens. As a result, Texas had no taxes and minimal import duties. The free-trade posture delighted Great Britain and France but left the republic with an empty treasury. Indians on the Texas frontier fought the expansion of a growing population. That Texas grew from 40,000 in 1836 to 120,000 in 1846 meant continuing conflict with Native Americans. Elements of the Mexican army periodically sent expeditions into Texas, raising cries of alarm among the civil population and confusion among elements of the Texas militia. A Texan military expedition against Santa Fe, to confirm Texas's claim to the upper Rio Grande watershed, ended in disaster. As annexation to the United States became the focus of diplomatic efforts on both sides, the issue became embroiled in domestic American politics. SLAVERY was legal in Texas, and elements in Congress opposed to slavery and its expansion into the new territory organized to oppose Texas annexation. Finally, in 1845, Texas was brought into the Union by a resolution of annexation in both houses, a parliamentary maneuver that required only a simple majority rather than the two-thirds required by a treaty. Under terms of the annexation, Texas was admitted as a state and retained its public lands to retire its debt.

At almost the same time as annexation came the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR, which began in spring 1846. One of the causes was conflict over the boundary line between Mexico and Texas. Although Texas and its relations with Mexico—the republic of Mexico still regarded Texas as a state in rebellion—was important in the opening of the war, most of the military campaigns were to the south in Mexico or west in California. The close of the war, with the signing of the TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO in early 1848, confirmed Texas annexation to the United States and included the cession of California, New Mexico, and Arizona to the American nation. The resolution of the territories acquired during the war was the subject of an extended national debate, eventually resolved by the COMPROMISE OF 1850. Under the terms of the agreement, Texas gave up its claims to portions of Colorado and New Mexico and received \$10 million to settle the state's long-standing debt.

Texas resumed its rapid growth, from 300,000 in 1850 to 600,000 in 1860, with the densest population living along the Gulf Coast, where Texas had a cotton/slave economy like the Deep South. By 1860 the state had a large slave population, some 20 percent of its enumerated population. Cattle ranching was also important in the hill country and farther inland, where ranchers grazed large herds. The only substantial town was San Antonio, with 8,000 inhabitants. With the rise of sectional feeling in the 1850s, Texas was



in the proslavery camp. Although Sam Houston, who supported the Union, was elected governor in 1860, Texas nevertheless seceded from the Union in 1861. Houston, who would not take an oath to support the Confederacy, was forced to resign.

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### Texas Revolution (1835–1836)

The Texas Revolution is the name given to the series of events that led to the independence of Texas from Mexico and the subsequent establishment of the Republic of Texas. Texas had long been the northern extension of the Spanish Empire in the Americas. Although sparsely settled from the opening of the 17th century, the region was an important outpost of Spanish imperial policy, at the same time forming a barrier against the French advance from Louisiana to the West and a line of defense against Indian raiders on the plains. As Spanish colonies turned toward independence at the close of the 18th century, Mexico joined those who sought independence. The success of the Mexican Revolution and the establishment of an independent republic of Mexico in 1821 began a new chapter in the history of Texas.

As part of a plan to settle its northern states, Mexico established a system of contracted immigration. MOSES AUSTIN had first proposed the scheme in 1820 to Spanish officials in Mexico City. Upon Austin's death the following year, his proposal was taken over by his son, STEPHEN F. AUSTIN. After the establishment of Mexican independence, the younger Austin spent a year in Mexico City, lobbying officials to accept his father's proposal. His persistence paid off when Mexico agreed to permit Austin to settle 300 families on a large tract of land in Texas. Austin eventually chose the Brazos and Colorado River valleys as the site of his settlement. Under the terms of the arrangement, Austin would receive a large land grant from Mexico, and he would choose the settler families to whom he would make substantial grants of land. He would have enormous authority not only in making land grants but also in maintaining order, establishing a court system, providing a defense against Indians, and deciding other issues that confronted every new settlement on the frontier. The Mexican government eventually passed a law embodying the outlines of Austin's scheme, which became a national policy. Hundreds of immigrant families from the United States—Austin eventually brought in some 700 families

under three contracts—settled in the Mexican state of Texas. This policy of supervised immigration appeared to be a great success. Enterprising pioneer families settled portions of coastal Texas and the river valleys under the leadership of designated “empresarios.”

But the success of the enterprise made for problems. By 1830, the American population of Texas—all arrived within the decade of the 1820s—had reached 20,000. Officials in Mexico City found themselves confronted with a numerous and increasingly unsettled population that was more American than Mexican. Under the terms of the contracted immigration, in exchange for generous land grants, Americans agreed to become citizens of the Republic of Mexico and to become Roman Catholics. That the predominantly Protestant settlers from the lower Mississippi Valley did neither was indicative of their attitudes toward their new nation. That Stephen F. Austin remained intensely loyal to the Republic of Mexico was a stabilizing influence, but the growing numbers of Americans invariably led to talk of separation from Mexico and occasional plots to foment an uprising against Mexican authority. The uneasiness of the Americans was increased by the attachment of Coahuila to Texas, creating a united state of Coahuila-Texas, which American Texans saw as a way of minimizing their political influence.

Mexican officials were aware of the difficulties posed by the preponderance of Americans in Texas, and in 1830 Mexico passed a law forbidding further immigration from the United States. For Austin, the new law threatened a successful system of contracted immigration, and it was, among other things, unenforceable. For the Americans in Texas, the 1830 law confirmed their views that Mexican officials intended to infringe on their liberties, including the right to immigrate. The Americans in Texas now organized to give voice to their grievances. They did so in a



The flag of the Republic of Texas, the “Lone Star” state  
(Library of Congress)

traditionally American way, by electing delegates to meet in a convention, drafting petitions to explain their views, and conveying these petitions to the proper authority. The most important Texan, Stephen F. Austin, took the petitions to Mexico City in 1833.

Changes in the political situation in Mexico City made Austin's mission more difficult. Mexico's political world had always been somewhat unstable, mitigated by the consistency of a federal bureaucracy. In 1832, General ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA overthrew the constitutional government in Mexico. The next year, after Santa Anna won a popular mandate, he embarked on a series of military campaigns to subdue rebellions in parts of the Republic of Mexico. Texans observed Santa Anna's campaigns throughout the southern portion of Mexico with growing uneasiness. As for Santa Anna, with the south pacified, he intended to turn his attention to Texas, long considered disloyal because of its increasingly dominant American population.

In this atmosphere of growing uneasiness on both sides, Austin appeared in Mexico City with his petitions. He found a generally cordial reception. The Santa Anna government agreed to his requests with one exception. The petition for separate statehood for Texas was denied, as Mexican authorities saw a separate state of Texas as a prelude to secession. As Austin was returning from what he regarded as a successful mission, he was arrested. Jailed in Mexico City for almost two years, his absence accelerated the increasingly radical stance of the new Texan leaders, of whom the most noteworthy newcomer was SAM HOUSTON, who had immigrated to Texas in 1832.

As Texans began to consider their relations with the Republic of Mexico, several common issues came into focus. One faction pointed to RELIGION and the requirements of marriage associated with the Roman Catholic Church, since only Catholics could inherit. As Anglo-Texans had more to inherit, the issue was more pressing. The question of local government and the court system was also an issue; hence the request to create a separate state of Texas that could more effectively meet the needs of the immigrants from the North. Throughout these debates, Texans clung to the traditional American frontier institution of a local armed militia for protection, especially against the Indians, and raised questions of public schools and language. In addition, they continued to insist on their rights as citizens under the constitution of 1824 at a time when it was increasingly irrelevant under the new presidency of Santa Anna.

Mexican officials were also uneasy about the situation in Texas. To begin with, they saw Texas as Mexican and the newly arrived settlers as ungrateful Norte Americanos. In exchange for generous land grants, the settlers had sworn allegiance to the Republic of Mexico, and it was to their new nation that they owed allegiance. As citizens of the

Republic of Mexico, they were bound to follow the laws of the republic, whether these laws suited them or not. If they objected to laws or officials, they should not convene conventions but instead initiate a correspondence through the hierarchy of officials, beginning with the state of Coahuila-Texas. The idea of Anglo-Texans forming an armed militia seemed little less than a prelude to armed rebellion. Loyal Texans should have recourse to the Mexican army. Above all, Texans must be taught to respect and obey Mexican laws. Mexican officials were, understandably, sensitive to what they regarded as ethnic slights and ethnic slurs. Relations between the two groups were further inflamed by two recent considerations: Santa Anna's campaigns to reduce opposition to his rule and the presence of Mexican troops in garrisons in Texas ports, which would invariably lead to confrontations between Mexican forces intent on upholding the honor of the republic of Mexico and Anglo-Texans who saw such garrisons as an alien occupying force.

In 1835, Austin returned after two years in prison to find Texas split into two factions. One favored peace overtures to the Republic of Mexico and a continuing search for an alliance with Santa Anna's liberal political opponents. The second supported a revolution in favor of independence. Austin soon allied himself with the first group; Houston headed the second. Military clashes between the two sides had begun to sharpen hostility between Mexicans and Anglo-Texans. When, in June 1835, some 30 Texans forced the garrison at Anahuac to surrender, many communities in Texas repudiated the action, but Mexican officials saw the confrontation as part of a Texas revolt. Although the Texan force surrendered its arms, local officials did not turn the 30 rebels over to Mexican officials to stand trial.

Santa Anna was now determined to pacify Texas by military force as he had other parts of the Republic of Mexico. In so doing, he disavowed any observance of the Constitution of 1824 so sacred to many Texans, and he also threatened to force observance of Mexico's ban on slavery. In late 1835, as Santa Anna dispatched an army to put down what he saw as a rebellion, even Austin realized that the time for mediation had passed. Instead, he urged Texans to resist the invasion and bring Texas finally into the United States. In his own words: "War is our only recourse. There is no other remedy." When Texas communities convened in November 1835 to consider the future, they strongly supported loyalty to Mexico under the Constitution of 1824. Deferring independence did win some Tejano support, but most Tejanos—Texans of Spanish and Mexican origin—were distant from the Anglo-Texans, whom they regarded as brash and aggressive.

Sam Houston led the movement to armed insurrection. At first, Texan attempts at military activity were uncoordi-

nated and reflected individual leaders. In December 1835, a contingent of Texans coordinated an attack in San Antonio that laid siege to the Mexican garrison in THE ALAMO and eventually forced its surrender. Houston counseled the evacuation of the Alamo; he favored a retreat toward the center of Anglo-Texas settlement with a continuing guerilla war. He therefore sent JIM BOWIE to San Antonio with orders to remove the Alamo's guns, blow up the old mission, and evacuate the Texan garrison. When Bowie arrived at the Alamo, however, he did not carry out his orders. Instead, he and others decided that the Alamo was a key position and must be defended. When Santa Anna reached San Antonio, he had some 2,000 troops ready for the field; Bowie and the garrison at the Alamo numbered 100, perhaps a quarter of them soldiers and the rest volunteers. Bowie's appeal for reinforcements, ignored by the provisional government of Texas, was answered by Colonel WILLIAM BARRET TRAVIS, a leader of the war party; and DAVY CROCKETT, a former congressman from Tennessee. They and their companions raised the defenders of the mission to perhaps 187.

On February 25, 1836, Santa Anna and his army arrived at San Antonio. Bowie offered to surrender on condition of safe conduct for combatants; Santa Anna demanded unconditional surrender. The siege began. After a long period of Mexican bombardment that was largely ineffective, Santa Anna launched a frontal assault by 1,800 soldiers on March 6, 1836. Sheer numbers carried the day. After 90 minutes of combat, some of it hand-to-hand, Santa Anna was in control of the old mission. He had lost 600 men; most of the Texan defenders were dead. Santa Anna executed the handful of prisoners, including Davy Crockett, as a warning to others who remained in revolt against the Mexican government. Although Santa Anna had won a military victory, he had given the Texans' cause a company of martyrs and a reason for a declaration of independence. Henceforth, the battle cry of the infant Republic of Texas would be: "Remember the Alamo!"

The disaster at the Alamo was followed by another military and human defeat. As the Texans retired north in the face of Santa Anna's advance, Colonel James Fannin delayed his withdrawal from Goliad's fort for so long that he and his force were captured by advance troops of the Mexican army. Santa Anna ordered the execution of the 300 prisoners. He was convinced that he had overwhelmed Texan resistance to his force, and the panicked retreat of thousands of refugees to the north, including the provisional government, seemed to confirm his view.

In the face of this hysteria mixed with a burning desire for revenge, Houston recruited and trained an army. It was not a large force, perhaps 800 men, but it had a degree of discipline and training that other Texas forces had lacked. Houston and his army met a Mexican army about twice as

large under Santa Anna on a plain west of the San Jacinto River (near Galveston Bay). On April 21, 1836 Houston ordered a frontal charge, and in 20 minutes, the Texans had won the field. The slaughter of the retreating Mexican army went on for several hours, at the end of which 630 Mexican soldiers were dead.

After the battle, Santa Anna was captured while trying to escape. Many favored his execution for his crimes against prisoners, but Houston forced him to sign a treaty recognizing Texas independence. Under the terms of the Treaty of Velasco, Santa Anna ordered all Mexican soldiers to evacuate Texas and recognized the independence of the former state. Although signed under duress and later repudiated by the government of Mexico, this treaty of independence was generally recognized abroad. The revolution was over; the Republic of Texas was established.

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### Thames, Battle of the (October 5, 1813)

The overwhelming American victory at the Battle of the Thames broke the back of the last organized Native American resistance east of the Mississippi. The leader of the movement to unite the nations, Tecumseh, died in the encounter.

The Thames River flows through Canada near the U.S. border at Detroit, Michigan. During the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15), Great Britain feared the Americans would launch an invasion into the region around it to seize control of the Great Lakes and possibly annex the entire colony. Americans made several failed attempts to conquer the area in 1812 and 1813.

On September 27, 1813, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON and 3,000 Americans crossed uncontested into Canada. Tecumseh and his warriors had fallen back into British territory in the hopes that they would defeat the Americans and reclaim their homes in the Michigan and Indiana territories. The British commander, Major General Henry Proctor, wanted to retreat to a more defensible spot further away from the border. Tecumseh convinced Proctor to face the enemy along a narrow stretch of road between the Thames River and a swampy thicket. However the 450 British troops ran from their positions at the road after a brief assault by the powerful American forces. Americans quickly crushed the remaining 800 Native American warriors who had stayed to cover the retreat. Tecumseh died in the fighting, and his body was never recovered.

After the battle, most of the Native Americans south of the Great Lakes accepted that the United States was too strong for them to stop. Within two decades, the government forced most of the remaining nations to move west of the Mississippi.

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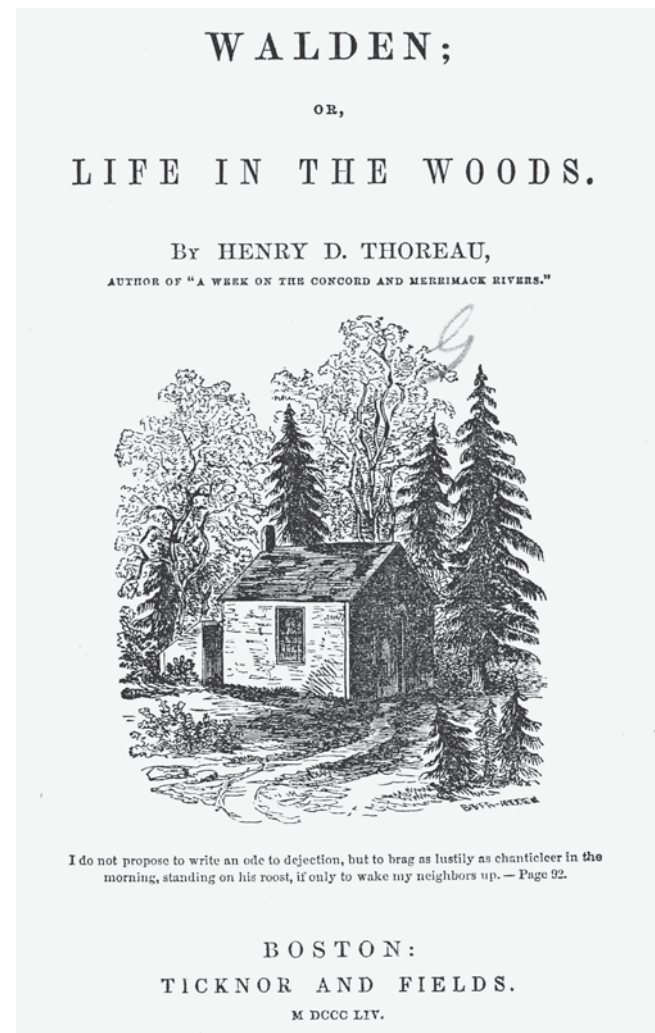
—George Milne

**Thoreau, Henry David** (1817–1862) *philosopher, poet*

Essayist, poet, naturalist, educator, and lecturer, Henry David Thoreau was born on July 12, 1817, in Concord, Massachusetts. His father, John Thoreau, was a pencil manufacturer. The young Thoreau attended Concord Academy and Harvard College, graduating in 1837. He then worked as a public-school teacher to supplement his family's income and pay for his college EDUCATION. Later, he opened a day and boarding school from the family home. Shortly after returning from Harvard to Concord, Thoreau met fellow intellectual RALPH WALDO EMERSON. They soon began a remarkable relationship based on their work in the important literary movement of transcendentalism.

The new TRANSCENDENTAL MOVEMENT was mainly comprised of young men and women from New England who rejected formal RELIGION for what they called "The Transcendental Law." This was the moral law through which man discovers for himself the nature of God. Transcendentalists like Thoreau believed that God was embodied in a spirit whose essence could never be defined or contained by tedious, learned texts or rules. Rather, transcendentalists advised looking to the fluid, energetic, and "transcendental" unity of life. They celebrated a somewhat vaguely defined, but nonetheless liberating, "truth" whose essence could only be discovered through the natural world. The simple life was celebrated, although few adherents to the movement took that as far as Thoreau.

Thoreau began publishing poetry and essays regularly in the transcendentalist magazine *The Dial*. From 1845 to 1847, he formed the basis for 18 more essays, collectively entitled *Walden; or Life in the Woods*, when he moved to a cabin on Emerson's property near Walden Pond in Concord in order to live as simply and as close to nature as possible. Midway through his stay there, Thoreau refused to pay the local poll tax because of his opposition toward a government that condoned SLAVERY and had launched what he considered an imperialist war against Mexico. Thoreau's one night in jail as well as his thoughts on the subject fueled the essay "Resistance to Civil Government," or "Civil Disobedience" (1849), in which he espoused the



Title page of *Walden*, by Henry David Thoreau (*Library of Congress*)

need to live up to higher ideals than those of civil society—even if this meant breaking laws in the process. "The law will never make men free," he declared, "it is men who have got to make the law free."

Thoreau continued his own private form of social activism after he moved out of the woods. He wrote essays and delivered lectures such as "Slavery in Massachusetts" (1854) in support of the ABOLITION MOVEMENT. He explained his ideas on the role of the state: "There will never be a really free and enlightened state until the state comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power . . . and treats him accordingly." Following John Brown's failure to incite a slave revolt with his raid on Harpers Ferry, Thoreau delivered "A Plea for Captain Brown" (1859) in order to exonerate Brown in the eyes of the law for living up to a higher ideal. Brown was hanged, however, and it is



believed that the incident shocked Thoreau so much as to hasten his own death.

After spending a few years beginning a study of the plight of NATIVE AMERICANS, Thoreau, who had suffered from tuberculosis for many years, finally died of its effects on May 6, 1862. His final works, *The Maine Woods* (1864) and *Cape Cod* (1865) were published posthumously.

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—Lee Ashley Smith

## Trail of Tears

Between 1830 and 1839, the CHOCTAW, CHICKASAW, CREEK, CHEROKEE, and SEMINOLE nations—who collectively came to be known as the Five Civilized Tribes—were removed under varying degrees of coercion from their homes in the Southeast to new lands west of the Mississippi River. Their relocation was the culmination of a decades-old dispute between southeastern Indian nations and the white settlers who wanted their lands.

White Americans had long coveted the fertile soil of the Southeast and the lucrative possibility of expanding cotton production there. Many considered Native Americans to be undeserving stewards of such lands, falsely characterizing them as lazy and nomadic. These stereotypes were especially egregious when applied to the southeastern nations. By the 1820s, many of them had made a series of cultural adaptations that responded to the presence of so many whites in the region and the failure of military resistance early in the century to prevent the same. By 1828, the Cherokee nation boasted a bicameral legislature, a Cherokee alphabet, a bilingual newspaper, their own network of schools and churches, and the flourishing practice of cash-crop AGRICULTURE. Yet such adaptations only convinced whites that it was imperative to remove Native Americans from the Southeast. It was clear that the vast majority of American Indian people would not surrender their lands voluntarily, and the southern states rejected the idea that self-governing Indian nations could constitutionally exist within their borders. Amid a tangle of arguments about

state vs. federal rights, land hunger, and racial prejudice, overwhelming white pressure for the removal of Indian people from the East to the West was born. The long and painful process of Cherokee removal became known as the Trail of Tears.

On May 28, 1830, Congress passed the INDIAN REMOVAL ACT. Approved and signed by President ANDREW JACKSON the act authorized the exchange of Indian lands in the East for new territories west of the Mississippi. It promised that the new western lands offered to American Indian nations would remain theirs forever, and they would be protected against encroachment from other nations or settlers. Native Americans were to be compensated for any improvements they had made on their eastern lands, and the government was authorized to provide financial assistance with the process of removal. While the act was used to relocate American Indian communities across the United States, it was in the Southeast that it was used to its most devastating effect. As a result, the peoples of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Cherokee nations would suffer tremendous material and physical losses in the process of removal.

The Indian Removal Act stipulated that any east-west land exchange was to be voluntary, open to “such tribes or nations of Indians as may choose” to be part of the process. In reality, however, coercion was used at every turn to facilitate removal. Annuities owed to nations from past treaties were doled out to individuals instead of tribal leaders, undermining the ability of chiefs to maintain their leadership positions or to provide for the needs of their communities. States extended their laws over tribal lands, nullifying the legal and judicial systems of each nation, making Native Americans liable for taxes and withholding their right to vote or testify in court. States took no action to protect Indians from squatters encroaching on their lands, and the federal government likewise ignored the problem. Federal officials purposely negotiated removal treaties with the most disaffected members of nations, and often bribed Indian representatives into agreeing to sign.

The Choctaw were the first to be relocated under the provisions of the Indian Removal Act. The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek was signed between a handful of Choctaw and the federal government in 1830, sealing the removal of the nation to lands in present-day Oklahoma. Their experience was miserable. Two thousand men, women, and children set out from Mississippi in autumn 1830. Only 400–500 reached their new homeland after battling extreme cold, starvation, and disease. More Choctaw emigrated over the next two years, their experience largely the same. Forced to cover enormous distances of the trek on foot, the Choctaw saw hundreds of their horses die, while they themselves battled cholera and malnutrition. It is estimated that approximately 9,000 Choctaw relocated to



Indian Territory, 7,000 stayed in Mississippi (often in hiding), and over 4,000 died during removal.

The removal of the Creek nation was equally cruel. In 1832, those Creek who had not already emigrated west signed a treaty with the United States that ostensibly left the option of removal up to each individual family. Creek lands in Alabama were to be divided into individual allotments and protected by the federal government from intrusion for up to five years. These lands could be sold and the family removed to Indian Territory, or they could wait and receive the deed to their land after a five-year period.

The plan fell apart almost immediately. Squatters encroached on Indian lands, often forcing families out of their homes. Land companies committed massive fraud, engaging individual Indians to pretend to be landowners, illegally selling the same plot of land to a multitude of bidders. Tension between squatters and the increasing number of dispossessed Creek built into outbreaks of violence, resulting in military intervention in the region in 1836. Over the next two years the Creek, whether “peaceful” or “hostile,” were removed to Indian Territory under deplorable conditions. Thousands died from starvation and exposure along the way.

For the Chickasaw, the experience of removal was less harsh, although just as fraught with difficulty. After signing a removal treaty in 1832, the Chickasaw were forced to wait five years for the federal government to resolve where in Indian Territory they might live. In those five years, Chickasaw lands were sold from under them and overrun with squatters. It was not until 1837 that the Choctaw agreed to cede part of their new land to the Chickasaw, who migrated with better supplies, protection, and transportation than either of their predecessors to Indian Territory.

The removal of the Cherokee was the last in the series because of the vigorous opposition of Indian peoples and a group of American reformers. When the state of Georgia extended its jurisdiction over Cherokee lands within the state in 1828, the Cherokee nation sued the state to void the state law. In 1831 the SUPREME COURT ruled in *Cherokee Nation v. State of Georgia* that the suit was null and void because Indian tribes could not sue. In a subsequent case brought in the name of Samuel Worcester, a Congregational missionary, the Court declared in 1832 that the Cherokee Nation was a separate and distinct community with its own territory within the state. President Andrew Jackson refused to enforce the decision.

The most important Cherokee chief, John Ross, refused to negotiate a treaty of cession. In 1835, after months of unsuccessful talks, the federal government ordered the entire nation to appear at the town of New Echota. Those Cherokee who refused to appear would be considered in support of any treaty negotiated at the meeting. The enormous pressure applied by the United States government

divided the Cherokee Nation. After weeks of threats and behind-the-scenes discussions, the Treaty of New Echota was signed between representatives of the federal government and John Ridge, who sought to save the tribe from threats of internal and external violence. Perhaps as few as 500 of the 17,000 Cherokee people favored the agreement.

While some groups emigrated almost immediately, the majority of the Cherokee nation stayed in Georgia. They refused to acknowledge the legality of the treaty or the May 23, 1838, deadline for voluntary removal. After the deadline had passed, however, the Cherokee were rounded up at bayonet point and held in temporary camps. They were not allowed to gather personal possessions or make preparations for the journey ahead of them. While around 5,000 Cherokee were immediately dispatched to Indian Territory, the rest were held in camps under military guard through the summer of 1838, suffering from disease and food shortages. Approximately 3,000 Cherokee died in the camps, and those who survived were forced to trek some 800 miles to their new lands west of the Mississippi. The march was carried out in two trips in 1838–39, and the journey killed another thousand people. Even once they had reached Oklahoma, disease and lack of food further reduced their population. Such were the devastating effects of the removal that the Cherokee called their route “Nunna daul Tsunyn” (“the Trail Where They Cried”). In time, the “Trail of Tears” came to apply to the combined experience of all Indian Nations removed from the Southeast.

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—Catherine J. Denial

### transcendental movement

American transcendentalism was a New England-based philosophical and literary movement that began with the 1836 founding of the Transcendental Club in Concord, Massachusetts. The movement's members included RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803–82), HENRY DAVID THOREAU (1817–62), MARGARET FULLER (1810–50), Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–64), and Bronson Alcott (1799–1888).

The transcendentalists believed in the inherent goodness of humanity and all of nature. They were strongly influenced by the German idealists, including Immanuel

Kant, and the romantic movement in England. Emerson was inspired to form the Transcendental Club on his return from a trip to Europe, where he met William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Thomas Carlyle, and other important romantic writers. The transcendentalists explicitly rejected rationalism and the Puritan attitudes they had inherited as New Englanders. Instead, they expressed near-religious fervor for nature, intuition, and the creative process. They believed that God (or, as they called it, the Over-Soul) permeated all of creation, living and nonliving things alike, and that an individual's highest potential could only be achieved through complete awareness of the truth and beauty of the natural world.

The Transcendental Club's magazine, *The Dial*, was published from 1840 to 1844 and was an influential literary journal of the day. Edited by Fuller in its first two years of publication, it introduced many of Emerson's best-known essays.

The transcendentalists were known for their experiments in alternative modes of living. Thoreau, most famously, lived alone and largely off the land for a time. His book about his solitary experience, *Walden, or Life in the Woods* (1854), remains one of the most widely read of the transcendentalists' works. The idea that intellectual work and physical labor must go hand in hand appealed to the transcendentalists, whose philosophy after all compelled them to seek a complete awareness of and union with nature. Communal living and cooperative farming were attempted at BROOK FARM in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, where a number of the transcendentalists, including Hawthorne, lived in a socialist society from 1841 to 1847. Alcott's cooperative vegetarian farm, Fruitlands, in Harvard, Massachusetts, endured for only a few months in 1843. Neither of the farms were financial successes, and in fact their members had to endure much monetary hardship. But these utopian communities did allow their residents to attempt to live in harmony with the land and in accordance with their transcendental ideals. They were also an important inspiration for the communes, organic farms, and cooperatives of later generations of idealists, especially in the 1960s.

It is for their writings that the transcendentalists are best remembered. Emerson's book *Nature* (1836) and his essay "Self-Reliance" (1841) both focus on important aspects of transcendentalist philosophy. Fuller's *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845) is a major early feminist work that grew out of the women-only philosophy seminars she held in Boston between 1839 and 1844. Hawthorne's novels and short stories remain important; *The Blithedale Romance* (1852) was based on his experience as part of the Brook Farm community, and his masterworks *The Scarlet Letter* (1850) and *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851) criticize the values and legacy of Puritanism. Along with

*Walden*, Thoreau is best known for his essay "Civil Disobedience" (1849), which was a powerful influence on 20th-century thinkers and activists including Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mohandas K. Gandhi.

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—Mary Kay Linge

**Travis, William Barret** (1809–1836) *lawyer, soldier*

A lawyer and Texas military leader, William Barret Travis was an ardent supporter of American expansion into Mexican territory. He was born in Edgefield, South Carolina, in 1809. In 1818, the Travis family joined the great migration to the opening of new lands in the South, moving to Conecuh County, Alabama. The young Travis received a fair education at the local school. Like other ambitious young men in this frontier environment, he decided to read law. He pursued his study in the office of Judge James Dellett in Claiborne, Alabama. In 1819, just before his 20th birthday, he was admitted to the bar. Travis set up a legal practice in a new state whose prospects were immediately blighted by the economic crisis of 1819. To supplement his income, he taught school. In 1828, he married Rosanna Cato, one of his students.

In 1831, Travis left his wife (they were divorced in 1835) and two children and moved to TEXAS, where he settled in Anahuac, on Galveston Bay. This was also the site of the Mexican military garrison, commanded by Colonel John Bradbury, a Kentucky native now in the service of Mexico. Bradbury was an arbitrary officer, and Travis quickly rose to the leadership of an American faction in opposition to Mexican authority. The newly arrived immigrants from the United States aggressively defended their rights in the Republic of Mexico, viewing their position from the perspective of a different frontier tradition and generally ignoring their responsibilities as recipients of Mexican land grants. On every issue, Travis took a radical position, asserting that settlers' rights must be upheld, if necessary, by force. Almost immediately on his arrival in Texas, he offended the authorities and was arrested. When an armed force gathered to demand his release, Mexican officials complied. The issue was settled peacefully, but hard feelings remained on each side. In October 1832, Travis moved to San Felipe, where he set up a thriving legal practice and soon became involved in local politics, once again as a vigorous defender of the rights of new settlers from the United States.

When General ANTONIO LÓPEZ DE SANTA ANNA ascended to power in Mexico City, alarm bells sounded for

Travis and other Texans. Heretofore, the issues of rights and obligations, while hotly debated, had been largely abstract matters of principle. With Santa Anna's decision to march north with his army and subdue dissident factions in Texas, these issues had become immediate. Travis was at the forefront of those determined to take vigorous action. In 1835, when Santa Anna sent soldiers to regarrison the fort at Anahuac, Travis raised a volunteer company, disarmed the Mexican soldiers, and seized the fort. The surrounding countryside was electrified by his actions. Many Texans repudiated his radical steps, but Travis and others pressed the issue of Texan rights and forced Santa Anna toward a campaign to subjugate the rebels. His aggressive actions at the head of an invading army validated Travis's position that Texans must take up arms in defense of their rights.

When a convention convened at San Felipe to prepare a defense, Travis was commissioned a lieutenant colonel in the cavalry. In autumn 1835, he participated actively in the siege of San Antonio. In December that year, he was appointed to command the artillery, and soon thereafter, he transferred to the cavalry, once again with the rank of lieutenant colonel. In early February 1836, with 25 men, he reinforced the small garrison at THE ALAMO. On February 13, he was appointed joint commander (with JAMES BOWIE) of the force, Travis to command the regulars and Bowie to lead the volunteers. Travis and Bowie disagreed on almost every aspect of the command, and they were still sorting out their views when Santa Anna's army arrived at the gates of the Alamo. Bowie was soon felled by typhoid fever, and Travis assumed overall command. When Santa Anna launched his frontal assault on March 6, Travis was killed along with the other defenders, including Bowie and DAVY CROCKETT. He was 26 years old. Officials and citizens alike remembered him as a staunch defender of principle and a Texas patriot.

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**Truth, Sojourner** See VOLUME V.

**Tubman, Harriet** See VOLUME V.

**Turner, Nat** (1800–1831) *slave rebellion leader*

Born in Southampton County, Virginia, on October 2, 1800, Nat Turner became one of the most infamous enslaved men and insurrectionists of the 19th century. The child of African-born parents, Nat was owned first by Ben-

jamin Turner and then his son Samuel. Nat's father was a recurrent runaway who succeeded in escaping slavery and emigrating to LIBERIA. His mother Nancy was also a slave at the Turner plantation. Nat learned to read early in his childhood, and claimed that he did so through a natural and inexplicable gift rather than instruction. His intelligence was widely discussed within his community.

Turner grew up to become a fieldhand, entering adulthood just as the PANIC OF 1819 marked the beginning of a four-year depression in the United States. In an effort to maintain his plantation's profitability, Samuel Turner instructed his overseer to work his slaves particularly hard. After a whipping from the overseer during this period, Nat Turner ran away to the nearby Flat Swamps. He remained free for 30 days, before returning to the Turner plantation of his own free will, convinced by a series of religious visions that it was the right course of action. Few of his fellow slaves understood his choice.

Sometime within the next two years, Nat married Cherry, another slave on the Turner plantation. In 1823, Samuel Turner died, and the couple were sold to different planters—Nat to Thomas Moore and Cherry to Giles Reese. Although separated, the couple worked on neighboring plantations and were able to see each other from time to time. Together they had three children.

During the mid-1820s, Turner became increasingly convinced that his life had a special religious purpose. From his childhood, adults around him had suggested that he was meant for great things, and visions throughout his life had strengthened his own conviction of the same. In 1825, Turner began to preach, traveling to Cross Keys, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem Crossroads in Southampton County on different Sundays. Turner spoke to whites and blacks in his travels, and most famously baptized Etheldred T. Brantley, a white overseer in the county who had been shunned by his own church. The baptism came after Brantley had confessed unnamed sins to Turner and subsequently had been cured of an outbreak of bleeding boils through fasting and prayer.

It was a vision experienced on May 12, 1828, that would most significantly change Turner's life. Remembering the moment as he sat in jail in 1831, Turner recalled that "the Spirit instantly appeared to me and said the Serpent was loosened, and Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and that I should take it on and fight against the Serpent, for the time was fast approaching, when the first should be last and the last should be first." Turner took the vision to mean that at a given sign he should rise up against the institution of SLAVERY and kill those he considered his enemies "with their own weapons."

The sign did not come for another three years. In the interim, Thomas Moore died, and his slaves became the property of his widow. One year later, Moore's widow





Cartoon illustrating Nat Turner's uprising against southern whites (*Library of Congress*)

married Joseph Travis, a wheelwright in the county, who moved his business and his own slaves to the Moore plantation. The slave community at the plantation numbered 17 in February 1831, when Turner received the sign he'd been waiting for in the shape of a solar eclipse. Keeping the details of his plan to himself, Turner alerted his closest allies—Sam Francis, Henry Porter, Hark Travis, and Nelson Williams—that an important event would take place on July 4. When Turner fell ill, the plans were postponed, but on August 13 more solar disturbances convinced Turner that the time was again ripe for revolt.

On Sunday, August 21, Turner's four allies, plus Jack Reese and Will Francis, met at Cabin Pond to await instruction. While there, the men ate wild pig and drank brandy, joined eventually by Turner, who had been keeping religious solitude in preparation for the night ahead. At around 2 A.M. on the morning of August 22, the group broke into the Travis home and killed Joseph, his wife, and their children. The plan was to kill whites in the county

without reference to age or sex, thereby scaring other whites into submission. The ultimate goal of the rebels was to seize Jerusalem, the county seat, where there was an arsenal they hoped to use. Armed, and with their brutalities widely known, the group believed that it would be a mere matter of time before slavery would come to an end. Indiscriminate killing would be unnecessary beyond the early example they hoped to make in the homes of the planter families around them.

The men worked steadily through their corner of Southampton County, killing between 55 and 65 white men, women, and children as their numbers swelled. By the evening of August 22, Nat Turner's band had grown to between 60 and 70 slaves, armed with guns, swords, pikes and axes. Despite repelling the local militia once during the day, the band was attacked again at nightfall as they rested and regrouped at the Ridley plantation. Swelled with reinforcements the militia succeeded in ending the revolt, slaughtering many of the men involved and placing at least

a dozen severed heads on poles as an example to other slaves. Turner escaped into the swamps, but he was captured on October 30. Put on trial on November 5, Turner was found guilty of “making insurrection, and plotting to take away the lives of divers [sic] free white persons.” He was executed by hanging on November 11, 1831.

The ramifications of the rebellion were wide-ranging. To enslaved men and women, Turner was a hero. To whites, he was an example of what religion, education, and leniency from owners could create in the slave population, causing a crackdown on all three of the same. Badly scared by the incident, the Virginia state legislature briefly considered abolition, coupled with the deportation of all African Americans in the state. The measure died, and slavery was practiced in the state for more than 30 additional years.

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—Catherine J. Denial

### **Tyler, John** (1790–1862) 10th U.S. president

An antebellum president and Confederate congressman, John Tyler was born and raised in Charles City County, Virginia. At the age of 12, he entered William and Mary College, graduating five years later. In 1809 he was admitted to the bar, and two years after that he became involved in politics, serving terms in the Virginia legislature, the U.S. House of Representatives, and as Virginia’s governor. While serving in the House of Representatives (1816–21), Tyler voted against most nationalist legislation and opposed the MISSOURI COMPROMISE. His devotion to states’ rights ideology was slavish, and he stridently opposed federally funded internal improvements, a protectionist tariff for nascent industries, and a Third Bank of the United States.

In 1827 Tyler was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he became one of its leading figures. As a southern planter, Tyler opposed tariffs, a standing army, and extending the right to vote to men without property. He vehemently opposed President ANDREW JACKSON’s threat to use federal force against South Carolina when the state renounced federal tariffs, and he frequently condemned what he saw as Jackson’s abuse of executive power. In 1834 he censured the president’s removal of federal funds from the national bank. In February 1836 the Jacksonian-controlled Virginia



President John Tyler (Library of Congress)

legislature instructed Tyler to vote to expunge the Senate censure resolution against the president on this matter. He refused, resigned his seat, and severed his Democratic ties. Tyler’s disgust with Jackson drove him to join forces with HENRY CLAY and DANIEL WEBSTER to form the new WHIG PARTY.

In 1840 the Whigs nominated WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON for president and added Tyler to the ticket to balance it out. Though both men were Whigs, Harrison and Tyler had little in common politically. Running under the slogan “Tippecanoe and Tyler Too,” the Whig ticket easily captured the White House.

Senator Henry Clay was the real power behind the Whig Party, and he expected to be able to control President Harrison from behind the scenes. However, much to Clay’s dismay, the popular and genial Harrison contracted pneumonia and died one month after taking office. Tyler succeeded to the presidency, becoming the first vice president ever to do so. He spent his first few months in office establishing that he was legitimately the president and not just the “acting president.” Tyler also made clear that he would not be Clay’s puppet and, in so doing he effectively alienated the party that had elected him. Fearing that he



would alienate Harrison's supporters, Tyler decided to keep Harrison's entire cabinet, enough though some were openly hostile to him. Following his core belief in states' rights led Tyler to veto a bill for a federal Bank of the United States, a bill that the Whig majority in Congress favored. His entire cabinet resigned in protest, with the exception of Daniel Webster. Webster, for his part, functioned as secretary of state only long enough to conclude negotiations with Great Britain regarding the U.S.-Canadian border; his diplomacy resulted in the WEBSTER-ASHBURTON TREATY of 1842, which permanently settled the dispute. He then resigned and in due course was replaced by JOHN C. CALHOUN of South Carolina, whose ascent marked the beginning of a heated North-South divide between Whigs and Democrats. Tyler's subsequent cabinet appointees were all likewise from southern states, which did little to endear his administration to the Whigs.

Tyler further alienated the Whig members by vetoing the Tariff Bill, which he opposed on constitutional grounds. This so angered Congress that Representative JOHN QUINCY ADAMS of Massachusetts introduced an impeachment resolution for the president's alleged abuse of power, though the resolution failed to pass. The first such impeachment motion against a sitting chief executive in American history, it was indicative of Tyler's mounting unpopularity within the political establishment.

Tyler was able to score some FOREIGN POLICY successes, most notably the signing of a trade pact with China. His domestic agenda, however, ground to a halt over the issue of TEXAS's annexation. In 1842 South Carolina senator John C. Calhoun negotiated a treaty that allowed the Republic of Texas, then independent, to become the Union's 28th state. Many congressmen opposed the treaty because they did not want another slave state to be added to the Union, or because they did not wish to antagonize Mexico, from which Texas had won her independence six years earlier. Tyler tried repeatedly to force the treaty through Congress. Failing that, he resorted to a political expedient: couching annexation as a joint resolution, which requires only a simple majority in both houses of Congress to be adopted. The measure passed by a vote of 132–72 in the House and 27–25 in the Senate on Tyler's last day in office; actual annexation would be undertaken during his successor's administration.

A major domestic disturbance during Tyler's tenure in office was the so-called Dorr War in Rhode Island, when rebels under Thomas Dorr took to arms, demanding a new

state constitution with an expanded voting franchise. The governor and legislature appealed to the federal government for troops to help quell the disturbance. But Tyler, always reluctant to interfere with state affairs, simply urged calm and suggested that the state government allow more white landholders to vote. In any event, no federal troops were dispatched, and the rebels immediately dispersed when approached by local militia. Calm was restored after the franchise was enlarged. Tyler also sustained a brush with disaster on February 28, 1844, when a deck gun exploded on the steam sloop USS *Princeton*, killing Secretary of the Navy Thomas Gilmer and Secretary of State Abel P. Upshur.

The 1844 presidential election came down to a three-way race between Tyler, JAMES K. POLK, and Henry Clay. Fearing that he and Polk might split the vote, thereby handing the election to Clay, Tyler withdrew from the race, and Polk was elected. Tyler, nearly bankrupt, retired to his plantation. When Abraham Lincoln was elected president, Tyler tried to help broker a compromise between northern authorities and southern secessionists. After his proposals were rejected, in April 1861, Tyler went to Virginia's secession convention and voted in favor of the state's withdrawal from the Union. He was elected to the Confederate House of Representatives but died on January 18, 1862, in Richmond before he could take his seat. His death marked the only time that the United States completely ignored the death of a former president. The controversy surrounding Tyler's political legitimacy was not formally put to rest until 1967, when the Twenty-fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution finally clarified and codified vice presidential succession to the White House.

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—Christopher Bates



# V



## **Van Buren, Martin** (1782–1862) *eighth U.S. president*

Martin Van Buren, eighth president of the United States, was born on December 5, 1782, in Kinderhook, New York. Because his father, a tavern keeper, was a staunch supporter of the Jeffersonian Party, which emphasized agrarianism, states' rights, and a limited national government, his son Martin absorbed these ideas. Many politicians frequented the elder Van Buren's tavern, thus at an early age Martin Van Buren learned a great deal about history, politics, and the means by which people attempt to influence one another to achieve their goals.

After educating himself in the law, he apprenticed to a lawyer and later opened his own practice. As a Democratic-Republican, Van Buren entered the state senate in 1816 but soon left this body to return to the legal profession, working in the New York attorney general's office. Later he was reelected to the state senate, but in 1821 he graduated to the U.S. Senate.

In 1824 Van Buren campaigned for Democratic-Republican Party nominee William H. Crawford's election to the presidency. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS prevailed in the election, and Van Buren began to support ANDREW JACKSON. For the duration of Adams's administration, Van Buren worked in and out of Congress to block executive action and win the presidency for Jackson in 1828. To achieve these ends, he united several Democratic-Republican factions in various states into a new political party that reasserted the principles of the third U.S. president, Thomas Jefferson.

This new political alliance, which would become the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, nominated Jackson for the presidency and JOHN C. CALHOUN of South Carolina for the vice presidency. After winning the election of 1828, Jackson promoted Van Buren to the position of secretary of state. Van Buren became vice president, serving President Jackson after he was elected to a second term, beginning in 1832. As vice president, Van Buren helped Jackson in his

“war” with the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES. Jackson removed government deposits from the bank and placed them in so-called pet, or state, banks. This action hastened the end of the Bank of the United States. Some members of the opposition party believed that the removal of the deposits was undertaken to benefit bankers friendly to the Democratic Party and that Van Buren had been the agent of these bankers. Although Van Buren supported the president in refusing the recharter of the bank, he had serious doubts about the wisdom of withdrawing the government's deposits from it.

In response to the “reign” of so-called King Andrew during the years 1828 to 1836, the new WHIG PARTY



President Martin Van Buren (*Library of Congress*)

succeeded the National Republicans, as an expression of its opposition to Jackson's use of strong presidential powers. In the election of 1836, the Whig Party nominated three candidates, each supported by a regional section of the United States. The Whigs hoped that this would prevent Van Buren from receiving the required majority of electoral votes, forcing the election to be determined by the House of Representatives, which was already angry at Jackson. The Whig candidates were DANIEL WEBSTER of Massachusetts, who ran in the New England states; Hugh Lawson White of Tennessee, who ran in the South and Southwest; and WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON of Ohio, who ran in the West. Van Buren, however, won handily with 170 electoral votes as opposed to 73 for Harrison, 26 for White, and 14 for Webster. In the popular vote, Van Buren received a total of 764,176 to Harrison's 550,816, White's 146,107, and Webster's 41,201.

In his inaugural address, Van Buren promised to continue the policies of Andrew Jackson. However, soon after his election, the country was hit hard with the PANIC OF 1837. The panic of 1837 was a worldwide depression, but it was particularly sharp in the United States because the nation had been involved in rapid economic expansion for the past several years. Production jolted to a halt; hundreds of companies went bankrupt; factories closed; and unemployment rose rapidly. To meet the distress, Van Buren, on May 15, 1837, called a special session of Congress to convene on September 4. At that time the central government was not expected to assist individual members of society; the best that Van Buren could offer in his message to the special session was a reform of fiscal problems facing the federal government.

Van Buren continued Jackson's policy with the NATIVE AMERICANS. He further ordered all Indians to move west of the Mississippi. The Seminole resisted the seizure of their lands and rallied behind their war leader, a young chief named Osceola. Eventually Osceola was seized under a flag of truce and imprisoned at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, where he died not long afterward. It cost many millions of dollars to fight the Seminole, who were eventually subdued and, for the most part, driven westward.

The 1837 economic depression coupled with his aristocratic demeanor made Van Buren increasingly unpopular with the American people. Nevertheless, the Democratic Party unanimously renominated him for the presidency at its national convention in 1840. The Whig Party nominated General William Henry Harrison, who had made a remarkably good showing in the election of 1836. Harrison was known as "Tippecanoe," after his victory over the Shawnee nation at the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811. In addition to Harrison, the Whigs nominated JOHN TYLER of Virginia.

Van Buren lost the election by an electoral count of 234 to 60. The popular vote gave him 1,128,854 to Harrison's

1,275,390. Economic woes and problems with Great Britain all hurt Van Buren, but perhaps the issue most responsible for his defeat was the fact that the Whigs convinced the American people that, unlike Harrison, Van Buren was not a "man of the people," but, rather, an aristocrat with extravagant tastes who lacked genuine sympathy for the problems of the ordinary citizen.

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### **Vanderbilt, Cornelius** (1794–1877) *shipping and railroad entrepreneur*

Born on May 27, 1794, in Staten Island, New York, Cornelius Vanderbilt was one of nine children of Cornelius Vanderbilt, a farmer, and Phebe Hand Vanderbilt. He received almost no schooling and began working full-time with his father at the age of 11. Described as a rugged, headstrong, untamable, illiterate youth who at the age of 12 could scarcely write his own name, Vanderbilt showed an early instinct for making and manipulating money. At the age of 16, with \$100 borrowed from his mother, he bought a small sailing vessel and began ferrying passengers and farm produce across New York Bay to Manhattan. Diligent and efficient, he made the business pay, and the WAR OF 1812 brought him a government contract to supply the island forts. By then he owned three boats that operated as far south as the Carolinas. In 1813 he married Sophia Johnson, with whom he had 13 children, of whom 11 survived him.

Vanderbilt quickly recognized the advantage of steam over sail. In 1818 he sold his schooners and took a job as captain of a steamboat to familiarize himself with the craft. The vessel traveled between New York and New Brunswick, New Jersey, where he made his home and where his wife supplemented the family income by running a tavern. By 1829 the family had saved enough to permit him to leave his job and establish his own steamboat service on the Hudson River. His business strategy was characteristic of the ruthless methods of the time: He exacted maximum labor for minimum wages, bribed city officials to give him exclusive docking privileges, and reduced his fares and freight rates until he forced his competitors into bankruptcy and then raised his prices to exorbitant levels. Regarded as the prime buccaneer of the shipping world, by the middle 1830s Vanderbilt was the largest steamboat owner and builder in the country. His vessels, numbering



Cornelius Vanderbilt (Library of Congress)

more than 100, served many cities on the coast, and newspapers began referring to him as Commodore. In 1847, in response to the CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH, he organized a steamship line to San Francisco across Nicaragua.

During the 1850s the Commodore recognized the limitations of maritime shipping and the dangers of privateers preying on mercantile vessels, and he turned his attentions to railroads. In 1855 his fortunes were estimated at \$1.5 million; within the next 10 years, his railroad interests multiplied that sum more than tenfold and made him, in Burton J. Hendrick's words, "the symbol that links the old industrial era with the new." He took control of the Harlem Railroad in 1857, the Hudson River Railroad in 1865, and the New York Central in 1867. By the time of his death 10 years later on January 2, 1877, his railroad empire covered 4,300 miles and extended to Chicago; and his estate amounted to more than \$104 million, the first of the colossal American fortunes that were destined to astound the world.

Unbending in business, Vanderbilt was known for his arrogance and truculence. When reminded that one of his transactions was contrary to law, he was reported as sneering, "What do I care about the law? Hain't I got the power?" Although he left \$1 million to found Central University of Nashville, Tennessee (later renamed Vanderbilt University), he left the bulk of his money to his son

William Henry, initiating America's first great dynasty of wealth and power.

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—Dennis Wepman

**Vesey, Denmark** (ca. 1767–1822) *slave rebellion leader* Probably born on St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands, Denmark Vesey, the future advocate of slave rebellion, was purchased by Captain Joseph Vesey on his way from Charleston, South Carolina, to Cap-Français, Santo Domingo (later, Haiti) in 1781. Impressed by the 14-year-old slave's intelligence and ability, the captain made him the ship's mascot and nicknamed him Telemaque, for the Greek mythological hero Telemachus. He eventually became known as Denmark, a name possibly derived from Telemaque, or perhaps a reference to his origin in the Virgin Islands, then a colony of Denmark. The captain's mascot was sold along with the other slaves on board when the ship reached Cap-Français.

Returning to Cap-Français a year later, Captain Vesey was forced to buy back Denmark from his master, who claimed that the young man suffered from seizures which made him unfit to work. The captain kept him as his own slave. Because no mention is made of his seizures after leaving Santo Domingo, some have speculated that Denmark faked epileptic fits in order to escape the grinding labor that awaited him on the Caribbean sugar plantations. When Joseph Vesey settled in Charleston, Denmark Vesey (as he was now commonly known) learned carpentry and became one of the many highly skilled slaves whose labor was rented out by their masters in this urban seaport.

In 1799 Denmark Vesey won \$1,500 in the East Bay Street lottery and purchased his freedom from Joseph Vesey for \$600. He continued to work as a master carpenter in Charleston, establishing a good reputation and owning a respectable house on Bull Street. Unlike many ambitious free blacks in Charleston, he rejected the idea of acquiring slaves as a way to bolster his own social status. For the most part, he distrusted and avoided the free blacks (often light-skinned mulattos) who attempted to cultivate favor in white society by living like white slave owners. A charismatic leader who spoke several languages, Vesey became a powerful voice in the Charleston slave community. He married at least one slave woman, possibly several. He believed in the equality of blacks and whites, and, while free himself, resented that his children were still classified as slaves because their mothers were slaves.

Vesey used his economic power and relative mobility to organize within the community of slaves and free blacks. In



1817 he joined the Second Presbyterian Church and later joined the newly established African Methodist Church. His charisma and literacy made him a leader in the congregation, to which he argued that Scripture advocated the delivery of Africans from SLAVERY. Threatened by the autonomy of the African Methodist congregation, white Charlestonians attempted to stop their activities by having hundreds of congregants arrested for disorderly conduct and ordering that black churches could not educate slaves. This religious oppression, combined with the national controversy surrounding the MISSOURI COMPROMISE and the lingering example of the successful slave revolution in Haiti impelled Vesey to begin organizing for a slave revolt in Charleston.

After several years of heightening tensions, Vesey began planning action with the five men who would become his main partners in the insurrection: Peter Poyas, Ned Bennett, Rolla Bennett, Monday Gell, and Gullah Jack Pritchard. Like Vesey, his comrades were effective organizers because of their unusual mobility and their knowledge of different segments of the African community in Charleston and the surrounding countryside. Indeed, Vesey's rebellion strategy was the first North American insurrection to emphasize pan-Africanism: the unification of disparate African and African-American communities, free and slave, in order to challenge white racism and the oppression of black people. Vesey and his lieutenants appealed to skilled urban laborers, recently arrived slaves on the Gullah-speaking sea islands and slaves from the inland agricultural areas. As many as 9,000 slaves would be involved.

Vesey's plan called for attacking Charleston from six different areas. The organized companies would seize important government buildings such as the U.S. arsenal, the governor's mansion, and the city's guardhouse. The surprise attack was to take place at midnight on Sunday, July 14, 1822—a moonless night in the hot and sluggish middle of summer, while many white Charlestonians would be vacationing away from the city. Sunday was also the only day of the week when large numbers of rural slaves could enter the city without triggering suspicion.

In late May, however, word of the planned insurrection fell into the wrong hands when one of Vesey's supporters, William Paul, told mulatto slave Peter Prioleau Desverney about the plot. On the advice of a free mulatto slave owner, Desverney told his master, Colonel Prioleau. William Paul was arrested and interrogated, eventually giving police the names of other conspirators, but not Vesey. When brought in for questioning, the accused maintained their composure and denied the charges. Authorities were left with rumors but no real proof, and the anxiety level among whites began to rise. Vesey and the other undetected conspirators continued to plan for the attack, moving the date up to June 16.

Promising him his freedom, white authorities hired George Wilson to spy on potential conspirators and infil-

trate meetings in local churches. Wilson brought them solid proof of a continuing conspiracy, providing names, dates, and strategies. After learning of their betrayal, Vesey and his men sent word to the rural slave companies to postpone their march, but the word came too late. When Vesey's soldiers arrived on June 16, they found Charleston occupied by federal troops. Authorities convened a secret court to begin hearings, and the police began arresting the leaders. Vesey was arrested on June 20. By early July, all of the principal leaders were in custody at the Charleston Work House, the prison for slaves.

With the exception of Monday Gell, all of the conspirators maintained silence while incarcerated in an attempt to protect their followers. Vesey urged his lieutenants to "die in silence." The secret court found them guilty, and Vesey and his inner circle were executed on July 2, 1822, in a desolate part of Charleston known as Blake's Lands. By the end of July, 35 men had been executed. Twenty-two of them were publicly hanged on the main thoroughfare in Charleston, their bodies left hanging for three days as a grisly warning to would-be insurrectionists.

In the aftermath of the failed insurrection, white authorities tightened their grip on free and enslaved blacks in Charleston. Legislators passed laws restricting the movements of free blacks and their ability to organize gatherings. These new legal restrictions—especially the Negro Seaman's Act of 1823, which required the incarceration of free black sailors while their ships were in Charleston—helped trigger the constitutional battle between the federal government and South Carolina that resulted in the Ordinance of Nullification and, later, the Civil War (1861–65). Thus, Vesey's conspiracy and the violent response to it embodied the tensions that continued to intensify in the slave society of the South in the first half of the 19th century. While Vesey's revolutionary plan was unsuccessful, his efforts left a deep impression among both fearful whites and hopeful blacks, who remembered him as a heroic leader in the struggle against slavery. Recent scholarship has raised questions about the nature and extent of Vesey's conspiracy, but the vigorous reaction of the white population in Charleston confirms its powerful influence at the time.

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—Eleanor H. McConnell

# W



## **Walker, David** (1785–1830) *antislavery pamphleteer*

The African-American abolitionist David Walker was born in 1785 in Wilmington, North Carolina, the son of a free black woman and a slave. He inherited his mother's status but was profoundly affected by the vast number of slaves working in the local economy. Walker identified not only with their plight, but also their skill and resourcefulness as human beings living under a terrible affliction. Around 1820 he moved to Charleston, South Carolina, which had a much higher percentage of free blacks. He soon joined the local African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, originally founded by Richard Allen in Philadelphia. The AME Church in Charleston was a hotbed of antislavery sentiment and the probable inspiration for DENMARK VESEY's abortive uprising there in June 1822. White authorities razed the church in consequence, but the episode seems to have impressed upon Walker the impact of religion combined with abolition and slave resistance.

By 1825 Walker had moved to Boston, Massachusetts, where he operated a used clothing store and married a local woman. He became a prominent member of the small but active black community by joining the Prince Hall Masonry at African Lodge No. 459, the first black Masonic lodge in America. In this capacity he championed *Freedom's Journal*, the nation's first black newspaper, in 1827. The following year he helped to found the Massachusetts General Colored Association, one of the early black activist organizations in America. But Walker remained deeply embittered over SLAVERY and felt compelled to write on behalf of its victims.

In 1829 Walker composed and published his *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, which gained instant notoriety for its strident and militant tenor. In contrast with other, comparatively mild antislavery publications, Walker's tract thunderously condemned slavery in biblical terms and called upon slaves to rise against their masters. It was subsequently mailed and distributed to blacks in slave states, where it genuinely terrified white communities. Walker's

*Appeal* was accordingly proscribed throughout the South and a bounty was placed on his head, dead or alive. Several states also banned literacy among slaves and forbade them from associating with free black sailors, who might have smuggled such incendiary materials. Walker died in Boston on August 6, 1830.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## **War Hawks**

In 1812, about 20 young Democratic-Republican members of Congress from western and southern states actively favored war with Britain, hoping to conquer Canada, end impressment, and guarantee free trade. The group was given its name, War Hawks, by John Randolph of Roanoke, Virginia. They included future cabinet members HENRY CLAY of Kentucky and JOHN C. CALHOUN of South Carolina and several less well known members of congress.

Examinations of congressional votes leading up to the WAR OF 1812 (1812–15) reveal what at first seems a puzzling pattern. British attacks had the greatest impact on New England, yet those states were largely against war. In contrast, the areas represented by the War Hawks, the farming regions of the West and South, were in favor of aggressively defending the national honor. The fact that New Englanders, in the time-honored manner, continued to make money despite the annoyance of British deprivations

may partially explain this. It was also true that the farming regions suffered when the price of goods increased due to British interference with trade. However, other concerns motivated the War Hawks and their constituents.

Conflict with Indian nations often disrupted life in the backcountry. Such conflict posed real dangers to settlers and interfered with the lucrative business of land speculation by limiting the amount of secure land available for sale. Westerners blamed the British for instigating Indian raids and supplying the Native Americans with weapons from their safe haven in Canada. Driving the British from Canada therefore promised to remove the threat to the frontier while opening large areas of Canadian land for speculation. The violation of neutral rights was indeed an important factor in the decision to go to war. However, for the War Hawks and their backcountry constituents, the desire for Canadian land appears to have been an equally powerful motivation. The prowar campaign of the War Hawks was successful in increasing war fever among the public and helped prepare popular support for the declaration of war.

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—Robert Lively

### War of 1812 (1812–1815)

The War of 1812 marked the culmination of a bankrupt foreign policy and demonstrated both the weaknesses and the strengths of the American republic. When Great Britain and France went to war in 1793, the United States had a problem: how to remain neutral in a major European war while reaping the benefits of trade and commerce. Repeatedly the United States came to the brink of war, first with one power and then the other. At times, some politicians cried out for a declaration of war against both Great Britain and France. Such fanciful assertions reflected a degree of unreality that many Americans displayed in the area of FOREIGN POLICY. During the opening decade of the 19th century, with the ascendancy of Thomas Jefferson and the Democratic-Republican Party, foreign policy assumed an Anglophobe caste. While both France and Great Britain increased their efforts to influence American trade, the government generally looked on Britain as the villain. When Napoleon Bonaparte hinted that he would repeal his Berlin and Milan decrees putting restraints on neutral trade, James Madison's administration seized the opportunity to reinstate a trade ban with Great Britain, following Macon's Bill No. 2 (1810). This action created a new crisis with the British that ultimately led to Madison asking Congress for

a declaration of war on June 1, 1812. Madison signed a Declaration of War passed by Congress on June 18, 1812. Ironically, Great Britain had decided to end its blockade of Europe and ease its restrictions on the United States the day before. But since transatlantic communication took weeks and sometimes months, no one was aware of these concessions as the United States entered the war.

Many Federalists, especially in New England, objected to the war. These opponents wanted to maintain their commercial contacts with Great Britain and saw little reason for fighting. Many of them continued to trade illegally with Britain and even flirted with secession. The HARTFORD CONVENTION (1814) gave the greatest form and substance to the Federalist complaints just as the hostilities were ending.

If the Federalists were right and there was no immediate reason to fight the War of 1812, there were many long-term causes for the conflict. First, there was the issue of neutral rights that had plagued the United States since 1793. Americans insisted that neutral ships carried neutral goods and believed that the profits of the carrying trade should be theirs. Second, there was the question of impressment. For almost two decades, the British Navy had forced Americans to serve on its ships. This violation of the integrity of the United States was not only a diplomatic affront, it also affected the lives of thousands of American seamen who found themselves trapped—virtually enslaved—aboard British men of war for years and sometimes decades. Third, many Americans believed that British agents encouraged NATIVE AMERICANS to fight against the United States. Americans blamed British agitation for Tecumseh's pan-Indian movement that led to the Battle of Tippecanoe (November 7, 1811). Fourth, led by WAR HAWKS, expansionist fever swept many parts of the United States. War with Great Britain would allow Americans not only to fight Indians and gain control of more land, but potentially promised the addition of Canada and even FLORIDA (which was Spanish). Finally, many Americans believed that if a republic was ever to be taken seriously on the world stage, the United States had to defend its honor and demonstrate that it could successfully fight a war.

Success was elusive, and the national government was so ineffective, it almost proved its critics right. However, the same traits that made the country appear weak also saved the republic from complete disaster. Jefferson's policies had been dismantling the strong central government created by the Federalists. Instead of a capital that would be the new Rome, as the Federalists had hoped, Washington, D.C., became a mere shadow of a city. Its destruction might be humiliating, but it had little real impact on the ability to wage war. Allowing the First Bank of the United States to expire in 1811 removed an area of central finance,

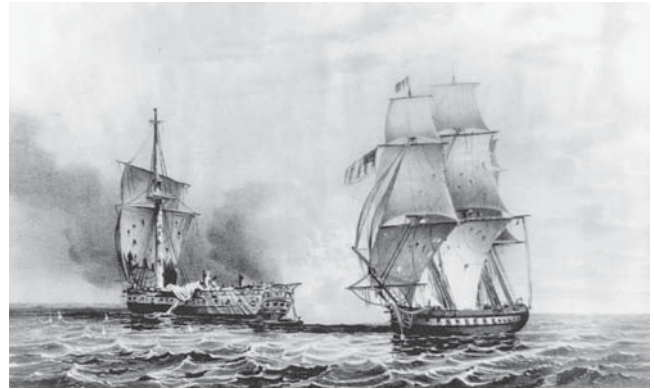
but it encouraged banking to spread elsewhere. The army was not extensive, but thousands of men were in the militia and could be called upon in a time of invasion. Finally, the nation was spread out over millions of square miles. Such a territory might be hard to defend, but it was also almost impossible to conquer. These conditions made it difficult to win the war, but it was equally hard to lose it.

The war began badly on land. In 1812, there were three major campaigns along the Canadian border: the west, the Niagara River, and the Lake Champlain corridor. Each ended in failure. The biggest disaster occurred in the west. The British captured Fort Mackinac which guarded the straits between Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior by the end of July. The evacuation of Fort Dearborn (now Chicago) ended in an Indian massacre on August 15, and the inept general WILLIAM HULL surrendered Fort Detroit on August 16. The American effort on the Niagara Frontier was little better. An invasion across the Niagara River ended in a costly defeat at the Battle of Queenstown (October 11, 1812) when the militia refused to cross into Canada, arguing that they were a defensive force only. The thrust into Canada at Lake Champlain was only a mild setback. The American army got a late start, reached the border, and when the militia refused to enter Canada, the whole force simply retreated into winter quarters.

By comparison, the U.S. Navy began the war in a spectacular fashion, experiencing a series of single-ship victories that stunned the British. On August 19, 1812, the American super frigate USS *Constitution* pummeled the HMS *Guerrière* so heavily that the British ship had to be scuttled after it surrendered. On October 15, the USS *United States* handled the HMS *Macedonian* in a similar fashion, but managed to bring its prize to an American port. Then, on December 29, the *Constitution* sank the HMS *Java* off the coast of Brazil. Along with some smaller ship actions, these victories gave Americans something to boast about.

The war on land improved slightly for the Americans in 1813. There was a major turnaround in the situation in the west. Oliver Hazard Perry built a fleet of ships on Lake Erie, then defeated a British squadron in the BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE (September 10, 1813). This victory compelled the British to abandon Detroit. General WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, the hero of Tippecanoe, pursued the British, defeating a combined Native American and British force at the BATTLE OF THE THAMES (October 5, 1813), thus ending the threat to the northwest during the war. Tecumseh was killed in this battle, eliminating that threat as well.

Further south, Andrew Jackson began his campaign against the Creek Indians with devastating effect. He and his army pursued the Creek with vigor, winning the BATTLE OF HORSESHOE BEND (March 27, 1814). The



This lithograph depicts the capture of the frigate *Java* by the American frigate *Constitution* during one of many naval battles in the War of 1812. (Library of Congress)

Niagara campaign began well, with an American victory at Fort George (May 24, 1813), where the Niagara meets Lake Ontario. The Americans did not immediately seize the initiative that this victory had opened. The result was that the British and Canadian forces were able to rally, and, under effective military leadership (something the Americans lacked), the British won a series of victories in the summer, fall, and winter. They not only recaptured Fort George but also took Fort Niagara (December 18, 1813) on the American side of the river. By the beginning of 1814, the situation along this front had deteriorated into almost a complete debacle. The war further north remained a stalemate. Two invasions, one from Lake Ontario, the other along Lake Champlain, ran into some minor resistance and were quickly abandoned.

If the United States was unable to generate much offensive firepower and seemed to be spinning its wheels, the British also were getting nowhere. Victories in the west in 1812 and on the Niagara in 1813 did little good. In both cases the occupation of forts barely dented the huge territorial expanse of the United States, and the British armies remained hundreds of miles from the American population centers. In 1813, the British finally won a single frigate action—the HMS *Shannon* captured the ill-fated USS *Chesapeake* (June 1, 1813)—and had effectively blockaded most of the American navy. But American privateers continued to wreak havoc on British shipping. Moreover, Native American power had been broken in both the North and the South.

In Europe, Napoleon's armies were in retreat and his defeat was almost certain. Despite war weariness (the war with France had been waged almost without interruption since 1793), Britain was able to turn greater attention to the United States in 1814. Although reinforcements brought British North American forces to approximately 40,000, the



war continued to be a stalemate in 1814. The Americans launched two initiatives that accomplished little, while the British seized the offensive in four areas that led to mixed results. Hoping to further stabilize the northwestern frontier, an American force was sent against the British-occupied Fort Mackinac. A combined British and Indian attack (August 4) surprised and defeated the advancing Americans. Having regained some strength on the Niagara River over the winter, American forces launched yet another invasion of Canada, winning the Battle of Chippewa (July 5), fighting the Battle of Lundy's Lane (July 25) to a draw, and successfully defending Fort Erie (August 15). The entire Niagara campaign saw little net change. The British planned a major invasion along Lake Champlain. With a vastly superior force, they advanced on Plattsburgh (New York). But when Lieutenant Thomas Macdonough defeated the British fleet in the Battle of Lake Champlain (September 11), the British army was compelled to retreat despite success on land in the Battle of Plattsburgh (September 11).

The British were able to occupy most of eastern Maine almost unopposed in the summer of 1814. They also launched a combined army and naval operation in the Chesapeake, winning the Battle of Bladensburg (August 24) and burning the American capital of Washington, D.C. However, when the British attempted to extend this success at the BATTLE OF BALTIMORE (September 12–14), they were repulsed and withdrew from the area. The final British campaign ended in disaster after the TREATY OF GHENT (1814). An experienced army under General Edward Pakenham fought General ANDREW JACKSON at the BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS (January 8, 1815), with tremendous casualties for the British. Pakenham was killed and lost over 2,000 men.

The peace treaty that ended the war settled nothing. The outstanding issues of free trade, impressment and boundaries were left untouched. Yet with Napoleon defeated, impressment and free trade became moot, while the United States had other areas in which it could seek expansion. The war also marked an important watershed in American history. Native American power east of the Mississippi was nearly crushed. A new nationalism emerged from the war that would help propel the United States across a continent. And, although seriously challenged, the republic showed that it could viably defend itself.

See also FREE TRADE AND SAILOR'S RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Harry L. Coles, *The War of 1812* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Reginald Horsman, *The War of 1812* (New York: Knopf, 1969).

### Warren, Josiah (1798–1874) *scholar*

Firmly rooted in the American experience was a long native tradition of hostility to the authority of the state. Strong elements of anarchism can be found in some early American religious sects, in such groups as the abolitionists, and in individuals like HENRY DAVID THOREAU. But the most systematic philosophy of native American anarchism originated with Josiah Warren.

Like most of the other adherents of this variety of anarchism, Warren came from an old New England family. He was a highly inventive and practical-minded individual who in the course of his life worked as a musician and orchestra leader, invented and manufactured a lard-burning lamp, contributed to the improvement of the printing press, and devised an original system of musical notation. In 1826, he moved to ROBERT OWEN's community at New Harmony, Indiana, where he lived for over a year. In what was perhaps the earliest anarchist critique of socialism, he attributed the failure of New Harmony to its communal property arrangements and system of authority. He concluded that the true principle of social organization lay in voluntary association, with each individual owning property equal to the value of his own labor.

Never content merely to propound a theory, Warren proceeded to test its validity in practice. His first experiment was the "time store." As described later by his son George:

The time store was started by my father for the purpose of illustrating the labor-for-labor system. The goods he bought principally of Evansville merchants. The customers would come in and ask for what was wanted. The time dial was set to correspond with the minute hand of the clock and when the customer was through with his purchase, the time required in waiting on him was figured up; this labor was paid by the customer in labor notes and the cost of the goods was paid in cash. There was no profit added to the first cost of the goods, except the amount expended in freight, bills, and other incidentals. The labor notes, of course, represented all classes—merchants, farmers, doctors, and every description of laborer, and the rates per hour were regulated by the cost to the person of having to spend the time in learning the business in which he was engaged.

Some years later, Warren opened another store utilizing a somewhat more refined system of labor notes (an idea originally conceived by Owen). In addition, he made several attempts to implement his theories on a larger scale by founding an anarchist colony. The first of these, the Village of Equity in Ohio, soon came to grief. The other two, Utopia, located not far from Cincinnati, and Modern Times, on Long Island, were more enduring and at least for



a time followed Warren's principles of social organization and used labor notes as a medium of exchange. Modern Times, the most ambitious of Warren's efforts, was founded in 1851, changing its name after a few years to Brentwood, which it remains today. Warren himself left the colony in 1863, and even within his lifetime it lost much of its unique character and began to settle into more conventional patterns. Nevertheless, Warren looked upon it as a success and as a vindication of his principles. He spent the last year of his life in Massachusetts, dying at Charlestown in 1874.

**Further reading:** William Bailie, *Josiah Warren: The First American Anarchist* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1971); George Warren. Labadie Collection, University of Michigan, in "Josiah Warren (1781–1984): Reformer, Inventor, Musician, Writer." URL: [www.2.evansville.edu/ck6/bstud/warren.html](http://www.2.evansville.edu/ck6/bstud/warren.html). Downloaded 2002.

**Webster, Daniel** (1782–1852) *lawyer, politician, orator* Daniel Webster was born in 1782 in Salisbury, New Hampshire, the youngest son in a farm family of 10 children. After going to local schools, Webster attended Phillips Exeter Academy and then graduated from Dartmouth College in 1801, followed by a legal apprenticeship. In 1807, he opened a legal practice in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and a year later married Grace Fletcher. He developed an early interest in politics and rose quickly as a lawyer and Federalist Party leader.

Elected to represent a New Hampshire district in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1812, Webster opposed the WAR OF 1812 and protective tariffs. After serving in the House four years, Webster left Congress in 1816 and moved to Boston to establish a new law practice. Webster would gain his renown as a lawyer by arguing such landmark cases as *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (the DARTMOUTH COLLEGE CASE), 1819, *McCulloch v. Maryland*, 1819, and *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 1824, before the U.S. Supreme Court—and winning. In 1823 Webster was again in the House of Representatives, this time from Massachusetts. In 1827 the legislature of that state chose him to represent Massachusetts in the Senate.

Now representing an industrialized northern state, Webster abandoned his free-trade position and supported a tariff to protect U.S. manufacturers and expressed a hostility towards slavery. Advocating American nationalism, Webster decided to abandon the dying Federalist Party and instead became a member of the National Republican Party. He joined forces with HENRY CLAY to get government support for the construction of roadways in the West. These positions incurred the wrath of southern politicians, and South Carolina senator JOHN C. CALHOUN claimed that his state had the right to nullify the law. On January

26 and 27, 1830, the U.S. Senate heard one of the greatest speeches ever delivered before it, as Webster argued against Senator Robert Hayne of South Carolina on the issue of states' rights. Webster refuted Hayne's notion of "Liberty first and Union afterwards" with the memorable words, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

This stance made Webster the darling of the newly formed WHIG PARTY. While Webster was on President ANDREW JACKSON's side in the nullification crisis, they found themselves at odds over other issues, such as the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES. Webster was put forward as a Whig candidate for president in 1836 but only received the electoral vote of Massachusetts. In 1841 he was appointed secretary of state by President WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON and after Harrison's death served under JOHN TYLER. All of the Whigs in Tyler's cabinet resigned in protest after Tyler vetoed the recharter of the Bank of the United States. Webster refused to join his fellow Whigs and stayed in office to successfully negotiate the WEBSTER-ASHBURTON TREATY with Great Britain in 1842. Pressure from the Whig Party finally convinced him to leave office in May 1843.



Daniel Webster (Library of Congress)

In 1845 Webster reentered the Senate and opposed the annexation of TEXAS and the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR (1846–48). After the war, however, he became involved in the sectional crisis concerning SLAVERY in the new territories gained from Mexico. He supported Henry Clay's COMPROMISE OF 1850 proposals, one of which would organize the territories with no prohibition of slavery, yet he argued that the West was unsuitable for plantation slavery. For his support of the compromise he was roundly condemned by antislavery factions. As secretary of state under President MILLARD FILLMORE from 1850 to 1852, Webster's enforcement of the FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW further enraged abolitionists. It was his espousal of nationalism and his willingness to compromise on slavery that cost him any chance for the presidency during the period after 1840. Webster remained as secretary of state until the condition of his health became so critical that he was forced to resign. He returned to his home in Marshfield, Massachusetts, where he died on October 24, 1852.

**Further reading:** Maurice G. Baxter, *One and Inseparable: Daniel Webster and the Union* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); Merrill D. Peterson, *The Great Triumvirate: Webster, Clay, and Calhoun* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Craig R. Smith, *Daniel Webster and the Oratory of Civil Religion* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005).

### Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842)

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty, signed on August 9, 1842, resolved two boundary issues between the United States and the English in Canada left over from the Revolutionary War. The first was the boundary between the state of Maine and the Canadian provinces of New Brunswick and Quebec. The second was the boundary from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods in the old Northwest Territory. The treaty is significant both for eliminating potential trouble spots with the British and for paving the way for further expansion in Oregon and in the Southwest. When the United States turned to settling the disputed Oregon boundary and approached war with Mexico later in the 1840s, it did not have to deal simultaneously with problems in the old Northwest Territory and in the Northeast.

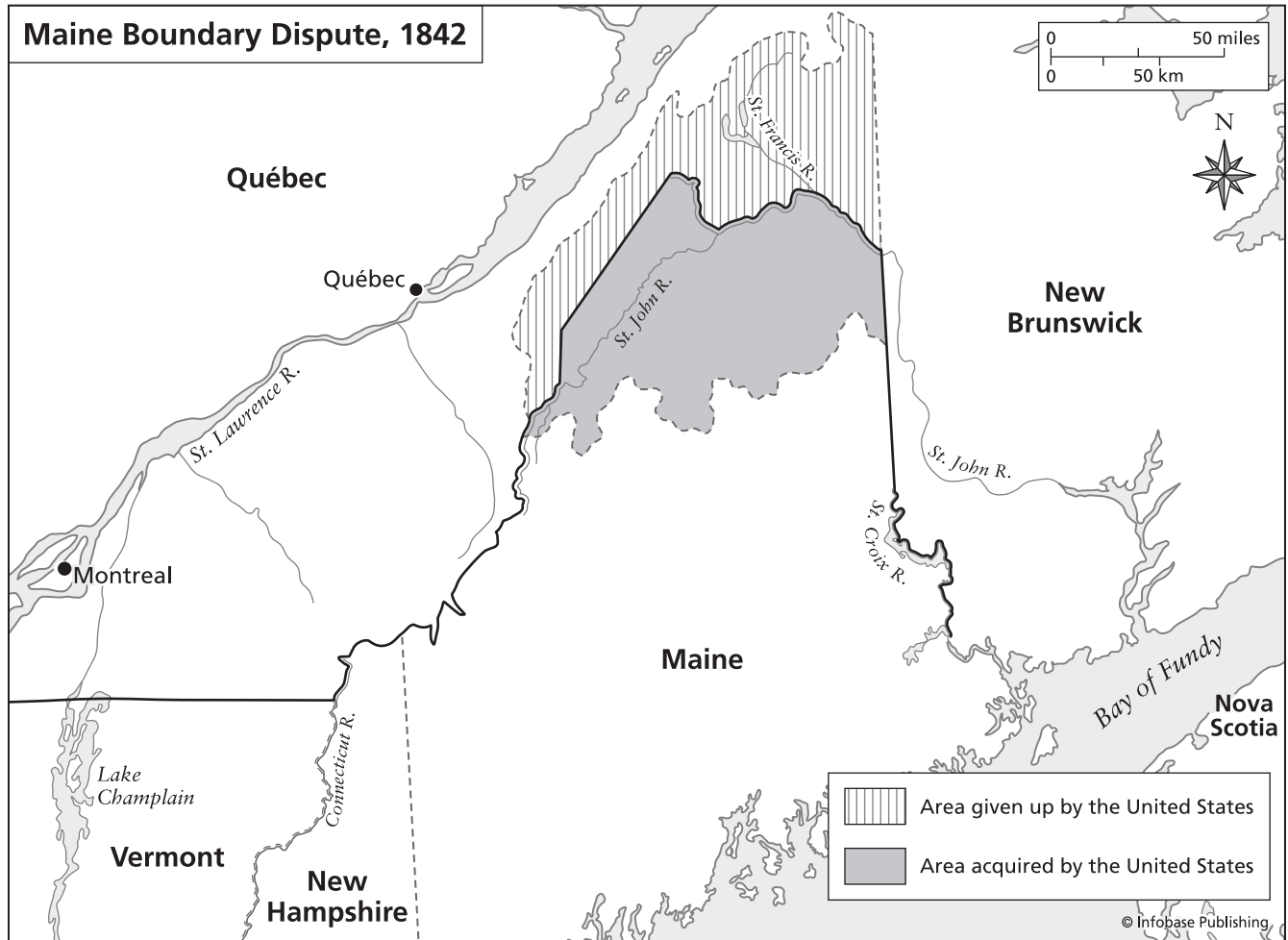
The Treaty of Paris in 1783 left unclear the intended boundaries in the Northwest and Northeast, since the two countries could not agree on the identity of rivers specified in the treaty. In its early years, the United States asserted a boundary in the Northeast that would carry American territory northward, close to the St. Lawrence River. This boundary would give the United States control of the headwaters of the St. John River while leaving the mouth of the

river in Canada. It would also cut across a planned military road between Quebec and New Brunswick, leaving the latter vulnerable to American expansionism. The British, on the other hand, asserted a boundary placing the entire St. John River, as well as the smaller Aroostook River, in Canada. In all, the disputed territory comprised a little more than 12,000 square miles, much of it covered in valuable timber resources.

In 1818, under terms established in the TREATY OF GHENT at the end of the WAR OF 1812, American representatives in England negotiated a treaty fixing the boundary between the United States and Canada at the 49th parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains. Attempts to resolve the northeastern boundary and the boundary from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods in the same treaty, however, failed. In 1836, the Senate rejected a compromise line for the northeastern boundary suggested by the king of the Netherlands, the key obstacle being the reluctance of the states of Maine and Massachusetts (which controlled Maine until 1820) to surrender the territory north of the St. John River. Two years later, lumberjacks from Maine occupied and began cutting timber in the disputed area, prompting a crisis. General WINFIELD SCOTT was sent to the area and settled what became known as the AROOSTOOK WAR (1838–39) by getting the citizens of Maine and New Brunswick to agree to stay in the areas they currently occupied, pending a final disposition of the disputed land.

In 1842 conditions were ripe for a settlement. A new Tory government in Great Britain appointed Lord Ashburton its representative in negotiations with the United States. Ashburton, who had an American wife, had spent much of his career seeking improved relations with the United States, and the British government gave him wide latitude for making concessions to settle the boundary dispute. The American secretary of state, DANIEL WEBSTER, was equally ready for a settlement. Webster wanted better relations with England, and for this reason he had remained in the cabinet after the death of President WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON in 1841; the rest of Harrison's cabinet had resigned rather than serve under his successor, JOHN TYLER. The states of Maine and Massachusetts dropped their objections to a settlement after being offered \$150,000 each by the federal government.

In his eagerness to deal, however, Webster received less territory in the Northeast than the United States would have received under the compromise proposed by the king of the Netherlands and, more important, less overall than Ashburton might have given. Webster might also have been able to get the British to pay the compensation made to Maine and Massachusetts. But if Webster lost territory in the Northeast, securing the entire Mesabi region in the Old Northwest meant the United States controlled its rich



iron ore deposits, of which Ashburton may have been only vaguely aware. The Mesabi iron deposits more than compensated the United States for the loss of timberland in the Northeast.

In the ratification process, both countries produced old maps that seemed to show the other country's full claim was the more just and hence the compromise represented a victory. Still, the Webster-Ashburton Treaty received unqualified acceptance in neither country. Although only nine senators voted against ratification in the U.S. Senate, the Webster-Ashburton treaty seemed to represent a retreat at a time when Americans were feeling particularly expansionist. Further, the treaty left the thorniest problem between the United States and Great Britain—Oregon—untouched.

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*Foreign Relations, 1776–1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

—Russell L. Johnson

**Weld, Theodore Dwight** (1803–1895) *abolitionist, orator*

A leading northern abolitionist and perhaps the most effective of all antislavery speakers, Theodore Dwight Weld was born in Connecticut and raised near Utica, New York. He studied at Hamilton College, where he met revivalist CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY, whose financial support permitted Weld to enter Oneida Institute in 1827 to study for the ministry. While still at college, Weld was influenced by Charles Stuart, an early abolitionist organizer, to get involved in the antislavery cause.

When ARTHUR AND LEWIS TAPPAN of New York organized an antislavery society in 1831, Weld attended the early meetings. After several years of lecturing and leading revivals, he was commissioned by the Tappans to select a

theological seminary in the West for them to endow. Weld chose Lane Seminary at Cincinnati and persuaded many of students there to join the ABOLITION MOVEMENT. When the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was formed, it began a pamphlet campaign which met resistance in both North and South. Weld returned to Lane Seminary to study in 1833 and organized a debate on slavery that converted a large number of students to the abolitionist cause. Although the Lane Seminary trustees expelled Weld and his followers, they moved on to Oberlin College, where they were able to continue their work without interference. Many of Weld's followers were persuaded to become itinerant lecturers for emancipation. With Weld, they preached the sinfulness of slavery and dwelt on emancipation as a revival in benevolence. Their work firmly established the movement in Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, and western Massachusetts.

The success of Weld's agents caused the American Anti-Slavery Society to abandon its pamphlet campaign and sponsor these local volunteers. With Henry B. Stanton and John Greenleaf Whittier, Weld chose many new agents and trained them in a conference meeting in 1836. These lecturers consolidated the antislavery movement throughout the North, and under Weld's direction they deluged Congress with antislavery petitions. The drive for signatures was bolstered by the publication of tracts, with Weld writing three of the four most popular ones. The consequent rise of numerous local antislavery societies and the controversial activities of William Lloyd Garrison led to the dissolution of the national society in 1840. Garrison packed the last American Anti-Slavery Society convention with his delegates and won the society's name for his own group of reformers in New England. The original Tappan group subsequently formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

During the 1836 training conference Weld met ANGELINA AND SARAH GRIMKÉ, daughters of a distinguished slaveholding family of Charleston, South Carolina. The Grimké sisters had become convinced of the evil of slavery and had moved to Philadelphia to join the Society of Friends. They wrote and lectured for the antislavery cause and for WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS, becoming the first American women to publicize the movement. Weld married Angelina in 1838, and they had three children.

In 1841 Weld went to Washington and for two years served as a lobbyist for the insurgents trying to form an antislavery bloc in the Whig party. After 1844, with his wife and Sarah, Weld retired from public life and founded a school, Eaglewood, near Raritan, New Jersey. Weld turned his energy to writing, publishing his most famous book, *American Slavery As It Is*, in 1839. This work, said to be a strong influence on Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, won many supporters to the cause of black eman-

cipation. Theodore Dwight Weld died at Hyde Park, Massachusetts, on February 3, 1895.

**Further reading:** Robert H. Abzug, *Passionate Liberator: Theodore Dwight Weld and the Dilemma of Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

### Whig Party (1834–1856)

The political party known as the Whigs was formed during the second quarter of the 19th century to oppose President ANDREW JACKSON and the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. HENRY CLAY of Kentucky and DANIEL WEBSTER of Massachusetts were its leading organizers and proponents. In U.S. politics, the term *Whig* came into common use in 1834 and persisted until the disintegration of the party after the presidential election of 1856.

The name of Whig originally came into use during the 1680s in England when Protestants became threatened by the establishment of a line of Catholic Kings, starting with James II. These Protestants, who held that Parliament could prevent such a succession, came to be called Whigs after a radical Presbyterian group in Scotland, the Whigamores. During the American Revolution, many on the revolutionary side identified with the English Whigs, which continued to be the party in favor of Parliament's keeping the king in check.

The 19th-century Whig Party in the United States was primarily concerned with promoting INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS, such as roads, canals, RAILROADS, deepening of rivers, etc. This was of interest to many westerners in this period, isolated as they were and in need of markets. Abraham Lincoln was a Whig for most of this period.

A deepening economic recession in 1834 caused the country to become more politically polarized. It was during this period that the National Republicans assumed the name Whigs. This conjured up ghosts of the antiroyal, pro-Parliament, English factions of the 17th and 18th centuries. Consequently, Jackson was labeled "King Andrew I" and depicted as a tyrant in political cartoons; he was, for example, drawn as a king holding a scepter labeled "Veto."

The Whigs did not exist as a political party before 1834, but it had its beginnings in 1824 when supporters of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS and Henry Clay joined forces against Andrew Jackson. This coalition, which later called itself the National Republican Party, increased in strength after Jackson's election in 1828 and was joined in opposition to the president by other smaller parties, the most notable being the Anti-Masonic Party. The National Republicans advocated a nationalistic economic policy known as the AMERICAN SYSTEM, much of which could be traced back to Alexander Hamilton's Federalist economic policy of 1791,



but were stymied by the rising power of the Jacksonians, who were thereafter called Democrats. Jackson's inauguration in 1829 began the period of National Republican opposition and the catalyst for the coalition of political forces leading to the formation of the Whig Party. Henry Clay and Daniel Webster became the party's leading figures.

Webster was more of a nationalist than Clay, as he demonstrated in his famed defense of national constitution authority against Robert Hayne's doctrine of states' rights (January 26–27, 1830). But both men urged a program of tariff protection, federally sponsored communication projects (internal improvements), continuation of the national bank, and a conservative public land sales policy—the American System. This program had an especially strong appeal for merchants and manufacturers whose business operations went beyond state lines. Clay made the president's veto of a bill to recharter the SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES the key issue of the 1832 election, but Jackson easily won reelection.

By 1832 Jackson had also earned the enmity of such diverse groups as states' rights advocates in the South, proponents of internal improvements in the West, and businessmen and friends of the Bank of the United States in the East. This opposition had been fostered and nurtured by Henry Clay in the election that year. Two years later, in 1834, all the various groups were combined in a loose alliance.

State sovereignty, not economic nationalism, was the idea that brought a significant addition to the ranks of those opposing Jackson. JOHN C. CALHOUN of South Carolina broke his alliance with Jackson when he realized that he would not be the next Democratic president, and the split widened during South Carolina's attempt to nullify federal tariff laws. Jackson reacted sternly to this defiance, giving Clay an opportunity to introduce a compromise tariff bill in February 1833. Calhoun approved the compromise and for several years acted in uneasy association with other anti-Jacksonians.

Another source of recruits was the Anti-Masonic Party, particularly strong in New York and Pennsylvania. The stated purpose of this strange phenomenon in American history was to combat the supposed threat of Masonic power over judicial and political institutions. It also provided younger politicians with a convenient means for advancement. Among those Anti-Masons who became important Whig leaders were William H. Seward and Thurlow Weed of New York, and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. With the addition of two more groups—antinullification states' rights southerners and the so-called Democratic Conservatives, who opposed their party's financial policies after 1836—the Whig coalition was complete but hardly united.

In the 1836 presidential election, the Whigs were not unified or strong enough to join behind a single presiden-

tial candidate; instead, several Whig candidates ran for office. The most prominent were Daniel Webster in New England, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON in the Northwest, and Hugh Lawson White in the Southwest. The election went to the Democrat MARTIN VAN BUREN, but the Whigs grew steadily stronger.

Hard times following the PANIC OF 1837 and the popularity of the Whig candidate, William Henry Harrison, brought the party victory in 1840 over Jackson's successor, Martin Van Buren. The new Whig managers stole a turn from the Democrats by outdoing them in raucous electioneering during the "Log Cabin" campaign—the most tumultuous presidential campaign the nation had yet seen. (This was the formula for the only other Whig victory, that of ZACHARY TAYLOR in 1848). Harrison's death on April 4, 1841 (one month after assuming office), resulting in John Tyler's succession to the presidency, was especially disastrous for the party.

A definite break ensued between Tyler and the Whig leaders in Congress, a development that illustrated the Whig philosophy of government. The Whigs had originated in objection to what they considered the excessive power of the executive branch under Andrew Jackson. To them the legislative branch of the government represented the wishes of the people, and the task of the executive was to serve as the enforcing agent of the legislative branch. When Tyler ignored the counsel of his cabinet and vetoed bills that sought to reestablish the Bank of the United States, about 50 Whig congressmen met in caucus and read Tyler out of the party. With this the last pre-Civil War opportunity for passage of a modified American System had slipped by.

In 1844 the Whig Party nominated Henry Clay for president. However, Clay refused to take a definite stand on the TEXAS annexation issue, provoking northern abolitionists, who opposed its admission as a slave state, to support the LIBERTY PARTY candidate. The Whig split ensured a victory for the Democrat JAMES K. POLK. Once the MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR (1846–48) had been declared, controversy over admitting or excluding SLAVERY from territory gained in the war further splintered the party. Antislavery Whigs known as Conscience Whigs opposed the Cotton Whigs in the proslavery states.

In 1848 the nomination slipped away from Webster and Clay and went to ZACHARY TAYLOR, who had gained wide popularity as a victorious general in the Mexican-American War. This move temporarily prevented a division of the party, and Taylor was elected. The nation had become deeply divided by the issues of slavery and national expansion. With disunion threatening, the aged Whig leaders Clay and Webster tried, in January and March 1850, to formulate a series of laws designed to resolve the main points of sectional friction. President Taylor opposed their moves, but his death on July 9, 1850, made MILLARD FILLMORE,



a Whig Party loyalist from New York, president. Fillmore supported the efforts of Clay and Webster, and the COMPROMISE OF 1850 was enacted. While the Compromise of 1850 was not solely a Whig accomplishment, the party's leadership had been prominent in its passage. Webster, now Fillmore's secretary of state, dreamed of capturing the presidency at the head of a Union movement in 1852. But both major parties accepted the Compromise, and on June 16, 1852, the Whigs reverted to form in nominating another general, WINFIELD SCOTT, for president. Two weeks later, Clay was dead; Webster died in October. The Whig Party never recovered from the loss of its two greatest figures.

The passing of Clay and Webster heralded the Whig disaster of 1852. The party's call for moderation and union, by now far more prominent than the national economic policy, became even more ineffective as the Civil War neared. Southern Whigs, fearful of northern encroachment on slaveholding rights, thought the Democrats more receptive to their interests; and a key number of northern Whigs had already moved into the antislavery FREE-SOIL PARTY, which had been formed on the eve of the 1848 election.

The rise of the REPUBLICAN PARTY and the anti-immigrant KNOW-NOTHING PARTY completed the Whig downfall. Defections to Republicanism were numerous, while the former Whig president, Fillmore, accepted the Know-Nothing nomination. A Whig national convention met in 1856, but it simply endorsed the Fillmore ticket. Thus, the party of unionism came to an end, a victim of sectional controversy. In 1860, a feeble remnant of the Whig party organized the Constitutional Union Party, a last-ditch attempt to prevent disruption of the Union. They fared badly in the election; their constitutional conservatism was politically dead, and with it had perished the Whig Party.

It is difficult to speak of Whig doctrine in a party of such diverse elements. Politically, the opposition to Jackson had dictated an attack on excessive presidential energy. Whigs believed Congress should initiate policy, not the president. Whig views of the Constitution ranged from Webster's nationalism to Tyler's states' rights views, with the nationalistic view predominating. But its national economic policy best characterized the Whigs, although not all those calling themselves Whigs accepted it. Politically, this was a premature nationalism at a time when the effective power of government remained to a large extent with the states. The Democrats, through their generally superior state political organizations and greater identification with popular interests, were usually able to maintain their ascendancy. The absence of true nationalism before the Civil War meant that the party with a national economic policy had to depend on political trumpery and war heroes for its two national victories. With no southerners in Congress during the Civil War and with a former Illinois Whig,

Abraham Lincoln, in the White House, the Republican Party finally passed much of the economic legislation on tariff and banking that the Whigs had long advocated.

**Further reading:** Thomas Brown, *Politics and Statesmanship: Essays on the American Whig Party* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Michael F. Holt, *The Rise and Fall of the American Whig Party: Jacksonian Politics and the Onset of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

—Richard L. Friedline

**Whitman, Marcus** (1802–1847) *physician, medical missionary*

Marcus Whitman, a Presbyterian missionary, was born on September 4, 1802, in Rushville, New York, where he trained to be a doctor. After graduating in 1832, Whitman practiced in Canada for years. He also worked toward becoming an elder in the Presbyterian Church, and in this capacity he applied for work with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

In 1835 the missions board appointed Whitman to tour the Pacific Northwest and find a suitable locale. He accordingly traveled to Oregon with Reverend Samuel Parker, met with several representatives of the Flathead and Nez Percé communities, and was invited by the tribesmen to establish an Indian mission. He then ventured back east in 1836 to recruit volunteers. While there, he married Narcissa Prentice, herself an aspiring missionary. Later that year the Whitmans traveled to Oregon with Reverend Henry H. Spaulding, and Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spaulding became the first white women to cross the Rocky Mountains by land. Whitman subsequently settled down in Waiilatpu in the Walla Walla Valley, where he ministered to the Cayuse Indians despite their dangerous reputation. He labored many years among the Cayuse in a failed effort to convert them to both Christianity and settled farming.

By 1842 the board became dissatisfied with Whitman's scant results and threatened to close his mission. At this Whitman made a dramatic 3,000-mile journey to Boston in wintertime and convinced them to relent. In 1843 he led another group of settlers to Oregon, but the constant influx of whites onto Indian land was straining relations with the local tribesmen. In the late summer of 1847 a wagonload of infected migrants brought about an outbreak of measles. Whitman successfully treated many of the white children, but many Cayuse children—lacking immunity—died of the disease. Cayuse elders believed that the missionaries were deliberately killing their offspring, so on November 29, 1847, they massacred Whitman, his wife, and 12 others at the Waiilatpu mission. This act triggered a bitter war with the settlers. But Joe Meek so eloquently

conveyed news of Whitman's death to Washington, D.C., that Congress voted to create the Oregon Territory and to dispatch military forces there for the protection of citizens. Whitman College, in Walla Walla, was established in his memory.

**Further reading:** Clifford M. Drury, *The Mountains We Have Crossed: Diaries and Letters of the Oregon Mission, 1838* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *The Cayuse Indians: The Imperial Tribesmen of Old Oregon* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005).

—John C. Fredriksen

### **Whitman, Narcissa** (1808–1847) *missionary*

The Presbyterian missionary Narcissa Prentiss was born in Prattsburg, New York, on March 14, 1808, the daughter of a sawmill owner. From her mother she inherited an acute religiosity, and she underwent a conversion at the age of 11 while a member of the Prattsburg Congregational Church. Well educated at several academies, Prentiss was determined to become a missionary, but as a single woman, her options were limited. In 1834 she became aware of the urgent call for missionaries to bring Christianity to NATIVE AMERICANS beyond the Rocky Mountains. However, her letter to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions went unanswered.

It was not until January 1836, when she married MARCUS WHITMAN, that she achieved her goal and entered actively into missionary service. That year Whitman accompanied her husband and a small group of other travelers to Oregon; on this journey she and fellow traveler Eliza Spaulding became the first white women to cross the Rocky Mountains by land. She then took up residence among the Cayuse in Waiilatpu on the Walla Walla River and began her work in earnest.

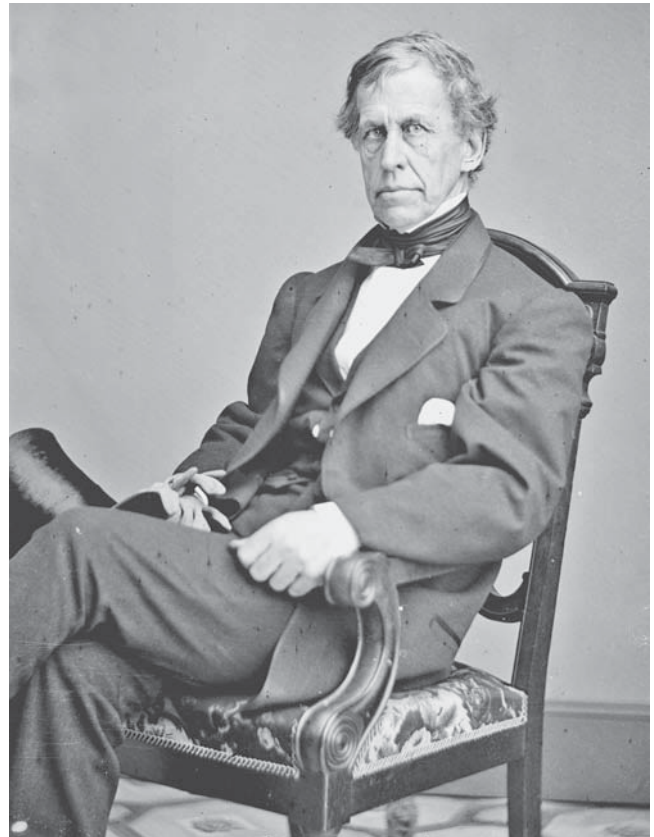
As a rule, Whitman disliked Indian life and encountered great difficulties communicating with Native Americans. Despite their best efforts, neither she nor her husband was able to overcome the linguistic and cultural divide separating them from their charges, and her eight years among them resulted in no new converts. Worse, in June 1839 her only child drowned, throwing her into a deep depression. By 1841 Whitman had undergone a second conversion and renewed her missionary work, again with little success. In the late summer of 1847 a new group of settlers brought on an outbreak of measles that ravaged local Cayuse children, and tribal leaders concluded that the Whitmans were poisoning them. On November 29, 1847, Whitman and her husband were massacred at their mission, along with several neighbors. Despite her failure as a missionary, her life demonstrated the impact of Evangelicalism on antebellum

middle-class women and the unusual opportunities it could present them.

**Further reading:** Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Converting the West: A Biography of Narcissa Whitman* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

### **Wilkes expedition** (1838–1842)

The Wilkes expedition was the first oceanic expedition sponsored by the U.S. government. In 1836 Congress authorized an extensive naval expedition whose goals were to circumnavigate the globe and chart the little-known waters of the South Pacific for merchants and whalers. Two years elapsed before the logistical arrangements were completed and an appropriate commander selected. Thanks to the intercession of President MARTIN VAN BUREN, the expedition leader chosen was Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, formerly head of the U.S. Navy Department of Charts and Instruments. The decision proved unpopular, given the availability of officers with more seniority. Nonetheless, Wilkes finally departed Norfolk, Virginia, on August 1838 with six small vessels and a complement of scientists.



Rear Admiral Charles Wilkes (*Library of Congress*)

Among them were geologist James Dwight Dana, horticulturist William Backenridge, and naturalist Titian Peale, who was also an accomplished artist.

Wilkes guided his flotilla down the coast of South America as far as Cape Horn, where the explorers established a base camp before proceeding farther south. They explored the waters of Antarctica for nearly a month without landing, then sailed up the coast of South America as far as Lima, Peru, where scientists went ashore to examine Inca ruins. The expedition next sailed west toward Australia and New Zealand, making subsequent stops in Tahiti and Samoa. The people living there did not welcome the intruders, however, and two crew members died in an attack by natives. Turning southward again in January 1840, Wilkes made his second investigation of Antarctica; the party sailed 1,600 miles along the icebound coastline before briefly glimpsing what was assumed to be a continental landmass. Again, icy conditions precluded any attempt at landing, so the expedition headed north to the Fiji Islands and Hawaii before turning east toward the North American coast.

In April 1841 the Wilkes expedition arrived in Oregon waters. Here the vessel *Peacock* struck a sand bar and sank while attempting to sail up the COLUMBIA RIVER. Undeterred, Wilkes dispatched several parties to the Snake and Sacramento Rivers, one of which ventured as far inland as Sutter's Fort (Sacramento, CALIFORNIA). Wilkes's landfall at Fort Nisqually, Puget Sound, served to bolster American claims in what became the Oregon Territory. The party then sailed for home and finally dropped anchor in New York on June 10, 1842.

The Wilkes expedition sailed 80,000 miles in less than four years while gathering data on 280 islands in the Pacific and 800 miles of streams and rivers in Oregon and California. Charts created by this expedition carefully recorded long stretches of the Antarctic coast. So meticulous was Wilkes in his preparation that many of his maps were still in use as late as World War II. The expedition also recorded various ethnic and anthropological observations, especially of the Native American tribes living in the Oregon region. In addition, it returned with thousands of animal and botanical specimens, many of which formed the basis of the Smithsonian Institution collection. In sum, the Wilkes expedition played a direct role in raising national awareness of the Pacific and Northwest territories and also contributed to scientific knowledge. It further demonstrated that the young republic was fully capable of mounting sustained scientific expeditions on a scale previously enjoyed only by Great Britain. Wilkes himself, a sneering, draconian figure, was subject to a court-martial for his alleged abuse of crew members but was eventually cleared. He spent nearly two decades editing 20 volumes of scientific findings. The stretch of the Antarctic coast that his expedition covered was subsequently christened Wilkes Land in his honor.

**Further reading:** Barry A. Joyce, *The Shaping of American Ethnology: The Wilkes Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001); Nathaniel Philbrick, *Sea of Glory: The Epic South Sea Expedition of 1838–1842* (New York: Viking, 2004); Nathaniel Philbrick and Thomas Philbrick, eds., *The Private Journal of William Reynolds, United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Willard, Emma (Hart)** (1787–1870) *educator, textbook writer, poet*

Born in Berlin, Connecticut, the ninth child of Captain Samuel and Lydia (Hinsdale) Hart, Emma Willard spent her life teaching and advocating improvement in women's EDUCATION. From an early age, her father included her in family discussions about politics, philosophy, RELIGION, and morality. She was encouraged to learn on her own and think independently. In addition to her father's progressive teachings, she attended the local public school and later entered the Berlin Academy, one of the first academies established in Connecticut. In an era when girls attended school sporadically, if at all, and when educating girls was generally considered useless, or even potentially damaging, Willard's interest in learning (and the encouragement she received from her father) made her experience exceptional. She also proved to be an exceptionally gifted teacher and was asked to run the Berlin village school when she was only 17. To improve her knowledge as a teacher, she continued her own education, attending the Misses Patten's school in Hartford. She was then asked to run the winter school at the Berlin Academy and soon took over summer duties as well. In the spring and fall, she continued her learning at Mrs. Royse's school in Hartford. In 1807, she went to Middlebury, Vermont, to oversee all aspects of the Female Academy. She excelled in this role, winning the trust of Middlebury's leading citizens. In 1809, she left her position to marry John Willard, a local politician and physician. They had one child, John Hart Willard, in 1810.

John Willard supported his wife's continued interest in learning, encouraging her to study his medical and scientific books. One of her nephews, then attending neighboring Middlebury College, showed her his course of study. She was intrigued by what was being taught to young men in college and asked her nephew if she could study along with him. She mastered his coursework and asked him to test her on it. Her excellent performance encouraged her to continue studying the material that, she was beginning to see, had been closed off from her and other young women. Always motivated to learn and urged to do so, she began to see that the educational experience of most women was quite different from that of men. While boys and young



men were offered a comprehensive plan of study, women and girls were mostly given bits and pieces of intellectual matter. Female education emphasized music, French, embroidery, and other skills meant to display refinement and grace, not mental acumen. Realizing through her own experiences that women could learn about the higher or more difficult subjects just as well as men, Willard began to ponder how the disparity between men's and women's education might be remedied.

Obligated to teach once again because of her husband's financial difficulties, Willard began to think more seriously about ways to promote women's education. To that end, in 1814 she founded the Middlebury Female Academy, where she combined traditionally female subjects with traditionally male subjects such as mathematics and history. Barred from sitting in on classes at Middlebury to bolster her own ability to teach these subjects, she was left to teach herself and devise her own techniques for teaching these topics to her students. Her experiences in Vermont led her to think that her ideas might meet with more success in New York. In 1818, she sent an appeal to New York governor DeWitt Clinton, asking for more public funding for girls' schools. She argued that better education for women would not undermine male and female roles, but rather it would improve the prospects of the young republic by ensuring that children raised by educated mothers would be more virtuous citizens. Her *Plan for Improving Female Education* (1819) received some support when she addressed groups of New York legislators, but most of her listeners still believed that educating women would interfere with their God-given duties as helpmates for men.

Willard established another female academy in Waterford, New York, hoping the legislature would provide state funds for her endeavor. When this assistance failed to appear, the academy was saved by the intervention of prosperous citizens in nearby Troy, a booming canal town with progressive and ambitious ideas about education. Willard moved her school to Troy, where it survived and began to prosper, even without state aid. Students at the Troy Female Academy learned a combination of the lighter traditional subjects and the more rigorous intellectual subjects previously reserved for men. Always looking for better ways to teach, Willard thought the existing textbooks were inadequate and off-putting to students. With typical vigor and creativity, she began writing her own texts: *A System of World Geography* (1824); *History of the United States, or Republic of America* (1828); and *A System of Universal History in Perspective* (1835). These were hailed as more accessible tools for educating about these subjects and were some of the best-selling textbooks of the 19th century. Always zealous in promoting her cause, Willard continued to write about education reform and publicized her



Emma Willard (Hulton/Archive)

ideas energetically. She encouraged her students to serve their country by becoming teachers themselves, hoping to send her pupils out to the newly settled West to provide the schooling so lacking on the frontier. She traveled far herself, promoting the cause of education reform around the nation and in Europe.

In 1838, Willard retired from active teaching at the Troy Female Academy, but she continued to be a powerful figure at the school until her death. Her first husband, John Willard, died in 1825. After retirement and a brief, unhappy second marriage, she returned to her work, proposing ways to improve the common schools in Connecticut and other states. She continued to write, publishing books in her later years on subjects ranging from physiology to history to astronomy. While Willard opposed women's suffrage as unnecessary and politically counterproductive to the cause of women's education, she continued to advocate for women's financial independence and the liberating effects of rigorous education. She continued on as an inspiring, charismatic presence at the Troy Female Academy until her death in 1870. The academy was renamed the Emma Willard School as a tribute to the vision of its founder, the first American woman to publicly advocate better education for women. Her school became a model for other academies, seminaries, and colleges for women in the United States and around the world.

**Further reading:** Stephen Mintz, *Moralists and Modernizers: America's Pre-Civil War Reformers* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

**Williams, Peter, Jr.** (ca. 1780–1840) *activist, minister*  
Born in New Jersey sometime around 1780, Peter Williams, Jr., moved to New York at an early age and became one of New York City's leading African-American clergymen and activists. The son of an enslaved man (and Revolutionary War veteran) and a black indentured woman, he was educated at one of the abolitionist schools for free blacks. As an activist, Williams published some of the earliest pamphlets by an African American against racial injustice. His first such essay, entitled *An Oration on the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, was published in 1808. While celebrating the recent congressional ban on slave imports, Williams also attacked continued racial oppression.

Throughout his life, Williams worked passionately for such issues as black EDUCATION, community uplift, and the ABOLITION MOVEMENT. He was a member of the African Society for Mutual Relief; a supporter of the first black-run newspaper, *Freedom's Journal* (inaugurated in New York City in 1827); and, later in his life, a founder of two educational groups, the African Dorcas Association (1828) and the Phoenix Society (1833). In addition, Williams joined the new generation of immediate abolitionists rising in American culture during the 1830s. As the editors of *The Black Abolitionist Papers* put it, "Williams firmly established his credentials as a leading black abolitionist by the 1830s." From 1833 to 1836, he served on the American Anti-Slavery Society's Board of Managers and was one of its very few black Executive Committee members.

Williams also gained fame for starting St. Phillips Episcopal Church in New York City. After a period of tutelage under a white Episcopal theologian, and after having led a group of black Episcopalians in worship, Williams organized St. Phillips 1819. The congregation expanded to more than 200 families during the next several years, making St. Phillips one of the city's leading African-American churches. Williams became an ordained Episcopal priest in 1826. According to *The Black Abolitionist Papers*, Williams encountered hardship during the 1830s when "rumors that he had conducted an interracial marriage provoked a white mob to destroy his church and Rectory." Told by a bishop in 1834 to formally resign his station in antislavery societies promulgating racial equality, Williams did so but remained at the head of his congregation. He continued to work as an abolitionist, however, attending antislavery meetings and promoting his activist views. One of Williams's last acts in this regard came in 1836 when he received a passport for a trip to England. Although he endured discrimination during his travels, he also claimed American citizenship

through the passport, thereby justifying many black abolitionists' claims to equality.

**Further reading:** C. Peter Ripley, et al., eds., *The Black Abolitionist Papers*, vol. 3 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985–1992).

—Richard Newman

**Wilmot Proviso** See VOLUME V.

### women's status and rights

In the Antebellum United States, a woman's status and rights depended on the law, economics, culture, custom, EDUCATION, ethnicity, and race. By 1860, the efforts of reformers had begun to expand the boundaries of women's concerns, challenge the cultural prejudices that limited their experiences, and set them on the road toward suffrage.

The most basic element of a woman's status was whether she was free or enslaved. Legally, enslaved women were considered the property of their owners and counted as three-fifths of a person for the purpose of the census. As property, enslaved women could not contract and therefore could not marry in the eyes of the law. While many enslaved men and women did engage in fulfilling, consensual relationships that constituted marriage by any other name, the law did not recognize them as such, allowing owners to separate husbands and wives on a whim. An enslaved woman's children were not hers to keep, but rather the property of her owner, who could sell them or remove them at any time. Conception itself was often out of an enslaved woman's control, as sexual abuse was common and her right to seek legal redress often nil. An enslaved woman's status in American society was further compromised by stereotypes. Young women were painted as sly, sexual predators who could not be trusted, while older women were represented as slow, unfeminine, and devoted to their owner's family. These stereotypes suggested that enslaved women did not have or care for families of their own, that they had no relationships within the slave community that were as important as those they had with whites, and that they were intrinsically unsuited for freedom.

These marks of status were imposed from outside the slave community and did not encompass an enslaved woman's own sense of self. Enslaved men and women engaged in sexual, romantic, and emotional relationships with one another, regardless of the law's opinion of the same. Extended family networks were created and maintained through blood ties and friendship, despite the separations imposed by the institution under which they lived. Enslaved men and women engaged in slowdowns, outright disobedience, and rebellion, and sometimes they ran away. Each of



these acts spoke of their own sense of identity and status, pushing back against the expectations of white culture.

A free woman's legal status depended most significantly on whether she was married or not. An unmarried single woman over the age of 18 was able to contract, sue, be charged with criminal activity, own property, make wills, run a business in her own name, and keep her earnings. Once married, however, a woman's legal identity was suspended in that of her husband. He gained control of all property she brought to the marriage, any she gained afterward, her earnings, her ability to contract and sue, and sexual access to her body. A wife could not testify against her husband since the two were legally one, and their children were considered to be in his custody. There were exceptions to these rules, brokered by courts of equity, by some criminal matters, and by premarital trusts. For the majority of women, however, marriage made them the legal dependents of their spouse.

Divorce did exist in the early 19th-century United States, but it was difficult to obtain. Originally judged by state and territorial legislatures, and later by the courts, successful divorce petitions had to demonstrate that one party was guilty of a moral offense against the other and that the latter had remained blameless. A woman whose husband had committed adultery, for example, might be successful in obtaining a divorce. A couple who had both committed adultery and were unhappy together, however, would rarely be able to divorce, since there was no innocent party in the marriage for the courts or legislatures to protect. The most common grounds for divorce were adultery or impotence. Many states and territories would allow couples to legally separate if there were evidence of extreme violence in the marriage, a failure of the husband to provide, or if one or the other spouse had been abandoned. The rules of divorce varied from state to state, causing some husbands and wives to move in order to benefit from more liberal laws. Indiana and Utah gained reputations as "divorce-mills," churning out divorces as if they were products for sale, yet South Carolina refused to allow any divorce until 1868.

A free woman's choice to marry or stay single, however, was conditioned by the economic opportunities available to her. Women were prohibited from most professions, trades, and apprenticeships during the early 19th century, leaving few women with the personal or familial wealth to be able to support themselves without getting married. Even if they possessed such wealth, they were legally prohibited from engaging in sexual relationships outside the bonds of matrimony. A woman who wanted such a relationship, therefore, was forced to marry or face the fierce moral and cultural disapproval of her family and peers.

Wealth had always provided individuals with a certain status in America, but as the 19th century progressed, industrialization changed and heightened the link between

the two. In preindustrial America, almost everyone worked in or around their home. Goods and services were bartered and traded for one another, and few items were bought or sold for cash. With the advent of industrialization, however, many families moved to cities, and work became synonymous with laboring for wages outside the home. For women, the change had two repercussions. The first was that labor inside the home—the business of housekeeping for your own family, for example—ceased to be recognized as work. The second was that working for wages became a mark of your low social rank.

For many social critics, journalists, editors, preachers, and politicians, the social changes unleashed by INDUSTRIALIZATION were disruptive and often frightening. Stability quickly became associated with the actions of women, whose role as mothers provided a constant amid a sea of change. A woman's role in the home was lauded by popular culture, identified as a vital balance to the struggles of the working world. It quickly became a mark of status for a man to make enough money to afford to keep his wife at home, whether he managed a factory or worked in the fields.

Women who did stay at home were not, as popular culture suggested, ladies of leisure. Housekeeping, even with the aid of hired help, required constant attention, a situation complicated further by the standards of decoration and entertainment that became associated with maintaining a high social rank. Elaborate furniture required meticulous dusting, while the fashion for embroidered chairs and wall hangings demanded creativity, planning, and time. Women communicated their status to others by their dress and appearance; such dress-making and hair styling were time-consuming affairs. High-ranking women produced status through their labor in the home just as much as their husbands did through their work outside it.

Most working families became stigmatized by these cultural ideals. Men who could not support their families were considered unmasculine. Women were castigated for failing themselves and their children by working outside the home. Health problems, poverty, domestic violence, and illiteracy were all at some time or another blamed on the "problem" of the working wife. Yet working women often faced a bitter choice: work outside the home or face the possibility of hunger and homelessness.

The theory that women were domestic nurturers spilled over into other areas of their lives. Since the American Revolution, the idea that women should be educated in order to raise properly patriotic sons and daughters had smoothed the way for the foundation of a number of female-oriented schools. While the rich had easier access to education than the poor, literacy rates for women rose steadily throughout the 19th century, and many went on to become teachers. Lauded by reformers such as Catharine Beecher, teaching was considered an extension of

motherhood and therefore a fitting profession for women to enter. School boards and districts also paid women less than men (rationalizing that they had no families to support), making female teachers a cost-effective way to expand the provision of education.

It was also as mothers (and mothers-to-be) that many women became involved in social reform. The TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT of the early 19th century was particularly noteworthy in this respect. Women argued that wives needed protection from the violence and wastefulness of drunken husbands. As concerned mothers, they lobbied politicians, circulated petitions, and held public lectures to raise social awareness about their cause. The earliest changes in a woman's legal status also relied on the rhetoric of motherhood. The married women's property acts of the early 19th century, first passed in Mississippi in 1839, allowed women to regain control of their property after marriage in order to protect them against their husbands' debts. The reforms had little to do with equality, but rather with protecting women and children from neglect.

The same qualities presumed to make women excellent mothers and guardians of the home lent themselves to the suggestion that women were, generally, morally superior to men. So rose the concept of "public housekeeping"—the idea that women were the guardians of a society's morals and that the talents they used at home made them invaluable beyond its bounds. Abolitionist women made particular use of this argument. In 1836, for example, Angelina Grimké wrote *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South*, in which she argued that southern women had a particular responsibility to sway their husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons to the ABOLITION MOVEMENT. While such rhetoric allowed many women to gain acceptance as public reformers, they still faced opposition. Grimké's pamphlet was burned in the South, and her lectures were condemned by the clergy of Massachusetts as improper and unfeminine.

By the mid-19th century, however, such rhetoric began to change. In 1848, a women's rights convention was held at SENECA FALLS, New York. The brainchild of abolitionist and Quaker minister LUCRETIA MOTT and reformer Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the convention brought together around 300 men and women who believed that women's rights needed direct and urgent redress. The participants at the convention debated and signed "The Declaration of Sentiments," a document penned by Stanton and based on the Declaration of Independence. "We hold these truths to be self evident," claimed the convention goers, "that all men and women are created equal."

The document claimed specific grievances. It lamented the exclusion of women from the electoral, legislative, and judicial process and argued that marriage reduced them to legal infants. The women of Seneca Falls opposed paying taxes to a government that did not represent them, and they

demanded control over their property, contracts, and deeds. They charged society at large with limiting them through a moral double standard and abhorred the prejudice that kept them out of higher education, professions, and business. Man had no right to limit woman's desires or achievements, they argued. Such a prerogative belonged solely to God.

The convention-goers did not ask for rights so that they might be better wives and mothers. Instead, they asked for the rights due to them as citizens of the United States. The "Declaration of Sentiments," steeped in Revolutionary War ideology, demanded no less than a social, political, and economic revolution on behalf of women. The convention launched an organized women's rights movement in the nation that would span decades. This movement often clashed with traditional women's reform because of its unapologetic claim that women deserved the same legal and social rights as men without qualification or concession to cultural norms.

The drive for women's rights developed an impetus all its own over the following decade and quickly separated itself from issues and organizations better associated with temperance and abolition. Within months of the Seneca Falls convention, other women's gatherings cropped up in New York, Massachusetts, and Ohio, and in October 1850 the first national women's rights convention met in Worcester, Massachusetts. Paulina Wright Davis, more celebrated as an abolitionist and women's health reformer, served as president and articulated a broader-based movement that would encompass education, business, professional, and, above all, political reform. Her appeal resonated with many like-minded activists, and they readily took to writing newspaper columns, lecturing, and organizing other conventions. Henceforth, timid acceptance of domesticity began receding and was replaced with a vocal chorus for change.

The 1850s was also a period of press radicalization, and it witnessed the first women's publications, such as *Una*, *Lily*, and *Woman's Advocate*, all of which openly discussed women's rights as well as literary, labor, and other reform issues. This coincided with a rebellion against accepted women's fashions, which many activists felt were constraining and even detrimental to women's health. Foremost among them was AMELIA BLOOMER, who railed against conventional attire such as hoopskirts and tight-fitting corsets and championed a looser "Turkish dress" featuring loose-fitting pants or "bloomers." The style never caught on in fashion circles, but it established a political precedent. By mid-decade female speakers and authors who proposed sweeping reform in virtually every aspect of women's lives were met with grudging male acceptance. Considering the initial resistance, even among women active in the temperance and abolition movements, this was a significant development, and it empowered and emboldened the women's rights movement. The growth and maturation of the move-

ment during the antebellum period was considerable and carried it to greater levels of public visibility in the post-Civil War period.

Despite this visibility, the movement was culturally specific. Enormous problems arose, for example, when reformers turned their attention to Native American women. Rather than seeking to understand the complexity of American Indian cultures, reformers compared the role of men and women in various tribal societies to their own understanding of appropriate gender behavior and rights. The result was an effort to remake Native American societies in the image of Euro-America. This effort spanned the entire 19th century, and involved education, missionary work, and legal reform. The result, however, was often the impoverishment of tribal communities and the disruption of their traditions, sparking massive resistance from many American Indian women and men.

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—Catherine J. Denial

**Wright, Fanny** (1795–1852) *abolitionist, women's rights activist, commune founder*

Frances (Fanny) Wright was born in Dundee, Scotland, on September 6, 1795. By the age of two, she had lost both

her parents and was sent with her sister to be raised by relatives in London, England. There she stayed until the age of 21, when she returned to Scotland to live with James Milne, her great-uncle and a professor at Glasgow College. Fanny used the time to her advantage, studying in the college's vast library. A year later, armed with a keen mind and the fortune left to her by her parents, she journeyed to the United States. Wright was favorably impressed by what she saw, considering American society to be extremely progressive compared to the Europe she had left behind. On her return to England, Wright published her thoughts in *Views of Society and Manners in America*. The book caught the attention of the Marquis de Lafayette, the French hero of the American Revolution, and the two became friends. Wright accompanied Lafayette on his 1824 trip to the United States, where she had the opportunity to meet Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, among others.

Wright's travels throughout the United States brought her into close contact with the institution of SLAVERY. The brutality of the system appalled her, and she became an increasingly vocal proponent of gradual emancipation. Wright believed that abolition should be the concern of the federal government and advocated that Congress set aside land on which slaves could be relocated, trained for freedom, and allowed to work to purchase their liberty. In the hopes of convincing others of her ideas, Wright purchased 640 acres of land in western Tennessee in 1825, naming the property Nashoba. There she settled a community of enslaved men and women, promising them their eventual freedom. The experiment was plagued with difficulties from the outset, including sensational reporting in the press and outbreaks of swamp fever. By 1830, Wright was forced to admit that her plan had failed, and she freed the slaves, arranging for their transportation to Haiti.

The failure of the Nashoba experiment did nothing to dampen Wright's commitment to the ABOLITION MOVEMENT or a variety of other social causes. During this period, Wright became friends with ROBERT OWEN and went to live at his utopian community in New Harmony, Indiana. There she became editor of the *New Harmony Gazette* and later of the *New York Free Enquirer*, a newspaper particularly well known for its advocacy of public EDUCATION and working-class activism. At the same time, she entered the lecture circuit, arguing for changes in popular and legal conceptions of marriage, more lenient divorce laws, the safe and widespread practice of birth control, abolition, and the education of women. She also spoke against the practice of capital punishment. Wright published these ideas in two volumes of *Courses of Popular Lectures* in 1829 and 1836. Many Victorians considered her lectures to be scandalous. Not only did Wright speak publicly about issues of sexuality and women's rights, she also spoke to mixed audiences of men and women, defying polite convention.

In 1830 Wright traveled to France, where she met Guillaume Sylvan Casimi Piquetpal D'Arusmont. The pair were married in 1831, and Wright divided much of her time in the 1830s between France and the United States. She campaigned for the DEMOCRATIC PARTY in 1836 and 1838 and continued to give periodic lectures on social issues for the remainder of her life. She and her husband divorced in 1850, and Wright died two years later in Cincinnati, Ohio. Her ideas exerted a lasting influence on women's rights activists throughout the 19th century.

**Further reading:** Elizabeth Ann Bartlett, *Liberty, Equality, Sorority: The Origins and Interpretation of American Feminist Thought: Frances Wright, Sarah Grimke, and Margaret Fuller* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Publishing Company, 1994); Celia Morris Eckhardt, *Fanny Wright: Rebel in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984).

—Catherine J. Denial

**Wyeth, Nathaniel J.** (1802–1856) *American entrepreneur, fur trader*

Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth was an entrepreneur who raised Americans' awareness of the opportunities of the West. Born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on January 29, 1802, Wyeth was the son of a hotel owner. As a young man he worked cutting ice for shipment and eventually patented a horse-drawn ice-cutting device. However, Wyeth dreamed of building a trading empire in the Oregon Territory, and in 1832 he departed with 25 men to establish a fur-trading company on the COLUMBIA RIVER. Several of Wyeth's party deserted him by the time they reached Pierre's Hole

(Wyoming), and he commanded a party of only 18 when he arrived at FORT VANCOUVER. Worse, the vessel he had contracted to meet him there, the *Sultana*, had shipwrecked in the South Pacific. Undeterred, Wyeth spent the next five years trying to establish himself as a force in the fur trade, dealing variously with the AMERICAN FUR COMPANY and the Hudson's Bay Company. But exceptional bad luck thwarted him, and he came home in 1833.

That year Wyeth established his own mercantile business in Boston, the Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company. The following year he joined JASON LEE's missionaries and a handful of scientists returning to Oregon, but his business efforts proved no more successful. He attempted to trap for the ROCKY MOUNTAIN FUR COMPANY, but they refused to purchase his goods. Wyeth then spent additional funds constructing Fort Hall on the Snake River as a base to conduct his own fur trading. An attempt to enter the salmon-packing business also failed when the vessel he had contracted was damaged en route and showed up three months after the fishing season ended. Wyeth finally abandoned his effort in 1836 and returned to Boston. He was successful in the ice and refrigeration business until his death in Cambridge on August 31, 1856. Though marginal in overall impact, Wyeth helped to advertise and glamorize western immigration through his extensive correspondence with eastern businessmen and political figures.

**Further Reading:** Don Johnson, ed., *The Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth's Expeditions to the Oregon Country, 1831–1836* (Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press, 1984).

—John C. Fredriksen



# Y



**Young, Brigham** (1801–1877) *Second president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*

Brigham Young was one of the most important colonizers in the American West in the 19th century. He was born in Whittingham, Vermont, and, like the Mormon prophet JOSEPH SMITH, JR., grew up in a poor, rural environment. The family moved constantly, eventually setting in upstate New York. Young's large family—he was the ninth of 11 surviving children—was intensely moral and religious. Like others in his rural and isolated world, he had little formal EDUCATION, and he apprenticed himself as a carpenter and painter. In 1824, he married his first wife, Miriam Works.

Originally a Methodist, Young came into contact with the Mormon Church in 1830, the year Joseph Smith published the Book of Mormon and incorporated the church under New York State law. Young gradually became converted to the millennialist core of the church, its moralist beliefs, and, above all, the magnetism and presence of its founder and prophet, Joseph Smith, Jr. Perhaps Young was also attracted to the idea of a lay priesthood in which male members of the church came to exercise authority and influence. Whatever his reasons, Young and his family joined the church in 1832.

From the beginning, Young labored full-time on behalf of his new church, going on several missions and fulfilling other ministerial tasks. The church had become both a route to salvation and an avenue to worldly advancement. In 1835, Smith appointed him to the Council of Twelve, the ruling body of the church. After the Mormon community in Missouri disintegrated under the pressure of casual violence and official condemnation, Young, as the senior member at large (Smith and other church leaders were then in a Missouri jail) took charge of the Mormon immigration from Missouri to Illinois. He would later demonstrate this organizational skill in directing other Mormon migrations. When Smith established the Mormon settlements at NAUVOO, he sent Young to

head missionary activities in England, where he was enormously successful.

In 1841 Young returned to Nauvoo, where he was quickly initiated into the new Mormon rituals. The most dramatic was the doctrine of POLYGAMY, or plural wives, which was secret, publicly disavowed by the church, and practiced by only a few leaders. Young immediately embraced the new policy; he would eventually marry 55 women. In 1844, Smith announced himself a candidate for president of the United States, and Young journeyed east to work on behalf of the Mormon prophet's candidacy.

Young was in Boston when he received news of Smith's assassination in June 1844. He immediately returned to Nauvoo, where he was elected as the church's leader. His first duty was to arrange a truce with the neighboring mobs, and in this he was partially successful. His refusal to seek revenge for Smith's death won him a period of quiet, but he could not make a lasting peace. In 1845, attacks on outlying Mormon settlements began again, and the entire Mormon community around Nauvoo was in danger. Young rapidly organized the emigration of the entire church to the West. The first party left in the middle of winter and crossed the Mississippi on the ice, moving across Iowa to a camping site near Omaha. Young directed that a series of outfitting stations be established along the route to serve subsequent parties. "Winter Quarters," as it came to be known, was an elaborate community of some 12,000 governed by a theocracy, but it was only temporary. In spring 1847, Young led a pioneer company to the West, and when he reached the Great Salt Lake Valley, he pronounced it the site of the future gathering of Zion. On his return, he called a meeting of church leaders and had himself declared "prophet, seer, and revelator." He was now the absolute leader of the church, with the same powers of the original prophet Joseph Smith.

The Great Basin was an ideal location for the church. It was possessed of enough natural resources to make a thriving community possible, and it was sufficiently remote



Brigham Young (*Library of Congress*)

to keep it distant from other settlers. Young sought to insure the safety of the church by laying out a vast territory that he called the **STATE OF DESERET**. The limits of the territory included some of present-day Idaho, Nevada, and **CALIFORNIA**. In order to ease the migration of converts from Europe (especially England), he established a warm-weather route of access through Southern California, by way of San Bernadino to St. George, and thence to the Great Salt Lake Valley. Young established numerous settlements in Nevada to protect his Southern California connection. He laid out numerous towns along the base of the Wasatch Range, including (in addition to Salt Lake City) Provo, Utah, and Lemhi, Idaho.

Young established a structure of government in the form of a theocracy. The church and its leaders, principally Young himself, made all the important decisions, with the church at the head. The church, in the person of its leader Brigham Young, granted land and water rights to chosen settlers. He brought together in himself the branches of the executive, legislature, and judiciary. When Congress organized Utah Territory in 1850, the president appointed Young governor of the territory, recognizing the reality of the Utah settlement. But the judges appointed to serve the territory were non-Mormons. They quickly found them-

selves ostracized and their authority circumscribed by the activities of the church bishops in referring legal cases to the church courts. The relations of the federal government with Young and the Mormons were further strained by Young's public announcement of the doctrine of polygamy in 1852.

Conflict between Young and the U.S. government grew throughout the 1850s, in the midst of a growing sectional violence over **SLAVERY** in the East and a rising strain of anti-Mormon feeling, rising to a fever pitch over the issue of polygamy. In 1857, President James Buchanan declared the Mormons and their leader in rebellion against the nation and ordered U.S. troops to Utah Territory, an action known as the **MORMON WAR**. After much deliberation, Young decided not to oppose the invasion by force. Instead, he and other church leaders went into hiding, and an army of occupation settled into Utah Territory for two years. This period of occupation was characterized by a degree of accommodation on both sides, but Young never compromised what he regarded as the will of the church. He was eventually removed as governor of the territory, and the troops retired to the East with the coming of the Civil War (1861–65).

The war provided a prolonged period for Young to direct the affairs of the church without interference. Although the federal government had reduced the size of the State of Deseret to the boundary of the present state of Utah (Young had sold the ranch in San Bernadino), he continued to supervise the founding of settlements throughout the limits of the territory. He also laid the foundations of a self-sufficient **ECONOMY** through the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution and several other cooperatives. Young finally had to come to terms with the growing proximity and influence of American society into the affairs of his church domain, as exemplified by the arrival of the transcontinental railroad at Promontory Point, Utah, in 1869. That he was able to make these transitions and expand the scope and influence of the Mormon church throughout the American West was a final tribute to his genius.

Young was not an important figure in Mormon doctrine, as he built on the dogma and rituals of Joseph Smith and vigorously defended unpopular practices such as polygamy. He is perhaps best known in the modern age for his pronouncement in 1847 that black men could not hold the office of the priesthood, a condition of participation in the affairs of the church open to all men. (This ban on **AFRICAN AMERICANS** as priests in the church remained in effect until 1978.) But as an organizer and colonizer, Young proved himself a remarkable leader, presiding over church expansion in area and numbers. When he died in 1877, the Mormon population in Utah numbered 125,000, and its settlements more than 200.

In his personal life, Young had at least 55 wives (some historians say more); and 16 of his wives would bear him 57 children. Young was also a successful pioneer businessman in the Great Basin. Among his various business enterprises were a ferryboat company, a wagon-express company, and later interest in a railroad. He also owned extensive valuable real estate and operated a number of successful early manufacturing businesses. His estate exceeded \$600,000, making him the wealthiest member of the church at the time.

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# Chronology



## 1812

In response to British attacks on American shipping, the United States declares war on Great Britain; the conflict is known as the War of 1812.

Indian leaders Tecumseh and Black Hawk ally their forces with the British.

## 1813

American forces are victorious at the Battle of the Thames, which also results in the death of Tecumseh.

James Madison begins his second term as president.

## 1814

British forces seize Washington, D.C., and burn the White House and the Capitol.

The Treaty of Ghent, negotiated largely by Albert Gallatin and John Quincy Adams, ends the War of 1812.

## 1815

Unaware that the War of 1812 has ended, British troops instigate the Battle of New Orleans; they are defeated by an American army led by General Andrew Jackson.

Red Jacket becomes a powerful leader of the Seneca Indian nation.

## 1816

Democratic-Republican James Monroe is elected president over Federalist Rufus King.

*Martin v. Hunter's Lessee* affirms the U.S. Supreme Court's right to review the decisions of state courts in all cases involving U.S. laws, treaties, and the Constitution.

Jim P. Beckwourth, one of the first mountain men, becomes a scout for the Ashley fur trading expedition.

## 1817

The First Seminole War, between the United States and the Seminole Indians of Florida, begins; many runaway slaves support the Native Americans in battle.

DeWitt Clinton, governor of New York, authorizes the construction of the Erie Canal.

Davy Crockett serves as a scout in the conflict between western settlers and the Creek Indians.

The American Colonization Society is founded to send former slaves back to Africa.

Great Britain and the United States agree to the mutual demilitarization of the Great Lakes and Lake Champlain in the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817.

## 1818

The Convention of London resolves U.S.-British disputes over the northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase and the settlement of the Oregon Territory.

## 1819

Spain cedes all of Florida to the United States in the Adams-Onís Treaty.

In *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, the U.S. Supreme Court upholds the sanctity of the college charter as a contract under the Constitution. The decision encourages business growth by limiting state control over charters or private corporations.

The U.S. Supreme Court finds in *McCullough v. Maryland* that the state of Maryland's imposition of a tax on the Bank of the United States is unconstitutional.

## 1820

While on a sailing voyage in the South Atlantic, Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer discovers the continent of Antarctica.

The U.S. Congress adopts the Missouri Compromise, or the Missouri Enabling Act, which aims for a balance between free and slave states. The compromise eases tensions between the increasingly industrial North and the

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agricultural, slaveholding South by prohibiting slavery in the Louisiana Purchase north of the 36°30' latitude.

The Land Act of 1820 abolishes the credit system and establishes the principle of cash only for the purchase of public lands.

### 1821

Chancellor of Columbia College James Kent's "Universal Suffrage" speech argues against the proposal to abolish the property ownership requirement for voter eligibility.

James Monroe assumes his second term as president.

### 1822

Denmark Vesey's plan for revolt, involving 9,000 slaves, is foiled in Charleston, South Carolina. Vesey and his aides are hanged.

Sequoyah, a Cherokee Indian, begins teaching his alphabet to his people, thereby creating the first Native American written language.

### 1823

The Monroe Doctrine is announced. The doctrine warns European powers that the United States will not tolerate intervention in the newly independent nations of the Western Hemisphere.

### 1824

Thomas L. McKenney is appointed the first chief of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Tariff Act of 1824 increases protective duties on wool, iron, lead, glass, silk, linens, cutlery, hemp, and cotton bagging.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision *Gibbons v. Ogden* establishes the federal government's jurisdiction over interstate commerce.

Democratic-Republican John Quincy Adams wins a close presidential race over three other candidates: Henry Clay, William H. Crawford, and Andrew Jackson.

### 1825

Native American leaders of Wisconsin settle land claims with the U.S. government at the Council of Prairie du Chien.

The Erie Canal opens; it links the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean, thus greatly increasing trade between the East and the West.

### 1826

John B. Russwurm, one of the first African Americans to earn a college degree, graduates from Bowdoin College.

James Fenimore Cooper publishes *The Last of the Mohicans*.

### 1827

The first black-owned newspaper is published by Samuel Cornish and John B. Russwurm.

The Massachusetts High School Law mandates the establishment of high schools throughout the state. It is the first such law enacted in the United States.

The Constitution of the Cherokee Nation is drafted.

Publication of *The Birds of America* by John Audubon begins.

### 1828

Construction of the Baltimore & Ohio (B&O) Railroad, the first U.S. passenger railroad, begins.

The Tariff Act of 1828 imposes duties on foreign manufactured goods and imported raw materials.

John C. Calhoun's South Carolina Exposition voices strong opposition to the Tariff Act of 1828 and legitimizes North Carolina's authority to nullify the law.

John Quincy Adams runs for reelection but is defeated by Democrat Andrew Jackson.

The "tariff of abominations" is passed.

### 1829

David Walker, a freeborn merchant in Boston, publishes *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, an antislavery pamphlet in which he urges slaves to kill their masters.

### 1830

The Indian Removal Act is signed into law, ordering the Five Civilized Tribes of the Southeast to relocate west of the Mississippi.

Senators Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina debate the importance of states' rights versus nationalism.

The first covered wagons cross the Rocky Mountains.

Dan Rice popularizes "Jim Crow" minstrel acts.

Joseph Smith, Jr., founds the Mormon Church.

### 1831

Cyrus Hall McCormick invents the mechanical reaper.

The U.S. Supreme Court decides in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* that it does not have jurisdiction to rule on a case where a state enforces its laws on the Cherokee.

William Lloyd Garrison publishes the first issue of the *Liberator*, a radical abolitionist newspaper.

Nat Turner leads a slave rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia.

### 1831–1861

The Underground Railroad is established by a group of antislavery activists. Over the next 30 years, some 30,000 slaves use it to escape from the South.



**1832**

The Tariff Act of 1832 lowers the high protective duties of the Tariff Act of 1828, but is labeled as a sectional measure that benefits the northern industrialized states.

The Seminole Treaty is signed. The Seminole people agree to cede lands in Florida and relocate west of the Mississippi.

The Black Hawk War, a conflict in Illinois and Wisconsin between settlers and Native Americans, ends with the defeat of Chief Black Hawk.

Andrew Jackson is reelected president over Henry Clay of the Whig Party.

Archduke Maximilian of Germany and Karl Bodmer travel among the Plains Indians.

Crisis over states' rights and the doctrine of nullification develops.

**1833**

William Lloyd Garrison founds the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision *Barron v. Baltimore* holds that the Bill of Rights is binding upon the federal government, but not upon state governments.

The Tariff Act of 1833 resolves the national dispute over tariff laws passed in 1828 and 1832.

President Jackson and Attorney General Roger Taney remove federal deposits from the Bank of the United States.

**1834**

The Currency Act of 1834 sets standards for the weight and quantity of metal in gold coins minted in the United States.

**1835**

A severe smallpox epidemic almost wipes out the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara nations along the Missouri River.

Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* is the Frenchman's analysis of the American political system.

The Texas Rangers are formed, primarily to protect white settlers against Comanche raids in Texas.

Antislavery pamphlets are removed from the U.S. mails and burned in public.

Seminole chief Osceola leads the Indians of Florida in the Second Seminole War (1835–42), resisting the federal government's order to relocate.

George McDuffie's "On the Question of Slavery" speech defends slavery and denounces antislavery campaigners for stirring insurrection and endangering the lives of white families.

In the Treaty of New Echota, the Cherokee nation relinquishes claim to its capital city, New Echota, and over 7 million acres of land.

**1836**

American settlers in the Mexican province of Texas rebel against Mexican rule. Texan defeats at Goliad and the Alamo are followed by a decisive victory at San Jacinto, and Texas becomes an independent republic under the leadership of Sam Houston.

President Jackson's Specie Circular of 1836 requires the U.S. Treasury to accept only specie (gold or silver), not paper money, as payment in the sale of public lands.

Democrat Martin Van Buren defeats Whig candidate William Henry Harrison in the presidential election.

Ralph Waldo Emerson's first volume of essays, *Nature*, is hailed as a landmark in transcendentalist literature.

Henry Blair invents a corn harvester and becomes the first African American to receive a patent.

**1837**

Elijah P. Lovejoy, a white owner of an abolitionist newspaper, is killed in a proslavery riot.

Osceola, leader of the Seminole Indians in Florida, is captured.

School reformer Horace Mann leads the Massachusetts Board of Education, which becomes a national model for public school administration.

**1838**

The first African-American magazine, *The Mirror of Liberty*, is published by abolitionist David Ruggles in New York City.

Charles Lenox Remond, a freeborn African American from Massachusetts, is hired as the first black lecturer for an antislavery society.

General Winfield Scott commands the removal of the Cherokee Indians from the southern states to the Indian Territory (now the state of Oklahoma) west of the Mississippi River.

**1839**

Samuel F. B. Morse invents the telegraph.

Joseph Cinqué and about 50 enslaved Africans revolt aboard a Spanish ship, the *Amistad*, and kill the captain and crew.

The Liberty Party, the first political party built around the antislavery cause, is organized in Warsaw, New York.

**1840**

In a spirited presidential race, William Henry Harrison defeats incumbent Martin Van Buren by a small margin.

**1841**

Frederick Douglass, an escaped slave from Maryland, begins lecturing for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

The Land Act of 1841 establishes the principle of “preemption,” under which early settlers may buy their tracts with improvements for the minimum price.

The Oregon Trail opens.

William Henry Harrison dies in office; John Tyler succeeds him as president.

Edgar Allan Poe publishes *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*, the first American detective story.

#### **1842**

U.S. secretary of state Daniel Webster and British minister Alexander Baring, Lord Ashburton, negotiate the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842 to settle heated border disputes between the United States and Great Britain.

Rhode Islanders wage the Dorr Rebellion to protest discriminatory property laws.

John C. Frémont and Kit Carson explore the Pacific Northwest; Frémont’s writings encourage emigration to Oregon.

#### **1843**

Dorothea Dix delivers an influential report to the Massachusetts legislature in which she criticizes the cruel treatment of the mentally ill in state institutions.

Sojourner Truth, a former slave, begins her career as a lecturer; she denounces slavery and promotes women’s rights.

#### **1844**

The Treaty of Wanghia opens selected Chinese ports to trade with the United States.

Painter George Caleb Bingham begins portraying life on the western frontier.

Democrat James Knox Polk is elected president over Whig Henry Clay.

#### **1845**

The U.S. Congress enacts the joint resolution that makes possible the annexation of Texas by the United States; Mexico refuses to accept Texan independence.

#### **1846**

The Independent Treasury Act of 1846 establishes an independent treasury separate from the national banking and financial system.

The Walker Tariff Act of 1846 establishes a moderate protective and revenue-generating tariff.

Three Cherokee political factions settle reimbursement issues from the Treaty of 1835 in a treaty with the Cherokee nation.

In the Bidlack Treaty between the United States and New Granada (Colombia and Panama), the United States gains rights of transit across the isthmus of Panama.

The Senate ratifies the Oregon Treaty of 1846, which sets the U.S.-Canadian border at the 49th parallel.

U.S. and Mexican troops clash on the disputed Texas-Mexico border, starting the Mexican-American War; General Zachary Taylor and his forces move into Mexico.

The House of Representatives passes the Wilmot Proviso to limit slavery in the lands acquired in the war with Mexico, and so reintroduces the volatile issue of slavery into American political life.

#### **1847**

An American force under General Winfield Scott lands at Veracruz, Mexico, marches inland, and captures Mexico City.

Henry Ward Beecher, pastor of the Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, New York, begins to advocate publicly for woman suffrage and abolition.

*Evangeline* by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow is published.

#### **1848**

James W. Marshall discovers gold on the American River in California.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ends the Mexican-American War; the United States gains the territory that will become the states of California, Nevada, and Utah, and most of the land that will make up New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona. The southwestern Indians, including the Navajo, are now under U.S. jurisdiction.

The women’s rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, is led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Lucy Stone; the meeting marks the beginning of the women’s rights movement.

The New York Married Women’s Property Act grants women the right to their own property once married, control of their own wages, and custody of their children.

Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate, is elected president, defeating Democrat Lewis Cass.

#### **1849**

Henry David Thoreau’s essay “Civil Disobedience” advocates civil disobedience as a means for an individual to protest governmental actions that he considers unjust.

Escaped slave Harriet Tubman begins the first of her 19 Underground Railroad trips.

Amelia Jenks Bloomer begins editing the *Lily*, a newspaper concerned with women’s rights, abolition, and temperance.

The California gold rush sends thousands of prospectors across the country, hoping to get rich.

Cornelius Vanderbilt establishes a company to transport miners to California by way of Central America; the company becomes the basis of his great fortune.

Elizabeth Blackwell graduates from Geneva Medical College, becoming the first American woman to earn an M.D.

### 1850

President Zachary Taylor dies in office; Millard Fillmore succeeds him.

U.S. and British diplomats negotiate the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 to guarantee the strict neutrality of any interoceanic canal opened in Nicaragua or elsewhere in Central America.

Nathaniel Hawthorne publishes his novel *The Scarlet Letter*.

Amid bitter debate, the U.S. Congress enacts the Compromise of 1850; the bill repeals much of the Missouri Compromise and requires northern states to assist in the capture of escaped slaves.

As part of the Compromise of 1850, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 requires U.S. marshals to seize runaway slaves and imposes severe penalties on anyone who aids fugitives.

Senator John C. Calhoun denounces abolitionist activity and voices his opposition to the Compromise of 1850 in his final address delivered to U.S. Congress.

### 1851

In Sojourner Truth's "A'n't I a Woman?" speech, the abolitionist argues in favor of women's equality.

At a conference at Camp Traverse des Sioux, the Santee Sioux cede large portions of land in the Minnesota Territory to the United States.

William C. Nell publishes the first historical treatment of African Americans, titled *Services of Colored Americans in the Wars of 1776 and 1812*.

### 1852

Harriet Beecher Stowe denounces slavery in *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life Among the Lowly*. A best-seller, it rouses

antislavery sentiment and increases the tension between the North and South.

Anthony Burns, the last fugitive slave to be returned from Massachusetts, is escorted out of Boston by 2,000 U.S. troops.

Franklin Pierce is elected 14th president of the U.S., defeating Mexican-American War hero Winfield Scott.

### 1853

*Clotel, or The President's Daughter*, by William Wells Brown, is published in England; it is the first novel by an African American.

Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry of the U.S. Navy leads a mission that "opens" Japan to the western world.

In the Gadsden Treaty of 1853, the United States buys a strip of land from Mexico in order to build a transcontinental railroad.

Mrs. Douglass, a Virginia schoolteacher, is arrested in Norfolk for violating the state law against teaching black children to read.

### 1854

Stephen A. Douglas introduces the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which grants "popular sovereignty" to territorial governments in decisions involving slavery.

The modern Republican Party is formed.

Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* is published. His transcendentalist work communicates a reverence for nature.

### 1855

Tribal leaders from the Washington Territory cede 60,000 square miles of land to the United States at a conference in Walla Walla.

Free-Soilers in the Kansas Territory adopt their own state constitution.

Walt Whitman publishes his controversial book of poetry *Leaves of Grass*.



# Documents

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## War Message (1812) President James Madison

In Gaillard Hunt, ed. *The Writings of James Madison*,  
Vol. 8 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons,  
1900–1910), pp. 192–200

Washington, D.C.  
June 1, 1812

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

I communicate to Congress certain documents, being a continuation of those heretofore laid before them on the subject of our affairs with Great Britain.

Without going back beyond the renewal in 1803 of the war in which Great Britain is engaged, and omitting unrepaid wrongs of inferior magnitude, the conduct of her Government presents a series of acts hostile to the United States as an independent and neutral nation.

British cruisers have been in the continued practice of violating the American flag on the great highway of nations, and of seizing and carrying off persons sailing under it, not in the exercise of a belligerent right founded on the law of nations against an enemy, but of a municipal prerogative over British subjects. British jurisdiction is thus extended to neutral vessels in a situation where no laws can operate but the law of nations and the laws of the country to which the vessels belong, and a self-redress is assumed which, if British subjects were wrongfully detained and alone concerned, is that substitution of force for a resort to the responsible sovereign which falls within the definition of war . . .

The practice, hence, is so far from affecting British subjects alone that, under the pretext of searching for these, thousands of American citizens, under the safeguard of public law and of their national flag, have been torn from their country and from everything dear to them; have been

dragged on board ships of war of a foreign nation and exposed, under the severities of their discipline, to be exiled to the most distant and deadly climes, to risk their lives in the battles of their oppressors, and to be the melancholy instruments of taking away those of their own brethren.

Against this crying enormity, which Great Britain would be so prompt to avenge if committed against herself, the United States have in vain exhausted remonstrances and expostulations, and that no proof might be wanting of their conciliatory dispositions, and no pretext left for a continuance of the practice, the British Government was formally assured of the readiness of the United States to enter into arrangements such as could not be rejected if the recovery of British subjects were the real and the sole object. The communication passed without effect.

British cruisers have been in the practice also of violating the rights and the peace of our coasts. They hover over and harass our entering and departing commerce. To the most insulting pretensions they have added the most lawless proceedings in our very harbors, and have wantonly spilt American blood within the sanctuary of our territorial jurisdiction. The principles and rules enforced by that nation, when a neutral nation, against armed vessels of belligerents hovering near her coasts and disturbing her commerce are well known. When called on, nevertheless, by the United States to punish the greater offenses committed by her own vessels, her Government has bestowed on their commanders additional marks of honor and confidence.

Under pretended blockades, without the presence of an adequate force and sometimes without the practicability of applying one, our commerce has been plundered in every sea, the great staples of our country have been cut off from their legitimate markets, and a destructive blow aimed at our agricultural and maritime interests. In aggravation of these predatory measures they have been considered as in force from the dates of their notification, a



retrospective effect being thus added, as has been done in other important cases, to the unlawfulness of the course pursued. And to render the outrage the more signal these mock blockades have been reiterated and enforced in the face of official communications from the British Government declaring as the true definition of a legal blockade “that particular ports must be actually invested and previous warning given to vessels bound to them not to enter.”

Not content with these occasional expedients for laying waste our neutral trade, the cabinet of Britain resorted at length to the sweeping system of blockades, under the name of orders in council, which has been molded and managed as might best suit its political views, its commercial jealousies, or the avidity of British cruisers . . .

Abandoning still more all respect for the neutral rights of the United States and for its own consistency, the British Government now demands as prerequisites to a repeal of its orders as they relate to the United States that a formality should be observed in the repeal, of the French decrees nowise necessary to their termination nor exemplified by British usage, and that the French repeal besides including that portion of the decrees which operates within a territorial jurisdiction, as well as that which operates on the high seas, against the commerce of the United States should not be a single and special repeal in relation to the United States, but should be extended to whatever other neutral nations unconnected with them may be affected by those decrees. And as an additional insult, they are called on for a formal disavowal of conditions and pretensions advanced by the French Government for which the United States are so far from having made themselves responsible that, in official explanations which have been published to the world, and in a correspondence of the American minister at London with the British minister for foreign affairs such a responsibility was explicitly and emphatically disclaimed.

It has become, indeed, sufficiently certain that the commerce of the United States is to be sacrificed, not as interfering with the belligerent rights of Great Britain; not as supplying the wants of her enemies, which she herself supplies; but as interfering with the monopoly which she covets for her own commerce and navigation. She carries on a war against the lawful commerce of a friend that she may the better carry on a commerce with an enemy—a commerce polluted by the forgeries and perjuries which are for the most part the only passports by which it can succeed . . .

In reviewing the conduct of Great Britain toward the United States our attention is necessarily drawn to the warfare just renewed by the savages on one of our extensive frontiers—a warfare which is known to spare neither age nor sex and to be distinguished by features peculiarly shocking to humanity. It is difficult to account for the activity and combinations which have for some time been developing

themselves among tribes in constant intercourse with British traders and garrisons without connecting their hostility with that influence and without recollecting the authenticated examples of such interpositions heretofore furnished by the officers and agents of that Government.

Such is the spectacle of injuries and indignities which have been heaped on our country, and such the crisis which its unexampled forbearance and conciliatory efforts have not been able to avert. It might at least have been expected that an enlightened nation, if less urged by moral obligations or invited by friendly dispositions on the part of the United States, would have found its true interest alone a sufficient motive to respect their rights and their tranquillity on the high seas; that an enlarged policy would have favored that free and general circulation of commerce in which the British nation is at all times interested, and which in times of war is the best alleviation of its calamities to herself as well as to other belligerents; and more especially that the British cabinet would not, for the sake of a precarious and surreptitious intercourse with hostile markets, have persevered in a course of measures which necessarily put at hazard the invaluable market of a great and growing country, disposed to cultivate the mutual advantages of an active commerce.

Other counsels have prevailed. Our moderation and conciliation have had no other effect than to encourage perseverance and to enlarge pretensions. We behold our seafaring citizens still the daily victims of lawless violence, committed on the great common and highway of nations, even within sight of the country which owes them protection. We behold our vessels, freighted with the products of our soil and industry, or returning with the honest proceeds of them, wrested from their lawful destinations, confiscated by prize courts no longer the organs of public law but the instruments of arbitrary edicts, and their unfortunate crews dispersed and lost, or forced or inveigled in British ports into British fleets, whilst arguments are employed in support of these aggressions which have no foundation but in a principle equally supporting a claim to regulate our external commerce in all cases whatsoever.

We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Britain, a state of war against the United States, and on the side of the United States a state of peace toward Great Britain.

Whether the United States shall continue passive under these progressive usurpations and these accumulating wrongs, or, opposing force to force in defense of their national rights, shall commit a just cause into the hands of the Almighty Disposer of Events, avoiding all connections which might entangle it in the contest or views of other powers, and preserving a constant readiness to concur in an honorable re-establishment of peace and friendship, is a solemn question which the Constitution wisely confides to the legislative department of the Government. In recommending it to their early deliberations I am happy in the

assurance that the decision will be worthy the enlightened and patriotic councils of a virtuous, a free, and a powerful nation . . .

### **Treaty of Ghent (1814)**

*Landmark Documents in American History.*  
CD-ROM (New York: Facts On File, 1998)

December 24, 1814

#### **Treaty of Peace and Amity**

Between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America.

His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, desirous of terminating the war which has unhappily subsisted between the two countries, and of restoring, upon principles of perfect reciprocity, peace, friendship, and good understanding between them, have, for that purpose, appointed their respective plenipotentiaries, that is to say: His Britannic Majesty, on his part, has appointed the right honorable James Lord Gambier, late admiral of the white, now admiral of the red squadron of His Majesty's fleet, Henry Goulburn Esquire, a member of the Imperial Parliament, and under Secretary of State, and William Adams, Esquire, Doctor of Civil Laws:—And the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, has appointed John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell and Albert Gallatin, citizens of the United States, who, after a reciprocal communication of their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

#### **Article the First**

There shall be a firm and universal peace between His Britannic Majesty and the United States, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people, of every degree, without exception of places or persons. All hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease as soon as this treaty shall have been ratified by both parties, as hereinafter mentioned. All territory, places, and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other, during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, excepting only the islands hereinafter mentioned, shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any of the artillery or other public property originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or any slaves or other private property. And all archives, records, deeds, and papers, either of a public nature, or belonging to private persons, which, in the course of the war, may have fallen into the hands of the officers of either party, shall be, as far as may be practica-

ble, forthwith restored and delivered to the proper authorities and persons to whom they respectively belong. Such of the islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy as are claimed by both parties, shall remain in the possession of the party in whose occupation they may be at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, until the decision respecting the title to the said islands shall have been made in conformity with the fourth article of this treaty. No disposition made by this treaty, as to such possession of the islands and territories claimed by both parties, shall, in any manner whatever, be construed to affect the right of either.

#### **Article the Second**

Immediately after the ratifications of this treaty by both parties, as hereinafter mentioned, orders shall be sent to the armies, squadrons, officers, subjects and citizens, of the two powers, to cease from all hostilities. And to prevent all causes of complaint which might arise on account of the prizes which may be taken at sea after the said ratifications of this treaty, it is reciprocally agreed, that all vessels and effects which may be taken after the space of twelve days from the said ratifications, upon all parts of the coast of North America, from the latitude of twenty-three degrees north, to the latitude of fifty degrees north, and as far eastward in the Atlantic ocean, as the thirty-sixth degree of west longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, shall be restored on each side: That the time shall be thirty days in all other parts of the Atlantic ocean, north of the equinoctial line or equator, and the same time for the British and Irish channels, for the Gulf of Mexico and all parts of the West Indies: Forty days for the North seas, for the Baltic, and for all parts of the Mediterranean: Sixty days for the Atlantic ocean south of the equator, as far as the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope: Ninety days for every other part of the world south of the equator: And one hundred and twenty days for all other parts of the world, without exception.

#### **Article the Third**

All prisoners of war taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the ratifications of this treaty, as hereinafter mentioned, on their paying the debts which they may have contracted during their captivity. The two contracting parties respectively engage to discharge, in specie, the advances which may have been made by the other for the sustenance and maintenance of such prisoners.

#### **Article the Fourth**

Whereas it was stipulated by the second article in the treaty of peace, of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, that the boundary of the United States should

comprehend all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries, between Nova Scotia, on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the bay of Fundy, and the Atlantic ocean, excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of Nova Scotia; and whereas the several islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy, which is part of the Bay of Fundy, and the island of Grand Menan in the said Bay of Fundy, are claimed by the United States as being comprehended within their aforesaid boundaries, which said islands are claimed as belonging to his Britannic Majesty, as having been at the time of, and previous to, the aforesaid treaty of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, within the limits of the province of Nova Scotia: In order, therefore, finally to decide upon these claims, it is agreed that they shall be referred to two commissioners to be appointed in the following manner, viz: one commissioner shall be appointed by his Britannic Majesty, and one by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and the said two commissioners so appointed shall be sworn impartially to examine and decide upon the said claims according to such evidence as shall be laid before them on the part of his Britannic Majesty and of the United States respectively. The said commissioners shall meet at Saint Andrews, in the province of New Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said commissioners shall, by a declaration or report under their hands and seals, decide to which of the two contracting parties the several islands aforesaid do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three. And if the said commissioners shall agree in their decision, both parties shall consider such decision as final and conclusive. It is further agreed, that in the event of the two commissioners differing upon all or any of the matters so referred to them, or in the event of both or either of the said commissioners refusing, or declining, or wilfully omitting, to act as such, they shall make jointly or separately, a report or reports, as well to the Government of his Britannic majesty as to that of the United States, stating in detail the points on which they differ, and the grounds upon which their respective opinions have been formed, or the grounds upon which they, or either of them, have so refused, declined, or omitted to act. And his Britannic majesty, and the government of the United States, hereby agree to refer the report or reports of the said commissioners, to some friendly sovereign or state, to be then named for that purpose, and who shall be requested to decide on the differences which may be stated in the said report or reports, or upon the report of one commissioner, together

with the grounds upon which the other commissioner shall have refused, declined, or omitted to act, as the case may be. And if the commissioner so refusing, declining, or omitting to act, shall also wilfully omit to state the grounds upon which he has so done, in such manner that the said statement may be referred to such friendly sovereign or state, together with the report of such other commissioner, then such sovereign or state shall decide *ex parte* upon the said report alone. And his Britannic Majesty and the government of the United States engage to consider the decision of such friendly sovereign or state to be final and conclusive on all the matters so referred.

#### ***Article the Fifth***

Whereas neither that point of the high lands lying due north from the source of the river St. Croix, and designated in the former treaty of peace between the two powers as the northwest angle of Nova-Scotia, nor the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, has yet been ascertained; and whereas that part of the boundary line between the dominions of the two powers which extends from the source of the river St. Croix directly north to the abovementioned northwest angle of Nova-Scotia, thence along the said highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; thence by a line due west on said latitude until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraguy, has not yet been surveyed: it is agreed, that for these several purposes two commissioners shall be appointed, sworn, and authorized to act exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in the present article. The said commissioners shall meet at St. Andrews, in the province of New-Brunswick, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit. The said commissioners shall have power to ascertain and determine the points abovementioned, in conformity with the provisions of the said treaty of peace of one thousand seven hundred and eighty three, and shall cause the boundary aforesaid, from the source of the river St. Croix to the river Iroquois or Cataraguy, to be surveyed and marked according to the said provisions. The said commissioners shall make a map of the said boundary, and annex to it a declaration under their hands and seals, certifying it to be the true map of the said boundary, and particularizing the latitude and longitude of the northwest angle of Nova-Scotia, of the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river, and of such other points of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such map and declaration as finally and conclusively fixing the said

boundary. And in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both, or either, of them, refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state, shall be made, in all respects, as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

#### ***Article the Sixth***

Whereas, by the former treaty of peace that portion of the boundary of the United States from the point where the forty-fifth degree of north latitude strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraguy to the lake Superior, was declared to be “along the middle of said river into lake Ontario, through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie, thence along the middle of said communication into lake Erie, through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication into the lake Huron, thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and lake Superior.” And whereas doubts have arisen what was the middle of the said river, lakes and water communications, and whether certain islands lying in the same were within the dominions of his Britannic majesty or of the United States: In order, therefore, finally to decide these doubts, they shall be referred to two commissioners, to be appointed, sworn, and authorized to act exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the next preceding article, unless otherwise specified in this present article. The said commissioners shall meet, in the first instance, at Albany, in the state of New-York, and shall have power to adjourn to such other place or places as they shall think fit: The said commissioner shall, by a report or declaration, under their hands and seals, designate the boundary through the said river, lakes, and water communications, and decide to which of the two contracting parties the several islands lying within the said rivers, lakes, and water communications, do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both, or either of them, refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them, and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state shall be made in all respects as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

#### ***Article the Seventh***

It is further agreed that the said two last-mentioned commissioners, after they shall have executed the duties

assigned to them in the preceding article, shall be, and they are hereby authorized, upon their oaths impartially to fix and determine, according to the true intent of the said treaty of peace, of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, that part of the boundary between the dominions of the two powers, which extends from the water communication between lake Huron, and lake Superior, to the most north-western point of the lake of the Woods, to decide to which of the two parties the several islands lying in the lakes, water communications, and rivers, forming the said boundary, do respectively belong, in conformity with the true intent of the said treaty of peace, of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three; and to cause such parts of the said boundary, as require it, to be surveyed and marked. The said commissioners shall, by a report or declaration under their hands and seals, designate the boundary aforesaid, state their decision on the points thus referred to them, and particularize the latitude and longitude of the most north-western point of the lake of the Woods, and of such other parts of the said boundary as they may deem proper. And both parties agree to consider such designation and decision as final and conclusive. And, in the event of the said two commissioners differing, or both, or either of them refusing, declining, or wilfully omitting to act, such reports, declarations, or statements, shall be made by them, or either of them and such reference to a friendly sovereign or state, shall be made in all respects, as in the latter part of the fourth article is contained, and in as full a manner as if the same was herein repeated.

#### ***Article the Eighth***

The several boards of two commissioners mentioned in the four preceding articles, shall respectively have power to appoint a secretary, and to employ such surveyors or other persons as they shall judge necessary. Duplicates of all their respective reports, declarations, statements and decisions, and of their accounts, and of the journal of their proceedings, shall be delivered by them to the agents of his Britannic majesty, and to the agents of the United States, who may be respectively appointed and authorized to manage the business on behalf of their respective governments. The said commissioners shall be respectively paid in such manner as shall be agreed between the two contracting parties, such agreement being to be settled at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty. And all other expenses attending the said commissions shall be defrayed equally by the two parties. And in the case of death, sickness, resignation, or necessary absence, the place of every such commissioner, respectively, shall be supplied in the same manner as such commissioner was first appointed, and the new commissioner shall take the same oath or affirmation, and do the same duties. It is further agreed between the two contracting parties, that in



case any of the islands mentioned in any of the preceding articles, which were in the possession of one of the parties prior to the commencement of the present war between the two countries, should, by the decision of any of the boards of commissioners aforesaid, or of the sovereign or state so referred to, as in the four next preceding articles contained, fall within the dominions of the other party, all grants of land made previous to the commencement of the war, by the party having had such possession, shall be as valid as if such island or islands had, by such decision or decisions, been adjudged to be within the dominions of the party having had such possession.

#### **Article the Ninth**

The United States of America engage to put an end, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom they may be at war at the time of such ratification; and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations, respectively, all the possessions, rights, and privileges, which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to in one thousand eight hundred and eleven, previous to such hostilities: *Provided always*, That such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities, against the United States of America, their citizens and subjects, upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly. And his Britannic majesty engages, on his part, to put an end immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, to hostilities with all the tribes or nations of Indians with whom he may be at war at the time of such ratification, and forthwith to restore to such tribes or nations, respectively, all the possessions, rights, and privileges, which they may have enjoyed or been entitled to, in one thousand eight hundred and eleven, previous to such hostilities:

*Provided always*, That such tribes or nations shall agree to desist from all hostilities against his Britannic majesty, and his subjects, upon the ratification of the present treaty being notified to such tribes or nations, and shall so desist accordingly.

#### **Article the Tenth**

Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas both his Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavors to accomplish so desirable an object.

#### **Article the Eleventh**

This treaty, when the same shall have been ratified on both sides, without alteration by either of the contracting parties,

and the ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be binding on both parties, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington, in the space of four months from this day, or sooner, if practicable. In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty, and have thereunto affixed our seals.

Done, in triplicate, at Ghent, the twenty-fourth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen.

Gambier, (L. S.) Henry Goulburn, (L. S.) William Adams, (L. S.) John Quincy Adams, (L. S.) J. A. Bayard, (L. S.) H. Clay, (L. S.) Jona. Russell, (L. S.) Albert Gallatin. (L. S.)

#### **Adams-Onís Treaty (1819)**

*Landmark Documents in American History.*  
CD-ROM (New York: Facts On File, 1998)

Washington, D.C.  
February 22, 1819

#### **Treaty of Amity, Settlement, and Limits**

Between the United States of America and his Catholic Majesty.

The United States of America and his Catholic Majesty, desiring to consolidate, on a permanent basis, the friendship and good correspondence which happily prevails between the two parties, have determined to settle and terminate all their differences and pretensions, by a Treaty, which shall designate, with precision, the limits of their respective bordering territories in North America.

With this intention, the President of the United States has furnished with their full powers John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the said United States; and his Catholic Majesty has appointed the most excellent Lord Don Luis De Onís, Gonzales, Lopez y Vara, Lord of the town of Rayaces, perpetual Regidor of the Corporation of the City of Salamanca, Knight Grand-Cross of the Royal American Order of Isabella the Catholic, decorated with the Lys of La Vendee, Knight Pensioner of the Royal and distinguished Spanish Order of Charles the Third, Member of the Supreme Assembly of the said Royal Order, of the Council of his Catholic Majesty; his Secretary, with Exercise of Decrees, and his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary near the United States of America.

And the said Plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their powers, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:

#### **Article 1**

There shall be a firm and inviolable peace and sincere friendship between the United States and their citizens,



and his Catholic Majesty, his successors and subjects, without exception of persons or places.

#### **Article 2**

His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States, in full property and sovereignty, all the territories which belong to him, situated to the eastward of the Mississippi, known by the name of East and West Florida. The adjacent islands dependent on said provinces, all public lots and squares, vacant lands, public edifices, fortifications, barracks, and other buildings, which are not private property, archives and documents, which relate directly to the property and sovereignty of said provinces, are included in this article. The said archives and documents shall be left in possession of the commissaries or officers of the United States, duly authorized to receive them . . .

#### **Article 5**

The inhabitants of the ceded territories shall be secured in the free exercise of their religion, without any restriction; and all those who may desire to remove to the Spanish dominions, shall be permitted to sell or export their effects, at any time whatever, without being subject, in either case, to duties.

#### **Article 6**

The inhabitants of the territories which his Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States, by this Treaty, shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, and admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities, of the citizens of the United States. . .

#### **Article 11**

The United States, exonerating Spain from all demands in future, on account of the claims of their citizens to which the renunciations herein contained extend, and considering them entirely cancelled, undertake to make satisfaction for the same, to an amount not exceeding five millions of dollars. To ascertain the full amount the validity of those claims, a Commission, to consist of three Commissioners, citizens of the United States, shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate . . .

#### **Article 15**

The United States, to give to his Catholic Majesty a proof of their desire to cement the relations of amity subsisting between the two nations, and to favour the commerce of the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, agree that Spanish vessels, coming laden only with productions of Spanish growth or manufactures, directly from the ports of Spain, or of her colonies, shall be admitted, for the term of twelve years, to

the ports of Pensacola and St. Augustine, in the Floridas, without paying other or higher duties on their cargoes, or of tonnage, than will be paid by the vessels of the United States. During the said term, no other nation shall enjoy the same privileges within the ceded territories. The twelve years shall commence three months after the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty.

#### **Article 16**

The present Treaty shall be ratified in due form, by the contracting parties, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in six months from this time, or sooner, if possible. In witness whereof, we, the under written Plenipotentiaries of the United States of America and of his Catholic Majesty, have signed, by virtue of our powers, the present Treaty of Amity, Settlement, and Limits, and have thereunto affixed our seals, respectively.

Done at Washington, this twenty-second day of February, one thousand eight hundred and nineteen.

John Quincy Adams, (L. S.) Luis De Onís, (L. S.)

### **The Missouri Compromise (1819–1821)**

#### **Tallmadge Amendment (1819)**

Henry Steele Commager and Milton Cantor, eds.  
*Documents of American History*, 10th ed.  
(Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), p. 225

*And provided also*, That the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall be duly convicted; and that all children of slaves, born within the said state, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years.

#### **Taylor Amendment (1820)**

Henry Steele Commager and Milton Cantor, eds.  
*Documents of American History*, 10th ed.  
(Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), p. 225

*The reading of the bill proceeded as far as the fourth section; when Mr. Taylor, of New York, proposed to amend the bill by incorporating in that section the following provision:*

Section 4, line 25, insert the following after the word "States"; "And shall ordain and establish, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said State, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided, always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any other State, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person

claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid: *And provided, also*, That the said provision shall not be construed to alter the condition or civil rights of any person now held to service or labor in the said Territory.”

### **Thomas Amendment (1820)**

Henry Steele Commager and Milton Cantor, eds.  
*Documents of American History*, 10th ed.  
 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), p. 225

*And be it further enacted*, That, in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited. *Provided always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid.

### **Missouri Enabling Act (1820)**

Henry Steele Commager and Milton Cantor, eds.  
*Documents of American History*, 10th ed.  
 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), p. 226

#### **An Act**

*To authorize the people of the Missouri territory to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and to prohibit slavery in certain territories.*

*Be it enacted* That the inhabitants of that portion of the Missouri territory included within the boundaries hereinafter designated, be, and they are hereby, authorized to form for themselves a constitution and state government, and to assume such name as they shall deem proper; and the said state, when formed, shall be admitted into the Union, upon an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatsoever.

Sec. 2. That the said state shall consist of all the territory included within the following boundaries, to wit: Beginning in the middle of the Mississippi river, on the parallel of thirty-six degrees of north latitude; thence west, along that parallel of latitude, to the St. Francois river; thence up, and following the course of that river, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to the parallel of latitude of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes; thence west, along the same, to a point where the said parallel is intersected by a meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas river, where the same empties

into the Missouri river, thence, from the point aforesaid north, along the said meridian line, to the intersection of the parallel of latitude which passes through the rapids of the river Des Moines, making the said line to correspond with the Indian boundary line; thence east, from the point of intersection last aforesaid, along the said parallel of latitude, to the middle of the channel of the main fork of the said river Des Moines; thence down and along the middle of the main channel of the said river Des Moines, to the mouth of the same, where it empties into the Mississippi river; thence, due east, to the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi river; thence down, and following the course of the Mississippi river, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to the place of beginning: . . .

Sec. 3. That all free white male citizens of the United States, who shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and have resided in said territory three months previous to the day of election, and all other persons qualified to vote for representatives to the general assembly of the said territory, shall be qualified to be elected, and they are hereby qualified and authorized to vote, and choose representatives to form a convention: . . .

Sec. 8. That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the state, contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited: *Provided always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labour or service is lawfully claimed, in any state or territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labour or service as aforesaid.

### **Constitution of Missouri (1820)**

Henry Steele Commager and Milton Cantor, eds.  
*Documents of American History*, 10th ed.  
 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), pp. 226–227

Sec. 26. The general assembly shall not have power to pass laws—

1. For the emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners; or without paying them, before such emancipation, a full equivalent for such slaves so emancipated; and,

2. To prevent *bona-fide* immigrants to this State, or actual settlers therein, from bringing from any of the United States, or from any of their Territories, such persons as may there be deemed to be slaves, so long as any persons of the same description are allowed to be held as slaves by the laws of this State.

They shall have power to pass laws—

1. To prevent *bona-fide* immigrants to this State of any slaves who may have committed any high crime in any other State or Territory;

2. To prohibit the introduction of any slave for the purpose of speculation, or as an article of trade or merchandise;

3. To prohibit the introduction of any slave, or the offspring of any slave, who heretofore may have been, or who hereafter may be, imported from any foreign country into the United States, or any Territory thereof, in contravention of any existing statute of the United States; and,

4. To permit the owners of slaves to emancipate them, saving the right of creditors, where the person so emancipating will give security that the slave so emancipated shall not become a public charge.

It shall be their duty, as soon as may be, to pass such laws as may be necessary—

1. To prevent free negroes and [and] mulattoes from coming to and settling in this State, under any pretext whatsoever; and,

2. To oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity, and to abstain from all injuries to them extending to life or limb.

#### **Resolution for the Admission of Missouri (1821)**

Henry Steele Commager and Milton Cantor, eds.  
*Documents of American History*, 10th ed.  
 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), p. 227

*Resolution providing for the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union, on a certain condition.*

*Resolved*, That Missouri shall be admitted into this union on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever, upon the fundamental condition, that the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the constitution submitted on the part of said state to Congress, shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, and that no law shall be passed in conformity thereto, by which any citizen, of either of the states in this Union, shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled under the constitution of the United States: *Provided*, That the legislature of the said state, by a solemn public act, shall declare the assent of the said state to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the President of the United States, on or before the fourth Monday in November next, an authentic copy of the said act; upon the receipt whereof, the President, by proclamation, shall announce the fact; whereupon, and without any further proceeding on the part of Congress, the admission of the said state into this Union shall be considered as complete.

#### **Monroe Doctrine (1823)**

James D. Richardson, ed. *A Compilation of Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897*, Vol. 2  
 (Washington, D.C.: 1998), pp. 207–220

Washington

December 2, 1823.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Many important subjects will claim your attention during the present session, of which I shall endeavor to give, in aid of your deliberations, a just idea in this communication. I undertake this duty with diffidence, from the vast extent of the interests on which I have to treat and of their great importance to every portion of our Union. I enter on it with zeal from a thorough conviction that there never was a period since the establishment of our Revolution when, regarding the condition of the civilized world and its bearing on us, there was greater necessity for devotion in the public servants to their respective duties, or for virtue, patriotism, and union in our constituents.

Meeting in you a new Congress, I deem it proper to present this view of public affairs in greater detail than might otherwise be necessary. I do it, however, with peculiar satisfaction, from a knowledge that in this respect I shall comply more fully with the sound principles of our Government. The people being with us exclusively the sovereign, it is indispensable that full information be laid before them on all important subjects, to enable them to exercise that high power with complete effect. If kept in the dark, they must be incompetent to it. We are all liable to error, and those who are engaged in the management of public affairs are more subject to excitement and to be led astray by their particular interests and passions than the great body of our constituents, who, living at home in the pursuit of their ordinary avocations, are calm but deeply interested spectators of events and of the conduct of those who are parties to them. To the people every department of the Government and every individual in each are responsible, and the more full their information the better they can judge of the wisdom of the policy pursued and of the conduct of each in regard to it. From their dispassionate judgment much aid may always be obtained, while their approbation will form the greatest incentive and most gratifying reward for virtuous actions, and the dread of their censure the best security against the abuse of their confidence. Their interests in all vital questions are the same, and the bond, by sentiment as well as by interest, will be proportionably strengthened as they are better informed of the real state of public affairs, especially in difficult conjunctures. It is by such knowledge that local prejudices and jealousies are surmounted, and that

a national policy, extending its fostering care and protection to all the great interests of our Union, is formed and steadily adhered to.

A precise knowledge of our relations with foreign powers as respects our negotiations and transactions with each is thought to be particularly necessary. Equally necessary is it that we should form a just estimate of our resources, revenue, and progress in every kind of improvement connected with the national prosperity and public defense. It is by rendering justice to other nations that we may expect it from them. It is by our ability to resent injuries and redress wrongs that we may avoid them.

The commissioners under the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, having disagreed in their opinions respecting that portion of the boundary between the Territories of the United States and of Great Britain the establishment of which had been submitted to them, have made their respective reports in compliance with that article, that the same might be referred to the decision of a friendly power. It being manifest, however, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for any power to perform that office without great delay and much inconvenience to itself, a proposal has been made by this Government, and acceded to by that of Great Britain, to endeavor to establish that boundary by amicable negotiation. It appearing from long experience that no satisfactory arrangement could be formed of the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British colonies in this hemisphere by legislative acts while each party pursued its own course without agreement or concert with the other, a proposal has been made to the British Government to regulate this commerce by treaty, as it has been to arrange in like manner the just claim of the citizens of the United States inhabiting the States and Territories bordering on the lakes and rivers which empty into the St. Lawrence to the navigation of that river to the ocean. For these and other objects of high importance to the interests of both parties a negotiation has been opened with the British Government which it is hoped will have a satisfactory result.

The commissioners under the sixth and seventh articles of the treaty of Ghent having successfully closed their labors in relation to the sixth, have proceeded to the discharge of those relating to the seventh. Their progress in the extensive survey required for the performance of their duties justifies the presumption that it will be completed in the ensuing year.

The negotiation which had been long depending with the French Government on several important subjects, and particularly for a just indemnity for losses sustained in the late wars by the citizens of the United States under unjustifiable seizures and confiscations of their property, has not as yet had the desired effect. As this claim rests on the same principle with others which have been admitted

by the French Government, it is not perceived on what just ground it can be rejected. A minister will be immediately appointed to proceed to France and resume the negotiation on this and other subjects which may arise between the two nations.

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interest of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal had been made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous by this friendly proceeding of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . .

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe



it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal shew that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which, have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

If we compare the present condition of our Union with its actual state at the close of our Revolution, the history of the world furnishes no example of a progress in improvement in all the important circumstances which constitute the happiness of a nation which bears any resemblance to it. At the first epoch our population did not exceed 3,000,000. By the last census it amounted to about 10,000,000, and, what is more extraordinary, it is almost altogether native, for the immigration from other countries has been inconsiderable. At the first epoch half the territory within our acknowledged limits was uninhabited and a wilderness. Since then new territory has been acquired of vast extent, comprising within it many rivers, particularly the Mississippi, the navigation of which to the ocean was of the highest importance to the original States. Over this territory our population has expanded in every direction, and new States have been established almost equal in number to those which formed the first bond of our Union. This expansion of our population and accession of new States to our Union have had the happiest effect on all its highest interests. That it has eminently augmented our resources and added to our strength and respectability as a power is admitted by all. But it is not in these important circumstances only that this happy effect is felt. It is manifest that by enlarging the basis of our system and increasing the number of States the system itself has been greatly strengthened in both its branches. Consolidation and disunion have thereby been rendered equally impracticable. Each Government, confiding in its own strength, has less to apprehend from the other, and in consequence each, enjoying a greater freedom of action, is rendered more efficient for all the purposes for which it was instituted. It is unnecessary to treat here of the vast improvement made in the system itself by the adoption of this Constitution and of its happy effect in elevating the character and in protecting the rights of the nation as well as of individuals. To what, then, do we owe these blessings? It is known to all that we derive them from the excellence of our institutions. Ought we not, then, to adopt every measure which may be necessary to perpetuate them?

James Monroe

## The Indian Removal Act (1830)

### U.S. Congress

*United States Statutes at Large* (21st Cong., 1st sess., chap. 148), pp. 411–412

An Act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,* That it shall and may be lawful for the President of



the United States to cause so much of any territory belonging to the United States, west of the river Mississippi, not included in any state or organized territory, and to which the Indian title has been extinguished, as he may judge necessary, to be divided into a suitable number of districts, for the reception of such tribes or nations of Indians as may choose to exchange the lands where they now reside, and remove there; and to cause each of said districts to be so described by natural or artificial marks, as to be easily distinguished from every other.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to exchange any or all of such districts, so to be laid off and described, with any tribe or nation of Indians now residing within the limits of any of the states or territories, and with which the United States have existing treaties, for the whole or any part or portion of the territory claimed and occupied by such tribe or nation, within the bounds of any one or more of the states or territories, where the land claimed and occupied by the Indians, is owned by the United States, or the United States are bound to the state within which it lies to extinguish the Indian claim thereto.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That in the making of any such exchange or exchanges, it shall and may be lawful for the President solemnly to assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange is made, that the United States will forever secure and guaranty to them, and their heirs or successors, the country so exchanged with them; and if they prefer it, that the United States will cause a patent or grant to be made and executed to them of the same: *Provided always*, That such lands shall revert to the United States, if the Indians become extinct, or abandon the same.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That if, upon any of the lands now occupied by the Indians, and to be exchanged for, there should be such improvements as add value to the land claimed by any individual or individuals of such tribes or nations, it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such value to be ascertained by appraisement or otherwise, and to cause such ascertained value to be paid to the person or persons rightfully claiming such improvements. And upon the payment of such valuation, the improvements so valued and paid for, shall pass to the United States, and possession shall not afterwards be permitted to any of the same tribe.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That upon the making of any such exchange as is contemplated by this act, it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such aid and assistance to be furnished to the emigrants as may be necessary and proper to enable them to remove to, and settle in, the country for which they may have exchanged; and also, to give them such aid and assistance as may be necessary for their support and subsistence for the first year after their removal.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such tribe or nation to be protected, at their new residence, against all interruption or disturbance from any other tribe or nation of Indians, or from any other person or persons whatever.

Sec. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to have the same superintendence and care over any tribe or nation in the country to which they may remove, as contemplated by this act, that he is now authorized to have over them at their present places of residence: *Provided*, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed as authorizing or directing the violation of any existing treaty between the United States and any of the Indian tribes.

Sec. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of this act, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars is hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the treasury, not otherwise appropriated.

### ***Liberator* Editorial, First Issue (January 1, 1831)** **William Lloyd Garrison**

*Writings and Speeches of William Lloyd Garrison*,  
(Boston: R. F. Walcott), pp. 62–64

#### **Commencement of the *Liberator***

In the month of August, I issued proposals for publishing ‘The *Liberator*’ in Washington city; but the enterprise, though hailed approvingly in different sections of the country, was palsied by public indifference. Since that time, the removal of the ‘Genius of Universal Emancipation’ to the Seat of Government has rendered less imperious the establishment of a similar periodical in that quarter.

During my recent tour for the purpose of exciting the minds of the people by a series of discourses on the subject of slavery, every place that I visited gave fresh evidence of the fact, that a greater revolution in public sentiment was to be effected in the free States—and particularly in New England—than at the South. I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen, than among slave owners themselves. Of course, there were individual exceptions to the contrary. This state of things afflicted, but did not dishearten me. I determined, at every hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, within sight of Bunker Hill, and in the birth-place of liberty. That standard is now unfurled; and long may it float, unhurt by the spoliations of time or the missiles of a desperate foe; yea, till every chain be broken, and every bondman set free! Let Southern oppressors tremble; let their secret abettors tremble; let their Northern apolo-

gists tremble; let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble.

Assenting to the 'self-evident truths' maintained in the American Declaration of Independence, 'that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. In Park Street Church, on the Fourth of July, 1829, in an address on slavery, I unreflectingly assented to the popular but pernicious doctrine of gradual abolition. I seize this opportunity to make a full and unequivocal recantation, and thus publicly to ask pardon of my God, of my country, and of my brethren, the poor slaves, for having uttered a sentiment so full of timidity, injustice and absurdity. A similar recantation, from my pen, was published in the 'Genius of Universal Emancipation,' at Baltimore, in September, 1829. My conscience is now satisfied.

I am aware, that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! no! Tell a man, whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present! I am in earnest. I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead.

It is pretended, that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective, and the precipitancy of my measures. The charge is not true. On this question, my influence, humble as it is, is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years—not perniciously, but beneficially—not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God, that he enables me to disregard 'the fear of man which bringeth a snare,' and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power. And here I close with this fresh dedication:— 'Oppression! I have seen thee, face to face, And met thy cruel eye and cloudy brow; But thy soul-withering glance I fear not now—For dread to prouder feelings doth give place, Of deep abhorrence! Scorning the disgrace Of slavish knees that at thy footstool bow, I also kneel—but with far other vow Do hail thee and thy herd of hirelings base:—I swear, while life-blood warms my throbbing veins, Still to oppose and thwart, with heart and hand, Thy brutalizing sway—till Africa's chains Are burst, and Freedom rules the rescued land, Trampling Oppression and his iron rod:—Such is the vow I take—so help me, God!' Boston, January 1, 1831.

## Texas Declaration of Independence (1836)

Henry Steele Commager and Milton Cantor, eds.  
*Documents of American History*, 10th ed.  
(Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), pp. 281–283

Washington, Texas  
March 2, 1836

When a government has ceased to protect the lives liberty and property of its people, from whom its legitimate powers are derived, and for the advancement of whose happiness it was instituted, and so far from being a guarantee for the enjoyment of those inestimable and inalienable rights, becomes an instrument in the hands of evil rulers for their oppression: When the Federal Republican Constitution of their country, which they have sworn to support, no longer has a substantial existence, and the whole nature of their government has been forcibly changed without their consent, from a restricted federative republic, composed of sovereign states of a consolidated central military despotism in which every interest is disregarded but that of the army and the priesthood—both the eternal enemies of civil liberty, the ever-ready minions of power, and the usual instruments of tyrants:

When, long after the spirit of the constitution has departed, moderation is at length so far lost by those in power that even the semblance of freedom is removed, and the forms, themselves, of the constitution discontinued; and so far from their petitions and remonstrances being regarded, the agents who bear them are thrown into dungeons; and mercenary armies sent forth to force a new government upon them at the point of the bayonet: When, in consequence of such acts of malfeasance and abdication, on the part of the government, anarchy prevails, and Civil Society is dissolved into its original elements. In such a crisis, the first law of nature, the right of self-preservation—the inherent and unalienable right of the people to appeal to first principles and take their political affairs into their own hands in extreme cases enjoins it as a right towards themselves and a sacred obligation to their posterity to abolish such government and create another in its stead, calculated to rescue them from impending dangers, and to secure their future welfare and happiness.

Nations, as well as individuals, are amenable for their acts to the public opinion of mankind. Statement of a part of our grievance is, therefore, submitted to an impartial world, in justification of the hazardous but unavoidable step now taken of severing our political connection with the Mexican people, and assuming an independent attitude among the nations of the earth.

The Mexican government, by its colonization laws, invited and induced the Anglo-American population of Texas to colonize its wilderness under the pledged faith of a written constitution that they should continue to enjoy

that constitutional liberty and republican government to which they had been habituated in the land of their birth, the United States of America. In this expectation they have been cruelly disappointed, in as much as the Mexican nation has acquiesced in the late changes made in the government by General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, who, having overturned the constitution of his country, now offers as the cruel alternative either to abandon our homes, acquired by so many privations, or submit to the most intolerable of all tyranny, the combined despotism of the sword and the priesthood.

It has sacrificed our welfare to the State of Coahuila, by which our interests have been continually depressed through a jealous and partial course of legislation carried on at a far distant seat of government by a hostile majority, in an unknown tongue; and this to, notwithstanding we have petitioned in the humblest terms, for the establishment of a separate state government, and have, in accordance with the provisions of the national constitution presented to the General Congress a republican constitution which was, without just cause, contemptuously rejected.

It incarcerated in a dungeon, for a long time, one of our citizens, for no other cause but a zealous endeavor to procure the acceptance of our constitution and the establishment of a state government.

It has failed and refused to secure on a firm basis, the right of trial by jury, that palladium of civil liberty, and only safe guarantee for the life, liberty, and property of the citizen. It has failed to establish any public system of education, although possessed of almost boundless resources (the public domain) and although it is an axiom in political science, that unless a people are educated and enlightened it is idle to expect the continuance of civil liberty, or the capacity for self-government.

It has suffered the military commandants stationed among us to exercise arbitrary acts of oppression and tyranny; thus trampling upon the most sacred rights of the citizen and rendering the military superior to the civil power.

It has dissolved by force of arms, the State Congress of Coahuila and Texas, and obliged our representatives to fly for their lives from the seat of government; thus depriving us of the fundamental political right of representation.

It has demanded the surrender of a number of our citizens and ordered military detachments to seize and carry them into the interior for trial; in contempt of the civil authorities, and in defiance of the laws and the constitution.

It has made piratical attacks upon our commerce, by commissioning foreign desperadoes, and authorizing them to seize our vessels, and convey the property of our citizens to far distant ports for confiscation.

It denies us the right of worshipping the Almighty according to the dictates of our own conscience, by the

support of a national religion calculated to promote the temporal interest of its human functionaries rather than the glory of the true and living God. It has demanded us to deliver up our arms, which are essential to our defence, the rightful property of freemen, and formidable only to tyrannical governments.

It has invaded our country by sea and by land, with intent to lay waste our territory and drive us from our homes, and has now a large mercenary army advancing to carry on against us a war of extermination.

It has, through its emissaries, incited the merciless savage, with the tomahawk and scalping knife, to massacre the inhabitants of our defenceless frontiers.

It hath been, during the whole time of our connection with it, the contemptible sport and victim of successive military revolutions, and hath continually exhibited every characteristic of a weak, corrupt, and tyrannical government.

These, and other grievances, were patiently borne by the people of Texas until they reached that point at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue. We then took up arms in defence of the national constitution. We appealed to our Mexican brethren for assistance. Our appeal has been made in vain. Though months have elapsed, no sympathetic response has yet been heard from the interior. We are, therefore, forced to the melancholy conclusion that the Mexican people have acquiesced in the destruction of their liberty and the substitution therefore of a Military Government—that they are unfit to be free and incapable of self-government.

The necessity of self-preservation, therefore, now decrees our eternal political separation. We therefore, the delegates with plenary powers, of the people of Texas, in solemn convention assembled, appealing to a candid world for the necessities of our condition, do hereby resolve and declare that our political connection with the Mexican Nation has forever ended; and that the people of Texas do now constitute a free sovereign and independent republic, and are fully invested with all the rights and attributes which properly belong to independent nations; and conscious of the rectitude of our intentions, we fearlessly and confidently commit the issue to the decision of the Supreme Arbiter of the destinies of Nations.

Richard Ellis, *President*

### From "Appeal to the Christian Women of the South," (September, 1836)

Angelina Grimké

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I have thus, I think, clearly proved to you seven propositions, viz.: First, that slavery is contrary to the declaration

of our independence. Second, that it is contrary to the first charter of human rights given to Adam, and renewed to Noah. Third, that the fact of slavery having been the subject of prophecy, furnishes *no* excuse whatever to slave dealers. Fourth, that no such system existed under the patriarchal dispensation. Fifth, that *slavery never* existed under the Jewish dispensation; but so far otherwise, that every servant was placed under the *protection of law*, and care taken not only to prevent all *involuntary* servitude, but all *voluntary perpetual* bondage. Sixth, that slavery in America reduces a *man* to a *thing*, a “chattel personal,” *robs him of all* his rights as a *human being*, fetters both his mind and body, and protects the *master* in the most unnatural and unreasonable power, whilst it *throws him out* of the protection of law. Seventh, that slavery is contrary to the example and precepts of our holy and merciful Redeemer, and of his apostles.

But perhaps you will be ready to query, why appeal to *women* on this subject? We do not make the laws which perpetuate slavery. No legislative power is vested in *us*; we can do nothing to overthrow the system, even if we wished to do so. To this I reply, I know you do not make the laws, but I also know that *you are the wives and mothers, the sisters and daughters of those who do*; and if you really suppose *you* can do nothing to overthrow slavery, you are greatly mistaken. You can do much in every way: four things I will name. 1st. You can read on this subject. 2d. You can pray over this subject. 3d. You can speak on this subject. 4th. You can *act* on this subject. I have not placed reading before praying because I regard it more important, but because, in order to pray aright, we must understand what we are praying for; it is only then we can “pray with the understanding and the spirit also.”

1. Read then on the subject of slavery. Search the Scriptures daily, whether the things I have told you are true. Other books and papers might be a great help to you in this investigation, but they are not necessary, and it is hardly probable that your Committees of Vigilance will allow you to have the other. The *Bible* then is the book I want you to read in the spirit of inquiry, and the spirit of prayer. Even the enemies of Abolitionists, acknowledged that their doctrines are drawn from it. In the great mob in Boston, last autumn, when the books and papers of the Anti-Slavery Society, were thrown out of the windows of their office, one individual laid hold of the Bible and was about tossing it out to the ground, when another reminded him that it was the Bible he had in his hand. “*O! ’tis all one,*” he replied, and out went the sacred volume, along with the rest. We thank him for the acknowledgment. Yes, “*it is all one,*” for our books and papers are mostly commentaries on the Bible, and the Declaration. Read the *Bible* then, it contains the words of Jesus, and they are spirit and life. Judge for yourself whether *he sanctioned* such a system of oppression and crime.

2. Pray over this subject. When you have entered into your closets, and shut to the doors, then pray to your father, who seeth in secret, that he would open your eyes to see whether slavery is *sinful*, and if it is, that he would enable you to bear a faithful, open and unshrinking testimony against it, and to do whatsoever your hand find to do, leaving the consequences entirely to him, who still says to us whenever we try to reason away duty from the fear of consequences, “*What is that to thee, follow thou me.*” Pray also for that poor slave, that he may be kept patient and submissive under his hard lot, until God is pleased to open the door of freedom to him without violence or bloodshed. Pray too for the master that his heart may be softened, and he made willing to acknowledge, as Joseph’s brethren did, “*Verily we are guilty concerning our brother,*” before he will be compelled to add in consequence of Divine judgment, “*therefore is all this evil come upon us.*” Pray also for all your brethren and sisters who are laboring in the righteous cause of Emancipation in the Northern States, England and the world. There is great encouragement for prayer in these words of our Lord. “*Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it to you*”—Pray then without ceasing, in the closet and the social circle.

3. Speak on this subject. It is through the tongue, the pen, and the press, that truth is principally propagated. Speak then to your relatives, your friends, your acquaintances on the subject of slavery; be not afraid if you are conscientiously convinced it is *sinful*, to say so openly, but calmly, and to let your sentiments be known. If you are served by the slaves of others, try to ameliorate their condition as much as possible; never aggravate their faults, and thus add fuel to the fire of anger already kindled, in a master and mistress’s bosom, remember their extreme ignorance, and consider them as your Heavenly Father does the *less* culpable on this account, even when they do wrong things. Discountenance *all* cruelty to them, all starvation, all corporal chastisement; these may brutalize and *break* their spirits, but will never bend them to willing, cheerful obedience. If possible, see that they are comfortably and *seasonably* fed, whether in the house or the field; it is unreasonable and cruel to expect slaves to wait for their breakfast until eleven o’clock, when they rise at five or six. Do all you can, to induce their owners to clothe them well, and to allow them many little indulgences which would contribute to their comfort. Above all, try to persuade your husband, father, brothers and sons, that *slavery is a crime against God and man*, and that it is a great sin to keep *human beings* in such abject ignorance; to deny them the privilege of learning to read and write. The Catholics are universally condemned, for denying the Bible to the common people, but, *slaveholders must not* blame them, for *they* are doing the *very same thing*, and for the very same reason, neither of these systems can bear the light



which bursts from the pages of that Holy Book. And lastly, endeavour to inculcate submission on the part of the slaves, but whilst doing this be faithful in pleading the cause of the oppressed.

“Will *you* behold unheeding,  
Life’s holiest feelings crushed,  
Where *woman’s* heart is bleeding,  
Shall *woman’s* voice be hushed?”

4. Act on this subject. Some of you *own* slaves yourselves. If you believe slavery is *sinful*, set them at liberty, “undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free.” If they wish to remain with you, pay them wages, if not let them leave you. Should they remain, teach them, and have them taught the common branches of an English education; they have minds and those minds, *ought to be improved*. So precious a talent as intellect, never was given to be wrapt in a napkin and buried in the earth. It is the *duty* of all, as far as they can, to improve their own mental faculties, because we are commanded to love God with *all our minds*, as well as with all our hearts, and we commit a great sin, if we *forbid or prevent* that cultivation of the mind in others, which would enable them to perform this duty. Teach your servants then to read &c, and encourage them to believe it is their *duty* to learn, if it were only that they might read the Bible.

But some of you will say, we can neither free our slaves nor teach them to read, for the laws of our state forbid it. Be not surprised when I say such wicked laws *ought to be no barrier* in the way of your duty, and I appeal to the Bible to prove this position. What was the conduct of Shiphrah and Puah, when the king of Egypt issued his cruel mandate, with regard to the Hebrew children? “*They feared God*, and did *not* as the King of Egypt commanded them, but saved the men children alive.” Did these *women* do right in disobeying that monarch? “*Therefore* (says the sacred text,) *God dealt well* with them, and made them houses” Ex. i. What was the conduct of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, when Nebuchadnezzar set up a golden image in the plain of Dura, and commanded all people, nations, and languages to fall down and worship it? “Be it known, unto thee, (said these faithful *Jews*) O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the image which thou hast set up.” Did these men *do right in disobeying the law* of their sovereign? Let their miraculous deliverance from the burning fiery furnace, answer; Dan. iii. . . .

But some of you may say, if we do free our slaves, they will be taken up and sold, therefore there will be no use in doing it. Peter and John might just as well have said, we will not preach the gospel, for if we do, we shall be taken up and put in prison, therefore there will be no use in our preaching. *Consequences*, my friends, belong no more to

*you*, than they did to these apostles. Duty is ours and events are God’s. If you think slavery is sinful, all *you* have to do is to set your slaves at liberty, do all you can to protect them, and in humble faith and fervent prayer, commend them to your common Father. He can take care of them; but if for wise purposes he sees fit to allow them to be sold, this will afford you an opportunity of testifying openly, wherever you go, against the crime of *manstealing*. Such an act will be *clear robbery*, and if exposed, might, under the Divine direction, do the cause of Emancipation more good, than any thing that could happen, for, “He makes even the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain.”

I know that this doctrine of obeying *God*, rather than man, will be considered as dangerous, and heretical by many, but I am not afraid openly to avow it, because it is the doctrine of the Bible; but I would not be understood to advocate resistance to any law however oppressive if, in obeying it, I was not obliged to commit *sin*. If for instance, there was a law, which imposed imprisonment or a fine upon me if I manumitted a slave, I would on no account resist that law, I would set the slave free, and then go to prison or pay the fine. If a law commands me to *sin* I will break it; if it calls me to *suffer*, I will let it take its course *unresistingly*. The doctrine of blind obedience and unqualified submission to *any human* power, whether civil or ecclesiastical, is the doctrine of despotism, and ought to have no place among Republicans and Christians.

But you will perhaps say, such a course of conduct would inevitably expose us to great suffering. Yes! my christian friends, I believe it would, but this will *not* excuse you or any one else for the neglect of *duty*. If Prophets and Apostles, Martyrs, and Reformers had not been willing to suffer for the truth’s sake, where would the world have been now? If they had said, we cannot speak the truth, we cannot do what we believe is right, because the *laws of our country or public opinion are against us*, where would our holy religion have been now? . . .

But you may say we are *women*, how can our hearts endure persecution? And why not? Have not women stood up in all the dignity and strength of moral courage to be the leaders of the people, and to bear a faithful testimony for the truth whenever the providence of God has called them to do so? Are there no *women* in that noble army of martyrs who are now singing the song of Moses and the Lamb? Who led out the women of Israel from the house of bondage, striking the timbrel, and singing the song of deliverance on the banks of that sea whose waters stood up like walls of crystal to open a passage for their escape? It was a *woman*: Miriam, the prophetess, the sister of Moses and Aaron. Who went up with Barak to Kadesh to fight against Jabin, King of Canaan, into whose hand Israel had been sold because of their iniquities? It was a *woman*! Deborah,



the wife of Lapidoth, the judge, as well as the prophetess of that backsliding people; Judges iv, 9. Into whose hands was Sisera, the captain of Jabin's host delivered? Into the hands of a *woman*. Jael the wife of Heber! Judges vi, 21. Who dared to *speaking the truth* concerning those judgments which were coming upon Judea, when Josiah, alarmed at finding that his people "had not kept the word of the Lord to do after all that was written in the book of the Law," sent to enquire of the Lord concerning these things? It was a *woman*. Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shalum; 2, Chron. xxxiv, 22. Who was chosen to deliver the whole Jewish nation from that murderous decree of Persia's King, which wicked Haman had obtained by calumny and fraud? It was a *woman*; Esther the Queen; yes, weak and trembling *woman* was the instrument appointed by God, to reverse the bloody mandate of the eastern monarch, and save the *whole visible church* from destruction. What human voice first proclaimed to Mary that she should be the mother of our Lord? It was a *woman*! Elizabeth, the wife of Zacharias; Luke i, 42, 43. Who united with the good old Simeon in giving thanks publicly in the temple, when the child, Jesus, was presented there by his parents, "and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem?" It was a *woman*! Anna the prophetess. Who first proclaimed Christ as the true Messiah in the streets of Samaria, once the capital of the ten tribes? It was a *woman*! Who ministered to the Son of God whilst on earth, a despised and persecuted Reformer, in the humble garb of a carpenter? They were *women*! Who followed the rejected King of Israel, as his fainting footsteps trod the road to Calvary? "A great company of people and of *women*;" and it is remarkable that to *them alone*, he turned and addressed the pathetic language, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and your children." Ah! who sent unto the Roman Governor when he was set down on the judgment seat, saying unto him, "Have thou nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him?" It was a *woman*! the wife of Pilate. Although "*he knew* that for envy the Jews had delivered Christ," yet *he* consented to surrender the Son of God into the hands of a brutal soldiery, after having himself scourged his naked body. Had the *wife* of Pilate sat upon that judgment seat, what would have been the result of the trial of this "just person?" . . .

And what, I would ask in conclusion, have *women* done for the great and glorious cause of Emancipation? Who wrote that pamphlet which moved the heart of Wilberforce to pray over the wrongs, and his tongue to plead the cause of the oppressed African? It was a *woman*, Elizabeth Heyrick. Who labored assiduously to keep the sufferings of the slave continually before the British public? They were *women*. And how did they do it? By their needles, paint brushes and pens, by speaking the truth, and petitioning Parliament

for the abolition of slavery. And what was the effect of their labors? Read it in the Emancipation bill of Great Britain. Read it, in the present state of her West India Colonies. Read it, in the impulse which has been given to the cause of freedom, in the United States of America. Have English women then done so much for the negro, and shall American women do nothing? Oh no! Already are there sixty female Anti-Slavery Societies in operation. These are doing just what the English women did, telling the story of the colored man's wrongs, praying for his deliverance, and presenting his kneeling image constantly before the public eye on bags and needle-books, card-racks, pen-wipers, pin-cushions, &c. Even the children of the north are inscribing on their handy work, "May the points of our needles prick the slaveholder's conscience." Some of the reports of these Societies exhibit not only considerable talent, but a deep sense of religious duty, and a determination to persevere through evil as well as good report, until every scourge, and every shackle, is buried under the feet of the manumitted slave.

The Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Boston was called last fall, to a severe trial of their faith and constancy. They were mobbed by "the gentlemen of property and standing," in that city at their anniversary meeting, and their lives were jeopardized by an infuriated crowd; but their conduct on that occasion did credit to our sex, and affords a full assurance that they will *never* abandon the cause of the slave. The pamphlet, *Right and Wrong in Boston*, issued by them in which a particular account is given of that "mob of broad cloth in broad day," does equal credit to the head and the heart of her who wrote it. I wish my Southern sisters could read it; they would then understand that the women of the North have engaged in this work from a sense of *religious duty*, and that nothing will ever induce them to take their hands from it until it is fully accomplished. They feel no hostility to you, no bitterness nor wrath; they rather sympathize in your trials and difficulties; but they well know that the first thing to be done to help you, is to pour in the light of truth on your minds, to urge you to reflection, and pray over the subject. This is all *they* can do for you, *you* must work out your own deliverance with fear and trembling, and with the direction and blessing of God, *you can do it*. Northern women may labor to produce a correct public opinion as the North, but if Southern women sit down in listless indifference and criminal idleness, public opinion cannot be rectified and purified at the South. It is manifest to every reflecting mind, that slavery must be abolished; the era in which we live, and the light which is overspreading the whole world on this subject, clearly show that the time cannot be distant when it will be done. Now there are only two ways in which it can be effected, by moral power or physical force, and it is for *you* to choose which of these you prefer. Slavery always has, and always will produce

insurrections wherever it exists, because it is a violation of the natural order of things, and no human power can much longer perpetuate it . . .

The *women of the South can overthrow* this horrible system of oppression and cruelty, licentiousness and wrong. Such appeals to your legislatures would be irresistible, for there is something in the heart of man which *will bend under moral suasion*. There is a swift witness for truth in his bosom, which *will respond to truth* when it is uttered with calmness and dignity. If you could obtain but six signatures to such a petition in only one state, I would say send up that petition, and be not in the least discouraged by the scoffs and jeers of the heartless, or the resolution of the house to lay it on the table. It will be a great thing if the subject can be introduced into your legislatures in any way, even by *women*, and *they* will be the most likely to introduce it there in the best possible manner, as a matter of *morals* and *religion*, not of expediency or politics. You may petition, too, the different ecclesiastical bodies of the slave states. Slavery must be attacked with the whole power of truth and the sword of the spirit. You must take it up on *Christian* ground, and fight against it with Christian weapons, whilst your feet are shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace. And *you are now* loudly called upon by the cries of the widow and the orphan, to arise and gird yourselves for this great moral conflict, with the whole armour of righteousness upon the right hand and on the left.

***United States v. Libellants and Claimants of the Schooner Amistad, (1841)***  
***United States Supreme Court***

40 U.S. 518 (1841)

APPEAL FROM THE CIRCUIT COURT  
 OF CONNECTICUT

**Opinions**

**STORY, J., Opinion of the Court**

Mr. Justice STORY delivered the opinion of the Court.

This is the case of an appeal from the decree of the Circuit Court of the District of Connecticut, sitting in admiralty. The leading facts, as they appear upon the transcript of the proceedings, are as follows: On the 27th of June, 1839, the schooner *L'Amistad*, being the property of Spanish subjects, cleared out from the port of Havana, in the island of Cuba, for Puerto Principe, in the same island. On board of the schooner were the captain, Ransom Ferrer, and Jose Ruiz, and Pedro Montez, all Spanish subjects. The former had with him a negro boy, named Antonio, claimed to be his slave. Jose Ruiz had with him

forty-nine negroes, claimed by him as his slaves, and stated to be his property, in a certain pass or document, signed by the Governor General [p\*588] of Cuba. Pedro Montez had with him four other negroes, also claimed by him as his slaves, and stated to be his property, in a similar pass or document, also signed by the Governor General of Cuba. On the voyage, and before the arrival of the vessel at her port of destination, the negroes rose, killed the captain, and took possession of her. On the 26th of August, the vessel was discovered by Lieutenant Gedney, of the United States brig *Washington*, at anchor on the high seas, at the distance of half a mile from the shore of Long Island. A part of the negroes were then on shore at Culloden Point, Long Island; who were seized by Lieutenant Gedney, and brought on board. The vessel, with the negroes and other persons on board, was brought by Lieutenant Gedney into the district of Connecticut, and there libelled for salvage in the District Court of the United States. A libel for salvage was also filed by Henry Green and Pelatiah Fordham, of Sag Harbour, Long Island. On the 18th of September, Ruiz and Montez filed claims and libels, in which they asserted their ownership of the negroes as their slaves, and of certain parts of the cargo, and prayed that the same might be "delivered to them, or to the representatives of her Catholic majesty, as might be most proper." On the 19th of September, the Attorney of the United States, for the district of Connecticut, filed an information or libel, setting forth, that the Spanish minister had officially presented to the proper department of the government of the United States, a claim for the restoration of the vessel, cargo, and slaves, as the property of Spanish subjects, which had arrived within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, and were taken possession of by the said public armed brig of the United States; under such circumstances as made it the duty of the United States to cause the same to be restored to the true proprietors, pursuant to the treaty between the United States and Spain: and praying the Court, on its being made legally to appear that the claim of the Spanish minister was well founded, to make such order for the disposal of the vessel, cargo, and slaves, as would best enable the United States to comply with their treaty stipulations. But if it should appear, that the negroes were persons transported from Africa, in violation of the laws of the United States, and brought within the United States contrary to the same laws; he then prayed the Court to make such order for their removal to the coast of Africa, pursuant to the laws of the United States, as it should deem fit.

On the 19th of November, the Attorney of the United States [p\*589] filed a second information or libel, similar to the first, with the exception of the second prayer above set forth in his former one. On the same day, Antonio G. Vega, the vice-consul of Spain, for the state of Connecticut, filed his libel, alleging that Antonio was a slave, the property

of the representatives of Ramon Ferrer, and praying the Court to cause him to be delivered to the said vice-consul, that he might be returned by him to his lawful owner in the island of Cuba.

On the 7th of January, 1840, the negroes, Cinque and others, with the exception of Antonio, by their counsel, filed an answer, denying that they were slaves, or the property of Ruiz and Montez, or that the Court could, under the Constitution or laws of the United States, or under any treaty, exercise any jurisdiction over their persons, by reason of the premises; and praying that they might be dismissed. They specially set forth and insist in this answer, that they were native born Africans; born free, and still of right ought to be free and not slaves; that they were, on or about the 15th of April, 1839, unlawfully kidnapped, and forcibly and wrongfully carried on board a certain vessel on the coast of Africa, which was unlawfully engaged in the slave trade, and were unlawfully transported in the same vessel to the island of Cuba, for the purpose of being there unlawfully sold as slaves; that Ruiz and Montez, well knowing the premises, made a pretended purchase of them: that afterwards, on or about the 28th of June, 1839, Ruiz and Montez, confederating with Ferrer, (captain of the *Amistad*,) caused them, without law or right, to be placed on board of the *Amistad*, to be transported to some place unknown to them, and there to be enslaved for life; that, on the voyage, they rose on the master, and took possession of the vessel, intending to return therewith to their native country, or to seek an asylum in some free state; and the vessel arrived, about the 26th of August, 1839, off Montauk Point, near Long Island; a part of them were sent on shore, and were seized by Lieutenant Gedney, and carried on board; and all of them were afterwards brought by him into the district of Connecticut.

On the 7th of January, 1840, Jose Antonio Tellincas, and Messrs. Aspe and Laca, all Spanish subjects, residing in Cuba, filed their [p\*590] claims, as owners to certain portions of the goods found on board of the schooner *L'Amistad*.

On the same day, all the libellants and claimants, by their counsel, except Jose Ruiz and Pedro Montez, (whose libels and claims, as stated of record, respectively, were pursued by the Spanish minister, the same being merged in his claims,) appeared, and the negroes also appeared by their counsel; and the case was heard on the libels, claims, answers, and testimony of witnesses.

On the 23d day of January, 1840, the District Court made a decree. By that decree, the Court rejected the claim of Green and Fordham for salvage, but allowed salvage to Lieutenant Gedney and others, on the vessel and cargo, of one-third of the value thereof, but not on the negroes, Cinque and others; it allowed the claim of Tellincas, and Aspe and Laca with the exception of the above-mentioned

salvage; it dismissed the libels and claims of Ruiz and Montez, with costs, as being included under the claim of the Spanish minister; it allowed the claim of the Spanish vice-consul for Antonio, on behalf of Ferrer's representatives; it rejected the claims of Ruiz and Montez for the delivery of the negroes, but admitted them for the cargo, with the exception of the above-mentioned salvage; it rejected the claim made by the Attorney of the United States on behalf of the Spanish minister, for the restoration of the negroes under the treaty; but it decreed that they should be delivered to the President of the United States, to be transported to Africa, pursuant to the act of 3d March, 1819.

From this decree the District Attorney, on behalf of the United States, appealed to the Circuit Court, except so far as related to the restoration of the slave Antonio. The claimants, Tellincas, and Aspe and Laca, also appealed from that part of the decree which awarded salvage on the property respectively claimed by them. No appeal was interposed by Ruiz or Montez, or on behalf of the representatives of the owners of the *Amistad*. The Circuit Court, by a mere pro forma decree, affirmed the decree of the District Court, reserving the question of salvage upon the claims of Tellincas, and Aspe and Laca. And from that decree the present appeal has been brought to this Court.

The cause has been very elaborately argued, as well upon the [p\*591] merits, as upon a motion on behalf of the appellees to dismiss the appeal. On the part of the United States, it has been contended, 1. That due and sufficient proof concerning the property has been made to authorize the restitution of the vessel, cargo, and negroes to the Spanish subjects on whose behalf they are claimed pursuant to the treaty with Spain, of the 27th of October, 1795. 2. That the United States had a right to intervene in the manner in which they have done, to obtain a decree for the restitution of the property, upon the application of the Spanish minister. These propositions have been strenuously denied on the other side. Other collateral and incidental points have been stated, upon which it is not necessary at this moment to dwell.

Before entering upon the discussion of the main points involved in this interesting and important controversy, it may be necessary to say a few words as to the actual posture of the case as it now stands before us. In the first place, then, the only parties now before the Court on one side, are the United States, intervening for the sole purpose of procuring restitution of the property as Spanish property, pursuant to the treaty, upon the grounds stated by the other parties claiming the property in their respective libels. The United States do not assert any property in themselves, or any violation of their own rights, or sovereignty, or laws, by the acts complained of. They do not insist that these negroes have been imported into the United States, in contravention of our own slave trade acts. They do not seek to

have these negroes delivered up for the purpose of being transported to Cuba as pirates or robbers, or as fugitive criminals against the laws of Spain. They do not assert that the seizure, and bringing the vessel, and cargo, and negroes into port, by Lieutenant Gedney, for the purpose of adjudication, is a tortious act. They simply confine themselves to the right of the Spanish claimants to the restitution of their property, upon the facts asserted in their respective allegations.

In the next place, the parties before the Court on the other side as appellees, are Lieutenant Gedney, on his libel for salvage, and the negroes, (Cinque, and others,) asserting themselves, in their answer, not to be slaves, but free native Africans, kidnapped [p\*592] in their own country, and illegally transported by force from that country; and now entitled to maintain their freedom.

No question has been here made, as to the proprietary interests in the vessel and cargo. It is admitted that they belong to Spanish subjects, and that they ought to be restored. The only point on this head is, whether the restitution ought to be upon the payment of salvage or not? The main controversy is, whether these negroes are the property of Ruiz and Montez, and ought to be delivered up; and to this, accordingly, we shall first direct our attention.

It has been argued on behalf of the United States, that the Court are bound to deliver them up, according to the treaty of 1795, with Spain, which has in this particular been continued in full force, by the treaty of 1819, ratified in 1821. The sixth article of that treaty, seems to have had, principally, in view cases where the property of the subjects of either state had been taken possession of within the territorial jurisdiction of the other, during war. The eighth article provides for cases where the shipping of the inhabitants of either state are forced, through stress of weather, pursuit of pirates, or enemies, or any other urgent necessity, to seek shelter in the ports of the other. There may well be some doubt entertained, whether the present case, in its actual circumstances, falls within the purview of this article. But it does not seem necessary, for reasons hereafter stated, absolutely to decide it. The ninth article provides, "that all ships and merchandise, of what nature soever, which shall be rescued out of the hands of any pirates or robbers, on the high seas, shall be brought into some port of either state, and shall be delivered to the custody of the officers of that port, in order to be taken care of and restored entire to the true proprietor, as soon as due and sufficient proof shall be made concerning the property thereof." This is the article on which the main reliance is placed on behalf of the United States, for the restitution of these negroes. To bring the case within the article, it is essential to establish, First, That these negroes, under all the circumstances, fall within the description of merchandise, in the sense of the treaty. Secondly, That there has been a rescue of them on the high

seas, out of the hands of the pirates and robbers; which, in the present case, can only be, by showing that they [p\*593] themselves are pirates and robbers; and, Thirdly, That Ruiz and Montez, the asserted proprietors, are the true proprietors, and have established their title by competent proof.

If these negroes were, at the time, lawfully held as slaves under the laws of Spain, and recognised by those laws as property capable of being lawfully bought and sold; we see no reason why they may not justly be deemed within the intent of the treaty, to be included under the denomination of merchandise, and, as such, ought to be restored to the claimants: for, upon that point, the laws of Spain would seem to furnish the proper rule of interpretation. But, admitting this, it is clear, in our opinion, that neither of the other essential facts and requisites has been established in proof; and the onus probandi of both lies upon the claimants to give rise to the causes *foederis*. It is plain beyond controversy, if we examine the evidence, that these negroes never were the lawful slaves of Ruiz or Montez, or of any other Spanish subjects. They are natives of Africa, and were kidnapped there, and were unlawfully transported to Cuba, in violation of the laws and treaties of Spain, and the most solemn edicts and declarations of that government. By those laws, and treaties, and edicts, the African slave trade is utterly abolished; the dealing in that trade is deemed a heinous crime; and the negroes thereby introduced into the dominions of Spain, are declared to be free. Ruiz and Montez are proved to have made the pretended purchase of these negroes, with a full knowledge of all the circumstances. And so cogent and irresistible is the evidence in this respect, that the District Attorney has admitted in open Court, upon the record, that these negroes were native Africans, and recently imported into Cuba, as alleged in their answers to the libels in the case. The supposed proprietary interest of Ruiz and Montez, is completely displaced, if we are at liberty to look at the evidence of the admissions of the District Attorney.

It, then, these negroes are not slaves, but are kidnapped Africans, who, by the laws of Spain itself, are entitled to their freedom, and were kidnapped and illegally carried to Cuba, and illegally detained and restrained on board of the *Amistad*; there is no pretence to say, that they are pirates or robbers. We may lament the dreadful acts, by which they asserted their liberty, and took possession of the *Amistad*, and endeavoured to regain their native [p\*594] country; but they cannot be deemed pirates or robbers in the sense of the law of nations, or the treaty with Spain, or the laws of Spain itself; at least so far as those laws have been brought to our knowledge. Nor do the libels of Ruiz or Montez assert them to be such.

This posture of the facts would seem, of itself, to put an end to the Whole inquiry upon the merits. But it is argued, on behalf of the United States, that the ship, and cargo,



and negroes were duly documented as belonging to Spanish subjects, and this Court have no right to look behind these documents; that full faith and credit is to be given to them; and that they are to be held conclusive evidence in this cause, even although it should be established by the most satisfactory proofs, that they have been obtained by the grossest frauds and impositions upon the constituted authorities of Spain. To this argument we can, in no wise, assent. There is nothing in the treaty which justifies or sustains the argument. We do not here meddle with the point, whether there has been any connivance in this illegal traffic, on the part of any of the colonial authorities or subordinate officers of Cuba; because, in our view, such an examination is unnecessary, and ought not to be pursued, unless it were indispensable to public justice, although it has been strongly pressed at the bar. What we proceed upon is this, that although public documents of the government, accompanying property found on board of the private ships of a foreign nation, certainly are to be deemed *prima facie* evidence of the facts which they purport to state, yet they are always open to be impugned for fraud; and whether that fraud be in the original obtaining of these documents, or in the subsequent fraudulent and illegal use of them, when once it is satisfactorily established, it overthrows all their sanctity, and destroys them as proof. Fraud will vitiate any, even the most solemn transactions; and an asserted title to property, founded upon it, is utterly void. The very language of the ninth article of the treaty of 1795, requires the proprietor to make due and sufficient proof of his property. And how can that proof be deemed either due or sufficient, which is but a connected, and stained tissue of fraud? This is not a mere rule of municipal jurisprudence. Nothing is more clear in the law of nations, as an established rule to regulate their rights, and duties, [p\*595] and intercourse, than the doctrine, that the ship's papers are but *prima facie* evidence, and that, if they are shown to be fraudulent, they are not to be held proof of any valid title. This rule is familiarly applied, and, indeed, is of every-days occurrence in cases of prize, in the contests between belligerents and neutrals, as is apparent from numerous cases to be found in the Reports of this Court; and it is just as applicable to the transactions of civil intercourse between nations in times of peace. If a private ship, clothed with Spanish papers, should enter the ports of the United States, claiming the privileges, and immunities, and rights belonging to bona fide subjects of Spain, under our treaties or laws, and she should, in reality, belong to the subjects of another nation, which was not entitled to any such privileges, immunities, or rights, and the proprietors were seeking, by fraud, to cover their own illegal acts, under the flag of Spain; there can be no doubt, that it would be the duty of our Courts to strip off the disguise, and to look at the case according to its naked realities. In the solemn treaties between nations, it

can never be presumed that either state intends to provide the means of perpetrating or protecting frauds; but all the provisions are to be construed as intended to be applied to bona fide transactions. The seventeenth article of the treaty with Spain, which provides for certain passports and certificates, as evidence of property on board of the ships of both states, is, in its terms, applicable only to cases where either of the parties is engaged in a war. This article required a certain form of passport to be agreed upon by the parties, and annexed to the treaty. It never was annexed; and, therefore, in the case of the *Amiable Isabella*, 6 Wheaton, 1, it was held inoperative.

It is also a most important consideration in the present case, which ought not to be lost sight of, that, supposing these African negroes not to be slaves, but kidnapped, and free negroes, the treaty with Spain cannot be obligatory upon them; and the United States are bound to respect their rights as much as those of Spanish subjects. The conflict of rights between the parties under such circumstances, becomes positive and inevitable, and must be decided upon the eternal principles of justice and international law. If the contest were about any goods on board of this ship, to which American citizens asserted a title, which was [p\*596] denied by the Spanish claimants, there could be no doubt of the right of such American citizens to litigate their claims before any competent American tribunal, notwithstanding the treaty with Spain. A fortiori, the doctrine must apply where human life and human liberty are in issue; and constitute the very essence of the controversy. The treaty with Spain never could have intended to take away the equal rights of all foreigners, who should contest their claims before any of our Courts, to equal justice; or to deprive such foreigners of the protection given them by other treaties, or by the general law of nations. Upon the merits of the case, then, there does not seem to us to be any ground for doubt, that these negroes ought to be deemed free; and that the Spanish treaty interposes no obstacle to the just assertion of their rights.

There is another consideration growing out of this part of the case, which necessarily rises in judgment. It is observable, that the United States, in their original claim, filed it in the alternative, to have the negroes, if slaves and Spanish property, restored to the proprietors; or, if not slaves, but negroes who had been transported from Africa, in violation of the laws of the United States, and brought into the United States contrary to the same laws, then the Court to pass an order to enable the United States to remove such persons to the coast of Africa, to be delivered there to such agent as may be authorized to receive and provide for them. At a subsequent period, this last alternative claim was not insisted on, and another claim was interposed, omitting it; from which the conclusion naturally arises that it was abandoned. The decree of the District



Court, however, contained an order for the delivery of the negroes to the United States, to be transported to the coast of Africa, under the act of the 3d of March, 1819, ch. 224. The United States do not now insist upon any affirmance of this part of the decree; and, in our judgment, upon the admitted facts, there is no ground to assert that the case comes within the purview of the act of 1819, or of any other of our prohibitory slave trade acts. These negroes were never taken from Africa, or brought to the United States in contravention of those acts. When the *Amistad* arrived she was in possession of the negroes, asserting their freedom; and in no sense could they possibly intend to import themselves here, as [p\*597] slaves, or for sale as slaves. In this view of the matter, that part of the decree of the District Court is unmaintainable, and must be reversed.

The view which has been thus taken of this case, upon the merits, under the first point, renders it wholly unnecessary for us to give any opinion upon the other point, as to the right of the United States to intervene in this case in the manner already stated. We dismiss this, therefore, as well as several minor points made at the argument.

As to the claim of Lieutenant Gedney for the salvage service, it is understood that the United States do not now desire to interpose any obstacle to the allowance of it, if it is deemed reasonable by the Court. It was a highly meritorious and useful service to the proprietors of the ship and cargo; and such as, by the general principles of maritime law, is always deemed a just foundation for salvage. The rate allowed by the Court, does not seem to us to have been beyond the exercise of a sound discretion, under the very peculiar and embarrassing circumstances of the case.

Upon the whole, our opinion is, that the decree of the Circuit Court, affirming that of the District Court, ought to be affirmed, except so far as it directs the negroes to be delivered to the President, to be transported to Africa, in pursuance of the act of the 3d of March, 1819; and, as to this, it ought to be reversed: and that the said negroes be declared to be free, and be dismissed from the custody of the Court, and go without day.

This cause came on to be heard on the transcript of the record from the Circuit Court of the United States, for the District of Connecticut, and was argued by counsel. On consideration whereof, it is the opinion of this Court, that there is error in that part of the decree of the Circuit Court, affirming the decree of the District Court, which ordered the said negroes to be delivered to the President of the United States, to be transported to Africa, in pursuance of the act of Congress, of the 3d of March, 1819; and that, as to that part, it ought to be reversed: and, in all other respects, that the said decree of the Circuit Court ought to be affirmed. It is therefore ordered adjudged, and decreed by this Court, that the decree of the said Circuit Court be, and the same is hereby, affirmed, except as to the part afore-

said, and as to that part, that it be reversed; and that the cause be remanded to the Circuit Court, with directions to enter, in lieu of that part, a decree, that the said negroes be, and are hereby, declared to be free, and that they be dismissed from the custody of the Court, and be discharged from the suit and go thereof quit without day. This cause came on to be heard on the transcript of the record from the Circuit Court of the United States, for the District of Connecticut, and was argued by counsel. On consideration whereof, it is the opinion of this Court, that there is error in that part of the decree of the Circuit Court, affirming the decree of the District Court, which ordered the said negroes to be delivered to the President of the United States, to be transported to Africa, in pursuance of the act of congress of the 3d of March, 1819; and that, as to that part, it ought to be reversed: and in all other respects, that the said decree of the [p\*598] Circuit Court ought to be affirmed. It is therefore ordered adjudged, and decreed by this Court, that the decree of the said Circuit Court be, and the same is hereby, affirmed, except as to the part aforesaid, and as to that part, that it be reversed; and that the cause be remanded to the Circuit Court, with directions to enter, in lieu of that part, a decree, that the said negroes be and are hereby, declared to be free, and that they be dismissed from the custody of the Court, and be discharged from the suit and go thereof quit without day.

### Annexation of Texas (1845)

*United States Statutes at Large* (29th Cong.,  
1st sess., chap. 1), pp. 1-2

March 1, 1845

#### An Act

*To extend the Laws of the United States over the State of Texas, and for other Purposes. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That all the laws of the United States are hereby declared to extend to and over, and to have full force and effect within, the State of Texas, admitted at the present session of Congress into the Confederacy and Union of the United States.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the said State of Texas shall constitute one judicial district, to be called the District of Texas, for which one judge shall be appointed, who shall reside therein, and who shall receive a salary of two thousand dollars per annum, and who shall hold the first term of said court at Galveston, on the first Monday of February next, and at such other times and places in said district as may be provided by law, or as said judge may order; and that said court shall have and exercise the same powers and jurisdiction as have been conferred by

law on the District Courts of the United States; and, also, shall have and exercise the powers and jurisdiction of a Circuit Court of the United States; and appeals and writs of error shall lie from the decisions of said District and Circuit Courts for the District of Texas to the Supreme Court of the United States, in the same cases as from a Circuit Court of the United States to said Supreme Court, and under the same regulations.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be appointed in and for said district a person learned in the law, to act as attorney of the United States for said district, and also a person to act as marshal of the United States for said district, each of whom shall receive an annual salary of two hundred dollars, and also such compensation and fees for official services as have been or may be provided by law for United States district attorneys and marshals; and the judge of said court shall appoint a clerk therefor, who shall receive like compensation and fees as have been or may be allowed by law to clerks of the District and Circuit Courts of the United States. Approved, December 29, 1845.

### Oregon Boundary Treaty (1846)

*U. S. Statutes at Large* 9 (1845–51), pp. 869–870

June 15, 1846

#### Treaty with Great Britain

In Regard to Limits Westward of the Rocky Mountains.

*The United States of America and her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, deeming it to be desirable for the future welfare of both countries that the state of doubt and uncertainty which has hitherto prevailed respecting the sovereignty and government of the territory on the northwest coast of America, lying westward of the Rocky or Stony Mountains, should be finally terminated by an amicable compromise of the rights mutually asserted by the two parties over the said territory, have respectively named plenipotentiaries to treat and agree concerning the terms of such settlement—that is to say: the President of the United States of America has, on his part, furnished with full powers James Buchanan, Secretary of State of the United States, and her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has, on her part, appointed the Right Honorable Richard Pakenham, a member of her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, and her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:—

#### Article I

From the point on the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, where the boundary laid down in existing treaties and conventions between the United States and Great Britain terminates, the line of boundary between the territories of the United States and those of her Britannic Majesty shall be continued westward along the said forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean: *Provided, however*, That the navigation of the whole of the said channel and straits, south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, remain free and open to both parties.

#### Article II

From the point at which the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude shall be found to intersect the great northern branch of the Columbia River, the navigation of the said branch shall be free and open to the Hudson's Bay Company, and to all British subjects trading with the same, to the point where the said branch meets the main stream of the Columbia, and thence down the said main stream to the ocean, with free access into and through the said river or rivers, it being understood that all the usual portages along the line thus described shall, in like manner, be free and open. In navigating the said river or rivers, British subjects, with their goods and produce, shall be treated on the same footing as citizens of the United States; it being, however, always understood that nothing in this article shall be construed as preventing, or intended to prevent, the government of the United States from making any regulations respecting the navigation of the said river or rivers not inconsistent with the present treaty.

#### Article III

In the future appropriation of the territory south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, as provided in the first article of this treaty, the possessory rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of all British subjects who may be already in the occupation of land or other property lawfully acquired within the said territory, shall be respected.

#### Article IV

The farms, lands, and other property of every description, belonging to the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, on the north side of the Columbia River, shall be confirmed to the said company. In case, however, the situation of those farms and lands should be considered by the United States to be of public and political importance, and the United States government should signify a desire

to obtain possession of the whole, or of any part thereof, the property so required shall be transferred to the said government, at a proper valuation, to be agreed upon between the parties.

#### **Article V**

The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by her Britannic Majesty; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London, at the expiration of six months from the date hereof, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at Washington, the fifteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six. James Buchanan. [L. S.] Richard Pakenham. [L. S.]

### **Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848)**

Charles I. Bevans, ed., *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States, 1776–1947* (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of State, 1968–), pp. 791–806

Guadalupe-Hidalgo, Mexico  
February 2, 1848

*In the name of Almighty God:*

*The United States of America, and the United Mexican States*, animated by a sincere desire to put an end to the calamities of the war which unhappily exists between the two Republics, and to establish upon a solid basis relations of peace and friendship, which shall confer reciprocal benefits upon the citizens of both, and assure the concord, harmony and mutual confidence, wherein the two Peoples should live, as good Neighbours, have for that purpose appointed their respective Plenipotentiaries: that is to say, the President of the United States has appointed Nicholas P. Trist, a citizen of the United States, and the President of the Mexican Republic has appointed Don Luis Gonzaga Cuevas, Don Bernardo Couto, and Don Miguel Atristain, citizens of the said Republic; who, after a reciprocal communication of their respective full powers, have under the protection of Almighty God, the author of Peace, arranged, agreed upon, and signed the following

*TREATY OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP, LIMITS AND SETTLEMENT BETWEEN the United States of America and the Mexican Republic*

#### **Article I**

There shall be firm and universal peace between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, and between

their respective Countries, territories, cities, towns and people, without exception of places or persons . . .

#### **Article V**

The Boundary line between the two Republics shall commence in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, otherwise called Rio Bravo del Norte, or opposite the mouth of its deepest branch, if it should have more than one branch emptying directly into the sea; from thence, up the middle of that river, following the deepest channel, where it has more than one to the point where it strikes the Southern boundary of New Mexico; thence, westwardly along the whole Southern Boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called *Paso*) to its western termination; thence, northward, along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the river Gila; (or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then, to the point on the said line nearest to such branch, and thence in a direct line to the same;) thence down the middle of the said branch and of the said river, until it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence, across the Rio Colorado, following the division line between Upper and Lower California to the Pacific Ocean . . .

#### **Article VII**

The river Gila, and the part of the Rio Bravo del Norte lying below the southern boundary of New Mexico, being, agreeably to the fifth Article, divided in the middle between the two Republics, the navigation of the Gila and the Bravo below said boundary shall be free and common to the vessels and citizens of both countries; and neither shall, without the consent of the other, construct any work that may impede or interrupt, in whole or in part, the exercise of this right: not even for the purpose of favoring new methods of navigation . . .

#### **Article VIII**

Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present Treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof and removing the proceeds wherever they please; without their being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, tax or charge whatever. . .

#### **Article XII**

In consideration of the extension acquired by the boundaries of the United States, as defined in the fifth Article of the present treaty, the Government of the United States engages to pay to that of the Mexican Republic the sum of fifteen Millions of Dollars . . .

**Article XIII**

The United States engage moreover, to assume and pay to the claimants all the amounts now due them, and those hereafter to become due, by reason of the claims already liquidated and decided against the Mexican Republic, under the conventions between the two Republics, severally concluded on the eleventh day of April eighteen hundred and thirty-nine, and on the thirtieth day of January eighteen hundred and forty three: so that the Mexican Republic shall be absolutely exempt for the future, from all expense whatever on account of the said claims.

**Article XIV**

The United States do furthermore discharge the Mexican Republic from all claims of citizens of the United States, not heretofore decided against the Mexican Government, which may have arisen previously to the date of the signature of this treaty: which discharge shall be final and perpetual, whether the said claims be rejected or to be allowed by the Board of Commissioners provided for in the following Article, and whatever shall be the total amount of those allowed.

**Article XV**

The United States, exonerating Mexico from all demands on account of the claims of their citizens mentioned in the preceding Article, and considering them entirely and forever cancelled, whatever their amount may be, undertake to make satisfaction for the same, to an amount not exceeding three and one quarter millions of dollars . . .

**Article XXI**

If unhappily any disagreement should hereafter arise between the Governments of the two Republics, whether with respect to the interpretation of any stipulation in this treaty, or with respect to any other particular concerning the political or commercial relations of the two Nations, the said Governments, in the name of those Nations, do promise to each other, that they will endeavour, in the most sincere and earnest manner, to settle the differences so arising, and to preserve the state of peace and friendship, in which the two countries are now placing themselves: using, for this end, mutual representations and pacific negotiations. And if, by these means, they should not be enabled to come to an agreement, a resort shall not, on this account, be had to reprisals, aggression or hostility of any kind, by the one Republic against the other, until the Government of that which deems itself aggrieved, shall have maturely considered, in the spirit of peace and good neighbourship, whether it would not be better that such difference should be settled by the arbitration of Commissioners appointed on each side, or by that of a friendly nation. And should such course be proposed by either party, it shall be acceded

to by the other, unless deemed by it altogether incompatible with the nature of the difference, or the circumstances of the case.

**Declaration of Women's Rights (1848)**

Henry Steele Commager and Milton Cantor, eds.  
*Documents of American History*, 10th ed.  
 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988) pp. 315–317

July 19, 1848

**1. Declaration of Sentiments**

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.



He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and National legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions embracing every part of the country.

## 2. Resolutions

Whereas, The great precept of nature is conceded to be, that “man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness.” Blackstone in his Commentaries remarks, that this law of Nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid, derive all their force, and all their validity, and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this original; therefore,

*Resolved*, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

*Resolved*, That woman is man’s equal—was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

*Resolved*, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

*Resolved*, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is pre-eminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

*Resolved*, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.



*Resolved*, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus.

*Resolved*, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

*Resolved*, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

*Resolved*, That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to women an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce.

*Resolved, therefore*, That, being invested by the creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood, and at war with mankind.

### **“Civil Disobedience” (1849)**

**Henry David Thoreau**

Brooks Atkinson, ed., *Walden and Other Writings of Henry David Thoreau* (New York: The Modern Library, 1965)

I heartily accept the motto,—“That government is best which governs least;” and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe,—“That government is best which governs not at all;” and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have. Government is at best but an expedient; but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient. The objections which have been brought against a standing army, and they are many and

weighty, and deserve to prevail, may also at last be brought against a standing government. The standing army is only an arm of the standing government. The government itself, which is only the mode which the people have chosen to execute their will, is equally liable to be abused and perverted before the people can act through it. Witness the present Mexican war, the work of comparatively a few individuals using the standing government as their tool; for, in the outset, the people would not have consented to this measure.

This American government,—what is it but a tradition, though a recent one, endeavoring to transmit itself unimpaired to posterity, but each instant losing some of its integrity? It has not the vitality and force of a single living man; for a single man can bend it to his will. It is a sort of wooden gun to the people themselves. But it is not the less necessary for this; for the people must have some complicated machinery or other, and hear its din, to satisfy that idea of government which they have. Governments show thus how successfully men can be imposed on, even impose on themselves, for their own advantage. It is excellent, we must all allow. Yet this government never of itself furthered any enterprise, but by the alacrity with which it got out of its way. *It* does not keep the country free. *It* does not settle the West. *It* does not educate. The character inherent in the American people has done all that has been accomplished; and it would have done somewhat more, if the government had not sometimes got in its way. For government is an expedient by which men would fain succeed in letting one another alone; and, as has been said, when it is most expedient, the governed are most let alone by it. Trade and commerce, if they were not made of India-rubber, would never manage to bounce over the obstacles which legislators are continually putting in their way; and, if one were to judge these men wholly by the effects of their actions and not partly by their intentions, they would deserve to be classed and punished with those mischievous persons who put obstructions on the railroads.

But, to speak practically and as a citizen, unlike those who call themselves no-government men, I ask for, not at once no government, but *at once* a better government. Let every man make known what kind of government would command his respect, and that will be one step toward obtaining it.

After all, the practical reason why, when the power is once in the hands of the people, a majority are permitted, and for a long period continue, to rule is not because they are most likely to be in the right, nor because this seems fairest to the minority, but because they are physically the strongest. But a government in which the majority rule in all cases cannot be based on justice, even as far as men understand it. Can there not be a government in which majorities do not virtually decide right and wrong,

but conscience?—in which majorities decide only those questions to which the rule of expediency is applicable? Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right. It is truly enough said, that a corporation has no conscience; but a corporation of conscientious men is a corporation *with* a conscience. Law never made men a whit more just; and, by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is, that you may see a file of soldiers, colonel, captain, corporal, privates, powder-monkeys, and all, marching in admirable order over hill and dale to the wars, against their wills, ay, against their common sense and consciences, which makes it very steep marching indeed, and produces a palpitation of the heart. They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined. Now, what are they? Men at all? or small movable forts and magazines, at the service of some unscrupulous man in power? Visit the Navy-Yard, and behold a marine, such a man as an American government can make, or such as it can make a man with its black arts,—a mere shadow and reminiscence of humanity, a man laid out alive and standing, and already, as one may say, buried under arms with funeral accompaniments, though it may be,—

“Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,  
As his corse to the rampart we hurried;  
Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot  
O’er the grave where our hero we buried.”

The mass of men serve the state thus, not as men mainly, but as machines, with their bodies. They are the standing army, and the militia, jailors, constables, posse comitatus, etc. In most cases there is no free exercise whatever of the judgment or of the moral sense; but they put themselves on a level with wood and earth and stones; and wooden men can perhaps be manufactured that will serve the purpose as well. Such command no more respect than men of straw or a lump of dirt. They have the same sort of worth only as horses and dogs. Yet such as these even are commonly esteemed good citizens. Others—as most legislators, politicians, lawyers, ministers, and office-holders—serve the state chiefly with their heads; and, as they rarely make any moral distinctions, they are as likely to serve the Devil, without *intending* it, as God. A very few, as heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers in the great sense, and *men*, serve the state with their consciences also, and

so necessarily resist it for the most part; and they are commonly treated as enemies by it. A wise man will only be useful as a man, and will not submit to be “clay,” and “stop a hole to keep the wind away,” but leave that office to his dust at least:—

“I am too high-born to be propertied,  
To be a secondary at control,  
Or useful serving-man and instrument  
To any sovereign state throughout the world.”

He who gives himself entirely to his fellow-men appears to them useless and selfish; but he who gives himself partially to them is pronounced a benefactor and philanthropist.

How does it become a man to behave toward this American government to-day? I answer, that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it. I cannot for an instant recognize that political organization as *my* government which is the *slave’s* government also.

All men recognize the right of revolution; that is, the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government, when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable. But almost all say that such is not the case now. But such was the case, they think, in the Revolution of ‘75. If one were to tell me that this was a bad government because it taxed certain foreign commodities brought to its ports, it is most probable that I should not make an ado about it, for I can do without them. All machines have their friction; and possibly this does enough good to counterbalance the evil. At any rate, it is a great evil to make a stir about it. But when the friction comes to have its machine, and oppression and robbery are organized, I say, let us not have such a machine any longer. In other words, when a sixth of the population of a nation which has undertaken to be the refuge of liberty are slaves, and a whole country is unjustly overrun and conquered by a foreign army, and subjected to military law, I think that it is not too soon for honest men to rebel and revolutionize. What makes this duty the more urgent is the fact that the country so overrun is not our own, but ours is the invading army.

Paley, a common authority with many on moral questions, in his chapter on the “Duty of Submission to Civil Government,” resolves all civil obligation into expediency; and he proceeds to say, “that so long as the interest of the whole society requires it, that is, so long as the established government cannot be resisted or changed without public inconveniency, it is the will of God that the established government be obeyed, and no longer. . . . This principle being admitted, the justice of every particular case of resistance is reduced to a computation of the quantity of the danger and grievance on the one side, and of the probability and expense of redressing it on the other.” Of this, he

says, every man shall judge for himself. But Paley appears never to have contemplated those cases to which the rule of expediency does not apply, in which a people, as well as an individual, must do justice, cost what it may. If I have unjustly wrested a plank from a drowning man, I must restore it to him though I drown myself. This, according to Paley, would be inconvenient. But he that would save his life, in such a case, shall lose it. This people must cease to hold slaves, and to make war on Mexico, though it cost them their existence as a people . . .

I meet this American government, or its representative, the state government, directly, and face to face, once a year—no more—in the person of its tax-gatherer; this is the only mode in which a man situated as I am necessarily meets it; and it then says distinctly, Recognize me; and the simplest, most effectual, and, in the present posture of affairs, the indispensable mode of treating with it on this head, of expressing your little satisfaction with and love for it, is to deny it then. My civil neighbor, the tax-gatherer, is the very man I have to deal with,—for it is, after all, with men and not with parchment that I quarrel,—and he has voluntarily chosen to be an agent of the government. How shall he ever know well what he is and does as an officer of the government, or as a man, until he is obliged to consider whether he shall treat me, his neighbor, for whom he has respect, as a neighbor and well-disposed man, or as a maniac and disturber of the peace, and see if he can get over this obstruction to his neighborliness without a ruder and more impetuous thought or speech corresponding with his action. I know this well, that if one thousand, if one hundred, if ten men whom I could name,—if ten *honest* men only,—ay, if *one* honest man, in this State of Massachusetts, *ceasing to hold slaves*, were actually to withdraw from this copartnership, and be locked up in the county jail therefor, it would be the abolition of slavery in America. For it matters not how small the beginning may seem to be: what is once well done is done forever. But we love better to talk about it: that we say is our mission. Reform keeps many scores of newspapers in its service, but not one man. If my esteemed neighbor, the State's ambassador, who will devote his days to the settlement of the question of human rights in the Council Chamber, instead of being threatened with the prisons of Carolina, were to sit down the prisoner of Massachusetts, that State which is so anxious to foist the sin of slavery upon her sister,—though at present she can discover only an act of inhospitality to be the ground of a quarrel with her,—the Legislature would not wholly waive the subject the following winter.

Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison. The proper place to-day, the only place which Massachusetts has provided for her freer and less desponding spirits, is in her prisons,

to be put out and locked out of the State by her own act, as they have already put themselves out by their principles. It is there that the fugitive slave, and the Mexican prisoner on parole, and the Indian come to plead the wrongs of his race should find them; on that separate, but more free and honorable ground, where the State places those who are not *with* her, but *against* her,—the only house in a slave State in which a free man can abide with honor. If any think that their influence would be lost there, and their voices no longer afflict the ear of the State, that they would not be as an enemy within its walls, they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person. Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence. A minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority; it is not even a minority then; but it is irresistible when it clogs by its whole weight. If the alternative is to keep all just men in prison, or give up war and slavery, the State will not hesitate which to choose. If a thousand men were not to pay their tax-bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood. This is, in fact, the definition of a peaceable revolution, if any such is possible. If the tax-gatherer, or any other public officer, asks me, as one has done, "But what shall I do?" my answer is, "If you really wish to do anything, resign your office." When the subject has refused allegiance, and the officer has resigned his office, then the revolution is accomplished. But even suppose blood should flow. Is there not a sort of blood shed when the conscience is wounded? Through this wound a man's real manhood and immortality flow out, and he bleeds to an everlasting death. I see this blood flowing now . . .

The authority of government, even such as I am willing to submit to,—for I will cheerfully obey those who know and can do better than I, and in many things even those who neither know nor can do so well,—is still an impure one: to be strictly just, it must have the sanction and consent of the governed. It can have no pure right over my person and property but what I concede to it. The progress from an absolute to a limited monarchy, from a limited monarchy to a democracy, is a progress toward a true respect for the individual. Even the Chinese philosopher was wise enough to regard the individual as the basis of the empire. Is a democracy, such as we know it, the last improvement possible in government? Is it not possible to take a step further towards recognizing and organizing the rights of man? There will never be a really free and enlightened State until the State comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly. I please myself with imagining a State at last which can afford to

be just to all men, and to treat the individual with respect as a neighbor; which even would not think it inconsistent with its own repose if a few were to live aloof from it, not meddling with it, nor embraced by it, who fulfilled all the duties of neighbors and fellow-men. A State which bore this kind of fruit, and suffered it to drop off as fast as it ripened, would prepare the way for a still more perfect and glorious State, which also I have imagined, but not yet anywhere seen.

## The Compromise of 1850

### Henry Clay

Calvin Colton, ed. *The Life, Correspondence and Speeches of Henry Clay*, vol. 3 (1855; reprint, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), pp. 301–302

### "On the Compromise of 1850" (1850)

January 29, 1850

#### Resolutions Introduced in the Senate of the United States by Mr. Clay

Preamble.—It being desirable for the peace, concord, and harmony of the Union of these States, to settle and adjust amicably all questions of controversy between them arising out of the institution of Slavery, upon a fair equality and just basis, therefore—

1st. *Resolved*, That California, with suitable boundaries, ought, upon her application, to be admitted as one of the States of this Union, without the imposition by Congress of any restriction to the exclusion or introduction of slavery within those boundaries.

2d. *Resolved*, That as slavery does not exist by law, and is not likely to be introduced into any of the territory acquired by the United States from the Republic of Mexico, it is inexpedient for Congress to provide, by law, either for its introduction into, or its exclusion from, any part of the said territory; and that appropriate territorial Governments ought to be established by Congress, in all of the said territory not assigned as the boundaries of the proposed State of California, without the addition of any restriction or condition on the subject of slavery.

3d. *Resolved*, That the western boundary of the State of Texas ought to be fixed on the Rio del Norte, commencing one marine league from its mouth, and running up that river to the southern line of New Mexico, thence with that line eastwardly, and continuing in the same direction, to the line as established between the United States and Spain, excluding any portion of New Mexico, whether lying on the east or west of that river.

4th. *Resolved*, That it be proposed to the State of Texas that the United States will provide for the payment

of all that portion of all the legitimate and bona fide public debts of that State, contracted prior to its annexation to the United States, and for which the duties on foreign imports were pledged by the said States to its creditors, not exceeding the sum of—dollars, in consideration of the duties, as pledged, having been no longer applicable to that object after the said annexation, but having thenceforward become payable to the United States, and upon the condition also that the said State shall, by some solemn and authentic act of her Legislature, or of a convention, relinquish to the United States any claim which it has to any part of New Mexico.

5th. *Resolved*, That it is inexpedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, while that institution continues to exist in the State of Maryland, without the consent of that State, without the consent of the people of the District, and without just compensation to the owners of slaves within the District.

6th. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to prohibit within the District the trade in slaves brought into it from States or places beyond the limits of the District, either to be sold therein, as merchandise, or to be transported to other markets without the District of Columbia.

7th. *Resolved*, That more effectual provision ought to be made by law according to the requirements of the Constitution, for the restitution and delivery of persons bound to service or labor, in any State, who may escape into any other State or Territory of this Union.

8th. *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to prohibit or obstruct the trade in slaves between the slaveholding States, and that the admission or exclusion of slaves brought from one into another of them, depends exclusively upon their own particular law.

### Texas and New Mexico Act (1850)

*U.S. Statutes at Large* 9 (1845–51), pp. 446–452

*An Act Proposing to the State of Texas the Establishment of her Northern and Western Boundaries, the Relinquishment by the said State of all Territory claimed by her exterior to said Boundaries, and of all her Claims upon the United States, and to establish a territorial Government for New Mexico.*

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the following propositions shall be, and the same hereby are, offered to the State of Texas, which, when agreed to by the said State, in an act passed by the general assembly, shall be binding and obligatory upon the United States, and upon the said State of Texas: *Provided*, The said agreement by the said general assembly shall be given on or before the first day of December, eighteen hundred and fifty:



First. The State of Texas will agree that her boundary on the north shall commence at the point at which that meridian of one hundred degrees west from Greenwich is intersected by the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and shall run from said point due west to the meridian of one hundred and three degrees west from Greenwich; thence her boundary shall run due south to the thirty-second degree of north latitude; thence on the said parallel of thirty-two degrees of north latitude to the Rio Bravo del Norte, and thence with the channel of said river to the Gulf of Mexico.

Second. The State of Texas cedes to the United States all her claim to territory exterior to the limits and boundaries which she agrees to establish by the first article of this agreement.

Third. The State of Texas relinquishes all claim upon the United States for liability of the debts of Texas, and for compensation or indemnity for the surrender to the United States of her ships, forts, arsenals, custom-houses, custom-house revenue, arms and munitions of war and public buildings with their sites, which became the property of the United States at the time of the annexation.

Fourth. The United States, in consideration of said establishment of boundaries, cession of claim to territory, and relinquishment of claims, will pay to the State of Texas the sum of ten millions of dollars in a stock bearing five per cent, interest, and redeemable at the end of fourteen years, the interest payable half-yearly at the treasury of the United States...

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That all that portion of the Territory of the United States bounded as follows: Beginning at a point in the Colorado River where the boundary line with the republic of Mexico crosses the same; thence eastwardly with the said boundary line to the Rio Grande; thence following the main channel of said river to the parallel of the thirty-second degree of north latitude; thence east with said degree to its intersection with the one hundred and third degree of longitude west of Greenwich; thence north with said degree of longitude to the parallel of thirty-eight degree of north latitude; thence west with said parallel to the summit of the Sierra Madre; thence south with the crest of said mountains to the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude; thence west with said parallel to its intersection with the boundary line of the State of California; thence with said boundary line to the place of beginning—be, and the same is hereby, erected into a temporary government, by the name of the Territory of New Mexico: *Provided*, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to inhibit the government of the United States from dividing said Territory into two or more Territories, in such manner and at such times as Congress shall deem convenient and proper, or from attaching any portion thereof to any other Territory

or State: *And provided, further*, That, when admitted as a State, the said Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission.

#### **Utah Act (1850)**

*U.S. Statutes at Large* 9 (1845–51), pp. 453–458

#### **An Act to establish a Territorial Government for Utah.**

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That all part of the territory of the United States included within the following limits, to wit: bounded on the west by the State of California, on the north by the Territory of Oregon, and on the east by the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and on the south by the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude, be, and the same is hereby, created into a temporary government, by the name of the Territory of Utah; and, when admitted as a State, the said Territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission: *Provided*, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to inhibit the government of the united States from dividing said Territory into two or more Territories, in such manner and at such times as Congress shall deem convenient and proper, or from attaching any portion of said Territory to any other State or Territory of the United States . . .

#### **Fugitive Slave Act (1850)**

*U.S. Statutes at Large* 9 (1845–51), pp. 462–463

September 18, 1850

#### **An Act**

*To amend, and supplementary to, the Act entitled “An Act respecting Fugitives from Justice, and Persons escaping from the Service of their Masters,” approved February twelfth, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.*

. . . Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of all marshals and deputy marshals to obey and execute all warrants and precepts issued under the provisions of this act, when to them directed; and should any marshal or deputy marshal refuse to receive such warrant, or other process, when tendered, or to use all proper means diligently to execute the same, he shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in the sum of one thousand dollars, to the use of such claimant, on the motion of such claimant, by the Circuit or District Court for the district of such marshal; and after arrest of such fugitive, be such marshal or his deputy, or whilst at any time in his custody under the provisions of this act,



should such fugitive escape, whether with or without the assent of such marshal or his deputy, such marshal shall be liable, on his official bond, to be prosecuted for the benefit of such claimant, for the full value of the service or labor of said fugitive in the State, Territory, or District whence he escaped: and the better to enable the said commissioners, when thus appointed, to execute their duties faithfully and efficiently, in conformity with the requirements of the Constitution of the United States and of this act, they are hereby authorized and empowered, within their counties respectively, to appoint, in writing under their hands, any one or more suitable persons, from time to time, to execute all such warrants and other process as may be issued by them in the lawful performance of their respective duties; with authority to such commissioners, or the persons to be appointed by them, to execute process as aforesaid, to summon and call to their aid the bystanders, or *posse comitatus* of the proper county, when necessary to ensure a faithful observance of the clause of the Constitution referred to, in conformity with the provisions of this act; and all good citizens are hereby commanded to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law, whenever their services may be required, as aforesaid, for that purpose; and said warrants shall run, and be executed by said officers, any where in the State within which they are issued.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That when a person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the United States, has heretofore or shall hereafter escape into another State or Territory of the United States, the person or persons to whom such service or labor may be due, or his, her, or their agent or attorney, duly authorized, by power of attorney, in writing, acknowledged and certified under the seal of some legal officer or court of the State or Territory in which the same may be executed, may pursue and reclaim such fugitive person, either by procuring a warrant from some one of the courts, judges, or commissioners aforesaid, of the proper circuit, district, or county, for the apprehension of such fugitive from service or labor, or by seizing and arresting such fugitive, where the same can be done without process, and by taking, or causing such person to be taken, forthwith before such court, judge, or commissioner, whose duty it shall be to hear and determine the case of such claimant in a summary manner; and upon satisfactory proof being made, by deposition or affidavit, in writing, to be taken and certified by such court, judge, or commissioner, or by other satisfactory testimony, duly taken and certified by some court, magistrate, justice of the peace, or other legal officer authorized to administer an oath and take depositions under the laws of the State or Territory from which such person owing service or labor may have escaped, with a certificate of such magistracy or other authority, as aforesaid, with the seal of the proper court or officer thereto attached, which seal shall be sufficient to establish the competency of

the proof, and with proof, also by affidavit, of the identity of the person whose service or labor is claimed to be due as aforesaid, that the person so arrested does in fact owe service or labor to the person or persons claiming him or her, in the State or Territory from which such fugitive may have escaped as aforesaid, and that said person escaped, to make out and deliver to such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, a certificate setting forth the substantial facts as to the service or labor due from such fugitive to the claimant, and of his or her escape from the State or Territory in which such service or labor was due, to the State or Territory in which he or she was arrested, with authority to such claimant, or his or her agent or attorney, to use such reasonable force and restraint as may be necessary, under the circumstances of the case, to take and remove such fugitive person back to the State or Territory whence he or she may have escaped as aforesaid. In no trial or hearing under this act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence; and the certificates in this and the first [fourth] section mentioned, shall be conclusive of the right of the person or persons in whose favor granted to remove such fugitive to the State or Territory from which he escaped, and shall prevent all molestation of such person or persons by any process issued by any court, judge, magistrate, or other person whomsoever.

Sec. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct, hinder, or prevent such claimant, his agent or attorney, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him, her, or them, from arresting such a fugitive from service or labor, either with or without process as aforesaid, or shall rescue, or attempt to rescue, such fugitive from service or labor, from the custody of such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, or other person or persons lawfully assisting as aforesaid, when so arrested, pursuant to the authority herein given and declared; or shall aid, abet, or assist such person so owing service or labor as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from such claimant, his agent or attorney, or other person or persons legally authorized as aforesaid; or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive, so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person, after notice or knowledge of the fact that such person was a fugitive from service or labor as aforesaid, shall, for either of said offences, be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months, by indictment and conviction before the District Court of the United States for the district in which such offence may have been committed, or before the proper court of criminal jurisdiction, if committed within any one of the organized Territories of the United States; and shall moreover forfeit and pay, by way of civil damages to the party injured by such illegal conduct, the sum of one thousand dollars, for each fugitive so lost as aforesaid, to be recovered by action of debt, in any of the

District or Territorial Courts aforesaid, within whose jurisdiction the said offence may have been committed. . .

Sec. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That, upon affidavit made by the claimant of such fugitive, his agent or attorney, after such certificate has been issued, that he has reason to apprehend that such fugitive will be rescued by force from his or their possession before he can be taken beyond the limits of the State in which the arrest is made, it shall be the duty of the officer making the arrest to retain such fugitive in his custody, and to remove him to the State whence he fled, and there to deliver him to said claimant, his agent, or attorney. And to this end, the officer aforesaid is hereby authorized and required to employ so many persons as he may deem necessary to overcome such force, and to retain them in his service so long as circumstances may require. The said officer and his assistants, while so employed, to receive the same compensation, and to be allowed the same expenses, as are now allowed by law for transportation of criminals, to be certified by the judge of the district within which the arrest is made, and paid out of the treasury of the United States.

Sec. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That when any person held to service or labor in any State or Territory, or in the District of Columbia, shall escape therefrom, the party to whom such service or labor shall be due, his, her, or their agent or attorney, may apply to any court of record therein, or judge thereof in vacation, and make satisfactory proof to such court, or judge in vacation, of the escape aforesaid, and that the person escaping owed service or labor to such party. Whereupon the court shall cause a record to be made of the matters so proved, and also a general description of the person so escaping, with such convenient certainty as may be; and a transcript of such record, authenticated by the attestation of the clerk and of the seal of the said court, being produced in any other State, Territory, or district in which the person so escaping may be found, and being exhibited to any judge, commissioner, or other officer authorized by the law of the United States to cause persons escaping from service or labor to be delivered up, shall be held and taken to be full and conclusive evidence of the fact of escape, and that the service or labor of the person escaping is due to the party in such record mentioned. And upon the production by the said party of other and further evidence if necessary, either oral or by affidavit, in addition to what is contained in the said record of the identity of the person escaping, he or she shall be delivered up to the claimant. And the said court, commissioner, judge, or other

person authorized by this act to grant certificates to claimants of fugitives, shall, upon the production of the record and other evidences aforesaid, grant to such claimant a certificate of his right to take any such person identified and proved to be owing service or labor as aforesaid, which certificate shall authorize such claimant to seize or arrest and transport such person to the State or Territory from which he escaped: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed as requiring the production of a transcript of such record as evidence as aforesaid. But in its absence the claim shall be heard and determined upon other satisfactory proofs, competent in law.

Approved, September 18, 1850.

### ***Act Abolishing the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia (1850)***

*U.S. Statutes at Large* 9 (1845–51), pp. 467–468

September 20, 1850

#### **An Act to Suppress the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia.**

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That from and after the first day of January, eighteen hundred and fifty-one, it shall not be lawful to bring into the District of Columbia any slave whatever, for the purpose of being sold, or for the purpose of being placed in depot, to be subsequently transferred to any other State or place to be sold as merchandize. And if any slave shall be brought into the said District by its owner, or by the authority or consent of its owner, contrary to the provisions of this act, such slave shall thereupon become liberated and free.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for each of the corporations of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, from time to time, and as often as may be necessary, to abate, break up, and abolish any depot or place of confinement of slaves brought into the said District as merchandize, contrary to the provisions of this act, by such appropriate means as may appear to either of the said corporations expedient and proper. And the same power is hereby vested in the Levy Court of Washington county, if any attempt shall be made, within its jurisdictional limits, to establish a depot or place of confinement for slaves brought into the said District as merchandize for sale contrary to this act.

Approved, September 20, 1850.



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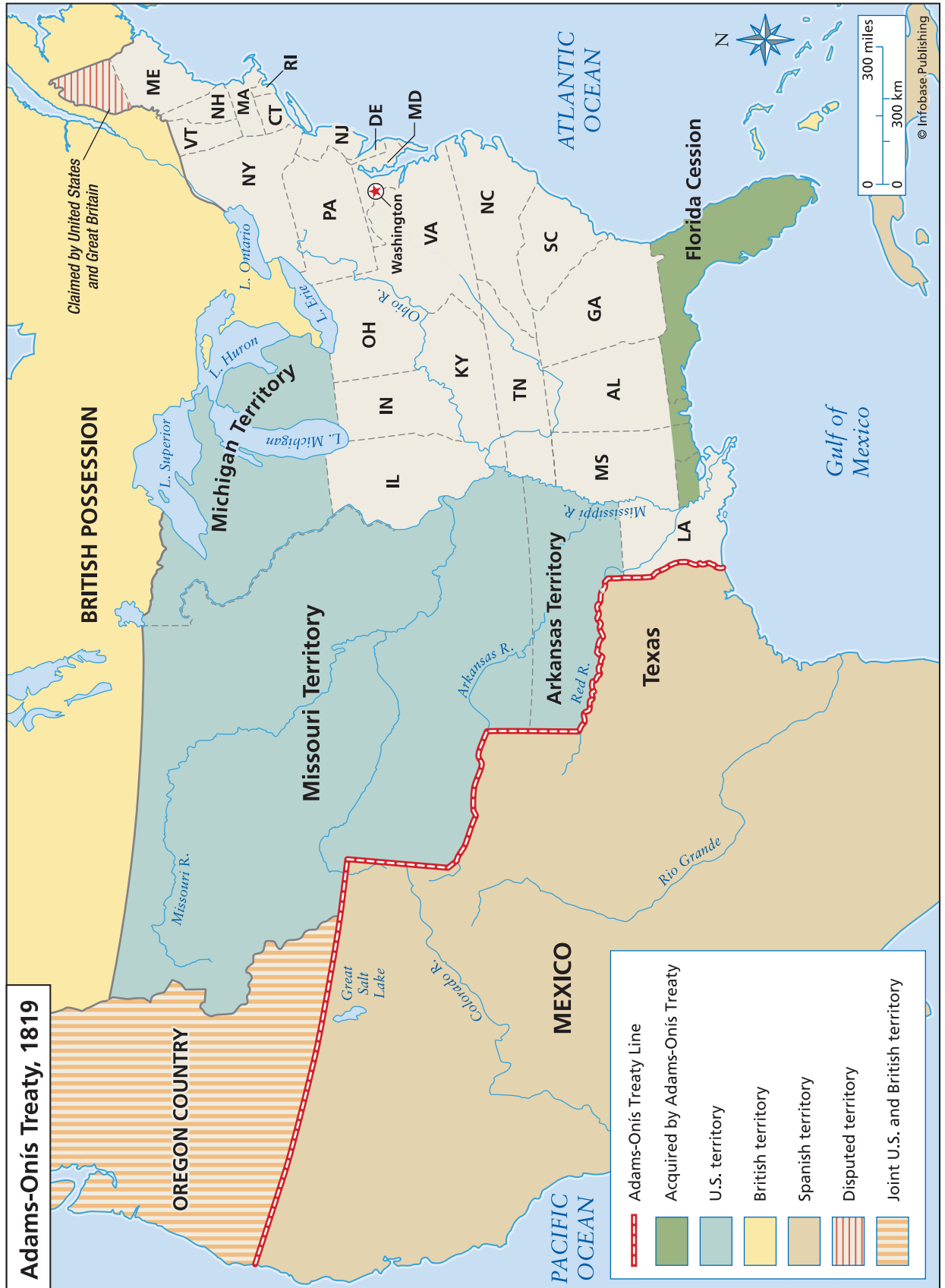
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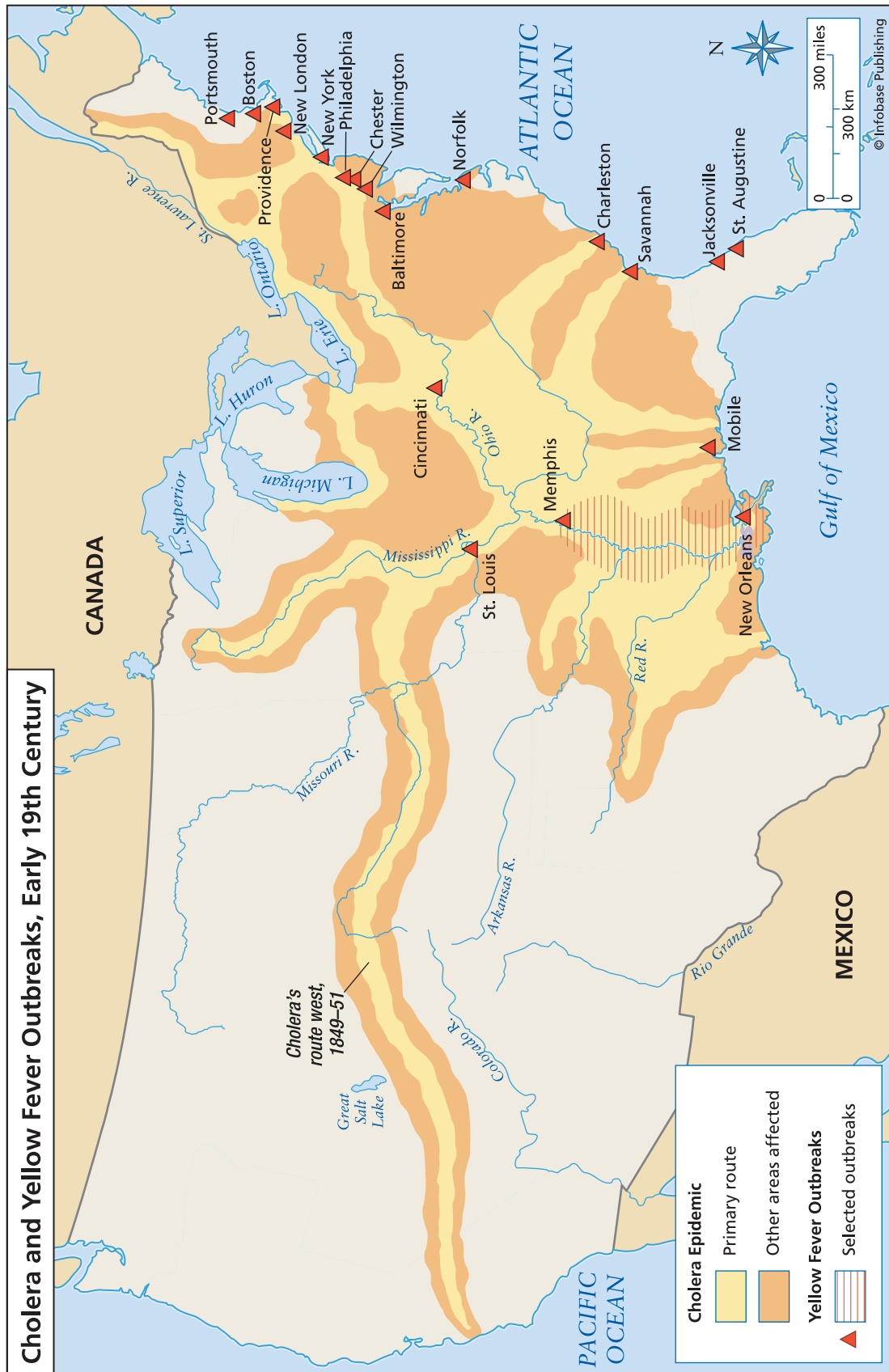


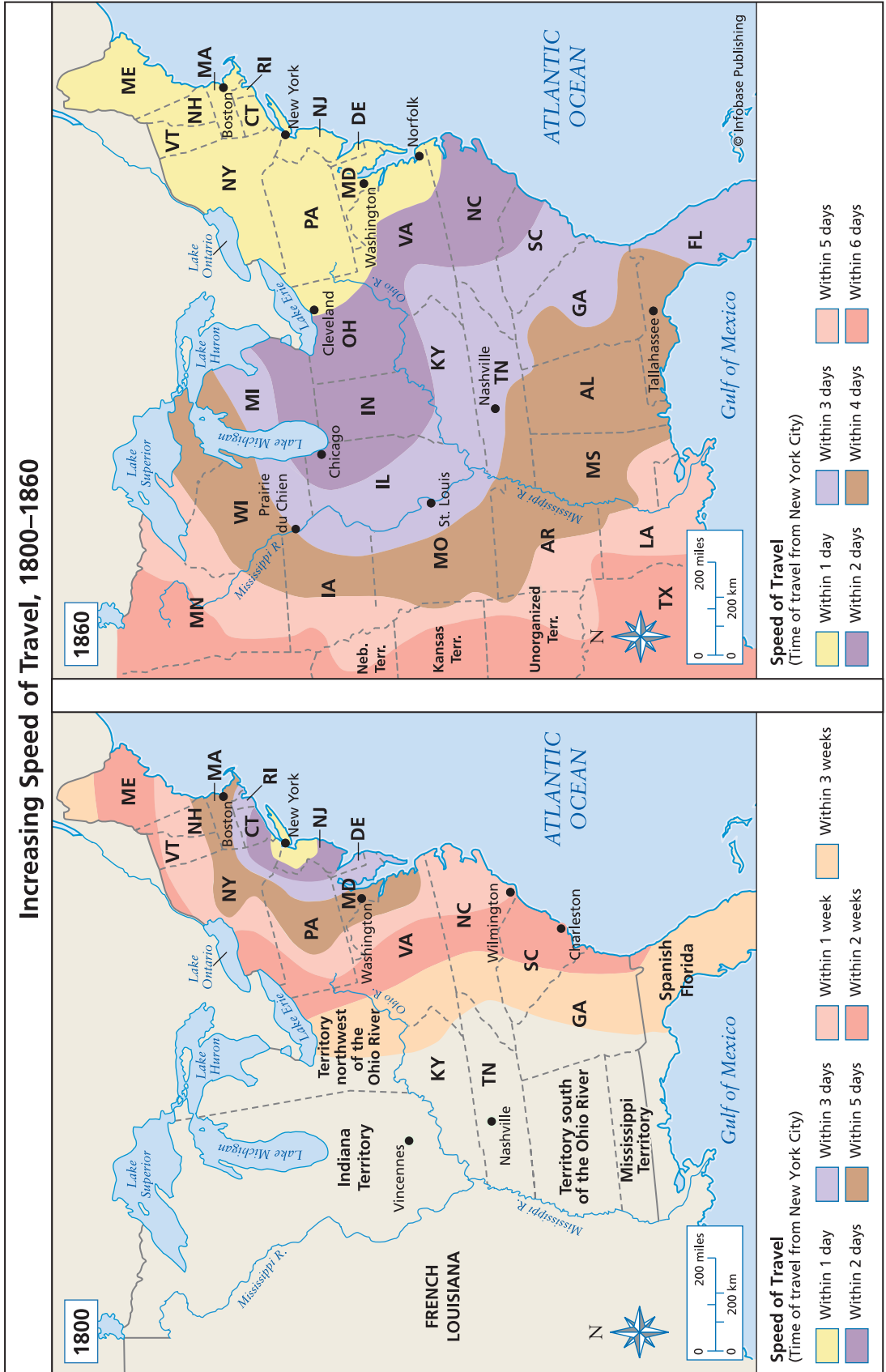












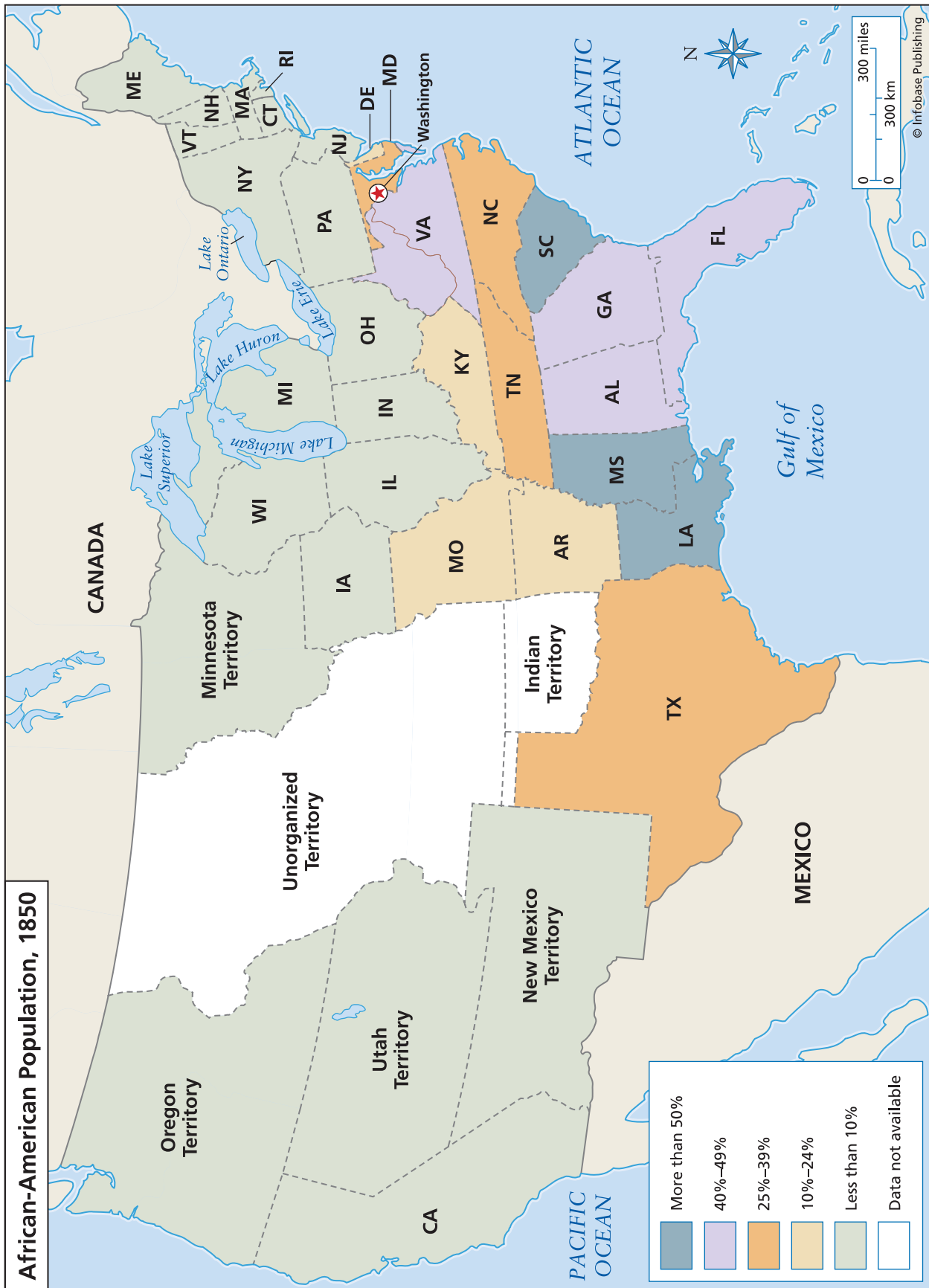


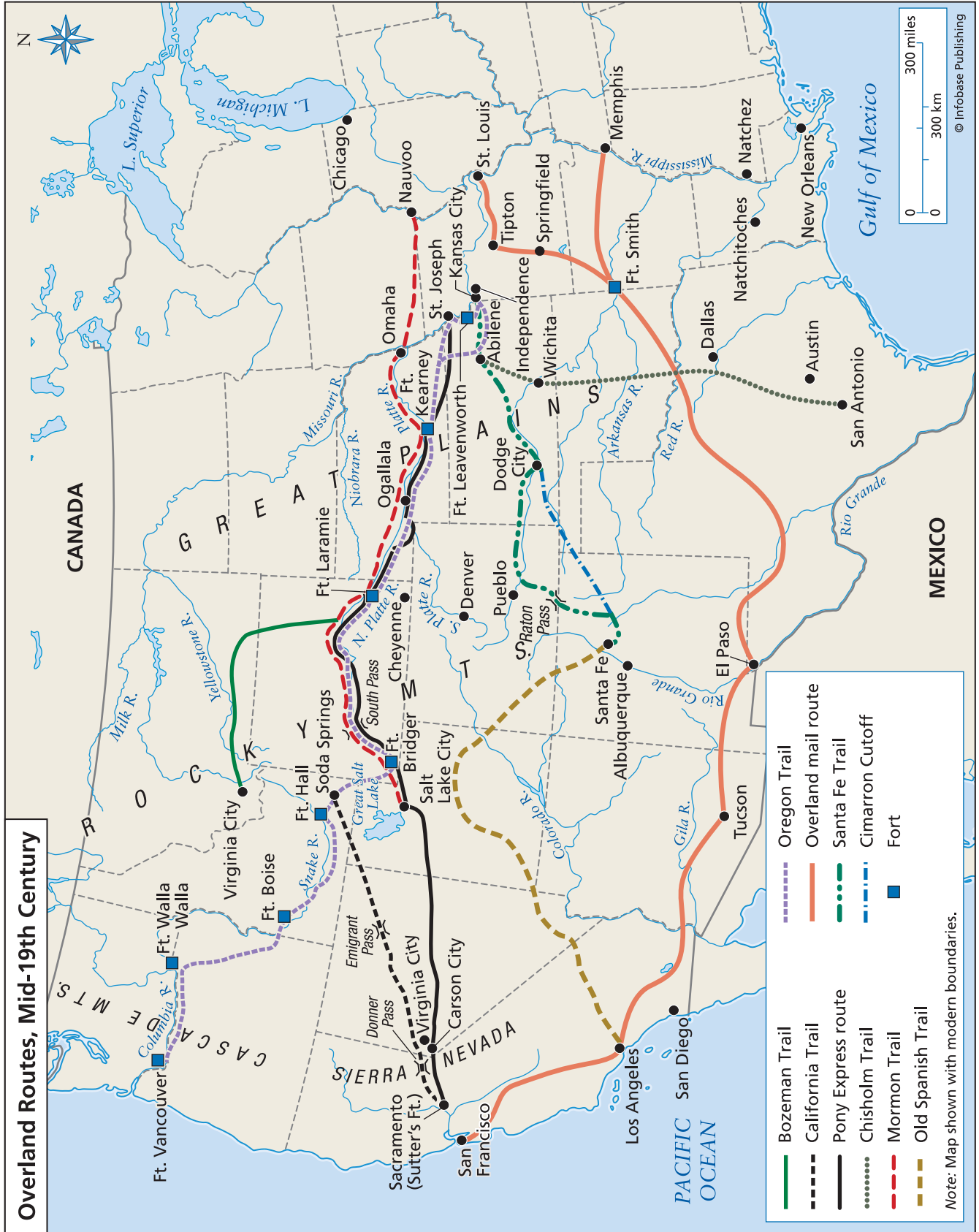




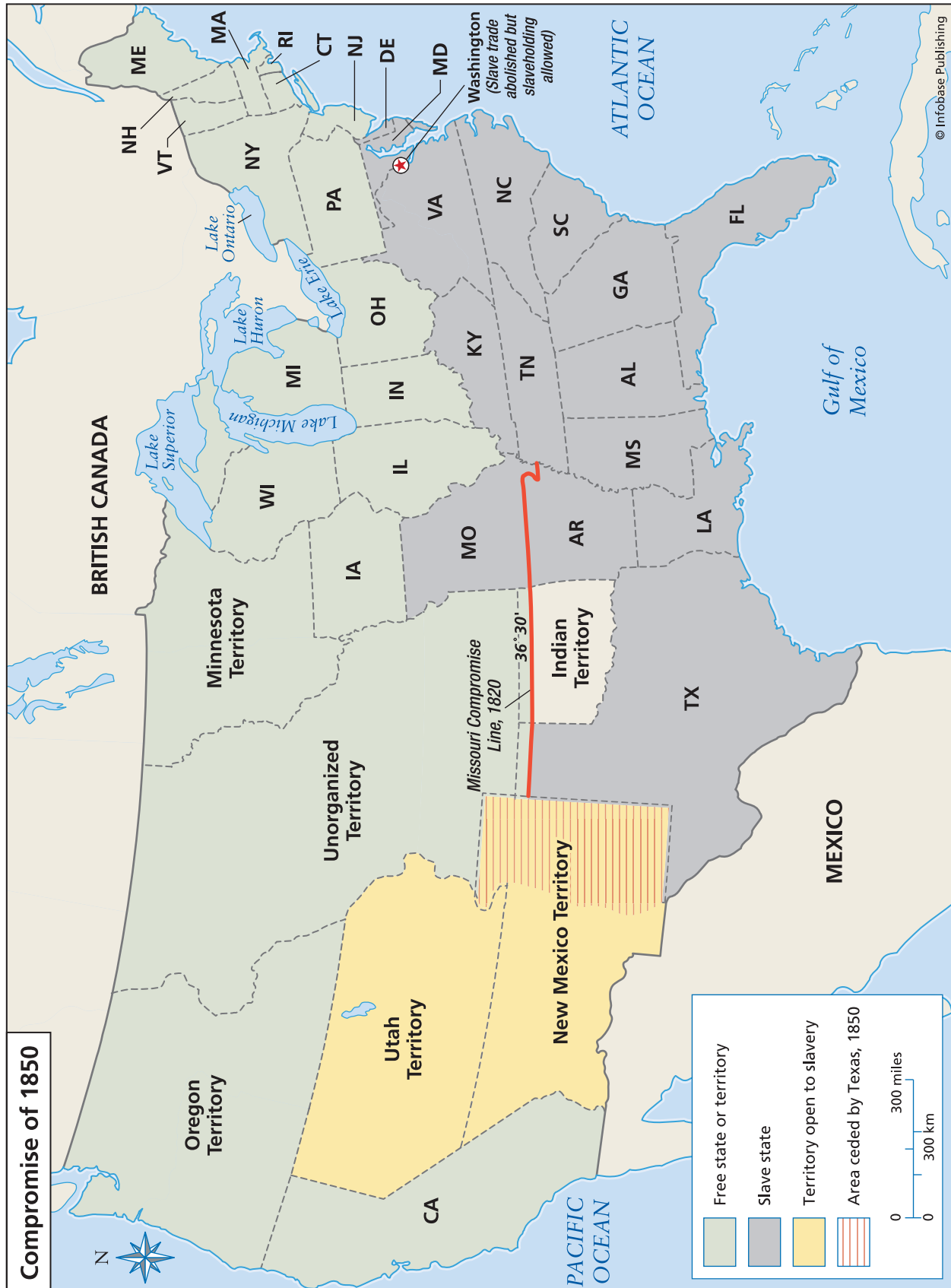


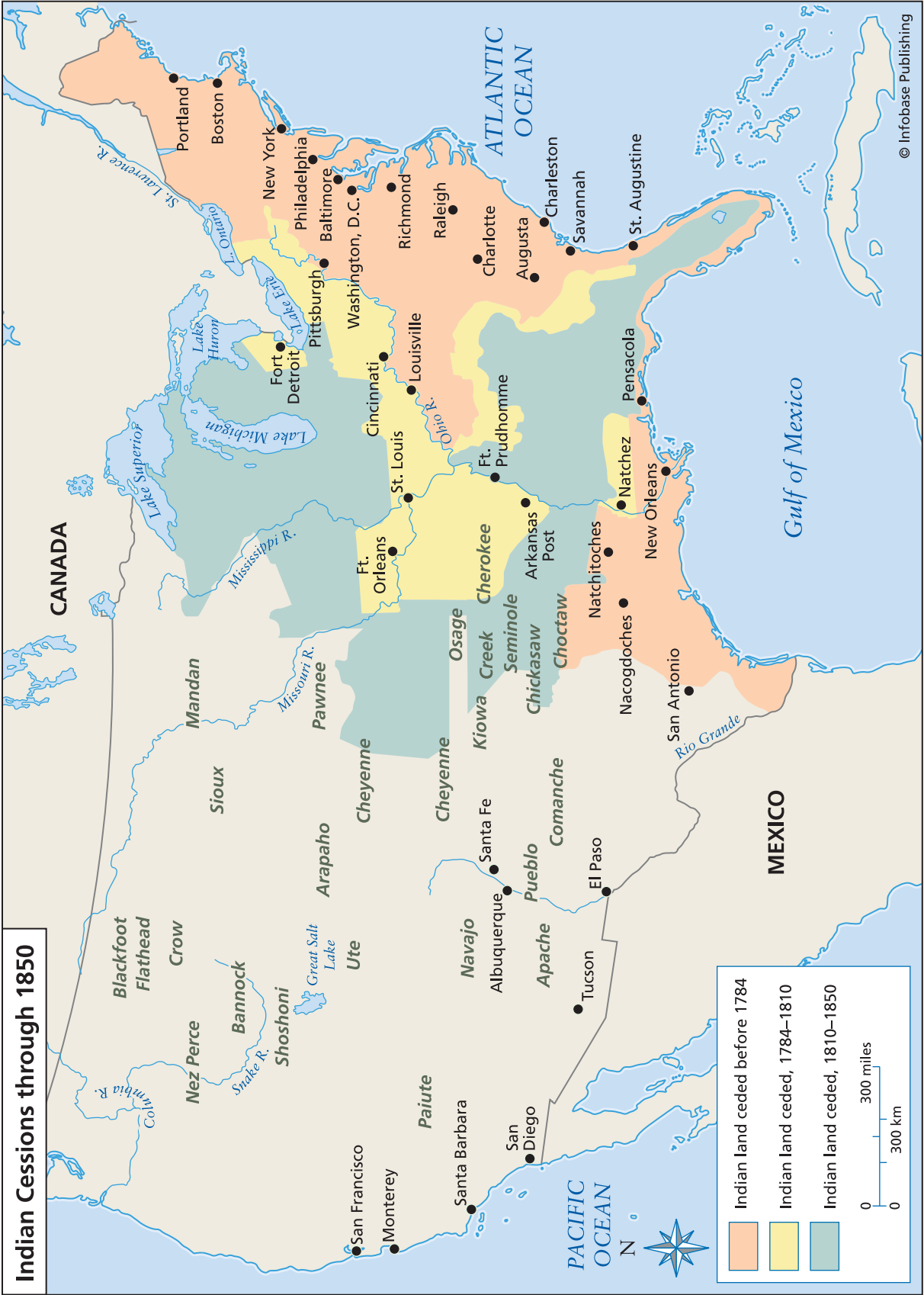


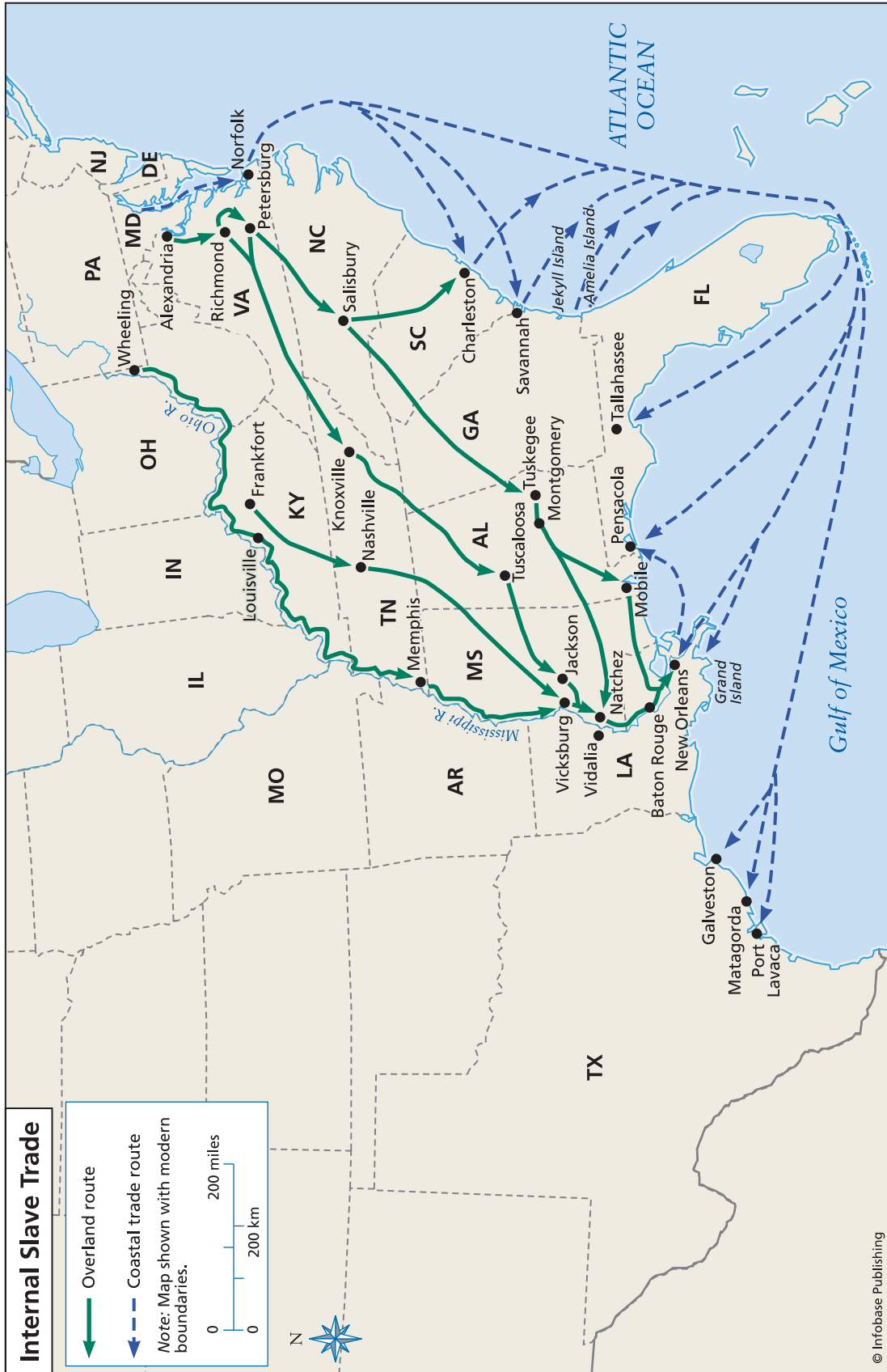












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 Zouaves





# About the Editors



**General Editor: Gary B. Nash** received a Ph.D from Princeton University. He is director of the National Center for History in the Schools at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he teaches American history of the colonial and Revolutionary era. He is a published author of college and precollegiate history texts. Among his best-selling works are the coauthored *American People: Creating a Nation and Society* (Longman, 1998), now in its seventh edition; *American Odyssey: The U.S. in the Twentieth Century* (McGraw-Hill/Glencoe, 1999), now in its fourth edition; and *The Atlas of American History*, coauthored with Carter Smith (Facts On File, 2006).

Nash is an elected member of the Society of American Historians, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Antiquarian Society, and the American Philosophical Society. He has served as past president of the Organization of American Historians in 1994–95 and was a founding member of the National Council for History Education. His latest books include *First City: Philadel-*

*phia and the Forging of Historical Memory* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (Viking, 2005), and *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Era of Revolution* (Harvard University Press, 2006).

**Volume Editor: Joan Waugh** is a professor of history at the University of California, Los Angeles, where she specializes in the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. She is the author of *Unsentimental Reformer: The Life of Josephine Shaw Lowell* (Harvard University Press, 1998) and the forthcoming *Ulysses S. Grant, American Hero, American Myth* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009). Recently published books include (with Alice Fahs) *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (University of North Carolina Press, 2004) and (with Gary W. Gallagher) *Wars within a War: Controversy and Conflict over the American Civil War* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009).



# Foreword



The Encyclopedia of American History series is designed as a handy reference to the most important individuals, events, and topics in U.S. history. In 10 volumes, the encyclopedia covers the period from the 15th century, when European explorers first made their way across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas, to the present day. The encyclopedia is written for precollegiate as well as college students, for parents of young learners in the schools, and for the general public. The volume editors are distinguished historians of American history. In writing individual entries, each editor has drawn upon the expertise of scores of specialists. This ensures the scholarly quality of the entire series. Articles contributed by the various volume editors are uncredited.

This 11-volume encyclopedia of “American history” is broadly conceived to include the historical experience of the various peoples of North America. Thus, in the first volume, many essays treat the history of a great range of indigenous people before contact with Europeans. In the same vein, readers will find essays in the first several volumes that sketch Spanish, Dutch, and French explorers and colonizers who opened up territories for European settlement that later would become part of the United States. The venues and cast of characters in the American historical drama are thus widened beyond traditional encyclopedias.

In creating the eras of American history that define the chronological limits of each volume, and in addressing major topics in each era, the encyclopedia follows the architecture of *The National Standards for United States History, Revised Edition* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Mandated by the U.S. Congress, the national standards for U.S. history have been widely used by states and school districts in organizing curricular frameworks and have been followed by many other curriculum-building efforts.

Entries are cross-referenced, when appropriate, with *See also* citations at the end of articles. At the end of most entries, a listing of articles and books allows readers to turn to specialized sources and historical accounts. In each volume, an array of maps provide geographical context, while numerous illustrations help vivify the material covered in the text. A time line is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events occurring in the given era. The selection of historical documents in the back of each volume gives students experience with the raw documents that historians use when researching history. A comprehensive index to each volume also facilitates the reader’s access to particular information.

In each volume, long entries are provided for major categories of American historical experience. These categories may include: African Americans, agriculture, art and architecture, business, economy, education, family life, foreign policy, immigration, labor, Native Americans, politics, population, religion, urbanization, and women. By following these essays from volume to volume, the reader can access what might be called a mini-history of each broad topic, for example, family life, immigration, or religion.

—Gary B. Nash  
University of California, Los Angeles

# Foreword to the Revised Edition



“History has to be rewritten in every generation because, although the past does not change, the present does,” writes Lord Christopher Hill, one of Great Britain’s most eminent historians. “Each generation asks new questions of the past, and finds new areas of sympathy as it re-lives different aspects of the experiences of its predecessors.” It is this understanding, that the pursuit of historical knowledge requires new research and new reflections on the past, that undergirds a revised and extended edition of the *Encyclopedia of American History*.

The individual volume editors of this revised edition have made important additions and revisions to the original edition published in 2003. Most important, they have added many new entries—several hundred for the entire 11-volume set. This puts more meat on the bone of what was already a comprehensive encyclopedia that presented four centuries of American history in all its diversity and complexity. For the 10th volume, covering the period from 1969 to the present, new entries cover momentous events and important figures of the last six years. For the other volumes, new entries increase the diversity of Americans covered by biographical accounts as well as events that new scholarship shows have had greater importance than recognized heretofore.

In addition, careful attention has been given to correcting occasional errors in the massive number of entries in the first edition. Also, many entries have been revised to add further details while making adjustments, based on new scholarship, to the interpretation of key events and movements. Consonant with that effort to make the encyclopedia as fresh and usable as possible, the volume editors have added many new recently published books to the “Further Reading” notes at the ends of the entries, and new full-color historical maps help put history in its geographical context.

—Gary B. Nash





# Introduction

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*Civil War and Reconstruction* (1856 to 1869) offers a compelling overview of one of the central events in U.S. history: the “War of the Rebellion.” The issues at stake in this era—sovereignty and freedom—reached from the highest levels of the constitutional and political arenas into the lives of ordinary people—rich and poor, black and white, men and women, Northern and Southern. *Civil War and Reconstruction* provides the eager student of the period, roughly covering the last half of the 19th century, with an understanding of the dramatic political and military conflict and an appreciation of the sheer tragedy of the American Civil War. Additionally, Volume V of the Encyclopedia of American History tells the story of the war itself within a framework for analyzing the larger social and economic processes that transformed the United States. Thus, students consulting the entries in *Civil War and Reconstruction* will be able to formulate answers to the three major questions that have fascinated people since the end of the conflict: What were the causes of the war? Why did the North win? Was Reconstruction a success or failure?

The entries in *Civil War and Reconstruction* reflect the wide diversity and richness of the scholarship on the war and its aftermath. No student of the period can be considered well educated without a solid understanding of, for example, Bleeding Kansas, the rise of the Republican Party, the presidency of Abraham Lincoln, the secession of the Southern states, the establishment of the Confederate States of America, the Battle of Gettysburg, the significance of the so-called Reconstruction Amendments, and the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson. In short, Volume V covers the constitutional, military, political, and economic aspects of the Civil War, with an extensive entry list of people, places, laws, battles, and social movements. Similarly, the student of the 21st century must be aware of the cultural, racial, and gender issues that have cast a new light on traditional assumptions. The experiences of the common soldiers, changing women’s roles, the revolutionary nature of enrolling African-American men to fight as Union soldiers, the breakdown of slavery, and bringing the reality of emancipation to bear upon an embittered white Southern population are all important parts of the time that are well covered in *Civil War and Reconstruction*.

The poet and writer Robert Penn Warren once famously assessed the Civil War as the most important event in our history. “It may,” he claimed, “in fact, be said to *be* American history.” The legacy of the Civil War and Reconstruction continues to shape the current United States in profoundly important ways.

## **xx Introduction**

This volume should be considered both a departure point for those who wish to begin their exploration of the era, as well as for those who want to acquire more knowledge about particular aspects of the United States during a crucial turning point in its history. It is truly a saga of epic proportions.

—Joan Waugh  
University of California, Los Angeles

# ENTRIES

## A TO Z







## abolition

Abolition refers to the immediate and unconditional end to **SLAVERY**. In the United States, abolition movements offered varied plans of reform, with conservative, moderate, and radical approaches. Many abolitionists, although not all, believed in racial equality; many also cooperated with international efforts to halt slavery.

Opposition to African slavery in North America dates to the 17th century, when some Protestant denominations, particularly Methodists and the **SOCIETY OF FRIENDS** (Quakers), condemned the practice. Until the Revolutionary War, abolitionist views were not widespread among Britain's North American colonists. However, calls for liberty and consent provoked some colonists to take abolition arguments more seriously. During the 1780s, antislavery sentiment influenced the wording of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which banned carrying slaves into the future states of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. By 1800, Pennsylvania and all states north of it had begun to abolish slavery, though largely by gradual rather than immediate **EMANCIPATION**.

From Maryland south, slavery was far more important to existing economic interests than in the North. The abolition argument did not find a large audience in the tobacco-growing states on Chesapeake Bay (Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware) and in the Carolinas and Georgia, where rice and indigo cultivation flourished.

A few Southern planters did in fact seek to end slavery in the South. Thomas Jefferson, for instance, argued that slave ownership bred habits of arrogance and arbitrary power ill-suited to the needs of a republic based on shared power and popular consent. Jefferson also believed that African-American slaves posed serious threats to all white people: a threat of revolt if kept in servitude, particularly worrisome in wartime, and a threat of resentful hostility of a landless underclass if set free. Slavery was wrong, Jefferson wrote, but slavery could not end without expelling former slaves from North America. "We have the wolf by

the ears," Jefferson wrote, "we can neither hold him nor safely let him go."

Jefferson, Madison, and others, both North and South, hoped that slavery would end gradually. While the Constitution granted Congress no power to abolish slavery, it did permit Congress to prohibit the importation of slaves beginning in 1808. Without slaves from Africa and the West Indies, prices for slaves would increase. Two important consequences would occur: the ending of the Southern plantation system and the return to Africa of masses of former slaves. Jefferson's conviction that expulsion from North America would be best for white and black people alike was shared by Henry Clay and other prominent sponsors of the American Colonization Society.

Colonization faced serious opposition, however. As early as the 1790s, there were voices raised against both gradual emancipation and colonization schemes. Philadelphia African Americans such as Richard Allen and Absalom Jones joined Benjamin Franklin and others in the Philadelphia Society for the Abolition of Slavery. In 1790 the organization petitioned Congress under Franklin's name to abolish slavery throughout the country. Ominously, the petition earned a stern rebuke from Southerners, whose views on slavery were less compromising than Jefferson's. Thomas Tucker, a South Carolina representative, declared that such a petition would "never be submitted to by the Southern States without a civil war."

Despite Tucker's warning, calls for immediate abolition became more urgent during the 1820s. A number of factors contributed to the growing unwillingness of some antislavery activists to compromise. The first was the obvious failure of gradual emancipation in the South. With the introduction of Eli Whitney's cotton gin in 1793, slavery profitably expanded well beyond the plantations of the Atlantic coast and into what would soon come to be called the Southern "cotton belt."

As slavery expanded further, fewer Southern planters shared Jefferson's doubts about slavery and more embraced



A group of abolitionists known as the Oberlin Rescuers outside the Cuyahoga County Jail, Ohio, from which they had rescued a fugitive slave named John Price (Hulton/Archive)

a strong defense of the South's "peculiar institution." The debates over slave-state Missouri's admittance to the Union in 1819–20, though they ended in compromise, demonstrated Southern resolve on the issue while revealing deep divisions within the North. Southern views hardened further in the aftermath of a Virginia slave revolt led by Nat Turner in 1832.

Abolition activists were also deeply influenced by the "Second Great Awakening," a period of evangelical revivalism that peaked between 1810 and 1840. Those who opposed slavery on religious grounds condemned the practice as nothing less than an abomination. These more militant attitudes crystallized in the late 1820s and early 1830s, informing the work of such abolitionists as David Walker (1785–1830), Lydia Maria Child (1802–80), and WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON (1805–79). Unlike Benjamin Franklin, these activists would not plea or petition for emancipation; rather, they would demand it.

Walker, an African American, was born free in North Carolina. Loathing the South's poisonous atmosphere of slavery and oppression, he left for Massachusetts, establishing a small business there while taking an active role in the city's free black community. In 1829, Walker published a pamphlet entitled "An Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World." Targeting Thomas Jefferson's remarks in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Walker declared that white Americans had proven themselves "unjust, jealous, unmerciful, avaricious, and bloodthirsty . . . always seek-

ing after power and authority." Only abolition of slavery would free white Americans from their own degradation; "what a happy country this will be if whites will listen."

Lydia Maria Child, a self-educated New Englander, came to public attention with *An Appeal in Favor of that Class of Americans Called Africans* (1833). Like Walker, Child's rhetoric burned. The races, she declared, were equal to one another in every way. White people had enslaved black people only because the white people had acted with "treachery, fraud, and violence." Child's commitment to racial equality and her willingness to enter a public arena generally closed to women outraged many Americans, including some who were committed to the antislavery movement.

William Lloyd Garrison was as uncompromising as Walker or Child. Introducing *The Liberator*, his influential abolitionist newspaper, Garrison famously declared, "I am in earnest, I will not equivocate, I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch, AND I WILL BE HEARD." For Garrison, not even the Constitution was sacred. Because the Constitution implicitly protected slavery, Garrison thundered, the document was immoral. On July 4, 1852, in a well-publicized demonstration, Garrison publicly burned a copy of the Constitution, while shouting "so perish all compromises with tyranny!"

Abolitionists like Walker, Child, and Garrison asserted that the Constitution and majority opinion both ranked well below a "higher law," God's law. Though the Constitution

itself prohibited any state from harboring an escaped slave, abolitionists successfully urged several Northern states to enact “personal liberty” laws that forbade state officials from assisting in the recapture of escapees. Personal liberty laws enraged Southerners, but they were based on the same STATES’ RIGHTS argument Southerners themselves embraced in other circumstances.

By the 1830s, Southern planters and their Northern sympathizers came to see abolitionism as a grave threat to their lives and property. Proslave apologists condemned abolitionists as treasonous and violent extremists who sought nothing less than a slave revolt, the murder of white people, and the destruction of the white race. Such fears convinced President Andrew Jackson to forbid the distribution of abolitionist literature through the mails. Congress was persuaded to forbid the reading and debate of all antislavery petitions brought to its attention. This happened despite a First Amendment guarantee of the right to petition for redress of grievances. In the North, mobs often pelted abolitionist speakers with everything from rotten food to rocks, burned abolitionist presses, and vandalized meeting halls. While Garrison was rescued from a violent Boston mob, abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy was not so lucky, and he was murdered by another mob in Alton, Illinois, on November 7, 1837. African-American abolitionist David Walker inspired particular hatred: \$1,000 was offered for his dead body.

Though abolitionists did not always face such violence, they remained a distinct minority within the North well into the CIVIL WAR. Most white Northerners simply accepted as a matter of course that black people were an inferior race; many concurred with Southerners that slavery was essential both to protect African Americans from their own passions and to protect white people from black people. Many Northerners also feared that if slavery were ended, free African Americans would compete for jobs, forcing white workers to accept lower wages and worse conditions. For these workers, African-American freedom would mean white slavery.

Abolitionists were also divided among themselves. While black and white abolitionists worked side by side in Garrison’s American Anti-Slavery Society, differences of emphasis and organization ensured that African Americans supported their own distinct institutions. Though Garrison’s *Liberator* remained the preeminent abolitionist journal among white Americans, FREDERICK DOUGLASS’S *North Star* was widely read among free African Americans. Black church and community groups independently organized support for escaped slaves; under activists such as HARRIET TUBMAN, these groups became the foundation for the network of escape routes, “conductors,” and safe-houses called the UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.

Abolitionists also differed over strategy. In 1840 abolitionist Lewis Tappan split with Garrison’s American Anti-

slavery Society and established a rival organization, the American and Foreign Antislavery Society. Tappan and others in the new group were dismayed at Garrison’s alleged opposition to RELIGION, support for women’s equality, and reliance on “moral suasion” rather than direct political action to end slavery.

Gender also divided abolitionists. Like Lydia Child, abolitionists such as Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, and ELIZABETH CADY STANTON found a cool and sometimes hostile reception from the men who led abolitionist organizations. To fight against slavery, they concluded, they had to emancipate women as well. Though some male abolitionists voiced contempt for feminism, others, such as Frederick Douglass, provided active support.

Despite these divisions, abolitionism grew stronger, particularly after the Mexican-American War of 1846–48. The conquest of Mexican territory reopened an angry debate over the expansion of slavery last heard during the debates leading to the Missouri Compromise of 1820. In the wake of U.S. victories, Congressman David Wilmot introduced his WILMOT PROVISION to prohibit slavery in any lands seized as a result of the war. Though ultimately defeated, Wilmot’s bill spread antislavery sentiment.

Most Americans who opposed slavery in the territories were not abolitionists but Free Soilers. Free Soilers did not oppose slavery in the South but believed that if slavery were permitted in the West, wealthy Southern planters would buy up the best farmland. Northern farmers of more modest means would have nothing. Free Soilers shared with abolitionists a deep disdain for what they both characterized as the South’s “slaveocracy.”

Abolitionists were divided on the wisdom of working with Free-Soil Democrats and Whigs. William Lloyd Garrison refused to work with anyone who sought less than full and immediate emancipation. Tappan and other abolitionists disagreed. Abolitionists had already experimented with electoral politics in the form of the Liberty Party, whose support had grown from 7,000 presidential votes in 1840 to 60,000 in 1844. In 1848, many abolitionists joined the Free-Soil Party, which garnered more than a quarter million votes for presidential candidate Martin Van Buren. When the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT shattered the Whig Party in 1854, most Northern Whigs joined Free Soilers and abolitionists to establish the REPUBLICAN PARTY. Though the Republican Party officially embraced only Free-Soil ideas, abolitionists now had a strong voice in a mainstream political movement.

Even so, Garrisonian “moral suasion” remained vital to the abolitionist cause. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE’S popular 1852 novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* condemned the abuses of slavery in vivid prose. As many as one-third of literate Northerners read Stowe’s book. African Americans who had escaped slavery now found large and enthusiastic audiences for their speeches and books.



## 4 African-American regiments

However, moral suasion was clearly not going to end slavery by itself. During the 1850s, the debate over slavery provoked increasing violence. From Preston Brooks's assault on Senator CHARLES SUMNER in the Senate chambers to BLEEDING KANSAS, and from JOHN BROWN's attack on the federal armory at HARPERS FERRY to Southern calls for SECESSION, slavery had become the most divisive national issue. In 1860, hoping to allay the fears of white Northerners, the Republican Party passed over WILLIAM H. SEWARD, an abolitionist sympathizer, and instead nominated ABRAHAM LINCOLN, a Free Soiler who had condemned John Brown's raid and promised to protect slavery where it already existed.

At the beginning of the Civil War, most white Northerners—and certainly most Union soldiers—still opposed abolition of slavery. Lincoln himself entertained the idea that the United States might gradually end slavery and that former slaves might be returned to Africa. Yet Garrison, Douglass, and other abolitionists urged Lincoln to reject gradualism, reject colonization, and reject anything short of full citizenship. Throughout the Civil War, abolitionists struggled to ensure that African Americans could serve as combat soldiers in the UNION ARMY and that those soldiers would earn the same pay as white soldiers. Abolitionists also lobbied for other causes: that Union commanders end slavery in Southern territories they occupied, that the U.S. government grant captured plantation lands to former slaves, and that Congress declare and protect the civil rights of African Americans.

The THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT brought the end of slavery in 1865, and abolition's mission had been fulfilled. Some former abolitionists, their life's work accomplished, retreated from politics. Others remained active within the Republican Party. Still others joined moral crusades modeled after abolitionism and seeking reform of other elements of American life. However, veteran abolitionists found themselves divided in their approaches to RECONSTRUCTION and an industrializing ECONOMY. As a political movement, abolition was finished. Even so, fundamental issues arising out of race were never fully resolved by the Civil War. In many ways, they remain as vital to American society today as they did when abolitionists first raised them.

**Further reading:** Edward Magdol, *The Antislavery Rank and File: A Social Profile of the Abolitionist Constituency* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986); James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995); Ronald G. Walters, *The Antislavery Appeal: American Abolitionism after 1830* (New York: Norton, 1984).

—Tom Laichas

## African-American regiments

President ABRAHAM LINCOLN initially opposed the inclusion of African Americans in the Union forces, fearing alienation of the border states, Northern prejudice and public opinion, the possibility of slave rebellion, and even the quality of fight he might get from black soldiers. By the summer of 1862, as the resilience of the Confederacy became more evident, he began to change his mind. He looked the other way as Senator James H. Lane of Kansas, a veteran of clashes with proslavery Missourians during the 1850s, formed black regiments in August. Lincoln determined that one way to weaken the South might be to undermine SLAVERY. The EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION of January 1, 1863, included a carefully measured endorsement of the armament of African Americans. These forces became known as United States Colored Troops.

The Union's recruitment of black soldiers began in earnest March 1863 and ultimately resulted in raising nearly 180,000 troops, about 7,000 of whom served as noncommissioned officers. Unlike the celebrated Irish Brigade or the many proud German units, regiments comprising only African Americans were not so much the result of choice but of segregation. They were denied promotions and paid on a lower pay scale. They also were most often given white leadership; it was generally believed that white soldiers would never obey African-American officers. Commissions were given to only 110 African Americans, and more than 70 of them resigned due to the persistent harassment. Further, African-American members of the UNION ARMY fought knowing that if the Confederates captured them, they would be considered rebel slaves and might be tortured or executed. Some Confederate generals refused to take African-American prisoners.

White Union officers were offered incentives to raise and command African-American units and had to pass rigorous examinations, so black regiments most often had experienced and able leadership. Because of the great increase in promotions, white military personnel generally began to accept the inclusion of African Americans as a necessary measure of war. When finally allowed to fight, African Americans served with distinction. They led three charges without white support at Port Hudson, Louisiana. At the BATTLE OF MILLIKEN'S BEND, they participated in some of the war's most brutal hand-to-hand combat. Robert Gould Shaw led the 54TH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT on a Union version of Pickett's charge at Fort Wagner. In all, African-American regiments participated in 41 major battles and about 450 smaller actions. By the end of the war, African Americans accounted for 12 percent of the Union army and about two-thirds of the forces in the Mississippi Valley. An additional 20,000 served in the UNION NAVY. Approximately 37,000 African Americans died in service, representing a 35 percent greater loss, proportion-

ately, than Union white troops. Sixteen were awarded the congressional MEDAL OF HONOR.

See also CARNEY, WILLIAM HARVEY.

**Further reading:** Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000); Noah Andre Trudeau, *Like Men of War: Black Troops in the Civil War, 1862–1865* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998).

—Richard J. Roder

## African Methodist Episcopal Church

Founded in 1816, the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church became one of the leading social, cultural, and religious institutions in African-American life.

The AME Church grew out of tensions within the biracial Methodist Church following the American Revolution. Methodist churches opposed SLAVERY and encouraged the participation of free African Americans in the church, both as congregants and as preachers. At the same time, the white leaders of the Methodist movement believed that African-American styles of worship threatened the church's practices. Increasingly, they advocated the subordination and segregation of African-American congregants.

Over time, naturally, tension between black and white Methodists grew. During the early 1800s, antislavery attitudes in the Methodist organization weakened, as did the willingness of the Methodist leadership to ordain African Americans as ministers or include them in denominational decision making.

In response, a number of African Methodist congregations meeting in Philadelphia in April 1816 organized the African Methodist Episcopal Church, naming Richard Allen its first bishop. Spreading swiftly throughout the North and West before the CIVIL WAR, the church also established a strong presence in the South despite prohibitions against its presence.

Before the Civil War, the AME Church emphasized EDUCATION, ABOLITION, and community self-help. AME churches, including Philadelphia's "Mother Bethel," served as havens for men and women escaping slavery on the UNDERGROUND RAILROAD. Churches offered classes for congregants, stressing literacy, mathematics, and familiarity with the Bible. Church members also founded Ohio's Wilberforce University in 1856, the first college for African Americans in the United States.

By the mid-19th century the AME Church had become one of the most prolific publishers of African-American writing. The church's earliest works included hymnals and other religious literature. In 1841 the church began publishing the *AME Church Magazine* (later the *Christian Recorder*), one of the first African-American

newspapers published in North America. Between 1858 and 1864, the church published African-American essays, poetry, and short stories in its *Repository of Religion and Literature*, an effort it revived in 1884 with the *A.M.E. Church Review*.

Politically, the AME was a strong advocate of EMANCIPATION during the Civil War and voting rights for African Americans after the war. As segregation and discrimination hardened in the years after RECONSTRUCTION, AME churches remained centers of African-American cultural and spiritual life, sustaining black communities into the 20th century.

**Further reading:** Clarence Earl Walker, *A Rock in a Weary Land: The African Methodist Episcopal Church during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982).

—Tom Laichas

## agriculture

Agriculture was the mainstay of the American ECONOMY both before and after the CIVIL WAR. The majority of the population of the United States, North and South, was rural, and nearly three-fourths of the nation's exports were agricultural in 1860. The actual type of agriculture and methods of farming varied enormously within the vast country, however. This was a reflection of a number of variables: the topography and quality of the soil, land policy, access to markets, availability of labor to tend crops, and the use of farm technology.

The South was the most agrarian section of the United States. Southern agricultural exports accounted for three-quarters of the total U.S. agricultural exports before the Civil War. The South's staple crop was cotton, and everyone from large planters to yeoman farmers grew the crop. Cotton required a large amount of labor due to the many steps involved in its production, from the sowing of cottonseeds to months of picking, ginning, hauling, and baling the finished product. Planters relied on slave labor as much as possible, according to their financial ability. At one extreme, wealthy planters used gangs of slaves while at the other, yeoman farmers tended to rely on family labor. For this reason, planters could generally focus on growing only cotton, while smaller farmers diversified and also grew the food needed for family sustenance.

Cotton was profitable because owners of England's textile mills provided a market for American cotton. As a result of the soaring demand for the crop, planters grew cotton year after year instead of diversifying their crop. When the soil inevitably became depleted, they often secured new land farther west and started the process over



## 6 agriculture

again. The boom in the cotton economy came in Alabama and Mississippi in the 1830s and expanded westward across Louisiana to Texas.

Similar patterns characterized the growing of the second-most-important commercial Southern crop, tobacco. As in cotton production, large slaveholding growers monopolized the land and trade. Commercial tobacco growing depleted the land almost as much as growing cotton, and like cotton growers, tobacco planters would often migrate westward. The old tobacco states of Maryland and Virginia eventually gave way to Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina.

The Civil War largely destroyed all forms of Southern agriculture. The Northern blockade uprooted the critical cotton trade. Further, invading armies destroyed the Southern TRANSPORTATION system, along with most of the crops and supplies of food in their path. Southern troops also harmed farmers. They confiscated meat, grain, and other produce for their food. At the close of the war, the production of Southern farmers was a fraction of prewar levels.

In the years after the Civil War, agriculture gradually reemerged in the South, with cotton remaining the primary crop. In fact, Southern farmers became even more dependent on a one-crop economy. Large PLANTATIONS continued to dominate agriculture, but now Northern capitalists replaced some of the Southern planters. For the ex-slaves who received neither land nor money, a new system of dependence emerged in the form of SHARECROPPING. Sharecroppers obtained food, farming tools, and a plot of land from merchant planters on credit. In return, sharecroppers agreed to turn over their crop to the merchant to pay their debts with interest. Under the conditions established by the merchants, the sharecroppers never were able to get out of debt from year to year, and they remained permanently tied to their land.

Like the South, the North was a primarily agrarian region. In the North, however, farming more clearly reflected the influence of urbanization and manufacturing, both increasingly important over the course of the 19th century. The price of land increased near cities, while at the same time city dwellers created a demand for agricultural produce. In order to afford the land they needed, farmers specialized in products that were sold to the cities. Many New England and mid-Atlantic farmers turned to the production of butter, milk, cheese, eggs, or vegetables. Other farmers gave up their eastern farms and headed west, where land was cheaper.

The prairie states of Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Iowa became the breadbasket of the nation by the time of the Civil War. Farming on the prairies was very challenging—tall grasses stretching out for miles were supported by a dense, dank root system that defied traditional plows and bred mosquitoes and disease. The lack of timber

for housing and fences along with poor access to transportation added to farmers' problems.

The Civil War accelerated trends in the North and Midwest that were already underway. The needs of the army increased demand for farm goods and raised prices. At the same time, enlistments drained farm hands from rural areas and caused a rapid increase in mechanization. Given the high costs of mechanical equipment, farmers were drawn away from subsistence agriculture into the commercial economy, with its complicated relationships to creditors, middlemen, and food processors. Farmers were becoming businessmen. Meanwhile, Northern farming interests shifted increasingly westward, as the states of New England and the Atlantic coast became more and more urbanized.

During the war, several pieces of legislation served to widen farmers' horizons. The Department of Agriculture was established as part of the national government, furnishing farmers with information on crop conditions, weather reports, scientific advances, and agricultural business trends. Land-grant college legislation was passed, establishing new universities geared toward scientific agriculture. A third piece of legislation, the HOMESTEAD ACT of 1862, had a more ambiguous impact. It established a procedure for settlers to acquire 160 acres of free land. While this would seem to be a boon for farmers, by the 1860s the principal tracts of land available were only good for livestock or other types of large-scale agriculture that required more land than 160 acres.

In the postwar years, agricultural settlement of the plains and the West proceeded at a furious pace. In the plains states, family farmers found life difficult economically and socially. Wealthy wheat ranchers with vast acres and expensive machinery were the ones who most prospered. In California and the southwestern states, the ongoing transition from Mexican to American jurisdiction revolutionized land policy and farming techniques. Mexicans in California and New Mexico had been accustomed to raising livestock in a partly subsistence and partly commercial agricultural economy. American farmers brought dramatic changes geared toward commercial agriculture. Some farmers were able to buy up huge chunks of land as they worked to find profitable cash crops that could be transported and sold to distant markets in the East and abroad. Their main successes were in the grain industry and, after the 1870s, in the orchard industry.

After the Civil War, the increased settlement of the plains and the West, along with the reemergence of Southern agriculture, turned the United States into the world's foremost producer of agricultural goods. Despite this, the predominant theme of the postwar era was the rise of manufacturing and big business. Increasing numbers of Americans abandoned farming for jobs in the

cities. Those farmers who remained were increasingly forced to mechanize and to involve themselves directly in the national economy. Farmers found themselves subject to economic and human factors beyond their control, often to their great detriment. Ultimately, this would give rise to increasing political militancy among farmers in the 1870s and 1880s. The era of Thomas Jefferson's independent, yeoman farmer ended during the Civil War years.

See also MORRILL LAND-GRANT ACT.

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—Jaclyn Greenberg

### **Alabama, CSS**

The Confederate ship *Alabama* was the most successful merchant raider of the CIVIL WAR. Shortly after his arrival in England, Confederate naval agent JAMES D. BULLOCH contracted with the Liverpool firm of Laird & Sons to construct a fast and capable bark-rigged sloop intended for raiding. The resulting vessel, officially known as “290,” was launched and christened *Enrica* on May 15, 1862, and it slipped away to sea on July 30, before U.S. diplomats in London could prevent it from sailing. *Enrica* dropped anchor off the Portuguese island of Terceira, in the Azores, where it was armed and on August 24, 1862, commissioned CSS *Alabama* under Captain RAPHAEL SEMMES.

The *Alabama* was 220 feet long, measured 31 feet at the beam, and displaced 1,050 tons, making it one of the sleekest warships in its class. It was fitted with a battery of six 32-pounder cannons in broadside and carried a 110-pound rifled Blakely cannon and a 68-pounder smoothbore on pivot mounts amidships. The *Alabama* was manned by a crew of 120 sailors and 24 officers and was specially outfitted for long-distance cruising. The vessel could reach 14 knots with its 300-horsepower steam engine, but it more routinely sailed at 10 knots under a generous spread of canvas. In sum, the *Alabama* was well suited for fast raids against slower Union merchant vessels and could usually outpace the slower, heavier warships sent to intercept it.

Semmes sailed from the Azores in August 1862 and began accosting Union merchant ships in their local waters and off Newfoundland. He went on to the Caribbean for additional prizes, then entered the Gulf of Mexico. There, on January 11, 1863, the *Alabama* sank the smaller Union warship *Hatteras* in a 15-minute engagement. As the U.S. Navy stepped up its efforts to stop the hard-hitting Confed-

erate raider, Semmes shifted his operations to the coast of South America before crossing the Atlantic to the coast of South Africa and the Indian Ocean. By this time merchant ships owned by Northerners were becoming harder to find, because sea captains, having been warned of his presence, remained in neutral ports.

After less than two years of service at sea, the raider had traveled 75,000 miles and captured 66 prizes whose value totaled \$6.5 million. Semmes decided that the *Alabama* was overdue for repairs, and in June 1864 he sailed to Cherbourg, France, to commission the work; however, French authorities, mindful of their commitment to neutrality, refused him access to the local shipyard. Semmes was further discomfited when the USS *Kearsarge* stationed itself off the harbor. On June 11, 1864, with his vessel in less than fighting condition and his gunpowder weakened by continuous exposure to salt air, Semmes sortied to meet the Union warship. The *Kearsarge*, expertly commanded by Captain John Winslow, riddled the *Alabama* in a contest of circling turns, and it sank with a loss of nine killed and 24 wounded. Semmes and several other officers eluded capture thanks to a rescue by the English yacht *Greyhound*, but the career of the South's most successful warship had ended.

**Further reading:** Andrew Bowcock, *CSS Alabama: Anatomy of a Confederate Raider* (London: Chatham, 2002); Stephen R. Fox, *Wolf of the Deep: Raphael Semmes and the Notorious Confederate Raider CSS Alabama* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007); James Gindlesperger, *Fire on the Water: The USS Kearsarge and the CSS Alabama* (Shipensburg, Pa.: Burd Street Press, 2003); Arthur Sinclair, *The Year of the Alabama* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003).

—John C. Fredriksen

### **Alexander, Edward P.** (1835–1910) *author, Confederate general*

Confederate general and author Edward Porter Alexander was born on May 26, 1835, on the Fairfield plantation in Wilkes County, Georgia. His wealthy parents, Adam and Sarah Alexander, demanded academic excellence from their 10 children and were disappointed that Alexander decided to become a soldier. Graduated from the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1857, he stood third in his class and accepted a coveted commission in the engineer corps. He married Virginian Bettie Mason shortly thereafter.

Following Georgia's SECESSION in 1861, Alexander left the U.S. Army and put his considerable engineering and organizational skills to work for the Confederacy. Commissioned as an artillery captain, he joined Gen. P. G. T.

## 8 American Missionary Association

BEAUREGARD's staff before the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN and quickly became chief of ordinance and artillery. Appointed colonel of artillery in Gen. JAMES LONGSTREET's First Corps in 1862, Alexander saw significant action at the BATTLES OF FREDERICKSBURG, CHANCELLORSVILLE, and GETTYSBURG. During the latter, he directed the artillery bombardment that preceded Pickett's Charge. Promoted to brigadier general in 1864, he spent the remainder of the war as Longstreet's chief of artillery. After recovering from a minor wound suffered at Petersburg in June 1864, Alexander rejoined the army for its final retreat and surrender in 1865.

During the 1870s and 1880s, Alexander built a postwar career as a railroad executive, managing several Georgia lines while mostly steering clear of the railroad industry financial scandals that in 1892 forced his retirement. In 1897 President Grover Cleveland appointed Alexander to a lucrative post as the American engineer responsible for settling a border dispute between Costa Rica and Nicaragua.

Alexander published *Military Memoirs of a Confederate* in 1907. Years earlier he had contributed narratives based on his personal experiences to the *Southern Historical Society Papers* and *Century Magazine's* "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War" series. In his later memoirs, Alexander evaluated the campaigns he had witnessed in strictly military terms, adopting a scholarly approach that former compatriots mistook for arrogance. His harsh analysis of the Gettysburg campaign condemned Gen. ROBERT E. LEE's decision to invade Pennsylvania, criticized Lee's use of offensive battle tactics, and acquitted Longstreet of blame for the Confederate loss.

Alexander died on April 27, 1910, in Savannah, Georgia.

See also TACTICS AND STRATEGY.

**Further reading:** Edward Porter Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate: A Critical Narrative* (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Bookshop, 1977); Edward Porter Alexander, *Fighting for the Confederacy: The Personal Recollections of General Edward Porter Alexander*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); Maury Klein, *Edward Porter Alexander* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971).

—Amy J. Kinsel

### American Missionary Association

The American Missionary Association (AMA) was a nondenominational Christian organization dedicated to achieving full political and social equality for African Americans. The AMA's members were motivated by their belief that the teachings of Jesus Christ promoted racial harmony.

The AMA was incorporated in 1846 by Lewis Tappan, one of the founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and Simeon Jocelyn. Tappan and Jocelyn, along with most of the other early members of the AMA, had been active in the Amistad slave case that had secured the freedom of a number of illegally imported slaves. At first, the AMA focused on establishing overseas missions for freed slaves. By the 1850s, however, the AMA had turned primarily to ABOLITION. For the next decade, AMA members supported a number of abolitionist causes, most prominently the UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.

During the CIVIL WAR, the AMA began working to educate former slaves. Over 500 schools were founded during the Civil War and in the decades thereafter. Most were elementary schools, but a number of institutions of higher learning were also established, including Atlanta University, Fisk University, Hampton Institute, Howard University, Huston-Tillotson College, and Talladega College. The AMA remains in operation to the present day and has continued to focus on EDUCATION and other assistance for the underprivileged, including African Americans, NATIVE AMERICANS, Mexican Americans, Chinese immigrants, and Appalachian people.

See also RELIGION.

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—Mark Groen

### amnesty, acts of

Amnesty refers to a formal procedure by which a group of people is forgiven for past misdeeds, while a pardon is official forgiveness for a single individual. During the CIVIL WAR and RECONSTRUCTION period, Presidents ABRAHAM LINCOLN and ANDREW JOHNSON, along with the U.S. Congress, issued several proclamations of amnesty and pardon. These proclamations must be placed in the context of the unfolding policy of Reconstruction during and after the war. Two questions dominated: What would be the best way to bring the rebellious states and people back into the Union? and Who should control the process, the president or Congress?

Even as war was being waged on the battlefields, large portions of the South had come under Union military occupation. President Lincoln desired that loyal Southerners regain control of their states as soon as possible. He also sought to demonstrate to the South that returning to the United States could be relatively easy, in hopes of convincing the Confederacy to abandon its rebellion. On December 8, 1863, Lincoln issued the first "Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction," in which he used his constitutional war

powers to seize control of the reconciliation process for the executive branch. Known in history as Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan, it offered a full pardon to all "insurgents," or people who had engaged in the rebellion against the United States.

Of course, there were conditions and exemptions. Several classes of Southerners, including high Confederate officials and military officers, were not to be granted amnesty under Lincoln's act. Eligible applicants, a category that included the majority of Southerners, had to take an oath pledging their loyalty to the U.S. Constitution, including all acts and laws passed regarding the ex-slaves. As soon as 10 percent of the voters of 1860 had taken the oath, their rights and privileges as citizens were restored fully. They could then re-form their state governments and hold ELECTIONS for national offices. If these steps were followed, the U.S. government would accept Southern states back into the Union, as well as their national representatives back into the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Lincoln's proclamation, which was put into action in Louisiana, stirred protest by a group of men who would shortly be called the RADICAL REPUBLICANS. Led by Senators CHARLES SUMNER of Massachusetts and BENJAMIN WADE of Ohio, they put forward a different and far harsher plan for Reconstruction that emphasized punishment for Southern white "traitors." Many wanted to reward the newly freed and loyal African Americans with the vote, making them the focus of a reconstructed South. Most importantly, they wanted Congress and not the president to control Reconstruction. The issue was put on the back burner for most of 1864 and into 1865 as the presidential elections, the end of the war, and the ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN commanded the attention of the country.

With Lincoln's death, Andrew Johnson was left in control of Reconstruction. Acting on the authority given in Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution, which states that the president "shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States," Johnson issued the next "Proclamation of Amnesty" on May 29, 1865. Like Lincoln's proclamation, Johnson's offered amnesty to all insurgents who took the oath. Since the war was over, Johnson dispensed with the 10 percent plan and instead appointed provisional GOVERNORS who would preside over the reestablishment of loyal governments. Johnson's plan expanded the list of people who were exempted from amnesty, including those whose taxable income was worth more than \$20,000. These individuals could apply to the president for a personal pardon. Despite the many bureaucratic obstacles to obtaining the pardons, Johnson granted thousands of them over the summer of 1865. Johnson would go on to issue two more Proclamations of Amnesty on July 4, 1868, and on December 25, 1868, that clarified the details and enlarged the scope of the earlier ones.

Johnson's proclamations formed the basis of a generous Reconstruction for the South. So generous was it, in fact, that congressional Republicans revived the struggle over control of the timing and nature of reconciliation. From 1866 to 1868, Congress and the president presented competing versions of Reconstruction to the nation during a period of rising Southern white violence against African Americans. Northern voters in the 1866 fall elections rejected decisively Johnson's lenient Reconstruction policy. Congressional Republicans, powerful and united by their desire to remake the South more like Northern society, put the entire defeated region under control of the military with a series of RECONSTRUCTION ACTS. Many citizens in the South were thrown into confusion as Johnson's proclamations of amnesty were rendered null and void. Instead, Congress declared that the more exclusionary FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT was the guideline for citizenship.

As the popular support for a harsh Reconstruction declined, so too did congressional resistance to leniency toward former rebels. In 1872 Congress passed another Amnesty Act that removed office-holding disabilities for everyone except a few of the highest-ranking officials and officers of the former Confederacy. In 1898 Congress issued a universal amnesty for all those who had not been granted it in earlier acts. In the long and bumpy road toward sectional peace, the North in the end had decided on a sectional reconciliation that emphasized harmony and forgiveness over the rights of freedmen.

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**Anderson, Robert** (1805–1871) *commander at Fort Sumter*

Born in Kentucky, Robert Anderson became a career army officer, veteran of four wars and, in his defense of FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, the first hero of the CIVIL WAR.

Graduating in 1825 at the middle of his West Point class, Anderson joined the army as a second lieutenant. Through service in the Black Hawk War (1832), the Seminole War (1837–38), and the Mexican-American War (1846–48), Anderson rose to the rank of major (1857). In 1845 he married Elizabeth Bayard Clinch from Georgia, with whom he would have four children.

In November 1860, Anderson was appointed commander of Fort Moultrie, an obsolete island post in South Carolina that was easily accessible from the mainland and



## 10 Andersonville Prison, Georgia

vulnerable to capture from its rear. One mile away, at the entrance to Charleston Harbor, workers were completing FORT SUMTER, a man-made granite island with brick walls 40 feet high and 8 feet thick. Sumter was designed in such a way that with a full force of 650 soldiers manning 146 large guns, it could halt any craft entering or leaving the harbor.

When South Carolina seceded in December 1860, Anderson was placed in a precarious position. Although a Kentuckian and a slaveholder, he remained loyal to the Union and worked to keep Forts Sumter and Moultrie in Northern hands. He knew that any misstep on his part could lead to war, as Charleston militiamen stood prepared to attack the Federal force. Anderson requested guidance and received ambiguous orders from Washington that he interpreted as allowing him to move from Moultrie to Sumter if he thought it necessary to deter an attack. He did so under the cover of darkness on the evening of December 26. The people of the North were elated, those of the South indignant.

At Sumter, Anderson faced a severe shortage of supplies. Fort Sumter's symbolic value was high, but Anderson could not hope to resist if the North could not resupply him. He made an urgent request for food and other necessities that President ABRAHAM LINCOLN ultimately decided to grant. When Confederate Gen. PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD learned of this, he began shelling Fort Sumter. The shelling began before 5 A.M. on April 12 and continued until April 14, when Anderson and his men (127 total, including civilian employees) were forced to surrender.

Anderson's struggle to keep Fort Sumter for the Union made him the North's first war hero. He was rewarded with a promotion to brigadier general and assigned to the Department of the Cumberland. Soon, however, he was forced to give up his command to WILLIAM T. SHERMAN because of ill health. He retired in 1863 but returned to Charleston at the end of the war to replace the American flag that had been torn down in 1861. After the war Anderson and his family relocated to France. He died in Charleston on October 26, 1871.

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—Richard J. Roder

### Andersonville Prison, Georgia

Officially named Camp Sumter, the notorious Andersonville Prison was one of the largest prison camps during the American CIVIL WAR.

In the latter part of 1863, Union forces began penetrating deeper into the Southern states. As a result, Confederates captured prisoners of war in greater numbers than ever before. This influx quickly showed that the detention facilities used during the prior two years of war—mainly old forts, warehouses, and jails—were insufficient. The Southern captors feared that the prominent presence of Yankee prisoners would increase the possibility of overrunning the northernmost facilities just as they had threatened RICHMOND, the Confederate capital, in 1862.

In order to rectify the problem, Confederate officials were sent to Georgia in November 1863 to scout a potential prison site in Sumter County near the town of Andersonville. They determined that the area in south-central Georgia was an ideal location for the facility because it was, at the time, far from the reach of the Union forces. Other reasons for selecting the area included the availability of potable water from a nearby creek, the close proximity of the Georgia Southwestern Railway, and the plentiful timber supply. In addition, because the town of Andersonville itself had a population of only about 20 people, little political resistance to the facility developed. Finally, local slaves could be impressed by the army to build the prison.

Andersonville's construction began in December 1863. On February 24, 1864, 600 prisoners from Libby Prison in Richmond, Virginia, arrived. One entire wall of the stockade was still under construction. Confederate artillery pieces were positioned by the opening to deter any attempts to escape until the work was finished. Once completed, the walls of the prison formed a rectangle of rough-hewn pine standing 15–20 feet in height and built on a 16½-acre tract intended to house no more than 10,000 Union prisoners of war.

During the first few months, conditions at Andersonville were fair. But by July the facility was jammed with over 32,000 soldiers, almost all enlisted men. This increase occurred because of renewed Union aggression and the decision of Northern officials to stop the exchange of prisoners. They believed that keeping Southern soldiers in Northern PRISONS would deprive the South of desperately needed manpower and thus hasten the end of the war.

The Northern leadership's decision was a hard blow for Union soldiers in prisons like Andersonville. The open-air stockade was expanded to 26 acres but remained horribly overcrowded, and conditions became more and more intolerable. Nevertheless, thousands of soldiers continued to be shipped to the prison. Running through the middle of the camp was a stagnant stream, sarcastically referred to as "Sweet Water Branch," which served as a sewer as well as a source of water for bathing and drinking. There were no barracks; prisoners were forbidden to construct shelters. Some did erect tents, but most were left fully exposed to the elements. No clothing was distributed to the captives,



so most wore ragged remnants of their uniform or sometimes nothing at all. Medical treatment and supplies were virtually nonexistent.

With the South barely able to provide for its own men, the prisoners starved. Their daily diet might consist of only rancid grain and a few tablespoons of beans or peas. The poor food and sanitation, the lack of shelter and health care, the crowding, and the hot Georgia sun took their toll in the form of dysentery, scurvy, and malaria. Capt. Henry Wirz, who assumed command of Andersonville in June 1864, wrote the Confederacy's War Department to ask for additional supplies to sustain the prisoners but received no assistance. Attempts to improve the situation were futile, given the limited supplies available. Beyond that, many embittered Confederates were unwilling to do anything to make conditions better because they believed that all Union soldiers should die.

During the summer months, more than 100 prisoners died of disease on a daily basis. Others fell victim to thieves and marauders among their fellow captives. The desperate situation led a Confederate medical commission to recommend relocating those prisoners who were not too ill to move, and in September 1864, as WILLIAM T. SHERMAN's army approached, most of Andersonville's able-bodied inmates were sent to other camps.

Remaining in operation until the war's conclusion, Andersonville held more captured Union soldiers than any other Confederate camp, a total of over 45,000. Nearly 30 percent of these died in captivity. The North had learned of the camp's appalling conditions well before the emaciated survivors were released in April 1865, and outraged citizens urged retribution on Southern prisoners of war. Of course, the Union had wretched prison camps of its own. Death rates were high in some of these as well, even though the North was far better equipped to cope with captured soldiers. Mismanagement and severe shortages were more to blame for the terrors of Andersonville than any deliberate attempt to mistreat prisoners. Nevertheless, many Northerners insisted that the abuse was deliberate and demanded vengeance. Consequently, after being tried by a U.S. military court and convicted of war crimes, Henry Wirz was hanged. Meanwhile, government workers led by CLARA BARTON compiled a list of 12,912 prisoners who had died at the camp. Andersonville's mass graves were replaced by a national cemetery, which is today still used as a burial ground for American VETERANS.

See also PRISONS.

**Further reading:** William Best Hesselstine, *Civil War Prisons: A Study in War Psychology* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998); William Marvel, *Andersonville: The Last Depot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

—Emily E. Holst

### Andrews's Raid (April 12, 1862)

In the spring of 1862, one of the western UNION ARMY's most trusted spies, James J. Andrews, was given the task of launching a secret commando raid deep into the South. Also known as "The Great Locomotive Chase," Andrews's Raid is a perennial favorite among those who enjoy colorful war tales and has been the subject of paintings, songs, and at least two movies. Andrews had no trouble recruiting 22 volunteers for the daring adventure. Their aim was to cut the rail line that served as the supply link between Marietta, Georgia, and Chattanooga, Tennessee. The plan developed by Andrews was simple. His men would divide up into small groups, out of uniform, and go to Marietta where they would board a northbound train headed for Big Shanty, Georgia (now Kennesaw Mountain). The tiny crossroads town was a meal stop on the railroad, and when the other passengers were eating their breakfast, Andrews and his men would steal a locomotive and race unhindered toward Chattanooga, stopping only to cut TELEGRAPH lines, burn bridges, and render unusable a critical part of the Confederacy's railroad lifeline.

The execution of the plan, however, did not go as planned. One major setback arose when the weather turned very wet, making the roads impassable and bridges unburnable. Another unforeseen complication was that the Confederates had established a military camp at Big Shanty. Now, instead of few or no rebel soldiers, there were hundreds in the area. Nevertheless, Andrews and his men started their raid on the night of April 12 with high hopes. They did manage to capture a locomotive, called "The General," along with three boxcars, and then took off in a hurry. Their deed immediately discovered, the Confederates grabbed another engine and went in hot pursuit. The wild chase continued for almost 90 miles, until "The General" ran out of fuel near Grayville, about 18 miles south of Chattanooga. At that point, Andrews and his men jumped off the train and hid in the woods, where all were captured.

As the raiders were out of uniform when arrested, they were treated as spies. Two months later, Andrews and seven Union soldiers were court-martialed and executed. Eight other raiders escaped, and the rest were paroled in an exchange organized by Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON. Later, the survivors of Andrews's Raid became the first recipients of the MEDAL OF HONOR, the nation's highest award for bravery.

See also RAILROADS.

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**Anthony, Susan B.** See VOLUME VI.

## 12 Antietam/Sharpsburg, Battle of

### **Antietam/Sharpsburg, Battle of** (September 17, 1862)

Antietam was a campaign and battle fought in the eastern theater of operations between Union Maj. Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN's Army of the Potomac and Confederate general ROBERT E. LEE's Army of Northern Virginia. The failure of Lee's invasion of Maryland ensured enough of a Northern victory to allow President ABRAHAM LINCOLN to issue the preliminary EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. Thus, Antietam marked a turning point in the war for the North, as the goal changed from union to union and freedom.

Following his success on the Virginia Peninsula (March–June 1862) and at the SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN (August 1862), Lee capitalized on apparent Union demoralization by invading the North. Besides hoping to maintain the strategic initiative by attacking, he sought to achieve a dramatic victory on Union soil that might win the Confederacy diplomatic recognition from England and France. Crossing the Potomac River during the first

week of September, he encamped his approximately 40,000 soldiers near Frederick, Maryland, on September 9. Disregarding the UNION ARMY, he divided his forces, sending one corps commanded by THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON to capture HARPERS FERRY and the other under JAMES LONGSTREET toward Hagerstown. Together, these two operations would stop east-west Union rail traffic. Ultimately, he intended to unite his army near Hagerstown or Boonsboro.

Union general McClellan, a master of military organization and recently appointed to command all forces near WASHINGTON, D.C., soon had roughly 75,000 soldiers searching for the Confederate troops. His numerical superiority notwithstanding, McClellan behaved as he always did, with excessive caution, and pursued the enemy slowly. By September 12 he was in the vicinity of Lee's former campground near Frederick, where his soldiers found a copy of the Confederate operations order. Special Order No. 191 revealed to McClellan the scattered nature of Lee's deployment, which left him vulnerable to defeat in



Battle of Antietam/Sharpsburg, September 17, 1862 (Library of Congress)



piecemeal. Within 48 hours, the Union troops had crossed Catoctin Mountain and were threatening to break through the passes at South Mountain.

Meanwhile, the II Corps under Gen. Jackson had surrounded Harpers Ferry and commenced a heavy bombardment on September 14. Jackson was under strict orders to capture this strategic post no later than the 15th and then march directly back to reinforce the main body concentrating at Sharpsburg. That very morning heavy Confederate shelling of the Federal positions forced the Union commander to surrender. The garrison surrendered 10,000 men, 13,000 small arms, and 73 cannons. Jackson secured his prisoners and booty, then he hurriedly rejoined Lee's army to occupy its left flank. The division of Gen. AMBROSE P. HILL remained behind at Harpers Ferry and was expected to rendezvous with them later in the afternoon.

Realizing that the enemy was about to split his army, Lee ordered a concentration near the western Maryland town of Sharpsburg. To buy him the time he needed, he directed Maj. Gens. Daniel H. Hill and J. E. B. STUART to hold the passes on South Mountain. They resisted the Union advance at Crampton, Fox, and Turner's Gaps, but by noon on September 15 they were withdrawing back to Sharpsburg. With Lee's army pinned against the Potomac, and much of it still on the road from Harpers Ferry, McClellan failed to capitalize on Confederate disorganization and weakness by attacking immediately. Instead, he wasted the entire next day leisurely deploying his troops in sight of Lee's rapidly improving command.

Nonetheless, McClellan had conceived an excellent plan: heavily striking both of Lee's flanks while keeping two complete corps in reserve to either exploit a breakthrough or crush his center if Lee shifted troops to other sectors. The Union attack progressed from north to south. At 6 A.M. McClellan opened with the I Corps (JOSEPH HOOKER) attacking due south on the Hagerstown-Sharpsburg Turnpike. A little over an hour later his XII Corps (Joseph Mansfield) joined the fight. The heaviest fighting took place in sight of a small white building called Dunkard Church in a recently harvested cornfield. Fighting was intense as brigades from Jackson's, JOHN BELL HOOD's and RICHARD S. EWELL's divisions launched fierce counterattacks throughout the morning. By 9 A.M., Maj. Gen. John Sedgwick's division of II Corps, with the corps commander Edwin V. Sumner in the lead, joined the fight in the cornfield. In response, Lee moved John Walker's division from the southern portion of the line. Then his and Lafayette McLaws's divisions struck Sedgwick's troops, driving them back in disarray. By noon, fighting was all but over on the northern portion of the battlefield, as the Confederates, bloodied but unbowed, had stood their ground.

Sumner's other two divisions followed the first without guidance or a clear objective. As they crossed Antietam

Creek they diverged from the rest of the corps and drifted south. Wandering over a small rise, they ran into the Confederate commands of Daniel H. Hill and Richard Anderson along a small sunken farm road. The bloody and intense struggle continued as Gen. William French's division took the brunt of the Southern defenses. A little after noon, Gen. Israel Richardson's trailing division penetrated the rebel positions, inflicting a withering fire on the retreating defenders. The way was open to Sharpsburg, and McClellan still had Fitz John Porter's V Corps in reserve. However, he did not take advantage of his opportunity, ignoring pleas from subordinates to commit additional troops.

Gen. AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE began IX Corps's attack on the southern portion of the battle line around 10 A.M. The greatly outnumbered Confederate force, occupying the high ground on the far bank, dominated the Antietam Creek and its stone bridge. Not until 1 P.M. was Samuel Sturgis's division able to cross the creek. Two hours later, Burnside had two divisions (Orlando Wilcox's and Isaac Rodman's) on their way to Sharpsburg. Lee had no more troops at hand, and McClellan appeared to be on the verge of a decisive victory. Burnside, however, failed to secure the rise on his left flank. Just as he was about to enter the town, Maj. Gen. A. P. HILL's small division, returning from the Harpers Ferry operation, arrived on the ridge. Arrayed on the ridge line, the Confederate troops appeared to confirm McClellan's worst fears about being outnumbered. The Union attack stalled and then withdrew back toward Antietam Creek.

The battle reflected badly on Union leadership: McClellan had Lee's army within his grasp but failed, despite superior resources, to move forward decisively and crush him. Lee remained defiant on September 18, and the Union commander did not use his several fresh corps to finish him off. On the next day, the Southerners withdrew across the Potomac, at the only ford available, without an effective Union pursuit. President Abraham Lincoln, disgusted by McClellan's inability to destroy the Army of Northern Virginia, relieved him of command in November.

This battle was the bloodiest single day in the CIVIL WAR with more than 12,000 Union and almost 14,000 Confederate soldiers killed and wounded. It was one of the first photographed battlefields, and its horrific pictures created shock and dismay among civilians. Nonetheless, the battle granted Lincoln the military pretext he sought to announce his Emancipation Proclamation. This changed the focus of the war from preserving the Union to expanding human freedom and thus discouraged Europeans from entering the conflict.

See also BRADY, MATHEW B.

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—Stephen A. Bourque

### Appomattox campaign (March–April 1865)

In early 1865 military action around RICHMOND and Petersburg, Virginia, was at a strategic impasse. Since June 1864 the Army of Northern Virginia under Gen. ROBERT E. LEE and the Army of the Potomac commanded by Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT had settled into siege operations, erecting an elaborate system of trenches that stretched 35 miles along the periphery of both cities. Over time, Grant had inched his way westward, forcing the Confederates gradually to overextend themselves. Realizing that his exhausted, outnumbered force would not survive the siege indefinitely, Lee ordered an attack on Union lines at Fort Stedman on March 25, 1865. His goal was to buy time for a gradual evacuation of Richmond and avoid encirclement, but the attack was soundly defeated.

Grant then pressed his advantage. He ordered a counterattack on Confederate lines with the full force of his army, commencing with a flanking movement by the cavalry corps under Gen. PHILIP H. SHERIDAN. Sheridan conducted three hard-fought encounters on March 29–31, 1865, at Lewis's Farm, White Oak Road, and Dinwiddie Court House, Virginia. These failed to achieve any major gains; however, on April 1–2 his Army of the Shenandoah smashed Confederate defenses at Five Forks, seizing 4,500 prisoners and a vital crossroads. This success finally positioned Union forces to cut off Lee's retreat completely.

In response, Lee ordered the immediate evacuation of Richmond and Petersburg on April 2. He also advised the Confederate government to relocate as quickly as possible. That night the Confederates under Gen. RICHARD STODDERT EWELL hastily filed out of the Confederate capital amid riots and large-scale fires. As they withdrew, Grant ordered attacks across the entire front. Union forces seized the vital Southside Railroad and ruptured Lee's remaining supply line.

Lee moved his troops southwest near Amelia Court House. His original intent was to resupply his starving men there and then march speedily into North Carolina to unite with the remnants of Gen. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON's Army of Tennessee. But the promised rations failed to appear. After

24 hours, with Union forces skirmishing hard at Namozine Church, on April 3, 1865, Lee elected to withdraw farther west to Lynchburg, where more food was promised. Sheridan's cavalry nipped at his heels. Then on April 6 disaster struck: As the Army of Northern Virginia was spread out in marching formation, superior Union forces set upon them at Saylor's Creek, inflicting a heavy defeat and taking 7,700 prisoners. Undeterred, Lee cobbled together his survivors. While a rear guard under Gen. Fitzhugh Lee bought valuable time by holding off the Union II Corps at the Battle of High Bridge, Lee marched on to Farmville. That evening he received a communiqué from Grant urging him to surrender, but he refused.

As Lee continued his westward march, the Union pursuit was relentless. On April 8 Gen. GEORGE A. CUSTER of Sheridan's command captured Lee's food stocks at Appomattox Station and then assumed blocking positions directly in his path. On the morning of April 9 Lee and his generals determined to attack Sheridan's force and brush him aside. As this maneuver was progressing, however, the Army of the James under General Edward O. C. Ord arrived and reinforced Union positions. With additional Federal troops approaching him on three sides at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA, Lee made the painful decision to send out a flag and request surrender terms from Grant. Though the bedraggled Confederates had performed well under harrowing conditions, the masterful, dogged pursuit by Grant and Sheridan's veterans finally broke the back of Southern resistance.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Appomattox Court House, Virginia (April 9, 1865)

Appomattox Court House was the site of the historic surrender of Confederate forces to Lt. Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT on April 9, 1865. A note from General Grant sums up the feeling of the moment. It was addressed to "General R. E. LEE, Commanding General of the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA" and was dated April 7, 1865. "Dear General," wrote Grant, "The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Va. in this struggle. I feel that it is so and regard it as my duty to shift from myself, the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by ask-



This painting depicts the surrender of Robert E. Lee and his army at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, to General Ulysses S. Grant (*Library of Congress*)

ing of you the surrender of that portion of the C.S. Army known as the Army of Northern Va.”

Grant’s words show that the story of the APPOMATTOX CAMPAIGN of March 25–April 9, 1865, was a grim one for the Confederates. The BATTLE OF FIVE FORKS on April 1, 1865, destroyed the last supply line for the Army of Northern Virginia. Lee’s subsequent evacuation from RICHMOND and Petersburg left his fast-dwindling army hungry and weak. His goal was to escape somehow the clutches of the Federals by going southwest to meet up with Gen. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON’s force in North Carolina. There, the combined Confederate armies could take on Union forces at a spot of their own choosing.

Grant’s cavalry and infantry moved quickly to cut off all escape routes. The Confederates were dealt a heavy blow on April 6, when 80,000 Yankee troops chased after 35,000 of Lee’s men and stopped them from turning south at Saylor’s Creek, near Farmville, where Union forces had captured 7,000 Southern soldiers. The next day, Grant’s note went out to Lee asking him to surrender. Lee refused. Worse was yet to come for the Confederates. On April 8, Gen. PHILIP H. SHERIDAN’s cavalry troops captured two trainloads of rations meant for Lee’s starving troops.

April 9 was Palm Sunday, and early morning found Lee and the remnants of his army in desperate flight across the Appomattox River, headed for the safe har-

bor of Lynchburg, Virginia. A quick look at the massed Federal army blocking the way revealed the hopelessness of the Confederate position, already hobbled by hunger and desertion. Lee said: “There is nothing left for me to do but to go and see General Grant, and I would rather die a thousand deaths.” Grant was nursing a migraine when Lee’s request for an immediate interview to discuss terms of surrender was delivered. Grant wrote later: “I was still suffering with the sick headache; but the instant I saw the contents of the note I was cured.” It was agreed that the two generals would meet in Appomattox Court House, a small community deep in the countryside of Virginia, about 20 miles southeast of Lynchburg. Accompanied only by his aide, Col. Charles Marshall, Lee departed the Confederate camp around noon and began the fateful ride to Appomattox. They were met on the Union picket lines by Gen. GEORGE A. CUSTER, who received their flag and arranged an escort.

A little after 1:30 P.M., Grant and his staff rode into the village and stopped their horses at the two-story brick farmhouse of Wilmer McLean. In the parlor of McLean’s residence sat Robert E. Lee with Col. Marshall, waiting for them. Gen. Lee was dressed in his best uniform, with a beautiful sword by his side, looking every inch the Southern gentleman he was. The commanding general of the Northern armies was much less formal. His dress uniform



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not available, Grant was in his preferred casual field uniform complete with mud splatters from his journey. The two men exchanged some pleasantries. Grant observed his counterpart's emotionless face closely during the conversation and remarked, "What General Lee's feelings were I do not know. As he was a man of much dignity with an impassible face it was impossible to say whether he felt inwardly glad that the end had finally come. . . ."

ELY S. PARKER, Grant's military secretary, brought over a table for him to begin writing out the terms of surrender. "I only knew what was in my mind," reflected Grant. Characteristically direct and simple, Grant's terms were also magnanimous and reflected his and President ABRAHAM LINCOLN's great desire that the beaten Confederates neither be humiliated nor punished. Total defeat was enough. The rebels were to "lay down arms," return home as paroled prisoners, and promise to obey the laws of the United States. Grant would not require Lee to hand over his sword, and Southern officers would be able to keep their side arms. Both officers and enlisted men could bring their horses and mules back with them. "This will have the best possible effect upon the men," Lee said. "It will be very gratifying, and will do much toward conciliating our people." Copies of the surrender were then made, and Lee wrote out a letter accepting the terms. Lee's request for rations for his men was approved, and at 4:00 P.M. the two men shook hands. Lee then mounted his horse, Traveller, and slowly moved down the road to the Confederate camp. Before leaving, Lee turned to Col. Parker, who was a full-blooded Seneca Indian, and remarked, "I'm glad to see one real American here." Parker shot back, "Now we are all Americans."

One of the great ironies of Appomattox is that the owner of the house, McLean, had previously owned a home at Bull Run, Virginia, that had served as the headquarters of Gen. PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD in 1861 and subsequently as a Confederate hospital. Hoping to spare his family from further exposure to combat, McLean had relocated to Appomattox in 1863. His experience highlights how the war inescapably touched many lives. In a final indignity, McLean lost his table. The table upon which the surrender documents were signed was confiscated by Gen. Sheridan and given to Gen. Custer as a gift for his wife.

News of the surrender spread quickly through the Union camps, and soon thousands of soldiers were cheering and throwing their hats into the air. A 100-gun salute was begun, but Grant immediately stopped it, saying, "The war is over. The Rebels are our countrymen again." Perhaps the most common emotion for the weary soldiers of both sides was a great relief that the war, and the killing, was finally over. The great problems of reconstructing the Union and easing the bitterness between North and South lay ahead.

Shortly after Lee's departure, Grant telegraphed EDWIN M. STANTON, the secretary of war: "General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia this afternoon on terms proposed by myself." WASHINGTON, D.C., went wild with happiness. Back at Appomattox, on April 12, the formal ceremony of the laying down of arms occurred in an atmosphere of respectful conciliation. As the weather-beaten Confederates sullenly filed past the victorious Union troops lining the road, Gen. JOSHUA L. CHAMBERLAIN ordered the Federals to present arms as a token of respect. Gen. JOHN B. GORDON, commanding the Southerners, was taken aback at such chivalrous behavior but ordered his own men to do the same, "honor answering honor." There was no sense of gloating on behalf of the victors, only a pervasive sense of relief from both sides that their terrible and mutual ordeal had finally ended. Although several more Confederate armies would surrender in the months to come, the meeting between Grant and Lee at Appomattox Court House is considered the end of the American CIVIL WAR. In 1954 the 1,774-acre site was declared a national historic park by the U.S. Department of the Interior. It has been fully restored to its Civil War appearance.

See also RECONSTRUCTION ACTS; TELEGRAPH.

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### Arlington National Cemetery

The military burial ground and shrine of the United States, Arlington National Cemetery lies on the south bank of the Potomac River, directly opposite WASHINGTON, D.C. The land originally belonged to Martha Washington, wife of President George Washington, and passed down through her grandson George Washington Parke Custis to his daughter, Mary Anne Custis. In 1831 Mary Anne married army officer ROBERT E. LEE, who became strongly attached to the Arlington estate. After Lee sided with the Confederacy in 1861, however, the Union government began a policy of confiscating Southern property to subsidize the war effort, and it seized the estate. (When the Custis family sued for their rights to the land in 1882, the Supreme Court sided with them, and they received \$150,000 in compensation.)

Battles fought near the capital necessitated nearby burial sites, and early in the CIVIL WAR several hundred dead were interred at Arlington in makeshift graves. In 1864

Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs, who was responsible for the burial of military dead, suggested that the government turn the 200-acre facility into a national military cemetery. He did so less out of altruism than anger against Lee and the Confederacy. Secretary EDWIN M. STANTON concurred with the decision, and by 1865 16,000 Union dead had been interred at Arlington, including several thousand unknown soldiers and a handful of Confederates. Among the dead was Meigs's own son, John Rodgers Meigs, who had been killed by Confederate guerrillas. On the first Decoration Day (Memorial Day) in 1868, a vengeful Meigs specifically denied entry to all Southern women who had come to honor Confederate dead.

Animosities subsided slowly. It was not until 1898 that President William McKinley, addressing a new generation of Americans, was able to thank former Confederate veterans for valuable service in the Spanish-American War. Two years later Congress authorized the addition of a Confederate section within Arlington, and in 1906 the UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY were allowed to erect a monument to Southern war dead.

The cemetery landscape has continued to develop since the first monument, the Tomb of the Unknown Dead of the Civil War, was dedicated in 1866. Subsequent additions to Arlington include the Memorial Amphitheater, whose cornerstone was laid by President Woodrow Wilson in 1913, and the mast of the battleship *Maine*, sunk just prior to the Spanish-American War in 1898. In 1921 President Warren G. Harding dedicated the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier as a memorial to all American combatants who fell in World War I; since 1937 the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier has been further distinguished by being constantly guarded by a uniformed military sentry. In 1958 President Dwight D. Eisenhower officiated over ceremonies in which a pair of unknown soldiers, one from World War II and one from the Korean War, were also interred in the structure, now renamed the Tomb of the Unknowns. In 1963 President John F. Kennedy was buried with military honors at Arlington, and his grave was supplied with an eternal flame.

Among the national military luminaries, buried on the site is one of the Civil War's leading heroes—PHILIP H. SHERIDAN—along with more modern figures such as John Pershing, William F. Halsey, Omar Bradley, and Hyman G. Rickover. Gen. Lee, whose land was confiscated to create the cemetery, is also honored by having an avenue named after him. The facility now covers 420 acres of land and entombs 290,000 servicemen and -women of all services, each marked by an individual marble headstone. Arlington is thus one of the nation's largest cemeteries, second only to the Calverton National Cemetery on Long Island, New York, in terms of headstones present. Arlington is also a popular tourist attraction, drawing millions of visitors yearly.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Armistead, Lewis A.** (1817–1863) *Confederate army general*

Confederate general Lewis Addison Armistead was born on February 18, 1817, in New Bern, North Carolina. His parents were army engineer Walker Keith Armistead and Elizabeth Stanly. Raised on his family's farm near Upper-ville, Virginia, Armistead entered the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1834 but was expelled in 1836 for rowdy behavior. Through his father's connections, he joined the Sixth U.S. Infantry as a second lieutenant in 1839, serving in Florida and the West. He fought in the Mexican-American War and was promoted for his bravery at the Battle of Churubusco in 1847. After the war, Armistead was assigned to frontier duty.

Armistead's personal life was marked by tragedy. In 1844 he married fellow Virginian Cecelia Lee Love, who bore him a son and a daughter. The daughter and Cecelia both died in 1850. In 1853 Armistead married a Virginia widow, Cornelia Lee Taliaferro Jamison. An infant son died in 1854, and Cornelia succumbed to cholera in 1855. Armistead's surviving son, Walker Keith Armistead, served as his aide-de-camp during the CIVIL WAR.

Stationed in the Far West in 1861, Armistead resigned from the army and returned to Virginia to fight for the Confederacy. Appointed as colonel of the 57th Virginia Infantry in 1861, Armistead was quickly promoted to brigadier general. He saw significant action in the Battles of Seven Pines and Malvern Hill and was wounded at the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM.

Armistead's heroism at the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, where his brigade fought in Pickett's division, became legendary. Leading his brigade on foot during JAMES LONG-STREET's assault on July 3, 1863, Armistead held his hat aloft on his sword for his men to follow. As the remnants of Pickett's division reached the Federal position on Cemetery Ridge, Armistead shouted, "Come on boys, give them the cold steel. Who will follow me?" Mortally wounded, his final words were addressed to his close friend, Gen. WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK: "Say to General Hancock for me

that I have done him and you all a grievous injury for which I shall always regret.”

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—Amy J. Kinsel

## art

All forms of art, from genre painting to landscape tableaux to portraiture, evolved over the course of the 19th century. There was a blending of European artistic styles with uniquely American themes.

One popular art form was genre painting, which depicted scenes of groups of people interacting in everyday life. The scenes were often comical and sometimes moral and sentimental, featuring portrayals of American stereotypes based on region, race, and gender, such as the crafty Yankee peddler or the hayseed Kentuckian. Artists associated with genre painting included Richard Caton Woodville, George Caleb Bingham, William Sidney Mount, and Lilly Martin Spencer. This art form flourished before the CIVIL WAR but died out after the war when the homey stereotypes no longer rang true. After the Civil War came more-entrenched class, racial, and ethnic divisions. They ceased being comical, and Americans craved more universal images.

Landscape painting also changed over time. Before the Civil War, artists associated with the Hudson River school painted romantic pictures of nature that were rich in shadow and drama. In the landscapes, in the distance, there might be a tiny and solitary person or two overwhelmed in scale by the rendering of the landscape. The paintings



Engraving of flatboat revelers by T. Doney, after the painting by G. C. Bingham (ca. 1847) (*Library of Congress*)

were emotive, inspiring awe and a view of God's presence in nature. Landscape paintings tended to reflect some major themes about Americans' attitudes toward nature and about the relationship of the individual to God. The landscapes of vast territories also resonated with the ideology of Manifest Destiny. A major artist associated with the first generation of the Hudson River school was Thomas Cole (1801–48).

The second generation of the Hudson River school artists took landscape painting in different directions. Around the time of the Civil War, in a style that is now labeled Luminism, landscape artists tried to present a direct, unmediated portrayal of nature. Some scholars have suggested that Luminism was related to the philosophy of Transcendentalism. Painted on small canvases with shiny surfaces, Luminism emphasized light, horizontal planes and could look almost surreal. Martin Johnson Heade's (1819–1904) work falls in this category.

Other landscape artists painted in a more naturalistic fashion. For example, Frederic Edwin Church (1826–1900) attempted to combine scientific truth with a dramatic portrayal of nature. On another front, landscapes of the American West satisfied transatlantic fascination with the land, NATIVE AMERICANS, cowboys, and the like. Albert Bierstadt (1830–1902) painted monumental grand landscapes, from the minutest detail to grandeur. George Caitlin (1796–1872) concentrated on Native Americans. Frederic Remington (1861–1909) became known for his epic cowboy paintings.

In portraiture, an artist was usually commissioned to paint an individual or a family. The patron might have wanted a portrait to reinforce his or her social standing or to portray a memory. Before the advent of PHOTOGRAPHY, many artists painted portraits. Painters who often traveled from town to town proliferated as part of a growing material culture in the first half of the 19th century. In the second half of the century, portraits tended to become more restricted to upper-class clients. Thomas Sully (1783–1872) was Philadelphia's leading portrait painter in the first half of the century, painting more than 2,000 portraits.

Few individual painters are more worthy of note than Thomas Eakins (1844–1916). He realistically portrayed people either in repose or engaged in an activity. Interested in the scientific study of the human form in motion, Eakins emphasized the use of nude models and took anatomy classes. His paintings were intense revelations of character. Not a painter of high society, Eakins rarely received commissions and was not distinguished in his own time, although now he is considered one of America's great portrait painters.

Perhaps the most famous artist of the 19th century was Winslow Homer (1836–1910), known for his freshness of observation and unsophisticated style. Starting with his early paintings—bucolic scenes of rural life and recreation—he



rose to prominence as an illustrator and a painter of Civil War soldiers and Union camp life. Beginning in the 1880s, Homer grew progressively more serious in outlook and somber in color. His dramatic and heroic paintings portrayed a Darwinian contest of man against nature, most often in the form of a stormy sea. His view of nature as a source of elemental danger differed from the attitudes of early landscapists, for whom nature evoked reverence and awe.

As the influence of modernization began to be reflected in the paintings of Winslow Homer and others, so too was the influence of European artistic currents. Throughout the 19th century, many artists made trips abroad to study the old masterpieces and learn contemporary styles. When the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Philadelphia Museum of Art both opened in 1870, a large portion of the work exhibited was European. Some American artists, such as Mary Cassatt and James McNeill Whistler, worked entirely within a European framework, and John Singer Sargent's work reflected international inclinations.

See also **FASHION**.

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—Jaclyn Greenberg

**assassination of Abraham Lincoln** (April 14, 1865) “Sic semper tyrannis!” These words, which translate as “thus always to tyrants,” were spoken by Brutus as he assassinated Julius Caesar in the play by William Shakespeare. When the famous actor JOHN WILKES BOOTH shouted the phrase after leaping to the stage during a Ford's Theatre performance of *Our American Cousin* on April 14, 1865, most of the audience assumed he was part of the cast. It was not until he had disappeared into the wings that it became clear that he had just shot President ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

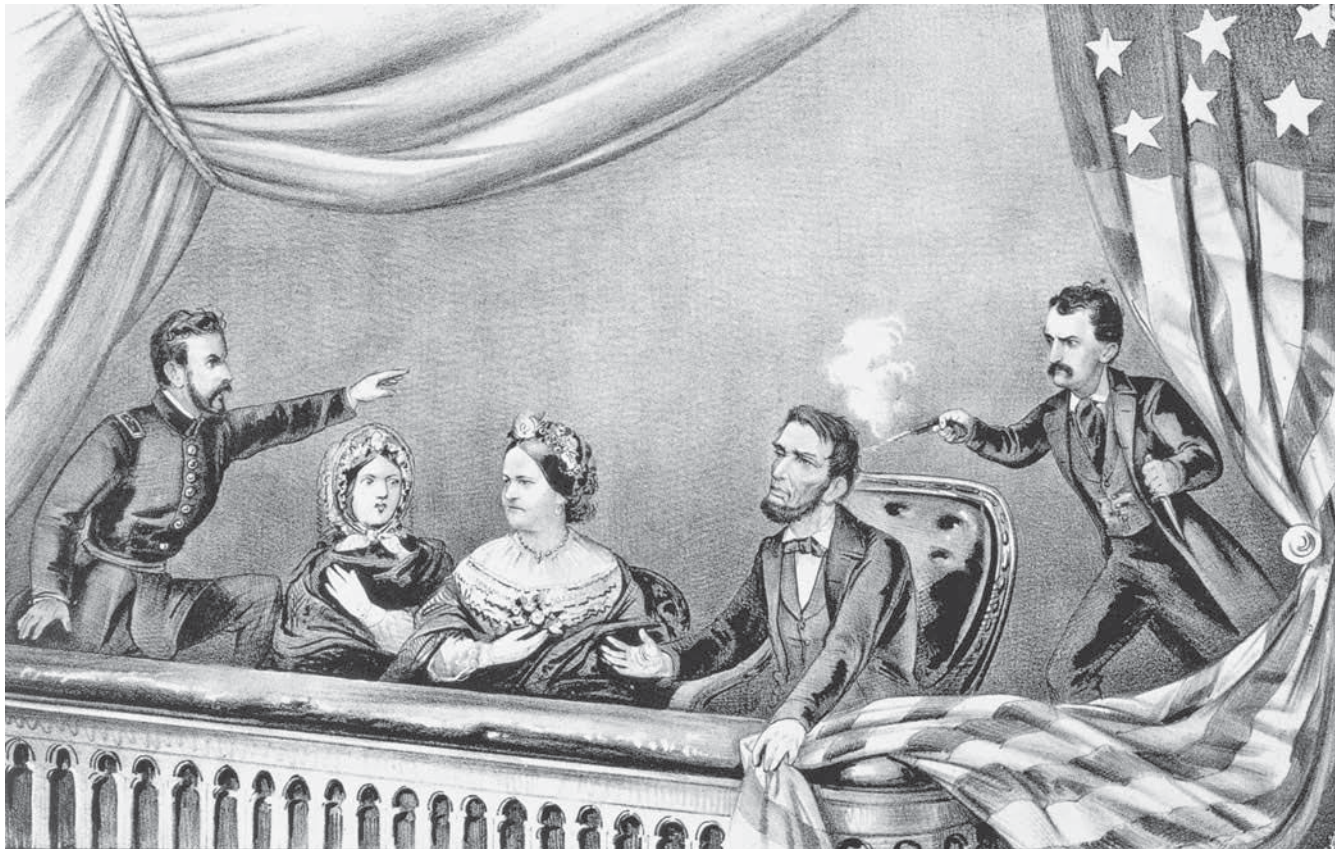
The notion of Booth as an assassin was shocking to those in the audience that night, many of whom had seen him perform on that very stage. Indeed, the idea might even have been shocking to Booth himself in the early years of the CIVIL WAR. A Marylander, Booth was pro-Southern from the outset, describing SLAVERY as “a blessing.” In the early years of the war, however, he was not especially devoted in his commitment to the Confederacy. In deference to his mother's wishes, he did not enlist in the army, and his actions on behalf of the cause were largely limited to occasional smuggling of medical supplies from the North to the South.

Over time, Booth's militancy grew, as did his desire to do something dramatic to help the sagging fortunes of the Confederacy. Finally, in the summer of 1864, Booth came up with a plan. During the summer months, WASHINGTON, D.C., was hot, humid, and filled with mosquitoes. To escape the miserable climate, President Lincoln was in the habit of spending his nights at the Soldiers' Home on the outskirts of the city. Booth hoped to capture Lincoln during one of these trips and take him hostage. In addition to creating chaos in the North, Booth's hope was that he could exchange Lincoln for Confederate prisoners of war, who were no longer being exchanged for Union prisoners as a result of an April 1864 order by Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT.

Booth knew he needed accomplices, so he recruited two childhood friends, Samuel Arnold and Michael O'Laughlin. They readily agreed, and Booth began his scheming in earnest. He also began to scout out escape routes through southern Maryland. In December 1864 he met John Surratt, who would prove to be a valuable ally. Surratt, like Booth, was engaged in smuggling on behalf of the Confederacy, and he was intimately familiar with the terrain between Washington, D.C., and Virginia. He was also in contact with a network of pro-Southern sympathizers, including David E. Herold and George Atzerodt, both of whom quickly agreed to join the conspiracy. The number of participants grew to seven in March 1865, when Booth enlisted escaped prisoner of war Lewis Powell, who preferred to use the alias Lewis Paine. Booth even went so far as to arrange to have his \$15,000 theatrical wardrobe transported to the South, making the assumption that he would resume his acting career after the kidnapping.

After more than six months of effort, Booth had made all the necessary arrangements for the kidnapping plot, and he had all the men he needed. By this time, however, summer was long over, and the president no longer traveled back and forth to the Soldiers' Home. Other attempts to catch the president while he was vulnerable came to nothing. And so, toward the end of March 1865, Booth gathered his coconspirators and proposed a new plan, wherein the president would be kidnapped while watching a play at Ford's Theatre in Washington. The idea was not well-received because the odds of all seven men escaping successfully were very low. Booth was unwilling to budge, and Samuel Arnold, Michael O'Laughlin, and John Surratt left the group.

Without enough men to pull off a kidnapping, Booth began to get desperate. On April 3, 1865, the Confederate government fled RICHMOND, which meant that there was nowhere to hold Lincoln hostage even if he were kidnapped. On April 9, the Army of Northern Virginia surrendered, and Booth knew that time was quickly running out for him to put a stop to Lincoln's “lawless tyranny.” On the morning of April 14 he heard that the president would



Engraving showing the assassination of Abraham Lincoln by John Wilkes Booth at Ford's Theatre (Hulton/Archive)

be at the THEATER that evening. It was Good Friday. Booth concluded that this was his last chance and that, since he lacked the resources for a kidnapping, he would have to resort to murder.

Booth still had three coconspirators left, and he found roles for them to play on the evening of April 14, although he did not tell them until 8:00 P.M. that evening, two hours before they were supposed to carry out their assignments. Atzerodt was instructed to kill Vice President ANDREW JOHNSON, while Paine was supposed to take the life of Secretary of State WILLIAM H. SEWARD. Herold, meanwhile, was responsible for helping the mentally retarded Paine find his way out of Washington. In the end, neither Paine nor Atzerodt was successful. Paine inflicted several serious stab wounds on Seward but failed to kill him, while Atzerodt lost his nerve and never made an attempt to kill Johnson.

After giving Atzerodt, Paine, and Herold their assignments, Booth headed over to Ford's Theatre. He had no difficulty gaining access to the president's box, aided by his celebrity as an actor as well as lax security. Though Lincoln had received many threats on his life, there were few precautions taken to ensure his safety. In part, this

was because an earlier attempt to protect the president's life—by sneaking him into Washington before his inauguration—had caused a great deal of political embarrassment. And in part it was because Lincoln felt that such protection was impractical.

Lincoln did have a personal bodyguard, Ward Hill Lamon, but at Lincoln's request Lamon traveled to Richmond on the night of April 14. MARY TODD LINCOLN selected a temporary replacement from the ranks of the Washington, D.C., police department, John H. Parker. Parker had a poor record and had a reputation for laziness. Shortly after the play started, he abandoned his post to watch the performance. Booth proceeded without challenge to the president's box.

Observing Lincoln through a hole he had drilled in the door of the president's box earlier in the day, Booth waited for the big laugh coming at the beginning of the third act that would cover the sound of the gunshot. When the moment came, Booth entered the box and shot Lincoln in the back of the head with a single-shot Derringer pistol. He scuffled briefly with Maj. Henry Reed Rathbone, who had joined the president's party at the last minute when General and Mrs. Grant had decided not to attend the play.



Having slashed Rathbone with a hunting knife, Booth then leapt the 12 feet to the stage, breaking his leg in the process, and made his exit.

After being shot, Lincoln was carried across the street to the Peterson house. Dr. Charles Leale, who had been in attendance at the play, attended Lincoln initially and was eventually joined by several other surgeons, including Lincoln's personal physician. They all realized there was nothing that could be done. The president faded quickly and died early on the morning of April 15 without regaining consciousness. "Now he belongs to the ages," said Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON.

Booth fled Washington, trying to work his way South, where he felt he would be hailed as a hero. He was badly mistaken. Slowed by his broken leg, Booth was eventually trapped in a Virginia farmhouse. After refusing to surrender, he was shot and killed, never to answer for his crime. A military tribunal tried eight of Booth's alleged coconspirators. The hastily conducted trial resulted in death sentences for Herold, Paine, Atzerodt, and Mary Surratt. Four others were sentenced to prison terms. Many people thought the assassination a Confederate plot, funded and supported by JEFFERSON DAVIS's administration. In the years after the trial, some have argued this point of view, with others suggesting that there was a conspiracy within the Union itself. However, no compelling evidence exists linking any person or group to the assassination besides Booth and his three accomplices. Conspiratorial notions nonetheless persist into modern times, as witnessed by the great number of publications on the topic.

The entire nation was shocked by Lincoln's death, and it triggered an intense period of mourning and solemnity. On April 18, 1865, his body lay in state in the East Room of the White House, and his funeral took place the following day. Thousands of mourners paid their respects there and in the rotunda of the Capitol on April 20. On April 21 the president's remains were placed on a special funeral train and began the 1,700-mile journey home to Illinois. Scheduled stops in PHILADELPHIA, NEW YORK CITY, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Chicago were all heavily attended by a grieving public. Lincoln was laid to rest at Oak Ridge Cemetery in Springfield, Illinois, the first chief executive to die at the hands of an assassin.

The assassination held dramatic ramifications throughout the postwar period. Without the president's experienced hand, national reconciliation proved difficult. The work of reconstructing the shattered nation was left to Vice President Johnson, who was sworn in as president by Chief Justice SALMON P. CHASE several hours after the assassination. Johnson proved to be ill-equipped for the task that Lincoln left behind. His mishandling of the situation led to his impeachment and allowed the RADICAL REPUBLICANS

to gain control of RECONSTRUCTION policy. The result was a difficult time in the political life of the nation that might have unfolded in a very different fashion if Lincoln had lived. Nearly a century elapsed before the Civil Rights Act of 1964 finally granted African Americans political rights and freedoms that had proved impossible to secure in the wake of Lincoln's passing.

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—Christopher Bates

### Atlanta campaign (May–September 1864)

During the spring and summer of 1864, Union forces under the command of WILLIAM T. SHERMAN battled to take control of Atlanta, Georgia. On September 2, 1864, the mayor of Atlanta surrendered the city to the Union general. "Atlanta is ours, and fairly won," exulted Sherman in a TELEGRAPH to his commander in chief. Sherman's triumph secured the election of 1864 for Lincoln and the REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Plans for the capture of Atlanta, the Confederacy's largest railroad hub, as well as the destruction of JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON's Army of Tennessee, were first formulated in February and March 1864. ULYSSES S. GRANT hoped that the Atlanta campaign, in tandem with Union offensives in Virginia, would ultimately destroy the Confederacy. In Atlanta, the Union planned to tear up Southern railroad lines and cut off all supplies to Confederate troops. Grant left the specifics of each campaign up to the commander assigned to it.

In April, Sherman revealed his plan. He proposed to push Johnston and his soldiers back to Atlanta, cut off all railroad lines, and then force a Confederate retreat and surrender of the city. To achieve these goals, Sherman had by May 1864 assembled a "grand army" of 110,000 men composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillerymen from the Union's Army of the Cumberland, Army of Tennessee, and

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Army of the Ohio. Sherman held another 93,500 soldiers ready for duty at Union posts in Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, and Mississippi. Sherman's "grand army" would outnumber Johnston's nearly two to one. Confident in his numerical advantage, Sherman assured Grant of his army's ability to defeat the Southern troops.

The fight for Atlanta, which would be contested across much of northern Georgia, got underway near Dalton on May 5, when Union skirmishers engaged Confederate pickets. Although some Southern troops successfully held their positions, others had trouble. Johnston's use of reinforcements ultimately forced the enemy to withdraw temporarily, but the Union troops were not to be deterred. By May 9, Northern forces threatened Johnston from two sides—Resaca and Dalton. Johnston took his forces south to Resaca on May 12 to meet the enemy.

From May 13 to May 15, the two sides engaged each other in the Battle of Resaca. Neither side gained an advantage during the first day of fighting, but on the second day, the Confederates managed to drive the enemy back. However, after hearing reports of Union successes in gaining position, Johnston scrapped his plan of a morning attack on May 15 and instead evacuated his forces to Calhoun and then Adairsville. Casualties at Resaca numbered 5,100 Confederates and 6,500 Federals.



Ruins of a train depot, blown up on William T. Sherman's departure from Atlanta, Georgia (Library of Congress)

After his retreat, Johnston planned to ambush the Federals on the Cassville road. He positioned his troops by early morning May 19, but after Union forces flanked JOHN BELL HOOD's corps, the entire army retreated to wait for a Union attack. When Johnston's commanders disagreed over the army's position, the Army of Tennessee evacuated on May 20 to Allatoona, near the Etowah River. Union and Confederate armies met again on May 24 at the Battle of New Hope Church near Allatoona and, on May 28, the Battle of Dallas. The Confederates' strong defensive position allowed them to drive back five Union attacks and stop Union advances.

By June 4, Johnston and his troops held a strong position in the hills between the Etowah River and Atlanta. They ultimately withdrew about two miles to Kennesaw Mountain, from where they could survey the surrounding countryside and protect themselves from the enemy. Sherman, not deterred by the strength of the Confederate position, launched a full-scale attack on the Confederate lines on June 27. The resulting Battle of Kennesaw Mountain ended in 3,000 Federal and 552 Confederate casualties.

Sherman continued to force Confederate retreats throughout July—to Smyrna on July 3, the Chattahoochee River on July 6, and south of the river on July 9. The retreats would ultimately lead to the dismissal of Johnston as a commander. Throughout the campaign, Confederate president JEFFERSON DAVIS and military advisor BRAXTON BRAGG had expressed their lack of confidence in Johnston. In mid-July, frustrated with Confederate retreats and fearful that Atlanta would fall, Davis removed Johnston from his post, giving John Bell Hood command of the Army of Tennessee on July 18.

Hood pursued an aggressive strategy. On July 20, Southern troops launched an unsuccessful attack on Sherman at Peachtree Creek. The unorganized Confederates suffered a high number of casualties during the offensive. Hood launched a second assault, the Battle of Atlanta, on July 22. Again, Southern forces suffered defeat at the hands of their enemies. Hood led yet another unsuccessful attack on the Union troops at the Battle of Ezra Church on July 28. In his short tenure as commander, Hood had lost 17,500 men. He saw no option but retreat into Atlanta, where he and his troops waited for Sherman's next move.

Union troops laid siege to Atlanta, continually bombarding the city for the next 40 days. The danger scared the city's inhabitants, many of whom fled. The siege also ended municipal government in Atlanta, with the mayor Thomas Calhoun and the city council meeting for the last time on July 18.

Sherman moved his troops to the south side of Atlanta at the end of August, hoping to cut the last rail line and then lure Confederate troops out of the city. Once Sherman and his men had taken their positions, they ceased

firing and waited for the Confederate response. Hood ordered an attack at Jonesboro on August 31, but again Union forces easily defeated the Southern offensive. This was Hood's fourth and last attempt to protect and hold Atlanta. The series of defeats had resulted in a loss of 25 percent of Hood's army. The commander evacuated his troops from Atlanta on September 1, 1864.

As they evacuated, Southern troops destroyed any ammunition and military stores that they could not take with them. The next morning, Atlanta's mayor and a group of citizens officially surrendered the city to Sherman. By noon, Sherman and his troops occupied and controlled

the city. The Union occupied Atlanta until November 15, 1864, when they torched the city before embarking on SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA.

See also REFUGEES.

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—Lisa Tendrich Frank





### Balloon Corps

Lighter-than-air balloons were first developed in France in the 1780s by brothers Joseph and Jacques de Montgolfier. Not long thereafter, French officials started using balloons on a limited basis for military purposes. Despite this precedent, as well as the obvious value of being able to see enemy positions from above, American military leaders were hesitant to use the technology in the years before the CIVIL WAR. In part, this was due to the unpredictability of balloons, whose flight could be difficult to control once they were in the air. The reluctance to use balloons also stemmed from a general unwillingness to try new and different approaches to warfare. Opposition to ballooning finally began to break down during the Civil War, when leaders on both sides experimented with the technology.

Over the course of the 1840s and 1850s, a number of Americans made names for themselves as balloon pilots, or aeronauts. These included John Wise, James Allen, John LaMountain, and Professor Thaddeus Lowe. When the Civil War broke out, several of these men made their way to WASHINGTON, D.C., to suggest the use of balloons to military and political officials. Lowe had the best political connections, and after staging several balloon demonstrations he was able to arrange a meeting with President ABRAHAM LINCOLN on June 11, 1861. Lincoln was impressed with what he heard and was even more impressed a week later, when Lowe sent him a telegram from a balloon using a wire that stretched from the ground into the air. Lowe continued to stage demonstrations, during which he took a number of important military leaders up into the air, including Irwin McDowell, Fitz-John Porter, and GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN. Finally, on August 2, 1861, Lincoln summoned Lowe for a meeting with Union general in chief Winfield Scott, and he was hired to build and pilot balloons for the U.S. military.

Lowe immediately got to work, determined to prove how valuable he and his balloons could be. On September 24, 1861, he used a TELEGRAPH line and signal flags to

direct Union artillery fire at Confederate positions around Falls Church. Emboldened by his success, Lowe went to McClellan, commander of the Army of the Potomac. Lowe suggested that an official Balloon Corps be formed, and McClellan agreed. The general named Lowe as chief aeronaut of the Army of the Potomac and instructed him to recruit more pilots and to build six balloons and the 12 generators needed to fill the balloons with hydrogen. A total of 10 men served at one time or another as pilots in the United States Balloon Corps.

Lowe's corps had a number of successes in 1862. He and his staff modified a coal barge, the *George Washington Parke Custis*, so that it could transport balloons and fuel them with hydrogen. The *George Washington Parke Custis* thus became the world's first aircraft carrier. The U.S. Balloon Corps also conducted hundreds of flights that provided valuable intelligence during McClellan's PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN. For example, one of McClellan's adjutants wrote that "it may safely be claimed that the UNION ARMY was saved from destruction at the Battle of Fair Oaks . . . by the frequent and accurate reports of Professor Lowe."

The removal of George B. McClellan from command after the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM began the downfall of Lowe and his corps. McClellan's successor, Gen. JOSEPH HOOKER, insisted on exercising a great deal of oversight over Lowe's operations. The egotistical Lowe was used to operating with virtual autonomy, and his pride was hurt. After several months of bickering, he resigned in May 1862, and the Balloon Corps was dissolved. The generals that followed Hooker saw little value in the technology and did not pursue it. Lowe continued to give demonstrations for naval leaders as late as 1864, but they were also uninterested.

The Confederacy also experimented with balloons, although on a more limited basis. Union soldiers reported sighting a Confederate balloon as early as June 14, 1861. Although these reports were never verified, Confederates certainly had balloons in use during the Peninsular



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campaign of 1862. EDWARD P. ALEXANDER, who would eventually become commander of artillery in the Army of Northern Virginia, was the Confederacy's most successful aeronaut. In particular, he helped coordinate troop movements from a balloon during the Seven Days' Battle.

Although they never formally organized a ballooning unit, the Confederates continued to use balloons through the rest of the year, particularly in connection with the defense of Charleston. As was the case with the Union, however, Confederate experiments in ballooning largely ended after 1862. The Confederacy lacked the resources to make balloons or to construct the hydrogen generators necessary to fill them. Beyond that, the Confederacy had less use for the intelligence provided by balloons because their superior cavalry was generally able to accurately and quickly discern troop locations and strength.

Ultimately, the Civil War represented a small step toward the era of large-scale aerial warfare. A precedent had been set, and balloons would play a much larger role in the United States's next major conflict, the Spanish-American War of 1898. By the time of World War I, planes would begin to replace balloons, and war in the air would become as important as war on land or at sea.

See also TACTICS AND STRATEGY.

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—Christopher Bates

### Baltimore, Maryland, riots (April 19, 1861)

The Baltimore riots of April 19, 1861, saw some of the first casualties of the CIVIL WAR. For several days after the riots, Northerners worried that Maryland had joined the Confederacy.

Maryland was part of the upper South, a tier of states extending from Delaware to Missouri. The SECESSION issue deeply divided these states, for while they permitted SLAVERY, all had deep commercial links to the North. In addition, all had fewer slaves than their Confederate sisters, and in some ways their societies reflected Northern values. For the Union, Maryland's strategic significance was enormous: If the state seceded, the Confederacy would surround the Union capital of WASHINGTON, D.C.

Any Northern troops bound for Washington, D.C., had to pass through Baltimore. On April 19, 1861, the Sixth Massachusetts Infantry arrived, the first Northern unit to enter the city. Because no direct rail line ran all the way through Baltimore, the soldiers disembarked at the President Street Station and prepared to make their way across

town to the Calvert Street Station. To avoid confrontation, troops did not march but instead remained in railway cars, pulled by horses down a connecting line between the two stations.

Fearing that the UNION ARMY would occupy Maryland before the state could even consider joining the Confederacy, angry secessionists attacked the rail cars, injuring a few soldiers. Members of the Sixth Massachusetts opened fire. At the end of the day, four soldiers and 12 civilians had been killed. Soon after, Confederate sympathizers began destroying bridges and TELEGRAPH lines linking Washington to the rest of the country.

Following behind the Sixth Massachusetts with the Eighth Massachusetts, Gen. BENJAMIN F. BUTLER learned of the riots and found an alternative route through Annapolis, reaching Washington on April 25, to ABRAHAM LINCOLN's profound relief. Butler then turned back into Maryland, restored the state's rail lines, and occupied Baltimore.

On May 8, continuing concern over Baltimore's loyalties prompted a declaration of martial law. Over the next several months, the Union army arrested Baltimore's mayor, police marshal, and a number of other leading citizens for their alleged role in the riot or support of secession. In a controversial decision, Lincoln suspended the right of HABEAS CORPUS in these cases. With the leading supporters of secession imprisoned and the Union army in control of the state, Unionists won Maryland's November 1861 election, effectively ensuring Maryland's political loyalty.

See also PEACE MOVEMENT.

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—Tom Laichas

### banking and currency

In the years before the CIVIL WAR, the relationship between banks and currency was generally quite simple. The federal government, some state governments, and many private banks issued currency that was backed by either silver or gold held in the vaults of the issuing institution. The currency could be redeemed for the metal that backed it; for example, a \$20 note issued by the federal government could be taken to a government depository and exchanged for \$20 worth of gold. During the Civil War, the demands of a wartime ECONOMY necessitated the creation of a more complex financial system than the one the nation had known in the antebellum era, with profound effects in both the North and the South.

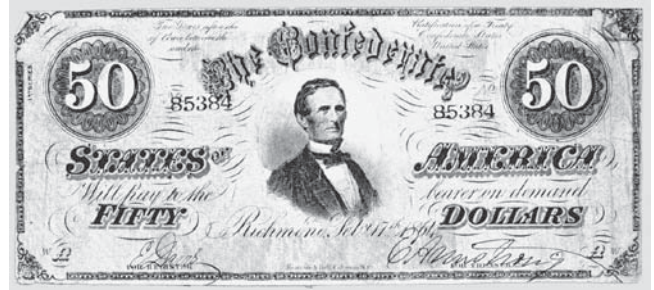
At the outset of the war, the Confederacy enjoyed one important economic advantage over the Union. Despite

its vastly larger economy, the North had a fairly primitive banking system. Northern banks were largely independent of one another, and coordinated action between them was generally difficult. Even simple tasks, such as the transfer of funds, could only be accomplished through a labyrinthine system of informal agreements and personal alliances. The Southern banking system, on the other hand, was structured in a fashion that was decidedly more modern. Most Southern banks had a central office chartered by the government of the state in which it was located. This central office, in turn, was empowered to establish branches in the various townships of the state. Branch banking is a much more efficient way to move money around as it is needed and to transmit information about local financial conditions.

Whatever advantages could be derived from the South's strong banking system, however, were soon outweighed by the weakness of Confederate currency. There are two things upon which a currency is generally based. The first is precious metals such as gold and silver, also known as specie. Specie provided the basis for the vast majority of currency in the antebellum era. The second is the backing of a stable and responsible government. Money of this sort is called fiat currency and is the basis of most modern economies. The South began the war with very little specie in its possession. As such, Confederate treasury Secretary Christopher Memminger had no choice but to utilize fiat currency, with the promise that notes printed by the government would be redeemable in specie two years after the war ended. This arrangement would prove to be disastrous for the financial system of the South.

To start, the South had great difficulty printing the currency it required. Skilled engravers were needed to make the plates to print paper money, and the entire South had only three men who were qualified. The special paper that was needed was also in short supply. The Confederates had even more problems making coins. The government had seized several U.S. mints, but it lacked the materials or expertise to use the equipment. A die for a 50-cent coin was struck, but it broke after only four coins had been minted. No further attempts were made, and so the Confederacy had no coins in circulation during the war.

Once the Confederate government had finally managed to print some paper money, it ran into the much greater problem of keeping its "bluebacks" stable. The government had difficulty raising enough money through taxes and bond issues, so it was compelled to print increasing quantities of fiat currency. State and local governments were forced to do the same. With far too much money in circulation, inflation became rampant. The situation was made worse by the fact that Confederate currency was not designated by the Congress as legal tender. What this meant was that people and businesses were not required by



Confederate currency (Private collection)

law to accept Confederate money as payment for goods and services. In part, the withholding of legal status for Confederate currency reflected Southern distrust of a strong central government. In addition, it was meant to inspire confidence in Confederate currency by making a statement that Confederate money was so strong that people would not have to be forced to accept it. In the end, however, the plan backfired. Southerners declined Confederate currency whenever possible, since they were legally able to do so, preferring to utilize specie or barter or even Union currency for their transactions. This tendency contributed to the rapid devaluation of Confederate money. At the end of 1861, the Confederate dollar was worth approximately 80 cents worth of gold. By 1865 a Confederate dollar had fallen to about 1.5 cents worth of gold.

The banking system might have been able to mitigate some of these difficulties, but the Confederate government demanded too much of the banks. In April 1861, the Congress passed a law requiring banks to purchase government bonds in amounts proportional to the banks' resources. This compulsory loan drained the banks of their specie and the currency they had printed, both of which were vastly more stable than the bonds they were receiving in return. Over the next several years, the government made the situation worse through excessive TAXATION on banks, additional forced loans, and its inability to control inflation. The ongoing war also took its toll. Slaves and land comprised a large portion of Southern banks' assets, and as Union armies conquered territory and freed slaves, these assets were lost. The banks also suffered from manpower shortages, as men were compelled to leave their jobs to take up arms. In the face of all these difficulties, the South's banking system had essentially collapsed by the end of the war.

On the Union side, the situation was far less bleak. Despite the North's poorly organized banking system, the strong Northern economy and an abundance of specie kept the economy fairly stable for nearly two years, allowing the government to finance the war effort with relative ease. Eventually, the mounting costs of the war required action on the part of the Union government, and between 1862

and 1864 a series of banking and currency acts were passed by the Congress. In 1862 the Legal Tender Act provided for the printing of \$150 million in fiat currency and specified that these GREENBACKS, as they came to be called, would be legal tender for all transactions except the payment of interest on bonds. In 1863 the National Banking Act was passed, which allowed for the charter of national banks that could print currency backed by government bonds. This system, devised largely by Secretary of the Treasury SALMON P. CHASE, had several benefits. First, it greatly strengthened the bonds issued by the U.S. government by creating demand for them. National banks would be required to purchase the bonds, and other investors would be attracted by the payments of interest in specie. Strong bonds made it much easier for the government to raise money to finance the war.

Chase's system also helped stabilize the fiat currency that the government had begun printing in 1862. In part, this was because the currency was now backed by strong bonds issued by a stable government. The Union also benefited by learning from the mistakes of the Confederacy. In choosing to make greenbacks legal tender, the Union government compelled its citizens to utilize its paper money. In 1864 the Congress passed an act establishing a 10 percent tax for currency printed by state banks. This effectively took state banks out of the money-printing business, thus allowing the federal government to maintain tight control of the amount of money in circulation. By giving its currency a strong backing, requiring the use of greenbacks as a medium of exchange, and keeping a lid on the amount of dollars in print, the Union essentially managed to avoid the inflation that crippled the Confederacy. Over the course of the war, inflation was only about 80 percent in the Union, compared with 9,000 percent in the Confederacy.

The changes in America's financial systems during the Civil War had a variety of implications in the postwar era. Although the North emerged from the war with a robust economy, the nation's financial systems ultimately took a step backward in the years after the war ended. The Union and Confederacy had utilized some of the hallmarks of modern finance, such as fiat currency and branch banks, but after the war these were largely abandoned by Northern bankers and government authorities. Instead, the North was left with a banking system that was not well suited to the conservative economic climate of the postbellum years nor to the rapid expansion of the industrial era.

The negative impact of the Civil War on banks and finance was felt even more keenly in the South. Many Southerners lost most or all of their money when the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT forbade repayment of bonds issued by the Confederate government. Even more devastating was the situation created by the near total absence of banks in the South. Without the credit offered by banks,

poor white people and freedmen had virtually no hope of acquiring the land and materials necessary to be independent farmers. Many of the South's poorest citizens, especially the freedmen, were forced into informal borrowing or into SHARECROPPING. The borrower in these situations had few legal protections in terms of how much interest could be charged or how disputes could be resolved. The end result was the creation of a class of permanently indebted citizens. Undoubtedly, the failures of RECONSTRUCTION can be traced in part to the disastrous state of the financial system of the South after the Civil War.

See also FREEDMAN'S SAVING BANK.

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—Christopher Bates

**Banks, Nathaniel P.** (1816–1894) *politician, Union general*

Nathaniel Prentiss Banks was a politician who held national office under three different political parties and a Union general. Born in Waltham, Massachusetts, on January 16, 1816, Banks was the son of a textile factory foreman. He initially worked in the mills, but, disliking physical labor, he studied law and was admitted to the state bar in 1839. He then persistently sought public office.

Banks was elected to the Massachusetts state legislature in 1849, and two years later he became its speaker. In 1852 he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives as a Democrat. Disillusioned with the DEMOCRATIC PARTY's stance on SLAVERY, he aligned himself with the American Party (or Know-Nothing Party) in 1854, the same year he became Speaker of the House, and joined the newly formed REPUBLICAN PARTY in 1856. In 1857 he was elected to the first of three consecutive terms as governor of Massachusetts.

When President ABRAHAM LINCOLN called for volunteers in April 1861, Banks gained appointment as major general of volunteers to shore up New England's support. Like most other political generals, he lacked experience in the art of war, and his performance in the field was commensurately poor. Immediately after the Union debacle at BULL RUN on July 21, 1861, Banks was appointed commander of Federal troops in the strategic SHENANDOAH VALLEY. The following spring, on May 25, 1862, he was soundly defeated by Gen. THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACK-



SON at Winchester. On August 9, 1862, he was roughly handled by Gen. AMBROSE P. HILL at Cedar Mountain, Virginia, where the Confederates captured so many Union supplies at the time that Banks was derisively labeled "Commissary Banks."

Although complaints about his lackluster leadership mounted, Lincoln sent him to New Orleans, Louisiana, in November 1862 to replace another controversial political general, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER. In spring 1863 Banks returned to the field to reduce the fortified enclave at Port Hudson, Louisiana. He botched the effort and was bloodily repulsed in three major attacks on May 27, June 11, and June 14. His RADICAL REPUBLICAN allies in Congress kept him well protected, however, and in spring 1864 he received his most important military assignment: mounting an expedition up the Red River. Banks campaigned indifferently and on April 8 was badly beaten at Sabine Cross Roads by Confederates under Gen. Richard Taylor. He never again held a field command and resigned his commission in August 1865.

After the war Banks resumed his political activities with considerable success, returning to Congress repeatedly: He served as representative from Massachusetts in 1865–73, 1875–79, and 1889–91. In this capacity he changed his party affiliation twice more, from Republican to Democrat and back again. He died in Waltham, on September 1, 1894.

See also RED RIVER CAMPAIGN; SHENANDOAH VALLEY: JACKSON'S CAMPAIGN.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Barton, Clara** (1821–1912) *social activist, health reformer*

CIVIL WAR nurse Clara Barton was the founder of the American Association of the Red Cross and served as its president for 23 years. She was born on Christmas Day in 1821 and spent her youth in North Oxford, Massachusetts. A shy but determined child, she was educated informally at home by her older sisters and brothers and attended local schools. In turn, she taught in neighboring schools when she was 18. After a year of advanced study at the Liberal Institute of Clinton, New York, Barton returned to teaching. She successfully founded the first public school in Bordentown, New Jersey, in 1852. Moving to WASHINGTON, D.C., she was appointed a clerk in the United States Patent

Office by a Republican senator. When the administration changed hands in 1857 with a Democratic victory, she lost her post and returned to her hometown.

The needs of soldiers during the Civil War engaged Barton, launching a new direction in her life's work. Her outstanding contribution to the war effort was to gather supplies and provisions for the soldiers, who were in short supply of bandages, medicine, and food. Witnessing the absence of any medical facilities at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN, she took it upon herself to advertise for supplies in a Massachusetts newspaper and gather the provisions. In 1862 she and a few friends began to distribute the supplies to military hospitals and to the men at the battlefield. Traveling by mule team, they traversed Virginia and Maryland, heading to the battlefields. Barton was amazingly resourceful at giving aid during and immediately after a battle. She provided candles for a doctor treating wounded soldiers at night, for example, and prepared soup and coffee for thousands of men in the midst of the fighting. Barton became less active at the battlefield as the war progressed and the Union established commissions to provide for and nurse the sick.

After the war Barton undertook the daunting task of tracing the identity of the war dead. With President ABRAHAM LINCOLN's approval, she established an office where she and a few assistants published the names of the missing in newspapers, soliciting information from returned soldiers and ex-prisoners of war. She organized the information she received and wrote to the soldiers' families. In addition, with the help of an ex-prisoner, she identified those who died in the infamous ANDERSONVILLE PRISON in Georgia and marked their graves. Between identifying the missing and lecturing around the country about her war experiences, she suffered a nervous collapse and retreated to Europe in 1869.

It was in Switzerland that Barton found a new way to broaden her mission of providing for people in need. At the Geneva Convention, organized to bring humane assistance to war zones throughout the world, the International Committee of the Red Cross was established as a neutral body offering aid to wounded soldiers and medical personnel. Belligerent countries were to yield to the emblem of a red cross on a white background. Barton worked for the International Red Cross during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71.

Back in the United States, after convalescing from another breakdown, Barton campaigned tirelessly for the United States to ratify the Geneva Treaty. Finally, in 1882, Barton's campaign succeeded. President Arthur signed the Geneva Treaty. Two weeks later the Senate ratified it.

At the same time, Barton had launched a crusade for the establishment of an American Red Cross. She educated the public about the Red Cross through lectures and



Clara Barton (National Archives)

a pamphlet she wrote. Barton's conception of an American Red Cross included offering relief in times of natural disasters such as floods, railway accidents, and droughts as well as in battle. In 1881 Barton and prominent associates organized the American Association of the Red Cross. Barton was chosen president, a post she held, with just one short interruption, until 1904. During her tenure the organization provided relief in 21 disasters, including a heavy flood in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, the Russian famine of 1892, and a yellow fever epidemic in Florida.

Barton had specific ideas about the way the American Red Cross should be run. She opposed government subsidies, preferring to appeal to the public in time of crisis. Keeping a tight rein on the organization, she alone judged when the need for relief was genuine. She managed all the finances and went into the field to do the work of relief herself. At the age of 77 she traveled by mule cart in Cuba to provide aid during the Spanish-American War. Barton also broadened the focus of relief to encompass rehabilitation. Assistance included material for building houses and agricultural tools where needed. In the Galveston hurricane disaster, for example, the Red Cross provided strawberry plants to enable farmers to resume AGRICULTURE.

Barton's rigid control of the management of the Red Cross provoked some criticism. One problem was that the relationship between the national Red Cross and local auxiliaries was undefined. Critics felt that Barton should be in the national office administering the organization, not in the field. Further, Barton could not delegate authority. She took offense at anyone questioning her handling of finances. Although Barton had provided an unswerving commitment to the Red Cross, her management was becoming outmoded in the new era at the turn of the century. In 1900 Congress provided a federal charter to bring about reorganization. Under pressure, Barton reluctantly resigned in 1904.

In her final years she pursued various interests and supported the women's rights movement. She died at 91 in her home near Washington, D.C., on April 12, 1912.

See also MEDICINE AND HOSPITALS; WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Stephen Oates, *A Woman of Valor: Clara Barton and the Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1994); Ishbel Ross, *Angel of the Battlefield: The Life of Clara Barton* (New York: Harper, 1956).

—Jaclyn Greenberg

### **Bates, Edward** (1793–1869) *lawyer, statesman*

U.S. attorney general Edward Bates is remembered as the most ineffectual member of President ABRAHAM LINCOLN's cabinet. Bates was born in Goochland County, Virginia, on September 4, 1793, a son of Quaker parents. He relocated to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1814 and studied law, joining the bar in 1816. Bates proved adept as an attorney. He also developed an interest in Whig politics, and in 1826 he successfully stood for a seat in the U.S. Congress. Once there, however, he alienated his party by opposing the occupation of Oregon. (The United States and United Kingdom had jointly occupied the territory since 1818, and in 1828 Congress was considering indefinite renewal of the status quo.) He consequently failed in his bid for reelection, as well as in his run for an open U.S. Senate seat against Jesse Hart Benton, so he resumed practicing law.

In 1847 Bates polished his Whig credentials by addressing the Harbor Commission convention in Chicago, Illinois, where he called for internal improvements to assist the western states. In 1856 he acted as president of the final Whig convention. He at first distanced himself from the newly emerging REPUBLICAN PARTY on account of its strong abolitionist tendencies; however, Bates strongly opposed the extension of SLAVERY into the territories, and in 1860 he vied for the nomination of president of the United States as a Republican. After the first ballot he withdrew his name and supported Lincoln, who went on to



win the general election. In return for his support, Lincoln invited Bates to join his new cabinet as attorney general.

Much was expected from Bates, especially as he represented the essential border state of Missouri, but his performance was uneven, and erratic. He initially endorsed Lincoln's suspension of HABEAS CORPUS, along with the removal of Gen. John C. Frémont as commander of Missouri, and even convinced the president to enlarge the Federal military presence along the MISSISSIPPI RIVER. Then, increasingly he equivocated, changing his stance on the detention of Confederate envoys seized in the *Trent* affair of 1861 and insisting upon their release. A conservative, he opposed Lincoln's plan to allow African Americans to serve in the military and also protested West Virginia's admission into the Union. His unpredictable positions led to constant quarreling with other cabinet members. In ill health, Bates resigned on November 30, 1864. Returning to Missouri, he battled RADICAL REPUBLICAN opposition but failed to regain public office. He remained a contentious figure on the political landscape until his death in St. Louis on March 25, 1869.

**Further reading:** Marvin R. Cain, *Lincoln's Attorney General: Edward Bates of Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965); Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005).

—John C. Fredriksen

## battle flags

During the CIVIL WAR, battle flags were symbols of bravery, pride, and patriotism. They were also practical markers, identifying the location of battle units during military engagements. The size, shape, and colors of each regimental flag varied greatly and depended on whether the soldiers were part of an infantry, cavalry, or artillery regiment.

In the North, Union regulations required that infantry regiments carry at least two flags. The first was the national flag. Better known as the “Stars and Stripes” of 1861, this flag contained the stars of 34 states. Regiments were also required to carry a flag bearing the arms of the United States and the name of the specific regiment. This flag was blue with the national eagle emblazoned in the center. Additionally, many regiments carried “colors” that identified their state and listed the battles in which they had fought.

Union cavalry regiments were issued a blue flag with the national coat of arms and, just below, a scroll painted with the regimental name and number. Artillery units in the North carried both national and regimental colors. The flags of the artillery, however, were yellow with a crossed cannon in the center.



Flag of the Confederate 11th Tennessee Regiment  
(Hulton/Archive)

Shortly after the first seven Southern states seceded, the Confederate states adopted an official flag, better known as the “Stars and Bars.” This flag contained three horizontal stripes—red, white, red—with a blue section in the upper left with seven white stars. Because it was hard to distinguish the Stars and Bars from the Stars and Stripes during battle, the flag was replaced in May 1863 by the “stainless banner,” a rectangular white flag with a red section displaying a white-bordered blue cross studded with 13 white stars.

The Confederate armies also carried what became known as the “Southern Cross,” or the Southern battle flag. This was a square flag that consisted of a red field with a blue cross, bordered in white, with the necessary number of stars aligned on the bars of the cross. The only difference between the flags of the infantry, artillery, and cavalry units was size; infantry regiments carried a larger flag than artillery batteries and cavalry units. The Southern battle flag is the one most commonly identified with the Confederacy.

For both the North and South, a color bearer carried the flag into battle. The battle flag created a focal point for the regiment to rally around and to use as a guide in the midst of the fighting. However, they also provided the enemy with a large, visible target. As a result, the mortality rate of color bearers was very high. The fact that a large number of men were willing to step forward and bear the colors demonstrates how each flag not only represented a particular state and region, but also the pride of its unit's soldiers.

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*of the Union Army and Order of Battle* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1997).

—Fiona Galvin

### **Beauregard, Pierre Gustave Toutant** (1818–1893)

*Confederate general*

The controversial Confederate general P. G. T. Beauregard was born in Louisiana on May 28, 1818, to parents of French descent. Beauregard commanded Confederate armies at many important battles in both the eastern and western theaters of war. He also designed the famous Confederate BATTLE FLAG.

At age 16, Beauregard entered the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT. Four years later, he graduated second in his class. Early in his career, Beauregard distinguished himself both in building coastal fortifications along the Gulf coast and by his service in the Mexican-American War (1846–48). In 1861, Beauregard returned to West Point to serve as superintendent. His term lasted only five days, however, because President ABRAHAM LINCOLN fired him for his secessionist sympathies.

Upon the SECESSION of Louisiana in January 1861, Beauregard resigned from the Federal army. Soon after this, JEFFERSON DAVIS awarded him a commission as a brigadier general in the CONFEDERATE ARMY. Beauregard assumed command of the forces facing down the Union garrison at FORT SUMTER. The surrender of the Union garrison on April 15, 1861, made Beauregard a hero throughout the Confederacy.

Beauregard commanded the Confederate forces in their early victory at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN. As the Confederate army chased the UNION ARMY from the field, Beauregard argued unsuccessfully that the Confederates should pursue the enemy all the way back to WASHINGTON, D.C. Beauregard lost his popularity when he chastised President Davis in public for not endorsing his plan.

In 1862, Beauregard became second in command of the Army of the West under Gen. ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON. After Johnston's death during the first day of fighting at the BATTLE OF SHILOH, Beauregard took command of the army and nearly secured a victory. After the battle, Beauregard turned command of the western army over to BRAXTON BRAGG and returned to Charleston in hopes of recovering from chronic throat pain. Soon after, Jefferson Davis entrusted Beauregard with the defense of Charleston. Thanks to his able preparations, Beauregard and his men were able to repulse a massive Union siege launched against the city in 1863. In the last year of the CIVIL WAR, Beauregard worked under the direction of Gen. ROBERT E. LEE to protect RICHMOND, the Confederate capital, from invasion.

Immediately after the Civil War, Beauregard became superintendent of the New Orleans, Jackson, and Great Northern Railroad. From 1879 to 1888, he commanded the Louisiana state militia, after which he served as commissioner of public works in New Orleans. In his later years, Beauregard engaged in frequent and bitter disputes about the Civil War, especially with JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON and Jefferson Davis. He died in New Orleans on February 20, 1893.

**Further reading:** Alfred Roman, *The Military Operations of General Beauregard* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1994); Harry T. Williams, *P. G. T. Beauregard: Napoleon in Gray* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995).

—Chad Vanderford

### **Bell, John** (1797–1869) *secretary of war, senator, representative*

The moderate Tennessee politician John Bell was born on February 18, 1797, near Nashville, Tennessee. A quick study, Bell graduated from Cumberland College at the age of 16 and gained admission to the state bar in 1816. By 1822 he was a successful attorney practicing in Nashville.

In 1827 Bell was elected as a Democrat to the first of five consecutive terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. Though he broke with the party over President Andrew Jackson's "bank war" in the early 1830s, he managed to defeat rival James K. Polk for the House speakership in 1834. He was deposed the following year. In 1836 Bell backed Whig candidate Hugh Lawson White for the presidency over Jackson's anointed successor, Martin Van Buren. In 1840 Bell campaigned for Whig candidate William Henry Harrison, who won and awarded Bell the post of secretary of war. After just one month in office, President Harrison died. His successor, John Tyler, opposed the Whig economic program. When Tyler vetoed a Whig-sponsored bill to create a federal bank of the United States, Bell convinced nearly the entire presidential cabinet to resign in protest.

In 1847 Bell was appointed to represent his native state in the U.S. Senate. A voice of moderation in the increasingly strident debate over SLAVERY in the territories, he reluctantly voted for the Compromise of 1850 but increasingly feared disunion. In 1854 he opposed the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT, which theoretically opened up the western territories to slavery based on popular sovereignty (the preference of resident voters).

Bell's political career climaxed in 1860 when he ran at the head of the Constitutional Union Party as an alternative to either ABRAHAM LINCOLN or JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE. He had staked out a moderate position on slavery and blamed extremists in both parties for the mounting

sectional crisis. Lincoln won the contest easily, and Bell rendered a useful service by convincing his fellow Tennesseans that Northerners posed no threat to the South. Consequently, they voted down calls for a secession convention in February 1861. However, after FORT SUMTER and Lincoln's call for volunteers to crush the rebellion, Bell failed to convince Tennesseans to remain in the Union. Bell spent the war years living in near obscurity, believing to the end that compromise over the issue of slavery had been possible. He died in Stewart County, Tennessee, on September 10, 1869, an earnest and over-looked moderate.

**Further reading:** Jonathan Atkins, *Parties, Politics, and Sectional Conflict in Tennessee, 1832–1861* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Benjamin, Judah P.** (1811–1884) *Confederate government official*

Born in St. Croix in the West Indies in 1811, Judah Philip Benjamin became a prominent New Orleans attorney, the only Jewish cabinet member in the Confederate government, and a distinguished member of the British bar. Benjamin's parents were Philip Benjamin, a small-scale merchant, and Rebecca de Mendes. Leaving St. Croix while Judah was very young, the Benjamins relocated to Charleston, South Carolina. Benjamin grew up there before going to Connecticut to attend Yale University in 1825. After two years, Benjamin left Yale and relocated to New Orleans, where he held various positions to support his study of law. Admitted to the bar in 1833, Benjamin married Marie St. Martin, a Catholic. Judah and Marie had one daughter, but their marriage was not a success. Marie moved to Paris in 1845, and Benjamin saw her rarely thereafter.

While a New Orleans attorney, Benjamin argued two Supreme Court cases, and copublished a learned legal treatise. Benjamin was fairly successful in New Orleans, but he never earned enough money to enable him to live as a rich man. Instead, the law provided him an opportunity to enter into politics. First winning a state representative seat in 1842, Benjamin went on to be elected to the U.S. Senate in 1852 and reelected in 1859. Initially a Whig, Benjamin became a Democrat in the 1850s.

When Louisiana seceded from the Union, Benjamin resigned his Senate seat and returned to the South. Although his relationship with JEFFERSON DAVIS had not been cordial in WASHINGTON, D.C., the new president of the Confederacy asked Benjamin to assume the attorney generalship of the Confederacy. Over time, Benjamin and Davis built a strong working and personal relationship, overcoming their previous differences. As attorney general,

Benjamin founded the Confederate Justice Department, which was responsible for a variety of legal affairs.

When the secretary of war resigned in 1861, Benjamin's efficiency as attorney general led Davis to appoint Benjamin to the vacant post. He ultimately proved to be unsuited to the job. He clashed with Confederate generals, who disdained his lack of military experience. The greatest failure of his tenure was the loss of Roanoke Island in early 1862, for which he was widely blamed. With Benjamin's popularity plummeting and constant conflict between commanders in the field and the War Department, a change was necessary. Davis appointed Benjamin secretary of state, which was a job much better suited both to Benjamin's talents and to his relationship with Davis. The State Department allowed Benjamin to apply his interest in efficiency and organization to a variety of civil issues, including foreign relations. Although Benjamin was not able to convince France or England to recognize the Confederacy, he did arrange the Erlanger loan in 1863. The loan, which was coordinated by a Parisian bank, provided nearly \$10 million for the Confederate war effort.

By 1865 Benjamin was searching for ideas to help avert disaster for the Confederacy. He proposed that Davis offer EMANCIPATION of slaves in exchange for recognition from France and England, but that proposal failed. Recognizing the seriously depleted state of Confederate military units, he pursued Emancipationist policies. This outraged many Confederate politicians, who tried to remove him from office. In the end, Benjamin evacuated RICHMOND with Davis in April 1865. Separated from Davis near Savannah, Georgia, Benjamin narrowly missed capture by Union troops. Instead, he was able to leave the country through Florida and the Caribbean, eventually settling in England.

Benjamin remained in England until his death, working as a barrister. He earned a distinguished reputation in English legal circles and was appointed Queen's Counsel in 1870. Between 1880 and 1882, Benjamin suffered several blows to his health which led to his death in Paris in 1884.

Although Benjamin was not a FIRE-EATER, his commitment to the Confederacy led him to make enormous commitments of time and energy to its cause. Nevertheless, a variety of factors, including anti-Semitism, led to almost constant criticism of his actions by Confederate leaders and newspapers. He was simultaneously one of the Confederacy's best assets and one of its least appreciated ones.

**Further reading:** William C. Davis, *Jefferson Davis: The Man and His Hour* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991); Eli N. Evans, *Judah P. Benjamin, the Jewish Confederate* (New York: Free Press, 1988); Robert Douthat Meade, *Judah P. Benjamin, Confederate Statesman* (London, New York: Arno Press, 1975).

—Fiona Galvin



**Bentonville, Battle of** (March 19–21, 1865)

The Battle of Bentonville, fought from March 19 to March 21, 1865, was the last significant confrontation between two major armies in the CIVIL WAR. Confederate forces under Gen. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON attacked Union forces under Maj. Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN near the small town of Bentonville, North Carolina, about 20 miles west of Goldsboro. The Union XIV and XX Corps, commanded by Maj. Gen. Henry W. Slocum, were in the advance column, and Johnston wanted to attack before Sherman and the rest of his troops could arrive. The UNION ARMY was marching northeast on the Goldsboro Road, while the CONFEDERATE ARMY was positioned on both sides of the road, south of Bentonville.

In the morning on the first day of the battle, March 19, the Confederates under Lt. Gens. Alexander P. Stewart and William J. Hardee and Maj. Gens. Robert F. Hoke and D. H. Hill broke the Union left wing and drove it back about a mile south of the Goldsboro Road. The Confederates then attacked the exposed Union right, but Brig. Gen. William Cogswell of the XX Corps reinforced the beleaguered Union forces under Brigadier General James D. Morgan's division of the XIV Corps. This movement upon the Union right is considered the turning point of the battle, with the Union offensive gaining the advantage. Succeeding Confederate demonstrations against the Union left flank failed, and the fighting came to a stalemate.

On the morning of the second day, March 20, Johnston strengthened his line north of the Goldsboro Road to protect Mill Creek Bridge, the only escape route for the Confederate army. After the arrival of Sherman and the rest of the Union army, the blue troops outnumbered the gray by about 60,000 to 21,000. Sherman deployed the newly arrived troops on his right flank, though the only activity that day was some heavy skirmishing.

On the third day, March 21, Union major general Joseph A. Mower initiated an attack on the Confederate left. While Hardee's troops managed to stall this offensive, Johnston and his army nonetheless withdrew on the night of the 21st across Mill Creek Bridge and toward Smithfield. Sherman's forces pursued Johnston on the 22nd, with little effect.

**Further reading:** Mark L. Bradley, *Last Stand in the Carolinas: The Battle of Bentonville* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2000); Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes Jr., *Bentonville: The Final Battle of Sherman and Johnston* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

—Stacey Graham

**Bickerdyke, Mary Ann (Mother)** (1817–1901) *Civil War nurse, philanthropist*

Mary Ann “Mother” Bickerdyke was a beloved nurse and fundraiser during the CIVIL WAR. She grew up in Ohio as

Mary Ann Ball, moving between a number of relatives after her mother died. Married in 1847 to Robert Bickerdyke, Mary Ann migrated with her husband to Illinois a decade later. Widowed in 1859, Bickerdyke supported herself and her three children by nursing.

During a church service in 1861, Bickerdyke learned about the harsh conditions of young volunteer soldiers suffering from typhoid and dysentery. Church members proceeded to organize a relief fund, and Bickerdyke volunteered to deliver it. This mission convinced Bickerdyke to commit herself to caring for Union soldiers for the rest of the war. She threw herself into relief work on her own initiative, doing whatever needed to be done. Ignoring protocol and defying male authority, she cleaned, nursed, and fed thousands of sick and wounded men, both at hospital camps and at the front lines of battle.

Bickerdyke acquired her name of “Mother Bickerdyke” from the wounded soldiers at the BATTLE OF SHILOH in April 1862. She soon became an agent of the UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION, and she gained a measure of fame when the country learned of her extraordinary dedication to the wounded at many battlefields and hospitals.

Along with her nursing duties on the front lines with Grant's and Sherman's armies, Bickerdyke also embarked on speaking tours in the Midwest to raise money and obtain food. Bickerdyke was with Sherman's army in North Carolina when the war was finally won, and she joined in the North's victory parade in 1865 in WASHINGTON, D.C.

After the war, Bickerdyke worked on various benevolent causes. She died in 1901 in Kansas after spending her final years on her son's farm.

See also DISEASE AND EPIDEMICS.

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—Jaclyn Greenberg

**Black Codes**

Black Codes were laws enacted by Southern state legislatures in late 1865 and in 1866 to restrict the economic activities and control the social behavior of freedmen and freedwomen. In effect for only a short time, the Black Codes reflected Southern unwillingness to accept EMANCIPATION and its consequences after the CIVIL WAR. The laws contributed to the end of Presidential RECONSTRUCTION and to the imposition of a much greater federal role during congressional, or Radical, Reconstruction.

Black Codes had their origins before the end of the Civil War. It was clear that the Southern ECONOMY, based predominantly on AGRICULTURE, would need revitalization. Union generals sometimes pressured ex-slaves to

return to PLANTATIONS, hoping that labor contracts would protect the workers from mistreatment by their former masters. This did not prove to be the case. During the summer of 1865, planters organized county associations to set wage scales and prevent competition for black labor. Communities tried to reestablish white control over former slaves through local ordinances that made vagrancy a crime and prohibited African Americans from holding certain jobs and owning real property.

It was only a matter of time until such controls began to be established at the state level. Mississippi was the first state to enact a Black Code in November 1865. Every African-American worker was required to have a written EMPLOYMENT contract during the first ten days of January that covered the remainder of the year. Any worker who violated the terms of the contract lost wages earned under the contract and was subject to arrest. Penalties were imposed on any employer who tried to hire a black worker already under contract. Other restrictions were included that defined the limits of work. African Americans were forbidden to rent land in urban areas and were limited to doing agricultural labor. To ensure that they did indeed work, the Mississippi Black Code included criminal penalties for vagrancy. Insulting gestures or language were also made into criminal offenses.

Many Southern states quickly enacted their own Black Codes. South Carolina, for example, taxed African Americans from \$10 to \$100 for business activities other than farming or being a servant. In addition to required annual labor contracts, a worker could not leave the plantation without the employer's permission. In Louisiana, a worker who did not comply with his labor contract could be arrested and forced to work on public work projects without pay until willing to return to his contract employer.

The Black Codes were drafted by conservative, respectable judges, lawyers, and law professors, many of whom had not been advocates of SECESSION. The Black Codes reflected a Southern ideology that assumed that African Americans would not work voluntarily and were naturally self-indulgent, unskilled, and illiterate. White Southerners believed that African Americans needed protection from these inclinations. Fearful of insurrections, white Southerners also wanted the protection they believed that the Black Codes could provide.

Southern leaders knew that the rest of the country was watching to see how white Southerners treated the newly emancipated slaves in their reestablished political and legal systems. As such, the Black Codes did grant certain rights to the former slaves, including the right to make contracts, the right to sue and be sued, the right to marry other African Americans, and the right to buy, own, and transfer property. Ultimately, this was not enough to convince Northern leaders that Southerners had changed their ways.

Black Codes proved a good source of propaganda for RADICAL REPUBLICANS. Although few Northerners believed in the inherent equality of black and white people, most did advocate equal access to the legal system, equal application of criminal laws, and equal rights to sell one's labor in a free market. Even Republican moderates were offended that the former Confederate states, so soon after rejoining the Union, rejected the free labor system that existed throughout the rest of the United States.

The perception that white Southerners were unreformed created a hostile climate in Congress. In December 1865, congressional leaders responded by refusing to seat delegations elected to represent the former Confederate states. In early 1866, Congress extended the life of the FREEDMEN'S BUREAU beyond its initial one year and added new powers, including the oversight of labor agreements. Eventually, Congress put the South under military control and tried to impose equality on the South. The Black Codes were forcibly repealed by legislative action or by federal officials overseeing the Reconstruction governments, and virtually none of them remained on the books after 1867.

The disappearance of the Black Codes was a short-lived victory for African Americans. Eventually, Northerners lost interest in the status of the freedmen, and by 1876 Reconstruction had come to an end. SHARECROPPING, the legalization of segregation, and a number of other factors allowed white Southerners to create the racial order they desired. African Americans in the South would remain in a subordinate position for at least another century.

**Further reading:** Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Theodore Brantner Wilson, *The Black Codes of the South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1965).

—Martha Kadue

**Blair, Francis Preston, Jr.** (1821–1875) *Union general, politician*

As a Missouri legislator, a member of the House of Representatives (1857–62), a general, a vice presidential candidate (1868), and a U.S. senator (1871–73), Francis P. Blair, Jr., was a key political figure of the 1860s and 1870s and an important opponent of Radical RECONSTRUCTION.

Born in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1821, Frank Blair grew up in a family immersed in politics. Blair's grandfather had been among Kentucky's earliest political leaders, building a social and political network that the family maintained for the next 80 years. In the late 1820s, Blair's father became an ally of Andrew Jackson, following Jackson to WASHINGTON, D.C., in 1829. There, Blair's father established the



*Washington Globe*, the era's leading DEMOCRATIC PARTY newspaper.

After being educated in Washington, D.C., private schools, Frank Blair went on to college at Princeton and then to legal studies at Kentucky's Transylvania College. After completing his EDUCATION, Blair relocated to Missouri, established a legal practice, and served in the Mexican-American War. After the war, Blair's father successfully lobbied to make him attorney general of the New Mexico Territory. Returning to Missouri, Blair won a seat in the state legislature, where he served for four years. While Frank Blair was building his political career, his father, Francis Blair, was reconsidering his Democratic Party allegiance. The elder Blair was no ABOLITIONIST, but he vehemently opposed expansion of SLAVERY into the new territories, believing that the nation should reserve them for white settlers. After a brief flirtation with the Free-Soil Party, Francis Blair broke decisively with the Democrats over the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT and joined the new REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Frank and his brother Montgomery followed their father into the Republican Party. During the CIVIL WAR, Montgomery joined ABRAHAM LINCOLN's cabinet as postmaster general while Frank served in Congress and in the UNION ARMY. Lincoln's relationship with the Blairs reflected the president's anxiety about Missouri, Kentucky, and the other border states. Though these slave states had remained within the Union, Confederate sympathies ran high in all of them. If the Union lost any of these states, Lincoln believed the North might well lose the entire war. Lincoln carefully cultivated his friends in these states, reaching out to former Democrats like the Blairs.

Frank Blair did a great deal to ensure that Missouri remained in the Union during the tense months following FORT SUMTER. He joined the Federal army in April 1861 as a colonel and was soon promoted to brigadier general and then again to major general. These promotions were given by Lincoln to reward Blair's loyalty to the administration. In contrast to most political generals, Blair performed credibly as a military commander. ULYSSES S. GRANT and WILLIAM T. SHERMAN both spoke favorably about his abilities as a general, and he distinguished himself with his service during the VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN, the BATTLE OF CHATTANOOGA, the ATLANTA CAMPAIGN, and SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA.

Frank Blair and his family recognized that the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION rang the death knell of slavery throughout the South. However, they expected that former slaves would remain subservient to white men. Once the war ended, Frank Blair, like his father, vigorously opposed the RADICAL REPUBLICANS, who sought full civil rights for African Americans. As former Democrats, the Blairs were natural allies of the new president, Tennessee Demo-

crat ANDREW JOHNSON. While many Republicans counseled Johnson to work with Radicals in the party, the Blairs advised him to build his majority around Democrats in the South, border state Unionists, and conservative Republicans. Johnson's increasingly heated attacks on Republican radicals contributed to Republican gains in the 1866 congressional ELECTIONS, and the poisoned relationship between the president and Congress led to Johnson's impeachment and trial. Most of Lincoln's men turned on Johnson, but the Blairs joined WILLIAM H. SEWARD and a few others to support the president. None of them were again welcome in the Republican Party. Having stood with Johnson, Frank Blair now returned to the Democratic Party after a 10-year absence.

In 1868 Democrats nominated New York governor Horatio Seymour for the presidency and chose Blair as his running mate. Bitter over Johnson's failure to control Reconstruction, Blair used his campaign appearances to revisit the Democratic Party's prewar boast that it was the "white man's party." Blair denounced Southern Reconstruction governments as controlled by "a semi-barbarous race of blacks who are worshippers of fetishes and polygamists" and who "subject the white women to their unbridled lust." Blair's incendiary outbursts alienated many Northerners and made Blair himself a campaign issue. "Seymour was opposed to the late war," said Republican wags, and "Blair is in favor of the next one." Seymour and Blair were soundly defeated in the election by Republican Ulysses S. Grant.

Though the country chose Grant, Missouri stuck by Frank Blair, making him a U.S. senator. Until his death in 1875, Blair energetically but unsuccessfully opposed any concession designed to help African Americans achieve economic or political equality. Blair's vision of a "white man's republic" soon prevailed throughout the South as Americans retreated from Reconstruction-era commitments.

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—Tom Laichas

### Bleeding Kansas (1854–1865)

"Bleeding Kansas" is the name given to the conflict between Free-Soil supporters and SLAVERY supporters in the Kansas and Nebraska Territories, both before and during the CIVIL WAR. Tensions between proslavery settlers, often called "BUSHWHACKERS," and antislavery settlers, often labeled "JAYHAWKERS," became so strong that newspapers of the day called the pitched battles a "civil war" long before shots had been fired on FORT SUMTER.

The troubles of Bleeding Kansas were rooted in the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had drawn a line across the unorganized territories west of the Appalachians, dividing them into slave and free territories. For three decades after the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, the South blocked attempts to organize the Kansas Territory into states because it fell on the free-labor side of the Missouri Compromise line. Congress, seeking to defuse tensions between North and South over slavery's expansion into the territories, eventually passed the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT in 1854. The act, supported by Illinois senator STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, divided the Kansas Territory into two areas, Kansas and Nebraska, and left the territories' disposition as to slavery to the settlers of the respective territories under the new doctrine of popular sovereignty, which dictated that the decision on whether or not to allow slavery within an organizing territory would be left up to a vote of the territory's settlers. The Missouri Compromise was effectively repealed by the popular sovereignty of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, since voters in territories north of the Missouri Compromise line could now decide to adopt slavery where it had once been forbidden. The Kansas-Nebraska Act infuriated Northern free-labor advocates and abolitionists.

In preparation for the election to decide Kansas's legal stand on slavery, both proslavery and antislavery settlers poured into the newly formed territory. In the North, the New England Emigrant Aid Company collected funds in an effort to help promote settlement of Free-Soil, antislavery people in Kansas. Despite the press that the organization garnered, they were generally unsuccessful in their efforts, raising little money and sending few settlers to the territory. Southerners also rallied to support settlement in Kansas. Missouri governor David Rice Atchison claimed that a victory for antislavery forces in Kansas would lead to the end of slavery in the entire nation, advising his fellow Southerners that the "game must be played boldly." The South did play boldly, with Atchison leading the way. Groups of what were termed "border ruffians" were organized to cross from Missouri to Kansas to vote in the territorial ELECTIONS and strike whatever other blows were deemed necessary to guarantee Kansas would be a slave state.

Kansas truly began to bleed in May 1856, with the sack of the antislavery town of Lawrence by a mob of proslavery supporters. The mob burned buildings and destroyed the local Free-Soil press. Lawrence did not go quietly, however. JOHN BROWN, failed businessman and passionate abolitionist, led a retaliatory raid against the proslavery settlement at Pottawatomie Creek, killing five men and boys by hacking them to death with broadswords.

It was not in Kansas alone that tempers flared. In WASHINGTON, D.C., Senator CHARLES SUMNER of Massachusetts denounced the violence in Kansas and claimed

it was caused entirely by slave-supporting forces. In his widely publicized "Crime against Kansas" speech, Sumner declared that Kansas had been "raped" and forced into the "hateful embrace of slavery." Sumner called the proslavery forces in Kansas "thugs" and "robbers" and accused Southern politicians of "cavorting" with the "harlot, Slavery." Sumner's speech named several Southern politicians whom he saw as particularly guilty, including Senator Andrew P. Butler of South Carolina. Butler's cousin, Preston Brooks, serving then as a representative from South Carolina, attacked Sumner with a cane in the Senate chamber shortly thereafter, beating him senseless. Throughout the South, Brooks was applauded, while throughout the North his actions were decried as barbaric.

By 1857 Kansas was a pitched battlefield, with Bushwhackers and Jayhawkers arming themselves with whatever weapons they could manage. By that time, the majority of legitimate Kansas settlers were opposed to slavery. However, President FRANKLIN PIERCE, a Northerner who sympathized with Southern interests, chose to



recognize the proslavery provisional legislature elected through fraudulent votes cast by thousands of “border ruffians” from Missouri. The provisional legislature proceeded to pass proslavery and antiabolitionist legislation for the territory. President JAMES BUCHANAN succeeded Pierce, and he continued to provide presidential support for the proslavery government by putting his weight behind the Lecompton Constitution, which was ostensibly meant to be the state constitution for Kansas. However, because the Lecompton Constitution had been written by the provisional legislature, it naturally included strong protection for slavery. The citizens of Kansas were supposed to vote whether to accept the Lecompton Constitution or not, but the election was fraudulent and was boycotted by antislavery settlers. A second election was called by Congress, but that was boycotted by proslavery forces. Ultimately, Buchanan’s support for the Lecompton Constitution proved moot, and Kansas did not enter the Union until after the Civil War was under way.

Meanwhile, through all the political fighting, the armed conflicts between bushwhackers and jayhawkers went on unabated, and Kansas continued to “bleed.” The attacks on property and people seemed to prove that the North and South were on radically different paths. The “little civil war,” as abhorrent and unimaginable to Americans as it was, proved to be only the tip of the iceberg of animosity and hostility that the regions had in store for each other.

See also ABOLITION.

**Further reading:** Thomas Goodrich, *War to the Knife: Bleeding Kansas, 1854–1861* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1998); Kenneth Stampp, *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

—Ruth A. Behling

**Booth, John Wilkes** (1838–1865) *actor, presidential assassin*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN’s assassin, John Wilkes Booth, was born in Maryland in 1838, the son of famous actor Junius Brutus Booth and his mistress Mary Ann Holmes. Junius, known as “the mad tragedian,” was often away on tour, and even when he was home he was often incapacitated by alcoholism and mental disease. Young John was largely raised by his mother. He received some formal EDUCATION, mostly at St. Timothy’s Episcopal Military Academy, where he became an Episcopalian and learned how to shoot and ride a horse.

Junius died in 1851, and shortly thereafter John decided to follow his famous brother Edwin into the family business, making his stage debut in Baltimore in August 1855. John was known less for his acting skill and more

for his boisterous style and penchant for gymnastic leaps around the stage. Nonetheless, he was very well-received, and by the time he turned 25 he had played the lead in nine different Shakespearean plays and was receiving more than 100 pieces of fan mail every week.

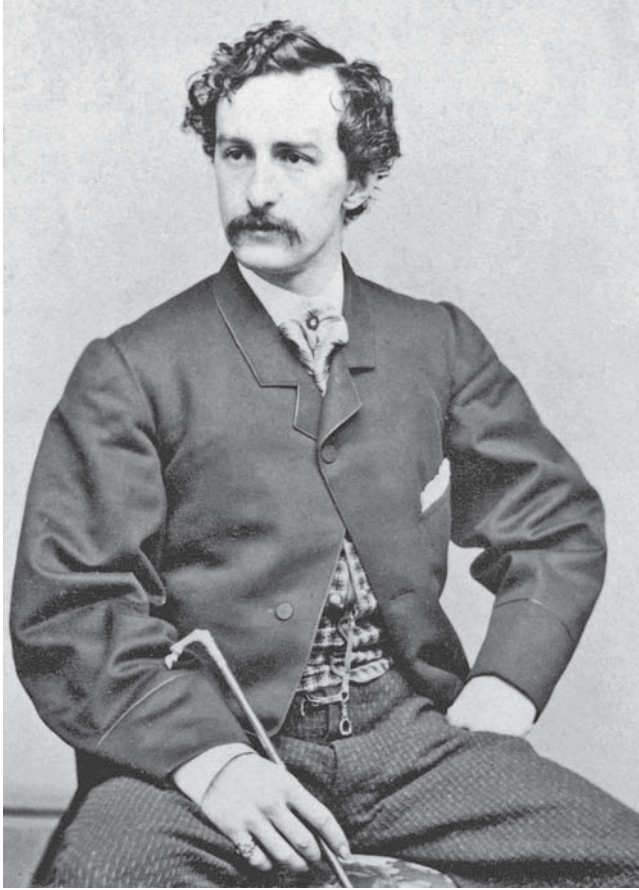
Booth toured the North and the South, enjoying success in both regions of the increasingly divided nation. However, he regarded himself as a primarily Southern actor, and he preferred performing in front of Southern audiences. He also became very outspoken when it came to politics. Junius had disliked SLAVERY, but John defended the institution and denounced Northern abolitionists. After JOHN BROWN’s failed insurrection attempt at HARPERS FERRY, Booth temporarily suspended his acting career in order to join a militia unit called the Richmond Grays. In that capacity, he witnessed Brown’s hanging on December 2, 1859. While in Richmond, Booth also joined the Knights of the Golden Circle, a secret society dedicated to promoting the expansion of slavery and SECESSION.

In early 1860, Booth returned to his stage career. When war finally broke out in April 1861, he declined to take up arms, in deference to his mother’s wishes. He continued to speak out against Lincoln and the Union war effort, even though he was still appearing regularly in Northern cities, in front of increasingly hostile audiences. He was even arrested in St. Louis in 1862 for saying that he wished “the whole damn government would go to hell,” but he was released shortly thereafter. Booth continued crisscrossing the North and South, and evidence suggests he regularly took advantage of the opportunity to smuggle medicine to the South.

By the fall of 1864 Booth had grown tired of being an armchair rebel. He was despondent over the sagging fortunes of the Confederacy and wanted to do something dramatic to help out the cause. He organized a group of conspirators with the intention of kidnapping Abraham Lincoln. Booth felt this action would end the war or at the very least would allow the Confederacy to negotiate for all of its prisoners of war being held in Union PRISONS. Booth and his coconspirators made several attempts to abduct the president while he was vulnerable, but each time they were foiled by bad luck or bad timing, and eventually several of Booth’s accomplices abandoned him.

By April 1865 the Confederacy was collapsing, and Booth was growing increasingly desperate. He was present at Lincoln’s second inaugural address, and he found the president’s references to limited black suffrage to be intolerable. Booth no longer had the time or the manpower for a kidnapping, and so he settled upon murder. When an announcement was made on the morning of April 14 that the president would be attending a performance at Ford’s Theater that evening, Booth decided to strike. He had no





John Wilkes Booth (Hulton/Archive)

difficulty gaining access to the president when he arrived at the THEATER, since security was lax and he was well known to the stagehands. Booth loitered in the hallway behind the president, waiting for a big laugh to cover the sound of the gunshot. When the moment came, he entered the president's box and quickly fired his single-shot Derringer into the back of the Lincoln's head. After briefly scuffling with Lincoln's companion, Maj. Henry Reed Rathbone, Booth leaped to the stage 12 feet below, breaking his leg in the process. With a shout of "sic semper tyrannis!" ("thus always to tyrants") to the confused audience, Booth escaped into the night.

Booth felt he would be hailed as a hero in the South, but he was largely in error. Most individuals on both sides of the conflict cursed this assassin. After meeting up with David Herold, one of his coconspirators, and pausing to get his broken leg set by Dr. Samuel Mudd, Booth fled through Maryland into Virginia. He and Herold were sheltered for six days by Samuel Cox and then relocated to the farm of Richard H. Garrett. On April 26, while sleeping in Garrett's barn, Herold and Booth were surrounded by Union cavalry. Herold surrendered, but

Booth refused to be taken alive. The barn was set on fire in hopes of smoking Booth out. Booth made a desperate charge and was shot by Sgt. Boston Corbett, who ignored explicit orders to keep Booth alive. After lingering for several hours, Booth died shortly after dawn on April 27, 1865.

See also ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

**Further reading:** John Rhodehamel and Louise Taper, eds., *"Right or Wrong, God Judge Me": The Writings of John Wilkes Booth* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Gene Smith, *American Gothic: The Story of America's Legendary Theatrical Family—Junius, Edwin and John Wilkes Booth* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992).

—Christopher Bates

### bounty system

The bounty system was an important part of the raising of a VOLUNTEER ARMY in the CIVIL WAR, particularly in the North. In the first year of the conflict, states, counties, private organizations, and the federal government all offered modest bounties to recruit soldiers. For example, on July 22, 1861, the U.S. Congress passed a law authorizing each volunteer to receive \$100 for volunteering, in addition to the monthly soldier's pay. In this way, patriotism was rewarded with more than parades and cheers. Bounties were also used in the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA early in the war, but the system was discontinued due to lack of funds.

As the war progressed, mounting Northern casualties dampened the enthusiasm for voluntary military service. In July 1862, President ABRAHAM LINCOLN called for 300,000 more soldiers to be added to the UNION ARMY. When the states could not meet the quotas set for them by the government, bounties were raised, which increased the number of men in the ranks. Still, even more men were desperately needed to replenish the ranks of the Union armies, especially after the losses suffered at Fredericksburg, Virginia, in December 1862. To encourage volunteering, the federal government passed the Conscription Act of 1863.

CONSCRIPTION, also known as "the draft," was never seriously considered as the primary method to provide troops for the Union. Only 6 percent of men in both Union and Confederate armies were raised through the draft. The Conscription Act was intended only as a stimulus for volunteering. Every state was assigned a quota that it had to meet by a given time. If the state did not meet that quota through volunteers, then it had to raise the required number through a draft. Since the draft was unpopular in the North, it was in the interest of states, townships, counties, and cities to encourage volunteer enlistment to meet their quotas, and avoid the draft entirely. They did this by awarding ever-larger

bounties. As in 1861, all units of government—local, state, and national—contributed money for bounties. The local government of Cook County, Illinois, spent more than \$3 million on bounties. By 1864 some volunteers were receiving \$1,000 for their enlistment.

The bounty system played an integral role in mobilizing Northern men for duty from 1863 onward. There were, however, negative repercussions to the late-war bounties. Some men took advantage of the system by enlisting, receiving their bounty, then deserting the army at the first opportunity. Many of these so-called bounty-jumpers not only got away with their crime but also reenlisted several times. Sometimes they were caught and punished, sometimes not. Another issue was that men who enlisted just for the money were often terrible soldiers and were resented by their battle-tested comrades. These negatives were balanced out, however, by the benefits of the bounty system. Most importantly, the bounty system encouraged three-year VETERANS to reenlist in the critical winter, spring, and summer months of 1864, when the Union army needed every experienced soldier it could muster.

See also COMMON SOLDIER.

**Further reading:** James W. Geary, *We Need Men: The Union Draft in the Civil War* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991); Emory Thomas, *The Confederate Nation: 1861–1865* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979).

**Boyd, Belle** (1844–1900) *Confederate spy*

Born May 9, 1844, in Martinsburg, Virginia (now West Virginia), Belle Boyd became one of the Confederacy's most active and well-known female spies. Boyd's success as a spy resulted, in part, from her ability to use her femininity to escape detection and punishment. Called "La Belle Rebelle" by the French press and "That Secesh Cleopatra" by unfriendly Northern reporters, Boyd was bold, brash, and beautiful.

Boyd's parents, Mary Rebecca Glenn and Reed Boyd, both came from prominent Virginia families. She received her EDUCATION at Mount Washington Female College of Baltimore, Maryland, returning home at the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR to serve as a nurse and to raise money for the Confederacy. She also organized groups of women to visit Southern troops. When a Northern soldier broke into her house and insulted her mother in 1861, Boyd shot and killed him. She escaped punishment because the shooting was seen as self-defense. Approximately a week later, Boyd began her career as a Confederate spy. To gather information, she engaged Federal soldiers in flirtatious conversations. Boyd passed on to Confederate officials any information that they revealed concerning Union movements and plans.

Generals P. G. T. BEAUREGARD and THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON used Boyd as a courier in late 1861. She successfully carried information, supplies, and weapons across enemy lines. Her role became vital in the spring of 1862, when Boyd delivered information to Jackson as he launched an offensive in the Shenandoah Valley. For her part in the Confederate successes in this campaign, Union forces arrested Boyd on July 29, 1862, on the order of Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON. For the next month, they held her in WASHINGTON, D.C.'s Old Capitol Prison. In June 1863 she was again arrested, this time in her hometown of Martinsburg, and imprisoned in Washington's Carroll Prison. After contracting typhoid, Boyd was released in December 1863 and banished to the South.

Boyd did not wait long to resume her spying activities. In early 1864 she boarded a ship for England, presumably for her health, but in reality, she was on her way to deliver Confederate dispatches. Before the mission could be carried out, however, Union forces captured Boyd's ship, placed her under arrest, and brought her ship back to the United States. Boyd escaped from Federal custody in Boston and fled to Canada and then to England. Union officials held responsible Ens. Samuel Wylde Hardinge Jr., the officer in command of the captured ship. They court-martialed and imprisoned him. Before his case could be heard, Hardinge followed Boyd to England, where they married in 1864 and had a daughter. He died soon after. From England, Boyd published her memoirs, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* (1865), to recruit support for the Confederacy.

After the war, Boyd pursued a stage career, first in Europe and then in the United States. She married two more times and had four more children. In the 1880s, Boyd lectured throughout the United States about her wartime activities. At the end of each speech, she stressed the importance of national unity and reunion. Boyd's speeches proved particularly popular with Union VETERANS.

Belle Boyd died of a heart attack on June 11, 1900, while in Kilbourne, Wisconsin.

See also ESPIONAGE; GREENHOW, ROSE O'NEAL.

**Further reading:** Belle Boyd, *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* (1865; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998); Ruth Scarborough, *Belle Boyd: Siren of the South* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1983).

—Lisa Tendrich Frank

**Brady, Mathew B.** (1823–1896) *photographer*

Photographer and businessman Mathew Brady's magnificent pictorial record of the CIVIL WAR has provided generations of Americans with an enduring legacy of that conflict. Born in 1823 in upstate New York, Brady began his studies with portrait artist William Page. In 1839 Page took Brady



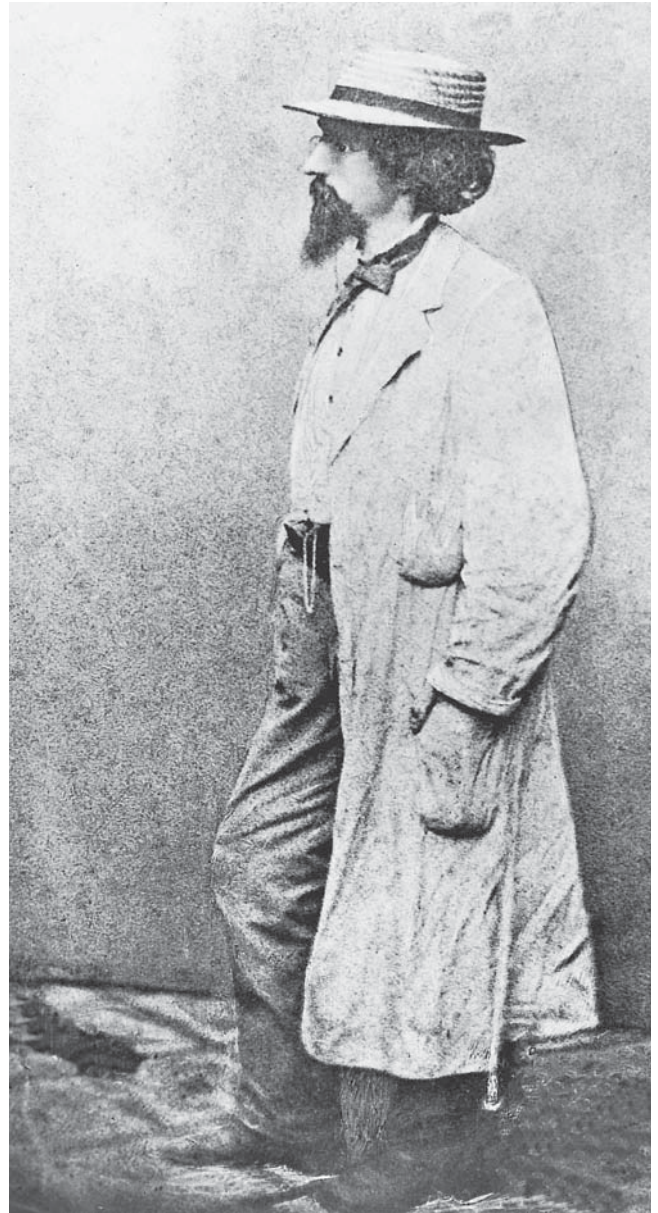
to NEW YORK CITY to study with Samuel F. B. Morse. Recently returned from Paris, where he had met Louis Daguerre, Morse's enthusiasm for the new "daguerreotype" process of PHOTOGRAPHY inspired Brady to learn the craft. Fascinated, Brady absorbed what he could from Morse, and soon he opened his own studio in 1844. Using aesthetic enhancements, such as makeup, lighting, costuming, and camera positions, Brady's innovations refined the medium, and he quickly gained renown as a portrait artist. Working in a lavishly appointed gallery, Brady appealed to the rich and prominent citizens of New York, who lined up to have Brady take their likenesses.

A tireless self-promoter and entrepreneur, in 1845 Brady launched his "Illustrious Americans" project, photographing 24 of the most prominent American citizens of his day. Published in 1850, the book created a sensation in England, where Brady was awarded a medal for his artistic excellence. His prestige and success attracted other photographers to work at Brady's studio. Among them was Alexander Gardner, who introduced Brady to the new "wet plate" process. This method took photography beyond daguerreotype's single-use copper plate and allowed for the production of an unlimited number of positive prints from a fixed negative image on a glass plate, expanding the potential of the craft.

By 1860 Brady had reached the height of his artistic and commercial fame. During a campaign stopover in New York City that year, presidential candidate ABRAHAM LINCOLN visited Brady's gallery. Brady produced a flattering photograph that Lincoln claimed helped him win the election. Lincoln would sit for Brady several more times.

When the Civil War began, Brady set out to document the war with photographs. He was convinced that he would reap large profits from such a venture and, at the same time, contribute to history. Brady put all his money into the business, purchasing expensive equipment and hiring many assistants. Brady himself photographed the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN, saying "A spirit in my feet said 'go' and I went." Brady pioneered the idea of a professional force of field photographers going out into the battlefield and into the camps, recording the war in all of its many features. Mathew Brady's haunting series of pictures of the Gettysburg battlefield and town are among his finest efforts.

Brady's primary role, however, was not in the field but consisted of managing the huge project from his WASHINGTON, D.C., studio. Even so, many photographs attributed to Brady were actually those of his most talented assistants, such as Gardner or Timothy H. O'Sullivan. Brady's willingness to take credit for other photographers' work brought him harsh criticism, and many of his assistants abandoned him before the war was over. Overextended financially, Brady was broke by war's end and tried to sell his collection of work to the government. After much pleading for a



Mathew B. Brady (Library of Congress)

better price, he agreed to sell his negatives for \$2,840. This sum was a fraction of what it cost Brady to produce the 6,176 photographs of the war. In 1875 the government paid Brady another \$25,000 and gained exclusive title to his collection. Despite the infusion of funds, Brady, an alcoholic and nearly blind, was ruined. He died alone in a New York charity hospital in 1896.

**Further reading:** William A. Frassanito, *Early Photography at Gettysburg* (Gettysburg, Pa.: Thomas Publications, 1995); Web Garrison, ed., *Brady's Civil War* (New York:

Lyons Press, 2000); Roy Meredith, *Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man: Mathew B. Brady* (1946; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1974).

—Rebecca Dresser

**Bragg, Braxton** (1817–1876) *Confederate general*

Braxton Bragg was one of the Confederacy's most prominent generals. Born in Warrenton, North Carolina, on March 22, 1817, Bragg graduated fifth in the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT class of 1837. He served in the Seminole War and the Mexican-American War and became a national hero for his action at the Battle of Buena Vista. He remained in the army until 1856, when he resigned and used his wife's considerable wealth to build a sugar plantation in Louisiana. In March 1861, he was appointed brigadier general in the CONFEDERATE ARMY and assigned to command the defense of the Gulf Coast between Pensacola, Florida, and Mobile, Alabama. At the BATTLE OF SHILOH, Bragg commanded the Second Corps and in June 1862 took command of the Army of the Mississippi (later known as the Army of Tennessee).

While fiercely devoted to the Confederacy and an accomplished administrator, Bragg had a difficult personality. Many of his problems stemmed from a series of illnesses, including migraine headaches, dyspepsia, boils, and rheumatism. Often manifest during active campaigns, Bragg's ailments frequently left him "sick, befuddled, and beleaguered" at moments of crisis. In addition, he failed to build cohesion among his officer corps, and he constantly quarreled with his high-ranking subordinates. These fights were especially problematic during the winter and spring following the BATTLE OF MURFREESBORO and during the siege of Chattanooga. At least one historian claims Bragg's obsession with internal conflicts led to the disaster at Missionary Ridge on November 25, 1863. He was relieved of command December 1, 1863.

In February 1864 JEFFERSON DAVIS appointed Bragg military adviser to the president. He held that position until October, when he was assigned to command the Confederate defenses at the critical port city of Wilmington, North Carolina. After the city fell in February 1865, Bragg helped organize troops to resist Sherman's advance. He was captured May 10, 1865, at Concord, Georgia. After the war, Bragg held a variety of positions in the railroad, utility, and insurance industries. He died in Galveston, Texas, on September 27, 1876.

See also CHATTANOOGA, BATTLE OF.

**Further reading:** Grady McWhiney, *Braxton Bragg and Confederate Defeat* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991).

—James Daryl Black

**Breckinridge, John C.** (1821–1875) *U.S. vice president, U.S. senator, Confederate general, Confederate secretary of war*

John Cabell Breckinridge was a U.S. vice president and a Confederate general. Breckinridge was born near Lexington, Kentucky, on January 16, 1821, into one of that state's most prominent political families. Carefully groomed to continue the family tradition of public service, he obtained a major's commission in the 3rd Kentucky Regiment and briefly served in the Mexican-American War of 1846–48. Back home, Breckinridge's drive, intellect, and family connections catapulted him into the political arena with a seat in Kentucky's legislature, and in 1851 he won election to the U.S. House of Representatives.

In 1856, much to his surprise, the promising young politician was nominated as Democrat JAMES BUCHANAN's vice presidential candidate. He became, at age 35, the youngest man to occupy that office. Breckinridge was largely ignored by the Buchanan administration, which was increasingly preoccupied by mounting sectional tensions over SLAVERY and SECESSION. Though a slaveowner himself, Breckinridge felt that the institution was doomed, and he worked tirelessly to discourage secessionism among Southern "FIRE-EATERS." When the DEMOCRATIC PARTY split along regional lines in 1860, he was nominated as the candidate of the Southern Democrats. They lost. Breckinridge then left the White House, and in January 1861 the Kentucky state legislature appointed him to serve in the U.S. Senate.

Five months after the CIVIL WAR commenced in April 1861, a federal court in Kentucky ordered Breckinridge arrested for treason. He then fled to the Confederacy. He received a brigadier general's commission the following November and set about organizing the famous "Orphan Brigade" for Kentucky expatriates like himself. In this capacity, Breckinridge performed well under Gen. ALBERT S. JOHNSTON at the BATTLE OF SHILOH of April 6–7, 1862, and he rose to major general in June 1862. In 1864 he replaced Gen. JOHN H. MORGAN as head of the Department of Southwest Virginia, becoming responsible for the defense of the fertile Shenandoah Valley. On May 15, 1864, Breckinridge defeated a larger Union force under Gen. Franz Siegel at New Market. In February 1865 President JEFFERSON DAVIS appointed Breckinridge as his final secretary of war, where his most significant contribution was to convince the president not to tarnish the Confederacy by resorting to guerrilla warfare.

After the fall of Richmond in April 1865, Breckinridge fled to Cuba and England, returning to Kentucky under a general amnesty in 1868. Thereafter he served as a spokesman for national reconciliation and formally denounced the infamous KU KLUX KLAN for violence against African

Americans. Breckinridge died of physical exhaustion in Lexington on May 17, 1875, at the age of 54.

**Further reading:** William C. Davis, *Breckinridge: Statesman, Soldier, Symbol* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992); William C. Davis, *Honorable Defeat: The Last Days of the Confederate Government* (New York: Harcourt, 2001).

—John C. Fredriksen

### brothers' war

The CIVIL WAR is frequently portrayed in familial terms, thus a “brother’s war,” a term used at the time. Often, a group of relatives would enlist together, and some units had so many kinsmen in them that they were known as “cousinwealths.” In other instances, families were torn apart as some members decided their loyalties were with the Union while others swore allegiance to the Confederacy.

It was particularly common in the South for military service to be a family affair. Because of manpower shortages, the CONFEDERATE ARMY enlisted virtually its entire white male population. If a family had several sons of military age, most or all of them would join the ranks. For example, the Bledsoe family of Mississippi enrolled 10 sons and five sons-in-law in the Confederate army. Mrs. Enoch Hooper Cook of Alabama saw her husband, 10 sons, and two grandsons go off to join the fight. Eighteen members of the Bell family of Tennessee enlisted in the Confederate army, and only seven returned. There were also Northern families who contributed multiple sons to the Union war effort, although rarely in such large numbers as in the South.

As common as it was for relatives to fight side-by-side in the Civil War, the most oft-repeated stories of the brothers' war have to do with families that were divided by the conflict. This was particularly common in the border states of Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee. President ABRAHAM LINCOLN was originally from Kentucky, and three of his brothers-in-law served as officers in the Confederate army. Indeed, throughout the war Mrs. Lincoln was hurt by rumors that she was working for the enemy, although there was not a shred of evidence that this was the case. Other high-ranking Northern officials also saw family members join the Confederacy. Two of Union commodore William David Porter's sons enlisted in the Confederate artillery. Kentucky senator John J. Crittenden's son George became a major general in the Confederate army, while his son Thomas was a major general in the UNION ARMY.

Prominent families provide the most famous examples of those split in two by the Civil War. However, there were also thousands of common families who were divided by the conflict. For example, Franklin Buchanan commanded the Confederate ironclad CSS *Virginia* when it sank the USS

*Congress*. Among those who were killed when the *Congress* sank was Franklin's brother McKean. At the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, hometown boy Wesley Culp returned as a member of the Confederate Stonewall Brigade. He was killed on Culp's Hill, a portion of the family farm named after one of Wesley's relatives, and buried in the basement of the family farmhouse. Perhaps the most well-known monument to the brothers' war is the grave of James Terrill, a brigadier general in the Confederate army, and William Terrill, a brigadier general in the Union army. Both were killed during the war and were buried by their father under a single headstone bearing the inscription “Here lie my two sons. Only God knows which was right.”

See also MUSIC.

**Further reading:** William C. Davis, *Touched By Fire: A National Historical Society Photographic Portrait of the Civil War* (New York: Black Dog and Leventhal Publishers, 1997).

—Christopher Bates

### Brown, John (1800–1859) militant abolitionist

John Brown was a Northern ABOLITIONIST who dedicated himself to doing battle against SLAVERY in the United States. He was born on May 9, 1800, the third child of Owen and Ruth Mills Brown, in Torrington, Connecticut, but was raised in Ohio. Young John, brought up in a devoutly Christian household, was taught that slavery was evil. That upbringing formed Brown into a powerfully persuasive abolitionist. Unlike many abolitionists at the time, he supported the use of violence to end slavery. His battles in Kansas and his raid on HARPERS FERRY significantly hastened the coming of the CIVIL WAR.

In 1820 Brown married Dainthe Lusk. Their union produced seven children. When Dainthe died in 1831, Brown married 16-year-old Mary Ann Day, with whom he had 13 more children. The family moved from Ohio to Pennsylvania, where Brown opened a tannery. Brown's tannery, like the rest of his numerous business ventures, was a failure. Brown tried his luck at farming, raising cattle and sheep. He even invested others' hard-earned money in canals, usually profitably. The panic of 1837 foiled his plans to become wealthy once again. By 1856 Brown had amassed a record of 20 failed businesses and a bankruptcy.

But while he was unfit for business, Brown thrived in the antislavery movement. A riveting speaker who used rich biblical imagery to make his points, John Brown impressed the small audiences who heard his antislavery lectures and sermons. Soon he developed a base of support from the movement, including FREDERICK DOUGLASS. In 1837, at an abolitionist meeting in an Ohio church, Brown



stood and proclaimed: "Here before God, in the presence of these witnesses, I consecrate my life to the destruction of slavery."

Like Brown, many abolitionists had backgrounds of religiously based antislavery, and many had similarly pledged in their own way to see the "destruction of slavery." Brown, however, was a different breed of abolitionist. He felt his call was directly from a wrathful God and that he personally was an instrument of the Lord's will. Brown often dreamed of inciting violent slave uprisings that would bring a bloody, and just, end to the evil of slavery. Brown's favorite scripture, Hebrew 9:22, attests to this: "Without shedding of blood there is no remission of sin."

While advocating radical means, Brown's methods continued to be practical and useful. Brown helped to found and sustain a free black farming community in North Elba, New York, where he also worked as a conductor in the UNDERGROUND RAILROAD. One of the few white abolitionists who lived and worked with African Ameri-

cans, Brown enjoyed a rare respect among his fellow black reformers.

John Brown burst on the national scene when his crusade against slavery moved from New York to the Kansas Territory, where five of his adult sons established farms. Brown did not go to Kansas as an ordinary settler; he came to fight for free soil and abolition. In 1856 Brown joined his sons in the Pottawatomie Rifles, a militia dedicated to the defense of the antislavery headquarters town of Lawrence. The Rifles arrived too late to protect Lawrence from a proslavery mob, so Brown collected a small band of men and exacted his own retribution. He and his group, including his sons, used broadswords to hack five proslavery men to death at Pottawatomie Creek late in May 1856. This attack inflamed tensions between the North and South and was the beginning of a violent summer in Kansas.

Brown, filled with anger over what he considered the growing power of slaveholders over the national government, expanded his efforts against slavery. He organized the Kansas Regulars, a Free-Soil militia group whose aim was to fight "border ruffians" from Missouri. In October 1856, Brown began a series of trips between the Kansas Territory and the East Coast, where he raised funds for a free Kansas from the abolitionist lecture circuit.

As Brown traveled across the East, he developed a secret plan to liberate millions of slaves. He would recruit and train a group of committed men in Kansas. With himself in command, Brown would make a raid into Southern territory, thus precipitating a slave uprising. He and his men would then lead the slaves into the North and freedom. Needing money and support for his scheme, he gained the confidence of six prominent and wealthy men, the "Secret Six." Although the backers remained willfully ignorant of the details and violent intent of Brown's mission, they agreed to finance it. In the late 1850s, Brown carried out the first part of his plan, and chose his target, Harpers Ferry, Virginia, a prosperous industrial town and the site of a major federal armory.

At Harpers Ferry, Brown planned to seize the armory and distribute arms to local slaves who would then, in turn, incite many others to join the exodus. Clearly, Brown's scheme was unworkable, something his friend Frederick Douglass pointed out to him in their last meeting prior to the attack. Brown did not listen, and many have claimed that at this point he was simply crazy.

In any event, the plan was set in motion on October 17, 1859. Brown and 21 men, including several of his sons, marched into Harpers Ferry and killed five citizens of the town. They captured the armory and then waited for the slave insurrection to begin. It never did, and a group of U.S. Marines under the command of Col. ROBERT E. LEE



Issued in the North during the Civil War, this melodramatic portrayal of John Brown meeting a slave mother and her child on his way to execution was symbolic and used for propaganda purposes. (*Library of Congress*)

easily captured Brown and most of his followers, among them several African Americans.

In November 1859 Brown was convicted by a Virginia court of treason, murder, and insurrection. One month later, on December 2, he was hanged for his crimes. Brown's final message, written shortly before his execution, said, "I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with Blood."

John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry caused a sensation in the country. Although most Northerners condemned his actions, others considered him a martyr to the cause of freedom. Ralph Waldo Emerson called him an "angel of light," and church bells across the North tolled upon his execution. For the slaveholding South, however, he was evil incarnate and proof of a Northern conspiracy to destroy the Southern way of life.

A controversial and disturbing figure, Brown's violent attack at Harpers Ferry widened the gap between North and South and must be counted as one of immediate causes of the Civil War that followed in 1861. Ironically, John Brown finally enjoyed the success in death that had eluded him in life.

See also ABOLITION; BLEEDING KANSAS; KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT.

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—Ruth A. Behling

### **Brown, Joseph Emerson** (1821–1894)

*businessperson, politician*

Businessman, four-term governor of Georgia (1857–65), chief justice of the Georgia Supreme Court (1868–70), and U.S. senator (1880–91), Joseph Brown was born April 15, 1821, in Long Creek, South Carolina, to Mackey and Sally Rice Brown. When Joseph was in his early youth, the family moved to Union County in the north Georgia mountains. He attended Calhoun Academy in South Carolina and upon graduation became a teacher and undertook a private study of the law. In 1845 he gained admission to the Georgia bar, and in 1846 he graduated from Yale Law School.

Brown practiced law in Canton, Georgia, throughout the 1840s and early 1850s. During this time he also began a career in politics, serving as a Georgia state senator and

as a judge of the Blue Ridge Circuit. In 1858 Georgia's DEMOCRATIC PARTY, hopelessly deadlocked after more than a dozen ballots, nominated Brown as a compromise candidate for governor. Although unknown outside of the north Georgia mountains, his folksy image appealed to a broad segment of the population, and he won election by 10,000 votes.

He quickly established a reputation as a stern, resourceful leader with impressive managerial skills. A strong STATES' RIGHTS advocate, Brown became ardently SECESSIONIST upon the election of ABRAHAM LINCOLN. He appealed to nonslaveholders by arguing that the end of SLAVERY would place black people and poor white yeomen in direct competition. Brown argued that black people, desperate to make a living outside the boundaries of slavery, would sell their labor more cheaply than white people. As a result, he claimed, white workers would be reduced to the level of dependent tenants of the wealthy landowning class.

Brown worked hard to prepare Georgia for war by ordering munitions, seizing federal facilities within the state, and using funds borrowed from banks to establish coastal defenses, purchase gun-making supplies, and erect factories for making shoes, clothing, and blankets. His devotion to the state led to early and regular conflicts with the central Confederate government in RICHMOND, Virginia. The conflicts emerged over a variety of issues such as troop recruitment, the election of officers, conscription, the suspension of habeas corpus, taxes, and confiscation of private property without compensation. By 1863 he went so far as to call for the resignation of Confederate president JEFFERSON DAVIS.

After the war, Brown remained an important figure in Georgia politics by adapting to the realities presented by Union victory. He became a Republican, supported both presidential and congressional RECONSTRUCTION, and urged Georgians to accept the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT. Just as importantly, Brown worked hard to bring Northern businesses—mining and railroad companies—to Georgia to help repair his state's ravaged ECONOMY. In the process, he became wealthy himself. When Republican rule ended, Brown reentered the Democratic Party. He emerged as one of the state's most influential leaders, forming an alliance with John B. Gordon and Alfred Colquitt known as the "Bourbon Triumvirate." The three dominated Georgia politics during the 1880s and 1890s, allowing Brown to be elected to the U.S. Senate in 1890. He died on November 30, 1894, in Atlanta, Georgia.

See also CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

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—James Daryl Black



**Brown, William Wells** (1814–1884) *activist, author, doctor*

Born into SLAVERY, William Wells Brown became a conductor of the UNDERGROUND RAILROAD, an antislavery lecturer in the United States and Britain, an author, and a doctor. His work for temperance and for African-American people was a lifelong commitment to which he devoted himself without reservation.

William was born near Lexington, Kentucky, to Elizabeth, a slave on the plantation of John Young. William's father was probably one of Young's cousins, George Higgins. William left Kentucky in 1816, when Young relocated to Missouri. Once in St. Louis, William became the slave of three different men in succession, serving in a variety of capacities, including as a house-servant and later a servant in a bar, an errand runner on a steamboat, an assistant to a physician, and a helper to a printing operation. This widely varied experience served him well later, when William drew on his own history to illustrate the evils of both slavery and alcohol.

William escaped bondage on January 1, 1834. Making his way North, he met a Quaker named Wells Brown, whose friendship inspired him to adopt a new name: William Wells Brown. Stopping in Cleveland, Brown met and married Elizabeth Schooner, with whom he had three children, two of whom survived into adulthood. Brown supported himself and his family by working on steamboats, mostly on Lake Erie. Because of his ability to travel freely, he helped numerous slaves reach freedom in Canada via Detroit and Buffalo. His work on the Underground Railroad freed at least 69 slaves in 1842 alone.

Brown also became a familiar face in Buffalo's temperance societies. He spoke publicly about temperance, gaining skills which he put to use in 1843, when he began to lecture for the New York Anti-Slavery Society. Brown remained one of the society's most popular speakers until 1847, when he and Elizabeth separated, and he assumed custody of their two daughters. Brown left New York for Boston, where the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society had invited him to begin a lecture tour through New England. In Boston, Brown found a home that would suit him for the rest of his life.

In 1849 the American Peace Society sent Brown to Paris, where he represented their interests at the International Peace Conference, seeking British support for anti-slavery activism. In Paris, conferees such as Victor Hugo, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Richard Cobden welcomed Brown warmly. On the last day of the conference, Brown spoke to the attendees about the evils of American slavery. His success led Brown to begin a speaking tour of England. Unfortunately, his time there was prolonged by forces outside his control.

Because of the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, Brown became concerned that if he returned to the United

States he would be reenslaved. Brown had never been "officially" freed, and the issue remained unresolved until 1854. Finally, a group of Brown's English friends collected enough money to buy his freedom, which allowed Brown to return to his work in Boston, where he was active throughout the CIVIL WAR. In 1863 Brown worked with FREDERICK DOUGLASS and others to recruit African-American volunteers for the 54TH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT.

In 1860 Brown married Annie Elizabeth Gray (1835–1920) of Cambridgeport, Massachusetts. In addition to Brown's two daughters by his first wife, Annie gave him two more children, neither of whom survived to adulthood. When the war ended, Brown faced the necessity of earning a living that would support his new family. Having been an assistant to a physician while still a slave, and having studied medicine in his leisure time, Brown reinvented himself as a doctor. Still devoted to the numerous causes that had interested him for so long, he remained active in temperance, writing, speaking, and promoting the movement for the rest of his life. In 1880 Brown published *My Southern Home; or the South and Its People*, which encouraged African Americans to work hard and strive for self-improvement.

In 1884 Brown was stricken with bladder cancer. On November 6, 1884, he died in his home in Chelsea, Massachusetts.

See also ABOLITION.

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—Fiona Galvin

**Bruce, Blanche Kelso** (1841–1898) *educator, politician*

U.S. senator, party leader, and educator, Blanche K. Bruce was born into SLAVERY on March 1, 1841, in Farmville, Virginia. A mulatto, Bruce never knew who his father was. Bruce had a relatively privileged childhood as a household slave. As a playmate of his master's only son, he learned to read and write. During the CIVIL WAR, Bruce moved to Hannibal, Missouri, and established the state's first school for African Americans.

After a short stint at Ohio's Oberlin College, he settled in the Delta region in postwar Mississippi. Bruce won the favor of white planters in Bolivar County with his intelligence, eloquence, and moderate politics. He held the offices of sheriff, tax collector, and superintendent of EDUCATION simultaneously. However, as an educated mulatto from out

of state, Bruce had little in common with the black masses of the Delta. In 1874 he purchased a 1,000-acre plantation. Regardless, his black constituents were loyal supporters because of his symbolic status as a black political leader and because he turned the school system in Bolivar County into one of the strongest in the state. Bruce's star rose in the REPUBLICAN PARTY as well. With the support of Governor Adelbert Ames, Bruce was selected senator from the state of Mississippi in 1875, the first African American to serve a full term in the U.S. Senate.

As a senator, he strongly defended civil rights for African Americans and demanded that the federal government stop violence against black voters. Bruce was a consistent supporter of federal aid for RAILROADS and an advocate for MISSISSIPPI RIVER improvements. He chaired the committee that investigated the failure of the FREEDMAN'S SAVINGS BANK.

After his career in Congress, he worked with John R. Lynch and James Hill, two other African-American Republicans, to control the state Republican Party. The "Triumvirate's" main interest was patronage. Bruce served as register of the treasury in 1881–85 and again in 1897–98. He was appointed recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia from 1891 to 1893.

Blanche K. Bruce died of diabetes on March 17, 1898.

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—Justin J. Behrend

### **Buchanan, James** (1791–1868) 15th president of the United States

James Buchanan, who served as president of the United States (1856–60), was born on April 23, 1791, in Stony Battery, Pennsylvania. Although most well-known for his four years as president, Buchanan had a distinguished career in public service long before he entered the White House, serving in the U.S. Senate, as secretary of state, and as minister to Great Britain. Indeed, public service was the sole focus of Buchanan's life; although engaged once as a young man, he never married.

A lawyer by occupation, Buchanan began his political career with two terms in the Pennsylvania State Assembly beginning in 1814. From 1820 to 1830 he served as a congressman for Pennsylvania, first as a Federalist, and then as a Democrat. Buchanan traveled overseas as the appointed minister to Russia, a duty he performed from

1832 to 1833. Upon his return to Pennsylvania, Buchanan was elected U.S. senator from 1834 to 1845. During his third term, he resigned his seat to accept the post of secretary of state under President James K. Polk. Increasingly, Buchanan aspired to the presidency, but the 1852 nomination went to FRANKLIN PIERCE. President Pierce appointed Buchanan as minister to England, and for the next four years, Buchanan represented American interests overseas.

While in England, Buchanan became embroiled in controversy over the 1854 OSTEND MANIFESTO. Issued by Buchanan, along with the U.S. ministers to France and Spain, the manifesto argued that the United States should purchase the island of Cuba from Spain. If Spain refused, they recommended taking it by force. An unstated assumption of the Ostend Manifesto was that Cuba would join the Union as a slave state. While the manifesto came to nothing, it created an uproar. Spain naturally took offense and began preparations for war. Many antislavery Northerners mobilized against it, and support for the fledgling REPUBLICAN PARTY grew.

A good diplomat, Buchanan kept his job as minister. When he returned to the United States, he found himself a hero among Southern Democrats, who applauded his



James Buchanan, 15th president of the United States (Library of Congress)

pro-Southern and proslavery sympathies so evident in his support of the manifesto. Buchanan was also acceptable to Northern Democrats and secured his party's nomination easily in 1856. He ran on a platform that promoted the end of further agitation over SLAVERY and supported popular sovereignty in the territories. Buchanan defeated Republican John C. Frémont by a comfortable margin.

Buchanan took office in March 1857, and within days he was embroiled in sectional tensions. On March 6, 1857, the Supreme Court announced its decision in the *DRED SCOTT* case. Behind the scenes, Buchanan had exercised his influence to see to it that the decision was favorable to the South. He wanted desperately for the Supreme Court to settle the slavery question. It did not, and the Court's ruling nationalizing slavery outraged Northerners.

Sectional tensions worsened further with Buchanan's implementation of a pro-Southern policy in Kansas. The president felt that he had to mollify his Southern base of support, and so he accepted the fraudulent ELECTIONS that led to a proslavery legislature in the Kansas Territory. Northern Democrats, led by STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, protested in vain. Buchanan unwisely made support for the Kansas Lecompton Constitution, which legalized slavery, a test of party loyalty. This act destroyed the fragile unity of the Democrats. The beleaguered 67-year-old president recommended the admission of Kansas as a slave state, writing in his message to Congress that Kansas "is at this moment as much a slave state as Georgia and South Carolina."

The growing strength of the Republican Party owed much to the ineptitude of Buchanan's presidency, and in 1860 their candidate, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, captured the White House. An embittered Buchanan blamed the Republicans for the SECESSION of the seven southern states during the days and weeks following Lincoln's election. Nevertheless, he deplored the South's actions, stating that the Union was more than a "mere voluntary association of states." Indeed, Buchanan argued, the United States was a sovereign nation "not to be annulled at the pleasure of any one of the contracting parties." However, his strong defense of unionism was not followed by action during the remainder of his tenure.

In March 1861 Buchanan left WASHINGTON, D.C., and spent his remaining years defending his administration, most prominently in *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion*, first published in 1866.

Buchanan died on June 1, 1868, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

See also BLEEDING KANSAS; BUSHWHACKERS; FOREIGN POLICY; JAYHAWKERS; KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT.

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—John P. Bowes

### **Buell, Don C.** (1818–1898) *Union general*

Don Carlos Buell was a Union general whose performance in the CIVIL WAR did not live up to expectations. Buell was born near Marietta, Ohio, on March 23, 1818, the son of a businessman. He graduated from the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1841 with a lieutenant's commission in the 3rd U.S. Infantry. Buell fought in the closing stages of Florida's Second Seminole War and subsequently transferred to Gen. Zachary Taylor's Army of Texas to fight in the Mexican-American War of 1846–48. He distinguished himself in combat at Monterrey, Contreras, and Churubusco, winning two brevet promotions.

In 1859 Buell was briefly attached to the secretary of war's office and then returned west just as the Civil War seemed imminent. Recalled to WASHINGTON, D.C., he became a brigadier general on May 17, 1861. After organizing the city's defenses, he received a division in Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN's Army of the Potomac. With his well-deserved reputation for efficiency, administration, and strategy, he was considered one of the UNION ARMY's most promising officers.

In November 1861 Buell replaced Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN as head of the Department of the Ohio. On the evening of April 6, 1862, his army reached Shiloh (Pittsburg Landing), Tennessee, after the first day of costly fighting. The following morning Buell attacked and drove off the Confederates under Gen. PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD. The turning point in Buell's fortunes occurred in August 1862, when CONFEDERATE ARMIES under Generals BRAXTON BRAGG and Edmund Kirby-Smith invaded Kentucky. With his base at Louisville now threatened, Buell hastily marched north to secure it while Bragg lingered at Frankfort, installing a Confederate government.

Reinforced and resupplied, Buell now prepared for a military showdown with Bragg. Meanwhile the War Department, having wearied of his lethargic movements, nearly replaced him with Gen. GEORGE H. THOMAS. On October 8, 1862, Buell encountered Bragg at Perryville, Kentucky, and a bloody battle raged. Buell enjoyed a numerical superiority of 55,000 to 15,000—roughly four to one—but Bragg managed nearly to drive the Federals from the field before finally retreating. Buell then failed to pursue the defeated Southerners as they leisurely withdrew through the Cumberland Gap and back into Tennessee. For this failure he



was relieved of command by the War Department on October 24, 1862, replaced by Gen. WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS. Buell's anti-EMANCIPATION views had also diminished his reputation in President ABRAHAM LINCOLN's estimation.

On June 1, 1864, Buell angrily resigned his regular army commission and left the service altogether. He then retired to Louisville, where he worked as president of the Green River Iron Works until his death on November 19, 1898. Buell was a talented disciplinarian and administrator, but military historians have judged him an uninspired and plodding general.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Bulloch, James D.** (1823–1901) *Confederate foreign agent in Europe*

James Dunwody Bulloch was a highly successful Confederate naval agent. Born near Savannah, Georgia, on June 25, 1823, Bulloch entered the U.S. Navy as a midshipman in 1839 and served capably over the next 14 years. He resigned in 1853, with the rank of lieutenant, to join the merchant marines. He eventually found work with a northern shipping firm, carrying mail between New York and Savannah. Bulloch was functioning in this capacity when the Civil War commenced in 1861. Although intending to join the Confederacy, he returned his vessel to its rightful owners before venturing south.

Confederate secretary of the navy STEPHEN R. MALORY was sufficiently impressed by Bulloch's experience to appoint him the South's naval agent in Great Britain, with the rank of commander. Bulloch was instructed to acquire ships, naval supplies, and munitions for the Confederacy. He settled at the port of Liverpool and began his clandestine work, which involved a diplomatic cat-and-mouse game with Thomas Haines Dudley, the U.S. minister in Liverpool. Bulloch succeeded in contracting Laird & Co. to construct two sleek cruisers, which passed into Confederate hands as the CSS *Florida* and *ALABAMA* in 1862. Bulloch himself commanded the steamer *Fingal* that year, skillfully ran the Union blockade, and delivered a large cargo of arms and supplies to Savannah.

In 1863 Bulloch contracted and funded construction of two heavily armed ironclad warships intended to break the Union blockade. Cognizant of the threat, U.S. minister to London Charles Francis Adams warned that if either of them ended up in Southern hands, the result would be war with the United States. The British government seized the

completed vessels, and a crisis was averted. This and Dudley's diplomatic maneuvering eventually forced Bulloch to relocate the bulk of his operations to France. In 1864 Bulloch prevailed on the French government to allow large ironclads to be constructed in French shipyards. But their release was persistently blocked by Emperor Napoleon III, and only one such vessel, the CSS *Stonewall*, ever made it to sea.

Rarely does a nation put so much military responsibility in the hands of a single man, but Bulloch's results bore out the confidence that the Confederate government had placed in him. He achieved impressive success, inflicting great damage upon Union commercial interests and helping to prolong the war. Bulloch's notoriety was such that President ANDREW JOHNSON specifically excluded him from a general amnesty in 1868. Fearing prosecution, he never returned home but remained in Liverpool, where he engaged in the mercantile cotton trade. After completing his memoirs, Bulloch died there on January 7, 1901. That same year his nephew Theodore Roosevelt was sworn in as president of the United States.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Bull Run/Manassas, First and Second Battles of**

(July 21, 1861, and August 29–30, 1862)

The First Battle of Bull Run, also called First Manassas, was the first major engagement of the CIVIL WAR. The battle took place on July 21, 1861. Southern troops inflicted a humiliating defeat on Northern forces. The Second Battle of Bull Run, or Second Manassas, was fought on August 29 and 30, 1862, with Confederate forces once again defeating the Union troops. Northerners named the battles after Bull Run Creek, while Southerners referred to it by the name of the nearby town of Manassas.

Following the Confederate capture of FORT SUMTER in April 1861, both sides spent the next three months preparing their troops for action in the eastern theater. Men from the North and South responded to the call to arms, and the ranks of both armies swelled with thousands of new and untrained recruits. Northern soldiers enlisted for 90 days, and by July, those enlistments were nearly done. President ABRAHAM LINCOLN pushed his commanders to fight the Confederates before the UNION ARMY lost its recruits. Although Union general Irvin McDowell, head of the eastern Union army, was not sure that his men were truly ready for combat, he complied with Lincoln's wishes.

On July 21, McDowell set out with about 28,000 troops to capture the Confederate capital of RICHMOND,



First Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861 (*Library of Congress*)

VIRGINIA. Only 2,000 of his men were experienced soldiers, while the remainder had volunteered at the outbreak of hostilities. A good indication of his army's raw condition is that it required two and a half days to cover 22 miles to get as far as Centreville, while another two days elapsed bringing up the requisite supplies. In concert with this movement, Gen. Robert Patterson's 18,000 men were ordered to tie down Confederate forces in the nearby Shenandoah Valley and prevent them from sending reinforcements. McDowell expected to encounter about 20,000 Confederate soldiers under the command of Gen. PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD. McDowell did not know that 12,000 additional Southern troops had reinforced Beauregard's troops. Gen. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, who commanded these troops, had cleverly duped Union forces at Shenandoah with a cavalry screen and shipped nearly his entire force by rail to join Beauregard. Johnston outranked Beauregard but as a military courtesy allowed the latter to maintain tactical control of the engagement. Word reached WASHINGTON, D.C., that the two sides would meet near the town of Manassas, about 25 miles southwest of the Union capital. A number of Washington residents traveled out to watch what most Yankees expected would be a rout of the Confederate troops.

McDowell, a competent staff officer with many years of experience, had formulated an excellent battle plan for turning the Confederate left flank using numerous feints. It might have succeeded in the hands of veteran troops, but it proved too complicated for inexperienced men and officers to carry out. Ironically, Beauregard himself also intended to turn his opponent's left flank, but his marching orders were garbled or misinterpreted so that the bulk of Confederate forces remained stationary. Had both sides succeeded in their strategy, numerous onlookers would have watched two armies simultaneously turn each other's flank and

reverse positions. The contest commenced at 5:00 A.M. on the morning of July 21, as Union troops moved out against the stone bridge spanning Bull Run Creek.

McDowell's men launched several attacks, pushing back the Confederate forces. Then Confederate resistance stiffened, led by Gen. THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON. One Confederate commander told his men, "Look, there is Jackson standing like a stone wall," giving the general his famous nickname. After halting the Union advance, Beauregard ordered a counterattack. The inexperienced Federal troops broke under the pressure and fled the battlefield in a panic that became derisively known as the "Great Skedaddle." The observers from Washington also ran back toward the capital, amazed that the Confederates had defeated the Union forces. Toward the end of the fighting, President JEFFERSON DAVIS arrived on the field and encouraged Beauregard and Johnston to pursue McDowell, but both generals realized that their own army was as disorganized as the enemy's. The victorious rebels had suffered 1,982 casualties: 387 killed, 1,582 wounded, and 13 missing. Northern losses were greater: 460 killed, 1,124 wounded, and 1,312 missing, for a total of 2,896. President Lincoln responded to the embarrassment by removing McDowell and replacing him with Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN. The battle also revealed that defeating the South would be much more difficult than many in the North had expected.

By the Second Battle of Bull Run, fought in August 1862, both armies were battle-tested. Gen. ROBERT E. LEE was now in command of Confederate forces. Having driven a huge Union army from the gates of Richmond, during the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN, he sought to defeat a Union army under the command of Gen. John Pope. Lee knew that two separate Union forces threatened his troops in Virginia. Pope commanded about 55,000 men in central Virginia, while George B. McClellan had about 100,000 men near Washington. President Lincoln had ordered the two Union forces to unify under McClellan's command, a fact known to the Confederates. Realizing that his forces would be outnumbered three to one if the Union plan succeeded, Lee determined to give battle at once to destroy Pope's army before it could join with McClellan's.

Lee sent Stonewall Jackson to observe the Federals, and Jackson won a battle on August 9 at the BATTLE OF CEDAR MOUNTAIN. The Confederate victory did not provoke an immediate Union response, so Jackson led a raid that resulted in the destruction of Pope's supply depot at Manassas on August 27. His hard-marching and celebrated "foot cavalry" covered more than 50 miles in two days, completing one of the war's most impressive forced marches. The next day Jackson ambushed the brigade of Gen. John Gibbon at Groveton, but with far less success:



Gibbon's famous "Iron Brigade" fought the Confederates to a bloody standoff in which Gen. RICHARD STODDERT EWELL lost a leg and Gen. William Taliaferro was also seriously injured. Meanwhile, Pope, angered at the loss of supplies, moved against Jackson's positions and launched his 55,000 troops against Jackson's 12,000 on August 29. The Southerners held out against Pope's poorly coordinated attacks while Lee and Gen. JAMES LONGSTREET, commanding the remainder of Lee's 50,000 men, hurried to join forces with Jackson. Pope refused to believe reports that Longstreet had arrived with reinforcements and launched a new attack against Jackson's troops on the morning of August 30. The V Corps under Gen. Fitz John Porter, which had detected Longstreet's approach, disobeyed the order to attack and hung in reserve. This inaction cost Porter his military career but probably saved the Union army from destruction. Longstreet's men raked the advancing Northerners with artillery fire, breaking the attack. Lee then ordered Longstreet to attack and outflank the Union forces. The Confederate troops turned the Union left flank and forced them to retreat. Complete disaster was averted when the divisions of Generals George Sykes and John Reynolds conducted a determined rearguard action that allowed the bulk of Pope's army to withdraw safely to Centreville. Unlike the First Battle of Bull Run, Northern troops retreated in good order and remained intact. During the campaign, the South recorded 9,200 dead, wounded, or missing in action, while Union casualties numbered 16,000. The Confederate victory dashed Northern hopes for conquering Virginia quickly. The scope of the defeat had immediate consequences for Pope, whom President Lincoln relieved from duty and exiled to a quiet post in Minnesota. It also signaled the return of Gen. McClellan to command of the demoralized Army of the Potomac, which he quickly and efficiently reorganized. Meanwhile, Lee and his army, coming off a string of victories in the summer and fall of 1862, decided to take the war North and invaded Maryland in September.

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—Matthew G. McCoy

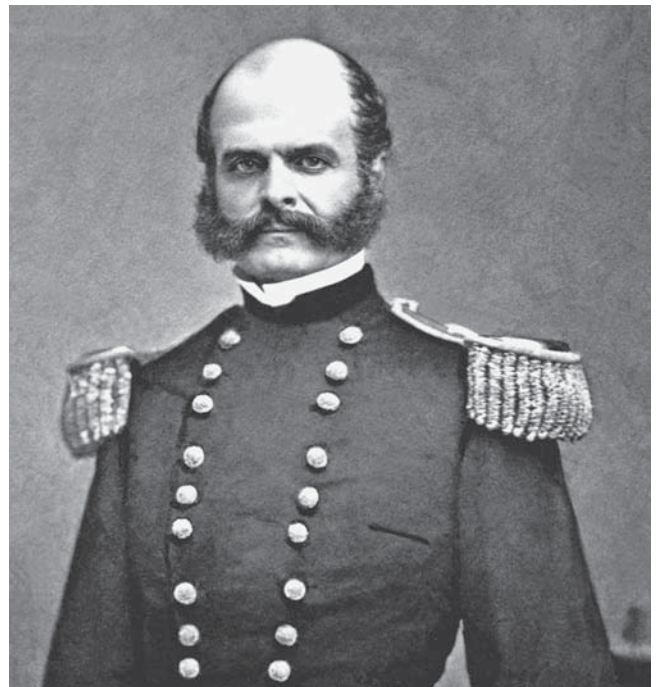
**Burnside, Ambrose E.** (1824–1881) *Union army general*

Inventor of the Burnside carbine, a Union general, and three-time governor of Rhode Island, Ambrose Everett Burnside was the commander of the Army of the Potomac between November 1862 and January 1863.

Burnside was born in Liberty, Indiana, in 1824. Originally from South Carolina, his father had freed the family's slaves and moved north shortly before Ambrose's birth. Burnside entered the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1843. Graduating 18th in the class of 1847, he saw action in the Mexican-American War. Remaining in the regular army after the war, he was wounded by Apache warriors while guarding the Southwestern border area.

In 1853 Burnside resigned his army position and moved to Rhode Island. There he started a manufacturing company that produced a breech-loading rifle he himself had designed. When Burnside failed to secure a crucial government contract, his creditors took ownership of his patents. Thousands of Burnside carbines would be produced for the army during the CIVIL WAR.

In the late 1850s Burnside moved from one job and state to another. He worked for GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN, a fellow West Pointer and future commander, on the Illinois Central Railroad, and for the Rhode Island Militia. At the beginning of the Civil War, Burnside rejoined the army and was appointed colonel in the First Rhode Island



Ambrose E. Burnside (National Archives)

Volunteers. He fought at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN and shortly thereafter was elevated to brigadier general by President Lincoln. Burnside's successful campaigns in North Carolina led to the capture of Roanoke Island, New Bern, Beaufort, and Fort Macon.

Promoted to major general in 1862, Burnside commanded the IX Corps in the Army of the Potomac, which he led during the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM in September 1862. On the day of the battle, September 17, Burnside's orders from Gen. George B. McClellan were to move against Lee's right side, which had been seriously weakened during the terrible fighting. Seized with indecision, Burnside delayed moving his corps over a stone bridge (now known as "Burnside's Bridge") that crossed Antietam Creek. That delay allowed Confederate reinforcements to strengthen the lines, and one of the great opportunities for a smashing Union victory was lost forever.

Burnside's boss, George B. McClellan, lost his command a month later, and Lincoln appointed a reluctant Burnside in his place. Burnside had declined Lincoln twice before, not only out of loyalty to his friend but because of an accurate assessment of his lowly generalship capabilities. Predictably, Burnside's command of the Army of the Potomac was a disaster. First, he lost a costly battle in December 1862 at FREDERICKSBURG, Virginia, against Lee's vastly outnumbered army. Then, in a vain attempt to redeem his reputation and uplift his demoralized army, Burnside decided to go "on to Richmond" in the middle of the winter. His troops were dry when they started their march out of the WASHINGTON, D.C., camps on January 19, but soon the rains came, and "Burnside's Mud March" became the laughingstock of the nation.

In January 1863 Lincoln removed Burnside from command of the Army of the Potomac and replaced him with Gen. JOSEPH HOOKER. By March he had been given command of the Department of the Ohio. Away from the battlefield, Burnside proved more successful. He arrested and tried Democratic congressman CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM, a notorious COPPERHEAD. He also managed to direct the capture of Confederate JOHN HUNT MORGAN, whose cavalymen were threatening southern Ohio. Toward the end of the year, Burnside ably defended Knoxville against Confederate forces, saving the city for the Union.

Burnside joined the 1864 spring campaigns under Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT. He was placed in charge of his old IX Corps and saw fighting at the WILDERNESS, SPOTSYLVANIA, and North Anna. During the siege of Petersburg, Burnside devised a bold plan that went wrong in the Battle of the Crater, causing the senseless loss of many lives. This time he was gone for good. Burnside resigned from the army on April 15, 1865.

Burnside's postwar years were very successful. He became a prosperous businessman and achieved a solid

record in Rhode Island's political history. He was elected three times to the governorship, and in 1874 he was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he served until his death on September 13, 1881, in Bristol, Rhode Island. He is buried in Providence.

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—Fiona Galvin

## bushwhackers

During the CIVIL WAR, the term *bushwhacker* was applied to Southerners or Confederate supporters who carried on guerrilla warfare. While the targets of bushwhackers were usually Union soldiers, property, and interests, the name also implied a tendency to plunder private citizens and property.

The violence that plagued Kansas and Missouri in the 1850s spilled over into the 1860s and gave rise to some of the most notorious bushwhackers. One example is WILLIAM CLARKE QUANTRILL, an Ohio native who led a band of bushwhackers into Kansas and sacked the town of Aubry in March 1862. A year and a half later the band raided and burned the city of Lawrence, killing about 150 civilians.

Quantrill attracted men such as Coleman and Robert Younger, Jesse and Frank James, Dave Poole, Arch Clements, "Bloody Bill" Anderson, and George Todd. Anderson and Todd later formed their own bushwhacker bands. Anderson led a bloody attack at Centralia, Missouri, in 1864 in which his guerrillas robbed a train, murdered a number of unarmed Union soldiers, and then scalped and mutilated Union militia casualties in an ensuing fight.

Some Confederate bushwhackers carried on more legitimate warfare, such as JOHN SINGLETON MOSBY, who led guerrilla operations in Union-held northern Virginia. He was commissioned a captain by the Confederate government and organized his small band of guerrillas into the 43rd Virginia Partisan Ranger Battalion. Mosby led many successful guerrilla attacks against Union RAILROADS, supply and communication lines, and bridges. Brig. Gen. JOHN HUNT MORGAN carried on similar operations behind Union lines in Kentucky and Ohio.

Bushwhackers forced the Union to increase troop numbers in vulnerable rear areas and caused several minor logistical problems. In many areas their brutality and disregard for accepted methods of warfare led to bitterness that extended well beyond the end of the Civil War.

See also BLEEDING KANSAS.

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*War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); James A. Ramage, *Gray Ghost: The Life of Col. John Singleton Mosby* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999).

—Richard J. Roder

**Butler, Benjamin Franklin** (1818–1893) *Union general, politician*

Lawyer, Democratic politician, and businessman, Union general Benjamin Butler was born in New Hampshire but lived most of his life in Massachusetts. Educated at Waterville College in Maine, Butler joined the Massachusetts bar in 1840. Although he practiced criminal law, Butler's real passion was politics, and in 1853 he won a seat in the Massachusetts State House. By 1859 he had worked his way up to the state senate as a Democrat. To support himself, Butler also operated a mill in Lowell, Massachusetts, producing wool cloth.

Although Butler was a Northerner, he hoped a moderate Southern president could avoid sectional strife. Disappointed when war erupted, he stoutly declared himself 100 percent behind the Union. Butler was appointed brigadier general in the Massachusetts Volunteers. For his service in helping to stop the BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, RIOTS in the spring of 1861, he was promoted to major general. Overall, Butler was valued far more for his political skills than his military talents. In command and in battle, Butler proved to be one of the worst of the so-called political generals, those men whose high army appointments were owed entirely to their ability to marshal support and votes for the government.

Stationed at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, Butler first came to the nation's attention when he declared fleeing slaves "CONTRABAND of war." This circumvented federal authority and antagonized slaveholders in both rebel states and border states like Maryland. Butler's unpopularity with Southern civilians grew during his administration of Louisiana as military governor in 1862. During this time, Butler issued his infamous order that forced Confederate women to treat Union soldiers with respect or to suffer severe penalties.

Although Butler's supporters considered his administration able, he was accused of corruption and even theft

by locals, who said that "Spoons" Butler had stolen silverware from the confiscated home in which he lived. Many generals were dismissed or demoted for displaying such breathtaking incompetence. Butler, however, was a wily and popular figure from an important state. Lincoln could not afford to offend him, especially since Butler switched his allegiance to the REPUBLICAN PARTY in 1862.

Butler emerged as a champion of the use of African-American soldiers and, while in New Orleans, raised the Louisiana Native Guard, one of the first two black units to fight in the UNION ARMY. Removed from the Crescent City in early 1863, Butler was placed in charge of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina. In 1864 he led the newly formed Army of the James in the campaign to take RICHMOND, where his battlefield fiascos led to his retirement, courtesy of Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT. Butler resigned his commission on November 30, 1865.

During RECONSTRUCTION, Congressman Butler joined the RADICAL REPUBLICANS and worked for the impeachment of President ANDREW JOHNSON. He also worked to guarantee the political rights and personal safety of African Americans, including lending his strong support to the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1875.

Butler served as Massachusetts governor from 1882 until 1884. Always a champion of the working masses, he was nominated for president by the People's Party on an antimonopoly platform. However, Butler's personal and political tactics remained controversial, and he was widely despised for his documented corrupt practices. Nevertheless, in spite of his incompetence on the battlefield and his vain and arrogant demeanor, he was a devoted public servant. He helped to secure a number of important reforms, including many of the progressive race laws of Reconstruction. Benjamin Butler died on January 11, 1893, in WASHINGTON, D.C.

See also NEW ORLEANS, BATTLE OF.

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—Chad Vanderford





**Calhoun, John C.** See VOLUME IV.

**Carney, William Harvey** (1840–1908) *Civil War veteran*

William H. Carney was the first African American to receive the Congressional MEDAL OF HONOR during the CIVIL WAR. He was born in 1840 in Norfolk, Virginia, to a slave father who escaped to the North via the UNDERGROUND RAILROAD. The family settled in New Bedford, Massachusetts, one of the major stops for fugitive slaves, and briefly the home of abolitionist FREDERICK DOUGLASS. Carney was working as a laborer when the war broke out. In February 1863, the Massachusetts governor John A. Andrew organized the first all-black regiment and called for volunteers. Carney and 39 other African Americans from New Bedford joined the 54TH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT. The New Bedford men were part of the 54th's famed Company C.

Carney was selected to be a sergeant, one of the non-commissioned officers of the unit. After training near Boston, the 54th was sent to Hilton Head, South Carolina, to participate in the Union campaign to reduce the forts and batteries that protected Charleston. On the night of July 18, 1863, the Massachusetts Regiment led an assault on Fort Wagner, the main fortification that protected Charleston Harbor. Commanded by Col. Robert Gould Shaw, the 54th displayed great courage in battle. William H. Carney was one of the few to make it to the top of the fort, where he rescued the regimental flag from the dead color bearer. Injured three times, Carney survived the battle, and upon entering the field hospital for wounded men he told his comrades: "Boys, the old flag never touched the ground."

The regiment saw further action in South Carolina and Florida before disbanding. Carney was officially discharged on June 30, 1864. He returned to New Bedford and worked as a mail carrier and later as an elevator operator in the Massachusetts State House. After the war, Wil-

liam H. Carney gave many speeches recounting his role in the battle of Fort Wagner. He became a symbol of African-American manliness and courage, and he was memorialized in paintings and sculpture. Carney's Medal of Honor was awarded to him in May 1900, nearly 37 years after the attack on Fort Wagner. Carney died on December 9, 1908, in Boston, Massachusetts.

See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN REGIMENTS.

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**carpetbaggers**

Carpetbaggers were Northerners who either moved to the South or remained in the South after the CIVIL WAR. They were one segment of the Southern Republican coalition that also included SCALAWAGS and African Americans. The carpetbaggers comprised only 16 percent of this coalition, but they dominated Republican politics in the region. They bore primary responsibility for dealing with the practical problems of reconstructing the South. Republican leaders also hoped that carpetbaggers could help to build a permanent presence for the REPUBLICAN PARTY in Southern politics.

The motivations of the carpetbaggers were diverse. Some had humanitarian motives and wanted to help the former slaves make the transition to freedom. This was certainly the case with Republican Adelbert Ames from Maine. A distinguished Union officer, Ames was the RECONSTRUCTION governor and U.S. senator from Mississippi who struggled mightily to help the freedpeople of his adopted state. Other carpetbaggers wanted to help bind the nation's wounds and to facilitate political and economic cooperation between North and South. Still others sensed





Cartoon showing Carl Schurz, a German-born editor, soldier, and politician. Despite the characterization of Schurz as a carpetbagger, he actually opposed the Radical Reconstruction policies. (*Library of Congress*)

that the postwar South offered excellent political and economic opportunities.

The carpetbaggers and their Republican allies faced a number of significant obstacles in achieving their goals, however. First, the Republican governments lacked the power to make permanent changes in Southern life. Their hold on office was tenuous at best, and even in the best of circumstances it is difficult for governments to render significant social, economic, and political change in a short period of time. An even greater issue was that the Republican coalition depended on black votes and military rule. White Southerners hated the carpetbaggers for this. Indeed, it was white Southerners who created the term *carpetbagger*, based on a stereotype of carpetbaggers as individuals who had carried their belongings South in the same cheap, carpet suitcases used by salesmen. White Southerners also maintained that carpetbaggers were corrupt and were only interested in their own personal financial and political gains.

The Southern depiction of the carpetbaggers as unscrupulous schemers has found its way into many history books. Certainly, there was some truth to this characterization. There were a number of carpetbaggers who were corrupt and who cared little about the needs of their constituents or their party. These individuals were an exception to the rule, however. Most carpetbaggers did what they could under difficult circumstances, and they achieved a few successes.

Under the carpetbagger-led governments, a public EDUCATION system was set up in every state. This was a major achievement because, before the war, North Carolina was the only Southern state with a public education system. By 1900 African-American literacy had climbed above 50 percent. In addition, civil rights protection was legislated and discrimination was outlawed. The federal CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1866 required that states treat African Americans equally under the law; this was followed by antidiscrimination policies passed by Republican state governments.

As important as the successes of the carpetbagger-led governments were, they must be balanced against their failures. Carpetbaggers focused heavily on building internal improvements, particularly RAILROADS. They thought that the spread of railroads would usher in the "New South," with a modern, industrialized ECONOMY. When it came time to build, however, the railroads were often poorly planned or poorly executed. Contracts were granted to corrupt corporations, sometimes in violation of state law. By the time Reconstruction ended, only 7,000 miles of new railroad track had been laid in the South.

In addition to their belief in the value of railroads, carpetbaggers also came south looking to redistribute Southern land. This was another area in which the Republicans largely failed. With the exception of creating the South Carolina land commission in 1868, nothing was ever done to grant land to the freedmen. Virtually all African Americans were forced to work as laborers during Reconstruction. Eventually, this evolved into SHARECROPPING, which trapped African Americans in poverty.

Ultimately, then, the carpetbaggers had a mixed record. They were able to expand educational opportunities for freedmen and also to help secure the passage of important civil rights legislation on the state level. Meanwhile, they made little progress in building internal improvements and in providing land for the freedmen. The carpetbaggers also failed in their larger goal of establishing a unified, politically viable Republican coalition in the South. The era of Reconstruction left most white Southerners with a deep and abiding resentment of the Republicans, which laid the groundwork for the "REDEMPTION" of the South by white Democratic politicians. With the demise of the carpetbaggers and scalawags and the curtailing of African Americans' voting rights, the Republican Party would not again have a meaningful presence in the South for nearly a century.

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—Christopher Bates

## cartography

Cartography is the art of making maps and charts. Throughout the first part of the 19th century, the U.S. government spent a great deal of time and money on expeditions to map the land that the country had acquired, especially the vast Louisiana Purchase. Meanwhile, the older and more heavily settled areas of the country received very little attention from government cartographers. These areas eventually became the battlegrounds for much of the CIVIL WAR, and so the oversight created a major logistical problem for commanders on both sides, necessitating the creation of thousands of new maps.

The Union was better prepared to make the maps that were needed, since it had several experienced mapmaking units already in place, including the U.S. Coastal Survey and the Navy's Hydrographic Office. The most important was the UNION ARMY's Engineering Corps, which included a group of specialists in cartography known as the Topographical Bureau. The bureau had been created in 1816 and by the time of the Civil War had grown to 45 men under the command of Col. William E. Merrill. Only seven of the 45 cartographers resigned their commissions to join the Confederacy when the war broke out, and only two of the seven were senior members of the bureau. In addition to retaining the majority of the nation's experienced military cartographers, the Union also had better technology for duplicating maps. The North's prosperity allowed for the purchase of lithographic presses, which had only been recently developed. Although very heavy, these presses could travel with an army, and they allowed for high-quality reproductions of maps at a rapid pace.

The only real advantage that the Confederacy enjoyed in the creation of maps was that the war was largely fought in their home territory. This made it easier to make accurate maps, since local residents of an area that was being mapped could generally be counted on for assistance. However, this benefit was largely negated by other obstacles confronting Confederate mapmakers. For the first year of the war, the Confederacy had no entity responsible for coordinating mapmaking operations. Not until ROBERT E. LEE took command of the Army of Northern Virginia in June 1862 was a topographical department established, under the command of Capt. Albert H. Campbell.

Campbell's staff was small, and the materials needed for mapmaking were in short supply in the South, so it was

impossible for the Confederate mapmakers to produce anywhere near as many maps as their Union counterparts. Even the Confederate capital of RICHMOND was not completely mapped until early 1863, when the war was nearly half over. Campbell also did not have modern technology for duplicating maps, and so the maps given to Confederate field commanders tended to be much cruder than the maps used by the Union field commanders.

Despite the Union's cartographic advantages over the Confederacy, the first months of the war were largely fought without good maps on either side. During the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN of 1862, for example, leaders on both sides of the conflict were hampered by their poor understanding of local geography. Confederate general Richard Taylor wrote that "Confederate Commanders knew no more about the topography of the country than they did about Central Africa." Union general GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN concurred, noting that "good maps were not to be found." As the war progressed, however, such complaints were less frequent. Indeed, Northern mapmakers in particular became an industry unto themselves. In 1864, the final full year of the war, the Union's various mapmaking bureaucracies produced 43,000 maps and 44,000 nautical charts. By the end of the year, virtually the entire Confederacy had been mapped.

Confederate mapmakers could not approach the level of production achieved by their Union counterparts, although they did have some notable successes. The Confederacy's finest mapmaker was Jedediah Hotchkiss, a self-taught cartographer who was on the staff of Gen. THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON. Shortly after joining the CONFEDERATE ARMY in March 1862, Hotchkiss was instructed to make the maps needed for Jackson's SHENANDOAH VALLEY CAMPAIGN. He responded by producing what are arguably the finest maps created by any cartographer on either side of the war. Jackson went on to defeat a numerically superior Union force, and undoubtedly Hotchkiss's maps played an important role in the victory.

Of course, the Union's cartographers had a few successes of their own. Perhaps the most significant occurred in 1864, when a group of mapmakers was ordered to help make the preparations for SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA. Under the direct supervision of Colonel Merrill, they completed their "Map of Northern Georgia" on May 2, 1864. The map's level of accuracy was an impressive achievement, given that it was created by men working in enemy territory. And even when it was inaccurate, the map enabled Union commanders to coordinate their actions, since they were all working off of the same map.

Cartographers on both sides played an important role as the Civil War unfolded. By the middle of 1862, mapmakers were providing invaluable intelligence, often at a dizzying pace. Despite their valuable service, however,

they received little credit during or after the war. Indeed, they continue to remain largely obscure; their maps are not often reproduced, and mention of their work is rarely incorporated into discussions of TACTICS AND STRATEGY.

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—Christopher Bates

**Cary, Mary Ann Shadd** (1823–1893) *activist, author, educator, journalist*

Mary Ann Shadd Cary was a free-born African-American teacher, author, activist, and journalist. Compelled by a deeply rooted commitment to activism, she spoke out on behalf of fugitive slaves and against both SLAVERY and racism, most famously in the newspaper the *Provincial Freeman*.

Born to free African Americans on October 9, 1823, Mary Ann Shadd was the first of 13 children. She spent her earliest years in Delaware and Pennsylvania. Educated by Quakers and raised Roman Catholic, Shadd distrusted organized mainstream RELIGION because of its role in supporting slavery. In religion, as in everything else, she believed that African Americans should not assimilate but, rather, should develop their own culture while taking full measure of the opportunities of the nation as a whole.

Shadd worked as a teacher in several Northern cities before she moved with her brother to Canada West in 1850. A region roughly surrounding the Canadian side of the Great Lakes, Canada West was a common destination for escaped slaves. Initially, Shadd taught in Canada West, a part of her salary supplied by the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, a relationship she later regretted. In 1852 she published a 44-page pamphlet, *Notes on Canada West* (1852), intended to help fugitive slaves reach Canada and prosper. The pamphlet informed prospective black immigrants of local crop yields, terrain, soil, and climate conditions.

In 1853 Shadd began a career as a writer and editor. Samuel Ringgold Ward offered her a position with the *Provincial Freeman*, a journal written for the men and women of Canada West who had escaped to freedom. Shadd soon became editor of the paper, and her writing and activism made her a spokesperson for fugitive slaves as a whole.

She participated in antislavery politics with zest and vigor, wading right into the often messy fights among different factions. Expressing strong opinions, Shadd clashed with fellow writers and social workers who viewed African Americans less as citizens than as victims and REFUGEES. She also denounced the Refugee Home Society, claiming that it offered no great advantages over the refugee resettlement programs of the Canadian government. Her strident editorials alienated many supporters, and the paper failed in 1859.

In 1856 Shadd met and married Thomas G. F. Cary, with whom she had a daughter and a son. Thomas Cary died in November 1860. In 1863 Cary, now widowed, returned to the United States to assist in the CIVIL WAR. She served as a recruiting agent for the UNION ARMY in Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan, and helped organize an AFRICAN-AMERICAN REGIMENT. After the war she resettled in WASHINGTON, D.C., and from 1870 to 1874 she served as principal at a public school for black children.

Around this time Cary began to engage in the movement for women's rights. She joined the NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, addressing that body in 1878. In 1880 she founded the Colored Woman's Progressive Franchise Association, and she returned to Canada in 1881 to organize a suffrage event. Not content with her considerable accomplishments, Cary also joined the student body of Howard University, taking evening classes in pursuit of a degree in law. It was granted in 1883, when Cary was 60 years old. She testified before the House of Representatives' Judiciary Committee to press for her right to vote, and she became one of the few women allowed to vote in elections during RECONSTRUCTION.

To the very end Mary Ann Shadd Cary denounced begging and charity as a solution for African Americans and advocated vigorous self-improvement and self-reliance. She died of cancer on June 5, 1893, leaving a powerful legacy as a journalist, teacher, and social reformer.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Fiona Galvin

**Catto, Octavius V.** (1839–1871) *activist, minister*

Minister, activist, and reformer, Octavius Catto was born and raised in PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, and educated at the Institute for Colored Youth, a Quaker-run school for African Americans. Catto had a great deal of skill



as an orator, and after graduation he followed his father William into the ministry. He quickly became a prominent leader of Philadelphia's African-American community and an ardent civil rights activist.

Philadelphia was known in the antebellum era for its hostility toward people of color. After a visit to the city, FREDERICK DOUGLASS wrote, "There is not perhaps anywhere to be found a city in which prejudice against color is more rampant than in Philadelphia." Catto was not deterred, however. He was particularly concerned with voting rights, which had been extended to Pennsylvania's African Americans by the state constitution of 1790 and then revoked by an act of the state legislature in 1838. In hopes of regaining the vote, Catto led petition drives, attended state and national meetings of African-American leaders, gave countless speeches, and organized election day protests. The only tangible result of Catto's efforts was increased violence against Philadelphia's African-American population, including an 1849 riot that received national attention.

During the CIVIL WAR, Catto lobbied for the enlistment of African-American troops, believing that men who had taken up arms for the United States could not possibly be denied their rights as citizens. When the word came in 1863 that government would begin to accept black regiments, Catto organized a group of 100 volunteers. They traveled to Harrisburg and, after some reluctance on the part of Governor Andrew Curtin, were mustered into the UNION ARMY as part of the Sixth U.S. Colored Infantry.

After the war, Catto continued his work, and he was deeply gratified by the passage of the FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT in 1870. In October 1871, Philadelphia's first ELECTIONS after the amendment's passage, Catto traveled around town exhorting all African Americans to vote. As in 1849, there was a riot, and this time Catto was killed. His funeral was attended by thousands of people, and according to one eyewitness, "Not since the funeral cortege of ABRAHAM LINCOLN has there been one as large or as imposing in Philadelphia." Catto's murder was an early indication of what was to become a recurring theme of the RECONSTRUCTION era—legal equality for African Americans did not necessarily translate into actual equality.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—Christopher Bates

## Cedar Mountain, Battle of (August 9, 1862)

At the Battle of Cedar Mountain, Confederate forces under THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON managed to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. The battle thus became an important step in turning back the Union offensives launched in the summer of 1862, a task that was completed 19 days later at the SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

By July 1862 GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN'S PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN had essentially failed, and he had ordered the withdrawal of Union troops from the area around RICHMOND. To the south, however, Union general John Pope was enjoying a fair amount of success. A portion of Pope's Federal forces, led by Gen. Nathaniel Banks, captured the town of Culpeper and made plans to move further south.

To neutralize the threat, 14,000 troops under Stonewall Jackson were sent to halt the Union's advance. Jackson was not himself aware that Union troops held the town of Culpeper, and so when the Confederates arrived there on the afternoon of August 9, they essentially stumbled into an ambush. Union artillery pounded the Southerners as Gen. JUBAL A. EARLY attempted to organize a line of artillery and infantry with which to fight back. The artillery battle lasted for three hours and claimed the lives of many Confederates.

At 5:00 that afternoon, Banks ordered a pair of infantry attacks against the poorly organized Confederate line. The attacks broke through and trapped many of Jackson's troops on the narrow, winding road leading to Culpeper. In the confusion, a substantial number of Southern soldiers were killed, while others threw down their guns and fled. Jackson arrived on the scene in the midst of this panicked retreat, and he responded swiftly. Jackson drew his sword, the only time this is known to have happened during the war, and he himself led the Confederate countercharge. At the same time, fresh troops under Gen. AMBROSE P. HILL arrived. This gave the Confederates a two-to-one advantage, and the exhausted Union troops were forced to fall back. What would have been a decisive defeat for the Confederates instead became a hard-won victory. The Federal forces suffered 2,381 casualties, the Confederates 1,276. So many men were wounded so quickly that some soldiers called the battle "Slaughter Mountain" in their LETTERS home.

On the next day, August 10, Union leadership decided not to continue the battle and requested permission under a flag of truce to gather their wounded and bury their dead. Jackson and his troops withdrew that evening. Less than a month later, the same armies would meet again at the Second Battle of Bull Run. Victory would be Jackson's on that occasion as well. Pope was forced to join McClellan in withdrawing from Virginia, giving the initiative to ROBERT E. LEE and allowing him to launch an offensive into Maryland in September 1862. It would be two years before

Union forces would once again penetrate so deeply into Virginia.

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—Arthur E. Amos

**Chamberlain, Joshua L.** (1828–1914) *educator, politician, Union general*

College professor, Union officer, and governor of Maine, Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain was born in Brewer, Maine, on September 28, 1828, to Joshua Chamberlain, Jr., and Sarah Dupee Brastow. Graduating from Bowdoin College in 1852 and Bangor Theological Seminary in 1855, he took a teaching position at Bowdoin and married Frances (Fannie) Caroline Adams.

In 1862, Chamberlain, age 33 and the father of two, took a leave of absence from Bowdoin and accepted a commission as lieutenant colonel of the 20th Maine Volunteer Infantry. Promoted to colonel after the BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG, Chamberlain ordered a bayonet charge at Gettysburg on July 2, 1863, that probably saved the Federal position on Little Round Top from being turned by the Confederates. Following a bout with malaria in 1863, he rejoined his regiment at Spotsylvania in May 1864 and was soon given command of a brigade. Chamberlain was officially promoted to brigadier general after he was badly wounded during the PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN. He returned to the army before the BATTLE OF FIVE FORKS, where he was brevetted major general for bravery. Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT further honored Chamberlain by choosing him to receive the Confederate surrender at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE in 1865.

Chamberlain returned to Maine a hero. Uninterested in resuming his professorship, he secured the Republican nomination for governor of Maine and won election in 1866. After a tumultuous four years as governor, he became president of Bowdoin College and set about reforming the curriculum, with mixed results. An attempt to institute military training at the all-male college failed when the students refused to drill.

An increasingly conservative Chamberlain grew nostalgic about the war, expressed sympathy toward ex-Confederates, and applauded the end of RECONSTRUCTION. Having resigned the Bowdoin presidency in 1883, Chamberlain spent his retirement trying to recapture his wartime glory. He lectured on the 20th Maine's heroism at Gettysburg and on the surrender of Lee. He wrote magazine articles, gave Memorial Day addresses, and made frequent trips to old battlefields, especially Gettysburg. In 1893 he was awarded the congressional MEDAL OF HONOR for his leadership at Little Round Top. In his 80s, Cham-

berlain wrote a history of the Appomattox campaign (published posthumously in 1915 as *The Passing of the Armies*), that revealed his romantic view of war as the ultimate test of character.

Chamberlain died in Brunswick, Maine, on February 24, 1914, of complications from the Petersburg wound he had received 50 years earlier.

See also GETTYSBURG, BATTLE OF; SPOTSYLVANIA, BATTLE OF.

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—Amy J. Kinsel

**Chancellorsville, Battle of** (April 27–May 6, 1863)

The Confederate victory at Chancellorsville capped a remarkable 11-month period during which ROBERT E. LEE built the Army of Northern Virginia into a self-confident and formidable weapon. The sheer odds against Confederate success at Chancellorsville elevated it to a special position among Lee's victories. Union general JOSEPH HOOKER had rebuilt the Army of the Potomac after AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE's removal from command in late-January 1863. Previously one of Burnside's most vocal critics, Hooker quickly scrapped his predecessor's bulky "grand division" scheme, recombined all his cavalry into a single corps, and introduced distinguishing corps badges to improve esprit de corps. Hooker entered the Chancellorsville campaign at the head of a force with ample equipment, strong discipline, and high morale. He pronounced it "the finest army on the planet."

During the winter of 1862–63, Lee had dispersed his cavalry to secure sufficient fodder and detached two divisions under JAMES LONGSTREET to southeastern Virginia. These measures left him with approximately 61,000 soldiers to face 133,000 Federals. Hooker thus enjoyed the widest margin of manpower of any Union general who had fought against the Army of Northern Virginia to that point in the conflict. But the imbalance of numbers had a minor effect on events due to Hooker's gross mismanagement. It was the stark disparity in leadership that yielded decisive dividends for the South.

Hooker added an impressive strategic blueprint to his material advantages. He planned marching the bulk





Battle of Chancellorsville, May 1–4, 1863. Lithograph by Currier & Ives (Library of Congress)

of his army up the Rappahannock River in a wide turning movement around Lee's left. At the same time, a sizeable force under John Sedgwick would cross the Rappahannock opposite Lee at Fredericksburg to hold the Confederates in place. As a third element in the plan, Federal cavalry under George Stoneman would swing around Lee's left before striking south toward RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. If all went well, Lee would be caught between Hooker's powerful turning column to the west and Sedgwick's troops in his front. Confederate options, thought Hooker, would be limited to a retreat toward Richmond or desperate assaults against one or both of the major components of the Army of the Potomac. Few in the Union headquarters could have anticipated Lee's audacious response to this threat.

The campaign unfolded rapidly after Hooker began his march up the Rappahannock on April 27, 1863. The Federals crossed the Rappahannock and Rapidan Rivers, and by evening on April 30 the flanking force reached the crossroads of Chancellorsville, 10 miles in Lee's rear. There Hooker's soldiers lay in the midst of the Wilderness

of Spotsylvania, a scrub forest heavily cut over to feed small iron furnaces in the area. Hooker brimmed with confidence on the night of April 30. He stated that "our enemy must either ingloriously fly, or . . . give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him."

Lee responded to Hooker's actions with a series of typically bold moves. Assigning roughly 10,000 men under JUBAL A. EARLY to watch Sedgwick at Fredericksburg, Lee and THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON hurried the rest of the Army of Northern Virginia westward to stop Hooker. The decisive moment of the campaign occurred on the morning of May 1, when the vanguards of Hooker's and Lee's forces collided near Zoan Church on the road between Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg. The sudden and unexpected appearance of the Confederates to their front convinced many Union commanders that Lee himself had arrived before them in great strength. Hooker lost all offensive spirit, immediately ordering a withdrawal back to Chancellorsville. Like a frightened child bravely announcing there are no ghosts in the dark, Hooker told

a subordinate that he had “Lee just where I want him; he must fight me on my own ground.”

On the night of May 1, Lee and Jackson decided on a bold flanking maneuver of their own, which Jackson executed successfully the next day. This daring expedition required Lee to divide his small force again, only this time in the face of the enemy. A bold opponent could have readily exploited such a dangerous maneuver, but Lee was counting on Hooker’s timidity. Jackson’s attack on May 2 routed the Federal XI Corps on Hooker’s extreme right flank, but the bulk of Hooker’s army remained between the two pieces of Lee’s force at Chancellorsville. With the highly capable Jackson also wounded in action, the command devolved upon Gen. J. E. B. STUART. Hooker failed to exploit this opening, pulling his men into a tighter defensive position in the face of heavy Confederate assaults on May 3. When Lee learned on that day of Sedgwick’s success in breaching Early’s line at Fredericksburg, he divided his army a third time. Leaving 25,000 men under Stuart to keep an eye on Hooker, Lee concentrated the balance of his men several miles west of Fredericksburg at Salem Church, where the Confederates won a fumbling victory against Sedgwick on May 4. Lee then prepared to march back and finish off the main Union body, but Hooker, disregarding the pleas of subordinates, resolved to retreat first. By the morning of May 6, the Army of the Potomac had retreated to the north bank of the Rappahannock, returning the strategic situation to precisely where it had been at the outset of the campaign.

Lee had crafted a victory often termed his “masterpiece” but at a cost of more than 12,500 casualties, including Stonewall Jackson, who was shot by his own men in the confusing aftermath of the famous flank attack on May 2 (he died eight days later). Hooker’s losses totaled roughly 17,250, a much smaller percentage of his army.

Chancellorsville spread optimism throughout the Confederacy and cemented a bond between Lee and his soldiers unrivaled in any other army during the CIVIL WAR. Lee believed his men could accomplish the apparently impossible—a circumstance that would influence his actions two months later at Gettysburg. On the Union side, many officers and soldiers in the Army of the Potomac, disgusted with Hooker’s decision to withdraw on May 1, believed they had not been given a chance to win the battle. On the HOMEFRONT, ABRAHAM LINCOLN realized on May 6 that Hooker had failed. A newspaperman recorded the anguished president’s reaction: “My God! My God! What will the country say?”

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—Gary W. Gallagher

**Chase, Salmon P.** (1808–1873) *U.S. senator, secretary of the Treasury, Supreme Court justice*

Salmon Portland Chase was born on January 13, 1808, in Cornish, New Hampshire. He was educated at Dartmouth and, following a very brief career as a teacher in WASHINGTON, D.C., studied for and passed the bar in 1829. Chase then set up his own practice in Cincinnati, where he soon established a notable reputation and connections to local abolitionists through his work on several cases arguing against the Fugitive Slave Act. Living in a city that bordered the slave state of Kentucky, the young lawyer gained recognition in 1837 when he took on the case of an alleged fugitive. Although he lost this first case, Chase continued to formulate his arguments against the act in particular and against SLAVERY in general, and in 1841 he acquired even more fame for a victorious decision in a case that paralleled his earlier defeat.

These legal battles not only supported his practice but also fueled his political ambitions. Initially a convert of the Liberty Party in Ohio, he later promoted the Free-Soil Party and entered the U.S. Senate in 1848 on the shoulders of a coalition encompassing the Free Soilers and the Democrats. While in the Senate he vacillated between the two parties but remained steadfast in his views against slavery and its extension, which meant that he voted against all the measures of the Compromise of 1850. Although he served only one term, his political career continued to flourish, and he subsequently affiliated himself with the new party that had risen to challenge the Democrats. In 1856 he was elected governor of Ohio and thus became the first Republican governor of a major state in the Union.

After serving two terms as governor, Chase returned to the U.S. Senate in 1860. Following the presidential election and numerous political maneuverings, Chase abdicated his position when Lincoln selected him to head the Treasury Department despite Chase’s lack of a finance background. Over the next several years, the former senator worked hard to support the astronomical costs of the war. His joint efforts with the Philadelphia banker JAY COOKE



gained the support of both the banking community and the Northern public for government bonds that enabled the UNION ARMY to remain provisioned with the necessities to continue in the field. Although forever devoted to hard specie, Chase acted based on necessity when he decided to issue GREENBACKS as legal tender in 1862, as the costs of the war continued to put pressure on a somewhat unstable Northern ECONOMY. His tireless efforts to create a system of federally chartered banks also came to fruition in the National Banking Act that became law early in 1864.

Yet for all of his financial responsibilities, Chase never abandoned his political interests and ambitions. He actively advised the president on military affairs in and out of cabinet meetings, and he favored EMANCIPATION long before Lincoln's proclamation became legislation. But the looming election of 1864 and the possibility of a presidential nomination also remained on his mind. This very ambition led to his ill-fated involvement with various schemes with congressional Republicans to promote his position. Chase's constant political maneuverings had often led him into conflict with Lincoln, and in June 1864 he lost his post when Lincoln accepted his impulsive resignation following one of their disputes.

Only six months later Chase returned to the law when Lincoln named him to replace Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney on the Supreme Court. In the years that followed, Chase encouraged both universal suffrage and universal amnesty in a moderate RECONSTRUCTION of the South. As chief justice, he presided over the IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON, and although opposed to Johnson's policies, he was largely responsible for imposing a judicial—as opposed to a partisan legislative—structure on the proceedings. Yet Chase still aspired to the presidency and later in 1868 appeared to compromise many of his principles on equal rights for African Americans in his attempt to gain the Democratic nomination. Once again his reputation suffered and his political aspirations fell short of the mark. Over the next five years, Chase maintained his position as chief justice, striving for universal suffrage and struggling with an ever-deteriorating physical condition.

Salmon Chase died in NEW YORK CITY on May 7, 1873.

See also ABOLITION.

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—John P. Bowes

## Chattanooga, Battle of (November 23–25, 1863)

The battle for control of Chattanooga, Tennessee, took place on November 23–25, 1863. The ultimate victory of the UNION ARMY, commanded by Maj. Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT, placed the strategically important city of Chattanooga, Tennessee, in Union hands for the remainder of the war.

After the BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA, fought September 19–20 in northwestern Georgia, the Union army under Maj. Gen. WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS retreated to Chattanooga, while the victorious CONFEDERATE ARMY occupied and fortified the heights of Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain to the south and west of the city. President ABRAHAM LINCOLN ordered Maj. Gens. JOSEPH HOOKER and WILLIAM T. SHERMAN with their corps to Chattanooga, bringing the total Union force to about 70,000. Lincoln also ordered Gen. Grant to Chattanooga. The president had just promoted Grant to commander of all western Union forces. Grant immediately replaced the incompetent Rosecrans with Maj. Gen. GEORGE HENRY THOMAS, the “Rock of Chickamauga.”

Confederate president JEFFERSON DAVIS sent Lt. Gen. JAMES LONGSTREET and his three divisions from Chattanooga to Knoxville, Tennessee, leaving Bragg with about 40,000 men. Three brigades commanded by Maj. Gen. Carter L. Stevenson were positioned on Lookout Mountain. On November 24, 1863, in what has been romanticized as the “Battle above the Clouds,” Hooker's men swept up the northern slope of the steep mountain, causing Stevenson's outnumbered troops to break and retreat to the southern tip of Missionary Ridge.

The day before, Thomas's corps had gained Orchard Knob, a small promontory facing the center of Missionary Ridge. As Hooker moved toward the south of the ridge and Thomas faced the center, Sherman's troops prepared to attack the northern tip, called Tunnel Hill, in what was intended to be the main thrust of the Union army.

The Confederates were positioned with their right flank at Tunnel Hill, protected by the division under Maj. Gen. PATRICK R. CLEBURNE. Stevenson's division held the left flank, at the southern end of Missionary Ridge, while Maj. Gen. John C. Breckinridge's corps held the center. Around 10 A.M. on November 25, Sherman's corps attacked Cleburne's division, which managed to stave off the Federal flank attack.

Thomas's Army of the Cumberland was instructed to take the rifle pits along the base of the ridge in a movement to prevent Bragg from reinforcing his flanks. The Union soldiers, about 20,000 strong, advanced from Orchard Knob and easily overtook the Confederate rifle pits. However, many Federals, unexpectedly and without orders, began moving up the side of the ridge in a charge that is called the “Miracle of Missionary Ridge.” The

Confederates at the top were overwhelmed and scattered down the eastern side. Only Cleburne's division remained intact enough to complete a successful rearguard action, and soon the entire Confederate Army of Tennessee retreated to Dalton, Georgia. Total casualties numbered 5,824 for the Union and 6,667 for the Confederacy.

Jefferson Davis accepted Bragg's resignation and gave command of the Confederate Army to Gen. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON. Grant secured Chattanooga for the Union army, and the city served as the supply base for Sherman's army as it advanced toward Atlanta. Almost all of Tennessee was now in Union hands, as well as the vital rail connections that ran from Nashville to Chattanooga.

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—Stacey Graham

**Chesnut, Mary B.** (1823–1886) *Confederate diarist*  
Born March 31, 1823, in Statesboro, South Carolina, diarist and author Mary Boykin Chesnut is best known for her extensive accounts of the CIVIL WAR. The daughter of Mary Boykin and Stephen Decatur Miller, a U.S. congressman and senator, as well as governor of South Carolina, her mother's life was shaped by Southern politics. Her father, elected governor as a supporter of nullification, returned to the U.S. Senate after his gubernatorial term and continued to support Southern rights.

Mary received an extensive EDUCATION, first at home and in local schools and then at a French boarding school in Charleston. Two years after her father died, Mary married James Chesnut, Jr., in 1840. The two moved to WASHINGTON, D.C., in 1858 after James's election to U.S. Senate. There Mary played hostess to many powerful people, including the future leaders of the Confederacy. After ABRAHAM LINCOLN's election, the Chesnuts returned to South Carolina, where James helped draft the state's December 1860 ordinance of SECESSION.

With the outbreak of war, Mary began keeping an extensive journal to record the historic events occurring around her. As the wife of a Confederate dignitary (James served as a member of the Provisional Congress of the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA as well as an aide to Gen. P. G. T. BEAUREGARD and President JEFFERSON DAVIS), Mary entertained many Southern leaders. In her diaries, Chesnut commented on meetings and parties with the Confederate elite, including President Davis and his

wife Varina. Chesnut also recorded her views on SLAVERY, war, and Southern society in general. The diaries reveal a woman confident in her intelligence and beauty.

After the Civil War, Chesnut attempted to use the information in her wartime diaries to write a Civil War novel. Ultimately, however, she devoted years to the revision of her diaries for publication. Through these heavy edits, Chesnut elaborated on specific topics and eliminated comments that revealed personal flaws. Her diary, first published in 1905 as *A Diary from Dixie, as Written by Mary Boykin Chesnut*, reflected these revisions as well as those by the editors of the volume. The diary reemerged in 1949 as *A Diary from Dixie by Mary Boykin Chesnut*. In 1981 a new edition of the diaries, *Mary Chesnut's Civil War*, proposed to present a fuller picture of Chesnut's edits and original journals. Mary Boykin Chesnut died in 1886 before the publication of her diaries.

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—Lisa Tendrich Frank

### **Chickamauga, Battle of** (September 19–20, 1863)

Chickamauga was a campaign and battle fought in the western theater of operations between Union major general WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS's Army of the Cumberland and Confederate Gen. BRAXTON BRAGG's Army of Tennessee.

Following Rosecrans's successful Tullahoma campaign in June and July of 1863, Bragg's 44,000 soldiers withdrew across the Tennessee River and concentrated near Chattanooga, Tennessee, while the Union's 59,000 forces refitted on the western side of the Cumberland Plateau. Rosecrans advanced on August 16, intending to seize the major TRANSPORTATION center at Chattanooga and force the CONFEDERATE ARMY back toward Atlanta.

Rosecrans crossed the Tennessee River south of Chattanooga at the beginning of September, advancing his army across the rugged terrain and into Georgia with three corps spread across a 40-mile-wide front. Bragg responded by concentrating his forces in a central position around Lafayette. Simultaneously, Confederate reinforcements from Knoxville, Mississippi, and Virginia raised his combat strength to more than 60,000 soldiers, thereby outnumbering Rosecrans's command. Bragg's aborted ambush of Maj. Gen. GEORGE HENRY THOMAS's corps at McLemore's Cove on September 10 alerted Rosecrans to the danger

facing his widely scattered army. For the next week both armies raced north to Chattanooga. On September 18, the two armies clashed along Chickamauga Creek as Bragg's forces began attempting to outflank the UNION ARMY.

The fighting on September 19 was essentially a meeting engagement west of Chickamauga Creek. In spite of fierce fighting, neither side gained advantage over the other. By nightfall, Rosecrans had succeeded in concentrating his forces in a strong position along the Lafayette-Chattanooga Road.

During the evening, both sides modified their command structure. George Henry Thomas informally assumed command of four to five divisions in a salient east of Kelly Field on the north of the battle line, while Rosecrans directed the remaining Union forces in the south. Bragg attempted a more formal reorganization into two wings, assigning Lt. Gen. Leonidas Polk to the right and Lt. Gen. JAMES LONGSTREET, who arrived during the night, to the left. From the perspective of subordinate commanders, however, the day began with command arrangements in both armies somewhat confused.

In the north, Polk's attack on September 20 began several hours late. Thomas's troops, massed behind breastworks, slaughtered rebel infantry at close range. Timely Union reinforcements drove back potentially damaging enemy attempts to flank this line from the north. In the center, a dispute between Rosecrans and one of his division commanders around 11 A.M. resulted in a break in the Union line. By coincidence, Longstreet launched three divisions and more than 10,000 men into that gap almost as soon as it appeared. Union forces on the left scattered, and Rosecrans and his staff retreated from the battlefield. Thomas ultimately rallied about half the army on Snodgrass Hill and defeated poorly coordinated Confederate attacks for the remainder of the day. At nightfall, he withdrew all Union forces back to Chattanooga.

Confederate forces lost 18,000, and the Union 16,000 killed, wounded, and missing. While this largest and bloodiest battle in the western theater resulted in a Confederate tactical victory, only two months later the Union had taken Chattanooga, the gateway to the South.

See also CHATTANOOGA, BATTLE OF.

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—Stephen A. Bourque

### Christiana, Pennsylvania, riot (1851)

The Christiana riot was the first well-publicized resistance to the second fugitive slave law, which was passed by Congress as part of the Compromise of 1850. The Fugitive

Slave Law was widely hated in the North because it required not only state officials but also ordinary citizens to help recapture runaway slaves.

The chain of events leading to the riot began when four slaves belonging to Edward Gorsuch of Maryland escaped to Christiana, a Quaker village in southeastern Pennsylvania and the home of a number of sympathetic white abolitionists who were part of the UNDERGROUND RAILROAD network. Gorsuch, accompanied by a group of supporters and a U.S. marshal, approached the house of William Parker with warrants for the escaped slaves. William Parker was known in the community as the leader of an African-American self-defense organization, dedicated to helping fugitives liberate themselves.

Gorsuch and the marshal entered the two-story stone house and demanded that Parker turn over the slaves. Outside, Gorsuch's supporters waited with guns loaded; inside, William Parker refused to give up the fugitives. Members of his organization, hiding upstairs, were also armed and ready to resist. A violent clash ensued in which Gorsuch was killed and his son injured. Parker and five others escaped to Canada. In the aftermath, 36 black people and four white people were arrested and charged with treason against the United States. None were convicted, but the trial became the occasion for a full-fledged debate over SLAVERY. One local newspaper described the disturbance as "Civil War, First Blow Struck."

Christiana was one of many such examples of black and white peoples' resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law and the system of slavery in the 1850s. Along with such notable events as the Anthony Burns trial in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1854, the Christiana riot brought what FREDERICK DOUGLASS called "the battle for liberty" to the forefront of the political agenda.

See also ABOLITION; SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

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### cities and urban life

Life in American cities changed rapidly between 1856 and 1868. The industrializing country was in a time of transition, as advancements in TRANSPORTATION, manufacturing, and the ECONOMY altered city landscapes dramatically. Factories attracted a growing number of immigrants, swelling the population of cities. Industrialization proceeded at a rapid rate, particularly following the CIVIL WAR, laying the foundation for America's rise to



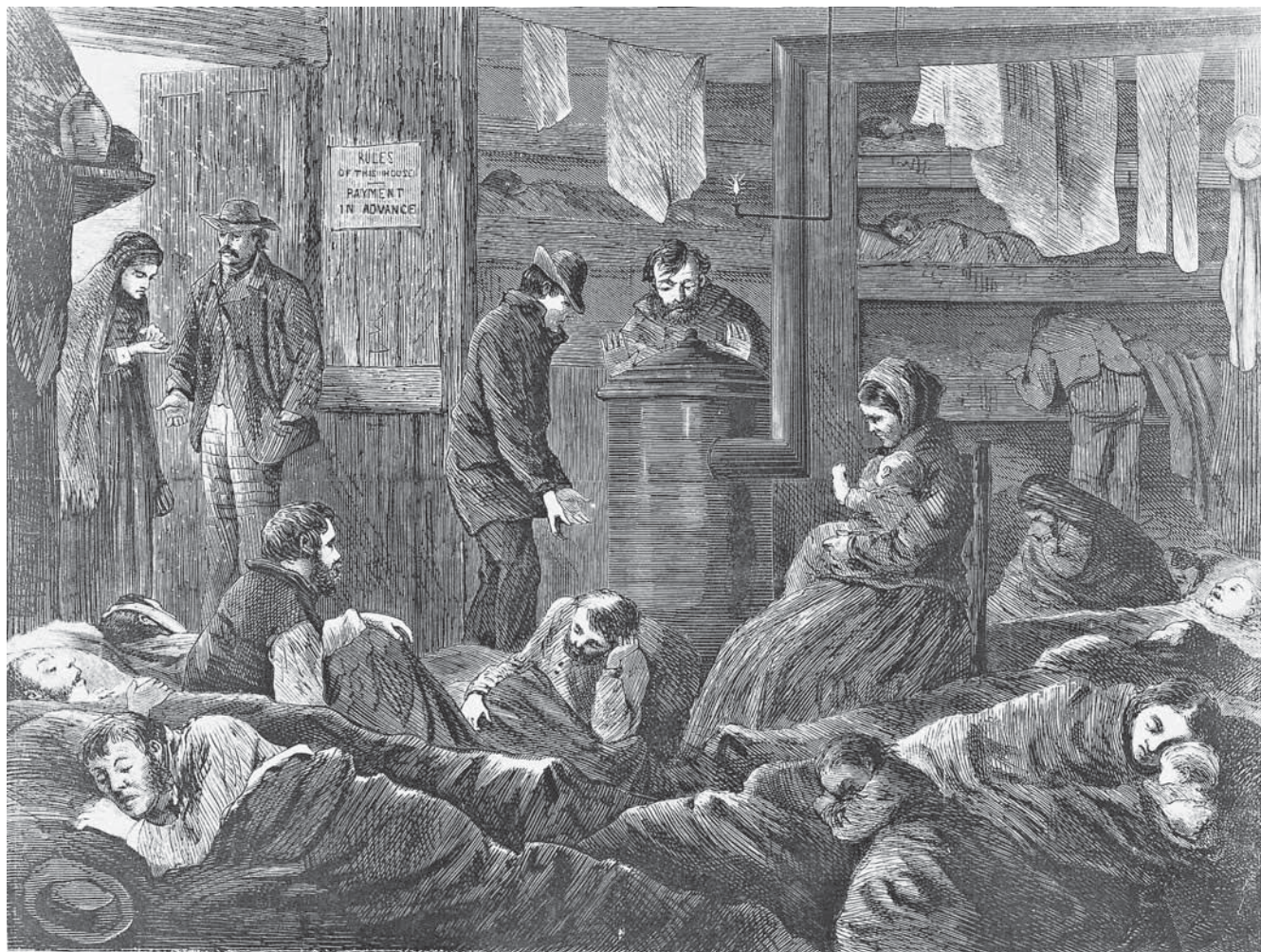
international prominence and making cities such as NEW YORK CITY, Boston, PHILADELPHIA, and Chicago some of the most important urban centers in the world.

Improvements in transportation during the Industrial Revolution provided the engine of urban expansion. The ability to move goods cheaply pushed manufacturing to increase its output. In the years leading up to the Civil War, canals and RAILROADS progressively linked more cities together, creating larger markets for products. Most of these new transportation routes linked cities in the North and West, while the more agricultural South lagged behind in terms of economic development. The new connections between northern and western cities brought a more unified economic and political outlook to these regions, leaving the South isolated and aggravating the growing rift between North and South.

Cities expanded in land area. Before 1840 nearly all residents of a city lived within two miles of their place

of work. New inventions, including a large horse-drawn carriage known as an omnibus, and expanding rail lines allowed people to move away from the center city and into suburbs. The new advances in public transportation were important because the population of American cities grew to dangerously high levels.

The first great wave of IMMIGRATION from Europe to the United States began in the 1840s. Most of these immigrants came from Germany and Ireland, and they settled in cities in hopes of finding jobs in new factories. Throughout this period, an average of 2.4 million people immigrated to the United States per decade. By the 1870s, an increasing number of immigrants arrived from southern and eastern Europe, bringing new groups, such as Italians, Poles, and Russians, into the United States. Immigrants also came from Asia, with more than 300,000 Chinese immigrating to the western states. Many new Americans settled in ethnic neighborhoods, living in unsanitary tenement houses.



Engraving showing underground lodgings for the poor, Greenwich Street, New York City (Library of Congress)



Despite these problems, people flocked to the United States in the hope of finding work in the country's exploding industrial economy.

The Industrial Revolution created new social classes in American cities. The middle-class and wealthy members of society could afford to move into larger houses in the suburbs and escape the growing congestion of the cities. Husbands could support a family by working in management or other professional jobs. Their income allowed their wives to shop for the latest goods well as hire servants to help manage the household. Working-class and immigrant families did not have the same advantages. In many cases, all members of the family had to work. Sometimes husbands, wives, and children worked together in the same factory. In other cases, women took jobs as household servants, seamstresses, or laundresses in order to supplement a family's income.

Disposable income, for those who had it, meant manufacturers could produce and sell an ever-increasing number and variety of consumer goods. The first department stores were built in the late 1840s, and by the late 1860s and 1870s shoppers could go to one store and find a wide assortment of goods at reasonable prices. The continued demand for department-store goods helped fuel the pace of industrialization throughout the 19th century.

As cities became larger, intellectuals and city planners worried that urban residents might lose touch with the natural world. Some cities built large parks in an attempt to preserve some contact with nature as well as to beautify the landscape and give people a place to enjoy outdoor activities. The most famous, New York's Central Park, inspired other American cities to enact their own park-building programs. The creator of Central Park, FREDERICK LAW OLMTED, designed many other parks around the nation, including San Francisco's Golden Gate Park. Some people disliked the rowdy working-class sports that emerged, but the idea of a small bit of nature in the midst of the expanding city remained popular.

U.S. cities had a seamy underside. Civil War-era America saw rising crime rates make cities even more dangerous places to live. Philadelphia, for example, saw murder rates, indictments, and convictions rise steadily from the 1850s to the 1880s, with the exception of the war years (1861–65). The rise of crime rates was accompanied by a rise in gun ownership and alcohol use. Ethnic tensions between new and old immigrant groups and racial tensions between blacks and whites complicated efforts to unionize workers and accounted for an increase in violent confrontations.

Increasingly professionalized police departments helped to counter crimes committed against both individuals and property. As early as the 1830s and 1840s, cities like Boston, Philadelphia and New York were pushing for

efficient and reformed police forces. The London Metropolitan Model was considered a good example for U.S. cities to follow. The London model advocated police to be paid regularly, to be uniformed and organized into a hierarchy, and to be responsible to city officials. From the 1850s onward, the rise in property-based crime generally drove reform in America's urban police departments. Reform was driven by different events, issues, and constituencies in each city across the country. For instance, in Buffalo, New York, the business community began that city's push for a professional police force in 1866 and successfully instituted important changes.

Across urban America, fire departments benefited from the drive to professionalize the police. Indeed, urban businesspeople and concerned property owners were behind many of the drives to professionalize both police and fire services in U.S. cities. Fire fighters changed from volunteer forces to professional forces due largely to two factors: first, consistent pressure from businesspeople, merchants, and insurance companies for stricter protection (including crime prevention, building codes, and fire fighting) of all forms of property interests; and, second, the rise of expensive, steam-powered equipment that demanded fewer personnel to manage but that required more training to operate. Necessarily, the impulse for professionalization of all urban services, including sanitary collection and welfare and hospital institutions, continued to dominate the agenda of urban reformers at this time.

Throughout the Civil War era, economic, political, and social events shaped and were in turn shaped by a remarkable spurt in U.S. urban growth. New immigrant streams, the establishment of shopping centers, the rise of a manufacturing economy, crime and fire prevention, and developments in recreation and transportation all altered the fabric of daily life in American cities.

See also RACE AND RACIAL TENSIONS.

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—Mathew G. McCoy

### citizen-soldier

Citizen-soldier is a concept with deep roots in the nation's history. The COMMON SOLDIERS who made up the volunteer armies of the CIVIL WAR knew that previous wars had called upon white male citizens to drop their ordinary occupations and spring into action in the service of their nation. Taking up arms and defending community and country against foreign invaders or domestic threats was an important part of citizenship in a democracy. Afterward, if all went well, the citizen-soldiers would return to their normal lives, secure in the knowledge that they had done their duty. Reasonably, they could expect the country to be grateful for their sacrifices and reward them. This was the case in the American Revolutionary War and in the Mexican-American War of 1846–48.

Glorying in the democratic traditions of their military endeavors, Americans did not trust professional armies, and for good reasons. Britain's "standing army" was associated with the violation of rights endured by the American colonists beginning in the 1760s. The U.S. Constitution provided the power for Congress "to raise and support armies," but the Second Amendment endowed states with the right to maintain militias. A rough-and-ready system of state militias emerged by the 1790s, manned by volunteers as the necessity arose.

Notoriously inefficient and undisciplined, militias composed of citizen-soldiers nonetheless remained the preferred method of waging war throughout the 19th century. Necessarily, the professional army was tiny and viewed with suspicion. Politicians regularly threatened to close the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT. A professional cadre of officers whose loyalty was to the army, not the people, could pose a threat to democratic institutions. On the other hand, the ideal of the citizen-soldier embodied the traditions of popular will and representative government. Both the Union and Confederate armies raised the majority of their men by calling upon the ideal of the citizen-soldier.

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### civil liberties, Confederate (1861–1865)

Wartime expedients imposed during the CIVIL WAR restricted the rights of Confederate citizens. In February

1861 when Confederate president JEFFERSON DAVIS was sworn into office, he vowed to preserve and protect the rights and freedoms of all Southern citizens. He openly contrasted his own position with that of President ABRAHAM LINCOLN, whose behavior he denounced as "tyrannical." Davis was a strict constitutionalist who earnestly tried to uphold the Confederate constitution and STATES' RIGHTS. Article I, Section 9 of the newly written constitution of CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA included the same civil liberties listed in the amended U.S. document. Less well known is the fact that the Confederate constitution also endowed the national government with the identical powers (as in the United States) to protect itself against threats to its existence, including a "necessary and proper clause," and a provision enabling the suspension of HABEAS CORPUS. Within a year the exigencies of war drove Davis and the CONFEDERATE CONGRESS to suppress citizens' civil liberties in order to ensure the survival of the Confederacy. These actions—including press censorship, the imposition of martial law, civilian arrests, CONSCRIPTION, IMPRESSMENT of property, and the suspension of habeas corpus—caused widespread controversy but were supported by the Davis administration, Congress, and the courts as necessary to defeating the enemy.

The Southern press was targeted as early as January 1862, when the Confederate Congress forbade newspapers to print news of military operations, particularly defeats. The ardently pro-Union *Knoxville Whig*, edited by William G. Brownlow, was also summarily shut down by Confederate authorities in Tennessee. Davis, however, was not eager to alienate prominent editors, and few other papers were closed. In 1863 the Confederate Senate entertained a sedition bill that would have clamped down further on freedom of the press, but the measure was roundly condemned, as most politicians openly supported free speech.

In February 1862 Davis next found it expedient to declare martial law, and with the consent of Congress he did so, especially in the Norfolk and Richmond regions of Virginia. Citizens suspected of treasonable behavior could be arrested and held without charge. Those detained were also liable to face military tribunals instead of civil courts. To underscore his determination to suppress dissent, Davis also appointed a military governor of RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. His appointee, Gen. John H. Winder, began rounding up individuals regarded as potentially treasonous. Among them were former congressman John M. Botts, who had advocated neutrality, and Rev. Alden Bosserman, who publicly prayed for Union victory in "this unholy rebellion."

As the tide of military events swung against the South, the Confederate government began imposing greater restrictions upon the very civil liberties it had pledged to uphold, all in the name of national security concerns. By

April 1862 the initial enthusiasm for war had waned, and the Confederate government resorted to the first military conscription law ever imposed in American history. For a government dedicated to the protection of “Southern rights,” such a move appeared antithetical to its founding principles. But Davis felt that the flagging war effort demanded no less. Immediately unpopular, conscription exempted from military service wealthy individuals who purchased substitutes, as well as plantation owners who possessed 20 slaves or more. The resentment generated by such privilege provoked accusations that the Confederate government was waging “a rich man’s war and a poor man’s fight.” Davis was attacked from many quarters over conscription, with his own vice president, ALEXANDER HAMILTON STEPHENS of Georgia, among the most vocal detractors. Despite the law’s undeniable success in raising troops for the army, many dissenters pointed out that conscription, along with martial law and suspension of habeas corpus, was undermining public support for the government and the war effort.

Another wartime contingency was impressment, or government seizure of private property. As early as August 1861 Congress passed laws that required the forced removal of enemy aliens from the Confederacy and government confiscation of their property. Within a year the same principle was applied to the goods of the general population: Cotton, crops, and livestock could be legally appropriated by impressment agents and then sold for profit on the open market. Impressment further alienated Southerners’ sentiments against the war. Many claimed impressment was unconstitutional and, as with other perceived abridgements of rights, cast their opposition as a protest against the violation of civil liberties. The system was susceptible to corruption, and wealthy planters frequently used their political connections to spare their own acreage. Thus the burden of impressed goods fell upon the general population, largely subsistence farmers with little to spare. The preferential treatment accorded slave owners stoked further resentment: Slave owners received \$2,500 apiece for slaves who died under impressment, whereas compensation for pensioned soldiers, widows, and orphans fell short.

In sum, the measures taken by the Confederate government were both unpopular and, according to its critics, marked by class favoritism. Resentment against the government and wealthy planters increased in direct proportion to increases in casualties and confiscation, and some historians have argued that this disaffection inspired desertion that by 1865 joined with battlefield defeats to sink the Confederacy. Others disagree, noting that the controversies over civil rights issues did little to diminish white Southerners’ devotion to their cause.

See also CIVIL LIBERTIES, UNION.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### civil liberties, Union (1861–1865)

Wartime expedients were imposed during the CIVIL WAR that abridged the rights of U.S. citizens. The United States, a federal republic with closely prescribed civil liberties enshrined in the Bill of Rights, faced an unprecedented challenge to its continued existence when the war erupted in April 1861. The U.S. Constitution contained provisions that enabled the national government to expand temporarily its power to protect the national government’s viability under extreme circumstances. Article I, Section 8, includes a “necessary and proper clause,” and Section 9, paragraph 2, states: “The privilege of the writ of HABEAS CORPUS shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require.” President ABRAHAM LINCOLN’s administration soon found it necessary to claim those powers. Compelled by military necessity to keep border states such as Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri in the Union fold, Lincoln took bold and immediate action to forestall any political drift toward the Confederacy.

The first and most decisive step was the suspension of writs of habeas corpus, a constitutional protection against arbitrary arrest and detention without trial. This was undertaken in the very first weeks of the conflict, as WASHINGTON, D.C., the seat of government, was surrounded by Confederate Virginia to the south and a very unstable, Southern-leaning Maryland to the north. Consequently, several outspoken secessionists, such as Baltimore mayor John Merryman, were detained without warrants until military reinforcements arrived to maintain Union authority in the state. Supreme Court justice Roger Taney opposed Lincoln’s action, ruling in *Ex parte Merryman* that the chief executive lacked any constitutional authority to suspend writs. But Lincoln, backed by military authority as per his constitutional role as commander in chief, simply ignored the ruling and quietly rounded up and detained known and suspected secessionists. The pace of arrests slackened greatly as months went by: The threat of arbitrary detainment, substantiated by the experience of Merryman and others, had curbed Confederate sympathizers in Maryland and other critical areas. In this respect, the suspension of

civil liberties played a vital role in preserving the national government and its ability to wage war.

Outrage over perceived suppression of civil liberties continued, next concerning CONSCRIPTION, which violated deeply held beliefs in the right of male citizens to volunteer, rather than be compelled, to offer their services. Battlefield casualties had diminished enthusiasm for volunteers by the end of summer 1862, and the U.S. government passed the second draft law in American history (the first passed by the Confederates in spring 1862). In both the North and the South, the acts were condemned but never seriously challenged by the courts or Congress. Lincoln's opponents condemned his draft measures as yet another example of tyranny. The president's response was typically swift and decisive: He again suspended writs of habeas corpus. This time, however, he applied the policy across the entire North, not simply in the border states. Moreover, it targeted not just dissenting politicians but also newspaper editors. Federal authorities shut down many publications critical of the administration, such as the *New York World* and *Philadelphia Evening Journal*, in quick succession. Other newspapers, such as the German-language *National Zeitung*, were denied mailing privileges. Thousands of dissenters and agitators throughout the North were likewise arrested, detained, and subject to military tribunals. Physical abuse of detainees was not uncommon, and administration officials certainly knew of it, but Lincoln never issued an executive directive to mitigate mistreatment. The most visible target of Lincoln's political crackdown was former congressman Clement L. Vallandigham, a "Peace Democrat," or "COPPERHEAD," from Ohio who denounced administration tactics in several antiwar speeches. He was arrested by Gen. AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE and deported to Confederate territory. Such actions stirred another chorus of condemnation, but this time it included several of Lincoln's former political allies, such as editor HORACE GREELEY. By 1864 the Lincoln administration pulled back on arrests, although it still used military courts for its purposes. In 1866 the U.S. Supreme Court declared military tribunals unconstitutional in regions where civil law and courts were viable, a significant finding although the tribunals continued operating full tilt during RECONSTRUCTION. The Court further declared that habeas corpus and civil courts were immune from suspension by martial law and that imposition of martial law itself was applicable solely to areas of armed conflict. Prewar civil liberties had thus been reaffirmed at the highest levels.

See also CIVIL LIBERTIES, CONFEDERATE; CONGRESS, UNITED STATES; SECESSION.

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*Justice Taney: Slavery, Secession, and the President's War Powers* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006); Jennifer L. Weber, *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

—John C. Fredriksen

### Civil Rights Act of 1866 (April 9, 1866)

With the passage of the THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT in 1865, SLAVERY was abolished. At that point, however, it was not altogether clear what freedom would mean for the ex-slaves. White Southerners quickly tried to answer that question, passing a series of discriminatory BLACK CODES that were designed to keep the freedmen in a subordinate position. Northerners were outraged by the South's unwillingness to change and by President ANDREW JOHNSON's failure to do anything about the situation. Congress felt compelled to act, and the result was the Civil Rights Act of 1866. The act was a landmark, the first time in history that the federal government took responsibility for protecting African Americans' civil rights.

The Civil Rights Act of 1866 was written mostly by moderate Republican senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois. The bill was not specifically addressed to the problems of African Americans but, instead, was meant to provide a definition of citizenship for all Americans. It enumerated the "fundamental rights belonging to every man as a free man," particularly the rights to inherit, purchase, lease, hold, and sell property. The bill also provided for the prosecution of anyone who tried to interfere with these rights.

Although the Civil Rights Act of 1866 was moderate in its terms, it provoked a great deal of criticism. Radicals felt the bill did not go far enough. They hoped to include provisions for land redistribution and even suffrage. They also did not approve of the fact that courts would be responsible for enforcing the act, as opposed to the military. Ultimately, the RADICAL REPUBLICANS came to realize that the bill was better than nothing, and they lent their support. The act was passed in both houses of Congress by a comfortable margin.

Conservative Democrats also opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1866. They felt it went too far in protecting the freedmen and gave too much power to the federal government. Democrats in Congress could do little to stop the passage of the bill, but President Andrew Johnson could. He promptly vetoed the act, labeling it "another step, or rather stride, toward centralization and the concentration of all legislative powers in the National Government." On April 9 Congress overrode Johnson's veto and the Civil Rights Act of 1866 became law. This was the first time in the history of the United States that a president's veto of a major piece of legislation was overridden.



The Civil Rights Act of 1866 ultimately had little impact on the lives of freedmen. Its provisions were generally ignored by white Southerners, and there was confusion about whether state or federal courts were responsible for enforcement. The act did have a dramatic impact on national politics, however. It demonstrated to congressional leaders that drastic action was needed, and within a decade, the Civil Rights Act of 1866 would be followed by a pair of constitutional amendments and three more civil rights bills. In addition, the debate over the bill served to heighten the tension between Andrew Johnson and Congress, ultimately leading to his impeachment.

See also CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1875; IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

**Further reading:** Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Harold M. Hyman and William M. Wiecek, *Equal Justice under Law: Constitutional Development, 1835–1875* (New York: Harper & Row, 1982); Robert J. Kaczorowski, *The Politics of Judicial Interpretation: The Federal Courts, Department of Justice and Civil Rights, 1866–1876* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, 1985).

—Christopher Bates

### Civil Rights Act of 1875 (March 1, 1875)

The Civil Rights Act of 1875 was the last major piece of civil rights legislation passed during the RECONSTRUCTION era, following the FOURTEENTH and FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS as well as three other civil rights acts. The 1875 act was much broader than its predecessors, in that it aimed to bring an end to all forms of racial discrimination.

The bill that became the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was first submitted to Congress in 1870 by RADICAL REPUBLICAN senator CHARLES SUMNER of Massachusetts. Originally, the bill prohibited discrimination in schools, THEATERS, cemeteries, public TRANSPORTATION, hotels, and churches. The provisions for schools and cemeteries particularly angered Democrats and even caused unease among the more conservative Republicans, and so Sumner's proposal was tabled. The bill languished for several years before Speaker of the House James G. Blaine of Maine and Representative James Garfield proposed a compromise version that eliminated schools and cemeteries. President ULYSSES S. GRANT threw his weight behind the Blaine-Garfield proposal, and it was quickly adopted.

Even with the provisions about schools and cemeteries removed, the Civil Rights Act of 1875 had the potential to be a truly groundbreaking piece of legislation. The previous civil rights acts had dealt with specific issues—citizenship, property holding, and voting. The 1875 act, on the other hand, could be read as empowering the federal govern-

ment to completely remake Southern life. Because the act did not define what constituted discrimination, any issue could be addressed under its terms—politics, economics, law, and so forth.

Unfortunately for African Americans, the impulse for reform was dying out, even among members of the REPUBLICAN PARTY. Hundreds of lawsuits were filed under the terms of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, and most were promptly dismissed. The demise of the act became official in 1883 when the Supreme Court, made up entirely of Republican appointees, ruled eight to one that the act was unconstitutional. The basic spirit of the act would not be revived until nearly a century later, with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

See also CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1866.

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—Christopher Bates

### Civil War (1861–1865)

The Civil War marked one of the great defining moments in U.S. history. Long-simmering sectional tensions reached a critical stage in 1860–61 when 11 slaveholding states seceded and formed the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA. Political disagreement gave way to war in April 1861, as Confederates insisted on their right to leave the Union and the loyal states refused to allow them to go. Nothing in the nation's history had prepared Americans for the scale of military fury and social disruption that ensued. Four years of fighting claimed more than 1 million military casualties (of whom at least 620,000 died), directly affected the lives of hundreds of thousands of civilians, and freed 4 million enslaved African Americans. The social and economic system based on chattel SLAVERY that the seceding states had sought to protect lay in ruins. The Union had been preserved, and the supremacy of the national government over the individual states had been confirmed. In the longer term, the North's victory made possible the American economic and political colossus that figured so prominently in 20th-century history.

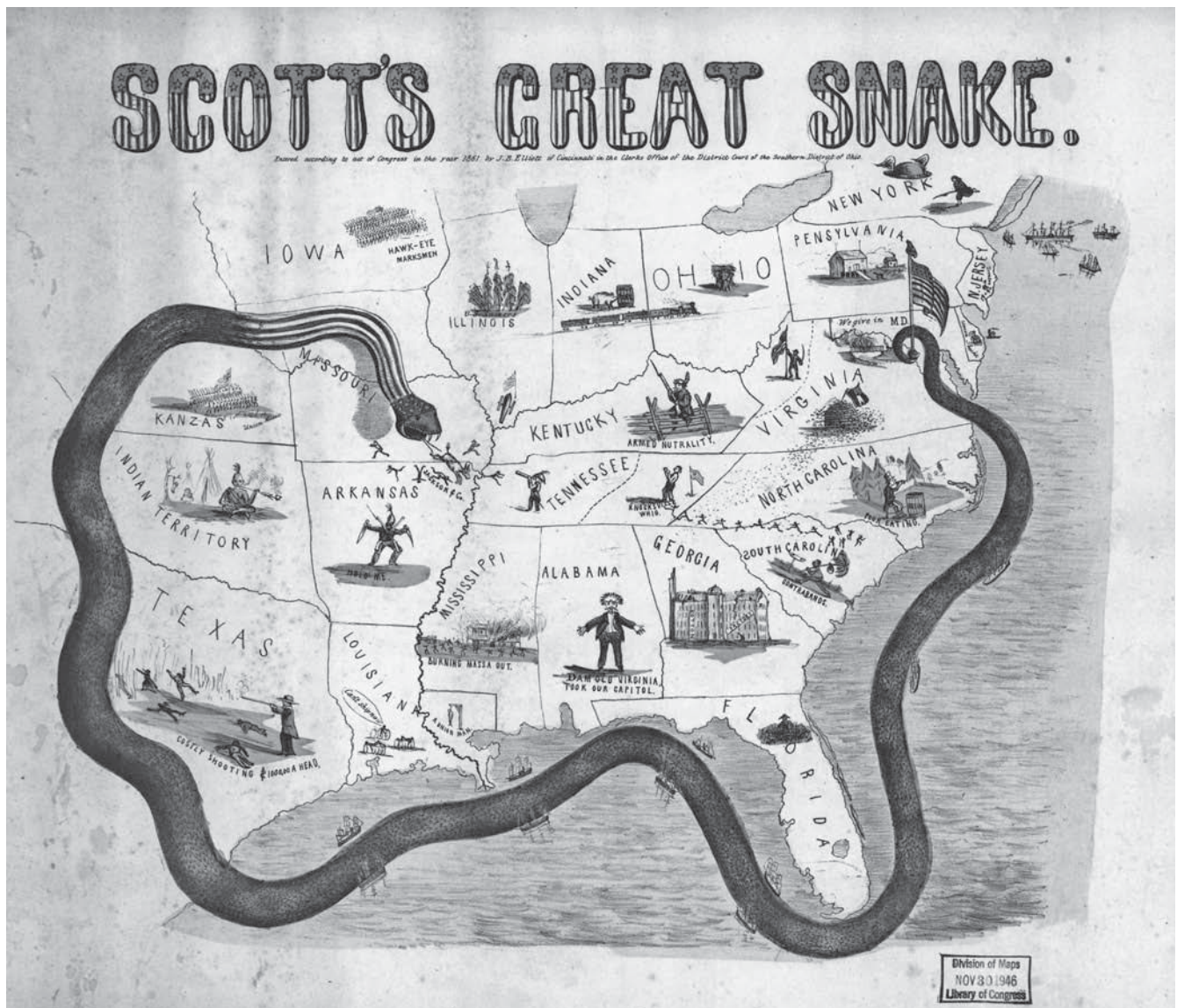
Also known as the “War of the Rebellion,” “War Between the States,” “War for Southern Independence,” and “BROTHERS’ WAR,” the conflict continues to fascinate professional historians, novelists, filmmakers, and millions of Americans interested in history. The drama and tragedy

of many Civil War battles have been commemorated in a number of national military parks, such as the ones at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; Antietam, Maryland; and Vicksburg, Mississippi. Many of the major issues of the era—slavery, states' rights, racial equality, the duties and rights of citizenship, and the limits of national authority—continue to provoke debate and dissension.

Before the sectional disruption, the American republic had survived diplomatic and military crises and internal stresses. It weathered tensions with France in the late 1790s, a second war with Britain in 1812–15, and disputes regarding international boundaries. Political debates over

economic issues such as the TARIFF, a national bank, and government-supported public works provoked dissension but posed no serious threat to the integrity of the Union. Despite divisions along ethnic and class lines, the majority of Americans had much in common. They were white, Christian, spoke English, and celebrated a shared heritage forged in the crucible of the Revolutionary War.

Questions relating to the institution of slavery led to the sectional strife that eventually erupted in war. Most men and women at the time would have agreed with ABRAHAM LINCOLN's assertion in his second inaugural address that slavery "was, somehow, the cause of the war." Earlier,



Map illustrating General Winfield Scott's plan to crush the Confederacy, represented as a snake, economically (1861) (Library of Congress)



ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, the Confederacy's vice president, had proclaimed that slavery "was the immediate cause of the late rupture and the present revolution" to establish Southern independence. The framers of the U.S. Constitution had compromised regarding slavery, creating a democratic republic that sought to ensure its citizenry's freedoms while also reassuring the South that individual states would have the power to maintain and regulate slavery within their boundaries. The paradox of white liberty that rested in part on a foundation of black slavery was thus embedded in the origins of the United States.

Debates over slavery's expansion into federal territories, which were tied to the South's effort to maintain an equal number of free and slave states, created turmoil in national politics. The Missouri Compromise of 1820, the WILMOT PROVISIO of 1846 (which sought to prohibit slavery in lands acquired as a result of the Mexican-American War), the establishment of the Free-Soil movement in 1848, the Compromise of 1850 (which ended parity in the Senate with California's admission as a free state), the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT of 1854 (which helped foster deadly territorial violence), and the Supreme Court's *DRED SCOTT* DECISION in 1857 marked mileposts along the road to sectional disruption. Outside the arena of national politics, the rise of the ABOLITION movement, Nat Turner's bloody slave revolt in Virginia in 1831, publication of HARRIET BEECHER STOWE's antislavery bestseller *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852, and JOHN BROWN's raid on HARPERS FERRY in 1859 fed fears in the South that their slave-based social and economic systems might be in jeopardy.

As sectional divisions deepened, important institutions failed to act as stabilizing forces. Several Protestant denominations, including the Baptists and Methodists, split into Northern and Southern branches. The national political parties, which from the 1830s until the early 1850s had pursued compromise to maintain Northern and Southern wings, fractured along regional lines. The Whig Party collapsed as a national entity after the presidential election of 1852, and many Northern voters came to view the DEMOCRATIC PARTY as pro-Southern. The REPUBLICAN PARTY, which rapidly gained strength in the North following its creation in the mid-1850s, adamantly opposed extension of slavery into the territories and won virtually no support in the South. The Supreme Court, long venerated by citizens across the nation, lost its reputation as an impartial arbiter of legal questions when the *Dred Scott* decision seemed to open all federal territories—and perhaps free states as well—to slavery.

Historians have debated whether the North and South had become markedly different societies by 1860. Some portray the Free-Soil North, with its commercial and industrial interests, as an emerging capitalist giant at odds with an overwhelmingly agrarian South, where most capital

was invested in land and slaves. Others insist that the North and South were far more alike than different. It is clear that by the late 1850s many Americans believed there were fundamental differences between the sections. More ominously, a significant number on each side of the MASON-DIXON LINE had come to distrust those on the other side who disagreed with them about how slavery should figure in the republic's future.

The election of 1860 triggered the SECESSION crisis. Although Lincoln and the victorious Republicans had promised not to interfere with slavery in states where it already existed, they firmly opposed slavery's spread to any federal territories. Between December 1860 and February 1861, the seven Deep South states seceded to avoid what they perceived as a long-term threat to their slaveholding interests. After Confederates fired on FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, in mid-April 1861, Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion prompted four slave states of the Upper South, including Virginia, to join their Deep South brethren. Four other slave states, typically called the border states—Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware—remained loyal to the Union.

Both sides mobilized on a scale unprecedented in American history. Drawing on an 1860 population of just more than 1 million military-age white males, the Confederacy placed between 800,000 and 900,000 men in uniform (fragmentary records do not permit a precise count). The North mustered at least 2.1 million men, about half of its 1860 military-age population. More than 180,000 black men served in United States units. Apart from its much larger population, the North held a decided advantage in industrial capacity. In 1860 there were 110,000 Northern manufacturing establishments employing 1,300,000 workers; in the Confederate states, there were just 18,000 establishments employing 110,000 workers.

Yet either side could have prevailed because of the North's more difficult requirements for victory. The Confederacy sought independence and only had to defend itself to prevail. The North sought to compel the seceded states to abandon their hopes to found a new nation. U.S. armies would have to invade the Confederacy, destroy its capacity to wage war, and crush the will of the Southern people to resist. The Confederacy could win by prolonging the war to a point where the Northern people considered the effort too costly in lives and money. Many Confederates appreciated the magnitude of the North's challenge. George Wythe Randolph, who served as Confederate secretary of war, commented in 1861 that Union forces "may overrun our frontier States and plunder our coast but, as for conquering us, the thing is an impossibility."

Union and Confederate leaders adopted very different strategies to achieve victory. Beginning in 1861 with Winfield Scott's so-called Anaconda Plan, the United States pursued a

strategy that included a naval blockade to restrict the flow of goods into Southern ports, a combined army-navy effort to divide the Confederacy by seizing control of the MISSISSIPPI RIVER, and major offensives into the Confederate hinterlands. The Confederacy first tried to defend all of its borders, but the futility of such a strategy soon became apparent. For most of the war, JEFFERSON DAVIS and his advisers followed what often is termed a defensive-offensive strategy. Confederate armies generally stood on the strategic defensive, protecting as much of their territory as possible. When circumstances seemed favorable, the Confederacy launched offensives, the most important of which culminated in the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM and Battle of Perryville in 1862 and the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG in 1863.

Military fortunes ebbed and flowed for more than three years before U.S. forces gained a decisive advantage. The North wavered more than once in its determination, most notably after ROBERT E. LEE frustrated Union offensives in the spring of 1863 and the spring and early summer of 1864. A string of Union successes in the West—won by ULYSSES S. GRANT at Forts Henry and Donelson, Shiloh, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga in 1862–63 and by WILLIAM T. SHERMAN at Atlanta in 1864—more than counterbalanced Lee’s successes. By the autumn of 1864, with Grant as the Union general in chief, U.S. armies applied pressure in Virginia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas that eventually forced a Confederate surrender at APPOMATTOX COURTHOUSE, VIRGINIA, in the spring of 1865.

Both sides made use of recent technological advances. RAILROADS moved hundreds of thousands of soldiers and vast quantities of supplies, and TELEGRAPHIC communication permitted both governments to coordinate military movements in widely separated areas. The conflict featured numerous applications of recent military technology, among the most important of which were the rifled musket carried by most infantrymen on both sides and IRONCLAD warships that saw action on a broad scale.

The war touched the lives of almost every American. Women assumed larger responsibilities in the workplace. In the North, they labored as NURSES (previously a male occupation), government clerks, factory workers, and in other ways helped the war effort. Southern white women also worked as clerks and nurses and in factories, and thousands took responsibility for running farms. Several hundred women disguised themselves as men and served in the military. Although the war opened opportunities outside the household for women, its end brought a general return of old patterns of EMPLOYMENT.

Slaves in the South shouldered a major part of the labor burden, as they always had, and made it possible for the Confederacy to put nearly 80 percent of its military-age white men in uniform. No group was more directly affected by the outcome of the war than the 4 million black people

who were slaves in 1861. They emerged from the struggle with their freedom (made final by ratification of the THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT to the Constitution in December 1865), though the extent to which they would be accorded equal rights remained unresolved.

The two national governments expanded their powers in an effort to mount sustained war efforts. Ironically, the Confederacy, a republic allegedly devoted to states’ rights, witnessed greater governmental intrusions into its citizens’ lives. Both sides enacted a series of national taxes, tampered with civil liberties in various ways, and resorted to CONSCRIPTION laws. Many of these measures, especially the drafts implemented by the South in 1862 and by the North the following year, provoked heated political debate and overt antiwar activities. The war produced spending on a scale dwarfing that of any earlier period. In 1860 the federal budget was \$63 million; in 1865 U.S. expenditures totaled nearly \$1.3 billion—a 200-fold increase that does not include the roughly \$1 billion the Confederate government spent.

EMANCIPATION was the war’s most revolutionary development. Abolitionists and many RADICAL REPUBLICANS pressed for it from the outset, but the mass of white Northerners considered the conflict a struggle for union rather than for black freedom. As fighting dragged on and casualties mounted, Lincoln presented emancipation as a tool that would undermine the Confederacy. Although many Democrats remained bitter opponents, most white Northerners eventually accepted emancipation as necessary to victory. Hundreds of thousands of slaves in the South did not wait for U.S. politicians to work out their fate, fleeing to Union military lines and thereby applying pressure for governmental action that would transform a struggle for union into a struggle for union and freedom.

The cost of the war was appalling. More Americans were killed than in all other wars combined from the colonial period through the last phase of the Vietnam War. Had American deaths in World War II been proportionately as high, the total would have been 2.6 million rather than the 405,000 actually lost. The war brought wide-scale economic destruction to the Confederate states, which lost two-thirds of their assessed wealth (emancipated slaves accounted for much of this). In contrast, the Northern ECONOMY thrived. Two statistics convey a sense of the relative economic cost: Between 1860 and 1870, Northern wealth increased by 50 percent; during that same decade, Southern wealth decreased by 60 percent.

Human suffering extended beyond the military sphere and continued long after fighting ceased. During the conflict, scores of thousands of black and white Southerners became REFUGEES (far fewer Northern civilians experienced the war so directly). An unknown number of civilians perished at the hands of guerrillas, deserters, and, less frequently, regular soldiers in both armies. After the war,

thousands of VETERANS struggled to cope with lost limbs and other physical and emotional scars. Thousands of families faced difficult financial circumstances due to the loss of husbands and fathers. The U.S. government made available minimal support for widows of soldiers, and Southern states did the same for widows of Confederates.

The Civil War was the central event in the lives of most of the soldiers who served. During the postwar years, many joined veterans' organizations such as the Grand Army of the Republic and the United Confederate Veterans. They revisited the sites of their battles, raised MONUMENTS to commemorate their service, and, in significant numbers, wrote reminiscences. For black Union soldiers, the war provided the strongest possible claim for full citizenship. They had risked their lives alongside white comrades, and they justly claimed the right to vote and otherwise live as full members of American society.

Americans remembered the war in different ways. For most white Northerners, it was preeminently a crusade that saved the Union. Black Americans placed freedom at the center of their memories of the conflict. Many ex-Confederates celebrated their failed effort to carve out a distinct destiny. Their arguments, which included an attempt to minimize the importance of slavery as a factor during the secession crisis and the war, became part of the remarkably durable LOST CAUSE school of interpretation. By the end of the 19th century, a reconciliationist movement united many white Northerners and Southerners in a shared public memory of the war. Reconciliationists rarely spoke of emancipation or black participation and deliberately avoided discussion of the bitter animosities that had divided North and South. They applauded the pluck of white soldiers North and South, often glossed over the question of which side was right, and presented the war as a grand demonstration of American valor and virtue. The reconciliationist vision, with its emphasis on shared courage and its aversion to acrimonious topics, continues to wield a powerful influence on the popular understanding of the Civil War.

See also RECONSTRUCTION; REDEMPTION.

**Further reading:** James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

—Gary W. Gallagher

**Clay, Henry** See VOLUME IV.

**Cleburne, Patrick R.** (1828–1864) *Confederate general*

Confederate officer Patrick Ronayne Cleburne was born at Ovens, County Cork, Ireland, on March 16, 1828, to Dr.

Joseph and Mary Anne Ronayne Cleburne. Both parents died before Patrick was 15. He attempted to become a physician but was denied admission to Trinity College in February 1846. Later that year he joined the 41st Regiment of Foot of the British Army as a private. After three years service, he bought his discharge and moved with his older brother and two sisters to the United States. Cleburne settled in Helena, Arkansas, and established himself as a druggist. In 1856 he began to practice law and by 1860 had become senior partner in the firm of Cleburne, Scaife, and Mangum.

At the beginning of the CIVIL WAR, he joined the Yell Rifles, a local Rebel infantry company, as a private and was soon elected captain of the company. Upon the organization of the First Arkansas Infantry Regiment, he was elected colonel. In March 1862 he was elevated to brigade command under William J. Hardee, serving in that capacity at the BATTLE OF SHILOH, throughout the Kentucky campaign (where he was shot through the mouth at the Battle of Richmond, Kentucky, on August 30, 1862), and during the BATTLE OF MURFREESBORO.

In early 1863 he was promoted to the rank of major general and given command of an infantry division. He directed the division during the Tullahoma campaign and the BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA. His defense of the north end of Missionary Ridge on November 25, 1863, and his rearguard action at Ringgold, Georgia, on November 27 confirmed his reputation as one of the Confederacy's best fighting generals. Cleburne came to be called the "Stonewall Jackson of the West," but his 1864 suggestion to offer freedom to slaves who would join the CONFEDERATE ARMY prevented his elevation to higher command. He led his division with distinction during the ATLANTA CAMPAIGN of 1864 and died leading his men against the Federal earthworks at Franklin, Tennessee, on November 30, 1864.

See also IRISH-AMERICAN REGIMENTS.

**Further reading:** Mauriel Phillips Joslyn, ed., *A Meteor Shining Brightly: Essays on the Life and Career of Major General Patrick R. Cleburne* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2000); Craig L. Symonds, *Stonewall of the West: Patrick Cleburne and the Civil War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997).

—James Daryl Black

**Cobb, Howell** (1815–1868) *politician, Confederate general*

Howell Cobb was a politician who held office in both the United States and the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, and also a Confederate general. Cobb was born in Jefferson County, Georgia, on September 7, 1815. After graduating from law school at the University of Georgia, Athens, he



began a successful law practice in 1836 and developed an interest in politics as a Democrat. In 1842 he was elected to the House of Representatives, where he gained a reputation as a moderate on sectional issues. Elected Georgia's GOVERNOR in 1851, Cobb returned to the House in 1855 after failing to win a Senate seat. The following year he campaigned on behalf of JAMES BUCHANAN. In return, President Buchanan appointed Cobb as secretary of the U.S. Treasury in 1857.

In 1860 Cobb unsuccessfully ran to be the DEMOCRATIC PARTY's presidential nominee, later campaigning for JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE, who likewise failed to win the Democratic nomination. Following the victory of Republican ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Cobb urged Georgia to secede from the Union, thereby abandoning his former moderate Unionism. He resigned from Buchanan's cabinet in December 1860 and returned home, and in February 1861 he was elected president of the provisional CONFEDERATE CONGRESS. He served in this capacity for several months as a partisan supporter of Confederate president JEFFERSON DAVIS before being commissioned a colonel of the newly raised 16th Georgia Infantry. He then alternated between conducting his duties in the Confederate Congress and accompanying his regiment in the field until February 1862, when he finally resigned from politics to fight full-time as a Confederate brigadier general.

Cobb initially served in Gen. John Magruder's division and was active in the Seven Days' campaign of June–July 1862. After intermittent bouts of illness, he transferred to Gen. LAFAYETTE MCLAWS's division in August 1862 and was heavily engaged at the Battle of South Mountain that September. Disagreements with McLaws led to his transfer to Florida. In fall 1863 Cobb became a major general and was posted at Savannah, Georgia. In this capacity he trained and recruited troops of the Georgia Guard. After their enlistments expired in February 1864, he began assembling and preparing a new force, the Georgia Reserve. Here Cobb clashed regularly with Governor JOSEPH EMERSON BROWN over manpower policies but still found time to repulse a Federal cavalry raid under Gen. George Stoneman on July 30, 1864.

Cobb continued performing useful service for the Confederacy until Union general WILLIAM T. SHERMAN succeeded in capturing Savannah in December 1864, as part of his ATLANTA CAMPAIGN. Badly outnumbered, Cobb redeployed his command to Macon and surrendered to Gen. James H. Wilson there on April 17, 1865. His record in Confederate service had been solid, if unspectacular. He was briefly detained by U.S. authorities for his role in the Confederate Congress, but President ANDREW JOHNSON paroled him. Cobb then resumed his legal career in Georgia. Though he never again sought political office, he campaigned openly against the policies of RECONSTRUCTION.

While on a trip to NEW YORK CITY, Howell Cobb died suddenly on October 9, 1868.

**Further reading:** John Eddins Simpson, *Howell Cobb: The Politics of Ambition* (Chicago: Adams Press, 1973); U.S. House of Representatives, "Cobb, Howell" (Biographical Dictionary of the United States Congress. Available online. URL: <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=C000548>. Accessed January 17, 2008).

—John C. Fredriksen

### Cold Harbor, Battle of (June 1–6, 1864)

Cold Harbor, Virginia, was the bloodiest in a series of battles that formed the OVERLAND CAMPAIGN, which was undertaken by the UNION ARMY in early May 1864. Besides the carnage, the Battle of Cold Harbor was notable as a turning point when defensive fortifications, siege warfare, and relentless daily fighting characterized the war in the eastern theater.

Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT's Army of the Potomac marched south into Virginia with hopes of putting an end to the conflict. Northern moral was high, yet ROBERT E. LEE and the Army of Northern Virginia blocked Grant's relentless westward movements toward RICHMOND, inflicting heavy casualties on their opponents. After the Battle of North Anna during May 23–26, Grant moved west again and crossed the Pamunkey River. By month's end, the left wing of the Federal force had reached a tiny crossroads called Cold Harbor, named after a tavern.

Cold Harbor had a road that led into the Chickahominy River and then continued on to Richmond. Grant's plan was to bring his army through Cold Harbor, turn on Lee's right, and pin the Confederates in a vulnerable spot against the river. Unfortunately, the Union forces delayed, and the attack, set for 4 A.M. on June 2, had to be postponed until the same time on the next day. The Confederates, meanwhile, used the extra time to build and extend their fortifications.

By predawn of June 3, 59,000 well-entrenched rebels faced 108,000 Federals across a seven-mile front. Grant's massive frontal assault on Confederate lines failed miserably. That terrible day saw some 7,000 Federal casualties (compared with less than 1,500 for the rebels) that shattered three Union corps. One Northern soldier described some details of the assault: "The time of actual advance was not over eight minutes. . . . In that little period more men fell bleeding as they advanced than in any other like period of time throughout the war." The assault was a disaster, and before the end of the day, Grant stopped the fighting. "I regret this assault more than any one I have ever ordered," he said.

Cold Harbor culminated a month of nonstop campaigning for both armies. The North had experienced

50,000 losses and the South 32,000. In percentages, that represented 41 percent of Grant's forces and 46 percent of Lee's. These losses were a disaster for the South, which could not replenish its armies. Although the Battle of Cold Harbor and the Overland campaign resulted in Northern losses or stalemates on the field, Grant's overall strategy of attrition was working.

**Further reading:** Louis J. Baltz III, *The Last Battle of Cold Harbor: May 27–June 13, 1864* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1994); Ernest B. Furgurson, *Not War but Murder: Cold Harbor, 1864* (New York: Knopf, 2000).

### Colored National Labor Union (1869–1872)

Established in 1869, the Colored National Labor Union (CNLU) was the first major attempt on the part of African Americans to organize their labor collectively on a national level. The CNLU, like other labor unions, had as its goal improving the working conditions and quality of life for its members. Unfortunately, in its short life span, the CNLU made precious few inroads for its black constituents.

African Americans had traditionally been excluded from existing labor unions, but when workers sought to capitalize on organizational opportunities created by the CIVIL WAR and formed the NATIONAL LABOR UNION (NLU), black laborers wanted to participate as well. William Sylvis, president of the NLU, made a speech in which he agreed that there should be “no distinction of race or nationality” within the ranks of his organization. In 1869 several black delegates were invited to the annual meeting of the NLU. One of these delegates was a man named Isaac Myers, a prominent organizer of African-American laborers. At the convention, he spoke eloquently for solidarity, saying that white and black workers ought to organize together for higher wages and a comfortable standard of living. But Myers's plea fell on deaf ears. The white unions refused to allow African Americans to enter their ranks. In response to this, Myers met with other African-American laborers to form a national labor organization of their own. In 1869 the Colored National Labor Union was formed, with Myers as its first president.

The CNLU was established to help improve the harsh conditions facing black workers. Exclusionary white unions and uncooperative employers prevented African Americans from getting highly paid, skilled labor jobs in the North. In the South, the EMANCIPATION of the slaves did not result in social or economic equality. Among the goals of the CNLU, which represented African-American laborers in 21 states, were the issuance of farmland to poor Southern African Americans, government aid for EDUCATION, and new nondiscriminatory legislation that would help black workers who struggled to make ends meet.

The CNLU ultimately made few economic gains for African Americans. A hostile and prejudiced business and labor environment prevented the CNLU from making much headway, and in 1872 the union went under. The CNLU did, however, help raise awareness among many people in the labor movement that all workers deserved adequate representation.

See also EMPLOYMENT; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

**Further reading:** William H. Harris, *The Harder We Run: Black Workers Since the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

—Troy Rondinone

### common soldier

The common soldier of the CIVIL WAR mostly enlisted early, in 1861 and 1862, and stayed to the end, if he lived. He was young, between the ages of 18 to 24. He was most likely to have been born in a rural area and to be the son of a farmer, but many were the sons of businessmen, working-class artisans, intellectuals, and the wealthy. He was white, Protestant, and literate. Indeed, Civil War soldiers were some of the best educated in the history of warfare, and their LETTERS home attested to their ability to express themselves.

The common soldier was not only literate, he was politically astute and knew the reasons why he was fighting. The Northern soldier fought for union and, after 1863, for freedom. “I have no heart in this war if the slaves cannot be free,” declared a young Wisconsin private in 1863. The Southern soldier fought to protect his homeland from foreign invaders, for Confederate independence from tyranny, and for STATES' RIGHTS. “We are fighting for the Constitution that our forefathers made,” wrote a Confederate soldier, “and not as old Abe would have it.” All claimed ideological inheritance from the American Revolution, and all agreed, one way or another, with President ABRAHAM LINCOLN when he said that SLAVERY “was somehow the cause of the war.”

Johnny Reb and Billy Yank did not have a lot of money or property but had great ambitions for both. The common soldier was probably not married, although a fair number had already tied the knot. He eagerly accepted the monthly pay, the bonuses, and sometimes even the land that would come to him as part of his service, and rightly so, for these rewards were a part of the rich tradition of the American CITIZEN-SOLDIER. (Although by the second year of the war, the Southern soldier had little expectations of such rewards). He loved the excitement, the martial MUSIC, the parades, and the hoopla that accompanied the earliest calls for men. Often his motives for enlisting were mixed: peer pressure, social expectations, dreams of military glory, and patriotism all played a part in the final decision.

Most of all, the common soldier of the war reflected the deeply held values of individualism, family, community, church, and country in Victorian America. This was not, for the most part, a war fought by the poor for the rich. The families of the Civil War soldiers represented the very heart of the United States as it was in 1861. There were many men, however, who cannot be easily described within the broad depiction of the typical or common soldier. The Irish, German, Italians, and African Americans who served in the war were, in important ways, different from the majority of native-born white volunteers. Draftees, bounty jumpers, and the criminal element that were a part of the armies also departed dramatically from the norm.

Overall, American men shared romantic ideas about being a soldier. The concept of courage was the most important. Men were supposed to be brave in battle and, by doing so, would achieve their manhood, do their duty, and honor their God and their country. Courage was tied to a love of country, a feeling that is commonly called patriotism. The excitement of the early days of the war is reflected in a letter from a Northerner: "The air is full of calls for men who are patriotic to enlist. I really inwardly feel that I want to go do my part as a man." A soldier from Iowa added: "The majority of our Citizens are full of patriotism and express their willingness to stand by the Old Stars and stripes and protect it from dishonor." A Southern counterpart echoed the sentiment: "What is life worth under a government that cannot be enjoyed?"

Shared ideas and feelings created a powerful bond between the volunteer soldier in camp, on the march, and in battlefields and those who stayed back home. Hamlets, towns, and cities followed their "boys" throughout the war. Countless soldiers' newsy letters were printed in hometown newspapers for all to read and comment on. Local and state loyalties were stronger than national, especially in the early days of war.

The Northern and Southern federal governments relied heavily on the common people, the middling classes, to support the war effort through men, supplies, and money. This was not a modern war with a well-oiled CONSCRIPTION system (the draft accounted for very few soldiers) or a huge propaganda machine. Both the initial enthusiasm and the later dissent for the war came from a grassroots perspective.

In one sense, the young man who served in the war never left home. He joined a local outfit, a company, and regiment that were made up of other young men that he knew well. It was common for brothers, cousins, even fathers and sons to enlist together. In the beginning, soldiers' mothers, wives, sisters, and sweethearts provided UNIFORMS, food, and supplies and sewed the regimental flags. The enlisted men elected the company and regimental officers. The officers themselves, as untrained and inno-

cent in the ways of war as the raw recruits, were only slightly older and better off than the men they were charged with training. When the war became hard and violent, the community suffered the losses together. Replacements would have to come from the same locality. Recruiting became much more difficult everywhere as the losses rose dramatically through the four years of war.

The reality of war hit the common soldier hard. After the initial excitement wore off, the untested farm boys, city clerks, students, and mechanics had to learn how to be soldiers. At first, the typical volunteer had a difficult time accepting the fact that soldiering was a job that required steady discipline, constant drill, and the mastery of skills like the quick loading and firing of a musket. A recruit in the 93rd Illinois summed up his frustrations when he wrote his parents about camp life in 1862: "They keep us very strict here, it is the most like a prison of any place I ever saw. . . . It comes rather hard at first to be deprived of liberty." A rebel from Louisiana echoed that complaint when he commented from a camp in Alabama: "A soldier is not his own man. He has given up all claim on himself."

The common soldier and his comrades learned through experience how to march quickly through heat and cold and rain and snow; how to eat the most unpleasant things under the most challenging conditions; how to go for long periods of time without sufficient food or water; and how to build fortifications at a moment's notice. Most of all, he had to learn to kill his enemy and survive the war.

The biggest test was the first battle. Many have described the early Civil War military clashes as fights between two armed mobs. This was courage tested, and many failed at first. The noise, the smoke, and the fear of death were indescribable, and thousands "skedad-dled" from the battlefield. Who could blame them? They were not professional soldiers; they were volunteers who expected the war to be an adventure that would be over in a few months. A soldier from Tennessee recalled his first time in battle: "I was not much surprised when we received the order to fall in. . . . I can never forget my thoughts as I stood there and looked around. . . . It was the first time I had ever been called upon to face death." Courage for these men was just being able to follow orders and stay in line. "Oh how I wish I was a dwarf, just now, instead of a six-footer," moaned a Mississippian who faced his initial combat experience at the bloody BATTLE OF SHILOH. The best officers were the ones who respected these amateur soldiers and understood that most of the scared ones would come back to the camps chastened and ready to do better next time.

The average soldier became seasoned soon enough at Bull Run, Antietam, Chancellorsville, Shiloh, and Vicksburg. The majority of enlisted men and officers learned their jobs well, and some found they actually enjoyed it.

No longer did enthusiasm and a desire to achieve glory in battle drive the soldier. He had seen friends and perhaps a family member or two die horrible deaths in battle. Undoubtedly, he knew many more that died from illnesses like measles and dysentery.

As the war ground on, the soldier bonded with the other men in his company and regiment. He felt estranged from his family back home, and in many ways his fellow soldiers became his family, at least for the duration of the war. Surprisingly, despite the horrors of war, his devotion to his country's cause remained relatively steadfast, although the idealism was replaced with a hard-edged practical side. Often he and his comrades reenlisted late in the war (Rebels by that time had no choice), and when his family protested that he had done enough for the cause, he told them he wanted to see the thing to the end. A young Michigan soldier provided his own common soldiers creed:

The soldier of '61 was full of life and patriotism, his ardor undampened by hardship and adversity. The soldier of '65 hoped less, but fought and accomplished more. The period of romance had changed to a period of system and endurance. . . . The history of these four years of war has its counterpart in our own lives. In our youth, we acted upon impulse regarding loss of consequences, now we think before we act.

Common soldiers became VETERANS after 1865. After the great conflict, some recalled their experiences with bitterness; most spoke of their service with pride. Individually, thousands published memoirs or contributed to printed regimental histories. Northern veterans, white and black, supported the REPUBLICAN PARTY and joined the Grand Army of the Republic; Southern veterans supported the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and joined the United Confederate Veterans. Most veterans, North and South, preferred to sentimentalize the war, and in their declining years emphasized the positive and patriotic aspects of their experiences. For them, Union soldier Oliver Wendell Holmes's famous utterance was apt: "In our youth, our hearts were touched with fire."

See also BOUNTY SYSTEM; BROTHERS' WAR.

**Further reading:** James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought in the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Reid S. Mitchell, *The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978); Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Life of Billy Yank: The Common Soldier of the Union* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978).

**Compromise of 1850** See VOLUME IV.

## Confederate army

The Confederate army consisted of a regular force, the Army of the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, and a volunteer force designated the Provisional Army of the Confederate States. Created by the provisional CONFEDERATE CONGRESS on March 6, 1861, the Confederate regulars imitated the U.S. Army's organizational structure and its operational manual, *Rifle and Infantry Tactics*, written by Col. William J. Hardee, now a Confederate general. Regulations for the Army of the Confederate States were, with two minor revisions, a copy of the U.S. Army Regulation, 1857.

While very few enlisted men from the U.S. Army joined the Confederate cause, as many as one-fourth of the officers took commissions in the rebel regulars. These men exerted significant influence over the operations of volunteer military forces as senior general officers, engineer officers, staff officers, and supply bureau officers. This approach reflected Confederate JEFFERSON DAVIS's belief in reliance on state formations, buttressed by a small steady corps of trained regular soldiers and officers. In numbers, however, the Confederate regular army proved insignificant. Authorized to enlist 15,000 men in eight regiments of infantry, two regiments of cavalry, a corps of artillery, a corps of engineers, and a company of sappers and bombardiers, during the entire 1861–65 period a mere 1,650 men served in the regulars. Of these, half were officers. The principal reason for this endemic lack of manpower was the assigned term of service. State soldiers enlisted for the duration of the conflict and would be discharged at its conclusion, whereas the regulars signed on for a specific time span that was mandatory whether hostilities had ceased or not. Given Southerners' tepid response to such service, the regular army's recruiting stations all closed down within weeks of the war's outbreak. All told, the Confederate regular army died a quiet death, and few outside its minuscule ranks noticed its passing.

Numerically, the volunteer force proved the most significant element of the Confederate military. Created by the Confederate Congress February 28, 1861, the provisional army provided a temporary force to deal specifically with the threat of Northern attempts to stop SECESSION by force. The enabling legislation granted the president the power to accept into Confederate service any units in state service for a period of 12 months. The legislation also allowed a call for 100,000 volunteers and the enrolling of the various state militias into Confederate service. Privately raised and trained companies from various states ensured a ready pool of reasonably proficient soldiers. Moreover, these private companies were available much more quickly





Print of Confederate generals Robert E. Lee, Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, and P. G. T. Beauregard surrounded by the busts of Jefferson Davis and Confederate army officers (ca. 1896) (*Library of Congress*)

and at less expense to the central government than the hastily raised and untrained regular soldiers. In August 1861 Congress authorized a second call for 400,000 volunteers to serve enlistments ranging from one to three years. These troops remained in the service of their respective states until April 1862, when as part of the first CONSCRIPTION act, they became a part of the provisional army. Throughout the war, between 600,000 and 1.5 million men served in the provisional army. Due to the haphazard nature of Confederate military administration, however, the precise number of formations actually fielded is unknown. It is estimated at anywhere between 750 and 1,009 identifiable units.

Recruiting the Confederate military forces took place at various levels. The regular army created recruiting stations at Baton Rouge Barracks, Louisiana; San Antonio Barracks, Texas; Mount Vernon Arsenal, Alabama; Augusta Arsenal, Georgia; Castle Pinckney, South Carolina; Fort Johnston, North Carolina; and Bellona Arsenal, Virginia. At these stations, recruitment officers attempted to obtain men. However, the recruiting of regular army enlisted men

failed miserably, and most of the stations suspended operations by the end of 1861.

More successful during 1861 was the creation of various volunteer military companies throughout the towns and countryside of the Confederate states. Prominent citizens who called on their neighbors to join in creating small military units (e.g., an infantry company, an artillery battery, a company of cavalry, and so on) often organized this local recruiting. These units then consolidated into regiments with others from the same state. During 1861, more volunteers presented themselves than could by law be accepted into Confederate service. The emotional response was so great that, in many cases, hopeful soldiers in units not accepted for field service grew furious at the thought of missing out on the action. They despaired that they would never get a chance to fight, since the war would end after the Yankees got a taste of Southern fighting. Manpower levels fluctuated throughout the war, although individual Southern units, repeatedly replenished by new personnel, remained stronger than their Union counterparts through 1864. Near the end of the conflict, severely depleted units were consolidated to form stronger formations capable of handling battlefield contingencies.

There were three primary branches in the provisional army: infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The largest number of men served in the infantry. Organized into regiments of 10 companies totaling 1,000 men, this branch of the service constituted the main fighting force of the Confederate military. Infantry training proceeded unevenly and depended in many instances on the ability of the local unit commanders to teach themselves (while simultaneously teaching their men) the mysteries of tactics. The work proved difficult and seemed unending to the volunteers. As one Virginian put it, drill "was arduous labor, harder than grubbing, stump-pulling, or cracking rocks on the turnpike." While difficult, it was also necessary because the period's infantry fighting tactics required a complex evolution of movements made by men standing in line elbow to elbow in two ranks. To help facilitate the training of the CITIZEN-SOLDIERS, the Confederate government assigned professional soldiers and, in some cases, the cadets of the state military schools to instruct the recruits. Slowly, the men learned the drills and the officers learned how to control their units. In the two main Confederate armies serving in northern Virginia and Tennessee, drill proficiency reached high levels within a fairly short time. By early 1862, most of the incompetent elected officers had been removed and replaced by more highly skilled tacticians and administrators. In their capable hands, the Confederate volunteers gained a just reputation as among the most capable and effective fighters in military history.

In the secondary branches, artillery and cavalry, the Confederates achieved mixed success in training and tac-



tics. In the artillery, the lack of experienced officers and enlisted men created problems throughout the war. One Rebel gunner remembered after the CIVIL WAR that “whole battalions of artillery went into active service without a single man, whether officer, non-commissioned officer, or private, who knew anything about artillery.” In a service where technical knowledge played a major role, the lack of skilled men resulted in a tactically inferior force. Talented and capable artillery leaders did, however, exist in the Confederate service. The best example was Gen. Edward P. Alexander, whose deft handling of Southern cannon at Fredericksburg transformed that battlefield into a killing ground for Union troops. Southern artillery was also quicker to adapt four-battery battalion formations at the divisional and corps levels, enabling them to neutralize Northern manpower advantages in many early engagements.

In cavalry, the Confederates held an early advantage in leadership and in rank and file. Bold leaders such as J. E. B. STUART, NATHAN BEDFORD FORREST, JOHN SINGLETON MOSBY, and JOHN HUNT MORGAN used their mounted troops aggressively and imaginatively. The skill of many Southern horsemen contributed to the success of the cavalry, which maintained its superiority to Union mounted troops until 1864, when declining supplies of horses limited rebel mobility and the employment of rapid-fire shoulder arms gave Federal cavalry troops firepower advantage.

While many volunteer units struggled to organize and train, the presence of state militias and military schools, such as the Citadel in Charleston and the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, Virginia, improved the state of military preparedness. Although many Southern militia units were little more than glorified social clubs, some units, such as the Washington Artillery of New Orleans, the Oglethorpe Light Infantry of Savannah, the Kentucky State Guard, and various state militias, provided a small core of trained soldiers. These prewar institutions impacted most strongly the army forming in Virginia, where many of the officers who led the rebel forces had served in some of the South’s best militias. Throughout the war, their experience provided the foundation of a well-led force. In other regions, where the militia influence was less (such as the army forming in Tennessee), the officer corps remained weak and leadership less than ideal.

The task of supplying the vast number of volunteers created major problems for the Confederate government. With no formal military supply apparatus in place and with limited production capabilities, the Confederate War Department faced a seemingly impossible task. Fortunately for them, supply functions were in the capable hands of Col. JOSIAH GORGAS, a former Union officer from Pennsylvania. Gorgas effectively served as Confederate chief of ordnance throughout the war. His farsighted poli-

cies—battlefield recovery, decentralized production facilities, and decentralized administration facilities throughout the South—ameliorated a pressing supply problem so that no Confederate army was ever defeated for want of weapons. Gorgas went so far as to operate his own fleet of transport vessels, charged with smuggling British weapons and munitions into Confederate ports. His contributions to the war effort probably extended the life of the Confederacy. Without them it is doubtful that Confederate armies would have performed as effectively in the field against their well-equipped Northern counterparts.

Arming the volunteers presented the most pressing problem for the secessionist war department. At the war’s outset, Southern arsenals contained roughly 296,000 shoulder weapons of all types. Many of them were old smoothbore muskets, some still using the outdated flintlock ignition system. In all, only about 24,000 modern rifles and rifle muskets were available. Regiments were unable to take the field in many instances because they had no weapons. By 1862, through a combination of domestic production, battlefield captures, and imports from Europe, the supply problem lessened. Throughout the Confederacy, increasing numbers of rebel troops obtained long-range, efficient weapons, thus improving their combat effectiveness. Still, mixed supplies of weapons within regiments and brigades led to problems in the field and limited the overall efficiency of some units. In the artillery service, weapons proved an even greater problem. Unable to produce adequate numbers of cannons and reliable ammunition, the Confederate artillery almost always fought at a tactical disadvantage.

Clothing varied at the war’s outset, from the fine UNIFORMS worn by the former militia companies and provided by friends, to the mismatched civilian clothing worn by many volunteers. However, problems appeared early as the clothes worn by the troops began to wear out. The central government responded by creating a system called “commutation.” In this system, soldiers either bought clothes or were supplied by their home states at the expense of the RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, government. Slowly, the quartermaster department established a series of depots throughout the South where clothing was produced for issue to all troops in Confederate service. This system worked with varying degrees of success through 1862–65.

Food and TRANSPORTATION also presented operational challenges to the emerging armies. Shortages of grain and meat, and the inability to transport these vital supplies, were serious problems. So severe were the shortages that the Confederate government resorted to the practice of IMPRESSMENT to obtain sufficient supplies of flour and meat. While this did little to ease the problem, it underscored the degree of shortage in the Southern armies. Inadequate supplies of horses and vehicles to

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transport ammunition, clothing, and food compounded all of the supply problems. As the number of horses declined, so did the ability of the armies to take offensive actions or even feed themselves.

One area in which Confederate armies had a distinct tactical advantage over the North was organization. While their overall numbers were inferior, they were usually better situated to make use of troops they brought onto the battlefield. Southern units, regardless of branch, were retained in the field longer than Union formations and were continually fleshed out with new recruits. The UNION ARMY practice, by comparison, was to return units that had been severely weakened (through combat, sickness, or desertion) to the states for a refit. As a result, Southern units were usually better prepared to deploy soldiers at a given geographic point than Northern units of comparable size. Although the Confederate army had fewer units, it thus enjoyed considerable manpower advantages on the ground, enabling commanders to concentrate their strength quickly for decisive effect. This operating principle, which held true in the brigade and division level as well, gave the Confederacy a military advantage through 1864.

Operationally, the volunteer force was divided into several organizations known as armies. These forces were generally arrayed to protect the Southern territory. During 1861, the government spread its military forces widely in an attempt to protect as many points as possible. This resulted in troops being scattered along the Gulf Coast, in northern Virginia, and across the northern border of Tennessee. The nature of the Federal invasion of the South in some ways dictated the emerging shape of the two main rebel forces. In Virginia, the front of the Union advance in July 1861, the forces assigned to protecting the Shenandoah Valley consolidated with Southern troops at Manassas. This army successfully defended Richmond in the summer of 1862 and became famous as ROBERT E. LEE's Army of Northern Virginia (so named shortly after Lee took command). As the threat to the Confederate capital increased, more and more troops from the Atlantic coast and western Virginia were funneled to Lee's army. By far the most successful of the Confederate armies, the Army of Northern Virginia fought at the BATTLES OF BULL RUN, the Seven Days' campaign, ANTIETAM, FREDERICKSBURG, CHANCELLORSVILLE, GETTYSBURG, the OVERLAND CAMPAIGN of 1864, and the PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN. Some of the most famous secessionist generals including JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON, J. E. B. Stuart, JAMES LONGSTREET, and GEORGE E. PICKETT served in the Army of Northern Virginia. Indeed, by 1863, General Lee and his army had come to symbolize the heart and soul of the Confederate cause for most of the Southern people.

The second major Confederate force coalesced in northern Mississippi as Union forces advanced along the

Tennessee River and into the Confederate heartland. Several scattered corps under Leonidas Polk and William J. Hardee held the southern part of Kentucky in 1861 and early 1862. These Confederate troops retreated into northern Mississippi following the fall of Fort Donelson in February 1862. Directed by ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON, the forces concentrated at Corinth, Mississippi, in March 1862 and were bolstered by reinforcements under BRAXTON BRAGG from the Gulf Coast. The concentrated army struck back and met the invading force at the BATTLE OF SHILOH in southwestern Tennessee.

Having lost the battle and its commander, Albert Sidney Johnston, the army retreated to northern Mississippi where it worked to perfect its organization under PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD and later Bragg. First called the Army of the Mississippi, and later the Army of Tennessee, this force under Braxton Bragg proved much less successful than Lee's army. Under Bragg, the command failed to protect the valuable food- and supply-producing regions of Tennessee and Georgia. With Bragg as commander, the Army of Tennessee fought at the Battles of Perryville, Kentucky; MURFREESBORO, Tennessee; CHICKAMAUGA, Georgia; and CHATTANOOGA, Tennessee. Following the rebel rout at Chattanooga in November 1863, Bragg resigned from active command and was replaced by Joseph E. Johnston. Johnston commanded the army in July 1864 but was fired for his inability to defend Atlanta. JOHN BELL HOOD took command, lost the ATLANTA CAMPAIGN, and destroyed the Army of Tennessee's effective field capabilities by hurling it against the Federal trenches at Franklin, Tennessee, on November 30, 1864. The army essentially dissolved in the face of fierce Federal attacks at Nashville on December 16, 1864.

Other significant armies created by the Confederate government included Earl Van Dorn's Army of the West that was defeated at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, in March 1862; H. H. Sibley's Army of New Mexico that attempted but failed to take and hold Arizona and New Mexico for the Confederacy; John C. Pemberton's Army of Vicksburg that, in July 1863, surrendered to ULYSSES S. GRANT; and Kirby Smith's Army of the Trans-Mississippi that served in the Confederate territory west of the MISSISSIPPI RIVER. In sum, the individual Southern soldier proved himself hardy, resilient, talented, and brave, fighting with a tenacity that belied his nation's overall lack of numbers. But neither the armies of the Confederacy nor their senior leaders were uniformly successful on the battlefield, where the Civil War was decided. The South found itself in a perilous predicament: fighting an enemy with significant manpower and materiel advantages. The situation allowed for little margin of error at either the strategic or the tactical level.

See also BOUNTY SYSTEM; DESERTION.

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—James Daryl Black

### Confederate navy

Nonexistent in 1860, the Confederate navy played an invaluable role in the Southern war effort during the CIVIL WAR. The navy was created by an act of the Provisional CONFEDERATE CONGRESS on February 20, 1861. At that point it was only a paper navy: It had few boats, and it had no sailors. It fell upon STEPHEN R. MALLORY, appointed Confederate secretary of the navy on February 21, to address these issues. Mallory, a senator from Florida before resigning from the U.S. Congress, had served as chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee. This experience would prove to be vital, as he personally oversaw almost all of the Confederacy's maritime policy and naval strategy during the war.

Mallory's first concern upon assuming office was to build a fleet. At the outset of the war, the Confederate government could claim ownership of roughly a dozen vessels, none of them warships. Mallory was determined to turn this into an advantage. Since he was starting from scratch, he hoped to build a navy that utilized the latest technology—ironclad warships, steam engines, and powerful, new guns. The Confederacy did not have the capacity to build its own ships, so Mallory began by trying to purchase ships from Europe. The Lincoln administration quickly brought diplomatic pressure to bear upon the European powers, and so Mallory was only able to acquire a handful of wooden ships. As such, the Confederacy was largely forced to make do with its own resources. Under Mallory's direction, the

Southern navy was able to develop a limited capacity for producing its own ships. The Confederates were also able to salvage numerous Union warships, converting most of them to IRONCLADS. The Confederacy also innovated, developing ironclad rams, submarines such as the CSS *H. L. Hunley*, and underwater mines called torpedoes. These efforts were fairly successful. Over the course of the war, the Confederate navy managed to put more than 100 ships into service.

Ships required sailors aboard, so while Mallory was working to piece together a fleet, he was also trying to recruit seamen. The officer corps was easier; 250 naval officers, including the talented RAPHAEL SEMMES, Matthew Maury, Franklin Buchanan, and John Mercer Brooke, had resigned from the U.S. Navy to join the Confederate ranks. Filling out the rank and file, however, proved a much more challenging task. The Confederate navy set up recruitment centers in each of the major Southern cities and offered enlistment bonuses of \$50. There were also attempts to force the army to reassign men to the navy. Mallory even agreed to use convicts on Confederate ships, although he refused to allow African Americans into the naval ranks. In the end, the Confederate navy was never really able to raise enough men, and at its height in 1865 it only had a strength of about 4,000 enlisted men and officers.

Due to lack of manpower and ships, the Confederate navy could not hope to compete directly with its Union counterpart. Given the Union's edge in resources and technology, head-to-head confrontations tended to prove disastrous for the Confederates. Over the course of the war, only a half-dozen Union warships were sunk in action by Confederate warships. As such, the Southern navy's efforts were focused on three main activities: defense of rivers and coastal fortifications, blockade running, and commerce raiding.

The Confederates had a fair amount of success in defensive warfare. The navy helped keep the southern MISSISSIPPI RIVER in Confederate hands until mid-1863. Confederate ironclads also protected small rivers, including the Roanoke, the Neuse, the Chattahoochee, and the Red. Most of the Confederacy's major cities were on the seacoast and were dependent on Confederate ships for protection. In particular, the navy played a critical role in defending RICHMOND, Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile.

River and coastal defense may have been the most important task performed by the navy, but blockade running has received a great deal more attention from historians. Blockade runners were usually small, fast boats designed to sneak past the Union warships responsible for preventing any vessels from entering or leaving Southern ports. The blockade runners were critical to the Confederate war effort because they were the only way for the South

to export cotton and to import raw materials and manufactured goods from European countries. Although most blockade runners were privately held and were operated for profit, the Confederate navy also owned and operated several dozen of the ships. Blockade runners were very effective. Over the course of the war an estimated 92 percent of attempts to run the Union blockade were successful. The odds of success were much higher in the early years of the war than in the latter years, however, as the UNION NAVY learned how to patrol the Southern coast more effectively.

Blockade running's counterpart was commerce raiding—the attack and capture of Union merchant ships. The former was undertaken to sustain the Southern ECONOMY, while the latter was meant to disrupt the Northern economy. Commerce raiding was much riskier than blockade running due to the 1856 Treaty of Paris, an international agreement that made the practice illegal. The existence of the treaty meant that the rewards of commerce raiding were minimal, because captured ships and goods could not be easily sold. Meanwhile, penalties were severe: Commerce raiders risked imprisonment or execution as pirates. Private interests invested their money in blockade runners, while commerce raiding became almost exclusively the responsibility of the Confederate navy. There were several successful commerce raiders, most notably the *Shenandoah*, which captured or destroyed 36 ships, and the *Alabama*, which was responsible for the demise of 71 Northern vessels. Roughly 5 percent of Northern merchant ships fell victim to commerce raiders over the course of the war. In addition, it is estimated that for every one ship captured or destroyed, another eight ships had to remain in port due to the threat of commerce raiding. Altogether, 1,616 Northern vessels with a total capacity of 774,000 tons were rendered unavailable during the war, with a consequent negative impact on the Northern economy.

Despite the fact that the Confederate navy began with almost nothing, it played a very important role in the Confederate war effort, with an impact on both military and economic affairs. The Confederate navy was no match for its Union counterpart, but it must nonetheless be judged at least a partial success.

See also FOREIGN POLICY; *MONITOR-MERRIMACK*; VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

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—Christopher Bates

### Confederate States of America (1861–1865)

The Confederate States of America was established under a constitution signed on March 11, 1861. The new republic consisted of the Deep South states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas. The number of Confederate states eventually grew to 11 when Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia left the Union following ABRAHAM LINCOLN's post-FORT SUMTER call for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the Southern rebellion. Four years of CIVIL WAR failed to secure Confederate independence, and the nation ceased to exist after the surrender of its principal armies in April and May 1865.

Abraham Lincoln's election on the Republican presidential ticket in 1860 caused many white Southerners to fear for the future of their slave-based society and provided the trigger for South Carolina's SECESSION convention. On December 20, 1860, South Carolina's 169 convention delegates voted unanimously to leave the Union. Similar conventions soon met in the other states of the lower South. By February 1, 1861, the first wave of secession was completed.

Delegates from the seceded states met in Montgomery, Alabama, during the first week of February 1861. Moderates controlled the convention and quickly drafted a provisional, or temporary, constitution closely modeled on the U.S. Constitution. JEFFERSON DAVIS of Mississippi, a moderate secessionist, and ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS of Georgia, who had been opposed to secession, were chosen as president and vice president. The delegates in Montgomery, selected by their respective state conventions rather than in popular ELECTIONS, converted themselves into the new nation's unicameral Congress. Together with Davis and Stephens, members of the Congress would serve until national elections could be held in November 1861. Congress also set up executive departments similar to those in the United States, as well as a postal system and other elements of a national government.

The Davis administration soon faced a crisis at FORT SUMTER in Charleston, South Carolina. Under increasing pressure to assert Confederate nationality, Davis ordered Southern forces to bombard and seize the United States's last remaining Southern fort during the second week of April 1861. Lincoln responded to the loss of Sumter by issuing a call for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion. That threat convinced four more slave states, Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee, to secede from the Union. The slave states of Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware remained loyal to the Union, although some of their citizens were active in support of the Confederacy.

The Confederate government operated under a temporary constitution for one month. The permanent constitution, written and approved by the Montgomery delegates, generally followed the U.S. Constitution except for



a few important differences. The Confederate Constitution limited national power and stressed STATES' RIGHTS. Most important, it protected SLAVERY in the states and all territories. The new document's preamble affirmed that each Confederate state acted "in its sovereign and independent character." The first 12 amendments to the U.S. Constitution appeared in the body of the Confederate version. The Confederate constitution created a national executive and bicameral legislature very similar to those of the United States, although it departed from the U.S. model in limiting the president to one six-year term.

The Confederate executive department included President Davis, Vice President Stephens, and the cabinet secretaries of state, war, the navy, and the treasury, a postmaster general, and an attorney general. The brilliant JUDAH P. BENJAMIN served as attorney general, secretary of state, and secretary of war at different times. STEPHEN R. MALLORY worked at the head of the Navy Department, and John H. Reagan was postmaster general. George Wythe Randolph and James A. Seddon stood out as the most important among several men to hold the post of secretary of war, while Christopher G. Memminger directed affairs

at the Treasury Department for more than three years. Cabinet members faced huge problems as they sought to plan and pay for war while also overseeing day-to-day governmental operations.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, replaced Montgomery as the capital of the Confederacy in 1861 and became the nation's most visible geographic symbol. The move was made because it was the capital of Virginia, the most populous Confederate state, and also the leading manufacturing center in the South. The first permanent CONFEDERATE CONGRESS convened in Richmond on February 18, 1862. Elected by voting-age white male citizens the preceding November, congressmen and senators had not run on specific political party tickets, like the Democratic or Republican Parties of the North. The Confederacy deliberately sought to avoid partisan politics. Although parties never developed, bitter divisions soon arose between congressional supporters and opponents of Davis and his policies.

The burden of conducting a protracted war against a powerful opponent placed enormous strains on Confederate society. Well before the end of the conflict, the South underwent changes and confronted challenges no one



Confederate president Jefferson Davis with his cabinet and, center, General Robert E. Lee (Hulton/Archive)



could have anticipated in 1861. Moreover, the Davis government passed laws and regulations that conflicted with the states' rights philosophy so often associated with the Confederacy. Still, the Confederacy held some advantages over the North. It sought to win independence and could achieve that by defending itself and persuading the Northern people that the effort to restore the Union would be too expensive in lives and money. The North, in contrast, had to invade the Confederacy, destroy its capacity to make war, and crush the Southern people's will. Many Confederates looked to the American Revolution as proof that a weaker power could defeat a more powerful foe. They expected the great size of the Confederacy and the unity of its people to be crucial factors in bringing Southern victory.

First, the nation needed soldiers. Hundreds of thousands of men volunteered for Confederate service in 1861, after which the rate of enlistment drastically declined. The Conscription Act of 1862 made all white males between the ages of 18 and 35 eligible for service but exempted men in several occupations deemed essential to the war effort (the most controversial exemption allowed one white man on each plantation with twenty slaves or more to avoid service). Later acts extended the age limits to 18 and 45 and then to 17 and 50 and modified the roster of exemptions. Until December 1863, any man drafted could pay a substitute to serve for him. The CONSCRIPTION acts were designed to promote volunteering rather than to draft men directly, and they generally worked well. Severe manpower shortages caused Congress to approve the enrollment of slaves into the CONFEDERATE ARMY very late in the war, but the legislation came too late to have any impact on the war.

Both the Davis and Lincoln governments understood that French aid had tipped the balance in favor of the colonists during the American Revolution. Confederate diplomatic efforts therefore concentrated on achieving recognition from Great Britain or France. Initial hopes rested on the belief that by withholding cotton exports, the Confederacy could produce such economic hardship among British textile manufacturers and their employees that the London government would intervene to assure a steady flow of cotton. Among other things, such intervention likely would bring the Royal Navy into conflict with the United States's naval blockade of the Confederacy. But "King Cotton" diplomacy failed miserably because Britain had a surplus of cotton on hand in 1861, rapidly developed new sources of cotton in India and Egypt, and saw increased production in arms manufacturing and other areas boost EMPLOYMENT when textile production lagged in the summer and fall of 1862.

During the war, the Confederacy suffered immense economic dislocation. Much of the problem was due to the fact that the antebellum Southern ECONOMY was not pre-

pared to wage war. With most capital tied up in land and slaves, the Confederacy struggled to pay for its war effort. The Davis administration relied on three sources of income: taxes that raised about 5 percent of revenues, bonds that raised another 35 percent, and paper treasury notes that raised the remaining 60 percent. This overproduction of paper money helped fuel inflation that eventually reached 9,000 percent. Shortages of goods contributed to inflation, as the Union blockade limited trade with Europe. Union military successes throughout the war also played a role in disrupting industrial and agricultural production and TRANSPORTATION networks.

Richmond adjusted to growing economic problems with a number of measures, such as IMPRESSMENT, which allowed the national government to seize goods—food, supplies, and slaves—for the war effort. Impressment caused considerable dissension but also provided invaluable war-related goods that helped keep the Confederate armies in the field.

The Confederacy registered impressive accomplishments in the area of war industry as well. The government created the largest powder works in North America at Augusta, Georgia, and established arsenals and ironworks in Richmond; Charleston; Selma, Alabama; and elsewhere. During 1863, war-related industries in Selma employed more than 10,000 people. No Confederate army ever lost a battle because it lacked weapons, ammunition, or other materiel.

The demands of fighting a war created serious political tensions in the Confederacy. In the absence of formal parties through which disagreements could be expressed, Confederate political opinion divided into pro- and anti-Jefferson Davis factions. Davis and military figures such as ROBERT E. LEE insisted that winning the war should take precedence over everything else. Other political figures insisted that the central government must protect essential state and individual rights, even if doing so hindered the Confederate war effort. Relations between Davis and the national Congress were tense. Disagreement over conscription, the suspension of HABEAS CORPUS, and policies that promoted economic centralization divided the leadership of the Confederacy. Congressional critics blasted Davis as a dictator and warned that winning independence would be worthless unless the values that made the new nation distinctive were preserved.

Vice President Stephens broke with Davis in 1862 over conscription and other issues, becoming another outspoken critic. GOVERNORS such as JOSEPH E. BROWN of Georgia and Zebulon Vance of North Carolina deliberately withheld supplies from the government and flaunted or circumvented national laws. Despite great opposition, President Davis worked extremely hard, set an example of selfless service, and created and sustained a national

army and government. At the same time, Davis's inability to delegate military responsibilities hurt the war effort. In addition, Davis was not an eloquent public speaker and failed to inspire public faith in the Southern cause. For that, the nation turned to Gen. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia. Victories over the Union's army of the Potomac helped to maintain the Confederacy after public support of Davis's government died. As the war continued, the Southern government suffered from divisions that prevented the most effective use of limited resources. Many historians argue that the Confederacy's inability to resolve the contradiction of nationalism versus states' rights and individualism caused the ultimate defeat of the South.

Military losses, particularly during and after the summer of 1863, along with inflation, scarcity of goods, and loss of loved ones led to dissent and disaffection behind the lines. DESERTION from Southern armies escalated dramatically during the winter of 1864–65. In early April 1865, Robert E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia abandoned Richmond. On April 9, Lee surrendered to ULYSSES S. GRANT at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA. Appomattox marked the end of the war for most Confederates, though additional surrenders of large forces would take place over the next month. Jefferson Davis, who fled southward with part of his cabinet just before the fall of Richmond, was captured on May 10 near Irwinville, Georgia.

The South paid a high price for its rebellion. Nearly 260,000 Confederate soldiers died from wounds or disease and another 200,000 were wounded in combat. Two-thirds of the region's assessed wealth was destroyed. Approximately 40 percent of all Southern livestock perished. Much of the infrastructure of the region—banks, factories, RAILROADS, bridges, levees, and the like—lay in ruins. One comparative figure is especially revealing: Between 1860 and 1870, Northern wealth increased by 50 percent while Southern wealth decreased by 60 percent.

The Confederate States of America failed because of internal dissent and military defeat. No other white group in U.S. history suffered the kind of catastrophe that was the fate of white Southerners. This regionally distinctive legacy has been, and continues to be, explored in LITERATURE, song, political culture, and symbols, such as the conflict over the Confederate battle flag.

See also FOREIGN POLICY; INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT; MUSIC; TREDEGAR IRON WORKS.

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**Confiscation Acts** (August 6, 1861, and July 17, 1862) The Confiscation Acts authorized Union troops to seize private property from individuals supporting the Confederacy during the CIVIL WAR. This provided valuable supplies for the Union war effort while undermining the Southern will to fight. At the same time, the Confiscation Acts played an important role in bringing an end to the institution of SLAVERY.

In the first Confiscation Act, passed on August 6, 1861, Congress authorized the UNION ARMY to seize any property used in “promoting . . . insurrection or resistance to the laws.” On its face, the act might have aroused little controversy in the North, because seizure of such “contraband” occurred in most wars. However, Southern property included slaves. This opened up an important question: If soldiers confiscated slaves, would those slaves be free?

Certain Union commanders, most notably Gens. John C. Frémont and BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, believed that confiscated slaves were indeed free. President ABRAHAM LINCOLN, however, forbade Union officers from freeing slaves on their own authority. Lincoln's 1861 repudiation of Frémont and Butler stemmed from his fear that any action that hinted at the ABOLITION of slavery would enrage the citizens and soldiers of Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri. Though none of these “border states” had joined the Confederacy, all of them still permitted slavery. Any perceived threat to the institution created the possibility that the states would throw their support to the Confederacy. Lincoln also worried that freeing captured slaves would cost him significant political support in Congress.

As the war dragged on through 1862, however, Lincoln's position changed. Southern resistance proved stronger than most Northerners had anticipated. By the spring of that year, both Lincoln and most congressional Republicans had concluded that victory would require a more determined and ruthless policy. In this new mood, Congress passed the second Confiscation Act on July 17, 1862. The act required that Union soldiers free any slaves that came into their hands. The act also authorized Lincoln to “employ as many persons of African descent as he may deem necessary and proper for the suppression of this rebellion . . . and use them in such manner as he may judge best.” Lincoln was now free to arm former slaves to fight against the Confederacy.

The second Confiscation Act was not an abolitionist measure. Instead, it was a military tactic intended to undermine the South's ECONOMY and social institutions. However, it took no great leap of imagination to predict that if Union forces advanced far enough into Confederate territory, slavery might actually collapse.

The second Confiscation Act thus paved the way for Lincoln's EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION in January 1863.

The Proclamation took the next logical step, declaring that all slaves in rebellious states were free, whether they had been captured by Union soldiers or not. The Emancipation Proclamation, in turn, was superseded after the war by the THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT, ending slavery forever. And so the end of slavery came not in one great stroke, but in steps; the Confiscation Acts were an important part of this process.

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—Tom Laichas

### Congress, Confederate (1861–1865)

The Confederate Congress was the national legislature of the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, and its responsibilities duplicated that of the UNITED STATES CONGRESS. The initial drive to form a Confederate government began in February 1861, when delegates from seven seceded states arrived at Montgomery, Alabama. Given the urgency of the situation, they spent only a day debating and passing a provisional constitution to legitimize their activities. They then quickly established a provisional Confederate Congress. That April, after the fall of FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, additional delegates arrived from Arkansas, North Carolina, and Virginia, and work continued apace to organize the machinery of government and provide for a permanent constitution and congress.

The provisional constitution closely mirrored its U.S. counterpart in most ways. Important exceptions included the protection of SLAVERY and state sovereignty. The absence of a clause providing for the “common defense” or “common welfare” limited the power of the executive as did explicit barring of TARIFFS (a tax on imported goods) by the government. Thus, the founding document of the Confederacy seemed to enshrine a political philosophy of weak central governance, although historians have noted the Davis administration’s expansion of federal power. JEFFERSON DAVIS of Mississippi was chosen as president, and ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS of Georgia, his vice president, backed by a bureaucracy, postal system, and judiciary. Turning next to the issue of financing and conducting a war for independence, the delegates, composing the provisional Congress, desperate for funding, initiated a 15 percent tariff on imports, issued \$20 million in treasury notes and \$50 million in bonds, and provided for an army of 100,000 one-

year volunteers. The provisional Confederate Congress remained in office until February 17, 1862, when it was replaced by the first standing congress, whose members had been popularly elected in November 1861.

The first Confederate Congress, a bicameral body, convened on February 18, 1862, in an air of mounting military crisis. Union forces had made inroads along the Tennessee frontier, and the bulk of army enlistments were due to expire. President Davis was seeking officially sanctioned CONSCRIPTION to maintain manpower levels and permission to suspend HABEAS CORPUS to squelch dissent. Although both practices ran counter to the philosophy of STATES’ RIGHTS, Congress gave grudging acquiescence. But a long list of exemptions to conscription generally favored the wealthy, slave-owning planters who formed the bulwark of the ECONOMY.

As the war dragged on, Congress was repeatedly forced to address the question of national finance. The body generally approved the plan of Treasury secretary CHRISTOPHER G. MEMMINGER to issue more and more treasury bonds and notes to an unreceptive public. When the Union blockade began strangling imports and reducing tariff income, Congress imposed a Confederacy-wide tax, which, again, violated cherished principles of states’ rights. Revenue nonetheless diminished, proving inadequate to fund the war effort. Davis next sought congressional approval of IMPRESSMENT, or forced requisition of goods, to meet the army’s needs. Again, the Confederate Congress complied as a wartime expedient, but Davis and Congress met increasingly shrill criticism over their perceived dictatorial methods. The ongoing tug of war between the chief executive, the Congress, and individual states was never reconciled, despite the glaring need for strong central controls during wartime.

The second and final session of the Confederate Congress convened in February 1864, in a highly charged atmosphere of anger, acrimony, and war-weariness. Members increasingly criticized Davis for his alleged mishandling of military affairs, his repeated requests for suspension of habeas corpus, and new accusations of “dictatorship.” There were also new fissures in what had been a united political front. The Southern polity had broken up into two main factions: hard-liners who would settle for no less than Southern independence, and moderates, who were now emboldened to broach a negotiated settlement with the North. Over the winter and spring of 1864–65, as the Confederacy was in its death throes, Congress was powerless to effect changes. In a last-ditch effort to sustain Southern independence, Congress named Gen. ROBERT E. LEE general-in-chief of all Confederate forces. In March 1865 it also narrowly approved measures that allowed African-American slaves to serve as soldiers. As the Confederate military and economic situation approached total collapse,

many members of Congress grew so disillusioned that they vacated their seats and went home. In retrospect, the Confederate Congress did as well as it could have been reasonably expected, given limited resources and a political philosophy embracing weak central governance.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Congress, United States (1861–1865)

The United States Congress remained the national legislature for the United States of America during the CIVIL WAR years. As a legislative body, Congress had wrestled with SLAVERY and sectionalism since 1789 with varying degrees of success. But the expansion of the “peculiar institution” into new territories acquired after the Mexican-American War of 1846–48 escalated the tempo of confrontation between North and South. The election of Republican ABRAHAM LINCOLN to the presidency in fall 1860 set in motion an irrevocable slide toward civil war. Congress made several determined but essentially futile attempts to head off armed confrontation, most notably the Senate’s CRITTENDEN COMPROMISE. But by the time South Carolina seceded that December, the middle ground had vanished. In spring 1861 the secessionist crisis reached critical mass: Seven Southern states departed, and most southern Democrats vacated their seats in Congress. An important exception was Senator ANDREW JOHNSON of Tennessee, but Republicans completely dominated the new session when it reconvened.

During the interim recess, most congressmen returned to their states and districts to attend prowar rallies and foment support for both the Union and an aggressive war policy. On July 4, 1861, President Lincoln summoned a special session of the 37th Congress to secure emergency war measures necessary to confront the new CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA. Both Republicans and Democrats readily complied, passing pro-forma approval of the volunteer recruitment and other measures Lincoln had already implemented in their absence. Short but memorable, the session set a tone of general cordiality, cooperation, and effectiveness that distinguished the Union Congress from its Southern counterpart, the CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

In this respect, Congress became a full and bona fide partner in the war to preserve the Union.

The regular session of the 37th Congress, gathered in December 1861, approved additional wartime and fiscal measures at Lincoln’s behest, including the first income tax and the issuance of “GREENBACK” currency as legal tender. In addition, Republicans passed several significant acts meant to shore up their political capital. Foremost among these was the HOMESTEAD ACT. Previously tied up by Southern opposition, the act was part of the REPUBLICAN Party’s 1860 election platform. It guaranteed 160 acres to any frontier settler who cultivated a plot for five years. Congress then passed the MORRILL LAND-GRANT ACT to establish land-grant colleges and universities, voted for the PACIFIC RAILROAD ACT to fund the first transcontinental railroad, and established the Department of Agriculture as a nod to the nation’s economic future. These three acts yielded benefits that lasted far beyond the Civil War years and reflected the party’s desire for internal improvement to facilitate national growth. Overall, congressional leaders deliberately ignored the complaints of many state leaders and increased the powers of the federal government at their expense in the interest of successfully prosecuting the war.

The striking initial support of Congress for administration policies broke up as the war ground on and its unpopularity mounted. In particular, the DEMOCRATIC PARTY split into two distinct and increasingly vocal factions. The War Democrats, who supported military victory over the Confederacy, were cool toward Lincoln’s push to emancipate slaves, while the Peace Democrats, branded by the Northern press as “COPPERHEADS,” sought accommodation with the Confederacy, even at the expense of preserving the Union. The Republican majority underwent similar divisions, with moderates more or less in agreement with the president’s political and military objectives. However, the new and rising RADICAL REPUBLICAN faction waxed critical of many of Lincoln’s policies, especially RECONSTRUCTION, which they deemed far too lenient toward the South.

The Radicals condemned Lincoln’s December 1863 general proclamation of amnesty and reconstruction for occupied areas of the Confederacy, which promised to restore civilian authority once 10 percent of the electorate took an oath of allegiance to the United States. They countered with the WADE-DAVIS BILL of July 1864. This measure stipulated that states could not be readmitted until 50 percent of the population submitted to the oath, and it denied both the executive branch and the military any future role in Reconstruction. When Lincoln pocket-vetoed the bill, he was roundly denounced by Radicals. Radical Republicans also dominated the powerful Committee on the Conduct of the War, which was empowered



to investigate and castigate any military figure who failed to produce expected results on the battlefield; authorized to harass or humiliate generals it identified as treasonous, some contend that the committee did the war effort more harm than good. Finally, Radicals did support Lincoln's proposal to provide government assistance for newly freed African Americans, but Congress ultimately approved the FREEDMEN'S BUREAU in March 1865. This marked the first time that the federal government involved itself directly in the social well-being of any segment of its citizens. In general, even as Congress criticized Lincoln's wartime expedients—such as CONSCRIPTION, EMANCIPATION, and the suspension of HABEAS CORPUS—it ultimately signaled its acceptance of the same, however grudgingly.

Lincoln was assassinated in April 1865. When his successor, ANDREW JOHNSON, tendered a blanket amnesty to former Confederates and removed several commanders to mitigate the burden of military governance in the conquered South, he bore the brunt of Radical Republican fury. Johnson, possessing none of Lincoln's political finesse when dealing with Congress, waged a long and losing battle with the Republicans that culminated in his impeachment. Until the election of ULYSSES S. GRANT in 1868, executive power was eclipsed by a resurgent legislative branch, a state of affairs that would have been unthinkable while Lincoln occupied the White House.

In sum, the U.S. Congress during the Civil War, while fractious at times, helped form the policies that ultimately brought about Northern victory. Its relationship with the commander in chief in matters of war and public policy was by no means without tension or strife, but it was still a productive partnership capable of winning the war and planning for the postwar period.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## conscription

Conscription, or “the draft” as it is more generally known, is the practice of compelling citizens to serve in the military. With the CIVIL WAR, the United States began a transition from the limited warfare of the past, in which a relatively small number of men were mobilized as soldiers, toward modern “total war.” A total war mobilizes the entire populace and is fought on a much broader scale. The Civil War was not a modern war in every way, but it certainly was modern in terms of its scale. In the Revolutionary War, roughly 200,000 soldiers took the field for the United States. In the War of 1812, 286,000 soldiers fought, and in the Mexican-American War a mere 79,000 soldiers participated. These numbers were dwarfed during the Civil War, when nearly 4 million men donned the uniform of either the Confederacy or the Union.

Early in the Civil War, there were more than enough volunteers on both sides to fill the ranks. This reflected the populace's excitement over the impending conflict as well as their sense that the war would not last more than a few months. When it became clear that this was not to be the case, the number of volunteers dropped dramatically, and leaders quickly realized that they would have to do something to fulfill their armies' manpower needs.

The Confederacy was the first to act. Most of the CONFEDERATE ARMY's early volunteers signed up for one-year enlistments that expired in spring of 1862. While some of these men extended their enlistments, many others made clear their intentions to return home. In response, on April 16, 1862, the Confederate Congress passed the first of three conscription acts, establishing the first national draft in American history. The first Conscription Act extended the one-year enlistments to three years or until the end of the war. To soften the blow, these VETERANS were to be granted 60-day furloughs before finishing their time. The act also required men between the ages of 18 and 35 who were not already in the ranks to serve for three years, although there was a grace period before the act took effect so that these individuals would have the opportunity to “volunteer.” The second Conscription Act, passed in October 1862, refined the terms of the first, most notably extending the upper end of the eligible age range from 35 to 45. The third Conscription Act, passed in February 1864, went even further, declaring the eligible age range to be 17 to 50 years.

The Union was in the same position as the Confederacy, and the Union leadership responded in a similar fashion. In August 1862, President ABRAHAM LINCOLN used the terms of the Militia Act of 1862 to require states to furnish 300,000 troops, with each state being assigned a quota based on its population. This system proved to be very inefficient, and so in March 1863 Congress passed the Enrollment Act, which was similar to the Conscription Act that



had been adopted by the Confederate government. The act made men between the ages of 20 and 45 liable for up to three years of service. Unlike the Confederate version, however, the Union's Enrollment Act did not automatically draft all eligible men into the army. Instead, it set up quotas for how many soldiers each state was expected to provide. If states could meet their quota with volunteers, then no draft was held. If not, then federal officials would go from district to district within the state and set up a wheel in a public place containing the names of all eligible men in the district. At the appointed time, a draft officer would put on a blindfold and choose the required number of names from the wheel.

The draft was not received well in either the North or the South. One of the most common objections was that a draft was not within the authority of the government. President Lincoln was regularly asked to suspend the draft or to reduce state quotas. The president faced particularly vocal opposition from New York governor Horatio Seymour, who threatened to take the case to the Supreme Court. Lincoln usually managed to deflect these challenges by making minor concessions when he felt it necessary. JEFFERSON DAVIS faced similar objections in the South, where it was felt that the draft was not only unconstitutional but also contrary to the STATES' RIGHTS philosophy of the Confederacy. Among the prominent critics who faced off against Davis were GOVERNORS, including JOSEPH E. BROWN of Georgia and Zebulon Vance of North Carolina. The supreme courts of several states sustained Davis's position.

The biggest objections to the draft laws centered on the exemption clauses contained in both the Northern and Southern acts. Union draftees were allowed to pay a \$300 commutation fee, or to hire a substitute, in acknowledgement of the fact that some men had responsibilities that made military service impossible. In the Confederacy, a draftee could also hire a substitute. In addition, certain classes of men necessary on the HOMEFRONT were exempt from the Confederate draft: government employees, contractors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, millers, and so forth. The most controversial exemption was included in the second Conscription Act: The so-called Twenty-Negro Law added any slaveholder with more than nineteen slaves to the list of exempt classes. Officially, this was because these individuals were needed to keep the ECONOMY running, but many Southerners felt that the clause was included because of the large plantation owners' political connections.

The exemption clauses gave rise to complaints on both sides that the conflict was a "rich man's war, poor man's fight." Scholarly studies have shown that this was not true, but the perception held by some groups was strongly felt. Resentful draftees failed to appear when called, or they deserted shortly after joining the ranks.



Engraving depicting the process of conscription in New York (1865) (*Library of Congress*)

Anti-draft violence was also a common phenomenon in both the North and South. The most well-known uprising was the NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOTS in July 1863. A mob made up mostly of poor Irishmen and women went on a two-day rampage. These Irish workers were angry not only about the draft but also about EMANCIPATION, which they opposed due their fears that freedmen would provide unwanted competition for jobs. The rioters inflicted \$1.5 million in damage while killing many African-American men. The situation was finally resolved when NEW YORK CITY's government came up with enough money to purchase exemptions for all of the draft spots the city was expected to fill. Eventually, incidents like the draft riots convinced leaders on both sides to eliminate some of the exemptions. In 1863 the Southern Congress disallowed any further hiring of substitutes. In 1864 President Lincoln and the Northern Congress did away with the \$300 exemption.

If judged by the number of soldiers added to the ranks, the draft was not very successful in either the North or the South. There are no reliable numbers for the South, but the statistical story of the North is probably representative of what happened on both sides. Of the 776,000 men drafted, 161,000 failed to report, and another 391,000 had to be sent home due to disability or because being drafted would be an undue hardship on their families. Of the remaining 207,000 men, 87,000 paid the commutation fee and another 74,000 furnished substitutes. Only 46,000 men, less than 7 percent of the total drafted, actually went into the army. If the substitutes are taken into account, then drafting accounted for the addition of a total of 120,000 men to the UNION ARMY, only about 4 percent of the total number of Yankee soldiers. And since draftees tended to be

poor soldiers, their impact was likely even less substantial than their modest numbers would suggest.

The purpose of the draft was not to force men to fight. Instead, the goal was to motivate able-bodied men to volunteer on their own. At roughly the same time the Conscription and Enrollment Acts were passed, the respective governments set up incentive programs for new volunteers. Men were given cash bounties of as much as \$1,000 or more and granted other concessions designed to ease their service in the army. If a man was drafted, however, all benefits for enlisting were forfeit, and he was forever branded with the stigma of having been forced to fight rather than volunteering. It is impossible to say exactly how many men were motivated to enlist or to reenlist by the combination of negative and positive reinforcement.

Once again, there are no reliable statistics for the Confederacy, but in the Union more than 750,000 men volunteered to join the ranks in the years after the passage of the Enrollment Act. If even a modest percentage of those men joined out of fear of being drafted, then the draft has to be considered at least a qualified success.

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—Christopher Bates

## contrabands

*Contrabands* was the term used for fugitive slaves who crossed over UNION ARMY lines during the CIVIL WAR. Before the Union developed a coherent policy on EMANCIPATION, slave REFUGEES were neither in bondage nor free, but somewhere in between, recognized legally as confiscated enemy property.

About a month after the Confederate attack at FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, three slaves crossed the Union picket lines at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, where they offered their services to the Union army and sought protection from their masters. Thus began a spontaneous and grassroots effort by slaves across the South to escape bondage. Within a few months, thousands of slaves poured over Union lines. Wherever the army went, SLAVERY seemed to disintegrate in the immediate vicinity. Because there were so many fugitive slaves in army camps, Union military leaders were forced to confront the future of slavery.

Gen. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER, the commander at Fortress Monroe, freed the first three slaves and put them to work as army laborers. Butler learned that Confederates

used slaves to construct fortifications; thus, he declared that fugitive slaves were enemy property—in other words, “contraband of war.” Butler’s actions were some of the first steps toward emancipation. Nevertheless, the Union had not yet formulated a policy toward fugitive slaves. Other military officers, including Butler when he administered captured lands in Louisiana, returned runaways because they did not have a system to care for them.

Congress attempted to clarify the emerging problem of contrabands with the CONFISCATION ACT of August 6, 1861. It stated that slaveholders forfeited their rights to any slave that had been employed by the Confederate military. While the law did not address emancipation, it did recognize the fact that slaves could be used as weapons of war. Consequently, it was in the best interests of the Union military to weaken the institution of slavery.

A preliminary and uncertain federal policy did not deter slaves from seeking their freedom, but Union forces were ill-equipped to deal with thousands of fugitive slaves. Male slaves were put to work, but the army had little to offer slave women and children. Northern benevolent associations rushed in food and clothing for the destitute, and teachers arrived to educate freed families in the contraband camps.

In 1862 Congress continued to refine its policy toward fugitive slaves and to inch ever closer toward emancipation. An article of war was added in March forbidding the army or the navy from returning fugitive slaves to their owners. Slavery was abolished in WASHINGTON, D.C., in April and in the U.S. territories in June. A second Confiscation Act passed on July 17, 1862, freed the slaves of any person who aided the rebellion and authorized the seizure and sale of any other property from disloyal citizens. On the same day, Congress recognized the labors of the contrabands at army camps. According to the Militia Act, any fugitive slave who worked for the military was freed, as was his or her family.

Lincoln and Union military leaders entered the Civil War with the desire to not interfere with the slave system in the South, but the slaves and the lengthening war forced the issue. More than 10,000 contrabands crossed Union lines in Virginia by mid-1863. Along the MISSISSIPPI RIVER, similar large encampments of contrabands stretched the limits of Union supply lines. Crowded into unhealthy camps, thousands died from disease, exposure, and even starvation. In spite of the degradation, most refugees stayed in the camps. If they ventured from the protection of the Union lines, contrabands were subject to marauding guerrilla bands of Confederate soldiers or recapture by their owners.

Facing a humanitarian crisis, Union leaders began to develop a policy of refugee settlement on abandoned lands. Some were hired out to Unionist planters, while oth-

ers were placed on U.S. government-run PLANTATIONS on a wage-labor basis. After 1863, male contrabands were encouraged to enlist in the Union army. At the end of the war, Congress created the FREEDMEN'S BUREAU to formally help ex-slaves make the transition to freedom.

Contrabands played a crucial role in forcing the Union to confront the issue of slavery and emancipation. As the war persisted, the value of fugitive slaves as military laborers and as soldiers helped to convince President Lincoln and Congress to emancipate all of the slaves. Unfortunately, far too many contrabands met an untimely death at disease-ridden camps, demonstrating the uncertainty that accompanied freedom.

See also DAVIS BEND, MISSISSIPPI, FREEDMEN'S COLONY; EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION; PORT ROYAL, SOUTH CAROLINA EXPERIMENT; SPECIAL FIELD ORDER NO. 15.

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—Justin J. Behrend

### **Cooke, Jay** (1821–1905) *financier*

Known as “the financier of the CIVIL WAR,” Jay Cooke was the most influential investment banker of his day. Born in Sandusky, Ohio, to a prosperous family (his father was a lawyer, a businessman, and a politician), Cooke started his working life as a clerk in a dry goods store at age 14. In 1838 his brother-in-law offered him a similar position in Philadelphia, but after the company's failure and a short stint as a hotel clerk, he moved back to Sandusky.

In 1839 Cooke began his long career in the banking business with a position at E.W. Clark & Company. His skills soon rapidly advanced him up the corporate ranks. By age 21, he was made a full partner in the firm. In 1844 he married Dorothea Elizabeth Allen, sister of the president of Allegheny College in Pennsylvania, where his brother Henry was a student.

Cooke went on to become a successful investment banker with E.W. Clark & Company, which helped to finance the Mexican-American War and a few railroad companies. The firm went bankrupt during the financial PANIC OF 1857, and Cooke retired. The Civil War would soon provide new opportunities for him.

In 1861 as the war broke out, Cooke ended his brief retirement and opened his own firm, called Jay Cooke & Company. Vigorously and shrewdly marketing Civil War bonds, he made a great success of the firm. Using a patriotic advertising campaign, Cooke convinced Americans to invest in their government during the darkest days of the war. The money used to purchase these bonds helped to

keep the war effort alive for the Union, particularly when resources were most desperately needed.

Following the war, Cooke expanded his investments into new ventures. The largest of these was the Northern Pacific Railroad, a new transcontinental railroad that was to run from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Ocean. Cooke needed to raise \$100 million for the railroad, and he sought both American and European investors to back the scheme. Money was not easily forthcoming, and the investment quickly turned bad because there was not enough rail traffic or people along the line for the road to attract new investors. Cooke spent unwisely in order to keep the project alive, and on September 18, 1873, his company went bankrupt.

The failure of Jay Cooke & Company, which was the leading brokerage firm in the country in 1873, played an important role in ushering in the panic of 1873 and the depression that followed. Cooke afterwards spent a few years away from the world of banks and finance, only to return once more as an investor in silver mines and real estate in Minnesota. He proved to be a success a final time, purchasing, among other things, an estate near his adopted city of Philadelphia. He spent the last years of his life living with his daughter and her family after converting his estate into a school for girls.

Cooke's influence extended far beyond his own lifetime. His innovations in investment banking and marketing of war bonds set precedents that resonated well into the next century.

See also ECONOMY.

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—Troy Rondinone

### **Cooper Union speech** (February 27, 1860)

The Cooper Union speech was a significant political address made by presidential candidate ABRAHAM LINCOLN. In October 1859 James S. Briggs of the Young Men's Republican Union invited Lincoln to deliver a speech to the political club at Henry Ward Beecher's noted Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, New York. Lincoln, an Illinois attorney, was an aspirant for the party's presidential nomination, and Union members were in search of a candidate to foil the presidential ambitions of New York senator WILLIAM H. SEWARD. The Union's political board included prominent newspaper editors William Cullen Bryant and HORACE GREELEY, both of whom staunchly opposed Seward's candidacy. Briggs himself was the eastern manager of SALMON



P. CHASE, another Republican presidential aspirant, who also sought to derail Seward's aims. Lincoln gladly accepted the invitation, knowing his speech would attract national attention and help define the Republican position for the coming ELECTION.

The date was set for February 27, 1860, although the venue was changed to Cooper Union, an educational institute for working-class people. Keenly aware of the importance of this platform, Lincoln thoroughly researched his speech by consulting Jonathan Elliott's *Debates . . . on the Federal Constitution* and other sources that would justify and clarify the Republican stance on SLAVERY in the territories. He arrived in NEW YORK CITY by train on February 23, and four days later he strode into Cooper Union wearing a new and ill-fitting suit to lecture to a crowd of 1,500.

Lincoln's oration, known as the Cooper Union speech, was brilliantly delivered and is regarded as a model of an articulate and politically effective oration. He began by attacking the positions of Democrat Stephen A. Douglas and Supreme Court justice Roger Taney. In contrast to their arguments, Lincoln's research demonstrated that 31 of 39 delegates present in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 voted to allow Congress to regulate and thus restrict slavery in the territories. The founding fathers, Lincoln insisted, were opposed to the extension of slavery. After the ratification of the Constitution of the new federal Congress, with many of these same members present, voted to forbid carrying slaves into the new Northwest Territory; they did not, Lincoln underscored, pass the Bill of Rights' Fifth Amendment (which guarantees due process of law) in order to bar CONGRESS from regulating slavery in new states and territories, as Taney had intimated. By making this point, Lincoln sought to assure Southerners that the REPUBLICAN PARTY was conservative and simply wished to maintain the founding fathers' traditional policy.

He also denounced the activities of abolitionist JOHN BROWN, who had carried out a bloody raid on the federal arsenal at HARPERS FERRY, WEST VIRGINIA, to further his cause. Lincoln reassured Southern states of the party's determination to protect slavery where it was clearly sanctioned by the U.S. Constitution. In an eloquent closing, he urged his fellow Republicans to stand together against pressure to abandon their antislavery platform. "Let us have faith," Lincoln exhorted the crowd, "and that right makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it." The speech was immediately hailed by Greeley in the *New York Tribune*, among other influential newspapers, and propelled Lincoln to the Republican Party nomination.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## Copperheads

There were a number of groups in the North who opposed the CIVIL WAR. The most prominent of these was the peace wing of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, derisively called Copperheads by their detractors, likely after the poisonous snake of the same name. The Copperheads came to exercise substantial influence among important segments of the Northern population over the course of the war before finally fading from the political scene in 1864.

In the first months after the firing on FORT SUMTER, Democrats and Republicans were generally united in their desire to crush SECESSION and reunite the country. As the war dragged on, however, a number of Democrats were increasingly critical of President ABRAHAM LINCOLN and the Union war effort. RADICAL REPUBLICANS, firm advocates of the war, wanted to discredit and silence these Democrats. *Cincinnati Gazette* editor Whitelaw Reid began to call them Copperheads in the pages of his newspaper. The term quickly gained wide usage.

The majority of individuals who were called Copperheads were simply political conservatives who opposed the war effort for any one of a number of reasons. Radicals, however, were willing to stretch the truth to maximize the propaganda value of their attacks. Radical newspaper editors and political leaders told Americans that Copperheads not only opposed the war but that they were secretly providing financial and logistical support for the Southern war effort.

Many Northerners, particularly Northern soldiers, were enraged by this propaganda. A captain in the 46th Pennsylvania wrote, "My *first* object is to crush this infernal Rebellion, the *next* to come North and bayonet such fool miscreants as Vallandigham." The Radicals' depiction of the Copperheads has found its way into many history books, but the charges were almost entirely untrue. Copperheads opposed the war, but they were not conspiring with the South.

There were a number of important political leaders who came to be identified as Copperheads. Most prominent was Ohio congressman CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM. Others included Fernando Wood of New York, William A. Richardson of Illinois, Daniel W. Voorhees of Indiana, and George Woodward of Pennsylvania. A number of newspapers also became vocal supporters of antiwar politics, including the *Illinois State Register*, the *Lacrosse Democratic*, and the *Dubuque Herald*.

The Copperheads rallied around a number of issues. They were angered by Lincoln's suspension of the writ of

HABEAS CORPUS, which they felt was unconstitutional. Copperheads became increasingly vocal about this issue as a number of them, including Vallandigham, were jailed for their opposition to the war. In the Midwest, antiwar sentiment was strong because the closure of the MISSISSIPPI RIVER compelled farmers to send their crops via RAILROADS, which were generally controlled by eastern businessmen. Copperheads thus found much support for their argument that the war was being fought to enrich eastern capitalists at the expense of Western farmers. The Copperheads also enjoyed the backing of substantial numbers of German Americans and Irish Americans in the Midwest and in eastern cities. Many members of these ethnic groups opposed administration policies, especially the draft and EMANCIPATION. Indeed, emancipation was the central issue that crystallized opposition to the war. Copperhead leaders strongly opposed any change in the nation's strictly defined racial order. Their supporters shared this attitude and also had an additional, more practical concern. Freed slaves, they feared, would move north and compete for jobs.

These issues generated a great deal of support for the Copperheads. Just as important in determining Copperhead fortunes, however, were Union successes on the battlefield. When the Northern military failed to make progress, antiwar sentiment was high. Northern victories, on the other hand, undermined support for the Copperheads. The so-called high point of Copperheadism occurred in the first months of 1863. Lincoln issued the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION in January of that year, and at the same time, the Union armies were struggling on the battlefield. A number of prominent Copperhead leaders, including Clement L. Vallandigham, took advantage of the situation and ran for the governorships of their states. They were heavily favored in these gubernatorial contests until the Union won victories at GETTYSBURG and VICKSBURG. This rallied support for the war among the Northern populace, and when the ELECTIONS came, the Copperheads were all defeated.

The same pattern played itself out in 1864. Early in the year, the Union military was not having a great deal of success. At the Democratic convention, Copperheads were able to secure control of the committee charged with drafting the party platform, and they included a plank calling for an immediate end to the war. Two things ultimately conspired to undermine them. The first was that the convention chose Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN as its candidate, and he immediately rejected the plank. The second was that Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN captured Atlanta. These reverses ultimately brought an end to the power of the Copperheads.

Although the Copperheads essentially disappeared after 1864, their influence on the Democratic Party lasted a great deal longer. The actions of the Copperheads during the war made it much easier for Republicans in the postwar era to disparage the Democrats as the party of treason.

"Waving the bloody shirt," as this was called, was a common feature of political contests for most of the rest of the 19th century.

See also CITIES AND URBAN LIFE.

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—Christopher Bates

### Corinth, Battle of (October 3–4, 1862)

Determined to regain the ground lost during winter and spring 1862, Confederate forces in the west embarked on a late summer offensive designed to regain control of northern Mississippi and Tennessee. Gen. BRAXTON BRAGG's Army of the Mississippi and E. Kirby Smith's troops in east Tennessee constituted the primary offensive force. Together, they launched an invasion of Middle Tennessee and central and eastern Kentucky. Bragg, whose army had protected Mississippi previous to taking the offensive, left behind two small forces of 16,000 men each under Earl Van Dorn and Sterling Price. Strategically, these forces were to support Bragg's invasion by either moving into middle Tennessee, threatening Corinth, Mississippi, (the site of a major railroad junction) and thus preventing Grant from sending troops to counter the main Confederate offensive, or, in the case that Grant diminished his force by sending reinforcements to counter Bragg, attack Corinth.

By early August it was clear that Grant had sent troops toward Nashville, weakening his hold on northern Mississippi. Price called on Van Dorn, who had been operating against Baton Rouge, Louisiana, to move north and unite in an effort to either move into middle Tennessee or capture Corinth. Not until late August did Van Dorn agree to cooperate with Price. Van Dorn moved slowly toward Price's army and by mid-September had not yet joined it. Frustrated by the delays, Price moved alone and captured the town of Iuka on September 14. A column under WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS struck Price on September 19 in a fiercely contested battle. Price abandoned the town on September 20 and with it any hope of moving into Tennessee. On September 28 Price's army arrived at Ripley, where he united with Van Dorn, who assumed command of the united armies. A thrust at Corinth was quickly planned, and the small rebel army of just over 20,000 moved rapidly



to the northwest of the town. Union troops under Rosecrans were prepared for the attack and had created a series of light defensive earthworks designed to maximize the defensive capabilities of his 22,000 men. On the morning of October 3, Van Dorn launched his attack. Although successful in his drive against the Federal pickets, hot weather, rugged terrain, and stubborn fighting on the part of Union troops limited rebel gains. At 9:00 A.M. October 4, the Confederates attacked the Federal line. Described as “irregular” by one Federal officer and containing a gap of nearly 500 yards in its center, the defense seemed to be imperfect. Advancing Confederates, however, were met with converging fire from Northern artillery and infantry. While bravely executed, the Southern attacks (which in some isolated spots broke through into the town itself) were uncoordinated and lacked sufficient weight in any one place to make an effective breakthrough.

Federal victory resulted from a combination of poorly orchestrated rebel attacks, a well-conceived series of defensive works, the steadfastness of the Union infantry, and the terrible effectiveness of the Yankee artillery. The Confederates left on October 5, unable to achieve either their tactical or strategic goals. Losses on the Confederate side included 505 killed, 2,150 wounded, and 2,183 missing. The Federals counted 355 killed, 1,841 wounded, and 324 missing.

**Further reading:** Peter Cozzens, *The Darkest Days of the War: The Battles of Iuka and Corinth* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Earl J. Hess, *Banners to the Breeze: The Kentucky Campaign, Corinth, and Stones River* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000).

—James Daryl Black

### Corps d'Afrique

The story of the Corps d'Afrique, a black regiment, was among the most unusual of any unit in the CIVIL WAR. Originally known as the First Louisiana Native Guards, the Corps began life as part of the CONFEDERATE ARMY on November 23, 1861, and at that time comprised 33 officers and 731 enlisted men, all of them African American. The members of the Corps d'Afrique were from New Orleans and its surrounding areas, and their initial purpose was to defend the city against the UNION ARMY.

During the Civil War and afterward, the fact that black soldiers were willing to fight for the Confederacy was used as evidence that African Americans were happy with their life in the South, so much so that they were willing to take up arms to defend it. However, the men who made up the Corps d'Afrique were not in any way representative of the general African-American population of the South. Most were mulattoes, educated, and financially well off. Some

were even slave owners. As residents of New Orleans, all were afforded rights that were not available to African Americans in the rest of the South, or even in the North.

Even if they had initially been willing to support the Southern cause, the Corps d'Afrique's enthusiasm soon began to wane. Not surprisingly, Confederate authorities did not give them the support or respect that was afforded to white units. Also, it became clear to corps members that their purpose was to serve as propaganda and not to fight. At the same time, a number of escaped slaves joined the ranks. When the Union army captured New Orleans in 1862, the disillusionment of the unit's membership was complete, and most of its members consented to join the Union army as the First Corps d'Afrique.

The First Corps d'Afrique was officially mustered into service on September 27, 1862. As such, it was the first African-American regiment to be formally recognized as part of the Union army, predating the famous 54TH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT by eight months. The unit provided valuable service—guarding prisoners, building fortifications, and fighting at Port Hudson, Mansura, and Mobile. Eventually rechristened the 73rd U.S. Colored Infantry, the regiment continued to serve after the war, often being utilized to make certain that the government's RECONSTRUCTION policies were being properly observed. Thus, a unit that had been formed to defend the Old South became an instrument in its destruction.

**Further reading:** Nathan W. Daniels, *Thank God My Regiment an African One: The Civil War Diary of Colonel Nathan W. Daniels*, ed. C. P. Weaver (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998); James G. Hollandsworth, *The Louisiana Native Guards: The Black Military Experience during the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995).

—Christopher Bates

### Crédit Mobilier

The Crédit Mobilier was a company set up in the 1860s by the principals of the Union Pacific Railroad to contract for the construction of the westward portion of the transcontinental railroad. These construction contracts inflated the price, which ensured a profit for Crédit Mobilier but jeopardized the financial health of the Union Pacific. The Union Pacific passed cash, its own stock, and government subsidies to Crédit Mobilier as payment for the construction. The Crédit Mobilier scandal shocked the nation, and involved many politicians, government officials, and businessmen.

The transcontinental RAILROAD was the most challenging engineering project of its day. Authorized by Congress in the PACIFIC RAILROAD ACT of 1862, the Union Pacific

Railroad was built westward from Omaha, Nebraska, to meet the eastward-building Central Pacific Railroad, which began its line in Sacramento, California. Congress provided for financial incentives to be transferred to the railroads as portions of track were completed, including grants of land along the track, cash reimbursements, and government-guaranteed bonds that the railroads could sell to investors.

In order to limit their financial risk as well as to benefit from the construction phase, major directors and shareholders of the Union Pacific created a “dummy” construction company, a common practice for railroads in the 19th century. When the Union Pacific began construction in 1864, Herbert M. Hoxie, a shady Republican wheeler-dealer from Des Moines, Iowa, was offered a fee plus Union Pacific stock. In exchange, he agreed to sign a construction contract with the Union Pacific for the first 100 miles of track and then assign the contract to Crédit Mobilier. The onsite engineer for the Union Pacific estimated the costs of construction to be between \$20,000 and \$30,000 per mile, but he was ordered by Union Pacific officials to contract with Hoxie at a cost of \$50,000 per mile. Similar arrangements covered the remainder of the Union Pacific line.

Early efforts to sell Crédit Mobilier stock were largely unsuccessful. Investors questioned the ability of any organization to complete this large undertaking, and the risk was increased by the lack of government regulation of capital markets. However, after Crédit Mobilier’s December 1867 distribution to shareholders of assets worth 76 percent of the initial cost of the stock, investors were anxious to hold the stock. One shareholder marketing Crédit Mobilier stock to friends was Massachusetts Republican congressman Oakes Ames. Ames found willing holders in nine representatives and two senators, including the Speaker of the House, two future vice presidents, and future president James Garfield. Many of the politicians received preferential terms for acquiring their stock, and some placed the shares in the names of relatives to hide their relationship to Crédit Mobilier. A lucrative investment, Crédit Mobilier made distributions worth 280 percent of the original investment by the end of 1868.

The good times for the investor were short-lived, however. Evidence in documents and court cases between factions of shareholders supported rumors on Wall Street and in WASHINGTON, D.C., that prominent politicians were involved with Crédit Mobilier and that large profits flowed to its shareholders while the Union Pacific was struggling financially. When newspapers began covering the story in the late 1860s, Crédit Mobilier was criticized for receiving government benefits supported by some of its congressional shareholders and for diverting the profits from the Union Pacific.

The news coverage expanded as the 1872 election neared. Although most of the politicians involved with

Crédit Mobilier were Republicans, the growing scandal did not hinder President ULYSSES S. GRANT’s bid for reelection. A lame-duck Congress reconvened in December 1872, and Speaker of the House James Blaine moved for an investigation to clear the names (including his) mentioned in the extensive press coverage of Crédit Mobilier. Congressman Ames supported his testimony with records of which politicians held interests in Crédit Mobilier and the terms of their investments. Ames’s correspondence indicated that he had offered stock to politicians who could further the corporation’s interests.

However, the other politicians involved distanced themselves from Ames, leaving him and the only Democrat involved, James Brooks, to bear the burden of the scandal. On February 28, 1873, with four days remaining of the 42nd Congress, Ames and Brooks were censured. While acknowledging that the other congressmen had been indiscreet, the investigative committee found they were not guilty of accepting bribes. A separate committee investigating the financial dealings of Crédit Mobilier recommended that the government sue to recover Crédit Mobilier’s illegal profits. Investigative measures began to expand, but attempts to investigate the Central Pacific Railroad (the other half of the transcontinental railroad) were hampered by a fire that destroyed the records of the construction company owned by its major shareholders.

Crédit Mobilier was one of the most publicized examples of the financial and political scandals of the post-CIVIL WAR era. Economic frauds were commonplace as people scrambled to take advantage of the postwar economic boom and the technological advances of the era, and corruption was not uncommon.

**Further reading:** David Haward Bain, *Empire Express: Building the First Transcontinental Railroad* (New York: Viking, 1999); Jay Boyd Crawford, *The Crédit Mobilier of America: Its Origin and History, Its Work of Constructing the Union Pacific Railroad and the Relation of Members of Congress* (New York: AMS Press, 1980); Elisabeth Paulet, *The Role of Banks in Monitoring Firms: The Case of the Crédit Mobilier* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

—Martha Kadue

### **Crittenden Compromise** (December 1860–January 1861)

The Crittenden Compromise was a congressional attempt to avert SECESSION and civil war. In November 1860 ABRAHAM LINCOLN was elected president of the United States; by December, South Carolina had seceded from the Union, and the country was lurching toward civil war. Attempting to find one last compromise to keep the Union together, the U.S. Senate formed the special “Committee

of Thirteen” led by 73-year-old senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky.

Crittenden, an ally of Henry Clay with considerable experience crafting sectional compromises (in 1820, 1833, and 1850), advanced what became known as the “Crittenden Compromise.” This was a package of six constitutional amendments intended to offer permanent solutions to the divisive issue of SLAVERY. The first denied the federal government any power to abolish slavery in the slave states. The second insisted that the UNITED STATES CONGRESS relinquish its power to interfere with the transportation of slaves across state or territorial lines. The third required the federal government to compensate any slave owner who lost his “property” due to mob action; the fourth forbade the ABOLITION of slavery in the District of Columbia until Virginia and Maryland did so first. The fifth restored the old 1820 Missouri Compromise line; and the sixth guaranteed that the amendments could not be amended but were to be adopted in perpetuity. Finally, Crittenden urged Congress to pass measures that further affirmed the constitutionality of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law.

To most Northern eyes, the Crittenden Compromise appeared grossly pro-Southern, but it was briefly supported by a few leading Northern Democrats, such as Senator STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, and Republicans, such as WILLIAM H. SEWARD. However, it lacked support from president-elect Lincoln, who considered the compromise measures a betrayal of REPUBLICAN PARTY principles. He had campaigned to protect slavery where it existed but to oppose its spread into the western territories. Lincoln’s stance turned fellow Republicans against compromise. On December 22 the committee defeated an omnibus of compromise measures by a vote of seven to six. Undeterred, Crittenden reintroduced it to the Senate floor on January 3, 1861, now seeking a national referendum to secure its passage. Republican opposition, however, just managed to defeat this proposal in a vote of 25 to 23. The death of the Crittenden Compromise ended the most significant attempt to accommodate Southern demands in the political arena.

**Further reading:** James L. Abrahamson, *The Men of Secession and Civil War, 1859–1861* (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 2000).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Cumming, Kate** (1833–1909) *Confederate nurse*

Born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1833, Kate Cumming served as a nurse for the Army of Tennessee during the CIVIL WAR.

As a child, Kate immigrated with her family to Mobile, Alabama, where her father, David Cumming, became a

successful merchant. When her mother and two sisters left for England in the spring of 1861, Kate remained with her father and brother in Mobile. After her brother enlisted in the CONFEDERATE ARMY, Kate volunteered for hospital duty. On April 7, 1862, she departed from Mobile with a group of women volunteers heading to a command post hospital in Corinth, Mississippi. Cumming served as a nurse with the Army of Tennessee at the BATTLE OF SHILOH and continued until the end of the Civil War. Early in her career, Cumming became a hospital matron and, like others in her position, constantly struggled against hostility from men to effectively do her job. Cumming’s assignment as hospital matron arose, in part, from her status as a mature, unmarried woman, which allowed her some freedom from male control and domestic obligations.

In 1866 Cumming became one of the first Southern NURSES to publish her story, *A Journal of Hospital Life in the Confederate Army of Tennessee*. This account of Cumming’s nursing career included her impressions of wartime life in the Confederacy. In her journal, Cumming criticized the inadequate supplies, lack of competency by male nurses and hospital heads, and the chaos of Civil War hospitals. In addition to accounts of her constant frustration with male doctors who refused to value women’s ideas or contributions, Cumming also recorded her exasperation with those Southern women too timid to become nurses. Cumming’s memoir, *Gleanings from the Southland*, published in 1895, retold the story of her diary but incorporated the outcome of the war, events in postwar America, and stressed national reconciliation.

In 1874 Kate and her father moved to Birmingham, Alabama, where she taught school and MUSIC. She also took an active role in the activities of the UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY and the United Confederate Veterans.

Kate Cumming died June 5, 1909, in Birmingham and was buried in Mobile.

See also DISEASES AND EPIDEMICS; MEDICINE AND HOSPITALS; VETERANS; WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Kate Cumming, *The Journal of Kate Cumming: A Confederate Nurse, 1862–1865*, ed. Richard Harwell (Savannah, Ga.: Beehive Press, 1975).

—Lisa Tendrich Frank

**Custer, George A.** (1839–1876) *Union general, cavalry commander*

George Armstrong Custer was a Union general who gained fame in the Civil War and notoriety in the Indian wars that followed. Custer was born in New Rumley, Ohio, on December 5, 1839. In 1857 he entered the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT, where he proved a

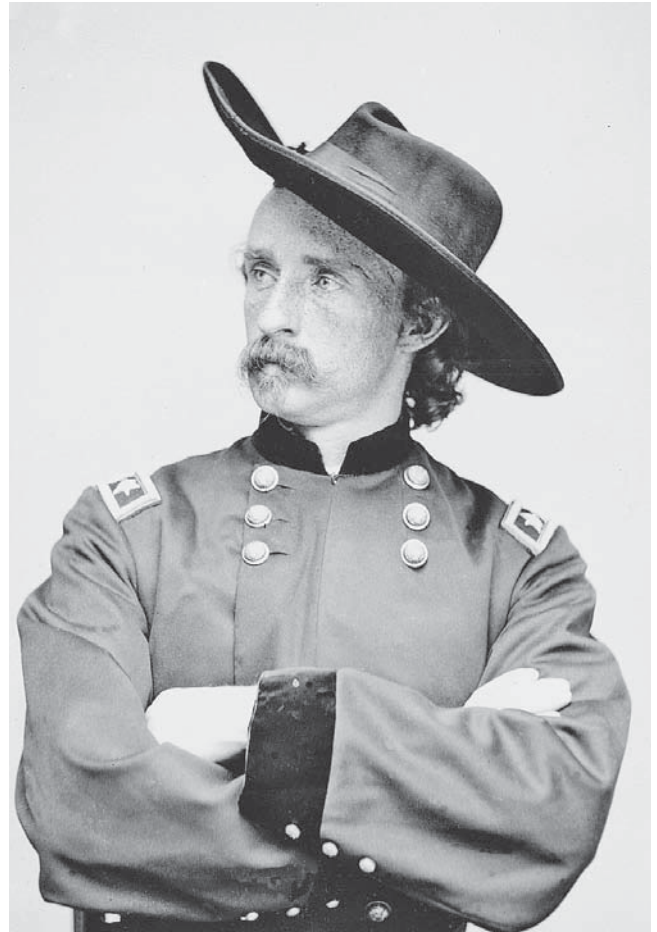


sullen, inattentive cadet who was ill disposed toward discipline. In 1861 he graduated at the bottom of his class.

He performed heroically, however, throughout the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN of 1862 and fought at the Battle of Aldie on June 17, 1863, with such distinction that he was promoted to brevet brigadier general. At just 23 years old, Custer was now the youngest general in the UNION ARMY. His Michigan cavalry brigade, which he dubbed "The Wolverines," became renowned for dash and discipline and for sporting the flashy red necktie of their commander. Custer performed well at GETTYSBURG, and his most noted encounter was at Yellow Tavern on May 11, 1864, where he led the charge that fatally wounded Confederate leader Gen. J. E. B. STUART. That summer he joined Gen. PHILIP H. SHERIDAN's Army of the Shenandoah and struck savagely at Confederate armies in the victories at Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek with decisive effect. He advanced to brevet major general at the age of 24 and further burnished his name by his equally hard fighting on April 1, 1865, when Federals won a striking victory at Dinwiddie Courthouse and FIVE FORKS. Custer emerged from the war with a high reputation as a dashing and colorful cavalry commander.

Custer remained in the postwar army but, as of March 1866, with his rank reduced to his regular grade of captain. Four months later he became the lieutenant colonel of the 7th Cavalry. Assigned first to RECONSTRUCTION duty, he was transferred to the West, where NATIVE AMERICAN tactics perplexed him. He took an unauthorized leave of absence, for which he was court-martialed and suspended for a year. In 1868 his friend and protector Gen. Sheridan managed to have him reinstated. Later that year, on November 27, Custer committed an atrocity in Indian Territory: He attacked the peaceful encampment of Chief Black Kettle on the Washita River. Despite official disapproval of this ill-advised action, Custer stayed on active duty in Kansas.

Three years later tension between white settlers and the Plains Indians exploded into open warfare. Assigned to an army column under Gen. Alfred H. Terry, Custer ignored warnings of Indian strength and recklessly forged ahead. On June 25, 1876, the 7th Cavalry happened upon a large Native American encampment at LITTLE BIGHORN in Montana. Custer divided his command and attacked but was quickly overwhelmed and killed, along with 261 men of the 7th Cavalry. "Custer's Last Stand" was not the largest defeat suffered at the hands of Native Americans, but it was certainly the most sensationalized. It assured Custer's



Union general George A. Custer (Library of Congress)

larger-than-life persona a prominent place in American frontier mythology, as well as in Civil War history books.

**Further reading:** Michael A. Elliott, *Custerology: The Enduring Legacy of the Indian Wars and George Armstrong Custer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Paul Hutton, ed., *The Custer Reader* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004); Joseph Marshal, *The Day the World Ended at Little Big Horn* (New York: Viking, 2006); Adolfo Ovies, *Crossed Sabers: General George Armstrong Custer and the Shenandoah Valley Campaign* (Bloomington, Ind.: Author House, 2004); Paul D. Walker, *The Cavalry Battle That Saved the Union: Custer vs. Stuart at Gettysburg* (Gretna, La.: Pelican Pub. Co., 2002).

—John C. Fredriksen





# D



**Dahlgren, John A. B.** (1809–1870) *Union navy officer, naval weaponry expert*

Union naval officer John A. B. Dahlgren is best known for his research in naval TACTICS, his innovation in naval weaponry, and during the CIVIL WAR, his successful prosecution of the blockade against Confederate ports.

Born in Philadelphia, Dahlgren became a sailor, joining the Navy as a midshipman in 1826. In 1834 his mastery of mathematics and survey technique won him a position in the U.S. Coastal Survey. During the 1840s, Dahlgren took an interest in naval weaponry, urging that the navy test, design, and manufacture its own weapons. Dahlgren, now a lieutenant, got his chance in 1847 when the navy made him chief of the Bureau of Ordnance.

Dahlgren tested his weapons designs extensively at his Navy Yard workshop and foundry. For instance, he bored holes in the metal walls of cannon, inserting gauges to measure air pressure as weapons were fired. Dahlgren then redesigned the cannon, thickening the walls where the internal pressure was greatest. This gave the “Dahlgren gun” a distinctive shape (gunners also called it the “soda-water bottle”) but made the weapon particularly reliable. By the Civil War, most naval vessels carried Dahlgren’s guns, including Union IRONCLADS armed with Dahlgren’s 15-inch smoothbores.

In 1861 Lincoln promoted Dahlgren to captain after all but three of the Navy Yard’s officers resigned their commissions to join the Confederacy. In charge of the Washington Navy Yard in the war’s first two years, Dahlgren took command of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron shortly after his 1863 promotion to rear admiral. Under his leadership, the squadron successfully blockaded Charleston Harbor, which assisted Sherman’s capture of Savannah, Georgia.

With the end of the Civil War, Dahlgren was given command of the South Pacific Squadron. He returned to the Navy Yard in 1868 and died in 1870.



Rear Admiral John A. B. Dahlgren standing by a Dahlgren gun on the deck of the USS Pawnee (Library of Congress)

**Further reading:** Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren, *Memoirs of John A. Dahlgren* (Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1882); Robert J. Schneller, *A Quest for Glory: John A. Dahlgren, American Naval Ordinance and the Civil War* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1995).

—Tom Laichas

**Daly, Maria Lydig** (1824–1894) *Union diarist*

Maria Lydig Daly is remembered as a diarist who wrote about the CIVIL WAR and some of its major figures. Born in NEW YORK CITY on September 12, 1824, she was the daughter of Philip Mesier Lydig, a wealthy merchant of Dutch heritage. She matured in a life of affluence and in 1855 shocked her parents by marrying Democrat Charles Patrick Daly, a 39-year-old justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and a second-generation Irish immigrant. Daly began her marriage as the privileged spouse of one of the city's most important jurists. In this capacity she sparkled as a hostess who entertained many important political, legal, and social figures in New York. Gradually embracing her husband's politics, she became increasingly suspicious of the new REPUBLICAN PARTY and its anti-slavery position. These feelings were artfully recorded in her celebrated diary composed between 1861 and 1865, which constitutes one of the most significant contemporary social documents concerning the Civil War in New York City.

Sharp, funny, and gossipy, Daly's diary is unique for recording not only her eyewitness accounts of historic events, such as the NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOTS of 1863 and the presidential campaign of 1864, but also her opinionated personal remarks about Republicans, other women, the poor, New Englanders, abolitionists, and African Americans. Daly disparaged President ABRAHAM LINCOLN for his bumpkinlike mannerisms, which she described in unflattering detail, and levied equally harsh judgments on MARY TODD LINCOLN. She was generally more forgiving toward leading Democrats such as Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN and other ranking military and diplomatic officials. All told, her diary provided a woman's perspective of the Civil War during a momentous time in local history. She died in New York in 1894.

**Further reading:** Harold W. Hammond, ed., *Diary of a Union Lady, 1861–1865* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Edward R. Spann, *Gotham at War: New York City, 1861–1865* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2002).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Dana, Charles A.** (1819–1897) *journalist, government official*

Newspaper owner and journalist, Charles Anderson Dana played a prominent role during the CIVIL WAR as an assistant secretary of war. Born in New Hampshire in 1819, Dana attended Harvard and later joined a group of utopian intellectuals at Brook Farm, Massachusetts. When Brook Farm dissolved in 1845, Dana traveled widely in Europe. Upon his return in 1849, he assumed the position of man-

aging editor of HORACE GREELEY's *New York Tribune*. A passionate ABOLITIONIST, Dana used the *Tribune* as a forum to denounce the policies and positions of the slave-owning South.

In 1862 Dana resigned over differences with Greeley about the newspaper's editorial positions on the Civil War. Shortly thereafter, Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON assigned Dana as a frontline investigator with the title of second assistant secretary of war. Serving in the western theater, Dana investigated pay irregularities, fraud, and was unofficially assigned to report on Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT's conduct. Dana sent many admiring reports to WASHINGTON, D.C., reinforcing the president's confidence in Grant. ABRAHAM LINCOLN lauded Dana for being the "eyes and ears of the government at the front." In 1864 he was promoted to assistant secretary of war.

In 1868 Dana bought the *New York Sun*. He wrote that he wanted to publish news that was "the freshest, most interesting and sprightliest." Under Dana's guidance, the *Sun* gained renown for its young, college-educated reporters, human-interest stories, and varied editorials. The *Sun* opposed President ANDREW JOHNSON's impeachment and supported Grant's run for the presidency in 1868, but it backed the Liberal Republicans in 1872 and their candidate, Dana's former boss and competitor, Horace Greeley. The *New York Sun*, which sold 130,000 papers a day, became a major national newspaper by the late 1870s. In the Gilded Age, Dana and the *Sun* were known for their support of laissez-faire business.

Dana died in 1897. His *Recollections of the Civil War* was published shortly thereafter.

See also JOURNALISM.

**Further reading:** Charles A. Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War: With the Leaders at Washington and in the Field in the Sixties* (1898; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996); Janet E. Steele, *The Sun Shines for All: Journalism and Ideology in the Life of Charles A. Dana* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1993).

—Scott L. Stabler

**Davis, Jefferson** (1808–1889) *president of the Confederate States of America*

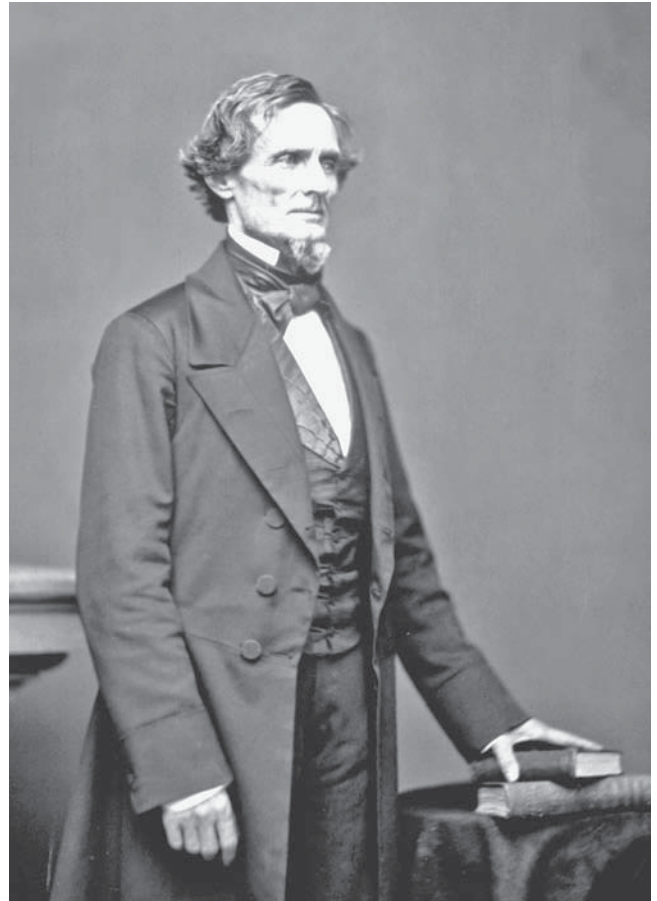
Confederate president Jefferson Davis was born in Christian (subsequently Todd) County, Kentucky, on June 3, 1808, the 10th and last child of Samuel Emory and Jane Cook Davis. His father, a farmer who owned a few slaves, moved the family more than once, eventually settling near Woodville, Mississippi, when Jefferson was about three years old. In short order the family adopted the manners and mores of the local PLANTATION aristocracy, becoming completely "Southern" in politics and outlook.

Jefferson Davis received a far better than ordinary EDUCATION. Between the ages of eight and 16, he attended St. Thomas College in Springfield, Kentucky, two academies in Mississippi, and, in 1823, Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky. After a year at Transylvania, Davis followed the advice of his brother, Joseph Emory Davis, a successful planter in Warren County, Mississippi, and entered the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT. Davis compiled a career at West Point more memorable for the number of rules he violated than for his academic record, graduating 23rd of 33 cadets in the class of 1828.

Davis spent nearly seven years as an army officer. Commissioned a second lieutenant on July 1, 1828, he served on the frontier in Wisconsin and Illinois. Like ABRAHAM LINCOLN, he played a minor role in the Black Hawk War of 1832 and on May 10, 1834, was promoted to first lieutenant in the dragoons. The tedium and relative lack of opportunity in the army frustrated Davis, who resigned his commission on May 12, 1835. Shortly more than a month later, he married Sarah Knox (Knoxie) Taylor, the daughter of Zachary Taylor, under whom Davis had served for a time in Wisconsin. Apparently, the marriage took place over the objections of the general, who did not want his daughter to marry a soldier. Nonetheless, their union proved a happy one.

The young couple moved to Mississippi, where Joseph Davis provided land and advice to assist his brother in establishing himself as a planter. Less than three months into the marriage, "Knoxie" died of a fever, and Jefferson, stricken by the same malady and prostrate with grief, left Mississippi for a few months. Upon his return, he secluded himself at "Brierfield," as he called his property, where he looked to his brother as a mentor in learning the business of running a plantation. Davis also read widely about politics, developing a staunch belief in STATES' RIGHTS and a devotion to the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. His first bid for office ended in failure when he lost a race for the Mississippi state legislature in 1843, but two years later he won election to the U.S. House of Representatives. In this capacity he became known as an ardent and outspoken proponent of SLAVERY and Southern rights, to which he remained committed for the remainder of his life. Several months before his election, on February 25, 1845, he had remarried. VARINA HOWELL DAVIS was a well-born, intelligent, young woman from Natchez. They had four sons and two daughters during the course of a sometimes tumultuous marriage.

Military rather than political glory marked the next phase of Davis's career. Elected colonel of the First Mississippi Volunteers after the outbreak of the Mexican-American War, he fought in northern Mexico under his former father-in-law, Gen. Taylor. He and his regiment distinguished themselves, and Davis was wounded at



Jefferson Davis (National Archives)

the Battle of Buena Vista in February 1847. While Davis had, in fact, conducted himself capably under fire, the experience of war seems to have promoted an infallible belief in his own leadership abilities. Widely praised in the American press, he returned a hero to Mississippi, where the legislature presented him with a sword and, in August 1847, named him to an unexpired term in the U.S. Senate.

Once in WASHINGTON, D.C., Davis quickly gained stature as an important advocate of slaveholders' interests and Southern rights. He supported the expansion of slavery into the federal territories, calling for an extension of the Missouri Compromise line of 1820 to the Pacific Ocean. He also opposed the admission of California to the Union as a free state. Within the Senate, Davis chaired the committee on military affairs and took an active interest in, among other topics, the weaponry of the U.S. Army. Reelected to a full Senate term in 1850, he resigned the next year to run for the governorship of Mississippi, losing a close race to Henry Stuart Foote, a moderate on sectional issues who was much loathed by Mississippi's Democrats.



FRANKLIN PIERCE, elected president on the Democratic ticket in 1852, summoned Davis back to Washington to serve as secretary of war. Davis compiled a solid and innovative record as a cabinet officer. Under his stewardship, the army improved the quality of its arms, purchased camels for use in the arid southwestern territories, adopted revised infantry tactics designed to deal with rifled weaponry, and conducted surveys for transcontinental RAILROAD routes.

Davis returned to the Senate in 1857, immediately assuming a position in the front rank of Southern politicians. Many people considered him the successor in this regard to John C. Calhoun, who before his death in 1850 had been the most prominent Southern statesman. Throughout the late 1850s, Davis strongly advocated the slaveholding position on a cluster of issues. He came to oppose STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS's doctrine of popular sovereignty, most famously expressed in the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT of 1854, because it left open the door for a territory to bar slavery. Insisting that slavery benefited slave and master alike, Davis also maintained that states had willingly come together to form the Union and could choose at any time to reclaim their sovereignty by withdrawing from the compact. He saw the emerging REPUBLICAN PARTY, which he identified with abolitionists in the North, as a major threat to the slaveholding South. As the decade drew to a close, he declared that no "abolition president" should be allowed to take office. Life under Republican rule would be intolerable, and he "would rather appeal to the God of Battles at once than attempt to live longer in such a Union."

Lincoln's election in 1860 precipitated a political crisis that prompted Davis, who did not stand among the most ardent secessionists, to eventually support SECESSION. On January 21, 1861, shortly after Mississippi seceded, he delivered a farewell speech to the Senate in which he asserted that the South's constitutional rights were at risk. Davis journeyed from Washington to Brierfield, where, on February 9, he learned that a constitutional convention of delegates from the Deep South states had selected him to be the first president of a new slaveholding republic christened the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA. Davis accepted the position, though he would have preferred a military command. Widely perceived as a moderate within the context of Deep South slaveholding sentiment, Davis seemed a logical choice for his new position. In retrospect, Davis was probably the most viable candidate available to the Confederacy at the time. From the outset he faced a series of challenges that would have daunted any of his contemporaries. No one, moreover, could question his unflinching commitment to the Confederacy or his determination to ensure its survival. Apart from his political reputation, his presence at the head of the new government would reassure states of

the Upper South that the Confederacy meant to chart a responsible course.

Davis's first major test as president came in April 1861 when he faced a crisis regarding FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA. Held by a small garrison of U.S. troops, the fort guarded the approach to Charleston Harbor. After Lincoln made it clear that he intended to resupply and hold Sumter, Davis approved a bombardment that commenced on April 12 and quickly forced the fort to surrender.

Lincoln's subsequent call for volunteers to suppress the rebellion led four states of the Upper South to join the seven Deep South states already in the Confederacy, and events moved rapidly toward a full-scale military conflict. In a message to the Confederate Congress on April 28, Davis left no doubt about the centrality of slavery to the establishment of the Confederacy. Lincoln and the Republicans would exclude slavery from the territories, he remarked, and that in turn would render "property in slaves so insecure as to be comparatively worthless . . . thereby annihilating in effect property worth thousands of millions of dollars."

Davis embarked on his career as Confederate commander in chief in poor health. Suffering from stomach ailments, a virus that repeatedly attacked his left eye, and other physical problems, he would struggle against illness even as he labored hard to manage a war that mushroomed beyond what anyone could have imagined in 1861. He pursued Confederate independence with a single-minded energy and impatience toward those unwilling to sacrifice for the cause. Although a vocal supporter of states' rights in the antebellum years, he understood that Confederate victory would require enormous mobilization of the South's manpower and material resources at the federal level. Together with ROBERT E. LEE, his chief military adviser in early 1862 and later his only successful field commander, Davis called for the subordination of state and local needs to those of the national war effort. This sensible request, an essential wartime expedient, met with varying degrees of compliance and, in the case of Georgia, outright resistance.

Against increasingly passionate opposition from states' rights advocates, including Confederate vice president ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, Davis pressed for measures that greatly enhanced central power. A national CONSCRIPTION act in the spring of 1862 (the first such legislation in American history), wide-scale IMPRESSMENT of farm products, and an array of national taxes helped keep armies in the field but convinced critics that Davis, who also called for a limited suspension of the writ of HABEAS CORPUS on several occasions, was willing to tolerate a systematic assault on personal liberties. Opponents often attacked Davis personally, as when the influential Georgia politician Robert Toombs referred to him as a "false and hypocriti-

cal . . . wretch.” Davis’s administration eventually shaped a war effort that placed roughly 80 percent of all military-age white males in uniform and witnessed the growth of government-sponsored industries (including munitions and saltworks) that employed thousands of workers.

Davis spent much of his time dealing with generals, strategy, and other military affairs. Although he may have been too loyal to commanders such as BRAXTON BRAGG, he wisely granted considerable latitude to Robert E. Lee, whose Army of Northern Virginia supplied most of the Confederacy’s major victories. Davis felt pressure from all parts of the Confederacy to provide military protection against invading Union forces, but he sought to concentrate manpower in field armies that would act broadly on the defensive while seeking openings to launch counteroffensives. The Confederate movements into Kentucky and Maryland in the late summer and autumn of 1862 provide excellent examples of Southern strategic counterpunches. In the end, only Lee developed as a capable CONFEDERATE ARMY commander, a circumstance that severely limited Davis’s options.

His constant meddling in the War Department, however, was a serious failing that reduced the six secretaries he appointed over a four-year period to little more than pawns. Davis also failed to cultivate working relationships with other senior commanders such as PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD and JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, both of whom he regarded with thinly veiled disdain. Worse, he repeatedly relieved them of high command at inopportune times. Davis’s decision to dismiss Johnston in August 1864, at the height of the Atlanta campaign, and replace him with the overly aggressive Gen. JOHN BELL HOOD must be considered one of the greatest strategic mistakes of the war. Hood proved completely unsuited for defensive warfare, and his blundering virtually assured a Union victory in that decisive theater.

Northern military and industrial power, internal divisions within Confederate society, and escalating material hardship on the HOMEFRONT left scant prospects for Southern success by the autumn of 1864. Davis remained more resolute than most, urging his fellow citizens to fight on and even recommending, along with Lee, that slaves be placed in the Confederate army and freed if they served well (after a bitter national debate, the Confederate Congress approved a watered-down version of what Davis and Lee sought). For Davis, Confederate independence had come to mean everything, overshadowing even the importance of maintaining the institution of slavery as it had existed at the time of secession. After the fall of RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, on April 2, 1865, Davis fled southward, falling into Union hands at Irwinville, Georgia, on May 10.

Davis spent two years as a prisoner at Fort Monroe but was never formally charged with treason or brought to

trial. Released in May 1867, he steadfastly maintained that secession had been a constitutional and logical Southern response to the threat of Northern domination. He presented his version of the momentous events through which he had lived in *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881), two thick volumes that mounted an unapologetic defense of the South and his own actions. Never a success financially after the war, Davis also endured a great deal of personal tragedy. All four of his sons preceded him in death, and his ill health continued. He refused to apply for a governmental pardon, preferring to the bitter end to die an unreconstructed and unrepentant Confederate. Davis died on December 5, 1889, having been, since Lee’s death 19 years earlier, the most visible symbol of the failed Confederate cause.

See also LOST CAUSE, THE.

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—Gary W. Gallagher

**Davis, Varina Howell** (1826–1906) *first lady of the Confederate States of America, author, journalist*

Author and wife of Confederate president JEFFERSON DAVIS, Varina Anne Banks Howell was born May 7, 1826, near Natchez, Mississippi. Her parents, Margaret Kempe and William Burr Howell, both came from distinguished Southern families.

As the daughter of a wealthy slaveholding planter, Varina attended an elite girls’ academy in Philadelphia for a few terms. She also received private tutoring at home from Harvard graduate Judge George Winchester. In 1843 she met Jefferson Davis, a rich planter and slaveowner. Despite the 17-year age difference, they married in February 1845.

Soon after the wedding, Jefferson left to fight in the Mexican-American War. He returned in 1847 and was elected to the U.S. Senate. He moved to WASHINGTON, D.C., leaving Varina behind in Mississippi for the next year



and a half. She joined him in 1849 and spent most of the next 12 years in Washington, where they did a lot of entertaining and cultivated friendships with many powerful people. During this period, the couple had four children.

Davis, who often sat in the galleries with other congressional wives, shared many of her husband's views on SLAVERY, Southern rights, and the REPUBLICAN PARTY. Both feared the consequences of CIVIL WAR but embraced their roles as Confederate president and first lady, although Varina's shrewd political sense and outspoken nature provoked criticism. The Davises had two more children while in the Confederate White House.

The Davis family faced many problems in the postwar years. Jefferson Davis spent two years in federal prison on treason charges. After sending the older children to Canada, Varina remained in Georgia with their youngest daughter, Winnie, to be close to Jefferson. Varina helped secure Jefferson's release in May 1867. The family reunited in Canada and moved to England for a few years beginning in late 1868. Although Jefferson tried his hand at several business ventures, the family struggled to make ends meet. In the fall of 1870, the family moved to Memphis, Tennessee, where Jefferson headed an insurance company and Varina worked part time as a seamstress.

After her husband died in 1889, Varina worked on a two-volume biography of his life. The book, published in 1890, did not sell well. She moved to Manhattan in 1892, where she worked as a journalist for the *New York World* and remained loyal to the memory of the Confederate cause.

Varina Davis died on October 16, 1906, in NEW YORK CITY. She was buried beside her husband in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

See also UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY.

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—Lisa Tendrich Frank

### Davis Bend, Mississippi, freedmen's colony

Located just south of Vicksburg along the MISSISSIPPI RIVER, Davis Bend was the site of one of the first experiments in African-American free labor during the CIVIL WAR. Originally designed as a model for antebellum slave PLANTATIONS, Davis Bend, instead, became a model for how to transform slave labor to a free labor system while still maintaining profitability. In addition, the plantations at Davis Bend attempted to create a com-

munity of cooperation, whereby black farmers and laborers were given more autonomy over production and their daily lives.

Joseph Davis, a successful Mississippi lawyer, founded Davis Bend in 1827. Influenced by utopian thinkers, Davis sought to create a model plantation, whereby slaves were given more freedom and responsibility. Davis provided his slaves with better food and housing. He encouraged the development of skilled labor and rewarded superior work with gifts and other financial incentives. Moreover, a slave jury authorized punishments on the plantation, not the overseer.

Within this environment, Davis encouraged the development of individual slaves, most notably Benjamin Montgomery. Montgomery, a self-educated and skilled engineer, oversaw levee construction and served as a cotton gin mechanic. He quickly distinguished himself as a leader and an entrepreneur by establishing a store on the Davis plantation, selling goods to white people, and even establishing a line of credit with New Orleans wholesalers. With the help of Montgomery, the Davis Bend plantation prospered in the antebellum era.

The Civil War, however, fundamentally transformed Joseph Davis's dream of a community of cooperation. Davis abandoned the Davis Bend plantations ahead of the advancing UNION ARMY. Most of his slaves, though, resisted Davis's entreaties to flee with him and some even looted the plantation's mansions after his departure.

Union military leaders hoped to transform Davis Bend into a black colony that would serve as a model for the transition from slave to free labor and operate as a haven for freedmen. Blessed with rich soil and a preexisting labor force, Davis Bend was a prime location for an experiment that hoped to prove the superiority of a free labor system. There also were political motives for establishing a black colony. JEFFERSON DAVIS, the president of the Confederacy, was Joseph Davis's younger brother and had administered one of the plantations (Brierfield) on Davis Bend before the war.

The FREEDMEN'S BUREAU assumed control of Davis Bend in 1865 and leased land to freedmen who in turn planted cotton. Black lessees turned a profit and benefited from the protection of the Union army. Self-government was reestablished, including a court system, an elected sheriff, and a board of EDUCATION. Overall, the experiment was a success.

Carrying on a revised vision of Joseph Davis's dream, Ben Montgomery believed that in order for Davis Bend to become a utopian community, black people needed to be in control of the plantations. In 1866 Montgomery purchased (under favorable terms) the Davis Bend plantations from Joseph Davis. Although damaging floods and pests plagued the first couple of years, the all-black Davis

Bend plantations thrived during RECONSTRUCTION, producing some of the highest quality cotton in the country. To defuse white opposition, Montgomery emphasized the utopian ideal of Davis Bend and publicly discounted the importance of African-American political activity. Nonetheless, the sizable population of freedmen in Davis Bend attracted Republican politicians who depended on their votes in statewide offices.

The freedmen benefited from fertile land, favorable credit terms, and protection from white intrusion, but by 1875, the Davis Bend community began to decline as Reconstruction came to an end. Jefferson Davis sued and reclaimed the Brierfield plantation. Poor cotton crops in 1875 and 1876 depleted Montgomery's capital reserves, forcing him to turn over to creditors one of the remaining two plantations.

Unlike other experiments with black free labor, such as the PORT ROYAL EXPERIMENT, the Davis Bend freedmen were adept at raising cotton and turning a profit. Their success owed to the unique leadership of Ben Montgomery and his prior experience in plantation management. It was his commitment to an all-black community, however, that enabled him to win the trust of the freedmen and attract the opposition of white Mississippians. The postwar community succeeded because the freedmen were given more autonomy and control over their crops and their persons.

**Further reading:** Janet Sharp Hermann, *The Pursuit of a Dream* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999).

—Justin J. Behrend

**De Forest, John William** (1826–1906) *author, Union soldier*

Author and soldier John William De Forest was born in Humphreysville, Connecticut, in 1826. As a young adult, De Forest traveled extensively throughout Europe and the Middle East. By the time of the CIVIL WAR, De Forest was a well-known writer of travel books and novels.

Immediately after the outbreak of war, De Forest raised a company in support of the Union. He was sworn into service on January 1, 1862, and served as captain of Company I, 12th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry. During the war De Forest and his regiment saw action in Louisiana at the siege of Port Hudson, as well as in the Virginia countryside in 1864. He was particularly affected by his experience at the Battle of Cedar Creek in October 1864. After the war, De Forest famously wrote that, "I never on any other battlefield saw so much blood as on this of Cedar Creek. The firm limestone soil would not receive it, and there was no pitying summer grass to hide it." He was discharged from the 12th Connecticut on December 2, 1864.

After the war De Forest resumed his writing career, penning his memoirs along with a number of fictional works. In the many short stories and novels that flowed from his pen, De Forest portrayed soldiers' lives with emotion, accuracy, and respect. Determined to faithfully chronicle the war from the ordinary volunteer's point of view, De Forest helped to pioneer the "realistic" genre of combat writing. De Forest's most famous novel, *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty* (1867) combined a realistic view of combat with a romantic story of sectional reconciliation. The theme of reunion became increasingly prominent in De Forest's later works, as the nation came to view the South with an increasing sense of romanticism.

Productive well into his 70s, John William De Forest died in 1906 at the age of 80 in New Haven, Connecticut.

See also LITERATURE.

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—Megan Quinn

**Delany, Martin Robinson** (1812–1885) *social reformer and soldier*

Born in Charles Town, Virginia (now West Virginia), on May 6, 1812, Martin Robinson Delany became a well-known writer and a leader of the black colonization movement. Delany initially fought for racial equality, but later he concluded that this goal was no longer possible in the United States. Thereafter, he pursued the idea of colonization in territories outside of the country.

Delany's formal EDUCATION began when he attended an African-American high school in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Afterward, he served as a doctor's apprentice, and in 1836 he set up his own medical practice. While in Pittsburgh, Delany founded a temperance society and actively worked with a slave rescue and transport group. In 1843 Delany married Catherine A. Richards, with whom he had seven children. In the years immediately after his marriage, Delany wrote on the condition of African Americans in the United States. From 1843 to 1847, he published a newspaper entitled *The Mystery* (1843–47). For a short time, he also coedited the *Rochester North Star* with FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Two experiences in the early 1850s made Delany a proponent of African colonization. The first was the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850. The second was the decision of Delany's classmates to dismiss him and two other African-American students from Harvard Medical School in 1851. These two events vastly increased Delany's frustration with the condition of race relations in the United



Martin Robinson Delany (Hulton/Archive)

States. In 1852, after his expulsion from Harvard, Delany published his first book, entitled *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*. In it, Delany said he believed that African Americans could not successfully “elevate” their situation to attain “equality with the white man” if they continued to live within the United States. Delany recommended that black people seek new territory in Central and South America. He would later promote emigration to Africa and would make several trips to Liberia to coordinate emigration efforts.

During the CIVIL WAR, Delany recruited African-American troops in New England. In 1865 he was commissioned, becoming one of the first African-American field officers in the UNION ARMY. Major Delany served as a physician in the Union army for only three months, however, before the war ended. After the war, Delany worked in the FREEDMEN’S BUREAU in South Carolina for three years. Later he became a trial judge in Charleston, South Carolina. Racial extremists ultimately forced Delany to leave this post once RECONSTRUCTION had ended. Despite this setback, Delany continued to publish books and articles until his death on January 24, 1885.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—Courtney Spikes

## Democratic Party

The Democratic Party is the nation’s oldest existing political party. Officially founded as the Democratic-Republican Party by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison in 1800, it played a critical role in the political and economic history of the 19th-century United States. Immigrants, the urban working class, subsistence farmers, and Southern plantation owners formed the core groups that supported the Democrats in the CIVIL WAR and RECONSTRUCTION eras.

Democrats generally believed in a narrow construction of the U.S. Constitution, limited powers for the federal government, and economic policies that led to expansion and settlement of the nation’s vast territories for the benefit of ordinary white people. Democrats controlled the political system in the country from 1828 through 1856 by winning six of the eight presidential ELECTIONS and dominated Congress for much of the 1840s and 1850s. The party’s power and prestige greatly diminished when it split into Northern and Southern wings over the SLAVERY issue in 1860. From 1860 to 1928 the Democrats controlled the White House only 4 out of 18 times.

The modern Democratic Party emerged from the presidential election of 1828 under the leadership of President Andrew Jackson of Tennessee and Martin Van Buren of New York. Van Buren, a talented and dedicated professional politician, forged a national network of strong ties between Democratic political leaders that stressed commonalities between the humble farmers and working class of the North and the yeomanry and cotton growers of the South. They were adamantly opposed to the new Whig Party’s strongly pro-manufacturing economic plan and especially to a national banking system. A central bank, Jackson and other Democrats asserted, represented a dangerous and unprecedented concentration of power that threatened STATES’ RIGHTS and the vision of a “small” democracy articulated by Jefferson.

Jackson, an ardent supporter of the political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, was, like Jefferson, a Southern slaveholder. Despite their undeniable appeal to Northerners and Southerners of more modest means, Democrats soon became identified with a proslavery agenda. In 1828 Congress decided to increase TARIFF rates. Outraged wealthy Southern plantation owners attacked the “Tariff of Abominations.” South Carolina’s John C. Calhoun, then serving



as vice president, published a series of anonymous letters criticizing the tariff.

When an even higher tariff was adopted in 1832, Calhoun resigned his office and reentered the Senate, where he could openly express his opposition. Calhoun argued that South Carolina should “nullify” the tariff, in essence declaring it void in their state. The conflict was ultimately resolved with a compromise tariff, but nullification became an important argument used by the South to derail proposed action against slavery, and a disturbing reminder that Democrats were divided by regional interests.

Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, the identification of the Democratic Party with Southern slavery became even stronger. Democrats worked for the successful annexation of Texas and the unsuccessful annexation of Cuba as slave states. Led by President James Polk, a Tennessee Jacksonian, Democrats supported the Mexican-American War and refused to ban slavery in the territory acquired as a result of the war. Democrats insisted on the inclusion of a stricter Fugitive Slave Act in the Compromise of 1850.

Slavery was responsible for the death of the Democrats’ major opposition party, the Whigs, as well as the birth of its new opposition, the REPUBLICAN PARTY. Slavery was also a deeply divisive issue among Democrats themselves, especially after the Mexican-American War. Senator STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS of Illinois tried very hard to satisfy both wings and ended up destroying the party that he loved. Douglas was the driving force behind the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT of 1854, which abolished the traditional slave-versus-free line between North and South and opened up the territories to slavery. Democratic president JAMES BUCHANAN’s administration created a firestorm of protest with his overtly pro-Southern policies in Kansas and elsewhere from 1856 to 1860.

In the election of 1860, the Democratic Party finally split between proslavery secessionists and more moderate Unionists. At the Democratic convention in Charleston, South Carolina, the party failed to nominate a candidate due to disruptions by secessionist Southern delegates. Northern and Southern Democrats then met separately several weeks later, with Northern Democrats choosing Douglas as their presidential candidate, while Southern Democrats nominated JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE to carry their banner. This split effectively guaranteed victory for Republican candidate ABRAHAM LINCOLN. With Lincoln’s victory, South Carolina seceded from the United States on December 20, 1860, and by February 1, 1861, was followed by six additional states. Delegates from these states met soon after at Montgomery, Alabama, to draft the Constitution of the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA and elect as president the former U.S. Senator JEFFERSON DAVIS.

During the Civil War, Confederate politics and government led to the development of a single party system,

made up of former Democrats and Whigs, that was highly disorganized and ineffective. In the North, Democrats became the opposition party. The party divided into two wings, “War Democrats” and “Peace Democrats.” The War Democrats were the majority for most of the years between 1861 and 1865. They supported Lincoln and the war and were careful not to bring the dreaded name of “traitor” down upon their organization.

As the war went on, however, more and more Democrats criticized what they thought to be the Lincoln administration’s unconstitutional abuse of power in the prosecution of the conflict. Two issues particularly were successful in mobilizing Democratic voters against Republicans during the war: Lincoln’s unpopular suspension of HABEAS CORPUS and his EMANCIPATION of Southern slaves. Although the Republicans kept a majority in the Congress, there were significant Democratic gains in the House and Senate in the elections of 1862.

Some Democrats went so far as to argue that the war should be brought to an end, even if that meant accepting secession. These Peace Democrats, or COPPERHEADS, felt the war victimized working-class and immigrant families. They also feared that freedmen would compete with white laborers for the same jobs. By 1864 the Copperheads were a powerful faction in the Democratic Party, and they were able to insist that a peace plank be included in the party’s platform for the presidential elections in that year. Renewed Union successes on the battlefield caused Democratic nominee GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN to repudiate the plank, and thereafter the Copperheads waned in importance.

After the war, the Democratic Party remained in the minority and, indeed, reached the lowest point in its history. Republicans regularly, and successfully, attacked Democrats as acting disloyally during the war. “Not every Democrat was a traitor,” crowed Republicans, “but every traitor was a Democrat.” During the first year of Reconstruction, a bitter dispute developed between Democrats and Republicans over the extension of citizenship and the franchise to African Americans. Encouraged by President ANDREW JOHNSON, many Democrats opposed what they called the “Africanization” of the South.

Democrats continued to attack Republican-led Reconstruction. In the years immediately after the Civil War, Democratic Southern state legislatures passed a series of restrictive racial laws known as the BLACK CODES. The primary purpose of the codes was to keep African Americans subordinate by controlling freedmen and keeping them in a state close to slavery. Northern Republicans, particularly a militant faction of the party known as the RADICAL REPUBLICANS, were outraged.

Congressional Radicals were able to impose an especially harsh Reconstruction on the South that effectively kept Southern Democrats out of positions of power. Barred

from participating in the political system through legal means, a great number of Southern Democrats worked to reestablish a system of white supremacy through illegal means, namely terrorism. The KU KLUX KLAN and other groups kept African Americans from voting by harassing and even killing those individuals who presumed to exercise their civil rights.

As the decade of the 1860s closed, support for congressional Reconstruction was waning. ULYSSES S. GRANT won the election of 1868 handily and overcame a serious challenge from anti-Reconstruction Democrats and Republicans to win a second term in 1872. Increasingly, the Democratic cry that Republicans had denied votes to competent white Southern voters while enabling “unfit” African Americans to vote resonated with Northerners. Perhaps the biggest boost for the Democrats, however, was the depression of 1873. Dissatisfied with the Republican handling of the ECONOMY, voters returned Democratic majorities to Congress in 1874. Two years later, a disputed election between Democrat Samuel J. Tilden and Republican Rutherford B. Hayes led to a series of compromises that awarded Hayes the presidency while bringing an end to Reconstruction.

The election of 1876 solidified a status quo that remained in place for the remainder of the 19th century. The Republicans controlled the majority of Northern voters and had a virtual monopoly on the presidency. Every president elected between 1860 and 1912, with the exception of Grover Cleveland, was a Republican. The Democrats, meanwhile, dominated the “Solid South” and were powerful in a number of Northern localities, particularly NEW YORK CITY. African Americans, most of them still living in the South, were largely denied a voice in politics. It would take another depression, beginning in 1929, to transform the Democratic Party from its 19th-century origins as a proslavery and states’ rights political organization into its current liberal incarnation.

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—Michael Ward

## desertion

Desertion is defined as a soldier being “absent without leave” from his post. It can have a devastating impact on

an army’s morale and on an army’s chances for success on the field of battle. Desertion has been a problem for armies throughout history, but CIVIL WAR armies proved especially susceptible because the majority of the soldiers were volunteers. Untrained, untested, and sure that the war would last at most a few months, the reality of camp life and battle drove many young men to “skeeedaddle.”

There were other factors when considering desertion during the Civil War. It was easy to escape both on the march and approaching the battlefield. A deserter could easily blend in with the countryside simply because he spoke the same language as his enemies. Many battles were fought in states with heavily divided loyalties, like Tennessee. Deserters would not find it difficult to locate a friendly refuge.

Beyond that, Civil War combat was extremely violent and bloody, arguably more so than any war before or since. Even the bravest and most loyal of men could easily lose their stomach for battle when faced with the carnage that was inflicted on a regular basis. As 1861 turned into 1862 and 1863, the early volunteers became tested soldiers, and desertion rates dropped. The payment of enlistment bounties, however, later in the war brought another wave of desertion, especially to the Union armies. “Bounty jumpers” would enlist, collect their bonus, and then promptly desert so that they could enlist again for another bounty.

There were a variety of motives for desertion. The most common were lack of success on the battlefield and problems at home. Historian Bell Wiley has combed through the LETTERS written by soldiers and identified poor rations, sickness, incompetent or overbearing officers, failure to receive pay, and boredom as reasons why men deserted. Because of the Confederate government’s poor resources, Southern soldiers were more likely to suffer these kinds of aggravations and so were more likely to desert. This was a major concern for Confederate leadership, for the much smaller CONFEDERATE ARMY, which never exceeded 500,000 men at any one time, could ill afford the defections. ROBERT E. LEE thought that desertion played a prominent role in the Confederate army’s defeats at ANTIETAM and GETTYSBURG.

The Union leadership was also concerned about deserters, and both sides took steps to try to stem the tide of deserters. It was necessary to tread lightly, however. Excessive punishments, such as lashings and executions, deprived the army of a soldier’s services and tended to have a negative impact on morale in the army as a whole. Union and Confederate military and civilian leaders addressed the problem of desertion with a combination of negative and positive reinforcements. When deserters were caught, they were punished. The most severe punishment, death by hanging, was rare, reserved for extreme cases when an example needed to be made.



Meanwhile, at times when desertion was especially likely, both armies took steps to try and stop soldiers from leaving. Some officers would resort to frequent roll calls, as many as three or four an hour. Another common strategy, especially in the Rebel army, was to distribute extra rations. When possible, Northern and Southern leaders would grant their soldiers furloughs, which in most cases guaranteed their return.

At the same time that Union and Confederate leaderships were struggling to combat desertion in their own ranks, they were making every effort to convince enemy soldiers to desert. The Confederacy offered Union deserters sanctuary in the South, jobs, and sometimes land. The Northern government offered even more generous terms. Confederate deserters were given amnesty, payment for any equipment they brought with them, and free TRANSPORTATION back to their homes if it was in an area under Union control. Those who could not return home, or did not wish to do so, were given jobs in the North or allowed to serve in the U.S. Army on the western frontier.

It is difficult to say how many soldiers deserted over the course of the war. The official estimates by the two sides place the number at 200,000 for the North and 104,000 for the South. These numbers, however, are not especially trustworthy. Many men killed in action were classified as deserters because their bodies were never identified. Other men were incorrectly identified as deserters because they were temporarily separated from their units, either deliberately or inadvertently. Also, toward the end of the war, Northern authorities began to classify lesser offenses, such as dereliction of duty, as desertion. After January 1865, so many men were fleeing the Confederate ranks that Southern officials stopped bothering to count them.

Indeed, Southerners in particular became quite nonchalant about deserters by the end of the war. In 1865 Gen. John S. Preston, commissioner of the Confederate Bureau of Conscription, commented that “so common is the crime, it has in popular estimation lost the stigma which justly pertains to it.” To an extent, a relaxed attitude toward desertion has filtered down to the present. Since the Civil War, only one American soldier has been executed for the crime.

See also BOUNTY SYSTEM; CONSCRIPTION.

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—Christopher Bates

**Dickinson, Anna E.** (1842–1932) *abolitionist, orator, feminist*

An abolitionist and feminist, Anna Elizabeth Dickinson was one of the nation’s best-known female speakers of the 19th century. She was born in PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, on October 28, 1842. Her father was a successful merchant, and both parents were Quakers and ardent abolitionists. Dickinson, after passing through numerous Friends educational institutes, determined to carry on her parents’ work.

Dickinson’s public career began in 1856, when at the age of 14 she wrote an articulate essay for WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON’s abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator*. Four years later she addressed the Pennsylvania Anti-slavery Society Convention, and the following year she delivered a fiery speech at Clarkson Hall, entitled “The Rights and Wrongs of Women,” that gained her considerable renown. A vigorous lecturer, she gained and held audience attention through natural eloquence, acerbic wit, and oftentimes outrageous statements. Her incendiary demeanor on the podium, highly unusual for a woman of this period, earned her the nickname “America’s Joan of Arc.”

Dickinson was in much demand as a public speaker, and she lost her regular job at the U.S. Mint after roundly criticizing Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN in 1861. Thereafter she became a fixture at most antislavery gatherings, where she was a frequent speaker, along with noted abolitionist FREDERICK DOUGLASS. On December 16, 1864, Dickinson made history by becoming the first woman to address the U.S. House of Representatives. In this historic speech she lauded RADICAL REPUBLICANS and castigated President ABRAHAM LINCOLN for being too conciliatory toward the South.

After the CIVIL WAR Dickinson continued lecturing on women’s rights and civil rights, becoming the nation’s highest-paid female speaker. Her fortunes turned in 1872, however, when she broke with the Republicans to support the candidacy of HORACE GREELEY. She lost a large part of her following and thereafter met with indifferent success as an actress, a dramatist, and a novelist. Declining mental and physical health resulted in her detention at the State Hospital for the Insane in Danville, Pennsylvania. She successfully sued to gain her release. Dickinson spent the rest of her long life with friends in Goshen, New York, where she lived in obscurity and died on October 22, 1932.

See also ABOLITION; WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## disease and epidemics

During the CIVIL WAR, at least twice as many soldiers died from disease as from combat wounds. This staggering statistic points to both the horrors of living conditions and to medical ignorance. Disease hit soldiers hardest during their first years of fighting. When camped together, thousands of men from various backgrounds caught contagious diseases from each other. Especially affected were men from rural areas, who might not have been exposed to common childhood ailments such as measles that affected a greater proportion of city dwellers. Smallpox also had devastating effects on those who were previously unexposed to an outbreak.

Cramped living conditions and extremely poor sanitation also led to the spread of three diseases that frequently appear during times of war. Dysentery/diarrhea, typhoid, and pneumonia plagued troops who faced bad weather and unclean water supplies. Malaria also raged during the warmer months, especially in the hot, mosquito-laden areas of the South. Socially spread diseases also affected both Union and Confederate troops. Venereal diseases hit both armies hard and were most widely reported by regiments camped near cities.

Another factor compromising the well-being of military personnel was poor diet, brought about by ignorance of proper nutritional requirements and food preparation techniques. A lack of fresh vegetables and a monotonous intake of hardtack, fried greasy meats, and moldy bread led to gastrointestinal disorders within weeks. Though the diarrhea or stomach cramps that usually resulted were not life threatening, they were still debilitating to soldiers. In extreme cases inadequate nutrition gave rise to dangerous maladies such as scurvy, although this condition could be readily cured with citrus fruits such as lemons or oranges—if these were available. In the CONFEDERATE ARMY quartermaster functions remained problematic for most of the war, and the result was widespread malnourishment. In sum, the poor victualing of soldiers on both sides was a major factor in weakening their general health, making them more susceptible to a lengthy list of illnesses.

Medical practices during campaigns also inadvertently led to many deaths. Unclean wounds, for instance, often caused gangrene, which in turn dealt a fatal blow to an otherwise slightly injured soldier. Doctors in field hospitals often administered massive doses of narcotics to patients for every injury and ailment. Such dosing did more to cause shortages for those who really needed morphine, such as an amputee, than it did to cure ailments such as pneumonia. Likewise many of the widespread medical practices of the day, such as bleeding, were demonstrably more dangerous than the conditions they were meant to cure.

Lack of knowledge about bacteria had perhaps the greatest impact on the health of a Civil War soldier. The

regular exposure to microscopic invaders and the lack of any antibiotics caused deaths by the thousands. In fact, at the very time that war raged in America, Europeans such as Louis Pasteur and Joseph Lister led the beginnings of a medical revolution when they drew the first connections between microscopic organisms and disease.

These medical breakthroughs, however, did not reach the United States in time to help Civil War soldiers. The relationship between water and typhoid and between mosquitoes and the blood-borne illnesses yellow fever and malaria remained a mystery. Doctors also did not know the importance of sterilizing medical equipment and routinely operated on more than one soldier with the same dirty instrument. Not until after the war did the American medical profession connect what had happened to soldiers during the 1860s with the European advancements in science made at the same time. In the meantime, three out of five Union deaths were the result of disease rather than battle; in the Confederacy two out of three deaths were due to disease. The estimated death toll attributable to disease amounted to 224,000 Northerners and 164,000 Southerners in the course of four years. It was not until the 20th century that improvements in medicine, microbiology, and sanitation allowed the proportion of soldiers killed by disease to dip below the proportion lost due to combat-related injuries.

Although doctors did not know exactly what caused the diseases they attempted to treat, they did recognize the problem. Along with the doctors themselves, private citizens, the government, and especially women founded groups to tackle the medical challenges and to care for the ill and injured. For example, Elizabeth Blackwell, M.D., led a meeting of 3,000 women to form the Women's Central Association for Relief (WCAR) in New York in 1861. The WCAR later evolved into the government-sponsored UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION. Women, acting as NURSES, played a central part in each of the organizations treating and caring for the ill and wounded. One independent nurse, CLARA BARTON, eventually founded the American branch of the International Red Cross after her experiences during the Civil War. The Confederacy also employed nurses and doctors on a relatively wide scale. Like their Northern counterparts, Southern medical personnel waged a heroic and ceaseless struggle to assist those in need—with identical paltry results. Their efforts were hampered by chronic shortages of drugs, surgical tools, and other requisite supplies, which only grew worse as the Union blockade tightened.

Nursing developed as a profession during the war years, and after the war the profession emerged as a predecessor to women-led reform movements. Many of these movements in the latter 19th century focused on the problems of disease. Targeted especially at densely

populated urban settlements, some groups led crusades promoting better hygiene among the immigrants who lived in crowded tenements. Communicable diseases such as typhoid and tuberculosis often affected these urban dwellers at a greater proportion than the rest of the population. Progressive women reformers lobbied for solutions to such health issues. Although not always successful or even always scientifically correct, reformers raised awareness and concern over the spread of diseases. That attentiveness came directly from experiences during the Civil War and from advancements made because of it.

The understanding of disease made enormous leaps during and after the Civil War. Because of the horrors that soldiers endured, the medical profession strengthened both its social and scientific awareness of contagion.

See also HOSPITALS AND MEDICINE.

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—Samantha Holtkamp Gervase

**Douglas, Stephen A.** (1813–1861) *lawyer, politician*  
Lawyer and U.S. senator, Stephen Arnold Douglas played a key role in the sectional politics that led to the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR. Best known for his famous debates against ABRAHAM LINCOLN in the 1858 Illinois senatorial contest and as Lincoln's opponent in the 1860 presidential race, Douglas was affectionately called the "Little Giant" for his widely admired oratory skills and small stature. Douglas, considered the most talented politician of his generation, saw his ambitions for higher office destroyed in the bitter debates and violent struggle between pro- and antislavery

forces over the Kansas-Nebraska territory. Douglas's failure to gain the support of Southern Democrats in 1860 split the party and led to Republican Abraham Lincoln's victory.

Douglas was born on April 3, 1813, in Brandon, Vermont, the son of a doctor. Douglas enjoyed an excellent EDUCATION at the Canandaigua Academy in upstate New York, where he moved with his family in 1830. There, Douglas trained in the Latin and Greek classics that would give his political speeches sparkle, spirit, and a learned quality. As a youth he was already endowed with the remarkable energy and ambition that led a friend to describe him as a "steam engine in breeches." After training in law, Douglas moved west to Jacksonville, Illinois, in 1833, where he quickly proclaimed: "I have become a *Western* man."

At age 21 he entered state politics, rising to the state supreme court by the age of 27. At court, he earned and kept the nickname "Judge" Douglas. Hard-working and innovative, Douglas is credited with building the ILLINOIS DEMOCRATIC PARTY from the bottom up. His hero was Andrew Jackson, and he supported the principles of Jacksonian democracy that stood for the betterment of the common person. Douglas prospered in the tough world of frontier politics. In 1843 he won the first of three terms in



Stephen A. Douglas (Library of Congress)



the U.S. House. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1847, where he served until his death in 1861.

Douglas married a North Carolinian, Martha Martin, in 1847. Martha was the heiress to a large plantation with 100 slaves that Douglas managed. Shortly after bearing two sons, Martha died in 1853. The lonely widower remarried in 1856 to the 21-year-old Adele Cutts. They lived in WASHINGTON, D.C., for most of the year. While in Congress, Douglas was a major proponent of westward expansion and the idea of Manifest Destiny. Leader of the "Young Democrat" movement, he was a tough-minded politician who usually got his way.

After the end of the war with Mexico in 1848, the settlement of the territories acquired from that war became a controversial national issue. Should they be reserved for free or slave labor? Douglas helped push through the various pieces of legislation that made up the Compromise of 1850, including the completion of the Illinois Central Railroad, his pet project. He was absent for the vote on the controversial Fugitive Slave Act but supported its passage. As a Westerner, he promoted westward expansion, negotiating the SLAVERY issue to his constituents' benefit. He was neither strongly proslavery nor antislavery, but his position as chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories put him in the middle of the coming political firestorm.

In 1854 Douglas promoted the idea of popular sovereignty as a democratic method to decide the issue of expansion in the Kansas and Nebraska Territories. Douglas's ultimate goal was the building of a northern route for a transcontinental RAILROAD that would have to cross these territories, but he needed Southern congressional support to fund its construction. This need led to the passage of the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT, which abolished the 1820 Missouri Compromise (banning slavery in all territories north of the 36°30' parallel) and allowed the Kansas and Nebraska Territories to decide their status as either free or slave territory via popular mandate.

Upon the passage of the act, both Free-Soil and proslavery proponents flooded Kansas Territory in anticipation of a vote on the territory's status. The influx of a divided population led to the conflict known as "BLEEDING KANSAS," which served as a preview to the Civil War. The 1854 act had many more effects than just local conflict. It destroyed the last remnants of the Whig Party and helped boost the popularity of the newly formed REPUBLICAN PARTY. The act was so divisive and unpopular in the North that Douglas joked that he could go from his home in Washington, D.C., to his home in Illinois by the light of his burning effigies.

Controversy aside, Douglas commanded the loyalties of many Democrats and only narrowly lost the 1856 presidential nomination to JAMES BUCHANAN. Buchanan and Douglas, however, were increasingly at odds over Kansas's proslavery Lecompton Constitution. Their split reduced

Douglas's influence with the Southern Democrats that he hoped to recover in his Senate reelection bid. In 1858 Republican lawyer Abraham Lincoln challenged Douglas for his Senate seat. The famous Lincoln-Douglas debates drew the entire nation's attention. As the candidates "stumped" throughout the state, their debates were followed closely because of the important issues at stake and because Douglas was the leading candidate for the Democratic Party's 1860 presidential nomination.

The debates' focus was on slavery. Southerners were very interested in what Douglas had to say. During his speech in Freeport, Illinois, Douglas articulated his famous "Freeport Doctrine." In it, Douglas sought to reassure Southerners that he would not use federal power to stop slavery, while at the same time pointedly informing Northerners that no court, supreme or otherwise, could impose slavery where it was not wanted. He had a tough position to stake out, because he could not win nationally without the support of the proslavery South, and he could not win a statewide election without free-labor votes. Ultimately, he failed to persuade Southerners that Northern Democrats would protect their property, but he did win the election in Illinois.

Douglas's beloved Democratic Party had split in half by the time the Democratic National Convention met in Charleston, South Carolina, in the spring of 1860. With little agreement between the Northern and Southern wings, many delegates from the slave states stormed out, and the convention adjourned without a candidate. Two months later, a new Democratic Party convention was called in Baltimore, where Douglas won the party's nomination. The convention did not attract delegates from the Deep South; that group nominated JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE as their Democratic candidate.

Douglas campaigned nonstop during the fall ELECTIONS. Unlike the other candidates, Douglas took his message to the public. He toured New England and the Deep South, where he was greeted with hostility. His message was simple and straightforward: Save the Union. No issue, he argued, even slavery, should break up the country, but it was too late for that message to appeal to the voters. In the election, Douglas won only Missouri outright, but came in second in the popular vote with nearly 30 percent.

When hostilities broke out in April 1861, Douglas stood firmly in support of President Lincoln and decried any attempts at disunion. Just after FORT SUMTER, Douglas made a speech in which he said: "It is with a sad heart—with a grief that I have never before experienced, that I have to contemplate this fearful struggle." Months of tireless campaigning had taken their toll on the "Little Giant," and he died in a hotel room in Chicago on June 3, 1861.

Stephen A. Douglas was an important figure in U.S. political history, and although an intelligent and talented

man, he never grasped fully the power of the forces he unleashed when he signed the Kansas-Nebraska Act into law. On his deathbed, he sent a last message to his two sons: “Tell them to obey the laws and support the Constitution of the United States.”

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—Scott L. Stabler

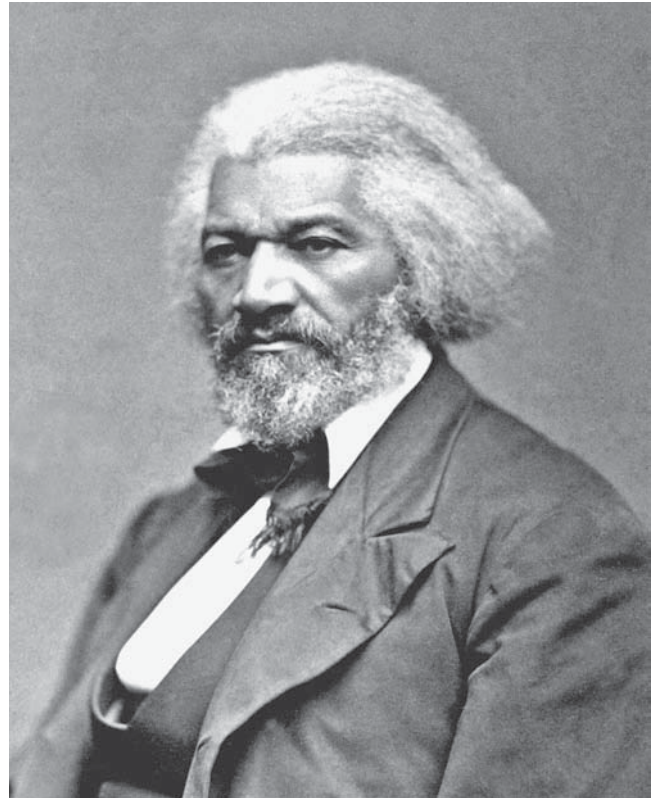
**Douglass, Frederick** (1817–1895) *orator, journalist, abolitionist, women’s rights activist*

Frederick Douglass was the most important African-American leader of the 19th century. He was born Frederick Bailey on a plantation in Tuckahoe, Maryland, in 1817. Douglass knew his mother only for a short time and assumed that his absent father was his master, a white plantation owner. As a young boy, Douglass was raised by his grandmother after his mother’s death, and at the age of eight he was “hired out” to work as a servant for a family in Baltimore, Maryland. It is there that he learned to read, first under his mistress’s tutelage and then by way of the neighborhood children.

After eight years, Douglass was sent back to the plantation in Tuckahoe. He found rural SLAVERY a sharply unpleasant contrast to his experience as an urban houseboy. More than once, he tried to escape, but he was caught and sent back to Maryland, where, after working in the shipyards as a caulker, he did in fact escape in 1838 with papers borrowed from a sailor.

Settling in New Bedford, Massachusetts, after marrying Anna Murray, a free woman of color, Frederick Bailey chose a new name for his life of freedom, Douglass. Prejudice made EMPLOYMENT as a caulker impossible, so in New Bedford Douglass took any job he could find. In 1841 his oratorical skills made him an object of national attention, and he was invited to attend the Nantucket convention of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. After being called on to speak, Douglass’s powerful voice, emotive style, and command of the language riveted the audience. He soon became one of the most asked-for speakers on the abolitionist lecture circuit. Douglass lectured on behalf of the society, but he also cultivated his writing skills for WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON’s newspaper, the *Liberator*.

For the next 10 years, Douglass was associated with the “Garrisonians,” the branch of radical abolitionism, led by William Lloyd Garrison, that advocated immediate EMANCIPATION and full citizenship rights for slaves. They rejected politics and political parties and emphasized “moral suasion” as the method to achieve their goals.



Frederick Douglass (National Archives)

In 1845 Douglass published *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*. Describing life under SLAVERY in gruesome and bitter detail, Douglass noted the evil effects on white people as well as African Americans from the indignity of slavery. With prefaces written by William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, the *Narrative* was well received in antislavery circles in the United States and abroad. Unlike other slave narratives, Douglass’s was written without the aid of a ghostwriter. His story was infused with a remarkable sense of honesty and candor. In 1855 Douglass published another, larger version of his autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom*. Douglass’s fame was so great that he feared that he would be recaptured and sent back into slavery, so he went to England for two years.

With the earnings from the *Narrative* and his lecture tours, Douglass resettled in Rochester, New York, where he bought a newspaper in 1847, the *North Star*, which he coedited with the help of MARTIN R. DELANY. The masthead of the paper proclaimed its goals: “Abolish slavery in all its forms and aspects, advocate universal emancipation, exalt the standard of public morality, and promote the moral and intellectual improvement of the colored people, and hasten the day of freedom to the Three Millions of our



enslaved fellow countrymen.” Douglass and the *North Star* also supported women’s rights. Indeed, Douglass spoke at the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention and was one of the official signers of the manifesto of women’s rights.

As Douglass turned increasingly toward political action, he split with William Lloyd Garrison’s group over the latter’s refusal to engage in politics. Personally advocating nonviolence, Douglass, a friend of JOHN BROWN, called him “a noble old hero” after his hanging for his role in the raid at HARPERS FERRY in 1859. By the 1860 presidential election, Douglass had identified himself with the REPUBLICAN PARTY and supported candidate and president-elect ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Douglass believed that the Union’s primary goal in the war should be to end slavery. Unhappy with Lincoln’s slow moves toward emancipation, he pushed the president and the Republican Party toward progressive policies. Douglass and other abolitionists also pressed hard for the mobilization of African-American soldiers, a dream that came true after January 1, 1863. Douglass gloried in his role of recruiter for colored regiments, especially the 54TH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT. Among the first to enlist in that famous all-black regiment were his two sons, Lewis and Charles. Unfortunately, equality in the army could not be assured for African-American troops. Douglass protested gross inequalities of pay and treatment and was able to bring some improvement in the lives of the black soldiers.

The CIVIL WAR brought freedom to 4 million slaves, but it did not bring the equality, justice, and economic opportunities that Douglass had hoped for. The THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, and FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS were passed, providing for emancipation, citizenship, and suffrage for African Americans, but too often the laws were not enforced. Douglass dedicated himself in the postwar years to fighting to make the dreams of political and economic freedom for African Americans a reality.

He was a firm supporter of the Republican Party and was rewarded by President ULYSSES S. GRANT with an appointment as secretary to the Santo Domingo Commission. He subsequently served in a number of party-appointed positions, such as recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia and as a minister plenipotentiary to Haiti.

Douglass retained his stature as the most important political leader of the African-American community into his old age. He continued his tireless agitation for racial equality through newspaper writing and lecturing. Douglass frequently traveled to Europe with his second wife, Helen. In 1881 the third revision of his autobiography was published, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*.

Douglass died of a heart attack on February 10, 1895, in WASHINGTON, D.C.

See also ABOLITION; WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Lee Ashley Smith

### ***Dred Scott* decision** (1857)

Few Supreme Court decisions outweigh *Dred Scott v. John F. A. Sandford* (the name *Sanford* was misspelled in the formal reports) in legal and historical importance. With its decision in *Dred Scott*, the Court denied citizenship to African Americans, denied that Congress had the right to legislate on the issue of SLAVERY in the territories, and ultimately affirmed the place of slavery in America. The decision was a major milestone on the road to the CIVIL WAR.

Dred Scott was born into slavery in Virginia between 1795 and 1809. His owner, Peter Blow, sold Scott to Dr. John Emerson in St. Louis in 1833. Emerson, an army surgeon, took Scott with him on his first assignment at Fort Armstrong, Illinois, and then in 1836 to Emerson’s next posting, Fort Snelling, Wisconsin Territories (present-day Minnesota). In both the free state of Illinois and the Wisconsin Territories (free by the Missouri Compromise), Scott served as Emerson’s slave.

In 1836 or 1837, while still at Fort Snelling, Scott met and legally married Harriet Robinson, who was the slave of Indian Agent Maj. Lawrence Taliaferro. A justice of the peace, Taliaferro conducted the ceremony, and apparently “gave” Robinson to Emerson so that the new couple could remain together.

As Emerson’s career dictated, he moved about the country, sometimes taking Mr. and Mrs. Scott with him (including, for a time, on a posting back to the slave state of Missouri), and sometimes hiring them out to other people while he traveled. On one of his assignments, Emerson married Irene Sanford. Emerson died in 1843 and left his estate, including Dred and Harriet Scott and their two children, Eliza and Lizzie, to Irene Sanford Emerson.

Three years later, in December 1846, Dred Scott filed suit in Missouri against Irene Emerson for his freedom. His case rested on the contention that living in free areas made him a free man. When he lost the case in the Missouri State Court, Scott sued again, this time in the state of New York, which also denied his claim. Irene Emerson’s brother, John F. A. Sanford, who was the manager of her estate, was now the owner of the Scott family. By the time the case arrived at the Supreme Court, Scott’s suit was

against Sanford (spelled incorrectly in the official court records as Sandford).

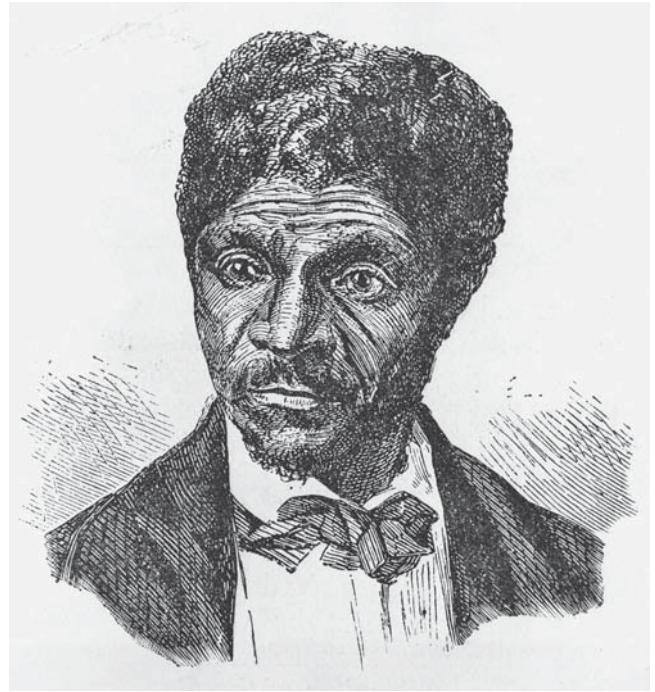
Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, a Maryland slaveholder and a strong defender of the institution, wrote for the seven-justice majority on the decision. He declared that there were two main questions before the Court: Did the lower courts have jurisdiction to hear the case? Were the decisions of the lower courts correct? In answering the former, Taney found that the lower courts did not have jurisdiction to hear the case because Scott was not a citizen and therefore not entitled to bring suit.

Taney further stated that at the time of the founding of the nation, African Americans were considered “beings of an inferior order” and that, even at the time of the writing of the Declaration of Independence, it was common belief that black people had “no rights which white men were bound to respect.” This was true, Taney explained, even though a few states had allowed African Americans to exercise voting rights. There were different levels of citizenship—state and national, Taney wrote—and the rights of citizenship in individual states did not confer national citizenship rights. If African Americans had no rights at the time of the founding of the United States, then they could not be considered citizens, ever.

The decision could have, and many argue should have, ended there. After all, if African Americans were not citizens and therefore not entitled to bring suit, then Dred Scott’s case was over. But Taney went further and ruled on whether or not the lower courts had been right. The remainder of his opinion was considered *obiter dictum* (incidental remarks) and therefore not truly part of the legal precedent of the case. The impact, however, was immense. Taney declared that Scott’s claim to freedom based on living in the free territory of Wisconsin was worthless because the Missouri Compromise, passed by Congress, was unconstitutional. Taney’s decision destroyed the shaky foundations of African-American rights and denied Congress the right to legislate slavery out of the territories.

Two justices, Benjamin Curtis and John McClean, dissented from the opinion. Curtis pointed out that the public records of many states demonstrated without a doubt that African Americans enjoyed the benefits of citizenship and that they were shown capable of exercising those rights from the time of the U.S. Constitution. McClean added to Curtis’s dissent by writing that Scott was free due to the time he spent in Illinois and the Wisconsin Territory because a “slave is not mere chattel. He bears the impress of his Maker and he is amenable to the laws of God and man.” McClean and Curtis were not the only people who disagreed with the majority Court’s decision.

A chorus of Northern-based denunciations began as soon as the press reported on the decision. Republican



Dred Scott (Library of Congress)

senator WILLIAM H. SEWARD of New York claimed that with “this ill-omened act, the Supreme Court forgot its own dignity.” The *Chicago Tribune* went even further by stating that they were “shocked at the violence and severity of the Judicial Revolution caused by the decision . . . and [could scarcely] fathom the wicked consequences which may flow from it.”

Northerners tended to view the *Dred Scott* decision as shocking evidence of a widespread slaveholding conspiracy. If Congress could not legislate against slavery in the territories, then certainly a territorial legislature, who drew their authority from a congressional grant, could not ban slavery either. Popular sovereignty, the last tie holding the Northern and Southern wings of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY together, was severed. Republicans had yet another issue with which to continue their drive toward the presidency in 1860.

The outcry against the Court’s opinion was analyzed in the popular press. *Harper’s Weekly* remarked: “However repugnant the *Dred Scott* decision may be to the feeling of a portion of the Northern States, it can have no practical effects injurious to our tranquility.” The South Carolina *Charleston Daily Courier* echoed a similar sentiment when it declared that *Dred Scott* would “settle these vexed questions forever, quiet the country, and relieve it of ABOLITION agitation.” Neither statement could have been further from the truth. *Dred Scott*—combined with BLEEDING KANSAS, the caning of CHARLES SUMNER, and JOHN BROWN’s raid

on HARPERS FERRY—only served to divide the nation further. More and more Northerners believed the South had corrupted a Court that was determined to nationalize slavery; more and more Southerners believed that the North was intent on destroying their property and inciting their slaves to violence and mayhem.

Dred Scott and his family were freed through private means. Scott became a Northern celebrity, and the family was photographed for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. His immediate fame was short lived, as was his time as a free man. On September 17, 1858, Dred Scott died in St. Louis.

Dred Scott had an incredible impact on the course of the history of 19th-century America, and *Dred Scott v. John*

*F. A. Sandford* electrified a divided nation. Despite his controversial decision, Chief Justice Taney had not defused the slavery debate but had fanned the flames of sectionalism even higher.

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—Ruth A. Behling

# E

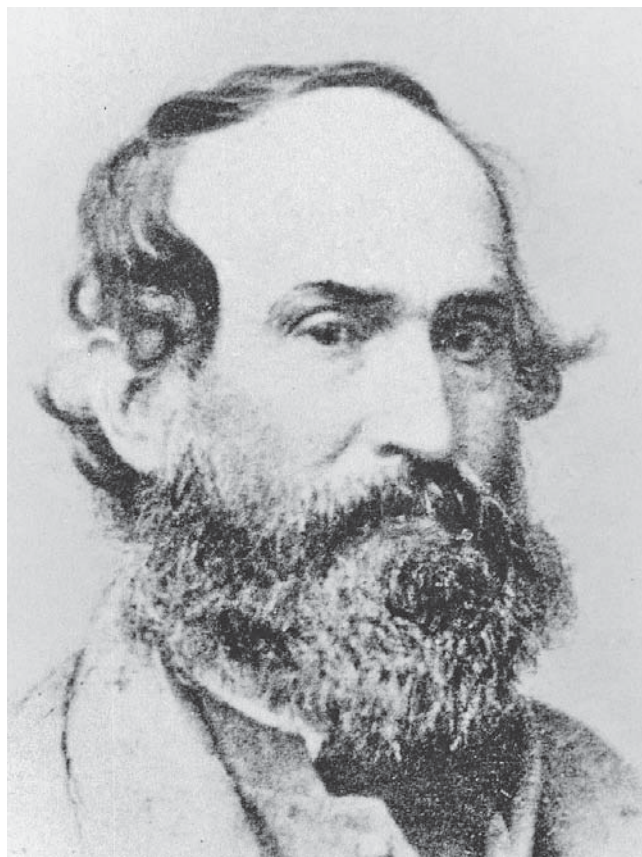


**Early, Jubal A.** (1816–1894) *Confederate general, lawyer*

Lawyer, Confederate general, and architect of the “LOST CAUSE” ideology, Jubal Anderson Early was born on November 3, 1816, near Rocky Mount, Franklin County, Virginia. The son of Joab Early, a substantial holder of land and slaves, and Ruth Hairston Early, Jubal Early entered the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1833 and graduated 18th of 50 in the class of 1837. He resigned in 1838 to return to Rocky Mount, where he practiced law for the next 20 years. As a delegate to the Virginia SECESSION convention in 1861, he maintained a strong Unionist stance until ABRAHAM LINCOLN’s call for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion. Virginia’s secession on April 17 galvanized Early, who immediately accepted a colonel’s commission in the CONFEDERATE ARMY. Early quickly displayed marked aptitude as a soldier, playing an important role as a brigade commander at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN and winning promotion to brigadier general in August 1861. Badly wounded at the Battle of Williamsburg on May 5, 1862, he returned to the army to fight with distinction at the Battles of Malvern Hill, SECOND BULL RUN, ANTIETAM, and FREDERICKSBURG. Promotion to major general in April 1863 rewarded Early’s excellent service.

ROBERT E. LEE demonstrated confidence in Early by assigning him difficult tasks. During the Chancellorsville campaign, for example, Early held the front at Fredericksburg while most of the army marched west to confront JOSEPH HOOKER’s flanking force. At the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, Early participated in the successful Confederate assaults on the afternoon of July 1 and advocated a joint attack against Cemetery Hill by the corps of A. P. HILL and RICHARD S. EWELL that evening. Strong and steady leadership at the BATTLES OF THE WILDERNESS and SPOTSYLVANIA in May 1864 brought him promotion to lieutenant general and command of the Second Corps in Lee’s army. Poised to start his most famous operations, Early was a

respected if not beloved officer. A soldier described him in 1864 as “one of the greatest curiosities of the war,” a man “about six feet high” whose “voice sounds like a cracked Chinese fiddle, and comes from his mouth . . . with a long drawl, accompanied by an interpolation of oaths.” His men



Confederate general Jubal A. Early (Massachusetts Commandery Military Order of the Loyal Legion and the U.S. Army Military History Institute)



called him “Old Jube,” while Lee affectionately referred to him as “my bad old man.”

In mid-June 1864, Lee sent Early and his command to the Shenandoah Valley. Over the next month, Early cleared the valley of Federal troops, crossed the Potomac, won the Battle of the Monocacy near Frederick, Maryland, on July 9, and menaced WASHINGTON, D.C. A second phase of the valley campaign began in August, when ULYSSES S. GRANT ordered PHILIP H. SHERIDAN to crush Early and lay waste to the valley. Early’s small army, which never numbered as many as 18,000 men, lost decisively to Sheridan’s 35,000–40,000-man force at Third Winchester on September 19, at Fisher’s Hill three days later, and at Cedar Creek on October 19. Early suffered a final defeat at Waynesboro on March 2, 1865, which ended his career as a Confederate soldier.

After the war, Early remained thoroughly unreconstructed and devoted most of his energy to creating a favorable written record of the Confederate military experience. He wrote to Lee in 1868: “The most that is left to us is the history of our struggle. . . . We lost nearly everything but honor, and that should be religiously guarded.” As a leading proponent of the LOST CAUSE interpretation of Confederate history, Early stressed Lee’s greatness and the valor of outnumbered Confederates while also insisting that only superior numbers allowed the North to triumph. Early died on March 2, 1894, in Lynchburg, Virginia.

See also SHENANDOAH VALLEY: SHERIDAN’S CAMPAIGN.

**Further reading:** Jubal A. Early, *Jubal Early’s Memoirs: Autobiographical Sketch and Narrative of the War Between the States* (1912; reprint, Baltimore: Nautical & Aviation, 1989); Charles C. Osborne, *Jubal: The Life and Times of General Jubal A. Early, CSA, Defender of the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books, 1992).

—Gary W. Gallagher

**Eaton, John, Jr.** (1829–1906) *Union chaplain, educator, government official*

John Eaton, Jr., is best known for his work as superintendent of freedmen in the Mississippi Valley during the CIVIL WAR and later as commissioner of the Bureau of Education. Born on December 5, 1829, in rural New Hampshire, his early life revolved around chores on the family farm and the occasional schooling common in the antebellum era. A job teaching in a nearby school at the age of 16 allowed him to attend Thetford Academy in Vermont and later to enroll at Dartmouth College. Graduating from Dartmouth in 1854, Eaton became principal of the Ward School in Cleveland, Ohio. In 1856, at the age of 27, Eaton accepted the position of superintendent of the city schools in Toledo, Ohio.

Resigning the school superintendence in 1859, he entered a seminary and was ordained in the spring of 1861.

Eaton joined the Union cause in August 1861 as chaplain of the 27th Ohio Volunteer Infantry. In November 1862 Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT appointed Chaplain Eaton superintendent of CONTRABANDS for the Department of the Tennessee, a post he held for the remainder of the war. Eaton displayed extraordinary organizational ability in providing for the relief of thousands of liberated slaves and, following EMANCIPATION, coordinating the relief efforts of the Freedmen’s Aid Societies and organizing schools for the freedpeople. Eaton assumed command of the Ninth Louisiana Volunteers African Descent (later redesignated 63rd U.S. Colored Troops) in October 1863. Col. Eaton’s unstinting work on behalf of freed people in the Mississippi Valley earned him a brevet to brigadier general of volunteers in March 1865. John Eaton married Alice Shirley, the daughter of a Vicksburg Unionist in September 1864. Following the war, Eaton served as assistant commissioner of the FREEDMEN’S BUREAU and as state superintendent of schools for Tennessee.

When in 1867 Congress created the Department of Education, Dr. Henry Barnard was named its first commissioner, but Congress never appropriated the funds to print the department’s reports. Dr. Barnard spent much of his personal fortune printing the reports privately, but despite his best efforts, by 1879, the Department of Education had not only been reduced to a bureau in the Department of the Interior but its very existence was threatened. In 1870 President Grant appointed Eaton commissioner of the bureau, and Eaton set about a revitalization campaign. He established the annual collection of vital statistics on education as the bureau’s chief function and secured funds from Congress for printing annual reports. Under Eaton’s leadership, the Bureau of Education supported efforts to expand education for African Americans in the South, organized a training school for NURSES, and promoted agricultural, commercial, and industrial training. In 1886 Eaton also took a special interest in the educational opportunities available to NATIVE AMERICANS.

Eaton resigned as commissioner due to failing health, although, at the request of the administration, he remained for nearly a year after his official resignation. He later served as president of Marietta College in Ohio (1886–91) and Sheldon Jackson College in Salt Lake City (1895–99). In January 1899 the military appointed General Eaton superintendent of schools for Puerto Rico. During his brief tenure he established the first free school system for all children on the island and worked to ensure adequate educational opportunities for girls, particularly in rural areas. Eaton resigned the following May due to ill health and died on February 9, 1906, at the age of 76.

See also EDUCATION.



**Further reading:** John Eaton, *Grant, Lincoln, and the Freedmen: Reminiscences of the Civil War, with Special Reference to the Work for the Contrabands and Freedmen of the Mississippi Valley* (1907; reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969).

—Mark Groen

## economy

In 1850 the economy of the United States was booming. The South was exporting more than \$150 million worth of agricultural products a year. The North's factories were growing as the region industrialized. The nation's railroad mileage tripled between 1850 and 1855 to 30,000 miles. Meanwhile, thousands of new schools and churches were founded.

For the North, the bubble burst in the summer of 1857. In August, the Ohio Life Insurance Company of Cincinnati closed its doors. The unexpected collapse of one of the nation's most prominent businesses started a run on banks across the country and sent the nation into a depression that would last into the CIVIL WAR. The PANIC OF 1857 had a number of root causes: First, state banks, operating with only minimal oversight, had failed to keep their capital reserves at a high enough level. Second, RAILROADS had expanded too much and were unable to meet their costs. Third, the end of the Crimean War in Europe led to a resurgence of AGRICULTURE on that continent, with a resulting drop in the prices being paid for the crops of Midwestern farmers. Finally, gold prices had dropped due to an influx of gold from California.

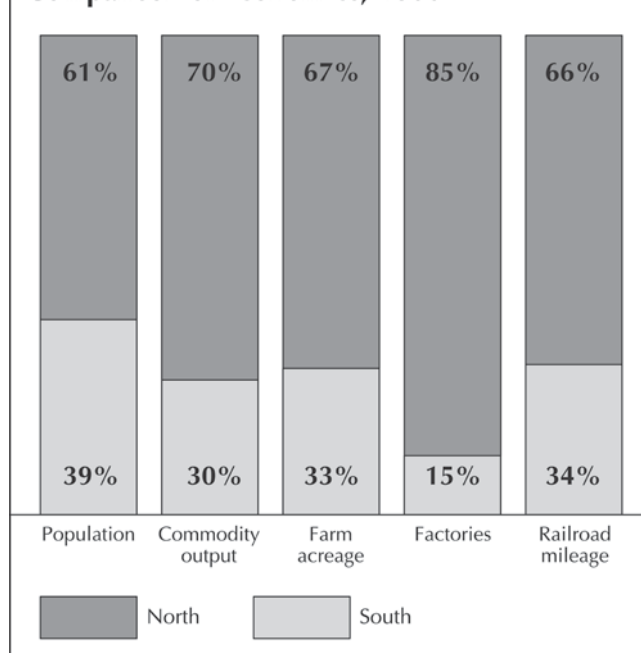
The South was largely unaffected by the panic of 1857, since European demand for cotton remained high. At the same time, the South took advantage of new forms of TRANSPORTATION and new kinds of cotton seeds. As a result, cotton production doubled during the 1850s. In 1860 alone, the South grew 2 billion pounds of cotton with a value of \$250 million. The incredible profitability of "King Cotton" encouraged Southerners to invest nearly all of their money in more land and more slaves. As a result, the region failed to develop industrially and failed to build up meaningful cash reserves.

When the Civil War broke out, then, neither the Northern nor the Southern economies were ready for the financial demands of a war. The North was still suffering the effects of the panic of 1857 and was also handicapped by an antiquated banking system. The South had very little capital or credit and very little industrial capacity. Ultimately, the Union was able to overcome the economic obstacles it faced, and this success played an important part in the Northern victory. The Confederacy, on the other hand, made very little progress in addressing its economic challenges, and this failure played a major role in the South's defeat.

During the Civil War, the main economic issue that both the Union and Confederate governments faced, naturally, was paying for the war. There were three main options available for raising funds to pay the government's bills: TAXATION, bond issues, and printing currency. Northern authorities used all of these tools in an effective fashion. Early in the war, the Northern Congress authorized several bond issues. A bond is an agreement between the government and private businesses or citizens; money is loaned to the government with the promise that it will be repaid with interest at some agreed-upon point in the future. Before the Civil War, bonds had been sold only to bankers, but Treasury Secretary SALMON P. CHASE decided to open up bond purchases to the general public. This was a stroke of genius for two reasons: First, it gave the government access to a vastly larger pool of money. Second, it gave the citizenry a vested interest in the success of the Northern war effort and the Northern economy. The public responded slowly at first, but eventually talented bond salesmen, most notably JAY COOKE, succeeded in winning the people over. One family in four purchased at least one bond during the war, adding \$1.5 billion to the Union government's coffers.

The Congress also moved to increase taxation fairly early in the war. In March 1861, before the war had even begun, Congress passed the Morrill Tariff Act. The Morrill Act more than doubled the rates on goods coming into the country, raising them from 20 percent to 47 percent. In August 1861, Congress levied a tax of 3 percent on incomes more than \$800, the first income tax in American history. A

Comparison of Economies, 1860



succession of bills eventually expanded the tax to 5 percent on incomes more than \$600 up to 10 percent on incomes more than \$10,000. Income taxes and the high tariff helped keep inflation down in the North while adding \$600 million to the Union government's balance sheet.

The most controversial step the Northern Congress took in order to finance the war was the passage of the Legal Tender Act of 1862. Prior to the Civil War, currency was almost invariably backed by a quantity of silver or gold, known as specie, being held in a bank vault. At any time, paper money could be exchanged at the institution that had issued it for specie of equal value. By 1862, however, there was not enough specie in the North to keep this system viable. As such, the Legal Tender Act provided for the printing of \$150 million worth of what is known as fiat currency, which is backed not by specie but instead by the good credit of the government. The act also specified that this fiat currency would be legal tender, which meant that people and businesses were legally required to accept it as payment for debts.

There were a number of objections to the printing of fiat currency. Some congressmen argued that Congress was not empowered to print money that was not backed by gold or silver. Others felt that it was immoral to force Americans to accept this money. Still others argued that fiat currency would create runaway inflation. These fears proved to be unfounded. Most Northern citizens proved willing to accept GREENBACKS as a medium of exchange, and inflation was kept within reasonable limits. In total, the printing of greenbacks provided \$447 million for the Union war effort.

As it worked to finance the war, the Union government also took steps to shore up the foundations of its financial system. The National Banking Act of 1863 created a system of banks chartered by the federal government. These banks were allowed to print currency, as long as the currency was backed by government bonds. This created a market for government bonds and strengthened the Union's greenback currency by tying it to those bonds. It also gave the Union government more control over banks and the nation's money supply. The Congress went even further in this direction in 1864 when it passed a law establishing a 10 percent tax on money printed by state-chartered banks. This action effectively took these banks out of the business of printing money. By the end of 1865, a total of 1,294 national banks had been chartered, and they had more than five times the assets of the 349 state banks still in existence. This banking system would remain in place throughout the Civil War and RECONSTRUCTION.

Northern leaders, then, struck a balance between taxation, bond issues, and the printing of currency while taking steps to rectify problems within their financial system. Confederate authorities had the same options available to

them, but under the leadership of Treasury Secretary Christopher Memminger, they proved far less able to maintain an effective balance. The results were devastating for the Confederate economy.

Early in the war, the Confederate Congress considered the possibility of taxing its citizens. There was widespread opposition to the idea, however. Some congressmen opposed taxation because of their dislike of a strong central government. Others felt that such a step would undermine support for the war. Still others saw a tax as unnecessary, believing the war would end quickly. In August 1861, proponents of taxation finally persuaded the Congress to exact a nominal property tax, but it ended up adding very little money to the Confederate bottom line. In 1863 the poor state of the Confederate economy allowed for the passage of a more comprehensive tax, but it also did little to help the Confederate cause. The bill taxed incomes at rates from 1 percent to 15 percent and established a "tax-in-kind" for farmers that required them to turn over 10 percent of their crops to the government. Due to evasion and poor enforcement, these taxes provided less than \$150 million for the war effort, most of it in depreciated currency late in the war.

Among Confederate officials, the preferred means for financing the war was bond issues. An initial offering of \$15 million in 1861 was quickly purchased by patriotic Southerners. After that, however, bonds became increasingly difficult to sell as the available money in the South dried up. The Confederate Congress then authorized a "produce loan" of \$100 million, wherein farmers would be allowed to pledge a portion of their crops in exchange for bonds. Although an innovative idea, the produce loan failed to produce the desired results. Farmers were reluctant to take advantage of the program, preferring instead to hoard their crops or sell them to the Union soldiers. And when pledges were made, the Confederate government often had difficulty collecting the crops that were due. By the end of the war, the produce loan had generated only \$34 million.

Given how little money was being raised through taxes and bonds, the Confederate government had little choice but to begin printing fiat currency. The Congress authorized the printing of \$119 million worth of "bluebacks" in 1861 and \$400 million worth in 1862. This money quickly lost value, for a variety of reasons. The Confederate government was not nearly as stable as the Union government, thus Confederate fiat currency was far less trustworthy than Union fiat currency. Beyond that, there was far too much currency in circulation. By the end of 1862 the Confederate government had printed almost as much money as the Union government would print over the course of the entire war. The glut of paper money was made even worse by the fact that state and local governments were also compelled to print money to meet their obligations. Yet another

problem was that the Confederate government chose not to make Confederate currency legal tender; Southern citizens and businesses were not legally required to accept it as payment for goods and services. The purpose of this decision was to inspire confidence in Confederate paper money, but in the end it had the opposite effect. Southerners avoided Confederate money whenever possible, relying mostly on barter, on specie when it was available, and sometimes on Union currency.

In addition to establishing a poor balance between sources of money, the Confederate government also took steps that undermined its financial system. At the start of the war, the South had a system of branch banks that was much more stable and much more modern than the decentralized banking system of the North. Early in the war, the Confederate Congress required Southern banks to provide loans to the government, exchanging specie and bank notes for bonds. As the government's bonds declined in value, the banks were effectively drained of capital. The government continued to exacerbate the situation throughout the war through excessive taxation on banks and additional forced loans. Union armies also contributed to the banks' woes. A large portion of the assets of Southern banks was invested in land and slaves, and these assets were lost as the UNION ARMY marched across the South. By the end of the war, the Southern banking system had effectively collapsed.

The failure of the Confederate government's economic policies was evident on both the war front and the HOMEFRONT. Confederate soldiers were notoriously undersupplied, often going without proper UNIFORMS, modern weapons, sufficient ammunition, or adequate rations. In desperation, they took whatever steps possible—stealing, utilizing captured goods, even trading with the enemy—to obtain the needed supplies.

On the home front, the situation was arguably even worse. Inflation was out of control in the Confederacy—9,000 percent over the course of the war. By 1865 flour cost as much as \$500 a barrel, and a suit of clothes cost \$2,500. The Union's naval blockade contributed to the Confederacy's economic problems by curtailing the amount of goods flowing into the South while denying Southerners the opportunity to sell their cotton. Although the South had an agricultural economy, many Southerners starved over the course of the war. Railroads were in a state of disrepair, and food rotted in storage because it could not be transported to the locations where it was needed. The privations felt by the Southern people created DISEASE AND EPIDEMICS and even resulted in occasional rioting. The largest riot occurred in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, on April 2, 1863, when several hundred women marched through the streets smashing store windows and chanting "Bread or Blood!" JEFFERSON DAVIS himself had to speak to the mob and convince them to disperse.

The failures of the Southern economy stood in stark contrast to the successes of the Northern economy. By 1862 the North had entirely recovered from the panic of 1857, and its economy was thriving. While the CONFEDERATE ARMY struggled to survive, the Union army was the best-supplied military force in history. Inflation in the North was kept in check as much as was possible in a wartime economy, only 80 percent compared with the South's rate of inflation, which exceeded 9,000 percent over the course of the war. A few Northern industries struggled due to the loss of Southern raw materials and customers, but others prospered. The agricultural sector performed especially well, with Northern farmers producing more wheat and corn in both 1862 and 1863 than the entire nation had produced in 1859. Between 1861 and 1865, American agricultural exports doubled, a remarkable accomplishment given that one-third of the workforce was in the army.

The successes of the Northern economy and the failures of the Southern economy had a clear impact on the outcome of the war. The Union government was able to put an extremely well-equipped army into the field throughout the course of the war while still satisfying the needs of civilians on the homefront. Meanwhile, the Confederacy was increasingly unable to provide for the needs of its soldiers and its civilians. This drained an already outnumbered Southern army of manpower as some soldiers succumbed to disease or starvation and others deserted to take care of needy family members. Meanwhile, suffering on the homefront deprived the Confederacy of valuable labor and undermined support for the war.

The long-term economic effects of the Civil War are harder to nail down. Some historians argue that the Civil War started the United States on the path to industrialization; others suggest that the Civil War simply hastened trends already in progress. What is certain is that the Civil War caused a major redistribution of wealth from the South to the North. In 1860 the South's share of national wealth had been 30 percent; by 1870 it was 12 percent. This disparity would endure for decades after the Civil War creating an almost constant state of economic deprivation in the South throughout the Reconstruction period and extending into the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

While the Southern economy struggled in the years immediately after the Civil War, the Northern economy prospered. Industrialization continued, and the national banking system established during the Civil War kept currency stable. A number of measures adopted by the Republican Congress during the war, particularly the PACIFIC RAILROAD ACT, pumped government money into the economy. Meanwhile, Northern farmers continued to fetch high prices for their crops as Europe suffered through a series of poor harvests.

In 1873 a financial panic once again undermined Northern prosperity. The panic of 1873 began with the closure of Jay Cooke and Company and resulted in a lengthy depression. Overextension of the RAILROADS once again played a part, as did the collapse of several European economies and the damage done by the great Chicago Fire of 1871. Ultimately, the panic of 1873 left 3 million people unemployed while causing the failure of businesses valued at \$500 million. The economy would not recover until 1878, when industrialization would once again begin to drive the economy forward at a breathtaking pace.

See also BANKING AND CURRENCY.

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—Christopher Bates

## education

Americans of the 19th century believed that the success of the Republic depended upon an educated citizenry. Education was a key component of national identity in the CIVIL WAR era. A unique program of education emerged, encompassing democratic hopes, Protestant piety, and utilitarian values.

The meaning of education and the types of schools changed dramatically over the course of the 19th century. In the early decades of the century, children and young adults acquired education in a variety of settings. Many received a rudimentary education at the kitchen table in the home. Girls obtained domestic skills there as well. Boys learned crafts such as carpentry, and young men studied law through a system of apprenticeships. Charity schools in cities taught the children of the poor. Small “dame” schools (usually taught by an unmarried female instructor) were opened for young children. Academies, usually boarding, offered higher education to those who could pay. And in church-sponsored schools, children learned religious tenets and how to read the Bible.

By the time of the Civil War, a more systematic and uniform public school system had become the backbone of American education in the North and Midwest. Horace Mann has been credited with the emergence of the public school in the United States. As head of the Massachusetts Board of Education from 1837 to 1849, he advocated schools that were publicly supported, publicly controlled, and available to children of all classes and races. In Mann’s

optimistic reform vision, the inclusiveness of the common schools would have a positive effect on the country as a whole by fostering social harmony and morality.

Although there were some regional differences, the public school movement spread across the country before and after the Civil War. New England was ahead of the nation in public schools, with more than 75 percent of school-age boys and girls attending school at mid-century. In most of the rural United States, the one-room schoolhouse prevailed, with one teacher responsible for instructing between 40 and 60 boys and girls. Strains on the teachers and students in this setting school were enormous. The teacher usually lived with his or her pupils, and disciplining the rowdy students was a trial, as was teaching a variety of age and skill levels.

Urban centers had designed a unitary system of education that gradually spread to other areas over the course of the century. A child was assigned to a grade according to age. Then the student would proceed from a primary school to some kind of intermediate school, to a high school or academy. The schools stressed reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, geography, and history. Teaching was centered on textbooks such as McGuffey’s readers. High schools began to develop an expanded curriculum, offering vocational education such as bookkeeping in addition to their traditional subjects.

Advanced education was less available to girls than to boys, and those girls who sought an education usually went to a sex-segregated institution. Private female academies or seminaries offered a secondary education to middle-class girls who could afford to pay. Not only did girls go to separate schools, but the subjects they were taught were different than those taught boys, reflecting prevailing notions of girls’ abilities and the female role in society.

In the South, most states did not adopt tax-supported, state-regulated common schools by the time of the Civil War. A number of factors worked against public education in the South, including the perception that education was for the elite. Aristocratic PLANTATION owners regarded education their private concern and thus left it to tutors. It was illegal in the Southern states to teach slaves to read and write. There was also little support in the South for TAXATION for education purposes. Then too, much of the South was rural and sparsely populated, with a poor system of communication making education reform difficult.

The Civil War and RECONSTRUCTION brought dramatic changes to education in the South. During the war, education nearly came to a standstill. Schoolhouses were commandeered for military purposes; teachers and students were scattered. After the war, the most dramatic change in the South was the education of African Americans. Under the auspices of the FREEDMEN’S BUREAU, established in 1865, Northern teachers came to the South to teach thou-



sands of eager black children and adults. Ex-slaves were determined to learn, but white Southerners were unwilling to pay for their education. There was a drive to build colleges to provide higher education for African Americans, but the idea of universal public education continued to lag in the South after the war, in part because it was seen as a Northern concept imposed upon the defeated South.

Colleges, too, were transformed in the 19th century. At the beginning of the century there were only 18 colleges in the United States; 100 years later, there were more than 450 colleges and universities. The upsurge in colleges occurred after the Civil War. In 1862 the government set aside funding for land-grant colleges in the Morrill Act. Private colleges also expanded after the war as men who had accumulated large fortunes endowed private institutions. The number of women's colleges, such as Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, and Bryn Mawr, also increased after the war.

Although the number of colleges grew dramatically, only 1 percent of college-age Americans actually attended college in 1870. Men found more opportunities entering business or farming than in pursuing professions that demanded a liberal arts education. College reformers attempted to make colleges more relevant over the century. Choice was introduced in the curriculum, and some schools added utilitarian subjects such as chemistry, law, and the principles of AGRICULTURE.

See also SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

**Further reading:** Lawrence Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).

—Jaclyn Greenberg

## elections

Elections occur when qualified individuals choose candidates for public office. They are the principal mechanism through which a democratic system of government is instituted. National elections are governed by the rules laid down in the U.S. Constitution, but each state constitution contains provisions for its own voting procedures. Thus, every four years a president must be elected, and every two years congressional elections are held to elect all 435 members of the House of Representatives. U.S. senators are elected for six-year terms.

There are conditions for voting, which is a privilege and not a right. All voters must be U.S. citizens, have lived in the country for a specified period, and be of a certain age. For most of the 19th century, the right to vote was granted to most white male citizens and was expanded to include African-American males with the addition of the FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT, passed in 1872. Even though women were excluded from voting until the early 20th cen-

tury, the United States still had by far the largest number of voters in the world. By the election of 1860, Americans had developed a powerful tradition of partisan and colorful campaigns and electioneering.

Elections tend to produce opposing groups, and early in American history, these groups organized themselves into political parties. Lacking any official constitutional basis, political parties became vital to the workings of government on a national, state, and local level. Party organizations helped in the selection and nomination of candidates, supported their own candidates, and identified the issues around which each election revolved. Their goal was, and is, to win elections and control the government. Political parties in the 19th century relied upon a huge base of volunteer support that provided the “foot soldiers” in massive electoral campaigns marked by parades, demonstrations, and rallies. This kind of enthusiasm meant that for many of the national presidential elections in the 19th century, voter turnout reached incredibly high percentages, between 75 percent and 90 percent.

In the 1850s the two major political parties were the Whigs and the Democrats. The Whigs advocated a strong program of federally sponsored economic development, such as a transcontinental RAILROAD, a central bank, and a national currency. The REPUBLICAN PARTY later adopted this program. The Whigs's message appealed to the growing urban and capitalist class and commercial farmers, especially in the Northeast and many parts of the Midwest. The Democrats, on the other hand, viewed all government with suspicion and supported STATES' RIGHTS and individual liberties. The party of Southern slaveholders, yeoman farmers, and urban immigrants, Democrats for the most part controlled the presidency and Congress up until 1860. That election was the culmination of a reordering of the American political system. In the 1850s the North and South engaged in increasingly bitter debates over SLAVERY in the territories. The Whigs disbanded over internal dissension around slavery, and a new political party was born in 1854, the Republican Party.

The presidential election of 1860, which featured four candidates, shaped the course of national politics for a long time to come. ABRAHAM LINCOLN campaigned on an anti-slavery platform that appealed greatly to Northerners but was so abhorrent to Southern interests that his name did not even appear on the ballot there. The Democrats divided up into Northern, Southern, and Unionist wings and lost the election. Lincoln carried the North with a solid majority of 180 electoral votes. Southern states seceded because they were convinced that slavery would not be protected under a Republican administration. The outbreak of the CIVIL WAR brought many changes, but the governance of the United States by political parties marked by regular elections of public officials on every level remained in place.



The Northern wartime elections brought spirited, at times violent, discussion and debate over Lincoln's and the Republican Party's policies. Lincoln enjoyed the near-unanimous support of the public in the first year of the war. Defeat after defeat on the battlefield, however, gave rise to Democratic criticism of the way in which the war was being waged. Specifically, Northern Democrats, who were split into "war" and "peace" wings, expressed outrage at Lincoln's assumption of wartime powers that in their view violated the basic civil liberties of all citizens. The suspension of the writ of *HABEAS CORPUS*, the arrests of Southern sympathizers, the use of military trials, and *EMANCIPATION* provided Democrats with the issues they needed to mobilize voters against the Republican Party in 1862.

When the votes were tallied in 1862, Democrats gained 32 seats in the House of Representatives, won the governorships of New York and New Jersey, and achieved majorities in the state legislatures of Indiana and Illinois. Historians have traditionally described the outcome as a triumph for the Democrats, yet a closer look at the election results yields a different slant. The Republicans' loss in the House was smaller than expected, enabling them to retain a comfortable majority. They also remained very strong in New England, the upper North, and the border states. As the next set of elections approached, however, the opposition to Lincoln's policies increased as draft resistance turned into draft riots, and worries about emancipation among traditional Democratic groups, like the Irish, contributed to the antiwar feeling. "No Abolitionism, No Emancipation, No Negro Equality" became the rallying cry for many Democrats in the 1863 elections. *DEMOCRATIC PARTY* leaders, such as CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM of Ohio, openly called the war a failure and demanded that it be stopped. Shortly before the elections, however, the Northern military achieved a series of stunning successes, including victories at VICKSBURG and the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG. When the elections came, Northern voters once again decisively supported the Lincoln administration, as they would in the last major election to be held during the war, the presidential election of 1864.

That election pitted Lincoln against Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN, the Democratic candidate. In an odd twist, McClellan, a self-proclaimed "War Democrat," was asked by his party to run on a "peace" platform that advocated an immediate suspension of hostilities. He repudiated the platform and pledged Democrats to fight the war to victory over the South. Throughout the summer and fall of 1864, Northerners were asked if they wanted to continue the sacrifices of the war for union and *EMANCIPATION*. They also were asked to support, or denounce, Lincoln's plans for *RECONSTRUCTION*. Few campaigns in U.S. history have been as dramatic. The war had been going badly for the North, and many, including Lincoln himself,

believed throughout the summer that he would be defeated. A string of brilliant Union victories—beginning in August with Adm. DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT's victory at Mobile Bay, the September 1 fall of Atlanta engineered by Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN, and later in the autumn, Gen. PHILIP H. SHERIDAN's sensational exploits in the Shenandoah Valley—helped to ensure Republican victory.

On November 8, 1864, Northern voters went to the polls and gave Lincoln a tremendous majority of 212 to 21 in the electoral college and 55 percent of the popular vote. The soldier vote was critical in reelecting Lincoln. Many states during the war had arranged for their "boys" to vote on the battlefield. For those states that did not, the federal government granted furloughs so that soldiers, by the thousands, could go home to cast their vote. Most chose Lincoln. "We can not have free government without elections," Lincoln stated, "and if the rebellion could force us to forego, or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us."

The Confederacy continued to hold regular elections as well. In May 1861, the Provisional Confederate Congress announced that general elections—for president and for the national legislature—would be held the following November. This first national election, it was assumed, would confirm by popular vote the appointment of JEFFERSON DAVIS and other politicians that had taken place earlier. And so it did. The new government in RICHMOND enjoyed an overwhelming level of support from every Confederate state. If there was controversy in the elections of 1861, it arose out of local issues. One of the major differences between the Confederate States and the United States was the absence of formal political parties in the South. Voters tended to support or oppose candidates for office on the basis of their prewar political preferences—Whigs or Democrats—and whether or not the candidates were strong in their support of the current military effort. This favorable set of circumstances for the Davis government began to change for the worse by the spring of 1862 and affected the second set of national elections, held from June through November 1863.

By the summer of 1863, Davis was being attacked severely by critics of his war policy and called a dictator. Popular support for his government had declined dramatically from the early days of the war. Instead of political parties, dissent was organized around pro- and antiadministration issues, with Jefferson Davis the lightning rod for criticism. He was accused of violating *STATES' RIGHTS* through his support for the *CONSCRIPTION* laws, his policy on exempting slave owners from military service, his imposition of martial law, and his economic policies of *IMPRESSMENT* and *TAXATION*. All of the above together, Davis's opponents claimed, spelled out an extreme centralization of national power. This ran counter to the prin-

ciples of states' rights and limited government upon which the Confederacy was founded. Davis's own vice president, ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, and the powerful GOVERNORS of North Carolina and Georgia, Zebulon Vance and JOSEPH E. BROWN, joined the swelling chorus of dissent, which included advocates of a truce with the North.

President Davis was not a noticeably eloquent speaker, but he ably defended his policies. He enjoyed a strong base of support throughout the South, especially in Virginia and his home state of Mississippi. Davis and his supporters made their message simple in the 1863 elections. They called upon the Southern population to remain loyal to the Confederate cause by supporting the government.

Traditional campaign practices had to be altered in time of war. The Confederate Congress passed a law approving voting by general ticket in areas such as Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee, where federal troops occupied large amounts of territory. The government also arranged for the many thousands of REFUGEES to vote by absentee ballots. Finally, special arrangements were made for every soldier to have his vote count. The election results were mixed. Twelve of 26 senators who entered the second regular Congress in May 1864 were elected on the opposition platform. Jefferson Davis, however, still controlled the Congress and would maintain control until the ultimate collapse of the Confederacy in April 1865. Like his Northern counterpart, Davis owed his victory to the overwhelming support of the soldiers in the field. The votes from the occupied areas were also heavily pro-Davis.

In the 12 years after 1865, national elections revolved around Reconstruction issues. In 1868 and 1872, Republican ULYSSES S. GRANT won the presidency and promised to bring peace and reconciliation to the South and fairness and political equity to African Americans. Northerners attempted to uphold the political rights of the freedmen, which placed them on an equal basis with white people. Southerners resisted this equality, often with extreme violence surrounding elections, as evidenced by the growth of the KU KLUX KLAN. In the 1870s, white Southerners regained control of state governments while Democrats regained control of the House of Representatives. Combined with growing Northern indifference to Southern problems, the resurgence of the Democratic Party in the South resulted in the abandonment of the Republican Reconstruction program. That abandonment was cemented in the presidential election of 1876, in which Republican Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio won a disputed election. The 1876 election brought an end to the bitter sectional dispute among white people with Hayes's peaceful inauguration. The national electoral process, which had failed to prevent war in 1860 and which had been dangerously unstable after the war, emerged validated and strengthened by the late 1870s.

See also ABOLITION; SECESSION.

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**Elliot, Robert Brown** (1842–1884) *lawyer, politician*

Robert B. Elliot was one of the most respected and distinguished African-American legislators of the RECONSTRUCTION era. He was born a free man, either in Boston or England, to parents of West Indian heritage. Well educated and ambitious, Elliot decided to move to South Carolina after the CIVIL WAR. Shortly after settling in the Palmetto State, he married, opened a law office, and was employed as an associate editor of the *South Carolina Leader*. A Republican, Elliot staked out a political agenda that promised EDUCATION, equality, and prosperity for his race.

First as a member of the state's constitutional convention in 1868 and then as both a state and national legislator, Elliot pressed for laws that would enable all African-American children to receive the benefits of education, guarantee equal treatment to black citizens in public facilities, and ensure unrestricted male suffrage. Elected to Congress in 1870, Elliot was known for his passionate and eloquent speeches in favor of the KU KLUX KLAN ACT and Senator CHARLES SUMNER's Civil Rights bill.

As much as Elliot enjoyed the national spotlight, he became increasingly concerned with the fate of the REPUBLICAN PARTY in South Carolina. In 1874 he returned to that state and served as speaker of its state legislature until 1876. Faced with the withdrawal of Northern support for Reconstruction, Elliot fought desperately to save the only party that welcomed black participation. His fight was to no avail, however. Amid rising incidents of terrorism sponsored by the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, and plagued by corruption and internal dissension, the South Carolina Republican Party was finished when President Rutherford B. Hayes withdrew federal troops from the South in 1877.

Robert B. Elliot continued to practice law in South Carolina, and in 1879 he was appointed a special inspector of customs. He died in New Orleans in 1884.

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## emancipation

Emancipation, the liberation of 4 million slaves, was a major legacy of the CIVIL WAR. The fundamental difference between the South and the North in 1861 was that one was a slave society and the other was not. At first, the Northern goal in the Civil War was to preserve the status quo, that



is, to maintain the Union as it was, which meant without interfering with Southern SLAVERY. As the war dragged on unexpectedly, and as Southern resistance seemed to grow stronger, emancipation for the slaves became both a military necessity and a moral imperative.

African Americans from the beginning realized that the war brought opportunity to gain their freedom. Both slaves in the South—and free African Americans in the North—agitated, lobbied, and fought for freedom, and in so doing, they challenged Northern leaders to end the institution of slavery. President ABRAHAM LINCOLN ensured slavery's doom when he issued the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, and the UNION ARMY put the force behind the proclamation by defeating the Confederacy on the battlefield. The THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT finally completed the work that slaves, free African Americans, and abolitionists had begun so long before: the destruction of slavery in the United States of America.

A revolution bringing freedom to enslaved peoples emerged from the bloody battlefields of the Civil War, but the meaning of that freedom was not clear. Freed people of

the South, African Americans living in the North, and white people across the country had very different ideas about what black freedom should entail. In the decades following emancipation, the outward signs of freedom—civil rights, citizenship, suffrage, and economic independence—would become battlegrounds of a different kind.

At the time of the FORT SUMTER bombardment, Lincoln was clear that the Civil War would be fought only to restore the Union. Slaves, on the other hand, took advantage of the social disruption that the war engendered by fleeing from bondage. Wherever the Union army moved, slaves flocked to their lines. At first, some military leaders returned slaves to their owners, but others realized that these men constructed Confederate fortifications and provided many other services for the CONFEDERATE ARMY. To return fugitive slaves, then, would aid the Confederate cause and harm the Union's.

Thus, Gen. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER declared fugitive slaves “contraband of war” and put them to work for the Union army. In the following months, thousands of slaves sought refuge with the army, which needed help



Thomas Nast's engraving celebrates the emancipation of the Southern slaves with the end of the Civil War. (Library of Congress)

in caring for them. Northern missionaries and benevolent associations provided aid and EDUCATION to fugitive slaves in crowded and filthy contraband camps. The sheer numbers of CONTRABANDS, however, soon demanded that the political and military leadership address the issue of slaves and slavery.

Congress helped push the Union toward emancipation. The first CONFISCATION ACT declared that slave owners would forfeit their rights to slaves if their slaves were used for Confederate military service. An article of war was adopted in March 1862 prohibiting the military from returning fugitive slaves to their owners. A month later, Congress banned slavery in the District of Columbia, the only area under direct jurisdiction by Congress. Slavery was also banned in all territorial land out west.

In a second Confiscation Act, Congress freed the slaves of any person who aided the rebellion while also authorizing the seizure and sale of any other property from disloyal citizens. Congress also issued a Militia Act, which stated that any slave who gave service to the U.S. military would be free, as would his family. For all of these measures, Lincoln and others doubted that Congress had the legal authority to make emancipation stick once the war ended.

Lincoln's greatest fear was that emancipation would provoke the border states to join the Confederacy, but by the summer of 1862, he had come to believe that the war could not be won without freeing the slaves. He favored compensated emancipation (paying owners for freeing their slaves) and colonization (the removal of African Americans to another part of the country or overseas), but the border states rejected both emphatically. On September 22, 1862, Lincoln issued a preliminary proclamation of emancipation. It declared that slaves in states still in rebellion as of January 1, 1863, would be freed.

The official EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, issued on New Year's Day, 1863, declared all slaves in the Confederate states to be free except for those areas under Union control. It did not apply to slaves in the border states. As such, the proclamation did not immediately free many slaves. Nonetheless, abolitionists and their supporters across the country hailed the Emancipation Proclamation as a document of freedom that signaled the end of slavery. For the first time, the interests of African Americans became the interest of the national government. Lincoln justified his emancipation order under his military powers, but he acknowledged the morality of his decision, declaring it "an act of justice." The Emancipation Proclamation changed the tenor of the Civil War. Instead of preserving the status quo, the goal of the war became the establishment of a new social order, what Lincoln called in his address at Gettysburg "a new birth of freedom."

In one of its most radical provisions, the Emancipation Proclamation declared the Union's intention to enlist

black soldiers and sailors. Lincoln worked hard to make sure that all Union commanders would aid in forming black units. This opportunity gave African Americans a chance to fight for their freedom and their family's freedom. Now, the Union army was explicitly an army of liberation. No other army in the history of warfare had such immense responsibilities thrust upon it. Among other things, emancipation would allow for the spread of free labor to the South. The Union army became an employer of sorts as it experimented with black free-labor colonies in PORT ROYAL, South Carolina, and DAVIS BEND, Mississippi. The results were mixed and demonstrated the complexities of trying to conduct a social revolution in the middle of a violent war.

Important as the agency of slaves was in forcing the issue of emancipation on the North, the fact remained that the vast majority of slaves could not, and did not, free themselves. Slavery was ultimately defeated through the force of arms first and then through the legal process, and the latter depended heavily on the former. Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN's capture of Atlanta on September 2, 1864, provided the needed boost for Lincoln to defeat his Democratic opponent in the fall election. The Northern people voted in overwhelming numbers not just for Lincoln's reelection but for the war's twin goals of union and emancipation. The election's mandate meant that Lincoln would prosecute the war until all the Confederate armies were defeated. The new social order brought by emancipation would be enforced by the Union army, both during the war and for some time afterward.

Final emancipation came with the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment on December 18, 1865. The story of freedom did not end there, because its meaning had not yet been agreed upon. Many white people in the North held to a narrow interpretation of freedom that did not include equal rights and suffrage privileges. Needless to say, white Southerners were horrified by the realities of freedom for their ex-slaves. Eliza Andrews, a Georgia plantation mistress, complained bitterly when a former slave would not move aside for her: "It is the first time in my life that I have ever had to give up the sidewalk to a man, much less to negroes!"

The freedmen and freedwomen held to an expansive interpretation of freedom. For black people recently enslaved, freedom first meant the absence of white control—the ability to go wherever, whenever, and do whatever they wanted. Consequently, thousands of freedmen clogged Southern roads, many searching for family members, others looking for a better place to settle down and make a living. In short, the freedpeople did all the things they could not do under slavery: hold mass meetings, learn to read and write, buy guns, and own dogs.

African Americans rushed to establish their own churches, schools, and re-form broken families. For example, ex-slaves were eager to marry legally in the months



after emancipation. By 1870 the two-parent household was common among a majority of African Americans. Legal recognition also meant control over one's household and prevented the removal of family members. Many thousands of emotional reunions took place. William Curtis of Georgia, whose father had been sold away, remembered, "That was the best thing about the war setting us free, he could come back to us." For Southern African Americans, freedom was especially to be found in independent ownership of land. Freedmen fought for land redistribution, believing that land would provide a solid foundation for lasting freedom.

Always trying to restrict and confine the meaning of freedom, or emancipation, Southern planters desired to return the freedmen to the fields as laborers in a system as close to slavery as possible. Northern officials, worried that the cotton crop would be wasted, collaborated with the planters, although always insisting on wages for the freedmen.

African-American leaders like FREDERICK DOUGLASS helped flesh out the meaning of freedom. Douglass, the famed abolitionist, asserted that the sacrifices made by African Americans in the war to bring emancipation entitled them to equality before the law. He worked toward an end of racial discrimination, the passage of black suffrage, and acceptance of black people as a part of American society and culture. African Americans did not struggle alone to make freedom work for themselves and their families; Congress created the FREEDMEN'S BUREAU in March 1865 to help ease the transition from slavery to freedom.

Emancipation was a fundamental change in Southern society and altered dramatically the position of African Americans in U.S. society and culture. Emancipation was also a part of a broader change in the Atlantic world. Within the span of a few decades, all of the slave regimes of the Western Hemisphere fell. Since the 1830s, the United States had ranked as the largest and most powerful slaveholding society. In 1834 Great Britain abolished slavery in its Caribbean colonies. Slavery persisted in Cuba and Brazil after the Civil War, but it was already a dying institution, lasting only into the 1890s.

When the peace agreement was signed at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE in April 1865, the two goals of the North's Civil War were achieved: reunion and emancipation. The guns had fallen silent, but both RECONSTRUCTION and freedom would remain deeply problematic issues for the reunited nation. The most fundamental change wrought by the war was the rapid transformation of 4 million people from chattel property to citizens. This revolutionary change brought with it a host of problems regarding how the freedmen would establish new lives and how emancipation would change the social, political, and economic future of a nation reeling from a devastating civil war. Emancipation

was the process of obtaining freedom. African Americans attained legal status as free and equal citizens of the United States, but this status, though enshrined in the Thirteenth, FOURTEENTH, and FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS to the Constitution, would be contested and challenged well into the 20th century.

See also ABOLITION.

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—Justin J. Behrend

## Emancipation Proclamation

The Emancipation Proclamation, issued on January 1, 1863, by President ABRAHAM LINCOLN, has proven to be one of the landmark documents of American history. In it, Lincoln freed all of the slaves residing in Confederate territory not under UNION ARMY occupation. The Emancipation Proclamation changed the tenor of the CIVIL WAR by linking the Union cause with the liberation of the slaves.

The idea for an Emancipation Proclamation originated in the actions of slaves during the war. From the beginning of armed conflict, slaves near the battle lines crossed over to the Union army camps. Unwilling to return the slaves because the CONFEDERATE ARMY was using them to build forts and other armaments, Union army officials did not know at first what to do with fugitive slaves. Congress stepped in and passed the first Confiscation Act in August 1861. It declared that slave owners forfeited their rights to slaves if their slaves were used in military service. Nearly a year later, Congress passed a second Confiscation Act. This one was more emphatic, claiming that slaves of any person actively supporting rebellion would be "forever free of their servitude." Congress also issued a Militia Act, which stated that any slave who gave service to the military would be free, as would his family. Still, by the summer of 1862, there was no official EMANCIPATION, or freeing of slaves. The war was still for "union."

Lincoln detested SLAVERY, but early in the conflict, he feared that emancipation would provoke the border states into joining the Confederacy. He also had doubts about the legality of an emancipation act from Congress and hoped to provide monetary compensation to slave owners as a compromise measure. In the period between the two CONFISCATION ACTS, abolitionists, Republican politicians, newspaper editors, and various citizen groups pressured



Congress, and especially President Lincoln, to emancipate the slaves.

During the spring and summer of 1862, FREDERICK DOUGLASS, the most influential African American at the time, and CHARLES SUMNER, the abolitionist senator from Massachusetts, met with Lincoln, hoping to push him toward immediate and unconditional emancipation, but Lincoln remained steadfast. In a famous reply to newspaper editor HORACE GREELEY, Lincoln wrote, "If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that." But even as he reaffirmed his primary public commitment to preserving the Union, privately Lincoln was beginning to fashion an emancipation order. He read an early draft to his cabinet in July 1862. Most cabinet members favored emancipation, but a few questioned the timing of the order. There was pressure for immediate emancipation to forestall foreign (especially British) aid and recognition of the Confederacy, but with the poor showing of the Union army in the field, the cabinet did not want emancipation to be seen as an act of desperation. Lincoln decided to wait for a military victory.

Lincoln got his victory at the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM, and issued a preliminary proclamation of emancipation five days later on September 22, 1862. Under his authority as commander in chief, Lincoln declared that as of January 1, 1863, slaves in those states still in rebellion would be freed. As a compromise measure, the preliminary proclamation included a compensation provision for loyal slave owners and suggested colonizing ex-slaves in another part of the country or overseas. Nonetheless, the impact of the proclamation was polarizing. Slaves in the border states, though unaffected by the terms of the order, began to act like freedmen, refusing to do work and demanding respect from white people. Abolitionists praised Lincoln's decision, but many more in the North were critical, contributing to Republican defeats in the fall ELECTIONS.

On New Year's Day 1863, Lincoln issued the official Emancipation Proclamation. "I do order," it stated, "and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free." Unlike the preliminary proclamation, this one specified which areas were included by the order. All of Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina fell under the authority of the Emancipation Proclamation, but Lincoln excluded 12 parishes in Louisiana, 53 counties in Virginia, all of Union-occupied Tennessee, and the border states of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri.

Hundreds of thousands of African Americans remained in bondage, but the legalities of the Emancipation Procla-

mation made little difference to slaves across the country. The document actually freed very few slaves, since most areas under Union occupation were exempt and those under Confederate control were out of reach. However, the proclamation encouraged slaves to assert their freedom everywhere. Wherever the Union army moved, slavery effectively ended.

Besides the geographic boundaries, there were two other significant changes in the final Emancipation Proclamation. First, Lincoln left out any mention of compensation and colonization. Second and more important, the Emancipation Proclamation called for the enlistment of African-American soldiers: "And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service." Recruiters spread across the country, and by the war's end 180,000 African Americans had served in the Union armed forces. Lincoln had turned Confederate slave labor into Union fighting power.

The Emancipation Proclamation also represented a shift in focus for the war effort. By the time it was issued, Lincoln believed that the Civil War could not be won without emancipating the slaves. By arming former slaves, Lincoln gave them an opportunity to fight for their own freedom and, in so doing, to fight for their country. More than just adding muscle to the armed services, enrolling black soldiers implied that, at war's end, they would receive full citizenship rights by virtue of their service.

Celebrations erupted across the North to praise the Emancipation Proclamation. Few stopped to consider that only a tiny number of slaves were officially freed, since the Confederate government controlled most of the areas detailed in the document. Instead, the celebrants, mostly African Americans and abolitionists, insisted that the Emancipation Proclamation had injected a moral element into the war, giving it a new cause. Lincoln noted the morality of his decision, writing that he believed emancipation to be "an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity." The document had immediate practical benefits as well, as the British government backed away from recognizing the Confederacy soon after Lincoln issued the Proclamation.

The THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT officially ended slavery in the United States in December 1865, but the Emancipation Proclamation was the crippling blow to the slave system in the United States.

See also ABOLITION.

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—Justin J. Behrend

**Emerson, Ralph Waldo** See VOLUME IV.

## employment

The importance of labor to the CIVIL WAR can hardly be overstated. Workers served in the ranks and provided the materiel used to wage the war. Moreover, ideological and political conflicts over what form of labor was best for the United States played a critical role in precipitating the conflict.

For the first half-century or so of the United States's existence, two labor systems existed in a general state of harmony. Although not all of the laborers in the South were slaves, SLAVERY certainly formed the backbone of the Southern ECONOMY. Meanwhile, Northern factories and farms were worked by free laborers. The balance between these two systems was upset in the 1840s and 1850s as the North became increasingly industrialized. Northerners took pride in the freedom and upward mobility that being a free laborer could provide. Slavery came under attack for its inefficiency more than for its inhumanity. Southerners tried to defend slave labor, emphasizing how much more humanely slaves were treated in comparison with factory workers.

Ultimately, free labor versus slave labor became the dominant political issue of the 1850s. Over the course of the decade, advocates of free labor gathered into the REPUBLICAN PARTY, which celebrated free labor as its main issue. Prominent Republicans traveled around the country, arguing that the strength of the United States derived from the opportunity for advancement provided by the free-labor system. Slavery, meanwhile, posed a threat to the continued existence of free labor. WILLIAM H. SEWARD described the tension between the two as an "irrepressible conflict," and ABRAHAM LINCOLN warned that "a house divided upon itself cannot stand." The Republican platforms of 1856 and 1860 committed the party to a specific plan with regard to the future of slave and free labor. Both stated that the party had no intention of interfering with slavery where it existed, but the platforms also avowed that the institution would not be allowed to spread elsewhere in the country. When Republican Abraham Lincoln was elected president in 1860, Southerners correctly perceived this as a sign that slavery's future was in question, and SECESSION soon followed.

Ironically, as the country's focus was on a philosophical debate about labor, actual laborers themselves were not doing especially well. Although the conditions of their

work varied widely, slaves in the South were often subject to great cruelties. In both the North and the South, the PANIC OF 1857 had undermined wages and cost thousands of workers their jobs.

The South's white labor force was the first to feel the influence of the Civil War. Although many skilled laborers enlisted in the army, a substantial number took advantage of the draft exemption provided them and remained on the HOMEFRONT. Those who remained behind found themselves very busy with construction and manufacturing projects, and they helped to keep the Confederate war effort on track. The wages paid by both government and private jobs were quite good, but ultimately they did not match the runaway inflation that gripped the South in the latter half of the war. This resulted in a number of STRIKES, including an 1864 incident where workers from every branch of the government went on strike at the same time.

While white workers continued to provide most of the South's skilled labor during the Civil War, unskilled labor was increasingly the responsibility of slaves, women, and children. Agricultural work was the most important form of unskilled labor they performed, but they also played significant roles in the manufacturing sector. As much as skilled labor suffered from inflation, unskilled labor suffered even more. Slaves availed themselves of the opportunity to escape when they could. Other unskilled laborers, especially white women, did not have the option of escape, nor did they generally have the leverage to organize and go on strike. Sometimes the only recourse available was violence. The most famous incident in the Confederacy was the RICHMOND bread riots of 1863, when a mob of women marched through the capital, inflicting a great deal of damage along the way. JEFFERSON DAVIS intervened personally and broke the demonstration up.

The North also had its share of labor tension during the Civil War, although it was generally longer in coming. The economic malaise precipitated by the panic of 1857 lasted until the middle of the war, which meant that unemployment rates remained high in 1861 and 1862. As the North recovered, a similar division developed in the workforce there as in the South. Skilled jobs were monopolized by white Protestant men, and unskilled jobs went to Irish Catholics, African Americans, women, and children.

For most of the war, wage increases for both skilled and unskilled workers lagged 25 percent or more behind inflation-related price increases, despite the fact that Northern industry was doing a remarkably good job of sustaining the Union war machine. Between this and the high rates of unemployment, the North had a great deal of labor unrest during the war. Skilled workers generally chose to organize into unions and to strike. Their strikes were often successful, and by 1864 the wages of skilled workers generally paced increases in the cost of living. Unskilled

workers, on the other hand, fell further and further behind. Sometimes there were attempts to organize these workers. One notable example was the 1863 formation of the Workingwomen's Protective Union, a group of New York seamstresses. The union struck and was rewarded with a wage increase by order of Abraham Lincoln. This was the exception to the rule, however. In general, the only choice for unhappy unskilled workers was protest. The NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOT of 1863, for example, was in part caused by Irish workers who resented the threat posed by free African-American labor.

For many workers, the postwar era marked a return to the status quo. The number of women in war-related jobs dropped as men returned from the military. One exception was the white-collar jobs that women flocked to in WASHINGTON, D.C., and Richmond. African Americans in the North were still relegated to underpaid unskilled jobs, while a majority of African Americans in the South went from slavery to SHARECROPPING. Sharecropping may have been an improvement over slavery, but it still retained as many vestiges of the "peculiar institution" as white Southerners could get away with under the terms of the THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT.

The Civil War did bring one important change to employment patterns, namely the increased strength of the labor movement. Skilled laborers had organized frequently during the war, with some success. Their labor organizations survived the war and continued to grow. The most prominent was the NATIONAL LABOR UNION, which eventually came to be known as the American Federation of Labor. By the early 1870s, a larger percentage of the workforce was unionized than at any other point in the 19th century.

For the Republicans, the postwar relationship with labor was mixed. Although they had triumphed in the Civil War, and the free-labor ideology had won the day, there was an increasing divide between the party and labor. By 1870, two-thirds of Americans were wage earners, and they increasingly came to see the social and financial mobility promised by the free-labor ideology as an illusion. Through the rest of the 19th century, the Republican party became increasingly identified with the interests of the managerial class, while laborers moved into the Democratic fold, an arrangement that has lasted to the present day.

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—Christopher Bates

### Enforcement Acts (1870–1871)

At the conclusion of the CIVIL WAR, Congress moved to grant citizenship to African-American men. In ratifying the THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, and FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS to the Constitution, Congress ensured freedom, civil rights, and suffrage for former slaves but failed to anticipate the violent opposition of white Southerners. That opposition led to the passage of three measures, known as the Enforcement Acts, that protected the newly granted rights of African Americans in the South.

The first measure, passed on May 31, 1870, consisted of four parts: It provided considerable penalties for those who interfered with a citizen's right to vote; it turned cases pertaining to congressional ELECTIONS over to the jurisdiction of the federal courts; it assured impartial voting by outlawing conspiracies; and it gave President ULYSSES S. GRANT the power to use American armed forces to assist in protecting civil rights.

The second measure, passed on February 28, 1871, was an amendment to the first. Rather than give the federal courts complete control over congressional elections, this measure authorized federal supervisors to observe and intervene in congressional elections in towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants. In order to prevent these supervisory officers from taking too much control, the second measure also defined their role and specified their powers.

Congress passed the third, and last, measure, also known as the KU KLUX KLAN ACT, on April 20, 1871. This measure prohibited terrorist conspiracies, by which Congress meant the new groups of racist vigilantes calling themselves the KU KLUX KLAN. In addition, it gave the president the authority to suspend the writ of HABEAS CORPUS in areas where terrorist conspiracies took place.

The Enforcement Acts proved ineffective, except in breaking the power of the Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina. Throughout the decade after the passage of the acts, Southern resistance to voting by African-American people only intensified.

By 1876 support for the Enforcement Acts was beginning to fade. Two cases argued before the Supreme Court (*United States v. Reese et al.* and *United States v. Cruikshank*) challenged the constitutionality of aspects of the first enforcement measure. The Court declared that voting rights were best regulated by state power, not federal authority. In addition, the Court claimed that the language of the statutes was too vague. In 1890 Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Maine made one last effort to strengthen the Enforcement Acts. His bill would have bolstered some provisions of the Enforcement Acts, but the Senate rejected the measure. The federal government would not again take an active role in protecting freedmen's rights in the South until the 1960s.



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—Megan Quinn and Fiona Galvin

## espionage

For both the Union and the Confederacy, information was essential to political and military strategy. Although espionage was an evolving art during the CIVIL WAR, it proved invaluable and was actively undertaken throughout the war.

Initially, Union forces did not organize an official intelligence-gathering effort. Espionage was not a part of the art of war as understood and taught at military academies, such as the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT. As such, spying was initially left to civilians. A private detective agency, operated by Scottish immigrant Allan Pinkerton, organized the first Union espionage, and eventually the foundation he built became the United States Secret Service. On several occasions Pinkerton him-

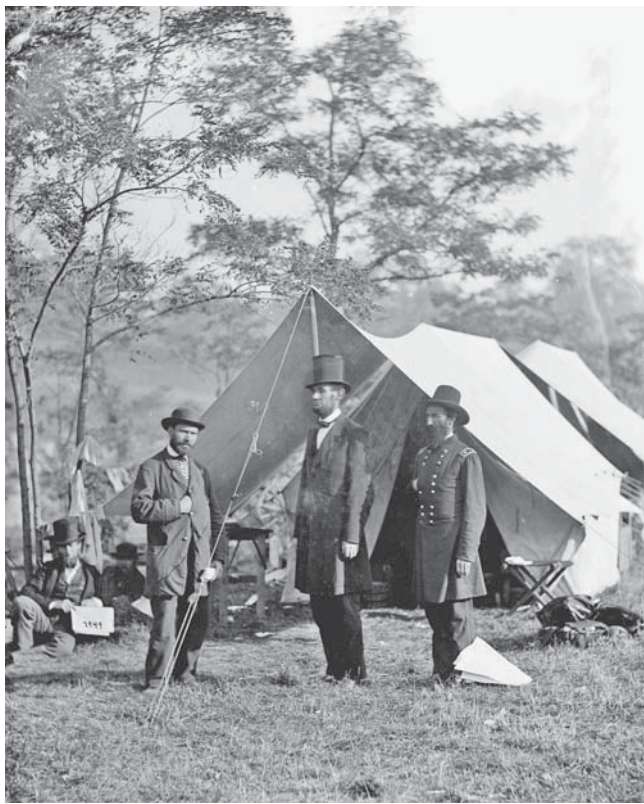
self undertook dangerous operations, as when he scouted alone as far as Jackson, Mississippi, to ascertain Confederate military preparations.

Pinkerton's agents were best at identifying Confederate spies in WASHINGTON, D.C., where they mounted counterintelligence operations. One of their most visible captures was the celebrated Southern spy and socialite ROSE O'NEAL GREENHOW, who had been gleaning vital information from her suitor, Senator Henry Wilson of the Military Affairs Committee. Less effective was their military work, especially in the field. Pinkerton's inflated estimates of Confederate troop strength played to the fears of Lincoln's "do nothing" General GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN. When Lincoln removed McClellan from command of the Army of the Potomac in November 1862, Pinkerton, too, was removed from battlefield intelligence.

At roughly the same time, Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT commissioned Brig. Gen. Grenville M. Dodge to gather intelligence in the western theater. Dodge assembled an assortment of civilian agents and assigned them to various positions throughout the Confederacy. These men supplied information to Grant regarding Confederate troop movements and sometimes engaged in counterintelligence work as well.

In 1863, when Grant moved east, he appointed Col. George H. Sharpe to oversee espionage in the eastern theater. Sharpe proved much better than Pinkerton at determining Confederate troop strength and location. Utilizing female operatives, Sharpe gained valuable information from within the Confederacy. RICHMOND, VIRGINIA aristocrat ELIZABETH VAN LEW, for example, smuggled information to Northern officials in her clothing and in the shoes of her slaves. Her most celebrated feat was placing an African-American operative in the Confederate White House, who posed as a butler while spying on President JEFFERSON DAVIS and his entourage. S. Emma E. Edmonds used her skill at impersonation to obtain information. She disguised herself as both an African-American slave and a soldier, experiences she wrote about after the war in her memoir *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army*. Toward the end of the war, Edmonds became a counterintelligence operative in St. Louis, Missouri. Another successful Union operative was the actress Pauline Cushman, who functioned as a double agent and was subsequently dubbed the "Spy of the Cumberland."

Confederate efforts at espionage surpassed those of the Union in some respects. The Confederacy established a "Special and Secret Service Bureau" that managed both their spy network in Washington as well as other clandestine activities. Through this bureau, the Confederacy spent approximately \$2 million on intelligence activities during the war. The bureau also helped the CONFEDERATE ARMY and CONFEDERATE NAVY preserve secrecy on major



Allan Pinkerton, Abraham Lincoln, and General John A. McClelland at the Union campgrounds at Antietam, Maryland (1862) (Library of Congress)

technological advancements such as their development of underwater mines.

Confederate investments in espionage proved essential in several respects. Because of operatives in Washington, the Confederate military knew in advance that Union forces were moving toward Manassas, and this helped the Confederates to secure a victory there in 1861. It was a female spy, Greenhow, who gathered the information that so hurt the UNION ARMY at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN. She was a Washington hostess with wide social connections that she used to help the Confederacy. Later, Pinkerton's men discovered her work and arrested her. Greenhow was by no means the only female spy for the Confederacy, however. Another prominent woman to engage in espionage was BELLE BOYD, who was famous for her ability to avoid capture and cross back and forth across enemy lines. She spied for the South throughout the war and was especially valued by THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON. Equally famous at the time was Richmond actor James Harrison, who functioned as a scout. In late June 1863 he brought Gen. ROBERT E. LEE the unwelcome news that Union forces had entered Pennsylvania and were close at hand, pursuing him. Based on this information, Lee sent out orders to consolidate his scattered forces in the vicinity of Gettysburg, where a major clash developed. The celebrated Confederate raider John S. Mosby also routinely performed intelligence-gathering missions in Virginia.

The most elaborate and expensive Confederate secret operations were those headed by the Confederacy's official representative to Canada, Jacob Thompson. With \$1 million in gold, Thompson funded a Northern peace movement run by the Knights of the Golden Circle, a secret organization. He also attempted to free Confederate prisoners held in PRISONS near the Canadian border. Thompson even contacted JOHN WILKES BOOTH in 1864 with a plan to kidnap President ABRAHAM LINCOLN and ransom him in exchange for Southern prisoners. Another grandiose scheme that failed was an attempt to burn down NEW YORK CITY by setting several hotels ablaze. Several of the perpetrators were apprehended, and one was hanged.

Although the Union was not as quick to organize its intelligence-gathering efforts as the Confederacy, it succeeded in establishing a variety of sources for secret information by the end of the war. Southern espionage, too, proved useful repeatedly. Most important, the idea of spying itself was made acceptable by the recognition that the pragmatism of war required the use of all available tools. The successful employment of balloonists, signalmen, and TELEGRAPH intercepts also foreshadowed modern espionage techniques of the 20th century, in which the United States proved itself extremely adept.

See also ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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—Chad Vanderford

### **Ewell, Richard Stoddert** (1817–1872) *Confederate general*

Richard Stoddert Ewell was born in Virginia. He attended the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT as a member of the Class of 1840, graduating 13th. In the U.S. Army, Ewell served mostly with the cavalry in the West, including limited action in the Mexican-American War. In 1861 he resigned his commission in the U.S. Army to join the Confederacy.

Although Ewell eventually reached the rank of lieutenant general, he began his service as a relatively low-ranking division commander under Gen. THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON. Ewell's units distinguished themselves in 1862 in both the Shenandoah Valley campaign and in the defense of RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. In August of that year Ewell traveled north with Jackson to the SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN. There he was shot in the right knee, an injury that eventually resulted in the loss of his leg. Recuperating in Richmond, Ewell, called "Old Bald Head" by his soldiers, was reunited with his childhood sweetheart, Lizinka Campbell Brown, who nursed him back to health. On May 24, 1863, Ewell married Brown and then returned to duty with the army.

In early May, while Ewell was recovering in Richmond, Stonewall Jackson was wounded at the BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE. He died on May 10, and as a result Ewell assumed command of Lee's Second Corps. On June 14, 1863, in his first battle after returning to duty, Ewell won a spectacular victory at Winchester, Virginia. He was then ordered to join Gen. ROBERT E. LEE's army in Pennsylvania.



Ewell's corps successfully drove back Union forces on July 1, 1863, but his failure to attack Union troops on Cemetery Hill led to severe criticism of his generalship. By the third day, the Union victory at the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG was secured, and Lee returned to Virginia. Ewell served in the OVERLAND CAMPAIGN of 1864, but illness led to his temporary retirement in May 1864. His last assignment was to command the defenses of Richmond. Ewell was captured at Sayler's Creek on April 5, 1865, in the Appomattox campaign.

Released in July 1865, Ewell retired to Spring Hill, Tennessee. There, on a farm owned by his wife, Ewell lived

the life of a gentleman farmer until contracting pneumonia in the winter of 1872. Lizinka tried again to nurse him back to health, but instead she fell ill and died on January 22. Ewell followed her two days later.

See also SHENANDOAH VALLEY: JACKSON'S CAMPAIGN.

**Further reading:** Douglas Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command* (New York: Scribner, 1998); Donald Pfanz, *Richard S. Ewell: A Soldier's Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

—Megan Quinn

# F



**Farragut, David Glasgow** (1801–1870) *Union admiral*  
Widely admired for his innovative tactics and operational skills, Union admiral David Glasgow Farragut was born near Knoxville, Tennessee, on July 5, 1801. The family moved to New Orleans in 1807, where Farragut's mother died. After his father enlisted in the navy, Comdr. David Porter (head of the New Orleans Naval Station) adopted the boy. Destined for the sea, the nine-year-old Farragut began working as a midshipman with the U.S. Navy Department. Most of his youth was spent on board various ships in the Pacific, the Mediterranean, and the West Indies, and he saw action in the War of 1812. Farragut assumed his first naval command in 1842, and during the Mexican-American War he commanded the *Saratoga*.

Farragut's loyalty was questioned early in the CIVIL WAR, but he remained steadfastly attached to the Union. To his secessionist friends, Farragut said: "Mind what I tell you. You fellows will catch the devil before you get through with this business." In January 1862 he was placed in charge of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron with two goals in mind. The first was to assure Union control of the MISSISSIPPI RIVER, and the second was to take the South's greatest port city, New Orleans.

Farragut captured New Orleans in a dazzling display of Union naval power. After passing the heavily armed Fort Jackson and Fort Saint Phillip and defeating Confederate defenses, Farragut arrived at New Orleans on April 25, 1862. The victory, a rare bloodless affair, was critical to controlling Louisiana and the Mississippi River. Now a rear admiral, he turned his attention to the "river war." In June and July 1862 Farragut attempted to fight the Vicksburg defenses for the Mississippi above Port Hudson, but to no avail. He returned to the Gulf Coast to implement and strengthen the naval blockade from August to February 1863. In March, Farragut's ships attacked the batteries at Port Hudson, Louisiana. By July and August 1863 the Mississippi River was under Union control.

Perhaps his finest moment as a naval strategist came on August 5, 1864, at the Battle of Mobile in Alabama. Three impressive forts protected the last major port still in Confederate hands. Farragut sailed 18 ships into Mobile Bay and smashed into the enemy fleet. At this point Farragut was so afflicted with vertigo that he had himself lashed to the rigging of his flagship, the *Hartford*. It was at this



David Glasgow Farragut (National Archives)

battle that he uttered his immortal phrase. After a mine (called torpedoes during the Civil War) had sunk one of the ships ahead of Farragut's, several men expressed great reservations about proceeding. Farragut responded by saying, "Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead!" The Confederate fleet surrendered, and Farragut had another magnificent victory to his credit.

Farragut was promoted twice after the war, making him the navy's first full admiral. He died at age 69 in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on August 14, 1870.

See also UNION NAVY.

**Further reading:** Chester G. Hearn, *Admiral David Glasgow Farragut: The Civil War Years* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1998); Charles Lee Lewis, *David Glasgow Farragut* (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1941).

—Arthur E. Amos

## fashion

Mid-19th century American women in the countryside and in the cities were eager to learn of fashion trends. European, especially French, style dominated fashion. One of the most popular features of women's magazines were fashion plates, illustrations of the latest styles of clothing. Some of the most popular magazines of the mid-19th century, like *Godey's Lady's Book*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and *Frank Leslie's Gazette of Fashion*, focused most if not all of their attention on fashion. Despite the great popularity of these publications, the extent to which these fashion dictates were followed in 19th-century America depended largely on economics and geography.

In the 19th century men's fashions, which received less public notice or press attention than women's fashions did, underwent a significant change. In earlier eras, fashionable men's clothing was as showy and decorative as women's, but by the mid-19th century, men's fashions had settled into a more staid and somber appearance. The standard costume for America's gentlemen from the 1850s through the 1860s included a redingote or frock coat (long, tailored jackets with wide, sometimes rolled lapels, and flared hems), usually worn over a fitted vest. Trousers were worn long and over boots. By the 1870s the big transformation in men's clothing was the rise in popularity of the sack coat, a less-fitted option to the tailored lines of the redingote and frock coat for the "modern man." But tailored or not, not all men wore the typical gentleman's outfit. Slaves, as well as working men in American cities and farms, had costumes more appropriate to the daily rigors of butchering, manufacturing, blacksmithing, and plowing—coarser, more hard-wearing fabrics, bibbed trousers, and loose shirts were more conducive to their daily labors.

Also, the westward movement of American settlers and entrepreneurs brought to men's clothing the "Western style" more suitable to life on the frontier. Leather trousers and shirts and hard-wearing fabrics were necessities for trappers, miners, railroad workers, and frontier settlers.

While men's clothing became more somber over the 19th century, upper-middle-class women's fashion continued to be fanciful and decorated. Mainstream fashion for women before the Civil War dictated in physical appearance a slight, rounded, submissive figure. The ideal female, according to portrayals in lithographs, journals, and fiction, was dark-haired with a small oval-shaped face, a soft chin, cupid bow lips, pale white skin, and a frail and delicate physique. According to the ideal, a woman's hands and feet were delicate and tapered and no part of her body should be strong or forceful. Even her movements and posture were to be curved and bent.

Clothing emphasized these physical ideals. Dresses created a curved, bell-shaped figure, with the overall appearance of a triangle from the tiny hats or hair ornaments trailing outward, with the interruption of a tiny, cinched-in waist, to a wide, belled-out hem. Necklines were wide and rounded. The waist was tightly constricted by using corsets that could be tightened by stays that tied in the back. In contrast to the small waist, skirts were long, touching the floor, and were capacious, using yards of fabric. In 1856 hoops, metal frames worn under the skirt to enhance its fullness, came into fashion. Despite its weight, the hoop was considered a fashion boon for women because it replaced the innumerable layers of crinoline petticoats that were even heavier and more restrictive of movement. In the 1860s skirts were at their widest, held out by a few layers of crinoline underskirts over the hoop. With her hoop, the well-dressed woman wore a shawl, rather than a coat. Women were counseled by *Godey's* to wear their shawls to their best advantage—generally to be seen as if they were just putting the shawl on, which ostensibly gave the most pleasing presentation of perfect, rounded shoulders.

After the Civil War, the ideal silhouette changed. *Harper's Bazaar* counseled women in 1875 that the "ideal at present is the greatest possible flatness and straightness: a woman is a pencil covered with raiment." Clothes were tighter fitting in the front with a bustle in the back, beginning a trend away from voluminous skirts. The rising popularity of bustles created in the 1870s a distorted appearance of women's posture—pushing the bust up, flattening the front of the woman's figure from the bust down to the feet, and swaying out the woman's back in an exaggerated bubble of crinolines and bows.

Alongside the ideal fashion was a range of alternatives for women that largely hinged on the geography and economic position of the women involved. Like men, women of the working classes invented their own styles to meet



Woman and girl in fashionable clothing, 1862 (Library of Congress)

their needs. Some working women had strict constraints about the fashions available to them; for instance, women working in U.S. textile mills were forbidden from wearing hoops because they posed a danger around the manufacturing machinery. Rural and frontier women were also generally hoopless and bustleless and made clothing of sturdy, wearable fabrics including canvas, muslin, and calico. The 1870s saw the rise of paper-pattern publication and the ever-increasing availability of sewing machines for women of most economic levels, thus allowing women across the expanding nation to fashion their own versions of the magazine ideals.

Notwithstanding the general acceptance of the “ideal” figure and fashion for women in the mid-19th century, mainstream women’s fashion did have its detractors. From the 1820s through the end of the 19th century, the United States had a burgeoning “dress reform movement.” Feminists and health reformers criticized fashion trends and advocated less restrictive clothing for women. They were

largely concerned about the harmful health effects of cinching at the waist, which constricted breathing, and of the impact of the heavy underskirts. Also, feminists argued for a less gender-segregated fashion standard. Reformers advocated the shortened dress with long pantaloons (to be cut like men’s trousers) for women; the outfit generally became known as the “bloomer costume.” One of the health publications of the day, the *Water-Cure Journal* summed up reform attitudes and poked fun at the restrictiveness of the ideal for women’s attire in 1853 with a bit of verse:

To breathe, or not to breathe; that’s the question  
Whether ’tis nobler in the mind to suffer  
The slings and arrows of outrageous fashion,  
Or to bear the scoffs and ridicule of those  
Who despise the Bloomer dresses.

A coalition of dress reformers formed the National Dress Reform Association (NDRA), which met for the first time in New York in 1856. The NDRA used their association magazine, *The Sybil: A Review of the Tastes, Errors and Fashions of Society*, to promote their campaign on the health aspects of the bloomer costume. By 1866, however, the NDRA had dispersed, and support for the bloomer movement was dwindling.

See also MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE; WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Ruth A. Behling and Jaclyn Greenberg

### field fortifications (1861–1865)

Field fortifications are improvised structures and excavated areas that are used to enhance a military’s defensive position in the field. Such works are constructed in haste, and in this respect they differ from formal masonry fortifications, which often take years to construct. Throughout the CIVIL WAR armies used field fortifications either to provide troops with protection or to fend off enemy attacks from specific sectors.



The field fortifications used in the Civil War generally consisted of a steep bank of dirt called a rampart, typically 12 feet in height and depth, behind which infantry, artillery, or both would be deployed. The area immediately before the rampart would be cleared of any trees or bushes that might obstruct the field of fire. This basic form might be augmented with palisades, a series of sharp wooden stakes arranged in a loose wall pointed toward the enemy, or the more elaborate chevaux-de-frise, consisting of long timber studded with metal spikes. By 1864 Union troops employed wire entanglements, a primitive form of barbed wire, to trip up infantry attacks. Depending on the situation, the time involved, and the number of troops present, such

defenses could also include semipermanent structures, such as magazines to house gunpowder or “bombproofs” (bomb shelters) to protect soldiers from enemy ordnance. Usually built from heavy wooden beams and compacted dirt, these additions were effective against everything but a direct hit from heavy artillery fire.

Fieldworks varied tremendously in design but were all employed to enhance defenses at select locations across a given line. Siege cannon or field artillery frequently figured prominently in such arrangements. These weapons were usually deployed in redans (V-shaped angles) or lunettes (half-circular formations) protruding from the main earth-work, pointed toward the enemy and presenting them with



Field fortifications, including chevaux-de-frise, in Atlanta, Georgia (1864) (*Library of Congress*)



deadly, interlocking fields of fire. If infantry formed the bulk of defenses, the construction was called a redoubt, and it allowed soldiers to fire at an advancing enemy from behind earthen protection. If time was at a premium, infantry might resort to constructing simple foxholes, or rifle pits, usually in conjunction with wooden structures known as blockhouses or occasionally with long wooden fences called stockades. It fell upon the engineering component of an army to design defenses that were adapted to both the terrain and the soldiers who would employ them.

By 1864–65 both the UNION ARMY and the CONFEDERATE ARMY had grown adept in the design and construction of field fortifications, so much so that the lowly spade had acquired a tactical significance heretofore reserved for the rifled musket and cannon. In 1864 the BATTLES OF SPOTSYLVANIA, COLD HARBOR, and the Crater, and the siege of PETERSBURG, all of which produced immense carnage, testified to the effectiveness of field fortifications in channeling and rebuffing infantry attacks. This approach was a far cry from the massed Napoleonic-type formations used early in the war, with banners flying and bands playing, and anticipated the extensive trench warfare characteristic of World War I, although on a lesser scale.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Fifteenth Amendment (March 30, 1870)

The Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, ratified on March 30, 1870, specifically guaranteed the right to vote to all males regardless of “race, color or previous condition of servitude.” Section 2 of the amendment also firmly locates the power “to enforce this article by appropriate legislation” in Congress. While Section 2 of the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT dealt with the denial of suffrage, the Fifteenth Amendment stated Congress’s position on African-American voting rights more clearly and forcefully.

African Americans began agitating for the right to vote immediately after the end of the CIVIL WAR. Black citizens organized mass meetings, marched in parades, and signed petitions insisting that freedom meant suffrage and civic equality. They went to WASHINGTON, D.C., to lobby for suffrage, reminding congressmen that those who took up arms in defense of their nation deserved the right to vote.

In the South, African-American conventions made public their request for suffrage, and thousands deluged the FREEDMEN’S BUREAU, military leaders, and state officials with petitions and LETTERS.

These protests for black suffrage made little progress at first. Only five states allowed African-American men to vote by the end of 1865, and in those states there were additional qualifications that white males did not have to meet. For instance, New York had a property requirement. However, the BLACK CODES, racial violence, and an upsurge of unrepentant Southern nationalism encouraged congressional Republicans to take RECONSTRUCTION into their own hands and make black suffrage a hallmark of the radical effort. The attainment of the vote for freedmen seemed to be the answer to several problems. Some supporters liked the idea because it removed the federal government from the primary responsibility of providing for the welfare of African Americans; others envisioned black voters as a key Republican voting bloc and a barrier to Democratic domination in the South. The challenge was how to best establish black suffrage.

Republicans recognized the importance of black voters in the election of 1868, in which freedmen participated, thanks to the Fourteenth Amendment. Without black votes, ULYSSES S. GRANT would have lost the popular vote. Facing violence and intimidation from white Democrats, Southern African Americans voted overwhelmingly for the REPUBLICAN PARTY. Constitutional protection of black suffrage would help Republican candidates while ending the party’s hypocrisy of supporting voting rights in the South when most Northern African Americans also faced racial restrictions on voting rights. In addition, a constitutional amendment would hopefully establish black political power in the South.

In its final form, the Fifteenth Amendment was a moderate measure. The Senate rejected language that would have prohibited discrimination based on nativity, RELIGION, property, and EDUCATION, as well as a provision claiming the right to hold political office. While most states seemed content to allow African Americans to vote, others wished to keep restrictions on certain immigrant groups. California, for instance, denied Chinese immigrants the right to vote.

Reaction to the amendment was mixed. Ratification was fiercely contested in the border states, the Midwest, and the mid-Atlantic states. Feminists opposed ratification and were incensed by the language of abolitionist reformers. “One question at a time,” declared Wendell Phillips, “This hour belongs to the Negro.” By advocating universal manhood suffrage, the amendment implicitly recognized suffrage discrimination based on sex. Abolitionists were elated by its results. Constitutional protection for black male voters was almost unthinkable just five years before.

However, the traditional alliance of abolitionist and feminist reformers permanently split over the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment.

Though secured in the Constitution, black suffrage had a short life in the 19th century. Violence and intimidation continued in Southern ELECTIONS because the federal government failed to protect black voting rights: With the rise of REDEMPTION governments beginning in the 1870s, Southern states took steps to systematically disenfranchise black voters through literacy tests, poll taxes, and other measures. With the end of Reconstruction in 1876–77, white Democrats were well on their way to once again controlling Southern politics, and African Americans would not vote again in large numbers in the South until the late 1960s.

See also ABOLITION; WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Justin J. Behrend

### 54th Massachusetts Regiment

Few stories about the CIVIL WAR carry more emotional importance for African Americans than the assault on Fort Wagner, Morris Island, South Carolina, on July 18, 1863. The assault was led by the 54th Massachusetts Colored Volunteer Infantry Regiment under the command of 26-year-old Col. Robert Gould Shaw. Like many massed infantry charges, it failed, and the soldiers fell back after suffering heavy losses. But the courage of the 54th's African-American troops and the heroic death of Colonel Shaw made the regiment instantly famous, and its history is the subject of poems, songs, books, documentaries, and a movie. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, a well-known American sculptor, designed a beautiful monument to honor the regiment that was unveiled in Boston in 1897. Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote a poem that is inscribed on the monument's granite base: "So nigh is grandeur to our dust, So near to God is man, When Duty whispers low, THOU MUST, The youth replies, I can."

The origins of the 54th lie with Massachusetts's wartime abolitionist governor, Republican John A. Andrew. His dream was to see AFRICAN-AMERICAN REGIMENTS in battle, fighting for their rights as citizens and their dignity as men. He wanted to prove wrong the commonly held stereotype of black incapacity to train and fight as soldiers. Andrew had plotted and agitated for an all-black regiment from the beginning of the war, to no avail for nearly two years. But finally the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, issued on January 1, 1863, made the enrollment of African-American soldiers possible. The majority of African-

American regiments were organized under the auspices of the federal government and were called the United States Colored Troops. Three colored regiments, however, were raised in the same fashion as the majority of white regiments, that is, by state. Two were from Massachusetts and one was from Connecticut. The 54th was the first of the three.

In early January 1863 Andrew received permission from President ABRAHAM LINCOLN and Secretary of War EDWIN STANTON to raise an all-black Northern regiment from men living in the Bay State. For the officers, Andrew was required to choose white men only. Lincoln had refused his request to commission black officers in fear that Northern public opinion would not support that advancement. Andrew was disappointed but did what he thought was the next best thing: He recruited officers with an antiSLAVERY background. "Such officers," Andrew explained, "must be necessarily gentlemen of the highest tone and honor; and I shall look for them in those circles of educated Anti-Slavery Society, which next to the colored race itself have the greatest interest in the success of this experiment." True to his words, Andrew offered the colonelcy of the regiment to Bostonian Robert Gould Shaw of the Second Massachusetts, with the lieutenant colonelcy going to a captain of the 20th Massachusetts, Norwood Hallowell of Philadelphia. Both were sons of prominent abolitionist families. Other white officers included Lts. Edward Emerson and Wilkie James and Cpts. Luis F. Emilio and Cabot Russel.

It soon became clear that Massachusetts alone could not begin to fill the regimental requirement for 1,000 men. Andrew formed a committee of concerned citizens, headed by George L. Stearns, a wealthy Boston industrialist, to raise money for the hiring of speakers who would travel across the North to recruit for the regiment. Andrew needed the wholehearted support of the black Northern leadership for this task, and he received it. WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, John Mercer Langston, MARTIN R. DELANY, Robert Purvis, Henry Highland Garnet, and FREDERICK DOUGLASS all persuaded men from the tiny Northern population of free African Americans to become Union soldiers. In a stirring speech, Douglass explained to his audiences why African Americans should fight in what had previously been a white man's war: "Once let the black man get upon his person the brass letters, U.S., get an eagle on his button and a musket on his shoulder and bullets in his pocket; and there is no power on the earth or under the earth which can deny that he has earned the right of citizenship in the United States." The recruiters had other, more tangible, rewards to offer, namely a generous bounty, \$8-per-month salary from the state, and \$13-per-month salary from the federal government, the same as for white soldiers.

By February 1863, volunteers were pouring into the 54th's training camp in Readville, near Boston. The bulk



The 54th Massachusetts Colored Volunteer Infantry Regiment fighting on Morris Island, where their heroic actions in battle helped dispel skepticism in those who believed that African Americans could not be good soldiers (*The National Guard Heritage*)

of them hailed from Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana. There were more than 1,000 men; the rest filled up the ranks of the 55th Massachusetts Colored Regiment. The men of the 54th represented the cream of the black Northern society. Most could read and write, and many were married with families. They were barbers, cooks, teamsters, farmers, laborers, and students. Pennsylvanian George E. Stephens was a cabinetmaker, while Joseph Sulsey from New Jersey was a dentist. The vast majority of enlisted men in the 54th were working class. More than a quarter were born into slavery, and their average age was 24. Several men achieved distinction as noncommissioned officers. One of the two sons of Frederick Douglass who volunteered for the 54th was Sgt. Maj. Lewis Douglass, the highest-ranking noncommissioned officer in the unit. Sgt. WILLIAM H. CARNEY of New Bedford, Massachusetts, won the congressional MEDAL OF HONOR for his courage in rescu-

ing the regimental flag at Fort Wagner, and Sgt. Robert J. Simmons of New York was also cited for his bravery in that battle.

The young men in the 54th naturally shared a sense of pride in themselves and their mission, which was to serve as an example for all other black units. No expense was spared for the 54th. They received UNIFORMS, shoes, rifles, and a great deal of training. Although difficult and sometimes discouraging, the effects of discipline and daily drill made the 54th come together as a group. Thousands flocked to view their dress parades, which demonstrated the capability of the black man to be a soldier. There was great disappointment in the ranks when the federal government went back on its promise to pay African-American soldiers equally for their service. White soldiers received \$13 per month in addition to clothing; black soldiers received \$10 per month, from which they were expected to deduct \$3 for clothing. Most of the enlisted men in the 54th refused



to accept their pay until Congress corrected the injustice in early 1865.

After several months of training, orders arrived in May 1863 requiring the 54th Massachusetts to report to Maj. Gen. David Hunter, commander of the Department of the South, in Hilton Head, South Carolina. Before they left, a huge parade was held in honor of the 54th in Boston. In his parting words, Governor Andrew said “I know not . . . when, in all human history, to any given thousand men in arms there has been committed a work at once so proud, so precious, so full of hope and glory as the work committed to you.” From the Boston Harbor, the men of the 54th sailed down to the South Carolina seacoast and disembarked at St. Simons Island. The regiment was to take part in a movement of Union forces to seize FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, and conquer Charleston, where the rebellion had begun. Eager to participate in combat action, the men of the 54th were instead relegated to labor duties as May turned into June and July. Col. Robert Gould Shaw was furious and began a letter-writing campaign to members of his influential family, who in turn, forwarded his letters to President Lincoln and other major political leaders. For Shaw, the reputation of black units would be irreparably harmed if the flagship regiment did not experience combat, and soon.

Finally, on July 16, 1863, three companies of the 54th were ordered to proceed to nearby James Island, where they met, fought, and defeated a much larger Confederate force. Exhausted but extremely proud, the men, now joined by the rest of the regiment, marched straight to Morris Island, the site of battery Wagner, one of the forts that offered protection to Charleston. Arriving with their colonel on the morning of July 18, the men of the 54th learned that heavy federal artillery had been shelling Fort Wagner for hours. Wrongly assuming that the Confederates within the battery were wounded, killed, or demoralized, the Union commander planned an assault for that evening. Colonel Shaw reported for duty and was asked by the commanding general if the 54th would consider leading the infantry charge. Shaw did not hesitate in accepting and was pleased that the good fighting reputation of his men had already reached the general's ears. “I trust God will give me the strength to do my duty,” he confided to a friend.

Shaw positioned his regiment at the front of the line, and as they marched up the shore the men were cheered loudly by thousands of Union soldiers who were to follow them in battle. Shaw made a speech in which he told the soldiers to “prove themselves as men.” The signal to begin the charge was given, and Colonel Shaw led the 54th to the top of the fort, where an enemy bullet killed him. Nearly half of the regiment made it inside the fort, and the soldiers outside held their ground for over an hour. Shortly after, the Federals were forced to withdraw, paying a heavy price for

the failed assault. Seventy-five men of the 54th died at the battle of Fort Wagner, including Shaw and two other officers; overall the unit's casualty rate was 272 out of 650 men. Total Union losses were also severe: 1,505 dead, wounded, or captured, while the Rebels lost 174 men. Charleston was not captured until the end of the war.

The performance of the 54th was widely covered by the Northern press. All agreed that Colonel Shaw and his men, both officers and enlisted, had conducted themselves with an impressive display of courage and daring. Overnight, the regiment became a powerful symbol for African-American manliness and readiness for citizenship. After Fort Wagner, the men of the 54th Massachusetts were used in campaigns in Florida, most notably the Battle of Olustee, waged in early 1864. In total, they fought in four battles and several skirmishes. When the war ended, a little over half of the regiment returned to Boston. The men of the 54th happily resumed their normal lives, confident that they had fulfilled the bright promise of the regiment envisioned by Governor Andrew and others. VETERANS of the 54th commemorated their wartime achievements by voting Republican, and many joined the Grand Army of the Republic. The fight for justice and equality for African Americans was not by any means secured after the Civil War, but the soldiers of the 54th Massachusetts Colored Regiment advanced the cause considerably.

See also ABOLITION; CORPS D'AFRIQUE.

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## **filibustering**

*Filibustering* was a term used in the antebellum period to describe privately organized military expeditions into the Caribbean and Central America in the 19th century. Though most participants in filibustering expeditions of the 1840s and 1850s were generally sympathetic to Manifest Destiny and Southern proslavery extremism, filibustering

also attracted men who hoped to make their fortunes or who simply needed work.

The most famous of the filibusterers was Tennessean William Walker. While studying medicine in Europe, Walker was deeply influenced by the first flowering of European revolutionary nationalism. Though he briefly practiced medicine, he became an impassioned advocate of further U.S. expansion into Mexico, resolving that if the U.S. government would not build on its successes in the Mexican-American War, he would do so personally.

Moving to San Francisco in the early 1850s, Walker made good on his commitment. He gathered a volunteer force, journeyed south, and took control of the northwestern Mexican town of La Paz. There he proclaimed the establishment of the Republic of Lower California. When Mexican forces threatened his position in La Paz, Walker moved his men north to Ensenada, declaring that he had founded the Republic of Sonora. Though Mexico had abolished slavery, Walker's would-be countries both protected it.

The U.S. government, wary of renewing its divisive conflict with Mexico, did not provide Walker with any assistance. DESERTION, poor organization, and harsh conditions all undermined Walker's efforts, and he finally fled Mexico. U.S. officials sympathetic with Walker's venture saw to it that the federal government did not charge Walker with any crime.

Several years later, Walker led another expedition, this time to intervene in a Nicaraguan civil war. Victories there led Walker to declare himself Nicaragua's president. To the delight of Southern plantation owners, Walker repealed the country's antislavery laws. Southern advocates of Manifest Destiny now spoke of annexing Nicaragua and perhaps all of Central America.

While Walker's proslavery stance thrilled many Southerners, it infuriated most Nicaraguans and deeply concerned other Central Americans who feared that Walker—or the United States itself—might threaten the entire isthmus. Walker made his situation more precarious when he angered RAILROAD financier Cornelius Vanderbilt, who had contracted with Nicaragua's previous government to build and manage a railroad that would carry passengers and freight between Nicaragua's Caribbean and Pacific coasts. Believing that the contract had benefited Vanderbilt more than it had Nicaragua, Walker canceled the arrangement. When Costa Rica declared war against Walker's Nicaragua, Vanderbilt lent his support. In 1857 Walker was forced out of Nicaragua.

Walker's Nicaraguan adventure deeply divided American officials. Some, like Secretary of War JEFFERSON DAVIS, openly sympathized with Walker's objectives. Some proslavery officials saw Walker as taking the first necessary steps toward the U.S. conquest of the entire Caribbean, creating a "golden circle" of slavery.

At the same time, a number of American politicians, even those sympathetic to the expansion of SLAVERY within U.S. territory, worried that Walker and other filibusterers might entangle the United States in dangerous conflicts, not only with Latin American and Caribbean states but also with Britain and France. In addition, the prospect of an aggressively expanding "slaveocracy" hardened antislavery opinion in the North and contributed to the growth of the new REPUBLICAN PARTY. It was for such reasons that President JAMES BUCHANAN, a Pennsylvania Democrat allied with proslavery Southerners, ultimately refused U.S. support for Walker.

Walker returned to Central America twice, but each time he was repulsed. After his last incursion, into Honduras, Walker surrendered to a British naval commander, who turned the prisoner over to Honduran authorities. In 1860 the Hondurans executed Walker before a firing squad.

With a Union victory in the CIVIL WAR, much of the impetus for filibustering ended. Though some American politicians continued to harbor ambitions for Central America and the Caribbean, privately financed attacks ceased. For the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean, however, the image of Americans shooting their way into power persisted, influencing their response to American intervention in regional affairs well into the 20th century.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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—Tom Laichas

## fire-eaters

The term *fire-eaters* was applied by Northerners to proslavery extremists in the South during the two decades prior to the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR in 1861. Fire-eaters attempted to use the political process to protect the South from what they perceived as Northern political aggression. They consistently promoted SECESSION as the only solution to what Southern moderates and conservatives considered at the time a temporary problem of sectional discord. Despite the high profile and notoriety of the fire-eaters, their subsequent impact was minimal.

Secession had been an issue facing the nation since South Carolina's aborted efforts of 1832. As of 1850, with sectional tensions rising over the admission of California as a free state, a small, regional clique of fire-eaters adopted a much more vocal stance. They were strident, uncompromising ideologues who were belligerent toward the federal government. Their central thesis maintained that the South, in defense of STATES' RIGHTS and Southern honor, must preserve and protect the institution of SLAVERY and brook no outside interference on the matter. They



militantly opposed compromise of any kind, advocating a separate nation.

The most notable of this group of radical Southern nationalists were Edmund Ruffin, Robert B. Rhett, and WILLIAM LOWNDES YANCEY. Ruffin, a Virginian, was an ardent supporter of states' rights and the secession of the South. Prior to the outbreak of the Civil War, Ruffin left Virginia for the more congenial political milieu of South Carolina, and on April 12, 1861, he was given the privilege of firing the first shot against FORT SUMTER, thus starting the Civil War. The ultimate fire-eater, a devastated Ruffin committed suicide when ROBERT E. LEE surrendered at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE in 1865.

Rhett, from South Carolina, was known as the "father of secession." He was one of the earliest proponents of secession in his home state of South Carolina and spent much of his life working for an independent South. Convinced that the Southern way of life was doomed if the South remained in the Union after ABRAHAM LINCOLN and the REPUBLICAN PARTY won the presidential election in 1860, Rhett drafted South Carolina's Ordinance of Secession. In 1861 Rhett took part in writing the Confederate Constitution. Because of his extremist position, Rhett was not selected for the presidency of the Confederacy, and in 1863 he was defeated in a race for a seat in Congress. When the Civil War ended he refused to apply for a pardon from his Yankee enemies.

The third big gun in the fire-eater arsenal, Yancey, the "orator of secession," was one of the most fervent advocates of states' rights and slavery. Yancey demanded that Southerners have the right to take their slaves into western territories and, as the years passed, his belief in the inalienable rights of states grew. He strongly opposed the Compromise of 1850 and proposed a Southern Confederacy as early as 1858. Yancey helped create Alabama's Secession Ordinance after Lincoln was elected president, and he served as a Confederate senator.

As early as 1850, at a political convention in Nashville, Tennessee, these three men along with the rest of the fire-eaters urged secession upon the South. They succeeded in publicizing but not popularizing their stance. The fire-eaters were shunned by the majority of moderates present and then basically ignored. After the Compromise of 1850, a more moderate council met and managed to compromise enough to postpone secession for another 10 years. In 1856, the same year JAMES BUCHANAN was elected president, a number of secessionist candidates were decisively defeated throughout the region. Their appeal to Southern nationalism having failed, the fire-eaters temporarily suspended their agitation. It was not until 1860 that they reemerged as a force in regional politics.

As the 1850s ground on, sectional strife mounted. Events such as passage of the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT

of 1854, the open hostilities of "BLEEDING KANSAS," and JOHN BROWN's raid at HARPERS FERRY reignited the political fortunes of the fire-eaters. By 1860 they wielded a disruptive influence on the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, which resulted in its breakup. The fire-eaters pointed to the anti-slavery platform of Lincoln and the Republicans as proof that the North was conspiring to abolish slavery, and they used speeches, pamphlets, editorials, and committees of correspondence to advance the cause of secession. This time they found fellow Southerners more receptive to their message. Such agitation proved decisive in convincing South Carolina to approve a secession ordinance in December 1860. Although the fire-eaters were in large measure responsible for the movement to organize a separate Southern government, they filled only minor offices in the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA. In the end the fire-eaters played only a minor role in the very large conflict that they had spent a decade fomenting.

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—Emily E. Holst

**Fitzhugh, George** (1806–1881) *proslavery advocate, writer, lawyer*

George Fitzhugh was born in Prince William County, Virginia, on November 4, 1806. He married Mary Metcalf Brockenbrough in 1829 and obtained a small PLANTATION in Virginia.

In the 1850s Fitzhugh became known as one of the fiercest defenders of slavery. He wrote dozens of essays for the *Richmond Enquirer* and *De Bow's Review* that attacked modern capitalist society and defended SLAVERY. Fitzhugh republished several of these essays in *Sociology for the South: or the Failure of Free Society* (1854) and later expanded on other articles in *Cannibals All!, or, Slaves without Masters* (1857). These writings defended and promoted the institution of slavery on moral and economic terms.

In *Sociology for the South*, Fitzhugh argued that not only had slavery “produced the same results in elevating the character of the master that it did in Greece and Rome” but that slaves were “as happy as a human being can be” under the Southern slave system. Fitzhugh contended that, unlike the free-labor North, in “the slaveholding South all is peace, quiet, plenty and contentment. We have no mobs, no trades unions, no strikes for higher wages, no armed resistance to the law, [and] but little jealousy of the rich by the poor.” In *Cannibals All!* Fitzhugh continued his argument against free labor, contending that a “free laborer must work or starve. He is more of a slave than the Negro, because he works longer and harder for less allowance.”

Fitzhugh’s theories about slavery stemmed from his personal experiences as a slaveowner, his reading about the conditions in English factories, and a trip to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1855. There, after delivering a series of lectures and discussing slavery with abolitionists such as HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, Fitzhugh became even more convinced of the virtue of slavery. Fitzhugh used his writings to explain the evils of the Industrial Revolution and the comparative morality of slavery over free-labor systems.

Fitzhugh did not devote his entire life to the writings for which he is most remembered. In 1857 and 1858 he worked as a law clerk in WASHINGTON, D.C., for Attorney General Jeremiah Sullivan Black. When the CIVIL WAR began, Fitzhugh supported the Confederacy, and in 1862 he moved to RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, where he served as a clerk in the Confederate Treasury Department.

When the war ended, he worked for the FREEDMEN’S BUREAU as a judge and continued to write articles on AGRICULTURE for *De Bow’s Review* and other periodicals. Fitzhugh died on July 30, 1881, after suffering from near-blindness and insomnia.

**Further reading:** George Fitzhugh and Hinton Rowan Helper, *Antebellum Writings of George Fitzhugh and Hinton Rowan Helper on Slavery*, ed. Harvey Wish (New York: Capricorn Books, 1960); Harvey Wish, *George Fitzhugh: Propagandist of the Old South* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1962).

—Andrew K. Frank

### Five Forks, Battle of (March 30–April 1, 1865)

The Battle at Five Forks, Virginia, was the first engagement in Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT’s Appomattox campaign. The goal of the battle was to cut Gen. ROBERT E. LEE’s supply lines coming down the South Side Railroad into Petersburg. If the Union succeeded, they would gain Petersburg, force the evacuation of RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, and place themselves between Lee and JOSEPH EGGLESTON JOHNSTON’s

Confederate armies, thus preventing Lee from moving south. Grant placed Maj. Gen. PHILIP H. SHERIDAN at the head of the Union forces, while Maj. Gen. GEORGE E. PICKETT was placed at the head of the Confederate forces. Lee’s instructions to Pickett were clear: “Hold Five Forks at all hazards.”

Lee positioned 19,000 soldiers at the Five Forks road junction, a mere three miles from the South Side Railroad. Pickett had at his command a division of his own along with three mounted cavalry divisions commanded by Maj. Gen. Fitzhugh Lee (nephew of Gen. Robert E. Lee). Sheridan commanded the Union cavalry as well as being given the V Corps, which was commanded by Maj. Gen. Gouverneur K. Warren, totaling almost 50,000 men.

At 1 P.M. on April 1, Sheridan ordered the cavalry divisions of Brig. Gens. George A. Custer and Thomas A. Devin to attack Pickett’s right flank, which was held by Confederate cavalry. The plan was to then have the V Corps jointly attack on Pickett’s left, which was held by his own infantry division. Unfortunately, Warren was slow to act and the opportunity to crush Pickett nearly slipped by. By 4 P.M., out of Warren’s three divisions, commanded by Generals Ayers, Griffen, and Crawford, only Ayers’s division was in place to attack the 90-degree angle in Pickett’s line. Griffen’s and Crawford’s divisions had swung too far to their right to be effective. In a moment of overconfidence during the battle, Pickett and Fitzhugh Lee left the battle briefly to have a drink, only to return to a surprise. Ayers’ division had been enough to breach Pickett’s line.

The rebels were captured in large numbers, and Grant was able to interpose his force between the two main Confederate armies. The victory, which came to be called the “Confederate Waterloo,” was such a great success for the Union that when on April 2 Gen. Grant ordered an attack on the center of the rebel lines at Petersburg, they broke easily, and the Confederates were forced to evacuate the city in a rush. Five Forks also caused Lee to remove Pickett from command, while Sheridan, despite the Union victory, removed Warren from command due to his sluggish action in the battle.

See also OVERLAND CAMPAIGN; PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN.

**Further reading:** Edwin C. Bearss, *The Battle of Five Forks* (Lynchburg, Va.: H. E. Howard, 1985).

—Arthur E. Amos

### food riots

One of the most serious problems facing the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA during the CIVIL WAR was supplying its armies and its civilians. Although most

Southerners lived on farms and PLANTATIONS, by the end of the war many parts of the Confederacy simply did not have enough food.

There were a number of reasons for shortages in cities and specific regions of the Confederacy. A major factor was simply the occupation of farming country and the destruction or confiscation of crops and livestock by Union troops. Other important reasons included the presence of hundreds of thousands of hungry Union and Confederate soldiers in places such as northern Virginia, western Tennessee, and central Mississippi, making it almost impossible for civilians living in those areas to get enough food; the inability of the South to keep roads open and RAILROADS operating; the crowding of thousands of REFUGEES into towns and cities; the enrollment of many farmers in the CONFEDERATE ARMY; and the tightening blockade of Southern ports. All of these caused people to go hungry and, in some cases, to starve in many parts of the Confederacy. To make matters worse, rising prices made it hard for people to buy the goods that were available. With inflation rates in the four figures, one Virginia woman discovered late in the war that \$100 in Confederate money bought a few pounds of fatty bacon, three candles, and a pound of poor butter.

The Confederate government tried to force planters to raise food crops rather than cotton, and local governments sometimes set up markets at which poor people or the families of soldiers could buy necessities at relatively low prices. In addition, Southerners found a number of clever substitutes for their normal diet, with unusual replacements for coffee, salt, sugar, and other basics. But none of these actions solved the problem of hunger in the Confederacy. Not surprisingly, many Southern civilians grew angry about this state of affairs. When residents of towns or cities believed that Confederate government or military officials were keeping food from them, riots broke out. Disturbances occurred in large cities such as Atlanta, Macon, Columbus, and Augusta, Georgia, and in smaller towns like Salisbury and High Point, North Carolina, and Sherman, Texas. Even in Mobile, Alabama, one of the last ports in the Confederacy to be captured by the Union, residents feared in the fall of 1864 that there would not be enough food to last through the winter. A mob waving signs that demanded “bread or blood” looted the stores on one of the city’s main streets. Eventually, almost every Confederate state had experienced at least one riot over food shortages.

The most famous food riot took place in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, in April 1863. With a population that grew larger every week, with its nearby farmland frequently occupied or fought over by both armies, and with sometimes unreliable TRANSPORTATION links to other parts of the Confederacy, Richmond was one of the most crowded and most expensive cities in the Confederacy. A complicated pass system—the army wanted to make sure that

spies did not enter the Confederate capital—discouraged farmers from coming into the city to sell their products. A heavy snowfall in mid-March was the last straw, and hard-pressed women, desperate to feed their families, began gathering at a Baptist church on April 2. They decided to march to the state capital to ask for help from Governor John Letcher. Along the way, other women—and a number of men and boys—joined them. Letcher spoke briefly to the several hundred people gathered outside the governor’s mansion, but when he went back inside without giving them any answers, the crowd turned violent: Some took out hatchets, a few pulled pistols out of their pockets. The mob spread over a 10-square-block area, breaking into stores, taking not only bread and meat but also jewelry, clothes, and other items. The governor and mayor failed to calm them, and the mob did not pause until a small unit of Confederate troops and President JEFFERSON DAVIS appeared in their path. Davis threw all of the money he had in his pockets at the rioters, then took out his pocket watch and declared that if they did not disperse in five minutes, the soldiers would fire on them. When the captain commanding the men loudly ordered them to load their rifles, the rioters went home.

Sometimes riots did not end so peacefully. Late in the war, when a group of Galveston, Texas, residents and a few soldiers stationed in the city demanded that local officials share the military provisions stored in the city, a Confederate regiment fired over the heads of the protesters, accidentally killing one of the protesting soldiers.

The food riots were minor episodes in the history of the Confederacy, but they exemplify how economic problems and political and social differences weakened the Confederate war effort.

See also ECONOMY.

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—James Marten

## foraging

Foraging during the CIVIL WAR was widespread and controversial. There are two kinds of foraging: unofficial and official. The unofficial occurred when soldiers on the march or in camp indulged in unauthorized raids on civilian property. For example, soldiers would seize pigs, chickens, eggs, and other foodstuffs to ease their hunger. This type of foraging occurred with as much regularity in the CONFEDERATE ARMY as it did in the UNION ARMY, and often with little care as to whether the civilians were friends or enemies. Southern families at times had as much to fear

from their own countrymen as from Union soldiers. ROBERT E. LEE's men foraged liberally off the rich Pennsylvania farming countryside during the Gettysburg campaign of June and July 1863, as did ULYSSES S. GRANT's soldiers in Mississippi during the VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN at exactly the same time. Occasionally, groups of soldiers would go far beyond feasting and plunder the countryside. They would deliberately steal money, jewels, silver, and other valuables from helpless civilians. This type of behavior was branded as criminal, and soldiers caught in such acts were punished by military courts.

Official foraging, by contrast, was allowed under the international RULES OF WAR. Military commanders had the right to sustain their armies from goods taken from the countryside. This type of foraging was supposed to be conducted under strict rules and regulations. Even so, in the first two years of the war most Union commanders discouraged or prohibited foraging, fearing rightly that the behavior could degenerate into simple theft. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN, the Northern general most associated with the successful use of foraging, commented on the dangers: "The feeling of pillage and booty will injure the morale of the troops, and bring disgrace to their cause." As the war became harder, however, foraging became much more of a military necessity than expected and especially affected the TACTICS of the Northern side.

The most famous example of the dramatic expansion of the use of authorized foraging was in Sherman's "March to the Sea," begun in September 1864. His western soldiers confiscated and/or destroyed crops, food, livestock, and other valuables in an attempt to end the war by undermining the Southern ECONOMY and morale. Although Sherman's March became notorious for its supposedly wanton destruction, his raid was conducted under strict guidelines. The Union policy was to differentiate between sympathetic and hostile Southerners and act accordingly. It mattered, therefore, whether families in any one area were Unionist, took a neutral stance, or professed to be rabid SECESSIONISTS. The "secesh" fared by far the worst. Admittedly, there were times when soldiers ignored their orders and engaged in behavior far outside the regulations, sometimes with the approval of their officers. This was especially true in South Carolina, where many Union soldiers expressed an intense desire to punish the place "where treason began." Yet most historians now agree that far from being an uncontrolled spree, Sherman's soldiers acted with restraint and well within the bounds of the rules of war.

See also GETTYSBURG, BATTLE OF; SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA.

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## foreign policy

Historians of American diplomatic affairs tend to use 1898, the date of the Spanish-American War, as the beginning date for the history of U.S. foreign policy. While it is true that the contours of U.S. diplomacy after this point are more familiar to modern Americans, the mid-19th-century United States was no stranger to foreign affairs. U.S. foreign policy from 1850 to 1880 was concerned with two main issues: American expansion and the CIVIL WAR.

As was the case with much of antebellum American politics, U.S. foreign affairs before the Civil War focused on territorial expansion. In the 1850s, while domestic political debates surrounded the potential expansion of SLAVERY in the West, U.S. diplomatic efforts focused on expanding the United States's influence and territorial holdings beyond continental boundaries. Throughout the mid to late 19th century, U.S. diplomatic overtures concentrated on three main areas: Hawaii, the Caribbean, and Latin America.

In Hawaii, the United States was interested in annexing the island kingdom or at the very least establishing favorable trade agreements and possibly a naval base and coaling depot for the United States in the Pacific. In August 1854, a treaty allowing for the annexation of the island chain was signed but later withdrawn by Hawaii's King Kamehameha IV. Hawaii would eventually be annexed, but not until the end of the century.

While the Hawaiian negotiations were souring, the United States was also making overtures in the Caribbean, especially Cuba, for a similar deal but with more emphasis on an American naval installation and coaling depot. In November 1854 the OSTEND MANIFESTO, a note to the secretary of state from the American foreign ministers to Britain, Spain, and France, suggested that the United States make every effort to secure Cuba from Spain. Shortly thereafter, the minister to Britain returned to the United States and was elected to the presidency. In his annual message to Congress in 1858, President JAMES BUCHANAN reiterated his belief that the United States should buy Cuba from Spain. The next year, Louisiana senator John Slidell proposed a plan to buy Cuba for \$30 million, but his plan was soundly defeated.

The third area of American diplomatic concern, Latin America, saw the most action and intrigue in the years before the Civil War. In 1848 the U.S. Senate approved a treaty with Colombia, which was then called New Grenada. A year later, a treaty with Nicaragua was signed. In April 1850, the United States signed the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty in hopes of constructing an isthmian canal linking



the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The treaty guaranteed the neutrality of the proposed canal and declared that neither the United States nor Britain would have solitary control of the project. Ultimately, the canal plan did not come to fruition as quickly as hoped. The canal proposal was a tremendous undertaking whose location and engineering had yet to be worked out. At the same time, the actions of the FRANKLIN PIERCE and Buchanan administrations left many Northerners convinced that the plan was just an excuse to spread slavery.

With the outbreak of the Civil War, U.S. foreign policy had one goal: reuniting the Union. To this end, the United States worked diplomatically to see that foreign nations recognized the war as an internal affair and did not support the efforts of the Confederacy. The CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, on the other hand, lobbied the powers of Europe diligently, first for “belligerent status,” then for recognition, and finally for assistance and supplies.

The chief architect of the United States’s foreign policy during the war years was Secretary of State WILLIAM H. SEWARD. Seward was entrusted with the important and often difficult task of keeping the French and British, Europe’s two main superpowers, from aiding the Confederacy. Among Seward’s first and most important goal was attaining British and French recognition of the U.S. blockade of Southern ports. The 1856 Declaration of Paris stated that only effective blockades would be honored, and the debate raged between the North, the South, and Europe as to whether or not the Union blockade was effective. In the early years of the war, blockade running was frequent and lucrative, and this seemed proof enough of Southern claims that the blockade need not be honored. But the South hurt its case by playing its “King Cotton” card. The Confederacy felt that its strongest international bargaining chip was its cotton crop, because Southern cotton fueled the British textile industry and kept Europe supplied with cotton cloth. As such, the Confederacy embargoed cotton, refusing to export it to the European market until Britain and France agreed to ignore the blockade. Unfortunately for the Confederacy, bumper cotton crops in previous years had left Europe with an abundance of warehoused cotton, and the Civil War was well underway by the time the embargo had any impact. Ultimately, rather than gaining the support of Britain and France, the embargo motivated Europe to explore other options, including cotton from Egypt, to fill their needs.

Confederate missteps played into the hands of the United States, which, under the leadership of Seward, worked to keep Europe from coming into the war by alternately threatening and cajoling. Seward advised Britain and France that war would be declared if they recognized or assisted the Confederacy. Seward also rebuffed European

efforts to mediate the conflict early in the war, arguing that this was an internal dispute and not a case for international arbitration. The United States’s concern was that any movement to arbitrate the war would give, at the very least, unofficial recognition to the Confederacy. Ultimately, in mid-1861, both Britain and France declared themselves to be neutral. These decisions were not welcomed by either the Union or the Confederacy, since Seward had fought hard for European powers to support the Union’s cause alone, while the Confederacy badly needed European backing to make their war effort tenable.

Shortly after Britain and France declared their neutrality, a dramatic incident occurred that could have drastically altered the course of international relations during the Civil War. The “*Trent* affair,” as it came to be called, began in the summer of 1861 with French pressure on the United States to ease the blockade restrictions, thus allowing an exchange of goods between the Confederacy and Europe. The French sought British assistance on the issue, but at that point the British were more dependent on Northern exports of grain than they were on Southern cotton, and so the French were on their own.

Confederate officials put further pressure on France by sending former U.S. senators James Mason and John Slidell to France to negotiate for formal recognition and assistance. Slidell and Mason’s ship out of Charleston successfully evaded the Northern blockade ships, but once they transferred to the British ship *Trent* in Cuba, their luck ran out. The *Trent* was captured on November 8, 1861, by the USS *San Jacinto*, captained by Charles Wilkes. Wilkes claimed the ship as a prize of war and arrested Mason, Slidell, and their secretaries. The British were outraged, but the North lionized Wilkes as a hero. Tempers flared as the British made plans to bolster troop strength in Canada and send warships to the West Indies. Britain threatened to sever relations, and for some time it appeared as if they were on the brink of joining the war against the North. Seward convinced President ABRAHAM LINCOLN that complying with British demands for the Confederate officials’ release was the wisest course of action, and the tensions passed.

Beyond recognition and issues of neutrality, Seward also had to prevent Britain and France from helping the Confederacy to build a navy. One of the key concerns of foreign ministers for the Confederacy was to secure naval-class ships for their war effort. With the seeming inability of Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN to secure Union victories early in the war, some British officials began to doubt that the North would prevail. In that climate, it seemed prudent to help outfit a rebel navy. Confederate president JEFFERSON DAVIS sent James D. Bulloch to England in 1861 to gain British help in refitting existing Confederate vessels into IRONCLADS and to commission new battleships. Brit-



ish shipbuilding concerns built the commerce raiders, CSS *ALABAMA* and *Florida*, and converted an existing vessel into the rebel ram CSS *Atlanta*.

Such actions on the part of British manufacturers were in direct violation of Britain's declaration of neutrality, but they continued nonetheless. The *Alabama* eventually became extremely successful as a commerce raider, so much so that its name was given to the postwar claims lodged by the United States against Britain for losses due to commerce raiding. The "*Alabama* claims" went to an arbitration panel in Geneva in 1871. The United States argued that Britain should be held accountable for the entire cost of the Civil War from the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG forward plus seven percent interest. The British, appalled at the American claim, were angry when the tribunal awarded the United States \$15 million in 1872.

Seward regularly leveraged the United States's status as a member of the international community, as well as the country's economic might, to his advantage. He also had one other card to play: the slavery issue. Both Britain and France took issue with the Southern slave system, and once Lincoln issued the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, British and French politicians found their ability to support the Confederacy circumscribed.

Even with all of the advantages the United States enjoyed, the Union faced a difficult road in European affairs. England and much of the rest of Europe wanted peace and the restoration of prewar trading. France had designs on Mexico, and it seemed to Napoleon III that the Confederacy would be willing to let him "have" Mexico in exchange for formal recognition. Mexico, in the mid-19th century, was having internal political trouble and was facing problems with foreign debt. In June 1863, Napoleon's 35,000 troops in Mexico captured Mexico City. In 1864, Archduke Maximilian was installed as emperor of Mexico with Napoleon's support. France might well have recognized the Confederacy at this point, but the war had turned against the South. By 1867, with continuing U.S. pressure, French support of Maximilian was removed, and the emperor was deposed and executed.

With the Civil War at an end and RECONSTRUCTION underway, U.S. diplomatic efforts once again focused on expansion and trade. With Secretary of State Seward still managing matters, the United States redoubled its efforts to gain bases and an isthmian canal. Seward wanted to build an American commercial empire, and for that he required strategic bases, trade treaties, and the ability to transport goods safely. Most notable of Seward's diplomatic maneuvers was the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867. Although the deal seemed rife with scandal, Seward pushed it through and the Senate ratified the purchase in April 1867. The acquisition of "Russian America" was attacked by some in the press, and the new territory was

often labeled "Seward's Folly" or "Seward's Ice Box." The *New York Herald* called Alaska a "worthless desert," while the *New York World* ran headlines proclaiming "A Great Opening for Soda-Water Fountains and Skating Ponds." But Seward ran a countercampaign of LETTERS to the press, extolling the virtues of Alaska.

Seward's postwar diplomatic maneuvers were complicated by strained British-American relations. Not only was there anger over the *Alabama* claims and unofficial British support for the Confederate cause but Irish-American "Fenians" twice invaded British Canada after the Civil War, first in 1866 and then again in 1870. Despite these problems with Britain, by the 1870s the United States was attempting to make progress in all three of its key regions of interest. In 1870 the ULYSSES S. GRANT administration began its campaign for an American base in the Caribbean by attempting to buy Santo Domingo. Grant's representative, General Orville E. Babcock, successfully negotiated a treaty of annexation in November 1869, but CHARLES SUMNER, chairman of the Foreign Relation Committee, saw to it that the treaty was voted down by the Senate.

Defeated on the Santo Domingo issue, the Grant administration turned its attention to Cuba. From 1868 to 1878, Cuban insurgents rebelled against Spanish control with the help of the Cuban-American community. On several occasions, the United States and Spain came to the brink of war over Cuban insurgency. Tensions peaked in 1873 when Spain captured what the United States believed to be an American ship, killing her captain and some of the passengers and crew. An investigation later proved it was a Cuban ship, but Spain defused the situation by releasing the ship and paying \$80,000 in reparations. Tensions between the United States and Spain over Cuba ultimately led to the 1898 Spanish-American War.

Also in the post-Civil War years, the United States continued to work on plans for an isthmian canal. In 1867 the Dickinson-Ayon Treaty with Nicaragua granted the United States transit rights through Nicaragua. In 1869 the United States secured a treaty with Colombia that allowed the United States the right to build a canal across the Colombian state of Panama. In 1872 President Grant appointed the Inter-oceanic Canal Commission to recommend a route for the canal. The Commission's report, released in 1876, said that the route through Nicaragua was preferable, but the United States lacked building rights to the Nicaragua route. Ultimately, the canal would not be built until the early 20th century.

In the Pacific, the United States continued to pursue its interest in Hawaii after the Civil War. In 1870 and 1871, Secretary of State Hamilton Fish once again laid the groundwork for the annexation of Hawaii by the United States. In 1873, when annexation plans fell through, Hawaii offered to cede Pearl Harbor to the United States for use as

a base and coaling station in exchange for preferential tariff rates. In January 1875, the United States finally signed a treaty of reciprocity with Hawaii, although the treaty lacked an agreement about Pearl Harbor due to growing Hawaiian opposition to American control.

The mid-19th century, then, was a busy time in America's diplomatic history. The United States managed to keep the great powers of Europe at bay while settling the difficult issues of what "United States" really meant. The United States also made forays into expansionism, which laid the groundwork for subsequent moves in the Caribbean, Latin America, the Pacific, and Asia.

See also **FILIBUSTERING**.

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—Ruth A. Behling

**Forrest, Nathan Bedford** (1821–1877) *Confederate general and cavalry leader*

Businessman, planter, slave trader, politician, CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA general, cavalry commander, and first grand wizard of the KU KLUX KLAN, Nathan Bedford Forrest has long been regarded as both a military genius and one of the most controversial figures of the CIVIL WAR. Although overrated in military skills, Forrest's cavalry consistently represented a major thorn in the side of Union forces. At one point, General WILLIAM T. SHERMAN exclaimed that Union soldiers must capture and kill Forrest even "if it costs ten thousand lives and breaks the treasury." At the end of the war, Forrest boasted that he had killed 30 men in hand-to-hand combat while having had only 29 horses shot out from under him. Forrest noted with pride that he remained one horse ahead.

Forrest was born in Tennessee and moved to Mississippi at the age of 21. His roots were in the Southern yeomanry and his EDUCATION was scanty, but his ambitious nature and his activities as a slave trader and planter brought

him a large fortune. Immediately upon Tennessee's SECESSION from the Union, the 40-year-old Forrest enlisted as a private in the Seventh Tennessee Cavalry. However, under protest from the governor of Tennessee, Forrest was given the rank of lieutenant colonel and the opportunity to raise his own cavalry battalion. Forrest recruited and equipped a command at his own expense.

Forrest distinguished himself in battles at Fort Donelson and Shiloh, both Union victories, and in a raid directed at Union forces in the area of Murfreesboro, Tennessee. In late 1862, Forrest and his men devoted their energies to disrupting Grant's line of supply in west Tennessee. It was this raid, along with two others later that year, that made Forrest a hero throughout the South. His simple motto, "get there first with the most men," belied his growing reputation as a brilliant and daring commander who could strike fear into the heart of numerically superior forces.

In spite of Forrest's successful raids in Tennessee, the Confederate forces led by BRAXTON BRAGG retreated from the area. Forrest resented Bragg's decision to evacuate Tennessee. Moreover, he swore that if he ever met Bragg he would kill him. Because of the mutual animosities between these men, JEFFERSON DAVIS gave Forrest an independent command in Mississippi.

In April 1864, Forrest and his men attacked FORT PILLOW, TENNESSEE. The sacking of Fort Pillow marks the most controversial moment in Forrest's career. On April 12, Confederate marksmen had surrounded the fort and made life extremely difficult for the Union soldiers inside. After Forrest's men had control of the perimeter of the fort, Forrest offered the Union commander an opportunity to surrender. Forrest also stated that he could not be responsible for the safety of the Union soldiers if their commander refused. Since no surrender seemed forthcoming, Forrest's men seized the fort. In the ensuing melee, the 262 black Tennessee Unionists who composed the majority of the garrison suffered the most. Forrest's soldiers took 58 black prisoners; they killed the remainder, many of whom tried to surrender.

In June 1864, Forrest was victorious in two notable battles waged in the northeastern part of Mississippi. Historians generally regard these battles, known as Brice's Crossroads and the Battle of Tupelo, as Forrest's masterpieces. In the latter battle, Forrest was injured and unable to lead his men from horseback. Instead, he moved about the battlefield in a horsecart, giving orders that kept his men one step ahead of all Union movements.

After the battle at Tupelo, Forrest and his men ranged over northern Alabama and Tennessee harassing Union soldiers, raiding various supply depots, and destroying RAILROADS. Forrest also accompanied Gen. JOHN BELL HOOD in his unsuccessful attempt to take back Tennessee for the Confederacy. When Hood's men retreated from Nashville,

Forrest displayed his ferocity in protecting the Confederate retreat.

Forrest was promoted to lieutenant general in February 1865 and spent the last months of the war trying to put together a force of men in Mississippi. However, Union cavalry outnumbered his command to such an extent that it was no longer possible to engage them successfully. Forrest finally surrendered his forces in May 1865, a little over a month after Appomattox. "I went into the army worth a million and a half dollars," he said, "and came out a beggar."

Forrest's postwar career is nearly as controversial as his wartime career. Forrest tried to regain his fortune through railroad building and insurance enterprises, but he was not successful. In 1867 Forrest became the first grand wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. Forrest demanded that the Klan operate to defend the people of Tennessee, that it only use violence in self-defense, and that it keep within the bounds of chivalry. Because he was unable to control Klan activity within those guidelines, Forrest disbanded the organization and gave up his command. His disbandment order had little effect outside Tennessee, and the Klan has continued

to exist in one form or another ever since. In 1871 Congress called an uncooperative Forrest to testify concerning his involvement with the Klan.

In his last years, Forrest's physical health deteriorated, in particular due to diabetes. He died in Memphis on October 29, 1877, at the age of 56.

See also SHILOH, BATTLE OF.

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—Chad Vanderford

### Fort Pillow, Tennessee (April 12, 1864)

Fort Pillow was the site of an 1864 massacre of mostly African-American Union soldiers by troops under the command of Confederate general NATHAN BEDFORD FORREST. Located 40 miles north of Memphis on the Chickasaw Bluffs, Fort Pillow was built in 1861 as a Confederate fortification overlooking the MISSISSIPPI RIVER. Confederate troops abandoned the fort in June 1862 after Union victories in the area jeopardized their position. For the next two years Union troops intermittently occupied the site.

On April 12, 1864, Confederate general Nathan Bedford Forrest led about 1,500 troops in an attack on the fort, then garrisoned by just over 500 Union soldiers, nearly half of them black. During the initial fighting, Forrest's sharpshooters killed Maj. Lionel F. Booth, the fort's commander. Forrest then demanded that the fort surrender, guaranteeing the safety of Union soldiers inside—an offer which, Forrest's representatives avowed, included black soldiers as well. Maj. William E. Bradford, who took command on Booth's death, refused to give up the fort. Forrest's men, positioned in well-protected ravines below the fortification's low earth walls, now attacked. In about 20 minutes they had overrun the works.

As Union soldiers surrendered, Bedford ordered that they be cut down. Wrote one Confederate soldier, "The poor deluded Negroes would run up to our men, fall upon their knees . . . for mercy, but they were ordered to their feet and then shot down. . . . The fort turned out to be a great slaughter pen. . . . Gen. Forrest ordered them shot down like dogs. . . . Finally our men became sick of blood and the firing ceased." By the end of the battle, 64 percent of black and 33 percent of white Union soldiers had been killed. Bedford had lost 14 men.

The massacre instantly outraged Northerners. Congressman BENJAMIN WADE demanded an investigation, while President ABRAHAM LINCOLN considered executing selected Southern prisoners of war. Fearing a cycle of



Nathan Bedford Forrest (Library of Congress)



retaliatory violence, Lincoln decided against that extremity; even so, the phrase “Remember Fort Pillow!” became a battle cry among white soldiers as well as black.

Forrest later denied any massacre had taken place, claiming that his troops faced gunfire even after the fort had raised the white flag of surrender and that he had acted accordingly. Some historians have argued that Forrest and his soldiers were enraged at the extortion, lawlessness, and destruction they believed that Union soldiers had visited on Tennessee. Some of the worst offenders, Forrest believed, were Tennessee Unionists at Fort Pillow. Others argue that Forrest himself tried to halt the bloodshed but was unsuccessful.

Historians note that it was Confederate policy to execute African Americans wearing the Union blue. Though enforced inconsistently, many Confederate officials believed the policy was a necessary defense against “servile rebellion” and a rebuke to Northerners intent on sending “savages” against the South. The policy extended to white officers commanding black regiments, a fact that may explain the shooting death of Major Bradford in Confederate custody a few days after the battle.

No one disputes that it was Forrest’s practice to offer protection to besieged adversaries if they surrendered, while promising dire consequences if they refused. At Fort Pillow, Forrest was true to his word.

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—Tom Laichas

### Fort Sumter, South Carolina (April 11–12, 1861)

Located on a man-made island at the entrance to Charleston Harbor, Fort Sumter was the site of the first shots of the CIVIL WAR. Attention was first drawn to this federal outpost immediately following the election of ABRAHAM LINCOLN in November 1860. Fort Sumter was owned by the federal government but was not yet occupied by U.S. troops due to its construction having just been completed. South Carolinians, who had recently seceded from the Union, found the garrison to be a threat to their security and a challenge to their sovereignty. The *Charleston Mercury* explained to its readers that other Southern states would never take the cause seriously until “we have proven that a garrison of seventy men cannot hold the portal of our commerce.”

South Carolina’s governor, Francis Pickens, claimed he had an unwritten agreement with President JAMES BUCHANAN. The agreement was that U.S. major ROBERT ANDERSON (who commanded the federal forces in Charleston Harbor) and his men would remain at Fort Moultrie,

another fort in the Charleston Harbor. Anderson, however, viewed Fort Moultrie as indefensible from land and therefore considered moving his men to the more secure location provided by Fort Sumter. Immediately after Anderson received authorization to do just that from the Buchanan administration, he moved his small force onto boats and occupied Fort Sumter on the night of December 26, 1860.

When the news broke, Governor Pickens immediately sent his military aide, Col. J. Johnston Pettigrew, to meet with Anderson and to request that he and his men return to Fort Moultrie. Anderson refused his request, and in response Pickens assembled battery units on Morris Island. Anderson sent word to the Buchanan administration that his men needed reinforcements and supplies if they were to hold Fort Sumter. Buchanan decided to send an unarmed merchant ship, the *Star of the West*, loaded with 200 civilian-dressed recruits, thus reinforcing the fort without overtly threatening South Carolina authorities. However, despite the efforts to remain secret, news about the ship’s mission and destination quickly spread after its departure from NEW YORK CITY on January 5, 1861. As a result, when the ship neared the Charleston Harbor on January 9, it was unable to make it past the guns at Fort Moultrie, and it was forced to turn back and leave Anderson and his men without their reinforcements and supplies. Following the *Star of the West* incident, Pickens added to the ring of battery units that surrounded Fort Sumter. On January 11, Pickens sent a note to Anderson requesting the surrender of the fort. Once again, Anderson refused, and the opposing forces remained stalemated for two months.

On March 1, 1861, three days before Abraham Lincoln took his oath of office, Confederate president JEFFERSON DAVIS assigned Confederate brigadier general PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD command of the military situation in Charleston. Immediately, Beauregard strengthened the defenses of both the harbor entrance and the battery units facing Fort Sumter. Shortly after Lincoln’s inauguration, Anderson reported to the president that the garrison was very low on supplies and would need reinforcements as well as naval support to successfully hold the fort. Meanwhile, the Lincoln administration could not come to an agreement about the current situation at Fort Sumter. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Lincoln’s secretary of state, and Gen. Winfield Scott, commanding general of the U.S. Army agreed that Anderson and his men should evacuate the island, but Lincoln felt he needed to learn more about the situation before making a decision. As a result, the Lincoln administration sent a number of unofficial delegates to determine the situation of the fort and its occupants.

Despite the pleas of many of his advisors, President Lincoln decided to send relief to Fort Sumter. On April 6,



Interior view of Fort Sumter on April 14, 1861, after its evacuation (National Archives)

Lincoln sent word to Governor Pickens that reinforcements were being sent to Fort Sumter. The administration felt that this warning left it up to the Confederate authorities as to whether or not a war would take place, therefore supporting their defensive strategy concerning the outbreak of the war. On April 10, the USS *Powhatan* left for Fort Sumter.

Following Lincoln's message to Pickens, the Confederate secretary of war, Leroy Pope Walker, instructed Beauregard to demand that Anderson surrender the fort and to conquer the fort if Anderson refused the request for surrender. Upon receiving these instructions, Beauregard began positioning his men and equipment to prepare adequately for an artillery assault on Fort Sumter as well as to prevent any reinforcements from successfully landing and resupplying the fort.

On the afternoon of April 11, 1861, a Confederate delegation was sent by Beauregard to Fort Sumter to demand the immediate surrender of the fort. After a unanimous vote by the federal officers, Anderson once again refused to evacuate. The rebels advised Anderson that firing would begin early the next morning. At 4:30 A.M. on April 12, 1861, a signal gun was fired, alerting all the batteries to begin firing—the Civil War had begun.

Despite a hard first day's fight for Anderson and his men, the end seemed in sight when the garrison spotted three U.S. ships off the harbor. However, unbeknownst to them at the time, the reinforcement ships would never be able to make it past the harbor entrance batteries and, therefore, would not be able to assist Anderson. As a result, after deliberating with Beauregard's delegates, Anderson set the time for the surrender for the following day, April 14, 1861.

The first shots had been fired in the Civil War. Though the opening volleys were not deadly, they opened the door to a conflict that cost both North and South dearly in both lives and money. On April 15, 1861, President Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 volunteers to help restore the Union, and Jefferson Davis responded in kind. Preparations began in earnest for America's Civil War.

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—Megan Quinn



**Foster, Stephen C.** (1826–1864) *songwriter*

Songwriter and composer Stephen Collins Foster wrote MUSIC that represented the heartfelt sentiments and folksy way of life of most 19th-century Americans. Enduring classics such as “Oh! Susannah” (“I come from Alabama, with my banjo on my knee”) and “Camptown Races” remain beloved tunes to the present day. Among other distinctions, Foster was the first “professional” songwriter in the United States. From 1850 to his death, he lived only off the income he earned from the sale of his music. A contemporary critic summed up Foster’s impact in this way: “The air is full of his melodies. They are our national music.”

Foster was born on July 4, 1826, in Lawrenceville, Pennsylvania, the 10th of 11 children. His father was a politician and merchant who fell on hard times but managed to maintain his family’s middle-class existence. Foster’s parents encouraged their children’s love of music with piano lessons and recitals. Stephen received a good EDUCATION and was tutored in music by a teacher in Pittsburgh.

Foster’s parents expected their talented son to take a job in the business world, which he did, at first. Hired as a bookkeeper, Foster felt out of place in an office. He quit and dedicated himself to music. Foster’s first published song, “Open Thy Lattice Love,” was in print by the time he was 20. In 1850 he had 12 compositions in print and felt secure enough to marry his sweetheart, Jane MacDowell, with whom he had a daughter, Marion. His income was based on 10 percent royalties of his sheet-music sales. Foster’s compositions were not protected by copyright. Thus, while arrangers and publishers made thousands of dollars from his music, his own income remained limited, and he and his family struggled at near-poverty levels for much of the time.

Possessed of a sensitive ear for the cadence of language and style, Foster began his career in Pittsburgh, where he lived for most of his short but productive life. Writing tender, lyrical ballads for parlor singers and pianists, such as “Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair,” Foster studied the various musical and poetic styles of immigrant populations. The first songwriter to weave African-American, German, Irish, Italian, Scottish, and English music into one style, Foster created a distinctly American type of song.

Soon, Foster’s music was wildly popular among the growing middle-class families who had a piano in their newly added parlor. But his influence was also widely felt in the musical THEATER, as well, and reached out to large immigrant and working-class audiences. Many of his most well-known songs were composed for minstrel shows, where white actors posed as African Americans in black face. Foster’s songs for minstrel shows were written in dialect. This genre of songs exposed white audiences to the slaves’ point of view, to their cruel treatment, and to the fact that African Americans were capable of the same feelings

as white people. “My Old Kentucky Home, Good Night” is deeply evocative of the pain slaves endured. Another famous example is “Way Down upon the Swanee River.”

Foster was the first songwriter to refer to an African-American woman as a “lady” in “Nellie Was a Lady” (1849). Although the dialect he created for minstrel shows was vulgar, Foster attempted to provide a more human view of African Americans to counteract the racism of the time. With this approach, Foster also made minstrel music more acceptable to the middle class and to female audiences.

When the approach of the CIVIL WAR found Foster bankrupt, he combined forces with George Cooper to produce two Civil War songs, “Willie Has Gone to War” and “For the Dear Old Flag I Die.” However, by the age of 37, Foster was separated from his family, in ill health, penniless, and living alone in NEW YORK CITY. Weakened by fever, he fell and cut himself on his washbasin, which led to his death on January 13, 1864.

**Further reading:** Ken Emerson, *Doo-Dah! Stephen Foster and the Rise of American Popular Culture* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997); John Tasker Howard, *Stephen Foster, America’s Troubadour* (New York: Crowell, 1953).

—Gina Ladinsky

**Fourteenth Amendment** (July 28, 1868)

The Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was ratified July 28, 1868, and was designed to extend the rights of citizenship to African Americans and to enfranchise black men. Section 1 was the key to the amendment; it declared that

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2 enforced Section 1 by stating that any denial or abridgement of voting rights to eligible men would lead to a reduction in the offending state’s national political representation.

Beyond the rights of citizenship and their bearing on suffrage, the other provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment barred any person from office who had previously held office and later “engaged in insurrection or rebellion.” It targeted those individuals who had violated their oaths of office; however, such persons could be pardoned by a

two-thirds vote from each house of the Congress. Section 4 rejected the Confederate debt while acknowledging the “validity” of the U.S. debt from the CIVIL WAR. It also invalidated claims for the “loss or emancipation of any slave.” Finally, Section 5 gave Congress power to enforce these provisions.

The first two sections of the Fourteenth Amendment were enormously important because they moved to guarantee equality before the law. The intent of Section 1 was to reinforce and give meaning to the THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT by making states accountable for upholding all of the rights set forth in the Constitution. The Republican-dominated Congress was motivated by ideals of equality before the law and outrage at the BLACK CODES, legislation passed by Southern governments that deprived African Americans of their basic civil rights. Section 1 also superseded the notorious *DRED SCOTT DECISION*, where the Supreme Court declared that black people were not citizens of the United States. Suddenly, with the African-American population of the South no longer being counted as three-fifths of a person (as set forth in the Constitution’s three-fifths clause) in population apportionments for seats in the House of Representatives, the South’s population exploded, allowing them far greater representation in the House. Northern Republicans feared these additional Southern seats in the House and were wary that this resurgent power would come at the cost of denying the vote to African Americans in the South. Section 2 was designed to counter this perceived Southern advantage. Representation now would be based upon the number of actual voters and not just the potential number of voters. This was a roundabout way of encouraging Southern states to allow black suffrage, but it also implied that states could determine who qualified to vote, earning the anger of abolitionists campaigning for universal suffrage.

Abolitionists were not the only angry voices raised over the wording of the Fourteenth Amendment. Feminists were outraged because for the first time the word *male* was added to the Constitution. Since representation was to be based on “male inhabitants,” it indirectly sanctioned sexual discrimination at the ballot box. For many suffragists, the Fourteenth Amendment marked a critical moment in the history of feminism. It taught leaders, such as ELIZABETH CADY STANTON and Susan B. Anthony, that women could not rely on men for the advocacy of their rights.

The far-reaching consequences of the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause, privileges and immunities clause, and due process clause were blunted by the Supreme Court’s early interpretations of the amendment. In the *Slaughterhouse* cases (1873), the Court ruled that basic civil rights and liberties fell under the authority of state governments, not the federal government.

The Court further limited the scope of the amendment in *United States v. Cruikshank* (1876) by ruling that the federal government could only prohibit state government violations of black rights, not the actions of individuals. In 1896 the Fourteenth Amendment was further weakened; in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Court held that segregated railroad cars did not violate the equal protection clause. However, in the 20th century, the Supreme Court has reevaluated the Fourteenth Amendment. Though still controversial, it is considered one of the strongest Constitutional bulwarks in the defense of freedom and equality for all citizens.

See also ABOLITION; WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** James Edward Bond, *No Easy Walk to Freedom: Reconstruction and the Ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1997); Joseph B. James, *The Ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1984).

—Justin J. Behrend

### Fredericksburg, Battle of (December 11–15, 1862)

The Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862 was a tactical victory for the South. But rather than being a major cause for celebration, Fredericksburg only slowed rather than stopped the Union push toward RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

The battle had its origins in a change in leadership on the Union side of the war effort. Frustrated with Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN’s sluggishness in moving against ROBERT E. LEE’s Army of Northern Virginia in the weeks following the Northern victory at the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM in September 1862, Lincoln decided to replace him as commander of the Army of the Potomac for the second and final time. His successor, Gen. AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE, assumed command on November 7. Urged on by impatient superiors, Burnside converted the army’s cautious march southwest into a 40-mile quick march across the Virginia countryside to Fredericksburg in an attempt to secure a direct route to the Confederate capital at Richmond before Lee could re-form his army and respond. Burnside was quick to implement his plans, and by November 17 the lead units of his army arrived on Stafford Heights on the north bank of the Rappahannock River, opposite the town of Fredericksburg.

Burnside called for pontoon bridge equipment; however, due to a combination of bad weather and bureaucracy, the pontoons did not arrive until November 25. The delay gave Lee the time necessary to move Gen. JAMES LONGSTREET’s corps to take up positions along the terraced slopes south of town. Lee did not know where the Union army would cross the river, so, when Gen. THOMAS



J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON's troops arrived a few days later, he sent them as far as 20 miles downriver to cover all potential crossings.

Reasoning that if he moved quickly he could concentrate his superior force on Longstreet's corps alone, Burnside ordered two pontoon spans erected opposite the city and another a mile downstream. In the early morning hours of December 11, Union engineers began laying pontoons but soon gave up the effort in the face of withering musket fire from Mississippians on the southern bank. After nine unsuccessful attempts to complete the bridges throughout the day, a small force of volunteers finally managed to cross the river at dusk and drive the rebel sharpshooters from the town. Burnside's army began crossing into Fredericksburg during the night.

Burnside issued no orders for an attack on the morning of December 12; instead, the Union troops spent the day looting the town. Meanwhile, having observed the enemy crossing, Lee sent for Jackson's scattered corps. A quick march brought the corps to the field and in position on Longstreet's right by dawn on December 13.

Burnside planned to attack Longstreet's positions with part of his army while launching a strong flanking

attack on Lee's right with 55,000 men. At 8:30 A.M., Gen. GEORGE G. MEADE's brigade of Pennsylvanians moved against Jackson, only to be beaten back by both frontal and flanking artillery fire. Resuming their attack, Meade's men stumbled into a section of woods that had been left unprotected by Jackson and briefly managed to pierce the rebel lines. Having anticipated the possibility of a break along his lines, Jackson counterattacked with his reserves, driving the Federals back to their original positions.

On the Union right, Burnside ordered a series of assaults over the plain south of town toward a sunken road and stone wall along the base of Marye's Heights. Over the course of the afternoon, one Union brigade after another was hurled against the stone wall, only to be shattered and repulsed by the artillery on the crest of Marye's Heights and the musketry of Longstreet's infantry, standing four deep in the sunken road along its base. In one 600-yard section of the line, more than 30,000 Federals were sent against a position occupied by 7,000 Confederates, who shot them down en masse, leaving 9,000 dead and wounded in their front. It was at this point in the battle that Lee turned to Longstreet and uttered his famous



Battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862. Lithograph by Currier & Ives (Library of Congress)

comment, "It is well that war is so terrible! We should grow too fond of it!"

As the day came to a close, Burnside withdrew his battered brigades to the town while the cries of the wounded, "weird, unearthly, terrible to hear and bear," rose in the bitter-cold winter night. Burnside's determination to personally lead a resumption of the attacks the next day met with stubborn resistance from all of his subordinates, who saw no better prospects for success. Burnside reluctantly withdrew his army across the river over the next two days, pulling up his bridges behind him.

As the armies settled into winter camps, the tactical victory of the Battle of Fredericksburg belonged to Lee. However, the Confederates had lost more than 5,000 men whom they could not easily replace. While the Federals had lost more than twice that number, the steady stream of replacements from the North soon brought the Army of the Potomac back to its original strength. The real legacy of the battle was the devastating impact on the morale of the Northern populace and its army. Hearing of the terrible, tragic losses of men, Lincoln sadly remarked, "If there is a worse place than Hell, I am in it." Seven months would pass, two more commanders would succeed Burnside, and the BATTLES OF CHANCELLORSVILLE and GETTYSBURG would be fought before the Army of the Potomac would regain its *esprit de corps*.

**Further reading:** Gary Gallagher, ed., *The Fredericksburg Campaign: Decision on the Rappahannock* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); William Marvel, *Burnside* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

—Don Worth

### **Freedman's Savings Bank (Freedman's Saving and Trust Company) (1865–1874)**

Also known as the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, the Freedman's Savings Bank was chartered as a private corporation in March 1865. The bank was the first financial institution specifically meant for the savings of recently emancipated African Americans. The mutual savings bank was undertaken with a dual mission of providing financial stability for freedpeople and inculcating the middle-class habits needed for them to succeed in a system of free labor. As such, many prominent African Americans and their supporters in Congress welcomed the bank and its educative agenda. Henry Wilson, vice president of the United States under ULYSSES S. GRANT, remarked enthusiastically that the hard-earned dollars of freed people were "just as safe there as if it were in the Treasury of the United States."

Headquartered in WASHINGTON, D.C., the Freedman's Savings Bank opened 37 branches throughout the

South. Each office employed African-American tellers and appointed leaders of the local community to the advisory boards of the various branches. The bank worked hand in hand with other respected black institutions, such as the FREEDMEN'S BUREAU and churches, to encourage customers to use its services. Newspaper advertisements often prominently featured ABRAHAM LINCOLN in the background, giving the distinct impression of government endorsement. John W. Alvord, president of the bank, presided over a conservative institution that received depositors' money and invested in government securities but did not make any loans. This sensible policy won the respect and the business of 100,000 customers and assets of \$4 million. Deposits ranged anywhere from a few pennies to around \$50, but all were welcomed. In addition to individual deposits, many African-American organizations eagerly put their treasuries into the bank.

In 1870 Congress amended the bank's charter to allow speculative investments and loans. Unfortunately, a combination of bad investments, corrupt practices, and the effects of the panic of 1873 led to financial insolvency. In 1875 the Freedman's Savings Bank closed its doors forever. Attempts made by friends of the bank failed to secure full financial restitution to investors. "I pray you to consider us old People," wrote one former customer, "our best life spent in Slavery. . . . Just asking for what we worked for." The failure of the Freedman's Bank, and the inability of former slaves to regain their deposits, explained why many African Americans distrusted financial institutions for decades afterwards.

See also RECONSTRUCTION.

**Further reading:** Carl R. Osthaus, *Freedmen, Philanthropy, and Fraud: A History of the Freedman's Saving Bank* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976).

### **Freedmen's Bureau (Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands) (1865–1872)**

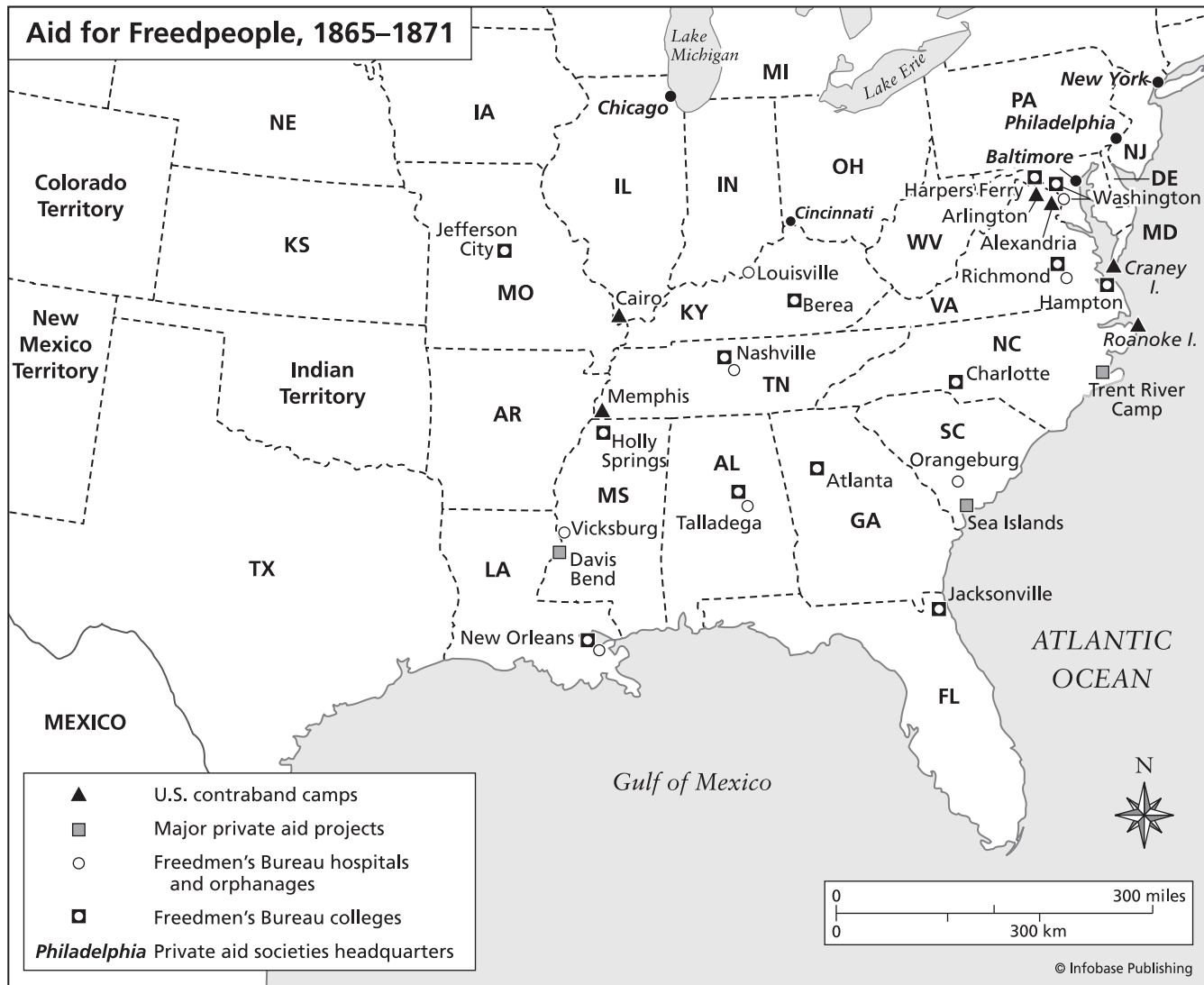
Congress created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, on March 4, 1865, to help ex-slaves negotiate the transition from SLAVERY to freedom. The primary task of the Freedmen's Bureau was to transform the South into a free-labor society. The bureau's 900 agents had the nearly impossible task of introducing a free-labor system; educating the freedmen; aiding the ill, insane, aged, and poor; passing judgment on interracial quarrels; and instituting an impartial justice system. The bureau was continually understaffed, underfunded, and subject to opposition from hostile Southern whites. For all of its limitations and weaknesses, however, the Freedmen's Bureau demonstrated the federal government's commitment to making freedom a reality for ex-slaves.

The bureau was designed to meet the needs of ex-slaves at the end of the war. CONTRABAND camps throughout the South strained under the burden of provisioning thousands of freedpeople who had fled their masters. In 1863 the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission suggested the creation of a permanent institution to meet the needs of war REFUGEES and to help ex-slaves become self-reliant. As a measure of the enormity of the endeavor, more than 21 million rations were distributed to destitute black and white Southerners over the life of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Attached to the War Department, the bureau was charged with distributing aid and helping the former slaves attain land ownership. Commissioner General O. O. HOWARD headed the agency and was assisted by 10 assistant commissioners, one commissioner for each of the

11 former Confederate states. Howard was a CIVIL WAR general, a devout Christian, and a strong advocate of civil rights for recently emancipated slaves. The Freedmen's Bureau legislation authorized Howard, as commissioner, to divide abandoned lands into 40-acre plots for settlement by freedmen families and to set up lease agreements for a term of three years at a low interest rate. At the end of the term, the freedman could purchase the land.

In the South Carolina Sea Islands and along the MISSISSIPPI RIVER, experiments in black landownership during the war sought to establish patterns for settlement. On January 16, 1865, Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN issued SPECIAL FIELD ORDER NO. 15, which set aside the coastal areas of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida for the freedmen. Within six months, 40,000 freedmen had been





settled on 400,000 acres. In DAVIS BEND, Mississippi, the Freedmen's Bureau established a black colony by leasing land that ex-Confederate president JEFFERSON DAVIS had once occupied to ex-slaves. In Louisiana, bureau agents converted abandoned PLANTATIONS into black communities. Though these settlement plans were temporary measures, the freedmen worked the land, produced profits, and claimed ownership.

Land redistribution was the single most contentious issue during the existence of the Freedmen's Bureau. Not only was land an economic asset and a means for self-sufficiency, but in the mid-19th century, land ownership was equated with independence and citizenship. At its peak, however, the Freedmen's Bureau controlled only 800,000 acres of land, enough to settle just 20,000 families on 40-acre plots, not nearly enough for 4 million former slaves. Compounding the problem of land redistribution was a vigorous campaign by white Southerners to regain titles to the small amount of land that the bureau did possess.

Plans to place freedmen families on 40-acre plots also ran into significant opposition from President ANDREW JOHNSON, who issued an Amnesty Proclamation on May 29, 1865, pardoning former Confederates (except the wealthy and certain political leaders) and restoring their confiscated land. The proclamation specifically ignored the fact that freedmen already occupied much of this land and were working it for themselves. This decision also threatened the solvency of the bureau, since much of its revenue was derived from leased land. Commissioner Howard moved to absorb all confiscated land controlled by other federal agencies into the Freedmen's Bureau and to immediately distribute the land. President Johnson, however, countered by issuing executive orders to restore the land to the original owners.

Understandably, the freedmen felt betrayed by the rescinding of their land grants. They believed that the land belonged to them, since they had made it productive. Congress subsequently took up the issue of land redistribution in the Southern Homestead Act of 1866. It set aside more than 3 million acres of federal land for settlement by the freedmen; however, few were able to secure a homestead. When the law went into effect on the first day of 1867, many freedmen were already tied to yearlong labor contracts that prevented them from making a claim. Others lacked the capital needed for tools and animals or the time needed to clear unimproved land. BLACK CODES also forbade black land ownership and, in some states, restricted leasing. Even the actual land held problems for the freedmen, since most of the federal land was of poor quality. In the end, only 4,000 families settled in Southern homesteads.

Despite failed attempts at land redistribution, the freedmen remained loyal supporters of the Freedmen's Bureau. Although most agents deferred to local planters in

disputes over working conditions or labor contracts, agents like the ones in the South Carolina Sea Islands had the true interests of the freedmen in mind and consistently sided with them against the planters. The freedmen used the bureau as their advocate to resist the power of planters and local white people. Planters pushed for a labor system similar to slavery, with yearlong contracts that tied freedmen to the land. The freedmen resisted by withholding their labor and eventually settling on a system of SHARECROPPING. The Freedmen's Bureau attempted a moderate approach in the transition to free labor. They placed African Americans at work on plantations while providing for schools and protecting them from white violence.

EDUCATION was the greatest achievement of the Freedmen's Bureau. Although it was not among the original directives from Congress, the bureau, along with Northern benevolent societies and state governments, funded black education because the freedmen demanded it. Three thousand schools were constructed by 1869, enrolling 150,000 students. The bureau also assisted in establishing black colleges designed to train African-American teachers for the new schools. The bureau's attempt to protect African Americans from white violence was less successful than its educational program; they were never able to assemble enough troops to prevent violence against African Americans. Furthermore, they relied on Southern state courts for judicial proceedings instead of Freedmen's Bureau courts, which were authorized to intervene in civil rights cases when African Americans were not treated equally.

The Freedmen's Bureau lasted until 1872. However, with the passage of the RECONSTRUCTION ACTS of 1867, most of the responsibilities of the bureau passed over to the military. Foreshadowing the shift toward Radical Reconstruction, Congress passed a bill extending the life of the Freedmen's Bureau over President Johnson's veto in 1866. In one of its last major initiatives, the bureau registered thousands of black voters across the South. The Freedmen's Bureau and the federal government failed to provide land for freedpeople, but many hoped that acquiring the vote would provide the foundation for lasting freedom.

Institutionally, the Freedmen's Bureau was an example of the expanding powers of the nation-state in the wake of the Civil War. It marked one of the first times that federal power was used to provide for the general welfare of a segment of the population. Despite its pioneering mandate, the bureau was less than successful in its goal to help freedmen make themselves into free and equal citizens. In fairness, material resources and manpower were never sufficient to meet the needs of the 4 million ex-slaves, and most white Southerners fought the bureau's efforts to up-lift the freed people at every step. Though slavery was destroyed, white planters hoped to recreate a subservient labor force to work the cotton fields. Even Freedmen's Bureau agents

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denigrated the capacity of freedmen to become independent proprietors. Nevertheless, the bureau established a legacy of federal commitment to the welfare of African Americans.

See also KU KLUX KLAN.

**Further reading:** Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); William S. McFeely, *Yankee Stepfather: General O. O. Howard and the Freedmen* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale

University Press, 1968); Claude F. Oubre, *Forty Acres and a Mule: The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Land Ownership* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978).

—Justin J. Behrend

**Free-Soil Party** See VOLUME IV.

**Fugitive Slave Law** See VOLUME IV.



### **Galveston, Battle of** (January 1, 1863)

At the outset of the CIVIL WAR, Galveston was the second largest city in Texas. Home to 7,000 people, the seaport was a major exporter of cotton—more than 200,000 bales in 1860. It was also one of the South's leading industrial centers, with two iron foundries and several facilities capable of manufacturing boats and other equipment for shipping and fishing.

During the Civil War, Galveston continued to be economically important, serving as a major port for receiving imported goods from blockade runners. Galveston also had strategic importance to both the Confederacy and the Union: As the South's westernmost major port, it had the potential to be an important base of operations for the UNION NAVY's blockade, if captured. Despite its significance, Galveston received scant military attention for the early part of the war. Given the Confederacy's manpower needs, there were no troops to spare for the town's defense, and by late 1861 it was guarded by only a handful of local militiamen. Union ships would occasionally bombard the town, but they made no serious attempt at capture until October 1862. Finally, in that month, a small contingent of Union ships and soldiers managed to overtake Galveston with relatively little bloodshed.

Once Galveston had been taken, 260 members of the 42nd Massachusetts Infantry Regiment were sent to fortify the town and prepare for a Confederate counterattack, which came in the early hours of New Year's Day, 1863. A small and disorganized group of Confederate troops and ships under Maj. John Magruder invaded from both land and sea. After a brief period of intense fighting, the Battle of Galveston ended with a Union retreat. The Confederate losses were 30 killed, 130 wounded. The Union had 21 killed, 36 wounded, and 250 captured.

Confederate troops held the city for the rest of the war. The last two years of the war were marked by a series of crises in Galveston: There were two near-revolts of underfed and undersupplied Confederate troops and a severe out-

break of yellow fever in 1864 that killed 250 people. Nonetheless, it continued to be an important port for blockade runners, with as many as nine or 10 ships in port at any given time. Galveston remained open for business until it surrendered on June 5, 1865. The town's story illustrates the logistical difficulties the Union faced in effectively blockading a coastline as long as the Confederacy's.

See also CONFEDERATE NAVY.

**Further reading:** Edward T. Cotham Jr., *Battle on the Bay: The Civil War Struggle for Galveston* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998).

—Christopher Bates

### **Garnett, Richard B.** (1817–1863) *Confederate general*

Confederate general Richard Brooke Garnett was born on November 21, 1817, at the family mansion at Rose Hill in Essex County, Virginia. His family was part of Virginia's influential Tidewater gentry. He graduated from the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1841. He served as an infantry officer in Florida's Second Seminole War and was considered a capable and affable leader.

Garnett was commissioned a major of artillery in the Confederate service on November 14, 1861. He rose to brigadier general in the provisional army and then succeeded Gen. THOMAS J. JACKSON as head of the "Stonewall Brigade." Garnett engaged in his first action at Kernstown, Virginia, on March 23, 1862. Out of ammunition and nearly surrounded by Union forces, he ordered an unauthorized retreat that forced Jackson's entire army to fall back. He was consequently arrested by Jackson and removed from command. A court-martial was pending but was never officially sanctioned.

Garnett resumed command in August 1862, taking charge of a Virginia brigade in Gen. GEORGE E. PICKETT's division. Vowing to clear his reputation, he fought with

distinction at the Battles of South Mountain and ANTIETAM in September 1862. Garnett was next engaged at the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, where he was so ill that he wore a heavy topcoat despite the summer heat. On July 3, 1863, Pickett's division was ordered to spearhead a final charge against the Union line, and Garnett, unwilling to remain a passive spectator, painfully mounted his horse and accompanied his brigade. He was apparently killed at the head of his men, only 20 yards from Union positions atop Cemetery Ridge, but his body was never recovered. It is assumed that Garnett's remains were stripped by Union forces and buried in a common grave. Many years later his sword turned up at an antique shop in Baltimore, Maryland.

**Further reading:** Matthew W. Burton and Robert K. Krick, *The River of Blood and the Valley of Death: The Lives of Robert Selden Garnett and Richard Brooke Garnett, C.S.A: Two Cousins for a Cause* (Columbus, Ohio: General's Books, 1998); Earl J. Hess, *Pickett's Charge—The Last Attack at Gettysburg* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Garrison, William Lloyd** (1805–1879) *abolitionist, journalist*

Militant abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison was born in 1805 in Newburyport, Massachusetts, the son of Abijah Garrison and Frances “Fanny” Lloyd. Abijah abandoned the family when William was young, and Fanny was left to raise three young children on her own. The family's finances were tight, and young William was regularly dispatched to beg for scraps from neighbors' tables. From this he developed a strong sense of compassion for the poor. He was also heavily influenced by his mother's devout Baptist convictions.

In 1818 the 13-year old Garrison was apprenticed to the editor of the *Newburyport Herald*. He completed his apprenticeship in the mid-1820s and moved on to serve as editor of a series of newspapers in Massachusetts and Vermont. Each of these ventures failed, as readers were put off by Garrison's antigovernment editorials. In 1829 Garrison accepted a post as the editor of *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, published in Baltimore, Maryland. In that capacity, Garrison wrote an editorial that condemned Massachusetts businessman Francis Todd as a “murderer” because he had participated in the slave trade. Todd sued, and Garrison was jailed.

Garrison's imprisonment changed his fortunes. For 49 days, Garrison remained in his cell, publicizing his “martyrdom.” By the time he was released, he had become a hero among New England's rapidly growing abolitionist community. Garrison returned to Boston and promptly founded a newspaper, *The Liberator*. In his first issue,

published in January 1831, Garrison promised to be “harsh as truth, and uncompromising as justice.” He served notice that “I will not retreat an inch, AND I WILL BE HEARD.” *The Liberator* quickly became the preeminent abolitionist newspaper, and it would remain so throughout the 1840s and 1850s.

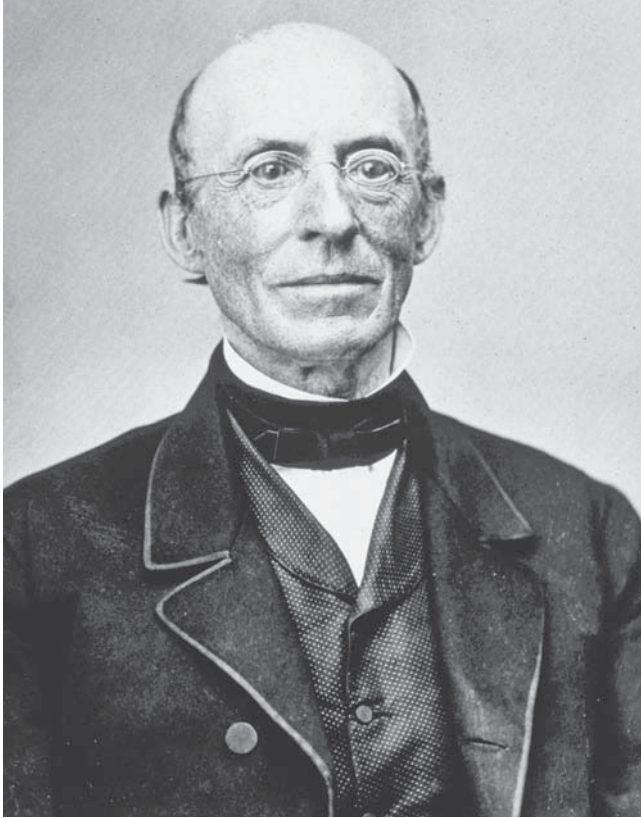
Garrison's message to readers of *The Liberator* was that SLAVERY had to be eliminated through immediate EMANCIPATION of the slaves. He believed that to enslave human beings was a sin and that both Northerners and Southerners were complicit. Garrison rejected colonization, which was the relocation of freed slaves back to Africa. In his 1832 pamphlet “Thoughts on African Colonization,” Garrison explained that he found colonization to be both impractical and racist. Instead, he thought the slave problem should be solved through “moral suasion,” the use of petitions, speeches, newspapers, and pamphlets to peacefully turn public opinion against slavery.

In 1833, Garrison reached the height of his influence. He helped to found the American Anti-Slavery Society, a biracial, gender-inclusive organization dedicated to promoting abolitionist activities throughout the United States. Garrison authored the society's Declaration of Sentiments, which emphasized nonviolence and urged abolitionists to do whatever necessary to cause their message to be heard. In 1834, shortly after completing the Declaration of Sentiments, Garrison married Helen Benson.

During the latter part of the 1830s, Garrison grew increasingly radical. He was attacked by a mob in 1835 and had to be rescued from being lynched. A number of other events—including the murder of abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy, Congress's tabling of all antislavery petitions, and the failure of church leaders to join in the abolition movement—left Garrison disillusioned. He came to believe that government and religious institutions had become corrupted and needed to be overthrown. He condemned Christian scripture as “superstition” and vowed that he would only follow the “pure religion of Jesus' perfect example.” He called the U.S. Constitution “a covenant with death—an agreement from hell” and suggested that the states without slavery should secede from the Union.

Garrison's increased militancy created serious tensions within the abolitionist movement. A number of prominent Garrison supporters were put off by what they saw as blasphemy. Others disagreed with Garrison's unwillingness to work within the political system. Some abolitionists did not approve of Garrison's belief in women's suffrage. And a number of African-American abolitionists, including FREDERICK DOUGLASS, were angered by Garrison's paternalism. He was willing to fight for African-Americans' freedom but was generally unwilling to make them equal partners in the struggle by appointing them to leadership positions within the American Anti-Slavery Society.





William Lloyd Garrison (Library of Congress)

In 1840 the split between “Garrisonian” and “anti-Garrisonian” factions became official, as a number of prominent abolitionists resigned from the American Anti-Slavery Society and founded the Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Others left to found the Liberty Party, the United States’s first antislavery political party. In seven years, Garrison had gone from being the leader of the ABOLITION movement to being on the fringes. He continued to generate attention with *The Liberator* and with outrageous gestures like publicly burning copies of the U.S. Constitution, but he had little influence on the antislavery movement.

During the CIVIL WAR, Garrison began to back off from his nonviolent philosophy, conceding that the use of force was sometimes necessary. He also came to be a supporter of ABRAHAM LINCOLN. When the war ended and the THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT was adopted, Garrison told the readers of *The Liberator* that his work was at an end. Although he supported Radical RECONSTRUCTION, he evinced little interest in joining the fight for African-American civil rights. At the end of 1865, Garrison shut down his newspaper and resigned from the American Anti-Slavery Society. By 1866 his career as a public figure was essentially over. Garrison devoted the rest of his life

to the care of his wife and four sons before dying in New York in 1879.

See also AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH; WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** William Lloyd Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison and the Fight against Slavery: Selections from The Liberator*, ed. William E. Cain (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin’s Press, 1995); Henry Mayer, *All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998).

—Christopher Bates

### German-American regiments

In 1860 ethnic Germans in the United States numbered about 1.3 million, the large majority of whom lived in Northern urban areas, and many thousands of whom were recent immigrants. The substantial and visible participation of German Americans in the CIVIL WAR helped to unite the German-speaking communities in many cities and contributed substantially to the preservation of the German identity in America.

Perhaps the largest impetus in the formation of all-German military units in the Union was the persuasion of ethnic political leaders, although language, social ties, community spirit, and location surely contributed. Immigrants who were not actually from Germany but who spoke German or Germanic languages (such as Swiss, Austrians, Poles, Hungarians, Czechs) had similar experiences or participated in the larger “German” context. German-American sports clubs, or Turnvereine, were particularly active in the formation of ethnic German units. “Turners,” as members were called, were well geared for the task; they were men of youthful vigor, used to physical training, organized, and involved. Some all-German units were composed solely of Turners.

The vast majority (85 percent) of ethnic Germans who served the Union cause fought in nonethnic units under American officers. However, at least 145 units were either all German or nearly so. They were formed mostly in Northern American cities, namely NEW YORK CITY, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, PHILADELPHIA, Milwaukee, and Indianapolis. Of the approximately 200,000 Germans who participated in the Civil War for the Union, about 5,000 were known as “48ers.” These men had fought for German unification and democracy in Europe during insurrections of 1848–49. Several 48ers rose through the ranks of the UNION ARMY and led all-German regiments. Friedrich Hecker led the 24th and 82nd Illinois Infantries, raised in Chicago. August Willich commanded the 32nd Indiana, possibly the most distinguished German unit. Franz Sigel led the Third Missouri Infantry and



eventually rose to the rank of brigadier general. He was a hero to the ethnic Germans, who often sang, "I fights mit Sigel." Peter Osterhaus's 12th Infantry, perhaps the most distinguished of the 18 German units of Missouri, included Henry Kircher, who left LETTERS written in German and English revealing daily life in a German unit.

Although Germans were the second-largest ethnic group in the Confederacy, behind the Irish, there were no all-German Confederate units. However, many units, especially from New Orleans, Charleston, RICHMOND, and Memphis, contained large numbers of Germans.

The ethnic German units of the Union received both criticism and praise. At Chancellorsville, two-thirds of the XI Corps were German or "mixed nationality" regiments and, when routed, they were tagged the "Flying Dutchmen," non-Germans included. The *New York Times* credited German soldiers from preventing a total rout at the SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN by remaining to fight amidst a chaotic retreat, and WILLIAM T. SHERMAN singled out the 32nd Indiana at the BATTLE OF SHILOH for its valiant efforts.

See also IMMIGRATION.

**Further reading:** William L. Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1988).

—Richard J. Roder

### Gettysburg, Battle of (July 1–3, 1863)

In a major battle at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the UNION ARMY of the Potomac under Gen. GEORGE GORDON MEADE defeated the CONFEDERATE ARMY of Northern Virginia commanded by Gen. ROBERT E. LEE. By reputation the most important Union victory of the war and the most crushing Confederate defeat, Gettysburg was dubbed the "High Water Mark of the Confederacy" and was seen by many observers as a turning point in the fortunes of both sides.

In May 1863 Confederate president JEFFERSON DAVIS, his cabinet, and Gen. Lee met in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, to address the South's deteriorating strategic situation. The majority of the group voted to detach reinforcements from the Army of Northern Virginia and send them west to help lift the siege of Vicksburg. But Lee disagreed. He pressed for a second invasion of the North, arguing that an offensive would draw Union forces far away from the Confederate capital and allow his troops to gather provisions in the lush agricultural regions of Pennsylvania. Davis was persuaded, and preparations began for a second offensive through enemy territory.

In June 1863 Lee marched his army into Maryland and Pennsylvania to forage for supplies and to draw the Army

of the Potomac, then under Gen. JOSEPH HOOKER, away from Virginia. Lee hoped to win a decisive battle on Northern soil that would undermine Northern morale and hasten the end of the war. His army of about 75,000 men consisted of three infantry corps (each with five artillery battalions attached) under the command, respectively, of Gens. JAMES LONGSTREET, RICHARD S. EWELL, and AMBROSE P. HILL, along with two cavalry brigades (each with artillery attached) under Gen. J. E. B. STUART.

Hooker's army numbered roughly 90,000 men organized into seven corps of infantry and artillery, one corps of cavalry and artillery, and 21 batteries of reserve artillery. When Lee moved north, Hooker cautiously followed, keeping his forces between Lee and WASHINGTON, D.C. The Confederates, their morale high, marched up the Shenandoah Valley and captured the Union garrison at Winchester on June 14. Ewell's infantrymen crossed the Potomac River at Williamsport on June 15, advancing toward the Cumberland Valley and plundering Northern towns and farms as they went.

Although its cavalry corps nearly defeated Stuart's troopers in the Battle of Brandy Station on June 9, the Union army was not able to impede Lee's northward movement. On June 25, Hooker sent three corps into Maryland under the command of Gen. John F. Reynolds, but he had moved too late, and by June 27, Hill's and Longstreet's corps reached Pennsylvania. However, Lee had lost track of Stuart, whose cavalry took an indirect route around the Union army and failed to provide Lee with intelligence about enemy movements. In fact, Stuart was responding to discretionary and somewhat ambiguous orders from Lee, which allowed him a certain strategic latitude. Some have contended that this was one of the biggest blunders of Lee's career, while others have put the blame squarely on Stuart's shoulders.

On June 28 President ABRAHAM LINCOLN replaced Hooker with Gen. Meade, the able V Corps commander. While Meade gathered his forces in northern Maryland, Lee ordered his own corps to concentrate in southern Pennsylvania. He had no idea that Union forces were perilously close and less scattered than his own deployments. On June 30 Confederate infantry encountered Union cavalry in Gettysburg, a town of about 2,400. Two Confederate divisions, commanded by Gens. Henry Heth and William Dorsey Pender, returned to Gettysburg on July 1. At about 10 A.M., Heth's men exchanged fire with dismounted Union cavalry, commanded by Gen. John Buford, west of town. Meade's field commander, Gen. John Reynolds, who had ordered the I and XI Corps to Gettysburg in support of Buford, was killed while hurrying his infantry into action near Herbst's Woods. Gen. Abner Doubleday, commander of the III Corps, assumed command of the I Corps. Gen. O. O.

HOWARD of the XI Corps, who had not yet reached Gettysburg, assumed field command of the Union left wing.

Reynolds had earlier sent word to Meade that he would hold off the Confederates as long as possible to allow the Union infantry time to arrive in force and occupy a defensive position on the hills south and east of Gettysburg. Gen. Howard, arriving with the XI Corps at about noon, sent two I Corps divisions to reinforce Doubleday on McPherson's Ridge, positioned two XI Corps divisions to guard the approaches north of town, and kept a third division in reserve on Cemetery Hill. Like Reynolds, Howard recognized that in a full-scale battle the advantage would go to the side that held the hills south of Gettysburg.

Gen. Lee, arriving on the field at about 2 P.M., ordered Heth and Pender to renew their assault on McPherson's Ridge. In some of the deadliest fighting of the war, Union forces stoutly resisted successive Confederate attacks before falling back. Reaching Gettysburg from the north, two divisions of Ewell's corps launched coordinated assaults on divisions from the Union I and XI Corps. With his lines hard pressed and no sign of reinforcements, Howard ordered a Union retreat through town to Cemetery Hill. Gen. WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK of the II Corps, Meade's choice to replace the fallen Reynolds as field commander, arrived in time to help rally the Union troops against a renewed Confederate attack. In light of the battered condition of Hill's corps, however, Ewell decided to forgo an assault. This hesitancy proved another major Confederate mistake, because it granted retreating Federal forces a badly needed respite to rally along a nearby rise of hilly, rocky terrain.

Meade reached the field late on July 1. By the next morning, all of the Union army except for the VI Corps was at or near Gettysburg. The Union forces occupied an excellent defensive position—a hook-shaped line extending from Culp's Hill southeast of town, north and west through Cemetery Hill, then south down the length of Cemetery Ridge, and ending on a rocky prominence called Little Round Top. Meade, an engineer by training, used his “surveyor's eye” to deploy his forces to maximum advantage across the rough terrain they occupied and make it work against the enemy. A mile to the west, two Confederate corps, those of Hill and Longstreet, occupied Seminary Ridge, which paralleled Cemetery Ridge, while Ewell's corps occupied the town of Gettysburg itself. Determined to remain on the offensive after the success of the previous day, on July 2 Lee ordered Longstreet to attack the Union left with two fresh divisions. Ewell was ordered to launch a simultaneous assault against the Union right. The entire operation came over the strenuous objections of Longstreet, who had argued against fighting Union forces on ground of their choosing. He instead sought a wide flanking movement around the enemy's left to turn them. Lee would not hear of it, however, and the attack went forward as planned.



Battle of Gettysburg, July 1–3, 1863 (*Library of Congress*)

In a vain attempt to avoid detection by Union signalmen, Longstreet's divisions took a circuitous route to the south end of the field that delayed the Confederate assault until late afternoon. When Longstreet's men finally attacked the enemy's left, they unexpectedly encountered Gen. DANIEL E. SICKLES's III Corps at the Peach Orchard and the Emmitsburg Road. Against orders, Sickles had advanced his corps to what he believed was a better defensive position than the one Meade had assigned him on Cemetery Ridge. Discovering the situation as the Confederate attack began, Meade ordered George Sykes's V Corps to support Sickles's vulnerable line. When Meade's chief engineer, Brig. Gen. Gouverneur K. Warren, reported that Little Round Top was undefended, Sykes quickly sent Col. Strong Vincent's brigade to occupy the hill. This critical position was saved for the Union by the courageous stand of Vincent's outnumbered brigade, including Lt. Col. JOSHUA LAWRENCE CHAMBERLAIN's 20th Maine Regiment, which held the hill until reinforcements arrived. Part of this gallant stand included a surprise bayonet charge down the bloodied slope by the 20th Maine; the charge broke the exhausted Confederates and prevented the Union flank from being turned.

In front of Cemetery Ridge, Sickles's infantry was overwhelmed by the Confederate onslaught and suffered heavy casualties. Reinforcements from the V Corps delayed the III Corps's retreat from its forward position long enough for Meade to reestablish a thin defensive line on Cemetery Ridge. Gen. Hancock sent regiments from his II Corps into the fray to stem the Confederate charge on the left, leaving an opening in the Union line that the Confederates were unable to exploit. Hancock and Meade rushed troops from the I and II Corps to repair the broken Union line and turn back the Confederate assault.

On the Union right, Ewell was unable to coordinate his attack with Longstreet's and so his troops did not take advantage of weaknesses in the federal line. Henry Slocum's XII Corps had occupied breastworks on Culp's Hill, but Meade borrowed two of its divisions to help shore up his line on Cemetery Ridge, leaving a single brigade to defend the Union works. When Ewell finally attacked at 8 P.M., darkness and the inherent strength of the Union position allowed the outnumbered Federals to hold off three Confederate brigades until reinforcements from the I and XI Corps arrived. Meanwhile, on Cemetery Hill, Union defenders turned back an attack by Early's division.

The Confederates had fought hard on July 2 but could not dislodge the Union army from its strong defensive position. Lee intended to try again on the following day to launch simultaneous assaults on Culp's Hill and on the Union left. Meade disrupted Lee's plan by attacking first. The Union XII Corps, reinforced by men from the I and VI Corps, had reoccupied the breastworks on Culp's Hill, and at dawn Union guns opened a barrage on the Confederates at their front.

Forced to change course, Lee decided to attack the Union center, which had been briefly breached the day before. However, Meade had anticipated Lee's move at a strategy meeting the night before and had strengthened this vulnerable section of the Union defensive line with fresh infantry and artillery units. Preparations for an artillery barrage and infantry assault took all morning. At 1 P.M., as many as 170 Confederate guns opened a massive two-hour barrage on the Union line. Confederate gunners damaged some of their targets in the Union center, but many shells overshot their targets. Returning fire, Union gunners caused significant casualties among Confederate infantry massed for the assault. When Union artillery chief Henry J. Hunt stopped firing to conserve ammunition, Confederate artillery commander Col. E. P. ALEXANDER signaled Longstreet to begin the assault.

Longstreet reluctantly sent the infantry forward across nearly a mile of open ground. Three Confederate divisions—commanded by Gens. GEORGE E. PICKETT, James Pettigrew, and Isaac Trimble—took part in the attack, which became known to history as "Pickett's Charge." The 12,000 men who participated in the famous assault suffered casualties in excess of 50 percent. Faced with deadly canister fire the moment they came within range of Union artillery, only a few thousand Confederates made it to the Union line on Cemetery Ridge. Those who did make it were met with rifle fire and double canister. As his infantry retreated back toward Seminary Ridge, Lee told them, "The fault is mine, but it will be right in the end."

The Battle of Gettysburg ended with a cavalry engagement three miles east of town. At about 3 P.M. on July 3, Stuart's cavalry, which had arrived the day before, attempted

to attack the Union rear. In one of the largest cavalry fights of the war, Brig. Gen. David M. Gregg's Union troopers fought Stuart's brigades to a draw. The Michigan brigade of Gen. GEORGE A. CUSTER particularly distinguished itself throughout this encounter with several hard charges that brought Confederate advances to a halt and convinced the otherwise indomitable Stuart to retreat.

On July 4, Lee's army waited in the rain for a possible counterattack. After none materialized, the Confederates began their retreat to Virginia that night. By July 7 Lee had reached the rain-swollen Potomac River but was unable to cross. Meade followed Lee by way of Frederick, Maryland, where he met his supply trains. The slow-moving Union army reached the Potomac too late to prevent the Confederates from crossing on July 14.

Casualties during the Gettysburg campaign totaled more than 20,000 for the Confederate army and more than 23,000 for the Union army. In the battle's aftermath, the question of why the Confederate army lost took precedence over the question of how the Union army won. Southern loyalists were slow to blame Lee for his costly decision to take the tactical offensive. Lee apologists condemned Stuart for being absent during most of the campaign and criticized Longstreet for launching his July 2 attack on the Union left later than Lee had intended. Confederate blunders do not entirely explain the Union victory, however. Meade and his army won the battle because of effective leadership and tenacious fighting. Wrongly accused of wanting to abandon the field, criticized for allowing Lee's defeated army to return to Virginia, and embroiled in controversy over the merits of Sickles's actions on July 2, Meade never received the credit he deserved for his leadership at Gettysburg. President Lincoln made little effort to disguise his disappointment that Meade did not vigorously pursue the defeated enemy. But Meade, cognizant of his own heavy losses and his highly capable opponent, never regretted his decision.

In November 1863, the Union states established a federal cemetery at Gettysburg that was dedicated by Lincoln. After the war, the battlefield became a popular tourist site, covered with MONUMENTS and preserved as a national military park.

See also GETTYSBURG ADDRESS.

**Further reading:** Edwin B. Coddington, *The Gettysburg Campaign: A Study in Command* (New York: Scribner, 1984); William A. Frassanito, *Gettysburg: A Journey in Time* (New York: Scribner, 1975); Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *Three Days at Gettysburg: Essays on Union and Confederate Leadership* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1999); Michael Shaara, *The Killer Angels* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1996).

—Amy J. Kinsel



**Gettysburg Address** (November 19, 1863)

President ABRAHAM LINCOLN delivered the Gettysburg Address, one of his most memorable public speeches, on November 19, 1863. Lincoln's brief remarks officially dedicated the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, where in July 1863 the UNION ARMY of the Potomac had won a major victory over the CONFEDERATE ARMY of Northern Virginia. The federal cemetery that Lincoln dedicated on the battlefield would hold the bodies of thousands of Union soldiers who had died as a result of the fighting.

Contrary to popular myth, Lincoln wrote his address several days in advance of his trip to Gettysburg, carefully crafting his remarks in the full knowledge that they would be widely reported in the Northern press. Published accounts of the speech contained slight variations in wording, and Lincoln continued to edit the text when he copied it out for admirers. Lincoln's final version read:

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as the final-resting place of those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But in a larger sense we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Lincoln used the Gettysburg Address to place his interpretation of the battle and the war before the American people. He framed the war with his own vision of the future—a reunited country grounded in its Revolutionary heritage but different from what had gone before. By proclaiming a devotion to freedom, equality, and republican

government as the nation's guiding philosophy, he defined the principles for which Union soldiers had died and around which he hoped the country might be rebuilt. In speaking of “the unfinished work” that the soldiers at Gettysburg had begun, he expressed optimism that something profoundly good might yet come from the CIVIL WAR's horrible devastation.

This good, though, would result only from Americans' commitment to the cause of freedom within a restored republic. Lincoln admonished his fellow Americans that preserving the Union through victory on the field would not be enough. A rededication to first principles, “a new birth of freedom,” would be required to make the victory worthy of its awful price. Americans, Lincoln urged, must resolve to fight on in the cause of freedom so that Gettysburg's dead “shall not have died in vain.”

If Lincoln sought to rededicate the United States to the ideals of liberty and equality, however, his expansive constitutional interpretation quickly foundered on the political compromises of the postwar period and the romantic lure of sectional reconciliation. In the end, Lincoln's attempt to remake the country on the basis of a broad interpretation of the Declaration of Independence faltered in the face of white Americans' eagerness to remember the war as a tale of glory rather than a struggle for freedom.

See also GETTYSBURG, BATTLE OF.

**Further reading:** Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992).

—Amy J. Kinsel

**Gone With the Wind** (1939)

The motion picture *Gone With the Wind* depicted Southern life in the antebellum and CIVIL WAR years. It was based on Margaret Mitchell's romantic novel *Gone with the Wind* (1936). An immediate best seller, the book naturally caught the attention of various Hollywood producers, who began a bidding war to obtain the film rights. These were won by David O. Selznick, who paid an unprecedented \$50,000 to make the film through United Artists. Because the leading man of his choice, Clark Gable, was contracted to Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer at the time, Selznick agreed to distribute the film through MGM and grant it an equal share of the profits.

In a much-publicized campaign to cast an appropriate leading lady, several known actresses such as Katharine Hepburn and Bette Davis were turned down in favor of a relatively unknown British contestant, Vivien Leigh. The film itself was known as a producer's movie because the demanding Selznick went through three directors—George Cukor, Victor Fleming, and Sam Wood—and

several scriptwriters before production was finished. He closely monitored day-to-day production, insisting on last-minute changes to dialogue, photography, and other facets to give the final product a distinct, “handcrafted” look. The expensive process of three-strip Technicolor was chosen to enhance the sumptuous sets and visuals.

The movie debuted in Atlanta, Georgia, on December 15, 1939. It garnered rave reviews despite its two-and-a-half-hour length and general compression of the novel. Within a year it had established itself as a Hollywood classic, winning nine Academy Awards (including best picture), the most any film had received to that time. For many years *Gone With the Wind* reigned as the world’s most profitable motion picture, being continually rereleased in 1947, 1954, 1961, and 1967, 1989, and 1998. It was not eclipsed as a moneymaker until the release of *The Sound of Music* (1965). Despite the worldwide popularity of *Gone With the Wind*, historians and sociologists have condemned its condescending depiction of antebellum PLANTATION life as demeaning and naive if not outright racist. Union soldiers are portrayed as butchers, African Americans are shown as happily servile to whites, and women—with the exception of fiery Scarlett O’Hara—are little more than decoration for a male-dominated society.

Still, the story resonated with film audiences, regardless of gender and racial composition, and stirred them with magnificent panoramas of a sanitized “Old South” and the highly impressive sequence of Atlanta in flames. More than any other film, *Gone With the Wind* has shaped moviegoers’ perception of the Civil War in a pro-Confederate light. Despite its racial baggage, in 1977 it outpolled such classics as *Citizen Kane* (1941) and *Casablanca* (1942) as the greatest American film in a vote by the American Film Institute. The original 35-mm negative is stored in a golden canister.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Gordon, John B.** (1832–1904) *Confederate general, politician*

John Brown Gordon was one of the Confederacy’s most respected generals and a politician who became a symbol for the newly reunited United States. Gordon was born in Upson County, Georgia, on February 6, 1832. Briefly a stu-

dent at the University of Georgia, he quit school to study law. When the CIVIL WAR erupted in April 1861, he joined a company of mountain men called the “Raccoon Roughs” as their captain. Despite his lack of professional military training, Gordon adjusted well to military life, and in April 1862 he advanced to colonel.

He fought in the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN of 1862 under Gen. Richard Rodes and saw active duty at the Battles of South Mountain and ANTIETAM. At the latter, on September 17, 1862, a seriously wounded Gordon and his brigade held the Sunken Road and fended off repeated attacks by numerically superior Union troops. He fought at the BATTLES OF CHANCELLORSVILLE and GETTYSBURG in 1863 and performed exceptionally well during the 1864 OVERLAND CAMPAIGN against Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT. In the Battle of SPOTSYLVANIA on May 12, 1864, Federals under Gen. WINFIELD S. HANCOCK overran the Confederate salient at the “Mule Shoe” and threatened to break their line. Gordon’s prompt counterattack drove them back, earning a promotion to major general. He accompanied JUBAL A. EARLY’s II Corps throughout the famous Shenandoah campaign of the summer and fall of 1864.

Gordon led the final Confederate offensive of the war against Fort Stedman on March 25, 1865. Defeat here signaled the collapse of RICHMOND, VIRGINIA’s defenses, and he conducted a tenacious rearguard action that allowed the Army of Northern Virginia to escape intact. He next fought at Saylor’s Creek on April 6, where most of the II Corps was captured or destroyed. Afterward Gen. ROBERT E. LEE appointed Gordon to draw up his documents of surrender to Gen. Grant on April 12, 1865. He also had the distinction of leading the bedraggled Confederates out of camp at APPOMATTOX, COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA, where they exchanged salutes with the Union troops lining the roads.

Returning to Georgia, Democrat Gordon embarked on a long and successful political career. Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1873, he was the first former Confederate to serve in that body. He became a leading voice for national reconciliation and urged fellow Southerners to work wholeheartedly for reunification. As a spokesman for the “New South,” Gordon was also a proponent of modernization and industrialization, helping his region expand beyond its long agrarian tradition. In 1886 Gordon was elected GOVERNOR of Georgia, and two years later he served again in the Senate. Preserving his links to wartime service, Gordon also became the first commander in chief of the United Confederate Veterans in 1890. He still functioned in this capacity at the time of his death in Miami, Florida, on January 9, 1904.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Gorgas, Josiah** (1818–1883) *educator, Confederate general*

Confederate brigadier general and educator, Josiah Gorgas was born on July 1, 1818, in Running Pumps, Pennsylvania, to Joseph Gorgas and Sophia Atkinson Gorgas. He graduated from the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1841, ranking sixth in his class, and was assigned to the Corps of Ordnance, the branch of the army concerned with military supplies and materials. In the Mexican-American War he played a major role in positioning the American guns used to bombard Mexican positions at Veracruz, and he also commanded the Ordnance Depot supporting Scott's campaign to Mexico City.

Following the war, he served at several arsenals including Mount Vernon, Alabama, where he met and married Amelia Gayle, daughter of a prominent state politician. Dissatisfied by internal U.S. Army politics and strongly pro-Southern, he resigned his commission in the U.S. Army and accepted appointment as Confederate chief of ordnance in April 1861.

Faced with major difficulties from the beginning, Gorgas worked hard to coordinate the several Southern states' ordnance agencies into a unified system. He worked quickly to establish Confederate-controlled arsenals and armories and to coordinate the contracts of various private firms. He based his department on a decentralized model that depended on the talents of subordinate officers who had wide discretion in the administration of their depots and arsenals. By 1863 Gorgas had done as well as anyone could to supply the Confederacy with arms and equipment. Proudly, he recorded in his diary: "Where three years ago we were not making a gun, pistol nor a sabre, no shot nor shell—a pound of powder—we now make all these in quantities to meet the demand of our large armies." As the war dragged on, however, Gorgas encountered increasingly difficult problems as raw materials became less available, labor shortages became acute, and important sites of production fell to Union advances.

Following the war, Gorgas purchased and ran the Briarfield Iron Works in Alabama. He sold the facility in 1869 and accepted appointment at the University of the South, where he played a vital role in establishing the school's curriculum and physical plant. In August 1878 he accepted the presidency of the University of Alabama. Gorgas died in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, on May 15, 1883.

See also CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

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—James Daryl Black

**Gould, Jay** See VOLUME VI.

## governors

The chief executives of a state, governors are elected every four years (in a few states, every two years), and the position involves a combination of executive, legislative, and judicial duties. Like most of the top political leadership during the 19th century, governors were likely to be former lawyers, with extensive political experience in local and state offices, and more than a few would have seen some military action. Every governor had control over his state's militias, and during the CIVIL WAR, this power made them indispensable to the national war effort in both the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA and the United States of America.

Governors, Northern and Southern, exercised great power during the war. Among other duties, they were commanders in chiefs of their state forces. As such, they were responsible for marshalling the state's manpower, resources, and population for the war effort. The midwestern governors were notable for their drive to enlist troops for the Union. In 1861 early volunteer regiments raised by Governor William Dennison of Ohio and Governor Oliver Morton of Indiana entered western Virginia. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN of Ohio led the force, which helped West Virginia separate itself from Virginia during the war. The fact is that going into the war, most CITIZEN SOLDIERS had a stronger allegiance to their state than the national government. The regiment, identified by state, was the basic fighting unit of the Civil War.

Just like President ABRAHAM LINCOLN in WASHINGTON, D.C., and President JEFFERSON DAVIS in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, the governors were also charged with explaining to the people of the state why men should enlist, why they should continue to fight, and why they should continue to support and to pay for the war. In the four years of the Civil War, governors raised money and troops, appointed officers, fostered and encouraged manufacturing, and enlarged and expanded social welfare programs for soldiers and soldiers' families.

Southern governors were mainly former Democrats who were strong secessionists before the war. Several Southern governors seized federal property in their state,

such as Governor Henry Rector of Arkansas, who captured a federal arsenal and allowed the placement of Confederate guns even before his legislature convened to consider SECESSION. The governor of North Carolina seized three forts and the arsenal in Fayetteville.

On the other hand, in slave Maryland, Unionist governor Thomas Hicks delayed action by the Southern-rights legislature by refusing to call it into session, thus helping to save his state for the Union. In the border state of Missouri, proslavery governor Claiborne Fox Jackson squared off with Congressman FRANCIS P. BLAIR, a Unionist; violence and confusion reigned in the divided state. In fact, Jackson's government existed in exile for most of the Civil War, and Missouri remained in the Union column. Governor Beriah Magoffin of Kentucky hoped to uphold his state's tradition of mediation by requesting a conference of border states that could seek a peaceful solution. Southern invasion early in the war brought the state over to the North's side.

The powerful STATES' RIGHTS sentiments that led to secession from the Union hindered centralization efforts by President Davis and the Confederate command. Governors such as JOSEPH E. BROWN of Georgia and Zebulon Vance of North Carolina supported the war aims of the Confederacy but vigorously opposed several of the total-war measures used to attain them, which each man saw as occurring at the expense of his state and its population. Despite their resistance to many of President Jefferson Davis's nationalizing ordinances, both Brown and Vance were popular and effective governors of their respective states. In particular, they took excellent care of their states' soldiers and the folks left behind by dramatically expanding programs for relief and welfare.

When Davis enacted the first CONSCRIPTION law in American history (1862), it exempted certain civil servants. Brown and Vance vociferously opposed the draft and vastly increased the number of exempt civil servants in their states. In fact, the two states eventually contained 92 percent of all such exemptions. Brown went even further by unilaterally extending the exemption clause of the draft, insisting that militia officers be included. He then appointed hundreds of new officers.

States' rights governors often refused to share their resources and supplies with the national army. Armaments seized from federal arsenals were a particular sore point. Southern governors maintained that they needed to keep guns and troops in their own states to guard their borders and deter slave uprisings rather than sending them to the fronts in Virginia or Tennessee. The same was true with food, clothes, and other military necessities.

The governors often insisted that they were acting in defense of the people against Davis's "despotism." Governor Brown led others against Davis's harsh martial law in

Richmond and other Virginia cities. He strongly advocated aid to families of poor soldiers and decried mistreatment of civilians by Confederate cavalry and other military units. Conversely, the two wartime governors of Virginia, John Letcher and "Extra Billy" Smith, strongly supported Davis's policies. It was in their states' interest to do so, as so much of the war was fought in Virginia; the same was true for the governors of Louisiana and Mississippi.

Unlike his counterpart, President Abraham Lincoln could depend upon the strong support and cooperation of the majority of governors in the North. Mainly Republican, the governors knew that their political fortunes rested upon the course of the war going as smoothly as possible. Upon setting quotas for volunteer regiments at the beginning of the war, several governors sent pleas to increase their quotas so that they could accept all those seeking to enlist. While Lincoln mobilized the national army and the government on war-alert status, the governors convened their legislatures and appropriated funds to supply regiments at state expense until late 1861, when the army could incorporate the troops.

The main problem in the Union in the beginning (as in the Confederacy) was the clash of local fervor with national disorganization. Recruitment was so successful, in fact, that it was temporarily suspended in the spring of 1862. This proved a mistake later in the year, when ROBERT E. LEE defeated GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN in the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN, creating a severe manpower shortage. Coming on the heels of loss in battle, a drive for recruitment was especially difficult. Northern governors quickly joined forces with Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON to backdate a statement asking Lincoln to follow up recent successes with another call to arms. Lincoln pretended compliance with the request in calling for 300,000 new volunteers.

The president did encounter political setbacks and difficulties regarding challenges to key Republican governorships, mainly after the 1863 EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, especially in New York, Illinois, and Indiana. For example, anti-emancipation sentiment in Indiana led to the election of a majority Democratic legislature that threatened to cut off support for the war. Republican governor Oliver P. Morton consulted the state constitution and found that a two-thirds quorum was necessary for the legislature to conduct its business. Dismissing Republican legislators, he ran the state for two years with the help of loans from the federal government. This kind of extraordinary (and, in Morton's case extralegal) action on the part of most Northern governors ensured that problems arising in the states never significantly affected Lincoln's national leadership.

The increased prominence of governors during the Civil War set a precedent from which few states retreated. Today, governors wield much more power than they did

in the past, and at least some of that authority began to be shaped when they were called upon to serve their states' interests during the sectional conflict.

See also ELECTIONS; EMANCIPATION; SLAVERY.

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—Richard J. Roder

## Grand Army of the Republic See VOLUME VI.

### Grant, Julia Dent (1826–1902) *first lady*

Julia Dent was born at White Haven, Missouri, on January 26, 1826. Daughter of a slaveholding planter, she grew up in a close and affectionate family that included seven siblings. After attending an elite boarding school in nearby St. Louis, the 18-year-old Julia was introduced to her older brother's West Point roommate, ULYSSES S. GRANT, aged 22. Their two-year courtship and four-year engagement were conducted in the midst of Grant's frequent absences in army service, including the Mexican-American War. Finally married in 1848, Julia accompanied Ulysses to an obscure military outpost near Sackets Harbor, New York. The life of an army wife was filled with uncertainty and loneliness, but Julia worked hard to ensure a happy family. A fun, lively, and charming woman, her great love and affection for Ulysses was returned in full. Within 10 years of their marriage she was busy raising four children.

Julia experienced many disappointments in the 1850s. Bored and frustrated with the professional military life, Ulysses resigned from the army in 1854. Returning to St. Louis, he tried his hand at various occupations, including farming. Almost totally dependent upon her father's charity, Julia and Ulysses struggled with poverty and his depression. Despite a record of failure, Julia stoutly defended her husband, believing that one day his talent and intelligence would find an outlet. In 1859 they moved their family to Galena, Illinois, so that Ulysses could work in his father's leather-goods store. When the war broke out in 1861, Ulysses volunteered his services immediately, and the next few years saw his swift rise to fame and glory as the Union's top general.

If everyone else was surprised by her husband's rapid elevation to hero of the Northern army, the ever-loyal Julia was not. She basked in his reflected glory and expanded her role as his helper and confidante. No other wife of a

prominent general spent more time with her husband on campaigns. At the end of the war, Julia had developed a confidence that would impress citizens when she served as first lady during the eight years of her husband's presidency, 1868–76. "My life at the White House was like a bright and beautiful dream and we were immeasurably happy," she later said. The Grants and their young children became the object of a country's adoration as they set a new style of friendly, casual, and constant entertaining. Julia also shared the setbacks of the Grant presidency as corruption and scandal marked their last years in WASHINGTON, D.C.

A few years after leaving the White House, the Grants retired to New York, where they expected to live out their lives in comfort. Unfortunately, in 1884, Grant lost all the family money in a financial disaster. Shortly afterward, he developed the throat cancer that led to his death in 1885. In his dying days, Grant completed his *Personal Memoirs*, which left Julia and the children financially secure. After his death, Julia lived for 17 years with her daughter in Washington, D.C., where she wrote her own *Memoirs*. She died on December 14, 1902. Julia Dent Grant is interred alongside her husband in General Grant's National Monument (Grant's Tomb) in NEW YORK CITY.

**Further reading:** Julia Dent Grant, *The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant*, ed. John Y. Simon (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988); Ishbel Ross, *The General's Wife: The Life of Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1959).

### Grant, Ulysses S. (1822–1885) *commanding general of the Union army, 18th president of the United States*

Ulysses S. Grant was born on April 27, 1822, in Point Pleasant, Ohio. The oldest child of Jesse and Hannah Simpson Grant was raised on the rough-hewn Ohio frontier, first in Point Pleasant and then in nearby Georgetown. The young Hiram Ulysses (his first and middle names were later changed to Ulysses Simpson) struggled to live up to his ambitious father's high expectations. Hiram was sensitive, moody, and well educated for his time and place. The decision to send "Lyss" to the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT was ultimately a wise one. During his four years at West Point (1839–43) Grant was a middling student but a superb horseman. He clearly enjoyed the military life. A few years after graduation from West Point, Lieutenant Grant fought in the Mexican-American War, where he showed great courage and skill as a soldier, winning promotion and accolades. The young soldier had a talent for fighting and, even more, an impressive knowledge of the strategy and tactics of warfare learned from experience, not textbooks.

Despite his good record in the war and a solid marriage to the sister of one of his West Point classmates, Grant did not do well in the peacetime army of the late 1840s and early 1850s. Assigned to remote forts, Grant took to drinking and resigned from the army under a cloud of suspicion. The civilian world proved just as difficult. Grant failed as a provider for his family, as a farmer, and as a businessman. He lived on his father-in-law's land outside of St. Louis, Missouri, until moving in 1859 to Galena, Illinois, to work as a clerk in his father's store. Although these years were a low point in his life, there were some happy times. He was a loving husband to JULIA DENT GRANT and an unusually attentive and affectionate father to their four children. When the guns of FORT SUMTER fired, Grant was eager to serve his country.

After briefly holding a series of low-level positions, Lt. Col. Grant was given command of the 21st Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Rising swiftly through the ranks, Brigadier General Grant was placed in command of the large Union supply and training camp at Cairo, Illinois. In the fall and winter of 1861–62, Grant used his troops aggressively and, in conjunction with the U.S. Navy, captured the strategically important Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. When the Confederate commander of Fort Donelson sent Grant a note to discuss the terms of surrender for his army of 21,000 men, Grant replied: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted." Now famous as "Unconditional Surrender" Grant, he continued to display the winning ways that would bring him to the favorable attention of President ABRAHAM LINCOLN and the victory-starved North. Grant's hard-won victories at Shiloh, Tennessee (April 6–7, 1862); Vicksburg, Mississippi (January–July 1863); and Chattanooga, Tennessee (October–November 1863) made him the leading Northern general of the CIVIL WAR.

Grant and Lincoln enjoyed an unusually close relationship, and Grant developed political skills that complemented his military abilities. Unlike many Union generals, Grant believed firmly that the president's role as commander in chief of the war was never to be questioned, even if he disagreed with an order. For example, Grant did not like the fact that many "political" generals were appointed simply because they were popular figures back home whose support Lincoln thought important to cultivate. Nevertheless, he accepted the reality and worked with the situation. Grant was an enthusiastic supporter of most of Lincoln's policies, however, especially the use of black soldiers. Most importantly, the popular Grant denied emphatically that he had any interest in running for the office of the president. By the end of 1863, Lincoln realized that he had found the general that would lead the country to victory. In January 1864, Lieutenant

General Grant came to WASHINGTON, D.C., to accept command of all the Union armies.

Grant did not rise to his position without controversy. As he progressed up the chain of command, he was increasingly subject to attacks on his character and generalship. Charges of drinking, incompetence, and a brutal indifference to death and suffering dogged him throughout his career and affected his reputation after the war as well. There is no doubt that Grant did make mistakes. He was caught unprepared for the Confederate attacks at Shiloh, for example. He also quickly regretted an ill-advised order that banned Jews from trading cotton. As to the reports of Grant's drunkenness, the historical evidence on his drinking shows that he rarely imbibed during the Civil War and never when it counted.

Grant began to implement his grand strategic vision during the spring and summer campaign of 1864. The plan, which involved the movement of all Union armies at the same time to attack and defeat the Confederates, drew Lincoln's warm support and raised the hopes of the Northern nation for a quick end to the war. Unfortunately, it took longer than expected. The battles of the OVERLAND CAMPAIGN, where Grant and ROBERT E. LEE's armies fought to bloody stalemate in the BATTLES OF THE WILDERNESS, SPOTSYLVANIA, and COLD HARBOR, gave rise to the nickname of "butcher" for the general in chief whose main strategy seemed to be throwing bodies at the enemy. Subsequent military historians have ably defended Grant against the butcher charge, pointing out that Lee lost many more men in proportion than did Grant, but Northern citizens were unaware of this fact. Fortunately, Grant's trusted western comrades, Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN and Gen. PHILIP H. SHERIDAN, under Grant's direction, led victorious armies that made possible Lincoln's reelection in the fall of 1864. On April 9, 1865, at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA, Grant dictated the terms upon which the war ended and upon which the nation could begin the process of reconciliation.

Having led the Union army to victory, Grant emerged from the Civil War a popular hero, appearing to most of the people as a man who had character and upright morality. Like many, if not most, of his fellow countrymen, Grant had tasted the bitterness of defeat and failure. He also had a sharp intelligence that served him well in both plotting strategy and in dealing with the CITIZEN-SOLDIER of the Civil War. Grant had made many mistakes, but he had learned from them. Moreover, he had a deep and abiding faith in democracy and democratic institutions. Even his lack of political experience was, in the eyes of those who viewed politicians with contempt, a virtue. By 1866, the battles between President ANDREW JOHNSON and Congress had left Grant as the most powerful man in the country. Nominated for president by the REPUBLICAN PARTY



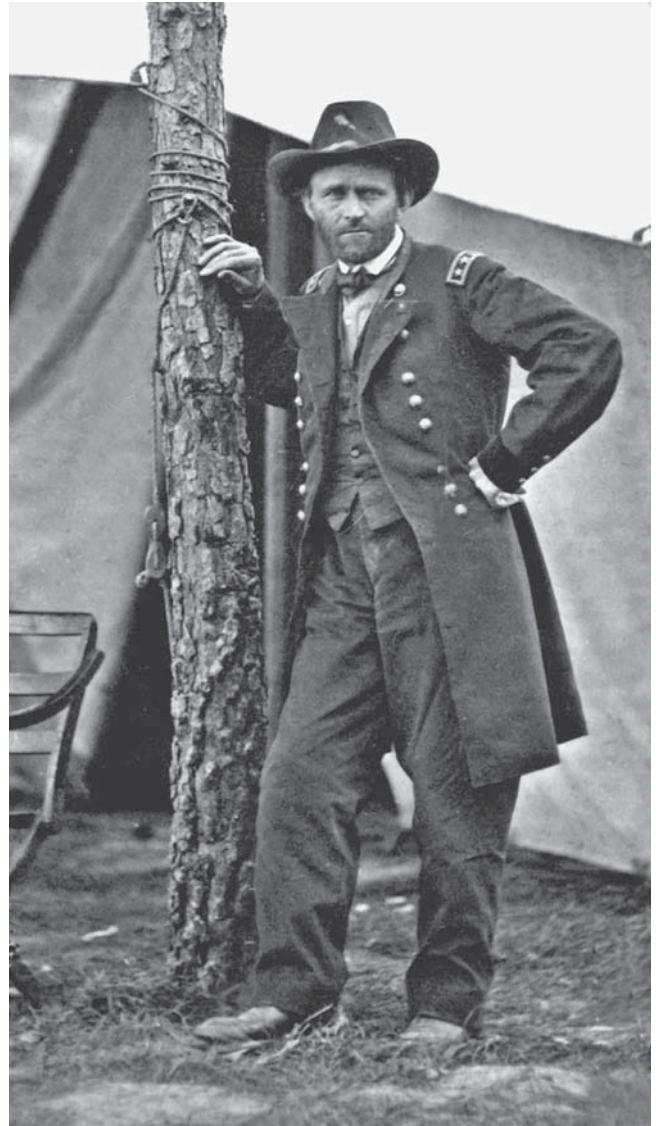
in 1868, Grant swept to victory. He was aided by newly enfranchised Southern African Americans in states reconstructed by Congress as well as by his famous campaign slogan “Let Us Have Peace.”

When Grant took office in 1869, RECONSTRUCTION governments in which African Americans participated existed in all of the former Confederate states except Tennessee. Although Grant did his best to uphold these “Black Republican” governments, violence-prone white supremacists gradually overthrew them everywhere except in South Carolina and Louisiana before Grant left office. Even in South Carolina and Louisiana, which had black majorities, the Republican governments were sustained only by the presence of army detachments. Black Republicanism during Reconstruction failed not because of Grant but because of growing Southern white resistance matched by growing Northern white apathy.

In foreign affairs, Grant was obsessed with the idea of annexing Santo Domingo but was frustrated by opposition in the Senate. Grant’s greatest success in this area came when Secretary of State Hamilton Fish negotiated the Treaty of Washington (1871) and prevented intervention in a Cuban revolution before and after the *Virginius* affair (1873).

Although rank-and-file Republicans stuck by Grant, Republican intellectuals were disillusioned by his presidency. They had hoped that he would be above partisanship and appoint the “best people” (like themselves) to office. Indeed, Grant did ignore politics initially in his cabinet and other major appointments, but having gratified no one in particular by his independent course, he soon learned to please spoils-minded Republican senators like Roscoe Conkling of New York and representatives like BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER of Massachusetts. Grant also proved to be too trusting, and while personally honest, he could be duped by unscrupulous friends and relations.

Reform Republicans were hostile to the spoilsmen and thus increasingly hostile to Grant. They disliked corruption in government circles and were opposed to special favors to corporations, whether in the form of land grants for RAILROADS or protective TARIFFS for manufacturers. Ultimately, the reform Republicans split with the administration and formed a new Liberal Republican Party. The party’s laissez-faire program included civil service reform, low tariffs, gold-backed currency, and no legislation aiding special groups, be they wealthy corporations or poor African Americans. Grant could not stand the self-righteousness and superior airs of many reformers, but he recognized that some civil service reform would benefit the nation. He approved tariff reductions, and he endorsed gold-backed “sound money.” These actions somewhat undermined the Liberal Republicans. To the dismay



Ulysses S. Grant (National Archives)

of the party’s leaders like Carl Schurz, the 1872 Liberal Republican convention nominated for president HORACE GREELEY, the eccentric editor of the *New York Tribune*. Although the Democrats also nominated Greeley, Grant triumphed handily in the election.

Grant’s second term was marred by a severe economic depression following the panic of 1873 and by the exposure of widespread corruption. For example, Orville E. Babcock, Grant’s personal secretary, was implicated in the WHISKEY RING that defrauded the government of millions of dollars in internal revenues. Grant’s secretary of war, William Worth Belknap, illegally sold an Indian-post tradership. The Republican Party was already disintegrating in the South, and the scandals and economic stagnation



also caused it to decline in the North. Grant backed two important measures that bucked the ebbing tide: Despite financial struggles, Grant opposed even mildly inflationary measures and approved the Specie Resumption Act (1875) that would put the United States back on the gold standard on January 1, 1879. And despite flagging interest in aiding African Americans, he signed the Civil Rights Act (1875) that guaranteed African Americans equal rights in public places such as streetcars, THEATERS, and hotels and prevented their exclusion from juries. When the outcome of the presidential election of 1876 was in dispute from November 1876 to March 1877, Grant behaved circumspectly, supported the Electoral Commission Act (1877), and never once hinted that he would use his control of the army to declare fellow Republican Rutherford B. Hayes the winner.

Throughout his presidency, Grant remained steadfast in the belief that the goals of the war should be preserved, even as the country's enthusiasm for Reconstruction of the South in the North's image faded away. Grant's final task as president harked back to his first, and perhaps most important, achievement: to ensure a stable transition between presidents. He succeeded in 1876, just as he had succeeded in 1868, and the country was reconciled for good. Few professional politicians could have done better, and most might have done far worse.

In retirement, Grant went on a world tour (1877–79), lobbied unsuccessfully for nomination to a third term as president, and went into the brokerage business. His firm, Grant & Ward, went bankrupt in 1884, leaving him broke. Mortally ill with throat cancer, Grant retreated to his home to write his *Personal Memoirs*, regarded by many as the greatest military memoirs since Caesar's *Commentaries*. Grant was in a great deal of pain as he raced against the clock to complete his book, and he died within weeks of finishing the task. Upon publication, Grant's memoirs sold hundreds of thousands of copies and recouped his fortune for his family. His memory as one of America's greatest generals, if not one of its greatest presidents, was secured.

Grant's legacy is deep and wide. By the time of his death on July 23, 1885, at Mount McGregor, New York, Ulysses S. Grant was an icon in the historical memory of the Civil War shared by a whole generation of men and women. Americans of that time compared Grant favorably to Washington and Lincoln. They believed that an appreciation of Grant could only come with the recognition that he was both the general that saved the Union and the president who made sure that it stayed together. On the same day that 1.5 million Americans attended Grant's funeral in NEW YORK CITY and countless others commemorated his life in cities and towns across the country, a newspaper headline provided the perfect epitaph for the accomplish-

ments of General and President Ulysses S. Grant: "The Union, His Monument."

See also CHATTANOOGA, BATTLE OF; SHILOH, BATTLE OF; VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

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**Greeley, Horace** (1811–1872) *journalist, reformer, politician*

Newspaper editor Horace Greeley was born in Amherst, New Hampshire, on February 3, 1811. In 1826 he entered into the world of JOURNALISM, serving as a printer's apprentice for the *Northern Spectator* of East Poultney, Vermont. Over the next several years, Greeley worked for many different newspapers in the Northeast, editing several and forming a political partnership with two powerful figures in New York state politics, Thurlow Weed and WILLIAM H. SEWARD. Greeley's most important opportunity, however, arrived in 1841 when he founded and became editor of the *New York Tribune*.

Greeley's role as editor of the *Tribune* not only established his legacy but also allowed him to promote his interests in reform, writing, and politics. He used his editorials over the course of three decades to battle against numerous vices and social problems, including tobacco, alcohol, gambling, PROSTITUTION, and SLAVERY. He also pushed for land reform and a protective TARIFF that would aid the American worker. Above all else, he strove for his vision of national unity and harmony. As a result, his support for labor did not encompass the encouragement of what he saw as divisive STRIKES. He stood for freedom and against slavery, yet in the 1840s and early 1850s he expressed his opinions carefully, for he saw radical abolitionism as a threat that could destroy the nation.

Greeley's expansive nationalism found expression in his vision for the western lands. Although he did not invent the phrase, Greeley has long been credited with first saying, "Go west, young man." He became a strong proponent of the development of RAILROADS. In his mind, the open lands of the West would provide land for numerous free-labor settlers and bring prosperity for all, as long as the

Southern institution of slavery was not allowed to expand as well. Long a “Conscience” Whig who stood against the “Cotton” Whigs, Greeley helped found the REPUBLICAN PARTY in 1854. His newspaper took a powerful stand against the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT and popular sovereignty, which he believed would aid in the growth of slavery. Heading into the crisis of the late 1850s, Greeley promoted peace and harmony above all else. Greeley was intent on keeping the nation together, even as he attacked slavery.

While he remained involved in New York state politics throughout his life, Greeley ended his partnership with Weed and Seward in 1854. He campaigned for John C. Frémont in 1856, and although he did not initially support ABRAHAM LINCOLN in 1859 for the Republican nomination, neither did he support Seward, whom he believed lacked the necessary national appeal. Throughout the years of the CIVIL WAR, Greeley maintained an alternately supportive and adversarial relationship with Lincoln through his editorials in the *Tribune*. In the hope of avoiding war in 1860, Greeley advocated letting the Southern states secede, for he believed that most Southerners did not support SECESSION and that these “erring sisters” would soon be forced to return.

After the war began, the *Tribune* editorials revealed a shift in Greeley’s thinking. He began to advocate the abolition of slavery as a primary war objective and encouraged Lincoln to formulate an EMANCIPATION policy. Although his political positions aligned him with the RADICAL REPUBLICANS, Greeley still looked to find a compromise to end the war. As a result, in July 1864, he found himself in Niagara Falls, meeting with several Southern “peace commissioners.” Given permission to participate by an extremely skeptical President Lincoln, the *Tribune* editor failed to bring anything but derision upon himself for his efforts. As the war came to a close, Greeley stated his support for a moderate RECONSTRUCTION, one that allowed for universal amnesty and impartial suffrage while promoting the long-range goal of Republican predominance in national politics.

A man of principles, Greeley helped post bail for JEFFERSON DAVIS in 1867. This decision not only hurt his standing in the public eye but also dealt a blow to sales of the second volume of his history of the Civil War, *The American Conflict*. In the last years of his life, Greeley grew disenchanted with the Republican Party and was only a reluctant supporter of ULYSSES S. GRANT in the 1868 election. In 1871 he completely broke ranks with the party he helped found and joined the rising Liberal Republican movement. With his principles and national recognition firmly in place, Greeley became the Liberal Republican and Democratic nominee for president in 1872. In two emotionally crushing losses, Greeley suffered the

death of his wife and defeat at the hands of Grant in early November.

Horace Greeley died in Pleasantville, New York, on November 29, 1872.

See also ABOLITION.

**Further reading:** Coy F. Cross, *Go West, Young Man!: Horace Greeley’s Vision for America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Ralph Ray Fahrney, *Horace Greeley and the Tribune in the Civil War* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970); Horace Greeley, *The Autobiography of Horace Greeley, or, Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York: Treat, 1872).

—John P. Bowes

## greenbacks

In early 1862, after the CIVIL WAR caused a great crisis for the Northern ECONOMY, the U.S. government began printing “greenbacks,” a legal-tender currency that partially underwrote the costs of the Civil War.

Throughout the country, citizens used various paper currencies issued by many different banks and redeemable in specie (gold and silver), but the federal government was required by law to pay its debts in specie only. The enormous costs of the war seriously depleted the Treasury’s reserves of gold, and the uncertainties of the military conflict were causing private citizens to hoard vast amounts of the precious metals. When the dwindling precious metal reserves of banks in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston caused those institutions to suspend paying out specie to back their notes, the Union was on the verge of a terrible financial disaster. This, in turn, would result in a shutdown for the war effort, and then the Union.

Treasury Secretary SALMON P. CHASE recognized the urgency of the situation and told Congress on February 3, 1862, that America’s financial policies must be altered quickly. New York congressman Elbridge G. Spaulding suggested that the government begin issuing its own paper currency. This newly created currency would be “fiat money,” meaning that it was not redeemable in gold or silver of equivalent value but would act as legal tender for all public and private debts except import duties and interest due on government bonds, both of which would continue to be paid in specie. Because the Constitution empowered Congress only to “coin money,” there was much debate over the legality of Spaulding’s proposal. There was also concern that a national paper currency would initiate rampant inflation.

Nevertheless, those were extraordinary times, and exceptions had to be made. Spaulding’s proposal passed Congress on February 12, 1862, and became known as the first Legal Tender Act. It authorized the printing of

\$150 million in Treasury notes. The currency was issued in denominations ranging from \$1 to \$10,000. The bills were printed on one side only with green ink and quickly became known as "greenbacks." The value of greenbacks fluctuated with the Union's fortunes in the war. At one point after the Union had suffered a great defeat, they were worth no more than 40 cents in gold. For the most part, however, greenbacks proved to be universally popular and remarkably sound.

See also BANKING AND CURRENCY.

**Further reading:** Milton Friedman and Anna Jacobson Schwartz, *Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971); Wesley Clair Mitchell, *A History of the Greenbacks, with Special Reference to the Economic Consequences of Their Issue, 1862–65* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

—Emily E. Holst

### Greenhow, Rose O'Neal (ca. 1815–1864)

*Confederate spy*

Confederate spy Rose O'Neal was born in Montgomery County, Maryland, and grew up in WASHINGTON, D.C. In 1835 she married Virginian Robert Greenhow, and the couple had four children. As the wife of a politician in the State Department, Rose entertained diplomats and cultivated relationships with future politicians. Rose's work with Robert researching American land claims in the Pacific Northwest gave her experience with map skills and analysis. In 1850 she supported John C. Calhoun's efforts against sectional compromise. Robert left the State Department in 1850, and the family moved to San Francisco. Rose returned to Washington after his death in 1854.

Once the CIVIL WAR began, Thomas Jordan, Confederate general PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD's adjutant, recruited Greenhow to head an ESPIONAGE ring in Washington. As a socially prominent widow, Greenhow easily gathered information from new officers and government workers, all eager to show their importance. This information proved particularly valuable in July 1861, when intelligence Greenhow relayed to Beauregard at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN contributed to Confederate victory.

The Union secret service placed Greenhow under house arrest on August 23, 1861, but she continued to send information South and published LETTERS criticizing the Union's treatment of women. To stop these activities, the federal government transferred Greenhow to the Old Capitol Prison in January 1862. In June she was exiled to the Confederacy in a prisoner exchange. Greenhow departed for RICHMOND, VIRGINIA wrapped in a Confederate flag and

carrying a diary of her imprisonment. President JEFFERSON DAVIS and Beauregard rewarded her espionage activities.

Greenhow traveled to Europe in August 1863 as an unofficial diplomat for the Confederacy. There she published her diary, *My Imprisonment and the First Year of Abolition Rule in Washington*. After unsuccessfully pleading her case for Confederate support, she started home in August 1864. Chased by Union blockaders, Greenhow's ship ran aground near North Carolina on October 1, 1864; Greenhow insisted on being rowed ashore. Her boat overturned and she drowned, weighed down by the gold she was carrying for the Confederate government. Greenhow was buried with military honors.

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—Lisa Tendrich Frank

### Grimké, Charlotte Forten (1837–1914) *educator, author, civil rights leader*

African-American author, educator, and civil rights advocate Charlotte Forten was born on August 17, 1837, into a prominent and wealthy abolitionist family in PHILADELPHIA. The family wealth allowed Forten to be tutored at home until she was 16 years old, at which time she was sent to Higginson Grammar School in Salem, Massachusetts. Upon graduation from Higginson, Forten enrolled at Salem Normal School to become a teacher. In 1856 Forten accepted a teaching position at Epes Grammar School in Salem. Ill health caused her to return to Philadelphia in 1858. Besides teaching, Forten was a gifted poet, most often with an antislavery subject.

By the spring of 1862, Union forces had pushed Confederate planters out of the South Carolina Sea Islands. Left behind upon the rebel retreat were thousands of slaves. On October 21, 1862, Forten received her assignment as the first black teacher hired for the Sea Islands Mission. From noon until 3 P.M., nearly 100 students attended the school. Classes resumed in the evening. In 1864 Forten's continued poor health caused her to leave the mission, but she published essays about her experiences in the South Sea Islands in *Atlantic Monthly*.

During RECONSTRUCTION, Forten worked as secretary of the Freedmen's Relief Association, and she continued to write. She also taught high school and was one of 15 people selected for a position as a clerk at the U.S. Treasury Department out of a field of nearly 500 candidates. At age 41, she married Francis J. Grimké, a Presbyterian minister also from a prominent abolitionist family.

When Charlotte Forten Grimké died in 1914, she had served as a groundbreaker and a role model for her generation. Her diaries, probably her greatest legacy to history, were first published in 1953 and tell the story of a well-educated, self-possessed, and motivated woman who did much to forward the cause of African-American rights.

See also ABOLITION.

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—Gina Ladinsky







### **habeas corpus, writ of**

According to the U.S. Constitution, when any citizen is imprisoned, a court must issue a writ of habeas corpus, which requires the government to produce the suspect in open court and to charge him or her with a specific crime. The Confederate Constitution had a similar clause. Intended to prevent arbitrary and indefinite imprisonment, habeas corpus was suspended by both the Confederacy and the Union during the CIVIL WAR.

In the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, the suspension of habeas corpus was short lived and usually ineffective. JEFFERSON DAVIS, motivated partly by his personal commitment to having a weak central government, refused to suspend habeas corpus without congressional approval. Violence by Union sympathizers and a general perception that opposition to the Confederate cause required repression led the Confederate Congress, in early spring 1862, to give Davis that power. Moving quickly, Davis enacted martial law, including the right to hold suspects indefinitely without charge in Norfolk, Portsmouth, and RICHMOND. In those cities, the suspension of habeas corpus was intended to legitimize the existing practice of imprisoning Union sympathizers in the “Castle Thunder” Prison at Richmond and to free Confederate military governors to destroy local dissent.

Because the Confederate Congress had only provided Davis with suspension power for a limited period, the president lobbied repeatedly for votes to renew his authority. In addition to Unionist sentiment, the Confederate government pointed to local opposition as a reason why suspension was necessary. In several states, especially North Carolina and Georgia, GOVERNORS and local judges opposed the use of various federal powers, including CONSCRIPTION. Using writs of habeas corpus, judges freed local men from the control of military recruiters and military courts. In effect, habeas corpus served as a way for state judicial authority to override military power. Although the Confederate Congress enacted legislation, in February 1864, intended

to prevent local judges from interfering with military tribunals or martial law, it was never able to assert federal control completely.

Ultimately, the suspension of habeas corpus in the Confederacy had little beneficial effect. Unlike ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Davis was unwilling to act zealously in this regard. He was caught—as he was in policies on BANKING AND CURRENCY and conscription—between what was expedient and what served the philosophical purpose of SECESSION. If the purpose of the Confederacy was to protect the right of states to avoid domination by a central government, then Davis could hardly use federal power to impose a national view on municipalities and local judiciaries. Instead, the suspension of habeas corpus was used sparingly and rarely made a positive difference for the Confederate cause.

In the Union, by contrast, habeas corpus was suspended for much of the war, and thousands of people were imprisoned. Before the Civil War, only once had a president suspended habeas corpus. Even then, the suspension had been short lived. President Lincoln, however, sought to use his executive power in a much more expansive and pragmatic way. Arguing that no single law was worth the failure of the Union, Lincoln believed that suspending habeas corpus allowed him to achieve several goals.

The first goal, and the reason for which the writ was suspended initially, was keeping Maryland in the Union. Faced with the possibility that Maryland would secede, which would cut WASHINGTON, D.C., off from the rest of the North, Lincoln allowed Winfield Scott to arrest Confederate sympathizers at every level of Maryland society, including Baltimore’s chief of police and mayor. One of those arrested was John Merryman, who sued for release based on his constitutional right to be charged or released. Although the Supreme Court agreed that he should be freed (in *Ex Parte Merryman*), Merryman remained in prison.

Throughout the war, the issue of whether the executive branch was empowered to suspend habeas corpus

or whether it required the approval of another branch remained unclear. The Constitution says that the writ can be suspended, but not by whom, in what circumstances, or how. While lawyers, congressmen, and citizens debated executive authority, at least 13,535 Americans were arrested. Finally, in March 1863, Congress passed the Habeas Corpus Indemnity Act, which gave Lincoln the power to suspend the writ. By assenting to the power of the president, however, Congress effectively moved to assert its own power to approve any executive use of suspension. In addition, Congress insisted that all those arrested must be identified in regular lists of prisoners within 20 days of their arrest.

While the Confederacy had used the suspension of habeas corpus to prevent ESPIONAGE and to assert its right to conscription, the Union's suspension of habeas corpus served mostly to suppress political dissent. Although some Confederate collaborators and spies were arrested, the majority of those detained were Democrats and other opponents of Lincoln administration policies. Democratic candidates for office were quick to label Lincoln a tyrant, and in some cases their rhetoric hurt Republicans, including the president, at the ballot box. For his part, Lincoln perceived the value of a unified HOMEFRONT, and he was willing to silence some dissenting voices to achieve that unity, at least on the surface.

See also STATES' RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Mark E. Neely, *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

—Fiona Galvin

**Halleck, Henry Wager** (1815–1872) *Union general*  
A renowned military theoretician, Henry W. Halleck served the Union as field general, general in chief, and army chief of staff. While he failed to provide innovative and decisive leadership in battlefield strategy, Halleck excelled at organizing the army. Born on January 16, 1815, in New York, Halleck became discontented with farm life and left home to attend the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT, where he graduated third in the class of 1839.

After a six-month tour of European military establishments, Halleck published *Elements of Military Art and Science* in 1846, a text that incorporated ANTOINE-HENRI, BARON DE JOMINI's approach to war. Halleck's work spread Jomini's theories beyond the professional military when it was read by President ABRAHAM LINCOLN and volunteer officers during the CIVIL WAR.

During the Mexican-American War (1846–48), Halleck was assigned to California. He resigned from the army in

1854 to focus on his law practice and land and mining interests. By 1861, Halleck had amassed a fortune of \$500,000. But in August 1861, Halleck left his successful private pursuits and returned to the army. He replaced Gen. John Frémont in the Department of the Missouri, where he quickly instilled order to the disorganized and corrupt command. His curt manner facilitated rapid reform but did not foster positive personal relationships, traits that continued to shape Halleck's reputation during the Civil War. Halleck proved to be a tentative commander, reluctant to authorize advances until all risks could be minimized. Yet when General ULYSSES S. GRANT's forces captured Forts Henry and Donelson in early 1862, Halleck eagerly claimed credit for the victories of his subordinate, who had operated beyond Halleck's orders.

Lincoln brought Halleck to WASHINGTON, D.C., as general in chief of the army in July 1862 in the hope that Halleck's theoretical expertise would provide much needed coordination to the Union war effort. Halleck relayed Lincoln's desires for more aggressive efforts against Confederate troops, but his lack of innovative battlefield strategies and his deference to the field generals disappointed Lincoln. Halleck convinced Lincoln that Grant's forces in the western theater should continue to follow Jomini's principle of seizing strategic property, but by 1863 he was willing to compromise Jomini's genteel method of war and concentrate on destroying ROBERT E. LEE's Army of Northern Virginia.

Lincoln utilized Halleck as an intermediary to avoid conflicts with field generals, to deflect criticism when popular officers were dismissed, and to avoid responsibility when victory eluded Union troops. Much criticism was directed at Halleck by the press, politicians, dissatisfied officers, and the general public, even when disappointing results were due to the failure to follow Halleck's orders.

Ultimately, Grant's successes led to his promotion to general in chief of the army on March 9, 1864. Halleck became chief of staff and continued his duties: forwarding orders from Lincoln and Grant; overseeing the administrative aspects of the army; and bearing the brunt of criticism from soldiers, politicians, and the public.

Halleck's successes were less publicized. He instilled order, efficiency, and discipline in a largely VOLUNTEER ARMY. Halleck organized the mobilization of troops; the TRANSPORTATION of men and material; and the acquisition and distribution of food, clothing, and ammunition. He centralized the administration of an army that had been formed largely through state-sponsored units, and he professionalized the army by working for the replacement of political generals with West Point graduates.

After Lincoln's death, Halleck was stripped of his chief of staff title and ordered out of Washington. Assigned first to RICHMOND, then to San Francisco, and finally to Louisville, Kentucky, Halleck remained with the army until his

death on January 9, 1872. He was vilified in the memoirs of Union generals, with few people defending his contributions. While Halleck was not a great military strategist, his administrative efforts made many Union victories possible and created the first national army in the United States.

**Further reading:** Stephen E. Ambrose, *Halleck: Lincoln's Chief of Staff* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962); Henry W. Halleck, *Elements of Military Art and Science* (1864; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971); John F. Marszalek, *Commander of All Lincoln's Armies: A Life of Henry W. Halleck* (Cambridge, Mass. 2004).

—Martha Kadue

**Hancock, Winfield Scott** (1824–1886) *Union general, politician*

Union general and Democratic politician, Winfield Scott Hancock was born on February 14, 1824, in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, to Elizabeth and Benjamin Franklin Hancock. Hancock used his family's DEMOCRATIC PARTY connections to secure an appointment to the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT, graduating in 1844 in the bottom third of his class. Brevetted a second lieutenant, Hancock served effectively as an infantry recruiter on the western frontier. He first experienced combat in 1847 during the Mexican-American War. Hancock commanded a company at Chapultepec and discovered that he enjoyed battle. Brevetted first lieutenant, the gregarious Hancock became friends with his fellow officers, including Virginian LEWIS A. ARMISTEAD. Returning to garrison duty in St. Louis, Hancock married Almira Russell, a supportive wife who saw him through the disappointments of peacetime army service. In 1861 Hancock, a captain of infantry, was stationed in Los Angeles as chief quartermaster for the southern district of California.

A Democrat and Southern sympathizer, Hancock favored STATES' RIGHTS, but he never considered taking up arms against the Union. After hosting a bittersweet farewell dinner for friends who had decided to fight for the Confederacy, Hancock traveled east to seek an infantry command. Fellow Democrat Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN gave Hancock the Third Brigade, Smith's division, army of the Potomac, which in 1862 was assigned to the Second Division, Fourth Corps. In May, the new brigadier general skillfully led his men at the Battle of Williamsburg, earning the nickname "Hancock the Superb." In September, he assumed command of the First Division, II Corps, when its senior officer was mortally wounded at the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM.

Brevetted to major general, Hancock was a stickler for military procedure whose men admired his geniality and dashing appearance. In December 1862, he demonstrated



Union general Winfield S. Hancock (Library of Congress)

his outstanding leadership abilities and conspicuous personal bravery during the futile Union assault on Marye's Heights at the BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG. In May 1863, he valiantly held his division in an exposed position while the rest of the UNION ARMY retreated from the BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE. Hancock succeeded to the command of II Corps in June, just before the Army of the Potomac, under Gen. GEORGE GORDON MEADE, marched north in pursuit of the Army of Northern Virginia and Gen. ROBERT E. LEE.

Word arrived at Meade's Maryland headquarters on July 1 that the Confederates had been engaged near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and that Union First Corps commander, Gen. John F. Reynolds, had been killed. Meade, ignoring military protocol, sent Hancock ahead to take command on the field while the rest of the army came up. Hancock's main contribution that day was to restore order to the Union forces and place the troops in defensive positions along Cemetery Ridge and Culp's Hill. His steadiness under fire was evident the next day, when he commanded his own Second Corps at the center of the Union line and shored up the exposed Third Corps to his left. On July 3

Hancock was again in the thick of the action, commanding the Union defense during Pickett's Charge, an assault in which his friend, Confederate general Lewis Armistead, was mortally wounded. Hancock, also wounded, refused to leave the field until victory was assured.

Despite nursing a painful, unhealed thigh wound, Hancock returned to the Second Corps in March 1864. He fought well in the WILDERNESS campaign and the BATTLES OF SPOTSYLVANIA, but his corps suffered heavy losses at the BATTLE OF COLD HARBOR during frontal attacks on entrenched Confederate positions. Hancock uncharacteristically declined to assume field command at Petersburg on June 15, missing a potential opportunity to overrun the then lightly defended city. Hancock gave up his Second Corps command in November 1864, and after attempting unsuccessfully to recruit volunteers for a new veteran corps, he finished the war as commander of the Department of West Virginia and the Middle Military Division.

In 1866 Congress awarded Hancock the postwar rank of major general. He returned to the regular army, serving stints as commander of the Military Department of the Missouri and the Fifth Military District. Stationed in New Orleans, Hancock, an opponent of Radical RECONSTRUCTION, issued orders designed to keep free African Americans off juries and voter-registration lists. Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT recalled Hancock to WASHINGTON, D.C., and briefly appointed him commander of the Division of the Atlantic. After Grant became president in 1869, Hancock was assigned to the remote Department of Dakota. Meade's death in 1872 entitled Hancock, as the army's senior major general, to reclaim command of the Division of the Atlantic. From division headquarters in NEW YORK CITY, Hancock pursued his long-standing political ambitions. In 1880 Hancock won the Democratic presidential nomination but lost the general election to Republican James A. Garfield. During the campaign, Grant condemned Hancock's postwar administration of the Fifth District, so it was ironic that Hancock's last public duty was to plan and direct Grant's 1885 funeral. Hancock died in New York on February 9, 1886.

See also GETTYSBURG, BATTLE OF; PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN.

**Further reading:** David M. Jordan, *Winfield Scott Hancock: A Soldier's Life* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); Glenn Tucker, *Hancock the Superb* (Dayton, Ohio: Press of Morningside Bookstore, 1980).

—Amy J. Kinsel

**Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins** (1825–1911) *author, lecturer, reformer, abolitionist*

An advocate of African-American civil rights, EDUCATION, temperance, ABOLITION, and civic morality, poet

and author Frances Ellen Watkins Harper was also a prominent leader of the women's club movement of the late 19th century. Born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1825, Frances Watkins was the only child of free African-American parents. At three years of age, she was orphaned and adopted into the family of her uncle, Rev. William Watkins. Frances attended her uncle's school, where she received significantly more intellectual training than was common for African-American children at the time. At 14 years of age, Watkins began an informal apprenticeship in sewing with a Baltimore man named Armstrong. Sewing provided an income for Watkins, who taught the craft at the Union Seminary in Columbus, Ohio, and in Little York, Pennsylvania. By the time she began teaching in the late 1840s, she had also achieved her first major success as an author, publishing a collection of poetry, *Forest Leaves* (1845).

Although sewing provided an adequate income, teaching became unnecessary once Watkins began to speak publicly about her strong antislavery sentiments. Her first public comment was a lecture in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1854. Watkins's passionate speeches quickly made her popular on the speaking circuit. She also became one of the most widely read African-American poets in America. She would continue to be a prolific and popular writer for the next half century, publishing a number of volumes of poetry as well as novels, most famously *Iola Leroy* (1892).

On November 22, 1860, Frances Watkins married Fenton Harper, and the couple began farming a property in Columbus, Ohio. Following his death in May 1864, Frances Harper resumed lecturing, focusing in particular on the effects of the CIVIL WAR on African-Americans. While lecturing, Harper stressed the importance of education, moderation in alcohol consumption, and morality within the African-American community.

In 1871 Harper and her daughter Mary moved to PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA. There, Harper continued to lecture, concentrating largely on two subjects: moral issues among African Americans and temperance. Joining the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), Harper spearheaded work among African Americans. In addition, she established Sunday schools for African-American children in Philadelphia. In 1894, at age 69, she became the director of the American Association of Education of Colored Youth. She was also a member, and later vice president, of the National Association of Colored Women. Like many of the most prominent reformist women of her time, advancing age did not deter Harper from participating in civic causes. She continued to fight for a variety of reforms until her death in 1911.

**Further reading:** Melba Joyce Boyd, *Discarded Legacy: Politics and Poetics in the Life of Frances E.W. Harper, 1825–1911* (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press,



1994); Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, *Iola Leroy, or, Shadows Uplifted* (1892; reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

—Megan Quinn

### Harpers Ferry, West Virginia (Harper's Ferry, Virginia)

Best known as the site of JOHN BROWN's raid in 1859, Harpers Ferry (then in Virginia and spelled Harper's Ferry) was an essential strategic possession for both the Union and Confederate armies during the CIVIL WAR, changing hands eight times between 1861 and 1865.

A place of great natural beauty, Harpers Ferry is located on a wedge of land that separates the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers at the northern end of Virginia's rich Shenandoah Valley. In 1796 President George Washington selected the town for one of the federal armories, and the manufacture of weapons became the basis of its ECONOMY.

Bordering on Pennsylvania and Maryland, Harpers Ferry in the late 1850s was a prosperous and growing place of nearly 3,000 people. The U.S. Armory was the biggest employer, and the 250 men who worked in the factories turned out roughly 10,000 rifles and muskets per year. There were other industrial concerns as well—an iron foundry, a flour mill, and cotton mill—all powered by the water flowing from the Shenandoah River. Goods and people were transported in and out of town courtesy of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In short, Harpers Ferry was one of the rare industrial villages in the South. Its citizens were a diverse group of small businessmen, native-born working class, immigrants, slaves, and 150 free African Americans. PLANTATIONS and farms were in the surrounding countryside.

Harpers Ferry was also a quiet and harmonious place until 1859, when radical abolitionist Brown selected it as the target for his infamous raid. Attracted by the armory, the slaves, and the geography, Brown and his men planned to seize the munitions and ignite a revolution that would end SLAVERY. His scheme was cut short when armed



Engraving of the Harpers Ferry insurrection depicting the U.S. Marines storming the engine house while John Brown and his followers fire through holes in the doors (Library of Congress)



townsmen, local militia, and the U.S. Marines led by Lt. Col. ROBERT E. LEE ended the ill-fated invasion. Brown and several members of his party were tried and hanged for the attack. The incident at Harpers Ferry gripped the nation and further polarized North and South.

When the Civil War broke out, Harpers Ferry became a tragic victim of the “BROTHERS’ WAR.” Forced to choose between fighting for the North or the South, most of its citizens fled, leaving the town almost empty. In April 1861 Union forces decided to abandon the arsenal. Union lieutenant Roger Jones, garrison commander at Harpers Ferry, ordered his men to set the armory on fire and retreat to the north. Jones and his men successfully destroyed the main arsenal and 15,000 guns. However, the local citizens put out the fire before it spread to the remainder of the armory. Virginia forces led by THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON entered the town and saved the remaining firearms and factory equipment. They shipped the valuable materials to the Confederate armories in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, and Fayetteville, North Carolina.

Harpers Ferry would change hands seven more times over the course of the war. The Battle of Harpers Ferry on September 15, 1862, was a vital part of Robert E. Lee’s Maryland campaign. Stonewall Jackson, Maj. Gen. Lafayette McLaws, and Brig. Gen. John G. Walker directed a successful assault on Harpers Ferry, which was occupied by thousands of Union soldiers. The largest surrender of Union forces during the war, Confederate troops captured 12,419 men, thousands of firearms, and 70 artillery pieces. The Battle of Harpers Ferry proved a crucial morale boost for the Confederates, who would lose the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM two days later.

The rebels moved out of Harpers Ferry after Antietam, and Union troops again occupied the town. On October 1–2, 1862, President ABRAHAM LINCOLN visited Harpers Ferry, as well as his troops positioned on the craggy mountains called Maryland Heights above the town. Toward the end of the war, Harpers Ferry became an important supply base for Union operations in the Shenandoah Valley.

After 1865 Harpers Ferry was abandoned, since the war had left the town in ruins. By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Harpers Ferry had become an important stop for African-American leaders such as FREDERICK DOUGLASS and W. E. B. Du Bois, who proclaimed the importance of black people’s contribution to the Civil War and to the American nation. Significantly, the memory of John Brown as an abolitionist hero and martyr to the cause of freedom was commemorated in positive ways. Today, the National Park Service preserves the past of Harpers Ferry by operating museums, tours, and demonstrations for the thousands of tourists who crowd the narrow winding streets of this historic place.

See also ABOLITION.

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—Fiona Galvin

### Harvard Regiment (20th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry) (1861–1865)

The 20th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry was a CIVIL WAR unit celebrated for its ferocious fighting and remembered for its heavy losses. It mustered 750 men at Readville, Massachusetts, between August 29 and September 4, 1861, in response to an appeal by Governor John Albion Andrew for soldiers to defend the Union. Among those who flocked to the colors were Paul Revere, Jr., grandson of the famous Revolutionary War rider, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., a future Supreme Court justice. The officer corps represented a cross-section of Boston’s Brahmin class, including several graduates from Harvard University, hence its popular nickname as the “Harvard Regiment.” It also gained notoriety in abolitionist circles as the “COPPERHEAD Regiment” because many officers were indifferent toward EMANCIPATION, although two full companies consisted of abolitionist German immigrants.

On September 4, 1861, the 20th Massachusetts deployed to the WASHINGTON, D.C., area to secure the national capital. Assigned to General Lander’s brigade, Division of the Potomac, under Col. William Raymond Lee, the unit had its baptism of fire at the disaster of Ball’s Bluff, Virginia, on October 21, 1861. Despite defeat, the 20th displayed hard-fighting qualities that would make it among the best-regarded units in the Army of the Potomac.

In March 1862 the 20th Massachusetts became part of General John Sedgwick’s division, the Army of the Potomac. In this capacity it played a conspicuous role in heavy fighting throughout the ill-fated PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN waged in Virginia. After more severe combat at Second Manassas and ANTIETAM in summer and fall 1862, the regiment was called upon to perform its most celebrated action: serving as the advance guard of the Federals at FREDERICKSBURG, Virginia, on December 11, 1862. The 20th Massachusetts rowed across the Rappahannock River under heavy fire and executed a determined bayonet charge through the town, taking prohibitive losses yet flushing Confederate defenders from houses lining their path. On July 3, 1863, the 20th

performed another critical role at GETTYSBURG by occupying the famous “copse of trees” that was the focal point of Confederate forces during GEORGE EDWARD PICKETT’s charge. Here the regiment lost 127 men out of 218 present for combat.

By 1864 casualties and enlistment expirations in the 20th Massachusetts, along with an influx of new men, effectively removed its identity as the “Harvard Regiment.” The reconstituted unit soldiered on as part of the 2nd Division, II Corps, until the end of the war. It rendered effective—if costly—service in the OVERLAND CAMPAIGN and siege of PETERSBURG and was present at surrender ceremonies at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA. In terms of casualties, the 20th Massachusetts sustained the highest losses of any Bay State regiment and the fifth greatest of the 1,000-plus regiments mustered by the UNION ARMY: Seventeen officers and 243 enlisted men were killed in battle, and one officer and 148 enlisted men were lost to disease, for a total of 408 dead. By dint of hard fighting it became one of the most widely respected regiments in the entire Army of the Potomac.

**Further reading:** Mark D. Howe, ed., *Touched with Fire: Civil War Letters and Diary of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., 1861–1864* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000); John McKay, *Brave Men in Desperate Times: The Lives of Civil War Soldiers* (Guilford, Conn.: TwoDot, 2007); Richard F. Miller, *Harvard’s Civil War: A History of the 20th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2005); Edwin R. Root, *“Isn’t This Glorious!”: The 15th, 19th, and 20th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry Regiments at Gettysburg’s Copse of Trees* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Moon Trail Books, 2006).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Hayes, Rutherford B.** See VOLUME VI.

**Herndon, William H.** (1818–1891) *author, lawyer*  
William Henry Herndon was best known as ABRAHAM LINCOLN’s law partner and biographer. He was born on Christmas Day in 1818 in Greensburg, Kentucky, and in 1820 his family moved to Illinois. Herndon attended Illinois College, where he learned strong antislavery principles. To earn money, he worked briefly as a clerk in a Springfield store, renting the room above the store for living quarters, which he shared with a number of friends at different times, including Lincoln.

Herndon was admitted to the Illinois bar and in 1844 joined Lincoln’s law firm. They remained partners until 1861, when president-elect Lincoln left Springfield for WASHINGTON, D.C. Lincoln and Herndon comple-

mented each other well. Herndon managed the office and provided stability while Lincoln was gone for months at a time working the law circuit. They shared similar political convictions. Both were passionate Whigs and then Republicans; both were also protemperance, supported federal programs to aid economic growth, and opposed the expansion of slavery into the territories. Indeed, Herndon was one of Lincoln’s most enthusiastic political supporters.

After Lincoln’s death in 1865, Herndon’s business failed. Married with eight children, he struggled with alcoholism and depression. He became obsessed with the idea of writing a “true” history of Lincoln’s life, as opposed to the worshipful biographies so popular at the time. Determined to publish an accurate representation, he traveled to Kentucky and Indiana, where he recorded numerous oral interviews with surviving Lincoln relatives and friends. His three-volume biography, *Herndon’s Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life*, was published in 1889.

Many people attacked *Herndon’s Lincoln*. Herndon claimed that Lincoln loved only one woman in his life, Ann Rutledge. Her early death, according to Herndon, caused Lincoln’s lifelong melancholy. Family members, including MARY TODD LINCOLN, denied this story. Other controversies erupted over Herndon’s revelation that Nancy Hanks Lincoln was illegitimate. Historians have proved this assertion to be erroneous and found many other errors as well. Nevertheless, the collected reminiscences have been invaluable to generations of Lincoln scholars. Herndon died on March 18, 1891.

**Further reading:** David Herbert Donald, *Lincoln’s Herndon* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1948).

## Heroes of America (1863–1865)

Heroes of America (HOA) was a secret, Southern-based ESPIONAGE ring for the Union. The outbreak of civil war in 1861 gave rise to numerous “peace societies” throughout the South, founded to oppose Confederate military and political goals and facilitate Union victory. The largest and most influential of these was the so-called Heroes of America (HOA). Begun in North Carolina in 1863 with a small group of determined Unionists, HOA gradually spread its membership to regions in southwestern Virginia, West Virginia, and eastern Tennessee.

Like other clandestine wartime organizations, the HOA assumed all the trappings of a secret society, including hidden meeting places and passwords. Members were informally known as the “red strings” after the piece of red string each wore on his lapel to signify membership. The HOA did everything within its limited means to provide military intelligence to Union authorities and to encourage

dissent and DESERTION in Southern ranks so as to hobble the Confederate war effort. In practice, members provided food, shelter, and access to the safety of Union lines for those choosing to desert. They also encouraged class conflict by promising poor whites a share of wealthy landowners' property in the postwar period. As the war ground on and Confederate hopes waned, membership in the HOA and the extent of its disruptive activities increased proportionally.

In North Carolina, some HOA activities took place openly. William W. Holden, editor of Raleigh's *North Carolina Standard*, publicly demanded a peaceful end to the war and reunification with the United States. In September 1863 Confederate soldiers burned his press and offices, and the following year President JEFFERSON DAVIS suspended the writ of HABEAS CORPUS in North Carolina, largely in response to Holden's unstinting agitation. Undaunted, Holden challenged Confederate governor ZEBULON B. VANCE on a peace platform; he lost badly, demonstrating the weakness of the movement even in the face of Confederate hardships. The organization performed similar activities in southwestern Virginia, where Montgomery County boasted 800 members, including the sheriff and several justices of the peace.

By winter 1864, with Confederate collapse only months away, bands of armed HOA members controlled selected territories, suppressed Confederate sympathizers, and necessitated the deployment of Southern manpower, badly needed elsewhere, to contain them. By war's end HOA membership numbered several thousand, supposedly including President ABRAHAM LINCOLN and Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT. While not a major cause in the Confederacy's downfall, the organization was a conduit for the energies of disaffected citizens, draft dodgers, deserters, and spies who in a small way furthered the ultimate Union victory.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Hicks, Thomas H. (1798–1865) *politician*

Thomas Holliday Hicks was GOVERNOR of Maryland during the CIVIL WAR. He was born in Dorchester City, Maryland, on September 2, 1798. At the age of 21 he was elected on the Democratic ticket as a constable. In 1830 he changed his political affiliation to the new Whig Party.

After serving as a presidential elector in 1836 he again held public office, serving in the state House of Delegates and the governor's council. From 1838 he served 17 years as the registrar of wills in Dorchester County. In 1854 Hicks changed parties again, to the American, or Know-Nothing, Party, and three years later he was elected governor of his preponderantly Democratic state. He steered a middle course between secessionism and abolitionism, lambasting North and South alike for their inability to find common ground.

In spring 1861 Hicks faced an increasingly hostile, Democratic-controlled legislature, which was agitating for a special session to discuss SECESSION from the Union. Despite public clamor and mass meetings held to denounce him, Hicks refused to call the special session. The tempo of confrontation increased after FORT SUMTER's fall in April 1861. President ABRAHAM LINCOLN called for volunteers and nearby Virginia seceded, but Hicks did nothing to encourage action on either side.

On April 19 a Baltimore mob attacked men of the 6th Massachusetts Volunteers as they changed trains en route for WASHINGTON, D.C. Throngs of pro-secessionists then began threatening Hicks's life, and the governor finally assented to a special session of the legislature. It convened in Frederick, a Unionist stronghold, on April 26. Legislators there ultimately decided that they lacked the constitutional authority to secede. The effort then died, mainly because of the influx of Union forces under Gen. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER. Hicks thus kept Maryland out of the hands of Confederate sympathizers. After his term expired in spring 1862, he filled a vacancy in the U.S. Senate caused by the death of a Maryland senator. Hicks died in office on February 13, 1865.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Higginson, Thomas Wentworth (1823–1911) *Union colonel, abolitionist, reformer, writer, minister*

During his long life, Thomas Wentworth Higginson was a Unitarian minister, educator, writer, and public speaker. He published numerous books and countless articles on a many different subjects. He led riots, wrote about children's books and slave spirituals, edited a magazine, and introduced the poems of Emily Dickinson to the world. He was also a colonel in the UNION ARMY.

Higginson was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and attended Harvard College and Harvard Divinity School.

In the 1850s he served churches in Newburyport and Worcester, Massachusetts. He made his mark as a radical ABOLITIONIST—in fact, he left his first church because his antiSLAVERY lectures were unpopular with the congregation. He traveled to “BLEEDING KANSAS” in 1856, where he approved of the sometimes violent actions of fellow abolitionists; he helped lead the attempt to free a fugitive slave named Anthony Burns from the Boston Court House (he was wounded in the fight that broke out); and he helped finance JOHN BROWN’s raid on HARPERS FERRY.

His commitment to racial justice made him an enthusiastic supporter of the Union when the CIVIL WAR began. He was also in favor of allowing African Americans to join the Union army. In the fall of 1862, he took command of the First South Carolina Volunteer Infantry (later called the 33rd U.S. Colored Troops), one of the first regiments composed of black troops. Most of the men in his unit were former slaves from South Carolina. In fact, the First South Carolina had been formed just before Higginson joined it. With the new colonel in command, the regiment reached its full strength and became a well-trained and effective military force. During the year or so that Higginson was in charge, the regiment made a raid up the St. Mary’s River on the Georgia-Florida state line, where Higginson and his men fought their first skirmish. They suffered several casualties but won the short fight. During the winter they served on the picket line for the Union army and, in March 1863, briefly occupied Jacksonville, Florida. Although they fought off several Confederate attacks, the regiment eventually abandoned the town.

Higginson was wounded during a raid in the spring of 1863, and although he returned to the regiment later in the year, he left the army in 1864. He spent the next 40-plus years lecturing all over the country on behalf of social justice and writing literary and other articles for magazines like *The Nation*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Harper’s Bazaar*. He remained interested in the plight of the former slaves, advocating voting rights and economic equality for them. Shortly after the war, he lost an election for a seat on the local school board because he wanted to end the practice of teaching white and black students in separate schools. Unlike most men, he also argued in favor of extending the vote to women.

His experiences as a Civil War commander led him to write the book for which he is best remembered—*Army Life in a Black Regiment* (first published in 1870 and still in print more than a century later). Although Higginson published 30 books in his lifetime—including novels, literary criticism, and several autobiographies—*Army Life in a Black Regiment* stands out for its kindness, humor, and sympathetic descriptions of the African-American men who served under him during the war. Although the former colonel accepted some of the negative racial stereotypes shared

by most Americans at the time—he suggested that African Americans were quite emotional and less able to think independently than white soldiers—he generally presented a very positive image of the former slaves serving in the Union army. They made brave and disciplined soldiers and were less likely to cause problems than white soldiers. They were extremely religious, and Higginson loved to listen to the men sing old plantation spirituals around campfires at night. They were polite and kind to him and to everyone else they met, including—to Higginson’s surprise—former slave owners. Higginson’s book was intended to show that African Americans were hardworking, as capable of learning as any other person, and certainly deserving of their freedom.

Despite accomplishing many things during his 88 years, Higginson is probably best remembered for his year of service during the Civil War and for his classic description of the African-American men who fought for the union.

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—James Marten

**Hill, Ambrose P.** (1825–1865) *Confederate general*  
Confederate general Ambrose Powell Hill was born in Culpepper, Virginia, on November 9, 1825. In 1842 he was accepted to the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT, where he trained as an artillery officer. After having to repeat his third year due to illness, he graduated 15th in a class of 38. Hill’s original graduation class included such notables as GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN, GEORGE E. PICKETT, and THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON. Leaving West Point, Hill was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the First Artillery.

Like so many West Point graduates of his era, Hill’s first experience of battle was as a commissioned officer in the Mexican-American War. During the last moments of the war, Hill participated in the capture of Mexico City. He was then stationed at Fort McHenry, Maryland. Later, he would put down an insurrection by the Seminole Indians in Florida. At the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR, Hill felt obligated to defend his home state, and he resigned his commission on March 1, 1861. He was made colonel of the 13th Virginia Volunteer Infantry. In February 1862, Hill was promoted to brigadier general. In command, Hill saw action at Williamsburg, Virginia, and in the



PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN. He was promoted in May 1862 to major general and was made a division commander in the new Army of Northern Virginia.

Hill's division came to be known as "Hill's Light Division" because they could quickly move into emplacements and organize into fighting positions. Hill distinguished himself and his command at engagements such as the BATTLES OF CEDAR MOUNTAIN, SECOND BULL RUN, ANTIETAM, FREDERICKSBURG, and CHANCELLORSVILLE. Throughout all these engagements, Hill became famous for leading his division wearing his bright red battle shirt.

After the death of Stonewall Jackson at the BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE, Hill was promoted to lieutenant general and was given command of the III Corps. As a corps commander, Hill enjoyed limited success. Due to constant illness, Hill was often lacking the fervor that had previously distinguished him. His leadership in the BATTLES OF GETTYSBURG and THE WILDERNESS campaigns was seriously flawed. Due to his continuing health problems, Hill took a leave of absence in May 1864 and missed the BATTLES OF SPOTSYLVANIA. He reclaimed command during the Battles of North Anna and COLD HARBOR.

On April 2, 1865, at the siege of PETERSBURG, when his command's lines had collapsed, Hill charged a group of Pennsylvania volunteers. After drawing his pistol he was shot dead. Hearing of his death, ROBERT E. LEE said, "He is at rest . . . and we who are left are the ones to suffer."

**Further reading:** Douglass Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command* (New York: Scribner, 1998); James I. Robertson Jr., *General A. P. Hill: The Story of a Confederate Warrior* (New York: Random House, 1987).

—Arthur E. Amos

### **Hill, Daniel H.** (1821–1889) *Confederate general*

Daniel Harvey Hill was a Confederate general. Hill was born into a farming family in York District, South Carolina, on July 12, 1821. He graduated from the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1842 in the middle of his class. As a second lieutenant in the 1st U.S. Artillery, he fulfilled a long stint of garrison duty in the Southwest before fighting in the Mexican-American War (1846–48). Skilled in combat, Hill marched with the army under Gen. Winfield Scott and garnered two brevet promotions for gallantry at the Battles of Contreras, Churubusco, and Chapultepec. After the war he married Isabella Morrison, whose younger sister later married THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON. In February 1849 Hill terminated his promising military career to work as a mathematics instructor at Washington College, Virginia. In 1854 he transferred to Davidson College, North Carolina, where his administrative talent rescued that institution from insolvency.

When North Carolina seceded from the Union on May 20, 1861, Hill was appointed colonel of the 1st North Carolina Volunteers. On June 10, 1861, he helped Colonel John B. Magruder win the CIVIL WAR's first sizable encounter at Big Bethel, Virginia, against Federal troops under Gen. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER. In spring 1862 Hill advanced to major general, and he commanded a division under Gen. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON early in the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN. He served with distinction in the Seven Days' Battle under Gen. ROBERT E. LEE, especially at the bloody engagement at Malvern Hill on July 1, 1862, although he impolitely criticized Lee's generalship. He further distinguished himself at Crampton's Gap (South Mountain) on September 13, 1862. Lee, still smarting from Hill's inopportune remarks, did not recommend him for promotion to lieutenant general, but President JEFFERSON DAVIS was so impressed by his performance that he transferred Hill to the western theater as a corps commander.

Hill again fought well at the bloody battle of CHICKAMAUGA on September 19, 1863, but was again impolitic: He criticized Gen. BRAXTON BRAGG, one of Davis's closest friends. He did not resume field operations until spring 1865, when he commanded a division in Gen. Stephen D. Lee's corps. In this capacity he fought at Bentonville, North Carolina, on March 19–21, 1865.

After the war Hill worked as an administrator at Arkansas Industrial University (now the University of Arkansas). He also edited and published several Confederate-oriented magazines for Southern consumption. In 1885 he transferred to the Middle Georgia Military and Agricultural College, becoming its president. He died in Charlotte, North Carolina, on September 24, 1889.

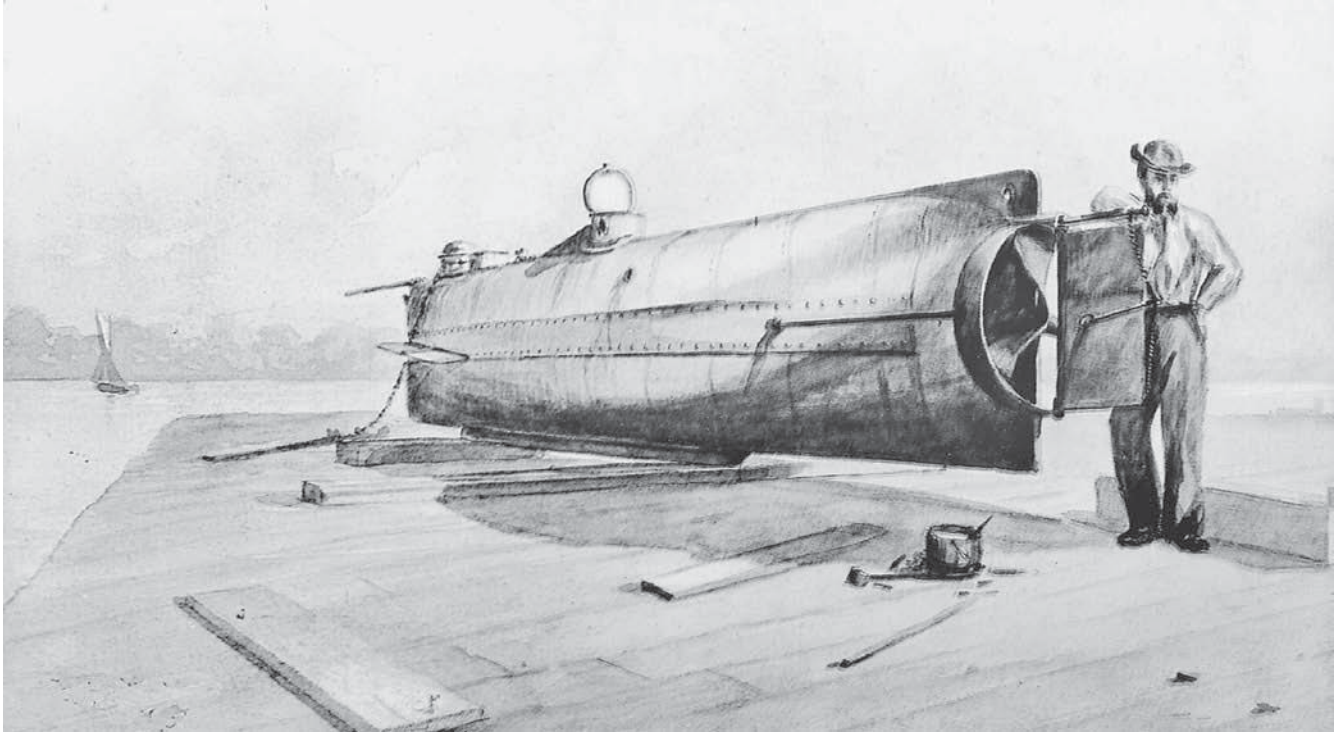
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—John C. Fredriksen

### **H. L. Hunley, CSS**

The *H. L. Hunley* was a Confederate submarine. Named after its inventor, Horace Lawson Hunley, CSS *H. L. Hunley* was constructed in Mobile, Alabama, in 1863. It consisted of a 40-foot-long, waterproofed boiler; a hand-driven crankshaft propeller; manually operated diving planes to control depth; and various sea valves to take on or discharge ballast in the form of water. It was also equipped with two topside hatches through which the eight-man crew entered and exited. For offensive purposes the craft was outfitted with a 90-pound explosive charge mounted at the end of





Sepia wash drawing of CSS *Hunley* by R. G. Skerrett, 1902, after a painting then held by the Confederate Memorial Literary Society Museum, Richmond, Virginia (Naval Historical Foundation)

a spar, which could be rammed under the waterline of an enemy ship. Hunley had developed and tested the craft in Mobile Bay and obtained a letter of recommendation from Admiral Franklin Buchanan testifying to its potential as a weapon. This was forwarded to Gen. PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD at Charleston, South Carolina, who commissioned the vessel to break the Union blockade of that strategic port. The *Hunley* was secretly transported by rail to Charleston on August 12, 1863, and trial runs began at once.

Tragedy struck in August and October 1863, when the craft foundered in Charleston Harbor and killed two successive crews, including its inventor. Beauregard remained convinced of its utility as a weapon, however, and ordered the *Hunley* recovered, refitted, and pressed into service. A new crew of volunteers under Lt. George E. Dixon was recruited. On the evening of February 17, 1864, they mounted an attack on the Union fleet offshore. Dixon stealthily led his craft into the harbor and toward the USS *Housatonic*, a steam sloop. He successfully struck and sank the *Housatonic* in shallow water, giving it the melancholy distinction of being the first warship sunk in a submarine attack. However, the *Hunley* flooded a third time and again killed its crew. In 1995 the remains of the *Hunley* were discovered in Charleston Harbor, and it was raised

on August 8, 2000. It has been restored and is on display at the Charleston History Museum.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Hollywood Cemetery

Hollywood Cemetery is a parklike burial ground in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, where numerous Confederate dead are buried. In 1847 Richmond residents Joshua Fry and William Hexall purchased a 43-acre tract of land known as Harvie's Woods. A strip of land previously owned by William Byrd II, it sat on a bluff overlooking the James River. Fry and Hexall had decided to turn the area into a cemetery for the city rivaling the Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The following year they hired noted architect John Notman to design the landscape in a parklike, pastoral mode, which he furnished with several romantic structures in the prevailing Victorian style. The

cemetery was christened Holly Wood owing to the groves of holly trees dotting the area. The first burial, a young girl, took place in 1848.

At first mainly Richmond gentry were buried there, but in 1858 the remains of former president James Monroe, who had died in 1831, were transported from New York and interred at Hollywood. Governor Henry A. Wise selected an intricate wrought-iron birdcage design for Monroe's tomb, which initiated the tradition of sometimes elaborate monuments dotting the landscape. Monroe was joined shortly after by another U.S. president from Virginia, John Tyler, who died in Richmond in 1862.

Throughout the CIVIL WAR, Hollywood Cemetery was used to bury the mounting toll of Confederate dead, whose bodies came from nearby Richmond hospitals. After the war thousands more bodies were reinterred from Northern battlefields such as GETTYSBURG and ANTIETAM, bringing the total to 18,000. Also buried there are the bodies of JEFFERSON DAVIS, former president of the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, and his wife, VARINA HOWELL DAVIS, along with no fewer than 25 leading Confederate generals, including J. E. B. STUART, Henry Heth, Fitzhugh Lee, and GEORGE EDWARD PICKETT.

In 1869 the local LADIES MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION collected funds to construct a massive, 90-foot granite pyramid, as a monument to the South's fallen. It was designed by Charles Dimmock and built by convict labor. Hollywood Cemetery quickly became a cherished place to commemorate the Confederate Memorial Day, drawing thousands to honor the fallen Southern soldiers. Five Virginia GOVERNORS and local dignitaries are also buried or enshrined on the grounds, along with distinguished writer Mary Johnson and musician Polk Miller. The cemetery currently contains the remains of nearly 80,000 people. It remains one of Richmond's leading attractions, visited by thousands every year.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## homefront

Northerners and Southerners living far from the fighting—on the “homefront,” as it is called—shared a number of experiences and proved critical to their nation's war efforts. Food and other supplies became more expensive during

the war. Because so many men were in the army, women and children worked on farms and in factories, and thousands of wives became widows and thousands of children became orphans. But there were vast differences between the regions as well. These differences are clearly demonstrated in the diaries of two children.

Gerald Norcross, who turned seven when the CIVIL WAR started, lived in Boston, Massachusetts, where his father owned a store. The war barely affected him; he continued going to school, his family went on long summer vacations, and he never mentions a relative or friend being killed or wounded in the army. Gerald experienced the war through books and games and exciting events held in Boston. He read about the war in “dime novels” (cheaply made paperbacks that cost only a dime) with names like *Old Hal Williams; or, the Spy of Atlanta* and *The Vicksburg Spy; or Found and Lost*. He and his classmates sang war songs and read war news from the newspapers at school. He bought and made an army of paper soldiers, whom he named after famous officers from Massachusetts. Gerald also took part in all sorts of activities related to the Civil War. He watched army regiments parade through the city and drill on Boston Common; he went to Boston Harbor to view an ironclad ship; he attended a huge “Soldiers and Sailors' Fair,” which had exciting displays of guns and flags and lots of food and toys to buy; and he played soldier. The war was an important part of Gerald's life, but it was a source of excitement and interest rather than danger and loss.

The Southern homefront was very different for many children. During the siege of Atlanta in 1864, 10-year-old Carrie Berry wrote about hiding from Yankee shells in her family's “bombproof.” Her school and church were frequently disrupted; she was rarely able to play with her friends, and on her birthday she wrote that “I did not have a cake times were too hard.” Food was in such short supply that one day she was thrilled when her aunt gave her a bunch of grapes. After the battle for Atlanta ended and much of the city had burned to the ground, she helped out by combing through the ashes of destroyed buildings, looking for nails or anything else that might be of use.

Gerald's and Carrie's wartime lives symbolized the homefront experiences of all Americans. In the South, although cities like Atlanta, Georgia and RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, briefly prospered because of military and government activities, in general life got steadily harder. Food became so scarce in some places that residents rioted, roads and RAILROADS wore out, inflation made it difficult to buy even the most basic goods, schools often closed, many newspapers had to stop publishing, and a large percentage of women and children had to go to work simply to survive. The North, on the other hand, generally prospered during the war. Although there was a period of economic distress in the first year and a half of the war, factories and

farms produced record quantities of manufactured goods and food. In fact, they grew so much wheat and corn that Northern farmers exported more grain to Europe during the war than the entire country had before the war. Schools and universities flourished, fast-growing cities like Chicago expanded their street and sewer systems, and migrants continued to move to the West. By the end of the war, many Southern cities lay in ruins, the plantation ECONOMY was destroyed, and most people were living a hand-to-mouth existence. In contrast, most Northerners, aside from those families who had lost loved ones, were probably better off at the end of the war than at the beginning.

Although differences between the Union and Confederate homefronts were vast, there were also important similarities. Northerners and Southerners worked to aid the soldiers in their respective armies, often disagreed over military strategy and government policies, and found their morale changing drastically depending on how well their armies did in the field.

Most Northerners and Southerners worked to help the soldiers. Churches, schools, and soldiers' aid societies raised money, collected supplies, and sewed and knitted clothes and socks for the soldiers. Children in both sections spent some of their spare time "picking lint" from rags for packing around wounds. Although Southerners' efforts to aid the soldiers remained locally controlled, in the North a number of prominent men created a national organization called the UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION (USSC) to coordinate fund-raising and other activities on behalf of the soldiers. The USSC sent supplies to the army, hired NURSES and doctors and sent them to army hospitals, and helped soldiers get mail and fill out discharge forms. To support this work, giant "Sanitary Fairs" were held in towns and cities all over the North. Attendees bought homemade food, clothing, toys, and other goods donated by businessmen and by individuals; attended concerts and demonstrations by schools and churches; marveled at the huge displays of historical artifacts and war-related relics from the American Revolution as well as the current "Rebellion;" and enjoyed appearances by famous generals and politicians. Altogether, the Sanitary Fairs raised more than \$4 million for the Union war effort.

Even though the North and South were engaged in a desperate war, there were many people in each region who disagreed with the policies of their governments. In the North, the DEMOCRATIC PARTY continued to oppose the Republicans. Without their Southern allies, the Democrats had little power in Congress, but they did demonstrate considerable strength in parts of the Midwest and in cities like NEW YORK CITY. Most Democrats remained loyal to the U.S. government, but some, like Ohio congressman CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM, were so extreme in their criticism that Republicans nicknamed them COPPERHEADS, after

the poisonous snake. Also causing problems for President ABRAHAM LINCOLN were the "radicals" in his own REPUBLICAN PARTY, who believed for the first year or two of the war that the government was moving too slow in attacking SLAVERY. Political parties never actually formed in the Confederacy, but an opposition to the administration of JEFFERSON DAVIS arose by 1863.

The opponents of Lincoln and Davis expressed similar complaints: They did not like the way that the central governments were conducting the war. In both regions, the governments wielded far more power than the antebellum federal government had ever exerted. Both governments resorted to CONSCRIPTION to raise troops, levied high taxes to pay for the war, and jailed men who criticized the government.

The most serious resistance in the Confederacy came after the military draft went into effect in spring 1862. By the end of the Civil War, thousands of deserters and draft evaders were hiding in isolated parts of the South. The Union waited another year before beginning to conscript soldiers, but the reaction was the same. Public meetings condemned the policy and riots broke out around the country. The biggest was the NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOTS in July 1863, which resulted in the deaths of more than 100 people. Attacks on African Americans during the riot indicated the extent to which many Northerners opposed the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. In fact, the Democratic Party gained a number of seats in the U.S. Congress in 1862, largely because of Lincoln's decision to issue the Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in the fall of that year. Many Southerners also opposed the centralization of power as the Confederate government, in addition to raising taxes and drafting soldiers, limited the freedom of planters to grow cotton and, by the end of the war, had begun the process of recruiting and arming African Americans for the CONFEDERATE ARMY. The most organized resistance groups in the Confederacy were the so-called Peace Parties that appeared during the 1864 election, most notably in North Carolina. A few members of these groups won election to state legislatures and to the Confederate Congress.

Opposition to the Lincoln administration also grew in strength as the war progressed, and by the late summer of 1864 the president believed that he would lose the election to the Democratic candidate Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN in November, primarily because Lincoln's armies were doing so badly. The Army of the Potomac had failed to capture Richmond in its OVERLAND CAMPAIGN, losing tens of thousands of men in the BATTLES OF THE WILDERNESS, SPOTSYLVANIA, and COLD HARBOR. Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN's summer campaign to capture Atlanta had also gotten bogged down in northwestern Georgia. Nothing seemed to be going right, and



the Democratic “peace platform” seemed attractive to Northern voters. Ultimately, Lincoln won reelection by a comfortable margin, mainly because of the soldiers’ vote and because Sherman and his army captured Atlanta while Grant laid siege to Petersburg, causing Northern morale to rise. Similar swings in morale occurred in the Confederacy, where victories in the FIRST and SECOND BATTLES OF BULL RUN, the Seven Days’ Battles, and the BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA brought confidence and high levels of patriotism, while defeats at the BATTLE OF SHILOH and the VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN and the deaths of popular generals like THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON caused morale to fall.

As the ups and downs of civilian morale show, the Civil War homefront, rather than being removed from the military events of the war, was closely linked to its battles and campaigns. Some historians have called the Civil War the first “total war,” and to the extent that the Confederate and Union homefronts—their economies, their political systems, and their societies—were part of the war efforts of the North and South, that label is accurate.

See also BANKING AND CURRENCY; FOOD RIOTS; HABEAS CORPUS, WRIT OF.

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—James Marten

## homespun

As materials became increasingly scarce, Confederate women turned to homemade thread and cloth during the CIVIL WAR. Women who had previously engaged only in ornamental sewing and embroidery found themselves learning how to spin thread and weave cloth to keep their families clothed. These methods, which in antebellum years had been used primarily by slaves, became commonplace for all women in the Confederacy, white and black. The materials manufactured by Southern women during the war served as the basis for clothing, undergarments, shoes, and other cloth items.

Homespun cloth had many different forms. Some women made it in solids, some in stripes or plaids. In addition, the quality of homespun cloth varied widely, ranging from very tight weaves to extremely coarse materials. Opinions on the FASHIONS created from these materials varied,

with some decrying the shabby look of wartime women and others praising the ingenuity and creativity of the homespun weavers and seamstresses.

White Southern women took pride in their manufacture of homespun as well as in their use of it. Indeed, the wearing of Confederate homespun became a badge of patriotism throughout the South because it represented a sacrifice of luxury for the benefit of the war effort. It also demonstrated the resourcefulness of Southern women. In 1862 one Southern woman wrote “The Homespun Dress,” a song that exulted in women’s use of the homemade fabric; according to the lyrics, the wearing of homespun “shows what Southern girls / For Southern rights will do.”

Men, too, proudly wore outfits made from homespun cloth. Vice President ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS wore a homespun suit to his inauguration. Other dignitaries—including North Carolina governor JOSEPH E. BROWN, Edmund Ruffin, and other members of the Confederate Congress—commonly wore homespun as a symbol of their dedication to the Confederate war effort.

See also HOMEFRONT.

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—Lisa Tendrich Frank

## Homestead Act (1862)

The Homestead Act, adopted by Congress in 1862, provided for the settlement of the nation’s vast public western lands by farmers.

During the first half-century of its existence, the American government used the sale of public lands as one of its primary sources of income. Officials encouraged settlers to move to western lands and used the sale of those lands to fund numerous government activities. As farmers struggled to deal with the costs of purchasing and settling these new areas, and as the eastern populations grew, land reformers sought to make the government change its policies. Men like HORACE GREELEY wanted to make it easier and less expensive for settlers to occupy the West and kept the issue before Congress from 1845 to 1862. Although the House of Representatives passed homestead bills three times in the 1850s and twice in 1860 alone, the bills either died in the Senate or at the hands of the president.

However, JAMES BUCHANAN’s veto of the Homestead Bill in 1860 raised the ire of land reformers and settlers throughout the country, and the passage of this legislation became a central piece of the Republican platform in the 1860 ELECTIONS. The resulting support of Westerners



Engraving showing potential homesteaders scoping out plots of land on a map of a county in Kansas (Library of Congress)

for this measure contributed in no small part to Lincoln's victory in November of that year. Representative Galusha Grow reintroduced the Homestead Bill in Congress early in Lincoln's first term, and on May 20, 1862, the president officially signed it into law. As written, the Homestead Act provided 160 acres for any head of household and the right to acquire title to that land for a minimal fee once the individual had occupied the land for five years. In theory, the act provided the means for farmers to obtain land virtually free, and it also created an outlet for the growing populations in the cities and towns throughout the East.

While the number of homesteaders grew at a slow pace during the years of the CIVIL WAR, their numbers increased significantly following the surrender at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA. However, land reformers soon realized that the bill contained several deficiencies.

First, designed to avoid the avid speculation that occurred throughout the 19th century, the bill contained a loophole that allowed the homesteader to acquire a pre-emption claim to his property after only six months residence. Such a claim conferred the title to the land and thus allowed the homesteader to sell to private interests long before the designated five-year period elapsed. Cattle

ranchers, lumber companies, and speculators all participated in the process of hiring agents to obtain titles or bribing government employees to ignore the activity.

Second, the designation of 160 acres had been sufficient for lands settled in more humid regions, but for the semiarid lands of the West, such a small amount of land maximized the room for error for prospective farmers. Third, a significant amount of the land designated for settlers had already been apportioned to various private and public interests by the time the act went into effect in the beginning of 1863. Railroad companies, state schools, and universities occupied and utilized acreage sufficient for almost 2 million individual homesteads. Finally, by encouraging settlement throughout the western territories, the act created conflict between the settlers and the American Indians who lived in the western plains, resulting in warfare and ultimately government-sponsored removal of the Indians from reservation lands.

The Homestead Act and subsequent legislation continued to provide public lands for individuals looking for a new start in the West well into the 20th century. By 1900, approximately 70 million acres of land had been claimed under the auspices of the 1862 edict.

See also NATIVE AMERICANS; PACIFIC RAILROAD ACT.

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—John P. Bowes

### **Hood, John Bell** (1831–1879) *Confederate general*

Confederate general John Bell Hood was born to a prominent family in rural Owingsville, Kentucky, on June 29, 1831. Hood's parents had high expectations for him. At the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT, Hood proved a mediocre student and barely managed to graduate. ROBERT E. LEE commented that "Hood is a bold fighter . . . very industrious on the battlefield, careless off . . . I am doubtful as to the other qualities necessary." Confederate president JEFFERSON DAVIS nonetheless selected Hood to command the Army of Tennessee in July 1864. Lee's evaluation, however, proved both accurate and prophetic. Despite his early successes at the brigade and divisional levels, Hood was unable to meet the challenges of higher responsibility. Hood's battlefield errors destroyed the Army of Tennessee and ruined Confederate aspirations in the West. Perhaps no other commander during the CIVIL WAR experienced such adulation only to be followed by utter disgrace.



The outbreak of the Civil War found First Lieutenant Hood in Texas, serving with the Second Cavalry. After resigning his U.S. Army commission, Hood traveled east as a Confederate major in the Fourth Texas Infantry Regiment. Over the next five months Hood's aggressive fighting earned him the favor of President Davis and a promotion to colonel, in command of his own regiment. When the position of brigade commander became available in March 1862, Hood was elevated to brigadier general.

Hood's reputation continued to grow as he and his "Texas Brigade" impressed Gens. Robert E. Lee and THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON with outstanding performances at the BATTLES of Gaines Mill, SECOND BULL RUN, and ANTIETAM. Promotion to major general followed, and Hood and his Texans became heroes throughout the South.

A ferocious fighter, Hood's reputation continued to grow. At the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG in July 1863 his left arm was permanently disabled during the assault on the Devil's Den. The following September, Hood's division spearheaded Gen. JAMES LONGSTREET's successful attack at the BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA, Georgia. Hood was again seriously wounded, losing his right leg. His bravery was recognized a few weeks later with a promotion to lieutenant general when he returned to RICHMOND. During this time Hood became a close confidant to Jefferson Davis, a friendship that would yield negative consequences for their nation.

Requesting reassignment, Hood was appointed a corps commander under Gen. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON in the Army of Tennessee. As Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN pushed the Confederates south through Georgia, Hood used his influence with Jefferson Davis to argue for Johnston's removal, making the case that he, Hood, would conduct a more aggressive campaign. Davis eventually acquiesced, naming Hood commander of the Army of Tennessee in July 1864.

Hood lost no time in taking the initiative, with disastrous results. Suffering the loss of one-third of his army in a series of reckless assaults on Gen. William T. Sherman's army, Hood was forced to abandon Atlanta by late August 1864. As Sherman embarked on his famous "march to the sea," Hood led his army in the opposite direction, intending to threaten Sherman's supply lines in Tennessee. After missing an opportunity to destroy a portion of Gen. GEORGE HENRY THOMAS's forces at Spring Hill, Tennessee, Hood recklessly threw his army against the Federals at Franklin, Tennessee, on November 30, 1864. Suffering crippling casualties, Hood would not give up his campaign. Instead, he moved to Nashville with a force that was no longer adequate to the task. On December 15 and 16 Thomas attacked and destroyed the Army of Tennessee. Hood was relieved of command at his own request and returned to Richmond in February 1865.

After the war, Hood established an insurance business in New Orleans, where he married and had 11 children. In the mid-1870s his business failed and a yellow-fever epidemic swept through New Orleans, taking his wife and eldest daughter before claiming the general himself on August 30, 1879, at the age of 48.

See also SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA.

**Further reading:** John Bell Hood, *Advance and Retreat: Personal Experiences in the United States & Confederate States Armies*, ed. Richard N. Current (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1969); Richard M. McMurry, *John Bell Hood and the War for Southern Independence* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992).

—Don Worth

### **Hooker, Joseph** (1814–1879) *Union general*

Union general and commander of the Union's Army of the Potomac for a brief time, Joseph Hooker was born on November 13, 1814, in Hadley, Massachusetts. Hooker was educated at the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT, where he graduated 29th of 50 in the class of 1837. Shortly afterward, he received his first army combat assignment as a staff officer during the Mexican-American War. A tall, well-proportioned man, Hooker possessed a contentious and prickly personality. After several arguments marred his early career, he resigned from the military and settled in California as a farmer and landowner in the 1850s.

Hooker reentered the army after the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN. Appointed a brigadier general, Hooker commanded a brigade of U.S. volunteers charged with the defense of WASHINGTON, D.C. He demonstrated great competence in battle and was rewarded for his performance during the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN and the SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN in spring and summer of 1862 with the grade of major general.

Called "Fighting Joe" by a newspaper correspondent, Hooker led the I Corps of the Army of the Potomac in the Antietam campaign, again demonstrating his military capabilities. His action in charge of a division was one of the few bright spots during the Union loss at the BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG. As a result of the disaster there, Lincoln turned to Hooker to command the Army of the Potomac, despite rumors of his heavy drinking and womanizing. Lincoln knew of Hooker's rash remark that what the country needed was a good dictator to run the war. He wrote "I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the Army and the government needed a dictator. Of course it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain success can set

up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship.”

Unfortunately, Hooker would prove as ineffective against Lee as many of his predecessors had. Despite reinvigorating the morale of the Army of the Potomac and planning an excellent campaign, Hooker was outthought, outflanked, and outfought by Lee. One reporter commented: “Not the Army of the Potomac was beaten at Chancellorsville, but its commander.” On June 28, 1863, Hooker resigned as commander of the Army of the Potomac and was replaced by Gen. GEORGE GORDON MEADE, who led the army to its greatest victory at the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

Hooker was reassigned to command of the XI and XII Corps of the Army of the Cumberland in September 1863. In a well-executed attack, Hooker and his men took the Confederate position on Lookout Mountain during the BATTLE OF CHATTANOOGA. Hooker played a part in the ATLANTA CAMPAIGN, but after being passed over for the command of the Army of the Tennessee, he resigned and spent the rest of the war carrying out administrative duties. Hooker retired from the professional military in 1868 and died on October 31, 1879, in Garden City, New York.

See also ANTIETAM, BATTLE OF; CHANCELLORSVILLE, BATTLE OF.

**Further reading:** Walter H. Hebert, *Fighting Joe Hooker* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1944); Stephen W. Sears, *Chancellorsville* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1996).

—Arthur E. Amos

**Howard, Oliver Otis** (1830–1909) *Union general, government official*

Major general in the CIVIL WAR, commissioner of the FREEDMEN’S BUREAU, and MEDAL OF HONOR winner O. O. Howard was born in Leeds, Maine, on November 8, 1830. Graduating from Bowdoin College in 1850, Howard also attended the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT, where he taught mathematics until 1861. A strikingly handsome man, Howard served as colonel of the Third Maine Infantry at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN and then was promoted to brigadier general and assigned to the II Corps in the Army of the Potomac. Accompanying Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN on the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN, he lost an arm fighting in the battle of Fair Oaks on May 31, 1862. Returning to duty in time to fight at the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM, Howard distinguished himself enough to be appointed, at age 32, major general in command of the XI Corps. Howard’s leadership was criticized in the BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE, in May 1863, and at the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, in July of the same year. At the former, Howard’s evident inattentiveness led to a

rout of his men by THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON’s famous flank attack and was a major factor in the devastating defeat of the UNION ARMY.

After the death of Gen. John Reynolds, Howard was in command of all Union forces at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on the afternoon of July 1, 1863. Outnumbered and increasingly outflanked by the Confederates, Howard made a number of ill-advised decisions that resulted in the collapse of the IX Corps and then the rest of the Union forces on Oak Ridge. Driven back through the town to Cemetery Hill, thousands of panicked soldiers were re-formed by Howard and others for a new stand against their attackers. Howard subsequently claimed credit for the excellent Union defensive position along Cemetery Hill and Ridge, although the new commander on the field, Gen. WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK, disputed this. The following September, Howard was sent to the western army, where he was a corps commander under Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT and Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN in several notable battles, including the BATTLE OF CHATTANOOGA. Sherman appointed Howard commander of the Army of the Tennessee before the march through Georgia and the Carolinas. Despite his high rank and continued advancement, Howard was never particularly well regarded either by his men or his peers and was judged at best a mediocre general.

After the war, Howard continued to serve the country. A devout Christian and a strong supporter of African-American freedom and advancement, Howard was singled out by President ABRAHAM LINCOLN to head the newly created FREEDMEN’S BUREAU in 1865. Howard had a strong vision for the bureau that included providing EDUCATION, protection, and economic security in the form of land for the masses of freed people in the South. Disappointed by the lack of enthusiasm and support from the Johnson administration, Howard struggled to maintain the integrity of the bureau’s work against a hostile and often-times violent environment in the Southern states. His administration was attacked for inefficiency, and some of his financial dealings were subject to congressional investigations. Despite immense difficulties, the bureau under Howard’s direction was able to establish and support schools and provide some protection for black freedom through its system of courts. Howard personally expanded opportunities for African Americans when he helped to found Howard University, becoming its first president in 1869 and serving in that capacity until 1874. Later, he also founded Lincoln Memorial University in Harrowgate, Tennessee.

The demise of the Freedmen’s Bureau in the early 1870s brought Howard, still in the regular army, out west again, this time to serve in the frontier wars against the Indians. He was peace commissioner to the Apache, and in 1877 he led the campaign against Chief Joseph and the

Nez Perce, earning criticism for his inept handling of men and supplies. Before Howard ended his military career in 1894, he served as superintendent of West Point and commanded the Division of the East. An active supporter of the REPUBLICAN PARTY and of educational and philanthropic organizations and a popular speaker on the lecture circuit, Howard kept himself busy in retirement. He was an accomplished writer and published widely on many military and historical topics. Oliver Otis Howard died on October 26, 1909, in Burlington, Vermont.

**Further reading:** O. O. Howard, *Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard, Major General, United States Army* (1907; reprint, Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1971); William S. McFeely, *Yankee Stepfather: General O. O. Howard and the Freedmen* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1968).

**Howe, Julia Ward** (1819–1910) *author, abolitionist, women's rights activist*

Julia Ward Howe was a poet, lecturer, abolitionist, and advocate for women's rights, but she is best remembered for writing the song "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

She was born Julia Ward into a respected family, descended from Revolutionary War heroes and Rhode Island GOVERNORS. She lost her mother at a young age but enjoyed the benefits of a privileged upbringing. She threw herself wholeheartedly into her studies as well as a social life that included visits to and from many noted authors, politicians, and scholars. While still very young, Ward began her career as an author, publishing several articles and reviews.

She married Dr. Samuel Howe in 1843. The couple made their home at an estate Howe called "Green Peace" in Boston, where she had six children. The Howes were actively involved in the abolitionist movement and edited

an antislavery newspaper. Dr. Howe disapproved of his wife's writing, however, and to try to hide it from him she began to publish anonymously. In 1854 he discovered that she was the author of *Passion Flowers*, her first full volume of poems. The couple separated soon after, although they never divorced.

In 1861 Howe wrote the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" after a friend suggested that she compose "good words" for the tune of "John Brown's Body," which was already a popular song. As Howe described it afterward, she awoke in her room at the Willard Hotel in the nation's capital with the words in her head. Getting up, she "began to scrawl the lines almost without looking." She then went back to sleep, "but not without feeling that something important had happened to me."

The "Battle Hymn of the Republic" was published in 1862. Chaplain Charles McCabe became linked with the poem, singing it before President ABRAHAM LINCOLN and at many public occasions. It continued to grow in popularity long after the war had ended and is as well known today as it was in the 1860s.

After the CIVIL WAR, Howe became active in the struggle for women's voting rights. The war, she said, had "brought many of us out of the ruts of established ways" and "forced us to take a larger outlook into the possibilities of the future." Howe founded and led several women's organizations on both the local and national level. She continued to write, travel, and speak on many issues. Her prominence led to her being the first woman elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1908. Howe served only briefly before dying in 1910 at the age of 91.

See also ABOLITION; MUSIC; WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Vickey Kalambakal



## immigration

Between 1850 and 1880, nearly 8 million immigrants arrived in the United States, and as a percentage of the population, the foreign-born rose from 9.7 to 13.3 percent. Immigration on that large a scale had important impacts, not only on the immigrants but also on American political, social, and economic life.

The immigrants of the mid-19th century were largely northwestern European, with the majority coming from Germany and Ireland. In the decades between 1851 and 1880, Irish and German immigrants combined were never less than 40 percent of America's total immigration pool, and they constituted more than 70 percent of America's immigrants between 1851 and 1860. The demographics of the immigrant stream changed over time and varied among national-origin groups, but, generally, immigrants were male, single, and between 18 and 40 years of age. Some came highly skilled, like the Jewish tailors of eastern Europe and the potters of Staffordshire, England, while some came seemingly unprepared to make a life in America. The demographic profile of those who immigrated shifted in reaction to current conditions. For instance, the Irish potato-famine migrants generally came as families rather than single individuals, but in the mid-1850s, legal developments in land policies in Ireland brought proportionately more single women than the Irish or other immigrant groups had previously sent.

Unlike the fanciful tales of immigrants seeking refuge in the United States after dreaming for their entire lives of riches and freedom, historians have come to understand that immigrants to the United States were generally very shrewd and took into account conditions not only in their homeland but also in potential destinations. For instance, the number of immigrants arriving in the United States during the CIVIL WAR dropped significantly, just as they did during depressions and panics in the American ECONOMY. Immigrants generally made the choice to come to the United States when that choice was advantageous to them. Thus, the moti-

vations of immigrants are complex and individual. Among the key reasons for immigration during the mid-19th century were rapidly changing conditions in Europe, the economy, religious persecution, and political strife.

In the middle of the 19th century, Europeans were caught in a nexus of events and developments that made the likelihood of immigration greater. Famines, like the potato famine that decimated Irish and German potato crops from the 1840s through the 1850s, forced many people to leave their homes merely in an effort to survive. Religious persecutions brought more immigrants to America's ports. For example, in the late 19th century nearly 2 million Jews came to the United States to escape pogroms in Europe. Political persecution, or fear of it, brought another flood of immigrants, especially the German "48ers" who came in large numbers to the United States after the failed revolutions of 1848 in Europe. On a larger scale, a dramatic increase in European populations meant more people needed food, land, and EMPLOYMENT, while at the same time the spread of commercial AGRICULTURE consolidated land holdings and pushed smaller farmers off the land. The rise of the factory system in Europe moved people from the rural areas to the cities and put them in contact with the growing proliferation of relatively inexpensive TRANSPORTATION.

Transportation developments played an important role in the process of immigration. The 1850s began the age of steamships. As late as 1856, 95 percent of European immigrants to the United States arrived by sailing ship after an arduous journey of anywhere from one to three months. By 1873, 95 percent of European immigrants were arriving in America's ports on steamships, whose passage time was generally 10 days. It was a difficult trip nonetheless, as immigrants' accommodations were generally cramped, dark, and lacking in ventilation and amenities, sometimes with tragic consequences. For instance, in 1866 cholera killed hundreds of German immigrants on National Line ships out of Rotterdam.



Other developments in transportation also helped fuel immigration to the United States. The improved European rail network that helped change landholding patterns also allowed for easier and cheaper transportation within Europe, especially the port cities. Some businesses, particularly settler-hungry American railroad companies with land grants and steamship companies seeking to fill all their berths, set up easily accessible ticketing agencies in Europe and America. The most popular ticketing option was for immigrants who had made their “fortune” in the United States to buy prepaid travel packages for their family and friends back home, developing what historians refer to as a “chain migration.” U.S. land-grant RAILROADS heavily promoted this scheme of migration, which ultimately had a significant impact on the settlement of the American West and Midwest. Railroad ticketing agents facilitated what amounted to the transfer of whole European villages to the American territories, thus developing enclaves of Welsh, Norwegian, German, and Russian settlers across America’s heartland. In addition, states and territories in the United States, campaigned in Europe for settlers. They advertised cheap or even free land, plentiful resources, and a harmonious environment, all waiting to be selected by a willing immigrant as his or her own.

The first sight most immigrants had of the United States in the mid-19th century was Castle Garden, New York, which served as the East Coast’s main immigrant entry port until Ellis Island opened in 1892. For West Coast immigrants, Angel Island in San Francisco was the general port of entry. Beyond the gates of the processing centers at the ports, immigrants faced a United States that was not hospitable. Americans wanted immigrants to easily assimilate into their culture, to work hard for whatever wages were offered, and to be literate.

America’s largest immigrant groups of the mid-19th century, the Germans and Irish, were generally Catholic and imbibers of alcohol, both character flaws as far as “old” Americans were concerned. The largely Protestant United States had an overwhelmingly negative opinion of Catholicism. Native-born American distrust of the immigrants’ ties to the Catholic Church was only exacerbated when German Americans placed such great emphasis on parochial school development, and Irish Americans poured millions of dollars into building towering cathedrals like St. Patrick’s in NEW YORK CITY. Beyond their suspicions of immigrants’ Catholicism, alcohol use by immigrants became a key target of protesters in the mid-19th century. In 1851 Maine passed a statewide prohibition law, and other states followed with their own version of what came to be known as “Maine laws,” but the restrictions of alcohol were rarely enforced effectively.

With two strikes against them already, Irish and German immigrants inspired even more animosity by affiliating

themselves with urban political machines. Both immigrant groups were adopted by Democratic political machines, who came to depend on the votes of immigrants to stay in power. Most notorious of the urban machines was New York’s Tammany Hall, which reached the height of its power under the leadership of the notorious William “Boss” Tweed. Despite their political skullduggery and unsavory reputations, however, the urban machines offered immigrants an important support network—jobs, assistance in times of need, and a chance to rise in the machine and the city. Because of their affiliation with the machines, Catholicism, and alcohol, German and Irish immigrants were the targets of rising tides of anti-immigrant sentiment, or NATIVISM. Newspapers portrayed them as baboons and drunkards who stole ELECTIONS and defiled democracy. Many argued that these immigrants could never be real American citizens.

The assimilation of these “unassimilable” immigrants came in a drastic way. With the advent of the Civil War, many immigrant groups seized their chance to prove their allegiance to the United States. Immigrants of all ethnicities answered calls like that of the Irish-American newspaper, the *Boston Pilot*, which urged its readers to “Stand by the Union; fight for the Union; die for the Union.” Across the North, ethnic units like the 79th New York Infantry (Scottish), the 55th New York Infantry (French), the 15th Wisconsin Infantry (Scandinavian), and the famed “Irish Brigade” formed. The Confederacy had its ethnic regiments as well, such as the “Emerald Guards” and the “New Orleans Jägers,” but most immigrants in the preceding decades had settled in the North because of the limited employment opportunities open to them in the Southern slave system.

Many members of these ethnic units signed on for less lofty reasons than saving the Union or the Confederacy. Many were moved, just as their native-born fellow soldiers had been, to sign up for adventure and for the economic opportunities enlistment provided. For the typical immigrant worker in Northeastern cities or on Midwestern farms, the monthly soldier’s salary was good money in comparison to their own laborer’s earnings. Few immigrants enlisted with the aim of freeing the slaves, since most immigrants were on the bottom of the labor ladder and thus would be competing with freedmen for jobs. For this reason, many immigrants declined to participate in the Civil War, particularly after Lincoln’s issuance of the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. The most notable example of racial tensions during the war came with the NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOTS of 1863, when mobs of angry Irish New Yorkers ransacked African-American neighborhoods. The negative impact of the draft riots, however, was far outweighed by the positive contribution that immigrants made to the Union war effort. Over the course of the Civil War, more



than 200,000 German-Americans and 160,000 Irish-Americans served in the Union and Confederate armies. Other immigrant groups provided troops in lesser, but still substantial, numbers. Throughout the war, immigrants' enlistment rates remained high, and their battlefield prowess and bravery won them great acclaim and a significant measure of respect from old-stock, native-born Americans.

Even after dedicated military service, however, immigrant life was not easy in the United States. In employment, immigrants were always near the bottom of the ladder, generally only advancing when a new wave of immigrants came along and pushed them up. Along with a reliance on machine politics, some immigrant groups formed alliances with organized labor to assist their rise in the United States. Association with organized labor, however, generally put immigrants once again at odds with the larger American society. The Knights of Labor, one of the foremost unions of the late 19th century, exemplified the connections between the immigrant, his homeland, and the United States. The Knights forged links to the Land League, a nationalist movement for Irish independence and land reform, and Clan na Gael, an Irish nationalist society. In the 1860s a controversial and "secret" labor organization of the Pennsylvania mining region, the Molly Maguires, was said to be an offshoot of the Irish-American association, Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Other American immigrant groups also found the post-war United States to be a difficult place. Chinese immigrants, who originally came to work the California gold fields in the 1850s and then worked for the Union Pacific half of the transcontinental railroad in the 1860s, made up 9 percent of the California population from 1860 through 1880. The work they did in the labor gangs of the Union Pacific was invaluable to the success of the line, but their sacrifice was not rewarded upon its completion. When the transcontinental railroad was finished in 1869, large numbers of unemployed Chinese immigrants were left in its wake. Anti-Chinese sentiment rose throughout the West, culminating in riots and expulsions of immigrants through the 1880s. The federal government was constrained in its actions by the Burlingame Treaty of 1868, which allowed unrestricted Chinese immigration, but in 1882 Congress finally passed an act suspending Chinese immigration for ten years. The act was renewed several times.

For all the trials and tribulations, immigration to the United States continued unabated. Through the end of the 19th and into the 20th century, it followed time-worn patterns of largely economic push-pull factors, but in the 1880s and 1890s "new" immigrants from southern and eastern European nations like Russia, Italy, Turkey, and Greece replaced the "old" northwestern European immigrants. The rise of southern and eastern European immigrant streams fed the fires of nativist concerns once again, and a new group of immigrants were subject to American suspicion

and attack. In 1896 "new" immigrants outnumbered "old" ones for the first time in U.S. history. For all that immigrants had accomplished for themselves and on behalf of the Union in the mid-19th century, Americans had learned very little as a nation about the benefits of new citizens.

See also GERMAN-AMERICAN REGIMENTS; IRISH-AMERICAN REGIMENTS.

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—Ruth A. Behling

### impeachment of Andrew Johnson (1868)

On February 25, 1868, the House Managers of Impeachment, led by THADDEUS STEVENS, appeared before the U.S. Senate to present 11 articles of impeachment against President ANDREW JOHNSON. Their case rested on Johnson's removal of Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON from office, but the action really grew out of a political struggle between Johnson and Congress over RECONSTRUCTION. The sensational trial brought the national government to a halt for three months. On May 26, 1868, the Senate voted 35 to 19 to convict Johnson, only one vote short of the two-thirds necessary to remove him from office. Johnson was acquitted, but his effectiveness as a leader was destroyed.

When Vice President Andrew Johnson assumed the office of president in April 1865 after the ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, he enjoyed the united support of the Northern leaders and citizenry. Johnson, a Democrat who was the wartime governor of Tennessee, appeared on the 1864 ticket to broaden the appeal of the REPUBLICAN PARTY beyond its traditional base. Johnson's deep hatred of the Southern slaveholding class was widely known. RADICAL REPUBLICANS, a strong wing of the party led by CHARLES SUMNER of Massachusetts, had good reason to assume Johnson agreed with their harsh position on Reconstruction. They believed, as did the majority of more moderate Republicans, that Congress and the executive would work together well to determine the process of incorporating the Southern states back into the Union.

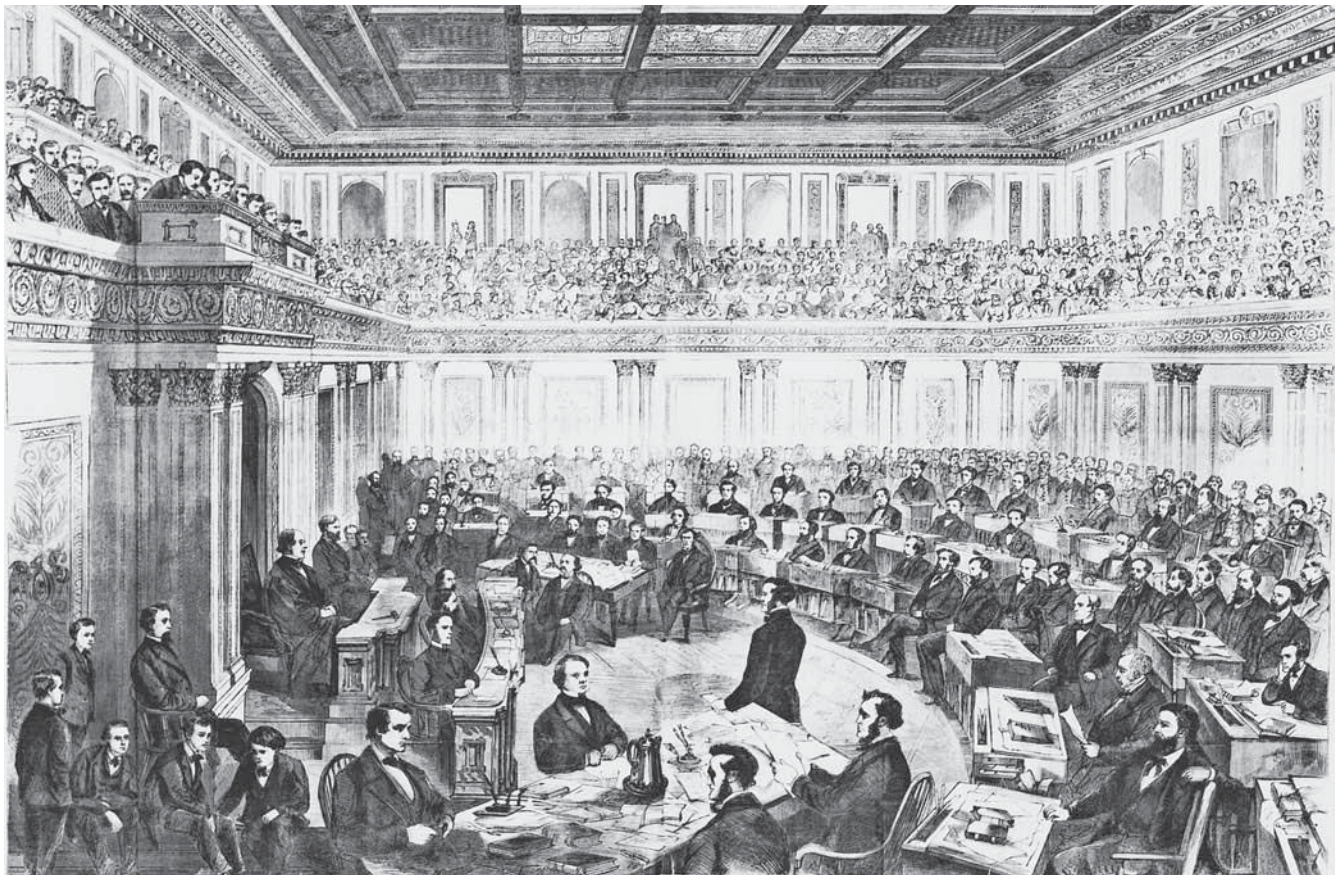
Johnson was no stranger to Congress. He had served on the JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR with BENJAMIN WADE, Zechariah Chandler, and GEORGE W. JULIAN, all Radical Republicans. Ominously, although a staunch Union man who favored EMANCIPATION, he had never supported an agenda that included black suffrage and civil rights. His sympathies were for the plain white farmers of the South, and his beliefs were those of a typical Democrat, including the desire for a small national government and the upholding of STATES' RIGHTS. He loudly proclaimed that he would follow in his predecessor's footsteps, with a lenient and merciful Reconstruction policy. Unfortunately, Johnson was sorely lacking in Lincoln's political skills. Called by some the "accidental president," he was inflexible, stubborn, and, in the end, self-destructive. Understandably, Johnson wanted to control Reconstruction from the White House, but his many vetoes, together with his adamant refusal to compromise with congressional Republicans, brought catastrophic results for the nation.

Johnson's earliest policy moves alarmed the Republican-dominated Congress. He readmitted Virginia with only a

few restrictions and on May 29, 1865, issued a Proclamation of Amnesty, setting in motion liberal policy of pardons for ex-Confederates.

The new president had initiated a heated struggle over the control of Reconstruction that eventually led to his impeachment. Johnson supported the restoration of landed property to ex-Confederates, and early in 1866 he vetoed the FREEDMEN'S BUREAU bill. Throughout this period many Republicans grew increasingly alarmed but did not break with the White House, hoping to work out an agreement before the fall ELECTIONS. Only when the president vetoed the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1866 and made known his opposition to the proposed FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT did congressional Republicans declare an open war and take their case to the voters.

The fall elections of 1866 went badly for Johnson and his supporters. Radical and moderate Republicans were united and now had the power to act on their desire to end Johnson's obstructionist stance on Reconstruction. Congress intended to halt the widespread removal of Republicans from government positions by Johnson. The first step was to deprive the president of his patronage powers.



Sketch showing the U.S. Senate as a court of impeachment for the trial of Andrew Johnson (Library of Congress)



Early in 1867, the Tenure of Office Act passed. In the same session, Congress also passed legislation to limit Johnson's influence over the military. Still not finished, Congress, over a presidential veto, initiated the RECONSTRUCTION ACT that established military governments throughout the South. Congress and the president were declared enemies. Republicans hoped to force the South to accept universal male suffrage and the Fourteenth Amendment. Johnson, horrified by what he described as a blatant violation of the Constitution, fought hard to stop the legislation and employed the veto. These policies, the president also believed, would severely hinder the South's recovery. Congress overrode his veto with ease. Johnson's fierce opposition, however, threatened their future Reconstruction plans. Impeachment talk was becoming common within congressional chambers.

In December 1867 the House of Representatives began the impeachment proceeding against Johnson. For the moment, they were unsuccessful, but the newly elected president of the Senate, Radical Republican Benjamin Wade, was determined to pursue the issue. Over the following year, Wade directed a Congress that set its Reconstruction policy in motion without hesitation. Yet another Reconstruction bill passed over Johnson's veto. The president's response was twofold. First, he outwardly complied with their policy, but he made sure that the military GOVERNORS of the reconstructed South were conservative and effectively blocked the Republican's agenda. Second, Johnson removed Radical sympathizer Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton from office, a defiant challenge to the Tenure of Office Act. Every Republican felt that the president had gone too far. Despite the seriousness of the situation, a comic element surfaced as Congress and the president alternately fired and rehired Stanton.

Congress reinstated Stanton to his cabinet post in February 1868. Johnson brazenly defied that body by again ordering the secretary's dismissal, replacing Stanton with former Union general Lorenzo Thomas. His bold action brought swift reaction. Within days, the House of Representatives voted for impeachment of President Andrew Johnson for "high Crimes and Misdemeanors." Naturally, the vote was along strict party lines. The first eight articles of impeachment, which were the heart of the case, focused on the president's alleged violations of the Tenure of Office Act. On February 25, the Senate initiated its proceedings, and the trial began on March 30. Chief Justice SALMON P. CHASE presided over the trial and, to his credit, tried to govern the process in a fair and impartial manner.

The political subtext of the trial was the fight over Reconstruction policy. Johnson's able defenders, including former associate justice Benjamin R. Curtis, argued correctly that the Tenure of Office Act was clearly unconstitutional. The Republicans, meanwhile,

attacked the president's opposition to their policies for the Southern states. Their primary concern was that Johnson was subverting the Union victory in the war. By May 6, the arguments had concluded, and only the vote remained. As it turned out, none of the articles of impeachment passed, and a motion to adjourn the trial was offered and adopted. Seven Republicans voted against impeachment.

Johnson had survived the trial, and the Republicans searched for explanations. Many congressmen came to believe that the case against Johnson lacked proof that he had undermined the Constitution, since Lincoln had appointed Stanton. Others distrusted the intentions of Benjamin Wade, next in line for the presidency should Johnson's impeachment be successful. Wade's extreme position on Reconstruction and his almost obsessive pursuit of Johnson worried many of the moderate Republicans. In the end, the spectacle of the trial and Johnson's acquittal had serious consequences. The Radicals' moment had ended. Northerners felt sorry for Johnson and preferred a more modest approach to Reconstruction. ULYSSES S. GRANT, the choice of the moderate majority of the Republican Party, was the candidate for president in 1868. Johnson's acquittal, then, signaled the beginning of the Radicals' quick political decline. Significantly, the fact that Johnson remained in office emboldened ex-Confederate leaders to oppose the Reconstruction of their states that began to be imposed in 1868.

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—John P. Bowes

## impressment

During the 19th century, impressment, or the appropriation of private property during emergencies for military use, was recognized by American military precedent as a power granted both civilian and military leadership. During the first year of the CIVIL WAR, the Confederate government used this policy to obtain needed supplies. However, public outcry against it led to severe limits on the practice, and the government quickly rejected it as a regular means of obtaining supplies.

By late 1861, however, the Confederate supply agencies experienced increasing shortages of raw materials. The lack of available materials was compounded by the hoarding of supplies by speculators. As a result, Quartermaster General Abraham C. Myers and Commissary General Lucius B. Northrup requested Secretary of War JUDAH P. BENJAMIN to grant them and their bureau purchasing

agents impressment powers. In November 1861, Myers granted his subalterns the authority to impress if “absolutely demanded by the public necessities.” Still, the practice of impressment remained limited through spring 1862.

During the first half of 1862, however, instances of impressment became more common as the government seized medical supplies from blockade runners and speculators, took quartermaster hardware, appropriated forage, and forced the sale of horses held by reluctant sellers. In a sweeping and unprecedented move, the secretary of war began impressing major items such as railroad iron and distilleries.

While such seizures created some public opposition, it was the extension of policy to foodstuffs that created widespread resistance. This step was believed necessary by commissary officers unable to feed the soldiers in the field. Outraged private citizens and speculators evaded impressing officers and in some cases destroyed food items rather than turn them over to commissary officials. The War Department attempted to defuse the conflict by creating formal rules for impressing. For example, they devised a universal price schedule for foods like flour and sugar. Individuals were given the option to accept the price offered or face impressment. Agents provided evidence of authorization from their commanding officer, paid on the spot, left enough subsistence for the family, and provided written forms detailing the transaction. To ensure that no abuses occurred, the supply bureaus maintained records open to the public. Even this more formalized policy brought a loud protest from Confederate newspapers and citizens.

In March 1863, Virginia speculators challenged War Department rules in state courts and forced the Confederate Congress to take action to uphold the system. Congress enacted legislation that legally established in civil law the practice of military impressment. They strongly agreed that only extreme measures could keep the rebel armies in the field.

War Department officials worked to soften the impact of impressments, promising in one general order that “wherever the requisite supplies can be obtained by the consent of the owner at fair rates, and without hazardous delay, the military authorities will abstain from the harsh proceeding of impressment.” Yet, through 1863, the seizures continued.

Increasingly, field agents resorted to arbitrary actions to obtain raw goods. As a result, civilian opposition hardened, and as the war dragged on the program lost much of its utility. The failure stemmed in large part because the law enacted by Congress lacked any punitive provisions. Coupled with the open resistance of local police and civil authorities to impressing officers, the program yielded smaller and smaller returns. By 1864, it became clear that

impressment had failed as a means of domestic procurement of military supplies, and the government rescinded it as an official policy.

See also FORAGING; HOMEFRONT; RULES OF WAR.

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—James Daryl Black

## industrial development

Historians Charles Beard and Mary Beard, writing in the 1920s, described the CIVIL WAR as “The Second American Revolution.” They believed that the Civil War started the United States on the path to industrialization, a development that transformed the face of American society. This may be an overstatement—the forces that gave rise to industrialization were already present in the United States before the war started. However, it is certainly the case that the Civil War sped up the move toward industrialization while solidifying the North’s dominance in American manufacturing.

In a wartime ECONOMY, some industries suffer while others prosper. The North’s largest industry at the start of the war was cotton textiles, but manufacturers of cotton goods saw a 74 percent decline in business during the war due to the loss of Southern raw material and Southern customers. Shoe manufacturers were also negatively affected by the loss of the Southern market, although to a lesser extent because military contracts made up for much of the shortfall. The profits of the coal and iron industries dropped precipitously in the first two years of the war before finally rebounding in 1863 and 1864.

Not all Northern industries struggled, however. War-related businesses naturally did well throughout the war. These included the manufacturers of gunpowder and firearms, wool clothing, leather, copper, and packaged foods. The strength of these industries allowed the North to produce 13 percent more goods in 1864 than the entire nation had produced in 1860. For the entire course of the war, there was actually a slight drop in national output, likely because more than one-third of the workforce was in the army. A burst of productivity in the 1870s made up for the shortfall, and by 1880 America’s level of production stood almost exactly where it would have if the Civil War had never happened.

Although the Civil War did not cause tremendous growth in the Northern economy, it did accelerate the process of industrialization. The TRANSPORTATION industry underwent a boom during the war. The four years of the war saw the construction of twice as many merchant boats as had been built in the four years before the war. At the same time, railroad traffic doubled, and thousands of

new miles of track were built. These boats and RAILROADS would be utilized to move goods between markets in the postwar era and would therefore play an important part in the industrialized economy.

The demands of the UNION ARMY also helped to speed up the move toward mechanization and the factory system. For example, the need for millions of army UNIFORMS transformed the clothing industry. The sewing machine had been invented in the 1850s, and the number of sewing machines in use in the North doubled between 1860 and 1865. As clothing production became increasingly mechanized, it also became standardized. The War Department provided manufacturers with a set of graduated measurements for soldiers, thus creating the concept of “sizes” for uniforms and, after the war, civilian clothes.

By compelling large numbers of Northern businessmen to expand transportation networks, invest in machinery, and adopt standardization, the Civil War helped hasten the onset of the industrial era in the North. In part, this was possible because the North had the capital resources and labor necessary to make such changes. The South, on the other hand, enjoyed no such advantages. More than 90 percent of the nation’s manufacturing capacity in 1860 was located in the North. The South had some modern manufacturing facilities, notably the TREDEGAR IRON WORKS in Virginia, but they were few in number. The North also had the majority of the nation’s capital in 1860. What capital the South did have was tied up in land and slaves and could not easily be converted into the equipment needed for manufacturing.

Given the scarcity of privately held factories in the South, the Confederate government was compelled to go into the manufacturing business for itself. By 1863, publicly owned firms were producing virtually every manufactured good needed to wage war—ships, guns, bullets, blankets, wagons, and uniforms. However, when the war ended and the Confederate government collapsed, these industries disappeared, and the South was once again left with almost no manufacturing capacity. Meanwhile, over the course of the war and RECONSTRUCTION, a major redistribution of wealth took place. The South had 30 percent of the nation’s wealth in 1860 but only 12 percent in 1870. The war had also caused the collapse of the Southern banking system. With no factories, no capital, and no source of credit, Southern businessmen could hardly hope to develop any sort of manufacturing capacity in the postwar era. While there were some Southern leaders who called for an industrialized “New South,” this was not an easily realized possibility, although cotton textile mills flourished in several Southern states by the 1880s.

The Civil War, then, did not spark a revolution. However, as Northern manufacturers struggled to be profitable and to respond to the needs of the Union army, they made

choices that accelerated the pace of industrialization. They built more railroads, invested heavily in the new machinery that had been developed in the 1840s and 1850s, and utilized standardization with increasing frequency. Meanwhile, wealth flowed from South to North, creating an imbalance that would exist long after Reconstruction had ended. These trends would, in the late 19th century, culminate in an economy dominated by manufacturing and by the North.

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—Christopher Bates

### Irish-American regiments

The famous “Irish Brigade,” one of the most important and brave combat units in the UNION ARMY, epitomized Irish-American participation in the CIVIL WAR. The brigade began as the 69th New York Militia under Irish-born Col. Michael Corcoran. The unit fought with distinction at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN in July 1861. After serving out its 90-day federal enlistment, most of its members reenlisted in what became the 69th New York Volunteer Regiment. The idea for and formation of the all-Irish brigade was largely attributed to Thomas Meagher. He anticipated that such a brigade would silence the Know-Nothing attacks on Irish Americans and would emulate the glory of Irish brigades that fought in the Catholic armies of France and Spain. After the brigade was formed, President ABRAHAM LINCOLN appointed Meagher its brigadier general.

The Irish Brigade saw its first action under GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN in the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN, gaining quick notoriety for bravery at Gaines’s Mill, Savage’s Station, and Malvern Hill in June and July 1862. That September, as the brigade prepared to take part in a desperate frontal assault at the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM, Father William Corby (later the president of the University of Notre Dame) rode along their line granting general absolution. The Irish Brigade fiercely attacked the strong Confederate position at the “Bloody Lane.” Though decimated by horrendous fire, they held their position until relieved by another brigade. They participated in an even more famous and deadly assault (Marye’s Heights) at the BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG in December 1862. Following two failed assaults, the Irish Brigade surged





Photograph showing a group of soldiers from the Irish Brigade during the Peninsular campaign, 1862 (Library of Congress)

forth while shouting an old Irish cheer, “Faugh-a-Bellagh,” or “Clear the Way.” The brigade was shattered, reduced to less than 400 men. However, the Irish Brigade persisted, serving vital roles at the BATTLES OF CHANCELLORSVILLE, GETTYSBURG, SPOTSYLVANIA, COLD HARBOR, and the assault on St. Petersburg. The Irish Brigade stood at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, having suffered the third-highest casualty rate of any brigade in the U.S. Army.

See also IMMIGRATION.

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—Richard J. Roder

### ironclad oath

The “ironclad test oath of loyalty” was the oath of allegiance to the Union required by the U.S. government of citizens and Southerners in Union-occupied areas. Instituted in the

summer of 1862, the ironclad oath remained in place until the 1880s.

The ironclad oath incorporated and merged the various civil and military oaths of allegiance that had been in place from the beginning of the CIVIL WAR. It required the person taking it to proclaim that he or she had “never voluntarily borne arms against the United States.” In addition, this oath required the taker to swear to uphold the U.S. Constitution, defend the United States from foreign and domestic enemies, and forsake state allegiance. In essence, the ironclad oath forced takers to renounce any affiliation to any entity other than the U.S. government. It also asked Southerners to deny an active role in SECESSION and the war against the United States.

Federal authorities required that everyone in areas under Union control during the Civil War swear to the ironclad oath. Northerners readily swore to the terms of the oath as they supported the Union through military or material means. So did Unionists throughout the Confederacy as their areas came under federal control. Those in occupied areas gained special protection and rights from their status as loyal U.S. citizens. Some Unionist Southerners took the ironclad oath multiple times, as different Union detachments marched through their towns, hoping for the protection and rights the oath promised to grant them.

Other Southerners were forced to take the oath despite their continued support for the Confederacy. People living in Union-occupied areas were required to take the ironclad oath to do business in the occupied city or with the federal government. As a result, many unwilling Confederates swore to the oath to support their families. Other Southerners took the oath because doing so entitled them to reimbursement for property taken by Union troops. Other Confederates refused to take the oath under any circumstances, arguing that it denied their commitment to Southern independence and their right to secede. Even so, many Confederates found themselves in a position that required them to take the oath, despite their protests. In these instances, some took the ironclad oath only under duress and without necessarily following its guidelines.

Union officials also required that Confederate prisoners of war take the oath before they were released on parole. Confederate soldiers who took the ironclad oath did not always follow its rules against taking up arms against the United States. Many gained parole only to return to the ranks of the CONFEDERATE ARMY and continue fighting Union troops. The Union terminated its practice of exchanging Confederate prisoners by the end of 1863, in part due to the persistent reenlistment of paroled prisoners.

The ironclad oath’s strict prohibitions against takers having “voluntarily” fought against the Union caused problems after the Civil War. In a highly charged atmosphere of sectional tensions and resentments, this stress on a renun-

ciation of Southerners' roles in the Confederate fight for independence impaired the effort for national reunification. Many Southerners who played roles in military and civilian capacities refused to renounce their support of the Confederacy. Those who did so and did not take the ironclad oath were prohibited from holding local, state, or federal office or serving in the military. In response, many Confederate military leaders appealed to the president for pardons and had their federal rights and citizenship restored without a renunciation of their roles in the war effort. In 1884 the United States replaced the ironclad oath with an oath of allegiance that only required oath takers to support and uphold the U.S. Constitution.

See also AMNESTY, ACTS OF; HOMEFRONT.

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—Lisa Tendrich Frank

## ironclads

An ironclad is a warship that is partially or fully shielded with iron plating. Some textbooks incorrectly state that ironclad ships were invented during the CIVIL WAR. In fact, the first ironclads were constructed more than 250 years prior by Korean admiral Yi Sun Shin, who led a fleet of armored ships to victory over Japanese naval forces in the late 16th century. Shin was ahead of his time; after his death ironclads were not utilized by any of the world's navies until the Crimean War of the 1850s. During the conflict, both the British and French navies relied upon ironclads, demonstrating their superiority over wooden ships to the rest of the world.

When the Civil War broke out, it was clear to leaders on both sides of the conflict that they needed ironclad technology. The Union, with its superior industrial capacity, was the first to act. In the first few months of the war, the UNION NAVY commissioned and began construction on three ironclad warships: the *New Ironsides*, the *Galena*, and the *Monitor*. These ships were finished by early 1862, and numerous others followed. By the end of the Civil War, the Union navy had constructed 71 ironclad ships, vastly more than any other naval power of that era.

The CONFEDERATE NAVY did its best to keep up with the Union, but they faced several handicaps. Raw materials were in short supply in the South. This was particularly true of iron, which was needed not only for ships but for railroad rails and for armaments. Even if supplies had been abundant, the South did not have any factories capable of manufacturing all of the parts necessary to build an ironclad ship. So, the Confederate navy was compelled to modify existing

vessels, usually damaged ships that had been abandoned by the Union navy. The Confederates had some success doing this, and by the end of the war their navy had 25 ironclads in service that had been constructed in this fashion. Southern leaders also tried to purchase some European-made ironclads, which utilized technology vastly superior to that possessed by the Union navy. However, diplomatic pressure from Northern authorities largely compelled France and Britain to turn a deaf ear to the Confederates. The rebel navy did manage to purchase one ship from France, the *Stonewall*, but it did not arrive in the United States until after the war was over.

There was a great deal of variety among Civil War ironclads, but most can be grouped into two basic classes: Casemates like the USS *New Ironsides* were iron boxes, usually with slanted sides, placed on top of a wooden hull. Sailors and guns would be contained within the iron box, which protected them from enemy fire. Casemates were typically very large and not very maneuverable, so they were most effective when used for defensive purposes or for bombardment of targets on land. Most Southern ironclads were casemates.

The other class of ironclad was the monitors, named after the USS *Monitor*. Monitors were low-freeboard steamships, meaning that their decks were very close to the water. While casemates tended to have fixed guns, monitors had turrets that could be rotated to aim their guns. The majority of Union ironclads were monitors, although most Northern naval leaders, including Adm. DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT, preferred casemates.

Ironclad ships played a role in most of the major naval battles of the Civil War. They achieved their greatest fame, however, in an engagement that had very little to do with the outcome of the war. In March 1862, several Union warships were destroyed or severely damaged by the CSS *Virginia*, a casemate ironclad that had been built by converting the abandoned USS *Merrimack*. In order to save the remaining Union ships, John L. Worden, commander of the recently completed USS *Monitor*, was ordered to engage the *Virginia* at Hampton Roads, Virginia. The *Monitor* arrived early on the morning of March 9, just as the *Virginia* was preparing to finish off the USS *Minnesota*, a wooden ship. The two ironclads fired at one another all day, inflicting very little damage. Finally, Worden was wounded, and the *Monitor* had to withdraw temporarily so he could be relieved. By the time the ship had returned to the fray, the *Virginia* had backed off, ending the engagement.

Although Hampton Roads did not impact the Civil War, it was still among the war's most significant engagements. Ironclads had been used in warfare before, but Hampton Roads marked the first time that two ironclad ships had faced off against one another. Both Northerners and Southerners took pride in the accomplishment, and a wave of songs, poems,

and newspaper articles praising the ironclads swept across the country. Union and Confederate naval leaders knew from the outset that wooden ships would soon be replaced by ships made of metal, and now the general populace knew it too. The value of existing wooden ships was vastly reduced in popular and professional opinion, setting the stage for an arms race in the construction of iron and, eventually, steel ships, a trend that would last for nearly a century.

See also *MONITOR-MERRIMACK*.

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—Christopher Bates


**Jackson, Claiborne F.** (1806–1862)

Claiborne Fox Jackson was GOVERNOR of Missouri at the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR. Jackson was born in Fleming County, Kentucky, on April 4, 1806, and in 1825 he moved to Missouri to work in banking. He later pursued public office, holding a seat in the state house of representatives from 1836 to 1848 and in the state senate from 1848 to 1852. An ardent proslavery Democrat, Jackson successfully opposed longtime ally Jesse Hart Benton over the latter's refusal to support SLAVERY in the new territories.

In 1860 Jackson successfully ran for governor as a moderate on the issue of SECESSION. During his inaugural speech of January 3, 1861, however, he declared that Missouri would resist any Union coercion by force of arms. He then called for a convention to pass a secession ordinance, but that body, dominated by Unionists, defeated the measure. After the fall of FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, in April 1861, Jackson denounced President ABRAHAM LINCOLN's call for volunteers and began plotting to seize the U.S. Arsenal in St. Louis. To that end he dispatched secret emissaries to Confederate president JEFFERSON DAVIS and received four large cannon.

But Jackson's scheme was defeated by the prompt actions of Cap. Nathaniel Lyon, who attacked and scattered Jackson's "State Guard" at Camp Jackson on May 10, 1861. Jackson fled the state capital, Jefferson City, as Lyon's forces approached and established a rump legislature at Neosho; this body formally voted to secede the following October. However, continuing Union successes under Gen. Samuel R. Curtis sent the secessionist governor and his followers fleeing again, this time into Arkansas, where they erected a temporary capital at Camden. Jackson died at Little Rock, Arkansas, on December 7, 1862, his grandiose plans for a Confederate Missouri unfulfilled.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Jackson, Thomas J. (Stonewall)** (1824–1863)

*Confederate general*

Thomas Jonathan Jackson was born in Clarksburg, Virginia (now West Virginia), on January 21, 1824, to Jonathan and Julia Beckwith Neale Jackson. He lost both parents as a child and spent much of his youth in the household of an uncle who owned lumber mills in Lewis County. Educated by tutors as a youth, he entered the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1842. Poorly prepared for the rigorous coursework at West Point, he succeeded only by working resolutely on his studies. He improved his class standing to 17th of 59 by the time of his graduation in the class of 1846.

War had erupted with Mexico before Jackson's graduation, and he soon found himself a second lieutenant of artillery with the invading U.S. Army commanded by Winfield Scott. During Scott's campaign against Mexico City in 1847, he fought at the siege of Veracruz and in the Battles of Cerro Gordo, Contreras, and Chapultepec, so distinguishing himself that he won brevets (honorary rank for exceptional service) to the rank of major. After a year with the American army of occupation in Mexico, he saw peacetime service in New York and Florida.

In 1851 Jackson accepted a professorship in artillery TACTICS and natural philosophy at the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, Virginia. He taught there for the next 10 years, earning a reputation as an inflexible and often boring instructor. He married twice while in Lexington—in 1853 to Eleanor Junkin, who died in childbirth after just more than a year of marriage, and in 1857 to Mary Anna Morrison. Both women were daughters of Presbyterian clerics, and Jackson himself became a devoted member of that church. His extreme piety caused considerable comment when he achieved military fame.





Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson (Library of Congress)

Jackson remained loyal to Virginia in the SECESSION crisis of 1861. A Democrat who owned a few slaves, he harbored fewer doubts about secession than many people in his native western region of the state. Commissioned a Confederate colonel and given a command at HARPERS FERRY, he was promoted to brigadier general on June 17, 1861. He made a dramatic military debut at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN on July 21, where his brigade helped stop a Union assault and turned the tide in the war's first big battle. Jackson also won his famous nickname that hot July afternoon when a South Carolina officer pointed toward him and shouted, "There is Jackson standing like a stone wall." Promoted to major general on October 7, 1861, he shortly thereafter assumed command in the Shenandoah Valley and mounted a largely ineffective campaign into western Virginia that winter.

On the eve of his celebrated SHENANDOAH VALLEY CAMPAIGN, Jackson was known as a good soldier but had yet to gain wide fame. ROBERT E. LEE sketched the broad outline of the Shenandoah operation, hoping Jackson would tie down Northern forces under Nathaniel P. Banks and John C. Frémont in the valley and farther west in the Allegheny Mountains, so they could not reinforce the UNION ARMY menacing RICHMOND. An initial clash

at First Kernstown on March 23, though a tactical defeat for Jackson, prompted the Federals to retain troops in the lower valley. Reinforced to 17,500 by early May, Jackson embarked on a whirlwind of action. He struck part of Frémont's force west of Staunton at McDowell on May 8, then marched back to the valley and turned northward to capture a Union garrison at Front Royal on May 23 and defeated Banks in the first Battle of Winchester two days later. Continuing on to the Potomac River, he subsequently moved south to the vicinity of Harrisonburg, eluding Union forces under Frémont and James Shields. In early June, he turned to meet his pursuers, defeating Frémont at Cross Keys on June 8 and Shields at Port Republic the next day. The Federals withdrew northward, freeing Jackson to reinforce Lee's army outside Richmond. Jackson had used rapid movement and boldness to craft a memorable success. His victories, which came in the midst of a run of Southern defeats, not only prevented a concentration of Union forces at Richmond but also lifted Confederate civilian morale. Typical of reactions behind the lines was that of a diarist in Richmond, who wrote that "General Jackson is performing prodigies of valor in the Valley."

Jackson participated in all of the great battles in the eastern theater during the remainder of 1862. He stumbled badly at the Seven Days' Battle and also failed to carry out his assigned roles at Mechanicsville, Gaines's Mill, and White Oak Swamp. Detached by Lee from the army at Richmond in early August, he defeated a portion of John Pope's Army of Virginia on August 9 near Culpeper in the BATTLE OF CEDAR MOUNTAIN. Later that month, he carried out a memorable march around Pope's right flank, destroying a vast Union supply depot at Manassas Junction and setting the stage for Lee's victory at the SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN on August 28–30. He played a key role in the Maryland campaign in September, capturing the 12,500-man Union garrison at Harpers Ferry on September 15 and then joining the rest of the army near Sharpsburg, Maryland, for the bloody fighting at the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM two days later. Promoted to lieutenant general on October 10 and given command of the Second Corps in the Army of Northern Virginia, he defended Lee's right flank in the Confederate victory at the BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG on December 13.

Jackson's reputation reached new heights during the BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE in May 1863. Confronting a superior Union force, he and Lee decided on a bold response. On May 2, Jackson took his corps on a flank march around the Army of the Potomac, launching an attack that routed the Federal 11th Corps. In the confusion of battle and darkness that evening, he was wounded by his own men. His left arm was amputated that night, and though it seemed at first that he would recover, he died eight days later. President JEFFERSON DAVIS spoke



for the Confederate people in describing Jackson's death as a "great national calamity," and Robert E. Lee remarked that the army would miss "the daring, skill and energy of this great and good soldier."

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—Gary W. Gallagher

### jayhawkers

Officially, the CIVIL WAR began on April 12, 1861, with the firing on FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA. However, armed combat had been underway for years before that along the Kansas-Missouri border. In 1854 the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT had opened up the Kansas Territory to popular sovereignty, which was supposed to allow the people of Kansas to decide for themselves if they wanted SLAVERY. Whenever a vote on the issue came up, however, proslavery Missourians would cross the border to Kansas and vote illegally in hopes of getting Kansas admitted to the Union as a slave state. Armed violence between proslavery and antislavery guerrillas regularly occurred on these occasions, and eventually a state of near-constant warfare developed. The proslavery guerillas were known as "BUSHWHACKERS," and the antislavery forces were called "jayhawkers."

The jayhawkers, like the bushwhackers, had few scruples when it came to enforcing their will. They supplied themselves almost entirely by stealing. They usually killed any enemies they encountered, women and children included. Their leader was "Doc" Charles Jennison, who had given up medicine for a career as a horse thief. The ranks of the Jayhawkers also included Senator James Henry Lane, Susan B. Anthony's brother Dan Anthony, and JOHN BROWN's son John Brown Jr. Between 1855 and 1860, more than 200 people were killed by the jayhawkers, and countless thousands of dollars worth of goods were stolen.

When Civil War finally came to the rest of the nation, the jayhawkers were accepted into the Union ranks as the Seventh Kansas Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, with Jennison as colonel and Anthony as lieutenant colonel. Mustered into service on October 28, 1861, the jayhawkers had only loose ties to the UNION ARMY. They continued to supply themselves by stealing, and they generally operated independently of any Union command. They also continued to operate mostly in Missouri. This was a problem for Union leadership, because Missouri had remained with the Union, and many of the people killed by the Jayhawkers in 1861 were loyal Unionists. Concerned that the unit was creating

more rebels than it was conquering, the jayhawkers were transferred to Kentucky and then to Tennessee. They performed well in these new assignments, particularly after Jennison and Anthony resigned and were replaced by more able officers. The jayhawkers did not return to Kansas until they were mustered out in 1865.

See also BLEEDING KANSAS.

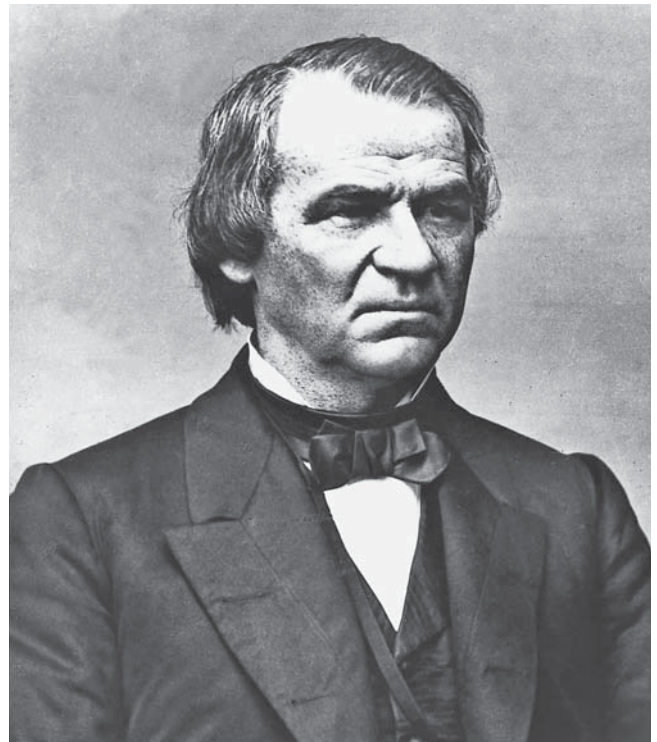
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—Christopher Bates

**Johnson, Andrew** (1808–1875) *U.S. vice president, 17th president of the United States*

Tailor, merchant, governor, U.S. senator, vice president, and 17th president, Andrew Johnson took office upon the ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN in April 1865. An "accidental president," Johnson's tenure as chief executive was marked by turmoil and controversy, some of it due to his political blunders and incompetence. He enjoys the dubious distinction of being the first president to be impeached while in office.

Born on December 29, 1808, in North Carolina to parents of humble means, Johnson had virtually no schooling.



Andrew Johnson (Library of Congress)

As a young boy, Johnson was apprenticed to a tailor but fled at the first opportunity, landing in Greenville, Tennessee. There, he opened a thriving tailor business and established himself as a wealthy merchant. Married and successful, Johnson turned to politics, where he followed in the footsteps of his hero, Democrat Andrew Jackson. Although a slaveholder himself, Johnson detested the wealthy planters who dominated Southern politics and economic power. As he moved up the political ladder from local to state to national office, Johnson became known as a champion for the ordinary white Southern yeoman farmer.

When the CIVIL WAR broke out, Johnson had for three years been the U.S. senator from Tennessee. A decided Unionist, he followed the U.S. flag, the only member of Congress's upper house from a seceded state to remain loyal. Labeled a traitor throughout the South, he was hailed as a hero in the North. The UNION ARMY captured Nashville and occupied SECESSIONIST western Tennessee in March 1862. Shortly afterward, ABRAHAM LINCOLN appointed Johnson to serve as the state's wartime governor.

Johnson worked hard to restore his state to the Union, something that was made more difficult because the Confederates controlled eastern Tennessee. By summer of 1863 Johnson endorsed EMANCIPATION and supported strongly Lincoln's efforts to end SLAVERY in the border states. Due to Johnson's persistence, in January 1865 a Tennessee state convention approved the ABOLITION of slavery, and the voters quickly ratified the measure.

In 1864 the Republicans (temporarily renamed the American Union Party) wished to attract War Democrats by placing Andrew Johnson, the popular Unionist, on the ticket with Lincoln. The party won handily, and Johnson was inaugurated as vice president on March 4, 1865. Feeling ill on inauguration day, Johnson fortified himself with several glasses of whiskey before his speech. The result was a rambling, incoherent tirade that embarrassed all who witnessed it. Johnson created a more favorable impression when, after Lincoln's death early in the morning of April 15, he took the oath of office at the Kirkwood House in a dignified and calm manner. The shocking aftermath of the assassination gave Johnson a period of overwhelming support among Northern politicians and voters. He presided competently over the pursuit, capture, and trial of Lincoln's assassins and created an atmosphere of friendly relations between the executive and congressional branches as the problems of RECONSTRUCTION loomed.

"Treason must be made infamous and traitors must be impoverished," declared Johnson. RADICAL REPUBLICANS could be forgiven if they thought the new president would stand with them in implementing a harsh Reconstruction policy. They were wrong. Johnson, like Lincoln, believed that secession was illegal, and thus the rebel states were

never actually out of the Union. Johnson's vision was a harmonious "restoration," directed by the executive branch. His plan was simple. The seceded states had to ratify the THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT, nullify the secession laws, and repudiate the Confederate debt. Once those requirements were met, ELECTIONS could be held, civil governments restored, and elected officials could take their places at all levels, including the national legislature.

Johnson ignored requests from Radicals that he include suffrage for African Americans as part of the restoration plan. A typical STATES' RIGHTS Democrat, he feared the intrusion of the federal government into areas that trespassed on state sovereignty. In addition, he was a fierce opponent of black voting and civil rights measures. The fact that the dominant Republican Congress would not come into session until December 1865 meant that Johnson could push through his measures with executive decrees.

Johnson busied himself in obstructing all congressional policies designed to assist ex-slaves. In September 1865, Johnson virtually ended land redistribution to freedmen and poor white people. He ordered the FREEDMEN'S BUREAU commissioner, Gen. O. O. HOWARD, to return all confiscated lands to white Southerners who had been pardoned. Under Johnson's May 1865 plan, only rebellious Southerners who owned more than \$20,000 in taxable property had to receive a presidential pardon personally; the rest were pardoned automatically. Nearly all, more than 6,000, in need of a presidential pardon received one after a short visit with Johnson. By the end of 1865, all of the Southern states except Texas had followed Johnson's plan and applied for reentry into the Union. Johnson considered "restoration" complete.

The consequences of Johnson's acting unilaterally were deeply unsettling. Northerners reacted with horror as ex-Confederates blatantly assumed power as if there had never been a war at all. In state after state, BLACK CODES were passed, which made emancipation a dead letter. Republicans of all backgrounds in Congress supported a more stringent Reconstruction and pushed for protection of African Americans' economic and basic civil rights.

In December, the hostility between the executive and the legislative branches deepened when the "restored" Southern congressmen arrived in the Capitol to take their places in the Senate and House chambers. The newly elected officials included four ex-Confederate generals, eight colonels, six ex-cabinet members, and the Confederacy's vice president, ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS. Congress refused to seat the Southerners, in effect rejecting presidential Reconstruction. The best both sides could hope for now was a serious session of compromise. Johnson, however, refused to negotiate with the Republicans on Reconstruction.

In early 1866, Congress passed two bills, one extending the Freedmen's Bureau and the other the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1866. Johnson vetoed both bills. Congress would later override his vetoes, and the bills became law. Even the most moderate Republicans moved into alignment with the Radical Republicans (so-named for their support of the freedmen) after Johnson's policies had rendered emancipation and civil rights essentially meaningless.

Republicans implemented a plan that set strict requirements for states reentering the Union. These requirements mandated military occupation for all Confederate states (with the exception of Tennessee) until a state convention recognized freedmen's rights to citizenship and all the other provisions of the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT and ended the racially discriminatory Black Codes. Eventually, Congress even called for African-American male suffrage. Johnson vetoed nearly every bill but was again overridden nearly every time.

Johnson, who thought he enjoyed the support of most Northerners, fought hard for his restoration plan. He still controlled the military, which was responsible for carrying out congressional Reconstruction. As commander in chief, he appointed politically conservative, pro-Southern officers to military posts in the South. This further alienated his few supporters left in Congress. Increasingly, his pronouncements were controversial. Terrible race riots in Memphis and New Orleans in the spring and summer of 1866 belied Johnson's assurances that conditions in the South were returning to normal. Congress further turned against the president.

Before the 1866 congressional elections, Johnson undertook a controversial speaking tour known as the "Swing around the Circle." His goal was to rally voter support for his policies. Instead, Johnson's speeches were divisive, rude, and often confrontational. He received much negative publicity, and many in the crowds booed his appearances. Gossips whispered that the president had been drunk for much of the tour. Drunk or not, the tour was a disaster at the polls, and a large, "veto-proof" Republican majority was returned to Congress.

In March 1867, the House and Senate passed the Tenure of Office Act over Johnson's veto. The act required Johnson to obtain the Senate's approval before dismissing any of his cabinet members. It was designed to protect Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON, a leftover from Lincoln's cabinet and a Radical Republican. Citing his executive powers, Johnson suspended Stanton in August 1867 without the Senate's consent. After much political wrangling, the House impeached Johnson in February 1868 for committing high crimes and misdemeanors in office, the first ever impeachment in U.S. history. However, the Senate failed to convict him by one vote. Vindicated but powerless, John-

son did not accomplish anything of significance for the rest of his term.

In 1868 the Democrats chose Horatio Seymour to run for president against ULYSSES S. GRANT. Johnson was quite bitter over his treatment in WASHINGTON, D.C., and refused to attend Grant's inauguration. Andrew Johnson retired to Tennessee but reentered politics, returning to the U.S. Senate in 1875. He served for only a few months before his death on August 31, 1875.

See also IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

**Further reading:** Eric McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Brooks D. Simpson, *The Reconstruction Presidents* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998); Hans L. Treftousse, *Andrew Johnson: A Biography* (New York: Norton, 1989).

—Scott L. Stabler

### **Johnston, Albert Sidney** (1803–1862) *Confederate general*

At the beginning of the CIVIL WAR, Albert Sidney Johnston was perhaps the Confederacy's most renowned and well-respected soldier. Johnston was born in Washington, Kentucky, on February 2, 1803, to John and Abigail Johnston. He was appointed to the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT from Louisiana and graduated eighth in the class of 1826. Johnston served at Sackett's Harbor, New York, in 1826; with the Sixth Infantry at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, in 1827; and as regimental adjutant in the Black Hawk War. He married Henrietta Preston in 1829 and resigned his commission in 1834 due to her grave illness. After Henrietta's death in 1836, he went to the Southwest and fought for Texas's independence. This appointment resulted in a duel with Felix Huston, the man he replaced. Due to an injury suffered in the duel, however, Johnston was unable to take his new post. On December 22, 1838, he was appointed secretary of war for the Republic of Texas by President Mirabeau B. Lamar. In 1840 Johnston returned to Kentucky, where, on October 3, 1843, he married Eliza Griffin, a cousin of his first wife. They returned to Texas to settle at China Grove Plantation in Brazoria County.

During the Mexican-American War Johnston served as colonel of the First Texas Rifle Volunteers and then served with W. O. Butler as inspector general at Monterrey, Mexico. Johnston reentered the regular army in 1849 and by 1855 had risen to the rank of colonel. In 1857 he was promoted to brigadier general.

When the Civil War began, Johnston returned to the army as a Union brigadier general in command in California, but when his "home state" of Texas seceded from



the Union, he resigned from the U.S. Army and joined the Confederacy. JEFFERSON DAVIS placed him in command of the western theater as a full general. As commander of this department, his area of responsibility was massive, extending from the Appalachian Mountains in the east to the Indian Territory in the west. When Fort Henry and Fort Donelson were lost in February 1862, Johnston was forced to retreat from Kentucky and most of Tennessee. Johnston joined forces with Gen. PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD and massed in Corinth, Mississippi, where he planned to launch a surprise attack on the UNION ARMY in Tennessee.

Early on the morning of April 6, 1862, Johnston assaulted ULYSSES S. GRANT's army at its camp on Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee River. The two-day BATTLE OF SHILOH, named for a small church near the landing, had begun. As hoped, Johnston's attack caught the Federals completely by surprise. However, momentum was lost when raw recruits paused to loot the overrun Union encampments, but by late morning Johnston believed victory was his. "We are sweeping the field," he told Beauregard, "and I think we shall press them to the river." But the Federals held the Confederate forces for a time at what became known as the "Hornet's Nest." There was also hard fighting in a peach orchard, where Johnston himself led the final charge that drove the Union defenders out of it. While directing operations at Shiloh, Johnston was hit in the leg by a bullet that severed his femoral artery. Johnston had sent his surgeon to tend to a group of wounded Union prisoners, and he bled to death for lack of medical attention. He was temporarily buried in New Orleans, but his remains were later transferred to Texas for burial in the state cemetery in Austin.

**Further reading:** Charles P. Roland and Gary Gallagher, *Albert Sidney Johnston: Soldier of Three Republics* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001).

—Arthur E. Amos

### **Johnston, Joseph E.** (1807–1891) *Confederate general*

A career soldier, Gen. Joseph Eggleston Johnston was one of the top military commanders for the Confederacy. For him, the CIVIL WAR was alternately marked by failure and success. His predisposition toward defensive warfare placed him at odds with President JEFFERSON DAVIS, and his critics attacked him for wasting many opportunities for Confederate victory. Like many of his contemporaries, Johnston's postwar years were spent in justifying his wartime record and casting doubt on the record of his many detractors.

Johnston was born on February 3, 1807, into a distinguished family in Prince Edward County, Virginia. His

father, Peter Johnston, served in the American Revolution, and his mother was a niece of Patrick Henry. Educated at the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT, he graduated in good standing with the class of 1829. Commissioned as a second lieutenant, Johnston participated in the Black Hawk War of 1832, the Seminole War of 1836–37, and the Mexican-American War of 1846–48. From the 1830s to the eve of the Civil War, Johnston compiled an excellent record as a topographical engineer in the Southwest, a lieutenant colonel of the U.S. First Cavalry, and quartermaster general of the U.S. Army, a position he resigned from in 1861 to join the Confederate forces.

The highest ranked officer from the "old army," Johnston was appointed brigadier general by President Jefferson Davis. Along with PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD, Johnston directed the Confederate victory at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN in July 1861. The victory was marred shortly thereafter by a bitter argument over Johnston's ranking in the Confederate military hierarchy. He believed that he should be ranked first, but President Davis disagreed, and Johnston was placed fourth. This was the first of many personal and professional disagreements between the two proud and stubborn men, much to the detriment of the Confederate armies in the western theater.

In the spring of 1862, Johnston was given the task of defending RICHMOND against the Northern invasion led by his former Mexican-American War comrade, GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN. In late May, Johnston was severely injured during the Battle of Seven Pines, and the command of the main CONFEDERATE ARMY was given to Gen. ROBERT E. LEE. Johnston resumed his field career in December, commanding the Confederate forces in Tennessee and Mississippi. Expected to defend a huge amount of land against the Federals, Johnston assumed a defensive stance whenever possible. For his bloodless approach to war and more, Johnston's men loved him as few other generals. "In appearance," an observer remarked, "he is small, soldierly and graying." To his superiors, Johnston appeared arrogant, affecting a superior attitude about all things military. Jefferson Davis also considered himself a military expert and deferred to no one except Robert E. Lee, whose record of victory was second to none. Davis was especially overbearing in his dealings with the western generals, and Johnston in particular.

When the Mississippi citadel of Vicksburg fell in July 1863, Johnston was blamed for his apparent slowness in supporting John Pemberton's beleaguered forces. Davis and the press criticized Johnston's cautious nature harshly after the surrender of Vicksburg, and he was temporarily relieved of his command for failing to stem the Union advance.

Davis could not afford to retire a competent and respected general like Johnston for long, however. Decem-

ber of 1863 found him in charge of the Army of Tennessee after BRAXTON BRAGG lost Chattanooga to the Federals. This time, Johnston faced WILLIAM T. SHERMAN in the ATLANTA CAMPAIGN of the spring and summer of 1864. Leaving Dalton, Georgia, under heavy pressure from Sherman, Johnston executed a textbook series of backward maneuvers until he entrenched just outside of Atlanta. Once again, Davis, impatient with Johnston's timid generalship, removed him from command. His replacement was the feisty Texan JOHN BELL HOOD, whose willingness to do battle with Sherman's troops led to defeat and the surrender of Atlanta on September 2, 1864. By now the master of thankless tasks, Johnston squared off against Sherman again in February 1865 in the Carolinas campaign. Johnston surrendered the Army of Tennessee to Sherman on April 26, 1865.

Johnston's postwar career was more successful. A prosperous businessman in railroad and insurance, he also dabbled in politics as a congressman from Virginia (1878–80). Johnston, who published his memoirs in 1874, was a popular speaker at VETERANS reunions throughout the South. He also was invited on a regular basis to speak to Northern veterans organizations, where he spread a message of reconciliation and harmony between the sections. At 84, he became a tragic symbol of reunion when, after serving as a pallbearer at Sherman's funeral on a cold wintry day, he caught pneumonia. Shortly thereafter, on March 21, 1891, Johnston died at his home in WASHINGTON, D.C.

See also VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

**Further reading:** Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations Directed during the Late War between the States* (1847; reprint, Milwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1969); Craig L. Symonds, *Joseph E. Johnston: A Civil War Biography* (New York: Norton, 1992).

### Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War

Formed in December 1861, the congressional Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War (CCW) held the broadly interpreted power to inquire into the conduct of the Northern war effort through the investigation and examination of military persons and maneuvers. The CCW began in obscurity in the months following the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN but remained in existence for the length of the CIVIL WAR, making a name for itself through its harassment of Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN and its efforts to influence the military policies and appointments of President ABRAHAM LINCOLN. The committee was successful as a conduit for the ideology of RADICAL REPUBLICANS and as a tool for advancing their agenda. While the committee's overall impact on the course of events is questionable, it did impair

the conduct of the war effort by threatening to investigate any senior military leader who failed either to achieve results in the field or to share its strongly pro-Union, abolitionist sentiments.

Following the disastrous Union defeat at the First Battle of Bull Run and the subsequent loss at Ball's Bluff, Senator Zachariah Chandler of Michigan introduced a resolution in the Senate to create a joint committee with the House of Representatives to probe the causes for these military catastrophes. The resolution passed in both chambers without significant debate, and the respective leaders of Congress appointed the following members to the committee: Senator Chandler (R-Mich.), Senator BENJAMIN WADE (R-Ohio), Senator ANDREW JOHNSON (D-Tenn.), Representative GEORGE W. JULIAN (R-Ill.), Representative Moses Odell (D-N.Y.), Representative John Covode (R-Pa.), and Representative Daniel Gooch (R-Mass.). The president of the Senate selected Wade as chairman, and the CCW initiated its first investigation in January 1862. The 38th Congress reappointed the committee, adding Republican Benjamin F. Loan of Missouri. Loan, previously a brigadier general of the state militia, was the only member to possess any viable military experience throughout the committee's existence.

Over the course of the Civil War, the committee's scope included not only the Battles of Bull Run and Ball's Bluff but also the BATTLES OF FREDERICKSBURG, Fort Fisher, and the Crater, as well as the atrocities committed by Confederate soldiers at FORT PILLOW. While the CCW and its supporters in Congress made sure that the scope of its mission statement remained broad, the overall agenda of the committee's members remained narrow throughout its tenure. Led in name and spirit by the Radical Republicans Wade, Chandler, and Julian, the committee sought to place a definitive spin on their investigations, and by war's end the CCW had earned a deserved reputation for doggedly pursuing their partisan goals. These men held very strong abolitionist beliefs and felt that the war effort required an aggressive approach regarding SLAVERY and the Confederacy. As a result, they used the committee's powers in numerous attempts to influence both the use and the leadership of the UNION ARMY.

Beginning with the investigation of Bull Run and Ball's Bluff in January 1862, the CCW established a pattern that defined its procedures until its disbandment in June 1865. First, in their attacks on Brig. Gen. Charles P. Stone and General McClellan, the Radical Republicans expressed their dissatisfaction with West Point military men and, more importantly, with Democratic officers. By examining Stone in secret without allowing him representation and subsequently influencing his military arrest and solitary confinement, the members of the CCW also displayed a willingness to use extralegal means to accomplish their



goals. Finally, as evidenced by their meetings with Lincoln and their calls for military activity against the Confederacy in the early months of 1862, Wade and his cohorts revealed their desire to influence the way in which Lincoln and his generals chose to direct the Union war effort.

Committee members steadfastly believed that Union superiority in numbers should result in Northern victories, despite much evidence to the contrary. Equally problematic, they were apparently ignorant of the advantage that rifled muskets and cannon afforded to enemy defenses, and they attributed the lack of aggressive tactics of Union commanders to either timidity or treasonable sentiments. McClellan was the most obvious target of CCW ire, but GEORGE GORDON MEADE also became an object of their wrath. President Lincoln and ULYSSES S. GRANT came under CCW pressure to relieve subordinates that committee members deemed unreliable. Even the victorious Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN felt the sting of CCW displeasure for negotiating surrender terms with Gen. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON that many members judged too lenient; he was forced to renegotiate them. Conversely, the committee provided political cover to military incompetents whose sentiments were clearly pro-Republican and antislavery, helping such men to maintain their positions long after they had demonstrated unfitness for command.

From 1862 to 1865, the machinations of the CCW remained barely hidden beneath their investigative actions. While the initial inquiries into Ball's Bluff and Bull Run targeted particular officers negatively, the committee's report on Fredericksburg sought to bolster the reputation of Gen. AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE in an effort to indirectly end McClellan's military career. Similarly, the conclusions reached by Wade and his colleagues on Fort Fisher supported the actions of one of their favorites, Gen. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER, a man who had not found similar support in the White House. The committee at times even went beyond the scope of its mission statement, and Wade and Chandler in particular often besieged Lincoln in their efforts to push for a more aggressive military strategy.

Yet not all of the CCW's investigations focused on the failures of various Union military endeavors. It also exposed corruption in military contracts and facilitated reform. Further, the CCW's reports on Fort Pillow and on Union prisoners of war highlighted some of the atrocities of the war that the Northern public may not have been completely aware of. Their investigation of the inhumane treatment of black soldiers and military prisoners brought the CCW's focus squarely on the Confederacy's conduct of the war and provided the evidence the Radical Republicans needed for pursuing a strict RECONSTRUCTION of the South. By demonstrating the cruelty of the rebels in warfare, the CCW

hoped to destroy the hopes of those individuals, including Lincoln, who sought to create a harmonious plan for the reunion of the two warring sides.

Over a period of approximately three and a half years, the CCW compiled an impressive record of investigations and reports. Its members vociferously presented their opinions and conclusions on military strategy, military appointments, and the plans for the Reconstruction that would follow the war. Their impact on the Northern war effort and on Lincoln's policies cannot be neatly summarized. While their attacks eventually influenced the president's dismissal of McClellan, the general's record in the field also played a significant role. In their fervent support of abolition, the CCW prodded the administration toward declaring EMANCIPATION. However, their contempt for West Point and Democratic officers also led the committee to promote several officers, such as Butler and JOSEPH HOOKER, long after they had proven themselves liabilities in battle. And in the last year of the war, the CCW also found itself unable to force Lincoln to dismiss Grant or Meade. In the end, the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War served as a strong voice of the Radical Republicans and their agenda throughout the Civil War, and Lincoln could never completely ignore its influence.

See also ABOLITION; ANDERSONVILLE PRISON; PRISONERS; UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT.

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—John P. Bowes

**Jomini, Antoine-Henri, baron de** (1779–1869)  
*soldier, military strategist*

Antoine-Henri, baron de Jomini was a widely read military theorist whose textbook on strategy is believed to have influenced many generals in the American CIVIL WAR. Born in Payerne, Switzerland, he served in the French army under Napoleon and in the Russian army under both Alexander I and Nicolas I. His books on the campaigns of Frederick the Great of Prussia and Napoleon Bonaparte of France were used throughout the Western world to promote an increasingly scientific curriculum of military education.

At the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT, an entire generation of cadets, many of whom

would become officers on both sides of the Civil War, absorbed Jomini's scientific approach to strategy. At the heart of Jomini's theory of warfare was the idea that war should be contained on the battlefield and its violence limited whenever possible. This led to an emphasis on a war of maneuver rather than battle, something that was particularly notable in the campaigns of Union general GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.

Historians are still debating how powerful Jomini's ultimate influence on Civil War strategy was, but it is certain that his writings informed the military TACTICS AND STRATEGY of both Union and Confederate armies.

**Further reading:** Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy: from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986).

—Fiona Galvin

## journalism

The CIVIL WAR played a critical role in changing the role of journalism and journalists in American society, but the stage was set for change well before the guns thundered at FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, in 1861. The newspapers of the early 19th century bore little resemblance to their modern counterparts. Largely supported by political groups and expensive subscriptions, their circulations were usually limited to a few thousand people or less. Content was mostly composed of highly partisan editorial opinion addressing the topics of the day. Coverage of current events was limited and was generally buried on the inside pages of the paper.

This began to change in the 1840s, thanks in part to innovations in technology. The most important new development was the TELEGRAPH. Previously, news of faraway events could take days, weeks, or even months to travel to the cities of the United States. The telegraph reduced this time significantly. The Mexican-American War, fought from 1846 to 1848, became the first American war where a person living in NEW YORK CITY or PHILADELPHIA could stay largely up-to-date on events as they occurred. In addition to the telegraph, new types of printing presses and new printing techniques dramatically increased the speed with which copies of newspapers could be produced while reducing costs, allowing publishers to reach a much broader audience each day.

Technological innovations are only a part of the story, however. A significant portion of the credit for reinventing the American newspaper belongs to James Gordon Bennett, perhaps the greatest innovator in the history of journalism. Bennett founded the *New York Herald* in 1835 and served for decades as its publisher and editor. Bennett disdained the papers of his day as elitist, and he made it

his goal to attract as many readers as possible. To start, he charged only two cents for a copy of his paper, and eventually he reduced the cost to one penny. At a price that low, daily newspapers could fit within the budget of almost all Americans.

The *Herald's* coverage was also designed to stimulate readership. While Bennett did not dispense with opinion pieces, he moved them inside the paper and instead used the front page exclusively for news. Bennett based his choice of coverage on what he thought would interest the largest number of people, which often meant that the most sensational stories grabbed the headlines. Because news-gathering was expensive, Bennett formed a partnership with other New York papers to share costs, and thus the Associated Press was born. Bennett also developed entirely new areas of coverage. His boxing stories made the *Herald* the first newspaper in the country to have a sports section. Bennett also incorporated daily coverage of the stock market into the *Herald*, even coining the terms “bull” and “bear” market.

Thanks to these and numerous other innovations, the *Herald* became the most widely read newspaper in America, with a circulation in excess of 100,000 by the start of the Civil War. However, despite this success, papers outside of New York largely avoided adopting Bennett's model prior to 1860. Editors in Chicago, Philadelphia, and other smaller cities throughout the country either were not confident that a paper like Bennett's could work for them, or they did not have the resources that New York papers had. This all changed with the Civil War. Americans demanded up-to-the-moment news coverage, and they bought the papers that would provide it. This compelled newspapers across the nation to make news the centerpiece of their papers, the way Bennett had, thus rendering opinion-centered papers obsolete.

Indeed, the period from 1861 to 1865 was so significant in the history of journalism that it is sometimes referred to as the “news revolution,” because at the same time that the Civil War was reshaping the face of journalism, newspapers were helping to reinvent warfare. The Civil War has been called the first modern war. It may not have been so in all regards, but it was modern in the fact that the HOMEFRONT and the war front were intimately connected. Newspapers played an integral role in developing and maintaining that connection.

More than 200 correspondents roamed the various theaters of the war, and reporters were on hand from the beginning to witness every major engagement of the conflict. “The ball is opened,” reported correspondent B. S. Osbon from Fort Sumter, “War is inaugurated.” Serving as a reporter during the Civil War could be a tricky and even dangerous business. Editors demanded the latest news, and if a correspondent found himself too far away from the

action, he risked losing his story or even his job to a rival reporter. This meant that reporters had to stay as close as possible to the army, which often put them in harm's way. Eight reporters were killed during the war, and numerous others were captured and detained for varying lengths of time.

The 200 reporters who covered the CIVIL WAR were joined in the field by several dozen illustrators. The technology to reproduce photographs in newspapers would not be developed until a decade after the Civil War, and so editors used woodcut carvings to provide images of the war for their readers. Illustrations were difficult and expensive to produce, and they were mostly limited to more expensive publications, particularly *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly*. Despite their ten-cent price tag, however, both publications found a wide readership during the Civil War, and the circulation of each exceeded 100,000 by the end of the war. Particularly popular were the portraits of camp life drawn by Winslow Homer and the work of THOMAS NAST, both of whom were employed by *Harper's Weekly*. Nast was avowedly Republican, and his illustrations were designed to bolster Northern morale and rally support for the Lincoln administration. In this he was very successful, so much so that Lincoln remarked at the end of the war that "Thomas Nast has been our best recruiting sergeant."

The vast majority of correspondents during the Civil War worked for Northern newspapers, particularly the powerful triumvirate of New York papers: the *Times*, the *Herald*, and the *Tribune*. Southern newspapers suffered from shortages of paper and money, and so they had a much more difficult time covering the war. This is not to say that there were no Southern newspapers, however. To save money, Confederate newspapers pooled their resources and formed the Press Association of the Southern States, or PA. The PA's stories were available to almost all Southern newspapers, because the Confederate military leaders allowed use of their telegraph lines free of charge. Thanks to cost-saving measures like these, as well as a willingness to print on almost any scraps of paper that could be found, most Southern papers continued publication up to the point that their city was captured by the UNION ARMY.

Through their reporting, their editorials, and their pictures, newspapers naturally had a powerful impact on public opinion. They could influence the populace's outlook on how the war was progressing and on what should happen next. Shortly after the firing on Fort Sumter, the *New York Tribune* urged the Union army to move "On to Richmond!" The *Tribune* continued to put the slogan below its masthead until an attempt to capture the Confederate capital ended in disaster in the summer of 1862. Southern newspapers also expressed their points of view on military affairs,

regularly calling for the head of one general or another. JEFFERSON DAVIS and ABRAHAM LINCOLN were popular targets for both praise and criticism, although they generally attracted more of the latter than the former. The abuse heaped on Lincoln was particularly vitriolic. The *Herald*, for example, regularly described Lincoln as "that hideous baboon at the other end of the avenue."

Despite this mistreatment, both Lincoln and Davis understood the importance of cultivating good relations with the press. Davis knew that keeping the homefront apprised of events helped sustain morale, and he did what he could to help reporters. Lincoln wrote LETTERS to newspaper editors on a fairly regular basis, even those editors that disagreed with his policies, knowing that he was being given an opportunity to present his case to thousands of readers free of cost. Lincoln also gave special treatment to papers that supported him, favoring them with interviews and government printing contracts. For the most part, Lincoln did not take steps to suppress unfriendly newspapers.

In contrast to political leaders like Lincoln and Davis, military leaders generally had little use for reporters. It is true that an ambitious officer seeking promotion could curry favor with a reporter and perhaps earn some good coverage in return. But reporters could also do serious damage to a career by reporting and magnifying even the slightest mistakes. Early in the war, Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN made a request for a larger number of troops than could possibly be provided to him. A Union official related the request to a reporter, offhandedly describing it as "crazy." The next day, headlines across the nation read "Sherman is Insane!" The ensuing publicity caused Sherman to lose his command temporarily and fostered his hatred of reporters. Similar reports of ULYSSES S. GRANT having problems with alcohol caused personal anguish and raised doubts about his professional competence. Of course, as much as Grant and Sherman resented the personal wrongs that had been done to them, they were even more concerned about reporters' ability to reveal sensitive information to the enemy. Typically, their only recourse was censorship, and Northern military leaders in particular did so regularly. On occasion, reporters were banished or arrested, and on one occasion a correspondent came within hours of being executed by an angry Union general.

Despite the military's misgivings, there would be no going back. The press had brought the realities of combat to the American people. No longer would people on the homefront be willing to support a war without being informed as to what decisions were being made and why. In the years immediately after the war, newspapers continued to have an important role in informing the public and shaping peoples' opinions. For example, newspaper reports of violence against former slaves in 1866 and 1867 rallied

support for the RECONSTRUCTION plans of the RADICAL REPUBLICANS. At the same time, revelations of corruption in newspapers, coupled with the drawings of Nast, helped to end the career of NEW YORK CITY political boss William Marcy Tweed. Due in large part to their service during the CIVIL WAR, journalists came to see themselves as having an important role in democracy, namely making certain that people were kept informed about the activities of their leaders and of their fellow citizens. As such, the “news revolution” is one of the most significant developments to come out of the Civil War.

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—Christopher Bates

**Julian, George Washington** (1817–1899) *politician*  
RADICAL REPUBLICAN congressman George W. Julian was born in Centreville, Indiana, on May 5, 1817. He began studying law in 1840 after teaching for several years. The law led him to the state legislature in 1845, where he served as a member of the Whig Party. In the late 1840s, Julian, attracted by the Free-Soil Party, left the Whigs and became a fervent spokesman against SLAVERY. His first term as a U.S. congressman began in 1849, and his principles made him an opponent of the Compromise of 1850. Defeated in his reelection bid because of this stand, Julian became the vice presidential candidate for the Free-Soil Party in 1852. Following FRANKLIN PIERCE’s victory, Julian remained an advocate of ABOLITION when he returned to Indiana and joined the REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Julian returned to the U.S. Congress in 1859, where his support of abolitionism made him a prominent spokesman for the Radical Republicans. He served as a member of the JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR, and in his second term he was named the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands. Both committees represented his interests for the remainder of his years in the legislature: an aggressive war policy, a harsh RECONSTRUCTION, African-American suffrage, and a democratic homestead policy that would keep public lands out of the hands of monopolists and speculators. Following his departure from Congress in 1870, Julian again changed parties but remained reform minded. He affiliated himself with the Liberal Republicans in 1871 but ended up as a Democrat,

stumping for Samuel Tilden in 1876. In his last decades he consistently advocated land and currency reform, as well as woman suffrage.

Julian died in Irvington, Indiana, on July 7, 1899.

**Further reading:** Patrick W. Riddleberger, *George Washington Julian, Radical Republican: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Politics and Reform* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1966).

—John P. Bowes

## Juneteenth (June 19)

“Juneteenth” is an annual African-American celebration commemorating the 1865 ABOLITION of SLAVERY in Texas.

Though cut off from the rest of the South in 1863, much of Texas remained unoccupied by Union troops until Union general Gordon Granger arrived at Galveston, Texas, 10 weeks after Lee’s surrender. On June 19, 1865, Granger issued General Order No. 3, declaring: “The people of Texas are informed that all slaves are free. This involves an absolute equality of rights of property between masters and slaves and the connection heretofore existing between them becomes that between employer and free laborer.” Thus, two and a half years after ABRAHAM LINCOLN issued the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, Granger made it the law in Texas.

As word of Granger’s order spread, African Americans joined in spontaneous celebration of “Juneteenth.” Beginning in 1866, the anniversary of Juneteenth became an occasion for picnics, baseball games, family reunions, and other revelry. By the turn of the 20th century, Juneteenth celebrations also featured prayer services and oratory. Speakers typically urged celebrants to dedicate themselves to EDUCATION and spiritual uplift.

As late as the 1930s, tens of thousands of people participated in Juneteenth celebrations across Texas. With the number of former slaves dwindling, however, Juneteenth shrank in importance after World War II. The rise of public education may have also played a role; history textbooks dated the end of slavery to ABRAHAM LINCOLN’s 1863 proclamation rather than to events in Texas.

In the late 1960s, Juneteenth celebrations began again to grow as African Americans reclaimed their history. Juneteenth was prominent, for instance, on the buttons and banners Texans carried to the June 1969 Poor People’s March on WASHINGTON, D.C. As interest revived, pressure mounted to declare Juneteenth a state holiday in Texas, a goal achieved in 1980. Juneteenth has since become a national symbol of slavery’s demise, a fact marked by the 1999 publication of Ralph Ellison’s posthumous novel *Juneteenth*, set in early 20th-century Texas. Says one of Ellison’s

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characters, “There’ve been a heap of Juneteenths gone by and there’ll be a heap more before we’re free.”

See also EMANCIPATION.

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—Tom Laichas



# K



## **Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854)**

Many historians believe that the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act on May 30, 1854, was the single most important event pushing the United States on the road to the CIVIL WAR. This act superseded the Missouri Compromise and undid much of the Compromise of 1850. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act also had a major effect on the reconfiguration of America's political parties. It divided the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, played an instrumental role in the demise of the Whig Party, and contributed to the rise of a new, exclusively Northern and antislavery party, the REPUBLICAN PARTY. The passage of the act also triggered guerrilla fighting in Kansas.

Senator STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS of Illinois played the single most important role in the formation of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Douglas, serving as chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, used his position to promote the development of the western part of the United States. Douglas hoped that Western development would have a chastening influence upon the growing sectional enmities between the North and the South. Instead, it had the opposite effect.

Douglas knew that entrepreneurs could not complete a transcontinental railroad without the prior political organization of the West. In February 1853, a bill calling for the admission of Nebraska as a state passed the House. However, when Douglas brought the bill before the Senate, it failed. Douglas could not obtain Southern support for the development of Nebraska so long as the Missouri Compromise prohibited SLAVERY in the area. Douglas knew that if he incorporated the idea of popular sovereignty—of territories deciding for themselves whether to be free or slave—into the bill, he had a better chance of gaining the support of Southern Democrats.

For his first step, Douglas had to persuade four key Democrats: Andrew Butler of South Carolina, David Atchison of Missouri, and James Mason and Robert Hunter of Virginia, known collectively as the “F Street Mess” (for the

house on F Street in which they boarded while in WASHINGTON, D.C.). These four senators, like Southern Democrats in general, viewed the organization of the Kansas territory under the Missouri Compromise restrictions as a grave threat to slavery. But, in negotiation with Douglas, the F Street Mess saw an opportunity, in a modified bill of territorial organization, to strengthen slavery's position in the United States by repealing the Missouri Compromise line and instituting popular sovereignty instead.

In January 1854, Douglas inserted the language of popular sovereignty into the bill for Nebraska statehood and added the Kansas Territory to the Nebraska Territory already under consideration. Unfortunately, the idea of popular sovereignty for this region violated the Missouri Compromise, which forbade slavery north of the 36°30' line. Southern Whigs called for explicit repudiation of the Missouri Compromise. In the South, the Whigs and the Democrats were in a contest to show their dedication to slavery. Neither party could allow the other to appear to be more favorable to it, so Southern Democrats also called for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

Congressional debate on the Kansas-Nebraska Act revealed great concern from Northerners and many Southerners. Debates raged over the legislation. Northerners argued that the act was too vague on when a vote on slavery ought to take place. Their claim was that the longer a vote waited, the more likely it was that slavery would exist *ipso facto*. Slaveholders would bring their property with them, so as soon as Southern settlers moved in, Kansas would become a slave territory. Southerners in turn viewed the Northern reaction as yet more proof that they were under siege by Yankee abolitionists, and Northern rhetoric gave them no cause to doubt this. For instance, in October 1854 ABRAHAM LINCOLN, then an up-and-coming young Illinois lawyer, stated about popular sovereignty that “[w]hen the white man governs himself, and also governs *another* man, that is *more* than self-government—that is despotism.”

Political parties were just as angry and just as divided as individuals and interest groups over the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Several members of the Ohio congressional delegation, including Senators BENJAMIN WADE and SALMON P. CHASE, believed that the act was “a gross violation of a sacred pledge.” They implored their fellow members of Congress to vote against the act on the grounds that “[w]hatever apologies may be offered for the toleration of Slavery in the states, none can be urged for its extension into Territories where it does not exist.” Northern Whigs were upset with the act as well. They were afraid that the Kansas-Nebraska Act might resurrect the Northern Free-Soil Party that had previously caused many problems for them. Northern Whigs also believed that Southerners would take advantage of this opportunity to expand plantation slavery into the Northern United States. This was unlikely, since Southerners believed that the climate of the more northern latitudes prohibited the rise of further slave states in these parts of the West. Correspondingly, Southerners were unenthusiastic about any measure that could, under the tenets of popular sovereignty, lead to the existence of more free states.

On March 3, 1854, the Senate voted 37 to 14 in favor of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, with Southern Democrats and Whigs voting nearly in lockstep. However, in the House the story was quite different. ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, the future vice president of the Confederacy, brought 13 Southern Whig representatives across party lines and assured the passage of the act on May 22, when the House voted 113-100 in favor of the bill.

Northern Whigs of both houses had generally opposed the bill. In fact, a large portion of the Northern Whig Party had hoped to convince Southern Whigs to oppose the bill as well. The Whigs hoped to generate a Whig “renaissance” in 1856 and perhaps even to recapture the White House. These hopes were extremely unrealistic, for they failed to take into account that for a Southern Whig to oppose the Kansas-Nebraska Act would be to commit political suicide, since voting against slavery’s interests doomed any Southern political career. Still, the Kansas-Nebraska Act energized Northern Whigs such as Abraham Lincoln to redouble their political efforts against slavery’s spread.

The response to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was violent. Proslavery and antislavery forces flooded into Kansas. Once there, they established themselves in mutually hostile communities. In 1855, amidst pitched battles that earned the period the name *BLEEDING KANSAS*, the doctrine of popular sovereignty failed its initial test when the Kansas territory held its first election. The proslavery forces were victorious, but antislavery forces refused to accept the results of the election. They claimed that proslave forces from Missouri had illegally stuffed the ballot boxes. President FRANKLIN PIERCE accepted the

proslave victory as legitimate and sent government troops into the area to restore order. Congress, however, refused to accept Kansas as a slave state. A crisis over slavery once again shook the entire nation. It was not until 1861, with the South gone from the Union, that Kansas was finally admitted to the Union as a free state.

See also ABOLITION.

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—Chad Vanderford

### **Kelley, William D.** (1814–1890) *politician*

Born in PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, in 1814, William Darrah Kelley was a congressman who advocated racial equality in the postwar years.

When Kelley was 13, he was apprenticed to a jeweler, moving to Boston to become an enameler in 1834. His gregarious and open personality soon manifested itself as he spent his time off writing and debating the issues of his day. In 1838 he moved back to his hometown of Philadelphia and learned the law, passing the bar exam in 1841. After becoming a prosecuting attorney, he quickly rose up the ranks of Philadelphia’s legal system and was elected as a judge in 1851.

Politically, Kelley started out as a member of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, but after the Missouri Compromise was repealed in 1854 (allowing SLAVERY to extend further than had previously been agreed), he became an influential founding member of the antislavery REPUBLICAN PARTY of Pennsylvania. His first famous speech was delivered that same year, an antislavery oration entitled “Slavery in the Territories.”

Kelley was an excellent speaker whose loud voice carried audiences along with him. He decided to capitalize on his asset, running for Congress in 1856. Although he lost, he ran again four years later and won, holding his seat for the next 20 years.

When the CIVIL WAR broke out, Kelley enlisted in the artillery, although he never saw combat. When he returned to Congress he voted for every EMANCIPATION or war-related bill that he could. He supported arming African Americans to fight for the Union, and after the war he voted for the establishment of the FREEDMEN’S BUREAU and endorsed military RECONSTRUCTION. He became well known as an advocate of black suffrage and an avowed enemy of segregation.

Kelley died in 1890, after spending many years in Congress fighting for those issues he believed in. His daughter

Florence Kelley later become well known as a reformer in her own right.

**Further reading:** Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830–1900*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995).

—Troy Rondinone

**Knights of Labor** See VOLUME VI.

**Know-Nothing Party** See VOLUME VI.

### Ku Klux Klan

A white supremacist terrorist group in the postbellum South, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) began in May and June 1866 in Pulaski, Tennessee. Soon after its creation, the Klan had chapters in every Southern state and attracted support from all segments of Southern white society. Former Confederate officers, like Gen. NATHAN BEDFORD FORREST, who is widely believed to have been the organization's first grand wizard, helped turn the informal social-club Klan into a paramilitary force.

By 1868, the fraternal organization donned white hoods and dedicated itself to the overthrow of RECONSTRUCTION and the preservation of white supremacy. Like other vigilante groups in the region (such as the Knights of the White Camelia and the White Brotherhood), the Klan used violence to intimidate freedmen and their white supporters. Klansmen whipped and lynched Southern African Americans for any conceivable reason. All signs of African-American autonomy and power became targets for Klan activities. Klansmen burned schools and churches and lynched ministers, students, and teachers. Klansmen also attacked black sharecroppers who disputed their portions of the crop, refused to work for white employers, tried to change employers, or showed any signs of economic success.

The Klan directed most of its energy at the political sphere, especially at black politicians and other supporters of the South's REPUBLICAN PARTY. In many ways, it served as the military arm of the South's DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Klansmen whipped and often murdered African-American officeholders and local leaders for their political beliefs and actions. Hundreds of black leaders fled their homes after the beatings, and countless others withdrew from politics. Prior to the election of 1868, the Klan killed more than 200 Republican supporters in Arkansas and more than 1,000 in Louisiana. The intimidation intensified on election day. Armed mobs prevented many polls from open-

ing while others scared black voters away. In 11 counties with African-American majorities in Georgia, Klan violence prevented Republican presidential candidate ULYSSES S. GRANT from receiving any votes.

Klan terror continued after the 1868 election, provoking responses from state and federal governments. Several states made it a crime to travel in disguise, raised the penalties for mob activities, and even authorized ordinary citizens to arrest suspected Klansmen. Republican sheriffs led pos- ses and a few GOVERNORS sent militia companies to track Klansmen down. Most Southern governors, however, were reluctant to act, and when they did their efforts enjoyed little success. Even when they captured Klan members, conviction in the local courts proved impossible, as the routine killing and intimidation of jurists and witnesses prevented successful prosecutions. During Reconstruction, local prosecutors obtained no convictions in the civil courts.

Prosecutors enjoyed more success in the military courts. In 1868 and 1869, Arkansas governor Powell Clayton declared martial law in 10 counties, formed segregated militias, sent undercover agents to infiltrate the Klan, and tried and executed Klansmen in military courts. Law and order returned to the state by the end of 1869, and the state's Klan was effectively silenced. Texas governor Edmund J. Davis proceeded similarly by organizing a 200-member state police. This force arrested more than 6,000 men and effectively suppressed the Klan. The effectiveness of martial law led Klansmen in Tennessee to disband almost immediately after Governor William G. Brownlow declared martial law in nine counties.

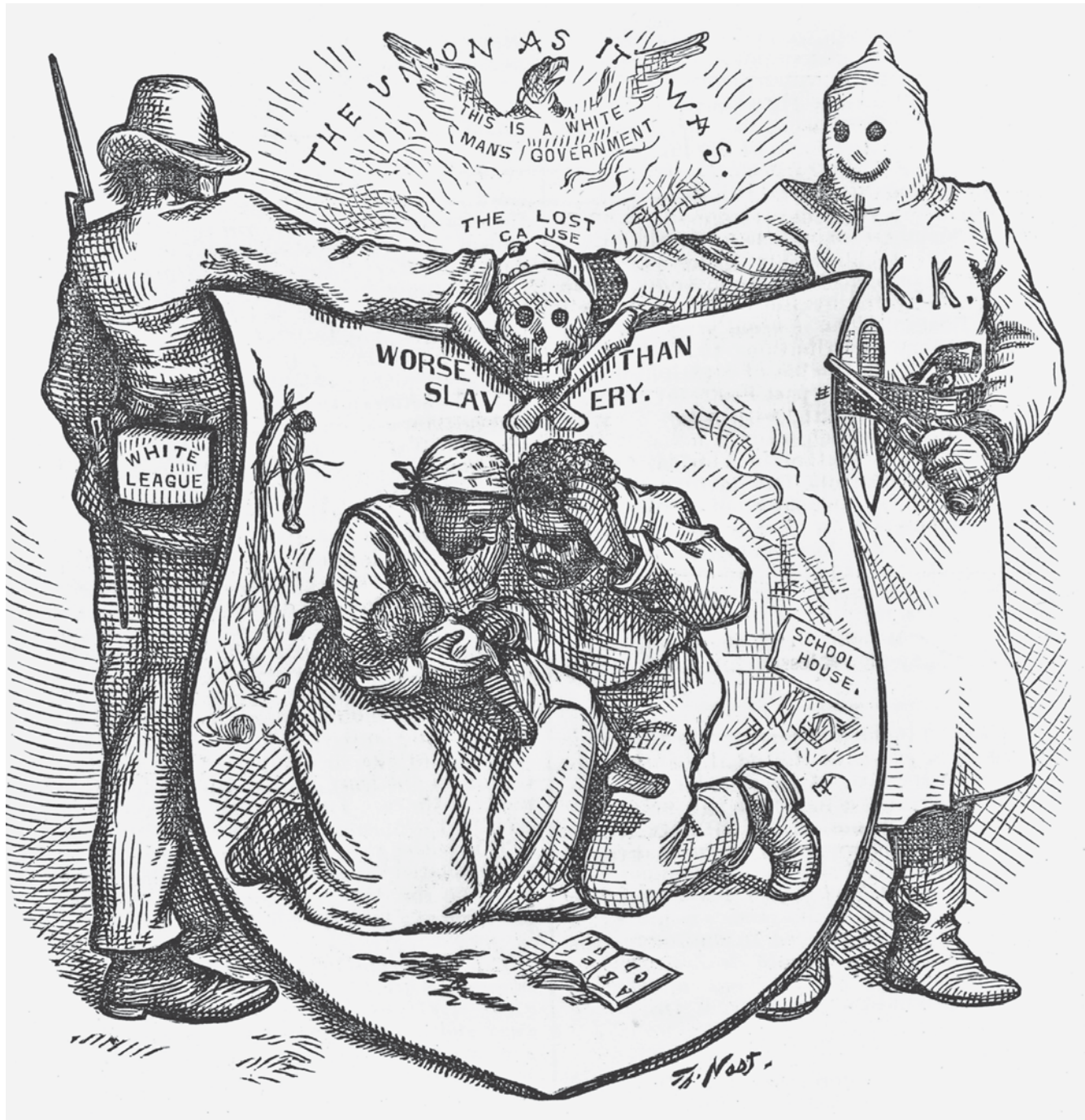
Attempts in North Carolina to shut down the Klan proved less successful. In 1879 Governor William W. Holden responded to a wave of terror and the murder of Senator John W. Stephens by declaring martial law without the constitutional authority to do so. Holden sent white militia units, under the command of former Union officer George W. Kirk, to patrol the western counties and subdue the Klan. Kirk arrested about 100 men, but Holden backed down from his desire to try the Klansmen in military courts. The resulting trials took place in the Klan-controlled local courts and resulted in no convictions. The Kirk-Holden war crippled the state's Republican Party just prior to the legislative election of 1870. Democrats swept into power, and in 1871 they impeached and convicted Holden for illegally declaring martial law.

As the death tolls rose, Southern Republicans called on the federal government for assistance. Congress responded with a series of ENFORCEMENT ACTS. The first act, passed in 1870, allowed for the federal supervision of voting and authorized the president to appoint election supervisors with the power to bring federal charges for election fraud and voter intimidation. In January 1871, the violence initiated by the Klan reached a feverish pitch in South Carolina



when 500 masked men attacked a Union county jail and lynched eight black prisoners. In April, after several months of sustained violence, Congress issued the KU KLUX KLAN ACT. This law turned several criminal offenses (such as participating in conspiracies designed to deprive citizens

of their right to vote, hold office, or serve on juries) into federal crimes, authorized the president to use the army to enforce this and the earlier Enforcement Act, and gave him the authority to suspend the WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS in areas under a state of insurrection. The act further gave



A Thomas Nast cartoon commenting on violence toward African Americans shows a member of the White League and a Ku Klux Klansman joining hands over a terrorized black family. (Hulton/Archive)

the courts the power to eliminate suspected Klansmen from juries.

The Enforcement and Ku Klux Klan Acts allowed Attorney General Amos Akerman and President Ulysses S. Grant to respond vigorously to the Klan. While Congress held investigative hearings and recorded the outrages that the Klan sponsored throughout the region, Grant sent several cavalry companies to shut the Klan down. Grant suspended the writ of habeas corpus in nine South Carolina counties, where federal troops arrested hundreds of suspected Klansmen and federal grand juries issued thousands of indictments. Most of those who were convicted received fines or light prison sentences, but the arrests effectively shut South Carolina's Klan down. Grant never extended the military provisions of the Ku Klux Klan Act outside South Carolina, but federal prosecutors also indicted more than 1,000 Klansmen in Mississippi and North Carolina.

The legal offensive of 1871 effectively destroyed the Reconstruction-era Klan. The Klan disappeared from American and Southern society for more than 40 years before it revived itself in a national organization in 1915 and again during the Civil Rights movement.

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—Andrew K. Frank

### **Ku Klux Klan Act** (April 20, 1871)

The Ku Klux Klan Act, also known as the third of the ENFORCEMENT ACTS, was passed by Congress on April 20, 1871, over strong objections by Democrats. The act was meant to stop white violence against freedmen in the former Confederate states. It gave the president, ULYSSES S. GRANT, the ability to stop “insurrection” by using military force or by suspending HABEAS CORPUS,

which meant he could place people in jail without charging them.

In 1866 the KU KLUX KLAN (KKK) was founded as a social club for former Confederate soldiers. The organization quickly evolved into a vigilante group that opposed freedmen's rights. The Klan often terrorized African Americans and their white sympathizers by intimidating voters, bullying politicians supportive of Radical RECONSTRUCTION, burning African-American schools and churches, and even committing murder. Because law enforcement was generally a local matter, and because local authorities in the South sympathized with the Klan's racial agenda, crimes against Republicans and freed people in the South generally went unpunished by local authorities.

When Congress convened in March 1871, Grant condemned what was happening in the South and called for action by the federal government. The act was passed in April, and habeas corpus was suspended in nine South Carolina counties in May. Hundreds of arrests were made, and an estimated 2,000 Klansmen fled the state. Eventually, federal grand juries indicted 3,000 people throughout the South, bringing the worst offenders to trial and obtaining 600 convictions.

The Ku Klux Klan Act had some impact in lessening violence in the South. However, in 1876's *UNITED STATES V. CRUIKSHANK*, the Supreme Court ruled that the act only applied to wrongdoing by state and local governments, not to acts by individual citizens. Since the Klan was not a part of the government, the Supreme Court's decision effectively meant that the Ku Klux Klan Act could no longer be used to stop the Klan. The act is thus another example of a seeming victory for the freed people ultimately being transformed into a defeat.

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—Scott L. Stabler







### ladies aid societies

With the fall of FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, in April 1861, women North and South responded by supplying volunteers with blankets, clothes, and food. In villages, hamlets, cities, and towns, women packed lunches, mended shirts and socks, sewed UNIFORMS and flags, and collected family quilts. Women equipped their relatives, friends, and townsmen with supplies to get them to the front, believing that the government would then take over the provisioning of the troops. But neither the United States nor Confederate governments had the military infrastructure with which to organize and equip a large army. As a result, at the beginning of the CIVIL WAR, individuals and local governments provided their own uniforms, weapons, food, and general equipment such as knapsacks, blankets, and tents. Even after the U.S. government had a system in place that combined federal production with private enterprise, there was plenty of room for the assistance of ladies aid societies.

In both the North and the South, women's efforts quickly evolved into soldiers' aid societies. The organizers had been active in benevolence work before the Civil War and transformed their groups to accommodate the soldiers, or they simply established new associations. Women wrote organization constitutions, elected officers, established dues, and created work committees to cut, sew, and pack, as well as solicit funds. Women volunteered their time and talents with the patriotic sentiment that they were doing their part for the cause. "We never knew before how much we loved our country," wrote Josephine Shaw, the sister of Col. Robert G. Shaw of the 54TH MASSACHUSETTS. A devoted volunteer, she added: "We can work though we can't enlist. It is very pleasant to see how well the girls and women do work everywhere, sewing meetings, sanitary hospitals and all." The societies provided the soldiers with comforts when well and with hospital supplies and NURSES when wounded and sick. In the North, it is estimated that more than 20,000 ladies aid societies operated throughout the war. In the South, women established more than 1,000

societies by the end of 1861, but Confederate ladies never organized on a national scale, and they faced an array of problems that doomed the smooth and continuous operation of their associations.

First, Southern ladies aid societies remained the domain of the elite ladies. This discouraged working-class women, who held the domestic skills, from participating, thus hampering society relief efforts. Southern women turned much of their time to fund-raising when they realized that many supplies needed to be purchased. Along with the basic medical and domestic goods like bandages, scissors, and Bibles, societies in Charleston, Mobile, Norfolk, and Savannah raised money for the purchase of ships. However, the Confederacy also lacked the overall resources that were available to Northern women as goods became scarce with intensifying war activities and the successful Union naval blockade of Southern ports. Southern ladies aid societies finally collapsed when the Union troops invaded the Confederacy. Federal soldiers stole the societies' supplies, thus ending their operations.

In contrast, Northern women established a national network of ladies aid societies that were able to support the troops for the duration of the hostilities. While the societies began at a grassroots level, it became apparent to several women, particularly in the East, that a more efficient system was needed to identify and locate misplaced boxes and to rationalize management to prevent the overlapping of efforts in one area and the lack of supplies in another area. Creating such an organized system, they thought, would help rather than hinder the army. Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell of New York was the first to recognize the need for organization and called a meeting for April 26, 1861, at the Cooper Union in NEW YORK CITY. She invited some of the city's most prominent women as well as Dr. Henry Bellows, the Unitarian minister of All Souls Church. Before the meeting adjourned for the day, the ladies and men present formed the Women's Central Association of Relief (WCAR). They proposed that they would "give organization and efficiency

to the scattered efforts" already in progress, that they would establish a relationship with the medical staff of the army, and a central depot for supplies, and that they would investigate the needs of the soldiers. Blackwell also began a program to train and register female nurses. In the short term, the WCAR proved to be a success. The ladies aid societies of the Northeast responded by funneling their supplies into the office of the WCAR in New York. Other women around the area who had not yet organized were inspired to establish soldiers' aid societies in their towns and began a relationship with the WCAR.

The achievements of the WCAR were somewhat overshadowed by the creation of the UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION (USSC). Dr. Henry Bellows feared that the War Department's announcement that they would not accept the nursing trainees was the first of many military rejections of the WCAR. Bellows proposed that a centralized, national organization separate from the WCAR was needed to combine all of the efforts of the nation's relief associations, help the army operate the hospitals, and determine the needs of the soldiers. Bellows suggested that the new organization have government sanction but operate on private funds. On June 13, 1861, Bellows gained official authority from President ABRAHAM LINCOLN, who believed the USSC would prove to be as useful as a "fifth wheel on a coach," but who gave his approval anyway.

In Chicago, ladies like Mary A. Livermore helped establish the Northwestern Sanitary Commission, which became the main depot for Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, and Iowa supplies. In Cleveland, women formed the Soldiers' Aid Society of Northern Ohio. In Boston, they became known as the New England Women's Aid Association and received goods from Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts. And in Pennsylvania the Ladies Aid Society of Philadelphia received goods from around the state. All of these groups became affiliates of the United States Sanitary Commission and sent their supplies through their regional USSC channels.

The USSC and their chapters expanded their work to include sanitary inspection of camps and instruction of soldiers on matters of water supply, placement of latrines, and safe cooking methods. They provided meals, housing, and TRANSPORTATION to soldiers on furlough and nursed those who were too sick or wounded to continue. After the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, a grateful doctor wrote of the USSC ladies aid: "I . . . get plenty to eat and of excellent quality from the Sanitary Commission, eggs, chickens, crackers of every kind. They are doing noble work." They helped soldiers obtain their pay and also established a messenger service that employed disabled VETERANS. They maintained hospital records and helped locate wounded, captured, and dead soldiers for

the distraught parents and relatives. The ladies sustained these multifaceted programs through a variety of fund-raising activities. The most popular form was the sanitary fair, which usually lasted about two weeks and included displays, entertainment, auctions, and restaurants. The fair was the brainchild of Mary A. Livermore and Jane C. Hoge, who held a successful Chicago fair in October 1863 in which the Northwest Commission raised more than \$100,000.

In spite of these successes, the USSC never attained its goal of creating an all-inclusive national system. Other women like those who formed the Western Sanitary Commission in St. Louis and the Cooper Shop Volunteer Refreshment Saloon and the Union Volunteer Refreshment Committee, both of Philadelphia, chose to operate independent of the USSC. These groups and hundreds of smaller societies across the North contributed supplies to the USSC but maintained their independence, believing autonomous societies could better meet the needs of their local soldiers.

The USSC also vied for supplies with the UNITED STATES CHRISTIAN COMMISSION (USCC). Organized by the Young Men's Christian Associations across the North with the ideal of caring for the soldiers' spiritual needs, the USCC quickly became the USSC's arch rival. Independent societies and USCC actions frustrated men and women dedicated to the national goals of the USSC, who saw their agency as the symbol of Northern unity. Although there was much infighting among the benevolent communities of the North during the war, the ladies aid societies were able to supply troops and hospitals and consequently saved thousands of soldiers' lives.

In short, ladies aid societies, whether independent or chapters of the USSC or its Southern counterparts, were in the business of aiding the soldiers with whatever means available. Northern and Southern women volunteered their services with the call for troops in 1861, helped their causes by assisting the soldiers, and in this way became patriots of the war.

See also COMMON SOLDIER; HOMEFRONT.

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—Patricia Richard

### Ladies Memorial Associations

The Ladies Memorial Associations were women's organizations established in the postwar South to honor the Confederacy. Throughout the CIVIL WAR, women of the Confederacy had volunteered their services by rolling bandages and sewing flags and UNIFORMS. In the healing process that coincided with RECONSTRUCTION, Southern women began asserting their identities and role in society as never before. After the war women who had contributed to various war support efforts began to form Ladies Memorial Associations to honor publicly soldiers who died fighting for the Confederacy, to move their remains from mass graves to individual plots, and to raise money for the construction of appropriate MONUMENTS in new cemeteries.

The first Ladies Memorial Associations arose in Petersburg, Virginia, and Columbus, Georgia, in 1866. Within a few years numerous independently operating chapters flourished across virtually the entire region. Despite the hardships of defeat and a depressed regional ECONOMY, all the chapters were remarkably successful at raising money for new memorials. Moreover, it was largely through their political agitation that Confederate Memorial Day was instituted as a formal, if regional, observance, occurring on either April 26 or May 10 (denoting Gen. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON's surrender or Gen. THOMAS J. (Stonewall) JACKSON's death, respectively). The memorial activities of the Ladies Memorial Associations contributed to a gradual reclamation of Confederate identity. In this manner the bitter legacy of defeat was slowly transformed into a positive message of sacrifice in a just cause. This way of thinking inspired the myth of the LOST CAUSE, which the Ladies Memorial Associations helped to propagate. Conservative in spirit, the groups aimed to transmit the values they deemed essential to successive generations. Likewise, the women who held leadership positions in the associations came from elite families of the antebellum period, and through their unstinting devotion to memorialization they reaffirmed their central status in Southern society.

With the end of Reconstruction in the 1870s a new generation of Southern women assumed leadership of the Ladies Memorial Associations. A celebratory attitude replaced the previous emphasis on bereavement, but younger members continued their outreach and memorial activities. In 1894 the movement gave rise to a new organization, the UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY (UDC), which successfully transmitted the symbolism of the lost cause into the 20th century. From a social and political standpoint, UDC was the most influential women's organization in the South in the period before World War I. It coexisted with the older Ladies Memorial Associations, and in 1900 many chapters banded together with the UDC to form the Confederated Southern Memorial Association. This combined group sponsored writing and publishing efforts to memorialize Southern

men, all the while burnishing its members' role as keepers of the Confederate tradition in the male-dominated society of their day. Like the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), who honored an earlier struggle, the Ladies Memorial Associations and its splinter groups were an outlet for patriotic, literary, social, and memorial activities for women throughout the South.

See also LADIES AID SOCIETIES.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Lee, Robert E.** (1807–1870) *commanding general of the Army of Northern Virginia*

West Pointer and Confederate general Robert Edward Lee was born on January 19, 1807, at “Stratford Hall,” Virginia, the fifth child of Henry “Light-Horse Harry” Lee and Ann Hill Carter Lee. His father, a Revolutionary War hero and later governor of Virginia, left home when Robert was six and never returned. With few financial resources, the family settled on a career in the army for Robert. Political connections helped secure an appointment to the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1825.

Lee completed four years at the academy without any demerits and graduated second in the class of 1829. Apart from his exceptional academic record and conduct, he also exhibited qualities of leadership. Cadets referred to him as the “Marble Model,” a nickname that probably reflected some envy as well as admiration. Just under six feet tall, handsome, and with black hair and brown eyes, Lee cut a striking figure. He entered the Engineer Corps as a second lieutenant on July 1, 1829.

More than a decade and half passed before Lee saw a battlefield. Promotions to first lieutenant and captain punctuated this long stretch of peacetime service. In June 1831, Lee married Mary Anna Randolph Custis, the only daughter of George Washington Parke Custis, himself the grandson of Martha Washington. Mary Anna and Lee would share a 39-year marriage that produced four daughters and three sons. Lee took seriously the ties to Washington, which he sought to emulate throughout his life. The Confederate people later would often compare the two



Virginians, viewing Lee and his Army of Northern Virginia much as the American colonists had viewed Washington and the Continental army.

On May 13, 1846, the United States declared war on Mexico. Between March and September 1847, Lee served on the staff of Winfield Scott during a brilliant campaign from Vera Cruz to Mexico City. Lee performed exemplary service and impressed his superiors—none more so than Scott, who came away from Mexico filled with admiration for the younger officer.

In the 1850s, Lee held the superintendence of the United States Military Academy from 1852 to 1855 and later served as lieutenant colonel of the Second Cavalry in Texas. In late October 1859, he chanced to be in WASHINGTON, D.C., when JOHN BROWN attacked HARPERS FERRY. Summoned to the War Department on October 17, Lee proceeded to Harpers Ferry with a detachment of marines and the next morning captured Brown.



Robert E. Lee (National Archives)

By the time of Lee's promotion to colonel of the First Cavalry on March 16, 1861, seven southern states had seceded. Confederates fired on FORT SUMTER on April 12, and ABRAHAM LINCOLN issued a call three days later for 75,000 volunteers to suppress the rebellion. On April 18, Lee was offered command of the U.S. Army being raised to put down the rebellion. He declined with the explanation that he could not take the field against the Southern states. "Save in the defense of my native State," he wrote to Winfield Scott, "I never desire again to draw my sword."

In late April, Lee accepted appointment as major general of Virginia's state forces and shortly thereafter transferred to the CONFEDERATE ARMY. He was made a full general on August 31, 1861, ranking third in seniority among Confederate generals. Lee's first year in command, which included duty in western Virginia and along the South Atlantic coast, yielded no dramatic victories and created the impression that he was a timid commander. In early March 1862, he became military adviser to President JEFFERSON DAVIS in RICHMOND, capital of the Confederacy. On May 31 JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, who commanded the Confederate army defending Richmond, was wounded in the Battle of Seven Pines. Lee took his place the next day, an appointment that provoked a mixed reaction. Many Confederates approved, but others doubted Lee's ability. A member of Lee's staff recalled that some Southern newspapers predicted that with Lee in charge "our army would never be allowed to fight."

Lee immediately sought to take the initiative. Reinforcements under THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON from the Shenandoah Valley boosted his army's strength to more than 85,000. Between June 25 and July 1, Lee and GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN fought the Seven Days' Battle. The Confederates pushed McClellan's army southward, away from Richmond and toward the James River. Lee's victory was not a masterpiece. His plans had been too complicated, and the Confederates suffered more than 20,000 casualties to McClellan's 16,000. Yet Lee's first major campaign as a field commander lifted civilian spirits across the Confederacy and greatly enhanced his reputation.

Lee reorganized the Army of Northern Virginia after the Seven Days, dividing its infantry between Stonewall Jackson and JAMES LONGSTREET. The revamped army defeated Union general John Pope at the SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN on August 28–30, an engagement that tallied more than 9,000 Confederate and 16,000 Union casualties. Since taking command in June, Lee had restored the Confederacy's eastern military frontier to where it had been in April 1861. His decisive leadership and victories won praise from across the Confederacy. A colonel from Georgia reflected this attitude, observing on September 5, 1862, that "Genl Lee stands now above all Genls in Modern History."



After **SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN**, Lee decided to take the war out of Virginia and into the Union. The Army of Northern Virginia, a ragged force some 55,000 strong, crossed the Potomac on September 4–7. McClellan, reinstated after Pope's defeat, opposed Lee on September 17 in the campaign's climactic **BATTLE OF ANTIETAM**. Lee's army had suffered from severe straggling and **DESERTION** while in Maryland, leaving only about 35,000 men to face McClellan's 80,000. During a day of savage combat that ended with an uneasy standoff, more than 10,000 Confederates and 12,500 Federals fell, making Antietam the bloodiest day in U.S. history. The Army of Northern Virginia retreated to the Potomac on the night of September 18.

The Maryland campaign ended a three-month drama that had begun with the Seven Days' Battle. Although turned back at Antietam, Lee had crafted an overall Confederate success. His victories had driven major enemy forces from Virginia, raised Confederate civilian morale, sent tremors through the North, and laid the foundation for a memorable bond between himself and his soldiers.

A victory at the **BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG** on December 13, 1862, increased public confidence in Lee. This unusual winter campaign pitted 75,000 Confederates against more than 125,000 Union soldiers under Gen. **AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE**, who had replaced McClellan. At one point in the battle, an admiring Lee watched his **VETERANS** drive back the Federals. Turning to James Longstreet, he said in an even voice, "It is well that war is so terrible! We should grow too fond of it!" The battle claimed 12,653 Northern and 5,309 Southern casualties. Behind the lines in the Confederacy, the victory spread optimism and heightened faith in Lee.

In late April 1863 Gen. **JOSEPH HOOKER**, Burnside's successor, commenced a new Union offensive along the Rappahannock River that ended with the **BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE**. Lee had detached half of Longstreet's troops to southern Virginia, leaving him with about 60,000 men to oppose Hooker's 120,000. Lee reacted to Hooker's movements with a series of daring decisions that involved dividing his outnumbered force three times. Four days of fighting commenced on May 1, at the end of which Hooker retreated to the north bank of the Rappahannock. Utterly dominating Hooker psychologically, Lee had wrested victory from circumstances that would have undone most generals. He also lost more than 12,500 men, among them Stonewall Jackson, who died on May 10 after being wounded on the evening of May 2.

Chancellorsville uplifted the Confederate people, who made Lee their unquestioned military idol, and sent waves of disappointment rippling across the North. It also completed the process by which the Army of Northern Virginia became almost fanatically devoted to Lee. In language echoed by countless others, a Georgia soldier described

this deep attachment: "Wherever he leads they will follow. Whatever he says do, can and must be done."

The next test for Lee came on Northern soil. His army, with Longstreet back, marched northward in June 1863 numbering 75,000 men. By the end of June, Confederates had penetrated well into Pennsylvania. The greatest battle of the war opened on July 1 just west of Gettysburg. Confederates carried the field on the first day, then continued their offensive during the next two days. Fighting raged at such places as the Peach Orchard and Little Round Top on July 2, and the battle closed on July 3 with the famous Confederate attack known as Pickett's Charge. During the three days, more than 23,000 Federals and at least 25,000 Confederates fell. Many critics have pointed to the **BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG** as proof that Lee's aggressiveness sometimes overcame his better judgment. Others have argued that several subordinates performed poorly and frustrated Lee's plans. Lee typically took full responsibility for the defeat. In the wake of Pickett's Charge, he told a subordinate, "Never mind General, all this has been my fault—it is I that have lost this fight."

Nearly 10 months passed before Lee faced another serious Union offensive. In the spring of 1864, Gen. **ULYSSES S. GRANT** assumed command of operations in Virginia. His presence raised hopes among Northerners that they finally had a champion who could vanquish Lee. The Confederate people held an equally firm belief that Lee would triumph against Grant. The Army of Northern Virginia mustered about 65,000 men to face roughly 120,000 Federals in what would be called the **OVERLAND CAMPAIGN**.

Six weeks of unprecedented fury opened when Lee and Grant tested each other on May 5–6 in the **BATTLE OF THE WILDERNESS**. Two days of combat felled more than 18,000 Federals and 11,000 Confederates. Unlike previous Union generals in Virginia, Grant ignored his losses and pressed southward. The armies fought again during May 8–21 in the **BATTLES OF SPOTSYLVANIA**, piling up another 18,000 Federal and 12,000 Confederate casualties. By June 1, the armies had shifted southeast to the vicinity of Cold Harbor. More than 50,000 Federals struck Lee's well-engineered positions on June 3. Confederates lost just 1,500 men while inflicting 7,500 casualties. On June 12, Grant began a movement that fooled Lee completely. The Federals crossed the James River and hastened toward Petersburg, where on June 15–18 a series of disjointed assaults failed to take the city. Once certain that Grant had crossed the river, Lee shuttled troops to the Petersburg defenses.

The Overland campaign ended on June 18 as the armies settled into their lines around Petersburg for a siege that would last more than nine months. The final period of the war offered little good news to Lee and his army. Although many Confederates took heart at Lee's appointment as general in chief of all national forces on February 6, 1865, the

promotion came too late to have any practical effect. On March 25, Lee made a final unsuccessful attempt to break Grant's encircling grip. Federals turned Lee's right flank at the BATTLE OF FIVE FORKS a week later, and on the night of April 2–3 Confederates abandoned the Richmond-Petersburg lines.

A weeklong retreat westward from Richmond and Petersburg ensued. Lee hoped to join Joseph E. Johnston's army in North Carolina, but Grant's pursuit denied him an opening. On April 9, hemmed in by powerful Northern forces, Lee remarked, "There is nothing left me to do but to go and see General Grant, and I would rather die a thousand deaths." The war's two most famous generals met in the parlor of Wilmer McLean's home in APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA that day. Grant extended generous terms; Lee accepted them; and the two men signed the document of surrender.

Nearly four months passed between Lee's surrender and the arrival of an offer that would define the work of his last years. In August 1865, he became president of Washington College in Lexington, Virginia. He proved to be an able educator who improved the faculty, increased the size of the student body, and broadened the curriculum by adding courses in science and engineering to the traditional offerings in classical subjects.

Plagued by various physical ailments during the post-war years, Lee was stricken on September 28, 1870, with a stroke. He lingered for two weeks, uttering an average of just one word a day, until he died peacefully on October 12.

See also COLD HARBOR, BATTLE OF; PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN.

**Further reading:** Gary W. Gallagher, *Lee and His Army in Confederate History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Emory M. Thomas, *Robert E. Lee: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995).

—Gary W. Gallagher

**Letcher, John** (1813–1884) *lawyer, journalist, politician*

John Letcher was the GOVERNOR of Virginia during the CIVIL WAR. Letcher was born in Lexington, Virginia, on March 29, 1813. He attended Randolph-Macon and Washington Colleges, and he was admitted to the state bar in 1839. He also served as editor of the *Democratic Valley Star*, a reformist paper calling for an enlargement of the voting franchise and more equitable distribution of power between the eastern and western halves of the state. In 1850–51 Letcher played an important role in the Virginia constitutional convention, which adopted the liberal constitution he advocated. The following year, running as a

moderate Democrat, Letcher was elected to the UNITED STATES CONGRESS, where he urged caution and reconciliation, despite his own standing as a slave-owning Southerner. In 1859 he crowned his political career with a narrow victory over a Whig opponent for the governorship of Virginia.

Letcher took office in January 1860, argued against SECESSION, and supported Northern Democrat STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS for the presidency. After FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, surrendered and President ABRAHAM LINCOLN called for volunteers to the armed services, Letcher threw his full support behind the Confederacy. As head of the South's most powerful state, where most of the major battles of the eastern theater were fought, Letcher did everything in his power to accommodate President JEFFERSON DAVIS and his Confederate nationalist policies. He supported the Confederate government on divisive issues such as IMPRESSMENT, suspension of HABEAS CORPUS, and CONSCRIPTION. Although he personally believed all these policies violated STATES' RIGHTS PRINCIPLES, he pleaded with fellow Confederate governors to put aside differences in the interests of a unified war effort.

While Letcher's contributions to Confederate nationalism were indispensable, he was less successful in his efforts to control spiraling inflation and regulate the all-important salt industry. Furthermore, his willing subordination to the Confederate government alienated his own state legislature. In 1864 he stood for a seat in the CONFEDERATE CONGRESS, was defeated, and returned home. After the war Letcher was briefly detained by Federal authorities, then released. He spent the remainder of his life immersed in legal activities. He died in Lexington on January 26, 1884.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## letters

Written correspondence was an important way of communicating for 19th-century Americans. Early in the century, as the country expanded westward and people left their communities, letters were the only method of keeping in touch with their now-distant kin. Frontier settlers could read letters about the latest FASHIONS, the newest books, and the recent political controversies, as well as local gossip. Their letters would provide fascinating information to the folks back home about the pioneering experience. With the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR, the importance of letter writing was magnified tremendously. Letters became the

most important link between the volunteer soldiers and their friends and relatives back home.

The Union maintained this lifeline more easily than the Confederates. The North sustained an efficient mail service throughout the war and delivered mail to Yankee soldiers in Virginia and Tennessee within a couple of days. The U.S. Postal Service saw an unprecedented number of letters, with approximately 180,000 passing through its doors daily, as civilians and soldiers kept in touch. The South was not quite as successful. The Confederates kept letters moving as long as they could, but occupying Northern troops disrupted increasingly large segments of the railroad system and with it the postal service.

Corresponding was not always an easy task for soldiers on either side. Stationery was sparse, and soldiers wrote on any scrap of paper they could find, while regularly asking relatives to send them paper and stamps. Federal soldiers were more fortunate. Civilian organizations like the UNITED STATES CHRISTIAN COMMISSION distributed free stationery, pens, and stamps. Confederates had a more difficult time finding stationery, but they supplemented their supplies by scavenging through the knapsacks abandoned by retreating Yankees.

Writing was well worth the difficulties, however, as wartime correspondence took on new importance for both the soldiers and the civilians on the HOMEFRONT. For the civilians, letters kept them informed about the health and well-being of their kin and friends in the army. They learned about the hardships of camp life and the thrills and brutality of battle. "I do not know what is getting into me but I am getting more and more scary every fight I go into," declared a soldier from Georgia. Through these frontline reports, civilians felt connected to the cause and gained a renewed sense of patriotism.

For the soldiers, mail call was generally the brightest part of their day. "After long marches and great exposure," wrote one Union soldier who was in the Gettysburg campaign of 1863, "when you have gone through all that a man can go through, to get into camp at last and hear that a mail has come! You should see the news fly round the camp and the men's faces light up." Friends and relatives kept the soldiers connected to the home through their letters. Soldiers learned about hometown gossip of weddings, funerals, local politics, and the daily routines of their friends and families.

Letters were so prized by the soldiers that they read and reread them and literally wore them out. Soldiers found reading and writing letters to be wholesome diversions from the dullness of camp. Receiving letters could have either a good or a bad impact on the soldiers. *Not* receiving a letter from a wife drove this soldier into despair: "It seems so lonely to me not get any [*sic*] letters at all from you as I have had none of but about one for about 4 weeks.

Perhaps you are sick & cant write but a neighbor could. I feel very anxious to know what is the trouble or if you have got mad at me."

Cheerful letters could boost morale and remind the men that their friends and families loved them and supported the cause for which the soldiers fought. One wife wrote longingly to her soldier-husband: "My heart is full of love for you tonight and my earnest prayer ascends for your safety and happiness." Civilians used correspondence to keep in touch, but they also counseled and guided the soldiers. Advice was a two-way street, as married soldiers also counseled and guided their children and spouses from the camp. A Confederate from Mississippi wrote his wife: "I often ask myself whether our little Callie speaks of her Pa. Does she remember me? You must not whip her. I have a perfect horror of whipping children." Most soldiers accepted and appreciated the concern of their family.

Just as letters containing happy news could boost morale, letters filled with financial woes, family deaths, or crop problems had the opposite effect on the men. Volunteers felt torn between their duty to their country and their responsibility as breadwinners for their families. James Colwell of Pennsylvania left his wife and four small children to volunteer for the Union. Responding to her anger at his leave-taking, he tried to console her: "I feel sorry that you permit hard thoughts to possess your heart at our separation . . . I did it from a sense of right and duty . . . Now I am sure my own Annie would not wish me to come back with dishonour, and thus bring disgrace on her and our children." Receiving several hardship letters created poor morale and hurt the combat effectiveness of the troops. Confederate soldiers were most susceptible to bad news because the Yankees had invaded their homeland and devastated their ECONOMY.

Letters did not determine the outcome of the war, but historians believe that such correspondence was an essential part of an army's positive morale. Letters connected soldiers to their families who were the main base of their support and gave the men courage and conviction to fight for their cause.

See also COMMON SOLDIER.

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—Patricia Richard

**Lieber, Francis** (1798–1872) *political philosopher, academic*

Francis Lieber is regarded as father of American political science. He was born in Berlin, Prussia, on March 18, 1798. As a youth, Lieber was arrested for his political activism. After his release he studied at the Universities of Jena and Halle, earning a doctorate by 1824, but two years later his political views again offended Prussian authorities, and he was exiled to England as a subversive.

In 1827 Lieber arrived in Boston, Massachusetts, where he undertook a prolific career as a writer. Between 1829 and 1833 he edited and contributed to the 13-volume work *Encyclopedia Americana*. After relocating to PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, Lieber composed the constitution and regulations for Girard College in 1834. The following year he was hired as a professor of history at the University of South Carolina. He flourished in the roles of teacher and political philosopher, and the many texts he published were the first to examine systematically the political philosophy of the state. However, Lieber's strongly Unionist views and suspected abolitionism frustrated his attempts to serve as president of the university when vacancies arose in 1851 and 1854. In 1857 Lieber angrily ended his 21-year tenure at South Carolina and relocated to NEW YORK CITY, where he served as the first chair of political science at Columbia College (now Columbia University).

Lieber was considered an authority on civil-military relations, and after the CIVIL WAR broke out in 1861 his opinion became much sought after. At the behest of Gen. HENRY W. HALLECK he composed an essay clarifying the legalities of civil war and the handling of guerrillas and partisans. President ABRAHAM LINCOLN subsequently enjoined him to compile a code of war, published as *A Code for the Government of Armies* (1863). This work proved highly popular and laid the groundwork for international rules for the conduct of war and the treatment of prisoners. It was adopted by the Prussian military in 1870, and it greatly influenced the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907.

In addition to his duties at Columbia, Lieber served as president of the Loyal Publication Society throughout the Civil War years, composing many texts on behalf of the Union war effort. Afterward he transferred to Columbia's law school, where he helped collect and archive captured Confederate papers as evidence of potential treason by Southern leaders. He later helped found the American Social Science Association at Columbia. Lieber died in New York on October 2, 1872.

**Further reading:** John Catalano, *Francis Lieber: Hermeneutics and Practical Reason* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2000); W. David Clinton, *Tocqueville, Lieber, and Bagehot: Liberalism Confronts the World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Lincoln, Abraham** (1809–1865) *16th president of the United States*

Abraham Lincoln is widely considered the greatest president in U.S. history. As head of the REPUBLICAN PARTY, leader of the Union, and commander in chief of the largest army ever assembled to that date, Lincoln ended SLAVERY and reunited the North and South. For those accomplishments, he is called “The Great Emancipator” and the “Savior of the Union.” Lincoln's limited political experience as he assumed the presidency caused many to question his leadership abilities. Despite making mistakes, his growth as a man, as a politician, and as chief executive was remarkable. His tragic assassination just days after the South's surrender at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA, plunged the country into mourning and ensured his apotheosis as a martyr for the cause of freedom and union.

From the time of his death, Lincoln has been the subject of numerous paintings, books, poems, plays, and, later, movies, documentaries, and web sites. The Lincoln Memorial in WASHINGTON, D.C., is one of the most visited MONUMENTS in the country. Indeed, more books have been written about Abraham Lincoln than any other historical figure, except Jesus of Nazareth. He stands as a national and international symbol for freedom and democracy.

Lincoln's rise from a humble pioneer background to the highest office in the land began with his birth in a one-room log cabin near Hodgenville, Kentucky, on February 12, 1809. Abraham's parents, Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks Lincoln, were illiterate farming folk. Thomas Lincoln was not a particularly successful farmer, but he worked hard and had ambitions for himself and his family. In 1816 Thomas and Nancy moved to the Indiana Territory, where land was cheaper and the land titles more secure than in Kentucky. Lincoln's parents had another reason to move out of Kentucky, and that was their opposition to slavery. Members of an antislavery Baptist group, they believed that going to a free-labor land would boost their chances for prosperity.

Like the children of most pioneer families, Abraham and his older sister Sarah were expected to pitch in and help on the farm. The young Abe labored side by side with his father, learning how to use the axe and the plow as they cleared the forest to build the family's simple cabin and prepare the fields for planting. Abraham grew into an unusually strong youngster who was adept at splitting rails and winning wrestling contests against older and more experienced men. His early life was marked by tragedy. Nancy Hanks Lincoln died suddenly in 1818, leaving Thomas and the children to fend for themselves for a year. Thomas Lincoln remarried widow Sarah Bush Johnston. Sarah and her three children moved in with the Lincolns and brought a measure of stability and affection to Abraham's life. He always remembered with fondness Sarah's kindly ways,

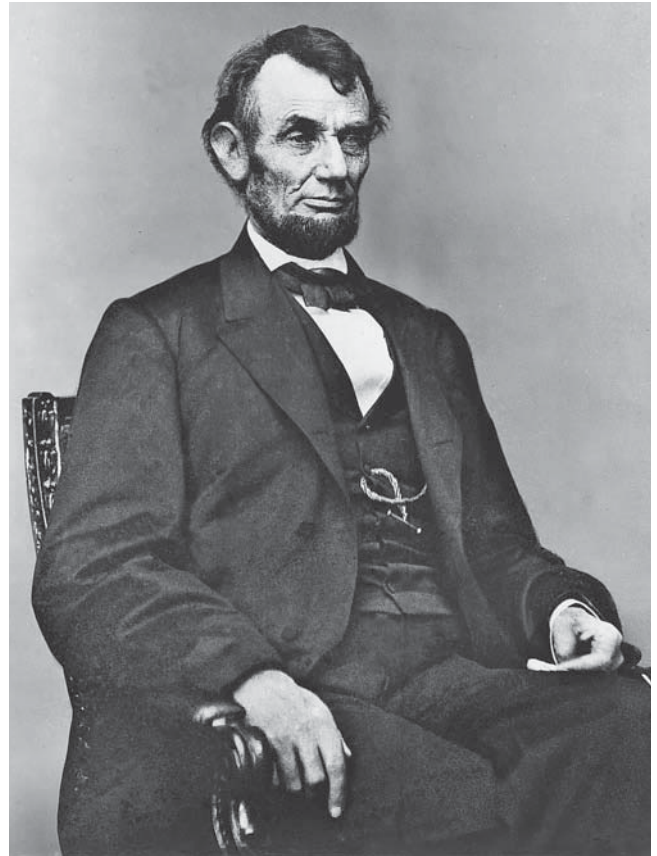


which provided a contrast to his strained relations with Thomas Lincoln. Abraham, his father complained, was “lazy” because he preferred reading books to farm chores.

As Lincoln matured, he was drawn to the life of the mind over the life of labor that was his father’s lot. A few months in a rural schoolhouse was his only “formal” EDUCATION, but Lincoln borrowed heavily from the small libraries of Pigeon Creek, Indiana. From books, he trained his mind and developed a love of language and an appreciation for rhetoric and oratory. Calculating and ambitious, Lincoln earned money in a variety of working-class jobs, including taking a flatboat loaded with produce down the Ohio and MISSISSIPPI RIVERS to sell in the market at New Orleans. He recoiled in horror at the busy slave markets of the Southern port city. In 1830 the 21-year-old Lincoln moved with his family to central Illinois. Anxious to be on his own, he set out for New Salem, Illinois, a small commercial river town. Here Lincoln made his home for the next six years, boarding with various families and working as a clerk in a store, a partner in a general store (that went bankrupt), and a postmaster, among other jobs. In New Salem, Lincoln continued his program of self-education, studying mathematics and LITERATURE (he especially loved Shakespeare) with the local schoolmaster.

Lincoln developed an enthusiasm for politics and joined the local debating society. In 1832 he participated in the Black Hawk War and was elected a captain of the militia. This brief and bloodless experience would be his only brush with the military before 1861. Lincoln ran for the state legislature in 1832 and lost. On his second try in 1834, he won handily as a member of the Whig Party. Quickly mastering the ways of the lower legislature in Vandalia, Illinois, Lincoln became a prominent member of the tiny but influential Whig faction, serving four terms in the lower house. An admirer of Henry Clay’s “American system,” Lincoln supported a national bank and government-sponsored economic development for Illinois. While serving in the legislature, Lincoln studied law with his political mentor, John Todd Stuart, a prominent Whig lawyer and resident of Springfield, Illinois. When the state capitol was moved to Springfield, Lincoln happily followed and in 1837 began his legal practice. In 1844 he formed a partnership with WILLIAM H. HERNDON. Within a decade Lincoln had established himself as a respected and prosperous lawyer.

As a young professional in Springfield, Lincoln had come a long way from his backwoods upbringing, but the rough edges were still very much present. Extremely tall, the six-foot, four-inch Abraham had a thick shock of black hair and a face that many found ugly. Lincoln often joked about his looks. In response to a critic’s attack that he was a “two-faced” politician, Lincoln responded humorously, “If I had two faces, do you think I would use this one?” He was



Abraham Lincoln (*Library of Congress*)

most comfortable within his wide circle of male colleagues, friends, and supporters in the political and legal world in which he lived and worked. They knew him as a master storyteller, a humorist and wit, and, occasionally, as someone who fell into melancholic moods. Death was a constant presence in Lincoln’s life, and in 1828 his beloved sister Sarah died in childbirth. In 1835 a young woman he was courting, Ann Rutledge, died, and Lincoln became depressed, withdrawing temporarily from his active life. A few years later, Lincoln began an on-and-off relationship with Mary Todd from a wealthy slaveholding family in Lexington, Kentucky. In 1842 Lincoln and Todd married. Two years later, the Lincolns bought their first house in Springfield, Illinois. They remained in the attractive, spacious home until they moved to the White House in 1861.

Abraham and MARY TODD LINCOLN had four sons together between 1843 and 1853: Robert Todd, Edward Dickinson, William Wallace (Willie), and Thomas (Tad). Both parents were devoted to their children and grieved deeply when the four-year-old Edward died of tuberculosis. Twelve years later, in 1862, they lost Willie to typhoid fever. The Lincolns’ marriage has been the subject of much



speculation. Evidence suggests that despite many rocky periods they loved and respected each other. Mary's high-strung nature was tested by Abraham's constant absences due to his law practice and his inattentiveness to the details of daily life, including his well-known tendency to be careless about his appearance. Yet, she provided intelligent and enthusiastic support for her husband and boosted his career through her familial and social connections.

Lincoln made his living by the law, but his true passion was for politics. In 1847 he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives where, during a single two-year term, he was principally known for opposing the Mexican-American War and the extension of slavery. His most memorable feat in this regard was issuing the so-called Spot Resolution in January 1848, which demanded to know at precisely what spot on American territory the war began. Lincoln's antiwar sentiments ran counter to popular feelings at home, however, and he was defeated in his reelection bid that year. Lincoln returned to Springfield determined to run for higher office. In the meantime, his political career as a Whig had come to an end with the dissolution of the party in the wake of the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT of 1854. In 1856 Lincoln joined the Illinois Republican Party and quickly became one of its most prominent spokesmen. Two years later, when accepting the Republican Party's nomination for senator, Lincoln declared: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe that this Government cannot endure, permanently, half-slave and half-free."

In 1858 Abraham Lincoln ran against STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS for the Illinois Senate seat. The campaign drew national attention. The seven Lincoln-Douglas debates set out clearly the differences between the Republican and Democratic Parties on slavery. Although Douglas captured the Senate seat, Lincoln had established for himself a modest fame as an up-and-coming Republican. After the election, he expanded his political base when he embarked on a speaking trip in the North. On February 27, 1860, Lincoln gave the brilliant COOPER UNION SPEECH in NEW YORK CITY. This speech, repeated many times in the upcoming months, explained clearly and convincingly why the federal government had the constitutional right to stop extension of slavery in the territories. Lincoln reassured the South that the Republicans did not intend to threaten slavery where it was protected, just to stop it from spreading. In May 1860, the Republican Party nominated Lincoln for president of the United States. Lincoln won the three-way election by receiving 40 percent of the popular vote and more than 60 percent of the electoral votes. Immediately, seven Southern states seceded.

By the time Lincoln was sworn into office on March 4, 1861, as the 16th president of the United States, the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA were established. Lincoln's First Inaugural Address offered a stern warning to the

rebellious states but also spoke in reassuring terms of his intention to preserve slavery in the South. After the Confederate bombardment of FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, on April 12, Lincoln called for 75,000 militiamen to defend the Union. No other president had ever had to face the gravity of a CIVIL WAR, and Lincoln acted quickly, and without constitutional authority, to stem the rebellion. In addition to calling the state militias to national service, Lincoln ordered a blockade of the Southern ports and suspended the writ of HABEAS CORPUS in secessionist-leaning Maryland. This action was undertaken to keep the national capital from becoming completely surrounded and cut off by enemy territory. It drew the ire of Supreme Court chief justice Roger Taney, who declared Lincoln's suspension unconstitutional. Given the gravity of the situation, however, both the president and military authorities ignored the ruling. Called a dictator for seizing war powers, Lincoln's paramount goal for the first year and a half of the war was to save the Union, with a minimum amount of bloodshed. He hoped that the seceded states would rejoin the nation and come to their collective senses once they realized the true cost of the war. This rosy and unrealistic scenario did not occur, and with the conflict dragging on, Lincoln made the decision in the summer of 1862 to emancipate the slaves as a military measure. Personally opposed to slavery and racism, Lincoln moved slowly on EMANCIPATION to keep the loyal border states within the Union and dampen the inevitable outcry that would follow the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. On January 1, 1863, Lincoln signed the historic document that freed the slaves in the Confederate states in areas not occupied by Federal forces, and with a stroke of his pen he changed the war into a revolution that would forever end slavery in the United States. Moreover, he realized that the act would further deflate the chances of European military intervention on the Confederacy's behalf, particularly British intervention. The United Kingdom had fully outlawed slavery in 1834 and thus was unlikely to shed blood to preserve it in North America.

Lincoln waged the war in a steadfast and vigorous manner, always with a passion for saving the Union. He exhibited surprising skill in foreign relations and kept European nations from endorsing the Confederate nation. He became a student of military TACTICS AND STRATEGY, learning from his mistakes and the mistakes of his leading generals. As the casualty lists grew longer and the political opposition from War Democrats, COPPERHEADS, and RADICAL REPUBLICANS mounted, Lincoln was subjected to constant criticism for his policies. Even members of his own cabinet worked against him. Lincoln steered the middle course, always trying to find the compromise position and explain to the citizens and soldiers why it was important to preserve the Union, which he considered to be the

world's one hope for democracy. "This is essentially a People's contest," Lincoln declared. "On the side of the Union, it is a struggle for maintaining in the world, that form, and substance of government, whose leading object is, to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from all shoulders—to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all—to afford all, an unfettered start, and a fair chance, in the race of life." Lincoln demonstrated the skills of a master politician and a strong and able commander in chief. His administration was necessarily primarily concerned with military matters, but he also presided over the passage of the Republican economic package in Congress, including one of the key pieces of legislation in the 19th century, the HOMESTEAD ACT of 1862.

Lincoln also displayed a keen interest in the newest military technology and was usually on hand to witness the testing of new rapid-fire carbines, rockets, and artillery that took place in the Washington, D.C., area. His approval of the latest armored, steam-powered warships for the UNION NAVY, such as the USS *Monitor*, which ushered in the new age of naval warfare, demonstrated his farsightedness. Innovations such as Gatling guns, reconnaissance balloons, rudimentary barbed wire, and extensive military use of TELEGRAPHS and RAILROADS were hallmarks of his tenure. Lincoln's willingness to accept new technologies, for whatever advantage they conferred over the Confederacy, helped spur the American military establishment toward modernity and technical proficiency. Thus a man best known for his kindly, even gentle desire to save the Union was the same person who recognized the power of the industrial revolution to make improvements in weaponry. By 1865 the American military establishment was a far cry from what it had been at the commencement of the struggle, having become quite as adept on the battlefield as its European counterparts.

As commander in chief, Lincoln strove to master strategy. Early in the war he consented to the famous "Anaconda Plan" of Gen. Winfield Scott. Part of this strategy directed Union forces to conduct a concerted drive down the Mississippi River Valley to split the Confederacy in half and then successively carve out large swaths of territory in the Southern heartland. The other part of Scott's strategy, a naval blockade of Southern ports, also met with Lincoln's approval. Scott believed that a naval blockade would strangle the Southern cotton trade and, with it, the Southern ECONOMY. Lincoln further recognized that military success was predicated upon the destruction of enemy armies, not simply the acquisition of terrain. However, a succession of incompetent senior UNION ARMY generals, such as Irwin McDowell, GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE, and JOSEPH HOOKER, frustrated this goal in the all-important eastern theater before ULYSSES S. GRANT emerged as commanding general of all Union forces.

Grant shared both Lincoln's indomitable will and his strategic vision to crush the Confederacy along several fronts, and not simply to capture RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. Lincoln also approved the so-called total war as practiced by Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN in Georgia and Gen. PHILIP H. SHERIDAN in the Shenandoah Valley, whereby Union armies deliberately destroyed private property to bring the Southern population to its knees. Lincoln and Grant proved an unbeatable combination for ultimate victory by United States.

By 1864, despite the great Northern victories the previous summer and spring, Lieutenant General Grant's OVERLAND CAMPAIGN did not bring final victory but, rather, more losses and stalemate. Lincoln stood loyally by Grant and prepared to suffer the political consequences of military defeat. For a while, it looked like he was going to lose the critical election of 1864. Success on the battlefield and the overwhelmingly favorable soldiers' vote returned him to the White House with a large majority. With the war's end in sight, Lincoln prepared for a mild RECONSTRUCTION that would heal the wounds of the broken nation. He also pushed hard for the passage of the THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT as a signal to all Americans that the reuniting of the North and South would also ensure the permanent freedom and civil rights of the ex-slaves, although at this stage Lincoln was more concerned with resecurating the loyalty of white Southerners. "With malice toward none; with charity for all," said Lincoln in his Second Inaugural Address on March 4, 1865. Doubtless the knowledge Americans had of Lincoln's deeply felt desire to reconcile the sections peacefully accounted for the lack of violence after his assassination on April 14 and his death early the next morning. Lincoln is buried in Springfield, Illinois.

The nature of Lincoln's death only underscored his accomplishments in life. His humanity, sagacity, and magnanimous disposition throughout the most costly war in American history have made him one of the most popular and inspiring U.S. presidents. Considering the magnitude of danger faced by the Union in 1861, it is unlikely that the nation could have survived intact in hands any less capable than his.

See also ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN; GETTYSBURG ADDRESS; SECESSION.

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### **Lincoln, Mary Todd** (1818–1882) *first lady*

Wife of President ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Mary Todd Lincoln was born into a wealthy and powerful family of slaveholders near Lexington, Kentucky, in December 1818. Although the Lincolns' marriage was a loving one, Mary never succeeded in winning much popular support while she was first lady, and in the wake of her husband's assassination she descended into mental instability.

Because Mary Todd's father, a prominent Whig politician, strongly supported female EDUCATION, she enjoyed a wide ranging intellectual training unusual for girls in the 19th century. In 1839 Mary joined her sister's household in Springfield, Illinois. There, she met the young attorney Lincoln. Although Lincoln was an ambitious professional man, he lacked education and his manners were unpolished. By 19th-century Victorian standards, his behavior was occasionally rude and countrified. Nevertheless, Lincoln and Todd were married in 1842. Mary supported Abraham's political aspirations and matched his ambition with her own from the very start of their married life. As a measure of their political partnership, Lincoln exclaimed, when he first heard of his election to the presidency in 1860, "Mary, Mary, *we* are elected."

When Lincoln assumed the presidency, the White House was in disrepair, its furnishings old and shabby and its structure in need of refurbishing. Mary Todd Lincoln took it upon herself, as first lady, to make drastic improvements to the public rooms of the White House. She believed that the home represented the power of the Union and therefore that it was required to be impressive and opulent. As a result, when replacing the peeling wallpaper, worn furniture, and cheap decorations, Mary purchased goods of exceptionally high quality and cost. Although Washingtonians agreed that the White House required some renovation, some of her purchases were considered too extravagant, and she suffered criticism from a number of sources. To show off the

new rooms, Mary Todd Lincoln hosted a number of dinner parties for official Washington, and her invitations were highly prized. Socially, she was a success.

However, her tenure in WASHINGTON, D.C., was not without both tragedy and controversy. A devoted mother and wife, Mary suffered the losses of many of her family during the war, including two of her half brothers, who were Confederate soldiers. In 1862 the Lincolns lost their 12-year-old son, Willie, to typhoid fever. In spite of her position as the wife of the commander in chief, Mary was criticized by many people for her strong ties to the South. She was even accused of being a rebel spy and of passing Union secrets to the Confederates.

The greatest loss to Mary Todd Lincoln, however, was the death of her husband by an assassin's bullet on April 15, 1865. In both material and personal terms, she never recovered from his death. Abraham Lincoln had left an estate that was \$70,000 in debt from his wife's lavish spending in the White House. Mary Todd Lincoln was unable to control her spending even after her husband's death, accumulating huge debts of her own.

Unstable and grief-stricken, Mary Todd Lincoln and her son Tad sought solace in travels to Europe. When Tad died in 1871, Mary's mental condition worsened, and her final surviving son, Robert, committed her to a private mental institution outside Chicago in 1875. She remained there for four months but found it unbearable and fled to France. In 1882 Mary returned to Springfield, Illinois, where she died and was buried beside her husband at Oak Ridge cemetery.

See also ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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—Megan Quinn

### **literature**

For most of its existence, the United States has been among the most literate societies in the world. The generation that fought the CIVIL WAR was no exception. As such, individuals who had a message to convey to the American populace in the antebellum era turned to books, articles, and pamphlets.

By the 1850s mass-produced publications aimed at a popular audience—including magazines, books, novels, newspapers, broadsides, and pamphlets—reflected the nation's growing appetite for reading and literature. While such publications were considered lowbrow, they enjoyed circulations numbering in the tens of thousands.

In the North, antislavery writers penned countless works criticizing the “peculiar institution.” Noteworthy among them were FREDERICK DOUGLASS’s *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* and the fictional *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* by HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, the best-selling novel of its time. This seminal work was initially serialized in the *National Era* between 1851 and 1852 before finally emerging in book format. Its impact was electrifying in Northern circles, and it also appeared as a hugely successful stage adaptation. Ironically, Beecher Stowe had never visited the South herself, and she was criticized for her inaccuracies relative to Southern society. In 1853 she published *A Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin* to support many of her assertions.

Southern writers responded with books of their own defending SLAVERY, most prominently GEORGE FITZHUGH’s books, *Sociology for the South* and *Cannibals All!* These works, and countless others, played an important role in plunging the nation into civil war. ABRAHAM LINCOLN acknowledged as much when he met Harriet Beecher Stowe during the war, greeting her by saying, “So you’re the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war.”

During the war itself the nation’s attention was occupied with the prosecution of the conflict. Nonetheless, new literary works were still produced and read, especially in the North, where the publishing industry thrived. There the dime novels that were published by Erasmus and Irwin Beadle of New York sold millions of copies to soldiers in the field. (These paperbacks were called “dime novels” because they generally sold for 10 cents.) While mediocre from a literary standpoint, they became a common and welcome fixture to help relieve the boredom of everyday camp life. Their success spawned a series of novelettes published by Sinclair Tousey in 1863, which focused on war stories for soldiers. The following year T. R. Dawley launched Dawley’s Camp and Fireside Library series. The ongoing struggle had thus found a convenient and willing market among the very contestants forced to wage it. Once the war was over, the American public was even more enthusiastic about reading. The Civil War had a tremendous impact on postwar American culture and shaped the literature created in the 35 years between Appomattox and the turn of the century.

Autobiographical accounts of the war were the most popular and ubiquitous form of literature in the years immediately after the war. Virtually every important general and political leader who survived long enough to do so penned a book or article about their experiences during the war. Between 1884 and 1887, *Century* magazine commissioned a series of personal accounts by Civil War generals entitled “Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.” The articles were widely read throughout the North and South, and

in particular the popularity of ULYSSES S. GRANT’s contribution to the series convinced him to write his lengthy *Personal Memoirs* (1885–86) just before his death. Grant’s *Memoirs* was a best-seller, as popular in the North as JEFFERSON DAVIS’s two-volume *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881) was in the South.

The articles and books written by the leaders of the Civil War, especially the Southern leaders, reflected an important debate over the Southern war effort. The ex-Confederates justified their actions to the victorious North, and in so doing, they pleaded their case for acceptance back into mainstream American life. These writers, particularly General JUBAL A. EARLY, downplayed the role of slavery in the conflict and emphasized the virtue of Southern soldiers in general and of ROBERT E. LEE in particular. On a more vindictive note, senior generals such as PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD, JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, and JAMES LONGSTREET picked up their pen not so much to glorify the Confederacy as to attack those deemed responsible for its downfall. They blamed one another and Davis, while minimizing their own contributions to defeat. Eventually, this vision of the Civil War came to be called the LOST CAUSE, and it has exercised a great deal of influence over how Americans viewed the war up to the present day.

The books and articles written by the leaders of the war were both popular and influential. However, they were by no means the only autobiographical accounts published in the postwar years. Many COMMON SOLDIERS published histories of their regiments or personal recollections of the war. Some of these received a wide readership and are still considered classics, among them Sam Watkins’s *Co. Aytch* (1882), John Billings’s *Hardtack and Coffee* (1888), and William Fletcher’s *Rebel Private: Front and Rear* (1907). Women contributed to the body of Civil War nonfiction, some writing memoirs, others publishing the diaries they wrote during the war or during a particular battle. Prominent among them are Emma Edmonds’s *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army* (1865) and *Belle Boyd in Camp and Prison* (1865) by BELLE BOYD. The Southern standpoint was well represented by the publication of the diary of Charleston, South Carolina, resident MARY B. CHESNUT in 1905. In it she conveyed acutely detailed, lively, and opinionated observations about life in that city’s inner circles as the war progressed. It was reissued in 1949 as *A Diary from Dixie* and again in 1981 as *Mary Chesnut’s Civil War*, edited by historian C. Vann Woodward. He posited that the “diary” was actually written between 1881 and 1884 from notes assembled during the Civil War, but this does not detract from its powerful depictions of a society at war and its increasingly debilitating impact on the city’s elite. In addition, there were also a number of memoirs of slavery written by African Americans in the postwar era. Rather than emphasize the evils of slavery, they stressed the necessity



of self-reliance and independence. The best known of these accounts is Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery* (1901).

Novels about the Civil War were also popular. The most notable Civil War fiction of the period was written by JOHN WILLIAM DE FOREST, whose work presents warfare in a very realistic fashion that would have been unthinkable in the antebellum era. De Forest's most popular book was *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty*. Published in 1867, the novel combines a romantic story of sectional reconciliation with vivid descriptions of the brutality of combat. Author Nathaniel Hawthorne saw a direct correlation between the war and the realist movement, arguing that the Civil War "introduced into the national consciousness a certain sense of proportion and relation, of the world being a more complicated place than it had hitherto seemed." Perhaps the best example of the "new realism" that Hawthorne described is *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895), by Stephen Crane. The novel is gripping in its terse and dramatic descriptions of human beings under fire. Crane's literary command of combat conditions is even more surprising considering he was neither a veteran nor a man who had experienced armed conflict. *The Red Badge of Courage* is regarded as an American literary masterpiece and one of the best Civil War novels ever written. The work of De Forest had a profound influence on other writers who came after him, including Ambrose Bierce, Edward Bellamy, and William Dean Howells.

Other literary movements of the postbellum era had their roots in the Civil War as well. The most notable was regionalism. Paradoxically, a war fought to reunite the nation gave Americans a heightened, highly romanticized sense of their regional differences. Western fiction became an established genre. Western authors, most prominently Bret Harte, excited readers' imaginations with images of a "Wild West" filled with endless adventure and excitement. At the same time, the South experienced a literary renaissance led by Mark Twain, arguably the most famous author in American history. Twain's career began with "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" (1865) and continued through such classics as *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), and *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889). Twain developed a distinctive style that reflected a number of influences, among them slave narratives, folk tales, and political satire.

By 1900 the overwhelming influence of the Civil War on American popular culture subsided as the generation that had lived through the war faded away. Nonetheless, the war had assumed a permanent place in American memory, and it continues to be a popular subject among American authors. Mississippi writer William Faulkner illustrated the long reach of RECONSTRUCTION and its consequences

in his character-driven novels *The Sound and the Fury* (1929) and *Absalom! Absalom!* (1936). Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (1936), Shelby Foote's *Shiloh* (1952), Michael Shaara's *The Killer Angels* (1974), and Charles Frazier's *Cold Mountain* (1997) are among the modern works on the Civil War to tally sales in the millions of copies. And, in terms of sheer volume of yearly output, military and political histories of the Civil War are exceeded only by those concerning World War II. Clearly, the war continues to resonate with Americans.

See also GONE WITH THE WIND.

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—Christopher Bates

### Little Bighorn, Battle of (June 25–26, 1876)

One of the last victories by the Plains Indians over the United States, the Battle of Little Bighorn took place in southeastern Montana between June 25 and June 26, 1876. It is largely remembered as "Custer's Last Stand." Teton Sioux (Lakota), Cheyenne, and Arapaho Indians routed the Seventh Cavalry of the United States, which was under the command of Lt. Col. GEORGE A. CUSTER. The United States responded to its overwhelming defeat with a relentless military pursuit of the NATIVE AMERICANS.

The origins of the battle, which took place on the Greasy Grass River, or the Little Bighorn, lay in the refusal of many Cheyenne, Arapaho, Blackfeet, and especially Sioux bands (Hunkpapa, Oglala, Miniconjou, Sans Arcs) to be confined to reservations. The 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie provided the Sioux a permanent reservation, guaranteed them the right to hunt buffalo in the Black Hills west of the Missouri River, and prohibited white settlements on the land. Between 1871 and 1874, however, the United States routinely violated the terms of the treaty. Surveyors charted routes through the hunting lands, and gold seekers and prospectors threatened to invade the territory. Rather than enforcing the provisions of the Treaty of Fort Laramie, the United States tried unsuccessfully to purchase the Black Hills from the Sioux.

In late 1875, the free-roaming Sioux were drawn into a war. The conflict served as a pretense to remove them from the unceded territory and open the lands to American settlement and gold prospectors. The United States



ceased enforcing the ban limiting the presence of speculators in the Black Hills, and rumors of atrocities committed by Sioux and other native buffalo hunters spread rapidly. Finally, in December 1875, the U.S. War Department ignored the Treaty of Fort Laramie and ordered all of the Sioux Indians to surrender themselves at the Dakota agencies by January 31, 1876. All of those who refused to settle on the Great Sioux Reservation in present-day South Dakota would be deemed hostile and subject to a military response.

The Native Americans, in a coalition formed by Sitting Bull, refused to accept this ultimatum, and the United States declared them hostile. In May 1876, Gen. Alfred H. Terry decided to settle the matter by ordering Custer to disperse or capture the defiant natives. Custer led 12 companies of the Seventh Cavalry, 655 soldiers in all, along with an Indian camp of mostly Sioux (with some Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho) Indians along the south bank of the river.

Upon learning that his forces had been spotted, Custer decided to attack before the warriors had time to vacate the valley. He divided his units and ordered an immediate attack. Custer sent three companies under the command of Maj. Marcus Reno across the upper ford of the river. Capt. Frederick Benteen, who was ordered to make sure that no Indians escaped, took three companies to the left of Reno. Finally, Custer himself led five companies to cross the lower ford and ordered one company to bring up the pack train.

Intended to hit the Sioux warriors from two directions simultaneously, Custer's plan deteriorated almost immediately. Major Reno crossed the river and faced an enemy significantly stronger than he expected. Recognizing that his forces were outnumbered, Reno ordered his men to retreat from the valley. The retreat turned chaotic and the native warriors killed at least 40 of Reno's soldiers. Reno's men then took a defensive position on the east side of the river on the high bluffs.

The estimated 2,000 to 3,000 Sioux warriors, including Crazy Horse, Hump, Two Moon, Gall, and Rain-in-the-Face, turned their full attention to Custer's forces that were on the northern end of the village. Custer and some of his men retreated to the top of Custer Hill, and within an hour all of Custer's 212 men were dead. Their bodies were later found in what may have been battle lines. Historians disagree about these final moments, but it remains clear that this was one of the greatest disasters in American military history.

Benteen's forces came to battle too late and ended up joining Reno four miles away from the battle. The following day, General Terry arrived from the north with reinforcements, and most of the Indian warriors withdrew to the south. It was too late. Army casualties included 263 dead and 59 wounded.

The United States responded to the defeat of Custer with an intensified effort to obtain vengeance, and by 1877 most Sioux bands either surrendered or fled to Canada. The U.S. government forced the natives to cede their claims to the Black Hills, and most Cheyenne and Sioux were confined to the reservations.

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—Andrew K. Frank

**Longstreet, James** (1821–1904) *Confederate general* Confederate general James Longstreet was born January 8, 1821, in Edgefield District, South Carolina. He grew up in Georgia, on his father's farm near Gainesville and at Westover, his uncle's Augusta cotton plantation. After his father died in 1833 and his mother moved to Alabama, the boy remained with his uncle, Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, a lawyer, STATES' RIGHTS advocate, and prominent Georgia intellectual. With an appointment from Alabama Longstreet entered the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1838. Among his classmates were ULYSSES S. GRANT, Lafayette McLaws, and GEORGE E. PICKETT. Longstreet first experienced battle in the Mexican-American War and was seriously wounded at Chapultepec. After the war, he married Maria Louisa "Louise" Garland, daughter of Bvt. Brig. Gen. John Garland.

With the coming of the CIVIL WAR Longstreet opposed SECESSION. In 1861, however, he resigned his commission and traveled to RICHMOND from his western post to offer his services to the South. Despite having no connection to the state, he received command of a brigade of Virginia volunteers. While Longstreet's lack of identification with a single state would later be a political liability, in July 1861, he led his brigade well at Blackburn's Ford, winning the confidence of Gen. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON and promotion to major general.

Longstreet suffered personal tragedy in January 1862, when three of his four living children died in Richmond of scarlet fever (two others had previously died in infancy). He performed inconsistently during the spring campaigns of 1862, skillfully commanding a rearguard action at Williamsburg on May 5 but badly bungling an attack at Seven Pines on May 31. After Seven Pines, Gen. ROBERT E. LEE replaced the seriously wounded Johnston as commander of what was now the Army of Northern Virginia. During the Seven Days' Battle, Longstreet impressed Lee with

his hard fighting, and in July he became Lee's second in command. At the **SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN** in late August, Longstreet counseled Lee to adopt defensive battle **TACTICS**, demonstrating the wisdom of this advice with a devastating flank assault on the attacking Federals. At the **BATTLE OF ANTIETAM** in September, Longstreet fought tenaciously, earning promotion to lieutenant general and formal command of the First Corps.

The **BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG** in December 1862 confirmed the advantage of holding a good defensive position. Longstreet's entrenched corps took the brunt of the Union army's futile assault on Marye's Heights while suffering only minimal casualties. Briefly commanding two detached divisions in early 1863, Longstreet rejoined Lee's army after its May victory at the **BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE**. Lee reorganized his troops into three corps following Gen. **THOMAS (STONEWALL) JACKSON**'s death. Longstreet commanded the first, Gen. **RICHARD S. EWELL** the second, and Gen. **AMBROSE P. HILL** the new third corps. In May, Longstreet (who thought the key to Confederate victory lay in the western theater) agreed with Lee's plan to invade Pennsylvania, but he urged Lee to adopt defensive tactics should a battle occur. In late June, when Lee's army came in contact with Union forces (commanded by Gen. **GEORGE GORDON MEADE**) near Gettysburg, Lee ignored his advice.

On July 1 Ewell's II Corps forced the I Corps and XI Corps of the Army of the Potomac to retreat south through the town. While the disorganized Union troops waited on Cemetery Hill for reinforcements, Ewell and his subordinate, Gen. **JUBAL A. EARLY**, hesitated to press their numerical advantage by attacking the hill. When Longstreet arrived on the field, he noted the strong position held by the newly reinforced Union troops and advised Lee to occupy a defensive position and force Meade to assume the offensive. To Longstreet's dismay, Lee indicated his intention to attack the Union army at Gettysburg the following day. Lee ordered Longstreet to use the two divisions that he had on the field to attack the Union's left on the morning of July 2. Confederate reconnaissance proved unreliable, however, and to avoid detection by the enemy Longstreet led his troops on a time-consuming countermarch. His attack, which was to have occurred simultaneously with an assault on the Union's right flank, did not begin until late afternoon. By that time, the **UNION ARMY** had extended its line south of Cemetery Ridge, and Longstreet found himself directing a frontal rather than a flank attack. His two divisions took the low ground in front of the Union position, inflicting serious damage on the Union Third Corps. Longstreet blamed his failure to occupy the high ground on lack of reinforcements and poor coordination with Lee's other two corps.

Over Longstreet's objections, Lee decided to launch a frontal assault against the Union position on July 3. Long-

street reluctantly directed the attack, which consisted of a ferocious artillery bombardment followed by a massed infantry assault, and claimed later that he would have prevented it if he had been able to do so. "Pickett's Charge" was a disaster for the **CONFEDERATE ARMY**, which lost more men and officers than it could replace.

After Gettysburg, Longstreet maneuvered himself into a western command in Gen. **BRAXTON BRAGG**'s Army of the Tennessee and directed a rout of the Union forces at the **BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA** on September 20, ironically employing a frontal assault. The Federals retreated to Chattanooga, where Longstreet's misjudgment of the tactical situation at the **BATTLE OF LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN** allowed the Federals to reopen their supply lines. His relationship with Bragg deteriorating, Longstreet detached his corps and laid siege to Knoxville, remaining there until April 1864.

In East Tennessee he became embroiled in bitter internecine disputes over his choice to succeed Lt. Gen. **JOHN BELL HOOD**, who had been wounded at Chickamauga, and his decision to relieve Maj. Gen. **McLaws** for poor conduct. Searching for a way to alter the Confederacy's grim prospects, he unsuccessfully proposed an invasion of Kentucky as a means of demoralizing the North and boosting opposition to President **ABRAHAM LINCOLN**'s reelection. Longstreet returned to Virginia at Lee's request and was accidentally shot by his own troops in the **BATTLE OF THE WILDERNESS** on May 6. He resumed his command in October after recuperating in Georgia from serious throat and shoulder wounds. Longstreet remained in Virginia during the rest of the Civil War and was with Lee at **APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE**.

Controversy marked Longstreet's postwar years. In 1865 he moved to New Orleans with his family (which included four children born after 1863) and successfully entered the insurance and **RAILROAD** businesses. He soon infuriated Confederate **VETERANS** by publishing his recommendation that they cooperate with federal **RECONSTRUCTION** policies. In a move that branded him forever as a **SCALAWAG** traitor to the South, Longstreet reacted to his critics' outrage by joining the **REPUBLICAN PARTY**.

Lee's death in 1870 made the unpopular Longstreet vulnerable to false accusations. In 1872 ex-Confederate general Jubal Early launched a self-serving campaign to blame Longstreet for Lee's defeat at Gettysburg. In Early's distorted history, Lee had intended Longstreet to attack at dawn on July 2, and by failing to do so Longstreet had cost the Confederacy the battle and the Civil War. Longstreet's belligerent attempts to clear his name backfired, and his criticism of Lee's offensive battlefield tactics prompted Lee's former staff officers—who had refuted the dawn attack accusation—to charge that Longstreet's failings at

Gettysburg included deliberate slowness on July 2 and insubordination on July 3.

The “Gettysburg Series,” published in Early’s *Southern Historical Society Papers* in the late 1870s, sealed Longstreet’s lasting reputation as scapegoat and traitor, as did his acceptance of Republican patronage. Longstreet’s five articles for the *Century* magazine Civil War series criticized Jackson and Lee and inflated his own military accomplishments. A pariah in the South, he became a sought-after speaker at Northern VETERANS reunions.

Longstreet’s memoirs, published in 1894, represented his final, futile attempt to settle scores and right the wrongs he had endured. In 1897, retired and aged 76, the widowed Longstreet married a second wife, the vivacious Helen Dortch, who was less than half his age. He died on January 2, 1904, in Gainesville, Georgia. His devoted young widow spent her remaining 58 years attempting to restore his reputation.

See also GETTYSBURG, BATTLE OF.

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—Amy J. Kinsel

### Lookout Mountain, Battle of (November 24, 1863)

The Battle of Lookout Mountain, also known as the “Battle above the Clouds,” was one of two (the other was the Battle of Missionary Ridge) resounding Union victories that occurred within a day of each other and that helped secure Tennessee for the Union. Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT had come to Chattanooga with the intent of breaking the Confederate siege of that city. His ultimate success in the BATTLE OF CHATTANOOGA prompted President ABRAHAM LINCOLN to invite him to WASHINGTON, D.C., to take command of all Union armies and marked an important turning point in the war for the North.

After the defeat of Northern forces at the BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA in September 1863, Union general WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS had withdrawn his demoralized soldiers to Chattanooga. Meanwhile, Rosecrans’s opponent at Chickamauga, BRAXTON BRAGG, moved his men onto the heights that rose above the city of Chattanooga, from Lookout Mountain on the southwest to Missionary Ridge to the east. In Rosecrans’s view Chattanooga was beginning to look “more like a prison than a prize.” Bragg had effectively encircled the Yankees and cut off their supply lines.



Battle of Lookout Mountain, November 24, 1863 (Library of Congress)

Shortly thereafter, Lincoln replaced the incompetent Rosecrans with Maj. Gen. GEORGE HENRY THOMAS, whose bravery at Chickamauga had earned him the title “Rock of Chickamauga.” Thomas swore to Grant that he and his men would hold Chattanooga “until we starve,” and they very nearly did. Grant, who had been put in control of the new Division of the Mississippi in October 1863, called for reinforcements and moved to break the Confederate siege of Chattanooga. By mid-November 1863 Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN had brought 17,000 men from the Army of the Tennessee and Gen. JOSEPH HOOKER had brought 20,000 men from the Army of the Potomac to supplement the 35,000 men in Thomas’s Army of the Cumberland.

It was clear to Grant and his subordinates that the siege on Chattanooga would have to be broken, and quickly, or the Federals would be forced to surrender. It was also clear that the Confederate position on rugged Lookout Mountain would have to be taken for Union troops to have any chance at breaking the siege. This appeared to be an impossible task, however. The formidable heights of Lookout Mountain, rising some 1,100 feet above the valley, were filled with what seemed like thousands of well-entrenched Confederates, with supporting units nearby.

On the evening of November 23 Union troops began massing underneath Lookout Mountain. Confederate major general Carter L. Stevenson wrote in code to his commander, Bragg, that he doubted his small division (numbering 2,694 on the mountain, plus cavalry and cannon) had the strength to hold off an assault. Unknown to the Confederates, the Union had broken their special code. The Union’s leaders realized that the number of Confederates holding Lookout Mountain was not nearly as great as they had imagined.



With this information Grant launched an attack upon the Confederate position on Lookout Mountain on November 24. At 8:00 A.M. Gen. Hooker directed the forces, consisting of one division from each of the Union armies taking part in the Chattanooga campaign, up the mountain. Repeated Union assaults were successful in driving the Confederates from the lofty summit, with the last Southern units withdrawing by 8:00 P.M.

An unusual feature of the battle was that a swirling mist of fog and clouds obscured much of the fighting during the day from the thousands of soldiers watching intently from the valley below. Only occasional flashes of red light penetrating the thick cover gave indication of an ongoing battle. When the clouds finally broke, Union soldiers cheered when they saw the retreating Confederates.

Early the next morning, Union soldiers swiftly climbed the now-vacant summit and planted the Stars and Stripes on the top. Union general Montgomery C. Meigs, who watched the action from Grant's headquarters, declared Hooker's attack the "Battle above the Clouds." Few who were there ever forgot the eerie experience, including Grant, who later wrote, "The Battle of Lookout Mountain is one of the romances of the war. There was no such battle and no action even worthy to be called a battle on Lookout Mountain. It is all poetry."

Casualty (killed, wounded, and captured) figures for both sides were never given precisely, only the total numbers for the Chattanooga campaign. Out of 64,165 Confederates, losses were 6,667; Union casualties were 5,824 out of 56,359 engaged.

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—Ruth A. Behling

### **lost cause, the**

The phrase *lost cause* refers to an ideology that developed among white Southerners in the last decades of the 19th century and continued through World War I. Although the South had decisively lost the CIVIL WAR, in the years after defeat, Southerners began to look back on the war years nostalgically and to celebrate them as the years of the South's greatest glory. They did so in an attempt to adjust psychologically to the realities of defeat and seek deeper meaning in a plausible justification for their actions. In view of all the rapid and radical changes experienced by the New South, it became a moral imperative for many former

Confederates to preserve, perpetuate, and exalt their antebellum past. This romanticization of the Confederacy was expressed in an outpouring of sentimental LITERATURE, memoirs, and historical accounts, as well as in numerous MONUMENTS and public ceremonies.

The first-known printed articulation of the concept was journalist Edward A. Pollard's book *The Lost Cause* (1866). In it he explained that the South was justified in dissolving what he considered a voluntary association within the federal Union. The notion gained impetus and currency during the decade-long RECONSTRUCTION period, when former Confederates began associating in various blocs and mutually supporting interest groups. Among the earliest proponents of Southern nationalism were the LADIES MEMORIAL ASSOCIATIONS, whose devotion to constructing shrines to Confederate war dead helped stimulate renewed interest in their sacrifice and the reasoning behind it. In the 1870s, a group of Virginia elites and military leaders, centered on Gen. JUBAL A. EARLY, founded such organizations as the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia and the Southern Historical Society. Through these they developed a justification for the South's defeat that glorified Southern military leaders, particularly ROBERT E. LEE, and argued that the Civil War had been lost not because of a lack of will or insufficient military acumen but simply because Southern forces had been overwhelmingly outnumbered. Defeat thus involved no shame or dishonor; in fact, the Southern cause remained a noble one, irremediably doomed from the start but for that very reason all the more heroic.

During the 1880s and 1890s the beliefs of the lost cause spread far beyond the circle of elites who had originally propounded it. The United Confederate Veterans (1889), the UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY (1894), and the Sons of the Confederate Veterans (1896) were led by elites but included large numbers of white members from less exclusive backgrounds. Its monthly publication, the *Confederate Veteran*, was directed toward a popular audience and offered accounts of the experiences of COMMON SOLDIERS. Moreover, even white Southerners who did not belong to a lost-cause organization or subscribe to its publications participated in the general enthusiasm for the vanished Confederacy by attending the monument dedications, public ceremonies, and museums sponsored by the Daughters of the Confederacy. Yet, however many Southerners participated in lost-cause activities, the overall purpose of such activities was decidedly exclusionary. Although during the conflict itself Southerners had freely acknowledged that the Civil War was a struggle over SLAVERY, under the lost-cause scenario, the South's defense of slavery was conveniently transformed into a defense of STATES' RIGHTS.

Though the lost cause was celebrated most vehemently in the South, its effects extended well beyond the MASON-DIXON LINE. The VETERANS' reunions, which began in the

1880s, brought white veterans from both North and South together in celebration of a newly discovered camaraderie that strove to recognize both sides as somehow “right” and erased references to slavery even as black soldiers were excluded from the reunions themselves. Nor was the celebration of the Southern cause confined to commemorations of the battlefield. The novels of Thomas Nelson Page, for example, sold widely in both North and South and disseminated an escapist image of an idyllic prewar South in which masters were unfailingly benevolent and slaves unceasingly loyal.

The popularity of the lost cause portended ill for newly freed African Americans, because it embodied a virulent strain of racism that sought to exclude them from virtually all roles in society. For Southerners who embraced the notions of white supremacy and racial segregation, the lost cause became a convenient pretext to maintain racial “order” in a world without slavery. For many this entailed membership in the new KU KLUX KLAN, an organization that used violence, lynching, and other forms of intimidation to prevent blacks from participating in politics and most economic activities. After Reconstruction ended in 1877 white resentment against African Americans became codified—and, hence, politically acceptable—in the notorious “Jim Crow” laws, which endured in one form or another until the 1960s.

It is perhaps tempting to dismiss the lost cause as simply a trivial and misplaced nostalgia. However, it is also worth noting that it has had enduring political consequences. The legacy has persisted through to our own time, for example, in the continuing popularity of the novel *Gone with the Wind*, its film version (*GONE WITH THE WIND*), and similar works. Nowhere is that legacy more evident than in the ongoing struggle over the display of the Confederate flag, for it was during the years of the lost cause that what might have become merely a historical artifact was reinstated as an object of passionate devotion. And it was also in those years that the flag’s racist meanings were suppressed. Those who demand that the Confederate flag be flown above state capitol buildings as a symbol of states’ rights are heir to a century-old ideology that systematically denied what that flag meant during the Civil War itself and indeed the very reasons the war was fought at all.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—Teresa Barnett

### Louisiana Tigers

Renowned both for their courage and skill in battle and for their uncontrolled looting, vandalism, and violence, the Louisiana Tigers were one of the most effective and most feared Confederate battle units.

The term *Tigers* was first applied to the Tiger Rifles, a company in the First Special Battalion, Louisiana Infantry, which adopted slogans such as “Lincoln’s Life or a Tiger’s Death.” The term eventually came to refer to all of the 12,000 Louisiana Infantrymen who joined the Army of Northern Virginia in 1861. The Tigers generally operated on the very front of the offensive lines, often executing particularly dangerous and important offensive missions. The Tigers also distinguished themselves at the SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN/MANASSAS and the BATTLES OF SPOTSYLVANIA.

The Tigers’ reputation for courage was marred, however, by the repeated acts of violence and theft that characterized their ranks and by the high DESERTION rate within the units. The desertion rate was partly the result of the high proportion of foreign-born recruits, many of whom had little commitment to the war and a few of whom had been forced into service. The soldiers who remained, however, became infamous, especially in Virginia, for their drunkenness and rioting. On a train ride from New Orleans to RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, in 1861, for example, various Louisiana regiments, drunk on barrels of alcohol that they had smuggled onto their train, shot at livestock, broke into saloons, and destroyed property.

By 1865, the mixed reputation of the Tigers was shared by relatively few men, as the Tigers sustained some of the greatest casualty rates of the war. The Louisianans’ units had been organized and reorganized so many times that most of the Tigers felt they had lost their identity. By the time the Army of Northern Virginia surrendered at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, only 373 of the original Louisiana Tigers were present.

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—Fiona Galvin

### loyalty oaths

Although swearing loyalty to the Constitution and to the United States had always been a part of government ser-



vice, the CIVIL WAR and RECONSTRUCTION era witnessed an increased devotion to that practice as a way to determine the fidelity of both citizens and officials. The need to draw a firm line between traitor and patriot defined these actions, and during this period loyalty oaths served as a federal job requirement, a weapon of war, and an effective tool in partisan politics.

In August 1861, Congress passed legislation that prescribed a new oath for federal employees. By the middle of 1862, those working in federal positions had taken two different pledges swearing loyalty to the Union and its efforts. As the desire to identify treason grew, pensioners and postal contractors also found themselves required to avow their fidelity. In order to submit a bid on any federal contract in the summer of 1862, businessmen had to affirm their support for the United States. Wisconsin congressman John Potter headed a committee that searched for traitors in government offices, and much of the committee's work focused on those who failed to take the prescribed oath. This drive to confirm the patriotism of any person connected to the government reached its peak in June 1862. At that time, Congress debated the necessity of a loyalty oath that would include senators and would require them to swear their allegiance for the past, present, and future. Subsequently known as the "ironclad test oath," or IRONCLAD OATH, this measure failed to pass the Senate, but later became a fixture of Reconstruction.

The Northern military also played a significant role in the demarcation of loyalty among citizens and prisoners. Southern residents of Union-occupied territories dealt with restrictive conditions but received a measure of freedom as soon as they pledged their faithfulness to the cause of the Union. However, the federal administration did not regulate this system, and as a result the impact and enforcement of these oaths varied. The Northern military governments in Missouri, Louisiana, and Tennessee in particular enraged Confederate sympathizers, for in those areas men like BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER enforced the loyalty oaths with tremendous zeal. Southern citizens received relative freedom with their pledge, but ABRAHAM LINCOLN also felt strongly about the condition of prisoners of war, and he favored oaths that testified to the future fidelity of the individual as opposed to a more restrictive oath that encompassed the past. The president believed that the willingness to state allegiance definitively determined a person's loyalty. As a testament to this idea, Lincoln issued an amnesty

proclamation on December 8, 1863, that became the standard prisoner's oath for the remainder of the war. This oath required the future support of the Union effort and EMANCIPATION but also protected the individual's property, with the exception of slaves, from confiscation. Such relative leniency served as a powerful temptation for Southern soldiers and prisoners in the final years of the war.

The loyalty oath soon became an integral and controversial piece of Reconstruction policy. For both Lincoln and ANDREW JOHNSON, the oath, while important, did not need to be any more than a profession of future fidelity. For the RADICAL REPUBLICANS seeking a strict Reconstruction, the oath needed to be true to the ironclad test oath created in 1862. This struggle, especially between Johnson and the Radicals, most seriously affected the resumption of numerous federal activities in the South. In requiring federal employees to attest to their past, present, and future loyalty to the federal government, the ironclad test oath made it extremely difficult to find Southern citizens willing and able to work for the government. Treasury Secretary Hugh McCulloch, in order to fill numerous revenue positions in the South, found it necessary to hire individuals even if they could not take the oath. This action, though taken with the approval of the president and the cabinet, enraged the Radicals in Congress and set the stage for the battles over the test oath in the years that followed.

As the Republicans in Congress worked to impose their idea of Reconstruction on the president and the South, they used the ironclad oath as a tool to keep Confederate sympathizers out of Congress as well as administrative posts. When Southerners demonstrated their intransigence by electing men to Congress who could not and would not take the oath, the Radicals rallied against them and made sure that the newly elected officers were not officially seated when they arrived in the Capitol. Although the Radicals scaled back their opposition in 1870 as their political strength waned, and the ironclad oath for Southerners was repealed in 1871, members of Congress repeatedly defeated measures to remove the test-oath law. The loyalty tests remained in force until May 13, 1884.

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—John P. Bowes

# M



**Mallory, Stephen R.** (1811–1873) *lawyer, judge, politician*

Lawyer, judge, U.S. senator, and secretary of the navy for the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, Stephen Russell Mallory was born in Trinidad in 1811 and raised in Key West, Florida. His father was an engineer from Connecticut, and his mother was Irish. After briefly attending schools in Alabama and Pennsylvania, Mallory returned to Florida to study law and was admitted to the bar in 1834. His early career demonstrated an impressive record of public service. Appointed the inspector of customs, Mallory also served as town marshal and was the collector of the port at Key West in 1845. He enlisted in the Florida militia during the Seminole War of 1836–38.

Mallory's experience and excellent reputation recommended him to Florida's DEMOCRATIC PARTY, where he made a name for himself as a promising young politician. In 1850 Florida's legislature elected him to the U.S. Senate. As chairman of the Senate's Naval Affairs Committee from 1853, Mallory pushed for the construction of new warships and for the modernization of the ordnance department. He was especially interested in developing IRONCLAD vessels for the navy's use.

Mallory was a strong supporter of Southern rights during his decade-long term in WASHINGTON, D.C. He advocated SLAVERY's expansion and argued for a strict enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act. When the SECESSION crisis gripped the country after ABRAHAM LINCOLN's election, Mallory joined with several of his Senate colleagues in trying to persuade the North to let the South go in a peaceful manner. Persuasion failed, and Florida left the Union in January 1861. Mallory resigned his Senate seat shortly thereafter and returned to his home in Pensacola.

On February 21, 1861, Mallory received word that his close friend and former fellow U.S. senator, President JEFFERSON DAVIS, had appointed him as the Confederate States' secretary of the navy. Only Mallory and John H. Reagan, postmaster general, kept their cabinet positions

throughout the war, a testament to their political skills and resourcefulness. A daunting task awaited Mallory as he assumed his duties in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. The CONFEDERATE NAVY was practically nonexistent in 1861, possessing only 12 boats and 300 officers who had resigned from the U.S. Navy. Mallory's job was to raise a navy, build and sustain a fleet of warships, and undermine the Union blockade of the Southern coast. Through a combination of hard work, dedication, and intelligence, Mallory oversaw the successful recruitment and training of the sailors and the purchase and construction of ships abroad and in the South. Perhaps most importantly, he articulated and implemented Confederate naval strategy.

In order to break the Union blockade, Mallory got the Confederate Congress to approve the sum of \$2 million to use to purchase or build ships in Europe. At home, he urged the construction of foundries and shipyards to build ironclads. Additionally, he used commerce raiders to confuse and divert Yankee commercial ships and hoped to draw Union ships from the blockade. Mallory was in the forefront of the drive to develop and use torpedoes in naval warfare. By the end of the war, Confederate torpedoes had sunk or severely damaged 43 Union ships. Elaborate minefields prevented the Union navy from entering Charleston harbor, and delayed the capture of Mobile Bay until near the end of the conflict.

Despite these herculean efforts, the South simply did not have the industrial capacity or financial resources to produce the ships and weaponry needed to sustain a modern navy. Mallory came under heavy and constant attack in the Confederate Congress and in the press for the losses of New Orleans, Norfolk, and Memphis in 1862. Investigations cleared him of wrongdoing, but criticism continued as losses mounted. Despite ultimate failure, historians have given Mallory's stewardship of the Confederate navy high marks.

Mallory fled Richmond with the rest of the Confederate cabinet in April 1865. Captured and arrested in Georgia,

he was imprisoned at Fort Lafayette, in NEW YORK CITY, until 1866. After his release from prison, Mallory returned to Pensacola, Florida, where he resumed the practice of law. He was a bitter opponent of Radical RECONSTRUCTION and denounced African-American suffrage in many newspaper editorials. He died on November 12, 1873.

See also WELLES, GIDEON.

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### marine corps

In modern warfare, marines are used for amphibious combat—attacks on coastal installations, raiding ships, and so forth. At the time of the CIVIL WAR, however, marines were generally used for more mundane purposes: guarding ships, maintaining discipline among sailors, and occasionally manning naval guns. They rarely participated in combat, and when they did it was in a supporting role, which is why the Union and Confederate marine corps played a minimal role in the Civil War.

At its height, the Union's marine corps numbered about 4,000 enlisted men and officers. Throughout the war, the corps was handicapped by poor leadership, because most of the best young officers in the marines had resigned and joined the Confederacy. The officers who remained were older and found it hard to adapt to the new realities of the Civil War. U.S. Marines did see some combat action, notably at New Orleans, Fort Wagner, and Drewry's Bluff. However, the majority of U.S. Marines spent the war serving aboard ships as guards and artillerymen. Over the course of the Civil War, the U.S. Marine Corps' battle casualties numbered 175 wounded and 78 killed.

The Confederate marine corps was very small, never numbering more than 500 men. For the entire Civil War, the commandant of the Confederate corps was Lloyd J. Beall, who proved to be an able leader. He also benefited greatly from the services of the 19 officers that had resigned from the Union marine corps. Despite their limited numbers, Confederate marines tended to see combat action much more frequently than Union marines. In addition to performing shipboard duty, Confederate marines fought at Hampton Roads, Drewry's Bluff, Mobile Bay, Fort Gaines, Savannah, and Charleston. A large segment of the Confederate marine corps was killed in action at the Battle of Saylor's Creek on April 6, 1865; most of the rest surrendered at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA a few days later.

The fact that marines, and U.S. Marines in particular, never found a clearly defined role to play during the Civil

War nearly led to the elimination of the marine corps. On several occasions the U.S. Congress considered disbanding the corps or consolidating it into the army. It was not until the 20th century that marines would come to play an important role in military TACTICS AND STRATEGY.

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—Christopher Bates

### marriage and family life

Marriage and family life in the mid- to late 19th-century United States represented the stability needed to anchor a dynamic and fluid society. The home represented a "haven in a heartless world" and was dominated largely by women and children. Moreover, law, custom, and social practices protected the institution of marriage and family life. Divorce was rare and difficult to obtain, and the vast majority of people were married and had children. Although the family was not strictly "political," it was considered the main foundation for sustaining the uniquely democratic republic that was the United States of America.

As market capitalism spread throughout much of the country, more and more families were drawn into commercial farming or moved into the rapidly expanding urban areas. Men and women were no longer working side by side on the farm, growing their own food, and making all or most of their necessities. Increasingly, men were characterized as rugged individualists, up-and-coming ambitious capitalists expected to succeed in the public sphere. Women, on the other hand, assumed a powerful role in the home, defined as the private sphere. They had more time now because they could buy their own and the families' clothes and many other luxuries that did not require physical labor. Women were expected to use that extra time to instruct their children in Christian morality and values. From this kind of benevolent but educative home, the children would emerge as moral upright citizens.

Thus, the economic changes that swept the country also shaped the cultural traditions of its citizens. Courtship, marriage, and the family became individualized and private to a much larger degree than had previously existed. This spirit of individualism affected marriage practices. The ideal of romantic love combined with the market system seemed to offer young men and women greater freedom in their marriage choices.

Middle-class husbands and wives viewed one another as partners in a "companionate marriage." Children were

regarded as individuals who required love, nurture, and special EDUCATION. Parents were very conscientious about child rearing and child development. The father assumed the position of sole breadwinner for the family, and the wife reared the children. Women were defined as morally superior to men and were now looked to as the guardians of civilization.

Mothers played an active role in the lives of their sons by instilling in them a moral conscience. Although the middle-class household became the domain of the mother, fathers continued to play an active role in their children's lives. Fathers were also advisers and disciplinarians, especially to their sons. The primary goal of both parents was to develop the child's conscience and his and her ability for self-government.

During an earlier period, children were trained to fear authority; in the 19th century, more indulgent and kindly parents taught their children to have the capacity for self-control but also to enjoy the fruits of their labor. Several historians have argued that with the emergence of individualism and society's new focus on personal advancement, 19th-century couples actively practiced contraception to ensure that they produced a smaller family for whom they could provide materially and emotionally.

At the same time, the family slowly lost its productive function as subsistence farming gave way to a reliance on factory-produced goods and a growing consumer ECONOMY. This change neither happened overnight nor did it occur at the same speed everywhere in the United States. Large numbers of people, including pioneer families, working-class and immigrant families in both the cities and the countryside, and slave families, had very different expectations and experiences. In general, however, middle-class marriage and family patterns were influential on every social stratum.

The small nuclear family fostered intense emotional ties between its members, especially as the line between public and private became more defined and as society and the economy became more specialized. The home became a place where mothers, fathers, and children found spiritual guidance, emotional support, and physical sustenance. The home became a place that nurtured and protected its members from a possibly immoral and definitely acquisitive world. This sentiment was summed up perfectly in one of the most popular songs of the era, "Home! Sweet Home!": "Mid pleasure and Palaces though we may roam; Be it ever so humble there's no place like home!"

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sity Press, 1989); Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: Free Press, 1988).

—Patricia Richard

**Marx, Karl** (1818–1883) *political philosopher, author* Writer and political philosopher Karl Marx offered a powerful critique of industrial capitalism and called for socialism. His ideology, known as marxism, had widespread influence both in his own era and later in communist regimes, notably in Russia and China. Less well known is Marx's short stint as a journalist covering the American CIVIL WAR.

Born in the Rhineland, (now Germany) to a comfortable middle-class family, he attended the universities in Bonn and Berlin. When he was banned from universities because of his participation in extremist political organizations, he turned to JOURNALISM. Throughout his life he wrote for and edited many different radical journals. Moving to France in the 1840s after one such journal was banned, he continued researching, writing, and working out his theories on the one hand and organizing European social movements on the other. He formed a lifelong partnership with fellow revolutionary theorist Frederick Engels. Exiled in 1849, he moved to London with his wife and children, where he lived the rest of his life.

Marx spurned religious explanations in favor of a detailed scientific system based on the material conditions of production. His work contained the idea of predictable stages. Workers, he argued, were economically exploited and morally alienated. These wrongs would lead to a class struggle and the overthrow of capitalism. In a more humane communist society, which he considered the last stage of civilization, human beings could develop their natural gifts freely in cooperation with others. A prodigious writer, his evolving ideas were published in more than 50 volumes. Among his most noteworthy books are *Communist Manifesto* (1848) and *Das Capital* (1867). His activist legacy was the First International.

Marx's work was an inspiration to U.S. anarchist and socialist groups active in the late 19th-century protest movements, such as the labor rally for the eight-hour day. Marx, who for 10 years was a foreign correspondent for the *New York Daily Tribune*, wrote trenchant essays on the political and economic causes of the Civil War as well as the military campaigns. A strong Unionist, he believed that ABRAHAM LINCOLN and the REPUBLICAN PARTY would bring a new hope for the working-class people in the United States and throughout the world. In an address to Lincoln, Marx wrote: "The workingmen of Europe feel sure that, as the American War of Independence initiated a new era of ascendancy for the middle class, so the American anti-slavery war will do for the working classes. They consider



it an earnest of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead the country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world.”

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—Jaclyn Greenberg

### **Mason-Dixon Line**

The Mason-Dixon Line was the result of a 1760s survey that resolved a boundary dispute between the Penn family, the founders of the Pennsylvania colony, and the Calvert family, who founded Maryland. While the line is technically the northern boundary of Maryland, it has had greater significance as a legal and cultural divide. During the antebellum years, the line signified the division between the slave South and the free North. After the CIVIL WAR, the line continued to denote a cultural and emotional boundary between North and South.

After three generations of boundary disputes, the Penn and Calvert families hired British surveyors Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, who used celestial navigation tools from 1765 to 1768 to mark a negotiated latitudinal boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland at 39 degrees, 43 minutes, 17.4 seconds north. Once set, the Mason-Dixon Line became a significant American demarcation line.

Previously referred to by Thomas Jefferson as the geographical line that reflected a moral and political divide, the Mason-Dixon Line became the symbolic division between free states and slave states during the congressional debates over the Missouri Compromise of 1820. The line represented freedom for escaped slaves, and free African Americans and escaped slaves formed communities north of the line. As with many boundary areas, proslavery and abolitionist views existed on both sides. Slave catchers had allies in Pennsylvania, while sympathetic Maryland residents assisted runaway slaves. Especially after the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, the area saw activity by both the UNDERGROUND RAILROAD and slave catchers.

However, the Mason-Dixon Line was not the boundary between the Union and the Confederacy. While Maryland allowed slavery and contained many Confederate sympathizers, it remained part of the Union.

After the Civil War, the Mason-Dixon Line had diminished legal significance but retained its symbolic role as the cultural division between North and South.

See also ABOLITION; SLAVERY.

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—Martha Kadue

### **McClellan, George Brinton** (1826–1885) *Union general*

George B. McClellan, called “the Young Napoleon” during the CIVIL WAR, was known more for his organizational skills than his fighting ability or political talent. McClellan was born to a wealthy and distinguished family in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. A brilliant student, McClellan entered the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT at the age of 15 and graduated second in his class in 1846. Like many of his classmates, McClellan served in the Mexican-American War, where he earned promotion for courage on the battlefield. In 1857 McClellan resigned his commission to accept a position as chief engineer and president of the Illinois Central RAILROAD. In this capacity, he honed his considerable skills as a businessman. He also became acquainted with his future commander in chief, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, who was working as a lawyer for the Illinois Central.

When the Civil War broke out, McClellan was appointed commander of the Department of the Ohio. Now a major general, he quickly won fame with a minor victory in West Virginia, 10 days before the Union defeat under General Irvin McDowell at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN. When Lincoln looked for replacements for the bumbling McDowell, he turned to McClellan, one of the rare heroes of the early war. Shortly afterward, the handsome and charismatic 35-year-old was given command of the armies around WASHINGTON, D.C. In November, McClellan replaced the elderly and ailing Winfield Scott as general in chief of all of the Union forces in the country. It seemed to the arrogant young general that he was destined for greatness. “I can do it all,” he said. He wrote his wife: “All tell me that I am held responsible for the fate of the nation, and that all its resources shall be placed at my disposal.” While that was true enough, personality clashes, political blunders, and bad generalship would soon dim McClellan’s bright future as the nation’s “savior.”

At first, McClellan vindicated Lincoln’s appointment. In the fall and winter of 1861 he disciplined, drilled, and organized the Army of the Potomac, the main army of the eastern theater. More than that, he instilled pride into the men under his command. Washingtonians thrilled to the parades and reviews that displayed the power of the United States. “On to Richmond!” was the cry accompanying the superbly executed marches of McClellan’s devoted men. As late summer turned to autumn and autumn to winter, however, McClellan was increasingly criticized



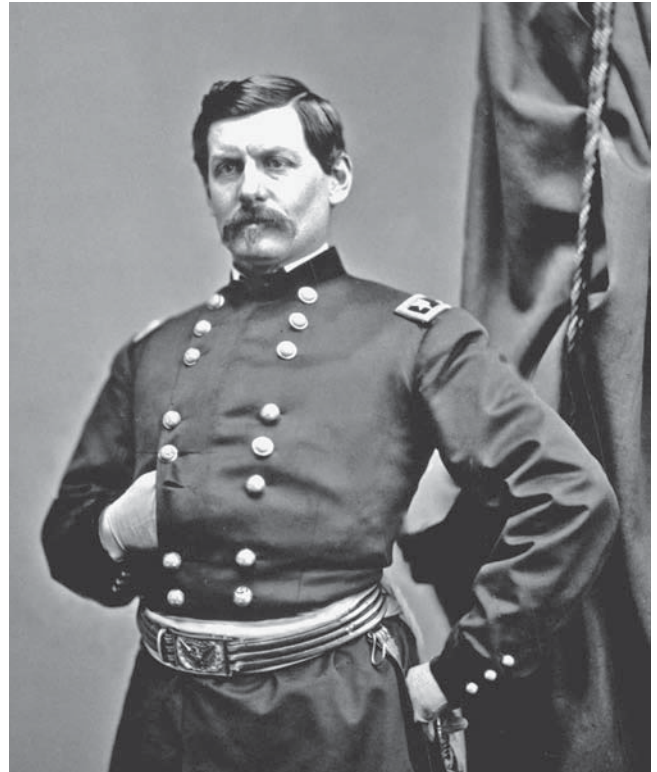
for inaction. Press, public, and politicians alike openly wondered if the Army of the Potomac was ever going to leave Washington to attack the CONFEDERATE ARMY in northern Virginia. Congressional investigations tarnished McClellan's reputation. A frustrated Lincoln remarked that if McClellan did not intend to use the army, he (Lincoln) wanted to borrow it.

McClellan responded by attacking his critics. In the process, he alienated many of his former supporters, including the president, whom he derided as "the original gorilla." Increasingly suspicious of his detractors, McClellan cultivated friendly politicians and reporters. A Democrat, he appointed many generals who shared his political beliefs, including the idea that the war should not be fought to end SLAVERY. These actions angered many Republicans in Congress and created friction between McClellan and Lincoln, particularly given the fact that the longer the war went on, the more EMANCIPATION was considered as a serious option.

McClellan defended his inaction, arguing that the enemy was higher in number and better prepared than his own, even when confronted with incontrovertible evidence to the contrary. He unwisely preferred to keep his strategic plans a secret and bitterly resented any political interference with what he considered purely military matters. Some of McClellan's modern biographers have even advanced the argument that he was psychologically incapable of taking decisive action.

McClellan finally presented a plan of invasion to Lincoln, and it was a good one. He envisioned one huge offensive movement to capture the Confederate capital, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, by transporting the Army of the Potomac down the Chesapeake Bay to the tip of the Virginia Peninsula. If Richmond fell and the Confederate army was decisively defeated, the war would be over. Finally, in the spring of 1862, after many months of prodding and pushing, McClellan's army was on the move for the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN. McClellan laid siege against the vastly outnumbered Confederates at Yorktown for a month. McClellan's unnecessary delay allowed the Southern army precious time to prepare the defense of Richmond. As always, McClellan sincerely believed that he was facing a more powerful and numerous army than his own. He constantly asked Lincoln for more men and supplies, prompting Lincoln's famous observation that "sending troops to McClellan was like shoveling flies across the barnyard—most of them never seemed to get there."

McClellan slowly but surely advanced toward Richmond and came within five miles of capturing the city. His forward movement was permanently stopped when, after the Battle of Seven Pines (May 31–June 1, 1862), ROBERT E. LEE assumed command of the Army of Northern Virginia. General Lee launched a counterattack that drove the Army of the Potomac back to the James



George Brinton McClellan (National Archives)

River in the Seven Days' Battle (June 25–July 1, 1862). Defeated but defiant, McClellan blamed his loss on the politicians in Washington who refused him the support he requested. Lincoln, disappointed by the lackluster performance of his general, ordered him back to northern Virginia to join with Gen. John Pope's new army. Lincoln also removed McClellan from his position as general in chief, replacing him with HENRY W. HALLECK. Unfortunately, Pope was far worse than McClellan and suffered one of the most humiliating defeats of the war at the SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN (August 29–30, 1862). Lincoln had no choice but to reappoint McClellan to rebuild the shattered remnants of the Army of the Potomac, a task he eagerly accepted.

Meanwhile, buoyed by his recent victories over the UNION ARMY, Robert E. Lee brought the war to the North when his army entered Frederick, Maryland, on September 4, 1862, prompting fears that an attack on Washington, D.C., was near. "Little Mac" slowly moved the Army of the Potomac into position between Washington and the Confederates. The audacious Lee then split his army in the face of a much larger foe and sent Gen. THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON to capture the Union garrison at HARPERS FERRY, West Virginia. By accident, a Union soldier found a copy of Lee's official orders directing

Jackson away from the main body of the Army of Northern Virginia. This vital information was in McClellan's hands within hours. "Here is a paper," exulted McClellan, "with which if I cannot whip Bobbie Lee, I will be willing to go home." Few commanding generals have possessed such precise information about their opponents' intentions, but McClellan did not strike quickly enough to destroy portions of Lee's divided army. Another opportunity to bring the war to an end was lost. Instead, the two armies met on ground of Lee's choosing, just north of Sharpsburg, Maryland.

On the morning of September 17, the Federals attacked the Confederates along Antietam Creek, which gave the battle its name in the North. Critics then and now of McClellan's generalship on the bloodiest one-day battle in U.S. history (23,000 casualties) claim that his plan was poorly executed and that he failed to use the thousands of Union troops who were held in reserve, thus minimizing the Northern advantage in numbers. The battle was a tactical draw. Nevertheless, General Lee's invasion failed, and the Army of Northern Virginia retreated across the Potomac to its Virginia camps. The North claimed the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM as a victory, and on September 22, 1862, Lincoln issued the preliminary EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

After the battle, Lincoln urged McClellan to fight aggressively against Lee. Characteristically, McClellan felt a new campaign required many more men and more supplies. Finally, in November 1862, the president relieved McClellan of his command and replaced him with Gen. AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE. After a tearful farewell to his soldiers, McClellan moved to NEW YORK CITY and never commanded an army in the field again.

McClellan remained popular with his men, and for that reason he was an attractive candidate for the DEMOCRATIC PARTY in the 1864 presidential election. Although strongly pro-Union, McClellan was tainted by the peace wing of his party, which advocated an end to the war through negotiation. Lincoln was reelected by a substantial margin, including most of the soldiers' vote. After the war, McClellan worked as the chief engineer of the New York City Department of Docks (1870–72) and later was elected governor of New Jersey. Like many other Civil War generals, McClellan published an autobiography, *McClellan's Own Story* (1887), a strong defense of his war record. He died in Orange, New York, on October 29, 1885.

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*George B. McClellan: The Young Napoleon* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1999); T. Harry Williams, *Lincoln and His Generals* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981).

### **McDowell, Irvin** (1818–1885) *Union general*

Irvin McDowell was a Union general blamed for the loss of Bull Run during the CIVIL WAR. McDowell was born in Columbus, Ohio, on October 15, 1818. He attended the Collège de Troyes in France before being admitted to the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1834, where he graduated four years later ranked in the middle of his class. He served as a second lieutenant in the 1st U.S. Artillery during garrison duty along the Canadian border. McDowell next fought in the Mexican-American War (1846–48), winning a brevet promotion to captain for gallantry at the Battle of Buena Vista in February 1847. He was subsequently assigned to WASHINGTON, D.C., where for the next 12 years he performed well in staff assignments, rising to major and frequently serving as aide de camp to Gen. Winfield Scott.

After the Civil War commenced, McDowell used political connections to advance three grades to brigadier general on May 11, 1861. He then accepted command of the Department of Northeastern Virginia and began cobbling together a force composed mainly of 90-day volunteers and poorly trained militia. Despite his lack of experience in handling large numbers of troops, McDowell discharged his duties with energy and ability, and by July he possessed a scratch force of 50,000 enthusiastic citizen soldiers. With President ABRAHAM LINCOLN's prodding, on July 16, 1861, McDowell led his overconfident amateurs southward down the Warrenton Turnpike with cheers of "On to Richmond!" During the fateful encounter at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN, on July 21, 1861, McDowell attacked slowly and piecemeal, allowing the Southerners to pour in additional units and hold off the Northerners. Exhausted by a day of fighting in intense heat, the Federals wilted in the face of Confederate reinforcements and departed the battlefield in an embarrassing rout. Held up as a scapegoat for defeat, McDowell was replaced in August by Gen. GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN.

When the Army of the Potomac was organized in August 1861, McDowell received command of the I Corps along with promotion to major general as of March 1862. But he played no role in McClellan's ambitious PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN because the activities of Gen. THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON in the Shenandoah Valley convinced President Lincoln that Washington was threatened. McDowell next commanded the III Corps in the Army of Virginia under Gen. John Pope. With Pope, he was blamed for the defeat at Second Bull Run on August 29–30, 1862, and was relieved from field command. It was not until July

1864 that he transferred to the distant Department of the Pacific and then the Department of California in 1865.

After the war McDowell gradually resuscitated his reputation as a fine military administrator. He commanded the Department of the East in 1868, rising to major general in 1872. He next served four years as head of the Department of the South before returning to the Department of the Pacific in 1876. McDowell died in San Francisco on May 4, 1885, a talented but tainted wartime general.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**McLaws, Lafayette** (1821–1897) *Confederate general* Lafayette McLaws was a Confederate general. Born in Georgia, McLaws graduated from the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1842. He fulfilled a long period of routine frontier assignments in the West, then served in the Mexican-American War (1846–48) before rising to the rank of captain in 1851. In 1861, after the CIVIL WAR commenced, McLaws resigned his commission to serve as colonel of 10th Georgia Infantry, rising to brigadier general in September of that year.

McLaws first experienced Civil War combat in spring 1862 as part of the defense against Gen. GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN's PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN, and he saw further action at ANTIETAM and FREDERICKSBURG in September and December 1862. A respected commander, he was elevated to major general on May 23, 1863. He commanded a mixed force of Georgians, Mississippians, and South Carolinians, all of whom were disciplined to a fine fighting edge. McLaws's excellent fighting record in many battles won him warm commendations from Gen. ROBERT E. LEE. In 1863 he fought capably but without distinction at CHANCELLORSVILLE and GETTYSBURG, where his lack of initiative probably cost him a promotion to lieutenant general.

McLaws's military career hit a stumbling block in fall 1863 when he accompanied JAMES LONGSTREET's force during the Knoxville, Tennessee, campaign. He repeatedly tried to talk his superior out of an ill-advised attack on Fort Sanders, and when the assault was disastrously repulsed with heavy losses, Longstreet relieved him of command. A court of inquiry subsequently cleared McLaws of all charges, and he was next assigned troops under Gen. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON in North Carolina. McLaws surrendered at Durham Station on April 26, 1865. He settled in Savannah, Georgia, after the war and died there on July 24, 1897, a capable but disrespected military figure.

**Further reading:** John Oeffinger, ed., *A Soldier's General: The Civil War Letters of Major General Lafayette McLaws* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Meade, George Gordon** (1815–1872) *Union general* Union general George Gordon Meade was born on December 31, 1815, in Cadiz, Spain, to Margaret Butler and Richard Worsam Meade (a prominent PHILADELPHIA merchant). The ninth of 11 children, Meade spent much of his boyhood in Pennsylvania. His father's financial losses and premature death forced Meade to pursue a military EDUCATION and a career in engineering. Graduating from the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1835, he served in the Seminole War, subsequently leaving the army for eight years to work as a civil engineer. Marriage (to Margaret Sergeant, the daughter of Representative John Sergeant of Philadelphia) and fatherhood prompted Meade to return to the service in 1842. With the assistance of his brother-in-law, Representative Henry A. Wise of Virginia, he was appointed second lieutenant in the Corps of Topographical Engineers, where his duties included construction of lighthouses and breakwaters.

Meade fought in the Mexican-American War (alongside fellow engineers ROBERT E. LEE and JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON), earning a brevet to first lieutenant for his work during the siege of Veracruz. In August 1861, Meade (a captain with influential political connections in his home state) received command of a Pennsylvania brigade.

Meade's brigade joined the Army of the Potomac in June 1862 for Gen. GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN's ill-fated PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN. Serving in the same division as friend and fellow Pennsylvanian General John F. Reynolds, Meade fought at Mechanicsville and Gaines's Mill and was seriously wounded at Glendale, Virginia. He returned to the army in August 1862 to take charge of Reynolds's former brigade at the SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN, where Reynolds commanded the division. Meade inherited the division after Reynolds departed for recruiting duties and led the reserves with skill and conspicuous bravery at the September BATTLES OF South Mountain and ANTIETAM, Maryland.

In December at the BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG, with Reynolds now commanding the First Corps, Meade directed the reserves in a vigorous but unsupported attack on the Confederate right. Following disastrous losses in the Union attack on Marye's Heights, Gen. JOSEPH HOOKER assumed command of the Army of the Potomac and Meade took over the Fifth Corps. At the BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE in May 1863, he was among a minority of corps commanders who advised Hooker to stay and fight rather than withdraw across the Rapahannock River. Hooker,



deciding to retreat, crossed the river ahead of his men while Meade's corps covered the army's rear.

On June 28, with the Army of the Potomac on the move and preparing for battle, President ABRAHAM LINCOLN, having lost patience with generals who refused to fight, appointed Meade to replace Hooker after Reynolds had declined the promotion. Meade directed the most important campaign of his career during his first week as army commander. In early June, General Lee had marched the Army of Northern Virginia through Maryland into Pennsylvania. In pursuit, the Army of the Potomac's forward wing (commanded by Reynolds) made contact with Confederate forces on July 1, 1863, near Gettysburg. The outnumbered Federals retreated south through town and took up a defensive position on Cemetery Hill. Learning that Reynolds had been killed, Meade ignored military protocol and sent Gen. WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK, another Pennsylvanian, to assume field command. When he reached Gettysburg, Hancock calmly restored order to the retreating troops and secured the Union position.

Meade ordered the army to concentrate at Gettysburg. Arriving on the field around midnight on July 1, he placed his available troops in an arc that extended from Culp's Hill southeast of Gettysburg, around Cemetery Hill to its west, and south along Cemetery Ridge. Meade instructed his Third Corps commander, Gen. DANIEL E. SICKLES, a New York politician, to extend the Union line to Little Round Top, a prominent hill suitable for artillery. Hearing on the morning of July 2 that the Third Corps was not yet in position, Meade sent messages to Sickles directing him to take up his assigned line. Sickles, who erroneously believed that the slightly higher but longer rise along the Emmitsburg Road would make a better defensive position than Cemetery Ridge, ignored Meade's instructions and advanced his corps about three-quarters of a mile in front of the designated Union line. Confederate forces attacked the Union left just as Meade rode over to Sickles in person to order him back to Cemetery Ridge. The Third Corps was forced to retreat under fire while Meade hurried men from Culp's Hill to Cemetery Ridge to fill the gaps left by Sickles's ill-considered advance. The Union left secured, he then rushed men back to the right to meet a Confederate attack on Cemetery Hill. A brigade from the Fifth Corps had occupied Little Round Top in time to save it for the Union, but Sickles's mistake on July 2 cost the Third Corps dearly.

Late on July 2, Meade called a council of war among his top officers. There was no question he intended to remain at Gettysburg, but soliciting his corps commanders' opinions about the best course of action for the next day, whether offensive or defensive, left him vulnerable to later charges of weak leadership. In the event, Meade ordered a dawn attack to remove Confederate troops from the foot

of Culp's Hill, and he prepared the army for an expected enemy assault on the Union center. That assault began around 1:00 P.M. with a terrific artillery barrage followed by an impressive infantry assault. The Confederates, facing devastating artillery and rifle fire, were unable to carry the strong Union position. Meade had won a resounding victory, but he decided against an immediate counterattack, and Lee retreated south late on July 4 with the UNION ARMY in pursuit.

Lincoln was reportedly dismayed that Meade allowed Lee and his army to escape across the Potomac River, but more biting and politically motivated criticisms would follow. Disgruntled corps commanders Gen. Abner Doubleday and Gen. O. O. HOWARD complained that Meade had favored Hancock over higher-ranking officers. Meade's disloyal chief of staff, Gen. Daniel Butterfield (a Hooker partisan), falsely charged in testimony to the congressional JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR that Meade had wanted to retreat from Gettysburg on July 1. General Sickles, motivated by the need to repair his own reputation, made outrageous claims in print and before the joint committee that moving the Third Corps to a forward position on July 2 had forced Meade to stay put, thereby saving the Union army from defeat. Stung by unwarranted attacks, Meade nevertheless retained his position as commander of the Army of the Potomac throughout the rest of the war. Changes in the Union command structure reduced his authority, however. In the spring of 1864, Lincoln selected Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT to command all of the Northern armies. Grant chose to make his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, an uncomfortable arrangement for Meade but one that he accepted. Meade was the nominal commander of the Army of the Potomac at the BATTLES OF THE WILDERNESS, SPOTSYLVANIA, and COLD HARBOR and during the PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN.

Following the war, Meade headed military departments in the East and South and, promoted to major general, was stationed in Philadelphia as commander of the Division of the Atlantic, where he died of pneumonia on November 6, 1872.

See also GETTYSBURG, BATTLE OF.

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—Amy J. Kinsel

## Medal of Honor

A Medal of Honor is an award for valor on the battlefield. Such awards were uncommon in the U.S. military before

the CIVIL WAR and were even frowned upon in some quarters. During the Revolutionary War, a few officers were awarded medals for leadership or received decorations from foreign powers. Late in the war, when morale was flagging, George Washington created the Purple Heart to recognize bravery among his troops, but the commendation was given only three times before 1800. In later wars, officers were sometimes given brevet promotions in recognition of meritorious service or political connections, while enlisted men were occasionally awarded extra pay. Nonetheless, when the Civil War started, there was no standard means by which exemplary military service was recognized.

Shortly after the war began, several congressmen proposed creating a medal for valor in combat, but General in Chief Winfield Scott stopped their efforts because he felt that such a measure was unnecessary. Once Scott retired, however, medal proponents were able to proceed without serious opposition. Iowa senator James W. Grimes, chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, quickly moved a bill through Congress instructing that the Medal of Honor be presented to enlisted personnel in the navy and marines who “most distinguish themselves by their gallantry in action.” ABRAHAM LINCOLN signed the bill into law on December 21, 1861. On July 12, 1862, he signed a similar bill, sponsored by Massachusetts senator Henry Wilson, establishing the Medal of Honor for army enlisted personnel. A later act extended eligibility to army officers, although navy officers had to wait until World War I for inclusion.

The actual medal was designed by a private firm, Philadelphia silversmith William Wilson & Son Company, and struck by the U.S. Mint. The front of the medal was a five-pointed star depicting images of the Union defeating SECESSION. The reverse had space to be engraved with the recipient’s name and unit and date and place of action. A red, white, and blue ribbon was attached to the medal, enabling it to be worn by the recipient.

The first Medals of Honor were awarded by Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON on March 25, 1863, to six surviving members of ANDREWS’S RAID. The first African American to win the medal was Sgt. WILLIAM H. CARNEY of the 54TH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT. Lt. Tom Custer, the brother of Gen. George Armstrong Custer, was the only person to win two Medals of Honor during the Civil War. There was also one female recipient, surgeon MARY EDWARDS WALKER, whose medal was eventually rescinded in 1917 and then restored by President Jimmy Carter in 1976. A total of 1,527 Medals of Honor were awarded during and after the Civil War, five times more than any war since. Of these, 1,195 were presented to army soldiers, 307 were given to navy sailors, and 17 were presented to marines. A handful were also presented to nonmilitary personnel.

There was no corollary to the Medal of Honor in the CONFEDERATE ARMY. For a while, a “Roll of Honor” system was tried, but it failed due to lack of support in the ranks. Medals were ordered struck for the famous Stonewall Brigade, but they were never awarded. The only Confederate soldiers to actually receive decorations were 43 members of the First Texas Heavy Artillery, who were given special “Davis Guard” medals by President JEFFERSON DAVIS in recognition of their defense of the Sabine Pass in Texas in 1863.

After the Civil War, several changes were made to the Medal of Honor. It was redesigned in 1904, and eventually different versions were created for the army, the navy, and the marines, and, in 1956, the air force. The rules for awarding the Medal of Honor were clarified so as to make the award much more selective. In addition, a review board composed of five retired generals was convened in 1916 and instructed to review every Medal of Honor that had been awarded to that date. They eventually revoked 911 of them, mostly those that had been given for lesser acts of bravery not deemed worthy of America’s highest military decoration.

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—Christopher Bates

## medicine and hospitals

Both hospitals and medical processes were rudimentary in the 19th century. Before the CIVIL WAR, hospitals played a small role in American medical care and were generally run not by doctors but by “civic-minded” leading citizens of the community where the hospital was located. The Civil War, which brought great numbers of people together into squalid military camps and brutal combat, only served to accentuate the shortcomings of medical care in the era. The doctors who treated soldiers had received their training almost exclusively from mentors who used the antiquated methods standard in American medicine at the time. While university and college courses of instruction were on the rise, even the most prestigious schools frowned upon clinical and laboratory work.

Adding to the health challenges facing the United States was the fact that medical methodology much more closely resembled medieval practices than anything “modern.” Pharmacology was primitive and employed medicines that, in large doses, created the same symptoms as



the targeted disease. In fact, several outright poisons, such as mercury, were commonly prescribed. Modern antibiotics were unavailable, and sterilization by heat was unknown. The concept of antiseptic surgery was introduced in Europe by Joseph Lister in 1867, but it took 10 to 15 years for its practice to become generally adopted. Training by apprenticeship perpetuated methods of diagnosis and treatment that fixated on bodily fluids, methods that dated back to Aristotle. Doctors observed urine, feces, blood, and pus to determine the nature of the problem. The prevailing medical opinion was that the body sought to cure itself by excreting toxins. Thus, diarrhea, vomiting, bleeding, or secretions resulting from infection were to be encouraged or induced. It is little wonder that the soldiers of the Civil War hid all but the most dreadful maladies from physicians.

As soon as the fighting broke out in earnest in 1861, the inadequacies of the respective medical corps of both

the Union and the Confederacy became quickly and ominously evident. Clement A. Finley, the newly appointed head of the Union's Army Medical Bureau, was widely regarded as grossly incompetent. Health examinations of recruits and volunteers were not a priority, and as soon as the camps formed, the federal officials found that nearly a quarter of their men were unfit to enter battle. Samuel Preston Moore was responsible for building the Confederate Medical Department, but he was hindered by drastic shortages of supplies. Neither the Confederate national government nor the individual states had a method for commissioning physicians.

At the first major clash of the war, the **FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN** in July 1861, most of the doctors on both sides were regimental physicians supplied by the states, and their scant numbers left them no chance of effectively tending to the wounded. Ambulances were nearly nonex-



Civil War patients in the Armory Square Hospital, Washington, D.C. (*Library of Congress*)

istent; additionally, there was no system in place for their use. Horribly injured soldiers mostly had to fend for themselves wherever they happened to fall.

The Union created the UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION in June 1861 with official duties limited to conducting investigations and providing advice. Staffed by dedicated and diligent workers, the commission quickly became vital in improving conditions in the military camps. The commission submitted a scathing report of Clement Finley and his medical bureau in September 1861 and persuaded Congress to fully reorganize the army's medical services. Dr. William A. Hammond, Finley's replacement, established an excellent working relationship with the commission. He assigned Jonathon Letterman as medical director of the Army of the Potomac. Letterman was largely responsible for initiating the structure of the Army Medical Department that existed through World War II. Of immediate importance to the men in the field was the ambulance corps, which, by the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM in September 1862, was providing vital service in the evacuation of the injured to field hospitals. Letterman also authorized the assignment of a medicine wagon to each brigade.

Dr. Samuel Moore worked from within the blockaded Confederacy to build a military medical establishment comparable with that of the Union. He developed domestic pharmaceutical resources, recruited and trained NURSES, established a systematic method for treating casualties, experimented with the manufacture of surgical instruments, and implemented a system for military evacuation and hospitalization. However, due to limited resources, his effectiveness in treating the sick and wounded fell short of his rivals in the North.

Timely treatment of wounded and sick soldiers in camp and in field hospitals was implemented widely by 1862 in many areas. Large hospitals in cities were also built. A prevailing antebellum societal opinion was that hospitals were dangerous and were to be avoided at any cost. Hospitals were considered necessary for free or low-cost care for the poor, and for teaching, research, and war, but not for the treatment of the middle or upper classes. The terrible sights and sounds that one encountered (probably similar to those of a military field hospital) greatly deterred admissions. It was believed that most diseases came from "bad air," so Civil War hospitals were designed for maximum ventilation, emulating the success of military barracks hospitals operated by Florence Nightingale during the Crimean War. Peacetime citizens of the United States considered home medical care to be safer and more comfortable, and doctors obliged.

Both the Union and the Confederacy built large temporary military hospitals that became models of organization and models for "fresh air" ideas. The disparity in the avail-

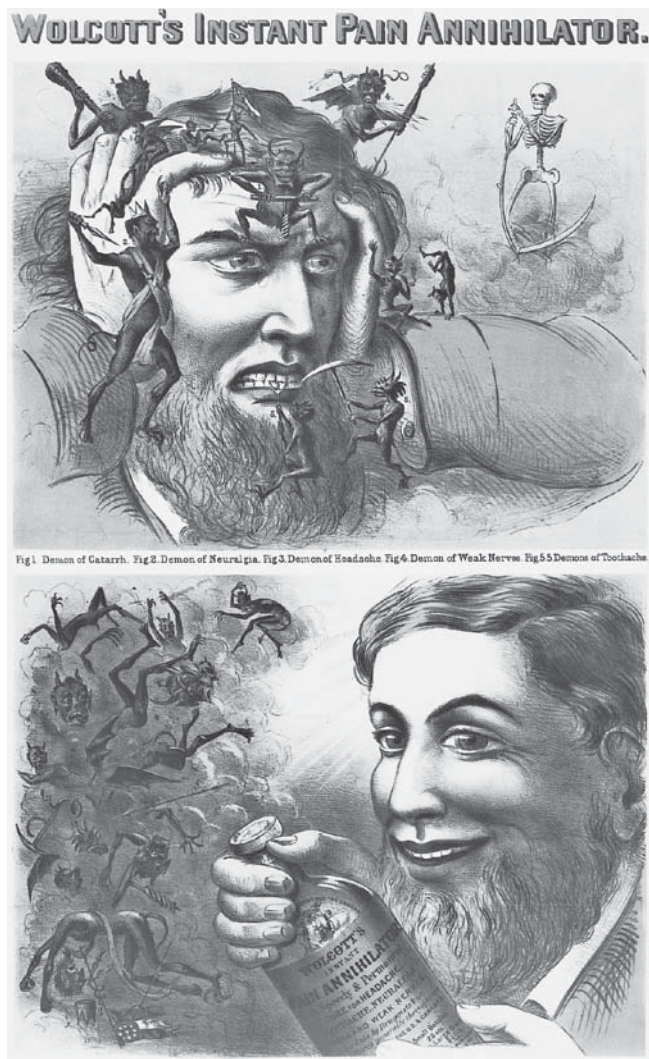
ability of resources to the North and South that marked so much of the Civil War found astounding expression in the number and quality of hospitals. The North had erected 151 hospitals by 1863 and added another 53 by the end of the war with a total capacity of nearly 137,000 beds. The Confederacy had about 150 hospitals, although the number included improvised houses and barns. RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, had the best of the Confederate facilities, including what may have been the largest military hospital ever, the 8,000-bed establishment at Chimborazo Heights. Hospital construction halted with the end of the Civil War, and the lessons learned both North and South in construction and efficiency were not to be applied for nearly two decades. In fact, the United States had only 178 hospitals in 1873, but by 1909, the number grew to 4,359.

While hospitals had promoted some great medical leaps before—for instance, anesthesia—many of those benefits were not available to soldiers in the field. For example, in 1846 William Morton first demonstrated ether as an anesthetic in surgery at Massachusetts General Hospital, but the supplies and equipment necessary to make ether were not something armies generally carried with them into the field. (Even on the HOMEFRONT, anesthesia use was circumscribed. While many physicians used anesthesia for "major" surgeries, most also refused to use it for "minor" operations.)

And while surgery without anesthesia was dreaded, a Civil War soldier's deadliest and most invincible enemy was disease. Union men actually had an almost two and a half times better chance of dying from disease than from combat; for Confederates, the chances were three to one. Contributions to a soldier's breakdown in health were many, including poor diet, bad weather, insects, and unsanitary camps. Diarrhea in its many forms, including dysentery, claimed more lives than battlefield wounds. Other chronic problems included pneumonia, bronchitis, scurvy, and "camp itch." Added to the equation were sporadic outbreaks of measles, smallpox, and malaria. Outbreaks of disease were known, especially in the earlier war years, to slow or halt entire military operations. The fate of Civil War military campaigns often hinged on the general health of the troops. ROBERT E. LEE's first field command in western Virginia experienced incessant, bone-chilling rains, and the resulting sicknesses nearly crippled his army. The putrid swamps of Chickahominy contributed typhus, diarrhea, and scurvy to the list of problems encountered by GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN during his PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN. ULYSSES S. GRANT's siege of Vicksburg was considerably slowed by disease.

Alcohol, in whiskey or brandy form, was the most commonly used "cure-all." Letterman's Union medicine wagons generally tried to contain some form of anesthetic (chloroform, ether, morphine, or opium) as well as alcohol,





Typical of the Civil War era were advertisements for medicines that promised relief from pain. (Library of Congress)

asafetida, calomel, castor oil, digitalis, spirits, turpentine, and assorted acids. And even with anesthetics and drugs, many doctors were educated to believe that pain in treatment was a good thing. The 1862 *Manual of Military Surgery for the Use of Surgeons in the Confederate States Army* argued that “the lusty bawling of the wounded” during surgery was a “powerful stimulant.”

Though the Civil War did not produce any new “wonder drugs,” it gave rise to the pharmaceutical industry that eventually made tremendous contributions to the medical advances of the 20th century. Since the Union relied heavily on imported drugs, readily accessible throughout the war, the majority of the advances were made out of necessity in the South. As the Confederacy began to feel the effects of the Union blockade, it depended on medicines captured in battle

or provided by blockade-runners. Scientist-physicians were dispatched to find naturally occurring substitutes for unobtainable medicines. Francis P. Porcher subsequently discovered that green persimmon juice could be used as styptic, wood turpentine as an antiseptic, and red garden-poppies opium as an anesthetic. Joseph Le Compte used native plants to produce alcohol, silver chloride, sulfuric ether, and nitric ether. Despite the domestic alternatives, war drugs continued to run out. In the later years of the war, Confederate soldiers often endured illness, wounds, and amputations without medication.

Within the scope of the war effort were several medical advancements. Dentistry was singled out for the first time as an allied health profession. Early on, the Confederacy recognized the value of the discipline; it set up special pay for dentists serving in its ranks, gave dentists dispensations from the draft, and commissioned them to work in the medical corps. One such man commissioned was James Baxter Bean, who developed a system for immobilizing fractured jaws by use of inter-dental wiring and splinting.

The first women officers were also commissioned. The Confederacy desperately needed trained NURSES, and many women’s organizations were formed to help establish private hospitals. The Confederacy, desiring a method to ensure the quality of care in its hospitals, passed a law requiring that Confederate soldiers be treated only in hospitals directed by commissioned military officers of at least the rank of captain. Subsequently, Capt. Sally Louisa Tompkins was commissioned in September 1861, enabling her continued direction of her excellent hospital. A sign of the times, her letter of appointment from the secretary of war began, “Sir: You are hereby informed that the President has appointed you Captain in the army of the Confederate States. . . .” On the Union side, MARY EDWARDS WALKER, a physician and winner of the MEDAL OF HONOR, was commissioned in October 1864.

Modern public health was energized as specialized doctors on both sides of the lines were sent out to look for causes of disease outbreak in troops. Joseph Jones, a Confederate surgeon, was the first physician in the United States to use a clinical thermometer and one of the first to employ a microscope for clinical research.

After the Civil War the professionalization of America’s hospitals and medical profession continued. In 1873 three schools for the training of nurses were opened in the Northeast, greatly improving the care available in America’s hospitals. By the 1880s Lister’s antiseptics techniques were in use in U.S. hospitals, but they were quickly replaced by aseptic surgery practices, thus making surgical procedures safer. With these professional developments came a growth in both surgical procedures and hospital stays.

The mid-19th century saw generally slow but steady development in the medical care system in the United

States. Like all wars, the Civil War provided the dreadful conditions under which a generation of medical practitioners found invaluable clinical experience. A few decades later, aided by the work of germ theorists such as Louis Pasteur, they helped transform medical care and surgery in the United States to its modern form, and by the beginning of the 20th century, the U.S. medical EDUCATION system was standardized and professionalized, as was the hospital system.

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—Ruth A. Behling and Richard J. Roder

**Memminger, Christopher G.** (1803–1888) *lawyer, politician*

Christopher Gustavus Memminger served as secretary of the Treasury of the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA. Born in Württemberg, Germany, on January 9, 1803, he was orphaned shortly after his family arrived in Charleston, South Carolina. He was raised in the household of a wealthy lawyer and graduated with honors from South Carolina College at the age of 16.

Memminger commenced a law practice in Charleston, and in 1836 he successfully stood for a seat in the state house of representatives. A moderate Democrat, he wrote forceful treatises against nullification and in favor of STATES' RIGHTS. He was appointed to chair the legislature's Committee on Finance and strove to regulate the state banking industry while also promoting hard currency fiscal practices. Memminger also distinguished himself as an advocate for educational reform, championing the expansion of public schools throughout the state.

By 1861 Memminger had decided that moderation would not help stem what he viewed as a tide of Northern interference. He served as a delegate to the provisional CONFEDERATE CONGRESS in Montgomery, Alabama, and then accepted appointment by JEFFERSON DAVIS as the Confederacy's secretary of the Treasury. Memminger's tenure as Confederate treasurer proved an unhappy one, as the new nation lacked both capital and the means of raising it. He nonetheless pushed for increased bond sales and currency restrictions to curb inflation, but he was perpetually thwarted in Congress by various states' rights factions.

Memminger's efforts to pass a comprehensive tax bill were stymied by those who opposed controlling credit at the national level.

By 1864 Confederate finances were in total chaos, although it is doubtful any other individual could have achieved a better result. Memminger left office in July 1864, roundly criticized by contemporaries. He resumed his legal practice in Charleston after the war ended. He also continued working to make free public EDUCATION available to the state's citizens, regardless of race. Memminger died in Charleston on March 7, 1888.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Memphis, Tennessee, riot** (May 1–2, 1866)

The Memphis riot grew out of the tensions that existed between the Irish-American and African-American workers just after the war. An economically vibrant port city on the Mississippi River, Memphis was also a rowdy, crime-ridden, corrupt place. From 1861 to 1866, Memphis experienced a tremendous rise in its black population, including African-American soldiers. The soldiers were stationed in Fort Pickering, alongside former CONTRABAND camps, which by 1866 were transformed into largely black neighborhoods. The influx of black people meant job competition with the large Irish immigrant population of Memphis, a source of steady and growing resentment for the latter group.

RECONSTRUCTION policy added to the uneasy atmosphere. Federal troops were still in the city. An unrepentant white citizenry despised FREEDMEN'S BUREAU agents and teachers. The prewar Memphis governing class was stripped of its power, and Confederate veterans were denied the vote. The Irish dominated the polls and controlled all city offices, including the mayorship, the board of aldermen, and the police and fire departments. There were frequent clashes between the Irish police and freedmen in south Memphis, where most of the African Americans lived in disease-ridden shanties. Newspapers played an important role in worsening an already bad situation by printing inflammatory and racist denunciations of the newly freed African Americans: "We are to have the black flesh of the Negro crammed down our throats," ran one such editorial.

On April 30, four policemen got into a fight with a group of recently discharged black soldiers. After a night

of drinking, the soldiers roamed the streets shooting their guns, sparking fear and anger among white people. The next day, a collision between two delivery wagons attracted the attention of a large crowd of soldiers and other black men, who surged forth against the police. Soon, the situation spiraled out of control, and what little professional discipline the Memphis police previously exhibited was gone. The mayor was too drunk, and the sheriff too weak, to organize a restraining posse. Mobs of white people, including policemen and firemen, searched out and attacked helpless African Americans. What followed was a tragic race riot in which 46 black people and two white people were killed, five black women raped, and 80 people wounded. Property damage was estimated at \$130,000, and black churches, schools, and homes were looted, destroyed, and burned. Order was restored when federal troops took control of the city.

The Memphis riot had national importance. It demonstrated to the North that the civil authorities in the South would not even minimally protect black freedom. This cast a bad light on President ANDREW JOHNSON's very lenient Reconstruction program and gave power to the RADICAL REPUBLICANS in Congress, who wanted a harsher policy toward the South.

See also NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, RIOT.

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### Milliken's Bend, Battle of (June 6–7, 1863)

The Battle of Milliken's Bend was a Confederate attempt to distract the Union's drive to take Vicksburg, Mississippi. The battle ended as a tactical stalemate: While the Confederates inflicted substantial casualties, they could not stop ULYSSES S. GRANT's siege. The battle's main significance is that African-American troops played an important role in fending off the Confederate assault, demonstrating to leaders on both sides that black soldiers could indeed fight.

The Union siege of Vicksburg began on May 19, 1863. The garrison's commander, John C. Pemberton, quickly pressed the Confederate government for assistance. President JEFFERSON DAVIS agreed with Pemberton's assessment that the situation was dire and ordered trans-Mississippi commander Edmund Kirby Smith to take immediate action. Smith decided to attack Union positions near Milliken's Bend. According to Confederate intelligence reports, Milliken's Bend was being used by the UNION ARMY as a supply depot. Smith believed that the position would be an easy target because it was being guarded by convalescents and African-American troops. He gave Gen. Richard Taylor responsibility for leading

the assault. Taylor split his 4,500 troops into three groups. One brigade was sent to Milliken's Bend under the command of Gen. Henry McCulloch. Another was sent north to Lake Providence, and a third was sent south to Young's Point.

The Confederates got underway on June 6. Colonel Hermann Lieb, commander of Milliken's Bend, sensed that something was afoot and sent the 10th Illinois Cavalry and Ninth Louisiana Infantry to investigate. The men of the Ninth Louisiana were former slaves from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas and had been in the Union army for less than a month. Heavy skirmishing ensued when Lieb's soldiers encountered the Confederates, and the Federals were compelled to retreat. Lieb immediately requested support from Adm. DAVID DIXON PORTER, and two gunboats, the *Choctaw* and the *Lexington*, were dispatched.

Skirmishing continued through the night on June 6, and into the morning of June 7. When the sun rose at 5:30 A.M. the battle began in earnest. For more than an hour, the Confederates were able to push the Federals backward in bloody hand-to-hand combat. Then, at 7:00 A.M., the *Choctaw* and *Lexington* arrived, firing upon the Confederates with grape and canister shot. By 10:00 A.M. the rebels were in full retreat. This ended the Battle of Milliken's Bend, as the other prongs of the Confederate attack at Young's Point and Lake Providence failed to engage the enemy.

Confederate losses at Milliken's Bend were 44 killed, 131 wounded, and 10 missing out of 1,500 engaged. Union losses were much more substantial, 101 killed, 285 wounded, and 266 missing out of 1,061 engaged. The three AFRICAN-AMERICAN REGIMENTS at Milliken's Bend—the Ninth Louisiana, the First Mississippi Infantry, and the 13th Louisiana Infantry—suffered a casualty rate of 35 percent. The Ninth Louisiana was hit particularly hard, and 45 percent of the regiment's members were lost.

The Battle of Milliken's Bend did a great deal to convince commanders on both sides that African-American troops were battle worthy. McCulloch, the Confederate commander, remarked that his troops' attack "was resisted by the negro portion of the enemy's force with considerable obstinacy, while the white or true Yankee position ran like whipped curs almost as soon as the charge was ordered." Ulysses S. Grant also noted his belief that African-American troops had passed an important test. A month and a half later, African-American troops would once again prove themselves, this time at Fort Wagner in South Carolina.

See also 54TH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT; VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

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—Christopher Bates

### miscegenation

*Miscegenation* is a term that was invented in the mid-19th century to describe interracial sexual relations or marriage, usually between a black person and a white person. The practice first became a social and political issue in the early 17th century, two centuries before the CIVIL WAR, when Maryland and Virginia passed laws banning marriages between white people and people of other races. Many other states followed suit, although miscegenation laws were not always enforced.

Generally, those who opposed miscegenation, or race mixing, were most concerned with relations between white women and black men. In part, this was because a person's legal status derived from his or her mother. Thus, the child of a white woman and an enslaved African-American man was born free. Such children, free citizens despite having African blood, were perceived as a threat to the strict racial order of society. Children of enslaved African-American women and white men, on the other hand, were born slaves and thus posed no threat. Another reason that sexual contact between white men and black women was more tolerable was that it was much more common. Many of the men who owned slaves felt that it was perfectly acceptable for them to use slave women as concubines, even though it was almost invariably against the woman's will.

Prior to the 1860s, the term used to describe interracial relationships was *amalgamation*. The term *miscegenation* did not come into use until the election of 1864. David Croly and George Wakeman of the *New York World*, a Democratic newspaper, published a hoax pamphlet designed to convince people that Republicans favored interracial marriage. Their goal was to play on American fears that the Republicans were planning to overturn the racial status quo in the country. The ploy largely didn't work, although the fact that Croly and Wakeman thought it would is indicative of the state of race relations in mid-19th-century America.

After the war miscegenation became largely a Southern issue. In the 1870s most of the states in the North and West with remaining miscegenation laws repealed them, while most Southern states passed new laws with increasingly harsh penalties for interracial marriage. Republicans in Congress objected, and the laws were temporarily repealed before being put back on the books once RECONSTRUCTION was over. These laws were upheld in a series of Supreme Court decisions in the 1880s, notably *Pace v. Alabama* (1883). Meanwhile, many Southerners dispensed

with such legal niceties and simply hanged black men who were accused of sexual relations with a white woman. While the hangings eventually ceased, the attitudes behind them lasted well into the 20th century. When the Supreme Court reversed itself and declared miscegenation laws unconstitutional in *Loving v. Alabama* (1967), 16 Southern states still had such statutes on the books.

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—Christopher Bates

### Mississippi River

One of the distinguishing physical features of the North American continent is the Mississippi River, which neatly divides the eastern third of the landmass from the west. The place-name is a corruption of the Ojibwa Indian word for “Father of Waters,” an apt description, for the waterway drains a region of 1.2 million square miles from across 31 states. From its source at Lake Itasca, Minnesota, the Mississippi flows southward for 2,350 miles before draining into the Gulf of Mexico at New Orleans. In concert with its major tributaries, the Ohio and Missouri Rivers, it constitutes the third-largest river system in the world (after the Nile and the Amazon). This slow-moving, navigable river is a mile wide along most of its length.

In the mid-19th century the Mississippi River was a major commercial artery of the United States, serving as the country's principal north-south conduit for goods and supplies. So critical did the river prove to the midwestern ECONOMY that in 1837 the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers began a lengthy and intricate program to dredge and manage various portions of it. As late as 1852 the army received \$75,000, then an astronomical sum, to improve the five channels forming its mouth at New Orleans, Louisiana. This region constitutes a rich and complex delta system, replete with swampy watercourses known as bayous, and its shifting channels require constant clearing to remain navigable. At its northern end the river's Ohio and Missouri tributaries were invaluable conduits for westbound explorers, fur traders, and settlers. Many trading posts were established along the Mississippi, usually upon high bluffs overlooking the flood-prone waterway, and these gave rise to numerous settlements dotting the North American interior. New U.S. states were created along its banks, commencing with



U.S. gunboat *Fort Hindman*, part of the Mississippi River fleet (Library of Congress)

Louisiana (1812), Mississippi (1817), Missouri (1821), and Arkansas (1836).

Well into the 19th century, farmers in the Midwest were using simple flat-bottomed vessels known as flatboats and keels to transport their goods down the Mississippi River to New Orleans; from there these supplies often traveled on to markets along the East Coast and in Europe. The advent of steam technology allowed travel and commerce to expand upriver as well as down. As early as 1816 Henry Miller Shreve designed a steamboat especially for use in shallow waters. In it he made a record run from New Orleans to Louisville, Kentucky, in only 25 days. By 1840 the upper Midwest was becoming the nation's food belt, producing corn, wheat, and other foodstuffs in vast quantity. At this time roughly half the nation's commercial fleet plied the Mississippi's muddy waters to New Orleans and back. By 1855 paddlewheel steamboats were a conspicuous and celebrated fixture. These large and frequently opulent craft were well known—or infamous—for their casinos and a rakish, gambling clientele.

More significant still were the vast supplies of cotton and slaves delivered at New Orleans from states adjoining the Mississippi, and in short order that bustling city emerged as the nation's second-largest port, after NEW YORK CITY. In 1859–60, no fewer than 2.1 million bales of cotton were shipped down the Mississippi to New Orleans,

a record that was not eclipsed until many years after the CIVIL WAR. By depositing mile upon cubic mile of rich fluvial sediments from upstream, the river made the delta system the richest cotton-bearing region of the entire South. In the antebellum period slaves, PLANTATIONS, and stately riverfront mansions thus became characteristic features of the lower third of the Mississippi River, a region that was one of the most visible pillars of Southern affluence and power.

See also MISSISSIPPI RIVER WAR.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Mississippi River war

The MISSISSIPPI RIVER played a critical and, some historians argue, decisive role in the CIVIL WAR. After a stalemate settled on the eastern theater in the early part of the Civil War, Union forces turned west. In 1862 troops moved toward the Mississippi River in an attempt to control the important water TRANSPORTATION route and the influential port of New Orleans. If Union forces could control the lower Mississippi, they would divide the western from the eastern Confederacy. Control of New Orleans would also block an important Southern supply line while giving the North a direct transportation link into the heart of Confederate territory. In order to make headway in the western theater, Union troops employed a two-pronged plan of attack from the north and from the south.

Union success in the western theater rested largely on cooperation between the army and navy. Before the fall of 1862, the army controlled the operation of navy riverboats. The diverse naval gunboat crews that included volunteer riverboatmen, soldiers, steamboat pilots, and engineers, among others, did not come under complete UNION NAVY control until late 1862. This strange duality of command resulted from the War Department's belief that the inland waterways lay under the army's purview. Fortunately for the Union, the army and navy commanders in the theater worked well together, and their partnership ultimately propelled the Union to victory.

The concerted Union effort to pry the Mississippi River from Confederate hands began in early 1862 at Island No. 10 and nearby New Madrid, Missouri, where Confederate forces had constructed batteries. On March 13, Federal forces under Gen. John Pope and gunboats under the command of Commodore Henry H. Foote appeared before New Madrid, and Gen. John P. McCown hastily abandoned his position. Storming Island No. 10, located in midstream, was, however, a difficult proposition, so Pope ordered soldiers to dig a canal on the opposite bank: Union warships would pass through the canal while Foote's forces continually bombarded the defenders to keep them occupied. During a rainstorm on April 4, the USS *Carondelet* ran past Confederate defenses. It was joined by the USS *Pittsburg* on the night of April 7. The Confederates, outnumbered and now cut off, Gen. William W. Mackall surrendered 3,500 men and all their equipment to Pope. Pope's well-executed victory extended Union control of the Mississippi River as far south as FORT PILLOW, TENNESSEE, only 40 miles north of Memphis.

Meanwhile, a squadron of Federal vessels, both IRON-CLAD and wooden, gathered in the Gulf of Mexico near the mouth of the Mississippi River. Under the command of Flag Officer DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT, the Union forces easily took control of weakly guarded Confederate forts at the Mississippi's entrance. Because the South

expected an attack from the North, their leaders left the southern Mississippi, especially New Orleans, without adequate protection. On April 18, 1862, Farragut's West Gulf Blockading Squadron took up bombardment positions off Forts Jackson and St. Philip and commenced a three-day barrage. Progress was slow, and Farragut, famously impatient, ordered his entire fleet to go past the Southern defenders in the early morning of April 24. The Federal ships and gunboats fought a running battle with several Confederate warships, all of which were sunk or captured, then ventured another 70 miles upstream before anchoring off New Orleans. Farragut went ashore on April 25, and received the city's surrender. Not only had the Union closed the Confederacy's largest port, it had also acquired a suitable base for projecting military and naval power toward the Southern interior. A major Union victory occurred. The fall of this critical financial and transportation hub was a major blow to the South. After securing New Orleans, Farragut continued to move north up the river. En route, he accepted the surrender of two other port cities, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and Natchez, Mississippi.

With Shiloh, Tennessee, also now under Union control, Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT moved to capture the central transportation hub of Corinth, Mississippi. Waterborne diseases such as typhoid and dysentery helped push Confederate troops out of the area and allowed Union forces to gain a hold. Rebel-held Fort Pillow was all that stood in the way of the North controlling the Mississippi River as far south as Memphis, Tennessee. On the river itself a force of Union gunboats under Capt. Charles H. Davis began threatening Confederate forces garrisoning Fort Pillow. In response, Capt. James E. Montgomery of the Confederate River Defense Fleet ordered eight armed steamers to drive them off. On May 10, 1862, the Southerners surprised Davis at Plum Run Bend, Tennessee, and in a wild melee rammed and sank the gunboats *Cincinnati* and *Mound City*. This was a rare tactical triumph for forces if the CONFEDERATE NAVY on the river. Both Union vessels were later raised and returned to service shortly afterward.

After the May 1862 fall of Corinth, Mississippi, Confederates were ordered to abandon Fort Pillow and Memphis. Montgomery's Confederate river force was to remain behind on the Mississippi to protect their withdrawal. On June 6, 1862, Union gunboats under Capt. Davis sailed downriver to capture Memphis but ran headlong into Montgomery's armed steamers and rams. Almost the entire population of the city gathered on nearby bluffs to observe the encounter that morning. In this protracted shooting and ramming contest the Confederates were gradually overwhelmed by the more numerous Union forces and the Confederate vessels were either sunk or captured. That afternoon the victorious Davis landed at Memphis and accepted its surrender from city officials. Federal naval



control now included all reaches of the Upper Mississippi River.

The South held only two influential Mississippi River ports between Union-controlled New Orleans and Memphis. One of the strongholds, Vicksburg, Mississippi (called the “Gibraltar of the Mississippi”), had the benefit of natural protection. Located atop a sheer bluff overlooking the river, direct access to the city was treacherous from water due to well-placed artillery, and the natural inland topography itself—wild terrain to the north and very wet, marshy land to the west—made approach difficult. On June 28, 1862, Farragut led his West Gulf Coats Blockading Squadron from New Orleans up the Mississippi to Vicksburg. There he observed that the city, located on a towering bluff over the river, was too high to be effectively bombarded by the fleet; he concluded that Vicksburg could only be taken by large ground forces. Nonetheless, he remained in place for 67 days and was joined by the river squadron under Davis. On July 15 the Federals were taken aback when the CSS *Arkansas*, a large Confederate ironclad, passed right through their squadron and defiantly anchored off the city.

Gen. Grant had also made an initial ground attempt to capture Vicksburg in late 1862 and early 1863. Joined by the forces led upriver by Farragut, the Union troops had tried to cut a channel to divert the Mississippi. They hoped to leave the city without a water source, but the arrival of an early summer stopped the North’s attempts. Not only did the plan to cut a new channel fail, but the river’s water line surrounding the town lowered to dangerous levels for the boats. Many Northern sailors, essentially trapped on their vessels, fell ill and died of typhoid, dysentery, and malaria. Grant and Farragut temporarily abandoned their plans to take the city on the bluff. Farragut, ill with fever, ordered his ships back to New Orleans. Naval authorities in WASHINGTON, D.C., dissatisfied with Davis’s handling of the *Arkansas*, subsequently replaced him with Farragut’s aggressive foster brother, David D. Porter.

In spring 1863, however, the North tried again. In May 1863 Grant began a drive toward Vicksburg. A combined mass of land troops and sailors moved to an area south of Vicksburg and attacked the city from the rear. This maneuver perhaps best exemplifies the splendid spirit of daring and cooperation that existed between Grant and Porter, army and navy. Northern forces lay siege to the city and wore down local residents over a six-week period. Vicksburg’s soldiers and civilians waited in vain for Confederate military help to arrive. Confederate general JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON’s army was their only hope to save the city; however, he considered his position too weak to take on the powerful UNION ARMY. Outmanned and faced with starvation, Vicksburg commander Gen. John Pemberton surrendered to Grant on July 4, 1863.

The last Confederate stronghold fell just five days later on July 9, 1863. Under the command of Union general Nathaniel P. Banks, troops laid siege to Port Hudson, Louisiana. Starving after managing to subsist on a diet of mules and rats, the outnumbered rebels in the garrison gave up when they heard about the Union victory at Vicksburg. When Banks took Port Hudson, he gained control of the rich agricultural land along Bayou Teche for the North. With the entire length of the Mississippi River under the Union flag, the Federals split the Confederacy into east and west. The division left Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas separated from their allies. Ultimately, Union control of the Mississippi proved to be a decisive turning point in the war.

See also CORINTH, BATTLE OF; NEW ORLEANS, BATTLE OF; VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

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—Samantha Holtkamp Gervase

### Mobile campaign (March 17–April 12, 1865)

The Mobile campaign brought the capital of Alabama under Union control. Although the city would have been an attractive prize early in the war, its capture in April 1865 had little significance because it came after the conflict was effectively over.

Before the CIVIL WAR, Mobile was one of the most prosperous cities in the South. The only major seaport in Alabama, it exported all of the state’s cotton. Among the cities on the Gulf Coast, Mobile was second only to New Orleans in total value of exports. When the Civil War came, Mobile’s cotton trade was largely cut off by the Union’s naval blockade, but the city continued to serve a variety of other important roles. It housed a number of large hospitals, along with training camps for soldiers, and a shipyard used to construct IRONCLADS.

Although Union leaders had an eye on Mobile throughout the war, particularly after the fall of New Orleans and Vicksburg, it took until the summer of 1864 for Northern forces to move against the city. On August 5 a Union naval fleet led by Adm. DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT seized control of Mobile Bay. This brought an end to Confederate shipbuilding in the city and rendered the port unavailable to Southern ships trying to avoid the Union blockade. Farragut hoped that control of Mobile Bay would facilitate the quick capture of the entire city, but eight months of naval bombardment failed to drive the Confederates out of Mobile. Finally, on March 17, 1865, 20 ships and 45,000 men were ordered to undertake an offensive against the city. The Union force vastly outnumbered the 10,000 men and five boats left to guard Mobile under the command of Gen. Dabney Herndon Maury.

The Mobile campaign was a two-pronged offensive. To the south of Mobile, 32,000 troops under Gen. Edward Canby laid siege to the Spanish fort, beginning on March 27. The Confederates there, outnumbered by a margin of eight to one, held on for as long as they could but were compelled to surrender after an infantry assault on April 8. To the north of Mobile, 13,000 troops under Gen. Frederick Steele laid siege to Fort Blakely beginning on April 1. On April 9, Steele's troops were joined by most of the 32,000 men who had captured the Spanish fort, and an infantry assault was undertaken. After only 20 minutes, the Confederates holding Fort Blakely were compelled to surrender. This was the final infantry engagement of the Civil War, as Maury evacuated Mobile three days later.

Union losses for the Mobile campaign were 1,417 men killed, wounded, or missing, while Confederate losses exceeded 4,000 men. The majority of these losses occurred after the Confederate capital of RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, had fallen and the Army of Northern Virginia had surrendered, events that essentially concluded the Civil War. Union general in chief ULYSSES S. GRANT later expressed his regrets that so much blood had been shed unnecessarily, writing:

I had tried for more two years to have an expedition sent against Mobile when its possession by us would have been of great advantage. It finally cost lives to take it when its possession was of no importance, and when, if left alone, it would have within a few days fallen into our hands without any bloodshed whatever.

See also NEW ORLEANS, BATTLE OF; VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

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—Christopher Bates

### **Monitor-Merrimack (Hampton Roads, Virginia)** (March 9, 1862)

The *Monitor* and *Merrimack* fought the first battle between IRONCLAD vessels at Hampton Roads, Virginia, a battle that changed the nature of naval military strategy while inaugurating a new age of naval military technology.

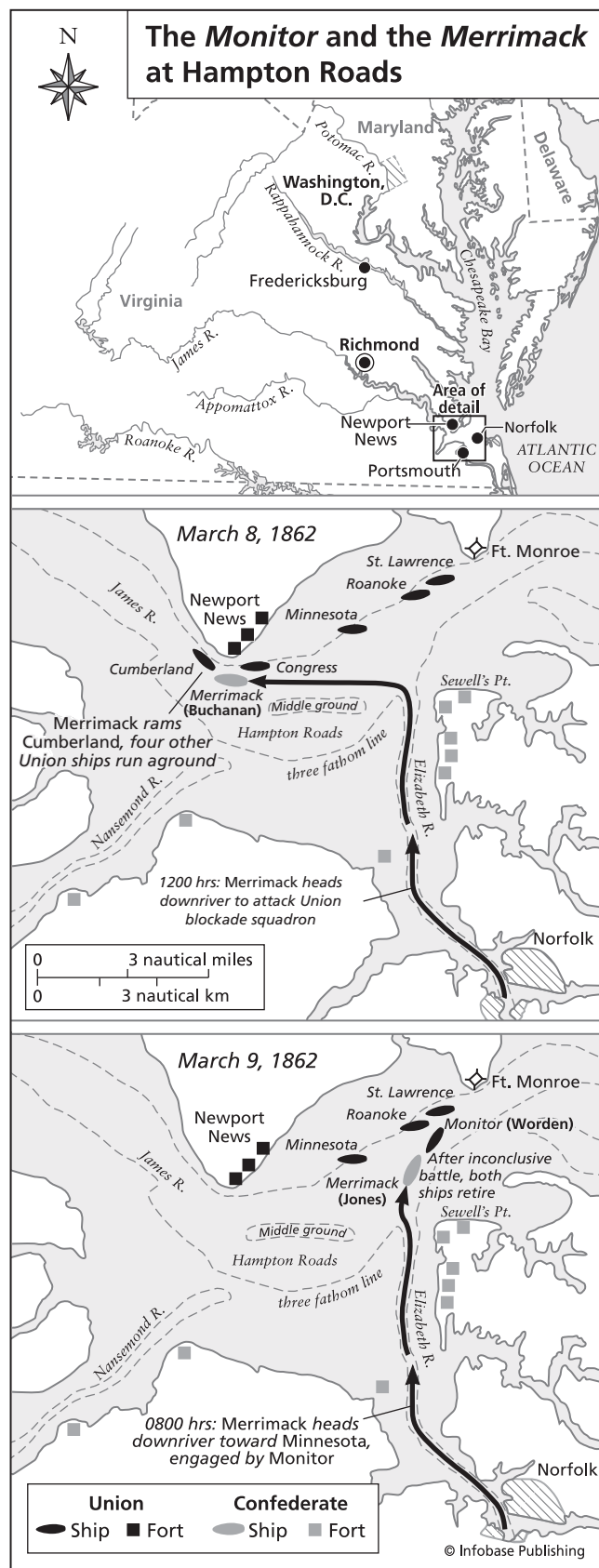
The use of ironclad technology became widespread during the French-British-Russian conflict known as the Crimean War, in which vessels, made largely immobile by the weight of heavy iron plating, had been constructed for shore bombardments. Following the Crimean War (1853–56), improvements to the technology by the British and French navies produced superior models with better seafaring capabilities. Not until the onset of the CIVIL WAR, however, did the emergent technology, developed in two radically different forms by the Union and Confederate navies, encounter full combat testing.

The UNION NAVY had the advantage of greater numbers and an industrial ECONOMY. Seeking to negate these advantages, the CONFEDERATE NAVY, under the leadership of Secretary of the Navy STEPHEN R. MALLORY, turned to the ironclad. Working from plans drawn up by John Brooke, the Confederates began to build their first ironclad using the reclaimed wooden steam frigate *Merrimack* (the common spelling *Merrimac* is an oft-repeated misspelling of the name of the original vessel), which had been abandoned by the North at the Norfolk Navy Yard. The wooden upper hull was covered with iron plating and equipped with 10 heavy guns (including four rifled guns) and, borrowing from presail warships, a ram. Rechristened the CSS *Virginia*, the ship's appearance was described as "the roof of a sunken house with a smokestack protruding from the water."

The Union navy, faced with the threat posed by the ongoing construction of the *Merrimack*, responded with the construction of its own ironclad warship. The Union vessel, developed by Swedish-born marine engineer John Ericsson, featured a dual-hulled design with extensive armor plating. With its deck located at the waterline, limiting the exposed surface area, and a cylindrical turret rising prominently from the ship's center, the USS *Monitor* was said to look like a "cheesebox on a raft." Armed with only two cannons located in its slowly rotating turret, the design of the smaller ship, at 172 feet in length to the *Merrimack*'s 275 feet, emphasized its maneuverability and defensive strengths.

In an effort to break the Union naval blockade and to reestablish strategic lines to RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, Confederate secretary Mallory sent the *Merrimack* to Hampton Roads, a harbor at the mouth of the James River. On March 8, 1862, the *Merrimack*, under the command of Capt. Franklin Buchanan, began an assault on the wooden ships of the Union naval blockade at Hampton





Roads. First attacking the *Cumberland*, the *Merrimack* encountered substantial cannon fire but sustained little damage while firing upon, then ramming and sinking the Union sloop. Turning to the frigate *Congress*, the *Merrimack* unleashed a cannon barrage that forced the Union ship to run aground and surrender, while a third Northern warship, the *Minnesota*, also ran aground. When Union troops on shore fired on the Confederate vessels accepting the surrender of the *Congress*, injuring a number of Confederates including Captain Buchanan, the captain ordered the demolition of the Union frigate. By the time darkness and low tide forced the *Merrimack* back to Norfolk, the Union had lost more than 300 men, including acting captain of the *Congress* Joseph Smith, while those Union ships not already run aground or destroyed were forced to flee the area.

The following morning, the *Merrimack*, now under the command of Lt. Catesby Jones as a result of Buchanan's injury, set out to complete the destruction of the *Minnesota*. However, the *Monitor*, having completed a perilous journey from New York during which the ship nearly sank twice, reached Hampton Roads in time to prevent the destruction of the *Minnesota*. The Union ironclad, commanded by Lt. John Worden, engaged the *Merrimack* in a four-hour battle during which each ship landed a number of direct hits on the opposing vessel at short range with little effect. Though the *Merrimack* ran temporarily aground during the battle, the *Monitor*, with only two guns firing a light powder charge, was unable to take advantage of the vulnerability. Late in the conflict, the *Monitor*'s pilothouse was hit, temporarily blinding Worden and forcing the ship to disengage, once again exposing the *Minnesota*. The *Merrimack*, however, fearing the receding tide and in need of ammunition and minor repairs, returned to the Norfolk Navy Yard, ending the battle.

Despite the prominent role of both warships in naval history as a result of their famous stalemate, neither was to enjoy a long life at sea. The *Merrimack*, forced to flee Norfolk, was unable to navigate safely up the James River and was sunk on purpose on May 10, 1862. The *Monitor*, though nimble by ironclad standards, was barely seaworthy in rough conditions and sank during a storm off Cape Hatteras on December 31, 1862.

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—Adam Barnhart



Battle between the ironclads *Monitor* and *Merrimack* at Hampton Roads, Virginia (Library of Congress)

## monuments

Honoring people, places, or events of enduring importance, monuments have long served to memorialize various aspects of U.S. history. Throughout the United States there are approximately 10,000 CIVIL WAR monuments in national parks, large cities, and small town squares. Monuments for those who fought in the American Civil War are etched in stone, cast in marble, and molded in brass across the country. Monuments provide a continuing history of the Civil War for modern-day Americans. Fraught with political and social meaning, they reveal much about the culture they represent, as well as the culture the United States has developed.

Civil War monuments and memory sites are found in cemeteries, national parks, and buildings. The town of Blakely, Georgia, boasts the “Confederate Flag Pole,” the last pole flying the Confederate flag at the end of the Civil War. Joliet, Illinois, is home to the “Civil War Bench,” which was dedicated to the city’s members of the Grand Army of the Republic. Shiloh, Tennessee, has Shiloh National

Military Park, some 4,000 acres of land that attracts nearly 400,000 visitors per year. Within Shiloh Park are thousands of stone monuments marking the place where various regiments fought. WASHINGTON, D.C.’s Farragut Square provides a scenic backdrop for a statue of Adm. DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT made from the propeller of his flagship the *Hartford*. While Civil War monuments obviously vary widely in type as well as design, they usually contain dates, such as days in battle, as well as lists of casualties, deaths, and those who fought, in addition to the names of the commanding officers and the date the monument was dedicated.

The money for Civil War monuments was raised by public and private sources. Washington, D.C.’s first two Civil War monuments (to Maj. Gen. John A. Rawlins and Lt. Gen. Winfield Scott, both erected in 1874) were paid for entirely by the federal government. Individual states frequently funded monuments like the Tiffany windows in the beautiful chapel at HOLLYWOOD CEMETERY in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. VETERANS groups or women’s

associations often held fund-raising events and donation drives to raise money for statues commemorating war-related activities.

Typically, monuments began to be funded and erected around the 25th anniversary of the Civil War. Commonly, elaborate ceremonies and speeches accompanied the unveiling of a monument. At the 1908 dedication of Washington, D.C.'s monument to Gen. PHILIP H. SHERIDAN, DANIEL E. SICKLES shared with the audience his hope that the statue would "recall to those who come after us the magnitude and glory of the struggle for the preservation of the Union."

The victorious North initially dominated the commemoration of the war, while the South lagged. As time progressed, however, monuments to Confederate soldiers and leaders were designed and placed in many Southern towns and cities. Indeed, at battlefields such as Gettysburg, veterans of the Southern forces were allowed to erect monuments as early as the 1890s. In 1909 the UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY erected a monument to Henry Wirz, commander of ANDERSONVILLE PRISON. The National Park Service at Gettysburg preserves ROBERT E. LEE's headquarters. The R. E. Lee camp of the United Confederate Veterans erected the Alexandria Confederate Memorial (Alexandria, Virginia) to honor their community's Confederate veterans.

America's Civil War monuments memorialize the struggle for the preservation of the Union and the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, but they also honor the Confederacy's war effort. The Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., and the huge General Grant National Memorial (Grant's Tomb) in NEW YORK CITY memorialize two of the Union's heroes. The cliff-sized, bas-relief equestrian figures of JEFFERSON DAVIS, THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON, and Robert E. Lee at Stone Mountain, Georgia, do the same for Confederate heroes. Visitors can see the Confederate soldiers' monument on a stroll through the grounds of the Texas state capitol or pause at Augustus Saint-Gaudens's memorial sculpture of the 54TH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT on Boston Common.

Thus, the United States has preserved memories of the Civil War from both sides of the battle lines. This type of evenhanded commemoration reflects a general belief that both sides fought with equal valor during the war while it ignores the more divisive implications such as slavery and the legacy of racism. The verse by Reverend Randolph McKim, a Civil War veteran, on the Confederate monument in Arlington National Cemetery sums up best the ideology behind most Civil War monuments:

Not for fame or reward  
Not for place or for rank  
Not lured by ambition

Or goaded by necessity  
But in simple  
Obedience to duty  
As they understood it  
These men suffered all  
Sacrificed all  
Dared all  
And died

In addition to the social and cultural implications tied to the meaning of these monuments, there is the question of preservation. From a simple brass statue to a sprawling national park, it is not always easy to determine how, why, and to what end a monument or memorial should be preserved. In addition, the guardians of such monuments—the federal government, and individual states—rely on the funds of taxpayers and are therefore subject to their thoughts and opinions as well. Knowing when to clean a cannon on a particular battlefield may not be such a difficult task, but deciding where to locate a visitors center and how to interpret the monuments and battlefield is much harder.

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—Lee Ashley Smith

**Morgan, John Hunt** (1825–1864) *Confederate soldier* John Hunt Morgan, known for his raids behind Union lines, was born on June 1, 1825, in Huntsville, Alabama, and raised in Lexington, Kentucky. As a young man, Morgan participated in the Mexican-American War and was promoted to first lieutenant in a cavalry regiment. After the war's conclusion he became a businessman in Kentucky. However, Morgan's interests remained in the military, and in 1857 he helped organize the Lexington Rifles, a local militia group. With the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR he quickly joined the Confederate forces and was commissioned captain of a squadron of cavalry. At first it was the squadron's main duty to scout. The following year Morgan's focus shifted to raiding. At the BATTLE OF SHILOH in April 1862, he was promoted to colonel as a result of his courageous actions.

Morgan became famous for his raids throughout Kentucky and Tennessee in 1862. His first engagement began on July 4, 1862, as Union forces moved toward Chatta-



nooga. Their operation was thrown into confusion by Morgan when he led two regiments on an attack and captured a cavalry post. He went on to capture two depots and had several engagements with militia encountered along his path. Morgan then moved from town to town throughout Kentucky, all the while destroying Union supplies. He returned to Tennessee on July 22 after covering more than 1,000 miles, capturing 1,200 prisoners, and losing fewer than 100 men. Morgan's raids did much damage to Northern morale.

Morgan went on to lead many more raids throughout the war. His successes included the capture of numerous Union posts; the destruction of RAILROADS, bridges, and lines of communication; and the capture of many prisoners of war. These raids caused great damage behind Union lines and cost the Union dearly in terms of men and money. After demolishing a strong garrison at Hartsville, Tennessee, Morgan was promoted to brigadier general on December 11, 1862. Though victorious during 1862, he faced failure during the latter half of 1863. While on a raid through southern Indiana and Ohio, Morgan and most of his men were captured by Union cavalry and imprisoned for several months. General Morgan managed to escape and return to the Confederacy, but the Ohio raid was considered a reckless adventure by many Southerners and damaged Morgan's reputation.

Nevertheless, in the spring of 1864 he was placed in command of the Department of Southwestern Virginia. Six months later he received command of the forces stationed at Jonesboro, Georgia. However, when he and his men reached Greenville, Tennessee, he was surprised by the Union army and shot and killed on September 4, 1864.

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—Emily E. Holst

### **Morrill Land-Grant Act (Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges Acts) (1862)**

The Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges Act, better known as the Morrill Land-Grant Act for its sponsor, Vermont congressman Justin Morrill, established the land-grant college system, which widened the reach of higher EDUCATION while supporting agricultural, mechanical, and military education and research.

Morrill first introduced the bill in December 1857. A largely self-educated man, Morrill conceived of the legislation as a means of addressing the declining agricultural productivity of the 1850s. Taking inspiration from the agricultural schools and colleges of western Europe and

observing the development of new technical and vocational colleges in the United States, Morrill proposed the sale of federal lands to fund the creation of colleges in each state. A founding member of the Vermont REPUBLICAN PARTY, Morrill's vision of an expanded role for the federal government in funding education met with strong opposition from legislators from the South and West, including JEFFERSON DAVIS and James Mason, who found the bill to be questionable. Mason called it "an unconstitutional robbing of the Treasury for the purpose of bribing the states." Despite the opposition, the efforts of Morrill and Ohio senator BENJAMIN WADE led to the passage of the bill in both houses. JAMES BUCHANAN, however, at the urging of Louisiana senator John Slidell and other Democrats, vetoed the bill, questioning its necessity and constitutionality.

Reintroducing the bill in December 1861, Morrill strengthened its provisions, allotting each state 30,000 acres of federal land to be sold for each member of its congressional delegation. The language of the bill continued to emphasize the development of technical and agricultural curricula, endowing in each state "at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to AGRICULTURE and mechanic arts." Motivated by the onset of war, the inclusion of military training in the provisions of the bill allowed for the development of the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC), an educational program from which military officers could be drawn. Without the presence of the Southern Democratic delegation to fight the bill, it encountered comparatively little opposition and passed both houses easily, by a 32–7 vote in the Senate and a 90–25 vote in the House. President ABRAHAM LINCOLN signed the bill into law on July 2, 1862.

The parameters of the act allowed for the founding or expansion of a number of prominent American institutions of higher learning, including Ohio State University, Cornell University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Rutgers University, the University of Wisconsin at Madison, and the University of California system. Providing the backbone of the American state college system, the Morrill Act aided in bringing an expanded body of academic programs, including agricultural science, botany, veterinary medicine, and engineering, to a larger proportion of the American population. Offering higher education at a lower cost and employing more liberal admissions standards, the land-grant colleges improved educational access for women, the working class, and marginalized ethnic groups. The formation of Alcorn State University in Mississippi, Hampton University in Virginia, and Claflin University in South Carolina after the CIVIL WAR gave America its first land-grant colleges for African Americans, though funding

from the Morrill act continued, in general, to serve predominantly white institutions during the remainder of the 19th century.

A second Morrill act, passed in 1890 under President Benjamin Harrison, increased and solidified economic support for colleges founded under the 1862 legislation. Denying funding to states “where a distinction of race or color is made in the admission of students,” the act encouraged the development of institutions of higher education for African Americans. In doing so, however, the act allowed for the construction of separate facilities for black and white students, declaring the legitimacy of a “separate but equal” doctrine affirmed six years later in *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

The land-grant college system created by both Morrill acts has continued to have a considerable influence on American education, now including more than 100 institutions that have granted more than 20 million degrees since 1862.

**Further reading:** Ralph D. Christy and Lionel Williamson, *A Century of Service: Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, 1890–1990* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1992); Coy Cross, *Justin Smith Morrill: Father of the Land-Grant Colleges* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999).

—Adam Barnhart

**Morton, Oliver P.** (1823–1877) *lawyer, politician*

Oliver Hazard Perry Morton served as GOVERNOR of Indiana during the CIVIL WAR. Morton was born in Salisbury, Indiana, on August 4, 1823. Following the death of his mother, he was raised by two stern Presbyterian aunts, from whom he developed a tendency toward inflexibility. As a young man, Morton studied law at Miami University, Ohio, and he was admitted to the Indiana state bar in 1846.

Morton enjoyed considerable success as a district attorney, and he developed a taste for politics as a Democrat. In 1854, when the Democrats abandoned the Missouri Compromise in favor of the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT, Morton changed his political affiliation to the People's Party, a precursor of the Indiana state REPUBLICAN PARTY. Two years later he unsuccessfully ran for governor as a Republican, but in 1860 he was elected vice governor to Governor Henry S. Lane. Soon afterward, the state legislature appointed Lane to the U.S. Senate, and Morton succeeded him.

As governor of Indiana, Morton was a highly efficient prowar administrator and a staunch political ally of President ABRAHAM LINCOLN. He strongly supported military action against the Confederacy and raised 150,000 troops, twice the state quota, for the UNION ARMY. He also took direct action against COPPERHEADS and other dissenters. His actions prompted a backlash, however, and in the ELECTIONS of 1863 the Democrats took control of the state

legislature. Undeterred, Morton declined to call the legislature into session. Instead, he ran state affairs using money raised from private sources and loans from WASHINGTON, D.C. In 1864 Indiana voters approved Morton's forceful performance in office, voting him to another term as governor and electing a Republican legislature. He continued facilitating Indiana's significant contributions to the ultimate Northern victory.

Though felled by a stroke in 1865, Morton remained a powerful ally of RADICAL REPUBLICANS during RECONSTRUCTION. Two years later the state legislature appointed him to the U.S. Senate, where he endorsed the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT to establish African-American suffrage. Morton continued in his senatorial capacity until 1877, when he suffered a second stroke. He died at Indianapolis on November 1, 1877.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Mosby, John Singleton** (1833–1916) *lawyer, Confederate soldier*

Confederate colonel John Singleton Mosby was a leader of the Partisan Rangers in northern Virginia from 1863 to 1865. Originally a scout for Maj. Gen. J. E. B. STUART in the First Virginia Cavalry, Mosby successfully lobbied for his own company, which grew from nine men to as many as 1,900 before the war's end, with no less than 400 serving at one time. His guerrilla operations in Virginia were an interminable nuisance to the Union picket posts in the defensive parameters around WASHINGTON, D.C., as well as to UNION ARMY efforts in the Shenandoah Valley. He constantly diverted troops, supplies, and attention away from intended Union campaigns, often capturing forces several times larger than his own.

Born on December 6, 1833, in Powhatan County, Virginia, Mosby was a sickly child, though intelligent and well read. He attended college at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville until he was expelled and imprisoned for shooting a fellow student. While in jail, he studied law, and upon his release he practiced law in Howardsville, Virginia. In 1857 he married Pauline Clarke of Frankfort, Kentucky, and they moved to Bristol, Virginia, a year later. In December 1860 he enrolled in the state militia and became a Confederate cavalryman when Virginia seceded in April 1861.

Mosby quickly became one of Stuart's most trusted scouts, obtaining information that helped pave the way



for Stuart's raid around the Union army during the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN of 1862. Like Stuart, Mosby was flamboyant in dress. Sporting an ostrich plume in his hat, the slight, blond cavalier wore a gray cape with bright red lining. In January 1863, Stuart permitted Mosby and a detail of nine men from the First Virginia Cavalry to begin partisan, or guerrilla, operations in Loudoun County, Virginia. The outfit officially became the 43rd Battalion of Virginia Cavalry in June 1863, and Mosby was promoted to colonel on December 7, 1864. The battalion's operations were based in Loudoun and Fauquier Counties in north-central Virginia, an area that became known as "Mosby's Confederacy."

One of the best-known exploits of Mosby's rangers was the capture of Union Brig. Gen. Edwin H. Stoughton, who was captured while sleeping in a house in Virginia, five miles inside the line of Union defense. Other successful raids include the "Great Wagon Raid" and the "Greenback Raid" in August and October 1864, respectively. The rangers also succeeded in cutting TELEGRAPH wires, halting traffic on the important B&O Railroad, and hampering Union major general PHILIP H. SHERIDAN's supply line during his Shenandoah Valley campaign. Although determined and forceful in command, Mosby and his men never lapsed into the cruel and criminal behavior that characterized other Southern guerrilla units.

Rather than surrender his command, Mosby instead disbanded his battalion on April 21, 1865. After the war he practiced law in Warrenton, Virginia, and outraged fellow Confederate VETERANS when he expressed Republican sympathies and actively supported President ULYSSES S. GRANT's 1872 reelection campaign. Grant admired his former foe and wrote, "Since the close of the war, I have come to know Colonel Mosby personally. . . . He is able and thoroughly honest and truthful."

Under President Rutherford B. Hayes, Mosby served as consul in Hong Kong and helped expose and correct the abuses of his corrupt predecessors in office. He also served in the land office in southern Nebraska and as assistant attorney in the Justice Department. In 1908 he published an impassioned defense of Stuart's actions during the Gettysburg campaign, a topic of hot debate in Confederate circles after the war. Mosby died on May 30, 1916, at the age of 82.

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—Stacey Graham

**Murfreesboro/Stones River, Battle of** (December 31, 1862–January 2, 1863)

The Battle of Murfreesboro (or Stones River, as it is also known) brought a much-needed victory for the North, but one that came at a high price. Following his failed invasion of Kentucky in mid-November 1862, Confederate general BRAXTON BRAGG moved his Army of Tennessee into central Tennessee, where he aimed to reclaim a large portion of that state and, in the words of President JEFFERSON DAVIS, help the Confederacy "recover from the depression produced by the failure in Kentucky." Union forces, under the command of Gen. WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS, countered this move by taking position around Nashville. Not an aggressive fighter, Rosecrans settled into resupplying and resting his Army of the Cumberland.

Rosecrans's inaction quickly ended under pressure from politicians claiming that the Union war effort was moving too slowly. The December disaster at the BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG and Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT's stalled invasion of Mississippi further eroded public confidence. In response, President ABRAHAM LINCOLN and General in Chief HENRY W. HALLECK urged Rosecrans to move on the rebels. On December 26, 1862, he began a general advance on Murfreesboro. A cold rain fell on the Union soldiers as they marched south from Nashville. Sleet, fog, and icy roads continued to plague Rosecrans, but by December 29 and 30 his army began to move in on the rebel troops.

At 6:30 A.M. on December 31, Bragg launched a major attack, sending his left-most divisions forward with instructions to drive back enemy forces while turning to the right. The attack caught the Union troops off guard and overwhelmed them. Within half an hour, two Union divisions had been driven from the field, disorganized and demoralized. However, Bragg's overly complex plan caused severe confusion among his troops. Federal resistance also stiffened as Union soldiers took strong positions among the cedar glades and limestone outcroppings.

The Confederates continued to fight, however, and by noon Union forces had been pushed back into a line almost perpendicular to their original position just in front of the main line of retreat, the Nashville Pike. The line along the Nashville Pike was a strong one on a slight rise in front of largely cleared fields. Confederate attacks were thrown back by rifle and artillery fire, and the Confederate advance ground to a halt in a series of poorly coordinated assaults. After a day of resting and watching Union forces dig in, on January 2, rebel troops launched an attack on the Federals' left flank. The Confederates were beaten back, suffering heavy casualties, especially among the Kentucky units led by Gen. JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE. On January 3 Bragg retreated to a position near Shelbyville and Tullahoma, Tennessee.



Battle of Murfreesboro, December 31, 1862 (Library of Congress)

The battle was costly. Both armies lost nearly one-third of their total forces in killed, wounded, and missing. Of the 41,400 Federal troops, 12,906 were casualties; the Rebels suffered 11,739 losses out of a total of 34,739. Union forces alone had a 31 percent casualty rate, which made Murfreesboro the war's most deadly battle when casualties were looked at in proportion to the number of troops fighting. The forced retreat of the Army of Tennessee brought a glimmer of hope to the North and diminished some of the COPPERHEAD sentiment, but it left Rosecrans's army badly crippled. For the Confederacy, Murfreesboro was terrible news. Bragg, never popular with other commanders, was even less so now. Bragg went so far as to offer to resign, but JEFFERSON DAVIS left him in control, thus setting the stage for continued divisiveness and infighting within the western CONFEDERATE ARMY.

**Further reading:** Peter Cozzens, *No Better Place to Die: The Battle of Stones River* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990); Earl J. Hess, *Banners to the Breeze: The Ken-*

*tucky Campaign, Corinth, and Stones River* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000).

—James Daryl Black

### music

“Without music, we would have no war.” ROBERT E. LEE’s famous remark accurately depicted the important role that music played in the CIVIL WAR. Both armies drew upon a common musical heritage and common musical practices. Field music provided communication, and brass bands created some sense of home while the songs of the camp filled the empty hours and warmed hearts made cold by war. From early in the morning until late at night, music filled the air in both Northern and Southern camps.

All army units had field music: drummers and fifers for the infantry and drummers and buglers for cavalry and artillery. Under the guidance of a drum major, the field musicians learned to play and perform dozens of calls, tunes that regulated a soldier’s day and allowed officers to com-



municate on the field. Drum majors carried heavy responsibility, since drummers were the youngest members of the armies. Johnny Clem of Ohio enlisted when he was only nine years old, and Johnny Walker from Wisconsin was 12 at the beginning of his service. These youngsters became heroes, and composers sentimentalized their exploits in songs like, “For the Dear Old Flag I Die,” “The Drummer Boy of Shiloh,” and “The Little Major” with its pathetic refrain, “can you friend refuse me water, can you when I die so soon?”

The young musicians controlled the movements of the army. Beginning with “The Long Roll” and ending with “Taps after Tattoo,” field music not only signaled meals, visits to the doctor and church, and camp duties but also sent men charging into the enemy or racing away from it. “Taps,” as modern listeners know it, was created as a method of ending confusion during battle. One general told his field musicians to play a melody based on his name, “Dan, Dan, Dan—Butterfield, Butterfield,” before sounding the required call for his men. Played slowly and sweetly, the phrase became the melody most associated with military funerals.

Brass bands played a central part in community life throughout the 1850s. Because of technological advances in the 1840s, brass instruments could be played using a simpler set of fingerings, thus allowing people to learn to play with minimal training. Books of music containing parts for small bands became widely available, and musical organizations sprang up in settlements of all sizes. Local militia units hired town bands to perform during drill weekends, and they recruited the band members to join them as regimental bands following Lincoln’s call for volunteers in 1861. It is estimated that the North paid as many as 10,000 musicians as much as \$15,000,000 during the course of the war. To decrease the cost of supporting the musicians, regimental bands were discharged in July 1862, and only the best units were retained as brigade bands.

Bands varied in size and quality. The 26th North Carolina band, reputed to be the favorite of Gen. Lee, had fewer than 10 players. Post bands, like the MARINE CORPS band, could have as many as three dozen players, but field bands averaged 12 to 18 players. Some, like the band of the 1st Brigade of Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, contained excellent musicians. Others, like that of the 6th Wisconsin Infantry, knew only one song and played that badly. One Northern band practicing near the cook tent was chased away so their music would not “spoil the meat.”

Military band books contained a wide range of music. Musicians played patriotic airs such as “Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean,” “Red, White and Blue,” “Battle Cry of Freedom,” and “The Star Spangled Banner” at recruiting events and for military parades. Hymns and dirges, including “Mother, I’ve Come Home to Die,” were used for

church services and funerals. Waltzes, polkas, schottisches, and other dances helped pass the long hours of inspection and calmed men waiting to go into battle. Most bands had a huge supply of quicksteps—marches employed when moving the army from place to place along long, dusty roads. They also had a good number of arrangements of opera songs—the musical THEATER of the day.

The most prized arrangements were those of pieces written during the Civil War. Most Northern groups had one or more versions of “John Brown’s Body” about the famed abolitionist JOHN BROWN who led the raid on HARPERS FERRY, Virginia, before the war. The song had a simple melody and the words were repetitive, so soldiers sang it endlessly. Following a long day of visiting army camps, the song stayed in the mind of JULIA WARD HOWE. In the middle of the night she awoke and wrote a new set of words for the tune and called it “The Battle Hymn of the Republic.” Very lucky bands played “Hell on the Rappahannock,” a song complete with the thunder of battle provided by drums. The piece was made famous by the 114th Pennsylvania ZOUAVES.

Other popular compositions were by Henry C. Work and George F. Root, who owned and operated publishing houses specializing in sheet music. Root’s company published both “John Brown’s Body” and “The Battle Hymn of the Republic,” and Work composed equally popular tunes including “Marching Through Georgia,” which memorialized the movement of Sherman’s army across the South near the end of the war.

As the soldiers settled in for the night, officers frequently called for their band to come out to perform a serenade, a concert of sentimental and patriotic favorites. When a band was not present, the soldiers did the honors themselves, gathering around campfires to sing songs that reminded them of home. When feeling particularly patriotic, Southerners sang “The Bonny Blue Flag,” a song that listed the names of the secessionist states. Well aware of their precarious supply system, the Confederates marched along to the strains of “Goober Peas,” a jaunty tune honoring the lowly peanut. Northerners countered with the rousing “Battle Cry of Freedom” and “We Are Coming Father Abra’m.”

The music of the Civil War came from a shared heritage. Both sides claimed songs like “America,” and both shared the beautiful hymns of the day, such as “Abide with Me,” “Old Hundredth,” and “Rock of Ages.” The song most closely associated with the Confederacy, “Dixie,” was written by a New Yorker, Daniel Decatur Emmett, and was one of ABRAHAM LINCOLN’s favorite tunes. A minister from Elkhorn, Wisconsin, composed “Lorena,” the favorite love song of Southerners. Men of one side borrowed the songs of the other side. Confederates sang, “Oh, I wish I was in the land of cotton. Old times there are not forgotten,” while Northerners intoned, “A way

down south in the land of traitors, rattlesnakes and alligators.” This shared heritage caused one of the most poignant moments of the war. On one evening at the BATTLE OF MURFREESBORO, a Union band marched down to the river’s edge and struck up a patriotic air. As they completed the tune, a Confederate band struck up a song of their own on the other side of the river. Turn after turn the two bands played through their music books. Finally, the Union band began the song “Home, Sweet Home.” Softly the Confederates chimed in. As the two bands finished, the voices of the armies encamped on either side of the river took up the strain: “Be it ever so humble, there’s no place like home.”

Southerners worked to create music that was uniquely theirs. A new national anthem, “God Save the South,” appeared in the songbooks of many Confederate units but never achieved the popularity of “Dixie.” Writers composed new words for old, familiar songs, like the French anthem “Le Marseillaise.” The old Irish tune “The Wearing of the Green” became “The Wearing of the Grey,” and the German Christmas carol, “O, Tannenbaum” served as the basis for “Maryland, My Maryland.”

“O, Tannenbaum” was not the only holiday song loved by soldiers and used by musicians. “Jingle Bells” had been written shortly before the Civil War and was sung in many winter camps. Since bands had to perform during funerals, they needed a supply of dirges. By changing just a few notes, one band used an old Latin hymn, “O Come, All Ye Faithful,” to send the dead to their final resting place. One well-loved Christmas song had its origins in the Civil War. In 1863 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow composed a poem that was set to music in 1872. “I Heard the Bells on Christmas Day” reflected Longfellow’s agony following the death of his son at Gettysburg in 1863. He began, “I heard the bells on Christmas day / Their old familiar carols play.” Rather than a song of joy, the tune first became despairing but ultimately turned hopeful: “‘There is no peace on earth,’ I said, / ‘For hate is strong and mocks the song / of peace on earth good will to men.’ / Then pealed the bells more loud and deep: / ‘God is not dead nor does he sleep; / The wrong shall fail, the right prevail / With peace on earth

good will to men.’” The men of both sides embraced the ideas of that song.

The music of the Civil War clearly reflected the multi-ethnic nature of the United States. Many popular songs were written in dialect of one sort or another. While some used the speech patterns of slaves to add a touch of authenticity or comedy to their music, others bore witness to the hopes for a better future for African Americans found in songs like “Kingdom Coming.” A few songs, such as the “Marching Song of the First Arkansas,” recorded the entry of African Americans into the armed forces of the country and declared, “We have done with hoeing cotton, we have done with hoeing corn.” Dialect songs also indicate the presence of other groups within the armies. “I Goes to Fight Mitt Sigel” recorded the experiences of one German volunteer who fought “To Save der Yankee Eagle.” The tune was a popular humorous ditty, but band books indicate that ethnicity was treated with equal respect. Songs like “Russian Hymn” were a regular part of the Civil War repertoire.

The sentimental songs of home and of shared suffering brought the two sides together again after the war. “Tenting Tonight on the Old Campground,” with the haunting refrain “many are the hearts looking for the right, to see the dawn of peace,” became a kind of generational anthem. Songs like “Tenting,” which memorialized the Civil War efforts of both the North and South, had companion pieces particular to their region like “I’m a Good Ole Rebel” proclaiming the singer’s stand on postwar politics with the line: “I won’t be reconstructed and I don’t give a damn!”

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—Karen Kehoe

# N



## **Nast, Thomas** (1840–1902) *political cartoonist*

Perhaps the best-known political cartoonist of the 19th century, Thomas Nast was born on September 30, 1840, in Landau, Germany. His family fled the coming revolution in Germany by immigrating to NEW YORK CITY in 1846. Although Nast demonstrated exceptional artistic talent as a very young child, he was never particularly successful academically. As a result, Nast left school and obtained a position as a student of Theodore Kaufman, a German artist working in New York.

Attracted to the new illustrated weeklies, in 1855 Nast was hired as a junior artist for *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. Beginning in 1858, Nast worked for *Leslie's* and other papers, producing illustrations for *Harper's Weekly* and the *New York Illustrated News*. In need of income so that he could marry, Nast accepted a position as a permanent staff illustrator with *Harper's* in 1862. Nast's first wartime assignment for *Harper's* was to draw illustrations of Union encampments. Nast surpassed his journalistic assignment, however, by illustrating not only the physical results of battle but the emotional toll of separation from loved ones and sacrifice for the nation. His illustrations prompted Union soldiers to write hundreds of LETTERS thanking him and elicited an equal number of outraged letters from Southern readers who felt Nast was unfair toward the South.

Some of Nast's most powerful cartoons of the war years were those that supported ABRAHAM LINCOLN's 1864 reelection campaign. Nast used his drawings to suggest that Lincoln's critics, who favored making peace with an undefeated South, were betraying the sacrifices of the Union dead. He also attacked the COPPERHEADS, portraying them as supporters of a country in which the Constitution was irrelevant and the immorality of SLAVERY was acceptable. Several of Nast's drawings were reprinted as campaign pamphlets by Lincoln's supporters. By the end of the war, both Lincoln and ULYSSES S. GRANT expressed their appreciation for Nast's work, which they agreed had been beneficial to both morale and recruitment.

After the war, Nast's reputation soared. His cartoons addressed every political issue of the Gilded Age, from RECONSTRUCTION through the presidential campaign of Theodore Roosevelt. Although his cartooning continued, Nast's relationship with *Harper's Weekly* did not. By 1872, his strained relationship with the influential editor George William Curtis had become so widely publicized that at least one rival cartoonist made it the subject of his own work. Nast left *Harper's* in 1886 and attempted, unsuccessfully, to launch his own magazine.

Nast is best known for several drawings that established two enduring images of American life. His CIVIL WAR-era drawings of a fat, jolly Santa Claus provided a face for the American vision of Santa as a benevolent emissary of consumerism, while his 1870 drawing of a Democratic donkey and 1874 creation of a Republican elephant established the political iconography of America's two major parties. Nast's two most important political goals were the reelection of Grant for a second term and the destruction of the Tammany Hall political machine in New York City. Both goals were met by 1872, when Nast drew a melancholy cartoon suggesting that his career was over because there was nothing left to attack. This proved premature, as Nast went on to address IMMIGRATION, the Catholic Church, the Irish, the presidential campaign of James G. Blaine, and the Progressives.

Nast's work provides an interesting window into the contradictions of Gilded Age politics. On the one hand, he championed Reconstruction, opposed Southern vigilante racism, and vilified the anti-Chinese violence of railroad workers. On the other hand, he drew vicious images of African Americans, Irish immigrants, and Catholics, many of whom he portrayed as only barely human. He was capable of great compassion for suffering but could be petty and bigoted in his approach to the lives of the poor and oppressed. Although he abandoned the REPUBLICAN PARTY briefly over its selection of Blaine as a presidential candidate, for most of his life Nast was a committed supporter of the Republicans and of their presidents. His work



on behalf of Theodore Roosevelt prompted the new president to offer Nast a consulship in Guayaquil, Ecuador, in 1902, which Nast accepted because virtually every investment he had ever made had failed. The consular position offered a guaranteed income that Nast hoped would help his family. Instead of a tranquil sinecure, however, Guayaquil proved deadly: Nast died from yellow fever within six months and was buried in Ecuador.

See also JOURNALISM.

**Further reading:** Morton Keller, *The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Stephen L. Nissenbaum, *The Battle for Christmas* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997); Albert Bigelow Paine, *Thomas Nast: His Period and His Pictures*. (Princeton, N.J.: Pyne Press, 1974).

—Fiona Galvin

## National Labor Union

Founded in Baltimore, Maryland in 1866, the National Labor Union (NLU) was the first nationwide association of trades unions in American history. Following the CIVIL WAR, unions made tremendous gains in terms of numbers and political strength. This upsurge led to the first “congress” of all labor organizations, held in Baltimore in August 1866. The result was the formation of the National Labor Union, which first consisted of 77 delegates representing some 60,000 workers. It established a program that called for all workers to join trade unions to have “an equal voice with the employer,” the granting of public lands to settlers only (as opposed to business interests), the abolition of contract labor, the establishment of cooperative workplaces (as opposed to wage labor), and most importantly the establishment nationwide of the eight-hour day. Within a span of a few short years, the NLU represented 640,000 workers.

William Sylvis, the president of the Iron Molders’ International Union, was elected president of the NLU in 1867 and helped shape it into an influential national organization. Sylvis was a hardworking leader who sought an end to the system of wage labor that was rapidly taking hold in the country. He also advocated increased involvement of people of color and women in the unionization process. Sadly, his early death at age 41 in 1869 left the labor movement bereft of one of its ablest leaders.

Because employers were largely successful in foiling the effort for a national eight-hour day, the NLU began to focus more on political reform and in 1872 formed the National Labor Reform Party. Unfortunately, the nominee Judge David Davis declined to run. The panic of 1873 the following year plunged the United States into a depression, which put unions on the defensive. This

depression sounded the death knell for the NLU, which soon collapsed.

See also COLORED NATIONAL LABOR UNION.

**Further reading:** Melvyn Dubofsky, *Industrialism and the American Worker, 1865–1920* (New York: Crowell, 1996).

—Troy Rondinone

## national military parks

National military parks commemorate CIVIL WAR battlefields and are owned and administered by the federal government. The impetus to establish national military parks was an outgrowth of a larger movement in the late 19th century to preserve large swaths of the American wilderness through governmental action. The first military connection to what ultimately emerged as the National Park Service occurred in 1886: U.S. cavalry units were assigned to patrol the Yellowstone region of Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana, which had been established as the first national park in 1872. As more national parks were established in the late 19th century, additional military personnel were assigned to their maintenance and administration. (This in turn gave rise to the military-style UNIFORMS and hats of today’s National Park Service rangers.) By the 1890s Americans were ready to set aside lingering resentments in order to establish national military parks in honor of Civil War dead, regardless of which uniform they had worn. Before the close of the 19th century the federal government had created two national MONUMENTS; a national historic site; a national memorial; and five national military parks, each of which has a national cemetery.

The first of the national military parks, the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, was established on August 19, 1890, to commemorate the bloodiest engagement of the western theater. It consists of 8,106 acres straddling the border between Georgia and Tennessee. On August 30, 1890, it was followed by the Antietam National Battlefield. The site of the bloodiest single day in American military history, it covers 3,244 acres and attracts 270,000 visitors annually. Next was the Shiloh National Military Park, established on December 27, 1894. Set on 3,963 acres in southwest Tennessee, it marks the first large-scale, bloody encounter of the Civil War. The most famous Civil War site, Gettysburg National Military Park, came fourth. Created February 11, 1895, the 5,733-acre park includes the site where ABRAHAM LINCOLN delivered the GETTYSBURG ADDRESS. It is one of the most popular tourist attractions in the entire nation: Millions of visitors from around the world have trod its celebrated hills and ridges and paid their respects to its fallen. The century’s final addition was Vicksburg National Military Park,

founded February 21, 1899, to commemorate one of the war's most decisive Union engagements. Its 1,625 acres are littered with 1,325 historic monuments, cannon, and a fully restored Union gunboat, and its National Military Cemetery is the final resting ground for more than 17,000 Civil War VETERANS—more than are interred at ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY.

The first five national military parks were originally placed under the control of the War Department, while civilian-oriented sites were administered by the Department of the Interior. The National Park Service itself was created by Congress in 1916, and the numerous national military parks were formally transferred to its jurisdiction on August 10, 1933. Since that period four distinct categories have been adopted for locales designated as historical—national military park, national battlefield, national battlefield park, and national battlefield site—although the National Park Service does not differentiate among them from a preservation or management standpoint. Today there are no fewer than 70 battlefield and military sites associated with the Civil War, greatly expanded from the original five founded toward the end of the 19th century. Carefully groomed and maintained for the benefit of posterity, these parks serve to raise national awareness of the Civil War.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### National Woman Suffrage Association

To secure voting rights and fair treatment for women, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, Susan B. Anthony, and others formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) in 1869.

Women had gathered to secure the vote long before 1869 and the founding of the NWSA, most notably at the 1848 Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York. During that time, women had gained the support of male advocates of temperance and ABOLITION. Nevertheless, after the CIVIL WAR, abolitionists—eager to pass the FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT to the Constitution—excluded a woman's right to vote from consideration. This effectively forced the leaders of the woman suffrage move-

ment to form their own organization, which soon split into two camps.

The National Woman Suffrage Association, headquartered in New York, represented the more radical branch, which rejected the Fifteenth Amendment because it granted voting only to freedmen. Besides working to secure voting rights through a new constitutional amendment, the NWSA fought to correct unfair practices used against women in the workplace and courtrooms. The NWSA sought reforms in divorce laws, child custody, property rights, college admissions, and wages for female workers. The NWSA published a newspaper, *Revolution*, outlining their positions.

Six months after the NWSA's founding, in November 1869, Lucy Stone and other former colleagues of Stanton and Anthony formed the less radical American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). The founders of the AWSA supported the Fifteenth Amendment and concentrated their efforts on securing the vote for women, paying scant attention to other social issues. The division between these two branches of the women's rights movement would hamper feminist advances in law and society for decades.

In 1890, after much negotiation, both organizations merged to become the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Stanton, who had been the first president of the NWSA, served as first president of the new organization.

Although the Civil War did not, in and of itself, delay the achievement of female suffrage or equal rights, the Fifteenth Amendment divided the women's rights movement so drastically that it remained at odds for almost 30 years.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848–1869* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999); Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, ed., *One Woman One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement* (Troutdale, Oreg.: NewSage Press, 1995).

—Vickey Kalambakal

### Native Americans

Despite nearly a century of negative experiences in dealing with U.S. government institutions, Native Americans actively participated in the American CIVIL WAR. More than 20,000 Native Americans fought in the war within the Union and Confederate armies, their reservations were turned into battlefields, and their homes and property were often destroyed. In some nations as many as one in four soldiers died from battle wounds. As soldiers, Native Americans fought in lesser known battles in the trans-Mississippi West as well as in the eastern theater at the BATTLES

OF SECOND BULL RUN, ANTIETAM, and THE WILDERNESS, the PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN, and SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA. As nations, the conflict provided new opportunities to pursue long-standing goals, and it also reinvigorated long-standing political divisions. In the end, however, the Civil War resulted in the further dispossession of lands and the further deterioration of self-rule.

At the Civil War's outset most Native Americans proclaimed their neutrality. Recognizing that the United States was preoccupied with the war, they took the opportunity to chase unwanted Christian missionaries and American agents out of their territories. Others hoped that the war would weaken the ability of the United States to further dispossess them of their lands. As the Civil War continued, at least for many Indians, neutrality became less possible and desirable. Rather than something to avoid, the Civil War became an opportunity to protect their self-interests.

When federal agents abandoned the Indian Territory in 1861, many Native Americans were receptive to Confederate agents and the alliances and offers of protection that they proposed. In summer 1861 the Confederacy had treaties with various Indian nations, including the Five Civilized Tribes (Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, Cherokee, and Seminole), as well as the Caddo, Osage, Quapaw, Seneca, Shawnee, and Wichita. The Confederacy also had alliances with some Indians who lived within the South. The Catawba nation in South Carolina, for example, enthusiastically supported the Confederacy, with nearly all of its eligible men enlisted.

The decision to support the Confederacy did not merely result from an attachment to SLAVERY. Although several Indian nations had sizable slave populations, their alliances with the Confederacy were also based on other needs. The Confederacy promised that it would assume all federal obligations to Native nations, guaranteed Indian self-determination, offered to protect the nations from invasion, allowed Indians to define citizenship for themselves, and asked for Indian representatives in the Confederate Congress. Such terms convinced Native Americans in the desirability of an alliance and the subsequent providing of troops for Confederate defenses. Other issues convinced individual Indians to participate. The CONFEDERATE ARMY offered EMPLOYMENT, often paid a bounty to those who enlisted, and provided an opportunity to prove in war one's manly virtue.

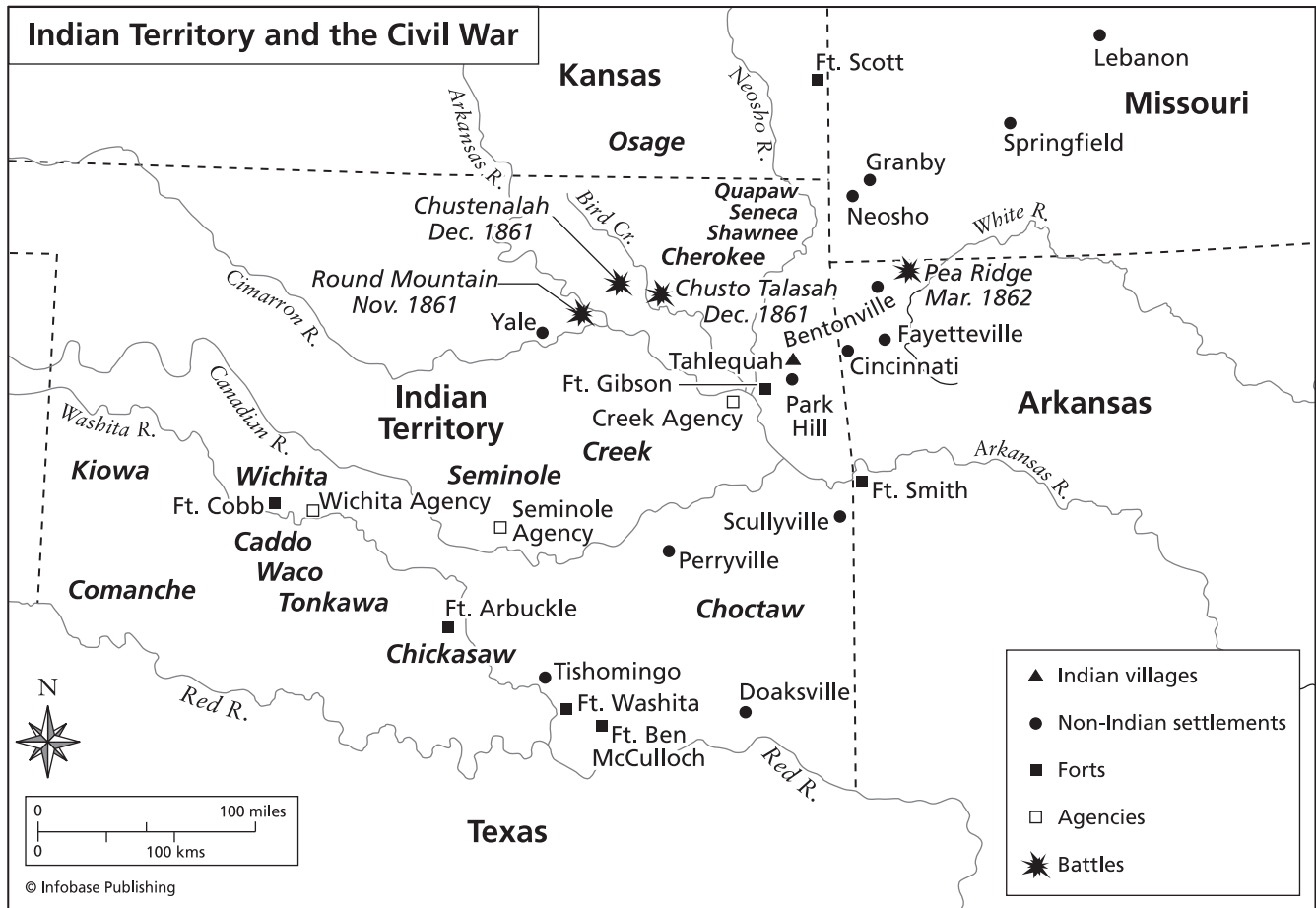
Other Native Americans pursued their self-interests by supporting the United States. By 1862, for example, 170 of the 201 men eligible for service in the Delaware Nation had enlisted in the UNION ARMY. Although the Delaware later signed a treaty of amity with the Confederacy, most Delaware Indians continued to support the Union war effort, especially as scouts. The Ottawa and Ojibwa Indians kept their distance from the war for its first two years. In

1863, however, they began to enlist in the "First Michigan Sharpshooters." Some Indians who remained in the Southeast, especially the Pamunkey in Virginia and the Lumbee in North Carolina, used the Civil War to further resist attempts by Southern states to limit tribal sovereignty. By joining the Union army, they sought to protect their communities and voice their opposition to the racist policies of their Southern neighbors. Throughout the war, Pamunkey men served as pilots on federal boats and Lumbee soldiers served as guerrilla warriors, especially as WILLIAM T. SHERMAN's men marched through the Carolinas. Other Union supporters left their nations and enlisted in the army as individuals. Seneca Indian ELY S. PARKER, for example, became adjutant general in the Union army and assistant to Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT.

The alliances with the Confederacy resulted in the formation of four Native American regiments. The regiments, which originally comprised nearly 5,000 members of the Five Civilized Tribes, fell under the command of Col. Douglas Cooper. Later in the war, soldiers from the other Indian nations joined the regiments, and the number of Confederate Indians in the western theater alone surpassed 10,000. Even as the regiments were formed, however, dissent within the nations continued. Tribal leaders signed treaties but did not have the power to enforce compliance within the nations. As a result, the Confederate Indian regiments focused much of their efforts on the Civil War atmosphere within Native communities, especially within the Cherokee Nation.

By late 1861 the Confederate Indians had forced most supporters of neutrality in the Indian Territory to flee to Kansas. With the supporters of neutrality temporarily out of the way, several regiments of Confederate Indians joined Union troops in a series of battles. Their participation, however, magnified the distrust between Indian and white soldiers in both Confederate and Union camps. In several instances, especially after the BATTLE OF PEA RIDGE, Native troops found themselves accused of scalping and committing other "savage" atrocities.

In June 1862, most of the Native American REFUGEES in Kansas abandoned their stance of neutrality. They formed two Union regiments, invaded the Cherokee Nation, and captured the capital of Tahlequah and Fort Gibson. As a result, the Union gained the allegiance of many former Confederate Cherokee. The Confederate Cherokee forced the Union supporters to withdraw back to Kansas, and the Civil War in the Indian Territory continued. The following year, at the Cowskin Prairie Council, the pro-Union Cherokee denounced the Confederate Cherokee, invalidated their treaty with the Confederacy, abolished slavery, and elected a new chief, Thomas Pegg. That spring, with the support of federal troops, they went back on the offensive. They forced the Confederates out



of the Cherokee Nation and recaptured Fort Gibson and Tahlequah. Later that summer, federal troops destroyed a munitions depot in the Choctaw Nation and then captured Fort Smith, Arkansas.

The final year of the Civil War was its most destructive for Native Americans in the western theater. Union and Confederate sympathizers burned homes, slaughtered and stole livestock, and destroyed other forms of property. Guerrilla-style raids destroyed supply lines, and members of both armies took vengeance on each other.

Although Parker, the Seneca aide to Grant, drafted Confederate general ROBERT E. LEE's surrender on April 9, 1865, the Civil War did not immediately end for Native Americans. Three months later, on July 14, the Chickasaw and Caddo finally surrendered. In the months that followed, the United States punished the Native nations for their alliance with the Confederacy. The Five Civilized Tribes were forced to surrender much of their lands, grant a right-of-way through their territories to American RAILROAD companies, accept U.S. territorial governments within their lands, and, of course, abolish slavery.

After the Civil War, even those Native Americans who supported the Union found themselves punished. In the early years of RECONSTRUCTION, Indian nations of the West were the focus of attention of the U.S. Army. As more settlers moved west to make homestead claims or mining strikes, Native Americans were pushed farther and farther to the fringes of the U.S. territory. American hunters tapped into a new FASHION craze, the buffalo robe, and slaughtered the majority of the herds on the American plains, thus decimating a crucial Native resource. The battles and relocations subsequent to the BATTLE OF LITTLE BIGHORN in 1876 and the Nez Perce War of 1877 set the standard of postwar Indian settler and government relations.

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—Andrew K. Frank



## nativism

The flourishing of American nativism, or anti-immigrant sentiment, accompanied the great wave of Irish and German immigrants to American shores in the 1830s and 1840s. For the first time in the history of the nation, many of these newcomers were not middling- or upper-class Protestants but working-class Roman Catholics. Spawned in large part by the anti-Irish sentiments of English arrivals a generation earlier, nativist feeling in the United States took on a particularly anti-Catholic cast. As the church expanded both in number and in its acquisition of property, and as the new arrivals clustered together in crowded urban enclaves, anxious nativists blamed immigrants for the growing problems of the cities. In some quarters, it was even felt that Catholics posed a threat to America's sovereignty. Some nativists feared a Catholic conspiracy to establish a beachhead in the United States and deliver the country to papal rule.

As early as 1830, nativist publications such as *The Protestant* began to appear. These were followed by the formation of nativist societies, such as the New York Protestant Association. Encouraged by anti-Catholic speeches of famous ABOLITIONIST minister Lyman Beecher and tracts denouncing Catholicism written by Samuel F. B. Morse, nativism grew and occasionally erupted into violence. In the summer of 1834, for example, a nativist mob stormed and burned the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts. By 1835 a nativist political party, the Native American Democratic Association, appeared in NEW YORK CITY. Although internal divisions caused the party to collapse, less than a decade later a more powerful nativist party, the American Party, appeared and permanently altered the existing political system. The American Party was more commonly known as the Know-Nothings Party because of party members' tendency to answer questions about the organization with the phrase, "I know nothing."

Coupled with an economic depression and increased competition for housing and jobs, the Know-Nothings appealed to artisans and merchants who hoped to stop the flow of immigrants. The party offered an alternative to what the public perceived as the Catholic-controlled DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Whigs, too, were seen as being too friendly to immigrants, and the Know-Nothings were particularly successful at converting Whigs to their cause. The primary agenda of the Know-Nothings consisted of diminishing or even eliminating the power of the immigrant voter by extending the naturalization period to 21 years.

The Know-Nothings only fielded a candidate in one presidential election. In 1856 they nominated former president Millard Fillmore to run against JAMES BUCHANAN, the Democratic nominee, and John C. Frémont, nominee of the newly formed REPUBLICAN PARTY. In losing to Buchanan, Fillmore attracted 22 percent of the vote and won eight electoral votes. Ultimately, however, the Know-Nothing agenda proved less compelling than Republican

arguments about the spread of SLAVERY. Shortly after 1856, the Know-Nothing Party disbanded. Although the Know-Nothing movement did not achieve its goal, it did provide the final blow to the faltering WHIG PARTY and furthered the nation's growing sectional division.

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—Rebecca Dresser

## New Orleans, Battle of (April 18–25, 1862)

A great Union victory of the CIVIL WAR occurred with the surrender of New Orleans on April 25, 1862. Control of the MISSISSIPPI RIVER was a major Union objective, and the capture of New Orleans was a crucial part of that control. During the 1850s New Orleans ranked as one of the Confederacy's most important cities. Not only did it lie at the mouth of a major supply and TRANSPORTATION route, it was also a major banking city. When New Orleans fell, the North gained more than just strategic geographic control.

As part of a two-pronged plan to gain control of the Mississippi River, Union Flag Officer DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT led a squadron of IRONCLADS and wooden vessels from the Gulf of Mexico to the mouth of the Mississippi. A veteran of the War of 1812 and the Mexican-American War, the 60-year-old Farragut drew upon extensive military experience. Confederate forces, who wrongly assumed that the attack on New Orleans would come from the area north of the city, inadequately defended the forts guarding the entrance to the Mississippi River.

Union ships, however, did not get through without a fight. Confederate garrisons opened fire with approximately 90 guns; the ships responded with twice as much firepower. Southern gunboats attempted to sink Union naval vessels but succeeded only in sinking the Union's *Varuna*. Confederates also tried to use fire as a weapon. Tugboats pushed flaming rafts toward Union ships and into the path of moving vessels.

In one and a half hours, all but four of the Union vessels managed to get past the one-mile area near the two forts and quickly traveled upriver to New Orleans. Thirty-seven Union men died in the initial battle and another 147 were wounded. Although they suffered fewer human losses, the Confederate garrisons ultimately mutinied and surrendered to Union forces.

As Farragut's men moved into New Orleans, an angry armed mob met them. Other rebel supporters burned bales



of cotton. Despite this, the large guns of the Northern military easily subdued the largely civilian population of the Southern city. Union control was quickly established even though New Orleans' mayor refused to surrender. Federal leaders responded by raising the Union flag over city hall.

On May 1, 1862, Maj. Gen. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER led a fresh army of 15,000 troops to occupy New Orleans for the remainder of the war. The Union thus gained control of the Confederacy's largest and most international city. In coming months, Farragut used New Orleans as a base to launch successful campaigns against Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and Natchez, Mississippi, which further secured Union control of the Mississippi River.

The capture of New Orleans proved easier than maintaining peace. Many New Orleans citizens refused to recognize Butler and the UNION ARMY as their rulers. Upper-class women, in particular, went out of their way to be rude and disrespectful to the Federals. In retaliation, just two weeks after the city surrendered, Butler issued

an order that equated these women with prostitutes. An uproar ensued, and for this and other reasons, the controversial Butler was reassigned. Nevertheless, Union control of New Orleans and large parts of Louisiana benefited the Union cause and made a war hero of Farragut.

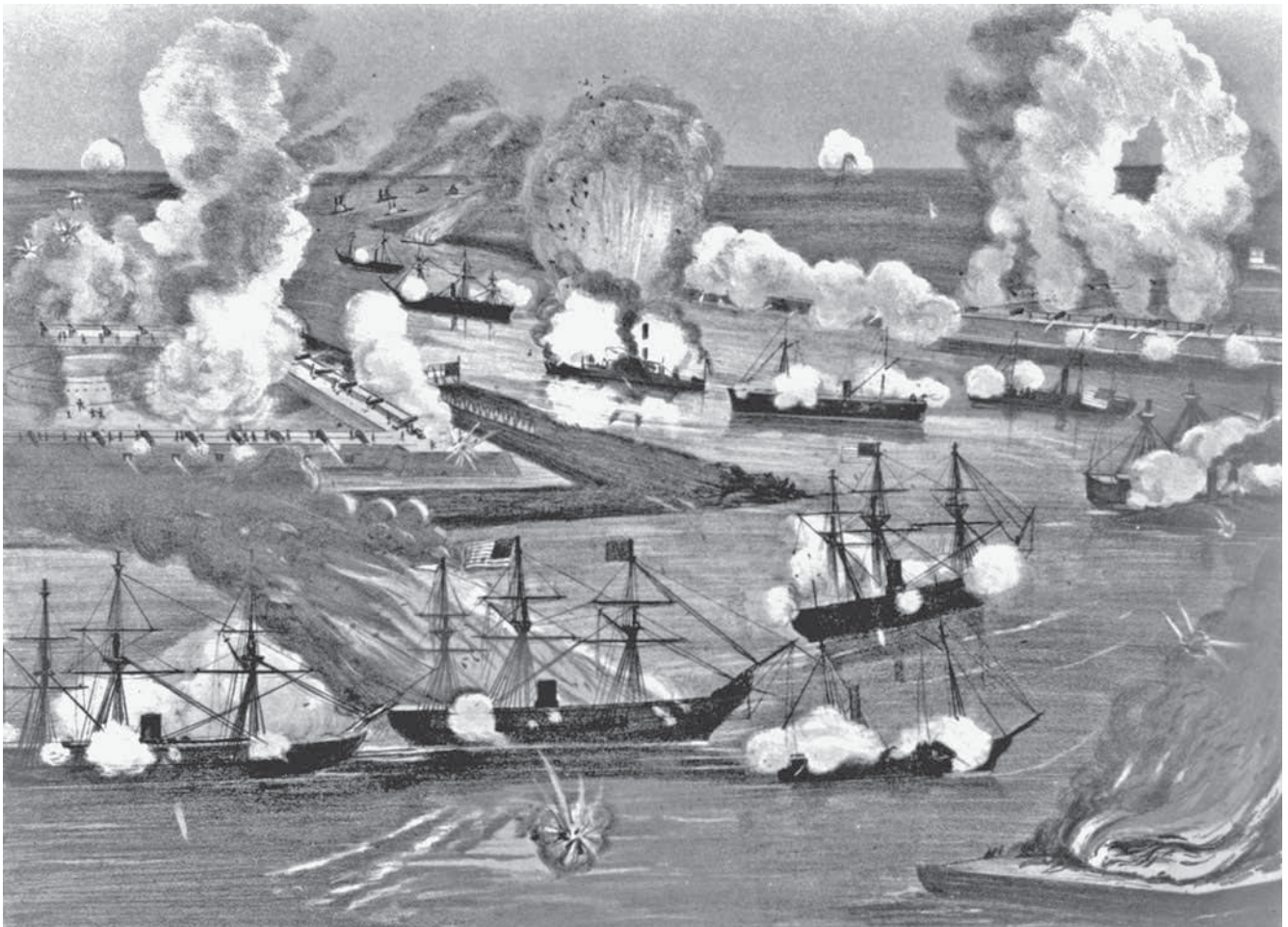
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—Samantha Holtkamp Gervase

### New Orleans, Louisiana, riot (July 30, 1866)

The New Orleans riot in 1866 was one of several postwar civil disturbances that demonstrated to the North that white ex-Confederates were not accepting of Unionism and



Battle of New Orleans, April 18–25, 1862 (Library of Congress)

EMANCIPATION. Immediately after the CIVIL WAR ended, Northerners had turned their sights to governing the South. Angered by the refusal of the Louisiana legislature to grant African-American men the right to vote, and spurred by the enactment of BLACK CODES, RADICAL REPUBLICANS reconvened the Louisiana constitutional convention of 1864. Approximately 200 African-American Civil War VETERANS joined the 25 white delegates who arrived in New Orleans for the convention. This show of support by African Americans upset white former Confederates who felt that Louisiana would fall out of Southern white control and into the hands of freedmen and Northerners.

On July 30, 1866, the ex-Confederates and local residents along with New Orleans police attacked both the white delegates and African-American supporters. Although they raised white flags of surrender, delegates and supporters were shot as they fled the convention proceedings. In all, the fighting injured 100 persons. Rioters also killed 34 African Americans and three Northern white Radical Republicans. Witnesses remembered the riot being as violent as some of the Civil War battles in which they had participated. Although federal troops were called in to mediate the conflict, they arrived too late to help.

The New Orleans riot became an important benchmark for Northerners, illustrating the necessity of a firm RECONSTRUCTION policy. Along with the establishment of Black Codes, the disturbance helped Radical Republicans win a decisive victory in the November 1866 election.

See also MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, RIOTS.

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—Samantha Holtkamp Gervase

## New York City, New York

By the middle decades of the 19th century, New York had become the biggest, wealthiest, and noisiest city in the United States. One observer exclaimed after a visit to the city that it “always kills me—dazzles, dizzies, astonishes, confounds, and overpowers poor little me.” New York City, then as now, was the financial capital of the country.

In 1850, a dozen years after the arrival of the first transatlantic steamer out of Great Britain, New York City was already handling half of U.S. imports and one-third of its exports. Railways developed extensively during the 1850s, so that the city was handling more rail tonnage than PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, and Baltimore, Maryland, combined. The extensive

trafficking of goods created an upsurge in the banking business; 600 of the nation’s 700 commercial banks maintained permanent accounts in New York to facilitate international transactions. Attracted by investment capital, hundreds of brokerage houses opened in New York City in the 1850s, helping to pull the stock market out of a depression.

Other ventures, such as insurance, prospered as well. Seventy-one of the 95 New York City insurance companies existing in 1860 had been established in the previous decade. New York became the fastest growing manufacturing center in the world. In 1855 one of every 15 people employed in U.S. manufacturing worked on Manhattan Island.

Manhattan also became the nation’s information center. As terminus of the first transatlantic TELEGRAPH transmission in 1858, New York City celebrated its position as a link between Old and New Worlds. The city’s telegraph system was used to link police stations, to coordinate train schedules, and to set security prices for the nation via the Stock Exchange. New York’s journalists became particularly dependent on the telegraph. They used it to collect news and other information, and in the process they transformed their newspapers.

The booming city was home to both major national political parties, who headquartered in New York City to have easy access to campaign contributors and organizational talent. Of course, local politics were also important in New York. William Tweed embarked on a fateful political career in 1851. By 1869 he had risen through New York City political channels to effectively control the city and the state. If corruption reigned with Tweed’s “machine,” so did reform movements flourish. Tweed’s downfall in the early 1870s was accomplished with the help of reformers and crusading newspaper reporters.

Great wealth and great poverty dominated New York City’s landscape. The lavish mansions of families like the Astors and the Vanderbilts were built on the most stylish street in America, Fifth Avenue. FASHION was set in New York, where fancy hotels boasted 500 rooms and restaurants hired French waiters. THEATERS flourished between Union and Madison Squares along Broadway. Department stores also graced Broadway Street, and middle- and upper-class women shopped on the so-called Ladies’ Mile in the afternoons.

New York City was the place where the most influential newspapers were published; it was also the center of the book, journal, and magazine publishing industry. By 1860 New York dominated newspaper publishing, producing more than 37 percent of the nation’s publishing revenue with only 2 percent of the population.

Monumental cultural institutions such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the American Museum of Natural History were established in the late 1860s and 1870s to



enlighten and bring pleasure to those so inclined. Beautiful Central Park, the largest open-space park in the country, assumed its modern form just after the CIVIL WAR.

New York's ECONOMY was tightly bound to Southern cotton. The Civil War interrupted this commerce, and in 1861 New York experienced a panic. Democratic mayor Fernando Wood, known as a champion of workingmen, advocated a neutral position for the city. Wood abandoned his suggestion in the wave of patriotic fervor after FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA. In fact, the mayor authorized loans to equip Union recruits and to care for their dependents.

Many of the famed Union ethnic regiments originated in New York City. Later, the city was the site of the NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOTS that broke out in July 1863, the most deadly civil riot in the country's history. Overall, New York City quickly recovered from its loss of revenues from the South. The city's industrial output nearly outpaced that of the entire Confederacy. The exuberance continued after the war as New York City's growth and development exceeded every other city in the United States.

Alongside the power and the glory, however, was the reality of a teeming mass of immigrants whose lives were restricted to hard work and poverty. New York City was the entry to the vast majority of 19th-century immigrants; three of four European immigrants between 1840 and 1860 entered the country through Castle Island in the Port of New York. More than 3 million immigrants arrived in New York City over that period, but only one of every six remained in the metropolitan area. Still, that meant an increase of 750,000 inhabitants.

Out of sight and mind to comfortable New Yorkers, Irish Americans and members of other ethnic groups built the infrastructure—trains, subways, bridges, and skyscrapers—that sustained New York's remarkable economic growth to the end of the 19th century. The Irish settlements with long muddy streets and little wooden shacks offered a stark contrast to the ostentatious display of wealth in affluent neighborhoods. Homeless children lived in slums alongside the beggars, drifters, thieves, and prostitutes of the most notorious and crime-ridden wards (local government units) of New York.

Even for the wealthy, New York City streets had a distinctly unpleasant side, as manure from the endless parade of horse-drawn carriages, streetcars, and delivery wagons was deposited by the ton on the streets, the odor pervasive. Despite its drawbacks, New York City became the magnet for ambitious people from all over the country and, indeed, the world.

See also BANKING AND CURRENCY; CITIES AND URBAN LIFE; IMMIGRATION; RAILROADS.

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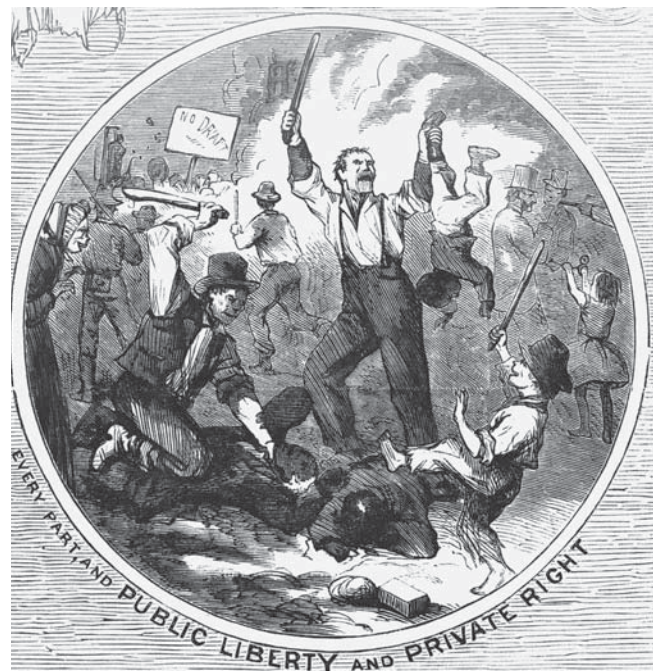
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—Richard J. Roder

### New York City draft riots (July 13–17, 1863)

Between July 13 and July 17, 1863, a massive social disturbance wracked NEW YORK CITY. The draft riots resulted in more than 100 deaths and the destruction of numerous city structures, making this event the most deadly urban revolt in American history up to that time. The riots also revealed social divisions within metropolitan society in the 19th century, as political and racial tensions exploded in a single week of mayhem.

In March 1863 the Republican-controlled government passed the Conscription Act, a piece of legislation that made all men aged 20 to 35 and all unmarried men between 35 and 45 eligible for the draft. By this time, the CIVIL WAR was not going well for the North. Tensions between Northern Democrats and Republicans over the conduct and continuance of the conflict were increasing throughout the Union. The telegraphic press reported horrific stories of gory violence daily. There was a sense of uncertainty over the aims and possible outcome of the Civil War.



Engraving depicting a scene from the New York City draft riots (Library of Congress)

The unpopularity of the conflict was compounded by the Conscription Act. Perhaps the most distressing aspect of the act was a commutation clause that allowed draftees to pay \$300 to avoid service. This was seen by many poor white people as evidence of a common sentiment: This was a rich man's war but a poor man's fight. Many poor Democrats felt that the wealthy Republican elite was intent on carrying out a war while avoiding combat themselves.

A racial dimension exacerbated the tension. The Conscription Act was the latest in a series of Republican actions that were increasingly unpopular among many white Northerners. The EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, carried out several months earlier, was seen as threatening to working-class white people, who feared the competition of Southern black workers migrating into their cities. The Conscription Act itself declared that all "citizens" must register, and in 1863 this excluded African Americans, which contributed to the racist notion that white people were being unfairly sent to fight for a party that catered specifically to African Americans. Most white people at this time considered black people to be inferior to them, and lower-class white people felt threatened by the intrusion and social ascent (slight as it might have been) of African Americans. One distressed Anglo-American noted that "[they] say that [poor white people] are sold for \$300 whilst they pay \$1,000 for negroes."

The pressure created by racial hatred and working-class anxiety exploded in violence in New York City on Monday, July 13, 1863. Four hours before the draft was to begin there, hundreds of workers went on strike as a form of protest, meeting at Central Park for an antidraft rally. This was followed by a mass of people marching in a parade to the draft office carrying "No Draft" placards. Soon, things turned violent.

The first acts of violence were relatively minor. A few telegraph poles were cut down, and a hardware store was broken into and the axes inside stolen. Events quickly escalated, however, as Irish women used crowbars to uproot railroad tracks and small crowds of men attacked police officers. By noon, business had halted and the draft office had been burned to the ground.

The draft riots continued for the next four days, resulting in an unprecedented level of destruction and carnage. Police and firemen were violently attacked as symbols of hated authority. Because of this, they could not do their jobs as buildings burned and other people were assaulted. Rioters also focused their vengeance toward issues unrelated to the draft. Representatives of the Republican elite, symbols of pro-Union patriotism, and the city's population of African Americans were all targets. Pro-Republican and pro-abolitionist newspaper buildings were burned down as well as those used as federal government offices. The homes of noted abolitionists were ransacked, forcing some

to flee to the homes of sympathetic friends outside the city. American flags were even torn down, and some crowds shouted hurrahs for JEFFERSON DAVIS, the president of the Confederacy.

African Americans soon found themselves victims of the mobs. Blacks were harassed and assaulted by violent groups of white people. Any African American caught in the streets by the mob quickly found his or her life in danger. Some African Americans were lynched, their bodies afterward mutilated. A black orphanage was even set aflame. In all, 11 African Americans perished during the riotous week.

The draft riots ended after Union troops, detached from nearby Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, were mobilized to stop the unrest. Once the soldiers arrived in New York, they met with the crowd head-on and occasionally exchanged fire with them. Eventually, some 6,000 soldiers occupied the city. By Friday, July 17, the riots were suppressed and order reigned once again.

In addition to the 11 African Americans killed, two police officers, eight soldiers, and 84 white rioters died during the draft riots. Countless others were wounded. The damage to property was about \$1.5 million. The draft resumed again on August 19, but the New York City Council voted to hire substitutes for all those drafted in order to avoid another riot.

Historians have shown that the draft riots actually consisted of two phases. The first phase lasted from Monday morning through the early afternoon of the same day. This phase was marked by rioters who conceived of the violence as a demonstration of resistance against Republican leaders and what was seen as an unfair law. These rioters felt unjustly targeted by the Conscription Act and more specifically by the Republicans in power.

The second phase started Tuesday morning with the burning of Republican-related buildings. On this day, the most vicious assaults on African Americans began to occur, and the original leaders of the draft protest disappeared from the scene. Some of the people involved in the first day's protests even tried to stop the violence, though with little success. By mid-week the turmoil had reached its peak.

Largely carried out by working-class Americans (though not necessarily the poorest citizens) against those perceived to threaten their interests, the draft riots reveal much about racial, class, and political divisions in the North in the mid-19th century. The attacks on African Americans by large mobs of Irish-Catholic immigrants reflected older tensions resulting from the influx of black laborers into areas of unskilled labor that the marginalized Irish-American population struggled to control. Earlier in the same year, shipping companies had employed black laborers to break a longshoreman's strike of largely Irish workers

in New York, causing uneasiness within the Irish-American community.

The draft riots can also be understood as a means of comprehending the impact of the Civil War on 19th-century urbanites. Different groups of poor immigrants competed for jobs and political power in New York City during this time, and the riots illustrate one of the ways that working people expressed their grievances over conditions that they felt were oppressive. The targets of worker grievances, namely buildings of the Republican-dominated government and local African Americans, were representative of perceived threats to the independence and livelihood of many poor white people.

After the riots, fears of social upheaval remained a constant threat for many years. A book on the subject referred to the “volcano under the city” that could erupt at any time.

See also ABOLITION; CONSCRIPTION; IMMIGRATION; NATIVISM.

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—Troy Rondinone

## nurses

The great medical demands of the CIVIL WAR accelerated the development of the nursing profession in America. While the first official nursing school was not opened until 1872, many on-the-job courses of training were available in medical relief and support during the war.

For the Union, Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell and Louisa Lee Schuyler helped form the Ladies (later “Women’s”) Central Relief Committee shortly after the war began. The committee’s many duties included identifying the army’s nursing needs, creating a bureau for examining and registering nurses, and coordinating medical relief efforts. The committee later participated in the successful petition sent to President Abraham LINCOLN for the UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION. The earliest nurses training program in the country was begun in NEW YORK CITY under the auspices of the Women’s Central Relief Committee. Also, early in the war the Union appointed Dorothea Dix, a mental-health activist, to supervise a federal office. Dix attempted to set qualifications for becoming a nurse (to discourage young glory seekers), but others like New Jersey’s Cornelia Hancock and the famed CLARA BARTON saw the great need for volunteer care and bypassed official channels. Dix’s power was diminished in 1863 when Surgeon General William Hammond authorized male surgeons to make staff assignments for nurses.

In the Confederacy, Juliet Opie Hopkins operated a makeshift hospital in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, from the outset of the war, and the government hired paid female nurses in 1862. Slaves also participated in menial nursing work, often assisting the volunteer white nurses who were their owners. The majority of the nurses (about 60 percent) during the Civil War were men. Injured and ill soldiers were detailed as nurses as soon as they were mobile, serving until they recovered sufficiently to return to their units. However, some civilian men volunteered as nurses, such as poet WALT WHITMAN, who worked in hospitals in WASHINGTON, D.C.

Women who served as nurses had to overcome many obstacles and performed hard work under horrendous conditions. One barrier was the overwhelming societal concern with modesty and virtue; for instance, one potential nurse from Alabama inquired whether “young ladies” would be expected to dress abdominal wounds or witness amputations. Mothers who wished to become nurses had to send their children to relatives, hire housekeepers, or bring their children along out of economic necessity. Many women were pressed into nursing duties in or near their homes at major battle sites. Such was the case for the Northern women of Sharpsburg, Maryland, and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and the Southern women of Vicksburg, Mississippi, Atlanta, Georgia, and countless other places.

Civil War nurses performed a wide range of tasks, many of them custodial. They constantly strove for cleanliness, tending hospital wards, washing ambulances, cleaning wounds, and bathing soldiers. They distributed food and medicine, and sometimes their duties extended to cooking and laundry. Women who were slaves, CONTRABAND, or working class were relegated exclusively to such menial tasks. A runaway from South Carolina, SUSIE KING TAYLOR, who became regimental laundress for the 33rd U.S. Colored Troops, exemplified how roles often expanded; she cleaned weapons, cared for horses and livestock, nursed soldiers with smallpox and typhoid, and taught them to read and write.

Nurses often were expected to help the wounded write home or to read LETTERS aloud when soldiers proved unable. In fact, nurses sometimes acted as unofficial religious counselors at the request of dying soldiers, administering last rites or accepting conversions. Some nurses claimed the role of recruiter, often convincing convalescent soldiers to switch allegiances. Women nurses added a degree of humanitarianism, refusing to give up on dying soldiers when doctors declared their injuries untreatable, standing in the way of amputations when they felt them unnecessary, or just by providing words and deeds of kindness and sympathy.

The typical female nurse in the Civil War was white, middle class, and single or widowed. Women hired as



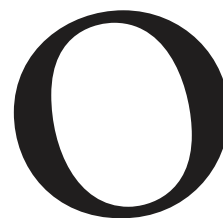
nurses in the North made \$12 per month with a daily ration, and cooks and laundresses made \$6 to \$10 per month. Confederate nurses received better pay, as much as \$40 per month, but they had less buying power due to inflation and shortages. In all, approximately 30,000 women performed nursing work during the Civil War. By the end of the war, many hundreds of women, having served four years or more, could claim to be war VETERANS. The U.S. government in 1892 finally granted a monthly pension to nurses (excluding cooks and laundresses) who could prove at least six months of service. In the postbellum period, some of the women with war experience continued their important nursing roles or entered nursing administration or related medical fields. Many others took their newfound confidence into EDU-

CATION, JOURNALISM, social activism, or governmental work.

See also LADIES AID SOCIETIES; MEDICINE AND HOSPITALS.

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—Richard J. Roder



**Oates, William C.** (1833–1910) *lawyer, politician, Confederate soldier*

Lawyer, Confederate officer, and politician, William Calvin Oates was born on November 30, 1833, in Pikes County, Alabama. His parents, William and Sarah Oates, were poor farmers in the southeastern Alabama frontier. The first of eight children, William had little EDUCATION and was reared in a strict environment that stressed RELIGION and hard work. After a period of youthful rebellion, William settled down in Abbeville in Henry County and worked as a teacher, lawyer, and political activist in the state's DEMOCRATIC PARTY. In 1860 Oates opposed SECESSION, but after FORT SUMTER, he volunteered enthusiastically and raised his own company, the Henry Pioneers.

Captain Oates's company joined the 15th Alabama Volunteer Regiment, which fought with the Army of Northern Virginia in most of the major battles of the eastern theater. Oates, a large, bearded man who took to military life easily, was considered a good officer by his men. By the time he arrived on the Gettysburg battlefield on the afternoon of July 2, 1863, he was the lieutenant colonel of the 15th Alabama, part of Evander Laws's brigade in JOHN BELL HOOD's division and attached to JAMES LONGSTREET's corps. Ordered with his brigade to attack the far left of the Union line at a small hill named Little Round Top, Oates shouted, "Forward, men, to the ledge!" The battle raged back and forth for more than an hour, with the 15th Alabama retreating after the famous bayonet charge of the 20th Maine. Oates fought in several other notable battles and lost his arm to an injury in Petersburg in August 1864.

After the war, Oates returned to Abbeville, determined to rebuild the South. Affectionately called "the one-armed hero of Henry County," Oates established a successful law practice and was elected to the state legislature. He worked hard to reestablish the Democratic Party in Alabama during RECONSTRUCTION. Not a racial progressive, he nevertheless detested the KU KLUX KLAN's methods, preferring

nonviolent means of subverting the African-American vote. In the 1880s and 1890s, Oates served in the U.S. Congress, where he developed a reputation as an excellent legislator, always supportive of Southern interests. In 1894 Oates was elected and served two years as governor of Alabama. He spent the last years of his life giving speeches at VETERANS' reunions and writing his memoirs. William C. Oates died in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1910.

See also GETTYSBURG, BATTLE OF; LOST CAUSE, THE.

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**Olmsted, Frederick Law** (1822–1903) *landscape architect, writer*

Landscape architect and author Frederick Law Olmsted was born April 26, 1822, in Hartford, Connecticut. Olmsted rose to prominence with his designs for New York's Central Park, Boston's Emerald Necklace, and the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. In addition to his landscape work, Olmsted was a journalist and an administrator.

After leaving home and school at the age of 18, Olmsted embarked on a varied career path. During the 1850s, at the urging of *New York Daily Times* editor Henry J. Raymond, Olmsted traveled the southern United States, gathering information and writing essays on SLAVERY and the South. These essays were later published in a series of volumes: *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (1856), *A Journey through Texas* (1857), and *A Journey in the Back Country* (1860). The essays were highly critical of the slave South, and Olmsted made unflattering comparisons with the free-labor system in the North. Olmsted went on to pursue JOURNALISM as a career until 1857, when he was appointed as superintendent of NEW YORK CITY's Central

Park, still in the planning process. While working as superintendent, Olmsted and architect Calvert Vaux submitted a design for Central Park. Their plan, called “Greensward,” was selected as the park’s ultimate plan.

Desiring to contribute to the Union war effort, Olmsted took a leave of absence in 1861 to serve as executive secretary of the UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION (USSC). The commission acted as a citizen advisory and investigative board that supplemented the Army Medical Bureau. Eventually, the commission became a political power, advocating health-care reforms. As part of its services, the commission aided soldiers in various capacities, including providing medical supplies, inspecting and supplying military hospitals, and recruiting NURSES. Olmsted served for two years with the USSC and then moved to California.

In 1865 Olmsted returned to New York and his work with Vaux. As the champion of the “City Beautiful Movement,” Olmsted aimed to create city parks as oases of calm and harmony for people of all classes. Olmsted, both in partnership with Vaux and on his own, designed city parks in Buffalo, New York; Chicago; and Boston. The 1893 World’s Fair in Chicago showed off new industrial forms and included a “dream city” based on his architectural plans. In addition to city parks, Olmsted designed community developments, such as Riverside, Illinois (a Chicago suburb), some individual homes, and parts of Stanford University and the University of California, Berkeley.

Olmsted’s own architectural landscaping philosophies and design ideas left marks not only in the cities in which he built parks but also in those where his followers worked. For example, an Olmsted disciple built San Francisco’s Golden Gate Park. Olmsted changed the way Americans viewed architecture and the urban world. He died on August 28, 1903.

See also CITIES AND URBAN LIFE.

**Further reading:** Charles E. Beveridge, *Frederick Law Olmsted: Designing the American Landscape* (New York: Universe Publications, 1998); Frederick Law Olmsted, *Defending the Union: The Civil War and the U.S. Sanitary Commission, 1861–1863*, ed. Jane Turner Censer (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Witold Rybczynski, *A Clearing in the Distance: Frederick Law Olmsted and America in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Scribner, 1999).

—Samantha Holtkamp Gervase

### Orphan Brigade (1861–1865)

Orphan Brigade is one of several names, including Kentucky Brigade and First Kentucky Brigade, for the Kentucky infantry brigade that served primarily with the Confederate Army of Tennessee. The origin of the name *Orphan Bri-*

*gade* is not certain. By one account, Gen. JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE (a division commander whose command included the Kentucky Brigade) coined the name after a disastrous attack at the BATTLE OF MURFREESBORO in which the brigade’s commander Roger W. Hanson died. Riding among the survivors, he reportedly exclaimed, “My poor orphan brigade! They have cut it to pieces!” Most likely, however, the name emerged during the postwar period, reflecting the VETERANS’ memories of being cut off from home throughout the war. The name was popularized after 1882 by *Southern Bivouac* magazine.

The brigade was created during the summer and fall of 1861 and consisted of pro-Confederate Kentuckians from no less than 32 counties. Prevented by their state’s neutrality to organize within Kentucky, these units gathered in two camps of instruction (Boone and Burnett) near Clarksville in northern Tennessee, where they were formed into four infantry regiments, three artillery batteries, and a squadron of cavalry. For most of its service, the brigade consisted of the Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Ninth Kentucky infantry regiments and Robert Cobb’s battery of artillery. Roughly in this form, the brigade fought at Fort Donelson; Shiloh; the summer 1862 defense of Vicksburg; Murfreesboro; Jackson, Mississippi; Chickamauga; Missionary Ridge; and the ATLANTA CAMPAIGN. Virtually destroyed during the summer 1864 campaign in Georgia, the Kentucky Brigade was reorganized as mounted infantry under Confederate cavalry commander JOSEPH WHEELER and helped resist SHERMAN’S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA. During the last months of the war, the Kentuckians operated in west-central South Carolina and east Georgia. Five hundred men, of an original 4,500, officially surrendered at Washington, Georgia, on May 6–7, 1865.

Following the CIVIL WAR, former members of the brigade made significant contributions to Kentucky public life. A partial list of positions held by brigade veterans includes many state legislators, U.S. district attorneys, superintendents of public instruction, one GOVERNOR, three cabinet members, six militia leaders, two state supreme court justices, four congressmen, a mayor of Louisville, and one nominee for vice president of the United States.

See also CHATTANOOGA, BATTLE OF; CHICKAMAUGA, BATTLE OF; SHILOH, BATTLE OF; VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

**Further reading:** William C. Davis, *The Orphan Brigade: The Kentucky Confederates Who Couldn’t Go Home* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1980); John S. Jackman, *Diary of a Confederate Soldier: John S. Jackman of the Orphan Brigade*, ed. William C. Davis (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990).

—James Daryl Black



### Ostend Manifesto (1854)

The Ostend Manifesto was a statement prepared in 1854 by U.S. ministers to Great Britain, France, and Spain meeting in Ostend, Belgium. The statement recommended that the United States either buy the island of Cuba from Spain or, if Spain refused to sell, take the island by force.

While most of the rest of Latin America had gained its independence in the revolutions of the 1810s and 1820s, Cuba had remained a Spanish colony. The island's value to Spain was in its sugar PLANTATIONS. Worked by 400,000 African-Cuban slaves, the plantations produced one-third of the world's sugar, with considerable profit both for planters and the Spanish government.

Advocates of U.S. expansionism had set their sights on Cuba as early as the 1810s. For these Americans, Spanish control was an affront to the independence movements

that had swept the Western Hemisphere between 1776 and 1830. Some also argued that Cuba, a mere 90 miles from Florida, might at some future date pose a threat to United States security. The greatest enthusiasm for Cuba came from pro-slave Southerners, who saw the island as a stepping stone toward U.S. control of a "golden circle" of SLAVERY extending around the entire Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico. All these views were summed up by a contributor to *De Bow's Review*, who in 1850 declared, "[T]he possession of Cuba is indispensable. . . . Call it the lust of dominion, the relentlessness of democracy, the passion for land and gold, or the desire to render our interior impregnable by commanding the keys of the Gulf—the possession of Cuba is still an American sentiment."

With U.S. victory in the Mexican-American War, expansionists insisted that the United States annex Cuba.



This political cartoon singles out James Buchanan, U.S. minister to Britain, for his role in the Ostend Manifesto controversy. (Library of Congress)

In 1848 President James K. Polk offered Spain \$100 million for the island, earning an angry Spanish rejection. In 1849, 1850, and 1851, FILIBUSTERING expeditions were organized to drive the Spanish from Cuba. Some senators criticized Southern “marauding” from U.S. shores, but Southerners such as Louisiana senator Pierre Soule defended the expeditions.

When President FRANKLIN PIERCE appointed Senator Soule his minister to Spain, Soule immediately set out to negotiate Cuba’s purchase on behalf of the United States. However, Soule’s blusters, threats, and blunt diplomacy angered Spanish government officials. In the wake of Soule’s failure, Pierce’s secretary of state, William Marcy, instructed JAMES BUCHANAN, U.S. minister to Britain, and John Mason, U.S. minister to France, to discuss the matter with Soule. The three met in the Belgian city of Ostend in October 1854 and soon drafted a statement that they then sent home to the United States.

The ministers argued first that U.S. purchase of Cuba would prevent the island from falling into the hands of stronger European powers and more deadly potential enemies than Spain. In addition, they painted a bleak picture of a Cuba torn by slave revolts and creating an “Africanized” republic that would present a challenge to the United States. “We should . . . be unworthy of our gallant forefathers,” they wrote, “should we permit Cuba to . . . become a second St. Domingo [Haiti], with all its attendant horrors to the white race, and suffer the flames to extend to our own neighboring shores, seriously to endanger or actually to consume the fair fabric of our Union.” Outside U.S. control, Cuba represented an “unceasing danger, and a permanent cause of anxiety and alarm.”

Buchanan, Mason, and Soule depicted Cuban white people as desperate for liberation from the “extreme oppression” of Spain’s “corrupt, arbitrary, and unrelenting” colonial government. They also noted that Spain had proven too weak to halt the illegal importation of slaves from Africa. This, they claimed, was a job only the United States could accomplish. In seizing Cuba, the ministers argued, the United States would be advancing the cause of human rights.

Published throughout the United States and Europe, the Ostend message, called a “manifesto” by its detractors, failed to persuade Spain. The Spanish government, far from being intimidated into selling Cuba, opened discussions with potential European allies to defend Cuba against U.S. attack. At home, antislavery activists used the manifesto to justify the creation of the new REPUBLICAN PARTY and defeat Southern efforts to extend its “slaveocracy” into Latin America.

With the Ostend Manifesto shaping up as a disaster for U.S. foreign relations and for the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, Secretary of State William Marcy disavowed the entire statement, blamed Soule for the debacle, and forced his resignation as minister to Spain.

Though the United States made no further effort to acquire Cuba during the 1850s, the Democratic Party supported annexation of Cuba until the eve of the CIVIL WAR. In 1898 the United States went to war against Spain over Cuba. As a result of the Spanish-American War, Cuba won its independence; however, U.S. involvement in Cuban affairs continued well into the 20th century.

**Further reading:** David Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848–1861* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).

—Tom Laichas

### Overland campaign (May–June 1864)

The Overland campaign was part of the wide-ranging Union effort to win the war after the stunning victories of the summer and fall of 1863. When the approximately 120,000-strong Army of the Potomac (versus ROBERT E. LEE’s 65,000-man Army of Northern Virginia) crossed the Rapidan River in Virginia in the first week of May 1864, it carried with it the high hopes of a war-weary Northern people for a quick end to the seemingly endless conflict. A weakened South, low in both materiel and morale, could not possibly withstand the mighty numbers and logistical power of the two major Northern armies gathered in Virginia and Tennessee. They were poised to strike and destroy under the direction of Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT and WILLIAM T. SHERMAN, the victors of Shiloh, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga and heroes of the Union’s western armies.

At least that was the common wisdom in early 1864. Despite the optimism, there was much reason to be suspicious of an easy victory, as President ABRAHAM LINCOLN and General Grant knew all too well. Experience had demonstrated that superior numbers and overwhelming industrial power did not translate into winning the war, at least not without the kind of military leadership that would bring decisive victory on the battlefield. Leadership was particularly deficient in the hard-luck Army of the Potomac, the Union’s principal military unit in the eastern theater, despite its recent (and only) clear-cut victory at Gettysburg under the command of Gen. GEORGE GORDON MEADE. That is why Grant, by this time commander of all Union forces, chose to personally accompany the eastern army and direct its operations, even at the risk of confusing the chain of command. Gen. Lee was a formidable foe, and his soldiers had bested their opponents in many battles fought in 1862 and 1863 on some of the same ground across which the Army of the Potomac was now marching. Grant’s plan for victory was simple and straightforward: Force the Army of Northern Virginia out into the open and defeat them in battle, then “On to Richmond.” With other Union armies also on the attack, the war could be over shortly, if all went well.



All did not go well, however. The movements of the Overland campaign brought with it the dramatic unraveling of the Union strategy against Lee. Grant's attempt to move swiftly through a thick patch of overgrown brush and trees known locally as the Wilderness (May 5–6) was foiled as Lee adeptly blocked his way and forced a battle, which resulted in a tactical victory for the rebel defenders. The two-day BATTLE OF THE WILDERNESS resulted in 18,000 Union and 11,000 Confederate casualties. A shock for Lee came when Grant refused to pack up and go home, as so many Union commanders had done before him.

Grant moved south from the Wilderness and brought his army to Spotsylvania Court House, where Lee's men were waiting behind a line of strong earthworks. The BATTLES OF SPOTSYLVANIA raged back and forth for several days. The Confederates fought off repeated Union assaults behind a defensive position known as the "Mule Shoe." On May 12 the Federals broke through a part of Lee's formation, but the Southerners stood their ground for 22 hours of fighting in what came to be called the "Bloody Angle." On May 18, after many days of constant fighting, Grant turned southeast again, but Lee continued to thwart the UNION ARMY's thrusts toward RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, at North Anna River (May 23–27), Totopotomoy Creek (May 26–30), and Bethesda Church (May 30).

The spring of 1864 was one of Lee's finest moments, when he switched from his favored aggressive style to a more defensive approach, thus prolonging the life of the Confederate nation. Weakened by illness, handicapped by the deaths and injuries of Gens. JAMES LONGSTREET, RICHARD S. EWELL, AMBROSE P. HILL, and J. E. B. STUART, and faced with a much larger opponent, Lee and his army adapted brilliantly. He knew that the Confederacy's best hopes rested on a failure of Northern will to carry on the war, once the high cost of these battles was widely known. Lee hoped Lincoln would lose the presidency and that a Democratic administration favorable to Southern independence would bring the participants to a conference table. The stakes were high, indeed.

Thus, decisions made by both Grant and Lee (and backed fully by their presidents) turned the war into a relentless, exhausting, horrific experience for the soldiers. Cold Harbor, the misnamed tiny crossroads town deep in rural Virginia, is a case study of the new style of warfare. The BATTLE OF COLD HARBOR, the last fight of the Overland campaign, began on the morning of June 3, with 59,000 well-entrenched Confederates facing 109,000 Fed-

erals across a seven-mile front. The assault was a disaster, and before the end of the day, Grant stopped the fighting. The details of the carnage retain their power to shock and sadden. Grant's massive frontal assault on entrenched Confederate lines failed miserably. That terrible day saw some 7,000 Union casualties compared with less than 1,500 for the rebels, shattered three Union corps, and lent truth to the anguished memories of a Southern soldier who wrote, "It was not war, it was murder."

Grant and Lee's movements across the countryside of Virginia came to an end when Grant ordered the Army of the Potomac to cross the James River and head for Petersburg, the vital rail center of the Confederacy. There, he would stay for 10 months before the fall of Richmond.

The costs of the Overland campaign were huge. For 40 days, Grant had waged a war of attrition in a series of battles that resulted in 60,000 Union losses against approximately 35,000 Confederate. Both sides, however, were determined to prevail and, even in those dark months, found the will to continue fighting. Undeniably, the costs of the war escalated dramatically in 1864, and, undeniably, Ulysses S. Grant, called "the butcher" after Cold Harbor, played a large role in that escalation, as did Robert E. Lee. But the bigger picture must be kept in mind, and that bigger picture is neatly summed up by Gen. Horace Porter, of Grant's staff, who described his superiors' attitude after June 3: "General Grant, with his usual habit of mind, bent all his energies toward consummation of his plans for the future." The Overland campaign, though wasteful and bloody, brought Lee's army to a state of immobility, backed up against Petersburg and Richmond. In the end, Grant's plans, fully endorsed by Lincoln, were consummated, as the armies he commanded successfully defeated the Confederates, restored the Union, and brought (although imperfectly realized) freedom to 4 million slaves.

See also CHATTANOOGA, BATTLE OF; PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN; SHILOH, BATTLE OF; VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

**Further reading:** Gordon C. Rhea, *The Battle of the Wilderness: May 5–6, 1864* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994); Gordon C. Rhea, *The Battles for Spotsylvania Courthouse and the Road to Yellow Tavern, May 7–12, 1864* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997); David J. Eicher, *The Longest Night: A Military History of the Civil War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001).



**Pacific Railroad Act** (July 1, 1862)

By the 1840s the United States had grown to be a bicoastal nation. Cheap land and gold fever had sparked a westward exodus of Americans that would continue through the end of the century. When traveling by horse or horse-drawn wagons, the trip was long and arduous, with harsh terrain, a punishing climate, and sometimes hostile NATIVE AMERICAN tribes. A better mode of TRANSPORTATION was needed, not only to facilitate migration but also to speed the exchange of manufactured goods and the movement of soldiers and military equipment.

The obvious solution to most Americans was a railroad that would connect the West to the East. RAILROADS had come to the United States in the early part of the 19th century, and by the late 1840s new track was being laid at a brisk pace in the eastern part of the country. On December 9, 1852, the Pacific Railroad of Missouri (or P.R.R.M) made its first trip, in the process becoming the first railroad to travel west of the MISSISSIPPI RIVER. At that point, many Americans sensed that the construction of a transcontinental railroad was imminent.

It was not to be, however. As early as 1832, Congress had begun considering the possibility of building a transcontinental railroad, and invariably plans were stalled by political bickering. Some congressmen were skeptical that a transcontinental railroad could even be built. Included among the naysayers was powerful Senator Daniel Webster, usually a firm advocate of internal improvements. There was also little agreement about how such a project would be paid for—with government money, private capital, or a combination of both. The primary issue of contention, however, was the route that the proposed railroad would follow. Southern leaders and congressmen, led by JEFFERSON DAVIS, argued that the railroad should travel through the South. Northern leaders and congressmen, led by STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, argued that the railroad should travel through the North. Congress appropriated \$150,000 for a survey of four possible routes with hopes of resolving

the problem, but the results of the survey indicated major problems with each of the possible routes, and so the stalemate remained.

The turmoil surrounding the plans for a transcontinental railroad would not be resolved for nearly a decade. Two key developments finally allowed Congress to agree on a plan for action. First, the Southern states left the Union. Second, two independent engineers named Theodore Judah and Grenville Dodge presented complete surveys of a Northern route for the railroad that was not nearly as problematic as other routes that had been considered. With a viable route all mapped out, and no substantial opposition, Congress passed the Pacific Railroad Act, signed into law by President ABRAHAM LINCOLN on July 1, 1862. The act granted two charters, one to Grenville Dodge's employers, who would take the name Union Pacific, and one to Theodore Judah's employers, who would be known as the Central Pacific. The roads' charters granted 10 miles of land for each mile of track laid, plus loans of \$16,000 a mile for rail laid on plains, \$32,000 a mile for land in the Great Basin, and \$48,000 a mile for land in the mountains. The two roads were supposed to meet, though the location where they would do so was not specified.

Although everything was in place for work on the transcontinental railroad to begin, little progress was made over the course of the next four years, because the CIVIL WAR tied up most of the nation's available capital and manpower. In 1866, however, construction began in earnest. The Central Pacific, utilizing mostly Chinese labor, built eastward from Sacramento, California. The Union Pacific, utilizing mostly VETERANS and German and Irish immigrant labor, started in Omaha, Nebraska, and built westward. Constructing the railroad was difficult, dangerous work. In particular, laying tracks through the Rocky Mountains required dynamiting and removing countless tons of rock, all at the expense of dozens of workers' lives.

After three years, the railroads were nearly complete, and the government decreed that they should meet at Promontory Point, Utah. On May 8, 1869, representatives of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific laid the last rails and hammered in the final spikes. The railroad was complete. Americans took pride in the accomplishment, many believing that the country had fulfilled its “Manifest Destiny” to conquer the North American continent. The Pacific Railroad Act also set a precedent for cooperation between government and private business. Over the course of the next three decades, the federal government would grant 116 million acres in land and would advance \$64 million in loans to western railroads. With so much assistance from the government, trans-Mississippi railroad mileage grew from the five miles built in 1852 by the P.R.R.M. to 72,000 miles in 1890. By 1893 there were five different railroads stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

**Further reading:** David Haward Bain, *Empire Express: Building the First Transcontinental Railroad* (New York: Viking, 1999); Dee Alexander Brown, *Hear That Lonesome Whistle Blow: The Epic Story of the Transcontinental Railroads* (New York: Owl Books, 2001); Alexander P. Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (1975; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

—Christopher Bates

### **panic of 1857**

During the Kansas controversy of 1857, as the dispute over SLAVERY grew more tense, a financial crisis struck the United States. Many northern businessmen and workers blamed the economic slide on the Tariff Act of 1857, in which a Southern and Democratic controlled Congress had lowered duties on imported goods to their lowest rates in nearly 50 years. Before the panic struck in 1857, the United States had enjoyed more than a decade of general economic growth and prosperity. RAILROADS, textiles, AGRICULTURE, and manufacturing all flourished during these years. The number of banks in the country doubled within only a few years in the 1850s, and the prices of stocks and bonds also rose. Some of this expansion was a result of the Crimean War (1854–56), during which western European nations lost access to Russian agricultural products and turned to the United States to make up the difference.

As was the case with previous economic crises, the problems in 1857 were partially international in their origins. Much of America's economic growth was fueled by investment from Europe, especially Britain. The price of American stocks and bonds in 1856 and 1857 began to decline as European nations began to sell off their interests

in the United States to pay for their involvement in the Crimean War and other international ventures.

As a result, American banks lost part of their assets, and some enterprises, especially in textiles, suspended operations. The economic good times of the previous decade had encouraged much speculation and borrowing, and much of the growth was fueled by paper money. A run on banks by nervous depositors resulted in the banks calling in loans to pay off their customers with specie. Before long a general panic began to sweep the nation, sped along by a relatively new communications system, the TELEGRAPH, which quickly relayed the increasingly grim financial news around the country.

As with previous panics in 1819 and 1837, the panic of 1857 saw factory shutdowns, business failures, a steep decline in prices, and a rapid increase in unemployment. In 1857 many railroads, an increasingly important part of the national ECONOMY, went out of business. In several cities there were demonstrations and marches by the unemployed, and one crowd in New York City menaced a federal customhouse on Wall Street that had \$20 million in its vaults. Fears of widespread unrest and disorder were unfounded, however. The panic was relatively short-lived and not as severe as it might have been. One thing that did result was a religious revival in which many people, especially in the North, gathered at prayer meetings to reflect on the immorality of extravagant living, believed by some to have contributed to the crisis.

Coming as it did during a tense moment in the growing sectional crisis over slavery, the panic of 1857 had political implications as well. The new REPUBLICAN PARTY blamed the national's financial troubles on the Democrats, especially the Southerners who had been most responsible for lowering the TARIFFS. The Republicans pledged to work for higher tariff rates, which most Northern manufacturers and workers supported. They also bid for the support of farmers by proposing a HOMESTEAD ACT by which the federal government would give 160 acres of land free of charge to people who would settle on it. These appeals helped the Republicans in the ELECTIONS of 1858 as the nation moved closer to CIVIL WAR.

—Jason Duncan

**Parker, Ely Samuel** (1828–1895) *Seneca chief, Union soldier, commissioner of Bureau of Indian Affairs*

Seneca Indian chief, adjutant general in the U.S. Army, and commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Ely Samuel Parker was born in 1828 just outside the Tonawanda Reservation in New York. Parker attended a Baptist mission school as a child and later the Yates Cayuga Academies. Parker studied law, but his lack of citizenship (due to his NATIVE AMERICAN heritage) prohibited him from being admitted to the New York bar.

In 1846 Parker lobbied in WASHINGTON, D.C., as a representative of the Tonawanda Reservation and in 1851 became a sachem of the Iroquois (Six Nations) Confederacy. Six years later he negotiated a treaty that enabled the Tonawanda Seneca to purchase two-thirds of their reservation land back from the United States.

When the CIVIL WAR began, Parker proposed raising a New York regiment of Iroquois soldiers and offered his engineering services to the UNION ARMY. Both offers were refused. In 1863 he obtained an appointment as a captain in the UNION ARMY and soon served with Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT at the Battle of Vicksburg. Parker later served as Grant's aide-de-camp during the 1864–65 campaign against the Army of Northern Virginia. On April 7, 1865, Parker was present at the surrender at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA.

After the war, Parker helped negotiate treaties with several Indian tribes, and in 1869 Grant appointed him commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He was the first Native American to hold that office. Parker shaped the Grant administration's controversial "Peace Plan," which abolished the treaty system and advocated the assimilation and Christianization of Native peoples. In 1871 Parker resigned that commission after being accused of fraud by the U.S. Senate. He was later exonerated.

Parker moved to Fairfield, Connecticut, where he struggled as a businessman and investor. His fortune lost and political connections no longer in power, Parker finally took a position as a clerk for the NEW YORK CITY Police Board of Commissions. Parker died on August 30, 1895, of complications from diabetes.

**Further reading:** William Armstrong, *Warrior in Two Camps: Ely S. Parker, Union General and Seneca Chief* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1978).

—Andrew K. Frank

## peace movements

Every American war has had its protesters, and the CIVIL WAR was no exception. There were a variety of reasons why people opposed the war. Some individuals rejected warfare as an immoral practice. Others were opposed to the policies being pursued by their government. Still others had simply grown tired of fighting.

There are several religious sects in the United States that object to war on moral grounds. These include the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (Quakers), the Mennonites, and the Church of the Brethren. Members of these RELIGIONS, called conscientious objectors, have declined to participate in every American military conflict dating back to the Revolutionary War. Often, although not always, conscientious objectors were exempted from military service during

the Civil War. Most of these individuals lived in the North and thus benefited from ABRAHAM LINCOLN's sympathy for pacifists. However, there are recorded instances of conscientious objectors in North and South alike being jailed for refusing induction into the military, while numerous Quakers who refused to pay taxes to support the war had their property seized for noncompliance. Ultimately, the loss of these conscientious objectors, who comprised a tiny minority of the population, had a very nominal impact on the Union and Confederate armies.

In addition to its pacifist religious sects, the Union had a number of prominent nonreligious pacifists. Noted orators Elihu Burritt and Joshua P. Blanchard objected to the war on moral grounds. Lindley Spring wrote a pamphlet entitled *Peace! Peace!* that urged all soldiers to lay down their arms. In 1863 prominent anarchist Joshua Warren published *True Civilization, an Immediate Necessity*, in which he condemned the war as a barbarian action undertaken only for the betterment of war profiteers. The voices of these men, however, were largely ignored. In part, this was because most Americans rejected the notion that war was inherently immoral, and, in part, it was because a large number of well-known pacifists actually endorsed the Civil War. For example, the American Peace Society issued a statement outlining their position that armed action was appropriate because the Confederacy was guilty of an unlawful rebellion against authority.

The North's largest and most influential peace movement was the peace wing of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. The Peace Democrats, derisively called COPPERHEADS by their detractors, were in the minority in the North, even in their own party. Nonetheless, under the leadership of CLEMENT L. VALLANDIGHAM, they exerted a great deal of influence among the Northern voters, particularly in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Their objection to the war was based on political rather than moral grounds. They argued that the Lincoln administration was undermining the Constitution and the North's social order through its actions, especially forced CONSCRIPTION, the suspension of HABEAS CORPUS, and EMANCIPATION. Copperheads frequently worked through secret societies such as the Knights of the Golden Circle or the Sons of Liberty, both of which were active and sporadically visible throughout the midwestern states. They were known for fomenting violence against Union soldiers on leave, and in 1864 members of the Sons of Liberty were arrested and charged with plotting to form a "Northwest Confederacy" and free hundreds of Confederate prisoners at Camp Douglas, Illinois.

The Peace Democrats reached the high point of their influence in summer 1864, as the Union armies seemed to be stalemated in the field. At the Democratic convention, they were able to convince party members to include a plank in the party's platform calling for the immediate cessation of



hostilities. Gen. GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN, chosen as the party's presidential nominee shortly thereafter, quickly repudiated this part of the platform. Renewed Union military successes and the reelection of Abraham Lincoln put an end to the Copperheads once and for all.

The peace movements of the South were not as prominent as in the North. Almost invariably they arose from frustration with the war and its conduct rather than from a moral objection to warfare. Given the numerous exceptions to Confederate draft laws, the loudest complaint among Southern protesters was against class privilege. Because rich plantation owners or individuals owning 20 slaves or more did not have to serve, many described the conflict as "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight." Georgia governor Joseph Brown was unalterably opposed to the practice of conscription, which he regarded as a breach of STATES' RIGHTS, and he granted more exemptions than any other Confederate state executive. His relations with President JEFFERSON DAVIS grew strained over the issue, and in November 1862 Davis dispatched Secretary of State William M. Browne to demand and secure the governor's acquiescence.

The boldest move for peace in the South occurred in 1863, shortly after the fall of Vicksburg and the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG. North Carolina governor Zebulon Vance, who was distraught over Confederate losses and weary of the sacrifices that Southerners were being forced to make, called for a convention to bring about peace and the reunification of the states. In North Carolina, more than 100 peace meetings were held, and throughout the South more than 100,000 people joined secret peace societies. Eventually, the CONFEDERATE ARMY regained some momentum, and sentiment for immediate reunification faded away. However, secret peace societies such as the HEROES OF AMERICA continued working vigorously to undermine the Southern war effort, especially in North Carolina and southwest Virginia.

There were peace efforts on the diplomatic front as well. In July 1864 *New York Tribune* editor HORACE GREELEY asked for permission to meet with Confederate envoys at Niagara, New York; Lincoln gladly consented, but only upon making reunification and emancipation the preconditions for peace. That same month Lincoln also allowed James F. Jacques and James R. Gilmore to meet with President Davis in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, under these same conditions, with predictable results. In February 1865 journalist Francis Blair arranged a final meeting between Lincoln, Secretary of State WILLIAM H. SEWARD, and Confederate vice president ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, at Hampton Roads, Virginia, but talks failed when the North dismissed any notion of Confederate independence. Union military victory was now close at hand, and formal peace negotiations between the two governments ceased.

On balance, movements for peace during the Civil War had only a small influence on the conflict. Certainly, there were flare-ups of peace sentiment in both North and South, but it would be difficult to identify any meaningful impact these episodes had on the ultimate outcome of the war. The Peace Democrats came close to achieving their goals, but Union victories in late 1864 ultimately dictated that Lincoln's vision of peace would carry the day.

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—Christopher Bates

### Pea Ridge/Elkhorn Tavern, Battle of (March 7–8, 1862)

The Battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, was an important and clear-cut Union victory in which the usual numbers disparity was reversed, with 14,000 Confederates outnumbering the 11,250 Federals. Most important, the Northern victory secured the Union's hold on the border state of Missouri.

Early in 1862, Union major general Samuel R. Curtis, commander of the Army of the Southwest, was charged with driving the Confederate forces out of Missouri once and for all. The 8,000 Missourians under the command of Confederate brigadier general Sterling Price left Missouri for a safer position in northwestern Arkansas. There, Price combined his units with those of Brig. Gen. Ben McCulloch, just south of Fayetteville, Arkansas. At Fayetteville, the commander of the trans-Mississippi District, Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn, joined Price and McCulloch. Van Dorn was now in charge of the campaign. An aggressive general, Van Dorn wished to recapture the ground that the Confederates had lost in their hasty retreat from Missouri. He planned a surprise attack on the Federals, who had moved into Arkansas. In late February, the ration-starved rebels began their 55-mile advance toward the Union position in the middle of a winter snowstorm.

Curtis heard of Van Dorn's forward movement from his trusted scout "Wild Bill" Hickock. He immediately ordered his infantry units to concentrate on a high ground near Pea Ridge, Arkansas. Supported by artillery and cavalry, the outnumbered Union forces established a superior defensive position, and on March 6 there were a series of inconclusive skirmishes between Northern and Southern troops. Van Dorn, who was sick, directed the Confederate battle plan from an ambulance behind the lines. He wanted to destroy the enemy with a major movement against the left rear of Curtis's army, centered by Elkhorn Tavern.

The battle began in earnest on the morning of March 7. General Price attacked the Union position and was twice repulsed. The third time, he succeeded. At the other end of the line from Price, a Cherokee Indian unit under the command of Brig. Gen. STAND WATIE took on a Union division but failed to achieve any meaningful gains. The end of the first day of fighting brought a stalemate, as neither side retired from the field.

The next day's battle secured the Union victory. Curtis, confident that reports of the lack of Confederate ammunition were true, ordered Gen. Franz Sigel to attack Price's Missourians. Supported effectively by Union artillery, the Federals drove the Confederates from Pea Ridge. The rebels broke in confusion, and Gen. Van Dorn ordered a retreat to the Arkansas River. The casualties were high. The Federals lost 1,384, and the Confederates anywhere from 800 to 1,300, with 300 captured. Despite suffering greater losses, the battle was a Union victory because it achieved their desired objective. Missouri was secured for the Union until a brief, and ultimately futile, Confederate invasion was mounted in the fall of 1864.

See also JAYHAWKERS.

**Further reading:** William L. Shea and Earl J. Hess, *Pea Ridge: Civil War Campaign in the West* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

**Pember, Phoebe Yates Levy** (1823–1913) *author, hospital administrator*

Born August 18, 1823, in Charleston, South Carolina, Phoebe Yates Levy Pember became a CIVIL WAR hospital administrator and a writer.

Phoebe Yates Levy was the fourth of seven children born to prosperous Jews Fanny Yates and Jacob Levy. In the 1850s the family moved from Charleston to Savannah, Georgia, where they stayed until 1862, when they moved to Marietta, Georgia, to escape the hardships of the war. Before the Civil War Phoebe married Bostonian Thomas Pember. After he died (July 1861) in Aiken, South Carolina, Pember returned to her family.

Pember's connections to the Southern elite led to a November 1862 offer to become chief matron of a division of RICHMOND, VIRGINIA's Chimborazo Hospital. This position made Pember the first female administrator at Chimborazo. As head of the second division (Hospital No. 2) Pember oversaw patients' care as well as housekeeping, supplies, and staff issues. She did little medical work, although during emergencies she occasionally dressed wounds. Pember's sex made her job difficult. Male physicians often interfered with her and she endured insults. Pember also had to struggle effectively to manage the hospital with inadequate supplies.

Pember remained a matron of Chimborazo until after Union officials took charge. During this chaotic period she did whatever she could to help her patients. She refused to leave the hospital until her remaining patients had died or recovered.

After the Civil War Pember recorded her experiences at Chimborazo in her memoirs, *A Southern Woman's Story*. In this book she recounted her difficulties as a hospital matron as well as harsh living conditions in Richmond, wartime inflation, and the dangers of wartime travel. She also painted a portrait of the soldiers who fought for the Confederacy.

Pember returned to Georgia after the Civil War. In later years she traveled throughout the United States and died in Pittsburgh on March 4, 1913. She was buried in Savannah.

See also HOMEFRONT; MEDICINE AND HOSPITALS; NURSES.

**Further reading:** Phoebe Yates Pember, *A Southern Woman's Story: Life in Confederate Richmond, Including Unpublished Letters Written from the Chimborazo Hospital*, ed. Bell Irvin Wiley (St. Simon's Island, Ga.: Mockingbird Books, 1988).

—Lisa Tendrich Frank

**Pemberton, John C.** (1814–1881) *Confederate general*

John Clifford Pemberton was the Confederate general who surrendered the strategic citadel of Vicksburg, Mississippi. Pemberton was born in PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, on August 10, 1814, the son of a successful businessman. He briefly attended the University of Pennsylvania before transferring to the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1833. Graduating in 1837, he began his military career as a second lieutenant in the 4th U.S. Infantry.

Pemberton was in Florida for the Second Seminole War up through 1839. In 1846 he joined Gen. Zachary Taylor's Army of Occupation and served as an aide to

Gen. William J. Worth during initial phases of the Mexican-American War. The following year he transferred to Gen. Winfield Scott's army, winning brevet promotions to captain and major for gallantry at Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec. At the conclusion of the Mexican-American War, Pemberton was stationed at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, where he married into a prominent Southern family. Thereafter, his personal and political orientation became firmly wedded to the South. He was serving at Fort Ridgely, Minnesota, in the spring of 1861 when the rising tide of secessionism convinced him to resign his commission and offer his services to the Confederacy. His birth family roundly condemned this decision, and two younger brothers joined the UNION ARMY.

Pemberton held various regimental grades until February 1862, when he transferred to the CONFEDERATE ARMY's Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida as a major general to replace Gen. ROBERT E. LEE. After he suggested that FORT SUMTER should be abandoned as next to useless, President JEFFERSON DAVIS removed him from command; however, he was soon promoted to lieutenant general and entrusted with the Department of Mississippi and East Louisiana.

Pemberton arrived in Vicksburg in November 1862 and immediately set about strengthening its defenses. But Confederate fortunes declined precipitously in spring 1863, when Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT finally attacked by land. Grant marched his army along the west bank of the MISSISSIPPI RIVER and crossed over into Mississippi. He then routed Pemberton at the Battles of Champion's Hill and Big Black River on May 16–17, 1863, prompting Pemberton to withdraw to heavily fortified Vicksburg. The Confederates turned back two strong Union assaults but then endured six weeks of siege, closely confined and under heavy bombardment. Faced with starvation, Pemberton finally surrendered Vicksburg and 30,000 soldiers unconditionally to Grant on July 4, 1863.

Pemberton never again received a field command because Southern troops, long suspicious of his Northern roots, threatened to mutiny rather than serve under him. He therefore resigned his general's commission and spent the remainder of the war as a lieutenant colonel and ordnance inspector in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. After the war, Pemberton tried his luck at farming in Virginia and failed. Reviled by Southerners, he relocated his family to Philadelphia in 1876. He died in Penllyn, Pennsylvania, on July 13, 1881.

See also MISSISSIPPI RIVER WAR; VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Peninsular campaign (March 17–July 1, 1862)

The winter of 1861–62 passed without significant action in Virginia. The principal Union and Confederate armies, commanded respectively by GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN and JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, remained near Manassas Junction, where they had created extensive opposing lines. McClellan, who functioned as the Union general in chief as well as commander of the Army of the Potomac, devised a plan to turn Johnston's flank by moving troops to the Rappahannock River by ship and taking Fredericksburg. That would isolate Johnston in northern Virginia, forcing him to attack McClellan in order to reach RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. McClellan delayed his plans, however, until a frustrated ABRAHAM LINCOLN finally ordered him to commence his campaign on February 22, 1862—George Washington's birthday. When that date came and went without a movement and the first days of March slipped by, Lincoln removed McClellan as general in chief.

Reduced to army command only, McClellan changed his plans when word arrived that Johnston had retreated to the Rappahannock line. On March 17 the Army of the Potomac began a larger turning movement toward Fort Monroe, situated at the tip of the finger of land between the York and James Rivers known as the "Peninsula." By the end of April, Confederate planners faced a range of threats in Virginia: The bulk of the Army of the Potomac lay on the lower Peninsula, with another 30,000 Federals under Irvin McDowell near Fredericksburg, 15,000 under Nathaniel P. Banks in the lower Shenandoah Valley, and nearly 10,000 under John C. Frémont in the Allegheny Mountains west



Union general Thomas Francis Meagher, leading the Irish Brigade at the Battle of Seven Pines, June 1, 1862. Lithograph by Currier & Ives (Library of Congress)



of the valley. Initially, only 17,000 Southern troops under John Bankhead Magruder, positioned between Yorktown and the Warwick River, were available to resist McClellan's movements on the peninsula.

The Confederates soon concentrated more of their forces near Richmond, and they mounted a diversion in the Shenandoah Valley designed to prevent reinforcement of McClellan. Johnston shifted his army to the peninsula, where he contested a slow Union advance toward the capital. Confederates gave up Yorktown on May 3 after a virtually bloodless month-long siege. They continued their withdrawal after the Battle of Williamsburg on May 5, a hard-fought action that resulted in 2,200 Union and 1,750 Confederate casualties. The port of Norfolk, with its immense naval installations, capitulated on May 9.

As the forces under Johnston and McClellan moved slowly toward Richmond, each striving to gain advantage over the other, the *IRONCLAD CSS Virginia* (popularly called the *Merrimack*), which had fought the Union ironclad *USS Monitor* to a draw in their famous duel at Hampton Roads on March 9, was destroyed on May 11. "No one event of the war," remarked Confederate ordnance chief JOSIAH GORGAS from his post in Richmond, "created such a profound sensation as the destruction of this noble ship." Heavy rains drenched the peninsula during May, adding to Confederate gloom over the loss of the *Virginia* and affording McClellan a good excuse for making little headway. The end of the month found the two armies—more than 100,000 Federals and about 70,000 Confederates—arrayed opposite one another along the Chickahominy River just east of Richmond.

Many Confederates believed Johnston was giving up too much ground without a serious fight. A North Carolina diarist had a typical reaction, pointedly contrasting THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON's accomplishments in the Shenandoah Valley with Johnston's performance: "Jackson . . . is the only one of our generals who gives the enemy no rest, no time to entrench themselves. Matters before Richmond look gloomy to us outsiders. McClellan advances, entrenching as he comes. Why do we allow it?"

The situation at Richmond looked grim for the Confederates by the end of May. Having retreated to within about five miles of the capital, Johnston understood that he must deliver a blow. He and McClellan had remained relatively inactive during much of Jackson's SHENANDOAH VALLEY CAMPAIGN, but the Confederates could retreat no further without reaching the defensive works of Richmond and engaging in a siege that inevitably would favor McClellan. At the end of May, Johnston detected an opening. McClellan's army was divided by the Chickahominy River, with two corps isolated south of its rain-swollen banks. Johnston attacked the exposed portion of the Union host on May 31 in the Battle of Seven Pines (also called Fair Oaks). The

only full-scale engagement between McClellan and Johnston on the peninsula, Seven Pines lasted two days. Poor coordination, a confused grasp of local terrain, and other factors plagued the Southern army in a contest that ended in tactical stalemate. More than 6,000 Confederates and 5,000 Federals fell in the two days, and the Southern commander Johnston suffered a severe wound in the chest. On June 1 JEFFERSON DAVIS named ROBERT E. LEE to succeed Johnston. Thus did the man who would become the greatest Confederate general step into the limelight.

This change of leadership occurred as George B. McClellan and his Army of the Potomac, which numbered more than 100,000 men, approached the climax of their grand offensive against the southern capital. Although Lee later achieved a towering reputation, news of his appointment provoked widespread concern across the Confederacy. A North Carolina woman gave voice to a common evaluation of Lee: "I do not much like him, he 'falls back' too much. . . ."

The next five weeks proved Lee's doubters wrong. No general exhibited more daring than the new Southern commander, who believed the Confederacy could counteract Northern superiority in numbers by seizing and holding the initiative. He spent June preparing for a supreme effort against McClellan. When Stonewall Jackson's command from the Shenandoah Valley and other reinforcements arrived, Lee's army, at 90,000 strong, would be the largest ever gathered by the South. By the last week of June, the Army of the Potomac was divided by the Chickahominy River, two-thirds of its strength south of the river and one-third north of it. Lee hoped to crush the portion north of the river, then turn against the rest. Confederates repulsed a strong Union reconnaissance against their left on June 25, opening what became known as the Seven Days' Battle and setting the stage for Lee's offensive.

Heavy fighting began on June 26 at the Battle of Mechanicsville and continued for the next five days. Lee consistently acted as the aggressor but never managed to land a decisive blow. At Mechanicsville, he expected Jackson to strike Union general Fitz John Porter's right flank. The hero of the valley failed to appear in time, however, and AMBROSE P. HILL's Confederate division launched a useless frontal assault about mid-afternoon. Porter retreated to a strong position at Gaines's Mill, where Lee attacked again on June 27. Once again Jackson stumbled, as more than 50,000 Confederates mounted savage attacks along a wide front. Late in the day, Porter's lines gave way, and he withdrew across the Chickahominy to join the rest of McClellan's army.

Jackson's poor performance, usually attributed to exhaustion verging on numbness, joined poor staff work and other factors in allowing Porter's exposed portion of McClellan's army to escape. In the wake of Gaines's Mill,

McClellan changed his base from the Pamunkey River to the James River, where Northern naval power could support the Army of the Potomac. Lee followed the retreating McClellan, seeking to inflict a crippling blow as the Federals retreated southward across the peninsula. After heavy skirmishing on June 28, the Confederates mounted light attacks on June 29 at Savage's Station and far heavier ones at Glendale (also known as Frayser's Farm) on June 30. Stonewall Jackson played virtually no role in these actions, as time and again the Confederates failed to act in concert.

By July 1 McClellan stood at Malvern Hill, a splendid defensive position overlooking the James. Lee resorted to unimaginative frontal assaults that afternoon. Whether irritated at lost opportunities or driven by his natural combativeness, he had made one of his poorest tactical decisions. As evening fell, more than 5,000 Confederate casualties littered the slopes of Malvern Hill. Some of McClellan's officers urged a counterattack against the obviously battered enemy; however, "Little Mac" retreated down the James to Harrison's Landing, where he awaited Lee's next move and issued endless requests for more men and supplies.

Casualties for the Seven Days were enormous. Lee's losses exceeded 20,000 killed, wounded, and missing, while McClellan's surpassed 16,000. Gaines's Mill, where combined losses exceeded 15,000, marked the point of greatest slaughter. Thousands of dead and maimed soldiers brought the reality of war to Richmond's residents. One woman wrote, "death held a carnival in our city. The weather was excessively hot. It was midsummer, gangrene and erysipelas attacked the wounded, and those who might have been cured of their wounds were cut down by these diseases."

The campaign's importance extended far beyond setting a new standard of carnage in Virginia. Lee had seized the initiative, dramatically altering the strategic picture by dictating the action to a passive McClellan. Lee's first effort in field command lacked tactical polish but nevertheless brought great rewards. The Seven Days saved Richmond and uplifted a Confederate people depressed by bad military news from other theaters. On the Union side, the campaign dashed expectations of victory that had mounted steadily as Northern armies in Tennessee and along the MISSISSIPPI RIVER won a string of successes. McClellan's failure also deepened Northern political divisions, clearing the way for Republicans to implement policies that would strike at SLAVERY and other rebel property. The end of the rebellion had seemed to be in sight when McClellan prepared to march up the peninsula; after Malvern Hill, few failed to see that the war would continue in a more all-encompassing manner. "We have been and are in a depressed, dismal, . . . state of anxiety and irritability," wrote a perceptive New Yorker after McClellan's retreat. "The cause of the country does not seem to be thriving just now."

The campaign also underscored the degree to which events in the Virginia theater dominated perceptions about the war's progress. Despite enormous Northern achievement in the western campaigns, most people North and South, as well as observers in Britain and France, interpreted the Seven Days as evidence that the Confederacy was winning the war. Lincoln wrote about this phenomenon in early August, complaining that "it seems unreasonable that a series of successes, extending through half-a-year, and clearing more than a hundred thousand square miles of country, should help us so little, while a single half-defeat should hurt us so much." Lincoln did not exaggerate the impact of McClellan's failure. Taken overall, the ramifications were such that the Richmond campaign must be reckoned one of the turning points of the war.

See also *MONITOR-MERRIMACK*.

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—Gary W. Gallagher

**Pennington, James William Charles** (1807–1870)  
*abolitionist, author, minister*

Noted abolitionist James Pembroke was born into SLAVERY in Queen Anne's County, Maryland. As he grew up under the oversight of an especially harsh master, he became an expert blacksmith and taught himself to read, write, and calculate. In 1827 Pembroke escaped slavery via the UNDERGROUND RAILROAD and was taken in by a Quaker (SOCIETY OF FRIENDS) family in Pennsylvania. He spent nearly three years in their employ, all the while continuing his EDUCATION. In 1830 he traveled to King County, New York, where he took the name James W. C. Pennington.

Over the course of the next three decades, Pennington achieved success in three different careers. He was a minister, serving as pastor of several different churches. Pennington was also an educator. He worked as a teacher for several years, and in 1841 he wrote *A Textbook of the Origin and History of Colored People*, one of the earliest books written on African-American history. The book emphasized the importance of black Americans' African heritage and denounced the common stereotypes of the day.

Pennington's chief fame, however, came from his work as an abolitionist. As early as 1831, he became known for his outspoken criticism of the American Colonization Society. By the mid-1830s, Pennington was working with the nation's most well-known abolitionists. Among his close friends was FREDERICK DOUGLASS, at whose wedding Pennington officiated in 1838. Pennington attended several important gatherings of abolitionist leaders, including



the Philadelphia Negro Convention in 1832 and the World Anti-Slavery Conference in 1843. In 1849 Pennington made his single most important contribution to the abolition movement, penning an autobiography entitled *The Fugitive Blacksmith*. The work was a powerful condemnation of slavery and quickly went through several printings. For most of the 1850s, Pennington traveled throughout the United States and Europe delivering antislavery speeches.

The publication of *The Fugitive Blacksmith* marked the high point of Pennington's career. Shortly before the CIVIL WAR started, Pennington's struggles with alcoholism were made public, and his reputation was destroyed. He struggled to support himself during the war, suffering a series of indignities that included being jailed for allegedly stealing a book. He died penniless in Jacksonville, Florida, a few years after the war ended.

See also ABOLITION.

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—Christopher Bates

### **Petersburg campaign** (June 1864–April 1865)

The 10-month Petersburg campaign was the longest military operation of the CIVIL WAR. From May to June 1864, Gen. ROBERT E. LEE had blocked successive attempts by Lt. Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT to destroy the CONFEDERATE ARMY and capture RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, in the OVERLAND CAMPAIGN. Frustrated at the stalemate after the BATTLE OF COLD HARBOR in early June, Grant decided to cross the James River and seize Petersburg, Virginia, a vital communication and rail center 20 miles south of Richmond. If the UNION ARMY prevailed at Petersburg, the Confederate capital would likely fall shortly afterward.

On June 12 the Union's largest fighting force, the Army of the Potomac, left Cold Harbor and marched more than 50 miles to the James River. Waiting for them was a 2,100-foot-long pontoon bridge built by the Yankee soldiers, a triumph of engineering. By June 16 the entire Union army was on the south bank of the river. Moving swiftly, the Federals were closing in on Petersburg, a day's march away. Soldiers and officers alike wondered what they would find when they reached the city gates.

In 1860 Petersburg was Virginia's second largest city, with a population of 18,000, half of whom were black, and of these, one-third were free. Petersburg enjoyed a thriving ECONOMY. A city of cotton mills, tobacco factories, and RAILROADS, Petersburg was poised to play an important

part in the war. From the beginning, Petersburg's streets and railroad stations were clogged with soldiers and supplies. All but one of the railroads that tied Richmond with the rest of the southern and western Confederacy passed through its smaller neighbor to the south.

Not surprisingly, Petersburg, along with Richmond, was a desirable target of the Union army, and in the summer of 1862 slaves and soldiers began construction of a 10-mile line of fortifications around the city. Finished by 1863, the lines were held by a small force of 2,200 men under the command of Brig. Gen. Henry A. Wise as the Federal I Corps approached the city. Inside, the civilian population, mostly made up of women, children, and slaves, watched and worried. Already suffering from the effects of inflation, food shortages, and other inconveniences, women—black and white, upper and lower class—prepared their families for the worst.

From June 15 through June 18, the Union forces, numbering around 63,000, threatened to overwhelm the much smaller Confederate defenders. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, the commander of all the Union armies, was supervising Maj. Gen. GEORGE GORDON MEADE's Army of the Potomac. His strategy was to take Petersburg by storm, cut off all Confederate supply lines, and confront and defeat Lee's army on the way to Richmond. Unfortunately, due to a combination of long-standing command problems within the Army of the Potomac, confused and contradictory communications between units, and the extreme battle fatigue of the men after weeks of heavy fighting, Union assaults failed to capture the Petersburg works. The Confederates quickly brought in reinforcements that made their defensive position even more formidable. Four days of fighting left the Federals with losses of 10,586 compared with 4,000 for the rebels. On June 18, Lee arrived to direct operations. Grant realized that continued frontal attacks would be useless and ordered his men to "use the spade." The siege of Petersburg had begun.

Both Grant and Lee realized the disadvantages of a long siege. Under heavy pressure to win the war quickly, Grant was aware that the success of his military career was tied to the political fortunes of his commander in chief ABRAHAM LINCOLN. At this point, only victories in the field could sustain the Republicans in the fall ELECTIONS, and during the spring and summer of 1864 all of the Union armies, east and west, were stalemated. Large parts of the North were expressing dissatisfaction with the war's costs. Lee, on the other hand, would not win a war of attrition with the enemy. Time was not on his side. The Southern population could not endure much more privation than had already been inflicted. Confederates now hoped that the war-weary Northern nation would oust Lincoln and elect a Democrat who might stop the war and accept Southern independence. Despite their misgivings, Grant and Lee

## 302 Petersburg campaign

adjusted to a type of warfare that they neither anticipated nor desired.

Grant planned to encircle Petersburg and cut off all of Lee's supply lines. He ordered his soldiers to build a trench system around Lee's 26-mile line of defensive fortifications stretching from Petersburg to Richmond. By late June the Confederates had approximately 50,000 men to 112,000 for the Union. Grant established his military headquarters at City Point, Virginia, on the James River halfway between Petersburg and Richmond. From City Point, Grant presided over a vast logistical operation that kept the supplies flowing in to the troops in the field. Whereas Union soldiers were relatively well fed, clothed and armed, the Southern soldiers suffered from hunger and other privations. As the siege wore on, as the Union shelling pounded the Southern lines and the city behind day after day, **DESERTION** among the Confederates rose and civilian morale plunged. "The vandals are still throwing shell into the city, and it is very distressing to see the women and children leaving," wrote one diarist. Thou-

sands of residents fled the city as **REFUGEES**, flooding the roads to Richmond.

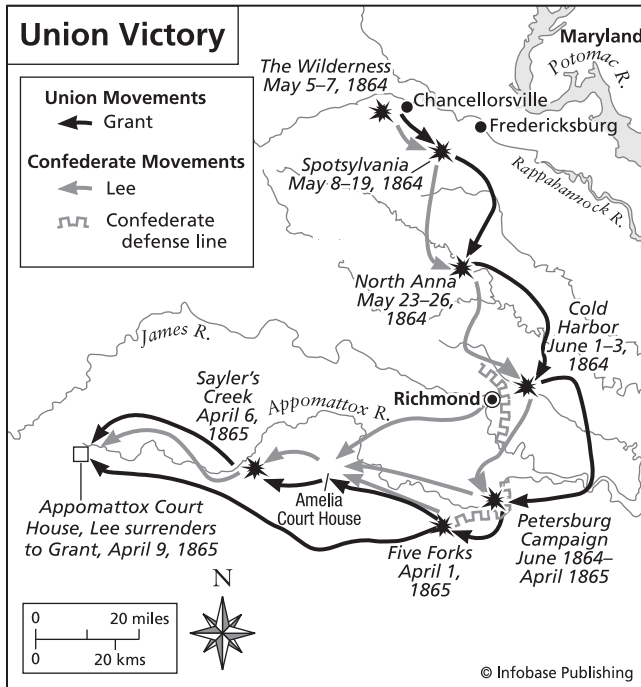
As the summer wore on, Grant's army extended their lines around the city. In addition, he sent units out to cut the major railroad connections. Lee dispatched mobile forces to stop the Union's forays, and many battles took place away from the siege area. Lee also mounted another major campaign in the Shenandoah Valley under Gen. **JUBAL A. EARLY** to draw troops away from Petersburg and Richmond. This campaign resulted in the defeat of the Confederates in the valley, and the triumph of one of Grant's best generals, **PHILIP H. SHERIDAN**.

Grant periodically ordered big attacks, such as the famous and ill-starred "Battle of the Crater," which occurred on July 30, 1864, and involved a division of African-American soldiers who performed bravely in battle in spite of poor leadership from white officers and little support. On September 1, Atlanta fell, and Lincoln's reelection was assured. The hard winter of 1864-65 brought Lee's army to the breaking point. In March 1865, a des-



Engraving showing a regiment of the XVIII Corps carrying a portion of Gen. Pierre Gustave Tontant Beauregard's line in front of Petersburg, Virginia (Library of Congress)





perate Lee launched the first big assault of the spring at Fort Stedman. Grant counterattacked with great effect. For all intents and purposes, the long siege of Petersburg was over, at the cost of 42,000 Union and 28,000 Confederate casualties.

On April 1 Union cavalry under Sheridan attacked the western end of Lee's defensive line. Lee decided to cut his losses and move southward. In doing so, he hoped to join another Confederate army in eastern North Carolina to prevent Maj. Gen. William T. Sherman's western army from combining with Grant's. On April 2 Grant ordered an assault on a weakened Petersburg line, winning the city before dawn on the next day. Richmond fell only hours later, on the morning of April 3. Shortly thereafter, Grant accepted the surrender of Lee's army at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA. Most of the remaining civilians of Petersburg had been evacuated to safety. The city was in ruins. One Yankee soldier remembered: "Petersburgh has been a pretty Place but it is a hard looking Place now."

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## Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was a major U.S. metropolis during the antebellum period and the CIVIL WAR. Philadelphia began the 19th century as America's largest port city, but by 1810 it had been overtaken in size and commercial activity by NEW YORK CITY. However, up through the RECONSTRUCTION period, it remained a bustling center of population growth and business. By the CIVIL WAR the city's economic focus had gradually shifted from commerce to manufacturing, and Philadelphia had become one of the nation's leading beneficiaries of the industrial revolution. In 1861 Philadelphia was the world's largest textile center and an important center for iron and steel manufacturing, as well as heavy industry in the form of the Baldwin locomotive works.

The compact grid structure designed by William Penn had rapidly given way to five adjoining suburbs with semi-autonomous governance. Suburbs and city formally combined through the 1854 Consolidation Act, undertaken to mitigate growth-related public chaos and administrative disorder. The ethnic composition of the city had become increasingly diversified, with large numbers of English, German, and Irish settlers arriving daily throughout this period. Philadelphia also boasted a relatively large population of free African Americans, in excess of 20,000, who owned and operated their own churches, businesses, and other separate institutions.

Politically, the city was preponderantly Democratic and enjoyed lucrative commercial relations with the South. Abolitionism was consequently less strong there than in other parts of the North. The Battle of FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, in April 1861, however, brought Philadelphians strongly behind the Union cause. City Republicans founded a Union League in 1862 dedicated to preserving the country, and league members promoted patriotism and raised money and recruits for the war effort. Philadelphia's economic and industrial base shifted smoothly to producing textiles for UNIFORMS, locomotive engines and cars for army use, and numerous naval vessels for use in the Union blockade of Confederate ports. Moreover, JAY COOKE, an important city banker, provided an essential service by arranging a \$1.5 million loan from city banks to assist the Federal government.

The site of one of the largest and most lavish Sanitary Fairs (fund-raising events for the Union) in 1864, the city further distinguished itself by raising the only Federal unit named after its city of origin. The Philadelphia Brigade, consisting of the 69th, 71st, 72nd, and 106th Pennsylvania Infantries, was organized in spring 1861 and was actively engaged throughout the eastern theater. Its soldiers fought exceedingly well in the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN and at the Battles of ANTIETAM and FREDERICKSBURG. At the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG they held the critical right Union

flank along Cemetery Ridge; in this capacity they helped absorb the brunt of GEORGE EDWARD PICKETT's charge on July 3, 1863, taking 750 prisoners and three stands of enemy flags. Heavy casualties in this encounter led to the brigade's disbandment, but the component units fought with other formations. Two of these, the 69th and 106th Pennsylvania Infantries, served through the remainder of the war and participated in the Grand Review of troops at WASHINGTON, D.C., in May 1865.

Philadelphia remained an active center for industry, arts, and population growth throughout Reconstruction. It maintained its status as the nation's second-largest city until it was eclipsed by Chicago, Illinois, by 1890.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## photography

Through portraits of participants and battlefields, photography dramatically influenced how Americans perceived the CIVIL WAR.

Photography democratized individual portraiture. Newly enlisted soldiers sat for inexpensive studio portraits, often purchasing 2- by 4-inch *cartes de visites* to distribute to family and friends. The portrait business thrived during the war as enterprising photographers set up studios near army camps. Photographs that captured the faces of men who might never return home became prized family possessions. Soldiers carried pictures of their loved ones with them to battle as well. Family portraits gave Civil War soldiers a visual link to home that had not been available to ordinary combatants in earlier wars.

Field photographs gave Americans additional visual information about the war. The fragility of photographic equipment and the need for long exposure times and immediate processing in portable darkrooms meant that photographers recorded the aftermath of battle rather than the fighting itself. These photographs departed from romantic depictions of the battlefield and unflinchingly documented the horrors of war. In 1862 Alexander Gardner recorded a sensational series of images from the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM that showed the mutilated bodies of anonymous soldiers. Displayed in the New York studios of Gardner's employer, MATHEW B. BRADY, and published as engravings by the *New York Times* and *Harper's Weekly*, the Antietam series shocked Americans with stark evidence of the terrible human costs of battle. The public errone-

ously credited this work to Brady, a misconception he did nothing to discourage. He remains the photographer most closely identified with well-known Civil War images, even though he actually took very few of them.

In 1863, hoping to duplicate the success he had enjoyed with the Antietam series, Gardner rushed to the battlefield at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Gardner, who had left Brady's employ, worked with Timothy H. O'Sullivan and James F. Gibson. Together, they produced a famous series of photographs that recorded dead bodies lying on the Gettysburg field. Gardner was not averse to manipulating photographs to serve his needs. His most famous image, a dead Confederate lying in the "Devil's Den," was staged—the man had died on another part of the battlefield. Although most of the dead men in his pictures were Confederates, Gardner and the newspaper editors who purchased his images identified some of the men as Union soldiers to better illustrate the Northern narrative of battle. As with the Antietam photos, the public was fascinated.

The photographs of Antietam and Gettysburg were different from most Civil War photography. Antietam and Gettysburg were both fought in Northern states, so it was possible to get the photographers and equipment necessary for battlefield photography in place fairly quickly, within two or three days of the fighting. In most other cases, it took a week or more to get men and equipment in place, by which time most battlefields had been cleared of bodies and other signs of carnage.

The logistical difficulties of battlefield photography meant that images of everyday military life far outnumbered photographs of war dead. Americans were educated about the war by pictures of breastworks and military fortifications, field hospitals and army camps, artillery placements and railway trestles, freedmen's shanties and Confederate ruins. Capt. Andrew J. Russell, attached to the U.S. Military Railroad, documented rail lines in Virginia and was present at the BATTLES OF FREDERICKSBURG and Petersburg and at the fall of RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. His photographs included noteworthy images of black laborers who contributed to the Union war effort. George N. Barnard, a former Gardner associate attached to the chief engineer's office of the Division of Mississippi, photographed Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN's 1864 campaign in Tennessee, Georgia, and South Carolina. Gardner himself documented the ruins of Richmond in 1865. He also photographed the executions of the conspirators who plotted the ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Field photographs were distributed widely during and after the war in the form of inexpensive mass-produced stereographs. These popular side-by-side exposures took on a three-dimensional appearance when viewed through a handheld stereograph. For the upscale market, Gardner and Barnard each published expensive collector's editions





Dead Confederate soldier in Devil's Den at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, 1863. Photograph taken by Alexander Gardner (1821–82) (Library of Congress)

of their work in 1866. Gardner's *Photographic Sketchbook of the War* and Barnard's *Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign* featured large prints accompanied by patriotic captions. Americans have continued to be fascinated by Civil War photography. In 1875 the government paid Brady \$25,000 to gain exclusive title to his collection so that it could be preserved for future generations. In 1911 Francis Trevelyan Miller published his influential 10-volume *Photographic History of the Civil War*.

The proliferation of Civil War photographs was not the only story of the postwar era, however. Photographic equipment became more portable, enabling photographers to reach important locations more quickly. In the 1880s, half-tone printing was developed, enabling newspapers to print actual photographs rather than engravings. By the 1890s Americans could open their morning paper and expect to read about *and* see what had happened the day before.

See also PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN; SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA.

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—Amy J. Kinsel

**Pickett, George Edward** (1825–1875) *Confederate general*

Best known for his leadership of Confederate forces in a failed charge at the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, Gen. George E. Pickett was born into a wealthy PLANTATION family in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, on January 28, 1825. He studied law in Illinois with his uncle and was appointed to the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT by Congressman John Stuart. Pickett was not a success at West Point, where he was graduated last out of his class of 59 in 1846.



Although many West Pointers of the 1840s served only perfunctory military service before entering civilian life, Pickett remained with the army long after graduation. He served in the Mexican-American War, where he met and became friends with Lt. JAMES LONGSTREET. Afterward, he was assigned to Company K of the Eighth Infantry on a temporary basis, a command he relinquished to Longstreet in July 1854. Pickett served under Longstreet in Texas until 1855, when he was reassigned to the Washington Territory. It would be his last post in the U.S. Army. Pickett married twice during his time in the U.S. Army. Both marriages ended with the death of his wives, although his second marriage did produce a son, James Tilton Pickett.

With the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR, Pickett resigned his commission and returned to his home state of Virginia to enlist in the CONFEDERATE ARMY. Accepted into the Gamecock Brigade as a colonel, Pickett fought at Williamsburg and Fair Oaks. In May 1862 he was wounded in the shoulder at Gaines's Mill. The combination of his fighting record and his wound brought him to the attention of Confederate leaders, who were engaged in restructuring the Army of Northern Virginia. Pickett's old friend Longstreet, then a commanding general of ROBERT E. LEE's I Corps, recommended that Pickett be appointed major general of one of the divisions. The appointment was approved, and Pickett's division of Virginians saw their first action under his leadership when they defended Confederate lines at the BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG.

It would be Pickett's next major action that would forever ensure his place in history. In summer 1863 Lee ventured north and engaged Union general GEORGE GORDON MEADE at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. On the third day of a three-day battle, Union lines were reinforced on the left and right flanks but not in the center. Lee determined that the center of the line was vulnerable, and he planned an attack there—a huge display of artillery power intended to deprive the Union forces of artillery support. Once the bombardment had silenced Union guns, a massive infantry assault would charge the line. Lee assigned this task to Longstreet, who in turn selected Pickett's Virginians and Gen. Johnston Pettigrew's North Carolinians, the most rested soldiers at that point in the battle, to make the charge.

On the afternoon of July 3, 1863, what would be known afterward as Pickett's Charge got under way. The Confederate artillery bombardment had begun early in the afternoon and destroyed a few Union batteries before ammunition began to run low. Shortly after Union artillery ceased firing, and at 3:15 P.M. 13,000 Confederate infantrymen were commanded to move forward across roughly one mile of open ground. Pickett organized the attack well, but it was unsuccessful. Confederate bombardment had not inflicted enough damage on the Union guns, and close-

range artillery fire wiped out most of Pickett's men. A total of 10,000 were killed, wounded, or missing in action. Pickett withdrew with a casualty rate of more than 60 percent. When asked by Lee later that day to re-form his division, Pickett answered, "General Lee, I have no division." The failure of Pickett's charge on Union lines was an omen of other failures to come. After a modicum of success as the commander of the Department of North Carolina, Pickett returned to the Army of Northern Virginia. He bungled an engagement at the BATTLE OF FIVE FORKS during the Appomattox campaign and Lee removed him from his command the day before the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA.

After the war Pickett fled to Canada with his third wife, LaSalle Corbett, whom he had married shortly after the Battle of Gettysburg. Pickett left the United States because he was concerned that he might have to face charges in connection with his mistreatment of Union captives while in command in North Carolina. The khedive of Egypt offered Pickett a commission, but he refused. Shortly thereafter, President ULYSSES S. GRANT offered him a pardon and an appointment as marshal of Virginia. Pickett accepted the pardon but declined the appointment and instead worked as an agent of the Washington Life Insurance Company. Pickett strove to remedy his reputation by writing LETTERS and articles that eulogized his charge as evidence of the romantic vision and tragic dignity of the Southern cause. After his death on October 25, 1875, his wife LaSalle took up the cause of reinventing her husband's memory, producing even more written material than he had.

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—Arthur E. Amos

### **Pierce, Franklin** (1804–1869) 14th president of the United States

Lawyer, soldier, and the 14th president of the United States, Franklin Pierce was born on November 23, 1804, in New Hampshire. Pierce graduated from Bowdoin College in Maine, and in 1827 he began practicing law in New Hampshire. Pierce was a staunch Democrat and a great admirer of President Andrew Jackson. His early political career was very successful. He served as a member of the New Hampshire state legislature and then in the U.S. Congress from 1833 to 1842, first as a representative and then a senator.

Pierce's political principles were those of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY he loved. He was a strong supporter of lim-

ited government, economy and efficiency in the federal budget, and STATES' RIGHTS. He was also a fierce patriot who detested the rising Northern abolitionist movement as a threat to the sectional harmony he was determined to preserve. Married and with a growing family, Pierce resigned from the Senate in 1842. He returned to New Hampshire to a thriving legal practice but remained a major force in his state's Democratic Party.

In the Mexican-American War (1846–48), President James K. Polk appointed Pierce first as a colonel and then as a brigadier general. His military career was brief and undistinguished, and he happily left the army to return to New Hampshire. Pierce was prominent in supporting the Compromise of 1850 and especially the Fugitive Slave Law, the most controversial part of the compromise. Pierce became known as a “doughface,” that is, a Northern man with Southern sympathies. His support did not go unnoticed in the South, and when the 1852 Democratic National Convention deadlocked, Southern politicians propelled Pierce's candidacy to a successful conclusion. Pierce won the presidency by a small margin.

Pierce assumed office in a period of great turmoil. His major goals were to continue the expansion of U.S. territory and to avoid sectional controversy. He achieved a limited measure of success in the former and failed miserably in the latter. Under his administration the Gadsden Purchase (1853) was negotiated, adding greatly to the nation's Southwest territory. The issue of SLAVERY, however, once again threatened the stability of the country when Senator STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS of Illinois pushed the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT of 1854 through Congress. The act superseded the Missouri Compromise and threw open all the territories to popular sovereignty. Soon, massive voting fraud and violent clashes between proslavery and free-labor factions demanded presidential intervention.

Pierce did not demonstrate strong leadership in handling the major crisis of his presidency. A weak, indecisive man, he favored the South over the North in Kansas and elsewhere, helping to set in motion a chain of events that led to the CIVIL WAR. By 1855 Pierce's many blunders had alienated Americans and made his renomination impossible. Pierce died in obscurity in Concord, New Hampshire, on October 8, 1869.

See also ABOLITION; BLEEDING KANSAS; BUSHWACKERS; JAYHAWKERS.

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**Pinchback, Pinckney B. S.** (1837–1921) *politician*  
An important African-American politician of the RECONSTRUCTION era, Pinckney Benton Stewart Pinchback was

born in Macon, Georgia, to a white father and a free African-American mother. He grew up in Mississippi and Cincinnati, becoming the sole support of his mother and seven siblings after his father died in 1848. In 1862 Pinchback settled in New Orleans, where he raised a company of African-American soldiers for the UNION ARMY. Because Union policy did not allow Pinchback to command his company, he left New Orleans, returning in 1867 to participate in the reorganization of Louisiana politics. He started the Fourth Ward Republican Club and participated in the creation of the new Louisiana Constitution, championing the adoption of civil rights and EDUCATION provisions.

In 1868 Pinchback was elected state senator, and from that position he became lieutenant governor. When Governor Henry C. Warmouth was impeached in December 1872, Pinchback became acting GOVERNOR, the first black governor of any state in the United States. He held that post until November 1873, when the newly elected governor took office. By then Pinchback had been elected, simultaneously, to both a congressional and a senatorial seat in the national legislature. He chose to take his Senate seat, but the U.S. Senate refused to recognize his election, finally deciding in 1876, after almost three years of debate, not to seat him. After this defeat Pinchback served as an internal revenue agent in 1879 and became surveyor of customs for the port of New Orleans in 1881. Pinchback entered and graduated from the Straight Law School in 1885. In 1890 he organized the American Citizens Equal Rights Association. In 1892 he was a delegate to the Republican National Convention, and in 1898 he helped to unveil the FREDERICK DOUGLASS monument in Rochester, New York. He moved to WASHINGTON, D.C., in the 1890s to raise his grandson, Jean Toomer, later a Harlem Renaissance poet. Pinchback died in Washington, D.C., in 1921.

See also SCALAWAGS.

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—Fiona Galvin

## plantations

Plantations were agrarian enterprises that employed large numbers of workers who produced crops for domestic and foreign markets. Before the CIVIL WAR, plantations primarily relied on the labor of African-American slaves who tended to a wide range of crops, including cotton, rice, and tobacco. After EMANCIPATION, SHARECROPPING and other labor systems replaced slave labor in the South, but plantations remained a part of the region's agricultural system.

In the 19th century, plantations were not confined to the American South or to slaveholding societies. Spanish



Two cotton pickers painted by William Walker (Hulton/Archive)

and Portuguese colonists ran sugar plantations in their South and Central American colonies, and English colonists used the system in Ireland and in many of their 17th- and 18th-century colonies. The ECONOMY of colonial Virginia relied heavily on tobacco plantations, while rice and indigo plantations were particularly widespread in South Carolina and the Georgia low country.

Southern plantations dramatically changed as a result of Eli Whitney's cotton gin. This machine, which appeared in 1793, drastically cut the costs of growing short-staple cotton, making it the most profitable crop available to planters. They subsequently turned to it in great numbers, and it became known as "King Cotton." The gin allowed planters, who originally grew cotton in the South Carolina and Georgia up-country, to move the crop south and west toward occupied NATIVE AMERICAN lands. The cotton kingdom further expanded after the forced removal of the southeastern Indians in the 1830s and the 1845 annexation of Texas. Cotton plantations were ultimately concentrated in what became known as the "Cotton Belt," a stretch of fertile land in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, where more than half of the nation's cotton was grown by the 1830s. South Carolina, which grew 60 percent of the crop in 1800, had fallen to

less than 10 percent on the eve of the Civil War. Although cotton was king at the start of the war, Southern planters also grew tobacco, rice, hemp, indigo, and wheat.

Not all Southern farms were plantations, and not all slave owners were planters. Plantations had large labor populations and usually specialized in one agricultural product. In order to be considered a planter, one had to own at least 20 slaves and a significant piece of land. In 1860 only about 50,000 of the 400,000 Southern slave owners were classified as planters. Wade Hampton, the largest slaveholder in 1860, owned more than 3,000 slaves who worked his Mississippi and South Carolina plantations.

Throughout the year, male and female slaves performed an endless number of tasks on Southern plantations. Crop cultivation consumed most of their time, with the harvest generally demanding the longest and hardest hours of work. African-American slaves hoed, weeded, picked, watered, reaped, and planted, often from sunup to sundown. They sometimes oversaw the labor of their fellow slaves. In slower months, slaves mended fences, cleared lands, and performed other seasonal tasks. Large plantations contained house slaves who tended to various needs of the plantation's mansion, or the "big



house.” Although not all domestic tasks were reserved for females, slave women frequently served as nursemaids, mammies, seamstresses, laundresses, and cooks for their planter masters and mistresses. In addition to slave quarters, plantations also had smokehouses, stables, barns, sheds, a chapel, and an occasional schoolhouse for white children.

The Civil War physically devastated many Southern plantations. Early in the war the Union blockade limited the South’s ability to export its raw goods. In addition, the Confederate military enlisted many white planters and overseers, leaving white Southern women to run the plantations. Although planters could sometimes avoid military duty under the Twenty-Slave Law, which exempted any white man who had 20 or more slaves under his control, only 4,000–5,000 men claimed exemptions during the war. With most white men serving in the CONFEDERATE ARMY, slaves increasingly resisted their bondage, refusing to work, wandering the countryside, and when possible, running to the safety of Union lines. A more direct devastation of Southern plantations resulted from the various invasions visited upon the South by the UNION ARMY. In particular, Union soldiers on WILLIAM T. SHERMAN’s 1864–65 march through Georgia and the Carolinas burned millions of acres of cotton and other crops, destroyed homes, broke fences and farming implements, and otherwise razed plantations in their path.

When the war ended, Southern planters struggled to rebuild. Only 180 of the more than 1,200 sugar plantations in Louisiana, for example, sold any surplus in 1865. Many plantations were sold to pay off debts. By the end of RECONSTRUCTION in 1877, however, about half of Southern plantations were once again in the hands of the families who had owned them when the war began. To compensate for the labor lost from emancipation, many postwar planters turned to sharecropping. They contracted former slaves to live on portions of the plantation that had been subdivided into family lots. Owner and sharecropper would presumably share the harvests produced, but this system resulted in a cycle of debt and hard labor for the freedpeople.

See also SHERMAN’S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA; SLAVERY.

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—Lisa Tendrich Frank

## population trends

The CIVIL WAR and RECONSTRUCTION era brought unprecedented transformation to the United States. Particularly striking was the growth of IMMIGRATION, the rise of cities, and a general population explosion.

### National Trends

In the 30 years between 1850 and 1880, U.S. population more than doubled, from 23 million to 50 million. Births within the United States account for much of the increase; families averaged three to four children in 1850, a number that had declined from that of 1790 and would continue to decline through the 20th century.

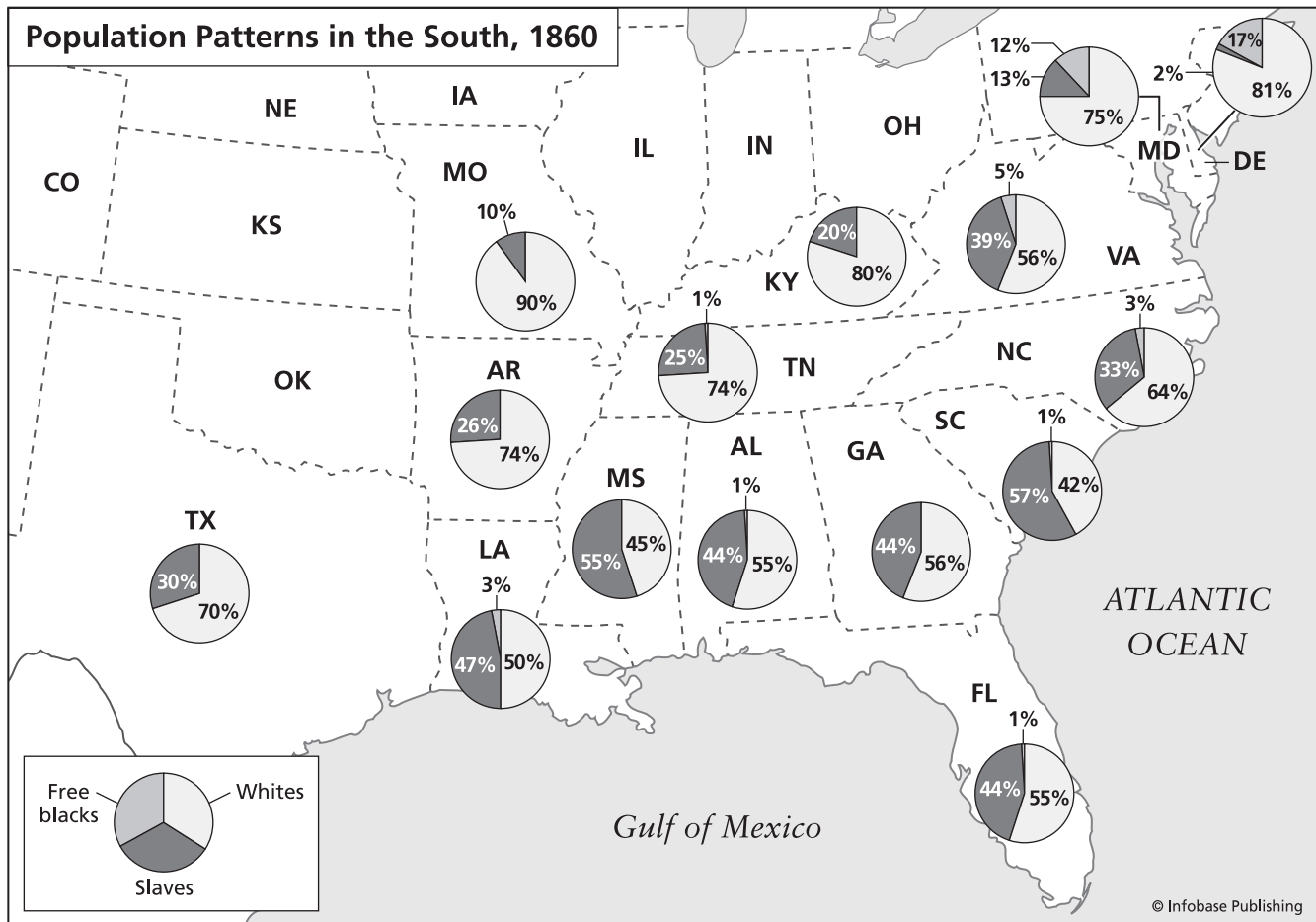
An increasing number of Americans were foreign-born. Immigrants accounted for just under 10 percent of the country’s population in 1850 but were more than 14 percent by 1880. Irish, Germans, and English accounted for most of these immigrants. While not comprising a large proportion of all immigrants, other groups were important in particular regions: Chinese in California and the Mountain West; Czechs and Slovaks (often called “Bohemians”) in Texas and the lower Great Plains; and Scandinavians in Minnesota and Wisconsin. Together, these immigrants are sometimes classified as the “old immigration,” contrasted with the “new immigration” of the 1890s through the 1920s, which included mostly Jews, Russians, Italians, Poles, Greeks, and other eastern and southern Europeans.

Immigration swelled the already growing American cities. The proportion of Americans living in urban areas almost doubled between 1850 and 1880, from 15 percent to 28 percent. This figure is a bit deceptive, however; “urban” at this time included any town with 2,500 persons or more. A better measure, perhaps, is cities containing more than 100,000 persons. There were six such cities when the Census Bureau took its 1850 census; their combined populations included just one of every 20 Americans—only 1.2 million persons. When the census takers returned in 1880, there were 20 such cities totaling 6.2 million Americans—about one in ten. The population of NEW YORK CITY alone in 1880 nearly equaled the total combined population of the six largest American cities in 1850.

There were two other notable characteristics about the people of the period: the large numbers of younger people and the lack of older ones. The average American was around 20 years old; fully a quarter of the nation’s people were under 15. Average life expectancy was about 60 years.

### Regional Issues

The urbanization, industrialization, and immigration of the mid-19th century were felt most dramatically in the Northeast and Midwest, which had a little less than 15



million people in 1850 but more than 32 million by 1880. While overshadowed by population growth in the North, shifts in the South and West would also have long-term consequences.

Southern leaders had long feared the increasing pace of Northern growth. While fully half of Americans had been Southerners in 1790, the proportion had dwindled to 33 percent by 1850. Because northern and midwestern members constituted majorities in the Senate as well as the House, Northerners could set the conditions and the pace for admission of new states from the western territories. Southern leaders realized that unless they checked growing Northern power, there would come a time—1870? 1880? 1890?—when Northerners would control the two-thirds of the House, two-thirds of the Senate, and three-quarters of the state legislators necessary to amend the Constitution and force the end of **SLAVERY**. This possibility hardened Southern attitudes toward territorial compromise in the 1850s and contributed to the outbreak of the Civil War.

The South absorbed fewer immigrants than any other part of the country, a fact directly related to the region's

reliance on slave labor before the Civil War, and after the war, the region's economic dislocation and growing reliance on **SHARECROPPING** and tenant farming. While immigration swelled the Northeast's labor pool, the postwar South relied on former slaves, with 90 percent of the nation's 6.5 million African Americans still living in the South in 1880. While African-American communities could be found in the North, these would not become large until the "great migration" of the 1940s.

The trans-Mississippi West faced different issues. The most obvious demographic fact about most western states was their skewed ratio of men to women. Mining and lumber camps disproportionately attracted young men. Indeed, 90 percent of California's 1850 population was male. While a few states, such as Oregon and Utah, attracted families, in most states, the number of women did not match the number of men until the early 20th century.

Between 1850 and 1880, migration from the eastern United States swamped indigenous **NATIVE AMERICAN** and Mexican populations. Native peoples were increasingly herded onto reservations or else killed in the wars



that were waged against them. The Mexican population of southern California was numerous and powerful enough to require that the state's constitution establish both Spanish and English as official languages. With California's white population rising rapidly over the next 30 years, the 1879 state constitution removed this provision.

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—Tom Laichas

**Porter, David Dixon** (1813–1891) *Union admiral*  
CIVIL WAR admiral David Dixon Porter was destined for naval service. As the son of Comdr. David Porter and Evelina Anderson Porter, he frequently joined his father on expeditions, including a mission against Caribbean pirates in 1824. In 1829 Porter joined the U.S. Navy and began his own distinguished naval career. He rose through the ranks and was promoted to commander when war broke out in April 1861.

Throughout the Civil War the UNION NAVY was given responsibility for cutting off Southern commerce, according to the “Anaconda Plan” of Gen. WINFIELD SCOTT. For the first several years of the war, Porter played an important role in making the Northern blockade a reality. Porter's most important contribution came in March 1862, when he joined his foster brother, Adm. DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT, in an attempt to capture the crucial Southern port of New Orleans, Louisiana. Porter commanded several mortar boats that were responsible for shelling Forts Jackson and St. Philip. When the forts fell, New Orleans was open to capture by the Northern military. The victory was a critical step in the Union's goal, ultimately successful, to control the MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

Porter's success led to his promotion in September 1862 to command of the Mississippi Squadron as acting rear admiral. In that capacity, Porter worked with Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT and his troops to take the Confederate stronghold of Vicksburg, Mississippi, in 1862 and 1863. Porter took part in one of the first failed attempts to skirt the fortifications at Vicksburg. He led his boats on a treacherous attempt to navigate the lower Yazoo to Steele's Bayou, but the ships foundered in the narrow waters,

which were filled with trees and debris. Porter's fleet was nearly destroyed by Confederate forces, and he had to call in ground help to rescue his naval force. Ultimately, Porter redeemed himself with a daring midnight run past blazing Confederate batteries on April 16, 1863. Porter's fleet of ships successfully delivered Grant's troops to a location past the city, allowing them to march on and seize the Mississippi capital of Jackson. This cut off Vicksburg's supply lines and made the fall of the city almost inevitable.

In October 1864 Porter was promoted to command of the North Atlantic Squadron. Shortly after assuming his new command, Porter again found himself in a tough spot, this time during Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks's RED RIVER CAMPAIGN. Porter's forces just barely escaped destruction by Confederates after becoming stranded by the low water level in the Red River. Quick action by Lt. Col. Joseph Bailey and his engineering brigade was all that saved Porter and his men. Bailey designed dams along the river so as to raise the water level enough to allow Porter's ships to run the treacherous Alexandria Rapids and escape.

In the fall of 1864, Porter led the war's largest fleet of ships against Fort Fisher, the garrison that guarded the entry to Wilmington, North Carolina. Porter's first shelling attempt did little damage, but a renewed attack allowed Gen. A. H. Terry's forces to storm and seize the fort on January 15, 1865.

After the Civil War, Porter remained in the navy and was named superintendent of the UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY AT ANNAPOLIS, a position he held from 1865 to 1869. While serving as superintendent, Porter helped to reform the curriculum and expand the facilities at the academy. Porter was promoted to the rank of vice admiral in 1866 and admiral of the navy in 1870. He died in WASHINGTON, D.C., on February 13, 1891.

See also MISSISSIPPI RIVER WAR; NEW ORLEANS, BATTLE OF; VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

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—Ruth A. Behling

## Port Royal, South Carolina, Experiment

The Port Royal Experiment was an attempt by abolitionists to test the transition from slave labor to a free-labor system on an isolated slave population beginning early in the CIVIL WAR. The issues that arose at Port Royal, South Carolina, included the future of cotton production, land redistribution, and the status of the freedmen. The Port Royal Experiment also served as a dress rehearsal for RECONSTRUCTION.

Port Royal was part of a series of islands along the South Carolina coast known as the Sea Islands. Separated from the mainland by rivers, creeks, and swamps, the islands proved an easy target for the U.S. Navy. In November 1861, Union naval forces captured Port Royal and the Sea Islands and used them as a coaling station for the blockading fleet. Ahead of the invading army of federal troops, white planters fled inland to seek refuge behind Confederate defenses, leaving behind 10,000 slaves. An opportunity presented itself. Here, in one of the richest cotton regions of the South and in the absence of white owners, there was a possibility of transforming slaves from an unfree labor force into free workers. If the experiment were successful, Northern values of self-reliance and pride in labor would enhance the productivity of the workers and produce higher-quality cotton more efficiently.

Northern abolitionists jumped at this chance. At the request of Secretary of the Treasury SALMON P. CHASE, Edward Pierce, an abolitionist attorney experienced in working with CONTRABAND slaves, organized a contingent of teachers, missionaries, young college graduates, and other volunteers. This group, known as “Gideon’s Band,” took on the experiment in free labor, but they also sought to educate the slaves, provide moral uplift, aid physical needs, and generally to reform Southern society.

From the beginning, African Americans had little interest in growing cotton for their new bosses. Instead, they planted subsistence crops like corn and potatoes. Ex-slaves considered picking cotton too much like slave labor. Moreover, because of the wartime disruption of the cotton ECONOMY, grain production seemed a more plausible alternative for their families. Ex-slaves wanted to use their freedom and money gained from wage labor to purchase family amenities, like new clothes. They were showing an independence of mind that unpleasantly surprised the abolitionists on the island.

A skeptical labor force was not the only problem that the Northerners faced. They underestimated the extensive management system that white planters utilized to produce a profit and failed to account for the peculiarities of the physical environment, which were ill-suited for long-staple cotton. Ironically, in their quest to prove the superiority of free labor in cotton production, the white abolitionists found themselves in the same social position as the former masters—coercing black labor. “They force men to prove they are fit to be free by holding a tyrant’s power over them,” noted Laura Towne, a teacher in the Sea Islands, somewhat sardonically. It is little wonder that cotton production at the end of the first year was substantially lower than in the prewar years.

The question of landownership had wide-ranging implications for Reconstruction. Because the white planters had

fled the Sea Island PLANTATIONS, most freedmen sought to claim the land as their own. Ex-slaves did what they could to settle the matter. Some pooled their meager resources and purchased 2,000 acres in a delinquent tax sale, but most leased the land from the federal government.

Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN’s famous SPECIAL FIELD ORDER NO. 15 offered the most far-reaching land redistribution plan during Reconstruction. It designated the entire Sea Island region for black settlement on 40-acre plots. However, within a year, President ANDREW JOHNSON, in his Proclamation of Amnesty, revoked Sherman’s order and decided that all confiscated lands would be returned to their prewar owners (except those lands sold for taxes). What was most unjust for the freedpeople, besides losing land promised to them, was that they would have to work for their former masters. Many of the freedpeople just wanted to be left alone.

Notwithstanding the problems of growing long-staple cotton, naive Northern abolitionists trying to run plantations, and the betrayal of the federal government, the Port Royal Experiment failed because African Americans in the Sea Islands considered independent production and individual choices to be the hallmarks of freedom. In other words, cotton production was less important than the goal of family self-sufficiency. Though few Southern black families were ever able to become sufficient in the post-Reconstruction South, some Port Royal families did prosper because they retained ownership of their own land.

See also ABOLITION.

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—Justin J. Behrend

**Price, Sterling** (1809–1867) *politician, Confederate general*

Sterling Price was a Confederate general from Missouri. Born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, on September 20, 1809, Price was the son of wealthy, slave-owning planters. He attended Hampton Sidney College before accompanying his family to Missouri in 1831. There he established himself as a wealthy tobacco planter and merchant. Success whetted Price’s appetite for politics, and he served several terms as a Democrat in the state legislature before successfully standing for a congressional seat in 1844. He resigned in 1846 to partake in the Mexican-American War as colonel of the 2nd Missouri Infantry. Using his wartime service as a springboard to higher office, Price was elected GOVERNOR of Missouri from 1853 to 1857.

As the storm clouds of SECESSION grew in 1860, Price played another highly visible role as president of a state con-

vention addressing this divisive issue. He opposed secession and helped defeat the measure in a vote of 69 to 1. But the dynamic of events changed dramatically when the Union captain Nathaniel Lyon seized the pro-Southern militia at Camp Jackson on May 10, 1861. In response, Price, Governor CLAIBORNE F. JACKSON, and thousands of Missourians declared for the Confederacy. Lyon quickly chased Price's ill-armed militia out of Jefferson City, but once reinforced by Confederate forces under Gen. Ben McCulloch, Price returned in kind. He defeated Lyon at Wilson's Creek on August 10, 1861, and followed up this victory on September 20, 1861, by seizing a Union garrison at nearby Lexington, Missouri, taking 3,000 prisoners. The popular uprising that he had anticipated failed, however, to materialize, and Price gradually withdrew before a larger army under Gen. John C. Frémont.

In April 1862 Price rose to major general in the CONFEDERATE ARMY and led a division of Missourians under Gen. PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD in Mississippi. There he fought effectively against Gen. WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS at Iuka on September 19, 1862, but was bested by him at the BATTLE OF CORINTH on October 3–4, 1862. Price then requested and received a transfer back across the MISSISSIPPI RIVER. In Arkansas he assembled a force of 12,000 poorly trained volunteers, and in September 1864 he once again crossed into Missouri. He waged a costly encounter at Pilot's Knob on September 27, 1864, failing to capture either the Union garrison or its arms. Losses here compelled Price to bypass St. Louis altogether, and his column was defeated and almost destroyed. He executed a hasty withdrawal back into Arkansas.

After the war Price fled to Mexico. There, in April 1865 he offered his services to Emperor Maximilian and sought to establish a colony of ex-Confederates in Mexico. Two years later illness and the collapse of the throne forced him back to St. Louis, where he eked out a marginal existence until his death on September 29, 1867.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## prisons

At the start of the CIVIL WAR the U.S. Army totaled 16,000 men. Just over a year later, when troops under ULYSSES S. GRANT conquered Fort Donelson, they accepted the surrender of 15,000 prisoners in a single day. The capture of large numbers of prisoners became a common phenomenon during the Civil War, a by-product of the incredible growth in the scale of warfare at that time. Nothing in the

experience of leaders on either side prepared them for the logistics of dealing with the 650,000 men that were taken captive during the Civil War. As the war dragged on, both sides struggled to develop workable solutions, with many soldiers suffering miserably or dying as a result. Poor nutrition, overcrowded conditions, inadequate sanitation, and exposure to the elements conspired to make prison camps a haven for communicable diseases such as pneumonia, dysentery, and typhoid. These virulent diseases exacted a heavy toll in human life and suffering. The hardships engendered by prisons and captivity are among the most disgraceful dimensions of the entire conflict, with both sides to blame.

Early on, Northern authorities felt it expedient to treat Southern captives as prisoners of war rather than rebels or criminals. This policy, which entitled Southern prisoners to humane treatment and protection in accordance to the laws of war, was undertaken as much to prevent harsh reprisals against Northern captives as anything else. In 1863 the legal scholar FRANCIS LIEBER codified the correct and legal treatment of military captives in General Order No. 100, better known as the Lieber Code. This seminal document was subsequently adopted by the German Empire, but it did little to improve conditions for prisoners in the Civil War.

In the early months of the war, prisoners were sometimes exchanged informally on the authority of field commanders, whose actions were governed by custom, their sense of chivalry, and logistical constraints. When an exchange could not be arranged, soldiers were paroled. A paroled soldier agreed to remain at home or at a specified location in enemy territory, staying out of the fight until an exchange had been arranged. While it was not technically within the power of field commanders to agree to exchanges and paroles, the practice was overlooked because of the widely held belief that the war would not last long.

By the end of 1861, however, it became clear that the war was not going to end quickly. The number of men being held prisoner increased dramatically, and Confederate authorities began to press for a formal agreement on the exchange of prisoners. President ABRAHAM LINCOLN hesitated, for to enter into such an agreement would be equal to recognizing the legitimacy of the Confederate government. Eventually, he was forced to bow to public pressure from the families of prisoners, and he appointed a negotiator to meet with Confederate authorities. After several rounds of negotiations, the Confederacy's DANIEL H. HILL and the Union's John A. Dix reached agreement.

The Dix-Hill cartel, signed on July 22, 1862, was modeled after a similar agreement used during the War of 1812. By its terms, various ranks were assigned exchange "values." A noncommissioned officer was equal

in value to two privates, a second lieutenant was worth three privates, and so forth all the way up to a commanding general, who could be exchanged for 60 privates or any combination of soldiers equal in value to 60 privates. Each side was to hold its own parolees until exchanges were arranged. Thus, Union authorities were responsible for holding paroled Union soldiers, while Confederate authorities were responsible for holding paroled Confederates. The Confederates were generally allowed to wait at their homes, but captured Union soldiers were held in one of three Union parole camps: Camp Chase in Ohio, Benton Barracks in Missouri, and Camp Parole in Maryland.

The Dix-Hill cartel quickly proved to be unworkable for a variety of reasons. First of all, there was constant conflict between Union and Confederate authorities. The most common debate was over the status of prisoners—whether they had been properly exchanged or not. Both sides invariably argued that the other was returning soldiers to duty too quickly. These disputes were complicated by personal animosities that existed between officials on both sides. The relationship between Confederate commissioner Robert Ould and the Union's BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER, who temporarily oversaw prisoner exchanges for the Union before being reassigned, was particularly icy.

The Dix-Hill cartel was also problematic because its terms were highly unfavorable to the Union. In the early years of the war, there were invariably more Union prisoners than Confederate prisoners. For this reason, Union parolees were often detained for a long time while waiting for enough Confederate soldiers to be captured so that an exchange could be made. Union authorities had not planned for such long detentions, and their parole camps became dangerously overcrowded. Conditions were so bad that one superintendent of a Union parole facility noted that the soldiers would have been better off remaining in a Confederate prison.

Prison exchanges under the Dix-Hill cartel were unfavorable to the Northern war effort in another way. The Confederacy had a much smaller population than the Union. They could not replace captured soldiers. The Union, on the other hand, could replenish lost manpower. Therefore, the Union's bottom line dictated that it was better to keep captured Confederates imprisoned rather than try to exchange them. Of course, the implication of this was that many Union prisoners would be sacrificed by being allowed to remain in Confederate hands.

The Dix-Hill agreement ended with Lincoln's pledge to enlist African-American soldiers, contained within the provisions of the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. The Confederacy refused to recognize black soldiers as legitimate prisoners, declaring that captured black soldiers would not be exchanged and, instead, would be enslaved.

The Lincoln administration insisted on equal treatment for black soldiers and refused to continue exchanges under any other conditions. Confederate authorities would not back down. Union authorities were already unhappy with the terms of the Dix-Hill agreement, and this provided Lincoln with a compelling reason to abandon it. Thus, in mid-1863, prisoner exchanges were suspended. While the new policy inflicted new hardship upon Northern prisoners already languishing in captivity, over the long term it put another nail in the Confederacy's coffin.

The timing of the cartel's suspension proved to be catastrophic. Some of the largest battles of the war occurred in the summer of 1863, and many men were captured. Union and Confederate authorities, already having trouble caring for the prisoners they had, were now overwhelmed. The Confederates, under the direction of Gen. John Winder, responded by opening or expanding several prison facilities, the largest of which were Libby Prison in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, Belle Isle just outside of Richmond, Salisbury Prison in North Carolina, and the notorious ANDERSONVILLE PRISON in Georgia. The Union, under the leadership of Col. William Hoffman, followed suit with Camp Douglas in Chicago, Camp Chase in Ohio, Johnson's Island in Ohio, Elmira in New York, Camp Morton in Indianapolis, and Rock Island in Illinois.

Life in these hastily created prison facilities was generally miserable for captives. This was especially true in the prisons of the resource-strapped Confederacy, but it was true in most Union prisons as well. Shelter was often inadequate, and many men had no shelter at all. Often prisoners were not issued replacements for items of clothing that wore out, and they were forced to brave the winter months with little protection from the elements. The amount of food that captives received tended to be insufficient. Prisoners were supposed to be issued the same rations active soldiers received, but this rarely was the case. Disease was rampant, due to the crowded accommodations and malnutrition. Once prisoner exchanges ceased, captivity proved tantamount to a death sentence for many of the hapless camp residents.

Black prisoners, not surprisingly, had the worst situation of all. Often they were not afforded the opportunity to surrender but, rather, were slaughtered in cold blood. Those who did reach prisons tended to be mistreated and were generally compelled to perform menial labor. Although the Confederate government did not follow through on its threat to return them to SLAVERY, their situation was not much better than if they had been. In May 1864, following the alleged massacre of black prisoners by Confederates under Gen. NATHAN BEDFORD FORREST, public pressure required Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON to invoke retaliatory measures, and the already paltry rations accorded Southern prisoners were further scaled back. It



was not until January 1865 that the Confederate government finally pledged to respect African-American captives as prisoners of war and agreed to exchange them in the same manner as their white compatriots.

Prisoners did what they could to make their lives better. In officers' prisons, such as Libby Prison and Johnson's Island, men were permitted to purchase goods and receive packages from their families. Sometimes, inmates at enlisted men's prisons were afforded the same privileges. Generally, white prisoners were not expected to work, and so they had ample free time. The men read, participated in classes, played games, wrote LETTERS and diaries, made handicrafts, held religious meetings, staged plays, and did whatever else they could to relieve their boredom. Many inmates spent time making escape plans, which were occasionally successful. The largest escape occurred on February 9, 1864, when 109 Union officers traveled through an underground tunnel they had dug under Libby Prison.

Most prisoners, however, were unable to escape and were forced to endure prison life. By late 1863 the misery endured by captives on both sides became an important political issue, as both Confederate and Union authorities used stories of prisoner mistreatment as propaganda. Eventually, political pressure led to a compromise in April 1864, and the sickest prisoners on both sides were exchanged. The "living skeletons" returned by the Confederates seemed to confirm suspicions that they were deliberately mistreating prisoners. Some Northerners became determined to exact revenge on the South. Many Northern citizens blamed the soldiers' suffering on President Lincoln because he had suspended prisoner exchanges, and for a time he believed the issue would have an impact on his reelection chances.

In January 1865, when the desperate Confederates finally agreed to exchange black soldiers, Northern authorities felt that the war was in hand and that nothing was to be gained by allowing imprisoned Union soldiers to suffer any further, so they agreed to resume the exchanges. By May 1865 all prisoners on both sides had been released. Of course, for many men it was too late. Of the estimated 462,634 Confederates taken prisoner, 25,976 died, a mortality rate of 12 percent. Of the estimated 211,411 Union soldiers captured, 30,218 died in captivity, a rate of 15.5 percent. Nearly 9 percent of the men who died during the war did so in prison.

After 1865 many Northerners pressed for the punishment of those responsible for the suffering of Union prisoners, and Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt was given the responsibility of investigating the matter. His efforts to identify and apprehend the presumed guilty parties were generally unsuccessful, although he was able to see to it that Andersonville superintendent Henry Wirz was tried and executed. Wirz, who was more incompetent than he was deliberately cruel, became the only person to be executed

for war crimes during the Civil War. Meanwhile, Confederate authorities, including JEFFERSON DAVIS, argued in newspapers and books that Confederate prisons had done their best with the resources available to them. However, these apologists tended to be drowned out by the prisoners themselves, who also took pen in hand. Based on the available testimony, this was one area where the Confederacy proved unable to redeem itself after the war. The notorious Andersonville site is home to a modern museum dedicated to all those who suffered or died as prisoners, regardless of the uniform they wore or the conflict in which they served.

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—Christopher Bates

## prostitution

Women who engaged in sexual intercourse for money, or prostitutes, primarily worked in the urban areas during the 19th century. It is difficult to estimate with any reliability exactly how many prostitutes were working at any given time given the moral stigma associated with the profession. The best numbers available come from a study done by Dr. William Sanger, who was a well-known expert at the time. Studying prostitutes in NEW YORK CITY from 1850 to 1870, he found a steady rise in the number of women engaging in the trade, from 5,413 in 1850 to 8,750 in 1860 to 9,894 in 1870. By 1870, when he concluded his study, Sanger estimated that 2 percent of New York's women were working as prostitutes.

Prostitutes who worked in brothels, also known as "bawdy houses," "bordellos," or "bagnios," tended to be favored by the members of the upper class and by young, single middle-class men living in the city on their own.



These establishments were typically run by former prostitutes, called “madams,” and were usually fairly discreet. Brothels often served liquor and food and would sometimes entertain men for an entire weekend. Less affluent working-class men, such as sailors, could not afford such luxuries and were compelled to find prostitutes in the public places that they were known to frequent, particularly cigar stores, dance halls, and THEATERS.

The public presence of prostitutes in high-profile cities such as New York and PHILADELPHIA called forth many moral reform or antvice movements, beginning early in the 19th century and gathering momentum in the 1830s and 1840s and lasting to the end of the century. Christian ministers and middle-class women agitated against prostitutes and their customers, calling for harsher laws on the one hand and positive programs to restore the “fallen angels” away from their degraded lives on the other. Victorian notions of Christian propriety elevated the status of women based on their domesticity, purity, and piety. Obviously, the idea of young women selling their bodies for the sexual pleasure of men was deeply disturbing to many citizens. Yet in an era of growing poverty, many prostitutes felt forced to enter the trade due to financial considerations. At a time when living expenses were about \$1.50 per week for a single woman, factory and domestic jobs paid between 75¢ and \$2.00 a week. A successful prostitute, on the other hand, could earn \$50 to \$100 a week.

Political authorities in cities, responding to public outrage, regularly took steps to curtail the spread of prostitution, passing vagrancy laws or arresting any woman suspected of being a prostitute. In 1873 New York’s Committee for the Suppression of Legalized Vice was founded by prominent abolitionists and feminists, including Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Blackwell. These female purity reformers demanded new and strictly enforced laws against rape and prostitution.

There was opposition to these actions. Some doctors fought against antiprostitution laws, fearing they would lose business. Even some religious conservatives opposed steps taken to curtail prostitution, believing that God would punish prostitutes for their immorality by giving them sexually transmitted diseases. However, most Christian reformers believed in the redemption and reform of prostitutes and their clients.

Sexually transmitted diseases were indeed a major risk for prostitutes, particularly given the fact that some diseases, such as syphilis, could be fatal. Another problem was unwanted pregnancies. Although a number of methods of birth control, including condoms, were available, they were often unreliable or difficult to obtain. Rape was also a major concern of prostitutes, and although rape laws existed, convictions were rare. Most women worked as prostitutes for very short periods of their lives, and many came to tragic ends.

During the CIVIL WAR, prostitution increased. From 1861 to 1865, the majority of women worked as NURSES or in soldier’s aid societies, fulfilling their traditional Victorian roles as domestic nurturers. Less motherly were the thousands of prostitutes who flocked to the cities, from WASHINGTON, D.C., and RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, to the lesser-known depots, such as Keokuk, Iowa, and Sewanee, Tennessee. Most notorious were Memphis and Nashville, where prostitution was placed under military licensing to control disease, an experiment that did not outlast the war years. One private described Nashville’s red-light district: “There was an old saying that no man could be a soldier unless he had gone through Smokey Row. . . . Women had no thought of dress or decency. They said Smokey Row killed more soldiers than the war.”

Many young volunteer soldiers, away from their families for the first time, took advantage of the opportunity to drink, gamble, and consort with the kind of women that were scorned back at home. Soldiers stationed in or near cities were particularly likely to solicit prostitutes, who often walked the streets quite openly. One reporter stationed in Washington, D.C., for example, complained that the city was “the most pestiferous hole since the days of Sodom and Gomorrah.” Prostitutes sometimes traveled with the armies, as well.

Some commanders were unconcerned with the sexual behavior of their men. Generals DANIEL E. SICKLES and JOSEPH HOOKER were notoriously liberal in their attitudes about sex, although the story that the slang term *hooker* was adopted from the general’s name is not true. Most generals and junior officers were less understanding than Sickles and Hooker, however, and did what they could to limit their men’s access to prostitutes. This was due to a combination of moral concerns and practical matters—men inflicted with sexually transmitted diseases were made temporarily or permanently unavailable for duty. Despite the best efforts of Northern leadership, there were 182,482 diagnosed cases of syphilis and gonorrhea among Union soldiers during the Civil War. There is little statistical information available for Confederate soldiers, but it can be assumed that the rates of infection were similar.

See also WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Christopher Bates



**Quantrill, William Clarke** (1837–1865) *Confederate soldier*

William Clarke Quantrill was a captain of the Confederate Partisan Rangers and the infamous leader of a guerrilla band known as “Quantrill’s Raiders.” Born in Canal Dover, Ohio, on July 31, 1837, he was a schoolteacher before moving to the Kansas Territory in 1857. Bitter antagonism between abolitionists and proslavery factions characterized the Kansas of the 1850s, and Quantrill joined the proslavery “border ruffians” after a series of odd jobs in Utah and Colorado. Operating under the alias Charley Hart, Quantrill switched loyalties to “jayhawking” abolitionists in Lawrence, Kansas, where he was wanted by authorities for kidnapping and theft. His ambush of his own JAYHAWKER band at Morgan Walker’s farm in Jackson County, Missouri, however, established him firmly in the proslavery faction of the BUSHWHACKERS.

Quantrill’s growing group of followers was loosely affiliated with the Missouri State Guard commanded by Confederate Maj. Gen. Sterling Price. Quantrill’s cavalry company also participated in the Battle of Wilson’s Creek on August 10, 1861, in which the CONFEDERATE ARMY, under Brig. Gen. Ben McCulloch, defeated the Union forces under Capt. Nathaniel Lyon. Quantrill’s Raiders continued to aid the Confederate cause throughout the war, largely by keeping Union troops distracted and away from the larger Confederate armies.

Officially made a captain of the Partisan Rangers on August 15, 1862, Quantrill often referred to himself as a colonel, and his followers usually numbered from a dozen to a couple hundred. Some of the most prominent members of the band included George Todd and Cole Younger, and later William “Bloody Bill” Anderson and Frank and Jesse James. The raiders were successful in looting and burning several small towns and garrisons on the Kansas-Missouri border and in murdering Union sympathizers, military and civilian alike. They sacked the towns of Aubry, Olathe, and

Shawneetown, Kansas, and were briefly assigned to Col. Joe Shelby’s regiment in Arkansas.

The best-known exploit of Quantrill’s Raiders was the destruction of Lawrence, the center of abolitionist activity in Kansas, on August 21, 1863. Quantrill gathered a force of about 450 men, the largest guerrilla force organized at one time in the CIVIL WAR, for what is now considered the most terrible massacre of the entire war. The raiders murdered 150 men and burned and looted almost all of the town, possibly in retaliation for the forced deportation of family members and other sympathizers in Missouri, or perhaps for the deaths of female relatives who were killed when the building in which they were forcibly held collapsed.

The Raiders headed south for winter quarters, routing a small federal force in Baxter Springs, Kansas, on their way to Texas. While encamped in Mineral Creek, Texas, during the winter of 1863–64, tensions among leaders led to a breakdown in group cohesion. After returning to Missouri in April 1864, a quarrel between Quantrill and Todd resulted in Quantrill’s leaving the Partisan Rangers and Todd’s taking over the leadership. However, Quantrill, Todd, and Anderson briefly reunited to support Sterling Price’s invasion of northern and western Missouri in the summer of 1864, during which Todd and Anderson were killed in action. This last major Confederate assault in Missouri dissolved in failure, and the effectiveness of guerrilla activities decreased as well.

Quantrill led a small band into Kentucky, where Maj. Gen. John M. Palmer sent out a group of federal bushwhackers against him, led by Edwin Terrill. In an ambush at Wakefield’s farm near Bloomfield on May 10, 1865, Quantrill was disabled by a shot to the spine and was later taken to a military hospital in Louisville. He died there on June 6, 1865, and was buried in an unmarked grave. A strange series of events, however, later brought his body to rest in Canal Dover (Dover), Ohio, while the disintegrated remains of his ribs and spine were left in Louisville and his arm and shinbone were eventually buried in Higginsville, Missouri.

William Clarke Quantrill was considered to have leadership abilities, a calm disposition under pressure, and a tendency toward ruthlessness. His activities are an example of guerrilla warfare during the Civil War and illustrate the scale and nature of hostilities between proslavery and abolitionist forces in Kansas and Missouri in the 1850s and 1860s.

See also ABOLITION; BLEEDING KANSAS; KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT.

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—Stacey Graham



### race and racial conflict

Although race and **SLAVERY** were at the center of the long sectional conflict that led up to the **CIVIL WAR**, at the beginning of the war few Americans either Northern or Southern would admit that the war was about slavery. Leaders on both sides insisted that they were fighting to preserve the Constitution and to protect the rights of white citizens of the United States. Despite such statements, however, race was a central part of how Americans thought about the Civil War, and racial conflict was a key factor on the **HOMEFRONT** of both the Confederacy and the Union.

The Confederate Constitution guaranteed the rights of its citizens to own slaves and to take them into the western territories (the latter point was central to the debates and compromises of the antebellum period). It did not allow for the importation of slaves, and it held open the possibility that future states could choose not to allow slavery. There was little confusion in the South about the role of slavery in the Confederate war effort. For Southerners, the main concern was how to deal with the slaves they already had.

Most slave men and women knew that their futures depended on which side won the Civil War. Nearly 200,000 African Americans, mostly former slaves, were able to strike a blow against slavery by serving in the **UNION ARMY**. Those slaves who were unable to take refuge within Union lines sometimes broke the rules that had governed slavery for generations. They talked back to white folks, took liberties with their masters' property, and ignored restrictions on their movements. Kate Stone, a Southern plantation mistress, reported crowds of "strange Negro men" standing around Delhi, Louisiana, where her refugee family paused on their journey to Texas during the war. Although a mob of black men had reportedly robbed another party of **REFUGEES**, the men Kate saw simply stood and grinned, which "terrified us more and more." On another occasion, a company of black men actually threatened Kate and her mother with pistols. No harm came to them, but

the incident was obviously frightening for a person raised around obedient slaves. Despite incidents like these, in which slaves took advantage of the confusion and of the absence of many white men to test the boundaries of slavery, there was surprisingly little serious resistance among Southern slaves during the Civil War. No slave rebellions were reported, although in 1861 a conspiracy among slaves living near Natchez was suspected; dozens of slaves were killed and beaten as a result. This was rare, however, and a majority of slaves remained on their masters' **PLANTATIONS**, doing their jobs and waiting for whatever the end of the war would bring.

One of the most difficult questions facing the United States was the issue of slavery. Congress passed several **CONFISCATION ACTS** during the first year of the war that allowed army commanders to confiscate the property, including slaves, of Southerners loyal to the Confederacy. President **ABRAHAM LINCOLN** refused to act. Northern abolitionists wanted him to come out publicly against slavery and to make its destruction one of the official war aims of the federal government. **HORACE GREELEY**, the editor of the *New York Tribune*, urged the president to do just that in a letter published in his newspaper called "Prayer of Twenty Millions." Lincoln's famous reply was, "My paramount object *is* to save the Union, and *is not* either to save or to destroy slavery."

Lincoln's reluctance to come out against slavery was due to several factors. First of all, four slave states—Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware—had remained in the Union, and Lincoln did not want to anger them by taking steps against slavery. Secondly, Northern Democrats did not want to make the war to save the Union into a war to end slavery. Most soldiers in the **UNION ARMY** cared little about the issue of slavery, and most Northerners were not interested in the plight of slaves in the South. Finally, although Lincoln had hated the institution of slavery ever since witnessing it as a young man during a trip to New Orleans, the president did not believe that white people in

the United States would ever allow African Americans to receive political or social equality. He even told a group of black leaders who visited him in 1862 that it would be better if the races were separated by sending black Americans to colonies in Africa.

Lincoln did, of course, make the elimination of slavery one of the war aims of the United States with the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. He issued the preliminary version of the proclamation on September 22, 1862; the “final” version went into effect on January 1, 1863. The proclamation was undertaken, Lincoln said, as a military measure. It freed no slaves in the border states or in any areas occupied by U.S. forces. It applied only to slaves living in those parts of the Confederacy still “in rebellion” against the United States. His reasoning for the proclamation was that it would encourage slaves to run away, to resist their masters, and to undermine the Confederate war effort. He also believed that bringing the issue of slavery into the war would ward off any sort of intervention by European countries like Great Britain and France, who had considered helping the Confederacy but, because their governments were officially against slavery, could not very well support a country openly fighting to preserve it.

The Emancipation Proclamation was met with a storm of protest. Democrats hated it, and in the 1862 election a number of Democrats won races for state legislatures and Congress at least partly because of Lincoln’s decision. Many white Americans opposed the recruiting of African Americans for the U.S. Army, which began late in 1862. And when New Yorkers rioted against being conscripted into the army in the summer of 1863, they made scapegoats out of African Americans, a number of whom were killed by mobs.

EMANCIPATION continued anyway, and most Northerners eventually got used to the idea. Union soldiers were even given pocket-sized versions of the Emancipation Proclamation to hand out to free African Americans and slaves. It is unknown how many read them, but wherever Union troops went in the South, slaves ran away from their masters and began their new lives as free people. When Congress passed the THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT late in the war and the states ratified it toward the end of 1865, the way was paved for all African Americans to begin the process of becoming full citizens, a result of the Civil War that few Americans would have predicted four years before. Unfortunately, the habits of the long span of U.S. history were hard to overcome, and despite the best efforts of Radical RECONSTRUCTION, racial assumptions and habits of the United States were not greatly changed by the victory of Union forces on the battlefield.

See also ABOLITION; AFRICAN-AMERICAN REGIMENTS; BLACK CODES; NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOTS.

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—James Marten

## Radical Republicans

A group of the REPUBLICAN PARTY that controlled Congress briefly in the post-CIVIL WAR period, the Radical Republicans sought a vastly changed Southern political, economic, and social world. They insisted on civil and voting rights for freedmen and opposed President ANDREW JOHNSON’s efforts to reunite the sections without forcing major changes on the former Confederate states.

Throughout the Civil War, the Republican Party enjoyed a large majority of both houses of Congress. This majority was hardly unified, however, as ideological divisions between congressional Republicans became increasingly pronounced over the course of the war. Most Republicans were satisfied with the moderate approach to the war advocated by President ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Radicals, however, such as CHARLES SUMNER, BENJAMIN WADE, and THADDEUS STEVENS, were constantly at odds with the president over the timing and pace of EMANCIPATION, the enrollment of black soldiers, and the advancement of equal rights for the freedpeople. Already frustrated over Lincoln’s slowness concerning racial progress, the Radical Republicans also clashed bitterly with the president over his lenient wartime RECONSTRUCTION policies.

As the war ended, Congress began to focus on plans for reconstructing the shattered nation. The Radicals believed that the end of the war represented an opportunity to remake Southern society into a free-labor, egalitarian, and racially just society. Senator Sumner of Massachusetts provided a clear justification for this position: He declared that the Southern states had committed “suicide” when they left the Union and thus had reverted to the status of territories. Conveniently, the control of territories fell to Congress.

Moderates such as James G. Blaine in the House and John Sherman in the Senate preferred a less revolutionary approach. They, like most Northerners, demanded that Southern citizens pledge loyalty to the Union, accept freedom for the African Americans, and provide basic protections to the freedpeople as they established their new lives.

Initially, these two views existed in a delicate balance. Congressional Republicans of all positions were willing to work with the new president, Andrew Johnson. They expected him to articulate his own reconstruction plan, and then compromise with Congress over points of disagree-



ment. Unfortunately, Johnson believed that control of the reconstruction process should be exclusively in his hands. Radical Republicans took the lead in organizing the opposition to presidential Reconstruction, with serious consequences for Johnson.

Johnson, a clumsy politician, managed to offend his most sympathetic congressional constituents, the moderate Republicans. Now they totally supported the actions of Radical Republicans, who persuaded their colleagues to refuse to seat Southern congressmen elected under Johnson's reconstruction plan. Moreover, Radicals also established the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, a platform from which they led the anti-Johnson movement.

Johnson vetoed both the FREEDMEN'S BUREAU bill and CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1866. Congress passed both over his veto, signaling the final breakdown of relations between the Radicals and the president. All in the North seemed to support using the power of the federal government to ensure freedom and safety for the vulnerable population of ex-slaves. One Republican newspaper editorialized that civil rights for the freedpeople "follows from the suppression of the rebellion. . . . The party is nothing, if it does not do this the nation is dishonored . . ."

In 1867 Congress also overrode the president's veto of the RECONSTRUCTION ACTS, which divided the South into five military districts whose commanders were to exercise authority to oversee the steps of readmittance back into the Union. African Americans were to be registered to vote, while former Confederates were disqualified. Each state wishing to rejoin the Union had to ratify the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT and to draft a new state constitution that guaranteed the citizenship rights of black people.

After the Tenure of Office Act was passed, forbidding Johnson to remove cabinet members without congressional approval, Johnson's only recourse was to remove the military commanders who did not support him. The former Confederate states were in near anarchy. This was particularly dangerous for African Americans, who were left unprotected from the fury of former Confederates.

By 1868 Congress and the president had become so estranged that the Radicals were able to bring articles of impeachment against the president. Johnson escaped conviction by one vote, and the failure of impeachment signaled the beginning of the end of the Radicals' hold on power.

The Radical Republicans lost their prominent position in the party by the election of 1868. The moderates, led by President ULYSSES S. GRANT, now had the responsibility of implementing congressional Reconstruction in the Southern states. The death of several of the Radicals' most powerful and famous leaders, especially Sumner and Stevens, contributed to the decline of the faction as well.

As the years wore on, white Southern resistance to efforts by Republicans to integrate freed people into

Southern politics and society grew stronger, not weaker. The restructuring of Southern life from outside seemed useless, and the Northern public had lost its enthusiasm for it. Instead, Northerners wanted to forget the war and welcome Southerners back into the Union.

Although some historians have judged the Radical Republicans harshly for the failure or the inadequacy of their programs, other scholars argue that it is well worth recognizing the value of the goals for which the Radicals fought. Civil rights, suffrage, and the elimination of the racial hierarchy of the South seemed within their reach. After all, few could imagine in 1860 that 4 million African Americans would be free in just a few years. African Americans had achieved legal equality by the end of Reconstruction, although social and political equality would have to wait much longer. Perhaps the most important legislation in American history passed with the aid and guidance of the Radical Republicans and was the foundation for much of the racial progress in the 20th century.

See also BLACK CODES; IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

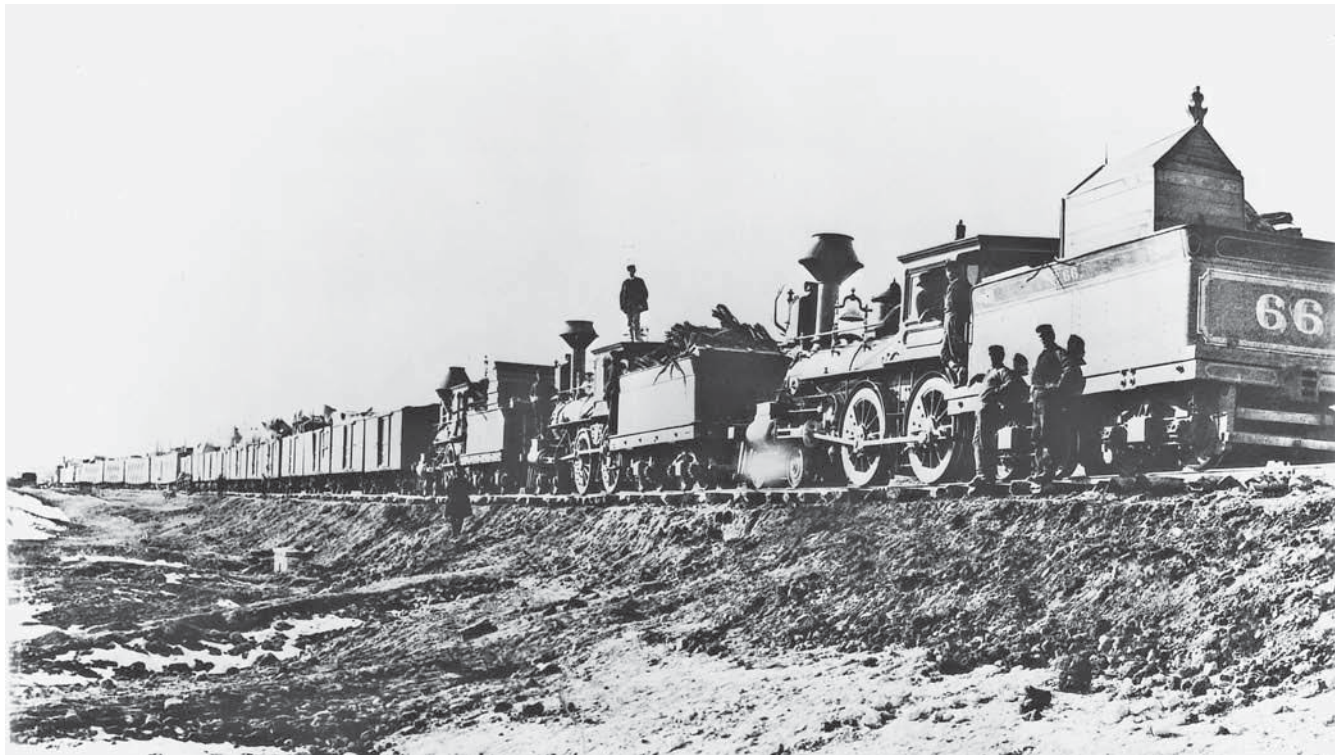
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—Fiona Galvin

## railroads

Inspired by success in Britain, American entrepreneurs lobbied for railroad construction in the late 1820s. By the end of the 1850s total rail mileage in the United States reached 30,000 miles. The initial boom of rail building was concentrated in the Northeast and Midwest. By 1860 one could reach almost anywhere east of the MISSISSIPPI RIVER from New York in a week or less. American lawmakers championed the railroad as a triumph over nature and claimed that its growth connected remote areas to a political and economic center.

When the CIVIL WAR broke out in 1860 railroad growth continued, but largely in the Northern states. Better TRANSPORTATION links ultimately helped Union troops by providing them quicker access to supplies and a means to move fresh troops. Confederate troops were hurt by a Southern railroad system geared toward the movement of cotton and reliant on Northern industries for repair materials. In the middle of the war, Congress created two federally chartered corporations to build a transcontinental railroad. The acts granted the Central Pacific Railroad



Photograph showing a construction train on the Union Pacific Railroad (Library of Congress)

the right to build eastward beginning in Sacramento, California, and the Union Pacific Railroad the right to build westward from Omaha, Nebraska. Each corporation was given land to lay rails as well as large parcels of land on either side of the line to develop as they saw fit. While the land grants created space for new towns, they bypassed other areas and upset already settled NATIVE AMERICAN lands.

Irish immigrants, African Americans, and Civil War VETERANS worked in gangs from Omaha to build 1,086 miles of the Union Pacific. From California, a largely Chinese labor force built 689 miles of the Central Pacific over the treacherous Sierra Nevada. On May 10, 1869, the two lines met at Promontory Point, Utah. The nation's first transcontinental railroad was completed.

Whereas before the Civil War rail lines followed the pattern of settlement, afterward the rapid expansion of the railroad usually preceded and encouraged settlement. The railroad acted as a major transportation system for western settlers. Railroads also shifted economic and political power westward.

Railroad enterprises became America's first major corporations. The amount of capital needed to build a road and maintain a line led to the increased economic power of banks and investment houses. After linking the West and

East, railroads helped to focus attention on national issues, including the emerging connections between government and industry.

See also PACIFIC RAILROAD ACT.

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—Samantha Holtkamp Gervase

**Rainey, Joseph H.** (1832–1887) *politician*

Four-term congressman and well-to-do barber Joseph Hayne Rainey was born a slave in Georgetown, South Carolina. When he was a child, his family purchased its freedom and moved to Charleston.

Forced to labor on Confederate fortifications in Charleston at the beginning of the CIVIL WAR, Rainey fled to Bermuda with his wife, Susan, for the duration of the war. In 1865 he returned to South Carolina and involved

himself in REPUBLICAN PARTY politics. He represented Georgetown County at the state constitutional convention of 1868. A year later, he was appointed census taker and later served as county agent for the state land commission and brigadier general in the state militia. As a member of the state senate, Rainey had a generally conservative record. He rejected land confiscation for freedmen and endorsed a poll tax. In 1870 he was elected to Congress, the first black American to be seated in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Rainey was a member of the 41st–45th Congresses (1870–79). In the House, he was mostly known for his strident support of the ENFORCEMENT ACTS, legislation designed to protect African Americans from violent attacks by groups such as the KU KLUX KLAN. Speaking on the issue of whether the Civil War amendments necessitated the expansion of the powers of the federal government, Rainey said: “I desire that so broad and liberal a construction be placed upon its provisions as will insure the protection to the humblest citizen. Tell me nothing of a constitution which fails to shelter beneath its rightful power the people of a country.”

Rainey was defeated for reelection in 1878. After leaving Congress, he was appointed a U.S. internal revenue agent, a position he held for two years. He then moved to WASHINGTON, D.C., where he was involved in the banking and brokerage business for several years. Rainey died in Georgetown, South Carolina, in 1887.

See also KU KLUX KLAN ACT.

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—Justin J. Behrend

### **Rapier, James T.** (1837–1883) *politician*

James Thomas Rapier was an African-American politician who served during RECONSTRUCTION. Rapier was born in Florence, Alabama, on November 13, 1837, to free African-American parents. He was educated at schools in Nashville, Tennessee, and Buxton, Ontario, where his father owned property, before returning to the United States to work as a journalist and grow cotton in Maury County, Tennessee. Highly literate and an engaging speaker, Rapier first garnered public attention by addressing the Tennessee Negro Suffrage Convention at Nashville in 1865. In the following year he returned to Florence to pursue a life of public service, although Alabama was under federal Reconstruction at that time and racial animosity toward blacks was intense.

In 1867 Rapier was a delegate to the first Alabama Republican Convention, where he served as chairman of the platform committee and also as a delegate to the state constitutional convention. In this capacity he urged moderate disenfranchisement of former Confederates and equal protection for all races. In 1869 Rapier was appointed director of the FREEDMAN'S SAVING BANK in Montgomery, and he also helped organize the National Negro Labor Convention. After several years of racial hostility and unsuccessful election attempts, Rapier finally won a seat in the U.S. Congress in 1872. As congressman he argued for improvements in Alabama's waterways and also advocated a new civil rights bill. He lost his bid for reelection in 1874, however. Four years later he became collector of revenue for Alabama's second district, a position he held until 1883. In his declining years Rapier apparently gave up state governance and urged African Americans to migrate to Kansas. He died in Montgomery on May 31, 1883.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### **Ray, Charlotte** (1850–1911) *activist, lawyer, teacher*

An activist for women's rights and the first African-American woman admitted to the bar, Charlotte Ray was born in NEW YORK CITY to Rev. Charles Bennett Ray and his second wife, Charlotte Augusta Burroughs. Charles Ray, editor of the *Colored American*, was one of the most distinguished African Americans in New York. He also participated in the UNDERGROUND RAILROAD, assisting fugitives from SLAVERY. Charlotte, one of seven children, attended the Institution for the Education of Colored Youth in WASHINGTON, D.C.

After finishing school, Ray obtained a position teaching in the normal and preparatory departments at Howard University. While at Howard, Ray attended law school, earning a Juris Doctoris in February 1872. In March of that year Ray was admitted to the bar. She was the first African-American woman admitted to any bar and the first woman admitted to the bar in Washington, D.C.

Ray attempted to practice law in Washington but found that prejudice against her was too strong. In spite of Washington's long history as a haven for educated, affluent, and professional African Americans, Ray was unable to sustain her practice and was forced to find other EMPLOYMENT. Her connection with the city of her birth had been renewed when she joined the NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION of New York, and in 1879 she returned to New York to live.



Although she could not practice law, Ray used her extensive education by teaching in Brooklyn's public schools. In 1886 she met and married a man named Fraim, with whom she lived until her death from bronchitis in 1911.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Darlene Clark Hine, *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1993); J. Clay Smith, *Emancipation: The Making of the Black Lawyer, 1844–1944* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

—Megan Quinn

### Reconstruction (1865–1877)

Reconstruction was the process of bringing the 11 seceded Southern states back into the Union. The goals of Reconstruction were twofold: to restore harmonious relations between the sections and to define and secure freedom for the ex-slaves. The term also describes the period directly after the CIVIL WAR. Until fairly recently, Reconstruction was portrayed as an evil time when ignorant and base African Americans, corrupt and greedy CARPETBAGGERS, and treacherous SCALAWAGS ruled and ruined the helpless white Southern population. According to this interpretation, only when the Southern Democratic “redeemers” recaptured the state governments from the REPUBLICAN PARTY did sanity again prevail throughout the region. The current history books present a far more positive and more complex depiction of the era. Reconstruction was a huge task that not only involved readmitting the seceded states but also reinventing a South without SLAVERY and rebuilding the Southern infrastructure that had been destroyed by the war.

The South paid a very high price for SECESSION, war, and bitter defeat. One out of every 10 white men was killed; much of the rich agricultural land in Virginia and large parts of Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia, and South Carolina lay in ruins. Most of the South's cities and towns were burned or destroyed, including RICHMOND, VIRGINIA; Atlanta, Georgia; and Columbia, South Carolina. Thousands of black and white REFUGEES were homeless and in dire circumstances. Slavery was destroyed, and millions of human beings that had been property and capital were now free. What would that freedom entail? Economic, political, and moral questions central to the conflict had to be addressed as early as 1863. Indeed, Reconstruction unfolded in several stages: wartime Reconstruction, presidential Reconstruction, and congressional Reconstruction. The last stage was the so-called REDEMPTION of the South.

#### Wartime Reconstruction

The necessity to plan for Reconstruction began well before the end of the war. When President ABRAHAM LINCOLN's

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION of 1863 officially freed the slaves in the Confederate states, it set in motion a radical alteration of the American South, which would complicate the task of reuniting the nation should the North prevail. From 1861 to 1863, the major Northern goal in the war was restoration of the Union. Now, added to that was a second goal: freedom for the slaves. As is well known, every aspect of the Southern economy and society was connected with the institution of slavery. Even the majority of Southerners who did not own slaves had a deep stake in the system. They sold their crops to plantation owners and elected proslavery men to represent them in office. Ordinary white farmers also helped to enforce slave codes and aspired to own slaves themselves. Thus, Reconstruction would not only involve bringing white Confederates back to the national “family” table but also setting a place at that table for black people whose status beyond freedom was unclear.

The Emancipation Proclamation proved a powerful weapon for the Northern military cause as 180,000 black men, most of them ex-slaves, donned the Union blue. This struck a mighty blow against the Confederacy. Successful Union campaigns brought more and more Southern territory—in Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Arkansas—under Northern military control. Lincoln wanted to reinstate loyal civilian governments as soon as possible and demonstrate to Southerners that the United States would be forgiving in welcoming back to the fold the “errant children.”

On December 8, 1863, Lincoln unveiled his Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction. Lincoln based his authority to control Reconstruction on the section of the U.S. Constitution that states “that the President shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States.” The proclamation offered generous terms to individuals and a simple and easy method for citizens to reestablish local and state governments. Former Confederates who took an oath of loyalty to the Union were given amnesty. High-ranking Confederate governmental and military officials were exempted from the oath's provisions. Once 10 percent of a state's voting population in 1860 had sworn allegiance to the Union, they could write a new constitution and hold elections to establish the state government. Lincoln's one requirement was that all of the states accept emancipation.

Lincoln's “Ten Percent Plan” was based on his firm belief that, because the Southern states could not legally secede, they were never out of the Union. Lincoln, realizing that the RADICAL REPUBLICANS had a far harsher plan in mind, seized the initiative with his proclamation and proceeded to order it implemented in Louisiana. Radical Republicans in Congress, such as THADDEUS STEVENS and CHARLES SUMNER, attacked Lincoln's Ten Percent Plan. They were alarmed that the plan was too easy on the rebels

and made no provision for incorporating civil-rights protections for African Americans. Indeed, Radicals attacked Lincoln for taking rightful power away from the legislative branch. Radicals put forward the idea that the Confederacy had committed “state suicide” and had reverted to the status of territories. Since Congress had control over the process of admitting new territories to the nation, it should also control the process of readmitting the former rebel states.

Congress formulated a reconstruction program of its own with the WADE-DAVIS BILL in July 1864. The bill set high standards for reunion. It required a majority of the white male population to swear allegiance to the Constitution before they could begin the process of electing delegates to a state convention. Suffrage would be restricted to only those who had signed an IRONCLAD OATH. Wade-Davis required that the new state constitutions guarantee black citizens of the state equality under the law.

Lincoln pocket-vetoed (he refused to sign the bill, and it failed to become law) the Wade-Davis Bill in the summer of 1864. Congress responded by refusing to seat congressional delegates from Ten Percent Plan states, which by the end of the war included Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Virginia. A standoff between the president and Congress was avoided due to Lincoln’s triumphant reelection and the feelings of harmony engendered by the Union victory in late 1864 and early 1865. At the time of his death, Lincoln anticipated working with Congress to forge a sensible compromise on Reconstruction. Doubtless, Lincoln’s skills as a politician would have avoided the disastrous conflict between the two branches of government that characterized the administration of the new president, Tennessee Democrat and former slaveholder ANDREW JOHNSON.

### ***Presidential Reconstruction, 1865–1867***

President Johnson was determined to follow Lincoln’s precedent and set the terms for Reconstruction from the White House. Congress was not in session when Johnson assumed the presidency, and he controlled Reconstruction for nearly eight months, creating a storm of protest with his actions. He granted liberal pardons to those former Confederates not covered by his amnesty proclamation of May 1865. He went on to appoint provisional GOVERNORS for any Confederate states that had not already been “reconstructed” by Lincoln. He charged those governors with convening state constitutional conventions that would adopt the THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT, nullify secession, and repudiate all Confederate war debts. Johnson did not demand that the former Confederate states accept black suffrage, and, in the end, his restored South looked very much like the antebellum South without the legal institution of slavery.

Radical Republicans were outraged, and moderate members of Congress were troubled by reports of violence against African Americans. Just as problematic was the fact that many of the former Confederates, acting defiantly, were in control of the governments of these reconstructed states. Congress pushed for guarantees of rights and freedoms for African Americans and for the imposition of harsh penalties for former Confederate officials and officers. They were also eager to oversee the establishment of a viable Republican Party in the South.

Although in late 1865 and early 1866 Radical leaders were convinced that Congress needed to take complete control of Reconstruction, the majority still hoped for a workable compromise with Johnson. The moderates were willing to keep the new governments as long as some crucial modifications were added to Johnson’s requirements. They demanded the acceptance of the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT, which granted citizenship to African Americans, and the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1866. Johnson refused to bend. He argued that the amendment and the bill represented an unconstitutional expansion of national power over state sovereignty. Johnson vetoed the Civil Rights Act, and his veto was promptly overridden.

The language of Johnson’s veto was crude and insulting to the Republicans; clearly, he was not interested in compromise of any sort. His political incompetence pushed an increasing number of moderate Republicans into the Radical fold. The Radicals wanted to recast the South in the free-labor style and establish a Southern Republican Party with the support and the votes of the freedmen. The fall elections of 1866 had supplied the Radicals with a mandate to pursue their program. Presidential Reconstruction was dead with the solid veto-proof Republican congressional majority.

### ***Congressional Reconstruction 1867–1877***

Congress passed the RECONSTRUCTION ACTS of 1867. The acts divided up the South into five military districts, each to be temporarily governed by an appointed U.S. army general who would oversee the transition of the new states back into the Union. The acts enfranchised freed people and disenfranchised many former officials of the Confederacy. The acts also made readmission to the Union contingent on granting suffrage to freedmen and ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment.

Johnson tried to block congressional Reconstruction, but his vetoes were overridden. The deeply hostile relationship between the president and Congress ultimately resulted in Johnson’s impeachment trial. Despite avoiding conviction and removal from office by the Senate, Johnson was a lame-duck president. Congress controlled Reconstruction throughout the rest of his term in office.



and continued to hold the reins during the presidency of war-hero ULYSSES S. GRANT.

When Grant was elected in 1868, congressional Republicans believed they had a solid friend in the White House. Grant had previously sided against Johnson on matters pertaining to the reuniting of the Union, so Congress's plans for the Union seemed secure. Grant favored using the army and the federal Department of Justice to enforce Reconstruction in the South, and during his tenure in office the FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT granting suffrage to African-American men was passed.

The end of 1868 saw six former Confederate states—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina—rejoin the nation under the Reconstruction Acts' requirements. In 1870, after ratifying the Fifteenth Amendment, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia were readmitted. Most of the above states were now under the control of the Republican Party, which governed with a biracial coalition. Southern Republicans were in power, but they faced momentous challenges in office. The Republicans needed the support of three major groups to establish a permanent presence in the Southern states. The first group comprised white Northerners that came South during the war and settled there after the war. These men were often former Union soldiers, Freedmen's Bureau agents, businesspeople, and teachers. Called carpetbaggers, they provided a solid core of leadership for the party. The second group was made of white Southerners sympathetic to the Union during the war. Scorned by many of their fellow Southerners, these "scalawags" desired a more economically progressive South that followed in the Northern footsteps. African Americans formed the third and largest group in the Republican coalition.

Under congressional Reconstruction and with the support of President Grant and the protection of the U.S. Army, freedmen joined UNION LEAGUES, voted enthusiastically, engaged in other political actions, and were elected to all levels of government throughout the South. South Carolina and Louisiana had a majority of African-American legislators, and there were 16 African Americans elected to the U.S. Congress. Most of the black officeholders were competent and intelligent men. The Republican state governments instituted positive changes during the 1870s, including introducing public school education, establishing welfare institutions, and encouraging business investment in the region. Unfortunately, corruption did taint many of the Republican administrations, an issue that the Southern Democrats used to great advantage.

### *Redemption*

The depressed Southern economy could not be revived, and the region suffered from dire poverty throughout the Reconstruction period and well beyond 1877. The

ex-slaves had hoped for land reform as well as the vote, but instead they settled for SHARECROPPING, a labor arrangement that favored the cotton planters. Meanwhile, the Republican coalition was coming apart under relentless pressure from white Democrats. Southerners railed against "Black Republicanism" and fought against "Negro rule." The KU KLUX KLAN and other terrorist organizations committed terrible acts of violence against African-American officeholders and Republican politicians and voters. The ENFORCEMENT ACTS stopped the Klan terror but could not stop the crumbling of the Republican Party and the reemergence of the Democrats. When white Southerners regained control of their state governments, they immediately removed African Americans from office and did whatever possible to deny black voters their voice in politics.

In the 1870s, both the federal government and the Northern people began to tire of the continual fight to reconstruct their former foes. Other issues, like the Indian Wars in the West and the CRÉDIT MOBILIER scandal, began to draw attention and energy away from Southern problems. The negative reactions to the panic of 1873 brought the DEMOCRATIC PARTY back to power in the U.S. Congress for the first time since before the war. By 1876 only three Republican governments remained in the South: Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina. After the close 1876 presidential election was marred by fraud, backroom deals allowed Republican Rutherford B. Hayes to take the White House over Democrat Samuel J. Tilden. Despite the fact that the Republican Party relied on African-American votes for their power in the South, Hayes ended Reconstruction when he pulled the army out of the South. By April 1877, "redemption" was complete and all of the states of the former Confederacy were again under Democratic rule.

Was Reconstruction a success or failure? If one of the goals of Reconstruction was to restore political, economic, and social relations between North and South, then it was a success. By 1876 the nation was stable and strong. If another goal was to bring justice to the freedpeople, then it was a failure. Four million Americans were free from the bonds of slavery, but poverty and racism severely limited their freedom.

Yet, the judgment of failure should be qualified. African Americans tested the limits of freedom and found pleasure in their new family and community lives. By late 1866, for example, Charleston's African-American community had built 11 churches in the city. By 1869 the FREEDMEN'S BUREAU, a federal welfare agency, was in charge of 3,000 schools that educated more than 150,000 black children throughout the South. Half of the teachers in those schools were African Americans. Finally, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments provided the founda-

tion for the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, when the promise of Reconstruction was fulfilled.

See also ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN; BLACK CODES; IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON; KU KLUX KLAN ACT; LOYALTY OATHS.

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—Ruth A. Behling

### Reconstruction Acts (1867–1868)

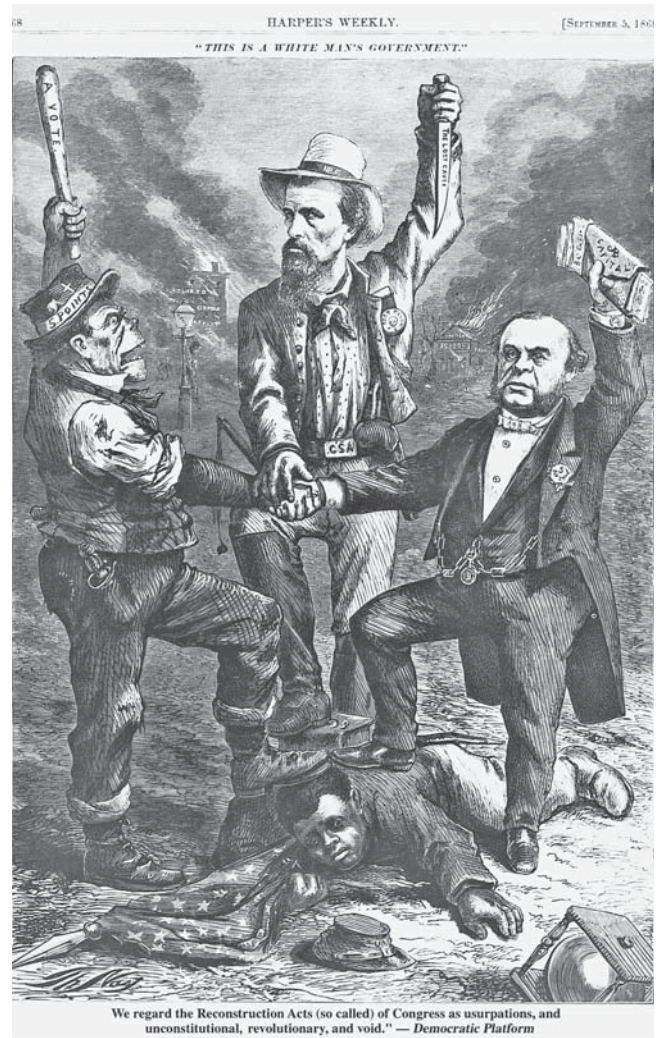
The Reconstruction Acts were adopted by Congress in 1867 and 1868. These four bills laid out the terms for what would be known as congressional RECONSTRUCTION. The Reconstruction Acts were largely authored by the RADICAL REPUBLICANS and sought to remake Southern society.

When the CIVIL WAR ended, Congress was not in session. Responsibility for reconstructing the shattered nation fell upon President ABRAHAM LINCOLN and, after his death, President ANDREW JOHNSON. Johnson had used harsh rhetoric in condemning the actions of the Confederacy and its leaders, and it seemed that he might be prepared to take dramatic steps to fundamentally alter the social, political, and economic order of the South. Johnson's actions, however, revealed his conservatism. The terms of presidential Reconstruction were mild and did not force the South to change at all. Confederate leaders were promptly reelected to office, and the passage of BLACK CODES in every Southern state sought to restrict the new freedom of the ex-slaves.

When Congress met in December 1865, the Republicans had a large majority of the seats in both chambers. Initially most Congressional leaders appeared inclined to accept presidential Reconstruction, with some important modifications. The Joint Committee on Reconstruction was initially conciliatory, and its chair, William Pitt Fessenden, was in constant communication with the president. Most members of Congress ignored the Radical Republicans' plans for the South and instead passed two bills that were in harmony with the president's vision of Reconstruction. The more important of the two bills, which became known as the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1866, extended civil rights and legal equality to African Americans but made their protection the responsibility of the states.

Johnson promptly vetoed the Civil Rights Act of 1866, declaring that Congress had no business involving itself

in Reconstruction. Congressional Republicans, shocked by the president's actions, overrode his veto. The Radical Republicans gained support from their more moderate colleagues, and Congress considered the possibility of repudiating presidential Reconstruction. Nonetheless, the moderates still retained control, and they proposed the fairly conservative FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT. Like the Civil Rights Act of 1866, the Fourteenth Amendment was in essential harmony with presidential Reconstruction. Nonetheless, Johnson attacked Congress again. He traveled through the North, delivering a series of inflammatory



This Thomas Nast cartoon from the September 5, 1868, issue of *Harper's Weekly* criticizes the Democratic Party's opposition to Reconstruction legislation. Symbolizing the Democrats are caricatures of (from left) a stereotypical Irish American, former Confederate general Nathan Bedford Forrest, and financier August Belmont. The three are shown trampling a black Union veteran. (Library of Congress)

speeches that came to be known as the “Swing Round the Circle.” Meanwhile, all Southern legislatures voted overwhelmingly against accepting the Fourteenth Amendment.

The actions of President Johnson and the former states of the Confederacy played directly into the hands of the Radical Republicans. Between March 1867 and March 1868, enough moderates broke with the president to allow the Radicals to gain passage of a series of four Reconstruction Acts. The First Reconstruction Act divided the South into five military districts, with supreme authority vested in the military commanders of each district. African Americans were to be registered to vote, while leading Confederates were disqualified from holding office and disenfranchised. States desiring readmission to the Union were required to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and to write new constitutions that guaranteed black suffrage. The latter three Reconstruction Acts expanded and clarified the terms of the first, in particular eliminating the governments that had been elected under presidential Reconstruction and disqualifying former Confederates from holding office.

The Reconstruction Acts were far more sweeping than what the moderates had initially proposed. They incorporated almost all of the measures the Radicals deemed important, and the terms were mandatory rather than voluntary. The notion of STATES’ RIGHTS was completely subverted, as state boundaries were effectively erased.

President Johnson vetoed each of the Reconstruction Acts and was overridden each time. He then tried to thwart the bills in a variety of ways—by removing military commanders who enforced the acts too strongly, by frequently challenging the authority of the law, and by trying to influence ULYSSES S. GRANT, who was in charge of all the U.S. armies. These actions increased Congress’s fury. Shortly after his veto of the First Reconstruction Act was overridden, Johnson forced Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON from office and replaced him with Grant. This was a violation of the Tenure of Office Act, which Congress had passed in 1867. Congressional leaders used Johnson’s violation of the law as an excuse to bring him up on articles of impeachment. He avoided conviction by one vote.

Johnson’s impeachment was the high point of the Radicals’ power. In 1868 a number of Radical leaders died or were defeated for reelection. Meanwhile, Ulysses S. Grant replaced Johnson in the White House. The impetus for action among congressional leaders had passed. By 1870 all of the former Confederate states had been readmitted to the Union under the terms of the Reconstruction Acts, and the task of making Reconstruction work would largely be left to the Republican governments in the states of the South.

See also ENFORCEMENT ACTS; IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

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—Christopher Bates

## redemption

Redemption refers to the 10-year period after congressional RECONSTRUCTION, in which conservative white Southern Democrats recaptured their states from Republican rule. White Southerners were determined to reduce the political power of African Americans and white Republicans. With the aid of such institutions and organizations as UNION LEAGUES and the FREEDMEN’S BUREAU, the South’s former slaves were swiftly making inroads into American politics. Freedmen were winning elected offices on the REPUBLICAN PARTY ticket and filling government jobs on every level. The South’s political practices were changing radically in the first few years after the CIVIL WAR, and in the view of the Democrats, for the worse.

In South Carolina, the birthplace of SECESSION, by 1872 African Americans held four of the state’s five seats in Congress. The ENFORCEMENT ACTS and the KU KLUX KLAN ACT were passed by the federal government to sustain African-American political and civil rights in the South. In the early 1870s more and more Republican-dominated Southern legislatures were passing laws against discrimination in public facilities and on trains. While Reconstruction brought a capable political class of African Americans to power in the states of the old Confederacy, these successes were short-lived. White Southerners began moving to “redeem” their states by taking back control of the politics of their states and the region. The increasing state and federal push for civil and political rights stirred more vehement opposition on the part of white Southern Democrats. Many Republican ballot-box successes were met with outright violence. Murders, beatings, lynchings, tar and featherings, and the like were potential outcomes of voting or in any way taking part in the political system for the freedmen and freedwomen as well as white Republicans in the South. The KU KLUX KLAN and other secret organizations of white Southerners dedicated themselves to ending what they called “black Republicanism” or “Negro rule” in the South through violence and economic intimidation.

While outright violence tended to bring federal reactions like the Ku Klux Klan Act, the Northern states were showing signs of fatigue with Reconstruction. President ULYSSES S. GRANT made it clear that he would tolerate no outright refusals of his orders by the former Confederates, but white Southerners believed that if the South refrained from gross violations of law and custom, Grant would allow them to take back a certain degree of control over their states. With this in mind, many Southern Dem-



ocrats rejected violence in their attempt to redeem their states from Republican control. When running for governor of South Carolina in 1876, Wade Hampton declared that white Democratic candidates, like himself, wanted African-American votes and that his party was pledged to defending the “rights of the colored man.”

Despite Hampton’s moderate stance, South Carolina was a “redeemed” state in that the DEMOCRATIC PARTY had regained control of state politics. Republican Party election margins across the South began to slide by 1873. Some white Republicans in the South began to leave the party as African Americans became more and more prominent, despite the fact that white Republicans largely controlled the party in the South. Northern CARPETBAGGERS began to head home in the face of increasing violence. The Republican Party was disintegrating in the South, and that disintegration was allowing the Democratic Party to reassert control over the region.

Issues such as the economic crisis of 1873 and the Indian Wars of the Great Plains claimed Northern attention and diverted interest from “reconstructing” the former Confederacy. The “redeemers” took back power in Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia relatively quickly. By the end of Grant’s eight years in office, all of the Republican governments of the South had disappeared except for those in Louisiana and South Carolina. While African Americans continued to vote Republican in large numbers, voting became increasingly difficult for freedmen as newly elected Democratic officials instituted measures such as poll taxes, literacy tests, and grandfather clauses to reduce black voting.

Ultimately, the Compromise of 1876, which put Republican Rutherford B. Hayes in the White House in exchange for the removal of troops from the South, proved the success of redemption. Without U.S. Army troops to enforce federal voting legislation and stop violence, most African-American voters were disenfranchised. Redemption marked a return to “politics as usual” in the South, generally with the antebellum elite in control once again. Southern African Americans, who had made so many political strides during Reconstruction, would not regain the vote until the 1960s.

See also BLACK CODES; RECONSTRUCTION ACTS.

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—Ruth A. Behling

### Red River campaign (1864)

A failed Union effort designed to capture Texas and the parts of Louisiana not under federal control, the Red River

campaign sought to use the river as a conduit for troops and materiel, allowing easy access to key strategic targets. The campaign was widely criticized as an opportunity to plunder that was designed to enrich its commander, Nathaniel P. Banks, a political appointee and the former governor of Massachusetts. Opposing Banks, Kirby Smith commanded the Confederate forces of the trans-Mississippi region.

The campaign began on March 14, 1864, when Banks attacked a Confederate fort located approximately 30 miles west of the junction of the Red River and the Mississippi. Union forces succeeded in destroying the fort and proceeded along the farmland of the Red River, “liberating” cotton along the way. Banks hoped to make his expedition self-financing by selling the valuable cotton. When Confederate planters heard of the Union confiscations, however, they began to burn their fields. By the time Banks reached many PLANTATIONS, the cotton he had hoped to obtain was destroyed.

Operating under Smith was Maj. Gen. Richard Taylor, son of former President Zachary Taylor. Confederate troops led by Taylor met Banks’s men on April 8 at Sabine Crossroads in the northwest corner of Louisiana, about 20 miles from the Texas border. Fighting through April 8–9, both sides suffered approximately 2,000 casualties, but the Southerners prevailed and Union forces retreated along the Red River. Federal engineers built a series of ingenious dams to transport gunboats across shallow spots. On May 13, having reached deeper waters, Union forces turned their attention to Alexandria, Louisiana, which they burned to the ground.

Confederates pursued Banks, and on May 18 Taylor attacked, pushing the Yankees to the banks of the Atchafalaya River. Taylor hoped to pin Banks against the river, forcing him to either fight or attempt to cross the dangerously swollen river. Union engineers, however, saved Banks’ units, creating a makeshift pontoon bridge across the water. Once safely on the other side, Banks moved back up the Mississippi to Vicksburg. After a short rest, he and his men were transferred by ABRAHAM LINCOLN to WILLIAM T. SHERMAN’s command in Georgia. The Red River campaign had failed to capture any significant territory and had cost many lives, needlessly.

Critics of Nathaniel Banks asserted that he had designed the entire campaign to acquire a fortune in stolen cotton. Because of these accusations, Banks never again held a battlefield command. On the Confederate side, Richard Taylor resigned his commission, accusing Kirby Smith of failing to supply enough men to destroy Banks’s army. Texas remained Confederate until the end of the war.

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—Chad Vanderford

## refugees

Tens of thousands of Southerners were forced from their homes during the CIVIL WAR, becoming refugees from encroaching battles or Union troops. Whenever Union troops appeared, Southerners took to the road. They did so for a wide variety of reasons: Some feared they would be arrested by Union troops for their political views (in fact, sometimes men, believing they would be treated more harshly, left their wives and children behind), while others simply could not bear the thought of living under Yankee rule and headed for unoccupied portions of the Confederacy. Many departed because their businesses, farms, and PLANTATIONS had been damaged or taken over by Yankees, and they had to move in order to find ways to support their families.

Although all refugees shared in the experience of abandoning their homes and most of their possessions and of having to get used to living in strange and potentially more difficult surroundings, there were big differences in the day-to-day lives of refugees. For example, wealthy Southerners who had relatives or friends living in safer places had a “home” to go to. Poor Southerners often lacked such comfortable options. One of the most common destinations for slave owners attempting to take their human property to a safer place was Texas, where as many as 50,000 slaves were taken during the war.

Despite the vast differences in the experiences of Southern refugees, there was one experience that they all shared: Their lives were turned upside down. Kate Stone, the oldest daughter of a wealthy plantation family who lived along the MISSISSIPPI RIVER near Vicksburg, escaped with her family from the Yankees in 1863. Kate, her mother, her many brothers, and a few slaves all rode, walked, and floated their way to Delhi, Louisiana, where hundreds of frightened and suddenly impoverished refugees crowded into this little town on the road to Texas. She described the scene in her journal: “Such crowds of Negroes of all ages and sizes, wagons, mules, horses, dogs, baggage, and furniture of every description, very little of it packed. It was thrown in promiscuous heaps . . . here and there, with soldiers, drunk and sober, combing over it all, shouting and laughing.” The Stones, like most refugees of their class, endured scorching heat and bitter cold; dusty roads; sometimes-threatening groups of slaves; crowded, flea-bitten hotels; and crude food with, at best, only hunger to look forward to at the end of a hard day’s journey.

Other parts of refugees’ lives were disrupted. Leaving home made it harder to communicate with fathers, husbands,

and sons in the army. Boys and girls had to grow up quickly, taking on more responsibility and doing more work for the family. The EDUCATION of refugee children was disrupted; few schools in the Confederacy stayed open throughout the war, and refugees rarely had the money to pay private tutors for lessons. Whenever refugees moved into a new area, local residents worried that the newcomers would make food and other resources scarce for everyone; in some places, refugees were suspected of being disloyal to the Confederacy. Many refugees could take only a few possessions—the clothes they wore, a doll or toy, a treasured pet—and some lost everything they owned. Regular meals were difficult to come by, and the health of refugees suffered. Finally, with so many people moving from the countryside into towns and cities, places like RICHMOND, VIRGINIA; Atlanta, Georgia; and Charleston, South Carolina, became extremely overcrowded, unhealthy, and expensive.

Similar problems faced refugee slaves. Since masters often chose to take only the most valuable slaves with them, African-American families were disrupted, and women and young children often were left to fend for themselves. The quality of the food and medical care provided for slaves became even worse than it had been before the war. Sometimes a slave who began the war in South Carolina would be “refugeed” several times until he or she was living in Texas by the end of the war.

Although most Civil War refugees lived in the South, upon occasion Northerners were also dislocated, especially when the CONFEDERATE ARMY invaded the North. During the weeks leading up to the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, for instance, many white farmers became temporary refugees when they transported their livestock out of reach of the Confederates. Hundreds of African Americans living in Maryland and southern Pennsylvania—some of them fugitive slaves—fled before the rebel army, fearing that they would be captured and sold into SLAVERY back in Virginia.

For the most part, refugees were overwhelmingly Southern, and the sight of displaced families, chiefly women and children, was common on the streets and roads of the Confederacy. The existence of larger and larger refugee “communities” had great negative impacts on Confederate morale and, ultimately, on the rebel war effort as HOMEFRONT support dwindled in the face of such harsh realities and soldiers deserted to look for or after their refugee families.

See also FORAGING.

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—James Marten



## religion

During the 19th century, Christian religious ideals were the center of American life and community. A period of intense commitment to religion began in the opening years of the century (called the Second Great Awakening) and continued with varying intensity until the CIVIL WAR began. Evangelical Protestant denominations gained the most during this period, and by the 1840s the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches, supported by a wide variety of religious newspapers and benevolent societies, played a major role in the cultural life of the nation.

The churches' influence was broad, and many important reform-movement leaders were religiously inspired. Women, in greater numbers than men, attended and supported churches and church-related reforms. At the same time, popular ideals such as Manifest Destiny rested on the assumption that God ordained national expansion, and political orators drew heavily on the image of the United States as a nation anointed by God.

Among most Protestants there existed a broad commonality in theology, and both Northern and Southern Protestants generally supported social reform movements such as temperance, Sunday school societies, and missionary efforts at home and abroad. However, differences over SLAVERY divided the churches. During the middle century, increasing number of Northern Protestants embraced ABOLITION. Southerners responded in part by increasing evangelical outreach to the slave population (referred to by historians as "the mission to the slaves") and simultaneously building a scripture-based defense of slavery (this was particularly true of rural PLANTATION-district congregations).

During the 1840s the sectional divisions over slavery created a dramatic rift within the major Protestant churches. The Baptist split that occurred in 1845 illustrates the general contours of the denominational divisions: After more than a decade of increasing conflict between Northern and Southern Baptist leaders, tensions mounted during the early 1840s following the formation of the American Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention. In its first public statement, the convention assailed slavery as "a violation of the instincts of nature,—a perversion of the first principles of justice,—and a positive transgression of the revealed will of God."

Throughout the North, associations and individual congregations began expressing support for the convention's principles. In response, Southerners took a defensive posture and condemned what they termed "harsh and abusive epithets heaped upon us." Some advocated a cessation of mutual cooperation in areas such as missions until the "fanatical course" of the North changed, while others demanded assurances from the Triennial Convention (the denomination's national body at the time) that it permitted slavery.

Despite their conviction that slavery was an appropriate civil institution and that the abolitionists were "exceedingly mistaken in the case they have undertaken," Southern Baptists despaired of the consequences of the increasingly contentious issue. As one Georgia congregation put it, "The threatened dissolution of the fellowship betwixt the North and South would be an event which we would deeply deplore and as an evil not only highly injurious to the cause of religion in general but calculated to bring other evils of great magnitude in its train." The preeminent Baptist leader in Georgia, Jesse Mercer, noted that the tendency of the conflict would be "to break up all our united operations [missionary societies, publishing efforts etc.], and I seriously fear our civil Union also."

Despite such concerns and the efforts of both Northern and Southern Baptists, the conflict over slavery and abolition grew and at times was aggravated by denominational newspapers. The conflict came to a head in late 1844 when the American Baptist Home Mission Society rejected the appointment of a Georgia minister who held slaves and the Triennial Convention stated that "we can never be a party to any arrangement which would imply approbation of slavery." By early spring 1845, Virginia and Georgia Baptists called for a meeting to create a new Baptist convention composed of Southern churches. The meeting convened May 8, 1845, and by Monday, May 12, had created a purely sectional denominational structure—the Southern Baptist Convention—based primarily on the support of slavery and its attendant cultural ideals.

That same year Southern Methodists, who had also engaged in a protracted debate with their Northern brethren over slaveholders' rights to hold national positions within the church, issued a statement that justified their split with the Northern churches. They claimed that "the opinions and purposes of the church in the north on the subject of slavery, are in direct conflict with those of the south, and unless the south will submit to the dictation and interference of the north there is no hope of anything like union or harmony."

By the late 1850s, the pro- and antislavery positions of the sectional churches had helped cement the idea that each side's "peculiar society best embodied republican, Christian virtue and that the other threatened both republican liberty and Christian order." In the South, preachers searched the Scripture to justify the institution of slavery and the hierarchical notions of society that came along with it. Northern preachers, meanwhile, penned abolitionist tracts and often celebrated the liberal culture that was emerging in the cities and towns of their section. Popularly, such images of a sanctified people helped both sides wrap themselves in the garb of holy righteousness and march to war carrying swords blessed by the cross.

While many preachers of both sections abhorred the onset of violence in 1861, their eventual support for their respective section served as a major element of national identity. Union pastors often preached political messages that overtly approved of the war effort and increasingly offered a message of “unconditional loyalty” to the state. Likewise in the South, ministers and editors blurred “the distinctions between secular and sacred” and promoted patriotism based in a close connection of civil and religious authority. Many rebel preachers argued that not only was the Confederacy the protector of civil liberty and constitutional rights but that it was also the defender of religious liberty.

At the everyday level, religion provided comfort and hope for soldiers and their families who prayed for divine favor and sought the comforts of spiritual assurance. At the same time, it served as a rallying point for “slaves reaching for freedom [who] praised God for their day of Jubilee.” In both sections, religious promoters identified a remarkable opportunity to carry out missionary work within the armies. A burgeoning Southern military press played “a dynamic role in evangelizing soldiers, articulating war aims, and building morale.” Religiously inspired agencies in the North such as the Christian Commission supported the war effort by providing both physical and spiritual comforts to the soldiers in the field. Within the armies, religion was ever present. Practiced in private by pious soldiers, promoted by regimental chaplains, and celebrated in large-scale revivals, religion provided both spiritual comfort and entertainment for soldiers looking for a change from the regular camp monotony.

Following the war in the South, the complexion of religion changed dramatically. African Americans, who had worshipped alongside white people in large biracial churches before the war, deserted en masse and created separate all-black Baptist and Methodist congregations. Defeated white Southerners created a civil religion that blended Protestant rhetoric and symbols with the rhetoric and imagery of an invented Confederate tradition. This form of LOST CAUSE mythology helped Southerners defend the “essentially religious and moral values” that had been defeated in war. Northern white Protestants, while faced with what they believed to be a decline in moral values, continued to play an important role in the social-political arena in the emerging Social Gospel movement.

See also UNITED STATES CHRISTIAN COMMISSION.

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—James Daryl Black

## Republican Party

The Republican Party was born in the middle of the national turmoil over the SLAVERY question in the 1850s. Within a few years of its establishment, the Republicans were one of the two major political organizations that governed the United States of America. From 1865 onward, Republicans proudly described themselves as the party that won the war, restored the Union, freed the slaves and guaranteed their civil rights, and brought unparalleled growth and prosperity to the country. Voters agreed, and by 1896 the Republican Party had fashioned an electoral dominance over the presidency that lasted, with only two exceptions, until 1930.

The immediate reason for the founding of the Republican Party was the controversy over the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT of 1854. The debate over STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS's bill set off a fierce protest over the “Nebraska Outrage” throughout the North in the spring and summer of 1854. Northern anger over slavery's possible extension into free territories sought a political outlet where none currently existed. The stability of the two-party system had been shaken with the demise of the WHIG PARTY by the mid-1850s. Some Whigs had joined the Free-Soil Party, which was dedicated to halting the spread of slavery. Meanwhile, the American, or Know-Nothing, Party, based on anti-IMMIGRATION sentiment, had become a major force in politics, winning ELECTIONS in the North and even in the South.

Many former Whigs, anti-Nebraska Democrats, and Free Soilers, however, were uncomfortable with joining a political party based on an anti-immigrant platform, also known as NATIVISM. As the protests over the Kansas-Nebraska Act grew louder and larger, the disaffected groups determined to form a new political party. Most historians agree that the first official use of the term *Republican* came on February 28, 1854, at a meeting in Ripon, Wisconsin. The name, linking the new party with the legacy of 1776, quickly gained widespread acceptance. A great number of congressmen in WASHINGTON, D.C., formally adopted the name in time for the 1854 fall elections, in which the Democrats' fortunes fell and the Republicans' rose.

The Republican Party grew rapidly in the North, and the organization swelled with former Know-Nothings and Whigs. Indeed, the Whig Party provided most of the leaders and much of the economic program for the new political entity. The controversy over slavery in the territories

continued unabated, and the Republican cause was helped by the uproar over the “little civil war” waged in BLEEDING KANSAS in 1855 and 1856. In 1856 the Republicans fielded their first presidential candidate, the western explorer John C. Frémont. “Free soil, free labor, free men, Frémont!” was the rallying cry. “Wide Awake Clubs” formed all across the Northern states, and huge rallies and parades spread the Republican message. The pro-Southern Democratic candidate JAMES BUCHANAN of Pennsylvania was the election’s victor by a comfortable margin, but the Republicans did very well, particularly in New England and in Wisconsin, Michigan, and New York.

Republicans articulated and refined their platform in the four years between 1856 and 1860. Leaders such as WILLIAM H. SEWARD of New York, SALMON P. CHASE of Ohio, and ABRAHAM LINCOLN of Illinois broadened the appeal of the party. The Republican position on slavery was borrowed almost entirely from the Free-Soil Party: The national government should restrict the spread of slavery into the territories. Most Republicans pledged to protect slavery where it existed in the South but hoped that restriction would put it on the path to ultimate extinction. The opposition to slavery embodied in the Republican program did not stem primarily from moral concerns, however. Instead, the Free-Soil argument was focused on creating and maintaining opportunities for free white labor. There were some abolitionists in the Republican ranks who saw slavery as an evil unto itself, but in general the party cared more about preserving and extending rights and opportunities for white people than it did about bringing freedom and justice to the nearly 4 million slaves living in the Southern states.

The antislavery message of the Republican Party was tied to a powerfully appealing program designed to ensure upward mobility for the ordinary men and women of the country. Free labor everywhere, according to party leaders, would guarantee the kind of dynamic capitalism that stimulated individual initiative and achievement. Republican rule meant government aid to the ECONOMY in the form of TARIFFS (a tax on imported goods), loans for transcontinental RAILROADS, a Homestead Act, a central bank, and funds for higher EDUCATION. This progressive vision would benefit farmers and urban dwellers alike. In 1862 due to the absence of Southern Democrats in the national legislature, the Republican Party enacted into law almost every single one of its economic proposals. The passage of the HOMESTEAD ACT, the PACIFIC RAILROAD ACT, and the MORRILL LAND-GRANT ACT, for example, laid the foundation for the surging postwar industrial economy.

The great enemy of economic, moral, and political progress, Republicans claimed, was the backward system of slavery and its protector, the “slave power,” which controlled the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and, through it, the



Election poster for the Republican Party presidential candidate in the election of 1860, Abraham Lincoln, and his running mate, Hannibal Hamlin (Hulton/Archive)

national government. Republicans pointed to the FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas controversy, the caning of Senator CHARLES SUMNER of Massachusetts and the DRED SCOTT DECISION as proof for their contention that the liberties and freedom of white Americans were being seriously threatened.

The election of 1860 brought the presidency to the Republican Party. Abraham Lincoln, a moderate from Illinois, captured the nomination over more prominent and experienced, but also more controversial, leaders such as Seward, Chase, and Edward Bates of Missouri. During the summer of 1860, the Democratic Party split into Northern and Southern wings. Lincoln’s main opponent was Democrat Stephen Douglas, but there were two other candidates who ran on a Southern-only ticket. The Republican platform reiterated their Free-Soil philosophy and accused Democrats of being the party of slavery, disunion, and corruption. When the votes were counted, Lincoln’s substantial majority in the Northern states gave him the win over the other three candidates.

With Lincoln’s victory, a party based wholly on sectional interest had captured the White House, and the cost was the Union. Seven Southern states seceded shortly thereafter, believing that their liberties were threatened. They quickly established the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA. During the tense months between the end of Buchanan’s administration and Lincoln’s March inauguration, the new president formed a cabinet, tried to reassure a nervous public, and made several attempts to bring back the seceded states. All efforts at compromise foundered on Lincoln’s insistence that stopping slavery’s advance into the territories was not an issue that could be compromised.



Between 1861 and 1865, the Republican Party was responsible for waging war against the seceded states, devising plans for RECONSTRUCTION, and attending to the normal chores of national governance. Led by Lincoln and pushed by a group of RADICAL REPUBLICANS led by Sumner and BENJAMIN WADE in the Senate and THADDEUS STEVENS in the House, the Republican Party passed the legislation that made the EMANCIPATION of the slaves a reality. Republicans soon divided into factions representing conservative, moderate, and radical positions over whether a harsh or lenient reconstruction policy should be implemented. President Lincoln provided a moderating voice and struggled to make the Republican Party into a truly national entity. In 1864 the Republicans were known briefly as the “National Union Party,” and as a gesture to inclusion, the wartime governor of Tennessee, former Democrat ANDREW JOHNSON, was placed on the ticket with Lincoln.

After the defeat of the Confederacy and the ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, congressional Republicans battled with Johnson over the right to control the process of Reconstruction in the South. The major achievements of the party include the THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, and FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS, the so-called Reconstruction amendments to the U.S. Constitution, which abolished slavery, established the criteria for federal and state citizenship and equal protection under the law, and ruled out race (but not gender) as a barrier to voting. In addition, Republicans passed other Reconstruction and civil rights acts that set up guidelines for readmitting the Southern states back into the Union.

Republicans narrowly missed removing Andrew Johnson from office in 1868, and in that same year their candidate for the presidency, ULYSSES S. GRANT, triumphed at the polls. President Grant and the Republican Party faced daunting challenges in putting a Reconstruction policy to work. They had two goals: The first was to remake the South from a slave society to a free-labor society, as close to the North as possible. The second was to protect the newly freed slaves’ rights against a hostile white population. To do this, Republicans had to control the Southern state governments and to establish a viable two-party system in the South. The Republican coalition of CARPETBAGGERS, SCALAWAGS, and African-American voters could not withstand unrelenting and violent Southern white resistance. By the early 1870s “REDEMPTION” prevailed, and the South was once again becoming a solid Democratic Party stronghold controlled by white Southerners.

As the party was failing to establish a stronghold in the South, many Republicans were anxious to recast the message of the party for the future. Called Half Breeds, and led by the dynamic James G. Blaine of Maine, they looked to strengthen the economic nationalism of their party with policies furthering the development of an urban-

industrial economy. Blaine and his supporters argued that most Americans were tired of hearing about the problems of the South and more interested in other issues like the TARIFF or monetary reform. Opposed to Blaine were the “stalwarts,” like Roscoe Conkling of New York, who, while supporting economic advancement, wished to continue to try to make the South a good place for the Republican Party.

As Grant’s administration became mired in scandals and charges of corruption, a group of disaffected “Liberal Republicans” called for civil service reform. Typical practice up to that time had been for presidents to appoint individuals to government jobs based on their party loyalty rather than their honesty or competence for the job. The Liberals wanted to end corruption in government, stop the “spoils men” from looting the treasury, and put the running of the government on an efficient and businesslike basis. This movement was led by the Missouri politician Carl Schurz, who formed an alliance with the Democratic Party in the election of 1872. Their candidate was the newspaper publisher HORACE GREELEY. Although Grant won handily, the threat to the Republican Party was clear. The chilling effects of the depression of 1873 led to a rise in support for the Democratic Party. Additionally, Northern voters turned a deaf ear to pleas from desperate Southern Republican governments fighting the KU KLUX KLAN. Northerners did not support Grant’s use of federal troops to stop Klan violence, nor were they pleased with the passage of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1875. The House fell to Democrats in 1875, the Senate in 1879, and the presidency in 1884.

The disputed presidential election of 1876, in which Ohio Republican Rutherford B. Hayes was awarded the election over the New York Democrat Samuel Tilden, is traditionally considered the end of Reconstruction. From that point on, the Republican Party would strive to maintain its majority status by stressing broad issues of economic advancement and culturally conservative issues like prohibition, appealing to its Protestant, native-born base. The freedmen would not again receive attention from a major party until the 1930s.

See also ABOLITION; IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

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**Revels, Hiram R.** (1827–1901) *Union chaplain, politician*

Born free on September 27, 1827, in Fayetteville, North Carolina, Hiram Rhoades Revels became the first African American elected to the U.S. Senate. Revels was ordained a minister in 1845 and served at several AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCHES, traveling widely and often. In 1850 Revels married Phoebe A. Bass, and they had six children.

Before the CIVIL WAR, Revels did not join or publicly support the abolitionist movement, although he later wrote that he had helped escaping slaves. Once the war started, however, Revels offered his support. He organized the first two black regiments in Maryland and a later one in Missouri. He served as a chaplain to African-American troops in the UNION ARMY, and he later worked with the FREEDMEN'S BUREAU, helping to establish schools in Mississippi. Revels's first position in government came when Mississippi governor Adelbert Ames appointed him alderman for Natchez, Mississippi, in 1868. He went on to be elected to the Mississippi State Senate.

In 1870 Revels moved onto the national political stage when the Mississippi legislature chose him to fill the remaining year of the state's Senate seat, previously held by JEFFERSON DAVIS. While in WASHINGTON, D.C., Revels championed EDUCATION issues, calling for an end to segregated schools. Revels's term ended on March 3, 1871, when he was appointed the first president of Alcorn University, the first black land-grant university in the United States. He served Alcorn from 1871 until 1874, when his support for Democrats in Mississippi resulted in his removal by the Republican governor. When the Democrats resumed control of Mississippi politics in 1875, Revels was restored to his position at Alcorn, which he held until 1882.

For the last 20 years of his life Revels served as assistant pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Holly Springs, Mississippi, taught theology, and was a trustee at Rust College. He died at a church meeting on January 16, 1901.

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## Richmond, Virginia

In 1860 the city of Richmond, Virginia, had grown to become the 25th largest city in the United States with a population of nearly 38,000. Located at the falls of James

River, Richmond was one of the South's most developed and bustling cities during the 19th century.

When the first shots were fired at FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, on April 14, 1861, Virginia had not yet seceded from the nation. As a result, the Confederacy set up its government quarters in Montgomery, Alabama. However, due to Richmond's industry as well as its role as the capital of Virginia's state government, the Confederate leaders were hopeful that Richmond would soon become the permanent capital of the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

A few days following Virginia's SECESSION on April 17, 1861, the Virginia convention extended an invitation to the government officials to relocate the capital to Richmond, thus making it a target for Union attack. On May 20, the Confederate government voted to move permanently the capital from Montgomery to Richmond. This vote marked the beginning of four years of change and conflict for Richmond.

Many historians argue that the Confederates made a strategic error placing their capital in Richmond, thus making it a target for Union attacks. Despite historians' views, however, the Confederates had substantial reason to place their capital in Richmond. Richmond's location, though only 106 miles from the Union's capitol in WASHINGTON, D.C., was an ideal site for the Confederate's capital. It was the home of important manufacturing concerns like the TREDEGAR IRON WORKS. Tredegar, which produced more than 50 locomotives for Southern RAILROADS between 1850 and 1855 alone, was not the only manufacturing establishment in the new capital city. Richmond had massive iron, flour, and tobacco mills in addition to its surrounding agricultural areas. Richmond was also the transportation hub of the South. Not only was it Virginia's largest port city via the James River and the Chesapeake Bay, but it was also very well connected to a number of the large cities on the Eastern seaboard due to its extensive railroads.

Richmond was the focus of the Union military strategy, characterized by the popular war cry "On to Richmond!" As a result, its citizens experienced a number of challenges. The first challenge was excessive inflation. The influx of the rebel government—officials, workers, and their families and slaves—as well as a considerable shortage of housing caused this rampant inflation. Richmond's population increased threefold to almost 100,000 by the war's end, which included a substantial number of REFUGEES. The city also held 13,000 prisoners in PRISONS such as Belle Isle, Libby Prison, and Castle Thunder. This dramatic increase put a considerable amount of strain on Richmond's municipal services such as the markets, the fire and police forces, and the public waterworks and gasworks.

The second immediate challenge faced by Richmond's inhabitants was a steep increase in crime. The significant



rise in population, the instability of the Confederate currency, and the transformation of Richmond into a crowded military town caused an increase of muggings and PROSTITUTION. In order to prevent the further rise of crime in and around the city of Richmond, martial law within a 10-mile radius of the city was declared on March 1, 1862.

In spite of the conflict that raged around the city, the general mood of Richmond remained relatively high during the first two years of the war. The citizens of Richmond did their best to aid the wounded and the sick. Numerous hospitals were established throughout the city, including Chimborazo Hospital in the Church Hill section. There were also at least 60 smaller hospitals run by the government, the state, and private institutions that were located throughout the city. At the same time, Confederate dead began filling Richmond's cemeteries: Oakwood, Shockoe, and Hollywood. Famous Confederate officers and officials such as J. E. B. STUART, GEORGE E. PICKETT, and JEFFERSON DAVIS and his family are all buried in HOLLYWOOD CEMETERY.

Most important, Richmond was the strategic target of the Army of the Potomac, and its capture became a major aim of the Northern war effort. As a result, a series of forts and trenches surrounded the city to defend it from the campaigns of the Union forces. Despite numerous threats by Union troops during the first three years of the war, ROBERT E. LEE's army was successful in pushing back the Union attack. During the spring of 1864, the Union forces finally broke their defenses and cut the city's rail lines.

By cutting these lines, both the citizens and the military in Richmond found it difficult to remain adequately supplied. This feat isolated Richmond, and its inhabitants suffered greatly during the final year of the CIVIL WAR. When Lee's lines were finally cut at the BATTLE OF FIVE FORKS on April 1, 1865, Lee alerted JEFFERSON DAVIS that Richmond must be evacuated. In response to Lee's notice, the Confederate government abandoned the city on April 2, 1865. As the government, military, and citizens of Richmond fled the city, they destroyed not only the city's supplies of tobacco and cotton but they also set fire



The ruins of Richmond, Virginia, the Confederate capital, after it was burned down by its own residents to thwart the oncoming advance of Union general Ulysses S. Grant (Hulton/Archive)

to bridges and railroads to make the city inaccessible. Due to the high winds, the fires spread throughout the city with unprecedented speed, a task that proved to be too large for Richmond's firemen to control. As a result, this evacuation fire consumed more than 800 buildings in the downtown area; Richmond literally lay in smoking ruins.

After the destruction of the Confederate capital, Lee's army did not last a week. On April 7, 1865, Gen. Lee surrendered to Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA. The short amount of time it took for the CONFEDERATE ARMY to surrender demonstrates how vital Richmond had been as both a place and a symbol to Lee's army throughout the four years of the Civil War.

Though Richmond was no longer the industrial and TRANSPORTATION hub of Virginia, it did remain the capital following the war. Today it serves as a living museum of the LOST CAUSE. Monument Avenue, a street lined with MONUMENTS of notable Confederate leaders, the White House of the Confederacy, and the Lee House all serve as reminders of the history of Richmond during the four years of the Civil War.

See also HOMEFRONT; PETERSBURG CAMPAIGN.

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—Megan Quinn

**Rosecrans, William S.** (1819–1898) *Union general, politician*

A Union general in the western theater of operations, William Starke Rosecrans was born on September 6, 1819, at his father's farm in Delaware County, Ohio.

Ranking fifth out of 51 cadets in the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT class of 1842, he remained at the academy teaching engineering and performing various military duties after graduation. During the Mexican-American War of 1846–48, he saw no combat service but instead remained in the Northeast, supervising the construction of fortifications at Newport, Rhode Island. Rosecrans resigned from the service in 1854 to embark on a career as an engineer and businessman.

Following the Confederate shelling of FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, Rosecrans volunteered his services and was appointed colonel of the 23rd Ohio in June 1861. Rosecrans quickly advanced and succeeded Gen. GEORGE

BRINTON MCCLELLAN in command of the Department of Ohio. In November 1861, Brig. Gen. Rosecrans defeated ROBERT E. LEE's CONFEDERATE ARMY in the Allegheny Mountains, facilitating the creation of the state of West Virginia. Assigned to the western theater in May 1862, now Maj. Gen. Rosecrans led the Army of the Mississippi in the successful Battle at Iuka (September 1862) and the BATTLE OF CORINTH (October 3–4, 1862).

Rosecrans assumed command of the Army of the Cumberland in Nashville on October 27, 1862. Marching southeast on December 26th, he confronted Confederate general BRAXTON BRAGG's Army of Tennessee near Murfreesboro on December 31. After the bloody two-day BATTLE OF MURFREESBORO, the Confederates retreated. His June 1863 Tullahoma campaign successfully drove Bragg out of Tennessee but failed to destroy the Confederate army. Crossing the Tennessee River in the beginning of September, he captured Chattanooga. However, the Confederate commander, now reinforced by troops from Virginia and Mississippi, counterattacked on September 18 at Chickamauga Creek, southeast of the city. Although Rosecrans commanded ably on September 19, he made a tactical mistake the next day, leaving a gap in his line. Bragg exploited Rosecrans's error and drove the UNION ARMY from the battlefield. Fleeing to Chattanooga ahead of his troops, Rosecrans lost the moral authority to lead his army and was relieved of his duty in October. His final active command was in the Department of Missouri in 1864.

Resigning from the service in 1867, he became minister to Mexico in 1868. Replaced by President ULYSSES S. GRANT, with whom he had a long-standing feud, Rosecrans became a resident of California. He served two terms in Congress (1880–85) and remained active in VETERANS' affairs. He died at his Redondo ranch, near Los Angeles, on March 11, 1898. His remains were transferred with full military honors to ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY in May 1902.

See also CHICKAMAUGA, BATTLE OF.

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—Stephen A. Bourque

## rules of war

Rules of war are designed to keep war “civilized.” Generally these rules are concerned with two main issues. The first is how much force is appropriate. The second is what is a legitimate target for a warring army and what is not.

Before the CIVIL WAR the rules of war generally were not formally recorded. Instead, combatants were expected

to behave in accordance with established custom and their sense of fair play. During the Revolutionary War, for example, the UNIFORMS and tactics used by British redcoats left them highly exposed to gunfire. British commanders knew this, but they did not change their approach because they had been trained to believe that this was the polite way to fight a war. During the Civil War, many officers and soldiers continued to adhere to these unwritten rules. For example, when the Confederate ordnance department developed land mines, some Confederate commanders refused to use them because they thought them ungentelemanly.

Ultimately, however, the era of polite warfare and unwritten rules had come to an end. The Civil War was a time of transition between the limited warfare of the past and the “total war” that was to become the standard in the 20th century. Recognizing this new reality, Union leaders moved to formalize the rules of war, issuing the Lieber Code in May 1863. Prepared by legal expert and professor of political science at Columbia University FRANCIS LIEBER, the Lieber Code contained a list of 157 rules governing the conduct of Union armies and soldiers in the field. The code addressed a broad variety of topics: spies, prisoners, surrenders, noncombatants, and so forth.

The Lieber Code was not a treaty, so Confederate soldiers were not subject to its conditions. It is perhaps worth asking, then, why Union leaders would willingly place such limits on their armies. In part, they were legitimately concerned with the actions of some Union soldiers and officers. Most of the men who fought in the Civil War were not professional soldiers and so had not spent their careers being taught to behave with restraint in a time of war. As the Civil War became increasingly brutal, and as participants on both sides grew increasingly desperate, there were numerous incidents of excessive violence or violence against inappropriate targets. Such incidents undermined support for the war among Northerners and among the international

community, while often provoking violent retaliation from the Confederacy.

As the Lieber Code tried to limit the brutality of “total war” in some contexts, however, it also justified it in other contexts. Although the code placed “civilized” limits on what Union soldiers were allowed to do, it also provided broad discretionary powers for Union commanders to do what they deemed “necessary.” For example, SHERMAN’S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA in 1864 might have been unthinkable under the informal codes of conduct in place at the beginning of the war, but it was entirely justifiable under the terms of the Lieber Code.

Ultimately, the Civil War affected the rules of war in two important ways. The transition to total war continued unabated in the post-Civil War era. The Indian Wars of the 1870s were incredibly violent. The Spanish-American and Philippine Wars also had their share of brutality, and World War I may have set a standard that will never be matched in terms of the lack of restraint shown by combatants on both sides.

At the same time, while the Civil War helped to make war more violent, it also provided a precedent for trying to address that violence, as formal and comprehensive agreements about the conduct of war became an international standard. In 1864, for example, as the Civil War was still being waged, a consortium of European powers signed the Geneva Convention. The agreement, which governs the treatment of prisoners and other conduct in war, remains in effect to the present day and has been joined by a number of other international agreements about armed conflict.

See also FORAGING.

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—Christopher Bates



### scalawags

From the Scottish word for “rascals,” the term *scalawag* was applied to the white Southerners who cooperated with the REPUBLICAN PARTY during RECONSTRUCTION. Historians have overturned the common depiction of scalawags as no-good, poor white traitors. Indeed, the Republican Party had no chance at all to establish a presence in the South without the leadership and support of the large and diverse group of white men who allied themselves with the party of ABRAHAM LINCOLN during the years after the CIVIL WAR.

Although the scalawags ranged widely in terms of their social standing, economic background, and political loyalties, they did share common beliefs. First and foremost, they wanted the South to enjoy a progressive and prosperous ECONOMY based upon the benefits of free labor and industrialization. While the wealthier scalawags of New Orleans and Atlanta looked forward to government-sponsored subsidies and loans for RAILROAD construction and textile mills, the plain, hardworking farmers of North Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, and Texas hoped the Republicans would make good on their pledge for debt relief.

The Southern yeomanry, or small farmers, joined the Republican Party for their own reasons. Many of them had been Union supporters during the war and resented their harsh treatment by Confederate citizens and soldiers. Others wanted to help build a genuine two-party structure in the South and share in the benefits of healthy political competition. Most farmers never owned slaves and resented the prewar domination of the Southern slaveholding class. In every Southern state, they yearned to limit the power of the old guard with the help of the Republicans. The yeomanry wanted to put SLAVERY behind them and to look forward to the economic benefits of Unionism for themselves and their children. This sentiment did not mean, however, that they were in favor of social equality with the former slaves. Scalawags were not, like Northern CARPETBAGGERS, willing to make much room for the hopes and expectations of

the much larger African-American base of voters for the Southern Republican Party. Ultimately, this racism, along with corruption within the party and violent attacks from white Southerners, undermined the Republican Party's future in the South.

At the beginning of Reconstruction, Republican leadership expected the party to be established with the help of a number of very fine scalawag leaders. One example is James L. Alcorn of Mississippi. A lawyer and Whig politician before the war, Alcorn served as a brigadier general in the CONFEDERATE ARMY. Returning to Mississippi in 1865, Alcorn became a spokesman for the moderates in his state, advocating racial cooperation and a willingness to forget the bitterness of the past. Alcorn, who served both as a U.S. senator and governor during Reconstruction, decided to tie his political fortunes to the Republican Party. He believed strongly that building up a party organization within Mississippi and in the other Southern states would bring stability and prosperity so desperately needed in the region.

Like other scalawag leaders, Alcorn had to contend with factions and divisions within his state's Republican Party. If African Americans were perceived as being given too much power and prestige, then white voters would leave the party in droves. On the other hand, the freedmen made up the majority of the Republican voters, and black Republicans demanded that they receive their fair share of rewards and patronage positions. Elected governor in 1869 when Mississippi adopted a new constitution, Alcorn made impressive gains in improving life for his constituents, including the establishment of a public school system. He urged fellow Mississippians to accept and support the freedom and political (but not social) rights of ex-slaves. Unfortunately for Alcorn, intraparty rivalries, intrigues, fights, and scandals dimmed the Republican light in Mississippi as in most other Southern states by the early 1870s.

Another prominent scalawag was former Confederate general JAMES LONGSTREET. One of Lee's top generals, Longstreet joined the Republican Party immediately after



he was pardoned in 1867. Related through marriage to President ULYSSES S. GRANT, Longstreet reformed a warm friendship with Grant that had been interrupted by the war. Throughout Reconstruction, Longstreet used his prestige and high profile to urge fellow Southerners to accept and even welcome reconciliation with the North. He served in a number of important positions, including surveyor of the port of New Orleans in 1869 and U.S. minister to Turkey in 1880. Instead of helping to achieve the sectional harmony he hoped for, Longstreet became a hated symbol of the white Southern traitor and the most notorious scalawag of all.

In the end, scalawag leaders of the Southern Republican Party were defeated by the legacy of slavery and racism in their region. They were simply unprepared for the extremely hateful and violent attacks upon their party from Democrats bent on “redeeming” their states from the clutches of Republicans, as well as from politically motivated terrorist groups like the KU KLUX KLAN. By 1876 most scalawags had returned to the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, and those who stayed with the Republicans did so only to receive the occasional patronage position offered by the national government.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT; REDEMPTION.

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### science and technology

In the 1840s and 1850s industrialization in the United States accelerated. Rapid advances were made in the sciences and in technology. Americans found new and better ways to farm, to weave, to travel, and to communicate. Among the important inventions of the antebellum period were the steel plow (1837), TELEGRAPH (1837), PHOTOGRAPHY (1839), the rotary printing press (1844), and the sewing machine (1845). In the 1860s the arms industry drove many new technologies that found peacetime applications in the postwar period.

A number of new technologies would be utilized during the CIVIL WAR, forever changing the nature of warfare. For example, combat on land had to be almost entirely reinvented during the war. In the Mexican-American War of 1846–48 and other conflicts before that, troops largely used smoothbore muskets. Smoothbores are not very accurate beyond 150 yards, and so opposing armies equipped with them had to be placed very close to one another. In the Civil War, smoothbores gave way to rifled muskets. Rifled muskets have grooves on the inside of their barrels that put spin on bullets, giving them a maximum range of

about 500 yards. The rifled musket was actually invented 400 years before the Civil War, but the technology was not widely utilized because of a critical shortcoming: A bullet being fired from a rifled gun has to fit tightly within the barrel, or else the grooves will not put spin on it. Before the 1840s, the only solution to this problem was to use bullets that were exactly as large as the barrel of the gun. These bullets took a very long time to load, since they fit so snugly and they had to be forced down the barrel with a ramrod. A gun that can only be fired once every few minutes is not very useful in the heat of combat.

In 1843 a French soldier named Claude Minié finally found a way to make rifled muskets practical with the development of a bullet that he called the Minié ball. The Minié ball, which is actually conical in shape, is small enough that it can be dropped right down the barrel of a musket. Minié’s key innovation was to make his bullet hollow at one end. The expanding gases released when a musket is fired cause the Minié ball to expand and touch the sides of a rifled musket. And so, the bullet fits loosely when it is being loaded, but tightly when it is being fired. This was the critical step in making rifled muskets viable for use in combat. Another important innovation at this time was the adoption of mercury fulminate percussion caps, which replaced the inefficient flintlock mechanism of the previous century, to ignite the powder charge with vastly improved efficiency and reliability. With these innovations rifled muskets could be fired three times per minute, just as fast as smoothbore muskets.

As more lethal small arms were being invented, parallel improvements in manufacturing techniques were being developed to mass-produce them. In the late 1840s Samuel Colt established the Colt Firearms Company in Connecticut, which manufactured revolving handguns using the latest metallurgical, engineering, and die-cutting technologies. The result was not only a large volume of high-quality weapons but also a set of production techniques that could be applied to shoulder arms for the military. Thus combined, the drive for improved weaponry and the methods of the Industrial Revolution equipped large numbers of soldiers with deadly weapons in a cost-effective way.

Initially, the impact of the rifled musket on the Civil War was to inflict unheard of levels of carnage. Generals on both sides of the conflict had been trained in Napoleonic TACTICS AND STRATEGY, which emphasized frontal assaults and close proximity to the enemy. When the enemy has smoothbores and can only fire at a range of 150 yards, frontal assaults can be effective since there is only time for one volley of accurate shots. When the enemy has rifles and can begin firing at a range of 500 yards—time for two or three or four volleys—frontal assaults invite wholesale slaughter. The combination of rifled muskets and Napoleonic tactics is a primary reason, for example, that the BATTLE





The recent technological advances of the railroad and the telegraph helped military maneuvers in the Civil War tremendously. Pictured here is Gen. Herman Haupt (top right, in hat and coat), chief of military rail transport for the North. (Library of Congress)

OF ANTIETAM remains the single bloodiest engagement in American history. Quickly, bloodbaths like this forced generals to rethink their tactics. By the end of the Civil War, turning maneuvers and trench warfare were much more common.

Although the Minié ball was the most important, other new technologies also became a part of ground warfare during the Civil War. In 1861 Richard Gatling developed the first reliable machine gun. This hand-cranked device fired standard .58-caliber musket balls at a rate of 400 rounds per minute. It was employed by the U.S. Army up through the Spanish-American War of 1898. Gatling guns were used in a few Civil War engagements, most notably the siege of Petersburg. Repeating rifles, which had been developed in the 1850s, were also issued to some soldiers during the Civil War. These weapons, which utilized a smaller, pistol-caliber bullet, traded off shorter range for a higher volume of firepower. For this reason they were largely issued to cavalry

units: With them, horsemen on the ground of their choosing could offer tremendous resistance against better-armed infantrymen. The stand of Gen. John Buford's U.S. Cavalry on the first day of Gettysburg attests to the effectiveness of carbines when properly handled. Union leaders hesitated to embrace them, however, because repeaters were unreliable and because of concerns that they would encourage soldiers to waste ammunition. Land mines were developed during the war by Confederate general Joseph Rains, although they were crude and some officers refused to use them because they felt they were a cowardly form of warfare. Practical hot-air balloons, invented in 1852 by Henri Giffard, were utilized to provide aerial reconnaissance. The most prominent example occurred during the Warwick-Yorktown siege in early 1862. Two balloons, commanded by Chief Aeronaut of the Army of the Potomac T. S. C. Lowe, were used for spying on Confederate fortifications and for making maps. Although these innovations did not influence the Civil War

in a dramatic fashion, all would eventually become important tools for military leaders.

Artillery, by far the most technical of military services, also underwent a rapid transformation that closely paralleled that of small arms. Innovative ordnance engineers such as Robert Parrott and Thomas Rodman conducted extensive testing through the 1840s and 1850s, employing lighter and stronger alloys for cannon barrels to reduce their weight and endow them with improved range and reliability. The standard “12-pounder” cannon of the War of 1812 (firing a 12-pound, solid cannon ball), which weighed 3,800 pounds, thus contrasts with the Civil War “Napoleon” 12-pounder cannon, which weighed just 1,600 pounds. Like small arms, some cannon were now rifled. Rifling the bore of cannon vastly improved their accuracy and range. Moreover, such ordnance was capable of firing the first explosive shells with devastating effect against traditional masonry fortifications. On April 11, 1862, rifled cannon commanded by Gen. Quincy A. Gillmore completely destroyed the works of Fort Pulaski, Georgia, prompting its surrender after a single day’s shelling. Late in the war the Confederates also managed to import a handful of breech-loading Whitworth cannon, which added increased rates of fire to already impressive range and accuracy.

As war on land was evolving during the Civil War, so too was war at sea. In fact, the naval leaders during the Civil War moved very quickly to modernize their fleets. Both the UNION NAVY and the CONFEDERATE NAVY began the war with vastly fewer boats than they needed, and both decided to build their navies around ironclad ships. IRONCLADS, which had been used by European powers during the 1850s Crimean War, were wood vessels partially encased in iron plating. The plating made ironclads harder to maneuver but also much more difficult to sink. Ultimately, the Union was able to put 71 ironclads into service, and the Confederacy was able to commission 25. These ships played a role in many of the major naval engagements of the Civil War. Their most notable service occurred at Hampton Roads, Virginia, when the USS *Monitor* faced off against the CSS *Virginia*. Although the meeting of the *Monitor* and the *Virginia* was a draw and had little impact on the outcome of the war, it was important because it marked the first time that iron ships had faced one another in battle. The engagement of the *Monitor* and the *Virginia* made clear to both military leaders and civilians that the age of wooden ships was officially past.

Another important facet of naval technology was the screw propeller, designed and invented by Swedish engineer John Ericsson in 1837, yet only slowly adapted by the conservative naval bureaucracy. This device was an immediate improvement over existing “side-paddle” arrangements, for it offered less drag, higher speeds, and placement of the steam engine and propulsion gear below the water-

line, where it was less vulnerable to enemy fire. One major drawback with all steam-powered vessels was their ravenous appetite for coal and timber to fire up the boilers. This dependence necessitated a complete overhaul of naval logistics, and sea supply vessels were created to accompany the blockading fleets on station. Meanwhile, American naval ordnance underwent an evolution of its own at the hands of Capt. JOHN A. B. DAHLGREN. Through continuous experimentation Dahlgren realized that the pressure of a cannon charge is strongest at the rear of the gun and less at the mouth. He therefore designed heavy guns that were decidedly “teardrop” in shape, which allowed stronger charges to be used despite a great reduction in overall weight. Dahlgren’s “soda bottles,” as they were popularly known, were among the most powerful naval ordnance in the world. They were capable of throwing large explosive rounds that could demolish all but the strongest land fortifications.

Ironclads were not the only new technology utilized by the Civil War’s naval leaders. Confederate leaders in particular were willing to be creative because of their lack of resources. For example, the Confederacy utilized both torpedoes and submarines at various points during the war. Although both technologies had been used for thousands of years in one form or another, the Confederate incarnations bear a much greater resemblance to the modern version. And when the *H.L. HUNLEY* sank the USS *Housatonic* on February 17, 1864, it became the first time in the history of the world that a submarine had successfully attacked and sunk an enemy vessel.

Military engagements on both land and sea, then, were influenced by new technologies. And at the same time, technology changed the way war was conducted on a broad scale. The telegraph was one critical new tool that Civil War commanders used for logistical purposes. The telegraph had actually been available during the Mexican-American War, but it was not until the Civil War that it became critical. With the spread of the telegraph, spies could gather intelligence and quickly transmit it back to their superiors. Generals could coordinate troop movements over large areas. Politicians could have more of a hand in running the war, albeit sometimes with detrimental effects.

Just as important as the telegraph in shaping logistical planning was the railroad. The railroad had first been developed in the early 19th century, and by the start of the Civil War the nation had 30,000 miles of track, more than any other nation in the world. RAILROADS provided critical logistical support for both the CONFEDERATE ARMY and the UNION ARMY. Civil War armies were much larger than the armies that had fought in previous conflicts, and it would not have been possible to keep 50,000 men or more properly supplied if food and other necessities could not be brought to them, often from far away. Railroads were also



used to move troops over long distances, which was absolutely critical to both sides. For the Confederates, railroads helped to mitigate their shortage of manpower by allowing soldiers to be moved around to the exact spots where they were most needed. For the Union, victory may not have been possible without the railroad. The Confederacy was a very large geographical area. It could not have been conquered, perhaps, if Union troops could not have been quickly and effectively deployed throughout the region.

Technology therefore influenced every aspect of the war front. Meanwhile, the HOMEFRONT was by no means immune to the influence of new inventions. For example, the clothing needs of the Union army caused the sewing machine to be implemented throughout Northern factories during the war. Although this was a fairly small change, the move toward mechanization would become a dominant theme of the postwar era. Another important change on the homefront during the war had to do with the role of JOURNALISM in American society and in warfare. The spread of the telegraph allowed news to be collected and reported much more quickly than it ever had before. And the rotary press made it possible for enough papers to be printed to meet the demand of a news-hungry American public. Henceforth, the American populace would not be kept in the dark about the operations of the country's armies.

Equally important, if little heralded at the time, was the great influx of females into the national workforce. Work outside the home allowed many women to break free of their traditional, domestic constraints and work on a paid basis for the first time. As more and more men of draft age were removed from the labor pool, women provided a steady stream of replacement labor supporting the overall war effort. Thus the rise of factory technology increased the availability of paid work for women in the workforce, a phenomenon that would be repeated with even greater effect in World Wars I and II.

As important as new technologies were to the Civil War, it bears noting that new scientific developments did not find their way into all aspects of the conflict, even when they easily could have. The most notable failures were in the area of MEDICINE. Anesthesia was developed by an American dentist more than a decade before the war started. In the 1850s, European doctors began to speak of germ theory, stressing the importance of using clean hands and instruments to perform medical procedures. Nonetheless, these ideas were not embraced by the Civil War medical establishment. As a result, countless thousands of soldiers suffered agonizing pain while undergoing amputations, and thousands of others died of unnecessary infections.

Ultimately, the Civil War had an important role in marrying new technologies with the conduct of warfare. Rifles, machine guns, aerial reconnaissance, iron and steel ships,

and submarines would all be indispensable tools for military commanders in the late 19th and 20th centuries.

The Civil War also helped to spread technologies that would shape American life in peacetime. Mechanized factories, newspapers, railroads, and telegraphs would help to remake America's society and its ECONOMY in the postwar era. At the same time, a number of important new inventions and discoveries came about in the postbellum era, as INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT gained momentum. The internal combustion engine (1875), the telephone (1876), refrigeration (1877), the phonograph (1877), and the incandescent light bulb (1879) were all invented in the two decades immediately following the Civil War.

See also BALLOON CORPS; MONITOR-MERRIMACK; WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Christopher Bates

## secession

Secession was the act by which the 11 Southern states that formed the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA withdrew from the Union. The secession crisis of 1860–61 led directly to the outbreak of CIVIL WAR. The North's victory in the war ensured that secession would no longer be a political issue of any relevance.

There is no provision for secession in the U.S. Constitution. Rather, secession was a concept that developed in response to a series of debates over the course of the antebellum era about the relationship between the states and the federal government. Which held the ultimate power? If the answer was the state, then that entity had the right to secede from the federal government if its liberties were endangered. Three events in particular from the late 18th to the mid-19th century would shape the secessionist position: the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, the War of 1812, and the Nullification Crisis of 1832–33.



Gen. Winfield Scott portrayed as Hercules slaying the many-headed Hydra of Southern secession. Each of the monster's seven heads represents a prominent Southern leader and a vice or crime associated with him. Lithograph by Currier & Ives (Library of Congress)

America's first party system was founded in the 1790s under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton. Jefferson and Hamilton had radically different ideas on the nature of government. Hamilton, a Federalist, favored a strong national government, while Jefferson, the founder of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, was committed to the supremacy of the states. He articulated his position in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, in which he invented the term *nullification* to describe a state's right to overrule the federal government. The Constitution, argued Jefferson, was a "compact," or agreement, between the states and the national government. If the compact was seriously violated by the federal government, the states could legally withdraw, or secede, from the Union.

The first time states threatened to secede was during the War of 1812. Most New Englanders were opposed to the war, largely because Great Britain was the most important market for their manufactured goods. In 1814 representatives from the states of New England held a convention in Hartford, Connecticut, to discuss their grievances. Disunion was mentioned prominently on the convention floor. Ultimately, the issue was tabled after the war's end.

The question of secession again appeared in 1832 when the federal government adopted a tariff, or tax, on imported goods that Southerners felt was far too high. This was the third time in eight years the government had adopted a tariff that was contrary to Southern interests. In response, the South Carolina legislature passed an ordinance that nullified the federal tariff and stated that if the national government enforced the collection of the tariff, South Carolina would secede. The situation was resolved with a compromise tariff that South Carolina agreed to accept. Temporarily, the storm subsided, but the nullification crisis had major long-term implications for making the Palmetto State a leader of secessionist sentiment. Most importantly, South Carolinian John C. Calhoun emerged from the crisis a powerful voice for STATES' RIGHTS and the protection of SLAVERY. Calhoun was a former nationalist who served in the House, the Senate, in the cabinet as secretary of war and secretary of state, and as Andrew Jackson's vice president. In the 1830s, he turned his formidable intelligence to constructing a rationale for ensuring the perpetuation of slavery in a Union he perceived to be increasingly hostile to the minority slaveholders. Rejecting the current two-party system, Calhoun advocated a Southern sectional party based on states' rights that would be devoted to protecting that region's "peculiar institution." Failing to persuade his fellow Southerners to abandon the Democratic Party, Calhoun became increasingly pessimistic about the fate of the South within the Union. For him, secession was a logical and legal process should it become necessary.

By the 1840s, Southerners influenced by Calhoun had developed an intellectual justification for secession. The 1850s brought constant conflict over the future of slavery. Most Southerners felt that it was important that slavery expand to the territories to sustain the balance of power between slave and free states in the federal government. Many believed that slavery should be legal everywhere in the nation, even in Northern states that had banned the institution. The majority of Northerners felt very differently. They were willing to allow slavery to remain where it already was but wanted to reserve the territories for free labor only. In response to this attitude, a small group of rabid secessionists, called FIRE-EATERS, began to advocate loudly the dissolution of the Union in order to defend and preserve slavery and states' rights. In 1860 ABRAHAM LINCOLN was elected president on a Republican platform

committed to stopping the spread of slavery in the territories. Prominent fire-eaters, such as WILLIAM LOWNDES YANCEY of Alabama, Edmund Ruffin of Virginia, and Robert Barnwell Rhett Sr. of South Carolina, saw Lincoln and the party he represented as deeply hostile to Southern slaveholding interests. Throughout the fall and winter of 1860 they worked hard to dissolve the Union. They had compelling arguments, all of which centered on the Republicans' desire to use the federal government's power to deny the property rights of Southerners.

The fire-eaters faced significant obstacles. The wealthy states of the Upper South like Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky were not interested in seceding. They wanted to watch and wait to see if they could forge a compromise that would be to their advantage. In the Lower South, it was not clear that the majority of nonslaveholding farmers were willing to support secession to save an institution they had no financial stake in preserving. There were also a substantial number of "cooperationists" in the lower South that favored continuing negotiations with the federal government. They argued that secession should be seen only as a last resort.

Southern radicals knew that they had to manage things very carefully or they would lose their momentum and secession would fail. The fire-eaters chose to focus their attentions on South Carolina, in hopes that the state's leaders could be convinced to secede quickly and decisively. The Palmetto State was a natural choice to lead the secession movement. It had been the home of John C. Calhoun and a center of secessionist sentiment for more than three decades. Beyond that, South Carolina's constitution was unusual in that it required the state legislature to choose presidential electors. As such, when Abraham Lincoln won the election of 1860, most Southern legislatures had adjourned for winter, but the South Carolina legislature was still in session pending the results. They immediately approved Governor William Henry Gist's call for special ELECTIONS to choose representatives for a secession convention.

South Carolina's secession elections made the state's departure from the Union a certainty. Strong opponents of secession declined to run for seats at the convention, knowing that they would be defeated. Cooperationists dismissed the convention as largely meaningless, believing that secession would only happen if a group of Southern states agreed to secede together. When the secession convention was seated on December 17, 1860, it was populated entirely by fire-eaters. A committee was appointed to draw up a secession resolution, and in short order they completed their work. The convention voted unanimously on December 20 to endorse the resolution that declared the union between the states to be "dissolved."

South Carolina's bold move gave a big boost to the efforts of fire-eaters in the other states of the Lower South.

In each state, the same basic pattern had to be followed: elections, a secession convention, and the adoption of an ordinance of secession. In no state was secession as much of a certainty as in South Carolina, and in some states the issue was hotly contested. However, the inspiration provided by the Palmetto State, as well as skillful politicking by fire-eaters, eventually convinced the rest of the Lower South to join South Carolina in seceding. By February 1, 1861, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had called secession conventions and voted to leave the Union. On February 4 delegates from the seceded states met to begin drawing up a constitution for the new nation.

The states of the Upper South hesitated much more than those in the Lower South. Pro-Unionist sentiment, Northern commercial ties, and a much lower number of slaves made secession more problematic. For the federal government, the key to retaining the loyalty of the Upper Southern states was a noncoercive policy. Compromise between North and South was discussed and rejected, and as time dragged on, hope faded. Supplies began to run out for the small Union garrison at FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, located in Charleston Harbor. President Lincoln weighed his options, keenly aware that popular sentiment in the North heavily favored resupplying the fort and keeping it under the national flag.

On April 6 Lincoln went public with his decision to resupply Fort Sumter, but only with food and other necessities of survival. President JEFFERSON DAVIS could not abide by this decision, as he was well aware of the symbolic importance of allowing the North to keep possession of the fort. So, Davis decided to fire upon Sumter before the Northern ships arrived. On April 12, 1861, Confederate batteries attacked, and the Garrison surrendered two days later.

Lincoln responded to the attack on Fort Sumter with a call for 75,000 troops to put down the insurrection. At this point, the states of the Upper South had a choice between taking arms against the South and taking arms against the North. This was an easy decision to make, and shortly thereafter Virginia left the Union. Over the course of the five weeks after Fort Sumter, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina followed suit. The secession crisis had ended and the Union was dissolved. The stage was set for the bloodiest conflict in American history.

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—Christopher Bates

### Second Inaugural Address (March 4, 1865)

The Second Inaugural Address was the seminal speech that President ABRAHAM LINCOLN delivered upon his second inauguration, in 1865. The nation was then a far cry from what it had been at the time of his first inauguration. After four years of conflict Union armies under Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT and WILLIAM T. SHERMAN were poised for victory.

With good news imminent the president had every reason to be celebratory. Yet Lincoln deliberately avoided voicing patriotic sentimentality, painfully aware that the perils facing the country during the postwar era would prove as daunting as those of the present. His second inaugural address was short—fewer than 700 words—but profound. The president did not linger on the looming military victory over the South, nor did he blame the South for the evils of SLAVERY, whose practice he condemned outright. Rather, he appealed to unity, Christian forgiveness, and national reconciliation, couching his message in religious terms leavened with biblical invocations. In this manner he eschewed military triumph and promoted a moral victory.

The inaugural speech, delivered before a crowd estimated at 40,000 people, lasted only seven minutes. Listeners were initially perplexed by Lincoln's low-key delivery and stark brevity. Yet the last line of the speech summarizes his administration's *raison d'être*:

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness and right, as God gives us to see right. Let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.

Lincoln's words have since been regarded as among the most notable political addresses of all time. The entire speech is carved into the marble walls of the Lincoln Monument in WASHINGTON, D.C.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Semmes, Raphael** (1809–1877) *Confederate admiral* Rear admiral for the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, lawyer, historian, and newspaper editor, Raphael Semmes is best known for his stewardship of the famed cruiser *ALABAMA*. Born on September 27, 1809, in Charles County, Maryland, Semmes attended the Charlotte Hall Military Academy. Appointed as a midshipman in the U.S. Navy in 1826, he found time between service in the Mediterranean and Caribbean Seas to study law and was admitted to the bar in 1834.

Semmes moved from Maryland to Cincinnati, where he married and began his family of six children. He served in the Mexican-American War of 1846 and later published a popular account of the event. Semmes and his family moved to Alabama, where he had bought property. When the war began, he resigned from the U.S. Navy and offered his services to President JEFFERSON DAVIS. His first assignment was to go north and buy supplies and ammunition from stores in New England and New York. Mission accomplished, he dropped in to view President ABRAHAM LINCOLN's inauguration in WASHINGTON, D.C.

Commissioned a commander in the CONFEDERATE NAVY, Semmes outfitted the cruiser *Sumter* in New Orleans and began an 18-month stint as a commerce raider running the Yankee blockade. After great success, Semmes traveled overseas to take command of the CSS *Alabama*, one of the rebel ships built in Liverpool, England. Sleek, fast, and powerful, the *Alabama* destroyed or captured 69 vessels before it was destroyed by the Union's *Kearsarge* off the coast of France in late spring of 1864. After a dramatic rescue at sea, Semmes returned home a hero and commanded the James River Squadron until the end of the war. Semmes applied for and received a presidential pardon in May 1865, but he was arrested on piracy charges upon his return to Mobile, Alabama. Cleared of all charges, Semmes worked as a judge, a teacher, a newspaper editor, and a lawyer. An accomplished writer, he published his story, *Memoirs of Service: Afloat during the War Between the States* in 1868. Raphael Semmes died on August 30, 1877, in Point Clear, Alabama.

**Further reading:** John M. Taylor, *Confederate Raider: Raphael Semmes of the "Alabama"* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1994).

**Seward, William H.** (1801–1872) *lawyer, politician* Lawyer, governor, senator, and secretary of state, William Henry Seward was one of the leading Republicans of

his era. Seward was born in Florida, New York, on May 16, 1801. Graduating from Union College in 1820, he was admitted to the New York bar two years later. Son of a businessman and a county judge, Seward married a judge's daughter, Frances Miller. They settled in Auburn, New York, to raise a family. Their son, Frederick William Seward, served as his father's assistant secretary of state and close adviser during the most turbulent years of the elder Seward's career.

William H. Seward rose rapidly in New York State politics, advancing from WHIG PARTY leader in the state senate to the governor's office while still in his 30s. After his second gubernatorial term, Seward built his legal practice only to return to politics again in 1849, when he advanced to the U.S. Senate.

Seward quickly established himself as a powerful figure in Congress, one associated particularly closely with abolitionism. He is known during the 1850s for two controversial remarks. During a debate over the Compromise of 1850, Seward urged senators to ban SLAVERY in the territories entirely. Replying to Southern attacks that such a ban was unconstitutional, Seward asserted that there was a "higher law" than the U.S. Constitution.

Echoing the rhetoric of abolitionists like WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Seward earned a reputation in some circles as a radical abolitionist—a reputation that would prove both incorrect and damaging to his career. Again, in a speech at Rochester, New York, Seward denigrated compromise with slave owners, declaring that North and South were engaged in an "irrepressible conflict" between two fundamentally different views of America's future.

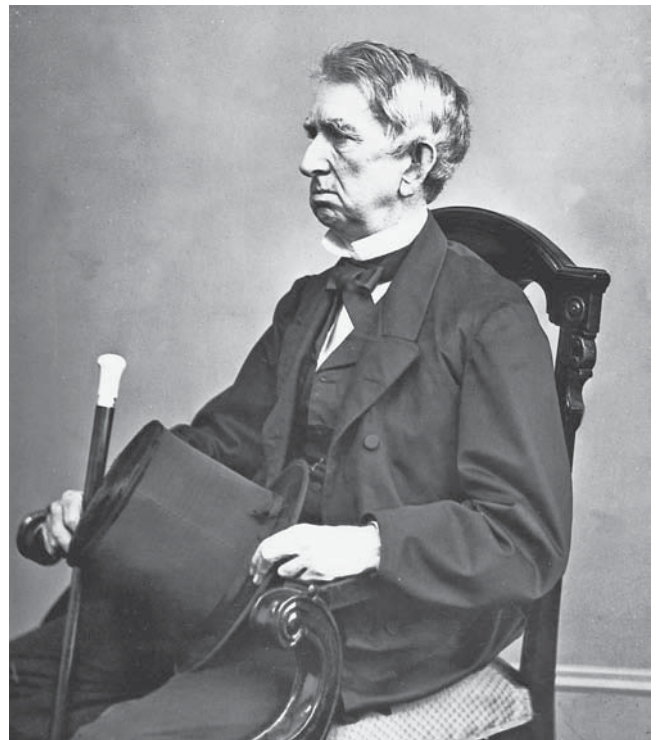
When the Whig Party collapsed following the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT, Seward joined the new REPUBLICAN PARTY, instantly becoming the leading candidate for the 1860 Republican presidential nomination. But Seward's flirtation with abolitionism, still largely unpopular in the North, alienated more moderate Republicans. During the 1860 Republican Convention, Seward watched his support ebb while ABRAHAM LINCOLN's swelled. Despite the disappointment, Seward actively campaigned for Lincoln throughout the fall and accepted Lincoln's invitation to serve as secretary of state.

By 1861 Seward had been in politics for nearly 30 years. Lincoln, in contrast, had served a single term as an Illinois congressman. Seward made the mistake of assuming that the inexperienced president would gratefully rely on his seasoned cabinet member to craft the new administration's key policies. Alarmed at what he took to be Lincoln's vacillation in the face of imminent Southern rebellion, Seward sent the president his recommendations for a more robust policy. The United States, Seward suggested, ought to abandon FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, while arresting rebels throughout the United States.

Meanwhile, Lincoln should rally the country around the Monroe Doctrine and challenge Spanish and French meddling in the Americas.

Once at war, the people would forget their regionalism and rally to the flag. Such a policy, Seward concluded, would need a strong hand to guide it—presumably, his own. Seward misread the depth of Southern commitment to SECESSION and seriously misjudged Lincoln himself. Lincoln's reply, while cordial, made it clear that Lincoln himself would be making the decisions.

Despite the awkward start, Seward proved himself to be an essential and loyal member of Lincoln's cabinet. He promptly dispatched Charles Francis Adams, son and grandson of presidents, to counter Confederate diplomacy in London, issuing veiled (and not so veiled) threats to go to war if the British recognized the Confederacy. In one sense, these threats were little more than bluff; the United States could not have simultaneously defeated the British and the Confederacy both. However, remarked Seward to French diplomats, though the United States might lose such a war, its enemies would know they had been in a fight. Strong words, combined with more tactful diplomacy, worked. Despite their economic interest in continued cotton exports, neither British nor French governments could afford to add a protracted conflict in North America to their obligations elsewhere in the world.



William H. Seward (Library of Congress)

Seward handled three diplomatic crises with particular success. First, he persuaded French and British governments to withhold recognition from the Confederacy and to respect the Union blockade of Southern ports. Second, he forced the British to cease outfitting Southern privateers such as the *ALABAMA*, though the so-called *Alabama* claims were not settled until well after the war's end. Finally, Seward released two Confederate spies, captured from a British vessel in the *Trent* affair. Making this concession over the loud objections of congressional Republicans won Seward the respect of the British government officials, who came to see the American secretary of state as tough and shrewd—but a man with whom they could work.

At the end of the war Seward was injured in a carriage accident and was bedridden when both he and his son, Frederick, became the victims of an assassination attempt by Lewis Paine, one of the coconspirators with JOHN WILKES BOOTH. On the evening of April 14, 1865, Paine's attempt on the lives of Seward father and son failed, while Booth's ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN succeeded.

Seward recovered and remained secretary of state after Lincoln's death, crafting an American FOREIGN POLICY whose expansionism and hemispheric ambitions prefigured those of Theodore Roosevelt half a century later. Citing the Monroe Doctrine, Seward pressured Napoleon III to withdraw French troops from Mexico, where they had established an "empire" at the start of the CIVIL WAR.

Seward urged Congress to authorize the building of a canal across Panama and to annex the Danish West Indies, Hawaii, Midway, and Santo Domingo. With the exception of Midway, Congress was unwilling. Many Northerners believed that the Civil War had erupted over the disposition of territories conquered from Mexico in 1848, and most wanted national resources devoted to RECONSTRUCTION. Even so, Seward's policies, while dormant in the 1870s, would catch fire again in the 1890s.

Congress did approve one of Seward's initiatives, however, authorizing \$7 million to purchase Alaska from the Russian Empire. Seward's opponents derisively labeled the undeveloped Arctic wilderness "Seward's Folly" and "Seward's Icebox." Seward, however, correctly predicted that the region's value to the United States would not be apparent for another generation. It became so in 1898, when gold was found in the Klondike.

Seward remained loyal to ANDREW JOHNSON through the president's impeachment trial. Supporting Johnson's generous and gentle treatment of white ex-Confederates, Seward urged RADICAL REPUBLICANS to show the defeated opponents the mercy they now deserved. Seward displayed little interest in the problems faced by the freed-people. Seward had believed slavery to be wrong, but he also believed Africans to be inferior to Europeans and their subordinate status to be inevitable and natural.

These views alienated Seward from the mainstream of Republican opinion; Republican president ULYSSES S. GRANT had little use for a Johnson administration loyalist. This time, Seward's retirement from public life proved permanent. Seward died at his home in Auburn, New York, on October 10, 1872.

See also ABOLITION; FILIBUSTERING; IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

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—Tom Laichas

### **Seymour, Horatio** (1810–1886) *lawyer, politician*

Horatio Seymour was GOVERNOR of New York during the CIVIL WAR. Born in Onondaga, New York, on May 31, 1810, Seymour was educated at the Geneva Academy (Hobart College) and a military academy at Middletown, Connecticut. He gravitated toward law and gained admission to the bar in 1832 before serving as secretary to Governor William L. Marcy. A moderate Democrat, Seymour made a name for himself in various capacities before his own election as governor in 1853. Over the next seven years he initiated improvements in his state while condemning both abolitionism in the North and secessionism in the South.

In 1860 Seymour supported STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS for the presidency and, after Douglas's defeat, the CRITTENDEN COMPROMISE to end the SECESSION crisis. Relations with new president ABRAHAM LINCOLN proved stormy. Seymour resented—and resisted—the strong Federal measures imposed on states as a wartime expedient, namely, Lincoln's policies of CONSCRIPTION for acquiring manpower, suspension of HABEAS CORPUS, and EMANCIPATION of slaves. However, despite his reputation as among the most ardent Northern proponents of STATES' RIGHTS and the most conspicuous of the anti-administration governors, he championed the Union and the war. Although labeled a "COPPERHEAD," Seymour remained deeply committed to preserving the Union, and in 1862 he was again elected governor.

After the infamous NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOTS of July 1863, Seymour was quick to marshal state forces to restore order, but thereafter he insisted that the president keep him abreast of changes in conscription policies to avert violence. Seymour was voted out of office in 1864, and four years later his bid for the presidency was crushingly defeated by Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT. He died in Utica, New York, on February 12, 1886.



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—John C. Fredriksen

### sharecropping

Sharecropping replaced slave gang labor after the CIVIL WAR. The cotton PLANTATIONS were cut up into small parcels, usually less than 40 acres, with the parcels farmed by free African-American families. The cotton grown by the former slaves was divided between the planter, the merchant, and the farmer. The conditions of sharecropping often brought black laborers into dependency and debt, making it difficult for them to improve their economic position in the New South.

After 1865 most freedmen worked for their former owners on a year-to-year contract. These contracts usually offered food and a small monthly stipend in exchange for working under gang labor, which was too much like SLAVERY for African Americans. They felt that freedom entitled them to break as far as possible from the world of prewar plantations. In great numbers they broke their contracts and tried to lease small plots of land to live as independent farmers. One sympathetic observer wrote: "The sole ambition of the freedman at the present time appears to be to become the owner of a little piece of land, there to erect a humble home, and to dwell in peace and security at his own free will and pleasure."

Rejecting plantation labor, the freedpeople and the plantation owners came up with a compromise, which was sharecropping. Once they settled on a parcel of land, the ex-slaves entered into credit relationships with local merchants and landowners. Over time, a relatively predictable system was established. Landowners gave freedmen the bare necessities to farm the land: seeds, tools, fertilizer, clothing, and food. In return for the use of the land, sharecroppers paid plantation owners or landlords a share of the yearly harvest, usually about half. The freedmen retained their portion of the crop to feed their families and to pay merchants (owners could also be merchants) for goods purchased on credit during the year. However, these goods were often sold at inflated prices and with high interest rates. Thus, by the end of the year the tenant generally owed so much to the landowner that the debt could not be entirely repaid. Essentially, freedmen moved from lives of chattel slavery to lives of debt peonage.

Although sharecropping was especially common among African-American freedmen, it also affected white farmers. Yeomen who sought to participate in staple crop production were themselves caught in the web of debt that merchants could spin. This situation, which divided prosperous white landowners from indebted white and black people,

created a potential racial problem for Southern leaders. The class divide between rich and poor white people held open a possibility that black and white farmers might unite politically.

Racism put an end to cross-color unity. Organizations such as the KU KLUX KLAN had formed as early as 1866, fostering white supremacy and solidarity. Because of this divide, sharecropping for white farmers proved a very different experience than for African Americans. Poverty was a serious problem, but white tenant farmers could count on the judicial system, community support, and family ties to help in their relationship with the owners.

While sharecropping prevented African Americans from enjoying the economic benefits of EMANCIPATION they had expected, it was not slave labor, and it allowed a limited amount of independence and power.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—Samantha Holtkamp Gervase

### Shenandoah Valley: Jackson's campaign (March 23–May 9, 1862)

The Shenandoah Valley held great logistical and strategic significance during the CIVIL WAR. With the Blue Ridge Mountains on the east and the more imposing Alleghenies to the west, the valley runs southwest to northeast and drops gently in its course to meet the Potomac River, which means that an individual traveling to the Potomac goes "down the valley"—an odd circumstance in a world where north is almost always "up." The premier grain-growing area in Virginia during much of the antebellum period, the valley produced a variety of agricultural products that helped sustain Confederate forces in Virginia. It also loomed large as a strategic avenue through which either side could mount a threat to the western parts of WASHINGTON D.C., and RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

The 1862 Shenandoah Valley campaign of Gen. THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON had its origins in Gen. ROBERT E. LEE's desire to limit the size of the Union threat against Richmond. In late April 1862 Gen. GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN's 100,000-man Army of the Potomac advanced toward the Confederate capital up the Virginia peninsula between the York and James Rivers. Fifty miles north of Richmond lay another major Union force commanded by Gen. Irvin McDowell. Smaller armies under Gen. NATHANIEL P. BANKS in the lower Shenandoah Valley and Gen. John C. Frémont in the Alleghenies farther west completed the roster of Union threats in Virginia. Lee

functioned as JEFFERSON DAVIS's principal military adviser, and he wanted Stonewall Jackson, who commanded a modest force in the valley, to pin down all Federals west of the Blue Ridge; otherwise, Frémont and Banks could potentially join McDowell at Fredericksburg for an advance against Richmond in conjunction with McClellan.

Preliminary operations had commenced that March when Lee ordered Jackson to protect the valley from the 38,000-man force of Gen. Banks, an imposing task considering that the Confederates were outnumbered nine to one. But Jackson concluded, "If the valley is lost, Virginia is lost," and determined to seize the offensive and deny the initiative to the invaders. Taking 3,800 infantry and 600 cavalry, he departed his headquarters at Winchester on March 11, 1862, and encamped at Mount Jackson to check the Union reaction. Jackson observed that the advance division of Gen. James Shields occupied his former headquarters at Winchester, and at this point he decided to strike before the main force under Banks could arrive. He drove his footsore men northward, covering 41 miles in only 48 hours, and prepared to attack the following day. Unfortunately for Jackson, cavalry reconnaissance conducted by Gen. Turner Ashby had failed to discover that the bulk of Shields's men at Kernstown were sequestered in nearby woods. On March 23, 1862, the Confederates attacked Kernstown as ordered, but, badly outnumbered, they were driven back after a stiff three-hour engagement. Jackson thus lost the first engagement of his vaunted valley campaign, but he had scored an immediate strategic victory: Authorities in Washington, D.C., convinced that Confederate forces were aggressive because they had been reinforced, feared for the capital's safety and ordered Banks to remain in the vicinity with his entire force. This effectively prevented a valuable source of manpower, better deployed elsewhere, from moving for several weeks. Shortly afterward Jackson was reinforced by the arrival of Gen. RICHARD STODDERT EWELL's veteran division, which brought Confederate numbers up to 17,000 men.

Meanwhile, the Union offensive against Richmond continued unabated. For the Confederates protecting their capital, it became imperative that this Union offensive not be reinforced by Banks's force or the soldiers of Frémont, then stationed in the nearby Allegheny Mountains. Confederate authorities were also alarmed that the I Corps of Gen. McDowell at Fredericksburg, 40,000 strong, could lend its weight to McClellan's already imposing force in the peninsula. Once again, Lee indicated that Jackson's small forces should take the offensive to pin down these sizable detachments.

Jackson soon demonstrated how a resourceful commander of an inferior force could use speed and imagination to achieve great results. On May 3 he ordered half his force onto cars of the Virginia Central Railroad at Mechum's River

Station, near Charlottesville, and headed for the Allegheny Mountains. Then, following another speedy forced march, they prepared to confront a Union detachment under Gen. Robert H. Milroy. On May 8, 1862, he concentrated part of his troops at the village of McDowell, in the Alleghenies west of Staunton, Virginia, defeating the advance guard of Frémont's army and forcing its retreat into the wilds of western Virginia. Returning to the valley, Jackson marched northward and captured several hundred Federals in a minor battle at Front Royal on May 23. Two days later he won the first Battle of Winchester against Banks, driving the Federals toward the Potomac River and capturing a huge quantity of military supplies. By May 29 Jackson's troops skirmished with Federals near HARPERS FERRY, having cleared most of the lower valley of Union forces. Thus far Jackson's offensive had cost the Confederacy only 400 men, but it accounted for 3,030 Union captives, 9,300 small arms, and a huge amount of quartermaster stores—so much that Southerners derisively nicknamed their Federal adversary "Commissary Banks." Jackson's success yielded further strategic benefits when President ABRAHAM LINCOLN personally directed General McDowell's I Corps to remain near Fredericksburg to protect Washington, D.C. And in spite of tremendous odds, the Shenandoah Valley remained firmly in Confederate hands.

Near Harpers Ferry, Jackson's force occupied a vulnerable position. From Washington, Lincoln sensed an opportunity to deliver a decisive blow. He envisioned a three-pronged pincers movement to isolate Jackson in the lower valley. Frémont would march from the west, a division from McDowell's command under Gen. James Shields would move east from Front Royal, and Banks would apply pressure from the north. "I think the evidence now preponderates that Ewell and Jackson are still about Winchester," commented the president to McDowell. "Assuming this, it is, for you a question of legs. Put in all the speed you can. I have told Frémont as much, and directed him to drive at them as fast as possible." But Jackson pushed his men to the limit and, aided by incredibly slow movements by all three Union commanders, escaped the trap and marched to the southern end of Massanutten Mountain near Harrisonburg. In doing so, he drove his men to march at rates of 20 to 30 miles a day, which earned them the well-deserved moniker of Jackson's "foot cavalry." Then he defeated part of Frémont's force in the Battle of Cross Keys on June 8. The next day he turned back Shields's command in the Battle of Port Republic. Frémont and Shields soon retreated northward on both sides of Massanutten Mountain, and Jackson moved to reinforce Lee's army outside Richmond.

Jackson had accomplished his strategic goals quite effectively. He pinned down Banks and Frémont and convinced the Federals to hold McDowell at Fredericksburg, thereby denying McClellan thousands of reinforcements.



None of Jackson's battles had been a tactical masterpiece; indeed, he had struggled to win despite having superior numbers at McDowell and again at Port Republic, and Banks's soldiers had escaped from the battlefield at First Winchester with minimal damage. Still, these small victories reached a Confederate populace starved for good news from the military front and made Jackson a popular Southern hero.

Casualties in the 1862 Shenandoah Valley campaign were modest compared with the bloodier battles of the Civil War. They totaled just fewer than 5,500 Federals (more than half of whom were prisoners) and just more than 2,750 Confederates. Aside from having inflicted twice as many losses as they had sustained, the Confederates had marched 676 miles and fought four pitched battles and many skirmishes in 48 days of hard campaigning. Jackson's ability to tie down and thwart 64,000 Union soldiers with a force that never numbered more than 17,000 marks him as one of the most accomplished strategists of American military history. It certainly constitutes a striking example of strategic initiative and economy of force. Along with Lee's own success against McClellan in the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN of that spring, events in the Shenandoah helped raise morale and renewed public faith in the Confederate cause.

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—Gary W. Gallagher

### **Shenandoah Valley: Sheridan's campaign** (August 1864–March 1865)

Early in the summer of 1864, with his army entrenched at Petersburg, Gen. ROBERT E. LEE ordered troops under the command of Gen. JUBAL A. EARLY into the Shenandoah Valley. The valley was of primary strategic value to both sides. Not only did it provide an avenue of attack into Maryland for the Confederates but it also provided necessary food supplies for Gen. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. The Confederacy had attempted to maintain a presence there since the beginning of the war, and Union efforts to drive them from the valley had proven futile. Confederate Gen. THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON's Shenandoah Valley campaign of 1862 helped to defeat Gen. GEORGE

BRINTON MCCLELLAN's attempts to take RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, and Lee hoped Early's operations there would have a similar effect on Grant.

Underscoring the seriousness of the situation, on July 24, 1864, Early had attacked and routed Union forces assigned to harry him in the Second Battle of Kernstown. The audacious Confederates had then marched back up the valley into Pennsylvania, where their cavalry attacked and burned the town of Chambersburg. President ABRAHAM LINCOLN, apprehensive of his reelection chances that fall, feared that another serious military defeat anywhere would sink his candidacy. This political peril, coupled with a genuine military imperative to deny Confederate access, finally spurred Northern military leaders into decisive action in the Shenandoah Valley. Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT completely revamped the four overlapping departments responsible for the Shenandoah Valley and created the Middle Military District, a new entity with its own force, the Army of the Shenandoah. Now all that was required was an aggressive and competent officer to administer it.

With Early threatening WASHINGTON, D.C., Grant united several commands into the Middle Military District under the direction of Gen. PHILIP H. SHERIDAN. Sheridan's command consisted of a newly created Army of the Shenandoah Valley, comprising the VI Corps, several brigades from the former Army of West Virginia, two divisions from Louisiana, and two divisions of Sheridan's own cavalry. Sheridan was ordered to go after Jubal Early and "follow him to the death." If Early's army could not be destroyed, then Sheridan was to drive them up the valley and prevent the Confederates from returning to the lower valley again.

Sheridan had been made aware, by both Grant and Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON, of the importance of success in his campaign because of the impending presidential election. As a result, Sheridan initially displayed caution in assembling his command and sparred with Early for six weeks. However, on September 19, Sheridan's 37,000 men attacked the 15,000 rebels at Winchester. The Union leader blundered badly by allowing his forces to pass through the Berryville Canyon, a narrow defile that entangled his infantry with wagon trains belonging to the VI Corps. The resulting delays enabled Early to reconstitute his force quickly and counterattack. Bloody fighting ensued, and Union forces were nearly defeated before Sheridan directed Gen. George Crook's cavalry division against the Southern left flank. Early's men resisted tenaciously but finally broke and fled through the town of Winchester. It was the first time that the vaunted II Corps, formerly commanded by "Stonewall" Jackson, had yielded a field to the enemy. Sheridan's losses, 5,000 men, were considerable and heavier than the 3,500 lost by Early. But the Confederates, still heavily outnumbered, could not make up their losses.

Early retreated to Fisher's Hill, just south of Strasburg. There his men occupied a four-mile ridge formerly dubbed "The Gibraltar of the Confederacy," although he lacked adequate manpower to garrison it. This fact was not lost on Sheridan, who arrived in force on September 22 and detached Crook's cavalry on a circuitous march around the Confederate left flank. On the following afternoon Crook suddenly burst out from his position, sweeping away the Confederate cavalry of Gen. Lunsford L. Lomax. At this precise juncture Sheridan ordered a frontal assault across the line, and the Early position dissolved under the sheer weight of Union numbers. Casualties at Fisher's Hill were relatively light, with 500 Union and 1,000 Confederates lost, but the Southerners did not completely rally until they had reached Brown's Gap, 60 miles distant.

While attempting to destroy Early's army, Sheridan also followed the second part of Grant's instructions, which was to prevent any CONFEDERATE ARMY from returning to the valley. Grant ordered that "if the war was to last another year we want the Shenandoah Valley to remain a barren waste." Sheridan added, "The people must be left nothing, but their eyes to weep over the war." Sheridan followed Grant's instructions to the letter, destroying mills and barns filled with wheat, hay, and farming implements, taking whatever provisions and stock he needed, and ruining the rest. He promised that by the time he was through, "the Valley, from Winchester up to Stanton, ninety-two miles, will have little in it for man or beast." Sheridan was true to his word, destroying the farms of Confederate sympathizers.

Lee was determined not to lose the Shenandoah Valley without a fight, and he reinforced Early's depleted forces with an infantry division and a cavalry brigade. These veteran forces vigorously pursued and harassed the withdrawing Federals until Sheridan angrily ordered his cavalry leaders to take some action. Accordingly, on October 9, 1864, the brigades of Gen. GEORGE A. CUSTER and Wesley Merritt attacked and scattered Confederate troops under Gen. Thomas L. Rossiter at Tom's Brook, taking 330 prisoners and 11 cannon and losing only 57 men. The Confederate rout went on for 26 miles and was popularly heralded as the "Woodstock Races." This marked the third consecutive rout of Confederate forces, and Union leaders dismissed the idea of further offensive action from them. On October 16, Sheridan left his army near Cedar Creek, 15 miles south of Winchester, to go to Washington, D.C., for a war conference with Gen. HENRY W. HALLECK and Secretary Stanton.

On the night of October 18, Early ordered four Confederate divisions into a position for a dawn attack on Sheridan's unsuspecting forces. With the attack, the UNION ARMY was caught completely unaware and forced into retreat. Early's soldiers, hungry and poorly equipped, broke ranks to forage the Union camp. Sheridan, camped

at Winchester on his way back from Washington at the time of the attack, arrived at the battlefield just in time. Coming across his retreating men, Sheridan quickly understood what had happened and realized that only he could restore confidence to his army. Riding among his men, hat waving, Sheridan was greeted with delight. He roused his men with such appeals as, "If I had been with you this morning this disaster would not have happened. We must face the other way; we will go back and recover our camp." On meeting a chaplain and asking him how things were at the front, the chaplain replied, "Everything is lost; but all will be right when you get there." Faced with a renewed attack by a revived Army of the Shenandoah Valley, Early's army disintegrated as it fled south ahead of the advancing Union forces. Sheridan's actions that day are generally recognized as one of the most inspired acts of personal battlefield leadership during the war. He turned a decisive defeat into a glorious victory.

Early's defeat at Cedar Creek destroyed the effectiveness of his army to operate in the Shenandoah Valley, though Sheridan's campaign continued there until March 1865. The Battle of Waynesboro marked the last encounter of the campaign, and with it Early's army was destroyed. Sheridan's success in the Shenandoah Valley meant that not only could Lee no longer threaten Washington through the valley but also that the Confederacy had lost a valuable source of food for the Army of Northern Virginia. Grant, thanks to the Sheridan campaign, could concentrate his entire force on the Richmond-Petersburg front and on bringing the war to an end without fearing a Confederate force in the Shenandoah Valley. In this respect the Shenandoah campaign of 1864 proved to be one of the most decisive of the Civil War.

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—Paul Manzor

**Sheridan, Philip H.** (1831–1888) *Union general*  
Union cavalry officer Philip Henry Sheridan ranked among the top three generals in the UNION ARMY along with ULYSSES S. GRANT and WILLIAM T. SHERMAN. Born in Albany, New York, to Irish immigrants, Sheridan's father was one of the workers on the National Road. His parents resettled in Ohio, where their son grew to his adult height of 5 feet 5 inches. In his youth, Sheridan was captivated by the news of soldiers and fighting in the Mexican-American

War. His early fascination with all things military prepared him for his life's work.

Sheridan graduated from the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1853, ranking 34th in a class of 51. He served in the West, including California, and the first year of the CIVIL WAR found him on duty as a quartermaster captain. In spring 1862 Sheridan was appointed colonel of the 2nd Regiment Michigan Cavalry. Acquitting himself honorably in the Corinth campaign, Sheridan was described to Gen. HENRY W. HALLECK as "worth his weight in gold." Shortly thereafter, he was appointed a brigadier general.

On December 31, 1862, Sheridan displayed his leadership abilities at the BATTLE OF MURFREESBORO, where his fast thinking and hard fighting helped to prevent the total destruction of the Union forces. As a result of his actions at Murfreesboro, Sheridan was appointed a major general, taking command of the Third Division, 20th Corps, Army of the Cumberland.

For the next year Sheridan and his division continued to fight hard through the Middle Tennessee campaign, June 24–July 5, 1863, and the BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA, September 19–20, 1863, displaying unusual dedication. By November and the Battle of Missionary Ridge, Sheridan was in command of the Second Division, Fourth Corps, Army of the Cumberland, in the Military Division of the Mississippi under the command of Gen. Grant. The Battle of Missionary Ridge further polished Sheridan's growing reputation when his division played a major role in defeating Confederate troops. Importantly, the short, feisty Sheridan with his characteristic handlebar moustache became one of Grant's favorite generals.

After taking a brief leave of absence due to physical exhaustion, Sheridan returned to duty in March 1864, anticipating a resumption of the campaign in the west in April. Instead, he was ordered to move along with General Grant to the eastern theater. By the end of March 1864, Sheridan commanded the cavalry corps of the Army of the Potomac.

Sheridan's troops consisted of three cavalry divisions and 12 batteries of horse artillery. Included under his command were such notable officers as Brig. Gen. GEORGE A. CUSTER. Sheridan immediately invigorated the eastern infantry corps by advocating a change to an aggressive tactical force. Eagerly anticipating the opportunity to defeat the Confederate forces under the famed cavalry officer J. E. B. STUART, Sheridan was given the chance in May with the order to "go out and do it."

Taking 10,000 men, Sheridan rode out on a raid to cut ROBERT E. LEE's communications in the rear. Destroying some 20 miles of railroad and a large quantity of supplies, Sheridan reached Yellow Tavern on May 11, where Stuart waited. Outnumbering the Confederates two to one and

with rapid-fire carbines, Sheridan's forces quickly defeated Stuart's men, took a large number of prisoners, and mortally wounded Stuart. Stuart's loss to the Confederates was comparable with the loss of Gen. THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON.

In July Grant assigned Sheridan to the command of the Army of the Shenandoah Valley with orders to destroy the Confederate forces there and eliminate the valley as a supply base for the Confederates. Sheridan achieved lasting fame by rallying his troops from certain defeat at the Battle of Cedar Creek, and by early 1865, his job in the Shenandoah Valley had been completed successfully. Sheridan then rejoined Grant on the Petersburg-RICHMOND front.

At the beginning of March, Sheridan's men engaged at the BATTLE OF FIVE FORKS, which forced Lee to abandon Petersburg. Sheridan's cavalry and three infantry corps pursued Lee vigorously, constantly probing and attacking the retreating Confederates, wearing them down. At APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA, with Sheridan on one side and the pursuing Grant on the other, outnumbered five or six to one, Lee had no alternative but to surrender.

As Grant's right arm of destruction in the eastern theater of the war, Sheridan became associated with devastation, particularly in the Shenandoah Valley campaign, as he carried out Grant's and Sherman's total war. No matter which position he held, Sheridan's concern was always for the well-being of his men and they, in return, repaid him with loyalty and affection.

Sheridan's postwar career was controversial, eventful, and distinguished. Sheridan was placed in charge of the Fifth Military District (encompassing Texas and Louisiana) under the congressional RECONSTRUCTION ACTS. A supporter of the RADICAL REPUBLICAN version of RECONSTRUCTION, Sheridan proceeded to remove uncooperative officials, including both state GOVERNORS, and enforce fair voting processes. In doing so, he created controversy, and ANDREW JOHNSON promptly removed him from the position.

In the late 1860s, Sheridan was transferred to the Department of the Missouri, where he turned his energies to defeating the NATIVE AMERICAN nations who refused to be resettled from their traditional lands to reservations. Headquartered in Chicago, Lieutenant General Sheridan was appointed by President Grant to the commander of the Division of the Missouri. Until 1870, he directed the U.S. military actions against such Indian nations as the Cheyenne, the Apache, and the Sioux. Sheridan's one notable failure, the BATTLE OF LITTLE BIGHORN, resulted in the death of his protégé, Custer, as well as many U.S. soldiers.

Sheridan spent several years in Europe observing the Franco-Prussian War before returning at Grant's request

in 1874. The president placed his trusted subordinate in charge of Louisiana, where terrorism and violence had left the state in turmoil. Calling the White Leagues “banditti,” Sheridan crushed the resistance and brought some kind of order to bear on the volatile situation. Leaving Louisiana with charges that he overstepped his authority, Sheridan was returned to his earlier responsibilities in the West. In 1883 he was appointed general in chief of the U.S. Army and was promoted to general of the army: a four-star general, a rank previously held only by Grant and Sherman. Philip H. Sheridan died at the age of 57 in 1888 in Non-quitt, Massachusetts.

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—Paul Manzor

### **Sherman, William T.** (1820–1891) *Union general*

Famed and feared Union CIVIL WAR general William Tecumseh Sherman is best known for his famous “March to the Sea,” in which his western army invaded Georgia in fall 1864. A believer in a hard war but a soft peace, Sherman emerged from the Civil War an immensely popular and revered soldier among the former Union troops. Serving with distinction as general in chief of the U.S. Army until 1883, he declined the Republican presidential nomination twice, in 1872 and 1884, stating, “if nominated, I will not run; if elected, I will not serve.”

Named after the warrior Indian chief of the Ohio Confederacy, Tecumseh was born on February 8, 1820, to Charles R. Sherman, a state judge, and Mary Hoyt Sherman in Lancaster, Ohio. Charles Sherman died suddenly in 1829, leaving his wife and 11 children in poverty. Thomas and Maria Ewing, a wealthy Catholic couple with six children, adopted Tecumseh. A longtime family friend, Thomas Ewing—prominent Whig, U.S. senator, and cabinet officer—exerted a significant influence on Sherman’s life. The nine-year-old red-haired Tecumseh (called “Cump”) was baptized in the Catholic faith and given the first name of William.

At the age of 16 Sherman entered the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT. An excellent if troublesome student, Sherman graduated 6th in the class of 1840. From 1842 until 1846, Lieutenant Sherman served in the Seminole War in Florida and in South Carolina. To his disappointment, Sherman was sent to California during the Mexican-American War, missing the excitement and experience of the conflict. In California he witnessed the

transition to statehood and viewed firsthand the effects of the gold rush of 1849.

In 1850 Sherman left California and transferred to WASHINGTON, D.C. That same year, he married Ellen B. Ewing, his foster sister. The Ewings wished for Ellen and William to settle near them in Lancaster, Ohio. Ellen agreed with her parents and asked Sherman to leave the army, settle down, and take up a profession. This he refused to do for her, and it was the first of many bitter arguments between husband and wife. Stubborn and proud, Sherman was determined to prove to the powerful family who raised him, and who now welcomed him as a son-in-law, that he could be successful on his own terms.

By 1853, however, a discouraged Sherman resigned from the army to earn more money for himself and his growing family. Through personal connections, he accepted a position as a banker in San Francisco. At first, Sherman prospered and happily remained in San Francisco until 1857. Unfortunately, the ECONOMY crashed in that year, and Sherman’s bank declared bankruptcy. Other business enterprises followed in short order and ended in failure as well.

Unfit for the world of finance, Sherman became the superintendent of the Louisiana Military Seminary in 1859. Leaving SECESSIONIST Louisiana in 1861, Sherman returned to service in the UNION ARMY. His younger brother, John Sherman, had just been elected U.S. senator from Ohio and helped him obtain a commission as colonel in the regular army. He led his forces at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN in July 1861, where he was one of the few Union officers to distinguish themselves in that battle loss. Viewing the disorganized Federal retreat, he felt extremely pessimistic about the future of the Union and predicted that the war would take much longer than most people thought at the time.

In August 1861 Sherman was named brigadier general of volunteers and was sent to Kentucky as an aide to the commander of the Department of the Cumberland, Gen. ROBERT ANDERSON. Kentucky was a key state for the Union to retain, and when Sherman declared that he would need 40,000 troops for its defense or 200,000 troops for an offensive attack against rebel forces, critics called him insane. Depressed, Sherman suffered a collapse and was relieved of his duties. Sherman served briefly as an aide to Western Division commander Gen. HENRY W. HALLECK in St. Louis and then was reassigned to a training post. His prominent family successfully defended Sherman against charges of instability during this difficult period. In February 1862, Halleck put Sherman in charge of the headquarters in Paducah, Kentucky, which was under the command of Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT.

Sherman’s military career took a sharply upward trajectory. Reassured by Grant’s calm, steadfast demeanor and

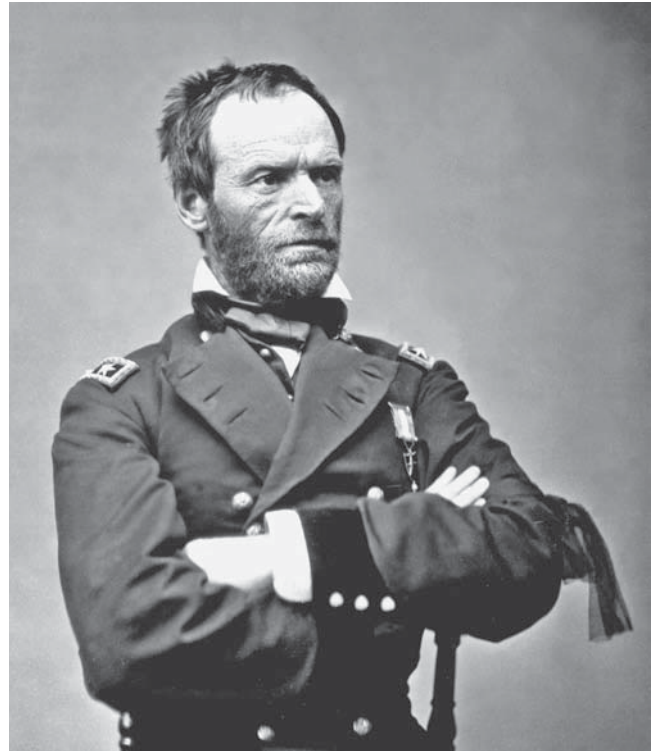


purposeful leadership style, the tall, slender Sherman had found a boss who appreciated his brilliant talents and protected him from his own worst traits. Never a modest man, Sherman admitted that he possessed more pure intellectual ability than his friend. But, he added of Grant: "He don't care a damn for what the enemy does out of his sight, but it scares the hell out of me." Truly, they were "partners in command," who would together bring the Union army its ultimate victory in the field. Sherman led a division at the BATTLE OF SHILOH in spring of 1862, and despite being surprised by the Confederate attack early on April 6, he rallied his men forcefully to win the next day.

Shiloh was a victory, but a costly and controversial one. Continued Southern resistance, even while under Northern occupation and after suffering terrible losses in battle, caused Grant and Sherman to have long conversations about the course of the war. Both decided that winning required not only the defeat of the Confederate armies but also the will of the Southern people. Sherman's experience as military governor of Memphis, Tennessee, drove home the hard lesson that Southern civilians were unrepentant. In an October 1862 letter to Grant, Sherman articulated his basic philosophy: "We cannot change the hearts of those people of the South, but we can make war so terrible that they will realize the fact that however brave and gallant and devoted to their country, still they are mortal and should exhaust all peaceful remedies before they fly to war."

Promoted to major general of volunteers and commander of the XV Corps, Sherman left Memphis for Grant's VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN during the winter of 1862. He and his troops suffered a terrible defeat at Chickasaw Bayou, Mississippi, on December 27, 1862. Sherman became convinced that Grant's plan was fatally flawed, but loyal to his friend and commander, he did everything he could to support the campaign's success. Against Sherman's advice, Grant decided to cut his supply lines and live off the land once his forces were across the MISSISSIPPI RIVER. The success of this strategy and the subsequent capture of Vicksburg on July 4 provided him with a lesson that he put to use the following year in Georgia.

Famous and celebrated in the North, Sherman's pleasure in the victory was short lived; his son, Willie, who had been visiting his father with Ellen, died from a fever contracted in camp. The pressures of war did not allow time for mourning, however. Grant was placed in charge of all the Union armies in the western theater. President Lincoln quickly approved his recommendation that Sherman succeed him as head of the Army of Tennessee. After the Union victory in the BATTLE OF CHATTANOOGA in the fall of 1863, Lincoln named Grant commander in chief of all the Union armies; Sherman again assumed Grant's former position. Grant's "total war" strategy for the spring and summer of 1864 included two vital tasks for Sherman's



William T. Sherman (Library of Congress)

western campaign: to capture Atlanta and to destroy Gen. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON's Army of Tennessee.

Marching east, Sherman's army fought Johnston's at several notable battles, including Kennesaw Mountain on June 27, 1864, where the Union's frontal assault failed at great cost to the men. Despite several drawbacks, Sherman besieged and then captured Atlanta on September 2, assuring Lincoln's victory in the 1864 presidential election. Leaving much of Atlanta in flames, Sherman moved eastward again, marching toward Savannah, Georgia. "War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it," Sherman warned. He targeted property and morale among Confederate citizens. By waging psychological warfare, Sherman believed that he made Union victories easier to obtain with fewer casualties among both soldiers and civilians. This idea was central to his "March to the Sea." With Savannah under Union control, Sherman and his army turned northward through the Carolinas, living off the land and terrorizing the inhabitants of PLANTATIONS. Historians have found that Sherman and his men, for the most part, acted with restraint until they entered South Carolina. "The whole army is burning with an insatiable desire to wreck vengeance upon South Carolina," Sherman wrote. "I almost tremble at her fate, but feel that she deserves all that seems in store for her." The destruction of Columbia, South Carolina, by the Union forces left the city a smoking ruin.



Sherman's strategy proved a military and political triumph for the Northern war effort. Throughout the Southern countryside, Sherman and his hardened, sunburned western soldiers burned designated property and destroyed homes and towns. Thousands of slaves followed in their wake. Sherman issued SPECIAL FIELD ORDER NO. 15, which set aside confiscated land for the freed people. He did so more out of a desire to rid his army of its African-American followers than from a genuine desire to bring revolution. Indeed, Sherman opposed the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION and the arming of black soldiers. He was mainly concerned with preserving the order and sanctity of the Union. Despite the popular memory of Sherman's march, casualties were slight. With Union victory in hand, Sherman asserted that "the legitimate object of war is a more perfect peace."

Sherman accepted the surrender of his Confederate counterpart, Joseph E. Johnston, at Durham, North Carolina, on April 26, 1865. Sherman, acting on his understanding of Lincoln's desire to forge a generous peace, overstepped his military role in writing out the terms. The new president ANDREW JOHNSON and his secretary of war, EDWIN M. STANTON, rejected the agreement. Sherman renegotiated the surrender in a form similar to Grant's at Appomattox.

In 1869, with Grant as president, Sherman was the commanding general of the U.S. Army. He served for 14 years, presiding over the "pacification" of NATIVE AMERICAN tribes for the settlement and development of the western states and territories. Following his retirement on February 8, 1884, Sherman became one of the Gilded Age's most popular lecturers. When not speaking about his experiences, he wrote for national magazines, presenting his version of the history of the war. He published his *Memoirs* in 1875. Sherman was a passionate supporter of VETERANS' groups and often spoke at important anniversary celebrations. William T. Sherman died on February 14, 1891, in NEW YORK CITY, where he had lived since 1886. Sherman's legacy as one of the most important military leaders of the Civil War remains unchallenged.

See also ATLANTA CAMPAIGN; SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA.

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**Sherman's March through Georgia** (November 15–December 21, 1864)

Sherman's March through Georgia, commonly referred to as the "March to the Sea," began in Atlanta in Novem-

ber 1864 and culminated in the capture of Savannah on December 21 before the troops continued toward South Carolina. During this campaign, Union general WILLIAM T. SHERMAN and his force of 60,000 soldiers marched across Georgia, living off the land and terrorizing Southern civilians. The path taken by these men was scattered with evidence of their presence—railroad ties twisted around trees, burned houses and crops, and trampled countryside.

After a four-month-long campaign to capture Atlanta, Georgia, the city was evacuated by Confederate forces on September 1, 1864. Sherman and his troops took control of the city on September 2. Sherman allowed the Southern troops to escape and focused his energy on the city. In establishing Atlanta as a command post for Union operations, Sherman issued Special Field Order No. 67 on September 8, 1864, calling for the evacuation of Atlanta's more than 1,500 civilians. Despite vehement protests from Southern officials and civilians, Sherman insisted that this evacuation was necessary for the Union's military operations. In addition, he did not want to be burdened with the protection and care of a hostile civilian population.

After several unsuccessful attempts to destroy Gen. JOHN BELL HOOD's Confederate forces, Sherman determined that the Union's best interests would be served by marching his troops across Georgia to demonstrate the power of the UNION ARMY. Sherman further proposed cutting off his own supply and communication lines and living off the countryside as he and his troops marched through Georgia. This would allow him to pursue the devastation of the Southern countryside without worrying about protecting RAILROADS and supply trains. Sherman wanted to "make Georgia howl" and to crush the Confederate civilian population's morale. Sherman received permission from Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT and President ABRAHAM LINCOLN to proceed.

Before departing from Atlanta on November 15, 1864, Sherman and his troops burned everything of military importance in the city—depots, shops, factories, and foundries. According to Union reports, only war-related businesses and factories were destroyed by fire. However, Southern reports blamed widespread destruction of homes and personal property on Sherman's troops. Such destruction, which likely occurred in Atlanta, would continue as Union troops made their way through Georgia. Leaving Generals GEORGE HENRY THOMAS and John M. Schofield with 60,000 Union soldiers to deal with Hood's troops in Tennessee, Sherman's troops began their March to the Sea to crush civilian and material support for the Confederacy.

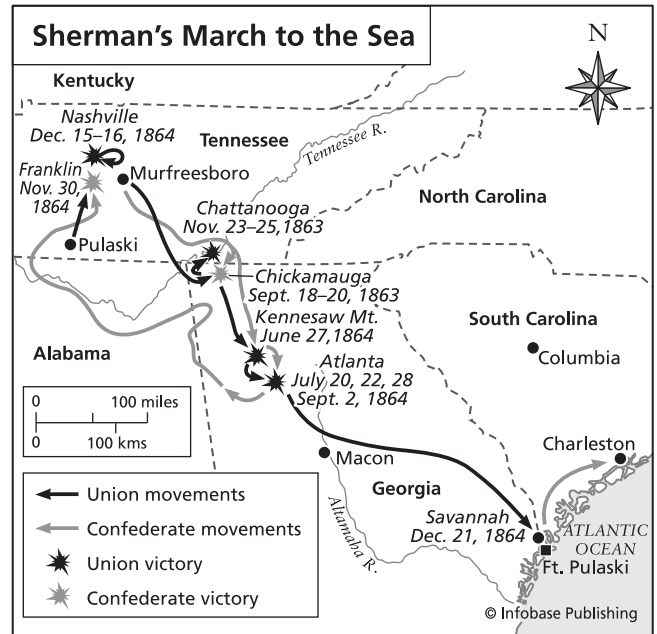
To effectively forage, destroy, and demoralize the Georgia countryside, Sherman divided his troops into two wings, a left (northern) wing commanded by Gen. Henry W. Slocum and a right (southern) wing under Gen. O. O. HOWARD's command. Although the officers and soldiers

began the 285-mile march toward Savannah with little knowledge of the plan, they confidently moved forward at Sherman's command. The route through a rich agricultural area of Georgia offered fertile opportunity for good eating and good spirits among the soldiers. In another tactical measure, Sherman spread his troops across a 60-mile path to give the Confederates the impression that they were heading for multiple places: Macon, Augusta, or Savannah. This allowed the Union forces to keep the Confederate troops spread thinly and prevented high casualties. Although there were several skirmishes as Sherman and his troops marched to the sea, Union casualties for the entire campaign numbered only 2,200. Union forces easily captured Milledgeville, Georgia's state capital, on November 23.

Sherman's troops marched from 10 to 15 miles each day, FORAGING and destroying Confederate property along the way. Reports describe a 60-mile wide swath of destruction. This, Union troops hoped, would destroy the material and moral support for the Southern war effort and bring the war to a close. Often, Union soldiers ate what they could and then destroyed whatever was left in order to keep excess supplies away from Confederate soldiers and civilians. In addition, they targeted and destroyed railroads, mills, and other places or items that supported the Confederate war effort. The Union troops became famous for their heating and twisting of railroad ties into "Sherman's neckties."

Although Sherman designated a specific group of men as foragers for the troops, the main columns and individual soldiers also searched for their own food and other spoils of war. "Sherman's Bummers," the official foragers, often seized personal property as souvenirs of their service. Women's clothes, LETTERS, linens, jewelry, silver, household furnishings, and dishes often became the spoils of war for Union soldiers. Some of these treasures were sent home to loved ones in the North, while others were dropped on the roadside as the march continued. Although Sherman officially opposed the wholesale plunder of Southern property, he rarely punished offenders and applauded the effects destruction had on the Southern civilian population.

Sherman's soldiers also freed the slaves that they encountered on Georgia PLANTATIONS and destroyed the trappings of SLAVERY, such as cotton gins, plantation houses, and agricultural equipment. Many Southern African Americans followed the Union troops, hoping to gain their freedom in the ranks of the Union army. Some served as spies for Sherman's army. Others cheered as the Union troops passed by. Although some officers were kind to the escaped slaves who followed the army, others allowed prejudiced attitudes to govern their actions. A tragic incident occurred on December 9, when Union Gen. Jeff C. Davis and his troops crossed Ebenezer Creek, closely followed by Confederate troops. Davis's 14th Corps, followed by



black escapees, crossed the creek on a pontoon bridge, and then quickly removed the bridge before the runaway slaves could do the same. Fearful of the repercussions they would face at the hands of Gen. JOSEPH WHEELER's Confederate cavalry for supporting the Union, the escaped slaves tried to cross the creek without a bridge. Many drowned or were captured by Southern troops. Neither Sherman nor Davis took responsibility for this tragedy.

The small opposition faced by the Union troops as they marched through Georgia consisted of approximately 8,000 Confederate soldiers in Gen. Joseph Wheeler's cavalry corps and Gen. Gustavus W. Smith's Georgia militia. Gen. William J. Hardee took control of Confederate troops in Georgia on November 17, 1864, but could not stop Sherman's progress through the state. Acknowledging this inability, Hardee focused his energy and forces on the protection of the shipping town of Savannah. Sherman and his troops cut through most of Georgia by December 10, and Sherman demanded the surrender of Savannah on December 17, 1864. When Hardee refused, the Union forces began a siege of the city while leaving Confederate troops free to evacuate it. Hardee and his force of approximately 10,000 men abandoned Savannah on December 21, escaping across the river to South Carolina. Sherman and his men took control of the city and its 200 artillery pieces, ammunition, and approximately 30,000 bales of cotton. On December 22, 1864, Sherman sent Lincoln a telegram, offering Savannah to the president as a Christmas present.

Once in control of Savannah, Sherman set about demonstrating to the city's residents that peaceful surrender and

return to the Union would protect Southerners from Union wrath. To contrast his treatment of residents in Savannah to that of rebellious Atlantans, Sherman opened his headquarters to whomever wanted to visit. He also allowed the local government to continue functioning and made sure that food came in to the city to feed the residents. However, despite his attempts at reconciliation with those in occupied Savannah, Sherman noted that the Southern girls still “[talked] as defiant as ever” to their captors.

From Savannah, Sherman issued SPECIAL FIELD ORDER NO. 15 on January 16, 1865, granting freedpeople full control of the sea islands as well as coastal land 30 miles inland from Charleston to Jacksonville. Sherman and his troops left Savannah on February 1, 1865, and began marching toward Columbia and Charleston, South Carolina.

See also RULES OF WAR.

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—Lisa Tendrich Frank

### Shiloh, Battle of (April 6–7, 1862)

The Battle of Shiloh was a major Northern victory, although a costly one; it was the first battle to exhibit the staggering losses characteristic of most CIVIL WAR encounters. It secured western Tennessee for the Union and set the stage for advances into Mississippi in 1862 and 1863.

The Battle of Shiloh was the culmination of a string of Union successes in Tennessee. The February 15, 1862, Union capture of Fort Donelson on the Tennessee River resulted in an important strategic shift in the western theater of the Civil War. As the greatest tactical victory in the war to that time, it marked the emergence of ULYSSES S. GRANT as a major military leader and opened the Tennessee River to Union naval traffic, allowing for a direct invasion of the Lower South. For the Confederates, the loss represented a significant disaster. With nearly 15,000 troops captured and the center of his defensive line in southern Kentucky pierced, Confederate department commander Gen. ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON was forced to withdraw more than 100 miles into the Confederate interior. Nashville, a major site of war production, was captured by the Union, and the rich grain fields and pork-raising region of Middle Tennessee was overrun. The forts defending the MISSISSIPPI RIVER north of Memphis were threatened with being cut off from behind. Union forces stood poised to strike the Confederate RAILROAD centers at Jackson, Humbolt, and Corinth, Mississippi.

This threat to the rebel heartland forced the Confederate government to reconsider its previous policy of dispersing troops over a wide geographic area in an attempt to defend the entire perimeter of the Confederacy. Within a week of Donelson's fall, President JEFFERSON DAVIS wrote that he was determined to “assemble sufficient force to beat the enemy in Tennessee, and retrieve our waning fortunes in the west.” At the end of February, the Confederate president ordered BRAXTON BRAGG, who commanded the Southern forces defending the Gulf Coast region around Pensacola, Florida, and Mobile, Alabama, to move his troops to Tennessee, where he would consolidate with Johnston's force to counter the Union threat. While this concentration of military power was unprecedented, it was not as complete as possible. Bragg sent only 60 percent of his force to Tennessee, and several large contingents of Confederate troops remained idle in Texas and Arkansas. Nonetheless, the Confederate concentration at Corinth, Mississippi, drew together just over 40,000 troops.

As the Confederates consolidated their force, conflict among the Union high command in the west temporarily slowed the Union drive south. However, by early March a large expedition force had been organized at Fort Henry. Using the Tennessee River as an invasion route, Union troops under the overall direction of Gen. HENRY W. HALLECK and spearheaded by WILLIAM T. SHERMAN's 5th Division quickly moved into southern Tennessee and established a base of operations around Savannah and Pittsburg Landing. By mid-March, five divisions of Union troops commanded by Grant had concentrated there and threatened Corinth, the site of a major Southern rail connection. Throughout the last weeks of March and into early April, the area around Pittsburg Landing mushroomed into a vast army camp containing nearly 45,000 combat troops. This force was about to be further augmented by the arrival of the Army of the Ohio under Gen. DON C. BUELL, which would give the Union forces numerical superiority over local Confederate defenders. While the army included several units that had seen combat at Fort Donelson and other smaller clashes, many of the Union troops had yet to engage the enemy. Still, confidence ran high among the rank and file who believed, as one soldier put it, “The rebellion is getting nearly played out, and I expect we will be home soon.” Generals shared this confidence. One division commander wrote, “Sesech is about on its last legs in Tennessee.” Grant himself wrote, “with one more success I do not see how rebellion is to be sustained.”

Still, problems plagued the army. The arms carried by most Union soldiers were outdated flintlock muskets that had been converted to percussion locks. These muskets were accurate to about 100 yards. Beyond that, their accuracy diminished dramatically. Sickness also plagued the army, and doctors sent thousands of sick soldiers to large



hospitals in the North, reducing the fighting capabilities of many regiments. Conflicts between top-level officers created more problems for Grant, who spent much of late March dealing with a variety of petty issues. Only one of the division commanders, Sherman, held a West Point degree. Most problematic was the choice of campsites. Located on the west side of the Tennessee River, the same side held by the Confederates, the Pittsburg Landing encampment lay open to attack. Union commanders could have moved to the other side of the Tennessee River or could have built defensive works, but they were convinced that the Southern army would never try to attack. Grant's underestimation of enemy numbers and intent harbored potentially fatal consequences for his seemingly secure Union bridgehead.

The Confederate leaders, meanwhile, prepared for an offensive that would drive the Union army back to Kentucky. However, they faced their own set of obstacles. The army that they assembled had never worked together, the staff were not coordinated, and many of the high-level officers had never commanded such large numbers of troops. Most of the regiments were undermanned, and the majority had never fired a shot in combat. Illness took a further toll on the army, and as much as 16 percent of the army was on the sick list on April 3. Arms consisted of a motley assortment of squirrel rifles, percussion muskets, flintlocks, and shotguns. Visual cues underscored the hodgepodge nature of the rebel force. Clothing bore no standard cut or fabric; as one soldier put it, "some wore uniforms, others half uniforms, some no uniforms at all." Despite these apparent weaknesses, the soldiers, citizens, and government called for quick and dramatic action to counter the Union success of the winter. Thus, Johnston prepared his army to strike what he hoped would be the decisive blow.

Faced with the knowledge that Buell's Army of the Ohio had departed Nashville and was moving to reinforce Union troops at Pittsburg Landing, Confederate commander Albert Sidney Johnston determined to attack Grant's force before a consolidation could be made. Johnston knew that if the two Northern forces combined, they would nearly outnumber his forces two-to-one. The rebels, faced with a rapidly closing window of opportunity, looked for any weaknesses in Grant's position. A March 31–April 1 reconnaissance led by Confederate General Benjamin Cheatham suggested that Grant had divided his force. Johnston's second in command, PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD, concluded that "now is the moment to advance and strike the enemy at Pittsburg Landing." On the morning of April 2, the Confederate leaders began drafting a plan to move forward. Primarily drafted by Beauregard, the plan proved disastrous. The scheme included a complicated advance along two roads and a confusing deployment that placed the army's three corps in successive lines of battle. Once in line, the inexperienced troops

were to deliver an attack that would drive the Union left flank away from the Tennessee River into the bottoms of Owl Creek, where the Yankees would be compelled to surrender. Thus prepared, the Confederates marched out of Corinth on April 3, 1862.

The Confederate plan was ill suited to both the experience of the army and to the conditions in northern Mississippi and southern Tennessee. The first day's march proved a fiasco. Vague orders and mishandled communications led to clogged roads and much unnecessary marching and countermarching. Poor weather and the wretched condition of the two roads that led from Corinth to Pittsburg Landing resulted in delays and frustration. Once they neared the Union forces, chaos reigned. Johnston delayed the attack, planned for April 5, because several divisions had become entangled on the march and failed to arrive at their proper position. Furthermore, inexperienced soldiers began firing their muskets to be certain they worked. Others cheered for their generals as they rode past, and throughout the army drums beat and bugles blared. Surely, several rebel leaders thought, the element of surprise had been lost. The normally aggressive Beauregard predicted disaster for his raw troops and pleaded with his superior to call off his attack. Johnston nonetheless decided to press forward with his attack on April 6.

Despite the Confederates' inefficient march, their initial attack against Sherman's troops caught the Union forces entirely by surprise. Though warned by subordinates that a large secessionist force lay within easy striking distance, Sherman scoffed at the idea and did little to prepare his men for a fight. His reassurances led Grant to write on the evening of April 5, "I have scarcely the faintest idea of an attack (general one) being made upon us." So unprepared were the Union troops that when the rebels poured out of the woods to their south, they were cooking breakfast and getting ready for their weekly inspection.



Battle of Shiloh, April 7, 1862 (Library of Congress)

The first Confederate attacks routed both Sherman's and Prentiss's divisions. Stout resistance, however, emerged in two sections: in the Union center and on the Union left, near a small chapel named Shiloh Church. The impact of the fierce fighting that raged all along the battle line threw the Southerners' cumbersome attack formation into confusion. Many of the brigades had lost all semblance of order as the lines piled upon each other, and officers were assigned command of portions of the line without regard to corps organization. Union resistance at this point of the lines proved so dogged and its firepower so telling that Confederates dubbed it the "Hornet's Nest." No fewer than 12 direct assaults were launched and bloodily repulsed. To compound the command problems, at about 2:30 P.M., the rebel commander Johnston fell mortally wounded. Beauregard then ordered up 62 pieces of artillery, which gradually pounded the defenders into submission, and Prentiss surrendered 2,000 prisoners. However, his stand against impossible odds threw off the Confederate timetable and sowed confusion. In the end, disorganization and fatigue were obstacles to victory as insurmountable as staunch Union defenses.

Meanwhile, as the fighting increased around Pittsburg Landing, Grant arrived to take charge of the action. He ordered reinforcements from Buell's army across the Tennessee River, gave orders to the troops in the center to hold on at all costs, and issued orders to create a final defensive line near Pittsburg Landing. Surviving nearly a dozen desperate attacks against the Union center, the line held until near dark. Centered on a large concentration of artillery and bolstered by the fire of Union gunboats on the river, Grant's line at the landing proved formidable, although its strength began to dwindle by the end of the day because the reinforcements Grant had ordered never arrived. Before the line could give way, nighttime came, and Beauregard, who had assumed command upon Johnston's death, ordered a halt to the rebel advance. During this interval Union forces were further buttressed by the arrival of Gen. Lew Wallace's division, long overdue, which had taken the wrong road, then backtracked to reach the battlefield.

Beauregard felt confident that his troops would be able to break the Union line on April 7 and secure victory for the Confederacy. However, during the night, Buell's troops finally arrived. On the morning of April 7, Grant organized an attack led by three fresh divisions from Buell's army. At first successful in regaining the ground lost on April 6, the Union forces faltered as the Confederate defense stiffened, and the fight seesawed back and forth. The weight of Buell's reinforcements, however, proved overwhelming, and at about 5:00 P.M. the Confederates retreated from the field. The day's heavy fighting discouraged a Union pursuit, and the Battle of Shiloh had come to an end.

Shiloh exacted a great toll on both armies. Confederate losses were 1,723 killed, 8,012 wounded, and 959 captured or missing out of 40,335 engaged. Union losses were 1,754 killed, 8,408 wounded, and 2,885 captured or missing out of 62,682 engaged. The battle enhanced Grant's reputation as a general but also strengthened the perception of him as "Grant the butcher." After their victory at Shiloh, Grant and his troops would travel a difficult road. It would be more than a year before they would achieve their next major objective, the capture of Vicksburg, Mississippi.

See also VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

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—James Daryl Black

**Sickles, Daniel E.** (1819–1914) *lawyer, politician, Union general*

Lawyer, politician, ambassador, and CIVIL WAR general, Daniel Edgar Sickles was born on December 20, 1819, in NEW YORK CITY to George Garrett Sickles and Susan Marsh Sickles. Sickles's father was a prominent lawyer and politician, and Daniel followed him into both careers. Sickles entered law school at New York University and was admitted to the bar in 1843.

Shortly thereafter, Sickles launched his political career, joining the New York Democratic political machine that operated out of Tammany Hall. In 1847 Sickles was elected to the New York Assembly, a position he left to serve as secretary to JAMES BUCHANAN, U.S. minister to England. After his return from England in 1855, Sickles won a seat in the New York State Senate and later in the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served from 1857 until 1861.

Sickles's political career was tarred by well-founded accusations of corruption. A national scandal erupted when the congressman shot and killed his wife's lover in cold blood on the streets of WASHINGTON, D.C. Sickles was acquitted when his legal team defended him on the grounds of "temporary insanity." In 1861 he abandoned politics for the UNION ARMY and raised the "Excelsior Brigade" in New York City. For that, he was made a brigadier



general. Promotions followed when Sickles demonstrated some military ability in the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN and at the BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG. In May 1863 Maj. Gen. Sickles commanded the III Corps at the BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE, where he ordered an attack that contributed to the Union's defeat.

Sickles is best known for his infamous decision on the second day of the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, when he joined the Union army on the field. Without informing his commander, Gen. GEORGE GORDON MEADE, Sickles moved his corps way out in front of the rest of the Union defensive line. This salient created a serious gap that allowed the Confederates under Gen. JAMES LONGSTREET to launch a devastating attack against the Federals. A last-minute save by Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock, commander of the II Corps, prevented a rout, and the Union line held. Sickles was badly injured in the leg by a cannon ball while he was commanding his troops, and later it was amputated. The injury removed Sickles from the battlefield for the rest of the war.

Undaunted, Sickles returned to public life after the war with the vigor of a man half his age. Active in RECONSTRUCTION politics, Sickles sided with the RADICAL REPUBLICANS against the administration of President ANDREW JOHNSON. An ardent supporter of ULYSSES S. GRANT for president in 1868, Sickles was appointed to the post of minister to Spain, 1868–74. Sickles was elected in 1892 to the House of Representatives, again as a Democrat. His major legislative achievement was in securing the passage of the act that enabled the federal government to acquire the Gettysburg battlefield.

Sickles was widely criticized after the war for his actions on July 2, 1863. Characteristically, he and his supporters attacked Meade and other top generals at Gettysburg for failing to recognize the superiority of Sickles's tactics. Although the criticism persisted, Sickles's crusade influenced interpretations of Gettysburg in much of the LITERATURE of his day. Sickles also participated widely in efforts to preserve the battlefield as a historical site.

Sickles died of a cerebral hemorrhage on May 3, 1914, at age 94. He is buried at ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY.

**Further reading:** Thomas Keneally, *American Scoundrel: The Life of the Notorious Civil War General Daniel Sickles* (New York: Doubleday, 2002); Harry W. Pfanz, *Gettysburg: The Second Day* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

—Fiona Galvin

### Singleton, Benjamin (Pap Moses) (1809–1892)

*African-American leader and pioneer*

Also known as “Pap Singleton” or “Pap Moses” for his role in the exodus of more than 25,000 freed people from the

South to western Kansas in the 1870s, Benjamin Singleton was born a slave in Nashville, Tennessee. Little is known about the first 60 years of his life. Singleton evidently escaped from SLAVERY, going first to Canada and then to Detroit, Michigan, where he opened a boardinghouse for ex-slaves. Full of optimism for African Americans after the CIVIL WAR, Singleton happily returned to Edgefield, Tennessee, in 1865 and supported his family by working as a carpenter. He quickly assumed a leadership role in the community and urged government support of black economic improvement through public schools and land reform. Singleton desired that African Americans enjoy the kind of independence that land ownership could bring—the same independence he felt was enjoyed by the white small farmers of the country. He supported President ULYSSES S. GRANT's efforts to establish the REPUBLICAN PARTY's Southern base with the help of African-American votes, because he reasoned that political power might speed up the growth of economic power. Singleton was bitterly disappointed as racism and violence gripped Tennessee and the South. “The whites had the land and the sense,” he observed, “and the blacks had nothing but freedom.”

Determined to make the most out of that freedom, Singleton became convinced that God had appointed him to lead his people out of the economic bondage of tenant farming and SHARECROPPING and the social bondage of discrimination in the postwar South. He wanted to establish autonomous all-black communities in the promised land of the West, where so many white migrants were heading in the 1860s and 1870s and where land was relatively cheap, or even free, thanks to the HOMESTEAD ACT of 1862. Kansas, the place where JOHN BROWN first came to the nation's attention in the 1850s, was Singleton's first choice for African-American migration. In 1873 Singleton took a preliminary trip to Kansas with several other interested people. Together, they formed the Edgefield Real Estate and Homestead Association. Flyers and other means of advertisement were distributed that exhorted African Americans to buy and settle on land outside the South. At first hundreds and then thousands of black people from Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana moved west with hearts full of hope for a better future.

The most famous of the settlements was the town of Nicodemus, Kansas. Singleton himself moved west, and although he never made much money from the enterprise, he did begin a national controversy over the migration. White citizens of Kansas viewed the steady influx of African-American pioneers, named Exodusters, with alarm. So did white Southerners, who worried that the migration would drain their region of needed laborers and further depress their ECONOMY. Ultimately, there was little cause for concern because the exodus ended abruptly in the early 1880s when conditions in Kansas fell far short of expectations.

Still, the African Americans who stuck it out in the West achieved a modest success. Singleton, called the “Moses of the Colored Exodus,” became involved in black nationalist movements. He died in Topeka, Kansas, in 1892.

**Further reading:** Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (New York: Knopf, 1977).

## slavery

Slavery is a system of labor under which individuals are compelled to serve in perpetuity with little or no compensation. Slavery has existed, in one form or another, for thousands of years. The institution first came to the English colonies in North America in the early decades of the 17th century. It was quickly limited to African Americans and more gradually came to be restricted to the South.

Life under slavery was very harsh. Slaves were generally compelled to work long days doing backbreaking labor. As adequate clothing, food, and medical attention were generally not provided to slaves, death rates were very high. The laws of most states barely acknowledged slaves, and they were denied virtually every legal privilege, including the right to bring lawsuits or testify in court trials, the right to vote, and the right to marry. Masters' power over their slaves was almost unlimited. Slaves could be sold apart from their families, denied food, raped, or whipped mercilessly. Although the murder of a slave was supposed to be illegal, such crimes were rarely punished.

Slaves actively resisted the system whenever possible. Physical confrontations between slaves and their masters were not uncommon. Occasionally, full-blown slave revolts would develop, as groups of slaves banded together with the hope of escaping en masse or punishing cruel owners. The best-known revolts were led by Gabriel Prosser in 1800, Denmark Vessey in 1822, and Nat Turner in 1831, but there were a number of others. For some slaves, escape was a more feasible and more attractive option than revolt. The most widely repeated stories of escape involve the UNDERGROUND RAILROAD, which helped slaves travel to the states of the North or to Canada.

It was difficult and risky for slaves to revolt or for an individual slave to try to escape, however. As such, passive forms of resistance were much more common. Slaves might steal extra food, fake illness, deliberately break equipment, or subvert the will of their masters and overseers in any of a hundred other ways. At the same time slaves resisted the slave system by developing a vibrant culture of their own. Slave RELIGION usually blended African and Christian beliefs, while teaching slaves that they would ultimately be delivered from bondage, if not in this life, then in the next. Slaves also had their own

unique art, MUSIC, folklore, and medical practices. Like slave religion, these things typically blended African and American influences.

By the early part of the 1800s slavery had all but disappeared from the states of the North, and some Northerners began to look southward in the hope of eliminating the institution there as well. A number of prominent Northerners came to believe that slaves should be purchased from their masters and returned to Africa. This plan came to be known as colonization, and it led to the formation of the American Colonization Society in 1816. Ultimately, however, the colonization movement was surpassed in size and importance by the ABOLITION movement, which advocated bringing slavery to an immediate end. By the end of the 1830s, the abolition movement was playing an important role in Northern politics, while at the same time increasing Southerners' sense of alienation from the North.

Although most abolitionist leaders were white, a number of ex-slaves played key roles in the movement. Slave narratives powerfully recounted the horrors of slavery for the Northern public. These included JAMES W. C. PENNINGTON's *The Fugitive Blacksmith*, WILLIAM WELLS BROWN's *Narrative of William W. Brown, an American Slave*, and FREDERICK DOUGLASS's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*. In addition to penning books, Pennington, Brown, and Douglass also made tours throughout the North, delivering speeches to win converts to the abolition movement.

The antislavery arguments of abolitionists tended to focus on the immorality and inhumanity of slavery and on its negative effects on the slaves themselves. Meanwhile, a number of white Northern politicians began to develop an antislavery argument that emphasized the negative effects of slavery on white Northerners. The “Free-Soilers,” as they came to be known, were focused on the vast territories that the United States had added via the Louisiana Purchase and the Mexican-American War. Free-Soilers were content to allow slavery to remain where it already was, but they believed that it was imperative that the institution be barred in the territories, so that free white labor could continue to spread and to flourish.

As Northern abolitionist and Free-Soil sentiment grew, white Southerners felt that their way of life was under attack. A number of Southern writers defended slavery and its superiority as a system of labor. The most prominent was GEORGE FITZHUGH, who wrote a pair of pro-Southern treatises, *Cannibals All!* and *Sociology for the South*. “We have no mobs, no trades unions, no strikes for higher wages, no armed resistance to the law,” declared Fitzhugh. “We have but few in our jails, and fewer in our poor houses.” Other Southern apologists echoed Fitzhugh's sentiments. While Southerners of Thomas Jefferson's generation had

seen slavery as a “necessary evil,” Southerners of Fitzhugh’s generation came to see it as a “positive good.”

By the 1850s slavery was the dominant issue in the nation’s political discourse, with the debate often erupting into violent confrontations. In 1854 proslavery BUSHWHACKERS and antislavery JAYHAWKERS began a series of armed clashes over whether the state of Kansas would have slavery or not. The fight in BLEEDING KANSAS would last through the end of the Civil War. In 1856 CHARLES SUMNER made an antislavery speech on the floor of the Senate that focused on the Kansas question and shortly thereafter was savagely beaten by Southern representative Preston Brooks. In 1857 the Supreme Court ruled in the *DRED SCOTT DECISION* that Congress could not restrict slavery anywhere in the United States. The ruling served to inflame Northern passions while resolving nothing. By the end of the 1850s, it was clear that slavery and free labor could not continue to coexist. In 1858 WILLIAM H. SEWARD described the tension between the two labor systems as an “irrepressible conflict,” while ABRAHAM LINCOLN warned the nation that “A house divided against itself cannot stand.” In 1859 JOHN BROWN’s failed attempt to incite a slave revolt by capturing HARPERS FERRY brought the tensions between North and South to the breaking point.

As the political debate over slavery was heating up in the 1850s, the institution itself remained strong in the South. Post-Civil War Southern apologists would later claim that slavery would have died a quick natural death in the 1870s or 1880s even if the Civil War had never happened, but the evidence suggests that this was not the case. For PLANTATION owners, business was booming in the 1850s. Cotton-hungry manufacturers in the North and in Europe kept the cotton market strong, even through an 1857 recession. In the decade before the Civil War, “King Cotton” accounted for more than 50 percent of the United States’s total exports and, in 1860 alone, the South produced 2 billion pounds of cotton, with a value of \$250,000,000. Other slave-driven enterprises, including rice, tobacco, and indigo production, also did well. And although a majority of Southerners did not own slaves, they, too, continued to derive important benefits from the slave system. A strong economy made it possible for small farmers and manufacturers to sell their goods at a favorable price. Perhaps more important, all Southern whites benefited from the rigid racial hierarchy of the antebellum South that assigned a high social status to all white people and a low status to all black people.

In 1860 Republican Abraham Lincoln was elected the 16th president of the United States on a Free-Soil platform. Leaders in South Carolina decided they could not accept the results. Lincoln, they asserted, had been elected by Northern voters to bring an end to slavery. In Decem-



A slave family in South Carolina (Hulton/Archive)

ber of 1860 South Carolina seceded from the Union. It was soon followed by 10 other states, and by April 1861 the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA had been established. Slavery was the backbone of the new Confederacy. Even if the majority of the South’s white population did not own slaves, Southern economy, culture, and politics were all defined by the institution. Even the poorest of white Southerners was willing to volunteer to fight when the war started. Later in the war, however, many non-slaveholding Southerners came to resent the fact that they were being forced to fight to defend slavery, particularly while large plantation owners were exempt from the Confederate conscription, or draft.

The nature of the slave system also created other logistical problems for the Confederacy. The South’s economy was entirely tied up in slaves and land. When war came, this meant that the South lacked the money and factories needed to purchase or create war matériel. Another problem posed by the slave system was that Confederate leaders were not comfortable using the South’s 4 million slaves as soldiers. While Northern leaders depended upon the hundreds of thousands of free laborers who joined the Union ranks, the South’s inability to draw on its labor force left Confederate armies constantly undermanned.



As the Confederacy's white population fought the CIVIL WAR, the South's slaves were impacted in a number of different ways. The CONFEDERATE ARMY regularly "impressed" slaves, compelling them to do whatever labor the military needed. The backbreaking work of digging trenches and graves, building fortifications, and hauling supplies was often even worse than plantation work. For those slaves fortunate enough to avoid IMPRESSMENT, however, the Civil War generally lightened their burdens. With the absence of so many Southern men, discipline became more lax and escape became much easier.

At the same time that masters' control of their slaves was weakening, Union armies were dismantling the slave system throughout the South. In 1862 the second CONFISCATION ACT defined slaves as enemy property and allowed Union commanders to free any slaves they captured. Huge CONTRABAND camps were set up and administered by the War Department. In 1863 the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION went even further, declaring all slaves in the Confederate states to be free and allowing for the enlistment of African-American soldiers. Most of the 180,000 black men who ultimately served in the UNION ARMY were escapees who wanted to have a hand in bringing an end to slavery. The THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT, adopted in December of 1865, made slavery's demise official.

For many Northerners, however, the end of slavery was not enough. The REPUBLICAN PARTY, particularly the RADICAL REPUBLICAN faction, took steps to ensure the political, social, and economic equality of the freedmen. For a period of time after the war, it seemed that meaningful progress was being made. Former slaves became loyal Republican voters, and a number of them were elected to political office. Families were reunited or established, and schools for freedmen were set up throughout the South. By 1900, literacy rates among African Americans were above 50 percent. This was quite an accomplishment for a population that had been legally barred from learning to read only 35 years previous.

Such progress proved to be short lived, however. Throughout the era of RECONSTRUCTION, white Southerners were unwilling to accept African Americans as their equals. They pursued every possible means, both legal and extralegal, for returning freedmen to their former second-class status. Northerners eventually grew weary of the struggle, and by 1876 all of the former Confederate states were under the control of conservative white politicians. The freedmen were shut out of politics. Economically, the rise of the SHARECROPPING system denied African-Americans much hope of upward mobility.

Ultimately, the reliance of the South on African slave labor had a number of negative long-term consequences. The Southern economy failed to modernize in the antebellum era, and by the time the damage from the Civil War

was repaired, the economies of the former states of the Confederacy lagged far behind the rest of the country. It would take many decades for meaningful economic progress to occur. For African Americans, both inside the South and out, the legacy of the slave system was a century of racism and other forms of economic, political, and social oppression. Although important laws were adopted during Reconstruction, their promise did not begin to be fulfilled until the latter part of the 20th century.

See also ECONOMY; RACE AND RACISM; SECESSION.

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—Christopher Bates

### Society of Friends (Quakers)

The CIVIL WAR era was not only a political and social trial for the nation but a religious trial for the Society of Friends, or Quakers, in the United States. Several faiths, such as the Mennonites and Brethren, demanded pacifism of their members, but the most prominent pacifist sect in mid-19th-century America were the Friends. The Friends had come to America from England in the 17th century seeking to escape Crown persecution.

In the United States, though some Friends held slaves, most did not, and the meetings (congregations) soon came to hold that SLAVERY was incompatible with the religion's emphasis on universal brotherhood. In 1754 the Friends became the first religious group to take a stand against slavery by formally prohibiting their members from buying or selling slaves. Friends were instrumental in establishing many antislavery organizations, including the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society and the American Anti-Slavery Society. Friends were a majority in many abolitionist organizations by the 19th century. In particular, 40 percent of all female abolitionists were Friends, including Lucretia Mott and Angelina and Sarah Grimké. In addition to pressing for ABOLITION, Friends promoted the UNDERGROUND RAILROAD and the names of Friends safe houses circulated amongst the slave community.

Despite their antislavery sentiments, the Civil War posed a dilemma to the Friends, who were caught between their antiviolence teachings and their stalwart support of

antislavery. Even though the Union's war aims appealed to their idea of universal brotherhood, the decision to take up arms with the intent of committing violence upon fellow humans was more than most Friends could bear. For Friends, one evil could not be cured by another, and war, even in the service of a "just cause" went against the faith's fundamental tenets of nonviolence. Thus, during the Civil War, Friends became America's best-known conscientious objectors. In both the North and the South, Friends sought exemptions from military service when draft laws threatened to force them into uniform. Both Northern and Southern governments were fundamentally sympathetic to the conscientious objector's plight, but neither government would grant blanket exemptions from service for Friends. At various times, both the North and the South allowed conscientious objectors like the Friends, if drafted, to provide a substitute, pay a commutation fee, or volunteer for nonmilitary duty, such as hospital service (the Union offered the option of serving draft time in the South assisting and educating the newly freed slaves). Some Friends accepted these options as viable and provided essential services during the duration of the war.

Despite these allowances, many leaders of the Friends considered any connection with the war effort corrupt. There were, however, both regional and age splits over the war within the Society of Friends. Southern Friends (numbering roughly 10,000 at the outset of hostilities—most of whom lived in North Carolina), so long as they did not hinder the Southern war effort, found generally kindly disposed state and national officials willing to grant exemptions from service. Some Confederate leaders went so far as to concede that Friend farmers left to till their fields were as valuable to the Southern cause as any soldiers.

The Union was home to the majority of Friends, with 200,000 members in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Indiana. Of this Northern Friend population, relatively few broke with church doctrine and served in the war, but a significant number did. Generally, younger Friends volunteered or accepted military duty if drafted. Friends from the more western meetings were more likely to join the army than were their northeastern fellows. Only four of 105 Philadelphia Friends from Orthodox Meetings served in the army upon receiving draft notices, but Indiana sent approximately 1,200 Friends into military service during the course of the war.

There was considerable concern both among the soldiers and the Friends left at home about the impact that their wartime service would have on their character. It was generally expected that Friends who had supported the war would return to their meetings and formally acknowledge the error of the war, accept the responsibility for their incorrect actions, and seek forgiveness from their fellow

Friends. But while refusing to acknowledge participation in the war as wrong could be grounds for a Friend to be disowned (excommunicated) by his meeting, not all returning Quaker VETERANS saw fit to apologize for their choices. Ultimately, in gestures that showed how great the faith's internal tension over the issue of fighting against something they abhorred was, few meetings disowned unapologetic members, and in subsequent years speakers found gatherings of Friends unwilling to tolerate criticism of veterans.

After the war ended, Friends continued their efforts on behalf of freed people during RECONSTRUCTION. Friends provided essential aid, especially in EDUCATION services to the FREEDMEN'S BUREAU. The rise of REDEMPTION governments in the South greatly troubled many meetings. But despite their long-standing stance of antislavery and their work on behalf of the freed people, Friends had views similar to those of many other white Americans. Their educational interests were predicated on the idea that African Americans were primitive and backward. Eventually, like other Americans', the Friends' interest in African-American rights and concerns waned. By the latter 19th century, Friends' financial and physical commitments to working with the freed men and women dwindled in the face of rising issues of Southern governmental corruption and political issues within the Friends' own Northern communities.

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—Ruth A. Behling

### Special Field Order No. 15 (January 16, 1865)

During the CIVIL WAR, a special order issued by a commanding general had the force of law behind it. Written by Union general WILLIAM T. SHERMAN, Special Field Order No. 15 granted Southern land seized by the Union in Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida to freed slaves. It also gave African Americans complete control over this land and government assistance to develop it. Special Field Order No. 15 was, however, only a short-lived boon for the freed men and women. Special Field Order No. 15 was rescinded in 1865 by President ANDREW JOHNSON.

Sherman issued Special Field Order No. 15 on January 16, 1865, while he and his troops occupied Savannah, Georgia. Special Field Order No. 15 was the result of a January 12 meeting that Sherman and Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON had with 20 leaders of the city's



African-American community. The order granted freedpeople full control of the sea islands as well as of the coastal land 30 miles inland from Charleston, South Carolina, south to Jacksonville, Florida. This order helped the freed slaves who, as REFUGEES, had no place to go and no property. Specifically, Special Field Order No. 15 granted African-American heads of families 40 acres of land under “possessory title” and protection by the U.S. Congress. The purpose of Special Field Order No. 15 was to assist the freedpeople in creating self-governing and self-sustaining settlements free from the intrusion of white control.

In this revolutionary order, Sherman asserted that the African-American settlers had the opportunity to choose the land on which they would farm and to obtain government assistance in starting their agricultural settlements. To this end, Sherman promised to loan the freedpeople mules to help them work the land. Further, this order carefully laid out a description of the complete control freedpeople would have over their lives and livelihoods on the land formerly possessed by their masters. In Special Field Order No. 15, Sherman prohibited white people from any roles other than those regulated by the federal government, usually as military personnel placed on duty there. As a result, the freedpeople would have full control over their daily lives. Further, Sherman used these orders to stimulate enlistment in the UNION ARMY by guaranteeing land ownership to those freedmen who served, even if they could not immediately settle on the land.

To carry out this order, Sherman appointed Gen. Rufus Saxton as the inspector of settlements and PLANTATIONS. As such, Saxton took charge of settling the freedpeople on the land covered by Special Field Order No. 15, commonly referred to as “Sherman land.” Saxton, like other abolitionists, worried that Sherman’s order isolated and colonized the freedpeople instead of helping them. African Americans eagerly tried to take Sherman up on his promise of land. Although thousands hurried to the sea islands to claim the land promised, many were turned away as ineligible. Only male heads of households had legal claim to the land under Sherman’s orders, so freedwomen could not successfully petition for land. Even so, by June 1865, approximately 40,000 freedpeople inhabited 400,000 acres of land granted to them in Special Field Order No. 15. The U.S. government followed through with its promise of help by providing the settlers with farm tools, seeds, and advisers. On the urging of abolitionists, the government also sent missionaries and teachers to the area to help the freedpeople establish themselves.

General Field Order No. 15 helped instigate the congressional act that created a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees on March 3, 1865. However, postwar President Andrew Johnson rescinded Sherman’s Special

Field Order No. 15 on May 29, 1865, when he granted general amnesty to former Confederates and returned land to the former slaveholders. Those freedpeople settled on “Sherman land” lost their land ownership and returned to a life of working other people’s land.

See also PORT ROYAL, SOUTH CAROLINA, EXPERIMENT; SHARECROPPING.

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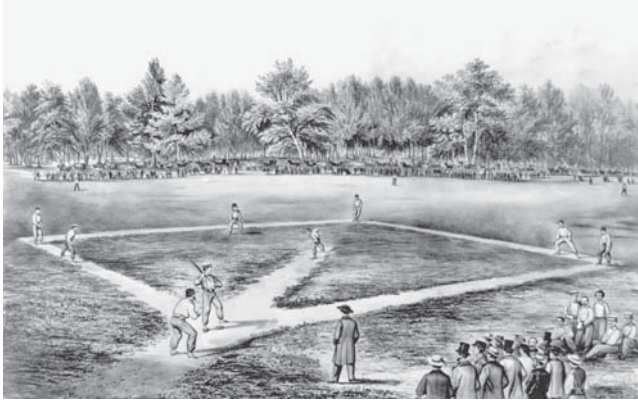
—Lisa Tendrich Frank

## sports

The physical activities that Americans played or viewed for recreation evolved in the mid-19th century as the country became more industrial and urban in character. People had played sports since colonial times, but except for boxing and horse racing these activities had been largely confined to small-town and rural settings. In the early 19th century the population was preponderantly rural, with only about 6 million people, or one in five inhabitants, living in or near cities. But by the middle of the 19th century, increasing IMMIGRATION and INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT had led to rapid urbanization, greater population density, and the first organized sports.

Sharp changes in public attitudes toward recreation in general promoted the sports trend. Previously sports had been viewed as a community activity at best or, at worst, a serious distraction from personal responsibilities and God. This perception changed around 1850, when Americans came to regard participation in sports, particularly team sports, as a medium for building character, expressing masculinity, and maintaining good health. The CIVIL WAR played a major role in promoting sports. Military life, given its vast stretches of inactivity in encampments, lent itself to competition among young soldiers, who engaged in foot racing, horse racing, gambling, boxing, and baseball.

No discussion of sports in antebellum and Civil War America would be complete without reference to baseball, which enjoyed immense popularity long before it was hailed as a “national pastime.” Since its questionable origin at Cooperstown, New York, in 1839—or more likely, its gradual evolution from British team sports like cricket and rounders—baseball struck a chord with young men of the Civil War generation. It was easy to play, possessed few concrete rules at the time, required a minimum of equipment, and fostered the intense physical competition that young males find so appealing. In the numerous and over-



An early game of baseball. Lithograph by Currier & Ives, ca. 1866 (Library of Congress)

crowded prisoner of war camps of the North and South, it was frequently the only form of diversion available. Many soldiers exposed to the game during the war years carried their passion for it into the postwar era. The first baseball organization of note, the National Association of Base Ball Players, was established in NEW YORK CITY as early as 1858, and the game spread in popularity into other urban and rural areas. Between 1860 and 1867 the number of amateur baseball teams in the nation rose from 50 to 202. The first professional, full-time baseball team—the Cincinnati *Red Stockings*, composed mostly of former New York City players—was created in 1869. Baseball thus became the first team sport to emerge from America's trends of modernization, industrialization, and urbanization.

Baseball's closest rival in terms of popularity was croquet, another English import, most likely for its social aspects. It required no strenuous activity to play, cultivated good manners and sportsmanship, and was one of few public venues where both sexes could meet, mingle, and compete on an equal footing. Young men and women could openly flirt and interact in the course of play without parental disapproval. Football, still in its infancy, was thought of as a recreation for upper-class and middle-class young men. It was not until 1869 that the first intercollegiate game took place, held between Rutgers and Princeton. Horse racing was another important diversion throughout this period, as it had been since colonial times. Virtually every small town and large city possessed at least one racetrack, and the rise of a railroad network allowed winning horses from around the nation to be readily transported for high-stakes competitions. Horse racing was also extremely popular among soldiers on both sides of the Civil War, since the animals were readily available in camp, especially among the cavalry, and betting was a common occurrence. Two motion-oriented sports that did not involve gambling were roller-skating and bicycle riding, both of which were introduced around the

end of the Civil War and peaked in popularity by the end of the century.

Gambling, however, was never far from the surface of many sports. A seamier form of entertainment was prize fighting, a sport much condemned for brutality and bloodshed because matches involved bare knuckles and few rules. Most cities and communities had banned this thugish entertainment, so big-name encounters were usually illegal backroom matches arranged with little notice. The illicit nature of prize fighting only enhanced its appeal for noted fighters and high-stakes wagers. Many of the most celebrated pugilists, such as John Morrissey, were either Irish immigrants or of Irish descent, and they acquired large followings among fellow immigrants. At the other end of the social spectrum, wealthy elites in coastal areas indulged in yacht racing, with commodores directing well-drilled crews in beautifully designed, expensive boats. Yachting developed a nationalist dimension as of 1851, when the first so-called America's Cup contest was held: Upstart Americans began routinely defeating their British opponents.

The period 1856–69 provided great momentum to America's national obsession with sports. It also paved the way for the professionalization and commercialization of spectator sports during the Gilded Age. Country clubs, sports columns in newspapers, and new technology such as TELEGRAPHS and telephones (which quickly spread game scores) also facilitated the rise of sports in America from incidental entertainment to multimillion-dollar industries. Overall, these developments democratized spectator sports, which became increasingly open to the working-class fans.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Spotsylvania, Battles of (May 7–21, 1864)

The Battles of Spotsylvania represented the second phase of the OVERLAND CAMPAIGN, which had commenced when ULYSSES S. GRANT and ROBERT E. LEE first took each other's measure in fighting at the BATTLE OF THE WILDERNESS on May 5–6, 1864. After combat ended on May 6, Grant made the crucial decision to press southward, seeking to reach Spotsylvania Court House ahead of Lee and thereby cut the Confederates off from the shortest route to RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. Hard marching on the night of May 7 allowed Richard H. Anderson's Confederate corps

to reach Spotsylvania just ahead of Grant's leading units, which had wasted their advantage of marching on more direct roads.

Troops from both armies poured onto the field throughout May 8, and Union attacks failed to dislodge Confederate defenders. Lee's soldiers rapidly built a defensive line notable for its strong field entrenchments. The most memorable feature of the Confederate line was a large salient, called the "mule shoe," that emerged northward from near the center of the Southern position. Grant looked for weaknesses on May 9–11, starting heavy action in several places but gaining no decisive advantage.

At dawn on May 12, a massive Union assault commanded by WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK smashed through the northern arc of the mule shoe lines, threatening to cut Lee's army in half. The most desperate fighting of the entire war ensued, as the two armies struggled to control several hundred yards of Confederate earthworks, later labeled the "bloody angle," at the northwest corner of the salient. Action continued for nearly 20 hours and impressed even hardened VETERANS as uniquely hellish. "Nothing during the war has equaled the savage desperation of this struggle," reported one Northern newspaper correspondent, while a Confederate journalist wrote that fighting "roared and hissed and dashed over the bloody angle and along the bristling entrenchments like an angry sea beating and chafing against a rock bound coast."

As combat raged at the bloody angle, Lee's engineers constructed another line across the base of the mule shoe. By morning of May 13, Grant once again faced a strong Confederate position. Further Union attacks over the next five days failed to gain advantage. Repeated assaults at Spotsylvania taught Union infantrymen a bitter lesson about the power of defenders sheltered by field entrenchments, and soldiers on both sides realized that from now on the shovel would join the musket and the cannon as critical tools on all their battlefields.

Neither army could claim a clear-cut victory at Spotsylvania. More than 18,000 Federals and 12,000 Confederates had been killed, wounded, or captured in the course of reaching a tactical impasse. Grant resumed his southward movement on May 21, thereby maintaining strategic momentum and forcing Lee into the unaccustomed position of reacting to rather than dictating the action.

See also COLD HARBOR, BATTLE OF.

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—Gary W. Gallagher

**Stanton, Edwin M.** (1814–1869) *lawyer, government official*

Edwin McMasters Stanton, a distinguished member of ABRAHAM LINCOLN's cabinet, was born on December 19, 1814, in Steubenville, Ohio. Stanton briefly attended Kenyon College in 1828 and then studied law. He began his career in Cadiz, Ohio. A Democrat, Stanton worked for Martin Van Buren in the presidential election of 1840. Known for his antislavery views, Stanton found it difficult but not impossible to support James Polk's expansionism in the Mexican-American War. Stanton's first wife died in 1844, leaving him a widower with two children. He later married Ellen Hutchinson, with whom he had four more children.

Stanton moved to Pittsburgh in the mid-1840s, where he developed a reputation as a dynamic and hard-hitting lawyer with an unerring instinct for his opponents' weaknesses. He often argued cases before the U.S. Supreme Court. President JAMES BUCHANAN appointed Stanton the U.S. attorney general in December 1860. After Southern SECESSION, Stanton labored long hours in his WASHINGTON, D.C., office to preserve the Union. He tried to convince the weak Buchanan to defend FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, while secretly meeting with WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Abraham Lincoln's secretary of state, to forge a workable compromise. Stanton remained in Washington after Lincoln's inauguration as legal consultant to Simon Cameron, the secretary of war. Stanton also became very friendly with Gen. GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN, soon to be commander of the UNION ARMY. Like many Democrats during this time, Stanton expressed contempt for President Lincoln.

That negative opinion of the president soon transformed into respect and then a deep admiration. When Cameron resigned from the War Department, Lincoln replaced him with Stanton. It proved to be a brilliant appointment. Stanton threw himself into organizing the massive war and stamped every area of military effort with his immense energy, impeccable honesty, and sincere belief in Unionism. He established a viable and respectful working relationship with Congress and modernized outmoded and corrupt War Department practices. Efficiency and fairness were the standards that he tried to bring to the military departments under his control. Stanton's ability to successfully coordinate complex logistical movements became legendary.

Along the way, Stanton made many enemies with his overbearing personality. He was impatient and rude, and former friends became opponents after feeling the sting of his sarcasm. As Lincoln and Stanton pushed for a harder, wider war, both became committed to EMANCIPATION and the enlistment of African-American soldiers. By mid-1863 Stanton had switched his allegiance to the REPUBLICAN PARTY. Indeed, it was Stanton who made sure that thousands of Union soldiers could receive special furloughs so



they could return to their respective states and vote in the 1864 election. As he predicted, Lincoln won the soldier vote by a huge margin.

Stanton's position as the supervisor of internal security created controversy. From March 1862 Stanton was determined to crack down on all dissent and treason within the Northern HOMEFRONT, which was growing steadily. To ensure loyalty, Stanton expanded the suspension of the writ of HABEAS CORPUS, arrested Southern sympathizers, and created a special police force to enforce the draft laws. Late in the war Stanton pressed for the generous treatment of freedpeople and worked closely with Lincoln on RECONSTRUCTION policy. Shocked and grieving after the ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Stanton and the War Department took charge of the investigation. Stanton insisted that the conspirators be tried in military court and strongly favored the death penalty.

Stanton continued in his post during most of ANDREW JOHNSON's administration. His logistical skills were needed in the demobilization of the huge Union army, and his concern for the rights of freedmen and freedwomen was required to counter President Johnson's overly lenient plans for former Confederates. Increasingly, Stanton and Johnson were at odds over Reconstruction. Stanton advocated continued support for the FREEDMEN'S BUREAU and favored the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT. He joined the RADICAL REPUBLICANS against the president. By summer 1867 Johnson, no longer confident of his secretary's loyalty, wished to remove him from the cabinet. Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act to stop Johnson from firing Stanton, but the president acted anyway, replacing him with Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT. Johnson's violation of the Tenure of Office Act became the basis for his impeachment trial in 1868. After Johnson was acquitted, Stanton resigned from his position, confident that the fruits of the Union victory had not been wasted away and that the new nation would emerge under the control of the Republican-dominated Congress.

In 1869 President Grant appointed Stanton to the Supreme Court. He died in December of the same year, before he could take his seat.

See also IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

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**Stanton, Elizabeth Cady** (1815–1902) *women's rights leader, suffragist, reformer*

Born into a wealthy New York family, Elizabeth Cady Stanton became a leader of the women's movement through

her involvement with abolitionism. Unhappy with the limited role granted women by abolitionists, she played a central role in the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention of 1848. After the CIVIL WAR, Stanton and Susan B. Anthony led the faction of women's rights advocates that split from the abolitionists and Republicans, who placed a higher priority on the rights of freedmen than on those of women. Later, Stanton and Anthony created the first independent organization of women advocating women's suffrage.

A comfortable background did not provide full-time support for Stanton's activities on behalf of women's rights. The opposition of her father and husband and the demands of her seven children limited Stanton's role. She remained at home, writing many influential petitions and speeches while Anthony traveled to spread the message.

While advocating an expanded role for women, Stanton remained allied with the abolitionists through the Civil War. After the war, abolitionists joined with the REPUBLICAN PARTY to protect the rights of freedmen, viewing the campaign for women's suffrage as a threat to the rights of ex-slaves. Rebuffed by their former allies, Stanton and Anthony hoped that the DEMOCRATIC PARTY would adopt their cause on the basis that educated women had a greater entitlement to the vote than did "illiterate" ex-slaves. A



Elizabeth Cady Stanton (Library of Congress)

deep divide within the women's movement resulted, with those willing to postpone the vote for women until black suffrage was achieved remaining with their traditional abolitionist allies.

Stanton and Anthony became disillusioned when it became clear that Democrats were more interested in obstructing black rights than in establishing women's rights. Efforts to join with organized labor were unsatisfactory, as skilled workers did not welcome the competition of women in their fields, and class divisions separated the interests of Stanton and Anthony from those of working-class women. Unable to find a place for their movement in any established organization, they formed the NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION in 1869, which sought a constitutional amendment ensuring a woman's right to vote as the first step in establishing women's equal rights. Those who allied with the Republicans soon created the American Woman Suffrage Association, advocating only women's right to vote. The split between these two factions continued for more than 20 years. Blind and in ill health, Stanton died in New York in 1902.

See also ABOLITION; WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Martha Kadue

## states' rights

The doctrine of states' rights was used to explain and defend the SECESSION of the Southern states during and after the CIVIL WAR. States' rights adherents put forth a strict interpretation of the U.S. Constitution of 1787. The Constitution, they argued, was nothing more than a compact between sovereign states that limited the federal government to specific powers such as the right to declare war and to conduct diplomacy. All powers and rights not expressly delegated to the national government were reserved for the states, including the right to leave the Union when one or more states determined that their liberties were threatened.

Southerners and Democrats favored a "strict" interpretation of the Constitution, allowing the federal government only the rights the Constitution set forth, therefore making all other rights the province of individual states. Whigs, later Republicans, and most Northerners favored a "loose"

interpretation, providing the federal government with the additional power of those rights that were implied.

The authority of the national government was strongly contested in any number of areas, but the conflict was especially bitter and serious over the issue of SLAVERY in the territories. As the Northern ECONOMY flourished and its population skyrocketed, Southerners became worried that their influence in Congress would diminish. If the South as a region lost its political clout, then there was a danger that slavery could be outlawed, not only in the territories but in the region itself.

After the Mexican-American War, the United States added 1.25 million square miles of new territory. Southerners believed that only the expansion of slave owners and slavery into the territories could counter the growing power of the Northern states. A large number of Northerners, however, believed that the further expansion of slavery was unthinkable because it would hinder the spread of free labor. They advanced the argument that the national Congress had the constitutional authority to ban slavery from the territories. This argument was just as vigorously rejected by Southerners who claimed that only the states, which represented the true interests of the people, held that authority.

From 1846 through 1860, Southerners repeatedly threatened secession. With ABRAHAM LINCOLN's election, the South demonstrated its belief that the fundamental institution of its society, slavery, would not be protected under a Republican administration. Citing states' rights as a guiding philosophy, the South seceded and formed the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, with a constitution that protected state sovereignty.

Ironically, the Confederacy's survival was threatened by its devotion to the states' rights philosophy. President JEFFERSON DAVIS determined that in order to wage an all-out war for Southern independence, he would need to nationalize the military and the economy. His moves in this direction included IMPRESSMENT, CONSCRIPTION, and TAXATION. Many in his own cabinet and government opposed these measures toward centralization, but none so bitterly or with more serious consequences than the state GOVERNORS. JOSEPH E. BROWN of Georgia and Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina were two notable examples of this opposition. They refused to share their states' supplies, men, and labor with the rest of the Confederate nation. Citing a commitment to states' rights and individualism, Brown and Vance kept back militia units for local protection, refused to collect taxes, and balked at providing soldiers for the draft. Some historians have claimed that the Confederacy "died of states' rights."

After four years of hard fighting, Northern victory in 1865 ensured that the doctrine of states' rights would never again present a serious challenge to federal power and authority.



**Further reading:** Frederick D. Drake and Lynn R. Nelson, eds., *States' Rights and American Federalism: A Documentary History* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999); Forrest McDonald, *States' Rights and the Union: Imperium in Imperio, 1776–1876* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000).

—Lee Ashley Smith

**Stephens, Alexander Hamilton** (1812–1883) *author, politician, vice president of the Confederate States of America*

Congressman, author, and Confederate vice president, Alexander H. Stephens was born into a prosperous Georgia farming family in 1812. Small and sickly as a child, he remained fragile throughout his life. Stephens never knew his mother, who died of pneumonia a few months after giving birth. His father remarried, but at the age of 14 Stephens was left an orphan when both his father and stepmother died within a few months of each other. After his parents' death, Stephens was adopted by his uncle, who saw to it that the young man received an EDUCATION. He enrolled at Franklin College in 1828 and in 1832 graduated first in his class. After briefly working as a teacher, Stephens studied law, was admitted to the bar, and soon thereafter was elected to the Georgia state legislature. For the rest of his life, Stephens devoted himself entirely to politics. He maintained few close friendships, and he never married.

Stephens's time in the state legislature helped him develop the political philosophy that would guide him for the rest of his life. He came to identify with the Southern wing of the newly formed Whig Party, which meant that he favored federally sponsored internal improvements, government protection of SLAVERY, and compromise whenever necessary. Stephen served for six years in the legislature before deciding to run for Congress in 1843 as a Whig. He attracted national attention for his campaign speeches defending the Whig positions on the TARIFF and national bank, and he won election by a comfortable margin.

Although gravely ill for much of his first term, Stephens rapidly became an important leader of the Whig Party in Congress. In that capacity, he befriended fellow congressman ABRAHAM LINCOLN, with whom he carried on an active correspondence for two decades. Stephens worked hard for a variety of Whig causes, but he was most important in helping to secure passage of the Compromise of 1850 and the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT of 1854. In helping these bills to become law, however, Stephens found himself a man without a party. The Whigs collapsed in the 1850s as the Southern and Northern wings of the party became divided over the issue of slavery. Stephens operated as an independent for a short time before deciding to join the

DEMOCRATIC PARTY. He did not strongly identify with the philosophy of the party, but he felt it was a more attractive option than the Know-Nothing Party or the newly formed REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Stephens served as a Democrat in Congress for a few years but became increasingly frustrated with the infighting between Southerners and Northerners in the Democratic Party. In 1859 he finally retired from Congress in disgust and returned home to Georgia. When Abraham Lincoln was elected the next year, Stephens urged his fellow Georgians to remain with the Union and to try to find a compromise. His cooperationist pleas fell on deaf ears, however, and Georgia left the Union. Once the issue was decided, Stephens bowed to his state's wishes and became a devoted Confederate. He helped draft Georgia's SECESSION ordinance, and he played an important role at the Confederate Constitutional Convention. When it came time for the convention to choose the leaders of the new government, they selected JEFFERSON DAVIS for the presidency and Stephens for the vice presidency. The convention's goal in making these choices was to unify different factions in the South. Stephens, as a prominent cooperationist and former Whig, was a natural complement to Davis, a prominent secessionist and former Democrat. Stephens accepted the assignment and was sworn in as provisional vice president on February 9, 1861. The pair was then elected officially on November 6, 1861.

The differences in philosophy that had made Davis and Stephens an attractive political pairing quickly proved disastrous for their working relationship. Problems began to appear as early as March of 1861, when Stephens gave an address in Savannah arguing that slavery was the "cornerstone" of the Confederacy and that the main reason the war was being fought was to protect the institution. The speech directly contradicted Davis's stated position that the war was about STATES' RIGHTS. Davis was furious that Stephens was so brazenly undermining his administration, and he began to exclude Stephens from day-to-day operations of the government. Stephens and Davis continued to disagree on government policies: Stephens was strongly opposed to CONSCRIPTION while Davis was strongly in favor; Stephens advocated peace overtures while Davis insisted on fighting until independence had been achieved; Stephens favored a stiff income tax while Davis preferred to finance the war by printing money. By the middle of 1862, Stephens was being almost completely ignored by Davis, and his only remaining responsibility was to preside over the senate, where he could neither speak nor vote. Disgusted by his irrelevance, Stephens returned to Georgia, where he remained for most of the war. He did accept several special assignments, including leading unsuccessful peace delegations in 1863 and 1865. In both cases, Stephens felt he had been set up to fail, and his dislike of Davis deepened.

At the war's conclusion, Stephens was arrested and briefly imprisoned. Shortly after his release, Stephens was elected to Congress but, along with other ex-Confederates, was barred from taking his seat. Temporarily unable to participate in public life, Stephens turned his attention to writing the two-volume *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States*, published between 1868 and 1870. The book provided a detailed legal justification of secession and the Southern states' prewar view of their place in the Union. Shortly after Stephens finished the book, he ran for office again. By this time the political climate of the nation had changed, and he was allowed to regain his seat as a representative from Georgia. Stephens remained in Congress from 1873 until 1882, when he was elected governor of Georgia. He only served a short time before taking ill and dying in Savannah on March 4, 1883.

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—Christopher Bates

### **Stevens, Thaddeus** (1792–1868) *lawyer, politician*

Lawyer, congressman, and a leader of the RADICAL REPUBLICANS, Thaddeus Stevens was born in Danville, Vermont, on April 4, 1792. Son of a shoemaker who deserted his family in 1804, Stevens triumphed over the dual handicaps of poverty and a deformed foot, graduating from Dartmouth College in 1814. He immediately left New England for York, Pennsylvania, where he trained in law. First in York, then Gettysburg, and finally Lancaster, Stevens succeeded as a lawyer and as an admired state legislator in the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s. Stevens's deserved reputation as an egalitarian began when he set aside time from his prosperous law practice to defend an increasing number of runaway slaves and to state on record his antislavery beliefs.

Stevens's political career in the Pennsylvania legislature's fractious and sometimes violent political scene paralleled the upward climb of his legal firm. He joined with the WHIG PARTY and the REPUBLICAN PARTY to advance his mixed agenda of humanitarian reform and capitalist economic development. Stevens virtually created the free public EDUCATION system in Pennsylvania, the crown jewel of his legacy to that state. A wealthy man by the time he was in his 40s, he was an enthusiastic supporter of favorable legislation for RAILROADS and banks and the owner of a number of iron mills.

Stevens also had a dark side to his personality. Sarcastic, witty, and possessing a boundless reservoir of vindictiveness toward his perceived enemies, the lifelong bachelor won the admiration but never the hearts of his loyal Pennsylvanian constituency, who sent him to Congress from the 1850s until his death. Scandals dogged Stevens from early on in his career: accusations of murder, womanizing, gambling, and other immoral acts found their way into unfriendly newspaper accounts. Many of these charges were false, and Stevens usually ignored them or challenged them in court. Stevens never refuted firmly the well-publicized accusation that Lydia H. Smith, his longtime African-American housekeeper, was also his mistress. Ultimately, Stevens's personal intrigues did not derail his political career, and few lawmakers have had such an impact on Congress as he did during the 1860s.

By 1861 Stevens in the House and CHARLES SUMNER in the Senate were leaders in advancing what would come to be called the "Radical Republican" agenda: abolish slavery, secure constitutionally guaranteed rights for ex-slaves, enroll black soldiers, and punish the Southerners harshly for their rebellion. "Free every slave," Stevens cried, "slay every traitor—burn every rebel mansion, if these things be necessary to preserve this temple of freedom to the world and to our posterity." For these sentiments, and for his harsh RECONSTRUCTION program that advanced the theory that the seceded states were conquered provinces, Stevens was singled out as the villain of Reconstruction by several generations of Southerners and by more than a few historians. In reality, Stevens was a practical politician as well as an ideologue. He made many compromises to get significant legislation such as the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT passed by his more numerous moderate colleagues.

The "sparkplug" of the Republican Party, Stevens pushed and prodded ABRAHAM LINCOLN toward EMANCIPATION, and by 1865, the two men were working well together. It was a good thing that they did so, because Stevens occupied the chair of the all-important Ways and Means Committee. From this position, Stevens helped to finance the war. He supported strongly the Republican economic program of high TARIFFS, paper money, and railroad development. Because of his reputation as a fierce hater of SLAVERY and slave owners (Stevens was known as "the scourge of the South"), Confederates took special pleasure in burning and destroying his property when marching through the Pennsylvania countryside on their way to Gettysburg in 1863.

With the ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, responsibility for managing the transition to peace fell on his successor, ANDREW JOHNSON. Stevens and Johnson detested each other from the start, and the years from 1865 to 1868 were the most controversial of Stevens's very controversial career. The struggle between Johnson and

Stevens was over the question of whether Congress or the executive was going to control the Reconstruction of the South. Stevens was a central figure in creating the famous Joint Committee on Reconstruction, which dominated all Southern issues. Johnson, a singularly inept politician, managed through his blunders to give the Radical Republicans the momentum they needed to impose military rule on the South and to bring impeachment proceedings against him. Stevens helped to write the articles of impeachment and was a powerful force behind the House vote to destroy Johnson.

Stevens, a passionate believer in congressional prerogative, pushed the envelope further when he unsuccessfully argued for the passage of a comprehensive land redistribution program. This example indicates that even at the height of Stevens's legislative power, he was never the "dictator" of Congress, as has been charged. Indeed, the moderate majority made it important for Stevens to compromise, and he did. In the end, however, Stevens did not reshape the South in the Northern mold, as he wished. Reflecting on his inability to impeach Johnson as well as to secure African-American economic justice, the ailing statesman declared, "My life is a failure." Stevens died in WASHINGTON, D.C., on August 11, 1868. In accordance with his will, he was buried in an African-American cemetery in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

See also ABOLITION; BANKING AND CURRENCY; GREENBACKS.

**Further reading:** Hans L. Trefousse, *Thaddeus Stevens: Nineteenth-Century Egalitarian* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

### Stowe, Harriet Beecher (1811–1896) author

Writer and novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe was born in 1811 in Litchfield, Connecticut, the seventh of the nine children of Roxanna Foote and the Rev. Lyman Beecher. A bright child who listened eagerly to theological discussions, Harriet attended the Litchfield Academy. Between 1824 and 1827 she attended her sister Catharine's Hartford Female Seminary, where she became first an assistant and then a teacher (1828–32). She was an avid reader and showed considerable writing talent from early on, and with the help of Catharine Beecher she was able to develop it in a systematic way. In 1832 Lyman Beecher became president of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio; Catharine and Harriet moved to Cincinnati, too, with plans to establish a college, the Western Female Institute. A true intellectual, Harriet struggled to define her life constrained by "the constant habits of self-government which the rigid forms of our society demands," as she characterized it. She attended the Semi-Colon Club, a social and literary society,



Harriet Beecher Stowe (Library of Congress)

in order to stimulate her literary efforts. In Cincinnati she met and in 1836 married Rev. Calvin Stowe, a recently widowed professor of biblical studies.

Stowe, who gave birth to seven children, began writing moral, temperance, and domestic tales for *Godey's Lady's Book* in 1839 to supplement her husband's income. Following the 1849 cholera epidemic, which claimed the life of the Stowes' infant son, the family left Cincinnati, first for Brunswick, Maine, then in 1851 for Andover, Massachusetts, where Calvin was offered the chair of Sacred Languages at the Andover Theological Seminary. Stowe published short pieces, including an outraged response to the Fugitive Slave Act. At the urging of friends and family, she resolved to use her literary talent to combat the evils of SLAVERY. She planned to write a series of sketches, published in installments in the *National Era*. "My vocation is simply that of a painter. . . . [T]here is no arguing with pictures," she wrote the editor. She drew from her personal experience with black servants, and the domestic nature of her experience sheds light on the blending of philanthropic and paternalistic attitudes toward African Americans. As a



woman she identified with oppressed black women, but as a middle-class white woman she distanced herself from them, an attitude not inconsistent with antislavery sentiments in mid-19th-century America.

Stowe studied published accounts of slavery and slave escape narratives, as well as personal accounts of people who, unlike herself, knew the South. She strove to make her picture as true to life as possible while also combining her descriptive narrative with highly charged assaults on the proslavery clergy and on public indifference. In March 1852, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published to immediate success. In the following years, Stowe became a regular contributor of stories and sketches to the religious antislavery organ, the *Independent*. She also published *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853), a documentary evidence of slavery. *Uncle Tom* became the most read book after the Bible and propelled Stowe into antislavery politics.

In 1853 she sailed for England with her husband and brother Charles to receive the antislavery petition signed by half a million women. Mindful of her reputation as a modest and private woman, Stowe delegated all public speaking to the men. Both in England and in America, she was careful to avoid alienating her natural audience and original target—women. She repeatedly disclaimed public aspirations; “the nursery and the kitchen were my principal fields of labor,” she wrote. Not having a clear and consistent stance within antislavery politics, Stowe urged cooperation between the various factions. She never allied herself with the abolitionists, whom she considered extremists. *Dred* (1856), her second antislavery novel, reflected the shortcomings of her political thinking: She could neither embrace evolutionary reform nor advocate more radical solutions. She was interested in and wrote on the reform movements of her time, often in the Beecher sermonizing tradition.

The success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* brought material comforts to the family as well as fame to Harriet. When she met President ABRAHAM LINCOLN for the first time, he reportedly exclaimed, “So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war.” Stowe's nostalgia for simpler times was consistent with mid-century ambivalence about materialism. *The Minister's Wooing* (1859) and *Old Town Folks* (1869) reflect the rural life of her childhood New England. As money disappeared fast in the Stowe household, she kept writing throughout the 1860s and 1870s, publishing more than 20 books. An intelligent and well-educated woman, Stowe's writings captured the sensibility of the native-born middle class. Harriet Beecher Stowe died on July 1, 1896, in Hartford, Connecticut.

See also ABOLITION; LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** John R. Adams, *Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Boston: Twayne, 1989); Joan D. Hedrick, *Har-*

*riet Beecher Stowe: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

—Zsuzsa Berend

## strikes

Strikes—the stoppage of work by laborers in reaction to grievances—were a commonplace feature of working-class resistance. By the end of the CIVIL WAR era, American workers were calling more than 400 strikes a year. Among the more notable strikes in the Civil War era were the following. (1) Lynn, Massachusetts, 1860: Shoemakers declare a strike, which quickly spreads throughout New England and involves 20,000 workers. Employers offer higher wages to strikers on the condition that they disband their union. Civil War army recruitment ultimately cripples labor organizing in Lynn. (2) Cold Springs, New York, 1864: Employees at the town's gun works walk off the job, demanding better wages. Union troops forcibly break the strike. (3) Troy, New York, 1869: Collar laundresses strike for higher wages, drawing on the support of molders and other workers in the area. Employers lock out the strikers, who then organize independent cooperatives. Employers switch to paper collars, organize a business boycott of the women's co-ops, and defeat the strikers. (4) Pennsylvania, 1873: Anthracite coal miners begin a series of strikes. The dangers of mining had been dramatized by the Avondale mine disaster (1869), which left 179 miners dead. Violence, involving corporations, unions, and the state, is particularly sharp. (5) United States, 1877: Responding to wage cuts, the Great Railroad Strike idles more than 100,000 workers and sidelines half the freight cars in the United States. Open clashes pitting state militias and federal troops against striking workers leave more than 100 dead and considerable property destroyed before the strike is crushed.

What explains this labor unrest? Clearly, INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT radically altered working conditions in the United States. At the beginning of the 19th century, workshops were small. A NEW YORK CITY tailor, for instance, would cut custom suits for the neighborhood's middle-class men, employing a few journeymen who looked forward, ultimately, to establishing their own shops. By the mid-19th century, some New York tailors had begun designing “ready-mades”—garments cut to standard sizes and sold for a national market accessible by canal and RAILROADS. Derided as “slop shops,” these new firms hired low-wage, less skilled workers who could not hope to own such a business themselves.

Wages, meanwhile, rose and fell with the ECONOMY. While average earnings increased during the Civil War, so did prices. During the depression of 1873–78, daily wages sank by almost 20 percent, from \$1.40 to \$1.17. Even in good times, competition spurred employers to cut labor

costs. Industrial development allowed employers to mechanize the workplace, replacing higher-wage workers with the unskilled or firing native-born workers in favor of rural migrants, foreign immigrants, or children.

Employers also imposed new work rules designed to increase the speed, uniformity, and efficiency of production. Some industries demanded that their employees work 12- or 14-hour shifts six days a week. Many workers found this new “labor discipline” dehumanizing and humiliating, reducing them to little more than gears in a larger machine. In response, their organizations defended the “dignity of labor”: respect for worker humanity, skill, mature judgment, and familial obligations. As early as 1791, workers had demanded that work be limited to 10 hours a day. By 1860 unions were calling for an eight-hour day. In 1872, 100,000 New York City workers struck and won an eight-hour day, though their victory was to be short-lived.

Strikers were building larger labor organizations, but they achieved few lasting gains during the Civil War era. While the NATIONAL LABOR UNION (NLU) won several strikes in the late 1860s, its leadership ultimately became more interested in currency reform and party politics than in workplace issues. The Chicago-based Workingman’s Party supported labor actions in the Midwest during the 1870s. However, its affiliation with the Socialist International limited its appeal outside the industrial cities of the Northeast.

Other unions were hobbled by deep-seated ethnic and religious prejudices ingrained in their members. Employers could easily exploit the ethnic exclusivity of most unions, recruiting African Americans to break strikes called by all-white unions or importing Irish Catholics to take jobs from Anglo-American Protestants. While striking workers could draw on communal solidarity and aid, their resources were limited; those of the companies they resisted were, in the long run, far greater. A company that made a concession in one strike action could quietly build a war chest to see it through the next labor dispute, driving workers to the wall and breaking their union.

Violence played a role as well. State GOVERNORS frequently called out the National Guard to suppress larger strikes; the U.S. Army broke up strikes in 1864 and 1877. Companies hired their own security forces to intimidate and assault unions, but violence was not a monopoly of employers. Though some worker organizations insisted on nonviolence—the Troy laundresses and the Chicago Workingman’s Party, for instance—others considered it an essential tactic.

The very size and diversity of the United States also complicated efforts to organize workers’ parties. Those that did emerge, such as the Workingman’s Parties in Chicago and San Francisco, were split by factional in-fighting and accused of communist sympathies or terrorist tactics.

Despite these problems, the Civil War-period labor organizers gained valuable experience that would lay the groundwork for the union activism of the 1880s and 1890s.

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—Tom Laichas

### **Stuart, J. E. B.** (1833–1864) *Confederate general*

Confederate cavalry officer James Ewell Brown Stuart was born in Patrick County, Virginia, on February 6, 1833, the seventh of Archibald and Elizabeth Letcher Pannill Stuart’s 10 children. Reared in a family with excellent political and social connections but relatively modest financial means, Stuart received schooling in southwest Virginia before attending Emory and Henry College in 1848–50. He entered the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1850, graduating 13th of 46 members in the class of 1854.

Commissioned a second lieutenant in the Mounted Rifles in October 1854, he later was assigned to the First United States Cavalry at Fort Leavenworth. While serving with that unit on the Kansas frontier, Stuart was promoted to first lieutenant in December 1855. By that time he had married Flora Cooke, daughter of the post commandant at Leavenworth. The couple would have three children. As a U.S. officer, Stuart saw action against the Cheyenne at Solomon’s Fork in 1857, where he received a severe wound. He also participated in peacekeeping duty in Kansas, where proslavery forces contended with abolitionists and Free Soilers, and he took part in the capture of JOHN BROWN at HARPERS FERRY in October 1859. Stuart was promoted to captain in April 1861, but he resigned his commission the next month, and he soon held the rank of colonel in the Confederate cavalry.

Stuart quickly made a name for himself as a flamboyant and effective cavalry officer. At the head of the 1st Virginia Cavalry, he led a dramatic charge at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN. Promoted to brigadier general on September 26, 1861, he performed mundane duties until mid-June 1862, when he earned renown with a daring reconnaissance that included a ride around GEORGE BRINTON McCLELLAN’s entire Army of the Potomac. Typical of the Confederates who applauded Stuart’s ride was a RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, woman who wrote of “the brilliant, dashing exploits of General ‘Jeb’ Stuart and his gallant horsemen,” who “became, from that time, famous in the annals of the



war.” Blessed with a famous nickname inspired by his initials and often described as a romantic cavalier, Stuart wore a scarlet-lined cape, boots that reached his thighs, a pair of golden spurs, a bright yellow sash, gauntlets of white buckskin, and a hat crowned with a long plume. He was promoted to major general on July 25, 1862, and given command of all cavalry in ROBERT E. LEE’s Army of Northern Virginia, a post he held for the remainder of his Confederate career.

Stuart’s colorful image sometimes overshadowed his mastery of cavalry operations. He played key roles in the SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN and the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM, screening Lee’s movements, gathering intelligence about the Federals, and riding around McClellan’s army again in October 1862. At the BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE, he temporarily replaced the wounded THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON at the head of the II Corps, acquitting himself well in the brutal offensive combat on May 3, 1863. His most controversial moments came in June and July 1863. Surprised at Brandy Station, Virginia, on June 9, he barely managed to hold off aggressive Union troopers. In the following Gettysburg campaign, he failed Lee badly, losing touch with the Army of Northern Virginia and leaving his commander to move blindly into Pennsylvania.

Stuart rebounded after the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, rendering solid work against a vastly improved Union cavalry during the autumn of 1863 and into the spring of 1864. His troopers fought well in the opening scenes of the OVERLAND CAMPAIGN of May 1864. As Lee and ULYSSES S. GRANT engaged at the BATTLES OF SPOTSYLVANIA, Stuart moved to block a Union cavalry raid against Richmond, and he received a mortal wound at the Battle of Yellow Tavern on May 11. As he was carried from the field, Stuart showed the spirit that had made him an effective soldier. “I had rather die,” he said, “than be whipped!” He died in Richmond on the morning of May 12. When told of Stuart’s fate, Lee remarked sadly, “He never brought me a piece of false information.”

See also SHERIDAN, PHILIP H.

**Further reading:** Emory M. Thomas, *Bold Dragoon: The Life of J. E. B. Stuart* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986).

—Gary W. Gallagher

**Sumner, Charles** (1811–1874) *lawyer, politician, abolitionist*

Lawyer, reformer, and senator, Charles Sumner was a Massachusetts man by birth and a Puritan by ancestry. Sumner was born in Boston on January 6, 1811, the son of Charles Pinckney and Relief Jacobs Sumner. He received his early EDUCATION at the prestigious Boston Latin School. A bril-

liant student, Sumner graduated from Harvard College in 1830 and entered Harvard Law School in September 1831. He started practicing law in January 1834 and was admitted to the Massachusetts bar in September of that same year. From 1835 to 1837, he taught law at Harvard.

Sumner left Boston in 1837 to travel to Europe, where he intended to research the legal systems of England and France. His two and a half years abroad provided a foundation for his later contributions to FOREIGN POLICY while serving in the U.S. Senate. Sumner, a lifelong bachelor, except for a brief marriage in old age, was an admitted Anglophile and particularly enjoyed his time in London. He conquered the London social scene and gained access to the highest circles within a short period of time. While he also traveled to France, Italy, Germany, and Austria, the period in England reinforced his belief in the necessity of a strong alliance between the United States and Great Britain.

Upon his return to the United States in 1840, Sumner resumed his legal practice, albeit somewhat reluctantly. He preferred to pursue his growing interest in reform movements. The young lawyer had become very active in promoting the peace movement, penal reform, and abolitionism. His reform fervor drove him to abandon the law. Conservative Bostonians were horrified by his radical positions, and as a result Sumner was not invited to rejoin the Harvard Law School faculty.

Sumner’s public antislavery stance became well known in 1845 during the nationwide debate over the annexation of Texas. He spoke at a meeting in Boston’s Faneuil Hall and stood with other prominent Massachusetts leaders in opposing the admission of another slave state to the Union. Over the next several years, Sumner became a voice of the “Conscience Whigs” in his home state and initiated a feud with his former Harvard classmate and current senator Robert C. Winthrop. Sumner denounced Winthrop’s vote for the Mexican-American War bill in Congress, and in doing so he became even more involved in politics.

In 1848 Sumner supported the Free-Soil Party and ran on that party’s ticket for Congress. Although he failed to win the seat, his tireless efforts to create a viable Free-Soil–Democratic coalition in the Massachusetts legislature did not go unappreciated. When Daniel Webster left his Senate seat to assume the position of secretary of state, that same coalition, after a fierce struggle with the Whigs, elected Sumner to the vacant post in April 1851.

Over the next two and a half decades, Sumner established himself as a recognizable force in the halls of Congress. Incorruptible, always outspoken, and often disagreeable, he prided himself on his lofty principles. Sumner was a tall and imposing person, with a handsome and distinguished profile. Notably lacking a sense of humor, his speeches were learned and sprinkled with many classical allusions. He deserved his reputation as a great if overbear-

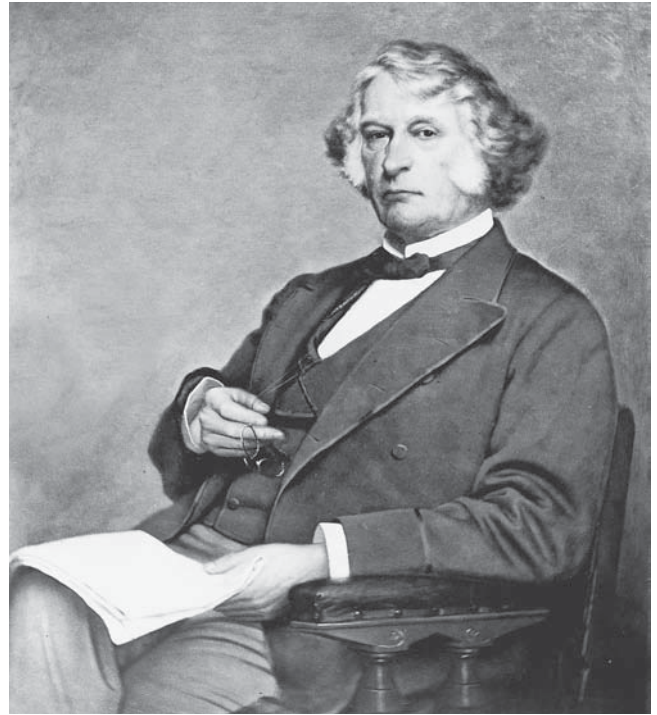
ing orator. Yet, Sumner possessed a moral passion that, for many, helped to define SLAVERY's evil influence. Few of his Senate colleagues found fault with his steadfast commitment to his senatorial duties. Over the course of four terms he worked tirelessly for the causes of ABOLITION and the equality and protection of freed people.

When he entered the Senate, Sumner found an assembly still recovering from the yearlong struggle over the Compromise of 1850. With emotions still raw, Sumner created a sensation with his first major speech, entitled "Freedom National, Slavery Sectional." Sumner argued against slavery in general and called for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act (part of the compromise). His four-hour effort described the FSA as being particularly offensive to Northern freedom-loving sensibilities. Sumner declared that because the Constitution did not recognize slavery, it could not exist where the national government maintained exclusive jurisdiction, as in the territories.

Sumner's speech raised him into the top ranks of anti-slavery politicians. Shortly thereafter, Sumner took another stand against slavery when STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS introduced the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT in 1854, which Sumner and many of his colleagues declared outrageous. The heated debates over the organization of the territories and the validity of popular sovereignty did not prevent the passage of the bill. Sectional tensions grew worse in the years that followed as Kansas turned into a battleground. Now a Republican, Sumner found the reports of fraudulent governments and vigilante violence alarming, and he prepared to deliver a speech denouncing what he referred to as "The Crime against Kansas." Over two days in May 1856, Sumner lashed out at the activities in Kansas, attacked the national government that allowed it to occur, and most important, castigated several of his Southern colleagues who supported this expansion of slavery.

All of his personal attacks were fierce, but his commentary directed at Andrew Butler, a senator from South Carolina, was particularly virulent. Preston Brooks, a congressman from that same state and a relative of Butler, felt it his duty to avenge this personal insult. On May 22 he entered the Senate and, finding Sumner at his desk, began hitting him repeatedly with a cane until it broke into pieces. Rendered defenseless by surprise and the confines of his desk, a weakened Sumner warded off the blows. Finally, he managed to wrench the desk from its moorings and staggered away. Although some of his colleagues rushed to his aid, many others, including Douglas, declined to enter the fray.

Brooks's caning made Sumner a martyr in the North but turned Brooks into a hero in the South. The shocking and violent act also became an electrifying issue in the political campaign in the fall of 1856. It was one more event that increased the hostility between North and South.



Charles Sumner (Library of Congress)

Although reelected to the Senate in 1857, Sumner suffered severe physical and psychological wounds that affected him for the remainder of his life. His initial recovery proved fleeting, and Sumner was unable to resume his duties in the Senate until three years had passed. He spent much of this time in Europe, where he tried various remedies to recover his health.

Sumner returned to the Senate in December 1859, and by summer 1860 he was once again a fierce critic of the "slave power." In the months that followed SECESSION, Sumner did not favor any compromise measures. Sumner developed a close friendship with MARY TODD LINCOLN and ABRAHAM LINCOLN that allowed him unusual access to the White House, even when he opposed the president's policies. When the war began, Sumner and his fellow RADICAL REPUBLICANS strongly encouraged Lincoln to emancipate the slaves. Indeed, Sumner in the Senate and THADDEUS STEVENS in the House prodded and pushed President Lincoln toward enacting laws that would bring freedom and guarantee equal rights to all African Americans.

The Massachusetts senator also served the president in another important capacity. Sumner had been selected to chair the important Committee on Foreign Relations, a post he would hold for the next 12 years. In this capacity, he used his European contacts and command of international law to excellent effect. He was an invaluable asset as a

foreign policy adviser to Lincoln, particularly in moderating the more strident rhetoric of Secretary of State WILLIAM H. SEWARD. For example, he played a large role in settling the *Trent* affair, which kept the peace with England. Sumner also worked hard and successfully to keep Great Britain neutral in the war. Afterward, Seward took a harder stance toward his beloved England. In 1869 he advocated that Britain should repay the United States for war-related costs having to do with the *ALABAMA* claims.

During and after the war, Sumner continued to press for the most advanced positions on race and the promotion of racial equality. In truth, Sumner was not the most effective leader for the cause of the freedpeople. Unwilling to compromise for the sake of principle, he often antagonized and offended his colleagues. He also became one of the strongest proponents of a hard RECONSTRUCTION policy. Sumner argued that the Southern states committed “suicide” and thus Congress, and not the president, should determine the process under which reconstruction should proceed.

Following the CIVIL WAR, Reconstruction and foreign affairs dominated Sumner’s political career. He became a bitter enemy against ANDREW JOHNSON’s lenient policies toward the South and fully supported the efforts to impeach Johnson in 1868. Unlike many other Radical Republicans, Sumner opposed the passage of the THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, and FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS, claiming that they did not go far enough to aid the ex-slave population. After his death the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1875 provided his main legislative legacy to the country.

Reelected for a fourth term in 1869, Sumner found it hard to work with the sitting president, ULYSSES S. GRANT. Grant’s failure to appoint him secretary of state infuriated Sumner and made him a thorn in the administration’s side. Sumner retained his position as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations during Grant’s first term, but his noisy opposition to the president’s ill-fated plans to annex Santo Domingo sealed his fate. By 1872 Grant and Sumner were no longer on speaking terms, and Sumner supported the Liberal Republican candidate, HORACE GREELEY. Failing in health, Sumner spent his last days in Congress agitating for his civil rights bill. On his deathbed Sumner spoke of the need to protect the rights of the freedpeople in the South. Charles Sumner died in WASHINGTON, D.C., on March 11, 1874.

See also BLEEDING KANSAS; IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON; WHIG PARTY.

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—John P. Bowes

### **Swing Around the Circle** (August–September 1866)

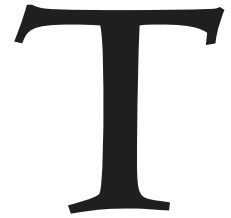
The “Swing Around the Circle” was an ill-fated political campaign undertaken by President ANDREW JOHNSON. Opposed by RADICAL REPUBLICANS in Congress, Johnson embarked on this campaign trail in fall 1866. His goal was to help elect Democrats who would be more favorably disposed toward his moderate brand of RECONSTRUCTION policy. Johnson’s action was unprecedented: It made him the first chief executive to campaign on behalf of congressmen. It was also considered demeaning, and many of his cabinet members had attempted to dissuade him from attempting it. But Johnson was adamant.

Not only was this the first political campaign undertaken by a sitting president; it was also the first to be conducted entirely by trains at prearranged stops. In August 1866 Johnson and his entourage began the Swing Around the Circle, so-named because the campaign took them geographically from WASHINGTON, D.C., north to NEW YORK CITY, then west to Chicago, south to St. Louis, and back east through the Ohio River Valley. But events went terribly awry from the start. Johnson’s rough-hewn, back-country style of speaking resonated unfavorably with the sophisticated, urban crowds of the regions he visited. Many in the audience heckled him, and when they did, Johnson promptly heckled them back. The entire performance was considered degrading for a president, and the presence of such luminaries as Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT, Adm. DAVID G. FARRAGUT, and Secretary of State WILLIAM H. SEWARD in his entourage was not enough to temper this prevailing view. Worse, Johnson’s apparently drunken appearances became so rambling and incoherent that local political establishments publicly shunned him.

Johnson’s enterprise singularly failed in its purpose. The fall election witnessed Radical Republicans gaining additional seats in Congress, acquiring a virtually veto-proof majority. From that moment on, Johnson was truly a lame duck president, and largely of his own making.

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—John C. Fredriksen



### tactics and strategy

Tactics is concerned with deploying troops effectively at a local level, while strategy involves thinking more broadly. Military theorist Karl von Clausewitz provided a famous definition of the distinction between the two concerns: “Tactics is the art of using troops in battle; strategy is the art of using battles to win the war.” While the Union and Confederacy employed identical weapons and battlefield tactics, their respective strategies were governed by different wartime objectives: reunion and independence.

#### *Tactics*

The tactics used by both the Confederacy and the Union tended to be similar. Early in the CIVIL WAR, most generals’ approach to battle mirrored that of the French general Napoleon Bonaparte. Napoleon did not invent this style of warfare; he was merely its most effective practitioner. Napoleonic tactics were oriented toward offense and dramatic victories. The hallmark of Napoleonic-era warfare was the massed infantry assault, where troops would advance within range of the enemy, fire a volley, and then charge forth with bayonets to finish the job. Given the relatively low lethality of infantry weapons of the day, both cavalry and artillery also bore prominent roles, with dramatic and decisive results in the hands of a master coordinator such as Napoleon.

Napoleonic tactics were effective in the time of Napoleon, as some Civil War generals had undoubtedly learned from reading the influential works of ANTOINE-HENRI, BARON DE JOMINI. The tactics had also worked during the Mexican-American War, where many of the army commanders of the Civil War saw their first military service. However, in the 1850s, most of the world’s armies, including the army of the United States, began to use rifles. Rifles could fire bullets accurately at a range of 500 yards, compared with the 75-yard range of the smoothbore muskets used in Napoleon’s time. For the military leaders of the United States, it was not immediately clear what the impli-

cations of longer-range weapons would be. In 1855 the army issued a new tactical manual, *Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics*, by William J. Hardee. Hardee’s answer to the adoption of the rifle, in essence, was to keep using Napoleonic tactics but to go faster when doing so. The tactical consequences of such new technology were not completely appreciated at first, but caused tremendous carnage to soldiers employing it in battle from 1861 to 1865.

When the Civil War got under way, it was soon clear that the impact of rifles was going to be more substantial than anyone had anticipated. Over the first few years of the war, it became evident to commanders on both sides that the massed infantry assault was obsolete. When firing cannot begin until a range of 75 yards, only one volley can be gotten off before hand-to-hand combat begins. Charging infantry can reach their target with their ranks relatively intact. When firing begins at a range of 500 yards, on the other hand, three or four volleys can be fired before the infantry reaches its target. Under such circumstances, soldiers attempting a frontal assault are almost certain to be slaughtered. Nonetheless, the use of massed frontal assault against lines and strong points persisted throughout the war, with commensurately heavy loss of life.

The advent of the rifle had other implications as well. Cavalrymen and their horses presented easy targets for men armed with rifles. As such, cavalry was relegated to a largely supporting role during the Civil War—protecting the flanks of their armies, scouting out troop locations, pursuing defeated enemies, and sometimes dismounting to fight as infantry. Rifles also reduced the role of artillery. In Napoleon’s era, cannons would have been located along the front lines of battles. During the Civil War the ability to pick off artillerymen with rifles necessitated their removal to the rear of the battle. This relegated artillery to a largely defensive role in most engagements. But even in this capacity artillery firing canister shot or grapeshot (spherical metal balls that had the effect of a giant shotgun) and cavalry armed with rapid-fire, repeating carbines could



exact a terrible toll at close range. Cavalry enjoyed a particular renaissance as mobile infantry capable of covering vast distances, striking quickly, then moving off to safety before an enemy could react. This made cavalry units ideal raiders, and they posed a particular menace to RAILROADS.

Despite the shortcomings of the massed infantry assault, Napoleonic tactics were not entirely discarded during the Civil War. Indeed, the most famous tactical maneuver of the war, GEORGE EDWARD PICKETT's charge at the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, was a massed infantry assault. However, commanders preferred to use infantry charges as a last resort. Their favored alternative was the turning maneuver. This tactic was taught at the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT and had been used to great effect during the Mexican-American War by Gen. Winfield Scott. In a turning maneuver, a commander tried to attack the enemy from the side or behind, so as to avoid the bloodshed inherent in a frontal assault. Turning movements could be difficult to achieve, however, and very dangerous if they failed. The trick, from a grand tactical viewpoint, was to maneuver for advantage before coming into contact with the enemy and strike select portions of his line with overwhelming force before the enemy had time to react properly. This required experienced leaders and well-trained troops, qualities in exceedingly short supply for many months into the war.

Increased use of turning maneuvers was not the only development to come out of the Civil War. Most field commanders showed a willingness to embrace new technologies to gain a tactical advantage. The TELEGRAPH and railroads became critical tools for generals during the Civil War. Commanders also experimented with hot-air balloons, land mines, and machine guns. An even more important change during the war was the increased use of defensive warfare. Commanders soon discovered that if their troops dug trenches and built fortifications, the number of enemy troops needed to take the position generally tripled.

Whether a commander was pursuing an offensive or defensive strategy, there were only a handful of ways in which troops were commonly deployed. A line was a group of soldiers standing next to one another, generally with three or four feet between each individual. Lines could fire thick volleys of bullets, but they were highly exposed to enemy fire. A column was a formation with many ranks standing one behind the other. A 100-man column, for example, might consist of 10 ranks, each made up of 10 men. Columns could not fire nearly as many bullets, but they were less likely to be destroyed by enemy fire. Mixed formations incorporated both columns and lines. For example, 100 men might be organized into an 80-man column, with its flanks guarded by two lines of 10 men.

During battles a fairly common pattern of deployment emerged. Small groups of soldiers, called skirmishers,

would move out in front of their armies to determine if enemy troops were present and in what numbers. During or after skirmishing, the armies themselves would march into battle in columns, often as much as four miles wide. Once soldiers reached the ground they were ordered to occupy, they would form into lines, usually in pairs. A company of 100 men, for example, would have a line of 50 kneeling men, and behind them 50 standing men. The two lines would alternate their volleys to provide a constant hail of bullets. If a charge was ordered, soldiers generally tried to maintain a two-line formation as much as was possible.

After the Civil War American military commanders stopped using line and column formations, along with Napoleonic tactics. The Indian Wars of the 1870s and 1880s were largely based on defensive warfare, guerrilla tactics, and strategic raids. This trend continued into the 20th century.

### ***Confederate Strategy***

Strategically, the Confederacy had a much easier task than the Union. All the South wanted was to be allowed to secede, and so all the Confederates had to do was avoid being conquered. JEFFERSON DAVIS hoped to mirror the strategy of George Washington during the Revolutionary War, holding his ground when possible, retreating when necessary. At the same time, Davis had to make some concession to political realities. A war following Washington's example may have been strategically advisable but not necessarily popular among the voters.

Early in the war, the Confederacy used what came to be called the "cordon strategy." No Southerners wanted their states to be invaded, and so Confederate leaders spread their troops throughout the Confederacy, particularly along the nation's borders. This was despite the fact that the South enjoyed movement along interior lines of communication and could quickly shuttle troops to threatened points by rail as at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN in 1861 and the BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA in 1863. But the South was continually hobbled by a lack of manpower and, try as it might, it could not effectively cover every point along its extensive periphery. The disadvantage of this strategy soon became obvious—Union troops could concentrate on one position and break through with relative ease. After losses at Fort Donelson, Fort Henry, and Roanoke Island, it was clear that a new strategy was needed.

This new strategy evolved over the first few months of 1862, particularly after ROBERT E. LEE took command of the Army of Northern Virginia. Lee and Davis both favored an "offensive-defensive" strategy that had several components: First, Confederate generals would try to occupy strategically advantageous positions that the enemy would be compelled to attack, generally along the Union's lines of supply or communication. Second, key defensive points



would be defended by concentrations of troops. These troops would be shifted around as needed, taking advantage of the Confederacy's shorter interior lines. Third, Confederate armies would go on the offensive whenever an opportunity presented itself. Sometimes these offensives took the form of small raids, sometimes large-scale attacks. Jefferson Davis particularly sought to make a move when he knew that it would hurt the political fortunes of the Lincoln administration and the REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The offensive-defensive strategy effectively blended the Davis administration's strategic concerns. It allowed the Confederacy to spend most of the time on the defensive and to keep important strategic points guarded. At the same time, it had enough of an offensive component that the Southern populace's thirst for dramatic victories could be satisfied. The offensive-defensive strategy governed Confederate thinking from 1862 through the end of the war. In practice, however, this strategy entailed great risks and even greater loss. Gen. Lee's invasion of Maryland in 1862 and Pennsylvania in 1863 began spectacularly and caused infinite alarm in political and military circles in WASHINGTON, D.C., but both ended in Confederate retreats marked by staggering casualties. Simply put, the South lacked resources of every kind to carry on such offensives indefinitely.

### ***Union Strategy***

At the start of the Civil War the Union faced a much more difficult task than the Confederacy. If the North could not convince the South to return to the Union voluntarily, then the Northern armies would have to conquer an incredibly large area while destroying the populace's will to fight—in other words, to subdue and occupy a hostile landscape larger than that of western Europe. In addition, like his Confederate counterpart, President ABRAHAM LINCOLN always had to keep political concerns in mind.

The Union pursued a number of strategies early in the war, all of them intended to compel the Confederacy to return to the Union rather than to conquer the South. The first strategic plan to be proposed to Lincoln came from Union general in chief Winfield Scott. Scott's proposal was almost entirely dependent on the UNION NAVY and the use of gunboats to gain control of Confederate ports and the MISSISSIPPI RIVER. This strategy would make it difficult for the Confederacy to get the materials needed to survive and wage war, ultimately forcing the South to give up on SECESSION. Scott favored this plan because it had the potential to bring the war to an end with minimal bloodshed.

The Northern public roundly ridiculed Scott's proposal. Newspapers derisively labeled it the "Anaconda Plan," after the snake that slowly squeezes its prey to death. Although Lincoln ordered the blockade that Scott suggested, he otherwise rejected the Anaconda Plan. Lin-

coln knew that the public wanted a dramatic victory and a quick end to the war, and the Anaconda Plan could provide neither. When Gen. Irvin McDowell suggested an offensive against Confederate forces at Manassas Junction, Lincoln was receptive, and he approved the plan. The result was a humiliating defeat in the First Battle of Bull Run.

In November 1861, Winfield Scott was replaced as general in chief by GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN, who quickly went to work devising his own strategic plan. McClellan proposed to focus most of his attention on Virginia and on a campaign against the Confederate capital at RICHMOND. He felt that if the city could be captured, the South's will to fight would be broken. At the same time, McClellan sent a small group of troops under HENRY W. HALLECK to try and take the Mississippi River.

McClellan spent several months building the Army of the Potomac into a formidable fighting force, but he hesitated to actually move against Virginia. After many months of inaction, Lincoln grew exasperated with his general in chief and removed him from the post. McClellan was still allowed to lead the PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN, however, when it finally got underway in spring of 1862. Ultimately, it failed. Shortly thereafter, Halleck took over as general in chief.

By the time that Halleck took responsibility for formulating Union strategy in the latter part of 1862, it was clear that the Civil War was not going to end quickly. At the same time, Lincoln had determined that EMANCIPATION would be added to the Union's war aims. From this point forward, Union strategy focused on conquering the Confederacy rather than convincing the South to return to the Union with minimal damage. Halleck, working with Lincoln, devised a plan that reversed the strategic priorities of McClellan. The Mississippi River and the liberation of eastern Tennessee became the Union's primary strategic objectives. This change in emphasis, originally planned by Gen. Scott, became one of the lynchpins of Union victory, and it culminated in the July 4, 1863, surrender of Vicksburg, Mississippi, to Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT.

Halleck remained as general in chief for nearly two years. During his tenure the Union's goals in the west were achieved, while a number of important victories were won in the east against the Army of Northern Virginia. By the end of 1863, however, the war had become stalemated and the Northern public was growing impatient. In March 1864 Halleck was replaced by Grant.

Grant introduced wholesale changes in the UNION ARMY's approach to the war. Grant wanted to eliminate the Confederacy's ability to use interior lines to move troops to where they were needed. To accomplish this, he planned simultaneous advances on two fronts. Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN would lead the western armies through Georgia

and the Carolinas, while Grant himself would lead the eastern armies through Virginia. At the same time, Grant realized that the Confederacy could not be conquered unless the populace's will to fight was drained. As such, he sought to make war on the citizens of the Confederacy, destroying crops, buildings, factories, railroads, and anything else important to the Confederate war effort. Grant's other western general, PHILIP H. SHERIDAN, was ordered to destroy the rich resources of the Shenandoah Valley. Grant's notion of "total war" was one of the innovations to come out of the Civil War, and it would come to be a hallmark of warfare in the 20th century. In this manner the North finally brought its great strategic advantages in population, TRANSPORTATION, and military numbers to bear effectively against a tottering Confederacy. The Union steamroller had taken years to gain momentum and occasioned a lengthy period of stalemate but by fall 1864 was moving toward decisive victory.

Grant's vision first came to fruition during SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA. Sherman vowed to "make Georgia howl," and he delivered on the promise. Sherman's armies cut a swath of destruction through the heart of Georgia. The campaign featured the capture of Atlanta, an event that secured Lincoln's reelection to the presidency. After completing his activities in Georgia, Sherman went on to conduct a similarly devastating campaign in the Carolinas. Sheridan's Shenandoah campaign proved even more destructive to the Confederacy's survival because it robbed the South of its most productive breadbasket. Destruction of the Southern agrarian infrastructure was so extensive that crop production fell below Civil War levels until World War I, five decades hence.

The war that Grant waged in the east was not as destructive as Sherman's campaigns, but it was effective nonetheless. There the vaunted Army of the Potomac confronted the equally redoubtable Army of Northern Virginia in a series of bloody, inconclusive clashes. In little over a month's campaigning Grant had lost 50,000 men, nearly one-third of his force; Lee's casualties, while fewer, constituted a greater proportion of his smaller force. Grant remained unfazed by the carnage and invariably tried slipping around Lee's flank and inching closer to RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, the Confederate capital. Lee, having no recourse but to follow and protect the capital, inevitably surrendered the strategic initiative to the North. Hereafter, Grant chose the place and time of attacks along the extensive Petersburg-Richmond defensive line. Dwindling Confederate manpower was stretched to the breaking point. In April 1865, Lee was forced to abandon Richmond in hope of joining Confederate forces in North Carolina. Grant anticipated the maneuver and cut it off. With no other options, Lee was forced to surrender his army, effectively ending the Civil War.

Grant's strategy must be judged a success, not only for bringing an end to the war but also for bringing an end to the war when it did. The Confederacy still had troops in the field when Lee surrendered, and it could have continued to wage a conventional war or shifted to guerrilla warfare. This did not happen, however, because Grant had done more than checkmate the Confederate military. He had broken the Southern populace's will to fight, and that was the critical factor in bringing the Civil War to a close. But the price of victory was steep—360,000 Union dead and another slain 258,000 Confederates—a larger toll than U.S. losses in World War II.

See also APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA; ATLANTA CAMPAIGN; BALLOON CORPS; MISSISSIPPI RIVER WAR; SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

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—Christopher Bates and Michael O'Connor

## tariffs

A tariff is a tax levied on goods brought into or taken out of a country. Tariffs were the primary way in which the U.S. government raised money in the 19th century, and so the tariff received a great deal of attention from Americans in the antebellum era. Eventually, disagreements over tariff rates caused the country to become bitterly divided. Southerners came to believe that the tariff bills being passed by the government favored the North at the South's expense. At the same time, partisans on both sides of the question

eventually came to equate the federal government's ability to impose a tariff with its ability to impose controls upon the institution of SLAVERY.

The tariff debate initially flared up in the 1780s. It immediately became apparent that while the government needed some revenue, each constituency wanted someone else to foot the bill. For example, New Englanders imported large quantities of molasses from the West Indies in order to make rum. They wanted the tariff on imported molasses to be as low as possible in order to keep their costs down. The Deep South, on the other hand, needed slave labor, and congressmen from those states pressed for a low tariff on slaves brought into the country. A compromise was called for, and on July 4, 1789, Congress passed a tariff bill that set fairly modest duties of 5 percent to 10 percent on most imported goods.

While this initial tariff had enough support for it to be adopted by Congress, some of the nation's leaders were dissatisfied. In 1791 Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton presented his *Report on Manufactures* to President George Washington and to Congress, in which he argued for a high tariff. Hamilton had several reasons for this position, called protectionism: First, he believed that the United States could become an industrial power, and he wanted American industrial interests to be able to develop without interference from goods made in Britain or France. A high tariff would accomplish this by driving up the price of foreign goods. Second, Hamilton favored a strong federal government that used its power to promote American development. He hoped the government could invest tariff revenue in EDUCATIONAL institutions, roads, canals, and other sorts of internal improvements.

Hamilton's arguments were not immediately embraced by Congress, and for the rest of the 1790s, tariff rates remained low. However, the ideas presented in the *Report on Manufactures* found an audience in the next generation of congressional leaders. The most important was Whig leader Henry Clay, whose "American System" was largely a restatement of Hamilton's vision. In the first three decades of the 19th century, Clay and his allies persuaded Congress to adopt an increasingly protectionist stance, culminating in the Tariff of 1828, which set rates on some imports as high as 50 percent.

By the time the Tariff of 1828 was passed, Clay's successes with the tariff had inspired a great deal of animosity among Southern leaders, especially John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. Southerners objected to protective tariffs for a variety of reasons. They were opposed to a strong central government, which high tariff revenues helped to facilitate. Beyond that, because Southern products such as tobacco and cotton were not protected, it seemed that the North was building up its ECONOMY at the expense of the South. Most significantly, Calhoun believed that the

North was using the tariff to become the dominant player in national politics, to the exclusion of the South.

For Calhoun and his supporters, the Tariff of 1828 was the final straw. Calling it the "Tariff of Abominations," Calhoun announced that South Carolina would not abide by its terms. To support his position, Calhoun borrowed the idea of "nullification" from the writings of Thomas Jefferson. This doctrine argued that states were the supreme authority in the United States and that they had the right to ignore the dictates of the federal government or even to secede from the Union if they wished to do so. Though it was left unstated, leaders on both sides of the conflict knew that the South was threatening not only to nullify future tariffs but also any future actions taken to curtail the institution of slavery.

Tensions remained high in the nation for several years, but eventually a compromise was reached. The Tariff of 1833 began a general reduction of rates that continued for the next 30 years. When the CIVIL WAR came, the South adopted a tariff that reflected its preference for low rates. The Northern Congress, meanwhile, passed the highly protectionist Morrill Act of 1861. After the war, tariff rates continued to be high as part of the Republican program of promoting the development of manufacturing. Although the tariff ceased to be a major point of political contention after 1833, the debate over the Tariff of Abominations had set a precedent that would eventually lead to the SECESSION of South Carolina and the start of the Civil War.

See also TAXATION.

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—Christopher Bates

## taxation

Before the CIVIL WAR the majority of Americans were not taxed directly. The budgets of both state and federal governments were small, and expenses were paid almost exclusively through duties on imported goods, sales of government-owned land, and property taxes on the wealthiest citizens. When the Civil War came, however, the financial needs of the Confederacy and Union grew to enormous dimensions, and both governments had to find ways to increase their revenues. Among these were several different taxes, the first that many Americans had ever paid.

TARIFFS are taxes on imported or exported goods. Tariffs are indirect taxes, because they are paid by the merchant

who is selling the goods and then incorporated into the sale price of the goods. Tariff revenues were the single largest source of income for the federal government prior to the Civil War and were also a major source of controversy, as most Northerners favored higher rates while most Southerners favored lower rates. When the Civil War broke out, both governments quickly moved to adopt a tariff that reflected their prewar position. In March 1861, the Northern Congress adopted a high tariff, taxing imports at an average rate of 47 percent. Rates were increased several times over the course of the war, and by the end of the war the Union government had collected a total of \$296 million in tariff revenue. In May 1861, the Confederate Congress adopted a tariff bill of its own, taxing imports at an average rate of 12 percent. Due to this modest rate, as well as poor enforcement and the small number of goods coming into the South, the Confederate tariff generated only \$3.5 million over the course of the war.

When the Confederate tariff was adopted in 1861, it was immediately apparent that it would generate very little revenue and that the Confederate government would have to act quickly to find other ways to pay its bills. Some Confederate leaders favored taxation, but the general sentiment in the Confederate Congress was against such a step, fearing that it would undermine support for the war. As the Confederacy's situation became increasingly dire, however, advocates of taxation were able to persuade the Congress to adopt a tax of one-half of 1 percent of the value of all property, including slaves. This tax, adopted on August 19, 1861, ultimately had disappointing results. First, it raised only \$17.4 million. Second, according to the bill's terms, states could pay the tax on a citizen's behalf at a discount rate. Most states did so, financing the payment through bond issues. This dried up much of the available capital in the South and undercut the bond sales of the Confederate government.

In the same month that the Confederacy adopted its property tax, the Union Congress adopted an income tax, the first in American history. The tax was fairly modest, requiring a payment of 3 percent on incomes more than \$800. A year later, a much more comprehensive tax bill was passed. The Internal Revenue Act, adopted on July 1, 1862, levied a rate of 3 percent on incomes between \$600 and \$10,000 and a rate of 5 percent on incomes more than \$10,000 (eventually increased to 5 percent and 10 percent, respectively, in 1864). It also established sales taxes on a broad variety of goods: yachts, newspaper advertisements, medicines, billiard tables, liquor, and tobacco, to name a few. In order to make certain that these sales and income taxes were properly collected, the Internal Revenue Act created a new government agency, the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The Union's income tax had two beneficial effects: It raised roughly \$300 million for the Union war effort, and it helped to keep inflation in check.

Eventually, several financial difficulties in the South compelled the Confederate Congress to adopt an income tax of its own. The Confederate tax, adopted on April 24, 1863, established a graduated tax ranging from 1 percent on incomes between \$1,000 and \$1,500 up to 15 percent on incomes of \$10,000 or more. The measure also included a sort of combination property/income tax for farmers called the "tax-in-kind." The tax-in-kind allowed farmers to set aside certain proscribed amounts of their crops for subsistence and then required them to give 10 percent of the remainder to the government. The Confederate income tax and tax-in-kind were almost unqualified failures. In 1863 inflation was wildly out of control, largely due to the Confederate government having printed too much paper money. By early 1864, it took \$46 to buy what had cost \$1 before the war. As such, the roughly \$140 million collected in income tax and tax-in-kind between 1863 and 1865 had very little purchasing power. Meanwhile, the taxes generated all sorts of discontent on the HOMEFRONT. Farmers were especially angry about the tax-in-kind, because the system for collecting the crops owed to the government was filled with incompetence and corruption. Eventually, the Confederate Congress passed a series of bills modifying the income tax and tax-in-kind in order to make them more acceptable, but the changes came too late to be of much use.

Ultimately, taxation was much more effective in the wealthy North than in the cash-strapped South. The \$600 million raised by the Union government covered more than 40 percent of the cost of the Union's war effort, while the \$145 million gathered by the Confederate government paid less than 7 percent of its expenses. After the war, all of the national taxes except the tariff were repealed. However, a precedent had been set, and it would not be long before permanent income, sales, and property taxes would be established.

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—Christopher Bates

**Taylor, Susie King** (1848–1912) *educator, nurse, author*

Teacher, nurse, and author, Susie King Taylor was born a slave in Georgia on August 5, 1848. Her parents, Hagar Ann Reed and Raymond Baker, were both highly regarded by their owners and given privileges that benefited their daughter's future. At age seven, Susie was sent to live



with her grandmother in Savannah, where she learned to sew and, more important, to read and write. An avid student, Susie continued her studies up to the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR in 1861. Passionate in her conviction that SLAVERY was about to end, the 14-year-old fled Savannah for freedom with her uncle's family and found refuge on St. Simon's Island off the Georgia coast and under Union control.

Susie joined the small but dedicated contingent of Northern missionaries, teachers, and abolitionist soldiers who were part of an exciting experiment to educate and prepare the freedpeople for their expected transition to freedom. Located on several of the sea islands off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, this "rehearsal for reconstruction" anticipated many of the challenges and disappointments that lay in store for ex-slaves. Susie was quickly hired as a schoolteacher, and she taught during the day for children and at night for the adults. Exhausted but exhilarated by her work, Susie did not want to leave in the fall of 1862 when, for safety reasons, the Federals ordered that island civilians be removed to Camp Saxton in Beaufort, South Carolina.

In Beaufort, she worked as a laundress for Company E of the famous First South Carolina Volunteers (later the 33rd U.S. Colored Infantry). The unit was the first authorized AFRICAN-AMERICAN REGIMENT of the UNION ARMY. She met and married one of the regiment's soldiers, Sgt. Edward King, sometime in 1862. Proud to be a part of an African-American unit fighting for freedom and equality, she remained with the regiment throughout the war. She served as a laundress and cook, but her most important roles were those of nurse and teacher. The regiment's soldiers, which included a number of her uncles and cousins, cherished their teenaged "angel of mercy," and she returned their devotion in full. Susie King never received any wages for her work, nor was she eligible for a pension in later years. She did receive a widow's pension of \$100 after her husband's death.

After the war she and her husband settled in Savannah, where she opened a school for African-American children. Due to the extreme racial prejudice that existed in the country at this time, Edward King could not make a living as a carpenter, but he found a job as a longshoreman. In September 1866 he was killed in a work-related accident, leaving a pregnant wife. After the birth of their son, Susie King tried unsuccessfully to continue her work in EDUCATION. After a couple of failed attempts to run schools, she took a job as a laundress and cook for wealthy couple. In the early 1870s King determined that she wished to live in Boston, Massachusetts, where she moved to in 1874. A few years later she remarried to Russell B. Taylor.

Susie King Taylor spent the last two decades of her life working for VETERANS' rights and benefits. In the 1880s

she helped to found the Corps 67 of the Boston branch of the Women's Relief Corps, the auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic. The GAR was a political and social organization for ex-Civil War soldiers and had many African-American units. Taylor, who worked as treasurer and in 1893 was president of the corps, agitated for the fair treatment of African-American veterans. Tragedy struck Taylor again in 1898 when her son died in Shreveport, Louisiana.

Disappointed by the lack of progress made by her people since the Civil War, Taylor blamed the racism of the white people in the United States. In 1902 Taylor published her autobiography, which focused on her war experiences. Susie King Taylor died in Boston on October 6, 1912.

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## telegraph

The CIVIL WAR was the first military conflict in which long-range communications played a major role. The telegraph was developed and refined by a series of inventors during the first few decades of the 19th century. The most well known is Samuel F. B. Morse, whose main contribution was his development of Morse code in 1841. Morse code uses a series of long and short tones, called dots and dashes, to communicate messages one letter at a time. Morse also played an important role in arranging the financing to build a national telegraphic infrastructure. Thanks to his efforts, and to those of other businessmen, the United States had many thousands of miles of telegraph wire when the Civil War started, 90 percent of it in the North.

Given the Union's advantage, telegraphy played a critical role in its war effort. Before the technology could be fully utilized, however, a number of logistical issues had to be overcome. The most significant was the establishment of a bureaucracy to operate the North's telegraphs. Initially, the American Telegraph Company, a private business concern, was placed in charge of the Union's telegraphy operations. Many leaders on the Union side were uncomfortable with this arrangement, however, and in October 1861 the government stepped in and formed the U.S. Military Telegraph Service, under the command of Col. Anson Stager. Although Stager and a handful of his subordinates were commissioned officers, most of the Telegraphic Service's 1,300 employees were civilians, because Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON did not want them to be subject to the orders of field officers. The Telegraphic Service worked with the Army Signal Corps to maximize the value of the North's telegraphic system, and ultimately they enjoyed a great deal of success. More than 1,000 miles of telegraph



lines were laid, and more than 6 million messages were transmitted over Union telegraphs during the course of the war.

Security was another concern with which Northern authorities had to contend. Telegraphs can be easily tapped by enemy spies or by enterprising reporters looking for items for the newspaper. One solution to this problem was censorship, and Telegraphic Service employees had the authority to censor anything they deemed problematic. Another, more effective solution was encoding messages, a technique utilized by both the Confederacy and the Union. By the middle of the war, virtually all messages dealing with military matters were encoded in one way or another.

Like the Union, the Confederacy depended on telegraphy during the Civil War. The Confederates were not able to use the technology as much as they would have liked, however, due to lack of materials. It proved difficult to keep all of the South's telegraph lines in working order, and it was almost an impossibility to provide telegraphic services at the actual sites of battles, a privilege enjoyed throughout the war by Union commanders. Dr. William S. Morris, placed in charge of the South's telegraph lines, did his best to be innovative despite short supplies and the

fact that the Confederacy never established a bureaucratic counterpart to the Union's Military Telegraphic Service. Morris did an effective job, keeping information flowing at a high rate until the final months of the war.

In addition to the critical role telegraphy played in military operations, telegraphs were also important to newspapers. People on both the HOMEFRONT and the war front hungered for news of the war, and journalists were happy to comply. Before the Civil War, news stories would take a week to be printed. With the telegraph, the news could be communicated instantly and printed within a day or two. Civilians were well informed about war-related events. By the end of the Civil War, newspapers would have a permanent role in shaping public opinion.

Telegraphic communication would continue to be an important tool in the postwar era. Business leaders increasingly embraced the technology as a means of keeping up to date on the prices of stocks and commodities. By the 1870s more than 80 percent of telegrams dealt with business matters. Meanwhile, military leaders across the world took heed of the lessons taught by the U.S. experience in the Civil War. By 1875 every major European military power had established a telegraphic corps. The telegraph also became the basis for Alexander Graham Bell's telephone, which began to supplant the telegraph in the 1880s and 1890s.

See also JOURNALISM.

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—Christopher Bates



Drawing of telegraph machine and operator at Fredericksburg, Virginia, by Alfred R. Waud, 1862 (Library of Congress)

## theater

The theater was an important cultural institution in cities, towns, and frontier settlements throughout the 19th century. Performances, plays, actors, and the theaters themselves were all elements of the vibrant public and participatory culture that existed in the United States. At a time when politics was overtly theatrical, the theater was often a venue for political acts. Nowhere was this fact demonstrated more dramatically than in the ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN in 1865. A lifelong fan of the theater, Lincoln was attending a play at Ford's Theatre in WASHINGTON, D.C., when he was shot and killed by the famously handsome and talented actor JOHN WILKES BOOTH of Maryland.

From the 1790s to the 1870s the theater offered a fairly democratic setting for audiences of all classes and economic groups to enjoy plays, opera, dancing, minstrel shows, and magicians, sometimes all appearing together on the same stage. Whether attending a play in the impressive St. Charles Theater in New Orleans, NEW YORK CITY's vast Bowery Theater, or one of the many more modest establishments in Louisville, Cincinnati, Denver, Chicago, or Natchez, the American patron of the arts could generally expect performances of high quality received by an enthusiastic audience.

Most theaters were divided into separate sections to address the needs of different social classes. The boxes (in front) were reserved for the upper class, the pit for the middle class, the gallery for the working class, and sometimes, way in the back, special rows for African Americans. In some theaters a section called "the third tier" was where prostitutes met their clients. American audiences were known for their boisterous behavior, often indicating displeasure with poor acting performances by shouting and booing, or even throwing eggs and vegetables at the stage. One newspaper review described the unlucky actor who drew an angry response from the audience: "Cabbages, carrots, pumpkins, potatoes, a wealth of vegetables, a sack of flour, and one of soot, and a dead goose, with other articles, simultaneously fell upon the stage."

Americans reserved their most passionate approval and disapproval for the plays of the English playwright William Shakespeare. Shakespeare was widely read in the United States, where his melodramatic tragedies and comedies seemed to strike a powerful chord with many citizens. *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* were two of the most popular of his plays and were performed in countless venues across the country. In part, Shakespeare's stage dominance can be attributed to the droves of English actors who came to the United States to make their fortunes. Edmund Kean, Charles and Fanny Kemble, William Charles Macready, and Ellen Tree all attracted great crowds to their performances.

One of the most brilliant and famous of English actors that came to America's shores was Junius Brutus Booth. Unlike most of his peers, Booth became a citizen. He married and raised his large family on a farm in Maryland. Three of his sons, Junius Jr., Edwin, and John Wilkes, followed in his footsteps. In stark contrast to his Confederate-loving brother, Edwin Booth was a staunch supporter of the Union and, after the war, the greatest actor of his generation. Booth and fellow Shakespearean actor Edwin Forrest also represented the emergence of an American style of acting that emphasized a vigorous style over the more genteel English approach. In a very real sense, actors were instrumental in creating an American identity based on a more informal, democratic, and personal method of stage performance.

The engine that drove the theater during the decades of the middle to late 19th century was commercialization. In an effort to expand the audience base, theater owners sought to appeal to the growing middle class, especially women and families. Laura Keane, an actress who became a stage manager in New York, was instrumental in bringing an influx of middle-class women theatergoers to view the sentimental plays that resonated with their lives. Increasingly, theaters presented different kinds of plays to different types of audiences: minstrel shows, vaudeville, opera, burlesque, ethnic and racial comedies, serious plays, and melodrama. Two of the most profitable and successful plays were about SLAVERY: HARRIET BEECHER STOWE's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Dion Boucicault's *The Octoroon*. Specialized touring companies spread out across the country, drawing huge crowds and filling the wallets of their producers. Touring was facilitated by urbanization and far-reaching and sophisticated TRANSPORTATION system. By the late 1870s the theater was flourishing as never before, with New York City's Broadway as the centerpiece of both highbrow and lowbrow American culture.

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### Thirteenth Amendment (December 18, 1865)

The Thirteenth Amendment officially ended SLAVERY in the United States, completing a revolution in America. The amendment to the U.S. Constitution was passed by Congress on January 31, 1865, and ratified on December 18, 1865. Its text reads:

SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or anyplace subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The march toward freedom that the Thirteenth Amendment capped began with runaway and CONTRABAND slaves that clogged Union lines. Their actions forced military and political leaders to confront the future of the institution of slavery. President ABRAHAM LINCOLN mortally wounded slavery in the United States with his EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION and by prosecuting the CIVIL

WAR until the Confederacy was destroyed. The course of the war evolved from an effort to preserve the Union to the radical undertaking of slave EMANCIPATION. As early as the 1864 election, Lincoln endorsed an amendment to abolish slavery.

Most Republicans assumed that with the ABOLITION of slavery, African Americans in the South would receive the same treatment as white people. This belief was due to an understanding that there was no middle ground between slave and free status. However, the BLACK CODES disabused congressional Republicans of the notion of equal treatment in the South. An incredulous Northern public felt that the sacrifices of the war did not warrant a return to slavery, as the Black Codes implied. Spurred on by white Southern intransigence, RADICAL REPUBLICANS pushed for a more specific and intensive federal effort to protect civil rights.

A key, and often overlooked, component of the Thirteenth Amendment is the enforcement clause, the first in the Constitution, which recognized Congress's power to define and protect freedom. Some Southern states, before Congressional RECONSTRUCTION, rejected the amendment, mainly because of the enforcement clause. It was viewed as an unwarranted expansion of federal power that nationalized racial problems.

Though the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery, it was unclear what freedom meant. In many ways, the ratification of the amendment marked the beginning of a long struggle over the implications of freedom. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, the prominent abolitionist, considered his work complete after ratification. Others believed that formal, legal removal of slavery from the American system did not go far enough. "What is freedom?" argued Republican congressman James A. Garfield, "Is it bare privilege of not being chained? If this is all, then freedom is a bitter mockery, a cruel delusion." FREDERICK DOUGLASS, an articulate black abolitionist, challenged Republican leaders to go beyond a narrow conception of freedom. "Slavery is not abolished," said Douglass, "until the black man has the ballot."

The debate over freedom became a debate over the role of government in a democratic society. On the one hand, some Republicans and nearly all of the Democrats believed that it was up to the freedmen to make a life for themselves like white citizens. On the other side, Radical Republicans viewed emancipation as a unique event that required the federal government to take positive action to help the freedmen transition from slavery to freedom. The Black Codes in no small way pushed the REPUBLICAN PARTY into embracing federal intervention to help ex-slaves. Congress passed the FREEDMEN'S BUREAU Bill, the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1866, and the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT. The intent of the Civil Rights Act was to

define what freedom meant for the former slaves. The bill was designed, said one congressman, "to secure to a poor weak class of laborers the right to make contracts for their labor, the power to enforce the payment of wages, and the means of holding and enjoying the proceeds of their toil."

Though one of the requirements under President ANDREW JOHNSON's plan for Reconstruction was the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, he took a narrow view of it, arguing that the amendment only ended formal slavery. President Johnson also vetoed both the Freedmen's Bureau Bill and the Civil Rights Act and condemned the proposed Fourteenth Amendment. Congress overrode the vetoes, a first for major pieces of legislation in U.S. history, and the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified two years later. The political battles over the meaning of freedom marked a major change in federal Reconstruction policy, with Radical Republicans assuming control over Southern Reconstruction. In the ensuing years, the FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT was ratified, and Congress passed the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1875, both efforts giving meaning to the Thirteenth Amendment.

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—Justin J. Behrend

### **Thomas, George H.** (1816–1870) *Union general*

A CIVIL WAR general nicknamed "the Rock of Chickamauga" for his valiant performance in that battle, George Henry Thomas was born on July 31, 1816, in Southampton County, Virginia. After graduating from the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1840, Thomas served in the Mexican-American War of 1846 and later was appointed an artillery and cavalry instructor at his old school. When the war broke out Thomas was on military duty in Texas. Unlike most other Virginia-born West Pointers, Thomas remained with the Union. Throughout the war, however, questions of loyalty would cast a shadow on his career. Nonetheless, he was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers in 1861. He saw early action in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley and in Kentucky, where he was made the commander of the 1st Division, Army of the Ohio.

Thomas led his division, and then corps, through several notable battles in the western theater in 1862 and 1863, including Shiloh, Corinth, Perryville, Murfreesboro, Tullahoma, Chickamauga, and Chattanooga. His leadership in battle was slow, careful, deliberate, and unusually effective. Thomas possessed a modest personality that



made him one of the more underrated generals of the war. Maj. Gen. Thomas was offered, but refused, the command of the Army of the Ohio, believing that his friend DON C. BUELL had more experience. After faithfully serving Buell, Thomas was transferred to the Army of the Cumberland under WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS. Thomas's outstanding defense in the BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA, Georgia, literally saved the UNION ARMY from certain destruction and allowed an orderly retreat back to Tennessee.

After Rosecrans was relieved of command, Thomas was appointed to head the Army of the Cumberland. He led his army to victory at Missionary Ridge at the BATTLE OF CHATTANOOGA in November 1863 and accompanied Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN in the ATLANTA CAMPAIGN. In May 1864, Thomas's army fought at Kennesaw Mountain and Peachtree Creek. While Sherman marched through Georgia, Thomas was sent to defend Nashville, Tennessee, against the threat of JOHN BELL HOOD's army. In the two Battles of Franklin and Nashville in December 1864, Thomas smashed the Confederates, earning the grateful thanks of President ABRAHAM LINCOLN and the nation.

Thomas remained with the regular army after the war, and when he died in San Francisco on March 28, 1870, he was the commander of the Military Division of the Pacific.

See also CORINTH, BATTLE OF; MURFREESBORO, BATTLE OF; SHILOH, BATTLE OF.

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**Toombs, Robert A.** (1810–1885) *politician, Confederate general*

Robert Augustus Toombs was a Confederate secretary of state and general. Toombs was born in Wilkes City, Georgia, on July 2, 1810. A son of wealthy planters, he was educated at Union College in Schenectady, New York. In 1837 he was elected to the Georgia state legislature. Six years later he successfully stood for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives as a Whig, and in 1852 he was appointed to the U.S. Senate as a moderate Democrat. In this capacity Toombs frequently allied himself with Constitutional Unionists such as Howell Cobb and ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

When Republicans rejected the CRITTENDEN COMPROMISE in January 1861, Toombs resigned his seat and joined the Confederacy. He was one of 10 Georgians present at the provisional CONFEDERATE CONGRESS in Montgomery, Alabama, where he fully expected to be appointed president; he was bitterly disappointed when the laurels went to JEFFERSON DAVIS instead. As a sop to

his wounded pride, Davis appointed him secretary of state, but Toombs functioned only five months before resigning. He then served as a brigadier general in the 1862 PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN, though he argued heatedly with his superior, Gen. DANIEL H. HILL, and nearly dueled with him. Toombs performed heroically at the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM in September 1862, where he was wounded, then resigned from the service when his demands for promotion went unfulfilled. The army was generally relieved at his departure.

Toombs returned to Georgia, where, in concert with Governor JOSEPH E. BROWN and Vice President Stephens, he vociferously criticized the Davis administration for circumventing STATES' RIGHTS. He returned to military service during Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN's invasion of Georgia, but he saw no fighting. After the war he briefly fled the country. Toombs returned home in 1867 but refused to apply for a pardon, and he never held public office again. He died in Washington, Georgia, on December 15, 1885, an unreconstructed rebel to the end.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Tourgée, Albion W.** (1838–1905) *author, politician*

As a lawyer, RECONSTRUCTION-era federal judge, Republican activist, and novelist, Albion Winegar Tourgée was one of the foremost champions of African-American civil rights in the 19th century. Tourgée was born in Williamsfield, Ohio, and was trained as a lawyer at the University of Rochester. During the CIVIL WAR he served as a Union officer, spending six months in a Confederate prison. Tourgée moved to Greensboro, North Carolina, following the war, and there he became active in REPUBLICAN PARTY politics and embarked on a career as a novelist.

As a judge of the North Carolina state superior court in the early 1870s, Tourgée became particularly outraged by the KU KLUX KLAN attacks against former slaves. In an 1870 letter to the *New York Times*, Tourgée described in detail Klan brutality over the previous 10 months: “four thousand or five thousand houses broken open. . . . Seven or eight hundred persons beaten or otherwise maltreated.” The Republican Party, Tourgée concluded, was simply unwilling to act. “The government sleeps,” Tourgée told the *Times*; “I am ashamed of a party which . . . has not the nerve or decision enough” to defend former slaves. Tourgée's novels written during this period reflected his disillusionment and bitterness. In *A Fool's Errand* (1879), Tourgée acidly recalled his own career as a North Carolina judge. In *Invisible Empire* (1880), Tourgée damned

the “prejudice-blinded multitudes who made the Policy of Repression effectual.”

During the 1890s Tourgée’s activism intensified as Southern segregation hardened. In 1891 Tourgée helped establish the National Citizens Rights Association, devoted to securing civil rights and banning racially motivated lynchings. In 1896 he appeared before the Supreme Court on behalf of Homer J. Plessy in the landmark case *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Because the Constitution is color-blind, Tourgée argued, racial segregation is unconstitutional. The 8-1 majority rejected Tourgée’s argument, although in 1954 a unanimous court would affirm it in *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education*.

In the years after the *Plessy* decision, Theodore Roosevelt appointed Tourgée to several European diplomatic posts. At the last of these postings, in France, Tourgée died in 1905.

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—Tom Laichas

## transportation

The 19th century saw a revolution in transportation. From road building to RAILROAD building, from canal to steamboat construction, new thoroughfares and vehicle forms affected all Americans. The financing of roadways became one of the earliest issues of conflict between the federal and state governments. Sectional politics played a role in whether or not an area would have a federal or state built roadway. In most cases the federal government stepped in when a planned road crossed state lines. Such was the case of the National Road started in Virginia in 1808. When it was completed, this road, built through the Cumberland Gap in the Appalachian Mountains, eventually reached as far west as Illinois.

The National Road became a major route that settlers followed from the East Coast states to new western settlements. The solidity of the road, built from gravel on a stone base, allowed users a better chance at good road conditions. Other commonly used, but not constructed, roads were often muddy and impassable. Many states constructed roadways during the first half of the 19th century following older transportation routes and new paths leading from market to marketplace or from the site of raw materials to the site of production.

The booming ECONOMY of the United States also encouraged the building of canals. In 1816 President James Madison called for the federal government to sponsor a network of canals linked to a network of roads. He believed

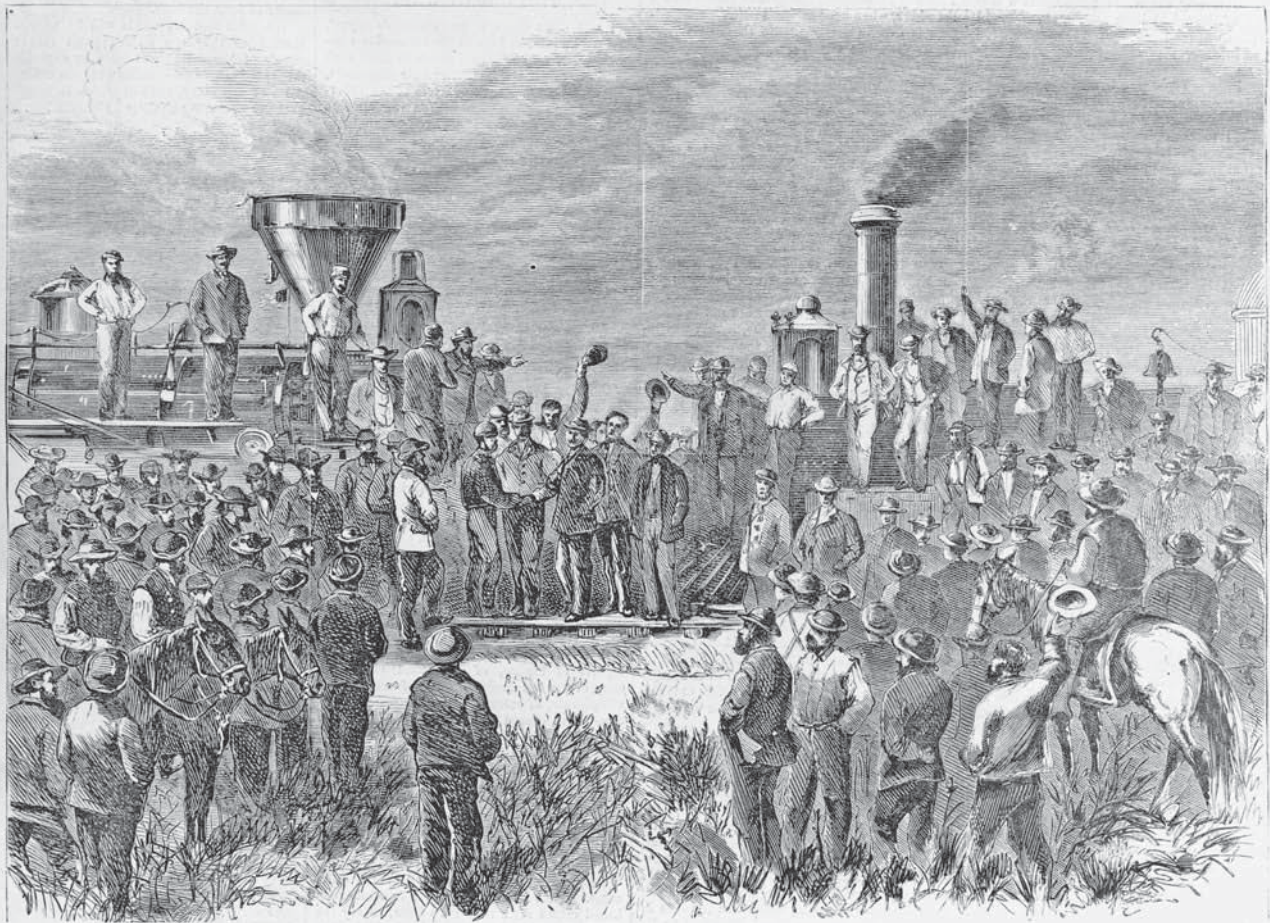
that economic growth would follow such a transportation web. New York governor DeWitt Clinton jumped on the idea when he proposed the construction of America’s famous Erie Canal. In 1825, after years of backbreaking work, largely by Irish immigrants, New York’s state-long canal opened. The waterway stretched 364 miles and connected NEW YORK CITY with the Great Lakes region. A technological masterpiece, the Erie Canal shifted the eyes of New York merchants away from European markets and toward the interior of the United States.

The ties created between the Northeast and Midwest also marked a shift in the focus of transportation routes. As did the National Road, the Erie Canal moved goods and people westward rather than to the south. This directional change differed from the previous North-South routes that had driven American communication and market patterns. This shift had lasting implications for national politics, local economies, and future settlement. The Southern areas of the United States became more isolated from the economically powerful Northern manufacturing centers. More important, the lack of transportation infrastructures hurt the Confederacy during the CIVIL WAR.

Especially used on the western rivers, steamboats revolutionized water transportation during the antebellum period. Robert Fulton first demonstrated the capabilities of steamboat travel in 1807. By the 1830s the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, had grown to be the leading builder of new steamboats, which enabled people and goods to be easily transported both up- and downriver. Prior to the invention of steam power, boats had traveled downriver with the current, but they did not return against it. Oftentimes sailors sold their boats for scrap at their final port and returned upriver on land. After 1807, though, transportation on the Ohio, Missouri, and MISSISSIPPI RIVERS became a two-way process. People moved goods north as well as south. River cities grew in economic and political importance as more and more money, goods, and people moved through them on a regular basis. Besides Cincinnati and already established New Orleans, St. Louis became an influential and bustling hub in America’s transportation system.

Steamboats drastically changed the landscape of the American river. Besides their use as vehicles, the boats shattered the quiet of the areas they passed and polluted the air of ports with their exhaust. Because of the unpredictable nature of steam and the relative youth of the technology, many deadly and expensive accidents regularly occurred. Such accidents, along with the widespread and dangerous practice of racing, moved the government to create some of its first federal transportation regulations. Congress passed the Steamboat Act in 1838 and strengthened it in 1852. The act established guidelines for the construction and maintenance of the riverboats in order to prevent accidents and the loss of life and property.





COMPLETION OF THE PACIFIC RAILROAD—MEETING OF LOCOMOTIVES OF THE UNION AND CENTRAL PACIFIC LINES: THE ENGINEERS SHAKE HANDS.  
[PHOTOGRAPHED BY SAVAGE & OTTINGER, SALT LAKE CITY.]

Engraving of the meeting of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railway lines at the completion of the Pacific railroad, 1869 (*Library of Congress*)

In response to the growth of water travel and encouraged by the successes they saw in Britain, American entrepreneurs began building railroads during the first half of the 19th century. Cities such as Baltimore, Maryland, saw the possibility to compete with New York by constructing a railroad. Such a transportation system would not be affected by the same bad-weather problems as canals. Builders of the Baltimore and Ohio (B&O) railroad hoped that merchants would choose to move goods by rail, especially in the winter when alternative canals froze over. People also quickly realized the speed with which new railroads could transport passengers and goods to new markets. In spite of kinks in the system, such as nonmatching rail gauge, railroads quickly spread across the eastern (and especially northeastern) portion of the United States.

In 1862 Congress chartered a federal corporation to build a transcontinental railroad. The congressional act created the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railways to begin construction of a railroad connecting the eastern portion of the United States with the Pacific coast. Both companies built their railroads on lands given to them by the federal government. On May 10, 1869, the two lines met at Promontory Point, Utah. Mostly Chinese immigrant men had labored from Sacramento, California, across the Sierra Nevada mountain range to build 689 miles of the Central Pacific Railroad. In Utah they met the end of 1,086 miles of the Union Pacific Railroad, which Irish immigrants, newly freed African Americans, and Civil War VETERANS had labored to build.

This new transportation route ushered in large-scale migration to the West. Whereas prior roads and routes had

followed settlement, the sheer magnitude and power of the railroad preceded and even predetermined settlement patterns. Because the federal government gave chartered railroad companies lands along their railways, those companies in turn sponsored migration to western lands. The enormous amount of capital needed to build and maintain a railroad also caused the political and economic growth of the West. As a form of transportation, railroads not only moved passengers and goods but also the power center of the United States. Along with shifting political power to the West, the railroad industry strengthened connections between industry and the federal government. Federal troops breaking up the Great Strike of 1877 highlighted this partnership.

Besides a revolution in national transportation patterns, the 19th century also saw a change in local transportation. Urban centers such as San Francisco, Chicago, and New Orleans developed systems of cable and streetcars in the 1870s and 1880s. These urban transportation networks moved a growing number of people involved in emerging industrial and service jobs. In 1897 the nation's first subway system opened in Boston, a mere five years before New York's immense underground route started. Transportation in the 1900s followed, created, and spurred social, economic, and political changes.

See also PACIFIC RAILROAD ACT.

**Further reading:** David Haward Bain, *Empire Express: Building the First Transcontinental Railroad* (New York: Viking, 1999); George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968).

—Samantha Holtkamp Gervase

### **Tredegar Iron Works**

Tredegar Iron Works, located in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, was the only first-class iron foundry and rolling mill in the Confederacy at the outbreak of the CIVIL WAR. The only manufacturing plant in the South capable of producing iron plating, heavy artillery, and major ordnance, it played a critical role in providing the materiel needed for the Confederate war effort, especially in the early years of the war.

Tredegar was founded in 1837 by Francis B. Deane, who was a poor administrator. Within a decade, ownership of the plant had passed to the hands of West Point graduate Joseph Reid Anderson, who proved to be a more able manager than Deane, and by 1850 Tredegar was thriving. When the Civil War broke out, Anderson immediately ceased doing business with his Northern customers, and he offered to lease the plant to the Confederate government. The Davis administration refused and instead signed several long-term contracts for Tredegar's services. For the

first two years of the war, Tredegar supplied a substantial portion of the Confederacy's large guns and major ordnance. The iron plating used on the first of the Confederacy's IRONCLADS, the *Virginia*, was created at Tredegar. The plant also worked on experimental projects, including torpedoes and a submarine.

As the war went on, Tredegar was beset by a series of problems. The raw materials that the plant needed were in short supply, even at the outset of the war. The problem became much worse as the Confederate government opened its own iron foundries in other parts of the South. As a result, Tredegar rarely operated at anything more than one-third of its capacity after 1861. The plant also suffered from cash-flow problems, as payment for services was often late or not received at all. In fact, to keep afloat financially, Anderson was compelled to engage in blockade running. Labor shortages also had a negative impact on Tredegar's operations, as an increasingly large portion of the plant's labor force was compelled to take up arms for the Confederacy. By the end of the war, Tredegar had lost its reputation for quality, and Confederate chief of ordnance JOSIAH GORGAS openly complained of his dissatisfaction with the work being done there.

Once the war was over, Anderson moved quickly to keep Tredegar in business. He reestablished his contacts in the North, and he met privately with President ANDREW JOHNSON to arrange a pardon for himself and his partners. Tredegar's time as a dominant player in Southern industry was over, however. Steel was becoming America's metal of choice, and Tredegar did not have the money to convert its equipment to steel production, particularly after taking a huge financial loss during the panic of 1873. Tredegar scaled back its operations, finally closing its doors in 1958.

**Further reading:** Kathleen Bruce, *Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era* (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1968); Charles B. Dew, *Ironmaker to the Confederacy: Joseph R. Anderson and the Tredegar Iron Works* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966).

—Christopher Bates

### **Truth, Sojourner** (ca. 1797–1883) *abolitionist, women's rights activist*

Feminist, lecturer, and religious mystic, Sojourner Truth was born a slave in Ulster County, New York, around 1797. Her birth name was Isabella Baumfree, and she was the 11th of her parents' 12 children. She never knew most of her siblings, who had been sold and scattered. As a young woman, Isabella entered into a respectful but not loving marriage with another slave, Thomas, and bore five children, two of whom were sold away from her.



In 1826, a year before the state of New York outlawed SLAVERY, Isabella fled her owner and lived as a domestic in the home of the devout Van Wegenen family, taking their name. Here, Isabella embarked on her own mystical and religious journey following an epiphany in which Jesus revealed himself to her. Shortly thereafter, she left for NEW YORK CITY, although her children remained behind, indentured by law. Isabella took up residence with Elijah Pierson and his wife, Sarah, evangelists committed to saving prostitutes. Around 1833 Isabella and the Piersons joined a fringe religious group called Kingdom of Matthias, run by a fanatic named Robert Matthews. The sect lived communally near Ossining, New York, until it disbanded two or three years later following unfounded accusations of murder in the death of Pierson.

After the dissolution of the Matthias sect, Isabella returned to New York City and worked as a domestic. In 1843, unable to ignore her religious calling, she traveled east on foot to Long Island and Connecticut. Renaming herself Sojourner Truth, she preached her own doctrine of love, brotherhood, and temperance to anyone who would listen. Isabella was a powerful and, at six feet tall, imposing speaker.

In fall 1843 Truth landed in Northampton, Massachusetts, and found a place in a utopian commune dedicated to ABOLITION and women's rights, causes she adopted as her life's work. While there she met abolitionists WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON and FREDERICK DOUGLASS and became acquainted with feminist Olive Gilbert. Gilbert was inspired by Truth's story and was well aware of the passions it would generate among antislavery advocates. Because Truth was illiterate, Gilbert decided to write Truth's biography herself, and *The Narrative of Sojourner Truth* was published in 1850. The book covers Truth's early life in slavery and the triumph of her religious beliefs over her bondage. A publishing success, the book made Truth nationally famous.

In 1851 Sojourner Truth attended the Akron, Ohio, women's convention. In a powerful address to the convention, Truth argued that women were the equals of men. Baring her muscular shoulder for convention members to see, she said:

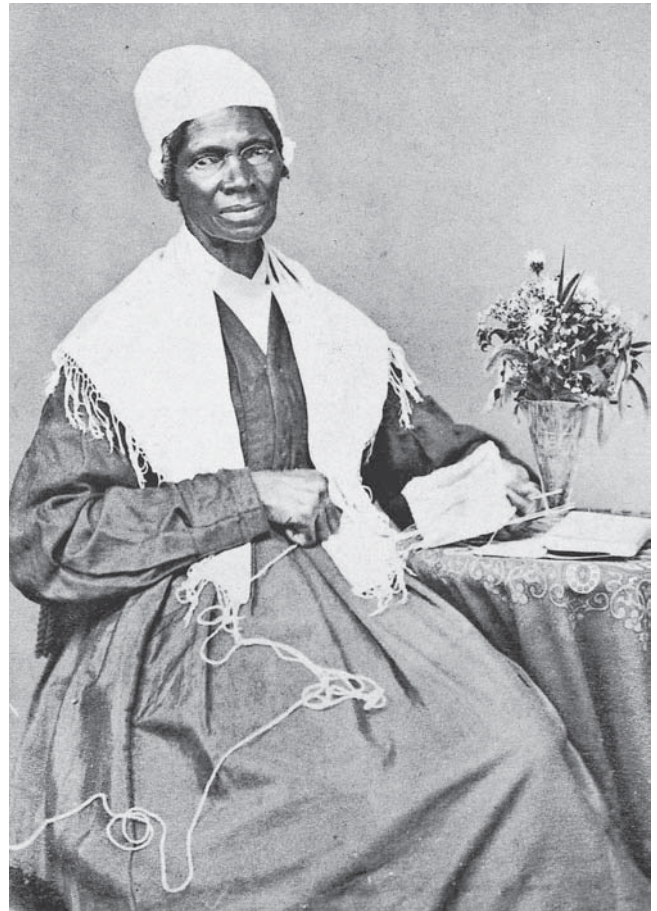
I have ploughed, and planted, and gathered into barns,  
and no man could head me! And a'n't I a woman? I  
could work as much and eat as much as a man—when  
I could get it—and bear de lash as well! And a'n't I a  
woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen 'em  
mos' all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with  
my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And a'n't  
I a woman?

Truth believed that her oppression stemmed as much from her gender as from her race. Thus, to her way of thinking,

both obstacles had to be overcome in order for African-American women to achieve freedom.

Truth's speech was very well received in many circles, particularly among feminists. Her fame established, Truth traveled widely, astonishing and electrifying audiences, singing, preaching, and advocating equality: "We'll have our rights, see if we don't; and you can't stop us from them; see if you can." In 1863 a pair of highly flattering essays by Frances Dana Gage and HARRIET BEECHER STOWE were published, and they transformed Truth into a monumental, almost mythical persona.

During the CIVIL WAR Truth raised money for volunteer AFRICAN-AMERICAN REGIMENTS. She frequently visited army camps in the North, earning money through lecturing and selling her autobiography. In 1864 ABRAHAM LINCOLN received Truth as a visitor at the White House. She remained in WASHINGTON, D.C., for a year, joining the National Freedmen's Relief Association to counsel newly freed people. She was also involved in a well-publicized lawsuit against a conductor who manhandled and injured her while throwing her off a streetcar.



Sojourner Truth (Library of Congress)

After the war was over Truth was active in finding jobs for individuals who had been displaced by the war. She advocated a plan of voluntary relocation of freedmen to Kansas to work their own farms on land provided by the government, but the plan came to nothing. She also opposed the FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT granting freedmen the vote on the grounds that it excluded women. In 1875 Truth moved to a commune among spiritualist Quakers (SOCIETY OF FRIENDS) outside of Battle Creek, Michigan. She remained there for the rest of her life, dying on November 26, 1883.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Olive Gilbert, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth: A Bondswoman of Olden Time* (1850; reprint, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Candace Press, 1996); Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (New York: Norton, 1996).

—Rebecca Dresser

**Tubman, Harriet** (ca. 1821–1913) *abolitionist, Union spy*

Liberator of slaves, spy, commando, nurse, and activist, Harriet Tubman was born a slave on a PLANTATION in Dorchester County, Maryland, around 1821. Tubman was one of Benjamin Ross and Harriet Greene's 11 children. Named Araminta at birth, Harriet worked as a domestic servant, but her housework did not satisfy her owners, who often complained about her. At the age of 13, Harriet was struck in the head with a heavy object by the plantation overseer and suffered a fractured skull. As a result of this injury, she suffered from periodic seizures for the rest of her life.

In 1844 Harriet married a free black man named John Tubman. Soon after, she learned that the financial troubles of her white owners might mean that members of her family would be forcibly separated. Tubman responded by fleeing bondage for PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, a Quaker (SOCIETY OF FRIENDS) stronghold where abolitionists were often willing to help escaped slaves. John Tubman did not join Harriet in Philadelphia, nor did he help her to rescue her family, which she did in stages over the next few years. Within two years of her flight Maryland plantation owners were offering \$40,000 for her capture. In the next 10 years Tubman helped almost 300 slaves reach freedom in the North, using the UNDERGROUND RAILROAD. John Tubman remarried and remained in Maryland.

When the CIVIL WAR began, Tubman committed herself to assist the Union effort. She believed strongly in both the value of a Union victory and the destruction of SLAVERY. Beginning in 1862, she traveled to various Southern states, including South Carolina, to spy and scout for the Union. Her work was made easier by a travel pass that Maj. Gen.



Harriet Tubman (Hulton/Archive)

David Hunter, commander of the Department of the South, provided for her. Harriet's experience with slavery and her efforts to free enslaved people during the prewar period made her an ideal envoy to plantation slaves, who welcomed her and gave her shelter and supplies. At times Tubman served as a nurse for freedmen who had fled North.

Following the war, Tubman continued her activism for the freedpeople while caring for her elderly parents and a number of orphans. Her Harriet Tubman Home for Indigent Aged Negroes was founded in the postwar period and continued after her death. In spite of Tubman's ceaseless efforts for the Union, it took her nearly three decades of struggle to obtain a pension of \$20 a month. This was the same amount given to most Civil War army NURSES, but it did nothing to recognize her many other wartime activities.

Tubman remained active in politics after the war as well. She was a dedicated supporter of African-American EDUCATION and suffrage, promoting the establishment of

freedpeople's schools in the South and attending many suffrage and equal-rights meetings. In addition, she helped to establish the AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH in upstate New York. It was not until 1869 that Tubman was recognized publicly for her work. In that year Sarah Bradford published *Harriet Tubman, The Moses of Her People*. Also in that year Tubman married Nelson Davis, a Civil War VETERAN.

In March 1913 Tubman contracted pneumonia, which eventually caused her death. A memorial plaque in her

honor was dedicated by Booker T. Washington in the town of Auburn, New York.

**Further reading:** Sarah H. Bradford, *Harriet Tubman, The Moses of Her People* (1869; reprint, Bedford, Ind.: Applewood Books, 1993); Catherine Clinton, *Harriet Tubman: The Road to Freedom* (Boston: Black Bay Books, 2005); Beverly Lowry, *Harriet Tubman: Imagining a Life: A Biography* (New York: Doubleday, 2007).

—Megan Quinn







## Underground Railroad

The Underground Railroad is the name that was given in the decades prior to the CIVIL WAR to a clandestine operation in which runaway slaves were aided in their flights to freedom in Canada or the far northern reaches of the United States by abolitionists. The term *Underground Railroad* can be traced to about 1830, when a slaveholder traveling through Ohio with his slaves saw them all escape their bondage and complained that one of them had “gone off on an underground road.” There had been efforts by the Quakers (SOCIETY OF FRIENDS) and others to help slaves escape as early as the 18th century. However, it was not until the 1830s, when abolitionism began to grow in strength, that the Underground Railroad, so named because it borrowed its operating terms, such as *lines*, *conductors*, *stations*, and *freight*, from RAILROADS, began to help fleeing slaves escape in growing numbers. Southern slaveholders became convinced that the Underground Railroad, which was also referred to as “the Liberty Line,” was an elaborate and well-crafted system that robbed them of their property; they, in fact, may have exaggerated its size and sophistication out of fear and frustration at their slaves running away on their own with little or no aid from abolitionists.

The number of slaves who did find their freedom by heading north out of SLAVERY is impossible to determine with any real accuracy. Estimates range from about 40,000 to near 100,000. It is possible, however, that the actual figures are much lower. The legend of an Underground Railroad was established during the postwar years by those seeking to associate themselves with the heroic struggle against slavery. Some Northerners wrote and spoke of the Underground Railroad as if it were a highly organized system of aiding fugitive slaves. The reality was less impressive. The help that slaves did receive from well-meaning abolitionists and others often came near the end of the former’s journey, when the greatest danger had already passed. The success of the Underground Railroad, such as it was, was often largely the result of the daring and bravery of indi-

vidual slaves. A slave, or a small group of slaves (usually, but not always, men, for women often were responsible for small children with whom travel under the circumstances would have been extraordinarily difficult), would escape from the PLANTATION on which they lived and hide out in nearby woods or swamps until it was safe to proceed toward the North. Once they crossed the Ohio River or some other major divide between North and South and passed into a free state, members of the Underground Railroad would meet up with them. In the southern parts of Delaware, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, there was an informal network that did help bring runaway slaves to freedom. Runaways would hide in the homes of the abolitionists, in attics, or in barns, and, on occasion, if they were men, dress as women to avoid detection. Many of the conductors on the railroad were free African Americans who often acted without much assistance from their white counterparts in the movement. Among the most prominent were Josiah Henson, Robert Purvis, William Still, and, the most well known of all, HARRIET TUBMAN. Some of these African Americans, including Tubman, had themselves escaped from slavery and willingly put themselves in harm’s way in trying to free others. Many of the leading white abolitionists were members of the Society of Friends, which had a long history of being involved in antislavery causes. Most slaves who did escape their bondage were from the states of the Upper South; it was much more difficult for enslaved people living in the Deep South to make their way through slave states and get to freedom.

One reason for these elaborate efforts by abolitionists is that the Constitution and then the 1793 Fugitive Slave Law gave slaveholders the right to cross state lines in pursuit of their slaves, and once they had apprehended them, to bring them before either a local, state, or federal judge. During these proceedings, persons charged with being runaway slaves had no rights, as they were denied a jury trial and the chance to speak on their own behalf. To make matters worse for African Americans, slave

catchers sometimes grabbed free blacks and dragged them into court as runaway slaves. In response to what many in the North considered outrageous abuses, several states passed personal liberty laws, which allowed those accused of being runaway or fugitive slaves their rights and also made it a crime to kidnap African Americans and try to force them into slavery. During the negotiations over what became the COMPROMISE OF 1850, Northern senators unsuccessfully tried to get protection for the rights of runaway slaves written into the bill. One of the bills that comprised the omnibus measure of 1850 was a fugitive slave law, one which appeased southern interests. It did so by giving United States marshals the authority to deputize any citizen needed to capture a slave and mandating significant sentences for anyone found guilty of harboring a runaway slave, among other provisions. And since it did not contain a statute of limitations, African Americans who had been in some cases free for decades suddenly found themselves forced back into slavery. All of this political activity spurred on those who worked along the Underground Railroad.

It may be that the Underground Railroad's greatest legacy was in giving hope to enslaved persons who heard of its successes, as well as causing anxiety to slaveholders who feared that their property might escape via the Liberty Line. Although it may be that the Underground Railroad belongs to legend as well as to history, its existence in the decades prior to the Civil War demonstrates the rising determination of the enslaved to be free and the courage of those who helped them along the way.

See also ABOLITION.

**Further reading:** Henrietta Buckmaster, *Let Me People Go: The Story of the Underground Railroad and the Growth of the Abolition Movement* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941); Larry Gara, *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad* (Kingsport, Tenn.: Kingsport Press, 1961).

—Jason K. Duncan

## uniforms

The purpose of uniforms is to be able to identify military personnel from civilians, to distinguish one army from another, and to promote group solidarity. In 1861 variety was the rule on both sides, but by 1863 the UNION ARMY and the CONFEDERATE ARMY required a “standard” uniform for soldiers.

Their families, local communities, or states provided early Union and Confederate volunteer regiments with uniforms. This ensured that every unit had a slightly different look and quality of dress. Moreover, many regiments wore colorful costumes, following in the tradition



Portrait of a Confederate soldier in uniform (Library of Congress)

of the “Zouave” French units who fought in Algeria. Some famous regiments who wore the outlandish uniforms were the 164th New York, the 114th Pennsylvania, and Coppen’s Louisiana ZOUAVES. Although blue was the official color of the Union soldier, many units decided that they preferred the “cadet gray,” the color of the student’s uniform at the UNITED STATES ACADEMY AT WEST POINT, which was also adopted by the Confederate government for its armies. Similarly, many Southern soldiers took to wearing blue trousers. The FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN in July 1861 resulted in confusion, chaos, and tragedy when both Billy Yank and Johnny Reb wore blue *and* gray, and both had similarly outfitted Zouave units in the battle. Afterward, the respective governments struggled mightily to provide their soldiers with standardized uniforms that could be easily differentiated in battle. The Union succeeded in this task; the Confederacy failed miserably.

A top priority for the U.S. War Department was providing an efficient and cost-effective means of clothing the soldiers in the field. Overwhelmed by the demand at first,

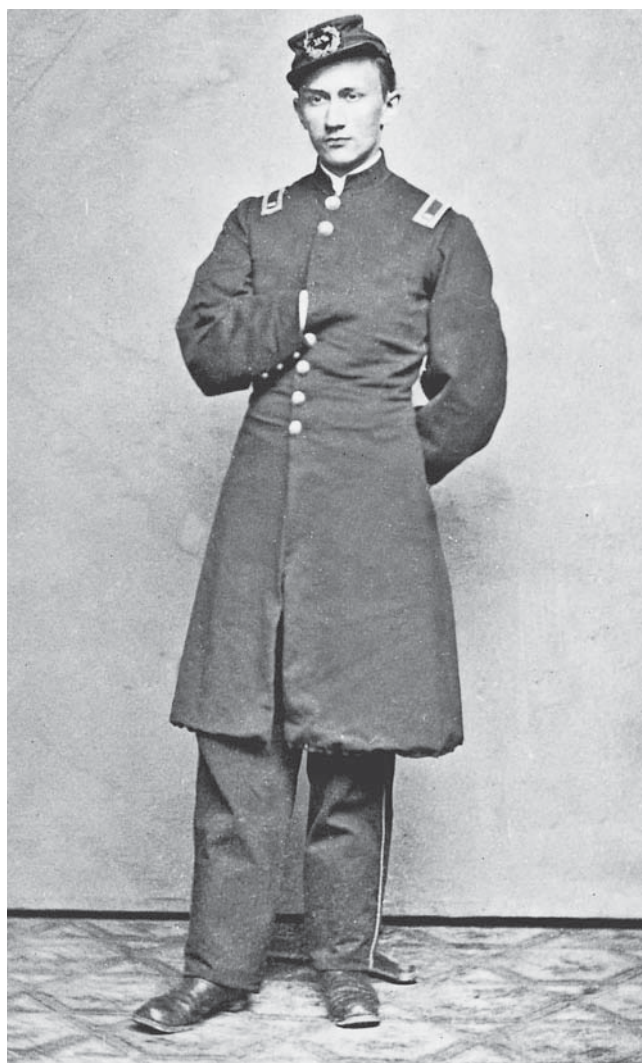
the War Department gave contracts to clothing suppliers who, seeking to make huge profits at the expense of the government, delivered uniforms of such poor quality that they fell apart almost immediately. *Shoddy* was the name given to the clothes that were made out of scraps of shredded wool. One Northern reporter observed: "Soldiers, on the first day's march or in the earliest storm, found their clothes, overcoats, and blankets, scattering to the wind in rags, or dissolving into their primitive elements of dust under the pelting rain." Outraged parents demanded immediate reform. A change of leadership in the War Department and congressional oversight brought an end to most corrupt practices by regularizing the awarding of contracts. The Northern textile (especially wool) and shoe industry flourished during the wartime years, working at full capacity.

By 1863 all federal troops were adhering to the *Regulations for the Uniform and Dress of the Army of the United States*. The standard uniform for the infantry was a dark blue frock coat, a shorter "sack" coat, a muslin or wool shirt, wool socks, and light blue trousers. Soldiers were issued a tall black hat with a wide brim called a "Hardee hat" after Maj. William J. Hardee. Most, however, preferred the softer, smaller, forage cap (called the *kepi*, a French word for cap) on the march. For their feet Union men wore sturdy shoes called brogans (a Gaelic term for shoe). These simple clothes, together with the haversack, knapsack, canteen, blanket, tent, cartridge box, belt, bayonet, and musket made up the typical soldier's kit for war. Colored piping sewn on uniforms indicated branch of service: red for artillery, yellow for cavalry, and dark blue for infantry. Distinctions of rank were highly elaborated by decoration on coats and hats. Even after 1863 there was a wide variety in dress. Union soldiers in the western theater, for example, liked to wear informal slouch hats with wide brims to keep the sun out of their faces. To the end of the war, the Scottish-born men of the 79th New York Infantry, also known as the "Highlanders," insisted on wearing their kilts for formal marches!

Article 47 of the *Regulations for the Army of the Confederate States* listed the uniform of the Southern soldier: a gray double-breasted frock coat, a muslin or wool shirt, dark blue trousers, brogans, and a kepi cap or slouch hat. Like their Union counterparts, Confederates wore a more informal coat, called a "shell" jacket for its lightweight quality. Facing on coats and jackets indicated branch of service: red for artillery, yellow for cavalry, and light blue for infantry. Various buttons and insignia identified officers, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted men. For example, generals, lieutenant generals, major generals, and brigadier generals wore three gold stars on the collars of their frock coats. Although in theory the uniforms and equipment of the Confederate armed forces—army, navy, and marines—

closely resembled those of the United States, in reality the difference was great because of the tremendous problem with supply in the South.

The Confederate national government strove to provide their armies with clothing, food, and arms. A largely rural and decentralized ECONOMY, however, could not be transformed overnight to meet the huge demands of war-time. Still, by 1863 factories in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia were churning out clothes that were of varying quality or just downright inferior. Sometimes, the wrong dyes were used in the cloth, and the uniforms could be gray, blue, or brown. Many, if not most, COMMON SOLDIERS by the middle of the war depended on their families to send them HOMESPUN clothes, often with the distinctive butternut yellow-brown coloring—hence one of the nicknames for Confederates became "butternuts."



Portrait of a Union soldier in uniform (Library of Congress)



By 1863 Union control of huge amounts of Confederate territory created severe shortages of supplies and hampered distribution. Often, Confederates had no shoes, and their uniforms were in tatters. One soldier wrote: "I have no seat in my pants, the legs are worn out, have had but one pair of socks which are worn out completely, my shirt is literally rolled off me." By the end of the CIVIL WAR Union soldiers were the best clothed, fed, and shod in the world. Confederate soldiers, on the other hand, suffered from all kinds of privations, including the lack of a decent set of clothes.

**Further reading:** Ron Field and Robin Smith, *Uniforms of the Civil War: An Illustrated Guide for Historians, Collectors, and Reenactors* (Guilford, N.C.: The Lyons Press, 2001).

## Union army

The Union army comprised the U.S. Army of full-time, "professional" soldiers and, quite literally, an army of volunteers. Through the course of the CIVIL WAR, those volunteers were largely CITIZEN-SOLDIERS who fought not only the most costly but the bloodiest war in U.S. history. The Civil War's victorious army, after a bumpy start, became the largest and best supplied military force the world had ever witnessed. By May 1865 the soldiers in the Union army numbered more than 1 million and the total count of men who served three-year enlistments was more than 2.3 million. Most important, the Union army was responsible for reuniting the nation and liberating 4 million slaves. The American polity deeply distrusted standing professional forces, so in peacetime the army tended to be extremely small compared with those of European nations. Even during periods of hostility, such as the War of 1812 and the Mexican-American War (1846–48), the bulk of American land forces were drawn from state militias and volunteers, as opposed to regulars. The Civil War was no exception to this long-accepted practice. In sum, while the Union army may have rivaled contemporary European forces in size and combat performance, it managed national security within the confines of uniquely American political precepts.

Creating and sustaining a formidable army to oppose Southern rebellion was initially very difficult. The North, like the South, was totally unprepared to train and supply the large number of men needed to fight what quickly became a total war. In early 1861, the regular army (the U.S. Army) consisted of only 15,259 enlisted men and 1,000 officers. After FORT SUMTER, President ABRAHAM LINCOLN called for 75,000 militia volunteers to serve for three months. Northern GOVERNORS offered 300,000 more troops and were responsible for providing equipment and UNIFORMS. A bigger challenge yet was the reten-

tion of experienced leaders. Nearly one-third of all officers trained at the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT resigned their commissions to serve the Confederacy. Many of the senior Union officers with lengthy military experience, such as Gen. IRVIN MCDOWELL and GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN, were professional and talented, as were many former graduates such as ULYSSES S. GRANT and WILLIAM T. SHERMAN. It nonetheless took a long period of trial and error to weed out incompetent officers at every level of command. By 1863 the bulk of Union leadership were seasoned veterans and highly capable in their appointed duties.

It must also be acknowledged that the North had the advantage in terms of industry and population. At the time of the outbreak of civil war, close to 90 percent of the nation's overall industrial capacity was located in the North, with additional factories, mills, and foundries added as the conflict unfolded. This disparity put far greater materiel resources at the Union's disposal: cannon, rifles, and related battlefield impedimenta, and also transportation. The Union could quickly manufacture steam engines and railroad tracks in whatever quantity deemed necessary. The disparity in population was equally telling. The North had a 2.5:1 advantage in numbers overall, while the ratio of those eligible for military service was 4.28:1. But in 1861 the nation lacked the administrative expertise and strategic direction to harness these advantages.

In May 1861, without explicit authority from Congress (which was not in session until July), Lincoln increased the size of the regular army to just over 22,000 soldiers. At the same time Lincoln called for 42,000 three-year volunteers. Lincoln believed his position as commander in chief allowed for his actions without congressional approval. In July 1861, Congress affirmed Lincoln's extralegal decisions and authorized a VOLUNTEER ARMY of 500,000 men. Congress also called for 300,000 more men for three-year terms. As the war progressed, volunteering declined dramatically. Though the North had a large population advantage over the South (18,936,579 to 5,447,646, with 4,559,782 versus 1,064,193 of draft age), the terrible costs of the war made young men reluctant to join the army. Losses through battlefield casualties, DESERTION, illness, and expiration of enlistment made it imperative to continuously add more soldiers. Congress issued another call for 300,000 volunteers in July 1862. The low response led to the BOUNTY SYSTEM, which offered cash inducements to enlist.

By spring 1863 the Union army was in need of still more men. On March 3, Congress passed the Enrollment Act calling for the first forced CONSCRIPTION in U.S. history. By its terms states were required to fill a certain quota of troops based on population and previous enlistment numbers. Any state failing to fill its quota would be subject



to a draft. The Enrollment Act also contained a provision that allowed a person to hire a substitute or pay \$300 to avoid service. More than 125,000 men took advantage of this. These exclusions reinforced the deep-rooted but erroneous notion among the immigrant working class that the Civil War was a “rich man’s war and a poor man’s fight.” Resentment exploded into the NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOTS in 1863. After several days of rioting, Union combat troops were brought in from Gettysburg to put an end to the chaos.

Ultimately, draftees were not an especially important part of the Union army. Fewer than one man in 10 was a draftee, and beyond that, draftees tended to be poor soldiers. This is not to say that the draft was not important to the Union army, however. At the same time that Congress created the draft, it also established a series of incentives, mostly cash bonuses, in exchange for voluntary enlistment. Any soldier who was drafted forfeited these bonuses, while also carrying the stigma of being a draftee. It is impossible to say how many soldiers entered the ranks voluntarily in order to collect their enlistment bounty and avoid being drafted, but certainly their number was substantial.

The Union army, like its Southern counterpart, was divided into three parts: infantry, cavalry, and artillery, with by far the largest numbers in the infantry. In 1861 the cavalry and artillery forces were attached to infantry. By the end of the Civil War, in raw numbers, the North had raised 2,040 regiments, of which 1,696 were infantry, 272 cavalry, and 72 artillery. The Union army totaled more than 1 million men under arms, while the CONFEDERATE ARMY mustered out about 180,000 men in uniform. This overwhelming advantage of manpower played a role in helping the Union to win the war. However, the three-pronged structure with both the artillery and cavalry forces attached to infantry units did not allow for the most efficient use of the large number of federal recruits early in the war effort. Especially troublesome was the fact that this structure often did not allow concentration of cavalry and artillery where it was most needed. In 1862 the army converted a number of cavalry regiments into three formal mounted brigades. By 1863, a cavalry corps was finally formed, consisting of about 12,000 mounted men. The new arrangement helped the Union cavalry compete better in battle against their Confederate counterparts. In that same year, artillery batteries were placed under direct control of corps commanders. This change gave army commanders more flexibility and less administrative work in carrying out tactical plans.

At first, the federal government had difficulty finding competent officers. Seven of the nation’s eight military colleges were located in the South, providing many trained officers for the Confederate army. Also, political considerations were important in the appointment of officers. At the beginning of the war, Union soldiers, like their Confederate

brethren, elected their officers. This disastrous practice was ended after 1862; nevertheless, politics continued to play an important role in appointment of generals, many with little military experience. By making these political appointments, Lincoln gained support for the war among key constituencies, particularly Democrats and certain ethnic groups.

Some political appointees did quite well. For instance, JOSHUA LAWRENCE CHAMBERLAIN of Maine and John Logan of Illinois built distinguished service records. The majority were not nearly as well regarded. Two generals from Massachusetts, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER and NATHANIEL P. BANKS, and California’s John C. Frémont performed poorly in combat, costing many men their lives. Indeed, “political” generals performed so badly at the FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN in July 1861 that Congress was compelled to set up a watchdog group, the JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR, which, among other things, established minimum qualifications for Union officers. Also, as the war went on, many of the Union’s more incompetent officers were weeded out or resigned.

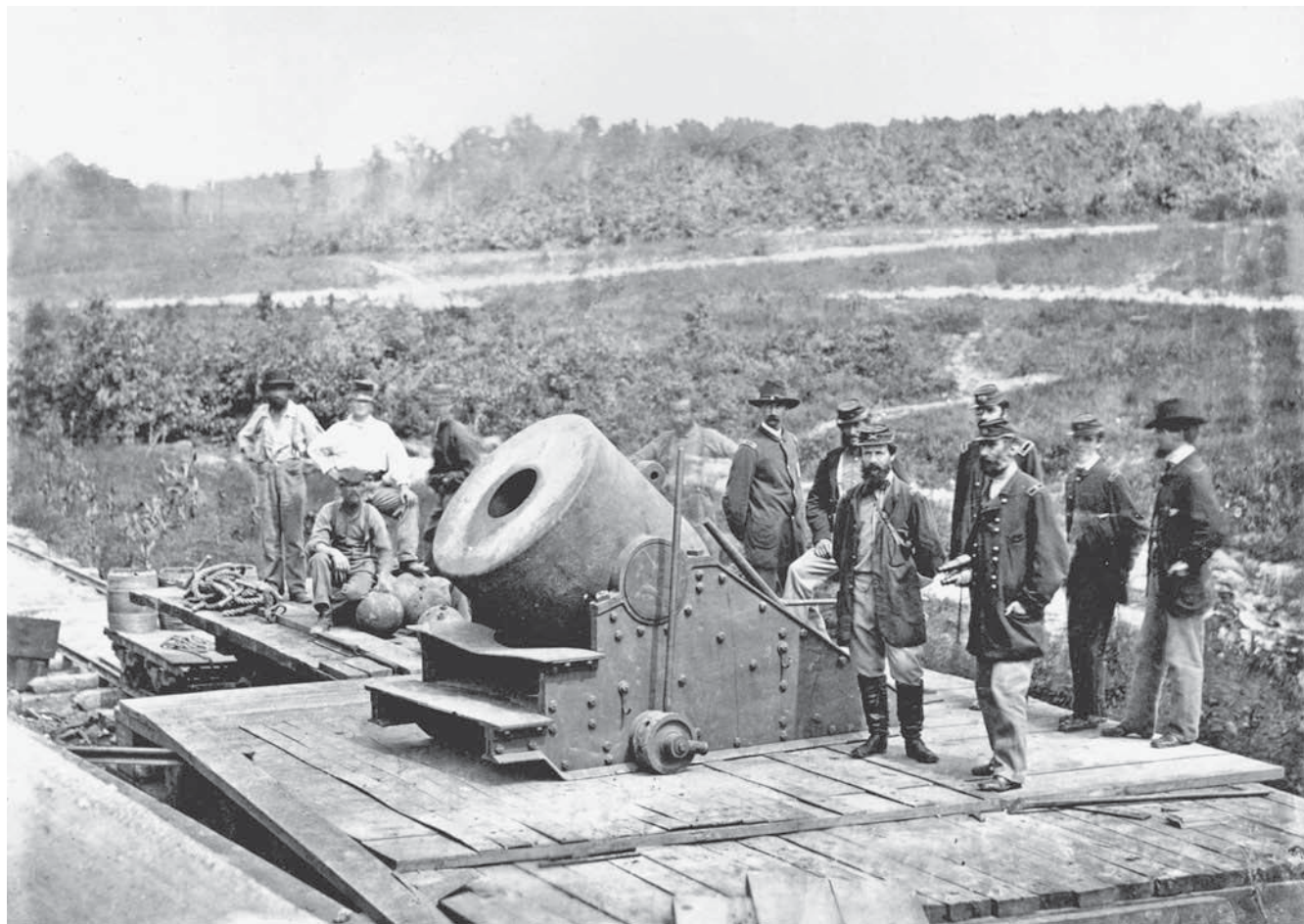
In the end the formal structure of the Union command proved superior to that of the Confederacy and evolved into a modern, stafflike organization of hundreds of men, including a section of military intelligence operatives. Union officers took great risks during the Civil War. These men were 15 percent more likely to be killed in battle than an enlisted man. Generals had the highest risk for combat death; with a 50 percent greater chance of being killed than privates. Overall, Union soldiers were actually almost two and a half times more likely to die from disease than from combat during the war. Over the course of the war, the 2.5 million men who served in the Union army suffered 110,070 combat deaths and nearly 250,000 deaths due to DISEASE AND EPIDEMICS.

As Union leaders dealt with manpower issues, they also addressed the difficulties of supplying a force as large as the U.S. Army. At that time, an army of 100,000 men required 2,500 supply wagons, 35,000 animals, and an average of 120,000 pounds of supplies a day. The lack of army provisions early in the war forced states to make concerted efforts to provide troop provisions until the federal government could organize its Quartermaster Department and reimburse the states. This approach to provisioning the army led to a variety of problems in the first year. For example, Northern soldiers wore UNIFORMS of many different colors, which often made distinguishing friend from foe difficult. The resulting confusion ultimately led to the standardization of Union uniforms after the First Battle of Bull Run to light blue trousers and dark blue blouses. An important exception to this was the two regiments of army sharpshooters, considered one of few consciously elite formations in the Union army, who were clad in distinctive green uniforms.

There were many logistical issues to be resolved in order to keep Union troops provisioned. Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON did an excellent job of directing and planning the various elements of the conflict for the North. The Union Quartermaster Department, ably led by General Montgomery C. Meigs, worked with Stanton to supply the Federals in an effective and efficient fashion. Despite notable glitches, after 1863 the soldiers of the Union army enjoyed better food, TRANSPORTATION, clothing, arms, equipment, supplies, and health care than any other army up to that time. The ability of the United States to acquire, train, equip, and deploy 1 million men over an area larger than western Europe reflected both the Industrial Revolution in warfare and modern military management. This feat presaged the achievements realized on an even larger scale during World War I.

Since volunteers formed the vast majority of the Union forces and came from local and state levels, regiments were named chronologically by state (for example, the First Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment was the first infantry

regiment formed by the state of Pennsylvania). Some units were formed based on ethnicity; besides African-American troops, Scottish, Irish, and German units were also created. Training of these raw recruits first took place in designated camps in each state. The men were “mustered” into service with the U.S. volunteer army and began their lives as soldiers. Inexperienced officers, who often learned the elements of drilling by reading a military manual, emphasized regimental drill and moving from formation to fighting. Most volunteers, especially early in the war, hated the confines of camp life and were eager to get into the battle before the fighting was over. This anxiousness to get out of training camp and get into action before the “fun” was over was probably fostered by the training regime. Neither mock combat nor a meaningful amount of target practice took place. After the initial training period, the men would board trains or go on ships by regiments for transport to their assigned destinations. The Union army’s basic organizational unit was the company (numbering 100 men), with 10 companies making up a regiment (1,000 men



Union troops about to fire a field gun during the Civil War (Hulton/Archive)

per regiment for infantry and 1,200 for cavalry), five regiments for a brigade, three brigades for a division, and three divisions for a corps. Several corps formed an army. The Union infantry (foot soldiers) forces consisted of 16 armies whose names were based on major rivers, such as the Army of the Potomac and the Army of the James in the eastern theater and the Army of the Tennessee, the Army of the Ohio, and the Army of the Cumberland in the western theater. Each army generally consisted of 35,000 to 40,000 men, although the Army of the Potomac was much larger.

An army's numbers and organizational units fluctuated during the war. When a company became depleted due to illness, casualties, and desertions, new recruits were generally not brought in to fill spots beside veteran members, which ultimately diminished combat performance and increased casualties. Among the problems with adding new enlistees to battle-experienced units was the fact that existing regiments had built up through their service together an esprit de corps. Battle-hardened units frequently resented raw recruits, feeling that the "new guy" would threaten the efficiency of the unit. George Templeton Strong, in a LETTER home, went so far as to call new recruits "an undisciplined mob." There was always a question whether a new recruit could really be trusted in the heat of the fight to give his all—to die for his comrades. This was especially important late in the war, when the quality of enlistees was questionable, since bounties were on the rise and "bounty jumping" (signing up, collecting the bounties, and then deserting only to sign up in another area to collect more bounties) became fairly common. On the political level, states preferred to build new companies and new regiments rather than fill gaps in existing units because there was more prestige in bringing more regiments to the Union effort, and each new regiment allowed the appointment of new officers, which was a convenient way to reward political colleagues. Generally then, new companies were formed with higher-ranking officers appointed by politicians. Thus, throughout the conflict, companies were usually at reduced strength. More companies were combined to make up regiments than army regulations specified. Therefore, some brigades consisted of up to 10 regiments, greatly complicating the logistics of army administration.

Because the government relied so heavily on civilian support (both in terms of political support and enlistments) for the war, public opinion and politics played a substantial role in determining Northern strategy. The key Union military strategy developed by Winfield Scott and refined and added to by McClellan, Grant, and others, can be summed up briefly in three slogans: the "Anaconda Plan," "On to Richmond," and "Total War." The first advocated encircling the Confederate coastline and rivers, thereby choking off its economic lifelines; the second called for moving quickly and decisively to defeat the Southern armies in

the field and capture the Confederate capital in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA; and the third employed the first two with the added goal of destroying the Confederate civilian will to fight.

McClellan's 1862 PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN, in part, was conceived of as a way to satisfy the Northern populace's demand for a strike against the heart of the Confederacy. When the Confederate army invaded Pennsylvania in 1863, Northern military leaders knew that fast action was necessary because Northern citizens would not abide by an invasion of their soil. The failure of the spring OVERLAND CAMPAIGN in Virginia drove Northern morale to new lows and placed Lincoln's reelection bid in jeopardy. In fall 1864 Sherman made haste to capture ATLANTA in time for the presidential ELECTIONS. Sherman's success undoubtedly clinched Lincoln's reelection.

Waging war in a democratic republic required the consent and support of the people through elections. Lincoln, as both president and commander in chief, had to lead the Union's war effort and explain and defend his policies to citizens. The political and military were thus closely connected in the Civil War. When the Union suffered severe battlefield losses, as it did during 1861 and 1862, drastic measures had to be taken to sustain the morale of the Northern people and achieve military aims.

One measure that heavily influenced the fate of the Union armies and the future of the United States was Lincoln's issuance of the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION on January 1, 1863. Although an earlier congressional act had allowed African Americans to join the Union army, the proclamation was Lincoln's first official endorsement of the idea and resulted in the formation of the United States Colored Troops (USCT). USCT forces totaled 178,975 by the end of the war and made up 12 percent of the U.S. Army. More than half of these soldiers were recruited in the South, so their addition to the Union army had the added benefit of draining the South of needed manpower. Indeed, in August 1863 Grant wrote Lincoln that the "freedom of Negroes is the largest blow to the Confederacy yet."

By war's end no fewer than 120 black infantry regiments, seven cavalry regiments, and 12 heavy artillery regiments were in service. In December 1864, these AFRICAN-AMERICAN REGIMENTS were segregated into their own XXV Corps under Gen. Godfrey Weitzel. Black troops performed valiantly in the battles during the siege of Petersburg in summer 1864, and in 1865 they were among the very first troops to occupy the former Confederate capital. On balance, African Americans performed exceedingly well when well led and given a chance to fight, and their presence helped tip the military manpower advantage in the North's favor. It was not until spring 1865 that Southern leaders even considered the arming of slaves to fight on



the Confederacy's behalf. When such a law was passed, it exerted no impact on the outcome of events.

With the surrender of ROBERT E. LEE's Army of Northern Virginia in April 1865 at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA, the Civil War came to a close, but the Union still had a formidable army in the field. The peaceful demobilization of the Union army was accomplished in record time after Appomattox. Once again, the uniquely American notion of massed "citizen soldiery" backed by a small core of professional VETERANS had risen to the occasion and prevailed in wartime. Before the soldiers went home to their respective states, a huge celebration was held in WASHINGTON, D.C. For two days, May 23–24, 1865, the men of the Army of the Potomac and Sherman's western armies marched in the "Grand Review" down Pennsylvania Avenue to cheering crowds. Proud of their role in winning the war, freeing the slaves, and ensuring the continuance of the United States of America, Union army veterans after the war formed the Grand Army of the Republic, a powerful group that exerted considerable influence on the political and economic life of the reunited nation.

See also COMMON SOLDIER; HOMEFRONT; SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY; TACTICS AND STRATEGY.

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—Scott L. Stabler

## Union League

The Union League was a REPUBLICAN PARTY membership organization that originated in the border states of the North in 1862 to promote patriotism in support of the Northern cause. Based on the model of fraternal organizations so common in 19th-century America, over the course of the war the league spread to many areas in the North and moved South with Northern soldiers and found support among freedmen, freedwomen, and white yeoman farmers who were dissatisfied with the Confederacy. Later in RECONSTRUCTION the League was significant for its part in organizing African-American political action.

In the North, the league bolstered sagging enthusiasm for the war effort. Many prominent citizens joined

branches in cities like New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. In Midwestern states like Illinois the Union League movement stood strongly against rising COPPERHEAD sentiment in 1862 and 1863. For example, the St. Louis branch of the league resisted any attempts to bring Missouri into the Confederate column. Like one of its apolitical counterparts, the Free Masons, the league offered many social benefits. The men who belonged were known for their undying devotion to the Union cause. The Union League played an important role in mobilizing support for President ABRAHAM LINCOLN's reelection bid in 1864.

In the South the league played an equally important role as it became a stronghold of the Southern Republican Party, while educating newly freed slaves about the democratic process and helping them to harness their newly acquired public power. The Southern branch was considered radical in its positive approach to African-American political participation in the South. There was strong resistance among white Southerners to any association enrolling freed slaves into an oath-bound association for the express purpose of making voting Americans of them. The National Council of the Union Leagues, headquartered in WASHINGTON, D.C., attempted to set a moderate tone for the Southern branch. The council, which funded the league, wished to establish a strong Republican Party in the South and to encourage political involvement for freedmen. At the same time, it wanted the Southern Union League to restrain its militancy, in order to avoid alienating white Southerners.

While the Union League functioned primarily as a political machine for the Republican Party, it provided education and social and economic support as well. The league hosted wide-ranging political discussions and debates and promoted schools and churches on the local level. It also petitioned against local officials hostile to freed members and supported African American claims for VETERANS' benefits. Finally, the Southern league offered African Americans advice in financial planning, EMPLOYMENT, legal issues, and politics.

Despite the enthusiastic participation of black Southerners in the Union League, the organization's existence was short-lived. Its obvious support of African-American political and social rights alienated interested white farmers. By 1869, membership numbers were in decline. The KU KLUX KLAN targeted league members and meetings as part of a campaign to disenfranchise freed people. That violence, in combination with the rise of REDEMPTION governments in the South, spelled the end of the Union League in the South. The failure of the Union League is reflective of the larger failure of Reconstruction to successfully establish a place for Southern African Americans and the Republican Party in the South's political landscape. The Union League clubs in the North continued to flourish.

ish, however, and remained stalwart in their support of the Republican Party to 1900.

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—Ruth A. Behling

## Union navy

The Union's strategy in the CIVIL WAR demanded a great deal of its navy. And despite starting the war with few ships of any value, the navy eventually proved up to the task, playing a critical role in helping the Union to achieve victory. "At all the watery margin, they have been present," noted President ABRAHAM LINCOLN toward the end of the war. "Not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, the rapid river, but also up the narrow muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp, they have made their tracks."

When Union secretary of the navy GIDEON WELLES took office, he found himself with a fleet that was entirely inadequate for the Union's needs. The navy had only 90 ships, and the vast majority were either unseaworthy, in faraway ports, or still under construction. Only 14 ships were actually in U.S. waters and ready for service, and the majority of these were not warships. So, like the Confederacy, the United States was largely forced to build its fleet from scratch. Ultimately, this proved a hidden blessing for the Union navy, because it benefited from a revolution in naval warfare begun in the two decades preceding the war. Steam engines replaced sails. Ships began to be plated with iron, which could withstand cannon fire much more effectively than wood. Powerful new guns and ordnance were developed. Welles was determined to piece together a large navy that utilized all of these new technologies, and backed by the economic power of the North, he was able to do so—building, purchasing, or leasing hundreds of vessels. Eight months after the war started, the Union navy had grown to 264 ships. A year later the number was at 427, and by the end of the war there were 671 ships on the Navy Department's register, making the Union navy the largest in the world.

Of course, so large a navy could not have been put out to sea without a substantial number of sailors. Unlike the Confederacy, the Union navy never had problems finding enough manpower. The officer corps, numbering 1,457 men at the start of 1861, did suffer some defections to the South. However, more than enough talented officers

remained, among them DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT, Samuel F. Du Pont, DAVID DIXON PORTER, and JOHN A. B. DAHLGREN. The ranks of enlisted men grew rapidly throughout the war, from 7,600 in 1861 to 51,000 in 1865. Included in this number were African Americans, who were able to serve in the navy throughout the Civil War.

The Union navy had three main tactical objectives during the war. The first, and best known, was a blockade of Southern ports. The purpose of the blockade was to seal off Southern ports on the Atlantic coast, Gulf coast, and MISSISSIPPI RIVER so that the Confederacy would be unable to export cotton or import the goods that were needed to survive and to wage the war. This was not an easy job, for the Confederacy had more than 3,000 miles of coastline to be patrolled. In the early years of the war, when the Union navy lacked ships, the blockade was dismissed by critics as a "paper blockade." However, as the navy expanded and its officers grew more experienced over the course of the war, the blockade became fairly effective. In 1860, the last year before the Civil War began, the South exported 816 million pounds of cotton. In 1864 exports of cotton totaled less than 3 million pounds. The Confederacy kept no official records on how many ships trying to run the blockade were captured or destroyed, but Union officials placed the number at about 1,500.

The Union's navy's second goal was to protect Northern shipping routes from Confederate commerce raiders. The commerce raiders were generally operated by the CONFEDERATE NAVY and were responsible for capturing or destroying as many Northern merchant ships as possible. The fight against the commerce raiders was the most difficult of the Union navy's responsibilities during the Civil War. First, the open seas are almost impossible to patrol. Perhaps more importantly, the fight against the commerce raiders led to diplomatic conflicts. The most significant of these occurred in November 1861, when Capt. Charles Wilkes of the USS *San Jacinto* boarded the British steamer *Trent* and removed two Confederate agents on board. For a period of time, Britain threatened war over what came to be called the *Trent* affair. Eventually, the British were mollified, and war was averted. Union navy commanders learned their lesson, and though occasional missteps occurred throughout the war, none were as serious as the *Trent* affair. Meanwhile, the navy had a few notable successes in fending off the commerce raiders. The most prominent of these was the June 1864 sinking of the *ALABAMA*, the Confederacy's most successful raider.

The Union navy's final objective was to assist the army in its operations against the Confederacy. In some cases, the navy was able to capture key strategic locations largely on its own. Such was the case with New Orleans and Charleston. More often the navy supported the UNION ARMY's forces on land. Naval bombardment played an





Sailors relaxing on the deck of the USS Monitor (Library of Congress)

important role in capturing Fort Donelson, Vicksburg, and Mobile Bay. Although regularly participating in engagements being fought on land, the Union navy rarely engaged in traditional warship-versus-warship naval warfare. This is because the Confederate navy would generally retreat from confrontations between warships, unable to afford the losses that such battles brought. The Union navy's most famous engagement did involve combat between warships, however. The Battle of Hampton Roads pitted the ironclad USS *Monitor* against the ironclad CSS *Virginia*. Although IRONCLADS had been in used in naval combat before the Civil War, Hampton Roads marked the first time that an ironclad faced off against another ironclad. The battle ended in a draw and had no impact on the overall course of the war. Nonetheless, Hampton Roads received a great deal of attention in both North and South and throughout the

world. This helped usher in an arms race among the naval powers of the world, as they scrambled to convert their fleets to ships made of iron and, eventually, steel.

Despite its humble beginnings, then, the Union navy came to play an important role during the Civil War. It helped disrupt the ECONOMY of the South, protected the economy of the North, and provided critical assistance for the Union army. The Union navy must be given a substantial portion of the credit for the defeat of the Confederacy.

See also MISSISSIPPI RIVER WAR; MONITOR-MERRIMACK; VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

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—Christopher Bates

### United Daughters of the Confederacy (1894– )

The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) was founded in 1894 in Nashville, Tennessee. Like so many women's organizations of the late 19th century, including the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, its purpose was primarily commemorative. Its membership was made up of the wives and daughters of the men who had fought for the Confederacy, and its mission was to perpetuate the memory of the Southern cause and to honor the soldiers who had defended it. Inevitably, of course, its membership was also entirely white and, unlike the troops who had actually fought the war, its ranks included a disproportionate number of the South's elite, patrician class who had a vested interest in maintaining the social and racial status quo.

The UDC was the driving force behind many of the South's most visible commemorative activities in the late 19th and early 20th century. It was also a key proponent of the "LOST CAUSE" ideology of the South. The UDC sponsored observances of Memorial Day, raised money for war memorials, and established museums and relic rooms throughout the South. Perhaps the organization had its most far-reaching influence, however, in its campaigns to censor Southern textbooks to ensure that only a pro-Confederacy view of the CIVIL WAR was taught in Southern schools. Due in large part to the United Daughters of the Confederacy, several generations of Southern white children were thus offered no alternatives to the view that SLAVERY was a benign institution, that SECESSION was a just and holy cause, and that RECONSTRUCTION had visited a great wrong and indignity upon an innocent South. It remains active to date.

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—Teresa Barnett

### United States Army Corps of Engineers

The United States Army Corps of Engineers had its origins in the Revolutionary War and found a permanent home in 1802 when President Thomas Jefferson signed the bill

founding the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT, New York. Jefferson believed strongly that the training of military officers in a democratic republic should take place within a curriculum that emphasized mathematics and engineering, after the French model. Until 1866 the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers ran West Point, and the top students of each class—such as ROBERT E. LEE and GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN—were always assigned to the corps.

From 1818 to 1863 there were actually two corps. The first, called the Topographic Engineering Corps, explored and mapped territory and rivers and designed and built harbors and other improvements. Lee, who graduated second in his 1829 class, was assigned to oversee construction of the St. Louis, Missouri, harbor. The second part of the corps, named the Corps of Engineers, was concerned with building defensive fortifications. An excellent example of the latter was FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA, begun in the late 1850s and still uncompleted when it was captured by Confederate forces in April 1861.

The fact that the graduates of the top military academy in the country were trained in engineering guaranteed that the corps would play an important role in the major wars of the 19th century, including the CIVIL WAR of 1861–65. The skills that corps members learned proved indispensable in wartime: mapping out the operational theaters, building and rebuilding bridges and rail tracks, assisting in the planning and preparation of sieges, and designing and building field fortifications. Thus, engineers were trained to be experts in both the offensive and defensive modes. As the first "modern war," the Civil War featured complex engineering feats such as Gen. McClellan's and Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT's sieges at Yorktown and Vicksburg, respectively. Over the years, the two sections of the engineer corps were joined permanently, and its numbers expanded in 1863. After 1865 the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers helped map and develop the western territories and assisted in building the transcontinental RAILROADS.

See also CARTOGRAPHY.

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### United States Christian Commission (1861–1866)

Reflecting both the deeply religious nature of 19th-century American life and a strong commitment to voluntarism, the United States Christian Commission (USCC) was formed to provide a variety of social services to the men who served

the Union as soldiers. Like many other philanthropic organizations, the USCC mobilized civilian (and especially female) energies throughout the CIVIL WAR to ease the burdens of the troops in both material and spiritual ways.

When large numbers of volunteers began to leave for the war, many Northern Christian activists became convinced that soldiers' lives should be made easier. In November 1861, at a conference in PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, George H. Stuart, a wealthy merchant and staunch Presbyterian, was named the first president of the newly created United States Christian Commission. He remained president for the life of the Commission.

The USCC's original plan was to assist the chaplains of the armed services in their daily work. To do this, the USCC settled on eight unifying principles: compassion, voluntarism, benefits for the body and soul, personal distribution, personal ministrations, nationality (patriotism), cooperation, and respect for authority. Through adherence to these principles, the commission believed that it could assist in the war effort without interfering with military authorities.

An extensive administrative organization supported the USCC's work. There was an executive committee, station agents and field representatives served in the field, and the local organization was broken into branch commissions and ladies commissions. The executive committee oversaw the USCC's daily affairs. Initially, it was composed of only 12 members, but the number grew to 55 as the UNION ARMY grew and the extent of the need became apparent.

Station agents, often called ministers, oversaw the activities of the field representatives, volunteers who personally aided soldiers in the field. While field representatives worked directly with soldiers, station agents monitored USCC work for a particular army corps or a locale near the front line. Station agents also organized supplies, ensuring that each field representative had what he or she needed and directing aid first to those areas that needed it most.

The branch commissions and ladies commissions both served as fund-raising and public relations arms for the USCC. Although their ultimate goal was the same, they each used their own methods. Whereas the branch commissions primarily focused on raising cash for the war effort, the ladies commissions organized women to prepare food, clothing, and gifts for distribution to Union soldiers. According to the 1866 final report of the USCC, the ladies commissions consisted of 266 members in 17 states and had raised more than \$200,000 during the course of the war. One of the most-notable members of the ladies commissions was Annie Wittenmyer. Concerned about the diet of soldiers in Missouri, she established the first kitchen in the Cumberland Hospital in Nashville, Tennessee. Wittenmyer's diet was a vast improvement in both health and satisfaction, providing nutritious, tasty foods.

The backbone of the USCC, however, was its delegates, or field representatives. These men and women went to the field equipped with a memo book, instructions, food, bedding, utensils, and publications of various kinds. Each delegate worked for an average of 38 days and was responsible for all the supplies sent to that particular spot, in addition to giving assistance to the surgeons and chaplains where necessary. Even though the delegates' primary responsibilities were to assist the chaplains in their pastoral and evangelical work, they often acted as lay ministers, librarians, NURSES, social workers, and worship leaders. By the end of the war more than 5,000 people had served as delegates for the USCC.

President ABRAHAM LINCOLN's administration recognized the positive effect of the USCC on behalf of Union troops. Lincoln offered support to the commission wherever possible during the war. In addition, Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT welcomed the commission and gave its members free access to his men.

The assistance provided by the USCC was invaluable. By the end of the war, the commission had raised more than \$6 million to benefit the army. Delegates distributed 1.5 million Bibles and 1 million hymnals. In addition, they preached more than 58,000 sermons, held 77,000 prayer meetings, and assisted the soldiers in writing more than 92,000 LETTERS to their families and friends.

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—Megan Quinn and Fiona Galvin

### United States Military Academy at West Point

The United States Military Academy at West Point, located about 40 miles north of NEW YORK CITY, provided the trained officer corps for the United States's small professional army in the 19th century. West Point occupied a location of key strategic interest during the Revolutionary War. George Washington made his headquarters there in 1779, and one year later Benedict Arnold, then in control of the encampment, tried to surrender the area to the British. Though soldiers have lived at West Point continuously since the Revolution, the founding fathers of the United States were initially apprehensive about establishing a military academy because they feared a standing army.

In 1776 George Washington, prodded on by Gen. Henry Knox, undertook an early initiative on behalf of the academy. Washington believed that the United States must not become dependent on foreign officers for instruction. In 1790 the U.S. government purchased the land that



would form the basis of the academy. Alexander Hamilton proposed that the academy be divided into four schools: a school for teaching military fundamentals, one school for teaching engineering and artillery techniques, another school for the techniques of cavalry and infantry, and finally a school for naval techniques. Yet at the end of President John Adams's administration, West Point had but 12 cadets and one teacher. Thomas Jefferson opposed the academy early on, but while he was president, his attitude softened, and West Point was officially founded under his administration in 1802. Jefferson realized that the academy was his best hope of a national university.

In 1815 James Madison stipulated that West Point should have an independent superintendent, a role previously fulfilled by the chief engineer. Indeed, the academy had long privileged its engineers (the UNITED STATES ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS was founded by the school), and this bias would continue under the direction of the new superintendents. In fact, it was not until 1866 that regulations permitted the superintendent to come from other branches of the army. In 1816 Madison's secretary of war introduced a four-year curriculum at West Point with general examinations held in July and September.

These examinations created West Point's famous ranking system. The ranking system determined the corps to which cadets went after graduation. Those who ranked highest went into the engineering corps; those who ranked lowest went into the infantry. All facets of cadet life contributed to the construction of these rankings. For instance, during the limited free time made available by the new curriculum, most cadets accumulated demerits for infractions of West Point's extremely strict regulations. However, one of the most notable alumni of the academy, ROBERT E. LEE, never once collected a demerit. Most cadets found the spartan existence at West Point unpleasant. The artist James McNeill Whistler and the poet Edgar Allan Poe are two of West Point's most notable antebellum dropouts.

From 1817 to 1833 the most important man at "the Point" was Superintendent Sylvanus Thayer. Before becoming superintendent, Thayer went to France, where he purchased the books that became the building blocks of the academy library, the nation's first and, at the time, only military library. Thayer also abolished West Point's annual summer vacation in favor of "summer encampment." From then on, cadets would spend their summers living in tents and practicing unceasing drills. Only after the third year would cadets be able to enjoy a brief summer "furlough." In 1828 Thayer instituted the policy that a recommendation from a member of Congress be a prerequisite for gaining entry to the academy, a policy that continues today. Under Thayer's direction, the academy continued to emphasize the production of engineers, as the young nation still found itself very much in need of members of this profession.

One historian has labeled the years between 1840 and 1860 the "golden years" of West Point. It was during these years that a high percentage of the CIVIL WAR's best-known generals attended the academy. West Pointers dominated the United States's successful campaign in the Mexican-American War (1846–48) and continued to dominate the command of both armies during the Civil War. The most important battles of the Civil War featured West Point men commanding on *both* sides.

During the early years of the war, RADICAL REPUBLICANS attacked West Point for having produced a pro-Southern army aristocracy. These Republicans had some telling evidence at their disposal: A majority of competent Confederate generals were West Point graduates, as was the president of the Confederacy himself. In addition, the West Point alumni who remained loyal to the Union tended to be conservative Democrats such as Gen. GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN. These Republican critics also asserted that the UNION ARMY showed too much favoritism to West Point graduates. It was true that some West Point alumni rose in rank in spite of their mediocre performance. Nevertheless, by 1863, Union armies commanded by West Point graduates had won enormous victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, and the anti-West Point mood quickly faded.

See also GETTYSBURG, BATTLE OF; VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

**Further reading:** Sidney Forman, *West Point: A History of the United States Military Academy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950); John C. Waugh, *The Class of 1846, from West Point to Appomattox: Stonewall Jackson, George McClellan and Their Brothers* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1999).

—Chad Vanderford

### United States Naval Academy at Annapolis

The United States Naval Academy was established in 1845, nearly half a century after the founding of the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1802. Originally known as the Naval School, it was located at Fort Severn in Annapolis, Maryland. Franklin Buchanan was appointed its first commandant, and in its first year the institution had seven faculty members and 200 students, most of whom had already served in the navy for five years or more. The original curriculum at the Naval School was modeled after that of West Point and included philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, ordnance, and navigation.

The school evolved a great deal in the 1850s when it was rechristened the U.S. Naval Academy and the curriculum was expanded. All students were required to wear UNIFORMS, and a system of demerits for midshipmen who

misbehaved was established. The academy's campus was enlarged, and the faculty was expanded by adding both civilian and military instructors. By the late 1850s, the Naval Academy was one of the world's finest institutions for training naval officers.

When the CIVIL WAR broke out, the Naval Academy was only 15 years old, so it did not have nearly as much of an influence on the Civil War as its army counterpart at West Point. While most of the high-ranking Union and Confederate generals were trained at West Point, most of the war's prominent naval officers started their careers long before the U.S. Naval Academy had been established, and so they were not educated at the institution. The war did have a pronounced influence on the academy, however. With the outbreak of hostilities, a number of the academy's students and faculty, including its commandant Franklin Buchanan, resigned to join the CONFEDERATE NAVY. Shortly thereafter, fears that the Confederacy might attack the location at Annapolis prompted the academy to relocate to Newport, Rhode Island, for the duration of the war.

When the Civil War ended, the academy returned to Annapolis, and Rear Adm. DAVID DIXON PORTER was named commandant. Porter continued to expand and modernize the academy's facilities and curriculum. In the 1870s, the school experimented briefly with desegregation, but not one of the three African Americans admitted was able to graduate. By the 1890s the Naval Academy had become the sole training ground for all of the United States's high-ranking naval officers.

**Further reading:** Jack Sweetman, *The U.S. Naval Academy: An Illustrated History* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1979).

—Christopher Bates

### United States Sanitary Commission

Formed in response to the rapid growth of the U.S. Army during 1861, the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC) consisted of Northerners on the HOMEFRONT



Men posing in front of the USSC lodge in Washington, D.C. (Library of Congress)



mobilized to provide medical care, supplies, and other necessities for the soldiers in the UNION ARMY. Inspired by the British Sanitary Commission that was active during the Crimean War (1853–56), this group hoped to improve the poor hygiene of the camps and the health of the soldiers while assisting the wounded and coordinating the distribution of food and supplies to the men in blue.

The commission's network consisted of tens of thousands of mostly female volunteers in numerous soldiers aid and LADIES AID SOCIETIES. Many of the societies were affiliated with the Woman's Central Association for Relief, which provided the majority of the hands-on work at the local level. At the national level, the USSC was led by Henry W. Bellows, the president, along with George Templeton Strong, the treasurer, and FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED, the secretary. These men were dedicated to creating an organization that not only assisted the Northern soldiers but also educated people about the importance of discipline and sacrifice in society. While the hierarchy of the organization was male, the "foot soldiers" of the USSC's campaign were generally women. The women of the commission used grassroots, locally organized female activism to promote the USSC's goals. During the four years of the CIVIL WAR the commission's men and women raised at least \$7 million in cash and were responsible for distributing \$15 million worth in supplies.

One of the commission's most reliable sources of income came from the numerous community fairs they held in the years during and after the war. These "sanitary fairs" were held in small and large cities throughout the North and usually lasted for 10 to 14 days. During this time schools and businesses would close to allow the entire community to participate in the exhibits, shops, and entertainment presented at the fairs. The fairs raised money by charging admission, collecting donations, and selling toys, crafts, Civil War memorabilia, and food. The first large-scale sanitary fair, put on by the Northwestern Sanitary Commission in Chicago, raised more than \$100,000 in October 1863. In April 1864 New York's "Metropolitan Fair" netted \$1 million for the USSC. When all was said and done, the fairs raised approximately \$4 million, a significant portion of the U.S. Sanitary Commission's total budget.

The USSC served as an on-call support group for areas that suffered the most during the war. Following large battles where the military's medical staffs and the local citizens could not adequately provide for the sick and dying soldiers, the U.S. Sanitary Commission would be called upon to give them assistance.

Upon arrival at the scene, the U.S. Sanitary Commission helped set up temporary hospitals and provide medical assistance to the wounded. The commission's volunteers also wrote LETTERS for the soldiers to their loved ones at home, read the Bible to the soldiers, and provided moral support to the wounded. The volunteer work and

assistance provided by the USSC enabled many of the wounded soldiers to recover and continue fighting with their regiments.

Despite the philanthropic nature of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, there were many who disagreed with the management philosophies of the commission's administrators. Most of the complaints focused on excessive control by the administrators, who were accused of spending the organization's dollars frivolously.

It is important to note, however, that the vast majority of the men, women, and even children who volunteered for the commission did so out of the goodness of their hearts and for the benefit of their fellow compatriots. A number of smaller women's organizations and aid societies created to assist the soldiers were eager to help the USSC in every way possible.

The U.S. Sanitary Commission was the most recognizable philanthropic organization during the Civil War. Dedicated to improving the well-being of the Union soldiers, the commission provided invaluable medical assistance and moral support that enabled the soldiers to continue their fight to save the Union. The USSC also helped develop a nationally active women's community, elements of which went on after the Civil War to promote other agendas such as women's suffrage and temperance.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Megan Quinn

### **United States v. Cruikshank** (1876)

The origins of *United States v. Cruikshank et al.* began on Easter Sunday 1873, when more than 100 African Americans were murdered in Grant Parish, Louisiana. The Supreme Court's ruling in the *Cruikshank* case curtailed federal powers of enforcement, set back the push for black suffrage in the South, and made it clear that voting, if you were African American, was a great risk.

In 1870 Republicans in Congress pressed for enforcement legislation for the FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT, which had guaranteed that the right to vote would not be denied because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Pursuant to this, Congress passed the ENFORCEMENT ACTS. The first of these acts, passed in May 1870, outlined

federal voting protection policies. While Congress acted to shore up the voting rights of black Republicans in the South, REDEMPTION of Southern governments was beginning. Throughout the South, Democratic candidates were stepping forward to reclaim their local, state, and regional politics from the Republicans. The KU KLUX KLAN and other white supremacist groups gained members and were determined to keep African Americans from exercising their Fifteenth Amendment right to vote.

In this climate, the election of 1872 in Louisiana was a tense affair. Even in 1871, white Republicans in Grant Parish were harassed and attacked. In Grant Parish the local results of the election were hotly contested, and the issue of African Americans voting was certainly a concern because they voted for the Republican candidate. Both the Republican and the Democratic candidates claimed victory and established governments including a judge and a sheriff. Republican William P. Kellogg's appointees sealed off the town of Colfax to ward off the Democrats who claimed victory for their candidate John McHenry. While the political debates raged, rumors began flying of African Americans attacking white citizens on the outskirts of town, and then there were subsequent rumors of white peoples' plans to counterattack. For protection, African Americans began congregating at the Colfax Courthouse. By Easter Sunday of 1872, there were approximately 400 African Americans camped around the courthouse. The crowd of African Americans drew a crowd of some 300 armed white people to the courthouse. They were led by the local sheriff, C. C. Nash, a Democratic appointee who had earlier been charged with attacking white Republicans. Nash ordered the African Americans to disperse. When they refused, he gave the women and children 30 minutes to leave the area. When the time was up, the shooting commenced. The African Americans who tried to flee were chased down and killed if they were caught. The remainder barricaded themselves in the courthouse. They were eventually forced out and those that ran were also hunted down and killed if caught. By the late afternoon the battle was over, and 50 African Americans had been arrested. Nash promised that they would be released the next day. Instead of release, however, they were marched along isolated roads and executed in small groups. One man, Benjamin Brimm, survived his wounds and crawled away, and he became the chief witness in the government's case.

Upon news of these events, the U.S. attorney general ordered an investigation. Government investigators estimated that by the end of the day of fighting, at least 105 African Americans had been killed. There were 98 defendants charged in the case, but only nine were taken into custody to stand trial under the case name of *United States v. C. C. Nash and Others*. They were each charged with violating sections of the Enforcement Act. It took two trials to acquit one defendant completely, find five defendants

not guilty of any charges, and convict three men of conspiring to block the "free exercise" of constitutional rights. No one was found guilty of any of the murder charges.

The case came to the Supreme Court as *United States v. Cruikshank et al.* (Cruikshank being one of the three convicted defendants) in 1874. In the decision of the Court in 1875, Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite declared the charges against the three men invalid because nowhere in the indictment did it specifically charge that the actions taken by the defendants were taken because the victims were African American. Waite stated that while one "may suspect that race was the cause of the hostility," it could not form the basis of a conviction since it was not in the indictment. Waite stated that since there was "no allegation" that the attacks were "done because of the race or color of the persons conspired against," then "[w]hen stripped of its verbiage the case as presented amounts to nothing more than that the defendants conspired to prevent certain citizens of the United States . . . from enjoying the equal protection of the laws of the state and of the United States. . . ." Waite also argued that the "Fourteenth Amendment prohibits a State from depriving any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; but this adds nothing to the rights of one citizen as against another." Thus, since it was, according to the Court, merely a matter of individuals acting against other individuals and not the state of Louisiana acting against the individuals, the Enforcement Acts did not apply.

The Easter massacre at Colfax Courthouse in Grant Parish was the bloodiest of RECONSTRUCTION violence. When the Supreme Court was finished with the case, the practical enforcement of voting rights was left to local and state authorities. This meant that in the South, African Americans were essentially without recourse if any individual moved to keep them from voting. *Cruikshank* and what has come to be its companion case in legal history, *United States v. Reese* (which upheld poll taxes as legitimate voting requirements), sealed the fate of African Americans wishing to exercise their Fifteenth Amendment rights in the South. In keeping African Americans from the polls, these cases also doomed the REPUBLICAN PARTY in the South, because the party depended on the votes of the freedmen to stay in power. The decision in *Cruikshank*, though applauded by Southern and Democratic newspapers, did agree that the Fifteenth Amendment protected voters against discrimination based on race. Thus, it was a technical victory for those who wished to affirm that suffrage was a constitutional right that could not be abridged on the basis of race. But the message of the Court seemed clear to African Americans in the South: Voting is a risky business that may cost you your life.

**Further reading:** Robert M. Goldman, *Reconstruction and Black Suffrage: Losing the Vote in Reese and Cruikshank* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001).

—Ruth A. Behling and Jennifer A. Berman

# V



## **Vallandigham, Clement L.** (1820–1872) *lawyer, politician*

Lawyer and U.S. congressman, Clement Laird Vallandigham was the most prominent antiwar Democrat, or COPPERHEAD, during the CIVIL WAR. Vallandigham was born on July 29, 1820, in New Lisbon, Ohio, to Presbyterian minister Clement L. Vallandigham and Rebecca Laird. Young Clement was educated at New Lisbon Academy and at Jefferson College (now Washington and Jefferson College). After a brief stint as a teacher, he studied law and was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1842. Vallandigham quickly became a successful lawyer, ultimately forming a lucrative partnership with Thomas J. S. Smith in Dayton, Ohio. In 1845 he began his political career with his election to the Ohio legislature. He was reelected the following year and chosen as Speaker of the House. In 1847 Vallandigham married Louisa A. McMahon, with whom he had two sons.

During the 1850s, Vallandigham continued to practice law while also dabbling in a number of other professions. For two years, he was editor of the Dayton *Empire*. He served in the Ohio state militia, eventually rising to the rank of brigadier general. He also made a number of attempts to break into national politics. In 1852 and 1854 he was defeated as a candidate for the House of Representatives. Despite his losses, Vallandigham was able to make a name for himself as a Democrat in the Jeffersonian mold, who believed strongly in the strict construction of the Constitution and in STATES' RIGHTS. He expressed support for the Mexican-American War (1846–48) and the Compromise of 1850, and he condemned ABOLITIONISTS. Although Vallandigham was personally opposed to SLAVERY, he felt a special kinship with the South, which had been home to many of his ancestors. Finally, in 1858, Vallandigham was elected to the House. He was reelected in 1860, pledging that he would never “vote one dollar of money whereby one drop of American blood should be shed in a civil war.”

When war finally came, Vallandigham continued to be vocal in his opposition, and he called for peace, even if it

meant letting the Confederacy remain independent. He was roundly and bitterly denounced by Republican politicians and newspaper editors. For example, in June 1861, the editor of the *Louisville Journal* called Vallandigham “A Traitor, A Monster, A Disgrace to his Ancestry, A Shame to Posterity. . . .” The charge that Vallandigham had betrayed the Union effectively destroyed his chances for reelection in 1862, ending his tenure in Congress. In his final speech to the House, delivered on January 14, 1863, Vallandigham reiterated his call for peace and warned that the states of the Northwest might join the Confederacy in seceding if the war was allowed to continue.

Ousted from his seat in Congress, Vallandigham decided to run for the governorship of Ohio on an antiwar platform. In the spring 1863, Gen. AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE, commander of the Military District of Ohio, issued an order that said it would no longer be acceptable to criticize publicly the Northern war effort. Vallandigham defied the order and was arrested and charged with “expressing treasonable sympathy.” Convicted by a military tribunal, he was sentenced to imprisonment at Fort Warren for the duration of the war. Shortly thereafter, ABRAHAM LINCOLN commuted the sentence and banished Vallandigham to the Confederacy. He remained there for a short time before relocating to Canada.

As a result of his conviction, Vallandigham became a powerful symbol for Northerners who opposed the war. The Sons of Liberty, a group of roughly 250,000 Confederate sympathizers in the North, rallied to Vallandigham's cause and named him supreme commander of their group. Meanwhile, angry Ohio Democrats gave Vallandigham their nomination for GOVERNOR. Ohio Republicans were incensed by the choice. A soldier in the 99th Ohio expressed the sentiments held by many of his comrades when he wrote, “Is the Democratic party so short of good men that they were compelled to take up a man justly banished for his treasonable practices?” In the election, Vallandigham was soundly defeated.

In 1864 Vallengham appealed his conviction to the Supreme Court, which declined to hear the case, arguing that civilian courts have no jurisdiction over military tribunals. Despite losing his case, Vallengham nonetheless returned to the states. Lincoln chose to ignore this, not wanting to draw any more attention to Vallengham. At the Democratic convention in 1864, Vallengham helped to write the DEMOCRATIC PARTY's platform. In it, he and his followers were able to include a plank calling for the immediate cessation of hostilities. GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN, the convention's choice as its presidential candidate, quickly repudiated the peace plank. That, along with renewed Union successes on the war front, effectively destroyed Vallengham's power.

After the war Vallengham sought to rebuild his political career. He came to accept the end of slavery, and he said he hoped to work on bridging the gap between the Republican and Democratic Parties. In 1867 Ohio Democrats denied him an opportunity to run for the U.S. Senate, and Vallengham returned to his law practice. In 1872 he was hired to defend a man accused of murder. While doing a demonstration of how the victim had been shot, Vallengham inadvertently shot and killed himself. He won the case posthumously.

**Further reading:** Frank L. Klement, *The Limits of Dissent: Clement L. Vallengham and the Civil War* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998).

—Christopher Bates

### **Vance, Zebulon B.** (1830–1894) *politician, lawyer*

Zebulon Baird Vance was GOVERNOR of North Carolina during the CIVIL WAR. Vance was born in Buncombe City, North Carolina, on May 13, 1830. He studied law at Washington College in Tennessee and the University of North Carolina. In 1854 he was elected to the state legislature, and six years later he won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives as a Whig. He was reelected in 1858.

Vance became closely identified with the Constitutional Unionist party of JOHN BELL, whom he supported for the presidency in 1860. It was only after the election of ABRAHAM LINCOLN that he urged North Carolina voters to support a SECESSION referendum. Following the outbreak of war in April 1861, he formally cast his lot with the Confederacy. Vance initially served as colonel of the 26th North Carolina Infantry and was active in several battles around RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, and in the Peninsula. He was the Conservative Party's candidate for governor in September 1862, and he handily defeated his opponent.

As a wartime governor, Vance was obliged to carefully balance his commitment to the centralized Confederate administration of President JEFFERSON DAVIS, which

demanding increasing supplies of men and matériel, against the needs of his state, which had to sacrifice to supply these. In a military sense he directly helped the Confederate cause by supplying 120,000 North Carolina soldiers, the largest contingent from any Southern state, and he took measures to improve the state's textile and munitions capabilities. But he also ignored Davis's decrees to suspend HABEAS CORPUS, and he fervently championed individual rights.

Following the Confederacy's collapse in 1865, Vance resumed his law practice. In 1870 he was appointed to the U.S. Senate but was not allowed to take his seat. He lost a senatorial contest in 1872, but in 1876 he was reelected governor. Vance did return to the U.S. Senate in 1879, and he served there until his death in WASHINGTON, D.C., on April 14, 1894. A charismatic politician and a talented orator, Vance is regarded as among the Confederacy's best wartime governors.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### **Van Lew, Elizabeth** (1818–1900) *Union spy*

Born to a wealthy and prominent family in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, Elizabeth Van Lew became one of the Union's most valuable spies, providing military and tactical information throughout the CIVIL WAR. Van Lew was born on October 17, 1818, to John and Elizabeth Van Lew. John Van Lew was an important Whig leader in Richmond, and his home was frequently full of local politicians whose presence certainly influenced the development of Elizabeth's own political philosophy. She was educated in PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, a city that was a center of antislavery rhetoric and activism in the antebellum period.

Returning to Richmond from Philadelphia, Elizabeth was committed to ABOLITION. When the war began, the unmarried 42-year-old Van Lew pleaded her loyalty to the Union, despite the obvious dangers of holding this view in wartime Richmond. Van Lew and her mother first helped the Union effort by assisting prisoners of war at Libby Prison, bringing them food, books, and clothing. Her family's prominence meant that Van Lew was privy to a great deal of military information, and she devised a variety of ways to convey that information to Union leaders. When Richmond fell to the Union on April 2, 1865, Van Lew recognized the value of the documentation left behind. Rushing to Confederate offices, she collected paperwork and records, conveying them to Union authorities.



After the war President ULYSSES S. GRANT recognized Van Lew's contribution to the Union effort by appointing her postmistress for Richmond. Van Lew lost her appointment in 1877 when Rutherford B. Hayes became president but regained it under Grover Cleveland. By the 1880s, however, Elizabeth's life in Richmond had become sad and lonely. Her mother dead, Van Lew had few friends among the local population. Although her aid to the Union had been of great use, few citizens of Richmond approved of her activities. In addition, she had incurred large debts during and after the war and had no way to repay them or to support herself.

Van Lew was rescued by the family of one of the Union soldiers she had assisted at Libby Prison. Relatives of Col. Paul Revere repaid her kindness and generosity by supporting her financially for the rest of her life. In the 1870s Van Lew's activist nature found an outlet through her ardent support of the women's rights movement. She died in Richmond in 1900.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Elizabeth R. Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy: The True Story of Elizabeth Van Lew* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

—Megan Quinn and Fiona Galvin

## veterans

At the end of the CIVIL WAR there were nearly 2.5 million men who had donned the blue or the gray. This was vastly more veterans than the combined total of all of the other American wars fought up to that time. These men had naturally formed bonds that they were reluctant to abandon, and the war had not been over for very long before groups of former soldiers began to seek out ways to come together at local, state, and national levels.

Former Union soldiers were the first to organize. Soon after the end of the war, several officers gathered in Philadelphia and founded the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, known also as MOLLUS. MOLLUS was never a particularly large organization because of its stringent membership requirements: only Union officers and their eldest male sons could join. However, MOLLUS inspired numerous imitators with more relaxed standards. Among them were the Society of the Army of the James, the United States Soldiers and Sailors Protective Society, the United States Service Society, and the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR). The GAR was the single most important Civil War veterans' organization, numbering 400,000 members at its peak in the 1890s. The GAR was able to enroll so many members because it allowed all Union veterans to join, including African Americans. Children and wives of veterans could also be a part of the organization.

Confederate soldiers soon followed the lead of their Union counterparts. In 1870 several former Confederate officers gathered in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, and founded the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia. Similar groups, mostly with limited memberships, were established in the other former Confederate states over the course of the next decade. The most prominent of these groups was the Association of the Army of Tennessee, the Grand Camp of Confederate Veterans of Virginia, and the North Carolina Society of Ex-Sailors and Soldiers. Finally, in February 1889, these groups came together to form the United Confederate Veterans, or UCV. The UCV founded two auxiliary organizations, the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE CONFEDERACY; both are still in existence. At its height in the early 1900s, the UCV counted 80,000 members among its ranks.

Both Confederate and Union veterans organizations served a variety of purposes in the lives of their members. Perhaps most obviously, they provided camaraderie. Most veterans posts held regular social meetings. They also organized regular reunions of regiments or brigades. Often, the UCV and GAR would coordinate on "campouts," where entire armies would reunite on the important battlefields on the anniversaries of the battles fought there. Campouts were held on the 25th and 50th anniversaries of Gettysburg, for instance.

In addition to their role as social organizations, veterans groups were also powerful political lobbies. The GAR was arguably the single most influential interest group in the United States in the years between Appomattox and the turn of the century. If a candidate for state or national office wished to be elected on the Republican ticket, the GAR's support was often critical. For example, of the men who won presidential ELECTIONS between 1868 and 1900, only Democrat Grover Cleveland was not a member of the GAR. Veterans expected concessions in exchange for their support. In the years immediately after the war, they pushed for harsh terms for the readmission of the South, and they were staunch supporters of Radical RECONSTRUCTION. Later, the GAR focused on securing federal funding for veterans' hospitals and pensions. A succession of pension bills was passed in the 1870s and 1880s, each increasing the amount being paid to former soldiers or relaxing the requirements for pension eligibility. By the mid-1890s, pension payments to Union veterans and their families accounted for 40 percent of the entire federal budget.

Confederate veterans did not have the political leverage that their Union counterparts enjoyed, but they nonetheless focused on the same issues. The FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT prohibited former Confederates from receiving federal benefits, so veterans groups in the South



were compelled to turn to their state governments and private entities for support. Some Southern states, notably Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina, established relatively generous pensions for their veterans. Other states, including Texas and Louisiana, provided grants of land for former soldiers. In 1885 a combination of public and private funding allowed for the founding of Lee Camp, the first soldiers home for Confederate veterans. Ultimately, there were a total of 16 soldiers' homes that provided care for more than 20,000 indigent and disabled ex-Confederates.

As the GAR and UCV worked to provide health and pension benefits for veterans, they also strove to shape the memory of the war. Veterans were interested in placing the bravery and sacrifice of the COMMON SOLDIER at the heart of the narrative. To that end, the GAR, the UCV, and their auxiliary support groups undertook a variety of initiatives. Each organization commissioned history textbooks and lobbied for their use in schools so that children could be taught the "correct" version of what had happened during the war. Both organizations played a role in establishing Memorial Day as a national holiday, and both the GAR and the UCV erected countless MONUMENTS to soldiers and their leaders across the country, particularly at important battlefields and at cemeteries. Roughly 500 monuments were built by Southern veterans' groups, while approximately 5,000 were unveiled by the GAR and its allies. The majority of these monuments were built between 1880 and 1910.

In 1896 William McKinley became the last veteran of the Civil War to be elected to the presidency. By the start of the 1900s the Civil War was beginning to seem distant in the minds of Americans, and a majority of veterans had already passed away. When the 50th anniversary campout at Gettysburg was held in 1913, it was widely understood that the event would be the final gathering for the men who had fought in the Civil War. By the time of World War I the number of living veterans had been reduced to a few thousand, and by the time the GAR disbanded in 1949, it was down to less than a hundred. The last Civil War veteran, Albert Woolson, died in 1956, 95 years after the first shot was fired at FORT SUMTER, SOUTH CAROLINA.

See also LOST CAUSE, THE.

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—Christopher Bates

### Vicksburg campaign (November 1862–July 1863)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, hearing the news of the July 4, 1863, surrender of Vicksburg, Mississippi, to Union forces, exclaimed: "The father of waters again goes unvexed to the seas!" The Confederate loss of Vicksburg and, with it, the Union's control of 250 miles of the MISSISSIPPI RIVER to Port Hudson, Louisiana, was a huge blow to the fledgling Southern nation. Vicksburg was a vital economic and military link between the Confederacy and its western states of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. History records Maj. Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT's strategy to capture the "Gibraltar of the West" as one of the greatest military campaigns of all time.

In 1861 Vicksburg had a population of 5,000, making it the second largest city in the state. Crisscrossed with narrow, twisting streets, Vicksburg was a bustling commercial center and TRANSPORTATION network for the planter class of Mississippi and Louisiana. Like Natchez, its downriver sister, Vicksburg's wharves teemed with riverboats loaded with cotton and passengers headed for New Orleans. Vicksburg was a railroad hub as well, with lines going east to the state capital, Jackson. "Vicksburg is the key," President Lincoln argued. "This war can never be brought to a close until the key is in our pocket." The president of the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, JEFFERSON DAVIS, whose PLANTATION was near Vicksburg, agreed that the citadel city was the "key," but he clearly wanted to keep it in the Southern pocket.

Vicksburg's role was defined early. A major strategic goal of the Union's war effort was to gain control of the Mississippi River from Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico. Necessarily, the Confederates' war aims were geared toward protecting the river and the surrounding Southern territory against Union invasion. Early on, Union armies in the west were successful in using a combination of naval and infantry forces to gain control of the upper part of the river from Illinois to just north of Vicksburg, and the lower Mississippi River, from New Orleans to just south of Port Hudson, Louisiana. Recognizing that the Confederacy must guarantee that the last large portion of the river remain open to traffic, Southerners poured their energies into making Vicksburg an "impregnable fortress."

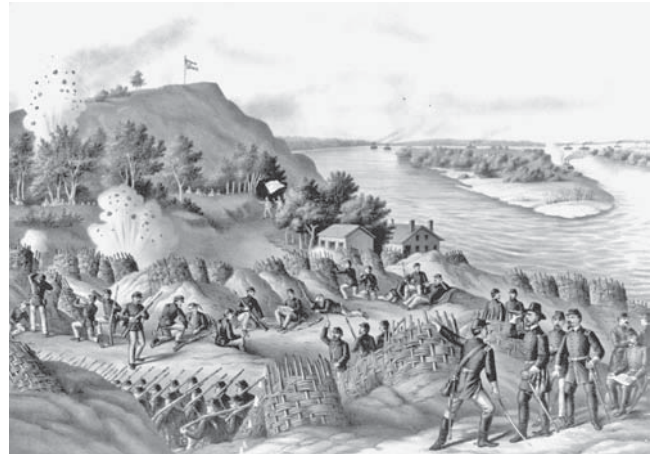
In May 1862, Southern forces occupied Vicksburg and began a yearlong project of fortifying the city against Union invasion. In many ways, Vicksburg was naturally well protected due to its unique geographical position. Perched on bluffs more than 200 feet above the Mississippi River, Vicksburg was practically unassailable from the water.

Defenders made sure of that when they placed 100 cannons along a nine-mile ridge. From that ridge, the Confederates controlled the river for more than 30 miles. Attack from land would be almost as difficult. Miles of swamps, thickets, bayous, and rivers bordered Vicksburg from both north and south. The only way to assault Vicksburg by land was from the east, and in 1862 middle Mississippi was firmly under Southern control. Taking no chances, however, rebels built strong defenses protecting their most vulnerable part. For nine miles east of the city, Confederate engineers constructed a series of watchtowers with walls up to 20 feet thick overlooking gullies and hollows. Along this line, 115 cannons were placed, and trenches and rifle pits were dug to protect both cannons and soldiers. Well before the final trench was dug, however, Vicksburg's position was challenged.

In late May and early June 1862 Union naval gunboats under the command of DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT began bombardment of the city. The cannons on the high bluffs overlooking the river fired on the Northern ships, and Farragut, realizing he was overmatched, withdrew. Throughout the summer other attempts were made to attack Vicksburg, all to no avail. Both sides realized that a massive show of force by the UNION ARMY was coming, and soon. In October, Confederate major general John C. Pemberton was appointed commander of Mississippi and eastern Louisiana. The Pennsylvania-born Pemberton, a West Pointer and career military officer, married a Virginian and cast his lot with the Confederacy in 1861. Pemberton felt confident that his army of 30,000 would defend ably the fortress above the Mississippi.

On November 2, 1862, Maj. Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, victor of the Battles of Fort Henry and Donelson (which opened the South to invasion via the Tennessee River) and the BATTLE OF SHILOH, began a campaign to capture Vicksburg. He moved his army south from Grand Junction, Tennessee, along the lines of the Mississippi Central Railroad. His immediate destination for the 30,000-strong Army of the Tennessee was Holly Springs, Mississippi. Grant ordered Maj. Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN to detach a part of his force and attack Vicksburg from the north. Both forces would converge on Vicksburg at the same time from different directions. It was a good idea that failed miserably. Confederate cavalry destroyed Grant's supply base at Holly Springs on December 20, and he lost contact with Sherman. A week later, Sherman's 32,000 men were decisively repulsed at the Battle of Chickasaw Bayou.

Grant retreated back to Memphis, Tennessee, in January 1863 to reconceptualize his campaign. He went downriver again and put his soldiers to work on building canals and other river projects. Hopefully, a water route could be opened that would allow his army to avoid the killing fire of the Vicksburg cannons and get on dry ground either south



Siege of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863 (Library of Congress)

or east of the city. Months went by, and all the projects ended in frustration. "Grant has no plan for taking Vicksburg," one critic wrote from WASHINGTON, D.C. "He is frittering away time and strength to no purpose." Even his ablest generals agreed. Heavy criticism was leveled at Grant from many sides, but a worried Lincoln remained steadfast in his support.

Finally, Grant came up with a successful operation in March and April 1863. His plan was simple, bold, and ingenious. With the help of Adm. DAVID DIXON PORTER, commander of Union naval forces in the region, Grant marched his army down the west side of the Mississippi below Vicksburg. Porter's boats and transports, having earlier braved successfully the Vicksburg batteries, transported two of Grant's three corps safely across the river. Sherman was ordered to stay behind and make a false attack on Vicksburg to confuse Pemberton—and Pemberton's commanding general, JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, headquartered in Jackson—as to Grant's real intentions. As soon as all of Grant's army was across the river, Sherman rejoined the main force.

Simultaneously, Grant ordered a young Union cavalry commander—Col. Benjamin H. Grierson, a former MUSIC teacher from Illinois—to take 1,700 horsemen on a diversionary raiding party across middle Mississippi. Grierson, riding hard from southwestern Tennessee, accomplished everything Grant asked for in his 16-day, 600-mile raid in April. Fifty miles of railroad track were destroyed, Confederate communications seriously disrupted, 500 rebel prisoners taken, Southern generals confused, and civilians up in arms.

On May 1, the main Union army was on the eastern side of the Mississippi. Grant was on the march and cut off from his supply base. Others fretted, but he decided to

“carry what rations of hard bread, coffee, and salt we can and make the country furnish the balance.” The next two and a half weeks saw Grant’s army moving swiftly west and then east again, engaging and defeating two Confederate armies (Pemberton’s and Johnston’s) at Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson (the state capital), Champion’s Hill, and Big Black River. The Union soldiers’ morale was high. In 17 days they had marched 180 miles and won five battles. The Union’s casualty rate was costly at 4,300 but lower than the Confederates at 7,200. The defeat at Big Black sent Pemberton and his weary men scurrying back for the safety of the fortified city. By noon of May 19, the Federals had arrived at Vicksburg in force, and Grant, convinced that his men could take the city easily, ordered the first of two frontal assaults. Both were unsuccessful, and Grant settled in for the long siege that he had hoped to avoid.

From the military point of view, a siege means the desire to capture a fortified position to gain territory. For Grant, this meant putting his men to work digging trenches until the nine miles of Confederate fortifications behind Vicksburg were encircled by 12 miles of Union earthworks. By June the Union army was not only well entrenched but enlarged greatly. Grant had roughly 75,000 men to deploy, with more arriving daily. Additionally, a steel wall of rifles and cannons ringed the increasingly beleaguered city, and the latter boomed all day and all night. General Pemberton, believing that help in the form of General Johnston and his troops would arrive at any time, vowed never to give up. Because all supply lines into Vicksburg were cut and communication difficult, Pemberton did not receive Johnston’s message of June 15 in which he warned Pemberton to escape with his army intact, as saving Vicksburg was hopeless.

From the civilian point of view, a siege means possible starvation and certain disruption of life and destruction of property. At Vicksburg, 3,000 citizens and 30,000 soldiers were trapped and desperate. For almost six weeks, through the terrible heat of late May and June, the mostly women and children civilians of Vicksburg endured dwindling food and water supplies with great courage and spirit. Soon signs of malnutrition appeared in the population. Mule meat and a few handfuls of corn constituted a good day’s diet for both soldiers and civilians. Moreover, the constant and deadly rain of Union artillery shells drove terrified families out of their homes and into caves dug out of the hillsides of Vicksburg. In the streets, the houses, fences, and trees that had not been obliterated by bombs were destroyed for firewood. On June 28, Pemberton received a letter, signed by “Many Soldiers,” begging him to surrender if he would not see everyone die of starvation. The soldiers by now were too weak to even try to escape their prison. On July 3 Union soldiers near Confederate trenches claimed to see

many white flags flying, the classic sign of surrender. On that day, General Pemberton met with Grant and agreed to surrender his army the next day.

The terms were generous. The Confederates—27,230 enlisted men and 2,166 officers—were given “paroles,” pieces of paper signed by soldiers that allowed them to go home if they promised not to take up arms against the Union again, thus sparing them from incarceration in a Northern prison camp. Besides the surrender of the army, the Federals captured 200 cannons and 60,000 small arms, so badly needed by Southern armies. The most important outcome by far was that Vicksburg was captured, and on July 9 the Confederacy was split in two when Port Hudson fell to Union general Nathaniel P. Banks. Lincoln knew who deserved the credit for this great and decisive victory for the North. “Grant is my man,” he said, “and I am his the rest of the war.” Shortly afterward, Grant was promoted to head the Military Division of Mississippi, and Sherman, at Grant’s request, assumed Grant’s former position as commander of the Western Department and head of the Army of the Tennessee.

“This was the most Glorious Fourth I ever spent,” remembered one Union soldier. Indeed, July 4, 1863, was widely celebrated in the North, and not just for the surrender of Vicksburg but also for the Union’s win on the fields of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on July 3. Although almost two more years would pass before the war was finally over, it was clear, as Grant wrote in his memoirs, that “[t]he fate of the Confederacy was sealed when Vicksburg fell.”

See also HOMEFRONT; REFUGEES.

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### volunteer army

Roughly 90 percent of the men who made up the armies of the CIVIL WAR, a total of more than 2 million individuals, were volunteers. These amateur soldiers volunteered for a number of reasons, and while their service was invaluable, their approach to warfare often exasperated the professional generals who commanded them.



On the Union side, men were generally accepted into service through the U.S. volunteer system. The Confederates used a system that was identical in all but name. The U.S. volunteer system, used throughout the 19th century, placed the burden of responsibility for raising troops on the states. With congressional approval, GOVERNORS would nominate local notables as officers. These officers, in turn, would put together units by recruiting men from their community to serve terms ranging from three months to three years in length. Once a company or regiment had been formed, it would be accepted into federal service and henceforth commanded and paid for by the U.S. government. The only major exception to this pattern was AFRICAN-AMERICAN REGIMENTS, which, for the most part, were organized directly by the federal government.

In the first months of the war, there was no shortage of volunteers. Indeed, both governments were compelled to send men home because so many reported for duty. Ohio, for example, was asked to supply 13 regiments by ABRAHAM LINCOLN, but Governor William Dennison wrote to explain to the president that "without seriously repressing the ardor of the people, I can hardly stop short of 20 regiments." After the patriotic furor of the first few months died down, however, volunteers were much harder to come by. Ultimately, both governments were compelled to resort to providing bounties, which were rewards of cash and/or land, for men who enlisted or reenlisted. Both governments also adopted a draft, although this only provided about 3–6 percent of the men who fought.

For the men who volunteered in the early months of the war, the experience could be quite exhilarating, as their communities rallied around them. Older men would regale the volunteers with tales of service in previous wars. Women would make UNIFORMS and other necessities and would smother the volunteers with attention. "If a fellow wants to go with a girl now," wrote one Indiana man in his journal, "he had better enlist. . . ." The new soldiers also had to take care of a number of formalities. Junior-grade officers, the captains and lieutenants, had to be chosen via popular vote. A physical exam had to be passed, although this exam was generally not very thorough, as evidenced by the fact that several hundred women managed to pass it. Once the volunteers had been supplied and all the formalities had been completed, there was usually a big send-off, perhaps with a picnic or a parade. Most units were presented with a flag made by the women of their community. At this point, the volunteers were ready to report for duty.

For many volunteers, perhaps even most, their service in the Civil War marked the first time they had ever left their homes. Why were men willing to abandon everything they had ever known in order to join the fight? There were a number of common reasons. Some men were motivated by the cause of their side or hatred for the other side.

Others, particularly in the early months of the war, were attracted by the excitement that prevailed throughout the country and by a desire for new and different experiences. Still others felt pressure from the members of their community. A common attitude was that combat was a chance for a soldier to prove his manhood, and men of the proper age who chose not to enlist were often shunned. Economic motivations were also common. A soldier's pay represented a substantial increase in salary for some members of the working class. The generous bounties the Confederate and Union governments began to offer in 1862, often in excess of \$1,000, made enlistment an even more attractive financial proposition.

For leaders on both sides of the Civil War, there were a number of benefits to having a volunteer army. "The patriot volunteer, fighting for his country and his rights," noted THOMAS J. (STONEWALL) JACKSON, "makes the most reliable soldier on earth." Jackson knew that many soldiers spent their terms of service surrounded by friends and relatives that they had known for years or decades. This situation reduced the chance that a soldier would "skeeaddaddle" during a battle or desert the army after a battle. Beyond that, soldiers maintained strong ties with people on the HOMEFRONT and could be valuable allies in sustaining the civilian population's support for the war. Northern soldiers, in particular, played a critical role in Lincoln's reelection in 1864, ensuring that the war would only end once reunion had been achieved. Finally, the enlistment of large numbers of volunteers added a number of talented soldiers to the ranks who otherwise would not have entered armed service. Widely respected Union generals Francis Channing Barlow and JOSHUA LAWRENCE CHAMBERLAIN were volunteers. On the Southern side, volunteering added Gens. PATRICK R. CLEBURNE and James J. Pettigrew to the ranks.

Although volunteers provided several useful advantages, they also had their shortcomings. A number of generals shared the sentiments of South Carolina governor James Henry Hammond, who wrote in 1861 that, "carrying on a war by volunteers is absolutely suicidal." Hammond's disdain was largely due to the poor soldiering he saw early in the war, when officers were being chosen by a vote of their fellow soldiers. These elections were popularity contests, and so the men chosen almost invariably had little military experience. They did a poor job of training the men under their command and an ineffective job of commanding them in battle. The situation demanded a solution, and by 1862 important changes had been put in place. Experienced military men from the U.S. Army and from Europe were brought in to properly train soldiers. Meanwhile, officers were no longer elected and, instead, were chosen based on merit.

Other problems with volunteers proved less easy to solve and were a constant headache for commanding gen-

erals. Volunteer soldiers were less disciplined than career men. Their beliefs about what kinds of behavior were appropriate during a war were not nearly as strongly held as among their professional counterparts. This tendency manifested itself in a variety of ways. The diversions that many volunteer soldiers pursued often shocked the Victorian sensibilities of people on the homefront: gambling, frequenting prostitutes, drinking, smoking, and so forth. Beyond that, Union and Confederate soldiers frequently had few doubts about associating with the enemy once battles were over, and the trading of such commodities as newspapers, tobacco, and coffee across the lines was common. Perhaps the greatest problem was the lack of restraint that many volunteer soldiers showed when interacting with civilians, regularly mistreating them and their property. These incidents undermined support for the war and sometimes provoked violent responses. Ultimately, repeated violations of the RULES OF WAR led the Northern government to issue the Lieber Code of 1863, a set of guidelines designed to control soldiers' behavior. The code was only partially successful.

Once the war was over, virtually all of the volunteers who remained in the armies of the United States and the Confederacy were quickly mustered out of service. After

returning home, however, they continued to play an important role in national political life. The men who had served in the North became an important Republican voting bloc, while Southern VETERANS became a key Democratic constituency. Each of the presidents between 1876 and 1900, with the exception of Grover Cleveland, was a Civil War volunteer. The volunteers also worked to shape the memory of the war, writing memoirs of the war and erecting MONUMENTS on battlefields. They ensured that the COMMON SOLDIER would forever occupy a central place in the history of the Civil War.

See also BOUNTY SYSTEM; CONSCRIPTION.

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—Christopher Bates



# W



## **Wade, Benjamin Franklin** (1800–1878) *lawyer, politician*

Born in Fleeting Hills, Massachusetts, on October 27, 1800, Benjamin Wade moved with his family to Andover, Ohio, in 1821. He began practicing law in 1827, and over the next two decades served as a prosecuting attorney, a state senator, and a circuit judge. On March 15, 1851, he received the news of his election to the U.S. Senate.

Wade served his first term as a Whig, but in the two terms that followed he represented the REPUBLICAN PARTY. In his attacks on the KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT and his defense of his colleague CHARLES SUMNER, Wade displayed both his principles and leadership ability. He earned the nickname of “Bluff” Ben Wade and the respect of his Northern colleagues for answering the challenge by a Southerner to duel with the reply that he favored squirrel guns at 20 paces. More important, within the Senate chambers during the war, the Ohio senator served as an outspoken voice of the RADICAL REPUBLICANS, pushing for a more aggressive military policy from ABRAHAM LINCOLN and his administration. Wade also utilized his chairmanship of the JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR and the proposed WADE-DAVIS BILL to actively campaign for the ABOLITION of SLAVERY and a harsh RECONSTRUCTION.

In 1867 Wade became the president of the Senate. In this position he, along with Chief Justice SALMON P. CHASE, presided over the impeachment proceedings of President ANDREW JOHNSON. Following the unsuccessful attempt to remove Johnson from office, Wade retired from the Senate and returned to Ohio. In 1868 he failed to gain the vice presidential nomination on the Grant ticket, and in 1876 he served as a presidential elector, repudiating the compromise that gave Rutherford B. Hayes the presidency of the United States.

Benjamin Wade died in Jefferson, Ohio, on March 2, 1878.

See also IMPEACHMENT OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

**Further reading:** Allan Bogue, *The Earnest Men: Republicans of the Civil War Senate* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981); Hans L. Trefousse, *Benjamin Franklin Wade: Radical Republican from Ohio* (New York: Twayne, 1963).

—John P. Bowes

## **Wade-Davis Bill** (1864)

In winter 1863–64 ABRAHAM LINCOLN set forth his vision for the policies regarding the readmission of Southern states to the Union. He proposed lenient regulations, and early in 1864 he went forward with his plans by initiating RECONSTRUCTION governments in both Louisiana and Arkansas. Upset with the fact that Lincoln appeared to be establishing the foundation of a Reconstruction policy without the consent of the legislative branch, the RADICAL REPUBLICANS passed a bill that presented their own version of Reconstruction on July 2, 1864. First initiated in the House of Representatives by Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, the measure gained approval in the Senate under the guidance of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WADE of Ohio.

The bill, known by the surnames of its sponsors, set out a stringent procedure for readmission. Most notably, it required a majority of white voters in the state under consideration to take the IRONCLAD OATH of allegiance to the United States, and it also demanded that the state’s constitution include a clause abolishing SLAVERY. Although the bill did not include all of the points of the radical program, including African-American suffrage, it did give notice to the country and to Lincoln that congressional Radicals did not intend to allow the president solitary control of the Reconstruction of the South. The Senate approved the bill on the very last day of the summer session in a move designed to force Lincoln’s approval. But rather than accede to the demands of the Radicals, the president pushed the bill aside and refused to sign it, taking advantage of his pocket-veto privilege. Lincoln’s veto led Wade and Davis

to issue a manifesto denouncing the president's action as an unconstitutional denial of legislative authority.

**Further reading:** Michael Les Benedict, *A Compromise of Principle: Congressional Republicans and Reconstruction, 1863–1869* (New York: Norton, 1975); T. Harry Williams, *Lincoln and the Radicals* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960).

—John P. Bowes

**Wakeman, Sarah Rosetta** (1843–1864) *Union soldier* Female soldier Sarah Rosetta Wakeman was born in New York State to a farming family. In 1862 she left home because she “got tired of staying in [the] neighborhood.” Dressed as a man, she signed on to be a boatman on the Chenango Canal in New York. A month later she went to the local army recruitment office and, giving her name as Lyons Wakeman, she enlisted in the 153rd New York Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Private Wakeman was mustered into service on October 17, 1862.

For the next 15 months the 153rd was among the units responsible for defending WASHINGTON, D.C. Although Wakeman's regiment was regularly ordered to prepare for an enemy attack during that time, none came. Finally, in February 1864 the 153rd was transferred to the field to take part in NATHANIEL P. BANKS's RED RIVER CAMPAIGN in Louisiana. After an incredibly difficult 700-mile march, Wakeman and her unit participated in the second engagement of the campaign, at Pleasant Hill. They helped to turn back six Confederate charges before being forced to retreat. Shortly thereafter, Wakeman fell ill with dysentery. She reported to the regimental hospital on May 3 and was transferred to a general hospital in New Orleans in late May, where she died on June 19 without her secret being discovered. She was buried in New Orleans under a tombstone bearing her male enlisted name, Lyons Wakeman.

There were approximately 400 known WOMEN SOLDIERS in the CIVIL WAR. We are left with very little information about most of them, but Wakeman is the exception to the rule. She wrote many LETTERS to her family, which were discovered and published in 1994. At present, this collection is arguably the best contemporary account of the experiences of a woman disguised as a man who donned a uniform during the Civil War.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Elizabeth D. Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier: Women of the Civil War Armies* (New York: Norton, 1999); Sarah Rosetta Wakeman, *An Uncommon Soldier: The Civil War Letters of Sarah Rosetta Wakeman, Alias Private Lyons Wakeman, Co. H, 153rd New York*

*State Volunteers, 1862–1864*, ed. Lauren Cook Burgess (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

—Christopher Bates

**Walker, Mary Edwards** (1832–1919) *Union surgeon* CIVIL WAR doctor and MEDAL OF HONOR winner Mary Edwards Walker was born on November 26, 1832, in Oswego, New York. She received an excellent EDUCATION as a young woman, eventually earning her medical degree in 1855 from Syracuse Medical College.

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Walker immediately decided to get involved. She traveled to WASHINGTON, D.C., to offer her services as a surgeon to the U.S. Army's Medical Department. Walker was offered an appointment, but only as a NURSE, which she refused. She began a letter-writing campaign, and eventually a compromise was reached, with Walker agreeing to work as



Mary Edwards Walker (Library of Congress)

an unpaid volunteer surgeon in exchange for rations and housing.

Walker served in several locales throughout the war. Her main base of operations was the “Indiana Hospital,” housed in the U.S. Patent Office in Washington, D.C. Walker also tended to wounded in the field at Warrenton, Virginia, and Fredericksburg, Maryland, as well as other locations. She earned the respect of each of the male surgeons she served under, all of whom urged the government to give her a formal appointment. In early 1864, after much lobbying on Walker’s behalf, she was finally given a noncommissioned civilian surgeon’s contract paying \$80 a month. Walker’s good fortune proved to be short lived. She was captured a few weeks later by a Confederate sentry and spent the remainder of the war in PRISON.

Walker hoped that the government would recognize her contributions with a permanent position as an army medical inspector. After some deliberation President ANDREW JOHNSON decided not to grant Walker’s request. However, he did support her nomination for and eventual award of the Medal of Honor. Walker was the only woman to win the award for service during the Civil War. Later, Walker turned her attention to political issues, especially women’s suffrage.

Throughout her life she wore her Medal of Honor as a badge of the government’s gratitude. In 1919 a review board revoked Walker’s medal. She declined to surrender her medal and told the board “you can have it over my dead body.” Six days later she died near Oswego, the place of her birth. In 1977 the medal was officially restored.

See also WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Christopher Bates

### **Walker, William** (1824–1860) *American filibuster*

William Walker is best remembered as an American filibuster, or leader of private military expeditions abroad. Walker was born in Nashville, Tennessee, on May 8, 1824. He completed medical studies in Pennsylvania by the age of 19 and relocated to New Orleans, Louisiana. There, in 1845, he married Ellen Galt Martin, who convinced him to pursue a career in JOURNALISM. Walker enthusiastically supported American expansionism, and in his columns in the *Daily Crescent* he denounced both SLAVERY and FILIBUSTERING as inadequate means of furthering American expansionist aims.

After his wife died of cholera in 1849, Walker relocated to gold rush California, where he practiced MEDICINE

and edited a newspaper in San Francisco. In 1853, having changed his mind about filibustering, he led 45 armed men on an expedition to Mexico and seized Sonora, a territory of Mexico near Baja California. There he proclaimed an independent republic that, unlike the Mexican government, protected slavery. Mexican authorities resisted, and the United States did nothing to support him. Abandoned by his soldiers, Walker turned himself in at San Diego on May 8, 1854, whereupon he was arrested. He stood trial for violating U.S. neutrality but was acquitted.

Walker next turned his attention to Nicaragua, where, on June 16, 1855, he landed with 58 mercenaries. His force joined local insurrectionists, and together they overturned the opposition Legitimists. The victors formed a coalition government, which was also proslavery, with Walker serving as commander in chief of Nicaraguan forces. But Walker’s scheme brought him in direct conflict with two immovable powers. The first was millionaire businessman Cornelius Vanderbilt, who coveted the interoceanic transit route and kept ships at Nicaragua. The second was Great Britain, which regarded the new regime as hostile to its ambitions along the Mosquito Coast (the Atlantic side of Nicaragua and Honduras). Together they convinced a coalition of Central American nations to invade Nicaragua, and Walker, who had since been elected “president,” was forced to flee for the United States.

Undeterred, Walker raised more volunteers and made two more attempts, in 1857 and 1858, to establish a foothold in Central America. In August 1860 he conducted his final campaign against Honduras. Defeated by a combination of local and British forces, Walker was forced to surrender. He was executed by Honduran authorities at Trujillo on September 12, 1860.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### **war contracting**

In the first months of the CIVIL WAR thousands upon thousands of men rushed to join the ranks of both the CONFEDERATE ARMY and the UNION ARMY. These men had to be equipped with UNIFORMS, weapons, and other necessities. To do so was not an easy task, because the antebellum army was very small and therefore had only a very limited amount of modern military equipment. As such, both governments were forced to rely on private manufacturers to help provision their armies.

In the North, responsibility for supplying the military's needs initially fell on Secretary of War Simon Cameron. Cameron was a political appointee, given a place in ABRAHAM LINCOLN's cabinet solely to satisfy Republican voters in Pennsylvania, and he was not capable of managing a large-scale mobilization. In the early months of the war, the process of awarding war contracts was rife with corruption. Manufacturers, with an eye toward maximizing profits, would overcharge the government or provide extremely inferior goods. Guns would misfire or jam, and food was often spoiled. Many uniforms were made of a material called "shoddy," a term that eventually came to describe anything of poor quality. Shoddy uniforms would generally disintegrate after a few months of use, leaving a soldier with no protection from the elements.

Eventually, the situation was so bad that a congressional investigation of the war-contracting process was launched. In the end, however, Congress took no action because President Lincoln acted first, sending Cameron to Russia to serve as the American foreign minister. EDWIN M. STANTON, Cameron's replacement, a no-nonsense lawyer from Ohio, quickly developed a reputation for efficiency and integrity. Stanton initiated a review process to make certain that contracts were only awarded to reliable manufacturers and that the prices the government paid were fair. By the end of 1862, Stanton had brought the situation under control, and for the rest of the war the Union forces were the best-supplied military in the world.

For the South, provisioning the army and navy was an even more difficult task. Food and cotton were abundant, but the Confederates had few other assets. The South had virtually no military equipment on hand at the beginning of the war, and almost all of what they did have was antiquated. Additionally, the South had little manufacturing capacity. At first, the Confederates relied on Europe for equipment, trading cotton for goods. However, this channel quickly dried up due to diplomatic pressure from the Lincoln administration as well as the Union blockade. And so, by the end of 1862, the Confederates largely had to rely upon themselves to equip the military.

Like the North, the South made as much use of private contractors as was possible. The privately owned TREDEGAR IRON WORKS in Virginia grew to be the single most important supplier of goods to the Confederate army, and smaller firms such as Cook and Brother Armory in Georgia also made contributions. However, because there were so few manufacturing concerns in the South, the Confederate government also found it necessary to go into the manufacturing business for itself. By 1863, publicly owned firms were producing ships, guns, bullets, blankets, wagons, uniforms, and virtually every other manufactured good needed to wage war.

The Confederates had some notable successes in their manufacturing endeavors. In particular, the Confederate

Ordnance Department did a remarkable job of providing ammunition and gunpowder. Generally, however, the CONFEDERATE NAVY and army were woefully undersupplied. Southern manufacturing capacity grew substantially during the war, but never to the point of being able to adequately equip the Confederate army. And even if Southern factories had the capacity to produce what was needed, they lacked the necessary raw materials and manpower. By the middle of the war, the disparities between the equipment of the Union military and the Confederate military were abundantly evident, and the gap continued to grow as the war dragged on. Necessarily, the Union government's success in war contracting must be counted among the reasons that the North was able to win the Civil War.

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—Christopher Bates

### **Warmoth, Henry Clay** (1842–1931) *lawyer, Union soldier, politician*

Born on May 9, 1842, in MacLeansboro, Illinois, Henry C. Warmoth became a lawyer, Union officer, and RECONSTRUCTION governor. As a young boy, he moved with his family to Fairfield, Illinois, where he received an EDUCATION in local schools. Warmoth studied the law in Fairfield, and when he moved to Lebanon, Missouri, in 1860 he received admittance to the bar, despite being only 18 years old. A bright and ambitious young man, Warmoth was appointed county attorney. During this period of increasing sectional tensions in a slave state, he joined the state militia. In 1861 Warmoth declared his loyalty to the Union and helped to raise an infantry regiment. In November 1862 he was rewarded with a lieutenant colonelcy in the 32nd Missouri Infantry Regiment. He served under Gen. John A. McClernand in the VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN of 1862–63 and was wounded in battle in May 1863.

Gen. ULYSSES S. GRANT relieved McClernand of command just at the time that Warmoth was injured. Warmoth was angry that his friend and mentor had been dismissed. Due to statements Warmoth made that expressed his displeasure, Warmoth was accused of maligning Grant's army and was promptly given a dishonorable discharge. He asked for, and received, reinstatement to his unit from President ABRAHAM LINCOLN. He then led the 32nd in the BATTLE OF LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN, near Chattanooga, Tennessee, in November 1863. Requesting a post in New



Orleans, Warmoth moved to the Crescent City in 1864, and when the war ended, he was serving as a provost judge.

By 1865 Warmoth had established a law practice in New Orleans and had helped the REPUBLICAN PARTY to organize in Louisiana. Popular and charming, Warmoth actively sought political office, and in April 1868 he was elected GOVERNOR of Louisiana. As governor, Warmoth was confronted immediately with organized white terrorist groups who stopped Republicans from voting for Grant in the 1868 election. Throughout his administration, Warmoth tried and failed to establish the legitimacy of his CARPETBAGGER Republican administration. Using fair as well as foul methods, Warmoth became mired in corruption and scandal. In the scandal-ridden Louisiana election of 1872, Warmoth became so embroiled in controversy that he was impeached, but he was never brought to trial. After 1872, Warmoth remained active in Republican politics, but he was more successful as a planter and businessman in his adopted city of New Orleans, where he died on September 30, 1931.

See also KU KLUX KLAN.

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## Washington, D.C.

The CIVIL WAR drastically changed the capital city of the United States of America, Washington, District of Columbia. Often called Washington City in the 19th century, it was transformed from a small, provincial city of 63,000, in which the nation's Capitol was located, to the "Nation's Capital," of more than 200,000. In 1860 it was a sleepy Southern town, with muddy, dirty streets, an unhealthy, noxious environment, and many ramshackle buildings. By 1865 Washington, D.C., was the symbol of a newly reunited country, but more than that, it had become a distinctly cosmopolitan place. The former Southern population was enlarged and enlivened by a broad cross section of society—Southern, Northern, freedpeople, businesspeople, and a huge influx of middle-class women and men who came to work for expanded wartime government agencies and stayed to live. Between 1861 and 1865 the city's population nearly quadrupled.

Washington, D.C., during the Civil War stood for the heart and soul of the Union cause, a cherished symbol of the power of the United States of America. President ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the members of the cabinet, and members of Congress lived and worked in the city, carrying on the vision of the founding fathers. Washington, D.C., was also

the most tempting target for Confederate armies. Its capture would be a brilliant prize for the Southern cause, and citizens learned to live with the threat of sudden invasion. The war's threat to D.C. was demonstrated graphically by the circle of forts guarding the city, the barracks crammed with soldiers, the shanty towns filled with ex-slaves bringing the revolution in freedom close to government scrutiny, and the hospitals teeming with wounded and dying soldiers.

Situated on the banks of the Potomac River, the District of Columbia at the start of the Civil War was composed of several small, distinctive communities in a rural setting. Much of the city was built on a swamp, and disease and illness were rampant, particularly in the hot, muggy summer months. The White House is a good example of the unhealthy conditions experienced by many Washingtonians: It was nearby the part of the Potomac River that met with the city canal (the sewer), the city dump, and a slum area called "Murder Bay." This unpleasant combination made life challenging and, occasionally, tragic for the chief executive and his family. The 1862 death of Abraham and MARY TODD LINCOLN's son, Willie, was attributed to typhoid fever, a disease contracted through infected drinking water.

Washington City was in an unfinished state in 1860. The Capitol building, where Congress holds session, was undergoing a major renovation, which included the addition of a huge dome. When criticized for spending money on this construction during wartime, Lincoln replied, "It is a sign we intend for the Union to go on." On December 2, 1863, the famous figure "Armed Freedom" was placed on top of the dome, and by Lincoln's second inaugural the Capitol was completed. Through the war years it also served as a fort, a barracks, a bakery, and a hospital. The Smithsonian Institute and the Treasury Building were also prominent structures; the latter also housed the State Department. The Navy and War Departments were located near the White House; Lincoln was usually able to walk there without fear of attack.

In the tense early days of the Civil War, Washington, D.C., was a city under siege. Though the district's responsibilities were national, its immediate safety was questionable. Roughly 100 miles from RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, the seat of the newly established CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, Washington was set amid the beautiful tree-lined hills of the Potomac River Valley; the 10-square-mile tract of the District of Columbia was bordered on three sides by Maryland, a slave state with divided allegiances. Virginia, the Confederate stronghold, bordered the fourth side.

At the outset of the Civil War, President Lincoln found himself and the Union government practically defenseless in the capital city. Dire as the situation was, it became even worse on April 19, 1861, when a confrontation threatened

to speed Maryland toward SECESSION and isolate the capital city. The Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, the first fully armed unit to respond to Lincoln's call for troops, left home to defend Washington. Since no rail lines passed all the way through Baltimore, the unit had to detrain and cross the city to board another train. A mob formed in the path of the soldiers, and they were eventually surrounded. Citizens began pelting them with rocks, bricks, and pistol fire. A few men of the Sixth opened fire, and a nasty brawl ensued. By the time the regiment fought its way to the train and out of the city, four soldiers and 12 townspeople lay dead.

Because of the incident, Maryland governor Thomas Hicks, a Unionist, approved the destruction of RAILROAD bridges into the city. Secessionists tore down the TELEGRAPH lines that passed through Baltimore from Washington, and the Union capital was effectively cut off from the North. Fearing an attack, citizens and government clerks in Washington formed into volunteer companies. However, on the next day the 7th New York Regiment arrived by train, having commandeered and repaired a dilapidated steam engine in Annapolis. Other units soon followed, and the imminent danger to the capital passed.

When Col. Charles P. Stone set about organizing the militias that would provide a permanent defense force for Washington, he faced a daunting task. The regiments that arrived in the early days of the war were impressive in number but questionable in quality. Most were untrained, and discipline was rarely enforced. Accommodations were insufficient; the Capitol housed the men of the 7th New York who arrived in April 1861. Robert Gould Shaw, a private with the Seventh, addressed a letter to his parents in this way: "April 26, 1861, House of Representatives." He described his experience: "That evening we marched up to the Capitol, and were quartered in the House of Representatives, where we each have a desk, and easy-chair to sleep in, but generally prefer the floor and our blankets. . . . The Capitol is a magnificent building, and the men all take the greatest pains not to harm anything. Jeff Davis shan't get it without trouble." Many soldiers also encamped in the East Room of the White House.

The defense of Washington, D.C., proved a chronic problem for Lincoln and his generals. From the very steps of the White House, Lincoln could view Arlington, ROBERT E. LEE's former home, a constant reminder of the danger that surrounded the city. Even more problematic was the fact that the city was strategically exposed, situated at the point of the "V" formed by the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers. Approaches into the "V" from the north abounded; bridges provided access from the south.

Col. Joseph Mansfield, commander of the Department of Washington, was responsible for overseeing the construction of fortifications outside Washington. The projects were just underway when Union forces were defeated at the FIRST

BATTLE OF BULL RUN in July 1861. Lincoln and other leaders, unsure of the CONFEDERATE ARMY's capability, feared invasion. Although it never came, Secretary of War EDWIN M. STANTON made it clear that Union campaigns in Virginia would always include provisions for the defense of Washington. GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN later claimed that the policy drastically hindered his PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN.

Batteries and forts eventually created a 37-mile circle around Washington. Including Alexandria, Arlington Heights, Chain Bridge, and Georgetown, there were 68 forts with more than 800 huge cannons, typically between 700 to 1,500 yards apart. Twenty-three miles of trenches and 93 manned artillery positions completed the ring of defense. Other important sites such as city reservoirs, major roads into the city from the southeast and the north, and the entrance from the Potomac River into the city were heavily protected. If the enemy got beyond the fort, preparations were made for the Treasury building to be a barricade against attack and for the president and his cabinet to be hidden safely in its basement.

The strong fortifications were weakened from time to time by a chronic problem with understaffing. The men who stood behind the "ring of forts" numbered 30,000, sometimes more and sometimes far less. The latter was the case in July 1864. As ULYSSES S. GRANT directed the siege of Petersburg with an eye to capturing Richmond, Confederate general JUBAL A. EARLY defeated Union forces on a march to Washington with 15,000 rebel soldiers. On July 11, Early appeared outside the Washington defense works, five miles north of the White House. In response to the frantic appeals of the War Department, Grant dispatched the VI Corps to Washington to bolster the convalescents, militia, and unit remnants on hand there. Early launched a tentative attack on July 12, the only combat personally witnessed by President Lincoln, who watched from Fort Stevens. Early was stopped from a full attack by the presence of the VI Corps, and he wisely withdrew.

Early's near-invasion was the closest the South ever came to attacking the Northern capital during four years of civil war. Other challenges were nearly as great. In May 1861 Washington had one hospital. Fourteen months later, 60 hospitals were built within the city. But it was impossible to build enough hospitals to house the thousands and thousands of sick, wounded, and dying soldiers from the nearby battlefields OF Bull Run, FREDERICKSBURG, and CHANCELLORSVILLE, to name a few.

The War Department had to take over hotels, churches, schools, colleges, and homes and turn them into hospitals. Living in Washington meant that locals were the first to know the terrible price of each battle, as the long line of horse-pulled ambulances deposited the bitter fruits of carnage. After 1863 specially designed "pavilion" style hospitals predominated. Cleaner and more efficient, the white

shedlike structures could be expanded to meet the needs of the war.

Indeed, the whole city could be described as the major supply depot for the eastern UNION ARMY. Bakeries, butcheries (more than 10,000 head of cattle grazed on the grass near the unfinished Washington Monument), warehouses for food, clothes, and ammunition dotted the landscape.

Despite Washington, D.C.'s, vulnerable position during the Civil War, President Lincoln never seriously considered relocating further north. Overnight, the city stood as a proud symbol of the Union, the seat of governance, where politicians, wealthy businessmen, and senior military officials discussed and planned the unfolding war; a target for the Confederates and their spies and sympathizers to plot the Union's downfall; a safe haven for more than 40,000 escaped, and later freed, slaves; the destination for soldiers and many of their family members; a final stop for job seekers, women and men alike, to fill the thousands of new positions the expanded wartime administration required. The immense changes Washington, D.C., underwent during the war paralleled those of the larger nation.

See also BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, RIOTS; MEDICINE AND HOSPITALS.

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—Richard J. Roder

**Watie, Stand** (1806–1871) *Cherokee chief, Confederate general*

Cherokee political leader and Confederate brigadier general Stand Watie was born on December 12, 1806, in the Cherokee town of Oothcaloga, near Rome, Georgia. His father was David Oowatie and his mother was Susannah Reese.

As a child, Watie attended the Moravian Mission School in Springplace, Georgia. He became a planter as well as a clerk in the Cherokee Supreme Court. In 1835, along with approximately 100 other Cherokee, he signed the controversial Treaty of New Echota. In the treaty, which Principal Chief John Ross and the majority of the Cherokee Nation opposed, the Cherokee agreed to cede their land to the United States and move to the territory now known as Oklahoma. Watie migrated in 1837, while most of the nation unsuccessfully tried to resist removal.

The tensions between Ross and Watie reemerged when the CIVIL WAR began. Ross led the Cherokee Nation to a stance of neutrality, but Watie immediately threw his support behind the Confederacy. Watie received a commission as a colonel, formed the Confederate Cherokee Regiment of Mounted Rifles, and arranged a Cherokee-Confederacy alliance. Ross reluctantly supported the alliance before fleeing the nation in 1862. With Ross gone, the Cherokee elected Watie principal chief. Watie participated in various cavalry engagements in Indian Territory, including battles at Wilson's Creek, Chustenahlah, Pea Ridge, Cowskin Prairie, Webbers Falls, and the First and Second Battles of Cabin Creek. In May 1864 the Confederacy rewarded Watie with a promotion to brigadier general, making him the only NATIVE AMERICAN to achieve this rank. Watie's military career ended when he surrendered on June 23, 1865.

When the war ended, Watie helped negotiate the Cherokee Reconstruction Treaty of 1866 and served as a delegate to the General Council for Indian Territory in 1870–71. Soon after, Watie returned to his Honey Creek farm, where he died on September 9, 1871.

See also PEA RIDGE, BATTLE OF.

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—Andrew K. Frank

**Welles, Gideon** (1802–1878) *politician*

Diarist and secretary of the UNION NAVY, Gideon Welles was born on July 1, 1802, in Glastonbury, Connecticut, to the merchant Samuel Welles and his wife Anne Hale. An excellent EDUCATION prepared Welles for a career as a newspaperman and politician. A staunch Democrat, Welles wrote for the *Hartford Times* while establishing a strong political base among Connecticut voters. In the 1820s and 1830s he was elected to the state legislature. Although ambitious for higher office, Welles was defeated in each of his attempts to become a congressman, a senator, and the GOVERNOR of his state. In 1846 Welles was appointed chief of the Bureau of Provisions and Clothing in the Navy Department. In this position he was responsible for supplying the U.S. Navy during the Mexican-American War (1846–48).

Married to his cousin Mary Jane Hale and the father of nine children, Welles spent the 1840s and 1850s actively opposing the extension of SLAVERY in the territories. He articulated his position in a series of editorials in the *New*

*York Evening Post* denouncing the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Act. He broke with his party in supporting former Democrat Martin Van Buren on the Free-Soil ticket in the presidential election in 1848. In 1855 Welles joined the newly formed REPUBLICAN PARTY in protest over the Kansas-Nebraska “outrage.” He established a Republican newspaper, the *Hartford Evening Press*, and was a force in mobilizing New England behind the young party. A member of the Republican National Committee, Welles was determined to elect a president in the election of 1860. Welles threw his support behind ABRAHAM LINCOLN of Illinois, and for that, he was given a position in Lincoln’s cabinet. On March 4, 1861, Gideon Welles was appointed secretary of the U.S. Navy.

Secretary Welles faced formidable challenges at the beginning of the American CIVIL WAR. From a tiny, weak, and old-fashioned navy, Welles was expected to mount an effective blockade of Southern ports along the Atlantic coast, conquer Confederate forces protecting the vast interior water systems, and forge a smooth working relationship with the U.S. Army. From 1861, Welles expanded the fleet through buying, building, and leasing. For example, he leased 184 merchant ships from private companies and quickly converted them into IRONCLADS, ready for service. Realizing that a successful wartime navy demanded more than building gunboats, Welles assembled an impressive staff, including the brilliant assistant secretary of the Navy, Gustavus Vasa Fox. They worked together to make the navy contracting system efficient and relatively free of corruption. Just as important, Welles created a “Committee of Conference” to plan the overall strategy of the water war. Essentially a think tank, the committee also recommended specific tactical maneuvers and coordinated the movements of the various fleets in the eastern and western theaters.

Union naval victories achieved early in the war confirmed the correctness of Welles’s program. PORT ROYAL in South Carolina fell in November 1861, soon to be followed by the fall of western Forts Henry and Donelson in early 1862, and New Orleans in the same year. Naval heroes such as DAVID DIXON PORTER and DAVID GLASGOW FARAGUT drew attention to the fact that Union control of the Atlantic coast and the MISSISSIPPI RIVER would strangle and then stop the flow of goods and munitions to the Confederacy. Although the blockade was never totally effective, its success has to be counted as a major factor in the ultimate Union victory. In 1865 Welles could reflect with pride that the U.S. Navy was second in strength and numbers only to the British.

Welles was a loyal Lincoln man, but he engaged in bitter quarrels with the other cabinet members, most notably EDWIN M. STANTON and WILLIAM H. SEWARD, secretaries of war and state. He recorded the controversies

and events of the Civil War in his remarkable and brilliant diary. Welles also recorded his growing dissatisfaction over the direction of RECONSTRUCTION policy. Although he supported EMANCIPATION, Welles opposed giving African Americans full civil rights. After the ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President ANDREW JOHNSON retained Welles in his cabinet, and the two men found they had much in common. Like Johnson, Welles favored STATES’ RIGHTS and an easy Reconstruction policy toward the former Confederacy. Eventually, Welles rejoined the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, and at the end of Johnson’s administration returned to Hartford. He died on February 11, 1878.

See also KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT; MISSISSIPPI RIVER WAR; NEW ORLEANS, BATTLE OF.

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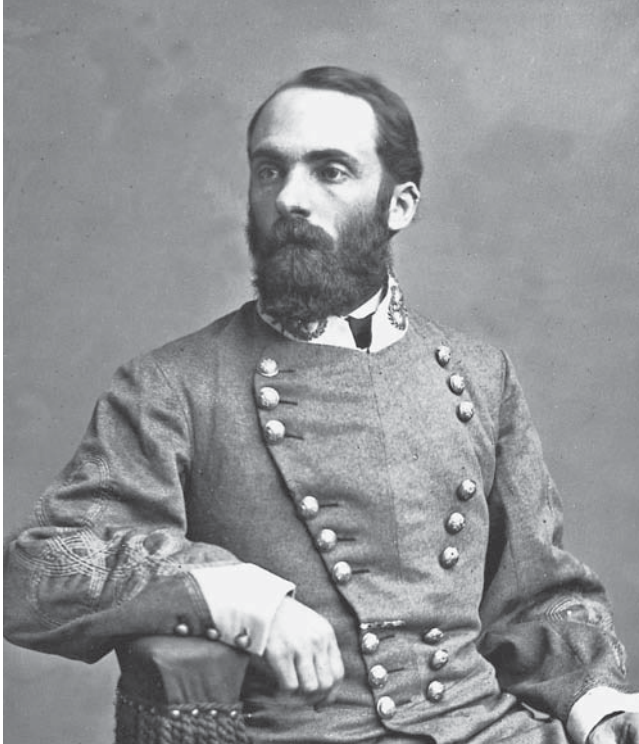
**Wheeler, Joseph** (1836–1906) *Confederate general, politician*

Joseph Wheeler is one of only two persons who achieved the rank of general in both the CONFEDERATE ARMY and the U.S. Army. Born in Augusta, Georgia, on September 10, 1836, he grew up in Connecticut and entered the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in 1854. Upon graduation he served in the Regiment of Mounted Rifles at Fort Craig, New Mexico. In 1861 Wheeler returned to Georgia and was commissioned as a lieutenant, and soon after he became colonel of the 19th Alabama Infantry Regiment. Two years later, at the age of 26, he was promoted to major general of cavalry.

His skills as cavalry commander were most effective when he operated close to the army; he covered every retreat of the Army of Tennessee from Perryville, Kentucky, to Atlanta, Georgia. Instead of accompanying the army on its march toward Nashville in 1864, Wheeler’s cavalry was assigned the difficult and mainly futile task of harassing the UNION ARMY of Maj. Gen. WILLIAM T. SHERMAN as it marched through Georgia and the Carolinas. Though many in the Army of Tennessee (as well as many historians) judged his offensive tactics and raids to be of little importance, Gen. ROBERT E. LEE considered him one of his two best cavalry officers.

After the end of the war, Wheeler married Daniella Jones Sherrod and settled in Lawrence County, Alabama, as a well-to-do lawyer, planter, and businessman. From 1884 to 1898, he served as a Democratic congressman from Alabama, in which capacity he actively opposed the tariff and supported Free Silver.





Joseph Wheeler (Library of Congress)

At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Wheeler offered his services to President McKinley and was commissioned major general of U.S. Volunteers. He participated in the capture of Santiago, where troops under his command, the “Rough Riders,” stormed San Juan Hill. He died on January 25, 1906, in Brooklyn, New York, and is one of a very few Confederate generals interred in Arlington National Cemetery.

See also *SHERMAN’S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA*; STUART, J. E. B.

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—Stacey Graham

**Whig Party** See VOLUME IV.

### Whiskey Ring

The Whiskey Ring was a group of distillers who defrauded the government of millions of dollars in the 1870s. The national scandal stirred up by the exposure of the ring further tarnished the troubled presidency of ULYSSES S. GRANT and inspired a wave of reform.

In 1872 distillers in St. Louis, Missouri, devised a scheme to avoid the federal excise tax on whiskey. Paying off tax collectors to ignore the duty owed on their product, they began to earn tremendous profits. Working in collusion with a whole network of Treasury officials, the Whiskey Ring swindled the government of millions in tax revenues. The operation continued for several years, growing in size all the time. During this early period special agents of the Treasury tried to stop the fraud but were always unsuccessful.

Eventually, news of the racket began to escape from the circle of distillers and the government agents that the Whiskey Ring was paying off. Newspaper reporters who checked out the story were given money in exchange for silence. Government officials who stumbled upon the ring were also paid to look the other way, and a fund was set up by the ring to distribute payoffs to a broad range of storekeepers, government employees, and collectors. It would not be long, however, before the secret became too large to easily manage. Far beyond the original city of St. Louis, there were now branches of the ring in Chicago, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, New Orleans, Peoria, and most ominously, in WASHINGTON, D.C., the nation’s capital.

On May 1, 1875, newspapers in St. Louis reported that John D. McDonald, the city’s supervisor of U.S. revenues, had conspired to defraud the government of more than \$2 million worth of excise taxes. McDonald, a very highly positioned official, had accepted bribes from the distillers in exchange for ignoring their requirement to pay the federal tax on whiskey. McDonald also happened to be a close personal friend and appointee of President Grant. On May 10, Secretary of the Treasury Benjamin H. Bristow launched the investigation that would put an end to the ring. Bristow’s agents seized 16 distilleries, and the indictments began.

The public uproar against the Whiskey Ring was deafening. As people learned just how far the corruption went, faith in the government and in their president declined sharply. After Bristow and the Treasury Department investigated the ring, 238 people were indicted, including President Grant’s private secretary, Gen. Orville Babcock. President Grant himself was not involved in the scandal, but his proximity to it led to numerous accusations against his presidency.

Although most of the people who were indicted were not convicted, the scandal did a great deal of political damage to the Grant administration. Things were not helped any when President Grant personally intervened to ensure that Babcock was not convicted. Shortly thereafter, however, Babcock resigned his position.

The Whiskey Ring was the worst of the scandals that plagued Grant’s presidency. The CRÉDIT MOBILIER scandal, the resignations of his attorney general and secretary of the

interior under suspicion of corruption, and the impeachment of his secretary of war for selling military appointments—combined with the exposure of the Whiskey Ring—left many with the impression that Grant’s administration and the federal government itself were hives of corruption.

After the Whiskey Ring was exposed, the effort to “clean up” the government reached a new pitch. A reform GOVERNOR from Ohio, Rutherford B. Hayes, was nominated by the REPUBLICAN PARTY to be the next president. Due in part to the public anger over the Whiskey Ring, Hayes was elected on a platform of reform and honesty. Grant’s image as a president who allowed corruption to run rampant permanently damaged his reputation.

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—Troy Rondinone

**Whitman, Walt** (1819–1892) *journalist, poet, Union nurse*

Renowned American poet and CIVIL WAR nurse Walt Whitman was born on May 31, 1819, in Long Island, New York. He was the second child of Louisa van Velsor and Walter Whitman, Sr., both of them poor farm folk with little formal EDUCATION and a diminishing tract of family land. In 1823 the Whitmans took advantage of an economic boom and moved to Brooklyn, New York.

There, Whitman attended public school, and at the age of 12 he entered the printing trade. Over the next several years, Whitman worked as a printer, teacher, and eventually he became a journalist, editing a daily newspaper in New York at the age of 23. In 1846 Whitman became editor of the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*, but because of his Free-Soil politics, he was dismissed in 1848. After working two more years as a journalist in New Orleans and New York, Whitman built houses and sold real estate with his father from 1850 to 1855.

Throughout all of his years in New York, Whitman read voraciously and developed a love of THEATER and opera. Though he exhibited virtually no literary promise, Whitman published stories and poems in several newspapers and magazines. Eventually, he began experimenting with a new style of poetry, and in spring 1855, once he had composed several poems in this new style, Whitman published the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* at his own expense.

The text drew little attention, though Ralph Waldo Emerson praised it highly in a letter to Whitman. Another year went by before a revised second edition of *Leaves*



Walt Whitman (Library of Congress)

*of Grass* was published. It too was a commercial failure. Following the release of the second edition, Whitman edited yet another daily newspaper, but he found himself once again unemployed by the summer of 1859. In 1860, however, a Boston publisher put out the rearranged and enlarged third edition of *Leaves of Grass*, which included Whitman’s “Calamus” poems. In these poems Whitman wrote of an apparent homosexual love affair, though it is uncertain whether or not the affair ever actually happened. The publisher went broke with the onset of the Civil War.

With the start of the war, Whitman composed and published several poems for recruitment purposes, many of which were later printed in *Drum Taps* (1865). When Whitman’s brother was wounded at the BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG in 1862, he went to WASHINGTON, D.C., staying a while in his brother’s hospital camp and eventually taking a temporary post in the paymaster’s office. Using his spare time to visit wounded and dying soldiers in the Washington hospitals, Whitman bought and delivered small gifts to both Confederate and Union soldiers in an attempt to alleviate their mental and physical suffering.

By mid-1865 the atrocities of the war and the ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN had left Whitman somewhat disillusioned with life. His changing attitude is reflected in

*Drum Taps*, released in May 1865. Unlike Whitman's earlier oratorical recruitment pieces, this poetic collection showed a keen awareness of the realities of war and included his most well-known allegorical poem, "O Captain, My Captain." In the poem Whitman eulogizes President ABRAHAM LINCOLN by using the metaphor of a ship's captain who has died at the end of a long voyage. The work concludes with one of Whitman's most famous verses:

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale  
and still,  
My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse  
nor will,  
The ship is anchored safe and sound, its voyage  
closed and done,  
From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with  
object won;  
Exult, O shores, and ring O bells!  
But I, with mournful tread,  
Walk the deck my Captain lies,  
Fallen cold and dead.

In fall 1865 *Sequel to Drum Taps* was published; the collection contained "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," another well-known elegy for Lincoln.

A reworked fourth edition of *Leaves of Grass* was issued in 1867. Whitman finally began garnering recognition, particularly in England, thanks to the writings of journalists William O'Connor and John Burroughs and the release of an English edition of his work edited by William Michael Rossetti.

Whitman fell ill in 1872, likely due to the emotional strain that resulted from his ambiguous sexuality. He was partially paralyzed by a stroke in January 1873, but in May he was healthy enough to journey to his brother's home in Camden, New Jersey, where his mother had died. Due to his uncertain EMPLOYMENT status and ill-health, Whitman decided to remain with his brother for several years, although by 1879 he was well enough to take an extended trip to the West.

In 1881 yet another edition of *Leaves of Grass* was published, and it was immediately denounced as immoral by the Society for the Suppression of Vice. Facing prosecution, the publisher gave the plates to Whitman, who printed an author's edition of the book. Thanks to the publicity generated by this controversy, the book sold much better than any of the preceding editions, and Whitman was able to buy a cottage in Camden, where he spent the rest of his life delivering lectures and receiving admirers. In April 1888 he suffered another stroke that left him almost completely incapacitated. Whitman died March 26, 1892, and was buried in a tomb he designed himself.

See also NURSES.

—Brian O'Camb

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**Wigfall, Louis T.** (1816–1874) *lawyer, politician*

Louis Trezevant Wigfall was a Texas politician and secessionist. Wigfall was born in Edgefield, South Carolina, on April 21, 1816. He graduated from South Carolina College in 1837 and became an attorney. He espoused secessionist sympathies as early as 1844, when he protested the protective tariff and the defeat of a motion to annex Texas. (In 1845 another motion to make Texas a U.S. state succeeded.) Blunt and outspoken, Wigfall fought several duels and was forced to leave South Carolina in 1848. He settled in Marshall, Texas, and soon became a prominent pro-Southern voice in local politics.

In 1859 Wigfall was appointed a U.S. senator, and he spent the next two years agitating for federal protection of SLAVERY while opposing all attempts at compromise. In December 1860, in the wake of ABRAHAM LINCOLN's election as president, he composed the "Southern Manifesto," which declared conciliation hopeless and urged SECESSION as the only viable alternative to subjugation. In January 1861 Wigfall joined five U.S. senators from Southern states to defeat the CRITTENDEN COMPROMISE, thus removing the country's only possible alternative to war.

Wigfall left the U.S. Senate in March 1861 and reported for duty at Charleston, South Carolina, as an aide to Gen. PIERRE GUSTAVE TOUTANT BEAUREGARD. There he gained a degree of notoriety by rowing out to the beleaguered FORT SUMTER and demanding its surrender. In consequence of his staunch support for the Confederacy, Wigfall was appointed to command the Texas Brigade in October 1861, but he resigned this post to take his seat in the CONFEDERATE CONGRESS. He differed from many contemporaries by fully supporting the wartime measures of President JEFFERSON DAVIS, including CONSCRIPTION, IMPRESSMENT, and suspension of HABEAS CORPUS. But as time went on, he became one of Davis's most strident critics. Wigfall helped to defeat Davis's effort to create a Confederate Supreme Court, which he viewed as a menace to STATES' RIGHTS. He especially opposed Davis's military conduct of the war and was instrumental in having Gen. ROBERT E. LEE appointed general in chief in January 1865.

After the war Wigfall fled the country. He remained abroad until January 1874, and he died at Galveston, Texas, on February 17, 1874. He is remembered as an ardent FIRE-EATER and secessionist.



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—John C. Fredriksen

### Wilderness, Battle of the (May 5–6, 1864)

The Battle of the Wilderness was fought on May 5 and 6, 1864, in a densely wooded area of the Virginia countryside. This first clash between the armies of ULYSSES S. GRANT and ROBERT E. LEE in the OVERLAND CAMPAIGN was a harbinger of the nonstop fighting and shockingly high casualty rates that stunned the American people in the last year of the war. The Battle of the Wilderness was a bloody stalemate, but Grant's decision afterward to fight it out until the end turned the tide toward Union victory.

The Battle of the Wilderness was waged at the same place that the BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE had been fought one year earlier. The conflict was Grant's first attack on Lee after having been named commander of all Union armies two months previously. As the Army of the Potomac approached the Rapidan River, Grant had four corps. There were three large infantry corps and also PHILIP H. SHERIDAN's cavalry corps for a total of 118,000 men. Lee had less than half the number of combat-ready soldiers as Grant, but he had the advantage of being familiar with the roads and rugged terrain.

On May 4, most of the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan River without any resistance. Lee had settled on an attack of Grant's right flank, believing that the UNION ARMY was not prepared for an assault. The vicious fighting began along the Orange Plank Road on May 5 and proceeded in a "fog" as the dense forests made artillery useless and caused many soldiers to become disoriented.

By nightfall on May 5, the lines of battle stretched for 5 miles. Lee ordered Gen. JAMES LONGSTREET to make a night march to support Gen. AMBROSE P. HILL's men, who were confronted by a large Union force under the command of Gen. WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK. Longstreet's men arrived the next morning, just in time to avert Hancock's men from destroying both Confederate flanks. Longstreet prevented defeat and halted the Union onslaught, but at the cost of a large number of casualties. Longstreet was himself wounded by friendly fire as the Union forces retreated. This slowed the Confederate pursuit and allowed the UNION ARMY to reorganize. They quickly confronted CONFEDERATE ARMY under the command of Gen. Richard H. Anderson. The firefight that broke out was so intense that logs on Union breastworks actually caught fire, literally separating the two armies.

Attacks and counterattacks continued through the day on May 6 and made for a bloody field of battle. Near sundown, Confederate commander RICHARD S. EWELL

attempted to restart the offensive by turning the Union right. Though his initial assault was partially successful, it was not completed due to nightfall. The battle had ended.

Grant had lost his first confrontation with Lee, suffering more than 17,000 casualties compared with the 8,000 inflicted on the Confederates, but he did not retreat. "At present we can claim no victory over the enemy," Grant wrote of the battle, but "neither have they gained a single advantage." Grant brought up reinforcements and continued to move the Army of the Potomac, much to their surprise and delight, in the direction of the Confederate capital. He told President Lincoln that, "whatever happens there will be no turning back." Grant had begun his plan of "total war." The next stop would be at the BATTLE OF SPOTSYLVANIA.

See also RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

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—Scott L. Stabler

### Wilmot Proviso (1846)

The Wilmot Proviso was a bill proposed in the House of Representatives by Pennsylvania Democrat David Wilmot that would have prohibited SLAVERY in all territories added to the United States as a result of the Mexican-American War (1846–48).

In 1846, President James K. Polk told Congress that the war with Mexico was a legitimate defense of U.S. territory in newly annexed Texas. He expressed his belief that Mexican dictator Santa Anna had planned to reconquer the state, which had seceded from Mexico only a decade before. Northern abolitionists were skeptical that the president was being forthright. They believed the war to be little more than a thinly disguised effort to expand Southern slavery at Mexico's expense.

Once the war was won, Polk requested a \$2 million appropriation from Congress in order to negotiate a peace settlement with Mexico. Congressman David Wilmot decided it was time to act. He proposed an amendment to the "\$2 million bill" which "provided . . . that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory [acquired from Mexico], except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted."

Quickly called the "Wilmot Proviso," the proposed amendment touched off a storm of outrage throughout the South. Southerners saw the Wilmot Proviso as a cynical



Northern effort to increase their political power. Responding to a New York congressman's support for Wilmot, Georgia congressman Seaborn Jones declared that Wilmot's real fear was not slavery at all but, rather, "the power of the South in Congress. . . . It was not . . . the damning sin of slavery that the gentleman could not tolerate . . . oh, no sir! It was the potential power thus acquired by another part of the Union that roused . . . holy indignation!"

While the House added Wilmot's proviso to the \$2 million bill, the Senate adjourned before considering the legislation. In 1847 Polk increased his request to \$3 million. Wilmot again added his proviso to the House version. This time, the Senate rejected the amendment outright.

The defeat of the Wilmot Proviso rallied antislavery forces, who abandoned the Democrat and Whig Parties in order to form organizations committed to keeping slavery out of the territories. The Liberty Party, the Free-Soil Party, and finally the REPUBLICAN PARTY all pledged themselves to passage of the proviso. David Wilmot himself was a part of this political transformation. Leaving the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, Wilmot first joined the Free-Soil Party and then, in the mid-1850s, became a Republican. During the CIVIL WAR, Wilmot served as a U.S. senator for Pennsylvania from 1861 to 1863 and then as a judge in the court of claims. By the end of the war, Wilmot's vision had become reality.

See also ABOLITION.

**Further reading:** Charles Buxton Going, *David Wilmot, Free-Soiler: A Biography of the Great Advocate of the Wilmot Proviso* (Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1966); Chaplain W. Morrison, *Democratic Politics and Sectionalism: The Wilmot Proviso Controversy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967).

—Tom Laichas

**Wilson, Henry** (1812–1875) *abolitionist, politician*

Henry Wilson was a U.S. senator regarded as one of the most effective and respected of the RADICAL REPUBLICANS. Born Jeremiah Jones Colbath on February 16, 1812, in Farmington, New Hampshire, he was a son of poor farmers. Following a decade-long indenture to a local merchant, he changed his name to Henry Wilson and became a cobbler by trade. Wilson established a profitable shoe factory in Natick, Massachusetts, then successfully ran as a Whig for a seat in the state legislature in 1841.

Politically, Wilson was an ardent abolitionist who also championed the interests of working-class people. He left the Whigs in 1848 over the party's failure to endorse the WILMOT PROVISIO, an antislavery measure. He then joined the new Free-Soil Party and edited the Free-Soil newspaper, the *Boston Republican*, until 1851. Three years later

he changed his affiliation to the American (Know-Nothing) Party, and in 1855 he was appointed to fill a U.S. Senate seat vacated by Edward Everett. As a U.S. senator, Wilson became one of the most outspoken opponents of SLAVERY and its expansion. In 1860 he became a member of the REPUBLICAN PARTY and campaigned for ABRAHAM LINCOLN's presidency, urging members of his party not to seek compromise with the South.

In spring 1861 Wilson was appointed as chair of the powerful Committee on Military Affairs, where he put his several years of experience as a brigadier general of Massachusetts militia to good use. In this capacity he capably framed and advanced legislation for organizing, recruiting, and supplying an army that numbered 1 million men by 1865. Wilson distrusted the officers of the Army of the Potomac; consequently, he pushed for an increase in admissions to the UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT in an attempt to flood the military with professional soldiers who supported Republicans. Along with fellow senator and Radical Republican CHARLES SUMNER, Wilson also championed abolitionist goals, and in 1865 he helped to create the FREEDMEN'S BUREAU to assist liberated African-American slaves.

After the war Wilson opposed President ANDREW JOHNSON's moderate RECONSTRUCTION, although he sided with moderates to advocate both federal aid for EDUCATION and homesteading throughout the South. In 1872 he shared the Republican ticket with ULYSSES S. GRANT and was elected vice president. Wilson presided over the Senate until his death in WASHINGTON, D.C., on November 22, 1875.

See also ABOLITION.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Wise, Henry A.** (1806–1876) *politician, Confederate general*

Henry Alexander Wise was GOVERNOR of Virginia and a Confederate general. Wise was born in Drummondstown, Virginia, on December 3, 1806. He graduated from Washington College in Pennsylvania in 1825 before establishing a successful legal career. Wise became an outspoken proponent of SLAVERY and Southern rights, and in 1832 he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives as a Jacksonian Democrat. However, he parted company with Andrew Jackson during the "bank war" and joined the

Whig Party; as of 1843 he was once again a member of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. In 1844 President John Tyler appointed him ambassador to Brazil, a position he held for three years. Afterward, Wise resumed his legal activities in Virginia. He served as a delegate at the state constitutional convention of 1850, and in 1855 he was elected governor.

In 1856 he campaigned on behalf of JAMES BUCHANAN for the presidency, but JOHN BROWN's abolitionist raid in 1859 pushed Wise back into the STATES' RIGHTS camp, where he demanded the vigorous prosecution of Brown and his supporters. Wise opposed SECESSION at first, but after President ABRAHAM LINCOLN called for military volunteers, he attended the Virginia secession convention in spring 1861. There he sided with the majority of delegates and voted for secession, tendering his services to the Confederacy.

Despite his lack of military experience, Wise was made a brigadier general on June 5, 1861. He was initially posted in the Kanawha Valley of western (now West) Virginia, where he lost several important skirmishes and was transferred. He ended up commanding the District of Albemarle, North Carolina, until Union forces easily captured strategic Roanoke Island. Wise was then shunted over to Virginia's Peninsula region, where he fought bravely, if ineptly, over the next three years. Despite his uneven performance in the field, Wise was a popular leader with his men. He surrendered with the main army at APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VIRGINIA, in April 1865. He subsequently resumed his legal activities, and he never asked for a governmental pardon. Wise died in RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, on September 12, 1876, a vigorous politician but an indifferent military leader.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Women's National Loyal League

The Women's National Loyal League was a political association of women in support of the Union war effort during the CIVIL WAR. Thousands of women worked to help Union troops by participating in the activities of the UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION, UNITED STATES CHRISTIAN COMMISSION, and local soldiers' aid societies. The hospital clothes they made and the fruits and vegetables they packed for shipment to the front symbolized traditions of domesticity females usually assumed during the 19th century. However, a growing number of women tried to support the war effort by operating in the political sphere dominated by men.

Most Northerners understood that SLAVERY helped cause the Civil War and that resolution of the conflict

depended on settling the questions about the position of African Americans. The debate on slavery allowed some women to assume purely political roles in their war work. They determined that the restoration of the Union depended on the EMANCIPATION of African Americans and began to plan a campaign in support of that end, calling upon women from all loyal states to join them at a convention to form the Women's National Loyal League. The meeting took place at New York's Church of the Puritans on May 14, 1863.

The drive toward emancipation for slaves undertaken that day built on earlier work done by women and on associations that men organized to support the ABRAHAM LINCOLN administration. Women had used the power of the petition to exert their influence in matters pertaining to ABOLITION as early as the 1830s. They collected signatures on documents supporting various resolutions and then sent the material to sponsoring congressmen. During the Civil War, men who supported the Republican administration formed UNION LEAGUE Clubs. These groups tried to convince citizens to support the war effort and to undercut the influence of Peace Democrats, or COPPERHEADS. At the same time, women founded their own Union League Clubs. Like soldiers' aid societies, these groups used traditional, domestic approaches to support the government. By reducing their consumption of food and textiles, needed commodities were made available for the military.

The Women's National Loyal League wanted to recognize and give moral support to the traditional work of aid societies while remaining focused on support of the government through political action. Women from more than a half-dozen states attended the first meeting. The most prominent members of the women's movement for full citizenship rights played important roles. Lucy Stone presided, and ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, Susan B. Anthony, Angelina Grimké Weld, Ernestine Rose, and Antoinette Brown Blackwell took part in the debates. The leaders announced the goal of collecting 1 million signatures on a petition calling for the emancipation of "all persons of African descent held in involuntary service in the United States."

Not all women favored the obvious political aims of the leaders, and many objected to the feminist nature of the gathering. They believed that Lincoln needed the support of women in order to restore the Union, but they felt it more appropriate to maintain a traditional role for women. They favored conservation of household goods, a focus on stimulating patriotism, and direct support of soldiers by writing LETTERS to the men and similar philanthropic activities. When the leaders of the convention refused to alter their plans, many of the conservative delegates withdrew.

Despite such objections, the organizers created a national association. Membership cost a one-dollar fee and allowed members to wear the league's pin, which had

the figure of a slave whose chains had been broken and the words, "In Emancipation is national unity." The initial goal of mere emancipation for slaves changed as a result of violence against African Americans and others during the NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOTS in 1863. Following those events, the Loyal League petitioned for citizenship for all African Americans.

By 1864 the group had more than 5,000 members. Senator CHARLES SUMNER of Massachusetts presented their documents to the political leaders. Their work resulted in more than 20,000 petitions with more than 400,000 signatures. Although their labors did not lead directly to full citizenship for African Americans or women, the Women's National Loyal League, born in war and trained in the political battle of emancipation, gave women experience in the political world from which they would ultimately gain full citizenship rights.

See also LADIES AID SOCIETIES; WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Karen Kehoe

### women soldiers (1861–1865)

With significant exceptions, most women stayed at home during the American CIVIL WAR. Their encouragement of their male relations to enlist and then stay in the army and fight was critical to the war effort, as was their willingness to assume the work burdens of their absent husbands or fathers and brothers in countless farms, plantations, and businesses across the country. In addition, thousands of women stepped outside of domestic boundaries, finding employment as nurses, factory operatives, teachers, and government clerks. Few women, however, transgressed gender norms more profoundly than a small (estimated 400–500) but fascinating group of women who enlisted as soldiers in the Civil War in the Union and Confederate armies.

Typically, many female soldiers were the wives, lovers, or sisters of male soldiers. Their identities were usually discovered fairly swiftly, leading to immediate removal from the field, as only men could enlist or be drafted in the 19th-century American military. Some were bold adventurers, such as Sarah Emma E. Edwards—nurse, spy, and soldier—who claimed to have served in the Army of the Potomac in a Michigan regiment under the name of Pvt. Franklin Thompson. Others successfully hid their gender for a while but were exposed through injury or death. CLARA BARTON tended to an injured woman in blue on the battlefield of ANTIETAM; a dead female Confederate was discovered at GETTYSBURG after Pickett's Charge;

yet another woman soldier (Union) wounded at the battle of CHATTANOOGA was captured by the Confederates and later returned by them to the North.

A number of women soldiers escaped notice altogether during the war, their secret uncovered decades later. Pvt. Albert D. J. Cashier (an Irish immigrant named Jennie Rodgers) falls into this category. Rodgers enlisted and served for three years in the 95th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, fighting at Vicksburg (see VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN). Returning to Illinois after the war, she took up farming, living as a man until an injury exposed her true sex in 1911. A former comrade in the 95th asked to comment on the surprising news described the five foot Rodgers/Cashier as a "brave little soldier." The most famous recovered female soldier is Sarah Rosetta Wakeman (Pvt. Lyons Wakeman of Company G, 153rd New York State Volunteers), whose letters were only discovered recently. The remaining women soldiers left little or no record accounting for their motivations for enlisting or descriptions of their experiences in camp and battle, but enough is known now to offer a reasonable depiction.

From the evidence, women who disguised themselves as men (cutting their hair short, wearing pants, binding their chests, changing their names) to fight in the war shared many characteristics with their male comrades. They were young, single, and largely from rural families. They enlisted for many reasons—patriotism, a desire to travel, a romantic notion of combat, or the prospect of bounties and monthly pay. Probably, female soldiers chafed at gender restrictions and longed for the kind of independence that could only be achieved through changing their sexual identities. Thus the opportunity for escape presented by the war's chaos and excitement was too good to pass up.

The ones who escaped detection by the authorities shared every challenge of soldierhood—learning how to fire a rifle, enduring the many discomforts of camp life, patiently joining in the endless marches, risking the diseases and injuries, and most of all displaying courage and fortitude in battle. "I don't know how long before I shall have to go into the field of battle," wrote Wakeman to her parents, shortly before her death in the RED RIVER CAMPAIGN. "For my part I don't care. I don't feel afraid to go," she said, adding "I don't believe there are any Rebel's bullets made for me yet."

The extreme laxity of the Civil War VOLUNTEER ARMY made it much easier to elude discovery at every stage for those who were desirous of preserving their masculine role. The initial physical exams were superficial, the training short, and army conditions, such as living outdoors, offered privacy for intimate functions. One or two cases suggest that female soldiers' male peers were complicit in keeping their secret. Generally speaking, however, powerful social conventions blinded most men from "seeing" a female

comrade, until presented with incontrovertible evidence. Women wore skirts, had long hair, acted feminine, and were not thought capable of physically or mentally handling warfare. Then, too, slight, short, beardless, high-pitched-voiced teenage boys were common enough in both armies, making genital scrutiny as unnecessary as it was unlikely.

Women fought as combatants in a number of Civil War battles and skirmishes. Like their male counterparts, they often fought bravely under fire, and some sacrificed their lives for their country. They were never lauded openly for their service, nor rewarded afterward with a veteran's pension, unless they kept their male identity. After the war, only a handful of females published accounts of their military experiences. The majority blended back into mainstream society, their anonymity frustratingly secure from history's gaze.

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### women's status and rights

The mid-19th century proved a time of upheaval in women's lives. Women—black and white—organized, declared rights, and struggled to participate in the public (especially political) sphere. By the late-19th century, they had voiced revolutionary goals but had not achieved equality.

The demand for women's rights began before supporters organized any formal efforts. Initially, 19th-century white women achieved some success by taking their domestic responsibilities into the public sphere. They took active roles in voluntary and benevolent associations, including temperance, child labor, health reform, EDUCATION, and abolitionism, that drew upon traditionally domestic chores such as child rearing, household tasks, and family management.

The links between women's rights and the abolition movement were drawn early. As abolitionists publicly demanded civil rights for African-American slaves, some women became aware of the similarities between their condition as women and that of slaves. They found it easy to draw parallels between their situation and that of African

Americans: Neither group could vote, and the law deemed both inferior to white men. Women's commitment to anti-slavery led some to form their own abolitionist organizations, including the WOMEN'S NATIONAL LOYAL LEAGUE. These female-run abolitionist groups eventually led to the founding of women's rights organizations, especially the American Equal Rights Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association.

The transition from reform movements to women's rights seemed a natural one. Women, frustrated with the restrictions placed on them in many organizations, gladly took up the fight to secure themselves a recognized place in society. They were aided by the ability to transfer the skills they had gained in the various associations to their campaigns for women's rights. In particular, women had learned the importance of organization, public speaking, persuasive writing, and argumentation. Many of the early leaders of the woman's rights campaign, including Lucretia Mott and ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, had been prominent and outspoken abolitionists. Susan B. Anthony had been both a temperance and an antislavery activist.

The first formal meeting in the fight for women's rights took place between July 19 and 21, 1848, in Seneca Falls, New York. At this convention a group of feminists, including Stanton, Mott, Jane Hunt, Mary McClintock, and Martha C. Wright, gathered together hundreds of supporters, male and female, and launched a national campaign for women's rights.

The activists at Seneca Falls presented a Declaration of Rights for Women, also known as the Declaration of Rights and Sentiments, which asserted a list of grievances and resolutions. Stanton, the declaration's author, modeled her document on the Declaration of Independence, but her rendition put American men in the role of oppressor. The declaration's list of grievances accused men of denying women the right to vote, to own property, and to access equal representation and education. It further berated men for taking away women's rights at marriage and highlighted the dangers of women's subordination to men, including their vulnerability to violence. It demanded the grievances be addressed and offered 12 resolutions. By the end of the convention, 100 people had signed the document, including 68 of the 300 women in attendance and 32 of the men. The Declaration of Rights became a rallying point for the women's rights movement. Stanton, much to the dismay of some of the people involved, also used the convention as an opportunity to demand women's suffrage.

Two weeks after the Seneca Falls Convention, an even larger women's rights meeting was held in Rochester, New York, and other women's rights conventions soon followed. The most well-known meetings took place in Salem, Ohio; Worcester, Massachusetts; and Akron, Ohio. At the convention in Akron in 1851, runaway slave and women's



rights activist SOJOURNER TRUTH addressed the audience. In response to ideas about the natural delicacy of white women, she recounted some aspects of her life as a slave. Although white women were seen as too feminine and delicate to do any hard labor or even get into a carriage themselves, Truth asserted herself as a woman despite her work as an enslaved field laborer and mother of 13. As she listed her hardships, Truth continued to ask her audience, "A'n't I a woman?" She and other free black women demonstrated that they, too, wanted equal rights.

Women continued to organize and lobby for their rights throughout the 1850s. In 1854 Stanton founded the New York Suffrage Society, which organized petition drives and gathered 10,000 signatures in favor of women's suffrage and property rights. That year, both Anthony and Ernestine Rose spoke to various legislative committees. In addition, Stanton became the first woman to speak in the New York Senate when she stood to present the society's petitions.

By 1860 women had gained access to public and private institutions that educated them for careers in teaching. Newly formed women's medical hospitals also trained them to work in the medical profession as physicians and medical missionaries. It was initially assumed that female doctors would care only for other women and children.

The CIVIL WAR brought women into the public sphere in even greater numbers—raising money for soldiers, nursing the wounded, and providing other valuable services. American women founded more than 20,000 aid societies to supply the troops with food, clothing, and medical supplies. In the North, women soon filled the ranks of the UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION, a volunteer organization run by men but dependent on the efforts of women to get medical supplies and personnel to army hospitals. In addition, women also filled the jobs left empty by the soldiers on the battlefield, including those as PLANTATION mistresses, factory workers, NURSES, and treasury employees. Both the U.S. and Confederate governments, for example, employed several hundred women to work in the treasury and at other government posts during the war. Women's voluntary participation in various roles highlighted their desire to sustain the HOMEFRONT, even if it meant assuming traditionally male roles. Some women hoped that their successful performance during the Civil War would assist them in their fight for suffrage and other rights of citizenship.

Women in the North and South also asserted their rights as citizens through wartime protests. In 1863 angry women participated in FOOD RIOTS in the South and draft riots in the North. In separate but similar incidents, Southern women, especially in Virginia, Alabama, and North Carolina, took to the streets to demand fair food prices and government protection. Northern women similarly participated in antigovernment actions. Many lower-class women

participated in the NEW YORK CITY DRAFT RIOTS in the summer of 1863 to protest the IMPRESSMENT of their husbands into military service and wartime policies designed to free slaves. During the lengthy and violent riots, several hundred women were arrested, convicted, and jailed.

As the Civil War came to a close and Congress discussed extending the vote to freed African Americans, feminists hoped that the expansion of the franchise would extend to female citizens. They were disappointed by the inclusion of the word *male* in the FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT, the first time gender-specific language had been used in the Constitution. Such wording made clear the idea that Congress intended to extend voting rights only to men. To protest the exclusion of women's suffrage in the Fourteenth Amendment, Stanton ran for Congress in August 1866. She gained only 24 votes.

After the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, female activists regrouped. On May 10, 1866, the National Women's Rights Convention established the American Equal Rights Association to work for the rights of all women, regardless of race. The women involved hoped that a coordinated effort would ultimately result in woman suffrage. Republican men who felt threatened by the idea of woman suffrage often ridiculed the mostly Northern Republican women who were involved in this movement.

White feminists disagreed with the tactics of the American Equal Rights Association. Anthony and Stanton, for example, thought the biracial organization unfairly ranked African-American rights ahead of woman suffrage. Consequently, they formed the NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION (NWSA) in May 1869. Stanton became the NWSA's president and actively pursued a national campaign for white-woman suffrage. The NWSA attracted many working-class women and radicals and refused to support the FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT unless it enfranchised women as well as African Americans.

The NWSA had many opponents, even among those working for women's rights. Later that year, Lucy Stone, JULIA WARD HOWE, and other conservative feminists established the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). In contrast to the NWSA, the AWSA invited male as well as female members and pursued a state-by-state, instead of a nationwide, strategy for woman suffrage. The AWSA supported the Fifteenth Amendment and lobbied at the Republican convention. The membership of the AWSA was largely middle class. Not wanting to detract from any effort for woman suffrage, many women joined both organizations.

Some of the efforts for woman suffrage proved successful. In Wyoming, women received the right to vote on September 6, 1870. Few states followed suit, however, and it would be another 50 years before the right was given to women throughout the United States. The slow-moving

results did not slow down radical feminists' attempts to gain rights. In an effort to gain the franchise, Victoria Woodhull presented a petition for woman suffrage to the House Judiciary Committee on January 11, 1871. Her address to the Judiciary Committee was the first one made directly by a woman.

Women continued to participate in reform movements in post-Civil War America. They primarily focused, as before, on issues seen as vital to the stability of the household. When the Women's Christian Temperance Union was established on November 18, 1874, Annie Wittenmyer became the organization's first president. The WCTU would play an integral part in the fight against alcohol's detrimental effects on fathers and families.

After EMANCIPATION, freedwomen worked to improve the legal and economic status of their families and communities. Like white women, they could not vote, but they participated in political activities. Black women attended rallies and parades and spoke at public meetings, encouraging their men to vote. They hoped that male African-American enfranchisement would give them a voice and the rights they had been denied as slaves. African-American leaders such as Ida B. Wells of Tennessee promoted education, civil rights, and campaigns against Southern violence. Black women also asserted themselves as women and mothers in the postwar years as they actively worked to reclaim their families and win legal recognition of their marriages. In addition, African-American women actively worked to gain voting rights as well as civil rights, even though they were often excluded from the larger, white-run women's organizations fighting for suffrage and other women's rights.

By the end of RECONSTRUCTION, the fight for women's rights remained close to where it was at the Seneca

Falls Convention in 1848. For the U.S. Centennial Exposition of 1876, Stanton and Matilda Joslyn Gage prepared a document, the Declaration of Rights of Women, that they hoped would alert the public to the difficulties and inequalities that women continued to face in postwar America. This document, much like the Declaration of Rights and Sentiments in 1848, mirrored the rhetoric and ideas of the Declaration of Independence but highlighted the contradictions between the official ideals and the realities of women's lives. Members of the NWSA asked the centennial committee to allow them to present their document at the public celebration, but the committee denied this request. In protest, at the end of the official program, Anthony and Gage pushed their way to the speaker's platform and presented a copy of their Declaration of Rights. They demanded equal civil and political rights for American women, including the right to serve on juries, no TAXATION without representation, and the removal of the word *male* from state constitutions and judicial codes. Taking things further than did the 1848 declaration, the centennial document demanded equal political rights for American women.

See also ABOLITION; LADIES AID SOCIETIES.

**Further reading:** Catherine Clinton, *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999); Nancy F. Cott, ed., *No Small Courage: A History of Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Linda K. Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998).

—Lisa Tendrich Frank

# Y



## **Yancey, William Lowndes** (1814–1863) *politician*

Diplomat, politician, and orator, William Lowndes Yancey was born in Warren County, Virginia, in 1814 to Benjamin Cuworth Yancey and Caroline Bird. Yancey's father died when he was very young, and soon thereafter his mother married Presbyterian reverend Nathan S. S. Beman. In 1823 Beman decided to move the family to New York, where he became involved in the abolitionist movement. Beman's dignified public persona as a reverend and social reformer was in marked contrast to his conduct in private, where he verbally and physically abused his wife. Young William grew to hate his stepfather's hypocrisy, which he equated with his abolitionism.

In 1833 Yancey returned to the South. He dropped out of Williams College in Massachusetts and moved to Greenville, South Carolina. While in Greenville, Yancey tried his hand at a number of professions. He edited the *Greenville Mountaineer*, where he regularly attacked John C. Calhoun for his secessionist rhetoric. He read law under Benjamin F. Perry and was admitted to the bar. He also became a **PLANTATION** owner after marrying Sarah Carolina Earle in 1835 and gaining control of her 35 slaves. The young couple settled in Alabama.

During the latter part of the 1830s Yancey suffered a number of misfortunes. He lost a great deal of money in the panic of 1837. In 1838 he was convicted of manslaughter after killing his wife's uncle during an argument. In 1839, shortly after his release from prison, most of Yancey's slaves died after an angry neighbor poisoned the well at his plantation. As a result, he was compelled to return to the practice of law to support himself and his wife.

In 1840 Yancey decided to become a candidate for political office. By this time, he had completely reversed his earlier position and was an ardent supporter of Calhoun and his **STATES' RIGHTS** philosophy. Yancey served in Alabama's legislature from 1841 to 1842 and in the state's senate from 1843 to 1844. He was then elected to two terms

in the U.S. House of Representatives. Yancey's first speech as a congressman so enraged one of his colleagues that a duel was arranged, although no blood was shed. Yancey quickly grew weary of the need to constantly compromise his beliefs, and despite being reelected he resigned his seat in 1846.

Yancey did not return to politics before the **CIVIL WAR** started. Instead, he became a devoted and forceful speaker on behalf of **SECESSION**. He wrote **LETTERS** and delivered hundreds of speeches on behalf of the cause, earning a name as the "prince of the **FIRE-EATERS**." In 1860 Yancey led the group of Southern delegates who abandoned the Democratic convention in Charleston. In 1861, he led the convention that took Alabama out of the Union.

Despite Yancey's prominence, he and other fire-eaters were not offered important positions in the Confederate government. **JEFFERSON DAVIS** needed to convince the states of the Upper South to join the Confederacy, and that goal was best served if moderates appeared to be in control. To keep Yancey quiet, Davis gave him responsibility for leading a delegation to England to try and secure recognition for the Confederacy. The mission failed, in part because the Confederacy had little leverage and in part because the hot-tempered Yancey was not a very good diplomat.

Yancey returned to the Confederacy in 1862 and was elected to a seat in the Confederate Congress. Convinced that Jefferson Davis had set him up to fail in England, he became one of the administration's harshest critics. Yancey attacked the president for seizing too much power and for failing to promote enough Alabamians to generalships. Yancey never received satisfaction on either of these issues, although he was able to help stop the Confederacy from establishing a supreme court in 1863. Shortly after this victory, Yancey was reduced to invalidism by the kidney disease he had suffered from for many

#### 440 Yancey, William Lowndes

years. He died in Montgomery in July 1863, just before his 49th birthday.

**Further reading:** John DuBose, *The Life and Times of William Lowndes Yancey* (New York: P. Smith, 1942); Eric

H. Walther, *The Fire-Eaters* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992).

—Christopher Bates





## Zouaves

The word *Zouave* refers to a type of UNIFORM borrowed from French military FASHION by CIVIL WAR soldiers in both the North and South. The distinctive features of this style of uniform are baggy pants, frequently accompanied by a sleeveless vest, a collarless jacket, and a fez hat.

Some American Zouave units took their quest for authenticity to extremes. These soldiers might wear turbans instead of fezzes or even shave their heads in imitation of the original Zouave soldiers. Zouave uniforms frequently came in high-visibility red, which apparently gave these 19th-century warriors little cause for concern. Whatever the style, all Civil War Zouaves went into the war clad in a similarly gaudy manner.

Zouave uniforms originated in Algeria, and Algerian men serving in the French Foreign legion introduced the uniform to Europe. These original Zouaves had a well-publicized reputation for military prowess, particularly for their ability to reload their rifles from the prone position. As Europeans adopted the uniforms, military units also took the name of “Zouave.” Zouave fame spread worldwide in the wake of the Crimean War, where they performed valiantly. By this time, native-born Frenchman composed nearly all the Zouave units.

GEORGE BRINTON MCCLELLAN served as the official U.S. observer of the Crimean War, and in this capacity he filed a report to the U.S. Congress. McClellan lavished praise on the Zouaves, claiming that they represented “the beau-ideal of a soldier.” Although McClellan’s report had some influence upon the Zouave craze in the United States, his influence was secondary to that of Elmer Ephraim Ellsworth.

In 1859 Ellsworth introduced the Zouave fashion to Chicago. Ellsworth was a charismatic militia leader, and he took a unit of the Chicago militia and transformed them into the “Zouave Cadets of Chicago.” People paid to watch militia units drill, and Ellsworth’s men became a crowd favorite throughout the Midwest and the East. In addition

to the flashy uniform, Ellsworth’s men appealed to the public with the gymnastic feats they incorporated into their drill routine.

When the Civil War began, Ellsworth became the colonel of the 11th New York Infantry, and he introduced the Zouave uniform to the New York soldiers under his command. Many of these soldiers had been members of the NEW YORK CITY Fire Department, so the 11th New York Infantry came to be called “Ellsworth’s Fire Zouaves.”

Ellsworth became one of the first casualties of the Civil War when an incensed innkeeper shot him for removing a Confederate flag from the roof of the Marshall House Tavern in Alexandria, Virginia, on May 24, 1861. Ellsworth’s early martyrdom influenced many other Union units to adopt the Zouave uniform. By the end of 1861, New York City alone had four complete Zouave regiments. One of these regiments, the Ninth New York, commonly known as Hawkin’s Zouaves, suffered 63 percent casualties at the BATTLE OF ANTIETAM. It is said that for a battle cry the Ninth chanted, “zoo! zoo! zoo!”

The South had very few Zouave soldiers except in Louisiana. During the course of the war, the Louisianians found it difficult to replace their distinctive uniforms. The Union blockade of the South made it nearly impossible to reacquire such fashions from abroad. However, the famed LOUISIANA TIGERS, who composed the 10th Louisiana infantry, maintained a ragged version of their uniform throughout the war.

Chatam Roberdau Wheat, a soldier of fortune who had fought with Garibaldi for the unification of Italy, created the 10th Louisiana, recruited from the roughest neighborhoods of New Orleans. Although the majority of the Louisiana Tigers were of Irish descent, the unit boasted soldiers of 15 different nationalities. The 10th Louisiana served throughout the war in ROBERT E. LEE’s Army of Northern Virginia, and it is sometimes referred to today as “Lee’s Foreign Legion.”



A wounded Zouave being offered a drink by a companion after the Battle of Chancellorsville (National Archives)

Pennsylvania was the Northern state that boasted the most Zouave units. One Pennsylvania unit served as the personal bodyguard of Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks. This unit, which called itself the Zouaves d'Afrique, was chased from the field at FIRST BULL RUN by the 10th Louisiana Infantry. Later, at the BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, the Zouaves d'Afrique played an essential role in turning back the Confederate assault on Cemetery Hill.

Northern Zouave units maintained their popularity with civilians throughout the war. Oftentimes, in the early years of the conflict, when patriotic sentiments still ran high, Zouaves participated in "musical entertainments." These entertainments involved brass band concerts interspersed

with drill maneuvers, courtesy of the Zouaves. Such concerts sometimes went on for two to three hours at a time. Even today, Zouave units are very popular among "living history" buffs who engage in Civil War reenactments. The gaudy Zouave uniform still appeals today, largely because it harks back to a moment outside of living memory: a time when leaders tried to make war into a chivalric spectacle.

**Further reading:** Michael J. McAfee, *Zouaves: The First and the Bravest* (Gettysburg, Pa.: Thomas Publications, 1991); William Wray, *Birney's Zouaves Civil War: Life of the 23rd Pennsylvania Volunteers* (New York: Bloch, 2000).

—Chad Vanderford

# Chronology

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## 1856

James Buchanan, a proslavery Democrat from Pennsylvania, defeats Republican candidate John C. Frémont in the presidential election.

Tensions between antislavery and proslavery settlers in Kansas erupt into a guerrilla war; the conflict is called “Bleeding Kansas.”

Senator Charles Sumner’s “Crime against Kansas Speech” vehemently denounces the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 and its authors.

## 1857

In the *Dred Scott* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that a slave is not a citizen; the ruling provokes criticism in the North.

Proslavery advocates draft the Lecompton Constitution of 1857 to organize the Kansas Territory as a slave state.

## 1858

The first transatlantic telegraph cable is completed; the project is backed by financier Cyrus Field.

U.S. consul general Townsend Harris negotiates the Harris Treaty of 1858 with Japan. The treaty opens Japanese ports to American trade, grants U.S. citizens resident rights in Japan, and establishes diplomatic missions in the capitals of both nations.

The U.S.-Chinese Treaty of 1858 allows U.S. ships increased access to Chinese ports and grants U.S. citizens in China exemption from local jurisdiction.

Albert Bierstadt begins painting his landscapes of the American West.

The Pike’s Peak gold rush brings many settlers and miners into the Cheyenne and Arapaho hunting grounds in Colorado; when the Indians refuse to sell their land and move to reservations, Governor John Evans declares war on them, putting Col. John Chivington in charge of the operation.

Abraham Lincoln’s senatorial nomination acceptance, the “House Divided” speech, declares that the Union could not continue as half slaveholding and half free.

U.S. senatorial candidates Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas tour the state of Illinois debating the future of slavery and the Union.

## 1859

John Brown raids Harpers Ferry, Virginia (later, West Virginia), with a band of antislavery guerrillas and seizes a federal armory. He is captured by U.S. marines under Col. Robert E. Lee and is eventually hanged.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision *Ableman v. Booth*; *United States v. Booth* reverses a Wisconsin Supreme Court decision that freed an abolitionist who had defied the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.

## 1860

Adventurer William Walker is executed in Honduras after a second attempt to conquer Nicaragua.

Abraham Lincoln’s Cooper Union speech makes him a potential candidate for the Republican presidential nomination.

Members of the lapsed Whig and American Parties construct the Constitutional Union Party platform as an additional alternative to resolution of the slavery dilemma.

The Pony Express provides mail service from Missouri to California.

The Democratic Party’s convention splits over slavery. Southerners nominate John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. The Northern faction nominates Stephen A. Douglas, dividing the party’s vote.

Republican Abraham Lincoln is elected as the 16th president of the United States, defeating John Bell, John C. Breckinridge, and Stephen A. Douglas.

South Carolina refuses to accept the results of the presidential election and secedes from the Union on

December 20. Fort Sumter, a Union fort in the harbor at Charleston, South Carolina, is reinforced.

The Crittenden Compromise of 1860, which upheld the resolves of the Compromise of 1850, is a last-ditch effort to stave off civil war.

### 1861

Cochise leads the Chiricahua Apache in raids against white settlers and travelers in the Apache Pass in the Arizona Territory.

The Morrill Tariff Act of 1861 raises protective duties on such materials as iron and wool.

Over the objections of President Lincoln, U.S. Congress passes the Confiscation Act of 1861. The law allows the Union government to seize any property, including slaves, used to aid the Confederacy.

Gen. Frémont's Emancipation Order of 1861 declares martial law in Missouri and allows Union forces to confiscate the property and slaves of rebels.

U.S. Congress admits Kansas into the Union under its antislavery constitution.

Representatives from the secessionist states meet at Montgomery, Alabama, to draft their own constitution and establish themselves as the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis is chosen as the Confederacy's provisional president.

Abraham Lincoln is inaugurated as the 16th president of the (now divided) United States.

A memorandum to the president from his secretary of state, William Seward's "Plan to Avoid War," suggests how the president should bring the slavery conflict to a resolution without resorting to war.

Confederate shore batteries under the command of Gen. Pierre G. T. Beauregard begin firing on Fort Sumter, marking the start of the Civil War. The fort's commander, Maj. Robert Anderson, surrenders; he and his troops are allowed to return to the North.

Robert E. Lee resigns his commission in the Union army and becomes a Confederate commander.

President Lincoln calls for 75,000 Union volunteers to put down the Southern rebellion and forms the Army of the Potomac.

Confederates under Gens. Joseph E. Johnston and Thomas J. Jackson rout Union forces at the First Battle of Bull Run. Jackson earns the nickname "Stonewall."

### 1862

Union troops, after driving the Confederates out of New Mexico, begin a campaign, led by Gen. James Carleton and Col. Christopher "Kit" Carson, against the Mescalero Apache and the Navajo.

U.S. Congress passes the Legal Tender Act of 1862 to fund the Union war effort.

U.S. Congress issues the Ironclad Oath, which requires all federal, civil, and military officials—elected or appointed, honorary or paid—to swear allegiance to the U.S. Constitution.

The Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862 gives states federal lands for the establishment of colleges.

The Homestead Act of 1862 is passed, providing for U.S. settlement of the West.

U.S. Congress passes the Pacific Railroad Act of 1862, which provides land grants and loans for the first transcontinental railroad.

U.S. Congress passes the Confiscation Act of 1862, providing for the seizure of property of rebel slaveholders and the emancipation of their slaves.

The Santee Sioux revolt in Minnesota after their government annuity is delayed; they are led by Little Crow. The uprising is put down by Gen. Henry H. Sibley.

The fight of the ironclads takes place between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia* at Hampton Roads, Virginia.

Jefferson Davis is inaugurated as the president of the Confederacy.

Union troops are ferried to the Virginia peninsula, beginning the Peninsular campaign.

The Confederates conduct a surprise attack on Gen. Ulysses S. Grant's forces in Shiloh, Tennessee. The Union suffers almost 25,000 casualties, but the army maintains its positions.

New Orleans falls to Union forces under Adm. David Farragut.

Confederate general J. E. B. Stuart makes a daring cavalry foray against Union supply lines on the Virginia peninsula, bolstering Southern morale.

Gen. George McClellan repulses a Confederate attack at Malvern Hill in Virginia.

Union general John Pope's forces are dealt a severe blow at the Second Battle of Bull Run. Gens. Stonewall Jackson and James Longstreet command the victorious Confederates.

Confederate general Robert E. Lee's advance into Maryland is halted at the Battle of Antietam, the bloodiest one-day battle in U.S. history.

More than 100,000 Union troops led by Gen. Ambrose Burnside engage Robert E. Lee's Confederate forces at Fredericksburg, Virginia. After a bloody assault, the Union attack is repulsed.

The pro-Union western counties of Virginia form the state of West Virginia.

An entreaty to President Lincoln published in the *New York Tribune*, Horace Greeley's "Prayer of Twenty Millions," urges emancipation for the millions of enslaved blacks.

President Lincoln's reply to Greeley stresses his duty to preserve the Union by any means necessary—with or without emancipation.



**1863**

Abraham Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation, which declares all slaves in Confederate-held territory free; in reality, the proclamation does not free any slaves, but it makes the destruction of slavery a Union goal.

Gen. Ulysses Grant's Order No. 11 expels all Jews from Union-controlled Tennessee. It is Grant's attempt to end war profiteering, which he attributed mainly to Jewish traders.

In an effort to halt hostility and insults directed toward Union troops by New Orleans residents, particularly women, Gen. Benjamin Franklin Butler's Order No. 28 declares that any female insulting or showing contempt for any U.S. officer or soldier should be treated as a prostitute.

The 54th Massachusetts Regiment, the first all-black regiment from the North, loses half of its men in a charge at Fort Wagner, South Carolina.

Gen. Joseph Hooker assumes command of the Army of the Potomac.

The Union suffers a setback in the Battle of Chancellorsville in Virginia. Confederate Gen. Stonewall Jackson is mortally wounded by one of his own men.

Vicksburg is under siege by the Union army.

The pivotal Battle of Gettysburg takes place as Confederate forces under Gen. Robert E. Lee advance into Pennsylvania. Union general George Meade defeats the Confederates in a battle that leaves 50,000 casualties on both sides.

The Union captures Vicksburg, Mississippi; Confederate forces are surrounded on land and on water and are running out of food. They surrender to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, and Union forces take control of the Mississippi River.

The New York Draft Riots occur, leaving 1,000 people dead or wounded. Blacks are the principal targets of the violence.

Confederate leader William Quantrill raids the pro-Union town of Lawrence, Kansas, slaughtering more than 100 civilians.

Union forces at Chattanooga, Tennessee, are besieged by the Confederate army.

President Lincoln delivers his Gettysburg Address at the dedication of a military cemetery on the battlefield.

U.S. Congress passes the National Bank Act of 1863, which creates a national banking system.

Tennessee is conquered by Northern forces and prepared for its restoration to the Union.

President Lincoln's Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction is an early attempt to create a coherent strategy for reincorporating rebel states into the Union.

In Frances Willard's "Women's Lesser Duties" speech, she stresses that women should learn the arts and domestic duties, as well as be pure, charming, and moral.

The Habeas Corpus Act of 1863 gives the government the power to imprison an individual indefinitely without being charged.

**1864**

Col. John Chivington leads the Colorado volunteers against the Cheyenne and Arapaho in the Sand Creek Massacre, despite the peace agreement at Camp Weld.

Confederate general Nathan Bedford Forrest captures Fort Pillow in Tennessee. Only 14 Confederates were killed and 86 wounded, while the Union forces had 231 killed and 1,000 wounded; many of the Union losses were black soldiers.

Gen. Ulysses S. Grant is given command of all Union forces.

The Spotsylvania campaign leads to a day of fighting at the "bloody angle."

With his direct assaults on Petersburg, Virginia, having failed, Union general Ulysses S. Grant prepares to besiege the city, whose defense is commanded by Confederate general Robert E. Lee.

A cavalry force under Confederate general Jubal Early reaches the outskirts of Washington, D.C., before deciding to withdraw.

The Confederate defenses at Petersburg, Virginia, are shattered by the huge explosion of a mine planted by Union engineers. Union assault troops fail to exploit the mine attack and are shot down mercilessly in the crater left by the explosion.

Adm. David Farragut leads a Union fleet to victory in the Battle of Mobile Bay and closes that port to the Confederacy.

Union troops begin their occupation of Atlanta after four weeks of siege.

Lincoln is reelected.

Union troops under Gen. William T. Sherman begin their destructive advance across Georgia, from Atlanta to the coast.

U.S. Congress passes the severe Reconstruction measure, the Wade-Davis Bill of 1864. It allows rebel states to return to the United States only after a majority of white male citizens take an oath of allegiance to the Union and after the adoption of a state constitution acceptable to the president and Congress.

**1865**

U.S. Congress passes the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which abolishes slavery throughout the nation.

Gen. Robert E. Lee surrenders to Ulysses S. Grant at the Appomattox Court House.

In his last speech, Lincoln advocates voting rights for black soldiers.

John Wilkes Booth assassinates President Lincoln; Andrew Johnson becomes president.

Mark Twain publishes *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County* to national acclaim.

Union Republican representative Henry J. Raymond's speech on Reconstruction proposes a moderate strategy for reincorporating rebel states into the Union.

Radical Republican representative Thaddeus Stevens's speech on Reconstruction advocates a harsh, punitive approach to the former Confederate states.

Confederate commander Gen. Robert E. Lee, in his farewell, praises his troops for their courage and devotion to their country.

U.S. Congress creates the Freedmen's Bureau to help educate freed slaves and integrate them into society.

President Johnson proclaims a general amnesty for all but the most prominent ex-Confederates.

A U.S. Congress dominated by Radical Republicans convenes in Washington; the Radicals advocate equal rights for blacks and a harsh Reconstruction program for the South.

The Black Codes (statutes that restrict the rights of African Americans) are passed in Mississippi and quickly spread throughout the South.

### 1866

Fisk University opens in Nashville, Tennessee.

Overriding President Johnson's veto, U.S. Congress passes the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which confers citizenship upon black people and grants the same rights and responsibilities to all persons born in the United States, except Native Americans.

Radical Republican Thaddeus Stevens proposes distributing 40-acre plots of land to freed blacks, but the plan is voted down in Congress.

The Ku Klux Klan, an organization of white Southerners, many of them ex-Confederates dedicated to white supremacy, holds its first meeting in Pulaski, Tennessee. The Klan spreads terror throughout the South for several years.

U.S. Congress adopts the Fourteenth Amendment, which grants full rights of citizenship to blacks.

The Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), an organization of Union veterans, is formed.

Jesse James and his brother Frank form a band of bank robbers.

### 1867

The Republican-dominated U.S. Congress passes two influential pieces of legislation: the Reconstruction Acts of 1867–68, which divide the South into five districts con-

trolled completely by the military, and the Tenure of Office Act of 1867, which makes it impossible for the president to dismiss a cabinet member without Senate approval.

Secretary of State William Henry Seward negotiates the purchase of Alaska from Russia.

Jay Gould becomes director of the Erie Railroad; Gould oversees fraudulent stock sales to ward off a takeover attempt by Cornelius Vanderbilt.

The Peonage Abolition Act of 1867 outlaws involuntary servitude. It is designed to help support and amplify the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Native American tribes in the southwestern Indian Territory cede lands in the Texas Panhandle to the U.S. government. This land was originally granted to the tribes in earlier treaties.

In *Mississippi v. Johnson*, the state of Mississippi seeks to prevent President Johnson from enforcing Reconstruction legislation.

### 1868

In the Treaty of Fort Laramie, the U.S. government guarantees the Sioux exclusive possession of the land in South Dakota west of the Missouri River.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is ratified, granting citizenship to African Americans.

Sioux chief Red Cloud forces the U.S. Army to evacuate three western forts.

President Andrew Johnson, who advocates a lenient Reconstruction policy, fires Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. The Radical Republicans impeach Johnson for "high crimes and misdemeanors," and he is acquitted by a single vote.

Republican candidate and former Union general Ulysses S. Grant defeats Democrat Horatio Seymour in the presidential election.

Louisa May Alcott publishes her novel *Little Women*.

### 1869

U.S. Congress adopts the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which extends the right to vote to African Americans.

Inventor George Westinghouse applies for a patent on the air brake, which greatly improves railroad safety.

The Central Pacific Railroad, built east from California, connects with the Union Pacific Railroad at Promontory Point, Utah, completing the first transcontinental railroad.

Financier Jim Fisk tries to corner the gold market and causes a financial panic.

Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton found the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA).

# Documents



## **“House Divided” Speech (1858)** **Abraham Lincoln**

In Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, vol. 2 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953–55), pp. 461–469

June 16, 1858

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention.

If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it.

We are now far into the fifth year, since a policy was initiated, with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation.

Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, not ceased, but has constantly augmented.

In my opinion, it will not cease, until a crisis shall have been reached, and passed.

“A house divided against itself cannot stand.”

I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free.

I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other.

Either the opponents of slavery, will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South.

Have we no tendency to the latter condition?

Let any one who doubts, carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination—piece of machinery so to speak—compounded of the Nebraska doctrine, and the Dred Scott decision. Let him consider not only

what work the machinery is adapted to do, and how well adapted; but also, let him study the history of its construction, and trace, if he can, or rather fail, if he can, to trace the evidences of design, and concert of action, among its chief architects, from the beginning.

But, so far, Congress only, had acted; and an indorsement by the people, real or apparent, was indispensable, to save the point already gained, and give chance for more.

The new year of 1854, found slavery excluded from more than half the States by State Constitutions, and from most of the national territory by Congressional prohibition.

Four days later, commenced the struggle, which ended in repealing that Congressional prohibition.

This opened all the national territory to slavery; and was the first point gained.

But, so far, Congress only, had acted; and an indorsement by the people, real or apparent, was indispensable, to save the point already gained, and give chance for more.

This necessity had not been overlooked; but had been provided for, as well as might be, in the notable argument of “squatter sovereignty,” otherwise called “sacred right of self government,” which latter phrase, though expressive of the only rightful basis of any government, was so perverted in this attempted use of it as to amount to just this: That if any one man, choose to enslave another, no third man shall be allowed to object.

That argument was incorporated into the Nebraska bill itself, in the language which follows: “It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or state, not exclude it therefrom; but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.”

Then opened the roar of loose declamation in favor of “Squatter Sovereignty,” and “Sacred right of self government.”

"But," said opposition members, "let us be more specific—let us amend the bill so as to expressly declare that the people of the territory may exclude slavery." "Not we," said the friends of the measure; and down they voted the amendment.

While the Nebraska bill was passing through congress, a law case, involving the question of a negro's freedom, by reason of his owner having voluntarily taken him first into a free state and then a territory covered by the congressional prohibition, and held him as a slave, for a long time in each, was passing through the U.S. Circuit Court for the District of Missouri; and both Nebraska bill and law suit were brought to a decision in the same month of May, 1854. The negro's name was "Dred Scott," which name now designates the decision finally made in the case.

Before the then next Presidential election, the law case came to, and was argued in the Supreme Court of the United States; but the decision of it was deferred until after the election. Still, before the election, Senator Trumbull, on the floor of the Senate, requests the leading advocate of the Nebraska bill to state his opinion whether the people of a territory can constitutionally exclude slavery from their limits; and the latter answers, "That is a question for the Supreme Court."

The election came. Mr. Buchanan was elected, and the indorsement, such as it was, secured. That was the second point gained. The indorsement, however, fell short of a clear popular majority by nearly four hundred thousand votes, and so, perhaps, was not overwhelmingly reliable and satisfactory.

The outgoing President, in his last annual message, as impressively as possible echoed back upon the people the weight and authority of the indorsement.

The Supreme court met again; did not announce their decision, but ordered a re-argument.

The Presidential inauguration came, and still no decision of the court; but the incoming President, in his inaugural address, fervently exhorted the people to abide by the forthcoming decision, whatever it might be.

Then, in a few days, came the decision.

The reputed author of the Nebraska bill finds an early occasion to make a speech at this capitol indorsing the Dred Scott Decision, and vehemently denouncing all opposition to it.

The new President, too, seizes the early occasion of the Silliman letter to indorse and strongly construe that decision, and to express his astonishment that any different view had ever been entertained.

At length a squabble springs up between the President and the author of the Nebraska bill, on the mere question of fact, whether the Lecompton constitution was or was not, in any just sense, made by the people of Kansas; and in that squabble the latter declares that all he wants is a fair

vote for the people, and that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up. I do not understand his declaration that he cares not whether slavery be voted down or voted up, to be intended by him other than as an apt definition of the policy he would impress upon the public mind—the principle for which he declares he has suffered much, and is ready to suffer to the end.

And well may he cling to that principle. If he has any parental feeling, well may he cling to it. That principle, is the only shred left of his original Nebraska doctrine. Under the Dred Scott decision, "squatter sovereignty" squatted out of existence, tumbled down like temporary scaffolding—like the mould at the foundry served through one blast and fell back into loose sand—helped to carry an election, and then was kicked to the winds. His late joint struggle with the Republicans, against the Lecompton Constitution, involves nothing of the original Nebraska doctrine. That struggle was made on a point, the right of a people to make their own constitution, upon which he and the Republicans have never differed.

The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with Senator Douglas' "care not" policy, constitute the piece of machinery, in its present state of advancement. This was the third point gained.

The working points of that machinery are:

First, that no negro slave, imported as such from Africa, and no descendant of such slave can ever be a citizen of any State, in the sense of that term as used in the Constitution of the United States.

This point is made in order to deprive the negro, in every possible event, of the benefit of this provision of the United States Constitution, which declares that—

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

Secondly, that "subject to the Constitution of the United States," neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature can exclude slavery from any United States territory.

This point is made in order that individual men may fill up the territories with slaves, without danger of losing them as property, and thus to enhance the chances of permanency to the institution through all the future.

Thirdly, that whether the holding a negro in actual slavery in a free State, makes him free, as against the holder, the United States courts will not decide, but will leave to be decided by the courts of any slave State the negro may be forced into by the master.

This point is made, not to be pressed immediately; but, if acquiesced in for a while, and apparently indorsed by the people at an election, then to sustain the logical conclusion that what Dred Scott's master might lawfully do with Dred Scott, in the free State of Illinois, every other master may lawfully do with any other one, or one thousand slaves, in Illinois, or in any other free State.



Auxiliary to all this, and working hand in hand with it, the Nebraska doctrine, or what is left of it, is to educate and mould public opinion, at least Northern public opinion, to not care whether slavery is voted down or voted up.

This shows exactly where we now are; and partially also, whither we are tending.

It will throw additional light on the latter, to go back, and run the mind over the string of historical facts already stated. Several things will now appear less dark and mysterious than they did when they were transpiring. The people were to be left “perfectly free” “subject only to the Constitution.” What the Constitution had to do with it, outsiders could not then see. Plainly enough now, it was an exactly fitted niche, for the Dred Scott decision to afterwards come in, and declare the perfect freedom of the people, to be just no freedom at all.

Why was the amendment, expressly declaring the right of the people to exclude slavery, voted down? Plainly enough now, the adoption of it, would have spoiled the niche for the Dred Scott decision.

Why was the court decision held up? Why, even a Senator’s individual opinion withheld, till after the Presidential election? Plainly enough now, the speaking out then would have damaged the “perfectly free” argument upon which the election was to be carried.

Why the outgoing President’s felicitation on the indorsement? Why the delay of a reargument? Why the incoming President’s advance exhortation in favor of the decision?

These things look like the cautious patting and petting a spirited horse, preparatory to mounting him, when it is dreaded that he may give the rider a fall.

And why the hasty after indorsements of the decision by the President and others?

We can not absolute know that all these exact adaptations are the result of preconcert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places and by different workmen—Stephen, Franklin, Roger and James, for instance—and when we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortices exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few—not omitting even scaffolding—or, if a single piece be lacking, we can see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared to yet bring such piece in—in such a case, we find it impossible to not believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plans or draft drawn up before the first lick was struck.

It should not be overlooked that, by the Nebraska bill, the people of a State as well as Territory, were to be left “perfectly free” “subject only to the Constitution.”

Why mention a State? They were legislating for territories, and not for or about States. Certainly the people of a State are and ought to be subject to the Constitution of the United States; but why is mention of this lugged into this merely territorial law? Why are the people of a territory and the people of a state therein lumped together, and their relation to the Constitution therein treated as being precisely the same?

While the opinion of the Court, by Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott case, and the separate opinions of all the concurring Judges, expressly declare that the Constitution of the United States neither permits Congress nor a Territorial legislature to exclude slavery from any United States territory, they all omit to declare whether or not the same Constitution permits a state, or the people of a State, to exclude it.

Possibly, this was a mere omission; but who can be quite sure, if McLean or Curtis had sought to get into the opinion a declaration of unlimited power in the people of a state to exclude slavery from their limits, just as Chase and Macy sought to get such declaration, in behalf of the people of a territory, into the Nebraska bill—I ask, who can be quite sure that it would not have been voted down, in the one case, as it had been in the other.

The nearest approach to the point of declaring the power of a State over slavery, is made by Judge Nelson. He approaches it more than once, using the precise idea, and almost the language too, of the Nebraska act. On one occasion his exact language is, “except in cases where the power is restrained by the Constitution of the United States, the law of the State is supreme over the subject of slavery within its jurisdiction.”

In what cases the power of the states is so restrained by the U.S. Constitution, is left an open question, precisely as the same question, as to the restraint on the power of the territories was left open in the Nebraska act. Put that and that together, and we have another nice little niche, which we may, ere long, see filled with another Supreme Court decision, declaring that the Constitution of the United States does not permit a state to exclude slavery from its limits.

And this may especially be expected if the doctrine of “care not whether slavery be voted down or voted up,” shall gain upon the public mind sufficiently to give promise that such a decision can be maintained when made.

Such a decision is all that slavery now lacks of being alike lawful in all the States.

Welcome or unwelcome, such decision is probably coming, and will soon be upon us, unless the power of the present political dynasty shall be met and overthrown.

We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of making their State free; and we shall awake to the reality, instead, that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a slave State.

To meet and overthrow the power of that dynasty, is the work now before all those who would prevent that consummation.

That is what we have to do.

But how can we best do it?

There are those who denounce us openly to their own friends, and yet whisper us softly, that Senator Douglas is the aptest instrument there is, with which to effect that object. They do not tell us, nor has he told us, that he wishes any such object to be effected. They wish us to infer all, from the facts, that he now has a little quarrel with the present head of the dynasty; and that he has regularly voted with us, on a single point, upon which, he and we, have never differed.

They remind us that he is a very great man, and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let this be granted. But “a living dog is better than a dead lion.” Judge Douglas, if not a dead lion for this work, is at least a caged and toothless one. How can he oppose the advances of slavery? He don’t care anything about it. His avowed mission is impressing the “public heart” to care nothing about it.

A leading Douglas Democratic newspaper thinks Douglas’ superior talent will be needed to resist the revival of the African slave trade.

Does Douglas believe an effort to revive that trade is approaching? He has not said so. Does he really think so? But if it is, how can he resist it? For years he has labored to prove it a sacred right of white men to take negro slaves into the new territories. Can he possibly show that it is less a sacred right to buy them where they can be bought cheapest? And, unquestionably they can be bought cheaper in Africa than in Virginia.

He has done all in his power to reduce the whole question of slavery to one of a mere right of property; and as such, how can he oppose the foreign slave trade—how can he refuse that trade in that “property” shall be “perfectly free”—unless he does it as a protection to the home production? And as the home producers will probably not ask the protection, he will be wholly without a ground of opposition.

Senator Douglas holds, we know, that a man may rightfully be wiser to-day than he was yesterday—that he may rightfully change when he finds himself wrong.

But, can we for that reason, run ahead, and infer that he will make any particular change, of which he, himself, has given no intimation? Can we safely base our action upon any such vague inference?

Now, as ever, I wish to not misrepresent Judge Douglas’ position, question his motives, or do ought that can be personally offensive to him.

Whenever, if ever, he and we can come together on principle so that our great cause may have assistance from

his great ability, I hope to have interposed no adventitious obstacle.

But clearly, he is not now with us—he does not pretend to be—he does not promise to ever be.

Our cause, then, must be intrusted to, and conducted by its own undoubted friends—those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work—who do care for the result.

Two years ago the Republicans of the nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong.

We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us.

Of strange, discordant, and even, hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud, and pampered enemy.

Did we brave all then, to falter now?—now—when that same enemy is wavering, dissevered and belligerent?

The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail—if we stand firm, we shall not fail.

Wise councils may accelerate or mistakes delay it, but, sooner or later the victory is sure to come.

## First Inaugural Address (1861)

**Abraham Lincoln**

*Landmark Documents in American History*, CD-ROM  
(New York: Facts On File, 1998)

March 4, 1861

Fellow-Citizens of the United States:

In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly and to take in your presence the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President “before he enters on the execution of this office.”

I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that—

I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations and had never recanted them; and more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

*Resolved*, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as much as to any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause “shall be delivered up” their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal unanimity frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath?

There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by State authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done. And should anyone in any case be content that his oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to *how* it shall be kept?

Again: In any law upon this subject ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in civilized and humane juris-

prudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not in any case surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guarantees that “the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States”?

I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules; and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed than to violate any of them trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional.

It is seventy-two years since the first inauguration of a President under our National Constitution. During that period fifteen different and greatly distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the Government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope of precedent, I now enter upon the same task for the brief constitutional term of four years under great and peculiar difficulty. A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted.

I hold that in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our National Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself.

Again: If the United States be not a government proper, but an association of States in the nature of contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by less than all the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak—but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it?

Descending from these general principles, we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778. And finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was “*to form a more perfect Union.*”

But if destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is *less* perfect than before the Constitution, having lost the vital element of perpetuity.

It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that *resolves* and *ordinances* to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it so far as practicable unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union that it *will* constitutionally defend and maintain itself.

In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it be forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government and to collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States in any interior locality shall be so great and universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce the exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating and so nearly impracticable withal that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices.

The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised, according to circumstances actually existing and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections.

That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events and are glad of any pretext to do it I will neither affirm nor deny; but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union may I not speak?

Before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from, will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake?

All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right plainly written in the Constitution has been denied? I think not. Happily, the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly written provision of the Constitution has ever been denied. If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might in a moral point of view justify revolution; certainly would if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guaranties and prohibitions, in the Constitution that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by State authority? The Constitution does not expressly say. *May* Congress prohibit slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. *Must* Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say.

From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the Government must cease. There is no other alternative, for continuing the Government is acquiescence on one side or the other. If a minority in such case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new confederacy a year or two hence arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new union as to produce harmony only and prevent renewed secession?

Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majority held in restraint by constitutional



checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does of necessity fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.

I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the Government. And while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes.

One section of our country believes slavery is *right* and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is *wrong* and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, can not be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases *after* the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other.

Physically speaking, we can not separate. We can not remove our respective sections from each other nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country can not do this. They can not but remain face to face,

and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory *after* separation than *before*? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you can not fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions, as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their *constitutional* right of amending it or their *revolutionary* right to dismember or overthrow it. I can not be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others, not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish to either accept or refuse. I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution—which amendment, however, I have not seen—has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of the States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.

The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have referred none upon him to fix terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves can do this if also they choose, but the Executive as such has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present Government as it came to his hands and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people.

By the frame of the Government under which we live this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance no Administration by any extreme of wickedness or folly can very seriously injure the Government in the short space of four years.

My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and *well* upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to *hurry* any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take *deliberately*, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new Administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land are still competent to adjust in the best way all our present difficulty.

In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to “preserve, protect, and defend it.”

I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

### Inaugural Address (1861)

**Jefferson Davis**

In James Andrews et al., eds., *American Voices: Significant Speeches in American History, 1640–1945* (New York: Longman, 1989), pp. 280–282

February 18, 1861

Gentlemen of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, Friends and Fellow-Citizens:  
Called to the difficult and responsible station of Chief Executive of the Provisional Government which you have instituted, I approach the discharge of the duties assigned

to me with an humble distrust of my abilities, but with a sustaining confidence in the wisdom of those who are to guide and aid me in the administration of public affairs, and an abiding faith in the virtue and patriotism of the people.

Looking forward to the speedy establishment of a permanent government to take the place of this, and which, by its greater moral and physical power, will be better able to combat with the many difficulties which arise from the conflicting interests of separate nations, I enter upon the duties of the office, to which I have been chosen, with the hope that the beginning of our career, as a Confederacy, may not be obstructed by hostile opposition to our enjoyment of the separate existence and independence which we have asserted, and, with the blessing of Providence, intend to maintain. Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish governments whenever they become destructive of the ends for which they were established.

The declared purpose of the compact of union from which we have withdrawn, was “to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare;” and when in the judgment of the sovereign States now composing this Confederacy, it had been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and had ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot-box, declared that so far as they were concerned, the government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted a right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 had defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion for its exercise, they as sovereigns, were the final judges, each for itself. The impartial and enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct, and he, who knows the hearts of men, will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the government of our fathers in its spirit. The right solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the States and which has been affirmed and re-affirmed in the bills of rights of States subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign States, here represented, proceeded to form this Confederacy, and it is by abuse of language that their act has been denominated a revolution. They formed a new alliance, but within each State its government has remained, and the rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent, through whom they communicated with foreign nations, is changed; but this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations.

Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present Confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard on our part of just obligations, or any failure to perform any constitutional duty; moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others; anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others, there can be no cause to doubt that the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measures of defense which honor and security may require.

An agricultural people, whose chief interest is the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country, our true policy is peace and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest, and that of all those to whom we would sell and from whom we would buy, that there should be fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of commodities. There can be but little rivalry between ours and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the northeastern States of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that a mutual interest would invite good will and kind offices. If, however, passion or the lust of dominion should cloud the judgment or inflame the ambition of those States, we must prepare to meet the emergency, and to maintain, by the final arbitrament of the sword, the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth. We have entered upon the career of independence, and it must be inflexibly pursued. Through many years of controversy with our late associates, the Northern States, we have vainly endeavored to secure tranquility, and to obtain respect for the rights to which we are entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation; and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled; but if this be denied to us, and the integrity of our territory and jurisdiction be assailed it, it will but remain for us, with firm resolve, to appeal to arms and invoke the blessings of Providence on a just cause.

As a consequence of our new condition, and with a view to meet anticipated wants, it will be necessary to provide for the speedy and efficient organization of branches of the Executive Department, having special charge of foreign intercourse, finance, military affairs, and the postal service.

For purposes of defense, the Confederate States may, under ordinary circumstances, rely mainly upon the mili-

tia; but it is deemed advisable, in the present condition of affairs, that there should be a well-instructed and disciplined army, more numerous than would usually be required on a peace establishment. I also suggest that, for the protection of our harbors and commerce on the high seas, a navy adapted to those objects will be required. These necessities have doubtless engaged the attention of Congress.

With a constitution differing only from that of our fathers, in so far as it is explanatory of their well-known intent, freed from the sectional conflicts which have interfered with the pursuit of the general welfare, it is not unreasonable to expect that States from which we have recently parted, may seek to unite their fortunes with ours under the government which we have instituted. For this your constitution makes adequate provision; but beyond this, if I mistake not, the judgment and will of the people, a re-union with the States from which we have separated is neither practicable nor desirable. To increase the power, develop the resources, and promote the happiness of the Confederacy, it is requisite that there should be so much homogeneity that the welfare of every portion shall be the aim of the whole. Where this does not exist, antagonisms are engendered which must and should result in separation.

Actuated solely by the desire to preserve our own rights and promote our own welfare, the separation of the Confederate States has been marked by no aggression upon others, and followed by no domestic convulsion. Our industrial pursuits have received no check; the cultivation of our fields has progressed as heretofore; and even should we be involved in war, there would be no considerable diminution in the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, and in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of the producer and consumer can only be interrupted by an exterior force, which should obstruct its transmission to foreign markets—a course of conduct which would be as unjust towards us as it would be detrimental to manufacturing and commercial interests abroad. Should reason guide the action of the government from which we have separated, a policy so detrimental to the civilized world, the Northern States included, could not be dictated by even the strongest desire to inflict injury upon us; but if otherwise, a terrible responsibility will rest upon it, and the suffering of millions will bear testimony to the folly and wickedness of our aggressors. In the meantime, there will remain to us, besides the ordinary means before suggested, the well-known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of the enemy.

Experience in public stations, of subordinate grades to this which your kindness has conferred, has taught me that care, and toil, and disappointment, are the price of official elevation. You will see many errors to forgive, many defi-

ciencies to tolerate, but you shall not find in me either a want of zeal or fidelity to the cause that is to me highest in hope and of most enduring affection. Your generosity has bestowed upon me an undeserved distinction—one which I never sought nor desired. Upon the continuance of that sentiment, and upon your wisdom and patriotism, I rely to direct and support me in the performance of the duty required at my hands.

We have changed the constituent parts but not the system of our government. The constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States, in their exposition of it; and, in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light that reveals its true meaning.

Thus instructed as to the just interpretation of the instrument, and ever remembering that all offices are but trusts held for the people, and that delegated powers are to be strictly construed, I will hope by due diligence in the performance of my duties, though I may disappoint your expectations, yet to retain, when retiring, something of the good will and confidence which welcomed my entrance into office.

It is joyous, in the midst of perilous times, to look around upon a people united in heart, where one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole—where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance against honor, and right, and liberty, and equality. Obstacles may retard—they cannot long prevent—the progress of a movement sanctified by its justice, and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide and protect us in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which, by his blessing, they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity, and with a continuance of his favor, ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, and to prosperity.

### Constitution of the Confederate States of America (1861)

Erik Bruun and Jay Crosby, eds., *Our Nation's Archive: The History of the United States in Documents* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers), pp. 342–343.

March 11, 1861

We, the people of the Confederate States, each State acting in its sovereign and independent character, in order to form a permanent federal government, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity—invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God—do ordain and establish this Constitution for the Confederate States of America.

#### Art. I

Sec. 1.—All legislative powers herein delegated shall be vested in a Congress of the Confederate States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. (1) The House of Representatives shall be chosen every second year by the people of the several States; and the electors in each State shall be citizens of the Confederate States, and have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature; but no person of foreign birth, not a citizen of the Confederate States, shall be allowed to vote for any officer, civil or political, State or Federal . . .

(3) Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Confederacy, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all slaves. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the Confederate States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every fifty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of South Carolina shall be entitled to choose six; the State of Georgia ten; the State of Alabama nine; the State of Florida two; the State of Mississippi seven; the State of Louisiana six; and the State of Texas six . . .

Sec. 9. (1) The importation of negroes of the African race, from any foreign country, other than the slaveholding States or Territories of the United States of America, is hereby forbidden; and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same.

(2) Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of, or Territory not belonging to, this Confederacy . . .

#### Art. IV

Sec. 2. (1) The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States, and shall have the right of transit and sojourn in any State of this Confederacy, with their slaves and other property; and the right of property in said slaves shall not be thereby impaired . . .

(3) No slave or other person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the Confederate States, under the laws thereof, escaping or unlawfully carried into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such slave belongs, or to whom such service or labor may be due . . .



Sec. 3. (3) The Confederate States may acquire new territory; and Congress shall have power to legislate and provide governments for the inhabitants of all territory belonging to the Confederate States, lying without the limits of the several States, and may permit them, at such times, and in such manner as it may by law provide, to form States to be admitted into the Confederacy. In all such territory, the institution of negro slavery, as it now exists in the Confederate States, shall be recognized and protected by Congress and by the territorial government; and the inhabitants of the several Confederate States and Territories shall have the right to take to such territory any slaves lawfully held by them in any of the States or Territories of the Confederate States . . .

#### Art. V

Sec. 1. (1) Upon the demand of any three States, legally assembled in their several Conventions, the Congress shall summon a Convention of all the States, to take into consideration such amendments to the Constitution as the said States shall concur in suggesting at the time when the said demand is made; and should any of the proposed amendments to the Constitution be agreed on by the said Convention—voting by States—and the same be ratified by the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, or by conventions in two-thirds thereof—as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the general convention—they shall thenceforward form a part of this Constitution. But no State shall, without its consent, be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate . . .

#### Art. VII.

1.—The ratification of the conventions of five States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

2. When five States shall have ratified this Constitution in the manner before specified, the Congress, under the provisional Constitution, shall prescribe the time for holding the election of President and Vice-President, and for the meeting of the electoral college, and for counting the votes and inaugurating the President. They shall also prescribe the time for holding the first election of members of Congress under this Constitution, and the time for assembling the same. Until the assembling of such Congress, the Congress under the provisional Constitution shall continue to exercise the legislative powers granted them; not extending beyond the time limited by the Constitution of the Provisional Government.

Adopted unanimously by the Congress of the Confederate States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, sitting in convention at the capitol, in the city of Montgomery, Ala., on the eleventh day of March, in the year eighteen hundred and sixty-one.

### Homestead Act (1862)

*United States Statutes at Large* (37th Cong., 2d sess., chap. 75), pp. 392–393

May 20, 1862

#### An Act

*to Secure Homesteads to actual Settlers on the Public Domain.*

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States, and who has never borne arms against the United States Government or given aid and comfort to its enemies, shall, from and after the first January, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, be entitled to enter one quarter section or a less quantity of unappropriated public lands, upon which said person may have filed a preemption claim, or which may, at the time the application is made, be subject to preemption at one dollar and twenty-five cents, or less, per acre; or eighty acres or less of such unappropriated lands, at two dollars and fifty cents per acre, to be located in a body, in conformity to the legal subdivisions of the public lands, and after the same shall have been surveyed: *Provided,* That any person owning and residing on land may, under the provisions of this act, enter other land lying contiguous to his or her said land, which shall not, with the land so already owned and occupied, exceed in the aggregate one hundred and sixty acres.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the person applying for the benefit of this act shall, upon application to the register of the land office in which he or she is about to make such entry, make affidavit before the said register or receiver that he or she is the head of a family, or is twenty-one years or more of age, or shall have performed service in the army or navy of the United States, and that he has never borne arms against the Government of the United States or given aid and comfort to its enemies, and that such application is made for his or her exclusive use and benefit, and that said entry is made for the purpose of actual settlement and cultivation, and not either directly or indirectly for the use or benefit of any other person or persons whomsoever; and upon filing the said affidavit with the register or receiver, and on payment of ten dollars, he or she shall thereupon be permitted to enter the quantity of land specified: *Provided, however,* That no certificate shall be given or patent issued therefor, until the expiration of five years from the date of such entry; and if, at the expiration of such time, or at any time within two years thereafter, the person making such entry; or, if he be dead,

his widow; or in case of her death, his heirs or devisee; or in case of a widow making such entry, her heirs or devisee, in case of her death; shall prove by two credible witnesses that he, she, or they have resided upon or cultivated the same for the term of five years immediately succeeding the time of filing the affidavit aforesaid, and shall make affidavit that no part of said land has been alienated, and that he has borne true allegiance to the Government of the United States; then, in such case, he, she, or they, if at that time a citizen of the United States, shall be entitled to a patent, as in other cases provided for by law: *And provided, further*, That in case of the death of both father and mother, leaving an infant child, or children, under twenty-one years of age, the right and fee shall enure to the benefit of said infant child or children; and the executor, administrator, or guardian may, at any time within two years after the death of the surviving parent, and in accordance with the laws of the State in which such children for the time being have their domicil, sell said land for the benefit of said infants, but for no other purpose; and the purchaser shall acquire the absolute title by the purchase, and be entitled to a patent from the United States, on payment of the office fees and sum of money herein specified.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the register of the land office shall note all such applications on the tract books and plats of his office, and keep a register of all such entries, and make return thereof to the General Land Office, together with the proof upon which they have been founded.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That no lands acquired under the provisions of this act shall in any event become liable to the satisfaction of any debt or debts contracted prior to the issuing of the patent therefor.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That if, at any time after the filing of the affidavit, as required in the second section of this act, and before the expiration of the five years aforesaid, it shall be proven, after due notice to the settler, to the satisfaction of the register of the land office, that the person having filed such affidavit shall have actually changed his or her residence, or abandoned the said land for more than six months at any time, then and in that event the land so entered shall revert to the government.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That no individual shall be permitted to acquire title to more than one quarter section under the provisions of this act; and that the Commissioner of the General Land Office is hereby required to prepare and issue such rules and regulations, consistent with this act, as shall be necessary and proper to carry its provisions into effect; and that the registers and receivers of the several land offices shall be entitled to receive the same compensation for any lands entered under the provisions of this act that they are now entitled to receive when the same quantity of land is entered

with money, one half to be paid by the person making the application at the time of so doing, and the other half on the issue of the certificate by the person to whom it may be issued; but this shall not be construed to enlarge the maximum of compensation now prescribed by law for any register or receiver: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this act shall be so construed as to impair or interfere in any manner whatever with existing preemption rights: *And provided, further*, That all persons who may have filed their applications for a preemption right prior to the passage of this act, shall be entitled to all privileges of this act: *Provided, further*, That no person who has served, or may hereafter serve, for a period of not less than fourteen days in the army or navy of the United States, either regular or volunteer, under the laws thereof, during the existence of an actual war, domestic or foreign, shall be deprived of the benefits of this act on account of not having attained the age of twenty-one years.

Sec. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That the fifth section of the act entitled "An act in addition to an act more effectually to provide for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States, and for other purposes," approved the third of March, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-seven, shall extend to all oaths, affirmations, and affidavits, required or authorized by this act.

Sec. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent any person who has availed him or herself of the benefits of the first section of this act, from paying the minimum price, or the price to which the same may have graduated, for the quantity of land so entered at any time before the expiration of the five years, and obtaining a patent thereto from the government, as in other cases provided by law, on making proof of settlement and cultivation as provided by existing laws granting preemption rights.

Approved, May 20, 1862.

## Pacific Railroad Act (1862)

*United States Statutes at Large* (37th Cong., 2d sess., chap. 120), pp. 489–498

July 1, 1862

### An Act

*To aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean, and to secure to the government the use of the same for postal, military, and other purposes.*

*Be it Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That Walter S. Burgess, . . . together with five commissioners to be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, and all per-

sons who shall or may be associated with them, and their successors, are hereby created and erected into a body corporate and politic in deed and in law, by the name, style, and title of "The Union Pacific Railroad Company;" and by that name shall have perpetual succession, and shall be able to sue and to be sued, plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended, in all courts of law and equity within the United States, and may make and have a common seal; and the said corporation is hereby authorized and empowered to lay out, locate, construct, furnish, maintain, and enjoy a continuous railroad and telegraph, with the appurtenances, from a point on the one hundredth meridian of longitude west from Greenwich, between the south margin of the valley of the Republican River and the north margin of the valley of the Platte River, in the Territory of Nebraska, to the western boundary of Nevada Territory, upon the route and terms hereinafter provided . . .

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the right of way through the public lands be, and the same is hereby, granted to said company for the construction of said railroad and telegraph line; and the right, power, and authority is hereby given to said company to take from the public lands adjacent to the line of said road, earth, stone, timber, and other materials for the construction thereof; said right of way is granted to said railroad, to the extent of two hundred feet in width on each side of said railroad, where it may pass over the public lands, including all necessary grounds for stations, buildings, workshops, and depots, machine shops, switches, side tracks, turn-tables, and water stations. The United States shall extinguish as rapidly as may be, the Indian titles to all lands falling under the operation of this act, and required for the said right of way and grants hereinafter made.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That there be, and is hereby, granted to the said company, for the purpose of aiding in the construction of said railroad and telegraph line, and to secure the safe and speedy transportation of the mails, troops, munitions of war, and public stores thereon, every alternate section of public land, designated by odd numbers, to the amount of five alternate sections per mile on each side of said railroad, on the line thereof, and within the limits of ten miles on each side of said road, not sold, reserved, or otherwise disposed of by the United States, and to which a preemption or homestead claim may not have attached, at the time the line of said road is definitely fixed: *Provided*, That all mineral lands shall be excepted from the operation of this act; but where the same shall contain timber, the timber thereon is hereby granted to said company. And all such lands, so granted by this section, which shall not be sold or disposed of by said company within three years after the entire road shall have been completed, shall be subject to settlement and pre-emption, like other lands, at a price not exceeding

one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, to be paid to said company . . .

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That for the purposes herein mentioned, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, upon the certificate in writing of said commissioners of the completion and equipment of forty consecutive miles of said railroad and telegraph, in accordance with the provisions of this act, issue to said company bonds of the United States of one thousand dollars each, payable in thirty years after date, bearing six per centum per annum interest, (said interest payable semi-annually), which interest may be paid in United States treasury notes or any other money or currency which the United States have or shall declare lawful money and a legal-tender, to the amount of sixteen of said bonds per mile for such section of forty miles; and to secure the repayment to the United States, as hereinafter provided, of the amount of said bonds so issued and delivered to said company, together with all interest thereon which shall have been paid by the United States, the issue of said bonds and delivery to the company shall ipso facto constitute a first mortgage on the whole line of the railroad and telegraph . . .

Sec. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That the Leavenworth, Pawnee, and Western Railroad Company of Kansas are hereby authorized to construct a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri river, at the mouth of the Kansas River, on the south side thereof, so as to connect with the Pacific Railroad of Missouri . . . upon the same terms and conditions in all respects as are provided in this act for the construction of the railroad and telegraph line first mentioned. . . The Central Pacific Railroad Company of California, a corporation existing under the laws of the State of California, are hereby authorized to construct a railroad and telegraph line from the Pacific coast, at or near San Francisco, or the navigable waters of the Sacramento River, to the eastern boundary of California, upon the same terms and conditions, in all respects, as are contained in this act for the construction of said railroad and telegraph line first mentioned, and to meet and connect with the first mentioned railroad and telegraph line on the eastern boundary of California . . .

Sec. 10. . . the Central Pacific Railroad Company of California, after completing its road across said state, is authorized to continue the construction of said railroad and telegraph through the territories of the United States to the Missouri river, including the branch roads specified in this act, upon the routes hereinbefore and hereinafter indicated, on the terms and conditions provided in this act in relation to the said Union Pacific Railroad Company, until said roads shall meet and connect, and the whole line of said railroad and branches and telegraph is completed.

Sec. 11. *And be it further enacted*, That for three hundred miles of said road, most mountainous and difficult of

construction, to wit: one hundred and fifty miles westwardly from the eastern base of the Rocky mountains, and one hundred and fifty miles eastwardly from the western base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, said points to be fixed by the President of the United States, the bonds to be issued to aid in the construction thereof shall be treble the number per mile hereinbefore provided, and the same shall be issued, and the lands herein granted be set apart, upon the construction of every twenty miles thereof, upon the certificate of the commissioners as aforesaid that twenty consecutive miles of the same are completed; and between the sections last named of one hundred and fifty miles each, the bonds to be issued to aid in the construction thereof shall be double the number per mile first mentioned, and the same shall be issued, and the lands herein granted be set apart, upon the construction of every twenty miles thereof, upon the certificate of the commissioners as aforesaid that twenty consecutive miles of the same are completed: *Provided*, That no more than fifty thousand of said bonds shall be issued under this act to aid in constructing the main line of said railroad and telegraph.

### Emancipation Proclamation (1863) Abraham Lincoln

In John A. Scott, ed., *Living Documents in American History from Earliest Colonial Times to the Civil War*, Vol. 2 (New York: Trident Press, 1963), pp. 644–645

January 1, 1863

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

“That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.”

“That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day

be, in good faith, represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.”

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth) and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known, that such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.



## Gettysburg Address (1863) Abraham Lincoln

In John A. Scott, ed., *Living Documents in American History from Earliest Colonial Times to the Civil War*, Vol. 2 (New York: Trident Press, 1963), p. 646)

November 19, 1863

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for they which gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

## Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction (1863)

Abraham Lincoln

In Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents of American History*, 5th ed., vol. 1 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1949), pp. 429–431

December 8, 1863

*Whereas*, in and by the Constitution of the United States, it is provide that the President “shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment;” and

*Whereas* a rebellion now exists whereby the loyal State governments of several States have for a long time been subverted, and many persons have committed and are now guilty of treason against the United States; and

*Whereas*, with reference to said rebellion and treason, laws have been enacted by Congress declaring forfeitures and confiscation of property and liberation of slaves, all upon terms and conditions therein stated, and also declaring that the President was thereby authorized at any time thereafter, by proclamation, to extend to persons who may have participated in the existing rebellion in any State or part thereof, pardon and amnesty, with such exceptions and at such times and on such conditions as he may deem expedient for the public welfare; and

*Whereas*, the Congressional declaration for limited and conditional pardon accords with well-established judicial exposition of the pardoning power; and

*Whereas*, with reference to said rebellion, the President of the United States has issued several proclamations, with provisions in regard to the liberation of slaves; and

*Whereas*, it is now desired by some persons heretofore engaged in said rebellion to resume their allegiance to the United States, and to reinaugurate loyal State governments within and for their respective States:

*Therefore*, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforward keep and maintain said oath inviolate; and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit:

“I, \_\_\_\_\_, do solemnly swear, in presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States thereunder; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not repealed, modified, or held void by Congress, or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will, in like manner, abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. So help me God.”

The persons excepted from the benefits of the foregoing provisions are all who are, or shall have been, civil or diplomatic officers or agents of the so-called Confederate Government; all who have left judicial stations under the United States to aid the rebellion; all who are, or shall have been, military or naval officers of said so-called Confederate Government above the rank of colonel in

the army or of lieutenant in the navy; all who left seats in the United States Congress to aid the rebellion; all who resigned commissions in the Army or Navy of the United States and afterwards aided the rebellion; and all who have engaged in any way in treating colored persons, or white persons in charge of such, otherwise than lawfully as prisoners of war, and which persons may have been found in the United States service as soldiers, seamen, or in any other capacity.

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that whenever, in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one-tenth in number of the votes cast in such State at the Presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, each having taken the oath aforesaid, and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the State existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall re-establish a State government which shall be republican, and in nowise contravening said oath, such shall be recognized as the true government of the State, and the State shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that "the United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or the executive (when the legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence."

And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that any provision which may be adopted by such State government in relation to the freed people of such State, which shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent as a temporary arrangement with their present condition as a laboring, landless, and homeless class, will not be objected to by the National Executive.

And it is suggested as not improper that, in constructing a loyal State government in any State, the name of the State, the boundary, the subdivisions, the constitution, and the general code of laws, as before the rebellion, be maintained, subject only to the modifications made necessary by the conditions hereinbefore stated, and such others, if any, not contravening said conditions and which may be deemed expedient by those framing the new State government.

To avoid misunderstanding, it may be proper to say that this proclamation, so far as it relates to State governments, has no reference to States wherein loyal State governments have all the while been maintained. And for the same reason, it may be proper to further say that whether members sent to Congress from any State shall be admitted to seats constitutionally rests exclusively with the respective Houses, and not to any extent with the Execu-

tive. And still further, that this proclamation is intended to present the people of the States wherein the national authority has been suspended, and loyal State governments have been subverted, a mode in and by which the national authority and loyal State governments may be re-established within said States, or in any of them; and while the mode presented is the best the Executive can suggest, with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable.

## Second Inaugural Address (1865)

**Abraham Lincoln**

*Landmark Documents in American History*, CD-ROM  
(New York: Facts On File, 1998)

March 4, 1865

Fellow-Countrymen:

At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to *saving* the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to *destroy* it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has

already attained. Neither anticipated that the *cause* of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

### **Farewell to His Troops (1865)**

**Robert E. Lee**

In Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents of American History*, 5th ed., Vol. 1 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1949), p. 447

Headquarters, Army of No. Virginia  
10th April 1865

### **General Order No. 9**

After four years of arduous service marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources.

I need not tell the brave survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them.

But feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would have attended the continuance of the contest I have determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen.

By the terms of the agreement Officers and men can return to their homes and remain there until exchanged. You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed, and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection.

With an increasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration for myself, I bid you all an affectionate farewell.

R. E. Lee  
Gen'l

### **Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (1868)**

Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti, eds., *Triumph of the American Nation* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), pp. 211–212

#### **Amendment 14**

#### **Rights of Citizens (1868)**

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state [excluding Indians not taxed]. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officer of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the [male] inhabitants of such state, [being twenty-one years of age] and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such [male] citizens

shall bear to the whole number of male citizens [twenty-one years of age] in such state.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, [or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave]; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

### **Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (1870)**

Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti, eds., *Triumph of the American Nation* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), p. 213

#### **Amendment 15 Right of Suffrage (1870)**

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.



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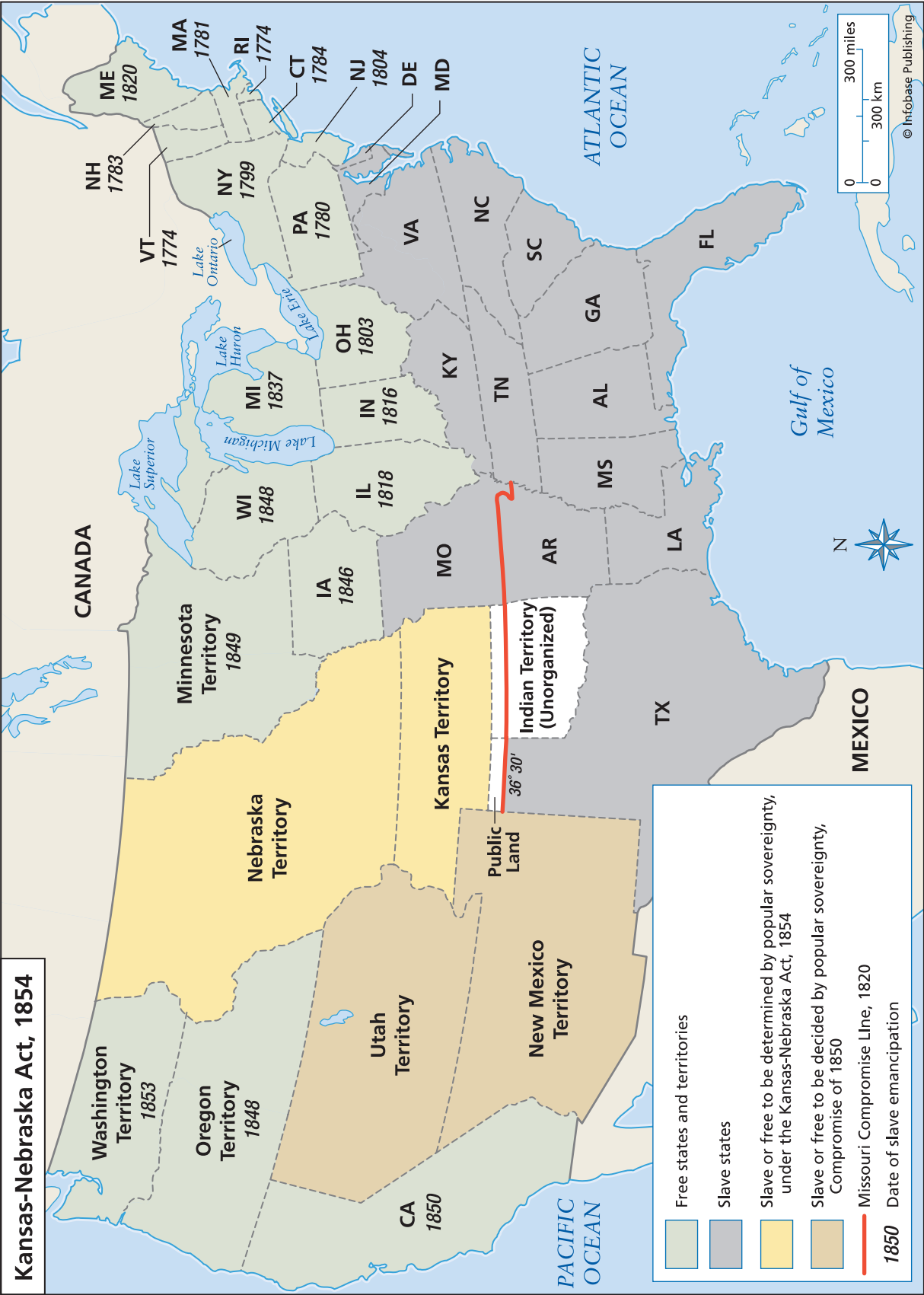
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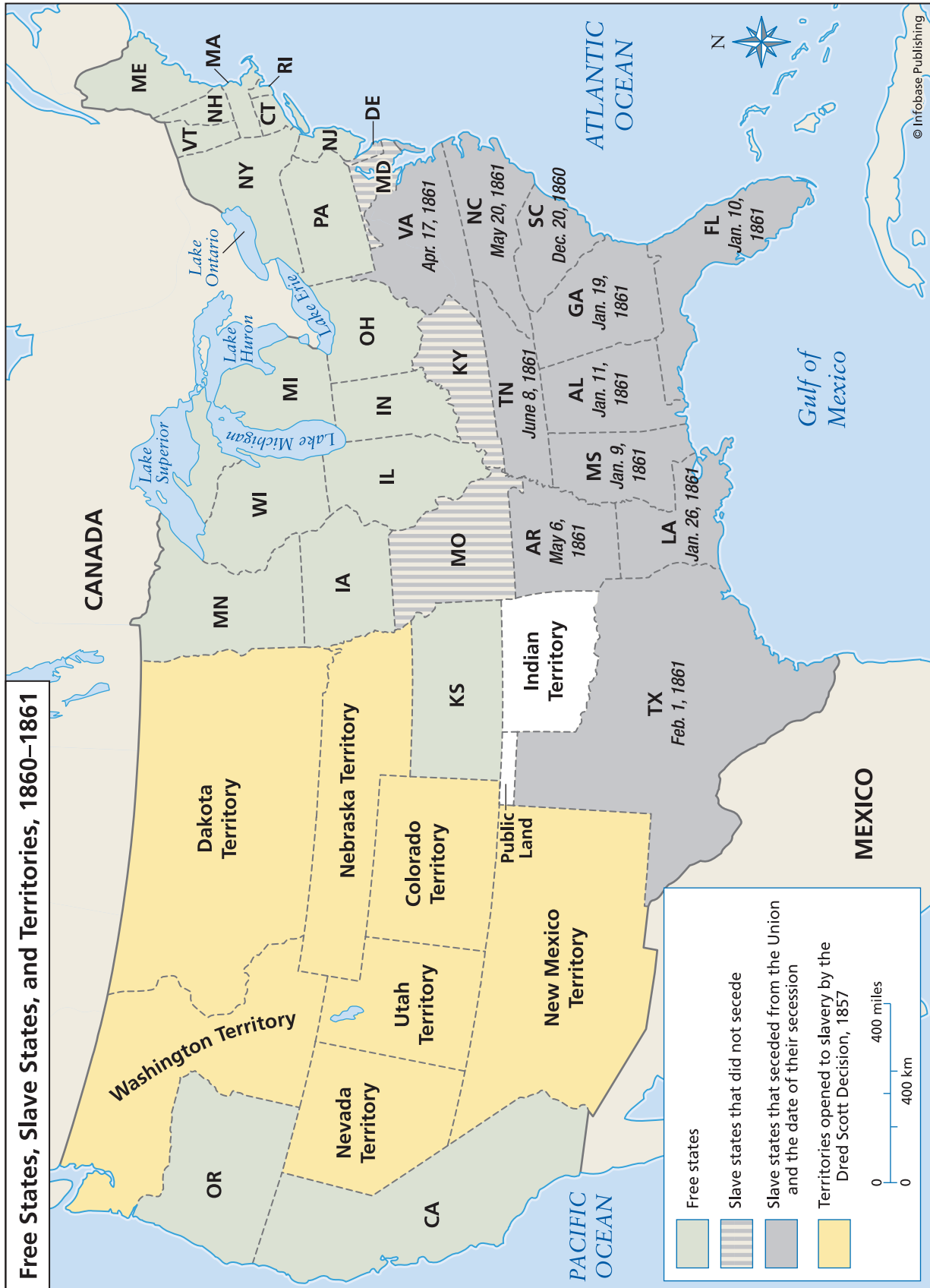


Civil War and Reconstruction  
1856 to 1869

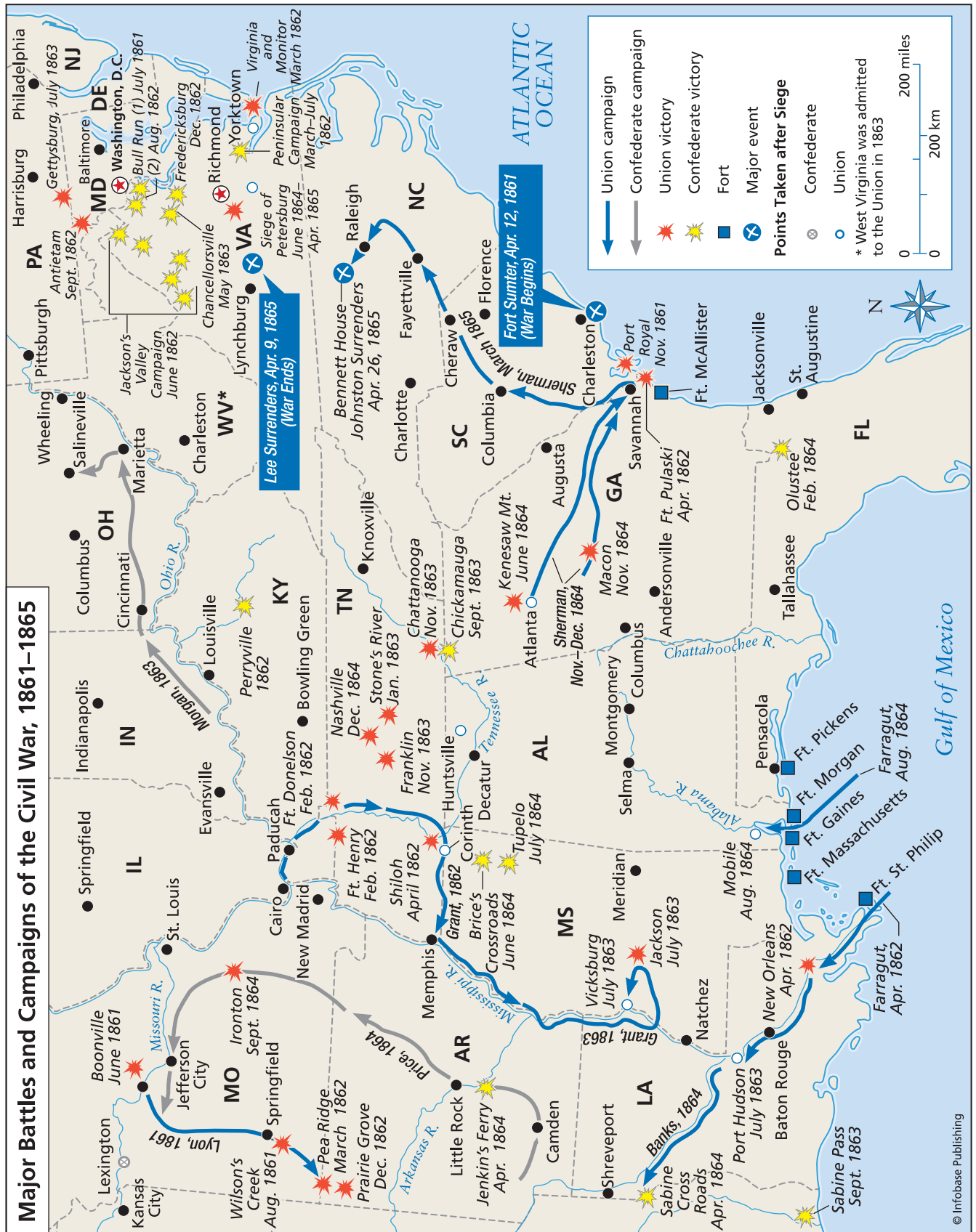
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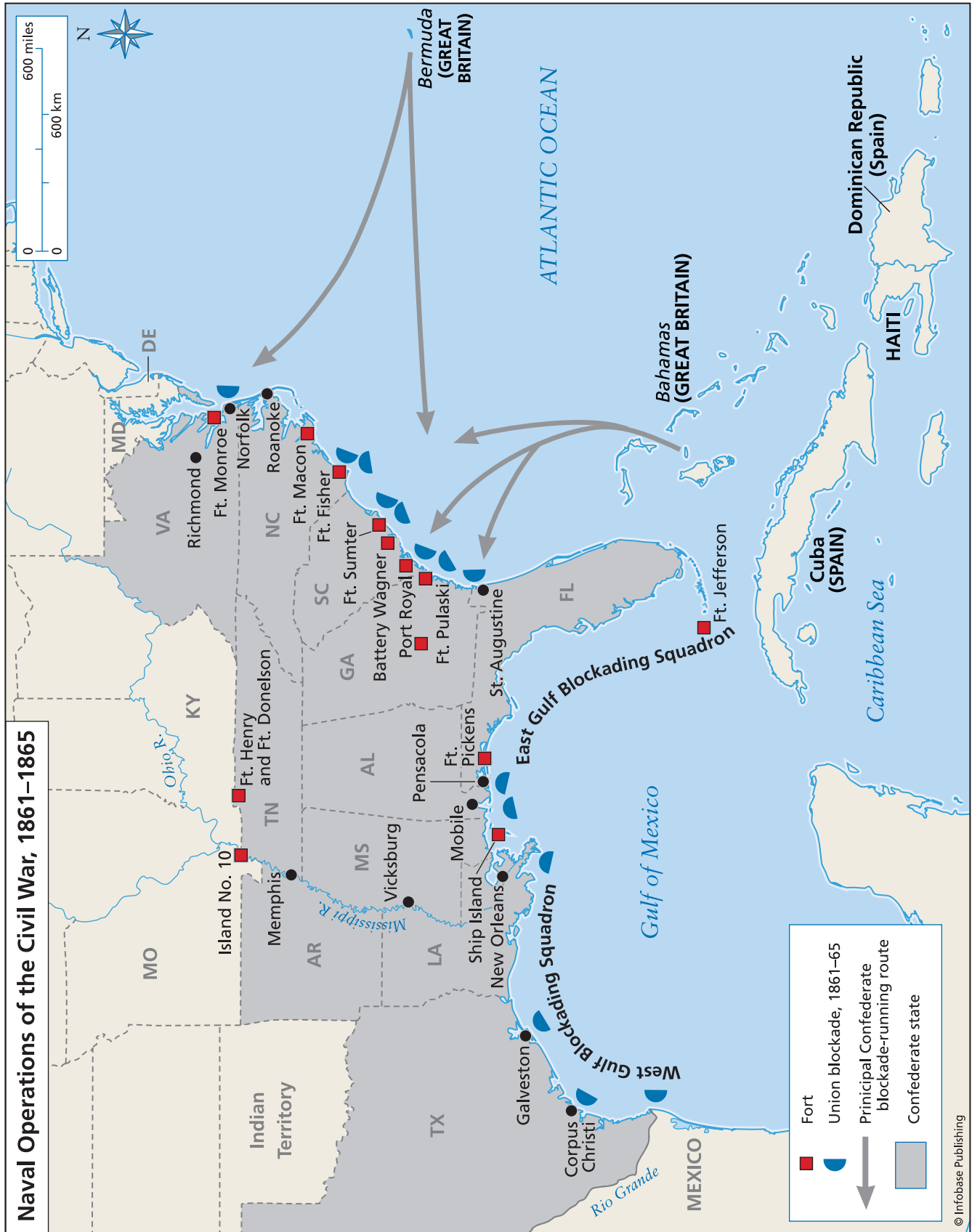










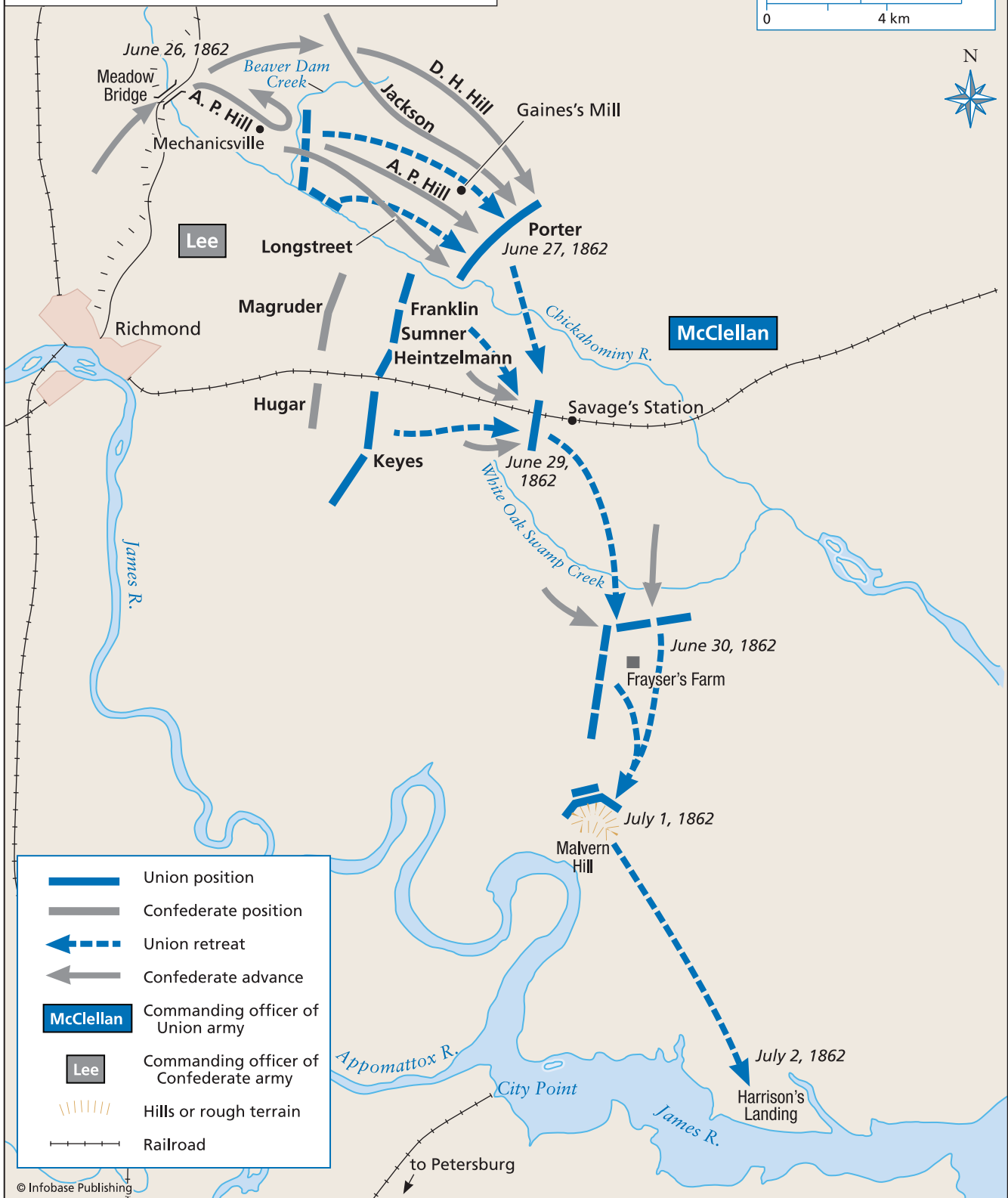


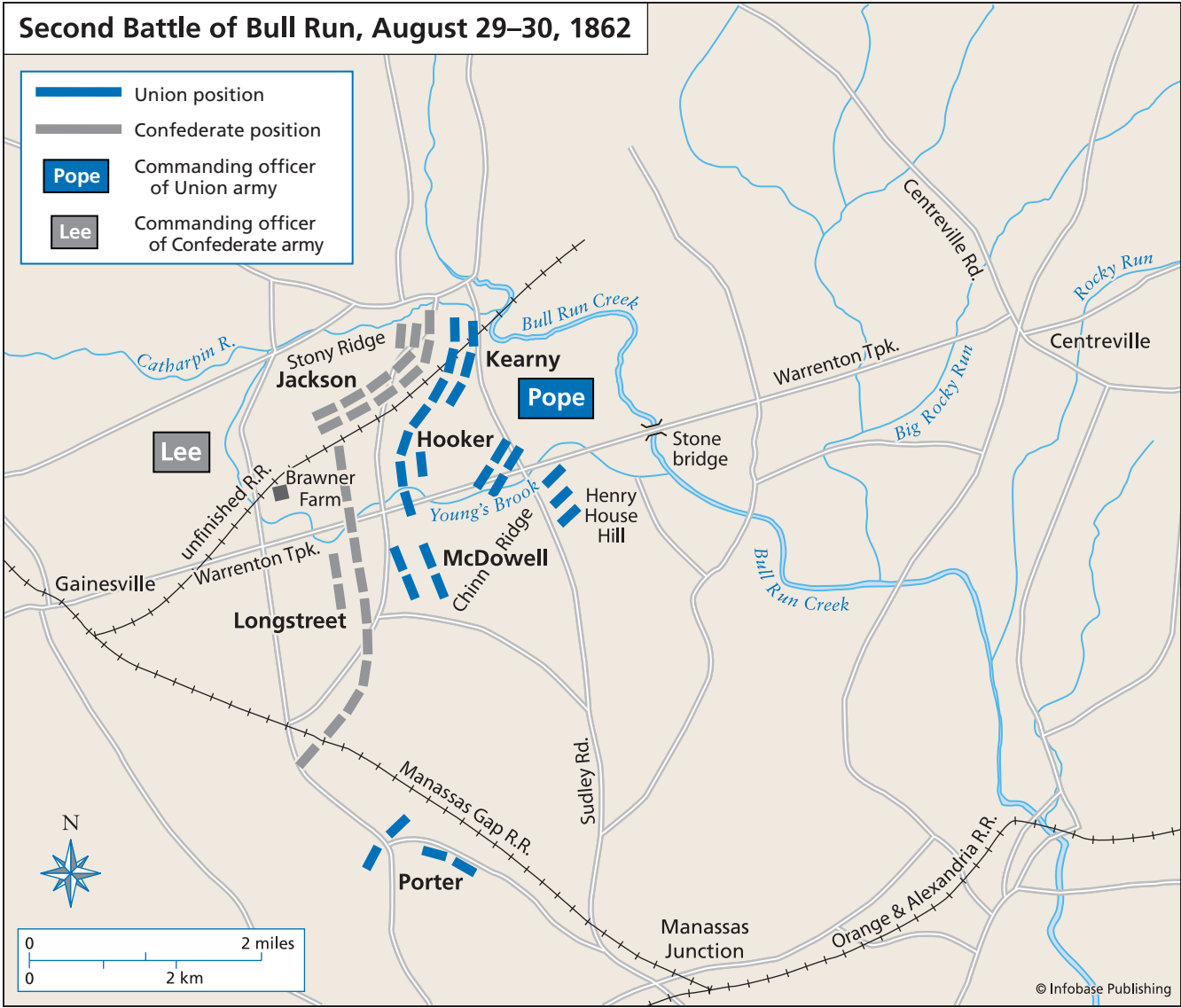


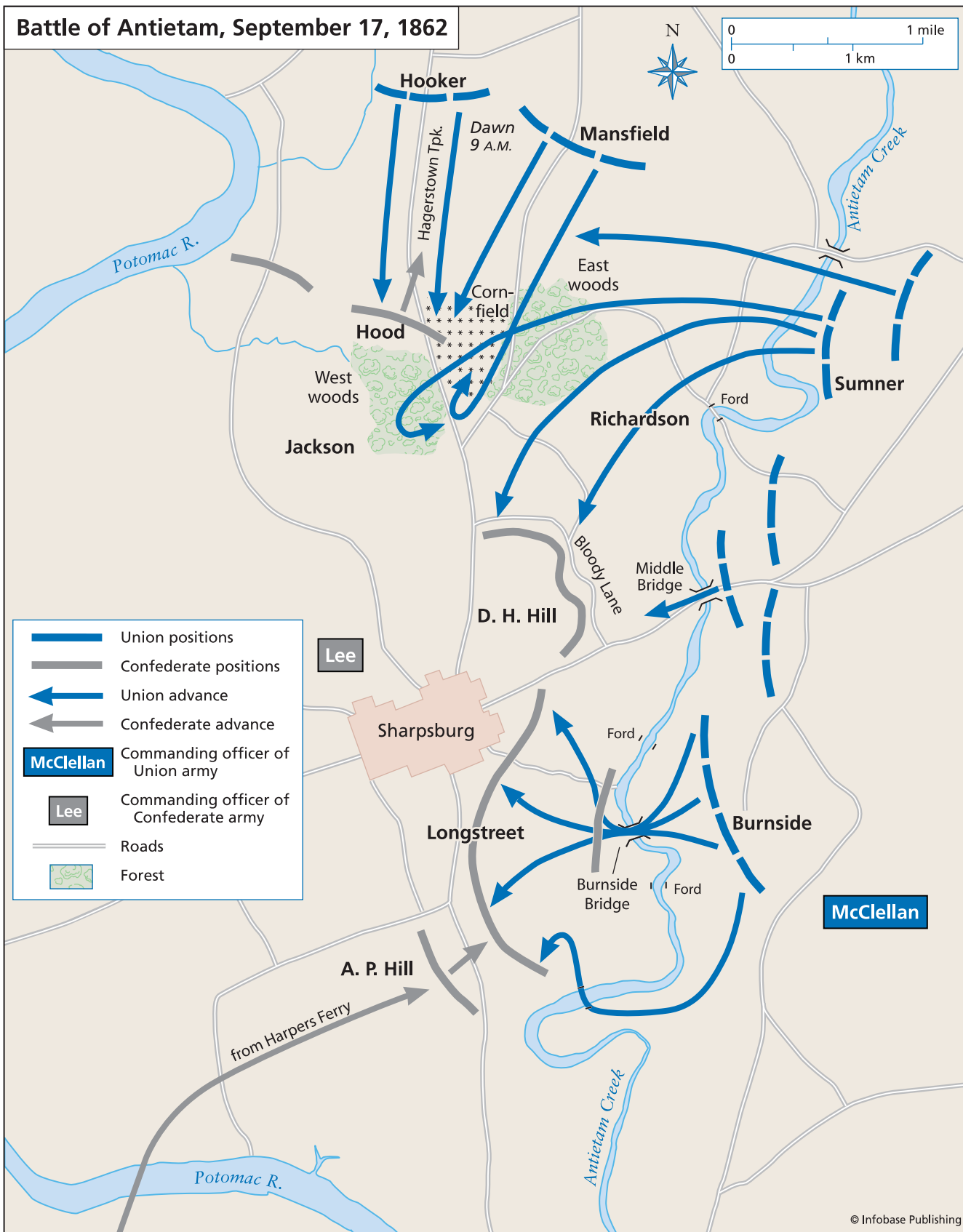




## Seven Days' Battles, June 26–July 2, 1862

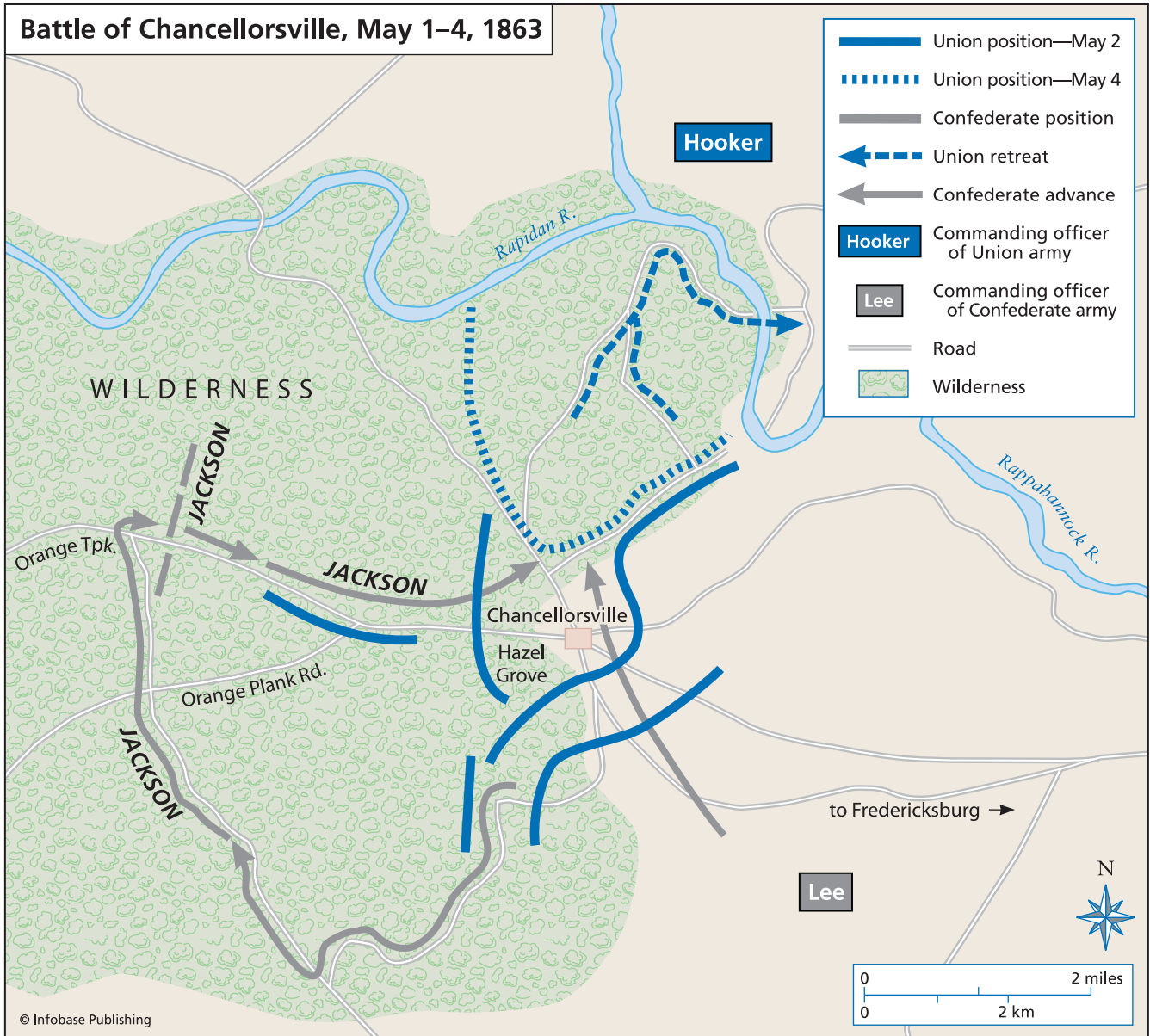


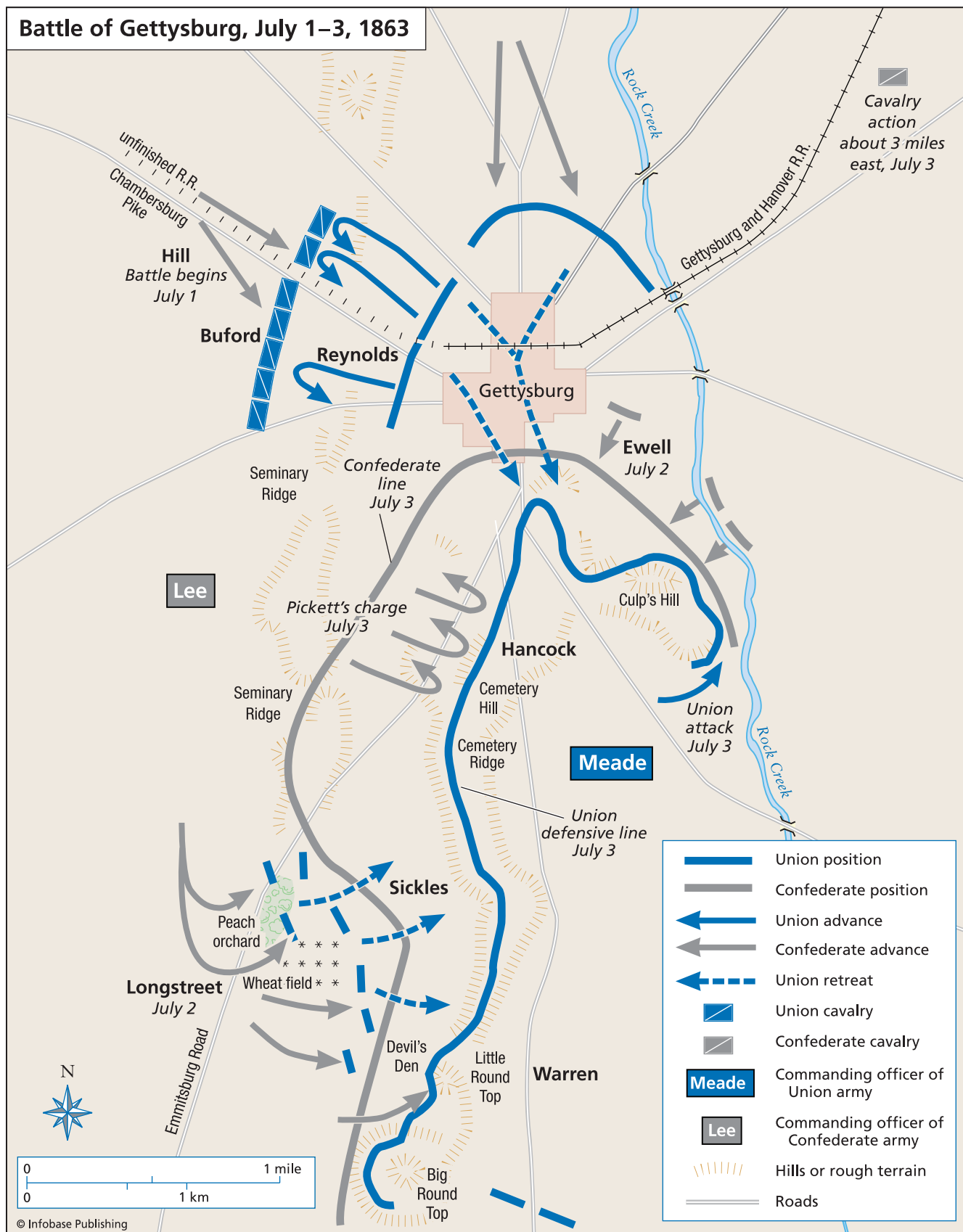


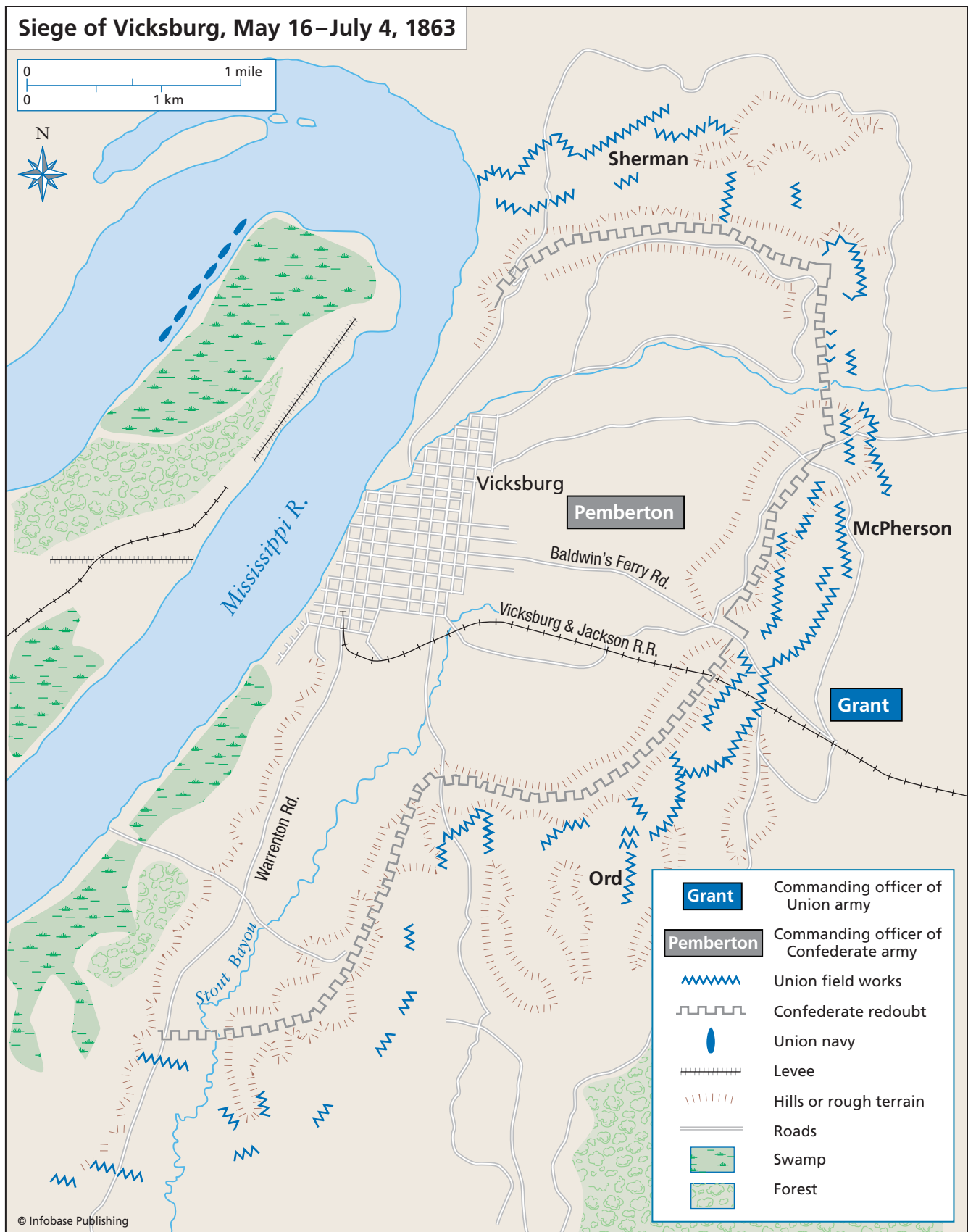


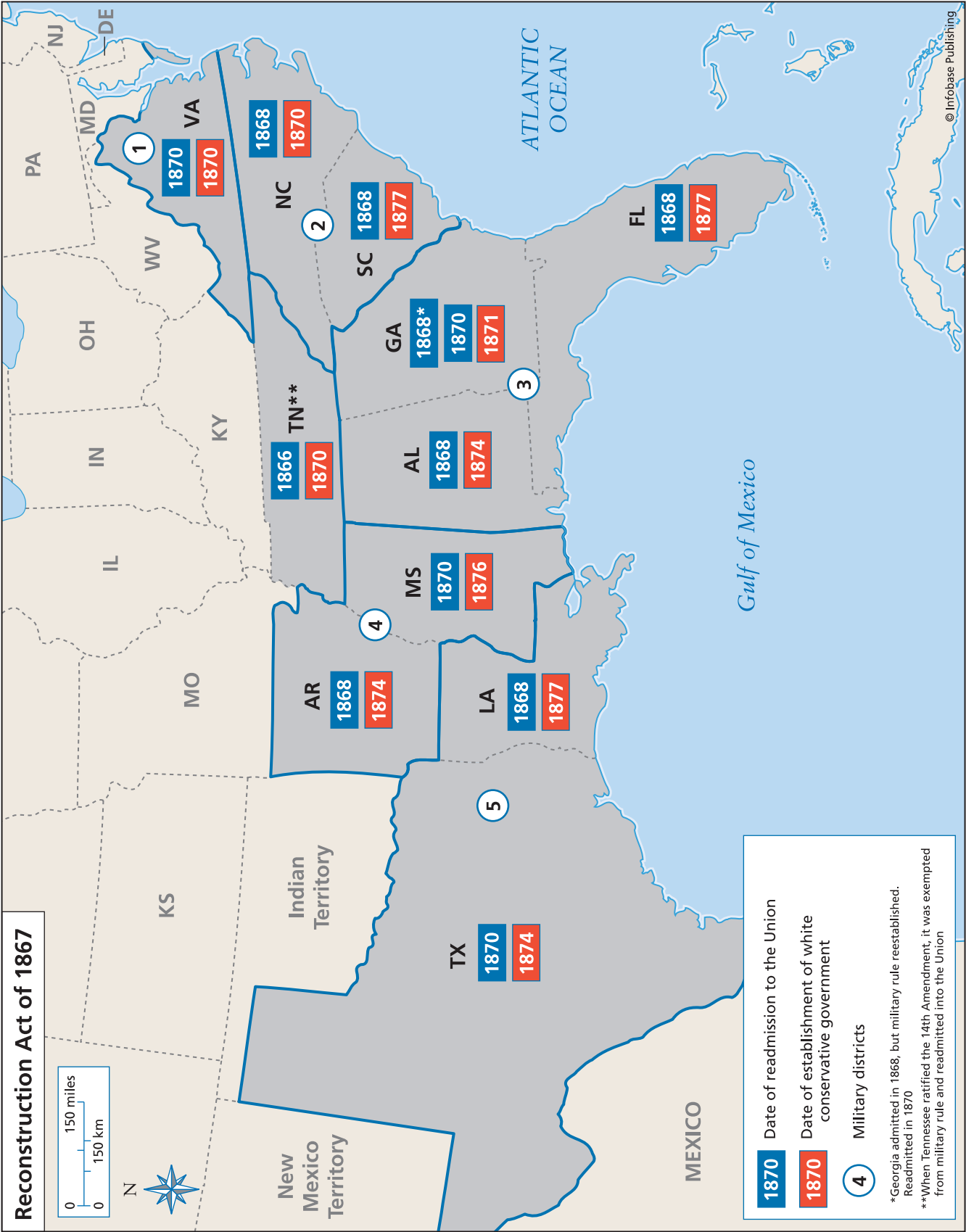














# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Revised Edition

The Development of the  
Industrial United States  
1870 to 1899



# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Revised Edition

## THREE WORLDS MEET

Beginnings to 1607

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1608 to 1760

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1900 to 1928

## THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR II

1929 to 1945

## POSTWAR UNITED STATES

1946 to 1968

## CONTEMPORARY UNITED STATES

1969 to the Present

## COMPREHENSIVE INDEX

# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Revised Edition

## The Development of the Industrial United States 1870 to 1899



Ari Hoogenboom, Editor  
Gary B. Nash, General Editor

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**Encyclopedia of American History:  
The Development of the Industrial United States (1870 to 1899)**

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# About the Editors



**General Editor: Gary B. Nash** received a Ph.D. from Princeton University. He is director of the National Center for History in the Schools at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he teaches American history of the colonial and Revolutionary era. He is a published author of college and precollegiate history texts. Among his best-selling works are the coauthored *American People: Creating a Nation and Society* (Longman, 1998), now in its seventh edition; *American Odyssey: The U.S. in the Twentieth Century* (McGraw-Hill/Glencoe, 1999), now in its fourth edition; and *The Atlas of American History*, coauthored with Carter Smith (Facts On File, 2006).

Nash is an elected member of the Society of American Historians, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Antiquarian Society, and the American Philosophical Society. He has served as past president of the Organization of American Historians in 1994–95 and was

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# Foreword



The Encyclopedia of American History series is designed as a handy reference to the most important individuals, events, and topics in U.S. history. In 10 volumes, the encyclopedia covers the period from the 15th century, when European explorers first made their way across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas, to the present day. The encyclopedia is written for precollegiate as well as college students, for parents of young learners in the schools, and for the general public. The volume editors are distinguished historians of American history. In writing individual entries, each editor has drawn upon the expertise of scores of specialists. This ensures the scholarly quality of the entire series. Articles contributed by the various volume editors are uncredited.

This 11-volume encyclopedia of “American history” is broadly conceived to include the historical experience of the various peoples of North America. Thus, in the first volume, many essays treat the history of a great range of indigenous people before contact with Europeans. In the same vein, readers will find essays in the first several volumes that sketch Spanish, Dutch, and French explorers and colonizers who opened up territories for European settlement that later would become part of the United States. The venues and cast of characters in the American historical drama are thus widened beyond traditional encyclopedias.

In creating the eras of American history that define the chronological limits of each volume, and in addressing major topics in each era, the encyclopedia follows the architecture of *The National Standards for United States History, Revised Edition* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Mandated by the U.S. Congress, the national standards for U.S. history have been widely used by states and school districts in organizing curricular frameworks and have been followed by many other curriculum-building efforts.

Entries are cross-referenced, when appropriate, with *See also* citations at the end of articles. At the end of most entries, a listing of articles and books allows readers to turn to specialized sources and historical accounts. In each volume, an array of maps provide geographical context, while numerous illustrations help vivify the material covered in the text. A time line is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events occurring in the given era. The selection of historical documents in the back of each volume gives students experience with the raw documents that historians use when researching history. A comprehensive index to each volume also facilitates the reader’s access to particular information.

In each volume, long entries are provided for major categories of American historical experience. These categories may include: African Americans, agriculture, art and architecture, business, economy, education, family life, foreign policy, immigration, labor, Native Americans, politics, population, religion, urbanization, and women. By following these essays from volume to volume, the reader can access what might be called a mini-history of each broad topic, for example, family life, immigration, or religion.

—Gary B. Nash  
University of California, Los Angeles

# Foreword to the Revised Edition

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“History has to be rewritten in every generation because, although the past does not change, the present does,” writes Lord Christopher Hill, one of Great Britain’s most eminent historians. “Each generation asks new questions of the past, and finds new areas of sympathy as it re-lives different aspects of the experiences of its predecessors.” It is this understanding, that the pursuit of historical knowledge requires new research and new reflections on the past, that undergirds a revised and extended edition of the *Encyclopedia of American History*.

The individual volume editors of this revised edition have made important additions and revisions to the original edition published in 2003. Most important, they have added many new entries—several hundred for the entire 11-volume set. This puts more meat on the bone of what was already a comprehensive encyclopedia that presented four centuries of American history in all its diversity and complexity. For the 10th volume, covering the period from 1969 to the present, new entries cover momentous events and important figures of the last six years. For the other volumes, new entries increase the diversity of Americans covered by biographical accounts as well as events that new scholarship shows have had greater importance than recognized heretofore.

In addition, careful attention has been given to correcting occasional errors in the massive number of entries in the first edition. Also, many entries have been revised to add further details while making adjustments, based on new scholarship, to the interpretation of key events and movements. Consonant with that effort to make the encyclopedia as fresh and usable as possible, the volume editors have added many new recently published books to the “Further Reading” notes at the ends of the entries, and new full-color historical maps help put history in its geographical context.

—Gary B. Nash



# Introduction

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★

The period from 1870 to 1899 has earned more nicknames than any other period in American history. Having so many aliases is in keeping with its dubious—yet undeserved—reputation, which several of its a.k.a.’s have helped perpetuate. The era’s most enduring name, the “Gilded Age,” was bestowed by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner in a novel of that name. Some of its other names have a positive ring. Historians have noted that the period witnessed the “Emergence of Modern America” or “America in Transition,” or that Americans were involved in a “Search for Order” in the “Age of Energy” or the “Age of Industrialism.” Other names have stressed negative aspects of the time—already implied in the term *Gilded Age*—and have referred to it as the “Age of Excess,” the “Era of Good Stealings,” or the “Age of Betrayal.” Edith Wharton, however, in her most enduring novel, called it the “Age of Innocence.”

The late 19th-century United States was not the unique possessor of these characteristics. Society is always in transition, seeking a semblance of order, becoming more modern, and losing the innocence of its past. People have been making technological advances since before the dawn of history and always have expended energy profligately. Every era has its examples of excess and corruption. Indeed the monumental irresponsibility of major financial institutions in the first decade of the 21st century has been on a scale far beyond the dreams of any Gilded Age “robber baron.”

Nevertheless, the characterizations of novelists and historians contain a germ of truth, if not the whole kernel. The late 19th-century United States experienced the most astonishing expansion of industry in human history. It built the world’s largest network of railroads, and its production of steel outstripped that of Great Britain and Germany, its nearest competitors. There were heavy social costs. Laborers in the United States worked longer and harder on any given day than their European counterparts, but they earned more money and were less inclined toward radicalism. Additionally, the United States was the most democratic nation in the world, and workers participated in the political process. Cities grew rapidly and housing was often inadequate, but over the years most workers improved their lot, and in these small increments the promise of America was kept for immigrants who flocked to the United States. Despite the spectacular and ruthless settlement of the West and the revolutionary changes in agriculture, industrialization and urbanization dominated late 19th-century America.



The rapid development of factories and the monumental growth of cities made 1870 to 1899 watershed years, a period dividing an earlier America from a later America, an age that really was one of “transition” and “emergence.” Agricultural and rural America became industrial and urban America. Local and regional economies gave way to a national economy. An unorganized society of individuals became institutionalized as professionals established national organizations of lawyers, economists, historians, and other groups. A nation that gloried in its isolation in 1870 gloried in its imperialism by 1899. A people whose vast majority had believed literally in the Bible were by 1899 often figuratively interpreting Scriptures to accommodate the Darwinian hypothesis of evolution.

There was enough guilt in an upwardly mobile society, boasting of many self-made people who exhibited *nouveau riche* characteristics, to be called a “Gilded Age.” But there was gold under the gilt. Any age that could boast writers like Mark Twain and Henry James, painters like Thomas Eakins and Mary Cassatt, architects like Henry H. Richardson and Louis Sullivan, engineers like James B. Eads and Washington A. Roebling, inventors like Thomas A. Edison and Alexander Graham Bell, scientists like George Washington Carver and Othniel Charles Marsh, thinkers like Charles S. Peirce and William James, historians like Henry Adams and Frederick Jackson Turner, sociologists like William Graham Sumner and Lester Frank Ward, and reformers like Susan B. Anthony and Ida Bell Wells-Barnett had considerably more value than mere gilt.

—Ari Hoogenboom  
Brooklyn, New York

# ENTRIES

## A TO Z





### **Adams, Henry** (1838–1918) *historian*

Born in Boston on February 16, 1838, Henry Adams was both privileged and challenged as the great-grandson and grandson of Presidents John Adams and John Quincy Adams and the son of Charles Francis Adams, who would become Abraham Lincoln's minister to Great Britain. After graduating from Harvard in 1858, Adams spent two years abroad studying and touring. Returning home, he studied law briefly and then accompanied his father as his private secretary to Britain, where he hobnobbed with literary, political, and reform leaders.

Back in the United States in 1868, Adams, inspired by his heritage and by English liberal intellectuals, moved to Washington and wrote political articles that promoted the liberal agenda—CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, free trade, the gold standard, and anti-imperialism—for journals of opinion like *THE NATION*. Adams was disappointed that President Ulysses S. Grant not only failed to adopt this agenda but also distanced himself from its intellectually elite supporters and, worse, cottoned to spoils-minded Republican Party leaders like ROSCOE CONKLING. Adams bitterly attacked Grant and supported the establishment of the LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PARTY, which he hoped would nominate his father for president in 1872, but he was further disappointed when it nominated Horace Greeley. His optimistic dream of leading and guiding (with intellectuals like himself) the American democracy into the paths of liberal reform was destroyed.

In 1870 Adams returned to Boston to accept an assistant professorship in medieval history at Harvard and the editorship of the *North American Review*. He also taught courses in early American history. Reflecting trends abroad, he introduced seminars and encouraged his students to use scientific methods in studying the past. In 1872 he married Marian “Clover” Hooper. Despite his success at Harvard, Adams preferred to be close to the center of power in Washington, and after resigning his editorship in 1876, he gave up his professorship in 1877 and returned to the capital.

Adams had left teaching, but he remained fascinated by history both for its own sake and as a medium for expressing and illustrating his increasing pessimism about the United States. In Washington he began extensive archival research on the early years of the 19th century—the time when his great-grandfather left office and, in Adams's opinion, the time when the seeds of American decline were sewn. The Adamses also travelled abroad, where he examined archives in the major European capitals. In Washington they associated with political leaders—President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES enjoyed their conversation, even with Adams declaring, “Our system of Gov't has failed utterly in many respects”—and were at the core of the scintillating “Five of Hearts,” which also included Clara and author/diplomat JOHN HAY and geologist CLARENCE KING. Adams published biographies of Albert Gallatin (1879) and John Randolph (1882) and the novels *Democracy* (1880) and *Esther* (1884), but in 1885 he was devastated when his wife Clover committed suicide, and his outlook became more bleak. His nine-volume *History of the United States during the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison* (1889–91) is beautifully written, carefully researched, and provocative with its suggestion that the material progress of the United States undermined the republican virtues of the Founding Fathers.

His *History* completed, Adams circled the globe from 1890 to 1892 with the artist JOHN LA FARGE, especially enjoying his long stay in Paris. Henceforth Adams spent part of each year there, took up medieval history anew, and used it—as he did American history—to express his pessimistic view of the future. He designed his historical work *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (1904) to demonstrate the unity he found in medieval culture as symbolized by the Virgin Mary, and he wrote his classic autobiography *The Education of Henry Adams* (privately printed in 1904) to illustrate the multiplicity of the 20th century, symbolized by the dehumanizing powerful dynamo. In his closing years Adams continued to counteract SOCIAL DARWINISM,

## 2 advertising

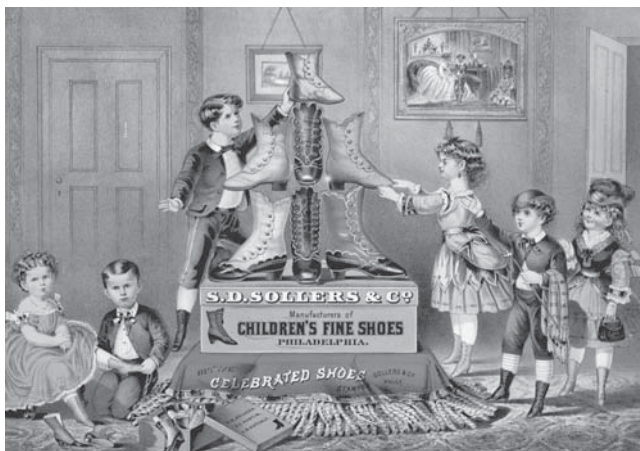
with its notions of progress derived from biology, by applying physicist JOSIAH WILLARD GIBBS's "Rule of Phase" (stressing the dissipation of energy) to a disintegrating society. Adams died in Washington on March 27, 1918, while World War I raged, and confirmed his dire prophecies.

**Further reading:** David R. Contosta, *Henry Adams and the American Experiment* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980); Ernest Samuels, *Henry Adams*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948–64).

### advertising

Advertising can be traced back to the earliest days of recorded history, but modern advertising has its roots in the post-Civil War era. The major elements dominating advertising during this period include the rise of popular MAGAZINES; the ascendancy of large, cheap, metropolitan NEWSPAPERS using new technologies to improve their appearance; the growth of consumer-orientated industries; and the creation of advertising agencies, whose profits rested on reaching large audiences for their clients. The most important factor in the evolution of advertising was the existence of a large urban middle class with financial resources allowing them to buy a wide variety of consumer goods. Especially crucial for the rise of advertising was the large number of middle-class women who had time and money to shop.

Of course, newspapers and magazines go back to the 18th century in the United States, and both organs carried advertising. But before the Civil War these ads were uninteresting because the papers were limited by current technologies. New methods of printing led to the multiplication of urban journals known as the Penny Press. By the late 19th century, both newspapers and magazines carried



Advertisement for children's shoes, ca. 1874 (*Library of Congress*)



Advertisement for the Climax mowing machine, ca. 1871 (*Library of Congress*)

photographs and were visually appealing to readers. Newspapers, which before the war consisted of four sheets, were much larger, running 20 or more pages filled for the most part with advertising. Ads by DEPARTMENT STORES, the latest retailing innovation, were the major source of revenue for these papers.

The number of magazines introduced in the late 19th century doubled between 1880 and 1890, with virtually all of them featuring fancy advertisements aimed particularly at women. Cyrus Curtis founded the *Ladies' Home Journal*, which became the base of a publishing empire aimed largely at affluent middle-class buyers. The *Journal* and its many imitators became the vehicle for the sale of a wide variety of food items, cosmetics, and ready-made clothing. Without the advertising in these journals, it is unlikely that new products such as Campbell's Soup would have reached the tables of millions of American homes or that Fels-Naptha would have become the preferred soap of American consumers. The success of Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound for "female complaints" was entirely due to its magazine advertisements.

A group of entrepreneurs—including George P. Rowell, F. Wayland Ayer, and J. Walter Thompson—used the revolution in newspapers and magazines to found advertising agencies that established them as middlemen between industrialists, retailers, and publishers. These agencies negotiated rates for advertisers, designed the ads, and did market research to determine the best place to advertise and the efficiency of these ads. Thompson specialized in magazines and in the 1890s placed almost 90 percent of all advertisements in these journals. Larger industries and retailers developed departments devoted exclusively to advertising that worked closely with these agencies.



Advertising in the late 19th century was intimately linked with the development of consumerism and with the creation of a vast array of new products. The purchase of luxury goods was changed by advertising from something that was regarded as un-Christian and immoral to an act that promoted personal and national well-being. It is unlikely that the vast increase in industrialism would have succeeded without advertising. Few would have bought canned soup without the “um um good” advertisements of Campbell’s Soup.

**Further reading:** Pamela Walker Laird, *Advertising Progress* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1998); James D. Norris, *Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865–1920* (New York: Greenwood, 1990); Daniel Pope, *The Making of Modern Advertising* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).

—Herbert Ershkowitz

### Aesthetic movement

The Aesthetic movement describes the philosophy and products of designers who created, as they termed it, “art for art’s sake.” Costly materials, complex craftsmanship, elaborate patterning, and learned references in motifs were emphasized in the fine and decorative arts of the Aesthetic movement, even at the expense of narrative and functionality.

The underpinnings of the movement can be found with design reformers and art critics such as William Morris and Clarence Cook, who were disturbed by the shoddy products of industry. The movement began in Britain and was swiftly disseminated through the burgeoning illustrated media, through international expositions, and through societies and clubs. While the Aesthetic movement was being formulated by artists and luxury craftsmen, its basic stylistic formulas were adopted by manufacturers of goods at all price levels. The Aesthetic movement was fueled by the era’s concern with creating beautiful domestic environments that would foster high levels of aesthetic and moral sensibility. Women, as creators and consumers, were central to the movement.

Multiplicity and synchronicity within single objects and assemblages characterized the Aesthetic movement. Furniture incorporated ceramic tiles, patinated hardware, and painted surfaces within carved woodwork. The Herter Brothers and other interior designers flourished by harmonizing furniture and textiles of their own design with objects commercially produced. Some painters branched out to work in other media: JAMES ABBOTT MCNEILL WHISTLER created the Peacock Room (1876–77, Freer Gallery of Art), and JOHN LA FARGE was an innovator in stained glass. Retailers like Daniel Cottier with shops in

New York City, London, and Sydney promoted aesthetic taste by selling antiques as well as contemporary goods. Industrialists became collectors and sought fine objects from all eras; designers not only incorporated collections into interiors but drew inspiration from them. Classical antiquity, colonial America, Japan, and the natural world were particularly rich design sources; motifs from all places and times were combined elegantly.

Aesthetic-movement objects were made by individual artisans and by large factories. Some influential figures, such as ceramist and metalworker M. Louise McLaughlin, worked largely alone. Others, such as LOUIS COMFORT TIFFANY, designer of interiors, jewelry, and stained glass, were the heads of large firms. Upper-class women with leisure time were actively hand-painting china, carving wood, and creating every sort of textile. At SETTLEMENT HOUSES and through other philanthropic endeavors, leisured women encouraged old-world crafts in the name of the new aestheticism. New technologies in the printing industry led to a bloom of wallpapers with saturated hues and complex patterning. The commercial potteries of Staffordshire in England provided dinner services to the American market, while numerous small art potteries, such as Rookwood in Cincinnati and the Chelsea Ceramic Art Works in Chelsea, Massachusetts, made vases, tiles, and more. Tiffany and Company in New York City sold jewelry and silver in the aesthetic style alongside more traditional models; countless manufacturers and retailers did the same. The Aesthetic movement embraced no single style; it was a philosophy that encouraged manufacturers and consumers to live artfully.

**Further reading:** Dorren Bolger Burke et al., *In Pursuit of Beauty: Americans and the Aesthetic Movement* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Rizzoli, 1986).

—Karen Zukowski

### African-American churches, growth of

At least one church organized by AFRICAN AMERICANS existed prior to the Declaration of Independence, and free blacks established a few churches in northern cities in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Slave owners, however, discouraged the establishment of black churches, sensing the inherent threat of assembly and fearing the emphasis that enslaved African Americans might place on God’s support of the Hebrew slaves in Egypt. Nevertheless, African-American slaves embraced evangelical Protestantism and its encouragement to express their feelings by shouting, singing, and dancing, a helpful coping mechanism for their frustrating existence and lot in life. More important, the promise of salvation, of a release from an earthly hell to an eternity of heavenly freedom, offered

## 4 African-American churches, growth of

African-American slaves an immeasurable reward. During the Gilded Age the appeal of evangelical Christianity remained powerful, since freedom from slavery did not bring political, economic, or social equality. Life for blacks remained difficult, the practice and promise of evangelical Christianity still had its rewards, and the proliferation of African-American churches provided bases for improving life in the here and now.

### ***Baptists***

African slaves, who arrived in America as Muslims or followers of traditional African religions, slowly accepted Christianity. The Baptists converted many enslaved persons during a period of great Baptist growth from 1750 to 1850. Slaves usually attended white churches, where they were segregated in separate pews or excluded in a hidden balcony commonly known as “nigger heaven.” The first black Baptist church was organized in 1775 by David George at Silver Bluff, South Carolina, near Savannah, Georgia, but most black Americans were unable to have their own churches in the early years of the 19th century as whites sought to use religion to control them. Many enslaved persons, however, wanted their religious experience to reflect their African and, later, their African-American cultures and traditions. They stole off to canebrakes or woods to worship early in the morning away from the watchful eyes of owners, overseers, or night patrols. Blacks organized Baptist churches in the North, notably the Jay Street Baptist Church (originally known as African Meeting House) in Boston in 1805 and the Abyssinian Baptist Church in lower Manhattan in 1808.

Black Baptist churches flourished after the Civil War as former slaves left the white churches to organize their own. Their growth was enhanced by the establishment of colleges with the assistance of white religious bodies. Many of these historically black colleges were seminaries for the training of ministers and teachers. Among the earlier black seminaries were Wayland Seminary (Virginia Union University) and Raleigh Institute (Shaw University), both founded in 1865. They were followed by the establishment of Augusta Institute (Morehouse College), 1867; Benedict College, 1870; Natchez Seminary (Jackson State University), 1877; Florida Baptist Institute (Florida Memorial College), 1879; and Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary (Spelman College), 1881.

Each Baptist congregation is independent and selects pastors and other church officials. This autonomy helped the Baptist church to spread in the South and elsewhere as African Americans migrated to points North and West. In 1895 the American National Baptist Convention and the Tripartite Union merged to form the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A. (NBC). Two years later the Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention was organized by dis-

satisfied parties within the NBC who eschewed white support for mission work. Both became active participants in the African mission field. Among mainstream denominations, the Baptists were more apt to be encouraged by the church’s leadership to express themselves emotionally in worship. The vast majority of African-American Protestants are members of the Baptist Church.

### ***African Methodist Episcopalians (AME)***

Next to the black Baptists, the AME Church is the largest African-American denomination in the United States. Richard Allen was the founder of this denomination. Allen was born a slave in Philadelphia in 1760. He preached to black worshipers in St. George Methodist Episcopal Church until a desire for a church of their own and a racial altercation led to his ejection from a “white” pew, which caused him and his followers to build Bethel AME Church in 1794. The AME Church was incorporated in 1816 with Allen as its first bishop. African Methodism spread to New York, New England, Maryland, the District of Columbia, and the Ohio Valley. Prior to the Civil War, congregations were established in Kentucky, Missouri, and Louisiana. Many churches were founded in the Midwest by missionary Paul Quinn. Other missionaries brought the church to California. During the 1820s a mission was established in Haiti.

At the end of the Civil War, James Lynch and James D. S. Hall were the first two missionaries commissioned to convert the newly freed slaves. In May 1865 Bishop Daniel A. Payne—assisted by Theophilus G. Steward, James A. Handy, and James H. A. Johnson—reestablished the church in South Carolina. (It had been banned in 1822 when African Methodists were implicated in the Denmark Vesey insurrection.) From April 1865 to May 1866 about two-thirds of black members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, set up their own churches outside of that denomination. Like the Baptists, many African Methodists took control of church buildings that they had built as slaves for white Christians. To their credit, many whites cooperated and allowed the former slaves to take charge of the buildings. African Methodism spread rapidly to North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and into the Southwest due to the missionary spirit of African Methodist Civil War chaplains HENRY M. TURNER, David Stevens, Garland H. White, and William H. Hunter as well as AME soldiers.

Like the Baptists, the AME Church established seminaries and colleges to train ministers. Among them were Wilberforce University (1856), Allen University (1880), Morris Brown College (1881), Paul Quinn College (1881), and Kittrell College (1886). The British Methodist Episcopal Church, which was organized after splitting from the AME Church in 1856, reunited with the mother church

in 1884, adding congregations in Canada, Bermuda, and British Guiana. Bishop Henry M. Turner organized churches into conferences in Liberia and Sierra Leone in 1891 and five years later in South Africa. Between 1890 and 1916 the AME Church grew from 494,777 members to 548,355, and the number of churches increased from 2,481 to 6,636.

### ***African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ)***

There were few independent black churches in the late 18th century, when black members of the John Street Methodist Church in New York City felt the sting of racial discrimination. In 1796 Peter Williams and William Miller started a separate congregation. From 1816 to 1824 black Methodists moved to establish a separate denomination. In 1816 a separate circuit was established for African Methodists with a petition from Zion Church and Asbury Church to the Methodist Episcopal Conference of New York. In 1820 they formed a separate conference within the Methodist Episcopal body, but in 1821 they rejected an affiliation with the AME Church. In 1824 the AMEZ conference declared its independence from the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Like other black denominations, the AMEZ Church gained members during the Civil War as its missionaries followed black soldiers. Bishop Joseph J. Clinton commissioned James Hood and others to conduct mission work in the South during and after the Civil War. In the 1870s and following decades, the AMEZ extended mission work to the Midwest, the Far West, Canada, the Caribbean, and Africa. While smaller in numbers and congregations than either the black Baptists or the AME Church, the AMEZ Church made remarkable strides from 1821, when it counted 1,400 members and 22 ministers. By 1871 membership had increased to nearly 400,000. Like other black denominations, the AMEZ used its seminary, Livingstone College, in North Carolina, to train ministers for mission work in Africa. Throughout the late 19th century until the present, Africans have attended Livingstone College, where they further their education to assist in the African mission field.

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— William Seraile

### **African Americans**

Between 1870 and 1900, the African-American population jumped from about 460,000 to 910,000 in the North and West and from 4.4 million to 7.9 million in the South. In the years following the Civil War, major adjustment problems gripped the South, where both races faced new situations. For African Americans, freedom was an experience to be tasted and tested; for Southern whites, black freedom was a challenge to be circumscribed and, where possible, checked.

By 1870 congressional Reconstruction was in full swing. The former Confederate states were required to write new constitutions, some of which funded public schools, railroad construction, and other public improvements. Abrogating previous restrictive laws, most of these basic documents set a democratic tone for the former Confederacy. The Fifteenth Amendment (1870) to the U.S. Constitution permitted black men to vote, and by 1875 Congress passed the Civil Rights Act prohibiting racial discrimination in public accommodations. Schools for black children and adults were opened across the South, and several colleges, like Howard University in the District of Columbia and Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, began somewhat tentatively to offer higher education to black Americans. Supported by federal troops, the offices of the Freedmen's Bureau across the South provided legal and protective assistance to former slaves. Black men not only voted, they were elected to federal and state offices. Two black U.S. senators, Hiram Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, represented Mississippi, while four African Americans were elected to the Congress from South Carolina and Mississippi. At the state level, P. B. S. Pinchback served as acting governor of Louisiana for a short time. Three states elected black secretaries of state, and four elected black state superintendents of education. James Lynch, secretary of state for Mississippi (1869–72), a perceptive and ambitious minister-editor, exemplified the effectiveness of African Americans who served in public office during Reconstruction. In addition to handling routine duties, Lynch began the process of straightening out the confusion over public lands to enable the state to locate taxable lands for schools and internal improvements. Pressured by divisions within and outside the race and by discrimination, Lynch and other black public officials were not always able to realize their full potential.

As the 1870s wore on, the gloss of full citizenship for southern blacks wore off. The number of federal troops was reduced to the point of ineffectiveness. States were slowly "redeemed" (that is, returned to local white control), and whites found ways to undo some of the progress that blacks had achieved. Black schools were underfunded compared with white schools; black officeholders were slowly



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squeezed out; and black farmers were pinched by mounting debt. Agriculture was the major employer for blacks, plantations the major unit, and cotton the major crop. Few African Americans could overcome the obstacles to be landowners, so the vast majority were tenants who faced three options. They could work on a cash system and pay rent; they could borrow on credit to buy seeds and other needs, repaying the planter when the crop was harvested; or they could sharecrop, splitting the harvest's income into shares for planter and tenant. The almost inevitable result of these systems was an unbearable debt burden. A black man summed it up for a visitor: "White man sit down the whole year; Nigger work day and night and make crop; Nigger hardly gits bread and meat; white man sittin' down gits all. *It's wrong.*"

The North slowly tired of supporting southern Reconstruction, and by 1876 Republicans were looking for a way out. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, as their presidential candi-

date, sought to calm the waters by appealing to Southern leaders to treat their racial work force equitably. Historians have characterized Hayes's victory in the disputed election of 1876 as the result of an agreement between him and Southern Democrats to withdraw the remaining troops from the South. The evidence for such a deal is circumstantial at best, but it is true that Hayes was anxious to restore peace within the South and between the North and South. Soon after his inauguration in March 1877, Hayes withdrew federal troops from the two remaining Republican states (South Carolina and Louisiana), formally ending Reconstruction. White Southerners rejoiced and slowly began the process of exercising total control over the black minority, initially by fraud and intimidation and eventually by restrictive JIM CROW LAWS in the 1890s and the early 20th century.

Freedom for many African Americans came to mean scratching for subsistence, and some sought new surround-



African-American children learning about Thanksgiving, Whittier Primary School, Hampton, Virginia (Library of Congress)

ings, moving from plantation to plantation, from rural areas to cities, from state to state. The Louisiana sugar plantations and the Virginia and North Carolina tobacco farms hired workers for wages, but the pay was low and the work seasonal. A few found employment building railroads, mining coal or phosphate, making turpentine, or lumbering. A handful eyed a different kind of freedom available in the North and West and began the slow drift out of the South. In 1879 about 6,000 men, women, and children EXODUSTERS headed for Kansas, an exodus impelled by poverty and widening white terrorism. Most of the migrants put down roots there, overcoming white resistance and poor soil. Northern and western black Americans had full citizenship rights, limited civil rights, and greater mobility than their Southern brethren, but they faced stiff discrimination in employment, housing, and social affairs. In 1883 the U.S. SUPREME COURT invalidated the Civil Rights Act of 1875, and Northern states—following an earlier lead of Massachusetts, New York, and Kansas—began to enact mild statutes to protect the rights of African Americans to be served in restaurants, seated in theaters, and housed in inns and hotels.

The black response to southern oppression and northern indifference was to concentrate on their own well-being. AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHURCHES multiplied, led by black Baptists and Methodists and three black denominations: the African Methodist Episcopal (AME), the AME Zion, and the Colored [later Christian] ME. Colleges for blacks proliferated, offering industrial education and little more than a high-school curriculum. African Americans realized that education was essential to achieve even a limited financial stability. Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, emphasizing industrial education, was established by the state in 1881 with a young Hampton Institute graduate as principal. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON carefully used this position as a springboard to national leadership. He spoke persuasively to the National Education Association in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1884, and 11 years later he delivered his famous Atlanta Compromise speech in Georgia, in which he counseled separation of the races coupled with mutual understanding. "In all things purely social," he asserted, "we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." The white South happily accepted his separation premise and doggedly rejected mutuality.

Other African-American men and women rose to leadership in the last two decades of the century. IDA WELLS-BARNETT crusaded against lynching here and in England, using her capability as a speaker and her competence as a writer to rally support. Mary Church Terrell and Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin activated the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN (1896) to give women a voice in black affairs. Editors T. Thomas Fortune in New York and Harry Smith in Cleveland stood out among an often argumen-

tative group of able editors of weekly black newspapers. Frederick Douglass used his position as an elder statesman to agitate for and mediate within the race. His death in 1895 created a vacuum that was soon filled by Booker T. Washington, whose leadership after the turn of the century was contested by W. E. B. DuBois. The Massachusetts-born DuBois was the first black Harvard Ph.D., and before 1900 he was the author of two substantial books and the editor of a precedent-breaking series of race studies at Atlanta University. DuBois used his considerable skills to oppose Washington's emphasis on industrial education to the exclusion of the liberal arts, his accommodating posture with whites, and his expanding control over black organizations, newspapers, and fund-raising.

By the 1890s white domination over southern blacks was secure. JIM CROW LAWS maintained total segregation, and the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *PLESSY V. FERGUSON* (1896) confirmed their constitutionality. The right to vote was closed down. Terrorism in the form of LYNCHING reached its horrible heights between 1880 and 1900, with an average of 100 reported lynching murders a year and an unknown number unreported. The victims usually were accused, without substantiation, of rape and then killed without a court trial. In the North and West, blacks steeled themselves against an ever-present prejudice and sought refuge among themselves.

During these difficult decades a distinct black culture evolved, derived partly from African origins, partly from the long stretch of slavery, and partly from the race's own creativity. New patterns of religious practice emerged, featuring greater emotional participation. There was also new music in the form of spirituals, gospel, and different vocal and instrumental interpretations. The music was popularized by the Fisk University Jubilee Singers, a student group that entertained throughout the country and abroad beginning in 1876. African-American artists like HENRY O. TANNER, poets like PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR, and authors like Charles W. Chesnutt achieved national or international reputations. Chesnutt's novels and short stories unflinchingly probed racial subjects, while Tanner's artistic interest was more general. Tanner was a resident of France for most of his productive life, and his success was a model for younger black artists. Dunbar had a short life, but his works often captured the down-home character of southern blacks while occasionally and subtly underlining the race's discriminatory difficulties. One of his best-known poems expresses African-American bitterness and the techniques used to hide it: "We wear the mask that grins and lies. / It hides our cheeks and shades our eyes / . . . With torn and bleeding hearts we smile. . . ." Early in the next century, two national organizations—the National Urban League (NUL) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)—were established in part to



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encourage African Americans to drop the mask. Both organizations began a sustained campaign to capture citizens' rights for all black people.

The final three decades of the 19th century were discouraging years for African Americans. In differing degrees and with differing methods, whites in the North and South attempted to restrict black livelihood, destroy black personhood, and erode black identity. Despite these efforts, African Americans created strong family and social ties, a vibrant subculture, and the beginnings of an organizational structure to sustain them through the next century.

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—Leslie H. Fishel, Jr.

### agriculture

American agriculture in the late 19th century underwent a profound revolution. Vast areas were put into cultivation; machines and techniques were improved and used more widely; and farmers increased their indebtedness, specialized more and more on money crops, became increasingly dependent on changeable markets, and had less and less control over their profits. With less diversification and greater dependence on a money crop, profits were determined by the elements (more than ever), interest rates, freight rates, and world supply and demand.

#### *Expansion*

From 1870 to 1900 farm acreage jumped from 408 million to 839 million, largely because RAILROADS crisscrossed the nation and connected arable land with markets. Although the Homestead Act (1862) enabled settlers to acquire 160 acres of public land as long as they remained on it for five years, most of the farms created from 1870 to 1900 were on land purchased from railroads and land speculators. The railroads had received land grants from the federal government to encourage them to build in sparsely settled territories. Their acreage was usually more fertile and accessible to their tracks than land available under the Homestead Act, and since the railroads were anxious to attract settlers to increase the volume of their freight, they sold the land for a reasonable price. Since the cost of converting virgin land into a productive farm with its buildings and machinery was high in comparison with the cost of good land, it

was sound economics for farmers to purchase the most productive land available.

#### *Machines*

The basic principles of most of the machines used in the Gilded Age—steel plows, disk harrows, grain drills and corn planters, harvesters, binders, threshers—were patented by 1870. All, however, were significantly improved over the next three decades. For example, from 1868 to 1877 James Oliver developed the modern plow. Sulky plows and steam plows were improved, but steam plows were used only on giant wheat farms in the Far West. Binders were improved in 1878 with a twine knotter that eliminated the need for wire; threshers grew in capacity and utilized steam power; and by 1880 combines were used in California, but not east of the Rockies before 1910. Apart from steam plows and threshers, horses and mules powered farm machinery. Neither the cultivation of cotton nor tobacco was significantly affected by the introduction of machinery in the Gilded Age. An effective mechanical cotton picker was not developed until the 20th century. The dairy industry, however, was revolutionized after 1879 with the introduction of the centrifugal cream separator and the later development of the cream tester.

#### *Techniques*

Manly Miles of the University of Illinois built a silo in 1875, and by 1900 silos were in use throughout the corn belt. Farmers in arid areas relied on irrigation and experimented with methods of dry farming. Federal and state governments established schools and agencies to improve farming techniques. The federal government established the Department of Agriculture in 1862 and elevated it to cabinet status in 1889. The department disseminated information through hundreds of publications, studied plant and animal diseases and their cures, explored how to preserve soil fertility, and collected statistics, among other duties. In 1862 the Morrill Land Grant Act provided for the establishment of agricultural and mechanical (A&M) colleges in each state, and by 1898, 64 had been established with departments of general agriculture as well as specialized departments in animal industry, dairy husbandry, agricultural chemistry, and other areas. These schools also had model demonstration farms. Connecticut set up an agricultural experiment station in 1875, and several states followed suit; in 1887 the federal Hatch Act subsidized these stations in all states and territories. These stations coordinated their work with the A&M colleges and the Department of Agriculture in educating farmers.

#### *Specialization*

Mechanization led to specialization in cash crops for two reasons. Farmers wished to utilize the full productive



This lithograph from the late 19th century asserts the importance of the farmer in American society. (*Library of Congress*)

capacity of their expensive machinery, and they needed cash to pay debts incurred in acquiring those machines. In addition, railroads and refrigerator cars enabled each section of the country to become more specialized. The centers of wheat and corn belts moved west as did hog, cattle, and sheep raising. New England and the middle states were switching from corn and wheat to dairy farming and truck gardening. The South continued to specialize in tobacco and cotton, not because of mechanization but because of the perpetual indebtedness of tenant farmers.

### Markets

Planting more cash crops made farmers more dependent on markets than when their production was more diversified. With rapid urban growth in the Gilded Age, domestic markets grew rapidly, but farm production grew even more rapidly. While the population less than doubled from 40 million in 1870 to 76 million in 1900, corn production more

than doubled from 1.1 billion bushels to 2.7 billion bushels, and wheat also more than doubled from 254 million bushels to 599 million bushels. While cotton and tobacco exports grew at a relatively steady rate, wheat exports fluctuated wildly. In 1870, 37 million bushels were exported and in 1900 102 million bushels, but wheat exports fell as low as 46 million bushels in 1889, only to rise three years later to 157 million bushels.

### Agricultural Depression

From 1870 to 1900 American agriculture was depressed mainly because of overproduction. In the late 1860s wheat sold for over two dollars a bushel and corn for 78 cents a bushel, but in 1870 wheat was barely over one dollar and corn was at 52 cents. By 1895 wheat had fallen to half a dollar while corn in 1896 hit 21 cents.

In 1900 prices had rebounded to 62 cents for wheat and 35 cents for corn. With deflation prices declined, interest

## 10 Alabama claims

rates rose, and debtors had to produce more to pay their debts. Overproduction, however, drove prices lower, and the thousands of individual farmers had no way to control production. Wheat prices, furthermore, were set by worldwide conditions, and American farmers were competing with Canadians, Argentineans, Hungarians, and Ukrainians. Farmers sold their wheat in a world market but purchased manufactured goods in a protected national market. Middlemen profited in buying crops from farmers and in selling goods to farmers. Finally, although railroad rates were declining, farmers felt they were not declining as fast as the prices they received for their crops, and they knew they paid higher discriminatory rates for short hauls than urban shippers, with access to competing lines, paid for long hauls. This agricultural malaise led to the populist revolt of the 1890s.

**Further reading:** Fred A. Shannon, *The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture, 1860–1897* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1945).

**Alabama claims** See WASHINGTON, TREATY OF.

**Alcott, Louisa May** (1832–1888) *novelist, short story writer*

The author of some of the most popular and enduring juvenile fiction ever, Louisa May Alcott was born in Germantown, Pennsylvania, on November 29, 1832, and grew up in Boston and Concord, Massachusetts. Her father was Bronson Alcott, the educational innovator and transcendentalist. Although he was part of a distinguished intellectual circle—close family friends included Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau—he was incapable of earning a sustained income, and his family frequently lived in poverty.

As a teenager, to help support her family, Alcott began working as a seamstress, a governess, and a domestic worker, among other jobs. She also began to write for publication. Her first published piece was a poem in *Peterson's Magazine* in 1851, and she followed it up with a variety of thrillers and potboilers that were published anonymously or under pseudonyms in publications like the *Saturday Evening Gazette* and the *Atlantic Monthly*.

In 1862 she briefly became an army nurse and served in a hospital in Washington, D.C., before contracting typhoid fever. She was treated with mercury, which permanently damaged her health, but she used that experience to write *Hospital Sketches*, which appeared in *Commonwealth* (May–June 1863) and was reprinted that same year in book form. In 1864 she published *Moods*, a novel about a young woman who feels forced by circumstance to marry a man she merely likes. Meanwhile, she continued to crank out sensational stories for magazines.

In 1868 she tried her hand at a book for adolescent girls. The result was *Little Women*, which was published in two separate volumes, the first in 1868 and the second in 1869. It was based on Alcott's own family, and Jo, the tomboy heroine who chaffs under pressure to be ladylike, was based on Alcott herself. Within four years, *Little Women* had sold 82,000 copies, unprecedented numbers for juvenile fiction. Its success enabled Alcott to provide for her parents, but it also led to relentless pressure to produce more books, which added to her difficulties in her final years (she died on March 6, 1888) as her health broke down.

Alcott followed up *Little Women* with *An Old-Fashioned Girl* (1870), a novel about a small-town girl trying to hold on to her values during an extended visit to a wealthy family in worldly Boston; *Little Men* (1871), a sequel to *Little Women*, in which Jo and her husband run a boy's school, based in large part on the educational theories of Bronson Alcott; *Eight Cousins* (1875), about a sickly orphan girl whose health improves after she begins to spend time with her boisterous male cousins; *Rose in Bloom* (1876), a sequel to *Eight Cousins*; *Under the Lilacs* (1878), about a circus runaway; *Jack and Jill* (1880), about a boy and a girl convalescing after a sledding accident; and *Jo's Boys* (1886), a sequel to *Little Men*. All were successful, but none matched the sales figures of *Little Women*.

Alcott also published scores of short stories for children and adolescents and two more adult novels: *Work* (1873) and *A Modern Mephistopheles* (1877), about a young poet who sells himself for literary fame. But it was her adolescent books that brought her the bulk of her success and her enduring fame. She did not always enjoy writing them, referring to them at one point as “moral pap for the young,” but their success was no accident—Alcott remembered what it was like to be 14 or 15, and many of the problems her heroines struggled with were universal. In addition, her books hit the market at a time when an entirely new consumer group was emerging: middle-class girls, 12 to 16 years old, who were anxious to read about girls like themselves and had enough money to purchase moderately priced books.

**Further reading:** Sarah Elbert, *A Hunger for Home: Louisa May Alcott's Place in American Culture* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987); Madeleine B. Stern, *Louisa May Alcott* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950).

—Lynn Hoogenboom

**Alger, Horatio** (1834–1899) *children's fiction writer, poet*

Born in Revere, Massachusetts, on January 13, 1834, Horatio Alger, the author of moral, melodramatic books for boys,



graduated from Harvard in 1852, sewed wild oats on a trip to Europe, and then for three years worked for local newspapers before attending Harvard Divinity School. After earning his divinity degree, Alger again traveled abroad and in 1864 became minister of the Brewster, Massachusetts, Unitarian church. Two years later, accused of being a ped-erast, he was dismissed.

Having already published sentimental poems and stories as well as sensational—but moral—novels, Alger moved to New York City to make his way as a writer. He did some tutoring for the wealthy and some social work at the Newsboys' Lodging House, where he lived most of the time and drew on his observations in his books for boys. His most successful book, *Ragged Dick: Or Street Life in New York*, appeared in 1867, and Alger produced over a hundred more like it.

In a typical Alger tale, a poor boy of sterling character leaves the farm (perhaps to earn money to help his widowed mother); goes to the city; gets a job in a department store; is honest, diligent, and frugal; and by an extraordinary stroke of good luck comes to the attention of the merchant prince who owns the store.

By the end of the book the boy is on his way to a managerial position. Alger's books have come to symbolize the "rags to riches" American dream. They were enormously popular among boys, not so much for the moralistic lessons and traditional values dispensed, but more for their adventurous and melodramatic character and the assurance that ultimately the hero (who eschewed gambling) would nevertheless hit the jackpot in the world of business.

In 1896 Alger moved to Natick, Massachusetts, to live with his sister and to write a great adult novel, but he failed to begin it before he died on July 18, 1899.

**Further reading:** Carol Nackenoff, *The Fictional Republic: Horatio Alger and American Political Discourse* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Gary Scharnhorst and Jack Bales, *The Lost Life of Horatio Alger, Jr.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

**Allison, William Boyd** (1829-1908) *lawyer, politician* William Boyd Allison boasted a remarkably long congressional career, serving Iowans eight years in the House of Representatives (1863-71) and 35 years (1873-1908) in the Senate. Shrewd and cautious, he bent sufficiently to survive intense pressures for change and would have been elected for a seventh senatorial term had he not died.

Born in Perry, Ohio, on March 2, 1829, Allison attended the preparatory academy connected with Allegheny College in Meadville, Pennsylvania, taught school near Perry for a year or two, and completed his meager formal education with a year at Western Reserve College, then located

in Hudson, Ohio. Admitted to the bar after having studied law for less than a year, he commenced its practice in Ashland, Ohio, in 1852, and achieved modest success. In 1854 Allison married Anna Carter, daughter of the town's most prosperous citizen. He dabbled in politics, first as a Whig, then briefly as an anti-Catholic Know-Nothing (the nativist American Party), and in 1854 participated in the founding of the Republican Party. Allison remained devoted to it for the rest of his life. In 1856 that party nominated him for Ashland County's prosecuting attorney. Although he ran well in a Democratic county, he lost. Frustrated political ambitions, coupled with a mediocre law practice, decided Allison to move west, and in 1857 he settled in the thriving town of Dubuque, Iowa. Suffering from tuberculosis, his wife, Anna, remained in Ohio and died there in 1860.

In Iowa Allison's law practice served as an entering wedge into politics and enabled him to make contacts with businessmen. Despite his lack of property and his modest means, Allison, who exuded "safeness," was within two years on the board of directors of the Dubuque branch of the Iowa State Bank. In that position he cultivated friends who supported his political ambitions and who anticipated reciprocal favors. Among these was the railroad builder and powerful Republican Grenville M. Dodge. Allison's ambition was rewarded by election to Congress in 1862.

Allison served four terms in the House. By pushing for federal land grants for Iowa RAILROADS, he also served his strong supporters. He joined Radical Republicans and voted for congressional control of the political reconstruction of the South and for the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, yet he was not an extremist and had the gift of retaining the respect and even friendship of opponents. He remained, for example, the faithful protégé of Iowa senator James W. Grimes even after his deciding vote to acquit Johnson in the 1868 impeachment trial made Grimes a pariah among Iowa Radicals. In 1873 Allison married Grimes's beautiful and accomplished niece Mary Nealley. Unfortunately, she became mentally unstable and committed suicide in 1883.

In 1870 his close association with the unpopular Grimes had prevented Allison from succeeding him in the Senate, but with the support of railroad interests, Allison defeated Senator James Harlan two years later. In addition to his interest in railroads, Allison became expert in currency, finance, and taxation. He was on the Finance Committee for 30 years and chaired the Appropriations Committee for 27 years. Above all else, Allison was, as Senator Nelson Aldrich described him, "a master of the arts of conciliation and construction." To minimize the disappointment of disputants, he managed to adjust differences behind the scenes with much tact and little publicity. The one major act to which his name is attached, the BLAND-ALLISON ACT (1878), illustrates his genius as a compromiser. His

amendment to the House's inflationary Bland bill for the remonetization of silver limited its coinage and kept inflation in check. Neither western silver inflationists nor eastern creditors were completely satisfied, but silver dollars were minted and gold was not driven out of circulation.

Allison's fellow party leaders appreciated his capacity to harmonize contentious voices among Republicans. He was a leading candidate for the presidential nomination in 1888, losing out to BENJAMIN HARRISON. A second try in 1896 failed when WILLIAM MCKINLEY was nominated. By the 1890s Allison was one of "the Big Four" dominating the Senate and determining congressional policy. The other three were Aldrich of Rhode Island, John Spooner of Wisconsin, and Orville Platt of Connecticut.

At heart a conservative, Allison never lost the trust of financiers, manufacturers, and railroaders. His pragmatic compromises, resolving difficult issues, may have impinged on, but did not endanger, their interests. Allison finessed agreements on controversial import duties in the McKinley Tariff (1890) and the Dingley Tariff (1897) and worked with Democrats on the sugar schedule in the Wilson-Gorman Tariff (1894). He was also instrumental in adjusting competing interests in the debate over the 1906 Hepburn Act. The Allison Amendment (which Aldrich, President Theodore Roosevelt, and others probably helped originate) obfuscated and postponed the question of broad versus narrow judicial review of railroad rates to be set by the Interstate Commerce Commission and enabled the Hepburn bill to breeze through the Senate with only three negative votes. Allison, a Republican colleague remarked, "was so pussyfooted he could walk from New York to San Francisco on the keys of a piano and never strike a note."

On August 4, 1908, Allison died at home in Dubuque, leaving a modest estate, unlike his colleague Aldrich, who had parlayed political influence into millions.

**Further reading:** Leland L. Sage, *William Boyd Allison: A Study in Practical Politics* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1956).

### **Altgeld, John Peter** (1847–1902) *politician*

Democratic politician John Peter Altgeld was born to John Peter and Mary Altgeld on December 30, 1847, at Nieder Selters in Nassau, Germany. His parents brought him to the United States and settled in Richland County, Ohio, when he was only three months old. In 1864 he served in the Ohio Home Guards briefly, taught school for two years, and in 1869 at the age of 21 moved west to Missouri. He read law, was admitted to the bar in 1871, and in 1874 he was elected state's attorney for Andrew County with Democratic-Granger support. Despite this apparent success, he resigned and moved to Chicago one year later.

At first Altgeld did not do well in Chicago. He slept in his office for two years before he could afford living quarters.

By 1879, however, he was secure enough to begin speculating in real estate. Over the next 11 years he parlayed a \$500 initial investment into a \$500,000 fortune. During this time he continued to practice law and to write. In 1884 he published *Our Penal Machinery and Its Victims*, suggesting that the poor had a less than equal chance in America. Another publication, *The Immigrant's Answer* (1890), responded to nativist attacks against aliens. He was also an effective politician, elected as a judge for the Superior Court of Cook County in 1886 and, six years later, became the Democratic Party's successful candidate for governor.

Shortly after his inauguration, Altgeld, pressed by Clarence Darrow and other liberals, considered pardoning those convicted of the bombing during the HAYMARKET RIOT. After careful study he pardoned the three who were still alive, in June 1893. Altgeld suggested that the bomb was most likely thrown as an act of individual revenge, because the Chicago police often clubbed strikers who gave no offense. He also dismissed much of the evidence as "pure fabrication," objected to the method of jury selection, and noted the obvious prejudice of Judge Joseph Gary. The press denounced Altgeld as an anarchist, a demagogue, a fomentor of lawlessness, and an apologist for murder.

The outcry did not deter Altgeld from supporting those he considered disenfranchised. He appointed Alzina P. Stevens assistant factory inspector for Illinois and supported her assault upon the sweatshop system. He protested the use of federal troops during the PULLMAN STRIKE of 1894, stating that President GROVER CLEVELAND's action was "unnecessary, unjustifiable, and unconstitutional."

Altgeld played a major role in the Democratic Party's repudiation of Cleveland. At its 1896 convention he helped write its platform, calling for the free coinage of silver (FREE SILVER MOVEMENT), and his influence was so great that he would have been a serious contender for the nomination had he not been born abroad and thus ineligible for the U.S. presidency. The Illinois Democratic Party nominated him in 1896 for a second gubernatorial term, but although he ran well ahead of the Democratic Party's national ticket in Illinois, he lost. Altgeld also suffered financial as well as political reverses, but he remained active as a lawyer and in politics. He was an outspoken advocate of municipal ownership of streetcar lines and an opponent of IMPERIALISM; indeed, he died in Joliet, Illinois, on March 12, 1902, just after delivering a speech attacking imperialism. The poet Vachel Lindsay celebrated Altgeld in his poem "The Eagle That Is Forgotten."



**Further reading:** Harry Barnard, *Eagle Forgotten: The Life of John Peter Altgeld* (Secaucus, N.J.: L. Stuart, 1968); Ray Ginger, *Altgeld's America: The Lincoln Ideal versus Changing Realities* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965).

—Harold W. Aurand

### American Federation of Labor

The American Federation of Labor (AFL) grew out of a conflict between trade unions and the KNIGHTS OF LABOR (Knights). In 1885 the Knights raided the territory of Local 144 of the Cigarmakers International in New York. Outraged, the president of Local 144, SAMUEL GOMPERS, called a conference with other trade unionists to discuss options. The conference demanded, among other things, that the Knights cease recruiting members from established trade unions and stop issuing their own union labels. Knowing that the Knights would not accede to these demands, the group called for another, larger conference. Responding to the call, delegates from 25 labor unions met in Columbus, Ohio, in December 1886 and created the AFL.

An executive council, elected by an annual convention controlled by the national trade unions (each national received one vote for every 100 members), was the AFL's primary policy-enforcing body. The council was responsible for adjudicating jurisdictional disputes among member unions, helping form new national trade unions, and judging the merits of proposed boycotts. It also established state federations and, in some cases, local central bodies to coordinate union activities at those levels. A per capita tax levied on its affiliates provided most of the organization's income.

Since each affiliate retained its autonomy, the AFL had little real power. It tended to determine jurisdictional disputes, for example, in favor of the stronger contender rather than upon the merits of the case. But the best illustration of its weakness was its inability to enforce its constitutional prohibition against discrimination. Although it denied affiliation to the boilermakers union because its constitution contained a "white only" clause, it was powerless against members practicing de facto exclusion. At the turn of the century only one, of its more than 50 affiliates, the United Mine Workers of America, had a sizable African-American membership.

The exclusionary policy of AFL member unions extended to women and the unskilled. By 1895 less than 6 percent of all union members were women. Formed to protect their skilled members from the encroachment of machines, craft unions spurned industrial workers. Moreover, they feared that if industrial workers were permitted membership, the more numerous unskilled laborers would force their skilled brethren into hopeless strikes.

AFL unions believed that collective bargaining, supported by strikes and boycotts, was the best means to improve economic conditions for their members. A series of disastrous strikes such as the HOMESTEAD STRIKE generated questions about the effectiveness of wage-conscious unionism. Led by socialists, those favoring a more political tack attempted to have the 1892 convention convert itself into an independent political party. Gompers, however, defeated the movement. The following year the political actionists defeated Gompers's bid for reelection, but their victory was fleeting, as Gompers was elected president again in 1895. Under his leadership the AFL remained committed to pursuing economic goals while rewarding its friends and punishing its enemies in elections, regardless of party affiliation. Over the years the policy proved effective. The exclusionary practices of most AFL unions, however, limited the beneficiaries of these gains to skilled white males, creating, in a sense, an aristocracy of labor.

**Further reading:** Stuart B. Kaufman, *Samuel Gompers and the Origins of the American Federation of Labor, 1848–1896* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1973).

—Harold W. Aurand

### American Protective Association

Nativists flocked to the American Protective Association (APA) in the Gilded Age. American NATIVISM was often linked to anti-Catholicism, which had deep roots in the Anglo-American Protestant culture of the United States. Nativist groups used anti-Catholic rhetoric to arouse the long-standing fears and misgivings that Americans had of Catholics. Several developments in the 1870s and 1880s exacerbated anti-Catholic suspicions: the rise to political power of Irish and German Catholics in some of the nation's major cities; the rapid expansion of parish and parochial schools and the controversy over public aid to those schools; and the perceived Catholic influence over organized labor.

On March 13, 1887, Henry F. Bowers, a self-taught Iowa lawyer, founded the APA, which became the largest American nativist organization of the late 19th century. The APA was an oath-bound organization open to anyone committed to bringing a halt to IMMIGRATION and resisting the so-called Catholic menace. It absorbed many of the smaller nativist societies that had sprung up in the years immediately following the Civil War. By 1894 membership in the APA had reached a reported 500,000 people, with councils (local chapters) in cities throughout the Middle West, Northeast, and Far West.

The growth of the APA was partially the result of new leadership. In 1893 William J. Traynor replaced Bowers as

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the organization's supreme president. Traynor had been the president of the Michigan council and was a vocal, committed nativist who not only had experience in promoting several anti-Catholic groups but also possessed a keen sense of politics. His vigorous leadership, however, was not the sole cause of the increase in membership. The economic depression of 1893 had stimulated anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant feelings in America and served as a powerful recruiting tool. The members of the APA portrayed immigrants as "job stealers" and accused Catholics of plotting to disrupt the nation's economic system and paving the way for the pope to seize power.

By the late 1890s, the APA began to weaken. Not only was the organization beset by internal dissension, but nativism was also being gradually eclipsed by more pressing issues. Like its Know-Nothing predecessor in the 1850s, the APA created much nativist excitement and anti-Catholic anxiety, but unlike the Know-Nothings, it had little political success.

See also IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS.

**Further reading:** David H. Bennett, *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Donald L. Kinzer, *An Episode in Anti-Catholicism: The American Protective Association* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964).

—Phillip Papas

**American Woman Suffrage Association** See WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

**anarchists** See LABOR, RADICAL.

**Angell, James Burrill** (1829–1916) *educator, academic administrator, diplomat*

Born near Scituate, Rhode Island, James B. Angell was renowned as an educator and university president but also edited a newspaper and served as a diplomat. Graduating valedictorian from Brown University in 1849, he excelled in languages, literature, and mathematics. He remained at Brown as an assistant in the library but soon experienced a severe throat problem that, for the rest of his life, required him to speak softly. In search of a cure he embarked on an eight-month horseback tour (1850–51) of the South with a college chum, Rowland Hazard. When his throat did not improve sufficiently for him to train for the ministry, Angell worked briefly as a civil engineer in Boston before embarking with Hazard, in 1851, on a "grand tour" of Europe.

While Angell was abroad, President Francis Wayland of Brown University offered him a professorship in either civil engineering or modern languages. Angell accepted the modern language appointment and from 1852 to 1853, at Paris and Munich, studied language and literature. He entered his work at Brown with gusto. Although Angell gave advanced courses and revised and edited a standard handbook of French literature, Wayland's successor restricted Angell's teaching in 1855 to elementary courses. That same year Angell married Sarah Swope Caswell. They had three children, one of whom, James Rowland Angell, would become president of Yale University (1921–37).

When Angell's friend Henry B. Anthony, who controlled and edited the *Providence Journal*, was elected as a Republican to the U.S. Senate in 1858, he asked Angell to contribute to the paper in his absence. When Angell shortly became the paper's full-time editor (1860–66), he resigned from Brown. He supported the Abraham Lincoln administration and the Republican Party. His articles on European events, foreign policy, and international law were informed by his European studies and his broad reading. After trying unsuccessfully to buy control of the *Journal* from Anthony, Angell accepted the presidency of the University of Vermont in 1866.

At the time that university was a small institution, underfunded by the legislature of a poor state. Raising money from private sources, Angell equipped a laboratory, added a professorship, and improved the physical plant. He filled in where teachers were lacking and taught rhetoric, history, German, and international law. He also campaigned for state support of an agricultural college to take advantage of the federal Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862.

Aware of Angell's hard work, the regents of the University of Michigan appointed him president in 1871. He remained in that post until 1909. In his inaugural address he set forth a breathtaking vision of the mission of a state university. It was "to place the means of obtaining generous culture within the reach of the humblest and poorest child." Angell wanted the University of Michigan, a "Western" school, to be a center of inquiry and advanced study, as well as to instruct undergraduates and offer training for the professions. His dream for Michigan, scarcely a generation removed from a collection of frontier settlements, was to have a university that would advance the frontiers of knowledge. Angell believed that scholarship and teaching were inextricably entwined and that the communication of knowledge depended on its continued acquisition. His vision both guided the development of the University of Michigan and inspired other state universities, especially in the Midwest.

In striving to achieve his goals, Angell's personal qualities were invaluable. He was unpretentious, tactful, considerate, and friendly and quickly became acquainted with his

faculty and student body by observing classes and visiting laboratories. For much of his presidency he knew every student by name, whether or not they took his courses on international law or foreign relations. He wanted his faculty to evaluate students on their daily performance, instead of by a score achieved through cramming for an examination. Rather than introduce radical innovations, Angell believed that lasting improvements came gradually. He was low key rather than forceful, open to new ideas rather than doctrinaire; for example, his embrace of egalitarianism included coeducation, which the university had adopted only six months before his arrival. Angell's modest approach was effective with faculty, regents, and legislators, and the university grew, but his dream of a ground-breaking graduate program was not realized during his tenure.

While president of the University of Michigan, Angell was given four diplomatic assignments by three U.S. presidents. Following his veto of a Chinese exclusion bill in 1878, RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, in 1880, appointed Angell minister to China and the chief negotiator (with two commissioners) to modify the 1868 Burlingame Treaty, which allowed unrestricted Chinese IMMIGRATION to the United States. Reflecting the views of the Hayes administration, Angell wanted to curb the influx of Chinese laborers without jeopardizing the advantages of American merchants and missionaries in China. Working harmoniously, thanks largely to the tact of Angell, his mission and the Chinese plenipotentiaries agreed both on an immigration treaty and a commerce treaty by November 1880. They were ratified in May 1881. The commerce treaty secured new commercial advantages for Americans but prohibited either country from shipping opium to the other. The immigration treaty enabled the United States to regulate, limit, or suspend but not prohibit the immigration of Chinese laborers. In 1882, after Angell returned to the University of Michigan, Congress suspended Chinese immigration for 10 years. That suspension was renewed until 1904, when it was enacted without a terminal date.

GROVER CLEVELAND, as president, asked Angell to serve on two commissions. In 1887–88, along with Secretary of State THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD and William L. Putnam of Maine, Angell helped negotiate a treaty with Great Britain, settling old disputes over fishing rights off the coast of Canada. Although the Senate rejected it, the arrangements it proposed, pending its ratification, were adopted by both parties. In 1896–97, with Cleveland as president again, Angell served on the Canadian-American Deep Waterways Commission that studied the feasibility of what in the 1950s would become the St. Lawrence Seaway. Angell also spent a frustrating year as President WILLIAM MCKINLEY's minister to Turkey, protesting the treatment of American missionaries and their facilities by Turkish troops, especially during an Armenian uprising.

Angell earned substantial honors in his career. He was president of the American Historical Association (1893–94) and a regent of the Smithsonian Institution. Never one to rest on his laurels, he remarked, just prior to his retirement, “so little done, so much remains to do.” In 1916 Angell died in the president's home at the University of Michigan.

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**Anthony, Susan B.** (1820–1906) *suffragist, women's rights leader*

The most visible force behind the battle for woman suffrage, Susan Brownell Anthony was the daughter of a well-to-do Quaker mill owner. Born in Adams, Massachusetts, on February 15, 1820, she grew up in Battenville, New York. She worked as a teacher from 1839 until 1849, when she left teaching to manage her family's farm and became absorbed in reform movements.

In 1850 she met ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, a leader of the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Their mutual interests in abolition and women's issues led to a professional partnership that lasted until



Susan B. Anthony (Library of Congress)

## 16 Anti-Imperialist League

Stanton's death in 1902. Stanton, who had strong writing and oratorical skills, honed the message while Anthony provided the organizational skills.

In the years leading up to the Civil War, Anthony was a primary organizer of a series of WOMEN'S RIGHTS conventions, and from 1854 on she organized yearly petition drives in New York demanding woman suffrage and property rights for married women. From 1856 until the beginning of the Civil War, Anthony was also the principal New York agent (or lobbyist) for the American Anti-Slavery Society. In 1863 Anthony and Stanton organized the Women's Loyal National League, which collected 400,000 signatures on a petition calling for the abolition of slavery. After the war, as the corresponding secretary for the American Equal Rights Association (AERA), Anthony oversaw petitions to Congress advocating universal suffrage and coordinated several campaigns to amend state constitutions.

In 1867 she campaigned in Kansas for proposals for African-American and woman suffrage. Both were defeated, and that campaign opened a rift within the equal-rights movement when, midway through the campaign, the Republican Party withdrew support for the woman suffrage amendment. In order to complete her campaign, Anthony accepted the help of George Francis Train, a Democrat and blatant racist. She and Stanton also accepted his financing of their newspaper, *The Revolution*, which made its debut in January 1868 and lasted only until 1870, when it was turned over to a new owner. It opposed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments on the grounds that both excluded women, and it departed from the AERA position in favor of universal suffrage by running articles favorable to educated suffrage. With Anthony and Stanton's positions diverging from those of the AERA, they set up their own organization, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), in 1869. LUCY STONE, disturbed by Anthony and Stanton's hostility to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, formed a rival organization, the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), that same year. Subsequently, the sisterly love Anthony and Stone had for each other degenerated into mutual hostility.

Anthony's opposition to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, however, did not keep her, and hundreds of other women, from testing the theory that these amendments, which linked voting rights with citizenship, actually had granted women the right to vote. In 1872, after Anthony and a group of followers voted in Rochester, New York, only she was arrested for violating federal law. In *United States v. Susan B. Anthony* (1873), she was tried in the U.S. circuit court, with SUPREME COURT justice Ward Hunt presiding. Without permitting Anthony to testify, he instructed the all-male jury to find her guilty, refused to poll it, and fined her \$100. Even though she did not pay the fine, she was not arrested and therefore unable to

appeal her case to the Supreme Court. Two years later in *Minor v. Happersett* (1875), the Supreme Court followed Hunt's lead and ruled unanimously that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments did not give women the right to vote.

At the Fourth of July ceremonies at the PHILADELPHIA CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION of 1876, Anthony and four colleagues received a flurry of publicity when they interrupted the official celebration to present the presiding officer with a "Women's Declaration of 1876" for women's rights in fulfillment of the ideals of 1776.

From 1870 to 1900 Anthony lectured everywhere, gave hundreds of interviews to local newspapers, and forged links with various women's organizations, which had burgeoned in the latter half of the 19th century. While few of these organizations endorsed suffrage, they proved willing to work with Anthony on other women's issues and eventually welcomed her as a speaker at their conventions. By the 1890s Anthony had access to the platforms of every significant women's group in the country. She campaigned for a woman suffrage amendment everywhere, taking the skills she had developed in her early campaigns in New York State and reapplying them on a national level. Although she never came close to getting the amendment passed, she did manage to move the issue from the political fringes to the mainstream. And while she had taken the brunt of the ridicule and vitriol that was heaped on suffragists in the early days, by the 1890s she was widely respected, even revered, for her unflinching devotion to her cause.

In 1890 the NWSA and AWSA merged into the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Anthony insisted that Stanton, longtime president of the NWSA, be president of the merged association. When Stanton retired as NAWSA president in 1892, Anthony replaced her and remained president of the organization until 1900, when she was 80. Although she slowed down a bit, she continued to campaign for woman suffrage up until a month before her death on March 13, 1906. As she was dying that day "she suddenly began to utter the names of the women who had worked with her as if in a final roll call . . . and as they went by she spoke to each of them" (Baker, 92).

**Further Reading:** Jean H. Baker, *Sisters: The Lives of America's Suffragists* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2005); Kathleen Barry, *Susan B. Anthony: A Biography of a Singular Feminist* (New York: New York University Press, 1988).

—Lynn Hoogenboom

### Anti-Imperialist League

The Anti-Imperialist League grew out of the opposition to the war with Spain and its consequences. Prominent Americans spoke out against military intervention to free CUBA



from Spain before war was declared in April 1898. Once U.S. forces seized Spain's insular possessions, these spokespeople began to organize to prevent colonialism.

On June 15, 1898, a rally at Boston's historic Faneuil Hall formed a committee of correspondence, which resulted in an Anti-Imperialist League five months later. At first its efforts focused on a petition campaign to block permanent acquisition of the newly conquered territory. The outbreak in February 1899 of the Philippine Rebellion against American rule inspired others to form Anti-Imperialist Leagues. Outside of New England, the Single Tax followers of Henry George were responsible for forming branch offices. Finally, in October 1899 activists established the American Anti-Imperialist League with its national office in Chicago and George S. Boutwell, a former member of Ulysses S. Grant's cabinet, as its president.

The anti-imperialists shared high status and advanced years but lacked a clear-cut alternative foreign policy program. Most were economic conservatives and were uneasy when WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN took up the fight against IMPERIALISM as the Democratic presidential candidate in 1900. While Bryan claimed FOREIGN POLICY issues were the center of his candidacy, he continued to advocate Free Silver monetization. This stand alienated such anti-imperialists as ANDREW CARNEGIE and Senator GEORGE F. HOAR. Some defectors in the New York office withdrew to form a nonpartisan organization, while others established Liberty Leagues to advocate Philippine independence.

After 1901 the seven remaining league offices continued to criticize the Philippine-American War, but they were again disappointed when the DEMOCRATIC PARTY chose a lackluster candidate to oppose Theodore Roosevelt in the 1904 election. The national office moved to Boston and the league survived until 1921.

See also ATKINSON, EDWARD; FILIPINO INSURRECTION; FREE SILVER MOVEMENT; SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

**Further reading:** Robert L. Beisner, *Twelve against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists, 1898–1900* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968); E. Berkeley Tompkins, *Anti-Imperialism in the United States: The Great Debate, 1890–1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970).

—Bruce Abrams

**Anti-Saloon League** See PROHIBITION PARTY.

## Apache War

The Apache War was marked by frequent skirmishes and battles from the early 1870s into the 1880s. Apache Indians first clashed with Spaniards during the colonial era, then

with Mexico after Mexican independence, and finally with the United States after it won control of the Southwest from Mexico in 1848. After settlers began to mine copper ore, especially in Arizona, where many Apache lived, the situation deteriorated. To control it the federal government aimed to consolidate the disparate Apache bands at the San Carlos Reservation in eastern Arizona.

In 1871 citizens of Tucson, Arizona, reacted to repeated Chiricahua Apache raids by attacking Camp Grant, a federal government-sponsored settlement, and killing up to 150 Apache, including many women and children. President Ulysses S. Grant, appalled by the vigilantism, ordered General George Crook to stabilize the region. After Apache raids continued, Crook led western forces against the Apache, successfully using Indian "scouts" to fight other NATIVE AMERICANS. Crook led several bloody campaigns against the Apache until a tenuous peace was negotiated with the Chiricahua band in 1874. That same year President Grant put their copper-producing reservation lands in the public domain, opening them up to mining interests. This move led to the resettlement of Chiricahua Apache to the reservation at San Carlos in 1876. Roughly half the Chiricahua complied with the removal order while the remainder fled to Mexico.

Among the recalcitrant Chiricahua Apache, a warrior named GERONIMO emerged as a war leader. Geronimo had fled to Mexico in 1876 and began to use the Ojo Caliente Reservation in New Mexico, where the Warm Springs Apache were located, as a base to organize raids. As a result, the Warm Springs Reservation was shut down by authorities in 1877, and officials began planning to remove 400 Warm Springs Apache and Geronimo's band of Chiricahua Apache to the San Carlos Reservation. Fearing resistance, officials arrested Geronimo and several other leaders. Conditions at San Carlos were abysmal, and the displaced Warm Springs Apache, led by their war chief Victorio, broke away from the reservation in September 1877, eventually crossing the border into Mexico and beginning a three-year period during which the band raided settlements along the border in Mexico and the United States. The raids ended in 1880, when Victorio and his band were killed by Mexican soldiers.

The Warm Springs Apache who had been sent back to San Carlos joined with Geronimo, who had returned there in the interim. During this time officials became increasingly concerned about an Apache rebellion after tribal members began practicing the Ghost Dance religion, which involved communing with ancestors via a trancelike dance. Tension between the Apache and the U.S. Army led to an Apache attack on August 30, 1881. Geronimo again fled to Mexico with other Apache, engaging American troops at the border. Apache warriors reentered the United States in April 1882, attacking reservation policemen at



San Carlos on April 19, during which time Geronimo freed a group of Apache, fleeing to Mexico with the fugitives. Determined to bring peace to the territory, General Crook entered Mexico in 1883 with 200 scouts, and in February 1884 Geronimo surrendered, returning to San Carlos. In May 1885 Geronimo again left San Carlos, this time with 130 fugitives, which set off skirmishes along the border of the United States and Mexico as the two countries joined forces to fight the Apache. In September 1886 Geronimo again surrendered, accepting a deal to relocate the Apache to Florida for a period of two years before being allowed to return to the West. However, Geronimo was not allowed to return, and he died at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1909.

**Further reading:** Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Henry Holt, 1970).

—Scott Sendrow

## art and architecture

The growth and diversification typical of America's political, economic, and social life in the late 19th century were also reflected in its art and architecture. As America industrialized and its economic power grew, it became a political power on the world stage, finally becoming an empire with the acquisition of the Philippines. Architecture reflected this growing commercial and political power. The first of the skeleton-frame **SKYSCRAPERS** was designed by William Le Baron Jenny and constructed in Chicago in 1883. That same year, what was then the longest suspension bridge ever built, the Brooklyn Bridge, opened in New York City. The City Beautiful movement promulgated design reform along the lines of models provided by the Roman Empire and France's Louis XIV (the Sun King). Increasing **IMMIGRATION** and increasing specialization of the work force fueled America's economic engine. Class distinctions became more finely drawn, and the arts reflected these hierarchies. Domestic architectural form embodied them, as developers built suburbs of tidy Queen Anne houses along trolley lines and as industrialists erected monumental chateaux and palazzi along Manhattan's Fifth Avenue. Women and men moved in separate spheres, and home life, where children were raised and culture fostered, belonged to women. The cult of domesticity justified art in the home, and civic philanthropy demanded art in museums. Thus were the arts popularized and democratized in the late 19th century.

The most influential Gilded Age architect was **HENRY HOBSON RICHARDSON**. His elaborate adaptations for churches and public buildings of the pre-Gothic architecture of 11th- and 12th-century northern Europe (featuring the round arch and vault)—called “Richardson Roman-

esque”—was widely copied. More important, Richardson inspired a generation of eclectic architects to turn to forms of the past that could be adapted for modern purposes. His influence on Charles Follen McKim and **STANFORD WHITE** was more direct since these distinguished architects served apprenticeships as draftsmen in his office. Their firm of Mead, McKim, and White looked to the past and decided in the late 1880s that classicism was the most appropriate basis for American architecture. Given the widespread belief that Western civilization was rooted in Greek and Roman culture, classicism dominated the architecture of public buildings well into the 20th century. On the other hand, Richardson's emphasis on simplicity and restraint influenced **LOUIS H. SULLIVAN** who stressed that form should follow function, that details and ornamentation should be derived from nature. Building on these ideas Sullivan and the Chicago school rejected classicism and laid the foundation of modern American architecture.

America's painters, sculptors, and architects, its designers of decorative arts, and its landscape designers—all developed a new professionalism in response to these changing social conditions. Training abroad, especially in the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris, became imperative. Artists joined established organizations, such as the art academies of the nation's major cities, and formed new ones. Organizations representing specialized constituencies, such as the American Institute of Architects, the National Sculpture Society, and the Women's Exchange, sprang up or consolidated power. These organizations not only defined working practices and standards but through their exhibition facilities also offered opportunities for patronage. American artists vigorously participated in world's fairs, where their work could be measured against that of their European peers. To rid themselves of any association with manual laborers, artists became scholars and connoisseurs. They collected art and displayed it in their studios, they wrote for magazines, and they joined private clubs.

A cosmopolitanism that sprang from academic and aesthetic idealism became the stylistic marker of late 19th-century American art. Earlier, a Ruskinian literalism espousing truth to nature, a confident nationalism, and the prevailing Protestantism had produced an emphatically didactic art. In contrast, late 19th-century art as a body depicted a broader array of subjects, with each work of art being more narrowly focused. Erudite mixing of sources, exquisite technique, and poetic mood were typical of late 19th-century art. Psychological insight replaced mid-century sentimentality, finely tuned understatement replaced drama, and evocation replaced specificity.

Cosmopolitan artists expressed the new tone through historicism and exoticism. These themes were especially apparent in **PAINTING** and **SCULPTURE**, though they were



The William Watts Sherman house, designed by Henry Hobson Richardson and erected in 1875–76, is the prototype of the shingled Tudor manor house in America. (*Library of Congress*)

present in all the arts. Certain cultures and times were rich mines: the American colonial era, 17th- and 18-century England, and the peasant life of Holland and northern France. Artists examined non-Christian cultures and perceived a colorful barbarity and sensuality in the Islamic world and a refined simplicity in still-feudal Japan. Representation of the human form, at the core of the curricula of the academies of Paris, Munich, London, and Rome, was paramount in the arts of painting and sculpture.

Through ethnographic exactitude, history painters sought to make a small moment of the historical past or the geographically remote vividly alive. Charles Sprague Pearce, in his *A Village Funeral, Brittany* (1891, Danforth Museum of Art, Framingham, Massachusetts), shows French peasants gathered to say goodbye to the departed and gives equal attention to the particularity of the women's caps and the universality of their grieving faces. The same sort of exactitude governed Tiffany and Company as it crafted the Viking punch bowl (1892, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), a work that incorporates motifs from medieval manuscripts and Viking ships. Not all historicist art was so

exact, however: Daniel Pabst's tall case clock (1884, Wurts House Foundation, Philadelphia) grafted gothic and neo-Greco ornamentation upon Chippendale form. The aim of art with historical and exotic themes was to draw the viewer into another culture and time in order to marvel at its finer moments, finding in it affinities with the modern age.

The classical world—ancient Greece and Rome as well as Renaissance Italy—became the wellspring from which artists fashioned a movement scholars have termed the American Renaissance. Parallels were drawn between America and these cultures, where democracy, empire-building, and commerce were understood to have flourished. Cultural critics such as Harvard professor CHARLES ELIOT NORTON advocated the importance of the classical world. In all the arts, classical models and motifs were investigated, internalized, and reconfigured in a respectful spirit of scientific eclecticism. Abbott Handerson Thayer painted his daughter as Nike, thus making a Greek goddess corporeal. Charles Adams Platt and others adapted the Italian villa garden for the new American country house. The American Renaissance reached its apogee at the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION in Chicago in 1893. Architect DANIEL BURNHAM supervised the development of a 686-acre site where architecture, sculpture, and urban design were unified by Renaissance ideals and motifs.

Aestheticism, the credo of "art for art's sake," underlay most efforts in the visual arts in the late 19th century. This aestheticism, especially when it found expression in the decorative arts, has been termed the AESTHETIC MOVEMENT. The idea that style, technique, and materials were of more consequence than content or function was promulgated for an American audience by writers such as Matthew Arnold and Oscar Wilde. In his art and his life, JAMES ABBOTT McNEILL WHISTLER also set an early and influential example as an aesthete. Aestheticism was not expressed in a particular style, but sumptuousness, elegance, and bravura craftsmanship were its hallmarks. Historical models displaying virtuosity in all media were revered. Painters went to Holland and Spain to study the brushwork of Frans Hals and Diego Velázquez, while the intricate rococo marquetry of Jean-Henri Riesener was imitated with great success by cabinetmakers. The lily, the sunflower, and the iris became symbols of the aesthetic ideal, serving, too, as motifs for the decorative arts and for gardens. As the emphasis on form and materials progressed, greater abstraction was the result. The muscular "modern gothic" of Frank Furness's architecture and Isaac E. Scott's furniture were only two expressions among many in which nature was schematized by a profound understanding of organic form. The sensuous curves of the female body, sometimes unrecognizable as such, became the leitmotif for Art Nouveau, a style that appeared at the end of the century. Art Nouveau sought to create a new nature-based yet nonreferential art that dis-

titled beauty to its essentials. It was the logical outcome of aestheticism and pointed the way to modernism.

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—Karen Zukowski

**Arthur, Chester Alan** (1829–1886) *21st president of the United States*

Chester Alan Arthur, the 21st president of the United States, was the son of an aggressive abolitionist Baptist minister. He was born October 5, 1829, in Vermont and grew up in upstate New York. After graduating from Union College in 1848, Arthur taught school and studied law in his spare time before moving to New York City, where he



Chester Alan Arthur (Library of Congress)

clerked and studied in a law office. Admitted to the New York bar in 1854, Arthur participated in the Lemmon Slave case (1852–60), which freed slaves temporarily housed in New York while in transit from one slave state to another. He successfully represented Elizabeth Jennings, an African-American teacher who sued after she was brutally evicted from a segregated streetcar in 1855. The victory of Arthur and Jennings led shortly thereafter to the integration of New York's street railways.

Arthur helped found the New York Republican Party and became a favorite of Governor Edwin D. Morgan, who appointed him quartermaster general of New York during the Civil War. Arthur—with the vast responsibility of feeding, housing, clothing, and equipping thousands of volunteers—was vigorous yet diplomatic, effective yet efficient, and proved to be a superb administrator. When Arthur lost his commission following Republican defeat in 1862, he had already acquired a love of politics; a taste for fine clothes, food, and wine; and shared with his wife, Ellen Herndon, whom he married in 1859, the desire for an elegant residence.

Arthur was lucky in his pursuit of both money and politics. He was a successful lobbyist, served on the Republican state committee, and collected political assessments from civil servants with his friend Thomas Murphy, whom he succeeded as collector of the Port of New York in 1871. As collector he headed the New York customhouse, the largest federal office in the land, which—with its politically active personnel and the campaign assessments they paid—made it the key to the political control of New York. Initially Arthur's princely compensation, mostly in fees and moieties, was approximately \$50,000 annually, but the CIVIL SERVICE REFORM movement in 1874 eliminated the fees and moieties and reduced his salary to a still very comfortable \$12,000 annually. Administering the customhouse with the twin interests of his patron, Senator ROSCOE CONKLING, and the U.S. Treasury in mind, Arthur—an honest spoilsman—was as efficient as possible in collecting tariffs while maintaining Conkling's machine.

President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, hating Conkling and anxious to remove the New York customhouse from politics and make it a showcase for civil service reform, replaced Arthur in 1878 after a long struggle. Conkling, arguing that senators should control appointments in their states (senatorial courtesy), initially prevented Arthur's removal, but ultimately Hayes prevailed. Ironically, however, when the deadlocked 1880 Republican convention frustrated Conkling and his fellow STALWARTS by rejecting Ulysses S. Grant and nominating JAMES A. GARFIELD, Garfield's friends offered the vice presidential nomination to the New York delegation, and it named Chester A. Arthur. The Garfield-Arthur ticket was elected, and as vice president, Arthur presided over the Senate when Con-



Conkling again challenged a president over naming the New York collector and again lost. Garfield, however, could not enjoy his victory. On July 2, 1881, he was assassinated by a deranged office seeker who claimed to be a Stalwart and proclaimed that Arthur was president. Garfield lingered until September 19, when Arthur, to the dismay of reformers, did become president.

Arthur was a spoilsman and a machine politician, but he was also a good administrator and proved to be an able president. He had the good sense to recognize that Garfield's tragic death circumscribed his actions. His refusal to appoint Conkling to his cabinet alienated his friend, but it reassured all except the Stalwarts and preserved Arthur's independence. He did not call off the investigation and prosecution of those involved in the STAR ROUTE FRAUDS (in the Post Office Department), even though he had worked with them in the 1880 campaign. And while he did not think that appointments to office on the basis of open competitive examinations secured the best people, when Congress passed the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Bill (1883) he signed it and conscientiously enforced it. Arthur's reaction to the huge Treasury surplus resulting from increased foreign trade after the 1879 return to the gold standard was statesmanlike. To reduce revenue he preferred a simplified tariff schedule with more items on the duty-free list. An 1882 commission appointed by Arthur recommended significant tariff reductions in a comprehensive package, but congressmen in a piecemeal fashion revised these proposed rates upward until overall reductions were slight and the rationale for them was lost in the act known as the Mongrel Tariff (1883). Congressmen preferred to dispose of the surplus with a pork-barrel River and Harbor Act (1882), an \$18-million Treasury raid for questionable projects in their districts, which Arthur vetoed to no avail, since Congress overrode his veto. Arthur also vetoed a bill that restricted Chinese immigration for 20 years as an unreasonable length of time, but he did sign into law the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), which restricted Chinese immigration for 10 years. Less controversial were the appropriations approved by Arthur for the buildup of a modern American navy in place of the few rotting and rusting vessels left over from the Civil War.

Arthur, a large majestic man who looked every inch a president, was actually in poor health. He suffered from Bright's disease, a kidney ailment, and was not a serious candidate for the presidential nomination in 1884. He died on November 18, 1886, a year and a half after leaving the office he had filled far better than virtually everyone expected.

**Further reading:** Thomas C. Reeves, *Gentleman Boss: The Life of Chester Alan Arthur* (New York: Knopf, 1975).

**Atkinson, Edward** (1827–1905) *businessman, economist, anti-imperialist*

Edward Atkinson was born in Brookline, Massachusetts, on February 10, 1827. He was educated in private schools, but the plan to send him to Harvard College went awry with the collapse of his family's fortune. When his formal education ended at the age of 15, he began an apprenticeship in dry goods. His job was to open the store, sweep the floors, and build fires before breakfast and then pack and unpack cases for the rest of the day. His diligence was rewarded. He was promoted to shipping clerk and next to the accounting department, where he demonstrated an unusual capacity with figures.

Having attracted the attention of a cotton goods commission firm, Atkinson in 1851, at the age of 24, became the treasurer and financial agent (in effect manager) of the Ogden Mills. Success at that plant led to his appointment as treasurer and agent of other cotton mills; by 1860 these mills totaled six, with 70,000 spindles and 1,500 looms. He was sufficiently prosperous, in 1855, to marry Mary Caroline Heath, with whom he had nine children, and to support his parents and two unmarried sisters.

Although Atkinson was a self-made man, his family background explains his strong sense of noblesse oblige. He was public spirited and an outspoken reformer. An ardent believer in free labor, Atkinson hated slavery and was a radical abolitionist, who in 1855 raised funds to arm John Brown and his men, who were fighting for "the Free State Cause in Kansas," when that territory was wrecked by civil strife. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Atkinson, in *Cheap Cotton by Free Labor* (1861), argued that cotton could be grown cheaper with free labor—whether black, white, or both—than with slave labor. In 1862 he was the secretary and chair of the finance committee of the Educational Commission (later called the New England Freedmen's Society) to prepare recently liberated slaves in the Sea Islands, on the coast of South Carolina, for responsible and productive citizenship. As a manufacturer desperate for cotton, Atkinson lobbied Abraham Lincoln's administration and Congress, with limited success, against restrictions on trade in Confederate cotton.

For a decade following the Civil War Atkinson continued to manage cotton mills but also remained politically active and wrote prolifically on economic subjects, which he fortified with statistics. He helped found the *NATION* and was a frequent contributor to that influential journal. A highly successful businessman, he was a consistent 19th-century liberal reformer. Laissez-faire economics was for him an article of faith. He believed that maximum freedom and the fullest competition in the market would yield the greatest productivity and the widest prosperity. Even though RAILROADS were monopolistic at most points along their right of way and destructively competitive between

## 22 Atlanta Compromise

most major cities, he opposed the regulatory Interstate Commerce Act (1887). Favoring free trade, he opposed protective tariffs, believing they forced manufacturing into unnatural and less productive channels. He abhorred inflation because the fluctuating prices it produced increased speculation, and he opposed any currency, whether printed greenbacks or coined silver, not redeemed in gold. Desiring a lean, efficient government, Atkinson advocated CIVIL SERVICE REFORM and in 1884 joined the MUGWUMPS to support the Democratic candidate for the presidency, GROVER CLEVELAND.

Although Atkinson sympathized with the individual laborer, he was hostile to labor unions and opposed legislation to reduce the hours of labor. He argued that increased productivity in cotton mills had reduced the 13- or 14-hour day of 1842 to the 10-hour day of 1887 and would in time achieve the eight-hour day. Efficiency in the factory and frugality in the home would further improve the lot of labor. To reduce household expenses, Atkinson invented the insulated Aladdin oven that would cook cheaper cuts of meat at low temperatures over a kerosene lamp. A quart of kerosene, worth a few cents, could cook more effectively than 100 pounds of coal. Neither patenting nor profiting from his invention, he arranged to make it available at cost. With typical enthusiasm, he enlisted ELLEN HENRIETTA SWALLOW RICHARDS, chemist and nutritionist, and others to improve the diet of manual laborers and to promote his Aladdin oven. He collected their experiments and his own in *The Science of Nutrition* (1896). Practicing what he preached, Atkinson regularly served dinner guests meats prepared in his Aladdin oven. He converted reformers such as Jane Addams to his Aladdin ovens, which were used at Hull-House in Chicago, but poorly paid manual laborers resisted them since they were slow and, even at cost, expensive.

Despite his hostility to governmental regulation in an age of burgeoning monopoly, Atkinson campaigned for fire inspection of factories. As president-treasurer of the Boston Manufacturers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company (1878–1905), he insisted that insured factories be inspected and that those at risk be dropped. Since broken lanterns were a chief cause of fires, he successfully called for the development of a safety lantern. For new factories he advocated less flammable floors and roofs and insisted on effective automatic sprinklers. His concerns went beyond the factories his company insured; for example, he urged that fire hazards be eliminated from Boston's historic Faneuil Hall and that public schools be equipped with adequate fire escapes.

A consistent 19th-century liberal, Atkinson was an anti-imperialist. He opposed Cleveland's bellicose stand on the VENEZUELA BOUNDARY DISPUTE (1895) and WILLIAM MCKINLEY's decision to go to war in 1898 (SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR), while conceding that American intervention in CUBA was probably inevitable. The United States was committed to an independent Cuba but not to self-government for the Philippine Islands, which were acquired by the war. American expansionists, exhilarated by the notion of possessing overseas territories and subject peoples and dreams of commercial advantages, wished to annex those islands, while anti-imperialists wanted no colonies. When, in 1898, the ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE was founded in Atkinson's Boston office, he became one of its vice presidents. An anti-militarist, he lamented both the money wasted on a modern navy and the trouble it caused: If there had been no battleship *Maine*, it could not have been blown up in Havana Harbor, and if there had been no fleet wandering about the globe, the hapless Spanish fleet would still be rusting in Manila Bay and the Spanish flag flying over the Philippines. Atkinson would solve the dilemma of what to do with the Philippines by neutralizing them under a joint treaty with the chief naval powers of the world and providing an open door for trade with all nations. Unlike the imperialists, he believed that the Constitution followed the flag, and, if annexed, Filipinos should be U.S. citizens. When Filipinos resisted American rule in the FILIPINO INSURRECTION, Atkinson denounced the subjugation of those people as murder, arson, and robbery. He wrote three pamphlets, which he attempted to send to prominent persons in Manila and which, to his delight, the panicked McKinley administration removed from the mails in San Francisco. The publicity created a demand for the "seditious" pamphlets and about 135,000 of them were distributed. Atkinson fought a losing battle against IMPERIALISM, but it was consistent with his overall objective of bettering the lot of all humanity. He died on December 11, 1905, in Brookline.

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**Atlanta Compromise** See WASHINGTON, BOOKER T.

**Australian ballot** See ELECTIONS, CONDUCT OF.





### banking, investment

Financing the enormous industrial expansion of the late 19th century required the marketing of securities—stocks and bonds—which in turn led to the growth of investment banking. Earlier, state governments had financed canals and corporations and built RAILROADS by selling bonds directly to wealthy individuals or to private bankers who would either keep them or resell them to investors. During the Civil War the federal government went \$2.6 billion into debt. Most of it was in bonds, and more than half of those were sold far and wide for a commission by its aggressive agent, the private banking house of Cooke & Company. After the war Jay Cooke organized a syndicate that underwrote (took entire issues of) Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR) bonds, marketed them, and bought those it could not sell. Cooke later agreed to market \$100 million in Northern Pacific Railroad (NP) bonds, and when sales slowed he put Cooke & Company money into the enterprise, only to have his company fail in 1873 and precipitate a financial panic.

Other investment bankers more than took the place of Jay Cooke. Kuhn, Loeb & Company dated from 1867 but came into its own after 1875, when Jacob Schiff, who had extensive contacts with bankers and investors in Germany and elsewhere on the continent of Europe, married Therese Loeb and became a partner in the firm. The most famous of the private banking firms was J. P. Morgan & Company. JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN's father was an American private banker in London, which gave the son valuable contacts in Great Britain. Although most investment banking was handled by private banks, the First National Bank and the National City Bank, both of New York City, also marketed securities.

Immediately after the Civil War investment bankers were primarily concerned with marketing U.S. securities that managed the public debt, but they were soon heavily involved with railroads. Initially the bankers were detached from the management of the railroads whose bonds they

underwrote and sold to clients. But when railroad leaders mismanaged, or plunged their roads into bankruptcy, or forced reorganizations (by investment bankers) that scaled down the value of bonds, the reputation of investment bankers suffered, which made the sale of future bonds most difficult.

To protect their interests and the interests of their clients, Morgan, Schiff, and other bankers shared in management by serving on boards of directors. Morgan, for example, arranged a syndicate in the early 1880s to underwrite the sale of some of W. H. Vanderbilt's stock in the New York Central Railroad (NYC) and also became a member of its board of directors. Morgan promoted order and harmony and deplored cutthroat competition and instability. In the early 1880s, when the PRR and NYC began a costly war by building lines paralleling each other's main lines, Morgan in 1885 (on his yacht in the Hudson River) convinced managers of both roads to make peace, with the NYC abandoning the South Pennsylvania Railroad and Vanderbilt buying the West Shore line up the Hudson. Although not as spectacular as Morgan, Schiff financed, reorganized, and was on the board of directors of several leading railroads, including the Union Pacific (UP), which he reorganized in 1896. Schiff's support of Edward H. Harriman, who controlled the UP and the Southern Pacific, led to a spectacular battle with Morgan and his favorite railroad man JAMES J. HILL, who controlled the Great Northern (GN) and NP, over control of the Chicago Burlington & Quincy (CB&Q). The result was the compromise Northern Securities Company (a holding company), which gave the Harriman-Schiff forces a share in the management of the GN, NP, and CB&Q. The SUPREME COURT, however, declared the Northern Securities Company a monopoly and broke it up in 1904. The ties between Morgan and Hill and between Schiff and Harriman illustrate that railroads and industrial corporations were generally bound to one private banking house and did not move from one investment banker to another.

## 24 barbed wire

Investment bankers in the 1870s and 1880s generally dealt with government or railroad bonds, but in time they began to finance industrial development and combinations by underwriting stock issues. In the late 1870s the House of Morgan became interested in financing THOMAS A. EDISON's electric light, and in 1892 Morgan helped establish the General Electric Company. The most spectacular combinations occurred in the steel industry and were financed by Morgan. In 1898 the Federal Steel Company was capitalized at \$200 million, and in 1901 Morgan financed the creation of the first billion-dollar corporation, United States Steel.

**Further reading:** Vincent P. Carosso, *Investment Banking in America: A History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970); Ron Chernow, *The House of Morgan* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990).

### barbed wire

Although the Homestead Act (1862) encouraged rapid westward settlement in the latter half of the 19th century, a major obstacle for farmers and ranchers was the high cost of fencing. In some cases, fencing costs equaled that of raising the livestock. A major technological advancement was the invention of barbed wire, which kept costs down for fledgling farmers and ranchers and helped to further populate the West.

Eastern farmers used timber and stones, which were readily available in forested areas, to construct fences. Prairie lands lacked these resources, however, which accounted for the high initial costs of establishing a farm. Although early western farmers used natural borders like streams to protect land from grazing cattle, increased settlement limited these options. Ranchers faced similar problems in preventing their stock from wandering astray. Indeed, ranchers and farmers feuded as to who should pay for fencing. The farmer needed to keep cattle from grazing on his land, while the rancher had to keep cattle from straying. Hedges were used, especially the osage orange plant, but these proved costly as well.

Michael Keely took out a patent for "thorny fence" in 1868, a precursor of barbed wire, but it was Joseph F. Glidden of De Kalb, Illinois, who understood its wider potential. After first seeing the invention at an Illinois country fair, Glidden patented a version in 1874 that featured two small pieces of sharpened wire twisted together in opposite directions around a main strand of wire that was made to be stretched between two fence posts. That same year Glidden patented a second version that became the most successful and popular form of barbed wire. This version featured one small piece of sharpened wire twisted around a main strand, which was then twisted

around a second main strand so that the barb did not slip or twist. Glidden and his partners started manufacturing this barbed wire in 1874, and in 1876 Glidden sold his share to the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company of Worcester, Massachusetts. Production of barbed wire grew exponentially during the 1870s, from 2.8 million pounds in 1876 to 80.5 million pounds by 1880. In time Washburn & Moen's virtual monopoly based on Glidden patents passed on to the American Steel and Wire Company, which in the 20th century was a part of the United States Steel Corporation.

The "steel thorn hedge" was cheaper than hedges or wooden fences, preserved valuable soil space by not shading crops, stayed secure under high winds, did not cause snow drifts, and was dog and wolf proof. Barbed wire was "just what the people of the treeless states have needed for years," as a contemporary advertisement noted.

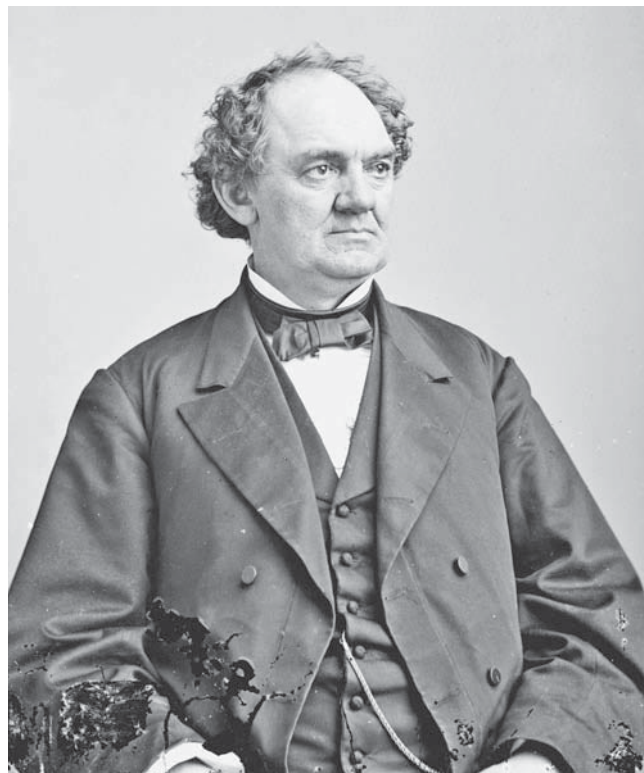
The introduction of barbed wire also allowed for better control of cattle breeding and, in part, contributed to the boom in the agricultural sector in the late 19th century. It also led to the decline of open-range grazing and the long drives of cattle by cowboys to railheads. Another advantage of barbed wire was that it discouraged trespassing. However, overzealous farmers and ranchers sometimes blocked even post roads and water sources with barbed-wire fences, which led to fence-cutting threats, acts of violence by those shut out. To deal with this problem, Congress passed the Illegal Fencing Act of February 25, 1885, the enforcement of which President GROVER CLEVELAND especially urged.

**Further reading:** Fred A. Shannon, *The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture, 1860–1897* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1945).

—Scott Sendrow

### Barnum, Phineas T. (1810–1891) *show-business entrepreneur, circus innovator*

The son of Philo F. Barnum, a farmer and shopkeeper, and Irena Taylor, Phineas Taylor Barnum was born on July 5, 1810, in Bethel, Connecticut, where he attended public schools until his early teens. Barnum became familiar with the art of salesmanship from an early age by acting as an independent candy peddler. Upon the death of his father when Barnum was 15 years of age, he took a job clerking in a general store and gave early evidence of initiative and imagination by creating and promoting a lottery that offered as prizes discarded bottles he had purchased for almost nothing. He clerked briefly in Brooklyn, New York, and in 1828 he returned to Bethel to open his own fruit and candy store. The next year he married Charity Hallett, with whom he had four children.



Phineas T. Barnum (Library of Congress)

Barnum started an anticlerical and abolitionist weekly newspaper, *The Herald of Freedom and Gospel Witness*, in 1831 and kept it going until 1834. The following year he moved to New York City where, after a stint as a grocer and boardinghouse keeper, he made his entry into show business by purchasing the rights to exhibit Joice Heth, an elderly African American who claimed to be 161 years old and to have been the nurse of George Washington. Her stories of the infancy of the father of the country brought in a good sum, but she died a year later at the age of about 80, according to an autopsy. Subsequent exhibits and enterprises yielded Barnum little until 1841 when for a shoestring he bought Scudder's American Museum. There he showed everything from jugglers and tightrope walkers to bearded ladies and albinos to modern machinery and dioramas. His exhibits included the "Feejee Mermaid," which was obviously a monkey's head stitched to a fish's tail, and the "Great Model of Niagara Falls," which was only 18 inches tall, but the public flocked to his shows. No one complained, even when charged 25 cents to see a strange horse whose head was where its tail should be, but which turned out to be merely a horse backed into its stall. His most popular attractions were a 25-inch-tall midget he called General Tom Thumb, who captivated Europe in 1844, and the Swedish concert singer Jenny

Lind, whom he took on a profitable tour through America in 1850.

In 1871 Barnum opened a circus in Brooklyn, which he billed with characteristic swagger as The Greatest Show on Earth. Ten years later he joined English showman James Anthony Bailey, with whom he developed the first three-ring circus. Featuring aerialists, acrobats, clowns, and side-shows, as well as Jumbo, the largest elephant in captivity, the spectacular ensemble toured the nation successfully by rail. Barnum also served two terms in the Connecticut state legislature, from 1865 to 1869, and was mayor of Bridgeport, Connecticut, in 1875–76.

Barnum has been described as "pure brass without any gilding, yet in picturesque and capable effrontery the very embodiment of the age," and indeed he rejoiced in the self-bestowed title "Prince of Humbugs." He wrote several books, including an autobiography (1855), a history of American swindlers, and a book entitled *The Art of Money-Getting; or Hints and Helps on How to Make a Fortune* (1882), which accurately reflected the brash, cynical, and grandiose spirit of the period. It is estimated that his humbuggery brought him more than \$4 million, and when he died on April 7, 1891, his obituaries received more space than any except for a president of the United States.

**Further reading:** Neil Harris, *Humbug: The Art of P. T. Barnum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); A. H. Saxon, *P. T. Barnum: The Legend and the Man* (New York: Knopf, 1989).

—Dennis Wepman

## baseball

By 1870 baseball was considered America's "national game." Baseball had spread from the Northeast to the Midwest, and the National Association of Base Ball Clubs (NAB) had grown to 300 amateur teams. In 1869 the Cincinnati Reds fielded an all-salaried team under player-manager Harry Wright. While the Reds did not return a profit, their undefeated record that season boosted professional baseball and ignited a smoldering dispute between amateurs and professionals, with the amateurs walking out of the 1870 NAB annual meeting. The professionals retaliated in March 1871 by forming the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players (NA), thus destroying the amateur association and starting major-league baseball.

The player-controlled NA, the first professional major league, suffered serious problems and lasted only from 1871 through 1875. Most clubs lost money, as attendance averaged under 3,000 a game. Players jumped contracts, showed poor discipline, and dealt with gamblers. The NA also lacked a fixed playing schedule. Teams played each rival five times, with dates arranged by correspondence.



However, with each team paying an entry fee of only \$10, the outclassed teams frequently dropped out, thus disrupting the schedule. Conflicts arose over playing dates, ticket pricing, the division of gate receipts, and poor officiating by volunteer umpires. The NA lacked competitive balance, too, as evidenced by the Boston Red Stockings, who won four pennants in five years. Nevertheless, the NA popularized professional baseball. The Boston Red Stockings drew large crowds, with their attendance figures peaking at 70,000 in 1875. Boston manager Harry Wright's innovations in equipment procurement, training of players, and park administration set standards for future promoters. Expanded newspaper coverage and annual guides, edited by Henry Chadwick, enhanced fan interest.

In 1876 Chicago promoter William Hulbert organized a new league controlled by club owners. The National League of Professional Base Ball Clubs (NL), limited to eight well-financed teams from cities with populations of at least 75,000, was organized along east-west lines. Hulbert barred liquor sales, gamblers, and Sunday games. Teams were ordered to play each rival 10 times or face expulsion, and a fixed playing schedule was introduced in 1877. Players faced strict disciplinary codes and were bound to teams by rigid contracts. Albert Spalding supplied the league's balls and published its guidebook.

The NL struggled initially with low attendance and low player salaries. Philadelphia and New York were expelled after 1876 for failing to play their quota of games. In 1877 gamblers bribed four Louisville players to throw the NL pennant. The offending players were barred from the NL for life, and Milwaukee replaced the Louisville club. The NL also faced stiff competition from the rival International Association in 1877 and 1878, but the latter folded in 1879. To bind star players to a team, NL owners in 1879 inserted

reserve clauses (the right to rehire players for the following season) in their playing contracts, and in 1883 the NL owners solidified their control by extending the reserve clause to the contracts for all players.

Professional baseball prospered in the 1880s with improved NL attendance and profits. The rival American Association (AA), formed in 1882, featured 25-cent admission prices, optional liquor sales, and Sunday games. The upstart AA also raided the NL roster. The National Agreement of 1883 recognized the AA as a major league, but the AA had to agree to stop roster raids and accept the reserve clause. In 1884 the two major-league organizations crushed a new rival, the Union Association. Attendance at major-league games peaked at 2 million in 1889. Some clubs grossed \$100,000, and playing schedules increased to 140 games. The NL competed in postseason championships with the AA and dominated them after 1886, with the St. Louis Browns, operated by promoter Chris Von der Ahe, winning four consecutive pennants. Von der Ahe increased attendance with sideshows, liquor sales, and Sunday games.

During the 1880s, baseball evolved further by extending the pitching distance to 50 feet, permitting overhand pitching, adopting a single strike zone, and establishing the four-ball/three-strike rule. *The Sporting News* and *Sporting Life* spread the popularity of baseball by reporting the diamond exploits of stars King Kelly, Cap Anson, and Dan Brouthers. In 1887 Chicago sold Kelly to Boston for a record \$10,000.

Baseball, however, was troubled. Salaries averaged \$2,000, with stars earning at least \$5,000. Major- and minor-league clubs excluded black players by 1890. White major leaguers protested the reserve clause, harsh disciplinary rules, and a threatened salary cap. Disgruntled NL players in 1885 joined the Brotherhood of Professional Base Ball Players (BP), led by John M. Ward, a star player and lawyer. The BP in 1887 sought recognition as a collective-bargaining agency, but the owners continued the reserve clause and salary cap. Ward persuaded the BP to field a rival Players League (PL) in 1890 and promised players fair shares of power and profits. But the bitter, costly PL war of 1890 ended major-league baseball's brief golden age. The PL lured most star players and fielded eight well-stocked teams in seven NL cities. The PL outdrew the NL and AA, but financial losses savaged all three leagues. The NL forced the PL to sue for peace at the end of the season, allowing PL players to return to their former clubs without penalties. The AA battled with the NL over reassignment of players in 1891 and collapsed after the 1891 season. The NL emerged victorious, annexing four AA teams and buying out the others for \$130,000.

From 1892 to 1899, the single, 12-team NL dominated major league baseball. Owners became business magnates,



A print showing the game of baseball, ca. 1890 (*Library of Congress*)

but they could not match the old dual leagues in attendance and profits. The Boston, Baltimore, and Brooklyn teams outclassed the others. The NL sought unsuccessfully to boost attendance by staging postseason Temple Cup matches, increasing playing schedules to 154 games, and trying split-season formats. In 1899 the owners dropped the four weakest teams and restored an eight-team format in 1900. Owners limited player salaries to \$2,400 and adopted stricter disciplinary standards. The Baltimore Orioles and Cleveland Spiders boosted fan interest by using aggressive tactics like brawling, umpire-baiting, and bench-jockeying (taunting opponents from the bench). Defense improved with bigger gloves and better catcher's equipment. In 1893 the pitching distance was increased to 60 feet, six inches. Hitters broke batting and home-run marks until pitchers adjusted. By 1900 scientific baseball prevailed, featuring bunting, stealing, hit and run, and sacrificing. Concession stands and Sunday games were standard. The eight-team NL reigned as the only major league, but it was soon challenged by the formation of the American League.

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—David L. Porter

**Bayard, Thomas Francis** (1828–1898) *lawyer, politician*

Senator, diplomat, and secretary of state, Thomas F. Bayard was born to prominence in Wilmington, Delaware, on October 29, 1828. The son, grandson, and nephew of senators, he attended a preparatory school in Flushing, New York. Then, although his father and grandfather were college graduates, he went to work in mercantile houses in New York and Philadelphia before, at about 20 years of age, studying law in Wilmington. Admitted to the bar in 1851, he prospered and in 1856 married Louise Lee, with whom he had nine children. Coming from a border slave state, Bayard, who was a Peace Democrat, opposed secession. In 1869 he succeeded his father in the U.S. Senate.

That Bayard's senatorial career, lasting until 1885, was not distinguished was not his fault. During those years the Republicans controlled the White House and the Senate except for two years, and Bayard led a largely unsuccessful opposition. He denounced Radical Reconstruction of the

South on grounds that it enhanced the power of the federal government in general and of the presidency in particular. He embraced the tenets of 19th-century liberals and denounced subsidies and protective tariffs, opposed inflation, and wanted the United States to return to the gold standard and, after it did in 1879, to remain there. He opposed militarism, worked for efficient government, and opposed the spoils system by supporting CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

A major leader of a party often in disarray, Bayard was supported for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1876, 1880, and 1884. But he was too reserved to be "magnetic," and Delaware was a small one-party state. When GROVER CLEVELAND, a Democrat, took office in 1885, he appointed Bayard secretary of state. His first task was to stave off the rush of Democrats, eager to represent the United States abroad, after being out of power for 24 years. The 1883 Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act did not include the foreign service under the merit system of competitive examinations, leaving Cleveland and Bayard free to appoint whomever they wished. They did their best to appoint effective representatives, sending to Berlin former senator George Hunt Pendleton (sponsor of the Civil Service Act), who had studied at Heidelberg and was fluent in German, and to Paris Robert M. McLane who had gone to school there and had diplomatic experience in China and Mexico. Bayard and Cleveland actually made fewer changes in consular offices than Republican JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD had after succeeding fellow Republican RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

Conscientious, courteous, and fair minded, Bayard was a natural diplomat, although success often evaded him while secretary of state. In the long run his ideas helped solve some long-standing difficulties. Several of the questions that occupied him involved Great Britain, because it handled the foreign affairs of its Canadian Dominion. The stickiest question was a perennial one over U.S. fishing rights in northeastern Canadian waters. Bayard was instrumental in the formation of a joint commission (1887–88) on which he and JAMES BURRILL ANGELL served. The compromise treaty it produced promised to solve an old problem and end bickering. Cleveland urged its ratification, but with 1888 being an election year, the Republican Senate rejected the treaty. Even so, the arrangements it proposed were adopted by both parties for two years.

A second problem with Canada, and therefore Britain, was the threatened annihilation of the great fur seal herd that used the Pribilof Islands in the Bering Sea as its breeding ground. The United States could protect the seals in its territorial waters, within three miles of the islands, but when the seals ventured out to sea, they were indiscriminately killed by Russian, Japanese, and especially Canadian sealers. In 1887, when American



authorities seized six Canadian vessels engaged in pelagic (oceanic) sealing, a federal judge upheld that action with the untenable declaration that the Bering Sea was a *mare clausum* (closed sea). To avert trouble with Britain and to save the seals, Bayard seized the opportunity to invite seven nations, including Britain, Japan, and Russia, to cooperate with the United States and end pelagic sealing. All responded positively, but Britain later reneged because of Canada's objections, and nothing more was done on Bayard's watch. His ideas, however, influenced subsequent negotiations. Pelagic sealing was somewhat reduced by arbitration in 1893 and limited more effectively by a 1911 convention, agreed upon by the United States, Britain, Japan, and Russia.

In addition, the Canadians rejected Bayard's efforts to fix precisely the boundary between Alaska and Canada, and his offer to help settle the disputed boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana (now Guyana). Bayard's calm reaction to German, British, and U.S. rivalry that came to a head in Samoa, in 1887, laid the groundwork for a future solution. But in that same year, recognizing the strategic value of HAWAII, the United States acquired the right to build a naval base at Pearl Harbor, and Bayard aggressively defended American interests there by rejecting a British proposal for a joint British, German, and U.S. protectorate for the Hawaiian Islands.

When Cleveland was reelected in 1892, he appointed Bayard ambassador to Great Britain (a new rank more appropriate to a world power than the old rank of "minister"). Bayard's main problem in that post was the VENEZUELA BOUNDARY DISPUTE that he had hoped to resolve when secretary of state. The belligerent note of July 1895 that Secretary of State Richard Olney (with Cleveland's approval) sent Britain, claiming that it was violating the Monroe Doctrine and urging that the border between British Guiana and Venezuela be arbitrated, was one that Bayard never would have written. Consequently, when he read the long (10,000-word) bombastic note to the British prime minister, he failed to emphasize Cleveland's impatience and the necessity of a prompt response. When the British refused arbitration four months later, Cleveland was apoplectic, a war scare followed, and amid the popular attacks on Britain were denunciations of Bayard for his anglophilia. With neither Britain nor the United States wanting war, the calmness Bayard personified triumphed, and the boundary was arbitrated.

At the height of the boundary controversy Bayard infuriated Republicans, in particular, by reaffirming his liberal faith in free trade. In a widely publicized speech he attacked protectionism as "class legislation," which created "inequality of fortune" and corrupted public life. In anger the House of Representatives censured him, proving his point that high-tariff devotees could sink to a low political

level. At the close of Cleveland's term Bayard retired. He died a year later, on September 28, 1898.

See also *BERING SEA DISPUTE*.

**Further reading:** Lester B. Shippee, "Thomas Francis Bayard, Secretary of State, March 6, 1885, to March 4, 1889," in Samuel Flagg Bemis, ed., *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy* (New York: Knopf, 1928), 8:45–106; Charles Callan Tansill, *The Congressional Career of Thomas Francis Bayard, 1869-1885* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1946); Charles Callan Tansill, *The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard, 1885-1897* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1940).

### **Beach, Amy Marcy Cheney (Mrs. H. H. A. Beach)** (1867–1944) *composer*

Amy Marcy Beach was the first important American woman composer and was considered by some to be the finest composer of her generation. Born Amy Marcy Cheney into a prominent New England family in Henniker, New Hampshire, on September 5, 1867, she was the only child of Charles Abbott Cheney, a paper manufacturer and importer, and Clara Imogene Marcy, a singer and pianist. Amy showed exceptional musical ability as a child. She gave her first public piano recital at age seven, which included works of Handel, Beethoven, and Chopin, as well as her own compositions. The family moved to Chelsea, Massachusetts, in 1871 and settled in Boston in 1875, where Amy studied piano with Ernst Perabo and Karl Baermann, two of that city's leading piano teachers. Her subsequent musical training was somewhat unorthodox. She studied harmony for one year with Junius Hill, but following the advice of Wilhelm Gericke, director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, she designed her own course of independent study, employing the treatises and compositions of the great masters as models. She made her professional debut at age 16 in Boston on October 24, 1883, playing Chopin's Rondo in E-flat and Moscheles's Concerto in G Minor with an orchestra led by Adolf Neuendorff. In 1885 she performed Chopin's F Minor Concerto with the Boston Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Gericke and Mendelssohn's Concerto no. 2 with the Theodore Thomas Orchestra. Her first published composition, a setting of Longfellow's *The Rainy Day*, was issued in 1883.

In December 1885 she married Henry Harris Aubrey Beach, a prominent Boston physician on the faculty of Harvard Medical School and an amateur musician. He was a widower 24 years her senior. After her marriage, in accordance with her husband's wishes, she concentrated on composition rather than performance, perhaps giving one or two recitals per year.

Her first large-scale composition, the Mass in E-flat, op. 5, was published in 1890 and was premiered by the Boston Handel and Haydn Society in 1892 with soloists, chorus, and orchestra under the direction of Carl Zerrahn. Other important works soon followed. *Eilende Wolken*, a concert aria, was premiered by the New York Symphony Society under Walter Damrosch later that year. The Boston Symphony Orchestra premiered the *Gaelic* Symphony in E minor, op. 32, in 1896 and the Piano Concerto in C-sharp Minor, op. 45, in 1900 with the composer at the piano. These were the first works by a woman composer performed by these organizations. Beach received a number of important commissions, including the *Festival Jubilate*, op. 17, commissioned for the May 1, 1893, dedication of the Women's Building of the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION in Chicago. She was a prolific composer of songs, and some achieved great popularity, including *Ecstasy*, op. 19, no. 2, and *The Year's at the Spring*, op. 44, no. 1.

Dr. H. H. A. Beach died in 1910 and Amy's mother died the following year. In 1911 Amy sailed for Europe, where she gradually resumed her performing career. From 1912 to 1914 she toured Europe, performing her piano concerto and other works to great acclaim. In 1914 she returned to the United States in triumph, committed to 30 concerts for the 1914–15 season. She lived briefly in New York and San Francisco before settling in Hillsborough, New Hampshire, in 1916. After 1916 she toured extensively during the winter and spent the summers in Hillsborough, at her home on Cape Cod, and after 1921 as a fellow at the MacDowell colony, where most of her later works were completed. In 1942 a two-day festival of her works was organized in Washington, D.C., in honor of her 75th birthday. She died in New York on December 27, 1944, of a heart ailment.

Beach's early works are in the late romantic style, exhibiting the influence of Brahms, Wagner, and her Boston contemporaries. Her first (and perhaps most lasting) success was as a composer of art songs, and these demonstrate her gift for text setting and a fluency of melody that is characteristic of all her work. Yet it was her early large-scale works, such as the Mass and the *Gaelic* Symphony, that established her reputation, both in Europe and the United States, as a composer of the first order. She made frequent use of folk melodies, including American, Inuit, Scottish, Irish, and other European melodies, in her works. Her later compositions reflect the influence of Debussy and impressionism and are characterized by chromaticism, unresolved dissonance, and a leaner harmonic style.

Beach was a highly intelligent, disciplined woman. She spoke fluent French and German; was interested in philosophy, science, and religion; and made an important contribution to the field of ornithology by transcribing bird calls into musical notation. She served as a leader of the Music Teachers National Association and the Music Edu-

cators National conference and, in 1925, cofounded and served as first president of the Society of American Women Composers.

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—William Peek

**Beecher, Henry Ward** (1813–1887) *minister, abolitionist, author*

In the late 19th century Henry Ward Beecher was the most famous clergyman in the United States. Born in Litchfield, Connecticut, on June 24, 1813, Beecher was the eighth son of Lyman Beecher (also a clergyman) and the brother of the author Harriet Beecher Stowe. He graduated from Amherst College in 1834, studied at Lane Theological



Henry Ward Beecher (Library of Congress)

### 30 Beecher-Tilton scandal

Seminary (Cincinnati, Ohio), where his father was president, entered the ministry in 1837, and that same year married Eunice Bullard White. After serving two churches in Indiana, he was called in 1847 to the new Plymouth Church of Brooklyn, New York, where he served until his death 40 years later.

Beecher's reputation was based on his melodramatic preaching, which he perfected early in his career. He later wrote that a "sermon succeeds by focusing on the single objective of effecting moral change in the hearer." In his emphasis on moral character over doctrine, Beecher was an early advocate of the liberal theology that would come to dominate the Protestant scene during the last quarter of the century. He also was an early practitioner of social preaching, early on insisting on his right to preach on secular issues such as abolition, suffrage, and labor.

In the first half of his ministry he was so popular that he preached to 2,500 on a regular basis. His dramatic, personal, intimate, spontaneous style helped, but it was his abolitionism that was key to his early popularity, leading some to call Plymouth Church the Grand Central Station of the Underground Railroad. He is perhaps most famous for "auctioning" a slave from his dais, to demonstrate the evils of the "peculiar institution," and it is reported that men threw money and women threw jewelry on stage to redeem the young black woman he presented.

After the Civil War his embrace of liberal theology made him a precursor of the SOCIAL GOSPEL. He advocated evolution as God's plan and accepted the new scholarship of the Bible. He opposed restrictions on IMMIGRATION, supported the right of labor to organize unions, favored CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, and joined the 1884 MUGWUMP defection from the Republican Party to support Democrat GROVER CLEVELAND for president.

In addition to his preaching, he published a weekly column in the *Independent*; edited the *Christian Union*; lectured widely, including the *Yale Lectures on Preaching* (3 vols., 1872–74); wrote a novel (*Norwood*, 1867); and was the biographer of Jesus Christ.

Because he had courted celebrity successfully, the charge in 1872 by VICTORIA WOODHULL in *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* that Beecher had seduced the wife of his journalistic protégé Theodore Tilton resulted in the spectacular BEECHER-TILTON SCANDAL. Tilton brought charges against Beecher first in a church trial (1874) and then for alienation of affection in a civil suit (1875). Though Beecher was not convicted, the taint of doubt never entirely left him. After his death on March 8, 1887, a monument celebrating his abolitionist work was erected in downtown Brooklyn.

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(New York: Doubleday, 2006); Milton Rugoff, *The Beechers: An American Family in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981).

—W. Frederick Wooden

#### **Beecher-Tilton scandal** (1872–1878)

Lacking only the frankness of modern times, the Beecher-Tilton scandal was in every other sense as lurid and fascinating as any modern sex scandal. And it might have been covered up had not a flamboyant, radical, feminist journalist been in need of a sensational story to recoup her own fortunes. In November 1872 VICTORIA WOODHULL described in *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* an adulterous affair between the celebrated preacher HENRY WARD BEECHER and his Plymouth Church parishioner Elizabeth Tilton, the wife of his protégé, the editor of the *Independent*, Theodore Tilton. The affair began in 1866; Elizabeth confessed it to her husband Tilton in July 1870; in December he wrote of it to Beecher and demanded he resign his pulpit; a mutual friend, Frank Moulton, urged both Tilton and Beecher to be silent; and to keep Tilton quiet, Moulton and Beecher bankrolled a publishing venture, *The Golden Age*, for him in 1871. But Tilton—who wrote a campaign biography of Woodhull (published in 1871) for her disastrous 1872 presidential campaign—told her, and Woodhull told the world.

When the affair became public a Plymouth Church committee, appointed by Beecher, investigated, found Beecher innocent, and in 1873 withdrew Tilton's membership for his comments in the press. Moreover, the connection between Tilton and Woodhull, who was notorious as an advocate of free love, enabled Beecher's supporters to attack Tilton's character. Thus goaded, Tilton filed a civil suit against Beecher for alienation of affection. The six-month trial in 1875 was a national sensation and ended on the equivocal note of a hung jury. A virtual acquittal, as far as Beecher was concerned, there was, nonetheless, another church trial in 1876, which also exonerated Beecher. But in 1878 Elizabeth Tilton confessed publicly that she had committed adultery, and Plymouth Church removed her membership. Her estranged husband, unable to make a living because of the scandal, moved to Paris in 1883. Beecher remained minister of Plymouth Church until his death in 1887, diminished but not destroyed.

**Further reading:** Richard Wightman Fox, *Trials of Intimacy: Love and Loss in the Beecher Tilton Scandal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Altina L. Waller, *Reverend Beecher and Mrs. Tilton: Sex and Class in Victorian America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982).

—W. Frederick Wooden

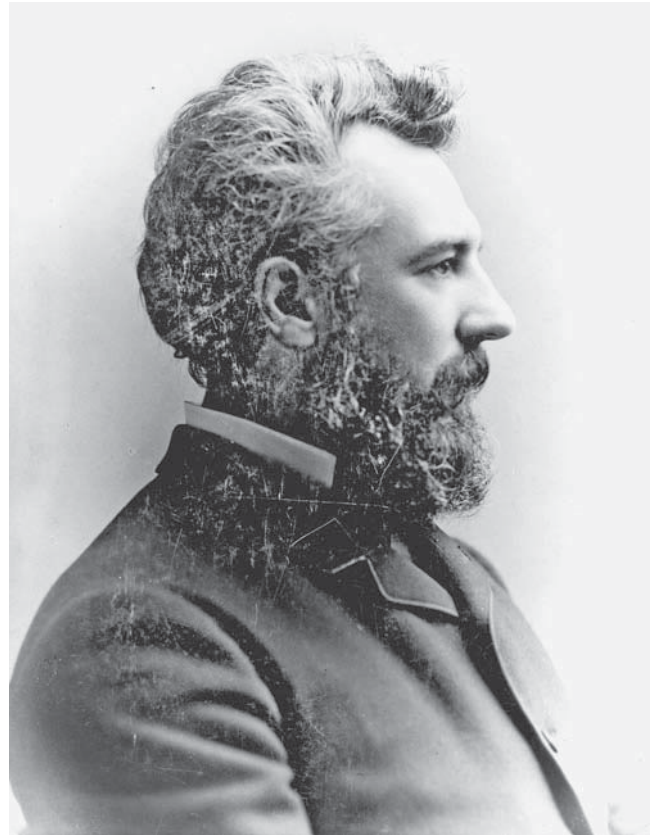


**Bell, Alexander Graham** (1847–1922) *educator to the deaf, speech and hearing researcher, inventor*

Born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on March 3, 1847, the son of a noted teacher of speech, Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone, accompanied his parents when they immigrated to Ontario, Canada, in 1870. Ambitious to achieve and surpass his father's distinction, young Bell set up for himself as a teacher of speech to the deaf in Boston, the leading center of American science and technology. That environment reawakened Bell's earlier tentative notion of a system to send several telegraph messages at once over a single wire by means of intermittent currents of different frequencies. Experimenting by night while teaching by day, he circumvented certain snags by using continuous induced "undulatory" currents, which would reproduce both frequency and amplitude instead of frequency alone, as in intermittent currents. Frequency and amplitude are the essential elements of intelligible speech. In summer 1874 Bell recognized the theoretical possibility of thereby transmitting speech electrically, but he assumed it would be too weak to hear. On June 2, 1875, while working on his multiple telegraph, he plainly heard such a sound. After further thought and experiments, he designed and, on March 7, 1876, patented the telephone. The first intelligible sentence heard on it—"Mr. Watson, come here, I want to see you"—was transmitted on March 10, 1876. In June 1876 he successfully demonstrated it to the judges at the PHILADELPHIA CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION. Bell then worked to improve his telephone's performance and range, publicizing it in lecture tours.

In 1877 Bell's father-in-law Gardiner Hubbard organized the Bell Telephone Company and ran it with great success. Bell served as its technical adviser until the early '80s, then turned to other interests. However, he continued on occasion to do the Bell Telephone Company and its successors a vital service by testifying in convincing detail against a number of claimants to priority in conceiving the telephone. The best-known of these was an electrical inventor named Elisha Gray, who captured public attention by virtue of having filed a caveat (stating an untested idea) a few hours after Bell filed a patent application. Since Bell could document his conception as early as October 1874, and Gray only claimed it for his as of November 1875, the verdict for Bell was inevitable.

Bell had received stock in lieu of royalties and sold most of it at an early date. He therefore did not become immensely wealthy, although he was rich enough to remain active as an educator and advocate for the deaf. In later years he also devised the audiometer and studied the genetics of deafness. He invented a device for transmitting telephonic communication by means of a light beam, though it was not then commercially practical. He led a team that greatly improved the usefulness of Edison's pho-



Alexander Graham Bell (Library of Congress)

nograph and spent a score of years after 1891 working on heavier-than-air flight, although the Wright brothers succeeded first. Bell strove unsuccessfully for years to breed a strain of twin-bearing sheep. He was more successful in improving hydrofoil boats and produced one that held the world's speed record for 10 years. He and his father supported the struggling journal *Science* for nearly a decade in the 1880s and 1890s, and he lived to see it develop, in other hands, into the official organ of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and become one of the world's leading general-science journals. Bell also conceived, demonstrated, and patented a system of constructing large bridges and buildings quickly and cheaply from mass-produced tetrahedral frames. Thus he anticipated the space-frame architecture of Buckminster Fuller, but his system's immense usefulness was not grasped at the time. Bell was still conceiving new ideas at the time of his death from diabetes on August 2, 1922.

**Further reading:** Robert V. Bruce, *Bell: Alexander Graham Bell and the Conquest of Solitude* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989).

—Robert V. Bruce

**Bellamy, Edward** (1850–1898) *writer, utopian socialist*

Edward Bellamy was born on March 28, 1850, in Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts. The son of a minister known for his charitable works, Bellamy developed compassion for the plight of the poor as he grew up in an industrial community. The intense religious training he received at home would be reflected by frequent quotes from the Bible in his later writing. His well-educated mother (she read Greek and Latin) insisted that her children read nonfiction, especially history. Inspired by such heroic military characters as Alexander the Great, Bellamy aspired to a career in the army, but he failed the physical examination for West Point at age 17.

Disappointed, he spent a year with an older brother, Frederick, at Union College pursuing an independent course of study. A two-year (1868–69) sojourn in Dresden, Germany, exposed him to German socialism. Upon his return to America he read law, passed the bar examination in 1871, and opened an office in Chicopee Falls. But his first case, the eviction of a widow, caused him to leave the legal profession. He then became a journalist and a writer, successfully submitting short stories to such magazines as *Scribner's*. The best known of his earlier novels, *The Duke of Stockbridge* (serialized in 1879), accurately described the socioeconomic inequities that sparked Shays's Rebellion.

Bellamy put forth his vision of an ideal society in two books, *Looking Backward* (1888), the best known, and *Equality* (1897). His just society achieved equality and abundance by nationalizing the economy to derive the efficiency of large-scale operations. Everyone, except the lazy, received an equal annual income, determined by dividing the gross national product by the population, issued as a credit in the only surviving bank. Differentiated prices for various items, however, permitted individual lifestyles. Universal public service was required. Everyone was organized into four armies—the industrial, the invalid, the women's (dropped in *Equality*), and the professional—which guaranteed the production of goods and services by those who were able. Nonconformists and the lazy were consigned to solitary confinement until they agreed to work.

Education by example rather than revolution secured this ideal world. The process began with community ownership of public service facilities. The federal government assumed ownership and operation of railroads, coal mines, and other key industries. Impressed with the resulting efficiencies and lower prices, the people demanded continued nationalization until all forms of private property disappeared. The resulting economic equality eradicated greed, corruption, and social inequities caused by competition for private property.

Bellamy's ideas received wide attention in a society dislocated in the 1890s by an economic depression. Soon Nationalist clubs sprang up across the country. At first they emphasized persuasive education through journals and lectures, but later they actively supported the POPULIST PARTY. The idea of a cooperative society also influenced Eugene Debs, a labor leader and perennial presidential candidate for the SOCIALIST PARTY.

**Further reading:** Sylvia E. Bowman, *Edward Bellamy* (Boston: Twayne, 1986); John L. Thomas, *Alternative America: Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Adversary Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983).

—Harold W. Aurand

**Bennett, James Gordon, Jr.** (1841–1918) *newspaper publisher*

For a decade after 1867, when he inherited the New York *Herald* from his father, James G. Bennett, Jr., was successful in managing it. During these years it was the nation's largest, most sensational, and prosperous newspaper. In the decline that followed, Bennett's flamboyant eccentricities undermined his strokes of journalistic brilliance.

To shield young Bennett from the "calumny" heaped upon his father and to escape it herself, Bennett's mother took him to Paris, when he was 11. Pampered and undisciplined, Bennett was privately tutored and attended the École Polytechnique. As a teenager, he divided his time between his mother in Paris and his father in New York, who gave him a desk alongside his own. Tall, handsome, and a fine horseman with the air of a cultivated Parisian boulevardier, Bennett quickly became a leader of New York's "fast set," among whom he achieved notoriety for his drunken exploits. Supporting his playboy lifestyle, his indulgent father gave him a 160-ton steam yacht, the *Henrietta*.

Bennett was 19 when the Civil War began, and with his father smoothing the way, he called on President Abraham Lincoln to volunteer the *Henrietta* and himself for the war effort. Since the elder Bennett had been willing to recognize Confederate independence, he needed to appear patriotic. Lincoln was equally urgent for the *Herald's* support of the war and saw that the yacht and the younger Bennett entered the Revenue Marine (forerunner of the U.S. Coast Guard). As a third lieutenant, Bennett cruised Long Island Sound with the *Henrietta* in 1861 and in March 1862 was part of the unopposed expedition that captured Fernandina, Florida. When the navy decommissioned the lightly armed *Henrietta* on April 29, Bennett returned to the *Herald* and resumed life as a playboy.

In spring 1866, when Frederic Hudson, the *Herald's* brilliant managing editor, retired, Bennett took his place,



and the following year his father gave him control of the paper. There was no immediate change. The excellent staff stayed, the paper's content remained sensational, and its erratic editorials were politically independent. During Reconstruction it sought a middle ground between Andrew Johnson, whom it generally supported, and Radical Republicans, whom the racist elder Bennett detested. The paper favored the Fourteenth Amendment but opposed black suffrage. When a War Democrat was not nominated in 1868, the *Herald* backed Ulysses S. Grant, whom it regarded as a moderate Republican. Despite its unpredictable opinions, the *Herald* was read for its unsurpassed news gathering from Washington to Wall Street, from the slums and ballrooms of New York to the battlefields and capitals abroad.

Although inexperienced, young Bennett made some brilliant decisions, and the *Herald* prospered. He was responsible, for example, for the journalistic coup of the 19th century: the whereabouts of the Scottish missionary-doctor-explorer, David Livingstone, who was searching for the sources of Africa's Nile River under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society. Livingstone had not been heard from since 1866. In 1869 Bennett sent an intrepid *Herald* correspondent, Henry M. Stanley, to find Livingstone. After an arduous search Stanley caught up with him on November 10, 1871, at Ujiji on the shore of Lake Tanganyika (in present day Tanzania) and famously inquired, "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" Bennett also supported the superb reporting of Aloysius MacGahan on the 1870 Franco-Prussian War, the 1871 Paris Commune, and the 1873 Russian campaign, annexing Khiva in the Central Asian Steppes. Hoping that heroic exploration would again yield exotic stories for the *Herald*, Bennett financed the ill-fated polar expedition of George Washington De Long on the *Jeanette* (1879–81). Unfortunately, pack ice crushed the vessel, and neither De Long nor most of the crew survived. Bennett made other astute business decisions; for instance, he joined in the laying of another transatlantic cable, which was profitable and enabled the *Herald* to maintain its leadership in foreign news.

Bennett's inflated ego and erratic nature countered his best moves. His ill-concealed, petty jealousy of both Stanley and MacGahan deprived the *Herald* of their outstanding ability. Even though Bennett was sober during working hours, he brooked no criticism and was cold and aloof. These traits were sometimes modified by a degree of sensibility and practicality, which reined in some of his impulses. When drunk after working hours, however, he was unpredictable, reckless, and outrageous. Since he was incredibly wealthy, tipped generously, and paid handsomely for the damage he caused, Bennett was usually forgiven.

Money, however, could not undo Bennett's behavior on New Year's Day 1877. Arriving drunk at a party at the home of his fiancée, he got drunker and urinated in the fireplace.

He did not apologize, the engagement was broken, and he brawled with the man who would have become his brother-in-law. When the man attempted to horsewhip him, Bennett challenged him to a duel at Slaughter's Gap on the Maryland-Delaware border, where they fired into the air. When New York society ostracized Bennett, he moved to Paris, and his paper's long decline began. He returned to New York only once or twice a year.

Had Bennett been a typical absentee owner, leaving the *Herald* in the hands of his competent staff, it could have maintained its preeminent status. But Bennett remained, in the words of an old *Herald* hand, "as changeable as a chameleon, domineering, hypersensitive and full of whims." He read the *Herald* and its competitors and cabled his displeasure if he thought a rival paper ran a superior story. He insisted on knowing the minutest details of the *Herald's* operation and relied more than ever on the network of spies he had earlier instituted at the paper. He promoted and demoted, rewarded and fired on the flimsy basis of these reports. Members of his staff dreaded a summons to Paris, knowing that Bennett would enjoy their discomfiture as he downgraded or discharged them. The criticism from Paris was hard to bear, and the suspicion and insecurity spawned by Bennett's espionage system devastated morale.

Bennett gradually became more European than American in outlook, which was inappropriate for the editor of a New York paper. Furthermore, the *Herald's* decline was hastened after 1883 by JOSEPH PULITZER's *World*. At first, it combined the *Herald's* sensationalism with public-spirited crusades, and later it combined the YELLOW JOURNALISM of William Randolph Hearst and the loftier aim of the *New York Times* under Adolph Ochs to give the public all the news that was "fit to print." Despite its decline, the *Herald* was still a profitable newspaper as the 20th century began. It continued to support Bennett's princely lifestyle in France, including costly residences; his yacht, *Lysistrata*, with a crew of 100; lavish entertainments; drunken bouts; and liaisons with beautiful women. Throughout his life Bennett drew upon the *Herald* for an estimated \$30 million.

In 1887 Bennett, who loved France, established the Paris *Herald* to foster friendship between France and the United States. With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, he and his newspapers wholeheartedly supported France and its allies. On September 10, 1914, a month after the war began and the day the German advance on Paris was halted, Bennett at the age of 73 married Maud Potter of Philadelphia, the widow of Baron George de Reuter of the news agency family. The previous day Bennett, who had been an anticlerical Roman Catholic, became an Episcopalian. The dissolute bachelor became a devoted husband to the attractive and sensible Maud. Four years later, on May 14, 1918, Bennett died in his villa at Beaulieu on the Riviera. The demise of the *Herald*, which had been losing

## 34 Bering Sea dispute

money, quickly followed. Bennett's executors sold his papers, and the *Herald* was ultimately absorbed by the *Tribune* to form the *New York Herald-Tribune*.

**Further reading:** James L. Crouthamel, *Bennett's New York Herald and the Rise of the Popular Press* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1989); Richard O'Connor, *The Scandalous Mr. Bennett* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1962); Don C. Seitz, *The James Gordon Bennetts Father and Son: Proprietors of the New York Herald* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1928).

### Bering Sea dispute (1892)

This diplomatic conflict between the United States and Great Britain originated in the 1880s when Canadian hunters began harvesting seals in the North Pacific, depleting the herds that nested on Pribilof Islands, a U.S. territory. Those islands, in the Bering Sea north of Alaska's Aleutian Islands, are the breeding grounds of 80 percent of the world's fur-bearing seals. In 1870 the U.S. government gave a monopoly on seal hunting to the Alaska Commercial Company. The agreement stipulated that the company would pay a rental fee and royalties for the harvested skins and was allowed to hunt only 100,000 male seals per year. The killing of females was strictly forbidden. For the next 10 years the company's profits soared and so did the seal population. As the price of sealskins increased, Canadian hunters began to engage in pelagic sealing (killing seals in the open sea) and to kill females. As a result the seal herd declined rapidly. In 1886 the United States, traditionally the defender of freedom of the seas, arrested several Canadian hunters in international waters.

Negotiations aimed at resolving the crisis stalled between Britain and the United States. The Canadians denied they were depleting the seal population and refused to accept any restrictions, while Britain maintained that the Bering Sea was not a "closed" American sea like Chesapeake Bay. To relieve tensions and revive negotiations, Secretary of State THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD convinced President GROVER CLEVELAND to stop all arrests on the high seas. As a result, on November 22, 1887, a joint commission met in Washington to resolve the issue. Its work resulted in the Bayard-Chamberlain Treaty, signed on February 15, 1888, which the Senate then refused to ratify. Attempting to salvage something from the talks, both nations informally agreed to let American fishermen fish the coastal waters of Canada while Canadians could still engage in pelagic sealing.

This agreement, however, did not last. On March 2, 1889, Congress authorized—and BENJAMIN HARRISON, Cleveland's successor, soon resumed—the arrest of Canadian sealers in the Bering Sea. The British protested, dis-

patched four warships to the Bering Sea, and called for a joint commission to investigate the problem for two years, during which time pelagic sealing was to be prohibited. American seizures subsequently stopped. Despite war talk, diplomacy resulted in the Anglo-American arbitration treaty of February 29, 1892, which created an international (French, Swedish, and Italian) panel to resolve the sealing dispute.

In 1893 the panel denied that the Bering Sea was a closed sea and ruled that the United States owed Canada damages for the sealing vessels it had seized. Pelagic sealing was forbidden within 60 miles of the Pribilof Islands, and sealing on the high seas was prohibited from May 1 to July 31. Damages to Canadian shipping were assessed at \$425,000. When Congress refused to appropriate the money, a joint commission met and increased the damages to \$473,151.26. In June 1898, amid much grousing, Congress paid the amount.

**Further reading:** Charles C. Tansill, *The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard: 1885–1897* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1940); Alice F. Tyler, *The Foreign Policy of James G. Blaine* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1945).

—Timothy E. Vislocky

### Bessemer process

For centuries STEEL had been laboriously made from pig iron by beating the hot iron on an anvil until the flying sparks had reduced its carbon content to 2 percent. In 1847 an American, William Kelly, and in 1855 an Englishman, Henry Bessemer—neither one experienced enough in the iron trade to have a closed mind—independently discovered that a blast of air forced through molten iron would burn off its carbon rapidly, and doing so generated enough heat to keep the iron molten. American manufacturers had little faith in the neophyte Kelly or his counterintuitive idea, but Bessemer had already made a fortune and a reputation from other inventions. Bessemer was able to design, construct, and demonstrate a converter in the form of a large, pear-shaped vessel into which a blast of air could be forced and which could then be tilted to pour out a dazzling, white-hot gusher of molten steel. The old process had required a worker to labor 15 days to produce 50 pounds of steel. The Bessemer process turned out five tons of steel in 30 minutes.

The Bessemer process ran into trouble when it was found to work only on low-phosphorus pig iron, the supply of which was limited in England. Swedish ore, however, was low in phosphorus, as were the rich ore deposits in the Marquette region of Michigan, made accessible by the Sault Ste. Marie Canal in 1855. Alexander Holley, an energetic and eloquent American journalist sent to England by

the Union government to report on British technology during the Civil War, saw the Bessemer converter in action and was converted himself. Upon his return he became its foremost prophet and promoter in the United States. He led in forming a pool of the Kelly and Bessemer patents in 1866. Holley also devised major improvements in the design of the converters. He designed six of the 11 Bessemer plants operating in the United States in 1880 and was consulted on three others. The remaining two were copied from one of the first six.

At Chicago in 1885 the world's first true SKY-SCRAPER—that is, one supported not by its walls but by a steel skeleton—used steel from ANDREW CARNEGIE's works for the last half of its framework. By then the age of steel had arrived: Steel was recognized as by far the most available and reliable metal for all kinds of structures and machines.

By the end of the century the Siemens-Martin open-hearth process was outstripping Bessemer's converters. The new process, developed in England and France, was more flexible in the kinds of scrap and ore that could be fed into it and was easier to control. By 1950, 90 percent of the steel produced in Great Britain and the United States was open hearth. After 1960 the newer all-oxygen process replaced both the Bessemer and open-hearth processes. Nevertheless the Bessemer process had secured its place in history by physically transmuting the instruments of industry, transportation, and construction.

**Further reading:** John N. Ingham, *Making Iron and Steel: Independent Mills in Pittsburgh, 1820–1920* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1991); Joseph Wall, *Andrew Carnegie* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

—Robert V. Bruce

## bicycling (1870–1900)

A bicycle craze gripped Gilded Age America. The earliest bicycles were far from safe. Americans originally rode the *vélocipède*, a crude French bicycle. The high two-wheel bike consisted of a wooden frame and tires covered by iron. The bike, called “the bone shaker,” could not be used on streets and caused frequent injuries. Young people saw the Harlan brothers use the bike in acrobatic acts and practiced secretly in barns and abandoned lofts. During the 1870s the English marketed a more popular bicycle in the United States. This bicycle was an iron frame with a huge wheel in front and a small one in back, both with solid rubber tires. Riders, perched about seven feet above the ground, risked permanent injuries from falls.

Bicycling became a popular pastime. Boston lawyer Charles Pratt, the father of American cycling, founded the Boston Bicycling Club and a periodical, *Bicycling World*.

On May 30, 1880, he summoned American bicyclists to Newport, Rhode Island, where they formed the League of American Wheelmen, which soon boasted 10,000 members. The number of cyclists grew from 20,000 in 1882 to over 100,000 by 1890, and clubs formed in most American towns. Bicycle parades, competitive drills, hill climbs, and races became popular. On July 4, 1884, so many riders jammed the Boston Common that the planned race was canceled. Thomas Stevens excited the nation with his bicycle trip around the world, leaving his San Francisco home in April 1883 and arriving in Boston that August. He went on to bike across Europe through the Middle East, India, and the Orient, returning to San Francisco in 1887 amid a wild municipal celebration.

Initially women found bicycle riding difficult because of the high front tire. Manufacturers in the 1880s offered a cheaper, light-frame “safety bicycle” with moderate-sized wheels of equal proportion. The frame was indented in the middle to accommodate fashionable long skirts. Women loved the safety bicycle, which was simple to operate. Their Michaux Club of Manhattan performed intricate bicycle drills to popular music.

The invention of the safety bicycle and a substantial drop in bicycle prices led to a cycling craze in the 1890s. Ten million bicycles were on the road, and countless enthusiasts joined bicycle clubs, read cycling magazines, and attended races. The classic 1890s tune, “Daisy Bell,” popularized the bicycle, too, ending with “But you'll look sweet upon the seat, / Of a bicycle built for two.”

Velodromes for racing sprang up in several eastern cities. Large crowds watched the racers careen around the board tracks at full tilt. Manufacturers paid the racers to promote the Imperial, Monarch, Columbia, and other bikes. Albert Shock excelled at endurance racing, pedaling 1,009 miles in 72 hours. The six-day race also flourished, with contestants completing as many laps as possible in six days. However, the New York State legislature declared these bike races inhumane after it learned that contestants circled the tracks without relief for 144 hours. Charles Murphy in June 1899 pedaled a paced mile in just 57.8 seconds on a wooden track between rails over a level stretch at Hempstead, New York.

Major Taylor, a black racer from Indianapolis, broke the racial barrier in professional bicycling. Taylor, the world's fastest bicyclist, won the national sprint championships in 1898, 1899, and 1900 and broke many world records. Taylor attracted large crowds but frequently faced racial slurs. White riders colluded in throwing him from his bicycle, and he was physically attacked by a white bicyclist after a race. Promoters prohibited him from racing in all southern and several northern tracks. The League of American Wheelmen originally allowed African Americans into membership, but when southern white affiliates began





Lithograph of the Springfield Bicycle Club's exhibition and tournament in Springfield, Massachusetts, 1883 (*Library of Congress*)

withdrawing in the early 1890s, the league restricted memberships to whites in 1894.

The bicycle craze was short lived. In the 20th century, the automobile provided a more convenient mode of getting out into the countryside, and it gradually replaced the bicycle in popularity.

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—David L. Porter

### **Bierstadt, Albert** (1830–1902) *artist*

Perhaps the most renowned American landscape painter of the 19th century, Albert Bierstadt was born at Solingen, Germany, on January 7, 1830. When he was two years

old, he came to the United States with his parents. They settled in the prosperous whaling port of New Bedford, Massachusetts, where his father, a cooper, made casks for whale oil. After his public school education, Bierstadt was inspired to become an artist apparently while working for a picture framer. He became acquainted with local artists and acquired some training from them. By 1850 he had a studio, offered lessons in monochromatic (shades of one color) oil painting, and during the next few years exhibited and sold some of his work. He realized, however, that to excel as a painter he needed training abroad. In 1853 he went to Düsseldorf, Germany (only a few miles from his birthplace), where his mother's cousin, Johann Peter Hasenclever, was an established artist. Unfortunately, Hasenclever died before Bierstadt arrived, but he was befriended by two American art students, Worthington Whittredge and Emanuel Leutze, and studied under the landscape painter Andreas Achenbach. Bierstadt worked diligently; traveled in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy; and in 1857 returned to New Bedford with a trunk full of paintings and

sketches. His reputation grew when he exhibited his *Lake Lucerne* at the 1858 Annual of the American Academy of Design in New York. Critics noted the painting's merits and that it was the largest of the 636 paintings in the exhibition. Bierstadt loved to paint nature on a grand scale.

Eager to experience and communicate the grandeur of the American West, Bierstadt in 1859, accompanied by B. F. Frost, an artist friend, joined the annual expedition of Frederick West Lander, superintendent of the wagon road through South Pass (in present day Wyoming) to the west coast. Traveling with Lander from St. Joseph, Missouri, as far as South Pass, Bierstadt and Frost took numerous stereoscopic (three-dimensional) photographs. Reveling in the beauty of the Wind River Range, they lingered there for a few weeks, before heading back east. Reflecting on what he had seen and prepared to exploit it, Bierstadt declared: "Our own country has the best material for the artist in the world." Although the stereographs were disappointing, Bierstadt's sketches and studies proved invaluable.

Upon his return Bierstadt moved into the Tenth Street Studio Building in New York City. Utilizing his trip, he produced over the next few years large canvases celebrating the West and won praise. With the onset of the Civil War his paintings of spectacular Edens ready for settlement resonated in the patriotic breasts of Northerners. These pictures confirmed their faith in the Manifest Destiny of their nation, a faith that God ordained its westward expansion. Although with Leutze, Bierstadt briefly visited and sketched the Army of the Potomac near Washington, D.C., he was more interested in western scenery than in southern battlefields. Therefore, in 1862 he began planning a second western trip. Sensing a connection between Bierstadt's paintings and the nation's purpose and morale, Senator Charles Sumner predicted that "our country will gain in honor" from such a trip, which "will benefit us all."

In Spring 1863 Bierstadt headed west. He was accompanied by Fitz Hugh Ludlow, the popular author of the autobiographical *The Hasheesh Eater* (1857), who also wrote rave reviews of Bierstadt's paintings for the *New-York Evening Post*. Fond of Ludlow and of his wife, Rosalie, Bierstadt may also have thought the trip would cure Ludlow of his addiction. Bierstadt planned to sketch their journey, while Ludlow wrote it up. Following a more southerly route than on his previous trip, Bierstadt and Ludlow visited Denver and Colorado Springs, Salt Lake City, Yosemite, San Francisco, and Portland, Oregon, before arriving home for Christmas, having come by way of Panama. Bierstadt plunged into work, but Ludlow, still addicted to hashish and alcohol, was divorced by his wife.

Soon Bierstadt was admired as the equal of the great American landscape artist Frederic E. Church. At New York's 1864 Sanitary Fair (which raised money to help the U.S. Sanitary Commission care for sick and wounded sol-

diers), Bierstadt's *The Rocky Mountains* was exhibited opposite Church's *The Heart of the Andes*, in the same room as Leutze's *George Washington Crossing the Delaware*. Just as Leutze took liberties with how Washington crossed the Delaware, both Bierstadt and Church attempted to catch the uplifting spirit of the scenes they depicted rather than to present reproductions of them. Critical acclaim led to sales and prosperity. Bierstadt reputedly sold *The Rocky Mountains* for a record-breaking \$25,000.

Bierstadt enhanced his success by combining admirable personal characteristics with a knack for self-advertisement. Handsome and gentlemanly, kind and generous, he made friends among fellow artists (including Church) and prominent business, political, social, and intellectual leaders. He also increased his sales and exposure by scheduling exhibits of his paintings (charging a modest admission fee). In 1866 in Washington, D.C., Congressman RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, intensely patriotic and prone to exaggerate the virtues of anything western, viewed Bierstadt's *Storm in the Rocky Mountains, Mt. Rosalie* and exclaimed: "By gaslight the effect is incomprehensible, such brilliancy and light and shade." Hayes later, as president, entertained Bierstadt and his wife at the White House, and Bierstadt subsequently gave Lucy Hayes a painting.

By 1866 Bierstadt was at the pinnacle of his profession and a wealthy man. In November he married Rosalie Osborne Ludlow and planned a mansion for her, called Malkasten, at Irvington, New York, overlooking the Hudson River. From 1867 to 1869 he and his wife visited Europe, where he did much sketching, met the emperor of France (who awarded him the Legion of Honor), the queen of England and her prime minister, the pianist Franz Liszt, and the poet Robert Browning. After returning to New York for two years, the Bierstadts spent 1871 to 1873 in California. Bierstadt was in Yosemite with the photographer Eadweard Muybridge and in the Mt. Whitney vicinity with the geologist CLARENCE KING.

In the 1870s tastes in art began to change, and Bierstadt's popularity began to decline. Once admired as grand, his paintings began to be perceived as grandiose. Critics blamed his Düsseldorf training for the exaggerated effects, brilliant coloring, melodramatic scenes, and monumental size of his paintings. While many, including the newspaper publisher JOSEPH PULITZER, still championed Bierstadt's works, their sales slackened. Collectors preferred the non-theatrical Impressionist landscapes, with their nuanced treatment of light and color. Bierstadt's ego sustained a blow when the American selection committee for the 1889 Paris Exposition rejected *The Last of the Buffalo*.

Bierstadt also had personal problems. His wife, whom he loved dearly, was in delicate health and by 1878 required a great deal of attention. Although their income was reduced, she spent almost every winter at an expensive



hotel in Nassau, in the Bahamas, and they made several trips to Europe. In November 1882 their mansion Malkasten burned, destroying many paintings and Native American artifacts. It was a severe blow, but \$125,000 in insurance money helped support their extravagant lifestyle. When Rosalie died at Nassau in 1893, at the age of 52, Bierstadt was in debt. A year later he married Mary Hicks Stewart, a wealthy widow, but she did not bail him out. To satisfy his creditors he sold paintings at reduced prices. He continued to paint on a diminished scale and promoted inventions and improvements. These ranged from Henry Schulhof's pistol through his own designs for railway cars that could be expanded into dwellings (he patented at least six) to an acetylene generator invented by the scientist-philosopher CHARLES SANDERS PEIRCE. Bierstadt died in New York on February 18, 1902.

**Further reading:** Nancy K. Anderson and Linda S. Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt: Art & Enterprise* (New York: Brooklyn Museum/Hudson Hills Press, 1990); Matthew Baigell, *Albert Bierstadt* (New York: Watson-Guption Publications, 1981); Gordon Hendricks, *Albert Bierstadt: Painter of the American West* (New York: Harrison House/Harry N. Abrams, 1988).

## bimetallism

For most of its existence, the United States recognized gold and silver as the basis for the dollar, adhering to what is known as bimetallism. Beginning in the 1870s, the government's monetary policy changed. The Coinage Act of 1873 demonetized silver by removing the silver dollar from circulation. This law made gold the only monetary standard for the nation. Increased silver production soon caused the price of silver to drop, and if it were coined as in the past, the money supply would be increased and have an inflationary effect. Western silver mining interests and debtor groups referred to the Coinage Act as the CRIME OF '73 and demanded the unlimited remonetization of silver (FREE SILVER MOVEMENT).

By the mid 1870s the demand for a return to bimetallism was gaining momentum, but CONGRESS made only a token response with passage of the BLAND-ALLISON ACT over President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES's veto in 1878. This law required the Treasury to purchase and coin not less than \$2 million or more than \$4 million of silver monthly. As a result silver dollars were again minted, but not in sufficient numbers to drive the United States from the monetary gold standard or to cause inflation. Bimetallists wanted more action from the government.

Congress followed up the Bland-Allison Act with the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890. This law increased the amount of silver coinage in circulation by obligating

the government to purchase 4.5 million ounces of silver per month. Supporters of sound-money principles (the gold standard) feared that the Sherman Silver Purchase Act threatened the stability of the nation's money supply. In 1893 an economic depression set in, and President GROVER CLEVELAND, an advocate of sound-money principles, blamed the financial crisis on the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. Cleveland's view prevailed, and Congress repealed the Sherman Silver Purchase Act on November 1, 1893.

The repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act set the stage for one of the most bitter and emotionally charged political contests in American history. Bimetallists such as William H. Harvey, the author of *Coin's Financial School* (1894), and Ignatius Donnelly led protests against the law's repeal. The PEOPLE'S PARTY (Populist Party) also joined the bimetallist movement. In 1896 the Democrats and the Populists nominated WILLIAM J. BRYAN for president on a platform calling for the "free" (unlimited) coinage of silver. Bryan, however, was overwhelmingly defeated by the Republican candidate, WILLIAM MCKINLEY, who supported the gold standard. Bryan's defeat was a major setback for bimetallism. In 1900 Congress enacted the Gold Standard Act, which recognized the gold dollar as the standard of value in the United States. Bimetallists were silenced until the Great Depression of the 1930s.

See also CURRENCY ISSUE.

**Further reading:** Milton Friedman and Anna J. Schwartz, *Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971); Walter T. K. Nugent, *Money and American Society, 1865–1880* (New York: The Free Press, 1968).

—Phillip Papas

## Black Hills gold rush

The first of three SIOUX WARS (the War of the Bozeman Road [which by connecting the Oregon Trail with mining camps encroached on hunting grounds] from 1866 to 1868) ended with the U.S. Army pulling back from its posts along that road and with the Treaty of Fort Laramie (1868) creating the Great Sioux Reservation of western South Dakota, including the Black Hills. Several Sioux leaders, however, did not agree to that treaty. Prospectors suspected that there was gold in the Black Hills, and in 1874 a cavalry expedition under General George A. Custer—supposedly exploring a road route between Forts Abraham Lincoln (Bismarck) and Laramie—happened to have prospectors along who confirmed that there indeed was gold in those hills.

The news that summer that Custer's expedition had discovered gold brought white prospectors flooding into

the Black Hills, trespassing on Sioux (Lakota) land in search of the valuable metal despite Indian hostility. In the winter of 1875–76, there were 15,000 miners at the town of Custer in the heart of the Black Hills. The federal government tried to purchase or lease the Black Hills, but the land was sacred to the Sioux, and the effort failed. Unable to control the swarms of miners descending on the Black Hills, federal officials in December 1875 ordered the uncooperative Lakota to relocate to distant reservations in six weeks (an impossibility in winter) or come under attack. When they failed to comply with the order, the army in March 1876 attacked the Oglala Sioux and their allies the Northern Cheyenne. But in June the Lakota, led by CRAZY HORSE and SITTING BULL, struck back and defeated General George Crook on June 17, 1876, at the Battle of the Rosebud. Eight days later, on June 25, they annihilated Custer's command at the Battle of the Little Bighorn, often referred to as Custer's Last Stand. Despite this initial success, the Sioux resistance was soon broken. Crazy Horse surrendered and Sitting Bull fled to Canada.

The gold rush followed a classic pattern. Thousands rushed from Custer to new diggings at Deadwood Gulch in the summer of 1876. Both towns were plagued by violence, vice, and inflation. Initially, individual miners could do well, since the gold was located in "placer" gravel and easily extracted, but it was not long before large-scale mines appeared, and these required a considerable infusion of capital from financial centers. Nevertheless, many of the miners, attracted by their surroundings, remained in the area.

**Further reading:** Donald Jackson, *Custer's Gold: The United States Cavalry Expedition of 1874* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).

—Scott Sendrow

**Blackwell, Antoinette Brown** (1825–1921) *women's rights activist, ordained minister*

Antoinette Brown Blackwell was the first woman ordained a minister of a congregation in a regular Protestant denomination; she was also a prominent advocate for WOMEN'S RIGHTS. Antoinette Brown was born on May 20, 1825, in Henrietta, New York, where her father was a farmer and justice of the peace. She became a teacher at age 16 and entered Oberlin College at age 21. After graduating from the literary course (which did not award a bachelor's degree) in 1847, she applied to study theology. The faculty refused to allow her regular enrollment, so she became a resident graduate and was not given a degree. After completing her studies in 1850, she decided to hold off on her ordainment until it could take place in a church in which she held pastoral responsibilities.

For the next three years she worked as a lecturer, speaking on women's rights, antislavery, and temperance. In 1850 she attended and spoke at the first National Women's Rights Convention in Worcester, Massachusetts, of which LUCY STONE, a friend from Oberlin, was a primary organizer. In the summer of 1853 she gained national prominence at the World's Temperance Convention in New York when she strove for three hours to be heard over the shouts of angry male delegates. That same year she was ordained as a minister at the Congregational Church in South Butler, New York, but growing doubts about some Congregational tenets led her to resign a year later. She eventually became a Unitarian.

In 1855 she worked as a volunteer in the slums and prisons of New York and wrote about her experiences in a series of articles in the *New York Tribune*. These were collected in a book, *Shadows of Our Social System* (1856). In 1856 she married Samuel Blackwell, whose sister Elizabeth was the first female doctor and whose brother Henry married Lucy Stone. They lived primarily in northern New Jersey and had seven children, five of whom survived to adulthood.

Blackwell was more socially conservative than many of her suffragist colleagues. She was opposed to divorce, and when Elizabeth Cady Stanton and SUSAN B. ANTHONY advocated liberalized divorce laws at the National Women's Rights Convention in 1860, Blackwell led the opposition. In the late 1860s, when Anthony and Stanton's opposition to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments (on the grounds that women should have been given the vote along with African-American men) caused a split between them and Stone, Blackwell sided with Stone, becoming active in Stone's American Woman Suffrage Association. Unlike Stone, though, Blackwell remained on friendly terms with both Anthony and Stanton.

Blackwell had wide-ranging intellectual interests. She helped found the Association for the Advancement of Women in 1873. In 1878 she requested and received recognition from the American Unitarian Association as a minister. An effective orator, she spoke frequently at suffrage meetings on both the state and national levels, usually on specific resolutions. Between 1869 and 1915, Blackwell wrote six books on theological and scientific issues. These books, including *The Sexes throughout Nature* (1875) and *The Philosophy of Individuality* (1893), were devoted primarily to reconciling her views on theology and feminism with the theories of Darwin and Spencer. She also published a novel and a book of poems.

Blackwell was the only pioneer suffragist to live to see the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. In 1920, at age 95, she cast her first vote and died a year later on November 5.

**Further reading:** Elizabeth Cazden, *Antoinette Brown Blackwell: A Biography* (Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1983).

—Lynn Hoogenboom

**Blackwell, Elizabeth** (1821–1910) *physician, educator*

The first woman in modern times to earn a medical degree, Elizabeth Blackwell was born on February 3, 1821, near Bristol, England, and moved with her family to the United States in 1832. The Blackwells settled initially in New York, where her father, who had owned a sugar refinery in England, tried to develop the use of beet sugar. His efforts failed, and in 1838 they moved to Cincinnati, where her father died a few months later.

For the next four years Blackwell helped her mother and two sisters run a private school that supported the family. She then taught for a year in Henderson, Kentucky, where she developed a strong interest in pursuing a career in medicine. She continued to teach for two more years while pursuing private medical studies with doctors in Asheville, North Carolina, and Charleston, South Carolina.

In 1847 she began applying to medical schools. After she was turned down by every medical school in New York City and Philadelphia, she began applying to rural schools. She was finally accepted by Geneva College in central New York. The acceptance, she later learned, had been a fluke: The faculty referred her application to the students, confident that they would oppose her admission, and the students, thinking they were dealing with a hoax, voted to accept her.

Her early days in medical school were exceedingly rough. She was ostracized by the townspeople and was initially barred from classroom demonstrations. But her quiet persistence eventually won her a degree of acceptance. She graduated from Geneva on January 23, 1849, and continued her studies in Europe at La Maternité in Paris and St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London. In Paris, she lost sight in one eye after catching purulent ophthalmia from an infant she had treated. That ended her hopes of becoming a surgeon.

She returned to New York in 1851 and found herself barred from practicing in city hospitals and dispensaries. She had few patients, so she began a series of lectures on hygiene. (She had a particular interest in preventative medicine and public health.) Her message appealed to Quaker women, who attended her lectures, became patients, and eventually brought her to the attention of prominent Quaker men whose financial support helped her launch her more ambitious projects.

In 1853 she opened a dispensary in the tenement district. By the end of the first year, she had treated 200 women

there. In 1856 her sister Dr. Emily Blackwell joined her practice, and in 1857 she expanded her dispensary into a hospital, the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. During the Civil War, both she and her sister contributed to the Union effort by selecting and training nurses.

In 1868 Blackwell opened the Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary. It was not the first medical school for women; by this point there were women's medical colleges in Boston and Philadelphia. But Blackwell, knowing that women doctors would be under greater scrutiny, set unusually high standards, including entrance examinations, longer-than-usual terms, plenty of clinical experience, and an examining board that was independent of the faculty.

Once the college was operating successfully, Blackwell left it in the hands of her sister, and in 1869 she returned to England for good. She set up a successful practice in London, accepting the chair of gynecology at the New Hospital and London School of Medicine for Women in 1875. A year later she began to suffer health problems and reluctantly retired. She remained active in her retirement, however, writing a number of books and articles on medical and behavioral issues and involving herself in reform and in the antivivisection movement. She died on May 31, 1910.

**Further reading:** Elinor Rice Hays, *Those Extraordinary Blackwells: The Story of a Journey to a Better World* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1967).

—Lynn Hoogenboom

**Blaine, James Gillespie** (1830–1893) *politician*

James G. Blaine, perhaps the most outstanding Republican politician of the Gilded Age, was born on January 31, 1830, in West Brownsville, Pennsylvania, the son of Ephraim Lyon Blaine and Louise Gillespie. Blaine graduated from Washington and Jefferson College (1847) and taught school while studying law. In 1850 he married Harriet Stanwood, with whom he had six children. Blaine settled in Augusta, Maine, in 1854 and became the editor of the *Kennebec Journal*. In 1859 he became chairman of the Republican State Committee and began his first of three terms in the Maine legislature (1859–62), where he served as speaker (1861–62). In 1860 Blaine supported Abraham Lincoln for the Republican presidential nomination even though several members of Maine's REPUBLICAN PARTY favored William Seward.

In 1862 Blaine was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and began a long and illustrious career in CONGRESS. He served in the House until 1876 (as its Speaker from 1869 to 1875) and as a senator from 1876 to 1881. Blaine also held the office of secretary of state under Presidents JAMES A. GARFIELD (1881) and BENJAMIN HARRISON (1889–92).

Rank-and-file Republicans, especially from the West, adored Blaine. He was a staunch party man but not an extremist. Although Blaine could “wave the bloody shirt” to attract voters, he was a moderate on Reconstruction. He advocated protective tariffs but also supported reciprocity agreements as a means of increasing American trade abroad. Blaine favored sound-money principles but did not lose the support of inflationary minded Republicans.

In 1876 Blaine emerged as a contender for the Republican presidential nomination. However, accusations that he had received \$64,000 from the Union Pacific Railroad (which as Speaker of the House he was in a position to help) for some nearly worthless Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad bonds tarnished his reputation and cost him the nomination. Shortly thereafter he was elected by the Maine legislature to the U.S. Senate. At the deadlocked 1880 Republican National Convention, Blaine threw his support to James A. Garfield, who was nominated on the 36th ballot. After his election to the presidency, Garfield appointed Blaine secretary of state. In this office, Blaine pursued an aggressive FOREIGN POLICY designed to expand American foreign trade and influence abroad. He was particularly interested in U.S. relations with Latin America and sought to block European influence in that part of the world. Among his foreign policy initiatives, Blaine promoted Pan-Americanism and attempted to gain exclusive control for the United States over any proposed isthmian canal. He resigned as secretary of state following the assassination of President Garfield in 1881.

Despite questions about his character, Blaine remained the most popular Republican in the United States. At the 1884 Republican National Convention in Chicago, Blaine was nominated on the fourth ballot. He faced a difficult battle, since the DEMOCRATIC PARTY nominated reform-minded governor of New York GROVER CLEVELAND for the presidency. Blaine’s questionable reputation and opposition to CIVIL SERVICE REFORM led a small but influential group of reform-minded Republicans known as the MUGWUMPS to bolt from the party and support Cleveland. The ensuing campaign focused more on personal attacks than on the issues. The Republicans charged that Cleveland had fathered an illegitimate child, which he courageously acknowledged. The Democrats answered by accusing Blaine of aiding the railroads at public expense, a charge he unconvincingly denied. Although he was popular in New York, Blaine lost the state by 1,149 votes along with its 36 electoral votes, giving Cleveland a victory of 219 to 182 in the electoral college.

Following the election, Blaine semiretired from public life. In 1888 he refused the Republican Party’s presidential nomination. Instead, Blaine decided to support the nomination of Benjamin Harrison of Indiana. When Harrison defeated the incumbent Cleveland, he rewarded Blaine

by returning him to the State Department. Blaine served under Harrison in that capacity from 1889 to 1892 and focused his attention on protecting American commercial interests overseas. Again he was particularly concerned with U.S. commercial relations in the Western Hemisphere. He organized the first Pan-American Conference (1889–90); tried to obtain a naval base in Haiti; favored the annexation of HAWAII; attempted to negotiate a treaty with Nicaragua for an isthmian canal; favored the Berlin Conference whereby the United States, Great Britain, and Germany agreed to a three-power protectorate over SAMOA; tried to settle a dispute with Great Britain over seal hunting in the Bering Sea; secured a commercial reciprocity amendment to the MCKINLEY TARIFF of 1890; and was instrumental in negotiating reciprocity treaties with several Latin American nations. Thus, Blaine-Harrison policies initiated U.S. expansionism in Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Pacific.

Blaine, however, fell ill after March 1891 and finally resigned from the cabinet in June 1892. He received mild support for the Republican presidential nomination that year, which President Harrison easily won. Blaine died on January 27, 1893, in Washington, D.C.

See also CURRENCY ISSUE; TARIFF ISSUE.

**Further reading:** Edward P. Crapol, *James G. Blaine: Architect of Empire* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2000); H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley: National Party Politics, 1877–1896* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1969); David S. Muzzey, *James G. Blaine: A Political Idol of Other Days* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1934).

—Phillip Papas

### Bland-Allison Act (1878)

During the economic depression of the mid-1870s, several groups of farmers and western silver mine operators joined together in urging the government to adopt a monetary policy of BIMETALLISM. The Coinage Act of 1873 had taken the silver dollar out of circulation just before the market value of silver dropped dramatically, when its coinage would have been inflationary. Silver advocates called that act the CRIME OF ’73 and demanded that CONGRESS remonetize silver. The silver issue dominated the American political scene throughout the late 19th century.

The silver movement rapidly gained momentum after 1873. In the fall of 1877, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill calling for the “free” (unlimited) coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 parts of silver to one part of gold. Known as the Bland Bill, it was introduced by Representative Richard P. (“Silver Dick”) Bland of Missouri and, had it become law, it would have driven gold (one part of which



was worth more than 16 parts of silver) out of circulation. The bill, however, was amended and weakened in the Senate by WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON of Iowa. In February 1878 the amended Bland-Allison Act was passed over President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES's veto.

The Bland-Allison Act required that the government purchase at market price no less than \$2 million or no more than \$4 million worth of silver monthly and mint it into silver dollars. No administration from 1878 to 1890 ever purchased more than the minimum \$2 million of silver and gold was not driven out of circulation. Despite protests from silver advocates, the Bland-Allison Act remained unchanged until it was superseded by the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890.

See also CURRENCY ISSUE; FREE SILVER MOVEMENT.

**Further reading:** Walter T. K. Nugent, *Money and American Society, 1865–1880* (New York: The Free Press, 1968).

—Phillip Papas

**blues** See MUSIC: ART, FOLK, POPULAR.

**Boomers** See SOONERS.

**Boston Fire** (1872) See CITIES AND URBAN LIFE.

**Bowles, Samuel** (1826–1878) *editor, newspaper publisher*

As an editor and publisher Samuel Bowles built the Springfield *Republican*, into the best small city newspaper in America. Born in Springfield, Massachusetts, on February 9, 1826 (less than two years after his father, Samuel Bowles, had founded the *Republican*), young Bowles attended local schools and hoped to go to college. His frugal father, however, thought learning the printer's trade was more useful for a newspaperman than a college education. He was also aware that his son preferred reading the newspapers and magazines that flooded his office than ancient or modern classics. When, at 17, Bowles joined the *Republican*, he was too clumsy to set type but, adept at writing up local news, became a consummate newspaperman. In just a year Bowles insisted that the *Republican*, which was published weekly, become a daily. His father reluctantly agreed, if his son "take the main responsibility" of editing and publishing it, the first Massachusetts daily outside Boston.

The first issue of the daily appeared on March 27, 1844, with Bowles working long hours as its reporter and editor. Never robust, he soon had a physical breakdown and

in early 1845 regained his strength in balmy New Orleans (ironically the unhealthiest city in the United States).

Bowles never learned to be moderate either in his hours on the job or in his opinions in print. His *Republican* was sprightly with its mix of gossip, jokes, statistics, odd bits of information, and views with an aggressive edge. Bowles was charming when milking a source for news or with friends at the dinner table, but to his employees he was demanding, mercurial, and irascible. As both the nation and telegraph lines expanded in the late 1840s, his interests widened and national news began to compete with local interest stories in the *Republican*. In 1848 he plunged into national politics by supporting the Whig candidate for president, Zachary Taylor. During the campaign, he took a few days off to marry a schoolmate, Mary Sanford Dwight Schermerhorn. She came from a wealthy, socially prominent family, and her \$10,000 inheritance, a few years later, relieved Bowles of financial worries.

Bowles's strong reaction to breaking news often made him inconsistent. In 1848 he opposed the expansion of slavery, yet he supported the Compromise of 1850, which condoned the spread of slavery into the New Mexico Territory and counseled obedience to its rigorous Fugitive Slave Law. He attacked abolitionists, because they denounced the Constitution (which condoned slavery), and in 1851 he sympathized with a Springfield mob that threatened the English abolitionist George Thompson and deprived him of his constitutional right of free speech.

The 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act, however, outraged and transformed Bowles. It repealed the 1820 Missouri Compromise and opened free soil to slavery. That same year he opposed the return to slavery of fugitive Anthony Burns, and as the Whig Party collapsed, he looked for a new political allegiance. Because it would "keep alive prejudices," he fought the anti-Irish, anti-Catholic Know-Nothing Party and in 1855 chaired the Boston meeting that launched the Republican Party in Massachusetts. He regarded as "fool-hardy" John Brown's attempt to spark a slave uprising by raiding the federal arsenal in Harpers Ferry, Virginia, but when Brown (a former Springfield resident, whom Bowles knew personally) was executed, Bowles declared him an innocent hero.

In 1860 Bowles enthusiastically supported Abraham Lincoln for president and scoffed at the notion that the South would secede from the Union if he were elected. When Lincoln was elected and the Deep South seceded, Bowles initially was inclined to let it go in peace. But by January 1861 the crisis over possession of Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, led him to oppose "the destructive dogma that the Union can be broken up by one or more states." With the attack on Sumter, Bowles consistently supported the Lincoln administration's prosecution of the Civil War.



War or no war, Bowles had to travel periodically to recoup his strength. Through the narrow lens of a provincial New Englander, he was a critical observer. In Europe in 1862 he found London as dirty as New York and Paris cleaner but possessing devilish attributes, as well as heavenly ones.

At the end of the Civil War in 1865, Bowles went to California on the Overland Stage Line. In 32 letters to the *Republican*, which were published as *Across the Continent* (1865), he extolled the physical characteristics of the West but took a dim view of its inhabitants. He found the Rockies superior to the Alps and seeing Yosemite Valley was like confronting “God face-to-face,” but he condoned annihilating NATIVE AMERICANS, whom he regarded as cruel and barbaric obstacles to civilization. He was appalled by polygamy and its “degradation of women” by members of the MORMON CHURCH in Utah, troubled by the treatment of the industrious Chinese laborers in California, and more troubled by widespread prostitution in that predominantly male society. His most urgent plea was for the speedy completion of the transcontinental railroad “to marry the Nation of the Atlantic [with] an equal, if not greater, Nation of the Pacific.” A few years later Bowles visited Colorado, was ecstatic about its beauty, and published *The Switzerland of America: Colorado, Its Parks and Mountains* (1868). His travel books sold well, tapping, as did ALBERT BIERSTADT’s paintings, the exuberant American nationalistic fervor for the West.

Travel recouped Bowles’s strength, which he promptly dissipated by overworking on the *Republican*. He backed Radical Republican Reconstruction but, as a conciliatory gesture, urged that no former Confederate be disfranchised. Embracing universal suffrage, Bowles not only supported voting rights for former male slaves but also equal legal and political rights, including the vote for all women. In addition, as a member of Amherst’s board of trustees, he was a hundred years ahead of the times by advocating coeducation at that college.

Bowles’s love for women made his wife uneasy. She had gained weight and was busy raising seven children. He was particularly fond of her distant cousin Maria Whitney, who taught French and German at Smith College; Anna Dickinson, a spellbinding orator for WOMEN’S RIGHTS; and Susan Dickinson (no relation to Anna), the sister-in-law of EMILY DICKINSON, and all three loved him. Emily Dickinson also loved Bowles, but he responded neither to her affection nor to her poetry. Although she sent him many poems, he published only a half-dozen of them anonymously and compounded her anguish of rejected love by tinkering with her poems to achieve conventional rhyme and punctuation.

Bowles remained a staunch Republican until 1872. He had high standards for both politicians and business-

men and was disturbed by corruption in postwar America. While attacking municipal rings, bribed legislators and congressmen, and stock-manipulating railroadmen, he zeroed in on James Fisk, the notorious looter of the Erie Railroad, whom he called a swindler. Fisk countered with a \$50,000 libel suit. Although he did not press charges, Fisk did get a pliant judge to jail Bowles for a night in New York City’s Ludlow Street jail.

Although Bowles had enthusiastically supported Ulysses S. Grant for the presidency in 1868, he was soon disillusioned. He complained about his ineptitude, his poor appointments, his cronyism, and his scheme to annex SANTO DOMINGO (present-day Dominican Republic). By 1872 Bowles joined with CARL SCHURZ and other advocates of CIVIL SERVICE REFORM and tariff reform to create the LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PARTY. At its national convention Bowles with Murat Halstead of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, Horace White of the Chicago *Tribune*, and HENRY WATTERSON of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, formed the “Quadrilateral” to secure the presidential nomination of Charles Francis Adams.

These newspapermen were frustrated when the convention named their fellow editor HORACE GREELEY. He favored neither civil service nor tariff reform and, since he had embraced numerous fads, was easily lampooned. Bowles voted for Greeley, who, despite support from the Democratic Party, lost the election to Grant. Bowles’s defection from the Republican Party lost the *Republican* both readers and advertisers.

Bowles’s health slowly deteriorated as he overworked to rebuild the *Republican*. He returned to the Republican Party and supported RUTHERFORD B. HAYES for president in 1876, but in 1877 his health worsened. In December 1877 he suffered a severe stroke, and six weeks later, on January 16, 1878, another stroke killed him.

**Further reading:** George S. Merriam, *The Life and Times of Samuel Bowles*, 2 vols. (New York: Century, 1885); Stephen G. Weisner, *Embattled Editor: The Life of Samuel Bowles* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1986).

**Boxer Rebellion** See VOLUME VII.

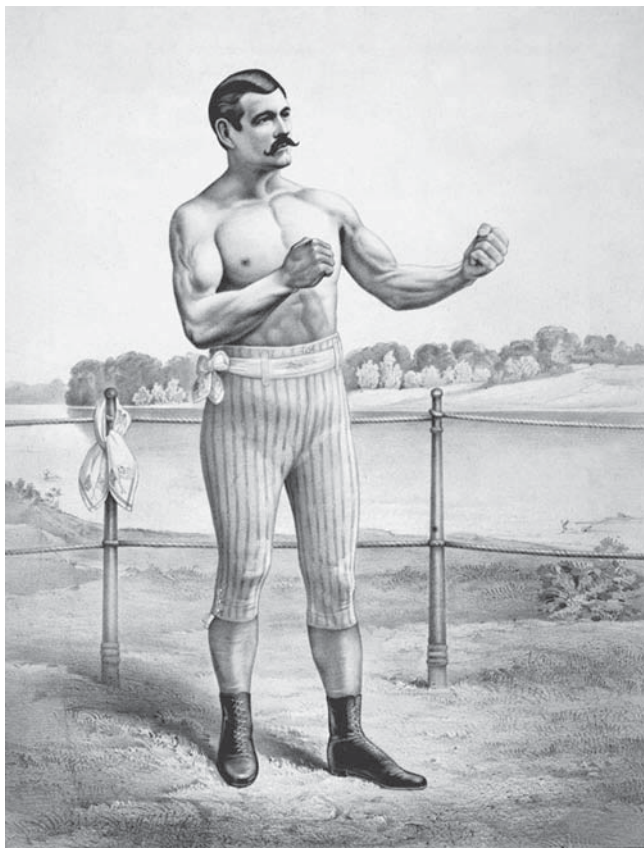
## boxing

Prior to innovations in the Gilded Age, boxing was an unregulated working-class sport dominated by Irish Americans and outlawed in most places. Participants fought with bare knuckles, relying on wrestling skills and brute strength. Rounds ended only when a boxer was struck down by an opponent’s fists or thrown to the turf with a wrestling

hold. Once down, a boxer had 30 seconds to recover before reaching the scratch line in the center of the ring. Bouts ended when a fighter was unable to reach the scratch line or conceded defeat.

The 1865 marquis of Queensberry rules brought more structure to the sport. The rules required the use of gloves, limited rounds to three minutes, provided for 10-second knockouts, and prohibited wrestling holds. The use of gloves appeared to curb brutality, thus making the sport more acceptable. The rules, however, did not win acceptance for nearly three decades in the United States, where New York City served as the boxing center. Charges of corruption hurt the sport's credibility, and even championship fights were farces.

Boxing entered a new era in the 1880s. Richard Kyle Fox, publisher and editor of the notoriously sensational *National Police Gazette*, pleaded for the legalization of boxing. Fox offered belts and other prizes for winners of boxing championships. He also campaigned to unseat heavyweight champion John L. Sullivan and to name champions in six different weight divisions. Key metropolitan saloons, especially Harry Hill's saloon on Bleecker Street in New York



John L. Sullivan, in a lithograph by Currier & Ives, ca. 1883  
(Library of Congress)

City, also promoted boxing. Boxing matches were held at Hill's saloon, where large bets were made and contracts were signed for larger matches elsewhere. Hill was the nation's best-known and most esteemed boxing stakeholder and referee.

Members of athletic clubs in New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco promoted boxing and tried to get politicians to modify state laws or city ordinances that banned prizefighting. As the sport became more fashionable, wealthier young men took sparring lessons. Middleweight champion Mike Donovan taught boxing at the New York Athletic Club, which scheduled the first national amateur boxing championships. The athletic clubs instituted reforms to improve the sport, encouraging a round limit for bouts and using Fox's weight-division system. They also began arranging indoor matches, charging admission, offering purses to the winners, and promoting the growing acceptance of the 1865 marquis of Queensberry rules, which made boxing faster-paced and more commercially appealing.

John L. Sullivan, nicknamed "the Boston strong boy," popularized boxing with his love of fighting and flamboyant lifestyle. Sullivan, born to Irish immigrants in Boston, Massachusetts, became the first truly national sports hero. He gave boxing exhibition matches in Boston theaters and music halls in the 1870s and knocked out Irishman Paddy Ryan in the ninth round for the heavyweight championship at Mississippi City, Mississippi, in February 1882. He launched nationwide tours, offering \$1,000 to anyone who lasted four rounds against him. Only one challenger performed the feat. From January 1884 to December 1886, Sullivan won 14 official fights. In March 1888, Sullivan—who suffered from alcoholism, overweight, and poor health—fought English champion Charley Mitchell to an embarrassing 39-round draw at Chantilly, France. In July 1889 he fought Jake Kilrain in the last bare-knuckle bout. Wrestler-trainer William Muldoon conditioned him for the fight. Sullivan battled Kilrain under the intense Richburg, Mississippi, sun for 75 rounds before Kilrain's seconds conceded. Public interest intensified in September 1892, when Sullivan defended his heavyweight title against James J. Corbett in New Orleans, Louisiana. Sullivan, who had returned to binge drinking and excessive eating and had passed his prime, fared poorly. Corbett knocked him out in the 21st round with a right across the jaw.

The Sullivan-Corbett fight marked a pivotal turning point in boxing history. Major newspapers, locked in circulation wars, began openly supporting boxing. The bout was arranged in the offices of JOSEPH PULITZER's *New York World* rather than in a saloon or Fox's offices. The heavyweight championship fight was the first to be held indoors under electric lights, to use gloves, to employ the marquis of Queensberry rules, and to be sponsored by an athletic

club. Corbett brought greater respectability to boxing, having attended college, worked as a bank clerk, and learned boxing at an elite athletic club. Sullivan remained a celebrity after losing to Corbett, performing in vaudeville acts and giving temperance lectures.

Nevertheless, the fight game remained a working-class, ethnic sport shrouded by shady characters and illegal almost everywhere. Boxing continued as a chaotic, disorderly sport, lacking a national regulatory body or a rational system for determining champions. Fraudulent tactics, such as “carrying” an opponent, “taking a dive,” and “fixing records,” prevailed into the 20th century.

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—David L. Porter

**Brace, Charles Loring** (1826–1890) *social reformer*

Charles L. Brace, the Gilded Age’s outstanding champion of children in need, was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, on June 19, 1826, and grew up in Hartford. His father, the principal of the Female Seminary in Hartford, prepared him for college, and he entered Yale in 1842. Following graduation in 1846, Brace briefly taught school, then prepared for the ministry at Yale Divinity School and Union Theological Seminary in New York City. In 1849 he was ordained a Congregationalist minister. He was deeply religious, but his Christianity stressed actions not beliefs and was practical rather than theological. He stayed on in New York, spending a year (1849–50) ministering to the poor and degraded at the Five Points Mission and at the penitentiary, workhouse, and hospital on Blackwell’s Island (now Roosevelt Island). The appalling conditions and behavior he observed that year determined the course of his life.

On a “grand tour” abroad Brace combined relaxation with preparation for his life mission. In fall 1850 he embarked with FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED, who would become America’s leading landscape architect, and Olmsted’s brother John on a walking tour of England, Ireland, France, and the Rhineland. At Belfast, Ireland, they stayed at the home of the abolitionist Robert Neill. There, Brace was charmed by Neill’s daughter Letitia, whom he married in 1854. After the Olmsted brothers went home, Brace left for Hamburg and Berlin. In Germany, as he had in England, Brace investigated the innovations of social reformers, especially ways for young people to break the cycle of poverty, ignorance, immorality, and crime. He visited some

of the free “ragged schools” reformers had established to get destitute English and Irish children, who were in tatters, off city streets. (Letitia Neill taught in a ragged school and was as committed as Brace to rescuing young children.) Near Hamburg Brace visited a Rauhe Haus (Rough House), where vagrant children were placed in a school that approximated family life by organizing the boys and girls in groups of about 12, looked after by a theology student and a practical assistant. The goal was for children to experience a wholesome home life while learning useful trades and farming. In Germany Brace discovered The Friends in Need organization that placed vagrant city children in rural homes. Brace also visited Hungary, where he endured lice, fleas, and filth for a month when Austrian authorities jailed him as a revolutionary conspirator.

Brace returned to New York City in 1852 and plunged into social work and writing. In quick succession he wrote *Hungary in 1851* (1852), detailing his experience with the Austrian police, and *Home-Life in Germany* (1853), which idealized the warm informality of the German families in contrast with the stiff formality in American homes. Further service at the Five Points Mission convinced Brace that “to reform adults was well-nigh hopeless,” but his travels in England and Germany gave him hope that children could be salvaged. On January 9, 1853, Brace and several civic leaders founded the Children’s Aid Society (CAS), with Brace at its head. Serving as its executive secretary until his death in 1890, he was its leading spirit.

Brace was cut out for the job. He liked the street children, respected them for their independence (a trait he hoped to develop further), and believed that with care their potential for good could be realized. He realized that preaching morality was useless if the only option his listeners had to starvation was stealing or prostitution. To save the lives of “unhappy, deserted, and degraded boys and girls,” Brace emphasized that the best way to “cure . . . defects” in destitute children is an “entire change of circumstances.”

In keeping with Brace’s principles, the CAS established more than 20 industrial schools, a farm school, lodging houses (five for boys and one for girls), reading rooms, and a children’s summer home on Long Island. Brace also influenced the establishment and programs of Children’s Aid Societies in other cities. The housing reformer ALFRED TREDWAY WHITE in 1876 established in Brooklyn the Sea-Side Home on Coney Island, where slum children could receive medical treatment and nutritious food in a vacation atmosphere.

Brace’s most memorable and, in retrospect, controversial program was providing an “entire change of circumstances” by “placing out” poor city children in rural homes. From 1853 to the early 1930s the CAS sent approximately 105,000 children out of New York City on “orphan trains.” The transported children were usually teenagers, probably



a quarter of them had lost both parents, most of them were half-orphans, with their living parent unable or unwilling to support them, and perhaps 10 percent had run away or were abandoned by their parents. Most of these children were sent to rural areas in the Northeast and Midwest in groups of varying sizes, accompanied by a responsible CAS agent. No child was coerced by the CAS to go along, and although they were expected to work until they were 21 in the home or on the farm where they were placed, they were to be treated as family members. If things did not work out, the CAS found them a new home. In some instances things worked out very well; for example, future governors of Alaska and North Dakota rode the same orphan train to Indiana, and riders of other trains ultimately attended prestigious colleges. Analysis of fragmentary CAS records suggests that most orphan-train children grew up to become productive citizens. More than half of them remained with the families they were placed with until they were 21 (with one-fifth, for all practical purposes, being adopted). One-eighth of the children who rode orphan trains returned to New York (mostly to relatives), and a twentieth were jailed.

There was a downside to the CAS's placing-out system. Runaways who claimed to be orphans were taken at their word and shipped to remote points without verification of their status. The selection process at their destination was often humiliating. They were lined up for inspection, which sometimes involved probing questions, feeling muscles for strength, and even poking fingers into mouths. Brace realized that most of the children were taken into homes because their labor was needed, and he intended that doing a reasonable number of tasks would be a fair exchange for a home life. An unknown number of children were exploited, but Brace assumed that unless a specific complaint was made, the vast majority of placed-out children were taken into the wholesome bosom of caring families. Like all reformers, Brace exaggerated the evils he wished to eliminate and the healing effects of his panacea. He was prolific author, but his most famous book was undoubtedly *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work Among Them* (1872). To raise funds Brace and the CAS stressed the plight of their worst cases (with street kids embroidering their tales for the willing ears of CAS agents) and overstated the positive effects of the rural havens the CAS found for them.

Even if one discounts the horrendous tales of street children, their lives and the lives of children in orphan asylums were miserable compared to life with a farm family. In attempting to replace life on the streets or in institutions with life in the home, Brace anticipated the foster care system. Compared to the results of present-day hard-case adoptions, Brace's placing-out plan was reasonably successful. When he died on August 11, 1890, he was "the preeminent figure in American child welfare."

**Further reading:** Emma Brace, *The Life of Charles Loring Brace: Chiefly Told in His Own Letters* (1894, Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1976); Marilyn Irvin Holt, *The Orphan Trains: Placing Out in America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); Stephen O'Connor, *Orphan Trains: The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001).

### **Bradwell, Myra Colby** (1831–1894) *publisher*

Editor and publisher of the most influential legal journal west of the Alleghenies, Myra Colby Bradwell was born on February 12, 1831, in Manchester, Vermont, grew up in western New York, then moved with her family to Illinois. In 1852 she married James Bolesworth Bradwell; they had four children, two of whom survived to adulthood. At the time of their marriage, her husband was reading for the law, and Bradwell began to study the subject as well. They first lived in Memphis, Tennessee, where they both taught school before moving to Chicago in 1854. Her husband was admitted to the Illinois bar and became a successful lawyer; she worked for his firm, helping with research and writing. In 1861 her husband was elected county judge of Cook County.

In 1868 Bradwell founded the *Chicago Legal News*, the first weekly law journal published in the Midwest. Through her husband's influence, she received a special charter exempting her from the Illinois law that prevented married women from entering contracts, so she was able to run both the business and the editorial sides of her publication. At the same time the Bradwells set up a printing, binding, and publishing firm, Chicago Legal News Company, that printed stationery, legal forms, and briefs as well as publications.

*Legal News* was a resounding success, printing legal news of the entire country and covering local legal matters in depth. In her editorial columns, Bradwell attacked lawyers and judges for incompetence, evaluated legislation and court opinions, and kept a steady watch on the standards of the legal profession. These editorial columns were highly influential among lawyers in the Midwest. She pushed hard for legal and political equality for women and was instrumental in getting Illinois laws passed giving married women the right to their own earnings (1869), making women eligible to hold school offices (1873), giving women equal guardianship of children (1873), and making women eligible to become notaries public (1875).

In the Chicago Fire of 1871, the Bradwells lost all their possessions—except for the subscription book of the *Legal News*, which their 13-year-old daughter alertly grabbed. Three days later, Bradwell managed to publish the *Legal News* on schedule. Back issues saved by downstate lawyers were used to establish legal facts for which all other

evidence had disappeared, and the Bradwells successfully rebuilt their businesses.

In the meantime, Bradwell was conducting an ongoing battle to be admitted to the Illinois bar. In 1869 she passed the examination but was denied admission solely on the basis of her sex. She appealed the case, lost in the state Supreme Court, and took it to the U.S. SUPREME COURT. In 1873, in *Bradwell v. Illinois*, the Supreme Court upheld the Illinois decision. In 1872, however, before that decision was handed down, the Illinois legislature, prodded by Bradwell's case, passed a bill prohibiting the state from enforcing occupational exclusion on the basis of sex.

Bradwell was also active in the woman suffrage movement. She and her husband were involved in the founding of the American Woman Suffrage Association, and for many years she was on the executive committee of the Illinois Woman Suffrage Association. She continued to manage the *Legal News*—and through it to exercise a strong influence over the legal profession—until her death on February 14, 1894.

**Further reading:** Eve Cary and Kathleen Willert Peratis, *Women and the Law* (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Company, 1977).

—Lynn Hoogenboom

**Bradwell v. Illinois** See BRADWELL, MYRA COLBY.

## bridges

The construction of ever bolder bridges in the late 19th century demonstrated American engineering ingenuity and industrial capability while facilitating the commerce that sustained industrial expansion. A few large masonry bridges were built during this era, including the 23-arch-span “Great Stone Bridge” crossing the Mississippi at Minneapolis in 1883. Wooden covered bridges continued to be built in rural areas, but by and large the era demonstrates the triumph of the iron-and-steel bridge.

The Civil War era marked a change in bridge-building technology from the carpenter-craftsman to engineering mass prefabrication. The Fink through-truss bridge in 1858 was one of the first all-metal truss bridges in the United States, and by the 1870s a number of bridge companies were offering competing truss designs: The Wrought Iron Bridge Company of Canton, Ohio; the King Iron Bridge & Manufacturing Company of Cleveland; the Keystone Bridge Company of Pittsburgh (owned by ANDREW CARNEGIE) and the Phoenixville Bridge Works and Union Bridge Company, both of Pennsylvania; and the Berlin Iron Bridge Company of Connecticut were among the larger companies building railroad and highway bridges. They were

joined by a number of smaller firms offering their wares to local road commissioners. The companies would provide a bridge in “kit” form, with girders and components delivered in a package. The prevalence of the pin-connected “American Standard” bridge design, with tension and compression members joined by swivel pins, facilitated bridge erection by unskilled local labor. Unfortunately, they did not always get it right. In the 1870s and 1880s more than 200 iron bridges failed.

Early truss bridges used wrought iron for tension members and less expensive cast iron for compression beams. With production costs for wrought iron decreasing substantially in the 1870s, wrought iron could be used both for tension and compression members, and cast iron was gradually eliminated as a material in bridge construction. The BESSEMER PROCESS, first used practically in the United States in 1865, dramatically reduced the cost of steel production, and by the 1890s steel was generally replacing wrought iron. Because steel has superior strength compared with wrought iron, it was possible to design longer spans capable of carrying greater loads.

Steel gained an early advantage in the great river crossings, where its strength outweighed its greater cost. John Roebling (1806–69) had used wrought-iron wire in his early designs, including the surviving 1849 suspension-bridge canal aqueduct at Lackawaxen, Pennsylvania, and the 1,000-foot long Covington-Cincinnati suspension bridge in 1866. For his greatest design, the Brooklyn Bridge, he made a controversial recommendation of steel wire, but he died in 1869 from a bridge-related accident before the final decision was reached. His son, Washington Roebling (1837–1926), took over construction and made the decision in 1876 to use Bessemer steel wire for the great cables. Although suffering severely from caisson sickness (or the bends, a painful—even fatal—condition caused by gas bubbles in tissues after too rapid decompression from watertight chambers—caissons—used to dig the bridge's foundation in the East River), Roebling supervised construction from a distance until the bridge was finally opened in 1883.

Prior to the Brooklyn Bridge, steel had first been used extensively in the huge Eads Bridge spanning the Mississippi at St. Louis. JAMES BUCHANAN EADS designed it with three arch spans of 502, 520, and 502 feet, with the main arch members constructed of steel. Other great bridges, including the Poughkeepsie Bridge across the Hudson, were also of steel. The Poughkeepsie Bridge, with a series of truss spans carrying the track 212 feet above the water, was the longest steel bridge at 6,767 feet.

River navigation often requires a movable bridge. The standard design through much of this era was the swing truss. This design requires a central pivot, which narrows the available channel. In the 1890s, the swing truss was





Brooklyn Bridge, ca. 1896 (*Library of Congress*)

replaced by the rolling bascule design, first appearing in 1893 with the Van Buren Street bascule in Chicago.

By the end of the era, steel had replaced iron, and national corporations had replaced the proliferation of bridge companies that flourished after 1870. In 1900 Andrew Carnegie's Keystone Bridge Company and 25 others were consolidated into the American Bridge Company, soon to become part of the United States Steel Corporation.

**Further reading:** Eric DeLony, *Landmark American Bridges* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993); David Plowden, *Bridges: The Spans of North America* (New York: Viking Press, 1974).

—Francis H. Parker

### **Bright Eyes (Inshtatheamba; Susette La Flesche)**

(1854–1903) *Indian reform activist, lecturer, writer, artist*

A stirring advocate of Indian rights who helped stop the removal of NATIVE AMERICANS to Indian Territory, Bright Eyes, an Omaha, was born on her people's reservation in Nebraska. Her father, Chief Iron Eye (Inchtamaza or Joseph La Flesche), valued education for his children and sent Bright Eyes to the Presbyterian mission school on the reservation. Impressing her teachers, Bright Eyes was awarded a scholarship to Elizabeth Institute in New Jersey to complete her education. After her graduation she returned to her reservation and found that whites had all the teaching jobs. When she protested, she was offered a job in Indian Territory, which Two Crows, her

adopted uncle who was like a second father, would not allow her to accept because of the numerous deaths there from malaria. Two years later, after pointing out in a letter to Washington a neglected provision that stated that a qualified Indian was to be preferred for any Indian service position, she finally became an assistant teacher on her reservation. She got half the pay that white teachers received.

A group of Ponca chiefs, returning from a scouting trip to Indian Territory, stopped briefly with the Omaha, with whom they were closely related. Bright Eyes recognized a kindred spirit in Standing Bear's son, who was accompanying his father. Later, when the Omaha heard that, despite the scouts' negative report, the Ponca had been torn from their ancestral lands and were en route to Indian Territory, Bright Eyes, her father, and eight or 10 other Omaha rushed to catch up with them to offer comfort and bid them good-bye.

Two years later Standing Bear appeared, carrying the body of his son, Bright Eye's kindred spirit. Determined to fulfill his dying wish, to be buried with his ancestors, Standing Bear, his wife, nine men, and 21 women and children traveled 500 miles in 10 weeks in the dead of winter. While they were resting with the Omaha, U.S. troops seized them for having left Indian Territory and jailed them in Fort Omaha. Believing his orders were unjust, General George Crook, the commander in charge, urged Thomas Henry Tibbles, assistant editor of the *Omaha Herald*, to initiate a lawsuit to stay his orders. Tibbles, who took up the Ponca's cause, was also a reformer and a Methodist minister. After alerting big city papers of the Indians' arrest, he brought a writ of habeas corpus for their release. Bright Eyes

answered the letter Tibbles wrote to the Ponca for information and with her father and brother went to Omaha, where they gave more information for the trial before attending it. Presiding over *Standing Bear v. George Crook*, which would become one of the nation's important civil rights cases, was Judge Elmer S. Dundy. He determined that "an Indian is a person within the laws of the United States" and that the government had no right to remove him to Indian Territory.

Having won their first legal battle, Tibbles and the committee formed to help him planned for battles to come. They sent Bright Eyes and her father on a fact-finding visit to the Ponca in Indian Territory. Then Tibbles went east, raising money and securing friends for the fight ahead. When the Episcopal bishop in Omaha persuaded Bright Eyes to speak at an Indian reform rally in his church, she was eloquent and persuasive, despite her innate shyness. Tibbles and the committee asked 25-year-old Bright Eyes to be part of a second eastern tour featuring Standing Bear. On this trip she was accompanied by her 19-year-old brother Francis La Flesche.

Quickly becoming a crusade against the removal of Native Americans from their ancestral lands, their tour drew enormous crowds. They stopped in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore before reaching Washington, D.C. There they visited and spoke at the Hayes White House and testified before a Senate committee. Everyone wanted to hear Bright Eyes, so exceptions were made for her at a time when women were seldom allowed to speak in churches or in public gatherings. In Boston she was the first woman to speak in Faneuil Hall and the only woman present when she addressed an audience of 500 at the Board of Trade. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow thought of her as Minnehaha in his poem "Hiawatha" and declared he would give all he possessed to speak the English language with her "simplicity, fluency, and force." Others who became active Indian reformers after hearing her lecture included orator Wendell Phillips, poet Oliver Wendell Holmes, writer HELEN HUNT JACKSON, anthropologist Alice C. Fletcher, and Senator Henry L. Dawes, who fathered the DAWES SEVERALTY ACT.

In 1881 Bright Eyes married Tibbles, whose wife had died two years earlier. She found being a stepmother to his two daughters and living in two worlds difficult. That same year her book, *Ploughed Under, the Story of an Indian Chief*, came out, illuminating the problems Native Americans had living in a changing world. She also presented a paper to the Association for the Advancement of Women, called "The Position, Occupation and Culture of Indian Women." She illustrated Fannie Reed Giffen's *Oo-Mah-Ha Ta-Wa-Tha* and contributed numerous illustrated stories to magazines.

During most of the 1880s Bright Eyes and Tibbles continued their lectures, assisting in the passage of the 1887 Dawes Act, which gave individual American Indians allotments of reservation land and citizen rights. In 1886 they lectured for 10 months in England and Scotland, where to her chagrin she was called an "Indian Princess." Back in the United States they lived briefly in Washington, D.C.; five years in Lincoln, Nebraska; and also in Omaha. They built a small house on Bright Eyes's reservation allotment and did some farming. When Tibbles returned to newspaper work, Bright Eyes sometimes worked with him. They were covering the Ghost Dance in 1890 when it turned into the Battle of Wounded Knee (SIOUX WARS), with soldiers gunning down everyone in sight, including women and children. Tibbles managed to get out the first report of the battle, and Bright Eyes spent the night helping wounded women and children. Tibbles later became very active in the Populist Party and was named its vice presidential candidate in 1904.

Although Bright Eyes's father, Joseph, who died in 1888, was fond of Tibbles, many Omaha resented him when he took sides in their controversies. They seemed to forget that he and Bright Eyes had started the Indian reform movement that kept them and other Native Americans from being removed to Indian Territory. When she was back on the reservation, Bright Eyes thought that Tibbles should have more respect and could not keep from envying her siblings, who had more influence on the reservation than she and Tibbles. Her sister Susan, the first Native American woman to become a medical doctor, had a hospital on the reservation; Marguerete taught school there; and Rosalie, even with seven children, successfully ran the reservation's common grazing area. Her brother Francis, like Alice C. Fletcher, with whom he worked, became a noted anthropologist, tracing the roots and recording the customs of Omaha and other Indians.

Aware of the divided world Bright Eyes had inhabited, Tibbles sat in a nearby room while her family surrounded her on May 26, 1903, the night she died, in their house on the reservation. It was his turn the night before her funeral. He asked a close friend, John G. Neihardt, who would become the poet laureate of Nebraska, to sit up with him. That night Tibbles relived his years with Bright Eyes and said repeatedly to Neihardt, "Look at her. My Bright Eyes. Isn't she beautiful."

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—Olive Hoogenboom

**Brooks, Phillips** (1835–1893) *Episcopal minister, bishop*

A superb preacher and an Episcopalian minister renowned for his sermons, Phillips Brooks was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on December 13, 1835. He excelled at Boston Latin School and Harvard College, from which he graduated in 1855. He then taught Latin at Boston Latin School, where he was a poor disciplinarian and was mortified when he was fired. From 1856 to 1859 he attended the Virginia Theological Seminary in Alexandria, from which he received his bachelor of divinity degree. There he read widely everything from the church fathers to literary classics. Theological fine points did not intrigue him, since he believed they were not the key to salvation. His emphasis was on faith and the grace of God and on how to communicate them in sermons.

Ordained in 1859, Brooks served in Philadelphia as rector of the Church of the Advent (1859–62) and then Holy Trinity (1862–69). He was an instant success. He liked people of all ages and conditions and was an excellent pastor, giving freely of his time to counsel and encourage those in need. His eloquent sermons, lasting only 30 minutes, were clear, precise, purposeful, and persuasive. They were not doctrinal but aimed at transforming individuals and inspiring them to emulate Jesus of Nazareth. Apart from abolition and temperance, he was not a social reformer. He disliked the controversy of ritualistic-liturgical-minded Anglo-Catholics versus broad-minded, evangelical Protestants, which was wracking the Episcopal Church. He did not wish to be labeled but privately admitted to being a “Broad Churchman.” His fear was that the “High Church” stress on symbols would impede the free flow of religion and that means would replace ends and prove suicidal for the church. Brooks’s approach was popular, and his churches grew.

Brooks soon attracted attention outside Philadelphia. In his well-publicized April 23, 1865, sermon on “The Life and Death of Lincoln,” he blamed the president’s murder on the sin of slavery. Three months later his short prayer at the Harvard Commemoration of its Civil War dead proved for CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT, Harvard’s future president, to be “the most impressive utterance” of the day. Experiencing Christmas Eve in the Holy Land inspired Brooks, who often wrote poetry for his own pleasure, to write the familiar carol “O Little Town of Bethlehem,” published in 1868. Its plea to Christ to “Cast out our sin and enter in; Be born in us today” was a recurring theme in his sermons.

In October 1869 Brooks moved to Trinity Church in Boston. He was attracted to and challenged by his new position as Boston was his hometown, and the Episcopal Church had made little impact on New England or his alma mater Harvard. He met these challenges successfully, using the approaches he had honed in Philadelphia, and

his swelling congregation outgrew its building. It acquired a new site on Copley Square and by 1871 had selected HENRY HOBSON RICHARDSON to plan a new church. The need for a new building became acute when the great Boston fire of November 1872 destroyed Trinity Church. It was proof of Brooks’s power as a preacher and his care as a minister that his congregation expanded while occupying temporary quarters. The new Trinity Church, Richardson’s masterpiece, was consecrated on February 9, 1877. Brooks had played a major role in its successful completion by mediating between the church’s building committee and its architect. His cousin HENRY ADAMS centered his novel *Esther* (1884), a roman à clef, on the construction of Trinity Church; its rector, Stephen Hazard, is obviously Brooks; and Esther possibly was the young woman Brooks loved but never proposed to, perhaps because of his commitment to his church.

Brooks worked constantly. He published 10 volumes of sermons, counseled young ministers, and lectured on preaching at Yale and on Jesus in Philadelphia. Brooks traveled and read widely for relaxation and to broaden himself. He was familiar with the evidence compiled by the advocates of EVOLUTION, and rather than perceiving conflict between science and religion, he believed that the findings of scientists confirmed the Christian faith. Conservatives feared his heterodoxy, but religious scientists and liberal Christians trusted Brooks. In 1891 he was elected bishop of Massachusetts over the vehement opposition of conservative, High Church Anglo-Catholics. They objected to his Broad Church ideas and his participation with non-Episcopalians in marriages, ordinations, and other services. His tenure as bishop was short. He died on January 23, 1893, apparently from diphtheria.

**Further reading:** Raymond W. Albright, *Focus on Infinity: A Life of Phillips Brooks* (New York: Macmillan, 1961).

**Brown, Olympia** (1835–1926) *women’s rights activist, minister*

Olympia Brown, a minister and a suffragist, was born in Prairie Ronde, Michigan, on January 5, 1835, and grew up on a farm. Her parents were Universalists and valued education sufficiently to send Brown to Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary in Massachusetts in 1854, but she felt stifled by its religious orthodoxy and left after one year. In 1856 she went to Antioch College in Ohio and graduated in 1860. While there, she heard ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL, a Congregational minister, preach and resolved to become a minister, but it was difficult to gain admission into a divinity school. After several rejections Brown was admitted in 1861 into the Canton School of Theology at St. Lawrence University in New York. Despite encounter-



ing prejudice, she graduated in June 1863, and later that month—after some controversy—was ordained by the Northern Universalist Association. While Blackwell had the distinction of being the first American woman minister ordained by a congregation (1853), Olympia Brown was the first to be ordained by a denomination. Small in stature but large in voice, she was an excellent speaker and preached in several Vermont churches before she was installed in 1864 as the minister of the Weymouth, Massachusetts, Universalist Church.

Brown had been an advocate of WOMEN'S RIGHTS since she was a child, and her parents received—and she read—the weekly edition of Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*. In 1866, at the invitation of SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Brown attended a woman suffrage meeting in New York City; met Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and LUCY STONE, and joined them as charter members of the American Equal Rights Association. The following year Brown spoke in New York State for woman suffrage and, at the behest of Stone and her husband Henry Blackwell, journeyed to Kansas, where from July to October she gave over 200 speeches in support of a suffrage amendment to its constitution. In 1868 Brown organized the meeting in Boston that established the New England Woman Suffrage Association. Differing in tactics, suffragists in 1869 split into two organizations: Anthony's more confrontational National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), which was incensed by the exclusion of women from the Fifteenth Amendment (extending the vote to black males, whom, she believed, in some cases, to be less qualified) and advocated immediate redress; and Stone's more patient American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), which was unwilling to destroy the prewar abolitionist-women's rights alliance and concentrated its efforts on state and local levels. Brown, although friendly with the AWSA, leaned toward the militant NWSA.

In 1870 Brown accepted a call to be minister of the Bridgeport, Connecticut, Universalist Church. There she met and married in 1873 John Henry Willis, a businessman, and following the example of Lucy Stone, she retained her maiden name. They had two children. Her family, which had been most supportive in her ministerial and reform endeavors, was concerned that marriage might harm her career, but Willis proved to be a helpful mate. In 1878 the family moved to Racine, Wisconsin. In 1887 she gave up her pastoral work and devoted her energies to the cause of woman suffrage.

In 1884 Brown became a vice president of the NWSA and, the same year, was elected president of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association (WWSA), serving until 1912. Broadly interpreting the Wisconsin law as allowing women to vote in elections "pertaining to school matters," Brown in 1887—in the aggressive spirit of the NWSA—

tried to vote in a Racine election but was refused, took her case to court, lost, and ran up a considerable debt for the WWSA. After the NWSA and the AWSA united to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890, Brown objected to its emphasis on state campaigns and in 1892 formed the Federal Suffrage Association, but its influence was minimal. In 1912 younger suffragists in Wisconsin, having formed the Political Equality League, eclipsed and then merged with the WWSA. Brown disapproved and resigned her presidency of the WWSA. The following year, however, she was elected to the advisory board of Alice Paul and Lucy Burns's Congressional Union, which later became the National Women's Party. In 1920, thanks to the Nineteenth Amendment for which she had fought so long, Brown finally voted in her first election. She died in Baltimore on October 23, 1926.

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**Bryan, William Jennings** (1860–1925) *politician, orator*

William Jennings Bryan, Democratic presidential candidate and secretary of state, was born on March 19, 1860, in Salem, Illinois, the son of Silas Bryan and Mariah Elizabeth Jennings. An 1881 graduate of Illinois College in Jacksonville, Illinois, Bryan also spent two years at Union College of Law in Chicago, graduating in 1883. From 1883 to 1887 he practiced law in Jacksonville. Bryan married Mary Baird in 1884, with whom he had three children.

In 1887 Bryan moved to Nebraska in search of new career opportunities. He rose rapidly in the local DEMOCRATIC PARTY ranks and in 1890 was nominated for the U.S. House of Representatives in a normally Republican district that included Lincoln and Omaha. Although Bryan's main focus throughout the campaign was the TARIFF ISSUE, he also took advantage of Nebraska's newly created PEOPLE'S PARTY (Populist Party) by endorsing some of its proposals, such as the direct election of U.S. senators and BIMETALLISM, and won the election by 6,713 votes.

In Congress, Bryan gained national attention by advocating a federal income tax and strongly opposing repeal of the 1890 Sherman Silver Purchase Act. His relentless criticism of President GROVER CLEVELAND over his demand for its repeal pushed Bryan to the forefront of the FREE SILVER MOVEMENT. Free Silver advocates sought to achieve an inflated currency through the unlimited coinage of silver. It was a hotly contested issue in late-19th-century America, and Bryan rode it to political stardom.





William Jennings Bryan (Library of Congress)

When the 1896 Democratic National Convention met in Chicago, Free Silver advocates were firmly in control. Bryan attended the convention as a member of the Nebraska delegation. He served on the platform committee and was chosen by its members to address the convention on the Free Silver issue. Bryan captivated his audience by stating: "Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." The "cross of gold" speech won Bryan the Democratic presidential nomination on the fifth ballot. In the 1896 presidential election, Bryan faced the Republican candidate WILLIAM MCKINLEY of Ohio. McKinley ran on a platform that endorsed the gold standard and a high protective tariff. Bryan's nomination and the Democratic Party's adoption of Free Silver created a dilemma for the Populists. If they supported Bryan, they could possibly lose their identity as a party, but if they nominated their own candidate, they would split the protest vote and elect McKinley. The Populists decided to

support Bryan but nominated one of their own, Thomas E. Watson, for vice president. McKinley defeated Bryan by 7,104,779 to 6,502,925 popular votes and collected 271 electoral votes to Bryan's 176. Nearly 80 percent of the eligible electorate voted in one of the highest turnouts in American history.

During the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR (1898), the governor of Nebraska named Bryan colonel of the Third Nebraska Volunteer Regiment. However, the regiment did not serve outside the United States. In December 1898 the Treaty of Paris, which formally ended the war, required Spain to cede the Philippine Islands to the United States in return for \$20 million. Although a staunch anti-imperialist, Bryan surprisingly urged the Senate to ratify the treaty. Bryan had opposed annexation but defended his position by arguing that to reject the treaty would leave the United States technically still at war with Spain and the fate of the Philippines undetermined. He argued that it was better to accept the islands and then grant them independence. His opponents charged that Bryan supported ratification only because he hoped to make the issue the subject of a national referendum in the presidential election of 1900, when he expected to be the Democratic candidate once again. The Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris on February 6, 1899, and Bryan was renominated in 1900.

The Republicans also renominated President McKinley in 1900. The Republicans focused on the nation's prosperity, arguing that it had resulted from the gold standard and the protectionist Dingley Tariff of 1897. Bryan campaigned on a platform that condemned IMPERIALISM and again called for Free Silver. President McKinley won 7.2 million votes to Bryan's 6.4 million and captured 292 electoral votes to Bryan's 155. The election demonstrated that Bryan was less popular in 1900 than he was in 1896, and it failed to revive the silver issue or to condemn imperialism.

Nevertheless, Bryan remained a progressive force in the Democratic Party. He favored a strong national government to regulate big business, advocated woman suffrage, and supported prohibition. Although strongly supported by organized labor, Bryan in 1908 was again defeated for the presidency, but in 1913 he became Woodrow Wilson's secretary of state. After trying to pursue an even-handed policy of neutrality during World War I, he resigned in 1915, since Wilson tilted in favor of the Allies. Bryan did, however, favor American entry into the League of Nations. He was also a fundamentalist Christian opponent of EVOLUTION and, just prior to his death on July 26, 1925, helped convict John Scopes, who had defied Tennessee law by teaching evolution.

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(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964–69); Michael Kazin, *A Godly Hero: The Life of William Jennings Bryan* (New York: Knopf, 2006).

—Phillip Papas

**Bryce, James, first viscount Bryce** (1838–1922)  
*scholar, British ambassador*

James Bryce, a keen observer of American democracy in the Gilded Age, was born in Belfast, Ireland, on May 10, 1838, the eldest of five children of James Bryce, a Scots Presbyterian schoolmaster, and Margaret Young. He was educated at the University of Glasgow and at Oxford, where in 1863 he won the Arnold Historical Essay Prize for “The Holy Roman Empire,” which he enlarged and published in book form the following year. Bryce was admitted to the bar in 1867 and served as Regis professor of civil law at Oxford from 1870 to 1893, as a Liberal member of the House of Commons from 1880 to 1907, and as the British ambassador to the United States from 1907 to 1913. Before taking that post he had made four trips to America between 1870 and 1890. On his visits Bryce discussed several topics with many of the leading political, educational, and literary figures of America. Perhaps the most influential of these sources was EDWIN L. GODKIN, editor of the *NATION*. Informed by travels and conversations, Bryce wrote *The American Commonwealth* (1888), which ranks with Alexis de Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America* (1835) for its perceptive analysis of American political institutions.

In *The American Commonwealth*, Bryce gave his readers a keen yet sympathetic insight into American life, expressing his admiration for the American people and their government. He believed America’s uniqueness stemmed from the soundness of its founding principles. Bryce was especially intrigued by the American ideal of equality in economic and educational opportunities and by the formation of political decisions that respected both majority rule and minority rights. He discussed the roles played by political parties and public opinion in American politics. Although he found much to admire in America, Bryce criticized the rapid growth of cities and their lack of individuality. He was also critical of the American political system’s inability to formulate new approaches to solve the nation’s growing social problems; the lack of a legal basis for American political parties; the role of urban political machines; the American drive toward material success; the concentration of power in the central government; the American penchant for exploiting the nation’s natural resources; and the relative weakness of state and local governments.

Bryce retired as ambassador to the United States in April 1913. Elevated to the British peerage as a viscount in 1914, Bryce later that year was appointed to the International Court of Justice at The Hague. During the First

World War, Bryce presided over a British commission investigating alleged German atrocities in Belgium and France. After the war, Bryce advocated the creation of the League of Nations. He died in Sidmouth, Devon, England, on January 22, 1922.

**Further reading:** Edmund Ions, *James Bryce and American Democracy, 1870–1922* (New York: Humanities Press, 1970).

—Phillip Papas

## buffalo, extermination of

Although the buffalo stocks are safe now, the species was once considered all but extinct. The extermination of the buffalo occurred throughout the course of the 19th century, culminating in 10 to 15 years of intense slaughter when the animal was nearly hunted to extinction.

Buffalo, or, properly, the American bison (*buffalo* is the accurate name of African and Asian varieties of the species), were plentiful in North America due to several centuries of climatic change that increased the buffalo’s numbers and expanded the area that it inhabited. Historians estimate that there were once 25 million of the animals in North America. For the Plains Indians, especially the Sioux, who utilized all parts of the animal, the buffalo was sacred. Native Americans eventually traded the animal’s robe, which consisted of a buffalo’s hair attached to its hide, with early European settlers.

By the 1840s drought, overgrazing, and complications from the introduction of horses and cattle (including imported diseases) to the region began threatening native buffalo herds. A particularly devastating drought in 1867 killed many buffalo. Horses not only made hunting the animal easier but also competed with buffalo for grazing lands. The removal to the West during the 1840s of Indians who hunted the animal in the western fringes of its habitat also contributed slightly to diminished numbers there.

By 1870 there were still several million buffalo in North America. The animal became particularly threatened after new railroad service in the plains facilitated moving the meat to far-off markets and built demand for the animal. Further encroachment by white settlers continued to transform western lands into cattle farms, which diminished grazing areas for the buffalo. White settlers also hunted the animal for its meat, tongue, and robe, but since the robe was the main prize, hunters were forced to wait until winter when the robes were especially thick, which helped to replenish stocks. In 1870, however, tanners discovered that buffalo hides were useful, and hunters began shooting the animal for its hide all year, which also contributed to the animal’s quick disappearance. By 1872 more than 500,000 had been killed for only their hides.

By 1880 all the wild buffalo in the southern plains had been killed. The SIOUX WARS (1876–77) delayed extinction in the northern plains, but by 1879 the species was extinct in Wyoming and eastern Nebraska. The last buffalo were killed in Montana and the Dakotas in 1883.

The extermination of the buffalo destroyed the culture and economy of the Plains Indians, forcing them to settle and to turn to agriculture. Recognizing this fact, the U.S. Army encouraged the slaughter of buffalo, whose near extinction was a significant factor in subduing the Plains Indians.

**Further reading:** William T. Hornaday, *The Extinction of the American Bison* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889); Mari Sandoz, *The Buffalo Hunters* (New York: Hastings House, 1954).

—Scott Sendrow

### Buffalo Soldiers

After Union soldiers defeated the Confederate army in the Civil War (1861–65), troops were moved to the West to subdue hostile Native American tribes and clear the way for further western settlement. Most of the more than 2 million Union soldiers during the Civil War were volunteers, and of these, 178,000 were African-American. Faced with a severely understaffed regular army of just 16,000 soldiers and nearly 200,000 NATIVE AMERICANS spread out over an area of 1 million square miles, the U.S. Army continued to enlist African Americans who became known as Buffalo Soldiers. They formed the all-black 9th and 10th Cavalries and the 38th, 39th, 40th, and 41st Infantries. They were called Buffalo Soldiers by Native American warriors who encountered the 9th and 10th Cavalries in Texas in 1867. In 1869 the infantry units were combined into the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments and assigned to the Texas frontier. There they escorted trains and stagecoaches, built roads and telegraph lines, and guarded water sources and supply lines.

The African-American soldiers earned praise for their discipline and high morale. At the same time, they were hampered by racism within the military and larger society. High-ranking politicians and officers, among them General William T. Sherman, retained prejudices regarding African Americans that ensured that their work would be difficult and underappreciated. Black soldiers also faced discrimination in the communities in which they served, despite the fact that they were protecting civilians. Nevertheless, the use of black soldiers during this period was an important first step on the long road to normalizing race relations in the United States. Throughout their service, desertion rates and numbers of court-martials remained lower than those for white regiments. While in military service, many former

slaves were educated by army chaplains, a vital component in their transition to civilian life.

In 1880, after Texas was deemed relatively safe, the 24th Infantry was transferred to Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) and the 25th was moved to the Department of Dakota, serving there and in Montana until the end of the Indian Wars in 1891. A group of African-American soldiers guarded the famous Sioux war chief SITTING BULL when he was imprisoned after surrendering to the army in 1881. In 1888 the 24th was moved to Arizona, where it served until it secured the region. The history of the Buffalo Soldiers was largely forgotten until the 20th century, when historians and African Americans rediscovered the troops, who now are remembered with admiration and pride.

**Further reading:** Arlen L. Fowler, *The Black Infantry in the West, 1869–1891* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971).

—Scott Sendrow

### Burnham, Daniel Hudson (1846–1912) *architect, urban planner*

Designer of the first SKYSCRAPER and construction chief of the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION (1893), Daniel H. Burnham was born on September 4, 1846, in Henderson, New York. In 1855 his family moved to Chicago, where his father prospered as a wholesale druggist. In school Burnham preferred to draw rather than to study, and, despite intensive tutoring, he failed the entrance examinations of both Harvard and Yale. Bypassing college, he worked briefly as a sales clerk and then as a draftsman in an architect's firm, before spending two frustrating years (1869–70) prospecting for silver and seeking elected office in Nevada. After those experiences Burnham resolved to return to Chicago and become an architect.

Burnham's timing was perfect. The devastating Chicago fire of October 8–9, 1871, destroyed 17,000 buildings and necessitated a vast rebuilding program. After resuming his work as a draftsman, he landed a job with Carter, Drake and Wight in 1872. Peter Wight became Burnham's mentor and disciplined his roving disposition. More important, a fellow draftsman in Wight's office, John Wellborn Root, became his friend and in 1873 his partner in the firm of Burnham and Root.

The panic of 1873 temporarily stopped the building boom, cancelling commissions, and Burnham and Root had difficulty scraping together the \$20 rent for their office. Their luck changed the next year, when their designs for a mansion delighted John B. Sherman, the Chicago stockyards magnate, his wife, and his daughter Margaret, whom Burnham married in 1876. Other commissions from Chicago's social and economic elite followed.





Main Hall of Union Station, Washington, D.C., designed by Daniel Hudson Burnham (*Wikipedia*)

Burnham and Root were a team. Root was shy, retiring, and hesitant, while Burnham was a gregarious, aggressive, architectural entrepreneur, who handled the firm's public relations and secured commissions. He excelled at laying out an overall plan and would jump-start Root, whose imagination created the ultimate artistic form and gave the building its architectural personality. The more practical Burnham had excellent judgment and taste, and his suggestions, which were usually accepted, reined in Root's exuberance.

Burnham and Root's early buildings reflected older architectural traditions, but in the 1880s they were "founders and creators" of a new architectural movement, the rise of the skyscraper. Increasing land values, the development of elevators, and the use of cast iron and, later, of steel for structures created a demand and made a response possible. In 1882 Burnham and Root's revolutionary 10-story Montauk Building was the first to be called a "skyscraper." To provide stability in Chicago's soggy soil, Burnham and Root invented the "floating raft" foundation of reinforced concrete, and they fireproofed the Montauk's cast-iron columns by encasing them in masonry. At the behest of the owner, the Montauk anticipated the Chicago school of architecture, making ornamentation subordinate to usefulness. The austerity delighted Burnham, but not Root.

Other breakthrough buildings followed. Their 10-story Rand McNally Building (1888–90) was the first skyscraper with an exterior masonry curtain, completely supported by a steel skeleton. Their Masonic Temple (1890–92) was at the time the tallest building in the world. Their masterpiece was the grandly austere Monadnock Building (1889–92). Their fellow architect LOUIS H. SULLIVAN called it "an amazing cliff of brickwork . . . with a subtlety of line and surface, a direct singleness of purpose."

When Root died suddenly in 1891, Burnham's work became less original and more uneven, but more renowned. His fame rests primarily on his leadership as director of public works of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. This world's fair boasted spectacular technological and artistic attractions, but its "White City," which owed more to Burnham than to anyone else, was a sensation. While Charles Follen McKim was more responsible for its predominantly neoclassical architecture, it was Burnham who primarily achieved the White City's social and aesthetic unity. One critic declared it unequaled "since the Rome of the Emperors stood intact." To the dismay of other critics the White City spawned neoclassical buildings for decades, but it also gave millions of visitors a glimpse of what their cities could be. Burnham's role in achieving the White City's harmony made him America's preeminent city planner and the leader of the "City Beautiful" movement.

After the fair Burnham, with new associates, continued to do commercial buildings. His Reliance Building (1894), with Charles Atwood, caught a glimpse of the future with its breathtaking use of glass hung on a steel skeleton. Burnham's most famous, and for years the tallest building in the world, was New York's triangular, slender, elegant Fuller (Flatiron) Building (1903), which he designed with Frederick P. Dinkelberg. While Burnham produced other gems, for the most part he gave his commercial clients the utilitarian, uninspired structures they wanted.

By 1901 Burnham became more involved in urban planning, after his appointment as chair of a commission that included McKim and the sculptor AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS to plan the development of Washington, D.C. The commission decided to follow as much of the Pierre Charles L'Enfant 1792 plan as possible. Its major concern was to restore the Mall, which had been broken up between the Capitol and the Washington Monument by railroad tracks and freight and passenger depots, owned by the Pennsylvania Railroad. Fortunately, its president, Alexander Cassatt, brother of the painter MARY CASSATT, had already commissioned Burnham to design a new station on the Mall. Using his persuasive powers, Burnham convinced Cassatt to build north of the Capitol, rather than on the Mall. Reflecting Burnham's love of bold visions and big plans, the commission's recommendations, which in time were realized, envisioned a cleared Mall extending from



the Capitol to the Potomac River, with a Lincoln Memorial at its end. Burnham's neoclassical Union Station (1903–07), facing a plaza leading to the Capitol, formed an integral part of plans for the Mall and was a magnificent gateway to a monumental city.

In the last decade of his life Burnham was the most conspicuous architect in the City Beautiful movement. He planned improvements for Cleveland (1903), San Francisco (1905), and Manila (1905) in the Philippines. Most appropriately, after he spent years promoting ideas to make Chicago more attractive, the Merchants' and Commercial Clubs united to support Burnham's elaborate Chicago Plan, which outlined the city's 20th-century development. It called for thousands of acres of parks on the outskirts, beautification of the lakeshore, widening streets into thoroughfares, and building parkways, playgrounds, and recreational piers out into the lake.

For his public work in Washington, Chicago, and other cities, Burnham accepted no compensation. His clients were the people, not politicians or businessmen, and he was free to do his best for the public. On June 1, 1912, while touring Europe for the seventh time, Burnham died in Heidelberg, Germany.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE; CITIES AND URBAN LIFE.

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## business and government

Laissez-faire—nonintervention by government in economic affairs—is an untried panacea. The late 19th century, the Gilded Age, in the United States, is widely regarded as a period of laissez-faire; indeed much lip service was paid to that concept, but government was far from quiescent at that time. Initially, much of the intervention in economic matters benefited substantial business interests, but by the late 1880s the demand for government regulation of RAILROADS and TRUSTS became irresistible.

The post-Civil War industrial expansion was accelerated by government aid to business. The most conspicuous form of governmental intervention in the economy was in protective tariff legislation. Prior to the Civil War the United States was on the road to free trade, with rates of approximately 20 percent, but the 1860 Republican Party platform called for a protective tariff, and the secession of southern states enabled Congress to pass the Morrill Tariff in 1861 and subsequent revisions from 1862 to 1869 that raised rates to 47 percent. In the 1870s and 1880s the tariff was reduced slightly, but the protective feature was retained. The McKinley Tariff of 1890 raised rates to 49.5

percent and provided the flexibility of reciprocity to either raise or lower rates to secure favorable trading agreements with other nations. The Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894 was a hodgepodge that lowered rates, but in 1897 the Dingley Tariff jacked rates up to 57 percent, where they remained until lowered to 38 percent in 1909 by the Payne-Aldrich Tariff. The protective tariff was a substantial subsidy levied by the federal government on American consumers for the benefit of American business. The tariff effectively excluded foreign manufacturers from the enormous and rapidly expanding American market.

The federal government in the post-Civil War era also disposed of much of the vast national domain in order to develop the West rapidly. This largesse primarily benefited business interests. Mineral and timberlands were sold at ridiculously low prices. In 1873 Congress approved the sale of land rich in iron ore deposits for \$1.25 an acre, and its Timber and Stone Act of 1878 allowed for the sale of timberland at \$2.50 an acre. Transcontinental railroads were by far the greatest beneficiaries of federal largesse. Although railroads forfeited some acreage by failing to fulfill requirements, they were given approximately 130 million acres of the national domain. In addition, states gave railroads about 49 million acres of state lands. These land grants were justified because the roads were to be built through territory sparsely populated by Native Americans and not likely to produce any freight until settled by whites. As a result, the land-grant railroads became agents of colonization. Although Congress called a halt to land grants in 1871, railroads benefited from them into the 20th century. Just how necessary the grants were has been questioned because, without a land grant, JAMES J. HILL built the Great Northern Railway to the Pacific by 1893 on the profits of settlements he developed along his right of way. Yet if the building of the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific had been delayed until the regions through which they ran matured, the first continental railroad may not have been completed until the 1890s.

The federal government did not as a rule give outright cash subsidies to industries from its treasury. The tariffs subsidized industry out of the pockets of consumers, and the federal government gave railroads land, not cash. It did advance money to the Union Pacific and Central Pacific, but those loans were paid back in the 1890s. The federal government did, however, subsidize the ailing American merchant marine with generous mail contracts for steamship lines connecting the United States with South America, Japan, and China via Hawaii. In addition, the Merchant Marine Act of 1891 gave a small per-mile bounty (66⅔ cents to \$4.00, depending on the size of the vessel) on outward bound voyages. These subsidies did little to arrest the decline of the once proud American merchant marine.

The federal government also regulated—albeit not harshly—as well as subsidized industry. A NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM had been created during the Civil War that gave the federal government some control over the banking system and did provide more financial stability. Banks could issue banknotes secured by government bonds deposited with the comptroller of the currency, and a death tax of 10 percent on state banknotes eliminated them from circulation. National banks, however, served the monetary needs of the Northeast better than those of the South and West, where there were not enough banknotes available. The reserve requirements of the national banks also enabled a few great New York banks to centralize the system. Decentralization and greater federal control would come with the Federal Reserve System in 1913.

Since railroads were monopolies in most rural areas and competitive where they converged in urban areas, they charged less where they encountered competition and more where shippers had no alternative transportation. Railroads also would offer large-volume shippers rebates while requiring shippers of small amounts to pay the published rate. Freight-rate discrimination angered farmers, small business owners, and communities because it diminished their profits and even threatened their survival. In the late 1860s and the 1870s the Grangers advocated RAILROAD REGULATION and secured legislation creating tough commissions to set nondiscriminatory rates. The SUPREME COURT in *Munn v. Illinois* (1877) upheld state regulation of railroads even if they were engaged in interstate commerce. In 1886 the Court reversed itself in *Wabash v. Illinois*, declaring that the regulation of interstate commerce is the responsibility of Congress. In 1887 Congress responded with the Interstate Commerce Act (ICA), which prohibited rebates, the long-and-short-haul abuse; called for “reasonable and just” rates; outlawed pools of freight and earnings; and established the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to investigate, recommend and, if ignored, go to the courts to compel obedience. The passage of the ICA marked the shift of the federal government from promoting railroads to restraining railroads. The ICC was reasonably successful in administering the ICA until 1897 when the Supreme Court, in the *Maximum Freight Rates* case, denied that the ICC could set rates and, in the *Alabama Midland* decision, undermined the effectiveness of the long-and-short-haul clause. Effective railroad regulation was postponed until the 20th century.

The development in the Gilded Age of huge industrial combinations called TRUSTS gave rise to a significant anti-monopoly movement that the federal government could not ignore. Yet while virtually everyone—farmers and laborers, reformers and most businesspeople—was hostile to trusts, virtually everyone favored individualism, suspected strong government, and opposed economic equal-

ity. They wanted equality of economic opportunity and for the government to regulate business to restore the competition that existed in an earlier era. Although by the 1890s 15 states had constitutional provisions against monopolies and 27 states had laws against them, these prohibitions were ineffectual. By 1890 it was obvious to Congress that federal action was necessary, and with virtual unanimity it passed the SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT, which reiterated the common-law prohibition of monopolies, combinations, or conspiracies in restraint of trade. The wording of the act was vague, but it put Congress on record as opposed to monopoly the same year it increased significantly the protective tariff. The Sherman Act was to be enforced by the attorney general, and violators were to be prosecuted in the courts. Prior to the administration of Theodore Roosevelt (1901–9) the act was ineffectual. Given the merger mania that swept the United States in the 1890s, neither attorney generals nor the Supreme Court seriously challenged monopolies. The Sherman Act was invoked only 18 times from 1890 to 1901, and four of those times it was used against organized labor. The Supreme Court, in *U.S. v. E. C. Knight Company* (1895), denied that the American Sugar Refining Company, which controlled 98 percent of the nation’s sugar refining capacity, was restraining trade. Taking a narrow view, the Court regarded manufacturing—even of commodities shipped across state lines—as separate from commerce and trade. The Sherman Act, nevertheless, was law and would be available in the Progressive Era.

See also CURRENCY ISSUE; TARIFF ISSUE.

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## business cycles

In the decades between 1870 and 1900 the United States experienced remarkable economic growth—averaging about 4 percent a year—a process that helped to raise the standard of living per capita by about 2 percent a year. The population also grew from 40 million in 1870 to 76 million in 1900, while the labor force increased at an even greater rate, expanding from 13 million to 29 million. During these years industry hurtled past AGRICULTURE as the major engine of economic development. In 1870 the agricultural sector supplied 47 percent of the value added to the economy while industry took a 43 percent share. By the end of the century the figures were entirely reversed, with industry garnering 65 percent of value added while agriculture was reduced to 35 percent.

This rapid growth, and industry's rise to dominance, did not take place smoothly or without sharp ups and downs but proceeded within a context of what economists would later call "business cycles," pronounced periodic swings in output, employment, and prices. Laypeople would term these swings "boom-and-bust" cycles, and the Gilded Age economy seemed to be pockmarked with them, especially the busts that ranged in duration from many months to several years and in severity from mild to deep. Notable among them were the depression following the panic of 1873, the panic of 1884, and the depression after the panic of 1893. To some contemporary critics of the new industrial society, these periodic spasms of mass unemployment, bankruptcies, and social insecurity were evils endemic to industrial capitalism. EDWARD BELLAMY made this point in his utopian novel *Looking Backward* (1888). "Your system," he wrote, "was liable to periodic convulsions, overwhelming alike the wise and the unwise, the successful cutthroat as well as its victim. I refer to the business crises at intervals of five to ten years, which wrecked the industries of the nation."

Contrary to what Bellamy implied, such economic crises were not unique to the Gilded Age. In the early decades of the 19th century, when agriculture was preeminent, boom and bust fluctuations were frequent and extensive. In the years between 1816 and 1847, two economic downturns of great severity, the panics of 1819 and 1837, followed periods of prosperity and roiled the American economy with widespread bankruptcies, deflation, severe unemployment, and general social distress. And although the nation enjoyed a long period of prosperity after 1843, the two decades preceeding the Civil War also witnessed a sharp crisis in 1854 and a brief, nasty depression from 1857 to 1858.

Yet, the business cycles of the Gilded Age were different in some ways from their predecessors. As industrial capitalism transformed the country, what had formerly been an economy dependent on agriculture and exports of cotton and wheat for its prosperity now became a self-sufficient economy of complex characteristics. Because of this fundamental shift, the business cycles of this period took another shape and displayed unique attributes. In the preindustrial era, cyclical fluctuations arose largely because of excessive speculation in new agricultural lands and an unstable money supply, currency, and banking system. In the Gilded Age, however, business cycles were mainly due to changes in the rate of investments in factories, railroads, and mines and to alterations in the supply of money brought about by structural changes in the banking and financial systems. Also, as a result of dramatic improvements in COMMUNICATIONS and transportation—the invention of the TELEPHONE, widespread usage of the telegraph, the expansion and integration of the RAILROADS—and the

economic and geographical interdependency arising therefrom, changes in business activity more easily and forcefully rippled through the economy. As a consequence, the two major depressions of the Gilded Age, beginning in 1873 and 1893 (the panic of 1884 was not as severe), were two of the worst downturns the nation had ever experienced. And although they were different in detail, each, including that of 1884, followed the same general pattern of development and were linked to investment swings in the new, dynamic sectors of the economy, particularly the railroads.

The depression of 1873 began with the collapse of the country's leading brokerage house, Jay Cooke & Company, an event that reverberated throughout the nation. Jay Cooke, known as the "financer of the Civil War," had expanded his activities following the conflict beyond that of handling government securities. He became a major broker and financer of ventures in coal, iron, and especially railroads. These and other investments stimulated rapid growth in transportation, mining, and large-scale cattle raising. But as was often the case in periods of prosperity and profit-making, there were excessive investments in speculative enterprises. Too many railroad lines were built; too many cattle ranches put too many cattle out to pasture; and too much silver was mined. And as billions of dollars in foreign capital flowed into the country, there was a constant drain of gold to service the burgeoning debt. With the unexpected failure of Jay Cooke, panic ensued. Commodity prices and prices for manufactured goods plunged. The stock exchange closed for 10 days; credit dried up; and stunned depositors initiated runs at hundreds of banks. Between 1873 and 1878, there were almost 50,000 bankruptcies, with losses estimated in the billions. The panic soon turned into a severe retrenchment, then a depression, and unemployment skyrocketed to levels never seen before. All segments of the increasingly integrated economy appeared to grind to a halt. For the first time in history, the majority of Americans appeared to be caught in the coils of an economic crisis not of their making and over which they had no control.

Many analysts regard this depression as the worst of all the economic downturns of the 19th century and, with the possible exception of the Great Depression of 1929, the most severe in the nation's history. But hard statistical data that accurately measures the severity of the depression of 1873 is lacking. It was not until the 1880s and 1890s that many state and local governments, especially in the East, began to establish agencies to collect data on such things as employment, housing, and immigration. As a result, the depression beginning in 1893 offers a better window into the economic crises of the period.

While perhaps not as serious as the 1873 contraction, the depression of the 1890s appeared to be, by almost any measure, a bad one. Perhaps 20 percent if not more of

the workforce experienced unemployment at one time or another. Almost 50 percent of all businesses failed. More than 156 railroads, controlling 30,000 miles of track and with a capitalization in excess of \$2.5 billion went under. At its worst, the economy is estimated to have contracted about 25 percent below its pre-depression level.

The factors responsible for this downturn were similar to those of 1873, although this time it was the collapse of the great British banking house, Baring Brothers, which helped trigger the crisis. Having overextended itself in Argentina, Baring was forced to liquidate its holdings in American securities, particularly railroads. This precipitated a heavy outflow of gold, which put a strain on American banks. The banks might have been able to withstand the drain on their gold reserves but for the fact that, for political reasons, the Treasury Department was then engaged in trying to support the price of silver by buying 4.5 million ounces of that metal per month under the terms of the recently enacted Sherman Silver Purchase Act (1890) and issuing Treasury notes, redeemable in gold, for those purchases. This required a large supply of gold to maintain redemption. Bankers, concerned about their falling gold reserves, petitioned the Treasury for conversion of greenbacks and other paper into gold. But the government's gold reserves were clearly inadequate to the task, and the possibility that the government might have to suspend payments in gold sent shivers through Wall Street and set off a panic in the spring of 1893. Again the financial panic spread disruption to other areas of the economy. Railroads went under. Investors found that many of their holdings were worthless. As prices for their goods fell, manufacturers of all sorts retrenched or closed their doors, banks failed, and credit became scarce. Once more the economic system seemed to be in disarray after another boom-and-bust cycle.

But was the underlying economy truly in such bad shape or were all of these crises just a lot of sound and fury signifying nothing? One recent historian has advanced the argument that the panics and depressions of the era

were largely mirages of little economic significance. When viewed from the perspective of long-term growth trends during the period, he claims, the depressions were not "of any great seriousness or duration." To be sure, the pace and rate of economic activity fluctuated and was erratic. And, yes, factories might close for short periods of time, unemployment might increase, and public confidence might fall. "But it was," he concludes, "in the main, a time of rapid expansion," and it was that expansion of production that had a much greater impact on American history and development than the downturns that accompanied it.

Still, whatever their long-term significance, those periodically recurring business cycles and breakdowns were real, and economists in the 20th century have analyzed them extensively and developed numerous theories seeking to explain their causes. One of the pioneers in the understanding of business-cycle behavior was Wesley C. Mitchell, who presented a theory of self-generating cycles. Basically, his theory held that when prospects for profits improved, business activity increased, and when prospects became less certain, business declined. After a period of depression, the stage was set anew for a revival and a combination of forces then converted incipient prosperity into another boom, which once again eventuated into a bust. Other scholars have built on Mitchell's analysis, some looking for the key initiating forces or starters of the process, others constructing theories to explain the cycles on the grounds of monetary or investment factors. But however much economists might differ in their analysis of the whys and wherefores of the business cycle, all students of the phenomena agree that it is deeply embedded within the capitalist system and must be taken into consideration by policy makers if its worst tendencies are to be avoided.

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—Jerome L. Sternstein







**cable cars** See TRANSPORTATION, URBAN.

### Canada and the United States

Unresolved issues stemming from America's Civil War and the persistence of dreams of annexation framed the diplomatic agenda involving Canada and the United States in the postwar years. Briefly, the Americans wanted compensation from the British for building Confederate commerce raiders that disrupted Union shipping. The U.S. government also resented the Canadians for harboring Confederate guerrillas, and the Canadians resented raids by Irish nationalists (called Fenians). Fearful of their economic future, Canadians sought to consolidate their separate provinces, while British policy makers wanted to discourage American expansionist ambitions. As a result, the British North American Act created the Dominion of Canada out of four colonies in 1867 as a semiautonomous federation, with foreign policy remaining in the hands of Great Britain. From 1870 to 1900 and beyond, Canadians believed—with some justification—that Britain sacrificed their interests in controversies with the United States to promote Anglo-American accord.

Annexationists in CONGRESS, such as Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman Charles Sumner, unrealistically urged that the British surrender Canada to settle American claims for merchant ships destroyed by Confederate raiders built in Britain and to recoup the enormous cost of prolonging the war. But President Ulysses S. Grant and his secretary of state, Hamilton Fish, unwilling to antagonize Britain, did not press for annexation and settled instead for the arbitration of outstanding disputes with Britain and Canada in the TREATY OF WASHINGTON of 1871. The treaty gave the United States fishing rights in Canadian waters and navigation rights on the St. Lawrence River, while Canadians could fish in less-productive waters as far south as Delaware Bay. Arbitrators awarded the United States \$15.5 million to settle the *Alabama* claims for

lost shipping; Britain received \$5.5 million to make up for the unequal fishing rights the Canadians received; and the United States got the disputed San Juan Islands between the present state of Washington and Canada's Vancouver Island in the Pacific Northwest.

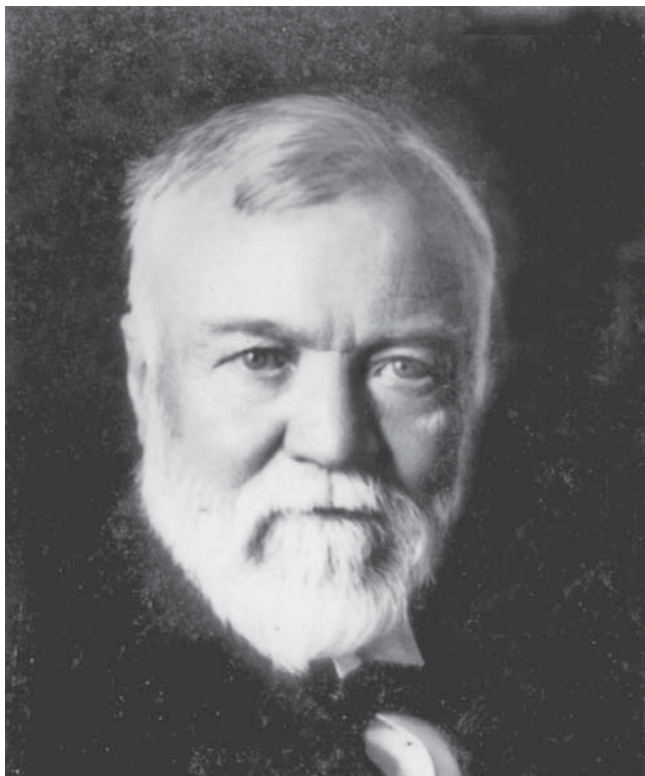
Congress, however, was unhappy with the 1871 fisheries settlement and withdrew from the agreement as of July 1, 1885. Canadians fell back on an 1818 treaty and began arresting American fishing boats; Congress retaliated with threats against Canadian imports. Canada, amid economic difficulties, wanted to resolve the fisheries dispute and to secure a reciprocity treaty that would allow agricultural products to enter the United States duty-free, which would help to restore prosperity and stave off sentiment in Canada for annexation. A further complication arose with the BERING SEA DISPUTE over American seizures of Canadian schooners caught killing seals in international waters. That dispute was resolved by an 1892 arbitration treaty (the United States had to pay damages for illegal seizures), but attempts to negotiate a solution to the ongoing fisheries dispute failed until 1909, and reciprocity—because it was tangled up in the question of annexation—was delayed well into the 20th century.

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—Bruce Abrams

**Carnegie, Andrew** (1835–1919) *businessman, philanthropist*

Born in Dunfermline, Scotland, on November 25, 1835, industrialist and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie was the son of a handloom weaver who had married into a prominent radical family active in the Chartist movement,



Andrew Carnegie (*Library of Congress*)

which advocated sweeping parliamentary reform, and harbored antimonarchial republican views. Steam-powered looms soon impoverished the family, and upon the insistence of Margaret, Carnegie's strong-minded mother, they migrated to Allegheny City (now Pittsburgh's North Side), Pennsylvania, where Carnegie, at 12 years of age, got his first job as a \$1.20-a-week bobbin boy in a cotton textile factory. Despite living in a slum, Carnegie reveled in the political equality and economic opportunity of his adopted country. With only four years of schooling, Carnegie took advantage of the practice of Colonel James Anderson, founder of the James Anderson Library Institute of Allegheny City, of allowing working boys to use his large personal library free of charge. On the lookout for better jobs, Carnegie tended a steam engine; delivered telegrams; became a telegraph operator; and, as one of the first to take messages by ear, had the good luck to be discovered by THOMAS A. SCOTT, head of the western division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, who hired him as his telegrapher and secretary at \$35 a month. Scott made Carnegie his protégé, tutoring him on investments. When Scott became the railroad's general superintendent in 1859, Carnegie became superintendent of the western division. By 1865 Carnegie had so expanded his investments that he left the railroad to manage them.

His most interesting venture was the Keystone Bridge Company, which specialized in building railroad BRIDGES, the most famous of which is the JAMES B. EADS Bridge over the Mississippi at St. Louis. To secure iron beams for Keystone, Carnegie in 1864 created the Cyclops Iron Company, and the following year he forced a competitor to merge and form Union Mills. The insistence by Eads that Keystone supply steel rather than iron for his bridge and the preference of railroads for British steel rails made by the BESSEMER PROCESS to American iron rails led Carnegie in 1872 to commence building the largest Bessemer plant in the United States. Within a decade, Carnegie headed the incredibly efficient Carnegie Steel Company and dominated the steel industry. The company was a partnership, not a corporation, with Carnegie owning more than half of it and exercising complete control, while his partners owned a small percentage and worked extremely hard to cut production costs. Carnegie rewarded efficiency, eliminating inefficient managers, destroying labor unions, installing the latest machines, and adopting new technology to maintain a competitive edge. He also cut costs by expanding vertically, acquiring iron mines, coal fields (for coke), and steamships and a railroad to transport iron ore from the Great Lakes to the Pittsburgh district.

Carnegie's mixed heritage of his father's radical idealism and his mother's aggressive, acquisitive realism (honed by the family's struggle to survive) account for his complex, contradictory nature. His mother's spirit dominated his business career, but his father's generous, humane spirit was not eradicated. It surfaced in 1886 when, in a magazine article, Carnegie recognized labor's right to organize; but in 1892 he was his mother's boy when he ordered his partner HENRY CLAY FRICK to break the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, thus provoking the bloody HOMESTEAD STRIKE. While engaged in his relentless pursuit of profits, Carnegie feared that the accumulation of wealth was a form of idolatry, but in 1889 he rationalized his wealth by espousing the idea of stewardship in his article "The Gospel of Wealth." He argued that those who had the talent to acquire a fortune were best equipped to distribute it most beneficially for society. In 1901 Carnegie sold his company to U.S. Steel for \$480 million (his own share was \$225 million), which allowed him to engage full time in philanthropy.

An avid reader from childhood, he donated 2,811 buildings for public libraries upon the condition that community taxes would maintain the buildings and purchase books. He provided pensions for Carnegie Steel workers and also for college teachers. Carnegie was an anti-imperialist and an advocate of peace, and he created the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He also built the Pan-American Union Building in Washington, D.C., the Central American Court of Justice in Costa Rica

(to arbitrate disputes), and the Hague Peace Palace in the Netherlands to house the World Court. Since so much of his fortune was made in Pittsburgh, he focused many of his philanthropic efforts there, forming the Carnegie Institute, which supported a concert hall, art museum, and library. He also supported Pittsburgh's Carnegie Institute of Technology. Finally, he established the Carnegie Corporation of New York to administer what was left of his fortune. Carnegie's optimistic hopes for the arbitration of disputes and peace were dashed in 1914 by the outbreak of World War I, which left him badly shaken. He died on August 11, 1919, at his vacation home in Lenox, Massachusetts.

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**Carver, George Washington** (ca. 1864–1943)  
*agricultural scientist, researcher, educator*

George Washington Carver, an African-American scientist and educator, devoted his life to improving southern agriculture. Born to enslaved parents in Diamond Grove, Missouri, Carver's father apparently died before he was born, and his mother was abducted by slave raiders. Consequently, Carver was raised and tutored by his mother's former owners on their small farm. When Carver went off to school at nearby Neosho in the mid-1870s he knew as much as his teacher, so he moved to Kansas and then Iowa, working, homesteading, and trying to secure an education. He was a multitasking young man who was an able pianist and especially interested in both growing and painting plants. He enrolled in 1890 as an art major at Simpson College in Indianola, Iowa, but although an able artist (one of his paintings would be exhibited at the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION), he realized that opportunities for a black artist were severely limited. In 1891—at approximately 27 years of age—he entered Iowa State University of Science and Technology at Ames and found his life's work.

Carver was an excellent student, earning his bachelor of science degree in 1894 and his master of science in 1896. He impressed and was impressed by outstanding agriculturalists associated with that institution, including three future U.S. secretaries of agriculture: James Wilson, Henry C. Wallace, and Henry A. Wallace, who was six years old when Carver introduced him to plant fertilization. At the time, Carver was in charge of the college greenhouse and conducting experiments on plant propagation.

Carver was not patronized because of his race; he deserved the recognition he received and could have joined

the Iowa State faculty. Instead, he accepted the invitation and challenge of BOOKER T. WASHINGTON to head the agricultural work at Tuskegee Institute in 1896. He soon also became director of Tuskegee's agricultural experiment station. For almost 50 years he taught and experimented and became a legend in his own lifetime. He was intensely interested in educating African-American farmers in methods of cultivation and the necessity of a balanced diet. A movable school of agriculture and home economics in a well-equipped wagon set forth from Tuskegee to carry these messages to impoverished rural black farm families.

Carver soon realized that the southern farmers were plagued by overspecialization in cotton, which produced soil exhaustion. To counter this problem, he advocated crop diversification, specifically the planting of peanuts and sweet potatoes in place of cotton. To popularize their growth, he conducted experiments in his laboratory at Tuskegee to counter the diseases peanuts were prone to and to identify new uses for peanuts and sweet potatoes. Both became major commercial crops in Carver's lifetime.

Carver was selfless. He never took out any patents on the uses of the peanut or sweet potato he discovered because he wanted them to be widely and freely used. He could have left Tuskegee for well-paying jobs elsewhere. Indeed, despite his low salary at Tuskegee, he sometimes refused to accept raises in pay. A devout Presbyterian, Carver was one of the rare individuals who in every way lived up to the Christian ideal. He died on January 5, 1943.

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**Cassatt, Mary** (1844–1926) *painter, printmaker*

Mary Cassatt applied the stylistic tenets of avant-garde French art to the themes of motherhood and childhood. Born in Allegheny City (now Pittsburgh's North Side) on May 22, 1844, into an affluent Pennsylvania family, Cassatt matriculated at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1860. After the Civil War, she went to Paris with her family for further study. As a woman, she was barred from the École des Beaux-Arts, but she studied privately with one of its most important teachers, Jean-Léon Gérôme. She received additional training from other French painters and worked in several French art colonies. After 1875 she divided her time between Paris and the French countryside, returning to America for only a few short visits. She never married, and for most of her life lived with family members. After exhibiting in the Paris Salon six times, she became disillusioned with its politics and aesthetics, and in 1879 she showed with the impressionists. She exhibited three more times with them and then with a similarly dis-



## 64 cattle kingdom

sident group, the Société Français des Peintres-Graveurs. She was influenced by her friends Edgar Degas, Auguste Renoir, and Berthe Morisot and by Japanese art. A retrospective exhibition in 1893 at the gallery of Paul Durand-Ruel in Paris established Cassatt as a major figure in modern painting and launched her acceptance in the United States. She was forced to stop making art in 1914 when her eyesight became clouded by cataracts, and she died in Mesnil-Theribus, France, on June 13, 1926.

Throughout her career Cassatt painted portraits mainly of family members (including her brother Alexander, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad). These, such as *Lady at a Tea Table* (1883, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), are quiet, straightforward, even unflattering portrayals of the sitter. Around 1880 she began to focus on women and children in neutral domestic settings, developing the theme in both oils and pastels. She displayed a genius for capturing prosaic but telling postures and facial expressions in images of mothers holding or washing children, and women reading, crocheting, and taking tea. After seeing a large exhibition of Japanese prints in 1890, she began working in drypoint and aquatint, inking the plates herself. The resulting series of 10 prints inaugurated her continued work in the medium and influenced other printmakers. She produced a mural for the Women's Building at the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION of 1893 in Chicago. Titled *Modern Woman*, it showed women and girls picking apples, their bright, contemporary dresses brilliantly lit.

Like the other Impressionists, Cassatt wanted to forge a style for the depiction of modern life. In simple compositions using flat planes of color pushed close to the picture plane, she made icons of timeless themes. Her prints combine color and line, ignoring Western conventions for depicting space. Both paintings and prints became increasingly abstract. In *The Boating Party* (1893–94, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) a family, oars, and a sail are arrayed in a set of diagonals, and *Under the Horse Chestnut* (1896–97, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), a print showing a half-reclining woman holding a nude child, is composed of little more than flat planes of blue, green, yellow, and beige tones.

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—Karen Zukowski

## cattle kingdom

Cattle raising became an important industry in the Gilded Age. The Spanish brought the first cattle to the New World in the 16th century and later raised them in the Rio Grande

Valley and along the California coast. These original stocks were the ancestors of the Texas longhorn. After the United States annexed Texas in 1848, the growth of the cattle industry was interrupted only by the Civil War (1861–65). After 1865 the “cattle kingdom” in the West expanded greatly, aided by the suppression of western Indian tribes and the extermination of the buffalo. Although it tended to be lean and its meat tough, the Texas longhorn was the favorite breed in the cattle kingdom. It proved to be a resilient animal that could withstand cold temperatures and travel great distances with little water to shipping points.

RAILROADS that had expanded west following the Civil War facilitated moving the meat to markets as Europeans and easterners invested in cattle during the late 1870s. By the early 1880s the cattle industry had become a lucrative trade. Texas cattle were driven north by cowboys (rough-hewn ranch hands) on cattle trails to open-range pastures in the Great Plains, where the animals could graze on abundant and free grasslands. Abilene, Kansas, the terminus of the Chisholm Trail, was served by the Kansas Pacific Railroad and became one of the first big transfer points for Texas cattle. The cattle kingdom contributed to the decline of the buffalo, since both cattle and buffalo competed for grassland. The Texas longhorn also brought Texas fever, a disease carried by ticks, which harmed buffalo and other local cattle.

By 1880 there were over 4 million cattle in a swath of land stretching from Texas to Montana and the Dakotas. During the Gilded Age the MEATPACKING industry in midwestern cities perfected a process whereby cattle were slaughtered and the carcasses prepared for shipment to eastern markets via refrigerated railroad cars. By the mid-1880s the number of cattle had almost doubled to 7.5 million, and overgrazing became a significant problem, only



Cowboys branding a calf, 1888. Photograph by John C. H. Grabill (*Library of Congress*)

to be compounded by a series of mild winters, which led to further overgrazing. The wide distribution of BARBED WIRE beginning in 1884 helped to shut out grazing cattle from farmlands, further limiting available grassland. Fence cutting became a problem, leading to federal legislation regulating fencing. Meager grazing areas meant that cattle needed more and more acreage to survive, which contributed to the degradation of grasslands in the plains. The winters of 1885–86 and 1886–87 were particularly brutal, and many cattle froze to death, which led to further problems in an already flagging nationwide economy with ranchers unable to pay their creditors. By the 1890s cattle drives were becoming a thing of the past as railroads expanded and ranchers began to grow hay to feed cattlestocks, starting a dependency on irrigation and a new set of problems over water allocation.

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—Scott Sendrow

### chain stores

By the late 19th century a national transportation system had developed, communications were more rapid, a greater number of commodities were produced, and the purchasing power of the masses had improved. Markets had become national rather than local or regional, and most shoppers were no longer members of a wealthy elite but, rather, represented a broader spectrum of society. These changing conditions enabled chain stores to flourish. Direct purchases of large orders at low prices from manufacturers, which were then sold with small markups at several similar (chain) stores, achieved efficiency by eliminating middlemen and, because of enormous volume, yielded substantial profits. Although chain stores existed prior to the Gilded Age, two of the most spectacular examples expanded enormously in that period: the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company (A&P) and the five-and-ten-cent stores of Frank W. Woolworth.

In 1863 George F. Gilman and George Huntington Hartford started the Great American Tea Company with a flamboyantly decorated store in New York City. They imported tea directly from China in ships owned by Gilman's father, and by eliminating intermediaries they could sell tea at one-third the price of their competitors. They soon opened more stores, added coffee, spices, and other commodities to their wares, and had 25 stores in operation by 1865. Hartford developed "Thea Nectar" from damaged

tea; cheap to produce and sold at a low price, it became a very popular and profitable product. In 1869 Gilman and Hartford formed the A&P on the basis of a handshake. Their friendship and respect for each other was such that they felt no need for a legal partnership. They expanded their stores to other cities throughout the Northeast and as far west as St. Louis and St. Paul, growing to 100 stores by 1880 and almost 200 stores by 1900. When Gilman died in 1901 the A&P was grossing \$5.5 million annually. In 1902 Hartford reorganized the A&P as a corporation, but in his and his son's hands it remained a family-owned business. In the 20th century the A&P continued to expand (16,000 stores in 1930), established economy stores in 1912, and in 1913 began selling foods under its own labels.

In 1879 Woolworth opened his "Great 5-Cent Store" in Utica, New York, but it failed because of its poor location. Later that year a second venture, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, proved successful, but of three further ventures over the next three years, one was a moderate success and the other two failures. Woolworth, however, persisted and established more stores, utilizing partners to minimize his risk. He pioneered mass retailing and made his stores attractive by displaying merchandise on counters for customers to inspect. In 1886 he moved his headquarters to New York to facilitate large purchases of goods for cash directly from manufacturers, thus securing a bargain price and eliminating intermediaries. Dealing directly with a manufacturer, for example, enabled him to retail a quarter of a pound of candy for five cents. Always on the lookout for cheap sources of merchandise, Woolworth, on his first trip to Europe, discovered that German toys and Christmas decorations and Bohemian crockery could be imported and sold at bargain prices. By 1900 Woolworth had 59 uniformly decorated (in red) five-and-ten-cent stores in the United States and Canada. By 1912 Woolworth's stores had multiplied 10-fold to 596, and in 1913 the Woolworth Building—then the tallest and still one of the most beautiful SKYSCRAPERS in the world—was dedicated by President Woodrow Wilson. It cost \$13 million, and Woolworth paid for it from the profits of his five-and-tens.

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### Chase, William Merritt (1849–1916) painter

Well known for his portraits, landscapes, and still lifes, William Merritt Chase was one of the Gilded Age's most versatile painters. He was also one of the most prominent

figures in the bustling art world of New York City, active as a collector and a teacher, and an outstanding artist. Born on November 1, 1849, and raised in Indiana, Chase was in New York City by 1869, studying painting at the National Academy of Design. In the autumn of 1872 Chase enrolled in the Royal Academy of Munich, where Karl von Piloty became his mentor. Over the next six years, Chase and a contingent of American classmates painted and traveled together to study the great paintings.

One of the first of his generation to establish himself in the United States after European training, Chase returned to New York City in 1878 as an instructor for the newly formed Art Students League. He opened a studio filled with an intriguing assortment of furniture, fabrics, artworks, and pets, including a Russian wolfhound, and he frequently depleted his bank account to purchase these furnishings. He became a kingpin in artists' organizations, especially the Society of American Artists. Chase married Alice Gerson in 1886 and eventually became the father of eight children, all of whom lived to adulthood. The elements of Chase's orbit—studio, students, colleagues, family, and home—appeared frequently on his canvases.

Even while maintaining a prodigious output of his own paintings, Chase became one of the country's most important teachers. In 1896 he founded his own school of art in New York City, where he taught until 1907. Supported by a group of wealthy amateur painters, from 1891 to 1902 he conducted a summer school of painting in Shinnecock on Long Island in New York. He also maintained long affiliations with the Art Students League and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Work with Chase included not only classroom instruction but trips to museums, his own studio, and, in the summer, to Europe to look at old-master paintings. Chase had hundreds of pupils, including many women and future modernists, such as Charles Sheeler and Georgia O'Keefe.

When he was a young man, Chase was asked by potential backers if he would like to travel to Europe for further study. Chase replied: "My God . . . I'd rather go to Europe than to heaven." Indeed, a bravura style assimilated from a variety of European artists of various eras became Chase's hallmark. Chase admired Velázquez's brushwork, Frans Hals's chiaroscuro, and the modern conflation of space practiced by Edouard Manet and Alfred Stevens. To these techniques Chase added his own powers of observation, demonstrating an unerring ability to convey texture and light and an unfaltering ability to craft exquisite compositions. Among the best-known of Chase's works are his landscapes depicting the sandy dunes near Shinnecock, such as *Idle Hours* (1894, Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas), portraits such as that of JAMES ABBOTT MCNEILL WHISTLER (1885, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), and numerous fish still lifes, such as *An English Cod*

(1904, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.). Chase died on October 25, 1916, in New York City.

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—Karen Zukowski

## Chautauqua Institute

The Chautauqua Institute began as an adult summer-education program located at a campsite on Lake Chautauqua in western New York State. It was started in 1869 by Methodist Episcopal bishop John H. Vincent (1832–1920) and Lewis Miller, a businessman from Akron, Ohio. The Institute's founders initially designed it for Sunday-school superintendents and teachers who wanted to improve their programs, but they soon broadened its goals.

The Chautauqua Institute reflected the American faith in popular education and the belief that a democratic republic needed citizens who could join in private organizations for mutual improvement. The origins of the Chautauqua Institute can be found in the early 19th-century lyceums, which sponsored lectures, debates, and concerts and which bridged the gap between a community's tiny number of college graduates and the vast majority of literate adults with a common-school education.

As the lyceum movement waned after the Civil War, the Chautauqua leaders adopted its approach and began to offer secular programs in art, music, literature, science, and social issues to summer vacationers who wanted to combine physical relaxation with mental stimulation. Speakers at Protestant churches encouraged attendance by families as well as single persons at the institute, where the joys of healthy, clean, rural living would be combined with the virtues of listening to great speakers address the issues of the day. Between lectures concerning such topics as the tariff, women's voting rights, or the implications of Darwinian thought on American society, participants enjoyed bountiful meals, boating, swimming, and church services. Easily accessible by rail, Chautauqua was visited by comfortably wealthy, intellectually active Americans.

In 1878, under the leadership of William R. Harper, a Yale University Hebrew scholar who later became president of the University of Chicago, Chautauqua developed a year-round home-reading program that also promoted its summer program. Between 1880 and 1900 Chautauqua participants (both home study and summer) increased as the number of well-to-do educated Americans with leisure time increased. During the first quarter of the 20th century, traveling Chautauqua programs (including drama

and popular music) appeared throughout the country and appealed to educated Americans of all ethnic and religious backgrounds. By 1930, however, with the coming of radio and the movies and the spread of high schools throughout the country, summer attendance and home-reading enrollment in Chautauqua programs drastically declined.

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—Harry Stein

**Chicago Fire** (1871) See CITIES AND URBAN LIFE.

**Chicago World's Fair** (1893) See WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

### Chilean-American relations

Located far down the Pacific coast of South America, Chile had a stormy relationship with the United States in the last quarter of the 19th century. The ill will stemmed from the tensions surrounding the War of the Pacific (1879–84), during which Chile fought Peru and Bolivia for control of the nitrate-rich regions of Arica and Tacna. The war started when Bolivia, in violation of a treaty, raised taxes on Chilean nitrate companies operating in the Antofagasta region of Bolivia. Chile responded by invading the region. Bolivia declared war and was joined by Peru, with whom Bolivia had a secret defense treaty. Chile's highly trained army quickly knocked Bolivia out of the war, captured Arica and Tacna, and went on to occupy Peru's capital, Lima.

Great Britain had a great amount of money invested in Chile and attempted to negotiate a peace settlement. The United States saw those overtures as a threat to its plans for increased economic and political influence in the Americas and sought to solve the situation itself. It did not want Chile to acquire land by force of arms, fearing that the precedent would launch South America into a chaos of land grabbing. In 1881 JAMES G. BLAINE, secretary of state under President JAMES A. GARFIELD, attempted to rally the other Latin American nations to force Chile to relinquish the captured regions, but his efforts only further antagonized Chile.

Blaine's levelheaded and methodical successor, Frederick Frelinghuysen, adopted a more conciliatory approach when he took office in December 1881. Knowing full well that the United States—given the state of its army and navy—could not intervene, the new secretary did not try to prevent Chile from keeping the nitrate fields as part of the 1883 Treaty of Ancon with Peru and the 1884 Treaty of Valparaíso with Bolivia. Although Chile achieved its goals, it would resent American diplomatic efforts to prevent its expansion for years to come.

Problems with Chile arose again in 1891. At the time Chile was embroiled in a civil war, with congressional forces revolting against those of President José Manuel Balmaceda. The rebels purchased weapons in the United States and were shipping them out of San Diego on a freighter named the *Itata*. The United States sought to detain the ship and, although it slipped away, eventually recovered it only to have American courts free it as improperly detained. Back in Chile the Congressionals forced Balmaceda to flee and seek the protection of the American embassy. The Congressionals became furious when the American minister Patrick Egan refused to surrender the Chilean president and other refugees to the mob outside the legation.

Although Balmaceda committed suicide on September 19, 1891, the situation deteriorated even further when on October 16 a fight broke out in Valparaíso at the True Blue Saloon. Two American sailors from the USS *Baltimore* were killed and several were injured by a mob of Chilean sailors and civilians who apparently were assisted by the Chilean police in the attack. President BENJAMIN HARRISON considered the incident an affront to national honor and demanded that Chile express regret for the incident and offer reparations. The Chilean minister to the United States, Manuel Antonio Matta, refused to oblige, and the newly installed president of Chile, Pedro Montt, denied that Chile was at fault and countered that the United States was guilty of provocations and indiscretions. On January 25, 1892, Harrison requested CONGRESS to authorize the use of force against Chile if Matta did not admit to wrongdoing. The U.S. Navy (significantly stronger since 1881) had been preparing for an attack for months and had a fleet of 17 warships ready for action in the event Montt refused to apologize. But when Harrison sent his bellicose message to Congress, Chile's apology rescinding its accusations had been received and was being decoded. The apology ended the crisis. Just before Christmas of 1892 the refugees were allowed to leave the legation and board an American warship, and although a Chilean court ultimately exonerated the police of any wrongdoing in the *Baltimore* incident, Chile paid a \$75,000 indemnity that effectively put the entire matter to rest. The Chilean imbroglio of 1891–92 was the first



## 68 Chinese Exclusion Act

use of naval power by the United States to enhance the effectiveness of its diplomacy.

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—Timothy E. Vislocky

### Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)

Congress designed the Chinese Exclusion Act to halt the flood of Chinese IMMIGRATION into the country and to deport Chinese who were allegedly living in the United States illegally. The presence of Chinese immigrants had been an issue for some time in western states, where Chinese settled in large numbers during the gold rush of the 1850s. As heavy competition and the dwindling number of gold fields winnowed out all but the most resourceful of miners, the Chinese began to move into the vast railroad construction projects that sought to unite the two coasts of the nation. The completion of the transcontinental railway decreased the cost of eastern-manufactured goods and forced western manufacturers to look for a source of low-cost labor. They found it in the thousands of now-unemployed Chinese railroad workers.

Agitation for limiting Chinese immigration began during the depression of 1873. Jobs were scarce and competition for them was fierce. White laborers saw the hiring of Chinese workers at low wages by cost-conscious manufacturers as acts of job theft. Anti-Chinese riots erupted in several western cities. Mob violence, especially in California, was accompanied by political action as western politicians sought to end Chinese immigration. Congress produced such a bill in 1879, but it was vetoed by President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES on the grounds that the bill would force the United States to abrogate a provision of the Burlingame Treaty, which allowed unrestricted Chinese immigration. Hayes subsequently negotiated a new treaty with China that regulated immigration.

The issue came up again in 1882 when Republican senator John Miller of California proposed a bill that would have restricted Chinese immigration for 20 years and made the Chinese residing in the United States ineligible for citizenship. President CHESTER A. ARTHUR vetoed the bill as undemocratic, but a revised bill passed by wide margins in the House and Senate and was reluctantly signed by Arthur. The moratorium was reduced to 10 years, but the Chinese were still barred from becoming citizens. In order to maintain good trade relations,



This cartoon by Thomas Nast shows a Democratic tiger and a Republican elephant joining forces to remove a Chinese immigrant who hangs on desperately to a tree labeled "Freedom to all." (*Library of Congress*)

Arthur's secretary of state, Frederick Frelinghuysen, tried to curb California racists and lobbied for a ban on American exports of opium to China. The Chinese minister was mollified, and relations between the United States and China remained cordial.

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—Timothy E. Vislocky

### Christian Science

Along with the MORMON CHURCH, Adventism, and Pentecostalism, Christian Science is one of a few large, successful American religious groups and was the creation of one person, MARY BAKER EDDY. *Christian Science* is the term used by Eddy, but the germ of her ideas originated with Phineas Quimby. Following years of ill health and emotional precariousness, she was treated by Quimby, who promoted a mystical Christianity that could effect physical healing. He used the phrases “science of health” and “Christian science” to describe his theories. Eddy found herself healed and became a disciple of his ideas, but his sudden death in January 1866 and a personal accident turned her from disciple into apostle.

Eddy dated the religion of Christian Science from her fall on ice in February 1866, which injured her back. She had a revelation “on the third day” after reading Matthew 9:2 (associating a young man’s palsy with his sins), and she arose, like him, from her bed. The next decade was spent in poverty as she elaborated on what she had learned from Quimby, developed her own ideas, and began to envision a Christian Science Church. Its first worship service was held in June 1875, and that fall she published the first edition of *Science and Health*, her principle work. The Church of Christ (Scientist) was chartered in 1879. Eddy, however, was a difficult person, and the new church was plagued with crises, splits, and lawsuits. The faithful few who remained loyal made her, at the age of 60, their pastor.

Eddy was a gifted teacher, and through the Massachusetts Metaphysical College, which she chartered in 1881, she attracted several hundred students eager to learn her insights, namely that matter—including sickness and death—is an illusion, and to be trained as “practitioners” to deal with the illusion of illness. These students became de facto missionaries who could and would organize Christian Science societies. In 1882 there were only 50 members of the original congregation, but by 1890 there were 110 churches and societies, 250 practitioners, and the *Journal of Christian Science*. Concerned by defections, Eddy reorganized the church, terminated the Metaphysical College in 1889, and dissolved the Christian Science Association in 1892, centralizing denominational affairs in the new “Mother Church” in Boston (dedicated in 1895). All other Christian Science churches were branches of it. Twelve “charter” and 20 “first” members controlled membership, and the church was run by a board of directors appointed by Eddy. An agency of the board also assumed the functions the college had performed.

Christian Science continued to grow rapidly and by 1910 exceeded 100,000 members. Ironically as the church grew, Eddy became more secluded and frail, lending her an air of mystery and encouraging a reverence that held her followers’ loyalty across the country. She died in 1910, but Eddy noted that the world of the sense is mere “belief. . . . Matter and death are mortal illusions.”

Although Eddy was a commanding personality, circumstances in New England and the United States contributed to the success of Christian Science. One was its appeal to and empowerment of women, who had begun to demand new roles in the 19th century. Another was its understanding of prosperity as a sign of spiritual health, which appealed to the new middle class. A third was its focus on health which, while metaphysical, had a rational and empirical emphasis and contrasted with emotional faith healing. And finally, thanks to Eddy, Christian Science was well organized.

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—W. Frederick Wooden

### cities and urban life

The three decades from 1870 to 1900 constituted a period of astounding urban growth, reflected in the increased number of larger cities and the growing portion of the population that lived in larger cities. The U.S. population increased from 40 to 76 million, an increase of 91 percent. The rural population grew by 17 million, from 28.7 to 45.8 million, and the urban population increased by 20.3 million, from 9.9 to 30.2 million. Thus, while the rural population increased by 60 percent, the urban population more than tripled.

In 1870, 14 cities exceeded the 100,000 mark; by 1900, there were 35. Combined, these larger cities grew by 238 percent and accounted for 27 percent of the nation’s total population growth from 1870 to 1900. Residents in these 35 cities comprised more than 18 percent of the entire population of the United States, or one of every five and one-half people. These larger cities were heavily concentrated in the Northeast, Middle-Atlantic, and upper Midwest. Indeed, in 1900 there were more cities larger than 100,000 in New Jersey (three) than in either the Old South or the Far West.

This growth was even more concentrated, because the 10 largest cities in the country accounted for 16 percent of the total national population growth; by 1900 one in eight Americans resided in these 10 largest cities. Moreover, the



five largest cities accounted for 13 percent of the nation's total population growth, with the result that in 1900 one in every 10 persons in the United States lived in one of these five cities. Finally, the three largest cities from 1880 to 1900 were New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, with populations of 3.4, 1.7, and 1.3 million, respectively, in 1900. Together these three were responsible for one-ninth of the nation's total population growth, and one in 12 of all U.S. residents lived in them.

IMMIGRATION fueled much of this urban population growth, especially in eastern and midwestern cities. Between 1880 and 1900 nearly 9 million immigrants came to the United States. While the immigrant stream had first flowed from the northern European countries, by 1900 the larger portion was arriving from eastern and southern Europe. This immigrant stream dramatically affected larger cities: One-third of the residents in the five largest cities in 1900 were foreign-born, and two-fifths of the residents reported that at least one parent was foreign-born.

But the combination of foreign-born and those with at least one foreign-born parent comprised over three-fourths the population in many industrial cities, including Milwaukee (where it constituted more than four of every five residents), Detroit, Chicago, New York, and San Francisco.

Why were all these people moving to cities? The answer was simple: jobs and perceived opportunity. Trade and manufacturing expanded dramatically, creating strong demand for labor. Manufacturers set up shop either close to the materials needed to produce their goods or close to their markets. Transportation access was crucial, so virtually all the burgeoning cities were on the sea coasts, rivers, or the Great Lakes. Those not located on navigable bodies of water were amply served by railroads, which had also become crucial even for the continued growth of cities with excellent water transportation. As cities grew, they became their own generators of economic and employment opportunity. The construction of factories, housing, offices, and infrastructure were major activities as cities doubled in size



Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York, ca. 1885. Photograph by Adolph Wittemann (*Library of Congress*)

during a single decade. At the turn of the century, construction trades often accounted for one-third of the jobs in a city.

This rapid growth strained existing urban systems and created the need for new services and the delivery of services on an unprecedented scale. The needs were so compelling they demanded resources: human, material, and financial. Solutions involved application of new technologies, attracting and then placing restrictions on the resources of private investors, developing the political will to raise the necessary public funds, and creating the organizational mechanisms for supplying and maintaining these services. Ultimately, such efforts called for the conception of the city as a system of systems, a view that was not always realized. Town planning still consisted largely of street layouts created by private developers, usually in a grid form—the easiest way to subdivide and market land—without any particular sense of their relationship to the entire city.

Rapid, large-scale urban growth could not have occurred without new and improved transport systems. Only main streets were paved at the outset of this period, and as development spread outward most new streets were not paved. Few cities could keep up with the pace of growth outward, so street conditions remained problematic, especially in the rapidly growing cities in the West and Midwest. Moreover, many streets and roads were in a perpetual state of chaos due to the continuing additions to and maintenance of gas lines, electric lines, water and sewer mains, and streetcar tracks. Horsecar lines and, by the late 1880s and 1890s, electric streetcar lines extended the distances residents could travel, especially for work. These conveyances both followed and stimulated the extension of residences beyond previously imposed travel limits.

Provision of sanitary sewers and a dependable, safe water supply were other imperatives for this new scale of urban living. Most new urban housing was still single-family dwellings on small plots of land, though in the larger cities substantial portions of the population lived in varying forms of multifamily structures. One general characteristic of the various forms of housing for the huge new additions of workers was crowding, as many people were forced by financial constraints to live in small spaces. This crowding together created additional strains on sewer and water resources. At the outset of this era, private wells were the main source of water and septic systems the main means of sewage disposal, both usually on the same small plot. By the 1870s an increasing number of places accepted the concept of the city as a self-flushing mechanism powered by water. Thus, if water were continuously delivered to households, water closets could replace backyard privies, and the flow of water would create self-cleansing sewers that could supplant septic tanks and cesspools. These concerns were part of the larger issues of public health and the

perceived connection between open filth and the spread of diseases. Periodic urban outbreaks, most notably the 1878 yellow fever epidemic in Memphis in which one of every nine residents died, gave a strong sense of immediacy to the issue of sanitary reform throughout this era.

This era also saw the gradual transition from volunteer firemen to the establishment of professional municipal fire departments. Cities were ever-increasing masses of combustible materials, with buildings largely made of wood, masonry structures with wooden roofs, and even sidewalks and streets of wood. Inadequacies of the water supply meant few and scattered fire hydrants. The quantity, maintenance, and technical adequacy of fire-fighting equipment were generally problematic. A number of conflagrations called attention to these shortcomings. Boston suffered a fire on November 9–10, 1872, that destroyed 766 buildings in a 60-acre swath, including seven wharves and several ships tied there. The fire department was virtually helpless to combat the flames. The most famous fire was in Chicago on October 8–9, 1871. A long drought and strong winds exacerbated the inadequate condition of fire-fighting equipment and shortage of manpower; the fire finally ended because it was blown to the shores of Lake Michigan, and a steady rain fell through the second day. The burnt district encompassed a 2,000-acre area four miles long and three-quarters of a mile wide. Some 18,000 buildings were gone; the estimated death toll was 300; and 90,000 people were rendered homeless.

Ironically, the dynamism and growth pressures present in Chicago turned the horrible event into a development opportunity. The previous two decades of development that had seen the city grow from 30,000 to 300,000 had paradoxically made the land more valuable without structures than with them. So, trade continued to increase, and real estate values quickly attained and surpassed those before the fire. Major urban fires provided powerful impetus to enact and/or tighten building codes, boost investment in fire-fighting equipment, increase the number and training of full-time firefighters, and improve the system of water distribution.

In the 1890s the slogan that “municipal government is business, not politics” was promoted by business leaders and other civic reformers and made its way into the political-governmental vocabulary. The growth of cities required increasing technical preparation and competence to address the delivery of necessary public services. There was a need for foresight and vision and for leaders who would look at the “big picture” beyond narrow parochial interests. By century’s end there was a growing sense that cities ought to become more beautiful, more efficient, and healthier places in which to live and do business. Yet because cities had become such diverse, multifaceted collections of people, activities, and interests, the



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allocation of resources and provision of services required more political sensitivity than mere technical preparation could deliver.

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—J. Paul Mitchell

### Civil Rights Act of 1875 See VOLUME V.

#### *Civil Rights Cases* (1883)

Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which prohibited discrimination on account of color, race, or previous condition of servitude on railroads or other forms of public conveyances, or in theaters, restaurants, inns, or other forms of public accommodation. Convicted persons were subjected to fines of not less than \$500 and possible imprisonment. In 1883 five cases of violation were examined by the U.S. SUPREME COURT: AFRICAN AMERICANS had been denied service in a Kansas City restaurant, a seat in the dress circle of a San Francisco theater, admission to a New York City opera house, accommodations in a Missouri hotel, and a seat in the ladies car of a railroad train in Tennessee.

The Supreme Court ruled 8-1 that the 1875 Civil Rights Act was unconstitutional. Justice Joseph Bradley declared for the majority that the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery, was not applicable to the law and that the Fourteenth Amendment “interdicted discriminatory action only by the states and not by private persons.” He added that the act of denying accommodation by an owner of an inn, a public carrier, or place of amusement is not tantamount to “imposing any badge of slavery or servitude upon the applicant.” Bradley noted that slavery could not be cited as the cause of every act of discrimination because blacks were no longer slaves nor were they any longer “the special favorite of the laws.”

In his lone dissent Justice JOHN MARSHALL HARLAN—a former slaveholder from Kentucky—said Bradley’s opinion was “narrow and artificial” and that the Thirteenth Amendment not only abolished slavery but in conferring freedom gave Congress the power to destroy the “badges of slavery.” He noted that railroad corporations, inns, theaters, and other public facilities were “agents or instruments of the state” and thereby liable.

Black activists and their supporters, aware that the Court’s decision would encourage segregation, were dismayed. Timothy Thomas Fortune, editor of the *New York Globe*, wrote that “the colored people of the United States feel today as if they had been baptized in ice water,” and the *Detroit Plain Dealer* noted that the Court’s ruling “comes like an avalanche carrying our fondest hopes down the hill of despair.”

Indeed, the decision of the Supreme Court emboldened southerners who opposed racial integration. In less than two decades the Court’s decision in *PLESSY V. FERGUSON* and the enactment of JIM CROW LAWS would effectively create a rigid segregated system in the southern states that would not be seriously challenged until the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

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—William Seraile

#### civil service reform

With the rise of mass-based parties in the era of Andrew Jackson, politicians used civil servants to organize and finance their political campaigns. Public employees were assessed a percentage of their salaries for party purposes and—especially those in the field service outside Washington—performed the tasks of running conventions, campaigning, conveying supporters to the polls, and manning those polls. The appointment of civil servants was a vital concern for senators and congressmen because their political lives depended on patronage, and since the “spoils” of office belonged to the victors, civil servants had to reelect their patrons to keep their jobs. With each change of party, civil servants were rotated out of office and replaced by political appointees who, except for their inexperience, were like the previous appointees. The “spoils system” made the public service inefficient at best and corrupt at worst. Still, the major political parties—especially the party in power—argued that the American democracy, the one with the widest suffrage and most complex elections in the world, could not function without it.

The Civil War caused an extremely high turnover of civil servants (many of whom were suspected of treason) at the same time that the service was being subjected to unprecedented demands. Shortly after the war ended, Representative Thomas A. Jenckes, a Rhode Island Republican, inaugurated a movement to reform the civil service by introducing a bill requiring that nonpolicy-making civil

servants be appointed on the basis of competitive examinations open to all. The idea of a nonpartisan civil service appealed to intellectuals sickened by the hurly burly of political campaigns and to merchants angered by incompetent and corrupt customhouse employees. Although the Jenckes bill never passed, CONGRESS in 1871, recognizing the strength of the reform movement, enabled President Ulysses S. Grant to appoint a commission to devise rules for examining applicants for positions in the civil service. Prior to the 1872 election Grant favored the idea, and his commission, headed by George William Curtis, drew up rules. After the election Congress starved the commission, and Grant departed from the rules to appoint ROSCOE CONKLING's candidate as surveyor of the New York customhouse rather than promote the deputy surveyor. Curtis resigned, Grant abandoned the rules completely, and "spoilsmen" rejoiced.

Civil service reform was set back, but not for long. Shortly after President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES took office in 1877, he forbade assessments of civil servants and their management of caucuses, conventions, and campaigns. Following a long struggle, he removed Conkling's lieutenant CHESTER A. ARTHUR as head of the New York customhouse and then insisted that it be made a showcase for reform. Although Hayes's successor, JAMES A. GARFIELD, moved to restore the spoils system in the New York customhouse, he was assassinated by a deranged office seeker before that was accomplished. The civil service reform movement, headed by George William Curtis, capitalized on Garfield's tragic death by blaming the spoils system for his murder and calling for passage of a reform bill as a memorial for the slain president. Congressmen and senators, reluctant to give up their patronage (which provided the political soldiers in their electoral campaigns), would not pass the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act until Republicans suffered a severe defeat in the 1882 congressional election. The "lame duck" Congress in 1883 passed the reform bill, which prohibited political assessments of all civil servants and "classified" 10 percent of the service under the "merit system" of open competitive examinations for appointments to office. Subsequent presidents enlarged the classified service to freeze their political appointments under existing civil service rules until, in 1900, roughly 45 percent of all civil servants were classified.

By 1900 the Pendleton Act had a significant effect. A previously unprofessional civil service was becoming a professionalized bureaucracy. Civil servants were better educated, and loyalty to a patron in Congress and concerns over local politics were giving way to concerns of a federal office whose interests were national. Since civil servants were no longer forced to contribute time and money to political campaigns, political parties turned

increasingly to corporations for political contributions, with a corresponding increase in corporate influence over public policy.

The civil service mirrored the development—in late-19th-century American society—of professionalism, nationalism, and the power of businesspeople. On the other hand, the reformed bureaucracy had acquired the capacity to accomplish the wide range of regulatory tasks assigned to it during the 20th century. Civil service reform was the fundamental reform for the Progressive Era.

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### class consciousness

In comparison to Europe, the United States has been relatively free of class consciousness, but Americans have been acutely aware of race and ethnicity, with racial and ethnic prejudices often reinforced by differences in status. This tendency was strong in the Gilded Age in large part because of the huge influx of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe and China and by the migration of AFRICAN AMERICANS from the country into the city. The newcomers for the most part secured "foreign jobs"—the least desirable tasks at the lowest pay—and lived in poor housing in ethnic enclaves in city slums. Their poverty added to the contempt in which they were regarded (because of their Catholicism, Judaism, skin color, or strange tongues) by the children of earlier immigrants. Irish Americans were caricatured unmercifully in *Harper's Weekly* by THOMAS NAST (an immigrant from Germany), while eastern Europeans were disparaged as "Hunkies," southern Europeans as "Dagos," and Jews as "Sheenies."

Ironically, while racial and ethnic prejudices were strengthened by status in the society at large, the same prejudices were echoed even within the working class, which was also divided by ethnic and religious differences. Employers like Captain William Jones, who managed ANDREW CARNEGIE's J. Edgar Thompson Steel Works, preferred to hire "young American boys judicially mixed" in ethnic backgrounds. However, this was not easily accomplished in the 1880s in Pennsylvania's anthracite regions. The KNIGHTS OF LABOR was predominantly Irish, and the Amalgamated Association of Miners was English, Welsh, and German. Both unions tried, unsuccessfully, to attract either Slavs (who were mostly Poles) or Italians. By 1897, following the Lattimer massacre of immigrant strikers, the United Mine Workers had managed to unite the various

ethnic groups. Even then, their leader John Mitchell still had to remind them that the coal they dug was not Irish coal or Slavic coal, but simply coal.

Industrial conditions were sufficiently harsh during the Gilded Age for workers to join labor unions, but workers were not class conscious enough to create a significant radical labor movement to overthrow, either peacefully or violently, the capitalist system. Apart from divisive ethnic and religious diversity, working-class consciousness was also hampered by the widespread belief in and hope for upward social mobility, a dream shared by virtually all Americans. Although very few individuals rose from rags to riches—Carnegie was a spectacular exception—modest gains were registered. The children of immigrants were often more skilled and enjoyed better housing than their parents, and their children were apt to be better educated, to own property, and to climb a rung up the social ladder. The American dream was realized, not spectacularly, but in small increments over generations, and these gains were sufficient to keep the hopes of all alive. Americans were also extremely mobile, and their frequent moves were made in anticipation of a better life.

The American political system also served to mute working-class consciousness. With universal male suffrage (blacks voted in large numbers in the South from the 1860s to the 1890s), most workers had the vote and thus were courted by the major parties. Although both the Republicans and Democrats had elitist leaders, they paid sufficient attention to labor to discourage the growth of labor or socialist parties. For example, both parties stressed that their opposite views of the **TARIFF ISSUE** would benefit workers and their families. The labor vote divided between the two major parties and was further subdivided into ethnic and religious groups with little love for each other. Moreover, there was no solidarity between rural and urban laborers. Attempts to build a farmer-laborer political alliance failed most spectacularly in the 1896 presidential campaign of **WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN**. Workers felt more comfortable with **WILLIAM MCKINLEY**'s promises of industrial prosperity with sound money and protection than Bryan's promise of farm relief through inflation.

See also **IMMIGRATION**.

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**Clemens, Samuel Langhorne** See **TWAIN, MARK**.

**Cleveland, Grover** (1837–1908) 22nd and 24th president of the United States

Grover Cleveland, a two-term president of the United States, was born in Caldwell, New Jersey, on March 18, 1837. He was the fifth of nine children born to Richard Falley Cleveland, a Presbyterian minister, and Ann Neal. Cleveland had only a rudimentary formal education. The death of his father in 1853 removed any hope Cleveland may have had of attending college. In 1855 he settled in Buffalo, New York, where he studied law and joined the **DEMOCRATIC PARTY**. He was admitted to the New York bar in 1859. Cleveland remained a bachelor until June 1886, when he married Frances Folsom in the Blue Room of the White House. They had five children.

In public life Cleveland was noted for his honesty and frugality. In 1863 he became the assistant district attorney for Erie County, New York, and in 1871 was elected sheriff. Between terms in public office, Cleveland became one of the most successful private attorneys in Buffalo. His meteoric rise to the presidency began in 1881 when he was elected mayor of Buffalo with the support of a coalition of Democrats, reform-minded Republicans, and independents. As mayor, Cleveland stopped an attempt to defraud the city of \$200,000 on a street-cleaning contract and vetoed several bills passed by Buffalo's aldermen that he felt perpetuated political graft. Rising above partisan politics as mayor earned Cleveland both the nomination and election in 1882 as governor of New York.

Cleveland brought to the governor's mansion the same dedication to "good government" and independence that he had shown as mayor of Buffalo. Most state governments at this time operated on the spoils system, whereby politicians in office gave government jobs to those members of their party who had assisted them in getting elected. However, Cleveland appointed people to office based not on their party affiliation but on their skills. As governor, Cleveland signed the first state **CIVIL SERVICE REFORM** law in America. He also liberally used his veto power on appropriations bills and often challenged **TAMMANY HALL**, New York City's Democratic machine.

In 1884 the Republicans nominated **JAMES G. BLAINE** of Maine for president. Political pundits of the day realized that the candidate who carried New York would win the election. At their 1884 national convention, the Democrats nominated Cleveland for president. In a bitterly fought campaign, Cleveland narrowly won New York, defeated Blaine by a count of 219 electoral votes to 182, and became the first Democratic president since the Civil War. As president, Cleveland extended the merit system (civil service reform) for federal employees, promoted a policy of tariff reduction, was an advocate of "sound money" principles, and used the presidential veto power to reject bills that he believed would drain the national treasury. By scrutiniz-





Grover Cleveland (Library of Congress)

ing veterans pensions bills closely, he offended the powerful GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC (GAR) veterans organization.

Cleveland was renominated by the Democrats in 1888 but lost the election to BENJAMIN HARRISON. Although Cleveland led Harrison in the popular vote 5,540,050 to 5,444,337, Harrison carried the electoral college by a vote of 233 to 168. Clever exploitation of the TARIFF ISSUE, however, enabled Cleveland to defeat Harrison in the 1892 election and become the only president in American history to serve two nonconsecutive terms in office (1885–89, 1893–97).

Within four months of Cleveland's second inauguration a panic gripped Wall Street that plunged the nation into a severe depression. The nation's gold reserve, which had been dwindling as a result of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, dropped below the \$100-million mark just prior to the panic, and after the onset of the panic it fell rapidly to \$80 million by the end of 1893, threatening to drive the United States from the gold standard. Cleveland believed that the cause of this financial crisis was fear of inflation caused by agitation over Free Silver. He was firmly opposed to any schemes of currency inflation and called for the repeal of the Sherman Act, which obligated the govern-

ment to purchase 4.5 million ounces of silver monthly that could be redeemed in gold. In 1893 the law was repealed as several Republicans and northeastern Democrats sided with the president. Cleveland's campaign against that act alienated southern and western Democrats. They were further alienated by bond sales in 1894 and 1895 to bankers at exorbitant rates to shore up the gold reserve, which fell as low as \$41 million in early 1895. Cleveland saved the gold standard but at an enormous political cost.

Conflicts between business and labor also marked Cleveland's second administration. During the PULLMAN STRIKE (1894) the American Railway Union, led by Eugene V. Debs, protested a cut in wages at the Pullman Palace Car Company, called for a boycott of Pullman cars, and paralyzed the major midwestern rail lines. In response to the crisis, Cleveland broke the strike by deploying federal troops on the pretext that the strikers had impeded the delivery of the U.S. mail.

In foreign affairs, Cleveland steadfastly refused to aid rebel movements in HAWAII and CUBA. In 1895 he invoked the Monroe Doctrine to force an arbitrated settlement of a boundary dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela. The dispute was settled a year later by an arbitration commission.

Cleveland's stubborn independence led to his repudiation by the Democratic Party. In 1896 it embraced inflation, nominated WILLIAM J. BRYAN for president, and went down in defeat. Cleveland retired from public office to Princeton, New Jersey, where he died on June 24, 1908.

See also CURRENCY ISSUE; FREE SILVER MOVEMENT.

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—Phillip Papas

**Cody, William Frederick (Buffalo Bill)** (1846–1917)  
*scout, showman*

William Cody was born in Scott County, Iowa, on February 26, 1846, but in 1854 his family moved to the vicinity of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. His schooling was sporadic at best, and after his father died in 1857 he worked as a messenger and as a teamster, joined the Pikes Peak gold rush to Colorado in 1859, turned to trapping, returned to Kansas broke in 1860, and then rode for the Pony Express. When the Civil War began he joined the antislavery guerrillas called Jayhawkers, and in 1863 the Ninth Kansas



Cavalry employed him as a scout in its campaigns against the Kiowa and Comanche. Cody then volunteered for the Seventh Kansas Cavalry in early 1864 and soldiered in Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, and Kansas. After the Civil War Cody married Louisa Frederici in St. Louis in 1866 and then returned to Kansas. From 1867 to 1868 he earned the nickname of Buffalo Bill by supplying the construction gang of the Kansas & Pacific Railroad with the meat of 12 buffalo a day. He then returned to scouting, again as a civilian employee, for the Fifth Cavalry of the U.S. Army in campaigns against the Plains Indians.

Cody's life took a melodramatic twist in 1869 after an interview with Ned Buntline, the pseudonym of Edward Z. C. Judson, writer of DIME NOVELS. Buntline, who never let the facts get in the way of an adventurous tale, wrote *Buffalo Bill: King of the Border Men*, which bore no resemblance to Cody's experiences but made him a celebrity. Exploiting

the popularity of the Buffalo Bill he created, Buntline wrote the play *Scouts of the Prairies*, which opened in Chicago in December 1872 with Cody playing himself. Over the next decade until the 1882–83 season, Cody was on the stage playing himself in dramas that mingled facts and fiction. Cody continued to scout and risked his life on the frontier in mild weather and then acted heroic on urban stages in winters. For bravery in an April 1872 battle with NATIVE AMERICANS, Congress awarded him the Medal of Honor (rescinded in 1916, since Cody was a civilian employee and that medal is intended for military personnel), and in July 1876 he killed Yellow Hand, the son of a Cheyenne chief, in a celebrated duel that he subsequently reenacted countless times as he toured the country. His theatrical career enabled Cody to acquire a substantial ranch in Nebraska, but his career as a scout led him to move to Wyoming. In 1894 he served as a guide for a fossil-gathering expedition



William F. (Buffalo Bill) Cody (shown standing, sixth man from the left) (Library of Congress)

of Professor OTHNIEL C. MARSH in the Big Horn Basin. Cody was attracted to that area and received a substantial grant of land from Wyoming on which he developed an even more celebrated ranch.

In 1883 Cody began touring with the “Buffalo Bill Wild West Show” and continued to do so until 1912. The show re-created exciting scenes like an Indian raid on a stagecoach, celebrated the daring of Pony Express riders, and exhibited skillful riders, ropers, and marksmen. Cody himself was an expert horseman and a great shot, but the most famous marksman in the show was a woman named Annie Oakley. And Cody’s most famous celebrity was SITTING BULL, who toured with the show in 1886, just 10 years after he and the Sioux wiped out George Armstrong Custer and his command at Little Big Horn. The Wild West Show toured Europe with great success, and it was a hit at the Chicago WORLD’S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION in 1893. The show created and perpetuated myths about the West in general and about Buffalo Bill in particular, and it had an incalculable influence on how Americans have perceived cowboys and Indians and the settlement of the West. Cody died in Denver, Colorado, on January 10, 1917.

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### Coeur d’Alene miners’ strike (1892)

The primary cause of the Coeur d’Alene miners’ strike was technological change. Silver and lead mine operators in the Coeur d’Alene district of northern Idaho began installing steam-powered drilling machines in their mines. The new machines increased the number of low-skilled jobs such as shovelers while eliminating the jobs of highly skilled hand-drill miners. In contrast with other American labor unions that insisted on a wage differential based upon skill, the strong labor movement in the area reacted to technological displacement by winning a standard wage, the rate paid skilled miners, for all underground employees.

The uniform wage removed the cost efficiencies the operators hoped to gain by replacing their skilled men, and in an industry suffering from falling prices, labor costs were an important issue. Not surprisingly, the operators decided to destroy the union and its uniform wage scale. In 1891 they organized the Mine Owners Protective Association to ensure a united front against labor. The Protective Association hired the Pinkerton Detective Agency to infiltrate the union.

As the PINKERTONS gathered inside information, the operators ceased all mining in the region in January

1892. Although it was a ploy to force lower railroad rates, the shutdown had the additional effect of depriving the mine workers of an income, thus weakening their ability to resist employer aggression. On March 18 the mine owners announced that since the railroads had granted them rate relief, they would reopen the mines on the first of April. But they also announced a new wage scale that would be based upon skill. The union rejected the new wage scale and management responded by stating that the mines would remain closed until June.

But within a few days of this announcement, the operators began importing strikebreakers. Confrontation between union members and the strikebreakers and their heavily armed guards escalated on July 11 with a five-hour firefight at the Frisco mine that ended with the strikers dynamiting the processing mill. In another gunfight at a nearby mine five men were killed. Later that day a small army of armed strikers gained control of a third mine and threatened to destroy it if the strikebreakers were not fired.

The violence prompted Governor Norman Willey to order the National Guard into the region and to request and receive additional help from the federal government. Martial law was declared in the region, and the military force pursued a decidedly promanagement course. It removed local officials who were sympathetic to the strikers, arrested more than 300 union men and placed them in unsanitary “bull pens,” closed down the union commissary, and protected the imported strikebreakers. The governor finally lifted martial law on November 19 when the strike was broken.

The strike’s failure, however, inspired the union movement among the hard-rock miners. In May 1893 representatives from the broken union attended a meeting with delegates from other unions in the Rocky Mountain region to form the Western Federation of Miners, which would recruit more than 200,000 members by the turn of the century.

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—Harold W. Aurand

**colleges** See EDUCATION, HIGHER.

### communications

By 1870 most American communities were in instant touch with each other by telegraph, and as RAILROADS expanded during the Gilded Age people and products could move from one corner of the nation to another in days. A generation earlier—prior to the revolution in communications—

months were required to send messages, goods, or travel across the nation. The economic effects of cheap and fast communication were profound. Local and regional markets gave way to a national market (indeed, a world market for growers of wheat). Manufacturers secured their raw materials from far and wide and, if anything, distributed their less bulky and more valuable products even further. Orders could be placed instantly, delivered speedily, and paid for promptly, thus providing a quicker return on capital invested than in times past. The social effects of the communications revolution echoed the economic effects. It made possible the two great population shifts in the Gilded Age: the settlement of the West and the growth of huge cities. It also helped reduce provincialism in America by binding its regions closer together with wire and rails.

The growth of a nationwide rail network was the key factor in the rapid movement of goods and people. In 1870 there were 53,000 miles of railroad track (the transcontinental railroad had been completed the year before), and by 1900 trackage had almost multiplied four times to 193,000 miles. Railroads also made possible the vast improvement in mail service in two ways. They not only moved the mail much more quickly than in the past, but also gave rise in the 1860s to the railway post office: mail cars on passenger trains, where the mail was sorted while moving down the track. Montgomery Blair, Lincoln's postmaster general, not only authorized the first railway post office but also home delivery in cities and a money-order system. In addition, in 1879 Congress aided rural Americans and mail-order houses when it provided that packages of up to four pounds could be mailed throughout the country at the flat rate of one cent an ounce. These innovations all had their greatest impact in the Gilded Age. The 468 million postage stamps sold in 1870 increased to almost 4 billion in 1900, indicating a dramatic increase in personal and business letters, which exerted a powerful cultural, social, and economic centripetal force.

The first practical telegraph line (from Washington to Baltimore) that went into operation in 1844 was owned by the federal government, but by 1847 the government had decided not to provide telegraph service as it did mail service and sold the line to private interests. Initially the telegraph industry was chaotic with numerous companies, but by 1870 the Western Union Telegraph Company consolidated over 90 percent of the business into one system that it continued to expand. In 1870 it had 3,972 offices and 112,000 miles of wire; by 1900 these had grown to 22,000 offices and 933,000 miles of wire. The telegraph was of importance to business in general, especially after the invention of the stock ticker in 1866, and of great value to newspapers. It led to the establishment of the New York Associated Press, which transmitted news items to subscribers throughout the country over the Western Union

wires. At times during the Gilded Age, Western Union's position as the sole transmitter of business and general news caused alarm and led to calls for a postal telegraph system as an alternative to the Western Union monopoly. Postmaster Generals John A. J. Creswell in the 1870s and John Wanamaker in the 1890s advocated the postal telegraph, but nothing came of their efforts.

ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL's telephone made a great impression when demonstrated at the PHILADELPHIA CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION in 1876, but its significant impact awaited the widespread distribution of telephones in operation. Although in 1878 President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES had a telephone in the White House that connected with one in the Treasury Department, the White House's nerve center was not a switchboard but its telegraph office, and it would remain so until the 20th century. Telephones, however, did proliferate until there were 1.4 million in 1900 (one for every 54 Americans), making 7.7 million local calls but only 193,000 toll calls daily. Long-distance calls were limited in the Gilded Age. Service between New York and Chicago was instituted in 1892, but transcontinental service between New York and San Francisco was not available until 1915. Among businesses, newspapers were quick to utilize the telephone. The telephone was on its way to becoming the "nervous system" of the 20th-century metropolis—the conqueror of time, space, and solitude, and an instrument used to bring the human family into closer touch.

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**Compromise of 1877** See PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS.

**Comstock, Anthony** (1844–1915) *moral crusader*

Anthony Comstock, the zealous guardian of public morals, was born on March 7, 1844, in New Canaan, Connecticut, the son of Polly Lockwood Comstock, who died when he was 10 years old, and Thomas Anthony Comstock, a farmer and sawmill owner. Anthony Comstock was raised in a strict household of limited financial means, attended Wykoff's Academy in New Canaan, and spent one year in high school in New Britain, Connecticut, before lack of funds forced him to leave in 1861. He worked as a grocer's



clerk for the next two years, and when an older brother died in the Battle of Gettysburg, he volunteered to take his place in the 17th Connecticut Volunteer Infantry, where he served until 1865. After his discharge, he returned to his grocery-store job, traveled briefly in New England and the South, and around 1871 moved to New York City, where he took a job as a porter in a commission house.

Always concerned about public morals, Comstock was deeply distressed by the dissolute life he found in the city and by the government's failure to control it. In 1873 he initiated a personal crusade against pornography and, with the support of such prominent New York citizens as J. PIERPONT MORGAN, created a committee of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), of which he was an active member, to combat it. So fierce were his efforts that some members of the YMCA accused him of entrapment, and he called on his supporters to help organize an independent New York branch of the London Society for the Suppression of Vice. As the secretary and main agent of the society, unpaid until about 1907, he devoted himself full time to social reform. That year he was made a special agent of the U.S. Post Office Department, which authorized him to cull the mail for improper material, and his organization lobbied CONGRESS successfully to pass a law against sending obscene material through the mails. By the end of his life, he boasted that the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice had been responsible for the arrest of 3,670 criminals and the destruction of 160 tons of obscene literature and pictures.

Although he was chiefly known for his campaign against what he considered obscene literature and art, Comstock also opposed abortion, birth control, gambling, fraudulent banking schemes, and medical quackery, and he inveighed against popular romances and adventure books, which he called "vampire literature" and believed led young readers into sin. He wrote *Frauds Exposed* (1880), reporting on his crusade against the use of the mail to promote swindles and immoral social practices, and *Gambling Outrages* (1887), about the pernicious influence of horse racing.

In both he defended his ruthless and often devious methods of trapping and persecuting the evildoers he perceived as corrupting society. His efforts at suppressing George Bernard Shaw's 1905 play *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, a sympathetic presentation of prostitution, led that playwright to coin the term *comstockery*, which entered the language as a synonym for narrow-minded prudery and moralistic censorship. Comstock died on September 21, 1915.

**Further reading:** Nicola Beisel, *Imperiled Innocents: Anthony Comstock and Family Reproduction in Victorian America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Heywood Broun and Margaret Leech, *Anthony Comstock:*

*Roundsman of the Lord* (New York: A. C. Boni, 1927); Paul S. Boyer, *Purity in Print: The Vice-Society Movement and Book Censorships in America* (New York: Scribner 1968); Paul S. Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820–1920* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978).

—Dennis Wepman

## Congress

In the division of power among Congress, the president, and the SUPREME COURT, Congress had the largest share throughout the late 19th century. The ebb and flow of power within the federal government is the product of the times, personalities, and traditions. The Civil War (1861–65) required President Abraham Lincoln to enhance the power of the executive, but the policies and behavior of his inept successor Andrew Johnson (1865–69) eroded presidential prestige and enabled Congress to dominate the Reconstruction process. By 1870, although President Ulysses S. Grant was very popular, Congress had reoccupied its traditional position as the maker of laws and the president was, once again, primarily the administrator of those laws. Presidents did address problems and call for legislation in their annual messages to Congress, but Congress responded to those pleas in its own way or not at all.

Congressional power, in large part, depended on congressional dominance of the political process. Presidents, presidential nominees, and national committees were only nominally at the head of their political parties. The national parties were loose alliances of highly organized state and local parties that were, for the most part, firmly in control of senators and congressmen. In playing their dual roles as legislators and party leaders, they tended to emphasize organization rather than issues. To staff their political machines they relied on civil servants (postmasters, customhouse officers, internal revenue collectors, and so on) in their states and districts. Civil service appointments, nominally in the hands of the president and heads of departments, were actually made—especially outside Washington—on the recommendation of senators and representatives. CIVIL SERVICE REFORM was anathema to virtually all of them, since appointments on the basis of competitive examinations open to all would result in a politically neutral civil service and destroy their machines.

The outstanding political leaders of the late 19th century were often found in Congress but were rarely identified with a cause or a principle. The most prominent Republican of that era was not a president, but was JAMES G. BLAINE, who spent 20 years in Congress, was nominated for the presidency (and lost), and was a two-time secretary of state. Blaine actually did embrace some issues



(protective tariff, Pan-Americanism, IMPERIALISM), but he was idolized by Republican regulars as a party organization man. Most members of the House of Representatives served only a few two-year terms before moving on to the Senate, like ROSCOE CONKLING, or to a governorship, like RUTHERFORD B. HAYES. Senators, in contrast, served for much longer periods because they were elected for six-year terms by state legislatures, which as heads of state parties they dominated. Conkling, a Republican senator from New York (1867–81), was perhaps the most prominent member of the Senate in the 1870s, but he is identified with no issue, bill, or act of Congress and is remembered for resigning the Senate in a petulant rage after being denied the patronage of the New York customhouse. Conkling is an extreme example, but virtually all senators and representatives paid close attention to patronage matters.

Organization remained important, but the trend in the 1880s and especially in the 1890s was toward the embracing of issues. Rapid industrial and urban growth and economic depressions spawned problems and pressures that could not be ignored. In addition, civil service reform legislation (1883) reduced the patronage and dried up the flow of cash from civil servants into party coffers. At the same time, industrialists increased their contributions and, as a consequence, their influence in politics. Senator Nelson Aldrich, a Rhode Island Republican who served from 1881 to 1911, championed the interests of big business in general and the protective tariff in particular while a loan from the American Sugar Refining Company enabled him to build his personal fortune. Along with Aldrich, Representative WILLIAM MCKINLEY was a major influence on the 1890 MCKINLEY TARIFF, and although the latter's identification with that measure led to an initial defeat, it also led to his ultimate nomination and election as president in 1896. On the other hand, the plight of America's farmers led WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, who in the 1890s served briefly in the House, to advocate Free Silver (see FREE SILVER MOVEMENT), which in 1896 secured for him the Democratic nomination for the presidency.

Congress, while moving to embrace issues in the 1880s and 1890s, was not particularly influenced by the presidency. Congress legislated but did so under pressure from constituents. Presidents played little or no role in formulating, and at times opposed, major legislation. Responding to demands for currency expansion, Congress in 1874 passed a mildly inflationary bill, which President Grant vetoed. In 1878 Congress passed the BLAND-ALLISON ACT—providing for the coinage of 2 million to 4 million silver dollars monthly—over Hayes's veto. Under the lash of public opinion, Congress adopted the 1883 PENDLETON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ACT, which was written by Dorman B. Eaton of the New York Civil Service Reform Association. Although he did not like it, President CHESTER A.

ARTHUR felt compelled to sign it into law. President GROVER CLEVELAND approved the Interstate Commerce Act (1887) but had nothing to do with either its form or its passage. After the Supreme Court declared state regulation of interstate commerce unconstitutional, public opinion again forced Congress to act.

Congress, reflecting local business interests, all but ignored presidential pleas when constructing tariff legislation. Arthur's call for a 20 percent reduction resulted in minor reductions in the Mongrel Tariff (1883), and Cleveland's calls for reductions were either ignored (Mills Bill, 1888) or decimated (Wilson-Gorman Tariff, 1894). The reciprocity feature of the 1890 McKinley Tariff reflected Secretary of State Blaine's views, but its high rates and the even greater protectionism of the 1897 Dingley Tariff were the creations of Congress.

By 1900 Congress remained the paramount branch of the federal government, but it was more disciplined than in 1870, and an economic crisis and a war in the 1890s had by 1900 enhanced the power of the presidency. Speaker of the House THOMAS B. REED (1889–91, 1895–99) forced the adoption of rules that expedited legislation, and the Senate by the late 1890s was led by Aldrich and a few other long-term Republican cohorts. But while Congress became more focused, the modern presidency, exploiting issues and rallying public opinion, began to emerge with William McKinley and would flower with Theodore Roosevelt and other 20th-century presidents who would dominate Congress.

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### **Conkling, Roscoe** (1829–1888) *politician*

Although he served in both houses of Congress, Roscoe Conkling's renown is not as a legislator but as the quintessential spoilsman of the Gilded Age, the political boss of New York. Born in Albany, New York, on October 30, 1829, Conkling was the son of Alfred Conkling, a federal district judge (1825–52) and minister to Mexico (1852–53). Roscoe Conkling studied law in Utica, New York, passed the bar examination in 1850, entered politics as a Whig, joined the Republicans with the demise of the Whig Party, and became mayor of Utica. In 1858 Conkling was elected to CONGRESS, serving in the House (1859–63, 1865–67) and the Senate (1867–81).

Although regarded as a leader of the Senate during the 1870s, Conkling is not associated with any acts of Congress

or even bills before it. Handsome, vain, and arrogant, he was a skilled debater and an eloquent orator, but he was more inspired by politics than by issues. His speech opposing the Legal Tender Act of 1862 (Conkling consistently opposed currency inflation) was exceptional; the speeches his auditors remembered to their dying day, and which are still quoted, were made at political conventions. At the 1877 New York State Republican Convention, for example, Conkling vehemently attacked the editor and civil service reformer George William Curtis, lecturing him “that parties are not built up by deportment, or by ladies’ magazines, or gush” and sneering that “when Dr. Johnson defined patriotism as the last refuge of a scoundrel, he was unconscious of the then undeveloped capabilities and uses of the word reform.”

Conkling was infuriated with Curtis, reformers, and especially President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES because they threatened his control of the New York Republican Party, which was based on his control of the New York customhouse, post office, and other federal patronage plums awarded him by President Ulysses S. Grant, with whom Conkling was closely allied. In 1877 Hayes had not only banned political assessments of civil servants and ordered them to cease their management of political conventions and campaigns, but he had also moved to fire Conkling’s lieutenant, CHESTER A. ARTHUR, as head of the New York customhouse. Conkling fought back, arguing “senatorial courtesy” (the established practice of allowing senators to designate appointees to field offices in their states), and for a time he prevented Senate confirmation of a successor to Arthur, but Hayes ultimately prevailed and, to Conkling’s chagrin, made the customhouse a showcase for CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

Conkling, however, hoped to regain control of the customhouse with the next administration. He and fellow STALWARTS worked mightily to secure Grant’s nomination for a third term in 1880 (Conkling’s nominating speech was perhaps the greatest of his career) but failed. Although disappointed with the Republican nominee, JAMES A. GARFIELD (and not at all happy that Arthur accepted the second place on the ticket), Conkling and his followers, after initially sitting on their hands, campaigned and Garfield triumphed. The Stalwarts were activated by what they took to be the promise of patronage—specifically the New York customhouse—but President Garfield awarded the customhouse to a lieutenant of Conkling’s arch enemy, JAMES G. BLAINE. Conkling once again appealed to senatorial courtesy and once again went down to defeat. He resigned his seat, expecting the New York state legislature to reelect and vindicate him, but it failed to do so.

Out of politics and practicing law in New York City, Conkling ironically had a greater influence on policy (as distinct from politics) than he had had as a senator. In 1882 he argued before the SUPREME COURT that the DUE PRO-

CESS CLAUSE should apply to corporations as well as to individuals, an interpretation the Court subsequently adopted. Conkling died in New York City on April 18, 1888.

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## conservation

The American conservation movement from 1870 to 1900 is marked by several significant federally sponsored acts, including the congressional establishment of the first national park, Yellowstone National Park, in 1872; the founding of the National Forest Reserve program in 1891; and the creation of government offices to oversee natural resources. For the first time in American history, federal legislation protected wildlife by establishing refuges and encouraged the careful management of natural resources.

Two sometimes conflicting goals defined conservation efforts at the end of the 19th century: preservation and conservation. Economic growth following the Civil War and the continuing westward expansion stripped the land of forests and wildlife. The rapid depletion of natural resources, as well as a belief in the sanctity of nature, inspired preservationists like JOHN MUIR to call on policy makers to preserve wilderness for its own sake. Conservationists, influenced by utilitarian ideas, recognized the economic incentives in successfully managing the environment, specifically timber resources, as they moved to maximize yield and profit. During this time, scenic tourism, outdoor activities such as hiking and bird watching, and landscape architecture grew in popularity as Americans embraced nature and both the conservation and preservation movements.

CONGRESS established initial federal stewardship positions under either the Department of Agriculture or the Department of the Interior. The Interior Department oversaw the U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, which was established in 1879. At the state level, in 1885 New York created the Adirondack Forest Preserve and the New York State Reservation at Niagara Falls. Capitalizing on tourism at Niagara Falls, New York retained the services of noted landscape architects Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903) and Calvert Vaux (1824–95) to beautify the surrounding area to draw more visitors. In 1892 New York created Adirondack Park, amending its constitution in 1894 to ban logging activities there, which was a victory for preservationists.

The federal push to manage logging and protect forests started in earnest in the late 1880s. In 1886 Congress established the Division of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture, the forerunner of the U.S. Forest Service.

Congress then passed the Forest Reserve Act in 1891, which allowed the president to create forest reserves, a pre-

cursor of the national forest system. President BENJAMIN HARRISON immediately took advantage of this legislation, setting aside land in Wyoming for reserves. In 1896 the American Academy of Sciences established a committee on forests, calling for a scientific forest management policy to manage timber resources, a shift from preservation goals. In response, Congress passed a forest management act in 1897, also known as the Organic Act, that designated forest reserves as resources for timber, mining, and grazing. In 1898 Gifford Pinchot (1865–1946), who headed the Academy of Sciences committee on forests, was appointed chief of the Division of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture. Pinchot had studied forestry in Europe, where the stress was on management principles rather than preservation, and he focused on bringing together public-interest and forest-industry groups as he built support for the academy's ideas about scientific forest management. Pinchot would eventually clash with John Muir over the issue of grazing rights and conservation policy.

Strong initiatives to promote economic wildlife management also date to the late 1880s. Congress established the Division of Economic Ornithology and Mammalogy under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture in 1886; the office would later become the Bureau of Biological Survey. In 1889 Congress moved to protect Alaskan salmon fisheries, and in 1891 President Harrison created the first national wildlife refuge in Alaska: the Afognak Forest and Fish-Culture Reserve. In 1894 Congress banned hunting in Yellowstone National Park, thus setting a precedent for species preservation in national parks.

Other large national parks conceived during this era include California's Sequoia and Yosemite National Parks, which were established by Congress within days of each other in 1890. Mount Rainier National Park in the state of Washington was established in 1899. Several still-extant private organizations dedicated to preservation began in the 1890s, an indication of public support for an early form of environmentalism. In 1892 John Muir founded the Sierra Club and in 1896 the first Audubon Society was established in Massachusetts. At the close of the 19th century, the National Park movement had become a global phenomenon, with national parks established across the British Commonwealth, Mexico, and Russia.

**Further reading:** Stephen Fox, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981); Roderick Frazier Nash, *American Environmentalism: Readings in Conservation History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990); Dyan Zaslowsky and T. H. Watkins, *These American Lands: Parks, Wilderness, and the Public Lands* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1994).

—Scott Sendrow

## contract labor

The term *contract labor* generally refers to alien workers imported under the Contract Labor Act of 1864. Designed to address the labor shortage accompanying the Civil War, the law permitted employers to recruit workers in Europe and advance them the cost of their transportation to America. The loan was secured by a lien, for not more than 12 months, against the immigrants' wages and all property that they might acquire in the United States. As a further inducement, the law exempted immigrants from the military draft.

Organizations such as the American Emigrant Company, capitalized at \$1 million, quickly formed to recruit workers and supply them to manufacturers. Established immigrants also took advantage of the law, using their knowledge of English and American customs to exploit their compatriots after they arrived. Some of the most unscrupulous brought over entire families, placing the men in jobs, forcing the women into prostitution, and driving the children into the streets to shine shoes, beg, or steal for them.

Although contract laborers were relatively few in number, American workers blamed them for lowering wages and denounced them as strikebreakers. Both the National Labor Union and the KNIGHTS OF LABOR agitated for the repeal of the 1864 law, and their efforts finally resulted in the passage of the Foran Act in 1885. That act, however, contained a major loophole in that it forbade only prevoyage contracts. But even without this loophole, the act was difficult to enforce. The exact number of immigrant contract laborers is unknown, but the practice most likely continues to this day.

Convicts were another form of contract labor as governments sought to recoup the cost of keeping prisoners. In some instances prisons became factories manufacturing products for general consumption. Some states even leased their inmates to employers on a per diem basis. Organized labor protested that consumer goods produced by convicts represented unfair wage competition and demanded that it be stopped. Northern states began abolishing their convict labor systems in the 1880s, and the federal government stopped contracting its prisoners in 1887. By 1900 the system prevailed only in the South.

**Further reading:** Humbert S. Nelli, "The Italian Padrone System in the United States," *Labor History* (1964): 153–167.

—Harold W. Aurand

**Cooke, Jay** See VOLUME V.

## corruption, political

In the popular imagination as well as in scholarly works, the Gilded Age is perceived as an especially debased period of

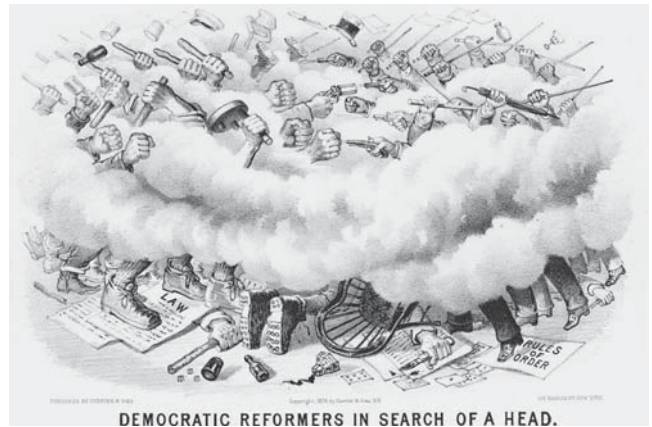


American history. It was corrupt and its corrupters were often blatant, but it also abounded in active and vociferous reformers who publicized and at times exaggerated the shortcomings of the day. The Gilded Age, however, was not the only era in which politicians rigged elections, policy-making officials accepted bribes, administrators awarded padded contracts for public works and services, and civil servants extorted or stole money.

Prior to the adoption of the secret ballot in the 1890s, voters were frequently purchased in swing states like Indiana or marched to the polls on company time in Pennsylvania, where they voted as directed by their coal mine or steel mill boss. Lax registration procedures in cities enabled the Republican machine in Philadelphia, for example, or the Democratic machine in New York, to use “repeaters” who cast votes for fictitious names and for those long since dead. Voters were also “colonized” across state lines. Ballot boxes were “stuffed” with votes no one had cast legitimately. While some northern industrialists intimidated employees, southern white supremacists intimidated blacks. In the most violent and disgraceful election in American history they gained control of Mississippi in 1875 by threatening, beating, and murdering blacks to keep them from voting. By 1900 the secret ballot had reduced cheating at the polls, but southern blacks were totally disfranchised.

Throughout the country, however, most potential voters could vote and most votes were cast legitimately, but a close election could be determined by fraud or violence, and the four elections from 1876 to 1888 were close. Republican fraud prevailed over Democratic violence in the disputed presidential election of 1876, but it is impossible to determine who would have won if all enfranchised voters had been allowed to vote and their votes accurately counted. It is impossible to say whether or not zealous Republicans threw out too many Democratic votes to make up for intimidated black Republicans. In 1888 the successful Republican nominee BENJAMIN HARRISON thanked God for his victory, but his cynical campaign manager Matthew Quay observed that God had nothing to do with it, quipping that a number of men risked the penitentiary to put Harrison in the White House.

With the spectacular rise of industry in the late 19th century, businesspeople were anxious to curry favor with powerful politicians who were in a position to make or break a venture. Railroads, some of which were dependent on land grants and all of which were subject to some governmental regulation as public carriers, were especially active in influencing politicians, but so too were large-scale importers and distillers. These supplicants attempted to seduce power brokers using a variety of methods, ranging from flattery in mansions and on boats to investment opportunities, generous loans, exorbitant fees, and outright bribery. JAY GOULD and James Fisk of the Erie Railroad in



This cartoon parodies the strife and corruption within the New York Democratic Party (*Harper's Weekly*)

1868 bribed the New York state legislature with \$1 million to legitimize the issuance of watered stock. The following year—after entertaining and temporarily duping President Ulysses S. Grant—they briefly cornered the gold market, sold short, made \$11 million, and ruined many. During the Gilded Age, the Pennsylvania Railroad dominated the government of Pennsylvania, and the real capital of California reputedly was not Sacramento but the offices of the Southern Pacific Railroad.

Congressmen were also corrupted. Several accepted stock in the Credit Mobilier, the construction company controlled by insiders that made exorbitant profits in building the Union Pacific Railroad with federal funds. Speaker of the House JAMES G. BLAINE received \$64,000 from the Union Pacific (which he was in a position to help) for some nearly worthless Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad bonds, a payment that cost him the presidency. JAMES A. GARFIELD, however, gained the presidency despite having received a \$329 Credit Mobilier dividend (he said it was a \$300 loan) and a \$5,000 fee from a paving firm that he helped secure a contract for Washington streets. That fee was chicken feed compared with Boss William M. Tweed's \$1 million from the Erie Railroad for his legal services or the \$5 million loan to Senator Nelson Aldrich—the major architect of Gilded Age tariff rates—from the American Sugar Refining Company, the major importer of the nation's most valuable import.

Garfield was not alone in making money from a government contract. The New York County Courthouse built by the TWEED RING for \$12 million (three times what it should have cost) enriched insiders by padding contracts. Construction projects were especially lucrative for local politicians, and some like George W. Plunkitt of Tammany Hall differentiated between honest and dishonest graft. Plunkitt would have no part in outright stealing,



but he saw no harm in profiting personally from the inside information politicians were often privy to. Urban bosses regularly awarded transportation franchises in exchange for hefty political contributions. The most spectacular example of padded contracts on the federal level were the STAR ROUTE FRAUDS. In the late 1870s contracts for mail service in remote corners of the West were fraudulently increased by approximately \$2 million, and this money helped finance the 1880 Republican presidential campaign. Postal officials who perpetrated the star route frauds—and urban bosses who padded contracts and sold franchises—funneled most of the money they realized into political party organizations in an effort to perpetuate their power.

Civil servants involved in collecting taxes often took bribes. The New York customhouse was notorious in the 1870s among New Yorkers for taking advantage of importers, but non-New Yorkers claimed it allowed New York firms to skirt regulations and achieve an advantage over competing merchants in other cities with honest customs officials. In St. Louis a group of distillers and internal revenue agents with ties to Grant's personal secretary defrauded the government of large sums of money in a conspiracy known as the Whiskey Ring.

With the passage of the 1883 Pendleton Act, CIVIL SERVICE REFORM decreased blatant political corruption. As public officers became less partisan and more professional, and with the outlawing of political assessments, politicians depended less and less on civil servants (and what by hook or by crook they could realize from their positions) for funding campaigns. And as the public service became politically neutral, politicians turned instead to businessmen for contributions and became increasingly amenable to their demands, further blurring the line between a contribution and a bribe.

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### Coxey's Army (1894)

In 1893 the United States experienced one of the greatest financial collapses in its history, and one of its results was Coxey's Army. The panic of 1893 brought about the most severe economic depression the nation had yet experienced. All across the United States, businesses filed for bankruptcy, banks failed, factories and mines shut down, agricultural prices declined, and a large number of Americans were laid off from their jobs. The economic depression undermined the public's confidence in the economy and caused social unrest among the nation's unemployed. Several small groups or "armies" of the unemployed began

to organize demonstrations and called on the government to take measures to relieve unemployment.

In 1894 Jacob S. Coxey, an Ohio businessman, social reformer, and Populist concerned about the families of unemployed Americans, began to advocate a vast program of public works financed by inflated currency to provide jobs for the unemployed. He demanded that CONGRESS authorize the federal government to print and distribute \$500 million in paper money to state and local governments to hire unemployed workers for road construction projects. Individuals hired to work on government-sponsored construction projects would receive at least \$1.50 a day in wages. In spring 1894, Coxey planned to gather a large group of unemployed workers and "send a petition to Washington with boots on." He envisioned an enormous grassroots march to the capital to promote his ideas.

On Easter Sunday, Coxey left Massillon, Ohio, with several hundred followers. The group became known as "Coxey's Army" and drew nationwide attention. Other "armies" sprang up about the country and headed for Washington hoping to persuade Congress to authorize federal programs that would provide work. Conservatives feared that the demonstrators would swell to more than 100,000 people and foment a revolution, but their fears were exaggerated. Of all the armies that set out for Washington, Coxey's Army was the only group to actually reach the nation's capital.

When Coxey's Army arrived in Washington on May Day, it numbered only 500 instead of the threatened 100,000. The marchers found armed police lining the streets and blocking the approaches to the Capitol. When Coxey and two others tried to reach the Capitol, the police clubbed and then arrested them for trespassing. Coxey's followers were dispersed by club-wielding police and detained in makeshift camps. Coxey was sentenced to 20 days in jail. The callous treatment of Coxey and his supporters convinced many unemployed Americans that the government had little interest in their plight. Although Coxey's Army and others like it were disbanded, public discontent over the government's response to the economic crisis remained. Ironically, the essence of Coxey's major idea was later implemented during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

See also CURRENCY ISSUE; PEOPLE'S PARTY.

**Further reading:** Carlos A. Schwantes, *Coxey's Army: An American Odyssey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).

—Phillip Papas

### Crane, Stephen (1871–1900) *novelist, journalist*

Realistic novelist Stephen Crane was born on November 1, 1871, in Newark, New Jersey, the 14th and last child of Jonathan Townley Crane, a Methodist minister and writer

of religious books who died when the boy was eight years old, and Mary Helen Peck, a correspondent for religious newspapers. In 1882 his family settled in Asbury Park, New Jersey, where he attended Pennington Academy; he later went to the Hudson River Institute in Claverack, New York, a military academy, and spent a term each at Lafayette College in Pennsylvania and Syracuse University in New York. While in college he helped finance his education by selling articles to the *Detroit Free Press* and the *New York Tribune*, and in 1891 he left school for New York to make his living as a writer.

Crane spent the next few years struggling to support himself as a freelance reporter, placing occasional stories with the *Herald* and the *Tribune*, but his imaginative accounts of news events were seldom acceptable to editors. Living in the poorest neighborhoods, he became acquainted with city life at the bottom of the social and economic scale, and during this period he rewrote a novel he had sketched out while in college. Set in the New York slums, *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* was too harshly realistic to find a publisher, and in 1893 Crane borrowed \$700 to have it printed privately under the pseudonym Johnston Smith. It sold only 100 copies, but its powerful picture of the degradation of city life won the respect of several important writers, including WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, then the dean of American letters, and HAMLIN GARLAND.

Crane's novel *The Red Badge of Courage*, an account of a terrified young recruit's first experience of battle, was published with Howells's help in 1895. It established Crane's reputation as a writer of extraordinary psychological insight but earned him only \$90. It did, however, win him many newspaper assignments. He traveled in the West and Mexico for a newspaper syndicate and, in addition to travel articles, wrote several distinguished short stories. In 1897 he was hired to report on the rebellion in CUBA and was sent to Greece to write about that country's war with Turkey. The next year he reported the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR. In 1898, while battling an illness contracted in his strenuous travels as a correspondent, he married Cora Taylor, the madam of a brothel in Jacksonville, Florida.

Strongly influenced in his prose by the French naturalist writers, he was also affected by the poetry of EMILY DICKINSON, whom he was one of the first to appreciate. In 1895 he published *The Black Riders*, a volume of highly personal free verse viewed by many critics as a forerunner of imagism in American poetry. His collection *War Is Kind* (1899) provided further inspiration for modernism in American verse. In 1899 Crane, now seriously ill, moved with his wife to England, where he came to know such literary figures as HENRY JAMES and Joseph Conrad. Deeply in debt, he frantically wrote potboilers during his last year but also produced some of his best work, including *The Monster and Other Stories* (1899), an exploration of rac-

ism. His reputation as America's first major realist writer has continued to grow since his death at age 28 on June 5, 1900.

**Further reading:** John Berryman, *Stephen Crane*, rev. ed. (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2001); David Halliburton, *The Color of Sky: A Study of Stephen Crane* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

—Dennis Wepman

### **Crazy Horse (Tashunca-uitco)** (ca. 1840–1877)

*leader in the Sioux wars*

A renowned Oglala Sioux warrior, Crazy Horse is best known for defeating General George Armstrong Custer at the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876, part of the SIOUX WARS. Crazy Horse was born to an Oglala father and a Miniconjou mother near what is modern-day Rapid City, South Dakota. The warrior spent time with both the Oglala and Brulé Sioux Indian tribes, and he received his name, translated as His Horse Is Crazy, from his father, who believed his son would grow into a great warrior.

Crazy Horse became a hunter and warrior at a young age and soon led raids against rival tribes and white settlers. In 1868 Crazy Horse, while still in his early 20s, earned his status of a "shirt-wearer," or head warrior, among the Oglala. (He would later lose this honor in 1870 after being shot by the jealous husband of a woman with whom he was romantically linked.) Crazy Horse rose to prominence during the War for the Bozeman Trail (1866–68), fighting alongside Oglala warrior RED CLOUD against the U.S. Army over the establishment of Fort Phil Kearny at the base of the Bighorn Mountains. The Sioux were successful in earning a stalemate against the army, which led to the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie that recognized the Black Hills and the Yellowstone River Basin as Oglala Lakota territory and established a Sioux reservation in South Dakota. Red Cloud accepted the treaty and peace, but Crazy Horse accepted neither and became the leader of the nontreaty Sioux, hostile both to rival tribes and white incursions.

Following the economic crisis stemming from the panic of 1873, white settlers, who suspected that the Black Hills region of the Oglala's land was a potential source of gold, called on the federal government to purchase the area from the tribe. At the same time, the army wanted to establish a strategic base in the Black Hills to guard against Indian attacks, which led to General Custer's expedition into the Black Hills region in July 1874. When the expedition discovered gold, white prospectors rushed into the Black Hills. The U.S. government subsequently attempted to lease the Black Hills from the Oglala, but when the tribe declined, the government tried in the dead of winter to force all Oglala to a reservation out of the region. In 1876

troops attacked the Oglala who had not complied, beginning the Sioux War of the Black Hills (1876–77). During the early stages of the war, the army did badly. Through his personal links, Crazy Horse brought together other Lakota as well as the Northern Cheyenne Nation and successfully defended the upper Rosebud portion of the Black Hills in the Battle of Rosebud Creek on June 17, 1876. Crazy Horse's subsequent charges on June 25, 1876, annihilated General Custer's command at the Battle of the Little Bighorn (Custer's Last Stand).

Although successful in ensuing battles, Crazy Horse and his forces surrendered on May 5, 1877, at Camp Robinson, Nebraska, brokering an agreement to establish a reservation for the Oglala Sioux. This arrangement failed to materialize, and General Crook, worried that Crazy Horse might escape to lead another uprising, ordered his imprisonment. In carrying out that order a soldier bayoneted and killed Crazy Horse on September 5, 1877, at Camp Robinson.

**Further reading:** Stephen E. Ambrose, *Crazy Horse and Custer: The Parallel Lives of Two American Warriors* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975); Larry McMurtry, *Crazy Horse* (New York: Viking, 1999); Mari Sandoz, *Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Oglalas* (New York: Knopf, 1942).

—Scott Sendrow

### Crime of '73 (1873)

Up to 1873 the United States had followed a monetary policy of Bimetallism, which recognized both gold and silver as the basis for the dollar. The government had coined silver at the ratio of 16 to one: there was 16 times as much silver in a silver dollar as there was gold in a gold dollar. The 16-to-one ratio, however, had undervalued silver ever since the 1849 California gold rush lowered the price of gold. Subsequently, silver-mine owners sold their product commercially rather than to the government for coins, virtually taking silver dollars out of circulation. Since the silver dollar had almost disappeared, several monetary experts urged Congress to stop the coinage of silver and place the United States on the gold standard.

The Coinage Act of 1873 demonetized silver and made the gold dollar the monetary standard for the nation. Ironically, just as the Coinage Act passed, the discovery of new silver mines in Nevada and other parts of the Far West increased the production of silver, thus leading to a decline in its price. In 1873 the United States also entered a period of economic depression. The American farmer was struck hardest as agricultural prices plummeted. Because of declining agricultural prices and the desire of western silver producers to see the demand for silver increase, farming

and western silver interests joined together in demanding the “free” (unlimited) coinage of silver at the 16-to-one ratio. Farmers supported the FREE SILVER MOVEMENT to increase the nation's money supply, which they believed would bring about the recovery of agricultural prices. Western silver-mine operators simply wanted the government to purchase their surpluses.

Free silver advocates described the Coinage Act of 1873 as the Crime of '73. They insisted that the law was at the center of a conspiracy orchestrated by eastern creditors (bankers and financiers) to control the money supply and prevent price recovery. This conspiracy, it was said, intended to replace silver, which represented the “people's money,” with gold, the currency of bankers and big business. Defenders of the Coinage Act argued that it was enacted in anticipation of a decline in silver prices because of the new discoveries made in the Far West. These discoveries had increased the silver supply by 20 percent. It was argued that if silver had not been demonetized, then bimetallism at the 16-to-one ratio would have caused a run on the nation's gold reserve and driven gold out of circulation.

Advocates of Free Silver urged the restoration of the “free and unlimited coinage” of silver at the 16-to-one ratio, but they had only limited success. The Coinage Act was partially repealed by the BLAND-ALLISON ACT (1878), which authorized the government to purchase, at market prices, not less than \$2 million and not more than \$4 million worth of silver monthly and mint it into silver dollars. It in turn was superseded by the Sherman Silver Purchase Act (1890, repealed 1893), which required the government to purchase 4.5 million ounces of silver monthly. Neither act drove the United States from the gold standard.

See also CURRENCY ISSUE; FREE SILVER MOVEMENT.

**Further reading:** Walter T. K. Nugent, *Money and American Society, 1865–1880* (New York: Free Press, 1968); Allen Weinstein, *Prelude to Populism: Origins of the Silver Issue, 1867–1878* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970).

—Phillip Papas

### Crummell, Alexander (1819–1898) *Episcopal minister, African-American rights activist, educator*

Alexander Crummell, pan-African advocate, was the son of Boston Crummell, who had been kidnapped in West Africa and enslaved in New York. Boston declared himself free to his owner without any reprisals. After marrying Charity Hicks, a free woman, Boston established an oyster house at 6 Varick Street in Manhattan. It was at this location that *Freedom's Journal*, the nation's first black newspaper, was published in 1827. Alexander Crummell, who was born on March 3, 1819, attended the African Free School in Man-

hattan and then Noyes Academy in Canaan, New Hampshire, where a mob forced the integrated school to close. He transferred to Oneida Institute in Whitesboro, New York. Encouraged by Reverend Peter Williams, a cofounder of *Freedom's Journal*, Crummell applied for admission to the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church but was rejected because he was black. Crummell, nevertheless, studied privately for the ministry and in 1844 was ordained. He experienced poverty while shepherding small groups in Providence, Philadelphia, and New York and working in the antislavery movement. In 1847 he went to England to raise a building fund for the New York Church of the Messiah. Supported by British philanthropists, Crummell studied at Queens College, Cambridge University, graduating in 1853.

Unwilling to return to the United States and endure racism within the church, Crummell—who was influenced by Peter Williams's black nationalist ideology—immigrated to Liberia, where for nearly 20 years he worked as a missionary, educator, and a public moralist. A victim of Liberia's colorphobia politics (light-complexioned mulattoes dominated society), the dark-complexioned Crummell returned to the United States in 1872 and remained in Washington, D.C., until his death on September 10, 1898.

Crummell, stern and unyielding in his beliefs, was most passionate about uplifting the black race. Crummell noted in 1875, in "The Social Principle Among a People; and Its Bearing on Their Progress and Development," that black men needed to engage in a cooperative spirit to establish farms, businesses, and mechanical enterprises. He told them never to forget that they were colored men or to "give up all distinctive effort, as colored men, in schools, churches, associations and friendly societies." He eschewed agitation, which he viewed as mainly "wind and vanity." Instead, Crummell proposed that blacks needed to gain superiority to end racial prejudice. He argued that as their character rose, whites would forget that they were people of color. While he recognized that AFRICAN AMERICANS needed power, he believed that it came from character and that "character is the product of religion, intelligence, virtue, family order, superiority, wealth and the show of industrial forces. THESE ARE FORCES WHICH WE DO NOT POSSESS," he proclaimed.

Crummell was an early supporter of colonization programs, but he later became disdainful of African values and traditions, preferring the value system of upper-class New Englanders. Despite his own immigration to Liberia, Crummell in later years was critical of emigration schemes proposed by HENRY M. TURNER and others. Crummell believed that individuals had a responsibility to uplift the masses from ignorance and that salvation would come from their own resources rather than from either white philanthropists or an appeal to white guilt. He was proud of being

an African American and considered "colored," then popular among the elite (and which he had used earlier) as a "milk bastard term." Crummell organized the American Negro Academy in 1897 as an organization to advance the race through the leadership and contributions of "a talented tenth." While he did not wish to neglect industrial education, he argued that the race needed scholars and thinkers who were willing to use their intelligence "to transform and stimulate the souls of a race of a people." He noted that intelligent scholars must be inspired with "the notion of leadership and duty . . . for all true and lofty scholarship is weighted with the burdens and responsibilities of life and humanity." Crummell, an inspirational advocate of black self-reliance and a pioneer of pan-Africanism, believed that the key to African-American leadership lay in a thorough grounding in the classics, social sciences, and liberal arts. After his death on September 10, 1898, the academy attracted a who's who of black America throughout the first two decades of the 20th century.

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—William Seraile

## Cuba

Located 90 miles off the coast of Florida, Cuba was a colony of Spain that became the principal battlefield of the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR. In the late 19th century Cuba twice attempted to throw off the yoke of Spanish domination. In 1868 a band of free whites and mulattoes touched off an insurrection, subsequently called the Ten Years' War, that would involve upwards of 12,000 combatants and eventually capture several large towns. The United States refused to intervene, considering the whole affair an internal problem of Spain.

But the insurrectionist cause had great sympathy among the American public that was translated into action. The rebels were aided by arms and by American soldiers of fortune known as filibusters, much to the annoyance of the Spanish authorities. In 1873 a former Confederate blockade runner, the *Virginius*, loaded with arms and filibusters, was captured by the Spanish. The governor of Santiago, Captain-General Juan Burriel, convened a court-martial that convicted the crew and passengers of piracy and sentenced them to death. When the United States learned that 53 people had been executed, the Grant administration demanded that Spain return the ship and its survivors to the United States, pay an indemnity, and punish Burriel. If such action were not taken within 12 days, the U.S.



minister to Spain was instructed to close the legation and return home. One day after the deadline Spain agreed to the demands and paid an \$80,000 indemnity. Spain delayed punishing Burriel for four years, by which time the general had passed away. The *VIRGINIUS AFFAIR* served to increase anti-Spanish feeling among Americans but did not lead to intervention.

The Ten Years' War ended in 1878, but another insurrection began in 1895. Spain responded by sending General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, a ruthless soldier of mixed Prussian and Spanish ancestry, who adopted a policy called *reconcentrado*. The plan involved herding the populace into fortified towns in order to prevent them from supplying aid to the rebels. Villagers were burned out of their homes and farms. The plan caused widespread starvation and disease as people lost their means of feeding themselves. The plan did little to abate the insurrection, but American sympathy for the rebels was progressively increased by the Cuban junta, a propaganda machine operated by revolutionary exiles that lobbied the American press and CONGRESS for Cuban independence. When the rebel leader General Máximo Gómez responded in kind and began burning the plantations of the rich Creoles, Cuba quickly descended into a hopeless cycle of violence. The chaos also threatened the nearly \$50 million worth of American investments in the island, most of it in sugar plantations and railways. Although Congress passed resolutions in support of the rebels, President GROVER CLEVELAND maintained a strict noninterventionist policy regarding Cuba.

Matters boiled over in 1898 when a series of events triggered the Spanish-American War. On February 9, 1898, the *New York Journal* published the DE LÔME LETTER. The Spanish minister to the United States, Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, wrote the letter to an acquaintance in Havana. In the letter he described Cleveland's successor WILLIAM McKINLEY as "weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crowd." The furor over the letter forced de Lôme to resign. Two weeks later the battleship USS *Maine* was destroyed in Havana Harbor. When a naval court of inquiry determined that it had been sunk by a mine but failed to identify who perpetrated the deed, the press and public insisted on attributing the sinking to Spanish treachery. On April 19, 1898, Congress declared war on Spain but added the Teller Amendment, which pledged that the United States would not annex Cuba. Despite logistical mistakes, American troops landed in Cuba on June 22 and within four months had captured Santiago and forced the Spanish to surrender. The Americans suffered a minimal amount of battle casualties during the Cuban campaign, but nearly 5,000 died from tropical diseases.

As a result of the Teller Amendment and the 1898 Treaty of Paris with Spain, Cuba became independent. But the unsettled condition of the island and fears that a

European power (especially Germany) might get a foothold there gave rise to second thoughts about annexation. Although the Teller Amendment prevented annexation, the Platt Amendment to the 1901 Army Appropriation Act (which the United States insisted Cuba incorporate into its constitution) gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs to preserve its "independence." Cuba remained a quasi protectorate of the United States until 1934, when it abandoned the Platt Amendment.

See also *MAINE, REMEMBER THE; ROUGH RIDERS*.

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—Timothy E. Vislocky

### currency issue

The composition of the nation's currency was a major political issue of the late 19th century. BIMETALLISM (currency based on gold and silver) was federal monetary policy until 1873. The government coined silver at the ratio of 16-to-one; the silver dollar contained 16 times more silver than there was gold in a gold dollar. During the Civil War, however, the government printed \$450 million in paper currency called "greenbacks," a fiat currency that was not backed by any specie. Greenbacks could not be redeemed in gold, and as their value declined they drove gold and silver out of circulation. In addition, national banks were allowed by the National Banking Act of 1863 to issue \$300 million in notes redeemable in greenbacks, thus making these notes, in effect, equal to greenbacks.

The suspension of specie payments did not sit well with bankers and other creditors. Following the war, they called for the retirement of greenbacks and a resumption of specie payments. Such a policy would lead to deflation by keeping the value of the dollar—and thus interest rates and the value of debts owed to creditors—high. Debtor groups, especially in the cash-strapped South and West, pressured the government to further inflate the currency supply by placing more greenbacks into circulation. They believed the ensuing inflation (rise in prices and lowered interest rates) would make it easier to pay off their debts.

A major issue tied to the currency question was the constitutionality of the Legal Tender Act of 1862, which authorized the Treasury to issue the greenbacks. At the time it was argued that this measure was necessary to finance the Union war effort. Following the war, proponents of sound, or hard, money—a currency based on the gold standard—called for the resumption of specie payments. In 1866 Congress passed the Contraction Act, which

initiated a policy of gradual reduction of the greenbacks in circulation. Debtors immediately attacked the law because it made their debts harder to pay off. Others blamed it for the worsening economic conditions of 1867. The constitutionality of the Legal Tender Act was finally taken up by the SUPREME COURT in a set of cases known collectively as the LEGAL-TENDER CASES (1870–71). In *Hepburn v. Griswold* (1870), the Court decided that the greenbacks issued during the Civil War were not legal tender for debts incurred prior to the act's passage in 1862, but the Court quickly reversed the *Hepburn* decision in *Knox v. Lee* (1871), holding that greenbacks were valid legal tender for pre- as well as post-1862 debts. Although the *Knox* decision dealt hard-money advocates a serious setback, they would not allow themselves to be defeated.

In 1873 Congress enacted the Coinage Act, which effectively demonetized silver, making the gold dollar the monetary standard for the nation. The 16-to-one ratio had undervalued silver ever since the 1849 California gold rush lowered the price of gold. As a result, silver-mine operators sold their product commercially rather than to the government at a loss, virtually taking the silver dollar out of circulation. Since silver was being used for purposes other than coinage and the silver dollar had almost disappeared from circulation anyway, experts urged Congress to demonetize it. Two years after Congress demonetized silver, it enacted the Specie Resumption Act, authorizing the Treasury to resume, by January 1, 1879, the redemption of greenbacks in gold. As of that date the United States was back on the gold standard.

Reacting to the Specie Resumption Act, the advocates of “soft money” (greenbacks) conferred in Cleveland and Cincinnati, Ohio; held a convention in May 1876 in Indianapolis, Indiana; and organized a National Independent (Greenback) Party. These Greenbackers—farmers, labor reformers, and businessmen—called for the repeal of the Specie Resumption Act and nominated the 85-year-old philanthropist Peter Cooper for president. Cooper received only 80,000 votes, but the GREENBACK-LABOR PARTY was far more successful in the congressional elections of 1878, polling more than 1 million votes. In 1880 the party's presidential candidate General James B. Weaver of Iowa polled 300,000 votes. However, by the mid-1880s the Greenback Party began to disintegrate. As a consequence, Greenbackers joined with another group of currency inflationists, the advocates of Free Silver, to create a powerful political movement in late-19th-century America.

Shortly after Congress enacted the Coinage Act, new mines in Nevada and other parts of the Far West increased the production of silver and thus lowered its value. If the government had kept silver in circulation, the subsequent deflationary price spiral might not have occurred. Instead, the nation entered a period of economic depression, with



This cartoon depicts Senator John Sherman delivering silver “eggs” to Secretary of the Treasury John G. Carlisle, who will turn them into gold. (New York Public Library)

American farmers struck the hardest as agricultural prices declined. Because of falling farm prices and the desire of western silver producers to see demand for their product increase, debtor farmers and western silver-mining interests began to call for the remonetization of silver at the old ratio of 16-to-one. The removal of the silver dollar from circulation and the redemption of greenbacks were viewed as part of a larger scheme orchestrated by bankers and other financiers (chief supporters of the hard-money philosophy) to control the money supply and prevent price recovery.

In 1878 silverites won a partial victory when Congress passed the BLAND-ALLISON ACT authorizing a limited, but not free, coinage of silver. The law required the government to buy no less than \$2 million or more than \$4 million worth of silver monthly and then to mint it into silver dollars. The Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 increased the amount of silver coinage in circulation by obligating the government to purchase 4.5 million ounces of silver monthly. The silver was to be paid for in Treasury notes of full legal-tender value that could be redeemed in “coin” at the discretion of the government. Treasury officials interpreted this provision as meaning redemption in gold, placing a great strain on the nation's gold reserve.

When the economic depression following the panic of 1893 set in, hard-money advocates blamed the downturn on the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. President GROVER CLEVELAND, a hard-money advocate, called for and secured its repeal in 1893 with the support of several congressional Republicans and Democrats (mostly from the

Northeast), thereby alienating the southern and western factions of both parties.

The calls for the free coinage of silver became more strident following the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act and set the stage for one of the most bitter and emotionally charged political contests in American history. Between 1894 and 1900 pro-silver literature flooded the nation. From William H. Harvey's *Coin's Financial School* (1894) and Ignatius Donnelly's *The American People's Money* (1895) to L. Frank Baum's classic *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (1900), authors argued the virtues and merits of silver. In 1896 both the Democratic Party and the PEOPLE'S PARTY (Populists) adopted Free Silver as their main campaign theme and nominated WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN for president. However, Bryan was defeated that year by the Republican presidential candidate WILLIAM MCKINLEY, who ran on a platform supporting the gold standard. Bryan's defeat was a major setback for the FREE SILVER MOVEMENT from which it never recovered. In 1900 Congress passed the GOLD STANDARD ACT, which declared gold the nation's monetary standard of value and ended the silver controversy.

See also CRIME OF '73; FARMERS' ALLIANCES; OMAHA PLATFORM; POLITICAL PARTIES, THIRD; SIMPSON, JERRY.

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—Phillip Papas

**Currier and Ives** See ILLUSTRATION, PHOTOGRAPHY, AND THE GRAPHIC ARTS.

**Curtis, George William** See CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

**Custer, George A.** See VOLUME V.

# D



**dairy industry** See AGRICULTURE.

**Dana, Charles Anderson** (1819–1897) *journalist, newspaper editor, government official*

An idealistic youth, later to become an aggressive assistant secretary of war and at last a cynical newspaper editor, Charles A. Dana was born in Hinsdale, New Hampshire, on August 8, 1819, and grew up in upstate New York. Although a descendant of Richard Dana (in 1640 a prominent resident of Cambridge, Massachusetts), Charles Dana's father failed as a merchant and farmer and lacked the social position of distant relations. This fact apparently gave rise to Dana's ambition, as well as his antipathy to wealth and privilege and an awareness of the "increasing poverty of the producing classes." Before beginning work at the age of 12 in a general store in Buffalo, Dana had learned Latin on his own and used his evenings to read the classics and pick up Greek. By dint of his own efforts, Dana matriculated at Harvard at the age of 20 and did well before lack of money forced him to teach school and eye problems interfered with his studies. He completed only a year's work, but he met George Ripley, who in 1841 established in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, the Transcendentalist Brook Farm experiment in communal living.

On Ripley's invitation Dana hastened to Brook Farm. There he taught German and Greek; contributed articles on social problems to the Brook Farm weekly, *Harbinger*; farmed; supervised the community kitchen; and with his business experience became a managing trustee. Given Dana's hostility to individualism and competition and his desire to reform society, he favored Brook Farm's conversion into a more radical, regimented, socialistic, "Fourierite Phalanx." For five years, until the disastrous fire of March 6, 1846, ended the experiment, Dana was, as THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON remarked, the best all-around man at the farm. Coincidentally, the day of the fire Dana married Eunice MacDaniel, a Brook Farmer, in New York City.

HORACE GREELEY, a supporter of Fourierism, immediately gave Dana a job at the *New York Tribune* where he soon became city editor. Although Greeley wanted him to stay in New York, Dana in 1848 and 1849 covered revolutions in France and Germany from a sympathetic, American, republican perspective, but observing working-class violence chipped away some of his faith in cooperative utopian socialism. Upon Dana's return to New York, Greeley, despite Dana's insubordinate streak, made him the *Tribune's* managing editor. In that position for over a decade, Dana honed his skills and when Greeley was absent, edited with an iron hand everything in the *Tribune*, including what Greeley sent in. Even though he secured Karl Marx as a correspondent, Dana wished to ameliorate industrial conditions through cooperation between capital and labor rather than by a class struggle, and he began to crave the wealth he had found contemptible. He also enjoyed the power he wielded as an influential editor.

Beneath the surface Dana had problems with Greeley, whose wishes he sometimes ignored. Dana essentially agreed with Greeley's politics, favored protective tariffs, and opposed the expansion of slavery, but Greeley did not like his independence, and a rift developed during the secession crisis. Greeley was willing to let the South go in peace, while Dana thought secession was unconstitutional. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Dana was responsible for the *Tribune's* demand: "Forward to Richmond!" When the disaster of Bull Run occurred, many readers blamed the *Tribune*, and Greeley blamed Dana. By March 1862 Greeley earned Dana's enmity by forcing him out of the *Tribune*.

Grateful for Dana's editorial support, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton immediately asked him to investigate alleged corruption among contractors supplying Union armies in the Mississippi Valley. While on this temporary assignment at Memphis on July 4, 1862, Dana met and was impressed by General Ulysses S. Grant and was struck by the easy money to be made by trading with Southerners for



cotton. In fall 1862 Dana returned to the Memphis area to engage in that trade. He soon agreed with Grant, however, that cotton speculators, like himself, were aiding the Confederacy and told Stanton that trade with the enemy should cease. In early 1863 Stanton appointed Dana a commissioner to investigate the payroll service and sent him west to spy on Grant, who was rumored to be drinking in excess. Dana's reports extolled Grant's aggressiveness and sobriety, although he had seen Grant drunk. Dana's reports enabled Grant to emerge as the victorious Union general and satisfied Stanton, who appointed Dana assistant secretary of war in June 1863.

After the war Dana returned to journalism. He briefly edited the *Chicago Republican* (1865–66) on Reconstruction. While in Chicago, he angled unsuccessfully for the powerful and lucrative post of collector of the port of New York. In 1867, backed by prominent Republicans, he purchased the *New York Sun*, whose readers were working-class Democrats, and edited it until his death three decades later. Striking a balance between his backers and his readers, Dana promised that while presenting a clear, "lively," daily picture of the world, the *Sun* would be an "advocate of the laboring masses" and would be politically independent. Abandoning his Radical Republican stance, Dana called for a quick return of the South to the Union and for the election of his friend Grant as president in 1868.

Dana was a brilliant editor, who made the *Sun* scintillating and amusing. If a humorous angle could be found in a news story, the *Sun* found it. Those whom Dana despised, and there were many, he made appear ridiculous. Since Greeley lusted after political appointments, Dana, for laughs, nominated him for everything from prison inspector to president of the United States. To Dana's chagrin Greeley got the latter nomination. The *Sun* also warmed hearts with human interest stories and loved scandals, especially the BEECHER-TILTON SCANDAL, featuring the hypocrisy of the celebrated Protestant minister HENRY WARD BEECHER.

Dana was playful but also vindictive, petty, and cynical in his erratic political behavior. When Grant, after his election, failed to appoint Dana to the New York collectorship, he attacked him as the "great gift-taker," inferring that he sold offices. But Dana rejected anti-Grant Liberal Republican reformers, as self-righteous snobs, even though some of them had been his warm friends. When in 1872 they nominated Greeley for president and the Democrats followed suit, Dana supported him as the lesser of two evils but damned him with ludicrous praise.

Nominally independent, Dana pleased his readers by usually supporting Democrats, although often critical of them. SAMUEL J. TILDEN was his ideal presidential candidate, and when he was defeated in the disputed 1876–77 election by RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, Dana was bitterly

disappointed and blamed his loss on the machinations of a powerful railroad lobby. He supported GROVER CLEVELAND for New York governor in 1882 but became his bitter enemy after Cleveland gave an office to Beecher's nephew rather than to the son of a *Sun* staff member. When Cleveland received the Democratic nomination in 1884, Dana supported neither him nor the Republican nominee JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE, backing the Greenback-Labor nominee Benjamin F. Butler, who went down to ignominious defeat.

The circulation of the *Sun* also took a beating. At 145,000 in 1884 it was New York's leading daily, but its circulation dropped to 80,000 in three years. Dana's support of Butler coincided with the rise of JOSEPH PULITZER's *New York World*, which also catered to working-class Democrats. It did not have the *Sun*'s whimsy but, at eight pages, was twice as large with a more attractive layout, more sensational news, and more earnest crusades. Dana responded with vicious anti-Semitic attacks on "Judas Pulitzer," while enlarging the *Sun*, improving its appearance, serializing fiction, covering sports, and appealing to a more prosperous, conservative Democratic constituency. In the late 1880s the *Sun*, no longer the worker's friend, opposed strikes, the eight-hour day, and radicals. Despite his own farm background, by the 1890s Dana had sympathy for neither the plight of farmers nor their organizations. He was appalled when the Democratic Party embraced the panacea of Free Silver and nominated WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN for president in 1896. For the first time in 28 years, Dana supported a Republican, WILLIAM MCKINLEY. The revamping and repositioning of the *Sun* by Dana had increased its circulation to 120,000 by October 17, 1897, the day he died.

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**Darwinism** See DARWINISM AND RELIGION; EVOLUTION; SCIENCE; SOCIAL DARWINISM.

### Darwinism and religion

The intellectual challenge of 19th-century science appeared to erode the basis of Judeo-Christian RELIGIONS. Scientific methods, discoveries, and theories in geology, biology, and history questioned the literal text of the Bible, but the challenge of biology provoked a major religious controversy. When Charles Darwin in his *On the Origin of Species* (1859) theorized (on the basis of evidence) that plants and animals evolved over eons through natural selection and were not created by God in a few days, the effect was unsettling. As the implications of Darwinism became apparent, Chris-

tians divided into liberal and orthodox groups. The liberals accommodated their theology to the new scholarship, while the orthodox adhered to their faith that the Bible was literally the word of God. For liberals, John Fiske's *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* (1874) reconciled theism and evolution by arguing that there was no conflict between science and religion. He relegated religion to what the leading apostle of evolution, Herbert Spencer, called "the Unknowable." Indeed, liberals came to view EVOLUTION as God's plan. HENRY WARD BEECHER associated evolution and progress with Christianity and civilization. By 1900 preachers were citing evolution as a proof of Christianity rather than a challenge to it.

The extent of liberal acceptance of the implications of Darwinism varied. Some saw religion as a natural phenomenon, with Christianity subject to the same tests of integrity as any other faith or secular idea, but most liberals still believed that Christianity was special and not just one among many valid religions. By 1900 the seminaries and urban ministers of the major Protestant denominations were comfortable with an evolutionary philosophy that apparently confirmed the superiority of Christianity because it seemed to be the "most" evolved of the world's religions. Ironically, Darwinism was initially perceived as a threat by Protestants and then used a generation later by JOSIAH STRONG and others to sustain a belief in American Protestant Anglo-Saxon superiority and to inspire missionary activity.

Orthodox Protestants, who tended to be rural and working class, also varied their responses as they rejected evolution. The entire South was orthodox, while in the North mainstream Protestant denominations had orthodox and liberal wings or factions. The acceptance of Darwinism in scholarly seminaries and in fashionable churches led to a resurgence of millennialism within mainstream churches and in the growth of new denominations like the Seventh-Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses. The emphasis on prophecies of the imminent second coming (advent) of Christ and the end of the world led to an emphasis on the literal, not the metaphorical, truth of the Bible.

Adventism was also embraced by those in mainstream churches who reacted against modernity. Orthodox scholars organized two Prophecy Conferences (in 1878 and 1886) and an annual Niagara Bible Conference to share in recognizing signs of the end and to uphold a literal belief in the Bible. Through their Bible study they decided that God had ordained a system of "dispensations" or eras following upon each other and ending with the last days. A close associate of DWIGHT L. MOODY, Cyrus Ingerson Scofield (1843–1921), was its chief advocate. Scofield, a Congregational minister, consolidated the dispensational scheme into seven ages concluding with the Great Sabbath or the Millennium of Christ ushered in by the Second Coming and the end of days. His work endures today in

the popular *Scofield Reference Bible* (1909). Vital to the dispensational analysis of history and the Bible is the need to assert the literal and infallible authority of the Bible, and from that need, the 20th-century Fundamentalist movement developed.

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—W. Frederick Wooden

### Dawes Severalty Act (1887)

Public sentiment toward the plight of NATIVE AMERICANS combined with the desire of western interests to obtain more land led to the Dawes Act of 1887. It dissolved tribes as legal entities, opened up Indian lands to individual ownership, and broke the Native American tradition of collective landholding. The act, which at the time was considered a humanitarian reform, formed the basis of U.S. policy toward Native Americans until the 1930s.

The Dawes Act of 1887 allowed reservation land to be distributed among individual members of Native American tribes. The author of the act was Massachusetts senator Henry L. Dawes (1816–1903), who was long interested in ameliorating conditions for poverty-stricken Native Americans. For several years, advocacy groups such as the Indian Rights Association pushed for the passage of the law, which until the 1880s never had sufficient political support. By the end of 1886, however, both the secretary of the Interior and commissioner of Indian Affairs supported enacting a lands-in-severalty law, and it was narrowly approved by the House. President GROVER CLEVELAND signed the bill into law on February 8, 1887.

Under the act every head of a family in the tribe would receive 160 acres of land and 40 acres for each minor child. Adults without a family (and orphans) would receive 80 acres. If the land was suitable only for grazing the acreage was to be doubled. Native Americans were allowed to choose which land to take title to, and land was put in a trust title whereby the federal government retained full title for a period of 25 years, during which the land could not be sold or taxed. At the expiration of that period Native Americans received full title to their land and full U.S. citizenship (which would also assimilate Indians into the larger American society). Oklahoma's so-called Five Civilized Tribes (the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole) and the Osage tribe were exempt from the act until 1898, when western land was at a premium. The Burke Act of 1906 allowed the secretary of the Interior to waive the 25-

year trustee period and sped up the process of achieving full ownership and citizenship. Although most Indians had achieved full citizenship before 1924, in that year Congress conferred citizenship on all Native Americans.

Reformers believed that passage of the Dawes Act would help Native Americans realize the benefits of individual land ownership and help them participate fully in the life of the United States. Its goal was assimilation rather than self-determination. Western cattle interests, which had leased portions of the land for grazing, tended to oppose the legislation, but governments in the West widely supported the act, since the surplus land was opened up to white settlers.

The act undermined the collective, communal tradition within tribal structures and imposed an individualistic concept of land ownership. Even Dawes remarked that if the act was abused or administered incorrectly it would lead to minimal or even negative effects for Indian tribes. Indeed, over time, the long wait for full title to land was considered an impediment, and reservation land decreased dramatically; reservation land just before the passage of the law amounted to 137 million acres, but by the 1930s only 50 million acres were still owned by Native Americans.

The Dawes Act did not realize the hopes of its humanitarian authors. Its lack of success was due in part to a dearth of government support, especially for western tribes without a strong farming tradition. Native Americans often quickly lost their land once full title was taken. The land was sometimes bought by speculators, who in turn sold it to settlers. Indians also faced problems paying the taxes that were levied after full title to the land was granted. Because of the act, by the 1930s two-thirds of Native Americans were without property, and a large proportion of them were reduced to receiving government support to live. Defenders of the Dawes Act, however, stress that had it not been passed, the vast reservation lands would have been seized by white settlers (as in the past), and Native Americans would have ended up with even less land than the Dawes Act salvaged for them.

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—Scott Sendrow

**Debs, Eugene Victor** See VOLUME VII.

#### de Lôme letter (1898)

The Spanish minister to the United States, Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, wrote a letter to an acquaintance in CUBA that contained insulting references to President WILLIAM

MCKINLEY. Written in December 1897 after McKinley's annual address to Congress, the letter accused the president of being "weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crowd, . . . a would-be politician who tries to leave a door open behind himself while keeping on good terms with the jingoes of his party." The letter, stolen in the Havana post office and published by William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* on February 9, 1898, under the screaming headline "WORST INSULT TO THE UNITED STATES IN ITS HISTORY," could not have come at a worse time. Tensions had been growing between the United States and Spain. The conduct of Spain's seemingly endless and brutal campaign to squash Cuba's independence movement offended American sensibilities and threatened its economic interests in the island. At the same time Spain fumed at the inability of the United States to prevent arms from flowing from American shores to the Cuban rebels.

McKinley quite properly ignored the letter, realizing that to respond to insults was beneath the dignity of the office of chief executive. Actually, de Lôme was mistaken about McKinley; he was a clever, effective politician who had survived four years of bloody Civil War battles and would not lightly go to war. De Lôme realized he had blundered and resigned the day after the letter was published, sparing himself the indignity of being recalled. But the effects of the letter did not die down with the Spanish minister's departure. Talk of resolutions to award belligerency status to the Cuban rebels and declarations of war were bandied about in the halls of CONGRESS until Spain officially apologized on February 14. The apology, however, did little to curb the growth of anti-Spanish feeling among the American people.

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—Timothy E. Vislocky

#### Democratic Party

The immediate post–Civil War years were crucial to the development of America's major political parties. The Republicans emerged from the war as the victorious defenders of freedom and the Union. Their firm grip on CONGRESS assured them of control over the direction of southern Reconstruction as well as the federal government for at least a decade. Conversely, the Civil War weakened and discredited the Democratic Party. Slavery, secession, and war had split the party, but emancipation, union, and peace settled those issues, and Democrats in the North and South reunited in opposition to Radical Reconstruction



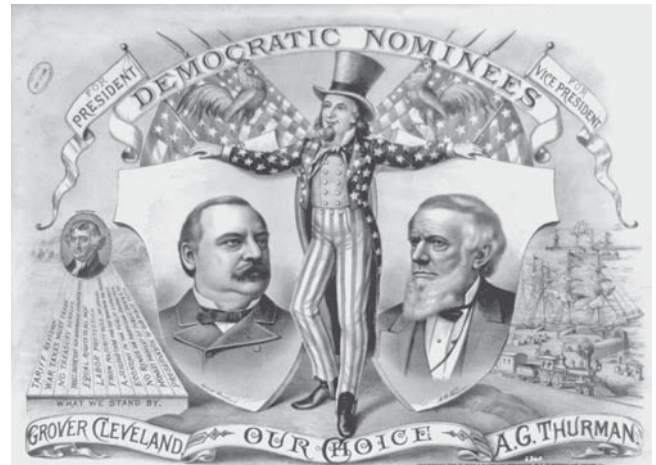
policies. As white supremacists gained control of the South and with negrophobia alive in the North, the Democratic Party had become a formidable force by 1876.

As with all major parties, there was much diversity among the Democrats. For the most part, they were Americans who were growing tired with the course of Reconstruction and were troubled by the changes to society brought on by rapid industrialization. Although Republicans were far from centralized, the Democratic Party was an especially loose collection of state and local parties. Lacking cohesion, it was difficult to impose unity on the party's membership. Among the Democratic partisans were small farmers, industrial laborers, small businessmen, and Irish and German Catholic immigrants, but the party also included some bankers, railroad operators, and industrialists. Each of these constituencies brought their own agenda to the party, but the party's most consistent base of political support was the **SOLID SOUTH** and urban political machines such as **TAMMANY HALL** in New York City. Ultimately, the Democratic Party's diversity made it unstable.

The Democrats developed neither leaders nor an agenda that could unite the disparate elements of the party. They failed because the party returned to the traditional doctrines of states rights, decentralization, fiscal conservatism, and limited government. Following such a political strategy, Democrats developed remedies to the country's complex problems—business regulation, political reform, and labor legislation—based on local circumstances and individual initiatives. This approach succeeded on the state level, but these were limited victories. The emphasis on local and state government weakened the Democratic Party's ability to develop national leaders. Instead, the party depended on a group of powerful regional political leaders who were unwilling to subordinate local interests to make the national party cohesive and competitive.

Because they lacked national leaders, the Democrats found themselves under the political control of one or more competing factions. By the 1880s, the views of its conservative wing, the so-called **Bourbons**, began to take precedence. The Bourbons were centered mainly in the Northeast and had ties to the nation's financial and corporate communities. They called for a reduction in tariff rates, a currency system based on the gold standard, and "administrative economy." Simply put, the Bourbons wanted to restrict government activity to a minimum. The Bourbons were joined by several southern Democrats who advocated a **NEW SOUTH** based on industrial development and laissez-faire economic principles.

The reliance on Bourbon ideology led to intraparty strife. Democrats who were concerned with the social inequities caused by the nation's rapid industrialization believed that the Bourbons were aiding the destruction of the small



Lithograph of democratic nominees Grover Cleveland and A. G. Thurman, ca. 1888 (*Library of Congress*)

family farm and the exploitation of American workers. This liberal faction led movements calling for federal regulation of large corporations and the **RAILROADS**. Intraparty strife also arose over the **CURRENCY ISSUE**, with Democrats in the economically depressed rural regions of the South and West advocating a policy of currency inflation by increasing the supply of paper money (greenbacks) in circulation or through the unlimited coinage of silver (**FREE SILVER MOVEMENT**). Another persistent issue with Democrats in these regions, as well as in the cities of the Northeast, was the availability of federal appropriations and subsidies that the Bourbons, as advocates of administrative economy, opposed. The **TARIFF ISSUE** also sparked division among the Democratic faithful.

Despite the intraparty differences, the Democrats slowly began to close the political gap between themselves and the Republicans. They won the House of Representatives in 1874 and the Senate in 1878. **SAMUEL J. TILDEN** won the popular vote for the presidency in 1876 (but lost the vote in the electoral college), and the election of 1884 brought **GROVER CLEVELAND** to the White House. Cleveland was the first Democrat elected president since James Buchanan in 1856, and he has the further distinction of being the only president in American history to serve two nonconsecutive terms in office (1885–89, 1893–97). For the Democratic Party, Cleveland's election meant an end to 24 years of political impotence on the national level. Unfortunately for Cleveland and the Democrats, they controlled the presidency and Congress when the panic of 1893 inaugurated a devastating economic depression.

The erosion of Democratic power during the depression was confirmed in 1896 when the rural, southern-western faction recaptured the party under the leadership of **WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN**. Bryan and his supporters attacked



both the Republicans and the Bourbons for manipulating government power for the benefit of the wealthy, industrial elite. They shared with the PEOPLE'S PARTY (Populists) the belief that increased federal regulation of railroads and public utilities, currency inflation based on the Free Silver ideal, and the abolition of the NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM could restore balance within America's economic system. Such policies could especially help small farmers living under the pressure of declining agricultural prices and high shipping costs. Furthermore, Bryan espoused an antiurbanism that alienated the Democratic political machines in the nation's major cities. These machine organizations had provided the party with a major core of constituents among immigrants and Catholics, and their lack of support for Bryan and his ideals contributed to his defeat in the 1896 presidential election. After Bryan's defeat, the Democrats remained the minority party until the 1930s.

See also PLUNKITT, GEORGE WASHINGTON.

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—Phillip Papas

## department stores

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, large stores selling every imaginable type of product, both domestically produced and imported, dominated retailing in the United States. Department stores were found in every major city in the country, and many of these metropolises had four or more of these giant outlets. By 1900 department stores gave the downtown areas much of their romantic look, attracting shoppers (particularly women) from rural and suburban areas and even acting as a magnet for tourists. In the pre–World War I period, these department stores also helped pioneer the gothic architectural appearance that came to dominate urban centers until the 1940s.

Before the Civil War, peddlers, general country stores, and small, specialized urban shops dominated retailing in the United States. A few stores displayed greater stability and developed local and even national reputations, such as Tiffany's and Brooks Brothers in New York City. Alexander H. Stewart was the most famous merchant, selling a large array of women's dry goods out of his Marble Palace on Broadway. Although Stewart's three-story building introduced a number of innovations such as a nonnegotiable price for all items and the customer's ability to return unwanted goods, his merchandise was quite limited

in scope. While Stewart was a model for many merchants, the major influence on American retailing was Paris's Bon Marché, a true department store that sold all kinds of goods for women, children, men, and the home.

American entrepreneurs such as John Wanamaker of Philadelphia; Adam Gimbel of Milwaukee, Philadelphia, and New York; Edward Filene of Boston; and Marshall Field of Chicago imitated the French model. They created stores with multidepartments, each headed by a buyer who had autonomy in picking merchandise and hiring and firing employees within their own specialty. JOHN WANAMAKER served on the board of the PHILADELPHIA CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION in 1876 and was so impressed by the wide array of merchandise sold there that he opened a department store to capitalize upon that event in 1877. An innovative merchandiser, Wanamaker soon had departments selling everything from artwork to pianos, from Paris women's clothing to ready-made menswear. Because of his use of technology—escalators, indoor electric lighting, and pneumatic tubes for sending cash—the Philadelphian became a model for other retailers.

Nathan Straus, who bought Macy's, and Marshall Field became the other major promoters of department stores. Each of these merchants and many of the approximately 500 retailers who opened emporiums in virtually every state in the Union turned their stores into entertainment centers, fashion galleries, and theaters. Wanamaker, for example, brought Leopold Stokowski to conduct in the store and had an exhibit of hundreds of photographs taken of Native Americans in the West. Straus brought models from France to exhibit the latest Paris fashions. Something was going on almost every day in Marshall Field's. Prices in these stores were quite competitive, driving many small-store owners out of business.

Department stores underwent major changes in the 20th century. The Great Depression of the 1930s forced many of these stores either into bankruptcy or to become a part of an emerging department store conglomerate like Federated Stores. After World War II, suburbanization made the central business district increasingly irrelevant for the retail shopper. To cope with this problem, major department stores cannibalized their business by building small suburban stores, which were pale reflections of their former palaces. By 2000 most of the older chains such as Macy's, Wanamaker's, and Filene's were part of a larger organization and had lost their identity, and the retailing boom of discount shopping threatened even these stores.

**Further reading:** Stephen Elias, *Alexander T. Stewart: The Forgotten Merchant Prince* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1992); Herbert B. Ershkowitz, *John Wanamaker, Philadelphia Merchant* (Conshohocken, Pa.: Combined Publishing, 1999); Robert Hendrickson, *The Grand Emporiums: The*

*Illustrated History of the Great Department Stores* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979).

—Herbert Ershkowitz

**Dependents Pension Act** (1890) See GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.

**depressions, economic** See BUSINESS CYCLES.

**Dewey, George** (1837–1917) *admiral*

Admiral George Dewey is renowned for having defeated a Spanish fleet at the Battle of Manila Bay in 1898 during the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR. Born in Vermont on December 26, 1837, Dewey entered the United States Naval Academy in 1854 and graduated in 1858. With the outbreak of the Civil War he was promoted to lieutenant and was the executive officer on the sidewheel steamer *Mississippi* in Admiral David Farragut's fleet that captured New Orleans.

The post–Civil War period was a dark time for Dewey, since CONGRESS allowed the navy's ships to either rot or rust. Promotion was slow and opportunities for distinction were nonexistent. Dewey commanded steam sloops (a naval "sloop" was a vessel with guns on one deck) and served on shore in the Lighthouse Service and in 1895 as president of the Board of Inspection and Survey. In that capacity he supervised inspections of the navy's new battleships. Dewey pined after greatness and feared that he would only be known as "George Dewey who entered the Navy at a certain date and retired as Rear Admiral at the age limit."

But Dewey was saved from obscurity on October 21, 1897, by Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt, who selected him as the commander of the navy's Asiatic Squadron. The strong possibility of war with Spain soon became a reality on April 20, 1898. Dewey had already been ordered to be ready for battle and was cabled a few days later to "use his utmost endeavor" to capture or destroy the Spanish fleet in the Philippine Islands. On May 1 at 5:22 A.M. Dewey spotted the Spanish fleet off Cavite in Manila Bay. When the American fleet was within 5,400 yards he coolly told the captain of his flagship *Olympia* "you may fire when you are ready, Gridley." After shelling the hopelessly outgunned Spanish squadron for two hours, all 10 of its ships were sunk or disabled and 381 of her seamen were either dead or wounded. At 12:30 P.M. the battle ended when the Spanish hoisted white flags above the shore batteries at Cavite. For his success Dewey was promoted to rear admiral.

After the war Dewey was promoted to admiral and Congress passed special legislation that allowed him to

serve past the navy's mandatory retirement age. From 1900 until his death on January 16, 1917, Dewey served on the General Board of the Navy.

**Further reading:** Ivan Musicant, *Empire by Default: The Spanish-American War and the Dawn of the American Century* (New York: Henry Holt, 1998); Ronald Spector, *Admiral of the New Navy: The Life and Career of George Dewey* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974).

—Timothy E. Vislocky

**Dickinson, Emily** (1830–1886) *poet*

Emily Elizabeth Dickinson was a daughter of Edward Dickinson, a prominent attorney and scion of one of the most distinguished families in his community, and Emily Norcross, and was born on December 10, 1830, to a family of culture and privilege in Amherst, Massachusetts. Her formal education was limited to attendance at the Amherst Academy and a single year at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary when she was 17. From the time she left school in 1848, she rarely left Amherst except for an occasional trip to Philadelphia or Boston between 1851 and 1855 and one to Washington when her father was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1854. From the age of 25 until her death she almost never went farther from the family home than her garden gate.

Finding the religious atmosphere of her community oppressive, Dickinson became increasingly reclusive as she grew older, rejecting at once the smug sanctimoniousness of the New England puritanism around her and the cultural pretensions of the academic life in her college town. She was recognized by family and friends as an original and talented woman, but she made few attempts to win public esteem for the brief, seemingly fragmentary poems she began to write around 1858, preferring to copy them out on pages she stitched together by hand and kept hidden in her bureau drawers.

The intensity of the lyrical expression in her elliptical and often gnomic verse has given rise to speculation about a star-crossed love that never came to light. She did love SAMUEL BOWLES, editor of the Springfield *Republican*, but he loved neither her nor her poetry. Of the many poems she hopefully sent him, he published only a half dozen anonymously and compounded her anguish of rejected love by tinkering with them to achieve conventional rhyme and punctuation. Apparently these were the only poems by Dickinson published in her lifetime. Her social life dwindled to nothing, and her personal relationships were apparently limited to family, a few close friendships, and correspondence with literary celebrities of the time. THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, a frequent

contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly*, generously praised her work and gave her advice, which she usually ignored, to help “clarify” her deliberately ambiguous verse. Her personal isolation increased during her 30s, and she earned a local reputation for eccentricity as she refused to meet visitors, wore nothing but white, and sent gifts of food to neighbors accompanied by cryptic messages.

After her death on May 15, 1886, nearly 1,800 of her brief, enigmatic lyrics were discovered in her bedroom, and her sister Lavinia induced a family friend to publish a selection of them in 1890. Critical response was mixed, but the work was generally dismissed as crude and obscure. Derided in the press for its “hit or miss grammar and appalling rhymes,” her lyrics on pain and death, love and loss, nature, and the quest for God nevertheless met with considerable popular success, and 11 editions sold out in the year of its publication. Two more collections and a selection of her letters appeared in 1894 and 1896 and were praised by WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS and other arbiters of literary taste. Admired by later poets of the modernist school for her innovative prosody, rebellious spirit, and emotional depth, Dickinson has had few imitators but has taken her place as one of the most influential poets in American literature.

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—Dennis Wepman

## dime novels

Between 1870 and 1900 dime novels were the principal, though not exclusive, form of mass-produced popular fiction in the United States. Demand for inexpensive, unsophisticated novels was a by-product of 19th-century school laws, which had increased literacy among the working classes. Improvements in printing technology and shipping made it possible for enterprising publishers to profit by supplying fiction for the masses. “Story papers,” which emerged during the 1840s and 1850s, initiated the mass distribution of popular fiction. Robert Bonner’s *New York Ledger* and Street and Smith’s *New York Weekly* were the industry leaders, but as many as 50 weekly story papers had national circulations that exceeded 100,000. The papers provided serialized fiction, usually sentimental romances and melodramatic tales of NATIVE AMERICANS, at five cents per issue. To get a complete novel, readers would have to acquire four or five issues. By comparison, dime novels supplied the entire novel right away and at half the price.

Dime novels first came to prominence during the 1860s, though the new format did not entirely displace story papers until the 1880s. Publisher Erastus Beadle struck gold when he launched a series of 10-cent novels in a new format, initially 4-inch-by-6-½-inch pamphlets of about 100 pages. The covers were burnt-orange or salmon colored, and the paper was cheap. The books sold well, especially among Union soldiers, who found them to be entertaining, accessible, and convenient.

The earliest Beadle dime novel was *Malaeska, the Indian Wife of the White Hunter* (1860), by Ann Sophia Stephens, a popular novelist and prominent editor of women’s magazines. The success of Beadle’s first series soon inspired competitors to launch their own lines of dime novels. Other leading publishers of the new cheap fiction were George Munro, Robert DeWitt, Norman Munro, Frank Tousey, and Street and Smith. Beadle and the others assembled stables of hack writers, many of them recruited from the story papers. The more prolific of these authors could turn out 1,000 words an hour for 12 hours at a time. They produced standardized assembly-line literature for mass consumption.

Though best known as a format for Westerns and urban detective stories, many dime novels were set during the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War. The stories were typically tales of adventure, whether on the high seas, the Great Plains, or the forests. They took their heroic ideal from James Fenimore Cooper’s early 19th-century Leather-Stocking Tales. Eventually, the dime novel generated its own stock heroes, most notably frontiersmen Deadwood Dick and Buffalo Bill and detective Nick Carter.

Although his books frequently depicted violence and bloodshed, Erastus Beadle insisted that his authors adhere to Victorian standards of virtue and taste. But dime novels promulgated a new class of heroine that departed from the genteel notions of womanhood associated with VICTORIANISM. Popular fiction broke new ground by occasionally presenting assertive, even Amazonian women. Frequently dressed as men, these heroines sailed on pirate ships, tamed wild animals, confronted death, and overcame difficult physical challenges. Like their male counterparts, they were self-reliant, resourceful, and virtuous.

Dime novels may have created a new heroine, but they also exploited negative stereotypes of Native Americans. Mass fiction displayed a fascination with Indians, but typically depicted them as menacing, deceptive, untrustworthy, vengeful, and backward but cunning. The effect was to establish the moral and physical superiority of the books’ white protagonists.

Altogether, dime novels conveyed a distorted image of the American past. As literary historian Jack Salzman has observed, “the dime novel provided the new working class





The 1912 cover of a reprinted dime novel by Prentiss Ingraham (1843–1904), a prolific dime novelist (Denver Public Library)

with tales of adventure and excitement that were . . . implicitly political in their nationalism and patriotic fervor—as well as their racism and sexism.”

Just as dime novels misrepresented the past, so too did they misconstrue the present, most notably in HORATIO ALGER’s popular tales of newsboys and bootblacks who rose from rags to respectability through a combination of luck and pluck. Alger simply ignored the social ills and inexorable economic forces identified by contemporary journalists and novelists, such as STEPHEN CRANE and Frank Norris. But if sales were any indication, Alger’s view of America eclipsed the harsh visions of Crane, Norris, and other realists. Scholars attribute to Alger no fewer than 119 titles, with combined sales of approximately 20 million.

To meet the tremendous demand for cheap fiction, the publishers of Alger’s books and other dime novels devised efficient production and distribution strategies. They typically printed a first run of 40,000 to 60,000 copies of a single title, though it was not unusual for demand to require additional printings of between 400,000 and 1 million copies. Publishers sold their books at newsstands using circulation systems already in place for the marketing of newspapers and magazines. The American News Company, for instance, was for many years the principal

distributor of dime novels, especially the Beadle line. During the peak years of the dime novel, the larger publishers issued thousands of titles that collectively sold in the millions. Given their impact on the publishing business and on American culture, Beadle and his fellow publishers were, as historian Henry Nash Smith has pointed out, the cultural equivalent of industrial magnates like ANDREW CARNEGIE and John D. Rockefeller.

See also CODY, WILLIAM FREDERICK; LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in America* (London: Verso, 1987); Russel Nye, *The Unembarrassed Muse: The Popular Arts in America* (New York: Dial Press, 1970); Jack Salzman, “Literature for the Populace,” in *Columbia Literary History of the United States*, eds. Emory Elliott et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).

—William Hughes

**Donnelly, Ignatius Loyola** (1831–1901) *lawyer, politician, writer*

Controversial politician, reformer, and author, Ignatius Donnelly was born in Philadelphia on November 3, 1831. There he attended Central High School, read law with the distinguished attorney Benjamin Harris Brewster, embarked on a mediocre law career, married Katherine McCaffrey in 1855, and entered politics as a Democrat. The son of Irish Catholic immigrants, he was hostile to the nativist “Know-Nothings,” who had been absorbed into the Republican Party. In 1856 he moved to Minnesota to promote Nininger City, which failed with the Panic of 1857, leaving Donnelly heavily in debt with large landholdings.

Forced to practice law anew, Donnelly, who preferred to practice politics and was antislavery, became a Republican. In 1859 Alexander Ramsey, the Republican gubernatorial nominee, with whom Donnelly was associated in land dealings, selected Donnelly to run for lieutenant governor. A superb stump speaker, Donnelly was an asset to the campaign, and the Republicans triumphed.

Subsequently, Donnelly went to the U.S. Congress (1863–69), where he advocated Radical Republican Reconstruction measures and generous land-grant subsidies for western RAILROADS. He also called for the creation of a national bureau of education to assure equal educational opportunities for all children and introduced legislation encouraging forest growth, which was a forerunner of the 1873 Timber Culture Act. Donnelly lost his seat in the House of Representatives when he became Ramsey’s rival and tried to capture his Senate seat.



Capitalizing on his support of railroads, Donnelly turned to lobbying for John C. Fremont's Atlantic and Pacific Railroad and Jay Cooke's Northern Pacific Railroad. Lobbying left him "comparatively poor" and embittered against railroads since he blamed Cooke and the Northern Pacific for his failure to return to Congress in 1870, as an Independent with Democratic support.

Continuing his independent course, Donnelly supported the LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PARTY in 1872 and by 1874 ran successfully for the Minnesota state senate as an anti-monopolist, heading a coalition of GRANGERS and Democrats. With his insider's knowledge he had since 1871 attacked the power of railroad monopolies and established a newspaper, the *Anti-Monopolist* (1874–79). In 1878 he ran for U.S. Congress as a Greenback-Labor and Democratic fusion candidate against the flour-milling magnate William D. Washburn, who used bribery, fraud, and intimidation to defeat Donnelly.

Disillusioned with politics, Donnelly turned to writing and lecturing. Popularizing legends and theories that scholars scorned, his writings were closer to the science fiction of Jules Verne than the insights of geologist Louis Agassiz or naturalist Charles Darwin. His *Atlantis: The Antediluvian World* (1882) was an enormous success, with W. E. Gladstone, the prime minister of Great Britain, writing him a four-page handwritten fan letter. *Atlantis* argued that Plato's island had existed and flourished. Donnelly followed up *Atlantis* with *Ragnarok: The Age of Fire* (1883), which claimed that a prehistoric comet, not glaciers, was responsible for Earth's large deposits of sand, gravel, and clay. Approaching his subjects as a defense attorney, Donnelly uncritically synthesized supporting views and ignored contrary evidence.

Donnelly's popularity as a writer reawakened his political ambitions. But when his 1884 bid for Congress as a Democrat was unsuccessful, he continued to write provocative books, which sparked a demand for him as a lecturer. In *The Great Cryptogram* (1887) he claimed to have found a mathematical cipher (a message in code) in the plays of William Shakespeare, proving they were written by Francis Bacon. Advocates of the Baconian theory were delighted, while their critical opponents exposed Donnelly as an inaccurate mathematician.

Success in politics in 1887 (he was elected to the state legislature by a combination of farmers and laborers) changed Donnelly's literary interests. He abandoned idiosyncratic, controversial scholarship to write critical social novels, reflecting his concern that America was degenerating, rather than progressing, as SOCIAL DARWINISM argued. To combat monopolists' exploitation of producers he became a leader of the Minnesota Farmers' Alliance and a champion of labor. In 1890 he anonymously published his bleak, utopian novel *Caesar's Column: A Story*

*of the Twentieth Century*, which prophesied that a Jewish elite would oppress and degrade the farming and laboring masses, bringing on a violent revolution in 1988. Although Donnelly was not personally anti-Semitic, his unfortunate choice of villains encouraged anti-Semitism for years to come. As if to prove he was not prejudiced, Donnelly, in *Doctor Huguet* (1891), showed how society failed to recognize the worth of a virtuous, capable, successful white doctor when he assumed a black skin.

Literary prominence, political ambition, and a genuine commitment to reform enabled Donnelly to play a major role in the emergence of the PEOPLE'S PARTY (Populist Party) in the 1890s. That party grew out of the FARMERS' ALLIANCES and the dying KNIGHTS OF LABOR. In 1892 the Populists, at their national convention, adopted the OMAHA PLATFORM, calling for the secret ballot, a graduated income tax, nationalization of the transportation system, unlimited (free) coinage of silver, a flexible national currency, direct election of U.S. senators, the initiative to compel a legislature to consider a measure, and the referendum to enable voters to adopt or reject a measure. The Omaha platform became the most renowned political platform in American history. Donnelly wrote its stirring preamble and hoped its proposed reforms would reverse the trend toward the polarization of American society into "paupers and millionaires" that he had perceived in *Caesar's Column*. In 1892 the Populists enjoyed success in the Midwest, but Donnelly was defeated for governor of Minnesota.

Donnelly was a middle-of-the-road Populist. Although he supported Free Silver in his novel *The Golden Bottle* (1892), he preferred neither an inflationary nor deflationary federally managed monetary system that would provide adequate currency for all sections of the country. Nevertheless, when in 1896 the DEMOCRATIC PARTY nominated WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN for president on a Free Silver platform, Donnelly, rather than split the reform vote, supported Bryan on a fusion ticket. Not only was Bryan defeated, but also the Populist Party was severely crippled. In 1900 its remnants nominated Donnelly for vice president. Less than two months after he lost that election and only a few moments into the new century that he feared would be cataclysmic, Donnelly died on January 1, 1901.

**Further reading:** Martin Ridge, *Ignatius Donnelly: The Portrait of a Politician* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

### due process clause (1868)

After the Civil War the United States SUPREME COURT interpreted the due process clause of the Fourteenth

Amendment, passed initially to protect the rights of AFRICAN AMERICANS, to shield private property from state government regulation. The Fourteenth Amendment provides that no state shall “deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.” The Court narrowed the protection of the due process clause for individuals in the 1883 *CIVIL RIGHTS CASES* (denial of equal access to public accommodations was a private, not a state, matter) and in the 1896 *PLESSY V. FERGUSON* decision (state-mandated segregation did not violate due process). While the Court reduced the protection of human rights by the due process clause, some justices—initially a minority—found in that clause, beginning in the 1870s, the means of protecting property rights from state regulation.

In the *Slaughterhouse Cases* of 1873, the Court limited the application of the Fourteenth Amendment. The state of Louisiana law gave the Crescent City Live Stock Landing and Slaughterhouse Company a monopoly over the butchering trade in New Orleans. A rival group of independent butchers sued, claiming that the law deprived them of their “privileges and immunities” as citizens without due process of law. By the slim margin of 5 to 4, the Court rejected the claims of the independent butchers. The majority held that the protections guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment, in particular that of due process, were intended to apply to former slaves and not to questions of economic regulation. But among the dissenters was Justice STEPHEN J. FIELD, who argued for a broader definition of due process that would narrow state “police power” and would protect property rights from state regulation. In the most famous of the Granger cases, *Munn v. Illinois* (1877), the Court upheld an Illinois Warehouse Act on the grounds that states had the authority to regulate private property when it was used in the public interest. Again, in a stinging dissent, Field argued that the due process clause protected private business from state regulation. His dissent in this case anticipated the future direction of the Court in its definition of the Fourteenth Amendment.

By the 1880s, the Court adopted Field’s broad interpretation of the due process clause. In the case of *Santa Clara v. Southern Pacific Railroad Company* (1886), the Court accepted the argument that the word “persons” in the Fourteenth Amendment applied equally to corporations and individuals; therefore, corporations could enjoy the same benefits of due process and equal protection as did individuals. The due process clause thus insulated corporations from unreasonable state regulation and also protected freedom of contract to the extent that the Court, in time, overturned maximum hour and minimum wage legislation. From the end of the 19th century to well into the 20th century, the Court was a bastion of judicial conservatism and a champion of laissez-faire capitalism.

**Further reading:** William E. Nelson, *The Fourteenth Amendment: From Political Principle to Judicial Doctrine* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).

—Phillip Papas

**Dunbar, Paul Laurence** (1872–1906) *poet, novelist*

Born on June 27, 1872, in Dayton, Ohio, the son of former slaves, Paul Dunbar edited the high school newspaper, wrote his class’s song, and graduated with honors. Unable to find a job in journalism, he became an elevator operator in his hometown and spent his spare time writing poetry. He came to the attention of and was encouraged by several white men, including the Indiana poet James Whitcomb Riley. Before his 21st birthday he had published his first book of poetry, *Oak and Ivy*. His second book, *Majors and Minors*, received a favorable review from WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, editor of the prestigious *Harper’s Monthly*, who then gladly wrote an introduction to Dunbar’s third volume of poetry, *Lyrics of Lowly Life* (1896). He praised Dunbar’s dialect poems as artistically “literary interpretation[s]” but dismissed Dunbar’s poetic English offerings as “very good” or better, but not really a “contribution” to American poetry.

Dunbar’s short life was scarred by financial pressures, tuberculosis, alcoholism, and a failed marriage. Two



Paul Laurence Dunbar (Library of Congress)

intense compulsions added complications to these wounds: The first was reflected in the Howells introduction; Dunbar wanted to be honored for his straight, not his dialect, poetry, but such recognition never came. His despair echoes in two stanzas of “The Poet,” which begin “He sang of life, serenely sweet / With, now and then, a deeper note” and closed with the lament “But, ah, the world, it turned to praise / A jingle in a broken tongue.” Dunbar wrote dialect poetry to earn a living, to satisfy a publishing market. Recent scholars now acknowledge his supreme artistry in reproducing southern black speech. No other author or poet has matched his accuracy.

Dunbar’s dialect poetry resonates when read aloud. The rhythm of “When Malindy Sings” suggests the beauty of Malindy’s voice, “But fu’ real melojous music / Dat jes’ strikes yo’ hea’t and clings / Jes yo’ stan’ an’ listen wif me / When Malindy sings.” The poem flows like music. Critics have complained that Dunbar’s dialect paints AFRICAN AMERICANS as ignorant and servile. The dialect in Dunbar’s poetry mirrored the speech of some southern blacks in his time. It was not demeaning. Every once in a while Dunbar slipped in a race-pride allusion. In “When Malindy Sings,” for example, the narrator tells Miss Lucy to “Put dat music book away,” because no matter how hard she tries, she’ll never be able to sing like Malindy.

Race pride, or what one scholar has called “racial fire,” was a second compulsion in Dunbar’s life. He felt the oppressive prejudice of the day, as evidenced by his many letters to newspapers. A few of his poems reflect his heated resentment at the way blacks were treated. “Rights Security” demonstrates this feeling with subtle intensity: Whatever blows might fall, we praise “that man who will not compromise with wrong / . . . Minorities, since time began / have shown the better side of man.”

In a more revealing mood Dunbar wrote his well-known “We Wear the Mask,” which “grins and lies” while “With torn and bleeding hearts, we smile.” Dunbar was neither cheerleader nor apologist for his race. His poetry probed a variety of human thoughts and emotions, including pride of race and repugnance of prejudice.

A friend wrote that though Dunbar was courtly in manner, polished in speech, and modest in behavior, he carried “a sac of bitterness” born of his reception as an artist, his ill-fated marriage to the talented Alice Moore (later Alice Dunbar-Nelson), his painful illness, and the pinch of finances. Animated in personality, he was an appealing performer who read his poems with expressive passion. He was also a prolific writer, producing more than 400 poems, four novels, four volumes of short stories, and collaborating on several musical revues. His last and best novel, *The Sport of the Gods* (1902), one of the first to tackle the theme of northern migration, followed a southern black family to Harlem, where the gilt and glamour almost destroy them.

Largely forgotten for most of the 20th century, Dunbar’s poetry is now slowly gaining acknowledgment for its lyrical quality, its careful but courageous racial fire, and the beauty of what the contemporary poet Nikki Giovanni, calls “plantation speech.” Dunbar was, Giovanni concludes in a telling phrase, “a natural resource for our people.” Dunbar died on February 9, 1906.

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—Leslie H. Fishel, Jr.

# E



## **Eads, James Buchanan** (1820–1887) *engineer*

Perhaps the most distinguished American engineer in the Gilded Age, James Eads was born beside the Ohio River in Lawrenceburg, Indiana, on May 23, 1820. He became a steamboat clerk on the Mississippi in 1839; when his boat sank, he perceived business opportunities in cargo salvage. He designed a diving bell in 1842 and started a salvage business. He later expanded into clearing river snags, made a fortune, and retired in 1857. During the Civil War, Eads designed and built ironclad gunboats for the Union, and these played a key role in gaining control of the Mississippi and its tributaries.

In 1866 Eads's proposal for a bridge across the Mississippi at St. Louis was adopted, and he became its engineer-in-chief in 1867. A major problem was constructing piers from bedrock up through the sandy bottom of the river. Eads used a pressurized caisson, floated into position and sunk to the bottom, within which excavators could work with compressed air to keep out the water. The first caisson reached bedrock 100 feet below the river surface in 1870. Records show that 119 men suffered from "the bends," and 14 died before it was learned that slow decompression was necessary after working under compressed air. In 1873 laborers began erecting the steel arches of the bridge. With three spans, each more than 500 feet long, the bridge marked the first extensive use of steel in bridge construction.

The great bridge officially opened on July 4, 1874, after Eads demonstrated its strength by driving 14 locomotives back and forth across it. An estimated 300,000 people attended the celebration, a municipal triumph for St. Louis. The bridge would carry increasingly heavy trains for 100 years. Closed to rail traffic in 1974, it reopened in 1993 to carry light-rail Metrolink trains across the Mississippi. The bridge is not only a vital transportation link; its functional beauty also inspired the architectural work of LOUIS SULLIVAN.

In 1873 Eads began investigating another problem: how to maintain navigation for ocean ships at the shallow

mouth of the Mississippi. He argued against proposals for a canal to bypass the shallow sandbars and suggested building jetties to direct the river flow and scour a channel. Despite opposition, Eads's proposal was accepted in 1875. Construction of the jetties began the same year, and by 1879 the channel was 30 feet deep and routinely used by oceangoing steamers.

Eads's final great project, never accomplished, was to have been a multitrack ship railway to carry ocean liners from the Gulf of Mexico across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to the Pacific. Eads began investigating the possibility in 1879 as an alternative to an ill-conceived proposal by the French promoter Ferdinand de Lesseps to construct a sea-level isthmian canal across Panama. Eads would lobby for his project until his death in 1887. Not until 1914 would the Panama Canal (with locks) be opened to traffic.

In 1920 Eads was elected to the Hall of Fame for Great Americans, and in the 1932 the deans of the American colleges of engineering named Eads one of the five greatest engineers of all time, ranking him alongside Leonardo da Vinci and THOMAS ALVA EDISON.

See also BRIDGES.

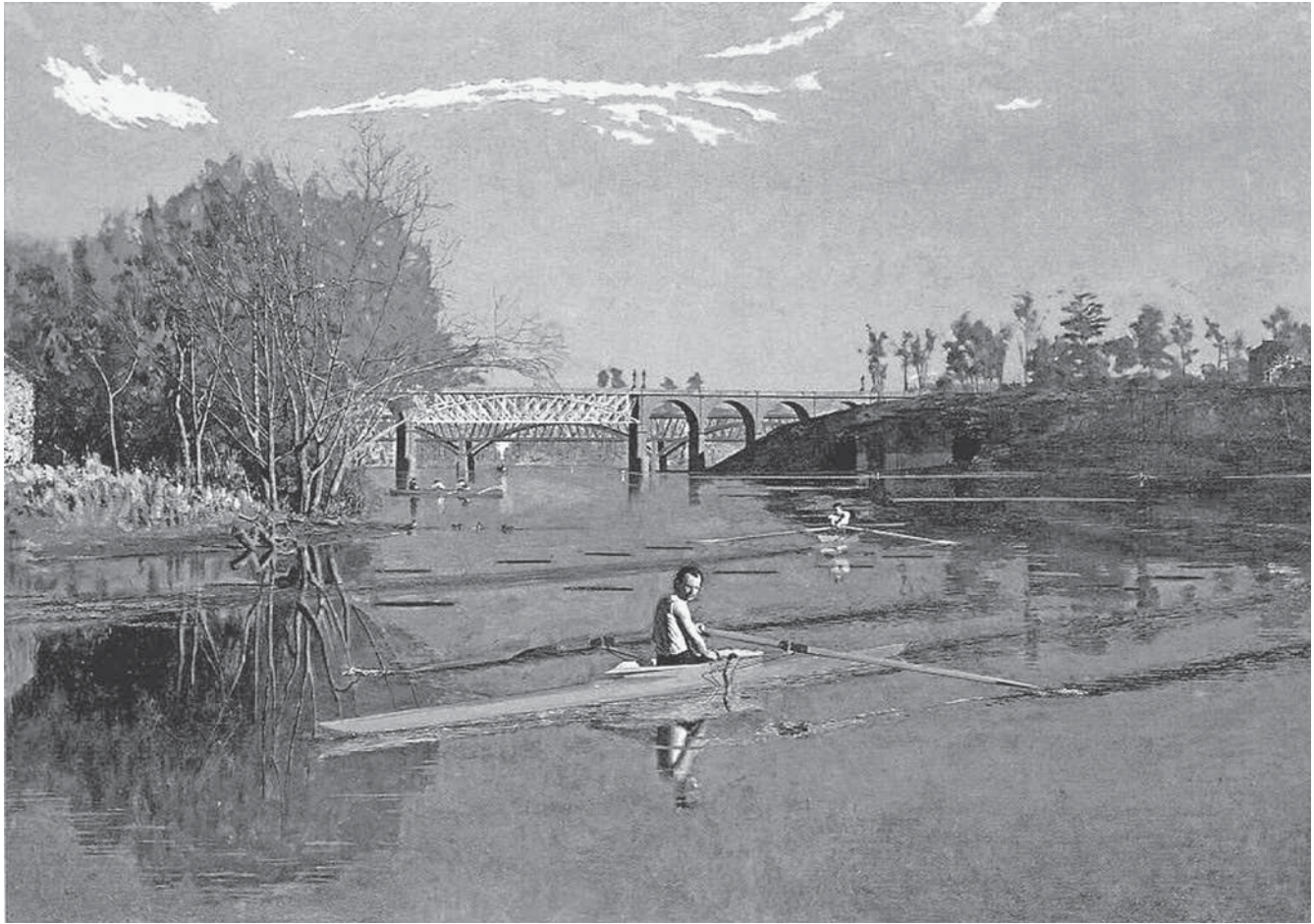
**Further reading:** Quinta Scott and Howard Miller, *The Eads Bridge* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, (1979).

—Francis H. Parker

## **Eakins, Thomas** (1844–1916) *painter, photographer, sculptor*

Best known as a painter, Thomas Eakins also used the mediums of photography, sculpture, and watercolor to conduct uncompromising explorations of the human form. Eakins's life and art are linked with Philadelphia, where he was born on July 25, 1844. The son of a master calligrapher, Eakins excelled at mathematics and mechanical drawing in high school. He studied art at the Pennsylvania Academy of





Thomas Eakins's *Max Schmitt in a Single Scull*, 1871 (Metropolitan Museum of Art)

the Fine Arts and anatomy at Jefferson Medical College. In 1866 he began four years of studying painting and sculpture in Paris, his only significant time away from Philadelphia. Along with Eadweard Muybridge, Eakins did pioneering work in motion photography in the late 1870s. As a teacher at the academy, Eakins championed the study of anatomy for both men and women, and by the early 1880s the school was one of the most progressive institutions worldwide. In 1886, however, Eakins removed a male model's loincloth in a women's or mixed life-drawing class, and he was fired. The incident, often cited as an archetype of Victorian prudery, was only one among Eakins's unconventional tactics, which also included a domineering manner, vulgar speech, and nude photography sessions involving himself and his students. Upon Eakins's dismissal, loyal pupils founded the Art Students' League of Philadelphia, and Eakins taught there until 1893. He also taught anatomy at other institutions in Philadelphia, New York, and Washington. Most of Eakins's art was uncommissioned and he sold few works; crucial financial support came from his father. Eakins's rep-

utation as the consummate American realist was only established after his death on June 25, 1916, in Philadelphia.

Hallmarks of Eakins's style, which varied little over the course of his career, include a limited tonal palette, dark shadows cut by shafts of light, and a great wealth of specific detail. In oils, watercolors, and sculpture Eakins executed portraits and genre topics, such as American colonial themes, an Arcadian series, and the sports of sculling, hunting, sailing, and boxing. His realism was built upon a laborious armature of preparation that included perspective drawings and wax mannequins for the study of light. Figure studies, some with frankly erotic themes, were conducted with photography; these were private, study works. All these methods were investigations into the underpinnings of appearances.

Eakins's first masterwork was *The Gross Clinic* (1875, Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia). In a crowded surgical amphitheater, Dr. Samuel Gross removes diseased bone tissue from the thigh of a prone patient, the incision and his bloody hands making shocking red points amid

Rembrandtesque shadows. Most critics could not commend the painting; one noted, “power it has, but very little art.” In *The Swimming Hole* (ca. 1883–84, Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas) Eakins constructed a pyramidal composition of five nude youths diving, swimming, and lounging, moving the prosaic scene back to an idyllic age. In the searing *The Artist’s Wife and His Setter Dog* (1884–ca. 89), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), a thin Susan Macdowell Eakins sits slumped in a chair, red-rimmed eyes and an empty, upturned palm almost beseeching the viewer. It takes its place among Eakins’s brutally frank, meditative, melancholy portraits, which remain his most memorable works.

**Further reading:** William Innes Homer, *Thomas Eakins: His Life and Art* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1992); John Wilmerding, *Thomas Eakins (1844–1916) and the Heart of American Life* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1993).

—Karen Zukowski

**Eastman, George** (1854–1932) *inventor, businessman, philanthropist*

George Eastman, inventor, entrepreneur, and philanthropist, was born on July 12, 1854, in Waterville, New York, the son of a nurseryman and educator who moved with his family to Rochester, New York, when George was five, and died two years later, leaving the family poor. Eastman quit school at age 13 to help support his mother and sisters. Methodical, efficient, and bent on self-improvement, he worked up from office boy to bank clerk. When, in 1877, he happened to take up photography, he added to his qualities a passionate single-mindedness verging on obsession. Photography still required the preparation and development of a wet-plate negative on the spot and at the time of an exposure, a process involving a bulky camera, tripod, plates, paper, storage box, a tent used as darkroom, and a wide array of chemicals and chemical apparatus. To carry and cope with all this demanded unusual patience, skill, and muscle. Eastman had all those, but he was also determined to find a better way. In 1878 he found it in the dry-plate process just developed in England, whereby plates could be prepared in advance and taken at leisure to a fixed laboratory for development.

Eastman experimented tirelessly with the process and began selling plates to others. In 1880 he patented an improved apparatus and in 1881 opened a factory in Rochester. He faced stiff competition, but he also saw the potential in exploiting a vast market of unhandy amateurs by continually making the process simpler and cheaper. He invented roll film, a roll holder attached to the camera, and bromide printing paper suitable for darkroom development. He also demonstrated a brilliant grasp of marketing,

coining the catchy brand name “Kodak” (based on a feeling that “K” was a “strong” letter), reaching out to a world market (beginning with a London branch in 1885), and spending lavishly on advertisements for which he wrote most of the copy. In 1888 he introduced a portable box camera, which held a roll for 100 photos, and urged buyers to send their rolls and cameras to Rochester for development. He wrote a slogan that became a worldwide catch phrase: “You press the button, we do the rest.” Constant improvement led to the “Brownie” camera of 1900, which sold for a dollar and came in a bright yellow package, a triumph of product identification.

In a series of acquisitions and reincorporations, Eastman’s personal fortune reached the million-dollar mark by the end of the century. He gave a third of it to Eastman employees worldwide, and he subsequently pioneered in employee benefits: medical insurance, pensions, and profit sharing. In 1901 he organized his enterprises as a holding company. This drive toward monopoly ran up against federal antitrust laws, but he preserved his dominance in photography by strategic concessions. After 1901 he diverted more of his energies to philanthropy, which he had engaged in since his teens. Eventually, being a lifelong bachelor, he distributed the bulk of his \$100 million fortune for the benefit of the public, avoiding personal publicity. He gave the Massachusetts Institute of Technology \$20 million as a gift from “Mr. Smith.” He also helped support African-American education through Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes, classical music (in which he delighted), medical research, dental clinics, parks, local political reform, and improvements in the city of Rochester. As a debilitating spinal affliction came upon him in his 70s, he put his affairs in order, bequeathing his estate to worthy causes. On March 14, 1932, leaving a terse note—“My work is done. Why wait?”—he shot himself through the heart.

**Further reading:** Elizabeth Brayer, *George Eastman: A Biography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

—Robert V. Bruce

**Eddy, Mary Baker** (1821–1910) *Christian Science founder*

Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of CHRISTIAN SCIENCE, was born on July 16, 1821, near Concord, New Hampshire. Although she was an emotional, sickly child who attended school irregularly, she had a aura of excitement about her and after age 12 occasionally published poetry. In 1843 she married George Washington Glover, who died six months later, leaving her pregnant and penniless. After returning to her parents’ home in poor health, she gave birth to a son, who grew up abandoned by her and illiterate. Despite her



ill health, in 1853 she married Daniel Patterson, an itinerant dentist. They were divorced in 1873.

Eddy's search for health brought her in 1862 to Phineas Parkhurst Quimby of Portland, Maine, whose direct mental healing hinted at modern psychological theories. Without denying illness, he maintained that its cause was often in the mind of the sufferer. Blooming under his guidance, Eddy became physically strong and a convert to his beliefs, copying out his manuscripts (one of which he called "Christ or Science"). When Quimby died four years later, Eddy reluctantly prepared to proclaim his healing message.

Working alone, without financial backing and estranged from her family and husband, Eddy wrote and in 1875 published *Science and Health*, the handbook of the Christian Science movement. Insisting that the mind could triumph over illness, her book made a religion of Quimby's theories, which she called her own and in many instances plagiarized. In her book's 381 revisions, Eddy gradually altered Quimby's teachings, linking them to the Bible. Unlike him, she denied the reality of illness and death, claiming they

were not of the "Father Mother God" who created everything. When her followers appeared ill, they were to seek help from Christian Science practitioners, not medical doctors. Possessing bad teeth and needing glasses, Eddy allowed Christian Scientists to see dentists and optometrists. A believer in demonology, she blamed problems and deaths (including that of Asa Gilbert Eddy, whom she married in 1877 and who died in 1882) on the "malicious animal magnetism" of disgruntled former followers.

Eddy was both an energetic teacher and a pragmatic organizer. She formed the Christian Science Association in 1876 and chartered the Church of Christ (Scientist) in 1879 and, in 1881, the Massachusetts Metaphysical College, which granted degrees for nearly a decade. For \$300 tuition (making Eddy the highest paid teacher of her day), adherents could attend her lectures and become teachers and healing practitioners. The trainees (mostly women, including numerous widows) acquired a lucrative profession and brought new believers to the movement, particularly after 1883 when the monthly *Journal of Christian Science* publicized their triumphs. Valuing good publicity, Eddy established in 1898 the weekly *Christian Science Sentinel* and in 1908 the daily *Christian Science Monitor*.

Eddy shrewdly shaped her denomination to increase her power, and during the last 20 years of her life she was the most famous woman in America. Annoyed by deteriorating health and her church's everyday problems, she began secluding herself in 1887, but nevertheless tightened control of her denomination by creating in 1892 "The Mother Church" with a self-perpetuating board of directors. In semiretirement, her emotional outbursts, her consulting with doctors and taking morphine to relieve her painful kidney stones, and her increasing paranoia were less noticed. She died on December 3, 1910, and left most of her \$2.5 million estate to her church, which, despite numerous lawsuits and unfavorable publicity, had grown to nearly 100,000 members.

**Further reading:** Stephen Mottschalk, *The Emergence of Christian Science in American Religious Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); Robert Peel, *Mary Baker Eddy*, 3 vols. (Boston: Christian Science Publishing Society, 1966–77).

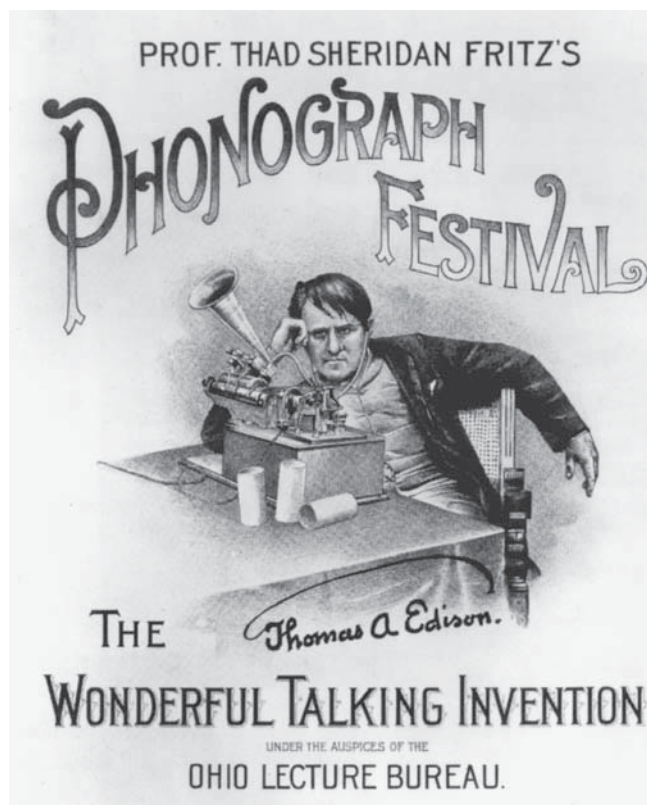
—Olive Hoogenboom



Mary Baker Eddy (Library of Congress)

### **Edison, Thomas Alva** (1847–1931) *inventor*

Thomas Edison, the most renowned inventor of the Gilded Age, was born on February 11, 1847, in the small town of Milan, Ohio. He did not have an easy start in life: Edison lost part of his hearing as a boy, his family fell on hard times, and his formal schooling was meager. He peddled candy and newspapers on railroad trains and set up a small



Thomas Alva Edison, with phonograph (Library of Congress)

electrical lab in a baggage car. Able to overhear the clicking of a railroad telegraph, he became a skilled operator and, in the tradition of the craft, moved from job to job. In 1868 he arrived in Boston, the center of American science and technology, where he resolved to be a full-time inventor. His first invention, an electric legislative vote recorder, was not wanted by politicians, who needed time to dicker during a vote. Edison thus learned to study the market before inventing for it. He also devised an improved stock ticker. When his Boston credit ran out in 1869 he moved to New York City. There he sold his stock ticker rights for enough to finance his own business in Newark.

From 1870 to 1876 Edison concentrated on improving telegraphy, in 1874 producing his most complex and notable invention in that field, the quadruplex telegraph, which could send two messages each way over a single wire. In 1876 he set out to establish an “invention factory” that would turn out “a minor invention every ten days and a big thing every six months or so.” The plain two-story wooden building in the hamlet of Menlo Park, New Jersey, foreshadowed the modern industrial research laboratory. Edison put together and brilliantly led a dedicated team of skilled workers and scientific specialists. There and elsewhere in New Jersey over the next 15 years he changed

the world and called whole new industries into being with a succession of inventions unequaled by any one person before or since, including his carbon-button telephone transmitter, phonograph, electric light, and integrated system of electrical generation and transmission. The public mythologized him as “the wizard of Menlo Park.” Ultimately more than 1,000 patents bore his name, though not all were primarily his creation.

After the 1880s Edison changed his style. He came up with no more strikingly original and fundamental inventions, although his team did much to develop motion pictures. Instead, perhaps sensing that the day of the great independent inventors was passing or perhaps because his own incandescent genius was fading as he aged, he turned to massive projects such as ore separation and cement manufacture, both processes that required giant machinery and heavy infusions of capital. He struggled to join the American pantheon of great industrialists, but the new role was not natural to him and he failed, losing much of his fortune. Nevertheless, his triumphs in basic invention have made him a figure of undying fame and legend in American history. The technology he created is, and is likely to remain, an indispensable and inextricable part of human life. When Edison died on October 18, 1931, it was suggested that in observance of his death all dynamos be stopped momentarily, but the cost and disruption of even so fleeting an event was recognized as unthinkable.

**Further reading:** Paul Israel, *Edison: A Life of Invention* (New York: Wiley, 1998).

—Robert V. Bruce

## education

Two themes dominated American education from 1870 to 1900. One was the great expansion in the number of schools and people in both teaching and learning. Education became increasingly important as the nation’s population grew from natural expansion and IMMIGRATION, and millions of people entered school. The other theme was that the local village, town, or city shaped the educational experience of young Americans. They were not educated by a centralized school system as in Germany, Japan, France, or Great Britain. The minimal federal aid given to education helped establish land-grant agricultural and technical universities under state control. Many Republican congressmen wanted federal funds to be spent on local community schools in impoverished districts, to subsidize the education of black children in particular, but their efforts never became law. Furthermore, in most states, governors, legislators, and judges had little direct influence on students and teachers. Public education was locally controlled.



Schools aimed to prepare students for a place in a rapidly changing society while building personal and civic character. Between 1870 and 1900 the United States continued the rapid industrialization and urbanization that had begun a generation earlier. By 1880, for example, 50 percent of New Jersey's population lived in communities of more than 2,500 people, and the revolutions in transportation, marketing, and communications were creating a national integrated economy that affected even small rural villages. Local farm producers and their markets were facing competition from rail-transported meat and flour from Chicago and Minneapolis. Fruit shipped from Washington and Oregon to eastern urban centers was sold cheaper than products grown 20 miles away.

Despite the national economy, American children did not have a common educational experience. With the federal Constitution silent about education, that function fell to the states and, in practice, to the thousands of dissimilar communities that formed local school systems. Moreover, schools for AFRICAN AMERICANS and NATIVE AMERICANS were different from those of other children. In 1900, 90 percent of the nation's black children lived in the South and attended segregated schools deemed constitutional by the SUPREME COURT's 1896 *PLESSY V. FERGUSON* "separate but equal" decision. Outside the South, African Americans often attended integrated schools, especially in rural areas and small towns. Native Americans, whose schools were a federal responsibility, were the most poorly educated seg-



One-room schoolhouse and its attendees, Hecla, Montana, 1893 (*Library of Congress*)

ment of the population. Schools on reservations were inadequate, and those children who attended the few Indian boarding schools, like the one at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, were intentionally far removed from their community to promote their assimilation into white society. Women of all races had fewer opportunities for education beyond the eighth grade, although only 5 percent of all graduates—regardless of race or gender—went on for more education. Nevertheless, growing numbers of women were going on to teacher education (normal schools), commercial, and nursing schools. Less than 1 percent of the 18- to 22-year-old female population went to the recently created women's colleges, such as Vassar, Smith, Radcliffe, Bryn Mawr, or Mills.

Why did parents send their children to school? Why did states foster schools and permit local communities to raise taxes for their operation? What influence did the rapidly changing economy have on these decisions? Historians have widely differing answers to these questions. Some believe that community schools were created to preserve and protect traditional American beliefs during a time when many Americans were leaving their farms and small towns for new homes in cities or for new farms and small towns on the frontier. With mobility undermining the ties of family, church, and community, education would provide some social glue, an element of stability. Schools could help young citizens adjust to changes and provide them with a common experience. Children could become individuals caring for their own interests as well as patriotic citizens preserving common national goals.

Other scholars believe that schools, especially in cities, were designed to control those who were poor and those who were recent arrivals. The rich desired to use education to “tame the poor” by getting them to accept inequality as an economic reality. Other “school controllers” were motivated by fears of moral decline. They saw Christian society threatened by drinking, prostitution, crime, political corruption, and—a more immediate temptation for youngsters—undesirable children's books. Through discipline and the teaching of high ideals, schools could counteract these influences and set children on the right path.

These theories, however, are not relevant for the majority of Gilded Age children who went to school in rural communities rather than in growing cities. From 1870 to 1900, 25 to 40 percent of all Americans lived in towns of more than 2,500. Rural schools were not created to cope with immigration, to respond to rapid economic change and population shifts, to shield the innocent minds of children from sin, or to teach poor children to accept inequality and not be influenced by foreign ideas to overthrow the government and reconstitute society.

Rural schools had three basic objectives. First, they wanted to train students to become self-reliant citizens

who were thrifty, sober, orderly, serious, and competitive. Local taxpayers, loosely controlled by state governments, gave almost every child (the exceptions were among African-American and Indian children) an opportunity for a common-school, eight-year education so that they could become free citizens in charge of their own futures. Second, although the schools were secular, American republican and democratic ideals were taught to the point that they had religious overtones. America was the redeemer-savior-nation (one that could rescue a world of decadent monarchies), and children could carry out both their personal ambitions and responsibilities as citizens within God's plan. Finally, as either farmers or small business owners, young Americans needed education so that they could compete with producers at home and abroad. The careful education of children would enable a well-regulated society to balance its need for stability with the individual's desire for success.

Educational goals were carried out primarily in state-regulated community schools. Between 1865 and 1900 every state established requirements for minimal annual attendance, teaching certificates, basic curricula, and graduating tests. Local communities could tax and receive state aid if they carried out these minimal requirements. Very few other state regulations affected students and teachers. Many states also sponsored two- or three-day meetings where teachers could convene and learn new skills. Every small rural location had an elementary school teaching children through the eighth grade. Only 5 percent of the nation's children attended high schools, which were located in larger towns. Talented high school students from rural communities often had to board in larger towns and either pay tuition or establish residency.

The most salient change in Gilded Age primary schools was that more women than men taught school. In New Jersey, for example, male teachers outnumbered female teachers before the Civil War, but at its close in 1865 almost twice as many women were teaching as men, and by 1895 women outnumbered men by six to one. Teaching was a rapidly growing field for ambitious and qualified women who preferred it (especially with opportunities in rural areas or small towns) to urban employment as nurses or in business. However, few teachers remained in their jobs for more than a few years. In many counties the teaching force changed by 90 percent or more within a five-year period. Low wages for the largely female teaching force—and their individual desires to marry and raise a family—account for this shift.

Parochial schools were the most important trend in private education. A Roman Catholic educational system emerged in many urban areas following the call of the 1883 Council of Bishops in Baltimore for the expansion of Catholic schools in as many dioceses as possible. Catholics

were unable to convince state legislatures that their schools merited state aid, even when bishops were willing to admit non-Catholic students (who would not participate in religious education) and to place their schools under state regulations. The expansion of private Catholic education paralleled the less significant growth of Protestant-based private schools.

Formal public and parochial school systems were not the only alternatives; there were also informal arrangements. An occasional bright teenager could be prepared for college entrance examinations by a tutor. Educational opportunities for adults existed. Farmers could learn the newest techniques by attending county fairs or by contact with agents of state departments of agriculture. In cities, businesspeople could pick up information at trade expositions, while any citizen could take courses sponsored by the CHAUTAUQUA movement or at Young Mens Christian Associations (YMCA) and SETTLEMENT HOUSES. Courses were also available for immigrants who needed basic reading skills and knowledge to pass citizenship tests (which contained questions like What is a ballot?).

Between 1870 and 1900 publicly funded schools and informal educational opportunities could be found in every state and territory in communities of all sizes and wealth. A basic, locally administered common-school education was a national experience for nearly all children. The amount of money spent on public education varied greatly from state to state and from community to community within a state, and no state helped poor school districts by equalizing expenditures statewide. Virtually all Americans received a common-school education, but its quality varied considerably.

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—Harry Stein

### education, federal aid to

Through its land policy, the federal government from its inception supported common schools, but education was regarded as a state responsibility, exercised by local communities subject to state oversight. Using the sale of public lands to support education had its origins in the colonial period and was adopted by the Congress of the Articles of Confederation. Its Land Ordinance of 1785 created a

system for surveying western lands into six-mile-square townships. In each township, one of its 36 sections was designated to support common schools. In the late 19th century, two sections (and in the early 20th century, four sections) in each state as it entered the Union were set aside for education.

In the late 19th century reformers tried to secure substantial federal aid for impoverished school districts, primarily in the South and West. Republican senator Henry W. Blair introduced a bill in 1881 to distribute among states, on the basis of illiteracy, \$120 million over a 10-year period. The chief beneficiaries would be African-American children. Although the Senate passed the bill three times, it was killed in the House of Representatives by racist southerners and parsimonious northerners and never passed.

The federal government also supported higher education and research. Prior to the Civil War, public land granted to states as they entered the Union resulted in the establishment of state universities in Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin. In the 1840s and 1850s numerous advocates of an increased federal role in improving agricultural methods studied European models and petitioned CONGRESS for the funding of research and teacher training. In 1857 Republican senator Justin Morrill of Vermont introduced a bill encouraging the growth of higher education through the sale of public lands, and by 1859 it passed Congress only to be vetoed by President James Buchanan, who believed it would unconstitutionally encroach on states' rights by expanding federal power over education. Southern Democrats prevented an override of the veto.

In May and July 1862, with the nation at war and southern Democrats absent, the Republican Congress, with President Abraham Lincoln's approval, created the Department of Agriculture (which immediately began research on seed development and plant diseases) and signed Morrill's Land-Grant College Bill into law. The Morrill Act gave each state 30,000 acres of land for each senator and representative in Congress, and the states were free to sell these lands and use the proceeds to establish agricultural and mechanical colleges. As a result, land-grant institutions were created in every state, but the Morrill Act never provided enough money for the total support of a school. The federal government also provided special land grants for normal schools, schools of mines, military institutes, and segregated schools. An additional Morrill Act (1890) gave \$25,000 annually to each land-grant college for studies related to the "industries of life." This term was used to prevent diverting the money to the liberal arts departments that existed in those institutions.

The 1887 Hatch Act, which gave states money for agricultural research stations, grew out of the work of land-grant universities and the Department of Agriculture. Department officials and college professors had for years



been meeting in efforts to disseminate the results of agricultural experimentation to farmers. The research stations were designed to meet that need. By 1899, 56 research stations based in farming areas produced 445 reports and bulletins reaching more than a half-million farmers.

During the Gilded Age—a period of unparalleled agricultural and industrial expansion—the federal government recognized the value of technical training and scientific experimentation and, in limited but precise and important ways, encouraged higher education and the distribution of useful information.

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—Harry Stein

### education, higher

From 1870 to 1900 the number of American institutions of higher learning jumped from 563 to 977, and the percentage of 18- to 21-year-old students increased from 1.7 to 4.1. These colleges and universities fall into three categories: privately endowed universities offering graduate as well as undergraduate programs; a large number of small, usually church-sponsored, liberal arts colleges; and public-supported state universities and land-grant colleges (encouraged by the Morrill Act of 1862), as well as the unusual City College of New York, established in 1847. Public-supported institutions offered technical and liberal arts training.

Graduate training expanded from 1870 to 1900. Before 1870, Harvard's Lawrence Scientific School and Yale's Sheffield Scientific School, as well as their schools of law and medicine, offered postgraduate training but few doctor of philosophy (Ph.D.) degrees. Aspiring American scholars went to Europe, especially Germany, for the Ph.D. until Johns Hopkins University, from its inception in 1876, emphasized graduate studies. Its president, DANIEL COIT GILMAN, made research the "soul" of the university and strived to combine the strengths of a traditional liberal arts college with a graduate program designed not only to preserve knowledge but also to discover and apply scientific knowledge. The Hopkins medical school, established in 1893, applied Gilman's concepts. Its outstanding faculty, high admission standards (open to women), affiliation with a teaching hospital, and sound financial footing made it the preeminent medical school in America in 1900.

During the last three decades of the 19th century, many American colleges and universities began offering their students a wide variety of majors and courses they could elect to meet degree requirements. This elective system was controversial. CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT, Har-

vard's president, argued that the changing American economy and society needed college graduates who had been free to choose their course of study. Yale's president, Noah Porter, countered that while the elective system might benefit some earnest students, the vast majority were neither mature nor informed enough to make such crucial choices. He believed that a uniform college program should concentrate the attention of students on history, literature, and science before they began the pursuit of money through technical training. Porter also believed that the elective system would be costly, difficult to manage, and—by reducing common experiences—blur the identity of, and the camaraderie within, a college class. In 1885 James McCosh, the president of Princeton, took a moderate position combining Eliot's flexibility and Porter's rigidity. McCosh said the student should elect the college and major of his choice, but the faculty should determine the appropriate sequence of courses leading to a degree. All students at Princeton, whatever their major, had to study the trinity of language and literature, science, and philosophy.

Trends in higher education reflected the phenomenal growth of American agriculture and industry. The establishment of graduate programs, agricultural and mechanical colleges, and more flexible, practical curricula served the needs of a society organizing and reshaping itself. Despite the greater availability of higher learning in the late 19th century, only one out of 25 American youths attended college in 1900.

In particular it was difficult for AFRICAN AMERICANS to obtain a higher education, although colleges such as Oberlin and Harvard did admit a few qualified students. Even where colleges did not discriminate, inferior segregated primary and secondary schools made it difficult for black Americans to meet entrance requirements. To train leaders and to promote economic well-being for African Americans, government and philanthropic organizations established institutions of higher learning. In 1868, under the auspices of the federal Freedmen's Bureau, General Clinton Bowen Fisk set up a school in Nashville, Tennessee, to train African-American leaders, which evolved into Fisk University. The following year the Freedmen's Bureau established a sister school in Washington, D.C., under the leadership of General O. O. Howard. Given its location, it continued to receive congressional support and, as Howard University, developed into the most prestigious black university. Hampton Institute, founded in 1868 by the American Missionary Society, was a nonsectarian, coeducational school headed by General Samuel C. Armstrong. It was an agricultural and normal school, stressing courses in farming and elementary education, but also gave practical instruction in business, home economics, and skilled trades. Its most distinguished alumnus was BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, who started Tuskegee Institute in 1881, which he devel-



oped into a major industrial-education school, while not neglecting the liberal arts. In the North some institutions for blacks, such as Cheyney University of Pennsylvania (1837) and Wilberforce University in Ohio (1856), had been established prior to the Civil War, but mostly they flourished in the Gilded Age.

**Further reading:** Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

—Harry Stein

### education, philanthropy and

Following the Civil War, money from wealthy American philanthropists, especially businessmen, began to influence both private and public education in the United States. These funds were directed toward primary education in the impoverished and war-devastated Southern states and higher education elsewhere. Antebellum Southern states had invested little in common schools. After the war, if they were to teach theretofore neglected white and black children, they would have to rebuild, expand, and rethink their educational systems. This was a tall order in the postwar Reconstruction period, and Northerners recognized the need to raise private funds from churches and individuals to supplement the educational efforts of the federally financed Freedmen's Bureau.

Private and federal funding for Southern education focused on the secondary and college level to train teachers (black and white) for common, agricultural, and trade schools. Between 1865 and 1869 the American Missionary Association cooperated with the Freedmen's Bureau to establish Howard University in Washington, D.C., and seven other black institutions, including Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, and Atlanta University in Georgia. Individual philanthropists joined in this federal-religious effort to rebuild Southern education. Beginning in 1867 George Peabody, a London, England, merchant and financier by way of Massachusetts and Baltimore, set aside \$3.5 million to establish the Peabody Education Fund. Peabody's aim was to "benefit the destitute areas of the South" and especially to aid the "children of the common people" by rebuilding its school system. He hoped that educational opportunity could bind the republic's wounds and improve the Southern economy. The Peabody Fund was administered by a board of trustees that included Presidents Ulysses S. Grant and RUTHERFORD B. HAYES. It was ultimately used to establish the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville (now part of Vanderbilt University).

In 1882, inspired by Peabody's example and the successful work of the fund's managers, John Slater, a Con-

necticut textile industrialist, donated \$1 million to create the Slater Fund for "the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern States." Hayes chaired the Slater Fund trustees, and under his leadership the fund invested in secondary and industrial training schools across the South, including Hampton Institute in Virginia, to produce prosperous black artisans, farmers, and businessmen. The Slater Fund also supported the efforts of individual scholars such as W. E. B. DuBois, who went to Germany to further his graduate training in Berlin.

With few exceptions white southerners welcomed the support of these funds because their industrial education focus was nonthreatening. The funds carefully followed local social customs and did not attempt to integrate schools or, as was the case of the Peabody Fund, support the mixed-race common schools that existed in New Orleans until the mid-1870s. Although the Slater Fund aided DuBois, the funds ignored his elitist notion that educational investment should concentrate on the "black talented tenth" who would attend universities and lead the black race. Between 1870 and 1900 northern philanthropy was a conservative but constructive force in southern society. In 1870, 80 percent of the African-American population 10 years or older was illiterate; by 1900 illiteracy had been reduced to 45 percent.

Philanthropists also established innovative universities in the post-Civil War years. Ezra Cornell founded Cornell University in 1868 by combining his \$500,000 endowment with New York State's Morrill Act land grant. The new institution was unusual in that instruction was offered in agriculture and engineering, as the Morrill Act intended, as well as in the liberal arts; the classics were taught, but students could substitute German and French for Greek; it was open to the poor as well as to the rich and, starting in 1872, to women as well as to men; and there were no religious requirements for either faculty or students. Cornell was noted for its "liberal, progressive, and practical spirit."

Among other philanthropists, Johns Hopkins endowed both Johns Hopkins University and Johns Hopkins Hospital, which he intended to be a teaching hospital for the university's medical school. Hopkins died before the university opened in 1876, but unlike other American universities, it emphasized a graduate program designed to advance rather than to preserve knowledge. Leland Stanford endowed Stanford University, opened in 1891, with the largest American philanthropic gift up to that time. Stanford was coeducational and nonsectarian from its beginning, and Leland Stanford wished it to offer a broad curriculum in the arts and sciences as well as manual training. In the 1880s industrial training was in vogue not only for former slaves but also for the children of the affluent. John D. Rockefeller began contributing heavily to the University of Chicago in 1889 (\$35 million by 1910), but unlike

most philanthropists, he made no effort to influence its trustees, president, faculty, or curriculum.

Although virtually all American children were educated in public schools, philanthropic aid helped reduce illiteracy by training more teachers. And while states, complying with the Morrill Act, established universities with broad-based practical curricula, philanthropists established private universities that differed from traditional institutions such as Harvard, Yale, and Princeton.

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—Harry Stein

### elections, conduct of

With the exception of largely ineffectual federal Enforcement Acts, late 19th-century elections—federal, state, and local—were controlled by the states. In 1870 there was no secret balloting in the United States, although oral voting survived in only a few places in the South. Printed ballots, which with many elective offices tended to be lengthy, were prepared by political parties with only their candidates and none of their opponents listed. Voting a split ticket required the erasing (“scratching”) of a candidate and writing in his opponent’s name while party regulars at the polls, at the very least, glared their disapproval. Understandably, straight party voting was the rule and scratchers were rare. Voters were not only subjected to peer pressure but also economic pressure. Employers, making certain they hired the votes as well as the labor of their workers, supplied them with ballots and marched them to the polls. In large cities, political machines falsified registration lists with names from tombstones and often sought to discourage respectable voters by siting the polls at disreputable locations. Civil servants whose jobs depended on the outcome of the election, or those who wanted to replace them, effectively got out the vote.

By 1900 some significant changes had occurred. Purchasing and influencing voters through economic or peer pressure was greatly reduced and split-ticket voting greatly increased by the use of the Australian or secret ballot, which had been adopted by all states. Government-printed ballots listed all candidates, and voters marked the ballots in the privacy of a booth. Stringent voter registration requirements reduced fraud, but this also discouraged lower socioeconomic groups from voting. In addition, black southerners, who had exercised universal male suffrage in 1870, were by 1900, despite the Fifteenth Amendment, completely disfranchised by intimidation, literacy tests, poll taxes (in every southern state by 1904), or by the GRANDFATHER CLAUSE in their constitutions, which denied the

vote to the descendants of those who could not vote in 1867 (in South Carolina [1895] and Louisiana [1898]). Thanks to CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, government employees were no longer active in getting out the vote, and that factor—along with registration laws, the “solid” Democratic South, and huge Republican majorities in the rest of the country—led to lower voter turnout. But as a harbinger of a more democratic era for them, women had won the vote by state action in the western states of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho by 1900.

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**elective system** See EDUCATION, HIGHER.

**elevated railroads (els)** See TRANSPORTATION, URBAN.

**Eliot, Charles William** (1834–1926) *higher education reformer, president of Harvard University*

The most renowned university president in the Gilded Age, Charles W. Eliot was born in Boston on March 20, 1834. He attended Boston Latin School and entered Harvard College (where his father was treasurer) at the age of 15. There, as he excelled in chemistry and mathematics, he was introduced to the scientific method of forming and evaluating hypotheses by experiments and observation. In 1854, the year after his graduation, Harvard appointed him a tutor in mathematics and in 1858 an assistant professor of mathematics and chemistry for five years. That same year he married Ellen Derby Peabody. Eliot was a good teacher, a productive researcher, and a gifted administrator who soon assisted President James Walker.

Despite his talents Eliot was not promoted to full professor in 1863 and decided to study educational practices and chemistry in Paris, France, and Marburg, Germany. Experience abroad heightened his appreciation for the scientific method as the foundation of a college education and for faculty research in order to provide superior instruction for advanced students. Although the Massachusetts Institute of Technology appointed him professor of chemistry in 1865, Eliot returned to Europe by 1867, hoping to improve the health of his wife, who in 1869 died of tuberculosis. Eliot tailored his observations of European educational institutions for an American audience in an influential two-part article, “The New Education: Its Organization,” for the February and March 1869 issues of the *Atlantic Monthly*. He argued that the American university

“will not be a copy of foreign institutions, . . . but the slow and natural outgrowth of American social and political habits.” He wanted the U.S. university to meet America’s need for engineers, architects, and chemists in technical schools, while developing broad culture and “the love of learning and research for their own sake” in its liberal arts school. The new education stressed pure and applied sciences, modern languages (rather than Greek and Latin), and mathematics. Students should take a core of required courses, upperclassmen would be free to elect studies in a chosen specialty, and professional training on a graduate level would be available in technical schools.

Eliot’s article became a campaign document in the movement to name him Harvard president. Despite Eliot’s abrasive personality and the opposition of traditionalists, the Board of Overseers elected him president of Harvard on May 19, 1869. His inaugural address confirmed the fears of the traditionalists, as he called for a broader curriculum, improved teaching, higher standards, recruitment of poor as well as rich students, and the admission of women into advanced university courses. Attempting to quell the fears of traditionalists, Eliot declared:

This University recognizes no real antagonism between literature and science, and consents to no such narrow alternatives as mathematics or classics, science or metaphysics. We would have them all, and at their best.

“We are going to have new times here at Harvard,” JOHN FISKE, the historian, hopefully predicted, “No more old fogysm.”

Fiske was right. During his 40-year tenure Eliot transformed Harvard into a modern university. More than a teacher or researcher he was an administrator and a leader. Harvard in 1869 was an incoherent agglomeration of Harvard College, the parallel undergraduate Lawrence Scientific School and the Divinity, Law, Medical, and Dental (professional) Schools. Each school had its own admissions policy and functioned with little guidance from the president of the university. Eliot’s long-range goal was to create a coherent whole by moving all undergraduate instruction into the nucleus of Harvard College and surrounding it with professional- and research-oriented graduate schools. Eliot worked persistently toward his goal, and by the time of his retirement, he had substantially achieved it.

Eliot was strong-minded, but he did listen to his faculty and did take advice. He favored scientific research that would yield practical applications, until Johns Hopkins University, under DANIEL COIT GILMAN, distinguished itself in pure scientific research and Harvard’s faculty demanded a similar emphasis. Eliot also improved the quality and quantity of Harvard’s faculty. In 1869 there were 60 teachers for 1,000 students and by 1909 there were 600 teachers

for 4,000 students. Not only was the teacher-student ratio improved, but teaching loads were reduced and research opportunities increased. In his quest for the best Eliot angered other college presidents by luring away outstanding scholars.

Eliot is remembered primarily for his championship of the elective system. He backed it on philosophic (indeed patriotic) grounds as well as on practical ones. He viewed liberty and freedom of choice as quintessentially American values in one’s choice of religion, politics, and occupation, and he believed liberty and freedom should apply to one’s education as well. On the practical side Eliot perceived that required courses could not possibly cope with the variety of new fields of study. Pedagogy would improve if professors could teach elective courses in their fields of research, and students would learn more if they could choose their classes. As with the reorganization of the university, Eliot moved gradually, with seniors enjoying full choice by 1872 and freshmen by 1885. By then he believed that choice of electives was a student right.

Eliot also influenced secondary education and the intellectual development of the public at large. He advocated basing college admissions not on Greek and Latin but on a broad range of scholarship, including modern languages and science, and was instrumental in establishing the College Entrance Examining Board in 1900. In retirement he edited the “five-foot shelf” of *Harvard Classics*. Eliot, who loved to row, was an avid sailor on the coast of Maine. He died at his summer home in Northeast Harbor, Mount Desert Island, Maine, on August 22, 1926.

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**Ellis Island** See IMMIGRATION.

**Ely, Richard Theodore** (1854–1943) *economist, reformer*

Richard T. Ely was born in Ripley, New York, on April 13, 1854, and grew up on a farm near Fredonia, New York. His father, an austere Presbyterian, believed in equality and social reform, while his artist mother tempered his father’s stern nature with boundless love. Educated in the local public schools and Fredonia Academy, Ely taught school for a year before entering Dartmouth College in 1872. After his freshman year he transferred to Columbia, where, upon his graduation in 1876, he won a three-year scholarship for study abroad.

In Germany, Ely studied philosophy at the University of Halle but soon fell under the spell of Professor Johannes Conrad, who belonged to the German Historical School of economics, which rejected the mechanistic laws of classical economics. Conrad's scholarship appealed to Ely's youthful idealism, and he decided economics was where he could keep his "feet on the ground" while speculating on how to improve society. After a year Ely transferred to the University of Heidelberg, where he studied under Karl Knies, a founder of the Historical School of economics, and earned his Ph.D. in 1879. Ely was guided throughout his life by Knies's insistence that people, rather than unchangeable laws, should be at the center of economic study and that economists should devise formulas that were ethical and realistic.

Ely spent most of the third year of his scholarship in Berlin. There he became acquainted with academic socialists and met ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, president of Cornell University, who was the U.S. minister to Germany. White encouraged Ely to study the administration of the city of Berlin and prepare a report, which the State Department published, on the acquisition of private railroads by the Prussian state. Germany profoundly influenced Ely. In addition to the inspiration and training of Conrad and Knies, Ely admired German scholarship and universities, and he was impressed by the efficiency of German bureaucracy and the capabilities of a powerful state.

Returning to the United States in 1880, Ely was unemployed for a year until DANIEL COIT GILMAN, thanks to White's recommendation and Ely's railroad report, offered him an instructorship in "political economy" at Johns Hopkins University. Ely assured Gilman that his goal was not to teach a specific economic doctrine but "to explain the origin of various economic schools." That goal, coupled with his commitment to "use every opportunity to benefit those who suffer," pursued at the nation's leading graduate school, placed Ely at the forefront of the assault on classical economic doctrines. His interest in and support of individual students and his reformist zeal soon attracted outstanding students, including sociologist and economist Thorstein Veblen, economist John R. Commons, historian FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, and President Woodrow Wilson. While on vacation in Virginia in 1883, Ely fell in love with Anna Morris Anderson, and they married on June 25, 1884. While on their honeymoon at the company town of Pullman, Illinois, Ely characteristically researched an article about that place. With charm and understanding, Anderson was an enormous asset to her workaholic husband.

With other proponents of the "new economics" Ely helped establish the American Economic Association in 1885, was its secretary from 1885 to 1892, and its president from 1900 to 1901. Having rejected the laws of classical economists (from which truths were to be deduced), Ely

urged his students to approach economics scientifically, to "look and see," to collect information about social conditions, and to base economic principles on the needs of society. What especially attracted students to Ely was his concern for the underprivileged, which stemmed from his commitment to Christian idealism. He rejected his father's rigid Presbyterianism but not his father's ardor for equality and social reform. He became an Episcopalian and embraced the SOCIAL GOSPEL and Christian Socialism. His economic ideas were subject to change, since they were the means to achieve a "kingdom of righteousness," which for him was an egalitarian society.

Ely's support of organized labor and "gas-and-water socialism" provoked controversy in and out of academia. His *Labor Movement in America* (1886) refused to regard labor as a commodity subject to an iron law of wages. Finding virtue where others saw evil, Ely praised the spirit of brotherhood in unions and argued that unions, by making labor more equal to management, promoted industrial peace and staved off violent strikes. The *NATION*'s hostile review of this book inspired John R. Commons to come to Johns Hopkins to study under Ely. But Ely's colleague, the astronomer Simon Newcomb, declared him unfit to hold a Hopkins professorship.

Ely left Johns Hopkins in 1892 to head the newly formed School of Economics, Political Science, and History at the University of Wisconsin. Two years later he was under attack there, as a result of a letter to *The Nation* claiming that Ely, "the college anarchist," gave advice to a strike organizer and masked the "pernicious doctrines" of SOCIALISM in his writings. Ely was not a radical socialist and, with his admiration of a powerful state to achieve reforms, was the antithesis of anarchism. He favored public ownership of natural monopolies, such as utilities and RAILROADS, but believed in competitive private enterprise. A committee of the Board of Regents investigated the charges and exonerated Ely. As an afterthought, the committee asserted in ringing terms the right of academic freedom (which had not been an issue since Ely denied the allegations), and the case assumed a landmark status.

Early in the 20th century Ely participated in the Progressive movement. He was an adviser, along with other University of Wisconsin colleagues, to the reform governor Robert M. La Follette. He also founded the American Association for Labor Legislation and served as its first president from 1906 to 1908. That organization made a major contribution to the 1937 Social Security Act. Ely's support of the decision by his former student Woodrow Wilson to enter World War I caused him to break with La Follette and isolationist Progressives.

In the 1920s Ely became more conservative. He abandoned his gas-and-water socialism and having speculated in land shifted his interest to land economics and justified



profiting from increased land values. After the death of his wife in 1923 and with La Follette's continuing hostility, Ely moved to Northwestern University in 1925. On August 8, 1931, he married a former student, Margaret Hale Hahn, and the next year moved to New York. Although he received research support from real estate and public utility interests, they were not always pleased with his findings. Despite his investments he remained a reformer. To ensure intelligent use of land, he advocated government planning of land development and government ownership of mineral and timber lands. Ely died in Old Lyme, Connecticut, on October 4, 1943.

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### entertainment, popular

The second half of the 19th century was an age of mass entertainment in the United States. Urban audiences had ready access to THEATER, minstrelsy, vaudeville, and other popular amusements, while showboats, touring troupes, tent shows, repertory companies, circuses, and Wild West shows took comedy, drama, MUSIC, and action to the hinterlands. In addition to this wide array of live entertainments, there were technical marvels such as dioramas, panoramas, cycloramas, and—by the end of the century—motion pictures, not to mention the wonders and oddities on display at museums and expositions.

Minstrelsy was the principal form of popular entertainment in America during the middle third of the 19th century. Unlike most musical or theatrical performances of the period, minstrelsy was largely, though not exclusively, indigenous entertainment. It was, as Eric Lott has written, “the national art of the moment.” Minstrel shows typically included songs, dances, instrumental specialties, comic dialogues, novelty acts, parodies of “stump speeches,” and burlesques. The performers were white entertainers who mimicked AFRICAN AMERICANS by wearing burnt-cork makeup (blackface), speaking in exaggerated dialect, exploiting well-established stereotypes, and performing music that ostensibly originated in the slave communities of antebellum plantations. Some black troupes (who also performed in blackface) toured the eastern states during the antebellum period and the Civil War, often appearing before abolitionist groups, but minstrelsy was essentially a white enterprise. Even the black companies came under white management by the 1870s. Managers, actors, and songwriters were typically northerners who had little or no knowledge of African Americans or of the plantation life that they romanticized.

This ignorance hardly mattered to either the performers or the audiences, for minstrelsy did not strive for authenticity; its function was to entertain and lampoon. In so doing, minstrels depicted plantation blacks as shiftless, ignorant (but cunning), and contented. Northern blacks were dandies, con men, gamblers, and womanizers. Black women, on the other hand, were not subjected to such derision. The comedy was not limited to African-American stereotypes. The stump speech, for instance, mocked pomposity, verbosity, and bogus intellectualism while satirizing abolitionism, temperance, women's rights, and other current issues. The burlesque numbers enabled minstrels to lampoon high culture—Shakespeare, opera, and classical music.

Minstrelsy reached its peak about 1860, when there were about 100 companies nationwide, 10 in New York City. By 1880 the number of companies had declined to about 30. The content and format had begun to change during the 1870s. One company, Primrose and West, kept the basic structure but dispensed with blackface altogether, dressing its performers as 18th-century French courtiers. Another promoter, J. H. Haverly, combined four companies into one and promoted his United Mastodon Minstrels as a spectacle, comparable to the circus. He included tightrope walkers, acrobats, clowns, bareback riders, and a brass band. Over time the comedy routines made less use of African-American stereotypes; the new objects of ridicule were immigrants, especially the Irish. Cultural historians attribute the decline of minstrelsy to many factors, including the panic of 1873, the rise of variety, burlesque, and vaudeville shows, as well as postbellum concerns about African Americans. Race was no longer a laughing matter; the theatrical depiction of slave life had become the preserve of reformist melodramas such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Race, understandably, remains an important issue in critiques and cultural histories of minstrelsy. During the antebellum period, Frederick Douglass, the great African-American abolitionist, described minstrels as “filthy scum of white society, who have stolen from us a complexion denied them by nature, in which to make money, and pander to the corrupt taste of their white fellow-citizens.” Russel B. Nye, writing in 1970, maintained that minstrelsy's obvious artificiality minimized the social effects of its negative African-American stereotypes. Robert C. Toll in 1976 stressed the popular appeal and entertainment value of the shows while acknowledging the harmful lingering effects of minstrel stereotypes. More recently, William L. Mahar (1999) and Eric Lott (1993) depicted minstrelsy as a two-way medium of cultural diffusion between blacks and whites.

Vaudeville superseded minstrelsy in popularity during the last 20 years of the 19th century. Vaudeville was principally an outgrowth of variety and burlesque, though it also perpetuated elements of minstrelsy. (Prominent vaudevillian

lians such as Al Jolson and Eddie Cantor were performing in blackface even as late as the 1920s.) Variety, which had the greatest influence on vaudeville, was a hodgepodge of low comedy, songs, specialty acts (jugglers, hypnotists, acrobats), and dancing girls. The venue for variety was the concert saloon, with the audience consisting of men who wanted to be entertained while they imbibed. The blend of booze and sexuality in the disreputable atmosphere of the saloon caused respectable women to stay away from the shows and led moralists and reformers to charge that concert saloons were dens of vice. Variety shows that featured scantily clad women were called leg shows. The more risqué of these evolved into burlesque, although the traditional burlesque theater specialized in comedy skits and parodies of well-known plays and novels. By the 1890s these separate strands had merged. The typical burlesque show of the late 19th century included song-and-dance routines, double-entendre jokes, and slapstick, but partially dressed women were the principal attraction. The more daring shows presented "exotic" dancers, who did a variation of the belly dance. (Striptease was a much later innovation.) The performer who called herself Little Egypt became a celebrity by doing such a dance in Chicago at the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION in 1893.

A key figure in the emergence of vaudeville was Tony Pastor, a singer and songwriter who operated variety theaters in New Jersey and New York City after 1865. A devout Catholic who had once sung at temperance rallies, Pastor revamped variety by prohibiting alcohol and forbidding vulgar comedy and suggestive dances in his shows. His goal was to attract middle-class families to his theaters by providing popular entertainment in a respectable venue. Pastor's formula, which he continued to call variety, was adopted by the emerging vaudeville theaters of the 1880s and 1890s. In Boston, B. F. Keith and Edward F. Albee employed a similar strategy, but enhanced by continuous performances in opulent new theaters designed to appeal to a broader and more affluent audience than those who went to concert saloons and burlesque houses. The policy of continuous performances enabled patrons to arrive at their convenience anytime between 9:30 A.M. and 10:00 P.M. and see a complete performance. By acquiring a circuit of theaters and creating their own booking agency, Keith and Albee dominated the vaudeville business in the eastern United States. Martin Beck's Orpheum Circuit was equally influential west of the Mississippi. Black performers worked the so-called chitlin circuit, a network of segregated theaters scattered between New York and New Orleans, controlled by the Theatre Owners Booking Association.

Between 1880 and 1920, when vaudeville was the reigning form of popular entertainment in the United States, every city had at least one vaudeville house. New

York City had 10, including the Palace Theater, vaudeville's premier venue. Small towns and rural areas had to make do with occasional touring companies and tent shows. Vaudeville succeeded by virtue of its "cheerful frivolity," as one writer put it, as well as its peculiar blend of wholesomeness and urban sophistication, and the tempo and precision of its staging.

Successful vaudeville performers were those who timed, tested, and refined their material to achieve maximum impact during their brief turn in the spotlight. Shows typically opened with a "dumb act" (acrobats, jugglers, mimes, or trained animals). Then came comedians, ventriloquists, magicians, song-and-dance acts, skits, virtuoso instrumentalists, knife throwers, bird whistlers, and so on. The first half of the show always closed with a dynamic showstopper that made audiences eager for more. A similar lineup followed the intermission, except that the headliner came on next to closing. Among the leading vaudeville stars of the 1890s were comedians Weber and Fields, Sandow the Strong Man, dancer Eva Tanguay, and singer Lillian Russell. The final presentation was the "chaser," designed to hasten the crowd to the exits so a new audience could take its place. During the late 1890s motion pictures, then a mere novelty, served this function.

During its vogue, vaudeville, particularly the comedians, reflected the changing ethnic character of its audiences. With its broad appeal to pluralistic urban spectators, vaudeville provided unique opportunities for performers of varied ethnic backgrounds. African Americans were an exception to this trend. Even the great Bert Williams, one of the few African-American entertainers not restricted to the "Chitlin Circuit," did his act in blackface. Vaudeville also stereotyped Germans, Irish, and Jews, though the performers often shared the ethnic identities of their comic personas. Thus, white ethnic stereotypes provided employment opportunities for Irish and Jewish comics and singers. Vaudeville also offered prospects for women, who could find respectable employment, opportunities for self-expression, even wealth and fame in a business that welcomed their talents and allure.

The period after the Civil War also saw the beginning of a golden age for circus in America, thanks in large part to PHINEAS T. BARNUM, the nation's leading showman. Barnum launched his circus on a grand scale in 1871, then in 1880 teamed with James A. Bailey to create a unique spectacle: simultaneous acts in three rings surrounded by a hippodrome track for parades and races. Barnum promoted this "greatest show on earth" with parades and well-calculated publicity stunts. Jumbo, billed as the world's largest elephant, was the show's star attraction until the great beast was killed in a railroad accident in 1885. After Jumbo's demise the circus headlined the trapeze acts and tightrope walkers, supported by the usual clowns, eques-



Poster for Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show (Library of Congress)

trians, and wild animal routines. Barnum and Bailey were the first to make effective use of the nation's burgeoning railroad system, moving their circus from town to town and thus maximizing the number of performances by minimizing the time between show dates. Barnum & Bailey's main competition came from the Ringling Bros. Circus, formed in 1884. (The Ringlings acquired Barnum & Bailey in 1906 but operated it separately until 1918, when they merged their troupes to create the gigantic Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus.)

Wild West shows combined elements of the circus with the frontier myth to form a uniquely American spectacle. Barnum staged a Wild West show in 1874, but it was Colonel WILLIAM FREDERICK CODY (Buffalo Bill) who made the most of the "equestrian drama," as he called the genre. Cody, the renowned buffalo hunter and U.S. Army scout, was the hero of DIME NOVELS by Ned Buntline (Edward E. C. Judson) and in 1872–73 had appeared on stage in a play by Buntline. He returned to the West to fight under General George Armstrong Custer and Philip H. Sheridan in the Indian wars of the 1870s, but in

1882 at North Platte, Nebraska, he mounted an outdoor show featuring exhibitions of roping, riding, sharpshooting, and a dramatic reenactment of a stagecoach robbery. The initial public response convinced Cody that a grander version of the show would be a great attraction across the country. He enlarged his cast, added buffaloes and NATIVE AMERICANS for greater authenticity, and staged an exciting Pony Express ride. Cody's first national tour culminated with a successful engagement at New York's Madison Square Garden. In 1885 Cody hired the great Sioux warrior and holy man SITTING BULL and sharpshooter Annie Oakley. His 1887 European tour caused a sensation in the Old World. Circus magnate James Bailey gained control of the company in 1894, though Cody remained with the show. The logistical expertise Bailey had gained in the circus business enabled the troupe to barnstorm the country with maximum efficiency. Cody's success inspired competing shows such as the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch and Pawnee Bill's Show. Reformed bandits Cole Younger and Frank James had a show that reenacted famous bank robberies.



Wild West shows survived until the 1930s. By then movies were the principal interpreters and purveyors of America's frontier legends. The shows, however, had a lasting impact on American popular culture. They romanticized the frontier experience and immortalized the plainsmen who opened up the West. They glorified courage, resourcefulness, and personal freedom in a boundless land, but they also justified frontier violence by promoting negative stereotypes of Native Americans. Some modern critics contend that the spectacles simultaneously defamed and exploited their "Show Indians"; others note that the Show Indians welcomed opportunities to get away from oppressive reservations, travel the world, and enjoy a degree of economic independence. And, they add, by performing native dances, replicating their traditional village encampments, and reenacting heroic battles, Show Indians sustained for a time their cultural identities in the face of powerful pressures for assimilation.

If so, Show Indians would have been an exception, for popular entertainment in the latter years of the 19th century was, on the whole, an agency of assimilation. Vaudeville, for instance, provided an element of shared culture for people of diverse ethnicity, both on stage and in the audience. Show business during this period also operated on the principle that bigger is better, with shows and venues growing larger and more opulent. And, like other contemporary enterprises, the entertainment industry adopted a strategy of consolidation, often to the disadvantage of the performers. Finally, the rise of mass amusements marked the continuing decline of VICTORIANISM and the notion that leisure activities should not merely amuse but also build character.

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—William Hughes

## environmental concerns

The Gilded Age was an age of exploitation rather than environmental concerns. The nation's seemingly inexhaustible natural resources of land, timber, and minerals were consumed with little thought of future needs. There was no government plan for the intelligent use of land and its resources. If they appeared to hinder "progress," flora and fauna were ruthlessly eliminated. The bison (buffalo) were virtually annihilated, and the prairie sod was "busted" and farms expanded into areas suitable only for grazing, with the blessing of those who believed erroneously that rain followed the plow. Forests were clearcut and were not reseeded, while the extraction of coal and minerals scarred the earth and polluted the waters.

Intelligent planning was also absent in the rapid development of Gilded Age cities. As they grew, their problems multiplied with devastating effects on the environment. Smoke from factories and domestic stoves polluted the air, and water was often contaminated by raw sewage. Owing to its steel mills, Pittsburgh was renowned as "the smokey city" and was notorious for its impure water, drawn from the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers. These rivers were polluted by hundreds of thousands of upstream residents. As a result, the death rate from typhoid fever in Pittsburgh was seven times that of New York City. Cities combined overcrowded housing and bad water with inadequate parks and nonexistent playground facilities.

A few developments, however, pointed toward a society more in harmony with nature. Although created to help the mining industry meet the demands of an expanding economy, the U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, established in 1879, showed that forest, water, and mineral resources were not infinite. Two years earlier in 1877, CARL SCHURZ, the German-born reform-minded secretary of the interior, aware of the scientific management of European forests, pleaded with Congress to preserve and manage rationally "all timberlands still belonging to the United States." Rejecting what Senator JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE called "the land laws of Prussia," Congress passed the Giveaway Timber and Stone Act, which sold valuable forests for \$2.50 an acre to speculators, who often filed fraudulent claims. Even though the National Forest Reserve program began in 1891, it was not until the 20th century, after timber barons had illegally gobbled up much of the valuable timberland, that Schurz's conservation ideas were adopted.

Fortunately, the federal government did preserve as national parks a few points of breathtaking natural beauty. Yellowstone National Park (1872), Sequoia and Yosemite National Parks (1890), and Mount Rainier National Park (1899) were reserved for the people and offer a glimpse of the nation's pre-Columbian environment. Ironically, even the establishment of the Mount Rainier park was rooted in exploitation. It had been part of the Northern Pacific





Old Faithful erupting in Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, 1883. Photograph by Frank Jay Haynes (Library of Congress)

Railroad's land grant, but its timber was worthless and its farmland nonexistent. JAMES J. HILL, who controlled the Northern Pacific, swapped its 450,000 acres of prospective park land for the same acreage in valuable timberland.

There were a few bright spots in the usually dismal urban landscape of the Gilded Age. Noting the crucial importance of the environment for cities, Henry David Thoreau observed that "a town is saved, not more by the righteous men in it than by the woods and swamps that surround it." Some cities did establish parks, where land was available. FREDERICK LAW OLMTED, the Gilded Age's outstanding landscape architect, planned several of these urban oases. On the same wavelength as Thoreau, Olmsted believed in the therapeutic value of landscape. Pastoral scenery with a mix of meadow, groves, and lakes created a peaceful sanctuary "with a sufficient number of trees about it . . . to completely shut out" the bustle and stress of the city. In Brooklyn, New York, his conception of the broad, tree-lined Eastern and Ocean Parkways, radiating from Prospect Park, with walks, bridle and bicycle paths, and a central space for vehicles, extended (some of) the natural beauty of the park, while beckoning people to it. But Gilded Age parks were usually near affluent neighborhoods

and remote from urban slums. By 1900 a few schoolyards were made available for play, but children who were not working usually played in the streets. Housing conditions in slums were so appalling that ALFRED TREDWAY WHITE began the American housing-reform movement in 1877 by building the Home Buildings in Brooklyn. His third large-building complex, the Riverside Buildings, constructed in 1890, featured a total environment with a community bath-house, park, playground, and music pavilion.

The Chicago WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION OF 1893 gave Americans a vision of what the city of tomorrow might be. Its carefully planned "White City" combined order and grandeur and stood in stark contrast to the grime, crime, constriction, and confusion of contemporary Gilded Age cities. The White City anticipated the rise of a City Beautiful movement with plans for urban reconstruction along environmental friendly lines.

See also BUFFALO, EXTERMINATION OF; CITIES AND URBAN LIFE; CONSERVATION.

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## Ethical Culture movement

The Ethical Culture movement began in 1876. Its prime mover and leading spirit was Dr. Felix Adler (1851–1933), the son of Rabbi Samuel Adler of New York's Temple Emanu-El. After graduation from Columbia College in 1870, Felix Adler studied for the rabbinate in Berlin, Germany, and was exposed to the ideas of the "higher critics," who questioned assumptions about the credibility of biblical scriptures. In addition, Adler studied philosophy (especially that of Immanuel Kant) and economics at the Universities of Berlin and of Heidelberg, from which he earned a Ph.D. in 1873. He was profoundly influenced by Kant's categorical imperative, a universal law for both private life and political action. Like the Golden Rule, it required one to do what he or she would want everyone else to do in similar circumstances. Adler was also influenced by the German Historical School of economics, which rejected the harsh mechanistic laws of the classical economists and focused on people and reforms to improve their condition.

Although Adler had been slated to succeed his father at Temple Emanu-El, his rejection of traditional Jewish

views of God and scriptures were too extreme, even for that liberal congregation. From 1874 to 1876 he taught Hebrew and Oriental literature at Cornell University, but he was at heart a rabbi in need of a congregation. Returning to New York in 1876, Adler fused his spiritual yearnings, Kantian philosophy, and social-reform convictions to found the Society for Ethical Culture, with the motto: "Not by the Creed but by the Deed." It was a religious society, stressing both the spiritual and the practical, but without any dogma apart from insisting that "the ethical factor," "the moral element," be uppermost in personal, social, national, and international relations. Adler observed that theology, dogma, and doctrines, "the so-called duties toward God[,] too often interfere with the proper performance of our duties toward one another." He admired the moral strength of the Hebrew Prophets, the unselfishness of Buddha, and the ministry of Jesus to the poor and his capacity to cut through the welter of laws to the essence of religion. Indeed, Adler believed that every great religion began as a protest of the formalism of the time. Under Adler's leadership the Society for Ethical Culture aimed "to stimulate the conscience and . . . awaken an interest in the grave social problems of our day," which could be solved by "a vigorous exertion of our moral energies."

A superb speaker, Adler attracted large audiences at the Sunday services of the Society for Ethical Culture. Other societies were established in major American cities and in London, Berlin, and Vienna.

Adler and members of the Society for Ethical Culture were true to their emphasis on deeds over creeds. Although members were involved in a wide variety of reforms, the society's impact was greatest in EDUCATION and in ameliorating the condition of the poor. In 1877 the society established the first free kindergarten in the United States and in 1880 a workingman's school, featuring manual training of skilled trades. By 1895 that school had evolved into the Ethical Culture School, and in 1928 it became the Fieldston School. Its broad curriculum featured a mix of activities to develop both skills and moral values, integrated with the study of the arts and sciences.

To aid the poor the Society for Ethical Culture in 1878 helped set up medical dispensaries and nursing services in New York City. Adler also campaigned for better housing for the poor and in 1884 became a member of New York's Tenement House Commission. He found child labor particularly alarming, and from 1904 to 1921 he was chair of the National Child Labor Commission. The Society for Ethical Culture was also closely identified with the establishment by Stanton Coit, in 1886, of the Neighborhood Guild, New York's first SETTLEMENT HOUSE. Coit had met Adler in 1881, decided to become an Ethical Culture lecturer, and with Adler's financial support studied the philosophy of Kant at the University of Berlin, earning a Ph.D. in 1885.

On his return trip to the United States, Coit stopped for three months at London's Toynbee Hall, the world's first settlement house. He was inspired by its example of young people of education and means living in a slum, ministering to individuals in a secular setting, and striving for social reforms that would improve a class. Back in New York, Coit, with the blessing of the Society for Ethical Culture, established the Neighborhood Guild. In it Coit tried to avoid paternalism with his democratic idea of organizing groups of a hundred families into guilds to help one another and decide on their needs and what reforms to work for. The guild idea was less successful than the social clubs and kindergarten that were formed. In a year Coit accepted a call to be minister of London's Society for Ethical Culture. Although he returned briefly to New York, from 1892 to 1894, he settled permanently in England, winning many adherents to the Ethical Culture movement. Coit's subsequent efforts to develop rituals for the movement led to a break with Adler, but his major American legacy, the Neighborhood Guild, renamed the University Settlement, survived.

As might be expected, the Society for Ethical Culture was conspicuously on the side of virtue. It opposed municipal graft and corruption and supported good-government clubs. Adler was a member of the 1894–95 Lexow Committee and the follow-up Committee of Fifteen that exposed corruption in the New York City Police Department and its connection with prostitution. The work of these committees temporarily overthrew the Tammany Hall machine and helped pass New York's Tenement House Law (1901). Columbia University recognized Adler's expertise and the Ethical Culture society's concerns by appointing him professor of social and political ethics (1902–33). The Ethical Culture movement remained small in membership, but by attracting highly motivated intellectuals, it has had an important impact on society.

See also CORRUPTION, POLITICAL; HOUSING.

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## evolution

The theory of evolution, which profoundly affected thought in the Gilded Age, was not new. Some ancient Greek philosophers, observing the great variety of animals adapted to their environment, assumed they had evolved from plants or out of nothing, but their ideas, while recorded, had no influence on Western culture. Christians believed the biblical account in Genesis that God created all animals in

their present form on the fifth and sixth days of creation 6,000 years ago. Among intellectuals the development of SCIENCE with the dawn of the modern era undermined a strictly literal interpretation of the Bible. They realized the Sun did not revolve around the Earth, which was round, not flat, and did not have four corners. Metaphors and poetic license could explain unscientific scriptural references, but by the late 18th century exploration of the globe revealed numerous previously unknown animals and fossils of extinct animals (too many it would seem to crowd on Noah's Ark). Most intellectuals reconciled these findings with Christianity by assuming that God created additional unchanging (immutable) species after the week of creation. A few scientists, among them Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802) and Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744–1829), embraced the idea of evolution. Lamarck theorized that changes in the environment cause changes in the structure of animals and plants but could not explain how these changes occur.

In 1859 Erasmus Darwin's grandson, Charles Robert Darwin (1809–82), offered a persuasive explanation of how evolution occurred, when he published *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life*. From 1831 to 1836 Darwin sailed as a naturalist on the surveying voyage of the *Beagle* and collected flora, fauna, and geological specimens from the coast of South America, the Pacific Islands, and Australia. He was especially fascinated by the slight variations among the fossils and species of the Galápagos Islands, located on the Equator in the Pacific Ocean, 600 miles west of Ecuador. While writing up the *Zoology of the Voyage of the Beagle* (1840), Darwin became convinced that all animals are mutable and share a common ancestor. More important, he found an explanation for the subtle variations in the descent of the species by the process of natural selection. Plants and animals with characteristics best adapted to their environment survive and flourish, while those ill adapted to conditions perish. Realizing his ideas, which he summarized in an 1844 essay, were controversial, Darwin shared them only with a few scientists, including the geologist Sir Charles Lyell and the Harvard University botanist Asa Gray, before going public with them in the late 1850s. Publishing his evidence of transmutation through natural selection aroused a storm of controversy, which a century and a half later has not subsided. It has continued to pit Darwinism against those who interpret the Bible literally.

Darwinism, as those ideas came to be known, also led to the application by disciples (among them Herbert Spencer) of the concept of evolution in fields of study beyond biology and botany, especially in the social sciences and history. A true believer in evolution, Darwin regarded *On the Origin of Species* as “a beginning” and expected his ideas

to be revised as more evidence became available. His supposition was correct. On June 26, 2007, for example, the *New York Times* reported that “laboratory studies are linking evolutionary change to specific mutations in DNA,” but that newspaper also observed that “Darwin's insight into the power of natural selection is still the foundation of evolutionary theory.”

See also DARWINISM AND RELIGION; FISKE, JOHN; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SUMNER, WILLIAM GRAHAM.

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## Exodusters

From 1879 to 1880 the thousands of AFRICAN AMERICANS who migrated from the Deep South to Kansas are known facetiously as “Exodusters.” True, their exodus was from a land of slavery and hardship, but the promised land of Kansas, while disappointing for many, offered more than dust. Although hard, life in the West was better than life in the South. The Civil War had brought freedom for slaves and hope for a brighter future for all African Americans. Like other Americans, they yearned for a farm of their own, which after generations of slavery they deserved. But only a fortunate few got farms on the handful of plantations that were confiscated and divided. Nevertheless, during the brief period of Radical Republican Reconstruction, black children were educated, their fathers could vote and participate in the political process, and the civil rights of African Americans were respected.

Then, in the 1870s, the planter aristocracy advocating white supremacy reasserted itself, and the political power of Radical Republican state governments in the South eroded, and with it black civil rights and economic opportunity. In states such as Mississippi, South Carolina, and Louisiana, where a majority of qualified voters were black, whites used violence, murder, and intimidation to gain control. The 1875 election, “redeeming” Mississippi, was the most violent election in U.S. history. Northern public opinion, which in the late 1860s sustained congressional Reconstruction, refused in the mid-1870s to use the army to uphold the Constitution in the South. The aspirations of African Americans were dashed; they were reduced to being tenant farmers, running deeper in debt through the crop-lien or sharecrop systems.

Given the situation of black southerners, the lure of Kansas, the land of John Brown and of ample acres, proved irresistible. A grass-roots mass movement developed and

when black leaders such as Frederick Douglass either ignored or opposed the new movement, it produced its own new leaders. The outstanding Exoduster leaders were Benjamin (Pap) Singleton and Henry Adams.

By 1869 Singleton, who lived in Nashville, Tennessee, had explored homesteading in Kansas. He and other blacks preferred to stay in Tennessee, where they and their forebears had been born, but land there was expensive, at \$60 an acre. In 1873, after some families successfully moved to Kansas, he made plans for the Singleton Colony for Tennessee blacks in southeastern Kansas on land that had been part of the Cherokee reservation. Serious migration, however, did not get under way until after mass meetings were held in Nashville in 1877 and 1878.

A former slave and Union veteran, Adams settled in Shreveport, Louisiana, and fearlessly struggled to educate black tenant farmers of their rights and worked to eliminate racial prejudice from the legal system. By 1875 continuing harassment and frustrations led Adams to embrace black migration to Liberia or to a western territory reserved for blacks. By 1877 Adams was the leading spirit of the National Colored Colonization Society. It signed up thousands, who wished to leave the South, but there was no money to finance immigration to Liberia. By 1879, believing it was imperative for blacks to leave the South, Adams backed the exodus to Kansas.

Singleton and Adams paved the way for the spectacular 1879 Kansas-fever exodus, but that migration was spontaneous. Critics referred to it as an “epidemic” or a “stampede,” but its origin was neither mysterious nor mindless. Within a few months in early 1879, 6,000 blacks from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas went to Kansas. They were moved by a realistic fear of violence from their former masters and by an unrealistic faith that land and prosperity awaited them in Kansas. They were profoundly religious, and a perceptive contemporary observer noted their exodus was “a sort of religious exultation, during which they had regarded Kansas as a modern Canaan and the God-appointed home of the negro race.” In fact, they knew little about Kansas, steamboat and railroad fares, and the cost of homesteading even if the land was free, and they would not listen to black leaders and concerned whites who tried to dissuade them. In large

numbers they flocked to Mississippi River landings, hoping for free transportation upriver to St. Louis and then by rail across Missouri to Kansas. Most were so poor they could not pay their fare and were left at the landing. To keep blacks from leaving the South, many steamboats would not stop, even for those who could pay. Some blacks pooled their resources and got part way upriver, where they were put off. Others made it to St. Louis and lacked rail fare to continue, but thousands nonetheless managed to get to Kansas.

Kansas was not the new Canaan. On the way the Exodusters learned there was neither free transportation nor free land that could be cultivated immediately. Yet, even when offered free transportation “back to Egypt” (the Deep South) virtually all Exodusters refused. A woman with a child at her breast, who was stuck in St. Louis, said she would rather starve than go back to the South. Exodusters were refugees from terrorism, not migrants. Their plight in St. Louis and before they found jobs in Kansas prompted nationwide charity efforts. In St. Louis local authorities were unfriendly, and charity was channeled through local black churches, but in Kansas, Governor John P. St. John declared his state a land of freedom, welcomed the Exodusters, and cooperated in relief efforts, as did the old abolitionist element in a Kansas Freedmen’s Aid Association.

Many of the migrants found work. A few families had enough money to farm, men got jobs in the building trades, and women often worked as domestics and washerwomen. The Freedmen’s Aid Association made a great contribution. It helped settle Exodusters in a colony in Waubesa County, helped start a school in a Singleton colony in Morris County, and, more important, became an effective employment agency. Although the Exodusters experienced great hardships, their migration was beneficial. It even helped those who remained behind, who were treated better, since the dominant planter class feared losing more laborers. But the Exodusters and their children were the big gainers from their inspired move.

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## farmers' alliances

The term *farmers' alliances* was used to refer to the two powerful organizations that succeeded the PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY (the Granger movement) as the leading vehicles of agrarian protest in the post-Civil War period: the Northwestern Alliance and the Southern Alliance. Like the Grangers, the alliances were principally concerned with: declining agricultural prices, escalating railroad rates (shipping costs), problems with credit, land speculators, and the exploitation of farmers by the “money power” (banks and big business). Applying self-help solutions to their problems, they formed cooperatives and other marketing mechanisms such as stores, processing plants, and banks. These facilities were designed to break farmers' dependence on the “finishing merchants” who acted as the middlemen in an economic cycle that kept farmers in perpetual debt. They favored an inflation of the money supply either through an increase in the amount of greenbacks (paper currency) in circulation or the free and unlimited coinage of silver (FREE SILVER MOVEMENT). Alliance members also attacked the NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM as a tool used by corrupt financiers and politicians to make an easy profit. In some ways, then, the alliances sought to create a new American society where economic competition would be replaced by cooperation.

As early as 1875, a group of Texas farmers had united to form an alliance against local cattle ranchers, railroad operators, and land speculators, but it was short-lived. A new farmers' organization, the Southern Farmers' Alliance, emerged in the 1880s to take its place. After 1886 Charles W. Macune and William Lamb led the Southern Farmers' Alliance. It quickly expanded from Texas into neighboring southern states, and by 1890 the Southern Farmers' Alliance had evolved into the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. It worked with an independent organization of African-American farmers known as the Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union and with the KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

Milton George, the editor of the *Western Rural*, a Chicago-based agricultural journal, founded the Northwestern Alliance in 1880. George wanted the new organization to combat what he believed were the unfair practices of RAILROADS against the nation's farmers. Under George's leadership, the Northwestern Alliance established several local alliances in the Dakotas, Kansas, Minnesota, and Nebraska. Yet, the Northwestern Alliance never formulated a cohesive program and had great difficulty in attracting and keeping members.

Although the Alliance movement would eventually become far more widespread than the Granger movement, it suffered setbacks. Alliance cooperatives did not always work well, in part because the market forces were too strong to overcome but also because of mismanagement. These economic frustrations led several Alliance members to seek other avenues to remedy their situation. By the late 1880s, they helped steer the Alliance movement into electoral politics through the creation of a national political party.

Meeting in Ocala, Florida, in 1890, representatives of the farmers' alliances made demands that Macune helped formulate. The Ocala demands called for the direct election of U.S. senators; a graduated federal income tax; an end to protective tariffs and the National Banking System; 2-percent federal loans to farmers; the establishment of federal “subtreasuries” for the storage of surplus crops on which the 2-percent loans to farmers could be based; prohibition of land ownership by aliens; the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16-to-one; and effective government regulation and, if necessary, control of railroads and public utilities.

Of these demands, the establishment of a subtreasury system was most important. Farmers could hold their crops in government warehouses and claim Treasury notes for up to 80 percent of the local market value of the crops. The loan was to be repaid when the crops were sold. The idea was that the subtreasury system would help farmers

pay their annual debts because they could hold on to their crops until market prices were more favorable.

Subsequently, leaders of the farmers' alliances discussed plans for the organization of a national political party at meetings held in Cincinnati (1891) and St. Louis (1892). They would follow the lead of Alliance members in Kansas who had already launched the PEOPLE'S PARTY (Populist Party) in that state during the summer of 1890. In July 1892 several Alliance members were among the delegates and spectators who met at Omaha, Nebraska, in what was the first national convention of the People's Party. The OMAHA PLATFORM in many ways mirrored the Ocala demands.

The creation of the People's Party effectively brought an end to the Alliance movement. The leaders of the Northwestern Alliance in their enthusiasm for the new party forgot the original purpose of their protest movement, while the members of the Southern Farmers' Alliance steadfastly identified with the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and were reluctant to join the Populists. By the middle 1890s, the Alliance movement had lost its vitality on the national stage as the Democrats and the emerging People's Party co-opted its ideas.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES, THIRD; SIMPSON, JERRY.

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—Phillip Papas

### **Field, Stephen Johnson** (1816–1899) *Supreme Court justice*

In his defense of property rights, Stephen J. Field, a U.S. SUPREME COURT justice for 34 years, anticipated laissez-faire constitutionalism. The son of a Congregational minister, who instilled in him a strong sense of right and wrong, Field was born in Haddam, Connecticut, on November 4, 1816, and grew up in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. His older brother David Dudley Field, Jr., is renowned for codifying New York's laws, and his younger brother Cyrus West Field is famous for financing and promoting the transatlantic cable. Stephen Field graduated from Williams College in 1837, but his study of law with his brother David was interrupted when Stephen nearly died from a dose of calomel a

physician had prescribed for an infection. Upon his recovery he completed his training at the Albany office of New York State attorney general John Van Buren. After Field was admitted to the bar in 1841, he became his brother's partner until 1848, when he toured Europe with other members of his family. Returning to New York in October 1849, he caught the gold-rush fever and in November departed for California via the Isthmus of Panama.

Field arrived in California on December 28, 1849, and quickly rose to prominence. Pausing less than a month in San Francisco, he moved to Maryville, where, with legal talent in short supply, he was elected to the judicial-mayoral position of alcalde and served a year in the California legislature. From 1851 to 1857 he was in private practice. In those violent early California days, Field, who had a hot temper, was involved in controversies, had his life threatened, and always carried a pistol and a bowie knife. Marrying Sue Virginia Swearingen on June 2, 1859, had a stabilizing effect on Field's tumultuous life. In 1857 he failed to be elected to the U.S. Senate as a Democrat but was elected to the California Supreme Court. There his decisions, upholding the property rights of large estates from Mexican patents, angered individual miners and homesteaders. His reelection was further endangered by the coming of the Civil War, which split the California Democratic Party and ensured a Republican triumph in the next judicial election. Rather than go down in defeat, Field, in March 1863, was elevated to the U.S. Supreme Court by Abraham Lincoln. The appointment of Field served two political purposes. Since he was a War Democrat, his appointment helped keep California in the Union, and his appointment repaid his brother David, a prominent Republican, who supported Lincoln's nomination for president.

Having been dominated for a generation by Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney, the Supreme Court that Field joined subordinated the individual's property rights to the public interest, as interpreted by a legislature. Unless clearly unconstitutional, legislative acts were allowed to stand. In conflicts between state police power and personal property rights, the Court tended to give the legislature the benefit of the doubt. Coinciding with Field's term, during the Gilded Age the Court shifted to a conservative position, emphasizing the preeminence of property rights, conceiving of liberty as economic liberty, and undermining the legislative power to define the public interest. By the early 20th century the Supreme Court thought it, rather than legislatures, should determine social policy. Through the power of judicial review the Court maintained the status quo and ushered in laissez-faire constitutionalism.

The shift was gradual, and in it Field played a major role in dissents, whose ideas the majority adopted in the 1890s. Ever friendly to large-scale business, Field was the cutting edge of laissez-faire constitutionalism, but his deci-

sions also reflected his loyalty to the Democratic Party. His strong commitment to individual liberty in his dissent in *Ex parte McCordle* (1869) was fueled in part by his hostility to Radical Republican Reconstruction measures, and his defense of property rights (debts incurred in gold should be paid in gold) in the *Legal Tender Cases* (1871) was consistent with a Jacksonian hostility to paper currency. In these cases he based his arguments on fundamental principles of justice rather than on a specific clause in the Constitution.

Field buttressed his dissent in the *Slaughterhouse Cases* (1873) with the recently adopted Fourteenth Amendment (1868) to the Constitution, which was intended to protect the civil rights of AFRICAN AMERICANS from hostile state legislation. He argued that Louisiana abridged the “privileges and immunities” of New Orleans butchers without “due process of law” by compelling them to slaughter their animals for a fee in a narrow area controlled by one corporation. It set up a monopoly, which deprived butchers of their economic liberty to pursue a lawful calling. Field’s opinion forecast the increasing use in the Gilded Age of “liberty of contract” to attack state economic regulations and its corollary, “substantive due process,” under which the courts reviewed the substance of state regulations.

In subsequent dissents and decisions Field nudged the Supreme Court toward laissez-faire constitutionalism. In *Munn v. Illinois* (1877) he dissented from the majority opinion, which upheld a GRANGER-inspired law setting rates for Chicago grain elevators on grounds that their function involved “a public interest.” Upholding property rights, Field again restricted state police power and reserved for the courts the task of drawing the line between property that can be regulated and property that cannot be regulated. In his role as a circuit court judge, Field in *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad Company* (1883) ruled that corporations were “persons” and were protected by the Fourteenth Amendment. Upon appeal in 1886 the Supreme Court upheld Field’s position that California’s attempt to tax a corporation differently than other “persons” was unconstitutional. By the 1890s the Court adopted Field’s views on liberty of contract and substantive due process.

While expanding the compass of the Fourteenth Amendment to protect corporations, Field, reflecting the racist bias of the Gilded Age Democratic Party, restricted the amendment’s impact on African Americans. In dissents in 1880 he argued that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibited discrimination by states but not by individuals, a view the Supreme Court adopted in the *CIVIL RIGHTS CASES* (1883). It emasculated the Civil Rights Act of 1875 by allowing racial discrimination in hotels, theaters, and public transportation. Field harbored presidential aspirations, but his hopes for the Democratic Party’s nomination were frustrated in 1880 and in 1884 in part because his rulings

in favor of the unpopular Southern Pacific Railroad hurt him in his home state of California. Field was frustrated further in 1888 when GROVER CLEVELAND did not name him chief justice. To prevent Cleveland from naming his replacement, Field spitefully hung on, despite growing feebleness, until December 1, 1897, establishing a longevity record on the Supreme Court. He died on April 9, 1899, in Washington, D.C.

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### Filipino insurrection (1899–1902)

The Filipino insurrection was a three-year conflict that began in 1899 after the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, and the United States declared itself sovereign over the entire archipelago of the Philippines. The struggle against the Americans had its beginnings in the Filipino revolt against the Spanish. Its first phase ended in 1896 when Primo de Rivera, then prime minister of Spain, negotiated a settlement whereby Spain promised economic and political reforms and the rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo would receive 800,000 pesos and leave the country. The rebels, exiled in Hong Kong, were well organized and anxious for another try at winning their independence.

They did not have a long wait. The American invasion of the Philippines at the start of the Spanish-American War in 1898 was seen by the rebels as a new opportunity to rid the islands of Spanish domination. Admiral GEORGE DEWEY, who was in Hong Kong preparing his fleet for the battle that would make him famous, offered veiled assurances to Aguinaldo that the United States would win independence for the Philippines in exchange for their support against the Spanish. When Aguinaldo arrived in Luzon after the Battle of Manila Bay, many Filipinos flocked to the cause. Within a short time Aguinaldo had enough troops to effectively block Manila from being supplied by land. Trouble, however, began in August 1898 after the United States tricked the rebels into yielding a portion of their entrenchments and then (with the connivance of the Spanish authorities) captured Manila without the Filipino army. Aguinaldo was further angered by continued American evasiveness as to their intentions in the archipelago.

By February 1899 Filipino troops faced American lines in a tense standoff that flashed into a conflagration



when Private Walter Grayson, a Nebraska volunteer, shot and killed several Filipino soldiers while he was on patrol. United States troops then stormed the Filipino lines, killing many soldiers; a bloody war had begun. While troops under General Marcus Mills seized the Visayan Islands to the west, General Arthur MacArthur, father of the more famous general Douglas MacArthur, headed north of Manila on Luzon to Malolos. Badly defeated in pitched battles that followed, the Filipinos switched to guerrilla tactics that the Americans, with only 24,000 troops, could not counter effectively, thus necessitating reinforcement by 46,000 more men. Aguinaldo hoped that guerrilla warfare would protract the war and wear down the already tepid public support for it in the United States.

The Americans won the hearts and minds of some Filipinos by setting up schools and local government and by constructing hospitals, roads, and sewers, but guerrilla activity and terrorism continued unabated. The inability to distinguish between friend and foe created frustration and fear among American troops, who increasingly tried to bring peace through brutality.

Internal dissent within the independence movement and the capture and defection of many of its leaders did more to slow the rebels' momentum than American military might. The insurrection could be said to have finally ended in March 1902, when Aguinaldo was captured in a daring raid perpetrated by American and loyal Filipino troops, but resistance in the southern Philippines continued for years after Aguinaldo's capture.

The costs of this war were appalling. Between 100,000 and 200,000 Filipino civilians died of starvation or were killed during the war. Military casualties for the rebels amounted to about 20,000, while American losses were 4,234 killed and 2,818 wounded. In addition, many surviving veterans would die back home from the tropical diseases they contracted during the war.

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—Timothy E. Vislocky

**Fiske, John** (1842–1901) *writer, philosopher, historian, lecturer*

A prolific historian and a popular lecturer, John Fiske was born on March 30, 1842, in Hartford, Connecticut, and was named Edmund Fisk Green. His father was unsuccessful in business, so from the age of one Fiske was brought up in Middletown by his maternal great-grandfather, John Fisk, and his grandmother Polly Fisk Bound. Three years after his father died in 1852, his mother, Mary Fisk Bound Green, married Edwin Wallace Stoughton, a successful

New York patent lawyer. Fiske elected to stay in Middletown and adopted his great-grandfather's name in 1855, adding the final *e* in 1860. Although Stoughton was generous to his stepson, Fiske was unfriendly to his stepfather.

Fiske was a precocious, shy child. He read widely and picked up languages with astounding facility but seldom played with other children and was bullied by other boys. He was religious and sang in the local Congregational church choir, but by the time he was 18 he no longer had faith in the divinity of Christ and the inspiration of the Bible. Having read the rational, scientific, positivist philosophy of Auguste Comte, Fiske was an "infidel," but he was not an atheist nor would he become one. All of his life, he was a searcher for absolute truth, for an overall explanation of the universe, for a law that would encompass all phenomena.

Since neither his grandmother nor Middletown, where they lived, were pleased with his religious views, Fiske moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts. In 1860 he entered Harvard College as a sophomore. Although he found his prescribed courses uninspiring, Fiske read widely in history and philosophy and discovered the works of Herbert Spencer. Utilizing Charles Darwin's theory of EVOLUTION to explain developments in science and society, Spencer "discovered a great law of evolution in nature, which underlies all phenomena," for which Fiske had been searching. Following Spencer's lead, Fiske applied the idea of evolution in his articles, lectures, and books on linguistics, philosophy, history, and religion. Even as an undergraduate, Fiske published articles in the *North American Review*. These articles marked him as a disciple of English positivist and evolutionary thinkers and made college authorities threaten him with expulsion should he proselytize his ideas. Shortly after his graduation from Harvard, Fiske impressed Spencer by publishing "The Evolution of Language" in the *North American Review* (October 1863). Fiske argued in the article that simple languages evolved into complex languages and gave, as an example, the development of ancient Chinese into modern Indo-European languages.

Although Fiske wanted to teach linguistics, his expertise in exotic languages such as Sanskrit was not in demand, and his espousal of evolution ruled out a position at Harvard. Having become engaged to Abby Morgan Brooks and needing a job, he studied law, was admitted to the bar in July 1864, and married Abby on September 6, 1864. They had six children. Not a successful lawyer, Fiske gave up law and, aided by subsidies from his stepfather and his wife's family, managed to support his large family through freelance writing. When his stepfather left the Democratic Party to become a Republican, Fiske moved from the Republican to the Democratic Party and found a major outlet for his writings in the Democratic *New York World*, which was firmly committed to laissez-faire principles.

Fiske's situation improved in 1869, when Progressives made CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT president of Harvard University. Fiske had contributed articles to the *NATION* and the *Atlantic Monthly* in support of Eliot, who asked him to lecture at Harvard on positivist philosophy. Over the next three years Fiske taught philosophy and history there. Still perceived as an atheist, he did not receive a regular teaching appointment, but Eliot made him assistant librarian in 1872, which gave Fiske time to revise his lectures, a process that made him an even more devoted disciple of Spencer, with whom he was in regular correspondence.

Fiske was fortunate in having well-placed and well-heeled friends and admirers. They helped him publish articles, secured an offer for him from ANDREW DICKSON WHITE to teach American history at Cornell University (which he did not accept), and subsidized a year-long visit to England (1873–74). In England, Fiske met Spencer, Darwin, and other intellectuals and wrote his two-volume work, *The Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* (1874). It was a readable version of Spencer's works, with additional explorations in the evolution of society, most notable for its attempt to reconcile evolution and religion. Although Fiske believed his "cosmic theism" was compatible with the essence of Christianity, few Christians agreed.

Fiske's book enhanced his reputation as a philosopher but failed to secure him a coveted position at Harvard. His defeat came both because he was not a specialist in an age of growing professionalism and because two months before Louis Agassiz died, Fiske had attacked him for failing to embrace Darwinism. Continuing to lecture and publish further observations on the relationship of philosophy, science, and religion, Fiske ultimately believed that evolution was "the way in which God makes things come to pass." Fiske's finances remained shaky, and he continued to depend on his stepfather (who in 1877 was named minister to Russia) and his wife's family to supplement his income.

In 1878 an invitation to give six lectures on American history in connection with efforts to save from destruction Boston's Old South Meeting House redirected Fiske's interests. Quitting his library job, he gave the lectures on "America's Place in World History." America was the cutting edge of evolutionary progress and would inspire a worldwide federal republic led by Anglo-Saxons. His eloquent, optimistic, and flattering portrayal was enthusiastically received in Boston, and in London, where Fiske repeated his lectures a few months later. In a few years Fiske was the country's most popular lecturer on American history. Basing his inspiring talks on the research of specialists, Fiske enlarged them into readable books, whose sale he promoted on his lecture tours. His first and most influential history, *The Critical Period of American History*,

1783–1789 (1888), was for generations the dominant interpretation of the United States under the Articles of Confederation, stressing economic depression and an impotent central government. Fiske's object was not to disparage the articles, but to stress the crucial step in adopting the federal Constitution, which preserved local government in an effective Union. Fiske published additional volumes on the colonial and Revolutionary War periods.

In the 1890s Fiske's optimism was shaken but not destroyed. He was disturbed by corrupt municipal political machines and the wave of immigrants that supported them. The espousal of Free Silver by the Democrats in 1896 forced him to abandon that party, and in 1898 the embracing of IMPERIALISM by the Republicans in the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR distressed him. Fiske hoped his dream of a world federation would be achieved by example, not conquest. He died on July 4, 1901, the 125th anniversary of the nation he celebrated so effectively.

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## flour milling

The expansion of grain-growing regions, the development of a rail network, and the building of storage facilities in the Gilded Age made possible the development of large-scale, year-round flour milling, but a process was needed to mill the hard spring wheat grown on the northern prairies. Cadwallader Colden Washburn, a Minneapolis flour miller, solved that problem in 1879 by utilizing technologies developed in Hungary (where rollers rather than millstones were used to break the hard wheat) and France (where purifiers with air blowers separated unwanted hulls, bran, and germ from the flour). Washburn also designed a mill that derived maximum efficiency from this machinery to produce flour rapidly and cheaply.

Washburn shared the technology of the "new process" mill with the Pillsbury brothers and other Minneapolis millers, and that city soon dominated the industry. By 1882 Minneapolis had replaced St. Louis as the nation's milling center. It produced 3 million bushels of flour annually, or one-twenty-third of the nation's entire output. In that decade the Pillsburys were the city's largest flour producers. In addition, they developed a nutritious, profitable cattle feed from the "refuse" hulls, bran, and germ that had previously been dumped in the Mississippi River. By 1890 Minneapolis milled more than 7 million bushels, or one-twelfth of all the flour milled in the United States, and by approximately 1900 it had overtaken Budapest as the world's leading flour-milling city. The huge volume of flour shipments out of Minneapolis and competing RAILROADS

enabled millers there to secure rebates and gain a larger share of the market. Indeed, discriminatory freight rates favoring Minneapolis flour ruined New York millers and led to demands in that state for railroad regulation.

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## football

College football originated in informal matches. Students played both the soccer and rugby versions in pickup games and interclass rivalries. In November 1869 Rutgers University defeated Princeton University, 6-4, in the first intercollegiate football game at New Brunswick, New Jersey. The contest combined rugby and soccer. Princeton won a rematch, 8-0, at home a week later. Harvard University and McGill University in the spring of 1874 played a rugby style of football. Harvard defeated Yale University, 4-0, in their inaugural game in 1875. In November 1876 Columbia University, Harvard, Princeton, and Yale formed the Intercol-

legiate Football Association to standardize rules. Harvard's rugby style prevailed over Yale's soccer style, with play continuing until the ball went out of bounds. Opponents stopped the ball carrier by nearly any means. Football did not have a line of scrimmage, a series of downs, or forward passing. New rules added blocking, alternating ball possessions, and a fixed numbers of downs. Students operated college football teams, selecting, coaching, training, organizing, and financing the squads. Student captains trained and disciplined their teams, while other undergraduates held fund drives and raised subscriptions. Faculty and administration gradually intervened in the organization and oversight of the sport, but students continued to direct on-field activities.

Walter Camp transformed rugby-style football into American football. An all-around athlete at Yale from 1876 to 1882, the six-foot 200 pounder starred at halfback for six years as an undergraduate and medical student. He captained his final three years, picking the starters and deciding plays. Camp abandoned medicine to join the New Haven Clock Company (ultimately becoming its president), but he also directed the Yale football team and built it into a pow-



Football game between Yale and Princeton (Library of Congress)



erful winning program. Camp analyzed the team's work with student coaches each evening, institutionalized regular practice and training, and stressed team work, strategy, tactics, and character building.

Camp represented Yale for 48 years at football's annual rules conventions. In 1878 he pushed through a rule restricting starters to 11 players, and in 1880 he secured a rule establishing the scrimmage line. Organized plays further transformed English rugby into American football. To speed football, Camp in 1882 proposed a series of downs (three) to gain a set number of yards (initially five), new styles of blocking, and tackling below the waist. The committee established a scoring system, awarding one point for a safety, two for touchdowns, four for conversions after touchdowns, and five for field goals. Camp tried to outlaw the flying wedge, a play conceived by Princeton in 1884. The flying wedge placed the ball carrier in the crook of a V-shaped mass of offensive linemen who stampeded into the defense on each play. Camp proposed penalizing teams five yards for crossing the scrimmage line before the ball was snapped. In 1893 Camp became secretary of the intercollegiate football rules committee, securing the sport's future. The group eliminated the flying wedge and other dangerous plays.

Besides being an innovator, organizer, and tactician, Camp was football's most prominent national spokesman, promoter, and defender. He headed a blue-ribbon commission to investigate football brutality and concluded that football had markedly benefited players both physically and mentally. Camp also promoted football by selecting an all-America team beginning in 1889. Yale, Harvard, Princeton, and Pennsylvania dominated college football, often trouncing smaller schools and boasting all but two all-America players between 1889 and 1898.

By the 1890s college football had gained a degree of popularity among the middle and upper classes and became a national sport. The Ivy League and Western Conference were formed, rivalries were established, and teams traveled longer distances for intersectional games. As football's popularity increased, the alumni gained virtually complete control over college sports. Universities began to see football as a means of making money. Yale football receipts grew to \$100,000 yearly, one-eighth of the institution's total income. The annual Thanksgiving Day championship game between the two best college teams eventually drew more than 40,000 spectators in New York City and started the winter social season.

Football provoked considerable controversy. It was a brutal sport, causing frequent injuries: In a 19-year period, 50 players died from injuries. Football also developed a win-at-any-cost mentality. Players and alumni emphasized victory so much that many colleges engaged in shady, dishonest recruiting practices. Tramp athletes made a career of playing college football. Martin Thayer performed for 13

years at nine schools, while James Hogan played football at three other schools after being expelled from Yale. As college football truly became a spectacle, university officials began denouncing the sport. Dean Shailer Mathews of the University of Chicago protested, "Football is a boy-killing, education-prostituting gladiatorial sport," while President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University called football "madness and slaughter." By 1900 college football needed to reform or face extinction.

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—David L. Porter

**Forbes, John Murray** (1813–1898) *merchant, reformer, railroad entrepreneur*

John Murray Forbes was born into a mercantile family on February 23, 1813, in Bordeaux, France. From 1823 to 1828 he attended the progressive Round Hill School in Northampton, Massachusetts, which had recently been established by George Bancroft (later a distinguished historian) and Joseph G. Cogswell, under whom Forbes studied. When Forbes left, at the age of 15, to enter the China trading house of his uncles, James and Thomas Handasyd Perkins, in Boston, Cogswell declared he possessed "a far better education than nine tenths of" college graduates. Two years later his uncles sent him to Canton as their resident agent with Russell & Company, to replace his older brother, who had recently died. Soon becoming the confidential agent of Houqua (Howqua or Wu Bingjian), the head of the Hong merchants who controlled Chinese foreign trade, Forbes, who was fluent in French and Spanish, handled his foreign correspondence. After three years of hard work Forbes returned home in 1833 at the age of 20 to "recruit" his health and fell in love with and married Sarah Hathaway on February 8, 1834. They had six children.

Shortly after his wedding, Forbes returned alone to Canton to wrap up his affairs. When he was made a partner of Russell & Company and Houqua retained him on a lucrative 10 percent commission, he stayed three years, making a fortune in the cutthroat business environment of Canton. When he returned to the United States in 1837, the panic of that year was in full swing. He survived it, established J. M. Forbes & Company, invested in ships, and continued in the China trade, managing Houqua's half-million-dollar American investments.



In 1846, at the behest of lawyer James F. Joy and engineer John W. Brooks, Forbes mobilized capital to purchase the badly built 140-mile Michigan Central Railroad (MC) from the bankrupt state of Michigan and accepted the presidency of the railroad. Under Forbes's leadership it grew and by 1852 reached Chicago, the rail hub of the West. Moving eastward, Forbes secured a link connecting Detroit with Buffalo, through Ontario. Because he viewed RAILROADS as an investment not a speculation, he was able to mobilize investors and to thrive in a risky environment. To keep freight flowing to the MC in Chicago, the Forbes-Joy-Brooks team acquired four small Illinois lines and in 1856 formed the Chicago, Burlington, & Quincy Railroad (CB&Q). They extended the CB&Q west into Iowa and Missouri and ultimately to Denver (1882) in anticipation of freight. As in Canton, Forbes was a brilliant manager. He preferred dividing freight with other railroads in non-competitive pools, but when they fell apart he was a tough competitor.

A man of humane impulses, Forbes was a reformer as well as an entrepreneur. The year he returned from Canton, he was converted to the antislavery cause by Wendell Phillips's Faneuil Hall address in Boston, protesting the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy by a proslavery mob. Ten years later Forbes originated the plan of borrowing the USS *Jamestown* to transport food from Boston to aid famine victims in Ireland. Forbes left the Whig Party when Daniel Webster supported the Compromise of 1850 and, despite advantages for his railroad interests in Missouri and Iowa, opposed the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act, which admitted slavery in those territories. In protest to the "Nebraska iniquity," he helped found the Republican Party, supplied money and rifles for the New England Immigrant Aid Society in its struggle to make Kansas a free state, and in 1859 welcomed John Brown to his home and gave him \$100 for his work in Kansas, which was probably used for his Harpers Ferry raid. In the secession crisis following Abraham Lincoln's election, Forbes hoped to avert war, feeling that farmers and laborers would suffer disproportionately. He attended the 1861 Peace Convention but refused to compromise on slavery in the territories.

When the Civil War commenced at Fort Sumter in 1861, Forbes turned much of his railroad responsibilities over to Joy and Brooks and threw himself into the war effort. Because Forbes was both a shipowner and a railroad man, Massachusetts governor John A. Andrew asked him to ship men and supplies to the Washington area. Forbes also, without a commission, served as a purchasing agent for the Department of the Navy to secure light-draft fast steamers to enforce the most extensive blockade ever attempted. In 1863 Forbes journeyed to England, where he helped prevent the ironclad rams, nearing completion in the Laird shipyards, from joining the Confederacy and

secured a loan for the federal government from Baring Brothers. Forbes was a leading fund-raiser for the U.S. Sanitary Commission, which helped care for sick and wounded Union soldiers. Forbes advocated the emancipation of slaves, helped raise black regiments, and supported the work of the Educational Commission at Port Royal, South Carolina, in educating and employing free blacks on an experimental plantation, which featured land planted in common and individually cultivated plots. To support the vigorous prosecution of the war, Forbes founded the New England Loyal Publication Society. Having significantly contributed to the Union victory, he was present when the Stars and Stripes was again raised over Fort Sumter, four years after its surrender.

Although Forbes remained on the board of the CB&Q, he continued his interest in politics, culture, and reform. At the end of the Civil War he helped found the *NATION* as an organ of reform. In opposition to spoils-minded politicians he advocated CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, and he also backed the gold standard, tariff reform, and woman suffrage. Witty and charming, he was a member of the intellectually stimulating Saturday Club, and among his wide circle of warm friends were literary luminaries Ralph Waldo Emerson and Oliver Wendell Holmes and the actress Fanny Kemble. Forbes also indulged in his favorite pastimes of horseback riding, tree planting, yacht building, and sailing.

In 1873 Forbes again concentrated on the CB&Q. His fears that its expansion had been carelessly managed were confirmed when he found that his trusted lieutenants, Joy and Brooks, and other "active" directors had made more than a million dollars by owning stock in the construction companies extending the CB&Q. After failing to reform from within, Forbes organized a stockholder revolt in 1875, eliminated Joy, and three years later took over the presidency and expanded the CB&Q from Nebraska west to Denver. In 1881 Forbes turned the presidency of the CB&Q over to his cousin Charles Elliott Perkins and became an active chairman of its board of directors. Together they presided over further expansion of the CB&Q, increasing its freight and enhancing its strategic value with its connections into Chicago. Renowned for his integrity, Forbes died on October 12, 1898.

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## foreign policy

Through its territorial acquisitions in 1898 at the close of the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, the United States achieved world-power status. Historians have stressed that expansion before 1900 resulted either from Manifest Destiny, an American variant of a worldwide ultranationalistic urge for foreign conquest and colonies (IMPERIALISM), or from American industrialism and its need for markets for its products. Undoubtedly, the move by the United States onto the world stage had both internal and external causes as it experienced unprecedented economic growth in an age of increasing nationalistic rivalries. Changing global patterns required presidents to be increasingly engaged in the conduct of international relations. This growth of presidential direction and power is the most significant development in American foreign policy in the late 19th century. The period began with the Senate humiliating Ulysses S. Grant by rejecting the SANTO DOMINGO annexation treaty in February 1870, and it ended in 1900 with WILLIAM MCKINLEY sending an expeditionary force of 5,000 troops to help put down the Boxer Rebellion in China without consulting CONGRESS. The transformation of America's role in the world helped transform the American PRESIDENCY.

In 1870 Americans concentrated on the Western Hemisphere and were concerned by the presence of European powers: France had only recently withdrawn an army from Mexico, where it had supported a government headed by an Austrian-born emperor. The Dominion of Canada, although it had local autonomy, was a part of the British Empire. In the Caribbean, all the islands except Haiti were under the suzerainty of a European state. More importantly, Britain—not the United States—dominated the foreign trade of Latin America. Any assertion of U.S. interests had to take into consideration the commanding position of Europe in the Caribbean and in Latin America.

The United States, however, had enormous potential power. By 1885 it was the world's most productive manufacturer. Steel production exceeded that of Britain the following year, while energy consumption surpassed all other nations by 1890. Agricultural production did not lag behind: In the years from 1865 to 1890, wheat and corn production grew by 256 and 222 percent, respectively. The arrival of 11.5 million European immigrants in the last three decades of the century provided labor in fields and factories. Over the period from 1873 to 1913, the U.S. economy grew at an average annual rate of 5 percent compared with Britain's 1.6 percent over the same period.

American policymakers, however, were aware that American power was latent. America's small army was deployed against NATIVE AMERICANS on the frontier while its deteriorating navy (prior to its strengthening in the 1880s) was supposed to protect the coasts and in no

way could enforce foreign policy. The State Department in 1869 employed only 31 clerks, and its staff by 1881 had grown to only 50. While prominent politicians and intellectuals might find representing the nation abroad rewarding, few Americans aspired to a diplomatic career, which still had the taint of Europe's aristocracy. Exams for consular service originated in the early 1890s in the wake of CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, but few Americans were experienced in conducting international affairs.

In a world dominated by European political and military power, American diplomats had few opportunities to assert themselves. European powers subjugated Africa and Asia. Where formal colonies did not exist, the European powers exercised control through protectorates and spheres of influence. However, this redounded to the benefit of American businessmen and missionaries, who enjoyed the entitlements of white men. Most-favored-nation clauses in treaties with the states of East Asia enabled Americans to obtain the same advantages as British subjects.

Until the late 1890s U.S. foreign affairs were overshadowed by domestic matters. Despite minor territorial disputes with Britain, America's borders were secure, and its attention was focused on Reconstruction, financial panics and ensuing depressions, violent strikes, and differences over the printing of greenbacks and the minting of silver. Foreign crises occurred only intermittently, but in the final decade of the century, with increasing rapidity, problems arose involving Chile, HAWAII, Venezuela, CUBA, and China.

This quickening diplomatic pace reflected the accelerating pace of life in the late 19th century. The revolution in industrial production was accompanied by a revolution in the communication and retrieval of information. Telegraph lines and submarine cables provided instant communication around the globe, and information could be stored in a legible, accessible form thanks to the introduction of the typewriter, tabs, index cards, and file folders in modern offices. The U.S. State Department, however, with its archaic filing and indexing practices, remained haphazard in its record keeping (relying heavily on the memories of old hands) until the 20th century.

International rivalry increased for markets in both farm produce and industrial goods. By the 1870s American farmers found themselves competing in a global marketplace. More significantly, American businessmen and farmers became convinced that growth depended on finding foreign markets. This belief became commonplace even before the disastrous economic depression that began in 1893. Commentators of the time took satisfaction in the rising proportion of manufactured goods among exports, which reached one-third of the total exports by the end of the century.

Rivalry among the great powers also played a part in the rising American concern with foreign policy. The newly industrialized powers of Germany, Russia, and Japan joined

the competition for colonies in Africa and Asia, and American traders and investors had to contend with Germans as well as the British in Latin America and the Japanese in Hawaii. Americans had confidence that their products compared favorably with foreign rivals unless handicapped by barriers to trade, and to ensure favorable terms of trade the United States negotiated reciprocal tariff reductions with Hawaii and Latin America. Congress, representing particular interests that were frequently threatened by imports, viewed with unease the presidential power contained in the reciprocal treaties and frequently undermined these agreements.

The foreign crises of the 1890s increased the power of presidents. Civil service reform and the incipient regulation of business favored the executive over the legislative branch, but these were minor contributions to the modern presidency when compared with the demands of an effective foreign policy. America's status in world affairs was enhanced by the naval buildup begun in the 1880s and the investiture of larger and better-paid staffs of embassies abroad, including the appointment of military and naval attachés that began in 1889. The reach of the presidents of the 1890s was therefore longer than their predecessors.

In 1870 Grant's hope of annexing Santo Domingo was frustrated by the Senate, but the wartime emergency in 1898 conferred almost unrestricted power on McKinley as commander in chief. Traditional restraints on expansion and other foreign policy goals weakened at this time of heightened nationalism. McKinley was a masterful political manager, but he could not have enhanced the powers of the president without the opportunity to intervene in Cuba against Spain. The triumph of the expansionists with the declaration of war against Spain was not total, since Congress asserted that Cuban independence was the goal of intervention. But when American military forces occupied Spanish possessions, the economic and strategic arguments of expansionists prevailed, and the United States opted to control Cuba as a protectorate and Puerto Rico and the Philippines as colonies. McKinley, who made the key decision, embraced imperialism to thwart other imperialist powers. American presidents were no longer merely interested in upholding the Monroe Doctrine in the Western Hemisphere, where the United States was paramount; rather, as the century came to a close, they were prepared to assume new responsibilities across the wide Pacific Ocean.

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—Bruce Abrams

### Forest Reserve Act (1891)

The federal push to manage logging and protect forests started in earnest in the late 1880s. CONGRESS responded by passing the Forest Reserve Act in 1891, which allowed the president to create forest reserves, a precursor of the national forest system.

In the colonial period, the British Crown—and early in the history of the United States, the federal government—reserved the right to preserve timber on lands in the public domain (for shipbuilding in particular), although early laws were not enforced, and a laissez-faire tradition built up around logging. Secretary of the Interior CARL SCHURZ was the first to attempt to enforce these early laws. Having been raised in Germany, where economic forest management techniques had been long established, Schurz took seriously the dangers of depleted forest lands. Schurz removed corrupt land agents, punished those who logged federally held lands, and developed a system of selling timber rights while retaining federal title of forest lands. Congress, however, pardoned violators if they paid a paltry \$1.25 an acre for land that they had cleared.

Not consistently hostile to the environment, Congress established a permanent Division of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture in 1886, the forerunner of the United States Forest Service, and subsequent studies confirmed that overharvesting would lead to a dire situation within a matter of years. Forest fires, exacerbated by logging, had already burned millions of acres, provoked intense flooding in watershed areas, and also compelled the federal government to protect forests.

The original Forest Reserve bill was narrow in its scope, but the Division of Forestry and Department of the Interior influenced legislators to attach a rider that allowed the president to set apart and reserve public lands covered in timber as public reservations. President BENJAMIN HARRISON immediately took advantage of this legislation, setting aside forests next to Yellowstone National Park in Wyoming as reserves. He added 13 million more acres of protected forest in four additional reserves. President GROVER CLEVELAND added 20 million more acres but also asked Congress to define the goal of the reserves. In response, Congress passed the Forest Management Act in 1897, which designated Forest Reserves as resources for timber, mining, and grazing, leading to the current forest management policy.

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—Scott Sendrow

### Free Silver movement

The term *Free Silver* refers to the demand made by agrarian and silver-mining interests in the late 19th century for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16-to-1 (i.e., 16 ounces of silver for every one ounce of gold). The Free Silver movement emerged from the debate over what should give the dollar its value. Americans who adhered to the “sound money” philosophy believed that it was the government’s duty to maintain a stable value of currency and that the best way for it to accomplish this was by the redemption of currency in gold. The gold standard was supported by bankers, some business interests, and many industrial workers whose real wages were thereby protected from inflation. On the other hand, many Americans, business owners as well as farmers, in the cash-strapped agricultural sections of the South and West argued that the government should manage the money supply to relieve any economic suffering caused by declining agricultural prices in the late 19th century.

In 1873 the government demonetized silver just prior to a fall in its market value, and shortly thereafter the nation’s agrarian and silver-mining interests denounced this as the “CRIME OF ’73.”

American farmers believed that prices were determined by the amount of currency in circulation and that the free and unlimited coinage of silver would bring about a general price inflation, thus increasing the amount of money they would receive for their crops and easing their burden of debt. Silver-mine operators joined the call for Free Silver after 1873 simply because they wanted the government to purchase more of their product.

CONGRESS enacted the BLAND-ALLISON ACT in 1878, but this law did not meet the demands for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Instead, the law limited the amount of silver the government could purchase and mint into silver dollars to not less than \$2 million and not more than \$4 million worth of silver per month. The Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 required the government to purchase and coin 4.5 million ounces of silver monthly. These silver dollars could be redeemed in gold dollars but had to be put back into circulation, which placed a great strain on the nation’s gold reserve. President GROVER CLEVELAND, an opponent of inflationary currency schemes, blamed the Sherman Silver Purchase Act for the financial panic that ensued in 1893 and called on Congress to repeal the law. Congress heeded the president’s demand and repealed the Sherman Silver Purchase Act.

Between 1893 and 1896, the Free Silver movement picked up much support. In 1896 both the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and the PEOPLE’S PARTY (Populist Party) adopted Free Silver as their main campaign theme and nominated WILLIAM J. BRYAN for president. Bryan and Free Silver, however, were overwhelmingly defeated by the Republican candidate, WILLIAM MCKINLEY of Ohio, who ran on a platform supporting the gold standard. As a result the GOLD STANDARD ACT OF 1900 declared the gold dollar to be the official American standard of value.

See also BIMETALLISM; CURRENCY ISSUE; FARMERS’ ALLIANCES; MINING; OMAHA PLATFORM; SIMPSON, JERRY.

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—Phillip Papas

### Frick, Henry Clay (1849–1919) *businessman, patron of the arts*

Henry Clay Frick, the industrialist, was born on December 19, 1849, to John W. and Elizabeth Overholt Frick at West Overton, Pennsylvania. He attended school until age 14, when he accepted a position in his uncle Christopher Overholt’s store in Mount Pleasant, Pennsylvania. While living with his uncle he attended the Mount Pleasant Institute. He also studied for a brief time at Otterbein College in Westerville, Ohio. After spending two years with his uncle, he moved to Pittsburgh where he sold ribbons and bows during the day and attended a business school during the evening. In 1868 he accepted his grandfather’s offer to become bookkeeper for his Old Overholt Distillery in Broadford, Pennsylvania.

Frick quickly recognized the potential of the rich coking coal fields in the Broadford region. He formed a partnership, H. C. Frick and Company, to purchase coal land and build coking ovens. The firm survived the depression of 1873 by selling below cost and paying its workers in script good only at its company store. Frick used whatever cash he could scrape together to buy out his bankrupt competitors. When the depression ended, H. C. Frick and Company owned almost 10,000 coke ovens and was the major supplier of coke to Pittsburgh’s rapidly expanding iron and steel industry.

ANDREW CARNEGIE, who was Frick’s biggest customer, bought into the reorganized H. C. Frick Coke Company and soon secured the majority of its stock, retaining Frick as president. An 1887 miners’ strike, however, illustrated a discordant note between the two capitalists. Frick, the coal man, wanted to break the union. But Carnegie, the steel



man, was concerned over the supply of coke at his furnaces and ordered Frick to settle the strike. Frick resigned as president of the coke company. Although Carnegie did not care for Frick personally he recognized his ability, and six months later he reinstated Frick and made him a partner in Carnegie Brothers and Company and, two years later, its chairman of the board.

Running both businesses, Frick set out in 1891 to destroy the miners' union. After building up a large reserve of coke at the furnaces, Frick offered his miners a contract he knew they could not accept. When they struck he replaced them with strikebreakers protected by sheriff's deputies. On April 20, 1891, deputized guards killed nine strikers at Frick's Morewood Mines. The violence effectively destroyed the union. A year later Frick, with Carnegie's consent, employed the same tactics to destroy the iron workers' union during the HOMESTEAD STRIKE, but Carnegie, concerned about his image, tried to duck his responsibility by blaming Frick for the violence. Carnegie's claim that he could have averted the violence damaged their relationship and failed to convince the public, which sympathized with Frick after he survived an assassination attempt by anarchist Alexander Berkman.

While most noted for his ruthless antiunion stance, Frick was a capable manager. He directed the reorgani-

zation of Carnegie's steel interest, keeping the coke company a separate entity; bought large tracts of land in the Mesabi iron ore range in Minnesota; and purchased the Duquesne Iron Works, Carnegie's major competitor in the steel rail business. In 1889 when Frick took over the chairmanship, Carnegie Steel's profits were \$3.5 million, but in 1899 they were \$21 million. Despite this service, Carnegie forced Frick out of the steel company that year when they disagreed over the price of Frick's coke used by Carnegie Steel. The two became bitter enemies when Frick sued Carnegie for attempting to cheat him out of the full value of his share in the steel business. In their out-of-court settlement Frick received 11 percent of Carnegie Steel, which ultimately was worth about 12 times the \$5 million Carnegie offered him.

Although Carnegie and other business associates of Frick thought him provincial and uncultivated, interested only in coke and steel, Frick acquired one of the finest collections of European art in the world and housed it in a magnificent mansion in New York City.

**Further reading:** Samuel A. Schreiner Jr., *Henry Clay Frick: The Gospel of Greed* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

—Harold W. Aurand

# G



## **Gage, Matilda Joslyn** (1826–1898) *women's rights activist*

Born on March 25, 1826, in Cicero, New York, Matilda Gage, a radical feminist, was tutored in Greek, mathematics, and physiology and taught to think for herself by her father, who was a physician, an abolitionist, a WOMEN'S RIGHTS advocate, and a free thinker. She married a prosperous merchant at 18, had five children, and suffered from poor health. Nevertheless in 1852, “trembling in every limb,” she began her participation in the women's rights movement by addressing its convention at Syracuse, New York, but in a voice so weak her stirring words were scarcely heard. She improved somewhat as a speaker, but her major contribution to the women's rights movement was as an organizer, thinker, and writer.

In 1869 she was a charter member of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the New York State Woman Suffrage Association. She tried unsuccessfully to vote in 1872 and served as president of the NWSA from 1875 to 1876, giving way to her friend Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Gage, Stanton, and SUSAN B. ANTHONY wrote the Declaration of Rights, which Anthony presented to a startled Fourth of July audience at the 1876 PHILADELPHIA CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION. Gage contributed to NWSA's paper *The Revolution*, and from 1878 to 1881 she edited the NWSA monthly *National Citizen and the Ballot Box*. She also coauthored with Stanton and Anthony the first three volumes of the six-volume *History of Woman Suffrage* (1881–1922). Trying to make up for the neglect of women, Gage was not above exaggerating the accomplishments of her sex in *Woman as Inventor* (1870) and in *Who Planned the Tennessee Campaign of 1862? or Anna Ella Carroll v. Ulysses S. Grant* (1880).

By the late 1870s Gage had become discouraged by the slow progress of the suffrage movement. She was convinced that Christian doctrines fostered in men a “belief in women's inferiority” and that church and state were obstacles to equality and freedom. Her attempts to con-

vert the NWSA to the view that Christianity was the enemy, however, aroused intense opposition among the devout, conservative elements in that organization. By 1890 Gage was sufficiently alienated from the NWSA to establish the Woman's National Liberal Union, which proclaimed the role of religion in subjugating women and struggled for constitutional amendments guaranteeing woman suffrage and the separation of church and state. Her *Woman, Church, and State* (1893), which she regarded as her most important book, elaborated on these views. Gage spent her last years in Chicago with her daughter Maud—the wife of L. Frank Baum, author of *The Wizard of Oz*. Just prior to her death on March 18, 1898, she wrote a speech for the National American Woman Suffrage Association celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention, which had marked the beginning of the women's rights movement.

**Further reading:** William Leach, *True Love and Perfect Union: The Feminist Reform of Sex and Society* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1980).

## **Galveston flood** (September 8, 1900)

The most devastating hurricane in U.S. history struck Galveston, Texas, on September 8, 1900, killing 6,000 people (more than one-sixth of that city's population). At the time of the storm, Galveston was the major American port west of New Orleans on the Gulf of Mexico. Situated on a low-lying island (basically an outer bank, a sandbar) between Galveston Bay and the Gulf, it was vulnerable to hurricanes because of its location and lack of altitude. The storm that hit Galveston was one of the most powerful ever recorded and did not dissipate until after it had headed east, crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and passed over Europe into Siberia. The barometric reading when its center was at Galveston was the lowest recorded in the United States up to that date. The storm surge (the extreme tide that



A flooded street after the 1900 hurricane in Galveston, Texas (Library of Congress)

accompanies a hurricane) flooded the entire city, caused most of the deaths, damaged virtually every structure, and cost about \$20 million.

The flood had two long-range effects: One was on the city of Galveston itself, and the other was on the form of government adopted by many other cities. Although Galveston regained its status as a major port, it was no longer the preeminent commercial center of Texas. Faced with a crisis of monumental proportions, Galveston needed a city government far more efficient than the typical model featuring a weak mayor and an unwieldy council, with no clear-cut delineation of responsibilities. The citizens responded by simply dissolving the existing government and appointing five powerful commissioners to head the various departments (fire, police, etc.) that functioned as a council. This commission form of government eliminated unwieldiness and pinpointed responsibility. In 1901 a new charter made the commission form of government permanent for Galveston, with one of the commissioners serving as mayor for ceremonial purposes. The commissioners conducted city business—legislation, appointments, and contracts—in open meetings.

The Galveston commission rebuilt the city, restored its credit, and constructed a 17-foot-high seawall to protect the city in the future. This commission form of government appealed to progressive municipal reformers and was widely copied, especially in the South, in the early 20th century.

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**Garfield, James Abram** (1831–1881) 20th president of the United States

James A. Garfield was an American president who actually did begin life in a log cabin. Born on November 19, 1831, near Cleveland, Ohio, Garfield was left destitute when his father died two years later. Despite their poverty, his mother convinced him to get an education, and he discovered his lifelong love of learning at Geauga Academy. He was also attracted to religion, joining the Disciples of Christ and, in time, becoming a lay preacher. Working as a carpenter and then as a teacher, Garfield financed his studies and graduated from Williams College in Massachusetts in 1856. He returned to Ohio to teach at the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute at Hiram, where he was named president in 1858. That same year he married Lucretia Rudolph after a long courtship. Troubled at first, their marriage endured and then flourished with children and love. Awakened to the evils of slavery, Garfield studied law, entered politics, and won a seat in the Ohio senate, but he was irresolute about his future. The outbreak of the Civil War ended his vacillation. As a prominent politician he was commissioned a lieutenant colonel, and by luck, merit (serving gallantly at Chicamauga), and well-placed friends was promoted to major general by late 1863.

As a war hero Garfield was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1862, where he served from 1863 to 1880. Initially the youngest man in CONGRESS, his intelligence, grasp of details, and eloquence quickly made him a leader in the House. At the same time Garfield had a streak of self-doubt in his makeup. Anxious to please, he was not an extreme partisan and when faced with complex issues, he was prone to waver. Garfield's colleagues thought him inconsistent and even weak, yet his capacity—especially in the area of government finance—was such that he became the undoubted leader of House Republicans after JAMES G. BLAINE left for the Senate in 1876. On the two issues he regarded as moral—emancipation and sound currency based on gold—Garfield was unwavering; on two other issues he favored—CIVIL SERVICE REFORM and free trade—he was less steadfast. Garfield did not wish to depoliticize the civil service, and he wanted to protect the products of his district. As a powerful politician with five children and a low income, Garfield on occasion sold his influence. Having invested nothing, he received from

Credit Mobilier a \$329 dividend or, as he claimed, a \$300 loan that he repaid. His \$5,000 fee from the DeGolyer McClelland Company for his help in securing a paving contract in Washington, D.C., was most questionable (Garfield was chair of the crucial Appropriations Committee), and yet it did not prevent his nomination for the presidency.

When the 1880 Republican Convention deadlocked over the candidacies of Ulysses S. Grant, Blaine, and JOHN SHERMAN, the Blaine and Sherman delegates turned to Garfield and nominated him. To be elected he had to carry New York and needed the support of its Republican machine headed by Senator ROSCOE CONKLING, who happened to have been the chief STALWART supporter of Grant at the recent convention. Ambiguously agreeable, Garfield activated Conkling's lieutenants, as well as other spoilsmen, with vague promises of patronage. He also encouraged the collection of political assessments from civil servants. Reformers worried that Garfield's "fiber" was not "steel," but the Democrats were even less apt to reform the civil service.

Garfield's strategy of opposing nobody won the election, but it paralyzed his administration and led to his

demise. His superb understanding of the workings of the federal government and the issues before it were irrelevant because he had raised expectations he could not or would not fulfill. Conkling got some patronage, but the biggest plum, collector of the Port of New York, went to his arch-enemy Secretary of State Blaine. Conkling was outraged and urged his colleagues not to confirm the nomination on the grounds that it violated senatorial courtesy (the practice that enabled senators to dictate to the president who should be nominated in their states). The struggle lasted two months, and when Conkling realized he would lose, he resigned, expecting that the New York legislature would show its support by returning him to the Senate. It did not, and Conkling had committed political suicide.

Garfield had triumphed, but he never had an opportunity to get his administration on track. On July 2 a deranged office seeker, shouting that he was a Stalwart, assassinated Garfield. He lingered for more than two months, but blood poisoning set in and he died on September 19, 1881. Reformers, claiming that Garfield had been murdered by the spoils system, pushed through the PENDLETON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ACT (1883) as a memorial to Garfield. Ironically he had little sympathy for its prohibition of political assessments and for its reliance on open competitive examinations to secure qualified non-partisan appointees to office.

**Further reading:** Allan Peskin, *Garfield: A Biography* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1978).



James A. Garfield (Library of Congress)

**Garland, Hamlin** (1860–1940) *short story writer, novelist*

Hannibal Hamlin Garland, a realistic novelist, was born on the frontier near West Salem, Wisconsin, on September 14, 1860, to farmers Richard Hayes and Isabelle Charlotte McClintock. Garland spent his early youth traveling westward with his family through Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa, where he participated in the strenuous labor of running his father's homestead. He attended the Cedar Valley Seminary in Iowa, from which he graduated in 1881, and taught school in Illinois for a season. In 1883 he rejoined his family, who had moved to South Dakota after losing their farm to a plague of insects. For two painful years he worked his own claim near his father's, but the toil proved so arduous and unrewarding that he sold his farm for \$200 and moved to Boston.

Nourishing his literary appetites and ambitions at the Boston Public Library—where he spent entire days reading poetry, fiction, philosophy, and social theory—Garland was soon as well informed as any college graduate. After attending a few lectures at the Boston School of Oratory, he was appointed an instructor in English and American literature



there. Around 1886 he began contributing brief sketches to local newspapers, and the next year *Harper's Weekly* published a story about the rural life he remembered. By 1890 he was making a modest living as a freelance writer and had come to know the literary community in Boston, where he received encouragement from WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, the leading novelist and critic of the period. In 1891 he published his first book, *Main-Travelled Roads*, a collection of starkly realistic stories set in the Midwest, an area he called the Middle Border; in each of whose farm houses, as he was later to write, he saw an "individual message of sordid struggle and half-hidden despair."

During the next decade Garland produced a stream of books, including several novels and collections of short stories and a volume each of poetry and literary criticism. In all his early work he demonstrated and argued for his belief in a harsh realism that he termed "veritism." His 1892 novel *A Spoil of Office* was an exposé of political corruption on the western frontier and a tract for the POPULIST PARTY. That same year he published *A Member of the Third House*, dramatizing the cruel power of the railroad lobbies, and his later novels protested the fraudulent land practices of bankers, the condition of women on the frontier, and the exploitation of the Plains Indians. In 1899 he settled in Chicago, where he married Zulime Taft, the sister of the noted sculptor Lorado Taft; the couple had two daughters.

Following a series of commercially successful romantic novels in which he seemed to have forsworn his bleak vision of rural life, Garland returned to New York in 1916, and the next year published *A Son of the Middle Border*, the first of four volumes of autobiography that resumed his theme of the hardships and frustrations of pioneer life. This book and its Pulitzer Prize-winning 1921 sequel *A Daughter of the Middle Border* were to become his lasting legacy to American letters. A pioneer realist and an eloquent advocate for the rural poor, he provided a vivid picture of agrarian poverty in an age of industrialization, and his honest, often grim depiction of pioneer life did much to dispel the romantic myth of the midwestern farmer. Garland died in California on March 4, 1940.

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—Dennis Wepman

## Gay Nineties

Apparently no one in the 1890s used the term *Gay Nineties* to describe the decade in which they were living. With the nation suffering in the mid-1890s from a severe economic depression, that decade was not a happy one for many Americans. It was a time of unemployment and violent

strikes, the rise of white supremacy, the growth of urban slums, and rural unrest, caused by falling prices for farm produce. Coping with wars and depressions, later generations created the legend of the "Gay Nineties," as they looked back at what seemed to be a happier, simpler, and more innocent age.

Legends, however, have a factual base. American society is complex, and gaiety, as well as despair, existed in the 1890s. MUSIC, for example, had a much larger place in Americans' lives than it had in the past. Middle-class people often had an upright piano on which they played romantic and sentimental songs, such as "O Promise Me." Ragtime was also in vogue, with Scott Joplin composing the "Maple Leaf Rag" in 1898. The march king JOHN PHILIP SOUSA toured the nation, with his superb band, and virtually every town had its own bandstand for local musicians.

Vaudeville was at its height in the 1890s and available for a large segment of society. It consisted of a stage show with a variety of acts, including comedians, musicians, singers, dancers, acrobats, and animals. Legitimate THEATER was also available, with touring companies presenting plays. Technological advances brought new forms of entertainment. Vaudeville houses began to show motion pictures, kinetoscope parlors multiplied, and 150,000 phonographs and 3 million records were sold in that decade.

Many Americans had more time in the 1890s for SPORTS AND RECREATION than in earlier decades. The BICYCLING craze hit its peak in the 1890s, and the tune "Daisy Bell" nostalgically evokes gaiety with the vision of sweet Daisy upon the seat of a bicycle built for two. The popularity of the spectator sports of BASEBALL and FOOTBALL grew rapidly, although the brutality of college football and of BOXING does not support the notion of Gay Nineties innocence. The decade had its seamy side, but subsequent generations prefer the cheering thought of Daisy Bell as a GIBSON GIRL in a shirtwaist dress riding a bicycle.

**Further reading:** Howard Mumford Jones, *The Age of Energy: Varieties of American Experience, 1865–1915* (New York: Viking Press, 1971).

**General Allotment Act** (1887) See DAWES SEVERALTY ACT.

## Geological Survey, U.S.

On March 3, 1879, CONGRESS and President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES established the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) as an Interior Department agency for "the classification of the public lands and examination of the Geological Structure, mineral resources and products of the national domain." The politicians and scientists who shaped the USGS leg-

isolation intended the new agency to aid the nation's struggling economy by supporting the mining industry's efforts to supply minerals for construction and currency. They also hoped to improve the civil service by increasing economy, efficiency, harmony, and utility in federal mapping and science surveys. The new law discontinued the three competing federal geological and geographical surveys of the public domain in the West led by FERDINAND VANDEVEER HAYDEN (Interior), JOHN WESLEY POWELL (Interior), and First Lieutenant George Montague Wheeler (Army Corps of Engineers). The USGS absorbed some of the functions of these organizations, whose combined appropriations for 1878–79 totaled more than the new agency's funds for 1879–80. To protect the impartiality and integrity of USGS data and analyses, the founding statute prohibited its employees from speculating in the lands and resources under study or conducting outside consulting.

The USGS "organic act" also named the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum as the repository for USGS scientific collections, detailed the nature of USGS publications and exchanges, and established a Public Lands Commission (PLC) to codify laws and recommend improvements in management. CLARENCE (Rivers) KING and Powell served on the PLC; Powell, under Smithsonian overview, also led the new Bureau of Ethnology (BE). Some of the disestablished survey's functions in botany and zoology passed to the commissioner of agriculture. The reformers did not succeed in establishing within either the Interior or War Departments a separate mapping agency for all geodetic, land-parceling, and topographic surveys, nor did they improve the Interior's administration of the public lands by its General Land Office (GLO).

President Hayes nominated King as director of the USGS. King, in helping to shape the USGS (1878–79) and then direct its operations (1879–81), drew on his experience while serving in the state-sponsored Geological Survey of California (1863–66) and leading the U.S. Geological Exploration of the 40th parallel (1867–79) for the Army Engineers. Continuing his policies, King intended USGS-mandated studies of mineral resources principally to yield immediate results of practical value to industry and a scientific classification of the national domain, which the attorney general's office determined to be those public lands (mostly in the West) still federally owned. King also expected the results in economic geology to increase an understanding of the classification and origin of ore deposits and, with the subordinate investigations in general geology, also to advance knowledge of the earth and its history.

In 1881 King resigned and advised President JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD to appoint Powell as his successor. A year later King's and Director Powell's friends in the 47th Congress convinced their colleagues and President CHESTER ARTHUR to authorize USGS activities nationwide to

support the completion of the reliable national geologic map sought by King. Under this rubric, Powell remade the USGS as an agency for topographic mapping (by design and default the needed national program) and basic research in general geology, but at the expense of economic geology. He continued to lead the BE and often merged with it USGS personnel and operations. Congress increased USGS appropriations through most of the 1880s. The 50th Congress and President GROVER CLEVELAND also gave Powell an opportunity in 1888 to pursue his long-standing goal of reforming land and water use in the West by authorizing and funding the Irrigation Survey (IS) within the USGS. But from 1890 to 1894, three Congresses and Presidents BENJAMIN HARRISON and Cleveland, seeking more economic geology, repudiated Powell's programs, principally because they did not yield the requested practical assessments of mineral and water resources. Powell's views and policies, unchanged by King's advice, contributed to the attorney general's decision to close the public domain to entry until the IS fixed the dam and reservoir sites. That decision also denied to six new states the federal-dowry lands due them at statehood. Powell's policies also left the USGS unable to respond effectively to a renewed currency crisis by facilitating new discoveries of precious metals. Congress first terminated the IS, then selectively slashed USGS statutory staff and operating expenses, and finally encouraged Powell to resign by reducing his salary.

CHARLES DOOLITTLE WALCOTT, hired by King in 1879, replaced Powell as director. In 1893 Interior Secretary Hoke Smith had advanced Walcott from chief paleontologist to geologist-in-charge of geology and paleontology to reform the USGS geologic unit decimated by Powell's agencywide reduction-in-force in 1892 in response to the congressional cuts. For the public good and to reward Walcott's success, King and Smith urged the 53rd Congress and President Cleveland to make Walcott the third director in 1894. To renew USGS usefulness to the nation, Director Walcott expanded the agency's mission to include any economic, educational, or other practical objective that could be advanced by a greater knowledge of the earth and its resources. Walcott's balanced program of applied and basic research restored congressional confidence, and the legislators increased USGS appropriations beyond those granted Powell. Walcott restored the USGS program in economic geology, reorganized the agency's other geological work, professionalized its topographic-mapping program, and began successful and continuously funded studies of water resources and arid-land reclamation, native peoples' lands, forest reserves, as well as tests of fuels and structural materials. By 1900 Walcott completed definitions of the USGS geologic, hydrologic, and topographic units, which remained the agency's principal scientific and mapping components until the Interior Department's research

biologists joined the USGS. Most of the other units Walcott managed, and those later transferred to the USGS that did not develop or retain scientific or mapping programs, subsequently became other Interior Department bureaus: Reclamation (1907), Mines (1910), Grazing (1935, then combined with GLO in 1946 as Land Management), and Minerals Management (1982). Additional functions went to existing agencies in other federal departments: Forest Service (1905) and the Bureau of Standards (1910). Walcott resigned as USGS Director in 1907 to become the Smithsonian's fourth secretary.

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—Clifford M. Nelson

### **George, Henry** (1839–1897) *printer, editor, writer*

Henry George, economist, journalist, and reformer, was born on September 2, 1839, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the son of Richard Samuel Henry George and Catherine Pratt Vallance. Following a brief rudimentary education, George clerked in a store and then shipped out to Australia and India. He returned to Philadelphia and learned to set type. In 1858 George decided to seek his fortune in San Francisco, where he worked as a printer and writer for various newspapers in the city. He also joined five other printers in the publication of the *Evening Journal* and worked for four years, hoping to make it competitive with San Francisco's other newspapers. George married Annie Corsina Fox in 1861 and together they had four children. The *Evening Journal*, however, did not work out. George lost everything he had invested in the project, and he endured poverty to the point that by 1865 he actually begged in the streets.

His luck changed in 1866 when he landed a job at the San Francisco *Times* as a printer. He also served on the paper's editorial staff before becoming its managing editor. In October 1868 George traveled to New York City on newspaper business and was struck by the great disparity between wealth and poverty in America and began his search for its root cause.

Within a few years George believed he had found the answer. The monopolization of land and natural resources caused the great divide between the rich and the poor. In 1871 he published *Our Land and Land Policy*, which advanced the idea that land formed the basis of wealth in

American society and that economic inequality stemmed from the ability of a few to profit from rising land values. Eight years later George published *Progress and Poverty*, in which he argued that rising land values made owners rich simply because of an increased demand for living and working space. This demand was especially acute in the nation's cities. Since the rise in property values was caused by the increased market demand rather than by owners' improvements, it represented an "unearned increment" that George argued should be taxed. His solution—calling for replacing all taxes with a "single tax" on the increment—attracted many supporters, and single-tax clubs were organized throughout the United States.

In August 1880 George moved to New York, where he lectured and contributed to various magazines. The following year, George published *The Irish Land Question* and became a correspondent for the *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator*. He made two trips to the British Isles, lecturing, writing, and meeting with leaders of the Irish Land League and British Radical Liberals. His reports on Ireland made him enormously popular in New York among the Irish and with the supporters of the Central Labor Union.

With the support of organized labor, George ran for mayor of New York City in 1886. Although the Democrat Abram S. Hewitt was elected with 90,552 votes, George finished a surprising second ahead of the Republican candidate Theodore Roosevelt. George received 60,110 votes. In 1887 he unsuccessfully ran for the office of secretary of state under the banner of the Union Labor Party. Following several years of intense lecturing in the United States and overseas, George ran again for mayor of New York City in 1897. However, he died of a stroke on October 29, 1897, four days before the election was held.

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—Phillip Papas

### **Geronimo (Goyahkla)** (ca. 1823–1909) *leader in the Apache War*

A renowned Chiricahua Apache warrior, Goyahkla (One Who Yawns) was most likely born along the upper stretches of the Gila River in what is modern-day Arizona. Over time he became known by the Spanish name of Geronimo, which was given to him following a successful charge he led against Mexican infantry. During his youth Geronimo experienced a period of relative peace with both the Mexican and American governments. He began traveling with the







**Gibbs, Josiah Willard** (1839–1903) *physicist*

Born in New Haven, Connecticut, on February 11, 1839, Willard Gibbs, an outstanding physicist, was the son of a distinguished philologist and Yale professor of sacred literature. The boy's interests, however, ran to technology and mathematics. Gibbs entered the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale in 1858, earning the nation's second Ph.D. in science (or first in engineering) with a thesis on gear design. After patenting a railroad-car brake, Gibbs spent the years 1866–69 studying mathematics and physics in Paris, Berlin, and Heidelberg. In 1871 he was appointed professor of mathematical physics at Yale College. For nine years the position carried no salary, but Gibbs, a lifelong bachelor with simple needs who lived with his sister's family, got by somehow. In 1873 he turned down a paying job at Bowdoin College. What mattered to him was his complete freedom at Yale to teach what and when he wanted in three or four lectures a week to one or two students. His interest in engineering problems turned him toward thermodynamics in 1872, but he went far beyond the merely practical. The half-dozen years that followed were the most brilliantly and intensely creative of his illustrious career.

Gibbs's great work in thermodynamics began with two relatively short papers on plane and solid graphical representations, published in the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences's *Transactions* in 1873. They were masterful and illuminating. The great Scottish physicist James Clerk Maxwell was entranced by them, and his enthusiastic public notice initiated Gibbs's rise to fame in international scientific circles (though not among the public at large). Gibbs's truly epochal paper, "On the Equilibrium of Heterogeneous Substances," appeared in *Transactions* in two parts, one of 141 pages in 1876 and another of 182 pages in 1878. No one on the Academy's publication committee could understand them, but the committee accepted them anyway on faith in Gibbs. Maxwell immediately grasped their importance and spread the word. Gibbs himself sent copies to nearly all of the world's mathematicians, astronomers, physicists, and chemists likely to appreciate them, 507 in all, including some in India, Brazil, China, and Japan. In America, Henry Rowland and Gibbs quickly recognized the importance of the work. On its strength, Willard Gibbs was elected to the National Academy of Sciences in 1879 and offered a Johns Hopkins professorship at \$3,000 in 1880. Yale held him, however, on the basis of sentiment, loyalty, and—at last—a \$2,000 salary.

The famous "equilibrium" paper, unlike the first two, was almost entirely analytical rather than graphical in its approach. Fundamental yet strikingly original, powerfully and flawlessly logical, it formed a completed whole from which most subsequent developments in the broad fields it covered derived naturally and inevitably. From its prime equation, which produced the theory of chemical equi-

librium, could be deduced all the thermal, mechanical, and chemical properties of a complex system. It virtually engendered the field of physical chemistry. Its celebrated "phase rule" yielded manifold applications in metallurgy, mineralogy, and petrology, as well as in theoretical chemistry. Another segment of the paper played a large role in the electrochemical industry. The paper's contributions to an understanding of entropy have shaped ideas of the universe and its future. Gibbs's very methods were so fundamental and so logically irrefutable that they survived the revolution in 20th-century physics and continued to generate ideas and solutions even in quantum mechanics. Gibbs died in New Haven on April 28, 1903.

**Further reading:** Lynde Phelps Wheeler, *Josiah Willard Gibbs: The History of a Great Mind* (Woodbridge, Conn.: Ox Bow Press, 1998).

—Robert V. Bruce

**Gibbs, Wolcott** (1822–1908) *chemist*

A "pioneer" chemist, Oliver Wolcott Gibbs was born in New York City on February 21, 1822. His maternal grandfather, for whom he was named, was secretary of the Treasury under George Washington and John Adams, and his father was a mineralogist and horticulturalist. Gibbs grew up near Astoria, Queens; Boston; and Newport, Rhode Island, and entered Columbia College in 1837. When a junior, he made his first original scientific contribution, when he published a paper advocating the use of carbon electrodes in a galvanic battery. After his graduation in 1841 Gibbs assisted Robert Hare, professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania. Then, hoping to teach chemistry in a medical school, he earned an M.D. in 1845 from Columbia's College of Physicians and Surgeons. Over the next three years Gibbs studied chemistry in Berlin and Giessen, Germany, and in Paris, France.

An exceptionally well-trained chemist, Gibbs, upon his return to the United States, taught at the College of Physicians and Surgeons for a year. In 1849 he became professor of chemistry at New York's Free Academy (now City College of the City University of New York), where he taught elementary chemistry. In 1853 he married Josephine Mauran; they had no children. As associate editor of the *American Journal of Arts and Sciences* (1851–73), he abstracted papers of foreign investigators and kept abreast of developments in chemistry. In 1856 he produced, with Frederick A. Genth, the ground-breaking *Researches on the Ammonia-Cobalt Bases*. It was a painstakingly difficult, time-consuming analysis, differentiating 35 salts of four cobalt-ammine series. By sensing the complex interrelationship of these compounds, his work pointed the way for future investigators. Excited and rewarded by their

research, Gibbs and Genth invited “the attention of chemists to a class of salts which for beauty of form and color, and for abstract theoretical interest, are almost unequalled either among organic or inorganic compounds.”

Although Gibbs was primarily a teacher and research chemist, alert patients with difficult medical problems sought his opinion. For example, in 1861 he recommended that Virginia Woodbury Fox have surgery by James Marion Sims, the leading gynecologist of the day. During the Civil War, Gibbs gave his services to the U.S. Sanitary Commission, which supplemented the army’s inadequate care for its wounded and sick soldiers. During the war Gibbs also found time to publish three articles in the *American Journal of Arts and Sciences* (1861–64), proposing two methods of separating the different platinum metals, which further demonstrated his prowess as an analytic chemist.

Harvard University appointed Gibbs in 1863 as Rumford Professor of the Application of Science to Useful Arts and that same year placed him in charge of the chemistry laboratory at the Lawrence Scientific School, where he remained until 1871. In that laboratory he introduced teaching methods he had learned in Germany and instructed advanced students (often one on one) by engaging in meaningful research. In 1864, for example, Gibbs, who is called the father of electrogravimetry, perfected the method of utilizing electrolysis to determine by weight both copper and nickel. He also invented laboratory instruments, including a ring burner and a glass and sand filter, which was a prototype of crucibles developed by two of his assistants.

In 1871, over the protest of Gibbs, President CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT (also a chemist) combined the Lawrence Scientific School with Harvard College. With his laboratory becoming part of the college laboratory Gibbs’s tasks were multiplied, and he was required to teach elementary chemistry. In addition, he was placed in the Physics Department, where he taught courses on light and heat and lectured on spectroscopy and thermodynamics. Although he continued to research in his makeshift Cambridge laboratory, Gibbs missed his advanced students, and his productivity suffered. Nevertheless, he began research in 1877, in his small, private laboratory on more than 50 complex inorganic acids.

Gibbs retired in 1887 and moved to Newport, where he set up a more elaborate laboratory than the one he had in Cambridge. There he continued to research with hired assistants and to tend his garden. Although most of his work had been in inorganic chemistry, Gibbs combined his medical and chemical interests in studies of the physiological effects of isomeric (having the same composition but differing in structure) organic compounds on animals.

Since he neither wrote books nor delivered popular lectures, Gibbs is relatively unknown outside the scientific community. Within it, however, he had an international reputation and was showered with honors. He was president

of both the National Academy of Sciences (1895–1900) and the American Association for the Advancement of Science (1897). He died in Newport on December 9, 1908.

**Further reading:** Robert V. Bruce, *The Launching of Modern American Science, 1846–1876* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988).

**Gibson Girl** See ILLUSTRATION, PHOTOGRAPHY, AND THE GRAPHIC ARTS.

### *Gilded Age: A Tale of Today, The* (1873)

This novel by MARK TWAIN (Samuel Langhorne Clemens) and Charles Dudley Warner gave its name to an era. Thanks in part to *The Gilded Age*, American society in the final third of the 19th century would forever be known for its unbridled greed, unmerited fortunes, tasteless opulence, cynical politics, and corrupt governance. Working from recent headlines (the scandals of the Grant administration, the stealings of Boss Tweed of TAMMANY HALL, and revelations that Senator Samuel Pomeroy of Kansas had tried to purchase his reelection by bribing state legislators), the authors employed satire, melodrama, parody, and reportage to depict an age of excess. Although not a major contribution to American literature, *The Gilded Age* is in a class with two other contemporary critiques of American politics, Walt Whitman’s *Democratic Vistas* (1871) and HENRY ADAMS’s *Democracy* (1880).

The political aspect of the novel hinges on three land schemes, two of which depend upon government largess and influence peddling. The other, by way of contrast, comes down to honest dealing, hard work, sacrifice, and commitment. In elaborating these episodes, Twain and Warner explored the full range of Gilded Age venality, including financial finagling, railroad and mining scams, and the buying and selling of legislation.

The authors offered little hope that the “best people” would put an end to the greed and corruption, or even rise above it. Twain and Warner identified three distinct aristocracies: The Antiques are “cultivated, high-bred old families” whose ancestors had been “great in the nation’s councils and its wars from the birth of the republic downward.” In the world of *The Gilded Age*, the Antiques still enjoyed social prominence but no longer set the tone for politics. (Henry Adams personified this class in the real world of Washington, but he has no significant counterpart in *The Gilded Age*.) The Parvenus are newly rich, ostentatious, opportunistic, and amoral. They call the tune in Washington, New York, and wherever else power and money can generate more power and money. Twain and Warner find much to admire in the third group of aris-

tocrats, the Middle Group. These are people of learning, taste, and honor. In *The Gilded Age*, they are the Boltons of Philadelphia and the Montagues of New England. But for all their merits, such people are no match for the Parvenus. Sharp operators regularly dupe the generous but gullible Mr. Bolton. For his part, the high-minded Squire Montague maintains an admirable household where “there was always so much talk . . . of the news of the day, of the new books and of authors, of Boston radicalism and New York civilization, and the virtue of Congress.” But for all their fine talk and head shaking, men like the good Squire remain aloof from the unseemly nexus of money and power and so have no positive effect on public affairs.

Civic life may have been irredeemable, but individual goodness is not entirely absent from *The Gilded Age*. Readers could take heart from the spontaneous kindness of Squire and Mrs. Hawkins, who take in a distraught small boy whose mother has recently died and a young girl who has lost her parents in a steamboat accident; from Ruth Bolton’s attempt to elevate her gender and serve humanity by studying medicine; from Alice Montague’s selfless devotion to friends; and from Philip Sterling’s dedication and honesty.

Although known principally for its satirical treatment of politics, *The Gilded Age* contains other elements, including stories of passion and unrequited love, a melodramatic murder complete with sensational trial (all the better to ridicule the judiciary), and a disastrous steamboat race. Twain and Warner occasionally rely on Dickensian touches, not least of which is the novel’s most interesting and amusing character, the Micawber-like Colonel Sellers, whose grandiose but unfounded (and unfunded) schemes are usually, but not always, harmless.

*The Gilded Age* is set in Tennessee, Missouri, Philadelphia, New York City, New England, and the nation’s capital. Tennessee is a place of backwardness and false hopes, while Missouri is a virgin land sullied by rapacious financial interests. Philadelphia is grand and almost good; New York is grand and bad. New England is high-minded, cultured, and venerable. As for Washington, it is not the city of hallowed traditions and monuments, but a den of wheeler-dealers whose brazenness would make the most disreputable frontier boomtown seem prim by comparison.

The response to *The Gilded Age* was mixed. It sold well, but critics were divided. Some newspapers that were allied with the persons and interests that Twain and Warner had excoriated accused the authors of seeking to profit from the misfortune of others. Neutral critics found it noteworthy that two popular humorists had turned to satire. A few were disappointed in the results; others were delighted by the authors’ new seriousness.

Whatever its strengths and weaknesses, *The Gilded Age* is noteworthy as Mark Twain’s first attempt at writing

a novel, albeit in collaboration. That Charles Dudley Warner was an easterner and Twain a westerner may account for the fault line between the regions in their story. In *The Gilded Age* the East is urban, sophisticated, and (except for people like the Montagues and Boltons) corrupt; the West is rural, simple, and innocent—ripe for exploitation. Even the shameless self-promoting Missourian, Colonel Sellers, seems a mere bumpkin compared to the oily lobbyists and politicians of Washington. In general, Dudley Warner developed the eastern scenes and characters (Philip Sterling, the Boltons, and the Montagues), while Colonel Sellers, the Hawkins family, and the Missouri setting are unmistakably Twain’s work. For the story line about the Hawkins’s land holdings, Twain tapped the experience of his wife’s family, which had inherited undeveloped land in Tennessee. For the book’s delineation of congressional skullduggery, Twain drew on his own brief and unsatisfactory experience in Washington as personal secretary to Senator William Stewart of Nevada. Current events inspired other characters and incidents. Senator Samuel Pomeroy was the model for the sanctimonious and corrupt Senator Dilworthy. The charming but doomed Laura Hawkins is the fictional counterpart of Mrs. Laura Fair, the defendant in a much-publicized murder trial.

*The Gilded Age* collaboration extended beyond Twain and Warner. The novel features unique chapter headings consisting of arcane mottoes in a variety of foreign languages. The noted scholar J. Hammond Trumbull suggested the mottoes and provided translations at the end of the narrative. In addition, the book included illustrations by Augustus Hoppin. (Political cartoonist THOMAS NAST, Boss Tweed’s arch-enemy, declined the commission.)

*The Gilded Age* had a complex afterlife. In 1874 playwright George Densmore staged an unauthorized adaptation of the novel. After Twain sued Densmore, the two litigants collaborated on a reworked version that was produced in New York as *The Gilded Age*. Subsequently, Twain, this time with Charles Dudley Warner, created yet another stage adaptation, this time calling it *Colonel Sellers*. Twain and WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS wrote a sequel that they called *The American Claimant* (1887). The New York production flopped, but Twain published a novelization in 1892. Compared with *The Gilded Age*, it seems less a sequel than an afterthought.

See also LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** Philip Fisher, *Still the New World: American Literature in a Culture of Creative Destruction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999); Morey French, *Mark Twain and The Gilded Age: The Book That Named an Era* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1965); Justin Kaplan, *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain: A Biography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1966); Alan



Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1982); Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, *The Gilded Age*, foreword by Shelley Fisher Fishkin, introduction by Ward Just, afterword by Gregg Camfield (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

—William Hughes

**Gilder, Richard Watson** (1844–1909) *editor, poet*

The Gilded Age's preeminent magazine editor and a minor poet, Richard W. Gilder was born on February 8, 1844, in Bordentown, New Jersey. He was educated at girl's schools, which his father headed in Flushing and Yonkers, New York. He read widely and was early fascinated by newspapers. At the age of 12, he frequented the office of the Flushing *Long Island Times* and even set type for that paper. In 1861, with the outbreak of the Civil War, Gilder's father, who was a Methodist minister, became an army chaplain, and the family returned to Bordentown, where Gilder briefly studied law. After his father died from smallpox in 1864, Gilder secured a job as paymaster on the Camden & Amboy Railroad. In Newark, he met Ellen Clementine Howarth, whose poems he edited with an introduction in 1868, launching his career in literature.

After working briefly on Newark newspapers, Gilder, in 1869, was hired by Charles Scribner, the publisher, to assist in editing *Hours at Home*, a magazine that was designed to sell Scribner's books. Within a few months Gilder became its editor. In November 1870 Scribner replaced *Hours at Home* with *Scribner's Monthly Magazine*, hired Josiah Gilbert Holland as its editor and made Gilder his assistant. With Holland insisting on editorial independence, disdaining "harmless and inoffensive literary pap," and proposing to "boldly lead in the denunciation of social and political abuses," *Scribner's* soon joined *Harper's* and the *Atlantic* as a leading monthly literary magazine. Gilder was *Scribner's* managing editor, wrote a monthly column (*The Old Cabinet*), and was responsible for illustrations, which were in advance of its rivals. The author HELEN HUNT JACKSON introduced him in 1872 to Helena de Kay, an art student at Cooper Union, for whom he wrote and published love sonnets in *Scribner's*. They married on June 3, 1874, and their home became a gathering place for such artists as JOHN LA FARGE and AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS; architects like STANFORD WHITE; writers such as Walt Whitman and MARK TWAIN; actors like JOSEPH JEFFERSON III; and politicians, among them GROVER CLEVELAND and Theodore Roosevelt. Their daughter Rosamond, one of two children, became a distinguished THEATER critic.

In November 1881 *Scribner's* was renamed the *Century Monthly Magazine*, its connection with the publishing house was severed, and Gilder was named its editor.

Under his leadership the *Century* distanced its competitors, using primarily history and biography. A serial treatment of the life of Peter the Great, run in *Scribner's* last year, encouraged Gilder to publish in 13 issues Edward Eggleston's *A History of Life in the Thirteen Colonies*. Its success prompted Gilder to embark on his greatest project, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, which ran from 1884 to 1889 and doubled circulation from 125,000 to 250,000. These eyewitness accounts by Union and Confederate participants, from privates to generals (including Ulysses S. Grant, Joseph E. Johnston, William T. Sherman, George B. McClellan, as well as Admiral David Dixon Porter) were fascinating and valuable. Assuming success would breed success, Gilder serialized an abridged version of John G. Nicolay and John Hay's 10-volume *Abraham Lincoln: A History* but, while adding prestige, lost the *Century* readers. A third great nonfiction series, *Siberia and the Exile System*, by George Kennan, graphically illustrated by George A. Frost, exposed the appalling conditions suffered by political prisoners in czarist Russia. The series had an enormous influence in America, Europe, and liberal circles in Russia, where it was surreptitiously circulated.

The quality of the *Century's* woodcut engravings magnified the impact of its articles. Its engravers, of whom perhaps Timothy Cole was the best, did justice to the outstanding artists Gilder recruited. Financed by the *Century*, Eggleston discovered in the British Museum John White's 16th-century drawings of Virginia Native people. WINSLOW HOMER reworked 15 of his wartime drawings for the *Battles and Leaders* series, which also drew upon the photographs of Mathew Brady. Other outstanding illustrations included Charles Dana Gibson's fashionable Gibson Girl, Frederic Remington's cavalymen and cowboys, and Joseph Pennell's New York skyscrapers and French cathedrals.

Gilder was the arbiter of the *Century's* taste in fiction. While not as prudish as Holland had been, Gilder was in the genteel tradition. He eliminated slang, vulgarity, and sex in what he published. On the other hand, he ran Whitman's poetry, tolerated a degree of realism if employed to uplift the reader, and published the notable realists WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, HENRY JAMES, and Twain. He rejected STEPHEN CRANE's *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893), thinking it too cruel. A housing reformer, Gilder knew the slums and acknowledged to Crane the accuracy of *Maggie*. Gilder was chairman of the 1894 New York Tenement Housing Committee and a consistent opponent of Tammany Hall. He died on November 18, 1909.

**Further reading:** Arthur John, *The Best Years of the Century: Richard Watson Gilder, Scribner's Monthly, and the Century Magazine, 1870–1909* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Herbert F. Smith, *Richard Watson Gilder* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970).



**Gilman, Daniel Coit** (1831–1908) *higher education reformer, president of Johns Hopkins University*

A university president renowned for his promotion of graduate studies, Daniel C. Gilman was born in Norwich, Connecticut, on July 6, 1831. He attended Norwich Academy and entered Yale College in 1848, where he met ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, who became his lifelong friend. After graduation in 1852 Gilman studied geography for a year at Harvard, and in late 1853 he and White were appointed unpaid attaches to the new minister to Russia, Thomas Hart Seymour, the former governor of Connecticut. Gilman remained in Europe for two years, traveling, observing, and being inspired by universities in Germany, France, and Britain.

Shortly after his return to the United States, Gilman went back to Yale. In 1856 he started as assistant director of the library, but he also helped draw up plans for the reorganization of Yale's Sheffield Scientific School and was employed to raise funds for that school. On December 4, 1861, he married Mary Ketcham; they had two daughters. By 1862 Gilman had become director of Yale's library, and in 1863 he was also named professor of physical geography in the Sheffield school. Limited funds made his library position frustrating. Unable to develop a library that would facilitate research, he resigned in 1865 and concentrated his efforts on the Sheffield Scientific School. To raise funds for it he promoted the virtues of a science education and gained a broad perspective for the school's programs. From 1866 to 1872 he was secretary of the Sheffield school's governing board and was largely responsible for the school's success. But beginning in 1871 Noah Porter, the new president of Yale, de-emphasized the graduate programs, and the Sheffield school suffered. Porter's changes on top of the severe personal blow Gilman received when his wife died in 1869 left him open to a new position.

Gilman's success at the Sheffield Scientific School led to his appointment in 1872 as president of the University of California at Berkeley. A mere 23 years after the gold rush, Gilman envisioned a university with an ambitious graduate program, tailored for the people of California. His dream was prophetic, but it would take generations to achieve. Slow progress toward his goal made Gilman restless. He let his friend White, who had recently launched Cornell University and was its first president, know in 1874 that he wanted to move, and by the end of the year he had an offer.

Johns Hopkins, a wealthy Quaker, through his will endowed, with \$3.5 million, a hospital for Baltimore and the same amount for a university. The Hopkins trustees, in October 1874, offered Gilman the presidency of the yet-unfounded Johns Hopkins University; he accepted and became its president in January 1875. Given his observations in Europe, his work at Yale, and his dreams

at Berkeley, Gilman was equipped to build a modern university. He envisioned a strong graduate program and prescribed the requirements, with the emphasis on research, for the Ph.D. degree. These requirements were soon adopted with minor changes by universities throughout the nation. In recruiting an outstanding faculty, Gilman consulted widely in the United States and Europe and hired people such as RICHARD THEODORE ELY in 1881, who led an assault on classical economic dogmas. Of equal importance Gilman instituted a fellowship program that attracted promising students throughout the country, including JOSIAH ROYCE and FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER. To avoid the clash between graduate programs in the sciences and social sciences with traditional undergraduate programs rooted in the classics, Gilman devised a group system of studies, whose courses, including the classics, would complement on an undergraduate level the graduate program. Gilman chose Thomas Huxley, the agnostic apostle of EVOLUTION, to deliver the Johns Hopkins University inaugural address in 1876. His presence and the absence of a prayer gave notice that Johns Hopkins would be secular and progressive. With the university under way, Gilman, in 1877, married Elisabeth Dwight Woolsey, the daughter of Theodore Dwight Woolsey, Porter's predecessor as president of Yale.

Gilman also participated in the establishment of the Hopkins Hospital, which was delayed until 1889. He prevented the hospital from teaching medicine by emphasizing that Johns Hopkins, its creator, intended that the medical school be a part of the university. Gilman's solution that the university teach MEDICINE and the hospital care for the sick was accepted. If conflict should arise, the boards could work out differences. The Hopkins Medical School, with its legendary faculty (including Sir William Osler and William H. Welch), was on the cutting edge of medical science from its inception. The medical school became the premier graduate program among many superb programs at Hopkins, and together they account for Gilman's renown as "the patron saint of the American graduate school."

In 1902 Gilman retired as president of Johns Hopkins, and on ANDREW CARNEGIE's insistence became president of the Carnegie Institution in Washington, D.C. It was designed to encourage research, and Gilman thought it should be tied to university graduate programs. Gilman remained only two years in that position. Although the Carnegie Institution promoted scientific research, it did not become associated with graduate programs. Gilman also worked closely with former president RUTHERFORD B. HAYES on the Slater Fund for educating black students and became president of the American Social Science Association in 1879. He died on October 13, 1908, in Norwich.

**Further reading:** Francesco Cordasco, *The Shaping of American Graduate Education: Daniel Coit Gilman and the Protean Ph.D.* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1973); Abraham Flexner, *Daniel Coit Gilman: Creator of the American Type of University* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1946).

**Gladden, Washington** (1836–1918) *leader of Social Gospel movement*

Born in Pottsgrove, Pennsylvania, on February 11, 1836, Washington Gladden was a notable early voice of the SOCIAL GOSPEL movement. He rejected the orthodox Calvinism of his youth and believed that salvation was achieved not through doctrinal beliefs but by accepting the love of God and living it every day. Beginning in 1860 Gladden ministered to various Congregational churches in New York and Massachusetts, but especially in Columbus, Ohio, from 1883–1918.

Gladden's emphasis on the commandment of Jesus to love God and one's neighbor led him to confront the social, economic, and political problems engendered by rapid industrialization and urbanization. With his conviction that the churches had to do more than target personal sin and had to help solve social problems, Gladden took up the moral torch carried by the abolitionists and became the first voice of what became known as the Social Gospel. Aware that workers were not getting their fair share of profits, Gladden was an early advocate of labor unions. At first he thought strikes were counterproductive, but in time the intransigence of capitalists made him more militant. He was a firm believer in government regulation of industry and ownership of utilities, but he opposed SOCIALISM as too bureaucratic and too stifling of individual enterprise. He was an urban reformer favoring municipal home rule and worked to establish social services and cultural opportunities in Columbus. Two of his books, *Social Salvation* (1902) and *The Church and Modern Life* (1908), effectively sum up the Social Gospel. Gladden supported virtually every reform encompassed by PROGRESSIVISM IN THE 1890s and early 20th century, and his death on July 2, 1918, during World War I, quite coincidentally marked the demise of both the Progressive Era and the vogue of the Social Gospel.

**Further reading:** Jacob H. Dorn, *Washington Gladden: Prophet of the Social Gospel* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1967).

—W. Frederick Wooden

**Godkin, Edwin Lawrence** (1831–1902) *journalist*

An influential newspaper man, Edwin Godkin established new standards for American journalism by using his sharp wit and stronger pen in support of political reform. He was

born in Ireland on October 2, 1831, and was the eldest child of Reverend James and Sarah Lawrence Godkin. Although his parents were English, Godkin's father allied himself early on with home rule for Ireland and was a prolific controversial writer, a dissenting clergyman who often served as a correspondent for the *London Times*.

Edwin was sickly as a child, but he was sent to England, near Leeds, for his schooling. He returned to Ireland to earn an undergraduate degree from Queen's College, Belfast, in 1851. Shortly after graduation, Godkin decided to study law in London, but anxious to utilize his training in history, economics, and political theory, he abandoned law for political journalism. He joined the staff of John Cassell's radical magazine, *The Workingmen's Friend*, and supported the recent Hungarian revolution in a series of articles that Cassell in 1853 published in book form as *The History of Hungary and the Magyars*. In 1854 he traveled to Hungary and was warmly received by revolutionaries. For two years (1853–55) he served as a correspondent for the *London Daily News* during the Crimean War, gaining a grasp of military theory and a hatred of war that often showed in his scathing language about it throughout his life.

Godkin immigrated to the United States in 1856 and continued to send letters to the *Daily News*. A tour of the South confirmed his antislavery views, and during the Civil War he edited the *Sanitary Commission Bulletin* as well as contributed to the *New York Times*. After the war Godkin, with his transatlantic reputation as a journalist and writer, accepted a position as the first editor (1865–1900) of the *NATION*, a weekly magazine. Although its founders wanted *The Nation* to improve the condition of former slaves, Godkin soon ignored them and denounced as corrupt the black, carpetbagger, and Reconstruction governments in the South. Consistent with his 19th-century liberalism, Godkin believed in economic individualism and laissez-faire and opposed any government involvement in social causes. No longer "the workingmen's friend," he opposed labor unions. Under his reign *The Nation*, with its stinging prose, assailed political corruption in President Ulysses S. Grant's Republican administration and in New York City under the control of the Democratic party's Tammany Hall. He was an ardent advocate of CIVIL SERVICE REFORM and, in keeping with his laissez-faire philosophy, supported a tariff to raise revenue but not to protect industry and also favored a currency based on the gold standard.

In 1881 Godkin accepted a larger journalistic opportunity as editor of a daily newspaper, the *New York Evening Post*. Editing both publications, Godkin combined selected editorial content from *The Nation* with the *Evening Post* and handled large issues independently without favoring any political party. Because of his broad interest in history, economics, and political theory, his influence upon the press and public opinion was strong and persuasive.

Although his publications never had more than 35,000 subscribers, he was read by the clergy, lawyers, and college professors, who disseminated his views to wider publics. Godkin was often considered a “voice of reason.” In 1898, for example, when other newspapers were urging the United States to go to war with Spain, Godkin was stalwart in his belief that the war would be wrong. The war, which did occur, added to the growing pessimism he expressed in three books published in the 1890s: *Reflections and Comments* (1895), *Problems of Modern Democracy* (1896), and *Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy* (1898).

Always writing with indignation and a strong affinity for prosaic language, Godkin cared more for the editorial than the news pages of his publications. He often said he did not try to compete with other newspapers of the day but chose instead to be known for opinion and activist reform. Ill health forced Godkin to step down from his post in 1900, but he continued to write articles for the *North American Review*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Scribner's* among other magazines. He died in Brixham, England, on May 21, 1902.

**Further reading:** William M. Armstrong, *E. L. Godkin: A Biography* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978); William M. Armstrong, ed., *The Gilded Age Letters of E. L. Godkin* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974).

—Ellen Tashie Frisina

**gold and silver mining** See MINING: METAL AND COAL.

**gold reserve** See CURRENCY ISSUE.

**Gold Standard Act** (1900) See CURRENCY ISSUE.

**Gompers, Samuel** (1850–1924) *union leader*

Born on January 27, 1850, in London, England, labor leader Samuel Gompers attended school for four years before getting a job to supplement his family's income. He tried shoemaking for a short time before deciding to become a cigarmaker. In 1863 Gompers moved with his family to America, where they settled in New York City. Although he attended lectures at the Cooper Union, his greatest exposure to ideas was in the workplace; cigar makers broke the monotony of their jobs by hiring someone to read to them while working. A fellow worker, Ferdinand Laurel, introduced him to SOCIALISM but cautioned him to avoid the trap of ideology. Gompers carried this admonition with him all his life, consistently measuring issues by how they would affect the union and not against an ideological orthodoxy.



Samuel Gompers (Dover Publications)

A union member in England, Gompers joined a New York local of the Cigarmakers International in America, but he was an apathetic member until the early 1870s. The cigar mold, which allowed nonskilled workers to form the filler or interior of the cigar, was being adopted in New York, and skilled cigarmakers were losing their jobs. Initially, the union did not organize the unskilled workers, with the result that by 1872 Gompers's local union had less than 50 members.

Gompers and a friend, Adolph Strasser, began to rebuild the union by accepting the mold (arguing that it was efficient and inevitable) and by recruiting the unskilled cigarmakers. By 1875 they recruited 245 members, making it the largest union of cigarmakers in the United States. Two years later, however, the union suffered a major defeat. Manufacturers switched production from shops to tenements, where immigrant families made cigars on a contract basis under deplorable conditions. In 1877 the exploited and unorganized tenement cigarmakers went on strike. Against the wishes of their leaders, the local's membership voted to support them. The strike failed after exhausting the union's treasury, but Gompers learned from the experience.

Also in 1877 Strasser and Gompers gained control of the Cigarmakers International and began a reorganization based on the lessons of the recent strike and upon Gompers's experience with English trade unions. Only workers in the trade could become members. Membership carried sick and death benefits. Central officers were supreme, and all strikes



required their prior approval. If necessary, the union would break unauthorized walkouts. The union charged high dues to pay the benefits and build a sizable reserve fund to cushion economic recessions. Other trade unions adopted this successful model and recognized their debt to Gompers in 1886 by electing him president of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL), a position he held, with the exception of one year, until his death on December 13, 1924.

Gompers used his presidency of the AFL as a pulpit for expounding his philosophy of wage-conscious unionism. Labor unions, he argued, should only be concerned with the economic conditions of their members, not with creating utopias, forming political parties, organizing producers cooperatives, or reforming society. Collective bargaining, strikes, and boycotts conducted by businesslike unions were the only means of improving wages and working conditions. The AFL made no attempt to organize unskilled workers, but Gompers argued that unorganized unskilled workers often benefitted from the better wages, hours, and working conditions won by union labor.

**Further reading:** Harold C. Livesay, *Samuel Gompers and Organized Labor in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1978).

—Harold W. Aurand

### **Gould, Jay** (1836–1892) *businessman, financier*

Jay Gould was the most notorious financier of the Gilded age. Born Jason Gould on May 27, 1836, in Roxbury, New York—the son of Mary More and John Gould, a farmer and storekeeper—Jay Gould studied in local schools before going to work as a clerk in his father's store at age 16. An unusually serious and ambitious youth, he invented a mousetrap before he was out of school, and by the time he was 17 he had taught himself surveying and formed his own company to practice it. He made maps, which he sold at a reasonable price, and at the age of 19 wrote a 426-page history of Delaware County that a century and a half later was still recognized as the definitive work on the early history of his region of New York. From 1856 to 1859 Gould and partners operated a tannery in Pennsylvania, but disagreements followed by the suicide of one of the partners led Gould to abandon tanning and take up finance on New York's Wall Street.

Gould quickly mastered the intricacies of finance and was phenomenally successful. Arriving at Wall Street with almost nothing to invest, according to a contemporary source, he made himself a millionaire long before the end of the Civil War. In 1863 he married Helen Day Miller, with whom he had six children and lived in exemplary domestic harmony until her death in 1889. He loved books and flowers, especially orchids.

Gould had a particular passion for RAILROADS. In 1867 he joined Jim Fisk and Daniel Drew on the board of

directors of the Erie Railroad and frustrated the monopolistic attempt by CORNELIUS VANDERBILT of the New York Central Railroad to control it. But in doing so Gould and Fisk allied themselves with the spectacularly corrupt TWEED RING, issued \$8 million in watered stock for the Erie in defiance of a restraining order, and spent a reported \$1 million bribing the New York legislature to legalize the action. In 1868 Gould became president and treasurer of the Erie and had grand schemes for its expansion, but the Tweed Ring was destroyed, Fisk was murdered, and Gould in 1872 was ousted from control of the Erie. In 1869, in a move linked to his ambitious plans for the Erie, Gould (with Fisk) attempted to corner the gold market on “Black Friday,” precipitating a Wall Street panic and reputedly sharing profits of \$11 million with Fisk.

Gould's participation in the Erie War and the Black Friday scheme caused him to be reviled as a “robber baron,” but ironically his subsequent career was more constructive, more responsible, than his earlier corrupt, dishonest rise. Gould was a talented, efficient administrator and a man of vision. From 1874 to 1878 he controlled the Union Pacific Railroad, which he improved during those years. Yet he forced the Union Pacific to buy at par the Kansas Pacific, which he controlled, netting him \$10 million that he used to build a railroad empire in the Southwest, including the Missouri Pacific and the Texas & Pacific. By 1880 he controlled more than 8,000 miles of railroad, more than any other individual in the world, and in 1881 he gained control of the Western Union telegraph system and the Manhattan elevated transit system, all of which he administered very carefully. Nevertheless, when he died on December 2, 1892, he had not lived down his reputation as the most hated man in America, and he remains the most widely reviled capitalist in American history.

**Further reading:** Maury Klein, *The Life and Legend of Jay Gould* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1986).

—Dennis Wepman

**graduate education** See EDUCATION, HIGHER.

**Grady, Henry** See NEW SOUTH.

### **Grand Army of the Republic**

The Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) was formed after the Civil War as a fraternal organization for veterans of the Union army. It was first organized in the spring of 1866 by a group of veterans in Springfield, Illinois, led by Dr. Benjamin F. Stephenson. GAR posts were established in several states, and their first National Encampment (the GAR's version of a national convention) was held in November at



Indianapolis, Indiana. Initially, the GAR grew slowly, but between 1881 and 1882 its membership rose from approximately 87,718 to 131,900; by 1890 membership in the GAR reached 409,489, making it the largest and most powerful veterans' organization in the United States.

Although it originally avoided political involvement, the GAR became a major political force, influencing several elections with its financial support and partisan electioneering for Republican candidates. The principal goals of the GAR were to increase pensions and other benefits for veterans and their families and to remember those who died in the war. The GAR was instrumental in securing the observance of Decoration Day (currently observed as Memorial Day, commemorating all war dead) in 1868 to honor those who gave their lives for the Union during the Civil War. The GAR successfully pressed for the 1879 Pension Arrears Act, which provided for back pensions (to the date of discharge) for disabled Union veterans. In 1887 Congress passed the Dependents Pension bill, granting a pension of \$12 a month to all Union veterans suffering from any disability that prevented them from earning a living and gave the same pension to the dependent parents and widows of a deceased veteran. Although the GAR had lobbied Congress for many years to pass such a bill, President GROVER CLEVELAND vetoed it, earning for himself the enmity of the GAR. In the 1888 presidential election, the GAR supported BENJAMIN HARRISON, the Republican candidate. Harrison not only triumphed but the Republicans also carried both houses of Congress. In 1890 Congress passed and President Harrison signed the Dependents Pension Act, which embodied many of the same features of the earlier bill. The law doubled the number of pensioners from 490,000 to 966,00 and ensured that the GAR would remain a virtual wing of the Republican Party.

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— Phillip Papas

### grandfather clause (1895–1910)

Most AFRICAN AMERICANS were not permitted to vote in the United States until they were enfranchised in the former Confederacy by the act of March 2, 1867, and in the rest of the nation in 1870 by the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Following the end of Reconstruction, white southerners used various means to disfranchise black voters such as literacy tests, good-character requirements, and poll taxes. The grandfather clause, however, exempted impoverished and illiterate whites from these restrictions.

Beginning with South Carolina in 1895, seven states used the grandfather clause, which declared that those who voted prior to January 1, 1867, and their lineal descendants were exempt from property, educational, or tax requirements for exercising the franchise. Following South Carolina, Louisiana (1898), North Carolina (1900), Alabama (1901), Virginia (1902), Georgia (1908), and Oklahoma (1910) adopted the grandfather clause. Although the grandfather clause was applicable for a limited period (except in Oklahoma), its effect in disfranchising black voters was devastating and lasting. For example, in Louisiana the already low African-American voter registration dropped from 130,734 in 1896 to 1,324 in 1904. Apart from Oklahoma, where blacks composed only 7 percent of the population, the states that employed the grandfather clause to suppress the black vote disfranchised either a majority or a substantial minority of their citizens and created a “lily white” electorate. The percentage of blacks in those states ranged from 58 percent in South Carolina to 33 percent in North Carolina.

The permanent grandfather clause was challenged in Oklahoma after election judges denied an African American the privilege of voting. They were indicted and convicted for conspiring to deny a citizen his constitutional rights under federal statutes. The U.S. Supreme Court heard the case of *Guinn v. United States* in 1913 and decided unanimously in 1915 that the grandfather clause obviously violated the Fifteenth Amendment and struck it down. The decision, however, had little practical effect, since the grandfather clause in other states had already disfranchised African Americans and had lapsed, and the small number of blacks in Oklahoma were disfranchised by other devices.

**Further reading:** Loren Miller, *The Petitioners: The Story of the Supreme Court of the United States* (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1967).

—William Seraile

**Granger laws** See RAILROADS.

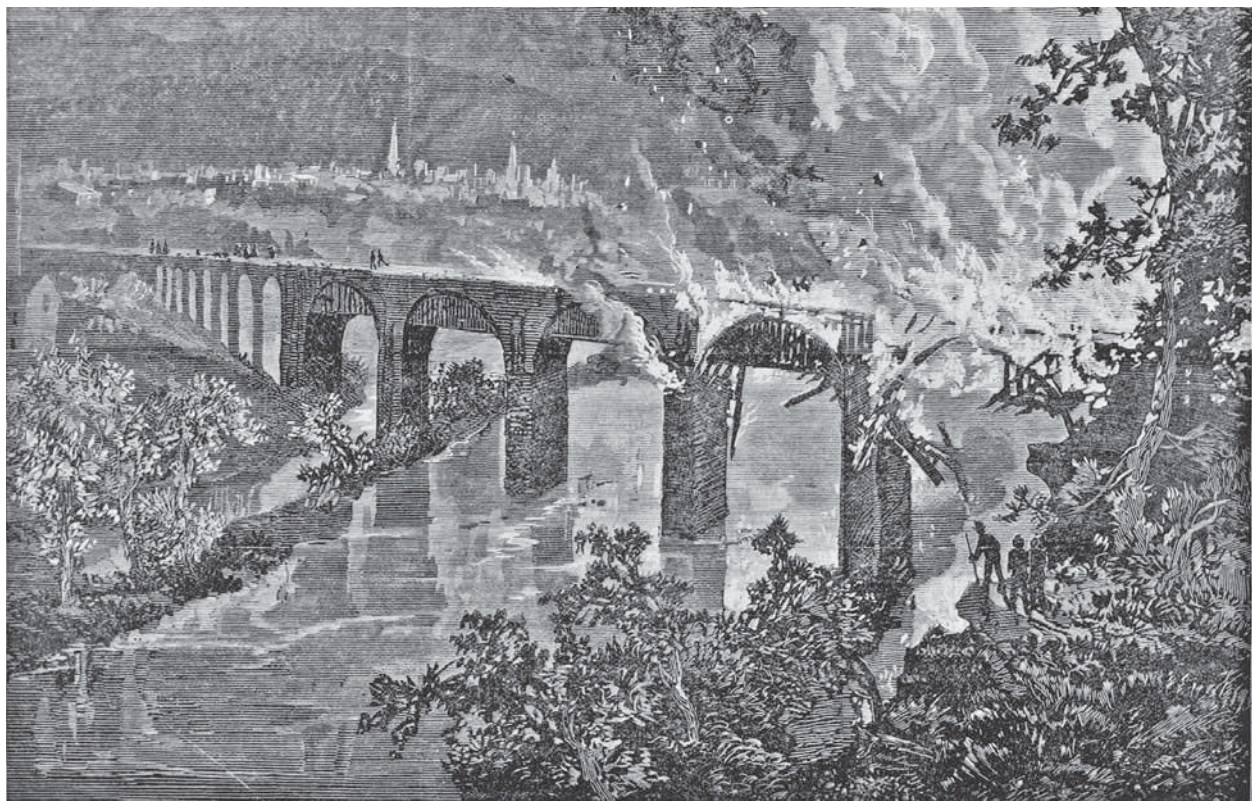
**Granger movement** See PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY.

**Grant, Ulysses S.** See VOLUME V.

### Great Strike of 1877

The Great Strike of 1877 was a series of spontaneous railroad strikes between July 16 and August 5 that collectively involved the largest number of people in a labor conflict in the 19th century. Four years of layoffs and wage reductions as high as 35 percent had angered railroad workers. The workers' frustration slowly boiled over when the major





Engravings of the Great Strike of 1877 (*Library of Congress*)



eastern RAILROADS announced another round of wage cuts during the early summer of 1877.

On July 16 a small group of workers on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (B&O) refused to move trains at Camden Junction, Maryland. Local authorities dispersed the strikers and restored traffic on the line. Two days later, however, B&O trainmen at Martinsburg, West Virginia, refused to work. Finding local authorities unable or unwilling to end the strike, management asked Governor Henry M. Mathews to send in state troops to suppress the crowd. Discovering the militia ineffective, the company persuaded Mathews to request federal troops. With some misgiving President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES accepted the governor's definition of the strike as a domestic insurrection and sent in the army to keep the peace. But by this time the strike was spreading throughout the country, stopping the flow of railroad traffic at Pittsburgh, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, and many smaller cities.

Violence also escalated as unemployed men and boys joined the strikers and rioters. In Pittsburgh, for example, local elements of the state militia would not prevent the mob from looting and burning the property of the hated Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR). Authorities then ordered in the militia from Philadelphia, Pittsburgh's eastern rival. Crowds stoned the troops' train as it traveled westward. At Pittsburgh the Philadelphians fired into the crowd, killing 26 people. The angry mob forced the troopers into a roundhouse, set it on fire, and drove them out of town. In Reading, Pennsylvania, one militia company threatened to fire into another if it continued to harass strikers. Small detachments of federal troops were dispatched to Pittsburgh and elsewhere to restore order. Universally respected, the U.S. Army neither fired any shots at rioters nor were they fired upon. By August 5 most strikes were over.

The Great Strike was a traumatic experience for the American public. It was a spontaneous upheaval that smacked of European-style class warfare. Together with the recent MOLLY MAGUIRES episode, the Great Strike justified for some the notion that labor protest was sinister and un-American. As a result, states built armories in their industrial centers, and some enacted conspiracy laws that could be used against labor. But the Great Strike also made the public aware of the real grievances railroad workers had against management. The *New York Times* recognized that "beneath the vicious elements which produced the riots, the country traces evidence of hardship, of suffering, of destitution to an extent for which it was unprepared." Indeed, even railroad managers conceded that the cut in pay was more costly than an increase would have been and began restoring the wage cuts that caused the strike.

Although Hayes has been accused of breaking the Great Strike, he did not. He sent in troops only when properly requested by state and local officials, ordering them to

protect government and private property and not "to quell the strikers or run the trains" and refusing the demands of THOMAS A. SCOTT of the PRR to use the pretext of obstruction of the mails for intervention, a tactic adopted by President GROVER CLEVELAND in the 1894 PULLMAN STRIKE. Hayes, however, did enforce injunctions issued by federal courts acting as receivers for bankrupt railroads. After the Pullman Strike, the injunction was also used to protect solvent corporations and would become a powerful tool to break strikes.

Government action during the strike temporarily thrust labor into politics. In New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, Workingmen's Parties attracted a significant number of votes during the fall elections. In 1878 some labor leaders attended the founding convention of the GREENBACK-LABOR PARTY, which enjoyed some success that year. But despite the name, it appealed primarily to farmers and not to workingmen.

**Further reading:** Robert V. Bruce, *1877: Year of Violence* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1959); Gerald G. Eggert, *Railroad Labor Disputes: The Beginnings of Federal Strike Policy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967).

—Harold W. Aurand

**Greeley, Horace** See VOLUME V.

### Greenback-Labor Party

During the crisis of the Civil War the federal government had issued \$450 million of fiat paper money (not backed by gold) called greenbacks, which depreciated in value and drove gold out of circulation. After the war the number of greenbacks was reduced to under \$400 million. While conservative banking and creditor interests applauded contraction and deflation, agrarian and many business interests were alarmed and succeeded in stopping the contraction. During the second administration of President Ulysses S. Grant (a hard-money man), the United States plunged into a serious depression following the panic of 1873. Debtor groups pressed the government to increase the number of greenbacks in circulation, while supporters of "sound money" wanted a currency based on the gold standard.

The greenback question became one of the primary points of contention in the post-Civil War period, and CONGRESS reacted inconsistently. In April 1874 Grant vetoed its bill that would have increased greenbacks to \$400 million; in June 1874 Congress placed a \$382 million ceiling on greenbacks; and in January 1875 it passed the Specie Resumption Act, calling for the reduction of greenbacks to \$300 million and their redemption with gold dollars by Jan-

uary 1, 1879. But the Specie Resumption Act also required that for every \$80 in greenbacks retired, \$100 in national bank notes had to go into circulation. However, the amount of national bank notes issued did not meet expectations, and the contraction of greenbacks stopped at \$347 million. The overall result of the legislation was to appreciate the value of greenbacks.

Reacting to the Specie Resumption Act, the advocates of greenbacks ("soft money") conferred in Cleveland and Cincinnati, Ohio; held a convention in May 1876 in Indianapolis, Indiana; and organized a National Independent (Greenback) Party. These Greenbackers—including farmers, labor reformers, and some businessmen—called for the repeal of the Specie Resumption Act and nominated for president the 85-year-old philanthropist Peter Cooper, who polled less than 1 percent of the popular vote (82,000 votes). While all Greenbackers wanted an increase in the number of greenbacks, most were not in favor of a runaway inflation but, rather, a managed currency that would better reflect the needs of the economy. Following the labor strife of the late 1870s, several workingmen's groups joined the Greenback movement. The new coalition came to be known as the Greenback-Labor Party. Thereafter, the Greenbackers not only supported currency inflation but also promoted an eight-hour workday, the creation of a government labor bureau, and the restriction of Chinese immigration. Primarily agrarian, but bolstered by labor support, the party candidates fared better in the 1878 midterm elections as

15 Greenbackers were elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and countless others to state and local offices. In 1880 the Greenback-Labor presidential candidate General James B. Weaver of Iowa gained 300,000 votes, but in the 1884 election Greenbacker Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts received only 175,000 votes.

By the middle 1880s the Greenback-Labor Party had all but collapsed. Subsequently, the Greenbackers joined the FREE SILVER MOVEMENT to agitate for currency expansion. Although it had only limited political success, the Greenback-Labor Party did encourage voters to act independently of the two major parties and trained some of the leaders of the PEOPLE'S PARTY (Populists).

See also CRIME OF '73; CURRENCY ISSUE; POLITICAL PARTIES, THIRD.

**Further reading:** Mark A. Lause, *The Civil War's Last Campaign: James B. Weaver, The Greenback-Labor Party and the Politics of Race and Section* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2001); Walter T. K. Nugent, *Money and American Society, 1865–1880* (New York: Free Press, 1968); Robert P. Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party: An Economic Study of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1959); Irwin Unger, *The Greenback Era: A Social and Political History of American Finance, 1865–1879* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964).

—Phillip Papas







**Half Breeds** See REPUBLICAN PARTY.

**Hall, Granville Stanley** (1844–1924) *psychologist, education reformer*

The pioneering champion of scientific psychology in the United States, G. Stanley Hall was born on February 1, 1844, in Ashfield, Massachusetts. Upon graduation from Williams College in 1867, he entered Union Theological Seminary, studied philosophy in Berlin, Germany (1869–70), and received his divinity degree from Union Theological Seminary. Deciding he would rather teach than preach, he taught philosophy and literature at Antioch College from 1872 to 1876. Next, he studied psychology under WILLIAM JAMES at Harvard, where in 1878 he earned the first Ph.D. in psychology awarded in the United States. Unable to get a professorial appointment in psychology, Hall went to Germany for laboratory training in physiological psychology. While in Berlin in 1879, he married Cornelia Fisher, an American art student. They had two children.

When Hall returned to the United States in 1880, he had already caused a stir in intellectual circles. His 1879 article published in the journal *Mind* characterized the instruction of “Philosophy in the United States” as “medieval.” Hall, however, failed to get an appointment in psychology. A few months after his return Harvard president CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT invited Hall to deliver a series of well-received lectures on pedagogy. Influenced by experimental psychology, he called for educational reform, advancing the evolutionary idea that the pupil naturally repeats “the course of the development of the race, and education is simply the expediting and shortening of this course.”

Recently established in 1876, Johns Hopkins University appointed Hall an instructor of psychology and pedagogy in 1882 and provided him with \$1,000 to set up a psychological laboratory. Led by DANIEL COIT GILMAN, Johns Hopkins was on the cutting edge of scientific devel-

opment. The following year Hall furthered the cause of educational reform and helped establish himself as a leading critic of pedagogy with his study “The Contents of Children’s Minds” in the *Princeton Review*. While continuing research in his laboratory, Hall inspired gifted young scholars at Hopkins, including the psychologist James McKeen Cattell and philosopher-educator John Dewey. He also promoted the study of psychology in America as an experimental science rather than on impressionistic evidence or abstract theories. In 1887 he founded the *American Journal of Psychology* and later called for the establishment of the American Psychological Association, which in 1892 named him its first president.

As a leading pedagogical expert, Hall, in 1888, became the first president of Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. Its founder, Jonas Gilman Clark, wished to establish a men’s college similar to Williams, but Hall convinced him to establish a university on the German model, with a strong graduate-research program. The school was launched in 1889, with a distinguished faculty, including the anthropologist Franz Boas. Hall had, however, underestimated the cost of a graduate-research program and overestimated the size of Clark’s fortune. The university ran into financial difficulty, Clark and Hall fell out, and by 1892 most of the distinguished faculty, feeling Hall had deceived them, had moved to the University of Chicago. Hall retained the presidency only because the university’s board of trustees, headed by Senator GEORGE F. HOAR, backed him rather than Clark. On top of these problems, the accidental death in 1890 of his wife and daughter devastated Hall. In 1899 he married Florence E. Smith, a teacher, with whom he had no children.

Clark died in 1900, and his bequest enabled the university under Hall to flourish on a modest scale. In 1909 Hall, who had become interested in psychopathology, hosted one of the most distinguished and influential academic conferences ever held in the United States. He invited both Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung to celebrate the

20th anniversary of Clark's founding, and their presence stimulated American interest in psychoanalysis.

During his years at Clark University, Hall continued his interest in the mental development of young people and became the leader of the child study movement. In 1891 he founded its journal, *Pedagogical Seminary*, and in 1893 he presided over a conference on experimental psychology in EDUCATION at the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION in Chicago. In 1904 he published a two-volume work, *Adolescence, Its Psychology and Its Relation to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*, summarizing the literature on adolescence. Two years later Hall distilled that work into the less technical and more readable college textbook *Youth: Its Education, Regimen and Hygiene* and followed it with *Educational Problems* (1911).

With the downsizing of his grandiose dream for Clark University, Hall in 1893 returned to the classroom and taught a variety of courses in psychology, as well as the history of philosophy. His teaching program, the persuasive theory of EVOLUTION, and his fascination with the minds of children and youths moved him to emphasize genetic psychology more than the laboratory and scientific psychology. Hall elaborated on the observation he had made in his 1880 Harvard lectures that the development of the mind from the birth of the individual reproduced the evolution of the mind in humankind (a so-called law of recapitulation, which is no law). Hall's interest in genetic psychology dovetailed with his study of a child's life.

Hall was a prolific writer. He wrote the *Founders of Modern Psychology* (1912) and, combining recent interests with his early training, published a two-volume study of *Jesus, the Christ, in the Light of Psychology* (1917). Hall contributed personal insights to his *Senescence: The Last Half of Life* (1922) as well as an autobiography, *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist* (1923). Hall's influence on scientific psychology, child development, and educational reform was great during his lifetime. But, as befits an advocate of evolution, some of his Victorian ideas (his emphasis on female characteristics and sex differences in mental ability, for example) have been discarded. Hall died on April 24, 1924.

See also VICTORIANISM.

**Further reading:** Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2001); Dorothy Ross, *G. Stanley Hall: The Psychologist as Prophet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

**Hanna, Marcus Alonzo** (1837–1904) *businessman, politician*

Marcus Hanna, perhaps the most successful political organizer in the Gilded Age, was born in New Lisbon, Ohio, on

September 24, 1837, entered the family wholesale grocery business in Cleveland, and in 1862 he became a partner upon his father's death. Two years later he married the daughter of a coal and iron industrialist, eventually controlling that company, had interests in a bank, a newspaper, and in streetcars. He was a generous, paternalistic employer, made it his business to get along with his workers, and in time accepted labor unions.

By 1880 substantial contributions to the Republican Party won him a place on that party's state committee. Sharing with WILLIAM MCKINLEY the views that large corporations were the wave of the future and that the protective tariff benefitted both capital and labor, Hanna became his chief promoter and identified Bill McKinley with the high-tariff 1890 McKinley bill. Hanna helped elect McKinley governor of Ohio in 1891 and launched a McKinley-for-president campaign, gaining him some support in 1892 and succeeding in 1896. Hanna did so by carefully marshaling the support of both business and political leaders.

Named chairman of the Republican National Committee, Hanna managed McKinley's presidential campaign with great success. The 1883 PENDLETON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ACT prohibiting assessments of civil servants had dried up that source of campaign funds, but Hanna assessed corporations and amassed an unprecedented \$3.5 million. He was aided in part because of McKinley's views and in part because the inflationary Free Silver ideas of the Democratic nominee WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN were perceived as dangerous (see FREE SILVER MOVEMENT), although Hanna was largely responsible for that perception. Hanna shrewdly used the corporate money to project the image of McKinley as the advance agent of prosperity, stability, and harmony. McKinley's triumph was Hanna's triumph; and Hanna, perhaps more than anyone else in American history, deserves the title of "president maker."

Hanna advised, but did not attempt to dominate, President McKinley. Neither was he a dominating force after he was appointed to the Senate from Ohio in 1897 and elected to a full term in 1898. He reluctantly supported the war with Spain and the acquisition of the Philippines and in 1900 was unable to prevent the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt as McKinley's running mate. After Roosevelt became president following McKinley's assassination, Hanna had little use for his progressive policies, but could not thwart them. He died in Washington on February 15, 1904.

**Further reading:** Thomas Beer, *Hanna* (New York: Knopf, 1929); Herbert Croly, *Marcus Alonzo Hanna: His Life and Work* (New York: Macmillan, 1912); Lewis L. Gould, *The Presidency of William McKinley* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1980).

**Harlan, John Marshall** (1833–1911) *Supreme Court justice*

John Marshall Harlan, the great dissenting SUPREME COURT judge, was born on June 1, 1833, in Boyle County, Kentucky, the son of James Harlan and Eliza Shannon Davenport. A graduate of Centre College in Danville, Harlan attended law school at Transylvania University in Lexington and completed his studies in his father's law office in Frankfort, Kentucky. In 1853 Harlan was admitted to the Kentucky bar, and from 1854 to 1856 he served as the city attorney for Frankfort. In 1856 he married Malvina French Shanklin of Evansville, Indiana, with whom he had six children. From 1858 to 1861 he served as a judge of the Franklin County Court.

Although at first a supporter of the Whig Party, its demise in the 1850s led Harlan into the Know-Nothing Party. In the 1860 presidential election, Harlan endorsed the Constitutional Union Party ticket of John Bell and Edward Everett. During the Civil War, he recruited the 10th Kentucky Volunteer Regiment for the Union army and served as its colonel until he resigned in 1863.

From 1863 to 1867 Harlan served as the attorney general of Kentucky. Although a supporter of the Union, he was a critic of the Lincoln administration and in 1864 endorsed the Democratic presidential candidate George B. McClellan. When the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery in the United States was proposed in 1865, Harlan opposed it on the grounds that it violated state sovereignty. Following the war, Harlan joined the Republican Party and reversed his initial position on the Thirteenth Amendment. He also supported the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments as well.

Harlan ran unsuccessfully as the Republican candidate for governor of Kentucky in 1871 and 1875. He led the Kentucky delegation at the 1876 Republican National Convention, where he initially supported the candidacy of his law partner Benjamin H. Bristow. Harlan, however, switched his support and led his delegation behind the candidacy of RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, who went on to win the Republican nomination and subsequently the PRESIDENCY. In April 1877 President Hayes named Harlan to the Louisiana Electoral Commission, which was established to finesse the departure of federal troops from Louisiana. In October 1877 Hayes nominated Harlan for a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court.

During his long career on the Court, Harlan became known for his dissenting opinions. He supported the extension of rights to AFRICAN AMERICANS and was an advocate for government regulation of industry. In the *United States v. E. C. Knight Company* (1895), Harlan strongly dissented from the Court's ruling that the creation of the Sugar Trust did not violate the SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT (1890). He dissented from the Court's decision in the *CIVIL*

*RIGHTS CASES* (1883) that equality of rights in public accommodations was not enforceable under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Harlan was also the sole dissenter from the Court's decision in *PLESSY V. FERGUSON* (1896) that upheld racial segregation by embracing the so-called separate-but-equal doctrine. Harlan argued that the Thirteenth Amendment barred not only slavery but also segregation, which is a "badge of slavery," and declared the "Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens."

In 1892 he was appointed by President BENJAMIN HARRISON to represent the United States in its arbitration case with Great Britain over the *BERING SEA DISPUTE*. Harlan also taught constitutional law at George Washington University. He died on October 14, 1911, in Washington, D.C.

**Further reading:** Lauren P. Beth, *John Marshall Harlan: The Last Whig Justice* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1992); Tinsley E. Yarbrough, *Judicial Enigma: The First Justice Harlan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

—Phillip Papas

**Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins** (1825–1911) *poet, lecturer, activist*

Frances Ellen Watkins was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1825, the only child of free AFRICAN AMERICANS. Orphaned before she was three, she was raised and educated by her aunt and uncle, Reverend William Watkins, who kept a school for free blacks. He was a diligent, self-educated abolitionist friend of William Lloyd Garrison and inspired his niece to excel and to struggle for freedom for slaves and equality for blacks and women. At the age of 13, she was employed in the home of a Baltimore bookseller, where she became an excellent seamstress and in her free time read widely and wrote poetry. From 1850 to 1852 she taught sewing at the Union Seminary at Wilberforce, Ohio, and later taught school at Little York, Pennsylvania.

Always an abolitionist, Frances soon became an anti-slavery activist and an associate of William Still, the black organizer of the Underground Railroad. In 1854 Watkins published her antislavery *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects*, which sold well. In August of that year, in New Bedford, Massachusetts, she gave her first lecture, "Education and Elevation of the Colored Race." Her success as a lecturer and poet led the Maine Antislavery Society to employ her as a lecturer for the next two years, after which she lectured from New England to Ohio from 1856 to 1860.

Watkins was a superb lecturer. She merged her dignified, persuasive, and melodious delivery with poetic eloquence to convince her listeners that slavery was evil.



A feminist, she viewed slavery through the eyes of slave women and zeroed in on its cruelest aspects, as she moved audiences with prose and poetry. Her best known poem, "The Slave Auction," opened with

The sale began—young girls were there,  
Defenseless in their wretchedness,  
Whose stifled sobs of deep despair  
Revealed their anguish and distress.

And mothers stood with streaming eyes,  
And saw their dearest children sold;  
Unheeded rose their bitter cries,  
While tyrants bartered them for gold.

Much of the money Watkins earned from her book and lectures she donated to the antislavery cause.

In 1859, while John Brown awaited execution for his raid on Harpers Ferry, Watkins wrote him a widely publicized letter. "I would prefer," she said, "to see Slavery go down peaceably" by men renouncing that sin, but "I thank you, that you have been brave enough to reach out your hands to the crushed and blighted of my race." Watkins sent Brown's wife, Mary, "a few dollars" and spent two weeks with her at Still's home, while she awaited her husband's execution.

Although Watkins was primarily a poet, her story "The Two Offers" (1859), was the first short story to be published by an African-American woman. Reflecting a feminist viewpoint, it was about two cousins who could have belonged to any race. One cousin entered an unhappy union with a repressive husband, while the other, with whom Watkins obviously identified, remained single, independent, and happy, while pursuing a career as a writer. Watkins clearly indicated that she would not give up her career, if she married.

A year later, on November 22, 1860, in Cincinnati, Ohio, she married Fenton Harper. Settling on a farm near Columbus, they had a daughter. Despite the coming of the Civil War in 1861, Frances Harper's career slowed. But, after her husband died in 1864, she lectured more regularly in support of emancipation and the Union cause. When the war ended, she backed Radical Reconstruction and wrote poems praising Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens. She toured the South and spoke to both black and mixed audiences. She exhorted African Americans to become educated, be temperate, and be moral, while she denounced whites for murdering and intimidating black voters. Advocating suffrage rights for both blacks and women, Harper worked for both groups. In 1869, however, facing political reality and in agreement with LUCY STONE, Harper accepted the postponement of woman suffrage and campaigned for black male suffrage. She continued to press

for the vote for women and attended conventions of Stone's American Woman Suffrage Association.

In 1871 Harper settled in Philadelphia and kept working for equality, justice, and temperance. Recognizing that alcoholism accentuated the economic plight of blacks, Harper was moved by the dire effects of a drunkard husband and father upon his family. She headed the Department for Negroes for the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Her novel *Iola Leroy; or, Shadows Lifted* (1892) about an octoroon woman who decides not to pass as white combined Harper's civil rights and WOMEN'S RIGHTS concerns. Outraged by the murder of an innocent boy, Harper, in her poem "The Martyr of Alabama," matched the fervor of her abolitionist poetry as she called "Church of Christ arise! arise!" and "Avert the doom that crime must bring / Upon a guilty land." Closer to home, Harper was troubled by the problem of juvenile delinquency among blacks in urban areas, and in 1894 she became a director of the American Association for Education of Colored Youth. She was also an organizer of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN in 1896 and the next year became its vice president. An ardent Christian whose theology stressed the righting of social wrongs, Harper was a Unitarian. She died on February 22, 1911, in Philadelphia.

**Further reading:** Melba Joyce Boyd, *Discarded Legacy: Politics and Poetics in the Life of Frances E. W. Harper, 1825–1911* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994); Frances Smith Foster, ed., *A Brighter Coming Day: A Frances Ellen Watkins Harper Reader* (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1990).

### **Harrison, Benjamin** (1833–1901) *23rd president of the United States*

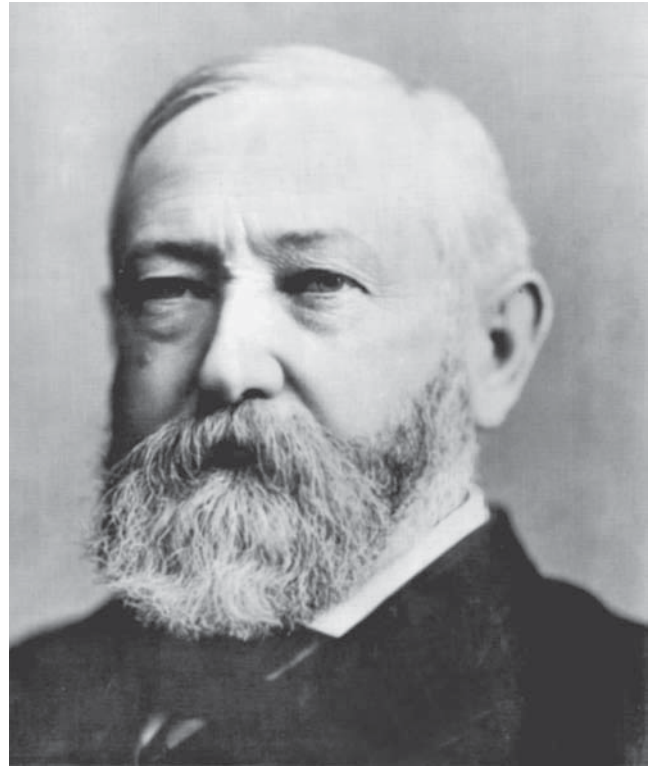
Benjamin Harrison, the 23rd president of the United States, was the grandson of William Henry Harrison, the ninth president. Although Ohio born and educated (Miami University, 1852) and trained in the law, Benjamin Harrison moved in 1854 to Indianapolis, Indiana, with his bride of one year, Caroline Lavinia Scott. A deeply religious Presbyterian, Harrison by dint of hard work became a successful lawyer, and by possessing both strong moral feelings about slavery and stump speaking skills, he became a leading member of the Republican Party. But while he could move a multitude, he was cold and aloof in small groups and with individuals. During the Civil War he helped raise the 70th Indiana regiment, was appointed its colonel by Governor Oliver P. Morton, fought effectively in General William T. Sherman's 1864 Atlanta campaign, stumped effectively in Indiana's 1864 political campaign, and emerged from the war a brigadier general with bright political prospects. He could have won a seat in CONGRESS, but his wife objected

to further absences from home and he returned to his law practice in Indianapolis. He prospered and by campaigning vigorously for others remained a prominent Republican.

In 1876 Harrison agreed to run for governor and lost a close race to James Douglas (Blue Jeans) Williams, but in 1881 the Indiana legislature elected Harrison to one term in the U.S. Senate. There his probity preserved his purity and his aloofness ensured his lack of influence while he worked for pensions for union veterans and a protective tariff. These qualities enhanced Harrison's "availability" for the 1888 Republican presidential nomination when coupled with the certainty that he could carry Indiana, an important swing state. When JAMES G. BLAINE, the most popular Republican of that era, decided not to run, the available candidate—the least offensive to all factions—to run against the incumbent GROVER CLEVELAND proved to be Harrison. Although Cleveland won more popular votes, Harrison, with his votes more strategically located, won a majority in the electoral college and was elected president.

Although his orderly, lawyerly mind made him a good administrator, Harrison's frigid personality made him an inept politician. He managed to offend Republican congressmen even while awarding them with patronage. As everyone expected, he made Blaine his secretary of state but appeared reluctant to do so. Initially, they worked well together, but in time they drifted apart. Harrison succeeded in offending both civil service reformers and spoilsmen. When his assistant postmaster general quite legitimately replaced Democratic postmasters who were not covered by CIVIL SERVICE REFORM rules, reformers objected, and when Harrison's most prominent civil service commissioner Theodore Roosevelt frustrated spoilsmen, *they* howled. But despite Harrison's support, Roosevelt dismissed him as "a coldblooded, narrow-minded, prejudiced, obstinate, timid old psalm-singing Indianapolis politician." That most unfair characterization was belied, for example, by Harrison's consistent support on moral grounds of a Federal Elections bill that would enforce the Fifteenth Amendment and enable African Americans to vote. Southern Democrats secured the support of westerners anxious to pass inflationary silver legislation, thus blocking passage in 1890 of what they called the Force bill.

Policies and legislation adopted during Harrison's administration wiped out the \$100 million surplus of revenue over expenditures. His commissioner of pensions for six months, "Corporal" James Tanner, exclaimed "God help the surplus!" as he arbitrarily raised disability payments before being forced out of office, but Congress in 1890 passed the Dependent and Disability Pension Act for Union veterans, which raised the appropriation for pensions from \$81 million to \$135 million. In that same year the "Billion Dollar Congress" passed the MCKINLEY TARIFF, which raised



Benjamin Harrison (*Library of Congress*)

already protective rates to new heights, but it also included a reciprocity feature both Blaine and Harrison fought for. To secure western votes for the McKinley Tariff, anti-inflationary easterners agreed to the Sherman Silver Purchase Act (1890), which required the U.S. Treasury to purchase 4.5 million ounces of silver monthly with notes redeemable in gold or silver. By redeeming these notes in gold, the Harrison administration kept the United States on the gold standard but began to erode the Treasury's gold reserve. At Harrison's request and to redeem an 1888 campaign pledge, Congress also passed the SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT (1890), which outlawed combinations in restraint of trade. But vague wording, lax enforcement, and judicial hostility made the Sherman Act ineffective over the next decade, while mergers and monopolies proliferated.

Contrary to expectations, Harrison was not dominated by Blaine (whose health declined) in the conduct of a vigorous FOREIGN POLICY. Harrison favored a strong navy, an Isthmian canal, and the acquisition of naval bases (securing a protectorate in SAMOA in 1889). He supported the first modern Pan-American Conference (1889), negotiated eight reciprocity agreements under the McKinley Tariff, and managed to open European markets previously closed to American pork. Harrison was aggressive in the BERING SEA DISPUTE with Great Britain; chauvinistic when

American sailors were killed in Valparaiso, Chile; and not overly disturbed by Italy's outrage when a New Orleans mob lynched alleged members of the Mafia. Harrison's biggest foreign policy disappointment was his last-minute failure to secure Senate approval of a treaty annexing HAWAII.

The legislation of the billion-dollar Congress, especially the McKinley Tariff, resulted in a Democratic landslide in 1890. Despite the coolness of Blaine and other leading Republicans, Harrison was renominated in 1892 and defeated by Cleveland. Prior to the death of his wife just before that election, Harrison had an affair with her niece Mary Lord Dimmick, whom he married in 1896. After the presidency, Harrison represented Venezuela in the VENEZUELA BOUNDARY DISPUTE and helped frustrate Great Britain's ambition to control the mouth of the Orinoco River. He died on March 13, 1901, in Indianapolis.

See also CHILEAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS; MAFIA INCIDENT; TARIFF ISSUES.

**Further reading:** Harry J. Sievers, *Benjamin Harrison, Hoosier President: The White House and After* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968); Homer E. Socolofsky and Allan B. Spetter, *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987); Charles W. Calhoun, *Benjamin Harrison* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005).

**Harte, Bret** (1836–1902) *poet, novelist, short story writer*

With a writing career that inspired such astronomical metaphors as “meteor” and “supernova,” Bret Harte's brilliant beginning faded into obscurity. Born Francis Brett Harte in Albany, New York, on August 25, 1836, Harte with his family moved several times before his father, an unsuccessful teacher, died in 1845 and his mother with four children settled in New York and Brooklyn. Harte was an avid reader and wrote poetry, but his schooling ended at 13 years of age, when he went to work; at 16 he was on his own. In 1853 his mother remarried and moved to Oakland, California, and Harte followed the next year. He drifted about until 1857, when he joined a married sister in Arcata. There he resolved to be a writer, worked on the local newspaper, the *Northern Californian*, which on occasion was left in his charge, and published some pieces in San Francisco and in the East. In 1860 he fled Arcata for San Francisco after editorially condemning the mass murder of 60 peaceful NATIVE AMERICANS, most of whom were women and children, by a local drunken mob.

In San Francisco, Harte worked for the *Golden Era*, to which he had earlier contributed, gained recognition, and made important friendships. Jesse Benton Fremont got him a position in the Surveyor General's Office and intro-

duced him to Thomas Starr King. A prominent Unitarian clergyman, King inspired Harte, criticized his poetry, and enlisted his support in abolitionism and the effort to keep California in the Union during the Civil War, which Harte aided with patriotic poetry. King also helped Harte get a better job at the branch U.S. Mint. It was in King's church that Harte met Anna Griswold (an alto in the choir), whom he married on August 11, 1862. They had four children. King and Fremont convinced the *Atlantic Monthly* to run one of Harte's short stories in 1863.

Harte helped establish the *Californian* in 1864 and contributed regularly to it over the next two years. But his career took off after 1868, when he became the first editor of the *Overland Monthly*. In its second issue Harte published “The Luck of Roaring Camp” and followed it five months later with “The Outcasts of Poker Flat.” By locating these two short stories in the California mining country, Harte found literary gold. They were the best stories Harte ever wrote and were an enormous success among the literary arbiters in the Northeast. Location played a large role in their appeal, and they inspired other writers to use local color. These humorous stories carried realism to new heights or depths for some. “The Luck” was both a parable of the life and influence of Jesus and a parody, as the Luck's mother was a prostitute and the miners were a vulgar lot. Gifts from these unlikely Magi included stolen silver, a tobacco box, and a revolver. “The Outcasts,” who are prostitutes and a gambler, are also redeemed by their chance encounter with innocence.

Harte's 1870 poem “Plain Language from Truthful James,” better known as “The Heathen Chinese,” was a satirical attack on racial prejudice. Ah Sin proved to be a more adept cheater at cards than either Bill Nye or James, who had expected to fleece the innocent Asian. In addition to his defense of American Indians at Arcata, Harte attacked the 1866 decision to exclude AFRICAN AMERICANS from the Fourth of July parade, with the lines “You'll do to fight our battles with, but not / To celebrate the victory won.”

At the high point of his career Harte was the acknowledged leader of writers in San Francisco, including MARK TWAIN and Ambrose Bierce. But when he left San Francisco in 1871, his career went into a long decline. He received a \$10,000, 12-month contract from the *Atlantic Monthly*, but the quality of his work was disappointing, and the contract was not renewed. Over the next several years he drank heavily, ran into debt, and collaborated with Twain on a play, *Ah Sin*, which destroyed their friendship. Although Harte wrote steadily, nothing was very successful. At the behest of WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, the RUTHERFORD B. HAYES administration appointed Harte consul at Krefeld, Germany, and he left for Europe in 1878 and did not return to the United States. Two years later he



transferred to the more lucrative consulate at Glasgow, in Scotland. When, with the change of parties in 1885, he lost that post, he moved to London. There, despite ill health, he continued to grind out stories on California themes, but none were equal to either "The Luck" or "The Outcasts." He died on May 5, 1902.

**Further reading:** Patrick D. Morrow, *Bret Harte: Literary Critic* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1979); Axel Nissen, *Bret Harte: Prince and Pauper* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000); Gary Scharnhorst, *Bret Harte* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1992).

**Hatch Act** (1887) See EDUCATION, FEDERAL AID TO.

## Hawaii

Great Britain, France, and the United States became interested in Hawaii after its discovery by Captain James Cook in 1778. American missionaries arrived in 1820, and treaties of friendship and commerce with the Kingdom of Hawaii were signed by the United States in 1826, Britain in 1836, and France in 1839. The U.S. Senate did not ratify its treaty, but Hawaii abided by its provisions, and in 1842 the United States recognized Hawaii's independence. American whalers used Hawaii as a base, and with American acquisition of Oregon and California a few years later, Hawaii's importance for the defense of the West Coast became apparent. In 1851 when France had designs on Hawaii, the United States warned that it would not permit its annexation by a European power.

It was in the Gilded Age that America solidified its influence in Hawaii. More for strategic than for economic reasons, the United States in 1875 entered into a reciprocity agreement with the Hawaiian kingdom whereby both nations agreed to drop tariffs on a long list of products, the main one being sugar. Within a year American capital began to flood the island, and sugar production by American growers skyrocketed. In 1887 the reciprocity treaty was extended, and the United States was permitted to establish a naval base at Pearl Harbor.

Since the royal family was capricious, Americans in Hawaii generally favored annexation by the United States to protect their property. But after the MCKINLEY TARIFF of 1890 put foreign sugar on the free list (depriving Hawaii of its favored position) and gave domestic sugar a two cent per pound subsidy, they became ardent annexationists. In addition Queen Liliuokalani, advocating "Hawaii for the Hawaiians," set aside the Constitution of 1887 that favored whites and promulgated an autocratic constitution in 1893. American planters, with the con-

nivance of U.S. minister John L. Stevens and aided by a contingent of marines, ousted Queen Liliuokalani and declared a republic, but they immediately agreed to a treaty of annexation with the United States in the closing days of Republican president BENJAMIN HARRISON's administration. The Senate, however, failed to ratify the treaty before the incoming Democratic president GROVER CLEVELAND, an anti-imperialist, took office. Cleveland, suspicious of Stevens's actions, withdrew the treaty and sent Georgia congressman James H. Blount to Hawaii to investigate. After a thorough investigation Blount concluded that Stevens and the American military had actively abetted the coup. Contrary to dispatches from Stevens, marines from the cruiser USS *Boston* were not called out to protect American lives but were strategically placed across from the royal palace, which was far away from the consulate or any American property.

After reading the report, Cleveland and his secretary of state Walter Q. Gresham wished to regain the throne for the queen and amnesty for the rebels. The queen, however, insisted that the coup leaders be beheaded as Hawaiian custom dictated, while Sanford Dole, president of the provisional republic of Hawaii, would not resign and said that the United States could either annex Hawaii or respect its independence. Unable to work out a solution, Cleveland placed the problem in the lap of CONGRESS in December 1893 and stated that he would execute whatever solution it devised. After much partisan wrangling, Congress neither annexed the islands nor attempted to disturb Dole's provisional government. On July 4, 1894, the provisional government became the Republic of Hawaii, and a month later Cleveland acquiesced and recognized the white minority government.

Cleveland was succeeded in 1897 by Republican WILLIAM MCKINLEY, who was more aware of the islands' strategic value and less troubled by the illegitimate birth of the Republic of Hawaii. Accordingly, in June 1897 a new treaty of annexation was signed, but strong Democratic opposition prevented ratification. Annexation, however, became imperative following Admiral GEORGE DEWEY's stunning victory at Manila Bay and the need to "bridge the Pacific." That victory also emphasized the perception of Admiral ALFRED THAYER MAHAN that Hawaii was the "key to the Pacific." In July 1898, during the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, the United States annexed Hawaii by a joint resolution of Congress with McKinley's approval.

**Further reading:** William A. Russ Jr., *The Hawaiian Revolution* (Selinsgrove, Pa.: Susquehanna University Press, 1959); William A. Russ Jr., *The Hawaiian Republic: 1894-1898* (Selinsgrove, Pa.: Susquehanna University Press, 1961).

—Timothy E. Vislocky



**Hay, John Milton** (1838–1905) *statesman, writer*

John Milton Hay capped his distinguished literary and diplomatic career by serving as secretary of state from 1898 to 1905. Born in Salem, Indiana, on October 12, 1838, Hay grew up in Illinois, graduated from Brown University, and by 1860 was back in Illinois studying law in the office of his uncle in Springfield. Friendship with Abraham Lincoln's secretary, John Nicolay, enabled Hay to become assistant personal secretary to the new president in 1861. The youthful presidential aide won the confidence of his chief and also amused him with his storytelling ability. After the Civil War, from 1865 to 1870, Hay received brief diplomatic postings to Paris, Vienna, and Madrid, where he despised European aristocrats and sympathized with radical democrats. He achieved fame in 1871 as a poet with the publication of *Pike County Ballads and Other Pieces*, and from 1870 to 1875 he wrote editorials for the *New York Tribune*. In 1874 he married Clara Stone the daughter of Cleveland railroad builder and financier Amasa Stone, and from 1878 to 1881 Hay served as assistant secretary of state. Disturbed by the GREAT STRIKE OF 1877, Hay had become conservative and anonymously published in 1883 an antilabor novel, *The Bread-winners*, and in the 1880s he wrote with Nicolay a 10-volume biography of Lincoln.

Having married wealth, Hay was a heavy contributor to the Republican Party and in 1897 was delighted to be appointed by WILLIAM MCKINLEY as ambassador to Great Britain. As an ardent Anglophile, Hay facilitated the rapprochement between London and Washington and encouraged British support of the United States in the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR. Soon after hailing it as the "splendid little war," Hay in August 1898 became secretary of state, and although he had earlier opposed IMPERIALISM, he favored the acquisition of the Philippines (with their proximity to China) at that war's end and defended the American suppression of the subsequent FILIPINO INSURRECTION. In the OPEN DOOR NOTES of 1899 to 1900, Hay sought to prevent the dismemberment of China and to preserve equal access there for American investors and missionaries at a time when other foreign powers were acquiring spheres of influence. In the Caribbean, Hay obtained British acquiescence to an American-fortified isthmian canal across Central America in 1901; negotiated a treaty with Colombia for a canal zone in its province of Panama, which that government rejected; and then in 1903 negotiated similar concessions from Panama following its successful (with American help) revolt against Colombia. In his last year in office Hay played a lesser role in FOREIGN POLICY as President Theodore Roosevelt essentially became his own secretary of state. Hay died on July 1, 1905.

**Further reading:** Kenton J. Clymer, *John Hay: The Gentleman as Diplomat* (Ann Arbor: University of Michi-

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—Bruce Abrams

**Hayden, Ferdinand Vandeveer** (ca. 1828–1887) *geologist*

One of the Gilded Age's distinguished explorer-geologists, Ferdinand Hayden was born on September 7, probably in 1828, in Westfield, Massachusetts. He had a miserable childhood, which he later tried to hide. When he was 10, his mother left his father, a shiftless alcoholic, and around 1840 Hayden went to live with a paternal aunt in Rochester, Ohio, where he benefited from love and stability. Ambitious and intellectually curious, he enrolled in Oberlin's Preparatory Department in 1845 and five years later graduated from Oberlin College, where he demonstrated a marked interest in natural history, which was taught from a creationist standpoint. Hayden taught school for a year and a half until December 1851, when he began studying medicine and natural history in Cleveland with Jared Potter Kirtland and John Strong Newberry (who from 1869 to 1882 would direct the Ohio Geological Survey). Newberry introduced Hayden to James Hall, the paleontologist of the New York Geological Survey, who, in summer 1853, sent him along with Fielding Bradford Meek on a fossil-collecting expedition to the Bad Lands of Dakota. Upon his return Hayden completed his medical training at Albany Medical College in January 1854, but he had already found his life work of exploring the West, searching for its fossils and studying its geology.

From 1854 to 1860 Hayden went on four additional major expeditions (among his sponsors were the Smithsonian Institution and the U.S. Army), exploring a vast territory from the Dakotas west to Idaho and south to Kansas and Colorado. Hayden was intensely ambitious, aggressive, energetic, and difficult to get along with. He was a talented, prolific writer who popularized the scenic wonders of the West, while establishing his preeminence as a field geologist and hunter of fossils. In 1855 in an ascent of the Missouri River, he found the first fossils of American dinosaurs in Montana, was elected in 1856 a corresponding member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, and that same year published his first article (with Meek) in its *Proceedings*. The next year he published his first geological map. From 1861 to 1862 he lived in Washington and wrote *On the Geology and Natural History of the Upper Missouri* (1862), offering evidence in support of Darwin's theory of EVOLUTION (before reading *On the Origin of Species*), and *Contributions to the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley* (1882), a linguistics study, demonstrating the breadth of Hayden's interests.

From 1862 to 1865 Hayden utilized his medical training while serving in the Union army, and after the war he was appointed an auxiliary professor of geology and mineralogy at the University of Pennsylvania (1865–72). On November 9, 1871, he married Emma Woodruff of Philadelphia. They had no children.

Hayden's academic position did not interfere with his explorations of the West, which were conducted during the summer. In 1866 he was back in the Bad Lands, and in 1867 he was made the head of the Nebraska Geological Survey, which by 1873 evolved into the U.S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories but was informally known as "the Hayden Survey." It continued until 1879. His explorations with it were primarily in Wyoming and Colorado, and as colleagues, he attracted a number of geologists and natural history specialists and through the survey sponsored the publication of their studies. The survey's *Atlas of Colorado* (1877), covering its geology and geography, was very influential. Hayden continued his own studies, but also conveyed his love of the "Wonders of the West" to the general public in *Sun Pictures of Rocky Mountain Scenery* (1870) and in magazines, such as *Scribner's Monthly*.

When Congress established the U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY (USGS) in 1879, Hayden was a leading candidate to be its head. The USGS was to a large degree modeled on the Hayden Survey, he was popular among western congressmen, and he was a gifted field geologist. President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, however, appointed Hayden's chief rival, CLARENCE KING, to be its head. Hayden's ambitious, aggressive personality had by this point made enemies not only of his rivals, King and JOHN WESLEY POWELL, but also of other scientists, such as OTHNIEL CHARLES MARSH and CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT (president of Harvard), and his benefactors Hall and Newberry. These men backed King and attacked Hayden's science and character. Powell said he was a fraud, Eliot referred to "his low habits in camp," Hall called him a "Charlatan in geology," Marsh lobbied against him, and Newberry visited Hayes, who had appointed him to the Ohio Survey, to disparage Hayden and back King. Hayes nevertheless was justified in his decision. Hayden's best work had been carried out in collaboration with Meek prior to the Civil War, his subsequent work was not as valuable as that of King or Powell, and few geologists of stature were likely to work for the irascible Hayden had he become director of the USGS.

With King and Powell (who succeeded King in 1881) running the USGS, Hayden, although named its fourth principal geologist, worked primarily out of Philadelphia. He continued to do fieldwork in Montana and in 1883 completed a superb geological map, summarizing the 12-year work of the Hayden Survey. His health failed in 1886, and on December 22, 1887, he died in Philadelphia. Although overshadowed by King and Powell, Hayden amassed a sub-

stantial body of research essential for geological syntheses in the United States and is primarily responsible for the establishment of Yellowstone National Park.

**Further reading:** Mike Foster, *Strange Genius: The Life of Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden* (Niwot, Colo.: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1994); William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West* (New York: Knopf, 1966).

### Hayden, Sophia Gregoria (1868–1953) *architect*

Sophia Hayden was born in Santiago, Chile, on October 17, 1868, but after 1874 lived with her grandparents in Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts. In 1886 she became the first woman to study architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Her instructor was Eugene Letang, who had trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Echoing that training, Letang was interested primarily in monumental buildings, but his program went beyond design to include architectural engineering and the history of architecture. Hayden graduated with honors in 1890; her thesis project was "A Design for a Museum of Fine Arts" in the neoclassical style, illustrated by superb watercolors. As the president of MIT remarked, she also was as capable as any male architect to build a railroad bridge. Although Hayden intended to practice as an architect, her first job was teaching mechanical drawing at the Eliot School in Jamaica Plain.

The following year the opportunity of a lifetime came Hayden's way. The WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION (1893) in Chicago, like its predecessor, the PHILADELPHIA CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION (1876), called for a Woman's Pavilion and set up a Board of Lady Managers headed by Bertha Palmer to supervise the project. A social leader, labor reformer, as well as a stylish woman, Palmer fought for "equal pay for equal work" for women, entertained factory workers and milliners as well as wealthy Chicagoans in her home, and was noted for her ostentatious display of her seven-strand necklace of 2,268 pearls. In 1891 the Board of Lady Managers solicited, under the heading of "An Unusual Opportunity for Women Architects," plans for a monumental Woman's Building. Its exhibits were to show "woman's progress and development, and her increased usefulness in the arts, sciences, manufactures, and industries of the world." The winning architect would be awarded \$1,000 plus expenses.

Despite her youth and her lack of experience, the competition was tailor-made for Hayden. Her training with Letang emphasized monumental buildings, and her thesis project was not a townhouse or a country cottage but an art museum with adequate spaces for exhibitions. Furthermore, her admiration of the neoclassical style echoed the

preferences of DANIEL HUDSON BURNHAM and his team of architects, who created the same Chicago fair's memorable neoclassical White City.

Designing a building in the Italian Renaissance style, Hayden won the prize and became the first woman to design a major building in the United States. Because of its size and probably because of the contemporary perception of women, Hayden aimed to make it "more delicate and refined" than other White City buildings. Over the next year, with less than \$500 extra compensation for planning the \$150,000 building, Hayden drew working plans for the building and supervised its construction. Male architects at the fair received three to 10 times more compensation. Hayden refused to be pressured by Palmer or other members of the Board of Lady Managers to make what Hayden considered unsuitable changes or to use women-produced material and designs she deemed inappropriate. She was also frustrated by the demands of the male-dominated Board of Construction. Hayden was prompt with her drawings, and her building was the first of the fair's buildings to be completed.

Hayden was on hand for the formal dedication of the Woman's Building on October 21, 1892, 400 years after Columbus's arrival in the New World. Palmer used the occasion to protest the treatment of women—their inadequate education, poor pay, and their enforced dependence on men. Ironically, the career of the architect, whose building she was dedicating, illustrated the evils Palmer denounced.

Sick of arguing with her clients and exhausted by her long months of work, Hayden was not present in May 1893 when the fair belatedly opened. Wanting their profession to remain a male bastion, the editors of *American Architect and Building News* claimed that rumors of Hayden's "mental collapse" were a "telling argument against the wisdom of women entering" their profession. When Hayden received three awards for the Woman's Building, male architects put her down. They claimed her building's "graceful timidity" revealed "the sex of its author." Burnham, however, praised the building's "delicacy of style, artistic taste, and geniality and elegance of the interior hall" and awarded Hayden the Artists Medal. Hayden could not have been seriously indisposed in May 1893, because by 1894 she had designed a memorial building for American Women's Clubs. Possibly because of the economic depression of the 1890s, it was never built. Lacking a base and encouragement, she became, despite her splendid start and training, an artist, rather than an architect. Hayden married a fellow artist, William Blackstone Bennett, in 1900. She died in Winthrop, Massachusetts, on February 3, 1953.

**Further reading:** Madeleine B. Stern, *We the Women: Career Firsts of Nineteenth-Century America* (New York:

Schulte Publishing, 1963); Susana Torre, ed., *Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1977).

### **Hayes, Rutherford B.** (1822–1893) *19th president of the United States*

Born in Delaware, Ohio, on October 4, 1822, three months after his father died, Rutherford Birchard Hayes, had a happy, although sheltered childhood and found a role model in his uncle Sardis Birchard, who prospered as a merchant and land speculator. Hayes was a good student, graduating from Kenyon College as valedictorian of his class in 1842 and from Harvard Law School in 1845. Admitted to the Ohio bar that year, he then spent five unchallenging years in Lower Sandusky (later Fremont), the home of his uncle Sardis.

Hayes moved to Cincinnati, the largest city in the West, on Christmas Eve 1849 to make his mark or fail. His practice grew slowly but picked up as he gained a reputation as a defender of murderers. He also enjoyed the cultural advantages and social life of a large city and fell in love with Lucy Webb, whom he married on December 30, 1852. Lucy, a strong believer in Methodism, abstinence from alcoholic beverages, and abolition, influenced but did not radically change Hayes. He never joined a church but in time attended services regularly; he drank temperately but, as president, he became a teetotaler; and after marriage he abandoned his tepid antislavery stance and became a noted defender of runaway slaves. He opposed the extension of slavery into western territories and helped establish the Republican Party in Ohio. When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Hayes enthusiastically supported the Union cause, was commissioned in June as a major in the 23rd Ohio Voluntary Infantry, was wounded five times while serving for four years, and emerged from the war a major general and a popular war hero.

Elected to and a member of CONGRESS from 1865 to 1867, Hayes supported Radical Republican Reconstruction measures before he resigned to make the first of three successful runs for governor of Ohio. While in that office (1868–72, 1876–77), he fought successfully for passage of the Fifteenth Amendment (voting rights for blacks) to the U.S. Constitution, for the establishment of Ohio State University, and for the nonpartisan administration of asylums and prisons. His gubernatorial victory in 1875, despite a resurgent Democratic Party (capitalizing on a severe economic depression and political CORRUPTION in the Ulysses S. Grant administration), made Hayes a candidate for the 1876 Republican presidential nomination. He proved to be more "available" than other contenders, since he combined a distinguished military career with a radical record on Reconstruction issues, a reform record as governor, and



the capacity to carry a big swing state. Republicans nominated Hayes in hopes that he would unite the party and prevent defections to the Democrats.

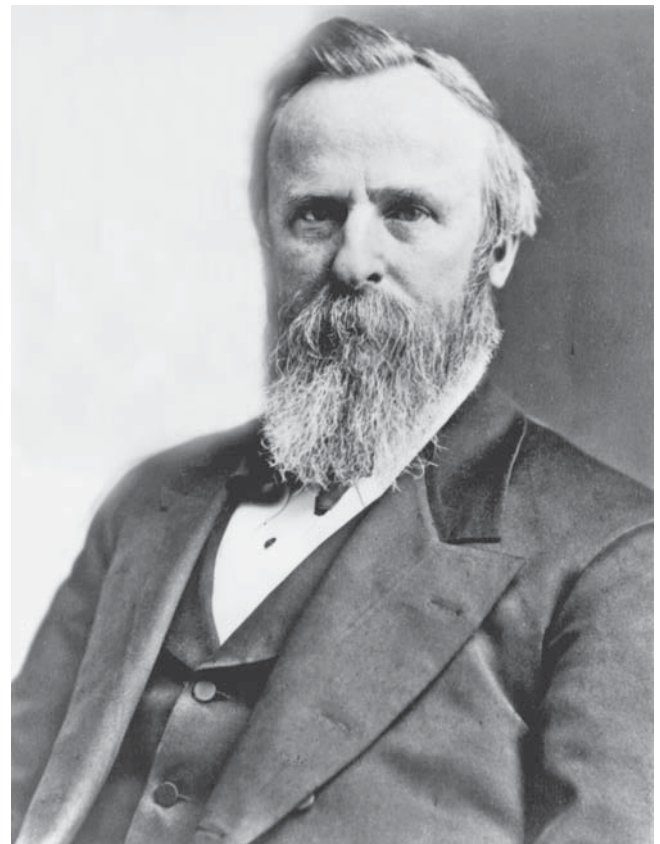
Hayes and the Republicans had an uphill fight. Not only was the party identified with hard times and sleaze, but the Democrats also nominated Governor SAMUEL J. TILDEN of New York, who was renowned as a reformer and as a political organizer. The Republican tactic of identifying the Democrats with treason during and persecution of black Americans after the Civil War had lost its appeal to those who yearned for prosperity and political purity. Tilden had a majority of votes cast, but violence and intimidation in the South kept thousands of AFRICAN AMERICANS from the polls and enabled Republicans to void Democratic votes and claim that not Tilden but Hayes had carried South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida, giving him a majority of one electoral vote (185 to 184) and the presidency. But Democrats, who controlled the House of Representatives and a majority in the joint session of Congress in whose presence the electoral votes would be counted, accused the Republicans of fraud and claimed those states and victory for Tilden. This disputed election was finally resolved in Hayes's favor on March 2, 1877, two days before Grant's term expired.

When Hayes took office, Republican Reconstruction governments existed only in South Carolina and Louisiana, and these governments held sway only in the vicinity of the state capital buildings, where small detachments of federal troops upheld their authority. Extralegal Democratic governments, supported ardently and violently by the white minority, controlled the rest of those states, and Republican authority could only be restored by sizable armies of occupation, which neither northern public opinion nor the House of Representatives would condone. Reinforcement was not a realistic option. Hayes himself had no faith in military coercion as a long-range cure for the South's problems and would rely instead on the school and the vote for blacks, the goodwill of the "better class" of whites, and erasing the color line in politics. Using his eroding bargaining position, Hayes extracted pledges from South Carolina and Louisiana Democrats to respect the civil rights of black and white Republicans before he ordered the troops to cease their support of the Republican governments. White southerners, including the so-called better people, reneged on those pledges by the next election, and the solid white-supremacy Democratic South became a reality.

Having settled on a southern policy, Hayes turned next to CIVIL SERVICE REFORM. His cabinet appointments, especially that of reformer CARL SCHURZ, offended Republican spoilsmen in Congress who were using federal patronage to maintain their hold on local party organizations. Hayes believed that the so-called senatorial courtesy of allowing senators and representatives to dictate who

should be appointed politicized the civil service, reduced its efficiency, and deprived the president of his power to be an effective administrator. In June 1877 Hayes prohibited forced political contributions (assessments) by civil servants and forbade their management of party organizations and political campaigns. Feeling that CHESTER A. ARTHUR, head of the New York customhouse, was not sympathetic to reform, Hayes succeeded in removing him after a long struggle with his political patron, ROSCOE CONKLING, over senatorial courtesy. Hayes then insisted that the merit system of appointing on the basis of competitive examinations be introduced in the customhouse, and its success in what was the largest federal office in the land helped secure the PENDLETON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ACT of 1883.

The severe economic depression with its wage cuts and layoffs led to the GREAT STRIKE OF 1877. Beginning on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, it quickly spread to other roads and industries. As unemployed men and boys joined strikers, unprecedented riots, violence, and arson broke out, especially in Pittsburgh and Baltimore. Hayes did not break the strike, and he dispatched federal troops (who never fired a shot) only at the call of state and local officials. Despite the begging of THOMAS ALEXANDER



Rutherford B. Hayes (*Library of Congress*)



SCOTT of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Hayes would not order troops to run the trains on the pretext that the strike interfered with the U.S. mail. Although Hayes favored an eight-hour day for industrial workers, he disliked labor agitators. He also disliked railroad moguls and favored federal regulation of railroads.

Hard times also led to demands for currency inflation, which Hayes adamantly opposed on moral and practical, but certainly not political, grounds. Believing that inflation was dishonest and that fears of it prolonged the depression, Hayes insisted the United States return to the gold standard in 1879 (as scheduled by Congress in 1875) and opposed the popular 1878 BLAND-ALLISON ACT, which allowed the limited coinage of silver dollars at the ratio of 16 to one part of gold and which passed over his veto. The stunning business revival that accompanied the resumption of specie payments confirmed for Hayes his monetary orthodoxy.

Having offended spoilsmen and inflationists in his own party while failing to attract “better” southerners, who later also turned out to be racists, Hayes saw the Republican Party lose control of the Senate as well as the House in 1878. Ironically, the Democrats helped Hayes reunite Republicans and made possible their victory in 1880. Realizing that Hayes would veto any direct attempt to repeal the election laws designed to enforce the civil- and voting-rights principles of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, the Democrats attached riders to necessary appropriations bills that they thought Hayes would be forced to sign lest the government be shut down. They were wrong; Hayes relished this “battle of the riders,” vetoed appropriations bills, and rallied public opinion and his party behind him with his stirring messages. Realizing the Democrats wished to stuff ballot boxes in northern cities and to intimidate southern blacks at the polls, Hayes argued for the sanctity of the ballot and defended executive power by maintaining that the riders unconstitutionally deprived the president of his veto power.

Hayes was a precursor of modern 20th-century presidents. He rallied public opinion to his side with his well-publicized vetoes and the short speeches he made while traveling extensively. By shrewdly expounding principles, exploiting issues, enhancing executive power, and introducing modern bureaucratic procedures, Hayes stressed the politics of reform that presidents have come to embrace. Ironically, Republican congressmen, wedded to the politics of organization, thought Hayes an inept politician, but his presidency illustrated his belief “that he serves his party best who serves his country best.”

After leaving office, Hayes campaigned tirelessly for social causes. His major emphasis was on EDUCATION, which was for him a panacea for society’s ills. He served on the boards of three universities in Ohio but was espe-

cially committed to the education of disadvantaged black and white children in the South. He was on the boards of the philanthropic Peabody and Slater funds and campaigned vigorously, but unsuccessfully, for distributing federal funds to impoverished school districts throughout the nation. He believed that education was the key to economic improvement, and for African Americans, economic improvement was the key to civil rights. He advocated industrial education for all children, whether their parents were rich or poor. If politicians and capitalists knew what it was like to work with their hands, they would understand labor’s demands and industrial strife would be mitigated. Hayes also believed education could rehabilitate criminals and was president of the National Prison Reform Association. As governor and president he had been generous with pardons and in time opposed the death penalty. He thought poverty caused crime and that wealth should be more evenly distributed through confiscatory inheritance taxes. He also saw the growing power of the corporation as a threat to the government and “the Standard Oil monopoly . . . a menace to the people.” In his remarkably active retirement, Hayes was a precursor of the Progressives. He died on January 17, 1893.

**Further reading:** Ari Hoogenboom, *Rutherford B. Hayes: Warrior and President* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995).

### Haymarket riot (1886)

The Haymarket tragedy is rooted in the Eight-Hour movement. The drive, beginning in 1865, to legislate an eight-hour workday had not succeeded, but the idea remained very popular. In 1884 the trade unions, organized in 1881 as the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States, revived the idea by calling a nationwide strike for the eight-hour day on May 1, 1886.

In Chicago, anarchists saw the strike call as an excellent propaganda opportunity. Unfortunately, their revolutionary rhetoric combined with intense grassroots support for a shorter workday convinced many that Chicago was on the brink of a violent social upheaval. On May 1, 1886, a large number of people, led by prominent anarchists Albert Parsons and August Spies, peacefully marched up Michigan Avenue in support of the eight-hour day. But rather than allay fears of violence, the parade contributed to the general apprehension.

Two days later an unrelated incident touched off the anticipated violence. Earlier, on February 16, workers at the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company had gone on strike over the issue of hiring nonunion people. The company responded by shutting down the plant and then hiring replacements. Although production had not

regained its former levels, it became obvious by late April that McCormick had secured enough strikebreakers to defeat the union. To maintain its union-busting strategy, the company even granted its workers an eight-hour day when many refused to work on May 1. On May 3 union picketers attacked the strikebreakers as they left work. The Chicago police intervened by shooting into the crowd, killing two.

August Spies, a speaker at a nearby mass meeting in support of the eight-hour day, rushed to the scene and witnessed the carnage. Returning to the office of the anarchist newspaper he edited, Spies issued a pamphlet urging workers to arm themselves and attend a protest meeting the following evening at Haymarket Square. About 3,000 people braved the miserable weather to hear Spies and his fellow anarchists Parsons and Samuel Fielden. Despite the rhetoric of the so-called revenge circular, the meeting was peaceful and began to break up when police entered the square. Someone threw a bomb among the police, killing one officer outright and fatally injuring others. The police then opened fire. The bomb and the bullets killed 12 people (eight police and four civilians) and wounded at least 90 others.

The episode appeared to confirm the widespread fear of revolution. The press and a large cross section of the community demanded that radicalism be smashed. Police arrested known radicals, searched their homes, and tried to induce false testimony. As a result of this investigation eight people—Parsons, Spies, Fielden, Eugene Schwab, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg, and Oscar Neebe—all anarchists, were tried and convicted.

Although the prosecution could not link them directly to the bomb throwing, the jury obeyed Judge Joseph Gary's instructions to find them guilty if it determined that they had ever advocated violence. Neebe received a 15-year sentence, and the seven others were sentenced to death. Lingg committed suicide during the appeals process, and Parsons, Spies, Engel, and Fischer were executed on November 11, 1887. Fielden and Schwab, whose death penalties were commuted to life imprisonment, were, with Neebe, pardoned in 1893 by Governor JOHN PETER ALTGELD.

**Further reading:** Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984); James Green, *Death in the Haymarket: a Story of Chicago, the First Labor Movement, and the Bombing that Divided Gilded Age America* (New York: Pantheon, 2006).

—Harold W. Aurand

**Hearn, Lafcadio** (1850–1904) *journalist, writer*

The foremost multiculturalist of his generation, Lafcadio Hearn was born on the Greek island of Leucadia on June

27, 1850. His mother was Greek, and his father was an Irish surgeon in the British army. When Hearn was two, he and his mother joined his father's relatives in Dublin. Two years later his mother returned to Greece, leaving him in the custody of his father's aunt. Grooming him to be her heir, his aunt sent him first to a Catholic school near Rouen, France, and then to St. Cuthbert's College, near Durham, England. While playing a game at that school, he was blinded in one eye when struck by a block of wood tied to the end of a rope. His constant reading made his other eye protrude in a disfiguring way.

When most of his great-aunt's money was lost by a relative, who had displaced Hearn as her heir, Hearn was sent to live with a former servant in London and in 1869 to a distant relative in Cincinnati, Ohio. After a number of jobs, including proofreading and type setting, he became a reporter for the Cincinnati *Enquirer* in 1874. The next year, when he was fired for having an affair with a biracial woman, he was hired by the Cincinnati *Commercial*. He had already gained a following for his elegant writing about gruesome crimes and his sensitive translations of French stories.

In 1877 he moved to New Orleans, where he nearly died during a yellow fever epidemic, and stayed 10 years. He did more French translations, studied Creole dialect and folkways, and found himself a cultural interpreter after he became the literary editor of the New Orleans *Times-Democrat* in 1881. Hearn published *Stray Leaves from Strange Literature* (1884), an anthology of folklore from Eskimo, Polynesian, Hindu, Jewish, Arabic, and other sources, and began placing pieces in *Harper's Bazaar* and *Harper's Weekly*.

In 1887, the year he left New Orleans, Hearn published *Some Chinese Ghosts*, six legends from Eastern sources, and arranged for his first novel, *Chita*, to be serialized in *Harper's Monthly*. Influenced by French symbolism, the novel, with its polished, lyrical prose, is Hearn's greatest work. It is a story of the 1856 New Orleans hurricane that devastated Last Isle, a resort area where couples, dancing at a ball, are swept into the storm. Among the dead in "the confusion of heaping waters," Feliu, the founder of the island's Spanish fishing settlement, sees movement and a "gleam of bright hair." He wrestles with the waves to reach the billiard table, where a four-year-old girl is tied with a silken scarf to her dead mother. Using the scarf, he binds the child to him and against all odds reaches the shore. He brings the new Chita to his wife, Carmen, who is forever burning candles before a wax Virgin with an Indian face, while she prays for a child to replace her first Chita, who died years earlier. The novel is the new Chita's story, but it is more about nature than about her. It is "rhythm, sensation, color, recurrence." It is "a succession of pieces. . . that match like a mosaic" (Kunst, 69).

Also in 1887 Hearn moved to Martinique, where he wrote sketches of native life, *Two Years in the French West Indies* (1890), and *Youma* (1890), a short novel about a slave uprising. After writing a year in New York and Philadelphia, Hearn left for the East in March 1890. His object was to write for *Harper's* a book about Japan. Continuing to live a most exotic life, Hearn wrote 12 books on Japanese culture, married Setsu Koizumi, fathered four children, was a public school and a university teacher, and became a Japanese citizen. He died in Tokyo on September 26, 1904.

**Further reading:** Arthur E. Kunst, *Lafcadio Hearn* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1969); Elizabeth Stevenson, *Lafcadio Hearn* (New York: Macmillan, 1961).

—Olive Hoogenboom

***Hepburn v. Griswold*** (1870) See CURRENCY ISSUE.

**Herbert, Victor August** (1859–1924) *musician, composer*

Victor Herbert is remembered for his operettas, which enjoyed immense popularity from the 1890s through World War I. He was one of the finest cellists, conductors, and composers of his generation and was an important advocate for composers' rights.

Herbert was born on February 1, 1859, in Dublin, Ireland, the son of Edward Herbert and Fanny Lover. Edward died while Victor was still an infant, and he spent his early childhood in England at the home of his maternal grandfather, noted Irish painter, novelist, and songwriter Samuel Lover. In 1866 Herbert's mother married a German doctor, and the family settled in Stuttgart, Germany. Victor enrolled at the local gymnasium and began music studies, at first piano and flute before settling on the cello. He left the gymnasium at age 15, and from 1874 to 1876 he studied cello with Bernhard Cossmann.

In 1876 he began his professional career as a cellist, performing with orchestras throughout Europe. Around 1880 he spent a year in Vienna with the orchestra of Eduard Strauss, where he gained a familiarity with the Viennese operetta and lighter classical music that was to greatly influence his own work. In 1881 he returned to Stuttgart to play in the court orchestra; in 1883 he appeared as soloist with the orchestra in his first large-scale composition, the Suite for Cello and Orchestra, op. 3, and in 1885 he appeared as soloist in his First Cello Concerto, op. 8. During these years he studied composition with Max Seifritz at the Stuttgart Conservatory. In 1886 Herbert married Therese Forster (1861–1927), a distinguished Viennese soprano who had been engaged by the court opera in 1885.

She was offered a contract with the Metropolitan Opera Company of New York, and it was arranged that Herbert would be offered a position as first cellist with the opera orchestra. The couple sailed for New York in the autumn of 1886.

In New York, Herbert quickly became a leading figure in the musical life of the city. In addition to playing in the opera orchestra, he found work as a conductor, teacher, chamber musician, and cello soloist. In 1889 he was appointed to the faculty of the National Conservatory, where Antonín Dvořák served as director from 1892 to 1895. Although he left the conservatory in 1893, he developed a warm personal relationship with Dvořák. He was appointed director of the 22nd Regiment Band of the New York National Guard in 1893. That band, known as "Gilmore's band," was founded in 1861 by Patrick S. Gilmore and was considered one of the finest bands in the nation. The reputation of the band declined following Gilmore's death in 1892, but Herbert quickly reestablished it as a leading organization and toured widely with it for the next seven years. In 1898 he was appointed conductor of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra, and he succeeded in raising it to the level of the finest American orchestras. In 1904 he founded the Victor Herbert Orchestra, which achieved national fame and popularity by performing light orchestral music.

Herbert was active and successful as a composer from his arrival in America. In 1894 he introduced his Second Cello Concerto with the New York Philharmonic. His tone poem *Hero and Leander* (1901) reflects the influence of Wagner and Liszt, yet he composed and arranged many marches and lighter works for band and orchestra. He composed two operas, *Natoma* (1911) and *Madeleine* (1914), and wrote one of the first scores for the classic full-length film *The Birth of a Nation* (1916). But it was as a composer of operettas that he had his greatest success. His first operetta, *Prince Ananias*, was produced in New York in 1894 by the Bostonians, a popular theater company. The work was only a modest success, but the following year saw the production of *The Wizard of the Nile*, the first of a string of hits that would last for the next 30 years. *The Serenade* (1897) and *The Fortune Teller* (1898) were major successes, and in 1899 he had three more shows in production on Broadway. In all, Herbert wrote more than 40 operettas, the most notable being *Babes in Toyland* (1903), *Mlle. Modiste* (1905), *The Red Mill* (1906), *Naughty Marietta* (1910), *Sweethearts* (1913), and *Eileen* (1917). These shows reflect the influence of Viennese operetta but also owe a debt to Gilbert and Sullivan and Tin Pan Alley. Many of the most popular songs of the era came from these works, including "Kiss Me Again," "Italian Street Song," "Ah, Sweet Mystery of Life," "Streets of New York," and "Because You're You."

Herbert was a leader in the fight for composers' rights. His testimony before Congress was influential in the passage of the copyright law of 1909 that secured composers' royalties on the sale of recorded cylinders, discs, and piano rolls. He was also one of the founders of the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), and he served as a vice president and director from 1914 until his death on May 26, 1924. He recognized the importance of sound recording and made many early recordings as a cellist and conductor.

**Further reading:** Edward N. Waters, *Victor Herbert: A Life in Music* (New York: Macmillan, 1955).

—William Peek

### Higginson, Thomas Wentworth (1823–1911)

*abolitionist, reformer, writer, minister*

A radical activist, Thomas W. Higginson was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on December 22, 1823. A well-rounded boy who loved nature, sports, and books, he entered Harvard at the age of 13 and graduated in 1841, second in his class. Higginson taught school for two years before returning to Harvard for graduate study, primarily in the Divinity School, from which he graduated in 1847. His prospects for employment were dim. He was an abolitionist who had already in 1846 published a sonnet in praise of William Lloyd Garrison and had publicly declared that the clergy should lead in righting social wrongs.

In September 1847 Higginson married his second cousin, Mary Elizabeth Channing, and thanks to a shortage of ministers, began his pastorate at the First Religious Society of Newburyport, Massachusetts. It was a conservative Unitarian congregation, and Higginson refused to tailor his beliefs to suit its views. He denounced Northern apathy over Southern slavery and Newburyport apathy over the exploitation of workers in local cotton mills. He supported WOMEN'S RIGHTS (LUCY STONE stayed in the Higginsons' home while on a lecture tour) and opposed capital punishment. After two years his congregation asked him to resign, although he was supported by women, young men, reformers, and the poor. He remained in the Newburyport area, delivering lectures, writing newspaper articles, and increasing his social activism. In 1850 he signed the call for the Worcester, Massachusetts, Woman's Rights Convention, helped form the Boston Vigilance Committee to resist the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, and ran unsuccessfully for Congress on the Free Soil ticket.

In spring 1852 he became the minister of the Free Church of Worcester. This time was on the same wavelength as his congregation, which allowed him to pursue his widening reform interests, which blossomed into a militant

activism. In 1853 he addressed the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention on "Woman and Her Wishes" and attended the World Temperance Convention in New York. When that organization slighted women delegates, Higginson led the delegates to another hall and formed the Whole World's Temperance Convention. Two years later he presided at the wedding of Stone and Henry Blackwell, where Stone retained her maiden name and Blackwell renounced his legal rights as husband.

Abolition remained Higginson's chief passion. In 1854 he led the Boston Vigilance Committee's unsuccessful attempt to free Anthony Burns, a fugitive slave held in the federal courthouse. After smashing down the door, Higginson and his fellows were confronted by club-wielding deputy federal marshals. Higginson got a nasty cut on his chin, and a pistol shot killed a marshal, ending the assault. Luckily, Higginson, who had not fired the shot, was indicted for riot rather than murder and was not prosecuted. "It would be good for the cause if they were to hang you," Stone suggested.

The 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act, opening free territory to slavery, promoted violence as proslavery and anti-slavery forces clashed in Kansas in their efforts to win that state. Doing less preaching and more acting, Higginson, in 1856, became an agent of the Massachusetts Kansas Aid Committee, visited Kansas, helped arm free state people, and sent letters to the *New York Tribune*, which published them as *A Ride Through Kansas* (1856). In 1858 Higginson was one of the "Secret Six," who agreed to support John Brown's plea for help in a "most important undertaking." Unknown to Higginson, it turned out to be Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in hopes of fomenting a slave revolt. Publicly avowing his support of Brown, Higginson in 1860 and 1861 wrote a series of sympathetic articles on slave revolts. His wife, though an invalid, fully supported his activism.

When the Civil War came in 1861, Higginson was loath to leave his wife but by 1862 had raised the 51st Massachusetts Volunteers, in which he was a captain. In November 1862 he became colonel of the 1st South Carolina Volunteers, the first of many all-black regiments in the Union army. Higginson served until May 1864, when he failed to recover from a wound. Upon his resignation he joined his wife in Newport, Rhode Island. His appreciative articles on African-American troops, who proved to be essential for Northern victory, began to appear in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1864, and in 1870 Higginson published his classic *Army Life in a Black Regiment*.

After the war Higginson devoted himself to writing. He was primarily an essayist for the *Atlantic*, but his range was broad. He remained a reformer, concentrating on women's rights. Those interests converged in his friendship and encouragement of EMILY DICKINSON (with whom he corresponded after 1862) and HELEN HUNT JACKSON



(who moved to Newport in 1866) and in his biography of Margaret Fuller. In 1890 Higginson found a publisher for Dickinson's poems and coedited two volumes of them. He maintained his friendship with Stone and for years contributed to *Woman's Journal*, the organ of her American Woman Suffrage Association. Higginson also wrote an immensely popular *Young Folks' History of the United States* (1875).

His wife, Mary Channing, died in 1877, and two years later he married Mary Thatcher. They had two daughters. Higginson moved back to Cambridge, where he continued his literary work and maintained his interest in reform but became less militant and more pragmatic than he had been in his youth. Higginson disagreed with abolitionist friends, when in 1877 he understood the political realities that caused RUTHERFORD B. HAYES to cease using federal troops to support Republican governments in South Carolina and Louisiana. In 1884 he joined the MUGWUMPS as they bolted the REPUBLICAN PARTY to support GROVER CLEVELAND for president. Higginson was impressed by EDWARD BELLAMY's utopian socialist novel *Looking Backward* (1888) and supported the Nationalist Clubs dedicated to bringing about the egalitarian society Bellamy envisioned. Appalled that the United States had joined European powers in their race for colonies, Higginson helped found the ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE in 1898.

Higginson continued to pour out essays, was the poetry editor of the *NATION* from 1877 to 1903, and was the biographer of *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (1902) and *John Greenleaf Whittier* (1902). Higginson published his autobiography, *Cheerful Yesterdays*, in 1898 and remained productive until his death on May 9, 1911. An honor guard of African-American soldiers participated in his funeral.

**Further reading:** Tilden G. Edelstein, *Strange Enthusiasm: A Life of Thomas Wentworth Higginson* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1968); Howard N. Meyer, ed., *The Magnificent Activist: The Writings of Thomas Wentworth Higginson (1823–1911)* (New York: DaCapo Press, 2000); Brenda Wineapple, *White Heat: The Friendship of Emily Dickinson and Thomas Wentworth Higginson* (New York: Knopf, 2008).

**Hill, James J.** (1838–1916) *businessman, financier*  
James Jerome Hill, the builder of the Great Northern Railway, was born on September 16, 1838, in Rockwood, Ontario, Canada, to farmers James Hill and Alice Dunbar. James J. Hill left school at age 14 and worked as a grocery-store clerk. In 1856 he moved to St. Paul, Minnesota, where he held a variety of jobs as a clerk and agent of companies involved in river and railroad transportation. In 1866 he established his own company, specializing in the



James J. Hill (left) with J. H. Carroll (Library of Congress)

transfer and warehousing of freight, and in 1867 he contracted to supply the St. Paul & Pacific Railroad with fuel. Poorly managed, that railroad went bankrupt in 1873, and Hill, recognizing the importance of rail transportation to the future of the Northwest, acquired it in 1878 with the support of three Canadian investors. Hill extended the St. Paul & Pacific line to link St. Paul with Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, in 1878, and the next year he reorganized it as the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railway. He also built west through the Dakotas and Montana to Great Falls by 1887. In contrast to the jerry-built Northern Pacific Railroad (NP), Hill's road was carefully surveyed, well constructed, and efficiently managed. In 1890 Hill united all his railroad holdings in to the Great Northern Railway Company, a vast network that in 1893 reached Seattle, Washington, and for a time ran steamships to China and Japan.

While dedicated to the expansion of his rail empire, Hill was implacable in defending and promoting his financial interests and in eliminating competition. Hill and financier J. PIERPONT MORGAN in 1896 gained control of the NP, and in 1901 they acquired the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railway Company (CB&Q), thus gaining access to Chicago. Edward H. Harriman, the dominant figure in southwestern railroads, and who was backed by financier Jacob Schiff, also wanted the CB&Q and challenged Hill and Morgan for control of the NP, which had half-interest in the CB&Q. The bidding for NP stock was so intense that Wall Street was shaken, but the rivals made an uneasy peace later that year by forming the Northern Securities

Company, with Hill as president. Serving as a holding company for the Great Northern, the NP, and the CB&Q systems, the Northern Securities Company was dissolved in 1904 when the SUPREME COURT declared it to be in violation of the SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT of 1890. Despite the Court's action, the NP remained strongly influenced by Hill. Ironically, in 1970 the Interstate Commerce Commission approved the merger of the Great Northern, NP, and the CB&Q.

Hill was widely regarded as an "empire builder." To generate traffic for the Great Northern, he promoted the settlement and development of the Northwest. He encouraged immigration, sought to improve farming methods, and by keeping freight rates and passenger fares affordable along his right of way, earned a reputation for concern for the welfare of the pioneers in the region. Hill had the clear vision to see that their prosperity was the source of the Great Northern's strength and his fortune. He died in St. Paul on May 29, 1916.

**Further reading:** Michael P. Malone, *James J. Hill: Empire Builder of the Northwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Albrow Martin, *James J. Hill and the Opening of the Northwest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

—Dennis Wepman

### **Hoar, George F.** (1826–1904) *politician*

Born in Concord, Massachusetts, on August 29, 1826, George Frisbie Hoar, a distinguished reform-minded U.S. senator, came from an eminent family. His grandfather Roger Sherman had signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution; his father Samuel was a conspicuous antislavery man driven from South Carolina by a mob in 1844; his older brother Ebenezer Rockwood was Ulysses S. Grant's attorney general; and his sister Elizabeth was noted for her brilliance among the outstanding intellectuals of their town. Hoar graduated from Harvard College and Harvard Law School, practiced in Worcester, Massachusetts, entered politics as a Free-Soiler, and joined the Republican Party in 1856. From 1856 to 1857 he worked with the free-state element in Kansas. After several years in the Massachusetts legislature, Hoar served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1869 to 1877 and from then on in the Senate until his death in Worcester on September 30, 1904.

While always loyal to the Republican Party, Hoar neither forgot its reform origins nor his own heritage of conscientious public service. Honest, upright, decent, and forthright, Hoar had an independent streak, and when aware of wrongdoing, he would expose the misdeeds and oppose the policies of fellow Republicans if he thought

them wrong. He helped investigate the Credit Mobilier scandal (implicating the vice president and members of Congress for taking bribes), opposed the so-called Salary Grab Act (1873) (retroactively raising congressmen's salaries), and in 1876 was a manager of the impeachment of Grant's secretary of war (for selling Indian-post traderships) even after he had resigned.

Having begun his career as an antislavery reformer, Hoar consistently supported civil rights for all (the Fourteenth Amendment); voting rights for AFRICAN AMERICANS (the Fifteenth Amendment, which he thought was "the crowning measure of Reconstruction"), and for women (for which he wrote pamphlets); and the rights of Chinese immigrants and NATIVE AMERICANS. He also worked to purify politics and to improve the machinery of government. He supported the 1883 PENDLETON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ACT, which required that civil servants be appointed on the basis of open competitive examinations, and he wrote the 1887 repeal of the Tenure of Office Act as well as the 1886 Presidential Succession Act. The growth of monopoly disturbed Hoar, who was an architect of the 1890 SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT and who later sought to regulate corporations more effectively by licensing those engaged in interstate commerce.

In the twilight of his career Hoar denounced IMPERIALISM as contrary to the ideals of the founders of the Republican Party, the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and the morality of the Golden Rule. Urging that the United States promote self-determination, he strongly favored Cuban independence and opposed the annexation of the Philippines and Puerto Rico. The anti-imperialist crusade failed: CUBA, nominally independent, became an American protectorate; Puerto Rico became a colony; and the Philippines were conquered and annexed. Self-determination was ignored, but a generation after Hoar's death the United States found that self-determination was preferable to imperialism.

**Further reading:** Richard E. Welch Jr., *George Frisbie Hoar and the Half-Breed Republicans* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971).

**holding companies** See TRUSTS.

### **Homer, Winslow** (1836–1910) *painter, illustrator*

Winslow Homer is credited with originating an American vein of realism in depictions of genre scenes, the landscape, and the seascape. His was a muscular realism that celebrated the paint surface.

Born in Boston on February 24, 1836, Homer had a two-year apprenticeship with a lithographer, almost his only



*The Unruly Calf*, by Winslow Homer, 1875 (Library of Congress)

formal training. In 1857 he began supporting himself as a freelance illustrator for magazines and newspapers, work he continued for 20 years. His images of the Civil War, which focused on the soldiers' everyday camp life instead of the battlefield, received wide circulation. In 1866–67 he traveled to Paris, where he probably saw the work of early modernists such as Edouard Manet and Gustave Courbet. The color theorist Eugene Chevreul and Japanese art also influenced Homer. In the 1860s and 1870s he was an active figure in the New York art world, and his oils and watercolors found a ready market. Always an active outdoorsman, Homer chose, after 1884, to live much of his life in the relative isolation of Prout's Neck, Maine, where he died on September 29, 1910.

Homer found his first success as a painter with genre scenes expressed in a distinctly American idiom. A series depicting public education included *Snap the Whip* (1872, Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown, Ohio), which shows boys playing that game in front of a one-room rural school house. The painting was widely exhibited and frequently engraved. Among the paintings derived from his work as a war correspondent was *Prisoners from the Front* (1866, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), which

depicts a young Union officer inspecting three Confederate captives, the dress, posture, and facial expressions of each conveying their rank and character. A decade later Homer revisited the South and perceptively painted recently freed slaves at work, *The Cotton Pickers* (1876, Los Angeles County Museum of Art), and at leisure, *Sunday Morning in Virginia* (1877, Cincinnati Art Museum).

Homer often turned his attraction to dramatic landscapes and dramatic events in the landscape rendered dispassionately. He painted the sporting life in the Adirondacks: deer frantically swimming away from hunters, a fighting trout at the end of a line, and the rugged guides who made such scenes accessible to Homer and his patrons. Winters spent in Bermuda, Florida, and other warm places resulted in vivid watercolors. Some of his oils distill these outdoor experiences; for example, in *The Fox Hunt* (1893, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia), two crows and their quarry, a fox, are silhouetted against the snow; the canvas quotes Japanese prints as well as real life.

Homer is perhaps most well known for his seascapes. Many earlier genre scenes included the water; for example, *Breezing Up* (1876, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), shows a group on a small sloop experiencing the



exhilaration of a sail full of wind. From a 20-month stay in Cullercoats on the North Sea coast in England came many iconic depictions of fisherwomen and the sea. As time went on, his seascapes became stripped down to depictions of waves, rocks, and sky. Although works such as *Northeaster* (1895, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) fit comfortably into an international vogue for marine painting, Homer's paintings were seen as being especially American in their vigor.

**Further reading:** Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., and Franklin Kelly, *Winslow Homer* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995).

—Karen Zukowski

### homesteading

The effect of the Homestead Act, which gave settlers free farms under certain conditions, has been exaggerated. After years of agitation, the Homestead Act passed CONGRESS on May 20, 1862. It provided that any American citizen or alien 21 years of age who filed papers declaring his or her intent to become a citizen could settle on 160 acres (a quarter of a section) of public land and, after residing on and cultivating it for five years, would gain title to that land. Since a married couple could only obtain 160 acres and a single man and a single woman could each obtain 160 acres, some delayed marriage and lived in a home straddling the dividing line of their adjoining properties.

Advocates of the Homestead Act hoped it would provide homes in the West for poor urban laborers and tenant farmers in the East. They were disappointed; it did not provide relief for the needy. Most of the land available for homesteads was located west of the Mississippi, and the cost of moving a family hundreds or thousands of miles was prohibitive for workers and tenants who could hardly provide for their families and had no savings. Once on the land, shelter had to be built, draft animals and implements had to be acquired, and two or three years of "sod busting" had to be done before the land would yield crops sufficient to support a family. On top of these difficulties, most urban workers knew nothing about farming, and much of the available land was arid and suitable only for grazing. To raise cattle successfully, 160 acres was entirely too small. Younger sons of middle-income farmers were better equipped to succeed at homesteading, but even they found it difficult; before 1890 two-thirds of all homesteaders failed.

The overwhelming majority of settlers purchased their land from either RAILROADS or land speculators, because they owned the land most fertile and closest to transportation. Railroads had received huge land grants to encourage their construction in sparsely settled areas and had grabbed the best land, while speculators using dummy settlers took

advantage of loopholes in the Homestead Act and engrossed large amounts of desirable land. Probably only one-eighth and possibly only one-tenth of the family farms established from 1870 to 1900 were acquired by genuine settlers under the terms of the Homestead Act. The cost of land was not exorbitant: Since the railroads wanted settlers producing freight along their right of way, they sold their land relatively cheaply, and land speculators to remain competitive did the same. Given the expense of establishing a farm, it made economic sense to buy productive land rather than cultivate poor, albeit free, land. Nevertheless, the dream of providing free farms to settlers was largely frustrated while land speculators and railroads made a profit.

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### Homestead Strike (1892)

The Homestead Strike, or technically lockout, was a struggle between the most powerful union in the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) and Carnegie Steel, one of the largest enterprises in America. When ANDREW CARNEGIE purchased the Homestead Mill in 1889, he attempted to lower costs by announcing a 25 percent decrease in wages, but the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers forced him to rescind the pay cut and sign a three-year contract. Since Carnegie was not one to share control of the workplace, it was a pyrrhic victory for the Amalgamated.

In 1892 Carnegie instructed his chairman, HENRY C. FRICK, to remove the union from Homestead. Frick prepared for a confrontation with the union by increasing production and constructing a 12-foot-high stockade around the plant. In April, Frick demanded that the union accept a 22 percent cut in wages and gave the union until June 24 to accept his terms. On June 9, the day before the contract expired, he closed the mill.

To keep the company from replacing its members, the Amalgamated organized a 24-hour watch to prevent anyone from entering the plant. Frick asked local authorities to protect company property, but finding little sympathy in the community, he turned to outside support. On July 6, a steamer towed two barges containing 300 armed Pinkerton detectives from Pittsburgh up the Monongahela River toward Homestead. Despite efforts at secrecy, strikers and their sympathizers knew the PINKERTONS were coming. The strikers, most carrying weapons, broke through the stockade around the plant and were on hand at the landing near the pump house when the barges arrived. A shot followed by a volley killed one detective and wounded five as they attempted to disembark. The Pinkertons returned the



fire, killing three and wounding 30. The battle continued sporadically throughout the day, claiming a total of 16 dead and 60 wounded. Finally the Pinkertons surrendered, and an angry crowd assaulted them as they were marched to the railroad station.

Although peace returned to Homestead after the battle, Governor Robert Pattison ordered the Pennsylvania National Guard into the steel community. Under the command of General George Snowden, the troops protected strikebreakers and allowed the plant to reopen. Public opinion at first was solidly aligned against Carnegie Steel, but the bungled attempted assassination of Frick on July 23 by anarchist Alexander Berkman eroded this support. Nevertheless the union continued its fight until November 20, when, with its treasury exhausted and its stockpile of supplies depleted, the Amalgamated called off the strike. Carnegie Steel, however, rehired only a few of the strikers and blacklisted their leaders. The defeat at Homestead virtually eliminated effective trade unionism in the steel industry for more than 40 years.

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—Harold W. Aurand

### Hooker, Isabella Beecher (1822–1907) *women's rights activist*

Isabella Beecher Hooker was a radical, eccentric suffragist. Born on February 22, 1822, in Litchfield, Connecticut, Hooker was the daughter of the distinguished Calvinist minister Lyman Beecher, and she was the half sister of HENRY WARD BEECHER, the preacher; Catharine Beecher, the educator; and Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author. Educated largely in schools founded by Catharine, Isabella in 1841 married John Hooker, a lawyer, but having observed the “radical defect” in the marriages of her brothers, she did so with the understanding that she and John would be partners. They ultimately settled in Hartford, prospered, and raised three children. Although she desired domestic equality, Isabella Hooker was not attracted to the WOMEN'S RIGHTS movement until the 1860s, when she read the English philosopher John Stuart Mill on the enfranchisement of women.

Hooker, who had longed for some kind of significant public activity, found her avocation. She met SUSAN B. ANTHONY and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and in 1868 joined OLYMPIA BROWN in establishing the New England Woman Suffrage Association. In that same year she published “A Mother's Letters to a Daughter on Woman's Suffrage” in

*Putnam's Magazine*. In 1869 Hooker joined the National Woman's Suffrage Association (NWSA) and was the chief organizer of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association. John Hooker, with the support of Isabella, drafted a married-woman's property bill that in 1870 was introduced in the Connecticut state legislature; the Hookers lobbied vigorously for the bill until it passed in 1877. Isabella Hooker played a prominent role in NWSA meetings, testified at congressional hearings, and also published arguments for women's rights, including *Womanhood: Its Sanctities and Fidelities* (1873). Drawing upon her own life, Hooker argued that a woman's job supervising children and running a household gave her ample experience to participate in government.

Hooker had radical and bizarre ideas. Her preacher relatives were not happy that she agreed with Anthony and Stanton that marriage and divorce laws needed reform to give women equal rights. Her Beecher relations were made even more unhappy by Hooker's support of VICTORIA WOODHULL, a suffragist, spiritualist, and an adventurer whom she befriended after Woodhull addressed the January 1871 Washington Convention that Hooker had organized. In November 1872 Woodhull published in *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* the scandalous tale of Henry Ward Beecher's adulterous affair with a parishioner, Elizabeth Tilton. While the Beechers supported Henry, Hooker was the exception and was ostracized by her family. She obviously thought him guilty and deplored the double standard that exonerated her brother. The Beechers, for their part, accused her of mental instability.

The alienation and accusations of her family took their toll on Hooker. In 1874 she and John went to Europe for two years, and they found some solace in spiritualism, to which Woodhull had introduced them. Upon her return in 1876 she got the idea that she was destined to lead a matriarchal government of the United States and then of the world. With local Hartford mediums present on New Year's Eve 1876, she expected to receive the call, but it did not come. Hooker abandoned her fantastic notion (but not spiritualism) and continued to work for women's rights. After the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) (1890) emphasized state campaigns, she backed Olympia Brown's Federal Suffrage Association (1892), but her activities tapered off. She died in Hartford on January 25, 1907.

**Further reading:** Milton Rugoff, *The Beechers: An American Family in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981).

### Hoosac Tunnel

The Hoosac Tunnel, one of the great engineering feats of the 19th century, had its inception in the early years of what

the historian George Rogers Taylor has called the “transportation revolution.” The westward movement across the Appalachians after the War of 1812 created a demand for easier and faster transport of people and goods to the Ohio Valley and other points west. In 1819 a canal tunnel was proposed to run under the Berkshire Mountain Range, 136 miles west of Boston. In 1826, soon after the Erie Canal opened in New York, surveys were made for the Berkshire canal. However, plans changed when the RAILROAD age began in the 1830s. In 1848 the Troy & Greenfield Railroad was chartered, and in 1850 surveys were made for a railroad tunnel.

Work began in 1851 on what would be known as the Hoosac Tunnel. It was finally completed in 1874, and the first train passed through in the following year. The statistics were staggering for that period. The tunnel ran for four and three quarter miles and cost, in 1874 dollars, \$21,241,342. The rock excavation was 24 feet wide and 20 feet high, requiring the removal of 2 million tons of rock. Half a million pounds of nitroglycerin were used, the first commercial use of that powerful and unstable explosive. Giovanni Battista Piatti, an Italian inventor, devised the rock drill, in which steam or compressed air powered a hammer tool to drill holes for the explosive. The pneumatic drill was used for the Mont Cenis tunnel in the Swiss Alps, eight and a half miles long, which when opened in 1871 was the longest tunnel in the world. It was also used in the Hoosac Tunnel, which became the second longest tunnel in the world when it opened and remained the longest tunnel in North America until 1916. It is still the longest tunnel east of the Rocky Mountains.

The Hoosac Tunnel cost more than sweat and dollars. Its toll in lives has been variously estimated but appears to have approached 200. The chief causes of death among construction workers were “tunnel sickness” due to heat, foul air, explosives, and rock falls. But in the 19th century such deaths were accepted as the unavoidable price of progress.

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—Robert V. Bruce

## horse racing

During the 1860s, several newly made millionaires revived the sport of horse racing. The troubled sport had been on the verge of collapse for the previous two decades because of inconsistent patronage from the nation’s wealthiest classes, national economic problems, and charges of gambling, chicanery, and commercialism. Wealthy patrons,

however, ushered horse racing into a new golden age, building new tracks, providing large stakes, reducing corruption, and shortening racing distances. John Morrissey, a former boxing champion and TAMMANY HALL politician, opened a racetrack at Saratoga Springs, New York, in August 1863 and persuaded New York socialites Leonard Jerome, the American grandfather of Sir Winston Churchill, and William Travers to join him in the venture. He earned considerable profits with an extensive August racing season that attracted notables. Previously, race meetings usually had lasted just one or two days. Morrissey arranged the first stakes races, named after the aristocratic Travers family, and offered generous purse money.

In 1866 Leonard Jerome, enlisting the support of Travers, August Belmont, and other wealthy New Yorkers, founded the American Jockey Club as a central governing board. The American Jockey Club reestablished racing on a firm basis in New York, building Jerome Park on more than 200 acres of land in Westchester County. The nation’s most lavish course, it contained a luxurious clubhouse, barred the sale of liquor, and discouraged professional gamblers. The Belmont Stakes, the oldest of the Triple Crown races, was held at Jerome Park from 1867 to 1888 and shifted to Morris Park in 1889. Ruthless, ridden by J. Gilpatrick, captured the first Belmont Stakes in 1867. Jim McLaughlin rode six Belmont Stakes winners between 1882 and 1888, missing only in 1885. Morris Park opened in August 1889 and sponsored races through 1904. The American Jockey Club, whose wealth and social status extended well beyond New York City, led the movement to replace the old three- or four-mile heats with shorter dashes that emphasized speed over stamina and permitted the running of several daily races. The Travers Stakes, Belmont Stakes, and other large permanent prizes brought greater excitement and stability to horse racing.

Racetracks were built in 1870 at Monmouth Park in New Jersey and at Pimlico in Baltimore, Maryland; in 1873 at the Fair Grounds in New Orleans, Louisiana; and in 1875 at Churchill Downs in Louisville, Kentucky. The Preakness Stakes at Pimlico and the Kentucky Derby at Churchill Downs soon joined the Belmont Stakes as Triple Crown races. George Barbee triumphed aboard Survivor in the inaugural Preakness Stakes in 1873 and aboard Shirley in 1876, while Lloyd Hughes rode three Preakness winners in 1875, 1879, and 1880. In 1875 Oliver Lewis captured the initial Kentucky Derby aboard Aristides for a \$2,850 prize. Isaac Murphy, a black jockey, rode three Kentucky Derby winners: Buchanan in 1884, Riley in 1890, and Kingman in 1891. Willie Simms followed suit with Ben Brush in 1896 and Plaudit in 1898. Other tracks opened in Chicago, Cincinnati, Memphis, Boston, and Springfield, Massachusetts, and more Thoroughbreds were imported from England.

Murphy and Edward “Snapper” Garrison were the era’s most dominant jockeys. In addition to his three Kentucky Derby wins, Murphy in June 1890 guided Salvator to a half-head victory over Garrison’s Tenny at Sheepshead Bay in Brooklyn, New York, in a widely publicized, exciting race. Murphy rode nearly every famous American horse and triumphed in every major race except the Futurity Stakes at Belmont Park, compiling 628 victories in 1,412 mounts. Garrison, one of the first jockeys to use the short stirrups and monkey crouch, usually lagged behind and then thrilled crowds with spectacular, breathtaking finishes. From 1880 to 1896, he won more than \$2 million in nearly 700 races.

Racing lacked national governing control until the 1890s, with each racing association operating under its own rules. The Jockey Club, incorporated by 50 industrial and financial giants in February 1894 and headquartered in New York, adopted uniform national racing rules, appointed officials, licensed jockeys, and set national racing dates. Bookmakers from Great Britain made their first appearance on American tracks in 1873 and broadened gambling to the small-time bettor. At that time, bookmaking was the only form of wagering allowed on New York tracks. Horse-racing authorities turned to machine politicians in New York, New Orleans, Chicago, and elsewhere to obtain the repeal (or exemption from enforcement) of laws restricting racing and gambling. Political leaders in New York and other horse-racing centers were willing to help and maintained close connections with track officials.

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—David L. Porter

## housing

The major housing need between 1870 and 1900 was simply to provide dwellings for the nation’s exploding population, which doubled from 38.6 to 76 million. This task was particularly challenging in cities, since the urban population more than tripled, from 9.9 to 30.2 million, during these years. In these three decades 6.4 million new urban housing units were built for 20.3 million new urban residents, a ratio of 3.2 new residents per new unit. By way of comparison, nationwide there were five persons per dwelling unit in 1890 and 4.8 in 1900. Between 1880 and 1900 the number of dwellings increased at a faster rate than the number of inhabitants in 18 of the 28 largest cities.

Housing came in a wide variety of types, sizes, configurations, and materials. The diverse housing stock comprised millionaires’ mansions along Cleveland’s Euclid Avenue and on Beacon Hill in Boston, as well as lavish suburban estates far from urban congestion and pollution; sharecroppers’ shacks in the rural South; tenements in New York City; apartments above commercial buildings everywhere; balloon-frame, wooden two- and three-story houses in new subdivisions on city outskirts; wooden upstairs-downstairs duplexes in midwestern industrial cities; and the endless streets of brick rowhouses—three- and four-story narrow, attached single-family residences—in Baltimore and Philadelphia.

The single-family residence was the norm not only in rural and small-town settings but also in the nation’s large cities. In 1890 at least 75 percent of the housing stock in two-thirds of the 28 largest cities was single family; in Denver, Indianapolis, New Orleans, Omaha, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, single-family residences constituted more than 90 percent of total dwellings. Only in New York City did single-family houses comprise less than half of the dwellings.

Home ownership was an important goal for many households, both as a form of investment and as a means of gaining greater control over a family’s housing destiny and higher status. Housing tenure was first measured systematically in the census of 1890, so earlier estimates are somewhat episodic. Both the 1890 and 1900 censuses showed national ownership rates of 47 percent. In these years there was a substantial gap between ownership in rural and urban areas: The rural rate was 65 percent ownership, as compared with only 37 percent in urban areas, which also had widely varying ownership rates.

Obtaining financing was a major obstacle to purchasing one’s own house, especially in urban areas. Despite



Homes of the poorer classes, Chattanooga, Tennessee (Library of Congress)

the growth of building and loan associations, individuals still accounted for more than half of all home loans in the last decade of the century, and land contracts were more prevalent than mortgages. Repayment schemes were not well developed, so buying homes required large down payments and short mortgages or contracts. Most borrowers made regular payments only on the interest, so they had to repay the entire loan at the end of the two-to-three-year contract, which meant they had to obtain a new loan and hopefully, but not always, reduce the amount of the loan. Under these conditions, home lending was a risky business and less attractive to lenders than loans for rental properties, a factor that increased the costs and risks for home buyers.

While the increase in quantity of new housing exceeded the increase in population, the quality of that housing was uneven at best. The poignant, stark photographs of immigrant families in New York City by JACOB A. RIIS published in the mid-1880s and his classic book *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) constitute the most enduring and widespread images of housing in late 19th-century urban America, leaving the impression that all immigrants and working-class city dwellers lived in dark, windowless, airless, unsanitary, overcrowded, tiny tenement apartments. However, outside New York City most working-class city dwellers lived in single-family houses at much lower densities. But in all cities shoddy construction resulted in inferior dwelling units. Primitive technology and the enormous expense of providing infrastructure for explosive urban growth created neighborhoods with few amenities, many liberally strewn with animal and human refuse and with streets that became quagmires and virtual cesspools when it rained.

Reformers, especially ALFRED TREDWAY WHITE, linked the problem of housing to the problem of slums. Working with SETTLEMENT HOUSE children in Brooklyn, New York, White found that defective sewers and crowded tenements were at the root of most health and social problems. Convinced that it was “better to build homes which will prevent” disease than hospitals to cure it, he studied low-income housing in London. Starting in 1877 and continuing through the century, White built in Brooklyn the world’s most advanced housing for working families. Although New York City, Boston, and Milwaukee had established codes with minimum standards for space, light, direct access, and plumbing since the late 1860s, these codes were considered too costly and seldom enforced. Making his slogan “Philanthropy and five percent” a reality, White proved that good housing rented to those of limited means could be profitable. His housing and the publicity he gave it inspired Riis’s classic book and helped enact the New York State tenement legislation of 1895. Showing other late 19th-century housing reformers the way, White

became a leading member of the New York State Tenement House Commission, bringing stronger regulations in all cities, patterned on the landmark New York Tenement House Law of 1901.

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—J. Paul Mitchell

### **Howells, William Dean** (1837–1920) *writer*

A leading realistic novelist of the Gilded Age, William Dean Howells was also its most distinguished literary critic. The son of Mary Dean and William Cooper Howells, a printer and journalist, William Dean Howells was born on March 1, 1837, in Martin’s Ferry, Ohio, but his family moved to Hamilton, 20 miles from Cincinnati, when he was three. His father was an idealistic, abolitionist editor of a Whig newspaper who sacrificed the family’s prosperity for his egalitarian radicalism. Young Howells had almost no formal education and was working as a typesetter in his father’s shop by the age of nine. The family moved repeatedly as the elder Howells tried to restore his fortunes with a variety of unsuccessful newspapers, and at the age of 19 Howells began reporting on the state legislature for a Cincinnati paper. Two years later, in 1858, he became editor of the *Ohio State Journal* at Columbus. In 1860 his campaign biography of Abraham Lincoln earned him enough to visit the cultural center of the country, Boston. There he met such luminaries as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and James Russell Lowell. Howells’s biography impressed the newly elected Lincoln enough to bring him an appointment as consul at Venice, a post he held from 1861 to 1865. In 1862 he married Elinor Mead, a gifted artist, with whom he had three children. Within a year of his return to Boston, he joined the staff of the *Atlantic Monthly*, of which he became editor in 1871. During his ten years in that position, his essays made him one of the most influential critics in the country, and he published six novels of his own, developing a distinctive literary voice of objective psychological and social realism.



With his seventh novel, *A Modern Instance* (1882), Howells emerged as the leader of the realistic school in America, portraying the average American with sensitivity to the interaction of character and social conditions. His best-known work, *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, published four years later, wittily contrasts the Boston aristocracy of Beacon Hill with a self-made man who tries to rise in genteel society, loses his fortune, and rises above his defeat by strength of character. In *Lapham*, Howells created a classic American type, his vulgarity and pushiness offset by his scrupulous moral rectitude. In *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (1890), Howells examined the effect of industrialism on the common person and demonstrated his growing engagement with social issues. Influenced by Leo Tolstoy, he dealt increasingly with issues of poverty and suffering and the need for more humane values in the capitalist age. He became one of literature's leading voices for liberal causes, taking a courageous stand for the anarchists condemned as a result of the HAYMARKET RIOT of 1886, helping found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909, and supporting labor in the PULLMAN STRIKE of 1894.

Howells wrote the Editor's Study column for *Harper's Monthly* from 1886 to 1891 and the Editor's Easy Chair from 1900 until his death. A forum for his socialist ideas and modernist literary opinions, these influential posts enabled him to promote the reputations of EMILY DICKINSON and his close friend HENRY JAMES, introduce the work of several Russian novelists to America, and encourage such emerging realist writers as HAMLIN GARLAND, STEPHEN CRANE, and Theodore Dreiser. Much honored in his later years, he became known as the dean of American letters. He was the president of the American Academy of Arts and Letters from its founding in 1904 until his death on May 11, 1920.

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—Dennis Wepman

**Hunt, Richard Morris** See ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

**Hunt, William Morris** See PAINTING.

**Huntington, Collis Potter** (1821–1900) *businessman, financier*

Railroad builder and financier, Collis P. Huntington was born in Harwinton, Connecticut, on October 22, 1821. His meager education ended when he was 13 (he later

suggested that if he had had a liberal education he might not have learned to work), and at 14 he supported himself by working on a neighbor's farm for his board and \$7 a month. Having saved all he earned, Huntington went to New York in 1836 and the following year began peddling clocks and watches, primarily in the southern countryside. In 1842 he and his brother Solon opened a hardware store in Oneonta, New York, which in a few years became the largest business in Otsego County. Peddling and stocking a store honed Huntington's bargaining skills. He married Elizabeth T. Stoddard on September 16, 1844, and adopted her niece Clara, having no children of his own.

In 1849 Huntington joined the California gold rush with trading goods, including casks of whiskey. Stuck in Panama for three months before securing passage to San Francisco, he began trading his goods and parlayed his capital from \$1,200 to \$5,000. After a day of mining he decided that supplying miners' needs was more congenial and profitable. Although he set up trading posts, he soon concentrated on a hardware business in Sacramento. When a fire destroyed his shop and that of a competitor, Mark Hopkins, they formed Huntington and Hopkins Hardware and thanks largely to Huntington's savvy prospered in California's speculative business environment.

Ironically, political, rather than economic, turmoil gave Huntington his great opportunity. In 1854 the issue of slavery extension into the territories broke up the Whig Party and led to the formation of the Republican Party. Along with Leland Stanford and Charles Crocker, a fellow merchant, Huntington and Hopkins founded the California Republican Party, and Stanford became governor in 1861. The political clout of the Big Four (as they were later called), enhanced by the Abraham Lincoln administration's anxiety to bind California to the Union in the Civil War, coincided with their backing of the feasible proposal by Theodore D. Judah, a brilliant engineer, for a RAILROAD through the formidable Sierra Nevada, connecting California with the East. The Big Four financed a survey of Judah's route and incorporated the Central Pacific Railroad (CP) in 1861. Abetted by Huntington and Stanford, Judah went to Washington, D.C., to lobby for a federal subsidy for their proposed railroad and succeeded with the Pacific Railway Act (1862, amended 1864), generously supporting the CP's building east and the Union Pacific's (UP) building west from Omaha, Nebraska. Although Judah conceived the railroad and was primarily responsible for securing federal aid, Huntington disliked him. The dissension, which had developed among rival parties within the CP organization, ended in 1863, when Judah died.

The Big Four energetically pushed construction of the CP. Huntington, their strategist, moved to New York to secure financing for a risky undertaking and to purchase and ship tons of rails and other supplies around Cape Horn

to California. Crocker supervised the actual construction of the road by 2,000 Chinese laborers, wielding picks and shovels and aided by blasting powder, through the Sierra Nevada. Hopkins kept the books, while Stanford, as governor and later as U.S. senator, looked after the road's political interests. The Big Four profited exorbitantly from building the road, which in May 1869 linked up with the UP near Ogden, Utah. The construction company they owned and whose records they destroyed, built in 1867, for example, more than 550 miles of the road and apparently charged the more broadly owned CP double construction costs. The Big Four had cheated both the minority CP stockholders and the federal government.

While building east, the Big Four, led by Huntington, moved to consolidate their position in California by acquiring small railroads around San Francisco and extending the Southern Pacific (SP) south to Los Angeles. In the early 1870s Huntington feared that THOMAS ALEXANDER SCOTT, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, who had in 1872 gained control of the Texas & Pacific (T&P) would extend it through El Paso westward into southern California. Huntington succeeded in stopping Scott at El Paso by combining unsavory lobbying (bribing congressmen, for example) with audacious actions. He secured for the SP the right to build to Yuma, Arizona, to meet and stop the T&P there, and then, while federal authorities hesitated between his and Scott's claims, to build east to El Paso and ultimately to New Orleans, seizing the right of way. By 1887 the SP had been extended north to Oregon, and the "Octopus," as it was called, had California in its grip.

Although renowned as the leading figure of the Big Four, Huntington also developed a major railroad in the East and temporarily created a true transcontinental railroad from coast to coast. In 1869 he became president of

the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad (C&O) and supervised its expansion westward to Cincinnati, Ohio, and established its eastern terminus at Newport News, Virginia. Through a holding company in the mid-1880s he secured connections between the C&O at Cincinnati and the SP at New Orleans and achieved a transcontinental railroad until the holding company went bankrupt in 1888. With his California colleagues not interested in his ambitions for a coast-to-coast railroad, Huntington that same year sold his holdings in the C&O.

Huntington's wife died in 1883, and on July 12, 1884, he married Arabella Duval Yarrington Worsham and adopted her son, Archer. In 1889 his adopted daughter, Clara, married a German nobleman, who turned out to be far from noble.

Huntington, who died on August 13, 1900, was a hard-driving, shrewd, risk-taking businessman. His energy was phenomenal, his courage great, and his judgment sound. He was also vindictive, duplicitous, and corrupt. Although public funds helped build his enterprises, which were public carriers, he did not feel obliged to the public. He was a robber baron as well as an industrial statesman. Despite his shortcomings, Huntington was primarily responsible for creating the SP as one of the world's greatest railroad systems.

See also *ROBBER BARONS, THE*.

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### illustration, photography, and the graphic arts

In their daily lives, Americans at the end of the 19th century encountered more images than any other culture had yet experienced. Trends converged to produce an explosive growth in illustrated media of all types: America's rising population became increasingly literate. The introduction of a second-class postal rate and improved railroad networks meant faster and wider distribution of printed goods. America's expanding manufacturing capabilities spawned a consumer economy buoyed by mass communication, especially ADVERTISING. Images captured attention and conveyed information, and they were put to the service of this new economy. Newly minted professionals—commercial artists, illustrators, photographers, and graphic designers—supplied these images.

In the 1880s and 1890s, important advances were made in the technologies used for the mass reproduction of images. By 1876 the Webb press could print 15,000 large-format sheets per hour, and Mergenthaler's linotype machine, in use at the *New York Tribune* by 1886, was one of several devices that mechanized typesetting. Wood engraving, the staple of the illustrated media at mid-century, was supplanted by various methods of photoengraving, especially the halftone. By this process any image could be photographed through a screen that converted it into a set of dots that were then transferred mechanically, via acid, to a printing plate. Although printing plates were often improved by hand, the halftone process eliminated the need for large corps of engravers. Professional photographers flourished as the dry-plate process, accessory lenses, and handheld cameras made photography less cumbersome and complex. Amateur photography boomed after 1888 when the Kodak camera was introduced, with its slogan "you push the button and we do the rest." Chromolithography, used for color images, became more industrialized and less costly. In short, the production of images became a profession separate from the production of other printed matter, and images could be created much faster and at a much lower cost.

A wide variety of media incorporated images. In 1865, 700 periodicals were published in America, but by 1900 the number was 5,000. Illustrated MAGAZINES and NEWSPAPERS were published daily, weekly, and monthly and were aimed at the most general and the most specialized audiences. Among those that owed their success to their illustrations were *Scribner's*, *Century*, *Harper's Weekly*, *Leslie's Weekly*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Popular Science*, and *Life*. Publishing conglomerates were formed; Harper's, for example, published four major magazines in addition to their books. Novels and children's books were commonly illustrated. Advertising and promotional media proliferated, and trade cards, posters, and packaging were often produced in vivid color chromolithography. Illustration pervaded every aspect of life through ephemeral and miscellaneous materials such as sheet-MUSIC covers, stock certificates, wallpapers, billheads, and receipts. Portrait photography came within the reach of most households. Large photographic companies commissioned depictions of subjects of public interest: foreign countries, the American West, celebrities, and newsworthy events such as world's fairs. These images were published as stereographs, cabinet cards, and in portfolios that were commonly sold through bookstores. With the improved printing methods, photography in magazines, newspapers, and reports also became commonplace.

All these images were supplied by artists who often straddled the worlds of fine art and commercial art. Prominent painters, among them Edwin Austin Abbey, Howard Pyle, and FREDERIC REMINGTON, also produced oils intended as book and magazine illustrations. The Gibson Girl, introduced in 1890, became a vehicle for social synopsis, and its creator, Charles Dana Gibson, was a celebrated art editor, publisher, and painter.

Illustrations could be a force for social change; JACOB RIIS's photographs of slum images in *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) prompted housing reform. In 1878 Eadweard Muybridge first used stop-action photography to document



a horse trotting, and his continued work advanced the scientific study of animal and human locomotion. Mainly, though, illustration illuminated or decorated. Will Bradley introduced the art nouveau style to American audiences through his posters and magazine covers. While fine engravings produced in limited editions by JAMES MCNEILL WHISTLER, WILLIAM MERRITT CHASE, and MARY CASATT entered the collections of connoisseurs, high-quality chromolithographs, such as William Michael Harnett's *The Old Violin* and Daniel Ridgway Knight's *Hailing the Ferry*, decorated middle-class houses.

Editors and publishers, such as Charles Parsons at *Harper's*, Cyrus H. K. Curtis of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, and Louis Prang, maker of chromolithographs and greeting cards, shaped America's visual culture.

The history of American late-19th-century illustration is still largely unwritten. Because so many artists worked freelance and anonymously, their accomplishments remain untraceable except through the initials they incorporated within their illustrations.

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—Karen Zukowski

## immigration

The United States is a nation of immigrants and their children. From the earliest migrants who walked from Asia over an isthmus at what is now the Bering Strait many thousand years ago, peoples have come to America in waves. The main flow of immigration to the United States in 1870 has come to be known as the “Old Immigration,” and it began just after the Napoleonic Wars. Between 1820 and 1880 more than 10 million immigrants entered the country. More than 90 percent of the newcomers were from northern and western Europe: England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Germany, Holland, and Scandinavia, with Irish and German migrants predominating. The remainder came from eastern and southern Europe, China, Japan, and the Americas. In 1870, for example, out of 387,000 immigrants, 329,000 came from Europe, and of those, 118,000 came from Germany, 104,000 from Great Britain, 57,000 from Ireland, 31,000 from Scandinavia, 9,000 from other northwestern European countries, and a mere 10,000 immigrated to the United States from the

remaining central, eastern, and southern European countries. The number of emigrants from Ireland had dropped considerably from 221,000 in 1851, and those from Scandinavia had risen dramatically from the 2,000 to 3,000 that came in the 1850s.

Virtually all of the 1870 immigrants were from rural areas, where most owned little or no land and lived in poverty, and almost all were lured to the United States by cheap land and a dynamic economy. The Irish were among the poorest immigrants and settled mostly in northeastern cities such as Boston and New York City, formed tight-knit communities, and supported the political machines associated with the DEMOCRATIC PARTY in those cities. Although a large number of middle-class German intellectuals migrated to America following the failure of the liberal revolutions of 1848, by 1870 the typical German immigrant was a small farmer or skilled artisan seeking improved economic conditions. Many of the German arrivals came with enough money to move to the Midwest, where they purchased land and established farms or opened businesses in cities such as Chicago, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. Those who arrived with skills quickly found work as craftsmen. Like the Irish in the Northeast, those Germans who settled in the cities of the Midwest formed their own ethnic communities and gave their support to the Democrats. Scandinavians tended to settle on farms in Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Nebraska, although many found employment as skilled carpenters. Migrants from Great Britain (England, Scotland, and Wales) usually carried skills with them and found work in industry. Welsh coal miners, for example, settled in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania.

Approximately 70 percent of all immigrants arriving in America landed in New York City. Until the early 1890s immigrants at New York were processed at Castle Garden at the foot of Manhattan Island, but in 1892 the federal Bureau of Immigration established Ellis Island in New York harbor as a new point of entry for immigrants. At Ellis Island, federal medical and nonmedical immigration officials enforced the minimal restrictions on immigration and turned back paupers, criminals, polygamists, the mentally deficient, the contagiously ill, and contract laborers. From 1864 to 1885 these laborers—who agreed to a maximum of one year's work in return for passage to the United States—were admitted, but CONGRESS, which had originally authorized the practice of CONTRACT LABOR, forbade it in 1885. Only about 2 percent of those who wished to enter were turned back at Ellis Island. Officials recorded the names of those who passed, made sure they paid an entry tax, and put them on the ferry that landed them at the lower tip of New York City. As at Ellis Island, federal inspectors operated landing stations in Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore on the east coast, New Orleans in the South, and on Angel Island in San Francisco.

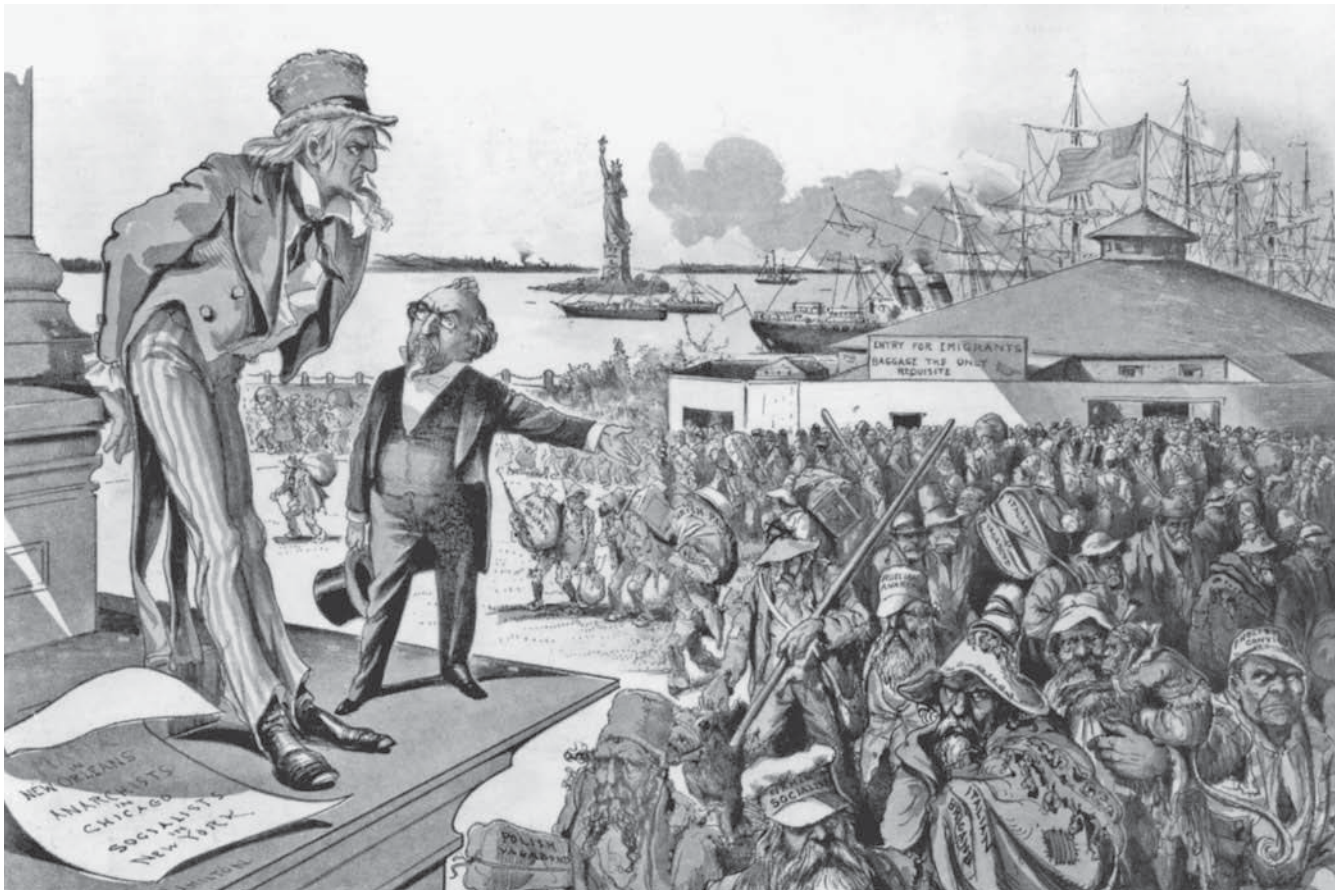
By 1900 sufficient changes among newcomers had occurred to speak of a “New Immigration.” In that year 449,000 persons immigrated to the United States, of whom 425,000 were from Europe. However, compared with 1870, there was a sharp drop in immigrants from northern and western Europe and a spectacular rise in those who came from eastern, central, and southern Europe. Emigrants from Germany fell to 19,000, from Great Britain to 13,000, and from Ireland to 36,000, but almost the same number—a bit more than 31,000—came from Scandinavia. Those from other northwestern European countries fell to 6,000. In contrast, 98,000 came from eastern Europe, 115,000 from central Europe, and 108,000 from southern Europe.

These new immigrants were pushed from their homelands and pulled to the United States. Several forces drove these immigrants from their homes: the undermining of subsistence farming by commercial agriculture; the shift away from household production because of industrialization; the steady growth in population that brought a shortage of available farmland; oppressive taxes; famine and

disease; and religious and political persecution. America’s growing economy and its demand for workers held great promise for the new immigrants. With the exception of those from eastern Europe, virtually all of the immigrants in 1900 came to the United States to better their economic position, and some would return to their homelands having earned enough to buy land, houses, or set up businesses. Most of the immigrants from eastern Europe were Jews fleeing persecution (pogroms) in the Russian Empire.

The decision to migrate often occurred through social networks of people linked by kinship, place of residence, friendship, and work experience. These “migration chains,” extending from one’s homeland to specific destinations in America, helped migrants cope with the considerable risks entailed by their long journey. In addition, letters from those who had already migrated often gave glowing reports of the opportunities enjoyed by newcomers and raised the expectations of and excited potential migrants.

New technologies such as the railroad, telegraph, and steamship also added to the appeal of America by making



This cartoon places the blame for “anarchy, socialism, the Mafia, and such kindred evils” on the liberal immigration policy of the time, 1891. (New York Public Library)

communications and travel cheaper, safer, and quicker. Whereas it once took sailing ships from one to three months to travel across the Atlantic, by the 1880s new steam-powered ships were making the trip in one to two weeks. Major steamship lines such as Cunard, Holland-America, and White Star competed for passengers. Immigrants who chose to pay the cheapest fares were quartered deep in the bowels of the vessel in the filthy, crowded “steerage” section.

Most migrants from central, eastern, and southern Europe were very poor. One-third of the immigrants that came through Ellis Island could afford to go no further than New York City or its environs. Coming from rural backgrounds, most of the “new” immigrants were unskilled mechanically and did backbreaking labor on construction and railroads, as well as in coal mines, steel mills, and factories. Ironically, in the needle trades, where some skills were required, immigrants were exploited in sweat shops. The hardest, dirtiest, lowest paying jobs in industry were known as “foreign” jobs. For most immigrants, the work was harder, the hours longer, and the pay better than in their homeland, and in the last respect America kept its promise.

Although America utilized immigrant brawn, many of its native-born citizens did not welcome the immigrant presence. Immigrants are strangers in a strange land, but the new migrants from central, eastern, and southern Europe were even more strange in—and estranged—from America than the “old” migrants from northern and western Europe. Upon arriving in America, the newcomers’ inability to speak the language and unfamiliarity with American customs led many to seek people who spoke their language, shared their cultural values, and practiced their religion. Ethnic communities emerged in areas where large numbers of immigrants concentrated, and these communities helped immigrants make the transition from their homelands to America. They were places where the newcomers could learn about the traditions of their new homeland while retaining their own cultures.

In America’s cities, new immigrant communities took the form of densely populated ghettos. Overcrowded tenements, poor sanitation, and inadequate health services made many immigrant communities unhealthy places to live. The new immigrants, most of whom were not Protestant in religion, also confronted a brand of NATIVISM that viewed them as a threat to traditional American values and customs. American reformers attempted to remedy the situation in the immigrant communities and assist in the process of assimilation by operating various social and educational programs for the newcomers. The SETTLEMENT HOUSE movement, started in the United States by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, the cofounders of Hull-House in Chicago (1889), offered an important source of help for

immigrants. The success of Hull-House was followed by similar projects in most major American cities, especially New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. The settlement-house workers provided immigrants with medical services, emergency relief, citizenship courses, counseling or vocational training, assistance in getting a job, and lessons in cooking, hygiene, and English. These services were designed not only to improve the living conditions within immigrant communities, but also to provide the newcomers with the means and knowledge to assimilate into American culture and to become good citizens.

The urban immigrant communities also developed a mutually beneficial relationship with the local political “boss.” Many urban political machines, especially TAMMANY HALL in New York City, relied on the immigrant vote for electoral success, and immigrants felt they could turn to the boss when they needed help, which indeed they often did. In exchange for immigrant votes, the boss would provide jobs, emergency relief, legal assistance, or housing accommodations. Since the Democratic Party dominated much of the urban political landscape, many immigrants became loyal Democratic partisans.

See also AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION; IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS; PLUNKITT, GEORGE WASHINGTON; PROGRESSIVISM IN THE 1890s; RIIS, JACOB A.; STATUE OF LIBERTY.

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—Phillip Papas

### immigration restrictions

During the late 19th century, increasing IMMIGRATION to the United States from southern and eastern Europe—as well as smaller numbers from China and Japan—provoked the rise of NATIVISM and demands for restricting immigration. Nativist and anti-Catholic groups such as the Immigrant Restriction League and the AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION (APA), labor union leaders, and several American intellectuals called on the federal government to rethink its open-door immigration policies and implement a program of more selective immigration.

The movement to restrict the number of immigrants entering the United States had first emerged in the 1870s. The roots of the restrictionist movement were grounded in the social and economic changes taking place in America



following the Civil War. These changes had produced a more stratified society where class tensions and labor conflicts abounded. Many Americans saw the new immigrants as the source of the nation's social and economic problems. Restrictionists argued that the newcomers promoted radical or un-American interests, were mentally and physically inferior, corrupted politics by selling their votes, were prone to crime and poverty, undermined the standard of living of American workers, and posed a threat to traditional American values.

Among the earliest proponents of restrictions on immigration were labor unions, with the bitterest opposition focused on the Chinese of California. The Workingmen's Party of California blamed unemployment and low wages on Chinese immigration. Supported by labor organizations in the East, western labor leaders lobbied CONGRESS to pass restrictive measures aimed at reducing the number of Chinese immigrants entering the United States. As a result, Congress passed the CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT in 1882, which prohibited the immigration of Chinese (except teachers, students, merchants, tourists, and officials) for 10 years. This law was renewed in 1892 and extended indefinitely in 1902. In addition, the influx of Japanese labor in the 1890s eventually led to a series of "gentlemen's agreements" with Japan beginning in 1900, with Japan agreeing to limit the emigration of unskilled workers bound for the United States. Unions opposed the importation of laborers from Europe as well as from Asia. Both the KNIGHTS OF LABOR and the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) called for the end of recruiting contract laborers overseas. In 1885 Congress passed a CONTRACT LABOR law that prohibited the importing of workers under contract.

Religious bigotry was another source of restrictionist sentiment. Nativist groups in America, of which the APA was most prominent, were fearful of a "Catholic menace" and called for the restriction of emigrants from predominantly Catholic nations. Although the APA as an organization declined after 1896, anti-Catholicism continued to inspire opponents of immigration.

The third major restrictionist group was made up of American intellectuals based primarily in New England. Affected by a loss of status in the new social order emerging in late-19th-century America, they regarded themselves as the guardians of traditional American values. Their nationalist sentiments led them to credit American achievements to Anglo-Saxon superiority and traditions. They also accepted pseudoscientific SOCIAL DARWINISM, with its belief that the immigrants were mentally and physically inferior and therefore would corrupt America's superior Anglo-American stock; by barring new immigrants from entering the United States, traditional American values and Anglo-Saxon superiority would be preserved.

Apart from excluding Chinese (1882) and Japanese (1900) laborers, restriction made little headway in the 19th century. Restrictionists embraced literacy tests as the first step toward achieving their goal, and although Congress passed such a measure in 1896, President GROVER CLEVELAND vetoed it. As the 20th century began, more and more migrants sought freedom and opportunity in the United States, and the restrictionist movement continued to gain strength.

See also PROGRESSIVISM IN THE 1890s.

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—Phillip Papas

## imperialism

Imperialism in late 19th-century America involved both territorial and economic expansion, but not necessarily at the same time or in the same place. Imperialism was an international phenomenon, but the Americans, who had a whole continent to provide raw materials and domestic markets, had little compulsion to acquire more territory; in contrast, the Europeans and Japanese had an entirely different attitude toward imperialism. The United States, during the years 1870 to 1900, added 125,000 square miles, while Germany and Great Britain gained 1 million and 4.7 million square miles, respectively.

With the acquisition in 1898 of Spanish-held islands and HAWAII, the United States embraced overseas imperialism. Earlier efforts to acquire territory in the Caribbean and the Pacific had been frustrated in large part because of beliefs that territorial acquisitions should become states and that tropical islands with their nonwhite populations should not become states. Strategic, political, economic, and ideologic considerations undermined these ideas, opening the door for American imperialism.

Strategic concerns were straightforward. The surest way to thwart the imperialist ambitions of potentially threatening powerful, industrial nations was to acquire territory before they did. With a growing awareness of its need for an isthmian canal, the United States wanted to reduce the presence of European powers in the Caribbean, and it was obvious that Hawaii in the possession of a hostile power would threaten the safety of the West Coast. The United States also was plagued by social and political unrest in the 1890s. A severe economic depression with widespread unemployment, violent strikes, low farm income, and a divisive debate over the currency attracted politicians to an imperialist venture that



would divert attention from sectional and class tensions at home.

Unlike political and strategic concerns, the economic factors affecting American imperialism were more complex, less compelling, and did not necessarily require annexation of territory. European imperialists desired colonies for their raw materials, their markets, their investment opportunities, and their capacity to absorb surplus population. The United States, however, lacked few raw materials, sold most of its manufactured goods at home, had ample outlets for its capital in its own railroads and factories, and attracted thousands of immigrants from Europe. Economic factors did not compel the United States to dominate noncontiguous lands, but advocates of imperialism stressed that the nation needed markets for growing surpluses of agricultural crops, raw materials, and manufactured goods to avert disastrous downturns in the BUSINESS CYCLE like the one that began in 1893. Although exports accounted for less than 7 percent of the gross national product and Europe (the most economically advanced continent) bought more than three-fourths of American exports from 1870 to 1900, promoters of imperialism optimistically argued that trading agreements bringing less well-developed lands into the American economic orbit would be a substantial benefit.

The imperialists of 1898, however, openly advocated war and annexation. Guided by the ideology of Manifest Destiny, the United States had appropriated the land of Native Americans and of Mexico. Manifest Destiny, which imbued Americans with a sense of inevitable triumph and with its assumption of American superiority, was simply a rationale for imperialism. But by the 1890s it had acquired the pseudoscientific gloss of SOCIAL DARWINISM, which applied Charles Darwin's ideas of biological evolution (especially the survival of the fittest) to society. With nationalistic pride in American democratic institutions and in American enterprise mixed with notions of American cultural and racial superiority, American imperialists felt they were not only fit to survive, but among the fittest nations to dominate the world. In 1885 a Congregational missionary society published Reverend JOSIAH STRONG's *Our Country* in which, among other things, he predicted the ultimate triumph of English-speaking Protestant peoples throughout the world, with the United States taking the lead. Secretary of State JOHN HAY believed that peace and order in the world depended on its domination by Anglo-Saxons. Impatient for the inevitable triumph, American imperialists at the end of the 19th century advocated an aggressive FOREIGN POLICY lest their country be left behind in the scramble for colonies and spheres of influence. Ironically, many anti-imperialists agreed that the United States was a superior nation, but to keep it that way they opposed the incorporation of additional nonwhite peoples within its borders.

Imperialists succeeded in taking advantage of opportunities created by the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR in 1898. Just as Congress ruled out the acquisition of CUBA in its war resolution that April, most Americans did not think of the war as one of conquest. But once the Philippines were occupied, President WILLIAM MCKINLEY felt compelled to keep them rather than allow them to fall prey to Germany, Russia, or Japan. Fears that a totally independent Cuba would tempt foreign powers also led McKinley to insist on the 1901 Platt Amendment, which made Cuba an American protectorate.

Possession of the Philippine Islands made the United States a Far Eastern power and gave it a base at Manila for enlarging its minuscule (2 percent) trade with China. (Many Americans also thought of it as a base for missionary activities.) But other industrial powers were already carving China up into spheres of influence and threatening it with dismemberment. To arrest these trends, Secretary of State John Hay in 1899 and 1900 circulated the OPEN DOOR NOTES among the great powers, advocating equal commercial opportunity for all within the various spheres of influence and upholding China's administrative and territorial integrity. A stalemate born of mutual fears rather than Hay's notes preserved China, but he enunciated an American policy that lasted 40 years and by renouncing territory (albeit for trade) gave it a moral flavor. Indeed, the lust for overseas territory was short-lived, but American imperialism—with its mix of uplift, mission, and trade—differed merely in emphasis from that of contemporary great-power nationalism. Generally, Americans preferred to hold the door open to their missionaries and products without formal annexation. Thus, informal empire was the lasting legacy of American imperialism.

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—Bruce Abrams

### Indian Affairs, Office of (Indian Bureau)

The Office of Indian Affairs dates back to 1824, when it was established by Secretary of War John C. Calhoun to oversee white-Indian relations and administer programs to “civilize” NATIVE AMERICANS. The office was formally endorsed by CONGRESS in 1832 and received full authorization in 1834, empowering the president to appoint a commissioner of Indian Affairs. Initially the office was lodged in the War Department, but in 1849 the Office of Indian Affairs was transferred to the newly created Depart-



A cartoon criticizing the corruption of the Office of Indian Affairs (Library of Congress)

ment of the Interior and was primarily engaged in moving Native Americans to the West in order to open their lands for white settlers. The military presence in the Office of Indian Affairs continued until 1870, when Congress prohibited the appointment of military personnel to positions on the reservations that the government had begun to establish following the Civil War.

In 1871 Congress decided that Indian tribes would no longer be regarded as independent nations with whom treaties were made, in effect decreeing that Indian affairs would be conducted by the federal government without the consent of Native American nations, tribes, or bands. With occasional broad guidelines from Congress, the president, and the secretary of the interior, the Office of Indian Affairs implemented Indian policy.

By the 1870s the Office of Indian Affairs was renowned for its corruption. Its crucial work was performed by

approximately 70 Indian agents appointed by the president for four-year terms. These agents administered Indian reservations, some as large as Connecticut, and often cheated both the government and the Native Americans under their jurisdiction. Since removing Indians to reservations usually deprived them of their livelihood, the distribution of annual subsidies from the federal government (\$5.9 million in 1880, for example) provided ample opportunities for graft. Agents, aided by approximately 750 employees—about 11 per reservation—were expected to keep the peace and to help the Native Americans become law-abiding, economically productive people. A typical agency might hire from outside the reservation a farmer, a blacksmith, a carpenter, a teacher (who occasionally was a woman), and a miller and from the tribe itself an interpreter, a herder, a teamster, and a laborer. Apart from schools on reservations, the Office of Indian Affairs also established off-site board-

ing schools (the most famous was at Carlisle, Pennsylvania) that worked to assimilate young Native Americans by separating them from their homes and culture.

Aimed at assimilating Indians into the larger Euro-American society, the Office of Indian Affairs' programs worked to destroy the Indian way of life. On reservations, hunting had to be abandoned and agriculture adopted, but it proved inadequate and necessitated food rations, which kept the tribes dependent on the government. The agency also administered the distribution of land following the DAWES SEVERALTY ACT of 1887, which conferred land ownership to individual members of tribes, thus breaking a long tradition of collective ownership within each tribe. The Office of Indian Affairs remained a paternalistic force in Indian culture until the 1930s, when the agency became more concerned with protecting Native American culture and heritage and promoting self-determination among the tribes.

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—Scott Sendrow

### Indian Rights Association

Founded in 1882, the Indian Rights Association was the first major advocacy organization for NATIVE AMERICANS. As a lobbying power and shaper of public opinion, the Indian Rights Association raised consciousness about the plight of Native Americans as it worked to enact reforms and ameliorate conditions for Indians.

The Indian Rights Association was founded in large part by Herbert Welsh, an upper-middle-class Philadelphian. Welsh and his colleague Henry S. Pancoast traveled with an Episcopal mission to the Dakota Territory in the spring of 1882 and spent four weeks visiting Sioux agencies. Welsh returned and published his proposals for reform in a pamphlet called *Four Weeks among Some of the Sioux Tribes*. By the end of the year, he and Pancoast had established the Indian Rights Association to secure political and civil rights for Native Americans and to act as a watchdog group to ensure that their treaties with the U.S. government were enforced.

Association members were affluent, and Welsh tapped Philadelphia high society for support. Welsh spent the next year meeting with influential patrons in the East, doing speaking engagements and raising funds. By 1885 the Association had a home office in Philadelphia and a lobbyist in Washington, D.C. Welsh and the Indian Rights Association

worked on behalf of the Sioux tribes, in particular, in the organization's first years and lobbied for the DAWES SEVERALTY ACT of 1887, which distributed tribal lands to individual Indians, a measure designed to acculturate and "civilize" Indians. As the latter goal suggests, the Indian Rights Association was paternalistic in its approach, and Welsh initially looked to assimilate the tribes and replace their customs with Christianity, a system of laws and education, and a Protestant work ethic. Welsh worked to increase educational opportunities for Native Americans, which tended to break the fabric of Indian culture rather than encourage it. Ultimately, Welsh trusted the concept of federal oversight of tribes, and the Indian Rights Association worked within the federal Office of INDIAN AFFAIRS (Indian Bureau) to guarantee fair dealings between the government and the tribes.

True to its name, the Indian Rights Association promoted Indian rights in the Sioux land dispute during the 1880s, the APACHE WAR in the late 1880s, the GHOST DANCE WAR in 1890, and the attempted removal of the Ute Indians from Colorado in the 1890s. Welsh relinquished direct control of the organization in 1904, which, despite its paternalism and its efforts to acculturate Indian Society, had ameliorated the treatment of Native Americans.

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—Scott Sendrow

**Indians** See NATIVE AMERICANS.

### industrial revolution, second

While the first American industrial revolution occurred primarily in the manufacture of textiles, the second, or new, industrial revolution occurred in steel, petroleum, and electrical industries. The revolution in textiles began in the late 18th century and made Great Britain the manufacturing center of the world; the second revolution began roughly about 1870 and resulted in American primacy among industrial powers. Indeed, during the Gilded Age the United States experienced the greatest surge of increased productivity the world has ever witnessed. American success resulted in part from American advantages. The United States was a huge country with abundant raw materials. It possessed the most extensive RAILROAD network in the world, one that moved raw materials and finished products at high speeds and low costs, allowing a quick return on invested capital. Its relatively prosperous population, growing from natural increase and immigration, provided both an adequate labor supply and an



expanding home market. Capital was in short supply, but Europeans—especially the British—invested heavily in the United States. Finally, the American government was stable and encouraged industry with a protective tariff (see **TARIFF ISSUE**).

No matter what index of production is used, industry's rate of growth in the Gilded Age was prodigious. Robert E. Gallman has calculated that the value added by manufacturing multiplied almost six times from 1869, when it was \$1,078 million, to \$6,252 million in 1899, while Edwin Frickey's index of manufacturing production multiplied four times from 1870 to 1900. Rapid growth also resulted from American ingenuity. Manufacturers were quick to adopt technological innovations because labor was expensive and labor-saving devices cut costs significantly. Some of the largest companies established laboratories and employed scientists, especially chemists, to improve processes. Americans were inventive, but the concepts of interchangeable parts and the division of labor were basic to American productivity. In addition, manufacturers began to embrace the "scientific management" advocated by Frederick W. Taylor, who made time and motion studies of workers and instituted piecework to induce them to move faster and more efficiently. Perhaps the entrepreneurs themselves were the most important factor in the surge of American production; both John D. Rockefeller and **ANDREW CARNEGIE**, for example, were talented organizers and administrators, picked able associates, and worked hard. Rockefeller's attention to detail down to the minuscule cost of barrel bungs and Carnegie's obsession with efficiency were legendary.

Virtually all industries experienced rapid growth in the Gilded Age, but the most spectacular developments were in **STEEL**, **OIL**, and electricity. With the introduction of the **BESSEMER PROCESS**, the steel industry took off and with it the **MINING** of the iron ore and bituminous coal necessary for its production. Steel (an alloy of iron and carbon that is strong and malleable) had been produced in small quantities for swords and armor for centuries and, since the 18th century, in slightly larger amounts in crucibles. The Bessemer converter, which made steel quickly and in large batches, was invented in Great Britain in the 1850s, but large-scale production of American steel began in the 1870s. In 1870 only 68,750 long tons were produced; by 1880 1.2 million; by 1890 4.3 million; by 1900 10.2 million; and in 1913, on the eve of World War I, 31.3 million long tons of American steel were manufactured. By then the United States produced more steel than Germany, Britain, and France combined.

The production of nonferrous metals, although only a fraction of steel output, was significant and grew rapidly in the Gilded Age. Copper production in 1870 was 14,112 tons, doubled to 30,240 tons in 1880. It took off to 129,882

tons in 1890 and 303,059 tons in 1900. Lead production rose steadily from 17,830 tons in 1870 to 367,773 tons in 1900, while zinc went from 5,400 tons in 1870 to 123,886 tons in 1900. Aluminum production, beginning with minuscule amounts in 1886, reached 23,000 long tons in 1900, but its importance would grow in the 20th century.

Unlike railroading, coal mining, and steelmaking, the petroleum industry began in America. Edwin L. Drake drilled the first successful oil well in 1859 near Titusville, Pennsylvania. Drake invented, but failed to patent, the drive pipe that essentially is still used in drilling wells and made little money from his discovery. The impact of his discovery was instantaneous, since petroleum could be refined (distilled) inexpensively into superior lubricants and kerosene, which provided excellent lamplight. In 1861, two years after Drake's discovery, more than 2 million barrels of crude oil were produced, and by 1870 production had increased to 5.3 million barrels and continued to grow to 63.6 million barrels in 1900.

Although virtually all factories were powered by steam engines in the Gilded Age, electricity was of great importance. Instantaneous **COMMUNICATION**—by the telegraph and the telephone—over great distances were made possible by electrical devices. Illumination by the electric lightbulb invented by **THOMAS A. EDISON** in 1879 was superior to that given off by a kerosene lamp and demand for it led to the development of a central power station on Pearl Street in New York in 1882 and to the rise of electric utilities. By 1889 electric power stations were producing 260,000 horsepower, which by 1900 increased to 2.4 million horsepower. The early Edison power stations generated direct current, which could be transmitted only short distances, but George Westinghouse (who in 1869 invented the railroad air brake) utilized a transformer in 1885 to raise the voltage of an alternating current (AC) and succeeded in transmitting it a significant distance. Although AC could light bulbs, there was no AC motor. **NIKOLA TESLA**, an independent electrical inventor who associated briefly with both Edison and Westinghouse, developed AC generators, transformers, and—most important—motors. Tesla sold his patents to Westinghouse in 1888. Thanks to Tesla's inventions and despite Edison's opposition, AC triumphed, especially after Westinghouse put on a spectacular exhibit at the 1893 **WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION** at Chicago. Tesla's motors installed on trolley cars and **ELEVATED RAILROADS** (els) revolutionized urban transport and enabled cities to add an outer ring heretofore unreachable by horsecar. Tesla's work also had a great impact on industry. The electric motor, powering individual machines, provided flexibility and was particularly advantageous for the small factory. Although only 2 percent of factories in 1900 were powered by electric motors, they were clearly the wave of the future.



The spectacular economic development of the late 19th century was largely accomplished by corporations. The corporation, consisting of many shareholders, had great advantages over individual ownership or partnerships: The liability of investors in a corporation is limited to the shares owned, shares can easily be sold, the corporation has a life of its own, and large amounts of capital can be raised by a corporation through the sale of stocks and bonds. To function—to acquire a life of its own—a corporation required a charter that, in the early years of the republic, required a special act of incorporation, but by the 1870s usually were acquired through general incorporation laws.

Gilded Age corporations, to eliminate competition (which their managers abhorred while praising it in public), combined with one another to form what became known as TRUSTS. Initially pools, or informal agreements, were used to eliminate competition. Railroads used pools to set rates, divide freight, and apportion receipts until the Interstate Commerce Act made them illegal. The chaotic oil industry and competition by railroads for its freight led to the notorious but short-lived South Improvement Company pool. The carriers divided freight on a percentage basis, and refiners—among which Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company was the most prominent—apportioned their shipments, on which they received a rebate, among the railroads. Pools functioned best in flush times but easily collapsed when business fell off and cheating increased. In addition to their generally short duration, pools could not be enforced.

Although Rockefeller and other refiners organized a subsequent pool, an association, that allotted crude oil to its members, he and his associates (who refined 90 percent of the nation's oil) were unhappy with pooling arrangements. His lawyer, S. C. T. Dodd, suggested that a trust agreement among the associates would provide order and authority. Accordingly, 41 stockholders of Standard Oil of Ohio signed a trust agreement that gave them trust certificates for their property, which they turned over to a board of nine trustees. The trust was so obviously monopolistic that the Ohio courts dissolved it in 1892.

The Standard Oil trustees had already incorporated the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. That state's incorporation laws did not prevent the creation of a holding company, which in effect was the corporation that combined the individual corporations. In 1899 Standard Oil of New Jersey became a true holding company by increasing its stock from \$10 million to \$110 million and exchanging that stock for the stock of 40 companies in the Standard group.

Consolidation also characterized the iron and steel industry. Almost 1,000 iron companies were combined in the late 19th century into a few large companies, of which Carnegie Steel was the largest. Since the early 1870s with

the opening of his J. Edgar Thompson Steel Works, Carnegie had dominated the steel industry. He assembled a vertical combination controlling iron ore and coal mines, transport facilities, steel mills, and fabrication plants. Carnegie Steel, however, was a limited partnership, not a corporation, for much of its existence. Yet disputes with partners, especially HENRY CLAY FRICK, and Carnegie's desire to retire required that he convert his partnership into a corporation, which he did in 1900. Unlike the oil business where virtually no competition existed, there were other formidable steel combinations, especially Elbert H. Gary's Federal Steel, a holding company established in 1898 with which Carnegie was willing to compete. Gary did not wish to compete and with the blessing of J. P. MORGAN asked Carnegie to name his price. The \$480 million asked was immediately accepted, and in 1901 U.S. Steel became a billion-dollar holding company controlling 60 percent of the industry, with Carnegie Steel as its largest component.

Consolidations occurred in electrical industries. Western Union had long dominated the telegraph business. American Telephone & Telegraph (AT&T) was established in 1885 by American Bell to institute long-distance service, and in 1907, following its reorganization by J. P. Morgan, AT&T began aggressively acquiring independent telephone companies in its quest for one nationwide system. Morgan also supported HENRY VILLARD's consolidation in 1892 of Edison and other electrical companies into the General Electric Company. Four years later Westinghouse and General Electric, the only major manufacturers of electrical equipment, agreed to pool their patents covering light bulbs, motors, dynamos, and street railway equipment. Despite the pooling of information, the two electrical giants remained surprisingly competitive. Nevertheless, the overall trend of mergers and consolidations was the elimination of competition, the adjustment of supply to match demand, and a certain rigidity in price that repealed the law of supply and demand.

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**Ingersoll, Robert Green** (1833–1899) *lawyer, orator*  
Robert G. Ingersoll was born in Dresden, New York, on August 11, 1833. His father, a Presbyterian minister too steeped in Calvinism for the taste of his congregations, frequently moved in a westerly direction, limiting Ingersoll's

formal schooling. But he read widely and was well versed in the classics. For two years Ingersoll taught school in Illinois and in Tennessee and then, with his brother Ebon Clark Ingersoll, studied law with a Democratic congressman in Marion, Illinois. In 1854 the brothers were both admitted to the bar. Together, they practiced in Shawneetown, in southern Illinois, and in 1857 moved north to Peoria, where they prospered.

Although he was antislavery, Ingersoll in 1860 ran unsuccessfully for Congress as a Stephen A. Douglas Democrat. With the onset of the Civil War in 1861, Ingersoll helped raise the 11th Illinois Cavalry regiment and was appointed its colonel. Before leaving for war he married Eva Amelia Parker on February 13, 1862. They would have two daughters. Less than two months after his marriage Ingersoll participated in the Battle of Shiloh (April 6–7), and on December 18 he and part of his command were captured at Lexington, Tennessee. Although he was paroled in March 1863, Ingersoll's hope of being exchanged was not realized, so he resigned his commission on June 30, 1863, and resumed the practice of law in Peoria. Possessing a superb courtroom manner, he excelled as a defense attorney and numbered RAILROADS among his clients.

Never a firm Democrat, Ingersoll emerged from the war a Radical Republican. An effective campaign speaker and a good lawyer, Ingersoll served as attorney general of Illinois from 1867 to 1869. He sought the Republican gubernatorial nomination in 1868 but was defeated by the popular and powerful general John M. Palmer. Remaining a tireless campaigner for the Republican Party from the 1860s to the 1890s, Ingersoll never again held public office. In an era of gifted political speakers, he was arguably the greatest. On the campaign trail he would alter his set speeches to suit his immediate audience sufficiently to be quoted by newspapers.

In 1876 his speech at the Republican National Convention nominating for president JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE, whom he likened to “a plumed knight,” moved the delegates to a near frenzy. Ingersoll was a genius at arousing the emotions of a crowd. The correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* marveled at his “wizard power. . . . He swayed and moved and impelled and restrained and worked in all ways with the mass before him as if he possessed some key to the innermost mechanism that moves the human heart.” Blaine would have been nominated by acclamation the moment Ingersoll finished had his opponents not secured an adjournment until the next day, when they agreed on RUTHERFORD B. HAYES and defeated Blaine.

Although disappointed, Ingersoll campaigned for Hayes. Adept at “waving the bloody shirt” (keeping alive the passions of the Civil War and Reconstruction), Ingersoll delivered a classic of that genre before Union veter-

ans. Beginning with “Every State that seceded from the United States was a Democratic State,” he cataloged the sins of Democrats. After stating “Every man that shot Union soldiers was a Democrat” and “The man who shot Abraham Lincoln was a Democrat,” he climaxed with “Soldiers, every scar you have on your heroic bodies was given you by a Democrat.” Hayes won the disputed election of 1876 in part because the GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC remained loyal to the Grand Old Republican Party. Hayes was grateful and planned to appoint Ingersoll minister to Germany but gave up when religious groups protested.

Ingersoll was an agnostic, believing the existence of God is unknowable, and made no secret of his religious views. He was such a good political speaker that no candidate would turn down his support, and audiences, whether God-fearing or not, loved to hear him lecture on politics, literature, and religion. His political speeches, especially the nomination of Blaine, made him famous and attractive on the lyceum circuit and enabled him to present his religious views to a wide audience. Reversing Alexander Pope's statement, Ingersoll believed that “An honest God is the noblest work of man,” but that most gods man has created are “vengeful, savage, lustful, and ignorant,” including the Judeo-Christian God. Ingersoll dismissed the Bible as a collection of “ignorant legends of the barbaric past,” a source of persecution that “burned heretics, built dungeons, founded the Inquisition, and trampled upon the liberties of men.” He regarded the dogmas of all Christian denominations about salvation and damnation as vicious and illogical and contrary to the love and mercy Jesus advocated. Ingersoll enjoyed playing the role of heretic and infidel, and his auditors enjoyed the show. Reverend HENRY WARD BEECHER, whose notions of an evolving God were not far from Ingersoll's ideas, called him the greatest speaker in the English language and became a personal friend. Ingersoll did believe “in the gospel of liberty . . . the gospel of Intelligence . . . in this great gospel of Humanity.”

When not on the lecture circuit or on the political stump, Ingersoll defended some high-profile people. In 1876 he won the acquittal of Daniel W. Munn, a member of the notorious Whiskey Ring. The next year, as befitting one with a national reputation, Ingersoll moved to Lafayette Square (opposite the White House). His most famous case involved Republican officeholders involved in the STAR ROUTE FRAUDS. In two trials (1882–83) he succeeded in getting the chief defendants acquitted. With his dramatic summations Ingersoll was clearly the star of these proceedings. In 1885 he moved to New York, and there in 1887 secured a judgment for a client against JAY GOULD's Western Union Telegraph Company for \$1.5 million. More than a great lawyer, Ingersoll was a great pleader. He died on July 21, 1899, in Dobbs Ferry, New York.

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### Internal Revenue taxes

The first income tax in the United States was levied to help finance the Civil War. In August 1861 Congress approved a tax of 3 percent on incomes above \$800; by 1864 it had graduated to 10 percent on incomes in excess of \$10,000. In addition, excise taxes on virtually every raw and manufactured material were levied by Congress in July 1862. By 1865 these internal revenue taxes provided the bulk of federal tax receipts. Congress removed most of the excise taxes from 1866 to 1870 (distilled liquors was one of the exceptions) and the income tax in 1872. During the Ulysses S. Grant administration, the "whiskey ring" of Internal Revenue officers and distillers defrauded the federal government of excise tax revenues.

In the late 19th century the income tax received wide support. Such tax legislation would improve the government's revenue base while securing more tax dollars from corporations and the wealthier individuals. The idea of a graduated or progressive income tax that would require people with higher incomes to pay a higher percentage than those with less income was supported by several agrarian and labor organizations. The GREENBACK-LABOR PARTY, the PEOPLE'S PARTY (Populists), the KNIGHTS OF LABOR, and several members of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY endorsed the graduated income tax. By the 1890s the movement for a federal graduated income tax was taken up by the Progressive reformers.

Efforts to enact federal income tax legislation encountered a major constitutional obstacle over the question of whether the federal government could levy direct taxes on individuals instead of apportioning them out to the states according to their respective populations. In 1894 Congress included in the Wilson-Gorman Tariff a 2 percent tax on all incomes above \$4,000. It was the first direct tax on Americans during peacetime. The constitutionality of the income tax was immediately challenged in the U.S. SUPREME COURT, and in the case of *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan and Trust* (1895) the income tax was ruled unconstitutional. The Court held that it constituted a direct tax and hence was subject to the constitutional requirement of apportionment among the states according to population.

Despite the Supreme Court's ruling in the *Pollock* case, the demand for a federal income tax did not go away. As the Progressive movement gained momentum in the early 20th century, so did the push for a federal income tax. Progressive reformers argued that an income tax was the best and fairest means of raising revenue for the federal

government. In 1913 the Sixteenth Amendment was ratified, permitting a federal income tax.

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—Phillip Papas

**Interstate Commerce Commission** See RAILROADS.

### inventions and technology

Between 1870 and 1900, the United States experienced an explosion in innovation. Independent American inventors such as THOMAS EDISON and ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL and Serbian-born NIKOLA TESLA dominated technological advancement, in some cases building large empires around their innovations. Edison was perhaps the best-known inventor of this time period; his expansive laboratory in West Orange, New Jersey, established in 1887, employed dozens of men who worked to produce more than 1,000 patents for new inventions. Electrical inventions—the greatest innovations of the era—and a host of smaller inventions laid the foundation for the economic boom that improved the quality of life for Americans in the 20th century.

Theories on electricity were first developed in Europe in the early 1800s, and early electric engines, called "dynamoes," evolved there in the 1870s. Meanwhile, the development of electric lighting in the United States sparked the wider use of electric power in all aspects of technology. Charles F. Brush was one of the first Americans to adapt arc lighting, an early 19th-century technology utilizing an electric arc between carbon rods, for use in homes and businesses. During the 1870s Brush developed a cheaper arc-lighting system, which began to supplant gas-powered lamps, especially when used for outdoor lighting. Brush experimented with high-voltage dynamos and central stations that transmitted electricity in a large-scale system (rather than using them for small independent circuits). The first central electric station to power arc lighting appeared in San Francisco in 1879. By the following year similar operations were established in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. In subsequent years Elihu Thomson (1853–1937) founded the Thomson-Houston Electric Company and became a leader in the arc-lighting industry, developing better dynamos and other techniques that increased efficiency.

In 1878 Thomas Edison began to develop incandescent lighting, refining the technology of the lightbulb and



cutting down on expensive copper wiring to make the technology less expensive. On New Year's Eve 1879 Edison demonstrated 150 bulbs that used carbonized cotton thread in Menlo Park, New Jersey. Edison's first test of electricity for wider uses came in 1882 in New York City, when he laid underground wiring as part of a direct current (DC) system in a small section of New York's financial district, thus establishing a prototype of the modern power grid. In 1885 the electric transformer was invented to facilitate the transmission of electricity. Edison established one of the first power companies, the Edison Electric Illuminating Company, to provide consumers with the power to run electric lights. By 1888 Edison had established electric companies in eight major cities, and he had founded other subsidiaries that built conductors, generators, and lamps while continuing to dominate the market for incandescent lighting. However, in 1886 George Westinghouse

(1846–1914) developed an alternating current (AC) lighting method that became a viable challenger to Edison's DC empire. Alternating-current technology, capable of higher voltage, had an advantage over direct current in carrying electricity over long distances efficiently.

Electricity proved useful in other applications, including public transportation. Pollution-causing horse-drawn trolleys were common until the mid-1880s, when steam and electric-powered trains began to be used. Again, Thomas Edison was at the forefront of early efforts to use electrical power with streetcars. These early attempts, however, were unsuccessful and dangerous, and his low-power DC motors were ill-equipped to handle large streetcars. During the mid-1880s Frank J. Sprague, who worked with Edison's company, began to develop better DC motors, which were used in electric cars. In 1887 the municipality of Richmond, Virginia, awarded Sprague the contract to



An interior section of the Electricity Building at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. The Westinghouse electrical systems and Tesla motor were on display. (Smithsonian Institution)



build the first electric train line; by 1903 nearly all street-car lines in the United States were electrified. The Pullman Car Company constructed an electric freight-hauling locomotive in 1888, although steam-powered trains continued to dominate long-distance train traffic well into the 20th century.

Because of its high energy use, direct current was less economical than steam power. Realizing that alternating current used less electricity than direct current and was therefore cheaper, George Westinghouse began experimenting with AC for use in motors. Westinghouse then tapped Nikola Tesla, who had discovered the rotating electromagnetic field in 1882, to create an AC motor using his discovery. Tesla invented an AC motor in 1888, and Westinghouse immediately bought the patents. Tesla continued to advance electricity technology, inventing the Tesla coil in 1891, which supplied a high-frequency, high-voltage current that would later reach wide use in radios and televisions. Meanwhile, Edison had recognized the limitations of DC and wanted to begin working with AC. Patent laws forced Edison to merge in 1892 with Thomson-Houston, the Westinghouse rival that also had patents on AC technology. The merger created General Electric, which survives to this day. General Electric developed its own AC motor technology in 1894 and eventually pooled patents with Westinghouse for a period of time in order to refine electric technology. The market for electricity expanded in the 1890s after Westinghouse built the first hydroelectric turbogenerator at Niagara Falls in 1896, which harnessed nature to generate power on a large scale.

The development of the telephone and its wide-scale use began with Alexander Graham Bell's submission of an application for telephone technology in 1876. Western Union, the telegraph company, began to utilize telephone technology in 1877, leading the Bell Telephone Company to file a patent-infringement lawsuit. In the end, however, Western Union's patent infringement had the positive effect for Bell of greatly expanding phone use in the country. Western Union ended up selling its 56,000 phones to Bell in 1879 after settling their dispute; only a few hundred phones had been in use in 1877, and Western Union's wide use of phone technology ultimately helped precipitate the decline of telegraph technology. Bell began to use central exchange systems to expand telephone use, eliminating the need for an abundance of unsightly wires. By the early 1880s Bell Telephone began to implement a system of underground wires, eventually developing telephone connections between Boston and New York in 1884 and expanding them to Washington, D.C., and Chicago in 1893, thus solidifying its monopoly on long-distance telephone service for years to come.

American life was transformed by new building materials such as concrete, iron, and steel during this time

period. SKYSCRAPERS built of iron and steel consolidated increasingly large business operations in central locations and contributed to the density of urban centers like New York and Chicago. The first skyscrapers were built following the CHICAGO FIRE of 1871, which devastated the central part of the city. The first tall structure was the 10-story Montauk Building in Chicago, made from cast-iron. The first true skyscraper, using a steel frame, was Chicago's 10-story Home Insurance Building, which was constructed in 1883. The invention of the electric elevator in 1889, using technology pioneered by Elisha Otis (1811–61), and the escalator in 1891 hastened the era of the skyscraper.

Industry benefited greatly from technology developed during this period. Arc lighting and eventually incandescent bulbs lit even the deepest mine shafts, made possible by the new application of dynamite and nitroglycerine. Miners used steam-powered air drills instead of picks and shovels to pull ore out of the ground, and the refining process itself became more efficient through the use of new machines. The logging industry also was helped by steam power and machines, and both industries greatly increased production as a result of new technology. RAILROADS, which played a key role in the expansion of both the logging and MINING industries, were improved through the systemization of rail gauges across the country, more powerful locomotive engines, the invention of the air brake (by Westinghouse), and the use of steel in rails and bridges.

Other smaller inventions made life and commerce easier. These included the electric dental drill (1875), Louis Waterman's fountain pen (1884), the ballpoint pen (1888), William Burroughs's adding machine (1888), and King Gillette's safety razor (1895). The first punch-card "computer" technology was developed in 1888 and used in the 1890 U.S. census.

Many of the inventions and patents from this period were more fully developed in the 20th century. The patent on the gasoline-powered car was obtained by George Selden (1846–1922) in 1895, and Henry Ford (1863–1947) constructed his first car in 1896. Edison developed primitive motion-picture technology during this period, and celluloid photographic film—invented in 1887—expanded both still- and motion-picture technology. The first publicly screened motion picture was shown in New York City in 1896. GEORGE EASTMAN (1854–1932) advanced photographic technology with several major inventions during the 1880s and 1890s, including the Eastman Kodak box camera, which used roll film and opened up the world of photography to amateurs. Edison's early phonograph, which used tinfoil cylinders to record sounds, was more fully realized in later years by the recording industry. Together with motion-picture technology, Edison's inventions helped transform American popular ENTERTAINMENT. Orville and Wilbur Wright's work on the airplane, which would

revolutionize transportation and warfare, capped a burst of innovation on par with one of civilization's greatest eras of achievement.

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—Scott Sendrow

### investments, American, abroad

American investments abroad were negligible before the Civil War. As a debtor nation (more foreign capital was invested in the United States than U.S. capital was invested abroad), the United States was chronically short of capital. Americans invested in domestic enterprises that utilized the country's abundant natural resources and had little interest in doing business elsewhere.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, American manufacturers, insurance companies, utility operators, and mining companies found it advantageous to develop a foreign presence. Most of these enterprises, like the Singer Manufacturing Company, which opened a sewing machine plant in Scotland in 1882, were launched to distribute their products to foreign markets. A variety of factors converged to encourage American businesses to establish operations in foreign countries: high tariffs in Canada after 1879 and Japan in 1899; restrictions on the use of electrical patents in France and Germany; and deposit requirements for insurance businesses in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. Nevertheless, in these enterprises American firms were able to attract foreign capital, managers, and even technology.

American businessmen preferred investing funds in neighboring North American countries. In Mexico, the country with the largest American investments before the Mexican Revolution began in 1910, the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz created a climate favorable to foreign investment. Canada was second in favor as a location for American investment. In CUBA and elsewhere in the Caribbean, American investments increased after the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR. After the depression from 1893 to 1897, American businesses eagerly sought opportunities to develop markets by operating abroad, and the United

States became a net exporter of capital during the period from 1898 to 1901.

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—Bruce Abrams

### investments, foreign, in the United States

Although the American economy had matured considerably by 1870, development was still largely dependent on infusions of foreign capital. Prior to the Civil War the British had already invested in bonds to finance the construction of turnpikes, canals, and railroads, but the railroad boom in the late 19th century created an almost insatiable demand for capital from abroad. American bankers such as George Peabody amassed a fortune by selling American securities while living in England. Declining interest rates from 6 percent to 4 percent made American entrepreneurs even more anxious to sell their bonds abroad. Foreign investments in the United States, which totaled \$1.5 billion in 1869, grew to \$3.4 billion in 1897 and \$6.4 billion in 1908.

The large value of American exports, especially of agricultural products, over that of imports was sufficient to meet growing interest payments and keep trade in balance. But by the mid-1890s American business leaders became concerned that the large infusions of foreign capital would require greater exports, especially in manufactured goods, to prevent the outflow of gold to pay foreign investors. Thus, the search for overseas markets became a factor in popular opinion on foreign policy issues. World War I, however, abruptly changed the patterns of international investment. European capital invested abroad shrank and the United States—with its enormous productivity and high rate of savings—suddenly was transformed from a debtor to a creditor nation.

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—Bruce Abrams





**Jackson, Helen Hunt** (1830–1885) *writer, Indian rights advocate*

The author Helen Hunt Jackson became the most eloquent champion of Native Americans in the Gilded Age. Born Helen Maria Fiske on October 15, 1830, in Amherst, Massachusetts, she was a close lifelong friend of EMILY DICKINSON, but for years she gave little indication of her own literary talent. She did have an independent spirit that rejected the puritanism of her parents, was reasonably well educated for a woman of her day, and was witty and vivacious. Attending a ball given by Governor Washington Hunt of New York, she attracted the attention of his brother, Lieutenant Edward Bissell Hunt, an army engineer, and they married in 1852. Over the next 11 years they led a nomadic life, but she met the editor THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON in Newport, Rhode Island, and made valuable contacts in Washington. In 1863, however, her husband accidentally died in New York harbor while trying to develop a torpedolike device, and in 1865 her only surviving child died of diphtheria. Hunt worked her way out of her despair by writing poetry, which began to appear in the *NATION* and the *New York Evening Post*, and turned to Higginson to help her hone her writing skills. By the 1870s she was a successful writer not only of poetry but also of travel books, reviews, and anonymous novels, including a roman à clef about Dickinson, whose talent she recognized and whom she urged to publish. In 1873 Hunt sought relief from a sore throat in the Rockies, where she met William Sharpless Jackson, a wealthy railroad promoter. They married in 1875 and settled in Colorado Springs, but she regularly visited California (which she loved) and the East Coast to maintain her publishing contacts.

Ironically, it was not in Colorado or California but in Boston where she became aroused by the plight of the NATIVE AMERICANS. There in 1879 she heard the Ponca chief Standing Bear and BRIGHT EYES, a young Omaha woman (the Omaha were closely related to the Ponca), protest the removal of the Ponca from their reservation

to the Indian Territory (present day Oklahoma). Although Jackson previously had shown little interest in reform, she became an ardent advocate of Indian rights and in 1881 published *A Century of Dishonor*, which condemned the federal government for its treatment of the Indians.

The Interior Department, rather than ignoring Jackson, asked her along with Abbot Kinney to investigate the condition of the Mission Indians of California. When their report, which appeared in 1883, had no obvious effect on CONGRESS, Jackson resolved to write a novel that she hoped would affect Indian rights the same way her friend Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had affected the abolitionist movement. *Ramona*, published in 1884, was an immediate success and has gone through more than 300 printings. *Ramona*, a half-breed young woman raised by an old Spanish California family, falls in love with an Indian forced off his land by whites. Jackson was disappointed that although her book was enormously popular and her readers enjoyed her romantic tale, they did not seem to get the underlying message of the ill treatment of Native Americans. A year later, on August 12, 1885, Jackson died of cancer in San Francisco.

**Further reading:** Evelyn I. Banning, *Helen Hunt Jackson* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1973); Valerie Sherer Mathes, *Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

**James, Henry** (1843–1916) *writer, critic*

The son of Henry James, the heir of a prosperous entrepreneur, and Mary Robertson Walsh, novelist Henry James was born on April 15, 1843, in New York City. Brought up in an intensely intellectual household—his father wrote several books on religious philosophy and his older brother WILLIAM JAMES was to become an influential philosopher and psychologist—James was tutored at home, where family friends included Nathaniel Hawthorne and Ralph Waldo



Emerson. Between 1855 and 1860 his parents broadened his cultural horizons by bringing him to England, Switzerland, France, and Germany, where he continued to study with private tutors, and at the age of 19 he followed his brother to Harvard. After a semester in law school, he returned to New York and devoted himself to writing, publishing both fiction and literary criticism by the age of 21.

Still hungry for a deeper cultural perspective than he felt the materialistic American intellectual climate provided, James returned to Europe in 1869 and settled at last in London in 1872. Except for brief visits to the United States, he remained there until his death on February 28, 1916, becoming a British subject in 1915. The most famous American literary expatriate of his time, he befriended the leading authors of Europe, including French and Russian realists Gustave Flaubert, Émile Zola, and Ivan Turgenev and such British intellectuals as Herbert Spencer and Thomas Henry Huxley.

In 1875 he published his first collection of stories, *The Passionate Pilgrim*, foreshadowing his recurring themes of nostalgia for an older culture and the confrontation between the innocent American and the sophisticated European. His novel *Roderick Hudson*, serialized that year in the *Atlantic Monthly* (then edited by his close friend WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS), recounted the story of an American sculptor studying in Italy and disillusioned by Old World cynicism. He repeated the theme explicitly in his 1877 novel *The American*, in which an American millionaire is defeated in his pursuit of European culture by the conventions of French aristocracy, and in his 1878 novella *Daisy Miller*, the tale of a spontaneous American girl in conflict with European codes of behavior in Florence. James reflected America's expanding cultural horizons in his use of foreign settings, but in the 1880s he interrupted the creation of "international novels," with which his fiction had become associated, and turned to the American scene. His *Washington Square* (1880) was a poignant psychological novel dealing with the effects of circumstance on character in New York, and *The Bostonians* (1886) was a satire of American bluestockings and suffragists.

James lived a remote personal life and never married. Always a detached realist, he was indifferent to politics and business in his fiction as in his life. His characters were upper class and his settings elegant—it has been observed that there are no bathrooms in James's fiction—but his stories analyzed primal emotions with keen, sometimes clinical, insight, and if he did not deal with the everyday reality of the common person, like Howells and HAMLIN GARLAND, his themes were universal. The novels, novellas, and short stories that flowed from his pen grew increasingly subtle, and his prose style grew increasingly complex and ambiguous in his later years, influencing a whole generation of modern writers that included

D. H. Lawrence, Edith Wharton, Joseph Conrad, and James Joyce.

**Further reading:** Leon Edel, *Henry James*, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1953–1972); David Leavitt, *Henry James*, 2 vols. (New York: Random House, 1996–2007).

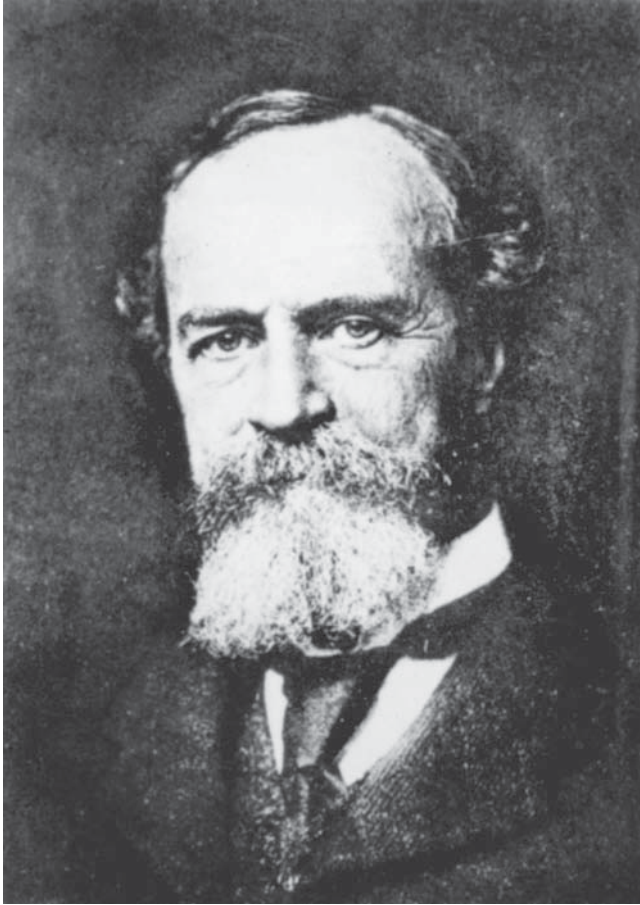
—Dennis Wepman

**James, William** (1842–1910) *philosopher, psychologist*

William James, the brother of novelist HENRY JAMES, was born in New York City on January 11, 1842, the son of Henry James, a writer of religion influenced by the mysticism of Emanuel Swedenborg. Since inherited wealth enabled his family to travel widely, James's preparatory education included schools and tutors in Europe, making him fluent in French and German. His fragmented schooling inspired him to become either a painter or a scientist. A year spent in the studio of William Morris Hunt convinced James that he could not become a first-rate artist. He therefore entered the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard in 1861, where he studied chemistry and physiology, and Harvard Medical School in 1864. Further travel necessitated by poor health postponed his medical degree until 1869. Hampered by poor eyesight and a weak back and beset by doubts and fears, James soon fell into a deep and severe depression, almost losing the will to live (although he continued to read voraciously). He was rescued from the illness by a newfound and passionate belief in the freedom and power of individual will that was to characterize his thinking as a psychologist and philosopher. Embracing free will meant rejecting scientific, theological, and metaphysical determinism.

In 1872 James joined the Harvard faculty as an instructor in physiology, which as a branch of biology immersed him in the theory of evolution, while the physiology of the nervous system pushed him into psychology. In 1890, after years of study and association with European psychologists, James published his *Principles of Psychology*. He was an empiricist, believing the mind was shaped by experience, but he opposed the biological and environmental determinism of WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER and Herbert Spencer. He believed the mind was active, engaged, interested, and free to experiment with and alter some of life's circumstances. To the question "Are we automata?" he gave an emphatic "no," as he rejected scientific materialism. *The Principles of Psychology* was enormously popular as much for its readability as for its ideas. James was adept at utilizing illustrations, metaphors, humor, and plain language to present complex ideas clearly.

With wide exposure came great influence. An abridged textbook version of *Principles of Psychology* was published in 1892, and in 1898 James brought out *Talks to Teach-*



William James (Library of Congress)

ers on *Psychology*. Both books were used extensively by future teachers in colleges of education. James knew that children needed knowledge and skills, but he believed that the specific skills, the manner of learning, and the pace and sequence of instruction should be determined by the special nature of both childhood and the individual child. James, however, did not advocate that children should determine what, when, or how they learned, but rather that sensitive teachers should be aware of many simultaneously occurring instincts in children. They should seize these instincts, such as pride or desire for personal gain, and build lessons that would lead to powerful and positive habits. After reading the *Principles of Psychology*, John Dewey was convinced that creative intelligence could change the world, and when this progressive thinker gathered like-minded educators about him at the University of Chicago, James exclaimed, “A *real School*, and *real Thought*. Important thought, too!”

In 1880, since psychology was regarded as a branch of philosophy, James joined that department. He acknowledged the relationship between the two (although he

believed that the science of psychology was a separate discipline) and maintained an interest in both studies. After the *Principles of Psychology* appeared, James’s attention turned more to religion and philosophy, and in 1897 he changed his title to professor of philosophy. His interest in religion was psychological, not theological and not in doctrines but in the phenomena of religious experience. Approaching religion as an empiricist, James concluded that although life after death was unproved (his attempts at psychic research yielded no positive results), the record of religious experience—the fruitful moral effects of the practice of religion—pointed to the existence of God. His *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) was extremely popular, largely because its scientific approach reassured those who adhered to a mystical faith.

James, however, is chiefly renowned as the philosopher of PRAGMATISM. He first used the term in 1898 when, while lecturing at the University of California at Berkeley, he argued that the meaning of all ideas are in their consequences, and over the next decade he elaborated on this theme. He observed that we deal not with the reality of truth but with our changing perceptions of the reality of truth, that truth is relative, workable, unfolding, and advancing. Ideas should be judged not by their relationship to moral absolutes like truth or goodness but by their consequences. James’s pragmatism was implicit in his empiricism and stress on experience, his belief in free will and rejection of determinism, and his hostility to absolutes and embrace of a pluralistic universe. The subtitle of his book *Pragmatism: A New Name for Old Ways of Thinking* (1907) was appropriate.

James’s pragmatism was easily accepted in a rapidly evolving, growing, competitive American society. His philosophy rejected prejudiced or fixed views and promoted the analysis of experience in determining what worked in personal lives and social institutions. Solving problems and answering human needs took precedence over traditional beliefs and practices, and pragmatism became the tool for achieving goals. An antidogmatic philosophy, James’s pragmatism has not become a rigid doctrine, but it has encouraged the development of new, original ideas. He died on August 26, 1910.

**Further reading:** Gay Wilson Allen, *William James: A Biography* (New York: Viking Press, 1967); R. W. B. Lewis, *The Jameses: A Family Narrative* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1991).

—Harry Stein

### Jefferson, Joseph, III (1829–1905) actor

Joseph Jefferson III was born on February 20, 1829, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the son of Joseph Jefferson II and Cornelia Frances Thomas Burke, actors. His grandfather,

the first of that name, was a noted comic actor who immigrated to the United States in 1795, and his father worked as a manager and scene painter as well as an actor. Jefferson made his first appearance on stage at the age of three in a crowd scene and the next year performed in a minstrel show in Washington, D. C. His education was limited entirely to his apprenticeship in the theater, accompanying his family on tours throughout the South and into Mexico. After his father died in 1842, the family continued performing, but Jefferson returned to Philadelphia alone and joined a stock company at the age of 17. Three years later he made his first appearance in New York. In 1850 he married Margaret Clements Lockyer, who died in 1861 after bearing four children.

Jefferson worked steadily as an actor and a stage manager in Philadelphia and several southern cities. In 1858 he had a major success starring in Tom Taylor's comedy *Our American Cousin*, a vehicle in which he helped eliminate the theatrical stereotype of the boorish Yankee. After his wife's death, he traveled to California and then worked for several years in Australia. In 1865 he toured South America and England.

It was in London that he resumed a professional connection with the popular American playwright Dion Boucicault and proposed a new dramatization of Washington Irving's classic *Rip Van Winkle*. In collaboration, the two produced a version that provided Jefferson with a role that he was to play for the rest of his life. A hit in London, the play traveled to New York in 1866 and found a warm welcome. The next year he remarried. His second wife, Sarah Warren, was the daughter of a popular comic actor, William Warren. The couple had three children.

Jefferson's dedication to his craft impelled him to undertake a variety of roles. In 1875 he and his family traveled to England, where they spent two and a half years and where he created a memorable interpretation of Bob Acres in Richard Brinsley Sheridan's 18th-century play *The Rivals*. His limber frame and mobile face enabled him to run the gamut from tragic melodrama to broad physical comedy, but his reputation was solidly based on his restrained and easygoing portrayal of Irving's archetypal ne'er-do-well Rip. His performance of that role is credited with marking a turning point in American theatrical style, from the formalism of the 19th century to the relaxed naturalism of the modern era. In 1890 Jefferson published his *Autobiography*, which discussed his craft in perceptive detail and has become a classic of stage history.

Jefferson earned a large fortune and owned homes in Massachusetts, Florida, and Louisiana. In his spare time, he was also an avid and skilled impressionist painter and exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1868 and the National Academy of Design in 1890. Honored both professionally and socially, he was made president of

the Players Club in 1893 and did much to elevate the status of the acting profession. Jefferson died on April 23, 1905, in Palm Beach, Florida.

**Further reading:** Arthur W. Bloom, *Joseph Jefferson: Dean of the American Theater* (Savannah, Ga.: Frederic C. Beil, 1999).

—Dennis Wepman

### **Jewett, Sarah Orne** (1849–1909) *writer*

A great, early American realist writer, Sarah Orne Jewett was born in South Berwick, Maine. Her father, Theodore Herman Jewett, was a country doctor, and her mother, Caroline Frances Perry, was the daughter of William Perry, a renowned surgeon. Suffering from rheumatoid arthritis, young Jewett, who had both an older and a younger sister, graduated in 1865 from Berwick Academy, even though she often missed school. She read widely in her family's bountiful library and often accompanied her father on visits to his scattered patients. He encouraged her to observe their surroundings and to "write about things *just as they are*." She followed his advice and became so well acquainted with their region and its people and wrote of them so sensitively that in her writings they became "part of life itself."

Jewett had a story accepted by the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1869. Influenced by the regional description in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Pearl of Orr's Island* and indignant when the "city boarders," who began arriving in Berwick, made fun of the "awkward, ignorant" country people, Jewett determined to portray to the world their abilities and their "grand, simple lives." She wanted her readers to "wonder at the . . . human ability in this world" and to be shocked at its wastefulness.

After corresponding with *Atlantic* editors James T. Fields and WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, she began in 1873 a series of Maine sketches for the *Atlantic*, which were reprinted four years later in *Deephaven*, her first major collection. It established her, at the age of 28, as a leading New England writer. "You've got an uncommon feeling for *talk*," Howells wrote encouragingly, "I *hear* your people." The sketches Jewett wrote in the following decade were collected in *A White Heron and Other Stories* (1886). All together Jewett would publish 19 books in her lifetime, mostly collections of sketches of country life, but also including novels, children's stories, and a child's history of the Normans.

Although Jewett, who never married, lived in the handsome pre-Revolutionary house that her shipbuilding grandfather had purchased in Berwick, she often visited friends in Boston and other cities. Among these friends were the Fields and Howells families and well-known writers of her time. These included Julia Ward Howe, Henry



Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, John Greenleaf Whittier, and many European intellectuals. After her father's death in 1878 Jewett's life revolved even more around these friends, especially Annie Adams Fields, a prominent literary hostess and wife of Jewett's early editor, who died in 1881.

In 1896 *The Country of the Pointed Firs*, with its 20 tales from a city boarder's visit to the coastal Maine village of Dunnet Landing, was serialized in the *Atlantic*. Considered a masterpiece from the start, *Pointed Firs* placed Jewett solidly among the great. Asked to name three American novels "deserving of a long, long life," Willa Cather, an acclaimed novelist herself, named *Pointed Firs*, Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*, and Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*. Sympathy, Cather claimed, was the source of Jewett's greatness. Jewett managed to fade away "into the land and people" she wrote about. British author Rudyard Kipling called her book "the very life."

Noted for its rich account of women's lives and voices, *Pointed Firs* was written about the early machine age, when, with its earlier losses from whaling and the West Indian trade, coastal Maine was still a matriarchal society. Like the book's main character, Almira Todd, a practicing herbalist, and an unnamed female narrator, Jewett is an observer, who sees beyond external facts to create a larger whole from them and casual conversation. With their hearts in sync, Todd and her mother, Mrs. Brackett, show how close a mother and daughter can remain, even when the mother lives a distance offshore on Green Island. Despite their physical separation, they seem to know and understand what the other is thinking. Even though she lives on Green Island, 86-year-old Mrs. Brackett remains the queen of the family, as proven by the faces that light up when she appears at the Bowden family reunion, the central image of community in these sketches. Though often alone, women are not tragic. They live in a world where they learn to belong, a world whose men are also memorable.

Especially noteworthy among these seafarers are four old survivors of an earlier generation. They had "gone together ever since they were boys" and knew "most everything about the sea amon't them." One is "heavy-headed" Elijah Tilley, who emerges from "his dark fish house . . . carrying a small haddock." His sea activities color his days on shore. While plowing, to avoid the heavy rocks in his cultivated field he marks them with lobster-pot buoys, and near his footpath "a heavy piece of old wreck timber" is buried "like a ship's bone." When speaking of his approaching death, Tilley declares, "I sha'n't trouble the fish a great sight more."

Her friendship with Annie Fields sustained Jewett during the remaining decades of her life, when her great talent matured. They spent half of each year in each other's company and made four trips to Europe, where they vis-

ited Alfred Lord Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, and HENRY JAMES.

Jewett was the first woman to receive a Litt.D. from Bowdoin College (1901). The next year, on her 53rd birthday, she had a spinal concussion when her horse shied on a hill and threw her from her carriage. Jewett's writing career ended. She died seven years later, after suffering a paralyzing stroke, still living in her grandfather's great house.

**Further reading:** Mary Ellen Chase and Marjorie Pryse, eds., *The Country of the Pointed Firs and Other Stories*, by Sarah Orne Jewett (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981); Josephine Donovan, *Sarah Orne Jewett* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1980); Gwen L. Nagel, ed., *Critical Essays on Sarah Orne Jewett* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1984).

—Olive Hoogenboom

### Jim Crow laws

Segregation (or Jim Crow, so named after a racially stereotyped minstrel show character) existed prior to the Civil War, but it was not systematic. Many hotels excluded blacks, and most churches had balconies or separate pews for AFRICAN AMERICANS. With the emancipation of slaves following the Civil War, the custom of segregation continued as communities formed dual school systems to maintain the status quo. The Civil Rights Act of (1875) did not try to integrate schools, but it did call for the integration of public facilities. The voiding of that desegregation law by the U.S. SUPREME COURT in the 1883 *CIVIL RIGHTS CASES* in effect encouraged discrimination. Nevertheless, Jim Crow—segregation—laws were rare in the South before the 1890s and became prevalent at the turn of the century. Indeed, Virginia did not separate the races on the state's railroads prior to 1900. Nor were the state's streetcars segregated by race, and despite discrimination, blacks generally were not barred from or segregated in bars, waiting rooms, theaters, or other public venues. Excepting churches, schools, and railroad cars, most areas in the South did not practice either de facto or de jure segregation prior to 1897.

The *PLESSY V. FERGUSON* Supreme Court case in 1896 set into motion the concept of legally separating the races in public arenas. The Court upheld the 1890 Louisiana Jim Crow law requiring that railroads provide "equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races." Not all southern whites demanded Jim Crow laws: South Carolina resisted establishing Jim Crow cars before 1898, and the conservative editor of the *Charleston News and Courier* considered such a law absurd. He noted sarcastically that a Jim Crow car would logically call for Jim Crow railroads, passenger boats, waiting rooms, eating halls, jury boxes, as well as a Jim Crow Bible for court procedures and even two or



three Jim Crow counties for blacks. But in time his sarcastic absurdities became realities as nearly all his examples were adopted by southern legislatures. In 1898 South Carolina enacted a Jim Crow car for first-class coaches and two years later amended the law to include second-class coaches. Jim Crow streetcars were established by North Carolina and Virginia (1901); Louisiana (1902); Arkansas, South Carolina, and Tennessee (1903); Mississippi and Maryland (1904); Florida (1905); and Oklahoma (1907). Other Jim Crow statutes separated whites and other races in public facilities such as libraries, concert halls, parks, and railroad and bus terminals. Eventually, Jim Crow was applied to churches, housing, employment, sport teams, hospitals, orphanages, cemeteries, funeral homes, morgues, and places of entertainment, and throughout the South, “white only” or “colored only” signs were strictly enforced.

These signs were particularly humiliating to African Americans and liberals. Beginning in the 1950s, civil rights activists protested against Jim Crow laws by sitting in at lunch counters, wading in at swimming pools, and supporting economic boycotts of businesses that supported Jim Crow enforcement. These odious laws remained in effect until the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibited discrimination in all public facilities.

**Further reading:** C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3d rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).

—William Seraile

## jingoes

In the late 19th century, the descriptive term *jingoes* applied to those who displayed an intense, unquestioning patriotism while advocating an aggressive FOREIGN POLICY. In 1878 the term was used in England to describe the followers of Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, who sought to use the British fleet to check the Russian advances in the Black Sea. The group adopted a theme song whose refrain went:

We don't want to fight, but, by jingo, if we do,  
We've got the ships,  
We've got the men,  
We've got the money, too.

The “jingo” tag soon began to be used pejoratively in the United States for aggressive imperialists who would go to war to acquire overseas territories and naval bases. The opponents of the jingoes thought them manic, impulsive, possessed of limited intelligence, and oblivious to the consequences of war.

—Timothy E. Vislocky

## Johnstown flood (May 31, 1889)

On May 31, 1889, the South Fork Dam in western Pennsylvania broke, pouring 20 million tons of water downstream, inundating Johnstown 15 miles below, and killing approximately 2,200 people. The flood and its aftermath demonstrate dominant themes of the Gilded Age: The doctrine of laissez-faire, very much in vogue, discouraged government inspection or regulation of the dam. Belief in individualism enabled people to do as they wished with their property, even to the point of endangering others. Casualness bordering on callousness was rampant. The owners of the poorly maintained South Fork Dam were wealthy and prominent Pittsburghers who were never held accountable for their carelessness. But when the disaster struck, ordinary people proved to be heroes, and a spirit of cooperation prevailed as almost everyone put aside their personal losses and cared for the injured, buried the dead, and cleared the debris. Warmhearted people from all over—even other countries—contributed more than \$3.7 million and trainloads of provisions.

Originally part of Pennsylvania's Main Line canal system, the South Fork Dam had been built to supply the canal west of Johnstown with water during the dry summer months. It was soon rendered obsolete by the Pennsylvania Railroad, fell into disrepair, and was in 1879 acquired and inadequately patched up by the South Fork Fishing and Hunting Club (among its members were ANDREW CARNEGIE and HENRY CLAY FRICK).

Following an extremely heavy rainfall, the dam broke and water cascaded down the narrow valley, devastating Johnstown in 10 minutes. Houses were swept off their foundations and split apart; their inhabitants hurled about or clinging to the debris that lodged in a massive jam at the stone railroad bridge on the downstream side of town. More than 500 people who had not been drowned or crushed were tangled in the debris. Rescue work proceeded slowly because few tools were available, and that evening the debris caught fire and as many as 80 men, women, and children perished.

Those who survived the flood and the fire awoke on June 1 to a dismal day but coped with the disaster. Rafts were built to aid in rescue operations, and committees were formed to bury the dead and care for the injured. The next day a relief train arrived from Pittsburgh, and by that night more than 1,000 doctors, undertakers, workmen, and newspapermen had come. Clara Barton and her newly organized Red Cross soon arrived and remained for five months rendering aid to people in need. Andrew Carnegie also came and characteristically promised Johnstown a new library. Life in time returned to normal. Not one cent, however, was realized from the damage suits that followed the flood.

**Further reading:** David G. McCullough, *The Johnstown Flood* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1968).

**Joseph, Chief** See NEZ PERCE WAR.

## Judaism

Jews and Judaism have played an important role in American history since the colonial period, but the last third of the 19th century was a time of great growth and change. In 1850 a “dignified orthodoxy”—established by the early Sephardic communities—prevailed in American Judaism, but by then the German Ashkenazim were in a majority. IMMIGRATION swelled their numbers enormously in the next decade as the Jewish population rose from 50,000 to 160,000. Immigrants escaped from oppressive societies, but they also left their close-knit, traditional religious communities to spread out in a land of toleration where they were more susceptible to change.

Indeed, change was already in the air in Europe. Paralleling the 18th-century Enlightenment, the Haskala, or Jewish Enlightenment, arose in Germany, and from it Reform Judaism emerged as a movement. Its 19th-century proponents, eager to encounter modern life, were either looked to by the American-German Jewish community for guidance or personally came to America to try out their ideas. Of these, David Einhorn and Isaac Mayer Wise were the most prominent. Einhorn, who served as leader of the new movement in Germany and Hungary, came to Baltimore, Maryland. With his arrival in 1855, the new Reform ideas—which approached Judaism from a scientific viewpoint, rejected ceremonial law (dietary restrictions, for example), and interpreted moral law by contemporary standards—spread rapidly. Within a generation, largely due to the efforts of Isaac Mayer Wise, the overwhelmingly Sephardic orthodox culture of Judaism had become just as overwhelmingly German reform.

Wise came to the United States in 1846. During his first rabbinate in Albany, New York, his liturgical changes divided the congregation, and in 1854 he began his rabbinate in Cincinnati. There he turned to publishing (two magazines and many books) to promote his radical religious ideas and to organize their adherents. In 1873 he founded the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which by 1880 was the closest any group ever got to dominating American Judaism. Wise served as president until

his death in 1900. The high-water mark of Reform Judaism came in 1885 with the 18-point Pittsburgh platform, which Einhorn heavily influenced and Wise called “the Jewish Declaration of Independence.” The platform laid out the principles of Reform Judaism that endured through the late 20th century.

Judaism shifted again near the end of the 19th century, owing chiefly to the next wave of immigration from the eastern European Ashkenazic community. With renewed persecution in Russia, Poland, and the surrounding areas, the resulting immigration doubled the number of synagogues in the United States between 1880 and 1890. These Jews were far more sequestered from the world than the German Jews two generations before, and they brought a whole culture with them. With their Yiddish language and a folk piety formed within the shtetls of the pale—often Hasidic or tinged with Hasidism—these Jews did not connect with the Reform Jewish community. Indeed, their presence led to a resurgence of Orthodox Judaism.

While these immigrants clung vigorously to their culture, their children were often eager to assimilate in American society. Growing secularism, beginning in Europe and growing in America, led to Zionism, which was a nonreligious Jewish response to anti-Semitism, although it was a Reform rabbi, Stephen Wise, who founded the Federation of American Zionists in 1898. These same secular forces strengthened the ETHICAL CULTURE MOVEMENT, a nontheistic religious organization founded by Felix Adler in 1876, which had its intellectual and cultural origins in Judaism but dissociated itself from that tradition almost entirely.

In 1900, when Isaac Mayer Wise died, Judaism was about to become tripartite in form: Orthodox, Reform, and Conservative. In the space of merely 50 years, the most ancient faith of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had changed more than any other religion in America.

**Further reading:** Michael Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Sefton D. Temkin, *Creating American Reform Judaism: The Life and Times of Isaac Meyer Wise* (Portland, Oreg.: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1998).

—W. Frederick Wooden



# K



## kindergarten

The origins of the kindergarten movement of the late 19th century derive from a fundamental change in how Europeans envisioned and understood young children. The traditional view—that children were tainted by the original sins of Eve and Adam and thus were depraved and best governed by strict authority—was attacked by John Amos Comenius (1592–1670), John Locke (1632–1704), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78), and Johann Pestalozzi (1746–1827). These humane philosophers and educators argued that children are innocent, impressionable, and capable of being educated without harsh discipline by skillful teachers who understand their intelligence and emotional capabilities. Children are thus best prepared for school in homes where love rather than unwavering discipline prevails. In 1837 Pestalozzi's pupil Friedrich Froebel (1782–1852) established in Germany a kindergarten for little children that emphasized games, social activities, art, music, and physical movement. Froebel and like-minded early-childhood educators believed that literacy skills and arithmetic were more effectively introduced between the ages of six and eight.

Inspired by Froebel, Margaretha Schurz (wife of reformer CARL SCHURZ) in 1857 started a kindergarten in Watertown, Wisconsin, and others soon sprang up. Between 1870 and 1900 kindergarten classes were established in many publicly supported urban and rural schools, but they usually failed to realize Froebel's ideas. In rural one-room schools with 10–20 students, the five-year-old kindergartners were thrown in with all ages and grades (up to 14–16-year-old eighth-graders) and were often ignored while the teacher prepared older students in demanding subjects for state examinations. Teacher turnover was high, with 90 percent spending less than five years in any one school, and teachers normally were young and inexperienced, with only two or three years of education beyond the eighth grade. They were hired by local school boards and were occasionally observed and evaluated by state officials. In urban schools or towns large enough to operate

a graded school, the kindergarten children were assigned their own teachers (whom principals evaluated frequently) and had special rooms and learning materials.

When parents sent children to public kindergarten, they took the first step in a transition from family-controlled to state-controlled education. Henceforth, while parents retained the responsibility of feeding, clothing, and maintaining the health of their children, the schools would try to educate them according to their merit for independent, self-reliant behavior. Indeed, if families failed to develop proper health habits or instill moral training in their children, the schools at least would get them off the streets, rid their heads of lice, improve their posture through scoliosis inspection, and develop their characters while teaching them basic skills. In the late 19th century, kindergartens were the beginning of eight to 10 years of schooling for the typical child, 95 percent of whom then went out to work for the rest of their lives.

See also PEABODY, ELIZABETH PALMER.

**Further reading:** Lawrence Cremin, *The American Common School: A Historical Conception* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1951); Barbara Finkelstein *Governing the Young: Teacher Behavior in Popular Primary Schools in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Falmer Press, 1989); Wayne, Fuller. *The Old Country School: The Story of Rural Education in the Midwest* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

—Harry Stein

## King, Clarence (1842–1901) geologist

Clarence Rivers King—American geologist and founder-leader of federal surveys—was born in Newport, Rhode Island, on January 6, 1842. King's mother raised and educated him after his father died at Amoy in 1848 while in the China trade. With his stepfather's aid, King attended Yale (Ph. B., 1862). From 1863 to 1866 he worked throughout California with Josiah Whitney's state-sponsored geo-



logical survey until he became solely responsible for his twice-widowed mother, two stepsiblings, and eight other persons. In 1867 King returned east and won approval for his U.S. Geological Exploration of the 40th parallel sponsored by the Army Corps of Engineers. By 1872 King and his men had mapped and assessed the geology and mineral resources of a 100-mile swath of land flanking the transcontinental railroad between California's Sierra Nevada and Colorado's Front Range. In 1872 King earned national renown by exposing a cunning "diamond hoax" in Colorado and publishing *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada*, a volume of stories real and imagined based on his years with Whitney. King's episodic interpretations of geologic history and organic evolution (1877) clashed with the gradualist views of his friend and collaborator, Yale paleontologist OTHNIEL CHARLES MARSH.

In 1878 King completed *Systematic Geology*, his synthesis of the 40th-parallel studies, and strove to establish a national federal survey that would consolidate the missions of his organization, one led by JOHN WESLEY POWELL, and two others also examining the public domain. As a member (1876) of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS), King advised Marsh's NAS committee, which was charged by CONGRESS to plan for reforming the federal mapping and scientific surveys. At Interior Secretary CARL SCHURZ's request, King cowrote legislation based on the NAS plan. King and Powell promoted its passage by Congress on March 3, 1879; a month later, King became director of the new U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY (USGS). He and Powell also served on the Public Lands Commission, authorized by the same statute.

Congress and President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES established the USGS principally as a bureau of practical science to help the mineral industry aid the nation's reviving economy by eliminating shortfalls in gold and iron production. Although the USGS's initial appropriation was only two-thirds of that of the three surveys it replaced, King immediately launched the new agency on a scientific program of applied economic geology (as mandated) and supporting basic studies (to provide new discoveries to apply). He also cofunded and participated in cooperative investigations for the 10th census.

While leading the USGS, King continued to display professional brilliance, personal magnetism, a natural style of command, and a genuine sympathy for everyone who worked for him. He intended to remain as director, however, "only long enough to appoint its staff, organize its work, and guide the force into full activity." The agency's ethics clauses prevented King from mining investments or consulting within the United States, activities that would yield the larger income he needed to support his family and his lifestyle. In March 1881, after recommending Powell as his successor, King resigned as director. Soon, as King

noted with dismay, Powell deemphasized practical science and turned the USGS into an agency for topographic mapping and general geology.

King returned to New York City, his professional and social base, where he had been a spellbinding raconteur in the Century Club since 1876. Thereafter, with mixed success, King promoted mines in Mexico, ranches in Wyoming, a bank in Texas, and other ventures. King returned often to Washington, where he, Marian and HENRY ADAMS, and Clara and JOHN MILTON HAY sometimes convened their informal "Five of Hearts Club." From 1888 King also led a second life in Brooklyn in a loving but clandestine common-law marriage to Ada Todd, a black nursemaid who bore him five children. In 1893 King published his estimate of the Earth's age, but a nervous breakdown ended his hope of resuming leadership of the USGS. The financial panic later that year destroyed King's resources, leaving him hopelessly in debt to Hay. King refused continued offers from academe or additional help from Hay and resumed active work as a mining consultant. These efforts increasingly damaged his health. Tuberculosis forced King to California and then to Arizona, where he died on December 24, 1901.

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—Clifford M. Nelson

## Klondike gold rush

The gold rush era in the United States began in California in 1848 and continued through 1900. Although miners searched for the valuable metal well into the 20th century, the Klondike gold rush, from roughly 1897 to 1900, was the last of the major rushes to occur where independent prospectors flocked to a region in the hopes of "striking it rich." The epicenter of the Klondike gold rush was up the Yukon River just over the Alaskan border in Canada, and close to Dawson City; to reach it, hopeful prospectors opened up the Alaskan frontier.

The United States acquired Alaska in 1867, but it was basically unknown and unsettled until the late 1890s, when large numbers of prospectors poured into it in search of gold. Although the town of Juneau, Alaska, was established in 1880 after gold was found there (and in the Canadian Yukon in the mid-1880s), the major "strike" occurred in August 1896, when the son of a California forty-niner found gold while panning in Rabbit Creek, which soon became known as "Bonanza Creek."

Prospectors from the Canadian Yukon rushed up to Bonanza Creek and began staking claims along the creek



Gold miners and packers on Dyea Trail, Alaska, ca. 1898  
(Library of Congress)

and in the surrounding area. Several prospectors during this initial period enjoyed gold yields that brought them more than \$1 million. News about the gold did not reach the West Coast and the outside world until the summer of 1897, precipitating a gold rush that followed the pattern of the California gold rush of 1849. Large numbers of men without women gave rise to vice and violence, vastly inflated prices for necessities that were brought in with difficulty, and the tendency for some prospectors to settle in the area permanently. Mining activity created Dawson City, and by September 1897 6,000–8,000 prospectors were already in the area near the head of the Yukon River.

Depressed economic conditions following the panic of 1893 heightened interest in the new gold fields, and by the end of 1897 thousands of hopefuls were on their way to Alaska. Many boarded transcontinental railroads for Seattle, Washington, the closest major city, to catch a vessel heading up the coast to Alaska. By 1898 Seattle was full of miners waiting for a steamship that would take them 2,000 miles northwest to the mouth of the Yukon River in the Bering Sea, then 1,300 miles up the Yukon to Dawson City. A late-arriving steamer in 1897 actually became stuck in the ice and had to wait until the following season to make it to Dawson City. Others took a boat to Juneau and then attempted the treacherous land route north, braving avalanches, crevasses, and the 1,500-square-mile Malaspina Glacier; many of these prospectors died.

Driven by rumors of gold elsewhere, many prospectors scattered across the vast expanses of the Alaskan tundra in search of the metal, moving as far north as the Arctic Circle in some instances. Historians estimate that 100,000 people journeyed to the Dawson City area in search of gold. In the summer of 1899 prospectors discovered gold in the sand on the beach near Nome, Alaska (an isolated area near the Bering Strait), which began another Alaskan gold rush. Steamers from Seattle were unable to penetrate the ice that had already formed late in the summer, and eager miners were forced to wait until the next season. Nome's population expanded to 18,000 by the time the gold rush ended. The Klondike gold rush, and to a lesser degree the rush to Nome, succeeded in opening up the "last frontier" (Alaska's nickname) of the United States and was the final opportunity for the amateur prospector to claim "poor man's gold."

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—Scott Sendrow

## Knights of Labor

A group of Philadelphia garment workers led by Uriah Stephens organized the first local assembly of the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor (Knights) in 1869. They cloaked the society in rituals and secrecy (abolished in 1881 to placate opposition from the Roman Catholic hierarchy) to protect its members from discharge and blacklisting. At first, growth was slow, with a number of local assemblies forming district assemblies without much effort to coordinate activities. A rapid influx of members following the GREAT STRIKE OF 1877, however, necessitated the formation of a national organization.

In January 1878 delegates from the various district assemblies meeting in Reading, Pennsylvania, created the general assembly as the order's national legislative body and elected Stephens its executive director, or "grand master workman." The Knights opened membership to all productive people over the age of 18, including women and AFRICAN AMERICANS, but excluded saloonkeepers, bankers, lawyers, and stockbrokers. The inclusive membership was necessary, for the Knights' overarching goal was social reform. The organization lobbied for the abolition of CONTRACT LABOR and favored weekly pay laws and worker safety laws. It also called for government ownership of RAILROADS and telegraph lines and established producers' cooperatives. TERENCE V. POWDERLY, who replaced Stephens as grand master workman in 1879, and other leaders emphasized arbitration instead of strikes, which they dismissed as knee-jerk

reactions that could do little or nothing to ameliorate the condition of workers.

Ironically, the Knights grew and died by the strike. Membership increased from 100,000 to more than 700,000 after two successful strikes against the southwestern railroads in 1885, but the Knights lost more than 100,000 members after the same railroads defeated them in a strike the following year. Membership continued to decline, as the order was unable to win another important strike over the next two years. The order lost additional prestige among workers when it became known that Powderly, true to antistrike philosophy, refused to support the eight-hour movement sponsored by the trade unions.

Trade union hostility also contributed to the demise of the Knights. Skilled workers resented the Knights' organizational scheme of geographically based local units in which they were outvoted by unskilled workers and unable to dominate a trade. The Knights met these objections by permitting the formation of district assemblies based upon occupation, but skilled workers further resented Powderly's refusal to support strikes and began joining the resurgent trade unions of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL). Soon open warfare between the two organizations (with each breaking strikes of the other) substantially weakened the Knights. By 1890 the producer cooperatives sponsored by the order, upon which it had pinned so much hope, had disappeared and many of its remaining members joined the Populist movement.

It would be a mistake, however, to write off the Knights as a failure. As a reform organization it achieved such significant legislation as the prohibition of imported contract labor, the creation of the Federal Bureau of Labor, and, in some states, the abolition of convict labor.

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—Harold W. Aurand

### Ku Klux Klan cases (1884)

The Ku Klux Klan began in 1866 in Pulaski, Tennessee, as a secret social club of former Confederate veterans. It derived its name from the Greek word *kyklos*, which means "circle." The Klan opposed Radical Republican Reconstruction by intimidating former slaves and their white

supporters with threats, beatings, and murders. Spreading rapidly, the Klan by 1867 had become "the invisible empire of the South," led by former Confederate general Nathan Bedford Forrest. The Klan was a formidable organization that helped restore white rule in North Carolina (1870) and Georgia (1871). In 1871 CONGRESS passed the Ku Klux Enforcement Act, which provided President Ulysses S. Grant with the authority to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, to suppress disturbances by armed force, and to fine terrorist groups.

THE SUPREME COURT, however, severely limited the effect of the Enforcement Act of 1871 as well as that of 1870. In *United States v. Cruikshank* (1876) it emphasized that the Fourteenth Amendment limited the actions of states but not the acts of individuals. That same year in *United States v. Reese*, the Court would not uphold the Enforcement Acts in local and state elections. The Court further reduced the effect of the Ku Klux Enforcement Act in *United States v. Harris* (1883) by holding that Congress did not have the power to legislate against crime within states.

The Court, however, did uphold the Ku Klux Enforcement Act in *Ex parte Yarbrough* (1884). Joseph Yarbrough and others were indicted under two sections of the Enforcement Act of 1871 for whipping and conspiring to prevent Barry Saunders from exercising a constitutional right to vote for a member of Congress. Yarbrough questioned the constitutionality of the law, but although the Supreme Court had emasculated the Enforcement Acts, *Ex parte Yarbrough* dealt with an individual denying a person the right to vote in a federal election. The Supreme Court ruled that Congress had the right to protect persons who vote for members of Congress from intimidation or violence and to punish as a crime the interference by any individual with another person's right to vote in federal elections. Based on this decision, Yarbrough and others were denied a writ of habeas corpus and were sent back to jail. The *Yarbrough* case, however, was exceptional and had no effect on the intimidation of black voters in the South by white supremacists.

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—William Seraile





### labor, child

The number of children under age 16 working in nonagricultural pursuits doubled between 1890 and 1900. Children that age composed 13 percent of the cotton industry's workforce in 1900. Boys under 16 almost exclusively filled three occupations—slate picker, door tender, and mule driver—in the anthracite coal mining industry. Children worked in canneries, glass factories, and most other industries. Some worked in the streets selling newspapers and shining shoes. Others, particularly immigrants, worked with their families in sweatshops that often doubled as their living quarters.

Employers hired children because they were cheap labor. A slate picker in the anthracite mines earned between six and 10 cents an hour. Canneries paid children less than 14 years of age 2.5 cents an hour. When paid, youngsters in sweatshops received between one and two cents an hour. Cotton mills might pay an “experienced” 12-year-old five cents an hour. Some mills would give kids the opportunity to gain experience by allowing them to work without pay for a probationary period of up to six weeks. At the end of the period they would often be fired and replaced by another batch of eager learners.

Children worked long hours for their meager pay. A workday of 14–16 hours was common in the sweatshops. Canneries worked at least 12 hours during peak season. The workday varied between 10 and 12 hours in other industries. Supervisors kept the children working constantly though the day with shouts, curses, and, if necessary, corporal punishment. Some overseers held smaller children by their feet out of a window, threatening to drop them unless they behaved; other overseers simply beat the children with a rod or whip.

Children often resisted oppressive behavior. On an individual level they would throw stones or spit on abusive bosses when they were not looking. Supervisors were targets of practical jokes. Some were not above sabotaging machines to gain time to rest or play. Children also participated in concerted activities. Anthracite breaker boys,

for example, would quit work collectively to go sleighing or swimming. The boys at a colliery in Moosic, Pennsylvania, refused to return to work until an objectionable boss was replaced. In 1899 newsboys refused to sell copies of the *New York Journal* and the *New York World* when the publishers increased the wholesale cost of their papers by 10 cents per 100 without a corresponding increase in the



Young boys were often a source of cheap labor in the mining industry. (Library of Congress)



retail price. The strike ended with a compromise after two weeks: The new wholesale rate remained, but the publishers agreed to refund the price of all unsold copies. A strike of New York messenger boys earlier that year, however, failed because of poor organization.

With the exception of the United Mine Workers of America, which organized boys into separate local unions, trade unions did not attempt to recruit children, whom they regarded as cheap competition. Consequently, unions did join with reform groups in lobbying for laws that would make the employment of children cost prohibitive.

One reform tactic was to increase the number of years of compulsory EDUCATION. As with many reforms, compulsory education addressed several concerns: It would Americanize immigrant children by teaching them English and giving them “correct” values while keeping children out of the workplace. But although the public schools proved effective instruments of acculturation, compulsory education failed to end child labor. Yielding to pressure from employers, school districts established special night schools for working children.

Labor unions and reformers also lobbied for laws restricting the hours a child could work. By 1900 eight states prohibited children from working at night. Most northern states mandated a 10-hour day and 60-hour work week for children. Many states also established a minimum age for industrial work.

The minimum-age laws, however, had little effect. Seeking cheap labor, employers did not inquire too closely into the ages of young people applying for work, and children lied about their ages with the blessings of their parents. Economic necessity forced many parents to make their children work. Wages were so low that most working-class and lower-middle-class families could not subsist on one income.

Technology, not laws, forced a decline in child labor. In the 1890s, mechanical devices began eliminating the need for door boys and slate pickers in anthracite coal mining, and the adoption of electric haulage locomotives eliminated the need for mules and their drivers. But children continued to work in industries where machinery could not perform their normal tasks. As late as 1938, many southern cotton mills employed children under the age of 16.

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—Harold W. Aurand

## labor, radical

Labor radicals wanted to transform the Gilded Age society from one based on economic individualism to one based



Reproduction of an anarchist handbill distributed prior to the Haymarket riot of 1886 (Library of Congress)

upon common ownership of property managed for the common good. However, radicals disagreed on strategy and tactics. Socialists realized that political power would be necessary to eradicate private property, but they disagreed over how to gain control of the state. One group adhered to the principles of the German socialist, Ferdinand Lassalle, which held that manhood suffrage would permit workers to gain control of the state through the electoral process. Until then, the Lassalleans would use the electoral process to win immediate goals such as the eight-hour day and low-interest loans to establish cooperatives.

The followers of Karl Marx argued that a government reflected the social order it was designed to protect, so workers could not gain control of the bourgeois state through the ballot. Their only alternative was to destroy it and replace it with a “dictatorship of the proletariat” before they could establish communism. Although the Marxists used electoral politics for agitation and propaganda purposes, they emphasized organizing workers into revolutionary unions. But Marxists could not agree on tactics. Should

they capture existing labor unions, or should they establish their own? Marxist trade-union leaders such as Peter J. McGuire of the carpenters wanted to “bore within” the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) to convert it and its affiliated members to socialism. However, SAMUEL GOMPERS, president of the AFL and a firm believer in pure and simple unionism, defeated their efforts. Socialists in 1893 also failed to capture the KNIGHTS OF LABOR. Although they dominated District Assembly 49 in New York, they only succeeded in electing James P. Sovereign, a farm editor from Iowa, as president of the Knights. Frustrated by the failure of the “boring within” tactic, Daniel De Leon, leader of the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY (SLP), in 1895 launched a purely Marxist union, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. De Leon also ordered SLP members not to accept offices in other trade unions, but that tactic forced many trade unionists to join the Lassalleian SOCIALIST PARTY.

Another radical group, the anarchists, disagreed with both the Marxists and Lassalleans. They maintained that all government had to be destroyed before a true communal society could be established. American socialists with anarchist tendencies formed the Social Revolutionary Party in 1881. The following year they acquired a powerful spokesman, Johann Most. Expelled from the German Socialist Party for his radicalism, Most immigrated to America, where he became editor of the weekly New York *Freiheit*. Most’s editorials condoned “propaganda by deed,” or terrorism, including assassination, as a way of galvanizing the working masses into revolutionary action. In 1887 Most played an important role in the formulation of the so-called Pittsburgh Manifesto, which denounced the state as an instrument of tyranny and dismissed political action as an exercise in futility. The Pittsburgh meeting also created the American section of the International Working People’s Association, the “Black International” (black being the color of anarchism and red the color of socialism), which soon claimed 8,000 members. In addition to the *Freiheit*, the anarchist press in America consisted of the Chicago *Arbeiter Zeitung* and later the *Alarm*, the Boston *Anarchist*, and the St. Louis *Voice of the People*.

The Chicago anarchists tended to be anarcho-syndicalists, or those anarchists who favored the creation of labor unions (syndicates) as the primary instruments of revolution. In 1884 they helped form the Central Labor Union, which preached open rebellion against capitalists. It quickly became embroiled in a fight for control of Chicago’s labor movement with the central body of the trade unions, the Amalgamated Trades and Labor Assembly. Both sides embraced the eight-hour-day issue as an organizing device. The violent rhetoric on its behalf by the anarchists directly contributed to the HAYMARKET RIOT and the subsequent

antiradical witch hunt that led to the execution of four anarchists in 1887.

Five years later another violent act increased American abhorrence toward anarchism. Angered by the HOMESTEAD STRIKE, a New York anarchist, Alexander Berkman, aided by Emma Goldman, decided to assassinate HENRY CLAY FRICK. The assassination attempt failed, but this propaganda by deed turned public opinion against the Homestead strikers. Ironically, Johann Most did not approve of Berkman’s action, and for that repudiation he was horse-whipped by Emma Goldman, his former lover and Berkman’s current one.

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—Harold W. Aurand

## labor: strikes and violence

The history of American labor-management disputes is the most violent in the world. Labor violence can best be understood when placed within the context of rights. Workers believed that by joining a union and conducting strikes, they were exercising their right to improve themselves and protect their families. Managers, on the other hand, regarded the demand that employees be granted some control over their working conditions as an invasion of their property rights.

Management employed different strategies to keep a union off its property: It could compel workers to sign a “yellow dog contract” stating they would never join a union as a condition of employment. Or, it could hire private detective agencies to spy on workers and identify labor agitators so they could be fired before organizing a union.

The Pinkerton Detective Agency was the best-known and most feared antilabor force in America during the last third of the 19th century. Founded in 1850 by Allen Pinkerton, the agency amassed the world’s largest collection of mug shots by 1870 and supplemented the pictures with a large database on criminals and their activities. Pinkerton agents infiltrated a company’s workforce with the goal of identifying discontents and sowing discord in established unions. These “Pinkertons” were involved as labor spies, agent provocateurs, or guards in the Anthracite Strike of 1875, the Iron Moulders Lockout of 1883, the Burlington Railroad Strike of 1888, the New York Longshoremen’s Strike of 1887, the COEUR D’ALENE MINERS’ STRIKE of 1892, the HOMESTEAD STRIKE of 1892, as well as in other strikes.

Local authorities not only quelled labor disturbances but also attacked peaceful demonstrations. On December 11, 1887, New York police attacked and brutally beat members of an unarmed crowd of 7,000 as they prepared



Illustration of strikers facing off against Pinkertons in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, July 1892 (Library of Congress)

to parade through the city to demand jobs for the unemployed. In 1897 a sheriff's posse shot into a crowd of more than 200 unarmed miners as they peacefully marched down a public highway in Lattimer, Pennsylvania, killing 19 people, most of whom were shot in the back as they ran away.

However, management could not always trust local authorities, who often were elected by workers. During the GREAT STRIKE OF 1877, officials of the Lackawanna Coal and Iron Company, fearful that the city police would sympathize with the strikers, had the mayor of Scranton deputize 40 of its trusted employees as a special police force. Armed by the company and instructed by its commander, the company superintendent, "to shoot low and shoot to kill," the Special Police fired into a crowd, killing six and wounding 55. The creation of a special police force in Scranton actually was unnecessary, for in 1869 the Pennsylvania legislature gave railroad and coal companies the power to maintain their own police forces. The coal and iron police used deadly force, wounding nine, in a confrontation with strikers in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, in 1887.

Soldiers represented the last line of employer defense. Governors willingly dispatched their militia or National

Guard to strike scenes. Both the state militia and federal troops helped break the PULLMAN STRIKE of 1894. In 1896 mine operators in Leadville, Colorado, broke a strike by insisting that strikebreakers be enlisted in the Colorado National Guard and be issued weapons to defend themselves and company property.

In fact, strikers often vented their frustration against strikebreakers and company property. During the Leadville Strike, for example, a group of strikers attacked the Coronado mine and dynamited its oil storage tank. Strikers reserved most of their rage for strikebreakers, whom they denounced as scabs and blacklegs. Strikebreakers were stoned and beaten, and many were killed. Strikers justified this violence by arguing that strikebreakers were taking their jobs. The strikers believed that in going out on strike they were not quitting their jobs but, rather, they were temporarily withdrawing from work to better their pay or working conditions.

Racism also ignited labor violence. On September 2, 1885, a group of white coal miners attacked Chinese workers in Rock Springs, Wyoming, killing 28 and wounding 15 more. This massacre was rooted in racial prejudice, since it exacerbated the fear that the Chinese miners would keep wages low and sharpened the memory that 10 years earlier the Chinese had broken a strike.

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—Harold W. Aurand

## labor, woman

The number of women working outside the home dramatically increased between 1870 and 1900. Textile factories were among the largest employers of females, but women also found work in the expanding food-preparation, garment, and shoe industries, among others. More respectable nonmanufacturing employment opportunities also increased. The introduction of the typewriter created more than 400,000 office jobs for women. The number of females in retail sales increased nearly 20 times (from 7,462 to 142,265) between 1880 and 1900. Young single females filled most of the jobs, but after 1880 an increasing number of women either entered or remained in the labor market after marriage.

Several factors explain the trend of married women working for an income. One was the increase of jobs in retail clerking, office work, and COMMUNICATIONS (telegraph and telephone) that appealed to middle-class women. But economic necessity was the primary motive. Most working-class and lower middle-class families could not subsist



on one income. The declining birth rate, particularly in nonimmigrant families, left fewer children to provide that income while freeing women from years of child-rearing responsibilities.

The working woman's contribution to her family's income was not substantial, since women suffered from wage discrimination. In 1900 male factory workers' average earnings were 75 percent more than those paid to women. The so-called respectable occupations paid even less; a female factory worker could earn two to three times as much as a retail clerk. Low wages tempted many into the nation's flourishing sex industry. In 1894 the Chicago Vice Commission investigation found that a prostitute could earn at least four times as much as a woman working in a factory.

Women attempted to improve their conditions by joining labor unions. Perhaps the best-known female trade union was the Daughters of Saint Crispin (shoemakers), founded in 1871, which conducted several successful strikes. But most trade unions ignored women. Male shoemakers, for example, belonged to the Knights of Saint Crispin. The KNIGHTS OF LABOR (Knights), however, encouraged female membership. More than 200 local assemblies were exclusively female, with the largest one, located in Cincinnati, having at least 1,000 members. Many local assemblies were gender diversified. In 1887 the Knights hired Leonora Marie Barry as its general instructor and director of women's work. Barry's investigation of working conditions of women helped shape the Pennsylvania Factory Inspection Act of 1899.

Middle-class reform groups also took an interest in improving the conditions for working women. Many reformers desired to protect them from evil influences that might tempt them into prostitution, but several addressed economic needs. The Working Women's Protective Union of New York, for example, collected unpaid wages for thousands of cheated women. Reform societies also lent their support to the passage of a variety of laws that limited the hours per week a woman could work and setting sanitation standards. But the laws were rarely enforced strictly.

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—Harold W. Aurand

## labor organizations

During the last third of the 19th century, labor organizations fell into two categories: trade unions focusing on job-related issues and reform unions seeking basic social change. Most trade unions recruited members from a single craft, such as iron molders, machinists, or carpenters. A

small number organized on an industrial basis, admitting all those working in a particular industry.

Proponents of both trade and reform unions agreed on the eight-hour day. As early as 1866, representatives of trade unions, eight-hour leagues, and other reform groups founded the National Labor Union (NLU). Although it spearheaded an organizational drive that established several national trade unions, the NLU sought a better world based upon cooperatives, and it embraced the idea of a cheap currency to finance those cooperatives. In 1872 the NLU transformed itself into the Labor Reform Party, causing it to lose the support of many trade unionists. A disaster at the polls and the onslaught of the depression of 1873 caused the NLU to disintegrate. Federated into decentralized national organizations, nearly three-fourths of the trade unions existing in 1870 did not survive the economic depression of 1873–79.

The KNIGHTS OF LABOR (Knights) inherited the NLU's reform mantle. Although founded in 1869, the Knights did not become a significant organization until its membership vastly expanded as a result of the GREAT STRIKE OF 1877. It, like the NLU, envisioned the wage system being replaced by a cooperative society, and it emphasized arbitration rather than strikes. The Knights, as an inclusive union, organized all "productive people" into local assemblies that were grouped into larger district assemblies. Its general assembly and grand master workman (president) provided direction at the national level.

The disastrous 1873–79 depression forced trade-union leaders to rethink their organizational plans. One of the influential leaders of this "new unionism" was SAMUEL GOMPERS of the cigar makers. Drawing on his experience in the British trade union movement, Gompers centralized control at the national level and charged high dues to build a reserve fund and a strike fund and to cover operating expenses. Many unions also provided their members with life insurance plans, disability insurance programs, or both.

But the primary purpose of the trade union was the improvement of wages and working conditions through collective bargaining supported by the strike and boycott. The strategy required each union to exclusively control its segment, be it craft or industry, of the labor market or jurisdiction. As a result "dual unionism" (two or more unions operating in the same occupational niche) was denounced as an abomination while unions also attempted to expand their jurisdictions.

Resolution of jurisdictional disputes, combined with the need to present a united front on political issues, required a coordinating body. Citywide federations of labor unions first appeared in the 1830s, but to centralize power a national organization was necessary. In November 1881 more than 100 delegates meeting in Pittsburgh created the



Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada (FOOTALU). The new federation was not a success; only 19 delegates attended its second convention. In an effort to revive its fortunes, FOOTALU resurrected agitation for an eight-hour day and called for a general strike on May 1, 1886, if the shorter day had not been achieved. That call resulted in the tragic HAYMARKET RIOT and failed to resuscitate the FOOTALU.

It was possible for a worker to belong to both the Knights and a trade union without an apparent conflict of interest as long as the local assembly of the Knights drew its membership from a number of occupations. But when local assemblies represented members of only one craft, they became a dual union. Soon craft assemblies and trade-union locals began raiding each other for members. The raids led to the dissolution of the weak FOOTALU and the formation of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) in 1886. The AFL then demanded that the Knights refuse membership to anyone working in the jurisdiction of an established trade union.

The Knights refused and ordered its single-craft locals to withdraw from their district assembly and join one of the 22 newly formed national trade assemblies. Open warfare soon broke out, with AFL unions and the Knights supplying workers to break the strikes of the other's organization. But the Knights were ill-prepared to fight such a war; its leadership was philosophically opposed to strikes, and the creation of national trade assemblies caused many trade unionists, especially those in mixed assemblies, to leave the order.

The AFL's defeat of the Knights enabled "pure and simple unionism" to prevail among labor organizations by 1900. It was pure because only working people were permitted to join and simple because it focused on economic issues, but since virtually all its members were skilled craftsmen, it was also exclusive and elitist.

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—Harold W. Aurand

## labor trends

Four major trends—loss of control over the workplace, labor conflict, rapid geographic mobility, and increasing diversity—shaped the development of American labor during the last third of the 19th century. In 1870 skilled artisans

working in small shops in which they exerted a great deal of control over the productive process dominated the American industrial landscape. But the reduction of skills, already well underway, combined with mechanization to transform the shops into large impersonal factories. Diminution of skills began with the subdivision of a process into minute tasks and assigning one person to each task. At some point the reduction procedure suggested a mechanical means of replacing or supplementing human effort. The machines, mostly driven by steam, but increasingly by electricity from the late 1880s, were grouped into large factories. By 1899 two-fifths of the 512,191 industrial establishments in the United States were factories.

Mechanization dramatically increased per capita productivity; the average worker in the 1890s produced twice as much as his or her counterpart in the 1860s. But the worker lost control over the job in the factory. The machine, not the employee, set the pace of work. Deprived of the knowledge of how the productive process worked, the unskilled worker became dependent upon instructions from management. It became apparent that just as machines could be redesigned to increase efficiency, so could the worker. Frederick W. Taylor, the father of "modern management," began his scientific analysis of work behavior at the Midvale Steel Company during the 1880s. Through his and the efforts of others, the term *human engineering*, with all its questionable implications, came into vogue.

As laborers became viewed as cogs in a machine they lost their ability to determine their income. The diminution of skills rendered apprenticeship obsolete. But apprenticeship was more than an educational system that taught the novice the mysteries of a craft: It was the gate used by artisans to control entry into the job market. Moreover, workers had only their time to sell as demand for their skills declined. Without any real bargaining power in a highly competitive market, the individual worker was at the mercy of the employer.

Workers joined unions to improve their bargaining power and used the strike to enforce their demands. The number of strikes per year, of course, varied, but the pronounced trend in the Gilded Age was toward more strikes involving more people and lasting a longer period of time. There were twice as many strikes in 1895 as in 1893. In 1896 a total of 183,813 workers went on strike. Three years later, 308,267 strikers walked the picket line. Labor-management disputes often degenerated into armed conflict, as in the HOMESTEAD STRIKE. Reprisals followed strikes as employers blacklisted or identified strike leaders as unsuitable employees, forcing many to leave their communities.

Geographic mobility rates soared as workers, suffering from unemployment or looking for better jobs, moved from town to town. Waltham, Massachusetts, and Hazleton,

Pennsylvania, illustrate the rapid population changes that most American communities experienced during the era: Only 17 percent of adult males living in Waltham in 1870 resided in that city in 1890. Less than half the people residing in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, in 1884 were living there in 1890. The out-migration in both cities did not indicate a population loss. Waltham's population increased from 9,065 to 11,512 between 1870 and 1890, while Hazleton's population doubled between 1880 and 1890.

IMMIGRATION fueled a large part of the population growth. More than 9 million people immigrated to the United States between 1870 and 1890. The ethnic composition of the immigrants also changed. Prior to 1870 most immigrants were from northern Europe. After 1870, however, people from eastern and southern Europe began to arrive in increasing numbers. Only 55,759 Italians came to America during the 1870s, for example, but 651,893 made the trip between 1891 and 1900.

American workers feared the "new immigrants" as cheap labor and potential strike breakers. Trade unions, dismissing them as unorganizable, sought to restrict immigration or drive them out of their job jurisdictions. In 1897 the United Mine Workers of America lobbied successfully for a law (later declared unconstitutional) that taxed anthracite coal mine operators for every alien they hired. Ethnic prejudice against Slavic, Jewish, and Italian immigrants helped taint all industrial workers as inferior and, perhaps, un-American. Racism also victimized AFRICAN-AMERICAN industrial workers. Women who were entering the workforce in increasing numbers also suffered wage discrimination.

**Further reading:** Melvyn Dubofsky, *Industrialism and the American Worker, 1865–1920*, 3d ed. (Wheeling Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1996).

—Harold W. Aurand

**La Farge, John Frederick Lewis Joseph** (1835–1910)  
*artist, writer*

A versatile artist and facile writer, John La Farge was born in New York City on March 31, 1835. His parents were born in France. His father, a successful businessman, had invested wisely in real estate, and his mother, the daughter of émigrés, came from a distinguished Parisian family. In his bilingual home La Farge grew up looking at paintings and reading books ranging from Homer to Voltaire. Since he loved to draw and paint, his mother's father, Louis Binsse de Saint-Victor, a fine miniaturist, gave him lessons. La Farge attended the grammar school connected with Columbia University, entered St. John's College (now part of Fordham University), and graduated in 1853 from St. Mary's College in Emmitsburg, Maryland. Following his

father's wish, La Farge studied law from 1853 to 1856, but he could not overcome his doubts about pursuing a law career.

A trip with his brothers to Paris, to meet their Saint-Victor relations, enabled La Farge, with his father's blessing, to explore and develop his interest in art and literature. Through his mother's cousin Paul, a distinguished critic, La Farge visited literary salons and painters' ateliers and studied briefly in the studio of Thomas Couture. Recognizing a unique talent, Couture befriended La Farge and advised him to study and copy drawings in the Louvre. He followed that congenial advice and traveled widely in northern Europe copying drawings and paintings, until he was called home in fall 1857 by his father's serious illness. La Farge resumed studying law until his father died and left him enough money to study art. He went to Newport, Rhode Island, to work with William Morris Hunt, a Couture student, and fell in love with Margaret Mason Perry, the granddaughter of the naval hero Oliver Hazard Perry. La Farge and Perry married on October 15, 1860, and had 10 children, seven of whom lived to be adults.

La Farge's study with Hunt was short lived. Hunt had moved from Couture's realistic figure painting to genre scenes bathed in natural light, characteristic of the Barbizon school, which La Farge did not appreciate. Pursuing an independent course, La Farge taught himself through trial and error and achieved some success. He was fascinated by the interplay of light and color, studied the science of optics, and utilized it in his major landscapes *Paradise Valley (New England Pasture Land)* (1866–68) and *The Last Valley—Paradise Rocks* (1867). Both of these paintings were exhibited widely, received critical acclaim, and enabled La Farge to support his growing family with the sale of modest-sized paintings. In the 1860s La Farge was also in demand as an illustrator, especially of poetry, in magazines and books. In visits to Boston and New York, he made many friends, including the Gilded Age's leading intellectuals: HENRY JAMES and WILLIAM JAMES, WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, HENRY ADAMS, CLARENCE KING, and JOHN MILTON HAY.

Architect HENRY HOBSON RICHARDSON asked La Farge in 1875 to decorate the interior of his masterpiece, Boston's Trinity Church. The request changed La Farge's life. His murals accomplished by a crew working under his direction, were so successful that La Farge abandoned easel painting for a new career as a decorative artist. Leaving his wife and family in Newport, he moved his headquarters to New York City and decorated mansions, public buildings, and churches. Besides Boston's Trinity Church, his decorative masterpieces include the 1904 Supreme Court room in the Minnesota State Capitol (especially Moses on Mount Sinai) and his greatest mural, in New York's Church of the Ascension.

Decorating churches heightened La Farge's interest in stained glass, which dated from his first visit to France and was reinforced by an 1873 visit to England, where he saw pre-Raphaelite stained-glass windows. Despite poor health, aggravated by lead poisoning in the pigments he used, La Farge kept experimenting and in 1879 hit on opalescent glass, which he patented in 1880. La Farge subsequently made thousands of stained-glass windows for churches and private homes.

Despite his commissions, La Farge lost money, especially in stained glass. A perfectionist, he kept on experimenting. After going bankrupt in 1883, he took on partners, with whom he fell out. Even though he was exonerated when they charged him with grand larceny, his reputation suffered and commissions fell off. Rather than La Farge, LOUIS COMFORT TIFFANY scored the big commercial success from his development of opalescent glass.

His commercial shortcomings enabled La Farge to travel and write. In 1886, at the invitation of Henry Adams, La Farge accompanied him to Japan and in 1890 to 1891 to the South Sea islands. In almost 300 watercolors and in *An Artist's Letters from Japan* (1897) and *Reminiscences of the South Seas* (1912), La Farge captured exotic scenes vividly and eloquently. He was also a gifted lecturer on art at both the Metropolitan Museum in New York (1893) and the Art Institute of Chicago (1903). His lectures were published as *Considerations on Painting* (1895) and *The Higher Life in Art* (1908). At the end of his life, his creditors took his estate for debts. His wife, who cared for him until she had to put him in a mental hospital, used her own funds to pay off his other debts. La Farge died on November 14, 1910, in Providence, Rhode Island.

**Further reading:** Henry Adams, et al., *John La Farge: Essays* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1987); H. Barbara Weinberg, *The Decorative Work of John La Farge* (New York: Garland Press, 1977); James L. Yarnall, *John La Farge: Watercolors and Drawings* (Yonkers, N.Y.: Hudson River Museum of Westchester, 1991); James L. Yarnall, *Recreation and Idleness: The Pacific Travels of John La Farge* (New York: Vance Jordan Fine Art, 1998).

**Langston, John Mercer** (1829–1897) *activist, educator, lawyer*

John Mercer Langston was born on December 14, 1829, in Louisa County, Virginia, the son of Ralph Quarles, a white planter, and Lucy Langston, his freed slave. After his parents died in 1834, Langston was raised by a white couple in Ohio and in 1844 entered the preparatory department at Oberlin College, an antislavery hotbed. There he became active in the antislavery cause, receiving his bachelor's degree in 1849 and in 1853 a graduate degree in theology.

Langston did not enter the ministry (largely because the churches had failed to oppose slavery), choosing instead to read law under the tutelage of Philemon Bliss, and in 1854 he was admitted to the Ohio bar.

Langston in 1854 also helped establish the Republican Party in the Western Reserve in northeastern Ohio and married Caroline Matilda Wall, whom he had met at Oberlin. The following year he was elected town clerk in Brownhelm, Ohio, becoming the first of his race elected to office in the United States by popular vote. Technically, Langston was considered "white" because Ohio's law considered those with at least 51 percent Caucasian "blood" to be white. Langston, however, choosing to be black, optimistically wrote to Frederick Douglass that his victory "argues the steady march of the antislavery sentiment, and augurs the inevitable destruction and annihilation of American prejudice against colored men." Langston added that more black voters were needed to have political influence, for it represented "the bridle by which we can check and guide to our advantage the selfishness of American demagogues."

Langston was a militant reformer. He helped maintain Ohio's Underground Railroad for runaway slaves and in 1858 defied the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 by participating in the rescue of John Price. In 1858 he organized and served as president of the all-black Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society. Langston also protested discrimination at home. Although Ohio's racist "black laws" had been repealed in 1848–49, AFRICAN AMERICANS still could not vote and did not have the "bridle" Langston knew they needed. Like many of his abolitionist contemporaries, Langston was an advocate of WOMEN'S RIGHTS and temperance. During the early 1850s he supported emigration and black separatism, but he changed his view after attending the 1854 Cleveland Emigration Convention and devoted his life to a vigorous defense of integration. Langston conspired with John Brown but did not participate in the latter's ill-fated 1859 raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry to arm slaves in Virginia.

Langston saw the Civil War and its aftermath as an opportunity to destroy American slavery and achieve equality for African Americans. He was a chief recruiter in the West for the Union during the war years, and from 1864 to 1868 he served as president of the all-black Equal Rights League. The Reconstruction period was both a time of opportunity and of peril for former slaves. As an inspector for the Freedmen's Bureau, Langston toured the South in 1867, urging the freedmen and women to seek education, political equality, and economic justice. In Washington, D.C., he organized Howard University's law department in 1869, and from 1873 to 1875 he served as that institution's acting president, only to resign in disappointment when he was not named its permanent president.

Langston was a leading Republican spokesman for African Americans and served that party in various capacities. As the legal officer of the District of Columbia's Board of Health (1871–77), he drew up Washington's sanitation code. He also helped Senator Charles Sumner draft the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT (1875). From 1877 to 1885 he was consul general and resident minister to Haiti. Upon returning to the United States in 1885, Langston assumed the presidency of Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute at Petersburg, but within two years Democratic pressure forced him to resign. Langston turned to politics and decided to represent Virginia's mostly black Fourth Congressional District, but General William Mahone, a former Confederate general and Republican leader, opposed having a black man in CONGRESS. Langston ran as an independent and won a bitterly fought campaign in 1888, but the results were contested. Langston was finally admitted to Congress in 1890 but was defeated in his bid that year for reelection, serving out his "lame duck" session until March 1891.

Langston then returned to Washington where he practiced law. In 1894 he published his autobiography, *From the Virginia Plantation to the National Capitol*. When Langston died in Washington on November 15, 1897, he had—despite the current rampant disfranchisement and segregation—faith that "in the courts, by the law" African Americans would achieve the equality that was their right as citizens.

**Further reading:** William Cheek and Aimee Lee Cheek, *John Mercer Langston and the Fight for Black Freedom, 1829–1865* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Maurine Christopher, *America's Black Congressmen* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1971).

—William Seraile

**Las Gorras Blancas (The White Caps)** See VIOLENCE AND LAWLESSNESS.

**Lassalleian socialists** See LABOR, RADICAL.

**Latter-day Saints, Church of Jesus Christ of** See MORMON CHURCH.

**Lazarus, Emma** (1849–1887) *poet*

The daughter of Moses Lazarus, a wealthy sugar merchant, and Esther Nathan Lazarus, Emma Lazarus was best known for her poem celebrating America as a refuge for the oppressed. She was born in New York City on July 22, 1849, where she grew up in a cultured upper-class house-

hold. Her family descended from one of the oldest Jewish families in New York City and belonged to a Sephardic aristocracy that moved easily in wealthy Christian circles; her father joined the Vanderbilts and Astors in founding the elite Knickerbocker Club and built a fashionable summer house in Newport, Rhode Island. She received a sound classical education at home and was proficient in French, German, and all the attainments of her class.

Lazarus was devoted to literature from her childhood and began to write poetry in her early teens. Her proud father published her first collection, *Poems and Translations Written between the Ages of Fourteen and Sixteen*, in 1866, and she sent a copy of it to Ralph Waldo Emerson in 1868. Although her youthful efforts were strained and imitative, the Sage of Concord responded warmly and entered into a long-standing correspondence with her. When her second volume was commercially published in 1871, it met with excellent reviews in both the United States and England, and her 1874 novel based on the life of Goethe won praise from the eminent Russian author Turgenev. She was later to receive encouragement from such literary notables as the naturalist John Burroughs and the novelist HENRY JAMES, and during her 1883 visit to Europe she became a friend of William Morris and Robert Browning.

Lazarus, like her family, had never been observant of religious laws or rites, although in her writing she had occasionally drawn on her Judaic heritage. In her early 30s, however, she became increasingly aware of the persecution of Jews in czarist Russia and the flood of Jewish immigrants to the United States. Turning from classical topics and Teutonic legends for themes, she began to write both poetry and essays in support of her people. As anti-Semitism spread through eastern Europe, she became a spokesperson for the Jewish community, protesting its mistreatment both at home and abroad. In a series of articles entitled "An Epistle to the Hebrews" that appeared in 1882–83 in *American Hebrew*, she called on American Jews to recognize their rights, and in 1882 she published a collection of poetry entirely devoted to Jewish themes, *Songs of a Semite*.

Writing was not her only contribution to the cause. She worked actively for the Hebrew Immigration Aid Society, helped establish the Hebrew Technical Institute for Vocational Training, and in 1883 founded the Society for the Improvement and Colonization of East European Jews, calling for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine 13 years before the term *Zionism* came into use.

In 1882 Lazarus wrote the sonnet "The New Colossus" for an auction in support of the Bartholdi Pedestal Fund. Contrasting the welcoming female figure of *Liberty Enlightening the World* with the militaristic sculpture of antiquity, the poem presents America as a nurturing force, "Mother of Exiles," and helped define America's image as a haven for the oppressed in that period of open IMMIGRATION. Her



best-known work, it was engraved on a plaque on the base of the STATUE OF LIBERTY in 1903. Lazarus died in New York City on November 19, 1887.

**Further reading:** Bette Roth Young, *Emma Lazarus in Her World: Life and Letters* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995).

—Dennis Wepman

**Lease, Mary Elizabeth Clyens** (1850–1933)  
*reformer, orator*

Mary Elizabeth Clyens was born in Ridgeway, Pennsylvania, on September 11, 1850, to Irish immigrant parents. Her father, two brothers, and an uncle died in the Civil War, leaving the family impoverished. Friends sent her to St. Elizabeth's Academy in Allegany, New York, from which she graduated in 1868. She taught in McKean County, Pennsylvania, schools until 1870 when, having failed to unionize fellow teachers, she took a position in a Catholic girls school in Osage Mission, Kansas. In 1873 she abandoned Catholicism and married Charles L. Lease, a local druggist. Together they farmed in Kansas and Texas for 10 lonely, dreary, unsuccessful years and then settled in Wichita, Kansas, where Charles Lease resumed his career as a druggist and, to make ends meet, Mary Elizabeth—while raising four children—took in washing. The following year, in 1884, Lease, who was very bright, began studying law at home and later claimed she was admitted to the Kansas bar in 1885.

Lease was committed to egalitarian reforms and organized a women's group, the Hypatica Society, to discuss issues. She was a gifted orator with a gorgeous, moving, contralto voice, and in 1885 she began her public-speaking career by raising funds for the Irish National League and later that year advocated woman suffrage in an address to the Union Labor Party state convention. That party, a remnant of the GREENBACK-LABOR PARTY, was supported by debt-ridden Kansas farmers with whom Lease identified. By 1888 she not only spoke widely for the Union Labor Party but also edited the *Union Labor Press*. Lease joined the KNIGHTS OF LABOR and in 1891 was elected master workman (president) of a large local assembly in Kansas. By 1890 she had also stumped Kansas for the FARMERS' ALLIANCES. She spoke extemporaneously; was vehement, charismatic, prone to exaggerate; and often could not recall precisely what she said. Although renowned for telling farmers to "raise less corn and more hell," she denied having said those words, but in that spirit she aroused farmers by heaping invective upon RAILROADS, bankers, and landlords.

Although a political force, Lease was more an agitator than a politician. She seconded the nomination of James B. Weaver for president at the 1892 PEOPLE'S PARTY (Populist) convention and joined him in his campaign in the West

and South. Hostile Democrats, however, made the tour of the South unsuccessful and heightened her hatred (originating during the Civil War) of that party. The Populists secured the governorship of Kansas in 1893, and Lease was appointed president of the State Board of Charities. In that same year she opposed, without success, the fusion of Populists and Democrats in the legislature. The governor, who was a fusionist, removed her in 1894 when she refused to appoint Democrats and called him a corruptionist. She sued and triumphed in the state Supreme Court, but for 30 years she received no restitution from the state. A leading antifusionist Populist, Lease opposed to no avail the nomination of WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN at the 1896 Populist convention and actually supported WILLIAM MCKINLEY. When the *New York World* hired Lease to cover the Bryan campaign and then kept her on, she left Kansas (much to the delight of her former compatriots).

Prior to Lease's defection to the Republicans, she published *The Problem of Civilization Solved* (1895). It called for a strong leader who would promote IMPERIALISM and hemispheric free trade coupled with protection, socialism, and Free Silver (see FREE SILVER MOVEMENT), and enable the people to force the consideration and enactment of legislation, particularly the initiative and referendum. Settling in New York with her children, Lease divorced, embraced theosophy, and supported Theodore Roosevelt and progressive reforms, including woman suffrage, prohibition, and especially birth control. She died on October 29, 1933, at Callicoon, New York.

**Further reading:** O. Gene Clanton, *Kansas Populism: Ideas and Men* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1969); Walter T. K. Nugent, *The Tolerant Populists: Kansas Populism and Nativism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963); Richard Stiller, *Queen of the Populists: The Story of Mary Elizabeth Lease* (New York: Crowell 1970).

**legal-tender cases** (1870, 1871) See CURRENCY ISSUE.

**Leslie, Frank** (1821–1880) *publisher, engraver* and  
**Leslie, Miriam Florence Follin** (1836–1914) *editor, publisher*

A pioneer of illustrative journalism and investigative reporting, Frank Leslie was born Henry Carter in Ipswich, England, on March 29, 1821. He learned wood engraving as a boy and when 21 worked for the *Illustrated London News*. The previous year he had married Sarah Ann Welham; they had three sons. Sensing greater opportunity in the United States, he immigrated to New York in 1848 and opened an engraving business under the name Frank Leslie, which had been his pseudonym.

By 1854 Leslie started *Frank Leslie's Ladies Gazette* and the next year launched his best-known and longest-lived publication, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (1855–1922). Picturing the latest news, this weekly was a journalistic breakthrough. It also anticipated muckraking, when in 1858 it campaigned, with graphic illustrations, against “swill milk” (obtained from sickly cows housed in factory buildings and fed refuse grain from local breweries), provoking the state legislature to act. Growing tensions between the North and South and the ensuing Civil War (1861–65) increased sales of the *Illustrated Newspaper* with its woodcuts based on artists’ battlefield drawings, as words could not express what illustrations conveyed, such as the difficulty loading a 15-inch cannon inside the turret of a monitor during the 1863 attack on Fort Sumter. The prosperous Leslie expanded his illustrated publications to include children’s and women’s magazines, almanacs, classics, and lavish works, using his archives, on the Civil War and Abraham Lincoln.

Leslie’s personal life, however, was unhappy. In 1860 he left his family for rooms at the home of Ephraim George Squire, a promoter of Honduran railroad schemes and an archaeologist who contributed to Leslie publications and was married to the beautiful and talented Miriam Florence Follin, with whom Leslie was infatuated. Miriam was born in New Orleans on June 5, 1836, and around 1850 had moved to New York, where her mother kept a boardinghouse. A good student, she excelled in French, Spanish, and German. When she was seduced in 1854, her mother insisted that Miriam marry, but she never lived with the man, and the marriage was annulled two years later. From 1856 to 1857 Miriam toured as “Minnie Montez,” the sister of the celebrated actress Lola Montez, with whom Miriam’s half brother, who died in 1856, had been in love. In March 1857 Lola and “Minnie” appeared in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. By April of that year Miriam became the mistress of former congressman William M. Churchwell of Tennessee, and six months later she married Squire, who always called her Minnie.

The year after moving in with them, Leslie made Squire editor of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (1861) and two years later made Miriam editor of *Frank Leslie's Lady's Magazine*. Proving an excellent editor, Miriam began *Frank Leslie's Chimney Corner* in 1865 and six years later became editor of the fashion magazine, *Frank Leslie's Lady's Journal*. By then Miriam and Leslie were lovers. He obtained a divorce in 1872, and she, in 1873; they married in New York on July 13, 1874. Miriam had no children. Together they pursued a lavish lifestyle that was short-lived. The depression following the panic of 1873 cut publishing revenues and plunged Leslie into bankruptcy, and a tumor in his throat ended his life on January 10, 1880.



Illustration of President James A. Garfield after his attempted assassination appearing in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, July 23, 1881 (Library of Congress)

By his will, which was unsuccessfully contested by his sons, Leslie placed in Miriam’s capable hands his publishing empire, with its \$300,000 in liabilities. Using her jewelry as security, she borrowed \$50,000 from a sympathetic woman to pay the most pressing debts. She legally changed her name to Frank Leslie, began eliminating journals (by 1885 she was down to six profitable publications), and personally economized. But it was her brilliant newspaper instincts that turned the enterprise around. In 1881 she was responsible for the swift coverage of JAMES ABRAHAM GARFIELD’s assassination and of his death a few months later, scoops that spiked circulation from 30,000 to 200,000 and enabled her to pay off the \$50,000 loan. A feminist, she believed that women were inherently better news gatherers than men and often employed women interviewers. Her beauty

and her charm (she was only 43 when Leslie died) were assets, but her outstanding editing and managing ability helped more. Her phenomenal success led to her renown as the “Empress of Journalism.”

With an annual income of \$100,000, Miriam resumed a comfortable lifestyle. She traveled abroad each summer, where she became enamored with titled people. She admired Lady Jane Wilde, tried in New York to emulate her London salon, and suggested that Wilde’s son Oscar lecture in America, giving him lavish press praise when he did. In 1891 she married Oscar’s indolent older brother, William C. Kingsbury Wilde, and divorced him two years later. Before marrying Wilde, she had other younger male escorts, who admired her bank account as well as her beauty. She was engaged briefly to a foppish French marquis, who turned out to be the son of a London hatter. His rival was a handsome Russian prince, who had spent seven years in jail for forgery.

Miriam’s prowess as an editor and publisher and her flamboyant loves intrigued the public. Dripping with diamonds and hinting that the Prince of Wales had flirted with her, she toured the country, lecturing on the “Royal Leaders of Society.” A facile writer, she syndicated newspaper articles on subjects like “Kissing as a Fine Art,” and as she sold off journals, she wrote books such as *Beautiful Women of Twelve Epochs* (1890) and *Are Men Gay Deceivers?* (1893). By 1905 she was totally out of the publishing business. Miriam died on September 18, 1914, leaving her \$2 million estate to woman suffrage.

**Further reading:** Madeleine B. Stern, *Purple Passage: The Life of Mrs. Frank Leslie* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953).

### Liberal Republican Party (1872)

Ulysses S. Grant, the taciturn Civil War hero, unified the various elements in the Republican Party and triumphed in the 1868 presidential campaign. Since his views were unknown, spoils politicians, patrician reformers, merchants, manufacturers, and farmers—all with their differing interests—could hope and even surmise that he would be sympathetic to issues close to their hearts. Perhaps no group surmised more optimistically than the liberal reformers who had embraced a cluster of beliefs, including CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, free trade, the gold standard, reconciliation with the South, and anti-IMPERIALISM. Their ideal was a laissez-faire government staffed by experts, rather than political operatives, and headed by a first-rate administrator and leader who could achieve their goals. Grant, who as a general had picked able subordinates, seemed to liberal reformers to be superbly equipped for the presidency.

Grant, however, disappointed reformers. His cabinet included some reformers but also some spoils politicians, some cronies, and some wealthy men who had entertained Grant. Disappointment turned to disillusionment when his appointments to office favored the candidates of party leaders in the Senate and House, who almost invariably strengthened their political organizations and slighted the cultivated gentlemen of distinguished families who belonged to the reform wing of the party. Grant proved to be a passive leader and a weak administrator who neither dominated his cabinet nor led CONGRESS.

Worse, when he did become involved, he either was duped into supporting a scheme to corner the gold market or became obsessed with the idea of annexing Santo Domingo. For his part, Grant was not only infuriated by the reform opposition to annexation but also by the willingness of liberal reformers, despite increasing violence against blacks in the South, to ally themselves with ex-Confederates and overthrow regular Republicans in border states like Missouri. By 1871 Grant—appreciating party regularity more than independence—eliminated liberal reformers from his cabinet and their sympathizers from the civil service, allied himself with Senate spoilsmen like ROSCOE CONKLING and called for tough Ku Klux Klan legislation to protect southern black Republicans.

The Liberal Republicans—strongly supported by major urban newspapers and the intelligentsia, but also joined by a number of disgruntled spoils politicians whom Grant had ignored and alienated—moved to form their own party and to nominate a candidate acceptable to the Democrats for 1872. Meeting in Cincinnati, the Liberal Republican convention, with CARL SCHURZ presiding, endorsed civil service reform and attempted to attract white southerners and Democrats by attacking Radical Reconstruction, but did not take a strong stand on the TARIFF ISSUE.

Schurz and other reformers, along with their newspaper allies, had expected to nominate Charles Francis Adams, the son and grandson of presidents and the distinguished minister to England during the Civil War, but to their dismay the convention was stampeded into nominating Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*. That nomination was ludicrous, since Greeley was hostile to civil service reform, favored a protective tariff, and was easily lampooned as the advocate of a variety of reforms, causes, and fads, ranging from abolition and utopian socialism to spiritualism and vegetarianism. Rather than support Greeley, some liberal reformers voted for Grant, others supported neither, while still others like Schurz, after much anguish, campaigned for Greeley. The Democrats “swallowed” Greeley, whom for decades they had despised, but many of them stayed home on election day. Greeley broke with tradition and spoke effectively as he campaigned vigorously, but his words could not dispel the unmerciful



caricatures of THOMAS NAST in *Harper's Weekly*. Grant decisively defeated Greeley who, brokenhearted by that loss and the recent death of his wife, died within a month of the election. With its members divided and demoralized, the Liberal Republican Party evaporated.

**Further reading:** Earle Dudley Ross, *The Liberal Republican Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970); John G. Sproat, *"The Best Men": Liberal Reformers in the Gilded Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

### Liberia, immigration to

In the 1820s Liberia began as a colony of the American Colonization Society, a private organization composed of whites who believed that the black race's destiny was in Africa, not in the United States. Liberia became a republic in 1847 and ranked with Haiti and Ethiopia as the world's only independent black-ruled nations. The existence of Liberia provoked a heated debate among AFRICAN AMERICANS prior to the Civil War. Emigrationists advocated a return to Africa, where they hoped to have a life free of racism and discrimination. In contrast, anti-emigrationists believed that it was their duty to remain and fight not only for greater inclusion in American life but also to eradicate slavery. Before 1860, the majority of immigrants to Liberia were slaves who were freed on the condition that they leave the country. During the Civil War, Edward W. Blyden, who emigrated years earlier from the Danish West Indies to Liberia, visited the United States and encouraged immigration to that land. But interest in emigration waned during the war and its aftermath, as many hoped that emancipation would lead to the attainment of civil and political rights.

Those hopes, however, ebbed as Radical Reconstruction gradually ended and white supremacists gained control of the South. The desire to emigrate to Africa was spurred by intimidation and atrocities perpetrated against former slaves by southerners determined to deprive blacks of the civil and political rights acquired during Reconstruction. The Liberian Exodus Joint Stock Steamship Company was organized in 1877 by Martin Delany and others in Charleston, South Carolina, but its ship—captained by an incompetent white—made only one voyage and in 1878 was seized for the payment of debts.

Interest in African emigration increased during the 1890s because of the proliferation of JIM CROW LAWS and the denial of the vote to African Americans. HENRY MCNEAL TURNER, a bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, championed a back-to-Africa movement. He argued that Africa and specifically Liberia was the home of the American black and that life there would restore the dignity of African Americans. He viewed Amer-

ican democracy as hypocrisy and even considered the U.S. Constitution "a dirty rag, a cheat, a libel" that "ought to be spit upon by every Negro in the land." Turner believed that a limited emigration of 5,000–10,000 persons a year was feasible, and his visit to Africa in 1891 on behalf of the AME Church resulted in a series of glowing, optimistic reports on Africa's potential for immediate development by American blacks. While Turner persuaded many, his scheme was widely criticized by blacks such as BENJAMIN TUCKER TANNER. When Turner issued a call in November 1893 for a national convention to meet in Cincinnati to discuss repatriation outside of the United States, the majority of the delegates opposed emigration.

Despite the rosy views, migrants faced difficulties in getting to, and prospering in, Africa. Transportation was costly (approximately \$100 per passenger), and schemes to provide it cheaply were often abortive, ill planned, and fraudulent. In 1890 Democratic senator Matthew Butler of South Carolina proposed a bill to provide free transportation for all blacks who departed the South to become citizens of another country. Although the bill had support among southern conservatives it never had any chance of passing CONGRESS. The all-black Afro-American Steamship and Mercantile Company was formed in 1893 to operate steamship service to Liberia, but it was soon dissolved, since few blacks were either able or willing to purchase \$10 shares. Investors were reluctant because hustlers constantly cheated trusting African Americans into buying bogus tickets to Liberia for three dollars or some other ridiculously low price. In Arkansas, ignorant but hopeful emigrants gave thousands of dollars to two anonymous preachers who put 410 individuals on a train to Brunswick, Georgia, to meet a nonexistent ship. In 1895 would-be emigrants to Liberia were stranded in Florida waiting for free transportation. In Louisiana, defrauded persons were promised transportation to Africa for one dollar. In 1894 four whites formed the International Migration Society to capitalize on black southern interest in Liberia. Potential emigrants would pay a one-dollar membership fee and one dollar monthly until they contributed \$40 to pay for steamship passage and provisions. Most of the Society's income came from forfeited payments, but it did at least transport some passengers to Liberia.

Even after successfully securing transportation to Liberia, there was no guarantee that settlers could expect success as pioneers. Charles H. J. Taylor, who was a U.S. diplomat in Liberia for four months, was so negative that he—with some exaggeration—suggested there ought to be a law imprisoning for 10 years anyone who encouraged immigration to the "black land of snakes, centipedes, fever, miasma, . . . ignorance, poverty, superstition and death." Taylor's bleak words seem appropriate for the shipload of passengers that arrived in Monrovia, Liberia, in 1895 under



the auspices of the International Migration Society. No one knew that they were coming, no provisions were available for them in Monrovia, and several died soon after their arrival. In addition, there was political unrest because the dominant “mulatto clique,” as the dark-skinned Edward W. Blyden termed it, was resented by “pure Negroes.” Indeed, Blyden, convinced that mulattoes were troublemaking “vipers” and realizing that they would be a part of any African-American migration, renounced his earlier stand and concluded that “no greater evil could befall Africa or the Negro . . . than an exodus of Negroes from the United States.”

A few other voyages to Liberia in the late 1890s repeated the failures of previous voyages. Many died from diseases or were quickly disillusioned by their pioneer experience. The International Migration Society folded in 1899 only to be followed in the 20th century by other back-to-Africa proposals, including Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association’s aborted effort to repatriate African Americans to Liberia in the 1920s.

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—William Seraile

### libraries, public, growth of

In the late 19th century, urban public libraries developed into major repositories of scholarly books and learned journals and were at the core of the intellectual life of the nation. Apart from Harvard and Yale, universities did not possess libraries of note until the 20th century. Some of the greatest public libraries were in fact mixed enterprises based on private as well as public resources. The vast holdings of the Library of Congress, the national library of the United States, began with Thomas Jefferson’s books, and the New York Public Library—the greatest city library in the world—was established in 1895 by consolidating the private Astor and the Lenox Research Libraries, which although rather snobbish were open to the public, with the bequest of SAMUEL JONES TILDEN.

During the Gilded Age, the collection of research materials documenting developments in contemporary society was regarded as the responsibility of the public library and not the university. The public libraries of wealthy cities were urged to collect “everything” including “silly, and even immoral, publications” to enable future

historians to reproduce the life of the past. The earliest library aiming to fulfill that mission was the Boston Public Library, established in 1848 in part to provide that city with research facilities similar to New York’s Astor Library. It was freely open to all. Justin Winsor, the head of Boston Public Library from 1868 to 1877, urged the collection of newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, local historical materials, and genealogical records. Public libraries in Cleveland, Philadelphia, Detroit, and St. Louis also expanded their general collections and added to their research holdings during the Gilded Age. The Chicago Public Library—established shortly after the disastrous fire of 1871 and headed by William F. Poole, an outstanding bibliographer—did not achieve his hope that it would become the immense Midwestern research center, but it did acquire some scholarly resources and in 1897 established a working arrangement with two private research libraries (the Newberry, specializing in the humanities, and the John Crerar, specializing in science and technology).

By 1900 several huge public library buildings had either been completed recently or were under construction. The new building of the Boston Public Library opened its doors in 1895. The new home for the Library of Congress, completed in 1897, was the largest and most expensive library building in the world. In 1897 the Chicago Public Library also moved into its new building, and the contract was signed for the construction for the great marble repository of the New York Public Library. The development of great library collections, accessible to all and housed in monumental temples, reflected the economic wealth, cultural aspirations, and democratic values of American society.

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**Lincoln County War** See VIOLENCE AND LAWLESSNESS.

### literature

The last third of the 19th century saw the emergence of mass literature in America along with profound shifts in the style and content of serious writing. MAGAZINES were the principal purveyors of literature for the masses. At mid-century, most fiction and poetry appeared first in the leading magazines, but after the Civil War new magazines proliferated, increasing 10-fold by 1900 as new modes of distribution enabled them to reach a larger audience. Book

publication also expanded significantly, though prior to 1891 many titles were by foreign authors, largely because the absence of international copyright protection enabled American publishers to reprint cheap editions of foreign works without paying for the rights. The International Copyright Law of 1891 ended that practice and enlarged the market for American authors.

American popular literature during the middle and late years of the 19th century was rigidly gendered. Women, who took the greatest interest in literature, generally preferred sentimental romances full of melodramatic incidents and moral uplift, and book publishers and magazine editors catered to their tastes. Men usually preferred DIME NOVELS depicting the heroic (and often violent) activities of detective Nick Carter, frontiersman Buffalo Bill (WILLIAM FREDERICK CODY), and other adventurers.

In the realm of serious literature, most American fiction in the years between 1870 and 1900 conformed to one or another of three major paradigms: the genteel tradition, realism, and naturalism. The genteel tradition, which upheld the traditional values associated with VICTORIANISM, prevailed in the 1870s. During the 1880s realists launched a literary revolution with their controversial but authentic depictions of the people, places, and circumstances that genteel writers preferred to ignore. Realism, by focusing attention on the dilemmas and hardships of common Americans, prepared the way for the naturalism of the 1890s, with its emphasis on socioeconomic or biological determinism in the struggle for survival.

The genteel tradition was the literary standard during the second half of the 19th century; respectability was its hallmark. Originally, such writing was mostly by and for white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, especially those of the eastern establishment. It reflected their notions of art, propriety—even reality. Genteel culture was cosmopolitan and Anglophile (Victorian) in taste and Germanic (Idealist) in philosophy. Through quality magazines such as the *Century*, *North American Review*, *Harper's Monthly*, and *Atlantic Monthly*, elite literary preferences infiltrated the cultured elements of the middle class. Editors of those magazines—Richard Henry Stoddard, George Boker, RICHARD WATSON GILDER, Edmund Clarence Stedman, and Thomas Bailey Aldrich—were guardians of the genteel tradition and arbiters of literary taste. Indeed, Aldrich, as novelist, poet, and editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* from 1881 to 1890, was the acknowledged master of the genteel style and, for a time, the nation's most esteemed author. Thanks to Aldrich and other leading editors, American literature was no longer the exclusive domain of literary ladies and gentlemen of the eastern elite; it had become a profession. Readers came to expect literature that was well-crafted, traditional in form, high-minded in content, and full of highly selective, even idealized, depictions of real-

ity, whether the setting was American or, as it often was, international.

Even during the 1870s, however, the genteel tradition came under attack. It had grown formulaic, effete, and out of touch with a nation experiencing turbulent social, economic, and technological changes. This apparent indifference to contemporary issues merely masked anxieties about social and cultural pluralism. Try as they might to preserve the ideal of a unified culture, literary traditionalists could not hold back the tide. An emerging generation of writers and critics called for a new fiction, something distinctly American in style and content, a literature that would portray the nation in all its specificity and diversity. This critique of the genteel tradition heralded the rise of realism.

Although scholars have found realistic elements in the literature of the 1850s, realism did not become a vital force until the 1880s. American realism of the late 19th century was the product of philosophical materialism, the influence of French novelists Gustave Flaubert and Émile Zola, and the unwillingness of the genteel writers and editors to face the realities of American life. Unlike genteel writers, who idealized their subjects, realists valued objectivity. They tried to render "lifelike" or "factual" accounts of ordinary people in the varied circumstances and settings that constituted the new America. Rarely, if ever, had American writers been so responsive to social, political, and economic issues as during the last two decades of the 19th century. HELEN HUNT JACKSON depicted mistreatment of NATIVE AMERICANS. Albion W. Tourgee, George Washington Cable, and Charles W. Chesnutt, the first important African-American novelist, reconnoitered the racial divide. Tourgee and John W. DeForest explored sectional reconciliation in the aftermath of the Civil War. DeForest, HENRY ADAMS, Charles Dudley Warner, and MARK TWAIN (Samuel Langhorne Clemens) detailed the corrupt ways of politicians. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, and Kate Chopin challenged conventional views of domesticity, while Mary Wilkins Freeman chronicled strong-willed women who faced adversity with courage and independence. JOHN HAY and Henry F. Keenan presented opposing perspectives on labor unrest. HAMLIN GARLAND and Harold Frederick chronicled "the ugliness, the drudgery, and the loneliness" of farm life on the Great Plains. Abraham Cahan wrote of the immigrant experience. WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS delineated issues of class, especially the phenomenon of upward mobility in an age of new fortunes.

Howells was the pivotal figure in the realistic movement. Despite his strong ties to the major authors and editors of the genteel tradition, Howells used his prestige as editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* during the 1870s and columnist for *Harper's Monthly* during the 1880s to promote the new literary aesthetic. Howells's novels—*A Modern*

*Instance* (1882), *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885), and *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (1890)—bridged the genteel and realist traditions. As a leading critic he encouraged realists to democratize American literature by including characters of various classes, regions, occupations, and ethnic backgrounds. Above all, he advanced the careers of innovative and talented realists, including Twain, HENRY JAMES, and STEPHEN CRANE, who would remake American literature.

Twain emerged as the foremost practitioner of regional realism, which introduced readers to the distinctive natural environments, customs, folklore, and dialects of provincial America. SARAH ORNE JEWETT's Maine, George Washington Cable's New Orleans, Hamlin Garland's Middle Border, E. W. Howe's country town, Joel Chandler Harris's rural Georgia, and BRET HARTE's mining frontier are notable examples of regional realism. Twain's masterpiece, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), drew on the author's experiences along the great Mississippi River. In Twain's hands, this seemingly innocuous genre, which was sometimes merely quaint, humorous, or nostalgic, became a medium for exposing the self-deceptions and distortions of reality that perpetuated racism.

Henry James did not invent international realism, but he perfected the genre. In *Roderick Hudson* (1876), *The American* (1877), *Daisy Miller* (1878), and other novels, he isolated aspects of the national character by placing his Americans in foreign social settings. Because James wrote almost exclusively about the genteel classes, he sometimes is mistakenly associated with the genteel tradition. But in his greatest works, such as *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881), he subtly but mercilessly deconstructed the self-serving myth of genteel society—that propriety is a hallmark of good moral character.

Stephen Crane is best known for the poetic images and psychological realism of his great Civil War novel, *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895), but no less important was his classic of urban realism, *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (privately printed in 1893, published in 1896). Like many early realists, Crane was a newspaperman. He drew upon his knowledge of New York City's slums to write his powerful and shocking account of a fragile young woman's degradation and death. Crane's use of violent incidents and street language, as well as his references to prostitution, broke new ground in American fiction but at the cost of offending critics and readers.

Though it often went beyond the bounds of social propriety, realism did not rule out virtue or self-determination in human affairs. Naturalism, which in many ways resembled realism, had no place for morality or free will. Grounded in the ideas of Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin, naturalism posited a deterministic universe in which people are at the mercy of inexorable socioeconomic

or natural forces. Frank Norris's *McTeague* (1899) and Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1900) are classics of the genre.

Two idiosyncratic but indispensable authors wrote as if realism and naturalism were nonexistent. Ambrose Bierce's tall tales and stories of war and horror were experiments in improbability, the very antithesis of realism. Herman Melville's *Billy Budd* was a true anomaly: set in 1797; written in Melville's rich 1850s manner; composed between 1888 and 1891; and left unfinished at his death, only to be recovered and published in the 1920s. His tale of innocence and evil, justice and order, has layers of allusion and meaning that make all but the best realism and naturalism seem constricted and superficial.

Also outside realism and naturalism were the utopian novelists. Troubled by the social discord that they attributed to contemporary capitalism's plutocratic power structure, its unseemly scramble for wealth, and its economic inequities, many authors were moved to create projections of a better society. The second half of the 19th century saw the publication of no fewer than 48 utopian novels, nearly all of which preached that collectivism and futuristic technologies could bring about economic justice and social harmony. EDWARD BELLAMY's *Looking Backward, 2000–1887* (1888) spawned a movement to nationalize industry. *A Traveler from Altruria* (1894) by William Dean Howells was a socialist tract. *Caesar's Column* (1890), Ignatius Donnelly's strange futuristic novel, projected apocalyptic destruction as the necessary prelude to a better world.

Unlike the fiction of the period, which by and large was committed to finding new ways to depict contemporary reality, poetry was generally traditional in form and content. American poetry typically conformed to British models and appeared indifferent to the issues that energized contemporary fiction. Poets of the well-entrenched genteel tradition (classical, formalist, idealist, elitist, and cosmopolitan) frequently treated their own time and place by indirection, reconstructing legendary tales and classical symbols to illuminate moral or spiritual dilemmas. Sidney Lanier, the most highly regarded poet of the age, glorified the chivalric tradition. He was a supreme technician who infused his work with musicality and sensory imagery. Other notable traditionalists were George Cabot Lodge, Richard Hovey, and three Harvard poets—Trumbull Stickney, William Vaughn Moody, and George Santayana (though Santayana later criticized the genteel tradition for being “grandmotherly” and “sedate”).

Genteel poetry coexisted with a Whitmanesque strain that was less formal, more passionate, democratic in spirit, and regional in outlook. Joaquin Miller was a self-promoting poet who fancied himself the Walt Whitman of the West. He had the manner, but not the talent, as *Song of the Sierras* (1871) revealed. Whitman himself survived into

this era (he died in 1892) but wrote no major poetry in his last years. His most important contribution to the literature of the Gilded Age was a work of prose, *Democratic Vistas* (1871).

Most Americans favored neither genteel nor Whitmanesque poems, but some version of popular poetry. It was usually brief, simple in form, and humorous or sentimental in tone. James Whitcomb Riley, America's best-selling poet, was the master of the genre. His *The Old Swimmin' Hole and 'Leven More Poems* (1883) is a representative collection.

Three noteworthy poets elude categorization. Stephen Crane, in *The Black Riders* (1895) and *War Is Kind* (1899), experimented with parable and free verse to attack conventional religious faith, uplift, and optimism. His iconoclastic tone and precise imagery anticipated the modernists of the first quarter of the 20th century. Herman Melville (1819–91), virtually unknown during these years, nevertheless wrote the most ambitious poem of the era. *Clarel* (1876), a spiritual epic about a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, explored the major philosophical and theological concerns of the latter 19th century. EMILY DICKINSON, nearly all of whose work was published posthumously during the 1890s and neglected from about 1900 to World War I, had little effect on her contemporaries, though she is today the best-known poet of her age. Deceptively simple but powerful in image and emotion, Dickinson's lyrics are a remarkable record of emotions, insight, and observation. Notwithstanding the poems of Crane, Melville, and Dickinson, the great periods of American poetry were in the recent past (the American renaissance of the 1850s) and the immediate future (modernism).

The legacy of fiction was more substantial. At the level of individual talent, it produced three writers of genius and originality: Crane, James, and Twain. Realism and naturalism generated a vivid fictional record of a pluralistic nation in turbulent times. The topical novels of the period documented the decline of Victorianism and the emergence of modern attitudes about race, class, gender, marriage, and morality, while Edward Bellamy's utopianism profoundly influenced American notions of the good society. And Melville, the forgotten man of the American Renaissance, left behind a remarkable "buried treasure" to be unearthed by future generations. Add to these accomplishments the poetry of Emily Dickinson, and it would not be unreasonable to assert that from 1870 through 1900 American writers brought forth a body of work that was unsurpassed by any other period in the nation's literary history.

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—William Hughes

**Lloyd, Henry Demarest** (1847–1903) *editor, activist* Henry Demarest Lloyd, a social reformer, was born in New York City on May 1, 1847, the son of Aaron Lloyd and Marie Christie Demarest. A graduate of Columbia College (1867) and Columbia Law School (1869), Lloyd was admitted to the New York bar and then became involved in reform causes. From 1869 to 1872 he was assistant secretary of the American Free Trade League and a member of the Young Men's Municipal Reform Association.

In 1872 the *Chicago Tribune* hired Lloyd as its literary editor. A year later, he married Jessie Louise Bross, with whom he had four children. In 1874 Lloyd became the paper's financial editor and in 1880 was promoted to the position of chief editorial writer. Much of Lloyd's editorial work for the *Tribune* was concerned with the growth of TRUSTS and monopolies and the problems faced by the burgeoning labor movement. In 1881 the *Atlantic Monthly* published Lloyd's article "The Story of a Great Monopoly," in which Lloyd exposed the advantageous rates (rebates) the Standard Oil Company, with its huge shipments, secured from the Pennsylvania Railroad. This article was a great success and earned Lloyd a reputation as "the first muckraker." His subsequent articles revealed Lloyd to be a relentless champion of government regulation, independent competition, consumer rights, social reform, and the American worker.

In 1885 Lloyd resigned from the *Tribune* to work full time for social reform. Following the 1886 HAYMARKET RIOT and the conviction of anarchists (accused of throwing a bomb that killed police officers), he became involved in a clemency movement that succeeded in commuting the death sentences of two anarchists. Throughout the 1890s, Lloyd's interest in the labor-industrial conflicts of the day intensified. In 1893 he became an unofficial organizer of the Milwaukee streetcar workers and defended the actions of Eugene V. Debs and the American Railway Union during the PULLMAN STRIKE of 1894. Lloyd's involvement with the American labor movement led to the publication of his *Wealth against Commonwealth* (1894), denouncing monopolies and their socially destructive practices. Lloyd also became actively involved in the PEOPLE'S PARTY (Populist Party) and ran unsuccessfully for CONGRESS in



1894 on a Chicago Labor-Populist fusion ticket. That loss and the eventual absorption of the Populists by the DEMOCRATIC PARTY led Lloyd to abandon his plan of bringing about social reform through national politics. Embracing “social democracy,” Lloyd supported cooperatives as alternatives to monopolistic corporations, advocated municipal ownership of utilities, and favored compulsory collective bargaining in labor management disputes. Lloyd died in Chicago on September 28, 1903.

See also PROGRESSIVISM IN THE 1890s.

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—Phillip Papas

## lobbies and pressure groups

Lobbies and pressure groups conjure up images of smooth operators either corrupting or bullying sleazy or hapless members of CONGRESS to secure legislation profiting their clients at the expense of the commonwealth. The images are not completely fair, since there are interest groups whose main concern is the commonwealth and, for that matter, lobbyists representing selfish interests may rely on attractively packaged information rather than on bribes or strong-arm tactics. In any event, whether fair or foul means are relied upon, lobbies and pressure groups are an informal, but genuine, part of the legislative process, and they achieved significance during the Gilded Age.

After the Civil War, the federal government encouraged the building of RAILROADS, protected industries, and rewarded veterans. Bills to accomplish these objectives originated in an inexperienced Congress that was scarcely equipped to deal with them. Most congressmen served only a few terms, if that many, and had no staff to research the ramifications of pending legislation except for the clerks of the committees on which they served. Lobbyists were only too glad to educate legislators. For example, the Pacific Railway Act of 1862, with its generous land grants and loans to the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads, was essentially written by Theodore D. Judah, a railroad engineer and a lobbyist for the Central Pacific whose expertise had secured him the positions of secretary of the Senate Committee and clerk of the House Committee on Railroads.

The power of the lobby can be overstated. Judah could shape the Railway Act because Congress wanted a trans-continental railroad. The efforts of the supposedly power-

ful Texas & Pacific Railroad lobby to secure a land grant by resolving the 1876–77 disputed election in favor of RUTHERFORD B. HAYES neither affected the outcome (despite what some historians believe) nor secured a land grant. The Democrats dared not extend their filibuster and plunge the nation into chaos, while Hayes was not interested in giving any more public lands to railroads. The most celebrated lobbyist of the Gilded Age, Samuel Ward, apparently was hired by railroads, steamship lines, and manufacturers to secure land grants, subsidies, and favorable tariff rates, and he had the good business sense to encourage his reputation as the “King of the Lobby.” The extent of his influence, however, can only be surmised, since he had all his papers relating to lobbying destroyed.

Lobbyists were effective, but only in details of policies Congress had embraced. Thus, James M. Swank, the arch-protectionist lobbyist of the American Iron and Steel Association, did influence tariff legislation by issuing millions of tariff tracts beginning in 1876. Swank was a statistician who relied on education, but John E. Searles, Jr., lobbyist for the Henry O. Havemeyer sugar trust, did more than inform Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, who took care that the tariff schedules reflected the interests of eastern sugar refiners: The sugar trust lent Aldrich enough money to acquire the street railways in Providence, Rhode Island, and made him a wealthy man. Aldrich was not purchased, since in any event he would have manipulated the tariff to benefit eastern manufacturers, but he profited in a corrupt fashion from his powerful position.

Lobbyists also tried to influence executive departments and represented humble people. For example, a major portion of BELVA LOCKWOOD’s law practice in Washington, D.C., dealt with representing veterans in presenting pension claims.

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**Lockwood, Belva Ann Bennett McNall** (1830–1917) *educator, lawyer, women’s rights activist*

Born in Royalton, New York, on October 24, 1830, Belva Ann Lockwood was the first woman allowed to practice before the U.S. SUPREME COURT. She began teaching in local schools at the age of 15 and in 1848 married Uriah H. McNall, a sawmill operator who died accidentally five years later. To support herself and their daughter, she returned to teaching and furthered her own education by attending Genesee College. After graduating with honors in 1857, she became the principal of the Lockport, New York, Union school. An innovative educator and a believer

in WOMEN'S RIGHTS (she met SUSAN B. ANTHONY), Lockwood broadened the curriculum for women with liberating courses in public speaking and gymnastics. After teaching in other New York schools, Lockwood moved to Washington, D.C., in 1866 and established one of its first coeducational schools. Two years later she married Ezekiel Lockwood, who took over the administration of her school while she pursued her ambition to become a lawyer.

Lockwood overcame great obstacles in that pursuit. Her applications to law schools were rejected (one because she would divert the attention of male students from their studies) until 1871, when the newly established National University Law School admitted her and some other women. In 1873, however, that school tried to deny a diploma to her and to another woman who had completed her training, since the male graduates did not want to graduate with women. Lockwood appealed to President Ulysses S. Grant, the ex-officio president of the school, who not only saw that the women received their degrees but also that Lockwood was immediately admitted to the District of Columbia bar. She began her practice of law only to have the federal Court of Claims refuse to allow her to plead a case before it, and her petition to practice before the SUPREME COURT was denied in 1876 on the grounds that women traditionally did not practice before it. Undeterred, Lockwood lobbied CONGRESS and in 1879, with the support of Senators Aaron A. Sargent and GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, it passed an act entitling women to practice before the Supreme Court. In that same year, Lockwood became the first woman allowed to practice law before the Supreme Court.

While advancing the rights of women in her profession, Lockwood also fought for the rights of all women. In 1867 she helped organize the Universal Franchise Association in Washington, and in the 1870s she was especially active in the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). By circulating petitions, she helped secure legislation guaranteeing equal pay for female federal employees.

Lockwood believed that independent political action by women was the best way to achieve equal rights. Accordingly, she spoke in favor of VICTORIA WOODHULL's presidential candidacy in 1872, and when that collapsed she supported the LIBERAL REPUBLICAN candidate Horace Greeley. In 1884 Lockwood made Anthony and other suffragists in the NWSA who were working through the Republican Party unhappy when she accepted the presidential nomination of the Equal Rights Party on a platform of equality for all, woman suffrage, uniform marriage and divorce laws, CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, veterans pensions, prohibition, and peace. Although she polled only a little more than 4,000 votes, she and her cause received much publicity, and in 1888 she ran again for the Equal Rights Party. Indeed, her law practice, which concentrated on pension claims, prospered as a result of her candidacies.

Lockwood never gave up on woman suffrage, but her candidacies had soured her relations with the suffragists, and she began to concentrate her energies on world peace through the arbitration of disputes. She belonged to the Universal Peace Union, was a delegate to international peace congresses, and served on the nominating committee of the Nobel Peace Prize. In her final year she campaigned for Woodrow Wilson because he had kept the United States out of war. She died in Washington on May 19, 1917, one month after the United States entered World War I.

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## lynching

The popular image of lynching, which occurred with great frequency in the Gilded Age, includes a white mob, a black victim, and a rope for hanging. In reality, lynching is more complicated and more consequential. Stripped down to basics, lynching is murder—killing outside the law, destroying a life without due process. It involves, in historian Leon Litwack's words, the "slow, methodical, sadistic, often highly inventive forms of torture and mutilation." Historically, it almost always included a mob—a loosely organized, emotionally aroused group of white men from all walks of life (occasionally with women and children cheering from the sidelines)—pursuing a black man alleged to have committed a crime or shown disrespect to whites. Mob leaders and participants came together to uphold the standards of society as they saw them; from a more objective perspective, the allegations were unproved, the standards discriminatory, and the objective the denigration of human beings of a different skin color.

While lynching generally meant murder by hanging, white mobs also used guns, whips, fire, and other methods to kill and torture their prey. Most victims were African-American men, but sometimes a white man or woman was lynched. Most lynchings took place in the South, but occasionally lynch mobs north of the Mason-Dixon line mobilized for the slaughter. The statistics on lynching do not include unreported lynching events; as a result, the available data document what was presumably only a fraction of violent black deaths at the hands of whites.

Early in 1882 the *Chicago Tribune* began to publish what became its annual accounting of lynchings. It is the initial source of reported lynchings; other sources appeared later, but reports of lynchings prior to 1882 are reconstructed and not contemporary accounts. After the Civil War, the Ku Klux Klan held their lynching parties well before the *Tribune* started counting. By the end of Reconstruction, southern whites, again in control of their



Most lynching victims were African-American men, such as the one in this photograph. (Library of Congress)

states, saw lynching as a positive pressure to keep AFRICAN AMERICANS subordinated and disciplined. By that time, a recent study concluded, the familiar imagery of organized night-riding terrorists was succeeded, at least in part, by the passionate violence of lynch-mob justice. The *Chicago Tribune's* first tabulation recorded 44 southern lynchings; 34 of the victims were black. The numbers grew in a jagged sequence, reaching highs in the four years between 1891 and 1894 (121, 129, 116, 117). The occasional lynchings outside of the 10 southern states are not recorded.

One analysis suggests that there were four distinct types of lynching: Small mobs of less than 50 persons can be classified as either terrorist or private. The terrorist mob, like the Ku Klux Klan or night riders, specialized in flogging victims, burning their homes, and chasing them out of town. Death was a frequent side effect. Private mobs ranged in numbers from a very few up to 50, and their object was vengeance for real or imagined acts. Death was an invariable consequence. Neither of these two mob types pretended that they were supporting the law.

A third type was the posse, a familiar feature of early western movies. In the South, a lynching posse could number from a handful of people to hundreds. They hunted their victims down in the belief that they were upholding the law and then stepped over the line by killing their victim without a trial. A fourth type was the mass mob, consisting of anywhere from 50 persons to, on rare occasions, thousands. Generally, their pursuit was brief, a day or less, brutal, and sometimes marked with great ceremony. The bodies of victims were often dismembered and the parts—a finger or an ear, for example—claimed by lynchers and onlookers as mementos of the chase.

Determining the causes of irrational acts of lynching has intrigued historians and social scientists for generations, but the explanations are still inconclusive. Lynchers often boasted that their act would deter other black Americans from breaking the law or the white-established social code. On a more analytical level, many white workers and white planters feared that African Americans offered competition in the labor market and the voting booth, and lynchings reminded black Americans to stay in their place. African Americans who struggled out of the pit of poverty to own land and a small farm threatened the status of lower-class whites who were less successful economically or socially. The coincidence of lynching to cotton prices and production is demonstrable. More lynchings in the 1880s and 1890s took place in states heavily dependent upon cotton when its prices were sliding, but it is difficult to verify a cause-and-effect relationship.

Lynching was a grim exposure of white apprehensions. It is clear that as a general rule after the end of slavery, whites deemed that a strict structure of social control was essential to keep African Americans a servile, voteless, laboring underclass. Until disfranchisement and a rigid segregation were securely in place by the beginning of the 20th century, maintaining control could be nerve-racking. It is more than coincidental that when those controls were firmly fixed, the number of lynchings began a slow decline. Nevertheless, it is perplexing to unravel the intricate and complex motivations that led mobs of men to murder.

Given the overwhelming numbers of whites and the fear that the lynching process generated, it was impossible for family and friends to protect an intended victim or to retaliate. In 1892, however, a young African-American woman editor of a weekly paper in Memphis had had enough killing and lashed out in her paper about “a town which will neither protect our lives and property, nor give us a fair trial in the courts, but takes us out and murders us in cold blood when accused by white persons.” IDA B. WELLS-BARNETT was chased out of Memphis for her verbal attack and her newspaper office destroyed. She settled in the North and became the leading and loudest voice to

attack lynching and its perpetrators in speeches, newspaper articles, and pamphlets, even traveling to England to stir antilynching sentiment across the Atlantic. Six years later, when a changing Wilmington, North Carolina, political situation depended on racial cooperation, whites used their greater numbers to instigate a riot that killed an estimated 300 African Americans, caused thousands to flee for their lives, and introduced an intransigent segregated society. Hopelessly outnumbered, black Americans tried to fight back against insurmountable odds. Whether or not the Wilmington battle set a precedent, African Americans have since that time increasingly stood up for their rights despite riots, lynchings, segregation, and other forms of racism. It was this growing strength of resistance that helped to limit lynching and call attention to more subtle forms of racism.

The first year of the new millennium continued the renewed interest in the study of lynching. *Witness*, a dra-

matic photographic exhibit, was mounted in New York City, and *Without Sanctuary*, a book of photographs and essays, was published and praised. What should people take away from the exhibit?, the gallery owner was asked. "Questions," he replied. "Questions about our culture, our history, our times." What did one reviewer think of the book? It was, she said, "the gift of knowledge, the chance for greater consciousness and caring."

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—Leslie H. Fishel, Jr.





# M



## **MacDowell, Edward Alexander** (1860–1908)

*composer*

In his own time, Edward MacDowell was considered to be the first great American composer, and he was the first American-born composer whose works were published and widely performed in Europe. MacDowell was born in New York City on December 18, 1860, the third son of Thomas and Frances Knapp McDowell. (MacDowell changed the spelling of the family name in the late 1870s.) He began piano lessons at the age of eight with Juan Buitrago, a Colombian violinist who was a boarder in the McDowell home. He also took occasional lessons from the young Venezuelan pianist Teresa Carreño, who later became a champion of his music. Showing exceptional promise, at the age of 16 he moved to Paris with Buitrago and his mother to continue his studies. He won a scholarship and full admission to the Paris Conservatory in 1877. In 1879 he entered the Hoch Conservatory in Frankfurt, where he studied composition with conservatory director Joachim Raff. He left the conservatory after one year but remained in Germany, composing, teaching, and performing until 1888. In 1884 he traveled to the United States to marry Marian Nevins, one of his piano students. The couple returned to Germany and settled in Wiesbaden. He was strongly encouraged by Franz Liszt, who recommended his works for performance and publication. During these years in Germany, he composed prolifically, completing many works for piano, songs, part-songs, two piano concerti, the *Romanz* for cello and orchestra, and three orchestral tone poems.

In 1888 MacDowell and his wife returned to the United States and settled in Boston, where his reputation was quickly established. Within a year he had performed his Second Piano Concerto, op. 23, with the Boston Symphony Orchestra under Wilhelm Gericke and in New York with an orchestra under the direction of Theodore Thomas. During his years in Boston, he continued to compose, teach, and perform, and his music was heard frequently in Ameri-

can concert halls. In 1896 MacDowell moved to New York City to accept appointment as the first professor of music at Columbia University. For the next eight years he devoted himself tirelessly to the creation of a music department. In addition to his academic responsibilities, he conducted the Mendelssohn Glee Club, a prominent New York men's chorus. From 1899 to 1900 he served as president of the newly formed Society of American Musicians and Composers. MacDowell resigned his position at Columbia in 1904 following a dispute with the university president, Nicholas Murray Butler. By 1905 he was showing signs of the mental illness that plagued him during his last years. He died of paresis (general paralytica) in New York City on January 23, 1908.

Although MacDowell was an American composer, his music was firmly within the late romantic European tradition. Some of his best-known works, such as *Indian Sketches* and *From Puritan Days*, celebrated American themes. Yet his compositional style reflected the influence of Schumann, Liszt, Wagner, and Grieg. He resented concerts of exclusively American music and at times refused to participate in such events. He disliked being categorized as an American composer, preferring to be recognized as a composer whose nationality happened to be American. In the final years of his life, MacDowell dreamed of creating a retreat for artists, writers, and musicians on the property of his summer home in Peterborough, New Hampshire. In 1907 his wife realized his dream by founding the MacDowell Colony, which was destined to become one of the most important arts colonies of the 20th century.

**Further reading:** Alan H. Levy, *Edward MacDowell: An American Master* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 1998); John Fielder Porte, *Edward MacDowell: A Great American Tone Poet, His Life and Music* (Boston: Longwood Press, 1978).

—William Peek

### machine politics

Political leaders preferred to think that they headed organizations, but their opponents referred to them pejoratively as “bosses” and their disciplined followers as “machines.” In fact, fielding candidates and winning elections necessitated the formation of organized political parties. American parties are decentralized and comprise local units that are built from the ground up. In the Gilded Age, political organizations were fine-tuned to the point that, in many urban areas and in some states, they achieved machinelike efficiency.

The Democratic machine in New York City, TAMMANY HALL, and the Republican machine in Pennsylvania are the most renowned, but they were not alone, since virtually all politicians attempted to organize their supporters.

The basic element in all political machines was the worker in direct contact with voters. In cities it was the precinct captain who knew everyone and their problems, offered them help when needed, and made sure they got to the polls. Above the precinct captain was the ward boss and above him the district leader and, ultimately, the urban boss. Since no one working 10 hours a day for six days a week could find the time or energy to be in such close contact with the electorate, the political leader in whose interest they worked found them jobs in the municipal, state, and federal civil service where they put in less than a full day for a good salary. With their livelihood dependent on victory at the polls (since the opposition, if triumphant, would replace them with its party hacks), political workers did their utmost for the machine.

Political machines were most difficult to overthrow in the Gilded Age because direct primary elections for candidates were rare. The first mandatory primary law was adopted in 1903 in Wisconsin, and the passage of similar laws in other states hampered the activity of political machines in the 20th century. In the late 19th century, however, nominations for local, state, and national offices were made by conventions whose delegates were also selected by conventions. Hence, local conventions would nominate local candidates and also select delegates to the county convention and so up the line to the quadrennial national convention. To overthrow a boss, reformers had the daunting if not impossible task of gaining control of local conventions, which were often held in saloons and occasionally in bordellos.

Machines were occasionally overthrown and often threatened, but they were either repaired or prevailed. Their operators were tenacious, while reformers—as GEORGE WASHINGTON PLUNKITT of Tammany Hall observed—faded like morning glories. But political bosses, while clinging to power, accomplished little beyond running their machines. The Republican machine in Pennsylvania had a remarkably long life, but its operators—Senators Simon and

Donald Cameron, Matthew Quay, and Boies Penrose—had virtually no legislative impact. They were able men, but when not dealing with major revolts by local Philadelphia or Pittsburgh machines or by reformers, they were consumed by the minutiae involved in balancing the demands of minor politicians in every small town in the state.

**Further reading:** James A. Kehl, *Boss Rule in the Gilded Age: Matt Quay of Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1981); Joel Arthur Tarr, *A Study in Boss Politics: William Lorimer of Chicago* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971).

### Mafia incident (1891)

A diplomatic controversy between the United States and Italy in 1891 grew out of the LYNCHING of Italian nationals by a New Orleans mob. In the 1890s New Orleans was plagued with criminal gang violence that was blamed on supposed members of the Sicilian Mafia among the recent flood of emigrants from southern Italy. Police superintendent David C. Hennessy launched a campaign against the gang warfare but was assassinated just before he was to testify in court on October 15, 1890. Nineteen men were arrested and charged with murder, but a trial of nine resulted in no conviction. On March 14, 1891, a mob calling itself the Committee of Fifty murdered 11 of those in custody, among whom were three Italian citizens.

The Italian minister to the United States, Baron Francesco Saverio Fava, demanded that the members of the mob be punished and an indemnity be paid. Secretary of State JAMES G. BLAINE informed Baron Fava that the federal government could not punish the lynch mob because it had no jurisdiction in the case. Italians were outraged. Unable or unwilling to understand the workings of federalism, the Italian government called Fava back to Italy in protest. Thereafter, President BENJAMIN HARRISON recalled the U.S. minister from Rome and refused to discuss the incident as long as the Italian minister was absent. In fact, most Americans, given their ethnic prejudices and their tolerance for lynching, remained unfazed by the Mafia incident.

Although it was disturbed, the Italian government did not want war. In a conciliatory gesture, Italy dropped its ban on the importation of American pork. In December 1891 Harrison announced in his annual address that the lynching was a deplorable act, but he reiterated that he would only discuss the matter if the Italian minister returned to Washington. Italy was ready to send Fava back when the United States agreed to the principal of an indemnity, but Harrison, feeling that he had done so already in his annual address, refused to do anymore. Secretary of State Blaine, who had just recently returned to work after an extended

illness, informed the president that drawing out the negotiations over a minor point was more embarrassing than having to pay damages. He also reminded Harrison that since Italy would appoint an arbitrator to the international panel empowered to resolve the **BERING SEA DISPUTE** with Britain, it was in the nation's best interest to be reconciled with Italy. Harrison understood, and in March 1892 he sent the American minister back to Rome. One month later the United States paid Italy an indemnity of \$24,330.90, and Italy sent Baron Fava back to Washington.

**Further reading:** Charles S. Campbell, *The Transformation of American Foreign Relations, 1865–1900* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976); Edward P. Crapol, *James G. Blaine: Architect of Empire* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2000).

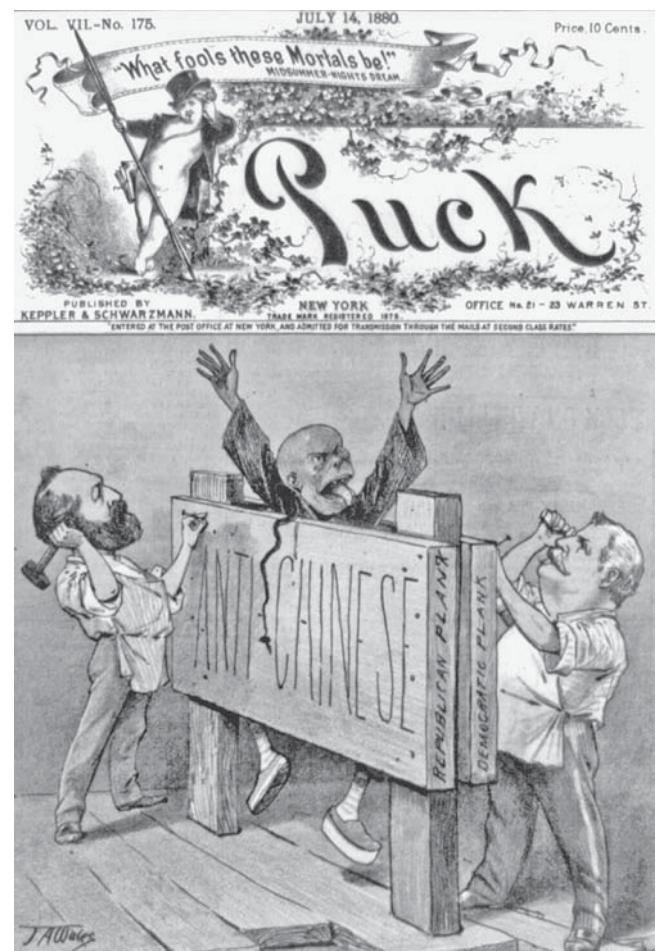
—Timothy E. Vislocky

## magazines

In the years following the Civil War, there was a surge of magazines appearing in the United States. The number of periodicals published grew from 700 in 1865 to 3,300 by 1885, and magazines began to target specific reading populations. Americans had more leisure time for reading because of the technological advances of the Industrial Revolution. Machines produced vast quantities of goods, created great wealth, and revolutionized **COMMUNICATIONS**. Americans began to travel both within their own country and to Europe at a greater rate. Magazines, the most important source of literary pleasure, reflected these changes and focused on entertainment, leisure, travel, and fashion. As Americans lost interest in the issues of Civil War and Reconstruction, they sought diversion. Established monthly magazines like *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, and the *Atlantic* continued to concentrate on short stories, serialized novels, and poetry, but other journals became “niche” publications marketed to an increasingly professionalized American society with special needs.

Magazines began accepting advertisements, and their style of writing changed to lighter, less-serious prose. Articles now ran with bylines rather than anonymously. Magazines for women increased in number, but most of them surprisingly opposed woman suffrage. As a result, smaller journals spoke for women's rights, including the very outspoken *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* (1870–76). At the same time women's fashion magazines including *Harper's Bazaar* (1867 to present) flourished, but the first magazine to reach 1 million subscribers, the *Ladies' Home Journal* (1883 to present), celebrated domesticity. Founded by Cyrus H. K. Curtis and initially edited by his wife, Louisa Knapp, the *Ladies Home Journal* flourished under his son-in-law Edward W. Bok and had 5 million subscribers by 1900.

Specialized magazines grew enormously during the Gilded Age, with new periodicals focusing on the sciences, engineering, manufacturing, and mechanics. Professional journals for physicians and teachers sprang up, agriculture and farm journals proliferated, sports magazines began publishing, and a number of monthly magazines for children appeared. Weekly magazines devoted to news and commentary included popular journals with their woodcut illustrations like *Harper's Weekly* (among its featured artists were **WINSLOW HOMER** and cartoonist **Thomas Nast**) and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and the era's most outstanding journal of opinion, the *NATION*, edited by **EDWIN L. GODKIN**. Several publications devoted to humor (preeminently *Puck*, 1877–1918) and illustrations (mainly *Life*, 1883–1936) appeared. *Puck* was distinguished by a double-page cartoon in the center-fold, printed in color and drawn by artist Joseph Keppler.



Cartoon by James Albert Wales showing James A. Garfield and Winfield S. Hancock pressing a Chinese immigrant between Republican and Democrat anti-Chinese planks (1880) (*Library of Congress*)



*Life* was known for outstanding black-and-white drawings, especially by Charles Dana Gibson, who invented a “look” for an entire generation of young women with his stunning and sophisticated Gibson Girls. Local and regional magazines took hold, including the “city weekly” best exemplified by *Rolling Stone* (1894–95) edited in Austin, Texas, by William Sydney Porter (O. Henry). These magazines mixed politics, entertainment, society chit chat, and light literary fare.

In the last third of the century, the larger national magazines increased their circulation because the advent of second-class postage in 1879 and rural free delivery in the 1890s enabled them to reduce their cost generally to 20 cents per issue. Some, like *Munsey's Magazine* and *Godey's Lady's Book*, charged only a dime, and the *Ladies' Home Journal* went on sale for a nickel. These price cuts were helped along by cheaper paper, lower printing costs, and halftone engraving.

At the turn of the new century, popular magazines were heavily illustrated and fiction had been deemphasized in favor of politics, history, and economics. Magazine publishers recruited writers from other magazines instead of from NEWSPAPERS, as in the early 1800s. Magazines in America were becoming, like their older newspaper siblings, a moneymaking business, with national circulation. Their tone had changed from polite to frank, and they were ready to wield enormous influence as “muckrakers,” exposing corrupt politicians and monopolistic TRUSTS and paving the way for progressive reforms.

**Further reading:** Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930–68).

—Ellen Tashie Frisina

**Mahan, Alfred Thayer** (1840–1914) *naval historian*  
Alfred Thayer Mahan's influential books argued that seapower, accompanied by a flourishing MERCHANT MARINE, was essential for world power, and that maritime nations that established, exploited, and retained colonies—in peace and war—were blessed with strong economies. Born on September 27, 1840, Mahan graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1859, and although a veteran of the Civil War, he was more scholar than sailor. Beginning in 1884 he taught at the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island, and wrote two histories of naval warfare, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783* (1890) and a sequel covering the French Revolution and Napoleonic war (1892). His writings, appearing when industrial powers either were carving or were preparing to carve colonies out of Africa and Asia, inspired imperialist policy makers abroad in Great Britain, Germany, Japan, and elsewhere.

At home, expansionists like Theodore Roosevelt, JOHN HAY, and Henry Cabot Lodge—who advocated a large, modern, steel navy to promote exports abroad—regarded Mahan as their prophet, but they extrapolated more from his writings than he intended.

Mahan's IMPERIALISM was limited by his concept of the strategic defensive perimeters of the United States. Those perimeters extended south to include the Caribbean Sea and Central America and stretched west into the Pacific Ocean 3,000 miles from San Francisco. In that area he wanted the navy to be paramount, and to maintain its strength, he wanted the United States to annex HAWAII and to control an isthmian canal and its approaches. Unlike his expansionist American disciples, he was not anxious to acquire territory or to thwart the designs of other nations beyond his perimeters. He was reluctant to take the Philippines, since they would be difficult to defend in a war with Japan, and he thought that trying to maintain the OPEN DOOR in remote China was unwise, since the United States had neither the will nor the capacity to wage war in defense of either China's territory or its minuscule trade with America. Mahan even doubted the wisdom of enforcing the Monroe Doctrine south of the Amazon River.

Prior to Mahan, other naval officers had advocated increased spending on the fleet and the acquisition of an interoceanic canal and naval bases, but unlike Mahan, they lacked a popular audience. Although today his writings are better known than read, in the 1890s he profoundly influenced the public, policy makers, and scholars. Indeed, his esteem among historians was such that he was elected president of the American Historical Association in 1902. Mahan died on December 1, 1914.

**Further reading:** Robert Seager II, *Alfred Thayer Mahan: The Man and His Letters* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute, 1977).

—Bruce Abrams

### mail-order houses

A nationwide rail system created a national market in place of local and regional markets and gave rise to mail-order houses. Efficient express companies, utilizing widespread rail facilities, could speed packages to villages throughout the country and could serve most of the populace. The U.S. Post Office reduced rates and began rural free delivery in 1896, but it did not inaugurate parcel post service until 1913. In 1879, however, CONGRESS aided rural Americans and mail-order houses when it provided that packages of up to four pounds could be mailed throughout the country at the flat rate of one cent an ounce. Mail-order houses existed prior to the Civil War, but they stocked only

a few items and their market was limited by inadequate transport.

In 1872, the year after the great CHICAGO FIRE, Aaron Montgomery Ward began his mail-order business in Chicago, a rail hub. To keep his prices low, he would buy in bulk with cash and eliminate middlemen by selling and shipping directly to the rural consumer for cash. He established close ties to the GRANGER MOVEMENT and claimed to be “The Original Grange Supply House,” selling goods to Grange cooperative stores and to members of that farm organization. He further cultivated the good will of his customers with the slogan “satisfaction guaranteed, or your money back.” In 1889, with sales at \$2 million and profits at \$115,000, Ward and his partners established Montgomery Ward & Company, and by the 1890s its catalog—the “wish book” containing 24,000 items—had brought the DEPARTMENT STORE into the home and changed forever the buying habits of rural Americans.

In 1891 Richard Warren Sears and his associate in retailing watches, Alvah Curtis Roebuck, formed a partnership that became Sears, Roebuck and Company to compete with Montgomery Ward. Sears took great risks, expanded during the depression of the 1890s, bought out the nervous Roebuck, and in 1895 acquired Aaron Nusbaum (who pulled out in 1901) and his brother-in-law Julius Rosenwald as partners. With Sears, who was a gifted salesman with a knack for advertising, handling the merchandising and Rosenwald, a brilliant organizer, conducting the rest of the business, Sears, Roebuck took off, passed Montgomery Ward, and grossed \$10 million in 1900. In competition with Ward, Sears did not innovate but met Ward head on, claiming lower prices, superior goods, better guarantees, more selections, and simpler order forms. Although Sears, Roebuck advertised widely, its best advertisement was its catalog—a larger wish book than Montgomery Ward’s—that by 1908 had 100,000 items, including automobiles. But in that year Sears’s risk taking was more than Rosenwald could stand and he forced Sears to resign as president.

**Further reading:** Boris Emmet and John E. Jeuck, *Catalogues and Counters: A History of Sears, Roebuck and Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950); Cecil C. Hoge Sr., *The First Hundred Years Are the Toughest: What We Can Learn from the Century of Competition between Sears and Ward* (Berkeley, Calif.: Ten Speed Press, 1988).

### **Maine, Remember the** (1898)

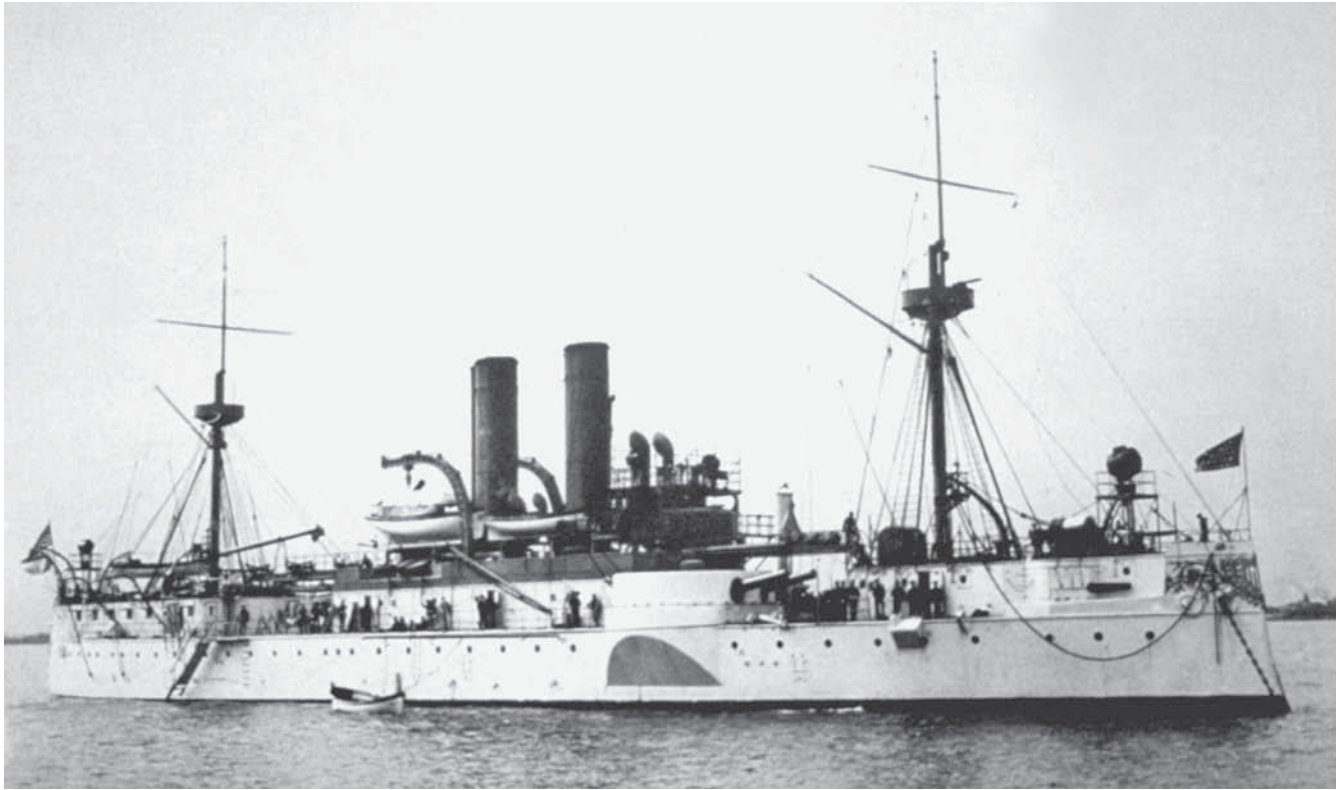
The battle cry of the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, coined by the jingo press, whipped up war sentiment after the USS *Maine* was destroyed in an explosion while anchored in

Havana harbor. The sinking served as the cause for the United States to declare war on Spain. The battleship *Maine* arrived in CUBA, ostensibly for a “friendly” naval visit, at 11:00 A.M. on January 25, 1898. With Spain involved in a vicious colonial war with Cuban rebels, such visits had been avoided since 1895, but as American sympathy for the rebels grew, so too did anti-American sentiment among Spanish loyalists in Havana. Rioting in Havana on January 12, 1898, worried the American consul, Fitzhugh Lee, who cabled that “ships may be necessary later but not now.” Although Havana calmed down, the McKinley administration on January 24 ordered the *Maine* to Havana.

The *Maine* was a second-class battleship, weighing 6,682 tons and with a maximum speed of 17 knots. Although Spanish officials would rather the *Maine* were elsewhere, they were cordial and the city was calm. Nevertheless, Captain Charles D. Sigsbee did not allow his sailors liberty for fear of an incident. Security on the ship was high. The ship’s watch was greatly enlarged and sentries were armed. Both boilers were kept going—a departure from the usual practice of operating a single boiler—in case the ship was called to immediate action, and shells were kept near all of the *Maine*’s guns.

At 9:40 on the evening of February 15 an explosion ripped through the *Maine* and sent it to the bottom of the Havana harbor. With the entire forward part of the vessel destroyed, 260 men were killed (out of a crew of 355). NEWSPAPERS immediately attributed the explosion to Spanish treachery and called for war. A naval court of inquiry concluded on March 20 that an underwater mine sank the *Maine*, although responsibility for laying the mine could not be determined. The Spanish offered to send the matter to arbitration in order to settle the cost of the damage and even agreed to an armistice (to last as long as the commanding general in Cuba thought prudent) in the war on the Cuban rebels. But the United States was in no mood for arbitration or for negotiations.

President WILLIAM MCKINLEY had experienced the carnage of war firsthand as an officer during the Civil War. He hoped that the report’s inability to blame the Spanish for the sinking would leave open an opportunity to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the sinking and of the political status of Cuba. But public sentiment was not with him. Reports of Spanish atrocities in Cuba both real and imagined and the mass starvation produced by Spain’s military policies created great sympathy for the Cuban rebels. The publication a few weeks before the explosion of the *Maine* of the DE LÔME LETTER, in which the Spanish minister had made derogatory remarks about the president, abetted the growth of war fever in the United States. Bowing to pressure, McKinley on April 11, 1898, asked CONGRESS for the authority to use the armed forces to intervene in Cuba. Congress debated for a week before agreeing on April 19



The U.S. battleship *Maine* (Library of Congress)

by joint resolution. McKinley signed it the following day and the war began.

Seventy-eight years later a study, using the latest naval technology, by Rear Admiral Hyman Rickover of the U.S. Navy concluded that an internal explosion occurring in one of the coal bunkers had caused the sinking of the *Maine*.

See also JINGOES.

**Further reading:** Ivan Musicant, *Empire by Default: The Spanish-American War and the Dawn of the American Century* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1998); G. J. A. O'Toole, *The Spanish War: An American Epic, 1898* (New York: Norton, 1984).

—Timothy E. Vislocky

**Manifest Destiny** See IMPERIALISM.

**Marsh, George Perkins** (1801–1882) *scholar, politician, conservationist*

A universal and prophetic scholar as well as a diplomat, George Perkins Marsh was born on March 15, 1801, in Woodstock, Vermont. As a boy, he was an avid reader,

but eye trouble periodically forced him to forsake books. When he did, he communed with nature and contemplated the impact of people on the flora and fauna of Vermont. With virtually no formal education Marsh entered Dartmouth College in 1816, where he excelled in languages (besides studying the classics, he picked up the Romance languages and German). When he graduated in 1820, he taught Greek and Latin at an academy, but an unhappy year in the classroom and renewed eye problems led him to study law with his father and brother. Admitted to the bar in 1825, he moved to Burlington, seat of the University of Vermont, whose president was his cousin James Marsh.

George Perkins Marsh's passion was scholarship, not pleading mundane cases in the courtroom, and he began the study of Scandinavian languages, while courting vivacious Harriet Buel, whom he married in 1828. They had two sons, but Harriet, who had a heart problem, died in August 1833, 11 days before their older son died of scarlet fever. "Saved . . . from madness" by "a constant succession of severe labors," Marsh plunged deeper into the study of Scandinavian languages and literature. He sought philosophic solace and intellectual stimulation from his cousin James and the university faculty.

An inheritance from his father-in-law and wife enabled Marsh to become involved in business. He invested in the Vermont Central Railroad and became a banker, sheep raiser, and woolen manufacturer. In 1839 he married Caroline Crane, who “magnified his enthusiasms” and “minimized his misfortunes,” and with whom he had no children. Although she remained supportive, Caroline soon suffered from a stroke and other impairing ailments.

His dependence on a protective woolen tariff led March to enter politics. Although an elitist in democratic Vermont, voters appreciated his knowledge, integrity, and pro-tariff and antislavery positions. Elected as a Whig to Congress in 1843 and twice reelected, Marsh served until 1849, opposing the annexation of Texas and the Mexican-American War. His most congenial work was on the Joint Committee of the Library of Congress, helping shape the Smithsonian Institution.

As a reward for his support of Zachary Taylor in 1848, Marsh was appointed minister to Turkey, serving from 1849 to 1853. His facility in the diplomatic language of French proved especially helpful, and his great capacity to learn languages (at this point, he knew approximately 20) was useful. Hungarian, Polish, and Italian refugees from failed 1848 revolutions (Marsh suspected some of them were fugitives from justice), desirous of passports, were Marsh's biggest headache. He and the legation did their best for the Hungarian revolutionary Louis Kossuth, whom Marsh came to despise as an ingrate. Marsh and his family toured Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, France, Austria, and Italy (where they sipped tea with Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning). Always the scholar, he recorded geographical and meteorological data and collected specimens of flora and fauna for the Smithsonian.

Recalled by the administration of the Democrat Franklin Pierce, the Marshes returned home at a leisurely pace, since the Vermont Central Railroad, in which he had invested heavily, had gone bankrupt. They left Constantinople (Istanbul) on Christmas Day 1853, explored Sicily, spent two months in Rome, worked their way north to Switzerland, and arrived back in Burlington in August 1854. March was \$50,000 in debt to close associates, who had cheated him. After six years of negotiations, his debt was reduced to \$10,000, which he paid off when Congress reimbursed him for legitimate expenses in Turkey.

During these years he designed fine surveying instruments, but the venture was not profitable. He also persuaded the U.S. Army to use camels (whose value he had discovered in Egypt) in the Great American Desert, as the Southwest was then called. He was appointed a Vermont fish commissioner and found that people were responsible for the decline of fish in lakes and streams. When the Vermont statehouse burned in 1857, Marsh planned the new statehouse, which architect STANFORD WHITE called

the nation's “finest specimen of Greek architecture.” As the state's railroad commissioner (1857–59), he castigated corrupt railroad managers and would have rewritten Vermont's railroad code if the legislature had agreed. Experience taught Marsh that all transport and communications facilities should be government owned. In 1858 he taught the English language and literature at Columbia and two years later published *Lectures on the English Language*, which reviewers praised for “profound scholarship.” That triumph led to lectures at the Lowell Institute in Boston, published in 1862 as *The Origin and History of the English Language and of the Early Literature It Embodies*, which gave Marsh an international reputation as a philologist, an etymologist, and an early associate of the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

Marsh joined the new Republican Party, supported its candidates, hoped for a foreign mission, and in 1861 Abraham Lincoln's administration named him minister to the recently united Kingdom of Italy, where he remained until his death. He performed his duties well, enjoyed the social and cultural opportunities Italy afforded, and pursued his varied interests. At the behest of President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, Marsh prescribed the precise height of the Washington Monument (10 times its width), when that obelisk was completed in 1885. He loved art and helped New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art acquire paintings. In 1864 he published his most influential book, *Man and Nature, or Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action*, which he revised in 1874 as *The Earth as Modified by Human Action*. He had collected material for that book on his boyhood hikes in Vermont and made observations for it during his extensive travels and while he read voraciously. “Man,” he declared, “is everywhere a disturbing agent. Wherever he plants his foot, the harmonies of nature are turned to discord.” This work, which became a classic, marked the beginning of the CONSERVATION movement by arousing ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS, which for him were constant. On the last day of his life, July 23, 1882, Marsh, who was reworking *Man and Nature*, added fresh observations on forests.

**Further reading:** David Lowenthal, *George Perkins Marsh: Versatile Vermonter* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958).

**Marsh, Othniel Charles** (1831–1899) *paleontologist, naturalist*

Lockport, New York, the place of Othniel Charles Marsh's birth on October 29, 1831, influenced his eventual distinguished career as a paleontologist. Fields, woods, and the fossil-rich Erie Canal excavations near his father's farm turned him toward the study of nature. His advanced



schooling came late, but money held in trust for him since his mother's death enabled him to attend Phillips Andover Academy in Massachusetts during his early 20s, and his maternal uncle George Peabody, a leading international financier, paid for his study at Yale College during his late 20s. At Yale, which was especially strong in science, he studied under James D. Dana, the foremost American geologist in those years. He graduated with honors in 1860, earned a master of arts degree in 1862, and with his uncle's support studied abroad with leading German scientists. In 1866 his uncle's endowment of the Peabody Museum at Yale led to Marsh's appointment as curator and as the first professor of paleontology in the United States. Upon his uncle's death in 1869 Marsh received a substantial inheritance that enabled him to forgo a Yale salary until 1898 and thereby avoid the chore of teaching.

The fossil riches of the West were beginning to capture the public imagination, as were the evolutionary theories of Charles Darwin. Marsh caught the rising tide. In 1868 on his first trip west, his train stopped briefly at Antelope Station, Nebraska, where Marsh poked through the diggings of a nearby well and turned up a major find: the bones of a small primordial horse that proved to be a missing link in the evolution of the modern horse and therefore a crucial piece of evidence in support of Darwin's theory. Between 1870 and 1873 Marsh returned to the West four times with parties of Yale seniors. Thereafter, Marsh used his ample financial resources to send out scores of diggers in the field while he remained at Yale classifying their finds—30 freight-car loads in all. As paleontologist of the U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, 1882–92, he had federal money to support his collectors and the laboratory staff and artists at his museum. Darwin's chief apostle, Thomas Huxley, was delighted with Marsh's fossil parade of evolving horses and promoted Marsh's reputation in Europe. During his career Marsh published more than 270 papers and books, naming 496 fossil species. Awards and prizes attested to his worldwide reputation, and he served as president of the National Academy of Sciences from 1883 to 1895.

Marsh's chief rival was Edward Cope, a fiercely pugnacious Philadelphia Quaker. Marsh himself was stern, stocky, and aggressive. In 1871 Cope poached on what Marsh considered his own dinosaur-hunting preserves in Wyoming. Each man accused the other of unscrupulous tactics, and both were right. Their escalating war was marked by cloak-and-dagger secrecy and spying, false trails, subverting of each other's hired collectors, and public accusations of lying, theft of specimens, and false dating of papers. The struggle raged for two decades. With the weight of his money, connections, and towering reputation, Marsh prevailed. But the battle had stirred Cope into writing a mammoth compilation of his own researches that established him as one of the world's great naturalists. Marsh died on

March 18, 1899, and, never having married, bequeathed his estate to the Peabody Museum, the National Academy of Sciences, and Yale University.

**Further reading:** Mark J. McCarren, *The Scientific Contributions of Othniel Charles Marsh: Birds, Bones, and Brontotheres* (New Haven, Conn.: Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, 1993); Charles Schuchert and Clara LeVene, *O. C. Marsh: Pioneer in Paleontology* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1940); Elizabeth Noble Shor, *The Fossil Feud between E. D. Cope and O. C. Marsh* (Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1974).

—Robert V. Bruce

**Marxian socialists** See LABOR, RADICAL.

**McKim, Charles Follen** See WHITE, STANFORD.

**McKinley, William** (1843–1901) *25th president of the United States*

Born in Niles, Ohio, on January 29, 1843, William McKinley attended Allegheny College and taught school before enlisting in the 23rd Ohio (RUTHERFORD B. HAYES's regiment) for the duration of the Civil War. His efficiency as a commissary sergeant at the Battle of Antietam made him an officer, and at the war's end he was a major. He then studied law and in 1867 began practicing in Canton, Ohio. There in 1871 he married Ida Saxon, to whom he remained devoted despite the onset of epilepsy and neurotic behavior following the loss of their two infant daughters. In 1876 he was elected as a Republican to CONGRESS and served from 1877 to 1883 and 1885 to 1891 (losing only in the Democratic landslide years of 1882 and 1890); he became the most conspicuous champion of protectionism and the author of the MCKINLEY TARIFF of 1890, which jacked up rates but also provided for the novel feature of reciprocal trade agreements.

McKinley shrewdly gave protectionism a plausible populist nationalistic spin, ascribing to it the prosperity of American workers and farmers by creating jobs and domestic markets. While usually successful, that argument was rejected on the national level by voters in 1890 and 1892, but it was again embraced by them following the panic of 1893 and it enhanced McKinley's reputation. He won the Ohio governorship in 1891 and 1893 and in 1896, aided by his political lieutenant, MARCUS ALONZO HANNA, easily won the Republican presidential nomination. Having rejected its incumbent president, GROVER CLEVELAND, the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, led by WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, was discredited, demoralized, and divided by the

depression following the panic of 1893. Bryan wished to inflate the currency with the unlimited coinage of silver, while McKinley stressed that the gold standard and protection would promote prosperity and warned that an inflated dollar would destroy the real wages of workers. Both Bryan and McKinley spoke constantly, Bryan as he toured the country and McKinley as he stood on his front porch receiving hundreds of delegations. Hanna raised \$3.5–4 million for the campaign, while the Democrats had only one-seventh that amount to spend. McKinley triumphed decisively with 271 electoral votes to Bryan's 176.

McKinley was often underestimated by his contemporaries, and many historians have followed their lead. His amiable, pragmatic, and compromising nature—combined with his ability to maneuver unobtrusively while pursuing his goals—have masked his strength of character, his capacity to deal with Congress, and his domination of advisers. Indeed, JOHN HAY dismissed as “idiots” those who thought Hanna would “run” McKinley. He began his presidency by calling a special session of Congress to raise the tariff, and it obliged with the Dingley Tariff (1897). Far from doctrinaire on the monetary issue, McKinley favored international BIMETALLISM (basing currency on gold and silver), but when the British rejected that idea he signed the Gold Standard Act (1900).

War and empire, not the tariff and the currency, dominated the McKinley administration. In 1895 CUBA again revolted for its independence, and Spain soon resorted to harsh measures to preserve its colony. Outraged by newspaper accounts of Spanish atrocities, many Americans clamored for a war of liberation in Cuba. Using diplomacy and the threat of military intervention, McKinley secured some concessions from Spain, but when it would not free Cuba, he reluctantly asked for and received from Congress a declaration of war. The SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR (1898) was of short duration, and McKinley not only directed the war effort but also, to the dismay of the anti-imperialists, made the decisions that gave the United States Puerto Rico in the Caribbean and the Philippine Islands in the Pacific. Ironically, his administration suppressed the FILIPINO INSURRECTION against American rule using the same tactics that Spain had employed to put down the Cuban revolution, and Cuba, though nominally independent, was made an American protectorate. Increased Caribbean interests made an isthmian canal under American control an imperative objective of the McKinley administration, and in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaties (1900, 1901) with Great Britain, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) was superseded and the United States could proceed unilaterally with a canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. After gaining possession of the Philippines, American interest in trading with China was heightened, which led to circulating the OPEN DOOR NOTES (1899, 1900) to oppose its dismem-



William McKinley (*Library of Congress*)

berment and the dispatching of troops to help suppress its Boxer Rebellion (1900). By enhancing the power and prestige of the presidency, McKinley was a forerunner of modern 20th-century chief executives. McKinley, for example, justified sending troops to China on the basis of his war powers even though there was no war.

McKinley was renominated in 1900, and, with a popular vice presidential running mate, Theodore Roosevelt, he triumphed for a second time over Bryan. But his plans for his second term to moderate the protective tariff through

reciprocity treaties were not realized. McKinley was shot by an assassin on September 6, 1901, in Buffalo, New York, and died on September 14.

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**McKinley Tariff** (1890) See TARIFF ISSUE.

**McMaster, John Bach** (1852–1932) *historian*

Historian of the people of the United States, John Bach McMaster was born on June 29, 1852, in Brooklyn, New York. He grew up in Manhattan, attending public schools and the New York Free Academy (now City College, of the City University of New York), where in 1872 he earned a B.A. He excelled in physics and chemistry, was good in English, but was only average in history, which at that time paid little attention to the United States and stressed facts about those who governed. Nevertheless, McMaster was interested in recent American history, possibly to understand the seemingly contradictory actions of his father, a native New Yorker who became in 1852 a slave-owning Louisiana sugar planter. Nine years later, having returned to the North, he took his son to the White House to shake hands with Abraham Lincoln. In the Free Academy library McMaster found Horace Greeley's *American Conflict* in which a reference to the Louisiana Purchase led him to read FRANCIS PARKMAN's *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*. Next he dipped into, but found disappointing, multivolumes on American history by George Bancroft and Richard Hildreth. They failed to carry the story beyond 1821 and concentrated on political, diplomatic, and military events rather than on the American people. Visiting an aunt after his graduation, McMaster chanced upon Thomas Babington Macaulay's *History of England from the Accession of James the Second*. In the first volume he was inspired by chapter 3 on "The State of England in 1685." Wondering whether he could be an American Macaulay, McMaster vowed, "I will."

But first McMaster had to make a living. From 1872 to 1873 he had an English fellowship at his alma mater and did little on his history beyond deciding to begin it with a description of the United States in 1784, patterned on Macaulay's description of England. McMaster worked from 1873 to 1874 as a civilian attached to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, surveying and mapping the Virginia battlefields of Winchester and Cedar Creek for the memoirs of General Philip Sheridan. The country was beautiful, but he found Winchester and its people filthy, Sheridan "hot-

tempered" and "ugly-faced," and much of his work dull. In 1874, when McMaster returned to New York from Chicago (where he had been at Sheridan's headquarters), the economy was dull following the panic of 1873. For the next three years McMaster lived with his mother and did some tutoring, while writing two technical engineering books (one on bridges and tunnels and the other on dams) for the *Van Nostrand Science Series*.

These technical books helped McMaster get appointed, in January 1877, assistant professor of engineering at the new John C. Green School of Science at Princeton, where he remained until 1883. Ignored by his colleagues and without a social life, McMaster was unhappy at Princeton. He was tired of teaching "lunk-heads," his immediate superior was a crank, and the president, James McCosh, bullied the faculty. By working on his history, McMaster found relief from his frustration, but he interrupted his writing in summer 1878 to lead postgraduate students on a fossil-hunting expedition to the Bad Lands of southeastern Wyoming. They found fossils, but a budding paleontologist, Henry F. Osborn, utilized their specimens in learned papers, far more than did McMaster, who was more interested in the social conditions of the West and its people, who were building a new land. Realizing he was a historian, rather than a scientist, McMaster, on his return, worked single-mindedly on the first volume, 1783 to 1789, of his *History of the People of the United States*.

McMaster believed that the "mingling" of economic, social, and political history would achieve "a correct understanding of the peculiar circumstances under which our nation was formed and grew up." To find material McMaster used newspapers, pamphlets, memoirs, and travel accounts far more than previous historians. Although he had limited funds, he worked extensively in the splendid newspaper collection of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, the Library of Congress, and the historical societies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. He completed volume 1 in 1881 and delivered it, a huge longhand manuscript, to D. Appleton & Co. Its editors hesitated to publish an unconventional history, written by a civil engineer, until Daniel Appleton, owner of the publishing house, discovered the manuscript was fascinating reading.

Published in 1883, it became an instant best seller. CHARLES ANDERSON DANA, editor of the *New York Sun*, was among the many who could not put it down, and while it marked a departure from their work, it was well received by leading historians including Bancroft and Hermann Von Holst. Because he did not stress wars and politics, McMaster's real heroes were the people, and his work was criticized for being unpatriotic. Critics also noted that in his desire to emulate Macaulay, he imitated him, borrowing, with only slight changes, his figures of speech to a point



called close to “theft” by the *New York Tribune* reviewer. That reviewer also demonstrated in parallel columns that McMaster had borrowed without attribution from William C. Rives’s *History of the Life and Times of James Madison*. Although ecstatic reviews outweighed criticisms, McMaster, whose work was based on an enormous amount of original research, was chagrined by his lapses and was more careful in the future.

The success of his work led to McMaster’s appointment as professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania, where he served from 1883 until he retired in 1920. Success also led to his marriage to Gertrude Stevenson, a longtime friend. They had three children. By 1913 McMaster had completed seven additional volumes, bringing his work up to the outbreak of the Civil War. In retirement he added a volume on the Lincoln administration. While working on his *History of the People*, McMaster wrote several other works, including *Benjamin Franklin as a Man of Letters* (1887) and *Daniel Webster* (1902). McMaster also profoundly influenced the teaching of American history through his textbooks on the primary and secondary levels, of which more than 2.5 million copies were sold. He was an associate editor of the *American Historical Review* (1895–99) and president of the American Historical Association (1905–06). He died on May 24, 1932, in Darien, Connecticut.

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### meatpacking

The combination of the technologies of railroading and refrigeration resulted in the refrigerator car (reefer), introduced in 1870 but perfected in 1881, which in turn created the major industry of meatpacking. Prior to the Gilded Age, meatpacking utilized animals raised in the Midwest; was restricted to curing hams, salting pork (Cincinnati, the major center, was called “Porkopolis”), and some corning of beef; and could be done only in cold weather so as to retard spoilage. Fresh meat had to be butchered locally, and cities had their slaughterhouse districts. By 1870 the penetration of the West by railroads brought western cattle to packing centers like Chicago (its Union Stock Yards opened in 1865), and efficient reefers after 1881 enabled packers like Philip D. Armour and Gustavus F. Swift to aggressively market their dressed beef in eastern cities. To break down eastern consumer hostility against western beef, Swift established East Coast branches and refrigerated warehouses. Their success was such that shipments of dressed beef to urban centers replaced those of live animals to small slaughterhouses at those points. Most of the

nation’s butchers no longer butchered; instead, they cut up carcasses slaughtered hundreds of miles away. In the early 1890s six large-scale firms—Armour, Swift, Cudahy, Morris, Hammond, and the kosher meat dealer Schwartzchild & Sulzberger—dominated the meatpacking industry. The Big Six, following Swift’s leadership, were integrated companies with their own purchasing units, packing plants, refrigerator cars, and branch houses.

The Big Six preferred cooperation to competition and, with Swift and Armour leading out, created an informal pool in 1893 with weekly allocations designed to produce a profit for all. By 1902 this “Beef Trust” was, with the anti-trust movement underway, vulnerable. The Big Six managed, however, to continue their monopolistic practices that year when Armour, Swift, and Morris bought into the National Packing Company, which Hammond and some smaller companies had formed; although Cudahy and Schwartzchild & Sulzberger remained independent, they followed its leadership in pricing and production quotas. By 1910 the meatpackers had abandoned National Packing at the behest of the Justice Department, but the Big Six understood each other so well that without any formal arrangement they simply continued to follow the prices set by Swift and Armour.

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### medicine and public health

American medicine and public health lagged behind European countries during the 19th century, in part because of the country’s largely rural character at the beginning of the period. Cities spread disease, and it was not until late in that century that population shifts transformed the United States into an urban nation (see CITIES AND URBAN LIFE). From 1870 to 1900 the United States made modest progress in the field of sanitation with the establishment of health agencies at the municipal level. Advances, however, were even more modest in medicine and surgery, and ailing Americans often resorted to patent medicines and tonics.

Until the 1890s, the most able American doctors were trained in Europe, particularly in Germany (see EDUCATION, HIGHER). Whereas gaining acceptance to medical schools in the 21st century is notoriously difficult, 19th-century American schools accepted most applicants for study. Moreover, American medical schools relied on lectures and provided little clinical training. An 1867 graduate of New York’s College of Physicians and Surgeons who received a prize for his thesis on the “Fatty Degeneration of the Liver” later criticized his training by noting that he had never seen a liver that had undergone fatty degeneration, nor had he





Label for Kentucky Tonic Bitters (Library of Congress)

seen a patient who had suffered from such a liver. Furthermore, medical schools sponsored virtually no research. Consequently, graduates were handicapped by having little hands-on experience and little knowledge of the emerging field of bacteriology, which was critical in understanding disease in urban centers. Although Joseph Lister first practiced antiseptic surgery in 1865 in England, for much of the Gilded Age doctors were ignorant of those procedures, with fatal consequences for many of their patients. For example, scrupulously clean conditions would have saved many women who died of puerperal (childbed) fever after giving birth. The first significant body of medical research was undertaken not by a school of medicine but by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which enlisted Dr. Theobald Smith to study Texas cattle fever and resulted in Smith's discovery in 1891 of how ticks transmit disease; this finding played a key role in understanding diseases like malaria, typhus, and Lyme disease.

There were however, some attempts in the Gilded Age by medical schools to raise their standards. Recognizing that standards varied widely from state to state, leaders in the medical profession attempted to revise curricula at medical institutions, and some even advocated a national medical school supported by federal funding. Northwestern University in Illinois was the first to address curricular reform by instituting a three-year graded program as early as 1859. No other institution, however, followed their lead until 1871, when Harvard University began a three-year program, adding the prerequisite of an academic degree.

The University of Pennsylvania and Syracuse University improved their curricula in 1877, with Yale and the University of Michigan following suit in 1880. The University of Pennsylvania supplemented its medical education program by establishing its University Hospital, which provided on-site faculty-supervised clinical training. The founding of Johns Hopkins Medical School in 1893 (with clinical training at the Johns Hopkins Hospital) further raised the bar by patterning its medical education program after German universities and buttressing the curriculum with top-notch facilities, laboratories, and a large endowment to help fund medical research.

The Gilded Age also witnessed the early attempts to professionalize and improve American medicine. These efforts focused on self-policing by professional organizations and accreditation bureaus and, to a lesser extent, the establishment (and in some cases reestablishment) of state licensing boards. Toward the end of the century, the American Medical Association (AMA) attempted to create medical standards in the field of education that exceeded government regulations. An accrediting agency to ensure standards, the American Medical College Association (AMCA), was established in 1876 but was shortly disbanded after several colleges withdrew because of its stringent requirements. In 1890 the AMCA reorganized with more success, becoming the Association of American Medical Colleges; although it lacked licensing power, the body soon developed revised standards, including a three-year program, instruction in chemistry and pathology, and a graded curriculum. By the end of the century, most states had established medical licensing boards, and during the first years of the 20th century the AMCA, with a stronger AMA, had succeeded in closing down substandard medical programs. The rigorous reform of American medical schools occurred only after Abraham Flexner's damning 1910 report recommended closing 120 out of 155 medical schools in the United States and Canada.

American doctors were behind the curve in adopting and improving upon European advances in anesthesia and antiseptic surgical practices, although by the 1890s—especially after some improvement in medical education—American medicine began to catch up with Europe. In that decade the United States was home to several notable medical firsts, including the world's first open-heart surgery in 1893 and the first appendectomy in 1894. Some American doctors were instrumental in the field of anesthesiology as well, including Dr. William S. Halsted (1852–1922), who experimented with uses of cocaine, especially on himself (his self-administered injections contributed to a lifelong addiction to the drug).

In the area of public health, officials built on discoveries in Europe by focusing on eliminating infectious disease and safeguarding water systems. In the United States the

field of public health grew as a result of growing cities and their endemic unsanitary conditions. Early municipal health officials inspected sewer systems with the goal of providing clean living conditions in socially disadvantaged neighborhoods. In practice this was difficult; rudimentary sewer systems proved inadequate, and drinking water tended to be polluted in rapidly expanding cities. True reform in the area of public health—such as vaccinations, bathhouses, modern sewer systems, and slum clearance programs—would not come until the start of the 20th century. Efforts, however, were made: The founding of the American Public Health Association in 1872 signaled within the medical profession a new awareness of this specialized field, as municipalities and states began establishing boards of health; by 1900 most states had boards of health. The federal government tended to stay out of health issues, although CONGRESS passed a national quarantine law in 1893 to attempt to stop the spread of infectious diseases carried by immigrants from other countries.

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—Scott Sendrow

## merchant marine

The merchant marine was one sector of the otherwise booming Gilded Age economy that was in decline. In the 1850s more than 70 percent of American exports and imports were shipped in American vessels, but by 1897 only 15 percent of the value of imports and 8 percent of the value of exports were carried by American ships. The decline began in 1863, during the Civil War, and steadily continued thereafter. By 1870 American ships totaling approximately 2.5 million tons entered and cleared American seaports, as compared with a tonnage for foreign vessels of about 3.8 million. By 1900 American tonnage entering and clearing U.S. seaports was 4 million, while foreign tonnage leaped to 19.6 million.

The most obvious reason for the decline is the Civil War, which is indeed when it first set in. Confederate raiders sank about 800,000 tons of American ships, which jacked up insurance rates and prompted owners to sell an even larger tonnage to foreigners to be operated under neutral flags. But in the past seafaring nations have suffered depredations to their commerce and have rebuilt their merchant marine in times of peace to reclaim their share of the carrying trade. The Civil War is partly responsible but probably not even the major reason for the long-term decline.

By the time of the Civil War technological innovations were fundamentally altering ships. Canvas sails and wooden vessels were being supplanted by steam engines in iron and later steel hulls. The change did not occur overnight because, where speed was not of critical importance, sailing vessels remained cost effective throughout the Gilded Age in shipping bulky goods like coal or timber. But as time went on, steam engines improved in efficiency, taking up less space, producing more power, and burning less coal; steel hulls provided more capacious holds; and the industrial world demanded celerity, punctuality, and predictability.

With an ample supply of timber, Americans had excelled in constructing wooden sailing ships. Their clipper ships of the 1850s were the fastest sailing vessels afloat. American shipbuilders were on the cutting edge of wood and sail, but not of iron and steam. During the Gilded Age American shipbuilders did build iron- and steel-hulled steamships, but their labor costs were significantly higher than those of British shipbuilders. The efficiency that made Americans preeminent as STEEL producers was absent in their shipyards, where vessels were not mass-produced. American shipowners did not buy foreign-built ships because by law only American-built ships could be registered as American. Not only were American ships more expensive to build than foreign vessels, but they also were more costly to operate. Lower costs for operators of foreign ships meant lower freight rates than those Americans charged and resulted in steadily increasing shipments in foreign bottoms.

The decline of the merchant marine rankled patriotic Americans, who sensed that “effeminacy” and “decadence” would surely follow. To reverse the trend CONGRESS provided subsidies in the form of lucrative mail contracts and in 1891 passed a Merchant Marine Act that gave bounties per mile on certain outward-bound routes. Subsidies, however, were ineffective in stemming the drift to shipping in foreign vessels, and Americans, who supported an indirect subsidy in the form of a protective tariff, were reluctant to provide significant direct support to the American shipowners.

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**mining: metal and coal**

American mining production increased by a factor of five during the last 30 years of the 19th century. The discovery of new deposits in part drove the increase. In 1872 Jordan Nelson opened the first commercial coal mine in the rich Pocahontas, West Virginia, bituminous coal field. Gold was discovered in the Black Hills of Dakota in 1876. Copper mining began in the Tombstone, Arizona, district in 1879, and the Copper Queen mine opened near Bisbee, Arizona, the following year. The Coeur d'Alene silver-lead mining district of Idaho began operations in 1883, and the first shipment of iron ore from the Mesabi Range in Minnesota occurred in 1892.

Individual prospectors continued to discover new deposits. But government-sponsored geological surveys greatly expanded the fund of knowledge concerning the nation's mineral resources. In 1870, for example, Pennsylvania conducted a second geological survey that focused on petroleum and updated previous findings on coal. In 1879

the federal government established the U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY as a permanent bureau in the Department of the Interior.

Mining consists of several distinct operations. The first is gaining access to the resource. Gold was often discovered in streams at "placers," or deposits laid bare by erosion or weathering. Placer mining was a simple operation of swirling material in a pan or a larger rocker until the heavier metal settled on the bottom. Other minerals were easily quarried at their outcrops or where they penetrated the surface. Open-pit mining extracted the resource by removing the overburden where deposits lay near the surface. By the 1890s steam-powered shovels working in open pits extracted anthracite coal in Pennsylvania and iron ore in Minnesota's Vermillion and Mesabi Ranges. Hydraulic mining used powerful water canons to uncover shallow deposits of gold and other precious metals.

Three types of entry gained access to deposits located deep below the surface: The shaft was a vertical hole sunk



Hydraulic mining at Rockerville, Dakota, 1889. Photograph by John C. H. Grabill (*Library of Congress*)

through rock strata to the deposit. A slope was an inclined plane following the strata's dip, while the drift was driven on an upward angle. Wherever possible, mine operators drove drifts and slopes through the mineral's seam or vein. Tunnels were driven horizontally from the side of a mountain to the deposit.

The second step in mining is freeing the material from the earth. At first, miners used hand-powered drills and augers to bore holes into the deposit, filled the holes with explosives, and then blasted the material free. Several technological changes improved productivity at this stage of mining. In western hard-rock mines, jackhammers powered by compressed air began to replace the hand augers in drilling rock in the 1870s. The use of undercutting and other mining machines were used in bituminous coal mining by the 1890s. Dynamite, invented in 1867, gradually replaced black powder as the explosive of choice.

The third procedure in the mining process, moving the freed material to the surface, consisted of loading and transporting. Although some mines utilized mechanical loading devices, hand loading, either by shovel or the manual adjustment of chutes, remained dominant circa 1900. At first, mules provided the motive power for hauling loaded cars through gangways. As early as 1867 anthracite mining companies experimented with small steam locomotives inside the mines. Although they proved cost effective, they created a pollution problem. In 1891 the Susquehanna Coal Company installed the industry's first compressed-air locomotive, which proved very effective, but it began to give way to electric locomotives by the turn of the century.

Mastery of the increasing technological complexity of mining required specialized knowledge. Columbia University established the nation's first School of Mines in 1864. Other institutions began offering mining engineering degrees. In 1871 both the formally educated and practically trained engineers formed the American Institute of Mining Engineers as a forum for the exchange of ideas and to enhance the status of their occupation. Most mining engineers, however, were content to become corporate bureaucrats rather than entrepreneurs.

Opening deep mines, keeping them dry and well ventilated, and procuring the latest technology required more capital than an individual could afford. As a result, the entrepreneurial order quickly gave way to corporate control in hard-rock as well as in coal mining. By 1914 the Guggenheim family, for example, had expanded their initial hard-rock holdings in Leadville, Colorado, into the greatest mining empire in the world, with facilities in the West, Mexico, Alaska, Chile, and the Congo extracting, smelting, and marketing copper, silver, gold, and lead. Corporate consolidation was also pronounced in the anthracite coal industry, where seven carrier-operators controlled 90 percent of the productive capacity.

**Further reading:** Priscilla Long, *Where the Sun Never Shines: A History of America's Bloody Coal Industry* (New York: Paragon House, 1989); David W. Pearson, *This Was Mining in the West* (Atglen, Pa.: Schiffer, 1996); Clark C. Spence, *Mining Engineers and the American West: The Lace Boot Brigade, 1849–1933* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970).

—Harold W. Aurand

**Minor v. Happersett** (1875) See WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

**Mitchell, Maria** (1818–1889) *astronomer*

Maria Mitchell, the first woman professor of astronomy in the United States, was born on August 1, 1818, into a Quaker family of 10 children on Nantucket Island in Massachusetts. Her father believed that girls, like boys, should be educated to the extent of their abilities. She was a precocious child and exhibited a special talent for arithmetic. Her father was interested in astronomy and navigation, and at the age of 14 she assisted him in his work of rating nautical chronometers.

Mitchell taught school briefly and then, beginning in 1836, served for 20 years as librarian of the Nantucket Atheneum. In that position she had enough free time to study mathematical and scientific treatises and to indulge with her father in their shared interest in astronomy. When, also in 1836, he became the cashier of the Pacific Bank in Nantucket, he installed a four-inch telescope in a small observatory on the roof of his family's living quarters adjoining the bank. Maria and her father used this telescope at night, making accurate stellar observations that attracted the attention of the Harvard College Observatory and the U.S. Coast Survey.

On October 1, 1847, Maria Mitchell discovered a comet (subsequently named for her) that could be seen only with a telescope. Her feat earned her an international reputation, and the king of Denmark awarded her a gold medal. In 1848 she became the first woman elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston (apparently the only woman until 1943, almost a century later). Appointed as a computer in 1849 for the *American Nautical Ephemeris and Almanac*, she did calculations on the positions of Venus. On the recommendation of Louis Agassiz, in 1850 she became the first woman voted into a membership in the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Having given up her librarianship, she toured Europe in 1857 to 1858 meeting distinguished scientists and visiting the Greenwich and Vatican Observatories.

Mitchell was both a feminist and a feminist heroine who was living proof that women were the intellectual equals of men. Consequently, she was interested in Matthew Vassar's



plans for a women's college in Poughkeepsie, New York, that would be comparable to the best men's colleges in the country. She accepted Vassar's invitation and joined the college in 1865 as its first woman professor, and although she had no higher education, she was the only faculty member with a national reputation. As a woman, however, she was paid less than her less distinguished male colleagues. Vassar baited his invitation with the promise, which he kept, of an observatory with a 12-inch telescope. Mitchell was a gifted teacher who imparted her love of astronomy to her students, as well as and also her distrust of authority and her love of independence. She disliked compulsory attendance of classes and of chapel. She believed in God and that God is good but rejected all dogma beyond that. She urged her students to question everything and to observe carefully for themselves, and several, including ELLEN SWALLOW RICHARDS, did achieve academic distinction. Mitchell also continued her research as an astronomer with the 12-inch telescope and contributed to the understanding of the nature of sunspots.

Mitchell leaned toward the moderate rather than the militant wing of the suffragists. She was a friend of LUCY STONE and invited her to speak on behalf of woman suffrage at Vassar. Mitchell was one of the founders in 1873 of the Association for the Advancement of Women, serving as its president from 1875 to 1876. After more than 20 years at Vassar, Mitchell, in poor health, retired in 1888 and died on June 28, 1889, in Lynn, Massachusetts.

**Further reading:** Helen Wright, *Sweeper in the Sky: The Life of Maria Mitchell, First Woman Astronomer in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1949).

—Alfred Kohler

### Molly Maguires (ca. 1855–1877)

Benjamin Bannan, Whig editor of the Pottsville, Pennsylvania, *Miners' Journal*, established the notion that a secret Irish society operated in Schuylkill County's anthracite coal fields during the 1850s. Hoping to drive a wedge between Irish and German Democrats, he editorially attacked the Irish as an ignorant group of drunkards whose behavior was easily manipulated. He alleged that a secret society, aligned with the "liquor interests," controlled Irish votes for insidious and criminal purposes. Later, he identified this secret society as the Molly Maguires, implying that they were the offshoot of a violent antilandlord society of the same name that operated in Ireland during the 1840s.

Violent protests against the Civil War gave some credence to Bannan's anti-Irish tirades. In July 1862, for example, John Kehoe, an Irish antiwar Democrat, spit upon the American flag during a public meeting in Audenried, Pennsylvania. F. W. Langdon admonished Kehoe and later

was found so badly beaten that he died the next day. The following month a large group of men stopped a train of draftees so those who wished to do so could go home. Bannan, now a Republican, was quick to note that these outrages occurred in areas heavily populated by Irish.

But Bannan was not the only person speaking about a secret criminal society. A serious crime wave, including more than 50 murders, broke out in Schuylkill County during the war, and most of the murders were unpunished. The county's district attorney, Franklin B. Gowen, blamed his failure to prosecute on a secret society that could produce alibis at will. Gowen did not name the secret society, but everyone understood that it was the Molly Maguires. After the Civil War, however, rumors of a criminal society in Schuylkill County receded.

Gowen resurrected the notion in 1871. Appearing before a legislative committee investigating a strike of coal miners, Gowen, now president of the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad, implied that a secret society killed anyone who disobeyed the union's strike call. Two years later he hired the Pinkerton Detective Agency to investigate the alleged secret society. The agency sent five operatives into the coal fields. Four infiltrated the union (the Workingmen's Benevolent Association), but they failed to link it with a criminal society.

The fifth detective, James McParlan, tried the Irish connection. He infiltrated the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH), a secret, benevolent fraternal organization, which he stated in a preliminary research paper was the American branch of the infamous Molly Maguires of Ireland. Although he uncovered two other criminal groups in his initial investigation, McParlan remained focused upon the AOH. He soon learned that there was indeed a secret inner terrorist circle within the secret AOH. According to him, the AOH lodge's bodymaster heard grievances and (without the knowledge of the lodge as a whole) arranged a proper retaliation, be it a beating or a killing, by securing men from a different community. As the level of violence increased, McParlan gathered information on several incidents, resulting in the arrest a number of AOH members.

During the "great Molly Maguire trials" in 1876, the prosecution not only tried to convict individuals but also the entire AOH by telling juries that membership in that society alone was sufficient evidence for conviction. Furthermore, the AOH was connected to Civil War violence when John Kehoe, an AOH bodymaster, was tried for the murder of F. W. Langdon. Although 14 years had passed since the crime was committed, the prosecution discovered witnesses to the event. Despite their conflicting testimony, Kehoe was found guilty and was hanged. Indeed, a total of 20 so-called Molly Maguires were executed.

The evidence supporting the existence of the Molly Maguires—McParlan's testimony corroborated by wit-

nesses granted immunity—is suspect. McParlan began his investigation with a preconceived notion of the Molly Maguires that he then applied to the bodymasters of the AOH. That is not to say that the murders he investigated did not occur or that all of the executed were innocent. But it is doubtful that the well-organized, violent, secret criminal society that McParlan described actually existed. It is more likely, given the motives for murder, that McParlan stumbled upon a loose-knit group of men acting out the agrarian tradition of retributive justice.

The Molly Maguire trials, however, gave credence to Benjamin Bannan's fulminations about the Irish and to Franklin B. Gowen's false innuendoes that Molly Maguire terrorists dominated the Workingmen's Benevolent Association, which in turn convinced many that organized labor was both violent and criminal. Ironically, many still believe Gowen's innuendoes and perversely applaud mythic Molly Maguires as martyrs of the labor movement.

**Further reading:** Kevin Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

—Harold W. Aurand

**monetary policies** See CURRENCY ISSUE.

**Moody, Dwight Lyman** (1837–1899) *evangelical revivalist*

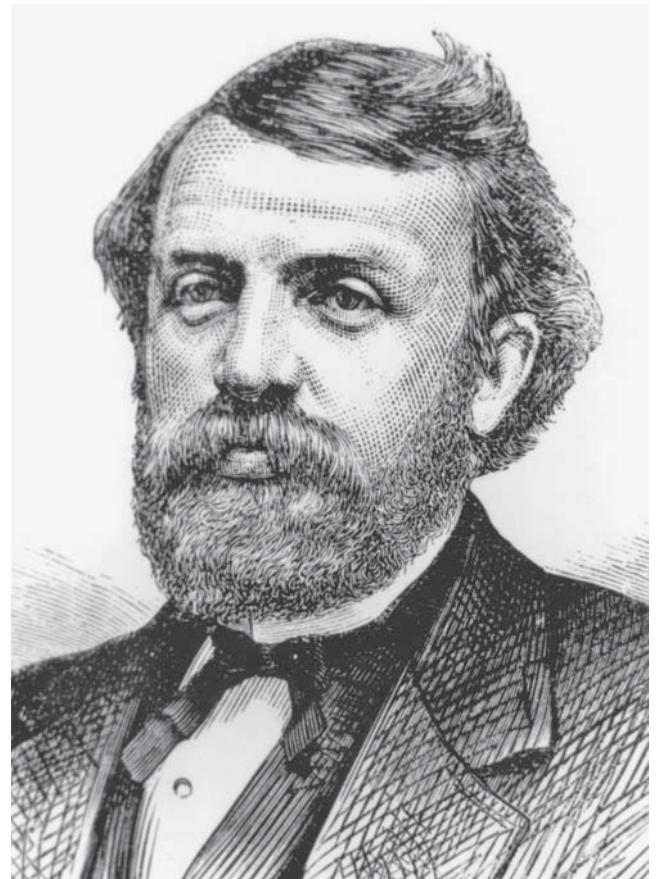
Few people so characterize their age and time as did Dwight Lyman Moody. Born on February 5, 1837, in Northfield, in rural Massachusetts, he went to Boston at age 17 to work as a salesman in his uncle's shoe business with the equivalent of a fifth-grade education. Two years later Moody experienced a religious conversion and awakening (he had joined the Boston Young Mens Christian Association [YMCA]) and soon thereafter moved to the then-rowdy and uncertain Chicago. Again working as a shoe salesman he also "sold" religion and filled the four pews he rented at Plymouth Congregational Church. His interests, however, were not narrowly denominational, and, besides working for the YMCA, he established in 1859 the North Market Sabbath School, which recruited its students from surrounding slums. To fund this burgeoning "congregation," he recruited men of wealth, including George Armour, Cyrus McCormick, and especially Charles Farwell, a rich merchant.

Although successful, Moody gave up secular business in 1860 to devote himself entirely to his urban missionary activities. During the Civil War he served in the United States Christian Commission ministering to Union soldiers, but between trips to the front, he worked in Chicago and in 1863 established a nondenominational church for his

Sunday school congregation. He became president of the Chicago YMCA in 1866, and, thanks to his zeal, he was renowned as a "circuit rider in the urban wilderness."

After the Chicago Fire of 1871 destroyed both his church and the YMCA building, Moody decided to become an evangelist. He had visited and preached in England in 1867 and in 1872, and when invited back in 1873 he launched a two-year evangelist campaign there. He took with him Ira Sankey, whose musical gifts had already augmented his preaching in Chicago. The response to Moody and Sankey in Britain was tremendous, and Moody remained a full-time evangelist. Although a religious conservative who believed literally in the Bible and that Christ would come again, Moody was a layman neither trained nor interested in theology or doctrines. Rather, he stressed "God's love for sinners," which appealed to and reassured his listeners in a period of industrial and urban change. Returning to America, Moody and Sankey held equally successful meetings in cities from Brooklyn to San Francisco from 1875 to 1881.

Moody and Sankey reinvented the religious revival, taking it from its antebellum style and substance into



Dwight Lyman Moody (Library of Congress)

the urban industrial age. With the skills and cunning of a salesman, with fresh and singable sentimental hymns, and with a message of divine love and salvation, Moody brought hope and comfort to millions and changed lives for the better. Moody was attuned to the individualism of his time, telling converts to join a church not of his but of their choice and to do good because it is the consequence of an inward, personal faith. Despite his meager education and conservative religious outlook (the term *fundamentalism* was not used during his lifetime), he numbered university professors, religious liberals, and ecumenically minded clergymen among his friends and supporters. When Moody died on December 22, 1899, he had become a major influence on the popular culture and spirituality of American Protestantism.

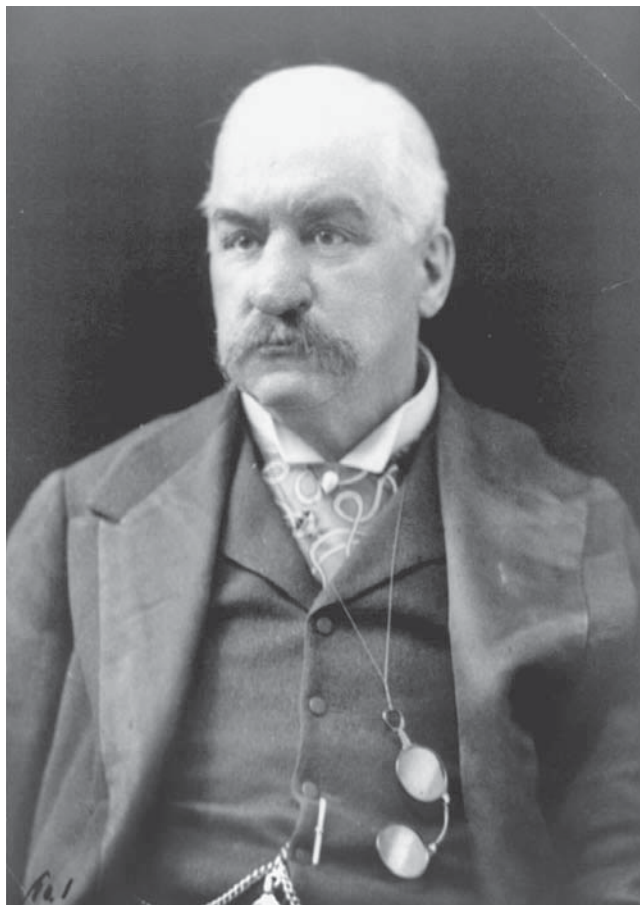
**Further reading:** James F. Findlay Jr., *Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837–1899* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

—W. Frederick Wooden

### **Morgan, John Pierpont** (1837–1913) *financier*

J. P. Morgan was the preeminent banker of the Gilded Age. Born on April 17, 1837, in Hartford, Connecticut, the son of international banker Junius Spencer Morgan and Juliet Pierpont, daughter of a Unitarian minister, John Pierpont, Morgan was educated at public schools in Hartford and Boston. Upon graduating from high school in 1854, he went on to study in Europe. In 1857, when his father relocated in London, he began his career in finance with Duncan, Sherman & Company in New York and in 1861 established his own private bank, J. P. Morgan & Company, becoming his father's agent in New York. During the Civil War he avoided conscription in the Union army by hiring a substitute and profited by speculating in gold and by purchasing defective carbines from the War Department and reselling them to the government at a high profit. His father reined him in by pairing him in 1864 with Charles Dabney in Dabney, Morgan & Company, and in 1871 (again at his father's urging) Morgan merged with Philadelphia's Drexel & Company to form Drexel, Morgan & Company. In 1895, after the death of Anthony Drexel in 1893, the firm became J. P. Morgan & Company. From the start Morgan was the leading spirit in these firms.

Morgan's main business was underwriting (selling) new issues of bonds and stocks of RAILROADS and other enterprises. Since railroads and industry were expanding rapidly and in constant need of capital, they were compelled to listen to Morgan who, to protect the investments of his clients, sought to eliminate wild speculation and cutthroat competition. As a result, Morgan emerged as the major force in organizing, integrating, and stabiliz-



John Pierpont Morgan (Library of Congress)

ing American railroads and industry in the Gilded Age. In the early 1880s, for example, the New York Central (NYC)—in which Morgan was deeply interested—and the Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR) engaged in rate wars and invasions of each other's territory. The PRR backed the construction of the West Shore line up the Hudson opposite the NYC's main line, while the NYC was constructing the South Pennsylvania paralleling the PRR's main line. In July 1885 Morgan invited representatives of the PRR and the NYC to meet with him on board his yacht the *Corsair* on the Hudson River. With his guidance the railroads agreed to cease their rate wars: The NYC got the West Shore line and the PRR received the South Penn, which it abandoned. (A half century later the Pennsylvania Turnpike utilized the South Penn's route and tunnels.) Neither the PRR nor the NYC reneged on their agreement, since Morgan could punish them by making their future financing difficult.

In the 1880s and 1890s Morgan reorganized many bankrupt railroads (including the Reading, the Chesapeake & Ohio, the Southern, and the Erie) and saw to it



that dependable allies would sit on their boards of directors and vote against rate wars and overbuilding, which so often had caused their failures. Morgan came to dominate a vast transportation network with more than 55,000 miles of rail, but he had no influence over the systems of both JAY GOULD (whom he never trusted) and Edward H. Harriman (who reminded him of Gould). Harriman was backed by Jacob Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb, & Company. Morgan and his ally JAMES J. HILL clashed in 1901 with Harriman over control of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy (CB&Q), which connected Chicago to both St. Paul, Minnesota, and Omaha, Nebraska. Hill and Morgan controlled the Great Northern (GN) and the Northern Pacific (NP), which came no further east than St. Paul, while Harriman controlled the Southern Pacific and the Union Pacific, which got no closer to Chicago than Omaha. Their struggle panicked Wall Street, but Morgan and Schiff caught themselves and compromised, with Harriman getting a share in the management of the CB&Q. The deal was solidified by establishing the Northern Securities Corporation, which owned the GN, NP, and CB&Q. To Morgan's disgust it was dissolved by the Supreme Court in 1904, but a community of interest had been established.

As industrial corporations began to dominate the American economy in the 1890s, J.P. Morgan & Co. became a leader in their consolidation and reorganization, financing many of the country's greatest industrial developments. In 1892 Morgan financed the organization of General Electric, and in the following years he financed American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) and International Harvester. Morgan's greatest merger occurred in 1901, when he merged ANDREW CARNEGIE's steel company with other firms in the STEEL industry to form the first billion-dollar corporation, United States Steel ("Big Steel").

In his later years Morgan collected art and rare books as compulsively as he had collected railroads, accumulating by the time of his death what was estimated as the largest private collection of paintings, sculpture, manuscripts, and jewelry in history. He became the president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, to which he left the bulk of his collection of art, and his personal library was made public after his death. He was also a major benefactor of the New York Public Library and the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. Morgan took a strong public stand for moral rectitude and assisted ANTHONY COMSTOCK in establishing the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice in 1873. Nevertheless, though married in 1865 to Frances Louisa Tracy, with whom he had four children, he had a mistress and was widely criticized for marital infidelity.

For the last 20 years of his life, Morgan was the most powerful financial figure in America. Indeed, his power was so great that during two notable crises presidents fol-

lowed his lead and enabled Morgan to play a statesmanlike role for a price. In 1895 GROVER CLEVELAND was failing in his efforts to keep the nation on the gold standard as its gold reserves dwindled. Morgan, however, organized a loan to the federal government of \$62 million in gold, which restored confidence, stanching the outflow of gold from the treasury, saved the gold standard, and netted his firm a \$295,000 profit. In 1907, in the absence of a central bank, Morgan's arbitrary and effective actions (for which he was harshly criticized) reduced the effect of the Panic of 1907, but he used that crisis to extract from the TRUST-busting Theodore Roosevelt approval of United States Steel's acquisition of Tennessee Coal, Iron, & Railroad Company, which under normal circumstances Roosevelt never would have agreed to. Morgan was not the richest man in America, but his influence exceeded that of men like John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie, who were far wealthier than he. Morgan died on March 31, 1913, in Rome.

**Further reading:** Vincent P. Carosso, *The Morgans: Private International Bankers, 1854–1913* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987); Ron Chernow, *The House of Morgan* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990); Jean Strouse, *Morgan: American Financier* (New York: Random House, 1999).

—Dennis Wepman

### Mormon Church (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints)

The Mormon Church, founded by Joseph Smith (1805–44) in 1830, is unique and entirely American. Smith said he translated the *Book of Mormon* (1830), which he claimed was the sacred record of North American contemporaries among whom Jesus lived and taught following the Resurrection. Regarded as a prophet, Smith rapidly gained adherents who sought the purity of early Christianity. They coalesced about him but were persecuted and hounded from place to place as much for their formidable presence as for their beliefs. In 1841 Smith embraced the shocking doctrine of eternal marriage, which included polygamy. In 1844 he announced his candidacy for the presidency and later that year was lynched at Carthage, Illinois. Led by Brigham Young (1801–77), the Mormons fled west to build their Zion; they prospered in the valley of the Great Salt Lake. Politically, their Zion (Utah) was a theocracy, with Young at its head. Its economy was mixed, with families working their plots of land, herds communally owned, and milling, mining, transporting, banking, and merchandizing enterprises owned by the Mormon Church.

Mormon theocracy and polygamy caused problems with the federal government. The Mormons applied for



statehood in 1849, but Congress in 1850 created the Utah Territory and President Millard Fillmore appointed Young as governor. Other federal appointees, however, were hostile to the politically powerful and economically dominant Mormon Church, and in 1857 President James Buchanan replaced Young as governor and dispatched troops to uphold federal authority. Fearing that the army was bent on destroying their Zion, Young resisted and the Mormon militia destroyed supplies for the troops. The hysteria led Mormons to join Paiute Indians in the September 7, 1857, massacre of 120 Arkansas and Missouri migrants (sparing 17 children) at Mountain Meadows in southern Utah. By June 1858 the “Utah War” ended. Young did not want to fight the U.S. Army, and Buchanan promised amnesty if Young and the Mormons submitted to federal authority. Although Young was no longer governor, he remained, as head of the church, the dominant political force in Utah.

The federal government, however, gradually increased pressure on the Mormons. CONGRESS in 1862 passed a law banning polygamy that in 1879 was upheld by the SUPREME COURT. Although there were more arrests for polygamy following the Edmunds Act of 1882, the Mormon Church did not give up the practice until 1890, after the Supreme Court upheld the 1887 Edmunds-Tucker Act, which threatened Mormon institutions by dissolving the church as a corporate entity. With the Mormon Church no longer sanctioning polygamy, Utah became a state in 1896. The communitarian aspect of Mormonism gave way to the vigorous individualism of America at large. Perhaps the largest dissenting Euro-American social order in the 19th century, Mormonism in the 20th century ironically became a bastion for conservative American cultural values.

**Further reading:** Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Knopf, 1985); Richard L. Bushman, *Believing History: Latter-day Saint Essays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004); Stanley P. Hirshson, *Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young* (New York: Knopf, 1969).

—W. Frederick Wooden

**Morrill Land Grant Act** (1862) See EDUCATION, FEDERAL AID TO.

### mugwumps (1884)

The mugwumps, Republican advocates of CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, were distressed when their party, at its 1884 national convention, nominated JAMES G. BLAINE for the presidency. Blaine was not only hostile to their pet reform but also favored a protective tariff, IMPERIALISM, and worst of all was a corruptionist. (Years before, when serv-

ing as Speaker of the House of Representatives, he sold to the Union Pacific Railroad—which was anxious to retain his friendship—some nearly worthless Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad bonds for \$64,000). When the Democrats nominated the anti-TAMMANY HALL governor of New York, GROVER CLEVELAND, many reform Republicans, including former Secretary of the Interior CARL SCHURZ and editors EDWIN L. GODKIN and George William Curtis, bolted and supported Cleveland. Loyal Republicans derisively called them mugwumps—apparently Algonquian for “great men”—since the bolters unabashedly thought of themselves as “the best men.”

The mugwump defection was disastrous for Blaine. It was especially strong in New York, and Blaine lost that state and therefore the election by a handful of votes. If 600 New York mugwumps had voted for Blaine instead of for Cleveland, Blaine would have been elected.

While the term *mugwumps* has particular relevance for the election of 1884, those men so-labeled had behaved independently in the past and would do so in the future. Several of them, including Schurz and Godkin, had participated in establishing the 1872 LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PARTY in opposition to President Ulysses S. Grant. Cleveland as president pleased mugwumps by his support of civil service reform and by trying to reduce tariff rates, and most of them supported him for president again in 1888 and in 1892. But they revered the gold standard and abhorred Free Silver (see FREE SILVER MOVEMENT), and in 1896 they voted for Republican WILLIAM MCKINLEY and against the Democrat WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN. The mugwumps, however, were anti-imperialists, and in the twilight of their careers opposed the acquisition of the Philippines by the McKinley administration.

**Further reading:** Gerald W. McFarland, *Mugwumps, Morals and Politics, 1884–1920* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1975).

### Muir, John (1838–1914) *naturalist, conservationist*

John Muir was the leading naturalist and conservationist in the Gilded Age. Born on April 28, 1838, in Dunbar, Scotland, Muir migrated with his family to Wisconsin in 1849. His father worked him unmercifully hard on the family farm, stunting his growth (so Muir thought) but also developing his phenomenal capacity for endurance. Early each morning Muir read whatever books he could get hold of, since his father forbade reading in the evening. In addition, Muir was a talented whittler, had a creative mind, and fashioned mechanical contrivances, including an ingenious clock that woke him up early to do his reading. He exhibited his inventions in 1860 at the State Fair at Madison, and, impressed by their quality plus his general knowledge,



John Muir (Library of Congress)

the University of Wisconsin admitted Muir. Limiting his studies to subjects that interested him—chemistry, geology, and botany—Muir left in 1863 without earning a degree and began taking walking tours that became the passion of his life. Tramping through Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and into Canada, Muir kept journals recording and picturing what he had seen each day. Later, he would draw upon these records for his writings.

In 1867, while working in a wagon factory in Indianapolis, Muir injured an eye and “bid adieu to mechanical inventions” to study “the inventions of God.” He walked 1,000 miles from Indianapolis to Florida and then went to California in 1868 and walked from San Francisco to the Yosemite Valley, where he lived for the next six years. While there he concluded that it had been shaped by eons of glacial activity, thus earning the derision of both California State geologist Josiah D. Whitney and the future head of the U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, CLARENCE KING; ultimately, though, Muir’s views and not their ideas were accepted by geologists. Muir also explored Nevada, Utah,

and the Pacific Northwest before marrying in 1880 Louie Wanda Strenzel, the daughter of a Polish patriot who fled Poland after the abortive Revolution of 1830, settled in Martinez, California, in 1849, and became a leading horticulturist. After visiting Alaska in 1881 (where he discovered and described glaciers, one of which is named for him), Muir purchased a portion of his father-in-law’s land, lavished his attention upon it, and, like his father-in-law, became an outstanding horticulturist. By 1891—having sold or leased his land—Muir was able to pursue his avocation as a naturalist and conservationist.

Muir had contributed numerous articles on the natural beauty of the West to *Scribner’s Monthly* and to the *Century Magazine*. He took Robert Underwood Johnson, the *Century* editor, on a camping trip in the Yosemite region, showing him its grandeur and the damage wrought by grazing sheep (“hooved locusts” Muir called them). Together they launched a campaign to create Yosemite National Park. Muir’s earlier articles had aroused considerable interest in preserving beautiful areas, and, with popular sup-

port quickly building, CONGRESS in October 1890 created YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK. The following year Congress empowered the president to create forest reserves, and in 1896 a Forestry Commission was created. Muir accompanied it on its investigative tour, and GROVER CLEVELAND in the waning days of his administration set aside 13 forest reservations. Lumber interests, however, succeeded by 1898 in undoing all but those in California. Muir wrote impassioned articles, again aroused public opinion, and the forest lands were reserved anew. In this work Muir was aided by the SIERRA CLUB, which he founded in 1892 and which has since become the leading advocacy group for the CONSERVATION of resources and the preservation of nature. With the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, whom Muir in 1903 took camping in Yosemite, conservation had a warm friend in the White House. Roosevelt added 148 million acres to forest reservations and created 16 national monuments (including Muir Woods) and national parks (including Sequoia National Park). Muir, however, lost his last battle to prevent the flooding of Yosemite's Hetch Hetchy Valley for a San Francisco reservoir. He died in Los Angeles on December 24, 1914.

**Further reading:** Michael P. Cohen, *The Pathless Way: John Muir and the American Wilderness* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); Stephen Fox, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

**Munn v. Illinois** See RAILROADS.

## music: art, folk, popular

### Art Music

The years following the Civil War saw the emergence of a national identity in the United States. One aspect of this was the gradual emergence of an American artistic identity. In the case of art music, there was a sense that America should develop a musical life of a quality equal to that of the European nations. William Mason (1829–1908)—pianist, composer, and the son of Lowell Mason—spoke for many of his generation and class when he encouraged the cultivation of refined musical taste in America. The 19th century saw the establishment of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia as the primary American cultural centers, but the arts were gaining a foothold in growing cities throughout the country. Symphony orchestras, choral societies, and other musical organizations were founded in many American cities.

In the first half of the century, organizations such as the Handel and Haydn Society in Boston (1815) and the

New York Philharmonic Society (1842) were semiprofessional, offering individual concerts or a short season. The late 19th century saw the founding of professional organizations in many cities, including the New York Symphony Orchestra (1878), the Boston Symphony Orchestra (1881), the Chicago Symphony (1891), the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra (1895), and the Philadelphia Orchestra (1900). Theodore Thomas (1835–1905), a German-born violinist, was the most influential conductor and promoter of symphonic music. In 1865 he founded the Theodore Thomas Orchestra, a New York-based organization that set a standard of excellence in orchestral music and was rivaled only by the finest European orchestras. Thomas also brought distinction to other orchestras he served as director, including the Brooklyn Philharmonic, the New York Philharmonic, and from 1891 until his death, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.

Art music in the second half of the 19th century was dominated by a group of composers known as the “Boston classicists,” or the second New England school (the first being William Billings and the “singing school” composers of the 18th and early 19th centuries). Most of the representatives of this school studied in Germany and considered the music of Haydn, Beethoven, and other German masters as models. Their approach to composition was academic and, indeed, as it was not possible to earn a living as a composer, many of them held appointments at recently founded conservatories and universities that were establishing music departments.

John Knowles Paine (1839–1906) could be considered the “father” of the New England school. Paine was born in Portland, Maine, studied organ and composition in Berlin, and was the first professor of music at Harvard. His orchestral works were highly regarded in his lifetime and received frequent performances. George W. Chadwick (1854–1931) was a composer whose orchestral music marked the beginning of an American style. Born in Lowell, Massachusetts, he studied at the New England Conservatory and in Germany with Josef Rheinberger. He taught at the New England Conservatory from 1882 until shortly before his death. Chadwick's orchestral style was firmly rooted in German romanticism and demonstrated colorful orchestration, yet was also marked by a distinctly American “tunefulness” and accessibility. It could be said that American orchestral composers of the 20th century, from Hollywood composers working in the 1930s to composers such as Aaron Copland, were his artistic descendants.

AMY MARCY CHENEY BEACH (Mrs. H. H. A. Beach) was the first important American woman composer and one of the finest composers of the second New England school. Born in Henniker, New Hampshire, Beach was mostly self-taught as a composer, in part because opportunities for formal study were not available to women. Beach was



an internationally acclaimed concert pianist, and her compositions included chamber music, songs, many works for piano, and a small number of significant orchestral works.

EDWARD MACDOWELL (1860–1908) was the most celebrated composer of this generation. Although he was born in New York and lived much of his life there, he lived and worked in Boston from 1888 to 1896 and shared many characteristics with his New England contemporaries. His formative years of study were spent in Germany, and his work is within the German romantic tradition. He was professor of music at Columbia University from 1896 to 1904, and he was hailed in his lifetime, both in the United States and Europe, as the first great American composer. Other important members of the second New England school included Arthur Foote (1853–1937), organist at the First Unitarian Church of Boston, and Horatio Parker (1863–1919), professor of music at Yale University. Charles Martin Loeffler (1861–1935), assistant conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra for more than 20 years, was born in Alsace but lived most of his life in Medfield, near Boston. He studied in Paris and was the first American composer whose music exhibited the influence of French impressionism more than German romanticism. Dudley Buck (1839–1909), a contemporary of Paine, was one of the leading organists, choral directors, and composers of sacred music. He held positions in Hartford, New York, Chicago, and Boston.

In 1892 Antonín Dvořák came to the United States to serve as director of the National Conservatory of Music in New York. He encouraged American composers to make use of American folk music as source material for their compositions, as he had done with Bohemian folk music in his own compositions. He especially encouraged the use of American Indian music, as he felt this was the true indigenous music of America, and African-American music, which he found very beautiful and thoroughly American. His Symphony No. 9 (*From the New World*) employs themes inspired by African-American melodies. Many leading composers, including Chadwick, MacDowell, and Beach, did use folk melodies in their compositions. Arthur Farwell (1872–1952) was a leader of the “Indianist” movement. He made extensive use of NATIVE AMERICAN themes in his compositions and in 1901 founded the Wa-Wan Press, which published arrangements and compositions by some 37 composers based on Native American music.

### Folk Music

One result of the growing appreciation of American culture was the first serious studies of Native American music. In 1882 Theodore Baker (1851–1934), an American music historian, published the first scholarly study of Native American music, *Über die Musik der Nordamerikanischen Wilden* (*On the Music of the North American*

*Indians*), as his doctoral dissertation at Leipzig University. It was from this work that MacDowell drew his themes for his *Indian Suite*, op. 48. The works of Alice Fletcher (1838–1923) and, later, Frances Densmore (1867–1957) were not only of great importance in the field of Indian studies but were pioneering in the field of ethnomusicology. Fletcher, an anthropologist and ethnologist, published *A Study of Omaha Indian Music* (1893), *Indian Story and Songs* (1900), and *Indian Games and Dances with Native Songs* (1915). Densmore, who studied composition and piano at Oberlin Conservatory and was strongly influenced by Fletcher, did landmark studies of the music of the Chipewewa and tribes of the Plains and the Southwest.

Africans brought to the New World as slaves between the 17th and 19th centuries brought with them music and dance traditions that were an integral part of their lives. In the isolation of the plantations, many elements of these traditions were preserved for generations. Yet as the slaves were exposed to Anglo-Saxon Protestant society and its music, they gradually incorporated elements of that music into their own. By the beginning of the 19th century, a distinctive African-American music had formed. The music was communal and functional, and it included religious songs, work songs, and various types of recreational or play songs. *Slave Songs of the United States* (1867) was the first published collection of African-American folk songs. It was the work of three Northern antislavery activists, William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware, and Lucy McKim Garrison, and contained mostly sacred music. The compilers describe different varieties of sacred songs, including the “shout,” a type of ring dance accompanied by largely improvisational singing, and the “spirituals,” which were more closely related to Protestant hymns. In the late 1860s, George L. White organized a small choir at Fisk University, a school for AFRICAN AMERICANS in Nashville, Tennessee. The repertoire of this choir consisted mostly of arrangements of African-American spirituals. In 1871 White took the choir on tour to raise money for the school. After attracting the support of HENRY WARD BEECHER in Brooklyn, New York, the Fisk University Jubilee Singers became an international sensation, concertizing widely in the United States and Europe. After severing connection with the university in 1878 and becoming an independent organization, the Jubilee Singers spent more than six years touring the world, including India, China, Japan, and Australia. The choir can be credited with introducing the world to African-American sacred music.

Following the end of the Civil War, substantial African-American communities were established in the South, and in these communities there evolved forms of African-American secular music that would have a profound influence on American music of the 20th century. The “blues,” a form that probably originated in the Mississippi Delta,





A man plays the fiddle while a family dances in this lithograph by James Queen, 1872. (*Library of Congress*)

traces its ancestry to the work songs and “hollers” of the slaves. But where that music was communal, the blues was personal. Each singer expressed his or her own personal sorrow, pain, and joy in song. The blues was characterized by use of a “blues scale,” which included a flattened third and seventh degree. Blues often involved an exchange between voice and instruments, typically banjo and guitar. Gradually, a strophic form evolved, which typically employed a 12-bar chord progression (tonic: four bars, subdominant: two bars, tonic: two bars, dominant: one bar, subdominant: one bar, tonic: two bars). The verse often consisted of a line of text that was repeated and then followed by a third line that answered and rhymed with the first two lines. New Orleans has been considered the birthplace of jazz. It is thought that the style had its origins in the music played by dance bands and marching bands formed for parades and funeral processions. Although the term *jazz* was not used until after 1910, these ensembles were developing a new

style of music that featured syncopation and improvisation by the 1890s.

The predominant culture in the eastern United States was of British origin, and much “American” folk music has British roots. The 19th century saw the arrival of millions of European immigrants who brought with them the music of their homelands. European musical traditions were preserved in many immigrant communities. Irish communities in Chicago and Boston, Jewish and Italian communities in the Middle Atlantic states, German and Scandinavian in the Midwest, Slavic and Polish in Pennsylvania, all preserved music of their homelands and contributed elements to American popular music.

### ***Popular Music***

American popular music between the end of the Civil War and the turn of the 20th century traces its inspiration and origins to a variety of sources. British broadside ballads and

folk songs, Irish and Scottish songs, melodies from Italian opera, and the hybrid music of the immensely popular blackface minstrel shows were all parts of antebellum popular song style. This style found its culmination in the songs written by Stephen Foster between 1844 and 1864, and the style of Foster was to profoundly influence all future American popular songs. Postwar popular music saw the increasing influence of German musicians and music, from the songs of Franz Schubert to melodies from the musical dramas of Richard Wagner. Yet in many ways, postwar popular songs seemed to try to recapture a perceived naivete and innocence of prewar society, and many of the most popular were simple, sentimental songs that expressed a longing for the past.

"Silver Threads among the Gold" (1873) by Hart Pease Danks, "Grandfather's Clock" (1876) by Henry Clay Work, "I'll Take You Home Again, Kathleen" (1876) by Thomas Paine Westendorf, and "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny" (1878) by James Bland were typical of their day and reveal a stylistic debt to Foster. One new trend in American popular music was the publication of songs of the American West, such as "Home on the Range" (1876). The evangelical revivalist movement of the 1860s and 1870s produced a new style of "gospel" hymnody. Ira Sankey, Philip P. Bliss, Robert Lowry, and others wrote hymns that shared much in style with the popular music of the day. Lowry's "Beautiful River" and Joseph P. Webster and S. Fillmore Bennett's "Sweet By and By" are well-known examples of this genre.

The postwar years saw the rise of musical theater and the emergence of New York City as its most important center. In 1866 *The Black Crook* was produced in New York. The show incorporated a troupe of 100 French female dancers in a melodrama about a man who made a pact with the devil. This musical extravaganza, which combined sex appeal, elaborate stage effects, and popular music, had a run of 16 months and enjoyed frequent revivals through the turn of the century. Its success encouraged other extravaganzas such as *Humpty Dumpty* (1868) and *Evangeline* (1874), a parody of Longfellow's poem that was billed as a "musical comedy."

In 1878 Gilbert and Sullivan's *H.M.S. Pinafore* received its first American performance in New York in a pirated edition, and in 1879 Gilbert came to America to direct the first authorized performances. The operettas of Gilbert and Sullivan were enormously successful, and soon comic operas and operettas were in vogue in New York. French and Viennese operettas were produced, and American composers tried to duplicate the success of Gilbert and Sullivan. VICTOR AUGUST HERBERT, an Irish-born and Viennese-trained composer, arrived in the United States in 1886. His operettas, based on Viennese models but incorporating many American influences, were enormously popular from the 1890s through World War I. JOHN PHILIP

SOUSA composed and produced several operettas in the 1880s, but he had his greatest theatrical successes with *El Capitan* (1895), *The Bride Elect* (1897), and *The Charlatan* (1898).

The 1870s saw the beginnings of vaudeville, a new form of entertainment that would enjoy great popularity for the next 50 years. Vaudeville had its roots in the blackface minstrel shows, which had been a leading form of entertainment earlier in the century. However, the vaudeville of the 1870s was conceived as a more respectable form of entertainment, one that women could enjoy. Tony Pastor (1837–1908), a singer and comedian, opened his "New Fourteenth Street Theater" in the 1870s. His shows featured singers, dancers, instrumentalists, comedy, and skits, and his theater quickly became a great success. Ned Harrigan (1844–1911) and Tony Hart (1855–91) developed shows that interspersed spoken dialogue with songs and dances and that featured ethnic humor and satire. *The Mulligan Guard Ball* (1879) was their first major success, which was followed by a string of hits in the 1880s.

Harrigan and Hart worked with Dave Braham, an English songwriter who wrote their most popular songs. Harrigan and Hart hits such as "The Babies on Our Block," "Paddy Duffy's Cart," and "The Widow Nolan" were among the most popular songs of the 1880s.

The last decade of the century witnessed the first attempts to establish African-American professional theater in New York. The first productions such as *The Creole Show* (1889) and *Black America* (1895) were linked to minstrelsy. *Clorindy; or, the Origin of the Cakewalk* (1898) was the first successful African-American musical. The music was composed by Will Marion Cook (1869–1944), a gifted musician who attended Oberlin Conservatory, the National Conservatory in New York, and studied violin with Joseph Joachim in Berlin. Cook entered theater music because, as an African American, that was one of the few avenues open to him.

The success of musical theater in New York City led its establishment as the center of a new kind of music industry. Many music publishing houses, including Thomas B. Harms (1881), Willis Woodward (1883), and M. Witmark & Sons (1885), were founded in the 1880s and 1890s. Most of these companies had offices on 28th Street between Fifth Avenue and Broadway, and the street became known as "Tin Pan Alley," a term that would later be applied to the industry in general. Publishers employed songwriters who concentrated their efforts on producing songs that would be commercially successful and earn money for the publisher. The publishers also employed song "pluggers" who would work to get new songs performed in vaudeville and musical theater. The songs of Tin Pan Alley were almost all in major keys, and many were in waltz time. They usually include a brief piano introduction followed by verses

alternating with a chorus. Among the most popular were “After the Ball” (1892) by Charles K. Harris, “Daisy Bell” (1892) by Harry Dacre, “Sidewalks of New York” (1894) by Charles B. Lawlor and James W. Blake, “The Band Played On” (1895) by John E. Palmer and Charles B. Ward, “Sweet Rosie O’Grady” (1896) by Maude Nugent, and “When You Were Sweet Sixteen” (1898) by James Thornton. Each of these sold more than 1 million copies and remain popular and familiar today.

The 1890s saw the publication of the first songs in a new style known as “ragtime.” By 1898 ragtime songs were being performed on the New York musical stage, and a national ragtime craze had begun. The style evolved in the saloons and brothels of St. Louis, but in the music of its greatest artist, Scott Joplin, it attained a level of sophistication that has led to its being considered the first African-American art music. Joplin’s “Maple Leaf Rag” (1899) sold more than 1 million copies, a remarkable amount for a difficult piano solo.

Concert bands were popular throughout the 19th century, and the last decades of the century saw the rise of some very successful and popular professional bands.

Although John Philip Sousa achieved success as a composer of theater music, his greatest success was as a band leader. Sousa directed the United States Marine Band and in 1892 formed his own band, which achieved worldwide fame and had a great impact on American musical taste.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of the 19th century to the history of music was an invention. In 1877 Thomas Edison produced the first sound recordings. While commercial recordings were not widely available until the turn of the century, this invention profoundly affected the way music was created and consumed, setting the stage for the musical world of the 20th century.

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—William Peek



**Nast, Thomas** See VOLUME V.

### ***Nation, The***

The first weekly journal of opinion to achieve long life and wide influence, the *Nation* was founded in 1865 by EDWIN L. GODKIN as a 16-page paper filled with literary criticism and commentary on American political and social life and problems. The list of the contributors to the *Nation* from 1865 to 1900 encompassed most of the famous American and many of the well-known British scholars and thinkers of that period. Godkin concentrated his efforts on political and social commentary and developed an avid nationwide following among the educated and professional classes. The *Nation's* circulation never reached more than 12,000, but it was read by influential people—lawyers, ministers, and college professors—who from pulpit and lectern spread the opinions fostered in it. Although the *Nation* has been identified with progressive causes in the 20th century, under Godkin in the 19th century it adhered to the classic liberal doctrine of *laissez-faire* and advocated small government, CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, a revenue (not protective) tariff, and the gold standard for money. Among adherents of those views, like the English poet and critic Matthew Arnold and British historian JAMES BRYCE, the *Nation* was the best weekly in America and possibly the world.

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—Ellen Tashie Frisina

### **National American Woman Suffrage Association**

See WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

### **National Association of Colored Women (1896– )**

An association of African-American women's clubs, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) was founded in 1896. It united two earlier groups, the National League of Colored Women (founded in 1893) and the National Federation of Afro-American Women (founded in 1895) and followed in the wake of the founding in 1890 of the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC).

During the 1890s women's clubs were burgeoning. A few GFWC clubs had black members, but most of these clubs were all white. And few black clubs were federated with GFWC clubs on a state level. But in rare instances in which state federations tried to send black delegates to the national convention, the GFWC refused to seat them.

The clubs that made up the NACW, though, had aspirations that went beyond those of the white women's clubs, which tended to emphasize individual growth. The aim of the NACW was to improve the lot of all AFRICAN AMERICANS; its motto was "lifting as we climb." Its membership was also broader than that of the GFWC, which was overwhelmingly middle class. While the leadership of the NACW and its clubs tended to be middle class, a significant portion of its membership was working class or poor.

An additional aim of the NACW was to counter negative stereotypes about black women; in fact, it was anger over these stereotypes that had led to the founding of the organization. In 1895, on a speaking tour of England, IDA BELL WELLS-BARNETT brought international attention to LYNCHINGS in the United States. The president of the Missouri Press Association, James Jacks, defended the South in an angry letter to a British antilynching society, writing that "the Negroes in this country were wholly devoid of morality, the women were prostitutes and all were natural thieves and liars." His letter was widely publicized, and it was in response to it that Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin called the conference in 1896 that led to the formation of the NACW.



In her opening address Ruffin said, “for the sake of our own dignity, the dignity of our race, and the future good name of our children, it is ‘mete right and our bounden duty’ to stand forth and declare ourselves and principles, to teach an ignorant and suspicious world that our aims and interests are identical with those of all good aspiring women.”

Black women’s clubs were not new. Black women had joined together before the Civil War to fight slavery and to aid escaped slaves. During the Civil War groups of black women had provided support for the black regiments and aided the Union war effort. And after the Civil War clubs were often formed to promote specific projects. After the formation of the NACW, however, the number of clubs seemed to multiply exponentially. By the NACW’s ninth biennial meeting in 1914, it had more than 1,000 clubs.

The NACW had also developed into a remarkable self-help organization. Clubs held mothers’ meetings, visited prisoners, promoted temperance, sponsored lectures, provided community reading rooms, supported orphanages, and aided the indigent elderly. Some clubs were able to do more than others. The Washington and Chicago clubs had nurseries for young children, KINDERGARTENS, sewing classes, cooking classes, and savings banks. The Chicago club also ran an employment bureau. Some city clubs offered aid to homeless and friendless girls. A club in New Orleans supported a training class for nurses. The federation in Alabama supported the Mt. Meigs Reformatory.

Although the primary emphasis of the clubs was on social welfare, they also supported woman suffrage and were at the forefront of the civil rights movement. The NACW worked to repeal JIM CROW LAWS, supported integration and antilynching efforts, and pushed for equal accommodations on RAILROADS. The NACW is the oldest African-American secular organization still in existence.

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—Lynn Hoogenboom

### **national banking system** (1863–1913)

Ever since President Andrew Jackson orchestrated the destruction of the Second Bank of the United States in 1832, Whig and later Republican political leaders had wanted to establish some type of national banking system. During the antebellum period, the principal form of currency in the United States had been notes issued by state-chartered banks. With the dismantling of the Second Bank of the United States, which had kept state banknotes in check, the number of different banknotes in circulation dramatically increased. When the Civil War began, the advo-

cates of a national banking system were given the chance to remedy the situation. Several southern Democrats who had favored state-chartered banks and opposed any form of centralized banking system left CONGRESS, thereby giving the Republicans a majority. Salmon P. Chase, the secretary of the treasury in the Lincoln administration, also argued that a national banking system would provide a more stable, uniform paper currency and would help finance the Union war effort by providing a large market for government bonds.

Congressional legislation in 1863, 1864, and 1865 created a new national banking system that existing or newly formed banks could join if they had enough capital and were willing to invest one-third of it in federal bonds. The national banknotes were to be uniform in design and backed by federal bonds that the banks would buy and deposit with the Comptroller of the Currency (a new division within the Treasury Department) in return for the notes. If a national bank should fail, the bonds would then be liquidated and the note holders compensated without loss.

Although the idea sounded feasible, it did not work out as planned. Note-issuing banks did not give up their state charters and join the national banking system, as was anticipated, until 1865 when legislation placed a prohibitive 10 percent tax on state banknote issues. Existing banks found the new laws more restrictive than the ones they had been operating under. These restrictions included bond purchase requirements, a limitation on the amount of notes any one national bank could issue to 90 percent of the market value of the bonds it deposited with the Comptroller, and a limit of \$300 million on the total number of national banknotes issued for the nation. The new legislation also set minimum capital requirements for national banks that were too high to make joining the system profitable for banks in small towns. They also prohibited the popular practice of extending loans on the basis of real estate collateral, a major drawback in rural, agricultural areas, where land is the major asset possessed by many of the people. Faced with these operating restrictions, many existing banks chose not to give up their state charters and did not join the national banking system. The goal to make all banks national banks during the Civil War was not achieved, but by the end of 1865 there were 1,600 national banks, mostly former state banks, located primarily in the Northeast.

The shortcomings of this policy had a tremendous effect on the nation’s economy in the late 19th century. The national banking system with its many restrictive policies never flourished in the nation’s small towns and rural areas and as a result remained a mostly urban and northeastern institution. Furthermore, the state banks (which were favored by many Americans living in rural, agricultural parts of the country) were nearly destroyed by the 10 percent tax Congress placed on state banknotes. The idea

behind this tax was to force all banks (state-chartered and private) to join the national system. The system soon earned the reputation in rural America as the tool of the wealthy industrialists and financiers of the urban Northeast.

Another problem that plagued the national banking system in the post-Civil War years was its susceptibility to financial panics. It was unable to do anything about the periodic shortages of cash and credit that are a natural part of the BUSINESS CYCLE. The system was based on cash reserves, and the total amount of cash could not be quickly altered because the system lacked a central institution that could hold the reserves of the commercial banks and, most importantly, could increase those reserves to meet demand. The politics of banking eventually became intertwined with the CURRENCY ISSUE as financial panics and industrial depressions struck the nation in 1873, 1884, and 1893. Those Americans most affected by the economic downturns, the farmers, targeted the national banking system and the government's reliance on the gold standard for their most vocal attacks.

Members of the FARMERS' ALLIANCES and later the PEOPLE'S PARTY (Populists) called for currency inflation in the form of either an increase in the amount of greenbacks (fiat money issued during the Civil War) in circulation or the free and unlimited coinage of silver (FREE SILVER MOVEMENT). They also advocated the abolition of the national banking system and the creation of a subtreasury system to take its place. In 1913 the more flexible, decentralized Federal Reserve System would replace the national banking system as the central banking institution of the United States in 1913.

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—Phillip Papas

**national parks** See CONSERVATION.

**National Woman Suffrage Association** See WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

## Native Americans

From 1870 to 1900 Native Americans lost significant amounts of land and power to the U.S. government, which

already had begun to remove and in some cases force Indian tribes onto reservations, making them wards of the government. Major tribes were assigned reservations in which to live, often far from their original homes and sometimes alongside enemy tribes. Wars on the Great Plains and in the Southwest, often brutal, eventually defeated hostile Indian tribes by attrition. Significant federal legislation, such as the well-intentioned DAWES SEVERALTY ACT of 1887, dissolved tribes as legal entities and distributed communal lands to individual Indians, which greatly reduced the land owned by Native Americans. Further, the EXTERMINATION OF THE BUFFALO took away the Plains Indians' way of life and economy, forcing nomadic tribes to adopt a settled farming lifestyle. Although humanitarian Easterners established reform groups to aid Native Americans, these organizations tended to be paternalistic and worked to further separate Indians from their traditional ways of life and assimilate them into the larger white society.

The wars against Native Americans waged by the U.S. government subdued Indian tribes and opened up their lands for white settlement in the frontier regions of the plains, the Southwest, and the Pacific Northwest. After the Civil War the government was successful in relocating various bands of the Sioux Nation (RED CLOUD was their most conspicuous leader) on reservations as a result of the SIOUX WARS. Several bands, however, most notably the Oglala, Hunkpapa, and Miniconjou, resisted government efforts to relocate. In the War for the Black Hills (1876–77), the federal government aimed to remove Sioux tribes and clear the way for mining interests, but at the Battle of the Little Bighorn (June 25, 1876), General George Armstrong Custer's troops were annihilated by SITTING BULL and CRAZY HORSE (Custer's Last Stand).

Tragically, the 1877 NEZ PERCE WAR was fought by the army against a people who could not be characterized as hostile to white settlers and who were protesting their removal from land in Oregon on which they clearly had a right to remain. Led by Chief Joseph, the Nez Perce's incredible 1,700 mile retreat through Idaho and Montana, during which they continually fought off the U.S. Army, ended with their surrender within a few miles of the Canadian border. Despite assurances that they could remain in the Northwest, they were shipped off to the Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma), although ultimately they were allowed to return to reservations in Idaho and Washington.

The APACHE WAR, marked by frequent skirmishes and battles along the border between the United States and Mexico, lasted from the early 1870s into the 1880s. During the struggle the military, intent on bringing peace to a region plagued by frequent Apache raids, focused on securing the area for copper-mining interests after settlers began to mine copper ore. The government tried to subdue

the disparate bands of Apache by consolidating them at the San Carlos Reservation in eastern Arizona, succeeding only after GERONIMO's renegade fighters were resettled in Florida in 1886.

The last of the Sioux Wars, indeed the last of all the Indian wars, came in late 1890. Sioux Indians adopted a movement that had started in the West 20 years earlier called Ghost Dancing, which involved communing with ancestors via a trancelike dance. The practice of Ghost Dancing unnerved the agents in charge of the Pine Ridge Reservation, where it had become popular, and in 1890 the U.S. Army moved in to monitor the situation. Reservation agents killed Sitting Bull, who had joined in the movement and whom they suspected was stirring up trouble, while trying to arrest him. Fearing an uprising, the army on December 29, 1890, massacred at Wounded Knee Creek a group of Miniconjou Sioux suspected of planning to revolt with their Sioux brethren at the Pine Ridge Reservation. The massacre united the Sioux, who ambushed military personnel the next day. Outnumbered, the Sioux surrendered on January 15, 1891, a date that historians have called the end of the Indian wars.

Federal legislation, backed by humanitarian reformers in the INDIAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION, aimed to acculturate Indian customs and tradition and to assimilate Native Americans into the dominant Euro-American society. The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, which opened western lands to individual ownership and broke the Native American tradition of collective landholding, allotted reservation lands to each tribal member. The act formed the basis of federal policy toward Native Americans until the 1930s. Western interests, including railroad companies, tended to support the act, since it would put surplus lands formerly held by tribes for sale, opening Indian lands to free-market forces. Reformers believed that passage of the law would help Native Americans realize the benefits of land ownership and therefore help them become full U.S. citizens. Over time, the long wait (25 years) for full title to land was considered an impediment and after 1906 could be shortened by the secretary of the interior. The Dawes Act decreased the size of Indian landholdings dramatically; by the 1930s Indian landholdings were only a bit more than one-third of what they were at the time the Dawes Act was passed, and two-thirds of Native Americans had no land at all. The



Photograph of a Sioux village taken in 1891, one month before the events at Wounded Knee (*Library of Congress*)



Indian Rights Association's goals of assimilation mirrored the federal government's objectives in subduing the Indian tribes, as both worked to replace Indian religious traditions, social organizations, and cultural attitudes with Christianity, codified systems of laws, western-style schools, and a Protestant work ethic.

The Office of INDIAN AFFAIRS (often referred to as the Indian Bureau), attempted to carry out federal Indian policy. During the Gilded Age it established a few off-site boarding schools (the most famous Indian school was founded in 1879 at Carlisle, Pennsylvania) that worked to assimilate young Native Americans by separating them from their homes and culture. The Office of Indian Affairs was charged with the task of overseeing the Indians on reservations and carving up those reservations under the Dawes Act. Shrinking landholdings forced Native Americans to abandon hunting and adopt farming, for which they had little inclination, on land that was not productive, with the result that food rations were needed, which in turn kept tribes dependent on the federal government. The Office of Indian Affairs remained a paternalistic force in Indian culture until the 1930s, when the agency became more concerned with protecting Native American culture and heritage and promoting self-determination among the tribes.

The extermination of the buffalo, which occurred throughout the course of the 19th century, culminated in a 10- to 15-year period of intense slaughter during the 1870s and 1880s, when the animal was nearly hunted to permanent extinction. The disappearance of the buffalo destroyed Plains Indians' culture and economy, made them dependent on grazing and farming, and broke their resistance to the invasion of white settlers. By 1880 all the wild buffalo in the southern plains had been killed. In the northern plains, extinction was delayed by the war with the Sioux for the Black Hills, but by 1879 the species was extinct in Wyoming and eastern Nebraska and by 1883 in Montana and the Dakotas. The extinction of the buffalo coincided with the removal of the Plains Indians to reservations.

Some Native Americans, after resisting the army and the hordes of white settlers, ceased their opposition. Red Cloud, a most formidable Sioux warrior during the War for the Bozeman Trail in 1866, negotiated a treaty at Fort Laramie in 1868 and adopted a peace stance in future wars. He was either hailed as a realistic statesman who understood the futility of further resistance or mistrusted as a sellout co-opted by the U.S. government, although he never received much from it for his cooperation. Other prominent Native American warriors became part of a sideshow in American popular culture during the 1890s, after all of the hostile western tribes had been successfully subdued. Geronimo became the most well-known Apache to whites, appearing at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904 and in President Theodore Roosevelt's inaugural parade in 1905. Sitting Bull,

after being imprisoned by the U.S. government from 1881 to 1883 for conspiring during the War for the Black Hills, toured with WILLIAM FREDERICK (Buffalo Bill) CODY's Wild West Show between 1885 and 1886, performing with luminaries such as the sharpshooter Annie Oakley.

The reduction of Indian landholdings accelerated toward the end of the Gilded Age. Even Oklahoma's Five Civilized Tribes (the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole), who were considered the most "sovereign" Native American tribes, and the Osage were in 1898 no longer exempt from the Dawes Act, with the result that their lands were sharply reduced to accommodate white settlers. Western lands that in 1870 were almost exclusively occupied by Indians, like Montana and the Dakotas, were in 1889 granted statehood. By the end of the 19th century, tribal sovereignty had ended, and most Indians were on the way to becoming U.S. citizens. But rather than being integrated into the larger society, Native Americans were marginalized economically and physically on its fringes.

See also color map on page M3.

**Further reading:** Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Henry Holt, 1970); Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); Richard White, *A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

—Scott Sendrow

## nativism

Prior to the Civil War the influx of large numbers of Roman Catholic immigrants, primarily from Ireland but also from Germany, aroused fears that produced an organized nativist, or anti-immigrant, movement in the United States. Nativists argued that the newcomers (who tended to join the Democratic Party) corrupted politics by selling their votes and robbed native workers of their jobs by working for low wages, but at the core of this xenophobia was anti-Catholicism. The nativists organized the American Know-Nothing Party, which upon the demise of the Whig Party in 1854 showed surprising strength on the state level, but antislavery quickly eclipsed anti-Catholicism and the American Know-Nothing Party disappeared.

After the Civil War ended in 1865, the pace of IMMIGRATION quickened, and by the 1880s it had become more cosmopolitan. (Chinese and Japanese laborers, for example, were attracted to California.) Between 1880 and 1924 almost 27 million immigrants came to the United States, but unlike earlier arrivals, most of them were from southern and eastern Europe. This "new" immigration was accompanied by a revival of nativism that stressed the old



fears: anti-Catholicism, widespread unemployment, and wage reductions. However, this wave of nativism latched on to a new, apparently scientific justification for xenophobia. Nativists such as Madison Grant and others popularized a pseudo-Darwinian belief that the new immigrants were mentally and physically inferior and would corrupt America's superior northern European stock. Arguments were also made that the newcomers would promote radical or un-American ideas, were prone to crime and poverty, and posed a threat to traditional American customs and values.

Nativist groups such as the AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION (APA) and the Immigration Restriction League (which advocated a literacy test for immigrants) sprang up throughout the United States. They used anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, and anti-Asian rhetoric to promote a backlash against the newcomers. Later, in the 1920s, members of the revived Ku Klux Klan often resorted to violence and intimidation to dissuade immigrants from settling in certain communities. In that decade, nativists successfully called on the federal government to rethink its open-door

immigration policies and adopt IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS that would limit the number of immigrants from each country allowed to enter the United States.

**Further reading:** Thomas J. Curran, *Xenophobia and Immigration, 1820–1930* (Boston: Twayne, 1975); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955).

—Phillip Papas

### New South

The term *New South* was used to describe the post-Reconstruction economic development of the former Confederate states. In the years following Reconstruction, many southern leaders viewed the agriculture-based economy of the antebellum South as no longer viable and argued that the Confederacy had lost the Civil War because its economy had been unable to compete with the industrialized



Boys working at Cross Mountain Mine, Knoxville Iron Company, in Coal Creek, Tennessee. Photograph by Lewis Wickes Hine (*Library of Congress*)

North. They believed that the future of their region lay in economic diversification and industrialization. Among those who advocated a modernized southern economy was Henry W. Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. By the mid-1880s, Grady had become the leading spokesman of the New South ideology.

Several southern politicians and businessmen joined Grady and others to introduce a new spirit of enterprise into southern life. Lacking capital, southern leaders actively pursued northern and European economic investment. Capital from these sources poured into the South, helping to develop the region's RAILROADS, cotton textile mills, tobacco factories, and iron and STEEL industries. As a result, many southern industries came to be controlled by directors who lived outside the region and made decisions that affected the South's economy.

Railroads and steel were two New South industries that were especially attractive to northern and foreign investment. During the 1880s railroad construction in the South outpaced the national average, with more than 180 new railroad companies appearing in the region. Southern railroad mileage increased from 16,605 miles in 1880 to 39,108 in 1890. In 1886 southern railroads changed the gauge of their tracks to correspond with the national standard, thus bringing the southern rail lines into the national transportation network. The economic depression of 1893–97 led to the reorganization and consolidation of several southern railroads, giving more economic power to northern bankers and financiers. Expansion of the South's iron and steel industries was fueled by the discovery of great iron deposits in Tennessee and northern Alabama, the proximity of coal and limestone deposits, the rapidly developing transportation system, and the influx of northern and English capital. Between 1880 and 1890 Southern production of pig iron more than doubled. By the late 1890s, Birmingham, Alabama, had become one of the world's largest producers of pig iron.

Another southern industry that witnessed a rapid growth in the years following Reconstruction was cotton textile manufacturing. Between 1880 and 1900 textile production in the South increased from 5 percent to 23 percent. Initially, southerners provided the capital for this expansion; by the 1890s investors came increasingly from the North as New England mill owners began to recognize the benefits of relocating their businesses to a region with a ready supply of cheap, nonunion labor; abundance of water power; and low taxes. And finally, the rapid expansion of the tobacco industry in North Carolina and Virginia resulted from the introduction of new machinery, northern investment, and an increased demand for cigarettes.

Although several southern leaders called for the development of a New South based on the growth of new industries, others were hostile, and nostalgia for the Old South

lingered. The myth of the “lost cause” permeated nearly every aspect of southern life, portraying the Confederacy's struggle against the North as a noble effort to preserve the values of the antebellum South. Also, southern agrarians attacked the New South, blaming industrialism—especially northern bankers and capitalists—for the breakdown of the family farm and the movement away from traditional southern values.

See also color map on page M11.

**Further reading:** C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951).

—Phillip Papas

## newspapers

During the last third of the 19th century, a number of changes took place in the United States that greatly impacted newspapers. After the Civil War they reflected a landscape changed by rapid urban growth and the SECOND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. Although preoccupied before the war with slavery, newspapers now confronted social issues including labor unrest, WOMEN'S RIGHTS, and civil rights for freed blacks as well as economic issues like the TRUSTS, the TARIFF ISSUE, and the CURRENCY ISSUE. Newspaper circulation grew as population and literacy rates increased among blacks and whites. (In 1870 the literacy rate for whites was 88.5 percent and for blacks 20.1 percent, both rising a decade later to 92.3 percent for whites and 30 percent for blacks.) Technological changes affected both newsgathering and the printing of newspapers; reflecting trends in other businesses, publishing a metropolitan paper became a big business dependent on infusions of capital and subject to acquisition by a “chain.” The entire nation had changed, and what affected society affected the American press.

Some newspapers stepped up their collection of news and strengthened their financial base through increased ADVERTISING. New York City took the lead as the economic and political center of the nation, and its newspapers—already known for their complete coverage during the war—maintained their circulation and revenue figures. At the same time that advertising strengthened a paper's survival, editors and publishers began to think a bit more independently of party lines, since those newspapers most independent of party affiliation were most apt to survive.

A new generation of editors took over after the deaths or retirements of publishing giants like Horace Greeley, Henry Raymond, James Gordon Bennett, and William Cullen Bryant during the 1870s. The new editors—WHITELAW REID, EDWIN L. GODKIN, CHARLES ANDERSON DANA,

JAMES GORDON BENNETT, JR., and JOSEPH PULITZER, among the most prominent—were poised to cover and comment on a new world.

Reid, who took over the *New York Tribune* from Greeley, was consistently loyal to the Republican Party but exposed corruption in both major parties. Within the Republican Party he opposed ROSCOE CONKLING and supported his archenemy JAMES G. BLAINE. Reid aimed to make the *Tribune* a respectable, conservative paper written by gentlemen for gentlemen and avoiding the radicalism of his predecessor Greeley and the sensationalism indulged in by other contemporary papers.

The *New York Sun*, edited by Dana, gained prominence through his concept of presenting news in a crisp and amusing style. By the 1870s it was New York's leading daily. The *Sun* hired college graduates at adequate salaries and gave them the freedom to write as they chose. Although the *Sun*, like most of its competitors, focused on crime and scandal, Dana told his staff to stress the human-interest angles and the emotional impact of stories. (Although Dana is often remembered for assuring Virginia that there is a Santa Claus, that most famous editorial in the history of American journalism was written by Francis Pharcellus Church.) The *Sun* was often referred to as "the newspaperman's newspaper."

The *Sun's* closest competitor was the *New York Evening Post*, edited by Godkin, who was less interested in the news pages than the editorial pages. His eminently respectable and fiercely independent paper was peppered with intelligent, forceful commentary from a laissez-faire perspective.

The most flamboyant and erratic editor in these decades was Bennett, who inherited his father's newspaper, the *New York Herald*. When he took over its management in 1867 it was the largest and most profitable paper in the nation. Ostracized from society for unseemly behavior (when drunk, he once urinated in mixed company), Bennett moved to Paris but closely supervised the *Herald*. Although Bennett maintained the *Herald's* sense of decadence and sensational news, for years it remained the nation's leading paper in its thoroughness of news coverage. It also "created" news. For example, it financed Henry Stanley's search in Africa for missionary/physician David Livingstone. Undisciplined absentee control, however, took its toll, and by 1900 the *Herald* was in decline.

While the *Herald* and the *Sun* declined in the 1880s, the *New York World* became enormously prosperous, under the leadership of Pulitzer, whose formula for success was to mix sensational stories on crime and scandal with civic crusades. Perhaps the best known of his crusades was the campaign for schoolchildren's pennies to pay for the base of the STATUE OF LIBERTY, since CONGRESS was too stingy to appropriate the necessary funds.

The change to the independent (rather than party affiliated) press came largely as a result of the Industrial Revolution. The daily newspaper in the Gilded Age was produced at large industrial plants; gone were the days when the owner-editor could finance his business by selling his opinions. A split between ownership and editorship ensued, with editors often becoming "hired help." Newspapers became moneymaking business enterprises, not forums for personal opinion. Publishers sold stock to raise capital, causing editors to lose financial control of their papers. Advertising support became increasingly important and surpassed circulation income. By 1879 nearly 54 percent of all newspaper income was derived from advertising. And as journalists responded to changes in society, advertisers influenced the press in ways that would incense today's newspaper owners. Many advertisers believed they had a right to influence the editorial or news pages of papers that carried their ads, and they often boycotted newspapers because of the stories they covered or editorial positions they took.

While business pressures increased, political influence declined. As independents, newspaper editors were free to criticize their own political parties and look more objectively at world events and their impact on society. Editors began to adopt a different set of news values that conformed to the newspaper's role as holding up a mirror for society to view itself. That trend made it difficult to tell whether news or editorials shaped public opinion or whether the press reflected the public's opinion.

During the late 19th century, blacks broke into journalism and women played a more prominent role in newspapers. The first AFRICAN AMERICAN to be hired as a reporter was T. Thomas Fortune, who began writing for the *New York Sun* in 1887. He went on to publish his own paper, the *New York Age*. Other former slaves, such as Frederick Douglass, purchased newspapers, and the U.S. census for 1880 estimated that there were 31 black-owned newspapers, all weeklies. Although women had always worked on newspapers covering weddings and society events, these decades saw the beginning of the hiring of a handful of women who covered national politics (before they had the right to vote), including Mary Clemmer Ames (*New York Independent*) and Emily Briggs (*Philadelphia Press*). The most famous woman reporter of the day was the *New York World's* Nellie Bly, who pioneered investigative reporting by feigning insanity to get herself committed to New York's Women's Lunatic Asylum and then writing a sensational exposé of conditions there. She is best remembered for making in 1889 the fastest (and most publicized) trip around the world, completing the journey in just 72 days.

The greatest changes affecting newspapers in the last 30 years of the 19th century came about because of technology. The invention of the telephone in 1876 permitted reporters in the field to phone in their stories, speeding up the pro-



cess of getting news events into print and creating a more informed world at a faster pace. At the same time, technological advances made it possible to decrease the cost of publishing a newspaper and increase the distribution, so that the news traveled faster than ever before. The world was growing smaller, thanks to submarine telegraph cables, the invention of a completely automatic (rather than manual) printing press, and the creation of a national rail system. In 1875 the Pennsylvania Railroad began running fast mail trains seven days a week. A train originated in New York City loaded with the morning's newspapers, delivered them within hours to Philadelphia, and then delivered New York and Philadelphia newspapers to Chicago by the next morning.

The "new journalism" of the mid-1880s is renowned as the golden age of journalism. The number of newspapers published increased at a roaring pace. Between 1870 and 1900, some 1,200 newspapers began operating in the United States. Printing technology had advanced (the linotype was in wide use by the 1890s), and paper produced from wood pulp made newsprint cheaper than ever before. Screen printing was perfected, and, through a halftone process invented by Stephen Horgan in the late 1890s, photographs in newspapers were clear and crisp and began to surpass the use of engraved illustrations.

In the 1890s two opposing trends in newspapers became apparent. Adolph Ochs, a successful newspaper owner in Tennessee, purchased the *New York Times* in 1896 and proclaimed that it would be devoted to "all the news that's fit to print." In doing so he countered the popular sensational YELLOW JOURNALISM of Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst, which at that moment dominated the New York newspaper scene and helped bring on the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR. In addition, the influence of newspaper "chains" like those of Hearst and the Scripps family—with papers in several major cities—was growing. With Hearst and E. W. Scripps strongly influencing the editorial policies of their papers, individual newspapers were no longer the personal vehicle of the idiosyncratic editor and publisher. "One-man rule" gave way to a corporate style of management as newspapers became an industry. Competitors merged, and trade associations, such as the American Newspaper Publishers Association (founded in 1887), dealt with wide-ranging issues like unscrupulous advertising or biased reporting. The old-fashioned newspaper, led and dominated by dynamic and opinionated individuals, had entered a new world in the 20th century, with distinct jobs and philosophies for reporters, editors, publishers, advertising managers, and circulation managers.

**Further reading:** Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History, 1690–1960*, 3d ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1962).

—Ellen Tashie Frisina

## Nez Perce War

The ancient home of the Indian bands that constituted the Nez Perce Nation was in the mountainous region where Oregon, Washington, and Idaho meet. The Nez Perce, like other Native Americans, deified their ancestral land, and renouncing it was the equivalent of giving up their religion. In 1855 the federal government had guaranteed their title to their land, but in 1860 gold was discovered there. Miners rushed in and then remained to raise cattle and crops, despite the fact that they were trespassing. Federal Indian agents in 1863 bribed and coerced the chiefs of some bands to agree to a treaty moving them to Lapwai, Idaho, but other Nez Perce chiefs would not agree to the treaty and remained on their land. Among those was Chief Joseph (ca. 1840–1904), whose band lived in the Wallowa Valley of Oregon. President Ulysses S. Grant in June 1873 ordered that Joseph's band be given a reservation in part of the Wallowa Valley. Subsequent protests by white settlers, the governor, and the Oregon congressional delegation led to a reexamination of the case by the Office of INDIAN AFFAIRS (Indian Bureau) and a decision by Grant on January 6, 1877—two months



Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, in 1900 (Library of Congress)



before leaving office—that the 1863 treaty obligated all Nez Perce to remove to Lapwai.

Joseph and his fellow nontreaty Nez Perce chiefs, Looking Glass and White Bird, hoped to reason with the Indian Bureau and the U.S. Army. But at a council on May 14, 1877, General O. O. Howard told them that if they did not move in 30 days he would drive them off their land. To avert war, the chiefs agreed to move to Lapwai. Beyond the pain of eviction, moving required the difficult task of rounding up thousands of horses and cattle. Some animals were abandoned to settlers and others were lost while fording the swollen Snake River on the way to Lapwai. Smoldering with resentment, the Nez Perce camped 10 miles from the reservation on June 2, and Joseph and his brother Ollokot used their last days of freedom to go hunting.

In their absence, young braves from White Bird's band, to avenge a murder two years earlier, murdered four whites and then went on a rampage with 17 other warriors, killing more than a dozen other settlers. When Joseph and Ollokot returned they tried to persuade all to await the army, surrender the guilty braves, and avert punishment for everyone, but they failed. The Nez Perce moved to a defensible position on White Bird Creek and hoped that Howard would send emissaries to talk and avoid further bloodshed, but that did not happen. The pursuing cavalry and volunteers sent no one to talk and attacked at dawn on June 17, 1877, but suffered a disastrous defeat, with 34 men killed while the Nez Perce had only three men wounded. With Howard in pursuit, Joseph crossed the Salmon River to a new defensible position. "No general," Howard remarked, "could have chosen a safer position, or one that would be more likely to puzzle and obstruct a pursuing foe." Despite his admiration, Howard relentlessly pursued the Nez Perce, who were encumbered by the old and infirm, women and children, possessions, and livestock. Throughout the summer and into the fall the Nez Perce outfought and, despite encumbrances, outmaneuvered the army on a 1,700-mile retreat that is a classic in military history. In October Colonel Nelson A. Miles and 400 men cornered the Nez Perce at Bear Paw Mountain in Montana, just short of the Old Woman's Country—Queen Victoria's Canada—where they hoped to find refuge. After a five-day battle in which both sides suffered heavy losses and Howard reinforced Miles, Joseph surrendered with the understanding that the Nez Perce could return to the Pacific Northwest. With his clothes riddled with bullet holes, Joseph gave his rifle to Miles, turned to Howard, and declared, "I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. . . . It is cold, and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. . . . Hear me, my chiefs! I am tired. My heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands I will fight no more forever."

To the dismay of Miles, who remained an advocate of the Nez Perce to his death, his promise to Joseph was

ignored by Generals Philip Sheridan and William T. Sherman (who wanted to hang Joseph), and the Nez Perce were sent to the Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) where 68 died in their first year of captivity. In 1879 Joseph was allowed to go to Washington to plead for the return of his people to Idaho, but Secretary of the Interior CARL SCHURZ was afraid to allow them to return, since indictments were still out for the murders that began the war. In the 1880s the Nez Perce were allowed to return to the Pacific Northwest, but most of them, including Joseph, were kept at Colville, Washington. In 1899 and again in 1900 Joseph visited his beloved Wallowa Valley, but white settlers there would not sell him a small piece of land that had belonged to him and his ancestors. Joseph died in Colville on September 21, 1904.

**Further reading:** Alvin M. Josephy Jr., *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1965).

**Norton, Charles Eliot** (1827–1908) *scholar, editor, art professor*

The leading American apostle of culture in the Gilded Age, Charles Eliot Norton was born on November 16, 1827, at Shady Hill, his family's 50-acre estate in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and died there 80 years later. His father, Andrews Norton, was a Harvard Divinity School professor, and his mother, Catharine Eliot, was the daughter of a wealthy Boston merchant, so Norton grew up in comfortable, intellectually stimulating surroundings. In 1846, when not quite 19, he graduated from Harvard with distinction in Greek, Latin, and political economy. The next day he started work on a Boston wharf for East India merchants, warehousing Calcutta hides, writing business letters, and running errands. Although he did not like his job, he worked conscientiously, using his free time in more congenial pursuits.

Despite his family's fortune, the maldistribution of wealth troubled Norton, who in late 1846 began conducting evening classes to help working men and boys escape from poverty. Years later, when one of them became mayor of Providence, Rhode Island, he credited Norton for turning his life around. Norton also found time for intellectual pursuits, writing articles on the diverse subjects of William Tyndale, translator of the Bible and martyr, and archaeological remains in western America, and helping FRANCIS PARKMAN revise his *Oregon Trail* for publication.

After three years in the countinghouse, Norton, in 1849, went to India as supercargo (to handle commercial transactions) for his firm. That trip and especially his extended journey homeward changed Norton's life. In India he disparaged British colonialism and caste systems

and was disturbed by the poverty and “superstitions.” He came home by way of Europe, arriving in Paris in spring 1850, where he met his lifelong friend, fellow-American George William Curtis. In England he developed a passion for medieval church architecture and was inspired by London art galleries. In fall 1850 he returned to the Continent and spent his time most profitably in Florence, where Elizabeth and Robert Browning welcomed him, and Browning, a discerning critic, lectured him on paintings as they visited art shops. In 1851, after touring 20 months, his father’s health and business demands required Norton to return home.

Norton engaged in East India trade on a modest scale until his father’s death in 1853, when he gradually withdrew from trade, while managing the family’s property and increasing his literary activities. These ranged from editing the theological papers of his father, a conservative Unitarian, to a perceptive, favorable review of Walt Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass* in 1855. Norton, however, was not robust, and that year a doctor ordered him to Europe. Accompanied by his mother and two sisters, Norton traveled, primarily in Italy, studied art and architecture, and concluded that they reflect the moral climate of an age. He befriended the English art critic John Ruskin, met literary figures (among them Charles Dickens and William Makepeace Thackeray), and began a translation of Dante’s *Vita Nuova*, which he printed privately as *The New Life of Dante Alighieri* (1859).

Upon his return to the United States Norton embarked on a 10-year career in journalism. Although he remained in poor health, he contributed articles to the newly established *Atlantic Monthly*, edited by his friend James Russell Lowell. Norton’s articles taught that fine art, architecture, literature, and scholarship, though deficient in America, can have a positive function in a society. Norton summed up many of his ideas on culture and society in *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy* (1860). He often despaired that the United States was too commercial, too corrupted by prosperity, too restless, too hasty to cultivate “the spacious world of noble and everlasting thought.” The North’s reaction to the outbreak of the Civil War gave him hope for the country, and he supported the Union cause. He also continued his studies, delivered 12 Lowell Lectures on medieval subjects, and in May 1862 he married Susan Ridley Sedgewick. In January 1863 JOHN MURRAY FORBES appointed Norton editor of the New England Loyal Publication Society. He selected articles (most of them previously published) and sent them to almost 1,000 editors, who served about a million readers weekly. Beginning with the January 1864 issue,

Norton became coeditor with Lowell of the *North American Review* and did most of the nitty-gritty work in giving new life to that old journal. In addition, Norton in 1865 was a founder of *The Nation* and for years was a frequent contributor to it.

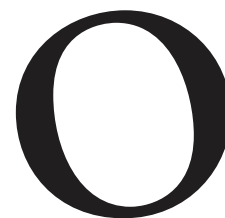
Having resigned in 1868 as editor of the *North American Review*, Norton sailed for a five-year European sojourn. He was accompanied by his wife, who, like him, was in fragile health, their four children, his mother, and his two sisters. These were years of disappointment and disillusion but also of maturing scholarship. He became acquainted with Charles Darwin and a close friend of Thomas Carlyle. Industrialism, he warned, accentuated the gap between rich and poor in England, and unless stopped, the despair of the masses would lead to violent revolution. News from home of corruption in the Ulysses S. Grant administration dispelled Norton’s optimism for a future of political sagacity and republican purity.

In 1873, a year after his wife died in childbirth, Norton and his six children returned to Shady Hill. President CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT of Harvard, Norton’s cousin, offered him a position in fine arts, starting in 1874. That fall Norton began 23 years of “preaching the gospel of Art to future generations of Americans.” He stressed that the fine arts reflected the moral and intellectual conditions of past ages but declared that Gilded Age America, with its plutocracy and poverty, machines and materialism, “starved the creative spirit.” While working to develop in his students an appreciation of great art and literature, Norton encouraged them to develop a creative spirit. Norton was opinionated. After denouncing all politicians except GROVER CLEVELAND, he denounced him for his bellicose message on the VENEZUELA BOUNDARY DISPUTE. Norton insisted in 1890 that all Harvard buildings built over the past 50 years were ugly and incongruous and should be destroyed. He attacked FOOTBALL for resembling the brutality of a Roman spectacle. He amused most students, was beloved by many, and profoundly influenced a few.

His scholarship was broad. He translated Dante’s *Divine Comedy* (1902), edited the poems of John Donne, and published *Historical Studies of Church-Building in the Middle Ages* (1880). When his dear friends, Carlyle, Lowell, Curtis, and Ruskin died, Norton edited their works, speeches, or letters. He died on October 21, 1908.

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## oil

The petroleum industry originated in America in 1859 when Edwin L. Drake drilled the first successful oil well at Titusville, Pennsylvania. The small amounts of petroleum that previously had seeped to the surface were bottled for medicinal purposes. Drake invented (but neglected to patent) the drive pipe that is still used today. He also neglected to secure oil leases on adjoining lands and thus made very little from his momentous discovery. Others rushed in, however, for its impact was instantaneous. Petroleum could be easily distilled (refined) into superior lubricants and especially into kerosene, which when burned in a lamp provided superior lighting and was far cheaper than whale oil. The crude oil initially was transported in barrels by wagons and barges to RAILROADS, but railroads extended their lines into the western Pennsylvania oil fields and by 1865 had developed tank cars. A short pipeline was constructed in that same year, and by 1881 a long-distance pipeline connected the oil region with the eastern seaboard. By 1870, 5.3 million barrels, of crude oil were produced; in 1880, 26.3 million barrels; in 1890, 45.8 million barrels; and in 1900, 63.6 million barrels. Pennsylvania remained a significant producer of petroleum throughout the Gilded Age, but in the 1880s both Ohio and West Virginia were in production, and in the 1890s Wyoming, California, and Texas had oil wells. The great Spindletop Strike in Texas, however, did not come until 1901.

Initially chaotic, the oil industry was monopolized quickly by John D. Rockefeller and his associates. Indeed, it was more completely monopolized in the Gilded Age than when major oil fields outside Pennsylvania and the Old Northwest subsequently opened up. In 1865 Rockefeller began refining oil in Cleveland, Ohio, formed a partnership with other refiners in 1867, and in 1868, to compete in eastern markets, secured a rebate (reduced freight rate) from the New York Central Railroad. In 1870 his associates and others formed the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, bought out oil companies in Cleveland and elsewhere, and

controlled the largest refineries in the world, enabling Rockefeller to boast, “The oil business is mine.”

Building upon his great volume, Rockefeller secured further rebates with the object of destroying his competitors. In 1872, with THOMAS A. SCOTT of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Rockefeller revived the South Improvement Company to allocate the oil shipments of its 13 members (10 of whom were in the Standard group) among the New York Central, Erie, and Pennsylvania Railroads. The railroads doubled their oil freight rates but allowed the 13 members a 50-percent rebate plus drawbacks that would give 50 percent of their competitors’ freight rates to the South Improvement Company. Facing ruin, independents sold out to Rockefeller. The outcry against the South Improvement Company was such that the Pennsylvania legislature withdrew its charter, but Rockefeller continued to try to eliminate competition by rebates, underselling, creating tank-car and barrel shortages, and forming pools to fix prices and control production. By 1878 Rockefeller controlled well over 90 percent of the nation’s refining capacity.

Pools enlarged the Standard group, but they were unwieldy and, as Rockefeller said, “ropes of sand.” In 1882 the 41 stockholders of the Standard Oil Company signed a TRUST agreement that placed control of all the Standard group into the hands of nine trustees. This arrangement was so obviously monopolistic that the state of Ohio dissolved it in 1892. The Standard group’s monopoly, however, was hardly shaken, since it remained intact and in 1898 refined 83.7 percent of the nation’s oil. It also reorganized. The Standard trustees had already secured a charter for Standard Oil of New Jersey, which in 1899 was converted into a holding company by increasing its stock from \$10 million to \$110 million and exchanging this stock for the stock of the 40 members of the Standard group. Significantly its board of directors, headed by Rockefeller, was essentially the same group of men who had dominated the oil industry since the 1870s.





Oil well in California, 1898 (Library of Congress)

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**Olmsted, Frederick Law** See VOLUME V.

### Omaha platform (1892)

In July 1892 the PEOPLE'S PARTY (Populist Party) held its first national convention in Omaha, Nebraska, and adopted one of the most memorable party platforms in American history. With a stirring preamble written by Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota, it proposed reforms dealing with transportation, land, and finance. The Omaha platform called for a graduated federal income tax; the nationalization of the transportation system; the Australian, or secret, ballot; the free and unlimited coinage of silver (see FREE SILVER MOVEMENT); a flexible currency system of at least \$50 per capita; laws to discourage large-scale land speculation and

alien ownership of land; IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS; the eight-hour work day; the direct election of U.S. senators; a constitutional amendment that would limit the president and vice president to one term; and the initiative that would enable the public to compel the legislature to consider a proposal and the referendum that would allow the voters to approve or turn down a measure.

This platform was not hastily assembled. As the FARMERS' ALLIANCES spread throughout the South and Middle West between 1887 and 1890, they prepared the way for the People's Party and the Omaha Platform by contributing ideas and leadership. At a meeting in Ocala, Florida, in 1890, representatives of the farmers' alliance discussed the option of fielding a national political party in the upcoming 1892 elections. It was at this meeting that the Ocala demands were issued and became the cornerstone of the Alliance movement for as long as it existed. First and foremost, the Ocala demands called for the creation of "sub treasuries" that would allow farmers to store their crops in government warehouses. In return, they could claim Treasury notes for up to 80 percent of the market value of their crops. This loan was to be repaid when the crops were sold. The idea was to allow farmers to keep their crops in storage until market prices were more favorable. At the same time, the low-interest government loans on the value of the crops would help farmers pay their annual debts. Furthermore, the Ocala demands urged the free and unlimited coinage of silver; a graduated federal income tax; an end to protective tariffs and the NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM; the direct election of U.S. senators; and effective government regulation and, if necessary, control of all RAILROADS and public utilities. Thus, several of the reforms embodied in the Ocala demands reappeared in the Omaha platform, which in turn shaped the ideological core of the Populist movement. Although the Populists were defeated, most of the Omaha platform was subsequently enacted by the major parties.

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—Phillip Papas

### Open Door notes (1899–1900)

America's China policy at the turn of the century, called the Open Door, aimed to guarantee the free and equal access to Chinese markets and to prevent imperial powers from carving the "celestial kingdom" into a contentious patchwork of spheres of influence and special concessions. On September 6, 1899, Secretary of State JOHN HAY circulated a note

to the capitals of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and Japan requesting that they agree to allow equal commercial opportunity in each other's spheres of influence in China. Only Italy, which had no sphere of influence, agreed wholeheartedly, while the others equivocated to varying degrees. Nevertheless, on March 20, 1900, Hay audaciously proclaimed that all the powers agreed, but it was essentially an American policy and binding on no nation.

The Boxer Rebellion that spring, which led to an international expedition of imperialist powers to rescue their besieged legations in Beijing, immediately threatened Hay's Open Door policy. Concerned that the great powers would utilize the presence of their troops to expand their spheres of influence, Hay on July 3, 1900, circulated a new note stating that the United States stood for the territorial integrity of all China and commercial equality for all throughout the land. Hay, however, had merely announced a policy that the United States had neither the means nor the moral fortitude to enforce. In the late summer of 1900, Russia occupied Manchuria, using the large number of troops that it had mobilized to help quell the Boxer upris-

ing. When queried by the Japanese as to what the United States planned to do to prevent its annexation by Russia, Hay admitted that the United States would not resort to armed force to make Russia abide by the Open Door. Furthermore, in November 1900, Hay himself was negotiating with China for rights to a naval station in Samsah Bay, which was within the Japanese sphere of influence.

Not surprisingly, the good will and the presumption of American honesty that were the policy's binding force quickly dissipated, and the policy was viewed abroad henceforth as mere empty rhetoric. What territorial and administrative integrity China retained resulted not from the forbearance of the great powers but from the stalemate produced by their fears of each other.

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—Timothy E. Vislocky





## painting

Late 19th-century American painters adopted a cosmopolitan outlook in their lives and an introverted focal point on their canvases, in contrast to the nationalist, extroverted stance of the prior generation. Luminism, a uniquely American style of realism, had been prevalent from the 1840s to the 1860s. A natural outgrowth of the Hudson River school and folk art, luminist painting sets out objects with clarity and bathes them in an even light, emanating from the center of the painting. Luminism is not a school or an art movement in the usual sense. Fitz Hugh Lane, John F. Kensett, and Martin Johnson Heade, the three most prominent luminist painters, may not have even known one another, but they were similarly influenced by earlier art and by contemporary philosophical movements, such as transcendentalism and spiritualism. Luminist paintings were still being produced in the Gilded Age by Asher B. Durand, ALBERT BIERSTADT, Heade, George Caleb Bingham, and others.

European training, especially that offered in Paris by the *École des Beaux-Arts* and affiliated ateliers, supplanted native schools. American painters entered the world stage, not only by exhibiting abroad but often by expatriating, especially to France and England. Subjects that had dominated canvases—confident Americans and marvels of the landscape—were replaced by quieter, reflective people and places. Sophisticated technique became at least as important as subject matter.

This change was especially apparent in landscape painting. While Bierstadt, Jasper Cropsey, and other Hudson River school painters continued to produce huge, minutely detailed canvases celebrating America's scenic wonders, the next generation chose to paint the poetry of place rather than delineate its particulars. French painters of the Barbizon school who forged a humble realism were important influences for Americans. The landscapes of George Inness, John Francis Murphy, and Alexander Helwig Wyant depicted circumscribed territories, such as

glades, fields, and streams. Subsets within landscape painting developed, such as the tonalist canvases of Birge Harrison, the dreamscapes of ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER, and the “glare aesthetic” of William Lamb Picknell. By the end of the century a decorative form of French impressionism came to dominate, with light-filled landscapes depicted in broad brush strokes and brilliant color. The canvases of Childe Hassam, Julian Alden Weir, Theodore Robinson, John Twachtman, and WILLIAM MERRITT CHASE were especially prominent.

Genre painting, or canvases with a narrative, which formerly had comprised only a small proportion of the American output, grew and diversified. Americans studied history painting, the highest art in the European canon, and from it learned how to paint the human figure and how to construct a story line. Like their European peers, Americans favored scenes of distant lands and remote times. Painters researched their subject through travel and reading and became experts in the topics. Orientalist artists such as Edwin Lord Weeks and Frederick Bridgman painted India and the Near East. George Hitchcock and Gari Melchers painted Dutch peasants, while George Boughton and Francis Davis Millet painted Puritans and colonists. Henry Ossawa Tanner, a successful African-American painter, produced symbolist biblical scenes. Religious, patriotic, and erotic subtexts were common in genre painting.

As the ranks of American's wealthy class swelled, so did the numbers of portraitists. While capturing a likeness was the basic measure of competency, elegance and refinement were also demanded. JOHN SINGER SARGENT and Chase dominated the field, but many able painters thrived, among them Cecilia Beaux, Charles Courtney Curran, Julius L. Stewart, and Irving R. Wiles.

With the proliferation of civic and religious buildings, opportunities for mural painting grew. By 1876 JOHN LA FARGE was put in charge of a team decorating Trinity Church in Boston, providing a model for future large, collaborative projects. Well-known easel painters



such as Elihu Vedder and Will Low produced murals, while others, such as Edwin Howland Blashfield and Kenyon Cox, became specialists in the field. Murals were meant to instruct and inspire, so they depicted paragons and paradigms (saints, historical figures, and allegorical scenes). They were an integral element in the American Renaissance.

American painting became a viable profession in the late 19th century. Having familiarized them with the European art world throughout their training abroad, American painters sought to establish sustaining networks in their own country. They exhibited in established institutions, such as the National Academy of Design in New York City and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia. Their works were showcased in a string of international expositions: the PHILADELPHIA CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION of 1876, the Universal Exposition of 1889 in Paris, the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION of 1893 in Chicago, and the Universal Exposition of 1900 in Paris. The painters formed professional organizations to exhibit and sell their work, including the Society of American Artists and the Ten American Painters. American painters became scholars, writers, collectors, and connoisseurs, thus differentiating themselves from tradespeople. Commonly, painters kept elaborately furnished studios filled with works of art, antique furniture, and exotic objects. Many painters worked in more than one genre; landscapists populated their scenes with figures, genre painters took portrait commissions, and so on. The boundaries between easel painting, mural painting, interior design, and the production of the decorative arts became quite permeable. JAMES MCNEILL WHISTLER produced remarkable interiors, while LOUIS COMFORT TIFFANY abandoned painting for interior designs and glass-making. As painters became more professional and their numbers grew, and as artistic endeavour became a popular topic in the media, more Americans interacted with art.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE; CASSATT, MARY.

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—Karen Zukowski

## Pan-American Union

The Pan-American Union was established at a joint conference held in Washington in 1889–90, and since 1948 it has served as the secretariat of the Organization of American States. Although the 1826 Panama Congress—called by the South American revolutionary hero Simon Bolívar and enthusiastically backed by American secretary of state Henry Clay—was a fiasco, the idea of a hemispheric organization was revived in 1881 by Secretary of State JAMES G. BLAINE, who was anxious for closer commercial relations with Latin America. However, the assassination of President JAMES A. GARFIELD led to Blaine's resignation, and his unimaginative successor cancelled the invitations Blaine had sent for an International American Conference. By 1888 the value of hemispheric cooperation became apparent, and the GROVER CLEVELAND administration called for a conference in Washington to discuss an ambitious agenda to preserve peace and promote prosperity. Among the proposed items of discussion were avoiding war through arbitration, a customs union with common regulations, uniform weights and measures and a common silver coin, the protection of patents and copyrights, and the improvement of COMMUNICATIONS.

Appropriately, Blaine had returned to office as BENJAMIN HARRISON's secretary of state when, in 1889, representatives of 17 nations gathered in Washington as the First Inter-American Conference and elected Blaine as its presiding officer. As its leading spirit, he tried mightily to develop machinery to arbitrate disputes and to secure a customs union that would mutually lower tariffs and serve the economic interests of the United States. Both efforts failed, largely because Latin Americans feared that the power of the United States would be dominant in these economic and political arrangements. European traders, with their strong presence in Latin America, encouraged those fears because their interests would suffer if an American customs union were established. Blaine's other proposals of mutual coinage and transportation links met with lukewarm responses among the Latin American delegates. The conference, however, did suggest the appropriateness of reciprocal trade agreements, did consent to the arbitration of monetary claims, and did establish the Pan-American Union.

ANDREW CARNEGIE, one of the American representatives at the conference, in 1907 donated funds for the Pan-American Building, the organization's permanent headquarters in Washington. Meeting at irregular intervals at various capitals, the conferences accomplished little until 1910 at its fourth meeting, when it protected copyrights and patents. While the United States intended that the Pan-American Union promote its hemispheric hegemony, Latin Americans used it in the 1920s as a forum to protest intervention in Caribbean affairs by the United States and

by 1933 secured a resolution, to which the United States agreed, condemning intervention.

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—Bruce Abrams

**panic of 1873** See BUSINESS CYCLES.

**panic of 1893** See BUSINESS CYCLES.

**Parkman, Francis** (1823–1893) *historian*

Historian of the British and French struggle to possess North America, Francis Parkman was born on September 16, 1823, in Boston. As he was not well, he went to live from age eight to 13 on his maternal grandfather's farm in nearby Medford. He loved the outdoors and tramped in the woods, trapped small animals, hunted with a bow and arrow, and collected rocks, bugs, and snakes. He returned to Boston to prepare for Harvard College, which he attended from 1840 to 1844. There he was a social success as president of the Hasty Pudding Club and excelled in subjects that interested him. His passion, however, was the wilderness and its dwellers, the NATIVE AMERICANS and the pioneers. On vacations, with backpack and canoe, he explored the White Mountains and Lakes George and Champlain. When he overtaxed his strength and injured himself working out in the Harvard gymnasium, he spent most of his senior year recuperating in Europe but returned in time to graduate. Parkman then entered Harvard Law School and received a law degree in January 1846 but never requested to be admitted to the bar.

In law school Parkman decided to make his hobby his life work, and an inheritance from his paternal grandfather made it possible. Between terms he visited Detroit and did research on the Ottawa chief Pontiac, and from April to November 1846, accompanied by his cousin Quincy Adams Shaw, Parkman followed the Oregon Trail to Fort Laramie in present-day Wyoming. Once there Parkman lived for weeks among the Sioux Indians, experiencing the tribal life of a Native American nation. He also observed French Canadian fur traders and American soldiers and settlers, on the edge of encroaching civilization. They offered clues to the behavior of the earlier people who would appear in what would become his great work. Parkman intended the trip to be part research and part restorative. His faith that outdoor exercise would cure his poor eyesight, headaches, and nervousness was not rewarded. Having suffered from dysentery and the glaring sun, the trip exacerbated his maladies.

In late 1846 Parkman went to New York, briefly read law, almost went blind, and took refuge in describing his western adventure for the *Knickerbocker Magazine* (1847–48). After consulting his journal, Parkman dictated his articles. They were a success, and, with help from CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, Parkman revised them for publication as *The Oregon Trail* (1849). Encouraged, Parkman persevered, despite virtual blindness, headaches, nervousness, and exhaustion, and began work on *The History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac* (1851). For six months he could write only six lines a day, but his health improved, and he finished it in two and a half years.

By 1850 Parkman was well enough to marry Catherine Scollay Bigelow; they had three children. His health took a turn for the worse when he suffered from water on the knee and could hardly walk for two years and in 1853 had such severe headaches his physician said he had but six months to live. Parkman bore his pain stoically, found therapy in horticulture (often tending flowers from a wheelchair), and became so adept that Harvard later named him professor of horticulture.

Parkman's mental anguish increased in 1857 with the death of his son from scarlet fever and the next year the death of his wife in childbirth. Leaving his daughters with his sister-in-law, Parkman went to Paris to consult a distinguished doctor and to research in the French archives. The trip was of little help physically or mentally, and on his return Parkman went back to his flowers, raising roses, rather than writing history.

Parkman rejoiced in 1861 when the Civil War galvanized the torpid North. The war also inspired him to work steadily on his history of the century-and-a-half colonial struggle for America. His grand scheme pitted the absolutism and Roman Catholicism of New France against the self-government and Protestantism of New England. Although a Bostonian, Parkman claimed to be neutral, since, as a patrician, his "political faith" lay "between two vicious extremes, democracy and absolute monarchy." He criticized both Catholic priests and Protestant clergy and despised Quaker pacifism. His conspicuous heroes were the great French, British, and American Indian leaders, soldiers, and explorers: Champlain, Frontenac, La Salle, Pontiac, Montcalm, and Wolfe. The victim in Parkman's drama was his beloved wilderness, despoiled by the struggle and its aftermath. With his dramatic narrative history as exciting as good fiction, Parkman is regarded as America's "greatest literary and Romantic historian."

It took Parkman almost three decades to complete his multivolume history. In 1865 he published *Pioneers of France in the New World*, followed in quick succession by *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (1867), *The Discovery of the Great West* (1869), and in 1870 Parkman enlarged and revised his *Conspiracy of*

*Pontiac*. Parkman's health had improved sufficiently for him to visit historic sites and research in the Midwest and Canada. These visits helped Parkman describe poetically and accurately the geographical features of battlefields and to locate vanished Native American villages. In the 1870s he published *The Old Regime in Canada* (1874) and *Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV* (1877) and the next year, with recently available Paris archive materials, revised *The Discovery of the Great West* and renamed it *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*.

From 1878 to 1880 Parkman digressed from history to attack in the *North American Review* universal and woman suffrage and egalitarian democracy. Disturbed by Gilded Age political corruption, he believed that "intelligence and character, and not numbers," should govern. In the 1880s Parkman traveled widely and in 1884 published his best work, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, and eight years later filled in the gap between *Frontenac* and *Montcalm and Wolfe* with *A Half-Century of Conflict*. With his monumental work completed, Parkman died in Boston on November 8, 1893.

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### Patrons of Husbandry

In 1867 the Patrons of Husbandry, better known as the Granger movement, was founded in Washington, D.C. Its strength was among farmers in the upper Mississippi Valley, who joined it to better their economic position and to enhance their social life. Led by Oliver H. Kelley, the organization originally had secret rituals that included songs, flags, costumes, and passwords and admitted both men and women to membership. Each local chapter was known as a "grange," and in many farming communities across the United States it became the center of social activity.

The Granger movement spread rapidly where farmers experienced the greatest hardships. In the years immediately following the Civil War, wheat and corn prices made farmers on the Great Plains optimistic. Unfortunately, the panic of 1873 coupled with severe blizzards, droughts, and grasshopper infestations dashed their dreams. Furthermore, faced with growing competition from Argentina, Australia, Canada, India, and Russia, farmers in the South and Middle West began to experience declining prices for their grains and cotton. Many of the nation's farmers were on the brink of bankruptcy, and many of them believed that only through collective action through the grange could their economic condition improve. They began to join the Granger movement en masse. In 1875, spurred on by the

publication of Ignatius Donnelly's influential weekly, the *Monopolist* (1874–79), membership in the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry reached a peak of 858,050.

Grangers blamed bankers, railroad operators, eastern land companies, and the manufacturers of farm equipment for compounding their sudden economic hardship. They complained, for example, that farm supplies and equipment were being sold at exorbitant prices, forcing many farmers to borrow money and incur debts averaging twice that of other Americans. Banks and eastern land companies charged farmers unusually high interest, making it difficult for farmers to pay off their mortgages. Grangers also complained to lawmakers about the price-fixing policies of grain wholesalers, warehouse owners, and grain elevator operators. Furthermore, they attacked RAILROADS for their discriminatory shipping rates that commonly charged farmers (who had no alternative means of transportation) more to ship their crops short distances than shippers (where competition existed) paid for long hauls. Grangers believed that the monopoly held by the railroads over travel and freight should be regulated for the good of the public.



Promotional print for Granger members showing scenes of farming and farm life (Library of Congress)



Between 1871 and 1874, the Grangers became very active in politics and scored major legislative victories in several midwestern states. The Granger movement gained a political boost from independent farmers' parties that had been organized in nine midwestern states and in California and Oregon. As a result, so-called Granger laws were enacted in Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. In 1871 the Illinois legislature prevented railroads from charging less for a long than for a short haul. In 1874 the legislatures of Wisconsin and Iowa began to regulate interstate railroad freight rates. Just a year earlier, the Illinois legislature enacted the Warehouse Act, which established maximum storage rates for grains and other crops.

The constitutionality of the Granger laws was soon challenged in the U.S. SUPREME COURT. In Granger cases, the most famous of which was *Munn v. Illinois* (1877), the Court upheld the Illinois Warehouse Act on the grounds that states had the authority to regulate private property when it was used in the public interest. The Court denied that Illinois violated the DUE PROCESS CLAUSE of the Fourteenth Amendment or, in the absence of federal legislation, the commerce clause of the U.S. Constitution.

Along with its political program, the Granger movement also established cooperative enterprises for both the purchase of supplies and the marketing of crops. They opened retail stores, operated local grain elevators, and manufactured their own farm equipment. A few of the local granges even ran banks and fraternal life and fire insurance companies.

The deepening economic depression of the 1870s, however, dealt the Granger movement a severe blow as several of its cooperatives were driven out of business. By 1880 membership in the Patrons of Husbandry had dropped to 124,420 members. In addition, the Supreme Court in *WABASH V. ILLINOIS* (1886) overturned its earlier decisions in the Granger cases. The Court declared that under the commerce clause of the Constitution, states could not regulate railroad rates on interstate shipments. This regulatory void led CONGRESS in 1887 to pass the Interstate Commerce Act. Although membership in the Patrons of Husbandry declined nationwide, the grange survived as a center of rural, small-town life in New England and a few Middle Atlantic states. Despite these setbacks, the Granger movement increased public awareness of the monopolistic practices of the nation's railroads and set an example for farmer cooperation and political action that would influence agrarian protests for the rest of the 19th century.

See also FARMERS' ALLIANCES.

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—Phillip Papas

**Peabody, Elizabeth Palmer** (1804–1894) *educator, publisher*

Founder of American KINDERGARTENS, and transcendentalist, Elizabeth Peabody was born in Billerica, Massachusetts, on May 16, 1804. When her mother, a teacher, became prostrated over the death of her seven-week-old baby girl, Peabody, at 15, taught her mother's school and became her family's financial mainstay. She worked in education the rest of her life. The oldest of seven children, she helped bring up her younger siblings, thought much about child development, and concluded that society could be reformed by properly educating children. She usually taught in her own schools, often with her sisters Mary and Sophia, but in 1834 she helped Bronson Alcott start the Temple School in Boston. Not only did she join him in his Socratic questioning of their scholars, but her description of their experiment in *Record of a School* (1835) brought Alcott notoriety and the friendship of Peabody's friend Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Teaching gave Peabody an independence, which, joined with her intellect and reading, enabled her to befriend as an equal male intellectuals. Emerson, who had tutored her in Greek in 1822, remained her friend and associate. In 1833 Peabody became acquainted with the educator Horace Mann, who seemed to have a romantic interest in her until he chose her sister Mary instead. In 1839, through the historian George Bancroft, Peabody obtained a position for Nathaniel Hawthorne at the Boston Custom House. Their names had been linked romantically, but he married her sister Sophia. Peabody and Reverend William Ellery Channing, whose daughter Mary attended her school in the 1820s, regularly discussed theology and literature on Saturday afternoons. Peabody not only influenced his sermons but also prepared 50 of them for publication, adding to his renown as the "apostle of Unitarianism." Years later she published her charming *Reminiscences of Rev. Wm. Ellery Channing, D.D.* (1880). John T. Kirkland, president of Harvard, invited Peabody to use his library and corresponded with her when he was in Europe. She also corresponded with William Wordsworth.

In 1840 Peabody opened her Boston bookstore in the front parlor of the house she had rented for her family. It became the meeting place for transcendentalists, and Margaret Fuller moved her famous Wednesday evening conversations there. Both the *Dial*, the quarterly magazine of transcendentalism, and Brook Farm, the famous Utopian community, were shaped in Peabody's bookstore,



whose doors remained open for a decade. In it Peabody, who knew 10 languages, made foreign books and periodicals available by purchase or loan and established herself as the first woman publisher in Boston and probably in the nation. Among her publications were Channing's pamphlet on emancipation, three of Hawthorne's children's books, the *Dial*, and the one issue of her own *Aesthetic Papers* (1849), containing Henry David Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience."

Between 1850 and 1884 Peabody wrote and published 10 books and 50 articles, most of which advanced her ideas on education. Captivated by a method of learning historical dates by Josef Bem, a Polish general, she devised charts to illustrate it and published her *Universal History* (1859) to accompany these charts. While publicizing this new system, she became known among educators, who attended her lectures and read her books and articles.

Through kindergartens Peabody made her greatest impact on education. She first heard about them in 1859, from Margarethe Meyer Schurz, who was part of the German kindergarten movement, founded by Friedrich Froebel. Although Peabody started a kindergarten in Boston the next year and with her sister Mary wrote *Moral Culture of Infancy and Kindergarten Guide* (1863), she was not satisfied until she had visited Froebel kindergartens in Germany (1867–68). Upon her return she promoted kindergartens as happy places where all children were involved and with her sister edited the *Kindergarten Messenger* for teachers. Peabody's promotion was so successful that by the century's end there was at least one kindergarten in every state in the nation.

During her last years Peabody, with her sister Mary, helped educate NATIVE AMERICANS by funding a school with Native American teachers, founded by SARAH WINNEMUCCA, advocate for Indian rights. Mary had earlier encouraged Winnemucca to write her autobiography and saw that it was published in 1883.

Peabody never married. Perhaps she was too formidable intellectually, too impossible to dominate, for males in that sexist time. Despite her sparkling conversation, her lack of interest in dress and appearance did not encourage romance. Although the portrait that the celebrated Boston artist Chester Harding painted of Peabody (in exchange for his children attending her school) burned in a warehouse fire, there is a vivid word portrait of her as Miss Birdseye in HENRY JAMES's novel *The Bostonians*. Peabody was almost 90 when she died in her home in Jamaica Plain, now part of Boston, on January 3, 1894.

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—Olive Hoogenboom

**Peirce, Charles Sanders** (1839–1914) *scientist, mathematician, logician, philosopher*

Charles S. Peirce, the founder of PRAGMATISM, was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts. His father, Benjamin Peirce, the first U.S. mathematician with an international reputation, recognized his son's genius and developed his powers of concentration, but, as Peirce later remarked, failed to teach him "moral self control." He was disciplined when searching for laws and principles to solve the mathematical problems his father gave him, when at age 12 he set up his own chemistry laboratory, and when the next year he mastered his older brother's textbook on logic. At Harvard College, though, he was an indifferent student, graduating near the bottom of his class in 1859, doing whatever he pleased, such as studying Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. Peirce's personal problems stemmed in part from his taking opium, the only available painkiller, for the facial neuralgia he suffered. HENRY JAMES noted, "he has too little social talent too little art of making himself agreeable," and Peirce accurately characterized himself as vain, snobbish, uncivil, reckless, lazy, and ill tempered. Worse, he was an unprincipled womanizer, seducing girls with promises of marriage. These shortcomings plagued his career and limited his influence.

Despite his love of philosophy Peirce pursued his studies in science and mathematics. He worked for the U.S. Coast Survey (with which his father was associated) in 1859 and was appointed to it in July 1861. He also studied chemistry at Harvard's Lawrence Scientific School and in 1863 received a Sc.B. degree summa cum laude. It was there that he met WILLIAM JAMES, who noted he was "independent & violent." In 1862 Peirce had married Harriet Melusina "Zina" Fay, a flamboyant feminist. It was not a happy union; they had no children.

Peirce did not abandon philosophy, but mathematics and science predominated during his 30 years with the Coast Survey. Even though he lectured at Harvard on the philosophy of science in 1864 to 1865, gave the university lectures in philosophy in 1869 to 1870, and the next year was the university lecturer on logic, President CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT judged him not "safe" for a Harvard professorship. From 1869 to 1875 Peirce made astronomical observations at the Harvard Observatory, which were lauded by physicists and astronomers when he published them as *Photometric Researches* (1879). Beginning in 1873 he worked as a computer for the *Nautical Almanac*, investigating gravity, and in 1875 he went to Europe to bring

his country up to European standards in the science of geodesy (determining exact positions on the Earth). He lived extravagantly in France, sampling Medoc wines while studying the pendulum. When his wife left him in the fall of 1875, he became depressed and psychosomatically paralyzed. She returned to nurse him but left him permanently the next year. That same year he started a long affair with Juliette Pourtalai, whom he married in 1883, two days after his divorce. His work on the pendulum won him the thanks of the International Geodetic Association in 1877 and election to the American National Academy of Science.

Peirce thought of himself primarily as a logician. In the early 1870s he read draft chapters of a book on logic to the Metaphysical Club (to which he, William James, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., belonged). It was in these readings that the "name and doctrine of pragmatism saw the light." From 1877 to 1878 Peirce published "Illustrations of the Logic of Science" in six essays in *Popular Science Monthly*, the first two of these, "The Fixation of Belief" and "How to Make Our Ideas Clear," James called the "birth certificates" of pragmatism. Rejecting metaphysics, ethics, and deduction, Peirce advocated making the starting point of logic the world as we conceive it and observed that our conception of an object's effects is our conception of the object. These articles gave Peirce an international reputation, earning him praise as "the greatest living logician." In 1879 DANIEL COIT GILMAN appointed him lecturer in logic at Johns Hopkins University. Although his lectures were difficult to understand, Peirce inspired brilliant students, including John Dewey and Thorstein Veblen. Even though he was considered the world's greatest logician and had married Juliette the year before, Peirce lost his job at Johns Hopkins in 1884 when gossip became rampant about his long premarital affair with her. Losing his job started a long personal and professional decline.

Peirce's scientific work ended, and his income plummeted in 1891, when he was dismissed, in part because his reports were overdue, from the Coast Survey. In 1887 he and Juliette had moved to Milford, Pennsylvania, where they lived for the remainder of their lives in increasing seclusion and poverty. The Peirces were friendly with James and Mary Eno Pinchot, the millionaire parents of forester Gifford Pinchot, and Peirce occasionally saw New York City friends at the Century Club and continued to be extravagant with his declining income. His grandiose get-rich schemes (one involved painter ALBERT BIERSTADT) never came to anything. When not writing encyclopedia entries and reviews for the *NATION*, he concentrated on philosophic questions that intrigued him. Peirce believed in permanent truths and in the reality of God, with the search for truths requiring constant investigation, criticism, and correction. Natural laws, he believed, developed out of "pure chance" and were not absolute. His writings on logic,

while containing brilliant insights, were difficult to understand and were not published, but he continued striving to explain the universe. In his retirement he churned out approximately 80,000 difficult pages in that quest.

Realizing Peirce's increasingly straitened circumstances, William James and JOSIAH ROYCE, his Harvard philosophy colleague, helped Peirce by arranging, in 1898, for him to give a series of successful lectures in the informal setting of a Cambridge private home. In 1903 Harvard relented, thanks to James's persistence, and allowed Peirce to return to the campus to lecture on pragmatism. These formal lectures were called obscure, confusing, and unintelligible, and James, who could not understand them, did not recommend their publication. As Peirce became increasingly poor and reclusive, friends such as James, Royce, and the Pinchots aided him financially until he died, on April 19, 1914, a brilliant, tragic failure. His papers have been collected, and his influence lives on.

**Further reading:** Joseph Brent, *Charles Sanders Peirce: A Life* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2001).

**Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act** (1883) See CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

**pensions, veterans** See GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.

**People's Party (Populist Party)** (1892–1908)

The People's, or Populist, Party was formed in response to the declining agricultural prices, rising operating costs, and high interest rates for agricultural credit that southern and western farmers confronted during the late 19th century. The strength of the People's Party lay in the South, Middle West, and Far West. It developed out of the National FARMERS' ALLIANCES, which was composed of the Southern and Northwestern Farmers' Alliances. The Alliance movement provided the Populists with membership, leaders, and ideas. Members of the Alliance movement made their initial foray into party politics during the 1890 elections when they aligned themselves with the DEMOCRATIC PARTY in the South and various independent farmers parties in the West. In 12 states, candidates supported by Alliance members won partial or complete control of the legislature. Alliance-supported candidates also won six governorships, three seats in the U.S. Senate, and 50 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. These results encouraged several Alliance members to contemplate the creation of a

third national party that would focus on the demands of the nation's agrarian interests.

Between 1890 and 1892 the support for a third party grew rapidly within the Alliance movement. In December 1890 the Alliance held a national meeting at Ocala, Florida, and issued the so-called Ocala demands that put forth the following objectives: the direct election of U.S. senators; a graduated federal income tax; the free and unlimited coinage of silver; the establishment of federal "subtreasuries" (warehouses) for the storage of surplus crops, with government loans at 2 percent interest secured by those crops; and effective government regulation and, if necessary, ownership of the RAILROADS and public utilities. The Ocala demands represented radical ideas for that time. Anticipating that the Democrats and Republicans would resist endorsing the Ocala demands, many members of the Alliance movement were eager to form a party of their own. It seemed as if the two-party system would not or could not respond to the growing problems facing America's farming and laboring classes. Sentiment for a third party was strongest among western agrarians, but several southern leaders, such as Thomas E. Watson of Georgia and Leonidas L. Polk of North Carolina, also supported the idea.

Alliance leaders discussed plans for a national third party in meetings held at Cincinnati (May 1891) and St. Louis (February 1892). These meetings were attended by many Northwestern Alliance members as well as leaders of the Southern Farmers Alliance and representatives from the dying KNIGHTS OF LABOR. In July 1892 more than 1,000 delegates met at Omaha, Nebraska, for the first National Convention of the People's Party. The platform adopted at the convention, with a stirring preamble written by IGNATIUS LOYOLA DONNELLY of Minnesota, became known as the OMAHA PLATFORM and called for the Australian or secret ballot; a graduated federal income tax; the nationalization of the transportation system; the free and unlimited coinage of silver; a flexible national currency; inexpensive loans for farmers; laws to discourage large-scale acquisition of land; the direct election of U.S. senators; and the initiative which would enable the public to compel the legislature to consider a proposal and the referendum which would allow voters to adopt or reject a measure. Although the new political organization's name was the People's Party, the larger movement it belonged to was known as Populism.

In 1892 the Populists ran James B. Weaver, a former Union general and Greenbacker from Iowa, as their presidential candidate. For vice president they chose James G. Field, a former Confederate from Virginia. The Weaver-Field ticket won slightly more than 1 million popular votes and received 22 electoral votes. Weaver did very well in Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Nevada, North Dakota, and Oregon. The Populists also elected five U.S. senators, 10

congressmen, and three governors, and nearly 1,500 Populist candidates won election to seats in state legislatures. Although the Populists had great success in the West, the party did very little in the Northeast. It also failed to gain much support in the South, where Populist strategy sought to build on the close relationship between African-American farmers and the mostly white local alliances that existed in the region. To do this, Populists stressed the common economic problems faced by all farmers and demanded fair elections. This strategy, however, was undermined by the prevalent racism in the region, ingrained Democratic loyalties, distaste for a presidential ticket headed by a former Union general, and widespread voter fraud and intimidation. The Populists' failure in the South ended any hope for an interracial agrarian reform movement.

Where the Populists won statewide elections, they established impressive reform records that included railroad and banking legislation, increased funding for public schools, and the exposure of corrupt business and political practices. Yet, despite its impressive record on state and local levels of government, the People's Party suffered from internal conflicts that prevented it from achieving a nationwide political base. It was also undermined by the two major parties, each of which incorporated some Populist programs into their platforms.

By 1896, the demand for Free Silver became an increasingly powerful force in America. The Populists had scheduled their 1896 national convention after those of the two major parties, assuming that both parties would be dominated by supporters of the gold standard. The Republican presidential candidate was WILLIAM MCKINLEY of Ohio, who was nominated on a platform that endorsed the gold standard. The Democrats, however, nominated WILLIAM J. BRYAN of Nebraska, who ran on a platform that emphasized stricter federal regulation of railroads and TRUSTS and supported Free Silver. When the Populists met in St. Louis, some believed that if they supported Bryan they risked losing their party identity, while others felt that if the party nominated its own candidate, they would ensure a McKinley victory in November. Ultimately, the Populists decided to nominate Bryan for president but named their own vice presidential candidate, Thomas E. Watson. Several Populists hoped in vain that the Democrats would drop their vice presidential candidate Arthur M. Sewall, a Maine businessman, from the ticket in favor of Watson.

Although the Bryan-Watson fusion ticket appeared on many state ballots, some states refused to include Watson and listed only the Democratic Bryan-Sewall ticket. Throughout the 1896 campaign Bryan ignored Watson. Consequently, many Populists ended up voting for the Democratic ticket instead of their own. McKinley easily defeated Bryan, collecting 271 electoral votes to Bryan's 176. The Republican candidate also received 7,036,000



popular votes to the Democrats' 6,468,000. The results of the 1896 election sent the People's Party into decline.

Although it continued to nominate candidates until 1908, the People's Party was effectively absorbed by the Democrats. The main contribution of the Populists was the eventual acceptance of their proposals by the two major parties. Their calls for reform of the banking system and national monetary policy, commodity exchanges, and new electoral procedures had a significant impact on American politics. Yet, lingering sectional and racial biases from the Civil War hampered the People's Party. Class bias also existed against a party supported almost exclusively by small farmers. The Populist position of maintaining private property and economic competition for small producers while demanding federal regulation of the national economy was met with derision by large-scale farming interests and the business community. Despite attempts to transform itself into a nationwide political phenomenon, Populism remained a predominantly rural, sectional movement with some power on the local level. In the end the Populists represented the last major agrar-

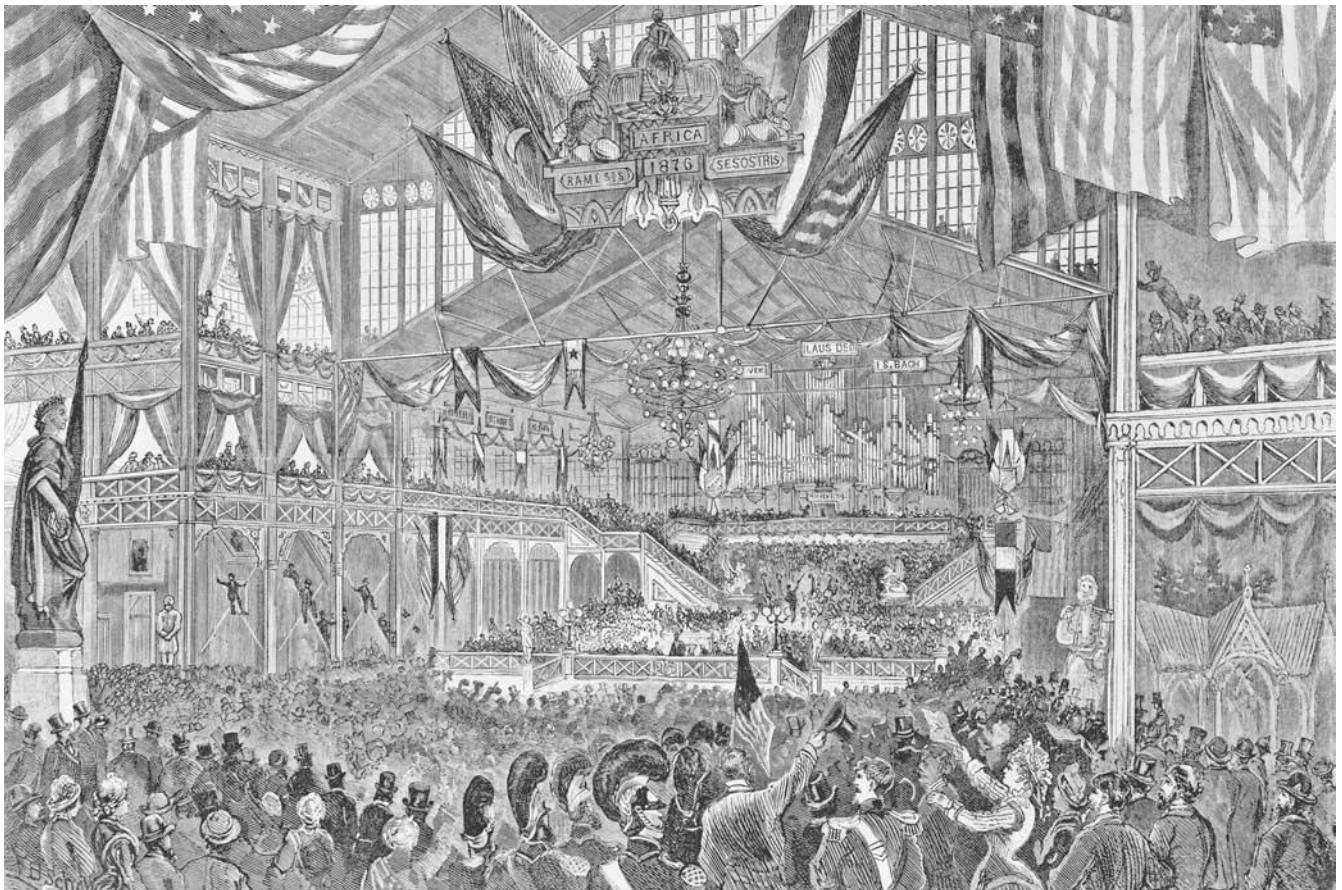
ian protest movement against an increasingly urban and industrial America.

See also BIMETALLISM; CURRENCY ISSUE; FREE SILVER MOVEMENT; PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY; SIMPSON, JERRY.

**Further reading:** Lawrence Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976); John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers Alliance and the People's Party* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931); Robert C. McMath, Jr., *American Populism: A Social History, 1877–1898* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1993).

### Philadelphia Centennial Exposition (1876)

Running from May to November, the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition—a celebration of the nation's first 100 years—was attended by 8 million people. It took place in Fairmount Park, where 236 acres were enclosed for what was officially called the United States International



Main pavilion on the opening day of the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia (Library of Congress)



Exhibition. The center of the exhibition was the great Corliss engine, whose geared flywheel and two huge walking beams dominated Machinery Hall. It powered 13 acres of machines spinning cotton, printing newspapers, and pumping water, and it symbolized the nation's industrial growth. WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, the novelist, called it "an athlete of steel and iron" and observed that "America is voluble in the strong metals and their infinite uses." Technological innovations especially impressed visitors. These included the new typewriter on which for 50 cents one could have a letter written, a lamp burning electricity rather than gas or oil, and ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL's telephone. Besides Machinery Hall there were halls devoted to agriculture and horticulture, 24 state buildings, and 37 representing foreign countries. Memorial Hall, a permanent granite building that is now part of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, exhibited paintings and sculptures, including nudes that shocked yet fascinated puritanical Americans.

There was also a Woman's Pavilion. In it, shortly after the Corliss engine was set in motion, a six-horsepower engine powered looms and other machines and printed a weekly magazine, *The New Century for Woman*. Searchers had to go to Canada to find a woman to operate the steam engine. She was Emma Allison of Grimsby, Ontario. Women, who crowded around with questions, found her "no low, vulgar woman, but an educated and accomplished lady." Women not only tended the machines but also were responsible for everything exhibited, from Queen Victoria's etchings to articles of clothing.

The centennial committee planned a special celebration on the Fourth of July at Independence Square. Emboldened by the success of the Woman's Pavilion, suffragists asked to present, but not to read, their special Declaration of Independence for Women. They were turned down, but five suffragists with press cards resolved to read their declaration. Before 150,000 people jammed in the square and following the reading of the Declaration of Independence, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, MATILDA GAGE, and three companions stunned the crowd by marching up to the podium, introducing their declaration, distributing copies, and then proceeding to the musicians' platform, where Anthony read it while Bayard Taylor recited his National Ode from the speaker's platform. Most men present saw no connection between Thomas Jefferson's declaration and that of the women, but for women who could not vote and had difficulty keeping property after marriage, the connection was obvious.

The Centennial Exhibition demonstrated for all the world that America had come of age industrially. It also reminded Americans that although women were more emancipated in their country than elsewhere, they still lacked fundamental political rights and would demand them as effectively as possible.

**Further reading:** Dee Brown, *Year of the Century: 1876* (New York: Scribners, 1966); Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American & International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

**Pinkertons** See LABOR: STRIKES AND VIOLENCE.

### *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)

After the U.S. SUPREME COURT ruled in 1883 that the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1875 was unconstitutional, various southern municipalities began to establish separate facilities for whites and AFRICAN AMERICANS. Eight states between 1887 and 1891 enacted laws requiring RAILROADS to maintain separate facilities for the races. Louisiana's version of this statute, enacted in 1890, outraged blacks, who organized a committee to test the constitutionality of the separate-car law the following year. In 1892 Homer Plessy, an African American, purchased a first-class ticket and occupied a seat in the "white" car. Arrested and convicted, Plessy appealed his case in the Louisiana courts and ultimately the U.S. Supreme Court. Albion Tourgee, a Radical Republican and a major supporter of equal rights, defended Plessy. Tourgee argued that denying his client the right to sit in a first-class car was a violation of his rights under the Thirteenth Amendment, which prohibited involuntary servitude, and the Fourteenth Amendment, which guaranteed "equal protection of the laws." Although six of the Supreme Court justices were former attorneys for railroads or corporations closely allied with railroads (and separate cars meant more trouble and expense for the roads), the Court ruled seven to one against Plessy and legitimized the "separate but equal" doctrine not only on railroads but in schools as well.

Justice Henry B. Brown delivered the majority opinion. He noted that the Fourteenth Amendment did not abolish distinctions based on color and was not meant to force social equality between the races. Brown added that separation laws did not stamp the badge of inferiority on blacks because whites were also separated, which did not make them inferior. Brown concluded the majority opinion with the observation that social equality between races was "the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each other's merits, and a voluntary consent of individuals. . . . Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based on physical differences" and would only prove counterproductive.

JOHN MARSHALL HARLAN was the dissenting voice. Harlan, a former slave owner and Union officer, leaned on Tourgee's brief and insisted that the "Constitution is colorblind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among

citizens,” that the Thirteenth Amendment eliminated the “badge of servitude” as well as slavery itself, that the so-called “equal” accommodations was a “thin disguise” misleading no one, and that laws “which in fact proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens” will certainly create distrust and “arouse race hate.” Harlan concluded that the Louisiana statute was “inconsistent with the personal liberty of citizens, white and black, in that state, and hostile to both the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States.”

Southern states would within a few years enact additional JIM CROW (segregation) LAWS to effectively separate the races in schools, playgrounds, concert halls, railroad and bus terminals, movie theaters, opera houses, streetcars, and virtually every form of public facilities. Those laws prevailed in the South until the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s forced CONGRESS in 1964 to pass the Civil Rights Act that eliminated the concept of “separate but equal.”

**Further reading:** Paul Finkelman, ed., *The Age of Jim Crow, Segregation from the End of Reconstruction to the Great Depression* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992); Charles A. Lofgren, *The Plessy Case: A Legal Historical Interpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

—William Seraile

### Plunkitt, George Washington (1842–1924)

*politician*

George Washington Plunkitt, ward boss of New York’s Hell’s Kitchen, was born on “Nanny Goat Hill” on the Upper West Side of Manhattan to Irish immigrant parents. He had little formal education, quitting school at the age of 11, but in time he became smart enough to make politics his profession and shrewd enough to make it pay handsomely. By 1876 he had worked his way up through the ranks to become the Democratic ward leader of the New York 15th Assembly District in Hell’s Kitchen on Manhattan’s West Side. For nearly 50 years Plunkitt dominated the politics of the 15th Assembly District to the point that he once simultaneously held the public offices of magistrate, alderman, supervisor, and state senator.

TAMMANY HALL, arguably the most powerful “political machine” during the Gilded Age, was the Democratic organization that dominated New York City politics throughout the 19th century. Plunkitt supported every Tammany boss from William M. Tweed to Charles F. Murphy. He became well known for conducting business and talking with the press while perched majestically on the bootblack stand at the New York County courthouse.

Speaking frequently in 1905 with a local journalist, William L. Riordon, Plunkitt defended political machines against attacks by reformers, whom he dismissed as quick-fading morning glories. These interviews, which Riordon probably embellished, originally appeared as “Very Plain Talks on Very Practical Politics” in the *New York Evening Post*; they were subsequently published as *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* and have achieved the status of a political classic. In them, Plunkitt described in amusing detail how he succeeded in politics and accumulated a fortune. The key to Plunkitt’s success was winning and keeping the loyalty of the voters in his district. To do so he attended every wake, wedding, christening, and picnic and provided needy constituents with groceries, a bucket of coal on cold days, legal support, a place to live, or a job. Plunkitt used his access to patronage to find work for the unemployed in city agencies, within the political organization itself, or in local businesses anxious to stay on his good side. Plunkitt became wealthy not by stealing but by what he called “honest graft.” Plunkitt made money by acting on inside information about proposed public improvements to which he was privy.

See also MACHINE POLITICS; TWEED RING.

**Further reading:** William L. Riordon, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall: A Series of Very Plain Talks on Very Practical Politics*, ed. Terence J. McDonald (Boston: Bedford, 1993).

—Philip Papas

### political parties, third

Two major parties—the REPUBLICAN PARTY and the DEMOCRATIC PARTY—have dominated American politics. Third parties, however, have occasionally been organized by advocates of an issue or group they feel the major parties have ignored. No third-party candidate has ever won the presidency, although a few have been elected to the Senate and the House of Representatives, and more have had success at the state and local level. More significantly, third parties, by playing the part of the spoiler, force their agendas (although often watered down) onto the platforms of either the Democrats or the Republicans, who are anxious to prevent the defection of key constituencies.

In the late 19th century, third parties formed around issues related to political reform, agrarian discontent, class conflict, and prohibition. The LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PARTY was organized prior to the 1872 election by Republicans who were disturbed by the course of the Ulysses S. Grant administration. They favored low tariffs, wanted CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, were anti-inflation, and had soured on Radical Reconstruction. The Liberal Republican movement did not survive the election of 1872. In part it self-destructed due to the ludicrous nomination of Horace

Greeley—a high tariff, anti-civil service reform man—for the presidency, but also because Grant and the Republican CONGRESS undercut the Liberals by adopting both tariff reductions and civil service reform before the election and then abandoning them in 1875.

The most notable Gilded Age third parties were born of agrarian discontent and focused on the CURRENCY ISSUE. The GREENBACK-LABOR PARTY (National Independent Party) was organized in the 1870s and promoted the expansion of the currency by issuing more paper money (“greenbacks”) and rejecting the gold standard in order to ease the financial burdens of farmers and industrial workers. The Greenbackers were succeeded in the 1890s by the PEOPLE’S PARTY (Populists), which promoted currency expansion through the unlimited coinage of silver at a 16-to-1 ratio with gold (see FREE SILVER MOVEMENT). The Populists also advocated low interest rates to farmers based on crops stored in “subtreasuries” (warehouses), favored government ownership of RAILROADS and utilities, a graduated income tax, an end to the NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM, and the direct election of U.S. senators. The Democratic Party, however, adopted Free Silver in 1896 and forced the Populists to choose between maintaining their party or fusion with the Democrats. They chose fusing and their party survived a few years in the Midwest before expiring. The Populists ultimately succeeded in that most of the reforms they advocated were adopted by the Progressives and the New Deal in the 20th century.

Among the other third parties to emerge at the end of the 19th century was the PROHIBITION PARTY, which sought the enactment of legislation outlawing the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. It was the spoiler for the Republican Party in 1884 when enough upstate New York Republicans deserted to vote the Prohibitionist ticket, enabling the Democratic candidate, GROVER CLEVELAND, to win the state and with it the presidency. By the early 20th century politicians in both parties supported Prohibition. Some third parties like the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, established in 1874, were so small that the major parties could and did ignore them.

See also BIMETALLISM; OMAHA PLATFORM; SIMPSON, JERRY.

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—Phillip Papas

## population trends

The population of the United States almost doubled from 40 million in 1870 to 76 million in 1900. Its growth was

rapid during the Gilded Age, but not as fast as in previous 30-year periods. Although overall growth was beginning to level off, the late 19th century was a period of enormous population shifts in the United States. The influx of immigrants from Europe, among whom there were a large number of young single males, accounts for the fact that in 1870 there were virtually the same number of males and females, but in 1900 there were more than 1.5 million more men than women in the United States. European IMMIGRATION also accounts for the percentage decline of nonwhites from 13.7 percent in 1870 to 12 percent in 1900. The annual number of immigrants fluctuated with economic conditions. Large numbers came in prosperous years (788,992 in 1882) and fewer in hard times (138,469 in 1878).

Within the United States two major trends occurred simultaneously: the move west that more than doubled the number of farms from 2.7 million in 1870 to 5.7 million in 1900, and a nationwide move from farms to cities. In 1870 for each city dweller there were three persons living in rural areas, but by 1900 there were two city dwellers for three persons living in rural America. Urban population tripled from 9.9 million to 30.2 million, while rural population grew from 28.7 million to 45.8 million. Major established cities like New York more than doubled in population, and newer cities like Chicago multiplied more than five times from over 300,000 in 1870 to 1.7 million in 1900. States west of the Mississippi from 1870 to 1900 gained approximately 11.4 million people born east of the Mississippi, and during the same period 1.4 million southerners took up residence in the North. Most of those southerners who headed north were white, since the black population of the North increased by only 428,000 from 1870 to 1900. The enormous black migration from southern farms to northern cities came in the 20th century.

Americans were also a restless people constantly on the move. Quite apart from moving a long distance west or north, there was enormous geographic mobility within regions and between and within cities. Those who were unsuccessful would move a relatively short distance to a different farm or to another town in search of a better job. In places as different as Newburyport and Boston, Massachusetts, Omaha, Nebraska, and Poughkeepsie, New York, workers moved with great frequency, with as many as half of the unskilled moving in a 10-year period. There was also an enormous amount of moving within cities as tenants found better housing. With many leases in New York City expiring on May 1, it was called “moving day” and was a holiday of sorts, since the streets and sidewalks were so jammed with carts, wagons, and possessions that normal business could hardly be conducted. A remarkable number of Gilded Age Americans, especially those without real estate, were on the move.

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**populism** See PEOPLE'S PARTY.

**Populist Party** See PEOPLE'S PARTY.

**Powderly, Terence Vincent** (1849–1924) *labor leader*

Terence Vincent Powderly was the 11th of 12 children born to Terence and Margery Powderly. After his birth on January 22, 1849, he was raised in Carbondale, Pennsylvania, and he quit school in 1862 to become a switchman for the Delaware & Hudson Railroad. Four years later he became an apprentice machinist for the same company. Laid off immediately after he finished his three-year apprenticeship, he took a job with the Delaware, Lackawanna, & Western Railroad Company (DL&W) in nearby Scranton, Pennsylvania.

While at the DL&W he joined the Machinists and Blacksmiths International Union and quickly became an officer of his local. Although he was not militant, he was fired and blacklisted in 1873 for his union activities. Unable to find work in Scranton, he took advantage of his union's job-referral service to secure a position in Oil City, Pennsylvania. While in Oil City he became involved in the broader labor reform movement. He returned to Scranton the following year, where he helped organize the local GREEN-BACK-LABOR PARTY. In 1878 he began the first of three consecutive terms as mayor of Scranton.

The following year Powderly succeeded Uriah Stephens as grand master workman (president) of the KNIGHTS OF LABOR (Knights), a position he would hold for 14 years. In his vision, the Knights would serve as an educational vehicle destined to replace the wage system with producer cooperatives. He advocated government ownership of public utilities, the abolition of child labor, workplace safety laws, and the exclusion of Chinese immigrants. Once a member of the Father Mathew Total Absti-

nence and Benevolent Union, he denounced alcohol as a major contributor to working-class poverty. He opposed strikes, believing that immediate concerns such as wages and working hours could be resolved best through arbitration. He issued a secret circular directing his members to withhold their support of the general strike called in support of the eight-hour working day. Avoiding the appearance of radicalism, he twice opposed resolutions expressing sympathy for the anarchists convicted of the Haymarket bombing at the Knights General Assembly in 1886. Yet he privately believed they were unjustly condemned.

Nevertheless, the Knights declined rapidly following the HAYMARKET RIOT. As a result, Powderly reached out to agrarian reformers. He and other leaders of the Knights attended the convention of the Southern Farmers Alliance, where they agreed to coordinate lobbying activities in Washington and support alliance candidates, but he was reluctant to ally the Knights with the PEOPLE'S PARTY (Populist Party) in 1892. The following year, disappointed agrarians joined with members of the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY to remove him as grand master workman, and in 1894 he was expelled from the Knights.

That year, Powderly, who had previously studied law, was admitted to the Lackawanna County bar at Scranton. In 1897, having campaigned for WILLIAM MCKINLEY, he was appointed U.S. commissioner general of IMMIGRATION, but he was removed by Theodore Roosevelt in 1902 because of corruption on Ellis Island. Roosevelt, however, in 1906 gave him a position in the Department of Commerce and Labor, shifting him the next year back to the Bureau of Immigration, where he served until his death on June 24, 1924.

**Further reading:** Craig Phelan, *Grand Master Workman: Terence V. Powderly and the Knights of Labor* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000).

—Harold W. Aurand

**Powell, John Wesley** (1834–1902) *explorer, mapmaker, geologist, ethnologist*

Powell was born in Mount Morris, New York, on March 24, 1834. The son of a Methodist preacher and farmer, Powell moved with his family to the Midwest, where he developed a taste for natural history. Although educated intermittently at colleges in Illinois and Ohio, without earning a degree, Powell pursued his avocation. He collected specimens widely and, on the eve of the Civil War, was secretary of the Illinois Society of Natural History. Powell led Union artillery units at Shiloh (where he lost his right arm below the elbow), in the Vicksburg and Atlanta campaigns, and at Nashville before resigning on disability as a major in January 1865.



Powell then began teaching geology and natural history at Illinois Wesleyan University and resumed his curatorial work for the natural history society. Summers spent in the central Rocky Mountains with his wife and cousin Emma Dean, whom he had married in 1862, led to real exploration. On May 24, 1869, Powell and his nine-man team, supplied in part by army rations, began a daring exploration by boat down the Green and Colorado Rivers that ended successfully on August 30 below the Grand Canyon, except for three men who did not return. With funds from CONGRESS, Powell and a new team made a second, more scientific voyage downriver in 1871. His account of these twin adventures, published in 1875, merged events from both trips.

During the 1870s Powell, expanding on his river explorations, surveyed areas on and near the Colorado Plateau, first under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution and then within the Department of the Interior. From 1877, Powell's U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain region operated south of the 42nd parallel as part of the Interior Department's work to map and assess the West's lands and resources by triangulation surveys that used a rectangular system, uniform scale, and contour topography. By 1879 Powell and his colleagues had contributed significantly to understanding the development of mountains and valleys, to ethnology, and to classifying the public lands by their nature and use. Their interpretations of canyons as "antecedent," "consequent," or "superimposed" reflected the dynamic relations between rivers and the geologic structures they crossed. Powell also supported a more rational use of the West's lands and limited waters and a wiser, humane policy toward its native peoples.

In the debates after 1873 about improving the federal mapping and scientific surveys of the public lands in the West, Powell favored consolidation under civilian control. In March 1879 Congress and President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES terminated Powell's and the two other competing western surveys. They established in their place the U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY (USGS) to scientifically classify the public lands and to aid mineral industries and the nation's economy by examining the geology, minerals, and products of the national domain. Powell successfully supported CLARENCE (Rivers) KING for USGS director. Powell moved back to the Smithsonian to lead the Bureau of Ethnology (BE), established by the same legislation; served with King on the Public Lands Commission; and was elected to the National Academy of Sciences. When King resigned in March 1881, he recommended Powell as his successor.

Powell's goals and methods in science and its administration differed widely from King's. Powell, who represented an older, less-specialized, and often self-taught

tradition in science in America, believed that everything possible must be learned about a subject before the information gained could be applied to solving problems. This view paralleled his looser approach to management, one that allowed the USGS staff to choose their own subjects for study. In 1882, to advance the national geologic map sought by King, Congress authorized USGS activities nationwide. Under this rubric, Powell remade the USGS into a bureau of topographic mapping and basic research in geology, but this change came at the expense of the mandated studies of mineral resources. Congress increased USGS funding in the 1880s, until the legislators and their constituents grew dissatisfied with the paucity of practical results useful in meeting the nation's economic and educational needs and pressed Powell to reform. That drive culminated in the early 1890s after the USGS failed to respond to a renewed monetary crisis and Powell's Irrigation Survey (IS) refused to recommend sites whose selection would have reopened the public lands to entry and released federal-dowry lands to six new states. Congress and President BENJAMIN HARRISON discontinued the IS and selectively slashed the USGS budget, reducing Powell's salary and forcing him to fire some of its best geologists. Powell resigned in 1894.

Powell then underwent a needed operation on the stump of his arm; recovering, he remained chief of the BE. He continued to promote the reclamation of arid lands by wise irrigation and land use and to recommend that counties in new states be organized by drainage districts. Powell summarized his philosophy in *Truth and Error or the Science of Intellection* (1898). He died at his retreat in Haven, Maine, on September 3, 1902, less than three months after the passage of the National Reclamation (or Newlands) Act and the establishment of the Reclamation Service within the USGS.

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—Clifford M. Nelson

## pragmatism

Pragmatism is a philosophy that significantly influenced education and social reform movements in the period from 1870 to 1900 and beyond. Actually, some scholars contend that pragmatism is not a philosophy but rather a way to think about a problem, create possible solutions, and then test or evaluate them against their consequences. Pragmatism was

a response to the seemingly fixed and fatalistic evolutionary determinism of Herbert Spencer and WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER. Rather than accept and adjust to their rigid concept of evolution, pragmatists used the language of evolution and argued that humans were “organisms” who lived in and could change their environment. People were not helpless and passive in the throes of a master law; rather, through their minds and behavior they could alter their circumstances and use knowledge for reform and progress. Pragmatists saw the world as dynamic, full of possibilities, and not governed by eternal, cosmic moral laws with fixed behavioral standards. There was no final analysis, for all analyses are continuously criticized and revised. This belief system won favor with many Americans living through the last three decades of the 19th century as the American landscape and its beliefs were drastically affected by industrialization, urbanization, the growth of a national integrated market and COMMUNICATION system, and unprecedented large waves of IMMIGRATION.

CHARLES SANDERS PEIRCE (1839–1914) was a very influential pragmatist philosopher. Trained as a mathematician and astronomer, he emphasized the presence of chance and possibility in nature. Writing in 1878, he argued that our ideas become clearer when people understand that their knowledge comes from human experience and activity. The meaning of an idea did not come from an ancient, ethical, or moral belief but rather came from our understanding and giving value to its practical, immediate effects. Truth was derived from experience and could be best approached by rigorously testing hypotheses with the tools of logic. He had, in his words, a “laboratory habit of mind.” Peirce, however, was difficult to understand and had little direct influence on the public at large.

In contrast, WILLIAM JAMES, who was influenced by Peirce, wrote with clarity and popularized pragmatism. Reflecting his training as a psychologist, James emphasized the role of the human will and the personal and emotional satisfaction that ideas gave the individual. Ideas—even religious beliefs—were true if they worked. People should judge ideas by their factual results. But by that test, what is true at one time and for one person may not be true for another person at another time. Essentially, ideas and truths are on trial and subjected to constant evaluation and reshaping. James perceived that the universe was open and an “unfinished experiment,” and he believed that people should not follow abstract, previously agreed upon solutions to problems. If truth was the goal, truth was what reality brought to an idea. The idea’s value came from its utility. Threaded through his beliefs was the central theme that humans, through their intelligence, could be actively involved in creating and managing their lives. They simply had to carefully learn from their daily experiences and constantly test their behavior against its results. If one way of

doing something did not work, then change was called for. If one result did not satisfy, then one should recognize the situation and find other experientially tested means to meet personal or organizational goals. This philosophy made sense in a society whose credo was that self-made individuals, through hard work and a bit of luck, could achieve their dreams.

While James’s stress was on the personal and emotional, John Dewey, a late 19th- and early 20th-century educational philosopher and teacher-educator, applied pragmatic principles to social issues. Since society was unfinished, the experimental method should be utilized to solve social problems. Study the history of a problem, research solutions, try them out, and adjust them to make them work. Dewey’s influence in the classroom was and still is enormous. He taught that teachers should always know the needs and interests of students. They should not impose morals, knowledge, or skills on children. While children had to learn reading, writing, computing, and civics, they needed to construct a path of learning from their own circumstances to these unknown skills and beliefs. If children in school learned how to solve problems, as adults they might transfer these experiences into political life and reform institutions.

In other applications of pragmatism, educators in universities conducted research on reforming electoral systems, civil services, taxation, and governmental services. Specialists in agriculture carried their research from universities into the villages and fields of American farmers, showing families how they could raise productivity and improve their lives. For many Americans, politics, government actions, and human relationships were not determined by unchangeable economic and social laws or absolute moral standards. For them, human needs and the best methods for fulfilling them were informed by pragmatic ethics.

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—Harry Stein

## presidency, the

The powers exercised by presidents increased in the late 19th century. Until about 1870 the Whig concept of a passive chief executive (a reaction to the vigorous presidency of Andrew Jackson) prevailed. The president was expected to follow the lead of CONGRESS and simply execute the

laws it made. He could suggest but not dictate legislation, and he should resort to the veto only in extraordinary cases. Indeed, members of Congress interfered with the administrative responsibilities of the president by dictating whom he should appoint as the department heads that formed his cabinet as well as civil servants in their districts and states. The president was to be dignified and above the sordid business of politics. Neither the Civil War nor Reconstruction appreciably changed the presidency. Necessity forced Abraham Lincoln to expand presidential war powers temporarily, but he deferred to Congress in other matters, while Andrew Johnson not only lost the battle with Congress over reconstructing the Union but also damaged the prestige of his office.

Yet, whatever political experience, theoretical ideas, or personality traits presidents possess, they all make some effort, with varying success, to defy Congress and enhance their power. Ulysses S. Grant, upon taking office in 1869, selected his cabinet without consulting Republican congressional leaders, but soon, at their behest, he replaced the conspicuous political independents with pliant party men. On the other hand, Grant influenced the Senate to depose Charles Sumner, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, when he challenged Grant's control of FOREIGN POLICY, and in 1874 Grant obeyed his hard-money conscience and vetoed the Inflationary bill (which actually had very little inflation in it).

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, however, consistently tried to enhance the power of the executive. His choice of a cabinet outraged party leaders, and his attack on "senatorial courtesy" succeeded to the point that members of Congress suggested but did not dictate appointments. Hayes also, in the "battle of the riders," preserved the executive veto power by vetoing several appropriations bills with additions that were designed to force his acceptance of unwanted legislation. The veto messages, as Hayes wished, aroused public opinion. Hayes also travelled widely, spoke frequently on policies but not politics, and identified his presidency with issues as contrasted with the congressional orientation toward party organization. JAMES A. GARFIELD after long service in Congress was inclined to defer to his former colleagues, but to control his appointments to office he fought and again defeated senatorial courtesy. The adoption of CIVIL SERVICE REFORM during the CHESTER A. ARTHUR administration reduced the men and money available for political parties and would in time enhance the control of issue-oriented presidents over their party.

Presidential power did not grow during GROVER CLEVELAND's first term. Immersed in the minutiae of office, he specialized in scrutinizing and vetoing private pension bills. Although in 1887 he signed the Interstate Commerce Act and the DAWES SEVERALTY ACT, he shaped neither, and while he called for tariff revision he

did not fight effectively for it. In contrast, his successor BENJAMIN HARRISON did influence much of the legislation passed by the "billion dollar Congress," including the SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT (1890) and the reciprocal feature of the MCKINLEY TARIFF (1890). And the economic depression following the panic of 1893 inspired Cleveland in his second term to convince a reluctant Congress in 1894 to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, much like his Civil War commander Rutherford B. Hayes, was not dominated by Congress on either domestic or foreign policy issues and cultivated public opinion. Responding to his wishes, Congress raised rates and included the reciprocity feature in the Dingley Tariff (1897). He was not stampeded into a declaration of war against Spain in 1898; he personally directed the war effort; and he made the decisions that acquired overseas possessions in the Pacific and the Caribbean and paved the way for the construction of an isthmian canal. In his relations with Congress, his conduct of foreign policy, his enlarged White House staff, and his use of the press, McKinley paved the way for powerful 20th-century presidents.

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### presidential campaigns (1872–1900)

Just as the PRESIDENCY was evolving during the Gilded Age, so, too, were presidential campaigns. In the 1860s candidates for president were supposed to be above participating in the campaign, even though most of them had devoted a lifetime to securing the nomination from their party's national convention. Republican candidates needed a simple majority, but Democrats had to have a two-thirds majority to get the nomination. In trying to identify their candidate with the selflessness and purity of the legendary Cincinnatus, who abandoned the plow to heed the call to save the Republic of Rome, conventions would send a delegation to the nominee's home to inform him of his selection. The candidate would respond with a letter of acceptance stressing those planks in the party's platform (which the convention also adopted) that the candidate wished to be identified with and on which he believed the campaign should be run. From that point on the nominees remained in virtual seclusion and were restricted to giving behind-the-scenes advice. Campaigns were financed by assessing civil servants (whose jobs depended on the outcome of the election) a percentage of their annual salary, and they were relied upon to get out the vote. National committees were nominally in charge of the campaign, but because they had limited funds and were weak, virtually independent state

Year	Candidate	Party	Popular Vote (%)	Electoral Vote
1872	Ulysses S. Grant	Republican	3,596,745 (55.6)	286
	Horace Greeley	Democratic	2,843,446 (43.9)	66
1876	Rutherford B. Hayes	Republican	4,036,572 (48.0)	185
	Samuel J. Tilden	Democratic	4,284,020 (51.0)	184
1880	James A. Garfield	Republican	4,449,053 (48.3)	214
	Winfield S. Hancock	Democratic	4,432,035 (48.2)	155
1884	Grover Cleveland	Democratic	4,874,986 (48.5)	219
	James G. Blaine	Republican	4,851,981 (48.2)	182
1888	Benjamin Harrison	Republican	5,444,337 (47.8)	233
	Grover Cleveland	Democratic	5,540,050 (48.6)	168
1892	Grover Cleveland	Democratic	5,554,414 (46.0)	277
	Benjamin Harrison	Republican	5,190,802 (43.0)	145
	James B. Weaver	People's	1,027,329 (8.5)	22
1896	William McKinley	Republican	7,035,638 (50.8)	271
	William J. Bryan	Democratic	6,467,946 (46.7)	176
1900	William McKinley	Republican	7,219,530 (51.7)	292
	William J. Bryan	Democratic	6,356,734 (45.5)	155

committees ran the campaign in their states. Campaigns were enormously entertaining, with spellbinding speakers, roasted oxen at barbecues, brass bands, songs, chants, brawls, and torchlight parades with illuminated windows along the right of way. No sporting or theatrical event could match the spectacle of a Gilded Age political campaign. Election statistics show that usually the major parties were evenly matched (see above).

Compared with the 1860s, presidential candidates in 1900 were more active; national committees were more effective; contributions of money and time by civil servants were greatly diminished; and the donations and influence of big business were greatly increased in campaigns. In 1872 Ulysses S. Grant did not campaign against his opponent; Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, however, broke tradition and delivered speeches to large audiences, but to no avail. Although nominated by Liberal Republicans who were disillusioned with Grant and Democrats who realized that Greeley was their only hope to defeat Grant, neither group gave him wholehearted support. He was not enough of a reformer for many Liberal Republicans, and many Democrats could not forgive him for his previous attacks on their party.

Because of hard times following the panic of 1873, corruption in the Grant administration, and the ebbing of Civil War passions, Republicans in 1876 had an uphill battle. They nominated Hayes, a war hero with a reform

reputation, while the Democrats nominated Tilden, who had fought the corrupt TWEED RING in New York City. The campaign was conducted in a conventional manner until the late hours of election day. Although Tilden seemed on his way to victory, Daniel Sickles at Republican headquarters calculated that if Hayes could carry Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina—states where Republicans controlled the election machinery—he would win the election by one electoral vote. He dispatched telegrams to Republicans to hold those states for Hayes. Republican election boards in these states, as well as in other states, determined the official vote and could disqualify returns where people were prevented from voting. Threats and violence did occur, and the Republican-dominated returning boards threw out enough votes, some fraudulently, to carry those states for Hayes.

With Republican fraud countering Democratic violence, it is impossible to tell who would have won in a fair election. Republican governors certified the votes of Republican electors, but Democrats also claimed to have carried the three disputed states and sent their electoral votes to Washington. The Constitution requires that the electoral votes be counted by the president of the Senate in the presence of a joint session of CONGRESS. Since the presiding officer of the Senate was a Republican and the Democrats controlled the House of Representatives and, with that, a majority in a joint session, Congress deadlocked over who would decide what votes to count. It resolved that



question with a compromise most congressmen both disliked and favored.

The Electoral Commission Act (1877) created a 15-member commission to make the difficult decision. It was designed to be composed of seven Republicans and seven Democrats and one independent, but simultaneously with its passage, the independent—Justice David Davis—was elected to the Senate with Democratic votes, disqualified himself, and a Republican took his place. The commission decided by a partisan eight-to-seven margin not to question the official certified returns and awarded the disputed states to Hayes.

By recessing, the Democratic House delayed the count and threatened to plunge the nation into chaos with no president on inauguration day. The Democrats hoped to force the withdrawal of troops supporting Republican state governments in the South and, to a lesser extent, to gain

railroad subsidies for the South. There were negotiations, but no concessions were made beyond what Hayes promised in his letter of acceptance. He would withdraw the troops when the civil and voting rights of black and white Republicans were respected. The count was completed on March 2, 1877, not because of a negotiated bargain but because the high-handed rulings of the Democratic Speaker of the House Samuel J. Randall choked off the filibuster. Randall was willing to use the threat of chaos in an attempt to gain concessions but not to risk the actual chaos of no president on inauguration day. To avoid any future wrangling by Congress over electoral votes, it passed the 1887 Electoral Count Act, which required it to accept the certified returns from the states and, in effect, ratified the decision of the 1877 electoral commission.

In 1880 with the Republican convention deadlocked by STALWART supporters of Grant, so-called HALF BREED



Poster showing the Democratic nominees, Grover Cleveland for president and Thomas Hendricks for vice president, in the 1884 elections (*Library of Congress*)

supporters of JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE, and supporters of JOHN SHERMAN, it turned to a dark horse, James A. Garfield. The Democrats ran a distinguished Civil War general, Winfield Scott Hancock, whose political views were unknown. Relying on party organization rather than issues, Garfield's letter of acceptance was equivocal and retreated on CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, and during the campaign he encouraged the assessment of civil servants. Garfield calculated correctly that to win he had to carry New York, and to activate ROSCOE CONKLING's New York Republican machine, he journeyed to New York, met with Conkling's lieutenants and other leading Republicans, and, at his ambiguously agreeable best, motivated them with vague promises of patronage. The machine carried New York for Garfield and with it the election, although his plurality over Hancock was razor thin.

In 1884 the Republicans did choose Blaine, while the Democrats picked GROVER CLEVELAND as their nominee. Blaine, popular with rank-and-file Republicans, had identified himself with the protective tariff and a vigorous foreign policy. Cleveland lacked the qualities associated with a successful politician; he was brutally honest, frugal with public money, undramatic, ungracious, obstinate, admired for his enemies rather than his friends, not a Union veteran, and a bachelor. His contrariness attracted reformers and political independents, who helped elect him governor of New York in 1882, and the Democrats hoped they would help make him president. The 1884 campaign was vituperative and close. It pitted the personal morals of Cleveland (he was possibly the father of an illegitimate son) against the public morals of Blaine, who had accepted \$64,000 from the Union Pacific Railroad for some worthless bonds. Blaine broke with tradition and campaigned vigorously, but MUGWUMP reformers deserted the Republicans, and Cleveland carried New York by 1,100 votes and won the election.

In 1888 Cleveland, calling for tariff revision, ran for reelection, but although he had a plurality of popular votes he lost New York and was defeated in the electoral college by BENJAMIN HARRISON. In 1892, however, Cleveland decisively defeated Harrison in a campaign that again stressed the tariff.

The severe depression following the panic of 1893 ended the near equilibrium between Republicans and Democrats and realigned the major parties. The shock of hard times was so severe that the Democrats repudiated Cleveland and his hard-money views and in 1896 nominated WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN on a platform that stressed the inflationary free (unlimited) coinage of silver at a 16-to-1 ratio with gold. The Republicans nominated WILLIAM MCKINLEY on a platform that stressed a protective tariff and remaining on the gold standard. Unlike past contests, both candidates campaigned effectively, if

differently. Bryan traveled 18,000 miles by rail and spoke to hundreds of thousands of voters, while McKinley stayed at home but spoke to almost as many who arrived in several delegations daily at his front porch. To each group he gave a short speech tailored for them, extolling the virtues of protectionism and the dangers of Free Silver (see FREE SILVER MOVEMENT). Republicans raised millions of dollars largely from big businessmen and blanketed the country with 250 million pamphlets, while the Democrats could raise only thousands of dollars. McKinley won handily; the Republicans had become the dominant party and would remain so for three decades. The 1900 campaign featured the same two candidates, and the results confirmed the profound shift that had taken place. McKinley, riding the crest of popularity as a result of returned prosperity and a victorious war, triumphed even more decisively over Bryan, who had embraced anti-IMPERIALISM.

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### professional organizations, rise of

As Gilded Age America became more urbanized, industrialized, and specialized, people identified with their occupation or profession more than with their town or section. Organizations reflecting that identification grew across political divisions. Skilled workers formed “international brotherhoods” of craft unions that endured and in 1886 organized the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL). In an effort to destroy those unions and in recognition of their own “community of interest,” businessmen in 1895 organized the National Association of Manufacturers.

The emerging middle class provided the most salient examples of strong professional cohesion in medicine and law. Although the American Medical Association (AMA) had existed since 1846, advances in medical science fostered a drive for more effective organization. In 1870 the sick were better off avoiding the average medical doctor, who was still blistering and bleeding patients and spreading disease with his unwashed hands. By 1900 a revolution had occurred in medical knowledge thanks to the discovery by European scientists that bacteria caused anthrax, tuberculosis, cholera, and other infectious diseases and their realization that antiseptic surgery saved lives. Aware of the new discoveries and the urgent need to apply them universally and to rid their profession of quacks, American doctors in the 1890s organized locally and in 1901 reorganized the AMA.

The organization of lawyers was not as dramatic as that of medical doctors but was also rooted in lawyers' desire to improve the standing and quality of their profession. Few Gilded Age lawyers had been to law school, and most lawyers were poorly trained. After "reading law" in a lawyer's office, which often meant running errands, rather than studying, and passing a perfunctory oral examination by court-appointed lawyers, they were admitted to the bar. Ashamed of their profession as a whole, distinguished lawyers took steps to improve it. In the 1870s they first organized local and state bar associations and in 1878 the American Bar Association, and they pressed for better-trained law students (preferably in law schools) and for stringent, statewide examinations for admission to the bar.

The teaching profession remained unorganized except for college-level teachers, who along with school administrators dominated the National Education Association in the Gilded Age. On the grade-school level small rural schools predominated, where untrained young women and men with little more than a high school education often taught before raising a family or entering another profession. Meager teacher training and short tenures discouraged professional organization until the 20th century.

Higher EDUCATION did play a major role in the organization of scholarly disciplines, as did the nationalizing Civil War experience. In 1865, after the war ended, a combination of reformers and scholars established the American Social Science Association (ASSA). Dividing its interests into four general areas—education, public health, jurisprudence, and the economy—its object was both to study and reform society. These divisions reflected the broad-ranging interests of scholars at the beginning of the Gilded Age, when for example, the boundary between history and political economy was vague and easily crossed. With sharper lines separating the social sciences in the 1880s and dissertations focusing on narrower topics, scholars became more specialized and established organizations for their disciplines. The American Historical Association was founded in 1884 and the American Economic Association in 1885. The founding of the American Political Science Association in 1903 and the American Sociological Society two years later left the ASSA a "hollow shell," with little connection to the academic world.

Developments in the sciences paralleled those in the social sciences. The American Association for the Advancement of Science, established in the 1840s, was joined in the Gilded Age by more specialized organizations. The vast increase in knowledge led scholars to concentrate in fields such as chemistry, geology, and physics. The universities, led by Harvard, Yale, and Johns Hopkins, became centers

of research and specialization, with each discipline establishing its own association. The American Chemical Society was founded in 1876, the Geological Society of America commenced publishing bulletins in 1889, and in 1892 the American Psychological Association was established. Although the Gilded Age produced CHARLES SANDERS PEIRCE, who excelled in chemistry, physics, and astronomy; CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, steeped in both literature and the fine arts; and GEORGE PERKINS MARSH, who was an architect, an etymologist, and an ecologist, the day of the generalist was fast disappearing.

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### progressivism in the 1890s

The late 19th century was a period of increased industrialization, urbanization, and IMMIGRATION in America. These economic and social changes resulted in inequities and, at their worst, evils that produced tensions within American society. Between 1889 and World War I, a large number of middle-class, college-educated Americans were aware that for many the "promise" of America was not realized, and they embraced the ideas that became known as progressivism. They shared in the belief that a new response was needed to address the economic and social problems facing American society in the late 19th century. Far from having a hard-and-fast program, progressivism was a diverse collection of reform movements, each aimed at renovating or restoring American society, its institutions, and its values.

The influx of new immigrants into the United States as well as a general rural-to-urban population trend during the 1880s and 1890s placed a great burden on the nation's major cities. Overcrowded tenements, poor sanitation, and inadequate health services made many immigrant communities unhealthy places to live. In the 1890s the SETTLEMENT HOUSE movement, begun in the United States by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, the cofounders of Hull-House (1889), was at the vanguard of progressive reform aimed at bettering the lives of the nation's immigrant populations. The settlement-house workers were mostly college-educated, middle-class women who



provided immigrants with medical services, citizenship courses, counseling or vocational training, emergency relief, assistance in finding employment, and lessons in cooking, hygiene, and English. These services were designed not only to improve the immigrants' living conditions but also to provide them with the means necessary to assimilate into American society and become participating citizens. In addition, ALFRED TREDWAY WHITE, with his model tenement HOUSING in Brooklyn, and JACOB RIIS, with his reporting on slum conditions, began a housing reform movement.

Another aspect of the progressivism of the 1890s was moral reform. The crusades against prostitution and alcohol consumption reached a new level of intensity in the 1890s. Those involved in the anti-prostitution and Prohibition movements were a diverse group of business leaders, politicians, social workers, feminists, and the clergy. Prostitution was seen as a product of the increased poverty found in many of the nation's overcrowded cities, but the demand for it owed much to the large percentage of young men among immigrants. Prostitution was connected to drunkenness and the saloon culture that perpetuated it. Other problems connected to it were unemployment, industrial inefficiency, a large number of work-related accidents, violence, health problems, urban poverty, and political corruption. To combat these related evils, progressives advocated the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages.

Progressives in the 1890s also advocated political reform on all levels of government. Progressive reformers grew despondent over what seemed to them a government system controlled by corrupt bosses and party hacks that used politics to enrich themselves at the expense of the public. On the local and state levels, progressives led efforts to reform the structure of municipal government, increase accountability of city officials, reduce transit fares, obtain government regulation of public utilities, and implement the secret ballot. They also argued for the right of citizens to initiate legislation as well as nominate and recall judges. At the national level, the progressives supported antitrust laws, federal conservation measures, lower tariffs, a federal graduated income tax, woman suffrage, the direct election of U.S. senators, and a reform of the NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM that would eventually lead to the creation of the Federal Reserve System.

See also INTERNAL REVENUE TAXES; PROHIBITION PARTY; TARIFF ISSUE.

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—Phillip Papas

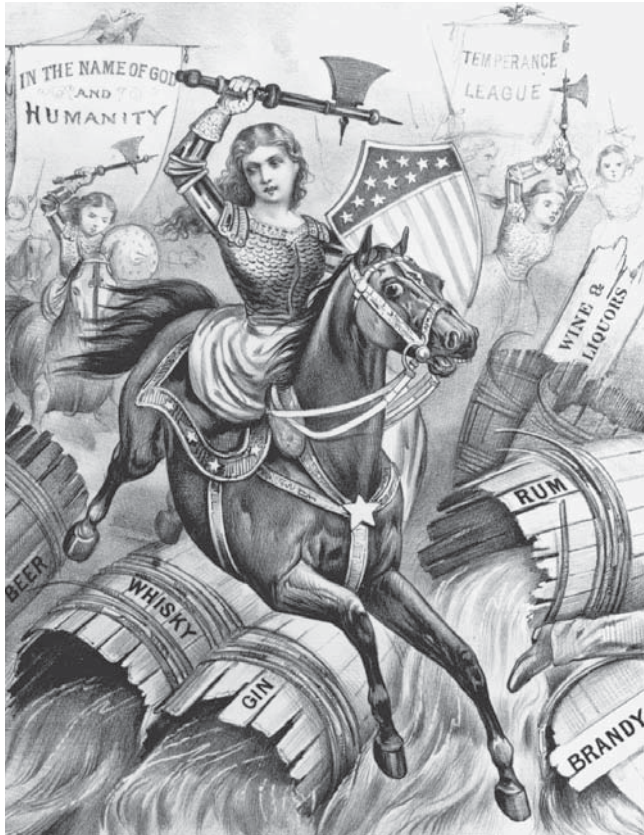
## Prohibition Party

Efforts to prevent the consumption of alcohol have generated intense political conflict in the United States. Temperance had been a major reform movement in the antebellum years, mobilizing large numbers of Americans in a crusade to persuade individuals to give up alcohol and, through legislation, prevent them from drinking. Prior to the Civil War, slavery eclipsed the temperance/prohibition issue, but during the 1870s it experienced a major resurgence. The public was concerned over the large number of saloons, their unwholesome influence in local politics, and their links to gambling, prostitution, public drunkenness, and violence. In 1873 the “Women’s war” broke out across the nation as thousands of women marched to saloons and demanded that saloon keepers give up their businesses. Individual reformers such as Carry Nation lobbied public officials for temperance and prohibition. But it was the Prohibition Party, the Anti-Saloon League (ASL), the WOMEN’S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION (WCTU), and several influential religious organizations that stood at the forefront of the prohibition campaign in the late 19th century.

Under zealous and determined leaders, prohibition groups worked hard to end the production, sale, and consumption of alcoholic beverages. Drinking was held responsible for some of the problems facing American society in the last two decades of the 19th century. Women were at the forefront of the Prohibition movement because of the large number of drunkards who abused their wives and children. Business owners blamed alcohol for industrial inefficiency and the high rate of work-related accidents. Employees often missed time because of drunkenness or came to work intoxicated and performed poorly at their tasks. Drunkenness and the saloon culture that perpetuated it were linked to violence, unemployment, health problems, urban poverty, and the corrupt practices of big-city political machines. Prohibition was viewed as a major step toward moral reform in America.

The Prohibition Party provided a voice for temperance and prohibition in national electoral politics. Its members called for the enactment of legislation outlawing the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. The party was founded in September 1869 by delegates from 20 states at a national meeting held in Chicago. It drew its support mostly from Protestant, native-born, small-town,





Currier and Ives print showing a young woman as a warrior for temperance, 1874 (*Library of Congress*)

rural Americans. But some native-born, middle-class Protestants living in the nation's major cities also joined the party. In the main, its members were recruited from the Republican Party. In its crusade against alcohol, the Prohibition Party played upon the prevalent antiurban and anti-immigrant prejudices in late 19th-century America. The saloons in the slums were an inviting and fruitful target. Prohibitionists often associated urban and immigrant life with a weakening of morals that could eventually threaten American democracy.

In 1872 the Prohibition Party participated in a presidential election for the first time, but its candidate received only 5,600 votes. In 1884, however, the party's presidential candidate John P. St. John garnered 150,369 votes, enabling the Democrats to triumph, and in 1888 Clinton B. Fisk received nearly 250,000 votes. The Prohibition Party polled its highest vote total of 264,133 in the presidential election of 1892 when it ran John Bidwell, a former congressman, as its candidate. Although the Prohibition Party never acquired numerical strength on the national level, its candidates did win election to several state and local offices.

Furthermore, one of the party's major effects on American politics was that it necessitated more careful scrutiny of a candidate's character.

The WCTU was formed in 1873 to focus attention on the problems associated with drunkenness. Under the leadership of FRANCES WILLARD, it became involved in social work, prison reform, public health, child nurseries, and the woman suffrage campaign. However, the Anti-Saloon League (ASL) had a much narrower focus. The ASL was founded in 1893 and organized local campaigns across the nation against the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages. In effect, the ASL was a single-issue pressure group whose members called for the legal abolition of saloons. The ASL used a network of local and state chapters and its presses in Westerville, Ohio, to publicize the role of alcohol consumption and the saloon in health problems, family disorder, poverty, political corruption, and workplace inefficiency. Gradually, its assault on the neighborhood saloon grew to include a call for a nationwide prohibition of the sale and manufacture of alcoholic beverages.

The Prohibition Party, the Anti-Saloon League, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union convinced the nation to try prohibition. In 1919 the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified, banning the manufacture, sale, and transportation of intoxicating beverages in the United States. Although it did indeed cut alcohol consumption in the 1920s, it also led to excessive lawlessness, and the Prohibition Amendment was repealed in 1933 by the Twenty-first Amendment.

See also NATIVISM; PROGRESSIVISM IN THE 1890s; POLITICAL PARTIES, THIRD.

**Further reading:** Jack S. Blocker, *Retreat from Reform: The Prohibition Movement in the United States, 1890–1913* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976); John Kobler, *Ardent Spirits: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (New York: Putnam, 1973); Roger C. Storms, *Partisan Prophets: A History of the Prohibition Party, 1854–1972* (Denver, Colo.: National Prohibition Foundation, 1972).

—Phillip Papas

**protectionism** See TARIFF ISSUE.

**public health** See MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH.

**Pulitzer, Joseph** (1847–1911) *journalist, publisher* Although his highly successful *New York World* printed its share of scandal and gossip, Joseph Pulitzer is better known for the annual prizes bearing his name that are awarded

for excellence in journalism, history, biography, literature, and music. Born in Hungary on April 10, 1847, Pulitzer arrived in the United States at age 17. He served briefly in the Union army, moved to St. Louis, Missouri, and in 1868 became a reporter for CARL SCHURZ's German-language *Westliche Post*. The next year Pulitzer, a Republican, ran for the state legislature in a heavily Democratic district and, having campaigned seriously, won. In the legislature he fought graft and corruption and in 1872 was appointed as one of three police commissioners in St. Louis. He joined Schurz in the LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PARTY movement and attended its 1872 national convention, which nominated fellow journalist Horace Greeley for president. After Greeley, who also had the Democratic nomination, lost, Pulitzer became a Democrat.

Industrious and ambitious, Pulitzer bought the bankrupt St. Louis *Dispatch* in 1878 and merged it with the St. Louis *Evening Post* to form the *Post-Dispatch*. In the *Post-Dispatch* he launched crusades against gamblers and tax dodgers and ran a number of successful drives to improve St. Louis streets through repairs and cleaning. In 1883, at age 36, he purchased the ailing *New York World* and made it a success by combining sensationalism with public service. Beginning in 1895 Pulitzer engaged in a circulation war with William Randolph Hearst, who that year acquired the *New York Journal*. The two newspapers—and their publishers—created YELLOW JOURNALISM as they went head-to-head in trying to best the other with stories featuring entertaining gossip, prurient scandal, and sensational crime. In the early part of his career, Pulitzer had vowed to “expose all fraud and sham, fight all public evils and abuses” and disdained large headlines. However, in his circulation battle with Hearst's *Journal*, he changed his outlook and went to ever-larger headlines and type to attract readers to his stories. He defended this course by saying that people needed to know about crime in order to combat it, and he claimed that there was no contradiction in his paper's lurid news pages and its thoughtful, literate editorial pages. After a few years he ceased trying to out-Hearst Hearst, and the *World* in the early years of the 20th century became a responsible public-service newspaper with high journalistic and moral standards.

Believing that journalism should be more than a trade and that journalism education could elevate the job to a profession, he offered Harvard University a large sum of money to open a journalism school in his name. Harvard turned down Pulitzer's offer, and he instead provided \$2 million to Columbia University to establish the graduate school of journalism and the annual Pulitzer Prizes. He died aboard his yacht *Liberty* in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, on October 29, 1911.

**Further reading:** W. A. Swanberg, *Pulitzer* (New York: Scribners, 1967).

—Ellen Tashie Frisina

### **Pullman Strike** (1894)

The Pullman Strike of 1894 began as a rebellion against greedy paternalism. George M. Pullman, the railroad sleeping-car mogul, built a “model town” (named after himself) complete with a park, playgrounds, and a library for his employees. But Pullman was not acting as a philanthropist; he made a profit on his investment by deducting rents and fees from the workers' wages. During the depression of 1893 Pullman cut wages by as much as 25 percent without lowering rents in the company town. When he fired members of the workers' committee that asked him to either restore the wage cut or lower rents, his employees walked off their jobs.

The strikers knew that they would fail if they could not stop Pullman's primary source of revenue, which was from RAILROADS using his cars. As members of the American Railway Union (ARU), an industrial union recently formed by Eugene V. Debs, they appeared at the organization's first convention begging for help. Flushed by a victory over the Great Northern Railroad, the convention delegates ignored Debs's advice and instructed him to order a boycott if Pullman refused to negotiate. Pullman refused, and Debs in June 1894 instructed his membership to stop moving the sleeping cars.

The General Managers Association, an organization of the 24 railroads serving Chicago, used the boycott as an opportunity to destroy the militant ARU. The railroads precipitated a general strike by firing workers who refused to move Pullman cars. The managers then appealed to Washington for help. Attorney General Richard Olney, a former railroad attorney, responded by appointing another railroad lawyer, Edwin Walker, as special assistant to the federal attorney in Chicago, instructing him to use all legal means to break the strike. One legal recourse was obvious; it was against the law to obstruct the movement of the mail, which most passenger but few freight trains carried. To secure the movement of the freight trains, Walker appealed to the courts to enforce the SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT prohibiting conspiracies in restraint of trade. On July 2, 1894, the courts complied by issuing an injunction forbidding interference with any railroad activity and ordering Debs and anyone else to stop inducing workers to strike. The following day a U.S. marshall requested troops to help enforce the injunction. And on July 4 President GROVER CLEVELAND ordered the army into Chicago and other railroad centers, much to the dismay of Illinois governor JOHN PETER ALTGELD, who believed the troops were not needed.

Debs appealed to other unions for financial and moral support, but the request was largely ignored. The railroad brotherhoods were happy to see the upstart ARU disappear, and the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) opposed industrial unions. Realizing the strike was doomed, Debs offered to call it off if the railroads promised to rehire the strikers. Management did not respond, and the strike disintegrated. The victorious railroads black-listed strike leaders, and the ARU collapsed. Arrested for

contempt of court, Debs was sentenced to six months in prison, and in the landmark case *In re Debs* (1895), the SUPREME COURT upheld the use of the injunction against striking labor unions.

**Further reading:** Stanley Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880–1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

—Harold W. Aurand



**Quay, Matthew Stanley** (1833–1904) *politician, lawyer*

The quintessential political boss of the Gilded Age, Matthew S. Quay was born on September 30, 1833, in Dillsburg, Pennsylvania. He grew up in western Pennsylvania and graduated at 17 from Jefferson College, in Canonsburg, where he excelled in classics and literature. After reading law in a Pittsburgh law firm, he was admitted to the Beaver County bar in 1854. That same year he married Agnes Barclay; they had five children.

Quay's political career began just as the Republican Party developed in Pennsylvania. In 1855 Secretary of the Commonwealth Andrew Gregg Curtin, who respected Quay's father, a Presbyterian minister, recommended that Quay fill out the term of the Beaver County prothonotary (chief clerk of the court). Quay was elected and reelected to full terms in 1856 and 1859 and managed Curtin's 1860 gubernatorial campaign in Beaver County.

When the success of Curtin, Abraham Lincoln, and the Republican Party led to the secession of the South and civil war, Quay volunteered for military service. Curtin, however, made him his private secretary to handle his vast correspondence and also found him helpful in "meeting sudden and severe emergencies." Craving glory, Quay got Curtin in 1862 to make him colonel of the 134th Pennsylvania Volunteers, but by the year's end an attack of typhoid fever forced him to resign. Although relieved just prior to the December 13 Battle of Fredericksburg, Quay, though still weak, earned the Congressional Medal of Honor, while leading his men in the final, futile bloody charge on Marye's Heights. Upon recovering his health, Quay resumed his task of answering Curtin's mail from Pennsylvania's troops. Grateful for the interest Quay had shown in them, veterans supported him throughout his career.

Quay was a masterful political strategist, who transferred his intraparty loyalty from Curtin to his rival, Simon Cameron. For supporting Cameron, Quay was named secretary of the commonwealth in 1873 and became

Cameron's political manager. When Cameron, in 1877, resigned from the U.S. Senate in favor of his son Don (who proved inept at party leadership), Quay emerged by 1879 as the boss of Pennsylvania and in 1887 was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he remained until his death.

Quay used his talents to win elections rather than to originate or legislate policy. He excelled in absenteeism and shunned important committee assignments, preferring to distribute favors (usually new post offices) as chair of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. His interest in the tariff ended when his constituents were protected. Issues did not interest him because he believed good organization would defeat good ideas. Since his effective organization depended on control of the thousands of election units in Pennsylvania, Quay kept card files on local politicians, listing favors they received, their strengths, weaknesses, and secrets. When faced with party revolts in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, he used the information on his cards to line up support. Money to run his machine—to provide favors—came from political assessments of both officeholders and industrialists, who contributed as long as he protected their interests.

Quay was an audacious and sagacious captain in a political campaign. As chair of the Republican National Committee in 1888, he engineered BENJAMIN HARRISON's victory, even though he had 100,000 fewer votes than his Democratic opponent GROVER CLEVELAND, and secured a Republican Congress. Quay accomplished this feat by frying \$400,000 of "fat" out of Pennsylvania manufacturers, using \$150,000 of it to eliminate fraudulent voters in New York City by compiling a list of legitimate voters there, and dispatching well-heeled henchmen to buy voters in close congressional districts. Harrison carried New York and with it the election, and told an incredulous Quay, "Providence has given us the victory," to which Quay later exclaimed, "Providence hadn't a damned thing to do with it," adding that Harrison would never know "how close" men approached "the gates of the penitentiary to make him President."



Quay was corrupt as well as astute. To supplement political assessments and business contributions, he repeatedly used state funds. From the early 1870s until his death Quay was almost invariably state treasurer or close to the person who was treasurer. The state treasurer could deposit state money in banks without receiving interest for the state. Anxious to secure these funds, banks showered favors on state treasurers, who usually left their office wealthier than when they entered it. In 1880, with the compliance of the state treasurer, Quay, through speculation, lost \$250,000 of the state's money. When the scandal broke in 1885, he was saved from ruin by a \$100,000 loan from Don Cameron. Seeking vindication, Quay audaciously ran for state treasurer in 1885, used his cards to call in political debts, and won the election. In office he proceeded to speculate with \$400,000 in state funds, made a profit, paid off Don Cameron, and returned the \$400,000 he had essentially

embezzled. A passionate stock-market speculator, Quay in 1898 was again caught using state funds. "I don't mind losing a governorship or a legislature now and then," Quay quipped, "but I always need the state treasuryship."

Quay was a man of contradictions. Although an urbane guest and gracious host, he would rather read at home or fish for marlin in Florida than attend a fashionable Washington ball. He was corrupt and cynical, yet no one was more patriotic, brave, and loyal to his troops than he was at Fredericksburg. No one excelled him in machine politics, and no politician excelled him in his love of literature and books. Before he died on May 28, 1904, one of his last requests was "to see my books once more."

**Further reading:** James A. Kehl, *Boss Rule in the Gilded Age: Matt Quay of Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1981).

# R



**racism** See AFRICAN AMERICANS; IMPERIALISM; NATIVISM; SOCIAL DARWINISM.

**ragtime** See MUSIC: ART, FOLK, POPULAR.

**railroad regulation** See RAILROADS.

## **railroads**

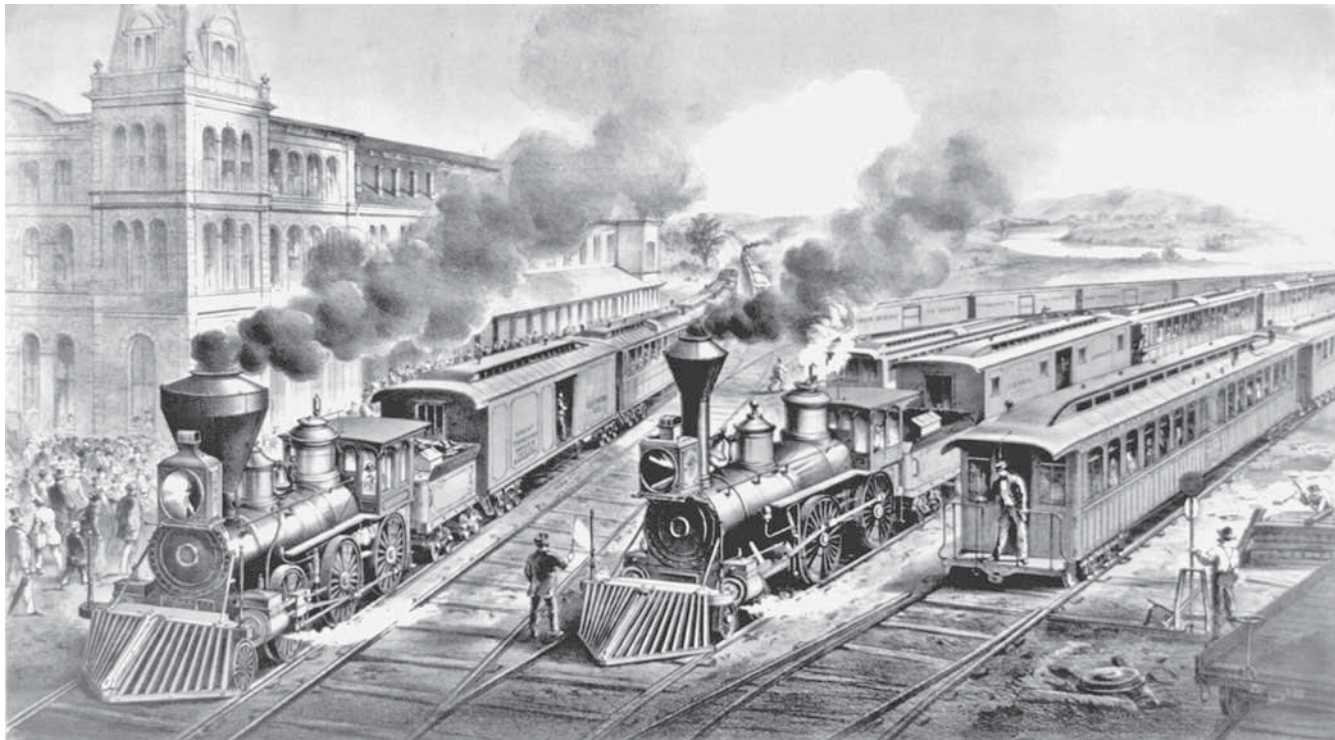
The Gilded Age was the golden age of railroads. Railroad mileage almost quadrupled from 54,000 in 1870 to 193,000 in 1900. Four major trunk lines (New York Central, Erie, Pennsylvania, and Baltimore & Ohio) connected the eastern seaboard with the Midwest, and railroads penetrated the trans-Mississippi West. The East and West Coasts were first linked across the continent in 1869 when the Union Pacific met the Central Pacific along the central route; the connection was further solidified by the later completion of transcontinentals to the north (the Northern Pacific in 1883 and the Great Northern in 1893) and to the south (the Southern Pacific [1883] and the Santa Fe [1884]). Shorter feeder lines were acquired or constructed by trunk lines, creating large systems that crisscrossed the nation with a grid of rails, giving the United States the most extensive rail system in the world.

While railroad mileage almost doubled in the 1870s and the 1880s, only 30,000 miles of track were added in the 1890s. By then the roads concentrated less on expansion and more on improving existing lines and making them more efficient. Railroads were rebuilt, eliminating curves, reducing grades, replacing iron bridges with stronger steel structures, widening tunnels, retracking with heavier steel rails and better ties, double tracking in areas of great density, introducing more sophisticated signaling systems, enlarging freight yards, and building beautiful passenger stations. More powerful locomotives, attractive passenger

cars, and capacious freight cars equipped with automatic couplers and air brakes were also introduced. With these improvements railroads by 1900 were able to reduce the cost of moving a ton of freight one mile (a ton mile) to three-quarters of one cent.

The impact of railroads, with their enormous and efficient carrying capacity, on the American economy and society can hardly be exaggerated. Railroads made possible the rapid settlement of the West and the spectacular growth of cities in the late 19th century. Railroads transported bulky products of mines, forests, and fields cheaply to smelters and mills for processing and refining, then to manufacturers, and finally to consumers in rural and urban areas. Railroads facilitated the phenomenal growth of large-scale factories by supplying them with materials, distributing finished goods far and wide, and by giving food to their workers and families. The railroad network converted mid-19th-century regional economies into a national economy. For example, cheaper factory goods from the East caused less efficient California manufacturers to cut labor costs by using underpaid Chinese laborers, touching off racist riots. At the same time, superior California pears ruined Pennsylvania pear growers. Easy and rapid transportation also bound the nation closer, bringing outlying areas nearer to the mainstream. Trips that earlier in the 19th century were arduous, hazardous, and literally took months could be completed in a few days in comfortable sleeping cars during the Gilded Age.

By 1870 railroads had developed into the largest business enterprises the nation had seen. Major railroads built or acquired thousands of miles of track stretched over several states. They required enormous investments of capital in their rights of way, rolling stock, freight-handling facilities, and passenger stations. And they were built and operated by a labor force the size of an army and whose strikes were among the most spectacular of the era (the GREAT STRIKE OF 1877, the KNIGHTS OF LABOR in 1885–86, and the 1894 PULLMAN STRIKE). Although railroads were pri-



A Currier and Ives engraving showing two express trains leaving the station, 1874 (*Library of Congress*)

vate corporations, their construction (especially of western roads in sparsely populated areas) was financed in part by the federal land grants and by outright gifts from communities anxious for rail service. American and foreign, especially British, investors bought railroad bonds and financed most of their construction.

In 1870 some railroads were controlled by dishonest, corrupt managers who cheated their investors and bribed legislators. The construction companies they created (like the Credit Mobilier) to build the road (like the Union Pacific) would pad costs and pay the insiders enormous dividends, leaving the road—which they would abandon—deeply in debt and overcapitalized. This was accomplished by “watering” the stock, i.e., by selling more securities than the real worth of the railroad. In the late 1860s, because federal loans financed construction of the Union Pacific, the Credit Mobilier used some of that money to bribe members of CONGRESS. JAY GOULD of the Erie Railroad spent \$1 million bribing the New York State legislature to legitimize the fraudulent issuing of stock. Overcapitalization took its toll. After Gould abandoned the Erie Railroad, it went bankrupt four times. Following the panic of 1893, railroads controlling one-third of the nation’s mileage were bankrupt.

By 1900, however, investment bankers like JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN had reorganized bankrupt roads and

squeezed most of the “water” out of railroad indebtedness. Morgan (among others) also worked to consolidate railroads into ever-larger systems. His efforts culminated in the 1901 Northern Securities Company, which controlled the Northern Pacific, Great Northern, and the Chicago Burlington & Quincy, thus monopolizing territory from Chicago to Seattle. This led to the 1904 *Northern Securities* case, wherein the SUPREME COURT dissolved that holding company as a violation of the SHERMAN ANTI-TRUST ACT (1890).

From their beginning, railroads had been subject to government regulation. Chartered by states as common carriers, railroads were forbidden to discriminate among their customers. But railroads were competitive at some points (usually cities served by other railroads or water transportation) and monopolistic over long stretches of their tracks (usually rural areas), and these facts encouraged them to discriminate. To boost the volume of freight carried between competitive points, railroads would offer large shippers like Standard Oil “rebates” (a refund of part of the published rate), charging them less for a long haul than they charged for a short haul along routes where they had a monopoly. Railroads preferred not to give rebates and occasionally attempted to create pools among themselves, dividing up tonnage or revenues and thus avoiding ruinous rate wars between competitive points.

Farmers, merchants, communities, and even regions were outraged by discrimination and by monopolistic pools, and in the 1870s they turned to politics and formed the Granger movement (*PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY*) to seek redress in government regulation. Responding to their demands, state legislatures in the Midwest passed legislation setting rates and eliminating the long-haul/short-haul abuse, and in 1876 the Supreme Court in *MUNN V. ILLINOIS* upheld state regulation of railroads even if involved in interstate commerce. Ten years later, the Court reversed itself in *WABASH V. ILLINOIS* (1886), holding that states could not regulate interstate commerce and triggering demands in the West and South for federal action. Congress responded in 1887 with the Interstate Commerce Act, which was too strong for the railroads and too weak for reformers. Railroads were disturbed when pools were outlawed, but there was a loophole in the clause that prevented long-haul/short-haul discrimination, so while railroads had to adhere to published rates, the law did not specifically provide for rate regulation. It did provide for the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to administer the act. The ICC was effective until 1897, when the Supreme Court specifically outlawed its power to set rates (*Maximum Freight Rate* decision) and so interpreted the long-short haul clause to render it useless (*Alabama Midland* case). The ICC was reduced to collecting statistics, and effective railroad regulation was postponed until the Progressive Era.

**Further reading:** Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., ed., *The Railroads: The Nation's First Big Business* (New York: Arno, 1981); Thomas C. Cochran, *Railroad Leaders, 1845–1890: The Business Mind in Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953); Ari Hoogenboom and Olive Hoogenboom, *A History of the ICC: From Panacea to Palliative* (New York: Norton, 1976); Albro Martin, *Railroads Triumphant: The Growth, Rejection, and Rebirth of a Vital American Force* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

**Reconstruction, end of** See HAYES, RUTHERFORD B.

**Red Cloud (Mahpiya Luta)** (ca. 1822–1909) *leader in the war for the Bozeman Trail*

An Oglala Sioux war leader, Red Cloud was one of their fiercest warriors, rivaling fellow Oglala CRAZY HORSE. However, once Red Cloud recognized the futility of further warfare, he became one of the “statesmen” of the Sioux people, traveling to Washington, D.C., to broker peace deals and establish reservations in the Dakotas.

Red Cloud was born along the North Platte River in modern-day western Nebraska. After his father died, he

was raised by his maternal uncle, Chief Smoke. Red Cloud earned a reputation as a skilled warrior while fighting rival tribes such as the Pawnee, Crow, Ute, and Shoshone. He sided with his uncle in an Oglala dispute, which prevented him from becoming chief of the tribe at that time, but by the 1860s he was considered one of the war leaders of the Oglala.

In the spring of 1865 Red Cloud's forces began attacking whites who encroached on Oglala land on their way to gold mines in Montana. After failed negotiations with the U.S. government, Red Cloud's warriors and other Lakota, in the War for the Bozeman Trail (1866–68), forced the army to abandon its Bozeman posts. That war is notable as the one western engagement decisively won by Indian forces. Red Cloud negotiated a treaty at Fort Laramie in 1868 establishing the Great Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, but several bands refused to accept the treaty and move to that reservation and criticized him for pursuing diplomacy. Although he was a great warrior, Red Cloud in subsequent SIOUX WARS consistently advocated peace. He traveled to New York and Washington, D. C., in 1870 and settled on the reservation in 1871. The move of white settlers onto Sioux lands following the discovery of gold in the Black Hills led to the War for the Black Hills (1876–77). Red Cloud opposed that war and encouraged Crazy Horse to surrender in 1877, but the army suspected Red Cloud of having secretly supported his fellow Sioux in the campaign culminating in General GEORGE A. CUSTER's disaster at the Battle of Little Bighorn, where indeed his son had fought. General George Crook denounced Red Cloud and tried unsuccessfully to depose him as chief.

Following Crazy Horse's surrender, the Oglala Sioux were confined on the Pine Ridge Agency in western South Dakota, and Red Cloud was regarded as their chief by the Oglala and the federal government. Red Cloud soon ran into difficulty with Valentine T. McGillicuddy, the government agent in charge of the reservation, who regarded him as a nonprogressive opponent of acculturation. Red Cloud petitioned for McGillicuddy's removal and fought to preserve the Great Sioux Reservation. Red Cloud opposed the DAWES SEVERALTY ACT of 1887, which redistributed reservation land to members of Native American tribes, replacing communal ownership with individual ownership and reducing the size of reservations. Red Cloud continued to oppose individual ownership and only in 1905, feeble and nearly blind, did he accept his allotment. Nevertheless, he remained a man of peace. During tensions stemming from the Ghost Dance movement in 1890, Red Cloud again tried unsuccessfully to prevent bloodshed. Although opposed to acculturation, he made it a two-way street by mingling Lakota and Christian religious ideas, and prior to his death on December 10, 1909, he was baptized as a Roman Catholic.



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—Scott Sendrow

**Reed, Thomas Brackett** (1839–1902) *politician*

Thomas Brackett Reed, the powerful Speaker of the House of Representatives, was born on October 18, 1839, in Portland, Maine, the son of Thomas Brackett Reed, Sr., and Mathilda Prince Mitchell. Following his graduation from Bowdoin College (1860), Reed taught school and began to study law in California. In 1863 he returned to Portland and was appointed in 1864 as an acting assistant paymaster in the navy, serving to the end of the Civil War. After his discharge from the navy, Reed resumed his legal studies in Portland and in 1865 was admitted to the Maine bar. In 1870 Reed married Susan Merrill Jones, with whom he had two children.

Reed was a member of the REPUBLICAN PARTY. From 1868 to 1869 he served in the lower house of the Maine state legislature and in 1870 in the state senate. Elected as the attorney general of Maine in 1870, he served from 1871 to 1874 but failed to be renominated, and from 1874 to 1877 he served as city attorney for Portland. Elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1876, Reed assumed the seat vacated by JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE when he was elected to the Senate.

In the House, Reed quickly distinguished himself. In 1878, as a minority member of the Clarkson Potter Committee investigating the disputed presidential election of 1876, Reed uncovered evidence of fraud and violence in Louisiana and discredited several Democratic witnesses. As a congressman, he favored federal policies that would secure voting rights for AFRICAN AMERICANS in the South, advocated protective tariffs, supported the gold standard, and opposed greenbacks, BIMETALLISM, and the FREE SILVER MOVEMENT. He voted against the BLAND-ALLISON ACT of 1878 and in 1893 supported President GROVER CLEVELAND's demand for the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890.

In 1889, when the Republicans regained control of the House, Reed was chosen Speaker and moved to expedite business. Opposition members had paralyzed the House by refusing to answer the roll call and preventing the quorum necessary to legislate. As Speaker, Reed achieved a quorum by counting as present members who refused to answer the roll call. He then forced the adoption of the so-called Reed rules, strengthening the Speaker's control over floor procedures, and by so doing was called "Czar Reed." Using his power as Speaker, Reed enabled the 51st Congress ("billion dollar Congress") to enact such legislation as the MCKINLEY TARIFF and the SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT

(1890). However, when the Democrats returned to power after the 1890 elections, they restored the old rules in the 52nd and 53rd Congresses.

The Democrats lost control of Congress in 1894, and the Republican majority reelected Reed to the speakership and reinstated his rules. In 1896 Reed was mentioned as a possible Republican presidential candidate. A powerful but acerbic figure in Congress, he could not attract national support. The Republicans instead nominated the far more affable WILLIAM MCKINLEY for the presidency. After the Republican victories in the 1896 elections, Reed was again elected to the speakership. Reed pushed the Dingley Tariff (1897) through the House but unsuccessfully opposed going to war with Spain in 1898 and the acquisition of colonial possessions. Disgusted with IMPERIALISM, Reed resigned from Congress in 1899 and entered private law practice in New York City, where he resided until his death on December 7, 1902.

**Further reading:** Ronald M. Peters, *The American Speakership: The Office in Historical Perspective* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); William A. Robinson, *Thomas B. Reed, Parliamentarian* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1930).

—Phillip Papas

**Reid, Whitelaw** (1837–1912) *journalist*

Whitelaw Reid was born near Xenia, Ohio, on October 27, 1837. A bright and ambitious youth, he excelled in Latin, foreign languages, and science and graduated in 1856 with honors from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. He had published items in the local paper and was a partisan of the new Republican Party. A year as a schoolmaster rid him of any desire to teach, and in 1858 he found his life's work when he acquired part ownership of the *Xenia News* and edited it for two years. In March 1861 he began covering the Ohio legislature at Columbus for three papers, including the *Cincinnati Gazette*. Later that spring he became the latter's city editor.

The Civil War, beginning in 1861, enabled Reid to demonstrate his ability as a newsman. He earned praise for his intelligent coverage of campaigns in western Virginia and the Battle of Shiloh in Tennessee. After 1862 he became an eastern correspondent for the Western Associated Press and provided a classic account of the Battle of Gettysburg.

In Washington, D.C., Reid was close to such Radical Republicans as Salmon P. Chase and Henry Winter Davis. With peace Reid went south for two years and was unsuccessful as a cotton planter in Louisiana and Alabama, before returning to the *Cincinnati Gazette* in 1867.

HORACE GREELEY gave Reid his great opportunity, calling him in 1868 to the *New York Tribune*. Within a year

Reid was the *Tribune's* managing editor. He secured literary contributors such as MARK TWAIN and BRET HARTE and added JOHN MILTON HAY, who had been Abraham Lincoln's secretary, to the editorial staff. When Greeley was nominated for president by the LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PARTY in 1872, Reid became the acting editor of the *Tribune*. When Greeley died, shortly after being decisively defeated by ULYSSES S. GRANT, Reid held on to the editorship, after borrowing money from JAY GOULD and buying stock in the *Tribune*.

At 35 Reid was editor of one of America's most prestigious papers, but it was running a deficit and faced financial disaster. Reid's editorial policies won back the *Tribune's* regular Republican base (lost during the election when the paper supported Greeley and Liberal Republicans) and turned around the paper. Reid emphasized his devotion to true Republican Party principles, while criticizing Grant and his stalwart cronies, as his second administration became mired in corrupt scandals. Unlike Liberal Republicans, Reid had little sympathy for CIVIL SERVICE REFORM and none for tariff reform. His ideal statesman was JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE, whom reformers considered unfit for the presidency but whom the Republican rank and file idolized. Thanks to Reid's policies and intelligent, responsible reporting, the *Tribune's* circulation recovered and leveled off at about 60,000 daily in 1876. With renewed prosperity the *Tribune* moved into an impressive new building in 1875—only the spire of Trinity Church was higher—and Reid quickly adopted technological advances, such as the Mergenthaler linotype machine.

Under Reid the *Tribune* regularly supported Republican presidential candidates, beginning in 1876 with RUTHERFORD B. HAYES. Hayes defeated SAMUEL JONES TILDEN, Democrats charged, because of Republican fraud in counting votes in the South. *Tribune* staff members, however, in 1878 decoded the mysterious "cipher dispatches," sent from Tilden's home, which attempted to buy the 1876 election. The *Tribune's* scoop silenced Democratic charges of Republican fraud, delighting Hayes, who invited Reid to a state dinner at the White House. There, First Lady Lucy Hayes sat him next to Elizabeth Mills, the daughter of a millionaire California banker. They married on April 26, 1881, and had two children.

The political scene altered dramatically for Reid with the July 1881 assassination of his good friend, President JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD, and with his death in September, the assumption of the presidency by CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR, the stalwart lieutenant of Reid's political enemy ROSCOE CONKLING. Believing Arthur was strengthening stalwart Republicans in New York, Reid refused to support the party's gubernatorial ticket in 1882. That move backfired when the Democrat GROVER CLEVELAND triumphed so impressively that he won his party's presi-

dential nomination in 1884, and narrowly defeated Reid's hero Blaine.

Reid had been highly critical of Cleveland in the campaign and continued to criticize him during his presidency. But, meanwhile, marriage, wealth, and capable lieutenants enabled Reid to step back from the paper and lead a more active social life. He supported BENJAMIN HARRISON for president in 1888, and when he won, Harrison appointed him minister to France. After three enjoyable years he returned to the United States to work for Harrison's reelection in 1892 and was rewarded with the vice presidential nomination. Naming Reid, however, did not inspire the New York Republican machine, controlled by Conkling's successor, Thomas C. Platt, whom Reid had consistently opposed, and Cleveland carried New York and won the election.

Four years later, with WILLIAM MCKINLEY's election to the presidency in 1896, Reid was rewarded for his unswerving support. He embraced MANIFEST DESTINY and supported the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR (although he had not clamored for it in the *Tribune*). As a commissioner to negotiate peace with Spain, he advocated annexing the entire Philippine archipelago and defended the treaty against the attacks of the ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE. Reid supported President Theodore Roosevelt's high-handed policy in Panama, and in 1905 he gave up the editorship of the *Tribune* and went as Roosevelt's ambassador to Great Britain. He remained in that post until his death on December 15, 1912.

**Further reading:** Royal Cortissoz, *The Life of Whitelaw Reid*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921); Bingham Duncan, *Whitelaw Reid: Journalist, Politician, Diplomat* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1975).

## religion

Religious diversity has always characterized the United States because it is both a land of freedom and a nation of immigrants. With everyone enjoying liberty of conscience, the various religions brought by migrants have often fractured, leading to the emergence of new religions and sects. And within each religion, challenges posed by the changing social order demanded new and frequently unsettling responses. The quickening pace of life in America during the last third of the 19th century posed great challenges and added significantly to the diverse religious scene. Four general trends affected American religion between the Civil War and 1900. These developments involved adjusting to the results of the Civil War, confronting the urban-industrial challenge, dealing with the intellectual-scientific challenge, and the growth of non-Protestant religions. The roots of these trends existed beforehand, and their effects remained long after, but all matured during the Gilded Age.

Prior to the Civil War the antislavery issue divided the Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians into northern and southern denominations. The war further accentuated their differences, and although the hierarchal churches (Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Episcopal) retained their traditional structure, regionalism also stamped their nature. These differences gave rise to the cultural identity attached to southern Protestantism. The churches that defended the Confederacy during the war became bastions for old-time life and old-time religion. Southern Protestant churches, never doubting the literal authenticity of the scriptures, were among the most vigorous in resisting the theological challenges of Darwinism and the new scholarship. Finally, postbellum America, especially in the South, segregated the faiths by establishing AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHURCHES and denominations. In part, separation was the work of white churches that banished blacks, but disenfranchised black communities also wanted to form their own institutions. The black church in the South became the center of power for the black community, and by the end of the century the church comprised the single largest category of property and assets in that community.

Perhaps the most serious challenge to late 19th-century religion was the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the nation. Not only had native-born Americans abandoned the churches in their small, close-knit, rural communities for the anonymity of large impersonal cities, but those cities were also flooded by immigrants from abroad. Protestantism's first response was to save souls lost in the urban wilderness with Sunday schools for adults as well as for children and with revival meetings. DWIGHT LYMAN MOODY was the most successful evangelist of the Gilded Age, converting literally thousands in revival meetings in the major cities. Moody and those who followed him were generic Protestants, noncreedal evangelicals, emphasizing God's love and that salvation was more an inner personal matter not dependent on church doctrine or community approval. While the evangelists were immensely popular in their time, the power of revivalism peaked soon after Moody died in 1899. He also had promoted adult Sunday schools, having organized a thriving one among the poor in Chicago at the beginning of his career. B. F. Jacobs, encouraged by Moody, and John H. Vincent of the Sunday School Union gave the American Sunday School movement structure, uniformity, and vitality. The movement in turn helped meet the needs of a new urban generation for structure, community, and connection in an unpredictable world. The CHAUTAUQUA movement with its adult educational program was a direct outgrowth of the Sunday School movement.

Large cities and the publicity available there made the rise of the preacher/celebrity possible. While Moody the revivalist had the greatest national exposure, there were

preachers who were not revivalists and yet achieved high visibility in their pulpits and preached to huge congregations. Most famous and infamous of these was HENRY WARD BEECHER of the Brooklyn, New York, Plymouth Congregational Church, who embraced reforms as well as his female parishioners (see BEECHER-TILTON SCANDAL). In Boston, PHILLIPS BROOKS achieved an almost equal stature as rector of Trinity Episcopal Church. Like Beecher and other urban pastors, Brooks was a broad-church man, speaking not to or for Episcopalians but to a wide cross section of Americans as one family. With one foot in an older world, with its romantic optimism and traditional moralism, and another in the modern world of industry and science, Brooks and Beecher both straddled the intellectual and spiritual divide, trying to harmonize the dissonant features that others considered hopelessly discordant.

In contrast to the stress of revivalists on achieving eternal life in the next world, the advocates of the SOCIAL GOSPEL stressed achieving a decent standard of living in this world. They believed that religion from a practical, intellectual, and spiritual point of view had to address the problems spawned by industrialism and urbanism. Inspired by the thought of WASHINGTON GLADDEN and organized by the work of JOSIAH STRONG, the Social Gospel saw the church's mission in the city as more than just saving souls; the church also had a duty to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable and to encourage government to play a larger role in regulating industry, protecting labor, and eradicating poverty.

While the growth of factories and the rise of cities caused people to drift away from their churches, the intellectual challenge of 19th-century science appeared to erode the very basis of Judeo-Christian religions. Scientific methods, discoveries, and theories in geology, biology, and history questioned the literal text of the Bible. Charles Lyell's three-volume *Principles of Geology* (1830–33) raised disturbing questions about the age and development of the Earth, but when Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) theorized (on the basis of evidence) that plants and animals had evolved over eons through natural selection—and were not created by God in a few days—the effect was revolutionary. At the same time biblical scholars (higher critics) in Germany, analyzing language and applying rules of evidence, questioned the authorship and dates of various books of the Bible.

Christians divided into liberal and orthodox groups. The liberals accommodated their theology to the new scholarship, while the orthodox adhered to their faith that the Bible was literally the word of God. For liberals, JOHN FISKE's *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* (1874) reconciled theism and EVOLUTION by arguing that there was no conflict between science and religion. He relegated religion to what the leading apostle of evolution, Herbert Spencer,

called “the unknowable.” Indeed, liberals came to view evolution as God’s plan. Henry Ward Beecher associated evolution and progress with Christianity and civilization. By 1900 preachers were citing evolution as a proof of Christianity rather than a challenge to it. In a similar adjustment, Charles A. Briggs, a distinguished higher critic, while rejecting as idolatrous the idea that the Bible was literally without error argued that higher criticism was in the spirit of the Reformation and promoted a better understanding of God through a better understanding of his word.

The extent of liberal acceptance of the implications of Darwinism and higher criticism varied. Some saw religion as a natural phenomenon and Christianity merely as one expression of that impulse, subject to the same tests of integrity as any other faith or, for that matter, any secular idea, but most liberals still believed that Christianity was special and not just one among many valid religions. By 1900 the seminaries and urban ministers of the major Protestant denominations were comfortable with an evolutionary philosophy that apparently confirmed the superiority of Christianity because it seemed to be the “most” evolved of the world’s religions. Ironically, Darwinism, initially perceived as a threat by Protestants, was a generation later used by some, like Josiah Strong, to sustain a belief in American Protestant Anglo-Saxon superiority and, inspire missionary activity.

Orthodox Protestants, who tended to be rural and working class, also varied their responses as they rejected evolution, higher criticism, and the Social Gospel. The entire South was orthodox, while in the North, mainstream Protestant denominations had orthodox and liberal wings or factions. For example, the overwhelmingly conservative leadership of the Presbyterians in 1893 suspended Briggs from the ministry for the heresy of higher criticism, although New York Presbyterians disagreed and did not think him a heretic. The acceptance of Darwinism and of higher criticism in scholarly seminaries and in fashionable churches led to a resurgence of millennialism within mainstream churches and the establishment of new denominations. The emphasis on prophecies of the imminent second coming (advent) of Christ and the end of the world led to an emphasis on the literal, not the metaphorical, truth of the Bible.

Adventism originated with William Miller, who mistakenly predicted the coming of Christ in 1844. Although bitterly disappointed, Ellen Gould Harmon White began having prophetic visions that Christ would soon come, gathered supporters about her, and in 1863 with her husband James organized the Seventh-Day Adventist Church at Battle Creek, Michigan. Under her leadership Adventists emphasized fidelity to the Bible and, because of her infirmities, health and diet. Her protégé, John Harvey Kellogg, as head of the Battle Creek Sanitarium, realized her

principles and developed his ideas, and in so doing he gave the world corn flakes and peanut butter.

Another distinct Adventist group is the Jehovah’s Witnesses, founded in the 1870s by Charles Taze Russell (1852–1916). He differed from other Adventists in believing that Christ had begun to return spiritually in 1874 and that by 1914 God’s kingdom would take over the world. The onset of World War I in that year raised hopes that it would lead to the Battle of Armageddon and the beginning of God’s kingdom. Following Russell’s death the Witnesses, led and considerably altered by Joseph Franklin Rutherford (1869–1942), endured.

Adventism was also embraced by those in mainstream churches who reacted against modernity. Orthodox scholars organized two prophecy conferences (in 1878 and 1886) and also an annual Niagara Bible Conference to share in recognizing signs of the end and also to uphold a literal belief in the Bible. Through their Bible study they decided that God had ordained a system of “dispensations,” or eras, following upon each other and ending with the last days. A close associate of Dwight L. Moody, Cyrus Ingerson Scofield (1843–1921), was its chief advocate. Scofield, a Congregational minister, consolidated the dispensational scheme into seven ages, concluding with the Great Sabbath or the Millennium of Christ ushered in by the Second Coming and the End of Days. His work endures today in the popular *Scofield Reference Bible* (1909). Vital to the dispensational analysis of history and the Bible is the need to assert the literal and infallible authority of the Bible; from that need, the 20th-century Fundamentalist movement developed.

The most important religious trend of the late 19th century was the growth of faiths apart from the major Protestant denominations of Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians. The numbers of Roman Catholics and Jews—and, among Protestants, Lutherans—were augmented by the enormous volume of IMMIGRATION in the Gilded Age. Other non-Protestant groups such as the Eastern Orthodox, Islam, and Asian faiths were known in America, but they did not achieve visibility beyond their own communities until the 20th century. In addition, there were Mormons, Spiritualists, Theosophists, and the religions of indigenous NATIVE AMERICANS (Indians). Increasing diversity led to the religious pluralism of the 20th century.

The rise of ROMAN CATHOLICISM was rapid. There were 200,000 Catholics in 1829, 3 million in 1860, 7 million in 1880, and 10 million in 1900. Migrants, especially from Ireland, accounted for much of this growth, making the American Catholic Church quite Irish in character. Roman Catholicism grew also by virtue of the nation’s conquest of Mexican territory in the Southwest and by attracting dissatisfied Protestants. The most notable converts were



Isaac Hecker, who founded the Paulist order of priests, and Orestes Brownson, who in a distinguished publishing career defended both Americanism and Catholicism.

Hostility with strong racist overtones dogged the Roman Church. Anti-Catholic nativists, who formed political parties in the 1840s and 1850s, and the AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION (APA) in the 1880s and 1890s combined religious bigotry with ethnic hostility to Irish and eastern and southern European immigrants. The nativists suspected that the Catholic Church was clandestinely working to undermine both the American state and Protestant values.

In fact, the opposite was true. The Americanism of late 19th-century American Catholicism caused problems with Rome and precipitated within the church the Americanism crisis. In essence, it was a culture war, since the Roman Catholic hierarchy was authoritarian and reactionary and America was democratic and progressive. In 1895 Pope Leo XIII's encyclical to the American Church, *Longinqua Oceani*, lamented the separation of church and state and admonished the faithful to be obedient to their bishops and to associate mostly with other Catholics. His additional pronouncement in 1899 warned American bishops and others of the risk of heresy in adopting American values too thoroughly. That the Church later called the whole group of issues "modernism" reveals the real issue: America was the wave of the future, while the Church looked to the past. Leo's fears, however, were misplaced, since the liberalism of American Catholics was social and political, not doctrinal or institutional, and they were not about to become heretics or revolutionaries. But Leo effectively silenced liberal thought, making the American Catholic Church between 1900 and the Vatican II Council (1962–65) a very cautious body.

The rise of JUDAISM was also rapid in the late 19th century, but in contrast to Catholicism it experienced an institutional transformation. Orthodox Judaism prevailed early in the 19th century, but on the eve of the Civil War the ferment of radical religious reform that resulted from the Jewish enlightenment in Germany spread to the American Jewish community. In 1846 Isaac Mayer Wise and in 1855 David Einhorn, both influential reform-minded rabbis, arrived in the United States from Germany. Arriving in Baltimore, David Einhorn dispensed with Hebrew and the ceremonial (including dietary) laws, and Wise in 1853 began his rabbinate in Cincinnati, where he founded two magazines and wrote many books to promote reform. In 1873 Wise helped found the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Reform Jewish association of synagogues. By 1880 it claimed the overwhelming majority of synagogues in the United States. In 1885 Reform Judaism proclaimed an 18-point platform that Einhorn heavily influenced and Wise called "the Jewish Declaration of

Independence," spelling out principles of Reform Judaism that endured until the late 20th century.

At that same moment, though, Judaism began shifting again in response to the wave of immigration from the Ashkenazic Jews of eastern Europe, which doubled the number of synagogues in the United States between 1880 and 1890. With the Yiddish language and a subculture created by oppression, these Jews were unresponsive to reform ideas and responsible for the resurgence of Orthodox Judaism. By 1900 Judaism was on the verge of becoming the familiar trinity of Orthodox, Reform, and Conservative. In two or three generations, the most ancient western faith had become, in part, one of the most modern.

Although Protestant, Lutherans were like Jews and Catholics in that they comprised strong ethnic communities for whom faith was part of their identity. Loyal to their German and Scandinavian cultures, Lutherans were not truly a part of the broader Protestant milieu. Three million Lutherans immigrated to the United States between 1869 and 1918. Most came to escape rural poverty and had no quarrel with Lutheran liturgy and doctrines, and many, especially among the Scandinavians, went to the Midwest and plains states. Lutherans formed local synods (at one point there were 66 independent church organizations), but there remained a general unity of faith and practice. A series of mergers and connections in the late 19th century brought most, except a few orthodox groups, into some sort of union in all but name.

**THE MORMON CHURCH**—Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, founded by Joseph Smith (1805–44) in 1830—was an American original. Smith claimed the *Book of Mormon*, which he published in 1830, was a sacred record of contemporaries of Jesus in North America, among whom he lived and taught following his resurrection. Smith and his adherents were persecuted and hounded from place to place as much for their formidable presence as for their beliefs, which included polygamy. He was lynched in 1844, but the Mormons, led by Brigham Young (1801–77), fled west to the valley of the Great Salt Lake. The Zion they built was politically a theocracy, with Young at its head, and economically a mixed system with family-owned and family-worked plots of land, cooperatively owned herds, and church-owned milling, mining, transporting, banking, and merchandising enterprises.

Mormon theocracy and polygamy caused problems with the federal government. Congress in 1850 created the Utah Territory, and Young initially served as governor, but other federal appointees were hostile to the politically powerful and economically dominant Mormon Church, and Young was removed in 1857. Troops were dispatched to uphold federal authority, to which Young submitted in 1858 after the Mormons were promised amnesty. Although Young was no longer governor, he remained, as head of the

church, the dominant political force in Utah. The federal government, however, gradually increased pressure on the Mormons. CONGRESS in 1862 passed a law that banned polygamy, which in 1879 was upheld by the SUPREME COURT. Two subsequent federal laws brought political and economic sanctions into play, in 1890 the church renounced plural marriage, and in 1896 Utah became a state. The communitarian aspect of Mormonism gave way to the vigorous individualism of America at large. Perhaps the largest dissenting Euro-American social order in the 19th century, Mormonism in the 20th century ironically became a bastion of conservative American cultural values.

Spiritualism arose in the “burned over district” of western New York State in 1848 by way of Margaret Fox (ca. 1833–93) and her sister Catherine (ca. 1836–92). They interpreted strange rappings first in their home and then elsewhere as contact with the spirits of the dead. They gave public demonstrations, and Horace Greeley, who had recently lost his five-year-old son, believed in them and publicized them. As other “mediums” appeared and gave “seances,” spiritualism grew rapidly. Many who were religious, especially Quakers and Swedenborgians, embraced spiritualism because it confirmed the existence of the immortal soul. It also gave comfort to the bereaved, like the Greeleys and Abraham Lincoln’s wife Mary. In 1870 spiritualism reached its greatest acceptance and size, claiming 11 million “believers.” Although the Fox sisters became alcoholics, with Margaret in 1888 creating a sensation when she demonstrated at New York’s Academy of Music that the rappings were a fraud, true believers in spiritualism said she was under the influence of alcohol. Later Margaret, in need of money, recanted and once again held seances. When she died in 1893, the National Spiritualism Association was organized on a loose congregational basis.

Closely related and yet distinct from spiritualism, the Theosophical Society was first organized in New York City in 1875 by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–91) and Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907), who were drawn together by their interest in the spirit world. Blavatsky, the major influence on the movement, arrived in New York in 1872 with a reputation for esoteric wisdom gained from ancient “mahatmas” of India and Tibet. Though ultimately denying spiritualism itself, Blavatsky based THEOSOPHY on her communion with and illumination by Hindu and Buddhist masters past and present. Blavatsky and Olcott moved to India in 1878 and set up the international headquarters of the Theosophical movement; Olcott served as president in India, and William Quan Judge became the leader of American Theosophists. After Blavatsky died in 1891, Olcott and Judge (who in the 1890s believed his body was occupied by an Indian yogi) had differences, and the American followers of Judge seceded in 1895 and fragmented the Theosophists. The movement, however, survived with



Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, the spiritual teacher and cofounder of the Theosophical Society in New York City, 1875 (*United Lodge of Theosophists*)

Annie Wood Besant (1847–1933) as its major force, and in the 1960s, with the interest in occult and eastern religions growing, Theosophy flourished.

Among NATIVE AMERICANS, the Ghost Dance—their most significant religious development in the late 19th century—had tragic results. The Ghost Dance had different phases in 1870 and 1890, and both originated in the Walker River country of Nevada. The Ghost Dance of 1870 initially prophesied the arrival of material goods for Indians and later the destruction of all but Indians. The more significant 1890 Ghost Dance originated with its prophet Wovoka, a Northern Paiute, who was also known as Jack Wilson. With his people plagued by disease in 1887, he had a vision in 1888 in which God gave Wovoka control over the weather and told him that the people should dance upwards of five days. At first Wovoka’s message was one of peace and brotherhood and aimed at curing the sick, but during the 1889 eclipse of the Sun he had an apocalyptic vision that

eruptions and floods would kill the whites; that the Messiah would come and save the believers, heal the sick, and raise the dead; and that all things would return to their pre-Columbian state. Wovoka prescribed that believers should dance every three months and predicted the Messiah would come during the winter of 1890–91. Convinced that Wovoka brought rain to drought-ridden Nevada in 1889, believers spread the word, and the Ghost Dance movement spread rapidly eastward, including to the Sioux in South Dakota. The Indian agent at the Pine Ridge Agency panicked, called for troops, and before the Ghost Dance War (1890–91) was over, SITTING BULL had been killed and 200–300 Indians were massacred at Wounded Knee. After the Messiah did not appear, and anxious to avoid a repetition of the SIOUX WARS, Wovoka ceased to predict a date and counseled Native Americans to take up farming and adopt white ways. Ghost Dances continued but apparently ceased by 1930. A syncretic religion, the Ghost Dance of Wovoka combined elements of Christianity and Native American culture that simultaneously accommodated, preserved, and cut across tribal lines.

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—W. Frederick Wooden

**Remington, Frederic** (1861–1909) *painter, sculptor, illustrator*

Through his paintings, sculpture, and illustrations, Frederic Remington was a key figure in creating a conception of the vanishing American West. Born in Canton, New York, on October 4, 1861, Remington took his first trip west in 1881 and spent a few peripatetic years as a sheep rancher and co-owner of a saloon and a hardware store, while making drawings.

In 1886 four of his illustrations appeared in various magazines published by Harper's, and Remington committed himself to a career in art. He quickly became a celebrity as an illustrator of life in the western states and commanded large sums for his work. Simultaneously, he exhibited paintings in prestigious New York City venues and won a silver medal at the 1889 Universal Exposition in Paris. He settled into a pattern of travel interspersed with months of work at home in his studios in New Rochelle, New York, and, after 1900, at a 16-acre compound on the St. Lawrence River. He went to CUBA in January 1897 on assignment

for William Randolph Hearst to cover the Cuban Revolution. When the artist found all quiet, Hearst is said to have cabled back: "You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war." The famous comment, probably apocryphal, exemplified not only the power of Hearst's publishing empire but also the bellicose IMPERIALISM of the nation. Remington did indeed furnish illustrations of the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR. In the last decade of his life, Remington produced fewer illustrations and more paintings, finally turning to pure landscapes. In 1898 he also took up sculpture. A rotund, affable but opinionated man, Remington died in New Rochelle of peritonitis from a ruptured appendix on December 26, 1909.

Remington depicted rugged men and animals: cowboys and cattle, Indians, miners, cavalry soldiers, canoeists, hunters and their dogs. His studios were filled with written notes, sketches, photographs, models, and especially artifacts, such as Apache baskets, lariats, saddles, and pewter drinking mugs. His art usually contained human figures in action, often in violent conflict. In *A Dash for the Timber* (1889, Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas) cowboys rush at breakneck speed into the foreground of the canvas, a large band of Indians in pursuit. By mid-career, many compositions feature a few figures set against a high horizon and a limited if brilliant palette. Typical is *Fight for the Waterhole* (1903, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas), which shows cowboys, rifles to shoulders, ringing the rim of a waterhole while riders advance. This pared-down aesthetic strategy was consonant with his work in illustration. Remington's thousands of published illustrations included images for Theodore Roosevelt's *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail* (1888) and nearly 400 images for an 1891 edition of Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*.

Remington's art depicted the white man in a heroic struggle against untamed forces; the protagonists became symbols of the frontier's demise. Some modern historians see Remington's art as infiltrated with the era's anxiety over race and IMMIGRATION, empire-building, and the wane of masculine power, but for many his stature in crafting icons of the American West is undiminished.

See also ILLUSTRATION, PHOTOGRAPHY, AND THE GRAPHIC ARTS.

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—Karen Zukowski



## Republican Party

The election of Ulysses S. Grant to the **PRESIDENCY** in 1868 and 1872 by substantial majorities of the popular vote and huge majorities in the electoral college obscures the transient nature of the Republican Party's popular base. Grant was an exceptionally popular military hero, but as the passions of the Civil War era receded, the appeal of lesser heroes declined. In addition, Republican strength in the South, based on disfranchising former Confederates and enfranchising former slaves, eroded rapidly with pardons for rebels, their intimidation of black voters, and the consequent replacement of black Republican Reconstruction state governments with white-supremacy Democratic regimes. In the aftermath of the 1876 election the Republicans lost control of their last three southern states and for generations to come would have to contend with a "solid" Democratic South. In presidential elections from 1876 to 1892 (except for 1880) the Democrats won more popular votes than the Republicans, and in 1880 the Republican plurality was a mere 7,000 votes. The Republicans, however, with their votes more strategically located, won three of those five elections in the electoral college.

The Republican Party was a loose alliance of state organizations, as was the **DEMOCRATIC PARTY**. They got together every four years in a national convention to nominate candidates for the presidency and vice presidency, and their successful candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives would caucus and, if in a majority, organize those bodies. They would cooperate, but not at the expense of their constituents. As long as a senator or congressman had a secure base he could defy the president or the caucus. The decentralized nature of American parties fostered factionalism. In one sense, there were as many factions in the Republican Party as there were state organizations, but they formed loose and often shifting alliances within the party. These alliances often identified with an attractive personality like Grant or **JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE**. There also were party members who felt more strongly about specific issues like **CIVIL SERVICE REFORM**, the **CURRENCY ISSUE**, or the **TARIFF ISSUE** than about loyalty to an organization or devotion to a personality.

From the 1870s to the early 1880s Grant's supporters, led in particular by **ROSCOE CONKLING**, proudly thought of themselves as Stalwarts, but that faction, so cohesive at the 1880 convention, disintegrated shortly thereafter when Conkling committed political suicide by resigning from the Senate. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s the followers of Blaine, who was very popular, formed another faction—called Half Breeds by their enemies—which with the political demise of Conkling (who hated and opposed Blaine) became dominant. Reformers, with more strength in the press than in party organizations, formed a third and undependable faction. They were hostile to corruption, wished

to reform the civil service, and wanted to lower the tariff. Reacting against Grant, his policies, and his appointments, many of them bolted in 1872 and formed the **LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PARTY**. They returned to the Republican fold to support **RUTHERFORD B. HAYES** in 1876 and **JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD** in 1880, but as **MUGWUMPS** in 1884 they deserted to the Democrats and voted for **GROVER CLEVELAND** rather than vote for Blaine, whom they regarded as corrupt.

By the 1890s Republican factionalism subsided. With the rapid industrialization of the United States, the protective tariff became the dominant and unifying Republican issue and **WILLIAM MCKINLEY** its most prominent spokesman. Cleveland, meanwhile, identified the Democrats with a low-revenue tariff and had the misfortune to win a decisive victory in 1892. The panic of 1893 and a severe depression followed, discrediting Cleveland, the Democrats, and the revenue tariff and making the Republican Party the majority party for the next three decades. When the Democrats repudiated Cleveland and embraced inflation in 1896, McKinley, who had easily won the Republican nomination, triumphed on a gold-standard, protectionist platform and confirmed the profound political shift that had begun in 1894. The 1898 **SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR** and the acquisition of an overseas empire added to the popularity of the Republicans as the 20th century began.

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**Rhodes, James Ford** (1848–1927) *businessman, historian*

Historian of the Civil War James Ford Rhodes was born near Cleveland, Ohio, on May 1, 1848. His father, a wealthy coal and iron merchant, was a cousin of Stephen A. Douglas and a lifelong Democrat. Although tutored privately as a child, Rhodes graduated from public high school and attended college for two years, when his father interrupted his education to train him to manage his business. Together they went to Europe, where Rhodes from 1867 to 1868 inspected iron and steel plants in England and Germany



and studied metallurgy in Berlin. He also attended lectures on the French political philosopher Montesquieu in Paris, before returning home conversant in French and German. At his father's behest he went south to scout coal and iron deposits but found the Reconstruction of the South more interesting than its minerals. Already a successful businessman, Rhodes, on January 4, 1872, married Ann Card; they had one son. His firm Rhodes & Company included MARCUS ALONZO HANNA (the architect of WILLIAM MCKINLEY's election as president), who had married Rhodes's sister. Business for Rhodes was a means to becoming a historian. By 1885 his fortune was sufficient to hire research assistants and to write.

Without even a college degree Rhodes, nonetheless, set to writing a history of the United States in the Civil War era. He had voraciously read history, honed his writing skills preparing business reports, and learned in his work to judge character. Rhodes thought it an advantage that the Civil War era had barely closed. He both had lived through it and knew some of its participants. A greater advantage was the balance between the North and the South he achieved, partly because of his proximity to his Democratic father and his Republican partner, Hanna. By 1891 Rhodes, researching and writing in Cleveland, had completed his first two volumes, covering the period from the Compromise of 1850 to the outbreak of the war. To take advantage of superior research facilities he moved to Cambridge, Massachusetts. When published in 1892, his description of the sectional conflict leading up to the war was an enormous success, both among professional historians and the public. While enjoying the social and cultural life of Boston, Rhodes published three volumes on the war itself, in 1895, 1899, and 1904. In 1906 he published two volumes on Reconstruction, ending with 1877. The two additional volumes he published in 1919 and 1922, extending his history through the Theodore Roosevelt administration to 1909, were poorly received.

Rhodes's first seven volumes, covering 1850–77, remained the preeminent work on the Civil War and Reconstruction well into the 20th century. They are carefully researched, well written, and remarkably fair considering they were written when the searing effects of civil strife were still felt. Rhodes was a transitional historian between literary historians, such as FRANCIS PARKMAN, and scientific historians, such as FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, who was trained in a Ph.D. seminar at Johns Hopkins University. With a foot in each camp Rhodes's research was extensive and meticulous, while he interpreted and made moral judgments freely.

Composing his history when JOHN PHILIP SOUSA composed *The Stars and Stripes Forever*, ALFRED THAYER MAHAN wrote *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, and the United States acquired an overseas empire,

Rhodes reflected his times. He gave the conflict from 1861 to 1865 a conciliatory, nationalist interpretation. It was no longer "the Rebellion," but "the Civil War." It was caused by slavery, which Rhodes abhorred and viewed as a tragic institution, for which New England slave traders were partly responsible. Attempting to break up the nation by seceding was reprehensible, but Southerners were misled by Jefferson Davis to fight for an "unrighteous" cause. In contrast, Lincoln's leadership was inspired and represented the aspirations of people everywhere. Although the North was right in the Civil War, Rhodes admired Robert E. Lee, the Southern way of life, and the heroism of those who died for the South's cause.

After the war, Rhodes argued, the South was right, and the North had been wrong in imposing Radical Reconstruction on white Southerners. Like most Americans in the Gilded Age, Rhodes viewed AFRICAN AMERICANS as inferior, and by opposing the vote for the freedmen, he supported white supremacy. With his condemnation of Radical Reconstruction, Rhodes attempted to heal the breach between North and South. He dominated Reconstruction historiography until his views were discredited after World War II. When Rhodes died in Boston on January 22, 1927, he was still the preeminent historian of the Civil War era.

**Further reading:** Robert Cruden, *James Ford Rhodes: The Man, the Historian, and His Work* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1961).

### **Richards, Ellen Henrietta Swallow** (1842–1911) *chemist, home economist*

Born near Dunstable, Massachusetts, on December 3, 1842, Ellen Henrietta Swallow Richards graduated from the coeducational Westford Academy and taught school. She returned home to nurse her ill mother and to keep the books of her father's store and became very unhappy until her parents agreed to let her enter Vassar College in 1867. She was mature (25 years old), entered with advanced standing, and studied astronomy and chemistry under the celebrated scholar MARIA MITCHELL. Upon graduation in 1870, she failed to find work as a chemist, so she applied for admission and was accepted by Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), which waived her tuition for the sexist reason that it did not want a woman on its rolls. Nevertheless, she became the first woman to earn a degree from MIT, getting her bachelor of science in 1873 and, having submitted a thesis on mineralogy to Vassar, received in the same year a master of arts. She wished to earn her doctorate in chemistry at MIT but was discouraged, since the institute did not want its first chemistry Ph. D. to be a woman. She stayed on at MIT

as a laboratory assistant and in 1875 married Robert H. Richards, an MIT professor of mining and metallurgy.

At MIT Richards, who possessed enormous drive, pursued her career in chemistry and pioneered a new field that became known as “home economics”; at the same time, she encouraged other women to secure an education in science. In 1876 she set up a women’s laboratory at MIT, and in 1882 she helped found the American Collegiate Association, which became the American Association of University Women. She encouraged MIT to admit women on an equal basis with men, which it did in 1883, and she always functioned as the unofficial counselor for women at MIT.

In 1884 MIT appointed Richards instructor of sanitary chemistry, but despite her accomplishments never promoted her. She conducted the first scientific tests of drinking water in America—40,000 samples from Massachusetts—in 1887 to 1888. Earlier in the women’s laboratory she had begun to apply scientific principles to daily life in the home and especially in the kitchen. In 1880 she published *The Science of Cooking and Cleaning*, in 1885 *Food Materials and Their Adulterations*, and in 1893 she set up a model kitchen at the WORLD’S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION in Chicago. To establish home economics as a field of study—an academic discipline—Richards organized a series of summer Lake Placid conferences (1899–1907), which resulted in the establishment in 1908 of the American Home Economics Association, with Richards as its first president. Departments of home economics were established at colleges and universities but, because of the opposition of Bryn Mawr’s M. CAREY THOMAS, not at prestigious women’s colleges and, despite the presence of Richards, not at MIT. Richards died on March 30, 1911.

**Further reading:** Robert Clarke, *Ellen Swallow: The Woman Who Founded Ecology* (Chicago: Follett, 1973); Sarah Stage, “From Domestic Science to Social Housekeeping: The Career of Ellen Richards,” in *Power and Responsibility: Case Studies in American Leadership*, eds. David M. Kennedy and Michael E. Parrish (San Diego, Calif.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986).

**Richardson, Henry Hobson** (1838–1886) *architect*  
A larger-than-life figure, H. H. Richardson popularized a muscular, rusticated stone architecture that became known, even in his own day, as Richardson romanescque. A doorway with a low-sprung arch composed of huge voussoirs is a hallmark of the style. Born on September 29, 1838, on a sugar plantation north of New Orleans, Louisiana, Richardson graduated from Harvard in 1859. He trained in the private atelier of Jules Andre at the École des Beaux-Arts and traveled extensively in Europe. In 1865 he opened an office in New York City, and after 1874 he worked primar-

ily out of his home in Brookline, Massachusetts. Throughout his career he gathered talented draftsmen around him, including STANFORD WHITE and Charles F. McKim, opening his large library and photograph collection to them all. A man of Falstaffian appetites, his magnetic personality charmed clients and many confessed that their buildings grew larger under the force of his personality. Richardson died at home at age 47 (April 27, 1886) of Bright’s disease; several of his most important commissions were completed posthumously, and long after his death Richardson romanescque remained popular.

In response to a country that was urbanizing and suburbanizing, Richardson developed new architectural forms, especially for public buildings. Trinity Church (1877, Boston), a free rendering of the French Romanesque ecclesiastical architecture of Auvergne, served as an auditorium for the spellbinding preacher PHILLIPS BROOKS. This landmark of the American AESTHETIC MOVEMENT, with stained glass by JOHN LA FARGE, William Morris, and others, as well as a mural program directed by La Farge, set a pattern for highly collaborative projects. Richardson went on to develop commuter train stations, public libraries, and civic halls, many of them built in the Boston vicinity. The Oakes Ames Memorial Hall (1881, North Easton, Mass.), a large, turreted, dormered lecture hall, uses asymmetrical massings to take advantage of a steep hillside site. The Allegheny County Buildings (1888, Pittsburgh, Penn.) comprise a courthouse and a jail, the two connected by a “bridge of sighs.” The courthouse, with a campanile modeled after medieval urban civic buildings, is organized around a courtyard, while the jail uses contemporary ideas of penal reform in its design of three radial cell blocks surrounded by a wall.

Richardson romanescque was not a slavish historicism but rather an elaboration and adaptation of the northern European architecture of the 11th and 12th centuries, especially Norman and British vernacular buildings. Richardson achieved picturesque effects and pragmatic space provisions through polychromatic stone massings; brick, wood, and other materials were also used. The Glessner House (1887, Chicago) presents severe, regular facades to the street, but its interior court is composed of a series of brick turrets arranged around a garden. Richardson’s emphasis on structural elements, while perfectly in line with Ruskinian demands for truth in architecture, was championed by 20th-century critics writing as modernism took hold. Thus, his Marshall Field Wholesale Store (1887, Chicago), a huge stone warehouse composed of stacked arches of descending height and width, is cited as a landmark protomodernist structure.

**Further reading:** Margaret Henderson Floyd, *Henry Hobson Richardson: A Genius for Architecture* (New

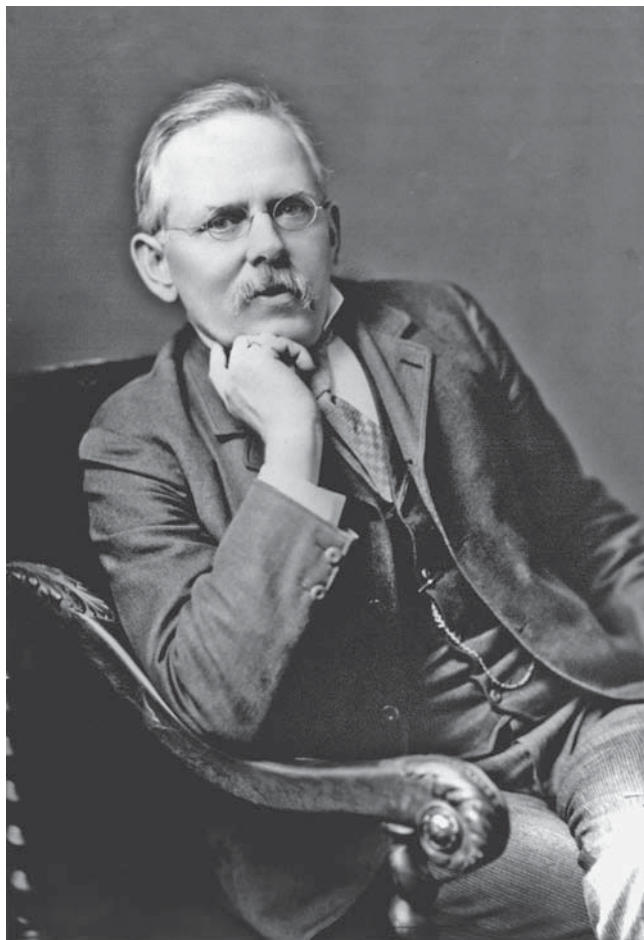
York: Monacelli Press, 1997); James F. O'Gorman, *Living Architecture: A Biography of H. H. Richardson* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997).

—Karen Zukowski

**riders, battle of the** See HAYES, RUTHERFORD B.

**Riis, Jacob A.** (1849–1914) *social reformer, journalist, photographer*

Jacob August Riis, housing reformer, was born on May 3, 1849, in Ribe, Denmark, the son of Niels Edward Riis and Carolina Lundholm. In 1870 Riis immigrated to the United States. For several years he wandered about the Northeast, but he eventually settled in New York City. In 1877 the *New York Tribune* hired him. After just one year at the *Tribune*, Riis moved on to the *New York Sun* where for the next 11 years he worked as the paper's police reporter. Riis was twice married: first to Elizabeth Nielsen (1876), with



Jacob A. Riis (Library of Congress)

whom he had six children, and in 1907 to Mary Phillips, with whom he had one child who died in infancy.

As a police reporter, Riis knew the abject poverty among the immigrants on New York's Lower East Side and especially in the overcrowded, disease-ridden tenements they were forced to live in. Using photography and his skills as a reporter, Riis produced his most influential book, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), documenting life in the slums and influencing a whole generation of urban reformers. The popularity of *How the Other Half Lives* allowed Riis to leave his job at the *Sun* and devote all of his time to writing and lecturing on the horrors of tenement life and the need for better HOUSING regulations.

Although landlords and several politicians opposed him, Riis did gain the support of Theodore Roosevelt, who served as New York's police commissioner from 1893 to 1895. Roosevelt had read *How the Other Half Lives* and assisted Riis in his work. The two men became close friends and for 20 years collaborated on several projects. In 1902 Riis dedicated his book *The Battle with the Shum* to Roosevelt.

In his autobiography *The Making of an American* (1901), Riis retold his experience as he assimilated into American society. He argued that the cure for the ills of immigrant life in America's cities was the promotion of housing reform, the construction of municipal parks, the expansion of public education, and the implementation of neighborhood improvement programs. Riis was also an ally of the SETTLEMENT HOUSE movement. Among his other works were *The Children of the Poor* (1892), *Out of Mulberry Street* (1898), *A Ten Years' War* (1900), *Children of the Tenements* (1903), and *The Old Town* (1909). Riis lived the last decade of his life in failing health but still maintained a grueling schedule of lecturing and writing in the interests of reform. He died on May 26, 1914, in Barre, Massachusetts.

See also IMMIGRATION; PROGRESSIVISM IN THE 1890s.

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—Phillip Papas

**Robber Barons, The** (1934)

In 1934 in the depths of the Great Depression when the prestige of industrialists and bankers had fallen to an all-time low, Matthew Josephson published *The Robber Barons: The Great American Capitalists, 1861–1901*. It fas-



tened that pejorative label on the leading businessmen of the Gilded Age. He thought them always aggressive, often immoral, and sometimes lawless. The way they acquired their fortunes reminded him of feudal barons. Although Josephson claimed he spoke of their constructive virtues in transforming an agrarian mercantile society into a mass-production economy, his descriptions of "their most ruthless actions, their conspiracies and plunderings" are more memorable. In portraying businessmen as "robber barons," Josephson discussed, among others, the careers of industrialists ANDREW CARNEGIE, HENRY CLAY FRICK, and John D. Rockefeller; railroad developers Cornelius Vanderbilt, JAY GOULD, COLLIS POTTER HUNTINGTON, and JAMES J. HILL; and bankers Jay Cooke and JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN.

Despite the efforts of biographers and business historians, Josephson's group portrait of Gilded Age businessmen still lives in the mind's eye of the public. Without any meaningful federal economic controls the Gilded Age is still viewed as the age of the robber baron. Biographers, however, have improved the reputation of the major businessmen Josephson selected for his group portrait. Several of them improved their reputations by philanthropic acts. Carnegie's gifts to thousands of libraries and to the cause of world peace lives on and Rockefeller's support of medical research has saved millions of lives, while Frick and Morgan's generosity made fabulous art collections available to the public.

Business historians and biographers have critically evaluated the men and their enterprises and have generally found them more constructive in organizing a business and responsible to their investors than Josephson admitted. In the hands of some biographers Josephson's robber baron becomes a knight in shining armor. To Allan Nevins, Rockefeller was an industrial statesman, who brought order to a chaotic oil industry, and to Albro Martin and Michael P. Malone, Hill built an empire in the Northwest by striving to make prosperous the pioneers living along his Great Northern Railroad.

Neither noble knights nor robber barons, most of these businessmen were tough, talented, aggressive, successful players in an expanding, competitive economy. Dismissing a complex man like Carnegie as a robber baron ignores his idealism and fails to recognize that in creating the efficient Carnegie Steel Company, he led the U.S. steel industry to world dominance. Even Gould, whom Josephson referred to as Mephistopheles, has been partially rehabilitated. In the 1860s he had watered the stock of the Erie Railroad, bribed the New York legislature, and attempted to corner the gold market on "Black Friday," but in the 1870s and 1880s he proved to be a more constructive and responsible railroad manager. The term *robber baron* may have applied to Gould at the start of his career, and it may have applied

to an occasional episode in the careers of the remainder in Josephson's group picture. But *robber baron* obscures rather than enlightens how these men affected the second INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION in the Gilded Age.

**Further reading:** Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977); Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, *The Age of Enterprise: A Social History of Industrial America*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961).

## Roman Catholicism

In the late 19th century Protestant Americans viewed Roman Catholicism, although the earliest European Christian church, as both an interloper and a latecomer. It was neither. In Florida and in the Southwest its roots in the New World were deeper than those of Protestants, and Catholics were among the first settlers of Maryland in 1634, since it was founded by a Catholic for Catholics. The Catholic Church grew rapidly in the 19th century. There were 200,000 Roman Catholics in the United States in 1829, 3 million in 1860, 7 million in 1880, and 10 million in 1900. Migrants from Ireland and later from eastern and southern Europe accounted for this startling growth. While the church grew, so too did its problems from without and from within. In the 1840s virulent anti-Catholic nativists rioted in Philadelphia and elected a mayor of New York, and their Know-Nothing Party reached its zenith in 1854 and 1855 but disintegrated after 1856. The party disappeared, but Protestant hostility to Catholics remained, surfacing in controversies over public aid for parochial schools raised by the AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION (APA) in the 1880s and 1890s.

There were also differences between American Catholics and their authorities in Rome. Since Catholics were suspected of loyalty to a foreign potentate (the pope), American Catholic leaders from the birth of the United States publicly and eagerly embraced their nation and its democratic values. But Pope Pius IX (1792–1878, elected 1846), as his temporal power eroded, issued his reactionary encyclical *Quanta Cura* (1864) with its "Syllabus of Errors" that attacked "progress, liberalism, and contemporary civilization," rejected liberty of conscience and toleration of other religions, and asserted church control of science, culture, and education. Liberal Catholics, who had embraced religious liberty and democracy, were dismayed, and American Catholics did their best to affirm American principles at their 1866 second plenary council in Baltimore. Pius, however, at the nadir of his temporal power in 1870 triumphed at the Vatican Council, which proclaimed the dogma of papal infallibility. But that victory



led to struggles with the governments of Germany, France, and elsewhere.

Contending forces beset Roman Catholicism during the Gilded Age. It was ruled by a reactionary authority abroad, it existed in the most democratic country in the world, and it acquired millions of disparate new members from Ireland, Germany, Italy, and Poland. As IMMIGRATION expanded the church, ethnic divisions were apparent among the laity and clergy, with the Irish resenting the French dominance of the hierarchy early in the century and, later, the Germans resenting the Irish. The Germans, for example, resisted Irish efforts to require English in all parochial schools.

The ideas of Pius IX also clashed with those of the laity, who wholeheartedly participated in the American democratic process, and with the thoughts of two prominent American converts to Roman Catholicism. Orestes Brownson (1803–76) had moved from Calvinism to Universalism to Unitarianism to Transcendentalism—becoming committed to radical social causes including SOCIALISM, abolitionism, and WOMEN’S RIGHTS along the way—before embracing Roman Catholicism in 1844. From then until his death he worked at reconciling his Catholicism and his natural rights as an American. Only Catholicism, he believed, could discipline the American people sufficiently to make democracy work and to achieve the radical social reforms he continued to hold dear. For Brownson, America and Catholicism were not in conflict and actually were spiritual siblings.

Isaac Hecker (1819–88), the child of German immigrants, who with his brothers owned a prosperous bakery and flour mill, met Brownson in 1841 and under his influence sojourned among Transcendentalists for a year and in 1844 also converted to Roman Catholicism. He studied abroad for the priesthood, was ordained in 1849, returned to the United States as a Redemptorist missionary, and wrote *Questions of the Soul* (1855) and *Aspirations of Nature* (1857). In them he merged romantic Transcendentalism with Catholicism, arguing that while basic human aspirations transcended experience, they were reflected in the sacraments of the Catholic Church. Hecker, a proselytizer at heart, recognized that the Redemptorist order, composed primarily of German immigrants, would convert more Protestants if a thoroughly American branch of the order were established. His German superior disagreed, and when in 1857 Hecker went to Rome to plead his case he was tossed out of the order. Pius IX, however, allowed Hecker in 1858 to found the Society of Missionary Priests of St. Paul the Apostle in New York. The Paulists were American and had as their object the conversion of American Protestants, and they used American culture as a positive force conducive to the true Catholic faith. Hecker’s last book *The Church and the Age* (1887) argued that the church was not at odds but rather at home with modernity.

Another sign of American independence was the creation of the Catholic University of America in 1889 so that American priests seeking advanced study would not have to go abroad. For conservatives, this move entailed the risk of disconnecting priests from traditional and dependable orthodox European authorities. A papal delegate returned from America to Rome in 1892 with a sobering report to the Pope on the state of the church.

The reactionary Pope Pius had been succeeded by Leo XIII (1810–1903, elected 1878), who was conciliatory by nature and is renowned for his *Rerum Novarum*, which applied Christian principles to the relations between capital and labor, but he was not a liberal. Besieged by nationalism in Italy and beset by anticlericalism in France, Leo perceived that modernism was a threat to the authority of Rome. Quite understandably he found the teachings of Brownson and Hecker disturbing and recognized that the new American university might encourage a drift from Rome. Consequently Leo’s encyclical, *Longinqua Oceani* (1895), cautioned the American church against attributing its strength to American ideas instead of to God’s mysterious design, lamented the separation of church and state, and admonished Catholics to be more cohesive and obedient. In 1899 following the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, in which the United States defeated a Catholic power, Leo issued *Testem Benevolentiae*, attacking Hecker’s ideas, Americanism, and modernism directly, warning that they were a mix of heretical notions and that it was wrong to “desire a church in America different from that which is in the rest of the world.” To Leo the tumult of change was a danger, while to Brownson and Hecker in America it was an opportunity. Trusting its long history and durability, Rome chose to stay its usual course and demanded that America heel to. As a result, the American hierarchy became conservative in the first half of the 20th century. And yet while doctrinally and institutionally conservative, there was a pragmatic liberal strain in the American Roman Catholic Church. Isaac Hecker’s belief that America and American culture were ideal situations for the natural growth of Catholicism propelled many liberal Catholics. And the thinking of Hecker, far more than that of Pius IX or Leo XIII, influenced the liberalizing Second Vatican Council (1962–65).

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—W. Frederick Wooden

**Roosevelt, Theodore** See VOLUME VII.

## Rough Riders

The First Cavalry Regiment during the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, commanded by Theodore Roosevelt, was informally known as the Rough Riders and became famous for its charge up Kettle Hill during the Santiago campaign in CUBA. The volunteers who gathered at San Antonio for this mounted regiment were diverse and a bit exotic. Cowboys, bookkeepers, college boys, policemen, Indians, and Mexicans all signed up to fight Spain. Theodore Roosevelt, the future president but then the assistant secretary of the navy, resigned his post to join the unit. In an uncharacteristic act of humility he refused command because he felt unqualified, having only served three years with the New York National Guard. Roosevelt recommended his friend

Colonel Leonard Wood, an army surgeon and physician, to Secretary of War John Long. Roosevelt was made second in command. Unlike the rest of the army, the Rough Riders were outfitted with private funds provided by many of the soldiers themselves, thus assuring that they had the best equipment, such as Krag-Jorgenson rifles and smokeless powder cartridges.

Because of monumental confusion at the point of embarkation, the Rough Riders arrived at Daiquiri, Cuba, on June 22 without their horses. Forced to travel on foot, they distinguished themselves by their speed of advance. At the battle of Las Guasimas the swift-marching Rough Riders stormed and took Spanish entrenchments, thus opening up the road to Santiago before the infantry arrived.



Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders atop the hill they captured, Battle of San Juan Hill, 1898 (*Library of Congress*)

On July 1 the Rough Riders, commanded by Roosevelt (Wood had moved up to command a brigade), would charge their way into history. The San Juan Heights was the key to taking Santiago, and on San Juan and Kettle Hills, the Spanish were in trenches and protected on their flanks by blockhouses. As the Americans attacked, they were pinned down by Spanish rifle fire with little protection other than tall jungle grass. In the ensuing confusion, regiments became mixed up. Roosevelt felt that they would all be killed if they remained in the grass, and finding himself the highest ranking officer, he ordered his Rough Riders and the other cavalry regiments to charge up Kettle Hill. When officers of the other regiments refused to do so without orders from their own commanding officers, Roosevelt told them to step aside and let his Rough Riders through. Roosevelt, riding one of the few horses to make it to Cuba, led his soldiers up the hill. The other regiments, fearing they would be seen as cowards, fell in with the Rough Riders. The farther the men advanced the faster they marched. The Spanish quickly retreated in the face of this mass of galloping, horseless cavalry. The Americans suffered many casualties taking the blockhouses, but by 1 P.M. Roosevelt and his men had taken Kettle Hill. Roosevelt paused for a few minutes and then joined in the successful charge up San Juan Hill.

At the end of the war the First Volunteer Cavalry unit was disbanded. Roosevelt returned home to a hero's welcome, was soon elected governor of New York, and would in a few years be president of the United States. And yet he knew that July 1, 1898, was "the great day of my life" and also realized that he would "talk about the regiment forever."

**Further reading:** Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1979).

—Timothy E. Vislocky

### **Royce, Josiah** (1855–1916) *philosopher*

An idealist philosopher, Josiah Royce, whose parents were intrepid forty-niners, was born on November 20, 1855, in Grass Valley, California. Gold and prosperity eluded his family. With no adequate school in their mining town, his mother started one. Later, when the family moved to San Francisco, Royce attended Boys High School, excelled in mathematics, read widely in the Mercantile Library, and in 1871 entered the University of California at Berkeley. Although the university was only three years old, among Royce's teachers were Joseph LeConte, a distinguished geologist and an advocate of the theory of EVOLUTION, and Edward Rowland Sill, an equally distinguished poet, who made Royce his undergraduate assistant. Royce also

attracted the attention of university president DANIEL COIT GILMAN, who left Berkeley in 1875, the year Royce graduated, to head the new Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland. Before leaving, Gilman, aware of Royce's poverty, arranged loans that enabled him to study in Germany from 1875 to 1876, and Royce gratefully predicted it would "be the making of my whole life."

Royce had taken the classical course of studies at Berkeley, and his graduate thesis was on the theology of Aeschylus's *Prometheus Bound*, but at the German universities of Leipzig and Göttingen he studied philosophy and became "an idealist devoted . . . to pure learning for learning's sake, . . . burning for a chance to help build the American University." Gilman at Hopkins made that desire a possibility. In 1876 he appointed Royce one of 21 fellows at \$500 a year, who while working on a Ph.D., could teach if they wished. For Royce, Hopkins was an incredible experience. In his first year he made lifelong friendships; experienced intellectual growth; enjoyed music, art, and the theater; taught a course on Schopenhauer's philosophy; and gave five lectures on the "Return to Kant." Typically, Royce did not simply repeat Schopenhauer but, while accepting his reality of tragedy, put a positive spin on Schopenhauer's will and muted his pessimism. In Royce's second year at Hopkins he cemented a lasting friendship with WILLIAM JAMES, who was visiting Hopkins and whom Royce had met in 1875. He encouraged Royce to pursue his dream of a career in philosophy. In 1878, at the age of 22, Royce was among the first four to receive a Hopkins Ph.D. His thesis, "Of the Interdependence of the Principles of Knowledge," he later remarked, was "pure pragmatism."

Since there were no jobs for a Ph.D. in philosophy and Royce had a strong background in literature, Gilman got him a job in 1878 teaching English literature at Berkeley. As much as he loved California's scenery, Royce felt he was exiled. "There is no philosophy in California," he complained to James, who addressed him as "the solitary philosopher between Bering's Strait and Tierra del Fuego." You are "lucky," James told him, for opportunities are "only waiting for the disgrace of youth to fade from your person." On October 2, 1880, Royce married Katherine Head, a linguist, poet, and pianist. They had three children.

In 1882 James arranged for Royce to substitute for him while he was on a one-year leave from Harvard. Royce stayed on at Harvard, where he and James remained close friends, despite strong philosophical differences. Royce was also supportive of CHARLES SANDERS PEIRCE (like him, a superb logician), whom he appreciated but also disagreed with.

Royce's philosophy evolved through the years. His parents were deeply religious, and Royce, after a youthful religious crisis, believed that scientific discoveries may undermine dogmas, but religious life endures; that beliefs



are numerous, but the spirit of religion is one. That spirit underpinned his philosophical ideas. By 1885, when he published *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy*, he had moved away from the PRAGMATISM of his Ph.D. thesis to “objective idealism” and ultimate truths (the Absolute). He proved this with logic rather than the “subjective idealism” felt by the transcendentalists. The Absolute became for Royce another name for God, and his book was hailed as a defense of theism. For Royce, the mind was compelled to believe in an absolute, while James believed the mind inclined to change and chance. Royce believed in monism, the oneness of things, while James believed in pluralism. Royce elaborated his views in the two-volume *The World and the Individual* (1899, 1901), based on lectures delivered at the University of Aberdeen in Scotland. Later, in *The Problem of Christianity* (2 vols., 1913) he substituted for the Absolute the “Universal Community” (the invisible true church) in which relationships can be redemptive. By the turn of the century Royce was renowned as America’s foremost philosopher and was the American leader of the idealistic school of philosophers. He inspired advanced students, but undergraduates found his lectures difficult to follow. His public lectures, which were to the point and supported moral and religious convictions, were successful.

Royce was generally aloof from politics, but he did not live in an ivory tower. He opposed racism, thought nationalism an evil, hated militarism, and deplored IMPERIALISM and war. He was deeply disturbed by World War I and, in keeping with his ideas, called for a worldwide community that “would promote interdependence, cooperation, and loyalty” to eternal ideals, and an international organization to preserve world peace. Despite his love of German culture, Royce condemned Germany as the “enemy of the human race.” He died on September 13, 1916.

**Further reading:** John Clendenning, *The Life and Thought of Josiah Royce* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

### **Ryder, Albert Pinkham** (1847–1917) *painter*

Albert Pinkham Ryder was born on March 19, 1847, in New Bedford, Massachusetts. As a four-year-old child, he colored and drew and looked at old art magazines his older brother William brought him. His formal education ended with public grammar school, but his interest in art continued. New Bedford had an arts atmosphere. It was the home of ALBERT BIERSTADT and several other successful artists. An amateur painter gave Ryder lessons in his studio, near a frame shop, where art exhibitions were organized and discussed. A whaling port, New Bedford offered an artist constant views of its harbor and beautiful country views within walking distance.

Around 1867 Ryder’s brother William, who had opened a restaurant in New York City and would later manage the Hotel Albert, moved his parents and three younger brothers to New York, where they all lived together. After Ryder was rejected by the National Academy of Design, he met William Edgar Marshall, a well-known portrait painter, who became his friendly critic and informal teacher and whom he later called “master.” Marshall had painted Ulysses S. Grant, Abraham Lincoln, and HENRY WARD BEECHER. When Ryder again applied to the National Academy of Design, he was accepted and studied there for four years, taking only drawing courses. Color and painting he learned from Marshall but refused to learn the technical aspects of painting from anyone. Throughout his career he was indifferent to them.

Even though he was shy, Ryder was popular in art school. Among his close friends was Helena de Kay. With her brother and husband, magazine editor RICHARD WATSON GILDER, she promoted his early career. The Gilders in 1877 were among the founders of the Society of American Artists, for the next two decades the leading liberal art organization, which Ryder joined in time for its first exhibition. Around this time Ryder had an epiphany, when he was painting near his grandfather’s house on Cape Cod. While feeling discouraged by his inability to copy nature, he saw a view framed by two trees that “stood out like a painted canvas.” Ryder realized that art has a life of its own and that nature is just the departure point. “I squeezed out big chunks of pure, moist color and taking my palette knife, I laid on blue, green, white and brown in great sweeping strokes,” Ryder remembered. “I saw nature springing into life upon my dead canvas. It was better than nature, for it was vibrating with the thrill of a new creation.”

Ryder’s paintings of the 1870s are generally of horses or cows and sometimes people, either in a landscape or a stable, usually around sunset. He continued with landscapes throughout his career but in the 1880s started painting his famous moonlight marine paintings. Although he became entirely a studio artist, he would go to parks to observe trees and sky and on a trip to Europe was greatly interested in observing the effect of moonlight on water. While there, he visited the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and the studio of Matthew Maris in London.

Ryder’s technique became more and more painstaking. He would repeatedly paint over his paintings, seeking an ideal composition. Paintings were worked on for years. Ryder called this process “ripening.” His works glowed from many layers of glaze. Unfortunately, the many thick layers of paint on his “little gems” have since cracked, and the glowing translucent varnish has darkened.

In 1888 a friend of Ryder’s, a waiter he met in his brother’s hotel, bet his \$500 savings on a horse in the Brooklyn Handicap. When he lost his money, he shot



himself. Distressed by his friend's suicide, Ryder painted *The Race Track*, his most haunting symbolist work, considered by many to be decades ahead of its time. The painting, which is sometimes called "Death on a Pale Horse," depicts the grim reaper riding a pale horse clockwise around a race track under a somber sky.

Starting in the late 1880s Ryder produced paintings of literary and religious subjects. Although these works are small in scale—as are all Ryder paintings—they are ambitious and grand, as well as sincere and powerful. Ryder began no new paintings after he turned 50, though he continued to work on many canvases that were still ripening in his studio.

As Ryder grew older, his artistic reputation grew, his paintings commanded higher prices, and young artists, such as Arthur B. Davies and Marsden Hartley, sought him

out. Ryder had not been included in the 1893 WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION in Chicago, but in 1913, 10 of his works were hung in the groundbreaking Armory Show in New York City.

Ryder's kidneys began to fail in 1915. He eventually moved in with his friends Charles and Louise Fitzpatrick in Elmhurst, Long Island. He died in their home on March 28, 1917. The Metropolitan Museum of Art held a memorial exhibition of his work a year later. Evidence of Ryder's esteem is his holding second place among forged American artists, with nearly 1,000 known forgeries of his paintings.

**Further reading:** William Innis Homer and Lloyd Goodrich, *Albert Pinkham Ryder: Painter of Dreams* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989).

—Jan Hoogenboom



**Saint-Gaudens, Augustus** (1848–1907) *sculptor*

Augustus Saint-Gaudens, arguably America's preeminent sculptor in the late 19th century, was known both for his monumental public SCULPTURE and smaller private commissions. A major figure in the American Renaissance, Saint-Gaudens introduced an appealing naturalism in a sculptural lineage stretching back to classical antiquity. Of French and Irish extraction, born on March 1, 1848, in Dublin, the son of a shoemaker, Saint-Gaudens moved to America as an infant. He apprenticed for three years as a cameo cutter in New York City. In 1866 he entered the National Academy of Design in New York City, and in 1868 he enrolled in the studio of Francois Jouffroy of the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. In 1877 he married Augusta Homer, from a prominent Boston family. The artist also kept a mistress, Davida Clark, a model whose features can be traced in many sculptures.

When in 1876 he won the commission for the *Faragut Monument* (1881, Madison Square Park, New York), Saint-Gaudens became a leading figure in public sculpture. Most of his work focused on the human figure and was executed in marble or bronze. Saint-Gaudens often collaborated with his friend, architect STANFORD WHITE, in the design and setting of monuments. Among his most prominent public works were the *Shaw Memorial* (1897, Boston Common), *Abraham Lincoln* (1906, Grant Park, Chicago), and *Diana* (1891), which stood atop the spire of the original Madison Square Garden but is now at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. He was instrumental in many organizations, including the Society of American Artists, the American Academy in Rome, and the sculptural commissions for the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION of 1893 and the Library of Congress.

Once awarded a contract for a major sculpture, Saint-Gaudens took a long time to complete it. He began with numerous drawings and proceeded to small-scale clay

maquettes. He often retained these for years, examining, adjusting, and sometimes radically reworking his original conception. In studios in New York City, Paris, and later Aspet, his country home in Cornish, New Hampshire, Saint-Gaudens gathered congenial assistants, who produced the large-scale clay and plaster models used to cast the completed works. Many of Saint-Gaudens's sculptures exist in different versions and scales; they represent various stages in the process from conception to casting. On August 3, 1907, Saint Gaudens died at Aspet, which is now a museum of his work.

Saint-Gaudens's genius lay in uniting the real and the ideal. His numerous bas-relief portraits, such as *Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer* (1888, Metropolitan Museum of Art), are charming in their immediacy and delicate realism. He was capable of startling synthesis in his allegorical works. The *Adams Memorial* (1891, Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington), a funerary monument commissioned by historian HENRY ADAMS after the suicide of his wife, used both Buddhist literature and Michelangelo's Sibyls as sources. Describing the heavily draped, meditative figure, Adams wrote: "The whole meaning and feeling of the figure is its universality." *General Sherman Led by Victory* (1903, Grand Army Plaza, New York) successfully quotes venerable antique sculpture while expressing the vitality of the Civil War commander. The *Shaw Memorial* commemorates the sacrifice of Robert Gould Shaw and conveys the determination of his men of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry as they fought.

**Further reading:** John H. Dryfhout, *The Work of Augustus Saint-Gaudens* (Hanover, N. H.: University Press of New England, 1982); Burke Wilkinson, *Uncommon Clay: The Life and Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985).

—Karen Zukowski



The Shaw Memorial in Boston, sculpted by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, 1897 (*Library of Congress*)

## Samoa

Located in the South Pacific, the islands that make up Samoa are of little economic importance, but they do have strategic value. They are near shipping lanes and, with the fine harbor of Pago Pago, are suitable for a naval base. By the 1880s a three-way competition between Great Britain, Germany, and the United States for Samoa led to a confrontation between the United States and Germany. In 1878 the United States signed a treaty with a six-foot, four-inch “tattooed prince” of Samoa. The treaty allowed the United States to develop a naval station at Pago Pago but committed it to support the native government should it have problems with foreign powers. Within a year the British and Germans also secured trading rights and agreed to respect the independence of Samoa. But American, British, and German consular agents were, with reason, suspicious of the annexationist intrigues of each other, and over the next decade the islands were in a state of constant turmoil.

Germany was more aggressive than either Britain or the United States. The newly united German Empire had embarked on a policy of catch-up colonialism to secure what it believed to be its rightful place among the great powers of Europe, and it wanted Samoa. Early in 1887 Germany sought to install a more compliant monarch on the Samoan throne. A subsequent tripartite conference in Washington did little to relieve the resultant political tensions, nor did it deter the Germans from their plans. German naval vessels arrived in Apia harbor, Western Samoa, soon after and proclaimed an island chief by the name of Tamaese as the new monarch. Fortified with 6,000 warriors, a rival chief named Mataafa rose up against Tamaese and his German backers and took over most of the islands, killing 20 and wounding 30 of the 140 German naval guards who participated in the struggle.

In an attempt to block what he saw as an unjust attempt to annex the islands and to placate public opinion that had been whipped up by the imperialist Republican press,

President GROVER CLEVELAND sent three warships to Apia, where the British corvette HMS *Calliope* and three German warships were anchored in that small and rather unprotected harbor. With a trans-Pacific cable still years away, news from Samoa took 10 to 20 days to reach the United States. Rumors abounded in the press about battles in Apia harbor and the sinking of American ships. War fever grew unabated. The new CONGRESS talked of spending \$50 million to refit the navy to raid German commerce.

Actually, the ships were in a tense standoff that was broken on March 16, 1889, when a furious typhoon struck Apia and sank or drove on shore all the vessels except the *Calliope*, which made it out to the open sea and safety. The magnitude of the tragedy and the eerily equitable distribution of the casualties (50 sailors were killed) ended war talk in the press and made the powers more amenable to compromise. An 1889 conference in Berlin resolved that Mataafa would be king of the islands and Germany, Britain, and the United States would act as protectors of Samoa's independence. Shared responsibility was the equivalent of no responsibility. Once again jealousy and intrigue became the order of the day, and Americans and Germans in particular annoyed each other. Finally, in 1899 the three powers met again and negotiated a treaty that allowed Germany to annex the western half of the islands while the United States acquired the eastern end, with Britain withdrawing entirely from Samoa.

**Further reading:** Edwin P. Hoyt, *The Typhoon That Stopped a War* (New York: David McKay Company, 1968); Richard O'Connor, *Pacific Destiny: An Informal History of the U.S. in the Far East* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969).

—Timothy E. Vislocky

**sanitation** See MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH.

### Santo Domingo, proposed annexation of

The annexation of Santo Domingo, now the Dominican Republic, was a major FOREIGN POLICY initiative of President Ulysses S. Grant; it failed because it was opposed by the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Charles Sumner. With his nation bankrupt and in revolt against his dictatorship, President Buenaventura Baez—the “great citizen” of Santo Domingo—was willing to have it annexed to the United States if its debts were assumed. A combination of speculators anxious for profits and naval officers anxious for a base on the Bay of Samana convinced Grant that annexation was not merely desirable but necessary. Grant's personal secretary Orville Babcock, armed with instructions from Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, arrived in Santo Domingo and negotiated two treaties by

November 1869. The first provided for complete annexation, while the second leased Samana Bay to the United States with the right to purchase should the first treaty fail in the Senate. While Grant wished to gratify greedy friends and naval strategists, he also wanted to find a haven for freedmen in a land ruled by descendants of Africans.

Grant spoke with Sumner and thought he had enlisted his support for annexation, but Sumner after study and reflection opposed it as the project of a mercenary dictator, unscrupulous adventurers, and ambitious naval officers. In Sumner's view, the project would be the opening wedge leading to the acquisition of the black republic of Haiti and the rest of the West Indies. As chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Sumner adversely reported the annexation treaty in March 1870 and argued that instead of being absorbed by the United States, Santo Domingo should take its place in an independent Caribbean federation ruled by blacks protected by the United States. Grant was outraged, and although he used his influence to the utmost, the Senate in June rejected the annexation treaty by a split 28 to 28 vote (well short of the required two-thirds majority) and did not consider the Samana Bay lease. When the next CONGRESS organized in March 1872, the Grant administration vengefully convinced Republican senators to remove Sumner from his committee chairmanship, but in April even Grant conceded that the annexation of Santo Domingo was dead.

**Further reading:** David Donald, *Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man* (New York: Knopf, 1970); William S. McFeeley, *Grant: A Biography* (New York: Norton, 1981).

—Bruce Abrams

### Sargent, John Singer (1856–1925) painter

The ultimate cosmopolitan expatriate, John Singer Sargent was acclaimed as America's most successful portrait painter, professionally and aesthetically. Born in Florence, Italy, on January 12, 1856, Sargent lived a nomadic childhood in Europe with his American expatriate family. He received little formal education, yet he played the piano well and was fluent in French, Italian, and German in addition to English. In 1874 he was accepted as a student in the private atelier of Carolus-Duran in Paris, and he matriculated at the École des Beaux-Arts later that year. He was equally adept in oils and watercolors, and he often worked on a large scale. Until 1886 he lived primarily in Paris, then primarily in London, but he often traveled in Europe and visited America nine times. He exhibited frequently at the Royal Academy in London, the Paris Salon, and with the Society of American Artists in New York City. A reserved and cultivated man, his friends were many of the era's leading literary and artistic figures, including the actress Ellen



Terry, the writers Edmund Gosse and HENRY JAMES, as well as several leading painters of the day.

Sargent succeeded to the British grand-manner portrait tradition of Van Dyke and Gainsborough. His patrons were the wealthy industrialists of America and the noble families of England, whose social status was brilliantly conveyed on canvas through posture, clothing, and carefully selected props. Psychological penetration was not his strong suit; while he always captured a likeness, many of his sitters wear the same expression of apprehensive dignity. Instead, Sargent's abundant technical abilities allowed him to achieve maximum visual impact by means of fluid brushwork and a few startling notes of color. Family portraits, such as *The Daughters of Edwin D. Boit* (1882, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), show the relationships among people by ingenious compositions. Sargent's best-known work is probably *Madame X* (1884, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), an uncommissioned portrait of Madame Pierre Gautreau, a beauty known for her audacious choices in makeup, clothing, and lovers. Sargent used a highly unconventional pose: face in profile, nose tilted up, her body—in a severe black dress—twisted toward the viewer.

By 1909, with 500 portraits completed, Sargent virtually abandoned the genre, turning instead to landscape painting and themes from religious history and modern life. Throughout his career Sargent had painted harsh, dramatic, and fleeting lighting conditions. His *El Jaleo* (1882, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston) shows a flamenco dancer in footlights, while *Carnation, Lily, Lily Rose* (1886, Tate Gallery, London) shows children lighting paper lanterns in the midst of a flower garden at dusk. Sargent's landscapes, whether depicting Capri, Venice, or the Tyrolean Alps, stretched the limits of representation through expressive stroke and color. Monumental works engrossed him at the end of his career, including a series of murals for the Boston Public Library tracing the history of Western religion and several huge canvases depicting World War I themes. Sargent died in London on April 15, 1925.

**Further reading:** Patricia Hills et al., *John Singer Sargent* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art and Harry N. Abrams, 1987); Richard Ormond and Elaine Kilmurray, *John Singer Sargent* (New Haven, Conn.: Paul Mellon Center for Studies in British Art and Yale University Press, 1998).

—Karen Zukowski

### **Schurz, Carl** (1829–1906) *journalist, politician*

Political reformer Carl Schurz was born in Liblar (near Cologne), Germany, on March 2, 1829. He attended the University of Bonn, where he imbibed the democratic ideas of Gottfried Kinkel, participated in the Revolution of 1848,

gained fame by rescuing Kinkel from a Spandau jail, and fled abroad for his life. He taught and practiced journalism in England and France, but his fortunes improved in 1852 when he married and migrated. His wife was Margarethe Meyer, a wealthy heiress, and the newlyweds settled in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Four years later the Schurzes moved to Watertown, Wisconsin, where she opened the first KINDERGARTEN in the United States (she had trained under its originator Friedrich Froebel) and he dabbled in real estate, journalism, and especially in politics. Hostile to slavery, Schurz campaigned effectively for the REPUBLICAN PARTY in two languages and was appointed to its national committee by 1860 and influenced German Americans to vote for Abraham Lincoln. He was rewarded in 1861 with the ministry to Spain. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Schurz came home, secured a brigadier generalship, and was promoted to major general and commander of the 11th Corps (composed largely of German Americans), but ill luck plagued his corps, and neither Schurz nor his men emerged from the war with an enviable military reputation.

Schurz, nevertheless, retained his political clout. In the summer of 1865 he toured the South at the request of President Andrew Johnson and, finding its rebellious spirit unabated, recommended the radical position that African-American suffrage should be a condition for readmission to the Union. Returning to journalism, he was by 1867 editor and part owner of the St. Louis *Westliche Post*, but his keynote address at the 1868 Republican National Convention revealed a drift away from Radical Republicanism. Elected to the Senate from Missouri, Schurz took office in 1869 and soon broke with the Grant administration over patronage and principles. Deprived by Grant of appointments (“spoils”) in Missouri, he embraced CIVIL SERVICE REFORM. In addition, he denounced Grant's pet scheme to annex SANTO DOMINGO and Schurz was willing to sacrifice black Republicans to conciliate and woo the former Confederates. He led in the formation of the LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PARTY of 1872 but was chagrined when its convention nominated Horace Greeley, who was neither the civil service nor tariff reformer Schurz desired. Schurz nevertheless supported Greeley, as did the Democrats, but he was decisively defeated by Grant. Schurz continued to oppose Grant in the Senate until 1875, when he lost his seat, ironically, because the former Confederates he had conciliated replaced him with a Democrat.

In 1876 Schurz supported the reform-minded Republican presidential nominee RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, and upon his election Hayes made Schurz his secretary of the interior. Serving from 1877 to 1881, Schurz introduced civil service reform principles in his department, cleaned out a corrupt Indian Bureau (Office of INDIAN AFFAIRS) ring, promoted the CONSERVATION of forests, and, although slow

to do so, ended the policy of removing NATIVE AMERICANS from their lands to reservations.

From 1881 to 1883 Schurz coedited the *New York Evening Post* with EDWIN L. GODKIN and Horace White, but he and Godkin did not get along and Schurz had to resign. He made ends meet by lecturing and writing (publishing a two-volume biography of Henry Clay in 1887 and writing editorials for *Harper's Weekly* from 1892 to 1898) and by serving as the American representative of the Hamburg American Steamship Company.

Although he never again held public office after leaving the Interior Department, Schurz remained an independent force in politics, advocating civil service reform, sound money, and anti-IMPERIALISM. Accordingly he was a leading MUGWUMP supporter of the reform Democrat GROVER CLEVELAND rather than the Republican candidate JAMES G. BLAINE in 1884. In 1896, however, he supported Republican WILLIAM MCKINLEY and the gold standard instead of WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN and FREE SILVER MOVEMENT. Schurz soon opposed McKinley and the annexation of the Philippines, and in 1900 and 1904 he switched his support to the Democrats on that issue. Schurz died in New York City on May 14, 1906.

**Further reading:** Hans L. Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982).

## science

While the United States was a world leader in patenting inventions, developing new technologies, and utilizing scientific discoveries in industrial processes, it was not on the cutting edge of the advance of science itself in the late 19th century. The frontiers of science were advanced primarily in Germany, Britain, and France. Nevertheless, individual American scientists made significant contributions in geology, paleontology, chemistry, physics, and astronomy.

The sciences of geology and paleontology were encouraged by the federally funded U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY as well as by state-supported geological surveys. Lawmakers generally intended the geological surveys to identify deposits of minerals of practical value to industry and society, but some geologists were more interested in researching the science of geology as distinct from economic geology. The first director of the U.S. Geological Survey, CLARENCE (Rivers) KING, was an advocate of economic geology, while his successor JOHN WESLEY POWELL pushed basic research. Those interested in research on both the state and national level made important discoveries.

Thomas C. Chamberlin (1843–1928), who initially became interested in glaciation research during his work with the Wisconsin Geological Survey, was appointed by Powell to head the glacial division of the U.S. Geological

Survey. Chamberlin moved on to become president of the University of Wisconsin and later headed the Geology Department of the then-new University of Chicago, but he remained the outstanding authority on glaciers. That expertise on cold climates in the distant past led him to question the widespread idea that the earth had been a molten mass that was gradually cooling. With a University of Chicago astronomer and mathematician, Forest R. Moulton, he posited a new “planetesimal” hypothesis that the earth coalesced from small particles in orbit about the sun and had a much cooler climate, which would account for evidence of early glaciation.

OTHNIEL CHARLES MARSH in 1866 became America's first professor of paleontology at Yale University. In 1882 Powell appointed Marsh the U.S. Geological Survey's first vertebrate paleontologist, and while serving in that capacity he amassed a huge collection of almost 500 species. Marsh was an expert in constructing the skeletons of extinct animals, and he identified 80 forms of dinosaurs. His work gave significant support to Charles Darwin's hypothesis of evolution by discovering birds with teeth and especially by finding a sequence of American fossil horses. Marsh's arch enemy, Edward Drinker Cope, with whom he engaged in an unseemly feud over who found what first, was also a paleontologist of note who described many new species and did important work on reptiles and fish. Cope, however, was hasty in his work, abrasive in his personal relations, and received no help from the Geological Survey after Marsh became its chief paleontologist.

The greatest American scientist of the Gilded Age was JOSIAH WILLARD GIBBS, whose theoretical papers fundamentally influenced chemistry, physics, and mathematics. His most renowned publication was “On the Equilibrium of Heterogeneous Substances,” which provided a theoretical basis for all possible chemical reactions and the mathematics to calculate the energy expended and the heat gained or lost. In that paper he reformulated the second law of thermodynamics and essentially established the discipline of physical chemistry. Mathematics was at the core of much of Gibbs's work. His notes on mathematical representation were published as *Vector Analysis*, which he preferred to think of as “multiple algebra.” He was interested in the speed of light, electricity, and magnetism, and he believed that light was electromagnetic. Another chemist of note, Ira Remsen (1846–1927), suggested the experiments that developed saccharin and headed the graduate program in chemistry at Johns Hopkins University.

Americans excelled in astronomy. MARIA MITCHELL had discovered a comet in 1847 and in the Gilded Age was professor of astronomy at Vassar College. In 1882 Henry Draper (1837–82) photographed the Orion Nebula, and in 1891 astrophysicist George Ellery Hale (1868–1938) used his spectroheliograph to photograph the sun's promi-

nences (clouds of gas high above the sun's surface). The aviation pioneer Samuel P. Langley (1834–1906) was also an astrophysicist, who in 1878 invented the bolometer to detect temperature differences on the sun. The bolometer was an electric thermometer so sensitive that it could measure variations in temperature of up to one-millionth of a degree. Asaph Hall at the U.S. Naval Observatory in Washington discovered in 1873 the two moons of Mars, and in the early 1890s James E. Keeler (1857–1900) discovered that Saturn's rings were not solid but rather were composed of small particles, with each ring having its own orbit about the planet.

During the Gilded Age, the day of the gifted amateur—the dilettante—scientist was passing, and the university with its faculty was becoming the center of research. In 1870 only Harvard and Yale could claim to be institutions of research as well as of teaching. They were joined by Johns Hopkins, which from its founding in 1876 became a center of research. By 1900, however, state and other private universities were building significant libraries and laboratories, promoting research, and laying the foundation for the enormous contributions of America to science in the 20th century.

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**Scott, Thomas Alexander** (1823–1881) *railway executive*

Thomas Alexander Scott was born on December 28, 1823, at Fort Loudon, Pennsylvania. He went to work at the age of 11 and held a variety of clerkships until 1850, when he became station agent for the Pennsylvania Railroad (PRR), at Duncansville, Pennsylvania. Able, energetic, handsome, and gregarious, Scott advanced rapidly in that organization. In 1852 he became the superintendent of the PRR's division west of Altoona (hiring ANDREW CARNEGIE as his personal telegrapher and secretary), in 1858 its general superintendent, and in 1860 its first vice president. With the outbreak of the Civil War (the first railroad war) in 1861 the War Department called Scott to Washington to organize the transportation of men and munitions from northern cities to the front lines; in August he was appointed assistant secretary of war. Scott resigned in June 1862 but returned to the War Department in September 1863. The administration of RAILROADS by Scott and others rapidly moved troops

and enabled the North to overcome the South's advantage of shorter distances (interior lines) between fronts.

After the war Scott continued his meteoric rise in the PRR and branched out. In 1871 he was named president of the Pennsylvania company that operated the PRR system west of Pittsburgh and in 1874 became president of the PRR. Scott, however, was a man of grandiose visions whose interests included more than the PRR. In 1871 he obtained controlling interest in the Union Pacific (which he sold to Vanderbilt interests in 1872) and in 1872 in the Texas & Pacific (T&P), which he wished to build into a transcontinental road. The panic of 1873 and the ensuing depression frustrated Scott's dreams for the T&P. He lobbied Congress assiduously, but unsuccessfully, for a land grant for the T&P. Apparently, his lobby also worked during the 1877 electoral college count for the selection of RUTHERFORD B. HAYES (on the dubious assumption that Hayes would be more likely to approve a land grant than SAMUEL J. TILDEN), but Scott's lobbyists had no appreciable effect on the outcome, and Hayes did not support a land grant. Hayes disappointed Scott further during the GREAT STRIKE OF 1877, which Scott—in collusion with other railroad presidents—precipitated with carefully coordinated wage cuts. Hayes refused to call up volunteers to suppress the strike as Scott demanded and used the army sparingly to keep the peace. Although Scott managed the PRR conservatively, his bold, risky efforts to create a transcontinental system during an economic downturn failed and took a toll on his health. In 1880 he resigned as president of the PRR and sold the T&P to JAY GOULD in 1881. Shortly thereafter, Scott died at Darby, Pennsylvania, on May 21, 1881.

**Further reading:** Edwin P. Alexander, *On the Main Line: The Pennsylvania Railroad in the 19th Century* (New York: C.N. Potter, 1971), George H. Burgess, and Miles C. Kennedy, *Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, 1846–1946* (New York: Arno, 1976).

**sculpture**

The mainstream, high-style sculpture of late 19th-century America, largely public monuments and architectural embellishments, was an important chapter in the story of the American Renaissance. Commissioned mainly by government and other corporate bodies, sculpture advanced civic virtues. The formal neoclassicism of Rome that had dominated sculpture at mid-century was replaced by the freer, yet still academic, Beaux-Arts classicism of France. The human figure, executed in marble and bronze, was the dominant subject matter. A degree of immediacy and naturalism was thus injected into the long heritage of Greco-Roman statuary.

Most of the prominent sculptors trained in Paris, either at the École des Beaux-Arts or in affiliated ateliers. Americans returned home to establish their own ateliers for the production of large-scale sculpture. With drawings and clay maquettes, the artist conceived the basic form; then specialized assistants, working in the studio, the foundry, and the marble yard, enlarged it in plaster and cast or carved it. Professionalism was furthered by the exhibition of maquettes and finished works in national and international exhibitions and with the founding of the National Sculpture Society in 1893.

Ambitious buildings of the era included elaborate sculptural programs. Alexander Milne Calder supervised sculpture, which encompassed figural groups as well as capitals and pilasters, for the Philadelphia City Hall, built from 1871 to 1881. Daniel Chester French, a master at personifying abstract concepts, kept a large workshop busy for decades; his important commissions included the Minnesota State Capital in Saint Paul and the U.S. Customs House in New York City. An important subset of architectural sculpture was ephemeral, constructed from a plaster and straw mixture known as staff and erected at world's fairs and other celebrations. At the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION of 1893 in Chicago, millions saw the colossal *Republic* and *Barge of State* by French and Frederick MacMonnies, respectively, which decorated the central lagoon, while virtually every building in the fair was adorned with sculpture.

Civil War memorials and life-size bronzes depicting honored native sons were commissioned for countless public squares. While too many of these were formulaic, many incorporated an expressive naturalism. Among the best was John Q. A. Ward's *Henry Ward Beecher* (1891, Borough Hall Square, Brooklyn). Collaborative works with architects were common; monuments by architect STANFORD WHITE and sculptor AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS were among the style-setters. The pairing of French and Henry Bacon produced the *Lincoln Memorial* (1922, Washington, D.C.).

A smaller percentage of the era's sculpture was concerned less with memorializing and more with the exploration of form, surface, and psychological insight. Herbert Adams's polychromatic busts were derived from early Renaissance sculpture, while FREDERIC REMINGTON's bronzes celebrated the American cowboy. George Gray Barnard's *Struggle of the Two Natures in Man* (1894, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) owed a debt to the expressive innovations of Auguste Rodin. Occasionally, sculpture was controversial, especially the nude. In 1893 temperance and women's groups protested that MacMonnies's *Bacchante and Infant Faun* was licentious; in opposition, the Metropolitan Museum of Art gave it a home, and the Luxembourg Museum of Paris ordered a replica.

See also AESTHETIC MOVEMENT; ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

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—Karen Zukowski

**secret ballot** See ELECTIONS, CONDUCT OF.

### settlement houses

Although it is usually said that settlement houses were first established in the United States in the late 1880s, their prototypes appeared much earlier. An early example is the Furman Street Mission, started in 1866 by young people in Brooklyn, New York. It became the Willow Place Chapel a decade later, and in 1906 a larger facility, Columbia House, was added to it. Throughout its 60 years of service, its purpose was to better the lives of immigrant children living in appalling poverty close to the Brooklyn waterfront. Similar at first to other SUNDAY SCHOOLS for immigrant children, started by churches after the Civil War, the school almost immediately added secular activities, such as those provided by celebrated settlements decades later. The first of these were a library, a day school (for sickly children who could not regularly attend public school), a sewing school for girls, an evening school for boys, and an annual picnic held in Prospect Park. Pratt Institute students interned at its KINDERGARTEN, which was added later and considered one of the best in the city.

Seemingly unaware of homegrown, settlement-like projects, founders of settlement houses in the United States took their model from Toynbee Hall, founded in East London in 1884 by Samuel Barnett, vicar of the “worst parish in London.” Part of Barnett's inspiration came from the teachings of John Ruskin, who held that industrialization and urbanization separated people—whether university educated or factory toilers—from meaningful work, culture, and beauty. Thus, poverty of spirit was as deadly as poverty of bread and shelter.

By 1891 there were six settlement houses in the United States: University Settlement on New York City's Lower East Side was reorganized by Charles B. Stover and Edward King after the Neighborhood Guild founded by Stanton Coit in 1886 collapsed. Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr began Hull-House on Halsted Street in Chicago in 1889. In 1887 Vida Scudder and two of her Smith College classmates founded the College Settlement Association, which in 1889 established College Settlements in New York City and Philadelphia and opened Denison



House in Boston in 1892. In 1893 Lillian Wald and Mary Brewster started a Visiting Nurse Service for Lower East Side tenement residents in New York, and two years later they moved into their own building, thereby creating the Henry Street Settlement. By 1900 there were more than 100 settlement houses, heavily concentrated in the large industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest.

Settlement houses provided a meaningful occupation for idealistic college graduates, especially women, who were convinced that their minds, education, and talents could be put to good use addressing the social problems of urban slums. The pioneers and settlement workers in the 1890s were motivated by strong religious beliefs, which impelled them to serve but not to convert. Unlike in England, settlement houses in the United States took pains to avoid direct religious proselytizing and distanced themselves from charity organizations and their approach. Settlement houses were deeply committed to serving, befriending, and empowering their clients, most of whom were recent immigrants.

Settlement houses adjusted to the needs of the people they served. They shifted their emphasis from art, music, lectures, and general intellectual stimulation to providing instruction in English, skilled trades, and homemaking. Hull-House offered women and children child care, kindergarten, playgrounds, and instruction in sewing, a skill valuable for generating in-home supplemental income. As was the case with other settlements, Hull-House gradually became a center for political activism to improve HOUSING, public education, and other public services. Later, some settlements worked for electoral reform and engaged in labor organizing to improve working conditions and wages.

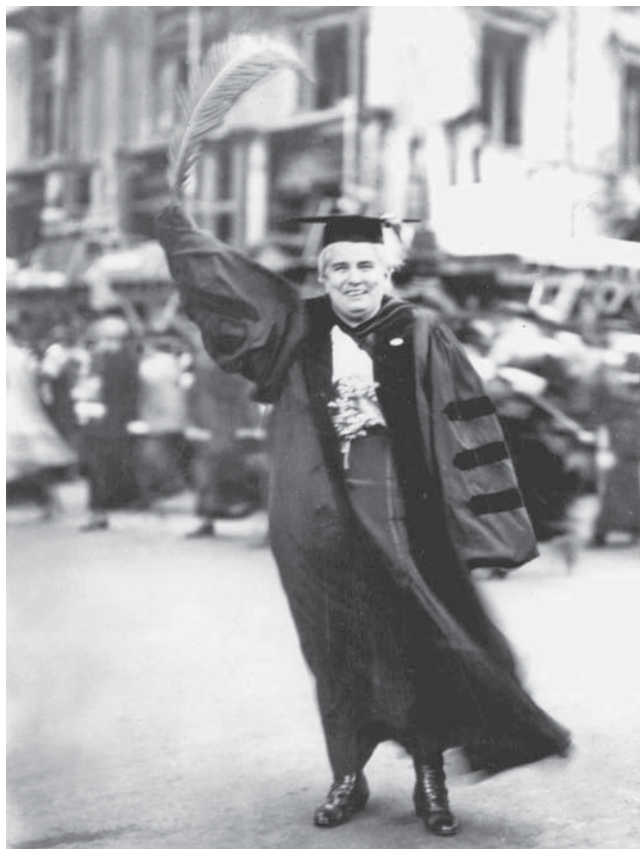
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—J. Paul Mitchell

**Shaw, Anna Howard** (1847–1919) *women's rights activist, orator*

One of the most powerful orators of the woman suffrage movement, Anna Howard Shaw was born on February 14, 1847, in Newcastle-on-Tyne, England; at age four she moved with her family to Massachusetts. When she was 12 her father moved her, her mother, and her younger siblings to a homestead in Michigan while he returned East. As a result, Shaw carried more than her fair share of family responsibilities and became a teacher at the age of 15.

Eventually seeking more education, Shaw enrolled in high school at age 23 and entered Albion College at 26.



Anna Howard Shaw (Library of Congress)

In 1876 she enrolled in the divinity program at Boston University, graduated in 1878, and became the pastor of a Methodist Church in East Dennis, Massachusetts. When she applied for ordination, however, the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church refused to ordain a woman. She then applied to the Methodist Protestant Church and was ordained in 1880, becoming that denomination's first woman minister.

While she continued her pastoral work, she enrolled in medical school at Boston University. She also began to deliver speeches on temperance and woman suffrage. By the time she graduated from medical school in 1886, she had begun to believe that the best way she could serve women would be by pushing for the removal of the stigma of disfranchisement. In 1887 she began an independent career as a lecturer. She also became active in the WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION (WCTU), and from 1888 to 1892 she was the superintendent of its national Franchise (or suffrage) Department.

Shaw's sermon before the International Council of Women in 1888 caught the attention of SUSAN B. ANTHONY. Shaw, who was already involved with the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) became,

at Anthony's behest, involved in the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) as well, and when the organizations merged in 1890 she became a national lecturer for the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). When Anthony became the NAWSA president in 1892, Shaw became vice president.

Shaw wanted to follow Anthony as president of the NAWSA, but Anthony chose the more politically astute Carrie Chapman Catt as her successor. Shaw continued as vice president. When Catt resigned the presidency in 1904, Shaw became president. Her talents, however, did not fit the demands of the job. She was an ineffective administrator, she did not deal well with people who disagreed with her, and she had little talent for strategic thinking. So while the momentum for woman suffrage continued to grow, she was unable to give it direction. In 1915, after disaffected members persuaded Catt to challenge Shaw for the NAWSA presidency, Shaw announced that she would not seek reelection, but she remained on the board and continued to contribute her oratory to the cause.

After the United States entered World War I, Shaw chaired the Woman's Committee of the U.S. Council of National Defense. She had planned to return to lecturing for woman suffrage after the war, but she put it off when she was asked to join a speaking tour to rally support for the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. She collapsed with pneumonia during that tour and died three days later on July 2, 1919.

See also WILLARD, FRANCES; WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975).

—Lynn Hoogenboom

### **Sherman, John** (1823–1900) *politician*

Born in Lancaster, Ohio, on May 10, 1823, able and effective politician John Sherman served Ohio in the U.S. Senate for most of the Gilded Age. Sherman practiced law in Mansfield after admission to the bar in 1844 and paid little attention to politics until the 1854 Kansas Nebraska Act threw open to slavery territories that had been free soil since the 1820 Missouri Compromise. Elected to CONGRESS as an anti-Nebraska man, Sherman in 1855 participated in the formation of the Ohio REPUBLICAN PARTY and served in the House from 1855 to 1861 and the Senate from 1861 to 1877. From 1877 to 1881 Sherman was secretary of the treasury in the RUTHERFORD B. HAYES administration and then in 1881 returned to the Senate, where he remained until 1897, when he became WILLIAM McKINLEY's secretary of state. He resigned in 1898 and died in Washington on October 22, 1900.

During his long career in Congress and the Treasury Department, Sherman was identified with public finance. He supported the protective tariff and opposed inflation, but he was not doctrinaire, adjusting to political pressure, and compromising in the interest of harmony. As befits a political leader from an industrial as well as agrarian state, he was a moderate, adept at balancing diverse interests. He supported the inflationary 1862 Legal Tender Act, which issued greenbacks, as an essential war measure, but in 1875 he was the main architect of the Resumption Act, which called for the return to the gold standard in 1879 by redeeming greenbacks in gold. While serving as treasury secretary under Hayes, Sherman secured enough gold to accomplish that feat. He participated in the CRIME OF '73 demonetizing silver, but with increasing demands for Free Silver, Sherman recognized that some limited silver coinage was politically necessary, and with the passage of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, the government began to coin 4.5 million ounces monthly (see FREE SILVER MOVEMENT).

While Sherman thought that the government should encourage railroad and industrial development through subsidies and the protective tariff, he also favored government regulation, in moderation, of large-scale enterprises. He wanted to regulate interstate commerce but did not wish to determine railroad rates, and the 1890 SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT prohibiting combinations in restraint of trade was sufficiently vague as to minimize its impact during the Gilded Age.

Sherman yearned to be president, but although he had solid support at the 1880 and 1888 Republican National Conventions he failed to get the nomination. His cold manner (he was known as "the Ohio Icicle") was no help, and despite ability and moderation, his identification with many issues gave voters too much to react against. In 1888 Hayes consoled Sherman with "the reflection that . . . the man of great and valuable service . . . must be content to leave the Presidency to the less conspicuous and deserving." Sherman remained in politics too long. As McKinley's secretary of state he did not favor IMPERIALISM, but he could do nothing to prevent either war with Spain or the acquisition of colonies overseas. Tired and ignored, he resigned.

**Further reading:** H. Wayne Morgan, *From Hayes to McKinley: National Party Politics, 1877–1896* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1969); David J. Rothman, *Politics and Power: The United States Senate, 1869–1901* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966).

### **Sherman Antitrust Act** (1890)

The last two decades of the 19th century were marked by widespread discontent among farmers, workers, and small

businessowners toward the monopolistic practices of the RAILROAD, OIL refining, lead, sugar, and MEATPACKING industries. Although a number of states had enacted anti-trust laws, state legislation had little or no impact on huge TRUSTS engaged in interstate commerce. Increasing demand for national regulatory legislation forced CONGRESS to act. In 1887 it passed the Interstate Commerce Act, creating a commission to regulate railroads, and in 1890 passed the Sherman Antitrust Act to regulate monopolies. These laws, designed to protect small business owners, farmers, and consumers, were largely ineffective in the Gilded Age.

Introduced by Senator JOHN SHERMAN, an Ohio Republican, the Sherman Antitrust Act declared that any "combination in the form of trusts or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations" was illegal. Vagueness, however, weakened the Sherman Act. It did not clearly define what it exactly meant by a trust, a combination, or restraint of trade. Between 1890 and 1893, the government lost seven of eight cases involving the Sherman Antitrust Act that were brought before federal courts.

The most important case involving the Sherman Antitrust Act was *United States v. E. C. Knight Company* (1895). Since the Knight Company controlled virtually all sugar refining in the United States, the federal government argued it violated the Sherman Act.

The SUPREME COURT, however, in an 8 to 1 decision (JOHN MARSHALL HARLAN was the lone dissenter) ruled against the government's claim. The majority distinguished between commercial and manufacturing enterprises and declared that manufacturing was not commerce, did not restrain trade, and therefore did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Sherman Antitrust Act. The justices reasoned that manufacturing was essentially intrastate, even if the goods produced were sold across state lines. The *E. C. Knight* decision was not only a major setback to the anti-trust movement in the United States, but it also restricted the application of the Sherman Antitrust Act to such a degree that it virtually became a dead letter until Theodore Roosevelt resuscitated it a decade later.

See also PROGRESSIVISM IN THE 1890s.

**Further reading:** Edward C. Kirkland, *Industry Comes of Age: Business, Labor, and Public Policy, 1860–1897* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1961).

—Phillip Papas

**Sherman Silver Purchase Act** (1890) See CURRENCY ISSUE.

**Sierra Club** See CONSERVATION; MUIR, JOHN.

**Simpson, Jerry** (1842–1905) *activist, orator*

The Populist orator Jerry Simpson was born on March 31, 1842, in Westmoreland County, New Brunswick, Canada. Between 1848 and 1852 he resided in several towns near the Great Lakes in both Canada and the United States. Except for a few years of home schooling, Simpson had almost no formal education. At age 14 he became a cook on a lake freighter and ultimately rose to the rank of ship captain. In 1861 Simpson enlisted in the Union army. However, he was mustered out after just three months because of poor health. Simpson married Jane Cape on October 12, 1870. They had two children.

In 1879 the Simpsons moved to Holton, Kansas, where he owned and operated a farm and sawmill. Taking advantage of high prices, Simpson sold out and invested his profits in a cattle ranch near Medicine Lodge in southwestern Kansas, but the severe winter of 1886 wiped out his herd and left him in debt. Having dabbled in politics, he was lucky to secure an appointment at \$40 a month as the marshall of Medicine Lodge. He also became involved in local politics. Originally a Republican, Simpson twice ran unsuccessfully for the state legislature as a Greenbacker (1886) and as a Union Labor Party candidate (1888). Between 1888 and 1889, Kansas plunged further into agricultural depression, and farmers throughout the state began to join the FARMERS' ALLIANCES in an effort to find a solution to their pressing economic problems. In 1890 the Farmers' Alliances joined with local reform elements in Kansas to create the PEOPLE'S PARTY (Populist Party). Simpson's attraction to reform-based politics made him an active member of the new party, which nominated him for a seat in the U. S. House of Representatives.

During the campaign, his opponents disparaged him as "Sockless Jerry," but Simpson shrewdly turned the intended insult to his advantage. He conveyed the Populist message in a folksy political style that endeared him to audiences. Not only was Simpson a tireless champion of political and economic reform, but he was also an advocate of the "single tax" plan popularized by HENRY GEORGE. Both Kansas Populists and Democrats endorsed Simpson, and he was elected to Congress in 1890, 1892, and 1896. As a leader of the fusion wing of the People's Party, Simpson supported the Populist nomination of WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN in 1896 and urged the Populists to support Democratic candidates whenever possible. His promotion of fusion (without which he could not have been elected) made many leading Populists resent him.

As a congressman, Simpson delivered few speeches and introduced few bills. Yet, he was well known for his sharp, shrewd wit and was a leader among House Populists. Simpson fought for currency inflation (he preferred greenbacks but accepted Free Silver [see FREE SILVER MOVEMENT]), disliked the autocratic rule of Speaker THOMAS B. REED, and opposed IMPERIALISM.



In 1898 Simpson lost his bid for reelection. He then moved to Wichita, where he began to publish *Jerry Simpson's Bayonet*. Following his failure to secure the Populist nomination for the Senate in 1900, Simpson retired from active political life. In 1902 he moved to Roswell, New Mexico, where he took up ranching and became a land-grant agent for the Santa Fe Railroad. He died on October 23, 1905, in Wichita.

**Further reading:** O. Gene Clanton, *Kansas Populism, Ideas and Men* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1969); Lawrence Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

—Phillip Papas

**single tax** See GEORGE, HENRY.

**Singleton, Benjamin (Pap)** See Exodusters; see also VOLUME V.

## Sioux wars

The Sioux (Lakota) Indians fought three wars against the U.S. Army. From 1866 to 1868 the Sioux, led by RED CLOUD, opposed the building of the Bozeman Wagon Road and the army posts along it, since they encroached on Sioux hunting grounds. The Sioux resistance was successful, the army withdrew from its posts, and after protracted negotiations Red Cloud and some Sioux chiefs agreed to the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie, which created the Great Sioux Reservation in western South Dakota, including the Black Hills. Several bands, however, most notably the Oglala, Hunkpapa, and Miniconjou, would not relocate on a reservation no matter how large and refused to accept the treaty.

In the early 1870s nontreaty Sioux warriors mounted raids against white settlers who had moved into Montana, Wyoming, and Nebraska, but the second Sioux war broke out as a result of the BLACK HILLS GOLD RUSH. In 1874 miners accompanying an expedition led by General George A. Custer discovered gold in the Black Hills. The news spread quickly and thousands of whites poured into the Black Hills, trespassing on the Great Sioux Reservation, in search of the valuable metal. After the government tried unsuccessfully to purchase the Black Hills, which were sacred to the Sioux, federal officials in December 1875 ordered the uncooperative Sioux to relocate to reservations in six weeks (an impossibility in winter) or come under attack.

In March 1876 the army, previously hampered by severe winter weather, opened hostilities against the non-

treaty Sioux, who turned out to be most formidable. The Oglala were headed by renowned warrior CRAZY HORSE, and the Hunkpapa, led by SITTING BULL, defeated General George Crook on June 17, 1876, at the Battle of the Rosebud and annihilated Custer and his troops eight days later at the Battle of the Little Bighorn.

The army eventually prevailed in the spring of 1877, and Crazy Horse surrendered and apparently was prepared to live quietly on the reservation. General George Crook, however, believing rumors that Crazy Horse was planning to escape and lead another uprising, ordered his arrest, and the warrior was bayoneted in that process. Sitting Bull fled to Canada with approximately 2,000 Hunkpapa, Oglala, Miniconjou, Sans Arc, and Blackfoot Sioux; he returned to the Dakota Territory to surrender in 1881 after several difficult Canadian winters. After two years in prison Sitting Bull was relocated to the Standing Rock Agency on the border between North and South Dakota. There, he tried farming and actually toured one season with WILLIAM FREDERICK (Buffalo Bill) CODY's Wild West Show, but he did not particularly wish to assimilate and did not get along with the federal agent in charge of the reservation.

Sitting Bull became interested in the Ghost Dance religious movement that had started in the West around 1870 and was being revived on the Sioux reservations in 1889. Ghost Dancing, which involved communing with ancestors via a trancelike dance, unnerved the agents in charge, and in 1890 the army under General Nelson A. Miles moved in to monitor the situation. When Sitting Bull joined in the Ghost Dancing movement, the federal Indian agent in charge demanded that he be removed from the reservation. As Sitting Bull was being arrested, a fight ensued, and he was shot and killed.

After Sitting Bull's death, General Miles moved to stop what he saw as a potential uprising. On December 28, Miles confronted a group of Miniconjou Sioux at Wounded Knee Creek led by Chief Big Foot, whom he mistakenly thought were joining their Sioux brethren at the Pine Ridge Agency to revolt. As the military were disarming the Miniconjou, a gun discharged, which set off a fight. A total of 153 Miniconjou, including Chief Big Foot, were killed at Wounded Knee, and another 150 or 200 died later of wounds. In retaliation the Sioux ambushed the Seventh Cavalry on December 30, but Miles's Ninth Cavalry joined the Seventh in support. Outnumbered, the Sioux surrendered on January 15, 1891, which marked the end of the Indian Wars.

**Further reading:** Edward Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice: The Sioux Nation versus the United States, 1775 to the Present* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991).

—Scott Sendrow



**Sitting Bull** (ca. 1831–1890) *leader in the war for the Black Hills*

Born in what is now South Dakota, Sitting Bull became a renowned Sioux warrior, Wichasha Wakan (holy man), and chief of the Hunkpapa Sioux tribe. His father, a Hunkpapa chief named Sitting Bull, first called him Jumping Badger, knowing that he would earn a more appropriate name at some point in his life. (Early on, he also was known as Hunkesni, or “Slow.”) He was reared by his father and uncles in the traditions of war and hunting buffalo and killed his first buffalo at age 10. When he became part of the Hunkpapa warrior society at 14, his father gave him his name and he became Sitting Bull. Sitting Bull was married for the first time in 1851 and became a Hunkpapa war chief in 1857. Following his father’s death in 1859, Sitting Bull’s standing within the tribe grew, and he soon became one of the leaders of the Hunkpapa band of the Teton branch of Sioux.

His first battles with U.S. forces occurred in 1863 when troops went after the Minnesota Sioux tribes and pushed into the Dakota Territory. Sitting Bull and his warriors fought against the army in the Battle of Killdeer Mountain on July



Sitting Bull (National Archives of Canada)

28, 1864, and continued to fight as the army built posts on the upper Missouri River. Sitting Bull did not sign the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie, which established the Great Sioux Reservation, and his standing among the nontreaty, resisting factions of the Sioux tribes (the hostiles) was such that in 1869 they designated him as their supreme war chief. In contrast, RED CLOUD, who had led the Sioux resistance, signed the treaty, accepted reservation life, and advocated peace. As a consequence, Red Cloud has been called the Sioux “statesman” and Sitting Bull the Sioux “patriot.”

The Great Sioux Reservation encompassed the land west of the Missouri River in the Dakota Territory and included the Black Hills. Prospectors suspected that the Black Hills region held gold, and in July 1874 an expedition under General George A. Custer (supposedly exploring the route for a road) happened to have prospectors along who found that there was indeed gold in those hills. The BLACK HILLS GOLD RUSH ensued, with thousands of miners pouring into that area and trespassing on Sioux lands. The federal government tried to purchase or lease the Black Hills, but the Sioux, buttressed by the nontreaty Sioux, refused. The U.S. government countered by ordering in December 1875 the nontreaty Sioux onto reservations in six weeks, which, even if they wished to comply, was in winter an impossibility. The army began the second of the SIOUX WARS in the spring of 1876. But in June 1876 Sitting Bull and the Oglala Sioux chief CRAZY HORSE defeated General George Crook at the Battle of the Rosebud and annihilated Custer, making his “last stand,” at the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Shocked and aroused, the army relentlessly pursued the warring Sioux until in 1877 Crazy Horse surrendered; Sitting Bull fled to Canada with about 2,000 followers. As the number of buffalo dwindled, so too did his followers, and Sitting Bull in 1881 returned to the Dakota Territory to surrender to the army.

Sitting Bull was imprisoned until May 1883, when he moved to a reservation where he even attempted farming, although he resisted assimilation. Between 1885 and 1886 Sitting Bull toured with WILLIAM FREDERICK (Buffalo Bill) CODY’s Wild West Show with sharpshooter Annie Oakley, a peculiar twist in American popular culture. In 1890 Sitting Bull, who was a holy man as well as a warrior, embraced the Ghost Dance RELIGION and was its leader on his reservation. Since the Ghost Dance religion had led to unrest on other reservations, authorities feared the worst and ordered Sitting Bull’s arrest. When Indian policemen attempted to arrest him on December 15, 1890, his followers resisted, and in the melee Sitting Bull was shot and killed.

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—Scott Sendrow

## skyscrapers

The elevator and the STEEL frame were the necessary technological developments for construction of the first tall office buildings, which engineers, architects, and real estate developers pioneered in New York and Chicago in the 1880s and 1890s. The conditions motivating construction of the first skyscrapers were, however, economic in nature and derived from two key trends: the phenomenal increase in city populations after the Civil War due to IMMIGRATION from farms and foreign countries, and the industrialization and bureaucratization of work that concentrated more and more activities downtown. These developments increased the value of downtown land, which then stimulated an increase in the number of stories in individual buildings, tentatively in the first iron-frame structures and then decisively with the introduction of steel framing in 1888 in Chicago's Tacoma Building.

Tall office buildings then stimulated further increases in the value of the ground under these buildings, the office rents charged within them, and the number of floors necessary to ensure profits for the developers. This continuous spiral quickly increased the height of tall office buildings from the 10–15 stories of the earliest buildings to the 20 and 30 stories more readily associated with skyscrapers, a word first used in the early 1890s. New York skyscrapers tended to emphasize the theatrical possibilities of historical, largely neoclassical forms. The major architectural firms in Chicago tended to design skyscrapers that expressed the underlying steel frame.

No sooner had the steel frame been introduced than the first race to achieve supreme height occurred in Chicago. Between 1890 and 1891 the Masons and the Odd Fellows strove to acquire not just bragging rights for owning the tallest office building in the world but also the higher rents or the greater resale value that this added prestige would bring with it. The Odd Fellows failed to get their project off the ground, so Chicago's Masonic Temple—designed by Burnham and Root to be an innovative mixture of shops, offices, and Masonic parlors grouped around a 20-story atrium and topped by a roof garden complete with flower shows, tea service, and music recitals—became the first of the world's tall office buildings to be highly touted as such, as well as the source for the vaunting skyscraper rhetoric that surrounded similar rivalries in the 20th century.

No matter how high they rose, however, the primary concern in first-class office buildings was to provide amenable working environments. This imperative meant maximizing the amount of natural light in all offices during a period when electric light bulbs ran on low wattages. It also meant lining the corridors and vestibules of these buildings with the mosaics, marbles, plate glass, and glazed bricks that reflected or admitted the maximum amount of natural



Photograph of the Flat Iron Building, Manhattan, and the area surrounding the junction of Broadway and Fifth Avenue. The Flat Iron was completed in 1902 and was the first building in New York City with a steel frame. (*Library of Congress*)

light into the offices. Light-hued luxurious materials also validated or reinforced Victorian propriety in new work situations where men and a growing number of female clerks and secretaries mixed more freely with one another than they did elsewhere.

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—Edward W. Wolner

***Slaughterhouse Cases*** (1873) See DUE PROCESS CLAUSE.

### Social Darwinism

Those who embraced Social Darwinism applied a convincing biological hypothesis to the workings of society. Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, published in England in 1859 and in the United States a year later, presented evidence that animals and plants evolve into new species through a process of natural selection that enabled those that best adjusted to the environment (the fittest) to survive. Americans were preoccupied with slavery, Civil War, and Reconstruction in the 1860s, but by the 1870s their main intellectual preoccupation had become EVOLUTION or, as it was frequently called, *Darwinism*. It quickly converted the scientific community, and secular-minded intellectuals—influenced especially by JOHN FISKE (for whom evolution confirmed his optimistic belief in progress)—soon followed suit. Christian churches, however, regarded Darwinism as an assault on RELIGION, since it denied that God created the world and all in it—including humans in his own image—in six days; substituted for the fall of man from innocence to sin the ascent of man; and suggested that all was accomplished not by God's orderly plan but by haphazard, accidental mutations. Yet, the Darwinian hypothesis was so compelling that theologians of mainstream Protestant denominations and subsequently ministers of fashionable urban churches like HENRY WARD BEECHER accepted evolution as God's plan and Darwinism as compatible with theism.

Darwin's ideas triumphed not merely because of his evidence but also because his notions of competition and progress resonated strongly with the outlook of Gilded Age business owners, politicians, and intellectuals. The term *Social Darwinism* gave their ideas the sanction of science. Herbert Spencer, the most outstanding Social Darwinist, was enormously popular in the United States. Beecher said he expected to meet Spencer in heaven as proof of the survival of the fittest, and ANDREW CARNEGIE understandably enough was his most prominent American disciple. Spencer argued that competition led to progress; that the fit (the rich and powerful) should be free to eliminate the unfit; and that government attempts to protect the unfit (the weak and poor) from the strong impeded progress, violated scientific law, and would in the long run fail. Spencer's laissez-faire ideas aimed to discourage any intervention on the part of government in the economy and also to paralyze the humanitarian reform spirit that would aid the weak.

WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER was Spencer's most consistent American disciple. A Yale sociologist, Sumner combined elements of the Protestant ethic—industry, frugality, temperance—with laissez-faire and Darwin's natural selec-

tion through competition. He regarded himself not as an apologist for wealthy businessmen but as a spokesman for the forgotten in the middle class who had to get by on their own wits. Sumner insisted that while laissez-faire should not protect the weak, it also meant no special governmental favors like the protective TARIFF for manufacturers. Sumner was a determinist who believed that the mores of a society evolved over time, uncontrolled by people and uninfluenced by government action, and he is renowned for his observation that you cannot legislate morality.

Social Darwinists not only saw a figurative jungle in the unbridled competition between and crass exploitation of individuals prevailing in Gilded Age America but also applied the concept of natural selection to nations and peoples. Although Americans had been convinced by historian George Bancroft that God had watched over the United States, John Fiske argued that America and Americans were the fittest nation and the most superior people in the world. In the hands of Fiske and other historians as well as clergymen like JOSIAH STRONG, Darwinism provided a scientific rationale for racist ideas and IMPERIALISM, while English and German scholars stressing Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon superiority did the same.

Darwinism (evolution), however, is a neutral concept and above all is not static. Competitive ideas arise that challenge and overthrow prevailing ideas, including those of the social Darwinists. LESTER FRANK WARD in *Dynamic Sociology* (1882) challenged the Social Darwinism of Spencer and Sumner with reform Darwinism. Ward's basic argument is that while the environment transforms animals, people transform the environment, and people can therefore control the evolutionary process. The Social Darwinists failed to appreciate the power of the human mind. Cutthroat competition and government inaction resulted from people's decisions, and if those practices harmed society, then people could through government regulate competition. Ward's ideas were not popular during the Gilded Age, but they were followed by reformers in the ensuing Progressive Era. Notions of racial and national superiority lost all intellectual underpinning in the 20th century with the rise of the Nazis in Germany and the post-World War II decline of imperialism.

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### Social Gospel

A religious movement affecting mainstream Protestant denominations, the Social Gospel stressed the command-



ment of Jesus to love thy “neighbor” and confronted the deleterious effects on American society of industrialization and urbanization. Its American roots were in Puritanism, utopianism, and abolitionism, but its intellectual foundation was notably in the English Christian Socialism of Charles Kingsley and John Ruskin and the ideas of German theologians such as Albrecht Ritschl and Adolf von Harnack. The Social Gospel arose in the 1880s, became coherent in the 1890s, and was passé by 1918, the year in which its earliest voice, WASHINGTON GLADDEN, and its most eloquent voice, Walter Rauschenbusch, both died. And it paralleled, reflected, and reinforced the Progressive movement of which it was in many respects a religious manifestation. It was distinct from the urban ministries of the Young Mens Christian Association (YMCA) and the Salvation Army, which served the poor in the cities to save souls but not to end poverty or injustice. The Social Gospel in large part gave PROGRESSIVISM its strong religious overtones and its moral fervor.

The first phase of the Social Gospel was intellectual, marked by efforts to create a coherent vision of both the issues raised by industrialism and urbanization and the role of Protestant Christianity in addressing those issues. Gladden laid the groundwork by forging a liberal theology that addressed social needs. Other voices at this time were Francis Greenwood Peabody, Unitarian clergyman and Harvard Divinity School professor; economist RICHARD THEODORE ELY; and sociologist Albion W. Small. With others, they formed the conceptual apparatus that combined theology with the emerging disciplines of sociology and economics that would propel the next phase of the Social Gospel movement.

The second phase was dominated by JOSIAH STRONG, who organized the movement and was its most dynamic leader. He was renowned in his time (and notorious in ours) for his book *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (1885). Modern readers are offended by his assumptions of Anglo-Saxon superiority and his paternalistic embrace of IMPERIALISM, but Strong's contemporaries regarded *Our Country* as a call for social reform at home and for Americans to promote peace, prosperity, and justice abroad through service, not political domination. *Our Country* was the most influential book to come out of the Social Gospel movement, but Strong's major contribution to the movement was organizing its disparate elements as general secretary of the Evangelical Alliance (1886–90), as leader of the American Institute for Social Service (1898–1916), and in 1908 helping create the Federal Council of Churches. These organizations backed legislation and programs to improve working conditions, combat social evils like drunkenness, eliminate political corruption, and improve the lives of the urban poor.

While both Gladden and Strong advocated state-regulated capitalism and were not socialists, Walter Rauschenbusch carried the social implications of Christianity further. This son of a German immigrant family began serving a Baptist congregation in New York's Hell's Kitchen in 1886. Struck by “an endless procession of men out of work, out of clothes, out of shoes, and out of hope,” Rauschenbusch was soon deep into the social ministry. Acquainted with HENRY GEORGE and JACOB A. RIIS, familiar with the writings of Karl Marx, EDWARD BELLAMY, and English Fabian Socialists, Rauschenbusch coalesced his ideas into his 1907 book *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, which defined the role of the church in a society that had the resources and the technology to provide all with a decent standard of living. Specifically, he advocated legislating public ownership of utilities and transportation, fair wages and better working conditions, and the redistribution of land to provide workers with decent housing. In 1917 he published *A Theology for the Social Gospel*, which provided a theological base for Progressive Christian beliefs just as progressivism was in decline.

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—W. Frederick Wooden

## socialism

Socialists believe that a society based upon public ownership of property and its management for the common good (goods and services would be distributed according to need) is superior to one founded on private property and administered for individual profit. The concept of communal property is old and widespread; early Christians as well as NATIVE AMERICANS practiced it. But the modern socioeconomic-political doctrine denoted as socialism was a response to the major social changes wrought by industrialization.

Although writers such as Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen, and Ferdinand Lassalle contributed to the theory, Karl Marx exerted the greatest influence over its development. Believing that economics was the dominant force in shaping history, Marx posited a class struggle between workers (the proletariat) and capitalists. The conflict would inevitably result in the establishment of socialism.



German immigrants carried socialist ideas with them to the United States prior to the Civil War, but it was not until the 1870s that the doctrine gained attention beyond ethnic communities. The activities of two flamboyant sisters, Tennessee Claflin and VICTORIA WOODHULL, however, created discord within the movement. The two worked as clairvoyants in the Midwest before moving to New York, where Claflin became a close friend of railroad tycoon CORNELIUS VANDERBILT. Vanderbilt made them stockbrokers and ensured their success with inside information. Despite this connection, the sisters joined Section 12 of the Marxist International Workingmen's Association (IWA), better known as the First International. They also published a newspaper, *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, which advocated free love, abortion, and spiritualism as well as socialism. Fearful that the *Weekly* exposed socialism to ridicule, the European leaders expelled Section 12 in 1872. The expulsion caused a split, with "Americans" forming the American Confederation, which eventually lost its membership, and the German-Americans creating the North American Federation. Doctrinal disputes soon split the Germans into the Lassalleans, who favored political action, and the Marxists, who emphasized the organization of labor unions, and the IWA died in 1876. The two factions, however, came together in 1876 to form what became the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY (SLP). The SLP suffered numerous schisms until 1892, when Daniel De Leon became its undisputed leader.

EDWARD BELLAMY's book *Looking Backward* (1888) provided the basis of an American version of socialism. Set in the year 2000, *Looking Backward* projected a socialistic society that voluntarily evolved. The lack of revolutionary conflict appealed to the many who joined Nationalist Clubs to promote the abolition of private property. But both the European and American forms of socialism had little impact.

It is ironic that Gilded Age America, rapidly industrializing and experiencing labor violence, did not embrace socialism. Several explanations for this apparent paradox have been advanced. One argues that the constant dissension and schisms within the socialist movement made it seem ridiculous. Another suggests that socialism was too closely identified with immigrants to be accepted by Americans. Still another notes that American labor unions, seeking immediate economic gains, rejected socialism. One further holds that the anticlericalism of most socialists alienated them from their ethnic communities, which tended to revere the church. Perhaps the best explanation is that the American promise of upward mobility, so attractive to immigrants, negated the appeal of socialism.

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*United States* (New York: Norton, 2000); Howard Quint, *Forging of American Socialism* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1953).

—Harold W. Aurand

### Socialist Labor Party

The history of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) is one of dissension and schism. Meeting in Pittsburgh in 1876, representatives of the two major divisions among socialists—the Lassalleans (who favored using the electoral process to capture the existing state) and the Marxists (who wanted to organize the working class for the revolutionary destruction of the state)—called for a "Unity Congress." Assembling in Philadelphia in July 1876, the Congress established the Workingmen's Party of the United States (WPUS). Although the delegates elected a Lassallean, Philip Van Patter, as national secretary of the WPUS, they demonstrated their Marxist leanings by prohibiting electoral politics except at the local level and then only when conditions appeared extremely favorable.

Convinced by the GREAT STRIKE OF 1877 that political action was expedient, the 1877 WPUS convention, boycotted by most militant Marxists, repealed the stricture against entering politics and changed its name to the Socialist Labor Party (SLP). The SLP supported the candidates of the GREENBACK-LABOR PARTY in the 1880 presidential election, but disenchanted by defeat, the 16 delegates attending the party's 1883 convention adopted the policy of using electoral politics only for propaganda purposes. Agitation for the eight-hour workday, however, encouraged the Lassallean leadership to reenter politics in 1886 by joining a number of local third parties. Although that effort was a disaster, the party ran its slate of presidential electors in New York during the 1888 election only to be badly defeated. The dismal returns reignited the internal debate over the role of electoral politics and ended in 1889 when the Lassalleans, known as the W. L. Rosenberg or Cincinnati group, bolted from the party to form the Social Democratic Federation.

The SLP's marxist tendency became more pronounced with the rise of Daniel De Leon to power, although he, like the Lassalleans, also wanted to participate in electoral politics. In 1892 De Leon, a Columbia University law professor, became the SLP's dominant voice as editor of its newspaper, *The People*, and the SLP regularly participated in presidential campaigns, receiving, for example, 36,000 votes in 1896. But the SLP directed most of its attention to capturing the labor union movement by "boring within," or placing its members in key union positions. This tactic resulted in the temporary replacement of SAMUEL GOMPERS as president of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) and the permanent removal of TERENCE V.

POWDERLY as grand master workman (president) of the KNIGHTS OF LABOR. But both organizations repulsed the SLP's bid for control. Angered, De Leon launched another SLP organization, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. The creation of a dual (competing) union caused a group of trade unionists (called either the Kangaroos or the Rochester SLP) led by Morris Hillquit to leave the SLP in 1900. After a series of legal battles, the minuscule De Leon faction retained the name SLP, while the Kangaroos joined the SOCIALIST PARTY. In the early 20th century the SLP, led by the doctrinaire and divisive De Leon, had virtually no influence on the socialist movement and absolutely none on American society.

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—Harold W. Aurand

### Socialist Party

The Socialist Party was the product of Eugene Victor Debs's disillusionment following the PULLMAN STRIKE and schisms within the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY (SLP). In 1897 Debs dissolved the American Railway Union and reconvened it as the Social Democracy of America. In addition to railroaders, two other distinctive groups joined the new organization. One, largely composed of recent immigrants, based their SOCIALISM upon the writings of Karl Marx and other European theorists. Victor Berger and his followers comprised the largest group in this wing. Emigrating from Austria, Berger settled in Milwaukee where he founded the Wisconsin *Vorwärts* and advocated political action to achieve immediate goals. Disciples of the Lassalleian W. L. Rosenberg, who left the SLP in 1889, and a New York faction recently expelled from the SLP completed the "European" wing of the party. The other wing, most of whom were born in America, consisted of former KNIGHTS OF LABOR, disgruntled agrarian radicals, and those who drew their inspiration from EDWARD BELLAMY's *Looking Backward* (1888), a novel describing a futuristic socialist society.

Reflecting its utopian basis, the Social Democracy committed itself to a colonization scheme. According to this plan members of the party would move into a western territory, where they would establish a socialist commonwealth. Once established, the commonwealth would fulfill Bellamy's prophesy and would be the example that the country would emulate and copy. Within a year Berger and others, however, convinced Debs that the colonization dream was unrealistic. Unable to convince the 1898 convention that it should remove the colonization plank from its platform, Debs, Berger, and others seceded from the Social Democracy to form the Social Democratic Party.

After electing two representatives to the Massachusetts legislature in 1898, the new party attracted more followers.

Another schism within the SLP in 1900 altered the Social Democratic Party's fortunes. Opposed to the SLP's creation of a dual (competing) union, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance—a group of SLP trade unionists led by Morris Hillquit—withdraw and conducted their own convention in Rochester, New York. After nominating a presidential ticket of Job Harriman and Max Hayes, the SLP dissidents and the Social Democratic Party discussed a merger, and although negotiations languished, the Social Democratic convention created a fusion ticket of Debs for president and Harriman for vice president. Both groups supported the fusion ticket, which received 97,000 votes, outpolling the SLP by a factor of three. Encouraged by the vote, both factions met in Indianapolis in 1900 and formed the Socialist Party of America, which at its high point in 1912 and with Debs at its head, attracted almost 1 million voters.

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—Harold W. Aurand

### sod houses

The scarcity of timber in the West meant that settlers could not easily or cheaply build a typical log cabin. The sod house, an austere dwelling built out of the earth itself, supplanted the log cabin in the West and became a symbol of the hardscrabble existence of the western settler. These settlers staked their claim on land, and then built homes made of the land.

The first sod houses appeared in Kansas during the 1850s. To make a sod house, a settler simply plowed the ground and used the furrowed sod to make bricks. The bricks, similar to the adobe clay bricks found in some Southwestern dwellings, were a yard long, 12 to 18 inches wide, and three inches thick. Roofs were crafted using layers of brush and grass and a final layer of sod, with the grass side down; a more expensive version used lumber or tar paper in place of the grass or brush. Some interiors featured plaster covering the sod walls, but windows and window frames proved to be a luxury, so sod houses usually had little light or ventilation. A one-room house used approximately a half-acre of sod.

Sod houses were either free standing or built into a hill. The dugout variety involved excavating the side of a hill or ravine and building a front wall out of sod bricks. Dugout homes lasted only a season or two and generally served as interim dwellings until a four-wall sod house could be built. A regular sod house was expected to last about six or seven



Sod schoolhouse (*National Archives*)

years. The structures looked like grass huts, as the organic sod bricks sprouted grass as well as insects and vermin. Although the sod protected homes against fire and made them easy to repair, leaking tended to be a problem, and its inhabitants constantly checked walls and ceilings that were in danger of caving in. Successful settler families eventually built traditional homes, although they continued to use “soddies” for livestock or outhouses.

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—Scott Sendrow

### Solid South

The term *Solid South* refers to the political dominance of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY in the states of the former Confederacy. During the Reconstruction period, conservative, white-supremacy, Democratic governments gradually replaced the Radical Republican governments set up under the First Reconstruction Act (1867). Virginia and Tennessee were “redeemed,” as the Democrats put it, in 1869, North Carolina in 1870, Georgia in 1871, Texas in 1873, Alabama

and Arkansas in 1874, Mississippi in 1875 after a most violent election, and Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana in 1877. The triumph of the Democratic Party in the South can be ascribed to a combination of amnesty that enfranchised former Confederates, intimidation of black voters who were invariably Republican, and racial politics that identified the REPUBLICAN PARTY with AFRICAN AMERICANS and thus united the white race in its opposition. The final withdrawal of federal troops supporting Republican governments in South Carolina and Louisiana in 1877 by President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES was foreordained by Democratic control of the House of Representatives and with it army appropriations, by the preoccupation of the North with the problems of a severe economic depression, and more fundamentally by the North’s apathy over the civil rights of blacks. After 1877 the former Confederate states sent practically solid Democratic congressional delegations to Washington and until 1928 consistently supported Democratic presidential candidates.

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*Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880–1910* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974); Michael Perman, *Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888–1908* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2001); C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951).

—Phillip Papas

### Sooners

In the latter half of the 19th century, expansion rapidly filled the western territories. By the 1880s the states surrounding the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) were far more populous than the territory, which had less than two inhabitants per square mile. The federal government was under pressure to open the fertile triangle in the center of the Indian Territory that was not assigned to any tribe. “Boomers” from Kansas, Texas, and Arkansas desired that land, as did the RAILROADS. The most notorious Boomer, David L. Payne, anticipated that the government would eventually open the unassigned lands (“Old Oklahoma”) and surreptitiously surveyed land, going so far as to sell lots (without actually owning any of the land) in what is now modern-day Oklahoma City.

Bowing to pressure, CONGRESS authorized the opening of the unassigned lands to homesteaders in 1889. After the land was surveyed, as many as 20,000 people assembled at the borders of the district to claim land. At noon on April 22, 1889, homesteaders rushed forth on various modes of transportation to stake claims on land, and in one chaotic afternoon 1.9 million acres of land were claimed and Oklahoma City had a population of 10,000. The settlers acquired the land for free under the Homestead Act (1862), and the term *Sooners* refers to those who had sneaked past guards to get a head start on claiming the most desirable land. By the end of 1889 the Old Oklahoma District was home to more than 60,000 people. On September 16, 1893, a second major Boomer rush occurred in Oklahoma when the “Cherokee Outlet” was opened for settlement. Eventually, the chaos caused by the land rush led to the establishment of an application and lottery process.

The DAWES SEVERALTY ACT of 1887 made more Oklahoma land available for settlement. It provided for the redistribution of reservation land to members of Indian tribes and made land unclaimed by NATIVE AMERICANS available to white settlers at a cost of \$1.25 an acre, a modest price for the time. (The cost served to recoup money paid out by the government to Indian tribes.) In addition, in 1898 the Osage tribe and the Five Civilized tribes (the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole) were no longer exempt from the Dawes Act, and their sur-

plus lands ultimately were for sale. Oklahoma became a state in 1907.

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—Scott Sendrow

**Sousa, John Philip** (1854–1932) *composer, conductor*

Famous throughout the world as a band director and composer of marches, John Philip Sousa was born on November 6, 1854, in Washington, D.C., to immigrant parents (his father was Portuguese and his mother was Bavarian). His musical ability was evident early, and as a child he studied violin at a local MUSIC school. Sousa’s father was a trombonist in the U.S. Marine Band, and when John Philip was 13, his father arranged to have him enlisted as an apprentice. He served in the Marine Band until 1875. During these years he also studied theory, harmony, and composition with George Felix Benkert, a Washington orchestral conductor and pianist. In 1876 he moved to Philadelphia, where he played first violin in Jacques Offenbach’s orchestra for the PHILADELPHIA CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION. He remained in Philadelphia for four years, working as a theater violinist, teaching, arranging, conducting, and composing. He found work as a director of musical theater, including a production of Gilbert and Sullivan’s *H.M.S. Pinafore* and a show titled *Our Flirtations* for which he composed, compiled, and arranged the score.

In 1880 Sousa was appointed conductor of the U.S. Marine Band. During the next 12 years, he developed the band into a first-rate musical ensemble. In 1889 he composed *The Washington Post March*, which brought him international fame, and by 1891 he was known as the March King.

In 1892 he resigned to form his own band, Sousa’s Band, which achieved an extraordinary level of excellence and worldwide fame. The Sousa Band was a band unlike any that had preceded it; its repertoire included, in addition to Sousa’s own marches, movements from popular operas and arrangements of popular music, including ragtime. Concerts by the band usually featured a performance by an attractive female vocal or instrumental soloist. Performances by virtuoso members of his band were also featured. Some of the most notable soloists were Arthur Pryor on trombone (Pryor also served as assistant conductor and arranger), Herbert L. Clarke on cornet, and E. A. Lefebvre on saxophone. The Sousa Band flourished for nearly four decades, touring North America annually except during World War I. During the war, Sousa served in the navy, organizing band units and directing a navy band of more than 300. The Sousa Band



made four European tours between 1900 and 1905 and a world tour in 1910–11. The band was finally dissolved in 1931 due to difficulties brought on by the Great Depression and Sousa's declining health. He died on March 6, 1932, in Reading, Pennsylvania, while preparing for a guest-conducting appearance.

Sousa's contributions to American music were many. From the time of his appointment to the Marine Band until after World War I, Sousa was the most prominent national musician. He composed and performed music for virtually every significant national event or celebration, from the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION at Chicago in 1893 to the Liberty Loan Drive of 1917. Known throughout the world, Sousa is best remembered as a composer of marches. Among the best and most popular were *El Capitan* (1896), *Semper Fidelis* (1888), *The Stars and Stripes Forever!* (1896), and *United States Field Artillery* (1917). Some marches, such as *The Washington Post*, were popular for dancing in the United States and Europe. He developed a standard form for the march that has been widely adopted and imitated. A typical Sousa march has a brief introduction, strains A and B, both repeated, a brief interlude (called the "break"), and then a trio that is usually in a key a 4th above the opening tonic. The trio is most often repeated with a countermelody. Repeats of the trio are sometimes separated by brief dramatic episodes. The marches are in brisk 2/4 or 6/8 time. This form was borrowed and adapted by many ragtime composers.

Sousa's operettas were very successful and popular in their time. Between 1882 and 1915 he completed 12 operettas, of which the most successful were *El Capitan* (1895), *The Bride Elect* (1897), and *The Charlatan* (1898). Inspired by Gilbert and Sullivan, they pointed the way for the development of musical THEATER in the 20th century. Sousa contributed the sousaphone, a bass tuba that encircles the body with a widely flared bell, to the family of brass instruments. He had the first built to his specifications in the 1890s. Sousa objected to recorded music (he is credited with originating the term *canned music* in an article in *Appleton's Magazine*, September 1906). However, his band made many recordings, the earliest usually under the direction of Arthur Pryor. Sousa was also a prolific author. He published three novels, an autobiography, *Marching Along* (1928), numerous newspaper and magazine articles, and many other works. He was a shrewd businessman and a fighter for composers' rights. He was a founding member of the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) in 1914 and served as a director and vice president of the society from 1924 until his death in 1932.

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—William Peek

### Spanish-American War (1898)

The four-month Spanish-American War, fought primarily on the island of CUBA, marked the arrival of the United States as a world power and brought an end to Spain's empire in the Americas. The immediate cause of the war was Spain's brutal, yet failing, strategy to quell a revolt in Cuba, which along with Puerto Rico, the Philippines, some Pacific islands, and a few African possessions was all that remained of the Spanish empire. The revolution began in Cuba in 1895, and Americans viewed it as a fight by a ragtag army of insurrectionists for freedom from a bloated and corrupt monarchy and equated the struggle with their own fight a century earlier against England. Egged on by Cuban exiles living in the United States, Americans began to smuggle weapons to the Cubans.

Americans also had strong commercial interests in Cuba. The widespread devastation caused by Spain's pacification strategy threatened American investments in Cuban railways and sugar plantations. In addition, with the frontier of continental North America effectively closed by the 1890s, expansionists preached the need for the United States to expand its economic power and export its surplus production into the Americas and the Pacific. Beyond Cuba's economic value was its strategic usefulness in defending an envisioned Central American isthmian canal that would permit the eastern American ports to exploit allegedly rich markets of the Orient.

In 1873 the United States had almost intervened in an earlier Cuban Revolution following the VIRGINIUS AFFAIR, but by 1898 IMPERIALISM—driven by economic ambitions, strategic concerns, and humanitarian impulses heightened by a sensationalist press—made war far more likely. In February 1898 the *New York Journal* published the DE LÔME LETTER in which the Spanish minister to the United States made disparaging remarks about President WILLIAM MCKINLEY. This insult was followed on February 15, 1898, by the explosion in Havana harbor that sank the American battleship *Maine* and killed 260 sailors and marines. The American press immediately blamed Spanish treachery and called for war, but a naval court of inquiry—while concluding that an underwater mine sank the *Maine*—could not determine responsibility. Although the Spanish government was the least likely culprit, it offered to have the questions of responsibility and reparations arbitrated and even agreed to an armistice (to last as long as the commanding general in Cuba thought prudent) in the war on the Cuban rebels. But the United States was in no mood for arbitration or for negotiations. McKinley, who had experienced the carnage of war, reluctantly gave in to pressure and on April 11, 1898, asked CONGRESS for the authority to use the armed forces to intervene in Cuba. Congress debated for a week before agreeing on April 19 by joint resolution, which McKinley signed the following day, and the war began.



Lithograph of the naval battle in Manila Bay, 1898 (*Library of Congress*)

A few days after the declaration of war, Commodore GEORGE DEWEY steamed with the American Asiatic Squadron to the Philippines to stop a decrepit Spanish fleet from voyaging halfway around the globe to reinforce Spanish naval forces at Cuba. Off Cavite in Manila Bay on the morning of May 1, the American fleet put the Spanish fleet of 10 ships out of action and forced its supporting shore batteries to surrender. While Dewey awaited troops, the Filipinos revolted for their independence and cooperated with the American army when it arrived to besiege Manila. American-Filipino relations deteriorated after Spanish authorities surrendered Manila on August 13, 1898, to American forces and the Filipino insurgents were frozen out. When it became apparent that the American goal was annexation of the Philippines and not independence, a bloody war called the FILIPINO INSURRECTION broke out.

The campaign for Cuba, plagued by logistic and transportation problems, got underway on June 22 with the landing of soldiers and marines at Daiquiri. Only after five days would all the troops be deployed and the beachhead be secured. The American strategy in Cuba was for the navy to blockade the island and cut off supplies for the Spanish while the army stormed the port of Santiago from the land.

The navy soon had the Spanish fleet trapped at Santiago Bay. The army meanwhile fought its way through dense jungle from the coast to the San Juan Heights overlooking the city. At the Battle of San Juan Hill, Theodore Roosevelt drove the Spanish from their trenches atop Kettle Hill with his ROUGH RIDERS by brazenly charging up the slope in the face of heavy fire. With Santiago certain to be captured, the Spanish fleet on July 3 risked destruction in an attempt to escape. Led by Admiral Pascual Cervera's flagship the *Infanta Maria Theresa*, the fleet steamed out the narrow mouth of the harbor to be destroyed by the American fleet. Faced with the probability of being shelled by land and sea, Governor General Ramón Blanco y Erenas surrendered his troops on July 17, 1898.

The peace treaty signed on December 10, 1898, gave the United States the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam. Cuba became independent, since the Teller Amendment to the declaration of war specifically forbade its annexation by the United States. Cuba's independence, however, was nominal, since in 1901 it was forced to write into its constitution the Platt Amendment, which gave the United States the right to intervene in its affairs.

See also *MAINE, REMEMBER THE; YELLOW JOURNALISM.*



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—Timothy E. Vislocky

**specie payments, resumption of** See CURRENCY ISSUE.

**spiritualism** See RELIGION.

**spoils system** See CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

### sports and recreation

Several sports, including tennis, golf, and basketball, developed in the Gilded Age. Outdoor tennis, invented in Great Britain, came to the United States via Bermuda in 1874.

There, the vacationing Mary Outerbridge of Staten Island, New York, liked tennis so well that she embarked for home with net, rackets, and balls that, upon her landing, perplexed customhouse officers. In spring 1874 she designed the first American tennis court at the Staten Island Cricket and Baseball Club. Courts were built at Lakewood, New Jersey; Tuxedo Park, New York; and Newport, Rhode Island. By 1880 more than 30 eastern clubs had laid out tennis courts. The first important tennis tournament was held in 1880 on Staten Island.

The U.S. Lawn Tennis Association (USLTA), formed in 1881, sponsored a challenge-round tournament at Newport from 1881 to 1915. Richard Sears won the first seven USLTA tournaments. The sport was played mainly by wealthy easterners, and the early champions often came from Harvard University. Robert Wrenn, Frederick Hovey, and Malcolm Whitman won the singles championships from 1893 through 1900, while Holcombe Ward and Dwight Davis captured consecutive doubles titles from 1899 through 1901. Harvard students modernized tennis by using a twist overhand service, the passing shot, and the lob and by rushing to the net. Tennis gained popularity in 1900 when Davis donated a cup for annual competition among all nations, but in particular the Davis Cup stimulated competition between the United States and Great Britain. The Americans, led by Whitman, Davis, and Ward, upset the British, 5-0, in 1900.



Advertisement for a lawn-tennis equipment manufacturer, 1882 (Library of Congress)

Golf appeared in the United States by the 1880s. The leisurely sport appealed to wealthier, older people and was dominated by the British. Robert Lockhart purchased a set of golf clubs and two dozen guttie balls (rubberlike balls made from the gum of the gutta-percha tree) in Dunfermline, Scotland, in 1887 and brought them back to his Yonkers, New York, home. John Shotts, a Yonkers butcher, permitted golfers to hit balls around his 30-acre lot. In November 1888, Scotsman John Reid established St. Andrews, the first permanent American golf club. The six-hole St. Andrews course was built on Shotts's property and shifted locations several times over the next decade.

Scottish professional Willie Dunn in 1891 built Shinnecock Hills, the nation's first true golf course, at Southampton, New York. Dunn and 150 Indians from the Shinnecock Reservation cleared 4,000 acres of thick brush and laid out a 12-hole seaside golf links. After incorporating, Shinnecock Hills built a clubhouse and opened in 1892 with 70 club members.

In 1893 the Chicago Golf Club built the nation's first 18-hole course. Charles Macdonald, the club's best player, won the U.S. Golf Association's (USGA) first amateur championship in 1895 at the Newport Golf Club in Newport, Rhode Island. The USGA also sponsored the initial U.S. Open golf tournament in 1895. The Open was increased from 36 holes to 72 holes in 1898. Foreign-born golfers won every U.S. Open tournament from 1895 to 1910. American John McDermott prevailed with a winning 307 in 1911 at the Chicago Golf Club in Wheaton, Illinois. Golf grew rapidly from 50 clubs in 1895 to 1,040 by 1900.

In 1893 the Shinnecock Hills Golf Club designed a nine-hole course for women. Within two years, other courses for women were built at Morristown, New Jersey, and Yonkers, New York. Holland Ford, by 14 strokes, won the first women's tournament, held in October 1894 on the seven-hole Morristown course. In 1896 Beatrix Hoyt captured the first USGA-sanctioned amateur championship by two holes, with one hole left to play, at Morris County Golf Club in Convent, New Jersey. She won the next two USGA women's amateur titles by wider margins.

Basketball, the only major sport purely American in origin, was invented by Dr. James Naismith, who taught physical education at YMCA Training College in Springfield, Massachusetts (now Springfield College). Dr. Luther Gulick, physical education department head, asked Naismith to conduct an indoor activity for students. Naismith invented basketball, in which participants scored by shooting soccer balls into peach baskets suspended at each end of the school's gymnasium. In January 1892 Naismith wrote 13 basketball rules. Since his class had 18 students, Naismith assigned nine players to each side. Each team fielded three forwards, three centers, and three guards. Two centers tipped the ball at mid-court to start the game. Players

committing fouls were put in a penalty box until the next basket was made. To speed the game, Naismith removed the bottom from the peach basket. The game was called "Springfield ball" and "triangle ball" before student Frank Mahan named it basketball. Basketball initially was considered a YMCA exercise rather than a serious sport. Geneva, Yale, Pennsylvania, Wesleyan, Trinity, Chicago, Iowa, Stanford, Nebraska, and Kansas soon fielded men's varsity basketball teams, while Smith, Vassar, Wellesley, Newcomb, and Bryn Mawr had women's basketball teams. Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Princeton, and Yale formed the Eastern Intercollegiate League in 1901.

See also BASEBALL; BICYCLING; BOXING; FOOTBALL; HORSE RACING.

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—David L. Porter

**Stalwarts** See REPUBLICAN PARTY.

**Standard Oil** See OIL.

**Stanton, Elizabeth Cady** See VOLUME V.

## star route frauds

Special postal routes, designated on lists by three stars for "certainty, celerity, and security," were mostly in the West and depended on horses for transportation. Marauders, topography, and climate made them difficult and dangerous. In 1878 there were 9,225 star routes (some handling only three letters a week), for which \$5.9 million was appropriated. Between 1878 and 1880, Second Assistant Postmaster General Thomas J. Brady and his accomplices furnished sham petitions requesting that service be expedited on 93 of these routes. Improved service jumped annual operating costs from \$762,858 to \$2,723,464 and required a deficiency appropriation that aroused the suspicions of CONGRESS and President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, but the Post Office Department claimed that increased service was needed and the money was appropriated. Hayes, however, insisted that no new star route liabilities be incurred without a review by himself.



In 1881, less than two months after Hayes left office, President JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD's postmaster general, Thomas L. James, exposed the star route frauds and revealed them as the source of some of the money that had financed Garfield's election. Stephen W. Dorsey, the secretary of the Republican National Committee, through his connection with Brady, was able to engineer Garfield's crucial victory in Indiana with star route money. Dorsey's brother, his brother-in-law, and a former partner controlled 24 contracts that had been worth \$55,246 but were increased to \$501,072. A small part of the increase went for additional service; the rest was put to private and political use. Dorsey later made the preposterous claim that he had spent \$400,000 in Indiana, but the Republicans were well funded in that state.

Garfield's assassination interrupted the investigation of the frauds, but the CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR administration persisted and eventually brought Brady and Dorsey to trial. After protracted litigation both were acquitted.

**Further reading:** Ari Hoogenboom, *Rutherford B. Hayes: Warrior and President* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); Allan Peskin, *Garfield: A Biography* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1978).

### Statue of Liberty

The Statue of Liberty symbolizes America as a haven for those seeking freedom from oppression and the opportunity to better their lives. It has been a beacon of hope to millions of immigrants, welcoming them to the United States. The French historian and statesman Edouard de Laboulaye was the first to come up with the idea for the Statue of Liberty. The statue was to commemorate the Franco-American alliance during the American Revolution as well as the idea of liberty embodied in America. The eminent French sculptor Auguste Bartholdi was entrusted with designing the monument. Bartholdi chose Bedloe's Island (now Liberty Island) in the Upper New York Bay as the site for the statue.

In 1875 fund-raising campaigns began in both France and the United States. The French were to raise money to pay for the statue, and the Americans would contribute to the cost of its pedestal. By 1881 the French campaign had managed to raise \$400,000. The American public, however, was not as enthusiastic. By 1885 the American Committee for the Statue, which was composed largely of members from the Union League Club, had raised only half of the \$100,000 needed for the pedestal. To supplement the funds already raised by the committee, JOSEPH PULITZER, the publisher of the *New York World*, took up the campaign and in less than five months raised the rest of the money.



Statue of Liberty, Bedloe's (later Liberty) Island, New York Harbor, 1890 (*Library of Congress*)

Bartholdi began construction on the statue in 1875. More than 300 sheets of copper (which appropriately, given the origin of many immigrants, came from Norway) were hammered into shape on wooden molds and then riveted together. Gustave Eiffel, to whom the design of the statue's internal steel and wrought iron framework was entrusted, began his work in 1879. The 151-foot Statue of Liberty was assembled and displayed in Paris before being shipped in parts to New York. Richard Morris Hunt, who was the first American to study at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, designed the 98-foot pedestal. Hunt had also designed the *New York Tribune* Building and the Lenox Library in New York City. The Statue of Liberty was officially presented to the United States in Paris on July 4, 1884, and was accepted on behalf of the American people by the U.S. minister to France, Levi P. Morton. The American dedication took place on October 28, 1886, with President GROVER CLEVELAND in attendance.

The Statue of Liberty soon became one of the most widely recognized landmarks in the entire world. It stood

as a symbol of the opportunity American offered for those in pursuit of freedom and new lives. In 1903, when EMMA LAZARUS's poem "The New Colossus" was inscribed on a bronze tablet and mounted on its pedestal, the Statue of Liberty became forever associated with the hopes and dreams of the millions of immigrants who have entered the United States.

See also IMMIGRATION.

**Further reading:** Barbaralee Diamonstein, *The Landmarks of New York: Part II* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988); Walter Huggins, *Statue of Liberty National Monument: Its Origins, Development, and Administration* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1958).

—Phillip Papas

## steel

Steel is an alloy of iron and carbon (up to 1.7 percent) that is malleable, light, and strong compared to cast iron, which has a higher carbon content. Steel had been made in small quantities for swords and armor for centuries and in slightly larger amounts in crucibles since the 18th century. The discovery of the BESSEMER PROCESS in 1856 meant that steel could be produced inexpensively by blowing cold air through molten iron in a pear-shaped converter. This British discovery marked the beginning of the second INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, which was born around 1870. In addition to Bessemer's contribution, an international collaboration between a German living in Britain and brothers in France had earlier developed the Siemens-Martin open-hearth method for making steel in 1858. It employed a shallow-bowled reverberatory furnace from which samples of the molten metal could be taken so that the refining could be stopped when the desired quality of the steel was obtained. The open-hearth furnace, however, was much slower than the Bessemer process, in which the proper carbon content was judged by the color of the converter's flame.

Bessemer steel was first made in the United States in 1864 and open-hearth steel in 1868. Because of the time lag between a discovery and its widespread application, the Civil War was fought with iron rather than steel, and large-scale inexpensive steel production was not realized until the 1870s. Initially, American manufacturers preferred the speed and guesswork of the Bessemer converter—especially in meeting the enormous demand for rails—but later when more alloys were added to steel, precision was required and the open-hearth furnace became more popular. The production of open-hearth steel did not overtake Bessemer steel until 1908. Overall steel production jumped from 68,750 long tons in 1870, to 1.2 million in 1880, 4.3

million in 1890, and to 10.2 million long tons in 1900. In 1880 open-hearth steel production was one-tenth that of Bessemer steel, in 1890 it was one-seventh, but by 1900 it was almost seven-tenths.

The technology of steelmaking was expensive and led to large-scale business organization. Smaller iron-producing companies were consolidated into large steel-producing corporations. Ironically, ANDREW CARNEGIE—colorful, controversial, contradictory, and the most successful steel producer—neither used the corporate form (Carnegie Steel was a limited partnership) nor depended on the protective TARIFF to build his empire of steel. Carnegie was an optimist who expanded during the depressions following the Panics of 1873 and 1893 (see BUSINESS CYCLES) when costs were low, picked talented men to be his partners, and was an excellent organizer. By 1900 Carnegie Steel—a vertical combination that owned iron and coal mines, transportation facilities, iron and steel plants, and fabricating mills—was producing between 25 and 30 percent of the nation's steel, and its profits were \$40 million, of which Carnegie's personal share was \$25 million. Carnegie's ambitions, however, transcended money-making, and in 1901 his company became the backbone of United States Steel ("Big Steel"), a \$1.4-billion corporation organized by J. P. MORGAN. It comprised 149 steel plants, 84 blast furnaces, 1,000 miles of railroad, and 112 Great Lakes vessels, in addition to vast coal, ore, and limestone deposits.

**Further reading:** Peter Temin, *Iron and Steel in Nineteenth-Century America: An Economic Inquiry* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1964).

## Stone, Lucy (1818–1893) *women's right activist, abolitionist*

One of the major woman suffrage leaders of the 19th century, Lucy Stone was born on August 13, 1818, on a farm near West Brookfield, Massachusetts. At age 16 she became a teacher, and at 25 she entered Oberlin College. Stone graduated from Oberlin in 1847, becoming the first woman from Massachusetts to earn a bachelor's degree, and became a paid lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society. She soon began to talk about WOMEN'S RIGHTS in her antislavery lectures and was rebuked by the Anti-Slavery Society, but a compromise was reached: For a reduced salary, Stone lectured on antislavery on weekends and spoke on women's rights on weekdays at her own expense. Her audiences grew and occasionally numbered as many as 2,000 or 3,000 people. In 1850 Stone helped organize the first national women's rights convention in Worcester, Massachusetts, and she was a primary organizer of several national conventions thereafter.

In 1853 Henry Blackwell, a brother of ELIZABETH BLACKWELL, the first female doctor, began a determined courtship of Stone. She turned him down, but Blackwell persisted, eventually promising to “renounce all the privileges which the law confers on me.” They were married on May 1, 1855, and Stone became the first woman to keep her maiden name after her marriage. While Blackwell professed support for her women’s rights work, he frequently made it difficult for her to continue her work during the early years of their marriage. And after the birth of her daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell, on September 14, 1857, the organizational work that she had been doing fell to SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

At the conclusion of the Civil War, with her daughter in school, Stone returned full time to suffrage activity. She was involved, along with Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, in the formation of the American Equal Rights Association (AERA), a coalition dedicated to pushing for both African-American and woman suffrage. Both Stone and Anthony campaigned in Kansas in 1867 for proposals for black and woman suffrage. Both proposals were defeated, and the bitter Kansas campaign caused a rift between Stone and Anthony and Stanton. Midway through that campaign, the REPUBLICAN PARTY withdrew its support for woman suffrage. Stone returned East to raise money for the campaign, while Anthony remained in Kansas and accepted the help of George Francis Train, a Democrat and a blatant racist. Stone was convinced that Train was cynically professing support for woman suffrage in order to split the equal rights movement. She was also furious that her name was used in association with Train’s. Contributing to this “terrible time” for Stone was her husband’s affair with Abby Hutchinson Patton (soloist of the acclaimed Hutchinson family singers).

Like Anthony and Stanton, Stone was distressed by the inclusion of the word *male* in the Fourteenth Amendment and believed that the equal rights movement should push for an amendment giving the vote to both women and AFRICAN AMERICANS. Unlike Stanton and Anthony, who opposed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, she refused to oppose voting rights for African-American men. “I will be thankful in my soul if *any* body can get out of the terrible pit,” she said.

In 1869 Anthony and Stanton broke off from the AERA to form the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA). Later that same year Stone formed the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) and was aided in its organization by her now contrite husband, Henry. Stone in 1870, abetted by Henry, also started and was the mainstay of a weekly newspaper, the *Woman’s Journal*. After 1882 their daughter Alice assumed major editorial responsibility, and it appeared until 1931. Called the “voice of the woman’s movement,” it, by reporting on all

aspects of the suffrage struggle, made a major contribution to ultimate victory.

While the NWSA had a reputation for being more nationally oriented, the AWSA frequently supplied more signatures to petitions for a national suffrage amendment than the NWSA, and both organizations were heavily involved in local suffrage campaigns. The real reason for two organizations was that Stone did not trust Anthony and Stanton, who she feared might discredit the entire movement. Stone, who was more socially conservative, cringed when the NWSA allowed itself to become associated with VICTORIA WOODHULL (and through her to be associated in the public mind with free love). Nor was she happy when Stanton spoke in favor of relaxed divorce laws. By the 1880s, however, Stone recognized that a merger of the AWSA and NWSA would benefit the movement. The merger took place in 1890. Anthony managed to get Stanton elected president of the merged organization, while Stone became the chair of its executive committee. Her dying words on October 18, 1893, admonished her daughter Alice to “make the world better.”

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—Lynn Hoogenboom

**street railways** See TRANSPORTATION, URBAN.

**strikes** See LABOR: STRIKES AND VIOLENCE.

**Strong, Josiah** (1847–1916) *minister, social reformer*  
The most prominent advocate of the SOCIAL GOSPEL, Josiah Strong was born in Napierville, Illinois, on January 19, 1847, but grew up in Hudson, Ohio. A graduate of Western Reserve College (1869), Strong continued his studies at Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, was ordained a Congregational minister in 1871, and for two years was a home missionary in Cheyenne, Wyoming. He returned to Ohio in 1873 and served as an instructor at Lane, a pastor at Sandusky, secretary of the Ohio Home Mission Society (1881–84), and then for two years as pastor of the Central Congregational Church of Cincinnati. His experience in Cincinnati and especially with the Home Mission Society focused Strong’s attention on the challenges to Protestantism by the rapid, unsettling industrialization and urbanization of America.

His response in 1885 was to publish his and the Social Gospel’s most important 19th century work, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*. Combining Puri-





Josiah Strong (New-York Historical Society)

tan morality and Manifest Destiny, Strong tried to arouse and inspire Protestants to evangelize and reform America and to utilize its enormous resources to reshape the world for the better. Although Strong is remembered as a racist and imperialist, he wanted the aggressive Anglo-Saxons to spread their superior institutions throughout the world and by so doing promote peace, prosperity, and justice. His ideas were missionary, not military, and he was as opposed to exploiting weak people abroad as he was at home. His contemporaries realized *Our Country* was an attempt to mobilize Protestant America to combat social evils, economic distress, and political corruption and to create an ideal society on earth through reform legislation.

Although Strong was a prolific writer, his main contribution to the Social Gospel was as an organizer. From 1886 to 1898 he was the general secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, calling for ecumenical action on social issues and sponsoring the Interdenominational Congress that met in 1887, 1889, and finally in 1893, at the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION at Chicago. This last meeting had an immense impact. Strong emphasized a pragmatic religion that linked "fact and faith," tying surveys and statistics to scripture. By 1898 this stance had led to a more daring

position than the alliance affirmed, so Strong left the alliance and organized the League for Social Service. Under his leadership until his death in 1916, the league attacked urban and social problems like poverty and drunkenness and tried to improve working conditions with a "safety first" campaign. In 1908 Strong, in keeping with his ecumenical approach, helped form the Federal Council of Churches in Christ in America, the precursor of the National Council of Churches.

Ironically, Strong is remembered for celebrating the "Anglo-Saxon race" and for encouraging IMPERIALISM, but he was motivated by a paternalistic love (not by fear and hatred and a desire to exploit) that wished to achieve social justice at home and abroad and "bring the Kingdom of God on Earth."

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—W. Frederick Wooden

#### **Sullivan, Louis H.** (1856–1924) *architect*

With their evident structuralism and ornament derived from nature, Louis H. Sullivan's buildings inspired the phrase "form follows function" and presaged modern architecture. The son of a dancing master, Sullivan was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on September 3, 1856. He received architectural and engineering training at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. He then worked briefly in the Philadelphia office of Frank Furness and the Chicago office of William Jenny. In 1881 he entered the office of Dankmar Adler, an established architect with important ties to the Jewish community of Chicago as it rebuilt itself after the fire of 1871. The partnership of Adler and Sullivan was established in 1883 and continued until 1895, marking Sullivan's most productive period as a practicing architect. Although Adler has been credited solely with engineering and managerial skills, historians now acknowledge his innovations in exploiting the structural elements of architecture. On his own after 1895, Sullivan won few major commissions but became more active as a writer and theorist. He died on April 14, 1924, in relative obscurity and poverty. His influence was long felt, however, through his writings and through the "Chicago school," a style promulgated by younger architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright and George Grant Elmslie, both of whom worked in Sullivan's office.

Sullivan's ideas were expressed in a passionate blend of poetry, philosophy, sociology, and architectural criticism. He believed that the historical eclecticism of his era was



mindless and that the outward form of modern architecture must derive from inward function. However, he also knew that architecture must be more than mere functionalism; it must also express intellectual, emotional, and spiritual realities. Sullivan's highly distinctive style of ornament derived from his understanding of the rhythms of degeneration and regeneration in living organisms, which provided the model for all architectural development. During his lifetime, Sullivan's ideas were presented mainly to professional audiences. In 1918 his *Kindergarten Chats* first appeared in book form, and in 1924 his *Autobiography of an Idea* was published. Both works remain in print and influential.

Sullivan is probably best remembered for his commercial buildings. His Transportation Building at the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION of 1893 in Chicago was essentially a polychromatic shed with an enormous ornamented arched entrance, called the "Golden Door." The idiosyncratic building became an aberrant attraction at the fair, which was a bastion of classicist design. In the trading room of the Chicago Stock Exchange (1894), now reconstructed at the Chicago Art Institute, Sullivan's lyrical organic ornament was executed in stenciling, terra-cotta, metal, and stained glass. Sullivan's work in skyscrapers culminated in the Guaranty Building (1896, Buffalo, New York), where the steel skeleton was encased in a thin envelope of brick and structural units were emphasized with terra-cotta ornament. The steel-frame construction of the Schlesinger and Mayer Company Store (now Carson Pirie Scott) in Chicago (1899, 1904) was likewise made evident, and street-level windows were exuberantly framed with Sullivan's ornament in metal. A series of bank buildings in small Midwestern towns closed Sullivan's career, giving him a chance to create functional forms exquisitely ornamented.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

**Further reading:** Hugh Morrison, *Louis Sullivan: Prophet of Modern Architecture*, rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1998); Robert Twombly, *Louis Sullivan: His Life and Work* (New York: Viking, 1986).

—Karen Zukowski

**Sumner, William Graham** (1840–1910) *political and social scientist*

William Graham Sumner, America's most influential promoter of SOCIAL DARWINISM, was born on October 30, 1840, in Paterson, New Jersey, and grew up in Hartford, Connecticut. He studied theology at Yale from 1859 to 1863 and abroad between 1863 and 1866. After returning to the United States he was a tutor at Yale from 1866 to 1869. Ordained a Protestant Episcopal priest in 1869, he entered the ministry and served briefly in New York City and as rector from 1870 to 1872 at Morristown, New Jer-

sey. In 1872 Sumner was appointed professor of political and social science at Yale, where he taught until his retirement in 1909. In that year he was elected president of the American Sociological Association, and he died the following year on April 12, 1910.

Sumner's ideas about society emerged from a confluence of Protestant religious beliefs. There were classical laissez-faire economic principles, which advocated a hands-off government policy that would promote a free competitive economy and ensure the greatest prosperity for the largest number, and Charles Darwin's theory of biological EVOLUTION. Sumner lived in an era when intellectuals, no longer certain that God created humans in his image, struggled to reconcile their belief in God with the modern evolutionary thinking of geologists and biologists. The evolutionary hypothesis contradicted the biblical account of creation as well as the transcendental notion that God was benevolent and one with nature.

In trying to reconcile traditional Christianity, 19th-century SCIENCE, and the industrial revolution, Sumner achieved great popularity. His efforts to synthesize these elements in a science of society were influenced by the English thinker Herbert Spencer, who applied Darwin's evolutionary theory to society. Possessing the moral fervor of a Puritan preacher, Sumner equated the Protestant ethic of industry, frugality, and temperance with the strengths that enabled the "fittest" individuals not merely to survive but to achieve success. He embraced the ideas that people are unequal, that they have no natural rights, that competition is as much a law of nature as gravity, and that the progress of civilization depends on unrestricted competition.

Accordingly, in Sumner's view, people need total freedom from state intervention in the economy, whether it be tariffs to enrich industrialists, inheritance taxes to level society, safety laws to protect labor, and even antimonopoly legislation to preserve competition. Since government interference hampered competition and led to the survival of the unfit, Sumner believed that the state should limit itself to defending "the property of men and the honor of women . . . against crime." If people were free from the misguided and hindering effects of the state, competition would yield the best possible results for society. For nearly four decades Sumner lectured and wrote for prestigious journals, advocating his views that competition was glorious, success was the reward of virtue, and that if some were rich and powerful and others were poor and weak, this social reality was the evolutionary, and the only, path toward social progress.

Sumner, however, was progressive in his belief that the state should invest in public EDUCATION. Universal education could not promise students equality, but it could give individuals the chance to show their merit. He served as a member of the Connecticut State Board of Education from

1882 to 1910, where he had an opportunity to carry out his beliefs. But apart from education, Sumner consistently adhered to his Social Darwinian ideas.

Sumner was not the tool of big business, despite its usual appreciation of his laissez-faire ideas. Although he thought “millionaires are a product of natural selection,” he also feared they corrupted government with their lobbies. Sumner did not believe that government policies capable of serving private interests should be awarded to the highest bidder. He opposed protective tariffs and overseas imperialistic expansion. Just as he did not oppose corporations, he did not oppose labor unions and believed that their bargaining power would more effectively improve working conditions than government regulations. Sumner argued that he spoke for the “forgotten” middle class that paid taxes to enrich the plutocracy and support the idle. Although few individuals could agree totally with Sumner, conservatives found much, and progressives almost no, support in his Social Darwinism.

**Further reading:** Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, rev. ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955).

—Harry Stein

**Sunday schools** See RELIGION.

## Supreme Court

During the Gilded Age the Supreme Court, reflecting the growth of large-scale industrial enterprises, became the bastion of property rights, the champion of laissez-faire, and the enemy of state regulation of commerce. Prior to the Civil War the Court interpreted the commerce and contract clauses of the Constitution to allow states considerable regulatory latitude, and in the 1870s it continued that practice. For example, in the *Slaughterhouse Cases* (1873), the Court upheld the right of Louisiana to grant a monopoly in order to regulate butchering, and in *Munn v. Illinois* (1877)—one of the Granger cases—the Court approved state regulation of interstate RAILROADS. But by the 1880s economic and political changes had affected the personnel of the Court and changed its attitude.

The dominant Supreme Court jurist during the Gilded Age was neither Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite (1874–88) nor Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller (1888–1910) but rather Associate Justice STEPHEN J. FIELD, who served on the Court from 1863 to 1897. Field dissented in the slaughterhouse cases, arguing that the monopoly awarded by the

state violated the Fourteenth Amendment by depriving persons of property the due process of law, and he similarly dissented in *Munn* on grounds that state regulation of railroads threatened private property. Field reiterated that argument until, by the late 1880s, it was accepted by the Court. In *Wabash v. Illinois* (1886) the Court adopted Field's view that states could not regulate interstate commerce. The Court, which continued to reflect Field's influence as late as the 1930s, defended private property from the federal government and narrowly defined its regulatory power. Accordingly, the Court in *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan and Trust Co.* (1895) declared the federal income tax, a direct tax, unconstitutional and emasculated the SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT of 1890 in *United States v. E. C. Knight* (1895) by holding that the sugar trust's monopoly of refining (manufacturing) did not constitute restraint of trade. In 1897 the Court stripped the Interstate Commerce Commission (established in 1887 to regulate railroads as a result of the *Wabash* decision) of its power to regulate rates and to eliminate the long-haul/short-haul abuse.

While Field dominated the Gilded Age Supreme Court, its voice of the future belonged to Associate Justice JOHN MARSHALL HARLAN, who served on the Court from 1877 to 1911 and was its great dissenter. He did not think the court should base its decisions on so-called natural laws like laissez-faire nor should it abuse its power of judicial review. He disagreed with the majority in both the *Pollock* and *Knight* cases. Most notably, while the Court in the Gilded Age became the ardent defender of property rights—ironically, using the civil rights Fourteenth Amendment to do so—it, with the conspicuous exception of Harlan, neglected human rights. He forcefully dissented in the *CIVIL RIGHTS CASES* (1883), when the majority held that equal rights in public accommodations were not covered by the Fourteenth Amendment, and most notably when the Court, in *PLESSY V. FERGUSON* (1896), agreed that “separate but equal accommodations” did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment. “Our Constitution,” Harlan declared, “is color-blind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens.”

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**Tammany Hall** See CORRUPTION, POLITICAL.

**Tanner, Benjamin Tucker** (1835–1923) *author, minister*

Benjamin Tucker Tanner, an African Methodist Episcopal (AME) bishop, was born in December 1835 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, one of 12 children of Hugh and Isabella Tanner. He celebrated his birthday on December 22 or 23 until about 1860, when he claimed December 25 as his date of birth. Tanner began working at least by age nine, when he delivered copies of Martin Delany's newspaper, *The Mystery*. He left home in his early youth to work as a barber, first in Chicago and then in Cincinnati and other Ohio River ports. Tanner's diary, which he started in 1851, shows an interest in politics, especially in the issues of slavery, and revealed his dismay when he wrote in 1851 that he did not wish to die in the United States. Returning to Pittsburgh, Tanner studied from 1852 to 1857 at Avery College; joined the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in 1856; studied at the Western Theological Seminary from 1857 to 1860; was ordained an AME minister; and in 1860 was chosen to go to California as a missionary. Unable to raise sufficient funds, Tanner was permitted by Bishop Daniel A. Payne to assume the pastorate of the 15th Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C. Subsequent assignments led him to pastor AME Churches in Frederick and Baltimore, Maryland. Tanner was proficient in Latin, Hebrew, and Greek, but he feared that he lacked the spiritual commitment to preach. His diary entry for February 10, 1866, stated, "I pray for a faith that I can believe without a doubt and recommend without an indifferent spirit. Such a faith I have not. O God give it to me lest I die."

Indeed, Tanner is more renowned as an author and editor than as a preacher. His book *An Apology for African Methodism* (1867) led to his appointment as editor of *The Christian Recorder* in 1868. This position provided him an opportunity for 16 years to indulge his passion for scholar-

ship. Tanner became in 1884 the first editor of *The AME Church Review*, a journal that was the culmination of years of anticipation on the part of the church's intellectuals. Tanner used the editor's position of both journals to comment on AME missions, development of clergy, race relations, American and international politics, and other issues of interest to AFRICAN-AMERICAN readers.

Tanner was critical of racial segregation. He stated in 1872 that "we want schools for Americans . . . not for Chinese . . . Negro . . . German . . . Irish nor English Americans but simply Americans." Tanner was equally critical of black nationalists who sought separation or who identified themselves as "Negro." It was his contention that "Negro" was reserved for Africans and not for "Colored" Americans (his preference), who were a racial mixture. He wrote in 1881, "we are not African. Certainly to designate us as Negroes is a fraud. We are Americans [and] the sooner we recognize it the better." His desire for an integrated society led him to declare in 1884 that American geography would lead to a distinctive American race that would combine European, African, and American Indian blood to form a race that would be seven-eighths white, one-eighth African, "with a mottle of yellow."

Tanner was a conservative theologian whose opposition to female preachers conflicted with the more liberal views of HENRY M. TURNER, Bishop John M. Brown, and Theophilus G. Steward. Tanner argued that God, Jesus, and the disciples did not sanction female preachers. He was extremely critical of Steward's theology that embraced the Darwinian theory of evolution as God's plan of creation. Tanner castigated Steward for asserting that the Battle of Armageddon in biblical prophesy would end Anglo-Saxon superiority rather than the world and would result in the rise of true Christianity from Africa and Asia with equality for all races. Tanner contended that Armageddon would lead not to a transfer of power but to the second coming of Christ and the resurrection. Tanner, however, did argue that Africans were major contributors to the origin of Judaism



and Christianity. After Tanner was elected to a bishopric in 1888, he wrote little on secular matters and concentrated on advice for ministers and building the church as it sought to open mission fields in Canada, the Caribbean, and Africa. During this period he was at odds with Henry M. Turner, who advocated not only a more aggressive African mission endeavor but emigration to Africa.

Tanner was a prolific writer. In addition to his *Apolo-**gy* he wrote *The Negro's Origin or Is He Cursed of God?*<sup>9</sup> (1869), *The Color of Solomon—What?*<sup>9</sup> (1895), *The Descent of the Negro* (1898), *The Dispensation in the History of the Church and the Interregnums* (1898), and *The Negro in Holy Writ* (1900). Tanner married Sarah Elizabeth Miller on August 19, 1858. Their union produced nine children, seven of whom survived infancy. Carlton was an AME clergyman and writer, Halle became the first woman licensed to practice medicine in Alabama, and Henry became an internationally famous painter whose art is displayed in the world's museums and art galleries.

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—William Seraile

**Tanner, Henry Ossawa** See PAINTING.

### tariff issue

A tariff is a tax on imports, and it has been used by the United States to raise money to pay for the costs of government, to protect domestic goods from foreign competition, and to force foreign nations to change their trade policies. Throughout the history of the United States, the tariff has been a major, often passionate, political issue.

With the triumph of the REPUBLICAN PARTY in 1860, protectionism also triumphed. During and after the Civil War CONGRESS raised rates from roughly 20 percent to a high of 47 percent in 1869. Both major parties, the Republicans explicitly and the Democrats tacitly, accepted protectionism, although not without a measure of dissent within each. The tariff issue became, from time to time, a source of bitter contention between Congress and the president. Occasionally, a president would advocate tariff reform, only to be thwarted in his designs by an uncooperative Congress. It, for example, reluctantly enabled President CHESTER A. ARTHUR to appoint a tariff commission in 1882 that recommended substantial reductions. Congress, however, in 1883 allowed only a 5 percent reduction and retained protectionism. President GROVER CLEVELAND, in December 1887, devoted his entire annual message to the tariff, asking Congress to

reduce its rates. The Democratic majority in the House of Representatives approved a tariff reduction bill, but the Republican-controlled Senate rejected the bill. The deadlock made tariff reform a major issue in the ensuing 1888 presidential election. It was close. Cleveland won a plurality of the popular vote, but the Republican candidate BENJAMIN HARRISON, a protectionist, carried the electoral college and with it the presidency.

The Republicans remained focused on the tariff, which they believed won them not only the presidential election but several congressional seats as well. For the first time since 1875, the Republicans controlled the presidency and both Houses of Congress. Under the strong-willed leadership of Speaker THOMAS B. REED of Maine in the House and the protectionist Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island in the Senate, the Republican majority earned the name the “billion dollar Congress” because of the various spending programs it approved. It also passed a new tariff that took the name of one of its sponsors, Representative WILLIAM MCKINLEY of Ohio.

The McKinley Tariff passed in October 1890. Drafted by Aldrich and McKinley, it increased already high rates by another 4 percent and at that time was the highest protective tariff the nation had ever adopted. The McKinley Tariff, however, also included a reciprocity provision designed to encourage foreign trade and discourage foreign retaliation against the high American tariff rates. The president was authorized to remove items from the “free list” if their countries of origin placed unreasonable tariffs on American products. The McKinley Tariff proved to be politically vulnerable. Protectionists had always been careful to stress that American labor benefitted from protection, but attacks on the McKinley Tariff convinced Americans that it was far more friendly to big business than to consumers in general or labor in particular.

Republicans misinterpreted public sentiment on the tariff issue and suffered a major political reversal in the 1890 congressional elections. Their majority in the Senate was reduced to eight seats; in the House, Republicans retained only 88 of 323 seats, with William McKinley among the defeated. The Republican Party also suffered in the presidential election of 1892, which saw Grover Cleveland come back and defeat the incumbent president Harrison. In 1894, President Cleveland again supported a House measure reducing tariff rates, but Senate Republicans, aided by southern Democrats concerned with protecting NEW SOUTH industries in their region, gutted the bill and restored most of the rates. Although Cleveland denounced the restructured tariff bill, he allowed it to become law without his signature as the Wilson-Gorman Tariff. The law also included a small federal income tax provision of 2 percent on all incomes over \$4,000, but that was eventually declared unconstitutional by the SUPREME COURT.

The economic depression following the panic of 1893 enabled the Republicans, led by McKinley, to triumph in 1896. Fully committed to raising tariff rates, the Republicans in 1897 passed the Dingley Tariff, expanding reciprocity and raising rates to an average of 57 percent, the highest level in American history.

**Further reading:** Joanne R. Reitano, *The Tariff Question in the Gilded Age: The Great Debate of 1888* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); Tom E. Terrill, *The Tariff, Politics, and American Foreign Policy, 1874–1901* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973).

—Phillip Papas

**technology** See INVENTIONS AND TECHNOLOGY.

**telegraph** See COMMUNICATIONS.

**telephone** See COMMUNICATIONS.

**temperance** See PROHIBITION PARTY; WILLARD, FRANCES.

**Tesla, Nikola** (1856–1943) *inventor*

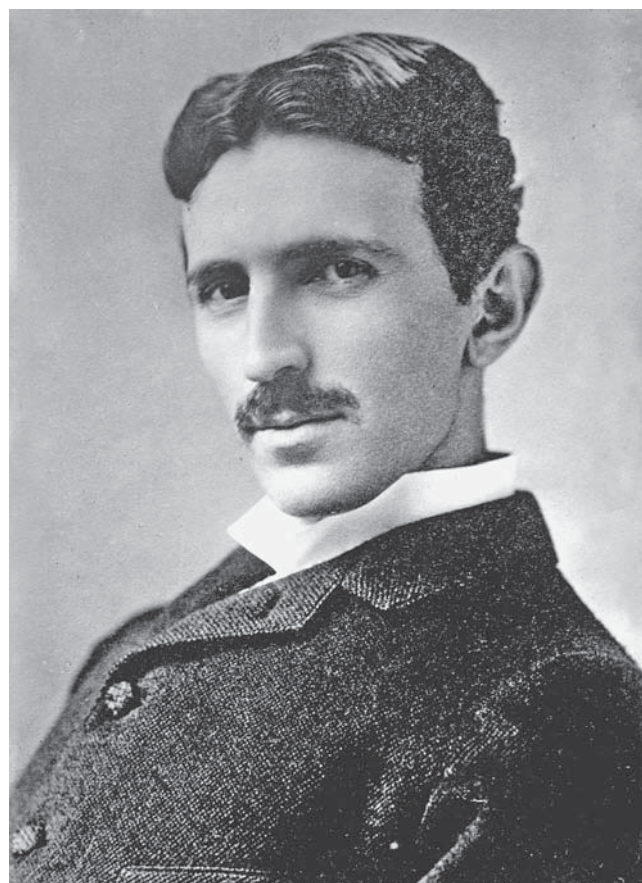
Nikola Tesla was born on July 9, 1856, in Smiljan, Croatia (then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire), to Serbian parents. His father, an Orthodox clergyman, intended him for the church, but Tesla—uninterested in religion and fascinated by mechanics, physics, and mathematics—ultimately secured parental approval to study engineering (1875–79) at a polytechnic college in Graz, Austria. Tesla also loved literature, especially poetry, and read widely in several languages. To develop these interests, he began studying at Charles University in Prague in 1879, but his father's death cut short his schooling, and Tesla—whose understanding of electricity and its uses was outstanding—was employed by the telegraph office of Hungary, then by the telephone company in Budapest, and in 1882 by the Continental Edison Company in Paris.

While in Budapest, Tesla conceived the basic idea—a rotating electromagnetic field—that made possible an alternating-current (AC) electric motor. Arousing no interest in his idea, Tesla left for America in 1884 with a letter of introduction to THOMAS ALVA EDISON. Edison was not interested in AC but gave Tesla a job designing better direct-current (DC) motors. Tesla resigned in 1885 following a dispute over his compensation and, with the help of some backers, formed a company to develop arc lamps for

street lighting, but when the lamps were in production he was eased out.

Experiencing poverty, Tesla dug ditches for a while, but in 1887 he formed the Tesla Electric Company with the support of executives of the Western Union Telegraph Company and set up a laboratory to explore and perfect his ideas for an AC electric motor. From 1887 to 1891 Tesla patented those and other ideas and in 1888 sold the patents for an AC motor to George Westinghouse. This invention had an enormous effect on the growth of cities, since it provided the motive power for electric street railways, elevated rail lines, and subways.

Tesla's interests went beyond AC motors. He continued working on arc lamps to reduce their annoying hum and found it disappeared if higher frequencies were used, which led to the development of the Tesla coil transformer. In 1893 Tesla's AC polyphase system illuminated the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION at Chicago. Apart from the AC motor, perhaps Tesla's greatest achievement was the completion in 1896 of the world's first hydroelectric generating plant at Niagara Falls. It was the forerunner of large-scale generating plants and electrical networks. Since



Nikola Tesla (Library of Congress)

AC at a high frequency is the most efficient way to transmit power, Tesla's work on transformers and his development of the "Litz" wire with its many strands were crucial for the development of the electrical industry. Tesla also experimented with wireless radiotelegraphy and in 1898 patented a radio-controlled ship.

Living alone in a New York City hotel room, Tesla was an eccentric who came to prefer the company of pigeons to people. His capacity to visualize mentally what others could not see without a diagram led him to be impatient and offensive with colleagues and left him with few friends. He was independent (he worked as briefly for Westinghouse as he did for Edison), but he was a poor businessman who would not hire a manager and, despite industries built on his genius, spent the last four decades of his life in poverty. Feeling cheated, he became secretive about his ideas, and since his ideas required huge investments, they were not explored. Ignored in America, he was a national hero in Yugoslavia and lived largely off a \$7,200 annual gift from its government. He died in his room at the New Yorker Hotel on January 7, 1943.

**Further reading:** Margaret Cheney, *Tesla: Man Out of Time* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1981); Marc J. Seifer, *Wizard: The Life and Times of Nikola Tesla: Biography of a Genius* (Secaucus, N.J.: Carol Pub., 1996); David Blair Stewart, *Tesla: The Modern Sorcerer* (Berkeley, Calif.: Grog, 1999).

## theater

The Gilded Age was a time of transition for the musical theater and drama in the United States. At the beginning of the period, English and Continental influences dominated theater in America; by the turn of the century, the American theater had its own stars, playwrights, and tastes, though a new set of foreign influences was emerging. The period also witnessed important changes in stagecraft and business practices.

Musical entertainments were common during the 19th century, but it was not until *The Black Crook* (1866) that the basic elements of musical theater came together in the United States. The show combined MUSIC, dance, and spectacle to tell a melodramatic story. Moralists denounced the show because the dancers (a French ballet troupe stranded in America) showed too much leg, but *The Black Crook* enjoyed unprecedented success during its original run in New York City. Touring companies and revivals sustained the show until the late 19th century. *The Black Crook* inspired burlesques, spin-offs, and parodies (*The Black Crook Burlesque*, *The Black Crook Song Book*, and *The White Crook*) and prepared American audiences for such popular musicals as *Evangeline* (1874) and a British import, *Florodora* (1900).

Generally, the musical theater in America hardly differed from its counterparts in England and Europe. Comic operas by French composer Jacques Offenbach were popular during the 1870s and 1880s, while English comic operas by Gilbert and Sullivan dominated the American musical stage after 1879. Operettas, another European import, came into fashion during the 1890s, though an American composer, VICTOR HERBERT, made his mark in the genre with *Prince Ananias* (1894), *The Wizard of the Nile* (1895), and *The Serenade* (1897). Of course, burlesque, minstrelsy, variety, and vaudeville also offered musical entertainment.

Drama, like the musical theater, took its cues from abroad. During these years when there was no "American" drama of consequence, the vitality of theater in America depended largely on the appeal of star actors—Edwin Forrest, JOSEPH JEFFERSON III, John Drew, Minnie Maddern Fiske, Edwin Booth, and such foreign attractions as Sir Henry Irving and Sarah Bernhardt. Shakespeare and melodrama were their stock in trade and were the dramatic staples of the period.

During most of the 19th century Shakespeare was not high culture in America but popular ENTERTAINMENT. Shakespeare was performed at a wide range of venues across the country, even in rough-and-tumble mining camps. Some immigrant neighborhoods got their Shakespeare in Yiddish, German, or other foreign language productions. Variety theaters often presented works by Shakespeare on the same bill with magicians, jugglers, acrobats, comedians, and song-and-dance acts. Minstrel and burlesque shows frequently included Shakespeare parodies.

Of course, the appeal of Shakespeare rested largely on the merits of the works themselves, but in America theaters promoted the bard as a moral playwright. This strategy was meant to counter VICTORIANISM and the latent suspicion that theatrical entertainments were somehow immoral. Theater historians with a practical turn of mind note that Shakespeare was in vogue because Shakespeare was in the repertoire of most companies. Touring stars, if they did not have their own traveling companies, could mount a short-term production using the actors, sets, and costumes of local stock companies.

By the 1890s, however, Shakespeare was less popular. The mass audience in America, which had grown increasingly exuberant and aggressive, turned to vaudeville, burlesque, and movies, leaving Shakespeare to more refined theatergoers. Class distinctions became a feature of the American theatrical experience. More discrete and high-minded audiences increasingly favored legitimate drama performed in legitimate theaters, where the price of admission was too high for rowdy workingmen and their families.

Even at such venues, melodrama soon surpassed Shakespeare. Melodrama combined suspense, high emo-





Poster for a popular vaudeville show (Library of Congress)

tion, sensationalism, and elaborate plot contrivances in a moralistic framework. In the world of melodrama, virtue always emerged triumphant. Female chastity was usually at the heart of the drama. Women in melodrama generally personified gentleness, selfless love, innocence, and moral virtue, in essence, the Victorian ideal. Naturally, the villain, who embodied worldliness, corruption, and lust (the bane of Victorianism), set out to despoil the heroine, body and soul. Only the hero, the epitome of manly virtue (though typically somewhat dense), could rescue the heroine from “a fate worse than death.” Melodramas upheld Victorian notions of gender and domesticity. The home (woman’s sphere) was a sanctuary, “a haven in a heartless world.” The genre also drew moral distinctions between the city (a dangerous den of vice and temptation) and the country (a peaceful, innocent place of simple, virtuous, hardworking people).

Prior to the 1850s American melodrama was an inferior product. American theaters relied on translations or adaptations of English or European melodramas. But the stage version of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s famous novel,

*Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, changed all that. It caused an immediate sensation in 1856 and remained a homegrown staple of the American theater well into the 20th century. During the 1890s approximately 400 companies toured the country with their versions of the popular melodrama. With *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, American melodrama came of age. The genre enabled American playwrights to dramatize a wide range of social ills, such as drunkenness, urban crime, political corruption, and the exploitation of workers.

A key figure in the maturation of the American theater was Dion Boucicault, a playwright and manager who had enjoyed considerable success in England before establishing himself in New York City. He specialized in expensively mounted melodramas, though his best-known work was an adaptation of *Rip Van Winkle* that renowned actor Joseph Jefferson performed for 40 years. After Boucicault, David Belasco, William Gillette, and Augustus Thomas further refined the melodrama by introducing more scenic realism, reducing violence, and minimizing improbable plot twists. Their reforms coincided with the emergence of the “well-made play,” a British innovation featuring less improbable plots, well-crafted dialogue, a more restrained acting style, and realistic production values. Playwright Clyde Fitch was the foremost American practitioner of the genre.

The latter years of the 19th century saw other substantial changes in the American theater, some of them originating abroad. Controversial works by Ibsen and Shaw had their first American productions during these years, thus inaugurating modern theater on this side of the Atlantic. American realism found expression in plays by WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS and Edward (Ned) Harrigan. At the level of stagecraft and production values, the hallmarks of the period were new techniques (improved lighting, versatile stage designs) and greater use of opulence and spectacle. Consolidation was the principal development in the business of theater, culminating in a theatrical trust organized in 1896. The syndicate enabled producer Charles Frohman, booking agents Mark Klaw and Abraham Erlanger, and a few regional partners to dominate commercial theater in the United States into the early 20th century.

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—William Hughes

**Theosophy** See RELIGION.



**Thomas, M. Carey** (1857–1935) *educator*

Martha Carey Thomas, college president, was born on January 2, 1857, in Baltimore into a wealthy, educated, Quaker family. She graduated from Cornell in 1877 and then studied Greek privately at Johns Hopkins but, as a woman, was barred from its seminars. Beginning in 1879 Thomas studied philology for three years at the University of Leipzig, and since no German university would grant the doctor of philosophy to a woman, she transferred to the Swiss University of Zurich and received her Ph.D. *summa cum laude* in 1882. Academic frustrations coupled with the influence of her mother and her aunt made Thomas a passionate feminist. In part, she pursued the Ph.D. to prove that women could excel in difficult subjects and had the same right to study SCIENCE and culture as men.

With a college for women at Bryn Mawr in the planning stage, Thomas saw an opportunity to further her career and hammer home her conviction that rigorous intellectual pursuits should be open to her sex. Capitalizing on the good fortune that her father and two uncles were trustees of the new college, Thomas—fresh from her triumph at Zurich—audaciously asked to be made its first president. The trustees chose a male but made Thomas its dean and professor of English. In 1894, by the margin of one vote, they named Thomas president, and she served until 1922. As dean and as president, Thomas insisted that the standards at Bryn Mawr be as high as at the leading colleges for men. She required difficult entrance examinations and modeled the curriculum on that of Johns Hopkins, with students taking relevant parallel courses in a prescribed sequence as well as demonstrating to her satisfaction their proficiency in foreign languages. She had no use for either practical courses or for the elective system and retained the traditional faith that the virtue of mental discipline could be achieved by studying languages (preferably dead) and mathematics. As an administrator Thomas was opinionated, vigorous, impetuous, at times devious, and always the autocrat who detested the idea of faculty self-government. Yet, although Bryn Mawr under her idiosyncratic leadership bucked dominant trends in higher EDUCATION toward coeducation and a flexible and practical curriculum, Thomas made it into an outstanding institution.

With roots in Maryland dating back to the 17th century, Thomas had strong aristocratic leanings. Although she worked tirelessly for equal rights and woman suffrage amendments to the Constitution, her egalitarianism ended there. At Bryn Mawr she aimed to train an elite, with the conspicuous exception, inspired by the spirit of noblesse oblige, of a summer school she inaugurated in 1921 to expose working women to social issues and cultural ideas. She believed the white race, especially Nordics, intellectually superior to people of color, favored IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION, hampered the promotion of Jewish instruc-

tors, and—stressing heredity over environment—kept statistics on the ancestry of incoming freshmen. An acrimonious depiction of Thomas can be found in Gertrude Stein's novel *Fernhurst*.

Thomas thought women, even if they married, should pursue active careers. She never married but had long-term love affairs with two childhood friends, Mary (Mamie) Gwinn and Mary E. Garrett, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad heiress. Garrett willed Thomas a fortune, which she utilized for wide travel in a grand style. Just prior to her death on December 2, 1935, Thomas returned to a changed Bryn Mawr College for its 50th anniversary, but her high standards and the inspiration of her pioneering spirit had endured.

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—Harry Stein

**Tiffany, Louis Comfort** (1848–1933) *designer, painter*

Noted chiefly for his stained glass, Louis Comfort Tiffany was born in New York City on February 18, 1848. He was the son of the founder of Tiffany and Company and had early exposure to fine decorative arts and the methods used to produce them. Instead of entering the family firm, however, Tiffany chose a career as an artist. By the age of 18 he had exhibited at New York City's prestigious National Academy of Design, and he continued to paint in oils and watercolors throughout his life. By 1879 Tiffany had turned to interior design, then a nascent profession. With painter Samuel Colman, textile designer Candace Wheeler, and furniture designer Lockwood de Forest, Tiffany formed Associated Artists, which quickly found success contriving interiors full of intricate patterns and sumptuous color. The firm was dissolved amicably in 1883, and Tiffany formed his own company to decorate interiors, focusing especially on glass architectural fittings such as mosaics, light fixtures, and windows. While conducting innovative experiments in glass, Tiffany oversaw a large corps of craftspeople designing theaters, clubs, and residences. In the early 1890s he began designing blown-glass vessels, which he soon marketed under the name "Favrile Glass." By 1900 he had established Tiffany Studios, which manufactured lamps, ceramics, enamels, and more.

Tiffany was a masterful businessman and promoter. Any of his services or products could be purchased at his Manhattan showroom, and many were also available through his father's company, where he became artistic director in 1902. He organized prominent displays at the WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION of 1893 in Chicago and at subsequent world's fairs; donated his works to museums

in America; and sold his products at Siegfried Bing's taste-making shop, L'Art Nouveau, in Paris. He spent much time designing Laurelton Hall, his own home in Cold Spring Harbor, New York, and after 1918 managed the Tiffany Foundation, which offered young artists working retreats. Tiffany Studios declared bankruptcy in 1932, a year before Tiffany died (January 17, 1933, in New York City), and his glass fell out of fashion until the 1960s, when it became highly collectable.

All of Tiffany's work was marked by a sensuous approach to color and light. By introducing variegated colors and textures into individual pieces of glass, Tiffany (along with his rival John La Farge) transformed the art of stained glass. Unlike medieval and baroque craftsmen who painted upon glass, Tiffany's motifs were formed by the play of light through glass that had been mottled, textured, and otherwise colored to produce calculated effects. While he derived motifs from many sources, especially Islamic and Roman glass, nature was his richest source of inspiration. Wisteria, peonies, and dragonflies were favorite motifs for lamp shades, while ecclesiastical windows depicting landscapes, rather than conventional biblical figures, generated controversy. Tiffany was perhaps happiest when he could create a fully integrated interior. He did so for Henry and Louisine Havemeyer, whose New York City house (now demolished) featured a ceiling of Japanese textiles, a fireplace of iridescent tiles, and a suspended staircase of wrought iron. Tiffany's name is now so well known and so identified with richly colored stained glass, the term *Tiffany* is used to describe any stained-glass lampshade.

**Further reading:** Alastair Duncan, Martin Eidelberg, and Neil Harris, *The Masterworks of Louis Comfort Tiffany* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989); Alastair Duncan, *Louis Comfort Tiffany* (New York: Harry N. Abrams; Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, 1992).

—Karen Zukowski

**Tilden, Samuel Jones** (1814–1886) *politician, lawyer* Samuel Jones Tilden, reformer and presidential candidate, was born on February 9, 1814, in New Lebanon, New York, the son of Elam Tilden and Polly Younglove Jones. He attended Yale for one term (1834) and the University of the City of New York (now New York University), where he also studied law. In 1841 he was admitted to the bar and practiced in New York City. A bachelor, Tilden devoted his life to politics and the law. He became a masterful and wealthy railroad attorney and a brilliant political organizer.

Tilden was an active member of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY in New York. As a student, he wrote political articles for New York newspapers in support of Martin Van

Buren. In 1843 Tilden was named corporation counsel of New York City, served one term in the New York Assembly (1846), and was identified with Van Buren's antislavery "Barnburner" faction in New York. Tilden was also a delegate to the 1856 Democratic National Convention and the 1860 convention of Douglas Democrats.

During the Civil War Tilden joined other Northern Democrats in supporting a war to restore the Union as it had been and opposed the emancipation of slaves and the growing power of the federal government. During Reconstruction, Tilden favored the policies of President Andrew Johnson. In 1866 he was named chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee, and in 1868 he managed the unsuccessful presidential campaign of Horatio Seymour.

Tilden won a national reputation for attacking the spectacularly corrupt TWEED RING, but he was a tardy political reformer. In the late 1860s William M. Tweed, the "boss" of TAMMANY HALL—New York City's Democratic Party organization—and his associates dominated politics in the city and the state. Tilden, however, did not attack Tweed until after the *New York Times* in 1871 published damning evidence of the Ring's stealings. Tilden's reluctance to attack Tweed stemmed from both his cautious nature and his Democratic partisanship.

In 1874 Tilden's reform reputation gave him the Democratic nomination for governor of New York, and he defeated the incumbent John A. Dix by a plurality of 50,000 votes. As governor, Tilden added to his reform reputation by leading a successful attack against the corrupt "canal ring," which was a bipartisan group of politicians and contractors who made fortunes on the repair and extension of the state's canal system.

Tilden's activities as governor of a pivotal state made him the Democratic presidential nominee in 1876. In the November election he had approximately 250,000 more popular votes than his Republican opponent RUTHERFORD B. HAYES and won 184 electoral votes, which was one short of a majority. Hayes had 163 votes, but 22 electoral votes in Florida, Louisiana, Oregon, and South Carolina were contested. In the ensuing crisis neither Tilden nor Hayes provided much leadership for the contending forces in CONGRESS. Presidential candidates at that time were supposed to be above politics, but the stance especially suited the cautious, passive nature of Tilden and was galling to many of his followers. To resolve the disputed election, Congress created the Electoral Commission of 1877. Ultimately, the commission (which had a Republican majority) declared Hayes the winner by one electoral vote.

Following the disputed election, Tilden remained a significant figure in national politics. However, he suffered various physical ailments that eventually forced him to withdraw from public life. Tilden died on August 4, 1886, and left the bulk of his estate in trust for the establishment

of a free library in New York City. His bequest served as the foundation of the New York Public Library.

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—Phillip Papas

### **Tillman, Benjamin Ryan** (1847–1918) *politician*

Governor and senator, reformer and racist, Benjamin R. Tillman was born on August 11, 1847, on his parents' large farm in upland Edgefield County, South Carolina. His family was unusually violent in a violent section in a violent time. In feuds, quarrels, and duels, his father and a brother each killed a man, and two brothers were killed. Having lost his father to typhoid fever when two years old, Tillman helped his mother run an inn in their home and manage their farm, with its 86 slaves. He loved books and attended a local academy until 1864, when he left to enlist in the Confederate army but never entered it because a tumor cost him his left eye and incapacitated him for two years. While recovering in Georgia, he met Sallie Starke, a fellow South Carolinian, whom he married on January 8, 1868. They had seven children.

Tillman became a successful farmer and a political force. Starting with 430 acres given him by his mother, he diversified his crops and acquired more land, having more than 1,000 acres by the early 1880s. Tillman was violently opposed to Radical Republican Reconstruction, based on universal black male suffrage. He supported the Edgefield Plan to organize secret illegal military units to use violence to keep the African-American majority from voting. From 1873 to 1876 Tillman belonged to the Sweetwater Saber Club, which assaulted black voters and assassinated black political leaders. During the 1876 presidential campaign he participated in the Hamburg and Ellenton riots to elect the Democratic candidate SAMUEL JONES TILDEN. Violence did not prevent the election of the Republican RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, but it did elect Democrat Wade Hampton as governor and “redeem” South Carolina.

Tillman and his Edgefield neighbors soon discovered that redemption exchanged Republican carpetbaggers for Hampton's lowland planter aristocracy that was conciliatory toward AFRICAN AMERICANS and ignored the interests of upland farmers. An ugly man with a rasping voice, irascible and disliked by his neighbors, Tillman was an unlikely

political leader. He became one because he and his neighbors suffered agricultural reverses, and at the 1885 meeting of the State Grange and State Agricultural and Mechanical Society, he called for a system of state agricultural education and blamed the plight of farmers on the Charleston merchants and lawyers who dominated the state government. As a result of follow-up letters to the Charleston *News and Courier*, he organized the Farmers' Association in 1886. That organization helped Tillman secure the South Carolina governorship in 1890.

Serving as governor until 1894 and as U.S. senator from 1895 to 1918, Tillman introduced reforms, ensured white supremacy, and secured his power in South Carolina. He replaced officials, similar to Hampton, with partisans and established a primary system for nominating Democratic candidates. He redrew election districts to cut the representation of blacks, and he completely eliminated African-American holders of local offices by making them appointive by the governor. Under his leadership the 1895 South Carolina constitution eliminated black voters with a poll tax, property and educational requirements, and tests of individual voters. Tillman's reforms included reorganizing the University of South Carolina, establishing Clemson College as the state's agricultural and mechanical college and Winthrop College as a normal and industrial school for women, increasing state appropriations for education, empowering the state railroad commission to fix rates, limiting the hours of labor in cotton mills, equalizing taxes, and establishing a public monopoly for the sale of alcoholic beverages.

Having promised in 1894, when campaigning for the Senate, to “stick his pitchfork” into GROVER CLEVELAND's ribs, Tillman achieved national notoriety as an extreme advocate of southern agrarianism. “Pitchfork Ben” even had hopes of securing the 1896 Democratic nomination for president, but his violent denunciation of Cleveland turned off the convention, which nominated WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN. In the Senate Tillman opposed Republican policies, including IMPERIALISM. He hated Theodore Roosevelt but helped him secure effective railroad regulation by steering through the Senate the administration's Hepburn Act (1906). Tillman remained a southern extremist on race, justifying LYNCHING, in the case of rape, and force to disfranchise African Americans, and advocating the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment. Tillman died in Washington, D.C., on July 3, 1918.

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## track and field

American interest in track and field began at Princeton University in 1869, when Princeton students participated in track contests called the Caledonian Games. An athletic association at Columbia University also held its first track-and-field meet in 1869. Columbia, Yale, Princeton, and Cornell soon formed track clubs.

In the early 1870s track meets were held at regattas. During the 1873 regatta-sponsored track meet at Hampden Park in Springfield, Massachusetts, James Gordon Bennett, Jr., owner of the *New York Herald*, offered a \$500 prize for the winner of a two-mile race. Duncan Bowie of McGill University won the race in 11 minutes, 18.5 seconds. The second regatta-sponsored track meet was held in 1874 at Saratoga, New York. About 30 students from eight colleges participated in the 100-yard dash, one- and three-mile runs, 120-yard hurdles, and seven-mile walk. The 1875 regatta-sponsored track meet at Saratoga included 10 track-and-field events. Amherst, Cornell, Harvard, Union, Williams, and Yale boasted winners.

Trackmen soon took direct control of their annual meet from the regatta committee. Presidents of the Harvard and Yale Athletic Associations invited 10 colleges in December 1875 to form the Intercollegiate Association of Amateur Athletes of America (IC4A). Management was given to a committee of students directly involved in track and field. The first annual IC4A meet was held in 1876 at Saratoga (the day after the regatta) with six running and nine field events. The IC4A prohibited foreigners from competing and awarded prizes to winners. Seventy-one athletes competed in the track and field events. Princeton captured the first IC4A title with four individual champions, including J. M. Mann in the baseball throw and 16-pound shot.

The IC4A remained the dominant college track-and-field event and was moved in 1877 to New York City. From 1880 through 1896, Harvard or Yale won every IC4A meet. American collegians set several track records after Charles Sherrill introduced the sprinter's crouch-start in the late 1880s. Georgetown's Bernie Wefers clocked 9.8 seconds in the 100-yard dash and 22.6 seconds in the 220-yard dash. The Amateur Athletic Union began holding annual track-and-field championships in 1888 and allowed noncollegiate amateurs to compete.

Americans made no concerted effort to send a strong track-and-field team to the first modern Olympic Games at Athens, Greece, in 1896. Princeton professor William Miligan Sloane, head of the American Olympic Committee, recruited four Princeton undergraduates. Eight Boston-area athletes, including seven from either Harvard or the Boston Athletic Association, completed the American team. Americans captured nine of the 12 track-and-field events, finishing second in five more. American victors were Tom Burke in

the 100 meters and 400 meters, Tom Curtis in the 110-meter hurdles, Ellery Clark in the high jump and long jump, William Hoyt in the pole vault, Bob Garrett in the shot put and discus, and John Connolly in the triple jump. Americans also finished first in several track-and-field events at the 1900 Olympic Games at Paris, France. American winners were Frank Jarvis in the 100 meters, John Walter Tewksbury in the 200 meters and 400-meter hurdles, Maxey Long in the 400 meters, Alfred Kraenzlein in the 110-meter hurdles and long jump, Irving Baxter in the high jump and pole vault, Meyer Prinstein in the triple jump, Ronald Sheldon in the shot put, and John Flanagan in the hammer throw.

**Further reading:** Richard Mandell, *The First Modern Olympics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Ronald A. Smith, *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

—David L. Porter

## trade, domestic and foreign

The completion in the Gilded Age of a national transportation network—virtually all of it RAILROADS—created a national market for manufacturers and traders to distribute their products. At the same time, the income of Americans was on the rise and ordinary people, farmers and workers, were acquiring more than the bare necessities of life. Consumerism was on the rise, creating mass markets in the United States. The rise of DEPARTMENT STORES, MAIL-ORDER HOUSES, CHAIN STORES, and the growth of ADVERTISING in the late 19th century all led to the increased flow of goods throughout the nation.

With the explosion of economic activity in the Gilded Age, internal trade in the United States multiplied in volume. Railroad freight roughly tripled from 1870 to 1900, when it totaled 141.6 billion ton-miles (a ton-mile is one ton moved one mile). While the MERCHANT MARINE on the whole languished, the tonnage of vessels engaged in coastwise and internal trade jumped from 2,638,000 in 1870 to 4,287,000 in 1900.

Although during the Gilded Age domestic markets absorbed most of the raw materials and finished products Americans produced, foreign trade also increased. In 1870 American exports were valued at \$451 million and imports at \$462 million, but by 1900 exports were at \$1.5 billion and imports at \$930 million. The excess of exports over imports throughout most of the Gilded Age was made up—since there has to be an equilibrium in foreign trade—by payments to foreign shipowners and operators, interest paid on European investments in the United States, and a steady inflow of gold that facilitated the resumption of specie payments in 1879 and generally lowered interest rates for Americans.



Most of American foreign commerce was with Europe, much of it with Great Britain. In 1870, 81 percent of American exports were bound for Europe, and Britain received more than half (53 percent) of all exports. In that same year 55 percent of all American imports came from Europe and more than a third (35 percent) originated in Britain. Thirty years later in 1900, American exports to Europe fell slightly to 75 percent (Britain dropped from 53 to 38 percent), while imports from Europe also fell slightly to 52 percent (with Britain falling from 35 to 19 percent). Among the trading partners of the United States in 1900, Germany was second (considerably behind Britain), receiving 13 percent of exports (only a third of what Britain imported from the United States), but as the source of 11 percent of all American imports, it was gaining on Britain.

The principal American export in the late 19th century was baled cotton. In 1870 it was worth \$227 million (more than half the value of all exports) and in 1900 \$242 million (less than one-fifth of all exports). Increasing exports of wheat and meat from the agricultural sector and of petroleum and machinery from the industrial sector of the economy account for the relative decline of cotton, although it remained the top export. Sugar was the top import in the Gilded Age, with \$57 million worth imported in 1870 and \$100 million in 1900. The second most important import in 1870 was iron and STEEL manufactures at \$40 million, but by 1900 the development of the American steel industry reduced those imports to relative insignificance. After sugar, the most important imports in 1900 were hides and skins, coffee, and then raw silk. The shifts in exports and imports reflects the enormous agricultural and industrial expansion of the United States.

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### transportation, urban

Urban public transportation supported the rapid expansion of cities in the late 19th century and made possible the development of residential districts separated from places of work. Converging on a central point, public transportation lines created the “downtown” and the “hundred-percent corner,” the point of maximum accessibility where new institutions like DEPARTMENT STORES clustered.

By the 1870s the horse-powered street railway was the prevalent public transportation mode for large and small American cities. Starting in 1832, horsecars had steadily replaced horse-drawn “omnibuses.” The smooth rails doubled the load a horse could pull. In flat terrain, horsecars could travel seven miles per hour. Cities granted franchises for tracks on their streets in return for fare limitations

(five cents was the norm) and paving or street-sprinkling obligations.

Horses could work for only a few hours, and horsecar companies had to maintain as many as eight to 10 animals for each vehicle they owned. The West End Street Railway of Boston at one time stabled about 8,000 horses. Horses were polluting, generating about 10 pounds of waste per animal per day plus urine. Horses were also subject to disease. An equine epidemic in 1872 killed or disabled 18,000 horses in New York City, crippling public transportation.

Cable cars were the first attempt to overcome the limitations of horsecars. Andrew S. Hallidie, a California manufacturer of wire cable, designed a cable car in 1869 that was drawn by a continuous wire cable beneath the street. By 1873 a Hallidie car scaled Clay Street in San Francisco, and soon Nob Hill was covered with cable lines. The cable, driven by a cable drum in the power house, ran continuously at nine miles per hour. Individual cars used a grip extending downward through a slot to grasp the cable. The “gripman” needed skill to engage and disengage the cable smoothly when stopping or coasting around street corners.

Cable railways had their greatest success in San Francisco, but 30 other cities also operated cable cars. Chicago had the second-largest system, opened in 1882, while other major cable operators included Kansas City, New York City, the Brooklyn Bridge, Cincinnati, Washington, Seattle, and Tacoma. The San Francisco cable cars were designated a National Historic Landmark in 1964. A Washington “grip” car is displayed in the Smithsonian, and a Chicago grip car replica is in the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry.

The biggest urban transportation innovation was the rapid adoption of electric streetcars in the 1890s. After a successful installation in Richmond, Virginia, in 1887, city after city converted their horsecar and cable lines to electricity. The streetcars drew power from a “trolley pole” contacting an overhead wire, and the car itself was soon known as a “trolley.” Trolleys were faster than the horsecar, and the expansion of their lines opened new residential areas and recreational opportunities by extending to amusement parks and beaches. The electric trolley would remain the backbone of urban transportation in all but the largest cities until it was replaced by buses and the spread of automobiles starting in the late 1920s. In the largest cities, traffic congestion led to a search for alternatives. The steel-bridge industry made it practical to build continuous elevated viaducts above city streets, separated from pedestrians and vehicles below. New York City initiated the first steam powered “el” trains in 1871. Sioux City, Iowa, opened an elevated steam railway in 1890, and Chicago opened its first elevated line in 1892. The Chicago el lines converged on an elevated loop, which soon replaced the cable car loop



Electric trolleys competed with automobiles for space on city streets. (*Library of Congress*)

as the definition of Chicago's downtown. The West Side elevated line in Chicago was electrified in 1895, and soon electricity replaced steam on other el lines throughout the country.

The other solution was to burrow beneath city streets. London had opened its Metropolitan subway in 1863 using steam locomotives, but the use of coal-burning locomotives underground had obvious limitations. Alfred Beach, the New York publisher of *Scientific American*, advocated pneumatic subways, with differential air pressure moving a car through a closely fitting tunnel. He financed a demonstration line 312 feet long beneath Broadway in 1870. It was not mechanically practical, although further developed. An 1897 subway under Tremont Street in Boston diverted streetcars from the surface for a few congested blocks, but the first true subway, the Interboro Rapid Transit (IRT) in New York City, would not open until 1904.

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—Francis H. Parker

**trolley cars** See TRANSPORTATION, URBAN.

### trusts

In the Gilded Age companies that monopolized or dominated an industry were called trusts. "Competition is industrial war," a large envelope manufacturer wrote in 1901. "Unrestricted competition, carried to its logical conclusion, means death to some of the combatants and injury for all. Even the victor does not soon recover from the wounds received in combat." An alarming sense that things were dangerously out of control as a result of unrestrained competition was common among business owners throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but never more so than during the years following the panic of 1873.

Before that calamity, businessmen had enjoyed a relatively long period of prosperity that had lasted since the Civil War. This was due mainly to the extension and integration of the RAILROADS. In their rapid growth, they not only absorbed huge supplies of coal, iron, and STEEL, but they also enabled manufacturers in numerous industries to

invade markets in distant cities previously closed to them. Combined with a host of technological improvements that greatly lowered the costs of production and made it possible to turn out goods of uniform quality in large amounts, the market expansion stimulated by the railroads opened up vast new opportunities for profit that businessmen rushed headlong to seize. Investment and growth soared in sugar refining, agricultural implements, MEATPACKING, OIL production and refining, as well as in iron and steel and coal. But in their lust to capture new markets many businesses, whether they were in manufacturing or MINING, expanded capacity much too rapidly. This meant that whenever orders for a firm's product declined, it was under enormous pressure to expand sales by cutting prices to meet the new, substantial overhead costs it had taken on. When times were good, as they generally were before the depression of 1873, such price-cutting was not a systemic problem. Moments of falling or stagnant demand, when they appeared, were relatively short and were quickly followed by another burst of growth. But after 1873 conditions changed dramatically. Demand did not rebound but declined sharply, triggering a desperate struggle for survival among producers in every sector of the economy. Cutthroat competition and price wars became the norm as each business tried to hang on as best it could. Marginal firms with older, less efficient facilities and higher fixed costs failed by the thousands. Only those with the lowest costs of production or some other competitive advantage managed to remain afloat even as they reduced prices, laid off workers, and scaled back in anticipation of even more canceled orders.

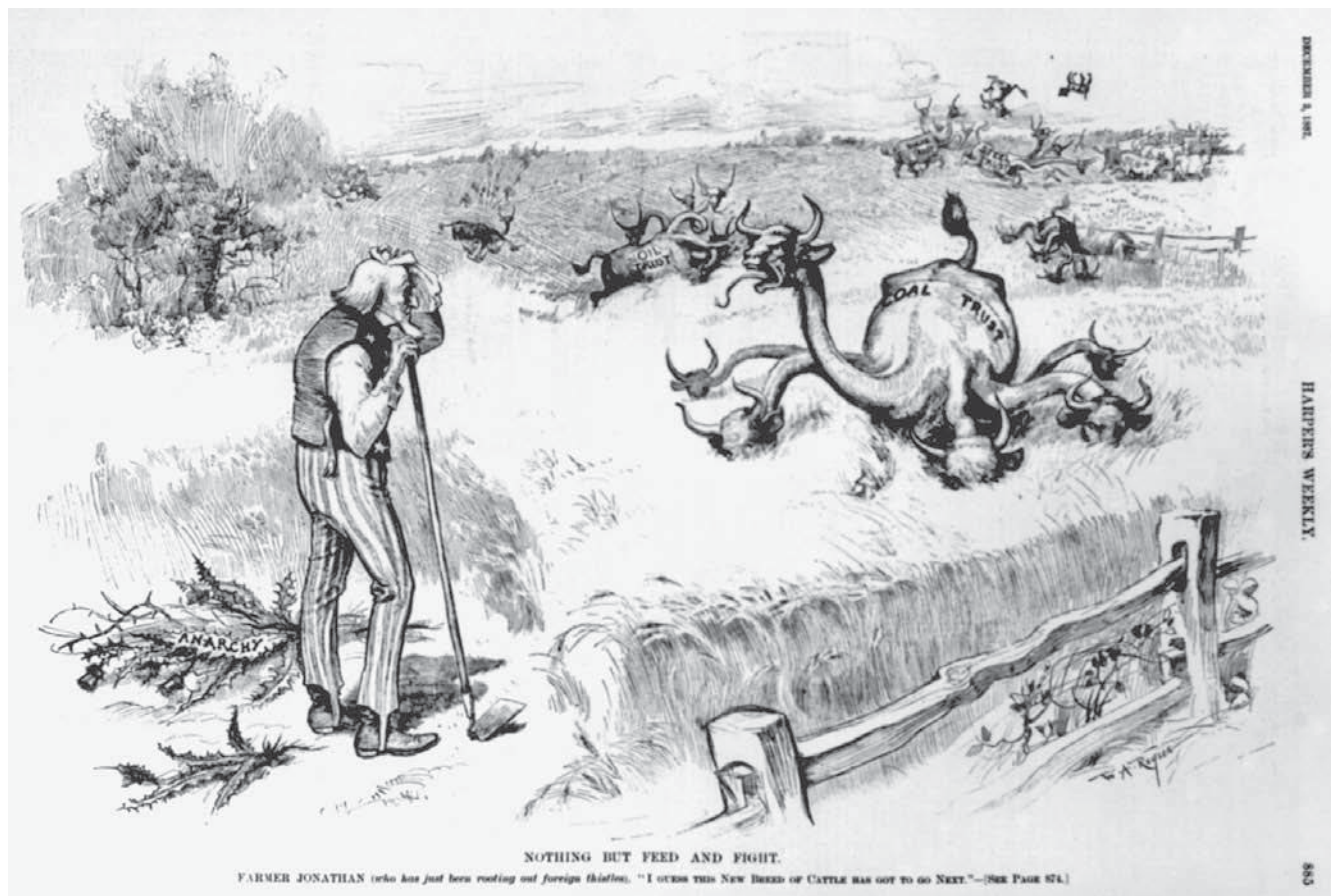
In this vortex of falling demand, many businesses sought shelter not merely by slashing prices and costs. They saw the solution to the problem of survival as one of taming market forces through strategies aimed at limiting competition. Precedents for this existed well before the depression of 1873. As early as 1817, salt producers along the Kanawha River in the Ohio Valley formed the Kanawha Salt Company to set production quotas and prices for each member firm. Before the Civil War, cotton manufacturers in Rhode Island and Massachusetts sometimes joined together "in unison" to set prices on yarns, and during and after the Civil War, established firms in the anthracite coal industry sought stability in prices and output by entering into agreements with railroads that made it difficult for new entrants to get their coal to market. The depression merely accelerated the search for new and more effective ways to harness what many viewed as suicidal, cutthroat competition.

Railroads serving the anthracite coal fields pioneered one early technique to stanch the bloodletting. Operating on the philosophy that it was better to combine than compete, they entered into a series of "gentlemen's agreements" imposing freight rates, and there were informal, voluntary

"understandings" to set quotas or shared percentages of the total coal shipments to market. "Pools" were established to combine both methods of cooperation. Errant members of the pool who exceeded their quota or cut prices below a certain level would suffer fines or, according to the details of each agreement, other punishment to bring them back into line. Such pools soon arose in other battered industries. By the 1880s, observers spoke of a whiskey pool, a cordage pool, a lead pool, a salt pool, as well as multiple railroad and coal pools. But however effective these pools might have been at first in stabilizing prices in various industries, they all eventually unraveled because, as John D. Rockefeller complained, reflecting on the collapse of his own pools in the oil business, they were "ropes of sand." The legal system did not recognize such arrangements. Indeed, they were violations of the common law's prohibition of contracts "in restraint of trade," so when businessmen cheated on their quotas or secretly cut deals on prices, all that their victimized colleagues could do was rail at the unfairness of it all.

But another, far more effective method to stifle competition and stabilize markets would be fashioned by an inventive lawyer, Samuel C. T. Dodd, for his client, John D. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company of Ohio. In 1882 Dodd came up with the concept of utilizing an old legal contract, the trust agreement, to get around a barrier in 19th-century commercial law disallowing corporations from owning stock in other companies or to control businesses in jurisdictions outside of the states where they were incorporated. The trust concept would override these legal constraints, and thus it fit in perfectly with John D. Rockefeller's vision and philosophy. Rockefeller, who entered the oil business in 1862 and quickly became the dominant figure in the Standard Oil Company, was appalled by the chaotic, unrestrained competition the oil business exhibited in the 1860s. Even though his own firm did well in that environment, his principal objective from the start was to eliminate what he viewed as wasteful competition. Demanding and getting rebates from railroads on oil shipments (and even getting drawbacks, or kickbacks, on shipments by competitors), Rockefeller and his partners in Standard Oil soon succeeded in driving out independent refining competitors. By 1879 it either owned or had under lease 90 percent of the nation's refining capacity. But the company's management and organization remained cumbersome and ill-suited to Rockefeller's ambitions. When, for example, Standard Oil did business in states outside of Ohio, it was liable for taxes in those jurisdictions. It could have gotten around this by taking out corporate charters in each state, but then it would have had to open its books for inspection, a prospect the secretive Rockefeller was determined to avoid. Equally disturbing, management decisions were often delayed and prolonged because Standard Oil's con-





Cartoon depicting Uncle Sam as a farmer facing the many-headed monster of national trusts, 1887 (*Library of Congress*)

trol of many of the properties it brought into its orbit was not absolute. The holdover owners and managers of those companies still owned stock and had to be consulted.

The Standard Oil Trust Agreement—signed on January 2, 1882, by 41 stockholders holding trust certificates valued at \$70 million—resolved many if not all of these issues and more. Under its terms, nine trustees, the functional equivalent of a board of directors, were given absolute control over the management of the properties Standard had in its portfolio. In return for handing over their stock to the trustees, the shareholders in those properties received trust certificates, which were the functional equivalent of common stock but without its voting privileges. This arrangement not only allowed Standard Oil to circumvent the laws of Ohio and many other states barring corporations from holding stock in other corporations, but it enabled the company to transform itself into a highly centralized organization. Just as importantly, under the trust agreement the inner workings of the company were wrapped in secrecy, since, legally, this corporation did not exist, lacking as it did either a legal name or a charter.

As a semisecret body having no legal existence, the trust device provided Rockefeller and his fellow trustees with the means to achieve precisely what they had long sought: the ability to employ their assets free from public scrutiny, which allowed them to control from one headquarters the oil refining industry of the nation. And Standard Oil did so on a scale never experienced before. The worth of the various companies that entered into the agreement in 1882 amounted to about \$72 million; 10 years later, Standard was conservatively estimated to be worth about \$121 million—and growing.

Nevertheless, it was impossible to keep the Standard Oil Trust Agreement entirely secret, and as rumors of its existence were bruited about, numerous stories appeared in newspapers and magazines warning about monopolistic trusts being formed in such disparate industries as lead, school slates, envelopes, linseed oil, cottonseed oil, paving, pitch, salt, cordage, sugar, and countless more. “It is the aim of those who make these combinations,” the *New York Times* intoned, “to kill competition at home, and to exact from consumers a price high enough, . . . [and] as great a



tax as they must pay the Government when they buy the same kind of goods from foreign manufacturers.” Social reformers and critics like HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD, who had already authored a harsh expose of Standard Oil entitled “The Story of a Great Monopoly” in 1881, were quick to denounce trusts as a new breed of corporate monster that would destroy the competitive system and even the republican form of government itself if not restrained.

Such concerns were justified. The Standard Oil Trust was a monopoly that had absorbed or eliminated virtually all rivals and had successfully imposed its control over both the prices for crude oil it still purchased (Standard Oil would become an oil producer later in its corporate history) and the prices it received for finished petroleum products. Yet, only a few of the many trusts established during these years, like the Sugar Trust, did as well as Standard Oil in eliminating competition and controlling prices—in short, monopolizing its market. Most trusts failed to achieve these goals, and even the Standard Oil Trust—though not its market dominance—turned out to be short-lived.

Even as the SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT was being enacted in the summer of 1890 in response to the growing public chorus demanding that Washington do something, anything, to rein in the trusts, they were under withering legal assault in state courts. Louisiana brought suit against the Cottonseed Trust in 1887, New York against the Sugar Trust in 1889, and Ohio against the Standard Oil Trust in 1890. In January 1890, a New York court ruled that the Sugar Trust was in violation of the common-law prohibition against restraints of trade, a decision soon affirmed by courts in other states. All trusts brought to book by these rulings appealed, but to no avail. By 1892, when the Ohio Supreme Court upheld the lower court’s decision against the Standard Oil Trust and ordered it dissolved, the trust movement came to an end.

However, industrial consolidations and combinations did not cease. They simply continued in a different guise made possible, in 1889, when New Jersey revised its general incorporation laws to allow any corporation situated in the state to hold the securities of subsidiary corporations chartered there. Accordingly, as trusts ran afoul of various state laws, many applied to New Jersey for charters to do business and became “holding companies.” The Cottonseed Oil Trust was the first to take advantage of the new law, reconstituting itself in November 1889 as the American Cotton Oil Company. Five months later the Lead Trust became the National Lead and Oil Company of New Jersey, and in January 1891 the Sugar Trust received a New Jersey corporate charter in the name of the American Sugar Refining Company. Standard Oil remained, for complex legal reasons, a “trust in liquidation” after the Ohio Supreme Court’s 1892 ruling and remained so for some time, continuing to run its business under an Ohio charter much as before. Finally, in 1899, three years after New Jersey further liberalized its

statutes to allow corporations to hold stock in companies chartered elsewhere and only when it was threatened with further court action in Ohio, did Standard Oil reincorporate itself in New Jersey as a holding company, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. But except for its new legal form and change of address, the company remained unchanged.

In theory, holding companies had to own more than 50 percent of the voting stock of any subsidiary they acquired. But in practice, operating control could be accomplished with a far smaller slice of outstanding stock, particularly when shares became more widely dispersed. As a financial and organizational tool, therefore, holding companies were perfectly suited to those ambitious businessmen seeking to merge one corporation with another, thereby growing bigger, more powerful, more dominant, more able to control their own destiny without fear of competition.

With the exception of the trusts that reorganized themselves as holding companies, businessmen were slow to take advantage of New Jersey’s inviting corporation laws. Consolidations of all sorts virtually ground to a halt during the depression years of 1893–97. But in 1898 and continuing until 1905, an unprecedented wave of mergers, estimated at more than 3,000, swept through the American economy. Startling in its dimensions and scope, this merger wave transformed the structure of American industry as no other combination movement had before. In 1865 most businesses were small. No single company controlled any industry. By 1905, however, about 328 large corporations, most of them the product of mergers after 1898, were estimated to own two-fifths of the \$20-billion industrial wealth of the nation. And of those 328 large firms, as many as 156 were dominant enough to have some monopoly control in their particular industry.

Clearly, the oft-expressed desire of businessmen to be free of the debilitating effects of unrestrained competition was one of the major forces propelling this wave of mergers. As JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN, the investment banker behind many of the largest mergers of this period, put it, “I like a little competition, but I like combination better.” But why did so many of the combinations he so obviously wanted and brought to such profitable fruition begin to take shape on the industrial landscape only after 1898? Many compelling reasons have been advanced. For one thing, the SUPREME COURT, in its decision in the *E. C. Knight* case (1895) eviscerated the Sherman Antitrust Act’s principal provision, holding “Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise . . . in restraint of trade . . . to be illegal,” and by so doing implicitly gave a green light to consolidations under the New Jersey holding-company statutes. Combined with the coincident return to prosperity following the end of the depression of 1893–97, the newly permissive government attitude toward combinations set the stage for an outburst of merger activity. Adding fuel and energy to the process was the maturation of the capi-

tal markets under the vigorous leadership of investment bankers like Morgan, who were increasingly employing the stock exchange to float the newly minted securities generated by each merger.

The public's appetite for stocks and bonds was growing substantially during this period, and Morgan and fellow financiers were happy to feed it. Underwriting these mergers proved extremely profitable for them, and the more mergers there were, the greater were the profits to be had. In other words, mergers were a virtual circle of moneymaking, especially for insiders. When, for example, Morgan persuaded ANDREW CARNEGIE and eight of his largest competitors in the steel industry to sell out and created, in 1901, what was the greatest merger of the age, the United States Steel Corporation, everybody involved did fabulously well. Carnegie and his partners came away with \$492 million, while Morgan pocketed even more. He sold the shares of the newly formed company for \$1.4 billion, which was \$700 million in excess of what he paid for all of the firms that became U.S. Steel. Morgan, it is true, pursued mergers because he sincerely believed it was in the public interest to end the economic havoc wrought by unrestrained competition. But he was even more vigorous in his pursuit of money and the countless works of fine art, rare manuscripts, and antiques money allowed him to possess for his personal pleasure and enjoyment. The mergers Morgan engineered clearly enabled him to satisfy both of these passions. Whether they were just as beneficial to the turn-of-the-century American consumer and laboring man, however, is still being debated. Critics of Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Morgan have called them "robber barons" for their excessive profits derived from monopolizing industry and eliminating competition. Their defenders have countered that their compensation was repaid by the efficiency and order they imposed on chaotic business conditions.

See also *ROBBER BARONS, THE*.

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—Jerome L. Sternstein

**Turner, Frederick Jackson** (1861–1932) *historian*  
Frederick Jackson Turner, born on November 14, 1861, in Portage, Wisconsin, was a distinguished professor of history at the University of Wisconsin and Harvard University.

In 1893, three years after the superintendent of the census announced that a frontier line no longer existed, Turner at the annual convention of the American Historical Association discussed the end of the frontier and argued that "the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development" of its democratic institutions and the habits and character of its people.

Turner believed that conquering, occupying, and establishing small communities on the expanding frontier forced Americans to work cooperatively, trust one another to carry out agreements, and reconcile the needs of individualism with democratic government. These human qualities described and explained the greatness of American life. Turner's views were both celebrationist and pessimistic. He was concerned that the passing of the frontier emphasized the depletion of natural resources and also removed the safety valve that enabled the unemployed to seek and find opportunities in the West. With the frontier at an end, how could American democracy and greatness survive if there were no continuing frontier to give renewed birth to American greatness? Turner's vanishing-frontier thesis brought together three major, and for many, troubling forces affecting American society: the end of frontier settlement, the rapid growth of industrial capitalism into an integrated market economy centered in new cities, and the need to extend democratic ideals to new immigrants from eastern and southern Europe coming to America for jobs in the new industrial economy. While Turner believed that the frontier explained much of American development, he also recognized that sectionalism was "fundamental in American history." Indeed, much of his research was on voting patterns and geographical conditions illustrating the persistence of sectionalism, the results of which were summarized in his *Significance of the Sections in American History* (1932), published after his death on March 14, 1932, in Pasadena, California.

Turner's persuasive work on sectionalism has been widely accepted, but the frontier thesis—especially its celebrationist ideas—has provoked critics, many of whom are urban in background. Some have pointed out that there was no safety valve, that the down-and-out in urban America had neither the cash nor the skills to get them out to, or to survive on, the frontier. His rosy picture of the frontier ignored lawlessness and violence, the fate of NATIVE AMERICANS, Asian immigrants, and Chicanos, and the profligate waste of resources. Other critics note that the frontier did not produce unique American forms of government or legal systems. They argue that new states largely imitated the states of the earlier eastern frontier, which in turn had imitated English forms. Turner's critics emphasize that ideas about government, law, voting, and democratic politics were brought to the frontier and did not automatically "germinate" from frontier life. Finally, critics claim that American life was more than its institutions. Turner's thesis could not

explain the growth of American SCIENCE, LITERATURE, ART, MUSIC, and other cultural forms. Clearly, Turner's work stimulated research on the frontier and its influence. If it could not explain all American life, it offered for many a compelling argument for American uniqueness.

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—Harry Stein

**Turner, Henry McNeal** (1834–1915) *bishop, politician, back-to-Africa proponent*

Henry McNeal Turner, an African Methodist Episcopal (AME) bishop, was born free on February 1, 1834, in Newberry Courthouse, South Carolina. Despite the state prohibition against AFRICAN AMERICANS learning to read, he learned to read and also was tutored in arithmetic, history, law, and theology by lawyers for whom he worked in Abbeville as a janitor. Deeply religious, he was licensed by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1853 to preach, and in 1858 he joined the AME Church. From 1858 to 1863 he ministered to AME churches in Baltimore and Washington. After organizing a black Civil War regiment, Turner became the war's first black chaplain. He was a gifted orator and successful revivalist and went to Georgia after the end of the war and organized churches.

Turner soon went into politics. The Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, called for African Americans to help rewrite the constitutions of those states undergoing Reconstruction. Turner was a delegate to Georgia's constitutional convention. He was elected to the state's legislature in 1868, but white reactionaries in 1869 expelled the two senators and 25 representatives; all were black. Turner, who represented Bibb County, strongly protested his expulsion. He informed the Georgia legislature that he was a duly elected member of their body: "therefore, I shall neither fawn or cringe before any party, nor stoop to beg them for my rights. I am here to demand my rights, and to hurl thunderbolts at the men who would dare to cross the threshold of my manhood." Turner vowed that black men would not fight to defend a nation that would not honor their rights of citizenship and manhood. Thanks to the influence of Senator Charles Sumner, Turner was then appointed postmaster of Macon, but an alleged involvement with a prostitute soon forced his resignation. Congress, however, in 1870 restored the expelled legislators to their seats, and Turner filled out his term but failed to be reelected. Turner then secured a federal civil service appointment in the Savannah customhouse.

At Savannah, Turner also pastored an AME church and remained active in church affairs. He was in 1876 made the

manager of the AME Book Concern in Philadelphia, where he was responsible for publishing *The Christian Recorder* and other church publications. During his tenure there he clashed with BENJAMIN TUCKER TANNER, editor of the *Recorder*, over how to settle the Book Concern's debts, how to increase readership, and how to persuade subscribers to pay their arrears.

Turner was elected a bishop in 1880 and served in that capacity until his death in 1915. He was the center of several controversies in the church. There was opposition to his insistence that clergy wear vestments and follow ritual, and fellow bishops questioned his decision in 1885 to ordain Sarah Ann Hughes to the ministry. In 1887 Bishop Jabez Campbell rescinded this act at a North Carolina annual conference of bishops. Turner also shocked many with his declaration that "God is a Negro." He contended that blacks would always feel inferior if they worshiped a European image of God while believing that the devil was black.

With the end of Reconstruction, Turner vigorously advocated African-American immigration to Africa to civilize and Christianize the continent. Turner was a longtime advocate of immigration to LIBERIA, and he was criticized for serving since 1876 as a vice president of the American Colonization Society, an organization that had promoted a back-to-Africa program since the 1820s. Turner traveled to Africa several times in the 1890s to oversee the AME Church's mission efforts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and South Africa. There he founded annual conferences and schools, and upon his return he published exaggerated reports extolling the richness of the land and the possibility of development. Critics castigated him for encouraging people to immigrate to a land of disease, poverty, and high death rates, and among these critics his old adversary Tanner was a major voice. Turner called for a convention in 1893 to meet in Cincinnati to organize emigration to Africa, but he was bitterly disappointed when the delegates rejected migration to Africa as impractical. Turner continued to argue that African Americans would never have the respect of others until black men ruled themselves and that their presence in America would limit them to be nothing more than "menials, scullions, servants, subordinates and underlings." He edited *The Voice of Missions* (1893–1900) and *The Voice of the People* (1901–04) and used both organs to express his personal views on immigration to Africa.

Turner opposed the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR and suggested that blacks should not fight for a government that could not protect their rights in the South. He was so bitterly opposed to American racism that he vowed never to die in America. His wish was granted when he suffered a severe stroke and died on May 8, 1915, in Windsor, Ontario, Canada. His body was returned to Georgia for burial. Turner is honored throughout the United States

with churches named after him. In 1900 the AME Church founded Turner Theological Seminary at Morris Brown College in Atlanta.

See also AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHURCHES, GROWTH OF.

**Further reading:** Stephen W. Angell, *Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and African American Religion in the South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992); Edwin, Redkey, *Respect Black: The Writings and Speeches of Henry McNeal Turner* (New York: Arno, 1971).

—William Seraile

**Tuskegee Institute** See WASHINGTON, BOOKER T.

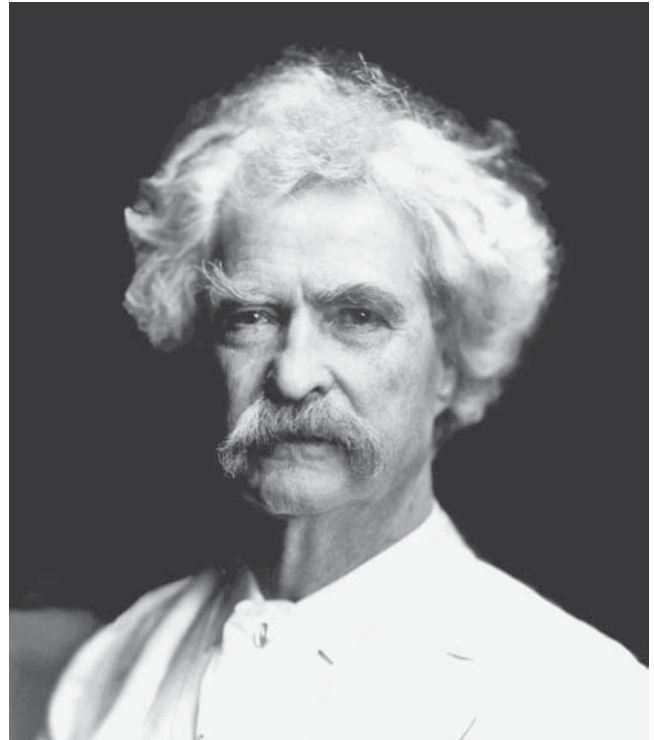
**Twain, Mark (Samuel Langhorne Clemens)** (1835–1910) *novelist, journalist, lecturer*

Perhaps the most influential American literary voice ever, Mark Twain was born Samuel Langhorne Clemens in Florida, Missouri, on November 30, 1835, and grew up in Hannibal, Missouri. His father, a lawyer who speculated unsuccessfully in land, died when Twain was 12, and he was then apprenticed as a printer. As a journeyman printer during 1853 and 1854, he worked his way to St. Louis, New York, Philadelphia, and Keokuk, Iowa. On his way to New Orleans in 1857 he became an apprentice pilot on the Mississippi River and was a full-fledged river pilot when the outbreak of the Civil War shut down the Mississippi.

In 1861 Twain joined a volunteer militia affiliated with the Confederacy and discovered that he strongly disliked military life. He was able to quit after two weeks when Missouri did not secede from the Union. Feeling deeply conflicted about the war, he moved to Nevada with his brother, Orion, a unionist who had become secretary of the territorial governor of Nevada. In Nevada, Twain became a prospector and later, in 1862, a reporter in Virginia City. It was there that he first used the pseudonym Mark Twain, a river term for two fathoms deep (or safe water). The pseudonym quickly took on a personality of its own, and his adoption of it marked the beginning of his literary career.

In 1864 Twain moved to California, where he found work as a reporter. In 1865 he wrote a short story, “The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County.” A California newspaper then sent him to the Sandwich Islands (now Hawaii) as a roving reporter. His articles were well received, and in 1866, after his return, he lectured very successfully in the West, beginning a phenomenally successful second career.

Twain’s first book, *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County and Other Sketches*, was published in 1867. He gave a triumphant lecture at Cooper Union in



Mark Twain (Library of Congress)

New York, then set sail for the Mediterranean and the Holy Land as a roving reporter for another California paper. The reports he sent back were even more successful than his reports from the Sandwich Islands and formed the basis for *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), which turned him into a national figure. His take on the Old World—and the new type of American tourist that had begun visiting it—was unique, surprising, and funny.

In 1870, after his return to America, he married Olivia Langdon; they made their home in the Northeast, primarily in Hartford, Connecticut. He relied on her, and later on WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS, to tell him which of his writings were too outrageous to print. Over the next 30 years, his output was impressive. *Roughing It* (1872) recounted, semifictionally, his experiences in the Far West. He followed that up with *THE GILDED AGE* (1873), written with Charles Dudley Warner, an on-target satire on contemporary foibles and corruption that captured the spirit of an era. *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), based on memories of his boyhood in Hannibal, demonstrated a sure comic touch. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), about a runaway boy and an escaped slave on a raft on the Mississippi River, is a certified classic. Its natural use of a wide array of Southern dialects demonstrated just how well Twain understood the spoken word, but that was only a small part of what made the book compelling. Most noteworthy were its comic skewering



of human gullibility and venality and its insights into just how twisted conventional morality can get. The passages in which a guilt-racked Huck found himself unable to betray Jim, the runaway slave, even though he was convinced that he would be sent to hell for helping to “steal” the rightful property of someone else, are among the most gripping in literature.

Twain's other books included *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882), *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), *Tom Sawyer Abroad* (1894), *Tom Sawyer, Detective* (1896), *The Tragedy of Pudd'nhead Wilson and the Comedy, Those Extraordinary Twins* (1894), and *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* (1896).

Although his writings often mocked the speculative mania that gripped the nation during the Gilded Age, Twain himself was far from immune, losing a good deal of money on several speculative ventures and spending lavishly on his Hartford home. He continued to write and lecture up until his death on April 21, 1910, with his later writings show-

ing a more bitter cast. At the end of his life, he dictated an autobiography that was published posthumously.

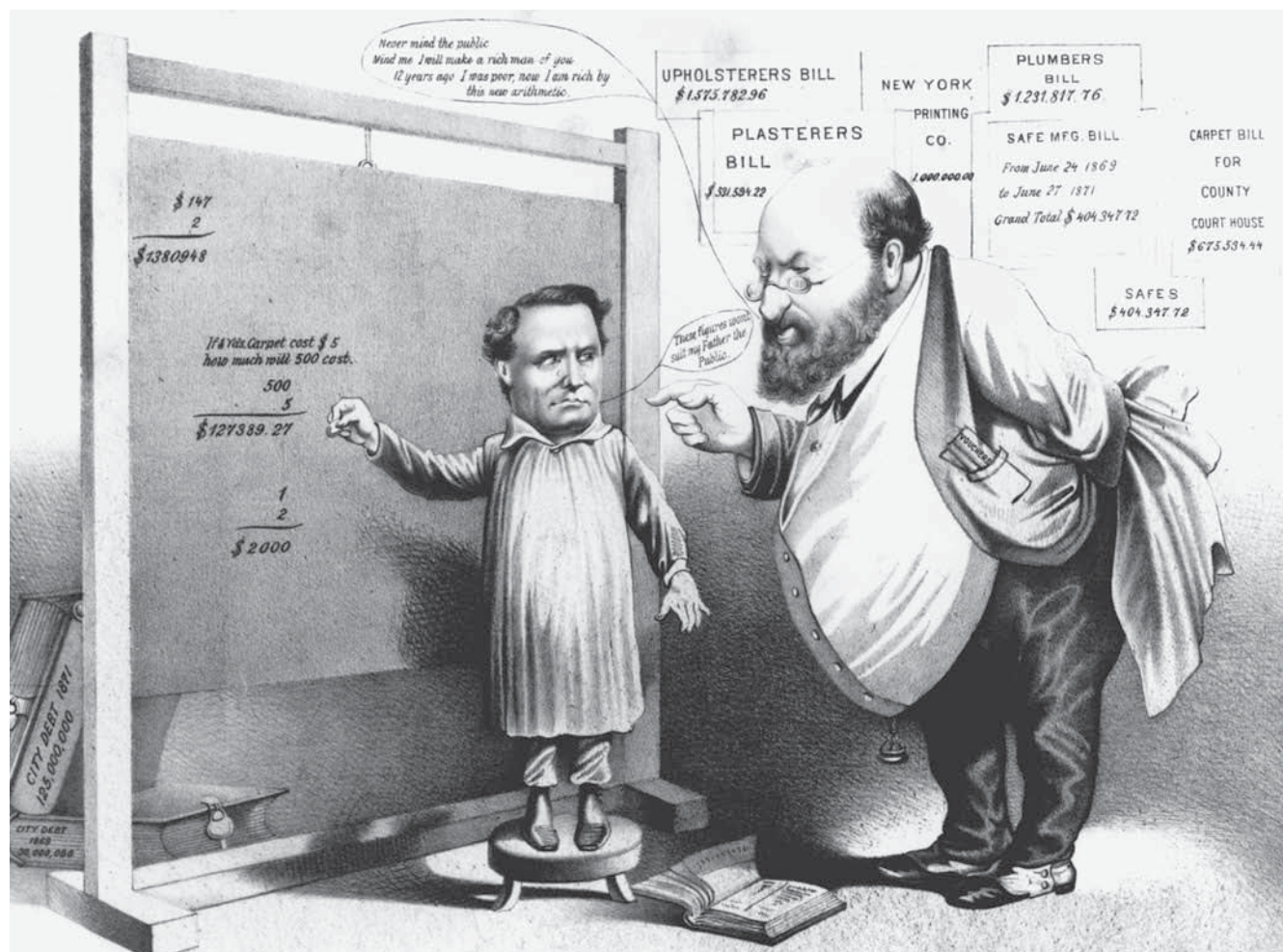
Twain is best remembered for his clear, compelling, and unadorned prose; his remarkable ear for spoken language; his comic flair; and his unique slant on life. “Always do right,” he told the young people's society of a Brooklyn Presbyterian Church in 1901. “This will gratify some people and astonish the rest.”

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—Lynn Hoogenboom

## Tweed Ring

The spectacularly corrupt Tweed Ring was led by William M. Tweed (1823–78), who held a number of municipal posts in New York City in the 1860s, including deputy street



A political cartoon portraying William M. Tweed as a bullying schoolteacher giving New York City comptroller Richard B. Connolly a lesson in arithmetic. The exaggerated bills for the building of a county courthouse are posted on the wall. (Library of Congress)

commissioner and deputy commissioner of public works. He increased his power through his control of appointments and the awarding of contracts, and by 1868 he was the leader of the Democratic machine, the grand sachem (leader) of TAMMANY HALL, and in complete control of the administration of New York City. Taking advantage of home-rule features in a new city charter secured by bribery from the New York State legislature, Tweed and his close associates—Mayor A. Oakey Hall, Peter B. Sweeny, and Richard B. Connolly—began in 1869 to steal from the city on so spectacular and so organized a scale that the Tweed Ring has overshadowed all other municipal corruptionists in American history. Its most conspicuous, but certainly not the only, source of graft was the construction of the new county courthouse. Not only did contractors purchase building materials from companies in which Tweed had an interest, but they also padded their bills and shared excessive payments with the ring. Since Tweed was on the Board of Audit, these fraudulent bills were not challenged. When construction was finished, the cost of the \$12 million courthouse had been multiplied three times.

The Tweed Ring was short-lived. The cartoonist THOMAS NAST began in 1870 to attack Tweed and his cohorts with devastating caricatures in *Harper's Weekly*, and the ring's downfall came in 1871 when disgruntled insiders leaked damning evidence to the *New York Times*.

Citizens were aroused. SAMUEL J. TILDEN, the state Democratic leader, belatedly turned on Tweed (enhancing his reform reputation), and Tweed was overthrown, prosecuted, and convicted in 1873 for not properly auditing bills. He was imprisoned, escaped to Spain, but was extradited and returned to jail, where he died.

The effrontery of the Tweed Ring and the sheer volume of its stealings—perhaps as much as the \$30 million Tilden alleged—obscures the rapid development of New York during the years Tweed was in power. Extraordinary municipal graft required extensive civic projects, including improved transit facilities, the widening of Broadway, and the development of Central Park. Payoffs and graft were powerful incentives that brought disparate elements, which normally paralyzed action, together to work (and steal) in concert on major undertakings. Indeed, the urban historian Seymour J. Mandelbaum argues that by uniting fragmented neighborhoods and ignoring the frugality prized by taxpayers and the morals of reformers, Tweed and his accomplices stole the city rich.

**Further reading:** A. B. Callow, *The Tweed Ring* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985); Leo Hershkowitz, *Tweed's New York: Another Look* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1977); Seymour J. Mandelbaum, *Boss Tweed's New York* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965).



# U



***United States v. E. C. Knight Co.*** (1895) See SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT.

## utopianism

American publishers released more than 150 utopian novels between 1885 and 1900. The outpouring of literary descriptions of the ideal perfect social order betrayed a society uncertain of its future. Part of that uncertainty reflected the fear of cataclysm that accompanies the ending of a century. But the greatest contributor to this doubt was the rift between values and reality caused by industrialization. Labor conflict, the increasing gap between rich and poor, the displacement of farmers, and the growing concentration of economic power—all of which apparently refuted the principles of republicanism—left Americans aghast and seeking answers.

EDWARD BELLAMY's *Looking Backward* (1888) was one of the most widely read utopian solutions for the troubled society. Placed in the year 2000, Bellamy's perfect social order enjoyed an equality of abundance made possible by a nationalized economy. Universal public service guaranteed the production of goods and services. Education, rather than revolution, secured this ideal world, as its unselfish citizens recognized that it made more sense to cooperate and share (rather than compete and amass) surpluses resulting from efficient large-scale production and demanded the abolition of all forms of private property.

The road to utopian bliss was not so peaceful in Ignatius Donnelly's *Caesar's Column*, published in 1890. Donnelly depicted late 20th-century America (the novel is set in 1998) as sated in luxurious splendor. But he has the main character, Gabriel Weltstein, a visitor from Uganda, discover that the grandeur is only a facade disguising a tyranny ruled over by Prince Cabano and the Council of Oligar-

chy. Their greedy despotism has enslaved the productive classes, reducing them into submissive "automata." The repressive exploitation generates a revolutionary movement, the Brotherhood of Destruction, headed by Caesar Lomellini, a dispossessed farmer. The Brotherhood's victory ignites an orgy of killing and looting. Concerned over the health threat posed by so many exposed cadavers, Caesar orders them placed in a cement column ringed with explosives. But once unleashed, the violence cannot be contained, and Caesar is killed and his head placed on a stake. All, however, is not lost, for Weltstein escapes the bloody chaos and returns to Uganda, where he establishes a harmonious society based upon government ownership of the factors of production.

Utopianism's identification of private property as the source of greed and inequality and the progenitor of evil echoed the views of Christian communes founded before the Civil War. Most of those experiments in utopian communism ultimately succumbed to capitalism. The Oneida Perfectionist Community, renowned for its production of silver flatware, ended its experiment in communal property in 1879 by becoming a joint stock company. The longest-lasting religious commune, the Amana Community, reorganized as a joint stock company in 1932.

Utopianism's rejection of private property also mirrored SOCIALISM. It differed from that doctrine, however, in that it had a clear vision of what might be, but only vague notions on how to achieve utopia. Socialists, whether Lassalleans or Marxists, suggested more concrete strategies for abolishing individual property.

**Further reading:** Sylvia Bowman, *Edward Bellamy* (Boston: Twayne, 1986); Martin Ridge, *Ignatius Donnelly: The Portrait of a Politician* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

—Harold W. Aurand





# V



**Vanderbilt, Cornelius** See VOLUME IV.

## **Venezuela boundary dispute** (1895)

A serious disagreement arose in 1895 when the United States intervened in the stalled negotiations between Great Britain and Venezuela over the boundary of British Guiana. Britain adhered to the line drawn by surveyor Robert Schomburgk in 1840, while Venezuela adhered to a line that enveloped almost all of British Guiana. Intermittent talks went on for years to no avail. When the British, frustrated by Venezuelan intransigence, claimed land beyond the Schomburgk line, where gold had recently been discovered, Venezuela in 1887 suspended diplomatic relations with Great Britain.

In 1894 American concern about the dispute intensified with the publication of a pamphlet, *British Aggressions in Venezuela or the Monroe Doctrine on Trial*, whose author, William L. Scruggs, a former American minister to Venezuela, depicted Britain's position as a deliberate violation of the Monroe Doctrine. The essay prompted CONGRESS to unanimously pass a resolution urging arbitration of the matter and convinced President GROVER CLEVELAND of the need to forcefully address the issue. Secretary of State Richard Olney, an impatient, irascible railroad attorney from Boston, sent a letter to London, with Cleveland's approval, claiming in a hyperbolic tone that "the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law." He also described the insidious nature of the British presence in Latin America and the need to arbitrate the dispute.

The British prime minister, Lord Salisbury, waited four months before responding that the Monroe Doctrine did not apply, since the British presence in Guiana antedated the Republic of Venezuela, and Britain continued to refuse to arbitrate. Outraged by both the delay and the response, Cleveland on December 17, 1895, answered Salisbury by asking Congress for funds for a commission to determine

the boundary line and vowed that the United States would use "every means in its power" to uphold that line.

A brief war scare ensued, but tempers cooled after a few days. The British (feeling menaced by Germany and anxious for American friendship) backed off and showed a willingness to arbitrate. Olney also backed off and agreed that territory occupied by either side should not be subject to arbitration for 50 years. Utilizing the good offices of the United States, a treaty of arbitration between Britain and Venezuela was signed on February 2, 1897. On October 3, 1899, the arbitration panel—consisting of two Britons, two Americans, and one Russian—fixed the boundary roughly along the Schomburgk line, although Britain lost control of the mouth of the Orinoco River and 5,000 square miles of territory at the southern end of that line.

Despite the bluster of Cleveland and Olney that could have had disastrous consequences, the Venezuela boundary dispute turned out well for the United States. It forced Britain to recognize American hegemony in the Caribbean, strengthened the Monroe Doctrine, gave impetus to the arbitration of disputes, and ultimately improved Anglo-American relations.

**Further reading:** Gerald G. Eggert, *Richard Olney: Evolution of a Statesman* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974); Dexter Perkins, *A History of the Monroe Doctrine* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1955); Richard E. Welch, *The Presidencies of Grover Cleveland* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988).

—Timothy E. Vislocky

## **Victorianism**

*Victorianism* is the term used by some social and cultural historians to refer to certain beliefs, assumptions, codes, tastes, behaviors, and social arrangements associated principally, but not exclusively, with the middle class in Britain and the United States during much of the 19th century.

Like any label that purports to cover diverse social and cultural phenomena, *Victorianism* is problematic. Historians do not agree on the exact chronology or content of Victorianism. Some scholars, even allowing for strong transatlantic influences, question whether a label imported from monarchist Britain can accurately describe developments in republican America. Others avoid the term altogether because to moderns it has long been a pejorative, suggesting narrow-mindedness, hypocrisy, and prudery.

Nevertheless, some of the most subtle and perceptive commentators on 19th-century America have found *Victorianism* to be both valid and useful. That is because, by and large, the American middle class, like its British counterpart, shared well-defined values and tastes during the period. To earn approval, the arts, LITERATURE, and popular ENTERTAINMENT had to be consistent with the social codes of Victorianism. The 1893 Chicago WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, for instance, celebrated Victorian confidence and faith in progress. In art, Victorianism meant romanticized history, uplift, pathos, and idealizations of middle-class life. In THEATER, Victorians preferred melodrama, in which good conquered evil. In literature, they favored romanticism and gentility. Culture typically upheld such Victorian values as polite behavior, social order (especially patriarchy and Protestantism), duty, and self-restraint.

Victorians, whether in Britain or the United States, considered behavior to be the outward expression of character, hence their emphasis on integrity, good grooming, propriety, and emotional control. Sexual prudence, if not prudery, was an essential part of the code, especially for women, though modern studies have argued that Victorian sexuality differed from that of later eras only in vocabulary, not in passion. Eros, it seems, was as powerful as ever, but it was not admitted into polite discourse or public demeanor.

The behavioral standards of Victorianism were not limited to the middle class. They could be extended to other groups, though expectations varied, depending upon gender, race, class, ethnicity, or RELIGION. Servants, laborers, immigrants, even racial minorities, could earn respect, if not status, by honoring the code. Victorianism also made allowances for (and perpetuated) presumed gender differences by consigning women to a "domestic sphere" and by limiting the "public sphere" almost exclusively to men.

Women were, however, significant agents of Victorianism at both home and church. In their domestic sphere they were arbiters and exemplars of culture, manners, and morals for family and even servants. Also active in church work, women joined with ministers to propagate a "culture of feelings," the sentimental (some would say "feminine") aspect of Victorianism. Beyond hearth and pulpit, schools,

armed with their McGuffey readers, were also strongholds of Victorian values.

Of course, not everyone adhered to Victorianism, though it was the standard against which moralists defined deviancy. Even among its adherents, tensions and strains often surfaced. Indeed, women frequently found it difficult to reconcile the contradictory Victorian notions of "true womanhood" (emotional, dependent, gentle, passive) and "ideal motherhood" (practical, self-reliant, strong, protective, nurturing).

As the 19th century drew to a close, Victorianism faced powerful new challenges. Social and political unrest, IMMIGRATION, and economic change jarred the middle class. Gilded Age opportunism undermined Victorian moralism. Popular entertainment offered more amusement and pleasure and less uplift. In art and literature, realism and naturalism challenged gentility and romanticism. On the intellectual front, the theories of Darwin, Marx, and Freud threatened cherished Victorian pieties. Even anti-modernists, such as HENRY ADAMS, defected from Victorianism. Although social and cultural reorientation was well advanced by the 1890s, Victorianism did not finally give way to modernism until the second quarter of the 20th century.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE; PAINTING.

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—William Hughes

### **Villard, Henry** (1835–1900) *businessman, journalist*

Henry Villard was not only a journalist and a reformer but also a financier and a railroad president. Born in Speyer, Germany, on April 10, 1835, Villard migrated to America in 1853, bouncing from job to job in the Midwest until 1858 when he began a career in journalism as a correspondent for the New York *Staats-Zeitung* and covered the Lincoln-Douglas debates. He switched to the Cincinnati *Commercial* in 1859, reported on the Pikes Peak gold rush in Colorado, and was in Chicago for the 1860 Republican National Convention. He described Civil War battles for the New York *Herald* and later for the New York *Tribune*, and after the war in 1865 he became the Washington correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* and was its man at the 1867 Paris Exposition.

Like his fellow German immigrant CARL SCHURZ, Villard was a supporter of liberal reforms. Those ties were strengthened in 1866 by his marriage to Helen Frances "Fanny" Garrison, the daughter of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. In 1865 a number of eastern patrician reformers had established the American Social Science Association to analyze problems and to promote the answers—CIVIL SERVICE REFORM, free trade, MONETARY POLICIES—which they already had in hand. Villard became the association's secretary in 1868 and, combining diligence and charm, drummed up support for its program and made useful contacts. By 1870 Villard embarked on a career in finance and was able in 1881 to support the liberal reform agenda by purchasing the *New York Evening Post* and the weekly *The NATION*, installing Schurz and EDWIN L. GODKIN as coeditors.

After a slow start, Villard succeeded in finance because he took advantage of the depression following the panic of 1873 that plunged many RAILROADS into bankruptcy. In Europe from 1870 to 1873, he used his family connections and returned to the United States as the representative of German investors in the Oregon & California Railroad. With that leverage, Villard helped reorganize it and the Oregon Steamship Company, assumed the presidency of the Oregon Steam and Navigation Company in 1879 and became the dominant force in transportation in the Pacific Northwest. Villard's brilliant accomplishments as a reorganizer earned him the backing of the investment banker JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN, who supported Villard's acquisition of the Northern Pacific Railroad (NPRR) in 1881. Morgan also backed Villard's optimistic plunge into a massive NPRR construction program that linked the Great Lakes with his Oregon properties. The enormous cost of completing the NPRR just in time to take the brunt of the next economic slump (1883–86) left the NPRR deeply in debt, and Villard was ousted from its presidency in 1884. Morgan, however, did not lose faith in Villard, and he was back on the NPRR board of directors in 1888 and became its chair in 1889. With Morgan's backing, Villard in 1890 gained control of the Edison Lamp Company of Newark, New Jersey, and the Edison Machine Works of Schenectady, New York; he combined them in 1891 as the Edison General Electric Company and named himself president.

Villard's financial career, which took off in the depression of the 1870s, was terminated by the panic of 1893. His optimistic tendency to overreach again proved to be his undoing, and his two major enterprises had to be reorganized. As a result, in 1893 he was removed from the board of directors of the NPRR and from the presidency of Edison General Electric, which was reconstituted as the General Electric Company. Villard died at Dobbs Ferry, New York, on November 12, 1900.

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### violence and lawlessness

Gilded Age America was a violent society, especially in the South and the Southwest. The Northeast and Middle West had their spectacular murders, like that in 1872 of Jim Fisk, the Wall Street speculator, or the ax murder of the parents of Lizzie Borden in Fall River, Massachusetts, in 1892. But in these regions ordinary citizens generally did not use weapons to settle disputes nor resort to mob violence. The most conspicuous example of mass lawlessness in the northeastern quadrant of the nation was in Pittsburgh during the GREAT STRIKE OF 1877.

In contrast, the South retained its antebellum reputation as the most violent section of the country. Duels were no longer fashionable, but males carried arms and were quick to use them. Fatal quarrels arose over such petty issues as opening a door. The spectacular West Virginia feud between the Hatfields and McCoys began over an allegedly stolen pig. In 1890, Massachusetts, with immigrants and large cities, reported only 16 homicides, while many less populated southern states reported more: Virginia, 65; North Carolina, 69; Kentucky, 88; Georgia, 92; and Tennessee, 115. Neither AFRICAN AMERICANS nor poor whites were disproportionately responsible for these killings. Murders were committed by planters, lawyers, doctors, bankers, and even preachers. Although race was involved in some homicides, in most instances whites killed whites.

The milieu of violence among white southerners, perhaps stemming from their Celtic cultural background, existed prior to the Civil War and Reconstruction and was easily transformed into the race violence of the Gilded Age. LYNCHINGS of blacks and murderous riots to achieve white supremacy at points from Hamburg, South Carolina, in 1876 to Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1898, were deeds in keeping with a homicidal society. Violence in defense of one's honor or the community's prejudices was socially acceptable.

Racially inspired lynchings were also common in California, which took generations to outgrow the lawlessness of a mining frontier. Out of 352 victims of mob killing from 1850 to 1935, 132 were Hispanics, more than a third; 41 were NATIVE AMERICANS; 29 were Chinese; and eight were African Americans, all of whom were disproportionately represented.

The Civil War and Reconstruction spawned both violence in Missouri and an outlaw folk hero in Jesse James.



After marauding with lawless pro-Confederate guerrillas in Missouri, James and his brother Frank began robbing banks in 1866 and three years later were identified as suspects in a bank robbery in Gallatin, Missouri. Shrewdly recognizing the power of public opinion, James commenced creating his legend with a public letter proclaiming his innocence and accusing Radical Republicans of persecuting him for his Confederate service. Over the next 10 years James and his brother Frank, joined by Cole Younger and his brothers (who were also guerrilla veterans), robbed banks and railroads, cultivating in the press and among Democratic politicians a Robin Hood image. With banks and RAILROADS unpopular in the depression year of 1875, the image was so persuasive that Democratic legislators almost passed an amnesty resolution for James and his gang. A botched bank robbery in Northfield, Minnesota, severely strained the Robin Hood myth and kept the resolution from passing the next year. Not only were a bank cashier and three robbers killed, but three of the Younger brothers were wounded and captured. Two robbers, presumed to be Jesse and Frank James, escaped. Without the Youngers, James recruited less able criminals, and his robberies became more violent. With a price on his head James was assassinated in 1882 by members of



Jesse James, 1864 (*Library of Congress*)

his own gang, but the Robin Hood myth did not die with him. For many, James, a habitual criminal, has come to represent a justice higher than law.

Like Jesse James, Billy the Kid has become a legend, with movies and even a ballet about him. In 1877, when he was 17, he killed a bully who had tormented him and became an outlaw. The next year he participated in New Mexico's Lincoln County War. To break the monopoly a company had on Lincoln County's business by its lucrative federal contracts to supply Fort Stanton and the Mes-calero Apache Reservation, a competing firm hired Billy the Kid and other gunmen as paramilitary "Regulators." They fought battles with the entrenched company, with the Kid participating in the ambush murder of Sheriff William Brady and the killing of Buckshot Roberts in a shoot-out. The war ended when a sheriff's posse surrounded the Regulators in their employer's house, burned them out, and killed four of them, while the Kid and three others escaped. His negotiations with New Mexico's governor, LEW WALLACE, to earn amnesty by turning states evidence fell through, because he was rustling cattle in Texas. In 1880 he was captured by Sheriff Pat Garrett's posse, convicted of murder, and sentenced to be hanged. He escaped the next year by killing two guards and was hidden by Hispanics (especially sheepmen), among whom he was popular because he spoke Spanish, treated them as equals, and stole from Texas cattlemen, who threatened their landholdings. Three months later Garrett caught up with the Kid, fired first, and killed him. In folklore two Billy the Kids live on. The first was the merciless gunman, who killed 21 men (grossly exaggerated to arrive at one for each year of his life), and the second, like Jesse James, was the young Robin Hood who fought for the poor. "For millions," Robert M. Utley observes, "Billy still rides as the ultimate symbol of the violence of the Old West."

Ironically, genuine Robin Hoods did exist in the New Mexico Territory. Texas cattlemen in the 1870s and 1880s began moving into the eastern grasslands of New Mexico and displacing Hispanic sheepmen. Range wars, characterized by extreme racial violence, broke out. There was a rise in the number of Hispanic bandits, but most were not defenders of the Mexican community. Las Gorras Blancas (the White Caps), however, were closer to Robin Hood than were either Jesse James or Billy the Kid. A secret Hispanic organization, its greatest strength in members was in northeastern New Mexico. The White Caps arose in the 1880s and 1890s to protect land owned by Mexicans from the encroachment of Anglos, especially those from Texas. The White Caps harassed white intruders by cutting their BARBED WIRE and burning their buildings. The White Caps' defense of Hispanics won them widespread support in New Mexico and a place in local folklore, but not the renown of Jesse James or Billy the Kid.

**Further reading:** Daniel Aragon y Ulibarri, *Devil's Hatband: A Story about a People's Struggle against Land Theft and Racism* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: Sunstone Press, 1999); Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Manuel G. Gonzales, *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999); Ken Gonzales-Day, *Lynching in the West: 1850–1935* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006); Paul Kooistra, *Criminals as Heroes: Structure, Power, and Identity* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1989); Grady McWhiney, *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988); C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951).

### Virginus affair (1873)

The *Virginus* was a former Confederate blockade runner owned by Cubans that was carrying guns, ammunition, and men to the Cuban insurrectionists, who had been fighting their Spanish masters since 1868. On October 31, 1873, while illegally flying the American flag, it was spotted near CUBA by the Spanish warship *Tornado* (also a former Confederate blockade-runner) and was chased within six miles of Jamaica, where it was captured and towed to Santiago, Cuba.

General Juan Burriel, the governor of Santiago, called an immediate court-martial that convicted the crew of piracy and sentenced all of the passengers and crew to death. On November 4, four of the crew were shot and decapitated, and their heads were placed on pikes. Spaniards on the island celebrated the event with torchlit parades. When the shaky republican government in Madrid learned of the sentencing of the crew, the president Emilio Castelar ordered the executions stayed pending government review, but a

break in the telegraph lines prevented Madrid's wishes from reaching Santiago.

Within a few days a total of 53 men (eight of them were American citizens) had been put to death, and the executions were only stopped by the timely arrival of the British warship *Niobe*. Despite the questionable right of the *Virginus* to fly the stars and stripes, Americans were outraged by the insult to the flag and by the sadistic butchery of Burriel and his men. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish instructed the American minister to Spain to demand the return of the ship, its remaining crew and passengers, the payment of an indemnity, and the punishment of Burriel. If these demands were not met, the minister was to break off diplomatic relations and return to the United States.

The Spanish government was in a precarious position in 1873. Having recently overthrown the monarchy, the new Spanish republic still faced a large, powerful bloc of "Carlist" reactionaries and needed to cultivate its popularity. President Emilio Castelar was therefore hesitant to apologize for Burriel's actions because the severe treatment of the *Virginus*'s crew was widely supported by Spaniards at home and in Cuba. But after delaying a few days, the Spanish government suggested that negotiations for a settlement be transferred to Washington and pledged to comply with the principles of international law. The Spanish minister Admiral Don José Polo was able and conciliatory and, with Fish, worked out an arrangement agreeable to both Madrid and Washington. Basically Spain gave in and released the *Virginus*, including surviving passengers and crew, and paid an indemnity of \$80,000. Spain, however, delayed bringing charges against Burriel. As Spanish procrastination entered its fourth year, the general died.

**Further reading:** Allan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: The Inner History of the Grant Administration* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1937).

—Timothy E. Vislocky



# W



**Wabash v. Illinois** (1886) See RAILROADS.

**Walcott, Charles Doolittle** (1850–1927)

*paleontologist, geologist*

Charles D. Walcott was born on March 31, 1850, in New York Mills, near Utica, New York. He started collecting minerals at the age of 13 and at 17 resolved to study the Cambrian system of older (more than 500 million years) fossiliferous rocks of North America. Walcott's formal education ended when, in 1868, he left Utica Academy to work in a hardware store, but his interest in Paleozoic fossils remained strong. Rather than enter a lucrative partnership in 1871, he found and studied fossils on the farm of William P. Rust at nearby Trenton Falls (where he had searched for them as a teenager). The next year he married Rust's daughter Lura, with whom he had no children. With Rust's help Walcott amassed an impressive collection of fossils, especially of trilobites (three-lobed marine arthropods or invertebrates) that attracted the attention of James Hall of the New York Geological Survey and of Louis Agassiz of Harvard. After Harvard purchased the collection in 1873 for \$5,000, Walcott arranged to study with Agassiz, whose death in December led Walcott to change his plans. The November following Lura's death in early 1876, Walcott became a special assistant to Hall and continued his work "to determine the structure of the trilobite." In 1879 he published a pioneering study of trilobite legs. His work later led to the recognition that trilobites were distinct from crustaceans, although they were related to them.

Upon Hall's recommendation, CLARENCE KING, head of the newly established U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY (USGS), appointed Walcott a temporary geologist in 1879. Ordered to the Grand Canyon region, Walcott's thorough work was both geological and paleontological. For example, while there, he determined the boundary between Permian and Triassic strata and identified the fossils collected. Although King's successor, JOHN WESLEY POWELL, said

Walcott's 1882 work on post-Cambrian strata in the Grand Canyon, involving risky climbs, resulted in "discoveries of the highest interest and value," Walcott, who contributed to both sciences, was more interested in paleontology than in the closely related field of geology. In 1883 he was promoted to the position of paleontologist of the USGS, and in 1884 the USGS published his *Paleontology of the Eureka District*, a standard reference based on 359 fossils he collected in central Nevada. In the mid-1880s he studied Cambrian rocks in northeastern New York and western Vermont and determined that what was called the "Taconic system" was not a uniform system, but a jumble of Cambrian and younger rocks. As a result of his work geologists ceased after 1888 to use the term *Taconic system*.

On June 22, 1888, Walcott married Helena Burrows Stevens; they had four children. Walcott and his new bride began their honeymoon in Newfoundland, where Walcott collected additional evidence on Cambrian trilobites. They next departed directly for England, where Walcott attended the 1888 International Congress of Geologists at London. There Walcott secured an international reputation for his work on the so-called Taconic system and for his discovery of the correct sequence of trilobites. On the basis of that sequence Walcott subdivided the Cambrian system in the United States into Lower Cambrian (with the fewest outcrops), Middle Cambrian, and Upper Cambrian (with the most outcrops) and determined where land and sea were in the Cambrian period. Walcott's stratigraphy has not been altered substantially by subsequent research.

The growing reputation of Walcott led to his promotions in the USGS, culminating with his selection, by President GROVER CLEVELAND, as its head in 1894. Powell, his predecessor, had resigned after his salary and USGS appropriations were slashed because he had incensed Congress with his emphasis on basic geological research, rather than on studies of mineral resources. The scientific community applauded the selection of Walcott, who proved to be an excellent administrator. He regained the confidence of



Congress, and between 1894 and 1907, when he resigned, the USGS budget more than tripled. Walcott also retained the confidence and friendship of his staff. He combined political savvy with a devotion to science and the USGS that gained the respect of all. Appropriations increased because Congress was pleased by Walcott's willingness to undertake practical tasks relating to mining, irrigation, and forests. The USGS investigated surface and underground waters and moved to preserve forests at the sources of rivers. In 1897 the USGS began to administer U.S. forest reserves and, to promote conservation, proceeded to map and classify them as wooded, arable, and pasture. In 1905 these functions were transferred to the newly established U.S. Forest Service. Under Walcott experiments on coal combustion in the USGS led in 1910 to a separate Bureau of Mines. Having met the congressional demand for practical results, the USGS under Walcott was also able to continue the basic research Powell had stressed.

In 1907 Walcott left the USGS to head the Smithsonian Institution as its secretary until his death. Along with administering its museum and the Zoological Park, he was a prime mover in the founding of the Freer Gallery. During this period two of his sons died, and in 1911 his wife, Helen, died in a railroad accident. On June 30, 1914, he married an artist, Mary Vaux; they had no children.

Walcott's main reason for leaving the USGS was to find more time for fieldwork and writing. But because he was a good organizer and administrator, he also served on committees, councils, and boards of trustees. For example, he participated in the establishment of the Carnegie Institution and was on its board of trustees until he died. He was an officer of the National Academy of Sciences from 1899 to 1923, serving as president from 1917 to 1923. In addition to these responsibilities, he was able to investigate Cambrian outcrops in the Canadian Rockies, and in 1909 in the Middle Cambrian Burgess shale of British Columbia, he found trilobites with their appendages preserved and many fossils of previously unknown soft-bodied animals. Among his many publications the monumental two-volume *Cambrian Brachiopoda* (1912) stands out. Walcott died on February 9, 1927.

**Further reading:** Ellis L. Yochelson, *Charles Doolittle Walcott: Paleontologist* (Kent, Ohio: Kent University Press, 1998).

**Wallace, Lew** (1827–1904) *novelist, lawyer, politician, soldier*

Soldier, author, and incurable romantic, Lewis (he preferred Lew) Wallace was born on April 10, 1827, in Brookville, Indiana. An avid reader of romantic novels and history, he was often truant from school, preferring to wander in the



General Lew Wallace, ca. 1860 (Library of Congress)

woods with a gun on his shoulder and a book under his arm. He was a talented artist, whose blackboard caricature of his teacher with the body of a rabbit earned him a bloody beating. Whipped by his father, as well as his teachers, Wallace remained undisciplined, careless, and unkempt in appearance. When his father, David Wallace, was elected governor of Indiana in 1837, Wallace appreciated the State House library, especially picture books and the novels of James Fenimore Cooper. After Wallace ran off for 12 days to attend a rally for the 1840 Whig presidential candidate William Henry Harrison, his father sent him to Samuel K. Hoshour's school in Centreville. A gifted teacher, Hoshour recognized Wallace's needs and ability and inspired him to use simple, clear prose to express his romantic craving for adventure.

Upon his return to Indianapolis in 1841, Wallace, although only 14, joined the Union Literary Society. On Friday evenings members read and criticized compositions and discussed issues, and Wallace wrote a derring-do novel set in the 10th century. When two years later Wallace and a friend, hoping to join the Texas navy in the Gulf of Mexico, got 10 miles downriver in a skiff, Wallace's father stopped paying for his education.

Wallace worked with the county clerk, copying documents and creating a legal record from brief scribbled

notes. To achieve his dream of becoming a novelist, he mastered grammar in a rigorous program of self-education. Simultaneously, Wallace found in William Hickling Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico* (1843) the setting for his novel *The Fair God*. He learned Spanish to read Prescott's sources and began to study law in his father's office.

When the Mexican-American War came in 1846, Wallace raised a company, of which he became lieutenant, and joyfully went off to the land of Moctezuma and Hernán Cortes. He saw little action and still thought of "war as a path of glory," even though he saw much after-battle carnage and many corpses, resulting from disease. When the Whig Party nominated General Zachary Taylor, who had criticized Indiana troops, for president in 1848, Wallace left the party, edited a Free Soil paper to oppose him, and ran up a personal debt of \$600. Admitted to the bar in 1849, Wallace by 1852 had earned enough money to marry Susan Arnold Elston; they had one child. In that year Wallace was elected state prosecuting attorney as a Democrat, but by 1856 he had joined what became the Republican Party and was elected a state senator. With the deepening sectional crisis in the late 1850s, Wallace organized a Zouave company, noted for its drill and colorful uniforms.

When the Civil War came in 1861, Wallace advanced from colonel of a regiment to major general by March 1862, having participated in ULYSSES S. GRANT's army at the capture of Fort Donelson. He was criticized for his delay at the Battle of Shiloh (April 6–7, 1862), but he successfully defended Cincinnati and Washington from Confederate raiders. Wallace participated in the courts-martial of those involved in Abraham Lincoln's assassination and of Henry Wirtz, the commandant of Andersonville Prison (the first war crimes trial).

At the war's end, Wallace was still in pursuit of glory and a fortune. He supported the republican forces in Mexico under Benito Juárez, who was trying to rid Mexico of French troops and Emperor Maximilian. Wallace was commissioned a major general in Juárez's army, raised troops in Indiana, Illinois, and Tennessee, and incurred \$25,000 in debts shipping arms and munitions to the republican forces. He was not reimbursed nor did his hope to colonize and exploit the neglected silver mines of northern Chihuahua materialize.

Returning to Crawfordsville, Indiana, Wallace practiced law to defray his enormous debt and returned to the novel he had worked on intermittently since 1843. Published in 1873, *The Fair God* uniquely viewed the conquest of Mexico from the perspective of the vanquished Aztecs. It sold well, established Wallace as a literary as well as a military man, and inspired him to start a novel set in the ancient Roman Empire. During the disputed 1876 election, Wallace, who had remained a loyal Republican, visited Florida at RUTHERFORD B. HAYES's request and

concluded that though both sides were unconscionable, Hayes deserved Florida's electoral votes. In 1878 Wallace got out of the "intolerable old rut" of law practice, when he was awarded the governorship of the New Mexico Territory. There he dealt successfully with the Lincoln County War (see VIOLENCE AND LAWLESSNESS) and with Apache hostilities.

While living in Santa Fe, New Mexico, Wallace completed *Ben-Hur* (1880), a best-selling novel (more than 2 million copies) and the subject of three popular motion pictures. Although it is about Jesus Christ, Ben-Hur is its hero. He represents Jewish culture and its faith in a Messiah and ultimately converts to Christianity, while Messala, his friend turned enemy, represents Roman politics. Among adventurous episodes the chariot race between Ben-Hur and Messala is most famous.

After *Ben-Hur*, Wallace continued to write. While minister to Turkey (1881–85), he gathered material for another novel in an exotic setting, *The Prince of India* (1893). He also produced the readable *Lew Wallace: An Autobiography* (1906), which his talented wife, the author of *The Land of the Pueblos* (1888), completed. Wallace died in Crawfordsville on May 20, 1904.

**Further reading:** Robert E. Morsberger and Katharine M. Morsberger, *Lew Wallace: Militant Romantic* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980).

### Wanamaker, John (1838–1922) *businessman*

An innovative merchant and U.S. postmaster general, John Wanamaker was born on July 11, 1838, in the Gray's Ferry area of present-day Philadelphia. After only three years of schooling he held a series of jobs, ending as a salesman in Tower Hall, Philadelphia's leading clothing store. Suffering from overwork, Wanamaker in 1857 regained his strength on a trip to Minnesota.

Returning to Philadelphia in 1858, Wanamaker started what turned out to be an auxiliary career. He became the first full-time, paid secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in Philadelphia, earning \$1,000 a year. He multiplied its membership in that year from 57 to more than 2,000 men. Under his leadership the YMCA distributed New Testaments, trained Sunday school teachers, and promoted temperance. The following year he established the Bethany Sunday School (Presbyterian), which became the largest Sunday school in the United States.

In 1860 Wanamaker married Mary Erringer Brown. They had six children. In April 1861, with Mary's brother, he opened Oak Hall, a clothing store that lured customers with unheard of sales events and kept them satisfied with gracious service. In 10 years it became the largest clothing store for men and boys in the country. In 1869, Mary's

brother having died the year before, Wanamaker, while continuing Oak Hall, opened John Wanamaker & Co., an upscale men's store, with a policy of cash only, lower prices, and guaranteed satisfaction. Riding the crest of success, Wanamaker in late 1875 purchased from the Pennsylvania Railroad for \$500,000 a huge old freight depot. Before opening it in May 1876 as the Grand Depot Store, he let DWIGHT LYMAN MOODY hold revival meetings in it free of charge for two months. With 8 million people attending the PHILADELPHIA CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION that year, Wanamaker's enormous store was a great success. Anticipating a loss of customers when the fair closed, Wanamaker added women's clothing to his line of wear and in 1877 devoted a large area of his store to the sale of dry goods. In 1877 he had a cash flow problem, but by appealing to the whole family and pioneering the DEPARTMENT STORE, he survived and prospered. By 1884 the Grand Depot was the largest store in the United States, with 50,000 daily customers served by 3,000 employees.

Wanamaker was probably the greatest innovator among 19th-century American retailers. His store was the first to have electric lights and the first to have a restaurant. And he was a genius at ADVERTISING. He was the first to use full-page newspaper ads, and he even released 20-foot hot-air balloons, promising a free suit to whoever found and returned a balloon.

Wanamaker continued to expand. In 1896 he acquired the A. T. Stewart store in New York City, and in 1911 he built, in Philadelphia, the "largest retail institution in the world." In it he installed a great organ, still functioning today, and invited the public to free organ and choral concerts. To a large extent Wanamaker's success was due to his ability to surround himself with able and loyal lieutenants and workers. He provided them with educational opportunities, an insurance program with reasonable rates, a summer camp with two-week vacations for their children, and a hotel for women employees.

A partisan Republican, Wanamaker gave \$10,000 to MATTHEW STANLEY QUAY's successful presidential campaign for BENJAMIN HARRISON, who appointed him postmaster general. Wanamaker increased the efficiency and service of the Post Office Department but incurred the wrath of CIVIL SERVICE REFORMERS by replacing Democratic postmasters with Republican ones. Willing to introduce services that did not pay for themselves, he proposed rural free delivery, parcel post, and postal savings systems, which were later enacted. He also proposed unsuccessfully the nationalization of telegraph and telephone systems under the control of the Post Office Department. He extended mail service, established sea post offices to sort mail en route, and utilized pneumatic tubes to speed mail within cities. Wanamaker, Wayne Fuller declares, "was an expert administrator and made more improvements in

the postal service than perhaps any other postmaster general" except possibly Montgomery Blair, who served in the administration of Abraham Lincoln. With his political ambitions awakened, Wanamaker opposed the Quay machine and ran for the U.S. Senate in 1896 but was defeated by Quay's candidate, Boies Penrose.

Despite his business interests, public service, and political ambitions, Wanamaker continued his lay religious activities for the YMCA and the Presbyterian Church until his death on December 12, 1922.

**Further reading:** Herbert B. Ershkowitz, *John Wanamaker: Philadelphia Merchant* (Conshohocken, Pa.: Combined Publishing, 1999); Wayne E. Fuller, *The American Mail: Enlarger of the Common Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

### Ward, Lester Frank (1841–1913) *sociologist*

A founder of modern American sociology, Lester Frank Ward was born on June 18, 1841, in Joliet, Illinois. His father was an itinerant mechanic in the small farming and commercial communities that 20 years earlier had been on the frontier. Following a common-school EDUCATION, Ward worked as a laborer but read widely, studying French, German, and Latin on his own. During the Civil War he served in the Union army, was wounded at Chancellorsville in 1863, and in 1865 secured a position in the Treasury Department at Washington. There he went to evening school and by 1872 he had earned diplomas in law, medicine, and the liberal arts from Columbian College (now George Washington University). During this time he began writing *Dynamic Sociology*, which was published in 1883 and established Ward's scholarly reputation. Ward continued his federal civil service career in the U.S. Geological Survey as chief of the Division of Fossil Plants until 1906. In that year he became the first president of the American Sociological Association, joined the faculty of Brown University, and taught there until his death on April 18, 1913.

Disagreeing with the laissez-faire ideas of WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER, Ward believed that the state when guided by SCIENCE could be a powerful means for improving society. He called for "sociocracy," which would give the state a major role in national economic and social planning. The progressive legislation in many states between 1900 and 1920 as well as the New Deal legislation of the 1930s can be traced to his ideas. Ward argued that people through their mental powers could be the subject or creator and not the object of social processes. Acting together, individuals could create citizen communities, identify problems, gather data, and apply cooperative planning to solve social and economic problems. Confronting laissez-faire advocates, Ward pointed to the successful English



and French government interventions in transportation and communication systems. He maintained that under an absolute monarchy laissez-faire did make sense, since strict state control severed individuals from one another. In a democracy, however, people could freely associate, unite, plan, and prosper within their own self-created state. Humans had the intellectual capacity to consciously control evolution and to progress. People were not purposeless animals forced to engage in cutthroat competition to survive life's struggles but rather were capable of planning to master nature and the environment. Uncontrolled competition only led to disaster. Modern societies needed planning and "superior systems."

With his stress on intellectual capacity to plan improvements for society, Ward emphasized the role of education, believing it to be the key to progress and the healing of social ills. It only made common sense to educate all children—male and female, rich and poor—to their fullest capacity and that society should bear its costs. As children, the republic's future citizens would learn the need for cooperative planning and scientific methods.

Ward was not a socialist, and while advocating equal opportunity, he did not require equal outcomes. He was an ethical evolutionist who believed that the state should be guided by specialists using scientific planning methods. In his view, education was the nucleus around which individual and social interests could revolve and resolve themselves in harmony.

**Further reading:** Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, rev. ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955); Clifford H. Scott, *Lester Frank Ward* (Boston: Twayne, 1976).

—Harry Stein

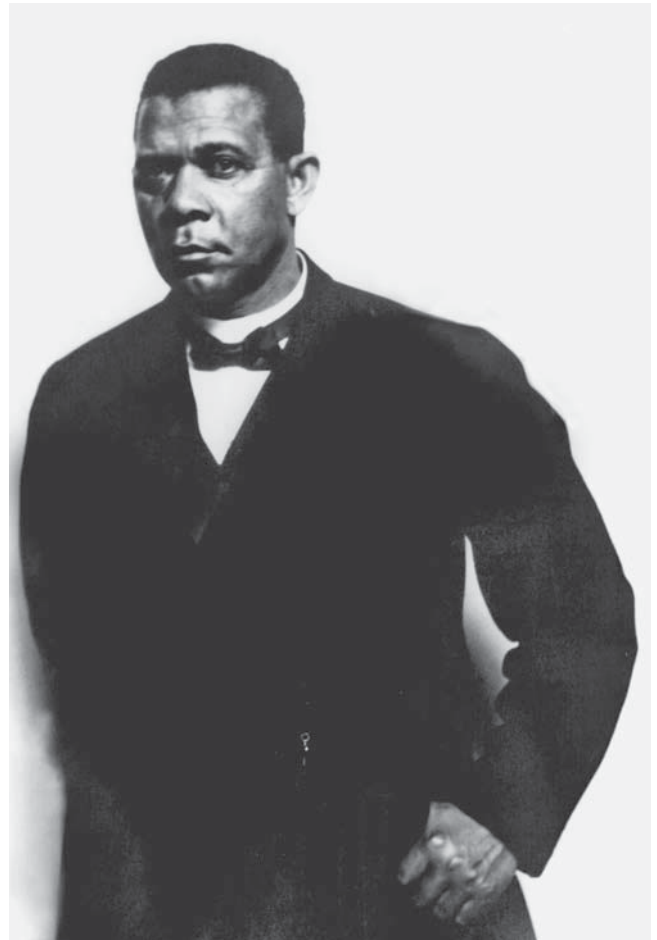
**Washington, Booker T.** (1856–1915) *educator, founder of Tuskegee University*

Booker Taliaferro Washington, educator and African-American leader, was born a slave April 5, 1856, on James Burroughs's plantation near Hale's Ford, Virginia. His mother was Jane Ferguson, Burroughs's slave cook, but Washington never knew the identity of his white father, who he believed came from a neighboring plantation. After their emancipation in 1865, Washington, his mother, stepfather Washington Ferguson, half brother John, and half sister Amanda moved to Malden, West Virginia. After working hard in a coal mine, Booker became a houseboy for the wife of the mine owner, Viola Ruffner, who tutored the ambitious boy.

Washington was able as well as ambitious. He attended and excelled at Hampton Institute in Virginia from 1872 to 1875. The institute's founder, General Samuel Armstrong,

instilled in the impressionable Washington a work ethic and a belief in an educational program for AFRICAN AMERICANS that combined utilitarian skills like agriculture and carpentry with character building. Washington returned to Malden and taught for three years, then studied theology for a few months before deciding that the ministry was not for him. In 1879 he was called back to Hampton Institute by Armstrong to run its night school.

Two years later in 1881 Armstrong strongly recommended Washington to Alabama commissioners of education who were looking for a white principal for an African-American normal school to be established at Tuskegee. They appointed Washington, but he discovered that he had to start a school with only \$2,000 and no land or buildings. Working enormously hard and using great tact, Washington secured support from local whites, recruited students, and held Tuskegee's first classes in a shanty. From that rude beginning he built a school that at the time of his death in 1915 boasted a campus of 100 buildings on 2,000 acres, an all-black faculty of almost 200 (including the distinguished



Booker T. Washington (Library of Congress)



botanist GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER), and 1,500 students. Washington was able to develop Tuskegee Institute into a major industrial education school in large part because he skillfully attracted the financial support of America's leading industrialists and philanthropists, such as ANDREW CARNEGIE, John D. Rockefeller, and GEORGE EASTMAN. Tuskegee, however, was not strictly a vocational school; students also studied composition, history, and mathematics and attended daily chapel services aimed at character building.

Washington married Fanny Norton Smith, a graduate of Hampton Institute, in 1882, but she died two years later from injuries suffered in a fall from a wagon. In 1885 he married Olivia A. Davidson, a graduate of Hampton and the Framingham State Normal School in Massachusetts, who died in 1889. His third wife, whom he married in 1893, was Margaret J. Murray, a Fisk University graduate and a leader of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN's Clubs and of the Southern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs.

It was Washington's prominence as an educator that led to his rise as a race leader. The death of Frederick Douglass in February 1895 left a void in national black leadership, and Washington was chosen to speak at the Atlanta Cotton Exposition in late 1895. As he noted in his autobiography, *Up from Slavery* (1901), Washington knew that his words would be carefully monitored for their impact on race relations. His bold call upon whites and blacks to coexist is referred to as the Atlanta compromise. "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress" were the words that cemented his relationship with conservative white America. Washington thought that rather than agitate for civil and political rights, African Americans must first gain the respect of whites by becoming educated, working hard, practicing thrift, acquiring land, and establishing businesses. In 1900 Washington established the National Negro Business League to assist blacks in becoming more economically independent.

Washington's reputation as a successful educator and racial healer earned him the respect and admiration of white Americans, who regarded him as the spokesman of black Americans. Andrew Carnegie extravagantly praised him as "the combined Moses and Joshua of his people." But Washington was also a power broker who instilled both fear and envy in his black critics. President Theodore Roosevelt cleared his appointments of blacks with Washington, and philanthropists counseled with him before giving donations to black institutions of learning. Washington's secret control or influence over newspapers such as the *New York Age* and the *Washington Bee* helped him in his attempts to silence critics. Additionally, his network of spies and informers kept him apprised of what his critics were up to and placed them at a severe disadvantage.

Progressive African Americans and their supporters severely criticized Washington's "accommodationist" approach, his power, and his tactics. In 1903 W. E. B. DuBois wrote "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," published in DuBois's *The Souls of Black Folk*, which helped to galvanize opposition to Washington's leadership. In 1908 a race riot in Springfield, Illinois, also alarmed white progressives who feared the spread of racism in the North. Mary White Ovington and Oswald Garrison Villard, liberal supporters of DuBois, helped organize the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) because they believed that Washington's accommodationism had resulted in JIM CROW LAWS and disfranchisement and had not resulted in racial harmony or justice.

Despite the accommodationist label, Washington worked for the civil and political rights of African Americans. He secretly provided money to finance suits that challenged discrimination against blacks in voting rights, in jury selection, and in segregated facilities. This facet of his life, however, remained unknown until years after his death. And even though Washington was greatly admired and respected by prominent whites—Harvard bestowed upon him an honorary degree and President Roosevelt in 1901 had him to dinner at the White House—white racists viciously attacked him for seeking social equality. An editorial in the *Memphis Scimitar* proclaimed, "The president of the United States has committed a crime against civilization, and his nigger guest has done his race a wrong which cannot soon be erased." Washington's leadership declined considerably with the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912, since his Democratic administration ignored African Americans who were staunch Republicans.

Washington, nevertheless, remained a hero among moderates. The *New York Times* noted when he died on November 14, 1915, that "It is doubtful if any American, within the forty years of his active life has rendered to the nation service of greater or more lasting value than his." The *Times* acknowledged that all blacks did not consider Washington to be their leader, but—speaking for most whites—it considered Washington's approach the best for race relations.

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—William Seraile

### Washington, Treaty of (1871)

The Treaty of Washington arbitrated several contentious issues that had soured relations between Britain, Canada,

and the United States in the mid-19th century. First, there was a dispute over the boundary between the United States and Canada on the West Coast. The Oregon Treaty of 1846 had set the boundary at the middle of the channel separating Vancouver Island from the mainland, but since there was no well-defined channel, sovereignty over the mid-channel San Juan Islands was left in question. There was also the fisheries problem, since Americans had been fishing in Canadian coastal waters for many years, much to that dominion's annoyance. A recent irritant to Anglo-American relations was the American failure to prevent the raids in 1866 and 1870 on Canada perpetrated by Irish-American Fenians in the hopes of instigating an Anglo-American war that would free Ireland from British rule.

The foremost issue, however, was the *Alabama* claims. The question of the recompense for damage done to American shipping during the Civil War by British-built cruisers (the *Alabama* and her sister ships) had poisoned Anglo-American relations since that war's conclusion. Britain had repeatedly rebuffed American demands that it express regrets for its actions and make payment to the United States for shipping losses and the costly pursuit of the commerce raiders. Charles Sumner, chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said the British owed the Americans not only \$15 million in direct damages but also an additional \$2 billion for prolonging the war two years by its support of the Confederacy. It was obvious that Sumner and like-minded expansionists would accept Canada in lieu of cash.

For years the situation defied settlement, but President Ulysses S. Grant soured on Sumner and gave his moderate secretary of state Hamilton Fish a free hand. Meanwhile, Britain, fearing that neutrals might build cruisers bent on destroying British commerce in a future conflict, was having second thoughts about its dubious neutrality during the Civil War. On May 8, 1871, Britain, with Canada represented among its negotiators, and the United States signed the Treaty of Washington, which stipulated that the *Alabama* claims would be settled by an international arbitration panel that would meet in Geneva. The British expressed regret for the damage done by British-built warships and agreed to rules defining neutral behavior. Both sides agreed to reciprocal fishing rights in American and Canadian territorial waters, with the price of the Canadian rights, which were of greater value, to be determined by a joint commission. It was also agreed that the emperor of Germany, Wilhelm I, would arbitrate the settlement of the San Juan boundary dispute. The treaty passed the Senate on May 24, 1871, by a vote of 50 to 12.

At the commencement of the arbitration panel in Geneva in December 1871, the United States renewed the Sumner claim for indirect damages, inspired some months of war talk, and jeopardized the treaty until cooler heads prevailed and the Americans retreated. On June 19,

1872, the tribunal's president Count Federico Sclopis of Italy announced that the indirect claims were outside the avowed purview of the panel. Getting down to business, on September 14, 1872, the arbitration panel ordered Great Britain to pay the United States \$15.5 million. Later in 1872 the German emperor awarded the San Juan Islands to the United States; in 1873 a commission on the outstanding claims of both the United States and Britain awarded almost \$2 million to the latter; and in 1875 the fisheries commission awarded the British \$5.5 million. Although Canadians, Britons, and Americans all grumbled, all were winners in the most successful arbitration treaty the world had yet witnessed.

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—Timothy E. Vislocky

**Watterson, Henry** (1840–1921) *journalist, newspaper editor*

Although only five feet tall and weighing 80 pounds in his maturity, Henry Watterson was a larger-than-life editor. He was born in Washington, D.C., on February 16, 1840. Watterson, whose father was a U.S. representative, as a child sat on Andrew Jackson's knee. A frail child whose eyesight was damaged by scarlet fever, Watterson was tutored by his mother until he was 12. He frequented the Capitol and was on the floor of the House and wept when John Quincy Adams, who had often taken him to the Library of Congress, was fatally stricken. From 1852 to 1856 Watterson attended the Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, where for four years he edited the school paper. Fearing he was too frail for college, his parents had him tutored at their McMinnville, Tennessee, home. When his father gave him a printing press in the summer of 1856, he began publishing the *New Era*, a two-page broadside. His first editorial, warning that the election of the Republican John Charles Frémont would dissolve the Union, was reprinted by Democratic papers throughout the East.

In 1858, when he was 18, Watterson went to New York City and worked briefly for the *Tribune* and the *Times*. By the end of the year he was back in Washington, D.C., where his father had influential friends. He was appointed a clerk in the Interior Department, became a reporter for the *Washington States*, and a correspondent for the *Philadelphia Press*. He interviewed John Brown immediately after his raid on Harpers Ferry, ardently supported Stephen A. Douglas for president in 1860, and became his personal friend and stood with him near the new president, when

Abraham Lincoln delivered his inaugural address in March 1861.

The coming of the Civil War in April left Watterson, who was an ardent unionist and hated slavery, in a quandary. Since his father's close friend was Secretary of War Simon Cameron, he explored the possibility of a War Department clerkship but decided to go home to Tennessee to sit out the war. Within a month Watterson joined the Confederate army. His size and eyesight made him an unlikely soldier, and he only served intermittently, often as a staff officer. More often he edited newspapers, such as the *Rebel*, which was aimed at rallying troops and which he edited in Chattanooga from 1862 to 1863. His lively, irreverent, critical style made Watterson popular with soldiers but not necessarily their generals. With the Confederacy collapsing in early 1865, Watterson made his way north to relatives in Cincinnati, Ohio. Through his uncle, Stanley Matthews (a future SUPREME COURT justice), he got a job editing the Cincinnati *Evening Times*, which he rejuvenated.

In September 1865 Watterson returned to the South as coeditor of the Nashville *Republican Banner*; and on December 20 he married Rebecca Ewing. They had five children. Editorially, Watterson pled for sectional reconciliation and for national harmony. He favored the Reconstruction policies of President Andrew Johnson but feared that the resultant election of former Confederate leaders and the enactment of Mississippi's Black Code would play into the hands of Radical Republicans. He preached moderation, welcomed the end of slavery, and thought education more important for AFRICAN AMERICANS than the ballot. He warned them that their best friends were unprejudiced, intelligent, supportive white Southerners, rather than carpetbaggers. When in 1867 Radical Republicans imposed military Reconstruction on the South, Watterson angered white supremacists when he advised them to utilize what rights they had to create good governments.

In 1868 Watterson moved to Louisville, Kentucky, to edit the *Louisville Journal*. By the end of the year he and Walter Haldeman, the proprietor of the *Louisville Courier*, merged their papers to create the *Courier-Journal*, which Watterson edited. His wish was to lead the South in bridging the "bloody chasm" to restore the Union of the 1850s, with its low tariffs, states rights, and the political supremacy of the Democratic Party. To unite Northern and Southern moderates, he attacked Radical Republicans but especially concentrated on unreconstructed rebel Bourbon Democrats, telling them to accept the Reconstruction civil rights and voting rights amendments. He successfully fought for anti-Ku Klux Klan legislation, for the right of blacks to ride on Louisville's street cars, and for the admission of blacks' testimony in Kentucky state courts. Watterson also advocated the development of a "New South" of diversified crops and of RAILROADS and cotton mills, financed by Northern capital.

Watterson's outspoken views achieved a national reputation for the *Courier-Journal* and a place for himself among party leaders. In 1872 he attended the LIBERAL REPUBLICAN convention, dedicated to reunion and reform, and joined the quadrilateral of newspaper editors who thought they could dictate the nomination of Charles Francis Adams. When Horace Greeley was nominated, Watterson supported him for the Democratic nomination, but, despite both nominations, Greeley lost to Ulysses S. Grant. In 1876 Watterson chaired the Democratic National Convention that nominated his ideal candidate, SAMUEL JONES TILDEN, who lost the ensuing disputed election to RUTHERFORD B. HAYES. Having been elected to Congress to serve the remaining six months of a deceased member, Watterson spoke in the House for Tilden during the election dispute. At a rally he also called for a protest march on Washington by 100,000 unarmed citizens. Unfortunately, when JOSEPH PULITZER spoke after him, calling for 100,000 armed men, Watterson was condemned as an irresponsible hothead, rather than Pulitzer.

Watterson rejoiced in 1884, when the Democratic Party finally had a winner in GROVER CLEVELAND. Although Cleveland's commitment to CIVIL SERVICE REFORM irked him, Watterson was pleased in 1888 when Cleveland embraced TARIFF reform. In 1892, however, Watterson tried to prevent Cleveland's nomination. When Watterson, a consistent opponent of inflation, refused to support WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN and the FREE SILVER MOVEMENT in 1896, the *Courier-Journal* lost Democratic subscribers. Watterson supported the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, thinking it would bring the North and South together and hoping that war's IMPERIALISM would generate international trade, benefiting Kentucky and the South. He reluctantly supported Bryan on his subsequent runs for the presidency and gave Woodrow Wilson only lukewarm support, since he paid little attention to his advice. Watterson vigorously supported American participation in World War I, but in its aftermath opposed the League of Nations and was appalled by the Prohibition and woman suffrage constitutional amendments. He retired in April 1919 and died on December 22, 1921.

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## Weather Bureau, U.S.

From time immemorial the weather has been a universal subject of observation and discussion. As head of the Smithsonian Institution, Joseph Henry made meteorology a major concern. In 1849 he received the first weather observations

sent by telegraph in the United States. Henry went on to organize a network of voluntary observers that by 1860 was reporting from 500 stations throughout the nation, but the Civil War seriously handicapped the program. The South was cut off; army observers were withdrawn from the West; and telegraph lines were jammed with war business. After the war, Increase Lapham of Milwaukee, a respected amateur naturalist who had long been a volunteer observer for the Smithsonian, campaigned for a federal storm-warning system and enlisted Wisconsin representative H. E. Paine in the campaign. Paine introduced a bill that won strong support from shippers and other business interests. Colonel Albert J. Myer, chief of the Army Signal Service, persuaded Paine to designate his neglected command as the operating agency, citing its telegraphic network as a major qualification, and CONGRESS adopted Paine's bill on that basis in February 1870.

Joseph Henry cheerfully ceded his volunteer network to Myer, whereupon most of the volunteers dropped out. Myer then turned to civilian meteorologists, notably Lapham and a young astronomer, Cleveland Abbe. Over the next decade the number of stations and the frequency of observations increased substantially under Myer's charge. Forecasts were supplied regularly by telegraph to railroad and weather stations and to the Associated Press. Special warnings of storms and other unusual weather developments were issued to commercial, maritime, and agricultural interests. Myer, now a general, emphasized service over research, to Abbe's private chagrin. Myer, however, showed diplomatic skill in minimizing friction between civilian and military personnel and soothing those who, like Abbe, pined for more research to improve forecasting. As always in meteorology, the inevitable mistaken forecasts brought public complaints, but the overall usefulness of the bureau was generally recognized.

Myer's successor in 1880, General William B. Hazen, proved to be more research-minded, to Abbe's relief. But those who were otherwise-minded resented Hazen, who was also too strict a disciplinarian to suit some. Hazen's tenure was marked by a struggle over the proper degree of Weather Bureau autonomy under the army, and opposition to the cost of the service arose in Congress. Sentiment grew for the transfer of the Weather Bureau to civilian control, and after Hazen's death in 1887, his military successor came around to that idea. The creation of a Department of Agriculture in 1888 offered an administrative home for the bureau, and agricultural interests supported the move. And so it was officially made law as of July 1, 1891.

The bureau's work went on smoothly through the transition to civilian control. The sergeant observers on station were honorably discharged and kept on as civilian employees. Mark Harrington, the new chief, had solid scientific credentials. The bureau was now fully accepted as good

for business and industry, but its course was not uniformly smooth. The depression of the 1890s constrained congressional liberality, and the shift from Republican to Democratic political control in 1893 was reflected in bureau appointments. Harrington feuded with the secretary of agriculture and was removed in 1895. But the bureau weathered these setbacks and began the new century with growing effectiveness and public support.

**Further reading:** Donald R. Whitnah, *A History of the United States Weather Bureau* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965).

—Robert V. Bruce

**Weaver, James B.** See CURRENCY ISSUE.

**Wells-Barnett, Ida Bell** (1862–1931) *journalist, antilynching activist*

Born into slavery in 1862 in Holly Springs, Mississippi, Ida B. Wells-Barnett became a journalist, lecturer, and social activist who fought for African-American civil rights and WOMEN'S RIGHTS. She became one of the most widely known journalists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries and received more press attention than any AFRICAN AMERICAN except Frederick Douglass.

She was born Ida Bell Wells. Encouraged by her father, she attended Rust College (formerly Shaw University, a Freedman's Aid school) during her teen years. At age 16, after yellow fever had killed her parents and baby brother, she took on the care of the five living siblings in the house her father had purchased after the Civil War. She taught primary school and continued to attend Rust between sessions until her dismissal in 1880–81 for what she was later to describe as her "tempestuous, rebellious, hard headed wilfulness." Her determination and fiery spirit were to characterize her life and her tireless work for justice.

Moving to Memphis in 1881, Wells continued teaching conscientiously but without enthusiasm, despite the social status it afforded. A voracious reader, she was beginning to formulate a political sensibility that was to inform her later work. By the end of 1884 she had won two settlements against RAILROADS for failing to honor first-class tickets. Reported initially only in the African-American press, the case was picked up later by white newspapers as well. Legal battles with railroads continued through 1887, although state courts were less supportive than federal courts of the rights of African Americans. The railroads' smear campaign against Wells was not the only time such a tactic would be employed against her.

The legal cases led Wells into journalism. She contributed articles to the *Freeman*, edited by T. Thomas Fortune,





Ida Bell Wells-Barnett (Library of Congress)

and to church publications, including the *American Baptist*, edited by William J. Simmons, who gave Wells her first contract and adequate compensation. She also wrote letters to white-owned publications. In 1888 Wells bought a one-third interest in the Memphis *Free Speech and Headlight*, managed by the Reverend Taylor Nightingale and J. L. Fleming, and eventually became its editor. By 1889 Wells, whose pen name was Iola, was being called the “Princess of the Press.”

In 1892 atrocities in Memphis focused Wells’s career on the elimination of LYNCHING. Three African-American men, owners of a grocery store that competed with a white-owned store, had been arrested on trumped-up charges and held in a jail from which they were seized at 3:00 A.M. by a group of men who brutally killed them. Wells’s fierce editorials set Memphis in turmoil. The threat of physical violence against Fleming (published in white-owned newspapers) and the destruction of the *Free Speech* office convinced Wells to relocate in New York, where she wrote for Fortune’s *New York Age*. Wells was the first to make a connection between the development of successful African-American businesses and the rise of lynching as a form of race terrorism. She countered claims that the rape of white women led to lynching and that lynching was a deterrent,

even suggesting that white women entered into consensual sexual relations with black men.

By 1893 Wells had begun a series of antilynching lectures in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. She then traveled to England, where she was extremely well received. When she returned she started the Women’s Era Club (1893), the first civic organization for African-American women. She later founded other women’s clubs as well. At the 1893 WORLD’S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION in Chicago she promoted an antilynching pamphlet she wrote with Frederick Douglass and Ferdinand Barnett of Chicago, who was a prominent African-American attorney and activist. In 1895 she married Barnett; thereafter, she used Wells-Barnett as her surname; edited his paper, the *Chicago Conservator*, and bore four children.

Wells-Barnett joined W. E. B. DuBois in decrying BOOKER T. WASHINGTON’s conservatism and his emphasis on industrial education over higher EDUCATION. In 1910 Barnett founded the Negro Fellowship League to provide lodging, recreation, a reading room, and employment for African-American southern migrants to Chicago. In 1913 she founded the Alpha Suffrage Club, which was the first suffrage organization for African-American women. In the same year, she forced the integration of the American suffrage movement when she refused to march at the back of the National American Woman Suffrage Association’s (NAWSA) march in Washington. After the 1918 race riots in East St. Louis, Missouri, Wells-Barnett went there to find legal aid for African-American victims of the mob violence. In 1919 she warned in the *Chicago Tribune* that similar violence could take place in Chicago. Only a few weeks later almost 40 people were killed in a race riot in Chicago.

Wells-Barnett worked with Jane Addams to prevent the city of Chicago from establishing segregated schools. In 1930 she ran as an unsuccessful independent candidate for Illinois state senator. On March 25, 1931 she died of uremia at the age of 69. She maintained a commitment to racial justice throughout her life as a teacher, journalist, and activist. She was one of the foremost civil rights and women’s rights leaders in American history.

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—Orlanda Brugnola

**Whistler, James Abbott McNeill** (1834–1903)  
*painter, printmaker, designer*

Best known as a painter, James Abbott McNeill Whistler was also a printmaker, an interior designer, and a bril-

liant publicist. Most of all, he was a tireless promoter for aestheticism.

The son of a railroad engineer, Whistler was born on July 11, 1834, in Lowell, Massachusetts, but raised partly in Russia and England. Whistler entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, where Robert F. Weir, a distinguished painter, taught him art. Whistler went to Paris in 1856, studying in the Academie Gleyre and becoming friends with many in the French avant-garde. Establishing himself by 1863 in the Chelsea section of London, where he lived until 1892, Whistler became associated with the

Pre-Raphaelites, a group of painters and writers. Whistler attracted attention for his bohemian lifestyle and his prickly personality. In 1877 John Ruskin, the influential art critic, described an exhibition of Whistler's paintings as "flinging a pot of paint in the public's face," and Whistler sued him for libel. Whistler won the lawsuit but was awarded only a farthing in damages. Simultaneously, the White House, his London residence designed in collaboration with architect E. W. Godwin, generated controversy with municipal officials, who demanded changes to the severe facade. Construction overruns coupled with the legal expenses for the



*Arrangement in Gray and Black: Portrait of the Artist's Mother* (1871, Musée du Louvre, Paris), by James McNeill Whistler (Library of Congress)

lawsuit resulted in bankruptcy, and Whistler was forced to sell the house. The artist nonetheless continued to devote a great deal of energy to arranging his own houses, studios, and exhibition spaces, devising unorthodox tone-on-tone color schemes for them. In 1888 he married Beatrice Godwin, widow of the architect, and lived happily with her until her death in 1896. Whistler's youthful milieu became the basis for George du Maurier's *Trilby*, a best-selling novel in the 1890s. Whistler died in London on July 17, 1903, after a long period of ill health that curtailed his work. His wit and his thoughts on art remain accessible through his writings, especially *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (1890).

Whistler's art revolved around his interest in refined draftsmanship and elegant color harmonies. Carefully calculated balances of color and form, Whistler's works were entitled "arrangements," "symphonies," or "nocturnes" by the artist to mark their affinity with musical compositions. Whistler's best-known painting is also one that clearly illustrates his theories. *Arrangement in Gray and Black: Portrait of the Artist's Mother* (1871, Musée du Louvre, Paris) depicts an elderly Anna Whistler seen in profile; the composition denies narrative and is rather an exercise in tones of grays and blacks. In Frederick R. Leyland's dining room, where blue and white porcelain was displayed against 17th-century Spanish leather, Whistler painted gold peacocks upon a blue ground, upstaging all the other elements. Completed in 1877 and now known as the Peacock Room, it is preserved in the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C. Whistler was an important figure in the late 19th-century revival of etching. He developed both outline and subtle cross-hatching techniques, drawing equally upon Japanese prints and 17th-century Dutch engravings. All Whistler's art is marked by a simplicity forged from relentless perfectionism.

**Further reading:** Deanna Marohn Bendix, *Diabolical Designs: Paintings, Interiors, and Exhibitions of James McNeill Whistler* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995); Richard Dormont and Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art; London: Tate Gallery, 1994).

—Karen Zukowski

**White, Alfred Tredway** (1846–1921) *social reformer*  
An early and great housing reformer, charity worker, and philanthropist, Alfred T. White was born in Brooklyn, New York, on May 28, 1846. After earning an engineering degree from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in 1865, he returned to Brooklyn and worked in his family's Manhattan importing firm. Two years later, like his four siblings, White began teaching in the waterfront settlement for immigrant children, started by the young people in Brooklyn's First

Unitarian Church. In 1869 he was asked by his minister to superintend this work. While visiting the homes of sick settlement children, he became aware of their dreadful living conditions and determined to better them. "Well it is to build hospitals for the cure of disease," he said, "but better to build homes which will prevent it."

To help plan the low-income HOUSING he envisioned, White went to England to examine the buildings of Sir Sydney H. Waterlow and other housing reformers. In 1877 White completed his first Brooklyn tenements, the twin, fire-proof, six-story Home Buildings. Each sunlit apartment had its own indoor toilet and front door, off a private balcony. During the next two years he constructed the nearby Tower Buildings, with 170 apartments. In 1890 White completed the nine Riverside Buildings, featuring a total-environment concept far in advance of its time. They had a bathhouse and central yard, including a park, playground, fountain, and music pavilion. White was the first American to prove that good housing rented to workers of limited means could be a profitable investment. "Mr. White never has any trouble with his tenants," the social reformer JACOB A. RIIS stated, "though he gathers in the poorest." His projects, Riis said, "are like a big village of contented people, who live in peace with one another because they have elbowroom."

A few builders in Manhattan, Chicago, and London adopted White's housing innovations. Most builders, who thought only of money, continued building old-time slum tenements (which brought in 18 to 40 percent on their investment, compared to White's 5 percent). To keep these builders from burdening society with the social costs of poor, crowded housing, White lectured and wrote on his housing experiment. He inspired Riis to write his influential book *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) and helped enact the New York State tenement reform legislation of 1895. It stated that buildings could not occupy more than 65 percent of their lots. By 1900 White was a leading member of the New York State Tenement House Commission. Theodore Roosevelt toured Brooklyn slums with him, visited his buildings, and asked his advice on housing reform.

Credited with cutting Brooklyn's infant mortality rates in half, White helped needy children in other ways besides housing. In 1876 he moved the settlement into its own building, the Willow Place Chapel, and started a KINDERGARTEN, which, with student teachers from Pratt Institute, became a model for kindergartens throughout New York City. Settlement programs for children were more than doubled in 1906, when a second building, Columbia House, was added. White further helped immigrant children through the Brooklyn Children's Aid Society, for which he established in 1876 his Sea-Side Home in Coney Island. It was the nation's first facility where slum children received medical attention in a vacation atmosphere. White also was a founder of the Brooklyn Society for the Preven-



tion of Cruelty to Children and in 1878 a cofounder of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, which he served for 30 years either as president or secretary. White planned Brooklyn's Wallabout Market in 1893, made the Brooklyn Botanic Garden a reality in 1910, and with Frederic B. Pratt purchased land for Marine Park.

Believing that the children of former slaves needed to be educated as well as immigrant children, White gave generous, multiple grants to both Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes. He brought his progressive ideas to generations of students by endowing a course in social ethics at Harvard, which other colleges soon duplicated.

During World War I White helped feed ravaged towns in Belgium and received the Belgian Order of the Cross for contributing to Herbert Hoover's Commission for Relief there. When he drowned on January 29, 1921, after breaking through thin ice while skating on Forest Lake, near Ramapo Hills, New York, grieving former president William Howard Taft said, "I don't know any other one in all that six millions of New York City who would leave such a void as he does."

See also SETTLEMENT HOUSES.

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—Olive Hoogenboom

**White, Andrew Dickson** (1832–1918) *higher education reformer, diplomat, author*

University president, historian, and diplomat, Andrew Dickson White was born in Homer, New York. His wealthy parents impressed on him that his duty was to help others. After a year at Geneva College, he transferred to Yale, where he graduated in 1853. He spent time in Europe with his friend DANIEL COIT GILMAN, both as an attaché to the U.S. minister to Russia and as a student in France and Germany. Deciding to become a teacher, he returned to the United States and completed an M.A. at Yale in 1857. That same year he became a professor of history and rhetoric at the University of Michigan and married Mary Outwater, his childhood sweetheart. They had three children.

At Michigan, White supported its president, Henry Tappan, who was having problems with state legislators opposed to his plans to create a European-style university. White, who was motivated throughout his career by a desire for public recognition, was already planning a nonsectarian, European-type university for New York State. As the Civil War approached, he lectured against slavery and drilled students for war. During the war he went to England to

lobby against intervention on the side of the South. Upon his return he was elected to the New York state senate (serving 1864–67), which met only three months a year, so he could continue his Michigan teaching.

As chairman of the senate committee on education, which was responsible for allocating funds from the Morrill Land-Grant Act, White could begin carrying out his state-university plans. Helped by Ezra Cornell, another state senator, White succeeded in concentrating the land-grant money on a state university where instruction in agriculture and mechanics would be given. Aided by additional money from Cornell, the university, with Cornell's name and with White as president, opened in 1868. Its blueprint was White's *Report on Organization*, which he presented two years earlier to the board of trustees. That report made him a dominant figure in university education. At his insistence Cornell remained nonsectarian. Not only was it one of the first universities in the country to be coeducational, it also was one of the first to consider science, agriculture, and the mechanical arts as disciplines to be studied in a liberal arts curriculum. White was pleased when other universities used his educational innovations.

White was a pragmatic administrator. To keep the university from being disrupted, White let trustees terminate the tenure of outspoken professors and allowed parents to dictate stricter rules for their daughters than for their sons. When low teaching salaries and Ithaca's cold climate made it difficult to attract desired teachers, White persuaded distinguished "nonresident" professors to deliver one set of lectures a year. Those giving these lectures included zoologist Louis Agassiz, poet James Russell Lowell, and editor George William Curtis.

Believing CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT's statement, "The surest pledge of long remembrance among men is to build one's self into a university," White remained president of Cornell for 20 years, until 1885. As time went by, however, he took more and more leaves of absence to participate in reform causes and diplomatic endeavors. Hoping to destroy the spoils system, which rotated government workers out of office with each change of political party, White worked for CIVIL SERVICE REFORM. President Ulysses S. Grant appointed White and two other commissioners to make recommendations about the annexation of SANTO DOMINGO. Despite the commissioners' enthusiastic report, the Senate rejected annexation. In 1879 President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES appointed White minister to Germany, where he remained for two years and was very popular. White again resumed that post from 1897 to 1902. In between, he was minister to Russia from 1892 to 1894 and served on the Venezuela Boundary Commission in 1896.

White, who in 1884 became the first president of the American Historical Association, wrote a number of historical works. Best known among them are *A History*



of the *Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (1895), which placed Scripture in an evolutionary context; and *Seven Great Statesmen in the Warfare of Humanity with Unreason* (1910), seven biographies ending with Bismarck, whom White had known during his years in Germany. He also published his two-volume *Autobiography* in 1905.

In 1887 the death of White's wife, Mary Outwater, threw White into a deep depression. He was helped out of it by Helen Magill, the daughter of Swarthmore College's president and the first woman in the United States to earn a Ph.D. Three years later they were married; they had one child. Although Magill gave up her career as a teacher to be White's wife, she was not comfortable with her decision, and the sexism of that period marred their marriage. Nor was their union helped by the pictures of White's first wife gracing every room in their large house.

When family tragedies came, it was hard for White not to view them as a personal affront. The greatest of these were his eldest daughter's addiction to medication and his son's suicide, followed six years later by his grandson's copycat suicide. White, who seemed able to "will away pain and sorrow," had difficulty understanding why his children could not conquer their depression like he had conquered his after his first wife's death. He died at his home in Ithaca, New York.

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—Olive Hoogenboom

### **White, Stanford** (1853–1906) *architect*

Stanford White was perhaps the most imaginative design force behind the American Renaissance in the late 19th century. The son of Richard Grant White, music and drama critic, Stanford White was born in New York City on November 9, 1853, and raised among New York's cultured intelligentsia. At age 16, his talents as a draftsman were recognized, and he joined HENRY HOBSON RICHARDSON, helping to oversee the construction of Trinity Church in Boston. Trips to sketch colonial buildings in New England and medieval buildings in the south of France furthered his training. In 1879 White joined Charles Follen McKim and William R. Mead in their New York City architectural office. With his marriage in 1884 to Elizabeth (Bessie) Smith, White cemented his ties to aristocratic New York. The partnership of McKim, Mead & White endured until White's death, and the firm was responsible for many of the country's most prominent public buildings, including Pennsylvania Station and the Boston Public Library. Among the architects trained in the firm were John M. Carrere, Henry Bacon, and Cass Gilbert.

While McKim, Mead & White is best known for its monumental Beaux Arts buildings, the firm worked in many styles, and White was the most protean and prolific designer of the partnership. Although the three interacted on many projects, some of the firm's work can be largely attributed to White. The shingled facades of the Newport Casino in Newport, Rhode Island (1881), a commercial and entertainment complex surrounding a tennis court, were a creative modernization of colonial forms. The Villard Houses in New York City (1885) were five connected stone palazzi with sumptuous interiors reflecting Florentine models. The Gould Library and other academic buildings for New York University's Bronx, New York, campus (1895–1901) referenced a long tradition of great public rotundas, from the Pantheon to Jefferson's library at the University of Virginia. In many of his buildings, White designed, commissioned, or purchased architectural fittings, furniture, rugs, sculpture, and even silverware. He also produced a staggering variety of independent designs, including sculptural settings, yacht cabins, picture frames, jewelry, trophies, and book covers.

White's life was marked by a boundless appetite for work and play. Tall and rotund, with a large mustache and red hair, his associates thought he radiated energy. He was at the center of New York's cultural elite, and he numbered among his closest friends the sculptor AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS, the editor RICHARD WATSON GILDER, and the painter Thomas Wilmer Dewing. An insatiable collector, frequently going into debt to buy art, he could often be found in New York's most prestigious private clubs (many of which he designed) or at the THEATER. White's death at the roof theater of Madison Square Garden on June 25, 1906, also made him notorious. He was murdered by Harry Thaw, the husband of Evelyn Nesbit, a former chorus girl, artists' model, and lover of White. Thaw's trials and appeals escalated into an indictment of the private lives of New York's artists and permanently scarred White's reputation. The story has been retold often, notably in the film *Girl in the Red Velvet Swing* (1958) and the novel *Ragtime* (1975) by E. L. Doctorow.

**Further reading:** David Garrard Lowe, *Stanford White's New York* (New York: Doubleday, 1992); Leland M. Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983); Lawrence Wodehouse, *White of McKim, Mead and White* (New York: Garland, 1988).

—Karen Zukowski

### **Wilder, Laura Ingalls** (1867–1957) *children's book writer*

Born Laura Elizabeth Ingalls on February 7, 1867, in Pepin, Wisconsin, the children's book author was the sec-

ond of four daughters of farmers Charles Philip Ingalls and Caroline Lake Quiner. The future Mrs. Wilder grew up at the edge of the “Big Woods” that she was to make famous. Her pioneer family moved often by covered wagon from the log cabin her father had built in Wisconsin to Missouri, Kansas, back to Wisconsin, to Minnesota, to Iowa, back to Minnesota, and finally in 1879 to their permanent home in De Smet, Dakota Territory (now South Dakota). She studied in traditional one-room schoolhouses as the family moved, leaving school at the age of 15 to become a teacher. She married Almanzo Wilder in 1885 and they had a son, who died in infancy, and a daughter.

After a brief time in an unsettled region in Florida, the young family moved to the Ozarks where, in Mansfield, Missouri, the author spent the rest of her life. From 1911 to 1924 she served as home editor of the *Missouri Ruralist* and contributed occasional articles to local and national periodicals. From 1919 to 1927 she was secretary-treasurer of the Mansfield Farm Loan Association. It was not until her early 60s—when her daughter Rose Wilder Lane, a journalist and novelist, persuaded her to set down her recollections of a childhood on the frontier—that Laura Wilder began work on those autobiographical novels that came to be known as the *Little House* series. These nine books vividly recall an earlier, simpler life and have taken their place among the most popular children’s books in American literature, reportedly selling more than 35 million copies by 1994 and winning numerous prizes.

Beginning with *Little House in the Big Woods* (1932), the *Little House* books recount the daily events of a warm, close family and their passage from the raw life of the frontier to the beginnings of an established community. Using the names of her real family but told in the third person, the series captures their individual personalities and details of their lives on the frontier. *Little House on the Prairie*, written three years after *Big Woods*, takes the Ingallses to a new home on Indian lands in Kansas, where they lived until the government ordered them to move on. Other books in the saga chronicle the bitter winter of 1880–81 in De Smet, the childhood of her husband Almanzo Wilder, and the Wilders’ first years of life together. Neither grimly realistic nor sentimental, the series has become a perennial American classic, presenting a richly textured account of the growth of both the heroine and the society in which she lived during the 1870s and 1880s. In simple, direct prose, it reveals both the hardships and the rewards of American pioneer life and the resourceful and courageous spirit that supported it.

**Further reading:** Fred Erisman, *Laura Ingalls Wilder* (Boise, Idaho: Boise State University Press, 1994).

—Dennis Wepman

**Wild West shows** See ENTERTAINMENT, POPULAR.

**Willard, Frances** (1839–1898) *temperance activist, social reformer*

Although primarily a temperance advocate, Frances Elizabeth Caroline Willard embraced a variety of social reforms. Born in Churchville, New York, on September 18, 1839, Willard grew up on a remote but prosperous Wisconsin farm, where she was tutored by her mother. Willard had little formal education prior to attending Milwaukee Female College for a term in 1857 and then (her parents having moved to Evanston, Illinois) the North Western Female College, from which in 1859 she received her Laureate of Science degree. Willard then taught at a variety of schools, most of which were affiliated with the Methodist Church in Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York. She had in 1861 agreed to marry Charles Henry Fowler, a Chicago Methodist minister, but the engagement was broken after several months, possibly because he wished to dominate an indomitable woman. Willard, who never married, developed close relationships with other women. In 1868, after nursing her father, who eventually died of tuberculosis, Willard and Kate Jackson, whom she had met while teaching (1866–67) at Genesee Wesleyan Seminary in Lima, New York, embarked on a two-year grand tour financed by Jackson’s father. They visited Egypt, the Holy Land, Turkey, Russia, and western Europe, and Willard attended lectures and studied languages in Rome, Paris, and Berlin. Returning to Evanston, Willard in 1871 was named president of the new Evanston College for Ladies, which was affiliated with both the Methodist Church and Northwestern University. This ideal situation, however, became intolerable when, by a twist of fate, Charles Fowler became president of Northwestern in 1872, asserted his authority, and harassed Willard in petty ways until she resigned in June 1874.

Willard immediately found a new career. In late 1873 and early 1874 praying groups of women, especially in the Midwest, shut down an estimated 3,000 saloons. Shortly after Willard had resigned, a group of women in Chicago organized a temperance society and asked Willard—a well-known educator—to be their leader. A few months later she became secretary of the state organization, and in November 1874 she was in Cleveland for the organization of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and became its corresponding secretary.

Willard was also a feminist and backed a wide range of social reforms, but the conservative leadership of the WCTU eschewed politics. Using her contacts as secretary and her talents as an orator, Willard fought to secure WCTU backing for woman suffrage and to persuade the leadership to plunge into politics and enable mothers and daughters to shut the “rum-shop beside their homes.”



Frances Willard (*Library of Congress*)

She was diplomatic and nonthreatening as she muted the radical feminism of SUSAN B. ANTHONY and appealed to domestic women by stressing that woman suffrage would protect the home. By 1879 Willard, aided by her secretary and lifelong close friend Anna A. Gordon, had enough followers to be elected president of the WCTU—a position she retained until her death in 1898—and broaden its reform program. She soon reorganized the WCTU by creating departments (39 by 1889) to promote specific reform. For example, in 1880 the WCTU endorsed woman suffrage and in 1882 it created the Department of the Franchise. Other departments reflecting WCTU concerns included Scientific Temperance Instruction and Peace and Arbitration. The WCTU backed the KINDERGARTEN movement, the eight-hour workday, and prison reform, and addressed problems like prostitution, promoted health and hygiene, and advised young mothers. The WCTU entered politics to press for specific reforms on the state level and also, beginning in 1882, to support the PROHIBITION PARTY.

By the 1890s Willard, convinced that poverty was the main cause of intemperance, wished to restructure society. She praised the KNIGHTS OF LABOR in 1886, was influenced by EDWARD BELLAMY's utopian socialist novel *Looking Backward* (1888), began to contribute to the Christian Socialist journal *Dawn* in 1889, and sympathized

with the goals of western Populists (see PEOPLE'S PARTY). She consulted with the Populists hoping they would adopt prohibition and woman suffrage and that the various reform elements she favored would unite in 1892 under one banner. To her great disappointment, the Prohibitionists balked and her plans did not materialize. Divisions over the FREE SILVER MOVEMENT ruined her subsequent attempt in 1895 to unite reformers.

Under Willard's leadership the WCTU had sent temperance missionaries abroad to establish similar organizations, and as a result the World's WCTU organized in 1891 in Boston with Willard as its president. After her failure to unite reformers in 1892, Willard spent most of the remaining six years of her life in England with Isabel Somerset, head of the British Women's Temperance Association, whom she had met in Boston. While in England Willard, not surprisingly, joined the Fabian Society and then preached its version of SOCIALISM at annual conventions of the WCTU, but, surprisingly, Somerset convinced Willard that education would be more effective than prohibition in achieving temperance. Willard's absence and her continuing embrace of social issues caused unease in the WCTU, but she staved off a revolt in 1897. She was, however, in poor health and died in New York City on February 17, 1898. Although the WCTU gradually abandoned the social reforms Willard championed and concentrated on prohibition, under her leadership needed reforms were publicized and some achieved on the state level, and thousands of women were encouraged to demand political equality.

**Further reading:** Jean H. Baker, *Sisters: The Lives of America's Suffragists* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2005); Ruth Bordin, *Frances Willard: A Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); Mary Earhart Dillon, *Frances Willard: From Prayers to Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944).

**Williams, Fannie Barrier** (1855–1944) *social reformer, lecturer*

Fannie Barrier Williams was born on February 12, 1855, in Brockport, New York. She was the youngest of three children of Anthony J. Barrier, a barber, and his wife, Harriet Prince. She attended local public schools and in 1870 became the first African American to graduate from the State Normal School in Brockport, a teacher's college.

After her graduation Fannie Barrier moved to the South, where schools were founded by reconstructed southern states to educate newly emancipated AFRICAN AMERICANS. She was unable to adjust, however, to the overt racism she found there. "I had missed the training that would have made this continued humiliation possible," she later wrote.



Barrier was admitted to the New England Conservatory of Music, where she studied piano but was asked to leave when southern students threatened to quit if she stayed. At the School of Fine Arts in Washington, D.C., where she also studied, she had to work from behind a screen so the other students did not have contact with her. "I have never quite recovered," Williams wrote years later, "from the shock and pain of my first bitter realization that to be a colored woman is to be discredited, mistrusted, and often meanly hated."

In Washington, where Barrier also worked as a teacher, she met S. Laing Williams, a graduate of Columbian Law School (now George Washington University School of Law). They married in 1887 and moved to Chicago, where he practiced law. In Chicago they both became leaders in the African-American community and were active in social welfare work. In 1891 they were instrumental in establishing Provident Hospital, which had a biracial staff and provided nurse's training for black students, who were barred from other nursing programs.

Williams gained national prominence when she helped lead a successful campaign to represent African Americans in exhibits at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair (WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION). She delivered two well-received addresses at the fair—"The Intellectual Progress of Colored Women in the U.S. Since the Emancipation Proclamation" and "Religious Duty to the Negro"—after which, she became a frequent lecturer at clubs and churches.

In 1894 Williams was nominated to be the first black member of the prestigious Chicago Women's Club. A hostile minority fought her membership for 14 months. She refused to withdraw her name, and in 1895 she was finally voted in by a wide margin.

In her lectures Williams urged black women to organize. In 1893 she was a founder of the National League of Colored Women, and she was very active in the organization that succeeded it, the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN, which was founded in 1896. Its local clubs provided services such as child care centers, employment bureaus, and savings banks for the African-American community. She also wrote regularly for three African-American publications, *Women's Era*, *New York Age*, and *Chicago Record-Herald*.

Williams was active in settlement work in Chicago and in 1905 helped found the Frederick Douglass Center, an integrated social settlement. She was one of the first black leaders to identify residential segregation and limited employment opportunities as key areas blocking black advancement. She used her contacts with prominent white citizens of Chicago to lobby employers to hire qualified black women in clerical positions, from which they had traditionally been barred.

"I dare not cease to hope and aspire and believe in human love and justice, but progress is painful and my faith is often strained to the breaking point," Williams wrote in 1904. She was a strong supporter of woman suffrage and was the only African-American woman chosen to eulogize SUSAN B. ANTHONY at the 1907 National American Women's Suffrage Association convention.

When BOOKER T. WASHINGTON was criticized by more militant black leaders for emphasizing vocational education and being willing to accommodate racism, Williams and her husband strongly defended him. But she and her husband were also early and active members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, founded in 1909 by Washington's rival, W. E. B. DuBois. In fact, Williams felt that the work of both Washington and DuBois was needed and saw no contradiction in supporting them both.

Williams's husband died in 1921. In 1924 she became both the first woman and first African American to serve on the Chicago Library Board. At the end of her term on the board in 1926, she retired to Brockport, where she lived with her sister. She died there at age 89.

**Further reading:** Mary Jo Deegan, ed., *New Women of Color: The Collected Writings of Fannie Barrier Williams, 1893–1918* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002).

—Lynn Hoogenboom

**Williams, George Washington** (1849–1891) *soldier, pastor, politician, historian*

George Washington Williams was born in Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania, on October 16, 1849, to free blacks Thomas Williams from Virginia and Ellen Rouse of Pennsylvania. He traveled with his parents throughout western Pennsylvania as his father sought steady employment, first as a boatman, then more successfully as a minister and barber. A brief stay in a House of Refuge for unruly teens provided Williams with the only formal education or training he would know until 1864, during the Civil War, when he enlisted in the 6th Massachusetts (Colored) Infantry. Williams participated in the siege of Petersburg, and after the war traveled to Mexico, where he joined the republican forces in their struggle to overthrow Napoleon III's puppet emperor Maximilian. Returning to Pennsylvania in 1867, Williams enlisted in the U.S. regular army, newly open to blacks, and was a BUFFALO SOLDIER in the 10th Cavalry. Williams was rapidly promoted to sergeant major, but a month short of his 19th birthday and after a year of service, he was honorably discharged for gunshot wounds sustained at Fort Arbuckle, Indian Territory.

After leaving the army, Williams briefly served as a Baptist minister in Hannibal, Missouri, but realized he



needed an education. For a few months he studied at Howard University in Washington, D.C., before moving to Newton Theological Institute, a leading Baptist seminary in Massachusetts, where he distinguished himself. Entering the school semiliterate in 1870, he graduated in 1874 an equal to those educated at nearby Harvard. Williams's commencement address was a well-crafted polemic on "Early Christianity in Africa" that foreshadowed the unifying theme of his life, a commitment to a correct representation of AFRICAN AMERICANS and Africans in the media, in history, and in civic life.

A week before graduation, Williams married Sarah Sterrett of Chicago, and three weeks later he was leading a congregation of more than 700 as pastor of Boston's most venerable African-American church, the Twelfth Baptist, renowned for having been a haven for fugitive slaves. Meanwhile, Williams's interest in civic affairs was growing. With Senator Charles Sumner's civil rights bill in jeopardy and with the nation's lack of a viable African-American newspaper since the demise of Frederick Douglass's *New National Era* in 1874, Williams resigned his pastorate after a successful year. He moved with his wife and their only child to Washington, D.C., to found *The Commoner*, a weekly journal devoted to educating blacks and giving them a public voice. Despite the endorsements of Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison, the paper failed after six months for lack of paid subscriptions.

In February 1876 Williams became pastor of Union Baptist Church in Cincinnati, Ohio. Viewing the church as a means to strengthen the black community, Williams offered history lectures to the congregation in addition to his weekly sermons. Williams also wrote articles on African-American issues for Murat Halstead's Cincinnati *Commercial*, a paper with a national reputation, and became a leader in the local Republican Party. In 1877, after Williams unsuccessfully ran for the Ohio state legislature, he secured an appointment in the federal Internal Revenue Service and resigned his church pastorate. Over the next two years, he also studied law under Judge Alfonso Taft, father of President William Howard Taft, and was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1881 and the Massachusetts bar in 1883. He won his second campaign for the legislature in 1879, making him the first African-American member of the Ohio House of Representatives. Serving one term, Williams supported bills to reform police practices, restrict liquor sales, repeal the ban on interracial marriage, and close a black cemetery bordering a wealthy white neighborhood for hygienic purposes. The latter bill stirred controversy when prominent blacks accused Williams of pandering to his white constituency. A solid integrationist, Williams denied the charges, citing health standards as his only motive. During his tenure Williams prevented untold suffering by

exposing the New York Land League's colonization scam, which offered free but uninhabitable land in New Mexico to blacks who wanted to escape the South's oppressive political climate.

By the end of his legislative term, Williams was engaged in full-time historical research. While William Cooper Nell (1816–74) is called America's first black historian, it was Williams who produced the first comprehensive, scholarly work on African-American history. Williams's two-volume *History of the Negro Race from 1619 to 1880: Negroes as Slaves, Soldiers, and as Citizens* (1882–83), published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, and his subsequent *A History of the Negro Troops in the War of Rebellion, 1861–1865* (1887) pioneered in utilizing newspaper sources. These works established Williams, in W. E. B. DuBois's words, "as the foremost historian of his race." With his heightened acclaim, Williams was able to support himself as a professional orator, and he continued to stump for the Republican Party. He worked briefly as a lawyer for the Cape Cod Company in Boston in 1883, and in 1885 he won the recognition of outgoing president CHESTER ARTHUR, who appointed him minister to Haiti, although he was prevented from assuming the post by GROVER CLEVELAND's incoming Democratic administration.

By 1889 Williams was keenly interested in Africa, both for its developmental opportunities and the growing international concern over its still-flourishing illegal slave trade. He interviewed Leopold II, king of Belgium and sovereign of the Congo Free State, for the S. S. McClure news syndicate at the Brussels Antislavery Conference of 1889, deeming him a ruler of "wisdom, mercy, and justice." When Williams visited the Congo the following year on assignment for McClure and with the support of President BENJAMIN HARRISON and the railroad magnate COLLIS P. HUNTINGTON, he encountered human rights atrocities against Africans, routinely administered by Leopold's agents. Determined to end the abuse and expose the false pretences of Leopold's enterprise in the Congo, Williams published *An Open Letter to His Serene Majesty, Leopold II, King of the Belgians*, which was distributed in the United States and Europe. Despite some media attention and the presence of other Western observers in the Congo at the time, it took 10 years for comparable charges to be made by British officials and to be taken seriously. Williams was planning a fuller exposition of what he witnessed in the Congo, as well as a history of the post-Civil War Reconstruction era, when, while returning from Africa, he succumbed to tuberculosis and pleurisy in Blackpool, England, on August 2, 1891. Although in 1890 an Indianapolis newspaper poll voted Williams one of the 10 greatest blacks of all time, his grave in Blackpool was unmarked until 1975, when his biographer, John Hope Franklin, erected a memorial.

**Further reading:** John Hope Franklin, *George Washington Williams: A Biography* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1985).

—Anne Malcolm

**Winnemucca, Sarah** (1844?–1891) *Indian rights activist, interpreter, lecturer*

NATIVE AMERICAN spokeswoman and educator, Sarah Winnemucca was born near Humboldt Lake in western Nevada. She was the daughter of a Paiute chief and was sometimes called a princess. Her maternal grandfather, who was also a chief, arranged for her and her sister Elma to spend more than a year with an English-speaking family, where they learned to read, write, and to sing in English. Their grandfather next had them go to a rancher friend, who enrolled them at the Academy of Notre Dame, a prestigious Catholic boarding school in San Jose, California. Three weeks later, after the parents of their classmates objected to their being at the school, they were sent back to Nevada. There Winnemucca did housework for white families in Virginia City and purchased books to continue her education. In 1866 she began living with her brother Natchez on the Pyramid Lake Reservation, and since she knew five languages, including three Native American ones, army officers from Fort McDermitt frequently asked her to translate and mediate for them. In the 1870s Winnemucca had three marriages of short duration.

In 1875, while living in Oregon with her father at Fort Harney on the Malheur Reservations, she concluded that the army treated Native Americans better than the Office of INDIAN AFFAIRS (Indian Bureau) did. An exception was the new agent for Malheur, Samuel B. Parrish. He worked out a successful agricultural incentive program for his charges and hired Winnemucca as an interpreter and later as a teacher's aide. Unfortunately, he was replaced by William Rinehart, who immediately changed Parrish's policies. When Winnemucca lodged complaints against Rinehart, he fired her and in letters to the Office of Indian Affairs called her a prostitute and a drunkard.

Also disgusted by Rinehart's actions, some Paiute left the reservation to join the Bannock in their war against whites in 1878. Yet other Paiute, including Winnemucca's father, were coerced by the Bannock to join them. Concerned over growing Bannock strength, the army asked for Winnemucca's help. Acting as a scout, she followed Bannock trails for more than 100 miles "through the roughest part of Idaho" into eastern Oregon. There she found her father and his followers, inside the hostile Indian camp, and persuaded several hundred of them to go with her to Fort Lyon. Her actions impressed General Oliver O. Howard, who saw that she received a \$500 reward and hired her as his guide and interpreter.

When the war's end left Winnemucca without a job, she started lecturing in San Francisco and Nevada, calling for Agent Rinehart's resignation and telling of the horrors of reservation life. Dressed in her native dress, almost as if for the stage, and speaking without notes, Winnemucca became an eloquent spokeswoman for the Paiute and other Native Americans. In 1880 she, her father, and her brother were part of a delegation called to Washington, D.C., to discuss the problems of their people. In addition to talking to Interior Secretary CARL SCHURZ in Washington, Winnemucca spoke with President RUTHERFORD B. HAYES and First Lady Lucy Hayes and some of her guests, including Mary Peabody Mann, the widow of the educator Horace Mann. Lucy Hayes was sympathetic and impressed with Winnemucca, and Mary Mann determined to aid her and her cause. Although Schurz gave Winnemucca a letter detailing his promise to allow the Paiute to return to their reservation at Yakima, where adult males were each to receive 160 acres, Indian agents, fearful of provoking white settlers and accustomed to making their own decisions, because of their distance from Washington, did not carry out Schurz's orders.

Back west, Winnemucca accepted General Howard's invitation to teach Native American children at the Vancouver Barracks in Washington State. There she received President and Mrs. Hayes, on their 1880 trip to the West Coast. Impressed by her school and by her eloquent pleas for her people, Lucy Hayes cried as Winnemucca spoke.

Determined to get more than promises, Winnemucca, in 1883, started an eastern lecture tour to plead for Indian rights. She gave nearly 300 lectures in Boston, New York City, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., and other cities. She circulated a petition that was signed by nearly 5,000 people, requesting that Native Americans be given lands in severalty and the rights of citizenship. She was sponsored by Mann, who wrote her into her will, and by Mann's sister ELIZABETH PALMER PEABODY, pioneer in KINDERGARTEN education. Winnemucca's new husband, Lewis H. Hopkins, an Indian Bureau employee, accompanied her. He usually introduced Winnemucca, sat with her on the speaker's platform, and researched at the Boston Athenaeum and the Library of Congress to get background material for the autobiography Mann had urged her to write.

At her lectures Winnemucca, wearing a gold crown and an intricately beaded buckskin dress, spoke from her heart for almost an hour. Peabody, who often sat on the platform with Winnemucca and had heard her lecture 50 times, never grew tired because each lecture was different. Among those who came to hear Winnemucca speak were Edwin Booth, the greatest actor of his era, and HENRY WARD BEECHER, thought by many to be the greatest preacher. Also there were HELEN HUNT JACKSON and Senator Henry L. Dawes, both of whom Winnemucca

inspired to work for Indian rights, Jackson through effective writing and Dawes through legislation.

Besides speaking to better the treatment of her people, Winnemucca was speaking to gain funds for a school she had planned with Peabody. It would be bilingual with Native American teachers and would not tear students away from their homes and culture. Unfortunately, Winnemucca's husband Hopkins had both tuberculosis and a gambling habit, which used up money she was saving for her school as she paid his debts.

Winnemucca's book, *Life among the Paiutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (1883), which Mann prepared for the press, went through many editions. Winnemucca called her school for Paiute children the Peabody School. It was located near Lovelock, Nevada, on the ranch Leland Stanford, the California railroad builder, had given her brother Natchez. By summer 1885, it had 26 pupils, and it operated successfully for nearly four years. Paradoxically, it had to become an industrial school after the DAWES SEVERALTY ACT of 1887, which turned out very different from the bill Winnemucca had inspired. Unlike Winnemucca's school, which was bilingual so that Paiute children would not forget their own language, Dawes Act schools allowed students neither to live with their families nor to speak their Native American languages.

When she died of tuberculosis at her sister's home in Monida, Montana, on October 16, 1891, Winnemucca was called "the most famous Indian woman of the Pacific Coast." Her name, General Howard declared, "should have a place beside the name of Pocahontas in the history of our country."

**Further reading:** Gae Whitney Canfield, *Sarah Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983).

—Olive Hoogenboom

**Wizard of Oz** See CURRENCY ISSUE.

**Women's Christian Temperance Union** See WILLARD, FRANCES.

### women's colleges

Higher EDUCATION for women in the late 19th century was strongly influenced by the notion of female intellectual inferiority and the conviction that a woman's place was in the home. Curricula for women mixed watered-down academic subjects with studies that would prepare women for domestic life. Oberlin College, the first coeducational as well as multiracial college, admitted women in 1833 but for a "ladies

course" that led to a special degree. The Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862 increased the virtually nonexistent opportunities for women to gain a college education. By 1870 eight state universities, mostly in the West and Midwest, admitted women, and a dozen or so other colleges were coeducational. In 1900 there were approximately 100 coeducational colleges in the country, and most of the women in college were enrolled in these institutions. Prominent women's rights advocates in 1870 promoted coeducation on egalitarian grounds and, in the case of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, in hopes they would lead to "more congenial marriages." Most coeducational colleges, however, were not as rigorous academically as the older established male colleges or the newly established women's colleges. And although coeducation was egalitarian in theory, it was not in practice. Women often got in through the "side door" and were shunted into elementary education or home economics programs.

Women's colleges, on the other hand—addressing the aspirations and needs of women—were founded or matured in the late 19th century. The "Seven Sisters"—including Mount Holyoke (1836, accredited 1888), Vassar (1861), Wellesley (1870), Smith (1871), Radcliffe (1879), Bryn Mawr (1880), and Barnard (1890)—were soon recognized as superior institutions for the education of women. With Vassar leading the way, they proved that women had the intellectual capacity and the physical strength to tackle rigorous academic subjects—including mathematics and the SCIENCES—without suffering either mental or physical breakdowns or sacrificing their femininity. Their curricula included academic subjects similar to those taught at the best male colleges, physical education to keep up their strength, and ART, MUSIC, and some domestic science, although M. CAREY THOMAS of Bryn Mawr—stressing intellect over femininity—offered no home economics and regarded the care of children as a "most utterly unintellectual task." Living in dormitories and eating and studying together forged strong ties of sisterhood.

In 1870 only 1 percent of college-age Americans were in college, but one-fifth of that small number were women. By 1900 4 percent of those aged 18–21 were in college, and roughly one-third were women. Only about half of all who attended college earned a degree, women were more apt to drop out than men, and in 1900 they comprised only one-fifth of those getting degrees. College graduates did, of course, predominate among those women entering the professions, and they were the driving force in the WOMEN'S RIGHTS movement.

**Further reading:** Roberta Frankfort, *Collegiate Women: Domesticity and Career in Turn of the Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1977); Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for Women* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959).

## women's rights

By 1870 the women's rights movement had been underway for more than 20 years but had made little progress beyond defining its objectives. Its adherents demanded the vote, full participation in the political process, and women's equality in marriage, including property rights and custody rights. Unless specifically stated in a marriage contract, a woman who married lost her property and much of her legal identity to her spouse, who, as head of the household, was regarded as her protector. Well into the 20th century, an American family traveling abroad would have one passport issued to the husband, and as late as 1922 a woman born in Brooklyn, New York, who married a Dutch immigrant became a subject of the queen of Holland and had to be naturalized to regain her American citizenship. In addition, feminists wanted equal access to education and to the ministerial, medical, and legal professions. There were a few differences in the demands of women. Some more radical feminists like Elizabeth Cady Stanton favored women's equal rights to divorce, while others like ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL, who was a minister, were loathe to condone divorce and preferred legal separations.

Although women's rights advocates had few differences over objectives, they split in 1869 over tactics and strategy. They had been in the forefront of the struggle against slavery and rejoiced in the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution freeing slaves. But all were dismayed and many were outraged when Radical Republicans ignored voting rights for women in the Fourteenth Amendment and especially in the Fifteenth Amendment (passed CONGRESS in 1869 and adopted in 1870), which extended voting rights to black men. In 1868, to press for the inclusion of women in the Fifteenth Amendment, Stanton and SUSAN B. ANTHONY published a weekly called *The Revolution* (1868–70). When in 1869 the word *sex* was not included in the Fifteenth Amendment, Stanton, Anthony, and their allies established in New York the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA); opposed ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, stressing that white women were far more qualified to vote than recently emancipated black men; and demanded a constitutional amendment that would enfranchise women. The NWSA leadership was radical in thought and tactics. Stanton, its president, not only advocated free divorce but befriended the notorious VICTORIA WOODHULL and would not abandon her even after she publicly endorsed free love. Failing to get immediate redress in a new amendment, the NWSA adopted the aggressive tactic of attempting to vote, since the Fourteenth Amendment did forbid states from denying anyone their rights as citizens. Anthony in 1872 actually convinced election officials in Rochester, New York, to allow her to register, but she was arrested, tried, found guilty, and fined \$100 (which she never paid) when she

voted. In 1875 the SUPREME COURT rejected the NWSA's broad interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment in *Minor v. Happersett*, ruling that while women were citizens, voting was a privilege, not a right, protected by the DUE PROCESS CLAUSE.

More numerous and less radical suffragists led by LUCY STONE and Blackwell, fearful of imperiling the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment and losing their abolitionist allies, also in 1869 established the Boston-based American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). The AWSA was more conservative on matters of divorce and abhorred Woodhull and free love and included men as members and in responsible positions, but both organizations concentrated on acquiring the vote. The AWSA's main strategy—which made sense after *Minor v. Happersett*—was to organize and secure advances on the state and local levels. Ultimately, local and state campaigns began to pay off as women were allowed to participate first in school board elections and, before 1900, were fully enfranchised in four western states. In part, this success resulted from the support of FRANCES WILLARD, a member of the AWSA, and her huge Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), whose 200,000 members demanded the vote so women could protect the home by destroying the liquor traffic.

In 1890 the NWSA and the AWSA joined and formed the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) with Stanton as president and Anthony as vice president. The new organization, however—with its largely middle-class, God-fearing membership and its concentration on state campaigns—was more like Stone's AWSA than Stanton's NWSA. In protest, OLYMPIA BROWN founded the Federal Suffrage Association, but it had little influence. The NAWSA avoided any appearance of radicalism. Indeed, when Stanton, after stepping down as president in 1892, helped produce the *Woman's Bible* (1895) in which the scriptures were shorn of their male chauvinism, the NAWSA repudiated the work. By 1900 the NAWSA had begun to taste success, since male voters after campaigns in Colorado (1893) and Idaho (1896) extended the vote to women. Those states joined Wyoming and Utah, which as territories in 1869 and 1870, respectively, had given women the vote without any pressure from suffrage organizations.

Women's rights advocated in the Gilded Age concentrated on the vote but also fought for equality in education, the law, the workplace, and the professions with limited success. Anthony did help secure in 1860 a New York law giving women equal property rights. It began a trend among states to give wives sole control of their property and earnings. Similarly, the father's common-law right of custody theoretically remained in force in 1900 in the absence of specific state legislation, which was by no means universal. Marriage laws were not uniform, and in many states adultery remained the sole grounds for a divorce.



Women in the late 19th century did have more opportunities in higher EDUCATION with the increase of coeducational institutions (especially state universities) and of WOMEN'S COLLEGES with rigorous curricula. More teaching positions on the primary and secondary levels and secretarial jobs in business opened up for women, but invariably they received less pay for equal work. And women had to surmount enormous obstacles to secure graduate training in the arts and SCIENCES or to gain admission into divinity, medical, or law schools and enter the professions. ELLEN HENRIETTA SWALLOW RICHARDS never rose above the rank of instructor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (it would not allow her to be a candidate for Ph.D.), although she made distinguished contributions in the field of sanitary chemistry and pioneered the discipline of home economics.

ELIZABETH BLACKWELL, who in 1849 became the first woman doctor in the United States, established in 1868 the Women's Medical College in New York City, which in 1898 merged with Cornell University Medical College, which began to admit women. Women aspiring to be physicians could also attend the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania (established in 1850) and the New England Female Medical College (established 1856), but the number of women physicians remained extremely low in the late 19th century. Elizabeth Blackwell's sister-in-law Antoinette Brown Blackwell became the first American woman minister, and Olympia Brown in 1863 was the first to be ordained with full denominational approval, but entering the ministry remained difficult for women in churches whose polity was congregational and impossible in hierarchical denominations.

The legal profession was perhaps the most difficult to enter. When women, after great difficulty, secured an education in the law, they were still refused admission to the bar because of their sex. MYRA COLBY BRADWELL sued the state of Illinois when she was refused admission to the bar, and the Supreme Court in *Bradwell v. Illinois* (1873) upheld the state by drawing a distinction between a basic civil right, which could not be denied anyone, and the right to practice a profession. The concurring opinion of Justice Joseph P. Bradley cited the "law of the Creator" that "the paramount destiny and mission of woman are to fulfill the noble and benign offices of wife and mother." In that same year, however, BELVA ANN BENNETT MCNALL LOCKWOOD, with the backing of President Ulysses S. Grant, was admitted to the District of Columbia bar. After the Supreme Court in 1876 refused to break tradition and denied her petition to practice before it, she lobbied Congress, and in 1879 it passed a law forcing the Court to reverse itself. Lockwood then became the first woman to be admitted to the Supreme Court bar. Years later, however, when Virginia would not let Lockwood practice in that state because of

her sex, the Supreme Court in *In re Lockwood* (1893) reiterated its stand in *Bradwell* and upheld Virginia. By 1900 women in the law had not really come a long way.

**Further reading:** Joan Hoff, *Law, Gender, and Injustice: A Legal History of U.S. Women* (New York: New York University Press, 1991); Ailene S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890–1920* (New York: Norton, 1981); Suzanne M. Marilley, *Woman Suffrage and the Origins of Liberal Feminism in the United States, 1820–1920* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996).

### **Woodhull, Victoria** (1838–1927) *political and women's rights activist, publisher*

Victoria Claflin Woodhull—the first woman to run for the United States PRESIDENCY—was born on September 23, 1838, in Homer, Ohio. Her alcoholic father, always in straitened circumstances, moved the family frequently. At age 15, to escape the instability of her home life, Victoria Claflin married Dr. Canning Woodhull, who also turned out to be an alcoholic. After a year or two in Chicago and San Francisco, the couple returned to the Claflin family in Ohio, which by the mid-1850s was being supported by Victoria's younger sister, Tennessee Claflin, who traveled about telling fortunes and selling an elixir she concocted. Woodhull joined Tennessee's traveling medicine show as a spiritual healer—a medical clairvoyant—whose touch could heal. The sisters prospered. Woodhull had two children and divorced her husband in 1865. That same year she married James Harvey Blood who managed her finances, ghosted much of her writings, and involved her in various reform movements.

Audacious and ambitious and accompanied by Blood and assorted Claflins, the sisters came to New York in 1868 expressly to meet CORNELIUS VANDERBILT, the railroad magnate, who was interested in spiritualism. They succeeded, and Vanderbilt, whose wife died in 1868, enjoyed their company and gave them financial advice that enabled Woodhull to make a killing on the Gold Exchange in 1869. With those proceeds, Woodhull established Woodhull, Claflin and Company, the first brokerage company to be headed by a woman. Woodhull, an advocate of WOMEN'S RIGHTS, was more interested in politics and reform than in business, and she was influenced by Stephen Pearl Andrews, a radical reformer. In 1869 she attended a woman suffrage convention and in April 1870 announced her candidacy for president of the United States. To promote her campaign she established *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, another first for a woman. Initially, it carried a fair amount of financial news, but it soon became a forum for women's suffrage and radical causes ranging from free love to socialism. The paper lasted six years and claimed as many as 20,000 subscribers.



Victoria Woodhull speaking to the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., 1871 (*Library of Congress*)

Her success and audacity catapulted Woodhull into a position of leadership in the women's rights movement. She was prominent at the 1870 suffrage convention and in January 1871 appeared before the House Judiciary Committee arguing for women's suffrage. She became a new symbol of women's rights. SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, ISABELLA BEECHER HOOKER, and others sought her out, and some like Hooker became lifelong friends. Others, however, were repelled by her spiritualism and her SOCIALISM, her divorce, and her bizarre personal life. (Canning Woodhull had surfaced and joined her extended family.) Woodhull expected radical LABOR to support both woman suffrage and her presidential candidacy, so she took up Karl Marx and financed the first English translation of the *Communist Manifesto*. She and Tennessee joined and led Section 12—the women's section—of the Marxist Workingmen's Association, only to have Section 12 expelled in 1872 because the leadership feared that *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, with its mix of spiritualism and socialism with a dash of free love, made socialism appear ridiculous.

Although by 1872 her support from suffrage advocates and socialists had dwindled, Woodhull persisted in

her quest for the presidency. She organized the convention of the Equal Rights Party, which dutifully nominated her. Position papers written by Andrews and a biography by Theodore Tilton had already been published, and she campaigned widely, advocating women's suffrage, labor reforms, spiritualism, and free love. But Woodhull ran out of money and had to curtail her campaigning and even suspend publication of her *Weekly*.

With her campaign a failure, Woodhull defended her own views and exposed hypocritical moralism by publishing in the *Weekly* on November 2, 1872, the details of the adulterous BEECHER-TILTON SCANDAL. Although she and her sister were indicted for sending obscene material through the mails and spent election day in jail, they were acquitted. The scandal revived the *Weekly*, but then it declined and folded in 1876, the same year Woodhull divorced Blood. The following year Woodhull moved to and remained in England, renounced free love and spiritualism, wrote and lectured, achieved respectability, married a banker—John Biddulph Martin—in 1883, and survived him 30 years before she died on June 10, 1927, at Tewkesbury, England. Fascinating and multifaceted, Woodhull was part con artist and part reformer, part



adventurer and part humanitarian, part notorious and part respectable.

**Further reading:** James Brough, *The Vixens: A Biography of Victoria and Tennessee Claflin* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980); Barbara Goldsmith, *Other Powers: The Age of Suffrage, Spiritualism and the Scandalous Victoria Woodhull* (New York: Knopf, 1998); Lois Beachy Underhill, *The Woman Who Ran for President: The Many Lives of Victoria Woodhull*. (New York: Penguin Books, 1996).

—W. Frederick Wooden

### World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago World's Fair) (1893)

The Columbian Exposition was scheduled for 1892 to honor the 400th anniversary of Columbus's voyage, but it opened a year late due to construction delays. Chicago civic leaders lobbied so vociferously to host the fair that New York newspapers disparagingly titled Chicago "the windy city." Building on successes like the 1876 PHILADELPHIA CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION and the 1889 Paris Exposition Universelle, the fair was a combination of cultural statement and trade show that epitomized much that was best and worst in American society in the 1890s.

The chosen site was Jackson Park, on the Lake Michigan waterfront south of the Chicago loop. The park had been laid out in 1871 by Olmsted, Vaux & Co. for the Chicago South Park Commission, but the landscape was redesigned by Frederick Law Olmsted for the fair, incorporating a second park and the connecting landscaped "midway" between them. A team of eminent designers, organized by Superintendent of the Works DANIEL BURNHAM, himself a leading Chicago architect, conceived the central court of honor as a Greek or Roman neoclassical city. The vistas of the grand court, with its peristyle and central statue of Columbia, so awed visitors that the neoclassical mode became the style of choice for post offices, courthouses, and major public buildings for the next quarter century. The glistening simulated-stone surfaces gave rise to the name "the white city." The vision of order and grandeur, so at odds with the grime and confusion of the working Victorian city, inspired a generation of so-called City Beautiful advocates with plans for urban reconstruction around the country.

Behind the formal facades were the buildings, 200 of them on 633 acres, with the largest of them devoted to the products of America's industrial might. Sixty-two locomotives and complete passenger trains were displayed in the transportation building, whose arched golden portal, designed by LOUIS SULLIVAN, was the largest exception to the general neoclassicism. The manufactures and liberal arts building, with 38 acres of clear space unimpeded by columns under its steel-framed roof, was the largest build-

ing in the world and itself a demonstration of American building technology.

Beyond the industrial displays the visitor encountered the art museum, today rebuilt as the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry, the only remaining structure on the site. Prominently situated on the lagoon was the Woman's Building, the first major building in the United States designed by a woman, 23-year-old SOPHIA G. HAYDEN, winner of the competition to design the building. Though male architects tried to disparage her, Hayden won three awards for the building. She was the first woman to graduate from the four-year architectural course at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Inside the building were busts of suffrage leaders SUSAN B. ANTHONY and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. On May 15, 1893, the World Congress of Representative Women opened at the fair, with 150,000 women attending its week-long sessions. It had 500 delegates from 27 countries, with 126 organizations represented. Among its speakers were Anthony, Stanton, and LUCY STONE.



Poster for the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893 (Library of Congress)

Farther away, beyond the state exhibits, was the Midway Plaisance, an amusement area that gives us our term *midway*. The original Ferris wheel, 250 feet high, held 1,400 people at a time in enclosed cabins. The Midway also held foreign displays, some of which reflected the racism prevalent at the time. The Dahomey Village warriors perpetuated the stereotype of blacks as savages, and billing the Samoan Islanders as “recently rescued from cannibalism” emphasized their reputed appetite for human flesh. The belly dance of “Little Egypt” scandalized and fascinated the nation, and processions from the “primitive cultures,” including camels and rickshaws, entered the White City like emissaries of subject powers sent to the new imperial Rome. But exhibits of other non-Westerners including Japanese and Ceylonese temples, a Moroccan mosque, a Chinese theater and tea house, and a Hawaiian volcano were not demeaning.

The fair hosted 27 million visitors, the equivalent of almost half the national population. FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER’s talk at the fair reflected a Census Bureau report that the American frontier was now officially closed and with it a whole epoch in American history.

Ironically, the White City, with its vision of order, unity, and imperial domination, took place against a background of social and economic strife. The panic of 1893,

marked by business and bank failures, created massive unemployment and led to the PULLMAN STRIKE the following year. Thousands of workers living on the exposition grounds during construction were protected from agitators and labor organizers by barbed wire and guards. AFRICAN AMERICANS were excluded from even the most menial of jobs building and maintaining the fair, and they were provided eating and rest-room facilities only in the Haiti building, provoking Frederick Douglass to call the white city “a whited sepulchre.” When the grounds were turned back to the South Park Commission in 1894, the result was a riot of looting, followed the next day by the first of a series of fires that destroyed the white city and its orderly vision of serenity.

**Further reading:** Robert Muccigrosso, *Celebrating the New World: Chicago’s Columbian Exposition of 1893* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1993); Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

—Francis H. Parker

**Wounded Knee** See SIOUX WARS.





# Y



## yellow journalism

Ervin Wardman, editor of the *New York Press*, coined the phrase *yellow journalism* in 1896 to connote the questionable journalistic practices employed by William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* and JOSEPH PULITZER's *New York World* in their fight for circulation and readership. Hearst bought the *New York Morning Journal* in 1895, which had been founded in 1882 by Albert Pulitzer (Joseph's younger brother), and he was determined to surpass in popularity Pulitzer's *World*, known for its lively news coverage, low-brow ADVERTISING, and civic mindedness. (The *World* for example had raised \$100,000 to complete the base of the STATUE OF LIBERTY.) Hearst began the war with copious illustrations; an emphasis on crime, disasters, and scandals; and abundant feature material that made the *Journal* distinctly sensational and in direct competition with the *World*. Hearst used his considerable wealth to practice "checkbook journalism." He hired away the entire Sunday staff of the *World* and erected huge billboards and plastered blank walls with advertisements of *Journal* features. Circulation bounded upward and soon approached the numbers of the thriving *World*. The *World* responded in kind, and in their newspaper war both Hearst and Pulitzer focused on gossip, scandal, and crime and used questionable reporting techniques to gather as well as create news.

The rivalry came to a head with the papers' Sunday editions; though fairly equal in circulation during the week,

Pulitzer's *World* pulled ahead on Sundays with four pages of its eight-page comic section printed in color. The *Journal* began a similar section in 1896, heralding "eight pages of iridescent polychromatic effulgence that makes the rainbow look like a lead pipe." The pride of its Sunday comic section and readers' favorite was the strip "The Yellow Kid," drawn by Richard Outcault, whom Hearst had lured away from Pulitzer. Not to be outdone, Pulitzer hired artist George Luks to create a second "Yellow Kid" in the *World*, and the silly boy with the toothless vacant grin and yellow outfit soon symbolized the journalistic depths to which the two newspapers sank in their rivalry.

**Further reading:** David Nasaw, *Chief: The Life of William Randolph Hearst* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000); W.A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst: A Biography of William Randolph Hearst* (New York: Scribners, 1961); W.A. Swanberg, *Pulitzer* (New York: Scribner's, 1967).

—Ellen Tashie Frisina

**Yellowstone National Park** See CONSERVATION.

**Yosemite National Park** See CONSERVATION.



# Chronology

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## 1870

Hiram Revels becomes the first African American to serve in the U.S. Congress when he is seated as a senator from Mississippi.

The U.S. Weather Bureau is established.

Victoria Woodhull becomes the first woman to run for president of the United States; her magazine *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* promotes her radical platform, ranging from woman suffrage to free love to socialism.

The states ratify the Fifteenth Amendment, granting black men the right to vote.

The Standard Oil Company of Ohio is organized by John D. Rockefeller, whose aim is to monopolize the oil refining industry.

New York City runs the first steam-powered elevated train, or “el.”

## 1871

Fire sweeps through Chicago, destroying 18,000 buildings and leaving 90,000 homeless.

U.S. Congress passes the Indian Appropriation Act, with a rider declaring that henceforth Indian tribes or nations would not be regarded as independent nations; in effect, this makes Native Americans wards of the government.

The Ku Klux Klan Enforcement Act of 1871 attempts to curtail the Ku Klux Klan's intimidation of black voters.

The United States and Britain sign the Treaty of Washington of 1871, in which both parties agreed to arbitrate boundary and fishing rights disputes and compensation due to the United States for Britain's dubious neutrality in the U.S. Civil War.

Political leader William “Boss” Tweed is indicted for fraud and corruption in New York City; Thomas Nast's magazine cartoons featuring Tweed help turn public opinion against him.

Showman P. T. Barnum opens a circus called “The Greatest Show on Earth.”

American-born artist James Whistler paints his best-known work, a portrait of his mother.

Reacting to Apache raids, vigilantes from Tucson, Arizona, massacre up to 150 Apache men, women, and children at Camp Grant, Arizona, initiating 15 years of intermittent warfare.

## 1872

The Amnesty Act of 1872 allows a large number of former Confederate supporters to hold civil or military office.

The Yellowstone National Park Act of 1872 establishes the world's first national park in parts of what is now Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho.

The American Public Health Association is founded to improve sanitation in socially disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Horace Greeley, nominated by both the Democratic Party and the Liberal Republican Party, becomes the first candidate to personally campaign for president. Republican incumbent Ulysses S. Grant defeats Greeley, who dies shortly afterward.

## 1873

U.S. diplomatic relations with Spain are strained when Spanish authorities execute 53 of the passengers and crew of the *Virginius*—supporters of the Cuban Revolution—sailing under the American flag.

The Timber Culture Act of 1873 authorizes any person who keeps 40 acres of timberland in good condition to acquire title to 160 additional acres of timberland.

The Comstock Law of 1873 prohibits the sending of obscene materials through the U.S. mail.

The panic of 1873 results in an economic depression and widespread unemployment. It is prompted by



the collapse of Jay Cooke & Company, a major financial institution.

The Coinage Act of 1873 demonetizes silver and makes gold the sole basis of U.S. currency just as an increased supply of silver becomes available, which, if minted, would have eased payment of debts. Opponents label the law the “Crime of ’73.”

In *Bradwell v. Illinois*, the U.S. Supreme Court upholds a state’s right to deny admission to the bar on the basis of sex.

The “Women’s War” breaks out across the United States as thousands of women shut down an estimated 3,000 saloons. Activists form the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, led by Frances Willard, to focus attention on the problems associated with drunkenness.

#### 1874

Prospectors discover gold in the Black Hills of South Dakota, sacred hunting territory that was included in the Great Sioux Reservation by the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1868. The ensuing gold rush touches off a war between the U.S. government and the Sioux.

St. Louis’s Eads Bridge opens; it is the first steel bridge in the United States.

Barbed wire is commercially manufactured, permitting fencing of property in treeless regions, especially the West and Southwest.

John Fiske’s *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* offers a reconciliation of Darwinism and Scripture that many liberal Christians come to embrace.

#### 1875

The Civil Rights Act of 1875 mandates the end of racial discrimination in public accommodations.

Mary Baker Eddy publishes *Science and Health*, the chief text of the Christian Science movement.

The Specie Resumption Act of 1875 authorizes the U.S. Treasury on January 1, 1879, to redeem the paper money issued during the Civil War, known as “greenbacks,” with gold coins; this act returns the U.S. to the gold standard.

After successfully advocating for state regulation of railroad freight rates, the Granger movement gathers strength as hundreds of thousands of farmers join its ranks.

In *Minor v. Happersett*, the U.S. Supreme Court rejects the assertion of the National Woman Suffrage Association that the Fourteenth Amendment provides all U.S. citizens, including women, the right to vote.

#### 1876

Physicist Josiah Gibbs publishes his scientific theories, which provide the foundations of the field of physical chemistry.

Johns Hopkins University is established as a center of scholarly research emphasizing its graduate programs. Yale and Harvard had already awarded Ph.Ds but they concentrate on undergraduates.

Inventor Alexander Graham Bell patents the telephone.

Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse lead the Sioux and Cheyenne in major victories against the U.S. Army, first in the Battle of the Rosebud and then at Little Bighorn against General George Armstrong Custer, where Custer’s entire force is wiped out.

The United States celebrates its 100th anniversary with the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. On July 4, Susan B. Anthony and her colleagues interrupt official ceremonies to demand women’s rights in fulfillment of the ideals of 1776.

Democratic presidential candidate Samuel J. Tilden receives a majority of the votes cast but is defeated by Republican Rutherford B. Hayes in the electoral college following a dispute over the official returns in three southern states.

Thomas Edison establishes his “invention factory” in Menlo Park, New Jersey.

Columbia, Yale, Princeton, and Harvard agree to standardize rules for American football.

Felix Adler begins the Ethical Culture movement.

#### 1877

Republican governments fall in South Carolina and Louisiana, marking the end of Reconstruction.

During the Nez Perce War, Chief Joseph leads his people more than 1,700 miles through the wilderness toward the Canadian border, eluding the U.S. cavalry. After a final encounter in northern Montana, Joseph surrenders, and the Nez Perce are moved to Indian Territory, but ultimately they are allowed to return to the Pacific Northwest.

Repeated wage cuts spur numerous independent strikes among railroad workers that become known collectively as the Great Strike of 1877.

Thomas Edison invents the phonograph.

Alfred T. White begins the American housing-reform movement by building the Home Buildings in Brooklyn, New York.

The Supreme Court in *Munn v. Illinois* upholds a law setting rates for Chicago grain elevators on grounds that their function involves “a public interest.”

#### 1878

A yellow fever epidemic breaks out in Memphis, Tennessee, killing one out of every nine residents.

The Bland-Allison Act of 1878 reinstates the use of limited quantities of silver currency.

The Knights of Labor organizes on a national basis.

**1879**

The U.S. Geological Survey is established to investigate the nation's mineral resources.

Groups of blacks, led by Benjamin "Pap" Singleton and others, migrate from the South to the West in the "Exodus of '79."

In *Progress and Poverty*, economist Henry George argues that the government should tax property owners for appreciation caused by rising demand, especially in cities; this "Single Tax" would replace all other taxes.

As the result of a bill she drafted, Belva Lockwood becomes the first woman lawyer to argue before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Thomas Edison invents the incandescent light bulb, making electric light practical.

Mary Cassatt exhibits her paintings with the impressionists in Paris.

Second-class postage is created, permitting the shipment of packages of up to four pounds anywhere in the United States for a flat rate of one cent per ounce.

Charles McKim, William Mead, and Stanford White open their New York City architectural office; the firm is to create many of the country's most prominent public buildings in the Beaux Arts style.

**1880**

Republican James A. Garfield is elected president over Democrat W. S. Hancock.

**1881**

Humanitarian and former Civil War nurse Clara Barton founds the American Red Cross.

*A Century of Dishonor*, by Helen Hunt Jackson, is published; the book urges better treatment of Indians.

Booker T. Washington founds the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

President James A. Garfield is assassinated; Vice President Chester Arthur becomes president.

Henry Demarest Lloyd's article "The Story of a Great Monopoly" is published in *Atlantic Monthly*; the article establishes Lloyd as the first muckraker.

**1882**

John L. Sullivan begins a 10-year reign as world heavyweight champion.

Apache warrior Geronimo leads a raid on the San Carlos Reservation in Arizona, freeing several hundred Apache and renewing the Apache War against both U.S. and Mexican authorities.

To better control his oil monopoly, John D. Rockefeller reorganizes Standard Oil using a trust agreement. Other industries soon follow suit.

The U.S. Congress passes the Chinese Exclusion Act prohibiting the immigration of laborers from China.

The *First Modern Suite*, by composer Edward MacDowell, is performed in Zurich, Switzerland. MacDowell is the first American-born composer whose works are performed in Europe.

The *Chicago Tribune* begins its annual accounting of lynchings in the United States, publicizing the practice of terrorism against African Americans and their supporters.

**1883**

The Council of Bishops convenes in Baltimore and plans a widespread system of Catholic parochial schools.

The Brooklyn Bridge opens.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West show begins touring; it becomes an international entertainment sensation.

U.S. Supreme Court declares the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional, opening the way for Jim Crow legislation in the South.

Congress ratifies the Pendleton Act of 1883, ending a long political battle over civil service reform. The act opens some civil offices to competitive entry rather than political patronage; prohibits assessments, the long-standing practice of demanding a percentage of civil servants' salaries for party campaigns; and establishes the U.S. Civil Service Commission to enforce reforms.

**1884**

Republican James G. Blaine narrowly loses a heated presidential election to Democrat Grover Cleveland.

Samuel Clemens publishes *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* under his pen name Mark Twain.

**1885**

Social Gospel minister Josiah Strong publishes *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*, which urges Americans to combat social evils, economic distress, and political corruption at home and to spread "superior" Anglo-Saxon institutions throughout the world.

The decade-long lobbying efforts of the Knights of Labor are rewarded when Congress passes a law prohibiting the importation of contract laborers.

**1886**

Samuel Gompers founds the American Federation of Labor.

An anarchist rally in Chicago's Haymarket Square turns into a riot when someone throws a bomb at police; the bombing prompts the hasty roundup and conviction of Chicago's known radicals.

Emily Dickinson, a reclusive New Englander, dies; family members discover 1,800 lyric poems in her bedroom.

In *Wabash v. Illinois*, the U.S. Supreme Court strikes down pro-farmer Granger laws, ruling that states cannot regulate interstate commerce.

*Harper's* magazine first prints the illustrations of Fred-eric Remington; Remington's art comes to shape Americans' perception of the frontier West.

The Apache Wars conclude when Geronimo surrenders.

In *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad Company*, the U.S. Supreme Court extends the protections of the Fourteenth Amendment to corporations.

Statue of Liberty is dedicated in New York harbor.

### 1887

U.S. Congress passes the Dawes Severalty Act, which dissolves Native American tribes as legal entities and requires the division of jointly held lands into individual Native American homesteads.

Henry F. Bowers founds the American Protective Association; it becomes the largest of America's many nativist organizations.

Nikola Tesla invents an alternating current (AC) motor and the next year sells his AC patents for generators, transformers, and motors to George Westinghouse. Soon AC electricity becomes the preferred power source for electric streetcars, elevated trains, and subways.

U.S. Congress creates the Interstate Commerce Commission, the first federal regulatory agency.

U.S. Congress passes the Electoral Count Act of 1887, which is designed to prevent disputes over presidential elections such as the one in 1876.

### 1888

Republican Benjamin Harrison wins a close presidential race over Grover Cleveland.

British diplomat James Bryce publishes *The American Commonwealth*, a perceptive analysis of American political institutions.

George Eastman introduces the Kodak portable box camera and revolutionizes photography.

### 1889

The *North American Review* publishes Andrew Carnegie's essay "The Gospel of Wealth." The industrialist writes that the duty of the rich man is to be a "trustee for the poor."

Oklahoma, once part of Indian Territory, is opened to white settlement; massive "land rushes" follow.

The former Native American enclaves of North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana are granted statehood.

Wovoka, a Paiute Indian, sees a vision that gives momentum to the Ghost Dance religion; large numbers of Sioux Indians leave their reservations to join the religious gatherings on the plains.

Jane Addams founds Hull-House, an organization whose goal is to improve the lives of the largely immigrant urban poor of Chicago; many similar institutions, known as settlement houses, are established in American cities.

Montgomery Ward & Company is established. Its catalog, containing 24,000 items, brings the department store to rural America.

Elisha Otis invents the electric elevator.

### 1890

William James publishes *Principles of Psychology*, which helps establish psychology as a field of study in the United States.

U.S. Congress passes the Sherman Antitrust Act in response to growing hostility to industrial monopolies.

The protectionist McKinley Tariff Act imposes the highest import duties in U.S. history to date but also provides for the novel feature of reciprocal trade agreements.

Illustrator Charles Dana Gibson introduces the Gibson Girl.

President Benjamin Harrison signs the Dependents Pension Act, the United States's first social welfare program, which provides pensions for disabled Civil War veterans and their families. The law's passage demonstrates the lobbying power of the Grand Army of the Republic, the largest U.S. veterans' organization.

Ending a long-standing rivalry, the conservative American Woman Suffrage Association merges with the more radical National Woman Suffrage Association to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Jacob Riis publishes *How the Other Half Lives*, which documents the plight of the urban poor through text and photographs.

The superintendent of the census announces that the frontier line no longer exists.

The Sherman Silver Purchase Act increases the minimum amount of silver the federal government is required to buy and mint from \$2 million per month to 4.5 million ounces per month at prevailing market prices. The goal of this "soft money" policy is to raise prices by encouraging inflation.

The Association of American Medical Colleges is established to set standards for medical instruction.

At the urging of naturalist John Muir, U.S. Congress creates Yosemite National Park.

The National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union meets at Ocala, Florida. Attendees draft a statement that demands abolition of national banks and protective tariffs; free coinage of silver; a graduated income tax; government control of railroads and public utilities; and the direct election of U.S. senators.

U.S. troops massacre more than 200 Sioux at Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota; Wounded Knee marks the end

of the long struggle of Native Americans against white expansion in the West.

### 1891

The Forest Reserve Act of 1891 authorizes the president to withhold certain public lands from the public domain.

The International Copyright Law of 1891 prohibits the previously common practice of reprinting foreign works without paying for the right to do so. One consequence is a larger market for American authors.

### 1892

“March King” John Philip Sousa forms the Sousa Band, which performs his marches and other popular American music around the world for nearly 40 years.

Ida B. Wells, editor of the newspaper *Free Speech*, reports on how lynching is used by white businessmen to eliminate black competitors.

Carnegie Steel imports scab workers and Pinkerton detectives to break the Amalgamated Union strike at Homestead Mill; 16 die and 60 are wounded in the failed strike, which suppresses trade unionism in the steel industry for 40 years.

The People’s Party (or Populist Party), a reaction by western farmers against eastern business interests, holds its first national convention in Omaha, Nebraska; among its demands are the secret ballot and the unlimited coinage of silver.

State authorities use the militia to break a violent miners strike at Coeur d’ Alene, Idaho.

Grover Cleveland is elected president over incumbent Benjamin Harrison. Cleveland is the only U.S. president to serve two nonconsecutive terms. People’s Party candidate James B. Weaver also runs, gaining more than 1 million votes.

The General Electric Company is established, underwritten by J. P. Morgan Company.

### 1893

American businessmen in Hawaii overthrow the government of Queen Liliuokalani and encourage the United States to annex the islands.

The total number of bison on the Great Plains is estimated to be no more than 1,000.

The financial panic of 1893 brings about the most severe economic depression the United States has yet experienced, leaving many Americans destitute and unemployed.

The Sherman Silver Purchase Act is repealed.

### 1894

Jacob Coxey organizes a march on Washington, D.C., to demand government unemployment relief; capital city police forcibly disperse “Coxey’s Army.”

U.S. Congress incorporates in the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act of 1894 the first peacetime income tax; a year later the U.S. Supreme Court rules the tax unconstitutional.

President Grover Cleveland sends federal troops to break the Pullman Strike on the pretext that strikers were illegally obstructing the movement of U.S. mail.

### 1895

Beginning with South Carolina, seven states use a grandfather clause to disenfranchise African Americans while preserving voting rights for poor and illiterate whites.

William Randolph Hearst’s *New York Journal* engages in a circulation war with Joseph Pulitzer’s *New York World*; the sensationalist bent of the feuding newspapers, which create as well as gather news, becomes known as “yellow journalism.”

In *United States v. E. C. Knight Company*, the U.S. Supreme Court narrowly defines commerce and emasculates the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 by declaring that the sugar trust’s monopoly of refining (manufacturing) did not restrain trade.

Booker T. Washington delivers his “Atlanta Compromise” speech at the Cotton Exposition in Atlanta. In this controversial speech, Washington accepts segregation in social matters in exchange for economic opportunities for African Americans.

### 1896

The first publicly screened motion picture is shown in New York City.

George Washington Carver accepts an appointment to Alabama’s Tuskegee Institute; his work there helps revive southern agriculture.

The world’s first hydroelectric generator, designed by Nikola Tesla, is completed at Niagara Falls.

*Plessy v. Ferguson* forms the legal basis for segregation by race. Justice John Marshall Harlan dissents from the U.S. Supreme Court’s ruling.

Henry Ford builds his first automobile.

William Jennings Bryan delivers his “Cross of Gold” speech, attacking the gold standard at the Democratic National Convention.

A prospector finds gold in Canada’s Yukon River Valley, spurring the Klondike gold rush.

Voter participation reaches its all-time high in the presidential race, which Republican William McKinley wins over Democrat William Jennings Bryan.

### 1897

U.S. Congress passes the Forest Management Act, which designates forest reserves as resources for timber, mining, and grazing.



U.S. Supreme Court prohibits the Interstate Commerce Commission from setting railroad freight rates.

The Dingley Tariff Act raises U.S. protective duties to their highest rate ever.

Alexander Crummell organizes the American Negro Academy to advance the race by developing the “talented tenth” of black Americans.

### 1898

A piece of private correspondence written by Spain’s minister to the United States, the so-called de Lôme letter, attacks U.S. president McKinley. The stolen letter, when published in 1898, is used to feed U.S. desire for war with Spain.

The USS *Maine* explodes in Havana harbor, Cuba. A naval investigation concludes that an underwater mine of indeterminate origin caused the blast, but newspapers blame Spain, increasing American appetite for a war.

U.S. Congress declares war on Spain. In the Pacific Ocean, Admiral George Dewey wins the Philippine Islands for the United States at Manila Bay.

Theodore Roosevelt leads the Rough Riders, a volunteer cavalry regiment, to a victory at San Juan and Kettle Hills in Cuba.

The United States formally annexes Hawaii.

An unprecedented wave of mergers sweeps through the American economy; after seven years and more than 3,000 mergers, two-fifths of the nation’s industrial wealth is concentrated in 328 large companies, many of them monopolies.

The Treaty of Paris ends the Spanish-American War; Spain cedes the Philippines and Puerto Rico to the United States; Cuba, nominally independent, in 1901 becomes a U.S. protectorate.

### 1899

Ragtime composer Scott Joplin publishes “Maple Leaf Rag,” which sells more than 1 million copies.

After the United States fails to support Philippine independence, Filipinos wage a guerrilla war against U.S. forces. The Filipino Insurrection fails but stirs sympathy and protest in the United States.

Secretary of State John Hay’s Open Door notes instruct U.S. embassies in Germany, Russia, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan to seek assurances that those powers will respect the trading rights of other nations within their spheres of influence.

# Documents



## Susan B. Anthony's Speech on Woman Suffrage, 1871

In James Andrews, ed., *American Voices, Significant Speeches in American History, 1640–1945* (New York: Longman, 1989), pp. 300–301

Friends and fellow citizens: I stand before you tonight under indictment for the alleged crime of having voted at the last presidential election, without having a lawful right to vote. It shall be my work this evening to prove to you that in thus voting, I not only committed no crime, but, instead, simply exercised my *citizen's rights*, guaranteed to me and all United States citizens by the National Constitution, beyond the power of any State to deny.

The preamble of the Federal Constitution says:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure *domestic* tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

It was we, the people; not we, the white male citizens; nor yet we, the male citizens; but we, the whole people, who formed the Union. And we formed it, not to give the blessings of liberty, but to secure them; not to the half of ourselves and the half of our posterity, but to the whole people—women as well as men. And it is a downright mockery to talk to women of their enjoyment of the blessings of liberty while they are denied the use of the only means of securing them provided by this democratic-republican government—the ballot.

For any State to make sex a qualification that must ever result in the disfranchisement of one entire half of the people is to pass a bill of attainder, or an *ex post facto* law, and is therefore a violation of the supreme law of the land. By it the blessings of liberty are for ever withheld from women

and their female posterity. To them this government has no just powers derived from the consent of the governed. To them this government is not a democracy. It is not a republic. It is an odious aristocracy; a hateful oligarchy of sex; the most hateful aristocracy ever established on the face of the globe; an oligarchy of wealth, where the rich govern the poor. An oligarchy of learning, where the educated govern the ignorant, or even an oligarchy of race, where the Saxon rules the African, might be endured; but this oligarchy of sex, which makes father, brothers, husband, sons, the oligarchs over the mother and sisters, the wife and daughters of every household—which ordains all men sovereigns, all women subjects, carries dissension, discord and rebellion into every home of the nation.

Webster, Worcester and Bouvier all define a citizen to be a person in the United States, entitled to vote and hold office.

The only question left to be settled now is: Are women persons? And I hardly believe any of our opponents will have the hardihood to say they are not. Being persons, then, women are citizens; and no State has a right to make any law, or to enforce any old law, that shall abridge their privileges or immunities. Hence, every discrimination against women in the constitutions and laws of the several States is today null and void, precisely as in every one against Negroes.

## Chief Joseph's "I Will Fight No More Forever" Speech, 1877

Courtesy Nez Perce Tribe, Department of Natural Resources, Lapwai, Idaho

### I Will Fight No More Forever

Tell General Howard I know his heart. What he told me before, I have in my heart. I am tired of fighting. Our

Chiefs are killed. Looking Glass is dead. Toohoolhoolzote is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who say "yes" or "no." He who led on the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them, have run away to the hills and have no blankets, no food; no one knows where they are—perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs! I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands I will fight no more forever.

## A Century of Dishonor (1881)

### Helen Hunt Jackson

In Erik Bruun and Jay Crosby, eds., *Our Nation's Archives: the History of the United States in Documents* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 1999), pp. 425–427

The winter of 1877 and summer of 1878 were terrible seasons for the Cheyennes. Their fall hunt had proved unsuccessful. Indians from other reservations had hunted the ground over before them, and driven the buffalo off; and the Cheyennes made their way home again in straggling parties, destitute and hungry. Their agent reports that the result of this hunt has clearly proved that "in the future the Indian must rely on tilling the ground as the principal means of support; and if this conviction can be firmly established, the greatest obstacle to advancement in agriculture will be overcome. With the buffalo gone, and their pony herds being constantly decimated by the inroads of horse-thieves, they must soon adopt, in all its varieties, the way of the white man."

The ration allowed to these Indians is reported as being "reduced and insufficient," and the small sums they have been able to earn by selling buffalo hides are said to have been "of material assistance" to them in "supplementing" this ration. But in this year there have been sold only \$657 worth of skins by the Cheyennes and Arapahoes together. In 1876 they sold \$17,600 worth. Here is a falling off enough to cause very great suffering in a little community of five thousand people. But this was only the beginning of their troubles. The summer proved one of unusual heat. Extreme heat, chills and fever, and "a reduced and insufficient ration," all combined, resulted in an amount of sickness heart-rending to read of. "It is no exaggerated estimate," says the agent, "to place the number of sick people on the reservation at two thousand. Many deaths occurred which might have been obviated had there been a proper supply of antimalarial remedies at hand. Hundreds applying for treatment have been refused medicine."

The Northern Cheyennes grew more and more restless and unhappy. "In council and elsewhere they profess an intense desire to be sent North, where they say they

will settle down as the others have done," says the report; adding, with an obtuseness which is inexplicable, that "no difference has been made in the treatment of the Indians," but that the "compliance of these Northern Cheyennes has been of an entirely different nature from that of the other Indians," and that it may be "necessary in the future to compel what so far we have been unable to effect by kindness and appeal to their better natures."

If it is "an appeal to men's better natures" to remove them by force from a healthful Northern climate, which they love and thrive in, to a malarial Southern one, where they are struck down by chills and fever—refuse them medicine which can combat chills and fever, and finally starve them—there indeed, might be said to have been most forcible appeals made to the "better natures" of these Northern Cheyennes. What might have been predicted followed.

Early in the autumn, after this terrible summer, a band of some three hundred of these Northern Cheyennes took the desperate step of running off and attempting to make their way back to Dakota. They were pursued, fought desperately, but were finally overpowered, and surrendered. They surrendered, however, only on the condition that they should be taken to Dakota. They were unanimous in declaring that they would rather die than go back to the Indian Territory. This was nothing more, in fact, than saying that they would rather die by bullets than of chills and fever and starvation.

These Indians were taken to Fort Robinson, Nebraska. Here they were confined as prisoners of war, and held subject to the orders of the Department of the Interior. The department was informed of the Indians' determination never to be taken back alive to Indian Territory. The army officers in charge reiterated these statements, and implored the department to permit them to remain at the North; but it was of no avail. Orders came—explicit, repeated, finally stern—insisting on the return of these Indians to their agency. The commanding officer at Fort Robinson has been censured severely for the course he pursued in his effort to carry out those orders. It is difficult to see what else he could have done, except to have resigned his post. He could not take three hundred Indians by sheer brute force and carry them hundreds of miles, especially when they were so desperate that they had broken up the iron stoves in their quarters, and wrought and twisted them into weapons with which to resist. He thought perhaps he could starve them into submission. He stopped the issue of food; he also stopped the issue of fuel to them. It was midwinter; the mercury froze in that month at Fort Robinson. At the end of two days he asked the Indians to let their women and children come out that he might feed them. Not a woman would come out. On the night of the fourth day—or, according to some accounts, the sixth—these starving, freezing Indians broke prison, overpowered

the guards, and fled, carrying their women and children with them. They held the pursuing troops at bay for several days; finally made a last stand in a deep ravine, and were shot down—men, women, and children together. Out of the whole band there were left alive some fifty women and children and seven men, who having been confined in another part of the fort, had not had the good fortune to share in this outbreak and meet their death in the ravine. These, with their wives and children, were sent to Fort Leavenworth to be put in prison; the men to be tried for murders committed in their skirmishes in Kansas on their way to the north. Red Cloud, a Sioux chief, came to Fort Robinson immediately after this massacre and entreated to be allowed to take the Cheyenne widows and orphans into his tribe to be cared for. The Government, therefore, kindly permitted twenty-two Cheyenne widows and thirty-two Cheyenne children—many of them orphans—to be received into the band of the Ogallalla Sioux.

An attempt was made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in his Report for 1879, to show by tables and figures that these Indians were not starving at the time of their flight from Indian Territory. The attempt only redounded to his own disgrace; it being proved, by the testimony given by a former clerk of the Indian Bureau before the Senate committee appointed to investigate the case of the Northern Cheyennes, that the commissioner had been guilty of absolute dishonesty in his estimates, and that the quantity of beef actually issued to the Cheyenne Agency was hundreds of pounds less than he had reported it, and that the Indians were actually, as they had claimed, “starving.”

The testimony given before this committee by some of the Cheyenne prisoners themselves is heart-rending. One must have a callous heart who can read it unmoved.

When asked by Senator [John T.] Morgan [of Alabama], “Did you ever really suffer from hunger?” one of the chiefs replied. “We were always hungry; we never had enough. When they that were sick once in awhile felt as though they could eat something, we had nothing to give them.”

“Did you not go out on the plains sometimes and hunt buffalo, with the consent of the agent?”

“We went out on a buffalo-hunt, and nearly starved while out; we could not find any buffalo hardly; we could hardly get back with our ponies; we had to kill a good many of our ponies to eat, to save ourselves from starving.” “How many children got sick and died?”

“Between the fall of 1877 and 1878 we lost fifty children. A great many of our finest young men died, as well as many women.”

“Old Crow,” a chief who served faithfully as Indian scout and ally under General [George] Crook for years, said: “I did not feel like doing anything for awhile, because I had no heart. I did not want to be in this country. I was all

the time wanting to get back to the better country where I was born, and where my children are buried, and where my mother and sister yet live. So I have laid in my lodge most of the time with nothing to think about but that, and the affair up north at Fort Robinson, and my relatives and friends who were killed there. But now I feel as though, if I had a wagon and a horse or two, and some land, I would try to work. If I had something, so that I could do something, I might not think so much about these other things. As it is now, I feel as though I would just as soon be asleep with the rest.”

The wife of one of the chiefs confined at Fort Leavenworth testified before the committee as follows: “The main thing I complained of was that we didn’t get enough to eat; my children nearly starved to death; then sickness came, and there was nothing good for them to eat; for a long time the most they had to eat was corn-meal and salt. Three or four children died every day for awhile, and that frightened us.”

When asked if there were anything she would like to say to the committee, the poor woman replied: “I wish you would do what you can to get my husband released. I am very poor here, and do not know what is to become of me. If he were released he would come down here, and we would live together quietly, and do no harm to anybody, and make no trouble. But I should never get over my desire to get back north; I should always want to get back where my children were born, and died, and were buried. That country is better than this in every respect. There is plenty of good, cool water there—pure water—while here the water is not good. It is not hot there, nor so sickly. Are you going where my husband is? Can you tell when he is likely to be released? . . .

It is stated also that there was not sufficient clothing to furnish each Indian with a warm suit of clothing, “as promised by the treaty,” and that, “by reference to official correspondence, the fact is established that the Cheyennes and Arapahoes are judged as having no legal rights to any lands, having forfeited their treaty reservation by a failure to settle thereon,” and their “present reservation not having been, as yet, confirmed by Congress. Inasmuch as the Indians fully understood, and were assured that this reservation was given to them in lieu of their treaty reservation, and have commenced farming in the belief that there was no uncertainty about the matter it is but common justice that definite action be had at an early day, securing to them what is their right.”

It would seem that there could be found nowhere in the melancholy record of the experiences of our Indians a more glaring instance of confused multiplication of injustices than this. The Cheyennes were pursued and slain for venturing to leave this very reservation, which, it appears, is not their reservation at all, and they have no legal right to



it. Are there any words to fitly characterize such treatment as this from a great, powerful, rich nation, to a handful of helpless people?

### Chinese Exclusion Act, 1882

*United States Statutes at Large* (47th Cong., Sess I, chap. 126), pp. 58–61

May 6, 1882

#### An Act

To execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese.

Whereas, in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof.

Therefore,

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of ten years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, suspended; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or, having so come after the expiration of said ninety days, to remain within the United States.

Sec. 2. That the master of any vessel who shall knowingly bring within the United States on such vessel, and land or permit to be landed, any Chinese laborer, from any foreign port or place, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars for each and every such Chinese laborer so brought, and may be also imprisoned for a term not exceeding one year.

Sec. 3. That the two foregoing sections shall not apply to Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the seventeenth day of November, eighteen hundred and eighty, or who shall have come into the same before the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and who shall produce to such master before going on board such vessel, and shall produce to the collector of the port in the United States at which such vessel shall arrive, the evidence herein-after in this act required of his being one of the laborers in this section mentioned; nor shall the two foregoing sections apply to the case of any master whose vessel, being bound to a port not within the United States, shall come within the jurisdiction of the United States by reason of being in distress or in stress of weather, or touching at any port of the United States on its voyage to any foreign port or place: *Provided*, That all Chinese laborers brought on such vessel shall depart with the vessel on leaving port.

Sec. 4. That for the purpose of properly identifying Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the seventeenth day of November, eighteen hundred and eighty, or who shall have come into the same before the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and in order to furnish them with the proper evidence of their right to go from and come to the United States of their free will and accord, as provided by the treaty between the United States and China dated November seventeenth, eighteen hundred and eighty, the collector of customs of the district from which any such Chinese laborer shall depart from the United States shall, in person or by deputy, go on board each vessel having on board any such Chinese laborer and cleared or about to sail from his district for a foreign port, and on such vessel make a list of all such Chinese laborers, which shall be entered in registry-books to be kept for that purpose, in which shall be stated the name, age, occupation, last place of residence, physical marks or peculiarities, and all facts necessary for the identification of each of such Chinese laborers, which books shall be safely kept in the custom-house; and every such Chinese laborer so departing from the United States shall be entitled to, and shall receive, free of any charge or cost upon application therefor, from the collector or his deputy, at the time such list is taken, a certificate, signed by the collector or his deputy and attested by his seal of office, in such form as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, which certificate shall contain a statement of the name, age, occupation, last place of residence, personal description, and facts of identification of the Chinese laborer to whom the certificate is issued, corresponding with the said list and registry in all particulars. In case any Chinese laborer after having received such certificate shall leave such vessel before her departure he shall deliver his certificate to the master of the vessel, and if such Chinese laborer shall fail to return to such vessel before her departure from port the certificate shall be delivered by the master to the collector of customs for cancellation. The certificate herein provided for shall entitle the Chinese laborer to whom the same is issued to return to and re-enter the United States upon producing and delivering the same to the collector of customs of the district at which such Chinese laborer shall seek to re-enter; and upon delivery of such certificate by such Chinese laborer to the collector of customs at the time of re-entry in the United States, said collector shall cause the same to be filed in the custom-house and duly canceled.

Sec. 5. That any Chinese laborer mentioned in section four of this act being in the United States, and desiring to depart from the United States by land, shall have the right to demand and receive, free of charge or cost, a certificate of identification similar to that provided for in section four of this act to be issued to such Chinese

laborers as may desire to leave the United States by water; and it is hereby made the duty of the collector of customs of the district next adjoining the foreign country to which said Chinese laborer desires to go to issue such certificate, free of charge or cost, upon application by such Chinese laborer, and to enter the same upon registry-books to be kept by him for the purpose, as provided for in section four of this act.

Sec. 6. That in order to the faithful execution of articles one and two of the treaty in this act before mentioned, every Chinese person other than a laborer who may be entitled by said treaty and this act to come within the United States, and who shall be about to come to the United States, shall be identified as so entitled by the Chinese Government in each case, such identity to be evidenced by a certificate issued under the authority of said government, which certificate shall be in the English language or (if not in the English language) accompanied by a translation into English, stating such right to come, and which certificate shall state the name, title, or official rank, if any, the age, height, and all physical peculiarities, former and present occupation or profession, and place of residence in China of the person to whom the certificate is issued and that such person is entitled conformably to the treaty in this act mentioned to come within the United States. Such certificate shall be prima-facie evidence of the fact set forth therein, and shall be produced to the collector of customs, or his deputy, of the port in the district in the United States at which the person named therein shall arrive.

Sec. 7. That any person who shall knowingly and falsely alter or substitute any name for the name written in such certificate or forge any such certificate, or knowingly utter any forged or fraudulent certificate, or falsely personate any person named in any such certificate, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor; and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisoned in a penitentiary for a term of not more than five years.

Sec. 8. That the master of any vessel arriving in the United States from any foreign port or place shall, at the same time he delivers a manifest of the cargo, and if there be no cargo, then at the time of making a report of the entry of the vessel pursuant to law, in addition to the other matter required to be reported, and before landing, or permitting to land, any Chinese passengers, deliver and report to the collector of customs of the district in which such vessels shall have arrived a separate list of all Chinese passengers taken on board his vessel at any foreign port or place, and all such passengers on board the vessel at that time. Such list shall show the names of such passengers (and if accredited officers of the Chinese Government traveling on the business of that government, or their servants, with a note of such facts), and the names and other particulars,

as shown by their respective certificates; and such list shall be sworn to by the master in the manner required by law in relation to the manifest of the cargo. Any willful refusal or neglect of any such master to comply with the provisions of this section shall incur the same penalties and forfeiture as are provided for a refusal or neglect to report and deliver a manifest of the cargo.

Sec. 9. That before any Chinese passengers are landed from any such vessel, the collector, or his deputy, shall proceed to examine such passengers, comparing the certificates with the list and with the passengers; and no passenger shall be allowed to land in the United States from such vessel in violation of law.

Sec. 10. That every vessel whose master shall knowingly violate any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed forfeited to the United States, and shall be liable to seizure and condemnation in any district of the United States into which such vessel may enter or in which she may be found.

Sec. 11. That any person who shall knowingly bring into or cause to be brought into the United States by land, or who shall knowingly aid or abet the same, or aid or abet the landing in the United States from any vessel of any Chinese person not lawfully entitled to enter the United States, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisoned for a term not exceeding one year.

Sec. 12. That no Chinese person shall be permitted to enter the United States by land without producing to the proper officer of customs the certificate in this act required of Chinese persons seeking to land from a vessel. And any Chinese person found unlawfully within the United States shall be caused to be removed therefrom to the country from whence he came, by direction of the President of the United States, and at the cost of the United States, after being brought before some justice, judge, or commissioner of a court of the United States and found to be one not lawfully entitled to be or remain in the United States.

Sec. 13. That this act shall not apply to diplomatic and other officers of the Chinese Government traveling upon the business of that government, whose credentials shall be taken as equivalent to the certificate in this act mentioned, and shall exempt them and their body and household servants from the provisions of this act as to other Chinese persons.

Sec. 14. That hereafter no State court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship; and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

Sec. 15. That the words "Chinese laborers," wherever used in this act, shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining.

Approved, May 6, 1882.

**Dawes Severalty Act, 1887**

*United States Statutes at Large* (49th Cong., 2d sess., chap. 119), pp. 388–391

**An Act**

*To provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians, and for other purposes.*

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That in all cases where any tribe or band of Indians has been, or shall hereafter be, located upon any reservation created for their use, either by treaty stipulation or by virtue of an act of Congress or executive order setting apart the same for their use, the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized, whenever in his opinion any reservation or any part thereof of such Indians is advantageous for agricultural and grazing purposes, to cause said reservation, or any part thereof, to be surveyed, or resurveyed if necessary, and to allot the lands in said reservation in severalty to any Indian located thereon in quantities as follows:

To each head of a family, one-quarter of a section;

To each single person over eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section; and

To each orphan child under eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section; and

To each other single person under eighteen years now living, or who may be born prior to the date of the order of the President directing an allotment of the lands embraced in any reservation, one-sixteenth of a section: *Provided*, That in case there is not sufficient land in any of said reservations to allot lands to each individual of the classes above named in quantities as above provided, the lands embraced in such reservation or reservations shall be allotted to each individual of each of said classes pro rata in accordance with the provisions of this act: *And provided further*, That where the treaty or act of Congress setting apart such reservation provides for the allotment of lands in severalty in quantities in excess of those herein provided, the President, in making allotments upon such reservation, shall allot the lands to each individual Indian belonging thereon in quantity as specified in such treaty or act: *And provided further*, That when the lands allotted are only valuable for grazing purposes, and additional allotment of such grazing lands, in quantities as above provided, shall be made to each individual.

Sec. 2. That all allotments set apart under the provisions of this act shall be selected by the Indians, heads of families selecting for their minor children, and the agents shall select for each orphan child, and in such manner as to embrace the improvements of the Indians making the

selection. Where the improvements of two or more Indians have been made on the same legal subdivision of land, unless they shall otherwise agree, a provisional line may be run dividing said lands between them, and the amount to which each is entitled shall be equalized in the assignment of the remainder of the land to which they are entitled under this act: *Provided*, That if any one entitled to an allotment shall fail to make a selection within four years after the President shall direct that allotments may be made on a particular reservation, the Secretary of the Interior may direct the agent of such tribe or band, if such there be, and if there be no agent, then a special agent appointed for that purpose, to make a selection for such Indian, which election shall be allotted as in cases where selections are made by the Indians, and patents shall issue in like manner.

Sec. 3. That the allotments provided for in this act shall be made by special agents appointed by the President for such purpose, and the agents in charge of the respective reservations on which the allotments are directed to be made, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may from time to time prescribe, and shall be certified by such agents to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in duplicate, one copy to be retained in the Indian Office and the order to be transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior for his action, and to be deposited in the General Land Office.

Sec. 4. That where any Indian not residing upon a reservation, or for whose tribe no reservation has been provided by treaty, act of Congress, or executive order, shall make settlement upon any surveyed or unsurveyed lands of the United States not otherwise appropriated, he or she shall be entitled, upon application to the local land-office for the district in which the lands are located, to have the same allotted to him or her, and to his or her children, in quantities and manner as provided in this act for Indians residing upon reservations; and when such settlement is made upon unsurveyed lands, the grant to such Indians shall be adjusted upon the survey of the lands so as to conform thereto; and patents shall be issued to them for such lands in the manner and with the restrictions as herein provided. And the fees to which the officers of such local land-office would have been entitled had such lands been entered under the general laws for the disposition of the public lands shall be paid to them, from any moneys in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, upon a statement of an account in their behalf for such fees by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and a certification of such account to the Secretary of the Treasury by the Secretary of the Interior.

Sec. 5. That upon the approval of the allotments provided for in this act by the Secretary of the Interior; he shall cause patents to issue therefor in the name of the allottees, which patents shall be of the legal effect, and declare that

the United States does and will hold the land thus allotted, for the period of twenty-five years, in trust for the sole use and benefit of the Indian to whom such allotment shall have been made, or, in case of his decease, of his heirs according to the laws of the State or Territory where such land is located, and that at the expiration of said period the United States will convey the same by patent to said Indian, or his heirs as aforesaid, in fee, discharged of said trust and free of all charge or incumbrance whatsoever: *Provided*, That the President of the United States may in any case in his discretion extend the period. And if any conveyance shall be made of the lands set apart and allotted as herein provided, or any contract made touching the same, before the expiration of the time above mentioned, such conveyance or contract shall be absolutely null and void: *Provided*, That the law of descent and partition in force in the State or Territory where such lands are situate shall apply thereto after patents therefor have been executed and delivered, except as herein otherwise provided; and the laws of the State of Kansas regulating the descent and partition of real estate shall, so far as practicable, apply to all lands in the Indian Territory which may be allotted in severalty under the provisions of this act: *And provided further*, That at any time after lands have been allotted to all the Indians of any tribe as herein provided, or sooner if in the opinion of the President it shall be for the best interests of said tribe, it shall be lawful for the Secretary of the Interior to negotiate with such Indian tribe for the purchase and release by said tribe, in conformity with the treaty or statute under which such reservation is held, of such portions of its reservation not allotted as such tribe shall, from time to time, consent to sell, on such terms and conditions as shall be considered just and equitable between the United States and said tribe of Indians, which purchase shall not be complete until ratified by Congress, and the form and manner of executing such release shall also be prescribed by Congress: *Provided however*, That all lands adapted to agriculture, with or without irrigation so sold or released to the United States by any Indian tribe shall be held by the United States for the sole purpose of securing homes to actual settlers and shall be disposed of by the United States to actual and bona fide settlers only in tracts not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres to any one person, on such terms as Congress shall prescribe, subject to grants which Congress may make in aid of education: *And provided further*, That no patents shall issue therefor except to the person so taking the same as and for a homestead, or his heirs, and after the expiration of five years occupancy thereof as such homestead; and any conveyance of said lands so taken as a homestead, or any contract touching the same, or lien thereon, created prior to the date of such patent, shall be null and void. And the sums agreed to be paid by the United States as purchase money for any portion of any such reservation shall

be held in the Treasury of the United States for the sole use of the tribe or tribes of Indians; to whom such reservations belonged; and the same, with interest thereon at three per cent per annum, shall be at all times subject to appropriation by Congress for the education and civilization of such tribe or tribes of Indians or the members thereof. The patents aforesaid shall be recorded in the General Land Office, and afterward delivered, free of charge, to the allottee entitled thereto. And if any religious society or other organization is now occupying any of the public lands to which this act is applicable, for religious or educational work among the Indians, the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to confirm such occupation to such society or organization, in quantity not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres in any one tract, so long as the same shall be so occupied, on such terms as he shall deem just; but nothing herein contained shall change or alter any claim of such society for religious or educational purposes heretofore granted by law. And hereafter in the employment of Indian police, or any other employees in the public service among any of the Indian tribes or bands affected by this act, and where Indians can perform the duties required, those Indians who have availed themselves of the provisions of this act and become citizens of the United States shall be preferred.

Sec. 6. That upon the completion of said allotments and the patenting of the lands to said allottees, each and every member of the respective bands or tribes of Indians to whom allotments have been made shall have the benefit of and be subject to the laws, both civil and criminal, of the State or Territory in which they may reside; and no Territory shall pass or enforce any law denying any such Indian within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law. And every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States to whom allotments shall have been made under the provisions of this act, or under any law or treaty, and every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States who has voluntarily taken up, within said limits, his residence separate and apart from any tribe of Indians therein, and has adopted the habits of civilized life, is hereby declared to be a citizen of the United States, and is entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of such citizens, whether said Indian has been or not, by birth or otherwise, a member of any tribe of Indians within the territorial limits of the United States without in any manner impairing or otherwise affecting the right of any such Indian to tribal or other property.

Sec. 7. That in cases where the use of water for irrigation is necessary to render the lands within any Indian reservation available for agricultural purposes, the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary to secure a just and equal distribution thereof among the



Indians residing upon any such reservations; and no other appropriation or grant of water by any riparian proprietor shall be authorized or permitted to the damage of any other riparian proprietor.

Sec. 8. That the provision of this act shall not extend to the territory occupied by the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasawas, Seminoles, and Osage, Miamies and Peorias, and Sacs and Foxes, in the Indian Territory, nor to any of the reservations of the Seneca Nation of New York Indians in the State of New York, nor to that strip of territory in the State of Nebraska adjoining the Sioux Nation on the south added by executive order.

Sec. 9. That for the purpose of making the surveys and resurveys mentioned in section two of this act, there be, and hereby is, appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, to be repaid proportionately out of the proceeds of the sales of such land as may be acquired from the Indians under the provisions of this act.

Sec. 10. That nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to affect the right and power of Congress to grant the right of way through any lands granted to an Indian, or a tribe of Indians, for railroads or other highways, or telegraph lines, for the public use, or to condemn such lands to public uses, upon making just compensation.

Sec. 11. That nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent the removal of the Southern Ute Indians from their present reservation in Southwestern Colorado to a new reservation by and with the consent of a majority of the adult male members of said tribe.

Approved, February 8, 1887.

## Interstate Commerce Act of 1887

*United States Statutes at Large* (49th Cong., 2d sess., chap. 104), pp. 379–387

### An Act

*To regulate commerce.*

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the provisions of this act shall apply to any common carrier or carriers engaged in the transportation of passengers or property wholly by railroad, or partly by railroad and partly by water when both are used, under a common control, management, or arrangement, for a continuous carriage or shipment, from one State or Territory of the United States, or the District of Columbia, to any other State or Territory of the United States, or the District of Columbia, or from any place in the United States to an adjacent foreign country, or from any place in the United States through a foreign country to any other place in the United States, and also to the transportation in like manner

of property shipped from any place in the United States to a foreign country and carried from such place to a port of trans-shipment, or shipped from a foreign country to any place in the United States and carried to such place from a port of entry either in the United States or an adjacent foreign country: *Provided, however,* That the provisions of this act shall not apply to the transportation of passengers or property, or to the receiving, delivering, storage, or handling of property, wholly within one State, and not shipped to or from a foreign country from or to any State or Territory as aforesaid.

The term “railroad” as used in this act shall include all bridges and ferries used or operated in connection with any railroad, and also all the road in use by any corporation operating a railroad, whether owned or operated under a contract, agreement, or lease; and the term “transportation” shall include all instrumentalities of shipment or carriage.

All charges made for any service rendered or to be rendered in the transportation of passengers or property as aforesaid, or in connection therewith, or for the receiving, delivering, storage, or handling of such property, shall be reasonable and just; and every unjust and unreasonable charge for such service is prohibited and declared to be unlawful.

Sec. 2. That if any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act shall, directly or indirectly, by any special rate, rebate, drawback, or other device, charge, demand, collect, or receive from any person or persons a greater or less compensation for any service rendered, or to be rendered, in the transportation of passengers or property, subject to the provisions of this act, than it charges, demands, collects, or receives from any other person or persons for doing for him or them a like and contemporaneous service in the transportation of a like kind of traffic under substantially similar circumstances and conditions, such common carrier shall be deemed guilty of unjust discrimination, which is hereby prohibited and declared to be unlawful.

Sec. 3. That it shall be unlawful for any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act to make or give any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage to any particular person, company, firm, corporation, or locality, or any particular description of traffic, in any respect whatsoever, or to subject any particular person, company, firm, corporation, or locality, or any particular description of traffic, to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever. Every common carrier subject to the provisions of this act shall according to their respective powers, afford all reasonable, proper, and equal facilities for the interchange of traffic between their respective lines, and for the receiving, forwarding, and delivering of passengers and property to and from their several lines and those connection therewith, and shall not discriminate in their rates and charges between such connecting lines; but

this shall not be construed as requiring any such common carrier to give the use of its tracks or terminal facilities to another carrier engaged in like business.

Sec. 4. That it shall be unlawful for any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act to charge or receive any greater compensation in the aggregate for the transportation of passengers or of like kind of property, under substantially similar circumstances and conditions, for a shorter than for a longer distance over the same line, in the same direction, the shorter being included within the longer distance; but this shall not be construed as authorizing any common carrier within the terms of this act to charge and receive as great compensation for a shorter as for a longer distance: *Provided, however,* That upon application to the Commission appointed under the provisions of this act, such common carrier may, in special cases, after investigation by the Commission, be authorized to charge less for longer than for shorter distances for the transportation of passengers or property; and the Commission may from time to time prescribe the extent to which such designated common carrier may be relieved from the operation of this section of this act.

Sec. 5. That it shall be unlawful for any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act to enter into any contract, agreement, or combination with any other common carrier or carriers for the pooling of freights of different and competing railroads, or to divide between them the aggregate or net proceeds of the earnings of such railroads, or any portion thereof; and in any case of an agreement for the pooling of freights as aforesaid, each day of its continuance shall be deemed a separate offense.

Sec. 6. That every common carrier subject to the provisions of this act shall print and keep for public inspection schedules showing the rates and fares and charges for the transportation of passengers and property which any such common carrier has established and which are in force at the time upon its railroad, as defined by the first section of this act. The schedules printed as aforesaid by any such common carrier shall plainly state the places upon its railroad between which property and passengers will be carried, and shall contain the classification of freight in force upon such railroad, and shall also state separately the terminal charges and any rules or regulations which in any wise change, affect, or determine any part or the aggregate of such aforesaid rates and fares and charges. Such schedules shall be plainly printed in large type, of at least the size of ordinary pica, and copies for the use of the public shall be kept in every depot or station upon any such railroad, in such places and in such form that they can be conveniently inspected. . . .

No advance shall be made in the rates, fares, and charges which have been established and published as aforesaid by any common carrier in compliance with the

requirements of this section, except after ten days' public notice, which shall plainly state the changes proposed to be made in the schedule then in force, and the time when the increased rates, fares, or charges will go into effect; . . .

And when any such common carrier shall have established and published its rates, fares, and charges in compliance with the provisions of this section, it shall be unlawful for such common carrier to charge, demand, collect, or receive from any person or persons a greater or less compensation for the transportation of passengers or property, or for any services in connection therewith, than is specified in such published schedule of rates, fares, and charges as may at the time be in force.

Every common carrier subject to the provisions of this act shall file with the Commission hereinafter provided for copies of its schedules of rates, fares, and charges which have been established and published in compliance with the requirements of this section, and shall promptly notify said Commission of all changes made in the same. Every such common carrier shall also file with said Commission copies of all contracts, agreements, or arrangements with other common carriers in relation to any traffic affected by the provisions of this act to which it may be a party. . . .

Sec. 9. That any person or persons claiming to be damaged by any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act may either make complaint to the Commission as hereinafter provided for, or may bring suit in his or their own behalf for the recovery of the damages for which such common carrier may be liable under the provisions of this act, in any district or circuit court of the United States of competent jurisdiction; . . .

Sec. 10. That any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act, or, whenever such common carrier is a corporation, any director or officer thereof, or any receiver, trustee, lessee, agent, or person acting for or employed by such corporation, who, alone or with any other corporation, company, person, or party, shall willfully do or cause to be done, or shall willingly suffer or permit to be done, any act, matter, or thing in this act prohibited or declared to be unlawful, or who shall aid or abet therein, or shall willfully omit or fail to do any act, matter, or thing in this act required to be done, or shall cause or willingly suffer or permit any act, matter, or thing so directed or required by this act to be done not to be so done, or shall aid or abet any such omission or failure, or shall be guilty of any infraction of this act, or shall aid or abet therein, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, upon conviction thereof in any district court of the United States within the jurisdiction of which such offense was committed, be subject to a fine of not to exceed five thousand dollars for each offense.

Sec. 11. That a Commission is hereby created and established to be known as the Inter-State Commerce

Commission, which shall be composed of five Commissioners, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Commissioners first appointed under this act shall continue in office for the term of two, three, four, five, and six years, respectively, from the first day of January, anno Domini eighteen hundred and eighty-seven, the term of each to be designated by the President; but their successors shall be appointed for terms of six years, except that any person chosen to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the Commissioner whom he shall succeed. Any Commissioner may be removed by the President for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office. Not more than three of the Commissioners shall be appointed from the same political party. No person in the employ of or holding any official relation to any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act, or owning stock or bonds thereof, or who is in any manner pecuniarily interested therein, shall enter upon the duties of or hold such office. Said Commissioners shall not engage in any other business, vocation, or employment. No vacancy in the Commission shall impair the right of the remaining Commissioners to exercise all the powers of the Commission.

Sec. 12. That the Commission hereby created shall have authority to inquire into the management of the business of all common carriers subject to the provisions of this act, and shall keep itself informed as to the manner and method in which the same is conducted, and shall have the right to obtain from such common carriers full and complete information necessary to enable the Commission to perform the duties and carry out the objects for which it was created; and for the purposes of this act the Commission shall have power to require the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of all books, papers, tariffs, contracts, agreements, and documents relating to any matter under investigation, and to that end may invoke the aid of any court of the United States in requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of books, papers, and documents under the provisions of this section. . . .

Sec. 13. That any person, firm, corporation, or association, or any mercantile, agricultural, or manufacturing society, or any body politic or municipal organization complaining of anything done or omitted to be done by any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act in contravention of the provisions thereof, may apply to said Commission by petition, which shall briefly state the facts; whereupon a statement of the charges thus made shall be forwarded by the Commission to such common carrier, who shall be called upon to satisfy the complaint or to answer the same in writing within a reasonable time, to be specified by the Commission. If such common carrier, within the time specified, shall make reparation for

the injury alleged to have been done, said carrier shall be relieved of liability to the complainant only for the particular violation of law thus complained of. If such carrier shall not satisfy the complaint within the time specified, or there shall appear to be any reasonable ground for investigating said complaint, it shall be the duty of the Commission to investigate the matters complained of in such manner and by such means as it shall deem proper.

Said Commission shall in like manner investigate any complaint forwarded by the railroad commissioner or railroad commission of any State or Territory, at the request of such commissioner or commission, and may institute any inquiry on its own motion in the same manner and to the same effect as though complaint had been made. . . .

Sec. 16. That whenever any common carrier, as defined in and subject to the provisions of this act, shall violate or refuse or neglect to obey any lawful order or requirement of the Commission in this act named, it shall be the duty of the Commission, and lawful for any company or person interested in such order or requirement, to apply, in a summary way, by petition, to the circuit court of the United States sitting in equity in the judicial district in which the common carrier complained of has its principal office, or in which the violation or disobedience of such order or requirement shall happen, alleging such violation or disobedience, as the case may be; and the said court shall have power to hear and determine the matter, on such short notice to the common carrier complained of as the court shall deem reasonable; . . .

Sec. 20. That the Commission is hereby authorized to require annual reports from all common carriers subject to the provisions of this act, to fix the time and prescribe the manner in which such reports shall be made, and to require from such carriers specific answers to all questions upon which the Commission may need information. Such annual reports shall show in detail the amount of capital stock issued, the amounts paid therefor, and the manner of payment for the same; the dividends paid, the surplus fund, if any, and the number of stockholders; the funded and floating debts and the interest paid thereon; the cost and value of the carrier's property, franchises, and equipment; the number of employees and the salaries paid each class; the amounts expended for improvements each year, how expended, and the character of such improvements; the earnings and receipts from each branch of business and from all sources; the operating and other expenses; the balances of profit and loss; and a complete exhibit of the financial operations of the carrier each year, including an annual balance sheet. Such reports shall also contain such information in relation to rates or regulations concerning fares or freights, or agreements, arrangements, or contracts with other common carriers, as the Commission may require; and the said Commission may, within its discretion, for the

purpose of enabling it the better to carry out the purposes of this act, prescribe (if in the opinion of the Commission it is practicable to prescribe such uniformity and methods of keeping accounts) a period of time within which all common carriers subject to the provisions of this act shall have, as near as may be, a uniform system of accounts, and the manner in which such accounts shall be kept. . . .

## **"Wealth" (1889)**

### **Andrew Carnegie**

In John A. Scott, ed., *Living Documents in American History*, Vol. 1 (New York: Washington Square Press, 1964-68), pp. 102-114

The problem of our age is the proper administration of wealth, so that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship. The conditions of human life have not only been changed, but revolutionized, within the past few hundred years. In former days there was little difference between the dwelling, dress, food, and environment of the chief and those of his retainers. The Indians are to-day where civilized man then was. When visiting the Sioux, I was led to the wigwam of the chief. It was just like the others in external appearance, and even within the difference was trifling between it and those of the poorest of his braves. The contrast between the palace of the millionaire and the cottage of the laborer with us to-day measures the change which has come with civilization.

This change, however, is not to be deplored, but welcomed as highly beneficial. It is well, nay, essential for the progress of the race, that the houses of some should be homes for all that is highest and best in literature and the arts, and for all the refinements of civilization, rather than that none should be so. Much better this great irregularity than universal squalor. Without wealth there can be no Maecenas. The "good old times" were not good old times. Neither master nor servant was as well situated then as to-day. A relapse to old conditions would be disastrous to both—not the least so to him who serves—and would sweep away civilization with it. But whether the change be for good or ill, it is upon us, beyond our power to alter, and therefore to be accepted and made the best of. It is a waste of time to criticize the inevitable.

It is easy to see how the change has come. One illustration will serve for almost every phase of the cause. In the manufacture of products we have the whole story. It applies to all combinations of human industry, as stimulated and enlarged by the inventions of this scientific age. Formerly articles were manufactured at the domestic hearth or in small shops which formed part of the household. The master and his apprentices worked side by side, the latter living

with the master, and therefore subject to the same conditions. When these apprentices rose to be masters, there was little or no change in their mode of life, and they, in turn, educated in the same routine succeeding apprentices. There was, substantially, social equality, and even political equality, for those engaged in industrial pursuits had then little or no political voice in the State.

But the inevitable result of such a mode of manufacture was crude articles at high prices. To-day the world obtains commodities of excellent quality at prices which even the generation preceding this would have deemed incredible. In the commercial world similar causes have produced similar results, and the race is benefited thereby. The poor enjoy what the rich could not before afford. What were the luxuries have become the necessities of life. The laborer has now more comforts than the farmer had a few generations ago. The farmer has more luxuries than the landlord had, and is more richly clad and better housed. The landlord has books and pictures rarer, and appointments more artistic, than the King could then obtain.

The price we pay for this salutary change is, no doubt, great. We assemble thousands of operatives in the factory, in the mine, and in the counting-house, of whom the employer can know little or nothing, and to whom the employer is little better than a myth. All intercourse between them is at an end. Rigid Castes are formed, and, as usual, mutual ignorance breeds mutual distrust. Each Caste is without sympathy for the other, and ready to credit anything disparaging in regard to it. Under the law of competition, the employer of thousands is forced into the strictest economies, among which the rates paid to labor figure prominently, and often there is friction between the employer and the employed, between capital and labor, between rich and poor. Human society loses homogeneity.

The price which society pays for the law of competition, like the price it pays for cheap comforts and luxuries, is also great; but the advantages of this law are also greater still, for it is to this law that we owe our wonderful material development, which brings improved conditions in its train. But, whether the law is benign or not, we must say of it, as we say of the change in the conditions of men to which we have referred: It is here, we cannot evade it; no substitutes for it have been found; and while the law may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race, because it insures the survival of the fittest in every department. We accept and welcome, therefore, as conditions to which we must accommodate ourselves, great inequality of environment, the concentration of business, industrial and commercial, in the hands of a few, and the law of competition between these, as being not only beneficial, but essential for the future progress of the race. Having accepted these, it follows that there must be great scope for the exercise of special ability in the merchant and in the



manufacturer who has to conduct affairs upon a great scale. That this talent for organization and management is rare among men is proved by the fact that it invariably secures for its possessor enormous rewards, no matter where or under what laws or conditions. The experienced in affairs always rate the Man whose services can be obtained as a partner as not only the first consideration, but such as to render the question of his capital scarcely worth considering, for such men soon create capital; while, without the special talent required, capital soon takes wings. Such men become interested in forms or corporations using millions; and estimating only simple interest to be made upon the capital invested, it is inevitable that their income must exceed their expenditures, and that they must accumulate wealth. Nor is there any middle ground which such men can occupy, because the great manufacturing or commercial concern which does not earn at least interest upon its capital soon becomes bankrupt. It must either go forward or fall behind: to stand still is impossible. It is a condition essential for its successful operation that it should be thus far profitable, and even that, in addition to interest on capital, it should make profit. It is a law, as certain as any of the others named, that men possessed of this peculiar talent for affairs, under the free play of economic forces, must, of necessity, soon be in receipt of more revenue than can be judiciously expended upon themselves; and this law is as beneficial for the race as the others.

Objections to the foundations upon which society is based are not in order, because the condition of the race is better with these than it has been with any others which have been tried. Of the effect of any new substitutes proposed we cannot be sure. The Socialist or Anarchist who seeks to overturn present conditions is to be regarded as attacking the foundation upon which civilization itself rests, for civilization took its start from the day that the capable, industrious workman said to his incompetent and lazy fellow, "If thou dost not sow, thou shalt not reap," and thus ended primitive Communism by separating the drones from the bees. One who studies this subject will soon be brought face to face with the conclusion that upon the sacredness of property civilization itself depends—the right of the laborer to his hundred dollars in the savings bank, and equally the legal right of the millionaire to his millions. To those who propose to substitute Communism for this intense Individualism the answer, therefore, is: The race has tried that. All progress from that barbarous day to the present time has resulted from its displacement. Not evil, but good, has come to the race from the accumulation of wealth by those who have the ability and energy that produce it.

But even if we admit for a moment that it might be better for the race to discard its present foundation, Individualism, that it is a nobler ideal that man should labor,

not for himself alone, but in and for a brotherhood of his fellows, and share with them all in common, realizing Swedenborg's idea of Heaven, where, as he says, the angels derive their happiness, not from laboring for self, but for each other—even admit all this, and a sufficient answer is, This is not evolution, but revolution. It necessitates the changing of human nature itself—a work of aeons, even if it were good to change it, which we cannot know. It is not practicable in our day or in our age. Even if desirable theoretically, it belongs to another and long-succeeding sociological stratum. Our duty is with what is practicable now; with the next step possible in our day and generation. It is criminal to waste our energies in endeavoring to uproot, when all we can profitably or possibly accomplish is to bend the universal tree of humanity a little in the direction most favorable to the production of good fruit under existing circumstances. We might as well urge the destruction of the highest existing type of man because he failed to reach our ideal as to favor the destruction of Individualism, Private Property, the Law of Accumulation of Wealth, and the Law of Competition; for these are the highest results of human experience, the soil in which society so far has produced the best fruit. Unequally or unjustly, perhaps, as these laws sometimes operate, and imperfect as they appear to the Idealist, they are, nevertheless, like the highest type of man, the best and most valuable of all that humanity has yet accomplished.

We start, then, with a condition of affairs under which the best interests of the race are promoted, but which inevitably gives wealth to the few. Thus far, accepting conditions as they exist, the situation can be surveyed and pronounced good. The question then arises—and, if the foregoing be correct, it is the only question with which we have to deal—What is the proper mode of administering wealth after the laws upon which civilization is founded have thrown it into the hands of the few? And it is of this great question that I believe I offer the true solution. It will be understood that *fortunes* are here spoken of, not moderate sums saved by many years of effort, the returns from which are required for the comfortable maintenance and education of families. This is not *wealth*, but only *competence*, which it should be the aim of all to acquire.

There are but three modes in which surplus wealth can be disposed of. It can be left to the families of the decedents; or it can be bequeathed for public purposes; or, finally, it can be administered during their lives by its possessors. Under the first and second modes most of the wealth of the world that has reached the few has hitherto been applied. Let us in turn consider each of these modes. The first is the most injudicious. In monarchical countries, the estates and the greatest portion of the wealth are left to the first son, that the vanity of the parent may be gratified by the thought that his name and title are to

descend to succeeding generations unimpaired. The condition of this class in Europe to-day teaches the futility of such hopes or ambitions. The successors have become impoverished through their follies or from the fall in the value of land. Even in Great Britain the strict law of entail has been found inadequate to maintain the status of an hereditary class. Its soil is rapidly passing into the hands of the stranger. Under republican institutions the division of property among the children is much fairer, but the question which forces itself upon thoughtful men in all lands is: Why should men leave great fortunes to their children? If this is done from affection, is it not misguided affection? Observation teaches that, generally speaking, it is not well for the children that they should be so burdened. Neither is it well for the state. Beyond providing for the wife and daughters moderate sources of income, and very moderate allowances indeed, if any, for the sons, men may well hesitate, for it is no longer questionable that great sums bequeathed oftener work more for the injury than for the good of the recipients. Wise men will soon conclude that, for the best interests of the members of their families and of the state, such bequests are an improper use of their means . . .

As to the second mode, that of leaving wealth at death for public uses, it may be said that this is only a means for the disposal of wealth, provided a man is content to wait until he is dead before it becomes of much good in the world. Knowledge of the results of legacies bequeathed is not calculated to inspire the brightest hopes of much posthumous good being accomplished. The cases are not few in which the real object sought by the testator is not attained, nor are they few in which his real wishes are thwarted. In many cases the bequests are so used as to become only monuments of his folly . . .

There remains, then, only one mode of using great fortunes; but in this we have the true antidote for the temporary unequal distribution of wealth, the reconciliation of the rich and the poor—a reign of harmony—another ideal, differing, indeed, from that of the Communist in requiring only the further evolution of existing conditions, not the total overthrow of our civilization. It is founded upon the present most intense individualism, and the race is prepared to put it in practice by degrees whenever it pleases. Under its sway we shall have an ideal state, in which the surplus wealth of the few will become, in the best sense, the property of the many, because administered for the common good; and this wealth, passing through the hands of the few, can be made a much more potent force for the elevation of our race than if it had been distributed in small sums to the people themselves. Even the poorest can be made to see this, and to agree that great sums gathered by some of their fellow-citizens and spent for public purposes, from which the masses reap the principal benefit, are more

valuable to them than if scattered among them through the course of many years in trifling amounts.

If we consider what results flow from the Cooper Institute, for instance, to the best portion of the race in New York not possessed of means, and compare these with those which would have arisen for the good of the masses from an equal sum distributed by Mr. Cooper in his lifetime in the form of wages, which is the highest form of distribution, being for work done and not for charity, we can form some estimate of the possibilities for the improvement of the race which lie embedded in the present law of the accumulation of wealth. Much of this sum, if distributed in small quantities among the people, would have been wasted in the indulgence of appetite, some of it in excess; and it may be doubted whether even the part put to the best use, that of adding to the comforts of the home, would have yielded results for the race, as a race, at all comparable to those which are flowing and are to flow from the Cooper Institute from generation to generation. Let the advocate of violent or radical change ponder well this thought.

We might even go so far as to take another instance, that of Mr. Tilden's bequest of five millions of dollars for a free library in the city of New York; but in referring to this one cannot help saying involuntarily, How much better if Mr. Tilden had devoted the last years of his own life to the proper administration of this immense sum; in which case neither legal contest nor any other cause of delay could have interfered with his aims. But let us assume that Mr. Tilden's millions finally become the means of giving to this city a noble public library, where the treasures of the world contained in books will be open to all forever, without money and without price. Considering the good of that part of the race which congregates in and around Manhattan Island, would its permanent benefit have been better promoted had these millions been allowed to circulate in small sums through the hands of the masses? Even the most strenuous advocate of Communism must entertain a doubt upon this subject. Most of those who think will probably entertain no doubt whatever.

Poor and restricted are our opportunities in this life; narrow our horizon; our best work most imperfect; but rich men should be thankful for one inestimable boon. They have it in their power during their lives to busy themselves in organizing benefactions from which the masses of their fellows will derive lasting advantage, and thus dignify their own lives. The highest life is probably to be reached, not by such imitation of the life of Christ as Count Tolstoi gives us, but, while animated by Christ's spirit, by recognizing the changed conditions of this age, and adopting modes of expressing this spirit suitable to the changed conditions under which we live; still laboring for the good of our fellows, which was the essence of his life and teaching, but laboring in a different manner.

This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of Wealth: First, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and after doing so to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the mere agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves . . .

The best uses to which surplus wealth can be put have already been indicated. Those who would administer wisely must, indeed, be wise, for one of the serious obstacles to the improvement of our race is indiscriminate charity. It were better for mankind that the millions of the rich were thrown into the sea than so spent as to encourage the slothful, the drunken, the unworthy. Of every thousand dollars spent in so called charity to-day, it is probable that \$950 is unwisely spent; so spent, indeed, as to produce the very evils which it proposes to mitigate or cure. A well-known writer of philosophic books admitted the other day that he had given a quarter of a dollar to a man who approached him as he was coming to visit the house of his friend. He knew nothing of the habits of this beggar, knew not the use that would be made of this money, although he had every reason to suspect that it would be spent improperly. This man professed to be a disciple of Herbert Spencer; yet the quarter-dollar given that night will probably work more injury than all the money which its thoughtless donor will ever be able to give in true charity will do good. He only gratified his own feelings, saved himself from annoyance—and this was probably one of the most selfish and very worst actions of his life, for in all respects he is most worthy.

In bestowing charity, the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves; to provide part of the means by which those who desire to improve may do so; to give those who desire to rise the aids by which they may rise; to assist, but rarely or never to do all. Neither the individual nor the race is improved by alms-giving. Those worthy of assistance, except in rare cases, seldom require assistance; the really valuable men of the race never do, except in cases of accident or sudden change. Every one has, of course, cases of individuals brought to his own knowledge where temporary assistance can do genuine good, and these he will not overlook. But the amount which can be wisely given by the individual for individuals is necessarily limited by his lack of knowledge of the circumstances connected with each. He is the only true reformer who is as careful and as anxious not to aid the unworthy as

he is to aid the worthy, and, perhaps, even more so, for in alms-giving more injury is probably done by rewarding vice than by relieving virtue.

The rich man is thus almost restricted to following the examples of Peter Cooper, Enoch Pratt of Baltimore, Mr. Pratt of Brooklyn, Senator Stanford, and others, who know that the best means of benefiting the community is to place within its reach the ladders upon which the aspiring can rise—parks, and means of recreation, by which men are helped in body and mind; works of art, certain to give pleasure and improve the public taste, and public institutions of various kinds, which will improve the general condition of the people—in this manner returning their surplus wealth to the mass of their fellows in the forms best calculated to do them lasting good.

Thus is the problem of Rich and Poor to be solved. The laws of accumulation will be left free; the laws of distribution free. Individualism will continue, but the millionaire will be but a trustee for the poor; intrusted for a season with a great part of the increased wealth of the community, but administering it for the community far better than it could or would have done for itself. The best minds will thus have reached a stage in the development of the race in which it is clearly seen that there is no mode of disposing of surplus wealth creditable to thoughtful and earnest men into whose hands it flows save by using it year by year for the general good. This day already dawns. But a little while, and although, without incurring the pity of their fellows, men may die sharers in great business enterprises from which their capital cannot be or has not been withdrawn, and is left chiefly at death for public uses; yet the man who dies leaving behind him millions of available wealth, which was his to administer during life, will pass away “unwept, unhonored, and unsung,” no matter to what uses he leaves the dross which he cannot take with him. Of such as these the public verdict will then be: “The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced.”

Such, in my opinion, is the true Gospel concerning Wealth, obedience to which is destined some day to solve the problem of the Rich and the Poor, and to bring “Peace on earth, among men Good-Will.”

## How the Other Half Lives (1890)

Jacob A. Riis

In Erik Bruun and Jay Crosby, eds., *Our Nation's Archives: The History of the United States in Documents* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 1999), pp. 451–458

The street Arab is as much of an institution in New York as Newspaper Row, to which he gravitates naturally, following his Bohemian instinct. Crowded out of the tenements to shift for himself, and quite ready to do it, he meets the host

of adventurous runaways from every State in the Union and from across the sea, whom New York attracts with a queer fascination, as it attracts older emigrants from all parts of the world. A census of the population in the Newsboys' Lodging-house on any night will show such an odd mixture of small humanity as could hardly be got together in any other spot. It is a mistake to think that they are helpless little creatures, to be pitied and cried over because they are alone in the world. The unmerciful "guying" the good man would receive, who went to them with such a programme, would soon convince him that that sort of pity was wasted, and would very likely give him the idea that they were a set of hardened little scoundrels, quite beyond the reach of missionary effort.

But that would only be his second mistake. The Street Arab has all the faults and all the virtues of the lawless Life he leads. Vagabond that he is, acknowledging no authority and owing no allegiance to anybody or anything, with his grimy fist raised against society whenever it tries to coerce him, he is as bright and sharp as the weasel, which, among all the predatory beasts, he most resembles. His sturdy independence, love of freedom and absolute self-reliance, together with his rude sense of justice that enables him to govern his little community, not always in accordance with municipal law or city ordinances, but often a good deal closer to the saving line of "doing to others as one would be done by"—these are strong handles by which those who know how can catch the boy and make him useful. Successful bankers, clergymen, and lawyers all over the country, statesmen in some instances of national repute, bear evidence in their lives to the potency of such missionary efforts. There is scarcely a learned profession, or branch of honorable business, that has not in the last twenty years borrowed some of its brightest light from the poverty and gloom of New York's streets.

Anyone, whom business or curiosity has taken through Park Row or across Printing House Square in the midnight hour, when the air is filled with the roar of great presses spinning with printers' ink on endless rolls of white paper the history of the world in twenty-four hours that have just passed away, has seen little groups of these boys hanging about the newspaper offices; in winter, when snow is on the streets, fighting for warm spots around the grated vent-holes that let out the heat and steam from the underground rooms with their noise and clatter, and in summer playing craps and 7-11 on the curb for their hard-earned pennies, with all the absorbing concern of hardened gamblers. This is their beat. Here the agent for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children finds those he thinks too young for "business," but does not always capture them. Like rabbits in their burrows, the little ragamuffins sleep with at least one eye open, and every sense alert to the approach of danger: of their enemy, the policeman, whose

chief business in life is to move them on, and of the agent bent on robbing them of their cherished freedom. At the first warning shot they scatter and are off. To pursue them would be like chasing the fleet-footed mountain goat in his rocky fastnesses.

## Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890

*United States Statutes at Large* (51st Cong., 2d sess., chap. 647), pp. 209–210

### An Act

*To protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies.*

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

Sec. 1. Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 2. Every person who shall monopolize, or attempt to monopolize, or combine or conspire with any other person or persons, to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 3. Every contract, combination in form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce in any Territory of the United States or of the District of Columbia, or in restraint of trade or commerce between any such Territory and another, or between any such Territory or Territories and any State or States or the District of Columbia, or with foreign nations, or between the District of Columbia and any State or States or foreign nations, is hereby declared illegal. Every person who shall make any such contract or engage in any such combination or conspiracy, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

Sec. 4. The several circuit courts of the United States are hereby invested with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of this act; and it shall be the duty of the several



district attorneys of the United States, in their respective districts, under the direction of the Attorney-General, to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations. Such proceedings may be by way of petition setting forth the case and praying that such violation shall be enjoined or otherwise prohibited. When the parties complained of shall have been duly notified of such petition the court shall proceed, as soon as may be, to the hearing and determination of the case; and pending such petition and before final decree, the court may at any time make such temporary restraining order or prohibition as shall be deemed just in the premises.

Sec. 5. Whenever it shall appear to the court before which any proceeding under section four of this act may be pending, that the ends of justice require that other parties should be brought before the court, the court may cause them to be summoned, whether they reside in the district in which the court is held or not; and subpoenas to that end may be served in any district by the marshal thereof.

Sec. 6. Any property owned under any contract or by any combination, or pursuant to any conspiracy (and being the subject thereof) mentioned in section one of this act, and being in the course of transportation from one State to another, or to a foreign country, shall be forfeited to the United States, and may be seized and condemned by like proceedings as those provided by law for the forfeiture, seizure, and condemnation of property imported into the United States contrary to law.

Sec. 7. Any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or corporation by reason of anything forbidden or declared to be unlawful by this act, may sue therefor in any circuit court of the United States in the district in which the defendant resides or is found, without respect to the amount in controversy, and shall recover three fold the damages by him sustained, and the costs of suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee.

Sec. 8. That the word "person," or "persons," wherever used in this act shall be deemed to include corporations and associations existing under or authorized by the laws of either the United States, the laws of any of the Territories, the laws of any State, or the laws of any foreign country.

Approved, July 2, 1890.

### **"The Labor Movement Is a Fixed Fact" (May 1, 1890)**

**Samuel Gompers**

In Erik Bruun and Jay Crosby, eds., *Our Nation's Archives: The History of the United States in Documents* (New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 1999), pp. 458–460

My friends, we have met here today to celebrate the idea that has prompted thousands of workingpeople of Louis-

ville and New Albany to parade the streets of [your city]; that prompts the toilers of Chicago to turn out by their fifty or hundred thousand men; that prompts the vast army of wageworkers in New York to demonstrate their enthusiasm and appreciation of the importance of this idea; that prompts the toilers of England, Ireland, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and Austria to defy the manifestos of the autocrats of the world and say that on May the first, 1890, the wage-workers of the world will lay down their tools in sympathy with the wage-workers of America, to establish a principle of limitations of hours of labor to eight hours for sleep, eight hours for work, and eight hours for what we will.

It has been charged time and again that were we to have more hours of leisure we would merely devote it to debauchery, to the cultivation of vicious habits—in other words, that we would get drunk. I desire to say this in answer to that charge: As a rule, there are two classes in society who get drunk. One is the class who has no work to do, because it can't get any, and gets drunk on its face. I maintain that that class in our social life that exhibits the greatest degree of sobriety is that class who are able, by a fair number of hours of day's work to earn fair wages—not overworked. The man who works twelve, fourteen, and sixteen hours a day requires some artificial stimulation to restore the life ground out of him in the drudgery of the day. . . .

We ought to be able to discuss this question on a higher ground, and I am pleased to say that the movement in which we are engaged will stimulate us to it. They tell us that the eight-hour movement can not be enforced, for the reason that it must check industrial and commercial progress. I say that the history of this country, in its industrial and commercial relations, shows the reverse. I say that is the plane on which this question ought to be discussed—that is the social question. As long as they make this question an economic one, I am willing to discuss it with them. I would retrace every step I have taken to advance this movement did it mean industrial and commercial stagnation. But it does not mean that. It means greater prosperity; it means a greater degree of progress for the whole people; it means more advancement and intelligence, and a nobler race of people. . . .

They say they can't afford it. Is that true? Let us see for one moment. If a reduction in the hours of labor causes industrial and commercial ruination, it would naturally follow increased hours of labor would increase the prosperity, commercial and industrial. If that were true, England and America ought to be at the tail end, and China at the head of civilization.

Is it not a fact that we find laborers in England and the United States, where the hours are eight, nine and ten hours a day—do we not find that employers and laborers are more successful? Don't we find them selling articles

cheaper? We do not need to trust the modern moralist to tell us those things. In all industries where the hours of labor are long, there you will find the least development of the power of invention. Where the hours of labor are long, men are cheap, and where men are cheap there is no necessity for invention. How can you expect a man to work ten or twelve or fourteen hours at his calling and then devote any time to the invention of a machine or discovery of a new principle or force? If he be so fortunate as to be able to read a paper he will fall a sleep before he has read through the second or third line.

Why, when you reduce the hours of labor, say an hour a day, just think what it means. Suppose men who work ten hours a day had the time lessened to nine, or men who work nine hours a day have it reduced to eight hours; what does it mean. It means millions of golden hours and opportunities for thought. Some men might say you will go to sleep. Well, some men might sleep sixteen hours a day; the ordinary man might try that, but he would soon find he could not do it long. He would have to do something. He would probably go to the theater one night, to a concert another night, but could not do that every night. He would probably become interested in some study and the hours that have been taken from manual labor are devoted to mental labor, and the mental labor of one hour will produce for him more wealth than the physical labor of a dozen hours.

I maintain that this is a true proposition—that men under the short-hour system not only have opportunity to improve themselves, but to make a greater degree of prosperity for their employers. Why, my friends, how is it in China, how is it in Spain, how is it in India and Russia, how is it in Italy? Cast your eye throughout the universe and observe the industry that forces nature to yield up its fruits to man's necessities, and you will find that where the hours of labor are the shortest the progress of invention in machinery and the prosperity of the people are the greatest. It is the greatest impediment to progress to hire men cheaply. Wherever men are cheap, there you find the least degree of progress. It has only been under the great influence of our great republic, where our people have exhibited their great senses, that we can move forward, upward and onward, and are watched with interest in our movements of progress and reform. . . .

The man who works the long hours has no necessities except the barest to keep body and soul together, so he can work. He goes to sleep and dreams of work; he rises in the morning to go to work; he takes his frugal lunch to work; he comes home again to throw himself down on a miserable apology for a bed so that he can get that little rest that he may be able to go to work again. He is nothing but a veritable machine. He lives to work instead of working to live.

My friends, the only thing the working people need besides the necessities of life, is time. Time. Time with

which our lives begin; time with which our lives close; time to cultivate the better nature within us; time to brighten our homes. Time, which brings us from the lowest condition up to the highest civilization; time, so that we can raise men to a higher plane.

My friends, you will find that it has been ascertained that there is more than a million brothers and sisters—able-bodied men and women—on the streets, and on the highways and byways of our country willing to work but cannot find it. You know that it is the theory of our government that we can work or cease to work at will. It is only a theory. You know that it is only a theory and not a fact. It is true that we can cease to work when we want to, but I deny that we can work when we will, so long as there are a million idle men and women tramping the streets of our cities, searching for work. The theory that we can work or cease to work when we will is a delusion and a snare. It is a lie.

What we want to consider is, first, to make our employment more secure, and, secondly, to make wages more permanent, and, thirdly, to give these poor people a chance to work. The laborer has been regarded as a mere producing machine . . . but the back of labor is the soul of man and honesty of purpose and aspiration. Now you can not, as the political economists and college professors [do], say that labor is a commodity to be bought and sold. I say we are American citizens with the heritage of all the great men who have stood before us; men who have sacrificed all in the cause except honor. Our enemies would like to see this movement thrust into Hades, they would like to see it in a warmer climate, but I say to you that this labor movement has come to stay. Like Banquo's ghost, it will not stay down. I say the labor movement is a fixed fact. It has grown out of the necessities of the people, and, although some may desire to see it fail, still the labor movement will be found to have a strong lodgment in the hearts of the people, and we will go on until success has been achieved.

We want eight hours and nothing less. We have been accused of being selfish, and it has been said that we will want more; that last year we got an advance of ten cents and now we want more. We do want more. You will find that a man generally wants more. Go and ask a tramp what he wants, and if he doesn't want a drink, he wants a good, square meal. You ask a workingman, who is getting two dollars a day, and he will say that he wants ten cents more. Ask a man who gets five dollars a day and he will want fifty cents more. The man who receives five thousand dollars a year wants six thousand dollars a year, and the man who owns eight or nine hundred thousand dollars will want a hundred thousand dollars more to make it a million, while the man who has his millions will want everything he can lay his hands on and then raise his voice against the poor devil who wants ten cents more a day. We live in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In the age of electricity

and steam that has produced wealth a hundred fold, we insist that it has been brought about by the intelligence and energy of the workingmen, and while we find that is now easier to produce it is harder to live. We do want more, and when it becomes more, we shall still want more. And we shall never cease to demand more until we have received the results of our labor.

### Populist Party Platform, 1892

In Henry Steele Commager and Milton Cantor, eds., *Documents of American History*, Vol. 1 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988)

#### Populist Party Platform

Assembled upon the 116th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the People's Party of America, in their first national convention, invoking upon their action the blessing of Almighty God, put forth in the name and on behalf of the people of this country, the following preamble and declaration of principles:

#### Preamble

The conditions which surround us best justify our cooperation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the Legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places to prevent universal intimidation and bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right to organize for self-protection, imported pauperized labor beats down their wages, a hiring standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these, in turn, despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires.

The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bond-holders; a vast public debt payable in legal-tender currency has been funded into gold-bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people.

Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is

purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise, and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism.

We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver and the oppressions of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the altar of mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires.

Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the nation, and filled with the spirit of the grand general and chief who established our independence, we seek to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of the "plain people," with which class it originated. We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of the National Constitution; to form a more perfect union and establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity.

We declare that this Republic can only endure as a free government while built upon the love of the people for each other and for the nation; that it cannot be pinned together by bayonets; that the Civil War is over, and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it, and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, one united brotherhood of free men.

Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world; our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value, which must, within a few weeks or months, be exchanged for billions of dollars' worth of commodities consumed in their production; the existing currency supply is wholly inadequate to make this exchange; the results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, the impoverishment of the producing class. We pledge ourselves that if given power we will labor to correct these evils by wise and reasonable legislation, in accordance with the terms of our platform.

We believe that the power of government—in other words, of the people—should be expanded (as in the case of the postal service) as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that oppression, injustice, and poverty shall eventually cease in the land.

While our sympathies as a party of reform are naturally upon the side of every proposition which will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous, and temperate, we nevertheless regard these questions, important as they are, as secondary to the great issues now pressing for solution, and upon which not only our individual prosperity but the very existence of free institutions depend; and we ask all men to first help us to determine whether we are to have a republic to administer before we differ as to the conditions upon which it is to be administered, believing that the forces of reform this day organized will never cease to move forward until every wrong is righted and equal rights and equal privileges securely established for all the men and women of this country.

### Platform

We declare, therefore —

First.—That the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual; may its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the Republic and the uplifting of mankind.

Second.—Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. “If any will not work, neither shall he eat.” The interests of rural and civil labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

Third.—We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads; and should the government enter upon the work of owning and managing all railroads, we should favor an amendment to the constitution by which all persons engaged in the government service shall be placed under a civil-service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of the national administration by the use of such additional government employees.

Finance.—We demand a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations; a just, equitable, and efficient means of distribution direct to the people, at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent, per annum, to be provided as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers’ Alliance, or a better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

1. We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

2. We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.
3. We demand a graduated income tax.
4. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all State and national revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.
5. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

Transportation.—Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people. The telegraph and telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

Land.—The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

### Expression of Sentiments

Your Committee on Platform and Resolutions beg leave unanimously to report the following:

Whereas, Other questions have been presented for our consideration, we hereby submit the following, not as a part of the Platform of the People’s Party, but as resolutions expressive of the sentiment of this Convention.

1. Resolved, That we demand a free ballot and a fair count in all elections, and pledge ourselves to secure it to every legal voter without Federal intervention, through the adoption by the States of the unperverted Australian or secret ballot system.
2. Resolved, That the revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burden of taxation now levied upon the domestic industries of this country.
3. Resolved, That we pledge our support to fair and liberal pensions to ex-Union soldiers and sailors.
4. Resolved, That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world and crowds out our wage-earners; and we denounce the present ineffective laws against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable emigration.



5. Resolved, That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of organized workingmen to shorten the hours of labor, and demand a rigid enforcement of the existing eight-hour law on Government work, and ask that a penalty clause be added to the said law.
6. Resolved, That we regard the maintenance of a large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition; and we condemn the recent invasion of the Territory of Wyoming by the hired assassins of plutocracy, assisted by Federal officers.
7. Resolved, That we commend to the favorable consideration of the people and the reform press the legislative system known as the initiative and referendum.
8. Resolved, That we favor a constitutional provision limiting the office of President and Vice-President to one term, and providing for the election of Senators of the United States by a direct vote of the people.
9. Resolved, That we oppose any subsidy or national aid to any private corporation for any purpose.
10. Resolved, That this convention sympathizes with the Knights of Labor and their righteous contest with the tyrannical combine of clothing manufacturers of Rochester, and declare it to be a duty of all who hate tyranny and oppression to refuse to purchase the goods made by the said manufacturers, or to patronize any merchants who sell such goods.

### Booker T. Washington's "Atlanta Compromise" Speech, September 18, 1895

In John A. Scott, ed., *Living Documents in American History*, Vol. 1 (New York: Washington Square Press, 1964-68), pp. 609-612

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Board of Directors and Citizens:

One-third of the population of the South is of the Negro race. No enterprise seeking the material, civil, or moral welfare of this section can disregard this element of our population and reach the highest success. I but convey to you, Mr. President and Directors, the sentiment of the masses of my race when I say that in no way have the value and manhood of the American Negro been more fittingly and generously recognized than by the managers of this magnificent Exposition at every stage of its progress. It is a recognition that will do more to cement the friendship of the two races than any occurrence since the dawn of our freedom.

Not only this, but the opportunity here afforded will awaken among us a new era of industrial progress. Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom;

that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention of stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen a signal, "Water, water; we die of thirst!" The answer from the friendly vessel at once came back, "Cast down your bucket where you are." A second time the signal, "Water, water; send us water!" ran up from the distressed vessel, and was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." And a third and fourth signal for water was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." The captain of the distressed vessel, at least heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the southern white man, who is their next-door neighbour, I would say: "Cast down your bucket where you are"—cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, builded your railroads and cit-

ies, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories.

While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sickbed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defence of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

There is no defence or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If anywhere there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging, and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort or means so invested will pay a thousand percent interest. These efforts will be twice blessed—"blessing him that gives and him that takes."

There is no escape through law of man or God from the inevitable:

The laws of changeless justice bind Oppressor with oppressed; And close as sin and suffering joined We march to fate abreast.

Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you in pulling the load upward, or they will pull against you the load downward. We shall constitute one-third and more of the ignorance and crime of the South, or one-third of its intelligence and progress; we shall contribute one-third to the business and industrial prosperity of the South, or we shall prove a veritable body of death, stagnating, depressing, retarding every effort to advance the body politic.

Gentlemen of the Exposition, as we present to you our humble effort at an exhibition of our progress, you must not expect overmuch. Starting thirty years ago with ownership here and there in a few quilts and pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember the path that has led from these to the inventions and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam-engines, newspapers, books, statuary, carving, paintings, the management

of drugstores and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles. While we take pride in what we exhibit as a result of our independent efforts, we do not for a moment forget that our part in this exhibition would fall far short of your expectations but for the constant help that has come to our educational life, not only from the southern States, but especially from northern philanthropists, who have made their gifts a constant stream of blessing and encouragement.

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house.

In conclusion, may I repeat that nothing in thirty years has given us more hope and encouragement, and drawn us so near to you of the white race, as this opportunity offered by the Exposition; here bending, as it were, over the altar that represents the results of the struggles of your race and mine, both starting practically empty-handed three decades ago, I pledge that in your effort to work out the great and intricate problem which God has laid at the doors of the South, you shall have at all times the patient, sympathetic help of my race. Only let this be constantly in mind, that, while from representations in these buildings of the product of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, letters, and art, much good will come, yet far above and beyond material benefits will be that higher good, that, let us pray God, will come, in a blotting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, and in a determination to administer absolute justice, even in the remotest corner; in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law and a spirit that will tolerate nothing but the highest equity in the enforcement of law. This, then, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring into our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth.

### ***Plessy v. Ferguson* (May 18, 1896) U.S. Supreme Court**

163 U.S. 537 (1896). In *Supreme Court Reporter*, Vol. 16, pp. 1,138–1,148 (163 U.S. 537).

Mr. Justice Henry B. Brown for the majority:

This case turns upon the constitutionality of an act of the general assembly of the state of Louisiana, passed in

1890, providing for separate railway carriages for the white and colored races. . . .

The constitutionality of this act is attacked upon the ground that it conflicts both with the thirteenth amendment of the constitution, abolishing slavery, and the fourteenth amendment, which prohibits certain restrictive legislation on the part of the states.

1. That it does not conflict with the thirteenth amendment, which abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is too clear for argument. . . .

A statute which implies merely a legal distinction between the white and colored races—a distinction which is founded in the color of the two races, and which must always exist so long as white men are distinguished from the other race by color—has no tendency to destroy the legal equality of the two races, or re-establish a state of involuntary servitude. Indeed, we do not understand that the thirteenth amendment is strenuously relied upon by the plaintiff in error in this connection. . . .

The object of the amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but, in the nature of things, it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political, equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, and even requiring, their separation, in places where they are liable to be brought into contact, do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislatures in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which have been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of states where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced. . . .

It is claimed by the plaintiff in error that, in any mixed community, the reputation of belonging to the dominant race, in this instance the white race, is “property,” in the same sense that a right of action or of inheritance is property. Conceding this to be so, for the purposes of this case, we are unable to see how this statute deprives him of, or in any way affects his right to, such property. If he be a white man, and assigned to a colored coach, he may have his action for damages against the company for being deprived of his so-called “property.” Upon the other hand, if he be a colored man, and be so assigned, he has been deprived of no property, since he is not lawfully entitled to the reputation of being a white man. . . .

So far, then, as a conflict with the fourteenth amendment is concerned, the case reduces itself to the question whether the statute of Louisiana is a reasonable regulation, and with respect to this there must necessarily be a large discretion on the part of the legislature. In determining the question of reasonableness, it is at liberty to act with reference to the established usages, customs, and traditions of the people, and with a view to the promotion of their comfort, and the preservation of the public peace and good order. Gauged by this standard, we cannot say that a law which authorizes or even requires the separation of the two races in public conveyances is unreasonable, or more obnoxious to the fourteenth amendment than the acts of Congress requiring separate schools for colored children in the District of Columbia, the constitutionality of which does not seem to have been questioned, or the corresponding acts of state legislatures.

We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff’s argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it. The argument necessarily assumes that if, as has been more than once the case, and is not unlikely to be so again, the colored race should become the dominant power in the state legislature, and should enact a law in precisely similar terms, it would thereby relegate the white race to an inferior position. We imagine that the white race, at least, would not acquiesce in this assumption. The argument also assumes that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured to the negro except by an enforced commingling of the two races. We cannot accept this proposition. If the two races are to meet upon terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each other’s merits, and a voluntary consent of individuals. As was said by the court of appeals of New York in *People v. Gallagher*, 93 N. Y. 438, 448: “This end can neither be accomplished nor promoted by laws which conflict with the general sentiment of the community upon whom they are designed to operate. When the government, therefore, has secured to each of its citizens equal rights before the law, and equal opportunities for improvement and progress, it has accomplished the end for which it was organized, and performed all of the functions respecting social advantages with which it is endowed.” Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts, or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. If the civil and political rights of both races be equal, one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane. . . .

Mr. Justice Harlan dissenting.

... In respect of civil rights, common to all citizens, the constitution of the United States does not, I think, permit any public authority to know the race of those entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of such rights. Every true man has pride of race, and under appropriate circumstances, when the rights of others, his equals before the law, are not to be affected, it is his privilege to express such pride and to take such action based upon it as to him seems proper. But I deny that any legislative body or judicial tribunal may have regard to the race of citizens when the civil rights of those citizens are involved. Indeed, such legislation as that here in question is inconsistent not only with that equality of rights which pertains to citizenship, national and state, but with the personal liberty enjoyed by every one within the United States.

The thirteenth amendment does not permit the withholding or the deprivation of any right necessarily inhering in freedom. It not only struck down the institution of slavery as previously existing in the United States, but it prevents the imposition of any burdens or disabilities that constitute badges of slavery or servitude. It decreed universal civil freedom in this country. This court has so adjudged. But, that amendment having been found inadequate to the protection of the rights of those who had been in slavery, it was followed by the fourteenth amendment, which added greatly to the dignity and glory of American citizenship, and to the security of personal liberty, by declaring that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside," and that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." These two amendments, if enforced according to their true intent and meaning, will protect all the civil rights that pertain to freedom and citizenship. Finally, and to the end that no citizen should be denied, on account of his race, the privilege of participating in the political control of his country, it was declared by the fifteenth amendment that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

These notable additions to the fundamental law were welcomed by the friends of liberty throughout the world. They removed the race line from our governmental systems. They had, as this court has said, a common purpose, namely, to secure "to a race recently emancipated, a race that through many generations have been held in slavery, all the civil rights that the superior race enjoy." They declared, in legal effect, this court has further said, "that

the law in the states shall be the same for the black as for the white; that all persons, whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the states; and in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color." We also said: "The words of the amendment, it is true, are prohibitory, but they contain a necessary implication of a positive immunity or right, most valuable to the colored race,—the right to exemption from unfriendly legislation against them distinctively as colored; exemption from legal discriminations, implying inferiority in civil society, lessening the security of their enjoyment of the rights which others enjoy; and discriminations which are steps towards reducing them to the condition of a subject race." It was, consequently, adjudged that a state law that excluded citizens of the colored race from juries, because of their race, however well qualified in other respects to discharge the duties of jurymen, was repugnant to the fourteenth amendment. *Strauder v. West Virginia*, 100 U.S. 303, 306, 307; *Virginia v. Rives*, Id. 313; *Ex parte Virginia*, Id. 339; *Neal v. Delaware*, 103 U.S. 370, 386; *Bush v. Com.*, 107 U.S. 110, 116, 1 Sup. Ct. 625. At the present term, referring to the previous adjudications, this court declared that "underlying all of those decisions is the principle that the constitution of the United States, in its present form, forbids, so far as civil and political rights are concerned, discrimination by the general government or the states against any citizen because of his race. All citizens are equal before the law." *Gibson v. State*, 162 U.S. 565, 16 Sup. Ct. 904.

The decisions referred to show the scope of the recent amendments of the constitution. They also show that it is not within the power of a state to prohibit colored citizens, because of their race, from participating as jurors in the administration of justice.

It was said in argument that the statute of Louisiana does not discriminate against either race, but prescribes a rule applicable alike to white and colored citizens. But this argument does not meet the difficulty. Every one knows that the statute in question had its origin in the purpose, not so much to exclude white persons from railroad cars occupied by blacks, as to exclude colored people from coaches occupied by or assigned to white persons. Railroad corporations of Louisiana did not make discrimination among whites in the matter of accommodation for travelers. The thing to accomplish was, under the guise of giving equal accommodation for whites and blacks, to compel the latter to keep to themselves while traveling in railroad passenger coaches. No one would be so wanting in candor as to assert the contrary. The fundamental objection, therefore, to the statute, is that it interferes with the personal freedom of citizens. "Personal liberty," it has been well said, "consists in the power of locomotion, of changing situation, or removing one's person to



whatsoever places one's own inclination may direct, without imprisonment or restraint, unless by due course of law." 1 Bl. Comm. 134. If a white man and a black man choose to occupy the same public conveyance on a public highway, it is their right to do so; and no government, proceeding alone on grounds of race, can prevent it without infringing the personal liberty of each.

It is one thing for railroad carriers to furnish, or to be required by law to furnish, equal accommodations for all whom they are under a legal duty to carry. It is quite another thing for government to forbid citizens of the white and black races from traveling in the same public conveyance, and to punish officers of railroad companies for permitting persons of the two races to occupy the same passenger coach. If a state can prescribe, as a rule of civil conduct, that whites and blacks shall not travel as passengers in the same railroad coach, why may it not so regulate the use of the streets of its cities and towns as to compel white citizens to keep on one side of a street, and black citizens to keep on the other? Why may it not, upon like grounds, punish whites and blacks who ride together in street cars or in open vehicles on a public road or street? Why may it not require sheriffs to assign whites to one side of a court room, and blacks to the other? And why may it not also prohibit the commingling of the two races in the galleries of legislative halls or in public assemblages convened for the consideration of the political questions of the day? Further, if this statute of Louisiana is consistent with the personal liberty of citizens, why may not the state require the separation in railroad coaches of native and naturalized citizens of the United States, or of Protestants and Roman Catholics?

The answer given at the argument to these questions was that regulations of the kind they suggest would be unreasonable, and could not, therefore, stand before the law. Is it meant that the determination of questions of legislative power depends upon the inquiry whether the statute whose validity is questioned is, in the judgment of the courts, a reasonable one, taking all the circumstances into consideration? A statute may be unreasonable merely because a sound public policy forbade its enactment. But I do not understand that the courts have anything to do with the policy or expediency of legislation. A statute may be valid, and yet, upon grounds of public policy, may well be characterized as unreasonable. Mr. Sedgwick correctly states the rule when he says that, the legislative intention being clearly ascertained, "the courts have no other duty to perform than to execute the legislative will, without any regard to their views as to the wisdom or justice of the particular enactment." Sedg. St. & Const. Law, 324. There is a dangerous tendency in these latter days to enlarge the functions of the courts; by means of judicial interference with the will of the people as expressed by the legislature.

Our institutions have the distinguishing characteristic that the three departments of government are co-ordinate and separate. Each must keep within the limits defined by the constitution. And the courts best discharge their duty by executing the will of the lawmaking power, constitutionally expressed, leaving the results of legislation to be dealt with by the people through their representatives. Statutes must always have a reasonable construction. Sometimes they are to be construed strictly, sometimes literally, in order to carry out the legislative will. But, however construed, the intent of the legislature is to be respected if the particular statute in question is valid, although the courts, looking at the public interests, may conceive the statute to be both unreasonable and impolitic. If the power exists to enact a statute, that ends the matter so far as the courts are concerned. The adjudged cases in which statutes have been held to be void, because unreasonable, are those in which the means employed by the legislature were not at all germane to the end to which the legislature was competent.

The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in the country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth, and in power. So, I doubt not, it will continue to be for all time, if it remains true to its great heritage, and holds fast to the principles of constitutional liberty. But in view of the constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is therefore to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a state to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race.

In my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott* Case.

It was adjudged in that case that the descendants of Africans who were imported into this country, and sold as slaves, were not included nor intended to be included under the word "citizens" in the constitution, and could not claim any of the rights and privileges which that instrument provided for and secured to citizens of the United States; that, at the time of the adoption of the constitution, they were "considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but

such as those who held the power and the government might choose to grant them.” 17 How. 393, 404. The recent amendments of the constitution, it was supposed, had eradicated these principles from our institutions. But it seems that we have yet, in some of the states, a dominant race,—a superior class of citizens,—which assumes to regulate the enjoyment of civil rights, common to all citizens, upon the basis of race. The present decision, it may well be apprehended, will not only stimulate aggressions, more or less brutal and irritating, upon the admitted rights of colored citizens, but will encourage the belief that it is possible, by means of state enactments, to defeat the beneficent purposes which the people of the United States had in view when they adopted the recent amendments of the constitution, by one of which the blacks of this country were made citizens of the United States and of the states in which they respectively reside, and whose privileges and immunities, as citizens, the states are forbidden to abridge. Sixty millions of whites are in no danger from the presence here of eight millions of blacks. The destinies of the two races, in this country, are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require that the common government of all shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law. What can more certainly arouse race hate, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than state enactments which, in fact, proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens? That, as all will admit, is the real meaning of such legislation as was enacted in Louisiana.

The sure guaranty of the peace and security of each race is the clear, distinct, unconditional recognition by our governments, national and state, of every right that inheres in civil freedom, and of the equality before the law of all citizens of the United States, without regard to race. State enactments regulating the enjoyment of civil rights upon the basis of race, and cunningly devised to defeat legitimate results of the war, under the pretense of recognizing equality of rights, can have no other result than to render permanent peace impossible, and to keep alive a conflict of races, the continuance of which must do harm to all concerned. This question is not met by the suggestion that social equality cannot exist between the white and black races in this country. That argument, if it can be properly regarded as one, is scarcely worthy of consideration; for social equality no more exists between two races when traveling in a passenger coach or a public highway than when members of the same races sit by each other in a street car or in the jury box, or stand or sit with each other in a political assembly, or when they use in common the streets of a city or town, or when they are in the same room for the purpose of having their names placed on the registry of voters, or when

they approach the ballot box in order to exercise the high privilege of voting.

There is a race so different from our own that we do not permit those belonging to it to become citizens of the United States. Persons belonging to it are, with few exceptions, absolutely excluded from our country. I allude to the Chinese race. But, by the statute in question, a Chinaman can ride in the same passenger coach with white citizens of the United States, while citizens of the black race in Louisiana, many of whom, perhaps, risked their lives for the preservation of the Union, who are entitled, by law, to participate in the political control of the state and nation, who are not excluded, by law or by reason of their race, from public stations of any kind, and who have all the legal rights that belong to white citizens, are yet declared to be criminals, liable to imprisonment, if they ride in a public coach occupied by citizens of the white race. It is scarcely just to say that a colored citizen should not object to occupying a public coach assigned to his own race. He does not object, nor, perhaps, would he object to separate coaches for his race if his rights under the law were recognized. But he does object, and he ought never to cease objecting, that citizens of the white and black races can be adjudged criminals because they sit, or claim the right to sit, in the same public coach on a public highway.

The arbitrary separation of citizens, on the basis of race, while they are on a public highway, is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality before the law established by the constitution. It cannot be justified upon any legal grounds.

If evils will result from the commingling of the two races upon public highways established for the benefit of all, they will be infinitely less than those that will surely come from state legislation regulating the enjoyment of civil rights upon the basis of race. We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow citizens,—our equals before the law. The thin disguise of “equal” accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead any one, nor atone for the wrong this day done.

The result of the whole matter is that while this court has frequently adjudged, and at the present term has recognized the doctrine, that a state cannot, consistently with the constitution of the United States, prevent white and black citizens, having the required qualifications for jury service, from sitting in the same jury box, it is now solemnly held that a state may prohibit white and black citizens from sitting in the same passenger coach on a public highway, or may require that they be separated by a “partition” when in the same passenger coach. May it not now be reasonably expected that astute men of the dominant race, who affect

to be disturbed at the possibility that the integrity of the white race may be corrupted, or that its supremacy will be imperiled, by contact on public highways with black people, will endeavor to procure statutes requiring white and black jurors to be separated in the jury box by a "partition," and that, upon retiring from the court room to consult as to their verdict, such partition, if it be a movable one, shall be taken to their consultation room, and set up in such way as to prevent black jurors from coming too close to their brother jurors of the white race. If the "partition" used in the court room happens to be stationary, provision could be made for screens with openings through which jurors of the two races could confer as to their verdict without coming into personal contact with each other. I cannot see but that, according to the principles this day announced, such state legislation, although conceived in hostility to, and enacted for the purpose of humiliating, citizens of the United States of a particular race, would be held to be consistent with the constitution.

I do not deem it necessary to review the decisions of state courts to which reference was made in argument. Some, and the most important, of them, are wholly inapplicable, because rendered prior to the adoption of the last amendments of the constitution, when colored people had very few rights which the dominant race felt obliged to respect. Others were made at a time when public opinion, in many localities, was dominated by the institution of slavery; when it would not have been safe to do justice to the black man; and when, so far as the rights of blacks were concerned, race prejudice was, practically, the supreme law of the land. Those decisions cannot be guides in the era introduced by the recent amendments of the supreme law, which established universal civil freedom, gave citizenship to all born or naturalized in the United States, and residing here, obliterated the race line from our systems of governments, national and state, and placed our free institutions upon the broad and sure foundation of the equality of all men before the law.

I am of opinion that the statute of Louisiana is inconsistent with the personal liberty of citizens, white and black, in that state, and hostile to both the spirit and letter of the constitution of the United States. If laws of like character should be enacted in the several states of the Union, the effect would be in the highest degree mischievous. Slavery, as an institution tolerated by law, would, it is true, have disappeared from our country; but there would remain a power in the states, by sinister legislation, to interfere with the full enjoyment of the blessings of freedom, to regulate civil rights, common to all citizens, upon the basis of race, and to place in a condition of legal inferiority a large body of American citizens, now constituting a part of the political community, called the "People of the United States," for whom, and by whom through representatives, our govern-

ment is administered. Such a system is inconsistent with the guaranty given by the constitution to each state of a republican form of government, and may be stricken down by congressional action, or by the courts in the discharge of their solemn duty to maintain the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

For the reason stated, I am constrained to withhold my assent from the opinion and judgment of the majority.

### **William Jennings Bryan's "Cross of Gold" Speech, July 9, 1896**

Collections of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress,  
Container 49 of the Bryan Papers

#### **Cross of Gold**

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened if this was a mere measuring of abilities; but this is not a contest between persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error. I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity.

When this debate is concluded a motion will be made to lay upon the table the resolution offered in commendation of the administration and also the resolution offered in condemnation of the administration. We object to bringing this question down to the level of persons. The individual is but an atom; he is born, he acts, he dies; but principles are eternal; and this has been a contest over a principle.

#### **Principles, Not Men**

Never before in the history of this country has there been witnessed such a contest as that through which we have just passed. Never before in the history of American politics has a great issue been fought out, as this issue has been, by the voters of a great party. On the fourth of March, 1895, a few democrats, most of them members of Congress, issued an address to the democrats of the nation, asserting that the money question was the paramount issue of the hour; declaring that a majority of the Democratic Party had the right to control the action of the party on this paramount issue; and concluding with the request that the believers in the free coinage of silver in the Democratic Party should organize, take charge of, and control the policy of the Democratic Party. Three months later, at Memphis, an organization was perfected, and the silver democrats went forth openly and courageously proclaiming their belief, and declaring that, if successful, they would crystallize into

a platform the declaration which they had made. Then began the conflict. With a zeal approaching the zeal which inspired the crusaders who followed Peter the Hermit, our silver democrats went forth from victory unto victory until they are now assembled, not to discuss, not to debate, but to enter up the judgment already rendered by the plain people of this country. In this contest brother has been arrayed against brother, father against son. The warmest ties of love, acquaintance and association have been disregarded; old leaders have been cast aside when they have refused to give expression to the sentiments of those whom they would lead, and new leaders have sprung up to give direction to this cause of truth. Thus has the contest been waged, and we have assembled here under as binding and solemn instructions as were ever imposed upon representatives of the people.

We do not come as individuals. As individuals we might have been glad to compliment the gentleman from New York (Senator Hill), but we know that the people for whom we speak would never be willing to put him in a position where he could thwart the will of the Democratic Party. I say it was not a question of persons; it was a question of principle, and it is not with gladness, my friends, that we find ourselves brought into conflict with those who are now arrayed on the other side.

The gentleman who preceded me (ex-Governor Russell) spoke of the state of Massachusetts; let me assure him that not one present in all this convention entertains the least hostility to the people of the state of Massachusetts, but we stand here representing people who are the equals before the law of the greatest citizens in the state of Massachusetts. When you (turning to the gold delegates) come before us and tell us that we are about to disturb your business interests, we reply that you have disturbed our business interests by your course.

### **The Real Business Men**

We say to you that you have made the definition of a business man too limited in its application. The man who is employed for wages is as much a business man as his employer; the attorney in a country town is as much a business man as the corporation counsel in a great metropolis; the merchant at the cross-roads store is as much a business man as the merchant of New York; the farmer who goes forth in the morning and toils all day—who begins in the spring and toils all summer—and who by the application of brain and muscle to the natural resources of the country creates wealth, is as much a business man as the man who goes upon the board of trade and bets upon the price of grain; the miners who go down a thousand feet into the earth, or climb two thousand feet upon the cliffs, and bring forth from their hiding places the precious metals to be poured into the channels of trade are as much business

men as the few financial magnates who, in a back room, corner the money of the world. We come to speak for this broader class of business men.

Ah, my friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic coast, but the hardy pioneers who have braved all the dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose—the pioneers away out there (pointing to the West), who rear their children near to Nature's heart, where they can mingle their voices with the voices of the birds—out there where they have erected school houses for the education of their young, churches where they praise their Creator, and cemeteries where rest the ashes of their dead—these people, we say, are as deserving of the consideration of our party as any people in this country. It is for these that we speak. We do not come as aggressors. Our war is not a war of conquest; we are fighting in the defense of our homes, our families, and posterity. We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned; we have entreated, and our entreaties have been disregarded; we have begged, and they have mocked when our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them.

The gentleman from Wisconsin has said that he fears a Robespierre. My friends, in this land of the free you need not fear that a tyrant will spring up from among the people. What we need is an Andrew Jackson to stand, as Jackson stood, against the encroachments of organized wealth.

### **Must Meet New Conditions**

They tell us that this platform was made to catch votes. We reply to them that changing conditions make new issues; that the principles upon which democracy rests are as everlasting as the hills, but that they must be applied to new conditions as they arise. Conditions have arisen, and we are here to meet those conditions. They tell us that the income tax ought not to be brought in here; that it is a new idea. They criticise us for our criticism of the Supreme Court of the United States. My friends, we have not criticised; we have simply called attention to what you already know. If you want criticisms, read the dissenting opinions of the court. There you will find criticisms. They say that we passed an unconstitutional law; we deny it. The income tax law was not unconstitutional when it was passed; it was not unconstitutional when it went before the Supreme Court for the first time; it did not become unconstitutional until one of the judges changed his mind, and we cannot be expected to know when a judge will change his mind. The income tax is just. It simply intends to put the burdens of government justly upon the backs of the people. I am in favor of an income tax. When I find a man who is not willing to bear his share of the burdens of the government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours.



### Against a National Bank Currency

They say that we are opposing national bank currency; it is true. If you will read what Thomas Benton said, you will find he said that, in searching history, he could find but one parallel to Andrew Jackson; that was Cicero, who destroyed the conspiracy of Cataline and saved Rome. Benton said that Cicero only did for Rome what Jackson did for us when he destroyed the bank conspiracy and saved America. We say in our platform that we believe that the right to coin and issue money is a function of government. We believe it. We believe that it is a part of sovereignty, and can no more with safety be delegated to private individuals than we could afford to delegate to private individuals the power to make penal statutes or levy taxes. Mr. Jefferson, who was once regarded as good democratic authority, seems to have differed in opinion from the gentleman who has addressed us on the part of the minority. Those who are opposed to this proposition tell us that the issue of paper money is a function of the bank, and that the government ought to go out of the banking business. I stand with Jefferson rather than with them, and tell them, as he did, that the issue of money is a function of government, and that the banks ought to go out of the governing business.

They complain about the plank which declares against life tenure in office. They have tried to strain it to mean that which it does not mean. What we oppose by that plank is the life tenure which is being built up in Washington, and which excludes from participation in official benefits the humbler members of society.

### The Minority Amendments

Let me call your attention to two or three important things. The gentleman from New York says that he will propose an amendment to the platform providing that the proposed change in our monetary system shall not affect contracts already made. Let me remind you that there is no intention of affecting those contracts which according to present laws are made payable in gold, but if he means to say that we cannot change our monetary system without protecting those who have loaned money before the change was made, I desire to ask him where, in law or morals, he can find justification for not protecting the debtors when the act of 1873 was passed, if he now insists that we must protect the creditors.

He says he will also propose an amendment which will provide for the suspension of free coinage if we fail to maintain the parity within a year. We reply that when we advocate a policy which we believe will be successful, we are not compelled to raise a doubt as to our own sincerity by suggesting what we shall do if we fail. I ask him, if he would apply his logic to us, why he does not apply it to himself. He says he wants this country to try to secure an international agreement. Why does he not tell us what he

is going to do if he fails to secure an international agreement? There is more reason for him to do that than there is for us to provide against the failure to maintain the parity. Our opponents have tried for twenty years to secure an international agreement, and those are waiting for it most patiently who do not want it at all.

### The Paramount Issue

And now, my friends, let me come to the paramount issue. If they ask us why it is that we say more on the money question than we say upon the tariff question, I reply that, if protection has slain its thousands, the gold standard has slain its tens of thousands. If they ask us why we do not embody in our platform all the things that we believe in, we reply that when we have restored the money of the constitution all other necessary reforms will be possible; but that until this is done there is no other reform that can be accomplished.

Why is it that within three months such a change has come over the country? Three months ago, when it was confidently asserted that those who believe in the gold standard would frame our platform and nominate our candidates, even the advocates of the gold standard did not think that we could elect a president. And they had good reason for their doubt, because there is scarcely a state here to-day asking for the gold standard which is not in the absolute control of the Republican Party. But note the change. Mr. McKinley was nominated at St. Louis upon a platform which declared for the maintenance of the gold standard until it can be changed into bimetallism by international agreement. Mr. McKinley was the most popular man among the republicans, and three months ago everybody in the Republican Party prophesied his election. How is it to-day? Why, the man who was once pleased to think that he looked like Napoleon—that man shudders to-day when he remembers that he was nominated on the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo. Not only that, but, as he listens, he can hear with ever-increasing distinctness the sound of the waves as they beat upon the lonely shores of St. Helena.

Why this change? Ah, my friends, is not the reason for the change evident to any one who will look at the matter? No private character, however pure, no personal popularity, however great, can protect from the avenging wrath of an indignant people a man who will declare that he is in favor of fastening the gold standard upon this country or who is willing to surrender the right of self government and place the legislative control of our affairs in the hands of foreign potentates and powers.

### Confident of Success

We go forth confident that we shall win. Why? Because upon the paramount issue of this campaign there is not a

spot of ground upon which the enemy will dare to challenge battle. If they tell us that the gold standard is a good thing, we shall point to their platform and tell them that their platform pledges the party to get rid of the gold standard and substitute bimetallism. If the gold standard is a good thing, why try to get rid of it? I call your attention to the fact that some of the very people who are in this convention to-day and who tell us that we ought to declare in favor of international bimetallism—thereby declaring that the gold standard is wrong and that the principle of bimetallism is better—these very people four months ago were open and avowed advocates of the gold standard, and were then telling us that we could not legislate two metals together, even with the aid of all the world. If the gold standard is a good thing, we ought to declare in favor of its retention and not in favor of abandoning it; and if the gold standard is a bad thing why should we wait until other nations are willing to help us to let go? Here is the line of battle, and we care not upon which issue they force the fight; we are prepared to meet them on either issue or on both. If they tell us that the gold standard is the standard of civilization, we reply to them that this, the most enlightened of all the nations of the earth, has never declared for a gold standard and that both the great parties this year are declaring against it. If the gold standard is the standard of civilization why, my friends, should we not have it? If they come to meet us on that issue we can present the history of our nation. More than that; we can tell them that they will search the pages of history in vain to find a single instance where the common people of any land have ever declared themselves in favor of the gold standard. They can find where the holders of fixed investments have declared for a gold standard, but not where the masses have.

### Carlisle Defines the Issue

Mr. Carlisle said in 1878 that this was a struggle between “the idle holders of idle capital” and “the struggling masses, who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country,” and, my friends, the question we are to decide is: Upon which side will the Democratic party fight: upon the side of the “idle holders of idle capital” or upon the side of “the struggling masses”? That is the question which the party must answer first, and then it must be answered by each individual hereafter. The sympathies of the Democratic party, as shown by the platform, are on the side of the struggling masses who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic party. There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that, if you will only legislate to make the well-to-do prosperous, their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic idea, however, has been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous, their prosperity will find its way up through every class which rests upon them.

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard; we reply that the great cities rest upon our broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country.

### A New Declaration of Independence

My friends, we declare that this nation is able to legislate for its own people on every question, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth; and upon that issue we expect to carry every state in the Union. I shall not slander the inhabitants of the fair state of Massachusetts nor the inhabitants of the state of New York by saying that, when they are confronted with the proposition, they will declare that this nation is not able to attend to its own business. It is the issue of 1776 over again. Our ancestors when but three millions in number, had the courage to declare their political independence of every other nation; shall we, their descendants, when we have grown to seventy millions, declare that we are less independent than our forefathers? No, my friends, that will never be the verdict of our people. Therefore, we care not upon what lines the battle is fought. If they say bimetallism is good, but that we cannot have it until other nations help us, we reply that, instead of having a gold standard because England has, we will restore bimetallism, and then let England have bimetallism because the United States has it. If they dare to come out in the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we will fight them to the uttermost. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

### Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League (1899)

In John A. Scott, ed., *Living Documents in American History*, Vol. 1 (New York: Washington Square Press, 1964–68), pp. 613–614

We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends toward militarism, an evil from which it has been our glory to be free. We regret that it has become necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln to reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We maintain that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We insist that the subjugation of any people

is “criminal aggression” and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our government.

We earnestly condemn the policy of the present national administration in the Philippines. It seeks to extinguish the spirit of 1776 in those islands. We deplore the sacrifice of our soldiers and sailors, whose bravery deserves admiration even in an unjust war. We denounce the slaughter of the Filipinos as a needless horror. We protest against the extension of American sovereignty by Spanish methods.

We demand the immediate cessation of the war against liberty, begun by Spain and continued by us. We urge that Congress be promptly convened to announce to the Filipinos our purpose to concede to them the independence for which they have so long fought and which of right is theirs.

The United States have always protested against the doctrine of international law which permits the subjugation of the weak by the strong. A self-governing state cannot accept sovereignty over an unwilling people. The United States cannot act upon the ancient heresy that might makes right.

Imperialists assume that with the destruction of self-government in the Philippines by American hands, all opposition here will cease. This is a grievous error. Much as we abhor the war of “criminal aggression” in the Philippines, greatly as we regret that the blood of the Filipinos is on American hands, we more deeply resent the betrayal of American institutions at home. The real firing line is not in the suburbs of Manila. The foe is of our own household. The attempt of 1861 was to divide the country. That of 1899 is to destroy its fundamental principles and noblest ideals.

Whether the ruthless slaughter of the Filipinos shall end next month or next year is but an incident in a contest that must go on until the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are rescued from the hands of their betrayers. Those who dispute about standards of value while the foundation of

the republic is undermined will be listened to as little as those who would wrangle about the small economies of the household while the house is on fire. The training of a great people for a century, the aspiration for liberty of a vast immigration are forces that will hurl aside those who in the delirium of conquest seek to destroy the character of our institutions.

We deny that the obligation of all citizens to support their government in times of grave national peril applies to the present situation. If an administration may with impunity ignore the issues upon which it was chosen, deliberately create a condition of war anywhere on the face of the globe, debauch the civil service for spoils to promote the adventure, organize a truth-suppressing censorship, and demand of all citizens a suspension of judgment and their unanimous support while it chooses to continue the fighting, representative government itself is imperiled.

We propose to contribute to the defeat of any person or party that stands for the forcible subjugation of any people. We shall oppose for reelection all who in the White House or in Congress betray American liberty in pursuit of un-American ends. We still hope that both of our great political parties will support and defend the Declaration of Independence in the closing campaign of the century.

We hold with Abraham Lincoln, that “no man is good enough to govern another man without that other’s consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government, but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism.” “Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, cannot long retain it.”

We cordially invite the cooperation of all men and women who remain loyal to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

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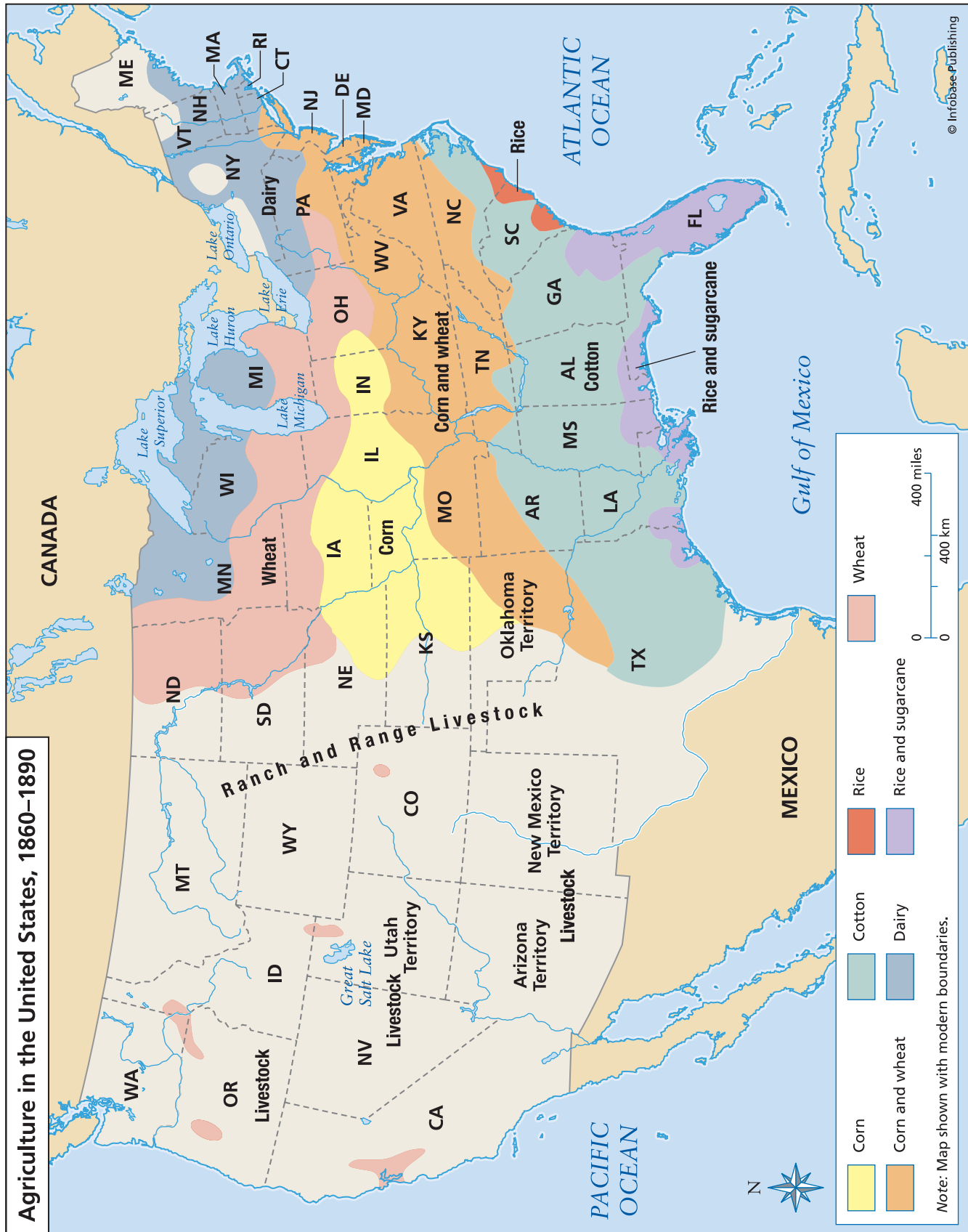
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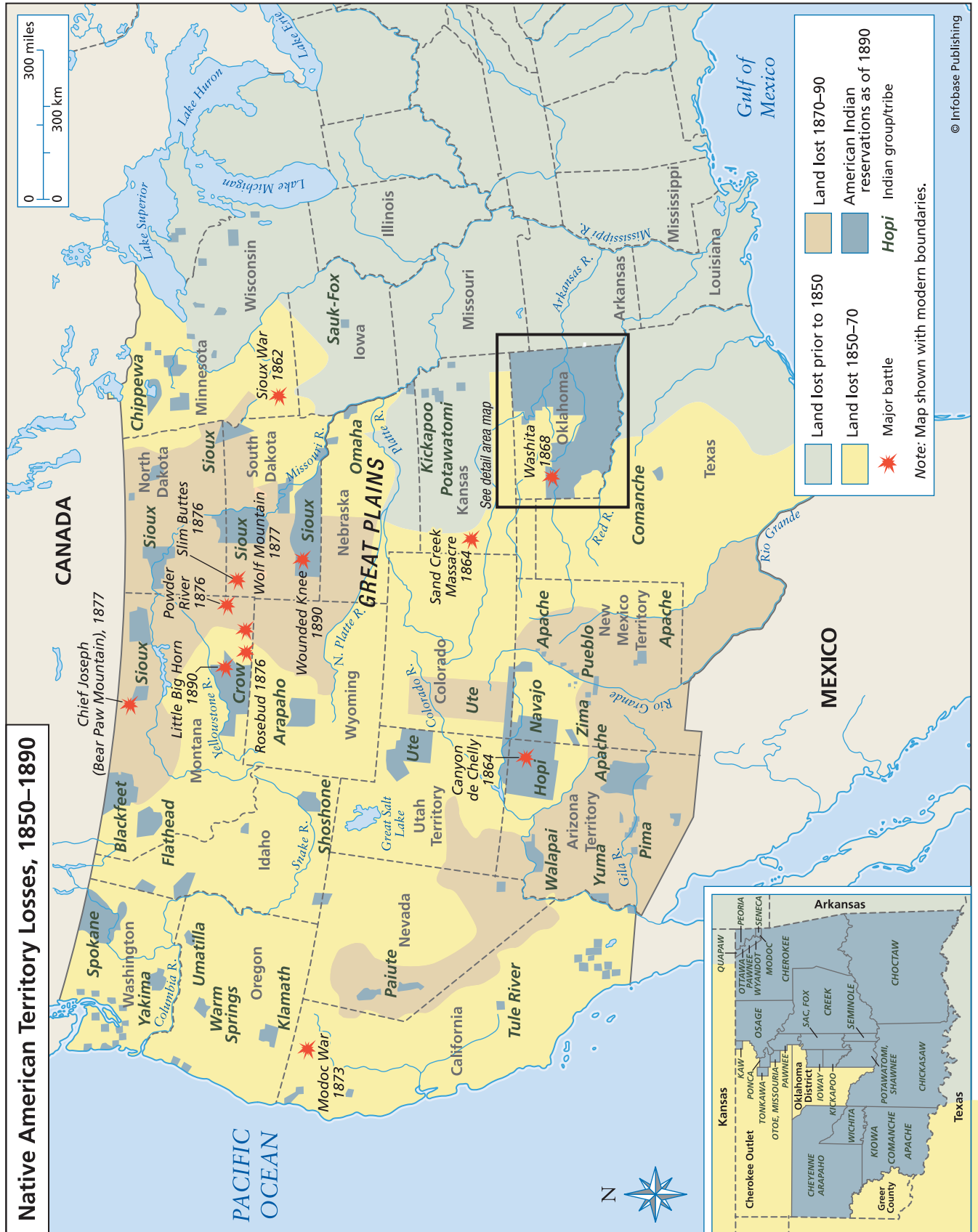


The Development of  
the Industrial United States  
1870 to 1899

# MAPS

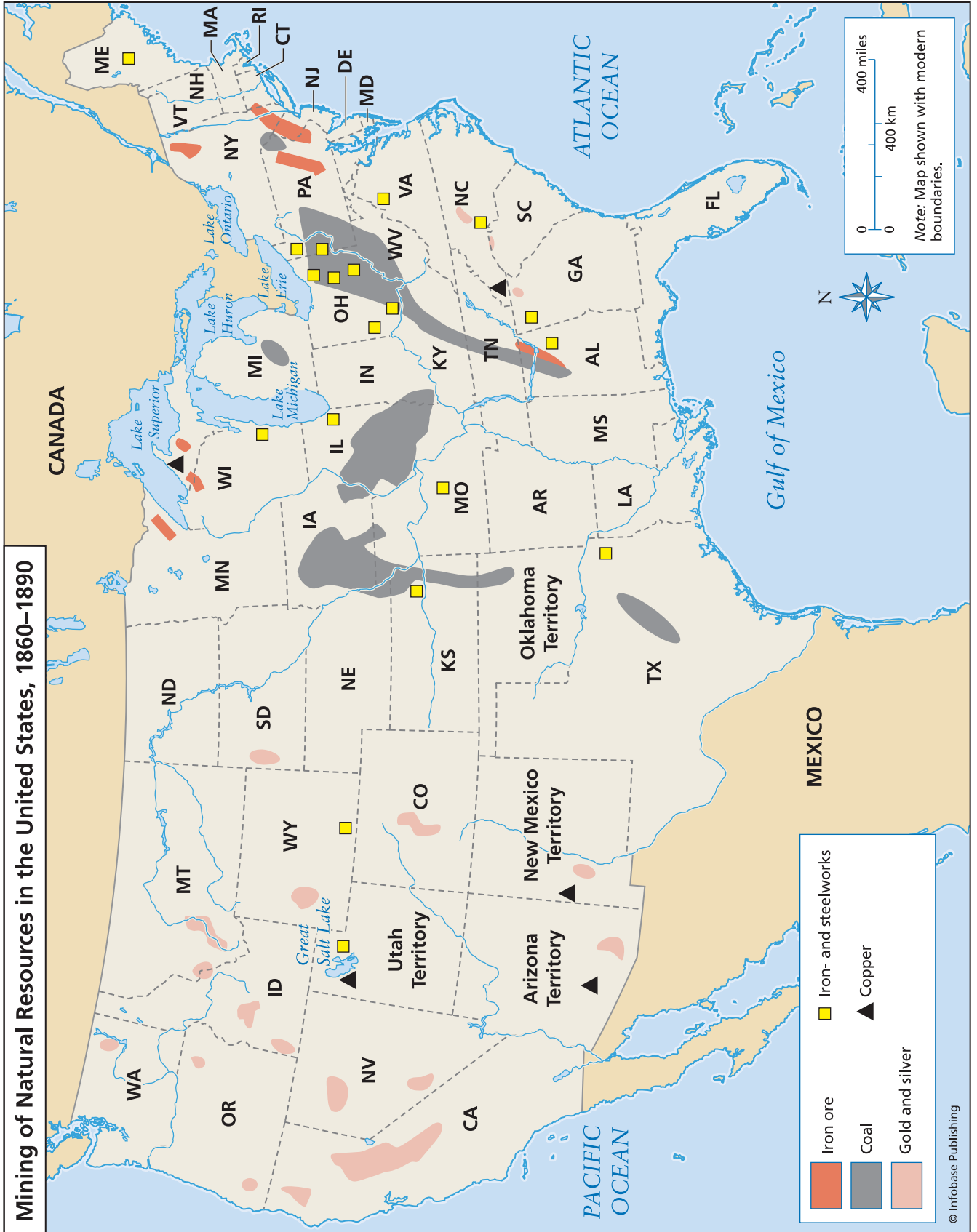




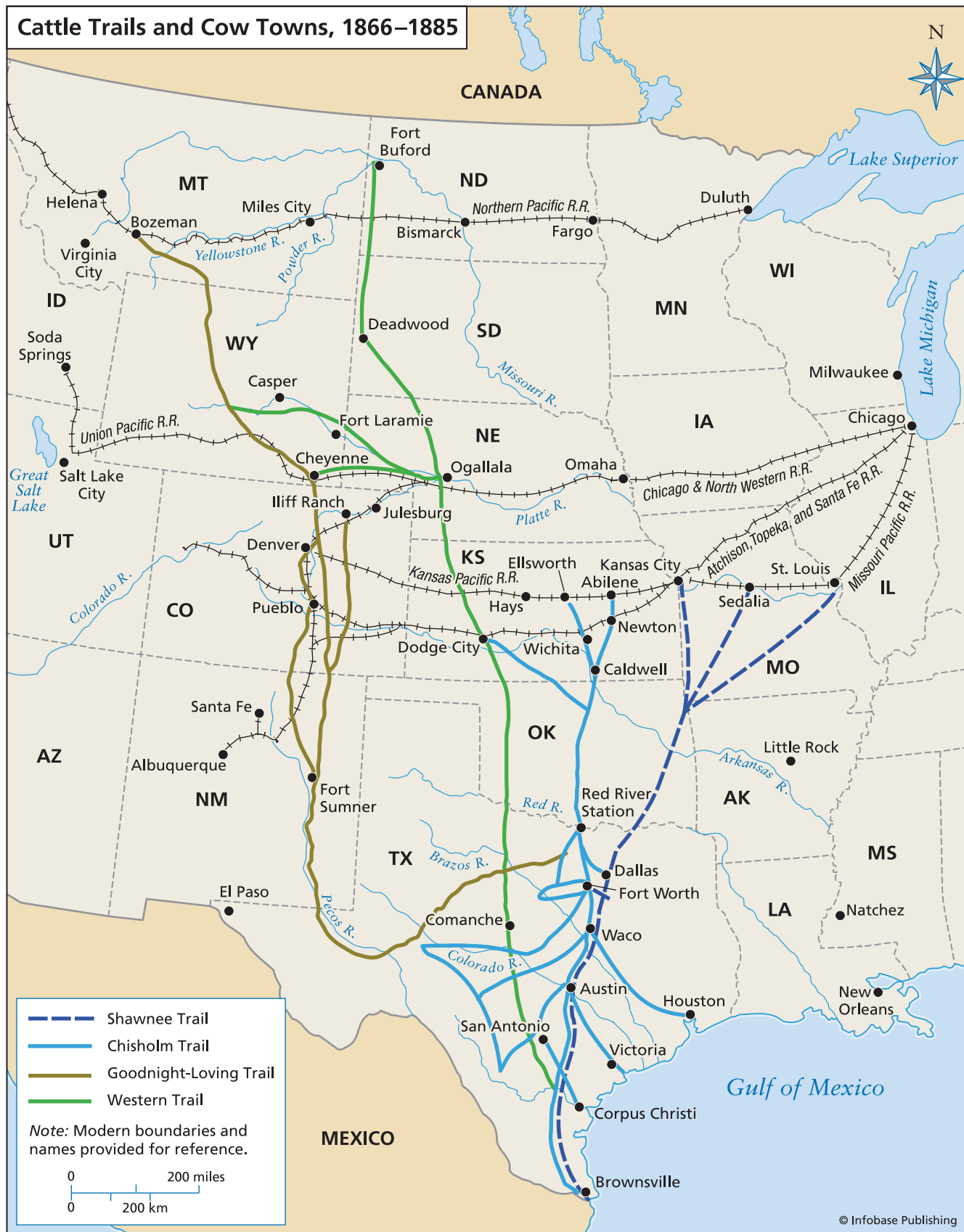


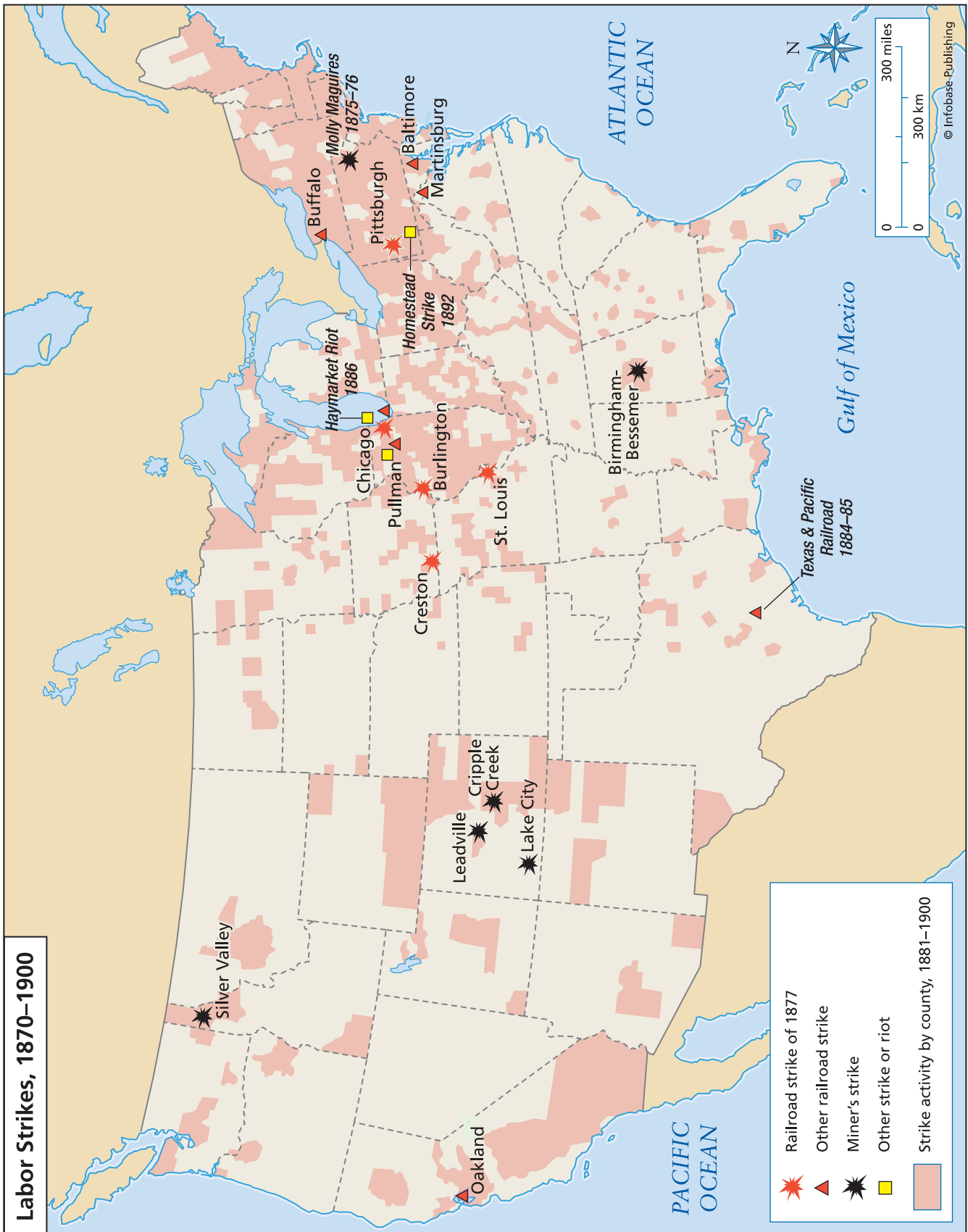
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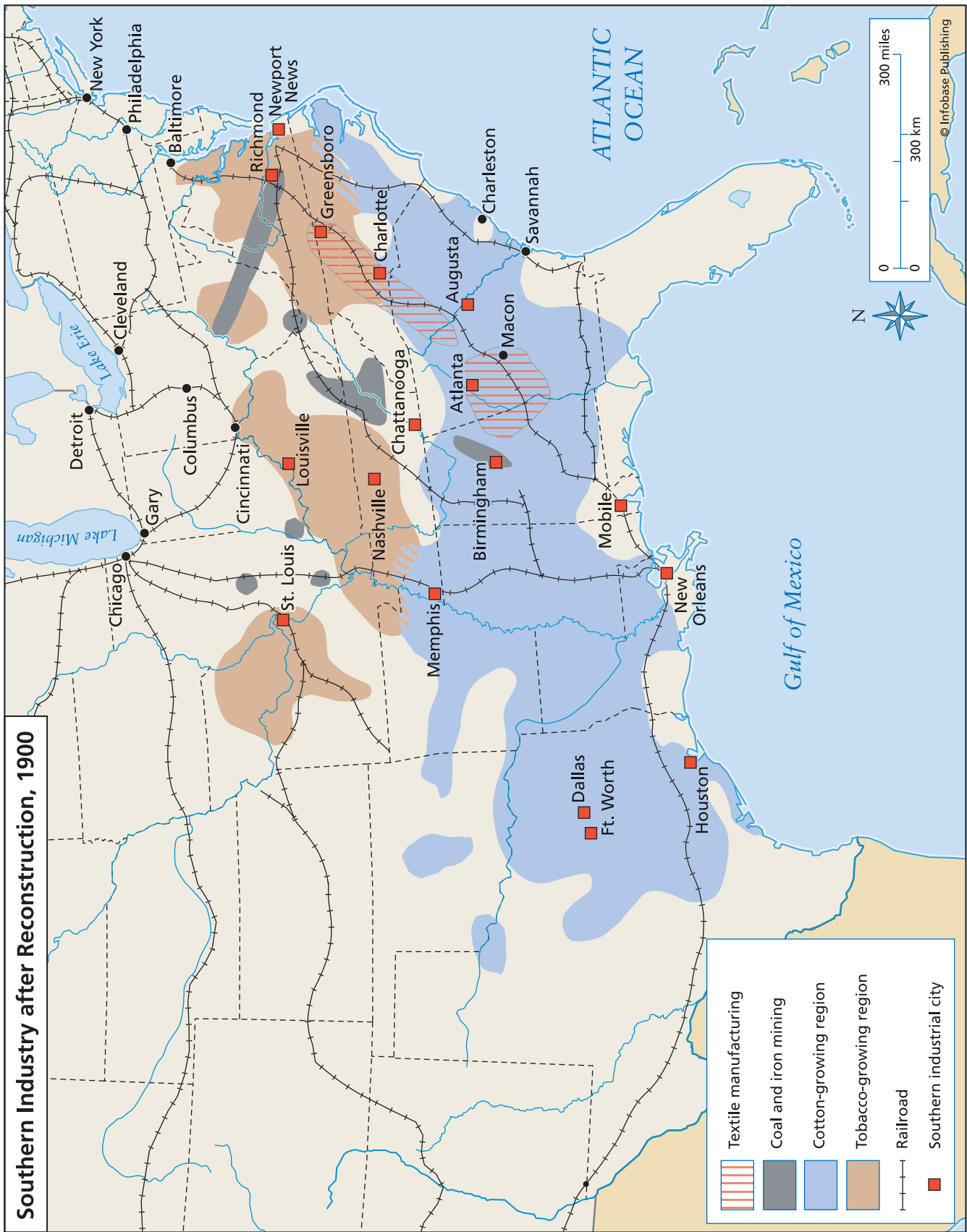


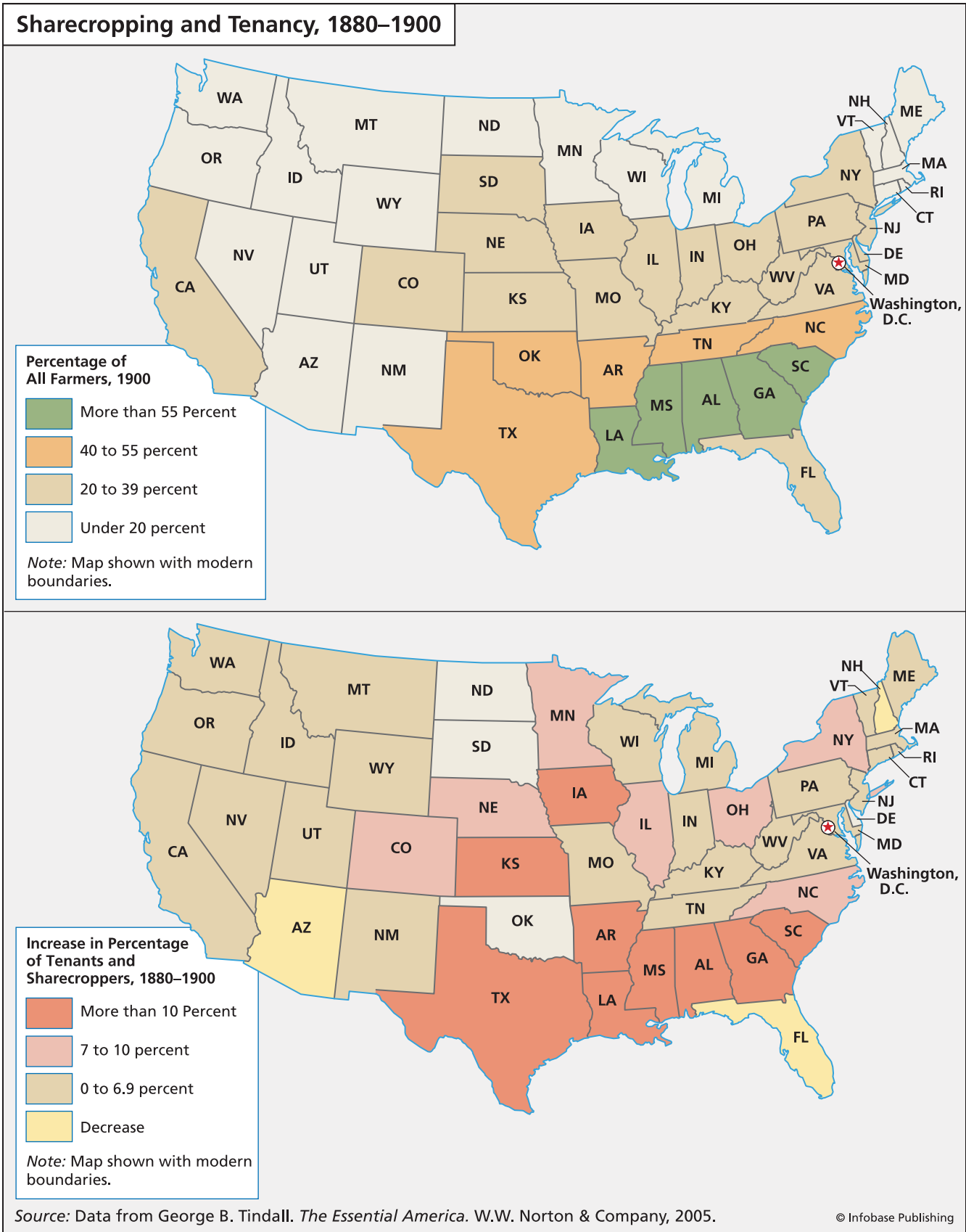






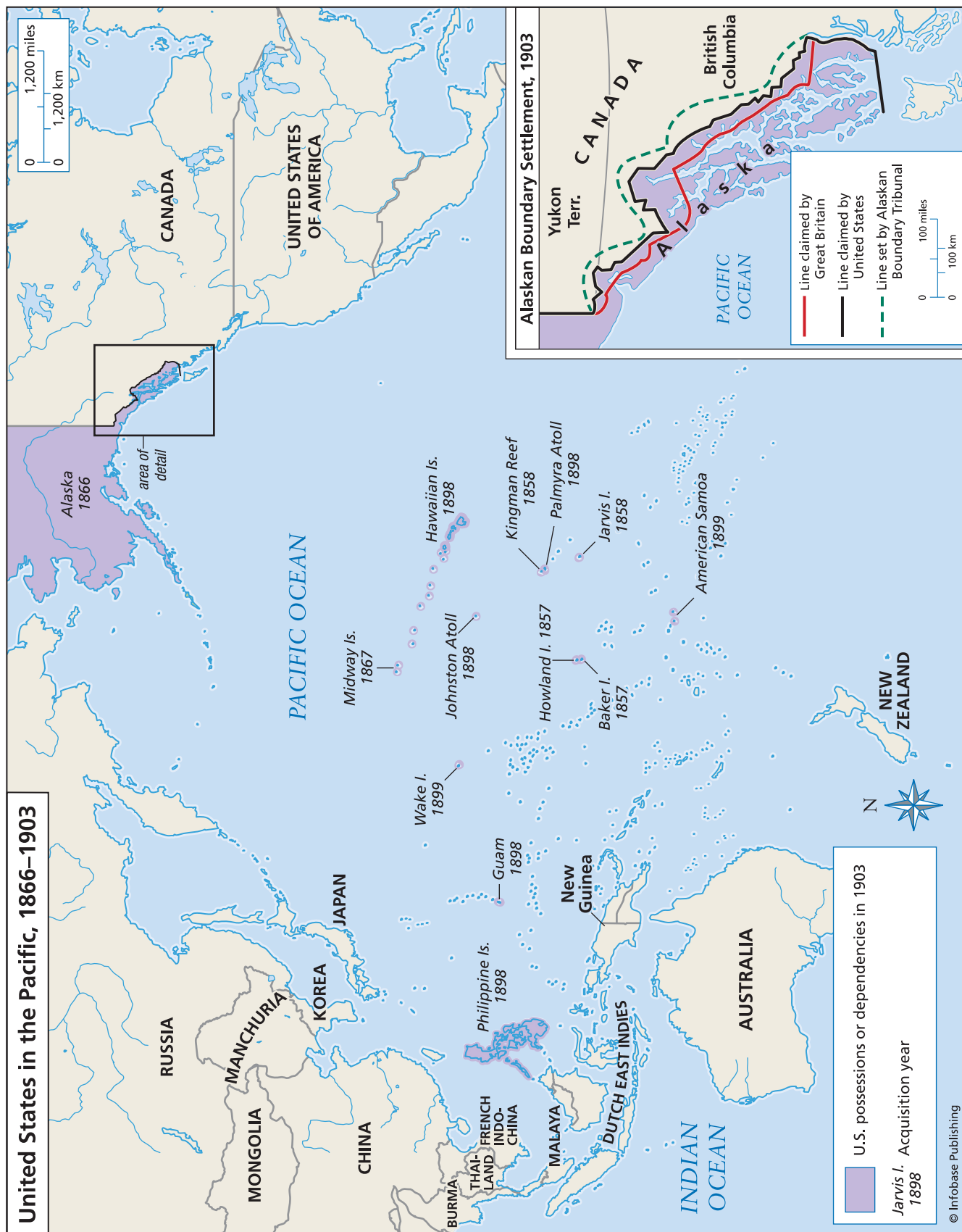


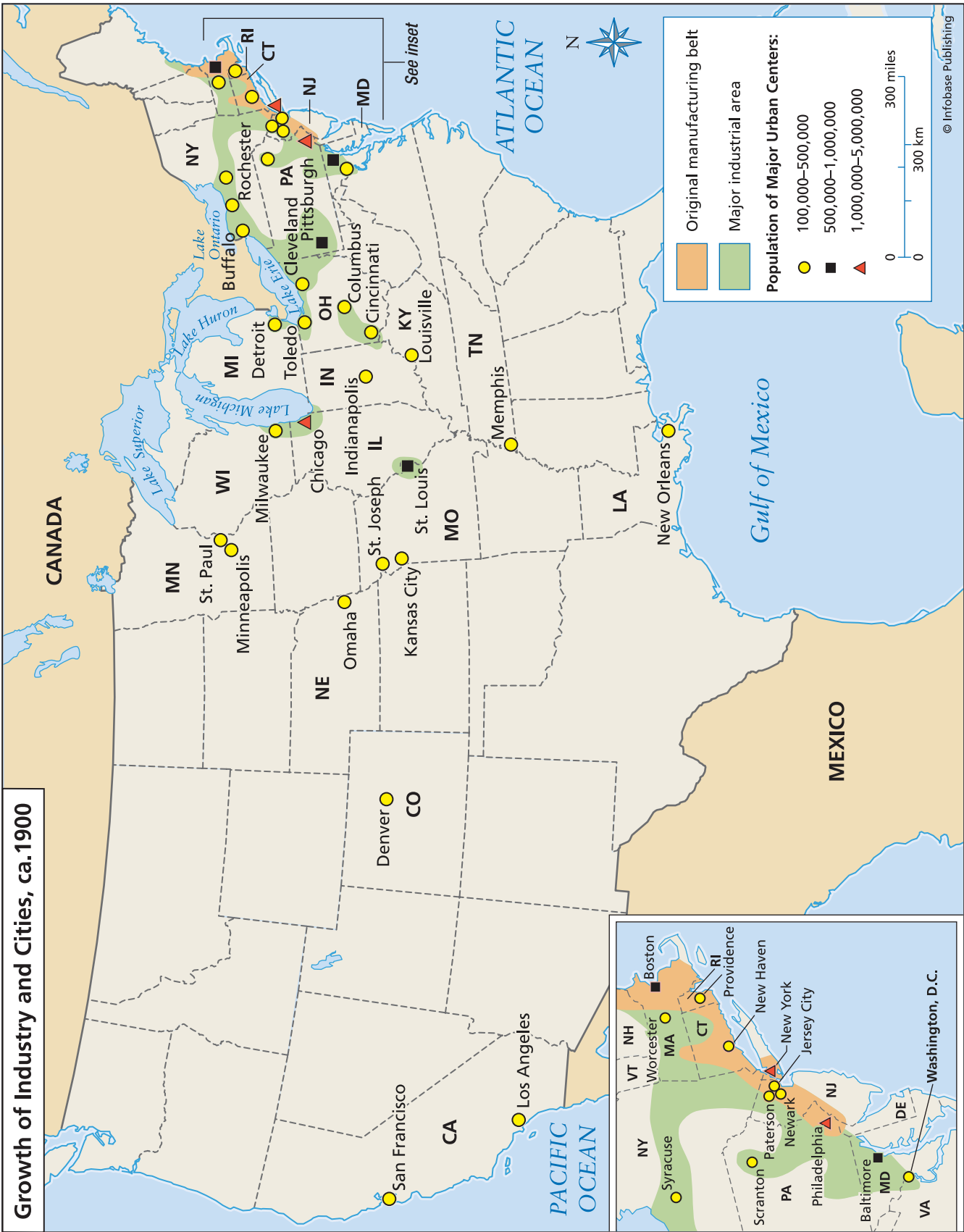


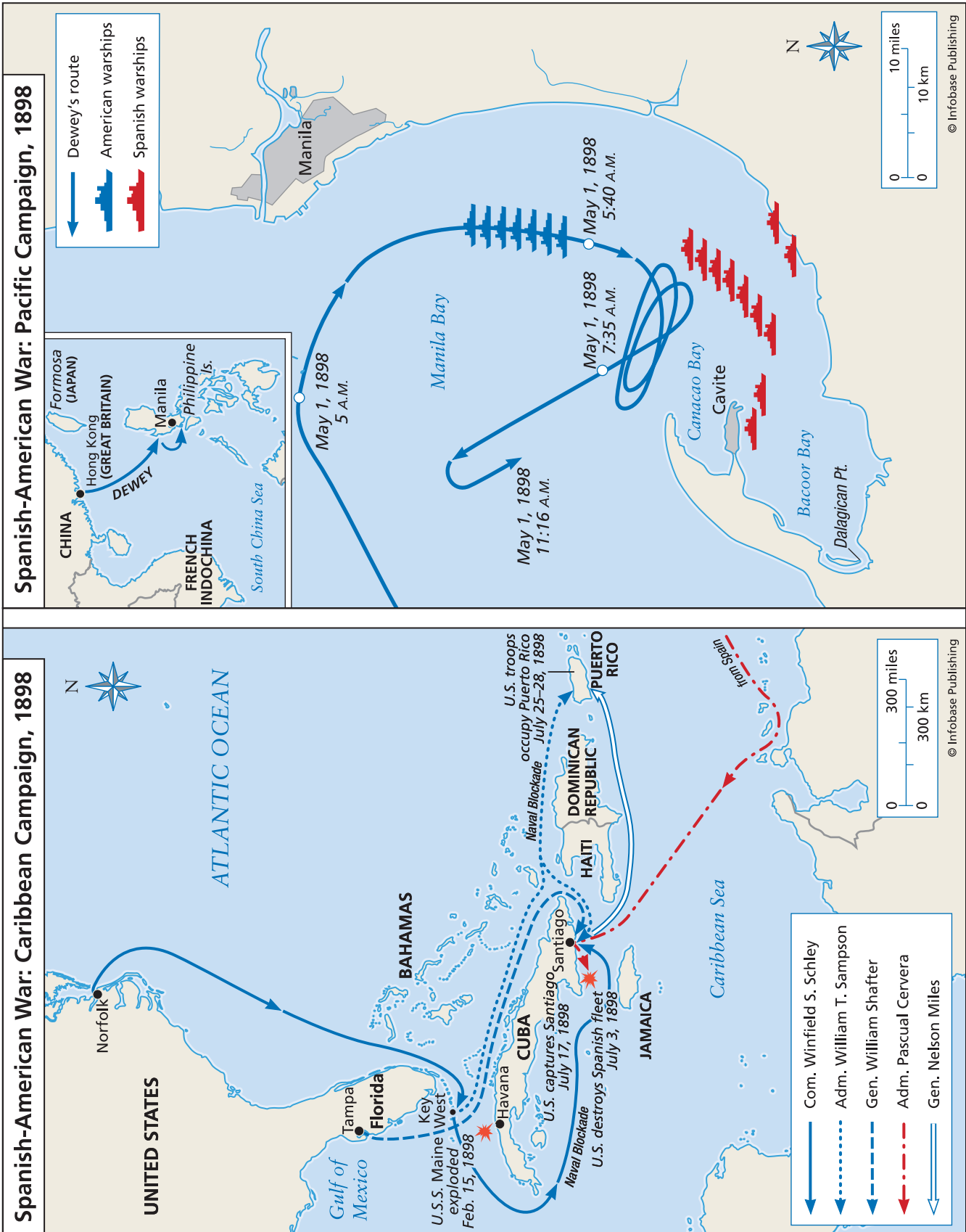












# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Revised Edition

The Emergence of Modern America  
1900 to 1928





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1900 to 1928



Elizabeth Faue, Editor  
Gary B. Nash, General Editor

 **Facts On File**  
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The Emergence of Modern America (1900 to 1928)**

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# About the Editors

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**General Editor: Gary B. Nash** received a Ph.D. from Princeton University. He is director of the National Center for History in the Schools at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he teaches American history of the colonial and Revolutionary era. He is a published author of college and precollegiate history texts. Among his best-selling works are the coauthored *American People: Creating a Nation and Society* (Longman, 1998), now in its seventh edition; *American Odyssey: The U.S. in the Twentieth Century* (McGraw-Hill/Glencoe, 1999), now in its fourth edition; and *The Atlas of American History*, coauthored with Carter Smith (Facts On File, 2006).

Nash is an elected member of the Society of American Historians, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Antiquarian Society, and the American Philosophical Society. He has served as past president of the Organization of American Historians in 1994–95

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# Foreword



The Encyclopedia of American History series is designed as a handy reference to the most important individuals, events, and topics in U.S. history. In 10 volumes, the encyclopedia covers the period from the 15th century, when European explorers first made their way across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas, to the present day. The encyclopedia is written for precollegiate as well as college students, for parents of young learners in the schools, and for the general public. The volume editors are distinguished historians of American history. In writing individual entries, each editor has drawn upon the expertise of scores of specialists. This ensures the scholarly quality of the entire series. Articles contributed by the various volume editors are uncredited.

This 11-volume encyclopedia of “American history” is broadly conceived to include the historical experience of the various peoples of North America. Thus, in the first volume, many essays treat the history of a great range of indigenous people before contact with Europeans. In the same vein, readers will find essays in the first several volumes that sketch Spanish, Dutch, and French explorers and colonizers who opened up territories for European settlement that later would become part of the United States. The venues and cast of characters in the American historical drama are thus widened beyond traditional encyclopedias.

In creating the eras of American history that define the chronological limits of each volume, and in addressing major topics in each era, the encyclopedia follows the architecture of *The National Standards for United States History, Revised Edition* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Mandated by the U.S. Congress, the national standards for U.S. history have been widely used by states and school districts in organizing curricular frameworks and have been followed by many other curriculum-building efforts.

Entries are cross-referenced, when appropriate, with *See also* citations at the end of articles. At the end of most entries, a listing of articles and books allows readers to turn to specialized sources and historical accounts. In each volume, an array of maps provide geographical context, while numerous illustrations help vivify the material covered in the text. A time line is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events occurring in the given era. The selection of historical documents in the back of each volume gives students experience with the raw documents that historians use when researching history. A comprehensive index to each volume also facilitates the reader’s access to particular information.

In each volume, long entries are provided for major categories of American historical experience. These categories may include: African Americans, agriculture, art and architecture, business, economy, education, family life, foreign policy, immigration, labor, Native Americans, politics, population, religion, urbanization, and women. By following these essays from volume to volume, the reader can access what might be called a mini-history of each broad topic, for example, family life, immigration, or religion.

—Gary B. Nash  
University of California, Los Angeles

# Foreword to the Revised Edition



“History has to be rewritten in every generation because, although the past does not change, the present does,” writes Lord Christopher Hill, one of Great Britain’s most eminent historians. “Each generation asks new questions of the past, and finds new areas of sympathy as it re-lives different aspects of the experiences of its predecessors.” It is this understanding, that the pursuit of historical knowledge requires new research and new reflections on the past, that undergirds a revised and extended edition of the *Encyclopedia of American History*.

The individual volume editors of this revised edition have made important additions and revisions to the original edition published in 2003. Most important, they have added many new entries—several hundred for the entire 11-volume set. This puts more meat on the bone of what was already a comprehensive encyclopedia that presented four centuries of American history in all its diversity and complexity. For the 10th volume, covering the period from 1969 to the present, new entries cover momentous events and important figures of the last six years. For the other volumes, new entries increase the diversity of Americans covered by biographical accounts as well as events that new scholarship shows have had greater importance than recognized heretofore.

In addition, careful attention has been given to correcting occasional errors in the massive number of entries in the first edition. Also, many entries have been revised to add further details while making adjustments, based on new scholarship, to the interpretation of key events and movements. Consonant with that effort to make the encyclopedia as fresh and usable as possible, the volume editors have added many new recently published books to the “Further Reading” notes at the ends of the entries, and new full-color historical maps help put history in its geographical context.

—Gary B. Nash





# Introduction

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*The Emergence of Modern America*, the seventh volume of the Encyclopedia of American History, covers the period between 1900 and 1928. During these years, the United States experienced economic, political, and social change that was unprecedented in its history. While its population grew at a slower rate than it had in previous decades, it experienced the greatest period of immigration in its history, with more than 1 million immigrants entering the country every year. Internal movements of men and women from rural to urban areas and especially from the rural South to the urban North made the United States a more urban and more racially complex nation. Economically, the nation grew at an astonishing rate, with mass-production industries leading the way. Its role in the world economy changed as it shifted from being a debtor to a creditor nation. Better nutrition and medical care and the spread of technological innovations, from the electric light to the automobile and radio, promised an improved standard of living, one that was reflected in declining mortality rates and an increase in life expectancy over these nearly 30 years.

These changes were reflected in new cultural, social, and political organizations. The federal government that had a small but important role in everyday life began to directly affect economic sectors, local communities, and individual families. In part, it was the economic chaos of the last three decades of the 19th century that brought a new era of government regulation. High unemployment, sporadic but persistent labor protest, social unrest, and individual bad conduct made some long for a more just society and others to seek increased social control. The merger movement among businesses in the early 20th century and the increasingly visible power of corporations in government sparked the interest of journalists and political organizations alike. Women, who had long fought for equal suffrage, were on the verge of winning the vote, and they increasingly participated in the nation's political, economic, and cultural life. Progressivism, the most important political movement of the era, drew upon this discontent to forge a diverse and sometimes internally contradictory agenda for national reform. Presidents during these decades, the vibrant Theodore Roosevelt and scholarly Woodrow Wilson, echoed and helped to shape the reform impulse within government. The high culture of literature and art and the mass culture of pulp magazines and Tin Pan Alley expressed both the despair and the optimism of the day.

World War I presented a turning point for a nation on the brink of world leadership in foreign affairs, economic development, and culture. Unlike the chief combatant nations of France, Germany, and Great Britain, the United States remained outside the conflict for the first three years of the war. Its economy grew in response to the demand for war matériel, food, and clothing. Moreover, its war debt was small in comparison to the enormous indebtedness incurred by both the Allied and Central Powers in the war. Entering the war in 1917, the United States suffered fewer casualties than any other combatant nation and emerged from the war as the leader of the world economy. The war had other costs, however. Internal disputes over the wisdom of intervening in a European war, escalating labor conflict, and racial division sparked government regulation and surveillance. Ethnic and racial conflict added fuel to the fire as the superpatriotic societies and the Ku Klux Klan organized throughout the nation and race riots plagued cities during and after the war. The persistent demand to restrict immigration had its victory in new laws that instituted literacy tests and national quotas. Government agencies repressed labor unions, and socialist political organizations were repressed in the Red Scare of 1919–20; peace organizations found themselves similarly targeted. The federal government, which expanded in the course of the war, quickly dismantled wartime agencies by the 1920s, but the war's impact was not so easily forgotten. The recession of 1921–22 and the agricultural depression of the 1920s had their impact on the nation's attitudes as well.

In the 1920s, while the United States experienced some measure of economic prosperity, there remained questions about the need for greater social justice and more equal distribution of the nation's wealth. Conservative presidential administrations under Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover reorganized the executive branch, lowered wartime taxes, and placed the federal government on a conservative fiscal footing, but none of them foresaw what the long-term trends of employment, a farm sector in recession, or the exuberant stock market speculation of the 1920s might do to the American economy. Increased tariffs, the debt crisis in Europe, and heightened international hostilities suggested that the next two decades would bring change as great and traumatic as that experienced by the modern nation that emerged between 1900 and 1928.

# ENTRIES

## A TO Z







**Abbott, Grace** (1878–1939) *social worker, child labor reformer*

One of the leading figures in the progressive reform movement, Grace Abbott was best known as the director of the United States CHILDREN'S BUREAU from 1921 to 1934. She had served in a number of other organizations that prepared her for the directorship. Born in Grand Island, Nebraska, Abbott graduated from a local college in 1898 and went to work as a high school teacher. She did graduate work at the University of Nebraska in 1902–03, and in 1906 attended summer school at the University of Chicago. It was at the University of Chicago where she was exposed to the new field of SOCIAL WORK and social reform movements. After returning to teach another year in Nebraska, Abbott moved to Chicago in 1907 in order to take advantage of the opportunities available to women in the fields of social reform. She moved into Hull-House in 1908 and completed her master's degree in political science at the University of Chicago in 1909.

Abbott became director of the Immigrants' Protective League in 1908. In this position she became an expert on IMMIGRATION. She published numerous articles and in 1917 published her first book, *The Immigrant and the Community*. Her work in the Immigrants' Protective League attracted the attention of Julia Lathrop, director of the United States Children's Bureau. In 1917, Abbott joined Lathrop in Washington as director of children's services for the Children's Bureau where she fought for the creation of the first federal CHILD LABOR law, the KEATING-OWEN ACT. After the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the law unconstitutional in *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, Abbott returned to Chicago and reestablished the Immigrants' Protective League. As Julia Lathrop's handpicked successor, Abbott returned to Washington, D.C., as the second director of the Children's Bureau.

As head of the Children's Bureau, Abbott oversaw the implementation of the maternity and infancy protection legislation, known generally as the SHEPPARD-TOWNER

ACT. Sheppard-Towner established a federal-state partnership to develop state programs to promote women's and infants' health. The new legislation arose out of the reaction to the large number of babies who died in infancy and to the medical problems that mothers suffered in childbirth. Abbott actively lobbied governors and state legislatures to develop state programs that shared in the federal program. In addition, she reached out to women's organizations in the states, hoping to convince them to lobby their state governments in favor of the programs. Abbott also lobbied on behalf of a child labor amendment to the Constitution. When the Supreme Court overturned a second child labor law in 1922, advocates like Abbott turned their attention to a constitutional amendment that would outlaw child labor. The proposed amendment made it through Congress, but it failed to gain the ratification from the required number of states.

In 1927 Abbott began to face health problems that would plague her until her death. She was forced to take a break from the Children's Bureau in 1927 and again in 1931 to recover from tuberculosis. She resigned as director of the Children's Bureau in 1934 and returned to teach at the University of Chicago. She died from cancer in 1939.

**Further reading:** Lela B. Costin, *Two Sisters for Social Justice: A Biography of Grace and Edith Abbott Urbana*: University of Illinois Press, 1983.

—Michael Hartman

**Adamson Act** (1916)

A key piece of Progressive Era legislation, the Adamson Act in 1916 provided railroad workers with new protections. The turn of the 20th century had witnessed unparalleled expansion in U.S. industrial activity that in turn led to renewed growth of trade unionism. Already by 1904, more than two million workers were trade union members.

## 2 Addams, Jane

These new members rallied for expanded rights, and the years between 1905 and 1910 saw the rise of the NEW UNIONISM. Massive strikes, public protests, and political activism brought the labor question into the forefront of political debate. In the 1912 presidential election, the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, supported the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Its demands for a new antitrust act that excluded labor unions, for an eight-hour day for federal employees, and for workmen's compensation laws made their way into the Democratic platform.

Once in office, President WOODROW WILSON was aware that organized labor was a significant part of his constituency. To that end, he tried appealing to them as the "backbone of the nation." At the same time, Wilson was suspicious of large organizations in the American economy, whether business or labor. In creating a Department of Labor (1913), passing the CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT of 1914, and establishing the INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION to look into recent labor violence, Wilson sought compromises between labor's demands and the open hostility of corporations and small businesses toward recognizing organized labor. Prior to the entry of the United States into WORLD WAR I, labor had attained other victories as well in the areas of CHILD LABOR and workmen's compensation. Working conditions and wages, however, continued to be areas of contention.

Fearing a growing militancy on the railroads and facing the possibility of going to war, the Wilson administration worked to mediate labor disputes on the nation's rails. In 1916, "to protect the pockets of our men," the railway brotherhoods threatened to strike on Labor Day for an eight-hour day. Fearing for both his PREPAREDNESS program and his reelection, Wilson pushed for Congress to pass the Adamson Eight Hour Act, which mandated an eight-hour workday on the nation's railroads. The law limited only the working hours of railroad labor, but its influence spread to other industries as well. After World War I ended, there were setbacks. Despite the defeat suffered in the Railroad Shopmen's strike of 1922, however, the Adamson Act and experiments with federal mediation of railroad labor disputes during the war gave railroad workers a continued and powerful union voice in improving their pay and working conditions.

See also LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT; RAILROAD ADMINISTRATION.

**Further reading:** Joseph McCartin, *Labor's Great War: The Struggle for Industrial Democracy and the Origins of Modern Labor Relations, 1912–1921* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

—Annamarie Edelen

### **Addams, Jane** (1860–1935) *American social worker*

One of the leading figures in Progressive Era reform, Jane Addams won worldwide recognition for her work in establishing the Hull-House settlement house and as a peace advocate. Throughout her life, she dedicated herself to improving the lives of needy men, women, and children. Born in Cedarville, Illinois, Addams grew up in a politically active household, with a father who served as a state senator for 16 years. She was graduated from Rockford Female Seminary in 1881 and spent the next six years traveling, studying, and contemplating a career. Struggling against the restrictions placed on women at the time, Addams spent these six years searching for a meaningful career that was open to her as a woman. During her travels to London, England, Addams visited a settlement house and discovered her life's ambition. In 1889 she and Ellen Gates Starr leased a home in an underprivileged area of Chicago and established Hull-House with the purpose of providing "a center for higher civic and



Jane Addams (Library of Congress)

philanthropic enterprises and to investigate and improve the conditions in the industrial districts of Chicago."

At Hull-House, Addams developed a variety of programs aimed at improving the poor conditions in which working-class immigrants lived. She hoped that the immigrants could learn middle-class social and cultural ways as a means to improving their lives. The programs at Hull-House included kindergarten classes, cooking classes, club meetings, art and English classes. As attendance swelled, Addams expanded into neighboring buildings until Hull-House encompassed a city block. The additions included an art gallery, a public kitchen, a coffee house, a gymnasium, a swimming pool, a bookbindery, an art studio, a circulating library, an employment bureau, and a labor museum.

Under Addams, Hull-House became one of the focal points of American reform. Its influence spread beyond the neighborhood which it served. Many of the key figures in Progressive Era reform, including FLORENCE KELLEY and GRACE ABBOTT, started their careers at Hull-House under Addams's tutelage. In addition, she led investigations into juvenile delinquency, poverty wages, midwifery, narcotics use, milk supplies, sanitary conditions, and working conditions, particularly for women and children. These investigations spurred numerous improvements in the lives of working Americans.

Addams was an ardent opponent of war, a position for which she suffered public criticism during WORLD WAR I. She gave her first speeches against war in 1906, and by 1915 she was chairperson of two peace organizations. Addams publicly opposed America's entrance into the war in 1917, and she was attacked in the press for her position. Despite her opposition to the war, she served in the U.S. government's program to provide relief for European citizens affected by the war. Addams suffered a heart attack in 1926 after which she never fully regained her health. In 1931 she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her lifetime of work helping the unfortunate. She died in 1935 from heart-related ailments and cancer.

See also SOCIAL WORK.

**Further reading:** Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House: With Autobiographical Notes* (New York: Macmillan, 1910); Allen F. Davis, *American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

—Michael Hartman

### **Adkins v. Children's Hospital** (1923)

In the Progressive Era, the Supreme Court decision in *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* became part of the crusade to remedy women's poor wages and working conditions.

Contemporary studies of working women revealed that the average woman worker was single, between the ages of 16 and 24, and of foreign birth or parentage. Driven by the necessity to earn wages either to support themselves or to contribute to family income, women were forced to accept jobs, many of which paid less than a living wage. Working in mass-production industries or in the new clerical and service industries, women had little bargaining power, often met resistance in organizing unions, and had few political options as women did not yet have the right to vote. The solution, many argued, was a governmentally mandated minimum wage, which would allow working women to earn a respectable income and avert destitution. In the wake of *MULLER V. OREGON*, a Supreme Court decision that confirmed the constitutionality of maximum hour laws to protect women workers on the basis of their future role as mothers, reformers pushed through a wave of state minimum wage laws, many of which were controversial in their regulation of wages, and not working conditions.

The Washington, D.C., minimum wage law for women was contested in *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* on the grounds that it was an infringement of women's right of free contract under the Constitution. The Supreme Court in the case declared that sex-specific minimum wage laws were beyond the powers of government. In part, their justification lay in the recent victory of woman suffrage, which arguably eliminated women's political disabilities. If women had the same political rights as men, including the right to vote, they should no longer be a protected class under the law. The Court also seemed to distinguish law regulating the hours and conditions of labor, which the government had the right to establish to protect the public's interest in motherhood, and minimum wage laws, which were about what a worker received in compensation for labor. The latter, they believed, was a function of the market and not the state.

In subsequent laws and test cases, minimum wage laws for women remained under attack, both on the grounds of limitations on governmental power but also because minimum wage commissions, the device by which most states determined women's wages on an industry basis, were thought to be an inadequate guarantee of an employer's right to due process. Only with the passage of the federal Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938, which created a federal minimum wage for both men and women workers, did the push for women's minimum wage laws start to abate as the Court confirmed the constitutionality of general minimum wage regulation.

**Further reading:** Judith Baer, *The Chains of Protection: The Judicial Response to Women's Labor Legislation* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978); Vivian Hart, *Bound*



## 4 advertising

by *Our Constitution: Women Workers and the Minimum Wage* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).

### advertising

Advertising as an occupation and an industry gained momentum in the early decades of the 20th century. Advertising began in the field of public relations, as private charities and public agencies found ways to solicit public support and publicize their good works. Acting for these agencies, and later for businesses, advertising agents negotiated for space to advertise the service, product, or organization in newspapers and magazines. By 1900, however, the top two agencies in the United States—N.W. Ayer and Son and J. Walter Thompson—were not only writing advertising copy for their clients but also designing the ads. Local advertising agencies and branches of the larger firms soon cropped up in many cities. Advertising revenues became a major source of profits, both for the new agencies and for the newspapers and magazines that published their copy. Advertising became big business as manufacturers sought new markets for an ever-broadening range of consumer items, from personal toiletries to the automobile. Com-

panies now spent over \$100 million a year on advertising, double what they had in 1880. The next 30 years saw the emergence of modern advertising with its new approaches to marketing goods and surveying the public, new methods of persuasion, and an advertising creed to match.

The advertising industry began to develop professional standards and organizations. There was the beginning of the movement toward a regular 15 percent commission for advertising as well as the growth of agency services. To promote the industry, the Association of Advertising Clubs of America was formed in 1904. Complaints about unfair and dishonest ads led to new government regulations under the FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION ACT of 1914. Just a few years later, in 1917, 111 advertising agencies established the American Association of Advertising Agencies to further the industry's growth.

An important figure in developing modern advertising was Albert Lasker. Known as “the Father of Advertising” by his admirers and “the Apostle of the Obvious” by his critics, he started as a floor sweeper with Lord and Thomas, one of the leading advertising firms in Chicago, in 1884. By 1898, he owned the company. Lasker persuaded one client, a hearing aid manufacturer, to increase its advertising budget from \$10,000 to \$180,000 a year on the basis of his slogans. Master of the “tricky slogan,” he attracted big clients to his firm, including Lucky Strike, Pepsodent, Kleenex, RCA, and Frigidaire. By 1921, it was the top-ranked advertising firm in the country. In that year, he left to head the UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD and returned to save his failing agency in 1923. His idea of business, he professed, “was to render service and to make money.” His ideal of “salesmanship in print” drove up industry competition.

Lasker was only one of a handful of agency heads to push the industry forward in its approach and method. F. Wayland Ayer of N.W. Ayer and Son built his agency by adding branch offices in major cities and creating a new business department. His decision to hire full-time copywriters and artists set the industry standard before 1910, and he pioneered in media research. Having coined the phrase, “It pays to advertise,” J. Walter Thompson headed Ayer's major competitor. Thompson was famous for inventing the testimonial ad. In 1921, his agency developed a marketing research department when it hired Harvard psychologist John Watson. In a more direct fashion, advertiser Helen Lansdowne Resor gave advertising a twist of sex appeal with her 1911 ad for Woodbury Facial Soap, “The Skin You Love to Touch.” Celebrity advertising also filled up the pages of magazines as advertisers educated the public through “the medium of personalities.” These new approaches gave advertising a stronger hold on the imagination of both the public and industry.

By the 1920s, the birth and rapid expansion of public radio programs and a growing number of mass market

**The Luscious Way**  
to "Better Days"  
—Millions Follow It

**A FRESH, ripe, delicious orange** to start the breakfast right!  
Cut it open. The glistening juice—the mere appearance of it—entices even jaded palates to enjoy.  
Then taste! The tang and zest created by organic salts and acids immediately whet *real* appetite and *help* digest the entire meal.  
You'll have a more *efficient* breakfast, and it's the day's most important meal.  
Whole days, weeks, months, are made "more regular," more *healthful*, more productive for millions in this delightful way.

Start with an orange daily for a ten-day trial, and see.  
Here, too, is the most attractive way to insure a healthful vitamin supply. For oranges are acknowledged by physicians, scientists and chemists to be among the greatest carriers of this newly recognized vital element in food.  
If some foods lack vitamin content entirely, or lose in cooking or processing, you are assured that oranges contain vitamins in abundance—*fruit*, *potent* vitamins, which you can add to any meal by simply adding *luscious oranges* in a dainty salad, orange dessert, or breakfast dish.

**Sunkist**  
Uniformly Good Oranges

California Fruit Growers Exchange  
A Division of the United Fruit Company  
P.O. Box 145, Los Angeles, California

Sunkist Oranges are everywhere, everywhere and everywhere. Buy for breakfast, and for all safety and security. Get them in Sunkist wrapper or any way.

See Our Offer to Women

**Mail This** card with this orange and we will send you a box of Sunkist Oranges. (See back of card for details.)

☐ 25 Sunkist Oranges—free  
☐ Complete Box and 25¢  
(Includes about 10 cents)

Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
City: \_\_\_\_\_  
State: \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

Advertisement for Sunkist oranges in *The Ladies' Home Journal* (Library of Congress)

magazines opened the way for increasing use of advertising. The industry grew rapidly due to the explosion of advertising revenues during WORLD WAR I, when the government sponsored its own “advertising” with the COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC INFORMATION under George Creel. Advertising whiz Bruce Barton was himself the product of United War Work campaigns that he worked on with later partners Roy Durstine and Alex Osborn. In addition to expanding the domain of advertising, the industry benefited as well from new consumer credit plans. The 1920s saw consumers spend an increasing proportion of their wages on consumer durables such as cars, radios, and household appliances. Ads for consumer products became a staple of the new mass-market magazines and radio broadcasts. By 1923, the first radio series to be sponsored by company advertising, National Carbon Company’s *Eveready Hour*, was broadcast. Within a few years, company-sponsored programs such as *The Jack Benny Show* and *General Foods Cooking School* competed for radio time. In an era of expanding markets, advertising budgets climbed from \$1.4 billion in 1919 to nearly \$3 billion in 1929.

In new consumer-oriented ads, advertisers shifted from focusing on the producer of goods to selling the consumer, from the product to the benefits of its use. New ads focused on the personal and intimate aspects of consumer goods. The consumer, advertisers suggested, was expressing a sense of self in purchasing. There were sexualized images and puns. In an advertisement for an automobile parts maker, “body by Fisher” had a double meaning when the ad model was a stunning woman in an evening dress. At the same time, three of the most successful campaigns of the age—Fleischman’s yeast, Listerine, and Kotex—played on consumer’s fears of illness and hopes for a successful personal life.

For these reasons, the advertising industry had a powerful pull on the culture of the time. President CALVIN COOLIDGE in 1926 told the American Association of Advertising Agents that they were engaged in “the great work of regeneration and redemption of mankind.” “It is,” he said, “the most potent influence in adapting and changing the habits and modes of life, affecting what we eat, what we wear, and the work and play of a whole nation.” The almost religious zeal of advertising was best illustrated by the life of one of the foremost businessmen of the 1920s, advertising prophet Bruce Barton. Alistair Cooke wrote of Barton that he “came as close as any one will to achieving a philosophy of advertising, because he saw the whole of human history as an exercise in persuasion.” Barton’s book, *The Man Nobody Knows* (1925), portrayed Jesus as a modern businessman who practiced what Barton called “the creative force” of advertising. He also was known for popularizing the Harvard Classics series and inventing the figure of Betty Crocker. His fame in advertising later led to a political career in Congress.

Advertising reached the end of the 1920s as one of the leading forces in American life. It pervaded thousands of newspapers and magazines and saturated the radio air waves. At the same time, advertising’s prosperity depended ultimately on the health of the consumer economy. When, in 1929, the economy began to falter, so too did advertising revenues. From 1929 to 1933, they declined from \$3.5 billion to \$1.5 billion. Advertising agencies, like other services, suffered from the weakness of the economy as a whole. While it would take more than a decade to restore the economy—and the faith in its self-advertised prosperity—advertising rebounded in the mid-1930s as the New Deal lent great importance to advertising economic recovery.

See also ECONOMY; JOURNALISM; RADIO.

**Further reading:** Pamela Land, *Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Daniel Pope, *The Making of Modern Advertising* (New York: Basic Books, 1983); Juliann Sivulka, *Soap, Sex and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1998).

### Agricultural Marketing Act (1929)

Designed to address the deteriorating farm economy, the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929 was the most important piece of farm legislation passed under the Hoover administration. Elected in 1928 as the third consecutive Republican president, Herbert Hoover set out to maintain the economic growth much of the nation had witnessed for the past decade. Despite this apparent prosperity, structural problems persisted in the American economy that ultimately contributed to its collapse. In particular, rural residents and farmers were left out of much of the economic prosperity of the twenties. WORLD WAR I had created an expanded market for American agricultural goods; but with the cessation of hostilities in Europe, the market contracted as agricultural production on the continent resumed. With shifting market conditions of the postwar period, agricultural prices in the United States steadily declined. While lower prices for many durable consumer goods such as automobiles resulted in increased demand, most people did not purchase more bread as its price dropped.

Rural residents and farmers accordingly faced economic crisis well before the onset of the Great Depression in late 1929. Some 500,000 individuals lost their farms to bankruptcy during the 1920s. In response, farmers made persistent demands on the federal government for action during the course of the twenties. Hoover, who had served as the wartime food administrator, was aware of the poor

## 6 Agricultural Workers Organization

economic conditions in rural America at the end of the decade. He had supported agricultural legislation such as the CAPPER-VOLSTEAD ACT as secretary of commerce under WARREN G. HARDING. As president, Hoover pushed bills aimed at stabilizing the agricultural economy through a special session of Congress. For Hoover, glutted markets served as the primary factor undermining the health of agriculture in the United States, and he sought to address that problem.

One of the more favored responses advocated by farm organizations was federal support for cooperative arrangements. If farmers could buy, sell, and process through joint efforts, they could control their profits rather than surrender them to “middlemen” agricultural firms, long seen by farmers as one of the primary threats to their economic well-being. Farm cooperatives remained at a disadvantage in marketing their goods, and it was to this problem that the Hoover administration directed its attention.

The Agricultural Market Act created a revolving loan fund of \$500 million to help farm cooperatives market their major commodities and purchase surpluses of these goods off the market to force prices up. While not a solution for all farmers, the act helped to support agricultural cooperatives for the producers of perishable products and items that sold on a national, rather than a world, market. Some of the more successful cooperative arrangements were made in the fruit and dairy sector of agriculture. While many cooperatives began as family farms, they came to include such large cooperatives as Sunkist oranges, Land O’Lakes milk, Diamond walnuts, and Ocean Spray cranberries. The Agricultural Marketing Act stood to benefit a key part of the agricultural economy, but it is unclear how much it would have benefited farm producers after 1929. The act went into effect at the same time that the American economy as a whole collapsed in October 1929, and farm prices slumped and then fell catastrophically.

See also AGRICULTURE; McNARY HAUGEN FARM BILL.

**Further reading:** David E. Hamilton, *From New Day to New Deal: American Farm Policy from Hoover to Roosevelt, 1928–1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

—David R. Smith

**Agricultural Workers Organization** See INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

### agriculture

Although farmers had faced a shortage of capital, banking facilities, currency, and credit during the last two decades

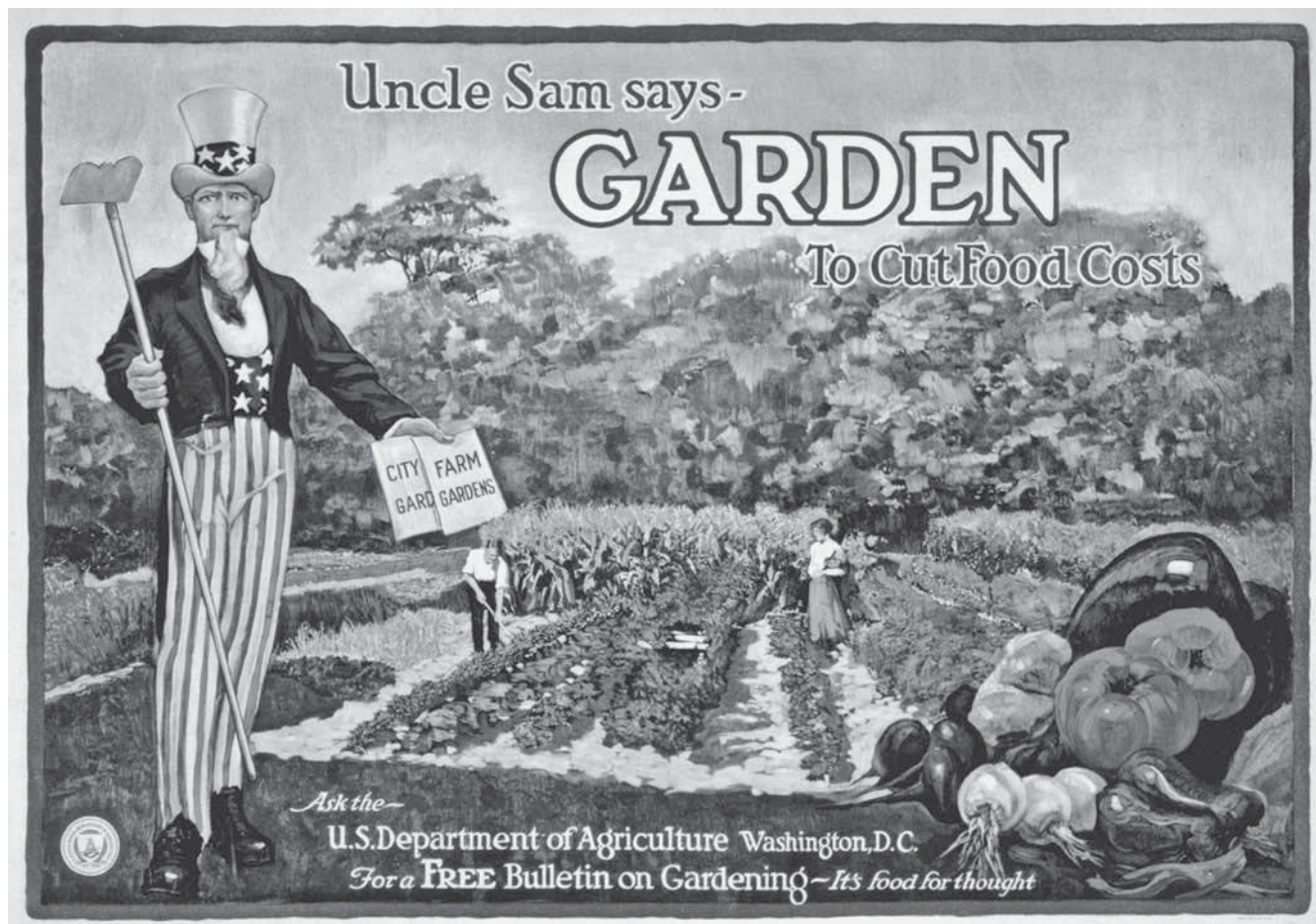
of the 19th century, the new century brought a wave of prosperity to rural areas of the United States that would last until shortly after the end of WORLD WAR I. Despite experiencing substantial wartime prosperity, the agricultural economy by the 1920s displayed clear signs of the structural weaknesses that would prove ruinous for many farmers. Nevertheless, during the “Golden Age” of agriculture from 1900 to 1920, gross farm incomes doubled and real farm income (gross income adjusted for inflation) increased by some 40 percent. Beyond the yearly increases in income, the real growth in the prosperity of farmers came with steadily increasing land values, holding out the promise of future economic well-being.

The prosperity that farmers experienced during the first two decades of the 20th century largely emanated from increasing demand for their products. While the amount of land under agricultural production more than doubled in the last quarter of the 19th century, only about 12 percent more land was brought into production between 1900 and the early 1920s. Not only had the majority of productive farmland already been brought into production by 1900, but also farmers tended to not increase their landholdings during that time.

An important source of rural prosperity stemmed from foreign markets, where farmers increasingly sold a new, wider range of products between 1900 and the First World War. As farmers steadily pushed into the few remaining productive agriculture lands, in places like Florida and California, the range of agricultural commodities shifted. By 1914, citrus fruits, sugar, oil crops, poultry, and eggs had made steady gains as major agricultural commodities American farmers produced. Despite this shift in the type of products being grown, hay, grains, wool, and meat animals remained key components in the agricultural economy. Technological improvements aided the rapidly growing agricultural economy and led to the introduction of new commodities. Not only mechanization on individual farms, especially the introduction of the internal combustion engine, but also the introduction and expansion of new containers, such as refrigerated railway cars, made the transport of perishable goods easier and more efficient. The citrus fruit industry, for example, expanded as its products could be transported and sold on a national market as opposed to simply within local markets in California and Florida.

Although willing to introduce many modern conveniences to their daily living conditions, many farmers—having witnessed the economic difficulties of the late 19th century—were reluctant to invest in capital improvements. They hesitated to expand landholdings and purchase new equipment to increase farm productivity. As a result, with productivity increasing by only about 1 percent per year, agricultural output could not keep pace with the steady increase (approximately 40 percent) in the nation’s popula-





Poster featuring Uncle Sam as an advocate for gardening, 1917 (Library of Congress)

tion during the first quarter of the 20th century. Accordingly, the prices of agricultural commodities rose because of an increasing demand that could not be fully met by American farmers. In addition, the world market also became quite friendly to American farmers between 1900 and 1920, which added to their profits. In particular, American agricultural commodities were in high demand across Europe with the outbreak of war in 1914.

Despite the reluctance of farmers to invest in extensive capital improvements, the introduction of mechanical farm equipment had dramatic and long-term consequences on American society, especially in the South. There, even the limited introduction of mechanization resulted in a slowly decreasing demand for African-American laborers, who had made up the bulk of the rural labor force through tenant and sharecropping arrangements. Although cotton remained the least mechanized farm crop through the 1930s, the gradual introduction of mechanical devices helped to loosen some of the economic and political conditions that tied African Americans to the region. In addi-

tion to mechanical devices, the infestation of cotton by the boll weevil in the early part of the 20th century meant that for the first time since the end of the Civil War in 1865, a steady number of African Americans managed to migrate to northern cities, especially as the demand for industrial labor increased with the start of the war in Europe.

The war had created an expanded market for American agricultural goods and brought the means to borrow capital for expanding landholdings, but the cessation of hostilities in Europe caused the market to contract. Agricultural endeavors on the continent resumed, and European governments faced a capital shortage as they rebuilt their war-torn nations. With shifting market conditions during the 1920s, agricultural prices in the United States steadily declined. In 1919, wheat sold for \$2.19 per bushel, potatoes went for \$2.20 per hundredweight, and cotton received \$.35 per pound. By the end of the 1920s, however, a bushel of wheat sold for \$1.05, potatoes had declined to \$1.29, and cotton now received only \$.17. While lower prices for



many consumer goods resulted in increased demand, most people did not purchase more bread as its price dropped.

Not only did farmers have to contend with declining prices for many of their commodities, but also changing consumer tastes and new federal policies had a profound impact on agriculture. The passage of PROHIBITION in 1919 barred the sale and manufacture of alcoholic beverages and, accordingly, constricted the domestic market for barley and other grains. Similarly, shorter skirt styles and the introduction of such synthetic materials as rayon diminished the demand for cotton and wool. Another major factor that reshaped agriculture was the introduction of tractors to the production process, primarily in harvesting. While mechanization was a response to the shortage of labor, it ultimately meant fewer draft animals were needed by farmers, which further reduced the demand for various field crops traditionally used to feed work animals.

With declining prices and constricting markets, many rural residents and farmers faced an economic downturn well before the onset of the Great Depression in 1929. Some 500,000 individuals lost their farms to bankruptcy during the 1920s. In response, farmers made persistent demands for relief from the federal government during the course of the twenties. Farm advocates had long championed the need for low-interest loans to help promote and make affordable the capital improvements needed to expand individual farms. The FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT in 1916 created the mechanism to extend low-interest loans for periods of five to 40 years to farmers through a Federal Farm Loan Board, 12 Federal Land Banks that paralleled the Federal Reserve Banks. As part of WOODROW WILSON's NEW FREEDOM initiative, the Farm Loan Act extended capital to farmers through a program that cut out private banks, which farmers viewed as outside institutions that exploited them.

Another mechanism introduced during the early part of the 20th century to address the needs and demands of agriculture was federal support for cooperative arrangements, which actually was one of the more favored responses long advocated by farmers. If farmers could buy, sell, and process through joint efforts, they would be able to better control the profits generated by their products. Cooperative arrangements did not stand to benefit all farmers. Instead, producers of perishable products and of items that sold on a national rather than a world market tended to benefit the most from cooperative arrangements. Some of the more successful cooperative arrangements were made in the fruit and dairy sector of agriculture and included such cooperatives as Sunkist oranges, Land O'Lakes milk, Diamond walnuts, and Ocean Spray cranberries. In 1922, the Farm Bloc in Congress passed the CAPPER-VOLSTEAD ACT, which protected cooperatives from antitrust legislation.

Another major piece of farm legislation was the AGRICULTURAL MARKETING ACT (1929). It created a revolving loan fund of \$500 million to help farm cooperatives market their major commodities and to purchase surpluses of goods off the market to force prices up. While this legislation stood to benefit a key part of the agricultural economy, it is unknown what its benefits might have been for producers after 1929. While industrial operations in the United States had benefited from protective tariffs, the prices of agricultural goods could not be pushed by these tariffs, especially as production outdistanced demand on the domestic market. In response to the demands of such groups as the American Farm Bureau, Congress in 1926 passed the McNARY-HAUGEN FARM BILL in an attempt to create parity for American agricultural goods. While Congress twice passed the bill, it was unable to override President CALVIN COOLIDGE's vetoes. Despite government efforts to address farmers' needs, the agricultural sector quickly fell into economic crisis with the collapse of the Stock Market in 1929.

See also ECONOMY; TARIFFS.

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—David R. Smith

### **Aguinaldo, Emilio** (1869–1964) *rebel*

Emilio Aguinaldo was the Filipino statesman and guerrilla leader who led the nationalist revolt against the American forces during the Filipino Insurrection (1898–1902). The son of the mayor of the town of Kawit, he assumed his father's position after achieving financial success running his family's sugar mill and dealing in cattle. While mayor, he became enamored of the Katipunan, a secret, mystical nationalist organization that combined the rituals of Roman Catholicism and Freemasonry. When the Filipinos rose up against Spanish colonial rule in August 1896, Aguinaldo joined the rebels and quickly distinguished himself as a guerrilla leader. Armed only with the most primitive of weapons, he and his followers managed to control three towns in his native province of Cavite.

Inspiring and resourceful as he was, Aguinaldo eventually was cornered by Spanish forces. With the Spanish unable to muster the resources necessary to storm his camp, and the nationalists unable to break out, the two sides came to a settlement. The Spanish promised reforms, and Aguinaldo agreed to accept 800,000 pesos, sign an oath forswearing rebellion, and leave the country.

In December 1897, Aguinaldo arrived in Hong Kong, immediately renounced his agreement with Spain, and began to plan a new rebellion. His efforts were given a boost a year later, when Admiral Dewey's fleet was assembling at Hong Kong in preparation for an attack on Manila Bay. Although Dewey asked Aguinaldo to help him defeat the Spanish, the admiral inexplicably sailed to Manila without him. Aguinaldo, who had made alternate travel arrangements, did not arrive until the naval battle was over.

Unable to get a firm answer from Dewey concerning Filipino independence, Aguinaldo declared the Philippines a provisional dictatorship with himself as its head. As his presence in the archipelago became known, Filipinos flocked to his cause. The nationalists soon surrounded Manila, effectively blocking the Spanish from leaving by land while Dewey blocked the routes to the sea.

When American ground forces arrived, they promised the Filipinos several artillery pieces if they would yield a sector of Manila. Aguinaldo agreed, and his troops left their trenches, but the cannons were never delivered. The Americans promptly stormed the city; and in a sham battle, designed to save the Spanish general from court-martial, they captured all of the Spanish troops. As a final insult, Aguinaldo was barred from the surrender ceremony.

Aguinaldo sent his troops to cover as much territory as possible so as to increase his leverage with the Americans. Tensions mounted between Filipino and American troops as they faced each other in the trenches around Manila. Once President William McKinley declared that the United States had sovereignty over the islands, Aguinaldo prepared for war.

Open hostilities began when an American private shot and killed several Filipino soldiers. Fearing that the Filipinos were within American lines, the commander ordered his troops to attack. In the open, pitched battles that followed, the Filipinos were decimated with casualties. Aguinaldo responded by quickly switching over to hit-and-run tactics. His guerrilla war and terrorist activities frustrated U.S. efforts to pacify the islands for the next three years.

The insurrection came to an end in 1902 when, in a daring raid by American troops, Aguinaldo was captured. He signed a document stating that he recognized American sovereignty, and he ceased hostilities. He lived quietly for the remainder of his life, except during World War II when he made pro-Japanese broadcasts. He died in 1964.

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—Timothy E. Vislocky

## American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)

The American Civil Liberties Union had its origins in the PEACE MOVEMENT during WORLD WAR I, but its work harks back to earlier campaigns for CIVIL LIBERTIES in labor and political struggles. Established by the American Union against Militarism in 1917, the National Civil Liberties Bureau (NCLB) had as its original purpose legal protection of the rights of political dissenters, especially those active in opposing American participation in the war. At a time when dissent was equated with treason and support for the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD was viewed as criminal syndicalism, the Civil Liberties Bureau understood that the causes of labor, liberty, and peace were linked. When CONGRESS passed the SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT, the ESPIONAGE ACT, and the SEDITION ACT, anyone who openly opposed the military draft or engaged in criticism of the president, military uniforms, the American flag, or America's participation in the war was in violation of these wartime measures. When government sought to suppress the peace movement or to quash labor conflict, it was the NCLB that organized campaigns for the defense of radicals and pacifists.

ROGER BALDWIN, one of the NCLB founders and a conscientious objector, was convicted for opposing the military draft. He, along with thousands of others, was jailed for his opposition to the war. His release allowed Baldwin to join with Crystal Eastman, a radical lawyer and political activist, to found the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920. The new organization took as its purpose the defense of broadly defined individual civil liberties, such as free speech, free press, free assembly, and the right to equal protection under the law. Its mission states that the organization's purpose is "to defend and preserve the individual rights and liberties guaranteed to every person in this country by the Constitution and laws of the United States." The ACLU's roster of founders was long and distinguished, and its record unequaled among American legal organizations. In its ranks were future Supreme Court justice Felix Frankfurter; attorney CLARENCE DARROW; philosopher and educator JOHN DEWEY; historian Charles Beard; liberal minister John Haynes Holmes; Progressive reformers JANE ADDAMS, FLORENCE KELLEY, LILLIAN WALD, and UPTON SINCLAIR; editors Oswald Garrison Villard and Freda Kirchwey; socialist Norman Thomas; and radical labor organizer ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN. Encompassing this influential and powerful group, the ACLU from its beginnings took on a series of controversial court cases, sometimes on behalf of unsympathetic and even hostile defendants. ACLU lawyers contributed to the expansion of civil liberties in the 20th century and transformed constitutional law with their challenges to accepted judicial interpretations.

**Alien Exclusion Act** See IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1917.

## 10 American Expeditionary Force

The American Fund for Public Service, also known as the Garland Fund, supported the ACLU during the decade of the 1920s, as it turned to broader issues in civil liberties law. The ACLU fought the ban on the teaching of evolution in the schools in the *SCOPES TRIAL*, and it fought the imposition of the death penalty in the defense of *LEOPOLD AND LOEB*, whose murder case attracted national attention. One of the great public advocates of free speech, Clarence Darrow led the defense in both cases. He was joined by a new generation of labor and civil liberties lawyers, who took on the work of the ACLU in defending civil liberties throughout the 20th century.

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### American Expeditionary Force (AEF)

When the United States entered *WORLD WAR I*, the U.S. Army numbered only around 128,000 men. The newly appointed commander of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF), General *JOHN PERSHING*, after touring the battlefields in France, quickly concluded that the United States would need at least 3 million men to be victorious in the war. Eventually over 4 million served. Chosen in April 1917 to lead the American army in Europe, Pershing was one of the few American generals with battle experience. He had commanded American forces in Mexico in their pursuit of Pancho Villa. Pershing was anxious to keep the American army together as a cohesive unit, rather than dispersing them as the European commanders desired. The need for troops on the European front strengthened Pershing's hand.

The entire initiative of the AEF was extremely important, as this was the first time that the United States sent a large land force outside its borders. Formed in large part by a civilian draft under the *SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT* of 1917, the AEF as a modern army was trained, equipped, and supplied thanks to the nation's industrial capacity. It was the first of its kind in United States history, an integrated national military, rather than a collection of state militia integrated into regular army divisions as in the past.

The military draft supplied the men, but the soldiers still had to be housed, clothed, armed, equipped, and trained. There were not enough officers, facilities, nor time to train the men. To address housing issues, a Cantonment Division was created, which set to work expanding existing military installations, and 16 tent camps were made for the National Guard in the South and 16 wooden barracks



Enlistment poster for the American Expeditionary Force  
(Library of Congress)

for the national army in the North. Clothing for the men also had to be provided. Almost 132 million pairs of socks were needed at the end of May 1918. Many soldiers had to wait for their full allotment of clothing and equipment. Production of ammunition, radio, and other military equipment fell short as companies sometimes signed contracts they had no hope of fulfilling. The government eventually stepped in, and the Army took control of the manufacturing process in many companies. The *WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD* set about dictating what it needed to industry and controlling resources.

During the war, a serious shortage of arms also needed to be addressed. Most weapons required leadtime to produce, and there were limits on production. Production on the Springfield service rifle, for example, could be increased to only 1,000 per day. As there were only 600,000 on hand, this was a major problem. It was many months after the United States declared war that it was able to effectively engage in fighting—only because France and Britain supplied weapons, ammunition, transportation, and equipment.

Despite these problems, the American soldiers were fresh compared with the war-weary French and British.

With their arrival in Europe, it was clear that a new era had arisen in the West. The American weight was now being heavily felt in the balance. American troops arrived in France in 1918. The first offensive occurred in September. On September 12, 1918, at 1:00 A.M., the Allied artillery opened fire. By September 13, Pershing's First Army controlled the Saint-Mihiel sector at a line from Haudimont to Vandières. Their victory cost 7,000 casualties. They took 15,000 German prisoners and 450 guns. By the 14th of September, the first units of Pershing's army redeployed to the Argonne sector; 500,000 men of the First Army assembled. On the 26th of September, the American First Army, with the French Fourth, resumed the offensive. Colonel George Patton's tank brigade accompanied them. By October 10, they controlled the forest. On October 12, 1918, Pershing decided that the First Army was too big. He created the Second Army and gave command to General Hunter Liggett.

Although the advancing Americans were eating up their supplies at a rapid rate, victory was close at hand. The Germans were near to conceding as their allies deserted them. The British blockade was causing critical food shortages, and the German armies were reeling. The Germans finally surrendered on November 11, 1918, what came to be called Armistice Day (Veterans Day, after World War II). The American Expeditionary Force saw only 150 days of combat, but in that time it seized 485,000 square miles of enemy held territory and captured 63,000 prisoners, 1,300 artillery pieces, and 10,000 mortars and machine guns.

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—Annamarie Edelen

### American Federation of Labor (AFL)

The American Federation of Labor was the most important labor organization of the Progressive Era. It brought workers together primarily from the skilled trades into a national organization that had as its purpose improving the conditions of labor through collective bargaining. In what was often called “pure and simple trade unionism,” the Federation gave priority to economic demands for wages and control over the labor process. The AFL claimed to be the political voice not only of organized labor but also of the working class in the United States. As such, it became increasingly involved in politics in the early 20th century, using its clout to push for state and federal legislation to prohibit child labor, restrict immigration, control the con-

ditions of federal employees, bar labor injunctions, and grant injured workers compensation.

Radical in its origins, the AFL by 1900 had taken on the conservative attitudes and old boy persona of its leaders, President Samuel Gompers, a cigar maker; Adolph Strasser, who belonged to the same trade; and Peter McGuire, the head of the carpenters' union. The AFL's primary constituents were workers in the skilled trades. Unlike the rival Knights of Labor, the AFL's avoided mobilizing workers across industry and occupation, targeting instead craft workers. Moreover, the AFL saw itself as an organization exclusively for workers, and it barred labor reformers, small business allies, and labor scholars from its ranks. There was a logic to the AFL's policy of exclusion. The Knights, many trade unionists believed, had misdirected their energies toward reform. Further, skilled workers such as cigar makers, printers, carpenters, machinists, iron molders, barrel makers, had, by virtue of their knowledge and training, greater control over their work and greater power in negotiating with employers. The length of apprenticeships and the limited pool of skilled labor made it difficult for employers to replace strikers with new workers or to substitute machines for those on strike. Skilled workers also were, due to strict rules and discrimination, primarily male, white, and native-born or naturalized citizens. These characteristics gave their trade unions greater bargaining power and political clout. The AFL's weapon of choice was a small, short, and focused strike against employers. It avoided the lengthy political programs and broad-based community protests that had characterized its predecessors.

At the turn of the century, the AFL was in the midst of an unprecedented expansion. In 1898, it had 278,000 members, and by 1903, its ranks had grown to 1,500,000. Under the influence of the NEW UNIONISM trade unions as well as the new semi-industrial unions like the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMWA), the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION (ILGWU), organized those previously outside their domain. Benefiting from massive strikes, AFL unions enrolled growing numbers of skilled workers, especially in the metalworking trades. Indeed, the International Association of Machinists (IAM) was one of the fastest growing unions. Further, as new technologies of power (such as electric lighting) and methods of construction (such as steel-reinforced girders) were created, new groups of workers organized, among them the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) and the Bridge and Structural Ironworkers. Growth in city streetcar systems also meant growing numbers of drivers and conductors, who organized their own unions. The building trades (carpenters, masons, bricklayers, etc.) were among the chief beneficiaries of urban growth. Their power within the AFL



## 12 Americanization

increased proportionately with their numbers. The new organizational strength of labor gave rise to a new wave of labor militancy and an increase in the rate of strike success.

As the labor federation grew, so too did its areas of interest. While it had experimented from time to time with political campaigns, the AFL chose, for the most part, to maintain a non-partisan strategy in politics by rewarding labor's friends and punishing its enemies. In general, the labor movement had been wary of government regulation of the workplace. It preferred to leave the issues of wages, hours, and working conditions to private bargaining and viewed the arena for state intervention as relatively limited. The only legislation it endorsed was concerned with limiting access to the labor market or with specific occupations, such as Chinese exclusion laws and the regulation of child labor.

In the face of growing employer hostility, the AFL began to seek federal relief from court injunctions. Key court decisions such as *DANBURY HATTERS* and *BUCK'S STOVE* sharply restricted labor's ability to bargain with employers by penalizing labor for the costs of strikes and even informal boycotts, such as "We Don't Patronize" lists. The AFL now sought legislation to limit the use of labor injunctions and to pass new measures to regulate child labor and institute an eight-hour day for government employees. Under the presidency of *WOODROW WILSON*, the AFL lobbied for and obtained the passage of the *CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT*, which gave labor unions protection from antitrust laws. It witnessed the creation of a Department of Labor and supported new federal legislation for workers' compensation. With the *ADAMSON ACT*, railroad workers saw the eight-hour day become a reality. When the United States entered *WORLD WAR I*, the AFL cooperated with the war effort and took part in government efforts to mobilize labor and war industries. It also helped make the first steps toward government intervention in negotiating wages and working conditions during the wartime emergency through the *RAILROAD ADMINISTRATION*. In many sectors, workers signed no-strike pledges for the duration of the war. The payoff was the new and privileged role the AFL played in the federal government through the *NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD*.

After the war, the massive strikes of 1919, and the political reprisals of the *RED SCARE*, the labor movement went into shock. Experiments in industrial unionism ended in the losses of the *STEEL STRIKE OF 1919* and the postwar strikes in meatpacking and textiles. Labor's defeat in the coal and railroad shopmen's strikes of 1922 signaled a sharp decline in its political clout, as government intervention effectively repressed conflict. In stark contrast to the moderate Wilson administration, *WARREN G. HARDING's* presidency demonstrated hostility toward labor. Under Harding and his successor, *CALVIN COOLIDGE*, the chief labor victory was in the

area of immigration restriction. Labor's interest in limiting the influx of new workers complemented nativist concerns, and it joined them in endorsing the 1921 *QUOTA ACT* and the *NATIONAL ORIGINS ACT* of 1924. By the 1920s, national union leaders rarely touched on issues that concerned the mass of workers politically, such as work accidents, insurance, and relief. State labor federations experienced in politics did try to pass unemployment insurance in such states as Massachusetts, California, and Minnesota. The emphasis on state-level action was a response to the Supreme Court's tendency to declare unconstitutional the extension of federal power to protect the conditions and wages of labor. It also followed from the preference of organized labor for local activism and voluntary association.

With the 1924 death of Samuel Gompers, who had been federation president since 1886, the conservatism of the AFL was set in stone. His successor, William Green, was, if anything, more averse to state intervention in labor relations and demonstrated even greater hostility toward African-American, immigrant, and women workers. Faced with the growing discontent among workers in the late 1920s and the looming unemployment crisis, the AFL tread water. Ambivalent toward mass production industries, it resisted efforts to modernize or to embrace the coming wave of industrial unionism.

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### Americanization

The mass *IMMIGRATION* waves of the early 20th century made the United States an even more ethnically and religiously diverse country. In particular, large cities grew from the influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, and often more than 60 percent of a city's residents were foreign born or of foreign parentage, as was true in New York, Chicago, and Minneapolis–St. Paul. Unassimilated immigrants and their children, some argued, weakened American society and increased social disorder, as shown in increasing urban crime and widespread labor conflict. Further, the failure of many immigrants to become naturalized American citizens seemed to show that resident aliens retained allegiance to the countries of their birth. Disloyalty and subversion were the likely outcomes of those with no ties to the United States. These "hyphenated Americans," some warned, presented a threat to American democracy and social stability.

In response, Progressive reformers organized campaigns for the education of immigrants and their children.

Settlement House workers at places such as Hull-House in Chicago conducted CITIZENSHIP, American history, personal hygiene, and English classes; employers, such as HENRY FORD, tied benefits, such as the Five Dollar Day wage, to workers who took English lessons and had citizenship papers. Prior to 1914, Americanization efforts, which took on the tone of crusades, were begun in most major cities. The war in Europe only intensified such efforts. Under the leadership of sociologist Frances Kellor, more than 150 cities took part in a National Americanization Day on July 4, 1915. The campaigns continued as PREPAREDNESS, for a country threatened by world war, became the watchword of national life.

After the United States declared war in 1917, the Wilson administration moved to solidify public opinion behind the war effort and especially to shore up precarious national unity. Americanization campaigns were central to the effort. As the president declared, "There are citizens of the United States, I blush to admit, born under other flags but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life. Such creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy must be crushed out. The hand of our power should close over them at once." Most states established Americanization committees, which engaged in the domestic surveillance of foreign workers as well as in public education, patriotic parades, and civic events. At the core of Americanization campaigns was the deep belief that loyalty and patriotism required immigrants to assimilate to American society and that the key to assimilation was learning the language and history of their adopted country. In 1919, Kellor wrote, "The English language is a highway of loyalty; it is the open door to opportunity; it is a means of common defense." Woodrow Wilson put it more succinctly when he told immigrants at a ceremony, "You cannot dedicate yourself to America unless you become in every respect and with every purpose of your will thorough Americans."

At the grass roots, however, Americanization took on different meanings. Immigrants were, more often than not, committed to remaining in the United States and integrating into American society but on their own terms. If learning the English language, taking civics classes, serving in the military during World War I, and holding down a regular job were part of an elite agenda to Americanize immigrants and their children, such measures also provided real benefits for those who signed up. Further, the creation of ethnic mutual aid societies, ethnic businesses, and other voluntary associations demonstrated the civic engagement of immigrants and their children and showed how they had learned the American way of life.

See also NATIVISM; PROGRESSIVISM.

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## American Legion

The American Legion is the largest organization of VETERANS in the United States. Founded in Paris in 1919 by veterans of WORLD WAR I, it held its first convention in St. Louis that same year. The American Legion dedicated itself to fighting for the social and political interests of veterans and promoting Americanism and American interests.

One of several veterans' organizations formed in the aftermath of World War I, the legion's founders hoped to build on the sense of community that troops had shared in the war. The creation of the legion was aided by the makeup of the AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE (AEF). Many Americans of impoverished backgrounds failed the physicals required to join the military. Others unrepresented were immigrants who had not become citizens and therefore were not required to register for the draft. The American forces were, therefore, predominately of middle- and lower-middle-class men of northern European ancestry. This dynamic gave the veterans a sense of shared community that they hoped to continue after the war. They also wanted to continue the patriotic crusade for democracy they had begun in Europe. The founders of the legion established it for two purposes. The first purpose was to take care of wounded veterans. The second purpose was to promote patriotism at home.

In the 1920s, when LOBBYING AND INTEREST GROUPS were on the rise, the American Legion became the most powerful lobby for veterans' issues, national defense, and anti-radical legislation. Responding to pressure from members, it lobbied the federal government for a payment to World War I veterans. They argued that the veterans had sacrificed earnings by joining the war effort and that the government should pay them for their lost earnings. In 1924 the legion and other veterans' advocates succeeded when Congress passed a bonus bill that granted them future payments. The American Legion also focused on fighting radicalism. Many legionnaires saw communism as a threat to Americanism and fought against radicalism in a variety of ways. In their first years, some legion groups physically attacked people whom they saw as dangerous to America. Although the legion was not clear as to what constituted Americanism, it knew what radicalism was and organized to fight it. Communists, socialists, labor leaders, and the

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, for example, all fell into the group of radicals as defined by legion leaders. By the mid-twenties, the legion realized that violence in pursuit of Americanism was counterproductive and turned to legislative lobbying to further its aims. The legion was the most active group fighting radicalism in America. Members kept watch and publicized their beliefs about what was endangering American society. They also enjoyed access to elected officials who introduced legislation that allowed the legion to shape legislative debates. The legion network of state organizations was used to publicize an issue that it deemed important. In this role, the American Legion became an influential force in American politics.

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—Michael Hartman

### American Plan

After WORLD WAR I, conservative businessmen renewed their opposition to the rights of workers to organize collectively. Faced with massive strikes during and after the war, they turned to new methods to put an end to the work stoppages. At a 1919 meeting on industrial relations, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., newly inspired by Canadian MacKenzie King, suggested a more conciliatory approach to deal with labor. Those attending resisted compromise with the labor movement. Instead, over the next year, organized employers created a plan to roll back the wartime gains of the labor movement. Dubbed the American Plan, prominent industrialists and small business owners encouraged others to refuse to negotiate with labor unions. They launched a public relations campaign to persuade public opinion that closed union shops and labor unions themselves were “un-American.”

Recently founded employer organizations in more than 240 cities in some 44 states sponsored the new campaign to promote and maintain the open shop. (See OPEN SHOP MOVEMENT.) Other aspects of the American Plan called for a comprehensive program of political lobbying, economic campaigns, and efforts to break unions by seeking labor injunctions, blacklisting union employees, and organizing private guard associations. Arguing that American democracy required workers to have freedom of contract, groups such as the National Association of Manufacturers, local chambers of commerce, and employer groups in cities such as Minneapolis, Detroit, Seattle, San Francisco, and Toledo, refused to sign union contracts. They also worked through city and state governments to break local union power. They sponsored political tickets at the local level, bought newspaper ads and even newspapers, denied credit to or boycotted

small firms that held union contracts, and lobbied local, state, and federal governments to outlaw certain union practices.

The problem with the American Plan was that both large and small firms faced high labor turnover. Employers needed to maintain a stable labor force and to retain their skilled workers in particular. Under the rubric of WELFARE CAPITALISM, corporate heads put together programs of worker incentives, primarily directed at long-term skilled male employees. The companies provided pensions, stock options, public health nurses, and industrial social work departments. They sponsored company sports teams, picnics, and newsletters as well. Some employee representation programs served as company unions, giving workers a minimal voice in the workplace while forestalling individual grievances and labor trouble. They wanted to bar entirely outside union organizing. Using a “carrot-and-stick” approach, businesses sought to foster company loyalty among workers through a new system of rewards while discouraging them from joining unions through surveillance, blacklisting, and anti-union practices.

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**amusement parks** See RECREATION.

### Anarchist Immigration Act (1903)

The Immigration Act of 1903, often called the Anarchist Immigration Act, was designed to bar the immigration into the United States of anarchists and other foreign radicals. In addition to denying entry to anarchists, the act allowed suspected anarchists to be deported within three years after they arrived in the United States. Only a small number of people actually were deported under the law, but it was significant in that it was the first time the CONGRESS sought to deny entry to immigrants based on their political ideas.

The law had a precedent in the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, which gave the president the power to deport aliens who were considered threats to the security of the nation. However, the Alien Act was never put into use. It was allowed to expire at the end of two years, due to its unpopularity. Despite other anti-immigrant and antiradical sentiments, no other law was implemented until the late 19th century, when many believed anarchism had become a major threat to the nation.

The Anarchist Immigration Act was a response to the perceived link between anarchism and immigrants. Although not all anarchists were immigrants, immigrant participation in the labor conflicts of the Great Upheaval of the 1880s gave them a reputation for radicalism in the eyes

of many native-born Americans. The association between foreign-born radicals and anarchism was cemented by the Haymarket Riot in 1886. Anarchists in Chicago had called a meeting in Haymarket Square to protest police attacks on workers striking for the eight-hour day. When the police attempted to break up the meeting, an unknown person threw a bomb, resulting in the death of several officers and protesters. The association between anarchism and political violence was so strong that eight anarchists were convicted of murder, despite the lack of evidence linking them to the crime. One of the anarchists committed suicide, and four were executed.

In the aftermath of Haymarket, Congress debated passing a ban on the immigration of anarchists, but all proposals failed to pass or died in committee. In the 1890s, following a wave of anarchist assassinations of European leaders, Congress again considered such a ban, but it did not pass. Finally, the assassination of President WILLIAM MCKINLEY (see Volume VI) in 1901 by Leon Czolgosz, a self-professed anarchist, resulted in Congress's taking action. Ignoring the fact that Czolgosz was a native-born American, McKinley's successor, THEODORE ROOSEVELT, pushed Congress to pass laws to prevent the entry of anarchists into the country, arguing that "when compared with the suppression of anarchy, every other question sinks into insignificance."

On March 3, 1903, Congress responded with the Anarchist Immigration Act, excluding "anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States, or of all government, or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials." The first to be deported under this act was John Turner, a British anarchist on a lecture tour of the United States. However, relatively few people would be deported under this law until the tensions of World War I once again raised people's fears of subversion against the government. Two new laws, the ESPIONAGE ACT of 1917 and the SEDITION ACT of 1918, broadened the 1903 law to include individuals who sought to undermine the American war effort, attacked the U.S. Constitution, or spoke in favor of the destruction of property. The laws remained in force after the war ended as fear of radicals, partly due to the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, continued under the RED SCARE.

See also IMMIGRATION; RADICALISM.

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—Kristen Anderson

### Anthracite Coal Strike (1902)

The Anthracite Coal Strike was one of the largest and most significant labor disputes between 1900 and 1930.

The strike, which marked the culmination of the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA's (UMWA) attempt to organize Pennsylvania coal miners, lasted five and a half months and finally was settled by a special commission appointed by President THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Prior to the strike, there had been numerous attempts to organize the nation's anthracite coal miners. Yet, despite widespread support for organized labor among miners, these early unions proved unable to secure legally binding contracts. In 1890 miners in Pennsylvania formed the UMWA and initially had considerable success organizing the region's bituminous miners. For a variety of reasons, organizing anthracite miners proved more difficult. Anthracite mines had a greater variety of job categories, operated on a larger scale, and had greater ethnic diversity among workers. Their owners were wealthier and more vehemently antiunion.

The UMWA had, without success, tried to organize anthracite miners on several occasions. In 1897, it initiated another organizing effort and quickly succeeded in recruiting new members. Employee opposition, however, remained intense and the organizing drive came to a head. In April and May of 1902, UMWA president JOHN MITCHELL met with mine operators and railroad executives to avoid an industry-wide walkout. When they refused to grant any concessions or recognize the UMWA as a legitimate union, miners voted 57 percent to 43 percent to strike. The strike idled over 140,000 miners. As it lingered on and the nation's supply of coal dwindled, President Roosevelt intervened. He appointed an Anthracite Coal Strike Committee to resolve the differences between the union and financier J. P. Morgan, who was the target of the strike.

Roosevelt, who was establishing a reputation as a foe of business monopolies, and Ohio's Senator Marcus Hanna, who wanted to gain organized labor's support for the Republican Party, saw the 1902 strike as an opportunity to rebuke coal and railroad operators. Roosevelt ordered striking workers back into the mines while the Anthracite Coal Strike Committee gathered information about the dispute. After five months of deliberation, the committee called for a 10 percent pay increase and a reduction in the workday from 10 hours to nine. At the same time, the committee refused to force mine operators to recognize the union and allowed them to maintain an open shop. From a larger perspective, the outcome of the 1902 Anthracite Coal Strike was a break from past practices. Although the committee's ruling was far from a complete victory for the UMWA, the president's refusal to use federal government troops to break the strike or undermine the union marked a change in policy toward organized labor.

See also LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT; MINING INDUSTRY; NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.



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—Robert Gordon

### Antiquities Act (1906)

The Antiquities Act, which granted Congress and the president the power to preserve federal lands for historic and scientific purposes, was part of the Progressive Era effort to conserve national resources for the future. Once president, THEODORE ROOSEVELT had the power to put into practice the Conservationism that had changed his worldview. In a comprehensive program, his administration supported the passage of legislation to preserve federal land in national parks, to reclaim land, and conserve, for future use, coal and mineral lands, oil reserves, and forests. Between 1901 and 1909, when he left office, Roosevelt had added to the nation's reserves more than a hundred and fifty million acres, augmenting the 45 million that had already been set aside in the late 19th century. His program, however, dealt with a larger legacy than soil and mineral resources. Roosevelt wanted to protect the nation's geological and historical inheritance as well.

Under his direction, in 1906, Congress passed the Antiquities Act, which granted authority to reserve federal lands for the preservation of historical artifacts and provided for the protection of historic, prehistoric, and scientific sites. The act also granted the president the authority to proclaim public lands as national monuments. Such monuments include geological features, such as Devil's Tower in Wyoming, which President Roosevelt made the first national monument in 1906; archaeological sites revealing Native American cultures, such as the Gila Cliff Dwellings in New Mexico; and places of historical significance, such as Fort Pulaski, Georgia. The Antiquities Act also prohibits excavation or destruction of antiquities without permission of the federal government agency in charge of such lands and authorizes permits for archaeological investigations. In 1908 Roosevelt used the act to proclaim the more than 800,000 acres of the Grand Canyon as a natural monument, which ignored legislative expectations that monuments would be small in area. By 1909 he had created 18 national monuments in addition to the five national parks and 51 wildlife refuges he established while in office. The executive power to create national monuments did not remain uncontested. With the declaration of the Jackson Hole National Monument in Wyoming under Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the act of proclaiming national monuments engendered congressional opposition. Since its inception in 1906, the Antiquities Act has been used more than 120 times to protect the nation's historical and geological heritage in creating or expanding national monuments.

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### anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism, hostility to or prejudice against Jews, has been a prevalent phenomenon throughout history. The history of the United States is no exception. Prior to the turn of the 19th century, however, American anti-Semitism was relatively mild. One of the principal reasons for its relatively moderate character was the small Jewish population. There were fewer than 3,000 Jews in the colonies on the eve of the American Revolution. The number had grown to just under a quarter of a million by 1877. At that time, Jews represented less than one-half of 1 percent of the American population. Few Americans viewed Jewish immigrants and citizens as threats to their personal or professional aspirations.

Among Jewish immigrants, there were degrees of adaptation and assimilation to American society. While some Americans commended Jews as champions of both hard work and thrift, these qualities caused a great deal of concern. Hard work and thrift often resulted in success. Success bred a degree of jealousy and distrust. The social and economic mobility of Jewish Americans alienated others who felt threatened not only by them, but also by the modern society that they seemed to accept. For nativist Americans, Jews were not only unfairly successful in the modern environment; they also came to symbolize it. Other industrializing countries similarly viewed Jewish citizens as a symbol of the evil of the modern world.

Significant increases in the number of Jewish immigrants from eastern and southern Europe further threatened many Americans who had, just decades before, migrated from western and northern Europe. From 1880 to 1914, 16.5 million immigrants arrived in the United States. Of these, more than 1.5 million, or slightly over 10 percent, were Jewish immigrants perceived by nativist Americans as a direct threat to their own social and economic prospects. This perception helped to spawn several strands of anti-Semitism that spread across America at the turn of the century.

There were several different waves of anti-Semitism that plagued the United States in the 20th century. The first emerged in the later part of the 19th century and did not dissipate until the end of WORLD WAR I. The primary force behind this strand of anti-Semitism was fear of modernization. Attacks on Jewish immigrants came from two diffuse, yet interrelated sources. The first was from the quasi-agrarian movements of conservative Populists. After the defeat of the Populist Movement in the 1890s, some turned to anti-Semitism and developed an extremely potent attack on the Jewish "money classes." Demagogues claimed that

Jews were in control of an immense international financial ring that was responsible for much of the pain and suffering that had afflicted the American farmer. They argued that the Jews had made millions of dollars off the blood and sweat of hardworking Americans, an attack that denied that the new Jewish immigrants could be naturalized as “true Americans.” Conservative Populists, however, were not the only group to challenge the Jewish Americans’ rights. Members of the self-identified patrician classes also rallied around an anti-Semitic ideology. They excluded Jewish men and women from their communities, schools, and organizations.

As the popular and patrician challenges to the position of Jews in American society began to wane, other rationales emerged to fill the void. During the 1920s, new forces began to drive American anti-Semitism. The KU KLUX KLAN and HENRY FORD each espoused a unique version of hatred toward the Jewish people. When the Klan of the post-Civil War era had dissipated at the end of the 1870s, its ideology, which largely focused on the problem of race in the South, died with it. When it reemerged in the

1920s, it had a new ideological foundation. The new Klan was far less concerned with suppressing southern blacks. The Klan now championed additional attacks on immigrants, Catholics, and Jews. They viewed both Jewish and Catholic immigrants as antagonistic to traditional American values. The Klan’s more inclusive form of hatred allowed it to develop a tremendous following. By the middle of the 1920s, more than 4 million men and women had pledged their allegiance to the Ku Klux Klan.

Even more influential than the Klan in this era was Henry Ford, the automobile maker. For many Americans, Ford represented, with his ingenuity and success, American society. He used this perception to champion a number of causes, especially the crusade against what Ford believed to be an international conspiracy of Jews. Ford published *The International Jew* and a number of other tracts that told of a vast international Jewish conspiracy. He also used his newspaper, *The Dearborn Independent*, to bring down the alleged conspiracy. His attacks were so relentless that Aaron Sapiro, a Jewish-American lawyer, sued Ford for attacks levied through the *Independent*. After a long court battle, the case was settled. Ford apologized for his comments not only about Sapiro but also about the Jewish community in general. As part of the settlement, he had to stop publishing the *Independent*. Ford may have apologized for his indiscretions, but he never fully repudiated his anti-Semitic stance.

Another factor in American anti-Semitism was eugenics. Eugenics was a pseudoscience that was adopted to promote white supremacy. It came to provide a framework for anti-Semitic ideology and practices. No tract was more important in developing the idea of scientific racism than Madison Grant’s 1916 work, *The Passing of the Great Race*. Grant was just one of the dozens of authors of the time who argued that white Americans were being destroyed by aliens from within. These racial prophets predicted the decline of American civilization if “mongrelization” was not stopped. For Grant, non-whites were polluting the racial stock of the country. He believed that whites should increase their levels of reproduction while others, whom he believed to be less desirable, should be restricted from immigration. Eugenics attacked all nonwhite races, but southern and eastern European immigrants, many of them Jews, were especially targeted by these ideas. The fear and loathing of these immigrants was so acute, that immigration from southern and eastern Europe was virtually halted. Anti-immigration legislation such as the QUOTA ACT (1921) and the NATIONAL ORIGINS ACT (1924) helped stem the immigration by using quotas.

Anti-Semitism in the United States began slowly but developed many institutional and political expressions during the Progressive Era. For many Americans, Jews and modernity were synonymous; for others, Jewish immigrants, especially those from eastern and southern Europe,



Young Jew outside a building on the Lower East Side in New York City, 1911 (Library of Congress)

## 18 anti-suffragists

represented backward cultures and social degeneracy as well as greed and avarice. It was not until after World War II that anti-Semitism began to dissipate.

See also IMMIGRATION; IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1917; LEO FRANK CASE; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT; RELIGION.

**Further reading:** Leonard Dinnerstein, *Anti-Semitism in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); David Gerber, *Anti-Semitism in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

—Steve Freund

### anti-suffragists

Once the WOMAN SUFFRAGE cause was reinvigorated in the 1890s, so too was its opposition, the anti-suffragists. While suffragists argued that the vote would allow women to spread their influence and clean up society, their opponents maintained that suffragists endangered society by abandoning the home. Anti-suffrage men and women were persuaded by arguments that, in a culture in which sex roles were defined and separate, the vote threatened femininity and, by extension, society. It would be unnatural, anti-suffragists argued, for women to behave like men by entering politics. Women were believed to be mentally unfit for politics, for they might be corrupted by the rough and tumble masculine world. Other anti-suffragists put forth more overtly self-interested arguments against female suffrage. Political machines and saloon owners, for instance, feared that women's supposed innate moralism would undermine the political, economic, and social status quo just as women's reform efforts jeopardized their livelihoods.

Ironically, some anti-suffragists tried connecting the woman suffrage movement to “un-American” groups, or immigrants, in an attempt to discredit it. Many suffragists, however, made their argument for the vote on the grounds that the votes of middle-class native-born white women would outweigh the votes of “undesirable” elements that already voted. Women would support reform of the corruption and vice associated with urban immigrant life in the eyes of “old stock” Americans. Despite the growing appeal of the suffrage cause, anti-suffragists argued that woman suffrage in the end would have little impact. Pointing to states where women already had the right to vote, they maintained that women did not vote as a bloc and therefore did not bring a distinctive voice to political issues. They also contended that women were not that interested in gaining the vote.

Although anti-suffragist arguments resonated with many voters, anti-suffragism never became as potent a political movement as suffrage. Anti-suffragists, however, did organize to create some effective roadblocks to women's

right to vote. In 1911, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (NAOWS) was founded by a group of state anti-suffrage organizations. Josephine Dodge was its president. NAOWS helped defeat suffrage referenda in a number of states, including, most notably, Massachusetts. Many NAOWS members were clubwomen who believed that female suffrage diverted women's energies away from women's community-based reform work. Many historians agree that woman suffrage did diminish the single-sex networks and the reform that they spearheaded. NAOWS disbanded after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.

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—Natalie Atkin

### architecture

In the first decades of the 20th century, architecture in the United States reacted to changes produced by the industrialization and urbanization of American society. New building materials, modern conceptions of public and private space, and innovative building functions combined to foster a movement away from classical architecture, with its emphasis on rules and reliance on Greek and Roman styles, toward a modern style defined by individualism and a rejection of historical forms. As the period of transition between the two styles, the years between 1900 and 1930 witnessed an eclectic array of architectural styles and forms.

At the turn of the century, in the renaissance of American architecture, architects designed public buildings of America in the classical styles. The embrace of the classical styles was a reaction to the growing size and diversity of the cities. Architects hoped to create an urban environment that countered urban disorder. Their first efforts were on display at the 1893 World Columbian Exposition in Chicago, where the architects designed the buildings in the classical style. They believed that the buildings built for the exposition, although temporary, demonstrated the effect that classical architecture could have in elevating the spirit of the American people by making connections with Greece and Rome, the great republics of the past. Architects manipulated the classical principles in their designs. Classic architecture had, by this time, been codified and published in handbooks. During the building boom at the turn of the century, it was often difficult for architects to spend time designing every facet of a building. They could, however, use the rules set down in classical architecture as a short cut. Coming at a time of great urban growth and an explosion in office buildings, libraries, railroad stations, and government buildings, classical architecture grew to define city public spaces.



Another architectural development to emerge from the 1893 Columbian Exposition was city planning. The streets of the fair had been rationally designed and laid out. Architects designed city plans in an attempt to impose order on the haphazard growth of cities. Most plans relied on radial streets between important nodes of a city such as rail stations, ports, and civic centers. The goal was to create a healthier urban environment by separating the various functions of a city. The city planning movement did not succeed, principally due to the private character of urban growth.

Concurrent with the efforts of some architects to impose classical order on the new urban environment, others embraced new building types and materials in their designs. In the early 20th century, the skyscraper emerged to define the growth and power of American cities. As city populations exploded and land prices skyrocketed, real estate developers wanted to erect ever-taller buildings, but until the 20th century they were constrained by technology. A complex interaction of technological developments made the erection of skyscrapers possible. The first development was steel-frame construction. Prior to steel frames, buildings were constructed entirely of masonry, which limited the height of buildings to 16 stories, because the walls carried the weight of the materials. The new steel-frame construction dispersed the load of the roof and the walls throughout the frame, making it possible to build skyscrapers. The other technological developments that made skyscrapers possible were fireproofing for steel columns, ELECTRICITY, elevators, and telephones. Electric power made it possible for elevators to run farther and more smoothly, making trips to the top of tall buildings practical. The telephone enabled communication between floors.

The first architects to design skyscrapers simply adopted classical principles and applied them to the different heights of the buildings. They remained wedded to the three-part design of the classical style. The first architect who broke from the reliance on classical principles in building design was Louis Sullivan. Sullivan believed that the design of a skyscraper should be based on a building's structural form and its place in modern life. Moreover, he argued that architects should express their individuality more in their designs. Sullivan rose to prominence in the first decade of the 20th century and helped bring a change to American architecture. Architects had first designed skyscrapers with elaborate bases, columns, and cornices, designs that hid the function of the building beneath a classical façade. Sullivan believed that the design of a skyscraper should embrace its function and form. He therefore simplified the design, letting the sheer enormity of the building speak for itself.

The new industrial economy required an enormous number of factories. Because of their functions, factories

were designed rationally. One of the key developments in factory design was the use of reinforced concrete. This new material met the fundamental requirements of factory design. It was cheap and standardized. It provided clear lighting, ventilation, and unobstructed, flexible interiors that allowed for changes in production facilities. Albert Kahn was the best-known architect working with reinforced concrete. He worked closely with HENRY FORD in designing the automobile factories that made Ford's assembly lines practical.

Some radical architects reacted strongly to the industrial age. One of the first architectural styles to express this reaction was the Arts and Crafts style. Architects of the Arts and Crafts movement used natural materials in designing houses that fit into their settings. The use of natural material and irregular lines emerged as a critique of both classical architecture and the Industrial Age. Arts and Crafts designs critiqued the rationality and artificiality of industrial construction and idealized the preindustrial order. They also rejected the rules of classical architecture that emphasized order and attempted to rise above a building's location.

The architect credited with doing the most to move architecture from the classical style to the modern was FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT. Wright worked in Sullivan's office until 1893, when he opened his own practice. Influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement, he believed that an architect should design buildings that fit naturally into their space and reflect the individuality of the architect. Where classical designs sought to overcome their setting, Wright's designs embraced the American setting, whether it was a property shaped by the grid of the streets or one defined by streams. His long, horizontal rooflines and open spaces reflected wide-open spaces of the Midwest. Wright also accepted the changes that the machine age had brought to American society and used modern materials in his buildings. In rejecting classical principles in favor of his own designs, Wright was the first American architect to create a truly unique style. Other architects followed him in both his reliance on individuality and in adopting his design principles.

Despite the attempts by architects such as Wright and Sullivan to depart from classical design styles, American architecture never fully rejected classical designs before 1930. In fact, classical architecture enjoyed a resurgence during WORLD WAR I. The growth of the federal government during the war created a demand for large office buildings in Washington, D.C. The war effort required that these buildings be erected quickly. Architects turned, therefore, to the familiar rules of classical architecture.

By 1930, the seeds for the emergence of modern architecture had been planted. In reacting to the industrial age, architects had begun to design buildings that embraced



new materials and no longer sought to hide the functions of buildings behind classical facades. In addition, the divergence from classical architecture led to the reliance on individual styles that came to define modern architecture.

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—Michael Hartman

## armed forces

At the beginning of the 20th century, the War Department and army still retained the same organizational structure established after the War of 1812. There were two elements to it—a departmental staff and the army in the field, which was separated into tactical units based on geography and under military commanders. A legacy of bureau autonomy and congressional control in managing the affairs of the War Department was considered the principal problem of army organization.

Elihu Root, lawyer statesman, and future Nobel Peace Prize winner, became secretary of war in 1899 under President WILLIAM MCKINLEY (see Volume VI). He immediately set to work at reforming the armed forces. During the Spanish-American War, the absence of planning and preparation, lack of cooperation among the bureaus, and delays due to bureaucratic red tape scandalized the public. Secretary Root believed that drastic changes needed to be made in the War Department if it were to operate effectively during wartime. He wanted to modernize the army and streamline it, based on a corporate model influenced by SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT. According to Root, the government could profit from the lessons and experiences of modern industry. Root created the general staff, abolished the position of commanding general, and required that the chief of staff act under the authority and direction of the secretary of war and the president. Many of these changes were instituted in the ARMY ACT of 1901.

In November 1903 War Secretary Root established the Army War College. Its main function was to train officers for general staff duties in military intelligence, congressional liaison, and war planning. During his tenure in office, Root also enlarged West Point, opened schools for special branches of the service, strengthened control over the National Guard, and restored discipline within the department. He resigned in January of 1904.

When Henry L. Stimson became secretary of war in 1911, he instituted more reforms. Along with General Leonard Wood, the army's first executive chief of staff, Stimson reorganized the general staff into the Mobile Army, Coast Artillery, War College, and later Militia Affairs

divisions. The Mobile Army was further broken down into infantry, cavalry, field artillery, and miscellaneous sections. The effort to rationalize and integrate a fragmented and large-scale organization followed principles set out by modern industrial managers. The army and navy conducted further rationalization and efficiency studies.

In 1914 the Army War College issued a report entitled *A Statement of a Proper Military Policy for the United States*, which warned of the dangers of isolationism as foreign policy. It argued that newer military technology, such as the submarine, the airplane, and the wireless telegraph, placed the United States within the sphere of hostile actions of overseas nations. No longer could the nation depend on distance and geography to protect it. War College estimates demanded a standing army of at least 500,000, with a reserve of equal force. They also called for arms and training programs.

The NATIONAL DEFENSE ACT of 1916 defined the roles and missions of the regular army, the National Guard, and the reserves, placing the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) and the Plattsburg idea (training for reserve officers) on firm footing. The law reduced significantly the number on the general staff, and the Mobile Army Division was abolished. After declaring war on Germany, however, Congress passed emergency legislation increasing the size of the general staff again. The National Defense Act allowed the president to commandeer factories and establish a government nitrate plant. It also doubled the size of the army by adding 11,450 officers and 223,580 enlisted men in annual increments over a five-year period. The National Guard was allowed to expand to 17,000 officers and 440,000 men. A corresponding naval appropriations bill widened the effect of the measure as naval expenditures rose. After diplomatic relations with Germany broke down, in 1917 President WOODROW WILSON ordered the arming of American merchant ships to defend themselves against U-boat attacks.

In spite of the National Defense Act, the nation would be unable to recruit up to the authorized number. In consequence, ground forces of the army numbered only 128,000 when America entered WORLD WAR I. The SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT of 1917, which required that all men between the ages of 18 and 45 to register for the military draft, was used to bolster the military. Twenty-four million men registered, and the army was increased to 4 million soldiers. Congress increased appropriations for training and equipping the new AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE for use in the European theater of the war.

The U.S. Navy was the second largest in the world when the United States entered the war in 1917. The navy focused on building the submarine chasers and destroyers needed to protect American ships. There were 35 U.S. destroyers stationed at Cob in Ireland by July 1917. By the end of the war, more than 380 U.S. craft were stationed overseas. In

addition, Congress provided for the growth of the Merchant Marine under the UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD.

Immediately following World War I, Congress rejected the principle of tight executive control or unity of command in the army. The National Defense amendments of June 4, 1920, returned to the prewar pattern of fragmented authority and congressional supervision. In a 1920 act, Congress reaffirmed the traditional military. The nation continued to rely in peacetime on a small standing army supported by a citizen's militia, the National Guard, and military activities. The 1920 amendments also provided for a War Council made up of the secretary, assistant secretary, JOHN PERSHING, the general of the armies, and the chief of staff for the purpose of discussing and formulating military policy. It was, however, of little practical use, as the War Council did not meet on a regular basis.

During the interwar period, the navy continued to develop, despite the disarmament agreements signed at the WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON NAVAL DISARMAMENT. In contrast, the army between the wars saw drastic reductions in number. Until the late 1930s, the army had little more than a peacetime force of less than 150,000 men in nine divisions, none of them ready for combat. The army's reputation and morale suffered from budget cuts and disillusionment over America's role in World War I. A major change in the organization of the War Department happened between the wars as army airmen strove to establish an air service separate from the ground forces. General WILLIAM "BILLY" MITCHELL and others led the effort. In 1926 the War Department finally organized the Army Air Corps with its own chief. Like the Senior Service, the Army Air Corps remained small and undeveloped. The isolation of the interwar years kept the military small and expenditures low, despite growing world tensions.

See also AVIATION; CONSCRIPTION; PREPAREDNESS.

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—Annamarie Edelen

### Armory Show (1913)

The International Exhibition of Modern Art, popularly titled the Armory Show, was an enormous art exhibition held in New York City, from February 17 to March 15, 1913. The exhibition, housed in the New York Guards Sixty-ninth Regiment Armory, consisted of an estimated 1,600 works of art. The show was a critical turning point for art, exposing the American public to early modernist art and providing an opportunity for modern works to be purchased by collectors. The Armory Show made an impression on the public and initiated many American collectors, whose

support was essential, to modern art. Many of their acquisitions were built out of the Armory Show and became part of many major art museum collections.

The idea for the show itself came from a group of American artists who were frustrated with the restricted exhibitions of the National Academy of Design. They wanted to establish a more open market for exhibitions and create more patronage opportunities. What the Armory Show revealed was the division in American taste. Conservatives disapproved of the show, claiming it as un-American. They associated it with the anxiety many Americans felt at the rapid change of their society under the pressure of immigration.

The Armory Show consisted of American and European-themed sections, exhibiting various mediums of painting, decorative arts, sculpture, watercolors, prints, and drawings. Gallery space was divided into 18 rooms, with the American rooms assigned to the large entry hall and additional rooms flanking each side of the building. American artists included John Marin, Childe Hassam, J. Alden Weir, Margaret Hoard, and Edith Dimock. European sections were primarily housed in the central area of the gallery, showing works by Francisco de Goya, Ferdinand Delacroix, Gustave Courbet, the Impressionists, and leading contemporary artists such as Marcel Duchamp and Vasily Kandinsky. It was the European section that generated the most public interest and became the focus of controversy. There was a good deal of criticism and ridicule, particularly directed at Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase*, but there were also many positive reviews.

In the spring of 1913, the show traveled from New York to Chicago and Boston, creating an enormous impact. It was estimated that over a quarter of a million visitors paid to see it. The Armory Show created a climate more favorable to experimentation and had a profound effect on many young American artists. Important patrons and collectors such as Louise Arensberg, Arthur J. Eddy, and Lillie P. Bliss made their first purchases of modern art from that exhibited at the Armory Show.

The Armory Show was a major event in American art history. It had a tremendous impact on artists, collectors, and the art market. The show balanced American and European standards of reference in progressive art, shaking the rigid structure of the art market. There was an increase in museum attendance, and more art books were published and purchased. Modern art was now publicly accepted with more confidence.

See also ART; ASHCAN SCHOOL; MODERNISM.

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—Marcia M. Farah

**Army Act (1901)**

In response to the changing needs of the U.S. Army, Secretary of War Elihu Root proposed to reorganize the armed forces. Following his lead, CONGRESS passed the Army Appropriations Act of 1901. The Army Act, as it became known, addressed the weaknesses that the army had shown in the recent Spanish-American War, and it laid out the organization of the modern American army. It also established guidelines for American intervention and governance in Cuba and the Philippines.

Root, a lawyer, statesman, and future Nobel Peace Prize winner, became secretary of war on August 1, 1899. He brought to the War Department administrative reforms and a new mission for the army. During the Spanish-American War, Root noted, the lack of planning and preparation, failure of cooperation, and bureaucratic red tape led to inefficiency in the military. Root was determined to improve this record. He believed a modern army required an operation akin to modern industrial corporations. In his efforts to reform the military, he abolished the position of commanding general and instituted the position of chief of staff acting under the authority and direction of the secretary of war and the president. He established a General staff, founded the War College in Washington, and expanded West Point.



Elihu Root (Library of Congress)

Secretary of War Root was most concerned, however, with the three dependencies the United States acquired at the end of the war. He devised a plan for returning Cuba to the Cubans and supplanting military rule with a civilian charter in the Philippines. Root designed amendments to the Army Act that would accomplish his goals, and Senator Orville Platt of Connecticut presented it to the Senate.

The Platt Amendment was attached as a rider to the Army Act. It set the conditions for the withdrawal of troops remaining in Cuba since the war. The Platt Amendment mandated that Cuba adopt into its constitution a provision that prohibited it from transferring land to any country other than the United States. Further, the United States acquired a lease to land on Guantánamo Bay as a result of the treaty. The U.S. Navy built Guantánamo Bay Naval Base in 1903. Cuba had limited rights in negotiating treaties, and the United States could intervene, if necessary, for mutual protection and the preservation of "Cuban independence." Cuba incorporated the articles into its constitution. The Platt Amendment remained in force until in 1934 President Franklin D. Roosevelt, under the Good Neighbor Policy, gave up the stipulated rights of the United States, except its naval base.

The Spooner Amendment to the Army Act established an end to U.S. military government of the Philippines, which Spain ceded to the United States in the Treaty of Paris. Philippine nationalists had assumed that they, like the Cubans, would be given their independence once the treaty had been signed. The Senate, however, refused to pass a resolution to this effect. There was consequently much Philippine bitterness toward the United States. Resistance to the American occupying forces erupted into a guerrilla war with the Moro insurrection in February of 1899. Fighting was prolonged and vicious between the American troops and the Filipino guerrillas, led by EMILIO AGUINALDO. The American army finally put down the resistance in 1901, but sporadic guerrilla fighting continued for months after.

In July 1901 President William McKinley established a civilian government in the Philippines, to be headed by WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT. Elihu Root wrote a democratic charter for the governance of the Philippines designed to ensure a free government, protection of local customs, and the promise of eventual self-determination. Despite this promise, the United States maintained a military presence in the Philippines throughout most of the 20th century. The Army Act's reorganization of the armed forces similarly remained intact for most of the century.

See also ARMED FORCES; FOREIGN POLICY.

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—Annamarie Edelen



## art

At the beginning of the 20th century, art was undergoing a process of transformation. Traditionally, art was expected to serve as a civilizing and inspirational force, a carryover from the Victorian ideals of the previous century. A new generation, however, struggled to redefine the role of art. Many artists were impatient with the standardized, approved academic form and struggled to be recognized as American artists, rather than artists in America. These artists worked against cultural norms of the time.

American high culture valued art that exhibited the traditional ideals of discipline and restraint, not artistic individualism and freedom. American neoclassical artists Kenyon Cox and Abbott Handerson Thayer worked within these traditional academic forms. In order to avoid overt personal expression, they used the standard models of art: smooth-painted surfaces, detailed execution, crisp outlines reminiscent of the French-derived neoclassical art. Drawing on images and symbols of the past, Cox and Thayer portrayed order and harmony. They believed in the civilizing power of art, creating work that was academic, mythical, and standard in form. ARCHITECTURE of the time also followed neoclassical standards. Many monuments, sculptures, and murals were executed for public buildings during this period.

Society portraitists used their subject matter to focus on the private experience and personal gesture, rather than the classical imagery and controlled style of neoclassical art. In illustrating the domestic world of refinement, portraitists chose romantic idealism over honesty or duty toward the public world. John Singer Sargent's work embodied the English and German tradition of society portraiture. Other artists such as Cecilia Beaux, John White Alexander, and Charles Hawthorne took their cues from Sargent, composing a world of refined elegance distanced from the harsh reality of contemporary life. As artists, they were "safe" in a technique removed from actual experience. Thomas Eakins, a painter from Philadelphia, along with his pupil Thomas Anshutz, began to illustrate the change from romantic idealism to realistic and more contemporary life portraits. Eakins's portrait, *The Thinker: Portrait of Louis N. Kenton*, combined thoughtful pensiveness with native realism, illustrating the ambivalence of an individual contemplating an uncertain future. In a similar style, Anshutz's portrait, *A Rose*, reflected the upper-class world at the turn of the century. It portrayed a reflective, confident woman, something modern America would confront in the near future. Anshutz's work laid the foundation for the urban realists who would later emerge in New York under the leadership of his pupil Robert Henri.

Henri was a realist painter who observed the activity around him. Unlike his predecessors, his scenes were almost exclusively urban. He also changed the focus and

function of art. He believed that art must be a record of daily life with no glossing over its harsher aspects. The academic, mythological scenes of the past had no part in his art. The motion and activity of the urban streets were where Henri's perspective lay.

Exhibition opportunities for American artists were controlled almost exclusively by two New York-based institutions—the Society of American Artists and the National Academy of Design. When the two organizations merged in 1906, the jury's exclusion of works by several of Henri's friends, and two of his own works, provoked a controversy. Henri, a man who believed that art must reflect the spirit of the time and nation, became so frustrated by the lack of artistic vision, that he and his colleague John Sloan arranged for their work to be exhibited at the MacBeth Galleries. In February 1908, "The Eight" opened the Exhibition of Paintings. Known as the ASHCAN SCHOOL of artists, this group had enough experience as journalists to know how to market themselves and promoted their ideas of independence and freedom along with a distinctly American point of view.

In an attempt to address the lack of exhibition opportunities and patronage that artists were facing, Robert Henri and his colleagues organized the 1910 Independents Show. It had only limited success, because of its stipulation that any artists applying to the show were not allowed to submit paintings to the National Academy that year. The group then began discussing the possibility of exhibiting a more ambitious show of American art. In January 1912 a group of 25 artists formed the Association of American Painters and Sculptors. The relatively conservative J. Alden Weir was selected as president. Unable to find an exhibition site after a year and faced with the resignation of Weir as president, the group persuaded Arthur B. Davies to take over. Davies satisfied both conservative and realist factions. He sought to break from the well-established American aesthetic provincialism and successfully pushed for the association to include European art in its exhibition.

The International Exhibition of Modern Art opened its doors on February 17, 1913, at the armory of the New York Guards Sixty-ninth Regiment. Popularly known as the ARMORY SHOW, the exhibition originated out of artists' concerns over the lack of exhibition opportunities and patronage that American artists faced. The impact of the show was incredible, closing the gap between American and European standards of reference. The reaction of the press elevated the show to a position of prominence by labeling its unconventional inclusions MODERNISM. Thus, a foundation for modern art was established, giving it a stature more equal to that enjoyed by European art.

Other traditional artistic forms of the past were giving way to artistic expression, and they reflected the rapid



impact that industrialization had on American culture. Artists began to draw on their experiences and in ways that were seen in the American urban landscape—where the power of American modernity opened up. Artists used the city to express what it meant to be American. Symbols of progress and futurity were the urban architecture of skyscrapers, electric streetcars, automobiles, elevated trains, and subways.

One of the first artists to use this urban landscape style was Alfred Stieglitz, through the medium of photography. Other artists also turned their attention to the urban landscape. Childe Hassam used New York street scenes, skyscrapers, and bridges to achieve the idea of mood and nature, and artists like Jonas Lie responded to the powerful force of American urban life. He painted a scene of industrial steamers at work on the river, their billowing clouds of steam serving as a metaphor for American prosperity and power. John Sloan's painting *Sunday, Women Drying Their Hair* used scenes from the lives of working-class women, revealing his understanding of their freedom. In his painting, they appeared unconfined by the more rigid codes of conduct and behavior expected of middle-class women.

Other urban scenes reflected the growing forces of American social reform, where artists used their art as a tool for social change. Abastenia St. Leger believed artists had a duty to be responsible to others, and her 1913 sculpture of a young woman being auctioned into prostitution was reproduced on the cover of *The Survey* magazine. By the 1920s, artists were engaged with questions concerning issues such as WOMAN SUFFRAGE, BIRTH CONTROL, racism, Freudian analysis, and SOCIALISM.

*Forum* magazine sponsored the Forum Exhibition of Advanced American Painters in order to advance the public's understanding of abstract art. The realists also sponsored an exhibition at the Grand Central Palace in New York on April 10, 1917, to encourage the country's enthusiasm for American art and the realist agenda. Unfortunately, public attention centered around a dispute over whether or not the organizers would accept Marcel Duchamp's controversial *Fountain* into what was supposed to be an unjuried exhibition. Another reason for the failure of the show was that four days before it was scheduled to open, America declared war on Germany.

The wartime prosperity and the proliferation of new technology and machines allowed Americans to raise industry into a national religion. Communication transformed public life. Domestic machines converted American society into what was thought to be a more efficient, hygienic, mechanized environment. The impact of machines was so pervasive that many people referred to it as the machine age. Businessmen and engineers became the predominant icons of the era.

Technology associated with the United States penetrated the American consciousness in the 1920s. Precisionism was the American version of the "call to order" that swept Europe after the war. Initially labeled cubist, precisionism gave geometric lines to architectural and machinist subjects and expressed stability and permanence. Charles Demuth and Preston Dickinson were two artists who focused on exploring abstract arrangements of flat, uncomplicated shapes without giving up recognition.

The United States became more isolationist in the twenties, reflecting a period of contradiction and excess. Opulence found expression in art through decoration and adornment. The discovery of King Tutankhamen's tomb brought the popularity of Egyptian art to the United States. The carefully organized patterns of Art Deco built upon the popularity of technology and Egyptian art, mixing the ancient with the modern. Artists Florine Stettheimer and Paul Manship expressed the deco movement with their highly ornamented and stylized motifs. This movement drew from earlier, more orderly and tranquil times, while incorporating materials and inventions of the modern world.

Discussions about identifying what was uniquely American became more commonplace, spreading along with the nationalist fervor in the 1920s. Americans wanted to identify what was uniquely American. Stuart Davis was an artist who combined modernism with his vision of contemporary America. He condensed contemporary American culture through collage-like painted images, incorporating themes of jazz, radio, movies, consumer products, and ADVERTISING. Davis restrained the idea of three-dimensional space and provided visual movement by adding dots, stripes, dashes, and grids. His street scenes also controlled dimension, but they portrayed a particular place. Davis's work illustrated the fascination art had for the visual expressions in advertising.

Themes of art shifted along with American demographics, going from the rural to the urban. American scene painters believed that realism was an attitude toward life and humanity. Edward Hopper's work focused on melancholy and isolation, derived from his sense of a loss of values and an abandoned way of life. He identified with an American past that had been rendered obsolete and transformed it into universal and timeless commentary on the human condition.

The search for American identity also was evident in the HARLEM RENAISSANCE, which began with the migration of a new generation of African-American artists to Harlem. It had as its consequence, an attempt to cultivate racial tolerance by promoting the cultural accomplishments of African Americans. Concentrations of African Americans in cities provided a new sense of self-determination and opportunity. The incorporation of African art and so-called



“El Capitan in the Yosemite Valley,” by Ansel Adams (*Library of Congress*)

primitive culture integrated modernism with international themes.

American abstract art flourished in the 1920s. Those interested in pursuing art outside the realism genre were encouraged by new galleries and patrons that emerged after the 1913 Armory Show. Alfred Stieglitz ran one of those galleries. In 1925 he opened an exhibition called the “Seven Americans,” and nine months later he opened the “Intimate Galleries.” His intent was to support the work of American artists committed to the creation of a national culture, and he considered the focal point of that culture to be the land. These artists viewed mechanization as psychologically damaging and saw nature as a means for spiritual wholeness.

Artists such as Arthur Dove, Georgia O’Keeffe, John Marin, and Oscar Bluemner created organic shapes, drawing out nature to its essential quality in order to translate its mystical essence into powerful abstract forms. The transcendental connection is apparent in Dove’s work. He had a complex personal style that worked with nature and modern movement in his painting. O’Keeffe’s geometrically inspired botanical themes represented expressive, luxuriant visions of nature. Marin saw the architecture in nature very

much like the architecture of urban areas, referring to the pushing and pulling of natural forces. Bluemner reduced landscape motifs to bold color planes, seeing color as a “visible creative force.”

Artistic debates over which type best represented American national identity continued. But on October 29, 1929, the stock market collapsed, and along with it went the sense of prosperity that Americans had been experiencing. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s most urgent duty was to find relief and promote recovery of the nation’s economy. Art and its institutions continued to change in response to the growing economic crisis and the political message of the New Deal.

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—Marcia M. Farah

## Ashcan school

The Ashcan school is a term that came to define a group of promising young artists in the early 20th century. They chose to paint from what they could see in their world. The bustling life of New York City provided a wealth of subject matter. A critic who did not appreciate their choice of subject—alleys, tenements, and slum dwellings—coined the term Ashcan school. The motivation behind the artistic group was to bring art and life together in an American version of realism and naturalism.

No group of artists better defines the movement than “The Eight” of the Ashcan movement. The original Eight was composed of Robert Henri, the leader, John Sloan, Arthur Davies, Ernest Lawson, Maurice Predergast, Everett Shinn, William Glackens, and George Luks. Other promising artists of the era, such as George Bellows, were considered to be part of the group. Each of the artists had his own take on life in the city. Luks, Sloan, Glackens, and Shinn were newspaper illustrators and cartoonists.

Robert Henri taught at the Art Students League and other schools in New York City. He championed exhibitions, but he did not grade art. Henri promoted the idea that art was in the eye of the beholder. He summed up his personal philosophy and the movement’s when he told his art classes to “forget about art and paint pictures of what interests you about life.” For these artists, the strain and struggle of urban life was what fascinated them. They were known to create “art for art’s sake.” They broke from

conventional notions that art could be viewed broken down and dissected to determine its worth. The artists of the Ashcan school defined art within the context of life. Henri noted that “the object isn’t to make art, it’s to be in that wonderful state which makes art inevitable.” These artists wanted to experience life; through life, they would be able to produce art.

The Ashcan school began to disintegrate as it gained notoriety. In 1908 the Eight exhibited their work at the Macbeth Gallery. They soon earned a dubious reputation as the apostles of ugliness. The ugliness was not a comment on their abilities as artists; it was an attack on their subject matter. This form of creativity began to attract a sizable following. Within a short time after the showing, the group was incorporated into a larger, more diverse group. Edward Hopper, Glenn Coleman, Eugene Higgins, and Jerome Myers were other prominent members of the emerging Ashcan school. Later on they sponsored the ARMORY SHOW of 1913, which exhibited many new European painters as well.

This Ashcan school helped form the base from which 20th-century American painting developed. In the process, these New Yorkers created an American style of art that would profoundly rebel against the tradition of European artistic interpretations. It was, as Henri had hoped, art for art’s sake.

See also ART.

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—Steve Freund

## automobile industry

The emergence of the automobile industry in the early 20th century had a dramatic impact on American society. Perhaps no other technological invention has so fundamentally altered the way ordinary Americans lived. Important innovations in the production of automobiles took place between 1860 and 1890, but it was the introduction of MASS PRODUCTION and widespread automobile ownership between 1900 and 1930 that had the greatest impact. Prior to 1900, automobiles were handcrafted one by one. These early automobiles were unreliable and very expensive. The early automobile industry was centered in the region around Detroit, Michigan and Toledo, Ohio, in part because that was where the bicycle industry was located. Early automobiles incorporated much of the technology used in the bicycle industry and employed the industry’s skilled machinists. By 1900, dozens of small automobile manufacturers were springing up in Detroit. Many of these early manufacturers, including HENRY

FORD, built automobiles only after they had received an individual order.

Automobiles began to be mass produced in the first decade of the 20th century. The introduction of precision-made, interchangeable parts and assembly-line labor between 1900 and 1910 allowed manufacturers to increase production. From the beginning, demand for the automobile was widespread. In 1900, Americans owned 2,500 automobiles, and by 1910 the number had jumped to over 450,000. Automobile manufacturers attempted to meet this demand through mass production. First attempted by Ransom E. Olds, it wasn’t until Henry Ford introduced the Model T Ford in 1908 that a reliable automobile became affordable for the average citizen. The no-frills Model T came in only one color (black) and cost a modest \$850. Its popularity was phenomenal. Between 1908 and 1927, the Ford Motor Company sold 15 million Model Ts. The key to Ford’s success was his ability to automate virtually every aspect of the automobile’s construction and to continually find quicker and more efficient methods of production. With the opening of the Highland Park plant in 1910, Ford was able to reduce the time it took to produce an automobile from 728 minutes to 93 minutes. The more cars Ford produced, the cheaper they became, and the more he sold. Ford dominated the auto industry between 1910 and 1920. Sales of Ford automobiles doubled nearly every year, from 13,840 in 1909 to 189,088 by 1913.

Although Ford quickly emerged as the dominant automobile manufacturer, he had many competitors. In 1908, the year Ford introduced the Model T, there were more than 50 manufacturers. That same year William C. Durant formed the General Motors Corporation (GM). Unlike Ford who was obsessed with creating a utilitarian automobile, Durant dreamed of controlling the industry and creating expensive luxury cars. Between 1908 and 1910, he bought out 11 competing automakers, including Cadillac, Buick, Oldsmobile, and Pontiac, but his spending spree left General Motors virtually bankrupt. The fortunes of the company changed when Alfred P. Sloan took control in 1923. Under his direction, General Motors attempted to increase sales and market share by making its automobiles stylish. The company hired artists and designers and sold cars in many different makes, models, and colors. As automobile ownership became more common, consumers placed increased importance on style and design. As competition over sales increased, other innovations took place as well. These included safety features and larger and more powerful engines. Sloan hoped that by constantly changing model styles and colors and introducing new features, consumers would buy new cars more frequently. They would want to buy the latest model and gadget. By 1930, GM was introducing new models every year. Ford, however, steadfastly refused to follow suit. When Ford refused to offer the Model T in any other color than





Row of completed "Tin Lizzies," or Model Ts, come off the Ford assembly line. (Hulton/Archive)

black and resisted other design changes, GM was able to dramatically increase its share of the market. By 1930, it had become the largest automobile manufacturer in the country. GM, Ford, and the Chrysler Corporation (formed in 1925) had become large and powerful enough that they were able to produce higher quality automobiles at lower prices than their competitors. One by one, medium-sized car manufacturers were either forced out of business or bought out by the Big Three automakers.

The emergence of the auto industry had an important impact on labor-management relations. The industry's growth meant that hundreds of thousands of workers were now employed by the auto manufacturers, parts suppliers, repair shops, and other related industries. When Ford's Highland Park plant opened in 1910, it housed more than 3,000 employees under one roof, a staggering number

especially considering that in 1903 the company had no more than several dozen employees. By 1917, the Highland Park workforce had increased to 36,000. The pace and nature of autowork changed as well. These changes included the introduction of conveyor belts, the assembly line, and interchangeable parts. Prior to these changes, skilled craftsmen and their assistants typically manufactured one automobile at a time. Using principles of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, the production process was broken down into isolated stages. Precision machines produced interchangeable parts, which were brought to workers on conveyor belts, where they performed routine tasks of assembly hundreds of times a day. Many skilled machinists who helped the auto industry get off the ground found the new assembly line production repetitive and tedious and began looking for work elsewhere. The turnover rate



at Ford in 1914 was more than 300 percent, despite a \$5-a-day wage. The pace of assembly line production also changed the nature of work in other industries. Foremen were hired to push the pace of work. The 1917 opening of Ford's River Rouge plant marked the culmination of the changing nature of work in the auto industry. Built on one thousand acres, the Rouge plant was itself a model of the new industrial workplace. The plant had its own railroad and power supply, and it was almost completely self-sufficient. These changes in the nature of work took place over the course of many decades, but the emergence of the auto industry made them widespread and permanent.

The expansion of the auto industry caused other important changes in American society. Prior to 1900, the nation was still predominantly rural and agricultural. In 1920, for the first time, the Census revealed that more than 50 percent of the population lived in urban areas. The large number of workers employed in the auto industry and the mobility created by automobile ownership helped facilitate the growth of urban America. By 1929, there were 26.7 million registered automobiles. In response, federal and state governments built hundreds of new highways. Federal initiatives included the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916 and the Federal Highway Act of 1921. As the ownership of automobiles became more common and thousands of miles of new roads were built, Americans enjoyed a newfound freedom to go places where they had never been and to travel on their own schedule. People used the automobile to get to work, the grocery store, the city, the country, and to visit people and places that would otherwise have been difficult to see. The nation fell in love with its automobiles and would never be the same again.

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—Robert Gordon

## aviation

Attempts to attain flight date back hundreds of years; but by the turn of the 20th century, the concentrated efforts of inventors both in the United States and worldwide made the first flight only a matter of time. Two American mechanics, Orville and Wilbur Wright, became the first men to put a plane in flight. On December 17, 1903, the WRIGHT BROTHERS managed to send aloft a 120-foot plane for 12 seconds at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. Before this, people had flown only in balloons and gliders. The first person to fly as a passenger was Leon Delagrangé, who rode with a French pilot traveling from a meadow in 1908. The Wrights' passenger, Charles Furnas, was the first American airline passenger at Kitty Hawk. From these beginnings,

aviation would come to revolutionize communications and transportation in both the civilian and military sectors, making airmail and air freight regular components of daily life and airline service a principal means of transportation by mid-century.

In the 1910s, aviation struggled along, and the few flights occurring always created news. Most people were afraid to ride. When WORLD WAR I began, however, the military value of aircraft was quickly recognized. The production of airplanes was increased. Elementary planes were first employed for battlefield observation in Europe, and only later were they used for aerial bombardment and air combat. Improvements, especially in the development of more powerful motors, enabled aircraft to reach 130 miles per hour, more than twice the speed of prewar planes. More power made larger aircraft possible. American pilots were among the first Americans involved in the European war and formed the Lafayette Escadrille of the French air service. General WILLIAM MITCHELL was instrumental in expanding the military use of airplanes, and in 1918 he proposed the first airborne assault.

Civilian aviation continued to develop during the war. By 1917, the United States government decided to try the transport of mail by air. The first regular service between Chicago and Cleveland began on May 15, 1919. Airplanes were not able to fly at night, and so they handed off the mail to trains at the end of the day. Regardless of this obstacle, the Post Office was able to save 22 hours off mail delivery from one coast to the other by utilizing planes. In 1921, the army first implemented beacons on the route from Columbus to Dayton, Ohio, which made night flight possible. The system was soon to be expanded.

The decade of the 1920s witnessed the beginning of commercial airline service, airmail, and air freight. In 1925, Congress passed the KELLY AIR MAIL ACT, which established contracts with commercial airlines for the delivery of U.S. mail by air. By the mid-1920s, the Post Office mail fleet was flying 2.5 million miles and delivering 14 million letters annually. The Kelly Air Mail Act was the first step toward the creation of a private U.S. airline industry. Five companies—National Air Transport, Varney Airlines, Western Air Express, Colonial Air Transport, and Robertson Aircraft Corporation—won the first contracts. The Post Office had always used the private sector to move the mail, so it was in keeping with that tradition that private air carriers contracted to deliver mail. Awarding of contracts also spurred the development of several additional airlines. Once the Kelly Air Mail Act was passed, the private carriers who were doing air transport for the United States Post Office expanded into carrying other forms of cargo, and eventually passengers.

The same year Congress passed the Kelly Air Mail Act, President CALVIN COOLIDGE formed a board to

recommend a national aviation policy. Dwight Morrow, the future father-in-law of CHARLES LINDBERGH and senior partner of J. P. Morgan, headed the board. The report advised that the government set standards for the air industry and left the military out of the equation.

The Air Commerce Act of 1926 provided for federal regulation of air traffic rules. The legislation authorized the secretary of commerce to designate air routes, develop air navigation systems, license pilots and aircraft, and investigate accidents. Congress also amended the Kelly Air Mail Act by simplifying the payment system. It changed the basis of payment from percentage of postage to weight hauled.

Once airlines addressed flight safety issues, passenger volume increased and new airlines opened up, thereby reducing air fares. This reduction, in turn, increased traffic. Airlines were fully in favor of the passage of the Air Commerce Act of 1926, as with it they had government support in realizing the commercial potential of the air industry.

A landmark event took place in 1927 when airmail pilot Charles Lindbergh flew the first solo transatlantic flight from New York to Paris. Called “the Lone Eagle,” he landed his plane, *The Spirit of St Louis*, at Le Bourget after a flight of 33 hours and 30 minutes. As a new national hero, Lindbergh became one of the nation’s new experts in aviation.

The expansion of air freight and passenger services increased demand for planes. In 1927, the Ford Motor Company geared up production for aircraft manufacturing. Ford first produced the Ford Trimotor, or Tin Goose. It was one of the first all-metal planes made of duraluminus, a material as light as aluminum but twice as strong. It also was the first plane designed for passenger conveyance. It

had 12 seats and room for a stewardess, the first of whom were nurses, to serve meals and assist airsick passengers.

By 1930, there were 43 airlines flying 385,000 passengers a year over routes of 30,000 miles. In 1930, Postmaster General Walter Brown pushed for legislation known as the Watres Act, which allowed the Post Office to enter into long-term contracts for airmail with rates to be based on space or volume rather than weight. Immediately after the bill was passed, Brown held a little-advertised meeting to distribute new contracts. This was called the “Spoils Conference,” as only a handful of the larger airlines were invited. Two years later, Brown’s actions drew public criticism.

Airlines complaining about the “Spoils Conference” demanded an inquiry into the awarding of contracts. Congressional hearings finally were held in 1934, and the scandal caused President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to turn over the delivery of mail to the army. Chaos ensued as weather turned bad, and pilots, unfamiliar with routes, caused accidents. The plan was quickly overturned as publicity forced Roosevelt’s hand. The Air Mail Act of 1934 returned airmail transportation to the private sector, but it added a number of restrictions to increase competition. Aviation continued to develop as a major aspect of communication and transportation in the period.

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—Annamarie Edelen





**Baldwin, Roger Nash** (1884–1981) *director, American Civil Liberties Union*

Founder and longtime director of the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, Roger Baldwin was born in Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts, in 1884, the son of Frank Fenno Baldwin and Lucy Cushing Nash. After receiving bachelor's and master's degrees from Harvard University, Baldwin taught sociology at Washington University and began a career in social work. During these years, he served as chief probation officer of the St. Louis juvenile court and coauthored *Juvenile Courts and Probation* with Bernard Flexner. His years in St. Louis exposed Baldwin to the labor movement and radical politics, connections that shaped his perspective on issues of social justice and, in particular, the failings of the legal system.

As the United States began to prepare for war in Europe, Baldwin moved to New York. He became an early leader of the American Union Against Militarism (AUAM), which opposed American entry into WORLD WAR I, and fought for the rights of conscientious objectors and dissenters against the war. The AUAM created the National Civil Liberties Bureau (NCLB) to defend conscientious objectors, members of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, immigrants threatened with deportation for political reasons, and other wartime dissidents. Baldwin was central to these efforts. A lifelong pacifist and Unitarian, Baldwin deliberately violated the SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT and served a year in prison. In 1919, he returned to New York with his wife, Madeleine Doty. When the postwar RED SCARE continued to target opponents of war, labor unions, and political groups, several Progressives saw the need for a more permanent organization. From the NCLB, Baldwin and radical lawyer Crystal Eastman formed the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in 1920. Roger Baldwin was its first director, a post he held until 1950.

Baldwin's political philosophy was rooted in pacifism, and he was a libertarian only in the legal and political sense.

While he fought social injustice on a broad scale, he was more committed to CIVIL LIBERTIES than to any socialist ideal. He took inspiration from both the IWW's FREE SPEECH FIGHTS and the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, but he was not a committed leftist. His civil libertarianism leaned, instead, on voluntary political action and a celebration of free speech, free press, and freedoms of religion and of assembly as the central tenet of American democracy. Baldwin understood how the free exchange of ideas was hampered by the innate conservatism of many Americans, and he feared that their desire for homogeneity left the prosecution of political dissidents unchecked. During these years, Baldwin took up unpopular causes such as contesting the conviction of SACCO AND VANZETTI, challenging laws that prohibited the teaching of evolution in the schools in the SCOPES TRIAL, and trying to break the publication ban on James Joyce's novel *Ulysses*. Fighting censorship, arbitrary restrictions on civil liberties, and political or unjust imprisonment were among Baldwin's many causes.

In the 1930s Baldwin divorced Doty and began a long-term relationship with Evelyn Preston, with whom he shared a daughter and two stepchildren. With growing connections with the New Deal and the Roosevelts through his new partner, Baldwin sought mainstream political affiliations. The decade saw Baldwin choosing to defend the Scottsboro Boys, African-American teenagers facing the death penalty for a crime they did not commit. At the same time, Baldwin rethought his earlier admiration of the Soviet Union and repudiated the COMMUNIST PARTY in the wake of the purge trials and the Nazi-Soviet Anti-Aggression Pact in 1939. Baldwin also targeted left-wing members of the ACLU board. Communist Party member ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, one of the organization's founding members, was expelled, and the ACLU became embroiled in anticommunist politics. While it soon turned toward the defense of those victimized by McCarthyism, the ACLU also maintained a distance between its political stands and those of its clients.



Baldwin's desire to preserve the ACLU was first and foremost the cause of the ACLU's more critical stance toward Progressive and radical causes. At the same time, Baldwin defended the rights of individuals from across the political spectrum, both nationally and internationally. After World War II, he was cofounder of the International League for the Rights of Man and helped Japan, Germany, and Austria create their own national civil liberties organizations. To paraphrase Baldwin, he preferred "the rule of law" to the rule of force, and he saw law as the only alternative to war in a conflict-ridden world. Baldwin resigned as ACLU director in 1950. He died in 1981 after decades of activism in the causes of peace, justice, and human rights.

See also PEACE MOVEMENT.

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**Barton, Clara** See VOLUME V.

**Baruch, Bernard Mannes** (1870–1965) *financier, presidential adviser*

Presidential adviser and financier Bernard M. Baruch is best known as a proponent of cooperation between business and government. Born August 19, 1870, in Camden, South Carolina, he was the second of four sons of Isabelle Wolfe, the daughter of a plantation owner, and Simon Baruch, a medical doctor who served in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. In 1881, the family moved to New York City. After graduating from the College of the City of New York, Baruch pursued a career at a brokerage house and bought a seat on the New York Stock Exchange. At age 33, Baruch left the brokerage house to invest and quickly made his own fortune. He married Anne Griffen and had three children.

Baruch was active in Democratic Party politics and campaigned for WOODROW WILSON. Baruch became one of Wilson's most trusted advisers. During WORLD WAR I, Baruch accepted an appointment to the advisory commission of the Council on National Defense. In 1918, he became chair of the WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD. Once he joined the wartime government, Baruch sold his holdings and bought millions of dollars in Liberty Bonds to support the war effort. After the war, he accompanied President Wilson at the treaty negotiations at Versailles and framed the economic provisions of the treaty. Baruch also became an adviser to the Harding and Hoover administrations and joined the Brain Trust of Franklin D. Roosevelt's adminis-

tration. Some of the most innovative creations of the first New Deal, such as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, were modeled on the private-public cooperation of Baruch's War Industries Board. Foresighted, Baruch anticipated the coming of the Second World War and advised Roosevelt to stockpile essential stores of rubber and tin. As special adviser for the defense effort, Baruch wrote the federal government's report on postwar reconversion of industry in 1943.

After World War II, Baruch continued to advocate United States involvement in the world. President Truman appointed him head of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, where Baruch advocated international control of atomic energy. He remained a presidential adviser to the end of his life, although his primary interest in the postwar period was philanthropy. He was a major contributor to Columbia University. He died on June 20, 1965.

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## baseball

Baseball in its modern form took shape between the years 1900 and 1930. During this time, baseball became America's most popular sport because it appealed to Americans of all backgrounds and classes. Baseball supporters proclaimed that the baseball player was the model citizen, because as a team member he subordinated his self to the good of the team. As an individual, he had to make instant judgments on the field. During the time of mass emigration from abroad, proponents of baseball held it up as a tool for integrating all American citizens. At the same time, baseball offered the industrial nation a connection to its rural past. Due to its place in the American psyche, baseball gained widespread popularity, not only among spectators watching professional games, but also in the spread of baseball throughout American institutions and geography.

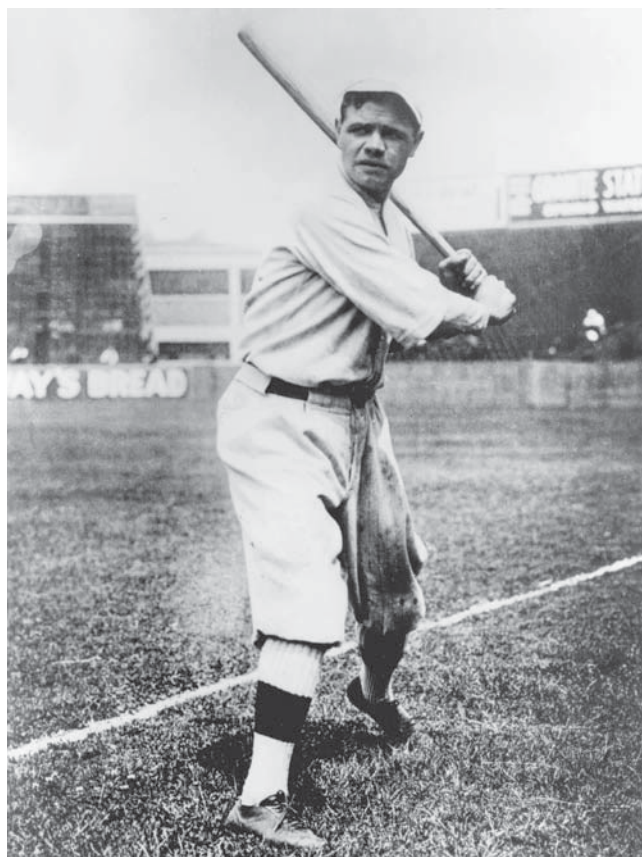
By 1890 professional baseball leagues had formed as a profit-driven business, in place of the amateur gentleman leagues that had defined the sport previously. The National League, the first formed, functioned as a cartel that controlled the expansion of teams into new cities through charters, the movement of players through the reserve clause, and by unofficially suppressing player salaries. Inserted in every player's contract, the reserve clause gave the team the exclusive rights to a player unless it traded him or sold him to another team. The National League faced a new challenge to its control around the turn of the century. In 1894, a rival league, the Western League, formed; and by 1901 it renamed itself the American League and claimed status as a major league. The two leagues settled in 1903

by establishing a national commission to rule major league baseball. The new league consisted of eight National League teams and four American League teams.

The decades after the settlement creating the National Commission saw the coming of age of professional baseball as an embodiment of the American character. Baseball emerged in this way for a variety of reasons. First, organized baseball undertook an effort to identify baseball as a uniquely American sport. In 1907, the league set up a commission to study the origins of baseball. Ignoring ample evidence that baseball derived from the British game of rounders, the commission found that Abner Doubleday had created baseball in 1839 in Cooperstown, New York. This history gave baseball its mythical standing as a uniquely American game. In addition to the owners' efforts, the players themselves provided the heroes who brought the public into the parks. Players in the Major Leagues came from every ethnic background, except African American. Fans could thus identify with players of their own ethnic background. The type of play on the field also led to an increase in popularity. In the first two decades of the 20th century, managers and players employed strategies that became known as scientific baseball. Scientific baseball revolved around strategies for scoring one run at a time. Home runs became scarce as hitters rarely took full swings. This new style of play became popular at a time when craft production was declining. At the ballpark, fans could go to a game and watch their favorite players plying their craft.

The game's new popularity was evident in the twofold increase in attendance between 1900 and 1910. The owners responded to the new crowds by building new stadiums. Between 1909 and 1923, 15 teams built new concrete and steel ball parks, which attested to the permanency of baseball as an American institution. These ballparks became civic monuments and symbols of a city's standing as a major metropolitan area. The parks also provided retreats from city life for city residents. For the price of a ticket, one could escape the dirt and noise of the city and enter a non-urban setting of green grass that made a connection to the rural past.

Baseball's popularity took a brief slide in the late 1910s as a result of World War I and the 1919 "Black Sox" scandal. Because they had suffered financially during the war, team owners suppressed player salaries after the war, when the major leaguers returned. In the 1919 World Series, eight Chicago White Sox players accepted bribes in return for purposely losing the series to the Cincinnati Reds. The ensuing scandal darkened baseball in the eyes of many of its fans. It also led to the creation of the office of commissioner of baseball, which replaced the old three-person commission that had ruled baseball since 1901. One of the first actions taken by the new commissioner, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, was to ban the eight White Sox,



Babe Ruth (*Library of Congress*)

including the legendary player Shoeless Joe Jackson, from baseball for life.

The 1919 scandal caused only a momentary setback in the game's popularity. Its recovery was due to the play of one man, Babe Ruth. Ruth almost singlehandedly ended the scientific baseball era. In his second season as a full-time player, he hit more home runs than all other American League teams combined. Players throughout baseball quickly adapted Ruth's technique of taking a full swing, and run-scoring soared in the 1920s. In addition to his abilities on the field, Ruth became a larger-than-life figure who endorsed countless consumer products. Ruth, who grew up in a Baltimore orphanage and became the most recognizable figure in American sports, appealed to Americans because he represented what many Americans believed to be their own potential.

Americans did not satisfy their appetite for baseball solely as spectators of professional baseball. Baseball teams popped up throughout America. Towns, companies, colleges, military bases, naval ships, Indian schools, and prisons all had baseball teams. In addition, African Americans, who were not allowed on major league teams after 1890, formed their own teams and leagues. After the turn of the

century, women also began to form softball teams, both on college campuses and in town and industrial leagues. Baseball was the first sport to spread through college campuses. Employers established baseball teams. They hoped that participation in the healthy leisure activity of baseball would make workers content and less prone to striking. To stock their teams, companies often resorted to hiring workers solely for their baseball ability. Towns of any size also had their own teams. These teams were made up of local players who played teams from other nearby towns. They also often paid a player or two on their roster so that they could win. In fact, some major league baseball players played for local teams on their off days to earn extra money. By the 1910s, each military base in America had at least one team, and naval captains organized teams and were issued uniforms and equipment as part of their supplies.

The perceived and widely agreed upon beneficial effects of playing baseball led to its use by institutions like federal Indian schools and prisons. Reformers argued that baseball and team sports in general helped build character. The Indian schools aimed at turning their charges into Americans and hoped to use baseball as one of their tools. The rise of baseball coincided with changes in prison organization and baseball became a key component of the new prison reforms that had turned to rehabilitation.

Baseball reflected another part of the American character—racism. Major league baseball barred African Americans beginning in the 1890s. Company teams were segregated by race. African Americans played on some college teams, but those teams often had to cancel games because opponents refused to play against African-American players. African Americans formed their own town teams and semipro teams, and many companies formed teams segregated by race. In the 1920s, a group of African-American teams formed the Negro National League, consisting of six teams that played a league schedule and barnstormed to fill out their schedules. The Negro National League teetered on the brink of extinction throughout the 1920s because it relied on the poorest segment of American society for its attendance. It folded in the 1930s.

See also SPORTS.

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—Michael Hartman

**Bethune, Mary McLeod** See VOLUME VIII.

## Big Stick diplomacy

President THEODORE ROOSEVELT believed it would be necessary for the United States to use its military power to protect American interests, and in 1902 he told Congress that the United States needed to “speak softly and carry a big stick.” The president believed that the United States needed an activist foreign policy to serve as a “civilizing” influence for “backward” or “uncivilized” nations, namely: To preserve order and stability in the world, Anglo-Saxon industrial nations had to intervene in the affairs of nonwhite, Latin, or Slavic economically underdeveloped nations. A crucial element for Roosevelt in the new American expansionism was the development of U.S. sea power, which enabled the nation to exert its influence beyond its borders. Under his leadership, the American navy expanded to a size and strength that only Great Britain exceeded. Roosevelt, a “Rough Rider” who had led troops in Cuba in the Spanish-American War of 1898, symbolized the new expansionist role of the United States in the world.

Roosevelt's policies were best illustrated by relations between the United States and Latin America and the Caribbean. According to historian Walter LaFeber, the United States intervened in the Caribbean at least 20 times between 1898 and 1920. In the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, the United States took control of Cuba as a protectorate. In his annual message in 1898, President William McKinley insisted that the American military would control the island until a “stable government” was built. To ensure stability, Congress passed the Platt Amendment, which gave the United States the right to intervene on the island if the Cuban government failed to protect its own independence. The United States granted independence to Cuba only after the new government agreed to U.S. oversight in 1902. When a rebellion threatened the stability of the island in 1906, President Roosevelt sent troops to Cuba; and they stayed there for three years. Between 1912 and 1917, the United States sent Marines to occupy Cuba when American interests were threatened by social unrest.

American military dominance in the Western Hemisphere was symbolized dramatically by the U.S. occupation of the PANAMA CANAL zone. After the United States military backed a revolution in Colombian Panama in 1903, the new government granted the United States control over the canal zone for 100 years, with an option to renew. The Panama Canal opened in 1914; three years afterward Roosevelt proudly announced, “I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate!”

In 1909 the administration of WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT sent troops to Nicaragua in support of revolutionaries who were on the verge of toppling the government. The troops seized the customs houses. When peace returned to Nicaragua, the Taft administration lobbied for American





A cartoon satirizing President Theodore Roosevelt's foreign policy motto of "Speak softly and carry a big stick." (Hulton/Archive)

bankers to provide substantial loans to the new government, which increased American economic influence over the country.

Under the administration of **WOODROW WILSON**, the United States set up a military government in the Dominican Republic in 1916 after the Dominicans rejected a treaty that would have made the country a protectorate of the United States. The United States had seized control of the finances of the Dominican Republic in 1905. American troops stayed in the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924. In addition, the Wilson administration sent marines to Haiti in 1915 to suppress a revolution. Americans wrote a new constitution for the country in 1918. United States troops remained in the country until 1934.

The Wilson administration meddled in affairs in Mexico as well. In 1910 Porfirio Díaz, a dictator friendly to American business interests, was overthrown, leading to a series of revolutions. In 1913 a reactionary general, Victoriano Huerta, overthrew the new regime. When Wilson became president in the United States, he refused to recognize Huerta's administration, which he considered a "government of butchers." In 1914 American forces seized the Mexican port of Veracruz. When the troops that Wilson

had ordered to land in Veracruz fought the Mexican army, 19 American soldiers died and 126 Mexicans were killed. In turn, the military presence of the United States helped the insurgents led by Venustiano Carranza. When the revolutionaries took over the government, Carranza rejected American proposals for a new government. In 1915, the Wilson administration backed Pancho Villa, who led the opposition to Carranza, but the American administration withdrew its support when it appeared that Villa was a losing cause. In 1915 Wilson gave preliminary recognition to the Carranza government.

In 1916, Villa retaliated by taking 16 Americans from a train in Mexico and shooting them. A few months later his troops crossed into the United States at Columbus, New Mexico, killing 17 Americans. Wilson responded by sending an expeditionary force into Mexico, in what became known as the **MEXICAN INVASION**, to track down Villa. Rather than finding Villa, the American troops fought with the Carranza army, in which engagements 40 Mexicans and 12 Americans died. On the verge of war, the Wilson administration withdrew the American troops from Mexico. After four years of futile efforts, the United States formally recognized the Carranza government.



The intervention of the United States in Mexico cost quite a few lives but produced few gains for American interests. However, the willingness of the United States to intervene in Latin America signified its increased power and influence in the Western Hemisphere in the early 20th century.

See also FOREIGN POLICY; GREAT WHITE FLEET; MEXICAN REVOLUTION; ROOSEVELT COROLLARY.

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—Glen Bessemer

## birth control

The years between 1900 and 1930 saw the growth of a social movement to promote birth control. It addressed issues such as censorship laws, lack of public education and knowledge on sexual matters, the ban on the sale, distribution, and advertising of birth control devices such as the condom and diaphragm, and women's health. Under the banner of "voluntary motherhood," birth control advocates had, since the 19th century, advocated the use of abstinence or various folk methods of birth control, including calculating women's monthly cycle in the rhythm method and coitus interruptus, or early withdrawal, as the primary means to prevent pregnancy. They argued that limiting births improved the quality of marriage and family life, extended the time devoted to educating children, and allowed women to become better mothers.

At the turn of the century, a new generation of birth control advocates emerged on the scene. Influenced by European sexual theorists, such as HENRY HAVELOCK ELLIS, and the availability of the improved spring-loaded vaginal diaphragm, leaders such as MARGARET SANGER and anarchist EMMA GOLDMAN organized public rallies and campaigns. They sought to educate women about their options for limiting fertility. Arguing that a high birthrate both restricted women's lives and endangered their health, they sought to distribute new information and new means of birth control in their role as community nurses and organizers. The rates of death in childbirth and from illegal abortion and poor maternal health among the working classes presented radical birth control advocates with compelling reasons to make the means of limiting fertility generally available. In this radical phase of the birth control movement, limiting births was linked to the struggle against poverty. Sanger's first publication, embracing both class-based and feminist radicalism, was called *The Woman Rebel*. Being on the radical edge took its toll. With her sister, Ethel Byrne, Sanger

opened the first birth control clinic in the United States in Brooklyn, New York, in 1916. They provided advice to nearly 500 women before the police closed its doors 10 days after it opened. For her violation of the New York law forbidding distribution of birth control information, Sanger received a 30-day jail sentence. The decision of the court in her case, however, convinced her that the only way to obtain court endorsement for birth control was to rely on doctor-staffed clinics. In 1917, she founded the more moderate sounding *Birth Control Review* as a forum for her views and made connections with the medical community.

In contrast, feminist sex radicals saw doctors' control, traditional methods of abstinence, and male-controlled means of birth control like condoms as restrictions on women's freedom. Sexual emancipation would come from women's ability to control their own bodies and accept motherhood on a voluntary basis. Double standards of marital and nonmarital sexual behavior too often kept women from achieving individual sexual freedom, which many considered essential to women's equality. Mary Ware Dennett, Sanger's chief rival for the leadership of the birth control movement, founded her own Voluntary Parenthood League. Working for the repeal of federal laws on birth control, Dennett took exception to Sanger's new tendency to give doctors control over access to contraceptives.

A major obstacle to the distribution of birth control pamphlets and devices such as the diaphragm were the regulations prohibiting the circulation of lewd, obscene, or immoral materials through the U.S. mail. Under the Comstock Act of 1873 sex education radicals had been charged with obscenity for such minor infractions as advocating male abstinence. Sanger's *Woman Rebel* was refused mailing privileges, although it contained no specific information about birth control. With the 1914 publication of her pamphlet, *Family Limitation*, Sanger became the target of Comstock prosecution, and she fled the country. Others were arrested and brought to trial under the Comstock laws and local ordinances pertaining to public speeches and published tracts advocating fertility limitation and methods of contraception.

Some conservative groups supported the control of fertility for different reasons and with distinctly different methods. They argued that limiting the fertility of the poor would improve the general character of the population and openly advocated policies to cleanse the population of "degenerate" traits. They preferred medical sterilization to birth control methods. Sterilizing poor women who had too many children or family members who had serious physical or mental health problems (including signs of lower intelligence and the supposedly inherited trait of criminality) became accepted practice in some public hospitals and social work agencies. Linked together with the new science of EUGENICS, sterilization programs signaled the new

willingness of state and local governments to intervene in private lives, especially in PUBLIC HEALTH matters.

The medical profession played a role in distributing birth control and in research on fertility control. Socially conservative and jealous of their professional authority, many doctors opposed the social movement to limit births. Others argued that medical experts should control access to and treatment of patients using birth control. After her public trial, Sanger began to turn toward the medical profession as the only possible way to allow women access to birth control. She compromised on the democratic call for easily available means of birth control in public clinics and agreed, instead, to regulations that gave doctors the power to offer or restrict birth control to women patients. Doctors also began to conduct their own research, and in 1925, Dr. Robert Litou Dickinson founded the Committee on Maternal Health to further fertility research.

The use of contraception increased over the decades of the birth control movement. Women simply had greater access to birth control devices through a proliferating number of organizations and clinics. In 1917, Sanger helped to organize the National Birth Control League, which became the American Birth Control League in 1921. The league established more than 50 clinics in 23 cities by the end of the decade. Access, however, depended on income and region. In a 1925 study, more than 80 percent of middle-class married women, aged 25 to 29, used contraception; only 36 percent of poorer women did. Sanger's Birth Control League became the Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 1942. Under that name, it continued to expand its services until, in 1961, it became an international organization under the name Planned Parenthood–World Population.

**Further reading:** Linda Gordon, *Women's Body, Women's Right: A Social History of Birth Control* (New York: Grossman, 1976); David Kennedy, *Birth Control in America: The Career of Margaret Sanger* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).

### ***Birth of a Nation, The***

*Birth of a Nation* was among the first full-length feature films produced in the United States. The movie, released in 1915, was longer and more expensive than any of its American predecessors. Prior to *Birth's* release, few producers had attempted films of such breadth and depth. American movies were typically short and inexpensive productions. Most were viewed as novelties. Few actually tried to convey stories of substance. In contrast to other early productions, *The Birth of a Nation* attempted not only to tell a story but also to convey feelings and emotions. Civil War and Reconstruction, were epic subjects, but DAVID WARK

GRIFFITH did more than try to tell a story of the war and its aftermath. He tried to bring out the nationalist feelings of his day.

The movie was more expensive to produce than anything that had come before it. The screenplay, which was only a fraction of the overall expense, cost Griffith \$2,500 and 25 percent of the profit. The total cost of production was estimated at approximately \$110,000, five times more than had been spent on any previous film. Having run out of money and investors, Griffith borrowed all that he could to bring the production to market. The undertaking was truly monumental compared to other projects of the time. There were six weeks of rehearsals. The shooting that began in July stretched into October. Editing alone took three months in contrast to the six weeks it took for a typical production.

Griffith's gamble paid off. The movie was a tremendously lucrative undertaking. It is estimated that in the first six months of its national run, *The Birth of a Nation* drew more people than the performances of all the stage plays in the United States during any five-year period. In the United States the movie ran for 44 consecutive weeks. It grossed an estimated \$50 million. Not all of its viewers, however, gave the movie glowing reviews. Audiences in a number of cities were so appalled by its content that they rioted.

The movie was primarily based on Thomas Dixon's book and play, *The Clansman*. Griffith also borrowed from Dixon's *The Leopard's Spots* and a number of other sources. Dixon's racist works, and the movie that followed, offered a slanted perspective on the Civil War, heavily colored by Griffith's own Southern point of view. The film vilified Northerners and blacks. It portrayed Reconstruction as an attempt by Northerners to punish the South by forcing black rule upon it. It idealized the KU KLUX KLAN. It portrayed the Klan as a just and necessary organization instrumental in saving not only the South but also the chastity and sanctity of Southern women. The movie was based on Dixon's favorite premise, that blacks are naturally inferior and that expecting them to govern themselves was cruel and inhumane.

Even before the film was released, Griffith was not oblivious to the controversy that the movie would likely create. Aware of the possible reaction, he cut some of the more offensive scenes from the movie. He removed one scene denouncing the hypocrisy of New England abolitionists, who were portrayed as the descendants of slave traders. He also omitted reference to a letter from Abraham Lincoln to Secretary of War Stanton about Lincoln's belief that blacks were inferior to white people. These compromises proved to be inadequate. Controversy followed the movie.

Controversy was so acute that the film was brought before the United States Senate. The possibility of official action prompted Thomas Dixon to send a cable to James

E. Marine, the Democratic senator from New Jersey, warning against the dangers of censorship. Griffith himself was appalled by the response the film provoked. To challenge his critics, he wrote a pamphlet entitled, "The Rise and Fall of Free Speech in America." He defended both the movie and his right to produce movies that were not always popular in all settings.

*Birth of a Nation* was the first of two great epics produced by Griffith. His next epic stemmed from the criticisms leveled at *Birth*. The movie was called *Intolerance*. Griffith believed that his critics, not he, were intolerant of ideas. He used the movie as a weapon to attack those who were critical of his work. It was based on the premise that things that are good and pure are rarely tolerated. For him, *Birth of a Nation* exemplified something that was good yet soiled by intolerance. To finance *Intolerance*, Griffith spent all of his profits from *Birth of a Nation* and was forced to buy out all of its backers. Unfortunately, *Intolerance* was not a success. With the decline of liberalism, the movie, which championed brotherly love as the solution to many of the world's problems, fell out of fashion. Desperate to recoup his losses, Griffith broke the four-hour-long movie into two shorter films.

*Birth of a Nation* was a grand achievement in cinema. Not only was it broad in scale and scope, but it also conveyed passion and emotion. However, its message was far less spectacular. It offered a distorted view of history. Whether he knew it or not, Griffith's movie did more than redefine the way movies were made; it displayed the effect that movies could have on the culture.

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—Steve Freund

### Blatch, Harriot Eaton Stanton (1856–1940)

suffragist

One of the most important suffragists of her generation, Harriot Stanton was born in 1856, the daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the mother of the women's rights movement in the United States, and Henry B. Stanton, an abolitionist. Harriot Stanton attended Vassar College, where she eventually earned a master's degree in 1894. Throughout her life, Harriot remained close to her mother, whom she aided in the writing of *History of Woman Suffrage*.

In 1882, Harriot Stanton married Harry Blatch, a British citizen, and moved to Britain, where she became active in the suffrage campaign. It was there that Blatch witnessed the militant tactics of British suffrage activists and interacted with prominent British socialists. By the turn of

the century, Harriot was dividing her time between Britain and the United States. She returned to the United States full-time in 1902, when she began campaigning for WOMAN SUFFRAGE in New York State. New York was both symbolically and politically important for Blatch and other suffragists. The movement, however, appeared to be stalling under the leadership of the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Harriot Blatch injected new momentum into the state and national campaigns for female suffrage. As an activist with the NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE, she had gained some experience with working-class women. In 1907, she cofounded the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, an organization dedicated to recruiting working-class women's support for suffrage. The Equality League changed its name to the Women's Political Union and later merged with the Congressional Union, which became the NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY in 1916. In addition to broadening the support base for female suffrage, Blatch employed dramatic tactics borrowed from British suffragists. Mass marches, including one down Fifth Avenue, as well as a trolley-car campaign through New York's towns and cities, helped publicize female suffrage and catapult it onto the national political agenda.

When her husband died in 1915, Blatch returned to Britain. She came back to the United States in 1917 and worked for the Food Administration. After the war and the successful suffrage campaign, Blatch remained active in the women's and socialist movements. As an activist with the National Woman's Party, she worked for a federal equal rights amendment. Throughout her career, Blatch wrote several books, including *Mobilizing Woman Power* (1920) and *A Woman's Point of View, Some Roads to Peace* (1920). She died in Connecticut in 1940.

Harriot Stanton Blatch's greatest contributions revolved around her intellectual and tactical innovations for the female suffrage campaigns. Adopting radical methods and broadening the class base of the movement helped raise political awareness among women themselves and among the nation's political elite, eventually leading to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment for woman suffrage. In addition, her intellectual work on the history of the women's movement, such as the 1922 volume she published with her brother, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton, as Revealed in Her Letters, Diary and Reminiscences*, set the stage for future women's historians not only to investigate women's history but also to trace women's historiography.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Natalie Atkin

## blues

The origins of the musical genre of the blues are not well-documented, but its roots can be traced back to the African continent. Much of its foundation is in 16th-century African music. But while its roots can be traced back to Africa, the blues is not an African form of music. Its African origins were augmented by work and gospel songs, folk music, minstrel shows, and other musical forms. These influences combined to create what became a uniquely American style of music. In addition to its musical origins, there were other forces that helped to mold what is now considered the blues from its origins in the post-Civil War South.

Rural blues developed remarkably different identities in different regions. The blues that developed in the southern coastal states differed greatly from the style that developed in Texas. The blues that developed in Texas was very different from that of the Mississippi Delta. Each region had its own flavor. The southern coastal blues was noted most for its steady rhythm and clear enunciation. Blind Boy Fuller was one of the many blues singers who came to represent this unique form of entertainment. Texas blues was characterized by single-string picked arpeggios—not the strummed chords that characterized the blues of other regions. Blind Lemon Jefferson came to symbolize the Texas blues musician. The blues that developed in Mississippi became the most influential of the three forms. The slide, or bottleneck, guitar came to symbolize this blues style. Charley Patton was the earliest blues man to bring the blues style out of the Delta.

WORLD WAR I and the accompanying GREAT MIGRATION transformed the blues. These events caused tremendous demographic shifts that allowed the blues as a musical form to spread to other parts of the country. The rural undertones of the blues artists were adapted by men and women with urban experiences. They revolutionized not only the blues but also American music and culture. Atlanta, St. Louis, Memphis, Detroit, and Chicago all proved to be fertile soil for the growth and development of urban blues. Chicago was by far the most important city in the development of urban blues, and it became synonymous with them. Chicago blues stands apart from other forms in its emotional structure. Paramount Records in Chicago began producing blues recordings in the late 1920s. With a gigantic mail-order business in the South, Paramount was successful in promoting and distributing Chicago blues until it succumbed to the economic hardships of the Great Depression. Even after Paramount had closed its doors, blues musicians continued to develop music in Chicago.

The effect that the blues has had on the development of American music is incalculable. The rhythms, beats, and lyrical styling of blues spread across America and to the rest of the world. The influence that the blues has had on jazz, soul, and rhythm-and-blues is clear. Less evident, but

equally true, is the effect that the blues had on rock and roll, rap, and other popular forms of entertainment. It was truly an American art form.

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—Steve Freund

**Boas, Franz Uri** (1858–1942) *anthropologist, linguist, museum curator*

Anthropologist Franz Boas played a significant role in redefining race in America. He did this by moving the discussion of race away from Social Darwinism and toward an emphasis on individual cultures. By emphasizing the importance of each culture's values, Boas convinced many in the scientific community and in America in general that racial differences were due not to hereditary differences but to culture. Through his pathbreaking studies of culture, Boas revolutionized the field of anthropology.

Born in 1858 in Germany, Franz Boas received his doctorate from the University of Kiel in 1881. On a scientific expedition to an island off the coast of Canada, he became interested in the local natives' culture. It sparked his lifelong dedication to the field of anthropology. Boas undertook his first anthropological work in 1886, a study of the Native Americans living in the Pacific Northwest. He later served as the curator of ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City and in 1899 became Columbia University's first professor of anthropology.

It was in his role as professor of anthropology that Boas created modern anthropology. In the late 19th century, anthropologists rarely made in-depth studies of other cultures, relying instead on theories as to why some cultures differed from European culture. Boas introduced scientific study to the field. He taught his students, among them MARGARET MEAD, Ruth Benedict, and Zora Neale Hurston, to apply scientific rigor and emphasized methodology. He popularized field studies as the chief investigation tool of anthropology. By actually living among the subjects of his studies, Boas came to the conclusion that every culture was dynamic and could change over time, if subjected to new conditions. In his 1911 *Mind of Primitive Man*, Boas deflated the belief that non-Western societies represented a primitive or earlier stage of civilization. The fact that all cultures were not equal meant only that all cultures had not experienced identical historical conditions, Boas argued. Because he believed in the equal worth of all cultures, he attacked social scientists' practice of ranking races based



on the perceived superiority of northern European culture. He taught his students and other social scientists to evaluate cultures on their own merits, not to compare other cultures with their own.

Boas applied his findings on cultural differences to critique the prevailing racial attitudes in the United States. His dedication to altering America's views on race arose from a strong liberalism and his commitment to scientific accuracy and purity. Boas stridently argued that people of African ancestry were not naturally inferior to Caucasian people as most white Americans believed. Differences in achievement between the races in the United States could be explained by studying cultural differences and the historical circumstances in which cultures had developed. Boas sought to counteract the prejudices against African Americans by studying and popularizing accounts of the great African civilizations of the past to show that at one time Africans had created greater civilizations than Europeans. African Americans such as ALAIN LOCKE and W. E. B. DUBOIS were influenced by Boas's findings and used them in their struggle for equal rights. The work of Boas and his students helped undermine the grip of scientific racism on American culture and fundamentally altered ideas about race.

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—Michael Hartman

### Boxer Rebellion (1900)

A popular movement in China that tried to expel foreign powers, the Boxer Rebellion played a key role in the U.S. establishment of the OPEN DOOR POLICY in China. The Boxers were members of a secret organization in China known as the Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists, which Westerners nicknamed "shadow boxers," because they practiced martial arts. The Boxers opposed European influence in China. Beginning in the mid-19th century, European powers began to force their way into China. Under a series of treaties, Germany, Great Britain, France, and Russia had gained special economic rights. In these treaties, the Europeans gained benefits such as lower import taxes and the right to build railroads and construct telegraph lines. In return, they helped the Qing dynasty, ruler of China, in its struggles against Chinese who wanted to overthrow their imperial government. All of these treaties were unequal with regard to the rights granted to the Europeans and the benefits gained by China. The Chinese imperial rulers granted economic rights to European

countries because the imperial government was weak relative to Europe. The Europeans living in China were not, moreover, subject to Chinese law. The European countries sent missionaries with them who traveled the country seeking converts, which led many Chinese to resent their activities.

The Chinese who took part in the Boxer Rebellion were reacting to the expansion of European influence in rural China. As European economic concerns moved away from the coastal areas, they caused economic problems for the rural Chinese. European steamship companies, for example, put local bargemen out of business. Railroads brought European businesses that undersold local craftsmen. Christianity also posed a threat to the Chinese traditional way of life. Chinese Christians no longer took part in communal celebrations that worshipped ancestors. In the eyes of some Chinese, this made Christians a threat to communal unity. Christianity and the missionaries who spread it were also suspect because they were closely tied to the European colonial powers. They became, therefore, another symbol of the inferior position that China occupied.

The Boxer Rebellion began in the rural areas of northern China. The Boxers were emboldened by their belief that bullets could not hurt them and that they could summon troops of spirit warriors to fight on their side. They targeted any one or thing that symbolized foreign rule. Thousands spread across the countryside, burning churches and killing Chinese Christians. They also tore up railroad tracks and telegraph lines. Initially, the Boxers fought for the expulsion of foreigners and the overthrow of the Qing dynasty. After the imperial government gave support to the Boxers, they changed their goal to expelling foreigners and supporting the Qing dynasty. The support of the imperial government made it possible for the Boxers to attack the foreign residents in the cities. In June 1900, Boxers besieged the foreign quarters in Beijing and Tianjin. They held 600 foreigners, including future president Herbert Hoover, and 4,000 Chinese Christians in the coastal city of Tianjin. In the capital city, Beijing, the rebels blockaded 900 Europeans and Americans in the diplomatic quarter.

The European countries sent an international force to end the sieges and rescue the Europeans. On June 14, 1900, they successfully ended the siege in Tianjin, and on August 14 they regained control of Beijing. By the end of 1900, there were 45,000 foreign troops in northern China. These troops initiated raids against the Boxers and defeated them.

The Boxer Rebellion had significant consequences for Chinese relations with the West. An agreement signed by China's Imperial government and 11 Western powers called for a number of penalties and concessions. For the first time, foreign troops were stationed in Beijing. In addition,

the Western countries secured the right to build a series of forts in a line from the coast to Beijing, which would protect their supply and communication lines to the capital city. The agreement also required the Chinese government to pay a large fine. Aside from these consequences, the Boxer Rebellion led the Western powers to change their strategies in dealing with China. Before the rebellion, many Europeans had begun to favor transforming their spheres of influence into formal colonies. The antiforeign Boxer Rebellion led them to change their minds. It convinced them that they would face tremendous opposition from the Chinese if they attempted to expand their control. The United States played an important role in these developments. In 1900, the United States called for an open door policy in China that would give equal opportunity for trade to all nations. The European countries agreed to the U.S. proposal, and the Open Door Policy came to define the relationship between China and the Western powers.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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—Michael Hartman

**Brandeis, Louis Dembitz** (1856–1941) *associate justice of the Supreme Court*

One of the most important lawyers and jurists of the Progressive Era, Louis Brandeis is best known for his work on extending the protection of the law to women workers with his brief in *MULLER V. OREGON*, and for his service on the U.S. SUPREME COURT. His tenure on the Court began in an age of judicial formalism and ended with the acceptance of expanded federal authority over regulation under the New Deal. Brandeis was born in 1856 in Louisville, Kentucky, the son of a wealthy grain merchant. He completed secondary education in Dresden, Germany, and returned to the United States at age 18 to study law at Harvard University. He graduated in 1877 and practiced law in Boston until 1916. In 1891, Brandeis married Alice Goldmark, the daughter of a wealthy Boston family. The couple had two daughters.

Brandeis began to pursue a career in law that earned him the name “the people’s attorney.” He worked to secure protective labor laws, block business monopolies, and secure benefits to workers. During this time, he defended small or minority interests against the majority, and he became a prophet of regulation with his books, *Other People’s Money* (1914) and *Business: A Profession* (1914). In them, Brandeis supported workers and trade union rights. He also advocated regulation in support of small firms



Louis Brandeis (Library of Congress)

and as a means for maintaining democratic competition in the market. In 1912 he supported WOODROW WILSON’s campaign for the presidency as one of the authors of Wilson’s New Democracy campaign. Four years later, Wilson appointed Brandeis to the U.S. Supreme Court as an associate justice. He was the first American Jew to be appointed to the high court.

Brandeis’s career was directed toward the preservation of individual rights and freedoms and opposition to “bigness” in business as a threat to individual liberty. In this respect, Brandeis straddled the positions of a liberalism that saw the need for legal protections and yet sought to restrain the growth of government. As he once wrote, “Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the government’s purposes are beneficent. Men born to freedom are naturally alert to repel invasion of their liberty by evil-minded rulers. The greatest danger to liberty lurks in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding.”

Once on the Court, Brandeis became an ally of OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES in defining civil liberties, and especially First Amendment rights, in a series of landmark dissents from majority Court opinion. The body of this work hinged on the idea that democracy required the individual right to free speech as a necessary ingredient for social change. Without the free circulation of ideas, democracy could not hope to thrive. One of his major court opinions,

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*Whitney v. California*, engaged Brandeis in defining the role of ideas, education, and government in society.

Brandeis served on the Supreme Court from 1916 to 1939. In his later years, he became a leading court ally of Roosevelt's New Deal initiatives but also opposed such legislation as the National Recovery Act. In the end, however, Brandeis helped build support for the Court revolution of the 1930s. He resigned from the Supreme Court in 1939 and died on October 5, 1941, in Washington, D.C.

**Further reading:** Phillipa Strum, *Louis D. Brandeis: Justice for the People* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984).

### Brownsville Riot (1906)

A glaring example of racial prejudice and military injustice, the Brownsville Riot resulted in the unwarranted dismissal of 167 African-American soldiers. The riot occurred on the night of August 13, 1906, but the tensions that led to the attack had built since the troops had arrived two weeks earlier. At the core of the conflict was the opposition of the Brownsville, Texas, townspeople to the stationing of African-American troops at Fort Brown. The immediate cause was the claim made by a white woman on the night of August 12 that she had been assaulted by one of the African-American soldiers. Tensions were so high that on the night of August 13, the commander of the fort issued a curfew order requiring all soldiers to return to the fort. Later that night, soldiers were awakened by gunfire coming from outside the fort. By the time they could muster, the shooting was over. In the aftermath of the shooting, it was discovered that one man had been killed in the town.

The townspeople immediately claimed that the soldiers in the fort had rampaged through the town, shooting into houses and businesses, and murdering a man. The army convened a commission of officers and townspeople to investigate the incident. It quickly concluded that the African-American soldiers had done all the shooting. The commission was unable, however, to say which of the soldiers had been guilty. In fact, the commission ignored evidence that the soldiers had not been guilty of the attack. Accepting the commission's report as fact, President THEODORE ROOSEVELT sought to force the innocent soldiers to turn in the guilty ones. To do so, Roosevelt threatened all three companies of soldiers with dismissal if the guilty ones were not found. None of the soldiers ever came forward. Seeing it as a conspiracy by the soldiers to cover for the guilty ones, Roosevelt dishonorably discharged 167 men and barred them from government service for life.

If not for the efforts of Senator Joseph Foraker of Ohio, the incident probably would have ended there. After reading the transcripts of the commission's hearings, Foraker

came to the conclusion that the evidence used to convict the soldiers was flimsy and unreliable. Foraker pressured the Senate into holding hearings into the dismissal. In these hearings, it became clear that many of the eyewitnesses who claimed to have seen the African-American soldiers shooting could not have, due to the darkness and their distance from the events. Other evidence used against the soldiers was also disproved. Nonetheless, the Senate voted to uphold the dismissal. The soldiers had their last chance when a Military Court of Inquiry convened in 1909. The court eventually ruled to reinstate 14 of the soldiers who had been dismissed. They never did indicate why those 14 were being reinstated while the other 153 remained discharged. In 1971, after reading John Weaver's book, *The Brownsville Raid*, Representative Augustus Hawkins of California introduced a bill calling for the reinstatement of the men dishonorably discharged. The next year, the Department of Defense recognized the miscarriage of justice by granting honorable discharges to the soldiers.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

**Further reading:** John Weaver, *The Brownsville Raid* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1992).

—Michael Hartman

**Bryan, William Jennings** See VOLUME VI.

### Buck's Stove (1906)

A Supreme Court decision supporting the use of labor injunctions, *Buck's Stove* was one of a series of legal cases in the Progressive Era that worked to restrain the political actions of the labor movement. After the turn of the century, the rising tide of labor militancy had provoked a strong, coordinated response from business and financial interests. They demonstrated their antipathy toward labor and collective bargaining in an array of strategies from employer associations like the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS and the American Anti-Boycott Association to strikebreaking with help from local police or state militia. Another tool was to appeal to the judiciary's known conservatism. Using the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, large corporations and small businesses alike sought court injunctions against strikes and boycotts as illegal restraint of trade. Courts had enjoined labor unions from carrying on community-level boycotts throughout the late 19th century, but they had not interfered with "We Don't Patronize" lists in union publications. The heightened conflict between capital and labor allowed for little room to bargain. In two separate court cases—*Loewe v. Lawlor* (known as DANBURY HATTERS) and *Buck's Stove*—the U.S. Supreme Court sided with businesses that sought relief, first as com-

compensation for financial losses during a boycott and secondly when a national labor organization refused to obey a court injunction.

The *Buck's Stove* case arose when the Iron Molders International Union struck Buck's Stove and Range in St. Louis. In the face of the company's refusal to bargain, the Iron Molders union declared a boycott. As part of the boycott, the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) placed the firm on the "We Don't Patronize List" in its journal, the *American Federationist*. In 1907, the firm's owner, who belonged to an antiunion organization, asked the federal courts to issue an injunction against the AFL, citing its use of the boycott list as an unfair restraint of interstate commerce and a violation of the Sherman Act. The courts found in the firm's favor and ordered the AFL to remove Buck's Stove from the list. Rejecting the court's injunction as a violation of the rights to free speech and a free press, AFL president Samuel Gompers refused. The lower courts held that there was no right to free speech if it involved criminal activity. The federal district court found Gompers and his associates, AFL secretary Frank Morrison and UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA president JOHN MITCHELL, guilty of violating the Sherman Act and charged them with contempt of court. They fined the union leaders and sentenced them to jail terms. In the appeal, Gompers lost his case before the Supreme Court. By that time, however, the statute of limitations for contempt of court had run out. The Iron Molders Union and the company also had settled the strike. In response, the Supreme Court stayed the lower court sentencing. While union leaders were not forced to pay the fines or endure prison, the *Buck's Stove* case, like *Loewe v. Lawlor*, prompted new caution from union officers in how they used scarce time and resources. Costly court cases, whether fighting injunctions, antitrust suits, or violations of free speech, exhausted the labor movement financially and politically. At the same time, the widespread use of labor injunctions based on antitrust law inspired the AFL to return to the political arena. In the elections of 1908 and 1912, labor mobilized its members to vote for the parties and candidates that would address the mounting list of labor's grievances.

**Further reading:** Daniel Ernst, *Lawyers against Labor: From Individual Rights to Corporate Liberalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

### ***Buck v. Bell* (1927)**

In 1927 the SUPREME COURT of the United States reviewed and upheld as constitutional a Virginia state law allowing for the compulsory sterilization of feeble-minded and defective persons. Carrie Buck, a Virginia teenager, was declared feeble-minded, despite the fact that she was a good student

and intellectually at par with her classmates; she also was to be sterilized under the Virginia law. Virginia's law and the Supreme Court decisions to uphold it were influenced by the EUGENICS movement, which promoted social controls to improve hereditary qualities and to regulate genetic deficiencies in human beings.

Carrie Buck's mother, Emma, a widow who lived at the margins of society in Charlottesville, Virginia, was deemed feeble-minded due to her "shiftless and immoral" lifestyle and placed in the Colony for Epileptics and Feeble-minded for life. Unable to care for Carrie after the death of her husband, Emma gave her into the care of the Dobbs family. Carrie became their house servant. Although she was doing well in school, the Dobbses withdrew her, so she could do more service for the family and also be lent to other families for chores. In 1923 Carrie became pregnant. Despite Carrie's claim that she had been raped by a family nephew, Mr. Dobbs, afraid of the shame Carrie's situation would bring to his family, filed commitment papers and claimed that Carrie was feeble-minded. Because of her pregnancy and her mother's feeble-minded status, Carrie became a prime target for sterilization by the Virginia Commission on Feeble-mindedness.

After giving birth to her child, Vivian, Carrie was quickly condemned to the Colony for Epileptics and Feeble-minded. There she was to be sterilized to promote the welfare of society. To build a case that Carrie's genetic stock was defective, her seven-month-old daughter was examined and deemed "not quite normal." Harry Laughlin of the Eugenics Record Office and Carnegie Institution, without ever meeting or examining Carrie, gave a deposition declaring Carrie Buck a mental defective and socially unfit. Although the evidence against her was weak, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the institutionalization and sterilization of Carrie Buck.

The Court's decision was written by OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, a Progressive justice and a supporter of eugenics. Holmes argued that the feeble-minded sapped the strength of the state and that compulsory sterilization would prevent society from being "swamped with incompetence." Furthermore, he argued that "Three generations of imbeciles are enough." Justice Pierce Butler, a conservative on the Supreme Court, was the only dissenter. The Supreme Court's affirmation of the Virginia sterilization law in *Buck v. Bell* allowed for the passing of similar laws in 30 states. Some 50,000 people were sterilized without their consent as a result of those laws. *Buck v. Bell* became a legal model for the Nazis during the Holocaust when 350,000 people were sterilized. *Buck v. Bell* was never directly overturned. In *Skinner v. the State of Oklahoma* (1942), the Supreme Court found that the state could not sentence criminals to compulsory sterilization, because the categories by which sterilization was imposed were "invidious discrimination"



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that undermined equal protection under the law. Eugenic sterilization declined in the aftermath of World War II.

See also MEDICINE; SOCIAL WORK.

**Further reading:** Edwin Black, *War against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2003); David Smith and K. Ray Nelson, *The Sterilization of Carrie Buck* (New Jersey: New Horizons Press, 1989).

—Jeffrey Powell

### Budget and Accounting Act (1921)

The Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 was one of the most significant legislative enactments of the early 20th century. It provided guidelines for the modern budget and a framework for funding an activist state. The act required the president to submit a single, consolidated budget proposal to the Congress each year. It also established the Bureau of the Budget to provide the president with the resources necessary to produce a budget proposal and the General Accounting Office to give Congress the resources to ensure accountability. The Budget Act did more than coordinate the budget. It gave the president greater influence over how federal monies were allocated through the formulation of budget figures and priorities.

The movement toward a budget system in which the executive branch had greater control over federal spending had been building for years. It had its roots in the PROGRESSIVISM of the early 20th century. Progressive reformers sought to rationalize government through the elimination of corruptible interests and political machines. To stem the power of the political machines and challenge government corruption, especially on the municipal level, reformers placed more trust and authority in executive and administrative institutions. In doing so, they promoted the accumulation of power at the executive level.

A number of studies attempted to rationalize the budgetary process, including one conducted by President WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT's Commission on Economy and Efficiency (1910–12). Still, the call for reform of the budgetary process did not stop with investigations. Supported by members of both parties, the creation of a regular budgetary process was a plank for the Republican presidential campaign in 1916 and 1920 and the Democratic campaign in 1920. In 1919, hearings were held in both the House and Senate to research possible changes in budgetary procedure. The legislation made it through both houses of Congress, but President WOODROW WILSON vetoed it because of concern with the constitutionality of the bill. The next president, WARREN G. HARDING, signed the Budget Act in 1921. CHARLES GATES DAWES, who had been in charge of procurement for the American

army during WORLD WAR I, took over as the first budget director in that year. Dawes instituted several reforms in how government agencies kept records and accounted for revenue and expenditures. The Budget Act did more than rationalize the budgetary process. It established the foundation for the modern budget and the expansion of presidential power in the 20th century. In doing so, it helped to coordinate the modern state.

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—Steve Freund

### Burke Act (1906)

The Burke Act of 1906, passed by Congress as an amendment to the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, continued the federal policy of assimilation of Native Americans into white society. The policy of forced assimilation, which began with the Dawes Act, was a reversal of almost 50 years of policies regarding Native Americans. Previously, the federal government had forced indigenous peoples to relocate onto reservations in the United States.

Attempting to assimilate Native Americans, the Bureau of Indian Affairs tried to eliminate the tribal ownership of land and allot plots of land to individual owners. The Dawes Act allotted 160 acres to heads of families and 80 acres to single adults. Congress passed the Burke Act to hasten the transition to individual ownership by eliminating the 25-year trust period required under the Dawes Act. Under the trust system, individuals who were allotted land could not acquire full title to the property for 25 years. The Burke Act amended the allotment law to give the secretary of the interior the power to issue fee-simple titles, which were fees without restrictions on the transfer of ownership. The amendment removed all restrictions on the sale, taxation, and claims on property.

The assimilation policies at the turn of the century had undermined indigenous cultures in two ways. First, Indian children were removed from their families and sent to white-run boarding schools. Second, the policies prevented Indian religious rituals from taking place, and replaced them with Christian ones. But the government ultimately abandoned its assimilation policies, because the white administration of the allotment program was corrupt and inept. However, Native Americans lost much of their land in the process. Native Americans continued to resist assimilation into white society despite government efforts. Attempting to transform traditional, tribal societies into individualist, agrarian ones, Congress had hoped to hasten the forced assimilation of Native Americans with the Burke Act.

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—Glen Bessemer

## business

One of the most far-reaching achievements of the turn-of-the-century United States was the rise of modern business. The reorganization of business transformed virtually every aspect of American life. Due to new forms of organization, American firms became larger and more profitable than anything that had come before them. Their growth led to fundamental changes in the American political and social structure. Americans simultaneously embraced and challenged the encroachment of capitalist enterprises in industry, finance, and transportation.

The concept of incorporation was key to the success of American business. Corporations had several distinct advantages over other forms of organization. The most basic advantage was the ability to pool small quantities of wealth from a large number of people. This allowed corporations to amass wealth that had previously been unimaginable. In addition, corporations offered investors protection against excessive liability. Unlike other forms of partnership, corporations were protected by the doctrine of limited liability. A shareholder in a corporation was committed only to the share invested in the enterprise, and individual investors could not be sued for additional damages. Incorporation made industries of scale not only possible, but also practical. Another advantage of the corporation was its perpetual life. Businesses organized around a mortal person would often fall into disarray when the person passed away. With a corporation, the shares owned by the recently deceased could easily be transferred to one's heirs. Such a transfer would have little if any impact on the life of the corporation. The corporation became so commonplace that the Supreme Court of the United States argued that it had all of the rights and responsibilities of the individual. It was an important legal and social distinction.

The modern corporation relied on new forms of structure and organization. The emergence of both vertical and horizontal methods of integration was crucial to the formation of large international businesses. Vertical integration is based on the practice of developing a corporate structure dedicated to obtaining control of supply, production, and distribution lines. Andrew Carnegie's Carnegie Steel, which later became U.S. Steel, was extremely adept in the art of vertical integration. Through a number of well-planned acquisitions, Carnegie gained control over virtually every

thing from the raw materials that were needed to produce his steel, to the marketing and distribution of the finished products. Horizontal integration, however, was even more prevalent in the emerging business climate of the late 19th century. It reflected business's pursuit of market monopoly. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER'S STANDARD OIL was especially efficient when it came to horizontal integration. His acquisitions of competitors created such a monopoly that by the turn of the century Standard Oil controlled more than 90 percent of the oil refined in the United States. Carnegie and Rockefeller may have been two of the most successful integrators of their time, but they were by no means the only ones to use these forms of consolidation. Dozens of companies used one form of integration or the other.

The assembly line was another innovation that made the emergence of businesses of scale possible. Meat packer Gustavus Swift not only benefited from the use of vertical and horizontal integration, he also utilized the assembly line that HENRY FORD later perfected. Swift's assembly line was actually more like a disassembly line. He used the mechanized line to slaughter, pack, and ship animals. The development of what became known as "the American System" was crucial in the full utilization of the assembly line process's flexibility and efficiency. Once interchangeable parts were incorporated into the assembly line process, the factory began to replace the artisan's shop. Not long after, skilled workers themselves were either replaced by assembly line workers or incorporated into the process.

In order to manage these large new organizations, new levels of managerial bureaucracy were formed. The deskilling of industrial workers created a need for a new managerial class. No longer would apprentices and skilled workers control the means of production. Professional managers came to replace foremen, skilled workers, and small shop owners in supervising labor. In an ongoing attempt to increase efficiency, managers sought to regulate all facets of the production process. Others practically relegated human workers to the status of machines. FREDERICK WINSLOW TAYLOR provided the intellectual foundation for these attempts at removing human inefficiencies from the production process. He developed and promoted the concept of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT. Taylor's *The Principles of Scientific Management* outlined his concept of scientific management. Each task was broken down into its most basic components. Each worker was gauged on his or her ability to complete the basic tasks using the most efficient methods in a prescribed time. Taylor also argued for higher wages and a more rational means of compensating workers. Businesses throughout the country paid homage to Taylor's theories; but for the most part, they were unable to integrate his ideas into their organizational structure. They also resisted paying workers more. These theories did, however,

fundamentally alter the way in which both business and labor were perceived.

Equally important to the development of modern businesses were new forms of internal communication. Carbon paper, the typewriter, and the adding machine were only a few of the devices that helped coordinate the internal activities of the increasingly large corporate structures. Without these aids to communication, it would have been virtually impossible for management to effectively organize businesses of scale and scope. New technologies allowed corporations to become bigger and more powerful. Alongside many of the traditional businesses grew other industries that supported business. Insurance, banking, and finance fostered and were fostered by new corporate giants.

New sales and marketing practices were other important factors that allowed for the expansion of American business in the 20th century. Without efficient modes of delivery and distribution, American corporations would have had relatively primitive means for marketing their wares. By the 20th century, the United States went from being a fragmented market, characterized by low volumes, restricted markets, and high prices, to a unified one, characterized by high volumes, a national market, and lower prices. This transformation altered not only the way that manufactures and commodities were marketed and distributed, but also had a profound impact on the life of the average American. New consumer goods made their way into urban and even rural homes. Montgomery Ward, Sears and Roebuck, and other distributors further advanced marketing in the United States by providing national mail order houses for rural customers. Products increasingly became less expensive and more readily available. As products became more readily available, ADVERTISING developed to market them to the growing consumer base. By the middle of the 1920s, the typical American had attained a standard of living that would have been incomprehensible just a half-century before.

Average Americans commercially benefited from the emergence of big business, but they did not all benefit in the same way. The managerial class and new corporate elite received the greatest benefits; as a result, American corporate leaders gained unprecedented power and influence. The ways in which a number of corporations used their influence caused a great deal of alarm. No form of business caused more concern than America's first really large business enterprise—the railroads. A number of politicians and writers voiced their concerns about the negative influence of the railroad. Perhaps no one was more successful in defining the cruelty of the omnipresent railroad than Frank Norris. His novel *The Octopus* (1901) defined the struggle

between a ruthless, all-powerful, malevolent railroad and traditional American life. According to Norris's portrayal, the Octopus, which was a metaphor for the Southern Pacific Railroad, not only destroyed the economic well-being of the typical American community, it would also eventually destroy the moral fiber of the nation if left unchecked. Norris was only one of a generation of authors and journalists, known as MUCKRAKERS, who attacked the emerging political and economic power and control of corporations.

As progressive reformers, muckraking journalists and politicians helped to usher in a political movement to limit the power of the corporation. The public reception of UPTON SINCLAIR's *The Jungle* is an example of this development. While Sinclair's book was a thinly veiled call for a socialist society, it was not received as one. Americans responded to Sinclair's novel by calling for corporate regulation. It led to the passage of the PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT of 1906. Like the adoption of the Food and Drug Act, the Progressive movement called for new regulations to minimize the negative aspects of business without challenging its supremacy. The Sherman Antitrust Act and the CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT were other attempts that symbolized the Progressive mission. Under trust-busting efforts such as the Northern Securities case (1904), Progressive Presidents ROOSEVELT and TAFT sought to control "bad" trusts, while assisting the development of "good" trusts. In the end, the laws only united the already feeble labor movement of the era.

Regardless of how Americans perceived the rise of business, corporations and corporate power were expanding greatly by the turn of the 20th century. Businesses grew not only in size and in scope, but also became more diverse and powerful. Modern corporations changed the way in which people worked, shopped, and lived. The growth of the American economy allowed for increases in discretionary income and challenged the ways in which people had lived for generations. Business, more than any other force, revolutionized American society.

See also ECONOMY; MASS PRODUCTION; WELFARE CAPITALISM.

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—Steve Freund



### **Cable Act** (1922)

The Married Women's Independent Citizenship Act (also known as the Cable Act) granted female residents (either native-born or immigrant) who married men of a different nationality the right to U.S. citizenship either by retaining their premarital citizenship or, in the case of foreign-born women, of applying for naturalization separately. Such repatriation restored to women resident in the United States their rights as citizens; female citizens who married foreign nationals and lived abroad continued to be subject to expatriation, or loss of their American citizenship and its rights.

A natural extension of the concerns of the women's rights' movement, the Cable Act was the first step toward establishing equal nationality rights for women. Proponents of the measure included members of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, the League of Women Voters, and the NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY. They argued that the EXPATRIATION ACT of 1907, which, for the first time, expatriated women who married immigrant aliens, threatened women's independent citizenship. It denied native-born women the same rights as men to marry whom they chose; it reinforced men's rights to grant citizenship to their spouses and children, while denying American women the same rights; and it allowed for the deportation of women who married non-citizens and, during WORLD WAR I, even subjected them to the loss of property, if their husbands were enemy aliens. Challenging the idea of women's dependent nationality, women's advocates endorsed the legislation authored by Representative John Cable of Ohio that gave back to women the rights of equal citizenship, even as it denied other women the same consideration. As the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* proclaimed, the Cable Act had "freed a legion of women from an archaic law which took no cognizance of political and moral progress." At the same time, the Cable Act also retracted the right of automatic naturalization to immigrant women who

married American men. Racial bars instituted under other immigration legislation had double force in excluding foreign-born women from naturalized citizenship.

While women's organizations championed the law, the Cable Act was shaped as well by campaigns to restrict immigration, which culminated in such laws as the IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1917 (or Alien Exclusion Act) and the NATIONAL ORIGINS ACT of 1924. Anti-immigration sentiment expressed in the DILLINGHAM COMMISSION's reports (1911) and in an executive branch committee on naturalization (1906) sought to restrict access to the rights of citizenship. While foreign-born women who married American men previously were eligible for the benefits and rights of citizenship by the act of marriage, native-born women who gave up their rights to marry the citizen of another country were thought devoid of moral standing. In an era of strident patriotism and Americanization efforts, many thought that women who married foreign nationals should be penalized by losing their citizenship rights. These attitudes, however, were to change. Proponents of women's independent citizenship argued that women deserved the same citizenship rights and privileges as men. Fears of the new immigration also contributed to the change in law. The ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment giving women the right to vote transformed the pro-forma naturalization of foreign-born wives into political privilege. Agitation for married women's independent citizenship, which culminated in the Cable Act, took from immigrant wives these protections. Advocates of immigration restriction argued further that foreign-born women married to American citizens should no longer be eligible for special rights or considerations and had to meet the same requirements for immigration and naturalization as men, a process made more severe by the new immigration quotas.

See also IMMIGRATION; WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.



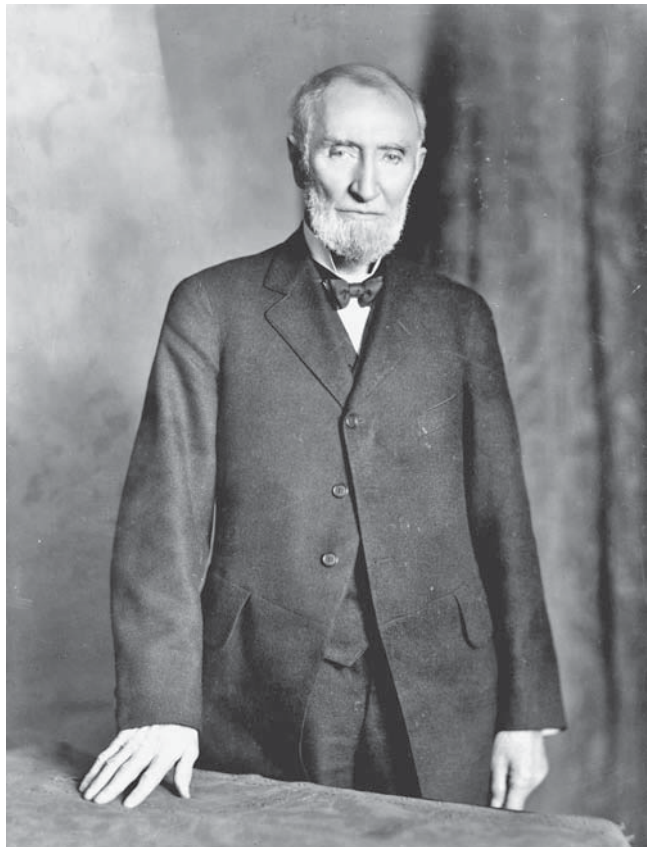
**Further reading:** Candice Lewis Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage and the Law of Citizenship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

**Cannon, Joseph Gurney** (1836–1926) *Speaker of the House*

At the turn of the century, Joseph “Uncle Joe” Cannon was one of the most powerful and influential politicians in the country. He served as the Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1903 until 1911 and exerted almost total control over the chamber. Born in 1836 in New Garden, North Carolina, Cannon attended the Cincinnati Law School and became a member of the Indiana bar in 1858 at the age of 22. A year later, Cannon moved to Illinois and became actively involved in politics. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1872.

A conservative Republican, Cannon established a reputation as a fiercely partisan politician. As one of the leaders of the “Old Guard” Republicans, he staunchly opposed attempts by Populists and Progressives to enact legislation aimed at limiting the power of corporations or expanding the oversight role of the federal government. Cannon became Speaker of the House in 1903 and utilized arcane congressional rules to control House committees with an iron fist. He steadfastly opposed progressive reformers in both the DEMOCRATIC and REPUBLICAN parties, including THEODORE ROOSEVELT and WOODROW WILSON, and frequently used his power over House committees to block new legislation. Exercising the Speaker’s control over the Rules Committee, Cannon controlled the House in this manner between 1903 and 1910.

Cannon’s authoritarian leadership led to an important split in the Republican Party that contributed to its loss of the presidency in 1912. Party progressives were frustrated by Cannon’s ability to delay or block reform legislation. Under Roosevelt’s leadership, important reforms such as the HEPBURN ACT (1906), the PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT (1906), and the MEAT INSPECTION ACT (1906) were enacted, but many other reforms were defeated. Shortly after his election in 1909, progressives in the party approached President WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT about weakening Cannon’s power. Taft rebuffed these overtures and began developing close ties with Cannon and the Old Guard. Frustrated by Taft’s refusal to oppose Cannon, a group of moderate and progressive Republicans led by New York reformer George W. Norris joined ranks with Democrats to limit the power of the Speaker. They shifted the power to appoint members to the Rules Committee from the Speaker of the House to the House as a whole. Cannon’s defeat was followed by another stinging rebuke when in 1912, after serving nearly 30 years in Congress, he failed to win reelection to his congressional seat. The split in the Republican vote in 1912



Joseph Cannon (*Library of Congress*)

brought Democrat Woodrow Wilson to the White House. Republican progressives eventually returned to the party, and Cannon was reelected in 1914. Cannon served another six terms until his retirement in 1923, but he never again wielded the same political clout.

**Further reading:** Blair Bolles, *Tyrant from Illinois: Uncle Joe Cannon’s Experiment with Personal Power* (New York: Norton, 1951); William Rea Gwinn, *Uncle Joe Cannon, Archfoe of Insurgency: A History of the Rise and Fall of Cannonism* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1957).

—Robert Gordon

**Capper-Volstead Act** (1922)

In response to worsening conditions in the rural economy, Congress passed the Capper-Volstead Act in 1922 to aid agricultural cooperatives. The agricultural depression that followed WORLD WAR I had a devastating impact on American farmers. As farm prices dropped, farm organizations once again sought relief from the economic crisis. For some farmers, nothing short of government price supports for farm commodities would do. Others wanted Congress

to maintain and even raise tariffs on agricultural goods. For the American Farm Bureau and its congressional allies, however, the surest way to protect American agriculture was to protect the growing number of farm cooperatives against the power of corporate agribusiness. Specifically, the Farm Bureau wanted to exempt farm cooperatives from the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. Agricultural corporations had used the Sherman Act as the legal basis for court challenges to agricultural cooperatives.

In Congress, the politicians who supported farm relief and liberal agricultural subsidies came to be known as the Farm Bloc. Organized by lobbyist Gray Silver of the American Farm Bureau, the Farm Bloc was made up of 25 senators and 100 representatives pledged to aid American farmers. It included such Republican progressives as Senators HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON of California, George Norris of Nebraska, and Arthur Capper of Kansas. Seeking to bolster the farm economy, the Farm Bloc developed legislation to address the problems in agriculture. There was no clear majority for government price supports to return agricultural commodities to parity, or, more specifically, the prices that matched the 1914 economy. Instead, the Bloc opted for more modest means of improving the farmers' lot. They were able to find common ground under the administration of WARREN G. HARDING and worked with the Department of Agriculture on a legislative agenda.

The first result of the Farm Bloc's efforts was the Capper-Volstead Act. According to Senator Arthur Capper, the bill was designed "to give to the farmer the same right to bargain collectively that is already enjoyed by corporations." A solid majority of Congress passed the bill, which exempted farm cooperatives from antitrust laws in order to cooperatively produce, market, handle, and price their products. Earlier, Congress granted general antitrust protection to farm cooperatives and labor unions in the CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT of 1914. Because the law remained vague, however, the Clayton Act was no more effective in protecting farm cooperatives from antitrust suits than it had been in protecting unions from labor injunctions. The Capper-Volstead Act specifically empowered farm cooperatives by clarifying the activities covered by the antitrust exemption and extending the protection from antitrust laws to a broad class of agricultural cooperatives. While it fell short in addressing the farm crisis, the Capper-Volstead Act signaled the sustained power of farmers' political interests and organizations at a time when the nation was becoming increasingly urban and industrial. It serves today as the major legal protection for agricultural cooperatives from antitrust prosecutions.

**Further reading:** Robert K. Murray, *The Harding Era: Warren G. Harding and His Administration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969); Theodore Salou-

tos and John Hicks, *Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West, 1900–1930* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951).

### Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was one of a group of conservative peace organizations that lobbied the government to abide by international law and build collective security as a way to keep peace and world order. Considered "political internationalists," conservative peace groups included bankers, lawyers, politicians, and academics as their members. The Carnegie Endowment was the largest of these peace organizations. The president of Columbia University, Nicholas Murray Butler, headed the organization, and James T. Shotwell, a Columbia University professor, served as director of the Endowment's Division of Economics and History. Because the Carnegie Endowment included many important leaders in government, business, and higher education, it had a significant influence on disarmament policies in the United States and Europe.

One example of the close links the endowment had to elites in government was when a former law partner of Secretary of State Kellogg left the endowment to serve as assistant secretary of state. In addition, the Carnegie Endowment funded other internationalist organizations such as the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association (LNNPA) and the Foreign Policy Association (FPA). In addition, conservative peace groups with close ties to elites such as the Carnegie Endowment, the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, and the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War (NCCCCW), worked for American participation in the World Court.

Overall, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace preferred the indirect lobbying of political leaders and other elites to the direct pressure tactics used by more radical peace groups. In 1927, to use one important example, Shotwell visited the French foreign minister Aristide Briand to lobby for the United States and France to formally outlaw war. In the end, Briand utilized many of Shotwell's suggestions when he sent a draft of a treaty to Washington on June 20, 1927. When Secretary of State Frank Kellogg hesitated in responding to the Briand proposal, peace groups pressured him to accept the French pact.

Liberal peace organizations such as the National Council for the Prevention of War (NCPW) and the WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (WILPF) agreed with more conservative groups about the need for a World Court and for the United States to join the League of Nations. They disagreed politically, however, about militarism and disarmament. Liberal peace groups

pushed more actively for disarmament and encouraged reductions in naval appropriations. Meanwhile, the conservative groups such as the Carnegie Endowment advocated U.S. participation in the World Court, but they were less strident about naval disarmament.

The debate over the proposals of Kellogg and Briand illustrated the influence that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace had on the foreign policies of the United States and the European countries. In the end, many liberal and conservative peace leaders cooperated to promote Briand's draft treaty in Washington. But when Secretary Kellogg proposed an alternative multilateral treaty in the place of Briand's bilateral treaty, the Carnegie Endowment eventually supported it, although reluctantly. The KELLOGG-BRIAND TREATY, which formally outlawed war, was signed by 62 nations in 1928.

**Further reading:** Richard W. Fanning, *Peace and Disarmament: Naval Rivalry and Arms Control, 1922–1933* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995).

—Glen Bessemer

**Catt, Carrie Lane Chapman** (1859–1947) *suffragist, feminist, peace activist*

Carrie Lane Chapman Catt, a noted woman suffragist, was born in Wisconsin in 1859. After working her way through school and teaching school, she became superintendent of schools in Mason City, Iowa. After the death of her first husband, Leo Chapman, she joined the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association, eventually becoming the organization's state organizer. In 1890, Carrie Chapman married George Catt, who encouraged her to pursue her suffrage activism.

In 1900, Catt assumed the leadership of the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION (NAWSA). Under her first tenure, which lasted until 1904, she strengthened the national structure, the treasury, and the administration of the organization. In 1904, with her husband dying, she resigned to care for him. After his death, Catt worked on the suffrage campaign in New York State. Catt's suffrage activism was not only a reflection of her ideological commitment to the cause, but also the result of her relationships with progressive men, one of whom, George, willed her enough money to live on while she continued to work on the suffrage issue.

In 1915, NAWSA was in organizational shambles under Anna Howard Shaw's direction. Armed with money that a woman had willed to the cause, Catt returned to lead NAWSA with her own staff. She demanded that the organization become more centralized and hierarchical under her command. Charismatic and well-organized, Catt gained the loyalty of suffrage activists from around the country. As head of NAWSA, Catt proposed her "Winning Plan," which

proposed to gain passage of a federal WOMAN SUFFRAGE amendment within six years in conjunction with state campaigns. The plan called for state suffrage associations to lobby their federal representatives to pass and their state legislators to ratify the amendment. It also used the national office to pressure the Democratic and Republican parties to include a suffrage statement in their platforms and keep the suffrage issue alive through publicity campaigns. Even though publicity was the cornerstone of NAWSA's methods, anti-suffragists regularly derided the activists. NAWSA represented the more moderate wing of the suffrage movement, a fact that contributed to its success. In stark contrast to the more radical NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY, NAWSA appeared genteel and more acceptable to the men in power, a key constituency that NAWSA was trying to reach.

The breakthrough for Catt and NAWSA came in New York in 1917, when women won the right to vote at the state level. The victory in the East reenergized the struggle at the national level. The House passed the federal suffrage amendment in 1918, but the Senate voted it down, causing Catt to mobilize again. The Senate finally passed the woman suffrage amendment in 1919. In August 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment giving women the right to vote was ratified by 36 states.

Although suffrage certainly preoccupied Catt, she participated in other reform efforts during the suffrage fight. She was active in the Woman's Peace Party, which attempted to pressure the belligerent countries to come to the negotiating table during WORLD WAR I. Somewhat ironically, Catt also served on the Women's Committee of National Defense, a government agency that coordinated women's voluntary work.

After the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, Catt founded the League of Women Voters and served as its honorary president through the rest of her life. She remained active in peace activism as well. Catt died in 1947 in New Rochelle, New York. Undeniably, Catt's political skills and tenacity, along with the efforts of the foot soldiers of NAWSA and other groups, contributed to the success of the suffrage campaigns at the federal and state levels.

**Further reading:** Robert Booth Fowler, *Carrie Catt: Feminist Politician* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986).

—Natalie Atkin

**Chicago race riot** See RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

**child labor**

Throughout U.S. history children have worked. In pre-industrial America, children worked on family farms, as



craft apprentices, and in a variety of other jobs. As large-scale manufacturing increasingly came to characterize the economy, several economic, social, and cultural changes led to the abolition and mitigation of some types of child labor. Child labor was not, however, completely abolished.

According to published statistics 18 percent of children aged 10 to 15 were employed in 1900. These figures undoubtedly understate the number of children working. Children played an important role in America's economy. They could be found working in almost any area of the economy. In the textile industry, for example, 25 percent of the workers were below the age of 15 and the ratio of children to adult workers was the highest of any industry in the United States. In the textile mills, children worked as spinners, constantly walking up and down between the spinning machines, brushing lint from the frames, watching the bobbins for breaks, and making repairs to the threads. The hot humid air that kept the thread from breaking necessitated keeping the windows closed. The atmosphere

became filled with lint that the children breathed all day long. Children worked 10 to 12 hour days in such conditions and for low wages.

Children also worked long hours in America's coal mines. Children officially went to work in bituminous coal mines at the age of 12, began work as coal-breakers at age 14, and went underground at 16. These were the legally established ages, but a great many children went to work at earlier ages because enforcement of the laws was lax. Coal-breakers sorted through the coal after it was mined, leaning over the loads of coal, breathing in coal dust all day long. Underground, the children were subject to all the dangers that made coal mining one of the most dangerous occupations. In fact, children suffered accidents at a rate three times that of adults.

Many other child laborers faced similar dangers working in the seafood canning industry, vegetable and fruit canning, the glass industry, and as newsboys, peddlers, and bootblacks. In the seafood canning industry, children



Young boys selling newspapers (*Library of Congress*)



as young as five years old helped shuck oysters and peel shrimp. They suffered cuts from the oyster shells and knives. In vegetable and fruit canning, children sometimes worked 80 or 90 hours per week, because the product was perishable and needed to be canned quickly. In addition, the canning industry was not regulated in any state until 1920, because it was classified as agricultural. In the glass industry, child workers were forced to stand or crouch all day, often next to a furnace heated to 2,500 degrees. Cuts and burns were common, in addition to the dangers posed by the atmosphere filled with fumes and dust. Newsboys have taken on a mythical status in American culture as little businessmen. In reality, they worked long hours in a job that exposed them to the dangers of city streets and could be financially ruinous. The newsboys bought all the papers, so the cost of any that remained unsold at the end of the day came out of their pockets.

A number of factors combined in the early 20th century to abolish or regulate child labor. Some of these factors emerged from the reform movements of the Progressive Era while others were due to changes in the economy and technology. During this time, a new conception of childhood developed. Many reformers feared that the tremendous increases in industrialization, immigration, and urbanization threatened the future of America. Concurrently, they believed that America's children were the future of the nation and needed to be saved from the evils of industrialization.

The reformers pushed through a variety of state laws making education compulsory up to a certain age and restricting the work of children less than 16 years of age in some industries. The coverage of these laws was inconsistent. In 1912, for example, only nine states had laws prohibiting the employment of children under the age of 14 in factories, under 16 in mines, and required the eight-hour workday for children aged 14 to 16. Twenty-two states still permitted children less than 14 years old to work in factories. Thirty allowed boys under 16 years to work in mines, and 31 states permitted children under 16 years of age to work more than eight hours a day. Moreover, many laws were not enforced. In 1912, for example, 23 of the states that had age restrictions for employment required no documented proof of age.

The weakness and inconsistency of the state laws was principally due to opposition on the part of employers and working families. Many working-class families needed the paychecks of their children to survive. They would lie about their children's ages in order to get them into work. Most of the opposition came, however, from employers who claimed that child labor was good and necessary. These opponents, who were most active in states with industries dependent on child labor, resorted to a variety of arguments in opposing the laws. Working children were a blessing for work-

ing families in reducing poverty. By working at an early age, opponents of child labor laws argued, children gained valuable skills that they would use later in their work lives. Schooling was a waste for working-class children, because they could learn all they would ever need to know on the job. Child labor laws restricted the child's inherent right to work. Opponents of the child labor laws also argued that child labor was a necessity. Workers over the age of 16 were slow, clumsy, or just too big to accomplish some tasks. It took the nimble fingers of a child to accomplish some tasks. Many industrialists claimed that the very existence of many industries depended on child labor. If child labor were outlawed, manufacturers argued, they would not be able to remain competitive in the world economy and might be forced to move to another state that did not have stringent child labor laws.

The poor enforcement of state child labor laws led reformers to seek a federal child labor law. The first federal child labor bill was introduced in 1906. It sought to impose penalties for transporting across state lines goods produced by children less than 14 years of age. The bill was defeated in the House of Representatives. Opposition to the bill came from two sources. First, lawmakers repeated the arguments listed above. Second, there were congressmen who argued that it was an unlawful extension of the federal government's powers.

Child labor opponents did not rest, and by the mid-1910s, public opinion in most of the country was behind a federal child labor law. In 1915, a bill was introduced in the Congress that would, if passed, outlaw the transport of goods produced by child labor. The bill easily passed the House but never made it to a vote in the Senate, due to the opposition of southern senators whose states relied on child labor. In 1916, opponents of child labor tried again by introducing the KEATING-OWEN ACT, which easily passed both houses of Congress and became law on September 1, 1917. The law banned the employment of children under 14 in factories, workshops, and canneries, and children under 16 in mines and quarries. It also prohibited children under 16 from working more than eight hours a day and between the hours of 7 P.M. and 7 A.M. Numerically, the law barely affected child labor. It freed 150,000 children from work in mines and factories, but 1,850,000 still toiled at home, in fields, and on the streets. Proponents of the new law hoped, however, that it would serve as an example for states to pass their own child labor laws.

The role as a model for local efforts is about all the Keating-Owen Act was ever to accomplish because the Supreme Court ruled it unconstitutional in 1918 in *Hammer v. Dagenhart*. The case was concocted by the executive committee of the Southern Cotton Manufacturers. A circuit court judge ruled the Keating-Owen Act unconstitutional and granted a permanent injunction against enforcing the

law. The Supreme Court ruled, on appeal, that the act was an unwarranted exercise of the federal government's powers and an invasion of states' rights.

Child labor law advocates were again successful in passing federal child labor law legislation in 1918, but the Supreme Court ruled the law unconstitutional in 1922. The final effort at banning child labor came in the 1922 campaign to pass a constitutional amendment outlawing child labor. The amendment passed both the House and the Senate, but it failed to win the required two-thirds majority of the states. It was to be the last effort to federally legislate child labor prior to the 1930s.

Despite the failure of federal child labor laws, the number of children working did decrease during the 1910s and 1920s. Some industries that relied on child workers made technological innovations that replaced child workers with machines. Many states passed or strengthened their child labor laws. In 1904, for example, 17 states set some sort of limit on work by children under 14, and by 1929 all states set some limits and 29 outlawed entirely. In 1904 two states had outlawed children under 16 working more than eight hours a day. By 1929, 36 states had such laws. Thus, the battle against child labor had succeeded to an extent, but it was not until the economic collapse of the Great Depression and the post-World War II affluence that economic considerations minimized the role that child labor plays in the United States economy.

**Further reading:** Walter Trattner, *Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970).

—Michael Hartman

## Children's Bureau

Created by a 1912 act of Congress, the United States Children's Bureau was charged "to investigate and report . . . upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people." The Children's Bureau emerged from concerns of the early 20th century over the health and welfare of America's children. Social reformers feared that future generations were endangered because many children were forced to work at an early age, lived in unsanitary conditions, did not receive an education, and were malnourished. Led by LILLIAN WALD, founder of Henry Street Settlement House in New York City, and FLORENCE KELLEY, head of the National Consumer League, a group of reformers developed the idea of a federal agency that would promote the health and welfare of children. Lillian Wald recounted how, after reading about a government official investigating the damage done by the boll weevil, she wondered why the U.S. government

could not have a "bureau to look after the Nation's crop of children?" She and other reformers believed that a federal agency was necessary, because the welfare of children was a nationwide concern and a federal agency could collect data on child welfare throughout the country.

Wald, Kelley, and other reformers undertook a nationwide campaign to mobilize public opinion for the Children's Bureau. In 1909 their cause was boosted significantly when President THEODORE ROOSEVELT came out in support of the idea. Between 1906 and 1912, however, 11 bills failed to make it through Congress, largely due to reservations about expanding the powers of federal government. The challenge of the PROGRESSIVE PARTY at the polls in 1912 compelled lawmakers to pass some progressive measures. The campaign finally succeeded with the passage of the act creating the Children's Bureau in 1912. President WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT signed the bill into law on April 9, 1912. Congress granted the first appropriation of \$25,640 later that year. The Children's Bureau was originally in the Department of Commerce and Labor. It was transferred to the newly created Department of Labor in 1913. Julia Lathrop became the first woman to head a federal bureau when she was confirmed by the Senate as chief of the Children's Bureau.

Initially the bureau did not have any administrative power. Its purpose was to research issues that affected children. Among the issues initially suggested for investigation were infant mortality, the birth rate, juvenile delinquency, orphanages, child labor, diseases of children, and sanitation. The Children's Bureau's first big project was to attack the infant mortality problem. It did this by studying the problem and publishing advice pamphlets. The bureau distributed 30,000 copies in six months of its first pamphlet, *Prenatal Care*. Between 1914 and 1921, it distributed nearly a million and a half copies of its second pamphlet on prenatal and infant care. In addition to its efforts with the public, the Children's Bureau also lobbied lawmakers on behalf of issues pertaining to children.

The Children's Bureau assumed new responsibilities in 1921 with the passage of the Maternity and Infancy Act. Popularly known as the SHEPPARD-TOWNER ACT, this act authorized the federal government to allocate \$1,200,000 each year to the states to promote health service for children, infants, and pregnant women. The Children's Bureau was made the administrator of these funds. This position established the bureau as the liaison between the states and the federal government, which increased its power over child welfare policy nationwide. Although state organizations were not under any legal control of the Children's Bureau, they acted as its subsidiaries because of its preeminence in the field of child welfare policy. The Children's Bureau's position allowed it to shape the chartering of child welfare programs in the states, including MOTHERS'

PENSIONS. The leaders of the Children's Bureau favored public child welfare agencies over private. Women such as Julia Lathrop believed that social reform needed to be professionalized, and she used her position as head of the Children's Bureau to support state agencies that employed professional methods of SOCIAL WORK. Her power came from her control of the Sheppard-Towner funds.

The Children's Bureau's role diminished in the late 1920s due to fighting between it and the Public Health Service, another federal agency concerned with health and welfare issues. Congress allowed the Maternity and Infancy Act to lapse in 1929 and transferred the health and medical functions of the Children's Bureau to the Public Health Service. The Children's Bureau remained a strong advocate for children after 1930, but it never again enjoyed the power that it had in the 1920s.

See also EDUCATION; YOUTH.

**Further reading:** Kristie Lindenmeyer, *"A Right to Childhood": The United States Children's Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912–1946* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

—Michael Hartman

## cities and urban life

During the early decades of the 20th century, cities came to dominate the economic, social, and cultural landscape of the United States. For the first time, in 1920, more Americans lived in urban places than rural. By 1930, 56.3 percent of Americans lived in urban places. These numbers do not, however, tell the complete story of the city's place in America. The industrial expansion of the U.S. economy took place in its cities. The cities became the site for America's cultural development and the symbol of America's progress as a great power. To migrants from rural America and abroad, the city was a beacon that offered opportunities unavailable in the communities from which they migrated. These and a variety of other factors led the explosion of cities into the mainstream of American thought and life.

The first indication of the rising importance of cities during this period was the increase in urban population. In 1900, 39.7 percent of Americans lived in urban places. By 1930, 56.3 percent of Americans called a city home. From 1900 to 1930, the U.S. population increased 61.6 percent while the urban population increased 128.8 percent. In 1900 there were 38 cities with populations over 100,000. By 1930 there were more than 75.

This explosion in population came from several sources. First, the United States experienced a rise in the birth rate and a decline in the death rate. Thus, some of the population growth in cities was due to natural increase in the population. Most of the population growth came, however, from migrating individuals. Rural birth rates were increas-

ing at a time when the demand for farm labor was falling. Mechanization decreased the need for farm workers, and economically tough times for farmers led to a decrease in the number of farms. Many young rural Americans chose therefore to migrate to the cities. New city residents also came from the migration of African Americans from the South, especially during the GREAT MIGRATION. An unprecedented number of foreign immigrants also sought their fortunes in American cities. Between 1900 and 1920, an estimated 8,778,000 immigrants came to America to stay. The vast majority of them remained in America's cities.

The people flocked to the cities primarily because of the job opportunities. The American economy underwent incredible change at the end of the 19th century as a wave of consolidation altered American industry. Driving this consolidation was the rise of the business corporation. Corporations brought a managerial and organizational revolution to American industry that allowed a tremendous increase in the size of manufacturing plants. Huge factories employing thousands of workers became common in cities all over America. The General Electric plant in Schenectady, New York, employed 15,000 workers in 1910. The Pullman Car Company, International Harvester, Goodyear Tire and Rubber, and U.S. Steel all employed over 15,000 workers at their main plants by the middle of the 1910s. The Ford Motor Company also employed 15,000 workers by the mid-teens, and by 1924 it employed 68,000 workers at its new River Rouge plant in Dearborn.

The exploding population required cities to expand. In an unprecedented building boom, houses, apartment buildings, factories, stores, and office buildings all sprang up. Skyscrapers reached ever-greater heights and came to define the city. Cities also expanded outward by annexing neighboring towns.

As cities expanded, several factors combined to reshape their spatial arrangements. Some of these factors encouraged movement to the outer fringes of a city, while others concentrated activity in the city center. Technological and social factors helped spur the move by some residents out of the city center. Before transportation improvements made expansion possible, city residents lived in mixed neighborhoods that included residents of all classes. Most neighborhoods formed around a common ethnicity. As the size of the factories located in the center city grew, and the number of new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe increased, many wealthy and middle-class residents wanted to escape from the center city. The move of individuals to the outer fringes of the city was made possible by the development of transportation technologies, namely the electric streetcar and the automobile. The spatial arrangement of people and businesses had always been determined by the time it took a person to get to work. During the period before the creation of URBAN TRANSPORTATION systems,



American cities were packed around the core, because residents had to walk to all activities. By the mid-19th century, horse-drawn streetcars appeared, making it possible for residents to live outside the city center. In the late 19th century, the invention of electric streetcars revolutionized urban transportation. The new streetcars were capable of traveling at much greater speeds, which made it possible for city residents to live farther away from their jobs than in the past. Electric streetcars caught on quickly, and by 1902, 97 percent of urban transit mileage had been electrified.

City growth contributed to the social differentiation and separation among city residents. The streetcars made it possible for the wealthy and middle class to move out of the city center while the working class stayed. This rearrangement of people altered the social landscape of cities as residents sorted themselves out based on economic class and race, instead of ethnicity. The wealthy and middle class followed the streetcar lines and settled in the outer sections or in suburbs. The working-class residents were left behind where they lived in the older housing stock that had been abandoned by the wealthy.

Social differentiation also took the form of segregating African Americans into urban ghettos. Before World War I, African Americans lived in small enclaves in America's cities. As African Americans migrated to the cities in large numbers during the Great Migration, they pressed against the established racial boundaries, which often led to a violent backlash from white city residents. Opposition forced the now larger African-American population to live in the same area as the smaller group had previously. The African-American sections of cities became the most densely crowded sections, as residents were forced to divide and redivide apartments and older homes to make living spaces. These ghettos were some of the most expensive places to live, because landlords knew that the African Americans had no other place to go due to segregation.

At the same time that many city residents were moving out of the city center, a building boom was taking place in the city center as American industry sought to centralize financial, industrial, commercial, government, and entertainment functions. The skyscraper became the visible symbol of this centralization. Made possible by new technologies, the skyscraper offered building developers a way to counter the high cost of land in central business districts and helped businesses operate more efficiently by placing all the necessary inputs closely together.

This physical expansion, both up and out, required improvements in public services. New roads had to be built and old roads paved, streetcar lines extended, electric and telephone lines strung, and sanitation facilities built. Because these were seen as essential for cities' health, they were done either by the cities or by private companies regulated by the city. City services were not, however, always



New York City street crowded with pedestrians (Hulton/Archive)

equally distributed. Politically well-connected developers could, for example, convince city governments to extend water service to a neighborhood they were developing, aiding in the development of such a neighborhood.

The physical expansion of cities altered human relationships within them. In the older, more compact cities, residents interacted on a face-to-face level. The modern city became characterized by more impersonal relationships, due to the sheer size of the cities and the number of people with whom an individual interacted daily. This impersonal nature led many Americans to see the cities as dangerous places. Authors such as Theodore Dreiser wrote best-selling novels in which young female migrants came to the city and fell victim to its dangers. In these stories, unsavory men who sought to exploit innocent young females for immoral purposes lured their victims into a life of sin. To counter the perceived evil nature of the city, concerned social reform organizations such as the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YMCA) AND YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YWCA), founded programs and institutions to help young city residents find their way.



At the same time that many Americans viewed the city as dangerous, the city also took center place in American culture. Young migrants were attracted to the options for POPULAR CULTURE and RECREATION in the city. The electrification of the city streets opened new public spaces by making it safe to venture out at night. A vibrant nightlife emerged from which residents could choose an ever-increasing variety of activities ranging from attending motion pictures to going to an amusement park. The cities also drove cultural change. The mass population in the cities provided a market for entertainment, making it profitable for producers. Jazz musicians, for example, relied on the African-American populations in northern cities to buy their recordings and attend their shows.

The power that cities exerted over all parts of American society made America an urban country both in its demographics and its culture. Whether one celebrated them or feared them, the city became the center of American economic, cultural, and social life during the urban explosion of the early 20th century.

See also ARCHITECTURE; SUBURBS; URBAN REFORM.

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—Michael Hartman

## citizenship

*Citizenship* has a range of meanings in American political culture. It can signify an individual's legal and political standing or his or her national origin or allegiance; refer to practices regarding civic duty and political participation; specify eligibility for the benefits or responsibilities of citizens; or denote a sense of belonging and formal membership in a community. In its early history, citizenship in the United States was largely determined by state, not national, laws. State legislatures wrote the laws delineating the economic and social rights of citizens and established the rules for voting and political participation. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments changed that by asserting national rights in their provisions for equal protection, due process, and African-American suffrage. Still, the practice of citizenship was governed less by rules than by informal customs and practices until the 20th century.

For most of the nation's history, native-born white men had broad legal rights of property and contract and almost

universal access to the ballot. Women and minority and immigrant men, in contrast, had fewer political and economic rights and almost no political standing. While the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship expanded in the first three decades of the 20th century to include not only legal and political rights but access to social entitlements, women and minority men gained access to these rights only as a result of persistent political agitation and protest. For immigrant men and women, however, the history of citizenship over the same 30 years was especially volatile. IMMIGRATION had been largely unrestricted, with the exception of the Chinese Exclusion Act, passed in 1882. With the establishment of the Immigration Restriction League in 1894, however, campaigns to reduce immigration and narrow the grounds for citizenship met with growing success. New immigration laws, such as the ANARCHIST IMMIGRATION ACT (1903), and the IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1917 changed the rules about who was allowed to enter the United States. Asian immigration was formally barred; alien radicals were subject to deportation, and the Immigration Act of 1917 created a literacy test for those wishing to relocate in the United States. Efforts to redirect and reduce immigration culminated in the passage of the 1921 QUOTA ACT and the 1924 NATIONAL ORIGINS ACT, which severely restricted the number of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and reinforced older bans on Asian immigration. Along with the tightening of regulations for immigration, there were changes in naturalization laws and more rigorous scrutiny when resident aliens applied for citizenship.

Political citizenship in terms of the right to vote was fairly informal and open to white men of most communities prior to 1900. The rules regarding who was allowed to vote were more notable in their broad exclusions (of women, for example) than for how voters should register or record their ballots. Voting began to change in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when, in the South, legislatures passed voting laws that newly excluded African Americans and poor white men, by means of poll taxes, literacy tests, and infamous "grandfather clauses," which prohibited anyone who had not voted in the 1860 election and their linear descendants from voting. Such restrictions were not unique to the South, although it had, by far, the most racially restrictive public laws. Legal segregation in public transportation and services underwrote the second-class citizenship of African Americans in the region, and laws that severely restricted voting only confirmed their status. By the 1890s, many northern state legislatures also revised rules and procedures for voting, introducing the Australian, or secret, ballot on the one hand but also new restrictions of voter eligibility on the other. Partially as a result of these new laws, voter participation among men dropped precipitously in the early 20th century. At the same time, these

were the decades during which the long battle for WOMAN SUFFRAGE finally achieved its objective.

Political participation through voting and political office was and is only one aspect of citizenship. Being a citizen, especially a male citizen, meant not only rights but obligations to pay taxes and perform jury duty and service in the militia. By the 20th century, state militias were chiefly voluntary; but the coming of WORLD WAR I brought military conscription for men. In response to President WOODROW WILSON's declaration of war, CONGRESS passed the SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT of 1917. Military service became a means for the AMERICANIZATION of young immigrant and ethnic men; it also stirred demands for greater equality among African Americans in the aftermath of the war. VETERANS of the war demanded more from their governments on returning home than they had before their service, and veterans' organizations such as the AMERICAN LEGION played an increasing role in government foreign policy as well.

The charged political atmosphere during the war focused on the continued presence and influence of "hyphenated Americans" and radical aliens in the country. Pressure to conform to American standards, to bar or confine the teaching and use of languages other than American English, and to either reorganize or disband ethnic organizations in the name of national unity led to new efforts to assimilate those immigrants already in the United States. Americanization campaigns and local Americanization committees sought to influence and transform school curricula, pressure resident aliens to take citizenship papers or to leave the country, and influence employers to provide programs to educate immigrant workers. The RED SCARE that followed the war sought to control public opinion, suppress radical organization, and promote conservative patriotism as the true expression of citizenship.

The years from 1900 to 1930 slowly expanded the definition of citizenship by creating new rights and entitlements. Social citizenship in the United States, however, lagged behind European nations in how the nation provided for the unemployed, sick, and injured. New government programs, most organized at the state level, such as MOTHERS' PENSIONS and WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, addressed a specific population and severely restricted eligibility. The only national program in place during the Progressive Era was the system of Civil War pensions. World War I veterans, in contrast, only became eligible for a future SOLDIERS' BONUS with the passage of the Soldiers' Adjusted Compensation Act in 1924.

Along with the reform of election and immigration laws, the long-awaited granting of woman suffrage and the reform of laws concerning married women's citizenship in the CABLE ACT rationalized the eligibility for and content of American citizenship. While the new laws excluded

specific groups from entry into the country and/or eligibility for national citizenship, immigration law now clarified the barriers to entry and participation. Moreover, the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the right to vote removed the single most important exclusion from equal citizenship in a democracy. State laws and local ordinances continued to regulate and restrict political and economic participation by minority groups, but the overall impact of the Progressive Era legislation was to formalize the laws governing citizenship and to expand its meaning in economic and political life.

See also CIVIL LIBERTIES; ELECTIONS; POLITICS; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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## civil liberties

The preamble to the Constitution commits the United States to a government that secures "the blessings of liberty" to all future generations. That promise guarantees to protect the rights of individuals and the minority against the majority will and the actions of government. In short, civil liberties are those personal rights protected against the common will.

The SUPREME COURT entered the 20th century believing that courts were actively protecting Americans' liberty by preventing government from infringing upon or violating individual contract and property rights. In the wake of the *Slaughterhouse Cases*, state and federal courts overturned legislation that regulated industry, taxed income, or provided for the common welfare. These laws restrained government intervention in the economy but also restricted the rights of political dissenters. At the same time, many Americans espoused energetic government that would intervene in and legislate for the general welfare. In response to these sometimes contradictory impulses, the courts began to direct their focus to liberty concerns flowing from the First Amendment's speech, press, religion, and assembly guarantees. Essentially the courts, and in particular the Supreme Court, sought to balance what Zachariah Chaffee in 1920 characterized as "a conflict between two vital principles . . . between order and freedom."

Beginning with WORLD WAR I, the Wilson administration and CONGRESS perceived the need for uniform support of the nation's war efforts. Accordingly, Congress passed a series of laws to put the nation on a war footing,

among them the ESPIONAGE ACT of 1917. That act made it unlawful to “utter, print, write or publish any disloyal” language about the government or its war efforts. Charles Schenck was convicted of violating that law by advocating resistance to the military draft. Justice OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, writing for a unanimous Supreme Court in *SCHENCK v. U.S.*, affirmed Schenck’s conviction, finding that the First Amendment did not protect speech that presented a “clear and present danger,” one of the “evils that Congress has a right to prevent.” Later that year, the Court in *Abrams v. U.S.* affirmed the conviction of Jacob Abrams for advocating strikes against munitions factories. In that case, Holmes dissented from the Court’s holding, arguing that the government must establish a “present danger of immediate evil” for speech to be unlawful. While the Court disagreed, Holmes’s powerful dissent carried significant future weight.

Immediately following the war and in response to radical movements and the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, President Wilson’s attorney general, A. MITCHELL PALMER, created an antiradicalism division of the Department of Justice and named J. Edgar Hoover to run it. Between 1919 and 1920, that division arrested more than 6,000 people as radicals in what became known as the RED SCARE. States also passed various laws designed to protect against radical elements. In response to those efforts, ROGER BALDWIN formed the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION (ACLU) in 1920 from an earlier organization that had protected war dissenters. Among its missions, the ACLU provided litigation support in defense of individual liberties and labor rights, including the defense of John Scopes for teaching evolution in Tennessee.

Historically, the Bill of Rights only applied to federal government and not to state actions. By the 1920s, however, state efforts to control radicals raised the issue whether the First Amendment should restrict state authority over speech. In response, the Supreme Court in *Gitlow v. New York* (1925) declared that speech and press freedoms “are among the fundamental personal rights and liberties” protected by the Constitution against encroachment by the states. While the Court sustained Benjamin Gitlow’s conviction for advocating proletarian revolution, speech freedoms now protected individuals against state and federal abuse. As in *Abrams*, Justice Holmes, this time joined by Justice LOUIS BRANDEIS, argued that the conviction be overturned. In powerful language, Holmes defended the need for speech, offering that, “every idea is an excitement” that must be heard in a democratic society, unless that speech resulted in a substantial and immediate danger. The majority felt otherwise, and Holmes’s dissent would not find general acceptance until after 1930.

In an article in 1890 and later in a dissent in 1928 in *Olmstead v. U.S.*, Brandeis sowed the seeds of privacy-

based civil liberties that were only later accepted. In his article, *The Right to Privacy*, Brandeis joined with fellow author Samuel Warren to propose that the Constitution guaranteed “the right to be let alone.” While on the Court, Brandeis proclaimed that “the makers of our Constitution . . . conferred, as against the government, the right to be let alone—the most comprehensive of the rights and the right most valued by civilized man.” This concept laid the foundation for the constitutional right of privacy that underlies much of modern jurisprudence and thought.

The Supreme Court between 1900 and 1930 most often struck a balance in favor of government restrictions on individual rights. However, through powerful dissenting arguments, Supreme Court justices planted the ideas of civil liberty that future Courts would embrace. Those ideas form the basis of our modern views of free expression, privacy, and liberty.

See also *BUCK v. BELL*; DARROW, CLARENCE; FREE SPEECH FIGHTS; SCOPES TRIAL.

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—Robert Olender

## Clark Memorandum

In 1928 Under-Secretary of State J. Reuben Clark issued a report that repudiated the ROOSEVELT COROLLARY, a policy that had extended the reach of the Monroe Doctrine by stating that the United States not only would protect the Western Hemisphere from interference by the major powers of Europe but also promised to intervene in the domestic affairs of Latin American countries if they failed to protect American interests. The Clark Memorandum rejected this position, stating that the Monroe Doctrine could not be used to justify American intervention in the region. The doctrine had referred only to European interference, not to the right of the United States to intervene in Latin American nations.

Between 1929 and 1933, President Herbert Hoover followed policies outlined in the Clark Memorandum. He made a 10-week goodwill tour in Latin America before he was inaugurated into office. His administration moved to withdraw troops from Haiti. The president announced that the United States would recognize any new government that came to power in the region, regardless of whether or not the United States favored it. In addition, he refused to allow American intervention when several Latin American nations defaulted on their debts during the world economic crisis in 1931.

Even though the Clark Memorandum rejected the Monroe Doctrine as the rationale for intervention, it did not preclude entirely the U.S. right to interfere in Latin America. In practice the memorandum meant that the United States simply found other explanations for intervention in the region.

The Clark Memorandum set a precedent for the Good Neighbor Policy of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In 1933, Roosevelt declared the policy of good neighbors, which was intended to express mutual respect for the rights of all countries in the Western Hemisphere. The Good Neighbor Policy represented a shift in the means the United States used to ensure its power in the region. Rather than use military intervention, American administrations utilized economic or diplomatic leverage to sustain a foothold in Latin America.

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—Glen Bessemer

### Clayton Antitrust Act (1914)

The Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914 was an effort to clarify the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 and protect labor unions from antitrust rulings. The need to change the Sherman Act grew more apparent between 1896 and 1914 as labor unions faced a barrage of antitrust actions. When workers from many different industries joined labor unions in increasing numbers after 1900, the chief beneficiary proved to be the conservative AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL). Led by Samuel Gompers, the AFL focused its efforts on organizing skilled, white male workers. While some business leaders, such as those in the NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION, viewed the AFL as a safe alternative to more radical unions like the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW), the majority of corporations resisted all organizing efforts. The courts proved to be their first line of defense.

Between the 1890s and 1914, corporations, judges, and politicians opposed to unionization used the Sherman Antitrust Act to break strikes either through intimidation or injunctions against strikes and boycotts. The Sherman Act originally was enacted to prevent monopolies, ensure competition, and check the growing power of corporations. In actual practice, however, antitrust legislation was used primarily to prevent the spread of organized labor, with conservative, antiunion judges ruling that unions and strikes interfered with interstate commerce and free trade.

The AFL concluded that federal antitrust legislation constituted the greatest impediment to further organizing. When the labor federation changed its position on political nonpartisanship and helped secure the election of Demo-

cratic presidential candidate WOODROW WILSON in 1912, AFL president Samuel Gompers used his influence to pressure the new president and the DEMOCRATIC PARTY to overhaul federal antitrust legislation. When finally enacted, the Clayton Antitrust Act established that workers had the right to organize and that strikes were not illegal. It further restricted federal injunctions against unions and legal strikes.

Gompers insisted that the Clayton Act was “the greatest measure of humanitarian legislation in the world’s history” and would be remembered as labor’s “Magna Carta.” However, President Wilson was reluctant to enact “class legislation” and allowed powerful congressmen to insert loopholes in the law. The changes ensured that employers would continue to benefit from judicial intervention in labor disputes. Over the long term, the Clayton Act proved largely ineffective, prompting critics from both the left and the right to question Gompers’s tactics. Corporations opposed to organized labor were still able to rely upon judicial relief, as anti-union judges largely ignored the legislation and continued to issue restrictive injunctions.

**Further reading:** Melvin Dubofsky, *The State and Labor in Modern America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

—Robert Gordon

### Committee for Public Information (Creel Committee)

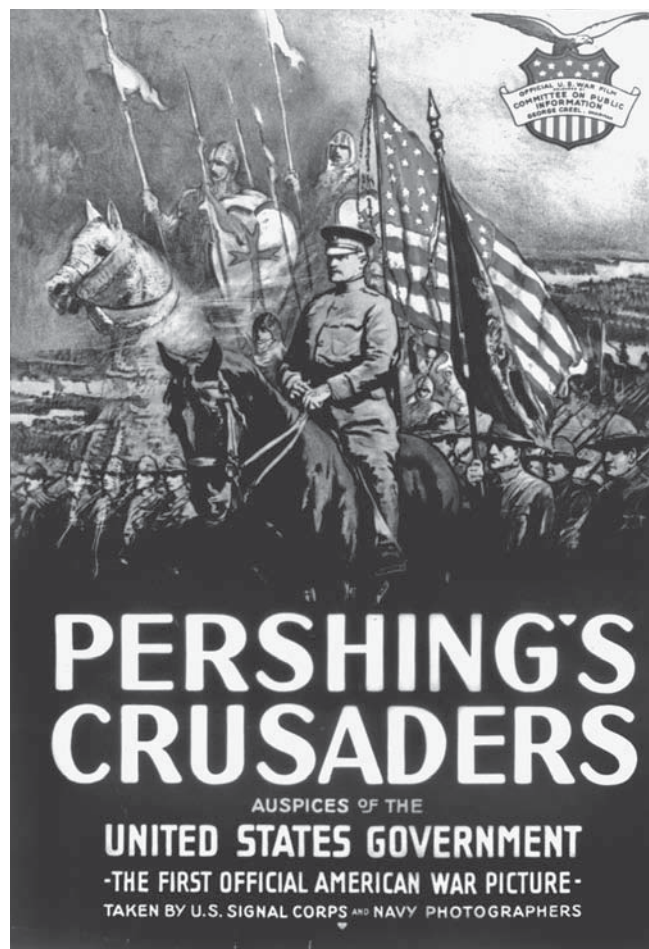
President WOODROW WILSON formed the Creel Committee on April 14, 1917, to mobilize public support for American entry into WORLD WAR I. Prior to the war, there was widespread support for the nation to maintain its NEUTRALITY in international conflicts. Although many prominent public figures supported American intervention, others vocally championed pacifism. Among both radical and progressive organizations were voices that urged that the war raging in Europe was nothing more than a fight between competing capitalist factions and that the United States should isolate itself from the conflict. Isolationist and pacifist sentiment was strong enough that, in seeking reelection in 1916, President Wilson ran on the slogan “He kept us out of war.”

In order to mobilize public support for American involvement, the Wilson administration launched an all-out propaganda campaign headed by the Committee on Public Information, or the Creel Committee. Headed by journalist George Creel, the committee was created on April 14, 1917. Although Wilson had run on the promise of keeping the country out of the war, the administration had sided with the British and French from the outset. As a result, part of the mission of the Creel Committee was to



persuade the public that Germany was responsible for the war. The pro-war, anti-German efforts of the Creel Committee neglected few venues for propaganda, including renaming sauerkraut “liberty cabbage” and German measles “liberty measles.” It encouraged public high schools to drop the instruction of the German language and supported banning German books and music.

Run almost single-handedly by Creel, the Committee for Public Information hit upon the idea of the Four-Minute Men to spread its message. The Four-Minute Men addressed movie audiences to underscore the importance of registering for the draft, buying war bonds, and rationing food and war-related materials. Eventually, the Four-Minute Men spoke to public gatherings throughout country. Creel also enlisted the support of the entertainment industry. He got some of the nation’s biggest stars, including Douglas Fairbanks, Mary Pickford, George M. Cohan, Charlie Chaplin, and others, to create patriotic movies and



Poster for *Pershing's Crusaders*, the first official American war film released by the Committee for Public Information (Library of Congress)

songs. The committee produced pro-war movie shorts and distributed thousands of pamphlets exhorting the need for vigilance against German aggression at home as well as abroad. In many overt and subtle ways, the Creel Committee fueled anti-German sentiment. Such national prejudice frequently spilled over into discrimination or even hostility toward German Americans.

The Creel Committee had the additional objective of undermining the legitimacy of those who opposed the war. It did so by churning out propaganda that portrayed the war as a “Crusade for Democracy.” In order to combat radical organizations that opposed the war, the efforts of the Creel Committee were reenforced by the ESPIONAGE ACT of 1917 and the SEDITION ACT of 1918. The Espionage Act prohibited the distribution of leftist antiwar material and imposed a \$10,000 fine and/or prison term of up to 20 years for those who violated the law. Although controversial, the law was upheld by the Supreme Court in *SCHENCK V. UNITED STATES* (1919). Similarly, the Sedition Act made it a crime to “willfully utter, print, write or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language” about the government or to “willfully urge, incite, or advocate any curtailment of production necessary or essential to the prosecution of the war. . . .”

The Creel Committee was largely successful at mobilizing support for the war. Within months, more than 10 million men had signed up for the military draft; and defense production and liberty bond sales skyrocketed during the war. The committee effectively silenced critics of the war with its campaigns. Between 1917 and 1919, it spent more than \$2 million and helped create a rising tide of pro-war patriotism. Many foreign-born workers came to believe that the war was one for democracy at home as well as abroad, and they carried the spirit of industrial democracy into postwar labor struggles, such as the STEEL STRIKE OF 1919. In contrast, conservative politicians and business leaders, many of whom viewed strikes as threats to democracy, tapped into this wave of patriotism once the war had ended. They argued that Bolshevik sympathizers and supporters of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION inflamed worker discontent and incited political demonstrations. By the end of the war, under the influence of such propaganda, many had come to believe that all dissent was “un-American.” The conservative backlash was largely effective in its support for the RED SCARE and other postwar labor repression. By 1921, political radicals, liberals, progressives, and labor unions were all in retreat.

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—Robert Gordon

## Communist Party

In the aftermath of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION of 1917, American radicals and socialists formed several competing communist parties in 1919. In March 1919, the Third Communist International announced that it would actively support and work toward the spread of communism throughout the world. American socialists who supported the Russian Revolution met in September 1919 to form an American Communist Party. Disagreements over the pace at which revolution should be spread resulted in the formation of two parties—the Communist Labor Party and the American Communist Party. JOHN REED, who had been one of the few Americans to witness the Russian Revolution firsthand, was among those who formed the smaller Communist Labor Party. The American Communist Party was the party officially recognized by the Soviet Comintern, which was responsible for overseeing the spread of communism.

While many American socialists supported the goals of the Russian Revolution, rival parties kept the Left relatively weak. It soon fell under attack. The strike wave of 1919 resulted in a conservative backlash against American radicals. In April 1919, 36 government officials, including Attorney General A. MITCHELL PALMER and Supreme Court Chief Justice OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, received “May Day” bombs. Palmer and the federal government responded between November 1919 and January 1920 by launching a series of raids against radicals and suspected radicals, especially those of foreign ancestry. The RED SCARE of 1919–20 severely undermined the effectiveness of communist parties at all levels.

In 1924, under orders from the Soviet Comintern, the two communist parties agreed to merge. The new party went through several different names before settling on the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA) in 1929. When the two factions joined in 1924, the party launched its weekly newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, which at its peak had a circulation of 35,000. Throughout much of the 1920s, the Communist Party had a small, but extremely dedicated following. In 1929, for example party officials claimed to have 7,000 members. The party’s highest vote total in any presidential election came in 1932 when William Z. Foster received 102,000 votes. The Socialist Party of America remained free of any hint of foreign control and consistently had a much larger following, with its perennial presidential candidate, EUGENE VICTOR DEBS, garnering close to a million votes in 1912 and again in 1920. Still, the postwar split among factions had denied the more moderate Socialist Party of support.

Despite this small following, the Communist Party had a significant impact on political and social developments throughout the 1920s. Led by Foster and James P. Cannon, the Communist Party defended the rights of workers,

opposed the KU KLUX KLAN and capital, and it advocated equality for African Americans and immigrants. In 1925, the Communist Party formed the International Labor Defense Fund (ILDF) to defend workers and others it viewed as under attack from the “ruling class.”

One of the driving forces behind the ILDF was the SACCO AND VANZETTI case. The two Italian immigrants had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to death for armed robbery and murder. The case became a cause célèbre for many on the political left who were convinced of Sacco and Vanzetti’s innocence. Although the ILDF’s defense of Sacco and Vanzetti ultimately proved ineffective, it earned the Communist Party a reputation for defending those who opposed American capitalism. The Communist Party also attempted to recruit African Americans throughout the 1920s. The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in 1928 declared African Americans an oppressed people. Party leaders were instructed to increase their efforts on behalf of African-American workers. The party made important inroads with African Americans in pockets throughout the South and in large urban centers, such as Harlem and Chicago. Despite these efforts, the Communist Party remained weak and largely ineffective until the Great Depression in the 1930s.

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—Robert Gordon

## Congress

For most of the 19th century, the dominant branch of the federal government was the Congress. Major political conflicts and initiatives for reform arose primarily from the Senate and the House. Its leaders became household names, and its failure to contain political conflict, from the sectional debate over slavery that led to the Civil War to arguments about immigration, had significant consequences for the nation. Between 1900 and 1930, however, the Congress lost power while the presidency gained in stature. As the United States emerged as a world power, the presidency took on a new role in governing the nation. Compared to most of the 19th-century presidents, THEODORE ROOSEVELT and WOODROW WILSON had significantly greater power to initiate legislation, create new agencies and bureaus, appoint and oversee government employees, set aside national lands and resources, and allocate funds. While Congress continued to play a vital role, the expanding powers of the Executive Branch and greater public skepticism about Congress diminished its prestige and authority.

In these decades, the REPUBLICAN PARTY dominated the U.S. Congress, much as it did the presidency. Between 1900 and 1911 and from 1919 until 1932, Republicans ruled the House of Representatives; and from 1900 to 1913 and 1919 to 1932, they also controlled the Senate. It was not simply that the Republicans held an edge over the Democratic Party in number of seats. During most of the period, the Republicans had a substantial majority that made it possible to dominate the legislative agenda. These majorities also reinforced the power of the leaders of the House and Senate, as long as party discipline was in force. In particular, the Speaker of the House, JOSEPH GURNEY CANNON of Illinois, had an iron grip on the House legislative agenda. His power derived from the House custom of giving to the Speaker of the House the power to appoint committee chairs. Under Cannon's term as Speaker (from 1903 to 1911), the control of such appointments was refined to an art. His Old Guard Republicans simply kept legislation from the floor of Congress. These rules not only concentrated power in the hands of the Speaker and the majority party, they also became the chief obstacle to passing reforms.

Rebelling against "Cannonism," the Congress instituted fundamental changes in how it governed itself. As PROGRESSIVISM swept through the Midwest and western states, newly elected Republicans displayed a growing discontent about the power of Cannon and the "Old Guard." Under the administration of President WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, Cannon continued to block any legislation that threatened to change the status quo. Most galling was the fight over the tariff. Long a supporter of high protective tariffs, Cannon undermined the effort to revise duties downward in the PAYNE-ALDRICH TARIFF ACT and persuaded Taft to sign a bill that raised some rates. The new alliance between Taft and Cannon suggested that it was time to challenge the speaker's authority. Senators ROBERT LA FOLLETTE of Wisconsin, HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON of California, and Representative George Norris of New York formed the National Progressive Republican League for that purpose. By 1911, they had dismantled Cannon's regime in the House by working with other congressional Republicans and reform Democrats to change the rules by which the House was governed. Committee chairs were now determined by seniority, not appointed by the Speaker of the House.

Ironically, the new system of seniority, in which committee chairmanships were determined by the years that a senator or representative served, gave even greater weight to conservative politics. It shifted regional power to the South, where incumbents were elected for consecutive terms and thus could gain and hold on to positions in critical committees, like committees on Ways and Means and Rules in the House and Finance and Foreign Relations in the Senate.

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**Congressional Union** See PAUL, ALICE.

### conscription

The United States entered WORLD WAR I on April 6, 1917. Its ground forces at the time numbered only 128,000 men with only one infantry division. General JOHN JOSEPH PERSHING, newly appointed commander of the AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, called for a force of three million men that, in his assessment, was needed to claim victory in the war. President WOODROW WILSON's administration was faced with a dilemma as to how best to fill the gap between these two figures. The president turned to a military draft, or conscription, as the means to build an army.

Since its inception, the United States had a tradition of voluntary military service. Only during the Civil War, in fact, had a draft been relied upon to provide soldiers for wartime. Even during that crisis, the imposition of a draft had caused antidraft riots in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania and in New York City. For that reason, President Wilson had hoped to rely on a call to public service. Conscription, however, was the only way to raise a huge army in a short time.

Initially, Wilson opposed a military draft, but he later supported and defended it as a "disagreeable but necessary evil." There was, at the time, some public opposition to the "European war" and to conscription specifically. It was a long six weeks between the time Congress declared war and the passage of the SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT of 1917, which implemented the military draft. Wilson appointed General Enoch Crowder to head the new Selective Service System. All men between the ages of 18 and 45 were required to register. No exemptions, outside of those in vital wartime industries, were allowed. No one was allowed to hire a substitute, as was the case during the Civil War. Crowder set up local draft boards staffed by community volunteers, who decided who would be sent into, or deferred from, military service. The use of community volunteers, in addition to government propaganda promoting patriotic service, prevented "the streets from running red with blood" on registration day, as many had feared.

The COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC INFORMATION (CPI), created by President Wilson shortly after America joined the war in 1917, raised public support for the war effort through propaganda. War posters urged Americans to join the army. Movie stars, marching bands, and billboards celebrated those who "did their duty." Fighting to keep the world "safe for democracy" was a potent recruiting slogan.





Recruitment poster for the U.S. Marines, ca. 1918 (*Library of Congress*)

Speakers from the CPI gave speeches in schools, camps, and public gatherings of all kinds. They were highly effective in inspiring patriotic fervor and stirring anti-German feeling.

Registration day, for those who did voluntarily register, was a day for patriotism. Twenty-four million men responded to the call and registered, and in only a few months, the United States Army grew to over four million soldiers. For the first time in the history of the United States, women also were allowed to join as volunteers. Twenty-one thousand women served in the Army and Navy Nurse Corps, and another 13,000 worked as clerks for the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps. Their service came less as a response to compulsory military service than as an expression of patriotism or a desire for adventure.

To maintain the peace and ensure the success of the draft, Congress and the Wilson administration instituted a number of measures. Congress passed the ESPIONAGE ACT of 1917 and the SEDITION ACT of 1918 as well as the TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT, all to suppress popular opposition to the conscription in speech, writing, or public protest. The Justice Department prosecuted antiwar socialists and members of the radical INDUSTRIAL WORK-

ERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) under these acts. Government officials also prompted support for military service by playing on public fears of violent radicals and German spies who, they said, were active throughout the United States. CPI posters encouraged citizens to report anyone who they thought might have pro-German sympathies. In fact, approximately 337,000 men refused to answer the draft call. Called “slackers” in the jargon of the day, many of these men were hunted down by civilian agents of the Justice Department. Under the name of the American Protective League, they organized raids in New York City. In addition, some 65,000 men objected to war and became conscientious objectors, due to their religious beliefs. Many of these were also imprisoned. By World War II, the idea of a compulsory military draft in the United States was no longer foreign. Conscription became the major means by which the ARMED FORCES raised troops for foreign wars until the 1970s.

**Further reading:** John Whiteclay Chambers, *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to America* (New York: Free Press, 1987).

—Annamarie Edelen

### **Coolidge, Calvin John** (1872–1933) *president of the United States*

A staunch conservative and supporter of business, Calvin Coolidge became the 30th president of the United States when he assumed office following the death of WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING. Born in 1872 in Plymouth, Vermont, Coolidge was raised by his father after his mother's death. Active in politics, his father held several jobs, including farmer and storekeeper. He taught young Calvin to be honest, hardworking, fair, religious, and conservative. Coolidge was the first in his family to attend college, graduating from Amherst College in Massachusetts in 1895. He then studied law privately and passed the bar in 1897. In 1905, he married Grace Anna Goodhue, who was a teacher at the Clark Institute for Deaf Children.

A lifelong Republican, Coolidge entered politics at an early age. He first ran for public office in 1898, winning a seat on the city council of Northampton, Massachusetts. Over the next decade, Coolidge held numerous elected offices in Northampton, finally becoming mayor in 1908. Though reserved, Coolidge developed into a capable public speaker and earned a reputation for honesty, fairness, compassion, party loyalty, and fiscal conservatism. He proved willing to support efforts to improve the lives of those less fortunate, so long as it didn't cost too much money. Elected to the Massachusetts Senate in 1911, Coolidge became the lieutenant governor in 1915. In 1918 he was elected governor of Massachusetts. As governor, Coolidge supported the



ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment giving women the right to vote, efforts to reduce the workweek for women and children, and other progressive reforms. He was not, however, aligned with Republican progressives who had supported THEODORE ROOSEVELT, and his support for progressive legislation had limits.

Coolidge first entered the national spotlight in 1919. For several years, police officers in Boston had struggled to improve their pay and working conditions without success. Frustrated by the lack of response from city officials, officers formed the Boston Social Club and applied to the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) for union recognition. Boston city officials refused to recognize the union or meet its demands for pay increases. On September 9, 1919, three-quarters of the city's police force went out on strike. The move infuriated local government officials, who appealed to Coolidge and President WOODROW WILSON for help. The 1919 police strike occurred at the height of a wave of postwar strikes and radicalism, which included the STEEL STRIKE OF 1919 and the SEATTLE GENERAL STRIKE. Led by Attorney General A. MITCHELL PALMER, the federal government responded by cracking down on

organized labor, progressive reformers, radicals, and anyone who seemed to threaten the social order. Initially, Coolidge appeared reluctant to act; but when rioting broke out in Boston, he responded swiftly and dramatically. Stating that, "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time," Coolidge called out the state militia and permitted the Boston police commissioner to fire any striking officers. New recruits replaced the striking officers who were not given their jobs back when the strike ended.

The swift and aggressive manner in which Coolidge dealt with the strike earned him high praise from conservatives throughout the country and catapulted him into the 1920 race for the Republican presidential nomination. The Republican convention nominated Warren G. Harding as its presidential nominee and selected Coolidge to be the party's vice presidential candidate. Harding and Coolidge aligned themselves with the party's Old Guard and in opposition to party progressives. Promising to return the country to prosperity and "normalcy," Harding and Coolidge defeated their Democratic rivals, James Cox and Franklin D. Roosevelt, in a landslide. The electoral vote was 404 to 127. Between taking office in 1921 and 1923, Coolidge played a barely visible role in the Harding administration and received little national attention. By 1922, when President Harding found himself besieged by scandal and corruption, his health took a turn for the worse. He died of a heart attack on August 2, 1923, and Coolidge took the oath of office at 2:47 A.M. the next day.

When Coolidge assumed office, he was immediately confronted by rampant rumors of scandal and corruption among Harding's cabinet officers. Many of the charges of corruption aimed at the Harding administration centered on Attorney General Harry Daugherty. Initially reluctant to fire one of Harding's closest confidants, Coolidge finally asked Daugherty to resign in 1924. That same year, an even larger scandal, known as the TEAPOT DOME scandal, became public. Public confidence in the presidency was at an all-time low. Coolidge confronted these scandals head-on and quickly removed from office anyone involved. In office, he continued to be reserved, earning him the nickname "Silent Cal." Efficient, productive, and honest, Coolidge convinced the nation that the government was in the hands of someone they could trust. He easily won the Republican presidential nomination in 1924. With running mate CHARLES GATES DAWES, Coolidge handily defeated challenges from John W. Davis, the DEMOCRATIC PARTY nominee, and ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, the candidate of the reformed Progressive Party. Coolidge won the electoral vote 382 to 136 for Davis and 13 for La Follette.

Elected in his own right, Coolidge presided over the country during a time of general economic prosperity.



Calvin Coolidge poses with his two sons, 1924 (*Library of Congress*)

Between 1922 and 1927, the economy grew 7 percent annually. Although the economic prosperity primarily benefited corporations and the wealthy, the general public benefited as well. Coolidge and his secretary of commerce, Herbert Hoover, believed that the best way to perpetuate this economic boom was for the federal government to give whatever assistance was necessary to the private sector. As Coolidge put it in 1925, “the business of America is business.” Under his secretary of the treasury, ANDREW WILLIAM MELLON, one of the administration’s primary objectives was to reduce federal taxes. Arguing that a large tax cut was the best way to ensure continued prosperity, Coolidge proposed a series of reductions that would benefit all taxpayers and eliminate income taxes for the poorest citizens. These cuts were passed in 1926.

Foreign policy issues also shaped Coolidge’s presidency. Anti-Japanese sentiment had been growing, especially in the West, as more Japanese immigrants came to the United States. Congress passed legislation that prohibited Japanese from entering the country and set strict quotas for other Asian immigrants. Following upon the QUOTA ACT of 1921, the new act sharply reduced the quota for immigrants entering the United States from southern and eastern Europe. Though Coolidge personally opposed the legislation and attempted to block it, he agreed to sign the NATIONAL ORIGINS ACT of 1924. When in 1919 Congress had refused to join the LEAGUE OF NATIONS following the end of WORLD WAR I, the nation’s role in world affairs became unclear. Not wanting to antagonize isolationists in the REPUBLICAN PARTY, Coolidge was still convinced that the nation ought to be more active internationally. In 1924, he secured the passage of the DAWES PLAN, which reduced German reparation payments and secured American loans to stabilize the German economy. His administration also convinced the Senate to pass the KELLOGG-BRIAND TREATY outlawing war. Although it lacked an effective enforcement mechanism and quickly proved unrealistic, the pact captured the optimistic mood of the 1920s. In the final analysis, however, the Coolidge administration had no great vision or overarching agenda other than perpetuating the economic boom that had begun in 1922. To this extent, Coolidge could claim success; but by 1929 it was clear that the boom of the Roaring Twenties had been built on excess consumer spending and overproduction. Not only were real wages stagnant and unemployment figures on the rise, but also certain sectors such as AGRICULTURE, textiles, and coal had never recovered from the postwar recession of 1921–22. When the inevitable slowdown came, the hands-off approach established by Coolidge and continued by his successor, President Herbert Hoover, resulted in a complete economic collapse and the Great Depression. Coolidge died in 1933, only a few years after he left office.

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—Robert Gordon

### cosmetics and beauty industry

Prior to the 1920s, cosmetics were part of the prostitute’s dress. In Victorian America, women who used cosmetics contradicted expectations for women to be pious and selfless. Women should not, after all, draw attention to their appearance. As the United States entered the modern era after WORLD WAR I, advertisers and marketers sought to define what made women “modern.” Their definition rested on consumption of cosmetics and other beauty products.

Partially the result of publicity techniques developed during the war, the ADVERTISING industry took off in the 1920s. From the perspective of advertisers, Americans had to be taught how to shed their puritanical notions of thrift and how to consume. While earlier economic growth periods had relied on manufacturing, it was the consumer economy that generated growth in the 1920s. The cosmetics industry was an important part of that development. The war also provided better-paying jobs and greater economic and social independence for women. With more disposable income, women chose to purchase cosmetics. The proliferation of chain stores and dime stores in cities further expanded the availability and attraction of new beauty products.

Hollywood contributed significantly to the appeal of cosmetics. Colored eyes and lips, powder, and rouge were tools that Hollywood makeup artists like Max Factor and Helena Rubinstein used to adorn female actresses. As Hollywood increasingly set the cultural trends for the rest of the country, cosmetics became more acceptable for women to wear. They were encouraged to shed their selfless images for pretty faces that required powder and rouge. Advertisers emphasized that women needed to attract men through their appearance and their smell. To do so, women needed lipstick, mouthwash, and perfume. Attracting men was one goal that advertisers promised women would achieve with cosmetics; happiness was another. It could be attained through material acquisition and more self-indulgent behavior. Hair and clothing styles changed alongside the emergence of cosmetics. Beauty parlors proliferated, which was another venue for cosmetics sales. In 1927, chemical inventions allowed women to “perm,” or permanently wave, their hair.

The emphasis on physical attraction reflected changing attitudes about gender relations. Increasingly, women

and men engaged in sexual relations before marriage, often with the person they intended to marry. This trend counteracted behavior during much of the Victorian era, when men often engaged in premarital sex with prostitutes while women were encouraged to be chaste.

Cosmetics were disproportionately associated with younger women who wished to be defined as modern. Younger women's use of cosmetics sometimes resulted in the ire of Americans who were a generation older. Cosmetics also defined part of the youth culture that wished to distance itself from parents by smoking, consuming alcohol, dancing, and listening to JAZZ.

Much of the cosmetics industry focused on changing the attitudes of the white middle-class in order to accept images of women that differed from the selflessness of an earlier time. However, what came to be labeled as "modern" was already being practiced by single working-class women who challenged social mores about women's proper behavior long before middle-class youth embraced cosmetics and aesthetic definitions of beauty. African-American women also invested in the cultivation of beauty, defining their own race-specific standards. Indeed, Madam C. J. Walker and Annie Turnbo Malone made their fortunes selling cosmetic products to black consumers. Cosmetics became and remained a major industry in these years.

See also DRESS; SEXUALITY; YOUTH.

**Further reading:** Kathy Lee Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998).

—Natalie Atkin

**Creel, George** See COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC INFORMATION.

### criminal justice

The criminal justice system in the United States underwent dramatic changes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. At the turn of the century, police departments across the country attempted to professionalize their workforce. There was an effort to lift the standards of police work by training men and establishing a merit system for hiring and promotion. August Vollmer, police chief of Berkeley, California, was a leader in the movement to upgrade the standards of the police force. In 1916, Vollmer developed the first academic law-enforcement program at the University of California at Berkeley. By 1915, 122 out of the nation's 204 largest police departments were regulated under civil service systems.

Despite efforts to modernize policing across the country, police departments still faced the problems of discipline,

graft, corruption, and police brutality. In the early 20th century, "nightstick" justice was still common. For example, a policeman new to the New York City police force was told that his job was to "protect the good people and treat the crooks rough." His role was to protect law-abiding citizens. At the same time, the police who walked the city streets presumed that people with past criminal records were guilty and needed to be intimidated through brute force.

In addition to the police force, widespread reforms during the Progressive Era permanently altered the criminal justice system. Between 1900 and 1920, progressives initiated many reforms in the treatment and punishment of offenders. Reformers set out to establish individualized programs for rehabilitation. In state after state, a broad coalition of judges, district attorneys, wardens, superintendents, citizens, settlement house workers, criminologists, social workers, psychologists, and psychiatrists helped to pass probation, parole, and indeterminate sentencing laws for adult offenders, and created juvenile courts for delinquents.

In the early 20th century, probation became a common alternative to incarceration for adult offenders. Probation was the immediate release of a criminal into the community after conviction. Limitations were placed on the freedom of offenders, and they remained under supervision by authorities. In 1900, six states had probation systems; by 1920, 33 states provided for probation. Another alternative to traditional incarceration was indeterminate sentencing, when the offender was sent to prison for an indefinite term until the criminal was "cured." Before 1900, judges set the specific term of sentencing for adult offenders. After 1900, judges set minimum and maximum terms. Meanwhile, parole boards held discretionary power and decided the precise time of release within the limits set by the judge. The parole system spread across the country as rapidly as other innovations in criminal justice. In 1900, only a handful of states allowed for paroles. By 1923, over half of all offenders in the nation were released by parole.

Between 1900 and 1920, reformers created a new juvenile justice system. Progressives thought that it was inhumane to lock up juveniles in the same institutions as habitual criminals. Under these circumstances, reformers argued, the prison system of the 19th century served as schools in which troubled youths learned the ways of vice. Consequently, in the late 19th century, many states had set up separate reform schools for boys and girls as an alternative to prison. Expanding on the idea, progressives created special criminal courts to administer juvenile justice. The juvenile courts gave the criminal justice system broad discretionary authority in dealing with delinquents, troubled youths, and neglected and abused children. The juvenile courts originated from a movement of "child savers," led by settlement house workers such as JANE ADDAMS at Hull-



House in Chicago, Illinois. In 1899, a groundbreaking law in Illinois set up a juvenile court for Cook County, which included the city of Chicago and its suburbs. Although the Illinois law separated juveniles from adult offenders, it continued to place delinquents in the same institutions as children who had not broken the law but were abandoned, abused, or neglected.

The juvenile courts extended state control over poor children and imposed middle-class Protestant values on them and on working-class families who were, more often than not, Catholic or Jewish immigrants. Many officials who served on juvenile courts considered delinquency not an illegal act but a “state, condition, or environment into which the child enters.” Thus, they intervened to prevent troubled children from becoming criminals, rather than institutionalizing children after they had already broken the law. On the other hand, parents were not wholly victims of the juvenile justice system. Instead, working-class and immigrant parents used the courts as a tool of last resort to control their rebellious children. More often than not, parents, not social workers or policemen, brought troubled children into court.

Early in the 20th century, the movement against vice and immorality reached its peak, climaxing during the PROHIBITION era. In many cases, vices were made illegal by new legislation in the 20th century, but the public and authorities still either tolerated the activities or looked the other way. For example, gambling was an illegal vice, and many cities cracked down on gambling establishments periodically. But after a wave of arrests, gambling tended to bounce back.

The campaign against sexual immorality met with more success. In 1910, Congress passed the MANN ACT, or “White Slave Traffic Act.” Intended to prevent women who lived in cities from falling prey to a life of immorality and prostitution, the Mann Act prohibited harboring women across state lines for the purposes of commercialized vice. The Red-Light Abatement Movement, the effort to close down vice districts where houses of prostitution were concentrated, also peaked in the early 20th century. Between 1910 and 1917, at least 43 cities created vice commissions that investigated the underworld of vice and prostitution. A wave of crackdowns on red-light districts took place across the country. But after the police shut down houses of prostitution and arrested prostitutes in cleanup campaigns, vice seemed to resurface. Vice also gave rise to opportunities for police corruption.

In the 1920s and 1930s, crime prevention increasingly became a national issue. Before the 20th century, the criminal justice system operated mostly at the state level. The number of prisoners in federal institutions slowly gained ground compared to the number housed in state prisons. In 1910, there were 66,831 prisoners in the state system,

compared to 1,904 in federal institutions. By 1940, there were 146,325 in state prisons and 19,260 in the federal system.

In 1919, the adoption of the Prohibition Amendment (the Eighteenth Amendment), which made the liquor trade illegal, contributed to the increasing power of the federal government in the criminal justice system. In the same year, the enforcement mechanism to the Prohibition Amendment, the Volstead Act, also was passed. Violating the Volstead Act was a federal crime. As a result, the law put thousands of people in jail across the nation.

With enormous profits to be made in bootlegging and blind pigs (illegal after-hour drinking establishments), organized crime flourished during the Prohibition era. Bootlegging, gambling, and prostitution were part of the underworld culture of organized crime. After 1925 Al Capone, the boss of organized crime in Chicago, ruthlessly murdered his rivals until he went to jail for tax evasion. Ultimately, criminalizing the liquor trade proved to be a failure, and the Prohibition laws were repealed in 1933. Prohibition was unenforceable in a nation that was “dry” in public, but “wet” behind closed doors.

In 1929, crime symbolically became a national issue when President Herbert Hoover stated in his inaugural address, “Crime is increasing.” He proposed a federal commission to study the problem. The result was the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, chaired by George W. Wickersham, a former attorney general in the administration of WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT. In 1931, the Wickersham Commission published 14 reports, studying police behavior, penal institutions, and the causes of crime. It accused the criminal justice system of brutality, corruption, and inefficiency. In the end, the commission’s recommendations collected dust on the shelf, but the commission brought crime to the public’s attention as a national issue. As a member of the Wickersham Commission, Morris Ploscowe had asked whether the state of the criminal justice system suggested that something was wrong in “the very heart of . . . government and social policy in America.” According to legal historian Lawrence Friedman, the role of the federal government in responding to crime increased when the New Deal “sucked power” from the states to deal with the economic crisis of the Great Depression.

See also PROGRESSIVISM.

**Further reading:** Lawrence M. Friedman, *Crime and Punishment in American History* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); Nicole Hahn Rafter, *Partial Justice: Women, Prisons, and Social Control*, 2d ed. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1997); David J. Rothman, *Conscience and Convenience: The Asylum and Its Alternatives in Progressive America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980).

—Glen Bessemer



**Currency Act (1900)**

The Currency, or Gold Standard, Act of 1900 placed the United States firmly on the gold standard. What may seem to be a trivial event, however, was the result of one of the most turbulent battles in U.S. history. Disputes over currency raged during the final decades of the 19th century. For nearly a hundred years, the United States had used two metals, gold and silver, for coining legal currency. In 1873 this practice changed. Due primarily to the high price of silver, the United States passed a law that made gold the basis of its currency. At first this act drew scant attention. Soon after, however, due to major ore discoveries, silver became more plentiful and less expensive. As a result, American farmers and silver miners called for the coinage of silver. They referred to the Act of 1873 as the "Crime of 1873." In 1878, this pressure led to the issuance of silver certificates, and silver dollars. Many farmers believed that these measures were not sufficient to carry out the business of the country. This argument was especially prevalent in the southern and western states. As borrowers, farmers also were concerned with deflation of the economy and falling agricultural prices. To increase the flow of currency and spur on inflation, they rallied around the call for the free coinage of silver, "Free Silver."

Their pleas were finally recognized when William Jennings Bryan became the presidential nominee for the DEMOCRATIC PARTY in 1896. In Bryan's famous "Cross

of Gold" speech, he stated that "you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." His opponent, Republican candidate William McKinley promised to pass a law that would settle the question once and for all. McKinley's supporters believed that gold was the only stable basis for currency, and that the U.S. position in the world economy required that it base its currency on gold. If he were elected, the United States would officially convert to the gold standard.

The sides were clearly drawn, and the election was heated. Bryan was at a significant disadvantage. Businessmen, fearful of many of his policies, foremost of which was his stance on currency, donated unprecedented amounts to the REPUBLICAN PARTY. McKinley spent as much as \$7 million on the election. Bryan had only \$300,000 to spend. The election was a landslide victory for McKinley. He received 271 electoral votes. Bryan received only 176.

As promised, the McKinley administration sponsored the Currency Act of 1900. Its advocates claimed that prosperity followed closely behind the passage of the act, but it had little to do with the new prosperity. New discoveries of gold increased the flow of currency. Gold became even more plentiful than McKinley and his supporters had hoped. Regardless of the policy's merits, gold standard advocates won the battle. As a result, gold remained the standard until the 1970s.

—Steve Freund

# D



## **Danbury Hatters (*Loewe v. Lawlor*) (1908)**

In the Danbury Hatters case, the United States Supreme Court ruled that a 1902 boycott launched by the United Hatters Union in Danbury, Connecticut, violated the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. The labor movement had been gaining strength throughout the 1890s and into the first decade of the 20th century. Union membership grew at a rapid pace, from 447,000 in 1897 to 2 million in 1904. Many employers vigorously resisted this expansion of organized labor. Anti-union employers often went to great lengths to keep their employees unorganized and found numerous allies in courts and legislatures, both at the state and national level.

As the Danbury Hatters case indicates, antiunion employers were frequently able to turn pro-labor legislation against workers and unions. The Sherman Antitrust Act had been enacted in response to growing concerns about the power of large corporations that monopolized entire industries. Employers immediately turned the Sherman Act against workers and unions. They did so by convincing courts and legislatures that unions, strikes, picketing, and boycotts interfered with free trade and prevented competition. Until the CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT replaced it in 1914, the Sherman Act was invoked frequently to break strikes and undermine the power of labor unions.

When unions found their ability to conduct strikes limited by court injunctions, they increasingly turned to boycotts. Because boycotts were not limited to employees in a specific workplace, they frequently proved more effective than strikes. Confronted by a boycott by all union members in a community, employers often agreed to meet union demands. As the strength of organized labor increased, so too did the opposition of anti-union employers. The NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS (NAM) helped coordinate the counterattack by hiring strikebreakers, providing spies, keeping lists of labor activists, and financing legal challenges. A related organization,

the American Anti-Boycott Association (AABA), pursued similar goals in court challenges to union boycotts.

When the United Hatters' Union launched its boycott against a company owned by E. W. Loewe, Loewe, with support from the AABA and NAM, took the union to court. The Supreme Court heard the case in 1908 and ruled that boycotts did in fact constitute a violation of the Sherman Act. The ruling required that the union compensate Loewe with triple any damages the boycott may have caused. The ruling, along with other antiunion decisions such as *BUCK'S STOVE*, severely undermined the ability of unions to put pressure on employers, secure union contracts, and organize new union members.

See also LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT.

**Further reading:** Melvin Dubofsky, *The State and Labor in Modern America* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

—Robert Gordon

## **Darrow, Clarence Seward (1857–1938) defense attorney, labor activist**

For more than a generation, Clarence Darrow earned a reputation as a champion of organized labor, political radicalism, and progressive reform. A fierce opponent of the death penalty and a supporter of civil liberties, he was the nation's most famous defense attorney between 1905 and 1930. The son of a furniture maker, Darrow was born in Kinsman, Ohio, in 1857. Outspoken, ambitious, and non-conformist, he was profoundly influenced by the political and economic changes that convulsed the country between 1860 and 1880. Darrow studied law at the University of Michigan and passed the Ohio bar in 1878. He spent the next nine years practicing law in Kinsman, Andover, and Ashtabula, Ohio; but the ambitious lawyer was determined to play a larger role.

In 1887 Darrow moved to the bustling metropolis of Chicago. His early activities in the city reflect his determination to establish himself as an influential attorney. Almost immediately upon his arrival, he became involved in efforts to defend anarchists implicated in the Haymarket bombing of 1886. Defending anarchists, however, did not pay well, and Darrow developed close ties with judge and future Illinois governor John Peter Altgeld, who helped him secure a lucrative job as a lawyer for the Chicago and North Western Railway in 1890.

A few years later Darrow quit his job defending the Chicago and North Western Railway to defend EUGENE VICTOR DEBS, the head of the American Railway Union, who had been arrested and convicted on a charge of contempt of court for his part in the Pullman strike in 1894. Though the Supreme Court upheld Debs's conviction, Darrow became famous as an ally of organized labor and a determined defense attorney. He solidified his reputation by defending miners arrested in connection with the 1902 ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE and WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS leader WILLIAM HAYWOOD.

Haywood had been accused of masterminding the 1905 murder of Idaho's Governor Frank Steunenberg. Amidst the chronic violence between western miners and mine operators, the trial received national attention. Some described the case as "the greatest trial of modern time." Idaho's Senator William E. Borah led the prosecution. Each side blatantly attempted to rig the jury, bribe or coerce witnesses, and otherwise influence the outcome of the trial. Darrow's moving 11-hour summation was widely credited for Haywood's surprising acquittal.

Darrow secured his reputation as the great defender with the case of LEOPOLD AND LOEB, the SCOPES TRIAL, and the defense of Ossian Sweet. In 1924, he agreed to defend Nathan Leopold, the 19-year-old son of a millionaire box manufacturer, and Richard Loeb, the 18-year-old son of a former vice president of Sears Roebuck. The two had been accused of murdering 14-year-old Bobby Franks. Faced with overwhelming evidence, Darrow convinced the pair to plead guilty so that he would be able to argue against their execution in front of a judge instead of a jury. The trial has often been called the first modern trial as both sides relied heavily upon psychiatrists and attempted to explain the motivation for the murder. Darrow's 12-hour summation, which is considered a classic legal oration, was filled with poetry and a scathing critique of the death penalty. It convinced Judge John R. Caverly to spare the pair's lives.

In 1925, at the age of 70, Darrow, a long-time member of the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION (ACLU), agreed to be the lead defense in the Scopes Trial. John Scopes, a high school biology teacher, was accused of violating a Tennessee law barring the teaching of evolu-

tion. The trial highlighted divisions that had developed between religious and cultural modernists and religious fundamentalists. By the time of the trial, those who viewed the theories of Charles Darwin as apostasy had succeeded in getting anti-evolution statutes passed in 15 states. With William Jennings Bryan, a three-time presidential candidate, as the chief attorney for the prosecution and Darrow the lead attorney for the defense, the stage was set for a titanic clash of egos, values, and ideas. The climax of the trial came when he ruthlessly questioned Bryan, who consented to take the witness stand as a biblical scholar, on the literal truth of the Bible. Darrow, who effectively undermined Bryan's credibility and won the public relations battle, convinced the jury to find Scopes guilty, so that the law could be appealed before the Tennessee Supreme Court. While the jury found Scopes guilty and fined him \$100, the ruling was overturned on a technicality.

In a time before radio and television, public speeches and debates were an essential form of communication and a primary means of shaping and influencing public opinion. Through his oratory, Clarence Darrow became a popular hero. His eloquent closing statements were often broad critiques of big business, injustice, the death penalty, and American society in general. From a legal and political perspective, Darrow was extremely effective. In his long career, he never lost a death penalty case; and his closing statements formed a body of political discourse that influenced policy and were closely followed by a captivated public. Darrow was a master attorney and had few equals.

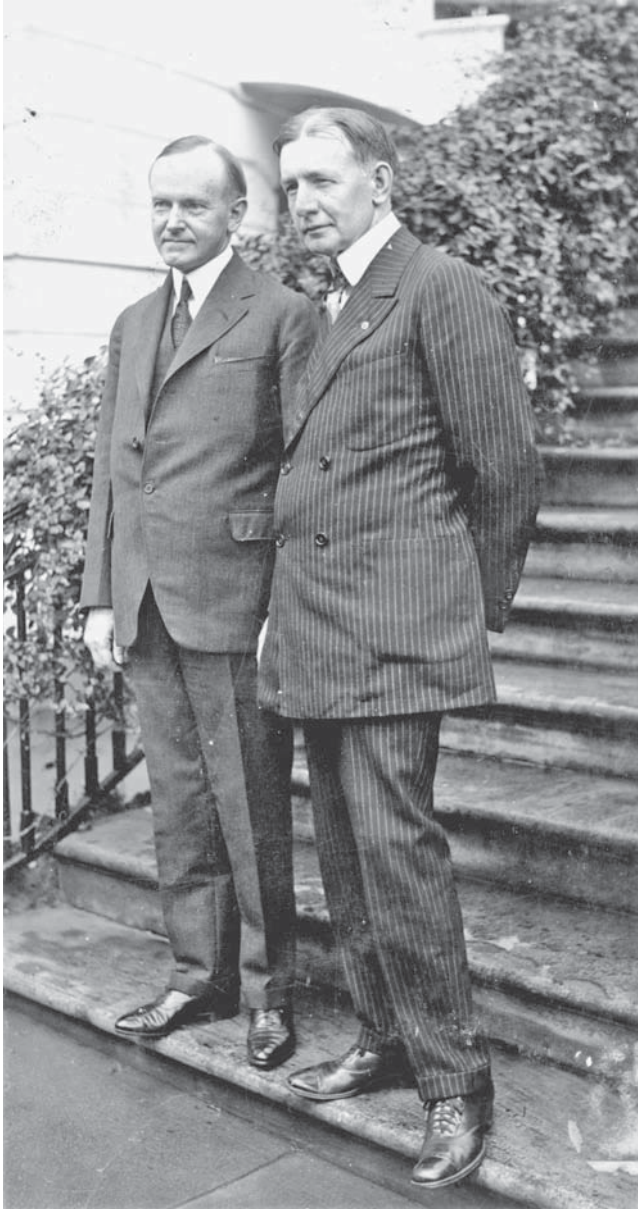
See also CIVIL LIBERTIES; SWEET TRIAL.

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—Robert Gordon

### **Dawes, Charles Gates** (1865–1951) *U.S. vice president*

Born in Marietta, Ohio, in 1865, Charles Gates Dawes established a number of major accomplishments both in the private and public sectors during the course of his life. After completing a bachelor's degree from Marietta College in 1884 at the age of 19, he studied law for two years at the University of Cincinnati. Having been admitted to the bar in his early twenties, he subsequently relocated to Lincoln, Nebraska. Dawes had decided to move to Lincoln not only to practice law, but also to take advantage of its growing economic opportunities.



Calvin Coolidge and Charles G. Dawes (on the right) (*Library of Congress*)

While in Lincoln, Dawes began to amass a small fortune that he used to purchase, starting in 1894, some 28 gas and electric plants across the United States. Having further expanded his economic well-being with these gas and electric plants, he founded the Central Trust Company of Illinois—often referred to as the “Dawes Bank”—in 1902. Dawes served as president of this financial operation until 1917 when he enlisted in the United States Army. During his 26 months of active duty, Charles Dawes went from the rank of major to brigadier general. His primary responsibil-

ity as a member of General Pershing’s central staff during WORLD WAR I was to devise and implement an effective supply procurement and distribution system. During congressional hearings following the war, Dawes earned the nickname of “Hell and Maria” for his blunt response to allegations that the army had been charged excessive prices in France for draft animals to move supplies to the front. Accordingly, Dawes exclaimed, “Helen Maria, I’d have paid horse prices for sheep if the sheep could have pulled artillery to the front!”

Despite facing stiff opposition from fellow members of the Republican Party, Charles Dawes supported President WOODROW WILSON’s efforts to secure congressional approval of the TREATY OF VERSAILLES and U.S. membership in the newly formed LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Despite his support for Wilson’s treaty, Harding appointed Dawes director of the newly created Office of the Budget.

Using the principles of efficiency that he had honed while serving as the chief officer for procurement and distribution of supplies to the AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE during World War I, Charles Dawes committed himself to the task of reforming budgetary procedures for the government of the United States during the early 1920s. Under his leadership, each department of the federal government now had to prepare a true budget that projected future expenditures and was expected to stay within those budget projections. It is estimated that the budget reform implemented by Dawes saved the U.S. government some \$2 billion annually during the early part of the 1920s. Dawes’s growing reputation for efficiency and fiscal management ultimately led the League of Nations in 1923 to appoint him chair of an international committee to deal with the question of German war reparations, which Germany no longer could afford to pay, creating much instability in the international economy. The final report issued by the Dawes commission provided facts on Germany’s budget and resources, outlined measures needed to stabilize the currency, and suggested a new schedule for meeting the payments due the international community as reparations for the war.

Because of his work on the German reparations issue, Charles Gates Dawes was named the corecipient of the 1925 Nobel Peace Prize. Dawes donated the prize money to Johns Hopkins University to establish the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations. Charles Gates Dawes reached the pinnacle of his public life in 1924 when he was elected vice president of the United States. He served in this capacity during Calvin Coolidge’s administration from 1925 to 1929.

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—David R. Smith



**Dawes Plan** (1924)

Because the U.S. ability to trade with Europe was compromised with the outbreak of war in 1914, the restoration of international trade became a major focus of recovery efforts following the cessation of hostilities in 1918. Prior to the onset of WORLD WAR I, the United States imported more goods from Europe than it had exported to the European continent. The destructive nature of the war severely crippled the European economy—both in terms of infrastructure and the availability of labor. Before the war U.S. citizens owed some \$3 billion to Europeans. After the war, European citizens owed private Americans \$3 billion and their governments owed another \$10 billion. Wartime loans from the United States to Europe constituted the primary source of this capital imbalance.

Complicating the ability of European nations to repay these loans to the United States was the reparations that Germany owed to the international community as a result of the TREATY OF VERSAILLES in 1918. Ravaged by war, the French wanted to cripple Germany at the Peace Conference. Accordingly, the French along with the British included in the final treaty a “war guilt clause” that held Germany directly responsible for damages caused by the war. To determine the amount of reparations, the Versailles Treaty established a commission to make a specific dollar amount recommendation. In 1921, the Reparations Commission concluded that the German nation, which also had been ravaged by the war, owed the international community \$33 billion.

The repercussions of this extensive bill undermined international economic relations for more than a decade. The international trade system depended on the flow of capital between nations to maintain at least a semblance of equitable trade relations between nations. European nations, which owed the United States some \$13 billion, relied on U.S. investments and the sale of goods to raise the capital for repayment of these loans. In addition, the reparation payments from Germany served as a critical source of capital for loan repayments.

Given the extensive payments by the Reparations Commission forced on Germany in 1921, the German government soon found itself increasingly unable to make the necessary payments to the international community. By 1922–23, Germany defaulted on its payments. As reparations further eroded the German economy, other European nations were left without the necessary infusion of capital to meet their loan repayments to the United States. As a result, Great Britain began calling upon the United States to cancel the debts that they owed the American government and private banks. Great Britain argued that the United States should write off these loans and consider them part of their contribution to the Allied victory over Germany.

With the international economy in jeopardy, the U.S. government reevaluated the issue of German reparations. Accordingly, in 1924, under the auspices of the U.S. Department of State, CHARLES GATES DAWES was sent to Germany to discuss their economy and to devise a means for the government better to meet its international obligations under the Treaty of Versailles. The resulting Dawes Plan sharply reduced German reparations from \$542 million to \$250 million annually and renegotiated the schedule for the payment of these monies. Dawes also devised a systematic program to promote direct capital investment in the German economy by such leading U.S. financial institutions as the J. P. Morgan Company. Despite the revised schedule of payments, the Dawes Plan proved to be a superficial solution. The European economy could not bear the heavy weight of both loan repayments and reparations. Similarly, the U.S. economy could not provide enough capital to keep the European economy afloat. Reparations and debt issues contributed to the structural weaknesses in the world economy that led to the economic crash of the 1930s.

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—David R. Smith

**Debs, Eugene Victor** (1855–1926) *socialist leader, labor activist*

Eugene V. Debs was one of the most prominent and effective socialist politicians and labor organizers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Born in Terre Haute, Indiana, in 1855, Debs left home at an early age and took a job at a local railroad as a locomotive fireman and quickly joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. By 1880, Debs had become the secretary-treasurer of the national brotherhood. From this early involvement with organized labor, Debs became convinced that American capitalism and industry exploited workers, created a wealthy elite, and threatened to undermine traditional midwestern values.

Initially, Debs attempted to work within the political system to push for reform. In the early 1880s, he joined the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, winning election to the Indiana state legislature in 1884. Despite this brief foray into mainstream party politics, Debs continued to focus his efforts on organizing railroad workers. In 1893 he became president of the nation's largest union, the American Railway Union (ARU). Debs was immediately thrust into the national spotlight as he led the ARU in several railroad strikes between 1894 and 1895. In 1894 the ARU conducted a successful strike against the Great Northern Railroad and launched a similar strike against the Pullman Palace Car Company

in May 1894. The Pullman Company had reduced wages by 25 percent in reaction to the Panic of 1893 and in the spring of 1894 refused to negotiate with the ARU. When the company refused to agree to arbitration, the Chicago ARU local voted to walk off the job.

Debs called for a national boycott of the Pullman Company, and sympathy strikes spread to 27 states, but he also rebuffed those in the ARU and the larger labor movement who advocated a general strike that would bring Chicago to a standstill. When violence broke out in Chicago and elsewhere, George Pullman called on Illinois's progressive governor, John Peter Altgeld, to employ the state militia to restore order and break the strike. When Altgeld refused, President Grover Cleveland and Attorney General Richard Olney ordered 2,500 federal troops to take control of the situation and charged Debs with violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act (1890). The intervention of federal troops not only ended the strike, but also led to the destruction of the ARU when in 1895 Debs was sentenced to a six-month prison sentence for contempt of court.



Caricature of Eugene Debs, pictured wearing a crown labeled "Debs' American railway union" (Library of Congress)

Federal intervention and the final outcome of the Pullman strike convinced Debs that those who had advocated expanding labor politics into a larger class struggle had been correct and that Progressive and Democratic Party calls for gradual reform were doomed to failure. While in prison, Debs spent considerable time reading the works of Karl Marx and shortly after joined the recently formed Social Democratic Party (SDP). Debs assumed the post of secretary-treasurer of the SDP and attempted to reconcile differences between the SDP and the Socialist Labor Party, playing an instrumental role in merging the two factions into the Socialist Party of America (SPA). Debs also played a leading role in mobilizing the left wing of the labor movement between 1900 and 1920, helping to form the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD in 1905. As head of the Socialist Party, Debs ran for the presidency in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920. Although he received only 96,000 votes in 1900, by 1904 the SPA had become the largest third party in the country. That year Debs received more than 400,000 votes and tallied 897,000 votes in 1912.

When war broke out in Europe in 1914, Debs and the SPA opposed American intervention and warned the public against American involvement. When Congress and President Woodrow Wilson declared war against the Central Powers on April 6, 1917, Debs reiterated his opposition to the war. Wartime legislation, specifically the ESPIONAGE ACT of 1917 and the SEDITION ACT of 1918, made it illegal to criticize the American government and its involvement in the war. Debs, however, continued to criticize Wilson and the war effort. Following a speech in Canton, Ohio, Debs was arrested and charged with sedition. After a short trial, he was convicted, sentenced to a 10-year prison term. His prison term did not diminish his popularity among socialist voters. When Debs ran for the presidency in 1920 from his cell in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, he received almost 1 million votes. Nevertheless, the SPA and the socialist movement in general lost ground during the Red Scare of 1919–21. Debs was released from prison in 1921 and died five years later in 1926.

See also RADICALISM; SOCIALISM.

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—Harold W. Aurand and Robert Gordon

## Democratic Party

One of the two national political parties between 1900 and 1930, the Democratic Party frequently found itself the minority party. It won the presidency only twice in the first

three decades of the 20th century. The party had even less success in Congress, controlling the House of Representatives from 1911 to 1919 and the Senate only from 1913 to 1919. The primary reason that the Democratic Party failed to achieve greater political success was that for much of this period the party was deeply divided and lacked an effective national agenda. In the decades after the American Civil War, the Democratic Party had most of its support located in the rural Midwest, South, and West. It opposed strong central government and state intervention in the economy and local matters, like education. It distrusted the eastern financial and business elites. As the nation became increasingly urban and ethnically diverse, the Democratic Party made important inroads with urban immigrants and Catholics. In the 1890s, the Democratic Party achieved political success by attracting the support of struggling farmers and radical reformers, who had given rise to the Populists, and by addressing the concerns of urban immigrants. These agendas were not, however, compatible.

The Panic of 1893 and the ensuing depression marked an important turning point in the party's fortunes. As more and more rural farmers found themselves facing bankruptcy, radical agrarian organizations gained strength. The Democratic Party responded to the challenge from the Populists by reiterating its opposition to the business elite, resisting protective trade tariffs, and supporting cheap money policies. These themes culminated in the presidential election of 1896 and helped ensure that the party remained out of national power until 1912. In that election, William Jennings Bryan won the Democratic presidential nomination with his moving "cross of gold" speech, in which he blamed the depression of 1893 and the economic difficulties of ordinary workers and farmers on bankers and industrialists. Wherever Bryan went on the campaign trail, he drew large and enthusiastic audiences. Under the direction of McKinley and party leader Mark Hanna, the REPUBLICAN PARTY secured the support of business and financial leaders and raised and spent much more money than did the Democrats. The Democratic Party was also divided over Bryan's monetary policy and his attitude toward organized labor. These divisions in the party and Bryan's focus on agrarian issues dampened enthusiasm among urban immigrants and industrial workers and led to McKinley's narrow victory.

At the national level, Bryan maintained his control over the party until the election of 1912. He was the party's presidential candidate in 1900 and again in 1908, suffering decisive defeats each time. The presence of Bryan at the head of the national ticket alienated many of the party's urban immigrants and Catholics, who were growing in numbers and influence. In many large cities in the East and Midwest, the Democratic Party had established a dominant presence. Party leaders rewarded loyal party supporters with jobs or city contracts. In return, party

leaders demanded political loyalty. Long-standing political machines controlled the party and its patronage jobs in New York, Chicago, Boston, Detroit, and elsewhere.

Success at the state and local level did not translate into success at the national level until 1912. In 1911 Democrats, capitalizing on the unpopularity of Republican president WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, took control of the House of Representatives for the first time since 1895. Taft had alienated important elements in his own party and was viewed as indecisive and ineffective. The Democratic nominee was little-known New Jersey governor WOODROW WILSON. When progressive Republicans, led by ROBERT LA FOLLETTE and THEODORE ROOSEVELT, broke ranks with Taft and formed the PROGRESSIVE PARTY, the Democratic party took advantage. Wilson won the election easily.

Strong leadership and the passage of a number of progressive reforms marked Wilson's first term in office. Progressives in both parties had been attempting to pass reform legislation for more than a decade only to have it blocked by the conservative Speaker of the House JOSEPH GURNEY CANNON. With progressive Democrats in control of both the presidency and Congress, the Wilson administration addressed the concerns of organized labor with the CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT (1914), the ADAMSON ACT (1915), and the child labor KEATING-OWEN ACT (1916). Between 1912 and American entry into WORLD WAR I in 1917, the Wilson administration developed a cordial relationship with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL). Democrats also created a FEDERAL INCOME TAX and passed the FEDERAL RESERVE ACT (1913) to oversee the nation's banking industry and the FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION ACT (1914) to oversee business practices.

The outbreak of World War I presented Wilson and the Democratic Party with important questions and challenges. The country had a long-standing tradition of NEUTRALITY. Wilson, who strongly supported England and France, publicly insisted that the United States would remain neutral in the conflict while he privately worked to ensure the defeat of Germany. During the election of 1916, Wilson promised to keep the country out of war and narrowly defeated Republican nominee CHARLES EVANS HUGHES. When German submarines resumed attacking American ships carrying supplies to Great Britain, however, Congress declared war on April 6, 1917.

At war's end, Wilson hoped to use the power of the United States to ensure a lasting peace. In January 1918, he announced a "fourteen point" peace plan. He was determined to bring about a workable peace agreement that would not be excessively harsh on Germany. In order to do so, he decided to attend the Paris Peace Conference personally and spent seven months in exhausting negotiations. The British, French, and Italians all had committed and lost significant resources in the conduct of the war and



insisted that Germany make financial and territorial reparations. Wilson finally relented and the final peace agreement, known as the TREATY OF VERSAILLES, was signed in June 1919. Wilson hoped that the creation of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS would counterbalance punitive measures of the treaty. Once back in the United States, the exhausted Wilson submitted the treaty to Congress for approval. Congressional Republicans, led by Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE, worried that American involvement in the League of Nations would entangle the country in foreign affairs. Wilson embarked on a cross-country tour to promote the treaty, but the effort proved too exhausting; on October 2, 1919, he suffered a massive stroke. While recovering, Wilson refused to compromise with Lodge and other Republicans, and the treaty was defeated when it failed to get the necessary two-thirds support.

By 1919, the Democratic Party was losing strength. The Republicans had taken back the House and the Senate in the elections of 1918, and Wilson's lingering disability meant a lack of leadership at the head of the party. Following the end of the war, the economy went into a tailspin. A strike wave broke as workers, frustrated by rising inflation and liberated from wartime pledges not to strike, demanded pay increases. Wilson's attorney general, A. MITCHELL PALMER, had become convinced that labor unions and political radicals posed a serious threat and met their resistance with his own counterattack, a series of raids in which labor militants and radicals were arrested and held without bail. Later, they were either released or deported. The RED SCARE alienated labor support from the Democratic Party.

The defeat of the Versailles Treaty and the Red Scare of 1919–21 enabled the Republican Party to regain the presidency in 1920 with the election of WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING, who promised to return the nation to normalcy. In the elections of 1920 and 1924, the Democratic Party revealed that the cultural and social issues that had begun to divide it in the early 20th century had come to a head. In both elections, the issues of PROHIBITION, evolution, the legacy of the Wilson administration, and the KU KLUX KLAN split the convention votes over platform and candidate. Unenthusiastically, the party nominated nondescript businessmen to run against similarly bland Republicans. Throughout the 1920s, the Republican Party relied upon close ties with business leaders, conservative economic policies, and a prolonged economic boom to dominate the national political scene. In 1928, the candidacy of ALFRED E. SMITH signaled a sea change in Democratic Party fortunes. While he lost the presidency, the party showed surprising strength among ethnic voters in northern urban strongholds. The new Democratic base, drawing on the support of labor, ethnic voters, Catholics, and the new middle class, grew as the economy worsened

in the late 1920s. While it retained much of its southern rural constituency, a new factor was the growing number of African-American voters who began to shift their loyalties to the Democratic Party after being disaffected by Republican policies. Despite these trends, the Democratic Party controlled neither the presidency nor the Congress until its return to power when Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected in 1932.

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—Robert Gordon

### Dempsey, William Harrison "Jack" (1895–1983) *heavyweight boxing champion*

Jack Dempsey, one of the most dominant and charismatic boxers in American history, held the heavyweight championship between 1919 and 1926. Dempsey emerged on the boxing scene just as the sport was reaching the peak of its popularity. One of 11 children, Dempsey was born in Manassa, Colorado, in June 1895. He got involved in boxing at an early age. Absolutely ruthless in the ring, he generated great strength from his legs and packed an incredibly powerful punch. As a result, Dempsey was the most feared and successful boxer of his generation, compiling a record of 60 wins, 50 by knockout, with only six losses.

By the 1920s the United States was still convulsed with economic fluctuations, labor disputes, and the Red Scare. Many yearned for nonpolitical distractions, and sports—professional boxing in particular—fit the bill. Because boxing was still developing as a sport and few fighters had professional managers, Dempsey had a difficult time finding boxers who were willing to take him on. He bounced around from one mining community to another, fighting as often as he could. Dempsey's professional career finally took off when he met Jack "Doc" Kearns, who became his manager. Dempsey and Kearns decided it was time to hit the big time, and the pair moved to New York, where Dempsey handily defeated all the top heavyweight title contenders.

Dempsey finally got a shot at the heavyweight title in 1919 in a bout with reigning champ Jess Willard. Willard, near the end of his career, was not in top shape. When he saw the "Manassa Mauler," he told his wife he was afraid he would not survive the fight. Dempsey showed Willard no mercy, knocking him down seven times in the first round and fracturing his jaw. As heavyweight champ, Dempsey





Jack Dempsey in the ring, ca. 1921 (Library of Congress)

found few opponents willing to challenge him. He had no title fights in 1924 or 1925. Dempsey finally lost his title belt in 1926 when challenger Gene Tunney defeated him. The following year, Tunney agreed to a rematch. Before a huge crowd, Tunney was again defeating the challenger on points when Dempsey knocked him to the canvas. Instead of beginning the 10-count right away, the referee waited until Dempsey had retreated to a neutral corner, giving the champ an extra four to five seconds. “The long count,” as it became known, allowed Tunney time enough to recover, and he went on to win the controversial bout on points.

Although others have had a longer reign as heavyweight champion, Dempsey’s impact is hard to exaggerate. Dempsey realized the importance of self-promotion. His boxing exploits were captured on film and shown to audiences across the country, giving him the kind of exposure no other fighter had ever enjoyed. Part of Dempsey’s popularity was due to the desire of many white boxing fans for a great white champion. Jess Willard’s victory over African-American heavyweight champion JACK JOHNSON had remained controversial. When the untainted, handsome, rugged, and gregarious Dempsey arrived on the

scene, he was, for many white boxing fans, the right kind of champion.

As champion, Dempsey helped popularize the sport. Prior to the 1920s, professional prizefights had a small but loyal following. With his arrival, the sport’s popularity expanded to the point that a crowd of 105,000 saw Dempsey’s 1927 rematch with Gene Tunney, and the fight generated a purse of \$2.6 million. Dempsey’s popularity continued well after the end of his boxing career, and he was not bashful about exploiting it for political purposes. During the 1930s, Dempsey was an ardent New Dealer and made numerous campaign appearances on behalf of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and other Democrats.

See also SPORTS.

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—Robert Gordon

### **Dewey, John** (1859–1952) *education reformer*

An educator and philosopher, John Dewey was best known as America’s preeminent philosopher of education and founder of pragmatic philosophy. He placed his greatest efforts into convincing Americans that ethics could be directly applied to life in the new industrial world. Dewey argued that the survival of democracy depended on the application of philosophical ethics to everyday life. It was in his attempts to relate his philosophy to education that he made his greatest impact.

Dewey was born and raised in Burlington, Vermont. He graduated from the University of Vermont in 1879 and afterward worked as a teacher for two years. He then enrolled in graduate school at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore to study philosophy. After earning his doctorate in 1884, Dewey went to teach at the University of Michigan, where he remained until 1894. It was during his time in Michigan that he developed his interest in using philosophy to solve social problems. There he also met his wife, Alice Chipman, whom he married in 1886. In 1894, Dewey took a job at the University of Chicago. It was there that he developed his belief that philosophy should be empirically based and socially concerned. This pragmatic philosophy attempted to connect philosophy to everyday issues.

Dewey came to believe that the consequences of his philosophy would best be revealed in education. To test his theories, Dewey established a school called the Laboratory School. He also published his first book on education, *The School and Society*, in which he laid out his philosophy of what role education should play in a democratic society. He wrote that each school should function as a community that

reflects the larger society and trains children into membership in that society. Once the schools accomplished that by instilling students with a “spirit of service and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the deepest and best guarantee of a larger society that is worthy, lovely, and harmonious.”

In 1904, Dewey joined the faculty at Columbia University, where he remained for the rest of his career. During his years at Columbia, he became publicly known. He wrote several books elaborating his philosophical argument that ethics was not a separate domain from everyday life, but should be manifest in social, political, and economic issues. In 1916, he published *Democracy and Education*, in which he laid out his conception that democracy was not just a political system but also a form of social life that required educated citizens. His conception of education differed from other educational philosophers. Education was a social process, Dewey argued, that nurtured the social, intellectual, and aesthetic growth of individuals, which then led to the renewal of society. Because of the importance that education held for their futures, democratic societies required an education that would nurture in individuals social relationships and control, while fostering social change without disorder.

On a practical level, Dewey urged educators to create schools that taught schoolchildren how to be individual actors in a democracy. Because a democracy required that each individual make decisions, education should, argued Dewey, train students in scientific inquiry. An important component of his proposed curriculum was the education of the whole individual through instruction in both intellectual and manual subjects. The purpose of this was to give all students, regardless of their future occupation, an appreciation of the skills on which the new industrial society depended. Dewey argued that this type of education would flow naturally with children’s natural curiosity and sense of wonder. In order for students to have the opportunity to develop decision-making abilities, he argued that the schools must be reformed as democratic communities in which students are allowed to make decisions on their own and create their own knowledge. Students would do this by engaging in ongoing communication, experimentation, and self-criticism, which they would undertake in student-centered instruction through small-group work and project activities.

Dewey’s educational plans formed the basis of many of the educational reforms that emerged during the Progressive Era. Many of his reforms were not implemented as he had intended. Proponents of vocational education, for example, used his call for training in both manual and intellectual subjects to justify educating some students solely in vocational subjects. In addition, many teachers used small-group work as an addition to their regular teaching

as rather than making it the core. Whether his philosophy was accepted whole-cloth, partially, or rejected all together, Dewey shaped the debate in American education that continues today.

See also EDUCATION; YOUTH.

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—Michael Hartman

## Dillingham Commission

In the Progressive Era, increasing immigration and fear of foreign nationals led Congress to create the Dillingham Commission to investigate current trends and recommend changes in immigration law. Through much of the 19th century, the United States had an “open door” immigration policy that allowed individuals and families from Europe to enter the country with relatively few restrictions. As the economy of the United States became more concentrated in urban areas and focused on industrial production, the volume of migrants to America steadily increased. The growing congregation of immigrants in urban centers quickly became an issue of much concern. As a result, it gave rise to a vocal anti-immigrant movement by the end of the 19th century. Although Congress enacted legislation that restricted the ability of Chinese immigrants to enter the United States in 1882, immigrants from areas other than China and Asia faced few restrictions in migrating to the United States before the outbreak of the European war in 1914. With a liberal immigration policy and steady improvements in transatlantic transportation, European migrants were able to reach the United States in ever-increasing numbers and from a wider range of areas between the 1880s and the war. In 1882 some 788,922 immigrants entered the United States, and 1,285,349 in 1907. The countries of origin dramatically shifted as well. Although there was little immigration from eastern and southern Europe in the 19th century, by 1907 these countries combined sent nearly 75 percent of the immigrants who arrived in the United States.

As the United States witnessed major economic changes during the last quarter of the century, immigrants often became the scapegoat for the rapid changes taking place in American society. The vocal anti-immigrant sentiments of this time period ultimately pushed Congress to appoint the so-called Dillingham Commission to investigate immigration-related issues. Headed by Senator William P. Dillingham of Vermont, a moderate restrictionist, the committee ultimately issued a 42-volume report that played on the fears held by the growing anti-immigrant faction in the United States. Despite drawing alarming

conclusions about the effects of immigration on American society, the evidence amassed by immigration officials across the United States did not support the arguments of Senator Dillingham and his fellow committee members about the need for immigration restrictions. The committee argued in its report that the so-called new immigrants were racially inferior to the old immigrants from northern and western Europe. Manipulating statistical data on these “new” immigrants, the Dillingham Commission provided a “scientific” argument calling for legislation to restrict their entry to the United States. In essence, the Commission’s contention that the “new” immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were incapable of becoming Americans found a welcome audience in the United States, especially as hostilities in Europe broke out and calls for “Americanization” of immigrants reemerged. The passage of the IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1917 was only the first in a series of increasingly restrictive immigration policies, culminating in the 1924 Immigration Act, which Congress adopted in response to the Dillingham Commission’s recommendation to close the immigration door, especially for immigrants from Asia, Africa, and southern and eastern Europe.

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—David R. Smith

### direct election of senators (Seventeenth Amendment) (1913)

Reform movements in the late 19th and early 20th centuries had as a primary goal the expansion of democracy in the political system. Shifting the power to elect senators from state legislatures to the voting population was one of the most important means of democratizing the system. In an era of concentrated wealth and political power, money played a large role in determining both who was elected to political office and in how the government acted. For many progressives, the symbol of the corrupting influence of money in government was the United States Senate. Indeed, they pointed to the Senate’s loss of public esteem as a result of how the Senate seemed to operate both as a “rich man’s club” and as an obstacle to political reform. In 1906, David Graham Phillips, a muckraking journalist, published a series of essays in *The Treason of the Senate*, which exposed corruption and bribery in the Senate chambers. Between 1900 and 1910, three senators were indicted for accepting bribes, and 12 more faced charges of corruption. The reform press saw the Senate increasingly as an “obstructive, spoils-seeking, courtesy-bound, corporation-fed” group.

The chief problem, reformers argued, was that the Constitution had given the authority to select senators to state legislatures, where Senate seats were, some said, “a matter of purchase.” In 1907, Senator Simon Guggenheim admitted that he had received his Senate seat by contributing to the political campaigns of Republican members of the Colorado legislature. There was a groundswell of popular support for the passage of an amendment for the direct election of senators. By 1912, the House of Representatives had already considered an amendment five times, but each time the Senate blocked the amendment. In 1912, when the issue was raised again in the wake of the Senate expulsion of William Lorimer, a Chicago political boss, for vote-buying, 29 states already had moved to elect senators by popular vote. WOODROW WILSON, then governor of New Jersey, had earned public respect for blocking the appointment of a political boss to the Senate, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt gained political visibility when he led insurgents against the appointment of a Tammany candidate to the Senate. Faced with this new political climate, the Senate passed the resolution for what would become the Seventeenth Amendment, for the direct election of senators. The required number of states ratified the amendment in 1913, and it became law in the 1914 election year.

The struggle to pass an amendment for the popular election of senators was only one of a series of political reforms central to PROGRESSIVISM. In seeking greater political access for ordinary people, progressive reformers and politicians sought to expand the franchise in a rational manner (the extension of the vote to women) and to grant to ordinary citizens the powers of initiative and referendum, which enabled direct legislation; recall, to make representatives and judges more responsive to popular opinion; and the direct primary, a means of dismantling the power of party bosses in the electoral process. These later reforms, unlike woman suffrage and popular Senate elections, were not adopted into the Constitution. They remained in the province of progressive state politicians. By 1914, 12 states, all of them west of the Mississippi, had adopted some form of direct democracy. None of the democratic reforms, however, changed the way in which the Senate or politicians fundamentally did business. The Senate has remained for most of the 20th century a governmental body with a disproportionate number of wealthy members, and direct primaries did not stop political party bosses from working the backrooms of conventions to ensure their candidates’ success.

See also CONGRESS; ELECTIONS; POLITICS.

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## dollar diplomacy

In what was later called *dollar diplomacy*, the U.S. government attempted to control the finances of nations in Latin America and Asia to protect U.S. business interests. Under dollar diplomacy, American administrations applied economic intervention in order to prevent military intervention. As proponents of policy in the WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT administration said, it used dollars instead of bullets.

President Taft was not as interested in international relations as his predecessor, THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Taft's secretary of state, Philander C. Knox, worked hard, however, to promote the economic interests of the United States overseas. Although the previous administration had made an agreement with Japan in 1905 to limit its involvement in Manchuria, the Taft administration aggressively sought to increase American economic interests in the region. Knox worked to include the United States in a group of Western powers attempting to build railroads in China. When the European powers agreed to the consortium, the United States tried to exclude the Japanese from the construction of railroads in Manchuria. The railroad building project then collapsed when Japan formed an alliance with Russia.

The Taft-Knox foreign policy in the Caribbean was a continuation of Roosevelt's policy in the region. The Taft administration sought to keep the European powers out of the region at the same time that it expanded American influence. Under the policies of dollar diplomacy, the Taft administration attempted to replace European investments with investments from the United States.

Taft and Knox were not unwilling to turn to military intervention when financial backing was not enough. The Taft administration sent troops to Nicaragua to support the insurgents when a revolution broke out in 1909. The U.S. troops seized the customs houses until peace was restored. Then Knox increased the economic influence of the United States in the country by encouraging American bankers to provide loans to the insurgent government. Taft sent troops to Nicaragua again two years later when an insurrection broke out. This time, they stayed for over a decade.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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—Glen Bessemer

## dress

In the early decades of the 20th century, American society attached great significance to the clothes people wore. As

new fashions and styles of clothing emerged, debate over their effect on the social and moral order also arose. Americans believed that morality was communal; therefore, what one wore was a public expression bound up with the moral order of the community. Changes in clothing styles could be seen as a threat to the moral order. Debates over dress occupied a significant place in American society because styles were changing tremendously throughout the first three decades of the century.

Before the turn of the century, only wealthy women had the ability to purchase new clothes often enough to make changing styles possible. Most Americans either made their own clothes, bought rough, ready-made clothing, or had their clothes made by a tailor. Ordinary people tried to make each item of clothing last as long as possible. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the availability of better-styled ready-to-wear clothing changed this practice. Ready-to-wear refers to clothing made in large quantities in different sizes, just as it does today. The economies of scale realized in making large numbers of women's shirtwaists, for example, allowed the manufacturers to sell them at a price that women could afford. It became possible, therefore, for women of all social backgrounds to wear new styles of clothing.

The opportunity to wear the latest fashions meant a great deal to many men and women, especially immigrants. Many immigrants used their clothing to express their identity as Americans. They were no longer forced to maintain the dress of their native land, but they could instead dress like any other American. Some critics argued that the availability of ready-to-wear clothing convinced the lower classes to buy clothes for the purpose of appearing above their station in life. Despite lower prices, many working-class men and women could not afford the new styles, and their desire to own new clothes had a negative effect on their economic situation.

The most significant shifts in clothing were twofold. First, the women's ready-made clothing industry developed the shirtwaist, a tailored blouse tucked into a skirt. The shirtwaist allowed women to change their dress more frequently and to vary the color and style of their blouses. It also gave to a new generation of working women a professional look. The parallel development for men was the soft collar shirt. In the 19th century, detachable starched cloth and paper collars gave businessmen a formal look, while working men were more often seen in a working man's blouse or shirt with a soft collar. Better fabric and a soft collar democratized men's clothing.

Some of the most strident debates occurred over women's clothing. Changes in women's clothing styles actually began as a health crusade at the end of the 19th century. Dress reformers argued that dresses that reached the



ground gathered all sorts of dirt and germs as they swept along city streets. Women's dresses also contained numerous creases and folds of heavy material that trapped dirt and disease. Reformers also demonstrated that the weight of women's clothing made it difficult for women to carry out many everyday activities. Partially in an attempt to improve health, clothing designers began to raise the hemlines of women's dresses and use less material. The changes caused considerable debate. Critics argued that the new styles symbolized a moral collapse as women's ankles became visible and fashion became overly important to many American women. Shorter hemlines also touched off a debate about femininity, as many argued that rising hemlines threatened women's special place as the moral center of society.

By the mid-1920s, fashion had emerged as a powerful force in opposition to community morality. Hemlines that had risen to the knee in the early 1920s came back down, but not because of moral outrage. Hemlines were simply following fashion. Americans had not yet accepted that fashion should be used to express their individuality, but the groundwork was laid for the role that fashion would come to play in American culture.

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—Michael Hartman

**DuBois, W. E. B. (William Edward Burghardt DuBois)**  
(1868–1963) *scholar, writer, civil rights activist*

A writer and sociologist, DuBois was a leader in the African-American struggle for racial equality and social justice. Although his political and social views evolved over time, DuBois consistently struggled to win access to America's economic riches and political rights for African Americans. He is perhaps best known for his dispute with Booker T. Washington over the proper strategy for winning civil rights. In this dispute, DuBois rejected Washington's conservative policies and argued that confrontational strategies were needed. The height of his influence came in the years stretching from 1909 to 1934 when he used his position as editor of the *Crisis*, the journal of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, to further the African-American civil rights struggle.

DuBois was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. He graduated from Fisk University and went on to do graduate work at Harvard and the University of Berlin. In 1895 he became the first African American to earn his doctorate from Harvard and wrote his doctoral dissertation, which was later published as *Suppression of the African Slave Trade in the United States, 1638–1870* (1896). After teaching at Wilberforce College and the University of

Pennsylvania he became professor of history and economics at Atlanta University, where he conducted many important sociological studies of African-American life. In 1899, he published his influential *The Philadelphia Negro*, and a series of studies thereafter.

DuBois's political and social ideals evolved throughout his life. He initially accepted Booker T. Washington's conservative strategies, agreeing with Washington that African Americans could embrace self-help and community development and temporarily temper their demands for political and civil rights. During his early career DuBois also argued that African Americans were distinct from white Americans and therefore should seek the development of separate identities and cultures within the same society. However, as southern states enacted Jim Crow laws and disenfranchised black voters, DuBois began to distance himself from the philosophy of Washington. In his 1903 work, *The Souls of Black Folk*, DuBois attacked Washington over his strategy in regard to education, suffrage, civil rights, and the African-American relationship with the South.

By this time, DuBois had decided that African Americans needed “a talented tenth” to lead the struggle for civil rights. Washington's brand of industrial education, DuBois argued, would never produce an educated leadership. He also argued, in repudiation of Washington, that African Americans should fight for immediate political and civil rights. Only through immediate and militant action could African Americans force white Americans to change. In adopting this position, DuBois rejected Washington's belief that the future of African Americans lay in the South. DuBois argued that the Jim Crow South was not changing, and therefore African Americans should move, if necessary, in their struggle for equal rights. In making these arguments, DuBois distanced himself both from Washington and from his earlier thought. He firmly rejected SEGREGATION and the development of separate cultures that he had earlier embraced.

In 1905 DuBois helped create a practical outlet for his philosophy by helping to found the NIAGARA MOVEMENT. In opposition to the more moderate course of Booker T. Washington, the Niagara Movement espoused direct protests and demanded immediate civil and political rights. Washington used the influence he had built up through the Tuskegee Institute and his connections with white philanthropists to oppose the new direction of civil rights activism. By 1911 the Niagara Movement had failed. However, many of its leaders, including DuBois, became founding members of the NAACP.

During his time in the NAACP, DuBois had his greatest influence on American racial issues and politics. In 1909, he quit his job at Atlanta University and moved to New York City to work full-time for the new civil rights organization. The NAACP succeeded where the Niagara Movement had failed. Largely due to its biracial composition,



W. E. B. DuBois (Library of Congress)

it was immune to Washington's ability to restrict the flow of funds from white donors to African-American organizations. DuBois founded *The Crisis*, the NAACP's monthly journal, and used it to espouse his ideas on the issues of the day. From 1910 until he resigned as editor in 1934, DuBois used *The Crisis* to push a militant civil rights agenda focused on political agitation. Although he was often at odds with more conservative members of the NAACP, he managed to keep control of the content of *The Crisis* throughout most of his tenure.

During his time as editor, DuBois's political and social ideals continued to evolve. He often found himself in opposition to other African-American leaders in the 1920s. On

the one hand, he drew fire from more conservative NAACP leaders who did not support his militant ideals. On the other hand, he faced opposition from other African-American leaders who did not believe he was militant enough. By the early 1920s, DuBois had come to believe that socialism offered a political choice for African Americans. However, because he embraced a moderate evolutionary socialism, he came under attack from African-American leaders who believed that a more radical brand of socialism or communism offered African Americans more. DuBois also became interested in Pan-Africanism, a movement that sought to unify Africans and people of African descent worldwide, but he faced opposition from MARCUS GARVEY and his UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

By the end of the 1920s, DuBois had embraced Marxism as the answer to the African-American struggle. Because racism was based in maintaining the African Americans as a permanent lower class, DuBois argued, the answer to their plight was the overthrow of the capitalist economic system and all classes. Surprisingly, his interest in Pan-Africanism led him back to supporting segregation as a strategy for improving the lives of African Americans. DuBois argued that segregated schools and hospitals were better than no schools and hospitals. This rejection of the NAACP's ideal of integration and his turn to radical politics alienated him even further from the NAACP leadership; in 1934 he resigned from the organization he had helped create. For the rest of his life, he continued to write and struggle for the rights of African Americans, but he never again achieved the prominence he enjoyed during his years with the NAACP. DuBois died in self-imposed exile in Ghana after joining the Communist Party and renouncing his U.S. citizenship.

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—Michael Hartman and Howard Smead





### economy

The years from 1900 to 1930 witnessed the maturing of the United States as an industrial and financial power. The growth of BUSINESS at home and abroad, the merger movement of the early 20th century, and banking and financial reform, as shown in the CURRENCY ACT of 1900 and the passage of the FEDERAL RESERVE ACT (1913), contributed to the ascendancy of American economic power. During these decades, the United States changed from a debtor nation, which imported and borrowed more from nations than it exported, to a creditor nation, to which many European nations owed both war debts and peace loans. The United States took the lead in the production of steel, oil, and automobiles, which rapidly supplanted the older industries of iron, coal, and rail as the leading sectors of the world economy.

Foreign trade and foreign investment grew substantially through these years, as the United States expanded into new markets. Latin America, Mexico, and the Caribbean long had been the destination of American agricultural commodities and manufactured goods. After the turn of the century, tentative steps toward developing a market in Asia and the expansion of trade with Canada and Europe shifted the balance of trade in America's favor, especially after WORLD WAR I. This also stabilized the U.S. dollar. Protective tariffs continued to play a role in fostering American industry and protecting its agriculture. The restrictive trade policy of the United States and its high tariffs, however, undermined the health of the world economy as a whole.

For most of its history, the well-being of the United States has hinged on the state of its farm economy. The turn of the century witnessed the "golden age" of AGRICULTURE, as farm producers grew and sold a large share of the world's agricultural exports, especially in wheat, cattle, and cotton. From 1900 to 1920, the value of cultivated land and agricultural crops increased by nearly 400 percent, as prices soared to 300 percent of their 1900

value. Trends toward more intensive farming and use of scientific farming methods, however, slowed the growth of improved land. As part of a trend toward more scientific methods, new agricultural colleges sprung up, which taught young farmers to keep books, count costs, and calculate profit and loss. Farm agents in newly developed Agricultural Extension services pushed farmers toward scientific livestock raising, the use of alfalfa, rust-resistant wheat, and expanded egg and poultry, milk, sugar, and citrus fruit production. The gas engine tractor also replaced earlier equipment. These changes increased the value of crops and livestock produced from \$4,717,000,000 in 1899 to \$19,331,000,000 in 1917. The agricultural labor force remained about the same size, or 11 million laborers, despite expanded production.

By the 20th century, manufacturing dominated the nation's economy and surpassed in value the agricultural sector. A slight decline in food exports between 1900 and 1913 was more than compensated for by iron and steel manufacture, which was surpassed only by raw cotton in the value of its exports. Refined copper and copper products, refined mineral oils, lumber, timber, and wood products, cars and carriages, cotton goods, and agricultural implements topped the list of goods exported. After 1897, there was a great increase in foreign trade, despite the prohibitively large tariffs instituted in the late 19th century (especially the Dingley Tariff of 1897). After 1889, the United States achieved a positive trade balance, as both agricultural and manufacturing goods came to represent a larger proportion of the nation's economy. Industry led the way. By 1913, manufactured goods constituted 48.8 percent of all exports, in contrast to 35.3 percent of trade in 1900. Europe declined as a destination for American-made goods. In 1900, Europe received 75 percent of all U.S. exports. By 1917, this had declined, despite the need for war matériel, to two-thirds. In 1919, after the war had ended, Europe received only 40 percent of all American exports, while U.S. exports to Canada and Asia doubled.



The war in Europe intensified these trends. Arms and munitions, chemicals, and transport vehicles, as well as cotton and wool textiles, oil and coal, and foodstuffs were exported to Europe in ever-growing quantities as the conflict wore on. Unable to continue domestic food production and in desperate need of war material, combatant nations considered natural allies of the United States—Britain, France, and Italy—increased their demand for such goods, driving up domestic prices, wages, and profits. A British blockade did obstruct trade with Germany, Austria, and their allies, but these had never been major markets for American goods. With the U.S. declaration of war in April 1917, the need for the production of arms, munitions, and other war matériel further increased. For the first time, the United States produced its own high-grade textiles and chemicals, two products that had a profound effect on the postwar domestic economy. Finally, the war forced the United States to build its own merchant marine and import directly from source countries, rather than using European brokers.

The United States emerged from World War I as the only major power with a stable economy. War and its consequences weakened European economies at the same time it strengthened the industries and finances of the United States. New markets were opened to American agricultural and financial goods, and more importantly, American businesses capitalized on strengths they had developed over decades. Corporate managers reorganized and merged businesses. New technology, hiring policies, and improved management led to greater efficiency and growth in worker productivity. The prosperity of the postwar years was rooted in the boom in industrial production. The Gross National Product (GNP) rose from \$85.1 billion in 1923 to \$103 billion in 1929. Income from such sources as payrolls, pensions, dividends, and profits grew from \$74.2 billion in 1923 to \$89 billion in 1928. Corporate income increased nearly 25 percent, from \$8 to \$10 billion. Savings, building and loan assets, insurance assets, and stock holdings all increased, as did total wages.

The cornerstone of this prosperity was the **AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY**, which was growing in size, influence, and wealth. The most famous of the manufacturers, and the one whose name became synonymous with **MASS PRODUCTION** and the assembly line, was **HENRY FORD**. His efforts to “get prices down to buying power” transformed the auto industry as he streamlined car production, and his “Five Dollar Day,” which boosted the wages of skilled workers in his employ, gave Ford much of the publicity he needed to maintain a stable labor force. His sales and profits soared, as they did among all automobile companies.

Originally a highly competitive industry with a wide range of producers, the auto industry in the 1920s featured some of the most dramatic mergers. William C. Durant, a

carriage manufacturer, took over the Buick Motor Car Company in 1905. By 1908, with loans from the Dupont Company, Durant had combined a number of small companies into General Motors (GM), soon “the greatest industrial corporation in the world.” By 1920, when he was forced out as company president, Durant had managed to take over 40 percent of the domestic automobile market. In 1923, Walter P. Chrysler, head of production at GM, resigned to buy and reorganize the Maxwell Motor Company, renamed the Chrysler Corporation. By 1928, Chrysler bought Dodge Brothers and formed a corporation to rival Ford and GM. Within a year, the “Big Three” automakers were producing 83 percent of all automobiles.

The automobile and the assembly line were only two outward symbols of industrial expansion and prosperity. The making of automobiles required other industrial products: steel, glass, leather, chemical paints, and textiles in car manufacture; rubber for tires; oil refining for gasoline; and the construction of new roads. In the 1920s alone, more than a billion dollars was spent on highway construction and nearly half a billion on city streets. In the wake of the automobile boom, the number of car sales agents, filling stations, garages, motor homes, tourist motels, restaurants, and attractions also grew rapidly. With the widespread use of the automobile came the further expansion of cities and a boom in building construction. Apartment buildings, houses, factory and commercial construction, new schools, churches, and hospitals were the product of the suburbanization encouraged by the automobile. Innovations in electrical manufacturing and communications triggered a remarkable increase in domestic goods. These industries (radio, electric light, phonograph, telephone, and furniture, among others) expanded domestic markets and turned over high rates of profit in the prosperous years of the 1920s.

The key to much of the success in corporate profits was the growth of productivity. Since the turn of the century, corporations had used the ideas of **FREDERICK WINSLOW TAYLOR** to streamline work processes. Managers used time-and-motion study to simplify human action in the workplace for greater efficiency. They centralized decision making about production, personnel, and distribution. In addition, **INVENTION AND TECHNOLOGY** had a tremendous impact. By 1928, the Committee on Economic Trends reported that the nation’s per capita productivity had increased in eight years by 35 percent.

Increased productivity and profits, expanding markets, and the use of consumer credit made possible new corporate consolidations and mergers. Following the pattern of the automobile industry, almost every sector of the economy witnessed this phenomenon. Over the course of the 1920s, more than 8,000 businesses disappeared, captured by corporate takeovers. Banks, utility companies, and retail stores led the way. In banking, merger mania and

the development of branch, or chain, banks, aided industry concentration. In 1920, there were 1,280 branch banks; a decade later, there were over 3,500. In 1919 alone there were 80 bank mergers; in 1927, there were 259. From 1919 to 1924, utility companies consolidated into huge regional conglomerates. More than 3,700 local companies vanished as 10 holding companies controlled 72 percent of all power. What was true in manufacturing and power was equally true of wholesale and retail businesses. Chain stores, like chain banks, sprang up all over the nation, forcing out smaller family-owned grocery markets and ethnic food stores. Large chains such as Atlantic and Pacific Tea (A&P) soon dominated the retail food market, growing from 400 stores in 1912 to over 15,000 in 1932. In 1918, there were 29,000 chain retail stores; by 1929, they had increased to 160,000, including drugstores, grocery stores, and clothing stores.

Through the course of the First World War, the United States moved from being a debtor to a creditor nation. Both the U.S. government and private investors lent combatant nations more than \$10 billion for the war effort and reconstruction. In addition, private lending and postwar trade imbalances shifted from a nearly \$3 billion deficit to a more than \$3 billion surplus. The response to this shift, however, was not to lower tariff barriers and encourage trade but to resurrect the higher customs duties and protect American goods. In 1922, under the influence of business and farm LOBBYING AND INTEREST GROUPS, Congress passed the FORDNEY-MCCUMBER TARIFF, which restored prewar taxes on imports.

Trade and economic ties with other countries spurred economic growth at home and internationally. The war had already increased the U.S. presence abroad. In the years that followed, the United States increased its dominance of the world economy as it took its products, branch businesses, and investment capital abroad. American products, such as wheat, corn, steel, and automobiles, found new foreign markets. In mass communications too, American motion pictures, cable, radio, news services, and advertising dominated the market. As some observed, America's "economic miracle" in the 1920s was based on access to consumer goods, mass production, and easy credit at home and abroad.

Trade was further supported by American finance and investment abroad. The Federal Reserve Act of 1913 provided the legal basis for branch banks in other countries. The demand for capital was so strong that by 1920 there were over 180 foreign branches and affiliates of American banks. Capital followed, as businesses increased their stake from an estimated \$3.8 billion in 1919 to \$7.5 billion in 1929. Market-oriented Ford, General Motors, and International Business Machines increased their investments in foreign countries. There was new emphasis as well

on developing raw materials. Before the war, the United States had primarily exported resources from its domestic stores. During the 1920s, American corporations developed a global strategy in acquiring raw materials and mineral sources in other countries. Oil corporations expanded into Mexico, Venezuela, and Colombia. Rubber companies turned Liberia into an American protectorate. American mining corporations like the Anaconda Company, Union Carbide, and the Guggenheim Brothers exploited deposits of copper, zinc, manganese, chrome, nitrates, and other minerals in Latin America.

Another area of U.S. involvement was the increasing availability of loans to stimulate development abroad. To aid in postwar reconstruction under the DAWES PLAN of 1924, the United States arranged to lend \$100 million to Germany and scaled down war reparations to ease its financial burden. From 1924 to 1929, German banks and corporations borrowed from 50 to 80 percent of their capital loans from American banks. At the same time, British and French war debts limited their ability to seek credit from the United States, a cycle that figured prominently in the world economic crisis of the 1930s.

The 1920s is often characterized as a decade of economic rebirth and widespread prosperity. But higher productivity and national income did not help certain industries and regions, which suffered severe economic depression. By 1920, the wartime prosperity in agriculture had evaporated in the postwar international economy. During the war, farmers took on new debt in response to an expanding market both at home and abroad. European nations had been hungry for American wheat, corn, and cotton. Farmers mortgaged property to expand their acreage, equipment, and production. As battlefields were returned to peacetime agriculture, the international market collapsed. American farm products had to compete with Argentinian and Canadian wheat and beef, Egyptian cotton, and European foodstuffs.

The decline in the farm economy was precipitous and severe. Farm income dropped over 50 percent from 1919 to 1921. More than 13 million acres were abandoned in the first decrease in land tilled in American history. Farm bankruptcies skyrocketed. In 1905, farm bankruptcies were only 1.5 per 10,000 farmers; in 1920, that figure had soared to 20 per 10,000. The total number of bankrupt farms amounted to 453,000 over the course of the decade. Agricultural commodity prices were to blame. In 1920, the price of the leading 10 crops declined by 57 percent; in 1921, they were one-third of the prices in the previous year. The loss of family farms due to debt and bankruptcy reinforced the trend toward corporate farming.

In their experience of the 1920s as a decade of decline, farmers were not alone. As one historian wrote, "Hundreds of thousands of workers did improve their standard of

living in the 1920s, but inequality grew.” Real wages stagnated over the course of the decade, and there was a great disparity of income among workers as new industries like automobile and electrical manufacturing benefited and older industries like coal and textiles experienced declining wages and unemployment. These factors contributed to the economic crisis of the 1930s.

See also OIL INDUSTRY; STEEL INDUSTRY.

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## education

The modern educational system in the United States took shape during the period from 1900 to 1930. As part of the Progressive reaction to the growth of cities, the effects of industrial society, and the new immigration, educators reformed school curricula from kindergarten to universities. They created the modern school system, in which the state mandates schooling to a certain age and education beyond elementary schools is tracked according to assumptions about a student's future occupation. The ideas of JOHN DEWEY, which emphasized learning through practical application, were influential in the emerging education reform. Most importantly, American universities became the site for the production of knowledge and training of experts.

The educators who reformed the schools during the first three decades of the 20th century were reacting to social, economic, and cultural changes in American society. In the eyes of many reformers, American society had begun to disintegrate due to the pressures brought to bear by modern industry, mass immigration, and rapid urbanization. In response, reformers embraced the doctrine of efficiency as the means for saving American society. Social efficiency was the belief that all the different parts of society could be formed into an efficient functioning whole. Educators believed that they could use the schools to prepare each student for his or her place in society, thus making America socially efficient and ending the threat to the social order. These beliefs steered educators as they modernized schools during the early part of the century.

Although school systems chose to modernize in different ways, the educational changes across the country shared certain characteristics. First, educators extended schooling to include a much larger proportion of children. Second, schools expanded and differentiated their curricula. Third, educators sought to use the schools to solve

social and economic problems. Fourth, schools sought to individualize the school program. Educational institutions from grade school to the university based their modernization efforts on these principles.

During this period, the most significant change in American schools was the tremendous increase in the number of students attending school, particularly high school. Between 1900 and 1930, the proportion of 14- to 17-year-olds enrolled in high school grew from 10.6 percent to 54.9 percent. Total enrollment increased almost 700 percent. In comparison, the total population of 14- to 17-year-olds increased by just over 50 percent. The increase in high school enrollment far outstripped the growth of the high school-aged population. The percentage of 17-year-olds who graduated from high school increased from 6.4 percent in 1900 to 32.1 percent in 1930. A variety of factors contributed to these increases. The most significant were compulsory education laws and the fact that high school education had become more valuable.

State legislatures across the United States passed compulsory education laws in reaction to changes occurring in the economy. By the 20th century, the apprentice system for learning a trade was all but nonexistent. In addition, many of the jobs in large factories that dominated American industry did not offer opportunities for advancement. Educators feared that the young men and women entering factory work faced a life of toil without the hope of advancing to better-paid positions. Educators also feared that the immigrants streaming into the United States would not adopt American ways and values if they did not receive an education. To counteract these threats, educators undertook efforts to bring more children into school. Compulsory education laws were favorite tools in their efforts. Most states passed compulsory education laws in the late 19th century and expanded the targeted ages early in the 20th century. By the end of the first decade, many states had passed laws that mandated education up to at least 14 years of age. Many of these laws exempted youths aged 15 and 16 only if they proved that they could read and write at a satisfactory level.

High school also became more valuable as a path to a career. Many large manufacturers began to require a high school education for new employees. High schools also began to offer practical courses that prepared students for jobs immediately upon graduation. These changes helped increase the high school enrollments throughout the country by making high school beneficial for a larger number of teenagers.

The growth in the number of high school students changed the methodology of education. Prior to the 20th century, schools focused on teaching basic literacy and arithmetic at the grade school level. High schools offered courses of study targeted toward preparing students for





Four African-American women participate in a cooking class. (*Library of Congress*)

college. Students who did not fit the system stayed out of school. Any child who completed elementary school and was not interested in college would drop out. Children who were unable to complete the regular courses in the elementary schools because of physical or mental handicaps did not attend schools. Educators thought that children leaving school early was a threat to society. Because they had placed themselves at the center of a healthy social order, educators moved to expand their offerings to attract more students. They did this by differentiating the curriculum to appeal to the widest range of students.

In all grade levels, educators created programs for students unable to complete the regular course of study, including students who were deaf, blind, developmentally disabled, delinquent, gifted, anemic, and suffering from tuberculosis. In the high schools, educators first differentiated the curriculum in their effort to meet the needs of students who attended school only because they were

required to attend. At the turn of the century, America's high school students could choose from two to five courses of study, in which most of the classes were required. Educators felt that the influx of a group of students who were not interested in the courses of study offered would disrupt regular classes. They were compelled, however, to offer all students an education. Schools, therefore, set up special classes. The problem arose of what to teach in these classes. Teachers eventually settled on a course of manual training, in which the schools would teach the students basic manual skills that might help them once they left school. As compulsory education laws forced more students into high school, educators expanded these programs.

From its beginning, manual training developed into vocational education. Initially, schools expanded manual training to make education more practical for all students. At the same time, educators realized that many youths were leaving public school to enter private business schools,



which taught skills such as stenography and bookkeeping. To attract these students, schools began to teach business skills. Educators soon applied the same model to appeal to students who left school as soon as legally possible to work in industry. Manual training courses evolved into vocational education. Schools began to offer courses in trades such as bricklaying, painting, dressmaking, and automobile mechanics.

Educators' belief in vocational education led them to differentiate the curriculum by sex. Because female students faced restrictions in the labor force, educators saw it as socially wasteful to offer them training in all fields. Thus, educators introduced vocational courses in dressmaking, millinery, retail selling, and domestic science. Restricting students to specific courses was a change from the 19th-century system in which all students could select their course of study. The differentiation by sex in vocational education spread to other areas of the curriculum, leading to further discrimination against female students.

From these beginnings, vocational education came to define the American high school as general education, while college preparation curricula also assumed students' vocational paths. Many vocational education proponents, however, began to discern a problem with the educational system. School systems realized that many students were so far below grade level that they never reached high school before they turned 16, at which time they could legally leave school. The danger in this, according to school officials, was that these were the students most in need of vocational training. Schools reacted in two ways. They created junior high schools and instituted INTELLIGENCE TESTS.

The idea behind junior high schools was that the oldest grades of elementary schools would be separated and provided with the same type of differentiated curriculum offered at the high schools. Students who planned on continuing through high school took academic courses while those students who never intended to go to high school studied vocational subjects. School officials believed that this served the needs of all students equally.

Intelligence testing also worked to keep students at the grade level deemed appropriate for their age. The tests were first extensively used by the U.S. Army in WORLD WAR I. America's schools adopted them immediately after the war. By the mid-1920s, the school systems of 37 out of the 40 largest cities used intelligence testing to place students in instructional tracks. Many school systems gave students intelligence tests as early as first grade and assigned them to instructional tracks based on the results. Instruction was then differentiated between the tracks. Students who received the lowest scores were taught basic literacy and vocational skills while those who scored the highest were offered an education that prepared them for high school. By matching instruction to the perceived intel-

ligence of the students, the schools hoped that all students could pass to the next grade level each year. However, there were problems built into the tests. Intelligence testing was in its infancy, and tests were biased in favor of native English-speaking students. Thus, across the country, foreign-born students were placed in the lower instructional tracks in a much greater proportion than their percentage in the population as a whole. Fortunately, most schools realized these problems; and by the 1930s they decreased their reliance on intelligence tests.

The separation of students into tracks remained an integral part of the schools. Coupled with the continued belief in social efficiency, tracking led to the abandonment of a broad, meaningful education for large numbers of American students by the late 1920s, as schools struggled to offer education to an ever-increasing student body. They discovered that, beyond a certain point, education ceased to offer vocational value for students who planned to work in factories. The schools' goals for these students became simply to pass them from grade to grade without expecting much from them. The general track, as it was known in many school systems, failed to challenge students. It offered grade promotion in return for good behavior in school. Students were not expected to demonstrate mastery of any subject beyond the basics.

America's colleges and universities went through changes similar to those of its secondary schools. In seeking to modernize, colleges first sought to make themselves the center for the production and dissemination of knowledge. Second, they promoted the use of scientific knowledge to improve agriculture and industry and to address economic and social problems in collaboration with government and business interests. Third, colleges expanded their programs in an effort to spread knowledge to as many people as possible.

Much in the same way as high schools, colleges in the 19th century had offered limited courses of study. As society and the economy became more complex, college presidents began to see a need for a more complex curriculum. They realized that the experts needed in the industrial economy would need to be trained at the universities. Professionals such as chemists, physicists, social workers, engineers, and lawyers required training. America's colleges and universities developed specialized curricula to meet these needs. In order to teach these new subjects, university faculty members had to become experts themselves. Faculty thus began to undertake research as part of their roles as educators. It was the beginning of the university as an important site for scientific, economic, and social research.

Many other professions were beginning to require education past high school, but not four years at a university. Outside of the university, new post-secondary educational institutions emerged. Normal schools for teacher training,

business schools, and nursing schools arose to meet the needs of newly specialized professions. In addition to the training offered to students pursuing a definite occupation, colleges began to offer classes to students not necessarily interested in a degree. Many college presidents believed that the knowledge being discovered by university faculty should be spread. Colleges developed classes and lecture tours that reached out to interested citizens not enrolled in a university.

The knowledge gained through research was not used solely for instructing new students. University faculty began to work with government and private organizations to help solve problems. Agricultural colleges developed new crops, fertilizers, and farming techniques to help farmers, and also extension programs. University social work programs undertook studies on which government and private agencies based their policies. Finally, new professional schools of education emerged to reinforce progressive reforms and to further modernize school systems. Collaboration between universities and other agencies became an important component of the modern educational system.

See also IMMIGRATION; YOUTH.

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—Michael Hartman

**Eighteenth Amendment** See PROHIBITION.

## elections

The political culture of the late 19th century gave a central place to the ritual of election campaigns. Torchlight parades and party picnics were the occasion for fiery partisan oratory, and elections took on the aura of great battles between the Grand Old Party (Republicans) and the Dinner Pail Brigade (Democrats). By 1920, however, POLITICS had been transformed. A critical realignment in 1896 made the REPUBLICAN PARTY the majority party in both the White House and Congress, and the competitiveness that characterized elections evaporated. High levels of voter participation declined, as the old battleground states of Ohio, Indiana, New York, Connecticut, and, to a lesser extent, New Jersey and Pennsylvania became rock-solid Republican. As the minority, the DEMOCRATIC PARTY relied on its strength in the South and the rural Midwest.

There were other changes as well. The ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment (1920) for WOMAN SUFFRAGE gave the vote to women. In many respects, however, voting and electoral politics were of declining significance. The initiative for legislation came increasingly from LOBBYING AND INTEREST GROUPS, and the center of political gravity shifted from local party politics to mass democracy. At the same time, elections—at least national presidential elections—remained the central drama of American political life.

After 1900, several political reforms—new voting regulations, early registration, residency requirements, and stricter enforcement of voting laws—changed who was defined as a citizen and a voter. More independent voters and declining party loyalty increased such practices as split-ticket voting (where individuals voted for candidates of more than one party) and the use of pasters (stickers with independent candidates' names). Initiative, referendum, and recall and the direct primary changed how politicians and party officials did business, as did the increasing levels of campaign funding required by improvements in communication and in how party campaigns were conducted. Fear of the power of immigrant political machines encouraged an URBAN REFORM movement, which worked to shift power away from ward organizations to central government. The introduction of citywide elections and the shift toward city commissions undermined ward-level politics. By the 1920s, the spate of laws restricting immigration also diminished the importance of the immigrant and ethnic vote.

The expansion of the right to vote to women ironically helped to lower voter participation rates. In 1920, for example, the rate had fallen to 53 percent. Following declines in party identification, fewer voters voted. What was more, newly enfranchised women were not voting in the same proportion as men. Women did not vote as a bloc as many opponents of suffrage had feared. Rather, women seemed to have as many political opinions and as varied political interests as men. Their presence as voters—and later as candidates for political office—was deemed negligible. The changing composition of the American electorate, from the new women voters to the naturalized citizens and second-generation ethnic children, eventually caused a realignment in the two major political parties that brought about Democratic dominance of the federal government in the 1930s.

Before 1930, however, the mainstream political parties had little to distinguish them in terms of issues. For the Republicans, monetary policy, especially establishing the Gold Standard for the dollar and support for high protective tariffs, dominated their platform. Democrats stood against the enhancement of federal power and for a greater voice for the people in politics. Both parties endorsed the sanctity of property rights and the virtues of democracy.

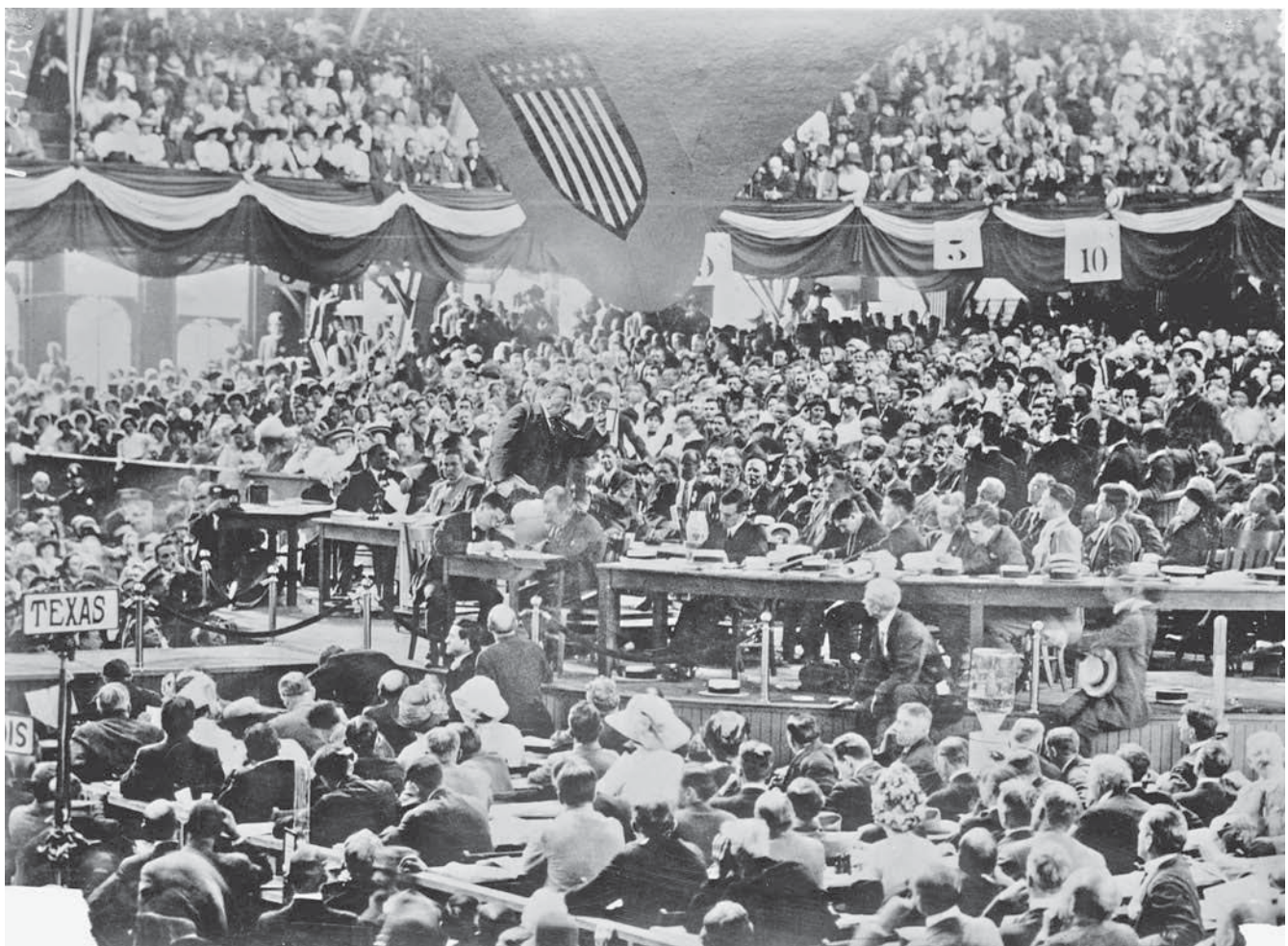


The sameness in their platforms sparked dissent in the creation of third-party candidacies. Throughout the period from 1900 to 1930, third-party activity on the local and state levels allowed the election of socialist and farmer-labor aldermen, mayors, state representatives, and members of Congress. In successive elections of 1912, 1916, and 1920, socialist EUGENE VICTOR DEBS received increasing support from voters disenchanted with the business-oriented politics of the Republican and Democratic Parties. The Progressive Republicans' revolt against the "Old Guard" gave rise to the PROGRESSIVE PARTY campaigns of 1912 and 1924. Throughout the period, the Prohibition Party also ran national campaigns dedicated to building a consensus for state control of alcohol and eventual passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, which instituted national PROHIBITION.

In 1900, the election of William McKinley to a second term in office was a confirmation of fundamental shifts in party loyalty in the late 19th century. The previous elec-

tion had been a critical one, in which party support shifted and the Republicans became the majority party in Congress and the White House. The Democratic Party, which was divided between a solid South and uneven support in the rural Midwest, lost critical ground by nominating Bryan again. His support for Free Silver (inflation through monetary policy) alienated urban voters from both the working class and the middle class. The Republicans had for their platform a consistent emphasis on the Gold Standard for money and a high protective tariff. Besting for a second time Democrat William Jennings Bryan, McKinley benefited from a large campaign fund and a well-orchestrated political campaign under Republican businessman Mark Hanna. McKinley won the election by a margin of 7,218,491 to Bryan's 6,356,734.

With the assassination of McKinley in 1901, THEODORE ROOSEVELT assumed office. When he campaigned for office in his own right in 1904, his popularity among voters buoyed him against his opponent, the Democratic



Theodore Roosevelt at the first Progressive Party convention in Chicago, Illinois, 1912 (*Library of Congress*)

candidate, corporate lawyer Alton B. Parker. Not only was Roosevelt better known and liked, but also he was the incumbent. His boisterous campaign to regulate trusts and his support for healthy government-business relations gave him an edge with both sides of the class divide. Roosevelt won the election 7,628,461 votes to Parker's 5,084,223. The electoral vote was even more decisive, with Roosevelt winning 336 to Parker's 140.

Custom prevented Roosevelt from running for his second full term, since he had already served nearly eight years in the White House. The Republican Party still controlled crucial states, and it continued to have majority strength, so eventually Roosevelt gave the go-ahead to WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, his handpicked successor, to run for the presidency on the Republican Party ticket. In that campaign year, 1908, Bryan once again stood as Democratic candidate for the White House. His conservative populism played well in the rural South and Midwest, but it did not convince the majority of voters. Taft, running a low-key and conservative campaign, won the election handily, 7,675,320 votes to Bryan's 6,412,294. Socialist Debs, on this third campaign for the presidency, won more than 420,000 votes.

In 1912, tensions within the Republican Party, and the renewed ambition of former president Theodore Roosevelt, helped spark the creation of the Progressive (or Bull Moose) Party. By this time, there were clear divisions among Republicans. Opposition to Taft and to the Old Guard in Congress under JOSEPH GURNEY CANNON prompted the creation of a National Progressive Republican League under ROBERT LA FOLLETTE. In the election campaign, there was a strong contrast between reform politics aimed at bolstering the federal government power, idealized under the rubric of Roosevelt's NEW NATIONALISM, and the more competition-centered, small business language of the NEW FREEDOM under WOODROW WILSON. Running as the incumbent, Taft spent most of his attention and fire on the Progressive Party. While Roosevelt continued to have a grasp on the public's loyalty and imagination and outpolled Taft, Woodrow Wilson won the election. The split between Progressive voters and Republican stalwarts opened the door for the Democrats to take the White House for the first time since the election of 1892.

Woodrow Wilson's presidency confirmed that a Democratic Congress had overcome the obstacles to reform. In the first four years of his presidency, Wilson used Democratic majorities in the House and Senate to pass several important pieces of legislation, including the child labor KEATING-OWEN ACT, the ADAMSON ACT, the FEDERAL RESERVE ACT, and the UNDERWOOD-SIMMONS TARIFF, which finally lowered the high protective tariff rates of Republican administrations. In 1916, running against Wilson, Republican CHARLES EVANS HUGHES tried to mobi-

lize the discontent with the reforms from both Republicans and Democrats. As incumbent, however, Wilson held the edge, and the Republican Party still suffered from its earlier split. Wilson narrowly defeated Hughes, riding on his pledge to keep the country out of WORLD WAR I. With a margin of 9,127,695 votes to Hughes' 8,533,507, Wilson was reelected.

Changes in the electorate were not at first noticed during the Republican ascendancy of the 1920s. Republican politicians followed the call of their presidential candidate, Senator WARREN GAMALIEL HARDING of Ohio, for a "politics of normalcy." As the "best available man," he became the party's candidate in preference to other reforming politicians. His opponent, Ohio politician James Cox, similarly won the Democratic Party nomination by defeating the politics of reform within the party. Such Wilson administration stalwarts as Attorney General A. MITCHELL PALMER and William McAdoo, the president's son-in-law, lost out in the struggle to find a consensus candidate. Winning the election by a nearly two to one margin in popular votes (16,143,407 votes to 9,130,328), Harding became president not so much because voters rejected reform in general as because they refused to endorse the particular reforms that had dominated American politics since Wilson's election in 1912.

Harding's death and the subsequent presidency of CALVIN COOLIDGE distanced the Republican Party from charges of corruption and graft, and in 1924, he ran for president in his own right against an opposition split between a new farmer-labor alliance and a Democratic Party with a divided constituency. Ever since the election of 1896, the Democrats had kept a balance between urban immigrant voters and their larger national base among rural and southern voters. By 1924, the strain of trying to keep together the party was beginning to show. Democratic voters and politicians were divided over the KU KLUX KLAN, Prohibition, and FOREIGN POLICY. The Klan, which had become powerful in local and state governments across the nation, was the object of an anti-Klan resolution in the party convention. For every state, which, like New York and Minnesota, had passed anti-Klan laws, however, there were other states where Klan members held major political offices. The chief contestants for the Democratic nomination were on opposite sides of the issue. William McAdoo, a politician with strong rural and southern ties, an advocate of Prohibition and supporter of the Klan, ran for the nomination against ALFRED E. SMITH, governor of New York, allied with Tammany Hall, and an opponent of both the Klan and Prohibition. More than 100 ballots were needed to decide the Democratic candidate for president—John W. Davis, a conservative Wall Street lawyer. Davis had neither strong ties to the Wilson administration nor did he represent the urban/rural divide within the party.



Discontent over politics as usual helped spark a third-party political campaign in 1924. A coalition of socialists, trade unionists, farm advocates, and progressives created a Progressive Party ticket. Robert La Follette, whose achievements as a reforming senator gave him national fame, agreed to be the party's presidential candidate. Burton Wheeler, who had gained notoriety as the chief investigator of the Harding administration, became the vice presidential candidate. The controversial role of the Communist League in the party and divisions among progressive voters weakened the party's chances in the election. Calvin Coolidge was elected president, winning 15.7 million votes to 8.4 million for Democrat John Davis. Third-party candidate La Follette received 4.8 million votes.

The elections of Harding, Coolidge, and later Herbert Hoover were in many ways emblematic of a political system at a standstill. Republican Party politics went no further than arguing for, in Harding's words, "Less government in business and more business in government." The positive legacy of the Harding administration was a reorganized and streamlined federal bureaucracy. Coolidge, Harding's successor, had a similar eye toward the limited scope of government. Unaddressed problems of race, poverty, and the relation between government and the economy lay beneath the surface of the politics of normalcy.

By 1928, the strains of the political system began to show. Coolidge, who had support for a second term, withdrew from the race early, leaving the Republicans to nominate stalwart Herbert Hoover for the presidency. Hoover had served in both Democratic and Republican administrations, but most notably as secretary of commerce under Harding and Coolidge. A former engineer, Hoover was committed to the same principles of rational and efficient government. Like many Republicans, however, he believed that the country should rely on the market to stabilize the economy and address inequality.

For urban voters, an increasingly important segment of the voting population, the candidacy of Herbert Hoover, a staid midwesterner associated with business interests, was just more of the same. Instead, they found their interests represented in the candidacy of Democrat Alfred E. Smith. A Catholic, urban politician, and a "wet" (anti-Prohibitionist) to boot, Smith garnered the votes of urban working-class and white voters. A realignment of northern cities away from the Republican and into the Democratic Party column was a sign of a different politics in the making. But during an election year characterized by anti-Catholicism and a strong Prohibitionist vote, Smith could not make headway against Hoover. Hoover won the election by a landslide of 21 million votes to Smith's 15 million (444 electoral votes to Smith's 87). The election of Hoover was the last stand for the politics of normalcy. The onset of the Great Depression brought with it realignment in party

politics and a permanent shift in how elections would be conducted in the future.

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## electricity

Electricity, long an object of curiosity and wonder, became a major source of power and technological innovation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Daily life in the home, in the streets, and in shops and factories was directly affected by the new inventions of URBAN TRANSPORTATION, lighting, heating, and mechanization, all fueled by electricity, a source of power that was largely more efficient, cheaper, safer, and more versatile than the technologies it replaced. At the same time, the creation and utilization of electricity also could have negative effects on the environments of city and countryside. Hydroelectric power was relatively clean; and coal-generated electricity removed coal from the direct environment of home and factory, but it still polluted urban air and poisoned water and land in mining districts. Electrical mechanization of factories made workers more productive but also contributed to technological unemployment, and electric appliances lessened some forms of domestic work on the one hand and raised expectations for cleanliness on the other.

Electrification of urban transport was one of the earliest changes in the 20th-century United States. Substituting electrified wire or track for oil- and coal-driven engines, streetcar companies were able to realize profits from greater speed in transit, fewer repairs, and greater efficiency as well as the sale of surplus energy to private utility companies. The electric trolley transformed cities by making suburban areas more accessible, and many streetcar companies were able to cash in on the sale of real estate along its lines and operation of amusement parks at the end of its lines. Public lighting also changed the urban landscape.

The perfecting of an efficient alternating current (a.c.) motor in 1910 had made possible the creation of a range of electrically powered industrial machinery and domestic appliances. First to take advantage of the cheap cost, broad applicability, and increased availability of electrical power were manufacturers, who turned toward the electrification of machinery in most major consumer industries. Electrical machines that helped produce canned goods and



Charging the battery of a Detroit electric automobile (*Library of Congress*)

meat products, cigarettes, wheat flour, and milk were all introduced in the period. On the whole, it was the versatility of electric engines that enabled their use in industry to expand that rapidly. Electric motors could drive a full range of small motors and large ones, link machines through belts and wires, and regulate the process through gauges and meters. For that reason, electric motors replaced coal- and oil-driven engines and thus increased speed and efficiency and lowered production costs. In 1905, motors powered by electricity accounted for less than 10 percent of industrial production. By 1930, they accounted for 80 percent of all manufacturing output. American consumption of electrical power increased as dramatically as its uses. Between 1899 and 1919, the use of electric power increased from 1.8 percent of industrial production in 1899 to 31.7 percent.

Within private households, electricity worked a revolution in domestic work. First, the proportion of residential homes wired for electricity increased dramatically in the

first three decades of the century. In 1907, only 8 percent of households were electrified. By 1920, this figure had increased to 34.7 percent. By 1930, nearly 70 percent of all households were wired for electricity. Following on these developments, the invention and adoption of such appliances as electric fans, refrigerators, sewing machines, washing machines, toasters, mixers, and vacuums reshaped the labor of women who worked within the home and increased the amount of time spent on laundry, cooking, and cleaning. The availability of electricity also allowed for the wider adoption of RADIO for entertainment and news. Once limited to crystal sets, new radios ran on the same electricity as other household appliances. Standardization of wiring and equipment meant that electricity also was cheap.

The electrical industry grew over the course of the 1920s. Utility companies, which were increasingly subject to government regulation, continued to grow in revenue and assets, as they provided one of the most important

sources of power in cities. While rural areas remained outside the power grid, rural electrification was only a decade away. The manufacture of electrical appliances, in particular, electric motors, lights, radios, and phonographs, became a major industrial sector in the 1920s, and its workers were among the better paid industrial workers. While still a mass production industry, the increased demand for new electrical goods guaranteed employment for its workforce, at least while the economy remained relatively prosperous. Even with the advent of the Great Depression in 1929, electrical manufacturing and the electrification of the home and workplace continued, almost uninterrupted, at the pace of the 1920s.

See also ECONOMY; MASS PRODUCTION; WORK, HOUSEHOLD.

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### Elkins Act (1903)

The Elkins Act was one of two important Progressive Era laws that provided for the federal regulation of railroads. Antitrust reformers lobbied the government to rein in what they saw as unfair rate-fixing practices by railroad companies. When THEODORE ROOSEVELT became president after William McKinley was assassinated in 1901, he did not have as a priority a reform agenda opposing monopoly. Initially, Roosevelt was more concerned about appeasing the conservative leadership of the Republican Party to win reelection in 1904. Changes in corporate structure and a new spirit of reform pushed Roosevelt in a new direction, toward “trust-busting.”

In the late 19th century, merchants and shippers in the Midwest had sought to have the federal government regulate what they saw as the monopolistic practices of the railroad companies. Midwestern companies and small farmers sought to reduce what they perceived as the unfair advantages in railroad shipping rates held by rival companies in the East and Far West. In 1887 Congress had passed the Interstate Commerce Act, which created the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to regulate rate-setting by the railroad companies. The courts limited the powers of the commission over the years, and railroad regulation remained largely unenforceable, much like the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890.

Substantial support for Roosevelt’s antitrust policies surfaced in the congressional elections of 1902. Soon after the elections, Congress passed the Elkins Act of 1903 to prohibit discriminatory railroad rebates. The act strength-

ened the ICC’s ability to regulate railroads by making both receiving and granting rebates a crime and holding railroad officials personally liable if rebating occurred. In addition, it forbade railroad companies from setting rates different from their published rates.

During the 1904 presidential campaign, Roosevelt called for a Square Deal, promising ordinary Americans fairness on the free market by controlling the abuses of corporate power. After his reelection, he pushed further for railroad regulation, but the conservative Republican bloc in Congress adamantly opposed any government rate setting. After two years of debate, Congress passed the HEPBURN ACT of 1906, which gave the ICC the power to set maximum rates once a shipper filed a complaint. In addition, the act dictated using uniform methods of bookkeeping and authorized the ICC to inspect the financial records of railroad companies. The courts preserved the power over the ICC to review its rate decisions.

As a result of Roosevelt’s active efforts to regulate monopolies, the president became known as a trustbuster. Roosevelt believed that corporate monopolies presented the most serious problem of the time and that unregulated competition was ultimately destructive to American capitalism. At the same time, he viewed big companies as part of “modern progress.” He wanted to reduce the misuse of corporate power, not to eliminate big corporations altogether.

See also MANN-ELKINS ACT; NORTHERN SECURITIES CASE.

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—Glen Bessemer

### Ellis, Henry Havelock (1859–1939) *scholar*

One of the earliest and most successful popularizers of SIGMUND FREUD’s theories of sexuality and a prolific author and translator, Ellis was born in Croydon Surrey, England, in 1859, to Edward Peppin and Susannah Wheatley Ellis. Havelock Ellis’s father was a merchant sea captain, and his mother assumed primary responsibility for raising Havelock and his four sisters. He later argued that his childhood shaped his own unconventional sexual identity. Ellis was educated in a boarding school, where he focused on literature, language, and philosophy. At age 16, he joined his father’s ship crew as a cabin boy, but left the ship to take a teaching position when it reached Australia. He returned to England in 1879.

Soon after he returned, Ellis took up the study of medicine at St. Thomas Hospital in London. He read broadly



in the fields of science, philosophy, and sociology. Greatly influenced by Freud, Ellis became a physician but spent most of his career in the scientific study of sexuality. *Sexual Inversion*, the first of his *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, was published in 1897 and banned on grounds of obscenity. The series, published in seven volumes between 1897 and 1928, made a major contribution to the knowledge of human sexuality. In particular, it helped to open the door to understanding homosexual identity and experience. Throughout his life, Ellis continued to publish on the subject, authoring such studies as *The Dance of Life* (1923).

A member of the socialist Fabian Society in Great Britain, Ellis had wide influence internationally and especially in the United States. For MARGARET SANGER and other American sexual radicals, he became the voice of sexual liberation. His repudiation of Victorian repression and celebration of sexual freedom informed Sanger's thought, and their friendship aided her in her crusade for BIRTH CONTROL. Their correspondence lasted over 25 years with little interruption, and Sanger later assisted Ellis financially in paying a salary to his companion and giving him money for a small house. The challenge Ellis presented to both puritanical sexual codes and even the institution of marriage meant that his work suffered from the censorship laws that dogged Sanger's early career. Her support of his work gave him access to an American audience he might otherwise not have reached. His writings made him more popular than Freud in the early 20th century.

In his twenties, Ellis met and corresponded with South African novelist Olive Schreiner, and the two had an affair. He later married Edith Lees in 1891. The marriage lasted until her death in 1916. Ellis wrote at length about this marriage in his autobiography, *My Life* (1940), as one of both companionship and convenience, as Lees was an acknowledged lesbian. Ellis later became involved with his assistant, teacher and translator Francoise Lafitte Cyon. Havelock Ellis died in 1939 at age 80.

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## entertainment, popular

The years between 1900 and 1930 saw a growth in the forms and availability of popular entertainment. From open air concerts and VAUDEVILLE shows to nickelodeons, big-screen films, and radios, people from all walks of life spent an increasing amount of time and money to be entertained. The chief trends were toward a consolidation of the entertainment industry, from the creation of theater syndi-

cates and moving picture chains to the growing dominance of major labels in the recording industry and national networks in radio. While musicians and dancers continued to perform on the streets, in parks, on porches and in small theaters, in saloons and juke joints, popular entertainment was on its way to becoming mass entertainment, controlled by large corporations that had superior technology, distribution, and production.

Popular theater, including melodrama, musical theater, burlesque, and legitimate drama had long held a place in American society. What was different was that the range of theatrical entertainment and its venues broadened considerably. The turn of the century witnessed the emergence of the Broadway theater district in New York City and the creation of major theater syndicates to fund Broadway productions and touring shows. By 1910, there were over 40 legitimate theaters in the district, and it bristled with activity from the production of operettas, musicals and musical revues, and repertory theater. That decade saw many new operettas, including Victor Herbert's *Babes in Toyland* (1903) and *Naughty Marietta* (1910), and Franz Lehár's *The Merry Widow* (1907). Soon, however, operettas lost out in competition with new musical shows and legitimate theater. Repertory theater under such lights as Eva Le Gallienne emerged to take its place in the district. The rapid rise of playwright Eugene O'Neill also gave new importance to the Broadway stage. Having begun in Provincetown, Massachusetts, as part of the GREENWICH VILLAGE crowd, O'Neill dominated Broadway drama in the 1920s, and his plays such as *Beyond the Horizon* (1920), *The Emperor Jones* (1920), *Desire Under the Elms* (1925), and *Strange Interlude* (1928) earned him both appreciative audiences and three Pulitzers.

The most popular form of entertainment was the vaudeville show. Modern forms of movies and broadcast television owe much to the early years of the century when vaudeville dominated the entertainment industry. Vaudeville had many influences—minstrel shows, ethnic humor, and music from TIN PAN ALLEY, which was in itself a mixture of musical styles. The bill of any vaudeville production brought to its audience jugglers, musicians, tap dancers, women singers, muscle men, slapstick routines, and standup comedians such as W. C. Fields, Jack Benny, George Burns, and Mae West, who later found fame in RADIO and movies. Vaudeville entrepreneurs were inventive enough to showcase boxer JACK JOHNSON, and they even offered a contract to anarchist EMMA GOLDMAN to speak to popular audiences.

At the high end of vaudeville stood the musical revue. *The Follies* was among the most famous and most opulent. Beginning in 1907, Florenz Ziegfeld launched a series of 20 annual musical revues that captured the popular imagination. Gorgeous costumes highlighted the American Girls





Actress Clara Bow, Hollywood's "It" girl (Library of Congress)

in the chorus, and music and comic sketches made up the balance of the show. By the 1920s, Ziegfeld had hired away from vaudeville such legendary performers as Fanny Brice, Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, and Eddie Cantor. For those in musical theater, Ziegfeld's productions were a hard act to follow; but the period after 1900 saw the proliferation of Broadway musicals written by such giants as George M. Cohan and Jerome Kern. Cohan's shows were much in the vein of musical revues, strung along less by a plot line than a song list. Musicals like *Little Johnny Jones* (1905) and *Forty-Five Minutes from Broadway* (1906) produced such hits as "I'm a Yankee Doodle Boy," "Give My Regards to Broadway," and "Mary, It's a Grand Old Name." In 1920, Noble Sissle and Eubie Blake produced *Shuffle Along*, which was the first major show by African Americans and signaled the increasing presence of black actors and writers in theater. Among other musicals, GEORGE GERSHWIN's *O, Kay!* (1926) and Kern's *No, No, Nanette* (1925) and *Show Boat* (1927) continued to build Broadway's reputation.

Increasingly, though, the Broadway musical was oriented toward a narrative, often of love lost and regained, in which the songs helped to move the story along. *Show Boat* was the pioneer in this development. At the same

time, touring companies helped to spread the word of what was happening in New York with performances in theaters around the country, and the musicals and plays, like vaudeville shows, made much of their money on the road. Touring companies had another effect, however, in helping to suppress much local ethnic and working-class theater. Public halls and theaters became the venues of big ticket shows, and smaller independent theaters often closed or converted to movie theaters to survive the change.

Early movies appeared about the turn of the century as filmmakers moved to take over a novelty item and turn it into a popular art form. Edwin Stratton Porter was one of the pioneers in the MOVIE INDUSTRY. In late 1902 or early 1903, he created the *Life of an American Fireman*, his first motion picture. The following year, he made his classic, *The Great Train Robbery*, the first of a long line of Western movies. Porter's studio also first employed DAVID WARK GRIFFITH, who began his film career as an actor. By 1908, he began experimenting with his own films, and in 1915 he produced what was considered his masterpiece, *BIRTH OF A NATION*. Mack Sennett's studio produced a series of Keystone Kops movies, and it helped to foster the career of Charlie Chaplin as well. In these early years, there was great movement from one studio to the next and in the types of film produced.

The first silent films were relatively cheap to make and could be distributed through informal networks nationwide. In this era, immigrant neighborhoods had their own small theaters, above or in community buildings and neighborhood stores. They showed foreign-language movies produced independently or dubbed from studio films. Middle-class theaters were larger and more palatial, but they too had access to a large range of independent and studio-made films. One way to view the new films was the nickelodeon, an individual viewing machine. John P. Harris and Harry Davis opened the first nickelodeon arcade in Pittsburgh in 1905. Patrons could view a movie for five cents. It was well within the means of working-class viewers. As a result, the industry spread rapidly. By 1908, the number of nickelodeons in American had reached an astounding 10,000.

Music also found a mass audience in the creation of the phonograph. Originally a luxury item, phonograph recordings became popular in the years before and after WORLD WAR I. In 1901, the Victor Talking Machine Company was mass-producing phonographs to play recorded music on cylinders of celluloid or wax or on discs made of laminated shellac. By 1906, the Victrola model gramophone, which stood upright and had an enclosed tapered horn, became the industry standard. Victor spent over \$50 million on print advertising for its new product. The flat disc triumphed over the cylinder, and new technology made for mass production of music. In 1919, though electrical

recording was still experimental, the first recording to become a million seller hit the market. Paul Whiteman and his orchestra recorded “Japanese Sandman” and “Whispering” and set off a music craze. JAZZ, BLUES, bluegrass and country music, classical music, and patriotic songs all saw their first recordings from 1917 on. Gennett Record Company, one of the largest labels, issued some of the earliest jazz recordings by Jelly Roll Morton. Record sales reached a decade high of \$106 million in sales in 1921. Bessie Smith recorded “Downhearted Blues” in 1923, and Fiddlin’ John Carson made “Little Old Log Cabin in the Lane,” the first country hit. That year, however, the growing popularity of radio and the increasing availability of music programming started to erode the market for records. Only a few years later, in 1925, electric recording became standard, which tended to displace smaller record companies. At the end of the decade, in 1928, the Radio Corporation of America bought the Victor Talking Machine Company and became RCA Victor. All of these moves consolidated power in the recording industry into the hands of a few companies—RCA Victor, Columbia, and Edison. None of these corporate moves, however, discouraged popular audiences from listening to and even, on occasion, purchasing recordings.

The spread of RADIO technology and broadcasting altered popular entertainment, including the recording industry. In 1920, station KDKA in East Pittsburgh made the first commercial broadcast. By 1922, there were more than 3 million homes with radios. By 1930, 40 percent of all homes had radios. Over the decade, there were more than \$60 million a year in radio sales. By 1929, more than \$850 million in radios had been sold. In addition, by 1930, more than 150 stations filled the airways with music, news, and entertainment.

Locally sponsored shows broadcast folk songs, down-home blues and gospel, and hillbilly music, political party and labor union news, and church hours. New musical forms from jazz to country-western emerged as local musicians moved from juke joints to the radio dial. Urban ethnic and minority communities could lay claim to their own radio shows, which mixed community news with news from the nation and abroad. But the spread of radio narrowed the audience for records, even as it advertised musicians.

Such breadth in radio was a function of the low cost of early radio facilities. As technology improved, demanding more power from transmitters and a larger investment, there was a corresponding loss of diversity in programming. Further, new government regulation of the radio industry raised licensing fees and shifted more stations into the new radio networks—the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) established in 1927 and Columbia Broadcasting Company in 1928. Much of the local flavor was lost when networks set local programming from national radio networks in New York.

The transformation of the movie industry followed the same path as radio, although the consolidation of the industry began earlier. When the studios began to merge and create theater chains, the choices and content of films narrowed. Independent films became harder to make, both because new technology made filmmaking more expensive and because the chain theaters refused to book independents. By 1927, with the advent of sound pictures in *The Jazz Singer*, the cost of making films increased and edged independents out from the national market completely. Further, sound movies, which featured stars from the silent era as well as new stage actors, were available largely through the chains. As a result thousands of small movie theaters failed. The major movie studios soon began to refuse to assign women directors, producers, and screenwriters work, which in turn marginalized women in the industry. At the same time, the popularity of the movies increased the number of large theaters. By 1930, there were more than 22,000 movie theaters nationwide.

The 1920s movie audience was drawn toward nostalgic views of the past—as in the popularity of *westerns*—and toward movies that explored modern life and morals, from the sexual ambiguity of Rudolph Valentino and Douglas Fairbanks (*The Sheik* [1921] and *The Thief of Bagdad* [1924]) to a fascination with airplanes, trains, and automobiles in adventure films and the “dancing daughters” of the silver screen. Comedies starring Charlie Chaplin, Harold Lloyd, and Buster Keaton continued to draw audiences, but an increasing number of younger viewers opted for feature films that echoed changing sexual mores. As a bookish matron in *Why Change Your Wife?* (1920), Gloria Swanson adopted a “sleeveless, backless, transparent, indecent wardrobe” and transformed herself into the object of her former husband’s attentions. In *It* (1927), Clara Bow revealed her “good old-fashioned sex appeal” as a “slam-bang kid” with “spirited bravado.” For a devoted youth audience, the movies had become “a liberal education in the art of making love.” Further, surveys suggested that movie stars had replaced politicians, military leaders, and cultural figures as the principal role models of young men and women.

Entertainment industries continued to expand their products and profits throughout the 1920s and into the depression decade of the 1930s. For most entertainers, the growth offered an opportunity to expand their audience and showcase their talents. Still, the corporate look and feel of popular entertainment could also undermine talent. Local theaters, music halls, and radio stations had to compete with the national product, and small ethnic or rural enterprises often lost out to the emerging national culture.

See also MUSIC; POPULAR CULTURE; SPORTS.

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## environment

The rapid growth of mass production, intensive agricultural production, and rapid urbanization that took place between 1900 and 1930 had a profound and frequently harmful impact on the natural environment in the United States. In a relatively short period of time, the nation underwent a fundamental transformation from a rural population that derived its livelihood from agricultural production to one that was predominantly urban and industrial. Across the country, millions of people moved from farms to urban areas in search of better-paying jobs and more affluent lifestyles. The population in industrial boomtowns such as Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles skyrocketed during this period. In 1900 the nation's urban population was 30.2 million, or 39.6 percent of the nation's total population. By 1930 the number of urban residents had more than doubled to 69.1 million, which represented 56.1 percent of the population.

The extraction of raw materials and the waste generated by industrial expansion further resulted in widespread pollution. Lax or nonexistent regulation allowed corporations to dump industrial waste into rivers, streams, ponds, and empty fields, where it subsequently polluted local habitats and worked its way into the water supply, affecting the entire food chain. Similarly, the extraction of minerals and raw materials from mines resulted in substantial runoff of concentrated waste that was often highly toxic. In addition, the mines typically resulted in widespread deforestation and scarred the local environment.

The growth in urbanization also required greater agricultural production. Farmers responded to growing urban and worldwide demands for food by adopting intensive crop cultivation, which included the use of mechanized farm machinery and equipment. As a result, there was a rapid increase in the production of corn, wheat, cotton, soybeans, pork, cattle, and chicken. For example, wheat production increased from 599 million bushels of wheat in 1900 to 914 million bushels of wheat a year by 1929. As agricultural production increased, crop prices declined. Farmers responded by continually searching for ways to increase production and a vicious cycle ensued, all of which put a tremendous strain on the natural environment.

As industrial development and urbanization increased, there was growing concern about the impact modern

industrial society was having on the environment and the nation's natural resources. A small but vocal group of naturalists, artists, and outdoorsmen directed their attention to the ways in which natural resources were being depleted. They formed the core of an emerging conservation movement. At the same time, an even smaller group of environmentalists began calling for the complete preservation of wilderness areas.

Concern about the conservation of natural resources dates back as early as the 1830s and 1840s and the transcendentalist writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. They, along with later naturalists John Muir, John James Audubon, and George Perkins Marsh, warned that the nation's natural heritage was being unnecessarily squandered. The conservation movement emerged in earnest when wealthy landowners began to consolidate and exploit western land and water rights. Many viewed the lush forests and rugged beauty of the West as a national treasure and feared that unless something was done, the West would be stripped of its abundant resources.

John Muir, a world-renowned botanist, was the most influential of the early conservationists and used his influence to lobby for the creation of Yellowstone National Park (1872) and Yosemite National Park (1890). In 1892 he founded the Sierra Club, which today remains the nation's most important conservation organization. From the outset, the conservationist ranks were extremely diverse. They included sportsmen and hunters like THEODORE ROOSEVELT, naturalists such as Muir and Audubon, scientists, and land use proponents, such as GIFFORD PINCHOT. By 1900 two distinct camps had emerged—conservationists and the preservationists. The conservation camp, led by Secretary of the Interior Gifford Pinchot, emphasized the rational and efficient use of resources in order to conserve them for future economic expansion. Preservationists, led by Muir and others, while not opposed to the efficient use of resources, argued that some regions, because of their intrinsic aesthetic beauty, ought to be preserved and unspoiled by human use. Both Muir and Pinchot vied for the ear of Roosevelt and attempted to influence federal policy. Muir urged Roosevelt to establish more federal wilderness areas, even if it meant that some resources would be permanently off limits to development, while Pinchot insisted only that resources be utilized efficiently. Permanently preserving natural resources, Pinchot argued, would curtail the nation's growth and development.

The conflict between Muir and Pinchot and between preservationists and conservationists came to a head in 1912 with the construction of the Hetch Hetchy dam on the west side of the Sierra Nevada mountains. When California public utilities introduced a plan to dam and flood the Hetch Hetchy valley, Muir and other preservationists





Lumberjacks atop a felled Humboldt sequoia tree in California, ca. 1905 (*Library of Congress*)

urged Roosevelt to block the dam's construction. The dam, which would provide fresh water to residents of San Francisco, was precisely the type of efficient use of resources called for by Pinchot and other conservationists. For Muir and the preservationists, the damage caused by the flooding of the scenic Hetch Hetchy valley would be catastrophic and far outweighed any short-term economic benefit the dam might bring. Of the proposed dam Muir stated, "These temple destroyers, devotees of ravaging commercialism, seem to have perfect contempt for Nature. Instead of lifting their eyes to the God of the Mountains, they lift them to the Almighty Dollar." Conversely, Pinchot concluded, "I am fully persuaded that by substituting a lake for the present swampy floor of the valley, the injury is altogether unimportant compared to the benefits to be derived from its uses as a reservoir." Pinchot, the conservationists, and those favoring economic development persuaded Roosevelt that the dam's utility far outweighed the damage to

the valley, and the dam was built in 1913. The influence of preservationists dwindled in the aftermath of the Hetch Hetchy debate.

Progressives, investigative reporters, and public and occupational health advocates, such as UPTON SINCLAIR, IDA TARBELL, and ALICE HAMILTON, occasionally expressed concerns about the impact of industrial waste produced by slaughterhouses, steel mills, automobile plants, coal mines, tanneries, and chemical plants. Between 1900 and 1930, there were concerted efforts to improve public sanitation and to protect the health of industrial workers and urban residents, but much of this concern was focused on the impact industrial pollution was having on workers and the general public over the short term and not on the environment over the long term. There were few effective efforts on the part of federal, state, or local governments to protect or preserve natural resources and the environment during these decades.



See also AGRICULTURE; CITIES AND URBAN LIFE; MINING INDUSTRY; OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY; PUBLIC HEALTH; STEEL INDUSTRY.

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—Robert Gordon

### Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)

Called the “Alice Paul Amendment,” this constitutional amendment was first introduced into both houses of the U.S. Congress in 1923. The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) proposed to add the simple language that “Men and women shall have equal rights in the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction” to the Constitution. Its author, ALICE PAUL, was the motive force behind militant suffrage tactics in the Congressional Union and the NATIONAL WOMAN’S PARTY (NWP). After the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the right to vote was ratified in 1920, the NWP turned away from conservative approaches to women’s rights in order to launch massive lobbying efforts in favor of equal rights for women at the national and state levels. The key to their campaigns was the case for women’s absolute equality under the law. Arguing against those who treated women as a protected class, the NWP urged that women should have the same rights that men had. For Alice Paul and her followers, no sexual difference between men and women justified unequal pay, restrictions on women’s labor, or women’s lack of political rights. Women’s loss of citizenship when they married foreign nationals, for example, discriminated against women, since men suffered no such loss. While women could fight for legal changes on an issue-by-issue basis, as they did with the CABLE ACT, a blanket constitutional amendment was preferable. Despite these arguments, the Paul amendment did not receive support for passage in the 1920s. Similar bills were proposed and failed in several states, including Minnesota and Wisconsin.

The Equal Rights Amendment sparked a debate among feminists on the appropriate strategy to ensure women’s equality in public life. Women activists divided into two camps: one advocated women’s rights on an equal

basis with men, the other was more concerned with granting women legal protection based on their differences from men. The latter group believed that women’s role as mothers required legal protections that were more important than formal legal equality. Further, those who fought for protective wage and hour legislation for women workers, including labor unions such as the INTERNATIONAL LADIES’ GARMENT WORKERS UNION, thought that the passage of an equal rights amendment would jeopardize these laws. When the Supreme Court declared a District of Columbia minimum wage law for women unconstitutional in *ADKINS v. CHILDREN’S HOSPITAL* in 1923, the fears of the protectionists seemed to be confirmed. Arguments about women’s equality continued to block efforts to introduce and pass state and national equal rights legislation.

Divisions among women on the various merits of sexual difference and sexual equality were only one barrier to the passage of the ERA. Women’s political weakness in the decades between World War I and World War II, and the failure of women to demonstrate unity at the polls, kept legislation for women, whether equal rights acts or social welfare provisions, such as the continuation of the SHEPARD-TOWNER ACT for maternal and infant health care, from passing Congress or state legislatures. It would not be until 1946 that the ERA was shown any serious consideration from Congress, in response to women’s contributions to the war effort. And it was not until the 1970s, with the revival of the feminist movement, that the ERA was finally reconsidered and passed through Congress. It remains unratified today.

See also WOMAN SUFFRAGE; WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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### Espionage Act (1917)

Enacted as a guard against domestic subversion of the U.S. effort in WORLD WAR I, the Espionage Act of 1917 was a controversial law that threatened domestic civil liberties. As the efforts at progressive reform in the early 20th century gave way to a focus on the war in Europe, the Wilson administration grappled to find ways to bolster support for American intervention. Public opinion was sharply divided about the conflict and how the United States should respond. Given the large influx of immigrants to the United States since the 1880s, new ethnic and national groups contributed to the social and political conflict over

the war. German immigrants still formed the largest foreign-born group, 2.3 million, in the population. In addition, there were more than two million immigrants from the various parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, another major combatant.

Throughout his first term as president, WOODROW WILSON and others expressed concern about the large immigrant population in the United States and frequently referred to the need for national loyalty. Running for reelection in 1916, President Wilson made Americanism a dominant theme of his campaign. Along with Wilson's desire to build a sense of national unity, the war led his administration to secure legislation to dampen dissent and opposition and to further promote the cause of national unity in the United States. As Wilson moved toward a pro-intervention policy in the European conflict, he saw this as an opportunity to publicize and export American democratic ideals.

Fearing that opposition would undermine his ability to bring the United States directly into the conflict, Wilson favored policy initiatives that fostered and promoted patriotism. In this vein, the COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC INFORMATION was created in 1917 to publicize and popularize the war and the reasons for American involvement in this conflict. A major outcome of this drive for national unity was to actually create more division within the United States. In particular, what originated as an anti-German campaign resulted in an anti-immigrant crusade, which culminated in the first in a series of restrictive immigration laws passed by Congress between 1917 and the mid-1920s.

During the controversial debate about national identity, the Wilson administration called upon Congress to pass legislation that would silence dissent and encourage support for the United States in World War I, which the country officially entered in April 1917. As Wilson called upon Congress to declare war on Germany and its allies, Representative Edwin Webb of North Carolina and Senator Charles Culberson of Texas began to craft legislation that would give the president the ability to impose "stern repression" to ensure unity behind the nation's emerging war effort. The Espionage Act, as it was known when enacted in early June 1917, furnished the government with ample power for the suppression of those who opposed the war. The act imposed stiff fines of between \$5,000 and \$10,000 and jail sentences of up to 20 years for individuals convicted under this law. The law went far beyond simply attempting to prevent spying for the enemy. Instead its main objective was to make it illegal to write or utter any statement that could be construed as profaning the flag, criticizing the Constitution, or opposing the military draft.

The extreme nature of this legislation constituted the most drastic restriction of free speech since the enactment of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. The Socialist Party and the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

(IWW) had emerged by 1917 as the most vocal and organized forces to oppose America's involvement in the war in Europe. Accordingly, they quickly became among the first groups to feel the strong arm of the American legal system after the passage of the Espionage Act. The head of the Socialist Party, EUGENE VICTOR DEBS, received a 10-year jail term for making an antiwar speech in Canton, Ohio, in 1918. In that same year, some 2,000 members of the IWW were arrested under the authority of the Espionage Act. The Espionage Act helped fuel a movement to protect civil liberties in the postwar era.

See also SEDITION ACT.

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—David R. Smith

## ethnic organizations

In the wake of the mass immigration of the early 20th century, ethnic organizations flourished in the United States between 1900 and 1930. The first 14 years of the century brought a peak in total arrivals for the long and massive wave of immigration that had lasted from 1830 to 1914. During this 80-year period, more than 22 million immigrants arrived in the United States, with some 6 million alone arriving at the shores of the United States between 1900 and 1910. On the whole, the American economy expanded sharply during these decades. Despite this widespread expansion, large numbers of the immigrants arriving in the United States were not in a position to be primary beneficiaries of economic growth. Instead, most found work as industrial laborers in the rapidly expanding industrial economy.

Arriving in urban industrial centers, immigrants after 1900 often had little choice but to find employment as unskilled workers in the factories that characterized the American economy. The size of the industrial workforce grew dramatically from 957,000 in 1849 to 4,252,000 in 1889 and 7,036,000 by the eve of WORLD WAR I. Finding work in the nation's industrial economy did not necessarily bring with it the prosperity and economic gain that many immigrants sought. The economy faced several episodes of crisis. Having no recourse to government programs for relief, many immigrants faced desperate economic straits with each turn of the business cycle.

To help soften the economic conditions that many immigrants faced in the United States, many ethnic groups organized fraternal societies that provided assistance during difficult times. Not only did immigrant workers face periodic bouts of unemployment, but also family illnesses, unexpected deaths, or housing problems created trying times

for newly arrived individuals and their families. Given the sometimes hostile response that many immigrants faced, they became suspicious of some forms of public assistance. Most philanthropic organizations attached conditions to their assistance and often had difficulty understanding and communicating with immigrants. These factors contributed to the emphasis placed on self-help organizations in immigrant communities. Ethnic groups tried to care for their own. Such organizations as the Bohemian Charitable Association, the Polish Welfare Association, and the Jewish Home for the Aged were formed in the early part of the century with the express purpose of assisting their members. Within their ethnic communities, most immigrants could expect to be assisted not only by formal ethnic organizations, but also by their neighbors and fellow immigrants. Everything from bread to haircuts and donations of money was extended to neighbors in trouble.

The onset of war in Europe in 1914 evoked renewed efforts by ethnic communities and organizations as they sought to help refugees displaced by the conflict. After the war, many small ethnic organizations moved toward consolidating their efforts into large umbrella groups. In Chicago, for example, the Associated Jewish Charities and the Associated Catholic Charities emerged from several smaller community-level groups. The attempt to provide economic relief to immigrant workers in the United States through ethnic organizations survived through the 1920s. The onset of the Great Depression and the enactment of various pieces of social legislation resulted in many ethnic organizations being displaced by the federal agencies and services created by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.

See also IMMIGRATION; SOCIAL WORK.

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—David R. Smith

## eugenics

Eugenics is both a theory of human heredity and selective reproduction and the social and intellectual movement that sought population policies aimed at improving the human race through selective breeding. Eugenics advances the theory that all human traits are inherited and that the quality and character of offspring reflects the quality of their ancestors' genes and environment. As a scientific movement, eugenics began in Europe during the last third of the 19th century. British anthropologist Sir Francis Galton, building on Gregor Mendel's agricultural breeding

research, Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, and the emerging science of genetics, coined the term *eugenics*. He presented it as a medical science with the goal of improving the human race. Galton was an admirer of Malthusian population control and concluded that eugenics could help society encourage selective breeding of the superior Anglo-Saxon race while discouraging the breeding of the lesser races. This, according to Galton, would improve "the general tone of domestic, social and political life" within a nation.

The eugenics movement in the United States evolved from Galton's research but differed greatly in its application. Galton's "positive eugenics" approach of encouraging "fit" people to reproduce lost its appeal as American scientists began to focus their research toward "negative eugenics," which emphasized a perceived link between the inheritance of unfit traits and social decay. Eugenics in the United States embraced a creed that stressed the need to control the unfit and their effect on society.

In 1910 with the establishment of the Eugenics Records Office, American eugenicists such as Charles Benedict Davenport, Harry Laughlin, Alexander Graham Bell, and Henry Goddard advanced eugenics as a way to build a racially superior society. They focused their research on identifying negative human traits and the effects of bad environments on heredity. The establishment of eugenics associations, committees, medical panels, laboratories, and departments at respected universities helped to give the American eugenics movement credibility as a field of SCIENCE during the first two decades of the 20th century.

The emergence of the eugenics movement in the United States coincided with the rapid growth of cities, the influx of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, and the migration of African Americans from the South to northern cities. By the early 20th century, American social reformers were preoccupied with urban crime and individuals living at the margins of society. Many progressive reformers linked the new IMMIGRATION with the decaying urban ghettos and poverty. They suggested that the unfit immigrant masses caused most city problems. They concluded that if the unfit classes in the urban slums were allowed to breed unchecked, they would soon outnumber the middle and upper classes, who were having few children. Eugenicist Robert Reid described this unchecked population imbalance as "race suicide." In 1916, lawyer and eugenicist Madison Grant published his influential book, *The Passing of the Great Race*, which advocated the separation and eventual elimination, through selective breeding, of what Grant viewed as "inferior races." Grant's book employed a racial and racist understanding of history and anthropology to advocate for the separation and eventual elimination, through selective breeding, of what he saw as "inferior races."

The widespread acceptance of eugenics also surfaced in the 1920s in the BIRTH CONTROL movement. Its leader, MARGARET SANGER, began to promote contraception not only as a means to women's health and well-being but also as a way to control the poor population of cities. Through her journal, *Birth Control Review*, Sanger promoted voluntary motherhood, family planning, and contraception for immigrants and the poor. While she had earlier fought for contraception as a means of improving the lives of working-class and poor women, by the 1920s she argued that birth control could be used to stop the feeble-minded, defective, and dangerous population from reproducing. Sanger supported her birth control program by pointing out the cost to society of prisons, insane asylums, and medical care of the unfit. She also argued that charity only encouraged the poor to continue their dangerous ways. As eugenics propaganda raised fears that the nation's promise was threatened and that the poor and unfit would outnumber the fit and drive society into ruin, eugenics became more popular among a broad spectrum of Americans.

Eugenics embraced a creed of the natural struggle between the fit and unfit. As a creed, it became less concerned with the accuracy of scientific research and more concerned with advancing a social agenda of ridding American society of the weak, dangerous, and unfit. Eugenics supporters in the 1920s adopted a social agenda based on naturalism and the determinism of heredity. They began to use questionable scientific evidence to persuade legislators that society was increasingly at risk from "feeble-mindedness." During the Progressive Era, "feeble-mindedness" became a vague legal term that encompassed most forms of mental or physical defect, illicit behavior, or social dependence. Fueled by culturally biased INTELLIGENCE TESTS that ranked immigrants based on their degree of inherited feeble-mindedness, eugenics became the "science" of white supremacists, Social Darwinists, and Progressives who believed American society was engaged in a competition for "the survival of the fittest."

Eugenicists such as Albert Johnson manipulated and falsified data before CONGRESS to push for immigration reform that would restrict the inferior non-Nordic immigrants from flocking into America's industrial centers. The NATIONAL ORIGINS ACT of 1924 reduced annual immigration to the total in 1890, approximately 165,000. It also set quotas for different ethnic immigrants.

To engineer a racially superior society and control the unfit that were living in the United States, eugenics-minded reformers lobbied for new standards of marriage that forbade interracial marriage. By 1931, 27 states required the feeble-minded to be sterilized before they could marry. In the 1920s, sterilization began to be applied more broadly to the feeble-minded in institutions. The most infamous case regarding sterilization and hereditary determinism was

*BUCK V. BELL* in 1927. This decision gave states the authority to implement forced sterilization laws against those deemed "unfit."

See also MEDICINE; NATIVISM; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—Jeffrey Powell

**evolution** See SCOPES TRIAL.

### Expatriation Act (1907)

The Expatriation Act of 1907 was intended to clarify the citizenship status of Americans who had established foreign ties. Under the provisions of this act, Americans who became citizens of another country and naturalized immigrants who lived abroad for too long would be expatriated, that is, lose their American citizenship. The minor children of naturalized citizens now would have to move to the United States before they could claim American citizenship. The most controversial portion of the act was section 3, which revoked the citizenship of any American woman who married a citizen of another country. The Expatriation Act thus established derivative citizenship for women, meaning that a woman's citizenship was based on that of her husband, regardless of where she had been born.

In passing this act, CONGRESS argued that it was making the laws pertaining to women's citizenship consistent. Previously, the Naturalization Act of 1855 established that any foreign woman who married an American citizen would become a citizen, since her allegiance would shift to the nation of her husband. The Expatriation Act made the same argument about American women who married men who were citizens of other nations. Marriage to foreign men was perceived as a great threat to American society during the early 20th century, as anti-immigrant sentiment swelled in response to increases in both the number and diversity of immigrants. Thus it seems likely that this act was partially intended to deter American women from marrying foreign men and to punish those who did so. As Congressman N. E. Kendell would put it in a 1912 hearing on the Expatriation Act: "We do not want our girls to marry foreigners."



Loss of citizenship for women had serious consequences. Expatriated women could lose their jobs. They became ineligible for most public assistance programs and could be deported from the United States or denied reentry. If a woman was deported, she ran the risk of becoming stateless, unless her husband's nation granted her citizenship. Additional difficulties arose during WORLD WAR I, when the American-born wives of German and Italian men were declared enemy aliens. If a woman married an Asian man, who could not legally become a citizen, she could not regain her American citizenship until he died. If she herself was of Asian descent, she would never be allowed to regain her birthright citizenship.

Little progress was made in the struggle against the Expatriation Act until women gained the right to vote in 1920. At that point, opponents of the act used anti-immigrant sentiment to point out that an uneducated immigrant who married an American man would be able to vote while an educated native-born woman who married a foreigner would not. For this reason, Congress in 1922 passed the

Married Women's Independent Citizenship Act, known as the CABLE ACT. The law ended the practice of expatriating women who married foreign citizens, with the exception of those who married "an alien ineligible to citizenship"—in other words, Asian men. In this way, the racial policing function of the Expatriation Act remained intact, and native-born women who married Asian men continued to lose their citizenship until this practice ended in 1931 with the passage of the Second Cable Act.

See also IMMIGRATION; NATIVISM; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—Kristen Anderson



### Farmer-Labor Party

With roots in the Populist Movement of the 1890s and midwestern PROGRESSIVISM in the early 1900s, the Farmer-Labor Party formed as a third-party alternative in American electoral politics. The Farmer-Labor Party and its predecessor, the NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE (NPL), grew out of farmer discontent over deteriorating conditions in agriculture in the early 20th century. Increased agricultural production in the 1910s had resulted not in a better standard of living for farmers, but in overproduction and a sharp drop in farmers income. Falling into debt, many farmers were forced into tenancy, or they left agriculture altogether.

In 1915, wheat farmers in North Dakota formed the NPL on a platform of state-run enterprises. Independent politics spread throughout the West after the NPL had successes in the 1916 elections. In Minnesota, farmer-laborites established the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party after they failed at the nonpartisan strategy in the Republican primary of 1918.

When employers went on the offensive after WORLD WAR I to establish the open shop (see OPEN SHOP MOVEMENT) in many mass production industries, trade unions shifted their efforts to political action. With participation from the NPL, the Socialist Party, local farmer and labor parties, and labor unions set up the Conference for Progressive Political Action (CPPA) in 1922. Independent CPPA candidates were quite successful in the 1922 elections. Twelve out of 16 CPPA gubernatorial candidates won. The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party took control of the state legislature and won half Minnesota's seats in Congress. Farmer-Labor candidates were elected to one Senate seat in 1922 and won the other Senate seat in 1923.

In 1924, the CPPA ran an independent ticket in the national elections, with Wisconsin Progressive ROBERT LA FOLLETTE and Montana Democrat Burton K. Wheeler as presidential and vice presidential candidates. The La

Follette ticket did surprisingly well in the 1924 elections, winning nearly 17 percent of the popular vote. La Follette won in Wisconsin and came in second in nine western states. Along with Wisconsin, the states of California and Minnesota had significant industrial populations.

Although the Farmer-Labor Party had many state-level successes, the third-party movement ultimately failed at the national level. Immediately after its formidable challenge to the national two-party system in 1924, the third-party movement collapsed. The obstacles to waging a national effort proved to be insurmountable. The major labor leaders ultimately maintained their ties to the Democratic and Republican Parties. Meanwhile, the farmer-labor coalition suffered from persistent internal divisions that undermined its successes. In addition, its supporters faced other setbacks: the decline of organized labor on the national level as well as an increasingly conservative political climate in the 1920s. Only in Minnesota did the farmer-labor efforts remain strong through the 1930s.

Since the Populist era, American radicals had attempted to forge farmer-labor unity, seeing both groups as producers exploited by the capitalist system. In the 1924 presidential elections, the loose coalition of farmer-laborites came closer than at any other time in mounting a third-party challenge in the electoral system. However, the Farmer-Labor Party and other progressive movements of the era were unable to translate their state successes into a long-term national alternative to the two-party system.

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—Glen Bessemer

**Federal Farm Loan Act (1916)**

A primary goal of farm organizations in the United States in the early 20th century was to create a government program for farm credit. Passed in 1916, the Federal Farm Loan Act opened the door to federal government support with a program of low-interest loans. Having been elected president in 1912 on the platform of the NEW FREEDOM, WOODROW WILSON sought to preserve political and economic liberty in the United States through various legislative and executive initiatives. In particular, Wilson opposed the consolidation and abuse of economic power that had increasingly occurred since the turn of the century. One of the main emphases of his administration was to prevent the further consolidation of economic power that curbed free competition and to increase the ability of individual producers and small businesses to compete.

Despite his focus on slowing the growth of economic power, Wilson remained fairly unreceptive to the demands of labor and of farm organizations during his first term. Both these groups had sought to protect the power of individuals against the consolidation of economic power by corporations. Despite his initial reluctance to directly aid unions and farmers, he relented on his opposition to pro-farm and pro-labor legislative initiatives as the 1916 election approached. Accordingly, President Wilson approved the Federal Farm Loan Act in 1916, which provided agriculture with the low-interest rural credit system long advocated by farmers and rural residents.

Although farmers had faced a shortage of capital, banking facilities, currency, and credit during the last two decades of the 19th century, the new century brought a wave of prosperity to rural areas of America that would last until shortly after the end of WORLD WAR I. During this "Golden Age" of agriculture, farmers tended to spend their newfound prosperity on consumer goods to improve their standard of living. However, many farmers, having witnessed the economic difficulties of the late 19th century, were hesitant to invest in capital improvements, whether in expanding their landholdings or in purchasing new technologies. The farm advocates long had championed the need for low-interest loans to help promote and make affordable the capital improvements needed to expand individual farms.

The Federal Farm Loan Act created the mechanism to extend low-interest loans for periods of five to 40 years to farmers through the control of a Federal Farm Loan Board. The board was comprised of 12 Federal Land Banks that paralleled the Federal Reserve Banks. As part of Wilson's New Freedom initiative, the Federal Farm Loan Act extended capital to farmers through a program that cut out private banks, which long had been viewed by farmers as outside institutions that easily exploited vulnerable farmers.

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—David R. Smith

**federal income tax (1913)**

The United States has had a long history of local and state income taxes. The majority of the states in the Union experimented with one form of income tax or another long before the first federal income tax was levied. By 1910, 20 states had income tax laws on their books. Income taxation at the federal level, however, was a more hotly contested issue. During the War of 1812, the Congress considered the idea of a federal income tax. Due to the relatively short duration of the war, it did not act upon this. During the Civil War, however, the financial needs of the Union were so acute that a federal income tax provision was adopted as an emergency war measure. This first federal income tax, adopted in 1862, was a moderate tax levied on a small portion of the population. The temporary nature of the measure became apparent in 1872 when it was repealed. The repeal of the statute did not mark the end of the debate. It marked the beginning of a half-century-long struggle over the readoption of a suitable federal income tax.

During nearly every session of Congress in the post-Civil War era, representatives from the South and West proposed new federal income tax bills. During the depression of 1893, southern and western Democrats finally succeeded in passing the Wilson-Gorman Tariff. It marked the first national, nonwartime, direct tax on the incomes of American citizens and corporations. The Supreme Court voided portions of the act the following year by declaring that aspects of the federal tax were unconstitutional. In 1894, the Supreme Court expanded its position on the constitutionality of a direct income tax when it declared in *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan and Trust Company* that a direct income tax was a breach of the constitutional provision that direct taxes must be apportioned among the states according to population. Leaders in the DEMOCRATIC PARTY claimed that the Supreme Court's decision was judicial usurpation aimed at protecting those with wealth and privilege. This criticism provided southern and western Democrats with a means not only of attacking the Supreme Court, but also for challenging the REPUBLICAN PARTY, which controlled the other two branches of government.

As a result of this partisan struggle, the idea of a federal income tax became a plank in the Democratic Party's 1896 election platform. The tax began as a political maneuver used by the Democrats to challenge the Republican Party's dominance. The Democrats, supported by opponents of the tax who believed that they could derail the tax with its own momentum, helped to put forward the bill as an

amendment to the constitution. The opponents who signed onto the bill miscalculated. Both the Senate and the House of Representatives passed the law in 1909, which allowed for the taxation of citizens in accordance to their income.

After four years, the amendment was ratified by the states and became law. The Federal Income Tax became the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The amendment, which began as a partisan struggle, took on a life of its own. The Democrats who supported it championed the bill as a means of achieving social justice. The revenue that the government would collect from the tax was viewed by many of its supporters as an afterthought. The law, however, became extremely important during WORLD WAR I. The ratification of the amendment provided the government with needed revenue to finance the war effort. It also created a model for financing government activities for generations to come.

In addition to the political maneuvering that was required in making the amendment a reality, there were a number of challenges to making the income tax practical. The first challenge was how to define what exactly would be taxed under the law as income. The next step was to determine how much each individual would be taxed. The creators had to weigh advantages and disadvantages to individuals as well as the economic well-being of the country in general. They decided upon a progressive income tax that would tax those with a higher income at higher rates. Politically, it satisfied all but the most zealous Democrats. These radical Democrats wanted to use the tax to aid in restructuring a classless society. Economically, it won the support of the most prominent economists of the time.

The Sixteenth Amendment for a federal income tax proved to be much more than a political victory for the minority party trying to establish its supremacy. It established the means necessary for the U.S. government to take a much more active role in the development of American life and commerce.

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—Steve Freund

### Federal Reserve Act (1913)

After a century of political struggle over the government's role in banking and currency, the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 settled the question by establishing a national network of banks in aid of the monetary system. Despite much acrimonious debate about the supply of money in the economy throughout the late 19th century, the CONGRESS had not instituted any large-scale reforms to change the banking

and financial structure of the nation since the time of the Civil War. The crisis over the supply of money and its relationship to the nation's economic well-being was once again highlighted by the Panic of 1907. Banking reform became one of the major issues addressed by progressive reformers and politicians.

As one of the principal concerns of WOODROW WILSON during his first term as president, banking reform had strong support from both aisles of Congress. Unlike many other areas of reform that divided Democrats and Republicans, both parties favored the need for greater federal regulation of banking and the supply of currency as a key to preventing future economic panics or depressions. As national debate turned to restructuring and regulating banking, much concern was voiced about whether public or private concerns should have the leading influence in any new agencies created by federal legislation.

In 1913, Wilson assumed leadership over this issue and pushed through Congress the Federal Reserve Act, perhaps the most significant piece of legislation signed by Wilson during his first administration. The principal aim of this legislation was to control the supply of money in circulation by creating a federal agency charged with regulating interest rates. With its ability to determine the rate at which private banks could borrow money from the government, the Federal Reserve was able, by this legislation, to either expand or deflate the availability of money in the nation's economy. To control this process, the Federal Reserve Act established 12 regional banks. All private banks in the United States were required under this legislation to deposit an average 6 percent of their assets in their regional Federal Reserve Bank. These deposited funds were then used to make loans to member banks and to issue paper currency, or Federal Reserve notes, that facilitated financial transactions. When market conditions shifted in one region, regional banks were empowered to raise or lower interest rates in order to provide a quick response to sudden changes in credit demand.

To respond to public pressure that banking reform reflect the needs and concerns of the public and not just that of private bankers, the Federal Reserve Act charged the president with appointing a Federal Reserve Board that was responsible to the public, not the banking industry. The board set policy and administered the activities of the 12 regional banks. Although the Federal Reserve Act stands as a major achievement of the Wilson administration, it reflected the philosophical shift in Wilson's thinking from the time of the 1912 presidential campaign to the policy initiatives of his first administration. During the campaign, Wilson had pledged to use the federal government to break up the power held by large industries. Within the Federal Reserve System, he in effect consolidated bank power.



While the Federal Reserve Act did a great deal to strengthen the financial health of the American economy, it did precious little to break the concentration of banking that had emerged in the late 19th century. With the collapse of the U.S. (and world) economy in 1929, the Reserve fell under attack for failing to prevent the onset of economic crisis. In general, Wilson had crafted the Federal Reserve system in a way that worked with large banks, rather than attempting to break them up. Much of the thinking and impetus behind this legislation had been to create a mechanism that could stave off economic crisis. Although during the 1990s, the Federal Reserve skillfully oversaw the largest expansion of the American economy, in the 1920s it was not as successful. Accordingly, the legislation seemed more in line with the thinking of Theodore Roosevelt's NEW NATIONALISM that Wilson had campaigned against in 1912.

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—David R. Smith

### Federal Trade Commission Act (1914)

The Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914 laid the foundations of government regulation of trade and commerce by creating a commission to collect information on prices, competition, and trade. In response to the consolidation of economic power among corporations, monopoly and unfair trade practices became central issues of progressive reform. They also became major points of conflict in the presidential election of 1912. Of the four major candidates in 1912, three advocated progressive reforms to address the growing power of corporations. The socialist candidate, EUGENE VICTOR DEBS, argued that the federal government should assume ownership of the trusts. For the other primary candidates, THEODORE ROOSEVELT, WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, and WOODROW WILSON, this solution was unacceptable. Despite their unity in rejecting socialist ideas, Wilson and Roosevelt clashed during the 1912 campaign over their respective plans to address the trust issue in the American economy. Running on the PROGRESSIVE PARTY ticket, former president Theodore Roosevelt advocated a NEW NATIONALISM that would strengthen the federal government. The reinvented government would create powerful government agencies that regulated and, when necessary, limited the power of trusts.

In contrast, the Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson, found the proposal to strengthen the federal government to be a threat to state governments. Accordingly, his proposal did not call for stringent regulation, but rather for the government to actually break up the trusts. Wilson

contended that the monopolies created by various trusts undermined the competition and commerce that had been responsible for much of the economic prosperity of the nation since the last century. While the federal government would be empowered and, accordingly, strengthened to dismantle the trusts, it would be only a temporary arrangement, ending the concentration of economic power in the hands of the few. Once this objective was achieved, Wilson insisted that the federal government would relinquish these new powers. Wilson presented these ideas to the American public during the 1912 campaign as the NEW FREEDOM that would restore economic opportunity to the people.

Despite making the pledge to break up the trusts during the 1912 campaign, Woodrow Wilson ultimately deviated from that position after assuming the office of the president in 1913. Two initiatives—banking and anti-trust—became the core of his progressive reform agenda during his first term in office. In 1914, Congress passed the Federal Trade Commission Act, which created the federal agency by that name. The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) was empowered to collect information on corporate pricing procedures and competition between companies. Wilson eagerly signed the Federal Trade Commission Act into law, declaring that the breakup of large-scale industry was no longer practical for the American economy. Instead, he now fully embraced Theodore Roosevelt's position that large industry was an inescapable aspect of 20th-century America and that the proper role for government would be to regulate industry through government agencies. Despite wide powers of investigation, the FTC was left without any significant enforcement mechanism as Congress stripped its companion legislation, the CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT, of the power to break up trusts. The Federal Trade Commission, like other Progressive Era reforms, only partly addressed economic consolidation issues of the period.

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—David R. Smith

### Fellowship of Reconciliation

The Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) grew out of European Christian pacifists' concern about war in Europe in 1914. Once war broke out, pacifists met in Cambridge, England, to formalize earlier pledges to advocate for peace and oppose war. Viewing war as a social evil, FOR was founded as an interfaith organization dedicated to promoting international cooperation among groups and individuals to develop alternatives to armed conflict. It quickly spread to the United States and throughout the world.

In 1915, the American branch of FOR was established with the help of British Quaker and FOR cofounder Henry Hodgkin. The organization's early activism in the United States focused on gaining rights and recognition for the small but significant number of conscientious objectors (COs). The group pressed the government for alternative service for those who had a religious or moral reason to oppose war but who lacked affiliation with the established religious denominations such as the Quakers. John Nevin Sayre, an early leader of FOR, lobbied President WOODROW WILSON to protest the treatment of those arrested under the ESPIONAGE ACT or for evasion of or opposition to the military draft. FOR further worked on behalf of COs to improve the harsh prison conditions during the war. FOR's activism on this issue paved the way for the post-war amnesty campaign and later legal recognition of and greater rights for COs during World War II. In the 1920s, the fellowship supported various activities of the PEACE MOVEMENT, and its press published the influential journal, *The World Tomorrow*, which sought to promote international cooperation and peace and to provide information on world cultures and political conflicts. During World War II, FOR protested the internment of Japanese Americans, condemned saturation bombing campaigns and, after the war, spoke out against the use of atomic weapons.

Although FOR's primary focus was eradicating war, the organization believed that fighting for other social causes such as labor rights and civil rights was equally important. The fellowship helped to establish Brookwood Labor College in 1918 and aided in the defense of labor activists. During the 1919 textile strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts, A. J. Muste and FOR's Boston chapter supported the strike. On the basis of his reputation for promoting nonviolent protest, Muste served as executive director of FOR between 1940 and 1953 and later counseled Martin Luther King, Jr., during the Southern civil rights campaigns of the 1950s and 1960s. On civil rights, FOR cooperated with the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in a pioneering interracial sit-in in 1943. When civil rights protests began in earnest in the 1950s, FOR provided leadership-training in the principles of nonviolence. James Lawson of FOR held nonviolence workshops in Nashville for young students protesting segregated public facilities.

At the same time that the United States was galvanized by the civil rights movement, the American government was waging war in Vietnam. FOR was an early opponent of the war, advocating negotiations, organizing interfaith visits to Vietnam, and raising money for medical aid to that country. It later promoted draft refusal counseling and participated in fasts and political campaigns for American withdrawal. During the 1960s, FOR also began highlighting the connections between war and environmental damage, as the war in Vietnam so dramatized. This linking of war-related

issues exemplified FOR's longstanding approach to anti-militarism. In addition to opposing the Vietnam War, FOR opposed nuclear arms as a tool of American foreign policy and international diplomacy. Promoting détente between the superpowers, FOR coorganized the Nuclear Freeze Campaign of the 1980s. After the end of the cold war in the late 1980s, FOR lobbied for reducing high military expenditures in the United States and helping victims of armed conflict in places such as Iraq and Bosnia.

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—Natalie Atkin

**Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley** (1890–1964) *labor activist, Communist Party official*

During the Progressive Era, the growing power of the NEW UNIONISM in the workplace and the sustained influence of SOCIALISM in the labor movement created a new context for working-class activism. An important part of that activism involved working women in mass production industries and the new turn in the WOMAN SUFFRAGE movement, which dedicated itself to recruiting women workers and to improving their working conditions. Into this context emerged a new generation of women labor activists who captured the imagination of both the mainstream and the RADICAL AND LABOR PRESS. One such figure was Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Born in 1890, Flynn was the daughter of Thomas and Annie Gurley Flynn, Irish-American socialists. In her early adolescence, Elizabeth Flynn's father took her to rallies to hear speakers and learn socialist principles. In 1906, she gave her first public speech and thereafter became a frequent speaker for socialist and labor causes. In 1907, she met John Archibald Jones, an organizer from the Mesabi Iron Range, and married him the next year. Flynn gave birth to her second and only surviving child, Fred, in 1910. Flynn's desire to remain active led to her separation from Jones, and he divorced her in 1920.

Active as a speaker and organizer for the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW), Flynn engaged in several important labor struggles of the day. She participated in FREE SPEECH FIGHTS in Missoula, Montana, and in Spokane, Washington. In 1912, Flynn helped to coordinate the LAWRENCE STRIKE with IWW's WILLIAM DUDLEY HAYWOOD, Arturo Giovannitti, and Joe Ettor. During the strike, Flynn, along with MARGARET SANGER, organized families to send their children to supportive families in New York. The violent response of the police to the children's exodus built public sympathy for the strike. Flynn reacted strongly and publicly to the poverty, illness,



Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (Library of Congress)

and deprivation of workers in an age when industry was largely unregulated. She knew that labor violence did not stop at the factory door or even the picket line. Her courage in these early battles earned the admiration of IWW songster Joe Hill, who wrote a song in her honor. As Hill's "Rebel Girl," Flynn carried the banner of women's emancipation within the IWW, and she spoke out in support of BIRTH CONTROL. Throughout her life, she worked for the dual causes of labor and the equality of women.

Flynn's personal life was rocky. Once separated from her husband, she became involved with mercurial IWW organizer Carlo Tresca. They lived together in New York for 10 years. She left him in 1925. After joining the COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) in 1926, Flynn took ill. A physician, Marie Equi, took care of Flynn, and the two women lived together in Portland, Oregon, for 10 years. She returned to New York in 1936 to become active once again, this time in national communist politics. In the 1950s, she was put on trial under the Smith Act and convicted. She served two years in Alderson Prison.

For the rest of her life, she fought for the working class under the communist banner. As one of the few well-known women in the party, Flynn became a member of the national committee and helped to set party policy. Despite its residual sexism, the CP offered women the opportunity to be politically active and committed itself, at least

on paper, to discussing the "woman question." For Flynn, however, the issues of gender equality came second to the class struggle. Through her life, she would give priority to the agenda and issues of the Communist Party and only secondarily to the women in that party. She died in 1964.

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### Foraker Act (1900)

The Foraker Act, also known as the Organic Act of 1900, established a civilian government on the island of Puerto Rico, formerly a Spanish colony, which became a U.S. possession after the Spanish-American War. Named for its sponsor, Ohio senator Joseph Benjamin Foraker, the law created a territorial government with a governor and executive council appointed by the American president, a popularly elected House of Representatives, and a system of courts. It also established a new, nonvoting Resident Commission of Puerto Rico in Congress. The first civilian governor of Puerto Rico, Charles H. Allen, was inaugurated in 1900. The Foraker Act also mandated that federal statutes and regulations were in effect in Puerto Rico, but the inhabitants of the island were citizens of Puerto Rico, not the United States. They had neither the rights nor the privileges of American citizens. Legally, the island was not incorporated into the United States, and the clauses of the U.S. Constitution on citizenship and taxation did not apply to its citizens. The status of Puerto Rico and other territories was defined as outside constitutional protections; the SUPREME COURT upheld this definition of Puerto Rico's status in the landmark Insular Cases.

There were many reasons for the special status of Puerto Rico and other territorial possessions that the United States acquired after the Spanish-American War. First, 40 percent of the Puerto Rican population was nonwhite. Moreover, they spoke Spanish, not English, as their primary language. Second, opposition to the Spanish-American War, while it did not prevent the United States from going to war, generated constraints on how the United States governed its new possessions. Because many Americans were ambivalent about U.S. expansionism and opposed to open IMMIGRATION, they saw the integration of Puerto Rico into the United States as a real threat to American culture.

It would not be until 1917 that the citizenship status of Puerto Ricans changed. In that year, the Foraker Act was replaced by the JONES ACT (1917), which granted Puerto Rican inhabitants U.S. CITIZENSHIP and made them eligible for the rights and duties of American citizens, including the obligation to pay taxes and eligibility for military conscription.

See also FOREIGN POLICY; NATIVISM.



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**Ford, Henry** (1863–1947) *industrialist*

Henry Ford's introduction of the Model T Ford automobile and his innovations in assembly line production fundamentally transformed American society. Born in Dearborn, Michigan, in 1863, Ford displayed a genius for mechanical innovation at an early age. Ford moved to Detroit when he turned 16 and began working as an apprentice in a machine shop. In the 1890s, while working for the chief engineer for the Detroit Edison Company, Ford began experimenting with an internal combustion engine. He built his first automobile in 1896 and sold it to raise money to build more. In 1899, he secured enough financial backing to create the Detroit Automobile Company, which later became the Henry Ford Company. During these early years, Ford frustrated many of his backers when he insisted that his automobile was not yet ready for sale to the public. Frustrated by these disputes, he left the company, which later became the Cadillac Motor Car Company. In 1903, he created the Ford Motor Company.

Ford's first automobile, the Model A Ford, was well-built, relatively inexpensive (at \$850 it was among the least expensive automobiles on the market), and sold exceptionally well. By 1904, Ford had sold 1,700 of the Model As and had established himself as one of the leading manufacturers in the city. Ford's rise to prominence, however, was almost derailed before it began. His reluctance to push his early models into production had alienated many of Detroit's wealthiest financiers and manufacturers. When Ford introduced the Model A, Ford was taken to court because he was not a licensed manufacturer. Other licensed automakers charged that Ford had violated the 1895 patent given to George Baldwin Selden, an early innovator. Ford finally won the suit on an appeal in 1911. Ford's commitment to manufacturing good quality, inexpensive automobiles, along with his decision to fight wealthy manufacturers in Detroit and their financial backers, made him a popular figure with many ordinary citizens.

Not content to have only a minority share of the automobile market, Ford announced in 1908 that he was going to build a durable, inexpensive car that would enable ordinary citizen to enjoy the benefits of automobile transportation. Although critics scoffed at the idea that automobiles could be mass-produced, the Model T Ford was released in March 1908 and became an instant success. The Model T featured top-of-the-line engineering and construction but

no frills. Priced at \$850, Ford boasted that no car offered more for less, and the American public agreed. Between its introduction in 1908 and its discontinuation in 1927, Ford sold 15 million Model Ts.

The early success of the Model T convinced Ford that he could in fact sell an automobile to every family in the country. In order to do so, he had to make them even cheaper and faster. Ford concluded that MASS PRODUCTION would be the key. The more Model Ts he produced, the cheaper he could sell them. Building on the SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT ideas introduced by FREDERICK WINSLOW TAYLOR, Ford created an intricate assembly line for the production of the Model T and set about to integrate every aspect of the car's production. Ford realized that his current facility was not capable of housing a fully integrated assembly line, and so in 1910 the company moved its operation to the newly designed Highland Park plant. Built by architect Albert Kahn, the plant was a massive complex, complete with state-of-the-art



Henry Ford (Library of Congress)



machinery. With the opening of the Highland Park Factory, Ford created a revolutionary process, in which every step of the Model T's production had been automated. The Model T's production time dropped from 728 minutes to a remarkable 93 minutes. The result was that Ford was able to mass-produce the Model T, further reduce the car's cost (in 1927, only \$290), and maximize profits. By 1921, Ford controlled 55 percent of the automobile industry and had a net annual income of \$78 million.

In 1914, Ford was in the national spotlight when he announced that all Ford employees would be paid the incredible amount of \$5 a day for an eight-hour workday. At the time, industrial employees were averaging only \$11 a week, and they often worked more than nine hours a day. Praised by some and denounced by others, Ford insisted that keeping skilled and loyal employees was essential to maintaining his rigorous production schedule. Knowing the value of their skills, craft workers were frequently late for work or simply moved from job to job. Ford's decision to pay his employees such a handsome wage was not motivated by a commitment to humanitarianism, but rather by a desire to homogenize and discipline his employees. He provided many of his employees with affordable housing but also insisted that they learn how to speak English, refrain from consuming alcohol, and become upstanding American citizens. Ford created a Sociological Department to investigate how his employees lived. The company also withheld part of a worker's \$5 a day wage if he was late or did not fill her production quota. Part of the withheld money could be retrieved if workers agreed to meet the demands of the Sociological Department. Ford's personal beliefs also were highly controversial. In 1918, he purchased the *Dearborn Independent* and published a series of articles attacking Jews. Finally, Ford regularly employed company police and spies to intimidate employees; and until the 1940s, his company vigorously opposed attempts by employees to form a union.

The innovations introduced by Ford helped transform the country, while throughout the world Ford's achievements with the new assembly-line production methods became identified as "Fordism." Widespread ownership of the automobile helped spread the construction of goods roads and the expansion of cities. Over the next several decades, the automobile changed virtually everything about American society. In addition, the introduction of mass production, the assembly line, scientific management, and corporate paternalism changed the very nature of American industry.

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—Robert Gordon

### Fordney-McCumber Tariff (1922)

With the return of Republican control to the White House in 1921, President WARREN G. HARDING's administration set about to restore many traditional Republican policies, such as tax cuts and higher protective tariffs. President Harding's secretary of the treasury, ANDREW W. MELLON, strongly advocated that both these policies be adopted shortly after the new administration entered office. In particular, WORLD WAR I had allowed the chemical and metal industries to develop a number of innovative technologies. Industry leaders, along with Mellon, argued for a higher protective tariff to allow them further time to develop these advantages. The Fordney-McCumber Tariff of 1922 increased tariff rates on chemical and metal products as a safeguard against the revival of German industries, which had dominated these sectors of the international economy prior to the outbreak of hostilities in Europe in 1914.

The imposition of a new protective tariff in the United States had far-reaching consequences previously unimagined by the federal government. In particular, while the United States had been a debtor nation prior to the war, it emerged from the war as a creditor nation. As a result, the international economy increasingly depended upon U.S. capital for its economic development. European nations and their citizens owed some \$13 billion to the United States at the end of the world war. Moreover, the United States steadily made additional foreign loans and investments in the postwar period. The need to make loan repayments in U.S. dollars meant that the international community had a real need to be able to export its products to the United States in order to receive an influx of dollars that could be used to make the necessary payments on their loans. The Harding administration was adamant that European nations needed to repay all of their debts from the war. Consequently, the need for an open trade system became more and more apparent.

The return of a protective tariff to the United States often priced foreign goods out of the American economy. Although not the only factor, the protective tariff imposed by the United States in 1922 contributed to the extremely difficult economic conditions that Europe faced as a result of shifting economic power in the international community and the heavy reparations that constructed the German economy. Clearly, the First World War had altered the position of the United States in the international economy, and its economic policies would no longer affect only domestic conditions, but would also have implications that extended well beyond its own borders. The Fordney-McCumber Tariff, like the Hawley-Smoot Tariff that followed in 1930, contributed to world economic crisis in the 1930s.

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—David R. Smith

## foreign policy

The victory of the United States in the war with Spain in 1898 was a turning point in American foreign policy. Until 1898, American officials thought that their government should stay out of foreign entanglements, and they restricted expansion to territories on the North American continent. By the late 19th century, however, American presidents argued that the country needed to expand into foreign territories to search for new markets. At the turn of the century, the United States reorganized its military system and built up its naval power to ensure access to foreign markets and to meet the needs of the expansion of American capitalism and culture. Although 80 percent of American exports went to Europe and Canada in the late 19th century, the United States competed with the great industrial powers for markets in Asia and Latin America.

Leaders in the United States used two reasons to justify the expansion of American capitalism and culture around the world. First, the American business community had reached a consensus that, by expanding into foreign markets, the country could solve its economic, social, and political problems that stemmed from the Industrial Revolution. Second, American leaders increasingly believed that the country needed strategic naval bases to compete with European countries in Asia and Latin America. Alfred Thayer Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890) had a significant influence on American elites. Mahan had argued that the United States would need naval supremacy and control of the seas to maintain its national power. His theories inspired the GREAT WHITE FLEET as a policy tool under THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The Spanish-American War of 1898, which began as an intervention for humanitarian reasons in a civil war in Spanish Cuba, became a contest for colonial expansion. After the United States took possession of the Philippines in the war with Spain, a revolt broke out against the new colonial power under EMILIO AGUINALDO. Although Americans saw themselves differently than the previous European imperial rulers, the United States found that subjugating other people required military force and brutality. After four years of fighting, 4,300 Americans had died and about 50,000 Filipinos were killed in the Philippine War. By 1902, American troops under JOHN PERSHING finally suppressed the Philippine insurrection.

The American presence in Asia increased with the acquisition of the Philippines. In particular, the U.S. admin-

istration sought to expand trade with China. At the turn of the century, the major European and Asian powers had begun to carve up China in a rapid imperialist expansion. Wanting to protect American interests in China, President William McKinley stated in 1898 that, although the United States sought no special advantages, he encouraged the European and Asian powers to maintain an "open door" in China. Secretary of State John Hay translated McKinley's message into the Open Door notes, addressing it to England, Germany, Russia, France, Japan, and Italy. The major powers ignored the OPEN DOOR POLICY until the United States participated in an international expeditionary force that suppressed the nationalist BOXER REBELLION in China. England and Germany agreed to abide by the Open Door policy after the rebellion was crushed in 1900.

Although the United States won the war with Spain and acquired Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, the war illustrated obvious inadequacies in the American ARMED FORCES. President McKinley appointed Elihu Root, a corporate lawyer from New York, as secretary of war to reorganize the entire military system. Between 1900 and 1903, Root transformed the military system into a modern one. The reforms enlarged the regular army, established federal army standards for the National Guard, created officer training schools, and organized a central planning agency to coordinate military operations.

The United States assumed a more active role in international affairs between 1901 and 1917. Theodore Roosevelt became president after McKinley was assassinated in 1901. Roosevelt brought stability to Asia and won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906 for his efforts at negotiating the Treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR of 1904–05. He also agreed to the Japanese presence and territorial status quo in the Pacific under the ROOT-TAKAHIRA AGREEMENT of 1908.

Despite his work as a peacekeeper, Roosevelt extended American military power and dominance in the Western Hemisphere. In 1904 the president added the ROOSEVELT COROLLARY to the Monroe Doctrine. He claimed the right to intervene in the domestic affairs of Latin American countries if they were not able to maintain order themselves. This policy expanded on the right under the Monroe Doctrine of the United States to oppose European intervention in the region. Using the Roosevelt Corollary, the United States intervened in the Dominican Republic when the country was unable to make payments on its \$22 million debt. In 1905, the United States took control of the nation's finances for three decades.

The United States intervened in other Caribbean countries as well. In exchange for granting Cuba independence, the United States required that the country put the Platt Amendment of 1901 in its constitution, which maintained

the right of the United States to intervene in Cuba to prevent a foreign power from having undue influence there. In 1903 Roosevelt prevented the Colombian government from suppressing a revolution in its province of Panama. Immediately after Roosevelt recognized the independent nation, the Panamanian government agreed to a PANAMA CANAL treaty. In 1911, three years before construction of the canal was completed, Roosevelt had claimed, "I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate."

Roosevelt's successor, WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, attempted to preserve the economic interests of the United States in the world. Using policies termed as DOLLAR DIPLOMACY, Taft's secretary of state, Philander C. Knox, worked to extend American investments throughout the world. The value of American exports increased from \$800 million in 1895 to \$2.3 billion in 1914, an increase of close to 240 percent. Taft resorted to military force when economic influence proved insufficient. In 1909, when revolution broke out in Nicaragua, the Taft administration sent troops to support the government's opponents and to seize the country's customs houses. Two years later, Taft sent troops to Nicaragua again to protect the pro-American government. The American troops occupied the country for over a decade.

When WOODROW WILSON entered the White House in 1913, he continued the interventionist policies of earlier presidents. Although Wilson opposed dollar diplomacy, which he thought forced weaker countries into inequitable financial relationships, he agreed with the importance of promoting economic development overseas. In addition,



Frank Kellogg defending U.S. intervention in Nicaragua before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; chairman of the committee Senator William E. Borah is on the left (*Library of Congress*)

he sought to conduct a foreign policy that followed democratic principles. In particular, he wanted to extend constitutional liberty to the country's neighbors in Latin America. Having taken control of the Dominican Republic's finances in 1905, the United States set up a military government there in 1916. Wilson sent the U.S. Marines to Haiti in 1915 to crush a revolution, and American troops occupied that country until 1934.

In 1914 Wilson sent troops to the Gulf of Mexico port of Veracruz after the Mexican army had arrested American sailors who had gone ashore in Tampico. Wilson expected to establish a pro-American government in a bloodless intervention, but the two countries came to the brink of war. Nineteen Americans and 126 Mexicans were killed in skirmishes, and the Wilson administration backed off. When the military intervention helped to strengthen the position of Venustiano Carranza, the United States decided to back the opposition led by Pancho Villa. However, when Villa appeared to be losing the power struggle, the United States abandoned him and granted preliminary recognition to the Carranza government. To retaliate, Villa killed 16 Americans on a train in northern Mexico; later his forces crossed the border into Columbus, New Mexico, killing 17 more Americans. Wilson then ordered an expeditionary force into Mexico to find Villa. Although the U.S. troops never found Villa, the two countries engaged in battles that killed 40 more Mexicans and 12 Americans. The United States finally withdrew its troops and formally recognized the Carranza government in 1917.

In the 1920s the U.S. government encouraged economic expansion in Latin America. Between 1924 and 1929, U.S. investments more than doubled in Latin America as the U.S. military maintained a presence in several countries there. At the same time that the United States intervened in the affairs of Latin American countries, public opinion wanted to sustain American NEUTRALITY in the European conflict.

When WORLD WAR I broke out in Europe, the United States attempted to stay neutral. However, as British and German warfare gradually restricted American trade and freedom of the seas, President Wilson became involved in the conflict. When the British imposed a naval blockade on Germany, the United States was able to withstand an interruption of its trade with the Central Powers (Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Ottoman Empire); but abiding by any embargo of the Allies (Britain, France, Italy, and Russia) would harm the U.S. domestic economy, especially when war orders increased dramatically from Britain and France after 1914. Defense production helped to bring about one of the most expansive economic booms in American history.

By 1915, the United States had sided with the Allies by supplying them with war materials. Meanwhile, the

Germans resorted to a new tactic, submarine warfare, to cut off the flow of supplies to England. A German submarine sank the British passenger liner, *LUSITANIA*, on May 7, 1915, killing 1,198 people, 128 of whom were Americans. After the incident, the Germans agreed to Wilson's demands that the Central Powers affirm their commitment to neutral rights and promise not to launch more attacks.

By 1917, the Germans had decided that the advantages of unrestricted submarine warfare outweighed the risk of American entry into the war. By then, Wilson had concluded that, if provoked to enter the war, the United States could use the war as a means of creating a new democratic world order. In a speech to the Congress in January 1917, Wilson presented a plan for a postwar order and "peace without victory." The United States would help to maintain peace through a LEAGUE OF NATIONS, a world organization of nations that would arbitrate conflicts and ensure the self-determination of nations.

Meanwhile, a number of events made American entry into the war nearly inevitable. In February, the British gave Wilson an intercepted telegram from the German foreign minister to the Mexican government. In the ZIMMERMANN TELEGRAM, the foreign minister proposed that the Mexicans ally with the Germans if the United States joined the war. In exchange, when the war was over, Mexico would reacquire Texas and much of the American southwest. Publication of the telegram helped to create popular support in the United States for entry into the war.

In the following month, a republican government replaced the czarist regime in the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. When the Bolsheviks took control in the October Revolution of 1917, Wilson refused to recognize their new government. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were not restored until 1933. The possibility—and eventual reality—of Russia withdrawing from the war put additional pressure on the Wilson administration to join the Allied war effort.

In April 1917, the United States entered the war as an ally of Britain. Within months of the arrival in 1918 of American troops in Europe, Germany agreed to an armistice. By the time war had come to a close, the European population and economy were decimated. In contrast, the United States emerged from the war relatively unscathed and as a global power; and the nation's economy experienced an industrial boom that stretched into the 1920s.

The TREATY OF VERSAILLES, which formally ended the war, differed significantly from what Wilson had hoped for. He was unable to win approval for most of his proposals, such as freedom of the seas, free trade, and the principle that the negotiations should result in "open covenants openly arrived at." The Paris agreements were negotiated in secret. Rather than gaining support for the "impartial mediation" of colonial claims, Wilson had to accept a trans-

fer of German colonies in the Pacific to Japan, which Britain had promised in exchange for Japanese help in the war. In addition, the economic and strategic demands of the Allies undermined his promise of "national self-determination" for all peoples.

The major difference between the American and Allied agendas for peace was the demand that the Central Powers pay reparations to the Allied governments to compensate for their losses. Wilson opposed the idea. When the Allies refused to compromise, he reluctantly accepted the principle of reparations. A commission in 1921 determined that Germany had to repay \$56 billion to the Allies. Germany eventually paid only \$9 billion, but the amount was still far more than the decimated economy of Germany could afford.

Although the treaty was far from Wilson's hopes for peace based on the principles of justice and democracy, it provided for a League of Nations, which Wilson believed would create a new international order. Even though Wilson lobbied passionately for the passage of the treaty, the Senate refused to ratify it. Its defeat at the hands of Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE and other Republicans signaled an end to Wilsonian internationalism.

Having rejected Wilsonian diplomacy and its promises of a new world order, the United States retreated from European affairs for two decades after World War I. In a policy of what historian Joan Hoff Wilson has called "independent internationalism," American policymakers in the 1920s hoped to create protective measures against future wars without restricting the nation's freedom of action in the world. When WARREN G. HARDING took office, Secretary of State CHARLES EVANS HUGHES secured a series of agreements at the WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON NAVAL DISARMAMENT of 1921–22 from the major European and Asian powers to curb the destabilizing naval arms race. In 1927, the major powers attempted unsuccessfully to extend the disarmament measures of the Naval Disarmament conference in Geneva. In 1928, 62 nations signed onto the KELLOGG-BRIAND TREATY, which outlawed war. Unfortunately, these peace and disarmament measures contained loopholes and lacked enforcement measures so that they became meaningless.

Although the Kellogg-Briand Treaty was unenforceable, it was seen as a victory for the peace movement, which had come together as a loosely organized coalition. The most active groups included the World Peace Foundation, the Foreign Policy Association, the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, the Council on Foreign Relations, the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, the CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE, the Social Science Research Council, and the Institute of Pacific Relations. Having a significant influence on foreign policy, the members of these organizations included



mostly American elites who shared a vision of Wilsonian internationalism, a liberal new world order, and collective security. In fact, James T. Shotwell, a professor at Columbia University who headed the Carnegie Endowment, had helped to develop the Kellogg-Briand Treaty of 1928. Meanwhile, other groups that lobbied for the outlawry of war but emphasized pacifism rather than collective security, included the WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (WILPF) and the Fellowship for Christian Social Order. While the members of the pacifist groups were skeptical of the potential for peace, most of them supported a Christian pacifism.

Even though the United States retreated from the Wilsonian vision of a new world order in the 1920s, American policymakers sought to ensure the economic redevelopment and stability of Europe, a continent devastated by World War I. The Allies had to repay \$11 billion in loans to the United States. In addition, the reparations Germany was required to pay the Allies under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles weighed down the German economy. In 1924, CHARLES GATES DAWES, an American banker and diplomat, negotiated an agreement among France, Britain, Germany, and the United States. American banks provided loans to Germany so that it could pay the reparations and invest in its economy. Meanwhile, Britain and France agreed to reduce the amounts of the reparations if the Germans made their payments. Debt repayment fueled American economic expansion in Europe until the international financial system broke down after 1929. However, the DAWES PLAN did not solve the economic troubles in Europe. In fact, the circular flow of debt repayments helped to destabilize international finance, one of several factors that brought on a world economic depression in the 1930s.

The political chaos around the world sparked by the Great Depression, and the rise of fascist governments and military regimes in Europe and Asia intent on territorial expansion, severely undermined the fragile international system created after World War I. These powerful international forces gradually pushed the United States to greater involvement in international affairs.

In 1929 President Herbert Hoover faced a looming international economic and political crisis. He attempted to protect American farmers from international competition by raising agricultural tariffs with the Hawley-Smoot Tariff of 1930. Rather than helping farmers in the United States, the tariffs, at the highest level in American history, only exacerbated the international economic crisis. Other governments retaliated by enacting their own trade restrictions, thus shrinking the market for agricultural goods from the United States.

By the time that Hoover left office in 1933 the international system had collapsed. The system of the 1920s that

failed had been based on voluntary cooperation among nations and a refusal by the United States to restrict its freedom of action by establishing international obligations. Continued investment and intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean were not seen as contradictory solutions but rather as protecting America's sphere of interest. Under the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the United States gradually moved from a position of isolationism to intervention in the European and Asian conflicts that culminated in World War II.

See also CLARK MEMORANDUM.

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—Glen Bessemer

**Foster, William Zebulon** (1881–1961) *union organizer* William Z. Foster was a radical trade unionist and working-class activist in the first half of the 20th century. He created new forms of worker organization in mass production industries and served as general secretary of the COMMUNIST PARTY. Born to Irish immigrants in Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1881, Foster stopped attending school at the age of 10 when he apprenticed himself to a die sinker. After three years of apprenticeship, Foster traveled across the nation, working at various jobs. His experiences as a migrant worker led Foster to embrace the ideals of SOCIALISM. He joined the Socialist Party in 1901. For the rest of his life, Foster remained deeply committed to working-class movements and politics.

Foster participated in the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD's (IWW) free speech fight in Spokane, Washington, in 1909. As a result, he joined the IWW and became an organizer. Foster's political views and approach to organizing the working class changed dramatically when he visited Europe in 1911. After participating as the international representative for the IWW in an international labor conference in Budapest and observing the successful organizing of France's syndicalist labor federation (CGT), Foster returned convinced that the IWW needed to change its organizing strategy, "boring from within" the established trade unions of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR rather than organizing competing unions. Unable to convince other Wobbly

leaders to champion his strategy, Foster left the organization in 1912. He formed a rival, the short-lived Syndicalist League of North America.

In 1914 Foster moved to Chicago to take a position as business agent for the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. There, he began another campaign to convert the AFL into a syndicalist organization. In 1915 Foster became a general organizer for the AFL and founded the International Trade Union Educational League (ITUEL). The ITUEL's goal was to use education and propaganda to steer the AFL to a syndicalist position.

As WORLD WAR I erupted, Foster shifted his energies to organizing large industries. He proved to be an effective labor organizer by founding the Stockyards Labor Council (SLC), which served to align Chicago's many unions organizing in the yards and coordinate efforts to unionize meatpacking workers. His success in organizing the ethnically diverse and divided stockyard workforce led to new gains in wages and working conditions during the war, but employers would not extend union recognition to the workers. Racism, internal fragmentation, and employer repression, however, doomed the SLC; and by 1922 it disbanded. It would be more than 20 years before the meatpacking industry was unionized.

In 1918 Foster developed the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers to organize the steel industry. Initial strikes in Gary, Indiana, and South Chicago proved successful. The STEEL STRIKE OF 1919 drew more than 350,000 workers into its ranks. Ethnic, racial, and skill divisions among workers, limited support from the American Federation of Labor, and severe business and government repression combined to undermine the strike and led to the collapse of the National Committee.

After these organizing setbacks, Foster shifted back to political and educational activities. In 1921 he headed to Moscow and attended the Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern) and joined the Communist Party. He also founded the Trade Union Education League, modeled after the ITUEL, with the aim of promoting syndicalism among trade union workers, which became an arm of the Profintern in 1923.

Foster quickly became one of the most important leaders in the American Communist Party. He ran as its candidate for president of the United States in 1924, 1928, and 1932. Yet, imprisonment, internal party factionalism, and a heart attack in 1932 led to Foster losing influence in the movement. In 1945 Foster reemerged as party leader, after his key rival, Earl Browder, was expelled from the party. Foster remained in this position until he retired in 1956. He died in Moscow in 1961. Although his political career in working-class politics had limited success, Foster's innovative approaches to organizing labor in the meatpacking and steel industries were later adopted by

the CIO, which successfully organized the nation's industrial workers in the 1930s.

See also LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENTS; RADICALISM.

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—Jacob Hall

**Fourteen Points** See VERSAILLES, TREATY OF.

### free speech fights

During the Progressive Era, the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW), or Wobblies, carried out a series of free speech fights to test the constitutional guarantees of free speech and free assembly from 1906 until WORLD WAR I. Twenty-one of the 26 major campaigns took place between 1909 and 1913. The speech fights targeted cities, primarily in the West, where public officials passed local ordinances banning and regulating speaking in public places. Since the IWW relied on soapbox oratory to agitate against employers, recruit members, and protest, the free speech struggles expanded into an effort to publicize local government attacks against the working classes and their rights.

The first free speech fight occurred in Missoula, Montana, over an ordinance banning street speaking. The most famous fight, however, erupted in Spokane, Washington, on November 2, 1909. It turned into a major publicity victory for the IWW. The fight erupted when Spokane's city officials passed an ordinance banning street speaking to prevent the IWW from publicly agitating against the practices of private hiring agencies. Wobblies had been organizing against employment agencies that charged temporary workers a fee to place them in remote jobs with employers that either did not exist or did not have a contract with the agency. As police began arresting speakers, the IWW press sent out a call for all available workers to come to Spokane and speak out against the ordinance. When a single worker stepped onto a soapbox and began reading the Bill of Rights, he was arrested. Another demonstrator would then take his place, begin reading the document, and be escorted to jail. More than 500 Wobblies were arrested in the first month. This practice continued until Spokane's local jail was filled to overflowing with demonstrators. The local government took extreme measures to defeat the agitators, including shutting down and raiding the local IWW newspaper, assaulting prisoners, and jailing agitators in cold and wet cells in the middle of winter. ELIZABETH

GURLEY FLYNN, pregnant at age 16, was among those who were abused in prison. Her plight was well-publicized and gained the protesters additional sympathy. On March 4, 1910, facing waves of Wobblies, expensive court costs, and overcrowded jails, the local government capitulated and withdrew the ordinance.

The free speech campaign in San Diego turned out much differently for the IWW. Using similar tactics, the IWW challenged a public ordinance that banned free speech in a 49-block region of the city, which encompassed “soapbox row,” ostensibly to keep traffic moving. Local authorities were prepared for the IWW. Despite more than 5,000 protesters converging on the city, San Diego had much more jail space than Spokane and used such tactics as spraying agitators with fire hoses, brutalizing prisoners, and tolerating vigilantism to discourage participants from joining the fight. Despite support from the Socialist Party and the Federated Trades of San Diego, the IWW could not put enough pressure on the local government and public opinion to force them to withdraw the ordinance. After three months, the free speech fight was called off. In 1913, protesters in the PATERSON STRIKE experienced a similar failure.

After the defeat in San Diego, the number of free speech fights dropped as the IWW’s leadership began to discourage the strategy. Nevertheless, the harsh reactions of local authorities and vigilantes to these fights, and the denial of seemingly basic rights to free speech and assembly in the absence of advocacy of violence, initiated broad-based efforts to define and protect free speech. Amos Pinchot and 31 other prominent progressive reformers petitioned President WOODROW WILSON to demand a congressional investigation. Progressive government officials such as George Creel tolerated IWW free speech activities in their local communities, which prevented speech fights from erupting. While the short-term consequences of the free speech fights had mixed results, the free speech campaigns of the IWW contributed to the broader struggle for CIVIL LIBERTIES in the Progressive Era.

See also AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, GOLDMAN, EMMA; LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT.

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—Jacob Hall

## Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939) *scholar*

The Viennese doctor Sigmund Freud was one of the most influential thinkers of the 20th century. The founder of the new science of psychoanalysis, Freud developed a therapeutic method for treating disorders that had their origins in the unconscious. Freud’s psychological theories, which put new emphasis on early psychosexual development, became increasingly influential in the United States after 1910. They shaped the sexual revolution of the 1920s.

After Freud began his career as a research scientist in anatomy, he began studying the irrational, or “unconscious,” thinking that it could be studied with the same scientific rigor as anatomy. In 1886, he opened a medical office in Vienna to treat patients with nervous disorders. Freud coined the term “psychoanalysis” in 1896, claiming that dreams were the expression of unconscious conflicts of the mind. He encouraged his patients to free associate, unlocking painful memories that had been repressed since childhood. The basis of Freud’s theory of the unconscious was sexuality and the repression of sexual urges. His theory of human development established the irrational as a driving force of the human mind. Early critics of Freud’s theory of the unconscious were threatened by the theory’s potential for individual self-discovery, which could undermine the traditional moral codes of church and state.

Freud had been introduced to the American psychiatric community when he visited Clark University in 1909. Even though Freud’s theories were referred to in discussions and publications of the American psychiatric community by the early 1910s, only a few professional psychiatrists used psychoanalysis in private practices. In general, Freud gained influence when psychiatrists achieved professional dominance over psychologists in the 1920s. While psychiatrists had gained an institutional foothold in diagnostic and treatment programs in the United States, psychologists had been relegated to the role of “mere” intelligence testers.

By the 1920s, mainstream psychiatry in the United States had become accustomed to psychoanalysis and had refashioned it into a peculiarly American form. Finding Freud’s theories to be too deterministic, many in the field of dynamic psychiatry, or adjustment psychiatry, rejected them. American psychiatrists in psychopathic hospitals retained part of Freud’s methods that linked with the theory of the unconscious, namely the psychiatric analysis of a patient’s confession of disclosure of intensely private information.

Psychiatrists adjusted their theories to the sexual revolution that had reached the working and middle classes in the United States. For example, sexologist HAVELOCK ELLIS popularized a new standard of sexual morality in

his book, *Psychology of Sex*, which recorded and classified forms of human sexual desire. Under the new sexual mores, women who had been labeled “hypersexual” before the 1920s became normal, as long as their sexual behavior was confined to heterosexual marriage. Psychiatrists diverted their attention from hypersexual working-class women to sexual psychopaths, who were most often male homosexuals, who were labeled as rapists, child molesters, or sex offenders.

Significant differences distinguished European psychiatry and psychology from the American traditions. Freud had blurred the distinction between the normal and abnormal, which was a stark separation that had characterized much of the thinking about human beings in the 19th century. In contrast, American psychiatrists lacked skepticism, often promoting presumptions about what was normal for humans, especially when it came to sexuality.

Freud had a significant influence on the psychiatric profession, bringing the new science of psychoanalysis to the United States. Although Freudian psychoanalysis merged with the modern treatment models of psychiatry, significant differences between the European and American professions remained.

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—Glen Bessemer

## Fuel Administration

The Lever Food and Fuel Act of August 10, 1917, established the Fuel Administration as an agency to coordinate the production, supply, and distribution of vital resources of gasoline and oil. Once the United States had entered WORLD WAR I in April of that year, President WOODROW WILSON’s administration began its preparations. Ensuring a sufficient supply of goods and resources was essential. The administration created the COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC INFORMATION in April 1917 to begin preparing the public for the sacrifices they would be asked to make. The administration created the WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD and the NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD to oversee war production and labor disputes, and it secured passage of the ESPIONAGE ACT and the SEDITION ACT to ensure public support for the war. In addition, consumers were encouraged to ration food and conserve the products they used.

One of the products increasing in public demand was oil and its by-products, particularly gasoline. The growth of both consumer and defense industries, along with the expansion of automobile ownership, meant oil, coal, and gasoline were in high demand. Waging a modern war meant the supervision and, if need arose, rationing of fuel. Wilson created the Fuel Administration in August 1917 and appointed Harry A. Garfield to oversee its operation. The Fuel Administration asked the public to voluntarily conserve coal and oil by driving less, using less coal to heat their homes, and restricting nonessential consumption. It fixed the price of coal higher to bring less efficient coal mines into operation and increased coal production by 50 percent. It also had the power to ration supplies of coal and oil.

In the winter of 1917–18, heavy demands on the fuel supply led to a coal shortage across the United States. Coal trains were stopped en route, and towns appropriated coal supplies. Police had to safeguard coal stockpiles, and industries vital to defense, including armaments and shipbuilding, ground to a halt. Fuel administrator Garfield shut down factories east of the Mississippi for four days in order to ensure coal deliveries to ships headed for France. After January, however, the shortage began to ease. There were few problems for the rest of the war.

Labor problems, though, loomed on the horizon. The UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMWA) had signed a no-strike pledge, known as the Washington Agreement, with the Fuel Administration. Bituminous coal miners received no raise under the agreement, and wartime inflation eroded the purchasing power of their wages. The agreement, which did not expire at war’s end in November 1918, held the miners in check for nearly a year, but by September of 1919, the UMWA actively sought increases from mine operators. The mine owners refused to budge, and the UMWA set a strike deadline of November 1, 1919. When Attorney General A. MITCHELL PALMER advised the UMWA of the consequences of disregarding the Washington Agreement, the union president backed down. The miners did not go back until a few days later, when they received a 12 percent wage increase. A subsequent mining commission found that real wages for miners had lagged behind inflation, and they granted a 27 percent wage hike for all miners. By the time of the settlement, the wartime Fuel Administration had already been disbanded, having closed its doors in June 1919.

**Further reading:** David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

—Robert Gordon





# G



**Garvey, Marcus** (1887–1940) *black nationalist leader*  
The leader of the first black nationalist movement in the United States, Marcus Garvey tried to establish a separate black-governed country in Africa. He ultimately failed, but his efforts to create a black-run economy in the United States and his appeals to black pride made him one of the most important African-American leaders of the early 20th century.

Born in 1887 in Jamaica, Garvey founded the UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION (UNIA) in 1914. The initial platform for the UNIA called for caring for the needy of the race, civilizing backward African people, and developing schools and colleges for African and African-American youths that would teach a commitment to racial brotherhood around the globe. In addition, it called for the establishment of agencies around the world to protect the rights of blacks and for the creation of commercial and industrial trade between blacks. Garvey was not very successful in his first two years. The organization had only 200 members in 1916. In March of that year, Garvey toured the United States to raise funds for UNIA. During his tour, he was impressed by the condition of African Americans in relation to those faced by Africans in Jamaica. He hoped that the relative wealth of the African-American community in America and the existence of black leadership would help his organization. He decided to move UNIA's headquarters to Harlem in New York City.

UNIA enjoyed a measure of success in the years following its move to the United States. Answering Garvey's own call for the establishment of black-owned businesses, UNIA bought its own building in Harlem, opened a restaurant, began a newspaper, the *Negro World*, and established a steamship line, the Black Star Line. The Black Star Line was the most visible manifestation of Garvey's philosophy. The black-owned and operated Black Star Line would not only carry black immigrants to Africa but would also foster trade among blacks in the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa. According to Garvey, this trade would form the

basis of the worldwide black economy of the future. UNIA raised the money needed to buy steamships by selling stock in the Black Star Line. African Americans embraced the idea, and UNIA had no trouble selling the stock.

Garvey reached the peak of his power in 1920, when UNIA held its first international convention in Madison Square Garden. For one month, 25,000 delegates met to establish it as an international organization. The convention elected Garvey as the provisional president of Africa and



Marcus Garvey (Library of Congress)

approved a 54-article *Declaration of Negro Rights*, which called for equal rights for Africans throughout the world. It named injustices suffered and demanded equal treatment before the law, access to economic opportunity for blacks, an end to colonialism, the return of Africa to African rule, and also adopted an African national anthem.

Garvey's power and influence began to decline soon after the convention. In 1920–21, the United States suffered through an economic recession. As unemployment rose among African Americans, sales of Black Star Line stock plummeted. In addition to its financial troubles, Garvey faced harsh criticism from established African-American leaders, including A. Philip Randolph and W. E. B. DuBois. Critics questioned his financing of the Black Star Line. They charged that he was selling more stock than he legally could. In 1922, Garvey provided further fuel to the fire when he met with the second-in-command of the KU KLUX KLAN. His critics charged that he had made a deal with the Klan to remove African Americans from the United States, leaving it as the white man's country that Garvey had always claimed it was. Garvey responded to these charges by purging his critics from UNIA's leadership, but he did not last long enough to take advantage of this situation. He was convicted of mail fraud in a federal court in New York City in June of 1923. The court sentenced Garvey to five years in prison and a \$1,000 fine. After losing his appeal, he began to serve his sentence in 1925. In 1927, President Calvin Coolidge commuted his sentence, and Garvey was deported to Jamaica. Garvey attempted to re-create UNIA in Jamaica; but by the mid-1930s, both UNIA and Garvey had fallen into obscurity. He died in obscurity in 1940.

**Further reading:** Robert A. Hill, et al., eds., *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, 10 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983–2006); Tony Martin, *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976); Cary D. Wintz, ed., *African-American Political Thought, 1890–1930: Washington, DuBois, Garvey, and Randolph* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1996).

—Michael Hartman

### Gastonia Strike (1929)

In the spring of 1929, 3,500 textile operators at the Loray Mill in Gastonia, North Carolina, went on strike against the company. Under the leadership of Fred Beale, the National Textile Workers Union, a union allied with the Communist Party, had been organizing in Gastonia for months. Low wages, the stretch-out system of assigning looms to workers, and long hours were among the workers' chief griev-

ances. On April 1, workers from both shifts walked out, demanding employers meet their demands and give the union recognition. They were met with a well-organized resistance. Local employers formed a Committee of One Hundred to break the strike, and the governor of the state sent in the National Guard to keep the mill open.

Within weeks of the walkout, thousands of workers in the Piedmont South joined the Gastonia workers in massive strikes in protest against employer decisions to increase their workload and lower wages. Impoverished not simply by a low-wage economy but also by a decade of recession in the textile industry, mill workers had been silent when employers speeded up the machines at which they worked. By 1929, however, the industry was showing some signs of revival. With that upturn, workers organized throughout the Piedmont region in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. While the campaign benefited from outside funding and leadership, some of its most visible labor activists were long-term employees with roots in local communities.

In Gastonia, labor violence escalated. Police and National Guardsmen harassed those walking the picket line, and a local crowd destroyed the union office. Employers then ordered the workers evicted from company housing. In an exchange of gunfire one night, the local chief of police was killed. Sixteen strikers and leaders, including Beale, were charged with the murder. Seven were eventually convicted of second-degree murder. They fled to the Soviet Union while out on bail. Locally, one worker, Ella Mae Wiggins, had caught the attention of the press with her songs written from her mill experience, such as the "Mill Mother's Lament." Wiggins became another victim of the violence. She was killed on September 14, when the car she was riding in was ambushed on the way to a strike meeting. Although five Loray Mill employees were charged, no one was convicted of her murder.

The fierceness of conflict between local workers and local police caught the attention of labor reformers nationwide. Reporters from labor and radical newspapers and organizers, some of whom belonged to the Communist Party, went south to support the strike. Newspaper reporters told the powerful story of how textile workers, long viewed as passive, stood up to employers. The strike also made it into radical literature as the subject of six novels, including MARY HEATON VORSE's *Strike!* (1930) and Fielding Burke's *Call Home the Heart* (1932). Still, the workers fought an uphill battle. Evictions from mill housing and lack of resources made it difficult for strikers to sustain the conflict. Although the conflict lasted throughout the summer, in Gastonia, as throughout the region, the strike was lost.

**Further reading:** Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, et al., *Like a Family: The Making of the Southern Cotton Textile Mill*

*World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); John Salmond, *Gastonia, 1929* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

### General Electric (GE)

Created in 1892, the General Electric Company (GE) invented and produced numerous products that changed the way ordinary Americans lived their lives. GE's formation in 1892 was an attempt to manufacture and distribute many of the new electrical products that had been invented by Thomas Alva Edison and others. Edison had formed his own corporation, the Edison Electrical Light Company, in 1878, which then became the Edison General Electric Company. Engineered by financier J. P. Morgan, General Electric merged the competing manufacturers, Edison General and the Thomson-Houston Electric Company.

In 1900, GE created a research lab in Schenectady, New York, with the hope that it would be able to duplicate the kind of creative environment Edison had established at his famed Menlo Park. GE president Edwin Rice set out to hire leading scientists from around the world. According to Rice, "It has been deemed wise during the past year to establish a laboratory devoted exclusively to original research. It is hoped by this means that many profitable fields may be discovered." The idea of committing a large amount of money to research and development, with no guarantee that anything profitable or marketable would come from it, revolutionized American industry. Prior to the development of industrial research labs, innovations were the domain of individual scientists and inventors. Corporations emerged only after new products or new ideas were developed. GE spared no expense in building the labs, developed close ties with university science departments, and hired some of the leading scientists of the day, including Charles Steinmetz, William Coolidge, Irving Langmuir (who won the Nobel Prize in chemistry in 1932), and Willis Whitney. Whitney, who had been a chemistry professor at MIT prior to joining GE, served as head of the company's research lab between 1900 and 1928.

From the very beginning, the work of GE's research laboratory was extremely productive and profitable. Early triumphs included innovations in the incandescent light bulb, vacuum tubes, and an X-ray machine. Improvements in lighting allowed GE to play an important role in the emerging electrification and lighting industry as communities and individuals brought electricity and electric lighting into their towns and homes. By 1930, GE had become one of the most prominent and profitable companies in the country; and its products, including radios, refrigerators, and stoves, began appearing in every household.

See also ELECTRICITY; INVENTION AND TECHNOLOGY.

**Further reading:** Leonard S. Reich, *The Making of American Industrial Research: Science and Business at GE and Bell, 1876–1926* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Ronald Schatz, *The Electrical Workers: A History of Labor at General Electric and Westinghouse, 1923–1968* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983).

—Robert Gordon

### Gentlemen's Agreement (1907)

Following on decades of racial hostility toward Asians, the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 was an informal pact between the United States and Japan to slow emigration from Japan. Between the 1880s and the onset of WORLD WAR I, there was a steady increase in the number of immigrants to the United States. In 1907, at its height, some 1,285,349 immigrants entered the country. Asian immigration was a specific area of concern. By 1882, the federal government responded to the demands of white workers in California and enacted legislation that prohibited the entry of emigrants from China, in the Chinese Exclusion Act. While this legislation effectively halted the major source of Asian immigrants, it did not close the door to Asians. In 1885, the emperor of Japan lifted that country's prohibition on emigration, and a steady flow of Japanese laborers entered the United States. Their primary destination was the sovereign island kingdom Hawaii, where Japanese immigrants found employment on American sugar cane plantations. With the subsequent annexation of Hawaii by the United States in 1898, Japanese migrants were free to move to the continental United States. In the early part of the 20th century, Japanese immigrants entered the country at a rate of about 10,000 per year.

Although the number of immigrants reaching the United States from Japan and other Asiatic countries remained relatively small, opposition to Chinese, Japanese, and other Asian immigrants steadily mounted in places like California. In 1906, opposition to Japanese immigrants in California had reached a point where the San Francisco school board ordered the segregation of Japanese and other Asian schoolchildren. The school board and many white residents of San Francisco did not hide racist attitudes toward the Japanese. They argued for the segregation of the schools in order to prevent the "contamination" of white children. In addition to segregation, anti-Asian riots erupted in several California cities during 1906, including San Francisco and Los Angeles. California's anti-Asian prejudices were encouraged and fed by hysterical stories in the press about the "Yellow Peril" of Asian immigration. This so-called Yellow Peril caused outrage in Japan, and pro-military elements within the Tokyo government began calling for a war with the United States.



To calm tensions between the two countries and quiet public sentiment, President THEODORE ROOSEVELT sought to work out a solution with the Japanese government. The Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan in 1907 resolved the mounting tension between the two nations. In exchange for Japan agreeing to refuse passports to unskilled laborers seeking to immigrate to the United States, Roosevelt promised to have the San Francisco school board rescind its segregation order. While the agreement halted most migration between Japan and the United States, it did not bar Japanese residents already in the country from sending for their wives. Accordingly, thousands of Japanese women continued to enter the United States. Many of these immigrants were actually so-called picture brides who had been married by proxy in Japan in order to gain entry into the United States. Fearing that he would be attacked for being soft with the Japanese, President Roosevelt subsequently ordered the GREAT WHITE FLEET on its world tour late in 1907.

**Further reading:** Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice, the Anti-Japanese Movement in California, and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962).

—David R. Smith

**Gershwin, George** (1898–1937) *composer, songwriter, pianist*

An important American composer, George Gershwin is remembered for his musical comedies, popular songs, orchestral works, and an opera, *Porgy and Bess*. Combining jazz and classical composition, Gershwin had many successes that crossed the line between classical and popular MUSIC, including *Rhapsody in Blue*, among the most frequently played pieces of American classical music.

George Gershwin (Jacob Gershovitz) was born in Brooklyn, New York, on September 26, 1898, the son of immigrant Russian Jewish parents. At the age of 12, he began to study the piano, and at age 15 wrote his first compositions. Gershwin studied with American composers Rubin Goldmark, Henry Cowell, and Wallingford Riegger and the Russian-born composer Joseph Schillinger. An accomplished pianist, Gershwin began his career in 1918 as a musician and song promoter for Jerome Remick Company, a TIN PAN ALLEY music publisher. In his songs, Gershwin drew upon the idioms and rhythms of JAZZ and BLUES music, as revealed in his first popular success, “Swanee.”

By the 1920s, Tin Pan Alley was declining in musical influence as sheet music gradually lost its popularity. It had fostered much new talent, including Gershwin and composer Irving Berlin, but Broadway theater companies



George Gershwin (Library of Congress)

slowly took its place as venues for introducing and distributing popular music. Both in New York and on tour, Broadway plays and reviews publicized new songs and composers. Starting off as a rehearsal pianist, Gershwin began composing for Broadway shows. In 1920, he wrote the entire score for the review *George White's Scandals*, which introduced him to theater audiences. Gershwin followed with a string of hit shows, including *Lady, Be Good* (1924), *Tip-Toes* (1925), *Oh, Kay!* (1926), *Funny Face* (1927), and *Girl Crazy* (1930). Working with his brother Ira, George produced such classic anthems as “S Wonderful,” “Someone to Watch Over Me,” and “I Got Rhythm.” Like Cole Porter, another great popular composer of the time, Gershwin benefited from the use of his tunes in movie musicals of the 1930s, most memorably those starring dance duo Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers. Such exposure led to national recognition. In the 1930s, Gershwin moved into political satire and spoofs with such comedies such as *Strike Up the Band* (1930) and George S. Kaufman's *Of Thee I Sing* (1931), which won the Pulitzer Prize.

Along with popular music, Gershwin began experimenting with classical symphonic works in the 1920s. At the request of band leader Paul Whiteman, in 1924 he

wrote his now-famous *Rhapsody in Blue*, a piece for piano and jazz band, scored by American composer Ferde Grofé. Gershwin composed a longer piece, *Concerto in F*, for piano and orchestra in 1925. His symphonic poem, *An American in Paris*, written in 1928, was rhythmically and harmonically challenging. In 1935, Gershwin completed *Porgy and Bess*, an opera based on DuBose Heyward's book about life on Catfish Row in Charleston, South Carolina. Using African-American themes and jazz and blues rhythms in classical forms, the opera reached popular audiences with its evocative and haunting music, especially the memorable song, "Summertime." On July 11, 1937, at the age of 38, Gershwin died in Beverly Hills, California. His music remains a vital part of the popular music repertoire in the United States and internationally.

**Further reading:** Rodney Greenberg, *George Gershwin*, (London: Phaidon, 1998); Deena Rosenberg, *Fascinating Rhythm: The Collaboration of George and Ira Gershwin* (New York: Dutton, 1991).

**Gilman, Charlotte Perkins** (1860–1935) *feminist theorist and writer*

One of the most creative social thinkers of the Progressive Era, socialist feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman wrote extensively in journals and magazines and authored several important books, including her first major work, *Women and Economics* (1898). Born into a well-known family in Providence, Rhode Island, Gilman's childhood abruptly changed after her mother and father separated. She grew up in genteel poverty. She attended Rhode Island School of Design for a few years and then worked as a teacher and commercial artist. After she married artist Charles Stetson, she grew increasingly unhappy. Her depression only increased after the birth of a daughter, Katherine. After undergoing unsuccessful psychological treatment, an episode she later dramatized in the short story, "The Yellow Wallpaper," Gilman divorced her husband and sent her daughter to live with him. She chose to live independently, supporting herself with journalism, fiction, and public speaking. In 1900, at age 40, she married George Houghton Gilman, a cousin who was more accepting of her public career. They remained married until his death in 1934.

Gilman's career took off with the publication of *Women and Economics* in 1898. Heavily influenced by sociologist Lester Frank Ward, the study took on the challenge of analyzing women's status and work in society. In it, Gilman argued that women had been socially and emotionally disabled by their isolation in the home. Their absence from the public world of work devalued them in an increasingly materialist society. As a remedy, Gilman advocated that women enter the workforce and the profes-

sions. In subsequent books, she argued for revolutionary new arrangements for domestic life, including the creation of day nurseries and shared household work. *Women and Economics* was published and later translated in several editions in the United States and abroad. Less well known were her books *Concerning Children* (1900) and *The Home* (1903), which further explored collective housekeeping and childcare. *Human Work* (1904) offered a social Darwinist perspective on the social division of labor.

From 1909 to 1916, Gilman published the independent socialist journal, *The Forerunner*. In *The Forerunner*, she serialized a number of novels, including *Herland*. The utopian novel, which is now widely read as a socialist feminist work, imagined an isolated society organized along maternal lines. Three earnest young men, one a sociologist and the other two adventurers, discover a secluded mountain community of women. There, motherhood is the highest good, and all efforts are bent toward developing moral and cultural values in children and adults. As a satire, the novel targeted the relationship between the sexes of the day, in particular its disregard of women's productive and creative powers. Such neglect, Gilman suggested, rendered women helpless victims of men's egotism. For all its touting of female and maternal values and critique of masculine and patriarchal power, the novel implied that cooperation and the absence of "male" values had made Herland's society stagnant. The end of the novel foresaw a progressive integration of masculine and feminine values.

With the end of WORLD WAR I and the RED SCARE, feminism and socialism fell into disrepute. Old-fashioned women's rights advocates like Gilman fell out of favor. The growing popularity of SIGMUND FREUD's sexual theories changed socialism, but Gilman stayed her own course to the end and continued to advocate social evolutionary ideas. Her autobiography, *The Living of Charlotte Perkins Gilman* (1935), gave testimony to the importance of women's individual emancipation within the framework of progressive social reform. Gilman died in 1935, having contracted breast cancer and taken her own life.

**Further reading:** Ann Lane, *To Herland and Beyond: The Life and Work of Charlotte Perkins Gilman* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990).

**Goldman, Emma** (1869–1940) *anarchist leader, activist*

One of the most famous radicals of the 20th century, anarchist Emma Goldman promoted the causes of labor, free love, free speech, and revolution throughout her life. She was born on June 27, 1869, in Russian Kovno (now Kaunas, Lithuania), to Abraham and Taube Bienowitch Goldman. Financial difficulties prompted the family to move to

Königsberg in Prussia, where Emma attended school for three and a half years. In 1881, the family moved to Saint Petersburg, Russia.

The political repression following the assassination of Czar Alexander II outraged Goldman, who was already sensitized to injustice by Russian anti-Semitism and the brutality of her own father. Participation in underground discussion groups exposed her to radical literature, which she eagerly absorbed. Her political activities and sexual adventures, however, increased turmoil at home, which she escaped by migrating to America with her half-sister, Helena, in 1885.

The events surrounding the Haymarket Riot in 1886 rekindled her interest in radical literature. She soon became an avid reader of *Die Freiheit*, an anarchist newspaper published by Johann Most. She was intrigued by his support of violence and his emphasis on the individual, rather than the state. In 1889 she moved to New York, where she met Most. He quickly became her mentor and lover. Under his direction, she embarked on a lecture tour, speaking in Yiddish to immigrant audiences.



Emma Goldman, 1934 (Library of Congress)

As Goldman's relationship with Most cooled, she became involved with Alexander Berkman, another anarchist. Berkman, incensed by the Homestead Strike, decided to assassinate Henry C. Frick. Goldman endorsed the plan and helped raise money to purchase a revolver and a new suit so her lover could gain access to Frick's office. Berkman only wounded Frick, but he received a 20-year prison sentence. Her role in the plot undiscovered, Goldman publicly defended her lover, declaring that the use of violence is justified when one is pushed to extremes by injustice. Her argument enraged most people. Indeed, public harassment was so great that, for a time, she could find lodging only in a brothel.

Although neither she nor Berkman acknowledged her role in the assassination plot, she was a target for police surveillance. At a speech to the unemployed, she was arrested for inciting to riot, found guilty, and sentenced to one year in prison. While in jail she served as an assistant to the prison's physician and became fluent in English.

Upon her release, she worked for a while as a practical nurse and midwife in the slums of New York, an experience that convinced her of the necessity for BIRTH CONTROL. In 1895 she traveled to Europe where she took the nursing course at the Allgemeines Krankenhaus in Vienna, Austria. While there she attended lectures by Sigmund Freud that clarified her ideas on sexuality. She then returned to the United States, where she became notorious for expounding such radical ideas as anarchy, free love, and birth control.

Goldman was best known for her activism after 1910. On her lecture tours, she spoke on topics that ranged from modern drama, anarchist philosophy, free love, and women's emancipation to the evils of capitalism. From 1906 to 1917, she published a monthly journal, *Mother Earth*, which incorporated a similar mix of culture and anarchist thought. During WORLD WAR I, both Goldman and Berkman were arrested for counseling young men to resist the draft. After serving in prison for two years, they were both deported as radicals to Soviet Russia during the RED SCARE. Critical of the Bolshevik government, Goldman left the Soviet Union to spend the last 20 years of her life in exile from the United States, which she had long regarded as her home. She published her two-volume autobiography, *Living My Life*, in 1931 and died in Toronto in 1940. She is buried in Waldheim Cemetery in Chicago.

**Further reading:** Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984).

—Harold W. Aurand

**Goldmark, Josephine Clara** (1877–1950) *social worker*

Known for her social investigations into industrial hygiene, fatigue, child labor, and education, Josephine Goldmark



was born on October 13, 1877, the daughter of Joseph and Regina Goldmark. Born in Poland, her father went to school in Hungary and pursued his medical education at the University of Vienna, where he became involved in the political ferment of 1848. Immigrating to the United States, Joseph Goldmark became a doctor. Doing chemical research in explosives, he took out patents on safety caps and cartridges. The Union Army in the Civil War used his inventions extensively. He died in 1881, when Josephine was three. Josephine grew up in a political household. Her older sister Helen married Felix Adler, of the Society for Ethical Culture, who acted as surrogate father for Josephine. Her sister Alice married LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, who eventually became a Supreme Court justice.

Josephine went to private school and then Bryn Mawr College. Graduating in 1898, she undertook graduate work at Barnard. She was working there as a tutor in 1903 when she met FLORENCE KELLEY of the National Consumers League (NCL). The NCL was a national organization that served as a watchdog on working conditions in the United States. It lobbied for protective labor legislation, including maximum hour and minimum wage laws, and for state and federal laws prohibiting or regulating child labor. It also gave its resources to defend protective labor laws against court challenges.

Hired as Kelley's assistant at the league, Goldmark wrote several publications, including *Child Labor Legislation Handbook* (1907). Her most important work for the league, however, was to compile the massive social data her brother-in-law Louis Brandeis used in several of his most important cases, including *MULLER V. OREGON* (1908). In that landmark case, the Supreme Court decided in favor of Brandeis. Arguing for the rights of states to limit women's working hours because of the state's interest in protecting the health of mothers and children, Brandeis had argued that long hours and fatigue endangered women's health and, what was more, eroded their efficiency as workers. Goldmark later compiled her research on work in the book, *Fatigue and Efficiency: A Study in Industry* (1912). The product of five years of research, the study made an eloquent case for progressive social legislation. Goldmark used social statistics from American and European health officers and factory inspectors, labor bureaus and investigative commissions, to demonstrate that long hours not only eroded workers' health but also undermined their productivity. On the strength of her growing reputation, Goldmark was appointed to serve on the committee investigating the TRIANGLE SHIRTWAIST FIRE (1911).

Later in her career, Goldmark became involved in surveying and improving nursing education. Serving on the Rockefeller Foundation's Committee for the Study of Nursing Education, Goldmark contributed to its 1923 report, *Nursing and Nursing Education in the United*

*States*. The committee's recommendations for higher standards in nursing education and more academic training led to the founding of nursing schools at Yale, Vanderbilt, and Case Western Reserve. Nursing schools also developed new university affiliations. Goldmark pursued her interests in public health and hygiene through the rest of her career. She died in 1950.

**Further reading:** Phillipa Strum, *Louis D. Brandeis: Justice for the People* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984).

**Gompers, Samuel** See VOLUME VI.

**Great Depression** See VOLUME VIII.

## Great Migration

From WORLD WAR I through the 1920s, over a million African Americans migrated from the South to northern industrial cities. Known as the Great Migration, their movement marked a crucial transition in the history of African Americans, cities, and the working class. The causes of the migration were complex and involved factors that pushed the migrants out of the South and others that attracted them to the North. It is important to remember, however, that at the base of the migration were millions of individual African Americans who decided that their hopes for full citizenship lay in the northern cities.

African Americans had been migrating since the end of the Civil War in their search for independence. Traditionally they sought freedom from white control through land ownership, moving anywhere that whites did not restrict their actions and rights. By the 20th century, with the enactment of SEGREGATION laws throughout the South and efforts by whites to control African-American labor, dreams of independence through land ownership were fleeting. Many farmers who did own their own land were at the mercy of white-owned banks and businesses to which they owed money. When hard times hit, African-American farmers who were already living on the edge of subsistence found it increasingly difficult to make ends meet. Many were forced to sell their farms at discounted prices in order to pay off their debts. The African-American farmers were hit particularly hard when the cotton crops were destroyed by the boll weevil in the first decade of the century.

Farmers forced off the land had few choices about where to work. They could join other African Americans who already farmed as sharecroppers and tenant farmers, or they could move to southern cities. Sharecropping and tenant farming were uncertain ways of making a living





Men shoveling snow onto a wagon after a storm, Washington, D.C., ca. 1915 (*Library of Congress*)

from farming. In both, African-American farmers rented land from white landowners. In sharecropping they paid their rent with a share of the crop produced, while in tenant farming they paid their rent through cash payments. In the case of many small farmers, the value of their crops never exceeded their rent, so every year they fell further and further into debt. The process forced them to remain on the same farm because local laws made it illegal to move if one owed a debt. Those African Americans who lived in southern cities faced similar restrictions on their actions. Only the jobs lowest on the occupational hierarchy were available to them.

In addition to their economic plight, African Americans living in the South suffered from legal, physical, and social exploitation. The denial of voting rights was at the center of the efforts by southern whites to exert control

over African Americans. After Reconstruction ended, white-controlled state legislatures disenfranchised African-American voters throughout the South. Whites also created a segregated social order determined by a strict set of racial protocols. Separate facilities for whites and African Americans were created. Individual relationships were determined by these racial customs based on the subservience of African Americans to whites at all times. If African Americans overstepped social boundaries, they often faced a violent backlash. Whites used lynching to punish African Americans who overstepped racial bounds.

It was not until changes occurred in the industrial North that large numbers of African Americans seized the opportunity to migrate. Blacks in the North had experienced many of the same restrictions on their occupational choices prior to World War I. They were relegated

to domestic services or to work as laborers. Higher paying industrial jobs were closed to them. This changed during the war. Immigration from Europe, one of the major sources of industrial labor, slowed to a trickle. Whereas a few years earlier approximately one million immigrants annually entered the United States, the flow slowed to around 100,000 each year during the war. In addition, when America entered the war, many white workers left their jobs to join the Armed Forces. Without a labor supply from abroad, American industrial corporations began to hire African Americans for the first time. These new economic opportunities were integral to the decisions of many African Americans to migrate North.

Many southern African Americans learned of the new opportunities from friends, relatives, and neighbors who had traveled north. Some migrants remember their communities being struck with migration fever, as they called it. As more people migrated, the news spread, which served to attract more migrants. Pullman car porters and other African-American railroad workers made up another network communicating the news. Many of these men lived in Chicago, and spread the news as they traveled from town to town. They also played another significant role by distributing African-American newspapers, such as the *Chicago Defender*. The papers served as militant voices for black aspirations. Many migrants drew their images of life in the urban North from the pages of these newspapers.

Despite reports of migrant fever, most African Americans undertook the migration with a great deal of planning. They sought out information about their destinations, and many patiently waited for their chance by saving up enough money to make the trip. Many of those living in the Deep South made the migration in steps, moving first to a nearby city and then city by city until they reached their final destination. This way they earned enough money at each step to continue to the next one.

Upon reaching their destination, migrants found an environment that provided them with new possibilities but fell far short of full citizenship and personal independence. The jobs in Chicago's meat-packing houses and Pittsburgh's steel mills that had lured many North paid two to three times what African Americans could earn in the South. There was little chance, however, for promotion beyond entry-level positions. Schools were almost incomparably better than those provided for African Americans in the South, but even with a high school education, many graduates faced difficulty finding a job that afforded them a chance to use their skills. Migrants soon realized that the right to vote did not automatically give them political power. They also found that they faced discrimination in housing. African Americans were forced to live in segregated areas of the cities. This segregation was imposed in many ways. Realtors and landowners refused to rent or sell property

to African Americans in certain sections of cities. In addition, whites often physically attacked African Americans who moved outside the prescribed boundaries. With their choices restricted, African Americans were forced to live in areas that became defined by overcrowding and high rents. African Americans also faced racial violence in northern cities. In East St. Louis in 1917 and Chicago in 1919, to name two examples, race riots occurred that left 39 African Americans dead in St. Louis and 23 in Chicago.

Despite all these restrictions, African Americans managed to create vibrant urban communities that played significant roles in America's cultural history. Without the migration to the North, for example, BLUES music would never have made the contribution that it has. Only by gaining access to urban audiences and the RADIO could blues musicians popularize their work. Other contributions in literature, art, and music such as the HARLEM RENAISSANCE grew directly out of the urban communities created by the Great Migration.

The Great Migration thus marked a crucial transition in the history of America. For African Americans, it marked the end of their reliance on agricultural independence as the means for gaining full citizenship and shifted the center of African-American population to the northern cities. The African-American communities became the driving force in the freedom struggles. The migration also reshaped the political, social, economic, and demographic landscapes of America's cities. Finally, the migration reshaped the history of the American working class as African Americans entered the industrial workforce in large numbers for the first time.

See also CITIES AND URBAN LIFE; LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—Michael Hartman

### Great White Fleet (1907–1909)

President THEODORE ROOSEVELT often said that the United States needed to “Speak softly and carry a big stick.” While Roosevelt on several occasions used the American military to directly intervene in Caribbean and Latin American nations, he approached foreign policy issues in a very different way when it came to Asia. Competing with European nations in that sphere, his policy was more nuanced. Indeed, in 1907 Roosevelt ordered the main part of the U.S. Navy's fleet, the so-called Great White Fleet, which

included 16 battleships, to embark on a 45,000-mile world tour. He hoped that the show, rather than the use, of American seapower would preserve American interests in Asia.

In Asia, Roosevelt's main foreign policy objective was to maintain the OPEN DOOR POLICY in China. He also was concerned about maintaining the balance of power that existed in East Asia. The chief threats to the balance of power in the region came from Russia and Japan, both of which wanted to control a greater share of China. In 1904, these two nations—Russia and Japan—had gone to war with each other as they were attempting to build a stronger sphere of influence in Asia. For the most part, President Roosevelt supported Japan's efforts to obtain world-power status, which he recognized could not be prevented. He thought, however, that such status could be obtained through peaceful means, rather than war and conflict.

Accordingly, with the outbreak of the RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, President Roosevelt initiated secret negotiations to arrange a peace. These efforts to negotiate an end to this conflict resulted in Roosevelt's winning of the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1906, the first American to earn that award. Roosevelt's goal in supporting the Japanese was to allow them to secure a sphere of influence in East Asia (similar to what Roosevelt had done in Central America, the Caribbean, and Latin America), and second, to secure a tighter link between Japan and the United States. While Roosevelt sought to build a lasting relationship with Japan, his efforts were frustrated by the anti-Asian nativism rampant in the United States in the early part of the 20th century. This controversy was particularly played out in California where the state legislature debated laws to bar further Japanese immigration and local school boards ordered the segregation of Asian schoolchildren so that they would not "contaminate" white children. The so-called Yellow Peril caused outrage in Japan, and pro-military elements within the Tokyo government began calling for a possible war with the United States. To calm this growing sentiment, President Roosevelt put aside his own racist tendencies to find a solution to this growing controversy. Roosevelt's GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT with Japan in 1907 resolved the mounting tension between the two nations as Japan agreed to halt immigration to the United States and the San Francisco school board agreed to rescind its segregation order.

Fearing that he would be attacked for appeasing the Japanese, President Roosevelt subsequently ordered the Great White Fleet on its world tour late in the year. The fleet would make many stops across the globe, but perhaps most significantly, it made an appearance in Tokyo Bay. While many in the United States, including members of Congress, feared that this show of American military strength might rekindle the militarist sentiment in Japan, Japan instead responded in a calm fashion that emphasized its recognition of American military strength. President

Roosevelt demonstrated skill in his dealings with Japan. His policies are credited with staving off direct conflict with Japan while at the same time preserving a strong United States presence in East Asia.

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—David R. Smith

## Greenwich Village

Greenwich Village is a neighborhood on the lower west side of Manhattan. Bounded on the east by Washington Square and Fifth Avenue, it is marked on the west by the Hudson River, and on the south and north by Houston Street and Tenth Street. At the turn of the century, the Village, as insiders know it, was home to both working-class immigrants and young middle-class professionals, who were looking for inexpensive housing in New York City. Soon, however, Greenwich Village became nationally known for its bohemian atmosphere and modern ways. Artists, actors, journalists, writers, labor organizers, and radicals patronized its cafés and participated in its street life. Anarchists and suffragists were found drinking coffee and arguing about the revolution. A center of modernist art and culture, the Village became the place where young talent migrated and flourished. Surrounded by the cosmopolitan influences of European immigrant radicals and intellectuals, a new generation of writers and activists challenged the relations between the sexes, class inequality, and the cultural establishment. Through their art and politics, they sought to refashion American identity in the modern mode.

During this period, the core group of intellectuals and artists identified with Greenwich Village were those associated with the journal, *THE MASSES*. Edited by Max Eastman, *The Masses* published work from radical thinkers and writers such as JOHN REED, Floyd Dell, and MARY HEATON VORSE. Its sheer range dazzled readers, for in any issue could be found articles on the class struggle, art criticism, feminism, and birth control. Having broken with the narrow legacy of the Left, *The Masses* writers connected sexual equality with the class struggle, art with politics. These same writers crossed class lines to support the LAWRENCE STRIKE of 1912 and the PATERSON STRIKE of 1913 and allied themselves with the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW). From this group as well came support for MODERNISM IN ART. John Sloan, one of the primary figures in the ASHCAN SCHOOL and a contributor to the ARMORY SHOW of 1913, also engaged in strike support. His wife, Dolly, helped organize the children's exodus during the Lawrence Strike. Among those in the Village were the core of the Provincetown Players, an experimental theater group



that fostered the talents of playwrights Susan Glaspell and Eugene O'Neill. Writers Hutchins Hapgood, Neith Boyce, Mary Heaton Vorse, Jack Reed, and Louise Bryant participated in the Provincetown plays.

For the Greenwich Village intellectuals as well as for the labor movement, the central issue of the day was free speech. The crisis of culture at the turn of the century put civil liberties and, indirectly, the role of the state into relief. The Comstock Laws, passed in 1873 to outlaw the mailing of printed matter judged obscene, including information on contraception, silenced the press and kept many literary works under wraps. Vigilante violence and civil ordinances prohibiting political meetings, used against unions in many locales, called into question the role of the state in suppressing dissent. When the Wilson administration during WORLD WAR I further regulated newspapers, books, and speeches under the TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT and ESPIONAGE ACT government interference became an immediate threat. Greenwich Village was the center of this maelstrom, as many of its residents—including anarchist EMMA GOLDMAN, birth control advocate MARGARET SANGER, and Margaret Anderson, editor of the *Little Review*, and *The Masses* group itself—were subjected to arrest under various censorship laws.

The influence of Greenwich Village went far beyond the bounds of New York. While modernist artists and writers could be found in artist colonies in San Francisco, Chicago, and Taos, New Mexico, Greenwich Village became the national center of modern culture. It also became a Mecca for independent book publishers and radical literary magazines and political journals. Along with *The Masses*, the *Little Review*, *Seven Arts*, Sanger's *Woman Rebel* and Goldman's *Mother Earth* had their editorial offices in Greenwich Village. With an eclectic range and respect for diverse cultures and ideas, the Village helped to foster modern American art and LITERATURE. Yet the Village's reputation for bohemianism remained one of its lasting legacies. By the 1920s, it had become a stop for both city newcomers and tourists curious to see the place where modern art flourished, the NEW WOMAN walked, radicals spoke on street corners, and free love reigned.

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**Griffith, David Wark (D. W. Griffith)** (1875–1948)  
director, writer, producer

D. W. Griffith, the celebrated director and producer, was born in 1875 in Kentucky. Being born in the South during

the Reconstruction era had a profound impact on his life-and art. Equally influential was Griffith's father. Best known as Colonel "Roaring Jake" Griffith, he had been a Confederate cavalry officer during the Civil War. His vision of American society had a profound influence on his son. This influence would appear in a number of D. W. Griffith's productions.

Griffith was first introduced to the motion picture industry in 1907 when he played the hero's father in Edwin S. Porter's *Rescued from an Eagle's Nest*. Griffith had no intention of embarking upon a career as an actor. He envisioned himself as a playwright. To save his name for the stage, he acted under the alias Lawrence Griffith. His dreams of a career as a playwright proved illusive. He produced only one play, and it was a flop. Success in the emerging motion picture industry came much easier. Griffith's career as an actor soon provided him with the opportunity to write and direct. He learned that, while he could earn only \$5 a day as an actor, he could receive \$10 to \$15 for story ideas. In 1908 he directed his first film, *The Adventures of Dollie*.

Griffith's most important insight was that the shot, and not the scene, was the basic unit of film language. He moved the camera up close to gain a level of intimacy that was previously unknown. He integrated the close-up with the medium shot and the distant scene to tell a more complete and intimate story. He also challenged the idea that motion pictures needed to be short. In 1913 he completed *Judith of Bethulia*. The four reel-long film was twice as long as any picture he had previously released. He wanted to produce even longer films, but his employer, the American Biograph Company, was hesitant to finance the production of larger film projects. As a result, Griffith left the firm.

After joining a small independent company called Mutual, Griffith directed a number of routine productions. At that point, he produced his classic film, *BIRTH OF A NATION*. *Birth of a Nation* transformed the motion picture industry. It was longer and more costly than any project previously attempted in the United States. In 1915 it opened as *The Clansman* in Los Angeles and later as *Birth of a Nation* in New York. The change of name was suggested by Thomas Dixon, author of the racist novel on which the movie was based, who wanted the film to symbolize not only the rise of the KU KLUX KLAN but also the development of America.

*Birth* attempted to tell a story of the Civil War and Reconstruction. The scale and scope of the movie were enough to make the release a noteworthy event, but *Birth of a Nation* was far more than just the first full-length American feature film. It was a cultural event of tremendous proportion. The movie defined American history in such a way that it caused celebration in some cities and rioting in others. Aware of the impact that the film would likely have, Griffith took out a number of the more objectionable





D. W. Griffith on location of a film shoot, 1923 (Library of Congress)

scenes. The film's premise, that the Reconstruction era was a time of fraud and revenge, was based upon the assumption that blacks were inferior. It also portrayed the Ku Klux Klan as a just organization, dedicated to saving the South.

The reception that *Birth of a Nation* received was unprecedented. The movie's message was even brought before the Senate. In an attempt to challenge those who had attacked his work, Griffith published the pamphlet, "The Rise and Fall of Free Speech in America." He thought that attacks upon him and his movie should be viewed as assaults on freedom of speech and expression. He believed that it was his obligation to defend not only himself, but the right of free speech. His next work, *Intolerance*, was an attempt to launch this crusade.

After *Birth* was completed, Griffith produced *The Mother and the Law*. Its opening sequences were based on an incident of conflict and violence in the American labor movement. The movie was a sound piece of work; but in the shadow of *Birth*, it was a disappointment. Griffith decided to make the movie into something more ambitious. To do so, he added three other stories to *The Mother and the Law* to make one grand movie, *Intolerance*. The film presented Griffith's

vision of a historical battle against ignorance and intolerance. To finance the undertaking Griffith spent all of the proceeds from *Birth* and was even forced to buy out his fellow backers. The picture cost \$1.9 million. The movie ran for nearly four hours. After being released in Los Angeles and New York to disappointing audiences, Griffith began a long series of edits. Even after the edits, the film was not well received. Desperate for money, Griffith divided the work into two films, *The Mother and the Law* and *The Fall of Babylon*.

After *Intolerance*, Griffith directed a number of other movies. In 1919 he released *Broken Blossoms*, the next year he made *Way Down East*, and two years later he released *Orphans of the Storm*. All were of considerable skill and charm, but they paled in comparison to his two great epics. Griffith will be known best for his production of *Birth of a Nation*.

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—Steve Freund

# H



**Hamilton, Alice** (1869–1970) *physician, industrial health advocate*

One of the foremost proponents of OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY and an expert in industrial toxicology, Alice Hamilton was born in Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1869, the daughter of Montgomery and Gertrude Pond Hamilton. Hamilton graduated from the University of Michigan Medical School in 1893. She served medical internships in Minneapolis and Boston and studied bacteriology at the University of Leipzig and Munich and at Johns Hopkins Medical School. In 1897, she took a position teaching pathology at the Woman's Medical School of Northwestern University in Chicago.

While in Chicago, Hamilton became a resident of Hull-House. She soon immersed herself in the study of industrial medicine, or the study of occupational disease and injury, in the lives of immigrant workers in the Hull-House community. The dangers of the workplace were everywhere in evidence as injured workers and the widows and orphans of workers killed on the job were among the poorest residents of the neighborhood. Hamilton studied the problem through the existing European literature on the subject, since it was largely ignored at American medical schools. In 1908, she published her first article on occupational health. By 1910 she had become a recognized expert, employed by various state and federal health committees. Her investigations into industrial poisoning in the lead, rubber, and munitions industries and the connection between the use of lead, rayon, and nitrate in manufacturing and their serious side effects of loss of vision, paralysis, and death led to WORKER'S COMPENSATION laws.

In 1919 Hamilton was hired as an assistant professor of industrial medicine and the first woman faculty member at Harvard Medical School. While she was discriminated against as a woman at the university, she also was pursued by national and international organizations concerned with industrial disease. Hamilton served as a member of the League of Nations Health Committee and as a consultant

to the U.S. Division of Labor Standards. Her research supported the movement for greater workplace regulation and the protection of workers, especially child workers, from the hazards of industry. Her role in the case of women dial painters called attention to the dangers of radium in manufacturing. Her books, *Industrial Poisons in the United States* (1925) and *Industrial Toxicology* (1934), became the standard texts in the field.

In addition to her work on occupational disease, Alice Hamilton continued to play a role in labor reform in the NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE, the NATIONAL CONSUMERS LEAGUE, and in the PEACE MOVEMENT. She was one of the founders of the Woman's Peace Party in 1915, along with her Hull-House associates JANE ADDAMS, GRACE ABBOTT, and FLORENCE KELLEY, and woman suffragists CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT and JEANNETTE RANKIN. Hamilton also participated in the founding of the WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM and as a member of the FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION and the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. Hamilton continued her political activism on the behalf of workers, women, and peace throughout her life. She died at the age of 101 in 1970.

See also MEDICINE; PUBLIC HEALTH.

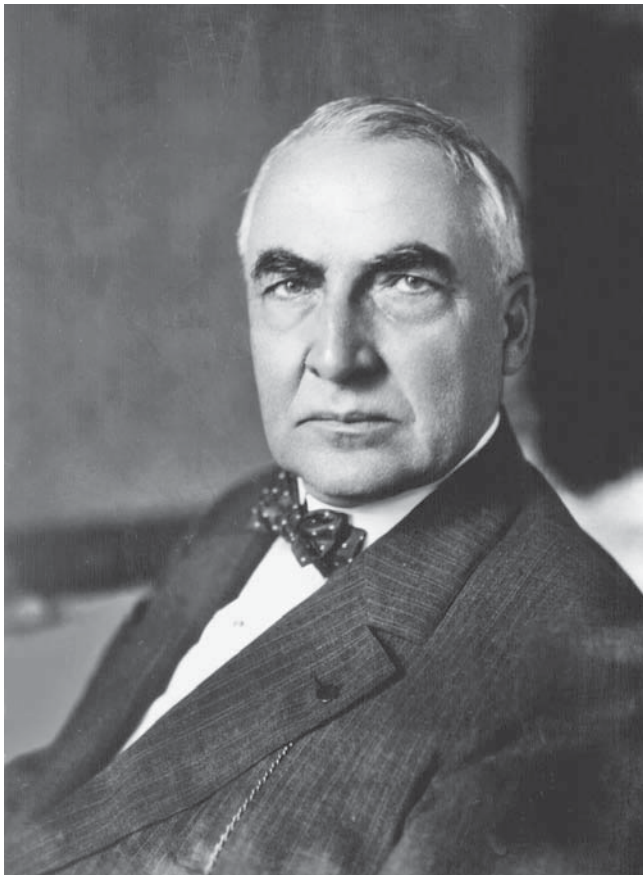
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**Harding, Warren Gamaliel** (1865–1923) *president of the United States*

Born in 1865, in Blooming Grove, Ohio, Warren Harding was the son of George and Phoebe Dickerson Harding. Warren attended school and then Ohio Central College. In 1882, the family moved to Marion, Ohio, where Warren

studied law and sold insurance. He also taught school. After working a stint for the *Caledonia Argus*, he took a job as a printer and reporter for the Marion *Democratic Mirror*. He seized an opportunity in 1884 to buy out a small local newspaper, the Marion *Star*. In 1891, Harding married Florence Kling De Wolfe, a widow. Harding invested her money in the weekly *Star* and made it a success.

As his newspaper flourished, Harding developed a strong interest in public affairs. He joined the state Republican Party and served in the Ohio State Senate from 1898 to 1902. In 1903, with the help of his friend, lawyer Harry Daugherty, Harding was elected lieutenant governor. After a brief retreat from public life, Harding ran for the U.S. Senate in 1914. He won the election by a large margin. In the Senate, he supported a high protective tariff, supported the U.S. entry into WORLD WAR I, opposed high taxes, and voted against American participation in the LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Having served only one term in the Senate, Harding won the Republican nomination for president. Unlike more recent presidential candidates, he maintained his distance from newspaper reporters throughout the campaign.



Warren G. Harding (Library of Congress)

Protected by the media's acceptance of public officials' right to privacy, Harding had a tumultuous personal life. Not only had he married Florence De Wolfe, a woman who had been divorced and bore a child out of wedlock, but Harding also was known in the language of the time as a "womanizer." Long-term affairs with a family friend and a younger woman surfaced after his death, as did reports of other liaisons. At the same time, Harding's public persona was almost that of a grandfather figure. His white mane and patrician good looks seemed assurance of his moral standing and personal responsibility.

During the 1920 campaign, Harding ran on a platform of a return to "normalcy." Normalcy signified, in the words of editor William Allen White, that Americans were "tired of the issues, sick at heart of ideals, and weary of being noble." Throughout the campaign, Harding played the role of an elder statesman. He had, in fact, an undistinguished senatorial career. Yet his profile was likened to that of a Roman senator, and he enjoyed posing for reporters. Harding barely left his hometown during the presidential campaign. Instead, he spoke from his front porch, allowing his ornate speech to carry the day. His language revealed that he was a consummate politician of the old school. Writer H. L. MENCKEN said that Harding's political speech was like "a string of wet sponges. . . . It is rumble and bumble. It is flap and doodle. It is balder and dash. . . . It is so bad that a kind of grandeur creeps into it." In one famous speech, Harding proclaimed that, "America's present need is not heroics but healing . . . not agitation, but adjustment. . . . not the dramatic, but the dispassionate. . . . not submergence in internationality, but sustainment in triumphant nationality." The speech captured the core of the campaign. Voters were asked to abandon the reforming impulse of PROGRESSIVISM and attend to business.

Defeating DEMOCRATIC PARTY candidate James Cox by an overwhelming margin of 16 million votes to 9 million, Harding became the 29th president of the United States. For those in the Republican administration, Harding's election expressed a public desire for normalcy. The majority of voters believed that the government should cut back and limit its functions but also wanted it to address the social and economic disorder of the war years. The foremost example of this impulse was the passage of the BUDGET AND ACCOUNTING ACT (1921) in Harding's first year as president. It set up the structure for the federal budget system by creating the Budget Bureau in the executive branch. Before its passage, government allocations were haphazard, divided among different pieces of legislation, with no overall plan or intended balance. With the creation of the Budget Office under its original head, CHARLES GATES DAWES, the U.S. government was to develop an overall budget plan that limited deficits such as those accumulated during World War I and began to pay



off federal debts. Over the course of the 1920s, even with new expenditures to enlarge the Commerce Department and the VETERANS BUREAU and the loss of revenue from tax cuts, the national debt declined from \$25.5 billion in 1919 to \$16.9 billion in 1929.

Harding's administration was committed to other programs that would return the country to normalcy. Seeking to disentangle the United States from foreign involvement, Harding encouraged arms reduction negotiations that culminated in the WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON NAVAL DISARMAMENT in 1921–22. He also signed peace treaties with Germany, Austria, and Turkey. In agriculture, his administration supported moderate measures to address the farm crisis through the CAPPER-VOLSTEAD ACT. And in the area of labor relations, Harding pushed for and held an unemployment conference. At the same time, many workers held his administration personally responsible for the loss of the RAILROAD SHOPMEN'S STRIKE of 1922 and the blows dealt to labor as employers filed repeated strike injunctions.

Despite the trend toward more rational government, Harding's administration revealed a talent for habits of patronage and corruption. In the first year of Harding's term, post office positions, which had been given over to civil service, were reclaimed as political appointments. Harding also appointed a number of his old political cronies from "the Ohio gang" to major cabinet offices. Dependent on the advice and aid of his political network, Harding found many of his political appointees entangled in massive graft, bribery, and corruption. His selection of Harry Daugherty as attorney general, Charles Forbes as director of the Veterans Bureau, and Albert Fall as secretary of the interior opened the door to major scandals in government. Daugherty's appointments to the Prohibition Bureau led to widespread corruption among its agents, and he was implicated in other scandals. Forbes was convicted of having stolen more than \$33 million from the Veterans Bureau in fraudulent land deals and purchasing schemes. As secretary of the interior, Albert Fall was responsible for the illegal leasing of naval oil reserves to oil industry magnates Harry Sinclair and Edward Doheny in what became known as TEAPOT DOME. Investigations of the Veterans Bureau and Teapot Dome were just under way in 1923, but they led to the indictment and conviction of some of the major officers of Harding's administration.

On a trip to Alaska and California in 1923, Warren G. Harding died suddenly as a result of poor medical treatment and a heart attack. He was buried quickly and without an autopsy, a fact that engaged the public imagination for years. Harding's administration, then under investigation, was in chaos. As his chief defender, his widow Florence Harding saw to it that many of his papers were burned. That act cast permanent doubt about Harding's culpabil-

ity in the scandals and about the cause of his death. CALVIN COOLIDGE, nicknamed "Silent Cal," succeeded to the presidency after Harding's death, but his distance from Harding's administration saved the REPUBLICAN PARTY from repercussions of the scandals.

The legacy of the Harding administration is hard to assess. His unexpected death in 1923 shortened his term in office and kept him from fulfilling his ambitious program of conservative retrenchment. Harding's successor, Coolidge, became even more committed to a business-oriented government. He was, as journalist Walter Lippmann wrote, "a frugal little man who in his personal life is the very antithesis of the flamboyant ideal that everybody is frantically pursuing." Although he had a much quieter presence than Harding, Coolidge followed up on many of his political promises. Peace and prosperity, the two bywords of the Harding era, were the hallmark of Coolidge's presidency as well.

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## Harlem Renaissance

One of the most important cultural movements of the 20th century, the Harlem Renaissance was a movement in LITERATURE, MUSIC, ART, and performance that celebrated the African-American heritage and revitalized American arts through its incorporation of African traditions and themes. Reaching its peak in the years between 1923 and 1929, the movement fostered an emerging generation of African-American writers, musicians, and composers and formed the center of a more general cultural revival centered in New York City. National in scope, this explosion of creativity was not so much a rebirth of African-American cultural expression as its integration into modern literature and art. For most of the 19th century, African-American music and literature had been excluded from mainstream culture. Beginning in the 1920s, audiences across the racial divide were given new access to the mythology, language, and musical traditions of African Americans.

The Harlem Renaissance was the product of the social movement of African Americans from the rural South to northern cities in the GREAT MIGRATION. Southern migrants brought with them musical forms derived from gospel and secular songs and helped to create new genres of JAZZ and urban BLUES. New migration from the West Indies to New York in particular introduced new African and West Indian elements into the mix. The growth of Harlem set the stage





Langston Hughes (Library of Congress)

for a cultural revival among African Americans and the diffusion of their ideas to a national stage.

Revitalized political organizations also furthered the cultural revival. First, the creation of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) brought African Americans and white supporters into a coalition to protest discrimination and open the door for expanded civil rights. Their political coalition became a cultural one, as white patrons of African-American education and art supported new cultural institutions and individual careers. Second, the NAACP, the Urban League, and the UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION (UNIA) under leader MARCUS GARVEY fueled social and cultural activism in African-American communities. The UNIA also contributed to the spread of race pride and fostering of African-American traditions. Finally, the publication of new journals, including the NAACP's *Crisis*, the Urban League's *Opportunity*, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' *Messenger*, opened up new venues of publication for literature, criticism, and communication. Literary editor Jessie Fauset of the *Crisis* played a significant role in sponsoring new authors.

African-American novels, plays, and art proliferated with the spread of black journals and newspapers and a growing white audience and white patronage for African-American artists. ALAIN LOCKE captured this ferment in his 1925 book, *The New Negro*. Among the writers associated with this cultural flowering were Langston Hughes, Jean Toomer, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, Nella Larsen, and Zora Neale Hurston. Hughes in particular became the voice of the black community, moving from cultural modernism in the 1920s to sharper social and political critique in his later work. All of the writers shared the concern of defining African-American identity as dualistic, a product of both African and American experience. They came to explore the dimensions of racial life and consciousness in Toomer's *Cane* (1923), Alain Locke's *The New Negro* (1925), Larsen's *Passing* (1929), and Hughes's *Weary Blues* (1925) and *Not without Laughter* (1930).

Visual artists were an important part of the Renaissance. For the first time, numbers of African-American artists attended art schools, often with the support of white patrons. Painters Aaron Douglas, Palmer Hayden, Malven Johnson, William H. Johnson, and sculptor Augusta Savage developed artistic styles that incorporated African elements with European techniques. Musicians and composers of blues and jazz similarly developed styles that incorporated the diverse elements of African-American and popular American culture into a music of growing popularity. In recordings that crossed race lines, African-American music reached white audiences as well as African-American ones. Their influence was seen in the work of white composers, songwriters, and musicians who adopted elements of jazz into their work.

Unlike the white counterparts of the LOST GENERATION to whom they might be compared, African-American writers and artists of the Harlem Renaissance neither repudiated religion as a formative and critical force in their culture, nor embraced a postwar pessimism about the future. Ironically, WORLD WAR I, which had been followed by severe racial conflicts, also opened the doors for African-American participation in American life in economic, cultural, and political terms. Rather than a lost generation, the Harlem Renaissance writers were a "found" one, newly discovered or recovered by the white cultural establishment. The influence of the Harlem Renaissance continued through the decade of the Great Depression.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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**Haywood, William Dudley** (1869–1928) *labor organizer*

One of the major labor leaders of the early 20th century, Haywood was associated with the upsurge in labor militancy, first in the WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS (WFM) and later in the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW). An advocate of industrial unionism, he organized workers by industry and not by specific trade or occupation. Haywood was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, on February 4, 1869, as the son of a one-time Pony Express rider who died when Bill Haywood was three. He began work in the mines at 15, then married Nevada Jane Minor, the daughter of a rancher, and filed for and then lost a homestead claim. After returning to the mines, Haywood joined the WFM. His organizing skills brought him to the forefront of labor struggles in Idaho and Colorado, especially the violent Cripple Creek strike of 1904. In 1905, Haywood led the WFM into the newly formed Industrial Workers of the World, a militant labor organization. Like the WFM, the IWW advocated organizing the unorganized into industrial unions and stood in contrast to the trade unionist AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. Haywood opened the founding convention of the IWW in Chicago by proclaiming it “the Continental Congress of the working class.” A year later, the boisterously militant Haywood was accused of conspiracy in the 1905 murder of Frank Steunenberg, former governor of Idaho. Ably defended by CLARENCE DARROW, Haywood was tried and acquitted in a showcase trial.

Having left the WFM and the Socialist Party, Haywood became an organizer at large for the IWW and participated in some of the major strikes of his era. In the LAWRENCE STRIKE of 1912 and the PATERSON STRIKE of 1913, his persuasive oratory and personal skills helped to maintain worker unity and drew public support for the beleaguered strikers. For his role in these strikes, he earned the admiration of a new generation of intellectuals and radicals centered in GREENWICH VILLAGE, and the hostility of employers and government officials alike.

During WORLD WAR I, while Haywood cautioned against violating the ESPIONAGE ACT, he argued against the U.S. entry into the war. He advocated resistance to the military draft. For these reasons, he was arrested and jailed during the war. Despite the lack of evidence, Haywood was convicted and received a 20-year prison sentence. Awaiting a new trial, he fled the country on bail and went to the recently formed Soviet Union. He died there on May 18, 1928, and he is buried in the Kremlin Wall, alongside American communist JOHN REED.

Haywood was renowned as a speaker at labor rallies. As he once told ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, words were tools and not every one had access to a full tool chest. He was, therefore, always straightforward in address and spoke at the level of his audience. A proponent of a particular kind of pragmatic unionism, he often counseled workers to use the leverage they had at the workplace, rather than to seek political power through the ballot box. Labeled a dangerous agitator, Haywood knew that the workers’ chief power was in limiting or stopping production. He repeatedly counseled against violence, despite his reputation as an advocate of worker sabotage. Calling for a broad-based unionism that went beyond skilled trade unions and brought in workers in every industry, he understood the importance of worker unity and the cost of divisions between workers, whether by ethnicity, race, skill, or gender.

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**Hearst, William Randolph** (1863–1951) *newspaper magnate*

William Randolph Hearst created the first American media empire by using family money to purchase newspapers and magazines and to found syndicates and movie newsreel companies throughout the United States. Born in San Francisco, California, on April 29, 1863, to millionaire parents who had amassed a fortune in mining properties, Hearst had the best of everything in life, including education. Two years after being expelled from Harvard, he wrote his father, George, “I want the *San Francisco Examiner*,” a newspaper that his politician father had taken for payment of a gambling debt. Granted his request, Hearst returned to California in 1887 and began a decades-long career in newspapers during which he both embraced and furthered the “new journalism” of scandalous stories, gossip, and exposés. Critics questioned Hearst’s brand of reporting on prurient stories and labeled most of his “news” fakery. With the *San Francisco Examiner* as his springboard, he began to build an empire of 42 newspapers.

In 1895, after his father’s death, Hearst moved his headquarters to New York City. He used some of the \$7.5 million his mother, philanthropist Phoebe Apperson Hearst, gave him to purchase the *New York Morning Journal*. Again, he boosted circulation with society gossip, tales of sex and scandal, and sensational stories. The *Journal*’s coverage of atrocities in Cuba aroused the public and helped spark support for the Spanish-American War. He also lowered the price of the paper. In so doing, he began

a newspaper war with Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, especially for Sunday circulation. Hearst hired away the *World's* entire Sunday staff, including Richard Outcault, who drew the popular comic strip "The Yellow Kid." Pulitzer hired the artist, George Luks, to continue the comic in the *World*, and both publishers advertised the strip widely, leading to the term "yellow journalism" as shorthand for the sensationalism spawned by newspaper rivalry.

Having made a splash in San Francisco and New York, Hearst moved on. Continuing to acquire major newspapers, he purchased the *Chicago American* in 1900, the *Chicago Examiner* in 1902, the *Boston American* in 1904, and the *Los Angeles Examiner* that same year. Hearst also founded King Features Syndicate and published and acquired magazines, including *Good Housekeeping*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Harper's Bazaar*. A true multimedia maven of his day, Hearst also made a foray into movie newsreels.

Hearst was a maverick, and his papers took controversial positions. A progressive in his early years, he sup-

ported labor unions and the eight-hour workday, attacked monopolies, favored public ownership of utilities, and a progressive income tax. Although he thought of the Spanish American War as the *Journal's* war and of himself as a flag-waving patriot, Hearst was an isolationist prior to both world wars. Not an ideologue, but an indiscriminating, impulsive admirer of men of action, he at first welcomed the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, admired Benito Mussolini, initially supported Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, and published columns by Nazis. He later attacked communism and Roosevelt. Upon meeting Adolf Hitler in 1934, Hearst tried to move him away from anti-Semitism.

Hearst owned gold and silver mines, and at one time he was one of the leading real estate owners in New York City, California, and Mexico. Politically active like his father, who had been a senator, Hearst served two terms in the U.S. House of Representatives from New York City (1903–07) and ran unsuccessfully for mayor of New York City (1905) and governor of New York State (1906). He moved permanently to his 200,000-acre ranch in San Simeon, California, in 1927, where he amassed art and archaeological treasures. As a result of reckless spending in acquiring newspapers, real estate, and art, and investing millions in the movies of his mistress, actress Marion Davies, Hearst's empire came crashing down in 1937. The corporation owning his media conglomerates was \$126 million in debt. Hearst managed to stave off bankruptcy by selling off art, real estate, and 25 newspapers. In 1940 he still had a publishing empire that included 17 newspapers. He died at San Simeon on August 14, 1951, at the age of 88.

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—Ellen Tashie Frisina



William Randolph Hearst (Library of Congress)

### Hepburn Act (1906)

The Hepburn Act of 1906 responded to the growing corporate concentration of the early 20th century by strengthening the regulatory powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC). The progressive movement, which had emerged from local-and state-level reform efforts in the late 19th century, had begun looking to make more sweeping policy changes to the ways in which Americans lived. The consolidation of economic and political power in the hands of a few, corruption and inefficiency in government, and the cost of industrialization were among the main concerns of reformers. With the opening of the century, and the succession of THEODORE ROOSEVELT to the presidency, the



progressive movement had a new and powerful voice in the administration.

One of Roosevelt's first initiatives as president was an attempt to regulate the trusts or monopoly enterprises that had come to dominate American industry. He did not believe in breaking up all, or even most, large corporations. Instead, he firmly believed that industrial concentration brought the United States wealth, productivity, and a rising standard of living. Accordingly, President Roosevelt advocated that government should be used to regulate these corporate consolidations and mergers, punish those that used their power improperly, and protect individual citizens from the power of industrial giants. He sought to expand government powers to allow for the oversight of economic development. In particular, he wanted to prosecute industries that attempted to monopolize the market, and to negotiate conflicts between capital and labor. The way to address the concentration of economic power, he argued, was not to break up these corporations and return to a simpler economy, but to regulate industry through the good offices of an enlarged and strengthened federal government.

Prior to Theodore Roosevelt's first term in office, the major piece of legislation that regulated industry in the United States was the 1887 Interstate Commerce Act, which created the Interstate Commerce Commission. This commission specifically had been designed to review and regulate shipping rates on American railways in order to protect the interests of individuals against the increasing power of railroads in the late 19th century. The ICC actually was rendered virtually powerless by a combination of weak enforcement powers and a judicial branch that often ruled against the ICC and its regulatory decisions. By the 20th century, there existed little legislation that could be used to effectively regulate any industry, including railroads. Roosevelt responded to this lack by recommending that the ICC be given broader powers to enforce its rulings. In 1906, on Roosevelt's initiative, Congress passed the Hepburn Act. As signed into law, the act gave the ICC specific powers of enforcement. Beyond giving the ICC greater power, the Hepburn Act set a precedent for future federal legislation aimed at regulating various aspects of the American economy.

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—David R. Smith

## history

The writing of history, and historical scholarship in a larger sense, dates back to ancient Greece and the writings of

Herodotus and Thucydides, who retold the myths and chronicled the wars of their society. For centuries, recording of past times was the common pursuit of court chroniclers and political writers, who sought advantage, registered complaints, or sought to explain the origins of their countries and religions. By the 19th century, gifted amateurs and novelists, university teachers and political hacks participated in the business of writing history for both popular and academic audiences. In the late 19th century, however, history began to emerge as one of the central disciplines in the modern university.

Historians who sought the privilege and status of a profession established formal programs of education, formulated new practices, and created a new professional subculture for those in training. The history seminar and the archive took on new form and meaning in professionalizing how the past was recorded, written, and analyzed. In the new academic discipline of history, amateurs, historical novelists, and those who played to a popular audience were no longer historians in the same way as were their professional university-trained counterparts. Further, the dominant leaders in the discipline of history, and the overwhelming majority of its university teachers, were men, specifically white Protestant European and American men. Women, when they did write history, were thought to be amateurish, to engage in “pots and pans” history of ordinary life rather than the noble business of political history. Minority historians were similarly charged with writing either about trivial concerns or with too much personal investment. From the perspective of the new emerging profession, they fell far short of the standards of objective truth.

In the United States, the historical profession was well established in universities by the early years of the 20th century. A handful of prestigious schools, including Johns Hopkins University, Harvard University, Columbia University, and the University of Wisconsin, provided a home for the new generation of “progressive” historians who brought new questions, methods, interpretations, and—above all—a progressive perspective to a historical profession that was wedded to more conservative and narrow readings of the past. They also brought into history the methods and materials of the social sciences as a whole, in particular from economics, sociology, and political science, and reshaped the subject matter and interpretation of history. In many ways, the progressive historians challenged the practices of their own teachers. Capturing the past “wie es eigentliche war” (as it really was), in the words of German historian Von Ranke, was to be the goal of all historians. Other 19th-century historians celebrated history as the story of the nation-state from a supposedly objective perspective.

Progressive historians Charles Beard, Vernon Parrington, Frederick Jackson Turner, and Carl Becker had in mind a different version of history—one in which



objectivity, an ideal already challenged in the philosophy of science, was less important than rigorous analysis and an understanding of history as the story of conflict and contestation over resources in society. Turner in his studies of the frontier and sectionalism, Beard in his retelling of the making of the Constitution, and Parrington in his recounting of American intellectual and cultural life focused on the conflicts that arose during the development of the United States as a nation. While they were imbued with an understanding of scientific history, they also sought to link their history to a new politics and a new understanding of identity. In fact, Carl Becker radically challenged the ideal of objectivity and, implicitly, professional standards when, as president of the American Historical Association, he invoked the idea of “every man his own historian.”

The roster of American historians during the era included not simply the professionals who taught at the great universities but historians like Lucy Maynard Salmon of Vassar College, whose studies of newspapers, material culture, and domestic service offered a radical reimagining of what history might be; W. E. B. DuBois, whose work was located at the crossroads of sociology and history; Carter Woodson, the editor of the *Journal of Negro History*, whose work was pivotal to the recovery and restoration of the African-American past; and Mary Beard, whose *Woman as Force in History* inspired a later generation of women historians and overturned simple narratives of women's oppression to understand women's status and power in real terms. With her husband Charles, Mary Beard wrote important overviews of both American history and the history of Western civilization. She also wrote histories of labor unions and American humor, altering not just the method but expanding the subject matter worthy of historical study. These are but a few names of that generation of historians who merged concern for audience and political consequence in their work with new standards for historical analysis.

By 1930, the historical profession was well established. It had taken its place among the social sciences as a central discipline in higher education and in intellectual life. At the same time, history as a subject for amateur historians, novelists, filmmakers, and museum curators took on new meaning. While “popular” history was the subject of ridicule in the academy, widespread interest in roots, from the American Antiquarian Society and heritage associations, such as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Daughters of the Confederacy, to the popularity of historical films and mass-market historical fiction, preserved documents, historical sites, and material culture for the use and interpretation of subsequent generations.

See also LITERATURE; MOVIE INDUSTRY.

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### Holmes, Oliver Wendell (1841–1935) *associate justice of the Supreme Court*

One of the American jurists most responsible for the retreat from legal formalism, Oliver Wendell Holmes served on the U.S. SUPREME COURT for more than 30 years. In his career on the bench, Holmes contributed to a growing body of civil liberties and policy law that expanded the role of the federal government. At the same time, he argued for the protection of individuals' rights to free speech, free assembly, and free press. Most of Holmes's influence, ironically, came from his articulate dissents from majority opinion. At a time when judges at both the state and the federal level continued to be enamored of natural law and highly protective of property rights, Holmes ventured into a legal philosophy that saw law and the courts not as a natural and inevitable development but as a response to the needs of society. Arguing for judicial restraint, Holmes envisioned a judiciary that would not heedlessly reject the democratic will. He developed his arguments for flexible and pragmatic application of the law in conversation with a younger generation of legal theorists, including LOUIS D. BRANDEIS and Roscoe Pound. His influence lingered on the Supreme Court with the appointment of Brandeis and later Felix Frankfurter to the bench.

Few of Holmes's achievements could have been predicted from his family background. His father, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Senior, was a doctor and a poet, whose poem on “Old Ironsides” kept the USS *Constitution* from being scrapped. The younger Holmes was born on March 8, 1841, in Boston, Massachusetts. After graduating from Harvard University, he joined the Union Army and served for three years during the Civil War, seeing action in the Union Debacle at Ball's Bluff, at Antietam, where he was left for dead, and at Fredericksburg. He was wounded three times before requesting and receiving a staff job. He left the army with the rank of captain. In 1867, Holmes was admitted to the bar and began to practice law. Holmes married Fanny Bowditch Dixwell in 1872. From 1870 to 1873, he edited the *American Law Review* and publicly lectured on common law. In 1882, while in his first term as law professor at Harvard, Holmes received an appointment to the Massachusetts State Supreme Court. He served on the court for 20 years, the last three as chief

justice. In 1902, THEODORE ROOSEVELT appointed Holmes to the U.S. Supreme Court as an associate justice. In that role, he wrote some of his most significant judicial opinions. In the case of *BUCK v. BELL*, Holmes exhibited some of his conservative social views. As a progressive proponent of EUGENICS, Holmes believed in social engineering and held similar views on human heredity. Carrie Buck's individual rights mattered little, compared to the threat that hereditary criminality and idiocy presented to society. Besides, he famously uttered, "Three generations of imbeciles are enough." In a series of cases after WORLD WAR I, Holmes essentially created the modern theory of civil liberties. Although in the first of these, *SCHENCK v. UNITED STATES*, he argued a more conservative point of view that freedom of speech was not unlimited, his later dissents in *Abrams v. United States* and other cases redefined the First Amendment. Holmes wrote that it was the "theory of our Constitution" that "the ultimate good desired is better reached by the free trade in ideas—that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market." Democracy, he proclaimed, required us to be "eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe." Holmes served on the Court until he retired in 1932 at age 91.

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**Hoover, Herbert C.** See VOLUME VIII.

### **Houdini, Harry** (1874–1926) *performer*

One of the most renowned magicians of the 20th century, Harry Houdini was born Erik Weisz on March 24, 1874, in Budapest, Hungary. His father brought the Weisz family to Appleton, Wisconsin, when Erik was still a baby. As a young man, he began to go by the name Ehrich. He later called himself Erie and finally settled on Harry. As a teenager, he worked as a cutter in a necktie factory. Working as a cutter proved to be too restrictive. He decided to escape the constraints of his work by becoming a magician.

Houdini's career progressed slowly at first. For many years he lived on the brink of poverty. He soon created a niche for himself. He began to captivate audiences with his own unique form of magic—the dramatic escape. His ability to escape from seemingly inescapable situations earned him a reputation that spread throughout the country and



Harry Houdini (Library of Congress)

eventually the world. Houdini's exploits allowed him not only to build a successful career as an escape artist, but also to redefine the art of illusion in the process. He amazed audiences by escaping from ropes, handcuffs, and locked containers in countless settings. In one show he was suspended, head down, 75 feet in the air. In the next he was submerged under water. Regardless of the setting, he played on the audience's fears and emotions. He was careful not to escape too early or too easily, in order to build excitement and anticipation. By the turn of the century, the act had begun to earn Houdini international acclaim. He performed in front of audiences of thousands. As the new medium of motion pictures developed, Houdini's notoriety spread even further.

Long before Houdini had found professional success, he had fallen in love with a young woman named Wilhelmina Rahner. In 1894 they were married. Thereafter, Houdini's young wife went by the name Beatrice, or Bess,

Houdini. She worked as his stage assistant. Together they captivated millions. Harry Houdini took his stage name from the great French magician Jean-Eugène Robert-Houdin. He did not, however, follow in his predecessor's footsteps. In 1908 Harry challenged the abilities of his namesake in his book, *The Unmasking of Robert-Houdin* as a way of declaring his independence not only from his predecessor but also from others in his profession. Unlike other magicians of his time, Harry claimed no supernatural intervention. His animosity for those who boasted of supernatural powers led him to launch a full-scale campaign against mind-readers, mediums, and others who claimed to have divine or supernatural powers. He wrote *Miracle Mongers and Their Methods* in 1920 and *A Magician among the Spirits* in 1924. Through these works, Houdini tried to expose men and women whom he believed were charlatans using tricks to fool gullible audiences. He argued that astrology and fortune-telling had no scientific basis. But even as Harry Houdini attacked those who claimed to have supernatural abilities, self-proclaimed spiritualists like Arthur Conan Doyle steadfastly maintained that Houdini himself used supernatural abilities to perform his miraculous feats.

On Halloween night in 1926, Houdini died of peritonitis that stemmed from a stomach injury. Years before his death, in an attempt to expose myths about the afterlife, he and his wife Beatrice made a pact. The first to die would do everything in his or her power to contact the survivor. Before her death in 1943, Beatrice declared the experiment a failure.

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—Steve Freund

### **Hughes, Charles Evans** (1862–1948) *chief justice of the Supreme Court*

Charles Evans Hughes had a long and prolific political career in which he served as governor of New York, secretary of state, ran as Republican presidential nominee in 1916, and twice served as a justice on the Supreme Court, the second time as chief justice in the 1930s. Hughes was born in Glens Falls, New York, in April 1862. After completing his undergraduate education, Hughes took a law degree at Columbia University Law School. He began practicing law in New York City.

In 1905, after teaching law for many years at Columbia, New York University, and Cornell, Hughes gained regional notoriety following his appointment by the New York legislature to investigate state utilities and insur-

ance companies. Capitalizing on this exposure, Hughes decided to run for the New York governorship in 1906, at the urging of President THEODORE ROOSEVELT. He handily defeated newspaper magnate WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST. Hughes was reelected in 1908. In 1910, Republican president WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT appointed him to the Supreme Court, where he gained a reputation for being a liberal justice. Hughes's first stint on the court was short-lived. In 1916, he resigned and reluctantly accepted the presidential nomination of both the Republican and Progressive parties. Running against incumbent president WOODROW WILSON, Hughes ran a very effective campaign only to lose by fewer than 500,000 votes. Wilson received 277 electoral votes to Hughes' 254.

Hughes's political career was far from over. In 1921 President WARREN G. HARDING appointed Hughes to run the State Department. As secretary of state, he advocated enforcing the OPEN DOOR POLICY in China, negotiated a peace agreement with Germany after the Senate refused to ratify the TREATY OF VERSAILLES, and supported attempts to ensure American entry into the LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Hughes served from 1921 to 1929, first under Harding and then under President CALVIN COOLIDGE. Hughes was rewarded for his long tenure in office when President Herbert Hoover reappointed him to the Supreme Court, this time as chief justice.

As chief justice, Hughes clashed frequently and often publicly with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR). Hughes attempted to limit some of the more progressive and radical aspects of the New Deal, leading the Court in its rulings against the National Recovery Administration, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and other New Deal initiatives. Hughes's conflict with FDR came to a head in 1937 when he led the charge against Roosevelt's attempt to "pack" the Court by expanding the number of justices from nine to 15. In order to protect the integrity of the Court, Hughes effectively marshaled public support against the plan. Behind the scenes, he proved willing to compromise and was the decisive vote in support of the National Labor Relations Act and the Social Security Act. Hughes retired from the Supreme Court in 1941. Harlan Stone replaced Hughes as chief justice, by which time FDR had appointed several other pro-New Deal justices. Hughes died in 1948.

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—Robert Gordon





## immigration

In terms of immigration, the period from 1900 to 1930 witnessed at least three noticeable trends. The first 14 years of the century brought with them the highest levels of arrival in the long wave of immigration that lasted approximately from 1830 to 1914. During this 80-year period, more than 22 million immigrants arrived in the United States, with some six million alone arriving during the decade from 1900 to 1910. Along with this steady increase in the volume of immigration to the United States between 1900 and 1914 came a dramatic and noticeable shift in the origins of immigrants. The third significant factor in immigration between 1900 and 1930 was that in the two decades after 1910 there was a sharp decline in the total number of immigrants arriving. The ending of the open door for immigration can be attributed first to the onset of WORLD WAR I and, secondly, to the passage of restrictive immigration legislation in the early 1920s. Combined, these two factors effectively closed the door to immigration and brought migration worldwide to a virtual standstill.

The steady stream of immigrants to the United States at the turn of the century were often the victims of nativist attacks, especially during the world war. Despite the common image of immigrants flooding the country, immigrants did not account for the sharp rise in the nation's population by 1930. Instead, natural increase (the excess of births over deaths) represented the main factor contributing to the population gains. From the Civil War to the First World War, only about 13 to 15 percent of the U.S. population were foreign-born. Although the number of newcomers accounted for about 40 percent of the nation's total population growth, the American-born children of immigrants were a major factor in the total population growth. Thus as the United States witnessed major economic changes with the advent of industrialization and urbanization, immigrants, especially given their different origins after 1890, often became the scapegoat for social problems in the growing nation. Without a doubt, immigrants played a central role in the indus-

trialization of the American economy. The availability of industrial work furthered the attraction of the United States to migrants from across the globe. Arriving in urban industrial centers, immigrants often had few other choices but to find employment as unskilled factory workers. The size of the industrial workforce grew dramatically from 4,252,000 in 1889 to 7,036,000 by the eve of World War I.



A family of immigrants looks out to the Statue of Liberty from Ellis Island. (*Library of Congress*)



**MAJOR SOURCES OF IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES, 1901–1930 (THOUSANDS BY DECADE)**

	<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>Austria-Hungary</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Canada</b>	<b>Mexico</b>
1901–10	526	341	2,145	2,046	179	50
1911–20	341	144	896	1,110	742	219
1921–30	330	198	64	455	925	459

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1975).

Mass production industry brought significant changes to Europe as well. Accordingly, new and more efficient forms of transportation reached further into Europe, allowing eastern and southern Europeans to more easily migrate. In 1854, of the 427,000 immigrants entering the United States, more than 400,000 originated in Northwest Europe (e.g., Germany, Great Britain, and Ireland). By 1907, when some 1.2 million immigrants came to the United States, more than 900,000 were from Russia, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and the Balkans. While overall the percentage of foreign-born individuals in the total population remained virtually unchanged between 1860 and 1914, the percentage of immigrants and their American-born children throughout the Northeast and Midwest often exceeded 70 percent in cities like Chicago, New York, Milwaukee, and Detroit.

The new immigration faced hostility from nativist organizations like the Immigration Restriction League in 1894. Under its influence, members of Congress proposed various grounds for excluding immigrants, ranging from radical political views (e.g., anarchists) to illiteracy. Arguing that “the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities,” Congress in 1902 indefinitely extended the Chinese Exclusion Act’s ban on Chinese immigration. Other laws soon followed that established new grounds, ranging from radical political views (implemented in the ANARCHIST IMMIGRATION ACT of 1903) to marriage, on which to restrict entry and even rescind citizenship rights. The EXPATRIATION ACT of 1907, for example, stripped citizenship status from women, whether they were native-born or naturalized, if they married foreign nationals. An Asiatic Barred Zone, which cemented into place bars to immigration from all Asian countries except Japan and the Philippines, then an American protectorate, was declared in 1917. With this legislation, the federal government set the precedent of using race, as determined by nationality, as the basis for denying entry to the United States.

The vocal anti-immigrant sentiments of this time period ultimately pushed Congress in 1907 to appoint a commission to investigate issues related to immigration. Headed by Senator William P. Dillingham of Vermont, a

moderate restrictionist, the committee ultimately issued a 42-volume report. Playing on growing anti-immigrant sentiment, the report’s conclusions were not supported by the evidence amassed by immigration officials across the United States. The commission argued that the so-called new immigrants were racially inferior to the old immigrants from northern and western Europe. Manipulating statistical data, it provided a “scientific” argument calling for legislation to restrict entry to the United States. In essence, the commission’s contention that the “new” immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were incapable of becoming Americans found a welcome audience, especially as hostilities in Europe broke out in 1914. The IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1917, passed during World War I, was the first in a series of increasingly restrictive immigration policies that the Congress ultimately adopted in response to the DILLINGHAM COMMISSION. The 1921 QUOTA ACT and the 1924 NATIONAL ORIGINS ACT, with their use of restrictive quotas, cemented the commission’s recommendations into national policy.

Although the main focus of immigration policy after 1900 was on restricting entry from Europe and Asia, countries within the Western Hemisphere also contributed significant numbers of newcomers. Because the borders between Canada, Mexico, and the United States remained open, they allowed for the relatively easy movement of migrants among the nations. Only with the passage of the 1924 National Origins Act did the federal government create an agency (the Border Patrol) specifically charged with the policing of the land borders between the United States and its northern and southern neighbors. Although today the border between Mexico and the United States receives far more attention, between 1900 and 1930 more immigrants entered the United States from Canada than from Mexico. Nonetheless, both nations became more important as sources of immigration after the passage of the 1924 National Origins Act, which excluded them from its restrictions.

See also AMERICANIZATION; NATIVISM.

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—David R. Smith

### Immigration Act of 1917

The Immigration Act of 1917 was the first immigration law to employ a literacy test. Passed in reaction to the high tide of immigration between the 1880s and the onset of WORLD WAR I, it sought to limit the number of immigrants, particularly those from southern and eastern Europe. The number of immigrants was 788,922 in 1882 and reached 1,285,349 in 1907. Not only did the number of immigrants steadily increase, but the countries of origin for immigrants dramatically shifted as well. Although emigrants from Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, and the Balkans were nonexistent in the 19th century, combined these countries sent nearly 75 percent of the immigrants who arrived in the United States in 1907. By this time, vocal opposition already challenged earlier “open door” immigration policies, but the nativist movement in the United States failed to enact any major pieces of legislation affecting the migration of individuals into the country.

The context for immigration policy changed with the entry of the United States into World War I. Patriotic and national unity efforts, and fears of immigrant subversion, culminated in increasing and systematic efforts at the “Americanization” of immigrants. The champions of immigrant restriction reached their first significant victory in 1917 with the passage of the Immigration Act, also known as the Alien Exclusion Act. It was the first in a series of restrictive immigration laws based on the findings of the DILLINGHAM COMMISSION. The cornerstone of the 1917 act was a literacy test. All immigrants over 16 years of age who could not pass were denied entry to the United States. The Immigration Act also banned the immigration of laborers from India, Indochina, Afghanistan, Arabia, the East Indies, and several other countries within an Asiatic Barred Zone. The act did not explicitly prohibit the entry of emigrants from China and Japan, because other laws already restricted emigration from these two countries. The 1917 legislation was the first step in establishing restrictive federal immigration policies based on a rank order of eligible immigrants that favored national groups thought to be most assimilable—primarily emigrants from northwest Europe. When President Wilson received the legislation, he declared the act was a violation of American ideals

and traditional open door immigration and vetoed the law. Congress overrode his veto. The Immigration Act of 1917 would stand as the major piece of federal policy governing immigration to the United States until more restrictive policies were enacted in the 1920s.

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—David R. Smith

### Industrial Relations Commission (USCIR)

Congress created the Industrial Relations Commission in 1912 to study the rise in labor violence. As the labor movement grew steadily between 1900 and 1910, some unions adopted more aggressive methods for gaining recognition and concessions. Many employers met the new growth and militancy of the labor movement with rigid opposition. They were willing to adopt more aggressive means for defeating strikes and keeping unions out of the workplace. Their methods included industrial spying, private security forces, and using local police forces and state militias to physically remove striking employees. When employers launched a counteroffensive against the labor movement, violent confrontations escalated. The incident that prompted Congress to take action was the October 1, 1910, bombing of the antiunion newspaper, the *Los Angeles Times*. The commission was created as one of the last actions of WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT’s presidency.

The new president, WOODROW WILSON, had developed ties with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL). In 1912, he was the first U.S. president elected with the backing of organized labor. Looking to strengthen government’s labor ties and concerned that the spread of labor violence would spill over into a larger class conflict, Wilson named labor progressive Frank Walsh to head the Commission on Industrial Relations. As chair of the commission, Walsh had strong ideas about the plight of American workers.

Under Walsh’s direction, the Industrial Relations Commission went beyond its original mandate of uncovering the reasons behind the recent rise in labor violence. In its report, the commission laid most of the blame at the feet of employers and the growth of economic inequality. The final report of the commission argued that workers found it increasingly difficult to organize unions and conduct successful strikes. Employers fired suspected union sympathizers, secured court injunctions against strikes and boycotts, hired replacement workers to break strikes, created company controlled unions, and forced employees to sign yellow-dog contracts agreeing not to join an independent union. Workers and unions felt frustrated at every

turn. This situation was exacerbated, the commission concluded, by the use of spies, private security forces, and state and federal troops, which intimidated, harassed, and even killed union members. The commission also pointed out that the turn-of-the-century boom in industrial production had created tremendous poverty and suffering.

Although the commission covered numerous labor disputes, it spent much of its time examining the causes of the LUDLOW MASSACRE of 1914. During a routine mining strike, private security forces and local National Guard troops fired upon striking miners and their families, resulting in 32 deaths. In investigating the causes of the violence, the commission called dozens of witnesses, including mine owner John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The commission's final report was extremely critical of Rockefeller's handling of the strike and held him personally responsible for the miners' deaths. Released in the summer of 1915, the report was a scathing indictment of Rockefeller in particular and antiunion employers in general. It set off a political firestorm. Antiunion employers and conservative politicians were outraged. Arguing that Walsh was in the pocket of the labor movement, they maintained that the report should be ignored. Conversely, the generally divided and contentious labor movement greeted the Industrial Relations Commission's findings with universal support and enthusiasm. Many in the labor movement agreed with commission chair Walsh when he concluded that the only viable way to prevent future labor violence was for employers, the courts, and government to adopt a policy of industrial democracy. Workers should be allowed to form unions, he argued, free from employer interference and company violence. Under such a system, wealth would be distributed more equitably and social peace would reign. In the long run, both politicians and industrialists ignored the commission's recommendations, and violent clashes between workers and employers continued to occur.

See also NEW UNIONISM.

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—Robert Gordon

### Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was a union movement that surfaced in the first decade of the 20th century as a more radical alternative to the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL). Also known as the Wobblies, the IWW emerged in response to changing social, economic, and political circumstances. The post–Civil War industrial revolution and the growth of trusts and giant national corporations

resulted in tremendous social inequality. The new industrial working class that emerged in these years was much more ethnically and racially diverse than ever before, as millions of eastern and southern European immigrants entered the country and found employment in urban factories.

The industrial working class was expanding at the same time that the nature of work was changing. Building on the principles of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT introduced by FREDERICK WINSLOW TAYLOR and others, corporations began to break down the production process into specialized tasks. Each separate motion was studied and analyzed, so it could be performed with maximum speed and minimum training. The new machine operators were not the kind of workers that the AFL had helped organize in the past. Between 1880 and 1900, the labor federation had been successful in organizing white craft workers. Because they often shared similar ethnic and regional backgrounds and, moreover, had specialized knowledge that employers could not easily replace, skilled workers were easier to organize. The decision of employers to de-skill and diversify the industrial workforce was directed at undermining the power of skilled workers and preventing them from forming unions.

Under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, the AFL had built a solid base of support among skilled white workers. Adhering to “pure and simple” unionism, the AFL avoided mass organizing tactics and did not seek control over employers' profits. Between 1880 and 1900, the labor federation did little to oppose these efforts in mass production industry. In exchange, the AFL often secured guaranteed contracts, pay increases, and shorter workdays for its trade union members. This cautious strategy led to important gains for skilled white workers, but it did little for dislocated farm laborers and unskilled African-American and foreign-born workingmen and women.

The IWW attempted to fill the void left by the AFL. Officially organized in 1905, it traced its origins to the labor organizations of silver, copper, and gold miners in the West. By 1890, mine workers were engaging in frequent conflicts with mine owners determined to maximize their profits. Disgruntled and militant miners formed the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) in 1892 and began demanding better pay and working conditions. Between 1894 and 1905, conflicts between the WFM and mine owners grew increasingly common and violent. Often strikes were defeated when mining companies convinced state and federal officials to use military troops to arrest strikers and keep the mines open. When the state militia brutally put down a 1904 strike in Cripple Creek, Colorado, leaders of the WFM concluded that a national movement of industrial workers, miners, and migratory farm laborers was necessary to challenge the dominance of antiunion employers, state legislators, and federal officials.



Cartoon lampooning the Industrial Workers of the World  
(Library of Congress)

In 1905, the WFM joined with over 40 labor organizations to form the IWW. Some of its leaders included WILLIAM “Big Bill” HAYWOOD, EUGENE V. DEBS, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, Mary Harris “Mother” Jones, Joe Hill, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Lucy Parsons, and Daniel De Leon. Highly critical of the conservative AFL, the IWW committed itself to organizing semiskilled and unskilled workers, regardless of their race, ethnicity, or gender. In contrast to the AFL’s cooperative approach, the IWW advocated socialism and syndicalism. Reluctant to sign union contracts, it preferred to pursue goals through work stoppages, general strikes, boycotts, strikes and other forms of direct action.

Championing the slogan “One Big Union,” the Wobblies had limited success organizing western miners, semi-skilled and unskilled factory workers, lumber workers, farmers, and western shipyard workers between 1905 and the outbreak of WORLD WAR I in 1914. Internally, the IWW was racked by conflicting ideological viewpoints. One faction, led by De Leon and Debs, advocated political action and close ties with the Socialist Party of America. Led by Big Bill Haywood, the rival faction championed syndicalism, or the theory of industrial organization. As syndicalists, they advocated the use of strikes, boycotts, general strikes, and even industrial sabotage to improve workers’

conditions. These internal divisions came to a head in 1908 when the more radical syndicalists gained control of the IWW, and Debs, De Leon, and other socialists left the organization.

Under Haywood’s leadership, the IWW aggressively pursued direct action against antiunion employers. In 1912, textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, the majority of whom were women and underaged children, walked off the job when managers at the American Woolen Company announced a plan to reduce wages. Company officials had intentionally hired an ethnically diverse workforce, believing that ethnic animosity would prevent workers from forming a union or conducting an effective strike. The IWW’s commitment to organizing all workers bridged the ethnic divide in the workforce and created a unified front. Several striking workers were killed before public pressure persuaded the company to agree to the IWW’s demands. A year later, the IWW backed a strike by silk workers in Paterson, New Jersey. Almost immediately, the strike turned violent. Private security forces hired by the company killed several strikers, and local police arrested over 3,000 workers. The Paterson strike ended in defeat when the union was unable to provide pay or food for striking workers.

The IWW was most successful in organizing miners and migrant farm and timber workers in the West and Northwest, many of them through the Agricultural Workers Organization. Although the organization never achieved the level of success of the AFL or seriously challenged corporate power, the IWW remained an anathema to many employers and politicians. With the outbreak of World War I, the IWW came into greater national prominence when it publicly opposed American entry into the war. Many Wobblies were jailed under state criminal syndicalism laws. Haywood and 165 other IWW leaders were arrested and convicted under the ESPIONAGE ACT of 1917 for hindering the war effort. Haywood received the harshest sentence, a 20-year prison term. He fled the country when released pending an appeal of the sentence. Between 1917 and 1920, the IWW was the target of coordinated attacks led by the federal government. In May 1918, IWW offices in Centralia, Washington, were raided by a local mob led by prominent political and business leaders. In November of the following year, a mob once again attempted to raid the IWW’s offices in Centralia only to be met by armed resistance. When the fighting was over, five people had been killed, including the IWW’s Wesley Everest, who had been castrated and lynched by the mob. Similar repression took place throughout the Northwest where the IWW had been strongest. By the end of the year, the union was in total disarray, and it ceased to be an effective force in the labor movement. As an organization committed to organizing workers regardless of their skill level, gender, race, or



ethnicity, the IWW represented a radical alternative to the conservative trade unionism of the AFL.

See also LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT; NEW UNIONISM; SOCIALISM.

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—Robert Gordon

## intelligence tests

Intelligence tests emerged in the Progressive Era as a means for evaluating individual abilities, channeling individuals into particular lines of education and work, and restricting immigration. Battles over the nature of intelligence, however, had been waged for centuries. In the middle of the 19th century, two prominent scientists formally structured the terms of the debate. John Stuart Mill and Francis Galton promoted two diametrically opposed theses regarding the development of behavior and intelligence. Where Galton saw nature, Mill saw nurture. Galton was convinced that genetics were the predominant force in the development of intelligence. Mill, on the other hand, championed the idea that social conditioning was the prevailing force. Galton used his idea of the supremacy of nature to develop the first intelligence tests, which were hindered by his preconceptions. He saw a direct correlation between intelligence and motor functions. Thus, his tests assessed motor skills and not intelligence.

Dozens of scientists followed in Galton's footsteps. It was not until Alfred Binet (1857–1911) developed his theories, based on assumptions closer to Mill than to Galton, that real progress was made at charting human intelligence. Binet pioneered the method of analysis that is still prevalent in many intelligence tests today. When Binet's theories were fully developed, the resulting tests were far superior to anything that Galton or his followers had offered. Tests that followed Binet's fundamental assumptions attempted, and to a degree succeeded, in ascertaining some of the roots of intelligence.

As variations of the Binet intelligence tests became the norm in the early 20th century, they were used to distinguish differences. The first major distinction made was based on sex. Men and women scored differently on the test. As a result, assumptions were made regarding the relative intelligence of men and women. The tests also were used in an attempt to determine who was more likely to commit a crime, and it was discovered that prisons were filled with men and women who tested low on the Binet

Scale. The term “feeble-minded” was used to describe adults who tested at a level below that of a 13-year-old child. Both of these theories were challenged soon after they were presented. Despite advancements in testing methods, the test was culturally biased in its measurements.

During WORLD WAR I the U.S. Army used the best available test, the Stanford-Binet intelligence test, to determine the mental competency of soldiers. The tests, like those before them, relied on assumptions that those tested would have a firm understanding of American history as well as social and cultural norms. As a result, testees without the requisite background were deemed less intelligent. The army dropped the tests in 1919, but alternative intelligence tests were soon developed and implemented to measure intelligence both in and out of the Armed Forces.

During the 1920s, intelligence testing became closely associated with ethnic, racial, and class-based stereotypes. During that decade of ethnic and racial division, intelligence tests were used to support limits on the rights and liberties of ethnic and racial minorities. They provided support for legal restrictions on immigration. While ethnic and racial minorities were the primary targets, these were not the only stereotypes to be reinforced through intelligence testing. It became an effective tool in reinforcing the political, social, and economic systems. Simply put, intelligence tests provided the rationale for social inequality. But when wealthy rural Americans scored poorly on the tests, the idea that the rich were naturally smarter than the poor was undermined.

Intelligence tests presented more new questions than they answered. The nature of intelligence, whether determined by nature or nurture, was not solved by the tests. In fact, IQ tests provided ammunition for proponents of both schools. Those who supported the idea that intelligence was rooted in heredity could use the scores as proof. Those who championed nurture over nature also employed them as evidence of the importance of environment in cultivating intelligence.

See also IMMIGRATION; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—Steve Freund

## International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)

A semi-industrial union of workers in the women's and children's clothing industry, the ILGWU was formed in New York in 1901. Influenced heavily by Jewish radi-

icals, it combined conservative craft unionism with industrial organization in an industry that was predominantly female. Primarily a union of skilled workers such as cutters and pressers, the ILGWU expanded its membership in a series of dramatic strikes in 1909–10 and later in 1913–15 in the clothing industry. The chief of these strikes, the SHIRTWAIST MAKERS STRIKE, or Uprising of the 20,000, involved garment operatives in sweatshops in the New York shirtwaist trade. Begun by skilled male workers, the strike came to involve tens of thousands of young women garment workers. The industry's labor force, mostly Eastern European Jews and Italians, with a small contingent of native-born American women, went on strike when garment manufacturers refused to sign union contracts. While many smaller garment shops negotiated with the union, the majority of large garment companies simply waited out the protest. That same year, the Cloak Makers' Strike of 50,000 successfully concluded with the Protocols of Peace, an agreement that provided for increased wages and a 50-hour week. It also promised to end strikes in the industry, in exchange for concessions from employers. A year later, in 1911, the tragedy of the TRIANGLE SHIRTWAIST FIRE brought thousands to join the union in protest of the conditions that had led to the fire, namely locked doors, flimsy fire escapes, and hazardous working conditions. From 1913 to 1915, the ILGWU once again led strikes that made it the dominant union in the garment trade and a major player in union politics in the 1920s.

In the 1920s, factional fighting between socialists and communists weakened the union. The socialist leadership, under president Benjamin Schlesinger, later suspended ILGWU members who belonged to the communist Trade Union Education League. The loss of union negotiating power was largely attributable, however, to the ability of clothing shops to leave union strongholds for other areas. Runaway shops were almost impossible to organize, as they were easily moved and had little capital invested. Finally, fundamental differences between the older men who ran the union and the women who constituted the majority of the workforce contributed to the ILGWU's declining membership. The union's predominantly male leadership paid little attention to the more than 75 percent of the membership that was female. It preferred to negotiate contracts without reference to women workers whom it believed were temporary sojourners in the garment trade. Male union leaders saw their work as a route to political influence and upward mobility and excluded all but a few women from their ranks.

During the 1920s, the union spent much of its time and resources building a range of benefits and institutions to retain members' loyalty. The ILGWU had a strong workers' educational program. It trained workers in union leadership and in basic cultural and citizenship skills. It supported

special programs for workers' health and Unity House, a summer retreat for workers. It also had its own newspaper, called the *Ladies' Garment Worker*. These resources and programs helped the union survive the decline in its membership and aided the union in its rebirth in the 1930s.

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## invention and technology

Technology—things human beings invent, discover, manufacture, and use—has been part of humanity as long as humanity itself. We may think of ourselves as living in a technological age, but machines and systems, tools and artifacts, have affected Americans in profound ways. The 20th century is often referred to as “the American Century,” largely because the growth of big business, sophisticated industrialized systems, and a powerful military complex made the United States a leading superpower. Technological change and advance were central to America's maturity.

Inventions introduced during the early 1900s have now become hallmarks of American culture. Individual examples include crayons, the ice cream cone, Life Savers® candy, and liquid paper. African-American inventor Garrett Morgan invented the traffic light in 1920; and in 1930, Ruth Wakefield introduced Toll House Cookies. But the technological vitality of the United States in the first three decades of the 20th century is demonstrated less by particular inventions than by new technological systems that were embraced and reshaped American society.

Although there were many important advances in science and technology prior to the 20th century, the development of complex technological systems after 1900 changed the nature of humankind's relationship with machines. Advances in technology coincided with the rise of an industrial economy at the turn of the century, as Americans witnessed a technological explosion unprecedented in recorded history. Improvements on an earlier “American System” of manufacturing standardized, interchangeable parts culminated in a system of MASS PRODUCTION in the early 1900s. It opened the way for technology to play a central role in the modern consumer economy. The application of ELECTRICITY to such areas as public lighting and urban streetcars spread into the domestic sphere to include the powering of household appliances by public utilities, a change that shaped people's lives perhaps more than any other technology. Electrodynamical principles applied within the communications industry also resulted in major advances such as wireless telegraphy, the amplification of sound, and broadcasting. Between 1900 and

1930, technological development increasingly became the domain of corporations competing for patent rights and control of the market, resulting in a shift of emphasis in American invention from machine shop to industrial laboratory. Early 20th-century advances in transportation and industrial manufacturing, the rise of “big SCIENCE,” and advances in communications constitute some of the most crucial examples of systems building in American history.

Achievements in transportation included the introduction of powered flight and the mass production of gas-powered automobiles during the first decades after 1900. The WRIGHT BROTHERS, Wilbur and Orville, are probably the most famous of aerodynamic designers to achieve controlled, powered flight in the United States. On December 17, 1903, the Wright Brothers demonstrated their success with their *Flyer I* in North Carolina, and by 1908 they took their airplane across the Atlantic to give demonstrations in Europe. WORLD WAR I was a powerful impetus for all industrialized nations to pursue technological improvements on airplanes. By 1920, the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics convinced Congress to establish

facilities for developing aircraft in the United States, integrating civilian and military aircraft manufacture into a major industry.

While the automobile was not a uniquely American invention, development of a moving assembly line to mass-produce affordable cars was pioneered by entrepreneur HENRY FORD. Ford revolutionized automobiles and industrial manufacturing with the production of his Model T. Designed in 1908, the Model T first was produced on an assembly line in Highland Park, Michigan, in 1913. By 1923, production of the Ford Model T had risen to nearly 2,000,000 a year. The simplified design of the car, the decision to freeze the design and stick with one model, and the use of specialized machines allowed Ford to build an enterprise that forever changed American industrial manufacturing.

Ford's application of the moving assembly line to the production of his motorcars integrated the principles of the American System of Manufactures, a 19th-century technology, with the modern principles of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, championed in the 20th century by American engineer FREDERICK WINSLOW TAYLOR. Scientific management rationalized the entire system of manufacturing as a whole and sought to eliminate wasted movement through the use of single-purpose machines and automated assembly lines. The drive for efficiency reduced labor to the bare minimum, as single-purpose machines created single-movement jobs for unskilled workers, resulting in a reorganization of shop culture. One of Ford's major innovations was his decision to shift the production layout to a sequential arrangement, so that parts and machines could be set up in the order they were assembled. His introduction of a system of vertical integration at his River Rouge plant in the 1920s allowed scientific management and mass production to reach their logical extremes. It set a precedent for modern industrial ARCHITECTURE and manufacturing in the United States.

Scientific management and a drive for order, efficiency, and control within a free-market economy influenced the rise of scientific industrial research laboratories within large corporations. Whereas independent inventors operating in small machine shops created the bulk of new technology, economic growth and expansion changed the nature of invention, speeding the transformation from small-scale, isolated experimentation to large research industries. The stipulations and time limits imposed by the American patent system, coupled with strict enforcement of antitrust laws, fostered competition among corporations who sought to control new technologies and the market. Corporations such as GENERAL ELECTRIC, DuPont, Westinghouse, and Dow Chemical developed model industrial research labs between 1900 and 1930. These companies invested large budgets on high salaries

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New technology such as the electric fan helped cool down the hot summer months. (Library of Congress)



and almost unlimited resources for the best minds to collaborate and apply scientific techniques to technological problems. Despite the heroic myth of the lone inventor, technological development in the 20th century has largely resulted from the collaborative efforts of engineers, scientists, and entrepreneurs working in industries sponsored by business and government. While the independent inventor did not disappear, the first three decades of the 20th century laid the foundation for the development of a military-academic-industrial complex. Military and wartime strategies have largely influenced collaborative technological development since World War I.

Research and development was driven by efforts to increase productivity and profits. Largely successful, it resulted in a new type of technological partnership between private industry, universities, and the federal government. Government technological leadership included the establishment of the National Bureau of Standards in 1901, introduced with the mission of “working with industry to develop and apply technology, measurements, and standards in the national interest.”

Attempts to standardize tools and processes within the context of “big science” have no doubt altered industrial and social organization. But even as experimentation led to new improvements in old products and processes, the market ultimately controlled the development and spread of new technologies. Advances in chemistry, electric power, and electronic communications have been the result of a race to make new technologies better through a combination of scientific theory and application.

The rise of big science—collaboration between corporations, universities, and the military—was significantly shaped by the race to control technological development in the area of communications. Photography had already become a familiar technique by the end of the 19th century, but the 1900s witnessed the introduction of George Eastman’s portable, handheld camera. Cinematography also evolved into a popular medium during this period. But the race to control the communications industry really involved research and development in electronics. Major advances in wireless communications between 1900 and 1930 included Italian-American inventor Guglielmo Marconi’s successful achievements in wireless telegraphy; achievements in the transmission of real sounds, pioneered by Americans Lee De Forest and Edwin Armstrong; progress in wireless RADIO broadcasting, sponsored by corporations such as RCA, GE, Westinghouse, and AT&T; and Philo Farnsworth and Vladimir Zworykin’s experiments with cathode-ray tubes, which led to the development of television. Control of these new mechanisms and systems was sought through the buying and selling of patent rights, and legislative regulations such as the Radio Acts of 1912 and 1927, which established the Federal Communica-

tions Commission. Once the American Navy, in particular, became increasingly dependent upon wireless communications and had a vested interest in the development of vacuum tube technology, military research and development demanded federal regulation.

Throughout the 20th century, no one individual or institution has been able to control the market for electronic technologies. Isolated amateur inventors outside the military-academic-industrial complex, the federal government’s strict regulations against monopolies, and the competitive nature of the American free market have ensured rapid changes in communication technologies.

The most profound American technological developments from this period involved the creation of complex systems that have produced useful products, but also created an interconnected technological society, thereby truly transforming the United States into a modern industrial society. The unintended consequences of the implementation of these developments are crucial to assessing American technology’s far-reaching impact.

See also EDUCATION.

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—Lauren Kata

## investments, foreign

The international movement of capital has played a critical role in the economic development of the United States. Prior to the early 1890s, American investors’ sustained capital investment abroad was minuscule. Between 1890 and 1914, however, the United States became a major exporter of foreign capital, particularly to Canada, Latin America, and Europe. Well into the 1930s, U.S. investments in countries of the Western Hemisphere accounted for an estimated 65 percent of all American investments abroad.

Prior to the 1890s, Great Britain long had been the chief source of foreign capital investments, even in the Western Hemisphere. As the manufacturing base of the United States matured in the 1890s, American investors had additional capital available for export. Great Britain’s dominant form of capital investment had been loans to



governments and to railway companies. In contrast, the dominant way that the United States exported capital was in the form of direct investments abroad.

Although the United States did loan capital to foreign governments, especially during WORLD WAR I, the creation of branch plants that manufactured goods for foreign markets characterized most of its economic expansion abroad. While the United States and Great Britain competed with one another at the turn of the century, the onset of the war in Europe brought a dramatic shift to the international capital market. Because Great Britain had to expend much of its surplus capital on the war effort the United States had new opportunities to further expand its industrial production and thus had additional surplus capital for investment abroad.

Prior to the onset of war in 1914, the United States imported more goods from Europe than it had exported to the European continent. The destructive war severely crippled the European economy, both in terms of its factories and cities and the availability of labor. The United States benefited both by exporting more goods to Europe and by changing the balance of trade and investment. After the war, European citizens owed private Americans \$3 billion, and their governments owed another \$10 billion. Wartime loans from the United States to Europe constituted the primary source of this capital imbalance. The increasing level of American capital invested abroad reflected the changing position of the United States in the international economy between 1900 and 1914. Between 1897 and 1914, American direct investments abroad more than quadrupled, increasing from an estimated \$634 million to \$2.6 billion. Although investments abroad took many different forms, investing directly in manufacturing operations in Europe and Canada tended to be the major form. By contrast, American investments in Latin America tended to be in transportation and raw materials.

During the early part of the 20th century, promoters of American economic expansion abroad contended that this activity promoted development and not economic dependence. President THEODORE ROOSEVELT's secretary of state, Elihu Root, argued, "Our surplus energy is beginning to look beyond our own borders, throughout the world, to find opportunity for the profitable use of our surplus capital." Along with investors, the federal government played an active role in promoting the export of American capital. In particular, such agencies as the U.S. Consular Service, an office of the State Department, provided manufacturers and merchants with regular information about investment and market opportunities in locations across the globe. The monthly reports submitted by the Consular Service were published in the State Department's *Monthly Consular and Trade Reports*. They were further disseminated as numer-

ous newspapers and trade journals reprinted various parts in their own publications. To further assist manufacturers with their plans for economic expansion, the Departments of State and Commerce often requested specific information from various consulates. For example, they would ask that consulates provide information on the condition of a particular industry or presence of a commodity in various markets around the world.

While foreign capital investments found much support in the United States, they had a profound effect on the development of the nations that received much of this capital. In particular, American manufacturers owned some 60 percent of Canada's industries by 1919. This meant that the Canadian standard of living was indirectly set by the United States. American-owned companies determined wages, output, and investment strategies for a significant segment of the Canadian economy.

The investment in manufacturing enterprises abroad was made in various ways, ranging from the transfer of patent rights to the investment of actual dollars in the company. In 1904, Gordon MacGregor founded the Ford Motor Company of Canada, not with a direct capital investment from Ford in the United States, but rather by granting the latter 51 percent equity in the new company in exchange for all Ford rights and processes in Canada, New Zealand, Australia, India, South Africa, and British Malaya. Often the impetus to set up manufacturing in another country was motivated by high tariffs in that country. In Canada, a high tariff had prevented many American companies from exporting to the Dominion, so investing in branch plants that manufactured for the Canadian market provided a means to bypass the high tariff wall constructed by the Canadian government.

Because the United States had emerged from World War I as the dominant nation, its economic expansion would have far-reaching ramifications. The international economy had increasingly become integrated, and the United States relied heavily on foreign trade and foreign investments. In particular, given that European nations owed substantial amounts to the United States, there was a vested interest in the open movement of capital and goods through the international economy. The collapse of the stock market in 1929 would, accordingly, have profound effects not only on the American economy but also on the world.

**Further reading:** Lance E. Davis and Robert J. Cull, *International Capital Markets and American Economic Growth, 1820–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Cleona Lewis, *America's Stake in International Investments* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1948).

—David R. Smith



**James, William** See VOLUME VI.

## jazz

A uniquely American genre of music, jazz had its origins in New Orleans and in the urban North, where musicians and more recent migrants brought together diverse elements of African-American and European music into a new form. In music clubs, musicians drew upon their cultural traditions of down-home blues, minstrelsy, and brass band music, while others brought in elements from their formal European musical training. Jazz was and remains an amorphous music that is both rhythmically driven and at the same time open to the freedom of individual improvisation and interpretation. Syncopation, blue or indeterminate notes, rough vocal style, and improvisation form the boundaries of the genre. Within these lines, there is a multitude of styles. GEORGE GERSHWIN, whose music was a hybrid of TIN PAN ALLEY and jazz influences along with classical technique, wrote, "It is difficult to determine just what enduring values, aesthetically, jazz has contributed, because 'jazz' is a word which has been used for at least five or six different types of music." Expatriate musician Sidney Bechet, a native of New Orleans, claimed that jazz was "a name the white people have given to the music."

Whatever jazz was, it drew from a range of cultural influences. In New Orleans, diverse musical traditions first began to reshape musical idiom into what became recognizable as jazz. By the 1890s, ragtime, a syncopated jazz music, emerged and became popular with African-American listeners and increasingly with white audiences. By 1906, Jelly Roll Morton started touring nationally with his new jazz piano compositions. Dixieland jazz, ragtime's first heir, first made its appearance in recording in 1917. Other innovators, such as Chicago's Joe "King" Oliver, New Orleans' Sidney Bechet, and New York's Fletcher Henderson began to work out arrangements that combined blue notes with ragtime rhythm for a "hot" sound. In 1923,

King Oliver's band recruited New Orleans jazz trumpeter Louis Armstrong to make recordings for a broader audience. Armstrong moved on to make his own mark with the classic Hot Five and Hot Seven recordings (1925–28) that featured jazz solo improvisations. In New York, jazz music became, with African-American literature, one of the lasting elements of the cultural rebirth known as the HARLEM RENAISSANCE and greatly contributed to the emergent culture of the 1930s. Jazz music, early defined as an African-American musical style, attracted growing numbers of white patrons and musicians by the late 1920s. Further, while Fletcher Henderson created the first jazz dance band in 1923, the demand for hot jazz dance music fueled the careers of Edward "Duke" Ellington and others. Innovative white musicians such as Bix Beiderbecke, Hoagy Carmichael, Benny Goodman, and Artie Shaw adopted these jazz styles and organized their own bands in the 1930s, when swing music began to take hold of the popular imagination.



Louis Armstrong (*Library of Congress*)

**Further reading:** Burton Peretti, *The Creation of Jazz; Music, Race and Culture in Urban America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Gunther Schuller, *History of Jazz*, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968); Geoffrey C. Ward, *Jazz; A History of America's Music* (New York: Knopf, 2000).

**Johnson, Hiram Warren** (1866–1945) *politician*

The Progressive Era was a time of political realignment, in which political parties were divided in sentiment and program and regional party loyalties were at stake. The career of Hiram W. Johnson reflected these tides of change. As a western progressive, Johnson fought for and achieved democratic reforms in his home state of California. He also struggled against the dominance of business in local and national politics and urged the adoption of labor laws and farm relief. In foreign affairs, Johnson was an isolationist and, toward the end of his career, an opponent of the New Deal. He fought internationalism and spent the last 28 years of his life in the U.S. Senate seeking to keep his country out of foreign entanglements.

The son of Lawrence Grove Johnson and Anne Williamson de Montfredy Johnson, Hiram was born on September 2, 1866, in Sacramento, California, as the third of five children. His father Grove was a lawyer who served for short periods of time in the California state senate and later in its house of representatives. Grove Johnson's reforming instincts brought him to the Republican Party, where he supported such causes as temperance, free textbooks, compulsory education, and women's rights. Hiram Johnson graduated from high school in 1882 at age 16 as class valedictorian and entered the University of California at Berkeley two years later. He left the university early to marry Minnie McNeal, the daughter of a carpenter and contractor. The couple had two sons, Hiram, Jr., and Archibald. Hiram Sr., read law in his father's office and joined the family firm.

Although Johnson revealed little inclination for following his father into politics, he became Sacramento city attorney in 1900. In 1902, he moved to San Francisco to practice law with his brother Albert; and two years later, he joined the team prosecuting former political boss Abraham Ruef and other city officials for bribery and graft. With this record, he arrived at the forefront of state reform politics, and he ran for the governorship as a Republican in 1910. Johnson won the election and served for six years, becoming the first governor in state history to be reelected. As governor, he supported a series of progressive reforms including railroad regulation, a workers' compensation law, and the popular election of senators, and helped frame constitutional amendments for woman suffrage. In 1913, in an act reflecting the racial hostility of his day, he signed

a bill denying Japanese immigrants the right to own agricultural land in California. In 1911 Johnson helped to form the National Progressive Republican League; and in 1912, he was nominated on the PROGRESSIVE PARTY ticket as THEODORE ROOSEVELT's vice presidential running mate.

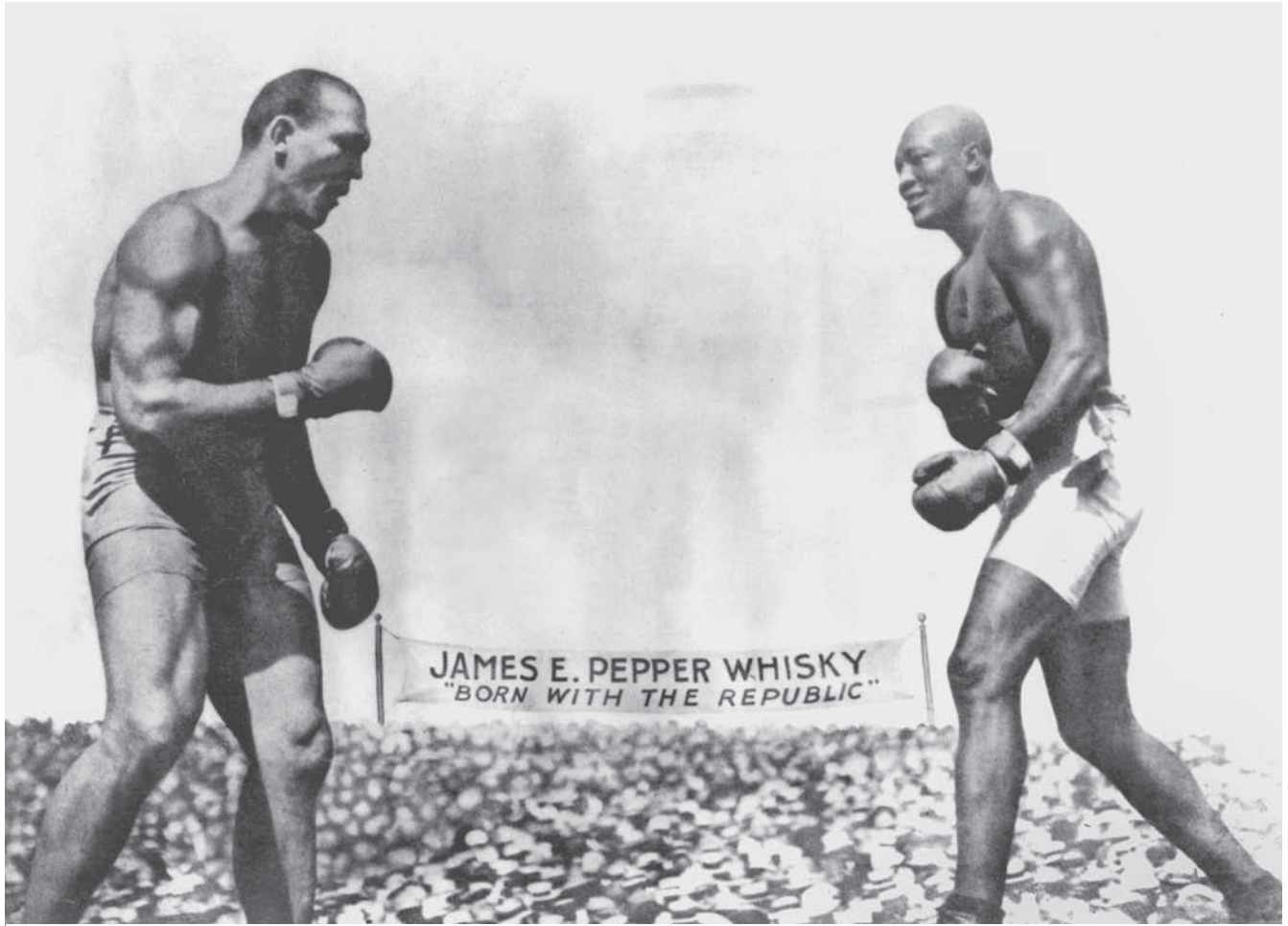
In 1916 Johnson ran for the U.S. Senate on the Republican ticket. Reelected to that office four more times, he served a total of 28 years in Congress. The spring he began serving in the Senate, the United States declared war on Germany. Informally, Johnson was opposed to the war, and he objected when his own son volunteered for the army. At the same time, as senator, Johnson publicly supported the nation's war effort. After the war, he became an outspoken critic of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS and became one of the "irreconcilables" who opposed ratifying the TREATY OF VERSAILLES. An isolationist by inclination, Johnson fought against U.S. participation in the World Court, worked to stave off American intervention in the growing crisis in Europe in the 1930s, and voted against the United States joining the United Nations at the end of his long career. Johnson also worked for farm legislation, supporting the McNARY-HAUGEN FARM BILL and sponsored the act in Congress that created Hoover Dam on the Colorado River.

**Further reading:** Richard Cole Lower, *The Bloc of One: The Political Career of Hiram W. Johnson* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993).

**Johnson, Jack** (1878–1946) *heavyweight boxing champion*

Born in Galveston, Texas, in 1878, Jack Johnson was the first African-American heavyweight boxing champion in U.S. history. He is still considered by many to be among the most gifted heavyweights ever to enter the ring. Johnson took up boxing relatively late, but he quickly gained a reputation as a fearless fighter. In excellent physical condition, he turned professional in 1897. Remarkably quick for a heavyweight, Johnson had great strength inside the ring. By 1903 he was considered to be among the top fighters in the country; but many in the profession, including the two most dominant heavyweights, John L. Sullivan and Jim Jeffries, refused to give the African-American boxer a shot at the heavyweight title. While he waited for a chance at the heavyweight crown, Johnson defeated another top-ranked African-American fighter, Sam McVey, in 1904 in what many called the "Black Heavyweight Championship." Johnson was forced to wait five years for the opportunity to fight for the heavyweight crown. Finally in 1908 the reigning champion, Canadian Tommy Burns, agreed to fight Johnson in Sydney, Australia. Johnson won the fight handily and remained heavyweight champion until 1915.





Jack Johnson and James Jeffries in the World Championship battle, July 4, 1910 (*Library of Congress*)

The period during which Johnson was the reigning heavyweight champion was one of rampant racism in America. Jim Crow laws and social custom had established racial SEGREGATION as common practice in both North and South, and African Americans faced systematic discrimination, loss of the right to vote, and racial violence. In the face of widely accepted beliefs of African-American inferiority, Jack Johnson proudly asserted not only his equality but also his dominance over his white peers. His arrogance infuriated many white Americans. Refusing to retreat from the public spotlight, Johnson was highly visible and in many ways larger than life. He relished his role as hero in the African-American community. In response, many white boxing fans, managers, promoters, and reporters were desperate for someone to “put Johnson back in his place.” Author Jack London put out a call for a “Great White Hope” to defeat Johnson. In 1910 London and others convinced former heavyweight champion Jim Jeffries to come out of retirement for a July 4 fight for a record prize

of \$100,000. Johnson, who was at the peak of his career, put on a brilliant boxing display and knocked Jeffries out in the 15th round. News of Johnson’s victory was greeted with enthusiastic celebrations in African-American communities throughout the country.

As champion, and for the rest of his life, Johnson disregarded the social conventions of his day. Bold, outspoken, and proud, he infuriated white America by his two marriages to white women. In 1912, Johnson was charged and convicted of violating the MANN ACT, which prohibited an individual from transporting a woman across state lines for “immoral purposes.” The crime Johnson committed was that he and his future wife, Lucille Cameron, traveled across state lines together. In order to avoid imprisonment, Johnson fled the country and moved to Paris. While in Paris, the Champ successfully defended his title three times. He eventually lost the heavyweight title to Jess Willard in a controversial bout in Havana, Cuba, in 1915. At the time and ever since, Johnson and many of his



supporters claimed that he threw the fight in an attempt to have his prison sentence overturned. Whether or not Johnson intentionally lost the fight, the charges were not dropped. Johnson returned to the United States in 1920 and served a one-year prison sentence in Leavenworth, Kansas. Even after his retirement from boxing in the early 1920s, he remained a prominent figure, appearing in VAUDEVILLE acts and operating several businesses until he died in a car accident in 1946.

**Further reading:** Randy Roberts, *Papa Jack: Jack Johnson and the Era of White Hopes* (New York: Free Press, 1983); Jeff Wells, *Boxing Day: The Fight That Changed the World* (New York: HarperCollins, 1999).

—Robert Gordon

### Johnson, Tom Loftin (1854–1911) *politician*

Early in the 20th century, large cities faced the need for reform. Garbage wasn't picked up on time; streetcar companies refused to improve lines; prostitution and crime seemed out of control; and bribery and graft were the only way to make the wheels turn. Journalist LINCOLN STEFFENS spoke to these problems in his book, *The Shame of the Cities*; another response was the URBAN REFORM movement led by a group of exceptional mayors, including Hazen Pingree of Detroit, Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones of Cincinnati, and Tom Johnson of Cleveland.

Tom Loftin Johnson was born in Blue Spring, Kentucky, on July 18, 1854. The son of Helen Loftin and Albert W. Johnson, a failed planter-turned-businessman, Tom Johnson had little formal schooling. He began working at an early age. When he turned 15, wealthy relatives purchased the smallest of three streetcar lines in Louisville and hired him as office clerk and, four years later, superintendent of the line. In 1874, Johnson married his cousin, Maggie J. Johnson. The couple had two children—Loftin and Elizabeth.

With good mechanical aptitude and a knack for invention, Johnson became an engineer-entrepreneur in the booming streetcar business. He began to invest in streetcar lines himself, buying his first line in Indianapolis in 1876. Although the line had snarled finances, Johnson helped turn the company around and sold his shares for \$800,000 a few years later. While he bought shares in streetcar lines in other cities, he made his largest investment in Cleveland, where his company eventually controlled 60 percent of the streetcar lines in the city.

Johnson's fascination with the working of streetcar lines led to his invention of mechanical improvements for streetcars and their lines. He invented and began to manufacture a streetcar pay box and the girder groove rail, which was a metal electric streetcar rail. In addition, he improved upon

designs for, or invented, curved tracks, crossovers, frogs, and special track devices. To manufacture the steel streetcar rails, Johnson founded the Johnson Company in 1883 in Johnstown, Pennsylvania. He also established the Johnson Electric Company in Cleveland to repair steel motors. In the 1880s and early 1890s, newcomers were able to enter and quickly dominate the business of parts and motor manufacture and to buy streetcar franchises. By the late 1890s, however, competition in steel manufacturing and urban transport began to crowd out entrepreneurs like Johnson. He eventually sold his shares in both of his companies to devote himself to reform.

Having become a member of an elite business class, Tom Johnson discovered the problems of poverty, taxes, and cities through the writings of Henry George. George's *Progress and Poverty* influenced reformers for a generation. In George's thinking, it was speculation on undeveloped land, and the concentration of land in the hands of the few, that was at the root of social ills in the United States. Using his wealth to further the cause, Johnson supported George's political campaigns and a number of single-tax journals.

George's ideas about tax reform helped inspire Johnson into running for elective office. He ran for Congress and served two terms (1891–95) in the House of Representatives, where he was known for his single-tax oratory. In his next move, he ran for and won election as mayor of Cleveland, where he served as mayor from 1901 to 1910. Johnson called for tax reform in scientific tax assessments and equitable property taxes. He also campaigned and fought for centralized city government, municipal ownership of streetcars and utilities, lower streetcar fares, city beautification, and local prison reform. Johnson was bankrupt by 1908; under a flurry of charges of corruption, he lost the mayoral election in 1909. He died in 1911 at age 57.

See also CITIES AND URBAN LIFE; URBAN TRANSPORTATION.

**Further reading:** Eugene C. Murdock, *Tom Johnson of Cleveland* (Dayton, Ohio: Wright State University Press, 1994).

### Jones Act (1916)

Formally known as the Philippine Autonomy Act, the Jones Act declared the American intention to grant independence to the Philippine Islands, which the United States had acquired as a territory after the Spanish-American War. Despite the Philippine Insurrection against colonial rule under Filipino leader EMILIO AGUINALDO and the well-intentioned efforts of congressional sponsors, the Philippine Islands remained under military government. Replacing the Philippine Organic Act of 1902, which created the first

American administration, the Jones Act became the first law to establish Philippine autonomy. It also asserted that Philippine independence would occur “as soon as a stable government [could] be established,” but the United States retained the power to determine whether such a government existed. While the Jones Act sought to provide home rule for the Philippines, it reasserted the sovereign rights and privileges of the United States over the islands.

In addition to the question of national autonomy, the Jones Act created a new government structure in the Philippines. It added a popularly elected Philippine Senate to the legislature to replace the Philippine Commission, which formerly had been appointed by the American president. While the appointed governor general of the Philippines had veto power over the legislature, the Jones Act made significant progress toward Philippine self-government and extended the reforms instituted by the current governor general, Francis Burton Harrison. Promoting cooperation between Americans and Filipinos, Harrison transformed the government of the islands by replacing American officials with Filipino civil servants. Between 1913 and 1921, Filipino administrators came to dominate the civil service. The “colonial government of Americans aided by Filipinos” became, according to Harrison’s critics, a “catpaw and plaything” of Filipino nationalists. At the same time, the president of the United States continued to appoint the governor general and Philippine Supreme Court justices as well.

The Jones Act was only one stage in the long struggle for Philippine independence. There were several subsequent efforts to grant independence to the islands. In 1912, William Atkinson Jones, Democratic congressman from Virginia, introduced a bill to grant the Philippines autonomy followed by independence in 1921. The bill failed in the House. Two years later, a new bill set no specific timetable for independence and integrated several amendments; it also failed. Only in 1916 did CONGRESS approve the Jones Act, which President WOODROW WILSON signed into law.

The Philippines remained under the government established by the Jones Act until 1934, when Congress established the Commonwealth of the Philippines, effective in 1935. The Philippines did not achieve independence until after World War II.

See also ARMY ACT; FOREIGN POLICY.

**Further reading:** Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America’s Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Random House, 1989).

### **Jones Act (Jones-Shafroth Act) (1917)**

The Jones Act of 1917, sometimes known as the Jones-Shafroth Act, granted American citizenship to inhabitants of Puerto Rico and made significant changes in how Puerto

Rico was governed. The United States had acquired the island of Puerto Rico after the Spanish-American War, as part of Spain’s treaty obligations. From the signing of the peace treaty until 1917, Puerto Rico was an American territorial possession. Its inhabitants, if they did not have pre-existing status as citizens of another nation, were citizens of Puerto Rico and not of the United States, as specified under the Organic Act of Puerto Rico, known as the FORAKER ACT. Puerto Rican residents did not possess the rights, protections, and obligations of American citizens under the U.S. Constitution, nor was the island integrated into the United States in any meaningful way.

In part, the special status of Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and other territories that the United States acquired in the late 19th century was due to the racial and cultural differences between the majority population in the United States and the nation’s new protectorates. Some Americans had opposed the war with Spain precisely because an American victory threatened to undermine the country’s predominantly Anglo-American culture. Those who saw immigrants from southern and eastern Europe as a menace to the society had similar misgivings about bringing new lands and peoples under American governance.

WORLD WAR I helped to change this thinking. Although the United States remained neutral in the first few years of the war, many believed that the country would be drawn into the European conflict and that it was important to institute new measures to prepare the nation for war. Among these measures were the PREPAREDNESS movement, campaigns for AMERICANIZATION, and the introduction of CONSCRIPTION in 1917. Among the other measures, the Jones-Shafroth Act opened the door both to closer relations between the American government and Puerto Rico and made men in Puerto Rico eligible for the draft. Nearly 20,000 would serve in the AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE during the war.

The Jones Act also moved the Puerto Rican government closer to the model of American states. The law established a popularly elected legislature with a Senate and House of Representatives. While the appointed governor could veto legislative bills, the legislature could override his veto with a two-thirds majority. The president of the United States had final decision-making power, and the president similarly appointed the governor, the attorney general, and the governor’s cabinet. A popularly elected but nonvoting resident commissioner represented Puerto Rico in the U.S. House of Representatives. The federal government maintained significant control over the Puerto Rican economy and government services. The Jones Act remained in force, with minor revisions, until 1952, when Puerto Rico became a commonwealth and developed its own constitution.

See also CITIZENSHIP; FOREIGN POLICY; JONES ACT (1916); NATIVISM.

**Further reading:** Jose A. Cabranes, *Citizenship and the American Empire: Notes on the Legislative History of the United States Citizenship of Puerto Ricans* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979); Bartholomew H. Sparrow, *The Insular Cases and the Emergence of American Empire* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2006).

### Joplin, Scott (1868–1917) *pianist and composer*

Called “the King of Ragtime,” Scott Joplin composed many of the most popular as well as artistically realized piano rags. He was born in Texarkana, Texas, on November 24, 1868. His father, Giles Joplin, was a former slave, and his mother, Florence Givens, had been free from birth. At an early age, Joplin showed unusual ability at the piano. By the time he was 11, he had come to the attention of a local, German music teacher, who offered him lessons free of charge. This teacher taught Joplin to read music, and the elements of music theory, and introduced him to the works of the great European composers.

At about age 14, Joplin began what was probably the most significant part of his music education. He became an itinerant pianist employed in the honky-tonk and red-light districts of towns and cities of the Mississippi Valley. In the course of the next three years, he met many musicians, both black and white, and became exposed to the evolving ragtime style of music popular in such establishments. This was a pivotal era in American musical history, as it was the first time black and white musicians were meeting as musical equals. The emerging style borrowed its form and harmonic structure from white European culture, but the essential polyrhythms came from black African culture.

In 1885, Joplin arrived in St. Louis, which served as his base for the next 10 years. He formed a small orchestra that played in Chicago during the World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893. After hours, he was able to hear and play for some of the country’s best ragtime pianists. He settled in Sedalia, Missouri, around 1895, and in 1895 and 1896 published his first music. In 1897, Joplin enrolled in the George R. Smith College for Negroes in Sedalia, where he studied harmony and composition.

In 1899, John Stark published “The Maple Leaf Rag,” the composition that was to earn Joplin the nickname “King of Ragtime.” Stark, the white owner of a local music store in Sedalia, purchased it for \$50 with an arrangement for continuing royalties to Joplin. This arrangement, unusually fair for the time, soon provided Joplin with financial stability, as “The Maple Leaf Rag” was a national hit within six months. Joplin was now able to concentrate on composition. His first large-scale composition, *The Ragtime Dance*, was completed and performed in Sedalia in 1899. This work consisted of choreographed dance numbers with

sung narration. Although published by Stark in 1902, the score is now lost.

With his publishing business flourishing, Stark moved it to St. Louis in 1900, and Joplin, recently married to Belle Hayden, soon followed. The next six years saw Stark’s publication of many Joplin rags, including “The Entertainer,” “Elite Syncopations,” and “The Cascades.” Joplin also concentrated on his first ragtime opera, *A Guest of Honor*. This work (now lost) was completed and presumably performed in St. Louis around 1903.

In 1904 Stark moved his publishing business to New York, and Joplin, after separating from his wife, also settled in New York in 1907. In 1909 he married his second wife, Lottie Stokes. Joplin continued composing rags and teaching, but he put most of his energy into the composition of his second opera, *Treemonisha*, a work that consumed him for the rest of his life. *Treemonisha* is scored for 11 voices and chorus with piano accompaniment. The story has the character of a fable, and the music draws from African-American folk tradition as well as ragtime. Joplin and Stark parted ways, leaving Joplin to publish the score of *Treemonisha* in 1911 at his own expense. In the hope of attracting backers for a full production, he put together a performance in a hall in Harlem in 1915. The performance was a failure, and Joplin was devastated. The final years of his life were marked by depression and illness. In 1916, Joplin was committed to Manhattan State Hospital on Ward’s Island, and on April 1, 1917, he died there.

Joplin’s music enjoyed a revival in the early 1970s. *Treemonisha* received its first performance in Atlanta in 1972 and its first full-scale production by the Houston Grand Opera in 1975. His piano rags have found a secure place in the modern repertoire, equally at home in movie soundtracks and on the concert stage.

**Further reading:** Edward A. Berlin, *King of Ragtime: Scott Joplin and His Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Rudi Blesh and Harriet Janis, *They All Played Ragtime*, rev. ed. (New York: Grove Press, 1971).

—William Peek

### journalism

The most important trend in journalism in the period between 1900 and 1930 was the maturing of what was called “the new journalism” or, more critically, “yellow journalism.” At a time when newspapers became large businesses, owners and editors sought new ways to attract the reading public and to capture subscribers from their competitors. They sought the profits not only from increased subscriptions but also from ADVERTISING revenues based on circulation. City newspapers like the *New York World* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* used innovative newspaper

formats that relied on larger headlines, more graphics, and comic strips with colored ink to attract readers. Sensationalist reporting on murders, scandals, and campaigns drew new groups of subscribers. Working-class men and women, especially immigrants with limited English, became devoted followers of the major city dailies, which used bold print, plentiful illustration, and clear language to convey the news.

The Progressive Era was the Age of the Reporter. Previously newspapers had published largely unsigned articles; even editorial matters were often the anonymous voice of the owner/editor or that of a columnist using a pen name. During the 1890s, the journalistic wars between newspaper giants Joseph Pulitzer and WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST gave new weight to the personality of the star reporter. One new practice was that of stunt reporting. Posing as mental patients, workers, and band members, stunt reporters investigated government offices, factories, asylums, and prisons. Hundreds of newspapers around the country followed this lead and employed reporters to investigate conditions in their cities. Stunt journalism helped to emphasize the individual reporter at work while routine reporting required a team effort. Writing up a single murder investigation could take up to eight writers and editors, each of whom specialized in their work.

In contrast to sensational news stories were the new standards of objectivity, with which *New York Times* editor Adolph Ochs was associated. Directing his paper at an educated middle-class audience, he defined journalism differently from his mass circulation rivals, the *New York World* and the *New York Journal*. “Facts” rather than “stories” were the key. Ochs also altered the newspaper’s appearance and expanded wireless service. Reinvestment of profits into new buildings, state-of-the-art presses, and professional staff placed the *Times* at the forefront of newspaper journalism. From 1896, when Ochs took over the newspaper, to 1921, when he retired, the circulation of the *New York Times* increased from 100,000 to 330,000 daily and 500,000 Sunday readers.

The demand for investigative reporting to bolster newspaper circulation gave rise to another development. In the context of PROGRESSIVISM, mass circulation newspapers began conducting their own investigations of private and public misdeeds. In 1905, seeking to launch yet another challenge against its rivals, the *New York World* began to investigate the Equitable Life Insurance Society. The ensuing public furor over the ways in which insurance companies “gambled” with their shareholders’ funds spiraled into a major state investigation and then state regulation of the industry. Not to be outdone, Hearst’s *Journal American* directed its attention to a new domestic agenda. Charging that “criminal trusts” were undermining democracy, Hearst’s editorial page showed its colors in attacking

big business and urging the adoption of a graduated income tax, public ownership of utilities, DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS, and improvement of the public schools. At the same time, Hearst expanded his empire with the acquisition of newspapers in major cities. By 1930, his claim to be the “people’s champion” echoed in 26 daily newspapers and 17 Sunday newspapers in 28 cities.

The investigative efforts of big city dailies also inspired a new generation of journalists. Called MUCKRAKERS, the reporters took on a range of social and political problems as the target for investigation. The central themes of their work were the growing concentration of corporate wealth, political corruption, and the deplorable conditions of poverty and disease in the new industrial society—leitmotifs for both the new journalism and progressive reform as a whole. Investigative reporting soon spread to mass-market magazines like *McClure’s*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Collier’s*, which already had expanded their circulation in the 1890s. By 1900, their expanded subscriber base ensured that the “literature of exposure” had a wide audience. Even the stalwart *Ladies’ Home Journal* got in on the act by attacking the patent medicine trade. Talented muckraking writers such as Lincoln Steffens, IDA TARBELL, Ray Stannard Baker, and UPTON SINCLAIR became household names. Investigating big city bosses, conditions in meatpacking plants, and corporate monopolies, the muckrakers built support for progressive reform. At the same time, the magazines for which they wrote saw subscriptions increase substantially.

The new environment of newspaper and magazine publishing opened the door for qualitative changes. Newspapers became big business in the period, and their profits encouraged the founding of many new city and country newspapers. In the decade between 1900 and 1910, the number of dailies in the United States increased from 1,967 to 2,600. There were 14,000 general circulation weeklies. The new business of advertising stimulated the expansion of newspapers across the country. Between 1915 and 1929, advertising revenues nearly tripled from \$275 million to \$800 million annually. Revenues often were reinvested in the industry as newspapers and journals acquired high-speed and color presses, typesetting machines, and engraving plants, all of which required new infusions of capital. Competitive pressure from city dailies and standardization of news through services like the United Press Association, the Newspaper Enterprise Association, United Features, and Science Service Syndicate cost many country weeklies their subscriber base.

In smaller industrial cities, Edward W. Scripps founded a new chain of low-priced afternoon newspapers designed for the mass of readers. Beginning with the *St. Louis Chronicle*, Scripps invested small sums of capital to acquire local newspapers such as the *Detroit News*, *Cleveland Press*, and *Cincinnati Post*, extending the chain to 14



papers by 1911. The newspapers were, for the most part, well written in simple but direct prose. Small in size, they printed short news and human interest stories and local reform crusades. Dependent on circulation revenue and thus on general reader support, Scripps embraced a progressive agenda of support for public ownership of utilities and urban reform; he also backed labor unions. By the 1920s, the Scripps-Howard chain had become one of the largest in the country.

The advent of WORLD WAR I had a tremendous impact on journalism in the United States and abroad. Not surprisingly, the war became a primary focus for newspaper coverage even before the United States entered the war. Wartime government censorship, paper rationing, and taxes fundamentally changed the political economy of newspaper and journal publishing. First, major newspapers such as the *Chicago Daily News*, the *New York Times*, and the *New York Sun* created news services and established European bureaus to cover the war. At the front line, reporters were confronted with severe restrictions on their access to military information, which often was released only as official communiqués from government offices. They were largely restricted to feature stories from the frontlines, and even those stories, sent by either wireless or mail, faced government censors. Further, the WAR REVENUE ACT of 1917 and the TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT of the same year adversely affected newspapers and journals by introducing new costs and restrictions. The War Revenue Act raised postal rates every year for four years beginning in July 1918. The consequence of raising the rates was to undermine the financial base of small newspapers and to shift delivery and distribution of news out of the postal service. The Trading with the Enemy Act was somewhat more insidious. It required all foreign-language periodicals to translate their materials and submit them to a censor before publication. Hundreds of journals went out of print as a result. The same act allowed the postal inspector to refuse mailing permits to journals that voiced opposition to American intervention in the war or otherwise published radical sentiments. Finally, wartime inflation and escalating prices on paper, ink, linotype metal, and machinery put many publications out of business. The cost of paper alone tripled in the years between 1916 and 1921.

The economic pressures of the war and the suppression of foreign language newspapers furthered the movement toward consolidation of newspapers in the 1920s. The number of newspapers had begun to decline from its peak of 2,600 in 1910 to 2,042 in 1920 and 1,942 in 1930, a net loss of 258 newspapers. In the four years after World War I, more than 100 dailies were lost. At the same time, however, newspapers flourished in the more than 70 percent of cities and 80 percent of small towns that had a single newspaper.

Circulation grew from 27.5 million in 1910 to 40 million in 1930.

In the arena of magazine publishing, there were similar stories. By 1900, there were over 3,500 magazines read by 65 million readers. The real growth in magazine readership, however, was still to come. In the 1920s, new mass-market magazines captured the readership of older dime novels. These magazines focused on real-life stories and confessional articles such as "What I Told My Daughter the Night before Her Marriage," "Indolent Kisses," and "The Confessions of a Chorus Girl." The increasing popularity of the movies encouraged star journals as well. *True Confessions*, *Western Stories*, and *Detective Story* drew a huge readership. *True Story*, which Bernarr Macfadden began publishing in 1919, had more than 300,000 readers by 1923. In 1924, the number rose to 828,000 and to almost two million in 1926. Other magazines in such new areas as muscle-building (Macfadden's *Physical Culture* and *Health and Body*) opened the door for ever greater specialization. There was a corresponding move for magazine consolidation as well.

Magazine publishers also helped introduce tabloid journalism to New York City. Modeled on the *London Daily Mirror*, newspapers such as Macfadden's *Daily Graphic*, the *Daily Mirror*, and the *New York Daily News* began in 1920 to compete with older, more established newspapers. Their small size made them easier to read on crowded streetcars, but it was their news content that had a mass appeal. Instigating a new wave of sensationalist reporting called both "jazz" and "gutter" journalism, the *Daily Graphic* tapped such society scandals as the Fatty Arbuckle murder trial and the Kip Rhinelander interracial divorce case. Their graphic coverage of sex and crime scandals provoked the wrath of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, which brought Macfadden and his editor, Emile Gauveau, into court. Tabloids also directed new attention to Hollywood and sports celebrities, such as Babe Ruth and Knute Rockne. Circulation increased from 400,000 in 1922 to nearly a million readers in 1925. At the same time, however, the failure of the tabloids to attract sufficient advertising revenue caused the *Mirror* and the *Graphic* to go out of print in the 1930s; only the *Daily News* survived.

The emergence of RADIO brought journalism to a new medium. Although radio stations were still small and had a limited audience, radio introduced amateur news coverage of elections as early as 1916. In 1920, stations KDKA in East Pittsburgh and WWJ in Detroit broadcast the national election returns. Regular news coverage was introduced in New York on stations WNYC and WEAF. Large city newspapers invested in the new medium and acquired stations to broadcast coverage derived from their print reports. Despite initial protest, the Associated Press and the United Press formalized the use of news services on radio by creating two daily broadcast reports in 1928. This development

coincided with the creation of national radio networks to distribute news and sports coverage. NBC emerged in 1926, and CBS in 1928. Throughout the period, there was at least the urge to distinguish radio news, which presumed equal access and neutrality, from the partisanship of newspaper reporting. The Radio Act of 1927, however, brought little regulation to news programs, and news stories continued to focus on political reporting that narrowly covered the two major political parties at their party conventions and national political addresses.

Despite the growth of radio news, mass-circulation newspapers reached new heights in 1930. The Hearst newspaper chain, which had begun modestly with two major city dailies, now included 26 dailies and 17 Sunday newspapers in 28 cities. The advent of radio broadcast news, however, suggested that there was a qualitatively different future ahead. Broadcast journalism on the radio and, within a few

decades, on television began to supplement and then dominate how average citizens learned the news of their community, country, and world. The medium of broadcasting altered fundamentally the subject and approach of journalism and the definition of what was newsworthy.

See also LITERATURE; RADICAL AND LABOR PRESS; RHINELANDER CASE.

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# K



## **Keating-Owen Act** (1916)

A federal statute that outlawed the transportation of goods produced by CHILD LABOR, the Keating-Owen Act was the culmination of a Progressive Era movement to outlaw child labor. The act passed Congress on September 1, 1916, and went into effect on September 1, 1917. Before it could have much of an effect, however, it was challenged in federal court and ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in June 1918.

Progressive reformers believed that child labor was the greatest evil threatening America's children and thus the future of America. In 1900, 18 percent of children aged 10 to 15 worked, many of them in factories, mines, and mills. The millions of children working in dangerous conditions attracted the efforts of numerous reformers. Opponents of child labor initially sought to legislate against it in the states, but they realized that many states were unwilling to pass laws because their industries were dependent on the labor of children. Child labor law advocates therefore decided that federal legislation was necessary. The federal government did not, however, have the explicit constitutional power to prohibit child labor. Still, proponents of child labor laws believed that the federal government had the right to restrict interstate transport of goods produced by child laborers. By restricting the transport of these goods, the Keating-Owen Act effectively set national guidelines for child labor. It outlawed the labor of children under 14 years of age in factories, mills, and canneries, and under 16 years in mines and quarries. It also prohibited workers under 16 from working more than eight hours a day.

Opposition to the bill in Congress came from the states that employed more children than all others combined, the southern textile-producing states and Pennsylvania. Congressmen from these states argued that child labor was good for all involved. There were not enough schools, employers claimed, to handle all the children who would be thrown out of work by child labor laws. Work was therefore important in preventing delinquency by keeping children

off the streets. It was also important for children to learn work skills early in life that would prepare them for careers as factory operatives. Opponents also claimed that workers over the age of 16 were too slow and clumsy and that only the nimble fingers of a child could handle some jobs. Prohibiting child labor would rob widow mothers of their sole means of support and restrict the children's inherent right to work. These arguments were ineffective, and the Keating-Owen Act passed by a vote of 343 to 46 in the House of Representatives and in the Senate by 52 to 12, with 32 abstentions.

Almost immediately upon passage, the Keating-Owen Act was challenged in the federal courts. In a case brought by the executive committee of the Southern Cotton Manufacturers, a federal judge ruled the act unconstitutional. The case was then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. In *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, the Supreme Court judges ruled five to four that the law was unconstitutional. They argued that it was an unwarranted exercise of the federal government power to regulate commerce and an invasion of state's rights. In the nine months in which it was in effect, the Keating-Owen Act freed 150,000 children from work in mines, factories, and mills. More importantly, it acted as a model for state legislation against child labor and helped spur efforts in many states to limit the labor of children under the age of 16.

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—Michael Hartman

**Kelley, Florence** (1859–1932) *social reformer, labor activist*

One of the leading figures in Progressive Era reform, Florence Kelley dedicated her life to improving the lives of



working men, women, and children. Born near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Kelley graduated from Cornell University in 1882. After the University of Pennsylvania refused to admit her to graduate study because she was a woman, Kelley began her career in reform. She joined the Philadelphia Woman's Club and established and taught at an evening school for working women and children. On an 1883 European trip, Kelley discovered that the University of Zurich allowed women to earn graduate degrees, and she enrolled. While in Zurich, she became a socialist and translated several works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels into English. She also met her future husband, a Russian medical student, Lazare Wischnewtzky. The two married in 1884 and in 1886 moved to New York City. In 1891, in response to her husband's physical abuse, Kelley took their three children and moved to Illinois. She moved there both because of Illinois' lenient divorce laws and Chicago's reputation for social reform.

Upon coming to Chicago, Kelley joined JANE ADDAMS at Hull-House and took up residence in 1891. She took charge of the Hull-House Women's Labor Bureau and convinced the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics to hire her to investigate the conditions in Chicago's sweatshops. Her work led to further appointments as an investigator for the federal commissioner of labor to study Chicago's slums. Kelley uncovered the appalling conditions under which workers lived, and her findings spurred a movement to pass labor laws in Illinois. As a result of her investigation, the state of Illinois passed laws restricting CHILD LABOR, limiting the working hours of women, and regulating the conditions in sweatshops. In 1893, Kelley became Illinois' first chief factory inspector. In 1897 the governor of Illinois replaced her with a patronage appointment, putting her out of work.

Kelley became the executive secretary of the National Consumers League, a position she held until her death. As league secretary, she lobbied on behalf of protective labor legislation for women and children. She helped establish 64 consumers' leagues throughout the United States and traveled promoting policies agreed upon by the national board. Working with the Oregon consumers' league, Kelley helped successfully defend the state's 10-hour working-day legislation for women in the 1908 *MULLER V. OREGON* case. Under her leadership, the National Consumers League became the most effective lobbying group for protective labor legislation for women and children. She also continued to campaign against child labor in a number of ways. A founder of the National Child Labor Committee in 1904, Kelley made the creation of the CHILDREN'S BUREAU one of her top priorities. The effort was successful in 1912. Kelley was also instrumental in 1921 in the passage of the SHEPPARD-TOWNER ACT. She died in 1932.

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—Michael Hartman

### **Kellogg-Briand Treaty (Kellogg-Briand Pact; Pact of Paris) (1928)**

A product of the interwar peace movement, the Kellogg-Briand Pact was a 1928 agreement among several nations to seek to stop war. In 1927 James T. Shotwell, a Columbia University professor and trustee of the CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE, visited French foreign minister Aristide Briand to lobby for a formal repudiation of war by the United States and France. When the French refused to attend the Geneva Naval Conference, Briand attempted to mollify American concerns that the French might be engaging in an arms race by sending a draft of a treaty to Washington on June 20, 1927, along the lines that Shotwell had suggested. Worried about the revival of German militarism, the French hoped to forge an alliance with the United States as a security measure against their historic enemy.

America's secretary of state Frank Kellogg proposed an alternative to Briand's alliance, a multilateral treaty that outlawed war. Eventually 62 nations signed the treaty in Paris in 1928. The nations agreed to "condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy." The signatories, however, watered down the treaty by attaching amendments refusing to outlaw, for example, wars of self-defense. The U.S. Senate attached an amendment to the pact that allowed for the use of force to uphold the Monroe Doctrine as well as to protect national interest or honor. Perhaps more troubling was the fact that the U.S. Congress passed legislation to increase its navy at the same time that it formally renounced war in the Kellogg-Briand Treaty. On the same day that the Senate approved the treaty 85-1, it appropriated funds for 15 new cruisers.

Furthermore, the Kellogg-Briand Treaty had no mechanism for enforcement. Instead, according to Kellogg, it relied on "moral force." The treaty was in fact only a statement of principle that required no sacrifices or responsibilities. It did not provide a sense of security to its signatories, nor did many peace advocates believe that the treaty guaranteed a peaceful world. American statesmen and peace advocates who supported the pact saw it as only a first step in a longer process toward a peaceful world. It was viewed more or less as a tool to educate the public about the costs

of war. However, it proved useful after World War II, when the treaty was revived by the Allies to punish German leaders for war crimes at the Nuremberg Trials.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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—Glen Bessemer

### Kelly Air Mail Act (1925)

Also known as the Contract Air Mail Act, the Kelly Air Mail Act established a competitive bidding system for private airlines to provide mail transport for the U.S. Post Office in 1925. It was the first major step toward the creation of a private U.S. airline industry, and was named after its chief sponsor, Representative Clyde Kelly of Pennsylvania. Winners of the five initial contracts were National Air Transport (Curtiss Aeroplane Company), Varney Airlines, Western Air Express, Colonial Air Transport, and Robertson Aircraft Corporation. Various air transport holding companies soon appeared, including American Airways, which later transformed into American Airlines, and United Aircraft, which later became United Airlines. By the mid-1920s, the Post Office mail fleet was flying 2.5 million miles and delivering 14 million letters annually. The formation of a mail transport system by the Post Office Department further spurred the development of the air transportation industry. Once the Kelly Air Mail Act was passed, the private carriers who provided air transport for the Post Office expanded into carrying other forms of cargo, and eventually passengers.

The same year Congress passed the Kelly Air Mail Act, President CALVIN COOLIDGE formed a board to recommend a national aviation policy. Dwight Morrow, the future father-in-law of CHARLES LINDBERGH, was named chairman. The report advised that the government set standards for the air transport industry. It argued that the military should not be involved. The Air Commerce Act of 1926 provided for federal regulation of air traffic rules. The legislation authorized the secretary of commerce to designate air routes, develop air navigation systems, license pilots and aircraft, and investigate accidents. Congress amended the Kelly Act by simplifying the payment system. Pilots would get paid by the weight of the mail, not as a percentage of postage paid.

As the industry grew, the Post Office increasingly had influence over the airline industry and limited the number of carriers that were granted the coveted mail transport

contracts. These practices were ruled anticompetitive, and the industry once again opened up to a competitive bidding system, until 1938, when the Civil Aeronautics Authority was developed.

See also AVIATION.

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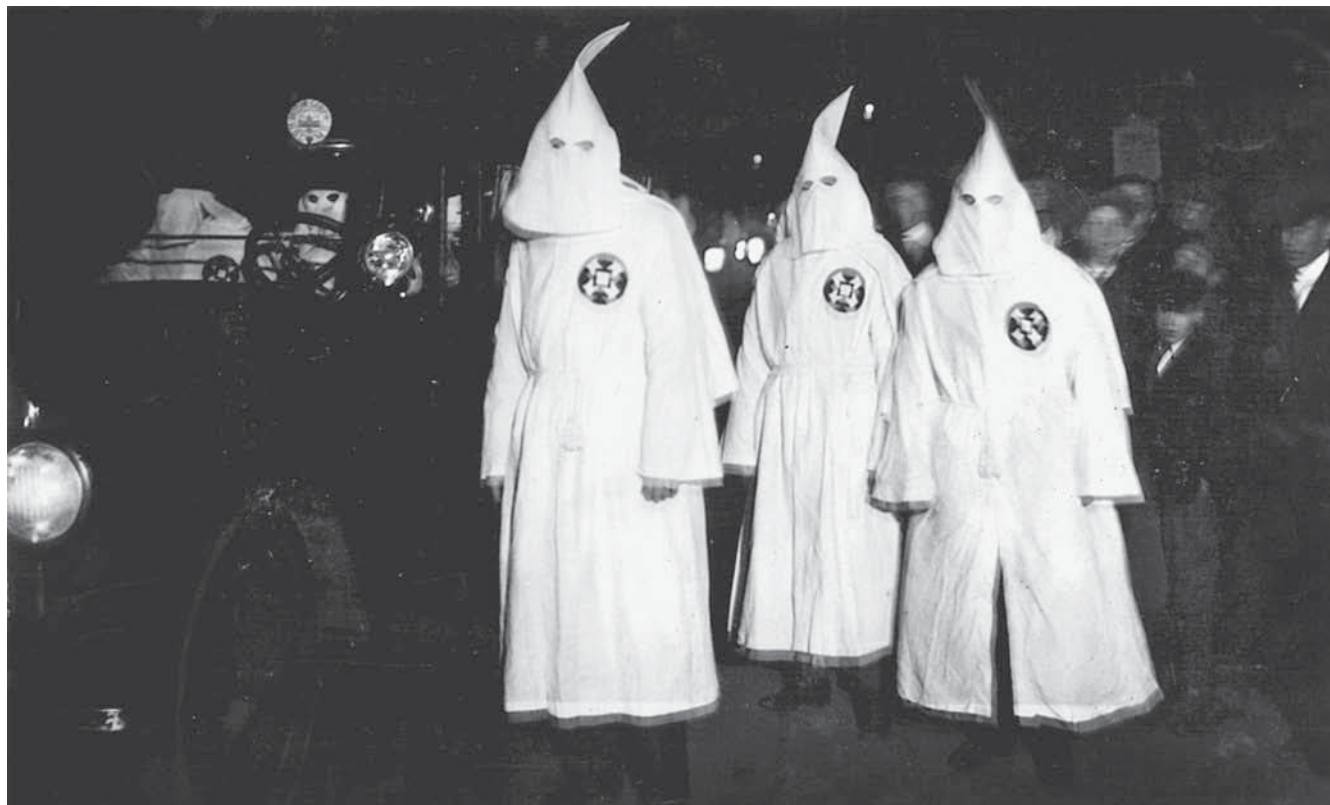
—Annamarie Edelen

### Ku Klux Klan

The original Ku Klux Klan emerged in the wake of the Civil War. The primary emphasis of the organization was to reassert the racial caste system that its followers believed was in jeopardy with the end of slavery. Attempting to “redeem” the South, southerners formed paramilitary groups dedicated to suppressing southern African Americans. Organized in 1866, the original incarnation of the Klan was led by former Confederate general Nathan Bedford Forrest. Forrest and other leaders of this quasi-secret organization devised elaborate rituals in order to unify its members and create an aura of mystique and passion. The hoods and robes were central to the organization’s identity, but even more important were the midnight rides. These rides became the defining element of the organization. They not only spread fear and terror throughout the South, but also helped to unite the Klansmen. When Reconstruction ended, however, the midnight rides lost their functionality. Soon after, the perceived need for the Klan declined. Within five years, the Klan ceased to exist as a coherent organization.

The Klan lay dormant for nearly a half-century before it reemerged in a position of even greater influence than before. What began as a small meeting of white supremacists on Stone Mountain in Georgia in 1915 provided the nucleus for the resurgence of the organization. The new Klan grew slowly at first, but soon it became the most influential organization in the South. The premiere of D. W. GRIFFITH’s film, *BIRTH OF A NATION*, was a seminal event in the Klan’s reemergence. Adapted from Thomas Dixon’s racist novel, *The Clansman*, the film portrayed the Klan as a chivalrous organization of the post–Civil War era that was both necessary and just. Its purpose was supposedly to save southern society and southern institutions from the ignorance and greed of blacks and northerners. *Birth of a Nation*, which opened in Atlanta not far from Stone Mountain, provided a base for the revived Klan. The movie’s immense popularity helped to give legitimacy to the organization’s past.

The new Klan attained a level of acceptance that the previous Klan had coveted. With acceptance came



Parade of the Ku Klux Klan through counties in Virginia (*Library of Congress*)

numbers. By the middle of the 1920s, nearly 4 million men and women were members of the revitalized organization. In the beginning, the new Klan was merely a new version of the old organization. Its primary goal was to subordinate southern blacks. But due to social changes brought by new immigration and technology, the Klan adopted a broader vision. Klan members claimed to be against anything and everything that was contrary to “America” and directed their venom toward Catholics, Jews, and recent immigrants. Klansmen viewed these minority groups as serious threats to the health and sanctity of the nation. While the promotion of racial hegemony remained central to the Klan’s image and philosophy throughout its second incarnation, race was soon subordinated to culture. Members of the Klan championed themselves as defenders not of a racial or caste system but of traditional values. This vision allowed the Klan to win the support of people who would not normally have supported it. New recruits saw modernization, not necessarily racial minorities, as a threat to their traditional ways of life. They flocked to the organization that they believed would defend their value system.

The new Klan expanded not only in membership and ideology but also geographically. For the first time since its

inception, it was no longer a predominantly southern organization. By the early 1920s, local Klan chapters were popping up throughout the United States. In Chicago alone, the Klan had several thousand members. Men and women from all parts of the country, from New York to California, flocked to the organization. A chapter was even established at Harvard University. The more cosmopolitan nature of the organization can be seen by its membership. During this era, the Klan attracted more members in Indianapolis than it did in Mississippi. Like its southern predecessor, moreover, the new Klan was a powerful political force. It controlled key branches of local government throughout the country. In Anaheim, California, for example, the Klan controlled the police, the city council, and other public offices.

The Klan reached its peak in the middle of the 1920s. It then declined as fast as it had emerged. After 1925, due to a series of power struggles and scandals, the Klan began to lose its following. Many of its members left the organization because they believed it was more concerned with making profits than defending their way of life. Still others believed that inefficient leadership was corrupting the Klan. The biggest blow to the organization, however, came from David Stephenson, head of the Indiana Klan. He

kidnapped his secretary and raped her. When she poisoned herself, he left her to die. This act challenged much of what the new Klan was claiming to be. It was difficult to tout the organization's position as a defender of traditional Christian morality when its leaders had such an appalling disrespect for these ideals. The organization faded into obscurity where it remained until its next incarnation.

See also ANTI-SEMITISM; IMMIGRATION; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—Steve Freund







### **labor and labor movement**

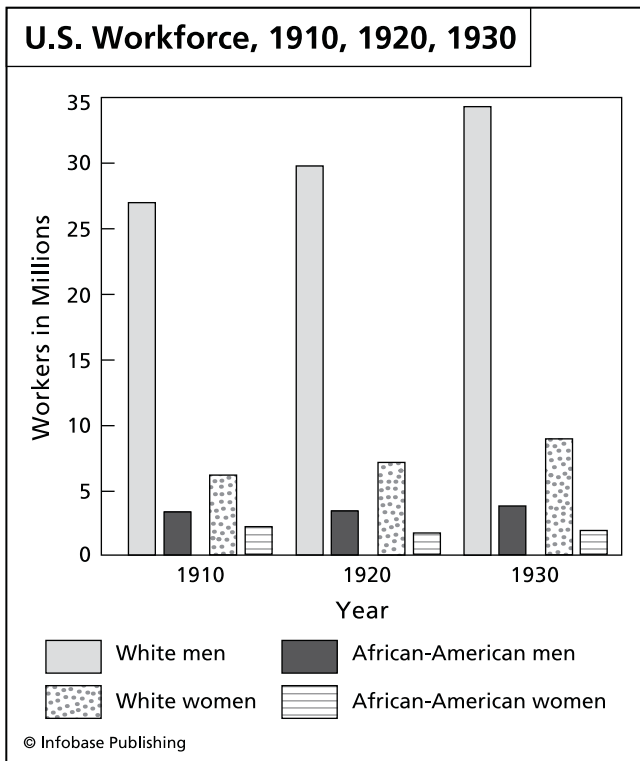
The nature of work, and the way in which workers responded to the challenges work presented, changed dramatically between 1900 and 1930. Prior to 1900, most American workers spent their days engaged in work that varied little from the time when the country had been founded. Farming, skilled craft work, domestic service, mining, and fishing typified the way in which most wage earners secured their livelihood. To be sure, some important changes had begun to change the nature of work. The post-Civil War industrial revolution and the influx of millions of immigrants increased the number and ethnic diversity of laborers and wage earners. Small- and large-scale factory production altered entire industries, such as tailoring. Where skilled craft workers had once produced hand-sewn, high-quality goods, by the 1880s skilled tailors had been replaced by semiskilled factory workers who were mass-producing inexpensive garments.

While few industries had been as thoroughly transformed as the tailoring industry, these changes had spread throughout much of the economy by 1900. Business innovators, such as JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER in oil, J. P. Morgan in banking, and Andrew Carnegie in steel, were determined to rationalize and control every aspect of their industries. Key features of this attempt to rationalize and modernize American industry included mass-producing goods, vertical and horizontal integration of production, scientific management, hiring an ethnically and racially diverse workforce, and efforts to replace skilled craft workers with unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Employer motivation was to monopolize control over an entire industry and maximize profits by mass-producing inexpensive goods and keeping labor costs as low as possible. Industrial corporations were joined in their efforts by small business owners. Together, employers large and small formed organizations such as the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, the American Anti-Boycott Association, and local chambers of commerce. Their ultimate goal was to structure their busi-

nesses and American industry to be more efficient, scientific, productive, and profitable.

Attempts to modernize American industry resulted in significant changes in the nature of work. Employers routinized the production process by mass-producing goods and introducing SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT to ensure greater productivity and control over the workforce. New management techniques included a specialized division of labor, employee training, creating sales and distribution departments, and more sophisticated methods of accounting and record keeping. One important consequence was the proliferation of middle managers, secretaries, college-educated professionals, and other white-collar occupations. Gradually, white-collar occupations became specialized and divided along gender lines. Middle-level managers, accountants, sales representatives, and technical experts were predominately male employees, while clerks, receptionists, secretaries, typists, and company nurses were typically female.

Working-class Americans responded to these changes in a number of ways. First, there was significant growth in the number of labor unions. Workers sought to gain greater control over their working conditions and improve their lives by forming unions for most of the 19th century. Their efforts met with mixed results; but by the end of the century, few American workers belonged to labor unions. In 1897, union membership in the United States stood at a paltry 447,000. Union membership remained low for a variety of reasons. Many employers, citing moral, philosophical, and financial objections, vigorously resisted labor unions. Employers opposed to unions hired ethnically and racially diverse workforces and then exploited divisions among workers to prevent them from forming unions. When strikes did occur, some employers hired replacement workers from other ethnic and racial communities. Employers also embarked on a prolonged attempt to replace relatively well-paid skilled workers with poorly paid unskilled or semiskilled workers. In other industries,



such as textiles and tailoring, women and children were hired to replace more highly paid male workers. Employers relied upon the nation's conservative legal and political environment to prevent workers from forming unions. Strikes, boycotts, and other forms of labor pressure were frequently undermined by court injunctions and decisions. For example, in 1908, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the *DANBURY HATTERS* case that the union's consumer boycott violated the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890.

Prior to 1900, some union efforts had been successful. Although the 1890s witnessed several stunning defeats, such as the 1892 Homestead Strike and 1894 Pullman Strike, there was also substantial growth in union membership. Led by JOHN MITCHELL, the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMWA) formed in 1890 and grew steadily throughout the decade. Similarly, the much larger AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL), led by Samuel Gompers, experienced steady gains in membership. As the largest labor union in the country, the conservative AFL built a solid foundation by focusing its efforts on recruiting skilled white craft workers. While the efforts of the AFL helped these skilled workers fend off attempts to lower their wages, it left the vast majority of American workers poorly paid and unorganized.

By 1900, proponents of NEW UNIONISM attempted to fill the void left by the AFL. Where the AFL had restricted its efforts to organizing only highly skilled workers, many

of the new unions attempted to organize workers throughout entire industries. One of the early examples was the UMWA. The UMWA attempted to organize mine workers regardless of their job classification within the industry. Other unions, such as the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) and the WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS, went even further and attempted to organize workers throughout the entire country, regardless of their gender, race, ethnicity, or occupation.

These new semi-industrial unions, such as the UMWA, the INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers differed from the AFL in that they attempted to organize workers both along craft lines and throughout entire industries. They were progressive and even radical in their politics and more willing to confront employers with direct action to gain recognition or secure their demands. In 1902, when the UMWA encountered resistance to its attempts to organize the nation's anthracite miners, 140,000 miners walked off the job in one of the nation's largest strikes. Led by WILLIAM "Big Bill" HAYWOOD and others, the IWW pursued its goals through work stoppages, general strikes, boycotts, strikes, and other forms of direct action.

One result of the rise of new unionism was that the labor movement grew in size and strength between 1900 and 1920. Union membership increased from 2 million in 1904 to 5 million in 1920. Throughout the country, workers were organizing unions and demanding pay increases, shorter workdays, and improved working conditions. The growth in union membership was sharpest among skilled white male workers, but it also included a rise in the number of women, immigrants, and workers of color who belonged to unions.

The burgeoning labor movement began flexing its political muscle at both the state and federal level. In several states, labor-friendly Democratic or Socialist candidates were able to gain control of important political offices and helped secure the passage of pro-labor legislation, including child labor laws, workmen's compensation legislation, and maximum hour laws. At the national level, the labor movement was able to secure the passage of the CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT (1914). Through the INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION, it played an active role in shaping federal policy on labor relations. The AFL was the chief beneficiary of the increased power of the labor movement. It supported with some success Democratic Party candidates in 1906, 1908, and 1912; and Gompers and other AFL leaders worked closely with the administration of Woodrow Wilson and supported the war effort.

Cooperation between the AFL and the Democratic Party reached its zenith in 1918 with the formation of the NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD. The AFL agreed to a no-strike pledge and the maintenance of open shop work-

places (see OPEN SHOP MOVEMENT), where employers had the ability to pressure employees not to join the union. In exchange, business leaders agreed to pay union wages and refrain from the most egregious forms of anti-labor behavior that had been typical in the years before WORLD WAR I.

The end of the war, however, brought an end to the National War Labor Board and cooperation between the labor movement, employers, and the federal government. Across the country, workers frustrated by no-strike pledges, low wage increases during the war, and rampant postwar inflation, walked off the job in one of the largest waves of strikes in the country's history. The STEEL STRIKE OF 1919, which began on September 22, 1919, and lasted until January 8, 1920, involved 365,000 steelworkers and marked the end of the uneasy labor accord reached during the war. The backlash against the labor movement was swift and widespread. Many employers had only reluctantly tolerated the AFL's presence on the National War Labor Board. With the war's end, conservative employers and antiunion business organizations launched a movement for the Open Shop.

U.S. Attorney General A. MITCHELL PALMER was convinced that many of the new unionists were supporters of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and were plotting to overthrow their own federal government. With the backing of the AFL and many employers, Palmer launched a series of raids against suspected radicals, the chief target of which was the IWW. During the war, many IWW leaders were arrested and convicted under the ESPIONAGE ACT (1917) for opposing the war. Now, widespread repression took place throughout the Northwest where the IWW had been strongest. In states where the IWW and socialists had become influential, local laws were passed making socialism and syndicalism illegal. By the end of 1920, the organization was in total disarray and ceased to be an effective force in the American labor movement. The RAILROAD SHOPMEN'S STRIKE of 1922 further confirmed that even well-organized and supported union workers had little traction in an antilabor environment. President WARREN G. HARDING enforced a broad national injunction against workers picketing or even assembling near rail lines. The effect was immediate and chilling for labor nationally.



Young women protesting unfair labor conditions (Library of Congress)



The demise of new unionism undermined the strength of the labor movement and ensured that it remained in a weakened state throughout the 1920s. The new unions had brought thousands of previously unorganized workers into the labor movement, and challenged the supremacy of employers and conservative state and federal policies toward organized labor. The massive post-World War I strike wave indicated the extent to which new ideas and a willingness to take direct action had taken root among American workers, but the divisions between the new and more radical unions, such as the IWW and the older, more conservative AFL, undermined the effect of the strike wave and helped ensure the demise of the new unionism. Additional setbacks occurred in 1921 when the Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, undermined the effectiveness of the Clayton Antitrust Act, and in 1922, when national coal and railway strikes were defeated.

Despite the gains made between 1900 and 1920, the labor movement proved unable to resist the postwar reaction. The gains made under the Wilson administration and during the war were the product of an administration that needed the support of the labor movement to pass legislation and ensure reelection. Employers tolerated the formation of the Industrial Relations Commission and the National War Labor Board to ensure labor peace during the war, but only after the AFL and other unions agreed not to strike during the war.

When the war came to an end, Gompers and the AFL mistakenly hoped that cooperative relations would continue. Most employers, however, were determined to preserve the open shop and hold the line against postwar wage increases. The strike wave of 1919 convinced them of the need to respond aggressively. The labor movement was unable to respond to this challenge effectively largely because the vast majority of workers remained unorganized. Despite attempts to organize recent immigrants, African Americans, and women into unions, most workers continued to toil in difficult, poor-paying, nonunion jobs. The nation's largest and most influential union, the AFL, did little to address the plight of these workers.

Although the 1920s has typically been characterized as a decade of economic growth, few American workers shared in this general prosperity. Part of this economic malaise can be attributed to an overall weakness in heavily unionized industries such as textiles and coal. The weakness of the labor movement and the increasing conservatism of the AFL played an important role in the inability of many working-class Americans to enjoy the prosperity of the decade. From the early 1920s to the Great Depression, wages and overall standards of living declined steadily for many workers. Unable to fend off the antiunion backlash of the postwar period, the AFL and the labor movement

in general failed to deliver on such bread-and-butter issues as wage increases, job security, and an improved standard of living.

Frustrated by stagnant real wages and by the ineffectiveness of the AFL, some workers began considering more radical alternatives. These included the Socialist Party and the small, but well-organized Communist Party with its labor organization, the Trade Union Education League. When the economy collapsed in 1929, American workers turned to more radical alternatives. Millions of workers, particularly those who found themselves unemployed or underemployed, became radicalized, pressured the AFL to become more active and progressive, and—when that failed—formed the Congress of Industrial Unions (CIO).

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—Robert Gordon

### **La Follette, Robert** (1855–1925) *Progressive Party leader*

Born in Primrose, Wisconsin, on June 14, 1855, Robert La Follette was one of the key figures in the formation of the Progressive Party. The son of a farmer, La Follette attended the University of Wisconsin, where he graduated in 1879. After graduation, La Follette began a successful legal practice in Madison at a time when midwestern farmers were finding it almost impossible to remain in business. Falling food prices due to mechanization and competition from large-scale farms meant that many independent farmers were caught in a vicious cycle of planting ever more crops, taking out ever larger loans, getting ever lower prices at harvest time, and falling ever deeper into debt. Resentment toward large-scale, urban food manufacturers and eastern banking elites led many small farmers to call for progressive reforms.

La Follette tapped this progressive sentiment for reform in his bid for the governorship of Wisconsin in 1900, promising to tax wealthy corporations, regulate the state's railroads, create a merit-based civil service, and increase state spending on public education. La Follette won the contest, and he was reelected in 1902 and 1904. Over the

course of his political career, he consistently supported progressive reforms in an attempt to limit or prevent corporate exploitation of the state's farmers and workers. Prior to assuming the governorship, La Follette had been a mainstream Republican who briefly held a seat in the House of Representatives. In his legal practice, he had represented the state's railroads and other wealthy clients on numerous occasions. However, in 1891, shortly after La Follette lost his House seat, Senator Philetus Sawyer (R-Wisc.) attempted to bribe him to influence a pending case. When the story became public, La Follette became an outcast among the state's Republicans and business elite, forcing him to build a popular base of support. Drawing on his base, La Follette championed the "Wisconsin Idea" and enacted many of the progressive reforms he had championed in 1900.

In 1906 La Follette was elected to the U.S. Senate, where he continued to push for progressive reforms, including legislation for greater federal oversight of the railroads and regulation of industries. He also pushed successfully for a constitutional amendment establishing the DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS and eventually developed presidential aspirations. In order to further his political ambitions, La Follette founded *La Follette's Weekly Magazine* in 1909 and created the National Progressive Republican League in 1911. In 1912, La Follette hoped to prevent the conservative wing of the Republican Party from nominating President WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT for a second term; but when former president THEODORE ROOSEVELT announced his candidacy, most of La Follette's progressive supporters decided to back Roosevelt in his unsuccessful bid.

La Follette was a leading isolationist and one of the few senators to vote against American entry into WORLD WAR I. His presidential aspirations surfaced again in 1924 when he received the nomination to head the Progressive Party ticket. Supported by progressives and organized labor, La Follette garnered a respectable 17 percent of the vote. The campaign, however, proved exhausting. By the summer of 1925, La Follette was dead. One of the leading progressive politicians of his day, he fought for tax reform, corporate responsibility, the rights of organized labor, farmers, civil service reform, and for a greater federal and state role in regulating the railroads and industry.

See also PROGRESSIVISM.

**Further reading:** David P. Thelen, *Robert M. La Follette and the Insurgent Spirit* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986); Nancy C. Unger, *Fighting Bob La Follette: Righteous Reformer* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

—Robert Gordon

### Lawrence Strike (1912)

One of the first major, successful strikes of immigrant workers in a mass production industry, the Lawrence Strike led many labor leaders to believe that a new age of labor was on the rise. From January 11 to March 14, 1912, textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, struck against the American Woolen Company and other smaller mills to protest a pay cut. The strike became national news. At the time, observers believed the strike had important implications for the future of labor in America. The strikers' use of mass picketing, their ethnic diversity and working-class unity, and the ability of workers to strike together across skill lines made the Lawrence Strike a model of the NEW UNIONISM. By March, the workers had won their demands for an increase in the piece rate they were paid, and the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) had emerged as a new force in the American Labor movement.

The Lawrence Strike began when a Massachusetts law went into effect that lowered weekly working hours for women and children to 54. The mill owners announced that all workers would work the 54-hour week. Workers were paid according to the number of pieces they produced or finished. They knew that, if their hours were cut, their weekly pay would also decline unless they received an increase in the piece rate. The mill owners gave no indication they would increase piece rates, so as the date for the first pay day of 1912 drew near, Lawrence was filled with tension.

After receiving their first paychecks, workers moved through the mills. Based on old piece rates, the checks reflected deep cuts in their total pay. They broke windows and equipment before moving into the streets to join workers from other mills. The city and state officials quickly reacted by calling out the town's police force to prevent further destruction of property.

The IWW sent organizers Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti to Lawrence to support the strike. By the second day of the strike, they had organized the strikers to demand a 15 percent wage increase and double pay for overtime. The organizers also set up a central strike committee, which had three representatives from each ethnic group in the city, to run the strike.

Throughout the strike, unions battled over the future direction of the American labor movement. The conflict arose between the IWW, which advocated industrial unionism, and the United Textile Workers (UTW), a craft union affiliated with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. The UTW had earlier failed to organize the textile workers in Lawrence. Its native-born leaders did not reach out to the largely immigrant unskilled workforce. During the strike, the union set up relief stations, and its leaders spoke frequently of the dangers posed by the IWW. They tried to convince workers that their interests would best be served



The children of Lawrence strikers in New York City, 1912 (*Library of Congress*)

through craft unionism. Despite these efforts, the UTW failed to attract Lawrence textile workers.

The strike became a national cause among unions and attracted the attention of the major newspaper, media, and senators and representatives. Two specific events gained public support. First, the local police arrested the IWW organizers, Ettor and Giovannitti, on false murder charges. In response to the arrests, the IWW sent its best-known leaders, WILLIAM ("Big Bill") HAYWOOD and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, to take the place of the arrested organizers. Second, the police arrested a group of women and children, the wives and children of strikers, who were boarding a train in the organized effort to escape the deprivation they faced as a result of the strike. The IWW hoped to use the evacuation to evoke sympathy for their cause.

The arrest of the women and children led to a nationwide outcry over police brutality and to government investigations. The threat that bad strike publicity might threaten the wool tariff pushed the American Woolen Company to settle with the strikers. The company granted a 5 percent increase in the piece rate, an increase in the wage scale that raised the wages of the lowest paid workers 20 percent, and overtime pay. It further promised that the company would not retaliate against strike leaders.

The strike thrust the IWW onto the national scene and appeared to vindicate its strategy of organizing American labor on an industrial basis. The IWW's National Industrial Union of Textile Workers membership increased to 18,000 in the aftermath of the strike, leading people to talk of the New Unionism as a force for social change.



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—Michael Hartman

## League of Nations

Envisioned as an assembly with seats for all nations and a council to be controlled by the “Great Powers,” the League of Nations was established in 1919 by the TREATY OF VERSAILLES. It was the brainchild of President WOODROW WILSON, who sought to safeguard the self-determination of nations with the league and use it as a means of preventing another world conflict. Presented to Congress in 1918 as one of Wilson’s Fourteen Points, the league was envisioned as a general association of nations. Wilson’s plan formed the basis of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which centered on 26 articles and served as operating rules for the organization. The covenant was then formulated as part of the Treaty of Versailles, which ended WORLD WAR I.

The League of Nations was the predecessor of the United Nations. The purpose for its establishment was to maintain peace. Members agreed not to go to war and to submit disputes to World Court arbitration. The league existed from 1920 to 1946. The first meeting was held in Geneva on November 15, 1920, with 42 nations represented. The last meeting was held April 8, 1946.

Prior to the First World War, there were movements that pointed toward the establishment of a world association for peace. From the close of the Napoleonic Wars and the Congress of Vienna in 1815, popular support for peace societies and a concern for international law enabled national leaders to solve differences through arbitration. In 1899, and again in 1907, Russia’s Czar Nicholas called a conference at The Hague to discuss the limitation of arms and peaceful settlement of international issues. A Permanent Court of Arbitration was set up to resolve issues. Three conflicts between the Great Powers of Europe were settled this way before war broke out in 1914.

In the spring of 1914, President Wilson sent his friend and adviser, Colonel Edward House, to Europe as an unofficial ambassador for peace. House met with German officials and outlined concerns of Britain that Germany’s navy was growing. Then he met with officials from France and Britain. House’s mediation did not prevent the escalation of tensions that led to war.

In England, a League of Nations Society was founded in May 1915. In the United States, several branches sprang up. Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE early emerged as a great opponent of the idea, and he warned America not to get “entangled” with Europe. Wilson answered that “the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that right prevails as against selfish

aggression.” He promoted three principles to govern such a league: one, sovereignty over self; two, right to territorial integrity; and three, that the world and its people should be protected against aggression. Wilson proposed that the United States start a movement for a universal association of nations. While speaking at West Point, he contrasted the “spirit of militarism” to the “citizen spirit.” He contended that the civilian spirit was meant to dominate the military, which was why he was commander in chief of the armed forces.

The United States entered World War I in April 1917, but it was a year before many soldiers were fighting in France. That summer Wilson appointed a committee to study Europe and its laws, peoples, and economies. Utilizing this research, Wilson formulated a list of war aims and peace suggestions, and he presented them to Congress as the “Fourteen Points.” The Fourteen Points argued specifically for a safer world run by self-governing nations. Wilson declared that the United States would be willing to fight for principles of international justice, which it adopted as the basis for peace. On October 6, 1918, the German government requested peace negotiations. The Germans agreed to disarm and relinquish their monarchical military leadership. They wanted a peace according to the points made in President Wilson’s speeches. After the Armistice, the Paris Peace Conference was held, out of which came the Treaty of Versailles.

The idealist Wilson faced a serious challenge from European diplomats, who were determined to gain all they could for their national interests. Lloyd George of England had just been reelected with the slogan, “be tough on Germany.” Clemenceau of France also wanted a weak Germany. The Italians and Japanese wanted specific territories. President Wilson introduced the League of Nations draft to the Peace Conference with an address on February 14, 1919. The day after the draft was accepted by the plenary session, the president departed for the United States, where he set to work on gaining public support for the league treaty and the League of Nations.

Political conflict kept the United States out of the league. The United States, Germany, and, initially, the new Soviet Union did not join the League of Nations. United States isolationists were against involvement. The United States, consequently, never ratified the Treaty of Versailles. As a consequence of the war, supervision of territories that had been colonies and possessions of Germany and Turkey before the war was awarded to league members in the form of mandates. These territories were issued varying degrees of independence depending on their stage of development. The Soviet Union and Germany both joined the league years after its inception.

As established, the league gave each nation one vote. Either party to a dispute could submit an issue to the



league's executive committee. The debate could then be drawn out of the executive committee to the larger body of delegates, which ensured the moral force of international public opinion. If moral force failed, physical force remained in reserve. The helpless people of the world, it was thought, could expect a new light and a new hope.

The League of Nations achieved some of its goals in stemming the tide of international traffic in narcotics and prostitution, aiding war refugees, and surveying and improving on health and labor conditions in the world. During the 1920s, the league assisted in settling some minor disputes, but it was hampered by the nonmembership of the United States. Ultimately, the failure of the league to prevent Japanese military ambitions in Manchuria and China, Italy's takeover of Ethiopia, and, finally, Hitler's renunciation of the Treaty of Versailles, discredited it as an international authority. Although it was not effective as a peacekeeping body, the League of Nations did lay the groundwork for international cooperation in its successor, the United Nations, which was founded in 1946.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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—Annamarie Edelen

### Leo Frank case

The case of Leo Frank involved a 1913 murder and trial in Atlanta, Georgia, that became a national affair. On April 27, 1913, 14-year-old Mary Phagan was found murdered in the basement of a pencil factory in Atlanta, Georgia. The grisly murder shocked the community. Public dismay was heightened by the fact that the scene of the crime had been a factory, a symbol of the encroachments of capitalist industrial economy in the South. Outrage over Phagan's death quickly turned to a public demand that her killer be caught. Suspicions first settled on the factory's night watchman, an African American named Newt Lee. The evidence initially implicating Lee, however, turned out to be weak. Prosecutors' suspicions then turned to the superintendent of the factory, Leo Frank.

The prosecutors built a case against Frank based on circumstantial evidence and rumor. Many of the rumors were later proven false. The evidence against Frank centered on his being one of the few people in the factory on the day of the murder and his inability to provide a persuasive account of where he was when the murder occurred. Other accusations focused on Frank's alleged sexual perversity. Some women factory workers claimed that Frank had

made sexual advances to them. A madam of a local bordello charged that he frequented her establishment. Despite the lack of evidence, the Atlanta newspapers seized every new development as proof that Frank was the killer. His trial thus took place amid the public perception that he was guilty.

The Frank case also took on other implications because of what Frank represented in the South. To many, Mary Phagan's death was proof of the dangers that industrial capitalism would bring to the South. The small family farm was in decline while industry was spreading. Many southern farmers were forced to send their wives and daughters to work in the new factories. Southerners thus saw factories not only as a symbol of the power of industrial capitalism, but also as a threat to their wives and daughters. To add to public fears, Leo Frank was Jewish, which made him suspect in the eyes of many. Anti-Semitism was prevalent in American culture. Racial prejudice characterized Jewish American men as sexual predators who preyed on innocent women. Leo Frank thus became to many a symbol of market power and a danger to the southern way of life. Combined with the predatory character of capitalism in the eyes of southerners, anti-Semitic feelings created an explosive situation that ended in a lynching.

Frank was found guilty. After the trial, many people started to question the verdict. Some of the evidence against Frank was revealed as false. When it appeared that Frank might be granted a lenient sentence, or even worse a new trial, many southerners denounced the possibility as due to his position and wealth. Frank did not, however, live long enough to see another trial. First, another inmate assaulted Frank and slit his throat, a wound from which he was recovering when a lynch mob broke into the jail, removed Frank, and lynched him. The Leo Frank case was one of the last and most visible public lynchings of the Progressive Era. For some traditionalists in the South, his death at the hands of a lynch mob was seen as a kind of urban frontier justice. For advocates of a New South, however, the Frank lynching was a painful reminder of how far southern justice had to travel to become modern.

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—Michael Hartman

### Leopold and Loeb (1924)

In a 1924 murder trial that captured the nation's attention, Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb were convicted and sentenced to life in prison for the murder of 14-year-old Bobby Franks. The trial of Leopold and Loeb captured the

nation's attention for a number of reasons. First, they were both teenagers. To many observers, the fact that two teenagers would plan and carry out a murder as cold-blooded as the murder of Bobby Franks served as an indictment of modern youth. At a time when many Americans were seeking advice on rearing children in the new corporate-industrial age, the fact that Leopold and Loeb came from wealthy families demonstrated to many that overindulged youth posed a threat to society. The trial captured the nation's attention because CLARENCE DARROW, the country's best-known trial attorney, represented the defendants. The trial was also significant because Darrow used the testimony of psychologists in arguing that the two had lived abnormal upbringings that shaped them into murderers. By doing so he successfully avoided the death penalty.

Leopold and Loeb were highly intelligent teenagers who graduated from college before they were 18 years old. Together they committed a series of crimes ranging from petty thefts to auto thefts. They apparently planned to murder someone for the intellectual challenge of literally getting away with murder. Planning the killing without a specific victim in mind, they developed a plan and waited for a victim to show up on the scheduled day. On May 21, 1924, Bobby Franks simply ended up in the wrong place at the wrong time. He was a neighbor of both Leopold and Loeb. On his way home from a football game at school, Franks accepted a ride from them. Although it was never determined for certain which of the two killed Franks, one of them knocked him unconscious with ether and beat him to death with the handle of a chisel. The two killers then left his body in a drainpipe in a wilderness area south of Chicago.

Leopold and Loeb then attempted to make the killing look like a kidnapping by contacting Franks' family to demand a ransom. Before they could follow through on the kidnapping plot, however, Franks's body was discovered. During the manhunt for the killers, Leopold and Loeb even went so far as to help two friends who were journalists try to track down the killers. The case broke when a pair of eyeglasses was found at the scene that turned out to belong to Leopold. Faced with the overwhelming evidence against them, the pair pleaded guilty.

Clarence Darrow took the case partly because he opposed the death penalty and saw it as an opportunity for a public forum to argue against it. The defendants pleaded guilty in order to avoid a trial by jury, which Darrow believed would end in the death sentence. Before a judge in the sentencing hearing, he introduced lengthy testimony by psychologists. Their testimonies were the first time that many of the emerging psychological theories were introduced into a court of law. They testified that Leopold and Loeb suffered through abnormal childhoods that included excessive fantasizing, excessive reading of detective fiction,

drinking alcohol at an early age, associating with people much older than themselves, and, in the case of Leopold, sexual abuse by a governess and the death of his mother when he was 14. Darrow did not argue that Leopold and Loeb were insane due to their upbringing. He argued that, due to their childhoods, they developed abnormally and therefore should not be sentenced to death for their crime. The judge agreed that their upbringing mitigated the circumstances of their crime and sentenced them to life in prison. Richard Loeb was killed in prison in 1936. Nathan Leopold was paroled in 1957 and died of natural causes in 1971.

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—Michael Hartman

### **Lindbergh, Charles Augustus** (1902–1974) *aviator*

As the pilot who flew the first solo nonstop flight across the Atlantic Ocean on May 20–21, 1927, in his airplane *The Spirit of St. Louis*, Charles Lindbergh was heralded as the "Lone Eagle" and "Lucky Lindy." He gained international renown for his solo flight. Lindbergh was born February 4, 1902, in Detroit, Michigan, and grew up in Little Falls, Minnesota. His father was Charles Augustus Lindbergh, Sr., a lawyer and U.S. congressman from Minnesota from 1907 to 1917. His mother was Evangeline Land Lodge.

Interested in mechanics as a boy, Lindbergh attended the University of Wisconsin's engineering program for two years but left it to enroll in a flying school in Lincoln, Nebraska. He then became a barnstormer pilot, performing stunts for audiences at fairs, before he joined the U.S. Army as a pilot in the Army Air Service Reserve. After additional training, he graduated from flight school and transported mail between St. Louis and Chicago for the Robertson Aircraft Corporation.

Lindbergh's ambition was to make the solo transatlantic flight. Nine St. Louis businessmen whom he persuaded to support the effort financed his plane, the *Spirit of St. Louis*. He sought to win a prize of \$25,000 for one flight offered by New York City hotel owner, Raymond Orteig. The winner would be the first aviator to fly nonstop from New York to Paris. Lindbergh helped design the plane, which successfully made the record-setting trip in 20 hours and 21 minutes. "Lucky Lindbergh" landed at Le Bourget Field near Paris to be greeted by thousands of cheering fans. He became an instant hero. When he came home to America, he was aboard the USS *Memphis*, and President CALVIN COOLIDGE welcomed him home personally. Four



Charles Augustus Lindbergh standing beside the *Spirit of St. Louis* (Library of Congress)

million other people greeted him for a New York parade before his return to St. Louis for a rest. Lindbergh was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor and the Distinguished Flying Cross.

Lindbergh's fame allowed him to promote both aeronautics and international goodwill. He wrote a book about his flight entitled *We*, referring to the author, his plane, and their experiences on the transatlantic flight. Lindbergh then traveled throughout the United States promoting aeronautics for the Guggenheim Fund. In a three-month nationwide tour, he flew the *Spirit of St. Louis*. He visited 49 states and 92 cities and gave 147 speeches.

Lindbergh became interested in the research of the scientist Robert Goddard, who was conducting experimental research on missiles, satellites, and rockets. He drew the attention of the Guggenheims to Goddard's research efforts in order to help him in funding further projects. Lindbergh also flew to various Latin American countries in 1927 fostering goodwill between America and Latin Amer-

ica. It was on the Latin America tour that he met Anne Morrow, daughter of the American ambassador to Mexico. He married Morrow in 1929. After teaching her to fly, the couple undertook flying expeditions throughout the world.

After the kidnapping and death of their son, Charles, Jr., the Lindberghs fled to Europe to seek privacy and safety. While in Europe, Lindbergh was invited to tour various aircraft industries. He was particularly impressed with the advanced aircraft industry of Nazi Germany. After returning to the United States, Lindbergh spoke out against American intervention in any European war, supported pro-Hitler German-American groups, and criticized the policies of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. After Roosevelt denounced him, Lindbergh resigned his commission in the Army Air Corps. Refraining from his non-interventionist activity after Pearl Harbor, Lindbergh once again undertook military duties. In 1944, he flew about 50 combat missions in the Pacific despite his status as a civilian.



Lindbergh spent the rest of his life as a consultant, writer, and traveler. In 1954, President Eisenhower restored his commission and appointed him brigadier general in the U.S. Air Force. Lindbergh worked for Pan American World Airways advising on jet purchases, and eventually helped design the Boeing 747. Before dying of cancer in 1974, he spoke out for the conservation movement. He was particularly interested in campaigning for the protection of humpback and blue whales. He lived at this time of his life in Maui, Hawaii, where he published his collection of writings entitled *The Autobiography of Values*.

See also AVIATION.

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—Annamarie Edelen

## literature

The literary culture of the United States, much as its religious culture, experienced a tremendous shift in the years between 1900 and 1930. The genteel tradition of American letters that had been carefully cultivated over the course of the 19th century was in the midst of a commercial revolution. While Henry James, one of the major figures of the nation's literary renaissance, continued to publish in works such as *Wings of the Dove* (1902), *The Ambassadors* (1903), and *The Golden Bowl* (1903), he was supplanted by other voices. The elite world of letters in which he had made his mark gave way to the influence of commercial media in new literary journals like *Collier's* and *McClure's*, and in alternative journals like Harriet Monroe's *Poetry*, Margaret Anderson's *The Little Review*, and H. L. Mencken's *American Mercury*. A new generation of small publishers like Modern Library, Horace Liveright, and Alfred Knopf proved more willing to publish new authors and risk violating the censorship laws. The flourishing of a RADICAL AND LABOR PRESS that gave space to new cultural trends, as well as alternate politics, opened the doors for diversity in literary voice, range, and genre.

The literary world imagined itself immune to commercial pressures, but neither academic literary criticism nor high art engaged new consumers of fiction. Innovative writers in the early 20th century did respond to increased demand fueled by new marketing techniques and lower subscription prices. With ties to mass journalism and experience in magazine publishing, authors such as Theodore Dreiser, UPTON SINCLAIR, and Frank Norris brought vivid naturalist prose and social criticism to the educated middle-class public. Rebellious against the politeness of older literature, they introduced language, imagery, and narratives that bore little resemblance to the genteel tradition or the literary realism of James and William Dean Howells.

Literary naturalism assumed that characters were the product of a dehumanizing environment. Individual trajectories of success or failure had little to do with individual qualities. Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1900) shocked readers with its story of a young woman who, after she is sexually betrayed, sets out to make her own conquest. His novels *Financier* (1912), *Titan* (1914), and *An American Tragedy* (1925) similarly exposed the social forces that led to success or failure. Frank Norris's brutal portrayals of corporate and political bosses in *McTeague* (1899) and *The Octopus* (1901) and Jack London's social novels *The Iron Heel* (1907) and *Martin Eden* (1909) resonated with the same naturalistic sensibility. With such books as *The House of Mirth* (1906) and *Ethan Frome* (1911), Edith Wharton brought naturalism to the study of the upper classes. Willa Cather similarly brought serious themes of immigration, community, and the impact of environment on character to her readers in *O Pioneers!* (1913), *My Ántonia* (1918), and *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (1927).

Coined as a term in 1890s Germany, MODERNISM first emerged in the United States shortly before WORLD WAR I. Allied with literary experimentation and the cultural radicalism of artist colonies like GREENWICH VILLAGE and Provincetown, modernism in art and literature represented a break from the past. The modernist sensibility also rebelled against rigid Victorian sexual mores and the unquestioning belief in the virtues of progress. Gertrude Stein, one of the most famous American writers living abroad, argued that the United States had become the first modern, and thus the oldest, nation in the world. The rest of the world was forced to catch up. Stein was known as an unconventional writer who experimented with language, subject, and genre. She and her generation of writers were among the first to give voice to the new stresses and pleasures of the age. Honesty was their hallmark. Modernist photographer Alfred Stieglitz wrote that art must embrace "honesty of aim, honesty of self-expression, and honesty of revolt against the autocracy of convention." The primitivism that animated modern art sometimes prevailed in literature as well. Moving beyond literary naturalism, modernist writers experimented with language, abandoned metered verse, and broke conventions of plot and genre. In poetry, imagist writers such as Ezra Pound, H. D. (Hilda Doolittle), and Amy Lowell challenged the idea of poetry as a direct representation of feeling; other modernist poets such as T. S. Eliot, William Carlos Williams, and Gertrude Stein pushed free verse into new territory with experiments in form and language. Dramatists such as Eugene O'Neill told similarly experimental tales of sexuality and race in his plays *Emperor Jones* (1921), *The Hairy Ape* (1922), and *Desire under the Elms* (1924). Modernist writers such as John Dos Passos in *Three Soldiers* (1920) and E. E. Cummings in *The Enormous Room* (1920) worked against the



conventions of unitary narrative to create collages within the structure of their novels.

In historical writing, similar commitments surfaced to a modernism that challenged older ideals of objectivity and the legitimate subject of historical study. Led by progressive writers such as Charles and Mary Beard and Vernon Parrington, historians read and critically challenged the basis of positivist historical science. Historian and sociologist Lucy Maynard Salmon in many respects led the way with her unconventional history of the backyard and her study of domestic service. Not only historians but also sociologists such as William Graham Sumner, Lester Ward, Thorsten Veblen, and George Herbert Mead attacked the ideal of objectivity in the human sciences to address directly the social construction of reality. This modernist social science was far from an academic pursuit. The Beards' history of the United States was, by illustration, an important and widely popular book in its day; so too were the writings of Sumner and Ward, among others. By 1909, the writings of SIGMUND FREUD also made their appearance in American bookstores.

The destruction of World War I intensified the trend toward modernism in literature and social science. The war



Sinclair Lewis (Library of Congress)

had distorted the perception of time, altered the nature of personal identity, and warned of the dangers of technology and the price of nationalism. In its aftermath, American writers confronted their national culture and discovered new influences and legacies. As literary historian Ann Douglas characterized it, the LOST GENERATION of 1920s intellectuals adopted new values of blunt honesty and pluralism in their art. Having cast aside the genteel culture of the Victorian age, they sought to cast off conservative ideas and racial prejudices as well. The writers of the 1920s embraced instead the influence of African-American culture and the cynicism of postwar society. They emphasized the discovery of "truth" in art.

The postwar generation of writers provided a running critique of the weaknesses and strengths of American culture. In such publications as the *New Yorker*, writers Dorothy Parker and Robert Benchley and theater critic Alexander Woolcott ridiculed elite culture, old-fashioned social norms, and the provincialism of American life, as did H. L. MENCKEN in *The Smart Set* and *American Mercury*. Novelist Sinclair Lewis brought his critical skills to portraying small-town residents in *Main Street* (1920), businessmen in *Babbitt* (1922), doctors in *Arrowsmith* (1924), and evangelists in *Elmer Gantry* (1927). Despite their occasionally biting tone, Lewis's books sold millions of copies. His talent for creating characters and writing dialogue, and his ability to capture the contradictions of middle-class and rural lives, earned him international attention and made him the first American to win the Nobel Prize in literature in 1930. Urbane humor competed for center stage with serious political and cultural criticism. At the same time, popular novelists such as Edna Ferber reached a broad audience with stories probing the private side of the American dream and the place of women within it. Her novel, *Show Boat* (1926), offered to popular audiences some of the seamier and more subversive relations between the sexes and among races. Abroad, writers F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway revealed the underside of American masculinity in such characters as Jay Gatsby and Jake Barnes. The gallant and romantic Gatsby was what every businessman was at heart—a gangster, as Fitzgerald saw it, while Jake in *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) is physically and emotionally disabled. In John Dos Passos's *Three Soldiers* (1922) and William Faulkner's *Soldier's Pay* (1926), disillusioned war veterans feel a loss of self and power in the materialistic postwar world.

The modernist turn coincided with a general American cultural revival. At the center was an emerging generation of African-American writers, artists, and performers in what has been called the HARLEM RENAISSANCE. This explosion of creativity was not so much a rebirth of African-American literary expression as its integration into mainstream modern literature and art. With the 1920s, audiences across the

racial divide were newly exposed to the mythology, language, and musical traditions of African Americans. The GREAT MIGRATION had brought with it a southern black literature, which attracted new audiences and brought increased patronage to African-American writers and artists. Among the writers associated with this cultural flowering were Langston Hughes, Jean Toomer, ALAIN LOCKE, Claude McKay, Nella Larsen, and Zora Neale Hurston. Hughes in particular would become the voice of the black community, moving from cultural modernism in the 1920s to the sharper social and political critique of his depression-era writings. All of the writers shared the concern of defining African-American identity as dualistic, a product of both African and American experience. They sought to explore the dimensions of racial life and consciousness in such books as Toomer's *Cane* (1923), Locke's *The New Negro* (1925), Larsen's *Passing* (1929), and Hughes's *Not Without Laughter* (1930).

The intellectual community was similarly open to broadening cultural perspectives. In *Culture and Democracy in the United States* (1924), Horace Kallen first launched the idea of an American democracy dependent not on the suppression, but on the celebration, of ethnic diversity. During this decade, his work was echoed by a school of anthropologists working with FRANZ BOAS. Boas and his students—MARGARET MEAD, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, Zora Neale Hurston, and Melville Herskovits—helped to undermine belief in Anglo-American superiority and to dismantle scientific racism. Their works were incredibly popular treatments of life in different cultures and further called into question American culture. In *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), Margaret Mead showed that child-rearing practices of another culture were not only different but also led to healthy attitudes toward self, community, and sexuality. *Growing Up in New Guinea* (1930) revealed how men's involvement in child care and the education of youth positively reaffirmed masculine identity in the community. Other studies of northern migrants, southern folklore, and Native American culture suggested that there was no one right culture nor any scientific basis for a belief in racial differences in intelligence and ability. The modernist sensibility, first expressed in literature and art, began to infiltrate the social sciences and the politics they inspired.

See also ART; JOURNALISM; POPULAR CULTURE.

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### lobbying and interest groups

In the first three decades of the 20th century, the rise of interest group POLITICS brought new lobbies and organizations into the political arena. These groups included avowedly nonpartisan organizations such as the League of Women Voters and the Good Government League, as well as professional organizations like the American Medical Association and the American Farm Bureau, and such partisan groups as the Anti-Saloon League, the National Mothers' Congress, the AMERICAN LEGION, and the KU KLUX KLAN, which ran its own candidates for political office.

Businesses also were committed to using public interest groups such as chambers of commerce and trade associations. Interest groups lobbied for legislation, raised funds, mobilized voters and letter writers, and created political conditions favorable to their own—and, they argued, the public's—interests. Their emphasis on marshaling the resources of government to stimulate business growth, as well as to restrict government intervention in taxes and regulation, paid off in the business prosperity of the era. It had a negative impact, however, in the overall economic picture. While federal debt declined due to economy in spending, state and municipal debt mounted. Unequal distribution of income and wealth led to a weakening of consumer demand and personal indebtedness.

Although labor unions were weak throughout the period, the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR worked for significant federal legislation and, under the presidency of WOODROW WILSON, succeeded to a certain extent. The creation of a Department of Labor, and the passage of the CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT and the ADAMSON ACT, gave witness to the power of organized labor. The AFL lobbied for immigration restriction, special laws for seamen and sailors (as well as government workers), and relief from antitrust laws and labor injunctions.

More powerful than organized labor were political organizations that represented American farmers. Developing out of 19th-century organizations such as the Grange, new groups like the American Farm Bureau became effective political agents for the mass of farmers. Unlike labor, which represented at the time about 6 percent of all wage workers, the Farm Bureau could claim to represent all farmers, who constituted about 25 percent of voters in the United States. Begun in 1919, the Farm Bureau had more than a million members by 1921. With claims such as that, it was able to have a substantial impact on legislation, particularly as it organized the Farm Bloc in Congress. The Farm Bureau helped secure the passage of legislation favorable to farmers, including the CAPPER-VOLSTEAD ACT (1922),

which protected farm cooperatives from antitrust suits and other laws that increased tariffs and extended farm credits. The McNary-Haugen Farm Bill, a failed attempt to raise the prices of agricultural commodities, was a favorite item on the Farm Bloc's agenda. In addition, the Farm Bureau and other farm advocates sought relief from state and local property taxes, which laid an unfair tax burden on farmers and cut into declining farm income.

Among interest groups, African Americans represented themselves in a range of organizations, but racial hostility and discrimination weakened their power. The NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) had small influence in governmental matters, despite the active participation of African Americans as members of the REPUBLICAN PARTY and as soldiers in WORLD WAR I. Its efforts to pass an antilynching bill were stymied in 1922.

Despite the claim that public interest groups supplanted the power of political parties, it was party politics that benefited from their growth. Older party structures lacked both the constituency and the resources to manage the country's politics and government on their own. New forms of direct democracy such as initiative, referendum, and recall required parties to have a dependable way of mobilizing voters. Interest groups thus provided the services and resources that kept alive the party system in a time of declining party loyalty.

See also ELECTIONS.

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### ***Lochner v. New York*** (1905)

The decision of the United States Supreme Court in *Lochner v. New York* is considered one of the most controversial in its history. Critics of the judgment view it as an example of blatant judicial activism, in which the Court used its power of judicial review to protect conservative economic policies against an era of regulatory reform. Labor reformers had concentrated their attention on legislative solutions to industrial ills. Long hours, low wages, and corrosive working conditions led to child labor laws, maximum hours and minimum wage legislation, and new safety standards. By 1905 many states had enacted statutes to protect workers. Despite the reputation for being conservative, most courts upheld the reform legislation. In

*Lochner v. New York*, however, the Supreme Court struck down a maximum hours law. At the very least, the ruling in *Lochner* showed a lack of consistency in the court's decisions.

In 1893, New York passed the statute that became the point of contention in Joseph Lochner's litigation. The Bakeshop Act limited the number of hours bakers could labor to 10 a day and 60 a week and included provisions setting minimum standards for sanitation in all bakeries. Earlier, journeymen bakers in the state had organized the Baker's Progressive Union. It had been active in securing the Bakeshop Act, but the baker's union was not powerful throughout the state. Only in areas where the union was strong could the 1893 act be enforced. Lochner owned a small nonunion bakery in Utica, New York. He ignored the Bakeshop Act by requiring his workers to labor more than 60 hours a week. The town's journeymen bakers lodged a complaint against Lochner. He was found guilty of violations and fined. He appealed his conviction, and his case eventually reached the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court decision in *Lochner* has been characterized as a conflict of competing ideals. At odds were conceptions of laissez-faire economic theory and the nation's reform agenda. Reform advocates based regulatory statutes like the Bakeshop Act on the state's police powers. By this authority, a state can act in ways necessary to protect the health, safety, and welfare of its citizens. What exactly constituted a valid use of the state's police powers was vague. In general, a law based on the state's police powers had to regulate specifically to clearly recognized health or safety objectives, which reformers believed that industrial conditions threatened the state's welfare and warranted using these powers.

On the other side, proponents of laissez-faire economic theory believed that maximum hours legislation was an unwarranted intervention into an individual's right to contract. The Supreme Court had previously ruled that the liberty of contract was protected by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which guaranteed that no "State [shall] deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law." Adherents held that a worker had a right to property in his labor. State regulation would limit a laborer's ability to make contracts and therefore limit his ability to utilize his property. But liberty of contract assumed an equal playing field between employer and employee, which simply didn't exist.

Based on precedent, the Supreme Court should have ruled against Lochner. In *Holden v. Hardy*, the Supreme Court upheld legislation that limited mine work to eight hours a day as a reasonable use of the state's police powers. Furthermore, it dismissed the liberty of contract argument, stating that the employer and employee were



not bargaining from equal positions. But in *Lochner v. New York*, the Supreme Court held that the New York Bakeshop Act was unconstitutional. Justice Rufus Peckham wrote for a bare 5-4 majority. It held that the law was not a valid exercise of the state's police power, because the number of hours of a baker's labor did not affect the public health. He declared that such acts are, "mere meddlesome interferences with the rights of the individual." Interestingly, Justice OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES disagreed with the Court's decision and wrote a brief but powerful dissent. Pointing to the underlying issues, Holmes wrote, "This case is decided upon an economic theory which a large part of the country does not entertain . . . The Fourteenth Amendment does not enact Mr. Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics*."

Both the *Lochner* decision and its legacy reveal a lack of consistency in the Supreme Court's decisions in this era. Historians point out that the various courts tended to uphold reform legislation, but they were consistently hostile to laws that supported unions. Justice Peckham did not broach the issue of unions, but he was fearful of increasing government intervention in labor regulation. This decision might explain why the Court moved away from the precedent. In the end, many state courts disregarded the *Lochner* decision, and its effects at the federal level were uneven. Still, it remained prevailing law for almost 30 years.

See also *MULLER V. OREGON*.

**Further reading:** Paul Kens, *Judicial Power and Reform Politics: The Anatomy of Lochner v. New York* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990); Melvin Urofsky, "State Courts and Protective Legislation during the Progressive Era: A Reevaluation," *Journal of American History* 72 (1985): 63-91.

—Debra A. Viles

**Locke, Alain LeRoy** (1886-1954) *philosopher, editor*  
An author, intellectual, and educator, Alain Locke was best known as the intellectual voice of the HARLEM RENAISSANCE. Born in Philadelphia, Locke entered Harvard University in 1904 and became the first African-American Rhodes Scholar in 1907. After attending Oxford University in England, he went to the University of Berlin. In 1911 he returned to the United States and began his career as an African-American spokesman and educator at Howard University in Washington, D.C.

Heavily influenced by the work of anthropologist FRANZ BOAS, Locke argued that race was not biological but historical. He went further than Boas by removing any hereditary factors from his view of race in favor of a pure environmentalism. Race and racial relations were deter-

mined by the historical circumstances of a time. Instead of races creating cultures, Locke argued that cultures created races. In support of his position, he pointed to ethnic relations and conflict in eastern Europe. He argued that the conflict between ethnic groups in Europe was not different from the conflict between whites and blacks in the United States, but was determined by a different set of historical circumstances. Locke's most important insight was that race relations pass through definitive stages in relation to political, economic, and demographic change. Thus, there was nothing static about race and relations between races. These views influenced historians of African-American history for years. Locke also recognized that race was an ideology that masked other interests. He was particularly interested in how class interests were covered by racism. Locke did not, however, accept the beliefs of those intellectuals who equated race prejudice with class conflict. He argued that racism had begun as a class construct but had taken on a cultural meaning separate from any class meaning.

His embrace of the importance of culture in race relations and formation led Locke to champion the development of an African-American culture. He argued that one could recognize that cultural differences existed without accepting racist beliefs. In fact, African Americans should use race, Locke argued, as a means to empowerment. They could build self-esteem and solidarity that would help them in the competitive society in which they lived. Locke pointed to literature and the arts as a way to build race consciousness without threatening white America. By doing this, African Americans also would disprove racist myths that held that African Americans did not possess any real culture of their own. This belief that African Americans could use art and literature became the basis for his advocacy of the Harlem Renaissance.

His 1925 book, *The New Negro: An Interpretation*, solidified his identity as a spokesman for the Negro Renaissance. In this work, Locke argued that the artistic and literary innovations occurring in Harlem offered a basis for the cultural development of the New Negro. This was all made possible by the migration of African Americans from the South to the urban areas of the North. These urban concentrations of African Americans were giving rise to a new culture based on a common racial past both as Africans and as African Americans.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

**Further reading:** Ross Posnock, *Color and Culture: Black Writers and the Making of the Modern Intellectual* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); Jeffrey C. Stewart, ed., *Race Contacts and Interracial Relations* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1992).

—Michael Hartman



**Lodge, Henry Cabot** (1850–1924) *politician*

Tenacious opponent of President WOODROW WILSON, Henry Cabot Lodge opposed the social reform movement of Wilson's era and the nation's lack of military preparedness after 1914. Lodge criticized the government for its slow mobilization, shortages of equipment, failure to prevent strikes, and delays in production during WORLD WAR I. He and the former president, THEODORE ROOSEVELT, led the PREPAREDNESS movement that sought to persuade the Wilson administration and the population of the United States that the nation must prepare itself for war. Later, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Lodge led the campaign against the ratification of the TREATY OF VERSAILLES and U.S. participation in the LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Lodge was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on May 12, 1850. Graduating from Harvard in 1871 and from its law school in 1874, he was awarded a Ph.D. in 1876. Lodge taught American history at Harvard and edited *The North*



Henry Cabot Lodge (*Library of Congress*)

*American Review* and *The International Review* until entering politics in 1879. He served two years in the Massachusetts House of Representatives and six years in the U.S. House of Representatives. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1893, where he remained for the rest of his life.

Lodge's influence was exerted through chairmanship of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1896 on. In international affairs, Lodge believed that a large modern navy and a dominant influence in the Caribbean and the Pacific were vital to the country's security. His beliefs were based on the theories of Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, who had advanced the idea that sea power was the determining factor in international affairs. As a result of Mahan's influence, Lodge favored U.S. entry into the Spanish-American War and favored the acquisition of the Philippines. Being a conservative, he supported the gold standard and high protective TARIFFS.

Immediately after Europe became embroiled in hostilities leading to World War I, Lodge became a proponent of military preparedness. He pointed out that the United States could no longer depend on its geographic advantages and distance from the European continent as a safeguard from invasion. Like others in the preparedness movement, Lodge advocated a buildup of the army and navy and additional funding for training and equipment. Eventually, President Wilson would be drawn into the effort to mobilize the military resources of the nation, despite his promise to keep the country out of the war.

When Germany sued for peace in 1918 and world leaders attended the peace conference in France, Wilson joined the conference with a select group of experts but failed to invite anyone from the Senate, including Lodge. His failure to indulge Senator Lodge caused irreconcilable differences between them, which resulted in the Senate refusing to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Specifically, Lodge opposed Wilson on American participation in the League of Nations; he felt that the league clauses would involve the United States too deeply in European affairs. Wilson tried to take his case to the people, but he was overcome with sickness. Lodge later also opposed U.S. participation in the World Court. In 1921, Lodge was the U.S. delegate to the WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON NAVAL DISARMAMENT in 1921. He died on November 9, 1924.

**Further reading:** William C. Widenor, *Henry Cabot Lodge and the Search for an American Foreign Policy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

—Annamarie Edelen

**Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock** (1903)

In the late 19th century, U.S. policy toward NATIVE AMERICANS focused on dismantling tribal authority and

assimilating Native Americans into mainstream society. The program hinged on the allotment of tribal lands from reservations to individual members and families and selling off “surplus” land to white settlers. The process of allotment began with the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, but it was carried on through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, federal and state courts, and a series of laws that continued to loosen the restrictions on the lease and sale of Native American land. Few tribes escaped the impact of allotment, but the worst abuses of the land policy occurred in the Indian Territory of what is now Oklahoma, where reservations were forcibly dismantled and the land leased or sold, much of it under the guise of white guardianship of Native Americans and their land.

Kiowa chief Lone Wolf, and other Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache, sought to stop the forcible allotment and alienation of tribal land in the case of *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*. Basing their suit on the Treaty of Medicine Lodge signed in 1867, the Kiowa argued that the treaty required that all land transfers have the consent of the majority of adults on the reservation. The Medicine Lodge Treaty had already drastically reduced tribal holdings from 90 million acres to the 2.7 million acres of then-current reservations. The policy of allotment promised to strip all resources from the tribes and reduce their members to poverty on small plots of land. Further, the allotments given to Lone Wolf and other Kiowa had not earned the requisite support from tribal members, and the transfer of land was, therefore, invalid. Reversing its traditional stand on the importance of property rights and contract law, the Supreme Court in 1903 held against the Kiowa and accepted the sale of surplus land as valid. They accepted the argument of the defendant that the majority of Kiowa had agreed to transfer land for money in 1892. The court case also revealed the tangled alliances that made both allotment and the court case possible. On the one side, reformers seeking to assimilate Native Americans pushed for the division of land and their integration into white farming regions. On the other side were the “implacables,” who resisted white society and modernization, and their allies, the cattle ranchers who wanted to lease Native American land and resisted farm settlement. Allotment won out.

The Court’s decision, which essentially denied Native American tribal sovereignty, had ramifications beyond Oklahoma. It made legal the U.S. violation of any and all treaties with Native Americans and set the parameters of Native American land policy for the next five decades. It underlined the dependent status of Native Americans under law and allowed the policy of allotment to forge ahead unaffected by formal agreements or governmental treaties. For these reasons, *Lone Wolf* became the most frequently cited court case in Native American law. It was only in 1955 that the Indian Land Claims Commission granted the Kiowa,

Comanche, and Plains Apache \$2 million as compensation for the illegal sale of land.

See also BURKE ACT.

**Further reading:** Blue Clark, *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock: Treaty Rights and Indian Law at the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

## Lost Generation

No group of artists and intellectuals had a greater impact on early 20th-century American literature than the group that came to be known as the Lost Generation. Associated with the alienation over WORLD WAR I, they became disenchanted with crusades at home and abroad. They saw the failures of America’s involvement in the war and its futile PROHIBITION effort at purging alcoholic drink as symptoms of a society that was sick. The Lost Generation also embraced trends toward MODERNISM and rebelled against literary convention.

Gertrude Stein coined the term, “the Lost Generation,” in reference to the young Americans who had survived World War I. In an epigraph to Ernest Hemingway’s *The Sun Also Rises*, she noted, “you are all a lost generation.” The perceived futility of the war led a growing number of Americans to abandon WOODROW WILSON’s idealistic vision of a world that was safe for democracy. The magnitude of the war effort and its human cost undermined faith in government and society. Americans increasingly saw the war as a cruel hoax in which Americans were betrayed into suffering and death. The young Americans who went off to fight did not come back as heroes. They came back as poor duped innocents whose sacrifices were in vain. The Lost Generation symbolized and championed this growing sense of disillusionment.

These young writers were one of the first artistic cohorts to be viewed as a distinctive generation. What made them distinct was that their youth coincided with the war and the great influenza outbreak. Those living in the 1920s were divided into separate and distinct categories. There were those who came of age before, during, and after the war. Most of the men termed members of the Lost Generation came of age in the immediate post-war period. They challenged the path that the previous generation had trod.

Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961) was one of the most celebrated of the group. His 1929 novel, *A Farewell to Arms*, summed up the emerging attitude toward war. The hero of the story was not a man who won his acclaim on the battlefield. It was his disdain for the conflict that made him a hero. His defining act, which Hemingway applauded, was abandoning the war effort in search of love with a nurse that he met in a war hospital. The needs and the wants



F. Scott Fitzgerald and Zelda Fitzgerald (Hulton/Archive)

of the individual seemed to trump that of an undefined conflict.

John Dos Passos (1896–1970) and Edward Estlin Cummings (E. E. Cummings; 1894–1962) were two other notable men who were considered members of the Lost Generation. In Dos Passos's great trilogy, *USA* (1937), he depicted American life up to 1929. He shared Hemingway's concern for the direction of society. In *USA* he attacked American materialism, pettiness, and hypocrisy. In a similar fashion, Cummings used poetry to challenge what he saw as restrictive convention. He challenged all accepted conventions, even language and punctuation. Using wit and satire, he challenged social norms and customs. Both writers shared the conviction that crusading idealism was not the solution.

More than any other novel, F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* came to define the literary movement. Jay Gatsby, the book's protagonist, attempted to win the love of

a woman whom he admired by attaining immense wealth and fortune. When he achieved all that he aspired to, he finally realized that the world is built on fraud, cruelty, and deception. This world, which he adopted in the pursuit of wealth, eventually killed him. The book was a fitting metaphor not only for the times, but also for the life of Fitzgerald himself. He was immensely popular and achieved the acclaim of which others merely dream, but it was not enough. He longed for substance and meaning.

Many of the members of the Lost Generation abandoned the United States in search of meaning. Some moved to France. As a result, Paris became the home for many American writers. Others found their sanctuary in the primitive surrounds of the American West. No matter how far they moved from the society that seemed to alienate them, they could not escape. The world war and its consequences haunted society and reshaped American culture.

See also LITERATURE; MODERNISM.

**Further reading:** John Dos Passos, *USA* (New York: Library of America, 1996); F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1925); Ernest Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* (New York: C. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953).

—Steve Freund

### Ludlow Massacre (1919)

One of the longest and most violent labor disputes in the 20th century, the Ludlow Massacre occurred in 1914 when private security forces and National Guard troops attacked striking mine workers in Ludlow, Colorado. The miners were living in a tent city after the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company had evicted them from company-owned homes. The attack left 32 people dead, including nine children. The incident sparked public outcry against employer violence and prompted government investigations into workplace violence.

Labor violence was a common occurrence in the turn-of-the-century United States, but nowhere was it more prevalent than in the nation's mines. Mine operators, intent upon maximizing profits, worked to increase production and keep labor costs as low as possible. Efforts to introduce new technology and to aggressively resist organized labor accomplished the task. Hostility between mine workers and mine operators was particularly intense in western mining communities.

The Ludlow conflict began when the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMWA) began an organizing drive at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, owned by JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, Jr. Faced with competition from the more radical Western Federation of Miners and



the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW), the UMWA found organizing western miners difficult. Union leaders, however, were determined to organize in the West and steadily gained new members between 1900 and 1913. Relations between workers and mine operators in Ludlow had been strained for more than a decade. Company officials resisted attempts to organize and brought in immigrant workers to divide miners along racial and ethnic lines. Living conditions were made more difficult, because workers were required to live in company housing and shop at the company-owned store at inflated prices. Many miners found themselves perpetually in debt.

In September 1913, miners ignored the pleas of union officials for moderation and voted unanimously to go on strike. Company officials responded to the strike by evicting between 11,000 and 13,000 workers and their families from company housing, forcing them to live in a makeshift tent colony just as the harsh Colorado winter set in. The company proceeded to attempt to undermine the strike by hiring replacement workers and an armed private security force from the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency. Colorado's governor, Elias Ammons, attempted to keep the peace by calling in the National Guard, but the miners quickly grew suspicious of the troops when company officials agreed to pay for their expenses. In exchange, troops protected strikebreakers and harassed and intimidated striking miners. The arrest and deportation of legendary labor leader Mother Jones intensified the conflict. Over the course of the long winter, numerous fatalities occurred, prompting Governor Ammons to remove all but a company of troops.

The troops that remained in the spring of 1914 were under the direction of Lieutenant Karl Linderfelt. Intent upon breaking the strike and punishing Louis Tikas, one of the strike leaders, Linderfelt and his National Guard troops attacked the tent colony on April 20. Facing gunfire throughout the day, miners and their families attempted to flee or take shelter. Linderfelt entered the colony and ordered his troops to set fire to what remained of the tents. When the smoke cleared the next day, the tent colony lay in ruins. Thirty-two miners had been killed, including two women and nine children who had been smothered by the blaze as they attempted to hide. Although Linderfelt and others involved in the massacre eventually were found guilty, their punishment amounted to no more than a slap on the wrist.

Throughout the country, workers and the general public were outraged. The UMWA pleaded with others in the labor movement to come to the defense of the striking miners. Guns, ammunition, and money flooded in, as did armed miners from the entire region. Violent clashes continued throughout the month until President WOODROW WILSON sent federal troops into the region and ordered both sides to disarm, ending the violence. Despite scath-

ing criticism and a congressional investigation, mine owner Rockefeller insisted that, while the loss of life was regrettable, the goal of maintaining the open shop justified the actions of company officials and the National Guard. The Wilson administration, though shocked by the behavior of the National Guard and Rockefeller, refused to side with the striking workers. In December 1914, more than a year after it began, the strike ended in defeat. The violence used to defeat the striking miners is indicative of the difficulties that faced workers and the labor movement throughout the Progressive Era.

See also OPEN SHOP MOVEMENT.

**Further reading:** Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, vol. 5 (New York: International Publishers, 1980).

—Robert Gordon

### **Lusitania** (1915)

At 2:15 P.M., on a clear but cold day off the Old Head of Kinsale in Ireland, near Queenstown, RMS *Lusitania* was struck amidships on the starboard side by a torpedo fired from a German submarine. Eighteen minutes later, the ship rolled on her side amidst a great burst of steam and quickly slid beneath the surface, taking 1,198 passengers and crew with her. The sinking of the *Lusitania* was one of the major incidents that aroused public sentiment against Germany during WORLD WAR I and helped prompt the U.S. entry into the war.

Owned by the British Cunard Line, RMS *Lusitania* was built in 1907. She weighed 31,950 tons, and won the Transatlantic Blue Ribbon on her maiden voyage with a cruising speed of 25.88 knots. The ship's lines and speed inspired her description as "Greyhound of the Seas." With the advent of World War I, the *Lusitania* continued her transatlantic sailing under the auspices of the Cunard Line, but, under a 1902 agreement with the British government, the ship had been modified to take up her role as an armed cruiser beginning in May 1913.

On May 1, 1915, the *Lusitania* set sail from New York City for Liverpool, England. On the shipping news pages of many newspapers, the Imperial German Embassy in Washington had printed the famous warning of Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare with the now-tragic caveat of "travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain's on her allies do so at their own risk." Submarine warfare represented a sharp departure from past practices of sea warfare and a violation of international law. The rules of warfare required belligerent ships to stop their prey at sea and confiscate or destroy contraband. Belligerent ships had no right to destroy a ship if it was neutral, and naval officers were required to assure the safety of all aboard. Germany,



in its own defense, claimed that British ships could easily target its U-boats, if they surfaced.

Approaching the coast of Ireland six days after setting sail from New York, the *Lusitania* was warned by the British Admiralty of submarine activity. Captain William Turner received six warnings in all, the latest at 11:52 A.M. on May 7. The ship failed to avoid headwinds, steer a mid-channel course, and operate at full speed. By 1:20 P.M., Captain Walter Schwieger, commanding the *U-20*, sighted the *Lusitania* and fired upon the ship. A little over an hour later, the lives of over a thousand people, including 120 Americans, were lost. The incident was particularly

significant because it sparked an incredible wave of anti-German resentment in the United States and helped draw the United States into a war to protect American interests and honor.

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—Paul Edelen

**lynching** See VOLUME VI.

# M



## **Mann Act (1910)**

One of the first federal laws that granted police powers to the federal government, the Mann Act sought to outlaw the transportation of women across state lines for the purpose of prostitution. Officially known as the White Slave Traffic Act, the Mann Act became known under the name of its sponsor in the House of Representatives, James Mann of Chicago. The act made it a felony crime to transport knowingly any woman or girl in interstate commerce or foreign commerce for the purposes of prostitution or debauchery or for any other immoral purpose. It also made it a crime to procure or obtain a ticket to be used by a girl or a woman for prostitution or immoral purposes. A third provision made it a felony to coerce a woman or girl for immoral purposes and imposed a stiffer penalty if the victim was less than 18 years old. The final provision stated that any person who kept, maintained, controlled, or harbored a foreign-born girl or woman for prostitution or immoral purposes, within three years after she entered the United States, was required to file a statement with the U.S. Commission of Immigration and Naturalization.

In passing the Mann Act, Congress was responding to a sense of crisis that existed among reform-minded organizations and people. Many Americans believed that young women were being forced into prostitution in America's large cities. This fear became acute during this era because young women were moving from rural areas to America's cities in search of jobs. This movement occurred at the same time as the tremendous increase in emigration from southern and eastern Europe, an increase that went predominately to cities and so increased the fear of cities in the minds of many Americans. Cities seemed even more frightening and dangerous than ever before because of the foreign nature of their inhabitants. A series of articles in newspapers and magazines detailed stories of women who were abducted and forced into prostitution after coming to the city. The usual story line was that a young woman accepted a drink from a stranger that turned out to be

drugged. In most of the stories, the man or woman who drugged the victim was foreign-born. When the woman awoke, she found herself captive in a brothel where she was forced to live the life of a prostitute. The white slavery panic was built on sensationalist accounts of these episodes. Despite the fact that there was little hard evidence to support claims that an organized conspiracy to enslave young white women existed, reformers called for the creation of laws aimed at combating a supposed conspiracy.

The power of the white slavery panic led lawmakers to override their fears of the expansion of federal law enforcement powers. The Mann Act was passed on the basis that the commerce clause of the Constitution granted the federal government the power to regulate the transportation of prostitutes across state lines. Initially the bill faced opposition from southern congressmen who feared the imposition on states' rights, but many who initially opposed the bill voted for its passage because they believed that the threat to America's young women outweighed their concerns about states' rights. The U.S. Supreme Court found the Mann Act constitutional in a 1913 decision, based on the power granted to the federal government by the commerce clause.

Because the act included the ambiguous phrases "immoral purposes" and "debauchery," law enforcement officials were able to interpret the act and apply it to many actions that did not involve forcible coercion into prostitution. Many local officials used the law to punish people who they believed were challenging the accepted norms of behavior. In the 1910s, many cases were prosecuted in which no prostitution was involved, but in which law enforcement officials had decided that transportation across state lines for immoral purposes had occurred. Some of these came before the Supreme Court and in each case the Court upheld the right of law enforcement officials to interpret the act to include these offenses. In the most public and infamous case of the era, heavyweight boxing champion Jack Johnson, an African American, was

charged in 1912 for bringing a white woman from Minneapolis to Chicago to become his mistress. These charges were dropped for lack of evidence, but the Department of Justice's Bureau of Investigation tracked down another companion of Johnson's who had crossed state lines with him. Based on this evidence, the court convicted Johnson and sentenced him to prison.

**Further reading:** Frederick K. Grittner, *White Slavery: Myth, Ideology, and American Law* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990).

—Michael Hartman

### Mann-Elkins Act (1910)

The Mann-Elkins Act was part of the Progressive Era effort to regulate destructive competition and unfair trade practices. In the spirit of PROGRESSIVISM, President THEODORE ROOSEVELT had promised a Square Deal for ordinary Americans in his presidential election campaign of 1904. Previously, he had shown his willingness to rein in corporate abuses of power when he used his executive power to intervene in the ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE of 1902. The threat of sending federal troops resulted in a compromise between the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA and the mine owners, which gave the workers a wage increase and nine-hour day but did not demand recognition of the union. While the government had a practice of acting primarily on behalf of employers in industrial disputes, the Roosevelt administration's threat to seize the mines and continue coal production signaled a major shift in the role of the federal government as an impartial arbitrator. It also marked a change in government regulation of the railroad industry, which owned most of the anthracite mines.

The history of railroad regulation was an inconsistent one. By the 20th century, a series of legislative acts, passed to regulate railroads, were largely unenforceable. Yet the legislation demonstrated the enlarged federal power to regulate corporations. In 1887 Congress had passed the Interstate Commerce Act, which established the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to regulate railroads, but the ICC's powers had been constrained by the courts over the years. In 1903 Roosevelt pushed the ELKINS ACT through Congress, which prohibited discriminatory railroad rebates. In 1906 Congress passed the HEPBURN ACT, which empowered the ICC to set maximum rates once a shipper filed a complaint.

Roosevelt's successor, WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, worked to attain the previous administration's unfulfilled goals, in particular, railroad regulation. Taft signed the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910, which strengthened the regulatory power of the ICC. Extending the ICC's power over railroads, the act gave the ICC the authority to suspend rate

increases without waiting for complaints from shippers. It set up the Commerce Court to hasten the settlement of railroad rate cases. In addition, the act placed telegraph, cable, and telephone companies under ICC control.

Railroad regulation had enlarged federal power over the industry. Ultimately, however, the ICC's record of enforcement remained unsatisfactory. By 1910, the railroads' voluntary efforts, not federal regulation, had curbed unfair rate-setting practices—the companies agreeing among themselves to set uniformly higher rates.

Although Taft supported regulatory legislation that Roosevelt had been unable to pass through Congress, Taft thought that Roosevelt had abused executive power. Because he refrained from using the tactics of Roosevelt and had a hands-off style of leadership, Taft was viewed as a less effective president. Despite the public perception of a weakened administration in the White House, Taft managed to pass the Mann-Elkins Act, a law that increased the power of the federal government to regulate the railroad industry.

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—Glen Bessemer

### marriage and family life

In 1899, many Americans were shocked by the news that the United States had the highest divorce rate in the world. To many observers, the news was a sign that the American family was in danger. If the family was at risk, then America's entire social order faced uncertainty. Much of the fear surrounding the family arose from the profound changes taking place in the first decades of the 20th century. Many Americans believed that the family was in crisis. Industrialization, urbanization, immigration, feminism, and the expansion of the state led to changes in the roles of men, women, and children in the family. Despite the shrill pronouncements of many observers, ordinary people were not denouncing the family. They had simply begun to change their behavior and to ignore what had become an outdated family ideal.

Many of the changes that occurred after 1900 were a result of tensions between family ideals and practical realities. Family form and functions changed in response to a complex set of circumstances, chief among which were the effects of economic class and ethnicity. Thus, middle-class families in which the husband worked in a profession might have differed greatly from a working-class family in which both the husband and wife worked.

Most of the fears in regard to families arose from the middle class. The middle-class family ideal popular at the turn of the century centered on the home as a refuge from the world of commerce and trade. Ideally, men were to venture forth into the immoral and dangerous world to support the family, while mothers and children were to stay in the home and thus be protected from the world. This ideal of the middle-class family rested on the woman as the moral center of the family. It was her role to exert a moralizing influence on her husband and to raise her children. Many observers proclaimed that the middle-class family, which—they argued—formed the backbone of the American social order, faced imminent danger from a variety of forces acting to pull it apart.

The new family ideal of the early century emerged from a rapidly changing economic environment. Large-scale industrialization and commercialization were reshaping the work lives of many Americans. For non-farm families, work was completely removed from the home, which meant that workers of all classes were out of their homes and apart from their families for most of the day. At the turn of the century, for example, a typical industrial laborer worked 59 hours per week. Long hours often had a negative effect on family life. Fathers and—in the case of many working-class families—mothers were not always present in the home to parent their children. In middle-class families, the new wage economy meant that the mothers were in charge of raising the children. For some working-class families, the mother filled the same role. In the working-class families, care for children was often undertaken by older siblings or neighbors. The new economy also provided greater job opportunities for young women. Teenaged women could work in the factories, the newly created department stores, or in clerical jobs. Paid work opened up a new world for young women who traditionally had remained in the home to help out with domestic work. Their new independence often led to tension between the young women and their families.

The expanding cities that accompanied industrialization shaped family life. Cities offered new social opportunities for children outside their families. Commercial dance halls, pool rooms, amusement parks, and movie theaters provided space where youths could meet and socialize away from their parents. In these new venues, youths developed their own subcultures based on their shared values. In turn, they distanced themselves from their families. It was not only large cities, however, that experienced these changes. Age-segregated leisure surfaced even in small cities, like the Muncie, Indiana, of *MIDDLETOWN*.

The tremendous increase in immigration affected the family. Middle-class Americans feared that the increase in immigration, particularly from eastern and southern Europe, would overwhelm native-born, white American



Photograph of a woman and children reading by Gertrude Käsebier, ca. 1900 (*Library of Congress*)

families. The declining birthrate among white native-born Americans contributed to the fear that uneducated immigrants eventually would outnumber and overrun the educated population. The idea of “race suicide” helped spur anti-BIRTH CONTROL campaigns aimed at convincing native-born, middle-class women to have more children. Despite these campaigns, the birth rate continued to drop, and birth control use increased.

The birth control campaigns were a reaction to new, emerging roles for women. As more middle-class women went to work outside the home, observers feared that America’s children were endangered. Between 1890 and 1910, women’s enrollment in colleges tripled. Their participation in the workforce doubled between 1890 and 1900, and it increased by 50 percent between 1900 and 1910. In addition, women expanded their public activity by creating women’s clubs and other organizations that played an important role in the reform movements of the Progressive Era. The WOMAN SUFFRAGE movement lobbied for women to have expanded rights. It succeeded in passing and ratifying the Nineteenth Amendment, which gave women the right to vote, in 1920. Critics of the women’s movement argued that women’s participation in public life threatened



the future of the country. If women were working or engaging in social reform activities, they could not be at home with their children. Children, the critics claimed, were growing up without proper guidance and socialization.

In response to these changes, many states sought to toughen their divorce laws. Throughout the 19th century, states had made getting a divorce easier, but others allowed divorce only on account of adultery, desertion, or physical cruelty. South Carolina outlawed divorce all together. In the Progressive Era, these laws became stricter, and many states tried to prevent divorces by preventing bad marriages. States passed laws outlawing marriages between men and women who suffered from drunkenness, venereal disease, addiction, and mental defectiveness. Other states raised the age of consent. These laws did not have the desired effect. Men and women seeking a divorce simply pretended to meet the requirements set down in the laws. Thus the divorce rate continued to rise even after the tightening of restrictions.

Government intervened in private life in new ways in an effort to save the American family. Most of these interventions focused on promoting the nuclear family ideal in which fathers worked, mothers were housewives, and children went to school until they were 15 or 16 years old. Most states passed women's maximum hour laws that restricted the hours women could work. The purpose of these laws was to ensure women's health, but a side benefit was that mothers might be able to be at home more frequently, particularly when children were home from schools. Many states began to offer MOTHERS' PENSIONS, which supplemented women's income as a means of keeping widow's families together. Although these programs had little impact, they demonstrated the commitment that Americans felt toward saving the American family.

States intervened in the lives of children in other ways to promote the nuclear family. They passed CHILD LABOR laws and compulsory school attendance laws so that working-class children were required to attend school. Compulsory schooling laws were partly an attempt to remove immigrant children from their homes, because educators believed that the schools provided a better environment for socializing children. Teaching children appropriate values in home economics was one way to shore up the family. These efforts failed to engender the nuclear family ideal. The inability of many working-class men to earn enough money to support their families was the major reason. Women and children often worked, therefore, out of necessity.

Family life was affected by mass-production industry in a different way. The increase in industrial jobs led to a decrease in the number of women who were willing to work as domestic servants. Many middle-class families had employed servants in their homes. Domestic service jobs

were not as appealing, however, as jobs in factories and stores. Middle-class families faced a shortage of domestic servants, which meant that middle-class women had to do housework themselves. The shortage of domestic help led to efforts to professionalize domestic labor and increase public education in the domestic arts. Advocates hoped that professionalizing housework would convince women to remain home rather than work for wages. It further led to the rationalization and scientific organization of housework by introducing home appliances in order to reduce the labor involved in housework. New appliances such as electric vacuums and washing machines did not, however, release American women from housework. As appliances made cleaning more efficient, standards of cleanliness and hygiene were raised. American women experienced an increase in the time spent cleaning their homes. While work hours dropped, men did not engage in any new domestic labor. Thus, a majority of American mothers maintained their role as the principal provider of home labor.

The family ideal changed in regard to the purpose and place of family life. Families had been stripped of many of their educational, economic, and welfare functions. In their place, society assigned the family primary responsibility for fulfilling emotional and psychological needs of its members. This shift gave rise to a model of marriage called companionate marriage. Before this time, religious obligation, economic need, or moral pressures often held together marriages. Companionate marriage was to be held together by romance, equal rights, and affection. Psychologists, educators, and social service professionals popularized the new conception of marriage early in the 20th century. Relationships between parents and children also changed. Families were still supposed to provide a stable environment for children but added to this traditional role was emotional satisfaction. Children gained the right to express their feelings and to interact freely with their peers. The family ideal thus centered on nurturing emotional well-being in its members.

Paradoxically, as families grew closer emotionally, older children were gaining freedom outside their families. The creation of youth subcultures gave children the ability to define themselves outside of their family. By the 1920s, children identified more with peer groups than with families. This was particularly true for middle-class teen-aged children, for whom high school education became universalized. High schools became the site in which youth subcultures were created and expressed. Working-class youths also enjoyed more freedom from family control. Many working-class parents allowed their children to keep some of their pay, rather than demanding that they turn over the entire paycheck to the family. The practice gave youth money with which to pursue leisure activities.

Younger members of the family, therefore, were breaking away from the family.

Younger children faced a changing environment as well. In the Progressive Era, experts on children published countless books and articles on the proper care and rearing of children. They recommended that parents set strict sleeping and eating schedules for young children and advised parents to wean and toilet train their children early. Experts told mothers not to play with or fondle their children, because it would instill a desire for sensual gratification that would place a strain on a child's nervous system. By the 1920s, a new set of experts emerged who strongly rebuked the rationalized style of childrearing. They advocated a more permissive style of parenting. Parents were encouraged to use a reward system to encourage proper behavior. Many experts still recommended, however, that parents—and particularly mothers—avoid too much affection, for the fear that it would spoil children. In the 1920s, a third group of experts argued that childrearing should be aimed at developing well-adjusted personalities. They warned that stifling childish instincts and actions could permanently damage a child. Educators such as JOHN DEWEY and Maria Montessori argued that children's innate curiosity and independence should be encouraged.

By the end of the 1920s, the emergence of mass media, the common experience of living in an industrial society, and the rise in real wages for many workers led to a more homogeneous family model across class lines. The nuclear family became the ideal family. Although there was never a time when every family in America fit into that model, it was becoming more widespread.

See also EDUCATION; POPULATION TRENDS; SEXUALITY.

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—Michael Hartman

### The Masses

Associated with the Bohemian SOCIALISM of GREENWICH VILLAGE, *The Masses* was a radical journal that reflected the political and cultural changes of its time. The political, economic, and social turmoil of the early 20th century was transforming American society. Between the end of the Civil War and the end of WORLD WAR I, the country went from being a largely rural agrarian society to an increasingly urban industrial one. These transformations helped give rise to a variety of progressive, socialist, and radical political movements in the early decades of the new cen-

tury. Changes in print media also played an important role in enabling these radical political movements to get their message to an increasingly large audience.

The most significant transformation in print media was the emergence of investigative journalism, associated with the MUCKRAKERS. Magazines and journals such as *Collier's*, *McClure's*, *Everybody's*, and *The Nation* began running articles exposing political and corporate corruption. They became immensely popular among the general public and pressured politicians and business leaders to enact important reforms. The popularity of the new political magazines skyrocketed. By 1906 circulation among the 10 most popular magazines publishing investigative reports topped 3,000,000.

Socialist and radical groups, with whom many investigative journalists had close connections, quickly realized the potential the print medium had to vastly expand the audience they were able to reach. Among the most well-written and effective magazines in the newly emerging radical press was *The Masses*. Established in 1911 by Piet Vlag, *The Masses* largely reflected the views of its Marxist editor, Max Eastman. Between 1911 and 1914, a veritable who's who of the political Left published in the pages of *The Masses*. The journal quickly became one of the leading progressive voices in the country. Contributors to the magazine included UPTON SINCLAIR, JOHN REED, Mabel Dodge, Randolph Bourne, and others. Eastman and others on the staff believed that the war in Europe was nothing more than a conflict between competing factions of capital. Between 1914 and 1917, its writers lampooned both the Allied and Central powers and strongly advocated that the United States remain neutral.

After the United States entered World War I, the magazine's editors came under intense pressure to change its stance on the war. When Eastman refused, the postmaster general banned the magazine's distribution, and legal action was initiated aimed at shutting the magazine down permanently. Other radical and progressive magazines, such as *The Nation*, found themselves under intense pressure to support the nation's war effort. Even after the war ended, the federal government continued to place radical and progressive magazines under surveillance for their support of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, sexual radicalism, and outspoken criticism of the United States. *The Masses* and the RADICAL AND LABOR PRESS tapped into a strong undercurrent of social inequality and utilized innovations in the print media to achieve an unprecedented level of exposure and support for radical and progressive causes.

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—Robert Gordon

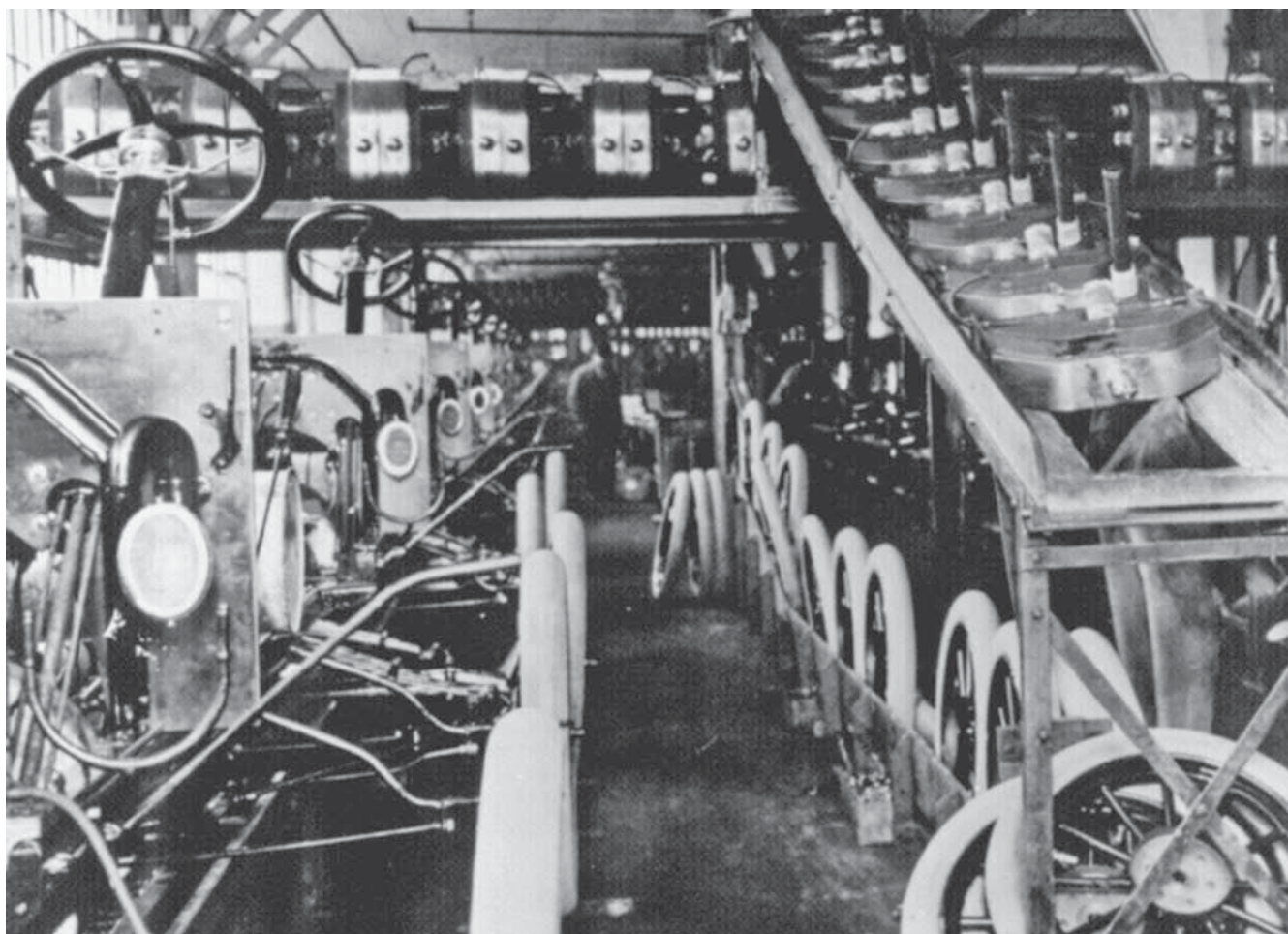
**mass production**

The introduction of the mass production of consumer goods fundamentally transformed virtually every aspect of American society between 1900 and 1930. Mass production allowed manufacturers to create economies of scale. In other words, they were able to make larger profits from selling more goods at a lower price than by selling goods at the highest price possible. Mass production also emphasized the use of machinery to produce interchangeable parts. These machine-produced parts and products created goods of uniform quality. Prior to the introduction of mass production, goods were frequently created by hand one at a time and varied greatly in quality. The concept of mass production was hardly new. Eli Whitney had adopted it in the manufacturing of flintlock guns in 1798. What was new at the turn of the century, however, was the extent to which American industry was committed to the idea of mass production. When the idea of mass production was joined with new ideas about SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT, the result was

a revolution in the way goods were produced and the economy functioned.

Beginning in the late 1890s, American manufacturers were determined to implement the ideas of FREDERICK WINSLOW TAYLOR. Often referred to as the father of scientific management, Taylor argued that if manufacturers streamlined their operations, eliminating any waste or inefficiency, they could dramatically reduce the time it took to produce goods. This in turn would enable them to reduce the cost of the products. Taylor and his team of university-trained experts used stopwatches to time every aspect of the production process and then recommended ways to improve efficiency. At the same time, Taylor encouraged manufacturers to break down the production process into repetitive tasks. The performance of these tasks required some skill, but it did not require workers to understand or master the entire process.

The introduction of scientific management to mass production resulted in numerous advantages. Mass-produced



Ford's first moving assembly lines at Highland Park (Hulton/Archive)



goods often had interchangeable parts. This made it easier for consumers to repair broken items. In addition, the division of work into isolated and repetitive tasks allowed employers to exert greater control over the entire production process and the workforce. Prior to the widespread use of mass production, skilled artisans, who often took years to learn their craft, produced goods. Watchmakers, for example, created an entire watch step-by-step. Control over the pace and quality of the work was largely in the watchmaker's hands. When watches began to be mass-produced, workers used machines. Responsible for producing only one part of the watch, they now repeated the same task over and over. The loss of specialized skill and knowledge, often referred to as deskilling, weakened the position of skilled workers.

Automobile manufacturer HENRY FORD perfected the mass production system. Obsessed with mass-producing affordable automobiles, Fords spent years streamlining and routinizing his assembly line production process. Instead of having workers assemble one car at a time, Ford employees assembled the car in the stages, as conveyor belts brought the automobile through various workstations. After years of experimentation, the opening of the Highland Park plant in 1910 was the culmination of Ford's efforts and set a new standard other manufacturers quickly attempted to imitate. The results were startling. With the opening of the Highland Park plant, the time it took to produce a finished Model T Ford dropped from 12 hours to an hour-and-a-half. Ford now turned out 600 new Model Ts a day. The result was that Ford was able to sell a high-quality automobile at a lower price than his competitors. By 1921, the company controlled 55 percent of the automobile market. Other manufacturers rushed to follow suit, forever altering the way goods were produced.

The widespread use of mass production transformed the economy. Consumers could now afford to purchase high-quality products at affordable prices. The Model T Ford, for example, was well built and sold for only \$850 when it was introduced in 1908. As Ford continued to streamline production and manufacture and sell more cars, the price of the Model T continued to drop until it cost only \$290 in 1927, making it affordable to all classes. In some ways, mass-produced goods helped create a more homogeneous society. Customers who bought a Model T got the same black, four-cylinder, no-frills automobile in Maine as they did in Michigan. Mass production also changed the American workplace. The pace of work increased dramatically as machine operators performed routine tasks over and over. Industrial jobs became faster-paced and more tedious. Finally, companies that mass-produced their goods were able to realize an advantage over their competitors and to quickly dominate entire industries.

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—Robert Gordon

**McKinley, William** See VOLUME VI.

### **McNary-Haugen Farm Bill (1926)**

Supported by the powerful Farm Bloc in Congress, the McNary-Haugen Farm Bill was designed to increase government support of farm commodity prices during the long farm depression of the 1920s. During that decade, the agricultural sector experienced a sustained economic decline. Farm commodity prices dropped not only from wartime highs but also from the stable prices of the period between 1909 and 1913. Farm bankruptcy and tenancy rates were on the rise. Each year, farmers improved less land and cultivated fewer crops, despite their economic dilemma. Farm organizations such as the American Farm Bureau added thousands of members, but they—like their urban counterparts—had little leverage in determining the price of commodities or methods of distribution. Organized farmers began to clamor for some form of government intervention in the guise of loans, price supports, or government regulation of the market.

The goal of radical farm organizations in the 1920s was to achieve parity pricing (prices equal to prewar prices) through government intervention. Working with Secretary of Agriculture Henry C. Wallace, Senator Charles McNary of Oregon and Representative Gilbert Haugen of Iowa introduced a bill to raise farm prices in 1924. Known as the McNary-Haugen Farm Act, the bill proposed that a Federal Farm Board be created to buy agricultural surpluses and hold them off the market until prices rose. The bill also empowered the new Farm Board to sell goods overseas, should prices remain stagnant. The problem with AGRICULTURE, the sponsors argued, was that postwar deflation of prices and increased debt loads had endangered the family farm, the backbone of American democracy. Farm bankruptcies and growing farm tenancy were signs of the overall decline in the agricultural economy. Introduced into CONGRESS in 1926, the McNary-Haugen bill featured government price supports of agricultural commodities to equalize farm prices by selling surplus agricultural commodities on the world market at lower prices than they would receive domestically. The measure was defeated.

In 1927 and in 1928, Congress narrowly passed the McNary-Haugen bill. Although his own secretary of



agriculture helped to author the bill, President CALVIN COOLIDGE vetoed it both times, arguing that it illegitimately put into place a system for fixing agricultural prices. It was, he argued, “calculated to injure rather than promote the general welfare.” He objected in particular to the provisions of the bill that charged farmers fees for government expenditures in purchasing farm surpluses. Introduced once again in 1929, the bill was vetoed by the new president, Herbert Hoover. There were not enough votes to pass it, even when farm prices began to drop again in the late 1920s. Within the Farm Bloc itself, extensive intervention in commodity markets was a divisive issue. The Farm Bureau, like the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, often preferred voluntary economic solutions, rather than government ones. As a result, while the McNary-Haugen Farm Bill drew support from various sectors, the direction of farm policy remained limited to government support for farm cooperatives and marketing, in such laws as the CAPPER-VOLSTEAD ACT of 1922 and the AGRICULTURAL MARKETING ACT of 1929.

See also LOBBYING AND INTEREST GROUPS.

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### McPherson, Aimee Semple (1890–1944)

*Pentecostal evangelist*

A popular evangelist and founder of the International Church of the Four-Square Gospel, Aimee Elizabeth Semple McPherson was born in Salford, Ontario, Canada, on October 9, 1890. She was the daughter of James Morgan Kenney, a Methodist farmer, and his second wife, Minnie, an orphan who had been raised by a Salvation Army family. In 1908, at age 18, Aimee married Robert Semple, an Irish Pentecostal evangelist. She converted to Pentecostalism and joined her husband on tour. On a mission to China in 1910, Robert took ill and died, and Aimee became a widow. She gave birth to a daughter, Roberta Star, shortly thereafter. In 1912, Aimee Semple married Harold McPherson, an accountant. After she gave birth to a son, Rolf, in 1913, Aimee became depressed. Believing herself called to preach, she left McPherson to become a traveling evangelist. She believed that she heard voices calling her to the ministry, and her experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues gave her the authority. In 1919, she moved to Los Angeles with her mother and two children. For the next few years, she remained a road evangelist and traveled with her mother Minnie across the country.

McPherson's ministry offered her followers a new version of Pentecostalism. She preached on the four roles of Jesus Christ as healer, baptizer, savior, and returning



Aimee Semple McPherson (Library of Congress)

king. With this message, McPherson gained the financial support and personal loyalty of thousands she converted and others who found her a compelling personal presence. In 1923, after years of preaching in tent revivals on the road, McPherson opened her Angelus Temple with 5,300 seats in Los Angeles. She continued to draw large crowds to her services, and she finally incorporated her church as the International Church of the Four-Square Gospel in 1927.

McPherson's popularity was based in part on her relentless innovation. Drawing upon new technologies to “get out the word,” she traveled the country in her revival days in the “Gospel car.” She used the vehicle as part-pulpit and part-advertising billboard, and it carried her message:

“Jesus is coming soon; get ready.” McPherson also integrated jazz music, stage theatricals, and even opera into her services, and she became one of the first evangelists to use the RADIO as a “wireless telephone” to reach the masses. She opened a Bible school in 1923, to preach her own version of the Pentecostal gospel. In 1924, she bought a radio station, which she dubbed KFSG for “Kall Four Square Gospel.”

In 1926 McPherson disappeared while on holiday. When she reappeared a few days later, she claimed to have been abducted. Newspapers reported that they had discovered a love nest in Carmel, California, which McPherson shared with a former KFSG radio engineer, Kenneth Ormiston. Put on trial under the charge of perjury, McPherson convinced the jury that she had been telling the truth about the kidnapping. She was acquitted, but never again did she have the same popularity. During the Great Depression, she opened a soup kitchen at her church and did other community work. McPherson continued her ministry for the rest of her life. She died in 1944, the victim of an accidental overdose of sleeping pills.

See also RELIGION; SUNDAY, WILLIAM ASHLEY, JR.

**Further reading:** Daniel Mark Epstein, *Sister Aimee: The Life of Aimee Semple McPherson* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1993).

### **Mead, Margaret** (1901–1978) *anthropologist*

One of the most important public intellectuals of the 20th century, anthropologist Margaret Mead was and is a figure of both admiration and controversy. She was a prolific writer of 44 books and hundreds of articles, many written for popular audiences. Mead became best known for her work on adolescence and child care in other cultures. In landmark books, she advanced the argument that culture, not biology, determined gender identity and sexual behavior. Mead balanced her intellectual courage with wit and humor, making her a sought-after public speaker. By the end of her life, as much cultural icon as intellectual, she appeared on radio and television and published widely in the popular press.

Born on December 16, 1901, the oldest of four children, Mead was the daughter of economist Edward Sherwood Mead of the University of Pennsylvania and Emily Fogg, a sociologist and social reformer. Home-schooled prior to high school, Margaret took her bachelor's degree in psychology at Barnard College in 1923 and her M.A. and Ph.D. at Columbia University (1928). While in graduate school, she married theology student Luther Cressman. They were divorced in 1928.

A student of anthropologists FRANZ BOAS and Ruth Benedict, Mead did fieldwork in American Samoa for her

dissertation. The study, later published as *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), argued that the experience of adolescence varied across cultures. A best-seller later translated into several languages, it asserted that the more relaxed childrearing practices of Samoan culture made adolescence and sexual development less conflict-ridden and problematic than in the West. Indirectly, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, like much of Mead's later work, challenged the idea of Western cultural superiority by showing how the West might learn from other cultures.

In subsequent years, Mead returned to the South Pacific. With her second husband, psychologist Reo Fortune, she went on a fieldwork expedition to New Guinea in 1928–29. Mead studied the play and imagination of young children in the region. Based on her research, she published *Growing Up in New Guinea* in 1930. Mead divorced Fortune in 1935. A year later, she married British anthropologist Gregory Bateson, with whom she conducted research in Bali. Together, they wrote a study, *Balinese Character* (1942), which utilized photography in its analysis of culture. Mead gave birth to a daughter, Mary Catherine Bateson, in 1939. Mead later divorced Bateson.

Throughout her career, Mead chose to work at the intersection of academic and popular institutions. In 1926, she took a position with the anthropology department of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. She worked there for more than 40 years, first as assistant then as associate curator (1942–64), and finally as curator from 1964 to 1969. She joined the Columbia University faculty as director of research in contemporary cultures (1948–50) and adjunct professor of anthropology in 1954. In 1968, she was appointed head of social sciences and professor of anthropology at Fordham University. She served in both official and informal capacities on federal commissions and in international associations, and she testified before Congress and other government agencies.

Mead saw her work as curator of museum collections and exhibits as being on an equal par with her publications and teaching. She was an enthusiastic advocate for women's rights, the environment, child development, and education. A strong believer in interdisciplinarity, she is given credit for combining for the first time psychology with anthropology. Her later works, including *Sex and Temperament in Three Cultures* (1935), *Male and Female* (1949), *New Lives for Old* (1956), and *Culture and Commitment* (1970), kept her ideas before the public. Believing that racism, warfare, and a lack of respect for the environment were learned behaviors, Mead argued that humans had the capacity to modify their paths and create different futures. She published her memoirs, *Blackberry Winter*, in 1972. Her anthropological work was tremendously influential in shaping the opinion both of scholars and of the general public. Mead died in 1978.

**Further reading:** Mary Catherine Bateson, *With a Daughter's Eye; A Memoir of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson* (New York: William Morrow, 1984); June Howard, *Margaret Mead; A Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984).

### Meat Inspection Act (1906)

The Meat Inspection Act of 1906 was an attempt to regulate the meatpacking industry and to assure consumers that the meat they were eating was safe. By 1900, industrialization had changed food production in the United States. Throughout much of history, ordinary people either raised and slaughtered their own meat or purchased it from local butchers. As the nation became more urban and industrial, however, a national meatpacking industry emerged to capture the market. By 1900, livestock was being raised on large-scale farms and ranches and driven to centralized slaughterhouses in Kansas City and Chicago. Once slaughtered, the livestock was then divided into various cuts of beef and pork, and shipped across the country on refrigerated railroad cars. MASS PRODUCTION and the assembly line were introduced into meatpacking, and livestock was brought to slaughterhouse employees by conveyor belts. As the meatpacking industry changed, giant corporations such as Armour, Wilson, and Swift quickly came to dominate the industry. These large-scale producers attempted to maximize profits by introducing technological changes to increase efficiency and by pushing employers to work more quickly.

Working conditions and the cleanliness of the industry deteriorated as meatpacking companies attempted to increase profits at a time when food prices were steadily declining. Those calling for closer scrutiny of the food processing industry included the American Medical Association and journalists Samuel Hopkins Adams and UPTON SINCLAIR. In 1904, Sinclair published a series of articles in *McClure's* magazine exposing hazards facing slaughterhouse workers and the unsanitary conditions in the stockyards of Chicago. Later that year, he published *The Jungle* (1906), a novel based on his research. The conditions of the Chicago stockyards horrified consumers across the country and led to demands that the government take action to ensure the quality and purity of the nation's meat supply.

Ironically, Sinclair had focused his attention on the hazardous working and living conditions of slaughterhouse employees. The public turned out to be more concerned about the food they were eating. Pressure on the federal government mounted. The Neill-Reynolds report, a Department of Agriculture inquiry into the working conditions and sanitation of the industry, convinced many politicians of the need to act. The proposed legislation, however, was not without its critics. Conservatives in Congress,

including Speaker of the House JOSEPH CANNON, argued that the Constitution did not grant the federal government the authority to regulate industry. The meatpacking industry lobbied aggressively to get the legislation blocked. Public concern, however, convinced President THEODORE ROOSEVELT and progressive congressmen of the need to act. The Meat Inspection Act and the PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT were both passed in 1906. Concluding that distribution of meat constituted interstate commerce and hence fell under federal jurisdiction, Congress prohibited the sale of tainted meat and authorized the Department of Agriculture to investigate meatpacking plants. The momentum generated by the passage of the Meat Inspection Act helped secure the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act, which had been stalled in Congress since 1905. With these two pieces of legislation, the federal government took important steps to assure the public that the food they were eating met minimum safety standards and, in the process, restored public confidence.

**Further reading:** Lewis L. Gould, *The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1991).

—Robert Gordon

### medicine

Between 1900 and 1930, significant changes in the medical profession, medical practice, and medical knowledge transformed the health care system in the United States. At the turn of the century, the American Medical Association (AMA) was in its infancy. Only about 7,000 doctors (or 6 percent of medical doctors) belonged to AMA, and most doctors remained independent of professional ties. Jealous medical professionals fought the encroachments of PUBLIC HEALTH departments and competed with each other for patients. Medical licensing was neither widespread nor uniform, and medical education was haphazard. American medical knowledge lagged behind the advancements in Europe and compared badly to Germany, where laboratory SCIENCES were revolutionizing medical diagnosis and treatment. The hospital, long thought to be a house of death, was only beginning its transformation into an institution for the diagnosis, treatment, and cure of disease. By 1930, medicine in the United States would be transformed into the modern system of health care that prevails today.

The turn of the century was a time of great medical discoveries. New bacteriological studies had uncovered the cause of many infectious diseases, including tuberculosis, diphtheria, cholera, typhoid, and rabies. Public health officials attuned to the need for prevention and treatment had begun to clean up city sanitation and educate the public in new standards of personal hygiene. Surgery, which



was scarcely practiced through most of the 19th century, came into its own as a field of medical practice. During this period, antiseptic procedures in surgery sharply reduced patient mortality in operations. By the turn of the century, abdominal surgery had become more frequent as had new surgical operations on the lungs, nervous system, and heart.

A central tension in the development of medicine in the 20th century was the competition that existed between public health needs and the medical profession. Doctors and medical practitioners faced the dilemma of having a professional creed (the Hippocratic oath) that obligated doctors to provide care mated with the economic self-interest of a newly powerful profession. As medical knowledge and treatment improved, doctors were in greater demand. They sought and slowly gained higher fees and salaries, but the problem remained of how to elevate the status and income of the profession, long seen as a mixture of concerned practitioners, traditional homeopaths, and outright quacks and charlatans who promised miracle cures. The only way, in the view of many physicians, was to reduce the supply of doctors and thus increase demand and reward. Doctors sought to achieve this goal by collective organization (the AMA), improvement of medical education and the discrediting of commercial medical schools, and licensing. The AMA reorganized in 1901 in order to create a more efficient system of governance. At the same time, it put pressure on state medical associations to reorganize and coordinate their activities with the national AMA.

The key to controlling entry into the profession, while at the same time improving medical care, was to radically reform medical education in the United States. The first tentative steps in this direction were made in the training of nurses. Reform in nursing education began as early as the 1870s and progressed into the 20th century. The dearth of trained nurses was solved, as the number of nursing schools increased from three in 1873 to 432 in 1900 and 1,129 in 1910. Nursing education came to include many of the same elements of medical schools, including student training in hospitals. The 1923 Carnegie Foundation report on *Nursing and Nursing Education in the United States*, which social investigator JOSEPHINE GOLDMARK helped to write, furthered these trends.

During the 1870s, there was a similar movement to reform doctor education. Harvard University led the way in professionalizing medical education beginning in 1871. Under President Charles Eliot, the university completely revamped its medical school, instituting training in the laboratory sciences of physiology, pathological anatomy, and chemistry, and integrating clinical work. The 1893 founding of Johns Hopkins University Medical School and its hospital was another step forward. The Johns Hopkins program focused on research in the laboratory sciences as well

as clinical work and hospital internships. It was at Johns Hopkins that the term “residency” was first coined when the school implemented the practice of assigning newly educated doctors to practical training. Medical schools expanded the fields of medicine to incorporate public health and OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY concerns. In 1919, Harvard Medical School hired ALICE HAMILTON, the first woman on their faculty but also the first specialist in the field of industrial medicine. Her books on industrial toxicology would become standards in the field.

Drawing on European models, the innovative medical schools at Harvard and Johns Hopkins led the way for changes in medical education as a whole. The AMA put pressure on state legislatures to implement new standards of medical licensing of doctors and medical schools that required a higher level of both laboratory and clinical education. The elite schools also stretched the requirements for a medical degree from two to five and then eight years, including a hospital internship. The cost of laboratory equipment, adequate library resources, and hospital facilities put many small proprietary medical schools out of business.

The final blow for smaller commercial medical schools was a report issued in 1910. That year, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching hired Abraham Flexner, an educational reformer, to conduct a survey of medical schools in the United States. Visiting medical schools across the country, Flexner found that there



Public Health Service nurse treating patient (Library of Congress)



were many smaller medical schools that had only made gestures toward meeting the new educational standards. They lacked laboratory facilities to educate students in the clinical sciences of physiology and anatomy. Their libraries lacked books and journals; their faculty largely busied themselves with outside practice. Within a few years, the new state licensing boards, coupled with Flexner's report, had their desired effect. The number of medical schools declined from 161 in 1900 to 81 in 1922. With new and higher standards and strengthening of medical education, the AMA shored up its prestige and the financial rewards of being a doctor, as income steadily increased throughout the period.

As both a school for the clinical training of physicians and as an institution for the treatment of disease, the American hospital went through several changes in the early 20th century. Early hospitals had been places where the poor went for refuge and free treatment and the terminally ill went to die. Most men and women preferred seeing private doctors in offices or homes. Surgery often was performed in kitchens, and doctors oversaw childbirth in the mother's home. In rural regions and poor city neighborhoods, midwives still watched over and sometimes intervened in births. After 1900, the hospital became the venue of choice for an increasing number of middle-class and even working-class patients. Their chief problems had been the lack of trained doctors and the high rate of infection in hospital wards. New antiseptic procedures and greater demand for hospital space by trained physicians changed the profile of the hospital. Reform of medical education made the hospital the place where new medical graduates did their internships, and doctors increasingly used hospital to place seriously ill patients and candidates for surgery. With these changes, there was greater specialization, as hospitals divided labor according to the level of training, years of practice, and reputation of doctors. Modern hospitals no longer depended on availability to attract doctors but rather began to pay fees to private doctors and salaries to those on staff. Moreover, many hospitals became profit-making enterprises.

The modernization of American medicine came at a cost. The constant tension between private doctors and public health departments severely limited the provision of free public health care and truncated many community health initiatives. At the same time, public health programs such as free laboratory testing for diphtheria and tuberculosis and school health programs to diagnose hearing and eye problems and infectious diseases indirectly subsidized medical care. The desire for greater income and higher status for the profession led doctors to close down commercial medical schools that had trained doctors for working-class immigrant, rural, and African-American communities. In general, doctors gravitated to wealthy areas. As one AMA

study showed, more than a third of small towns that had doctors in 1914 had lost them by 1925. In 1906, there was one doctor for every 590 persons; by 1923, this had increased to 910. In large cities, there had been little growth in the numbers of doctors per capita. The shortage of doctors was particularly acute among African Americans. The new standards for accreditation of medical schools had reduced the number of medical schools enrolling African-American students from seven to two. Within a few years of the 1910 report, only Howard and Meharry remained. The consequence for medical care in African-American communities was devastating. In Mississippi, for example, where medical care was segregated by race, there was only one physician in 1930 for every 14,634 African-American residents.

Women in the medical profession were also casualties of the new emphasis on research science and elite medical education. Where the United States once had the highest number of trained women physicians in the world and a relatively high percentage of women went to medical school, after 1910 most medical schools limited the proportion of women students admitted to 5 percent of classes. The number of women medical students dropped by nearly a third. At the same time, professional hostility toward women increased. The AMA, like many professional and academic associations, marginalized or excluded women in its ranks, which meant women received fewer medical referrals, had to pay more in malpractice insurance, and—without AMA support—might never receive, or eventually lose, their license to practice medicine.

With these changes, American medicine entered a new era of medical discovery, treatment, and care. It also faced a future in which private practice and private medical insurance, not public health care and national health insurance, was the dominant mode. It would be decades before development of a health system that reached the mass of the population with preventative treatment and regular care.

**Further reading:** Judith Leavitt and Ronald Numbers, eds., *Sickness and Health in America: Readings in the History of Medicine and Public Health* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978); Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine* (New York: Basic Books, 1982).

### **Mellon, Andrew William** (1855–1937)

*businessperson, politician, philanthropist*

Andrew Mellon was one of the most influential bankers and conservative politicians of the 1920s. He served as secretary of the treasury throughout the decade and earned a reputation for cutting taxes and trimming the federal budget. Born in Pittsburgh in 1855 as the son of Thomas

Mellon, a successful banker, Andrew went to school at what is now the University of Pittsburgh. He left college early to enter into business and soon joined forces with his father and brother Richard to found the firm Thomas Mellon and sons. In 1889, Andrew Mellon established the Union Trust Company of Pittsburgh, which was destined to become one of the largest financial institutions in the United States. Mellon also invested widely and had holdings in the oil, locomotive, bridge construction, electric, coal, public utility, steel, and insurance industries.

In 1921, he resigned as president of the Mellon National Bank to become secretary of the treasury under WARREN G. HARDING, an appointment he held until 1932. As treasury secretary, Mellon had the dismantling of the war-built tax structure as his principal goal. He argued that the nation was “staggering under the existing burden of taxation and debt” and clamored for “gradual relief from war taxation.” He reiterated his proposals to a special session of Congress in 1921, recommending repeal of the excess profits tax. He also called for the reduction of individual and corporate income taxes and surtaxes on income. In the Revenue Act of 1921, Congress repealed the excess profits tax. It further lowered income tax rates in 1921, 1924, and again in 1926. Taxes were reduced from a maximum of 73 percent to 40 percent on income for 1921 and 33 percent thereafter. He published *Taxation: The People's Business* in 1924 to express his tax philosophy.

Despite drastic tax cuts throughout the decade, Mellon's budgetary advice helped to reduce the national debt from over \$24 billion in 1920 to \$16 billion in 1930. His tight budget philosophy, however, had other, negative consequences. When the Great Depression began in 1929, his distaste for deficit spending reinforced President Herbert Hoover's conservative approach to the crisis. As the economy went into a tailspin following the Stock Market Crash of 1929, neither the president nor Mellon could find any justification for federal relief for farmers or the unemployed.

By the end of Hoover's presidency, Mellon had already begun to withdraw from political life. He served briefly as ambassador to Great Britain and left the position when Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected in 1932. In private life, Mellon had a reputation as a philanthropist. He donated \$10 million to the founding of the Mellon Institute for Industrial Research in Pittsburgh, and later he donated his art collection, and funds for a building to house it, to the federal government. Mellon died in 1937.

**Further reading:** David Cannadine, *Mellon: An American Life* (New York: Knopf, 2006); Robert K. Murray, *The Politics of Normalcy: Government Theory and Practice in the Harding-Coolidge Era* (New York: Norton, 1973).

**Mencken, Henry Louis** (1880–1956) *journalist, editor, literary and cultural critic*

Henry Louis Mencken (H. L.) was born in Baltimore on September 12, 1880. The son of August Mencken, a prominent cigar maker, Henry Mencken was groomed by his father to become a cigar maker, but he had different plans. The two years that he spent working for his father were the worst years of his life. Only two weeks after his father died, Mencken applied for a position with the *Baltimore Morning Herald*.

Living the life of a cigar worker would have been difficult for Mencken. From early on it was clear that he was exceptionally bright and perceptive. Even during his formative years, he showed a promise that led to his appointment as his high school's valedictorian in 1896. His intelligence and curiosity led him to a career as a journalist. Just three years out of high school, in 1899 he became a reporter for the *Baltimore Morning Herald*. In 1906 he moved on to the *Baltimore Sun* where he worked, on and off, for the remainder of his life.

In 1914 Mencken and George Jean Nathan began editing *The Smart Set*, a witty urban magazine that was a precursor to the *American Mercury*, which Nathan founded in 1924. Mencken was a primary contributor and edited the magazine until 1933. *The Smart Set* and *American Mercury* were two of a growing number of publications that came to symbolize the LITERATURE of the era. They challenged conventional norms with satire and humor. They helped to usher in one of the most noteworthy eras in American literature.

Mencken became one of the foremost social critics of the era. He ridiculed organized religion, pretension, provincialism, and businessmen. In one of his most infamous critiques, he referred to American middle-class businessmen as the “booboisie.” He refused to accept the popularly held notion that successful businessmen were, by definition, better people. This placed him at odds with stalwart defenders of American capitalism. For many, he challenged society itself. On the heels of a scathing critique of American culture, Mencken was asked why he bothered living in a society that he held in such disdain. He simply remarked “for the same reason that people go to the zoo.” Few were free from the wrath of his pen. In an unveiled attack on both American government and lawyers, he complained that “all the extravagance and incompetence of our present Government is due, in the main, to lawyers, and, in part at least, to good ones. They are responsible for nine-tenths of the useless and vicious laws that now clutter the statute-books, and for all the evils that go with the vain attempt to enforce them.”

Mencken criticized the foundations of American society. He did not believe in democracy as it was practiced in the United States. The government, he believed, did not

exist to help its citizens. It, he assured his readers, existed only to promote its own existence and expansion. It was apparent to many readers that Mencken had little respect for the so-called sacred institutions and he thought that Americans, and people in general, were ignorant and selfish. He once noted that, “No one has gone broke underestimating the intelligence of the American public.”

The SCOPES TRIAL proved to Mencken that the American public was unfit for self-governance. Throughout the trial, he lambasted the American people for their ignorance and hatred. He was especially appalled by the fact that Americans seemed to have more faith in what he believed to be the incoherent ramblings of WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN than in the poignant, well-articulated arguments made by CLARENCE DARROW. The trial proved to Mencken that the American public was unwilling to accept the truth that was often before them, and therefore unfit to govern themselves. His opinions reflected many of the rural-urban tensions of the time as, in many respects, he exaggerated the strength of support for Bryan’s position.

According to Mencken, PROHIBITION was an even more appalling example of the lack of judgment by the American people. He was convinced that unthinking, self-righteous individuals thrust Prohibition upon society. He was one of the first writers to point out the shortcomings of the amendment. In an article citing many of the failings of Prohibition, he sarcastically acknowledged one of its benefits. He noted that, “five years of Prohibition have had, at least, this one benign effect: they have completely disposed of all the favorite arguments of the Prohibitionists.”

Mencken’s wit and brilliance helped him to forge a literary genre that remains powerful even today, but he was more than one of the most popular writers of the era. He became a celebrity and wrote a number of books. Throughout his life, he remained a steadfast critic of American society. His criticisms were poignant and well articulated, but intolerance, mistrust, racism, and ANTI-SEMITISM also colored them. Mencken had a stroke in 1948 and died in 1956.

See also JOURNALISM.

**Further reading:** Richard J. Schrader, *H. L. Mencken: A Documentary Volume* (Detroit: Gale Group, 2000).

—Steve Freund

## Mexican immigration

The migration of Mexicans north into the United States steadily increased between 1900 and 1930. The number of Mexican immigrants officially recorded as entering the United States grew from 49,000 between 1901 and 1910 to 219,000 from 1911 to 1920, and 459,000 in the 1920s. The ease in crossing the border between the United States

and Mexico has always made it difficult to have an accurate count. Between 1900 and 1930, the number of Mexicans entering the United States far exceeded the “official” count. While a number of factors contributed to the movement of Mexicans north after 1900, much of the migration had its origins as a response to economic development in Mexico under President Porfirio Díaz during the last quarter of the 19th century.

Upon becoming president in 1876, Díaz faced two options for national development: either reorganize the agrarian sector to raise capital internally or leave domestic agriculture alone and turn instead to foreign investors for capital. Díaz favored the latter option. He quickly worked to improve the image of Mexico in an effort to increase foreign investment. In his first major initiative, Díaz expanded the national railroad system. Financed largely by American investors, this project linked the Mexican economy to the world market. Ignoring internal demands for an east-west railroad network, U.S. capital instead built in Mexico rail lines running north-south to ensure better American access to Mexico’s cheap raw materials. The mining district of Sonora, for example, became better linked to the United States than to Mexico City. Moreover, the rail network facilitated the northward movement of Mexican workers displaced from the Mexican countryside. In his effort to modernize the country, Díaz established an export-based economy, making the country dependent on world market conditions. His program of development offered limited benefits to the country as a whole. Rather, the small economic elite received the major economic benefit of Díaz’s policies. By 1910, the country sent 80 percent of its exports to, and received 66 percent of its imports from, the United States.

Although the expansion of Mexico’s foreign trade brought new consumer goods and economic opportunities, widespread dissatisfaction appeared throughout the country. In urban areas, the growing wage labor force worked under extremely poor conditions, and the middle class resented the extent to which foreigners filled new professional jobs. Because the peasant population suffered large losses of land to foreign investors and Mexican elites, they lost their capacity for self-sufficiency. By 1910, the transformation affected nearly all of the rural population, creating an enormous, landless workforce and stimulating a massive migration of rural individuals to Mexican cities. While Díaz’s program of foreign investment increased the wage labor sector, it failed to provide adequate resources or opportunities for laborers and the new landless class. Mexico’s export-based economy further prevented the emergence of a substantial industrial sector that might have absorbed rural to urban migrants. In addition, the country’s population grew by 50 percent between 1875 and 1910. This growth contributed to the limited wage labor opportunities available within Mexico.

The frustration caused by this economic development contributed to the outbreak of the MEXICAN REVOLUTION in 1910. Subsequent political instability motivated many Mexicans to migrate to the United States. Concurrently, the American Southwest (principally Texas, Arizona, and California) experienced rapid economic growth, largely in the labor-intensive areas of agriculture, mining, and railroads. In order to compete in the national market, industries sought ways to minimize their production costs. Because Díaz's economic development had resulted in better transportation connections between the United States and Mexico, American employers increasingly relied on Mexico as a cheap reservoir of both labor and raw materials. By the 1920s, the promise of higher wages easily attracted Mexican laborers to the United States. The average daily wage differed substantially between the two countries. In 1910, male agricultural workers in Mexico could anticipate making between 20 and 25 cents daily while their peers in the United States could expect to earn between 50 cents and one dollar per day. By 1920, the daily wage in the United States had risen to between \$1 and \$2, while in Mexico it remained virtually unchanged.

Higher wages were not the sole reason for the steady increase of Mexican immigrants to the United States during the 1920s. While the federal government enacted legislation that capped the total number of immigrants allowed to enter the United States annually, emigration from within the Western Hemisphere remained untouched by the QUOTA ACT of 1921 and the NATIONAL ORIGINS ACT of 1924. More than 450,000 Mexicans entered the United States during the 1920s, representing nearly 11 percent of the total immigrant population for the decade. In addition, thousands more took advantage of the relatively porous border and entered without the necessary visas. Although the 1924 National Origins Act did not apply any quotas on the number of Mexican immigrants, it did establish the Border Patrol under the authority of the U.S. Bureau of IMMIGRATION. Nevertheless, migrants still found ways across the border under the assistance of "coyotes," as the border-crossing experts came to be known.

For the most part, Mexican immigrants settled in Texas, Arizona, and California. The bulk of the American population was either unaware or unconcerned with this group. Through the 1920s, the response to Mexicans was varied, but it never reached the level of hostility that had been witnessed by Asian immigrants. The volume of Mexican immigration to the United States declined around 1928 as American consulates in Mexico started to enforce the literacy requirements of the IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1917. More than this stricter enforcement, the Great Depression brought a noticeable halt to the movement of Mexicans into the United States. Not only did large numbers of Mexicans voluntarily decide to return home, but also the

United States forcibly repatriated many Mexicans who did not hold the proper documentation when many localities argued that immigrants were a drain on limited resources. The patterns of Mexican migration to fill the employment needs of such industries as agriculture, were well developed from 1900 to 1930. Following the Great Depression, employers in the southwest quickly turned to the federal government to create programs to supply them with sufficient numbers of employees from across the border in Mexico.

See also ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

**Further reading:** David Gutierrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

—David R. Smith

### Mexican Invasion (1916–1917)

As an unsuccessful attempt to capture and punish Francisco "Pancho" Villa, a leader of the MEXICAN REVOLUTION, the Mexican Invasion proved to be a costly embarrassment to the U.S. government and to President WOODROW WILSON. From March 1916 to January 1917, 6,000 U.S. Army troops under the command of General JOHN "Blackjack" PERSHING searched for Villa to punish him for the killing of Americans by his forces. Ultimately, the expedition returned to the United States without ever finding Villa.

Pancho Villa was a leader in northern Mexico during the Mexican Revolution. He hoped to institute radical economic change that would benefit Mexico's industrial workforce and its agricultural workers. He initially courted U.S. support during the revolution and did not protest in 1915 when the U.S. Navy occupied Veracruz in an effort to determine the outcome of the revolution. When Woodrow Wilson threw his support behind a competing revolutionist, Venustiano Carranza, Villa launched an effort to punish the United States and Wilson in retaliation for what he saw as betrayal.

Villa's forces first struck in January 1916 in northern Mexico by pulling 15 U.S. mining engineers from their train and murdering them. In March 1916, he sent nearly 500 men to attack Columbus, New Mexico. Villa's men terrorized the town for hours, killing 18 people, injuring scores more, and burning the town to the ground. The 13th Cavalry eventually drove Villa's forces out of New Mexico.

Demands for U.S. intervention to punish Villa were immediate. Some called for all-out war and occupation of Mexico. President Wilson avoided talk of war. Instead, he sent an expedition under General Pershing to capture Villa. Unfortunately for the United States, the organization of the



expedition took one week. By the time the troops entered Mexico, Villa and his troops had covered their tracks. The U.S. Army wandered around Mexico looking for Villa. As they did, they met opposition from rural Mexicans who were the base for Villa's revolutionary movement. As they moved south, the Carranza government, which Wilson helped bring to power, began to see the American troops as a threat and ordered them to withdraw. In fact, the only confrontation during the invasion was between U.S. troops and the Carranza government's troops.

Despite their inability to capture Villa, the U.S. Army had weakened his position in the struggle for power in Mexico. While Villa fled Pershing's troops in northern Mexico, Carranza consolidated power in Mexico City. Preoccupied with Pershing's troops, Villa was unable to challenge Carranza for control of the Mexican government. The Mexican Invasion therefore played a role in the outcome of the Mexican Revolution by helping the pro-U.S. Carranza government consolidate power.

**Further reading:** Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History*, 3d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

—Michael Hartman

### Mexican Revolution (1910–1917)

The Mexican Revolution refers to a series of armed struggles that occurred from 1910 to 1917 and resulted in the creation of a new constitution under the government of Venustiano Carranza. The United States played an important role in both the cause of the revolutions and the outcome. The hardships created by the revolution also led many Mexicans to immigrate to the United States.

There were many political, economic and social causes of the revolution. Politically, widespread opposition to the 33-year dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz existed. Mexico's rapidly industrializing economy had created severe dislocations for many Mexicans. Díaz's government had pursued industrialization through agreement with foreign corporations, mainly from the United States and Great Britain. By 1911, for example, foreign companies owned the 80 largest commercial and industrial companies in Mexico. Companies from the United States controlled essential industries such as mining, the railroads, oil, electric power, and the telegraph. Many Mexicans believed that the foreign corporations controlled too much of their country's economy.

The expansion of the railroad also played a key role in disenchantment with the Mexican government. As railroads infiltrated new areas, they brought industrial goods and opened up new markets for agricultural goods. This simultaneously put local producers out of business and led to an increase in agricultural production for export, both

of which refocused the economic lives of millions of Mexicans from local concerns to international. These developments caused severe dislocations in rural Mexican society. Simultaneously, the new industrial workers laboring in foreign-owned factories were unhappy with their working conditions and wages. Many members of the middle class also resisted Díaz's economic policies. Business owners disagreed with his policies favoring foreign companies. They wanted both the economic benefits that industrialization brought and the independence from foreign control of their economy. The Mexican Revolution became, therefore, a many-sided affair.

The immediate cause of the revolution was an economic depression that began in 1907. The depression destroyed many businesses, leading to unrest among the middle classes who formed one of the most powerful groups in Mexico. In response to the unrest, Díaz called for presidential elections in 1910. Reversing his earlier promise not to run for president again, he announced his candidacy and arrested his chief rival, Francisco Madero. Madero escaped police custody and fled to the United States, where he called for an armed insurrection against Díaz's government. Mexicans in several regions immediately took up arms.

The forces seeking the overthrow of Díaz coalesced around three leaders: Madero, Francisco (Pancho) Villa, and Emiliano Zapata. All three were fighting for the overthrow of Díaz but with different goals in mind. Villa, whose support came from the industrial north, sought radical economic change to benefit industrial workers. Zapata, who was based in the agricultural south, wanted agrarian reform. Madero and his supporters came from the middle class and hoped to gain control of the economy.

Faced with insurmountable opposition to his regime, Díaz signed a treaty with Madero that called for a new election in October 1911. Madero won the election and became president. He and his military commander, General Victoriano Huerta, quickly cracked down on their former allies in the revolution, killing and imprisoning many of Zapata and Villa's supporters. The military crackdown led to a rebellion against the government by workers and peasants. In 1913, feeling that Madero was not doing enough to quell the violence, Huerta led a coup that ended in the president's assassination. Huerta then assumed the presidency.

Huerta's violent takeover led to another round of violence as different factions fought to overthrow his illegitimate presidency. Villa and Zapata now directed their forces against Huerta. A third force emerged led by Venustiano Carranza, a former governor under Díaz, who sought to protect constitutional government and democratic rights. His followers became known as the Constitutionalists.

At this point, the United States got involved. President WOODROW WILSON enacted a financial blockade and arms



Federalists watching the advance of rebels at Ojinaga, Mexico (Library of Congress)

embargo against Huerta's illegitimate government. The United States also aided the anti-Huerta forces, particularly the Constitutionalists. In 1914, the United States intervened even further by invading the half of Mexico port of Veracruz to stop a shipment of arms from reaching Huerta's forces. For a variety of reasons, U.S. intervention helped the Constitutionalists more than Zapata and Villa. Facing hostile forces from four sides, Huerta resigned on July 8, 1914. Reaching Mexico City first, Carranza and the Constitutionalists reached an agreement with Mexico's largest labor union that gave them overwhelming numerical strength. Carranza was thus able to proclaim himself president.

The revolution then entered a third and final phase that saw conflict between the Carranza government and the forces of Zapata and Villa. With aid from the United States, the government defeated the two rebel forces. The Mexican Revolution left Mexico with a government that came to power with the aid of the United States. Thus, a revolution that began partly as an attempt to reduce the influence of U.S. corporations ended with a government that owed the United States its victory. The revolution also played a significant role in enlarging the Mexican-American population of the United States as many Mexicans fled the inflation, violence, and social chaos of the revolution by immigrating to the United States.

See also MEXICAN INVASION.

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—Michael Hartman

### **Middletown** (1929)

In 1929, sociologists Robert and Helen Merrell Lynd published the groundbreaking study, *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture*. The Lynds used sociological methods to examine the lives of ordinary American citizens in a midwestern city, Muncie, Indiana. One of the first community studies, *Middletown* served as a model for sociological research for generations to come. Robert Lynd, a Protestant minister, was committed to the ideas of the Social Gospel, a social movement within American Protestantism concerned with social justice and redeeming the nation's cities. The Lynds' concern about the influence of the modern urban world on traditional Protestant values thus became central to the study of *Middletown*.

The Lynds' study of Middletown was intended to explore how industry, urbanization, and consumption influenced traditional American values in the 1920s. They chose Muncie as their site for research because it appeared to be less affected by these modern forces. Initially funded by the Institute for Social and Religious Research, a John

D. Rockefeller foundation dealing with the preservation of traditional American values, the Lynds purposefully did not choose an ethnically diverse city. Instead, they studied a “traditional vanishing white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant city, which was . . . the center of old-fashioned American virtue.” The Lynds thought, “The hope for social progress and moral reawakening resided . . . within the original American spirit, the adventurous, strong spirit of the Protestant pioneers of the Midwest.” But when the Lynds found that dramatic changes in traditional American values had already transformed Muncie, the institute distanced itself from the publication of *Middletown*.

The Lynds found varying institutional adaptations to the modernizing forces at work in *Middletown*. They claimed that the highest degree of change had occurred in earning a living and leisure-time activities. Both changes were attributed to technological innovations. In the case of work, the rise of the industrial system created two major groups, the working and business classes. Meanwhile, greater organization of leisure time resulted from such technological developments as the automobile and moving pictures. While the informal contact of the past had encouraged the development of close-knit ties between people in the midwestern city, the technological changes in leisure-time activities were creating a highly mobile and organized group life that left residents more isolated in *Middletown*.

The Lynds found that consumer values had begun to replace the older Puritan values of frugality, austerity, and civic-mindedness. They believed that community members in Muncie, no longer each other’s moral keepers, still retained a strong belief in competitive individualism. In addition, the community was characterized by a class system, divided between the “business class” and the “working class.” The Lynds’ examination of how competitive individualism replaced the older values of white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant culture was a significant contribution that influenced a whole generation of sociologists.

By focusing on traditional American values, the Lynds ignored important trends that were part of Muncie’s development. For example, southern “hillbillies” and African Americans were absent from the study, even though both groups already had become significant minorities in Muncie by the 1920s. In addition, critics have pointed out that Muncie’s dominant industrial family, the Ball brothers, were missing from the study as well. Evidently, the Lynds viewed such a dominant family as the norm and not of any special importance worthy of study. Even though their analysis of the class system was innovative, their examination of the decline of Protestant values obscured some of the demographic and cultural subtleties that transformed Muncie. In 1937, the Lynds returned to Muncie to see how the city had changed during the Great Depression. In *Middletown in Transition*, they concluded that not much had changed.

Finding the values of the citizens of Muncie relatively unaffected by the economic crisis, the Lynds wrote, “The texture of Middletown’s culture has not changed . . . Middletown is overwhelmingly living by the values by which it lived in 1925.”

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—Glen Bessemer

## migration

The migration of people from one place to another, whether internally or internationally, was a significant force in the United States during the early 20th century. In the years prior to WORLD WAR I, IMMIGRATION to the United States reached its peak, with 6 million immigrants arriving between 1900 and 1910 and nearly a million annually between 1900 and 1920. The “new immigration,” as it was called, came primarily from southern and eastern Europe and brought new customs and religious practices to the United States. Moreover, the new immigrants significantly increased the labor force, filling jobs in mass production and extractive industries. Their large numbers also contributed to the intensity and visibility of anti-immigrant sentiment among native-born Americans and gave rise to demands for the restriction of immigration.

The industrial development that attracted waves of men and women from Europe prompted others to migrate within the United States. Many men and women left the countryside and moved to cities, seeking better economic and cultural opportunities. Rural-to-urban migration was not new in American history, but the process accelerated during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While only 28.6 percent of Americans lived in an urban area in 1880, 40 percent did in 1900. The 1920 census reported that the United States had become an urban nation as more than half of its citizens (51.4 percent) lived in areas with a population of 2,500 or more.

Rural-to-urban migration was particularly common among young farm men and women. During the 1920s, a decade in which nearly 6.25 million people moved from the country to cities, one out of every four rural individuals in their early twenties left the countryside. A number of factors prompted their migration, including declining farm prices as the economy normalized after World War I, increasing employment opportunities in the cities, and the desire to seek independence and excitement away from home. Young women were even more likely to migrate to

an urban area than young men, since there were fewer job opportunities for them in rural areas. This migration of the young had lasting effects on the rural population. The age of the average farm operator increased, with 52.6 percent being over the age of 45 in 1930, while only 48.1 percent had been in 1920. The aging rural population also meant that there were fewer young people to attend churches and schools or shop and work in small towns.

People in the United States also migrated from one region of the country to another at this time. The largest such shift was the migration of people, both black and white, out of the primarily agricultural South to areas in the northern or western states. Starting in the years before World War I, African Americans left the South in the GREAT MIGRATION, hoping to find better economic opportunities as well as freedom from the restrictive Jim Crow laws of the South. Many of these individuals found work in factories or domestic service, jobs to which they were largely confined by racial prejudices. The migration of African Americans out of the South steadily increased during the early 20th century, with approximately 200,000 leaving the region in the first decade. Approximately 437,000 African Americans left the South during the 1910s and more than 800,000 during the 1920s. These migrants not only changed the racial composition of northern cities but also created institutions that would later provide some of the framework and leadership for the northern segment of the Civil Rights movement.

White southerners left the South to avoid the same agricultural economic hardships that many African Americans also faced. White southerners, however, did not encounter racial discrimination in the North. Their race made it easier for them to obtain higher paying, higher status work. More than 700,000 white southerners migrated north and west during the first decade of the century, 893,000 during the 1910s, and almost 1.5 million during the 1920s. Both white and black migration influenced American culture, spread Baptist and Pentecostal RELIGION out of the South, and contributed to the development of blues, jazz, and country MUSIC across the country.

The outbreak of World War I accelerated both rural to urban migration and South-to-North migration, as more workers were needed in northern industries to produce the supplies needed for war. The turmoil of World War I cut the United States from its source of immigrant labor in Europe, meaning that few new workers arrived in the United States. This shortage of immigrants proved beneficial to internal migrants, particularly African Americans, as many of them were able to obtain higher paying industrial jobs for the first time during the war.

Immigration never attained its former levels due to legislation passed in the 1920s, which made immigration from Asia, Africa, and southeastern Europe difficult or impossible, due to restrictive quotas. As a result, the num-

ber of immigrants arriving each year fell off sharply. The primary source of immigrants became Canada and Mexico, since Western Hemisphere nations were not included in the restrictive quotas. Migration within the United States continued unabated during the 1920s, although the economic collapse during the Great Depression caused a temporary decline in labor migration.

See also CITIES AND URBAN LIFE; POPULATION TRENDS; RURAL LIFE.

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—Kristen Anderson

## mining industry

The mining industry involves the excavation, extraction, and refining of minerals and ores from below ground, including coal, copper, iron, silver, gold, and materials such as asbestos. The mining of minerals and ores has been a significant factor in America's economic growth, particularly in the early 20th century. It continues to play a major role in supplying fuel and raw materials for industry and energy for consumers.

The coal industry was by far the most prominent sector of the mining industry. It consisted of two distinct ores—bituminous coal and anthracite coal. Anthracite, a hard-rock coal, was confined to a small region in Pennsylvania, while softer bituminous coal was present in the Appalachian mountain region and expansive parts of the Midwest and South. Miners first excavated bituminous coal in Virginia in 1750; the exact date of the discovery of anthracite coal is unclear. A blacksmith found that anthracite coal, although more difficult to ignite, was cleaner, burned more slowly, and generated more heat than bituminous coal. By the early years of the 19th century, anthracite was widely used to heat homes.

Anthracite coal also played a major role in iron production. Iron forgers had been unable to smelt cheap iron using bituminous coal as it contained too much sulfur, both for the smelting process and for conversion into coke. Instead, they produced small quantities of high-quality iron using charcoal. From the mid-19th century, however, anthracite coal facilitated the production of cheap low-grade iron. In the years after the Civil War, as a result of rapid industrialization and significant urban growth, demand for bituminous coal soared. It found favor over anthracite coal



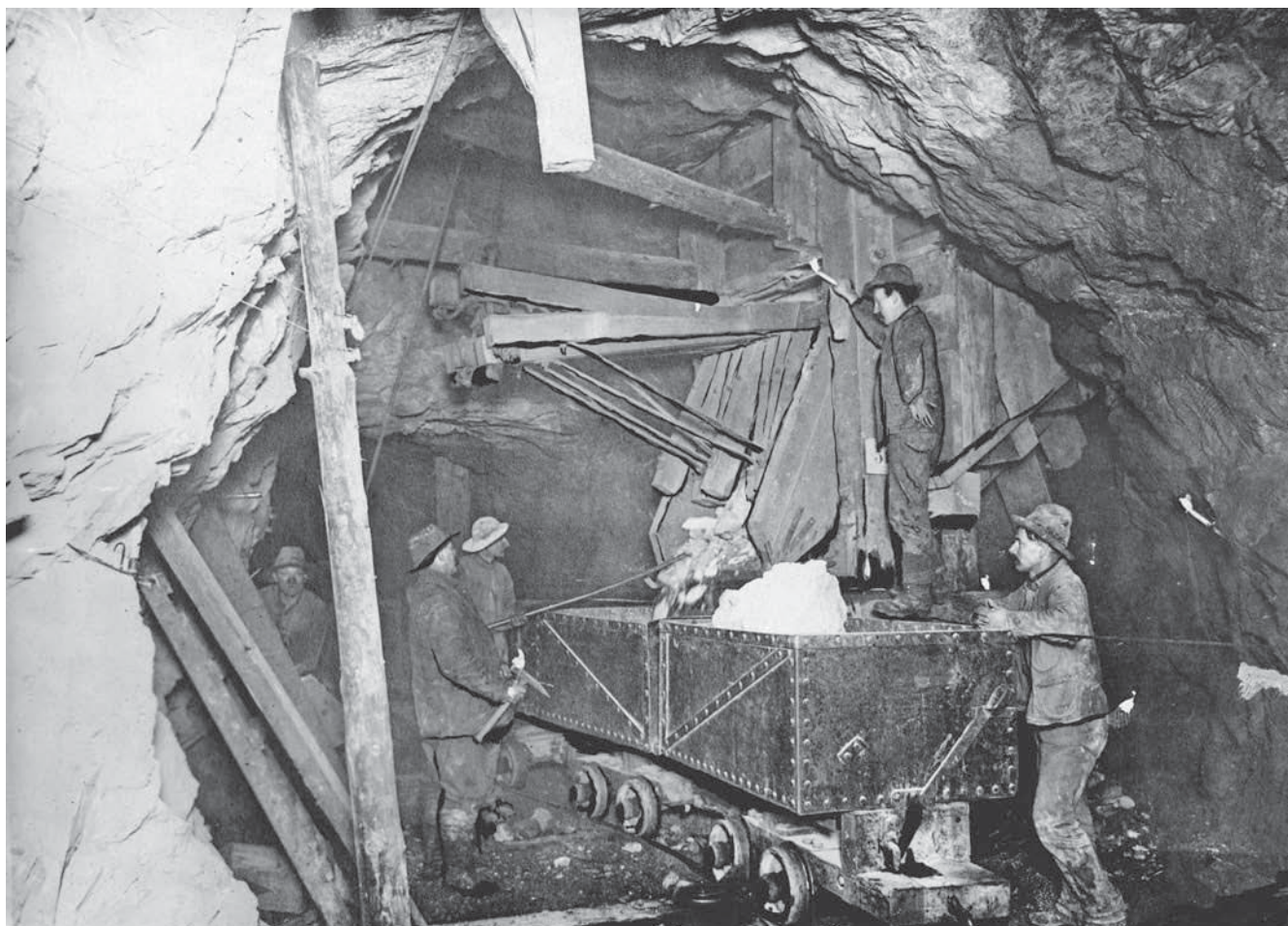
because it was cheaper and burned more quickly. In 1900, the nation's soft-coal fields produced 212,316,112 tons of coal and provided more than half of its energy. In contrast, the anthracite mines produced 57,363,396 tons of coal and generated just over 14 percent of America's energy.

In 1900, there were 143,824 miners working in the anthracite region, while 204,757 miners worked in the bituminous coal fields. A small number of powerful railroad companies controlled the anthracite fields. Through a series of mergers, these companies had been able to establish control over prices and edge out small independent operators from the market. The most powerful company was the Philadelphia and Reading Company, a railroad network that carried two-thirds of the state's coal supply. The growing power of the railroad companies, combined with their refusal to meet miners' demands, caused labor unrest in the region.

The ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE of 1902 was one of America's largest industrial strikes and resulted from min-

ers' dissatisfaction with the outcome of an earlier strike. While the coal operators had agreed to pay higher wages to end that strike, they had not offered formal recognition to the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, the largest mining union in the United States. A number of miners had responded by holding a series of unofficial strikes in the summer of 1901. By early 1902, operators were threatening to abolish the new wage increase.

JOHN MITCHELL, the president of the UMWA, met with railroad executives in April 1902, but he was unable to persuade them to accede to the miners' demands. The miners sought the renewal of the wage agreement, recognition of the union, and the implementation of the eight-hour workday. Against the wishes of Mitchell, union delegates voted in mid-May to go on strike. There were periodic episodes of violence in the strike that followed, including one incident where union members beat to death someone escorting strikebreakers. The incident prompted the intervention of President THEODORE ROOSEVELT. On



The Treadwell gold mine at 500 feet beneath the ocean, 1916 (*Library of Congress*)

October 3, 1902, he chaired a meeting between railroad executives, headed by Philadelphia and Reading chairman George Baer, and union representatives, led by Mitchell. The failure of the two sides to reach an agreement meant that Roosevelt had to search for an alternative way of ending the strike. Eight days later, Elihu Root, the secretary of war, met financier JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN, one of the mining industry's largest investors, in New York City. Morgan agreed to pressure the operators to reach a settlement with the miners. The operators responded to Morgan's pleas by calling on the president to establish a strike commission. Mitchell agreed to the idea of a strike commission, but he believed the mine union needed to be represented.

The commission that Roosevelt subsequently created, the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, consisted of seven members, including representatives from the coal industry and the union. Its purpose was to assess the conflicting claims of each party and establish a settlement through binding arbitration. On October 23, UMW representatives instructed the miners to return to work, bringing an end to the strike after 165 days. The commission began its lengthy investigation and publicly announced its settlement the following year. Most significantly, it increased wages by 10 percent and reduced the working day from 10 hours to nine. While it ruled against union recognition and collective bargaining, the ruling stipulated that mine operators had to recognize a six-man arbitration board to mediate future disputes. Mitchell and his colleagues regarded the settlement as a victory for the union.

In contrast to the anthracite sector, the bituminous sector consisted of many small-to-medium-size companies. The more competitive nature of that sector, combined with the much wider geographical spread of bituminous coal, hindered miners' ability to form a strong nationwide labor movement. Miners in southern Colorado participated in a major strike for 14 months from 1913 to 1914, establishing tent colonies in a number of mining towns, but they were ultimately unsuccessful in achieving their demands. The strike also gained notoriety for the infamous LUDLOW MASSACRE, which took place on April 20, 1914.

As WORLD WAR I began in Europe, American production of bituminous coal continued to increase, while anthracite production fluctuated. In 1917, the year the United States entered the war, bituminous production exceeded half a billion tons for the first time, reaching a total of 551,790,563 tons. The Pennsylvania mines produced 100,445,299 tons of coal, a marked increase from the 1910 figure of 84,485,236 tons. After the war, the anthracite sector went into permanent decline. Total production in 1920 was 89,636,036 tons, and 10 years later that amount had fallen to 68,776,559 tons. A number of factors accounted for this decline, including industry's increasing reliance on bituminous coal, the introduction of electricity

to the nation's homes, lack of government intervention, and the failures of the mine owners to operate in a cost-effective manner.

The employment rate among mines dropped in both anthracite and bituminous mining, although the industry's decline in the 1920s was not the only factor that caused job losses. Increasingly, companies were mechanizing their mining operations and installing modern equipment to do the work traditionally carried out by miners, such as the loading of coal onto carts. In 1923, there were 704,793 miners employed in the bituminous sector, and by 1930 this number had dropped to 493,202.

The coal industry posed a number of hazards, both to the miners who toiled in the underground mines and to the environment. A series of fatal mine disasters in the early years of the century, including an explosion at the Monongah coal mine in West Virginia that killed 362 miners, and an increase in the number of miners with debilitating lung diseases such as pneumoconiosis emphasized the dangerous nature of mine work and brought the issue of OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY to the forefront of the industry. Mine owners frequently tried to evade responsibility for improving health and safety, and the federal government's efforts to regulate the industry—for example, by creating the Bureau of Mines, an Interior Department agency that was responsible for making safety recommendations—were limited. Coal-burning factories in major cities across the Northeast and the Midwest, such as New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, damaged the environment and jeopardized the health of local residents. A heavy smog that reduced visibility and affected people's breathing frequently lingered in the air of those cities, and buildings gradually turned black from the soot that poured from chimneys and smokestacks.

Copper was not as important as coal to America's economic and industrial development, but it was still a vital sector of the mining industry. It was used in the construction of buildings, underground pipes, machinery and—particularly during World War I—munitions and weapons. The discovery of copper, which was prevalent in the Lake Superior region, Montana, and Arizona, predated that of coal. A French author named Lagarde published a book in Paris in 1636 that referred to the existence of copper in the Lake Superior region, and Jesuit missionaries in that region referred to the Indians' use of copper in the letters they sent home in the mid-17th century.

Copper mining began on a large scale in the Lake Superior region in 1864, after a land surveyor by the name of Edwin J. Hulbert discovered a copper supply that became known as the Calumet Conglomerate Lode. He distributed half of it to the Calumet Mining Company and the rest of it to the Hecla Mining Company. Hulbert spent a brief but unsuccessful period as superintendent of

the Calumet mine before he sold his shares to Quincy A. Shaw, one of the company's key investors. Shaw appointed his brother, Alexander Agassiz, to the position of superintendent. Under Agassiz's guidance, the mine quickly began to turn a profit. The two companies merged in March 1871 to form the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company, which quickly became the dominant force in the region's copper industry.

The Lake Superior copper mines increased their output almost threefold between 1890 and 1916, from 51,000 tons to 135,000 tons. Aside from Calumet and Hecla, only a handful of major companies, including the Quincy Mining Company, contributed to that growth. The Calumet and Hecla Mining Company further expanded in 1923 when it merged with the Osceola Consolidated Mining Company, the Allouez Mining Company, the Centennial Copper Company, and the Ahmeek Mining Company to form the Calumet and Hecla Consolidated Copper Company.

The copper industry in the Lake Superior region experienced its share of labor unrest. The WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS (WFM), founded in Montana in 1893, was the most dominant union in the copper fields. For a number of years, however, it failed to capitalize on miners' discontent, and most strikes were of a localized nature. The WFM established a significant membership in Michigan after it started to employ immigrant organizers in 1913, a measure that enabled it to appeal to the diverse array of ethnic groups working in the state's copper mines. In July of that year, miners in the state's Upper Peninsula embarked on a major strike that lasted until April the following year. The strike was unsuccessful in achieving the miners' demands, which included the eight-hour working day and replacement of the one-man drill with the two-man drill.

Western states, particularly Montana, which produced 42 percent of the country's copper in 1900, played a significant role in the growth of the copper industry. As in the Lake Superior region, a few large companies dominated copper production in the West. In Montana, the Anaconda Mining Company was the most prominent. It grew from its beginning as a small company engaged in silver mining to one of America's largest corporations. In 1900, it produced 55,400 tons of copper, 13,800 tons more than its nearest competitor. It expanded its operations to Latin America in 1916 when it created the Andes Copper Mining Company at Potrerillos in Chile to capitalize on the vast copper reserves in the Andes mine. Anaconda waited some years before it commenced production on a large scale, as copper prices plummeted immediately after World War I; but by 1929 it had transformed the Andes mine into one of the largest and most profitable mining operations in the world.

As a whole, the U.S. copper industry grew steadily during the Progressive Era. It produced 30,200 tons of

copper in 1900 and 955,000 tons in 1918. Despite the increase in production, the U.S. share of global production remained largely unchanged, increasing from 56 percent to 61 percent during the same period. The reduced demand for copper after World War I, combined with a slump in global copper prices, caused production to drop in 1920 to 612,000 tons. The early 1920s marked the beginning of the copper mining industry's decline in the United States, despite the fact that burgeoning industries such as radio, electricity, and communication utilized the metal for the construction of wires, masts, and other devices.

In the early 20th century, the U.S. mining industry also extended to metals, such as iron ore, silver, and gold, and fibers, such as asbestos. Iron, derived from iron ore, played an important role in the development of the nation's transportation network, at first directly and then as an ingredient of steel, a far more durable metal. It was a key component of steam locomotives, railroads, ships, and early models of the automobile. Gold was at the center of the American monetary system, but it was no longer the focus of large-scale mining efforts, as it had been in California in the 19th century.

The mining industry was crucial to the United States's economic and industrial development in the Progressive Era, but significant labor unrest and the visible impact of mining on people's health and the environment demonstrated that the industry exacted costs that almost neutralized its benefits.

See also ECONOMY; INVESTMENTS, FOREIGN; LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT.

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—Richard Fry

### **Mitchell, John** (1870–1919) *labor leader*

John Mitchell was one of the first presidents of the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMWA) and helped establish the organization as one of the most effective and progressive unions in the country. Born in Braidwood, Illinois, on February 4, 1870, Mitchell was orphaned at the age of six. He attended school only irregularly and began working



in the mines at the age of 12. When not toiling underground, Mitchell spent his time reading and taught himself history, economics, and the law. In 1885, at the age of 15, he joined the Knights of Labor. Frustrated by the decline of the Knights and its inability to conduct successful strikes, Mitchell joined the UMWA shortly after the union was formed in 1890. Between 1890 and 1900, the union had considerable success at organizing the nation's bituminous miners. As the union grew, Mitchell moved up the ranks, becoming vice president in 1898 and president in 1899.

For a variety of reasons, the UMWA had not been able to organize anthracite miners. Anthracite mines had a greater variety of job categories, operated on a larger scale, and had greater ethnic diversity among their workers. The union had, without success, tried to organize anthracite miners on several occasions. In 1897, the UMWA initiated another organizing effort and quickly had widespread success. Employer opposition, however, remained intense and the organizing drive came to a head in 1902. In April and May of 1902, Mitchell met with mine operators and railroad executives in an attempt to avoid an industry-wide walkout. When the companies refused to grant any concessions, the miners voted 57 percent to 43 percent to go out on strike. The ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE idled over 140,000 miners and lasted five months. As the strike lingered on and the nation's supply of coal dwindled, President THEODORE ROOSEVELT intervened and appointed an Anthracite Coal Strike Committee to resolve the differences between the workers and the mine operators.

Roosevelt, who was attempting to establish a reputation as a critic of business monopolies, and Senator Mark Hanna of Ohio who sought organized labor's support of the REPUBLICAN PARTY, saw the 1902 strike as an opportunity to rebuke coal and railroad operators. Roosevelt ordered striking workers back into the mines while the Anthracite Coal Strike Committee gathered information about the dispute. After five months of deliberation, it called for a 10 percent pay increase and a reduction in the workday from 10 hours to nine. The successful conclusion of the strike made Mitchell a national hero for many workers.

The strike and negotiations, however, had left Mitchell exhausted. He had a nervous breakdown in 1906 and resigned as head of the UMWA in 1908. Mitchell remained active in the labor movement, serving on commissions and giving public lectures, until his death from pneumonia in 1919. As head of the UMWA, Mitchell navigated a path between the more conservative AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and the more radical INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW). He was not hesitant to resort to strikes and direct confrontations when employers proved reluctant to negotiate. Yet, he also cooperated with business and political leaders in such joint efforts as the NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION in order to settle disputes. As a result,

Mitchell was able to build the UMWA into one of the strongest unions in the country.

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—Robert Gordon

**Mitchell, William (Billy)** (1879–1936) *general and airpower advocate*

If, in the annals of American military history, men such as John Ericsson and George Patton are viewed as visionaries, then the name of Billy Mitchell should be a part of that class. His visionary adroitness and crusader zeal made possible not only the creation of the U.S. Air Force but also set the strategic underpinnings of airpower's role in future wars. Billy Mitchell, son of a future U.S. senator from Wisconsin, was born in Nice, France, in 1879. Raised in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, he was educated at both Racine College and George Washington University. Upon the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Mitchell enlisted in the U.S. Army as a private in 1898. Within six weeks, he received a commission as a Signal Corps officer. In addition to service in Cuba, he saw action during the Philippine insurrection and the Mexican expedition against Pancho Villa.

As early as 1906, Mitchell prophesied that "conflicts, no doubt, will be carried out in the future in the air." After the army purchased its first aircraft, he wrote several articles stressing the importance of aircraft in war. He argued that airplanes would be useful for reconnaissance, for preventing enemy forces from conducting reconnaissance, and for offensive action against enemy submarines and ships. Due to the advances being made in aeronautical technology, Mitchell argued, the United States was being drawn ever closer to its enemies, and that distance would soon be measured in time not miles. These facts underlined the importance of developing air power. He was assigned to the Army General Staff in Washington in 1912 as a captain.

After being promoted to major, Mitchell was too high ranking and too old for flight training. Firmly believing that the future lay in aviation, however, he paid for his own flight training at a civilian flight school. When the United States entered WORLD WAR I, Mitchell quickly rose to the rank of colonel. He was appointed to General JOHN PERSHING's staff as an aviation officer. His actions in France culminated with his command of a 1,481-plane air attack, the largest of the war, during the St. Mihiel offensive of September 1918. In 1919, Mitchell returned to the United States a much-decorated officer and was appointed assistant chief



of the U.S. Army Air Service. By 1920, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general.

The postwar years, however, saw the parochial interests of army generals and navy admirals supersede Mitchell's dream of a prepared and well-equipped Air Service. In June and July 1921, Mitchell took on the Department of the Navy and demonstrated his theory of air power by sinking several battleships, including the German battleship *Ostfriesland*, off the Virginia coast. Never at a loss for words, Mitchell pronounced that "no surface vessels can exist wherever air forces acting from land bases are able to attack them." This and other declarations concerning the preeminence of air power earned him the undying enmity of generals and admirals alike.

In 1924 Mitchell continued his crusade by attacking his superiors and the foes of airpower in both print and speech. It is little wonder that he was not reappointed to the Air Service when his term expired in 1925. Reduced to the rank of colonel and exiled to Fort Sam Houston in Texas, it was hoped that the last had been heard about and from Billy Mitchell.

Fortunately for his country and unfortunately for Mitchell, this was not to be the case. In September, two aviation accidents occurred. The first was the loss of a naval seaplane on a nonstop flight from San Francisco to Hawaii. The second was the crash of the dirigible *Shenandoah*. Mitchell's acerbic pen struck a scathing attack upon both the U.S. Navy and the War Department, accusing them of incompetence and criminal negligence.

Secretary of War Dwight F. Davis was outraged at Mitchell's attack. A court-martial board was convened in Washington on October 28, 1925. After seven weeks, the board found Mitchell guilty of the charge of insubordination. Mitchell resigned from the army on February 1, 1926. After many tireless years of sounding the alarm from the wilderness, Mitchell died in New York on February 19, 1936, at the age of 56. He was laid to rest in Milwaukee. The events of World War II vindicated Mitchell's vision and even though his conviction was never overturned, he did receive a special Congressional Medal of Honor "in recognition of his outstanding pioneer service and foresight in the field of American military aviation."

**Further reading:** Alfred F. Hurley, *Crusader for Air Power* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975); Isaac Don Levine, *Mitchell: Pioneer of Air Power* (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1958).

—Paul Edelen

## modernism

Modernism was an intellectual and cultural movement that began at the turn of the 20th century and lasted until the

end of World War II. As a term, modernism was first used in Germany during the 1890s and spread across Europe. The continued strain of technological innovation, the introduction of SIGMUND FREUD's theories of the unconscious, dream interpretation, and free association, and the growing sense of individual fragility in the face of modern society fueled a cultural rebellion against genteel culture and its rigid moral code and also against convention and tradition. Nonrepresentational or abstract art, free verse, and indirect imagist techniques in poetry and novels were central to this new artistic vision.

In the field of visual art, painters began to explore form and substance, rather than concentrate on fine-tuning realist techniques that were better reproduced with photography. Prevalent artistic movements within modernism included Art Nouveau, fauvism, and expressionist, futurist, cubist, dadaist, and abstract ART. In each case, there was a movement away from representation to using indirect and abstract forms. In the United States, modernism gained its first national notice with the experimental ARMORY SHOW of 1913, which brought to American artists the work of European impressionists and expressionists.

The movement toward modernist poetry had one of its chief centers in Chicago with Harriet Monroe's *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, first published in 1912, and Margaret Anderson's *The Little Review*, which began publication in 1914. Anderson drew on the modernist circle that formed in GREENWICH VILLAGE and included writers and social critics such as Max Eastman, Mary Heaton Vorse, Hutchins Hapgood, JOHN REED, and Eugene O'Neill. Monroe turned *Poetry* into the first imagist showcase when she wrote to Ezra Pound to persuade him to recruit his circle of poets to publish in the journal. Other modernist poets such as Thomas Stearns Eliot, H. D. (Hilda Doolittle), Gertrude Stein, E. E. Cummings, and William Carlos Williams contributed to the growing acceptance of free verse and indirect representation of feeling through images associated with modernism.

The modernist impulse similarly influenced historical LITERATURE and the genre of the novel, particularly in the years after WORLD WAR I. While historians Charles and Mary Beard and Carl Becker reworked historical narrative and questioned historical objectivity, novelists such as John Dos Passos experimented with introducing multiple narrative lines and collagelike prose. Most importantly, the ideals of honesty and rebellion against convention brought new, diverse voices into art and literature. Among the artistic movements in the United States associated with modernism was the HARLEM RENAISSANCE that brought African-American traditions and racial experience to the forefront of American culture.

See also MUSIC.

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—Marcia M. Farah

### Mooney-Billings case

Heightened class conflict in the Progressive Era sometimes involved the direct intervention of the government. In the Mooney-Billings case, political protests against military preparedness led to the conviction of two labor leaders for murder. The case became a celebrated cause for labor and radical reformers. On July 22, 1916, a bomb went off at a Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco, California. The Pacific Coast Defense League had sponsored the parade, following a successful one in New York City, to strengthen public support for military armament during WORLD WAR I. Local newspapers estimated that the parade in San Francisco had more than 50,000 participants. Ten people were killed and 40 seriously injured in the bombing. The police responded inconsistently. It was not until two and a half hours later that police roped off the scene, and authorities did not supervise the collection of evidence. Consequently, souvenir hunters combed the site, destroying relevant evidence along the way. As a result, the police department later had to publish a request for the return of evidence found at the scene to authorities.

In a climate of wartime hysteria, city leaders and newspaper editors accused PREPAREDNESS opponents and anarchists of the bombing. With irresponsible JOURNALISM feeding public outcry, five local radicals were arrested and indicted for murder. Out of the four that were tried, two were convicted. The men who were convicted, Warren Billings and Tom Mooney, were left-wing activists who had participated in local labor struggles over the years. Billings received a sentence of life imprisonment, Mooney death by hanging.

Evidence soon emerged that perjury had been committed and that the prosecution had withheld evidence. After his conviction, Mooney became internationally famous as a martyr for radicals, organized labor, and defenders of civil rights. Representing over 50 labor and radical organizations in San Francisco, the International Workers Defense League, of which Mooney was an active member, petitioned and lobbied for the pardon of Mooney and Billings. They also sent organizers around the country to raise funds and awareness for the legal defense of the two men. Some people, however, saw the two men as a radical threat to patriotism and law and order during World War I. In March 1918, the California Supreme Court upheld Mooney's conviction. Two weeks before Mooney was scheduled to hang, Governor William D. Stephens commuted his sentence to

life imprisonment. Stephens said that President WOODROW WILSON had made repeated requests for him to do so and that new evidence had emerged in the case, though the governor failed to mention what the evidence was.

Radicals and organized labor supported Mooney's cause for another two decades. In 1939 Governor Culbert L. Olson declared that he believed Mooney was innocent and pardoned him, stating that the conviction had been based on perjured testimony. Billings, however, remained in prison for 10 more months after Mooney's pardon. Olson could not pardon Billings without the approval of the unsympathetic state supreme court in California. When the court repeatedly voted against pardoning Billings, Olson commuted his sentence to time served. In a ceremony the day after Billings was released, Olson apologized for not being able to pardon him, noting that he thought that Billings was innocent. In 1961, 45 years later, Governor Edmund G. Brown gave Billings a complete pardon after he received the approval of the state supreme court.

**Further reading:** Richard H. Frost, *The Mooney Case* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1968); Curt Gentry, *Frame-up: The Incredible Case of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967).

—Glen Bessemer

**Morgan, John Pierpont** See VOLUME VI.

### mothers' pensions

Mothers' pensions were state-level relief benefits designed to support the children of widowed mothers. The forerunner of the Aid to Dependent Children program developed under the New Deal, mothers' pensions provided small cash grants to supplement the income of impoverished widows who supported themselves through wage-earning but needed additional funds. Advocates of mothers' pensions believed that the income supplement would encourage women to keep their children at home, rather than send them to orphanages. They also argued that the pensions would persuade widowed women to take jobs or engage in home work that allowed them to spend the maximum amount of time at home.

An early attempt to pass a statute for the support of widowed women took place in New York in 1897. The state legislature nearly passed a Destitute Mothers' bill, which would have given deserted women a right to public relief. The timing, however, was wrong. Social work advocates were only just beginning to shake off the legacy of scientific charity, and opponents of the bill could count on public opposition when they nicknamed the measure "the Shiftless Father's Act." By 1910, the political climate had changed.

Mothers' pensions can be seen as part of the larger campaign of "child saving" in the Progressive Era. Linked to other reforms in education, the playground movement, child labor laws, and juvenile justice, the mothers' pension program sought to provide the best care for poor and working-class children. The same ideal of scientific motherhood that inspired the reformers of the CHILDREN'S BUREAU shaped the mothers' pension program. Financial support of women's role within the family, it was hoped, would give incentives to mothers to provide better parental care and supervision.

Juvenile court judges were among the first advocates of mother's allowances. Judge E. E. Porterfield of Kansas City lobbied the Missouri legislature to pass a measure giving mothers' aid to women in Jackson County. Illinois created the first statewide program for mothers' pensions in early 1911. Supported by divergent groups such as the National Congress of Mothers, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and settlement house workers, the push for mothers' aid spread quickly through northern, mid-western, and western states. Within two years, 20 states had passed mothers' aid laws. By the 1920s, 40 states and hundreds of counties in the United States had mothers' pensions programs.

Despite the best intentions of its advocates, the mothers' pensions system failed to live up to its purpose of alleviating the plight of poor children and protecting motherhood. Most states and counties did not have the funds or the political support to expand the mothers' pension program beyond its modest beginnings and could not raise enough public monies to fund the system. States failed to fund existing mothers' pensions adequately, due to popular resistance to new property taxes and the absence of any alternatives. Further, many localities refused to develop new agencies and programs for widows. Even in terms of its original modest aims, the mothers' pension movement had severe drawbacks. Limited in its coverage, it did not fund women who were either deserted or divorced, and its provisions barred unwed mothers from eligibility.

Framed in the language of sacred motherhood, the mothers' pension effort dictated that its recipients be the moral and deserving poor. Those who received pensions were under moral scrutiny both when they applied and while they received the pension. At the same time, the program demonstrated racial and ethnic exclusivity, especially in the South. Most early recipients of the mothers' pensions were white, native-born women. Finally, as a state-level program, mothers' pensions never became the deserved "pension" for mothers that its most radical advocates desired. Mothers' pensions were tied to the number and age of children. No support was provided for the widow herself, and the stigma of poor relief, with its moral supervision and public disdain, remained.

In the 1930s, the collapse of local relief agencies and the lack of funding, combined with the new policy initiatives, provided the impetus for the development of a federally funded program in 1935 called Aid to Dependent Children. This program also suffered from the failures and limitations of its parent program. State-level administration, miserly grants, chronic lack of funds, moral supervision, and the stigma of relief continued to hobble efforts to provide single mothers, whether divorced, deserted, or widowed, with decent income support in hard times.

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## movie industry

The emergence of the motion picture industry was one of the most important social, cultural, and economic developments of the early 20th century. It helped to define and mold social values and norms. It assisted in the homogenization of American culture, and it provided accessible and affordable entertainment to the general public. In contrast with European film, which was viewed as an elite art form, movies in America were geared toward a mass audience.

When movies first emerged as a form of entertainment, they were hampered by limitations in technology. The most significant limitation was the inability to successfully integrate sound into moving pictures. It had a democratizing effect on the population. Language barriers, which often hampered immigrants' ability to fully enjoy English-language theater, were not a factor for silent films. Immigrants unable to speak or understand English were able to enjoy the comedy of Charlie Chaplin and the tragic genius of Rudolph Valentino and Greta Garbo.

Movies did not emerge overnight. The movie camera was developed in the late 19th century. Thomas Edison Laboratories created the first successful camera in 1889. Five years later, Edison's technicians perfected the Kinetoscope, a large wooden box with a peephole at the top through which customers could view the pictures. Edison, however, did not take adequate steps in protecting his invention. He filed only for American patents. As a result, his two assistants, W. K. Laurie Dickson and Eugene Lauste, broke away and patented their own inventions. They formed the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company, backed by a number of influential Americans. The most notable of their backers was Ohio governor and future president, William McKinley.



The development of the motion picture marked much more than a technological innovation. It signaled the beginning of an industry that would redefine American art and culture. The industry began slowly. At first, it was seen only as a source of amazement. To address the public fascination with the technology, movie producers focused on the appeal of the technology; the development and production of stories was a mere afterthought. Early novelty films were little more than still pictures put into motion.

As the technology improved, so too did the scope of films. Edwin Stratton Porter (1870–1941), who began his career in 1896, was instrumental in the development of the motion picture from novelty to art form. Porter was a Scotsman who settled in America with no theatrical experience. He eventually became the master of the edit. Through the editing process, he was able to modify films and in the process distort perceptions of reality. In late 1902 or early 1903, he created *Life of an American Fireman*. It was his first real motion picture. Later in 1903, he realized his sophomore work, *The Great Train Robbery*, the first of a long line of classic Western movies.

D. W. GRIFFITH further developed the idea of a motion picture not only telling stories but also defining reality. He was introduced to film in Porter's *Rescued from an Eagle's Nest* in 1907. He played the father hero. Even then, Griffith did not see himself as an actor. In fact, in order to save his name for greater endeavors, he went by the alias Lawrence Griffith. Griffith envisioned himself as a great theatrical producer, but success in the theater eluded him. His first and last theatrical production was a flop. In 1908 he directed his first film, *The Adventures of Dollie*. Less than a decade later, in 1915, he released the most ambitious movie of his time, *BIRTH OF A NATION*.

Unlike many films released in Europe, movies made in the United States were extremely short. *Birth of a Nation* challenged this idea. It was among the first full-length American feature films. It also changed the rules of how movies would be shot. Griffith moved the camera up close, which allowed for the development of intimacy between camera and audience. He integrated these with medium and distance shots. From this point on, movies became a way to convey thought and emotion. Innovation of filming techniques, however, was not the most notable accomplishment of the movie. One of the most noteworthy results of the movie was the response it provoked from different people. While large segments of society boasted of its sheer greatness, others protested its message. The release of *Birth of a Nation* made it clear that movies could and would influence the way people viewed certain events. The movie portrayed the Reconstruction era of American history in such a way that large segments of society, especially blacks, found it offensive. It degraded African Americans, insulted northerners, and idealized the KU KLUX KLAN.



Charlie Chaplin in *A Dog's Life*, with Edna Purviance (Library of Congress)

The political possibilities of movies were evident even before the release of *Birth of a Nation*. One of the first Edison films to be shown in April of 1896 was *The Monroe Doctrine and Cuba Libre*. It was the first overtly political film. Politics, however, was only one of the many topics that films embraced. Another, as exemplified in *Birth of a Nation*, was history. The most recognizable of the history films were the stories of the American West. In the 1920s, epic Westerns became the films of choice. Like *Birth of a Nation*, these films were developed upon a loose interpretation of American history. Savage Indians forced the brave and heroic settler to fend off attacks. The *Covered Wagon* (1923) was just one of the many movies of the era that championed this perception of American history and cinema.

Alongside the development of dramatic pictures came comedies. Mack Sennett (1884–1960) released his version of an epic western, *The Uncovered Wagon*, which, like his other films, displayed the comic side of life. Sennett was a former coworker of Griffith's. He took the comic film to new level through the development of slapstick comedy. Sennett's Keystone Kops came to represent this new form of entertainment. He understood that slapstick comedy was as natural for the movie industry as action and melodrama, because all three topics unutilized motion and timing.



The greatest comic actor of the era was Charlie Chaplin. Chaplin was born in England in 1889. He toured the United States with his family in 1910 and returned in 1912. The following year, he joined Sennett's comedy team. Chaplin's early shows were one- and two-reelers such as *The Pawnshop* (1916) and *Easy Street* (1917). He later starred in a number of medium-length films, such as *Shoulder Arms* (1918) and *The Kid* (1921). His major films were *The Gold Rush* (1925) and *City Lights* (1931). Chaplin's career lasted more than three decades. He entered the industry only a few years after Griffith, but he was still producing and directing films 30 years after Griffith's last major production.

During the first decades of the 20th century, the center of the movie industry moved from the East Coast to the West Coast. In 1910, D. W. Griffith and Cecil B. De Mille (1881–1959) helped to transplant filmmaking to California, where the land was cheap and the climate and scenery ideal for developing motion pictures. The fact that Los Angeles had a reputation as a staunch antiunion town further heightened its appeal.

WORLD WAR I proved to be a true catalyst to the development of the American movie industry. The United States was the only leading film-producing country (except for Italy) that did not enter the war in 1914. When the United States finally did enter the war, its participation was on a smaller scale than that of other nations. The American film industry never experienced the restrictions or lack of supplies that the filmmakers in European nations experienced. Not even European movie stars like Max Linder were excused from the war effort. The war devastated the European film industry and provided a vacuum that American film producers could fill. As a result, the United States was producing 90 percent of the world's movies by war's end.

When movies first emerged, they were targeted to the widest audience possible. John P. Harris and Harry Davis opened the first nickelodeon in Pittsburgh in 1905. Patrons could view a movie for five cents. It was well within the means of typical working-class people. As a result, the industry spread rapidly. Less than 12 months after the first nickelodeon appeared in Pittsburgh, there were more than 100 such enterprises in that city alone. By 1908 the number of nickelodeons in the United States had reached an astounding 10,000.

The movie industry did not remain fully faithful to its working-class origins. The discretionary income of the middle class made them a coveted target. As a result, movies became big business. The emergence of major movie studios allowed for full development of the industry. Large studios such as Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer made movies of increasing cost and complexity. With the added cost, only the biggest producers could take on such tasks. Actors, too,

began to charge more for their work. It was clear that movies were indeed big business.

In the late 1920s, the major studios converted their production facilities from silent movies to talkies. These new movies had substantial commercial success. *The Jazz Singer*, produced by Warner Brothers, was the first feature-length movie to incorporate talking and sound and music effects. *The Jazz Singer*, starring Al Jolson, redefined the industry. In order to survive, movie industry moguls had to produce films with sound. It made the industry even more capital intensive, but it did not slow the growth of the industry. By the end of the 1920s, the nation had more than 22,000 movie theaters, and movie attendance rose to 90 million by 1930. Movies became the chief form of entertainment for the mass audience.

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—Steve Freund

## muckrakers

*Muckraker* was the name given to investigative journalists in the Progressive Era. They were responding to concerns about the urban crisis, excessive corporate power, and political corruption. Following in the footsteps of reform journalists of an earlier day, they sought to make the truth about poverty, vice, and injustice known. Once the public was informed, they would demand that government address the problems of influence-peddling, monopoly practices, and employer negligence. Progressive and left-wing organizations such as the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW), the Socialist Party of America, and the PROGRESSIVE PARTY, which had their roots in the political turmoil of the 1890s, emerged full-force in the first decade of the new century. Key to the ability of alternative political parties to gain a foothold in American politics were advancements in communication and the spread of national newspapers and journals that specialized in investigative reporting.

Between 1900 and the outbreak of WORLD WAR I, a loosely aligned group of progressive and radical journalists began warning that the nation's excesses and inequalities were creating a crisis in American society and had to be brought under control. Labeled muckrakers by President THEODORE ROOSEVELT, these writers and journalists elevated the use of investigative journalism and political fiction to new heights. The most prominent muckrakers exposed political and corporate corruption. In so doing, they developed a widespread readership and helped establish investigative journalism as an influential medium of communication. The work of muckrakers began appearing

in an ever-increasing number of newspapers, journals, and books.

From publicly elected officials to the nation's most influential boardrooms, no prominent entity in American life escaped the scrutiny of the new generation of reform journalists. In *The Shame of the Cities*, LINCOLN STEFFENS railed against political machines and the power of business, which—he argued—were lining their pockets, undermining democracy, and corrupting the nation's political, legal, and economic systems at the expense of the common man and traditional values. In 1902, IDA TARBELL exposed how JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER had ruthlessly created a monopoly through his company, STANDARD OIL. In 1904, Tarbell's articles were consolidated in *The History of the Standard Oil Company*. Her attacks on Rockefeller helped create public support for federal antitrust action against Standard Oil that finally broke the company apart in 1911. In a different vein, journalist and author David Graham Phillips addressed political corruption at the highest levels in a 1906 series of articles in *Cosmopolitan*, which he later published as *The Treason of the Senate*. Nor did muckrakers ignore the labor movement. During the 1902 ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE, Ray Stannard Baker examined the other side of labor in "The Right to Work."

It was the growth of the magazine industry that offered muckraking journalists a forum for their reform crusade. *McClure's Magazine*, founded in 1893 and published until 1929, was the early home of many muckrakers. Lincoln Steffens edited *McClure's* between 1902 and 1906. Determined to make the magazine a financial and political success, Steffens hired a staff of progressive writers and journalists. As editor, Steffens transformed *McClure's* into the leading political magazine in the country. Under his leadership, sales of the magazine expanded, as did its influence among progressives, radicals, socialists, and communists. In 1906 Steffens, along with Tarbell and Baker, decided to leave the magazine to form a new, more radical journal, *American Magazine*.

Between 1900 and 1916, muckraking journalists played an important role in exposing fraud and corruption and in pressuring politicians to make progressive reforms. Public outrage following the publication of UPTON SINCLAIR's muckraking expose of meatpacking in 1906 prompted an investigation of the industry. It convinced Congress and President Theodore Roosevelt of the need for federal intervention and led to the passage of the MEAT INSPECTION ACT (1906) and the PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT (1906). Other reform legislation influenced by progressive journalists included the HEPBURN ACT (1906), CLAYTON ANTI-TRUST ACT (1914), ADAMSON ACT (1915), WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT (1916), and the child labor KEATING-OWEN ACT (1916).

See also JOURNALISM; RADICAL AND LABOR PRESS.

**Further reading:** Kathleen Brady, *Ida Tarbell: Portrait of a Muckraker* (New York: Seaview/Putnam, 1984); Carl Jensen, *Stories That Changed America: Muckrakers of the 20th Century* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2000); Justin Kaplan, *Lincoln Steffens: A Biography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974).

—Robert Gordon

### **Muller v. Oregon** (1908)

The U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Muller v. Oregon* upheld maximum hours legislation for women. It was an important victory for many female activists. Progressive reformers had concentrated their attention on industrial ills. Their agitation led to enactment of child labor laws, maximum hours and minimum wage legislation, and minimum sanitation and safety standards in a variety of work places. Initial attempts at labor legislation met with mixed reviews from the state and federal courts. The earliest successful campaigns centered on regulating child labor. The special leeway accorded to children soon opened the door for women, who were perceived as similarly disadvantaged. In the long run, the *Muller* decision allowed states to limit the hours of male contractors on state jobs, and then maximum hours legislation for all. Female activists heralded *Muller* as a victory not because of its future impact on men's hours, but rather because they believed that such legislation was necessary to protect women workers. The victory came, however, at the cost of reinforcing women's status as a protected and dependent class.

The issue in *Muller v. Oregon* was a 1903 Oregon act that made it illegal to employ laundresses for more than 10 hours a day. The question was whether the act violated a woman's freedom to contract her own labor. In September 1905, laundry-owner Curt Muller was fined for requiring Emma Gotcher, a laundress and labor activist, to work more than 10 hours on Labor Day. Muller's attorney, William Fenton, was confident that the courts would rule in his client's favor, given recent court decisions in *Ritchie v. People* (1895) and *LOCHNER V. NEW YORK* (1905). The Illinois Supreme Court in *Ritchie* had invalidated a law that would have limited the time a woman could be employed in factories or workshops to no more than eight hours a day. Similarly, in *Lochner*, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down a law that would have set a maximum hours standard for male bakers. In both cases, the courts decided the legislation was an inappropriate usage of the state's police powers and restricted an individual's right to contract without due process of law. In his arguments before the Supreme Court, Fenton reiterated that women were persons and citizens with the same rights as men and therefore had the same right to labor and liberty of contract.

When the *Muller* case was sent on appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, the National Consumers League approached LOUIS BRANDEIS to defend the maximum hours statute. The league sought to educate the public, lobby legislatures, and pressure employers in order to improve workplace conditions. It also tracked the court battles surrounding the regulatory statutes in which it took interest. As part of their agreement, the league supplied massive amounts of data to support the Brandeis brief in the case.

The famous Brandeis Brief consisted of two pages of legal citations, most of which rested on the *Lochner* precedent. Louis Brandeis believed that the *Lochner* decision allowed that, if a valid reason could be found to justify regulating hours of labor, a statute would withstand judicial scrutiny. Accordingly, Brandeis and the National Consumers League collected employment statistics from Europe and the United States documenting the effects of long hours and hazardous conditions on women workers. Brandeis based his defense of the Oregon law on the state's police powers, the delicate physical condition of women, and their special role as the bearers of children. The health of children, and therefore society's general welfare, depended on protecting women as mothers or future mothers from overwork.

The Supreme Court agreed with Louis Brandeis. Justice David Brewer wrote the Court's unanimous opinion upholding the constitutionality of the Oregon law. Brewer found that, "As healthy mothers are essential to vigorous offspring, the physical well-being of woman becomes an object of public interest," thereby justifying Oregon's use of its police powers. The Court also found that "woman has always been dependent upon man," and because of this, "she is not an equal competitor with her brother." Protective legislation that put unacceptable limits on men's liberty of contract thus could be sustained for women. In concluding, the Court specifically stated that the *Muller* ruling did not overturn the decision in *Lochner v. New York*. The *Muller* decision validated only sex-specific economic protection based on a woman's inherent maternity. Still, the National Consumers League accepted the ruling as a signal victory. It also established a permanent committee in defense of labor laws, and turned its attention to securing minimum wage legislation for women.

See also *ADKINS v. CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL*; GOLDMARK, JOSEPHINE; KELLEY, FLORENCE; WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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*History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 1996).

—Debra A. Viles

## music

Modern American music emerged in the years between 1900 and 1930 as a product of diverse cultural influences. From western European formal composition and the music of eastern European Jews to the broad influences of African-American gospel and blues music, both popular and classical music took on different sounds in these years. Innovations in the technology of music such as the mass marketing of machine recordings and the widespread adoption of RADIO changed the cultural economy of music as did the influence of TIN PAN ALLEY music publishers in New York, the national tours of VAUDEVILLE acts and Broadway musicals, and the MOVIE INDUSTRY. While New York and Chicago became music centers during the period, several other cities, such as New Orleans, Memphis, and Los Angeles, became important both in the development of new musical styles and in the diffusion of music to the national market. The new genres of BLUES and JAZZ and the development of modern classical music incorporated vernacular music from rural and immigrant communities into distinctive American sounds.

At the turn of the century, the music publishing industry of Tin Pan Alley launched songs that became commercial bestsellers and hallmarks of the era. Crossing the line of strict Victorian morals to erotic suggestion, songs like "A Bird in a Gilded Cage" (1900), "In the Good Old Summertime" (1902), "Sweet Adeline" (1903), "Meet Me in St. Louis, Louis" (1904), and "Wait 'Til the Sun Shines, Nellie" (1905) were but a few of the anthems that sold millions of copies of sheet music. The popularity of this music cemented the reputation of New York as the capital of POPULAR CULTURE. Later, composers such as Irving Berlin and GEORGE GERSHWIN started their careers plugging songs at music stores, in restaurants and saloons, and after shows. Audiences were eager for fare as diverse as arias from operas and operettas, folk songs, and spirituals.

Tin Pan Alley linked popular music to the developing musical stage. By the early 1900s, the musical stage, in particular vaudeville and operetta, was the vehicle for new music. With contemporary language, energetic choruses, and sweet melodies, the operetta took off in popularity. The 1907 production of Franz Lehár's *Merry Widow* spun off several road companies that performed the show more than 5,000 times between 1907 and 1908. Sheet music, wax cylinders for phonographs, and piano rolls carried the show songs to a broad national audience. Between 1907 and 1914, operetta held sway on the musical stage. The work of Rudolph Friml (*Rosemarie* [1924] and *The Vagabond*



*King* [1925]) and the prolific Victor Herbert (who wrote 40 operettas during his long career) in *Babes in Toyland* (1903), *The Red Mill* (1906), and *Naughty Marietta* (1910) attracted large followings. African-American musical theater also made a showing with the production of Will Marion Cook's *In Dahomey* in 1902. Eubie Blake contributed his own shows throughout the 1920s. Broadway musicals also provided material for popular music tastes from such composers as Gershwin, George M. Cohan, Jerome Kern, and Cole Porter.

African-American music made its way to Tin Pan Alley in the form of dance music such as the cakewalk and the two-step, dances that further evolved into the Bunny Hug, the Fox Trot, and the Grizzly Bear. Ragtime, which had its origins in the 1890s, continued to have a popular appeal that influenced much of the music coming out of Tin Pan Alley. Ragtime's greatest composer, SCOTT JOPLIN, popularized its rhythms in "Maple Leaf Rag," "Gladiolus Rag," and "The Entertainer." Its influence also appeared in show music such as Berlin's "Alexander's Ragtime Band," published in 1911. The syncopation of ragtime provided the impetus for innovation in music, first through the sweet sound of Dixieland jazz and later in modern jazz music.

In the period between 1910 and 1920, blues began to gain in popularity. W. C. Handy, considered "the father of the blues," was trained as a professional musician but was first exposed to folk blues when playing with a band in Cleveland. Drawing on the folk tradition, Handy composed his own melodies, notably "St. Louis Blues" (1914). By 1910, blues had begun to develop distinctive regional styles; some retained a down-home blues style, accompanied chiefly by slide guitar, and others an urban style (Chicago and Memphis) that relied on a wider range of instruments, including piano, and had a narrative shape not found in folk blues. Urban blues often featured female vocalists, among them Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Alberta Hunter, and Bessie Smith. Mamie Smith made the first blues recording with her "Crazy Blues" in 1920, which sold 75,000 copies in a few months. The recording industry capitalized on blues popularity in the African-American community with "race records" of both down-home and urban blues.

Influenced by ragtime origins and blues melodies, along with European-style elements, jazz emerged in the late 1910s as a distinctive style. The Original Dixieland Jazz Band, a white band from New Orleans, made the first jazz recordings in 1917. Jelly Roll Morton's piano compositions were first recorded at about the same time. Hotter jazz, the result of introducing blue notes into ragtime's syncopation and incorporating solo improvisations, developed by the 1920s. First heard in the recordings of Chicago-based "King" Oliver's band, with its talented trumpeter Louis Armstrong, jazz quickly spread to Harlem and contributed

to the HARLEM RENAISSANCE revival of African-American cultural forms.

Classical music similarly showed vitality at the turn of the century. Major cities spent the decade cultivating classical music by organizing orchestras and building concert halls. In New York, Carnegie Hall was completed in 1891. Boston followed with Symphony Hall in 1900, and Chicago built Orchestra Hall in 1904. Cincinnati, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia established orchestras in the same period of time. Playing largely European music, symphony orchestras and opera companies spread its popularity while encouraging the development of American music. In the early years of the century, academic composers such as Horatio Parker and Charles Cadman added to the operatic and symphonic repertoire. With the spread of phonograph technology, classical music came into average homes. The music industry tapped artists such as maestro Arturo Toscanini and opera singer Enrico Caruso for recordings that made classical music available to listeners from all classes. The new medium of radio and national broadcast networks also created new audiences for what had previously been restricted to the affluent and the professional.



Enrico Caruso (Library of Congress)



The first modern composer in the United States was Charles Ives (1874–1954), whose use of modern techniques of composition predated the two most important European modernist composers, Igor Stravinsky and Arnold Schoenberg. Dissonant harmonies, use of vernacular music, and major-minor tonal structure characterized some of his most important work. A talented musician, Ives gave up professional music and worked in the life insurance industry. After a heart attack caused him to retire in 1918, Ives self-published his early work, including his *Concord Sonata* for piano and flute and his *114 Songs*, an idiosyncratic anthology with a range of musical styles. By 1925, however, Ives stopped composing original work and withdrew from the public. It was only in 1939 when his *Concord Sonata* was performed that his work attracted a wide following among composers and listeners. Ives won the Pulitzer Prize for music in 1947.

The abstraction of Charles Ives's atonal music had little appeal for classical audiences of the time. A more fruitful and popular path came in the work of George Gershwin, who brought together his own mastery of vernacular music with classical composition. His *Rhapsody in Blue* (1924) showed the influence of both popular song and the rhythms of jazz. *An American in Paris* (1928) and the opera *Porgy and Bess* (1935) showed Gershwin's virtuosity in moving back and forth across cultural and artistic lines. His marriage of folk and classical themes set the stage for the later work of composers Aaron Copland, Marc Blitzstein, and Leonard Bernstein. Copland's own career took off with the publication of his *Music for the Theatre* in 1925 and his *Piano Concerto* in 1926.

Beyond the classical realm, there were three important developments in music during the 1920s. First, the sheet music industry centered in Tin Pan Alley began to decline, due to a drop in sales and to rising costs of production. Wartime paper shortages and printers' strikes had driven up the price of sheet music. Sheet music sales also began to fall due to another development. Radio broadcasts, first local and then on the new national networks of NBC and CBS, began to supplant sheet music as a means of reaching the popular audience. Third, sound motion pictures, which were produced beginning in 1927, substituted for touring Broadway productions as a means of introducing songs to the public. In dance clubs, speakeasies, and concert halls, new music, influenced by ragtime and blues, was spread to an ever-widening audience.

African-American music gained in popularity throughout the 1920s. Jazz and urban blues made their "mainstream" cultural breakthrough in the period. New recordings made the transition from "race records," sold to a small segment of the market, to major-label recordings, as Black Swan and Okeh gave way to RCA Victor and Columbia Records. Singers Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Ethel Waters sang of urban love and trouble in songs such as "Ain't Nobody's Business If I Do" and "Prove It on Me Blues." Blind Lemon Jefferson, Blind Blake, and other blues greats could be heard on the airwaves and phonographs singing songs of chain gangs, poverty, and misfired love, and Louis Armstrong made his classic Hot Five and Hot Seven recordings (1925–28) featuring his dazzling solo improvisations. Fletcher Henderson and Edward "Duke" Ellington started jazz orchestras during the 1920s and built audiences for "hot" jazz (later called swing) in Harlem at the Cotton Club and Connie's Inn and the Plantation Club and the Roseland Ballroom uptown. At the same time, white musicians such as Paul Whiteman and his orchestra were able to translate jazz music by sweetening the music with softer tones and formal arrangements designed to appeal to white middle-class listeners.

The cultural character of modern American music had its origins in the decades prior to the Great Depression. By the end of the 1920s, jazz, once exclusively linked to African-American musicians, became the preferred music for up-and-coming white musicians, and vernacular gospel and blues music invaded the realm of high art in the classical compositions of Gershwin and Copland. Modernism in music, like modernism in art and literature, challenged the strict formalism and cultural segregation of the 19th century to produce an art representative of the broad cultural range of urban industrial society.

See also ENTERTAINMENT, POPULAR; YOUTH.

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**Narcotics Act (1914)**

Passed by Congress in 1914, the Narcotics Act was the culmination of two important forces in American life—a Progressive Era effort to reduce drug addiction in the United States and the forces that promoted a new American empire abroad. In the final decades of the 19th century, a growing number of Americans were gripped by the fear that narcotic addiction was undermining society. Influenced by new theories regarding the ways in which drugs affected the body and mind, they sought to control drug use. While the intense focus of the antidrug forces was somewhat novel, the perception that drugs were dangerous was nothing new. Social critics had a long history of battling drugs. For the most part, however, they focused on the evils of alcohol use and abuse. It was not until the 1870s that a number of social reformers began to target narcotics.

Like the battles that were being waged over “demon rum,” class and race played a significant part in the promotion of legal restrictions on narcotics. While the public discussion regarding the “drug problem” focused on southern blacks, the urban poor, and the Chinese, men and women from all levels of society increasingly used narcotics. By the turn of the century, narcotic addiction had spread throughout the social strata. The perceived pervasiveness of the problem led to a more unified call for government regulation.

Police officers and others concerned with the promotion of law and order often blamed drug addicts for increases in criminal activity. They believed that without narcotics use and abuse there would be significantly less crime. Doctors, initially cool to the idea of government regulation, soon joined the chorus of reformers who voiced their concern over the use and abuse of narcotics. As the medical profession became more organized and structured, doctors sought to promote regulation to thwart the distribution of patent medicines. Many doctors viewed unlicensed peddlers of narcotic elixirs as a threat to society and a challenge to their professional standing. Competition was

a main reason for medical professionals to support legal restrictions on narcotics. Fear of competition from patent medicines should not, however, be viewed as the only reason that drug legislation won doctors’ endorsement. Doctors saw firsthand the dangers of addiction among some of their patients and colleagues.

Local laws prohibiting the use of narcotics seemed to be incapable of stemming the use of narcotics. This realization led to a unified call for national regulation. Federal regulation of narcotics was nothing new. The federal government had regulated opium through import taxes, but this was a far cry from federal regulation of what had previously been considered a local problem. In 1906, the federal government took a significant step toward stemming narcotic use with passage of the PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT. The law challenged the patent medicine industry by requiring that they list all ingredients.

Passed in 1914, the Harrison Narcotics Act was designed to regulate and tax the production, importation, distribution, and use of opium, coca leaves, and other substances derived from them. New York congressman Francis Burton Harrison, who later became governor of the Philippines, sponsored the law in Congress. Harrison’s interest in the Philippines and his role in developing the law were not coincidental. By the early 20th century, the trade in narcotics, largely focused in Asia, had become a major international problem. Britain and China had fought two opium wars over the practice of Britain importing cheap opium from India into China, and American missionaries and merchants saw the practice as undermining Chinese society and morality on the one hand and narrowing the market for American goods on the other.

When the United States took over the government of the Philippine Islands after the Spanish-American War, it sought to change the older system of controlling narcotics that licensed opium addicts and supplied them with opium, a practice that appalled the new military administration in the Philippines. Licensing addicts regulated



Employees of the Bureau of Internal Revenue destroying narcotics, ca. 1920 (*Library of Congress*)

usage and avoided other central issues of the production, distribution, and sale of narcotics. The War Department organized a commission of inquiry under the Episcopal bishop, Charles Brent, to explore alternatives. The Brent Commission argued for new international controls on narcotics, a proposal the State Department endorsed and President THEODORE ROOSEVELT embraced. In 1909, he called for an international conference on opium. The first international conference on opium was held in Shanghai in 1909, and a second followed at The Hague in 1911. The International Opium Convention of 1912, the first international treaty regulating drugs, was the product of these meetings. The treaty largely focused on the British opium trade, but it also opened up the discussion of opium control in the United States. By 1914, Congress was ready to pass a domestic measure to stem the domestic sale of nar-

cotics. Secretary of State WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN supported the effort, insisting that the United States needed to develop domestic controls in order to meet its obligations under the international treaty.

For Bryan and others, such as Representative James Robert Mann, the sponsor of the bill in the House and author of the MANN ACT, the Harrison Act offered the opportunity not simply to regulate and tax opium but to curtail its supply and use. A provision in the bill allowed a doctor to prescribe opium for the treatment of disease "in the course of his professional practice only," a phrase that later was interpreted as prohibiting physicians from supplying addicts with opium, since addiction did not qualify as a disease. In effect, the law also prohibited the use of a number of popular narcotics. It required surveillance of narcotic production, greater record keeping, and general



supervision of doctors who prescribed narcotics. Soon after, the courts validated congressional authority to regulate the drug industry. The law favored incarceration over treatment. It turned addicts into criminals. For the next three-quarters of a century, addicts were treated as threats to the social structure and often were incarcerated. Few citizens, apart from concerned physicians, criticized the practice.

Instead, responding to continuing public concern, Congress tightened up the provisions of the Harrison Act, strengthening law enforcement and additional state laws on opiates. In 1924, Congress outlawed the use of heroin, another opiate, prohibiting even its medical uses. By 1926, the *Illinois Medical Journal* declared that those who had sponsored the Harrison Act were “well-meaning blunders.” Prohibition of narcotics had only doubled the profits of those involved in illegal drug trade. It cost the United States more, the journal argued, “to support the bootleggers of both narcotics and alcoholics than there is good coming from the farcical laws now on the statute books.”

Many Americans believed that the Harrison Act was effective in stemming the use and abuse of narcotics. In the years that followed, the act was strengthened. Heroin was banned in 1929. In the 1930s, laws banning marijuana followed. While intense regulation and prohibition were the two most significant forces used by the government to combat drug abuse, they were not the only methods used. The government also began to operate hospitals that aimed at curing those suffering from addiction. These efforts, however, paled in comparison to those that sought to punish drug offenders. At the same time, the combination of legal restrictions and medical treatments allowed most citizens to believe, at least for a number of generations, that the government was winning its war on drugs.

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—Steve Freund

### National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA)

Formed in 1890, the National American Woman Suffrage Association was the result of merging two early associations—the American Woman Suffrage Association, originally led by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell, and the National Woman Suffrage Association, which Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony organized. The formation of NAWSA signaled the end of a long debate in the WOMAN SUFFRAGE movement about how to obtain the vote for women. The American association had preferred

to work for state suffrage amendments, while Stanton and Anthony's group had focused on court challenges and national campaigns directed at a woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution. Susan B. Anthony, one of the last remaining suffrage pioneers, became president of the new association. In the next decade, there were few victories apart from the recruitment and training of the next generation of suffrage leaders. In the words of suffrage historian Eleanor Flexner, NAWSA suffered “the doldrums,” an inability to build majority support for state suffrage.

With Anthony's retirement from NAWSA in 1900, her chosen heir, CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, began a series of new campaigns and strategies to further the suffrage cause. First, she tackled the problem of public opinion by cultivating the support of wealthy and well-respected women. She also created a suffrage history to back the movement. Memorials for Susan B. Anthony's leadership, and the simultaneous decline of the more radical Stanton's reputation, educated a new generation of suffragists in the traditions of the women's rights movement.

Between 1900 and 1905, Carrie Catt ably led NAWSA, but her husband's terminal illness led her to resign as president. For the next 10 years, minister, orator, and suffragist Anna Howard Shaw served as head of the organization. Her lack of organizational skill and the continued sense that NAWSA was drifting led Catt, who had worked in New York State for suffrage, to return as head of the organization. When she did, she came back with a highly centralized plan, “the Winning Plan,” to garner support for the passage of a federal amendment giving women the right to vote. NAWSA would now subordinate all state-level efforts to a national campaign. Only by coordinating resources, Catt insisted, could it obtain the needed support for passage and ratification.

As the dominant suffrage organization, NAWSA was able to garner the political and financial support of many wealthy women. At a time when it was most needed to grease the political wheels, NAWSA received a large bequest from the widow of publisher Frank Leslie. The Leslie Fund gave NAWSA an endowment to be used in its suffrage battles. Under Catt's leadership, this money, and growing congressional support, reenergized the suffrage movement and put the cause of women's right to vote constantly before the public.

When the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the right to vote was ratified in 1920, many asked what goal the women's rights movement should tackle next. For those women moved by the carnage of WORLD WAR I, it was the cause of peace. Many joined the WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM. For others, such as ALICE PAUL, a former NAWSA member and head of the NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY, it was to work for passage of an EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT to fight for



women's full political and economic rights. Catt directed her own efforts toward building the League of Women Voters, a nonpartisan organization to educate and mobilize voters on issues of public interest.

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### National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

Founded in New York City in 1909 by African-American and white social reformers and intellectuals, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People became the dominant civil rights organization in the United States. In response to a 1908 Springfield, Illinois, lynching, a group came together for “the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty.” Meeting in 1909 on the centennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth, the gathering included many of the leading white social reformers of the day—JANE ADDAMS, JOHN DEWEY, LINCOLN STEFFENS, and LILLIAN WALD. Six African Americans attended, including W. E. B. DUBOIS and Ida B. Wells-Barnett, chairwoman of the Anti-Lynching League. The participants made plans for a permanent organization that began operation the next year. They pledged themselves and the organization to working toward the elimination of segregation, for African-American voting rights, and for enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which guaranteed equal protection before the law and the right to vote.

The NAACP merged two earlier civil rights groups, the Constitutional League, which was a white organization, and the NIAGARA MOVEMENT, an African-American organization. Despite having both white and African-American members, whites dominated the NAACP leadership. Some African-American members expressed concern over this, but DuBois, the only African American on the first slate of officers, praised the dedication of the experienced social reformers to the African-Americans' cause. In addition to their commitment, white supporters lent significant financial support and raised funds for the organization.

The NAACP's first goal was to bring the plight of the African Americans to the attention of white America. It began a campaign of speechmaking, lobbying, and publicizing. In 1915, for example, the NAACP led a boycott of

the film, *BIRTH OF A NATION*. The film used offensive racial stereotypes to tell the story of Reconstruction in the South after the Civil War. To help get their message out, the NAACP started a magazine, *The Crisis*. W. E. B. DuBois served as editor from 1909 to 1934 and used his position to expound on the causes he believed important. Given his own growing political radicalism and opposition to Booker T. Washington, DuBois set forth positions on issues in *The Crisis* that sometimes made board members uncomfortable. It strained the relationship between DuBois and the rest of the leadership and eventually led to his ouster in 1934. For 25 years, however, he used his position within the NAACP to shape the debate over civil rights.

The NAACP leadership realized that equal rights called for more than just publicity. In the 1910s, they began to attack racial inequality and segregation in the courts. In 1915, for example, they took on the grandfather clause used by many southern states to disenfranchise African Americans. In 1917, they successfully challenged a Louisville ordinance that required African Americans to live in segregated sections of the city. The NAACP then attacked and won a ruling against restrictive covenants in real estate deeds, which were used to prohibit African Americans from buying certain property. In 1923, it helped bring a case before the courts that ended with a decision that declared unconstitutional the exclusion of African Americans from juries solely due to race. In 1927, the NAACP again attacked the efforts of southern states to prevent African Americans from voting and won a Supreme Court ruling that outlawed the all-white primary.

In 1916, James Weldon Johnson, who later became the first African-American NAACP executive secretary, began a campaign to spread the NAACP into the South. By 1920, nearly half of the organization's members lived there. The NAACP's major campaign in the South was to gather support to pass federal legislation outlawing lynching. To publicize the horrors of lynching, NAACP members undertook an exhaustive investigation into southern racial violence. In 1919, the organization issued a report titled *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889–1918*, which listed the details of every incident of lynching it could find. Efforts to push through antilynching legislation failed, but the light of publicity helped reduce lynching.

By 1930 the NAACP had become the dominant civil rights organization in the United States. It has continued to use the techniques developed in its early years of attacking racial discrimination—through publicity, legislation, and the courts—to improve the lives of Americans.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT; SWEET TRIAL.

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—Michael Hartman

### National Association of Colored Women

The National Association of Colored Women was established in 1896 to further the community support and political efforts of African-American women. By the 1890s, there was a thriving women's club movement that established and maintained institutions for charity, education, health, and social uplift in African-American communities. Combining a mission to help "uplift the race" with a concern for women's progress, such groups differed from white women's clubs by their pointedly political agenda. Faced—like men of their communities—with racial hostility and discrimination in the segregated South and urban North, African-American women sought to find ways to address racial inequality that went beyond pleas for accommodation. The antilynching campaign of Ida B. Wells-Barnett, herself an ardent clubwoman, expressed for many their own instinct to challenge the system and fight back against extralegal violence. When the white press in 1895 attacked Barnett and African-American women for "having no sense of virtue and being altogether of no character," social reformer Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin issued a call for national organization.

At that meeting, women in the Northeast formed the National Federation of African American Women under the leadership of Margaret Murray Washington. At the same time in Washington, D.C., educator MARY CHURCH TERRELL and others created the National League of Colored Women. At a national convention in Washington in 1896, the groups merged to form the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). Taking as its motto, "Lifting as We Climb," the organization had as its goal furthering the work of African-American women's clubs by using their collective political clout to pressure governments and private businesses to address racial inequality. Terrell was elected the NACW's first president in 1896.

The work of the league stretched along the lines of charitable drives, civic improvement, public education, and WOMAN SUFFRAGE campaigns. Inspired by Terrell's words that "Self preservation demands that [we] go among the lowly, the illiterate, even the vicious, to whom [we] are bound by ties of race and sex . . . to reclaim them," the NACW helped to organize and support African-American women's club efforts nationwide. It recruited thousands of members with the goal of bringing women's influence to bear on race politics. By 1914, the black women's club movement had grown to more than 50,000 members in 28 federations and over 1,000 clubs.

The NACW strongly supported woman suffrage as an extension of its goals. Excluded at various times from the work of the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION due to racial prejudice, the NACW developed its own suffrage strategies and campaigns. As NACW member Adele Hunt Logan proclaimed, "If white American women with all their natural advantages need the ballot . . . how much more do black Americans, both male and female, need the strong defense of the vote to help secure their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?" The NACW built support among African Americans, who demonstrated greater support for woman suffrage than in the population at large.

The NACW continued to expand its mission and activities in the years after the granting of woman suffrage in 1920. Working toward the abolition of the poll tax in the South, lobbying for the passage of an antilynching law, and maintaining its efforts in relief, education, and civic improvement, the NACW remained a major force in African-American political and social life throughout the first three decades of the 20th century.

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### National Association of Manufacturers (NAM)

The economic collapse of 1893 shook American industry to its knees and convinced many financiers and industrialists of the need for more stable markets, less competition, more efficient production, and greater influence on federal and state governments. In 1895, a group of 583 industrial manufacturers from all over the country met in Cincinnati, Ohio, and formed the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM). Under the leadership of Thomas Eagan, the NAM stated that its objectives included the expansion of foreign trade, support for the construction of a PANAMA CANAL, the improvement of domestic transportation, and support for creating a Department of Commerce.

Although the NAM was ostensibly created to promote domestic development and foreign trade, by 1903 it had become vociferously antiunion. Industrial organizing drives by the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) and, to a lesser extent, the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) had resulted in increased union membership in the nation's factories and mines. In response, the NAM began warning about the deleterious impact of organized labor and encouraging employers to resist organizing initiatives. In particular, the NAM encouraged employers to resist union

efforts to establish closed union shops, in which employees were required to join the union as a condition of employment. Arguing that the closed shop was unconstitutional and un-American, the NAM supported an open shop policy, in which workers, they argued, could choose whether or not they wanted to join a union and pay union dues (see OPEN SHOP MOVEMENT). Under such a system, however, there were no guarantees of workers' right to organize. The NAM also supported the use of yellow-dog contracts, which prohibited employees from ever joining a union.

Between 1900 and 1910, Samuel Gompers and the AFL proved willing to try to work with employers to avoid strikes and keep more radical unions like the IWW at bay. These cooperative efforts, however, proved short-lived as employers and the NAM launched a counteroffensive against organized labor that was halted, only briefly, by the outbreak of WORLD WAR I. With the end of the war, the NAM helped launch an all-out offensive against radicals, socialists, and organized labor. It led the charge in the drive for the open shop, effectively eviscerating labor's wartime gains. Union membership, which had grown from 2 million in 1904 to 5 million in 1921, plummeted over the course of the 1920s. It declined to 3.5 million in 1929, despite the fact that there were millions more industrial workers than in 1904. By 1930, the NAM, which had its roots in coordinating industrial production and the expansion of foreign trade, had become one of the most conservative, anti-union, and influential trade associations in the country.

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—Robert Gordon

### National Civic Federation

Formed in 1901 as the brainchild of Chicago newspaperman Ralph Easley, the National Civic Federation had as its purpose creating more harmonious relationships between employers and workers. Taking on issues of labor conflict, employers' liability, workers' compensation, and WELFARE CAPITALISM, the NCF became a leading influence in employee relations and social policy. The NCF had its origins in the Chicago Civic Federation, which had formed in response to the Pullman Strike of 1894. Easley, however, had a broader national vision, and he recruited some of the major business, financial, and political leaders of the day to support the NCF in its mission. Such men as Marcus Hanna, the Republican politician; August Belmont, the railroad magnate; and banker J. P. Morgan were all members

of the NCF. A third party in the creation of the NCF was organized labor. Beginning with the ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE of 1902, the NCF sought the participation and support of major labor leaders such as Samuel Gompers, president of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and JOHN MITCHELL of the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

Labor, too, saw the advantages of working in coalition with corporate leaders. Faced with the open hostility of organizations like the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS and the American Anti-Boycott Association, it had to contend with the constant threat of labor injunctions, expensive court cases, and employer resistance. In order to pass employer liability and workers' compensation laws, the labor movement needed allies. It was in the interest of corporate leaders to find common cause with labor on these issues. They, too, sought protection from civil suits in court, and organized labor, ever pragmatic, wanted to find a compromise solution. Finally, the conservative AFL faced the threat of militancy among the working class, including new organizations such as the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) and the Socialist Party of America, which served as voices of the NEW UNIONISM.

Not all labor leaders were supportive. Socialist labor leader EUGENE V. DEBS described the NCF as "a beast of prey, which always tells its victims, 'our interests are one,' and then devours them." Still, the Civic Federation gave labor leaders Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell unprecedented access to the attention and support of corporate leaders. The attorney who defended Gompers in the *BUCK'S STOVE* case, Alton B. Parker, was a corporate lawyer. State legislatures passed workers' compensation laws that were in part the result of the NCF's work. The NCF also supported mediation between the skilled trades and employers, although most of its business members resisted unionism in their own factories.

The relatively harmonious relations between labor and business in the NCF were short-lived. By WORLD WAR I, founder and NCF secretary Ralph Easley and NCF president Seth Low had moved away from seeing organized labor as a sympathetic ally. The massive strike wave during and after the war prompted many business leaders, including Easley, to greater hostility toward, and opposition to, the organized labor movement. They saw little difference between skilled workers in the AFL and the mass of factory workers who did not belong. Organized workers of any sort constituted a threat. The NCF joined other employer organizations in supporting the suppression of labor in the RED SCARE of 1919–20.

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**National Consumers League** See GOLDMARK, JOSEPHINE CLARA; KELLEY, FLORENCE.

### **National Defense Act (1916)**

Once European nations went to war in 1914, the question of military preparedness arose in the United States. The National Defense Act, passed in 1916, was the first attempt to address the nation's need for greater defense. After the *LUSITANIA* was sunk in May 1915, President WOODROW WILSON dropped his opposition to an American military buildup. In 1916, he toured the country to urge support for preparedness even though he campaigned on the slogan, "Vote for Wilson—Peace with Honor." He declared, "there is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight."

Many, including Wilson's notable opponents, THEODORE ROOSEVELT and HENRY CABOT LODGE, were enraged by Wilson's comments. They had supported preparedness early on. Roosevelt had decried the "Flubdubs and Mollycoddles" who refused to acknowledge the need to strengthen the ARMED FORCES. He and Henry Stimson fought for the expansion of the army under the National Security League.

As early as 1914, the Army War College had composed a "Statement of a Proper Military Policy for the United States." In it the War College pointed out that the United States could no longer depend on its geographic advantages and distance from the continent as a safeguard from invasion. The speed and carrying capacity of ocean vessels, the submarine's capacities, and the wireless all lent increasing access to our coasts. War College analysts cried out for a standing army of at least 500,000 backed by an equipped reserve of equal size. They felt that 18 to 24 months was needed to prepare such an army—and additional time was needed to train them.

In 1916, Wilson's secretary of war, Lindley Garrison, and his assistant, Henry Breckenridge, drew up their own national defense plan. Supported by Wilson, it called for the establishment of a large, volunteer "Continental Army." This army would reach 400,000 men (an increase of 40 percent) who would serve on active duty for two months a year for three years and then become part of a reserve force. When Congress rallied against this idea, Wilson withdrew his support. Garrison and Breckenridge resigned.

In June 1916, Congress passed the National Defense Act. It allowed the president to commandeer factories and establish a government nitrate plant. It further permitted the army to double its size by adding 11,450 officers and 223,580 enlisted men in annual increments over five years. The National Guard could expand to 17,000 officers and 440,000 men.

In spite of the National Defense Act, the nation was unable to recruit to its authorized strength before war

intervened. In April 1917, the regular army consisted of only 5,791 officers and 121,797 enlisted men. The idea that the United States did not need a standing army had a long tradition. Militia and state forces, it was believed, could handle any emergency. Once the nation was in danger, volunteers would show up. Because the nature of warfare had changed, however, both a military draft and training were required. Only the passage of the SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT of 1917 gave the United States the army it needed.

See also ARMED FORCES; CONSCRIPTION.

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—Annamarie Edelen

### **National Origins Act (1924)**

Despite growing support for restrictive immigration policies in the early 20th century, some 800,000 immigrants, many from eastern and southern Europe, entered the United States in 1921. Two major pieces of legislation were aimed at restricting this immigration—the IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1917 and the QUOTA ACT of 1921—but the proportion of southern and eastern Europeans remained high. The 1921 Quota Act had attempted to severely limit the number of immigrants that annually could enter the United States. Many in Congress however, felt that the restrictions did not go far enough. By the early 1920s, many Americans felt that the country could no longer accommodate the nearly one million immigrants that had been arriving each year since the 1880s. Moreover, when northern industrial cities received a new source of labor with the influx of African Americans in the GREAT MIGRATION that followed WORLD WAR I, industrial leaders were no longer as apt to push for open immigration policies. Accordingly, one of the chief proponents of restrictive immigration policies, Senator Albert Johnson of the state of Washington, secured passage of far more restrictive legislation in 1924.

The National Origins Act of 1924, also known as the Johnson-Reed Act, reduced the admissible number of immigrants from outside the Western Hemisphere annually to 165,000, less than a fifth of the average prewar level. The sponsors of the 1924 legislation essentially agreed with the findings of the DILLINGHAM COMMISSION, which contended that certain immigrant groups were better suited to assimilating into American society. In particular, the sponsors of the 1924 legislation argued that British, Germans, and Scandinavians were racially superior to other immigrants, and that, consequently, these groups should be allowed to enter the United States in greater numbers.

The 1921 Quota Act had attempted to control the origin of immigrants to the United States by using 1910 as



the base year for determining the number of immigrants from each country allowed to enter the United States. But by 1910, the number of southern and eastern Europeans already in the United States had reached such a level that the quotas did not achieve the results desired by anti-immigration forces. Accordingly, the Johnson-Reed legislation pushed the base year back to 1890. In crafting this new piece of legislation, lawmakers had selected 1890 because they knew that immigrant ranks then had been dominated by groups from Great Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia. Immigrants from Italy, Greece, Poland, and other areas were poorly represented. Under the 1924 National Origins Act, each nationality group was given a quota of 2 percent of its population in the United States according to the official census of 1890, with up to 160,000 total individuals (from all countries) allowed to enter the United States annually. In addition, the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act continued the long-standing policy of excluding Chinese immigrants. It added Japanese and other Asians to the list of ethnic groups that were altogether barred from entering the United States. This new formula for determining the number of immigrants eligible quickly achieved the results that the proponents of immigration restriction had been lobbying for since the early part of the century.

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—David R. Smith

### National Park Service (1916)

In 1916, President WOODROW WILSON signed the bill that established the National Park Service. It was charged with managing and maintaining the nation's system of federal parks and wilderness areas. The Park Service grew out of public concerns about conserving the nation's natural resources and preserving some of the remaining wilderness areas, such as Yellowstone National Park. Yellowstone, the first national park, was established in 1872. The founding of Yosemite National Park followed in 1890. By 1900, the country's national parks included Yellowstone, Yosemite, Sequoia, and Mt. Rainier. They were officially under the control of the U.S. Army. The task of managing the parks was compounded between 1901 and 1909 when President THEODORE ROOSEVELT added 16 million acres of national parkland, some of it through the ANTIQUITIES ACT. After Roosevelt left office in 1909, many of the parks fell into disrepair as no money had been set aside to protect the parks. The result was that poachers and illegal timber operations frequently vandalized the parks. In 1913, Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane appointed Horace Albright to be

the assistant for parks; but without sufficient resources, the parks continued to deteriorate.

Although pressure to protect the parks had been mounting since 1908, it wasn't until businessman and naturalist Stephen Mather became involved that there was a concerted effort to improve the park system. He spent much of his free time touring the various national parks and became increasingly alarmed at their condition. He expressed his concerns to Secretary Lane in 1914. Lane wrote back, "Steve, if you don't like the way the national parks are being run, come on down to Washington and run them yourself." Mather took Lane up on the offer and went to Washington to lobby for the creation of a National Park Service. Mather used his wealth and influence to convince Congress and President WOODROW WILSON to pass the National Park Service Act in 1916 and to name him its first director. The Park Service's mandate reflected the dual themes of conservationism and public recreation, which have subsequently shaped how the national parks have developed.

In the decades following its formation, the National Park Service continued to struggle to maintain the parks. The National Park Service Act was mandated only a small budget, and Mather found it difficult to both keep the parks maintained and to have them accessible to the public. He and Park Assistant Albright launched an aggressive and ultimately effective campaign to protect the parks by promoting tourism. Automobile ownership and tourism became increasingly common in the 1920s; and by 1930, the national parks began to attract millions of visitors each year.

See also ENVIRONMENT.

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—Robert Gordon

### National Reclamation Act (Newlands Act) (1902)

The National Reclamation Act of 1902 attempted to resolve long-standing disputes involving control and distribution of water in the American West. Between the end of the Civil War and 1900, hundreds of thousands of Americans moved westward, permanently altering the western landscape and creating conflict over land ownership and control over the region's most precious asset—water. Because much of the western United States is semiarid, water was and is a scarce commodity. As Anglo settlers and recently arrived immigrants moved into the West, conflicts over water and control of land were inevitable. By 1900, largely because of the scarcity of water, large-scale farming

operations had gained the upper hand over small, freehold farmers. Nevertheless, conflicts over water remained and persistently threatened to undermine the viability of small- and large-scale farms.

The scarcity of water, when combined with several decades of falling food prices, placed many western farms in a precarious position by the turn of the century. Pressure on the federal government to intervene mounted. In 1901, Democrats in Congress introduced legislation aimed at ensuring that western farmers had the funds to secure enough water. Senator Francis G. Newlands (D-Nevada) sponsored the legislation. He had come to power in Nevada through land speculation and championing the construction of dams and water projects. President THEODORE ROOSEVELT and his secretary of the interior, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, also supported the reclamation bill, but other Republicans, including the influential Speaker of the House, JOSEPH CANNON, opposed its passage.

Largely due to Roosevelt's support, the legislation passed the House and Senate, and it was signed into law in 1902. In its final version, the legislation pooled the proceeds from the sale of public land in 16 western states into a fund that would then be used to build irrigation projects throughout the West. The Reclamation Act gave final responsibility and authority over the construction of these large-scale projects to the federal government. It was hoped that, once the projects were completed, farmers and landowners would be responsible for their maintenance and upkeep and that within 10 years the proceeds from land sales and water usage rights would offset any construction costs. The bill's authors thought that limiting land sales to 160-acre parcels would encourage settlement and family farming. Because of the size and expense of the irrigation projects, however, the expense and upkeep frequently fell to the federal government and the newly created Federal Bureau of Reclamation. Several projects began almost immediately after the legislation was enacted, including the Newlands Project and construction of the Salt River Dam.

Over the long term, the Reclamation Act had a tremendous impact on the development of the modern West. It paved the way for the construction of aqueducts and massive dams, including the Hoover Dam in Colorado, the Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River, and the Glenn Canyon Dam in Dinosaur National Park. In addition, because the acreage limitations were not strictly followed and access to inexpensive water never materialized, its impact on family farming remained limited. Instead, the construction of these aqueducts and dams enabled large-scale corporate farmers to secure a sufficient water supply for crops hundreds of miles away, giving them a competitive advantage over small, independent farmers.

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—Robert Gordon

### National War Labor Board (NWLB)

The National War Labor Board (NWLB) was created in 1918 by President WOODROW WILSON in an attempt to formalize a federal policy for dealing with organized labor during WORLD WAR I. When the United States declared war on Germany, the Wilson administration, business leaders, and others believed it essential to create a war labor board to ensure that labor disputes did not disrupt war preparations. Prior to this time, the federal government's involvement in labor disputes tended to be limited to enforcing injunctions, breaking strikes, and keeping surveillance on labor radicals. Samuel Gompers and the conservative AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) hoped that would change with American entry into war. War and its dependence on defense production, Gompers believed, offered a golden opportunity to ensure that responsible craft unions were allowed to organize and negotiate contracts supported by the federal government. Other labor leaders and progressives supported American participation in the war, believing the Wilson administration's rhetoric that it was a war to make the world safe for democracy.

With the creation of the NWLB in 1918, the AFL and the Wilson administration had worked out a blueprint that would last throughout the war. The AFL agreed to a no-strike pledge and the maintenance of open shop, nonunion workplaces. In exchange, business leaders agreed to pay union wages and refrain from the worst forms of antilabor behavior that had been typical before the war. The two most prominent members of the NWLB were former president WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT and labor progressive Frank Walsh. Initially the NWLB had a fairly positive impact on organized labor as the board did in fact curtail some of the most flagrant antiunion practices, such as forcing workers to sign yellow-dog contracts that prohibited them from joining unions. Although the NWLB acted decisively in only a few dozen cases, its support of organized labor in some rulings was almost unprecedented. The impact of the NWLB, however, was short-lived. The end of World War I in November 1918 brought with it immediate employer demands for the return of prewar labor relations. Specifically, employers insisted that since the nation was no longer dependent upon defense production, it was not appropriate for the federal government to intervene on behalf of workers and organized labor. War-time agreements in such industries as meatpacking were

soon invalidated. By December 1918, the power of the NWLB had been effectively demolished.

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—Robert Gordon

### National Woman's Party (NWP)

The National Woman's Party (NWP) was organized in 1916 as a by-product of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage. Led by ALICE PAUL, the NWP focused on securing a federal amendment for WOMAN SUFFRAGE. Unlike the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION (NAWSA) for which Paul once worked, the NWP adopted radical tactics of direct action. Devoted to a federal campaign rather than local and state efforts, the NWP spent most of its energies lobbying CONGRESS, running political campaigns, and organizing public protests. Influenced by British suffragists, the NWP pioneered in dramatic methods to draw attention to woman suffrage. The women of NWP stepped into such male arenas as union halls and lumber and mining camps to ask support for women's right to vote. Their most controversial activities, however, occurred in the nation's capital. From January 1917 to mid-1918, NWP representatives held ongoing picket lines, complete with clever slogans and photo placards, outside the White House and Congress.

The NWP drew national attention, especially after the United States entered WORLD WAR I, as its pickets became the targets of counter-protests. The NWP's "silent sentinels" outside the White House were arrested for disturbing the peace, and 168 served sentences. In jail, Alice Paul and others went on a hunger strike. Violence against suffragists escalated, culminating in the November 1917 "Night of Terror," during which suffragists, including Dorothy Day, were attacked and beaten by jail guards. Pickets continued unabated. In fact, suffragists employed increasingly dramatic tactics such as burning copies of President WOODROW WILSON's speeches in ceremonies in Washington, D.C., in order to humiliate the president for not supporting woman suffrage.

The NWP's philosophy and tactics drew criticism from the more genteel suffragists of the NAWSA, who condemned NWP for alienating potential supporters and opposing the nation's war effort. NWP's tactics and political positions, however, made NAWSA appear much more respectable to suffrage supporters in Congress. In early 1918, Wilson finally came out in support of woman suffrage. In June 1919, the Senate passed the Nineteenth Amendment, giving women the right to vote. It joined the

House, which had already done so in 1918. The amendment was ratified in 1920.

Although NAWSA accepted the credit for passage of the woman suffrage amendment, the impact of the NWP cannot be dismissed. Its demands, leadership, and methods rendered woman suffrage a national issue. Male politicians could no longer ignore or ridicule suffragists; they now had to respond to them out of fear that the NWP might target them with protests or electoral opposition.

After securing women's right to vote, the NWP turned its attention to the EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA), which was first introduced in Congress in 1923. The party sought to end legal and economic discrimination based on sex, an issue that brought it into conflict with progressive activists who wanted to preserve legislation for women. The party's focus on the ERA set the stage for future feminist challenges to the economic and political status quo based on women's demands for equality. As second-wave feminism emerged, new calls for the ERA were heard in the 1960s and 1970s. By that time, the NWP was no longer a prominent voice.

**Further reading:** Christine Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1910–1928* (New York: New York University Press, 1986).

—Natalie Atkin

### National Women's Trade Union League (NWTUL)

The Progressive Era saw the flourishing of women's organizing on a wide range of issues. One of the most fertile areas was the plight of working women. Facing poverty, poor working conditions, and personal danger in the workplace, as in the city streets, women workers had few means with which to combat inequality. Organized labor, long the recourse of skilled workingmen, was noted for its hostility toward women in the workplace and in the union. With few allies, working women often had to rely on their own scant resources. In Great Britain at the turn of the century, middle-class and elite women organized a support group for women workers and their unions called the Women's Trade Union League. Following their example, American socialists, among them William English Walling and Mary Kenney O'Sullivan, sought to organize a similar association. At two meetings in Boston in 1903, settlement house workers, labor union leaders, and others formed the National Women's Trade Union League (NWTUL). The league's first president was Mary Morton Kehew; Jane Addams was first vice president, and Mary O'Sullivan first secretary. Labor reformers in Boston, Chicago, and New York quickly formed local branches of the league to address the poor conditions and poverty faced by women in the workplace.

In 1906, Mary Dreier Robins, a labor reformer and wife of Chicago settlement house worker Raymond Robins, became NWTUL president. She remained in the office until 1922.

Built on a model of cross-class solidarity, the NWTUL brought working women and middle-class women together to improve the condition of women in the workplace. In this effort, they had a range of tactics—public education, social investigation, support for unions in organizing drives and strikes, and lobbying state legislatures and Congress for protective labor laws. During the league's first two years, it supported strikes in Chicago; Troy, New York; and Fall River, Massachusetts.

The event that catapulted the NWTUL to national attention was the 1909–10 SHIRTWAIST MAKERS STRIKE in New York City. During that strike, the NWTUL raised money for strikers' relief and bail, helped to revitalize local 25 of the INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION (ILGWU), and organized mass meetings and picket lines. Early on, reports of the arrest of women pickets and police harassment fueled public outrage at the treatment of the young workers. When middle-class women allies, including the New York Women's Trade Union League president Margaret Dreier, were jailed for participating in the picketing, public pressure on garment firms to settle the strike increased.

In the midst of the shirtwaist strike, NWTUL members William Walling, Mary Dreier, Helen Marot, Leonora O'Reilly, and LILLIAN WALD helped found the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, a move that helped solidify support for the strikers and avoided the possibility of African-American strikebreakers. Still, larger firms proved resistant to public pressure to settle the strike. The strike ended when garment manufacturers broke down worker resistance, and many returned to work. Despite the loss, the NWTUL took credit for solidifying its goals by reviving ILGWU labor organizing in the garment trade.

The national NWTUL progressively worked to investigate working conditions, conduct union organizing campaigns, and support women workers in strikes across the nation. Its support of the organizing campaign in men's clothing led to the founding of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The league also understood the need for publicity and education for the public. Its journal, *Life and Labor*, edited by Australians Alice Henry and Stella Franklin, served as a forum to educate women workers in citizenship, labor history, and union practice. Once the NWTUL came out in support of WOMAN SUFFRAGE, the journal also informed its readers about the progress of suffrage campaigns. Beginning in 1915, the Chicago branch of the NWTUL formed a leadership school that recruited women workers nationally. As union membership began to decline

in the 1920s, the NWTUL turned its primary attention to protective labor legislation, especially minimum wage and maximum hour laws for women. This turn cost the league members and relegated much of its activity to lobbying. Under Rose Schneiderman, its next president, the league continued to press for labor legislation throughout the 1920s.

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## Native Americans

In the late 19th century, reformers responding to the devastation of the Native American population began to formulate policies aimed toward assimilating native peoples. In some ways, their campaign to bring "civilization" to their charges was well-intentioned. They thought that education, property ownership, and religious conversion were the means by which Native Americans could achieve equal citizenship. At the same time, support for assimilation was deeply colored by misunderstanding and even fear and hatred of Native American language, religion, and cultural practices. In their challenge to Native American tribalism, with its collective land ownership, nomadic ways, and animistic religion, reformers cooperated with others whose main purpose was to use and exploit Native American land and resources.

A threefold plan to assimilate Native Americans became the major driving force behind the U.S. government's policy in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Through allotment policy, the government assigned individuals' plots of land from the reservation and sold the surplus. It developed a system of BIA boarding and day schools to educate Native American children in English and in industrial and agricultural skills; and it replaced tribal authority in criminal trials with federal, state, and local courts. The undermining of tribal government effectively ended tribal sovereignty. By granting Native Americans citizenship in conjunction with allotment and military service, or in the comprehensive Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, the U.S. Congress finally and forcibly integrated Native Americans into the nation. However, it was not until after World War II that some states granted Native Americans the right to vote or equal political rights.

After 1900, the policy of allotment, first begun under the Dawes Severalty Act (1887), began to take its toll on Native American land ownership. The original legislation





A group of young Native American men and women at the U.S. Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, participate in an art class. (*Library of Congress*)

had put breaks on the ability of land speculators and corporations to take advantage of the allotment system and buy or lease the millions of acres of Native American reservation land. Allotted land had been put in trust for 25 years to ensure that it would not be sold wholesale to non-Native Americans. Each land sale or lease had to be approved by the Department of the Interior. Under pressure from railroad corporations, who sought the right-of-way on reservations, from oil and mining companies looking for mineral leases, and from timber companies and cattle syndicates, the Congress responded with a new series of laws that speeded up the allotment of land. In 1898, the Curtis Act ended tribal sovereignty in the Indian Territory. In 1902, the Dead Indian Land Act gave the right to Native Americans to sell inherited property, and the BURKE ACT put more Native American land at risk by eliminating the 25-year trust period. More than 90 million acres of reservation land were transferred to non-Native Americans between 1887 and 1932. While more than 100,000 Native Americans had

received individual allotments, most of the land had been sold as “surplus” to non-Native American owners.

Connected to the policy of allotment was the transfer of criminal and civil legal cases from tribal authority to the federal and state court system. In part the transfer was designed to dismantle tribal authority and the separate sovereignty of Indian nations. Another consequence was that the shift to state courts aided the transfer of Native American land to white authorities. County courts soon provided supervision for, and later guardianship of, Native American lands, and the practice led to abuses. There was no compensation for the loss of tribal sovereignty. Few states accepted that Native Americans had equal political or civil rights, and in some states, Native Americans were denied the right to vote. This left them vulnerable to state and local courts. By declaring its owners legally incompetent, for example, courts and lawyers in the former Indian Territory of Oklahoma simply usurped control over Native American land and sold or leased it to mining, oil, timber, and cattle

corporations. Court challenges to the forcible allotment of land, such as *LONE WOLF v. HITCHCOCK*, only confirmed the second-class status of Native Americans under the law.

Along with allotment came the creation of a federal school system for Native Americans. In the schools, native languages, religious practices, dances, and chants were forbidden, as they were on many reservations under government supervision. Despite substantial resistance to Christianity and white education, however, the Bureau of Indian Affairs continued to push for its agenda of assimilation. In 1918, Congress passed a law granting citizenship to Native Americans who served their country in the military during the war; and in 1924, the Indian Citizenship Act granted citizenship to all Native Americans who had not yet been naturalized.

Despite the assault on tribal land and authorities, many Native American communities proved resilient to the threat of federal and state policies. Not only through formal organization but also by retaining tribal independence, such tribes as the Navajo, Yuma, Pueblo, Hopi, Seneca, and Seminole successfully sidestepped allotment and the destructive policies of the period. For other reasons, the cessation of warfare, improvement in health care and nutrition, in particular the decline in the incidence of tuberculosis, and the creation of stable communities, the Native American population, in decline for hundreds of years, began to show signs of recovery and revival. From a low of 237,000 in the Bureau of Indian Affairs census of 1900, there was a slow growth in population to nearly 335,000 in 1930. Changes in Native American mortality were central to this growth. Life expectancy for Native Americans in 1900 was 30 to 35 years on average, significantly lower than the 50 years for the general population. Fertility also increased, as the population received better health care.

There were signs of a significant political revival as well. New groups, often coalitions of Native Americans and their white allies, took on the issues of Indian rights after 1910. The Four Mothers Society, the Society of American Indians (later the American Indian Association), the Indian Rights Association, and the American Indian Defense Association fought to stop the illegal seizure of lands attempted by Albert Fall, the secretary of the interior responsible for TEAPOT DOME, and supported legislation such as the Pueblo Lands Act, which defended land ownership and pushed for additional compensation for lands already lost. These groups also lobbied Congress to study Native American policies and conditions on reservations. In a 1924 report, *The Indian Problem*, a committee of 100 reviewed federal policy and upheld the land rights of Native Americans. In 1928, the Merriam Report on the Problem of Indian Administration directly linked allotment policy to the widespread poverty, high infant mortality, and low life expectancy of Native Americans. The Merriam Report

called for the reorganization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and improvement of living conditions. By the 1930s, with the Native American population recovering and the advent of a new, more sympathetic administration under Secretary of the Interior John Collier, the policy of assimilation ground to a halt.

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## nativism

During the first decades of the 20th century, nativism—what historian John Higham defined as “an intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign (i.e., “un-American”) connections”—became a significant force in American culture. Often associated with opposition to IMMIGRATION, nativism resulted from fears that the core cultural, social, and racial elements that composed the American national character were under attack. Such fears were nothing new in American history, but a number of factors combined to fuel several virulent outbreaks of nativist sentiment. More immigrants were coming to the United States than ever before. Six million arrived during the years from 1900 to 1910 alone, and more were coming from southeastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America. These new immigrants were perceived as being more culturally and racially different from “native-born” Americans than earlier groups from northern and western Europe. As the United States experienced the economic and social turmoil that accompanied rapid industrial expansion, the foreign-born frequently were blamed for the problems facing the country. They also were perceived as a source of dangerous “radical” sentiments that led to further strikes and labor unrest. Fears of immigrants increased again during WORLD WAR I, when these potentially disloyal Americans were urged to prove that they were “100 percent” Americans rather than hyphenated German-Americans or Irish-Americans.

Nativists’ fears of the “foreign” elements within the United States manifested in a number of ways. Some sought to encourage immigrants to “Americanize” themselves as quickly as possible once in the United States, abandoning their old language and customs for American ones. Although some social scientists, such as Horace Kallen, argued that it was wrong to force immigrants to abandon their culture, AMERICANIZATION programs achieved a

wide range of acceptance in the United States at this time. These attempts to create a homogeneous American culture and impose it on immigrants took place in all areas of life, including efforts to insure English-only instruction in public schools, settlement houses that sought to teach immigrant women English and American customs, and workplace education programs that glorified the “melting pot” and “100 percent Americanism.” Nativist organizations formed to push for programs such as these and to try to enforce conformity among the immigrant population, including the revived KU KLUX KLAN, which engaged in anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic, and anti-African American activities during these years.

Not all nativists believed that immigrants could be fully “Americanized.” They were particularly suspicious of immigrants from southeastern Europe and Asia. Many of the southeastern European immigrants belonged to the Catholic Church or practiced Judaism, religions that Protestant nativists had long distrusted and feared. Many working-class activists involved in labor protests were also immigrants from that part of the world. Particularly after the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION in 1917, immigrants from eastern Europe were perceived as a source of radical and “un-American” ideas. Finally, both southeastern Europeans and Asians were seen as racially different from the Anglo-Saxon “race” from which the majority white population supposedly was descended. This had been true of Asians since the mid-19th century, but increasingly, southeastern Europeans also were seen as biologically different and thus impossible to assimilate.

The nativist response was to press for laws restricting immigration, particularly from those parts of the world. Their earliest successes came in barring Asian immigrants. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act greatly restricted the ability of Chinese immigrants to gain access to the United States. In 1907, Japanese immigration was largely barred when the Japanese government agreed not to allow its citizens to move to the United States in the GENTLEMEN’S AGREEMENT, which was extended further by the provision for an Asiatic Barred Zone in the EXPATRIATION ACT of 1907. Asians already in the United States found that they were ineligible for CITIZENSHIP and faced segregation and organized discrimination in many areas of life, such as the movement to prevent Japanese-Americans from owning farmland in California.

Other laws targeted immigrants more generally. The Expatriation Act revoked the citizenship of any American woman who married a foreign man, exhibiting both a desire to discourage immigration and also to prevent American women from falling into the hands of un-American men. The idea of accepting only those immigrants who met certain standards for health and education became increasingly popular with nativists, and the IMMIGRATION ACT OF

1917 instituted both literacy tests and health standards for immigration. World War I served as the context for further revision of the immigration laws as nativists played on fears of foreign-born radicals subverting the war effort. Nativist sentiment, combined with a concerted effort to silence domestic opposition to American participation in the war, fueled both the RED SCARE of 1919–20 and the wave of deportations that followed it.

Attempts to bar undesirable immigration peaked in the early 1920s, as both immigration and labor unrest increased again in the wake of World War I. The QUOTA ACT of 1921 and the NATIONAL ORIGINS ACT of 1924 were aimed specifically at reducing the number of “racially different” immigrants arriving. These laws assigned each country an immigration quota with the result that the old immigrants from northwestern Europe received larger quotas than the new immigrants from southeastern Europe and Asia. These laws effectively ended immigration from areas outside of northwestern Europe and the Americas, which were exempted.

As the numbers of immigrants arriving in the United States dropped dramatically, nativist sentiment began to decline. It was harder to argue that there was an organized foreign threat to the American national character in the absence of large numbers of foreigners. However, the immigration laws created at this time remained the basis for American immigration policy until they were revised in the 1965 Immigration Act during the presidency of Lyndon Baines Johnson.

See also ANARCHIST IMMIGRATION ACT; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—Kristen Anderson

### Naval Disarmament Conference (1927)

In 1927 the major powers met at the Geneva Conference on Naval Disarmament to negotiate for more extensive reductions in naval armaments than they had agreed to at the WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON NAVAL DISARMAMENT of 1921–22. Competing national interests frustrated their efforts. Failing to reach an agreement at the Geneva Conference had important consequences for the future of peace and stability around the world. Although at first the United States stayed out of an arms race for budgetary reasons, Japan and Great Britain competed in a naval buildup that eventually helped to bring about World War II.



The limitation of naval armaments seemed like a realistic possibility in the 1920s. The major powers first successfully concluded a round of agreements at the Washington Conference on Naval Disarmament in 1922. At the same time, the LEAGUE OF NATIONS had been working, without the participation of the United States, for limitations of both land and sea armaments. Although the TREATY OF VERSAILLES had limited only German armaments, it reiterated the need for general limitations among the major powers.

Under the administration of President CALVIN COOLIDGE, the United States hoped to reach agreements that would lead to broad-based naval disarmament. Although the Washington Conference had set limits on the size of warships and aircraft carriers of the major powers, it left a loophole for smaller ships. The naval powers used the loophole to strengthen their military on the seas. In 1927 the Coolidge administration called for another conference, hoping to reach an expanded naval agreement. Meetings between the United States, Britain, and Japan took place in Geneva, but the French and Italians refused to participate in the conference. The French were disgruntled at being placed in the same class of military power as Italy at the 1921–22 conference. The Italians would not attend if the French did not show up. Meanwhile, Britain and Japan refused to stop their naval arms race in cruisers. After meeting for several months, the conference ended without an agreement. After the failure of the Geneva Conference, the U.S. Congress passed legislation that, in effect, placed the United States in the arms race. A few weeks before Coolidge left office in 1929, Congress passed a bill that provided for the construction of 15 heavy cruisers and an aircraft carrier.

Representatives of the major powers met once again for a naval disarmament conference in 1930 as they faced a world economic crisis. Facing an international economic depression, governments recognized that a reasonable place to cut costs significantly was in spending on their navies. The conference agreed to extend the limits of the 1922 Washington agreement to lighter ships. In addition, America, Britain, and Japan agreed to limit their navies at a 5:5:3 ratio. Italy and France signed the agreement as well. Although the two countries could not agree on a ratio between them, they agreed to resolve the dispute within two years. As international tensions heightened in the 1930s, due to Japan's expansion in Asia and the continued British presence, no agreement could be reached.

**Further reading:** Richard W. Fanning, *Peace and Disarmament: Naval Rivalry and Arms Control, 1922–1933* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995).

—Glen Bessemer

## neutrality

Neutrality is a legal concept whereby a nation seeks to avoid military involvement in armed conflicts between belligerent states. Neutral powers are permitted to engage in all legal international trade and transactions. Laws concerning the rights and duties of neutrality are contained in the Declaration of Paris of 1856, Hague Convention V (1907) under “neutrality in land war,” and the Hague Convention XIII (1907) under “neutrality in maritime war.” Neutral parties are required to issue either a general or a special declaration when hostilities break out, although the declaration of neutrality may be repealed or modified.

Certain rights are implicit in a country's declaration of neutrality. One of these is the right to territorial integrity. Territory may be defined as air space, water, or land. Those who are engaging in a war may not use a neutral's territory as a base of operations or engage in hostilities on or in it. A neutral also has the right to maintain diplomatic communications with other neutrals and with the warring parties, the right to demand compliance with domestic regulations set to secure neutrality, and the right to demand warring parties not interfere with commercial endeavors of its citizens.

Early on, the American Republic had struggled with issues of neutral rights in a world rife with European conflicts that often disrupted trade. As a commercial nation, the United States embraced the concept of “free ships, free goods.” This concept held that the nationality of a ship determined the status of its cargo and that only contraband (forbidden goods) on neutral ships would be subject to capture. The issue was fought over with France in the “Quasi-war” in 1797, during the Napoleonic Wars, and finally in the War of 1812. Only in 1856 did the European powers guarantee “free ships, free goods” to neutral powers in wartime.

After WORLD WAR I began in 1914, Britain greatly expanded its contraband list. It intended to enforce a “continuous voyage” doctrine. Under this doctrine, a nation at war could seize a ship en route from one neutral port to another if its cargo were destined for an enemy nation. President WOODROW WILSON immediately protested Britain's actions as a violation of a neutral power's rights. Germany added to the problem when it declared that the waters around Britain were a war zone in which all ships, even neutral ones, could be sunk without warning. Wilson threatened war in the eventuality that any American ship was sunk without warning or without thought for the safety of passengers and crew. Between 1914 and 1917, Wilson successfully kept the United States neutral by maintaining trading rights with Britain while not provoking Germany.

When the war dragged on into its fourth year, the Germans called Wilson's bluff. He broke off diplomatic relations with Germany, but he refused to declare war unless



Germany were to undertake “overt” acts against American lives and property. Wilson proposed instead that American ships be armed, but a filibuster of isolationist congressmen prevented this. The ZIMMERMANN TELEGRAM, in which the German foreign secretary proposed a secret Mexican-German alliance, was published in March 1917. It produced the predictable ill will toward Germany. Even worse, the long dreaded “overt” acts directly followed the publication of the telegram when Germany sank four unarmed American merchant vessels.

German violations of American neutrality rights forced Wilson’s hand. On April 2, 1917, he asked Congress for a declaration of war. German U-boats had now pushed a wavering country to enter the war. Six senators and 50 representatives voted against overcoming neutrality and going to war, but the goal of making the world safe from the submarine was not compelling enough to inspire the country’s patriotism. In his declaration of war, Wilson transcended commerce and widened the scope of the war to include making the world safe for democracy. His idealistic vision won the support of a majority of Americans.

See also LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

**Further reading:** John W. Coogan, *The End of Neutrality: The United States, Britain, and Maritime Rights, 1899–1915* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981).

—Annamarie Edelen

## New Freedom

Writing about his new reform program or the “New Freedom,” President WOODROW WILSON wrote, “the concern of patriotic men is to put our government again on its right basis by substituting the popular will for the rule of guardians, the processes of common council for those of private arrangement.” To do this, the Wilson administration would let the light in on all government affairs. Wilson sought to substitute public for private machinery in overseeing the economy and society. In the 1912 election Wilson voiced his program of reform as the “New Freedom,” hearkening back to the American ideal of family farms and small businesses and fair competition. Roosevelt, his major opponent, called for a New Nationalism of increased federal government power. Wilson won the day.

The DEMOCRATIC PARTY regained the presidency under Wilson in 1912 due, in great part, to divisions within the REPUBLICAN PARTY. THEODORE ROOSEVELT’s decision to establish the PROGRESSIVE PARTY cost the incumbent WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT the presidency. Wilson’s own progressive policy, the “New Freedom,” concentrated on opening the processes of politics and capital.

Wilson’s hallmark “New Freedom” legislation included tariff, currency, election, banking, and child labor reform.

The Wilson administration’s first attacks on the domestic front were on TARIFFS, the banks, and the trusts, known as the “triple wall of privilege.” Wilson personally presented his appeal to Congress for the Underwood Tariff Bill, which instituted a large reduction in rates and import fees. Many thought Wilson was committing political suicide, but he felt that the existing tariff placed undue hardship on average Americans. Wilson was successful in his lobbying efforts on the bill. A related measure was the new progressive income tax attached to the bill.

A second area of interest for Wilson’s New Freedom was the banking system. Once again, Wilson took his appeal to the “sovereign people” and won. In 1913 he signed the FEDERAL RESERVE ACT. This act created the new Federal Reserve Board, which controlled 12 regional reserve districts, each with a central bank. They issued federal reserve notes backed by paper money, thus controlling the amount of currency. Trusts also were targeted with the FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION ACT of 1914. This commission focused on monopolies and tried to prevent unfair trade practices. Other progressive measures put forth under Wilson included the FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT of 1916, making credit available to farmers at low interest rates; the WORKMEN’S COMPENSATION ACT of 1916 for federal civil service employees; and the ADAMSON ACT of 1916, establishing an eight-hour day for railroad workers. In 1916 the child labor KEATING-OWEN ACT was passed, which prohibited the shipment of products that had been made by workers under 14 years of age for some products and 16 for others. A Supreme Court decision later declared the act unconstitutional, but it was an important first step toward barring child labor.

Finally, the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution, which provided for the DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS and was considered a move toward more democratic representation, was passed during the Wilson years. It was designed to take away the influence of “party machines” and other threats to democratic elections. Wilson strove to give selection of candidates over to direct primaries and elections and get it out of the hands of “small groups of men.” Wilson had wanted to leave a legacy more concerned with human rights than property rights.

**Further reading:** Kendrick A. Clements, *The Presidency of Woodrow Wilson* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1992); Arthur S. Link and Richard McCormick, *Progressivism* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harland Davidson, 1983).

—Annamarie Edelen

## New Nationalism

During his first term in office, President THEODORE ROOSEVELT became increasingly aware of the power of

corporations in public life. He targeted the large trusts, specifically Northern Securities and STANDARD OIL, for the worst abuses of the monopoly power to distort the market and corrupt the political process. For Roosevelt, however, the size of corporations was not the issue; it was how corporations used their power. To keep monopoly in check, what was needed was for government to regulate the large trusts. If the United States was to become a world power, it needed both powerful corporations and a strong, centralized federal government. Shared by many progressive reformers, this philosophy became known as the "New Nationalism." The New Nationalism took as its manifesto Herbert Croly's book, *The Promise of American Life* (1909). Croly argued that the major aim of progressive reform should be "to secure the maximum production from a private system with the most widespread diffusion of benefits as possible." Roosevelt agreed. As he announced to an audience in Osawatomie, Kansas, in 1911, true progressives would "recognize the inevitableness and the necessity of combinations in business and meet it by a corresponding increase in governmental power over big business." A year later, at the PROGRESSIVE PARTY convention, Roosevelt further developed these ideas, targeting the federal courts for criticism and arguing for greater federal power to regulate. He observed that it would take a powerful central government to control the force of Big Business. What was more, as federal courts continued to decide that new state legislation was unconstitutional, Roosevelt sided with those who viewed the courts as major obstacles to progressive reform. As he later asserted, the courts had created a safe neutral zone for corporate "lawlessness," in which neither state nor federal governments could act. He based his arguments on the claim that communities had the power to regulate property for the public good.

Roosevelt's political philosophy stood in stark contrast to those for whom small businesses, family farms, and voluntary organization were the primary means of securing American democracy. While he listened to their rhetoric, he characterized their belief as "rural toryism." They wished, he believed, to "attempt the impossible task of returning to the economic conditions that obtained sixty years ago." In the election of 1912, the divided soul of PROGRESSIVISM was on display. While Roosevelt and his party embraced the growth of government, Democratic candidate WOODROW WILSON and his supporters, including WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN and future Supreme Court justice LOUIS BRANDEIS, echoed their fears that a powerful government could overshadow competition in the marketplace and individual liberty. As Roosevelt thundered about the New Nationalism on the campaign trail, Wilson articulated his beliefs and those of others as the NEW FREEDOM. In many ways, the election of 1912 and the battle over the role of government marked the first modern election. At the same

time, the irony of the debate was that Wilson, the voice of the New Freedom, became an even more powerful president than Roosevelt, as his administration faced participation in WORLD WAR I. By virtue of his wartime government, Wilson took on the powers of a strong federal government for which the New Nationalism had clamored.

See also NORTHERN SECURITIES CASE.

**Further reading:** George Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900–1912* (New York: Harper, 1958).

## New Unionism

New Unionism refers to efforts to organize American workers in ways that sharply contrasted with the more conservative methods of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL). Led by Samuel Gompers, it focused its organizing efforts on forming trade unions among skilled workers who were overwhelmingly white, male, and native-born. The AFL became the nation's first firmly established and influential labor organization and solidified its position by eschewing radical politics and labor violence. At times, it worked cooperatively with employers both in the workplace and through organizations such as the NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.

Despite the AFL's success, the vast majority of American workers remained unorganized and poorly paid. Among the reasons for this failure were the increasing use of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT techniques in MASS PRODUCTION and the wave of new immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, who competed with each other for factory jobs. The nature of work itself also was changing. Receding were the days when skilled craft workers enjoyed positions of privilege, prestige, and power because of their specialized knowledge. With the introduction of interchangeable parts and assembly line production, many employers no longer required highly skilled craft workers. Finally, the number of industrial workers increased dramatically, as the automobile, steel, mining, and oil industries built massive plants and refineries and employed hundreds, even thousands, of workers.

When the AFL failed to organize these unskilled and semi-skilled industrial workers, other organizations stepped into the breach. Where the AFL had restricted its efforts to organizing only highly skilled workers, many of the new unions attempted to organize workers throughout entire industries. One of the early examples of this was the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMWA). Led by JOHN MITCHELL, the UMWA attempted to organize mine workers regardless of their job classification within the industry. It was successful in recruiting new members in both bituminous and anthracite coal in the eastern fields and began to recruit in the West. Other unions, such as

the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW), had as their purpose the organization of workers on an industrial basis, regardless of their gender, race, ethnicity, or occupation.

These new unions also differed from the AFL in that they were more progressive and even radical in their politics. Some had strong socialist influences and sought state intervention in labor relations; others looked toward direct action in the workplace as a cure for workers' ills. They were more willing to confront employers to gain recognition or secure their demands. When the UMWA encountered resistance to its attempts to organize the Pennsylvania miners, 140,000 miners walked off the job in the 1902 ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE, one of the nation's largest. Led by WILLIAM "Big Bill" HAYWOOD, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, and others, the IWW pursued its goals through work stoppages, general strikes, boycotts, strikes, and other forms of direct action in eastern textile and electrical manufacturing, mid-western agriculture and timber, and at the iron ore deposits of the Mesabi Range in Minnesota and Michigan. Some of the most dramatic demonstrations of the New Unionism were in the SHIRTWAIST MAKERS STRIKE of 1909–10 and the LAWRENCE STRIKE of 1912.

One result of the rise of new unionism was that the labor movement grew in size and strength between 1900 and 1920. Union membership increased from 2 million in 1904 to 5 million in 1920. Throughout the country, workers were organizing unions and demanding pay increases, shorter workdays, and improved working conditions. The burgeoning labor movement also began flexing its political muscle, securing passage of the CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT (1914) at the federal level and workmen's compensation laws at the state level. Through the INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION, the organized labor movement for the first time played an active role in shaping federal policy on labor relations. Despite the growing influence of the New Unionism, employers continued to resist bitterly the more radical new unions, especially the IWW, preferring to work with the more conservative AFL or to resist with private and state action all labor unions. Between 1914 and 1919, the AFL was the chief beneficiary of the increased power of the labor movement and worked closely with WOODROW WILSON's administration to support the American effort during WORLD WAR I.

The end of the war also brought an end to cooperation between the labor movement and the federal government. It resulted as well in severe repression of the new unionism. Across the country, workers frustrated by pledges not to strike during the war, by low wages, and by rampant inflation, walked off the job in one of the largest waves of strikes in the country's history. The STEEL STRIKE OF 1919, which began on September 22, and lasted until January 8, 1920, involved 365,000 steelworkers and marked the

end of the uneasy labor accord reached during the war. The backlash against the strike wave and the labor movement was swift and widespread. Attorney General A. MITCHELL PALMER was convinced that many of the new unionists were supporters of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION and were plotting to overthrow the federal government. With the backing of the AFL and many employers, Palmer launched a series of raids against suspected radicals, which became known as the RED SCARE. As one of the chief targets of the Red Scare, the IWW had its offices raided on several occasions. Big Bill Haywood and 165 other IWW leaders were arrested and convicted under the ESPIONAGE ACT of 1917 for hindering the war effort. Similar repression took place throughout the Northwest, where the IWW had been strongest. By the end of 1920, the organization was in total disarray and ceased to be an effective force in the American labor movement.

The demise of New Unionism severely undermined the strength of the labor movement and ensured that it remained in a weakened state throughout the 1920s. New industrial and mixed unions had brought thousands of previously unorganized workers into the labor movement, challenged the supremacy of employers, and criticized conservative state and federal policies toward organized labor. The massive post–World War I strike wave indicated the extent to which new ideas and a willingness to take direct action had taken root among American workers, but the divisions between the new and more radical unions, such as the IWW and the older, more conservative AFL, undermined the effectiveness of the strike wave and helped ensure the demise of the new unionism.

See also LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT.

**Further reading:** David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865–1925* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

—Robert Gordon

## New Woman

The New Woman is a term that referred to women's more prominent role in the public arena in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Women's greater visibility manifested itself in colleges, the professions, and reform movements. Economic and social transformations in the mid- to late 19th century contributed to new and different roles for women, particularly women of the upper and middle classes. Social restrictions on middle-class women eased as a market economy changed the dynamics of the household and the relationship of households to the rest of society.

Middle-class white women's lives were shaped not only by circumstances, but also by their changing status. For



one, they chose to have fewer children, a fact that contributed to their growing power within the family and allowed them greater time and flexibility to pursue activities outside of the home. Once the children of married middle-class women were in school, women could devote their energies to a variety of causes. Temperance, social reform, church activism, and the club movement among others provided women with the opportunity to “work” outside the home and in same-sex organizations.

Colleges served as a politicizing and socializing force for the emerging New Woman. As more colleges began accepting women and more women’s colleges were established, opportunities expanded for women. Women’s colleges in particular allowed women to establish their own social networks that eventually served as stepping-stones into the public arena.

Education provided professional opportunities that characterized the New Woman’s elevated status. The New Woman was often a college graduate who worked as a settlement worker, teacher, or librarian. Previously, female jobs such as nursing did not require a college education, but nursing became increasingly professionalized early in the 20th century. Despite these changes, female college graduates still worked in traditional female occupations believed to require women’s innate skills of nurturing and compassion.

Other characteristics of the New Woman included delaying marriage or remaining single. Delaying or avoiding marriage grew more acceptable by society as long as women devoted themselves to a calling deemed socially valuable, such as charitable or reform work. The women’s club movement channeled some of women’s activism in these areas. Beginning in the 1890s, women began forming women’s organizations for the purpose of coordinating volunteers on issues of social concern. Although these groups had precedents, not until the Progressive Era did such activity become widespread. In 1892, there were 100,000 members associated with the newly formed General Federation of Women’s Clubs; by WORLD WAR I, there were over a million. Initially, most women’s clubs engaged in cultural discussions, but many soon adopted a reformist, and even radical, agenda, including advocating for WOMAN SUFFRAGE. Women’s clubs were a reflection of both women’s growing politicization and their political limits. The women’s club movement staked a claim in the public arena using domestic arguments that women needed to extend their sphere to improve society.

Other movements associated with the New Woman made similar arguments. Temperance galvanized hundreds of thousands of women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Women’s Christian Temperance Union was the largest women’s organization of the period. It not only worked to eliminate the evils associated with alcohol, but



Satirizing modern role reversals, a woman wearing knickers and smoking a cigarette observes a man doing laundry. (Library of Congress)

also sought to eradicate ills associated with men, including prostitution and political corruption. As such, it was a political association that located women’s position as moral arbiter in public life. The movement’s foot soldiers tended to be white middle-class women, many of whom later converted to the suffrage cause for many of the same reasons that they initially became involved in temperance.

Suffrage, like temperance and the club movement, drew primarily from a middle-class constituency. Arguing that society’s problems could be remedied by women’s influence, suffragists began agitating in earnest for the vote by the 1890s. The movement reflected the New Woman’s emphasis on female organizations and networks to support reform and women’s entrance into previously male domains. Despite these arguments, suffragists were regularly derided by their foes for allegedly acting against nature in attempting to enter politics. Opponents of women’s education made similar claims that women did not have the mental and physical capacity to engage in learning. Intellectual activity, some male physicians maintained, drained blood from a woman’s reproductive organs. Nativists feared that, if native-born American women were educated, they would have less interest in children, causing immigrant women and children to outpace native-born families. Race suicide, they claimed, was the inevitable result of women’s education.



JANE ADDAMS, who founded Hull-House in Chicago, was the model for this generation of New Woman. She came from a prominent Illinois family and attended college. Later traveling to Europe, she was influenced by the settlement house movement there. Never considering marriage an option, Addams returned to the United States to devote herself to uplifting urban immigrants as well as herself, as she had long been searching for a purpose in life. In her autobiography, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, she argued that women needed to relinquish “the family claim” on their lives and find “salvation” in attending to social needs.

Addams represented the cross-class activism that many New Women pursued. The NATIONAL WOMEN’S TRADE UNION LEAGUE (NWTUL) embodied the reform spirit of the New Woman in labor struggles. Many female reformers worked with poor urban immigrants who labored in hazardous working conditions. The NWTUL was formed in 1903 as a vehicle for upper- and middle-class women to support working-class women. In one of the most famous strikes of the period, the NWTUL lent its moral, financial, and legal resources to thousands of striking garment workers in 1909, raising awareness of the female immigrants’ plight and forging a cross-class alliance that the male labor movement would not.

The New Woman herself was a bridge between Victorian social mores and modern life. She opened up doors to economic, social, and political advancement through single-sex networks and by using society’s sexual divisions to her advantage. The New Woman was one of the most important constituent groups engaged in Progressive Era reform. After such victories as the Prohibition and suffrage amendments, reform waned in the period after World War I, as did many of the women-based groups that had spearheaded reform. As an image of its time, the New Woman was retired, as “modernity” became the new watchword of the age.

See also WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Natalie Atkin

## Niagara Movement

A civil rights organization founded by W. E. B. DuBois in 1905, the Niagara Movement sought to provide a voice for militant action against racial discrimination in the United States. It suffered due to organizational weakness, the opposition of other African-American leaders, and the opposition of whites and disbanded by 1911. The Niagara Movement’s legacy of black militancy lived on in the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP).

DuBois called the first convention at Niagara Falls, Ontario, in the hope of creating a militant voice that would challenge the prevailing racial system in the United States. DuBois and the other founding members disagreed with the teachings of Booker T. Washington, who at the time was the best-recognized leader among African Americans. Repudiating Washington, DuBois and the others believed that African Americans should fight for immediate political and civil rights. Rejecting Washington’s argument that white Americans would accept African Americans once they proved themselves to be upstanding and useful citizens through hard work, DuBois and the others proclaimed that only through immediate and militant action could the African Americans force white Americans to change.

The Declaration of Principles written after the first convention indicated the radical protest that the founders supported. The principles demanded immediate suffrage and civil rights. It protested the “peonage and virtual slavery” that existed in the South. The principles included complaints against the policies of employers in using African-American workers against white workers and against labor union discrimination. They demanded free and compulsory education through high school and the end of discrimination in colleges and trade schools. The Niagara group attacked segregation in churches and streetcars. To right these wrongs, the Niagara Movement urged national education and legislation to secure enforcement of the constitutional amendments guaranteeing equal rights.

The movement never became the force its founders envisioned. Although it gained members in its first two years, it did not establish itself financially and never effectively found its voice. This was due to a number of reasons. First, Booker T. Washington actively discouraged white and conservative African-American donors from supporting the Niagara Movement. Second, its militant tactics repelled some supporters and it faced a severe backlash from its critics. Third, DuBois and the others never made the movement into a mass organization. It remained an organization of the educated elite. Fourth, the leadership continually fought over tactics.

By 1911, the Niagara Movement had collapsed beneath all these pressures. Its legacy lived on in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. DuBois and several other Niagara leaders helped found the NAACP and brought to it a dedication to militant, direct agitation in the pursuit of civil rights.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

—Michael Hartman

**Nineteenth Amendment** See WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

### Non-Partisan League

Founded in 1915 in North Dakota, the Non-Partisan League (NPL) became a leading force in state and regional politics for the next decade and the sponsor of experiments in public ownership and socialist governance. Dedicated to a non-partisan strategy and the Populist tradition of agrarian radicalism, the league sought to create a future of cooperative production within a state-controlled economy that favored small farms and small firms. NPL adherents organized not as a third party but as a political force that could support and influence progressive factions of the two major parties. It backed candidates who supported its progressive program and sought to work as a balance of power in both state and, eventually, national politics.

Situated in a largely rural state, the Non-Partisan League's program promoted an agenda of a "New Day" for North Dakota. It directed its efforts at revitalizing the rural economy and protecting ordinary people from the power of corporations. It flourished in the context of a political culture that provided its members with public education, social and political events, and material symbolism. Under the leadership of league president Arthur C. Townley, Socialist Party organizers and members of the Equity Society, an organization for farm cooperatives, spread the word of the Non-Partisan League. They supported league efforts to take control of the North Dakota state government in 1916. By 1918, the NPL had defeated most of its rivals in new elections and proceeded to enact its program in the state legislature, seeking to establish a state bank to provide rural credit and state-owned grain mills and grain elevators, state-funded crop and farm insurance, workers' compensation, and subsidized housing for workers, as well as greater state regulation of transportation.

Tapping into a regional political culture, the Non-Partisan League spread through the Midwest and the northern plains. As a social movement rooted in rural life with its dependence on the labor of women as well as men, the NPL recruited large numbers of women into its ranks and supported women's right to vote and participate. The league had its greatest success in Minnesota, where a state Non-Partisan League joined farmers and workers in new political efforts and laid the groundwork for the founding of the Farmer-Labor Party in 1922. The league also had influence on the politics in Montana, Idaho, Wisconsin, and Colorado as well as supporters in 13 other states.

Opposition to the league from North Dakota's small urban population, middle-class farmers, and business came together in the Independent Voters' Association, which openly challenged the NPL through investigation of league finances, accusations of corruption, and charges of anti-Americanism. The NPL's opposition to the U.S. entry into WORLD WAR I also cost the league supporters and brought with it government surveillance. Before the war,

many German-American farmers held aloof from the Non-Partisan League, in large part due to its rhetorical support of temperance. Now, however, the NPL's position against the war attracted the support of German-Americans who felt embattled. Their growing support added weight to the charge that the NPL was pro-German and anti-American. By 1919, these charges had eroded league support and cost it political office. By 1925, factionalism within the league, its declining membership, and government prosecution effectively destroyed the NPL as a mass organization. It lingered on as a force in North Dakota politics for another two decades, reviving itself under a more conservative banner in the 1930s. In contrast, its heir, the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, grew to become a major state power in the same decade.

See also FARMER-LABOR PARTY; RADICALISM; SOCIALISM.

**Further reading:** Robert L. Morlan, *Political Prairie Fire: The Non-Partisan League, 1915–1922* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955).

### Northern Securities case (*Northern Securities Co. v. U.S.*) (1904)

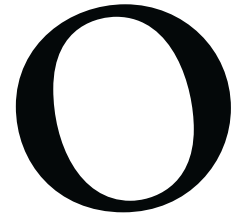
A landmark court case in the antitrust movement of the Progressive Era, the Northern Securities case pitted the interests of a newly formed railroad conglomerate against the federal government's authority to regulate and restrict monopoly in national markets. In its 1895 decision in *U.S. v. E.C. Knight*, the Supreme Court held that holding companies, corporations that held a controlling interest of stock in more than one corporation, did not violate antitrust laws. Under this loose interpretation of the Sherman Antitrust Act, industrial and transportation giants such as U.S. STEEL and STANDARD OIL sought to combine the vertical and horizontal functions of industry within a single company, which both created a monopoly within an industry and gave them competitive advantages in the marketplace. Using the form of a holding company, railroad magnate James J. Hill and financier J. P. Morgan sought to form a railroad monopoly. They merged the Great Northern Railroad and the Northern Pacific Railroad into a new corporation known as Northern Securities, with its headquarters in New Jersey. With capital of over \$400 million, Hill and Morgan acquired majority stock in the large railroads and indirectly controlled the smaller Chicago, Burlington and Quincy. Outside observers noted that the stock was about 30 percent water, noting the practice of overvaluing corporate stock. Under the umbrella of the Northern Securities holding company, Hill and Morgan essentially acquired a monopoly in rail transportation in the Pacific Northwest.

Joining the ranks of large American corporations, Northern Securities attracted the attention of trust-busting president THEODORE ROOSEVELT in 1904. Under his administration, the Justice Department filed an antitrust suit against the company, charging it with antitrust violations. In the Supreme Court case, the high court decided against Northern Securities. It found that the creation of the Northern Securities holding company was a clear violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. The company had created an illegal monopoly that restrained trade and undermined the competitive working of the market. Although Northern Securities' lawyers argued, using the *Knight* precedent, that the Sherman Act did not apply to holding companies, the Court responded that "If Congress had not, by the words used in the Act, described this and like cases, it would, we apprehend, be impossible to find words that would describe them." The company had to disband.

*Northern Securities Co. v. U.S.* was the first successful prosecution of a holding company under the antitrust laws.

After the decision, Roosevelt declared that the Supreme Court had returned to the federal government the power to regulate corporate monopolies and illegal business combinations. He had, however, overstated the case. Although the government's victory put an end to the turn-of-the-century merger movement, holding companies were still in their infancy as a business practice. While they were no longer subject to government regulation, federal antitrust laws had little long-term effect on corporate use of the holding company to form monopolies. The 1911 Standard Oil decision did not alter the environment for big corporations, and trusts such as Amalgamated Copper, American Smelting and Refining, American Sugar, and U.S. Steel continued to thrive. In the 1920s, the use of holding companies spread to the utilities industry, as local utility companies began to form new monopoly enterprises.

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### **occupational health and safety**

Occupational health and safety is a broad term that refers to the risks faced by employees in the work environment and the measures taken by employers and the government to protect them from such risks. It is particularly associated with industrial and manufacturing work. In the decades after the Civil War, American industrial development accelerated, aided by the expanding network of railroads, the growth of national markets, and a surge in immigration from southern and eastern Europe. The rapid industrial growth of the United States exacted a heavy toll on workers. In the first decade of the 20th century, concern about the risks of industrial work became particularly acute. Workers increasingly developed serious illnesses and diseases as a direct result of their jobs, while dangerous industrial processes began to exact a heavy toll in injuries and deaths, especially in the key industries of coal mining and steel manufacture.

The number of people who lost their lives on the job cannot be determined, largely because employers did not keep accurate records and state governments did not have a uniform system of documenting workplace fatalities. Contemporary estimates reflected just how dangerous the workplace was in the early 20th century. According to a bulletin published in the labor press in 1904, about 27,000 workers died in the workplace each year. Three years later, the Bureau of Labor estimated that the annual occupational death toll in the United States was between 15,000 and 17,000, from a total of 26 million male workers. The bureau's more conservative estimate demonstrates that establishing accurate figures for the workplace fatality rate is problematic. It also shows that the federal government often placed the interests of large corporations ahead of workers.

The federal government did enact measures to regulate conditions in the workplace, although the success of such measures is questionable. In 1910, for example, CONGRESS created the Bureau of Mines in response to the esca-

lating number of disasters in the nation's mining industry. The most prominent of these disasters was an explosion at a coal mine in Monongah, West Virginia, in 1907, which had killed 362 miners. The government placed the bureau in the Department of the Interior. While the Bureau of Mines had the capacity to carry out mine inspections and make safety recommendations to mining companies, it did not have the power to enforce its recommendations. Its capacity to improve safety conditions in the mines was limited by the fact that it also was responsible for promoting the interests of the mining industry.

In the early years of the 20th century, the federal government sought to enforce workplace health and safety through the U.S. Public Health Service (USPHS). It broadened the mandate of the USPHS, founded in 1798 as a network of hospitals for ill and injured seamen, to include the provision of health care for victims of natural and industrial disasters and research into industrial hazards. Because the USPHS depended largely on donations from industry for its survival, it became captive to the interests of industry. This was particularly evident in the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY, where workers regularly came into contact with lead and other hazardous substances. Lead poisoning first became evident in 1919, as General Motors and other corporations started to experiment with tetraethyl lead in the search of an efficient leaded fuel. Their early efforts often had fatal consequences. In one experiment in 1924, 11 workers died and several more became severely ill. Despite the obvious connection between tetraethyl lead and the workers' deaths, the USPHS sided with the corporations that were conducting the experiments.

State governments implemented their own solutions to deal with the occupational health and safety crisis. Most passed their own WORKERS' COMPENSATION laws between 1911 and 1921. Employers responded to the problem somewhat differently. In an effort to reduce the workplace accident rate, reform-minded businessmen created the National Safety Council in 1913. In the



early 1920s, the occupational health and safety movement shifted focus. Employers rejected the idea that they should bear full responsibility for the enforcement of safe working conditions and stressed that workers had a role to play. They frequently adopted the argument that most workplace accidents were the result of workers' carelessness or lack of attention, not faulty machinery or inefficient workplace regulation. Moreover, they abandoned the issues of industrial disease and workers' long-term health and instead focused solely on immediate safety issues. Finally, they employed professionals, experts, and scientists who would strictly control efforts to reform health and safety legislation.

In the 1920s, many workers were not careless about their work but simply ignorant about the risks it posed, and this limited efforts at reform. The Workers' Health Bureau of America, which existed from 1921 to 1928, sought to rectify this problem. The bureau encouraged workers and unions to play a greater role in workplace health and safety and sought to sever the ties that bound scientists and engineers with industry, asserting that such professionals should prioritize the interests of labor. Organizers in the bureau had lost faith in the willingness of government and public agencies to address occupational hazards and felt that such hazards would be better managed by labor unions. Harriet Silverman was one of the most prominent figures in the bureau, driven by her conviction that workers rarely received the support they deserved from employers and the judicial system. Although the bureau attracted the support of most of the country's major unions, it declined in the mid-1920s and eventually disbanded in 1927.

Despite the growing emphasis on occupational health and safety in the first three decades of the 20th century, industrial workers failed to gain adequate legislative protection that eradicated, or at least reduced, the risks they faced.

See also HAMILTON, ALICE; NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION; PUBLIC HEALTH.

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—Richard Fry

## oil industry

The oil industry in the United States expanded rapidly between 1900 and 1930 as it tried to keep pace with the nation's energy demands. In particular, the expansion of industrial production and the widespread ownership of automobiles resulted in an insatiable demand for oil and gasoline. An important part of the nation's industrial development in the 1860s and 1870s, oil was first drilled in the United States in 1859 in Titusville, Pennsylvania. Initially, the oil refining industry was centered in three locations—Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia—and characterized by numerous small competitors. The crude oil was pumped from wells, chemically refined into kerosene, and then used primarily in the growing illumination industry. In 1867, JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER formed the STANDARD OIL Company and quickly began to dominate the industry. Rockefeller was determined to control every aspect of the industry including drilling, refining, transportation, sales, and distribution. As Standard Oil grew larger, Rockefeller used the company's power and wealth to buy out competitors and secure preferential transportation rates from the railroads. In 1872 Standard Oil controlled 10 percent of the industry. A decade later, the company controlled 90 percent. In 1882, Rockefeller combined all of the companies he had purchased to form the Standard Oil Trust. Less than a decade later, Rockefeller had expanded his oil empire to include ownership of oil wells, railroads, refineries, and distribution facilities throughout the country and could set oil prices at whatever level he desired.

By 1900, Standard Oil dominated the oil industry as one of the most powerful companies in the country. The way in which Rockefeller controlled the industry, determined prices, and eliminated competition worried muckraking journalists and progressive reformers. In 1904, *McClure's Magazine* published a series of articles by IDA TARBELL that exposed the way in which Rockefeller built his oil empire and the ruthless way in which he maintained it. Collectively published in 1904 as *The History of Standard Oil*, the articles helped convince the federal government to investigate possible antitrust violations. President Theodore Roosevelt had promised to enforce the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 and take an aggressive stand against illegal trusts and monopolies. In 1906, Roosevelt, claiming Standard Oil was 20 times larger than its nearest competitor, instructed the federal government to take action against the corporation. The case wasn't resolved until 1911 when the Supreme Court ruled that the company had in fact violated federal antitrust laws and ordered that, in order to spur competition, the company be broken into smaller, independent parts.

Between 1900 and 1930, oil became more and more profitable. As it did, oil companies began investing vast sums of money in exploration and development. No



Oklahoma well strikes oil. (Library of Congress)

longer able to meet demand by finding oil reserves that had seeped to the earth's surface, companies began drilling deep underground. Oil companies hired university-trained scientists and geologists to analyze soil samples and rock formations in order to predict the location of new underground reserves. When a huge underground "gusher" was discovered in Beaumont, Texas, in 1901, it started an oil boom that lasted until the onset of the Great Depression. The new crude oil discovered in California and on the Gulf Coast of Texas yielded extremely high levels of fuel oil. After the discovery of the Beaumont gusher, the center of the domestic oil industry shifted to Texas.

Demand for oil was at an all-time high as industrial production increased. Factories, which had once been little more than small workshops, grew in size and complexity. The Ford Highland Park auto plant, for example, opened in 1910 and by 1917 employed 36,000 auto workers. The plant was highly automated, and it used massive amounts of gasoline and oil. The spread of the assembly line and mass production resulted in a corresponding growth in the

oil industry. By 1919, gasoline had become the oil industry's best-selling product, accounting for approximately 45 percent of all sales. Technological innovations increased the purity of the gasoline produced. In 1914, Standard Oil of Indiana developed a "cracking" process that yielded a higher-octane gasoline. By eliminating impurities, automobile manufacturers were able to develop more powerful and efficient engines.

For a period of time, the Supreme Court's decision to break up Standard Oil had the desired impact. Even before the Court's ruling, it had become clear that the company's domination of the industry had begun to wane. Several new competitors entered the field before 1911, including Texaco (1902), Shell (1907), and British Petroleum (1909). By the time it was dissolved, Standard Oil controlled only 65 percent of the industry. The Supreme Court ruling against Standard Oil broke the giant into 34 smaller companies. Eventually, however, several large corporations dominated the industry. Known as the Seven Sisters, Esso (So = Standard Oil), Shell, Amoco, Chevron, Atlantic Richfield, British Petroleum, and Texaco extended their control over all aspects of the industry, both in the United States and around the world.

While industrial expansion helped spur the growth of the oil industry, it was the development of widespread automobile ownership that made the industry one of the wealthiest and most important in the country. In 1900, there were fewer than 2,500 registered automobiles. By 1929, the number had jumped to a staggering 26.7 million. Throughout the country, the local filling station became as common and as essential as the local bank.

The impact the oil industry had on the nation between 1900 and 1930 is impossible to overstate. ELECTRICITY, a rarity prior to 1900, also had become commonplace in most cities and spread rapidly to rural areas as well. By 1930, the country had become completely dependent upon gasoline and electricity. Homes were lighted and heated by gas and electricity. Food was stored and prepared using gas and electricity. In fact, by 1930, oil companies in the United States were producing over 3 million barrels of oil per day, and every aspect of daily life and the health of the American economy had become dependent upon oil.

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—Robert Gordon

### Open Door Policy (1899, 1900)

As a summary of American foreign policy toward Asia, the Open Door policy was first articulated at the turn of

the century in a bid for greater access to Asian economic markets. American interest in protecting these markets increased after the United States took control of the Philippines in the war with Spain in 1898. Government officials feared that they would be cut out of plans by the European imperialist powers to carve up China for themselves. By 1900, England, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan had already taken territory in China. In response, the United States hoped to persuade the major powers through diplomacy to maintain the territorial status quo and thus keep open economic access to Asia.

President William McKinley issued a statement in September 1898 stating that the United States wanted to protect the political and administrative integrity of China as well as have access to the country: "Asking only the open door for themselves, we are ready to accord the open door to others." In 1899, Secretary of State John Hay sent out a similar message, which was later called the "Open Door notes," to the major powers in Europe and Japan. In the messages, Hay asked England, Germany, Russia, France, Japan, and Italy to abide by three principles. First, he asked that each nation with a sphere of influence in China respect the rights of other nations in its sphere. Second, he asked that Chinese officials continue to collect tariff duties in all the spheres. Third, he asked for nondiscrimination by nations in levying port dues and railroad rates against other nations. U.S. officials hoped that the principles would protect free trade in China. In addition, they wanted to prevent the formal partition of China by European powers while avoiding military involvement.

Europe and Japan reacted coolly to the Open Door proposals, noting that they would be unable to act unless all the other powers agreed as well. Despite the weak reception to the Open Door policy, Hay announced that all major powers had accepted the American principles. In practice, any nation could violate the Open Door, unless the United States was willing to go to war over the policy.

Almost immediately the Open Door was tested by a revolt that broke out in China. In the BOXER REBELLION, nationalists laid siege to the entire foreign diplomatic corps, most of whom had retreated to the British embassy in Beijing. As a result the imperial powers, including the United States, sent an international expeditionary force into China to rescue the diplomats. The international force broke the siege in August 1900.

President McKinley ordered the military to participate in the expeditionary force so that the United States could prevent the partition of China by Japan and the European powers. After the Boxer Rebellion, England and Germany agreed to abide by the Open Door Policy. In addition, Hay persuaded the major powers to agree to China compensating them for damages accrued during the

rebellion. At least in theory, the United States achieved its goals of maintaining access to free trade and of protecting the sovereignty of China. In practice, the United States was unable to prevent the country's dismemberment by European countries, because the United States was ultimately unwilling to use military force against the major powers to protect China.

During the Boxer Rebellion, Russia had positioned 175,000 troops in Manchuria, a province of China over which Russia and Japan vied for control. It demanded exclusive rights and a commercial monopoly in China. President THEODORE ROOSEVELT and Hay, unable to stop Russian encroachment on Chinese sovereignty, stated that they recognized the privileged role of Russia in the region but that the administration wanted to preserve the commercial freedom of the United States. Roosevelt backed down from the Open Door Policy of 1900, because he thought that Americans were not willing to fight in a remote area of Asia for the abstract idea of Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria. According to historian Akira Iriye, Roosevelt realized the futility of trying "to play the role of an Asian power without military power."

In 1904, Japan attacked the Russian fleet at Port Arthur in Manchuria. In 1905, President Roosevelt agreed to mediate the RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR that had broken out as a result. At a peace conference, Roosevelt reached an agreement between the powers. The Russians agreed to recognize Japanese territorial gains in exchange for the Japanese agreeing to cease their fighting and expansion. Roosevelt also reached a secret agreement with the Japanese, ensuring that the United States could continue its free trade in the region. With the Russian fleet destroyed at Port Arthur, however, Japan became the dominant naval power in the Pacific, and began excluding American trade from the territories it controlled.

In the end, the United States persuaded some of the European powers to enforce the Open Door. Having intervened in the affairs of nations outside the Western Hemisphere, the Open Door policy was symbolic of the rise of the United States as a world military power early in the 20th century. Yet, both the war with Spain and the relative ineffectiveness of its diplomacy in the Open Door notes revealed the inadequacy of the American military. The experience of expansion spurred national reforms to build a modern military system in the United States.

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—Glen Bessemer

### open shop movement

The open shop movement was an attempt on the part of corporations, trade associations, chambers of commerce, and their political supporters to weaken the organized labor movement by requiring employees to work in an open or nonunion workplace. Gains in labor union membership in the early 20th century prompted sharp responses from employers and businessmen, and antiunion organizations such as the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS (NAM) and the American Anti-Boycott Association organized campaigns at both the local and national level aimed against strikes, boycotts, and political action among workers. Although the majority of employers had long opposed labor unions and resisted the closed or union shop (whereby workers were required to join the union as a condition of their employment), the open shop movement began in earnest in response to the wave of labor unrest that followed WORLD WAR I.

The labor movement gained strength between 1900 and 1918. Union membership increased from 2 million in 1904 to 5 million in 1920. As the power of the labor movement increased, unions began demanding closed or union shops. The main advantage of the closed shop was that unions did not have to continually recruit new employees in order to maintain their presence. Most employers resisted any form of organized labor, and they especially opposed the closed shop. The wave of labor unrest that followed the end of the war, most notably the massive STEEL STRIKE OF 1919, convinced business leaders of the need to fight labor with a united front.

At a 1919 meeting on industrial relations called by President WOODROW WILSON, business leaders such as Henry Clay Frick, Judge Elbert Gary, and JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, Jr., came up with a plan to roll back the gains

made by organized labor. Dubbed the AMERICAN PLAN, it encouraged employers not to negotiate with labor unions and launched a campaign to convince the American public that the closed shop and the labor movement in general were “un-American.” Tapping into the patriotism unleashed during the war, backers of the open shop movement insisted that, because employees were required to become union members, the closed shop was unfair and undemocratic. NAM president John Edgerton stated “I can’t conceive of any principle that is more purely American . . . than the open shop principle.”

By 1920, a network of open shop organizations had spread throughout the country and the labor movement was on the defensive. Although the open shop movement was couched in patriotic terms, in reality it was little more than a concerted effort to roll back many of the wartime gains made by organized labor. Many employers who publicly championed the open shop as a workplace that welcomed both union and nonunion employees were bitterly opposed to any union presence. U.S. STEEL, for example, had endured a five-month-long strike in 1919 rather than negotiate a contract with the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers. Throughout the strike and even after, its president insisted that he would close every steel mill he owned before he agreed to a union contract. When combined with the RED SCARE, the open shop movement had a devastating impact on the labor movement. By 1929 union membership had fallen to 3.5 million.

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—Robert Gordon





# P



## **Palmer, Alexander Mitchell** (1872–1936) *attorney general*

A. Mitchell Palmer was the attorney general who spearheaded the post–WORLD WAR I raids against suspected socialists, communists, radicals, and others who had opposed American entry into the war. Born in Moosehead, Pennsylvania, in 1872, Palmer was brought up in a strict Quaker family. After attending Swarthmore College, he joined the Pennsylvania Bar in 1893 and became involved in Democratic Party politics. He used his legal and political connections to launch his own political career. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1909 and held his seat until 1915. As a member of the House, Palmer was an early supporter of WOODROW WILSON's presidential campaign in 1912, but his political career suffered a serious setback in 1916 when he was defeated in his bid to win a seat in the Senate.

During the time he spent in Congress, Palmer was closely identified with the progressive wing of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and earned a reputation as a defender of woman suffrage and labor unions. His political career was revived in 1919 when Woodrow Wilson, rewarding Palmer's long-standing support, nominated him to become attorney general. American involvement in World War I had caused a serious rift among progressives, socialists, and pacifists, between those who supported American entry into the war and those who opposed it. Concerned about the public's long-standing isolationism, the Wilson administration was determined to rally public support for the war effort. Key components of its efforts to ensure public support were an all-out public relations campaign, spearheaded by the COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC INFORMATION, and the silencing of antiwar critics, best exemplified by the passage of the ESPIONAGE ACT (1917) and the SEDITION ACT (1918). The fact that some progressives supported U.S. entry into World War I made it easier for the administration to crack down on those who dissented.

Even though the war ended in November 1918, the outbreak of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION had convinced many in the government of the need for even greater vigilance and suppression of political dissent.

By the time Palmer became attorney general, he was convinced that the Bolsheviks were intent upon launching a worldwide revolution and overthrowing the American government. In response, Mitchell hired J. Edgar Hoover as his special assistant. The Justice Department used the Espionage and Sedition acts to silence radical and left-wing dissent. Nevertheless, political and labor unrest escalated after the war. By the fall of 1919, Palmer was convinced that domestic and international communists and anarchists were determined to overthrow the American government. In response, on November 7, 1919, he authorized the arrest of more than 10,000 suspected communists, radicals, anarchists, immigrants, and dissidents. Many of those arrested during the first Palmer Raid were detained for days without a trial. A second raid took place in January 1920, with the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) as its main focus. Although most of those arrested in the Palmer raids were eventually released and no charges filed, several hundred were ultimately deported from the country.

By early 1920, when it became clear that no revolution or uprising had ever been in the works, public opinion turned sharply against Palmer and the Wilson administration. The Palmer Raids and the RED SCARE of 1919–21 not only devastated the already weakened labor movement but also established a long-standing tradition of hostility and paranoia toward the political left.

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—Robert Gordon

**Palmer Raids** See RED SCARE.

### Panama Canal

The United States built the PANAMA CANAL, a channel 50 miles in length, to cut through the Central American nation of Panama and link the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The construction of the canal reinforced the rise of U.S. naval power and economic dominance in the Western Hemisphere, fulfilling a long-held dream to create a route that allowed ships to move freely between the two oceans.

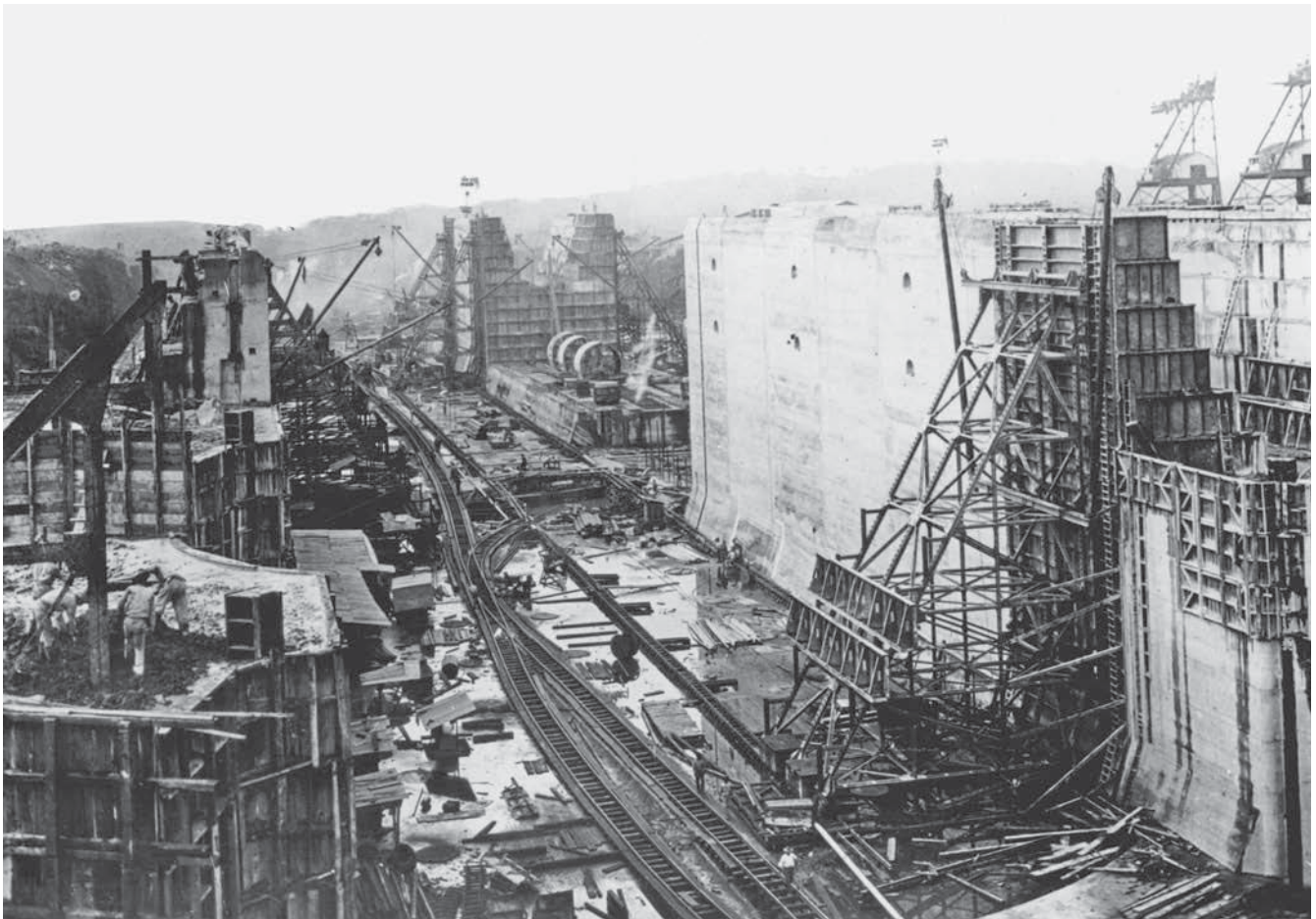
The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 had already provided for the joint construction of any Central American canal by Britain and the United States. By the turn of the century, the United States wanted sole control over the canal zone. After its victory over Spain, President William McKinley came to an agreement with Britain in February 1900. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty allowed the United States to build a canal on its own but did not permit its fortification.

The hero of the Spanish-American War of 1898, THEODORE ROOSEVELT, opposed the treaty, because it forbade the United States from fortifying the canal. He led a cam-

paign that defeated the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty in the Senate. On November 18, 1901, Hay and Pauncefote signed a treaty that Roosevelt, who had become president of the United States after William McKinley's assassination, found acceptable.

At the same time, a two-year investigation under the Walker Isthmian Canal Commission found that Nicaragua would be a more suitable route for the canal. The report found that purchasing the rights for a route through Panama would be too expensive. A French-chartered firm, the New Panama Canal Company, which held the canal rights, estimated its assets on the Panamanian isthmus at \$109 million. Following the recommendations of the Walker Commission, the U.S. House of Representatives passed the Hepburn Bill on January 8, 1902, authorizing a canal through Nicaragua.

Lawyers representing the New Panama Canal Company waged an intense lobbying effort in Washington, D.C. The Walker Commission estimated the value of the New Panama Canal Company at \$40 million. In addition, the



The Panama Canal under construction (Library of Congress)

Walker Commission, noting that the company was willing to sell the rights to the canal at the lower price, reversed itself on January 18, 1902, to favor the canal route through Panama. Five months later, Congress passed the Spooner Act, which authorized the route in Panama. On January 22, 1903, Secretary Hay and Colombian chargé d'affaires, Tomas Herrán, signed a treaty that provided Columbia with an initial payment of \$10 million and \$250,000 annually. In return, the United States gained control over the canal zone for 100 years, an option renewable in the future only by the United States.

Although Colombia wanted the United States to construct the canal, a costly civil war created an urgent need for funds. The Colombian government tried to exact \$10 million from the New Panama Canal Company as a payment for transferring its assets to the U.S. government. In addition, the Bogotá government attempted to get a higher initial payment of \$15 million from the United States. President Roosevelt refused to make the higher payments. In addition, the Colombian senate balked at the American encroachment on Colombia's sovereignty over Panama. The Colombian senate unanimously rejected the treaty on August 12, 1903.

When Colombia's rejection of the treaty seemed imminent, Roosevelt considered either taking Panama by force or providing any revolutionary regime in Panama with immediate recognition and support. With an uprising appearing likely, Roosevelt chose the second option. On October 16, 1903, Secretary Hay informed Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a Frenchman who had fought for a Panamanian canal and agitated for Panamanian independence from Colombia, that the United States was sending warships to the isthmus.

Bunau-Varilla notified the revolutionaries when the American ships would be arriving. On November 2, the USS *Nashville* reached Colón. Acting Secretary of State Francis B. Loomis had ordered the commanding officer of the *Nashville* to "make every effort to prevent [Colombian] Government troops at Colon from proceeding to Panama." However, the transmission to the *Nashville* had been delayed, and the commander of the *Nashville* did not interfere with the landing of Colombian troops. The revolutionaries, forced to fend for themselves, successfully took control of Panama and formed a provisional government.

On November 18, 1903, less than two weeks after the U.S. administration recognized the new government of Panama, the two countries signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, which permitted the United States government to construct, fortify, and run a canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Upon the urging of Roosevelt, the Congress quickly ratified the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty. Construction of the canal began in 1904.

In 1911, former president Roosevelt was widely reported as saying, "I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate; and while the debate goes on the Canal does also." After a decade of construction, the Panama Canal opened to traffic on August 15, 1914. In 1922, the United States paid \$25 million to Colombia for the canal zone. Vital to the strategic and economic interests of the United States in the Western Hemisphere, the Panama Canal Zone allowed for the free movement of shipping between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The U.S. presence at the Panama Canal was symbolic of the rise of American economic and military power in the region.

See also BIG STICK DIPLOMACY; FOREIGN POLICY.

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—Glen Bessemer

## Pan-American Exposition

The Pan-American Exposition, the United States's third international exposition, opened in Buffalo, New York, in May 1901 and ran until November. The City of Buffalo hoped that the gathering would achieve success similar to that of the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876 and the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. Both of these previous expositions elevated the prestige of the nation in the world. Like America's previous international exhibitions, the Pan-American Exposition showcased the nation's progress and a utopian view of its industrial and commercial future. Some items on display for the first time were the X-ray machine, an infant incubator, and electric lighting. Buffalo hoped that the Pan-Am would be an economic boon for the region and bring recognition to Buffalo as a modern industrial city.

The construction and architecture of the Pan-Am reflected an attempt to break from past expositions and show the progress and promise of the 20th century. In stark contrast to the iron, brick, and glass buildings of the Centennial Exposition and the neoclassical White City of the Columbian Exposition, the Pan-Am buildings were constructed in a Spanish Renaissance style and painted in a multitude of colors. The buildings of the Rainbow City, designed by Charles Yardley Turner, were painted in colors that began with deep dark hues and progressed toward lighter pastels and grays as they reached the Electric Tower, the visual and technological focal point of the exposition. The use of hydroelectric power to light the buildings, the grounds, and the Electric Tower created an unprecedented display of modern technology.





Building in the Pan-American Exposition lit up by electric current, 1901 (*Library of Congress*)

The use of color and sculptures and the arrangement of the landscaping reflected a theme of naturalism, but the grounds of the Pan-Am also were intended to symbolize the perceived racial hierarchy among the nations of the world. The grounds were designed to reflect and express a racial view of the evolution of humankind toward modern western civilization. The placement of the lighter colored buildings adjacent to the Electric Tower was intended to suggest that the lighter races, especially the white race, had been most responsible for the advances of modern civilization and human progress.

The events and displays at the Pan-Am also presented a link between race and progress. There were reenactments of the armed battles between the U.S. Cavalry and Native Americans that portrayed them as uncivilized savages. The Ethnology Building was painted gold, considered a primitive color. It contained artifacts that were arranged in ascending order, illustrating the rise of human beings from primitive to modern. Several village displays were set up throughout the grounds. The Mexican, African, and

Japanese villages were built to suggest the primitive state of their cultures when compared to the main buildings such as the Temple of Music, the Government Building, the Machinery and Transportation Building, and the Electricity Building. The Filipino Village was constructed from the perspective of the American empire, suggesting the role its newly acquired colony would play as American influence spread throughout the globe.

The Pan-Am, like the previous expositions, was shaped by contemporary political issues and events. The Spanish-style architecture was intended as a statement of America's hemispheric solidarity with the nations of Latin America and as a celebration of its new role as a world power. After the Spanish-American War, many business and government leaders viewed the entire Western Hemisphere as America's legitimate economic and political sphere of influence. Emboldened by its successful defeat of Spain and its possessions in the South Pacific and the Caribbean, the United States directly intervened in Central and Latin American countries. In its design, the Pan-Am Exposition celebrated the new imperial role of the United States.

The Rainbow City, the display of electric lights, and the theatrical presentation of racial hierarchies were overshadowed when on September 6th, during his visit to the exposition, President WILLIAM MCKINLEY (see Volume VI) was fatally shot by anarchist Leon Czolgosz. Vice President THEODORE ROOSEVELT took office after McKinley's death. Because of the Pan-Am's focus on race and the advent of the progressive Roosevelt presidency, the Pan-American Exposition has been seen as a moment of transition for the United States from the Gilded Age to the Progressive Era.

See also ELECTRICITY; FOREIGN POLICY; INVENTION AND TECHNOLOGY; SOCIAL DARWINISM.

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—Jeffrey Powell

### Passaic Strike (1926)

The economic recession after WORLD WAR I, the loss of massive postwar strikes, and the RED SCARE took a severe toll on the labor movement. In the following decade, labor unions suffered steep declines in membership, particularly in the ailing textile and mining industries. By the mid-1920s, however, these industries began to recover from the postwar crisis and witness the stirrings of worker protest that included the Passaic strike of 1926. As cotton and woolen textile manufacturing increased, so too did the willingness

of workers to demand their due. The wage cuts, mandatory overtime, bad working conditions, and increasing workloads that had followed the war set the stage for strikes in textile factories in the Northeast and the South.

During these years, craft unions continued to dominate the labor movement. They had little incentive to organize industrial workers. New initiatives from within the COMMUNIST PARTY gave priority to organizing mass industry. Its work in the textile industry played a crucial role in organizing drives in the woolen industry in Passaic, New Jersey. Workers in the woolen mills in Passaic and surrounding towns were first and second generation ethnics, many of them women. Like the workers in the LAWRENCE STRIKE of 1912, they spoke a wide array of languages, including Polish, German, Hungarian, Russian, and Italian. These differences kept them divided. Their employers had sharply cut wages and frequently laid off workers during the early 1920s. Recovery brought the hope that workers would no longer be asked to accept deteriorating conditions.

On January 25, 1926, 6,000 workers struck the Botany Woolen Mill in Passaic. The strike quickly spread to mills in Garfield, Clifton, and Lodi. Within a few weeks, over 20,000 woolen workers were on strike. The strikers demanded that their employers rescind a 10 percent wage cut, limit hours to 44 per week, and improve working conditions. They also asked that the union be recognized. The Passaic City Council passed an ordinance to prohibit workers from picketing, but strikers continued to protest outside the plants. There were many arrests. The strike attracted national publicity and the support of liberal and left-wing organizations, and the relief committee raised over \$500,000 to aid strikers.

By summer, however, the long strike was beginning to take its toll. The Communist Party decided to turn control of the strike over to the United Textile Workers (UTW), an AFL union. The UTW took over the direction of the strike on the condition that Communist labor organizer Albert Weisbord leave his leadership position. Once he withdrew, the strike began to fall apart. Relief funds slowed, and the UTW began to negotiate with employers. In late 1926 and early 1927, some of the mills came to terms with the strikers. The wage cut was stopped, but workers failed to gain union recognition. That failure left them, and the organized labor movement, without recourse to collective bargaining in the textile industry.

The Passaic Strike foreshadowed organizing drives in the textile industry between 1928 and 1932, especially the GASTONIA STRIKE. The conservatism of the labor movement and the resistance of craft unions to industrial unionism meant that workers in mass production industry failed to establish stable unions during this crucial decade.

See also LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT.

**Further reading:** David J. Goldberg, *A Tale of Three Cities: Labor Organization and Protest in Paterson, Passaic, Lawrence, 1916–1921* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989).

### Paterson Strike (1913)

A crucial test of the strength and durability of the early industrial unionization movement, the Paterson Strike led to the decline of industrial unionization as a strategy and weakened the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW). From February 25 to mid-July of 1913, nearly 25,000 silk workers joined in a general strike in Paterson, New Jersey. By the time all the workers trickled back into the silk mills in July, the strikers had largely failed to achieve their goals. In addition, the failure led many workers to question the efficacy of industrial unionization and the leadership of the IWW.

After their victory the previous year in the LAWRENCE STRIKE, the IWW had won a number of other small victories. This led them to believe that they were building the future of unionism in the United States. The IWW's textile union had gained members since the Lawrence strike and had become more popular among textile workers in Paterson than the craft-based Union of Textile Workers, which was affiliated with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. When in February 1913, weavers in one mill went on strike over the number of looms they were required to work, the IWW took action to expand the strike to all mills in Paterson. They did this because one mill owner would not be willing to give in to the union's demands if its competitors had not. In making the strike a general strike, the IWW avoided making specific demands. It feared that a strike based on a set of specific demands might not appeal to all workers. Instead, the IWW called for a general strike to protest working conditions throughout the Paterson silk industry.

The IWW used many of the same tactics that it had used successfully in Lawrence but did not achieve the same results. It again called in its best-known leaders, WILLIAM ("Big Bill") HAYWOOD and ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, who organized a central strike committee made up of members of all the local unions. The IWW also tried to gain sympathy by evacuating the children of strikers, claiming that their lives were in danger because of the hardships faced by the striking workers. The town authorities and mill owners successfully counteracted the IWW's actions by remaining calm. They did not use the police to harass strikers to the extent that their counterparts in Lawrence had. Most importantly, they ignored the evacuation of the children. Without a violent reaction from the authorities, the evacuation gained the strikers little sympathy from outside observers. The mill owners thus won the propaganda war.

In what became a controversy, the strike leaders attempted to win the propaganda battle by producing a play to publicize the plight of the silk workers. Performed in New York City's Madison Square Garden, the play attracted a large audience but ultimately contributed to the failure of the strike. Financially, the play was a failure. Promoted to the strikers as both a publicity stunt and a money raiser, the play raised just a few hundred dollars. There were many accusations that IWW leaders embezzled funds. Although no credible evidence was produced to support the charges, the efforts to produce the play diverted energy from the situation in Paterson. Subsequently, many of the striking workers felt that the IWW leaders were too preoccupied with the play to effectively lead the strike.

Ultimately, the strike failed due to divisions among the workers who held a variety of jobs and had, therefore, differing demands. General demands for improvements in working conditions were not enough to hold the strikers together. The strike effectively ended the IWW's influence in the eastern United States and seriously damaged the industrial union movement.

**Further reading:** Anne Huber Tripp, *The I.W.W. and the Paterson Silk Strike of 1913* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

—Michael Hartman

### **Paul, Alice** (1885–1977) *suffragist*

Born on January 11, 1885, into a Quaker family in Moorestown, New Jersey, Alice Paul became one of the most formidable voices in the movement for a federal woman suffrage amendment. Paul attended Swarthmore College and the New York School of Social Work. She relocated to Britain, where she continued her studies and became involved in that country's suffrage movement. It was there that Paul developed an appreciation for militant protest techniques such as civil disobedience and hunger strikes. Such tactics would catapult her into the national spotlight and bring her into conflict with other suffragists when she returned to the United States.

Alice Paul became involved with the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION (NAWSA) in 1912. Earning a reputation as a tireless and demanding activist, Paul organized teams of women from around the country to lobby representatives in Washington, D.C. In March 1913, she organized an 8,000-strong suffrage parade, timed to coincide with President WOODROW WILSON's first inauguration, in the nation's capital.

Paul's tenure at NAWSA was short-lived, as her tactics were seen as too radical and counterproductive. She

did not defer to male politicians. Her single-minded focus on a federal amendment, furthermore, was at odds with NAWSA's combined state and federal approaches to woman suffrage.

In 1916, Paul and other radical suffragists formed the NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY (NWP) to fight for a federal suffrage amendment. The NWP targeted Wilson and his party by picketing the White House daily after January 1917 and campaigning against anti-suffrage politicians. NWP activists also appealed to women in enfranchised states to vote against the party in power, the Democratic Party, to hold them responsible for the failure to pass woman suffrage. The pickets, called Silent Sentinels, garnered national attention as women of all ages protested, regardless of weather conditions. The picketers were treated inconsistently but sometimes violently by authorities. Alice Paul herself went on a hunger strike while in custody, prompting officials to force-feed her for two weeks.

The efforts of Alice Paul and other suffragists finally paid off as Wilson realized that not only could the suffragists no longer be ignored, but also woman voters, he learned, might actually benefit his party. Wilson publicly supported woman suffrage in 1918. The House of Representatives passed the Woman Suffrage Amendment that same year and the Senate in 1919. The Nineteenth Amendment was ratified in 1920.

After the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, Alice Paul concentrated on presenting an EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA) to Congress, which she did in 1923. After conflicts with other female activists over the ERA, Paul began work on women's issues at the international level. She cofounded the World Party for Equal Rights for Women, also known as the World Women's Party, to pressure governments to expand women's rights through international organizations such as the LEAGUE OF NATIONS and its successor, the United Nations. In the United States, she continued to be associated with the NWP and the struggle for an ERA after World War II. Alice Paul died in 1977 in her hometown, Moorestown, New Jersey.

Despite her impressive legacy in the fight for female suffrage and the ERA, Alice Paul was not without controversy. Like many white suffragists active in the Progressive Era, Paul was less willing to fight for the rights of African-American women. After the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, she still did not think the time was appropriate to support black female voting rights. Her support for an Equal Rights Amendment, while farsighted, caused a rift in the women's rights movement. Her dependence on contributions to support the struggle kept her from reaching out to women across class barriers. Despite these shortcomings, Paul is remembered as a primary mover for women's rights.

**Further reading:** Christine A. Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1910–1928* (New York: New York University Press, 1986).

—Natalie Atkin

### Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act (1909)

The increased duties of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act marked a shift in the policies of President WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT from progressive reform toward a more conservative, business-oriented politics. Upon leaving the office of president, THEODORE ROOSEVELT had charged Taft, his chosen successor, with continuing the progressive reform agenda that he had initiated during his two terms as president. When Taft entered office in 1909, he continued many of the progressive reforms that his predecessor had established, but he was not entirely comfortable in the role of reformer. A natural conservative, Taft sanctified private property and revered the process of the law. Still, President Taft was aggressive in attempting to deflate in one term the power held by trusts that Roosevelt had attempted in his two terms as president.

By 1909 the REPUBLICAN PARTY was torn on how to respond to the demands of the Progressive movement. While the movement lacked a coherent, unifying element, it tended to speak for the need to better regulate and control the economic power held by the corporate elite. Progressives considered protective tariffs a major factor in the consolidation of economic power that had contributed to the decline of competition in the American marketplace. Instead of protective tariffs, which often closed the American market to less-expensive imported products, Progressives argued for a revenue tariff that would allow the federal government to generate needed revenues but that did not entirely close the American market to foreign products. Despite advocating a progressive agenda during his presidential campaign, President Taft annoyed many Progressives when he signed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff in 1909.

When he entered office, Taft had favored lowering tariffs on a broad range of commodities. In a relatively short amount of time, the House passed a bill that lowered the tariff on a number of products and goods, but the Senate took a different position from the House. The chair of the Senate Finance Committee, Nelson W. Aldrich, guided through the Senate a bill that drastically revised and enlarged the tariff on more than 800 items. The tariff created an acrimonious debate in the Senate, with Midwestern Republicans charging that the legislation was a throwback to the days when the Republican Party served the interests of industry without question. Taft, who had initially supported lowering the tariff, came to support the

Payne-Aldrich Tariff for fear that, if he did otherwise, it would cause a split within the Republican Party. Unwilling to interfere in the legislative process, Taft signed the bill and steadily drifted into the orbit of the Republican Old Guard. Accordingly, President Taft quickly alienated the progressive wing of his party, causing it to actually split, with the formation of the PROGRESSIVE PARTY, by the next presidential election in 1912.

See also PROGRESSIVISM.

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—David R. Smith

### peace movement

At the beginning of the 20th century, the United States was solidifying its position as a new world power. Wars with Spain and in the Philippines transformed America's view of itself on the world stage and simultaneously spawned a peace movement that advocated internationalist cooperation, arbitration among nations, and the formation of a world governing body. Together, peace advocates hoped, countries could find alternatives to war. During these years, the peace movement grew by leaps and bounds, as witnessed by the exponential increase in membership of established peace groups such as the American Peace Society, as well as by the creation of new peace organizations such as the CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

Many peace advocates participated in the Progressive movement, which maintained that social and political forces, including war, threatened to destabilize society. They believed, moreover, that these forces could be managed and regulated by professionals through new legal frameworks and state regulations. Peace reformers thought that the end result of such efforts would be a more orderly, predictable, prosperous country and a more peaceful world. Not all peace advocates, however, were pacifists; rather, the Progressive Era peace movement was divided among elite peace advocates who sought to end the waste of war and radical pacifists who were both anti-war and antiviolenence.

Peace reformers came from a range of backgrounds, including churches, business, government, social reform networks, and education. Prominent among reformers was industrialist Andrew Carnegie and Elihu Root, one-time secretary of war (1899–1904) and secretary of state (1905–09). Among elite peace advocates, President THEODORE ROOSEVELT, who promoted America's role in mediating between belligerent countries, played a prominent role.



Roosevelt won a Nobel Peace Prize for his role in ending the RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR of 1905. Among more radical peace advocates were domestic social reformer JANE ADDAMS and other women progressives, including GRACE ABBOTT, CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, ALICE HAMILTON, FLORENCE KELLEY, JEANNETTE RANKIN, and MARY HEATON VORSE. Addams, who won the Nobel Peace Prize for her peace work, proposed replacing war with altruistic international public service to satisfy people's need to demonstrate patriotism and glory.

Despite their backgrounds and their political differences about how to achieve peace, virtually all peace advocates prior to WORLD WAR I agreed that the United States, which enjoyed relative security, should take a leading role in promoting international peace, that periodic international congresses should be held to promote discussion on peace issues, that some type of legal framework should be used as a peacekeeping mechanism, and that an international court should be established.

The movement witnessed early success with the 1907 Second Hague Peace Conference, where delegates discussed how to limit armaments, develop international peacekeeping law, and establish a permanent body. International representatives, however, failed to agree on anything except the most general endorsement of international peacekeeping. Although the conference fell far short of producing a substantive international agreement, the mere fact that American delegates were prominently featured and that there were ongoing international peace discussions solidified American peace activists' international and domestic reputations. To many peace reformers, furthermore, the growing visibility of America's role as international peace advocate was success in itself.

The first substantial challenge to peace in the 20th century was the escalating conflict in Europe, which eventually led to the First World War. At that time, European nations were engaged in a military arms race and in competition over colonies and resources in Africa and Asia. Tensions came to a breaking point over the assassination of the Austrian heir to the throne, and Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy were soon at war with Great Britain, France, and Russia. The massive scale of the war and the mounting death toll did not deter other nations from entering the war, especially after Germany violated Belgian neutrality in its first military offensive. The United States, however, maintained a generally isolationist foreign policy at the onset of war in August 1914. Still, the country began to prepare for war with an extensive PREPAREDNESS campaign.

In contrast to the early years of the century, World War I caused the American peace movement to fracture along conservative and radical lines. The nature and duration of the war in Europe, along with German tactics on the high seas (submarine warfare), pushed many longtime

peace activists to support the Allies. Seeing Germany as a threat to the international order and to peace, they promoted military support to the Allies rather than employing the prewar methods of choice, such as mediation, for resolving international disputes. Conservatives in the peace movement looked to the end of the war as an opportunity to create the international body that they had long sought.

Partially due to the established peace groups' unwillingness to oppose the war, radical peace groups were formed, including the American Union against Militarism (AUAM), the Woman's Peace Party, and the WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (WILPE). Jane Addams and other prominent feminists organized and led the latter organization. Activists in the newly created organizations came from established social reform networks, including churches, and labor and women's groups. They decried both sides in the conflict and promoted a quick and peaceful end to the war. Specifically, they wanted the United States to bring the belligerents together, help mediate, and conclude a just peace, which included arms reductions and no annexations.

President WOODROW WILSON, one-time member of the American Peace Society, wanted a quick end to the war with a lasting peace. Initially, he believed that the United States could best protect its diplomatic and economic interests if it remained neutral and attempted to mediate among the warring countries. At this time, Wilson maintained a regular dialogue with domestic peace groups. These interactions contributed to Wilson's growing faith in mediation as a tool in international relations, and ultimately they influenced the formulation of his Fourteen Points. His mediation efforts, however, failed, and conflict with Germany intensified in early 1917.

America's declaration of war in April 1917 deepened the schism between conservatives and radicals in the peace movement. Wartime circumstances produced a political environment in which criticizing the war and the government were not acceptable. Most peace groups remained silent, focusing instead on the postwar settlement. Interested in the peace groups' input, the Wilson administration consulted with some of them, most notably the conservative Elihu Root of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Indeed, when Germany agreed to sign the armistice of November 1918, it did so on the basis of Wilson's Fourteen Points, which reflected, to a large extent, the internationalist goals of the American peace movement.

The intense debate surrounding the TREATY OF VERSAILLES and the LEAGUE OF NATIONS further divided and disillusioned peace activists. Some peace promoters, including members of WILPF, maintained that the league was far from perfect as it did not press countries to disarm and failed to advocate self-determination. The United States never joined the League, due primarily to domestic political

opposition, but the organization was formed, realizing one of the visions of the peace movement. Consequently, many peace activists turned to other peace-related causes, such as relief work in war-torn countries. Pacifist groups such as the FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION and the American Friends Service Committee pursued international outreach as a cornerstone of their antiwar philosophy.

Renewed political commitments to military spending galvanized the peace movement into the 1920s. Disarmament rejuvenated dormant peace groups such as the AUAM and created new ones like the National Council on Limitation of Armaments. In 1919, the War Department proposed compulsory peacetime service. In 1920, the navy proposed a large expansion of the Atlantic and Pacific fleets. Groups distributed antimilitarist literature and organized mass meetings, among other activities, to warn the public about the dangerous direction in which the country was headed. Their activism contributed to the WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON NAVAL DISARMAMENT in 1921–22, which led to arms limitations agreements. The event also signaled America's continued interest in international peace, despite the United States's failure to join the League of Nations. The treaties, moreover, revealed how the peace movement could successfully marshal public opinion in the aftermath of World War I. The peace movement continued to pressure politicians to press for disarmament.

The next pressing issue during the 1920s was the establishment of the Permanent Court of Justice, or World Court. This issue generated renewed optimism in American participation in an international body. As with the debates about American participation in the League of Nations, political in-fighting produced sharp divisions regarding American responsibility on the world stage as well as further disillusioned peace advocates about working with politicians toward an alternative to war.

Despite misgivings, peace reformers were encouraged by American and French collaborative efforts at outlawing war, including those by Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg. The KELLOGG-BRIAND TREATY for the Renunciation of War, signed by most of the world's major powers in 1928, declared war illegal, except as self-defense. Although largely symbolic in spirit, and lacking in enforcement mechanisms, the Kellogg-Briand Treaty exemplified the spirit of international cooperation that characterized the peace movement since the dawn of the 20th century. This optimism would be dampened throughout the next decade as Europe, once again, moved incrementally toward war.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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*Peace Movement: Ideals and Activism* (Boston: Twayne, 1992); Charles DeBenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980).

—Natalie Atkin

**Pershing, John Joseph** (1860–1948) *commander of World War I forces*

Commander of the AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE (AEF) in Europe in WORLD WAR I, John Pershing preserved the unity of the American army in the face of pressure to divide it among the allied forces. The European allies had suggested dispersing American units as well as limiting their participation. A desperate need for troops on the European front gave General Pershing the power to insist on independence, and the AEF became a central force in the last year of the war.

Pershing was born in Linn County, Missouri, on September 13, 1860. His father, John Fletcher Pershing, was a tracklayer for the North Missouri Railroad at Warrenton, Missouri. He married Ann Elizabeth Thompson on March



General of the Armies John J. Pershing (*World Military Leaders: A Biographical Dictionary*)

22, 1859. Once the Civil War began, Pershing's father bought a general store, two farms, and a lumberyard. He would later lose most of the farmland. John Joseph Pershing worked on his father's land, attended school, and later taught school. After attending Normal School from 1880 to 1882, Pershing won an appointment to West Point.

On graduating from West Point in 1886, Pershing began his army career in the Apache and Sioux campaigns of 1886 and 1890. In Cuba, during the Spanish-American War, he served throughout the Santiago Campaign. He fought at San Juan Hill, for which he was awarded the Silver Star. Pershing was assigned to the Philippines in 1899. There he helped suppress the Moro Insurrection. His return to Washington allowed his introduction to Helen Frances Warren, a daughter of the senator from Wyoming. They were later married in 1905. Pershing commanded American forces in Mexico during the pursuit of Pancho Villa in what became known as the MEXICAN INVASION. He was promoted in September of that year to major general.

In 1917, General Pershing was one of the few American generals with battle experience. He knew the United States needed a huge army to make a difference in the stagnating war in Europe. The military draft brought millions into the army, but they needed to be trained. As a result of Pershing's efforts, great numbers of American soldiers began to arrive in France in early 1918. Despite problems with supplies, training, and equipment, the American soldiers were fresh as compared with the war-weary French and British. Pershing sent AEF divisions into action in March. He led the first major American offensive of the war in September. In the fall, the AEF fought its largest offensive in the Argonne Forest. During the course of the war, the American Expeditionary Force saw only 150 days of combat; but in that time, it seized 485,000 square miles of enemy-held territory and captured 63,000 prisoners, 1,300 artillery pieces, and 10,000 mortars and machine guns.

After the war, Pershing became chief of staff for the U.S. Army. He died at Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington, D.C., on July 15, 1948. He was buried in Arlington Cemetery, his grave marked only by a simple marker, as was his wish, near other soldiers from World War I.

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—Annamarie Edelen

## photography

In the early 20th century, American photography expanded from its base in portraiture and landscape to become both an increasingly important art medium and a form of

social documentation that revealed social problems and expressed political ideas. At the same time, photography became democratized, as newer, simpler, and cheaper cameras made photographs available to ordinary people. The technology of photography, from lens to cameras, film, and processing, made the snapshot the most common form of portraiture, archiving personal and public memories and capturing in still photography celebrations, family gatherings, and the mileposts of everyday life. As tourism became a common pastime, photographers found new subjects in landscapes, public monuments, and leisure activities. During the first 30 years of the century, the work of two influential American photographers—Alfred Stieglitz, who transformed photography into a genre of art and mentored the next generation, including Edward Steichen and Ansel Adams; and Lewis W. Hine, whose documentary photography inspired the next generation of social journalists, including Walker Evans and Dorothea Lange—captured the imagination of elite and popular audiences.

It was in 1900 that Kodak introduced the first Brownie box roll-film camera, an invention that made photography available to ordinary families. While portrait studios continued to play a role in commemorating life stages, the box camera made it possible to record not simply life course events but everyday picnics, baseball games, family reunions, and gatherings of friends in snapshots that were relatively easy to develop, reproduce, and share. Much of this had been under way by the turn of the century, as George Eastman took older plate methods of photography and introduced roll film and a developing process called "photofinishing," the cost of which was figured into the price of a roll of film. With further refinements, Eastman's Kodak cameras quickly dominated the market, so that the hordes of new snapshot photographers became known as "Kodakers." The company continued to lead the industry by improving and simplifying cameras and processing. By 1906, panchromatic black-and-white film, which made high-quality color separation photography possible, was introduced, but color photography was not available to the mass market until Kodak introduced new color film in the 1930s and 1940s.

Much of the basic technology for photography was in place by the turn of the century. What was different was how photography increasingly was used as a form of artistic expression and made inroads into the galleries and museums of fine art. The individual most responsible for these changes was Alfred Stieglitz. In contrast to amateur photographers, Stieglitz and other pictorialists, including Gertrude Kasebier, Clarence White, and Edward Steichen, focused on composition and darkroom techniques in their photography, shunning the easy composition and uncontrolled spontaneity of snapshots. The group promoted a new aesthetic for photography in what they called the Photo Secession. They exhibited their work at



the 291 Gallery on New York's Fifth Avenue, understanding photography not simply as a mirror of reality but as an artistic lens. Stieglitz was the chief spokesman of the new movement, mentoring younger photographers, expanding the exhibition space available for photographic work, and editing the central publication of the Photo Secession, *Camera Work*, from 1903 to 1917. His own photographic work took a turn away from the self-consciously artistic techniques of the Photo Secession to what Stieglitz considered "straight photography," without, that is, darkroom transformations or altered media. At the same time, in his categorization of "art photography" apart from documentary work, Stieglitz polarized photographic criticism and shaped the reception of documentary photography for decades to come.

The individual whose career and work contrasts most sharply with that of art photographers was Lewis W. Hine, a

generation younger than Stieglitz and a politically committed photographer. Drawing on earlier documentary photography, Hine focused his camera work on the world of ordinary workers, in particular child laborers at their jobs in factories, textile mills, canneries, mines, and working in the street trades. Between 1907 and 1917, Hine created a remarkable series of photographs of child labor for the National Child Labor Committee. He also worked for the Pittsburgh Survey under the leadership of Paul Kellogg. Often working in dark and gloomy spaces, Hine improvised new techniques that allowed for the conditions and time constraints. He reinvented portraiture with his informal photographs of children working at looms, immigrant steelworkers gathered on a stoop, men on the steel girders of bridges and buildings. Employed by the American Red Cross, Hine photographed war refugees and displaced persons in a Europe devastated by world war. By the 1920s, Hine returned his lens to the urban workplace. His classic photographs, published in 1932 as *Men at Work*, captured both the working conditions and the aesthetics of labor in the United States. In particular, Hine's photographs of the construction of the Empire State Building, a series begun in 1930, stood out.

While Hine understood and contributed to the technique, aesthetic, and content of photography, he was not always recognized as an artist by art critics and photographers. For the most part, Hine saw himself less as an artist and more as a photographer doing the cultural labor of investigating and educating the public about the lives of immigrant workers and child laborers. As historian Alan Trachtenberg notes, Hine's goal was not photographs in an exhibition but published images. Nevertheless, his photographs are understood today as both social documentary and art, with their bold, moving, and insightful images and their ability to capture human experience. His work, as the work of Stieglitz and others of their periods, laid the basis for modern American photography and provided us with a visual archive of their time.

See also ART; JOURNALISM.

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**Pinchot, Gifford** (1865–1946) *conservationist, politician*

Gifford Pinchot was one of the leading naturalists and conservationists of the 20th century and played a crucial role in the development of the conservation movement. From 1893 to 1910, he headed the U.S. Forest Service, during



Photograph of a horse-drawn coach during a snowstorm in New York City by Alfred Stieglitz, ca. 1905 (*Library of Congress*)



which time he had tremendous influence on President THEODORE ROOSEVELT's conservation policies. Under Roosevelt's administration, the number of national forests increased from 32 to 149, covering 193 million acres. The son of a New York businessman, Pinchot became interested in forestry and conservationism at an early age. After graduating from Yale in 1885, he spent several years studying forestry in Europe. Pinchot's rise to prominence began when he was appointed to the National Forest Commission in 1897. Because of his service on the commission, President William McKinley named him chief forester of the United States in 1898.

By the 1880s and 1890s, the nation's appetite for natural resources, particularly timber, had become insatiable; and vast tracts of forest were rapidly disappearing. Where preservationists such as John Muir believed that some regions of the country and some natural resources ought to be off-limits to growth and development, Pinchot and other conservationists concluded that it was neither realistic nor desirable that commercial use of natural resources be curbed or eliminated. If the nation's economy was to continue growing, it needed a constant supply of resources. For these reasons, Pinchot pushed the federal government to become actively involved in land use management. He argued that the government had to ensure that the nation's resources were not squandered and wasted by inefficient and careless use. By 1910, two years after WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT became president, Pinchot concluded that the government had abandoned its commitment to conservationism. After filing suit against Richard Achilles Ballinger, Taft's secretary of the interior, Pinchot was dismissed as head of the Forest Service.

After he left the federal government, Pinchot launched a successful career as a progressive Republican politician. In 1914, he ran for and lost the Senate seat in Pennsylvania. His platform included support for women's right to vote, a graduated income tax, a workmen's compensation law, and the right of workers to form legally recognized labor unions. After this initial setback, Pinchot went on to win the Pennsylvania governorship in 1922 and again in 1930. As governor, he instituted numerous bureaucratic and legislative reforms and recruited women, African Americans, and Jews to serve in his administration. In addition, Pinchot helped to establish rural electrification and anti-poverty programs and frequently sided with organized labor, using his office on several occasions to resolve protracted labor disputes.

Although an important progressive Republican, Pinchot's lasting contribution came from his views of land use and the conservation of natural resources. His views played an important role in shaping both the conservation movement and the federal government's approach toward land use from the turn of the century until the rise of the

modern environmental movement of the 1960s. Conservationism provided a much-needed balance to the dominant free market approach toward natural resources and the environment, but it also served to mute the preservationist impulse and legitimized the nation's insatiable use of natural resources under the guise of wise and efficient use.

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—Robert Gordon

**Pingree, Hazen S.** (1840–1901) *Republican mayor of Detroit and governor of Michigan*

Hazen Pingree is best known as a reform mayor of Detroit and as the governor of Michigan. An early Progressive, Pingree advocated stronger government regulation of transportation and electric and gas utilities, and he sought to end political corruption. During his time in office as mayor (1890–97) and governor (1897–1901), he advocated a wide range of reforms, including the eight-hour workday and the DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS.

Born in Denmark, Hazen Pingree emigrated to the United States at an early age. He worked as a shoemaker and served in the Union Army during the Civil War with the First Massachusetts Heavy Artillery Regiment. After the war, he moved to Michigan and worked as a cobbler. In 1872, he married Frances A. Gilbert. The couple had three children, two of whom survived to adulthood (Joe and Hazel). Pingree established his own business, the Pingree and Smith Shoe Company, in 1866. The success of the firm allowed him to engage in local politics.

In 1889, Pingree ran for mayor in Detroit. Elected on a platform of cleaning up corruption, he took on the job of reforming city street and sewer contracts and the school board. He led the fight against privately owned gas and electric utilities and took on the Detroit City Railways in an effort to lower their fares. When the company's president, Tom L. Johnson, resisted, Pingree set up a municipally owned company to compete with Johnson's private monopoly on city transportation. In the 1893 depression, Pingree created new public-welfare programs to feed the unemployed, poor, and homeless. As part of the effort, he organized public works projects to build new schools and parks and set up a program to give public land for vegetable gardens to the poor.

Pingree successfully ran for the governorship in Michigan in 1896, before he had finished his term as mayor. A court case ensued, contesting his right to hold two public offices at the same time. The Michigan Supreme Court decided against the new governor, and he resigned from his city office. As Michigan governor, Pingree advocated

a graduated income tax, new railroad taxes, and further political reforms.

After Pingree finished his term as governor, he joined a safari to Africa with Vice President THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Stopping in London on the return home, Pingree became ill and died of peritonitis at age 60. He is buried in Woodlawn Cemetery in Detroit.

See also PROGRESSIVISM; URBAN REFORM; URBAN TRANSPORTATION.

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## politics

Between 1900 and 1930, political life in the United States underwent a significant transformation. The character of the electorate, the rules and procedures for elections, and the way in which parties and politics were organized all changed. While electoral politics continued to be dominated by the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and the REPUBLICAN PARTY, the emergence of LOBBYING AND INTEREST GROUPS altered how parties and individuals influenced political outcomes. At a time of declining party identification and voter participation, the two parties continued to control the major governmental institutions of the presidency, CONGRESS, and the court system, in large part due to their ability to incorporate new public interest lobbies into the workings of party politics.

For most of the 19th century, historians have argued, politics ran along a divide between party and electoral politics on the one hand and a more issue-driven reform politics on the other. The principal tools of parties were the ballot and party organization; the principal means of pursuing reform politics were lobbying, petition, and public protest. By 1900, however, voters were increasingly alienated from party politics. New practices, such as split ticket voting and independent lobbying, reinforced a decline in party loyalty and an upsurge in independent political organization. Finding new ways to educate the public, inform legislators, and pass laws meant that the younger generation of active citizens was able to enter political life and significantly shift politics away from party agendas. Organizations such as the League of Women Voters emerged to educate and mobilize voters, and social organizations such as the National Mothers' Congress and the American Farm Bureau pursued their political agendas in new ways.

The shift toward interest group politics had contradictory results. Undertaken under the banner of greater democracy, political reforms such as the direct primary, initiative, referendum, and recall, and the DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS, along with the granting of woman suffrage,

URBAN REFORM, and new voting laws, gave "the people" greater direct access to their representatives. Ironically, it gave the same or better access to corporate interests.

In the government, the electoral realignment of 1896 guaranteed Republican Party control of all three branches of the federal government. Between 1896 and 1932, the Republican Party won every presidential election except the elections of 1912 and 1916, when it was badly divided. The old competitive states such as Ohio, Indiana, and New York, which the two major parties had contested in election after election, now became solidly Republican. In Congress, the Republican Party dominated the House of Representatives between 1900 and 1911 and from 1919 until 1932 and the Senate from 1900 to 1913 and again from 1919 to 1932. Dominance over the office of the presidency also guaranteed control over the judiciary. At the national level, Republican presidents nominated 18 of the 21 Supreme Court justices appointed between 1898 and 1932. The lower federal courts were similarly slanted.

Despite the continued dominance of the two-party system, the years between 1900 and 1930 saw many political experiments come to the fore. Third parties launched successful campaigns at the state and local level and passed reforms governing political and economic life. At the forefront of change was the increasing influence of SOCIALISM, both in the writings of American socialists such as Edward Bellamy and CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN and in the thought of European radicals Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Public intellectuals such as JOHN DEWEY and William James began to rethink how society should organize public life, labor, community, and family. Progressive politicians such as ROBERT LA FOLLETTE and TOM JOHNSON integrated socialist ideas about land reform, municipal or public ownership of utilities, and transportation into their political agendas. The growing number of votes for socialist presidential candidate EUGENE V. DEBS and the success of local and state socialist candidates, shown in the election of more than 300 mayors, city council members, and state legislators, pushed mainstream politics to the Left. As the intellectual basis for PROGRESSIVISM, socialist thought helped reformers challenge relations between individuals and government, private interests and public welfare, and employers and workers. Socialist thought shifted the balance away from sovereign property rights to a new investment in human rights.

Demands for social change eventually hit the wall of conservatism within the political system. At the beginning of the 20th century, Congress was still the dominant branch of government. The Senate served as a break on the new reform measures passed by the popularly elected House of Representatives. The court system was an even greater obstacle to federal and state legislation, as both state and federal courts envisioned limited government and the

primacy of property rights. Faced with these obstacles, Progressives arrived at a critique of how politics were organized. The lack of direct democracy, the concentrated power of business and banking interests in government, and the party system itself were at fault. As the MUCKRAKERS discovered, many forces in American life were susceptible to corruption and vulnerable to the influence of large corporations. Money corrupted politics, and many progressives sought to curtail its influence in public life.

For one, Progressive politicians pushed for the reform of the party system and new forms of direct democracy. In several states, political reformers passed resolutions for direct primaries, substituting them for the “smoke-filled rooms” of party caucus and convention. West of the Mississippi, several states passed initiative, referendum, and recall, which allowed voters to initiate their own legislation, approve legislation passed by the legislature, and recall elected officials who were either incompetent or corrupt. In particular, there was an interest in recalling judges, for the judicial system acted to forestall and undermine progressive reforms. One of the most important democratic reforms of the day was to change the way senators were chosen. Prior to the passage of the Seventeenth Amendment, state legislatures appointed individuals to serve in the Senate. The process was rife with opportunities for bribery and corruption, and it tended to give greater power and weight to rural districts, which were more conservative. With the ratification of the amendment for direct election of senators, voters chose among individual candidates, usually nominated by major parties, for Senate seats. Urban reform measures, which gave some cities commission governments and took power out of the wards and the hands of political machines, were seen as the local complement of direct democracy. By shifting the balance of political power away from political parties and toward individual voters, it was hoped that the democratic will would prevail.

If these reforms seemed a democratization of earlier practices, they did not, on the whole, open up the process. Initiatives and referenda required party candidates or interest groups to endorse them. Further, these political reforms were mirrored by others, which both broadened (through woman suffrage) and narrowed (new voting regulations) the number of men and women eligible to vote. Done against the background of the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment (granting women the right to vote) and the introduction of new voting and immigration laws (restricting entry to the United States and altering rules concerning citizenship and marriage), the voting regulations required longer periods of residency and stricter control over the ballot. These moves discouraged voters and prompted, over the course of a decade, precipitous declines in voter participation and party identification. It also promoted more independent voting. Finally, new women voters played a

role. Apart from agitating for labor legislation and maternal health, women became more active in party politics. By 1933, many women had held public office, including two governors, one senator, 14 representatives, and thousands of state and local legislators and city and county officials.

In the realm of third-party politics, the first three decades of the 20th century saw growth in the number of non-mainstream party votes. Several major party candidates ran on non-party platforms during the period. In 1912, the PROGRESSIVE PARTY nominated THEODORE ROOSEVELT, who received one of the highest total votes for a non-party candidate. The Progressive Party nominated Republican CHARLES EVANS HUGHES in 1916 (he narrowly lost to WOODROW WILSON), and in 1924, it put forth the progressive Republican Robert La Follette and the progressive Montana Democrat Burton Wheeler as the Progressive Party ticket. In addition, farmer-labor parties were active at the state and local level, as they were in the 1910s with the NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE and in the 1920s with the FARMER-LABOR PARTY. Lastly, parties on the Left thrived in small but significant numbers. Socialist Eugene Debs ran for president in a series of elections, and in 1916 and 1920 he earned over a million votes. The conservative backlash after WORLD WAR I culminated in the RED SCARE and put an end to the strong showing of third parties.

Parties began to suffer from the decline of voter participation but not more so than the party workers themselves. The decline of party machines and party patronage meant that political parties had to find new ways of financing political campaigns and staffing of the effort to get out the vote. In the wake of WOMAN SUFFRAGE, women, who on the whole had greater leisure time than men, became party members and performed much of the voluntary labor behind campaigns. Women winning the right to vote also meant the election of women to public office, which they did in significant numbers during the early to mid-1920s.

Despite the conservative turn of the 1920s, there were definitive changes in American politics that suggested a continuity throughout the period. While Republican presidents strove to maintain “normalcy” in government affairs, the period saw increased demands for government regulation and social provision. Not only did the regulatory state emerge from such initiatives as antitrust suits, the HEPBURN ACT, and the MANN-ELKINS ACT, but also the country witnessed the emergence of a social welfare state in state and national legislation for workers’ compensation, the growth of mothers’ pensions, and protective labor legislation. The invention of War Risk Insurance during World War I, the creation of the VETERANS BUREAU and programs for disabled veterans, and the SOLDIERS’ BONUS of 1924 revealed greater public support for social provision under the right circumstances and with the correct constituency.

Public opinion began to embrace a larger and more active government role in the arenas of public welfare and regulation of the economy. Even during the backlash against progressive reform during the 1920s, the federal budget grew. Politics continued to embrace a wide range of ideologies, agendas, institutions, and tactics, and opened the way for the realigning politics of the 1930s.

See also ELECTIONS.

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## popular culture

Between 1900 and 1930, American popular culture underwent a transformation characterized by the development of national popular culture and its commercialization. Popular culture refers to cultural activities and products that appeal to broad audiences. It includes popular LITERATURE, RADIO broadcasting, popular MUSIC, popular dance and theater, SPORTS and recreation, some decorative arts, and motion pictures. During the first three decades of the century, corporations increasingly turned out cultural productions for popular consumption to make a profit. This led to tensions between a popular culture created by people themselves and popular culture created by commercial interests. The transformation of popular culture into a broad-based national phenomenon occurred as a result of economic, social, demographic, and technological changes of the emerging industrial age.

The rise of modern popular culture was made possible by the tremendous growth of American cities, the emergence of the urban middle class, changing social values in regard to leisure, technological advances, and a rise in real wages for almost all workers. As the urban population exploded early in the 20th century, cities became the sites in which popular culture was created and consumed. Easy access to large audiences gave cultural producers such as movie makers and amusement park owners an economic incentive to produce products that catered to these new audiences. In addition, corporations were growing in size and required increasing numbers of white-collar workers. These workers, many of whom were children of immigrant parents, earned enough money to afford movies and plays, and they had the time in which to do so. A new ethos in

regard to leisure activities also was emerging, as middle-class Americans rejected traditional beliefs that restricted their use of leisure time. Wage workers also were improving their standard of living. Better wages meant that, for the first time, many wage earners and their families could afford new public amusements. Finally, the improved abilities to transmit information over wire and through the air brought different regions into closer contact than had ever been possible. Chains of VAUDEVILLE theaters and national sports leagues gave many Americans common experiences. All of these developments helped transform popular culture into a national culture that often cut across ethnic, social, and regional groupings.

As producers of popular culture tailored their offerings to appeal to a broad audience, the cultural differences between these groups diminished. In doing so, popular culture helped Americanize the millions of immigrants who came to America. At the same time, some forms of popular culture reinforced group differences, as each group interpreted popular culture among themselves. Popular culture thus could simultaneously diminish cultural differences and help maintain them. In Vaudeville theaters, for example, audiences often consisted of a cross-section of urban society. Members of these audiences joined in a unifying activity that brought people of numerous backgrounds together. At the same time, there was a hierarchy of theaters determined by the cost of a ticket. The more expensive theaters tended to be downtown while less expensive theaters operated in working-class immigrant neighborhoods. The performances often catered to the audience, creating different versions of popular culture within the same cultural institution. The same dynamic occurred in public amusement parks such as Wonderland and Luna Park at Coney Island, New York. The crowds that streamed out of New York City to Coney Island consisted of all ethnic and class backgrounds, and they all shared some of the experiences at the parks. There were, however, different sections of Coney Island, differentiated by the cost of food and lodging. Thus, a popular culture activity could be both unifying and divisive.

BASEBALL serves as an informative example of how popular culture emerged out of the new industrial urban environment. Americans had been playing baseball since before the Civil War. Only in the 20th century, however, did it become the national phenomenon that it still is today. Baseball's increased popularity was due to a variety of factors. First, the sheer number of urban residents who could attend games provided a potential audience. Second, it appealed to urban Americans as a throwback to simpler times. Going to a baseball field with its green grass provided an opportunity to spend the afternoon in an environment that reminded city residents of the recent rural past. The players came from a variety of backgrounds, which





Luna Park at Coney Island, N.Y. (*Library of Congress*)

made it possible for any fan to find players that they related to because of their ethnic identity. Baseball's popularity rose from more than these factors, however. Seizing upon a money-making opportunity, the team owners built larger stadiums and relied on marketing to attract audiences. One marketing strategy was the creation of the star system in which team owners marketed their best players to attract audiences. It made many players household names.

Motion pictures emerged during this time to take their place at the center of popular culture. The first motion pictures to be marketed to a public audience purely for entertainment purposes were shown in nickelodeons in large cities. The nickelodeons were commercial spaces that contained anywhere from five to 50 viewing machines. Patrons dropped their five cents in a coin slot and watched a brief film. The subjects of these films ran anywhere from acrobatics and animal acts to films of men and women kissing.

The films did not have sound. The nickelodeons quickly became the most popular form of entertainment in America's cities and provided the basis for the nascent MOVIE INDUSTRY. The novelty of the motion picture combined with the affordability appealed to a broad audience.

A combination of audience desire for longer films and entrepreneurs' realization of the money to be made led to the development of big screen films. The first films that were shown on a screen in front of audiences were exhibited as educational films in traveling shows. Entrepreneurs realized that there was money to be made from the urban audiences who attended vaudeville shows. Vaudeville theaters began to show motion pictures as part of the show. By the 1910s, movies had separated from vaudeville, and motion picture theaters began to spring up in cities.

Changes in the quality and type of films increased their popularity. Initially, films consisted of short clips. The

appeal of these was limited, once the novelty wore off. To meet the demand for more meaningful films, filmmakers began to make films that told a story. The first film to tell a story was the 1903 *Great Train Robbery*. The quality of early films in terms of technology and filmmaking left much to be desired. The 1915 *BIRTH OF A NATION*, a racist account of reconstruction after the Civil War, was a turning point in filmmaking. It used new lighting techniques and acting techniques to make a more realistic representation. It made more money than any film of its time and helped revolutionize filmmaking. By the 1920s, motion pictures had become the most popular form of entertainment in the United States. Movie stars such as Mary Pickford became household names as the movie studios used the same star system as baseball teams did to market their films and the entire industry.

Radio was another element of popular culture that developed from commercial interests. Although the technology was invented in the late 19th century, radio did not occupy a significant space in American culture until after WORLD WAR I when the commercial possibilities of radio were first realized. The first radio broadcasting stations were set up by the companies that manufactured radio equipment. GENERAL ELECTRIC, Westinghouse, and American Telegraph and Telephone all realized that they could sell more radio equipment if the public had something to listen to. Initially this was all done on a local basis. The radio owners living near Pittsburgh, for example, could listen to the first permanent station, KDKA, created by Westinghouse in 1920, but audiences outside of the listening area could not. In addition, all the programming was local, consisting of music, Broadway plays, and news among other things. The programming was sporadic, because the local stations did not have access to large amounts of music and other entertaining programs. Programming changed in the mid-1920s with the establishment of the network system. The National Broadcasting Corporation and the Columbia Broadcasting System provided their affiliate stations a certain amount of programming each day. The local stations filled the remaining airtime. The network system helped nationalize popular culture, because radio listeners all over were listening to the same program. Moreover, the national programs were sponsored by the manufacturers of certain products, which then became household names. This helped create a national market for some products. The first radio program to put all these trends together was the *Amos 'n Andy* show, which premiered in 1929. Thus the 1920s were only the beginning of radio's important role in popular culture.

A range of different genres characterized popular literature during the first decades of the century. As books became more affordable in soft covers and literacy spread, literature became more popular. Best sellers came from a

number of different genres. Sentimental novels such as *Polyanna* and *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*, religious books, historical fiction, westerns such as *The Virginian*, sensationalist exposés such as Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, and detective mysteries all found their way onto the bestseller lists. Pulp fiction also emerged as a form of popular literature. Named for the cheap paper stock on which they were printed, these magazines appealed to specialized audiences with serial and short stories of all sorts. They sold for 10 cents. Initially, they included a variety of story types, but by 1910 magazines began to specialize. Some were detective fiction magazines, others Westerns, while others published love stories. By the mid-1920s, some of the pulp magazines had circulations of 500,000.

Dance crazes were another form of entertainment that became a part of popular culture. The ability to publish sheet music in large quantities helped spread music and the dances that often accompanied specific songs. In the 1920s, radio helped spread both the songs and dances. Many of the dance crazes appealed to youths because they allowed them to engage in close physical contact. The dance crazes of the pre-World War I years included the turkey trot, grizzly bear, and the bunny hug, all of which allowed close physical contact. After the war, dances such as the Charleston and the Lindy Hop became national phenomena as Americans embraced the fast-paced dances that accompanied the fast-paced lifestyle that helped define the decade.

Changes in popular music accompanied the various dance crazes. The most significant development in music was JAZZ. Evolving from a combination of the blues, ragtime, and brass band music, jazz was America's only unique musical form. Prior to the rise of jazz, European orchestra music dominated the American music scene. A few American composers were writing pieces for orchestras, sentimental art songs, dances for keyboards, and songs for vaudeville. It was not until the rise of jazz, however, that an American form of music emerged. The GREAT MIGRATION of African Americans from the South to northern cities played an integral role in the development of jazz. The migration brought both musicians and an audience to the urban North, where commercial record producers helped popularize jazz.

By the end of the 1920s, popular culture had taken its modern form. Popular wants and commercial possibilities helped create a popular culture that was also a mass culture. This dynamic has led some to question whether popular culture rises from the people or is created by commercial enterprises seeking a profit from mass consumption. During the years from 1900 to 1930, commercial interests began to dominate the production of popular culture. It is important to remember, however, that the individual still made the daily choices that decided which cultural products and activities were truly popular.

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—Michael Hartman

### population trends

In the period between 1900 and 1930, the population of the United States continued to grow, albeit at a declining rate. In 1900, the total population was nearly 76 million; by 1930, it had grown to nearly 123 million. After experiencing high rates of natural increase early in the 19th century, a long decline in fertility finally began to show in population rates by the 1870s. A pattern of delayed marriage and low fertility associated with urban development continued to spread throughout cities early in the 20th century. Marriage rates climbed incrementally in these decades, with a slow decline in the number of people who never married. At the same time, the number of divorces rose rapidly from more than 100,000 in 1914 to more than 205,000 in 1929. Better than one in seven marriages ended in divorce. More open divorce laws had made it possible for men and women to start new relationships when old ones failed.

Changing family patterns had an effect on fertility as well. First, there was an increased incidence of sex outside marriage. Before 1900, only 14 percent of women (about one in seven) admitted to having premarital sex before they were 35. Among women in the generation of the 1920s, however, more than one in three (36 percent) had experienced premarital intercourse. Delayed marriage and new methods of BIRTH CONTROL furthered the general decline in fertility. New birth control clinics now provided advice and contraceptive devices, so that by 1925, one study reported that more than 80 percent of middle-class women used birth control. In contrast, only about 36 percent of poorer women did.

Fertility during these decades declined significantly. For white women, the crude birth rate dropped from 30.1 births per thousand in 1900 to 20.6 per thousand in 1930. In addition, the median number of children per woman declined for whites from 3.56 in 1900 to 2.45 in 1930. For African-American women, there was an even steeper decline, from 44.4 births per thousand in 1900 to 27.5 per thousand in 1930. The median number of children an African-American woman had, dropped from 5.61 in 1900 to 2.98 in 1930. Much of the decline can be attributed to rural-urban differences, as a disproportionate number of African Americans lived in rural areas and farm fertility, for

a number of reasons, remained high through the 1920s. At the same time, improvements in birth control, a rise in the age at marriage, and declining infant mortality created the conditions for a general drop in the fertility rate.

Between 1900 and 1920, the United States was at the high tide of IMMIGRATION with an average of 1 million immigrants entering the country every year. These immigrants, in contrast to earlier periods, were primarily from eastern and southern Europe. Arriving from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Russia, Italy, and other southern European countries, they brought diverse religious and cultural practices to cities in the East and Midwest. The conflict of WORLD WAR I had a dampening effect on immigration to the United States. Obstacles to travel, from the national conscription to fear of submarine warfare, lessened the demand; fear of foreign subversion and radicalism, later expressed in the RED SCARE of 1919–21, brought about pressure for changes in immigration. Immigration laws such as the IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1917, the QUOTA ACT of 1921, and the NATIONAL ORIGINS ACT of 1924 introduced new restrictions ranging from literacy tests to national quotas. The new laws slowed the stream of European migrants into the United States, but migration from Canada and Mexico continued unaffected until the economic crisis of the 1930s.

Mortality also declined due to a number of reasons. Better nutrition, health care, and public hygiene cut the rates of infection and mortality from common epidemic diseases such as diphtheria, measles, typhoid, and tuberculosis. Life expectancy improved as better nutrition and medical care reached the general population. The average life expectancy in the United States rose from 47.3 years in 1900 to 59.7 years in 1930. At the same time, improving health and life expectancy did not reach all populations. Among African Americans, poverty, lack of health care, and malnutrition continued to take a toll on the rate of population growth, despite a higher fertility rate than among the general population. Among NATIVE AMERICANS, however, the long decline in population had halted by the turn of the century. Tuberculosis, which had ravaged Native American populations, became more manageable, and better nutrition slowly improved health.

Internally, there were significant movements of population throughout the period. Among them was the movement of African Americans from the rural South to the urban North known as the GREAT MIGRATION. Deteriorating race relations in the South and greater economic opportunity in northern cities brought a flood of migrants before and during World War I. From 1910 to 1920, the net migration of African Americans to cities was almost half a million. The pace of migration increased throughout the 1920s, with the net number of migrants numbering over 750,000.



A parallel development was the rural to urban migration that continued at an ever-increasing rate between 1900 and 1930. Rural to urban migrants had always been a substantial proportion of urban residents and contributed to the nation's becoming majority urban in 1920. The demand for labor during World War I had attracted southern migrants—both white and black—into northern industry. Cities such as Detroit and Chicago were transformed in the aftermath of the migration. But the greatest wave of rural to urban migration was due to the agricultural crisis of the 1920s, when many farm families and individual men and women left farms and rural towns to migrate to large cities. Lacking employment in the countryside and witnessing the decline of rural America, more than 19 million people made the trek from farms and small towns to cities during the decade. Not surprisingly, it was the disinherited youth who became the harbingers of change. One in four men and women ages 20 to 24 moved from rural areas to urban ones, where greater opportunities awaited them than in the depression-ridden agricultural regions of the Midwest and South.

By 1930, the United States was a nation that had reached demographic stability. Its population, while ethnically and racially diverse, grew at a steady but slow pace. The entry of European immigrants had slowed to a trickle due to new restrictive policies, and Mexican migration, while it increased in number over the 1920s, was not of the same magnitude. Fertility remained in a fairly steady decline that would deepen with the Great Depression, while improved PUBLIC HEALTH measures eroded mortality and morbidity rates.

See also MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE; MEDICINE; MIGRATION.

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## Preparedness

Before WORLD WAR I Preparedness became a movement to increase the military capacity of the United States as well as citizen support for war efforts. After the outbreak of European hostilities in 1914, organizations such as the National Security League, the American Defense Society, the League to Enforce Peace, and the American Rights Committee exerted pressure on an unwilling president WOODROW WILSON to strengthen military defenses. Wilson, who campaigned and won on keeping America

out of the war, stood behind his pledge of NEUTRALITY until events forced the United States entry into the war in 1917.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT was a leading advocate of the Preparedness movement. He wrote *America and the World War* in 1915 and *Fear God and Take Your Own Part* in 1916, which appealed to the people of the United States to prepare for war. These books helped popularize the Preparedness movement. Roosevelt disdained those who, like Wilson, were “Flubdubs and Molycoddles” ignoring the fact that the country was unprepared to fight. The Preparedness movement took offense at occupied Belgium's fate and decried “German atrocities,” which were said to be going on there.

In 1914, the Army War College issued a report entitled “A Statement of a Proper Military Policy for the United States,” which warned of depending on isolationism as a policy. It warned that newer technology, such as the submarine, the airplane, and the wireless telegraph placed the United States within the sphere of action of hostile nations. No longer could the United States depend on distance and geography to protect it. War College estimates demanded a standing army of at least 500,000 with a reserve of equal force. It also called for arms and training programs.

One such program was initiated by General Leonard Wood, a medical doctor turned soldier. He was the senior officer in the army and commander of the Department of the East. Wood established a military training camp at Plattsburg, New York. There, he and other professional men trained to be reserve officers. Administered by regular army personnel, the course was five weeks long. The Preparedness movement, financed by wealthy financier BERNARD BARUCH, caught on, and around 16,000 business and professional men were trained as officers in eastern cities.

As the United States inched closer to war, the issue of military preparedness gained new urgency. Organizations including the National Security League, the American Defense Society, the League to Enforce Peace, and the American Rights Committee held activities and Preparedness Day parades to further promote their cause. After German submarine attacks, especially the sinking of the *LUSITANIA* in May of 1915, Wilson dropped his opposition to an American military buildup. In 1916 he toured the country to urge support for preparedness, even though this was in direct opposition to his campaign promises of “Peace with Honor.”

In 1916, Wilson's secretary of war, Lindley Garrison, and his assistant, Henry Breckenridge, established a national defense plan with the support of Wilson that called for a “Continental Army.” The plan would build up forces over a three-year period in a federal reserve army. Congress disapproved, and Wilson withdrew support. Garrison and Breckenridge resigned. In June of that year, however,



Congress passed the NATIONAL DEFENSE ACT. It allowed the president to commandeer factories and establish a government nitrate plan, and it permitted the army to double its size by adding 11,450 officers and 223,580 enlisted men in annual increments over five years. The National Guard could expand to 17,000 officers and 440,000 men. A corresponding naval appropriations bill broadened the effect of the measure.

In spite of the National Defense Act, the nation was unable to recruit new troops up to the authorized strength. Militia and state forces had always been depended upon for emergency reserves. As a consequence, ground forces of the U.S. Army numbered only around 128,000 as America entered World War I in April of 1917. The SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT of 1917, which required that all men between the ages of 18 and 45 register in the Selective Service System, was used to bolster the military. A total of 24 million men registered, and the army was increased to 4 million soldiers. The Preparedness movement began to lose its *raison d'être* following the National Defense Act and the accompanying increase in naval expenditure in 1917. The movement disappeared when mobilization began following U.S. entry into the war.

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—Annamarie Edelen

## presidency

In the first three decades of the 20th century, the United States witnessed the beginning of what historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., called “the imperial presidency.” The president and the executive branch took the lead in setting American domestic and foreign policy as part of an unprecedented expansion of the federal government. Administrations incorporated and exercised new and significant powers in regulating the economy, employing ARMED FORCES in the world, and enlarging the agenda-setting role of the presidency. With the exception of the Lincoln administration during the Civil War, presidents had been relatively weak players in government. Compared to most of their 19th-century counterparts, whose powers consisted of federal patronage appointments in the postal service and customs house and governing the machinery of defense and diplomacy, early 20th-century presidents were known for their expansion of presidential power. They negotiated treaties among hostile powers, pushed reform legislation through CONGRESS, instituted new forms of national surveillance and law enforcement, and participated in military action throughout the world. By these initiatives, Presidents THEODORE ROOSEVELT, WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT,

WOODROW WILSON, WARREN G. HARDING, and CALVIN COOLIDGE reinvented the office. They collectively reshaped the SUPREME COURT, asserted new direction over federal legislation, and enlarged the administrative and police functions of the central government. While the power of the executive branch was not uncontested in these years, what Teddy Roosevelt called the “bully pulpit” of the presidency offered ample power to influence politics and public opinion not only on national issues but on regional ones as well, including local conflicts and legal cases that took on national importance.

The emergence of the United States as a world power after the Spanish-American War significantly contributed to the powers of the executive branch. Territorial possessions in Puerto Rico and the Philippines both supported and required an expanded military and diplomatic service, and presidents learned to use the sea power of the United States as a means of bolstering American interests in Asia, as shown in the so-called GREAT WHITE FLEET of 1907. Closer to home, American presidents regularly intervened in the internal affairs of Caribbean and Central American countries, since the Western Hemisphere was seen as fully within the American sphere of influence. While the United States asserted special claims and interests in Latin America as early as the Monroe Doctrine, it was only when the nation became economically and politically powerful that its claims had any validity.

Individual presidents bear much of the responsibility and credit for building the power and prestige of the American presidency. Theodore Roosevelt, who became president after William McKinley was assassinated, was an innovator in his expansion of the power and visibility of the presidential office. Not only was Roosevelt involved in pushing the United States into expanding the military and its involvement in the international arena, breaking with a more isolationist tradition that dated to the founding of the country, but he helped negotiate the end of the RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, for which he won the Nobel Peace Prize. He also played a major role in developing the PANAMA CANAL. Domestically, President Roosevelt directed the Justice Department to take on corporate monopolies in antitrust cases, reshaped labor relations in the ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE of 1902, and shepherded several regulatory laws through Congress.

President Woodrow Wilson similarly expanded the engagement and impact of the federal government in daily life. In particular, after he declared war on Germany in 1917, the federal government took on new tasks of investigating and keeping tabs on supposed radicals, immigrants, and labor unionists. In the name of domestic security, President Wilson gave authority to the newly created Bureau of Investigation (later the Federal Bureau of Investigation) and U.S. Military Intelligence to conduct surveillance on, investigate,

and sometimes assist in the arrest of resident aliens, political radicals, and civil rights and peace advocates. Further, to quiet domestic dissent, the COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC INFORMATION produced propaganda campaigns in support of the war effort. WORLD WAR I brought other expanded powers to the federal government in the form of postal censorship, mobilization of labor and community resources, and strike mediation. Such agencies as the FUEL ADMINISTRATION and the WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD had new powers to regulate national resources; and for the first time ever, the WAR REVENUE ACT instituted a national income tax under the control of the executive branch. President Wilson's role in the peace negotiations at Versailles and his leadership in organizing the LEAGUE OF NATIONS marked a temporary high-water mark for the imperial presidency. Congress rejected both the VERSAILLES TREATY and the League of Nations, actions that signaled a backlash against strong presidential leadership in foreign affairs and the strength of isolationism in public opinion.

Calling for a "return to normalcy," President WARREN G. HARDING pursued a modest agenda for change during his time in office. Most of the governmental agencies created during the wartime crisis were abolished, and the federal budget was significantly cut. Developing a new budgetary process, negotiating naval arms reductions in the WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON NAVAL DISARMAMENT, and reducing federal taxes and the national debt captured most of Harding's energies in his short time in office. Only VETERANS' advocates were able to successfully increase their share of the federal budget. At the same time, federal intervention in the RAILROAD SHOPMEN'S STRIKE, the establishment of a Federal Bureau of Investigation, whose primary tasks including surveillance of criminals and political radicals, and the institution of PROHIBITION revealed an increasingly powerful role for the executive branch in law enforcement.

Harding's successor, CALVIN COOLIDGE, held a similarly limited view of the powers and limitations of the presidential office. His administration focused on economic issues, promoting FOREIGN TRADE (see TRADE, FOREIGN), reducing federal taxes, and tending to international affairs, such as the KELLOGG-BRIAND TREATY and the DAWES PLAN. While there was robust growth in most sectors of the economy, AGRICULTURE was in crisis during the 1920s, and the continued weakness of mining and textiles contributed to economic instability, which the presidency largely ignored. By the mid-1920s, there already were signs of the economic downturn that led to the Great Depression. Neither Coolidge nor his successor, Herbert Hoover, grasped that the presidency's refusal to act in the face of economic troubles might have contributed to the emerging economic crisis.

See also ELECTIONS; POLITICS.

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### Progressive Party

The Progressive, or Bull Moose, Party was formed in 1911 by members of the Republican Party dissatisfied with the leadership of President WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT. The nation had changed rapidly between 1900 and 1912, becoming more urban, more industrial, and more ethnically diverse. Economic changes further complicated the picture as large national corporations began dominating entire industries, and class divisions threatened to undermine American democracy. Finally, numerous segments of society, including women, organized labor, minorities, and reform journalists had become increasingly active in politics. These changes resulted in substantial political turmoil, as the DEMOCRATIC and REPUBLICAN PARTIES struggled to understand and take advantage of this new landscape. Many believed that progressive and even radical reforms needed to take place if the nation was to remain unified and prosperous.

Progressive elements within the Republican Party had become convinced that President Taft was too conservative and unresponsive to demands for reform. They believed that the federal government needed to be more actively involved in regulating the economy and society. The roots of PROGRESSIVISM within the Republican Party can be traced to the presidency of THEODORE ROOSEVELT who, during his two terms in office (1901–09), had supported federal regulation of industry and promoted tax reform, labor law reform, and social legislation. Others within the party, particularly those in the urban North and Midwest, understood the appeal of progressivism and pushed the party in that direction. With Roosevelt's support, Vice President Taft won the Republican nomination and the general election in 1908. Once in office, however, Taft established strong ties with the party's conservative wing, the Old Guard Republicans.

Divisions began to emerge within the party as early as 1909 during debates on the PAYNE-ALDRICH TARIFF ACT. Wisconsin senator ROBERT LA FOLLETTE and other progressives were vehemently opposed to the tariff, because they believed that it kept prices artificially high and primarily benefited large industrialists and eastern financial markets. When Taft called for a special session of Congress to deal with the tariff issue, he planned to have them lowered; but the final version of Payne-Aldrich did the exact

opposite. When Taft signed the tariff and announced that it was “the best bill the Republican Party ever signed,” he created a split in the party.

Between 1909 and 1911, a series of controversies further deepened divisions in the party. Shortly after he took office, Taft refused to support progressives’ attempts to unseat the autocratic Speaker of the House, JOSEPH CANNON. In 1909 Taft fired GIFFORD PINCHOT, head of the U.S. Forest Service and longtime Roosevelt supporter, after he disagreed with Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger. In August 1910, Roosevelt delivered a speech in which he criticized Taft and laid out the idea of the NEW NATIONALISM that would provide the framework for his 1912 presidential campaign. Finally, in the 1910 elections, Taft and the Old Guard Republicans attempted to unseat or block the nominations of congressional progressives, convincing La Follette to form the National Progressive Republican League. He announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination in June 1911. Initially Roosevelt refused to publicly side with either Taft or the progressive dissidents; but when Taft overruled some of Roosevelt’s decisions, Roosevelt announced that he would seek the Republican nomination.

As president, Taft had complete control over the Republican Party machine. He was able to block challenges from both La Follette and Roosevelt, easily securing the Republican nomination. Convinced that they could defeat Taft and Democratic nominee WOODROW WILSON, dissidents in the Republican Party formed the Progressive Party. At their convention in August 1912 they selected Roosevelt as their presidential nominee and California governor HIRAM W. JOHNSON as their vice presidential candidate. The Progressive Party platform called for the abolition of CHILD LABOR, the creation of primary elections, the DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS, WOMAN SUFFRAGE, graduated income and inheritance taxes, limits on labor injunctions, an eight-hour workday, the use of collective bargaining in labor disputes, and the introduction of medical, retirement, and unemployment insurance.

The election of 1912 was tightly contested. The Progressives hoped they could lure enough votes away from both parties to secure a victory. In the end, while Roosevelt easily outpolled Taft, he failed to make significant inroads among Democratic voters to win. Wilson received 6,293,000 votes, Roosevelt 4,119,000, and Taft 3,484,000. The electoral vote was even more decisive, as Wilson received 435 votes to Roosevelt’s 88 and Taft’s 8. The Progressive Party attempted to maintain some semblance of unity and ran congressional candidates in 1914, but all besides Johnson were decisively defeated. By 1916, most Progressives were back in the Republican fold. When Roosevelt refused the party’s nomination in 1916, it endorsed Republican nominee CHARLES EVANS HUGHES. In the long run, the deci-

sion to break with the party in 1912 proved disastrous for liberal Republicans. Roosevelt had outpolled Taft, but the party had failed to create an independent political base. By the time progressive Republicans returned to the party between 1916 and 1917, the conservative Old Guard had complete control.

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—Robert Gordon

### **progressivism**

Progressivism, a loosely defined movement for social, political, and economic reform, gained political power and prestige during the first two decades of the 20th century. Progressives had a range of separate, even contradictory goals, which ranged from PROHIBITION, IMMIGRATION restriction, and the eradication of CHILD LABOR to a complete overhaul of the political and social system. To add to its complexity, the umbrella of progressive reform sheltered conflicting ideologies used by men and women to justify their actions. Generally, they embraced new ideas of social justice and social order, but there were tendencies that united the group. Progressives focused on reforming America’s political, social, economic, and moral landscape. They had a seemingly unending faith in progress and believed that, through rational development, they could foster a society of unlimited potential.

The degree to which Progressives believed in participatory democracy is unclear. Some sought to empower those on the lower rungs of the socioeconomic ladder. While many believed in defending members of society whom they considered powerless and in need of support, few progressives challenged fundamental tenets of the capitalistic system. They sought to work within the system to create a more socially cohesive, rational, and just society. For some, their activism was a way to defend and improve the system. For others it was a way to uplift the downtrodden and provide social justice.

Progressive reformers championed democracy as more than an ideal political system. They believed that devotion to the tenets of democratic life produced desirable economic and social effects as well. As a result, they sought to promote their vision of democracy both at home and abroad. At home, they sought to reform the political system and sponsored political checks and balances such as initiative, referendum, and recall. They also called for the secret ballot, the DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS, and the direct primary. To further spread democracy, progressives supported the enfranchisement of women. These, along with hundreds of smaller measures, helped to revolutionize

democracy at home. Progressives advocated the spread of democracy throughout the world, which culminated in WOODROW WILSON's Fourteen Points during peace negotiations after WORLD WAR I.

While few progressives dreamed of challenging the capitalistic system, many sought to make American capitalism more just and less costly in human terms. In an attempt to challenge the increasing power of the corporations, they sponsored legislation such as the Sherman Antitrust Act and the CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT. Through these laws and other like measures, progressives sought to challenge the power of the large corporations. For the most part, however, these legislative acts did little to challenge the corporations' grasp on the political and economic reins of the American system. They often supported the status quo. Other forms of regulation such as the FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION ACT were adopted in an effort to stem what was viewed as the uncontrollable growth of capitalistic enterprises.

As one wing of progressivism sought to regulate capitalist competition, another sought to develop the capitalistic model even more fully. Efficiency was the watchword. Progressives championed increased rationalization, and managers emerged to rationalize business and industry through SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT. Rationalization did not end at the corporation. Even cities underwent the transformation. In URBAN REFORM efforts, managers took on many of the roles that were previously reserved for elected officials. New laws that increased residency requirements for voting and instituted new election laws promoted selective democracy.

No aspect of the Progressive movement was more salient than the search for social order. Prohibition, which called for a ban on the production and sale of alcohol, was the grandest of the Progressives' attempts at ushering in an era of social harmony. Prohibitionists were convinced that if they could stem the flow of alcoholic spirits, they could promote a society with unlimited potential. They believed that an amendment that made the production and distribution of alcoholic beverages illegal would eliminate pain, suffering, and poverty. In another attempt to eliminate urban poverty, progressives promoted public projects such as settlement houses, which integrated new social reforms in urban immigrant neighborhoods. Settlement workers were pioneers in developing new techniques of SOCIAL WORK and proposed new programs to benefit the poor, such as MOTHERS' PENSIONS and WORKER'S COMPENSATION.

Progressive reform was furthered through a new type of JOURNALISM. Professional journalists, known as MUCKRAKERS, wrote exposés of social problems. They were nicknamed muckrakers due to their propensity to rake up the economic, political, and social muck that others chose to ignore. Jacob Riis began as a photojournalist in New

York. It was there that he first witnessed the torments of the city. Riis's exposés told the story of "How the Other Half Lives." Riis was one of the most renowned, but he was far from the only muckraker of the era. UPTON SINCLAIR, LINCOLN STEFFENS, IDA TARBELL, and others kept the social inadequacies of American urban life at the forefront of newspapers.

Progressivism had its darker side. In the search for social order, many turned to reforms that would restrict access to political rights, narrowly define citizenship, and regulate private behavior. Advocates of immigration reform helped write and pass such laws as the IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1917, the QUOTA ACT of 1921, and the NATIONAL ORIGINS ACT of 1924, which greatly restricted the entry of new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. In seeking to rationalize American citizenship, Progressives implemented their own racial, ethnic, and gendered views of what constituted true American democracy.

Progressivism developed into a full-blown political movement. The first PROGRESSIVE PARTY, known as the Bull Moose Party, was founded after a bitter fight for the Republican presidential nomination between the more moderate incumbent, President WILLIAM H. TAFT, and THEODORE ROOSEVELT. At the Republican convention in June 1912, the nomination went to Taft. Unable to accept Taft's conservatism, Roosevelt helped to form the Progressive Party, which nominated him for president and the California governor HIRAM W. JOHNSON for vice president. Throughout the 1912 election, the tensions and divisions present in progressivism surfaced between Wilson's NEW FREEDOM and Roosevelt's NEW NATIONALISM. While the Progressive Party garnered more support than the Republicans in the election, the end result was a victory for the DEMOCRATIC PARTY's candidate, Woodrow Wilson.

Wilson's election marked a shift to a new visibility for progressive reform. He came to embody many of the ideals of the Progressives. He called for a country and a world that was "Safe for Democracy." In 1924 a liberal coalition, frustrated with conservatives in both major parties, formed the League for Progressive Political Action, also called the Progressive Party. The party nominated Senator ROBERT LA FOLLETTE for president and Montana Democratic senator Burton K. Wheeler for vice president. The party drew considerable support from left-wing progressives, socialists, and Farmer-Labor advocates. Many of its most committed members were socialists. They argued for government ownership of public utilities and labor reforms such as the right to collective bargaining. CALVIN COOLIDGE overwhelmingly defeated La Follette, who polled a respectable 4.8 million votes; he captured about 16.5 percent of the total ballots cast and 13 electoral votes.

This campaign was the final hurrah of the progressive movement. With the disenchantment that followed World



War I and the deficiencies in social policies such as Prohibition, many Americans abandoned the crusading ideals of progressivism. But its legacy lived on in the careers of progressive reformers and in the New Deal, which brought about many of the reforms progressives had sought.

See also ADDAMS, JANE; CRIMINAL JUSTICE; EDUCATION; KELLEY, FLORENCE; specific reforms.

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—Steve Freund

## Prohibition

Prohibition, the law that made the sale, production, and distribution of alcohol a crime, was one of the most profound social experiments in American history. Its proponents viewed it as a means of achieving true social enlightenment. They championed it as a way to attain political and social perfection through the elimination of suffering, poverty, and hardship. For its opponents, Prohibition was an attack on the rights of the individual. It was an overly aggressive attempt by the government to impose legal restrictions on private behavior. Regardless of perspective, Prohibition was an effort to fundamentally alter American political and social life.

Many Americans viewed alcohol use and abuse as an affront to the political system. While alcohol consumption was not confined to men, drinking became an important part of American men's personal and political identity. In the early decades of the 19th century, the connection between drinking and democratic citizenship grew to reinforce the maleness of both drinking and political activity. As a result, by the middle of the century, drinking and voting were combined into a single event—a celebration of political masculinity. Political and social reformers alike perceived this link between alcohol and democratic life as a real threat to the nation. Many of these concerned citizens viewed the saloonkeeper, who often functioned as a link between the political and social life for most immigrants, as a true enemy of society. Some social reformers came to view the saloon as the devil's headquarters on Earth. These views provided prohibitionists with ample weapons to attack not only the saloon, but also drinking in general.

No two organizations were more important in bringing about the passage of Prohibition than the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Anti-Saloon League (ASL). The WCTU viewed drinking as a moral

abomination that demeaned men, threatened women, and destroyed the family. The WCTU was extremely successful in popularizing the idea of a national prohibition amendment, but it was the ASL that bolstered the final drive toward national Prohibition. Howard Russell, the founder of the organization, noted that the league was more than the male counterpart of the WCTU. Many of its members believed that the WCTU relied too heavily on moral suasion and did not place enough focus on the enforcement of laws that were already in place. The ASL, in contrast, was a modern organization that benefited from a coherent business structure. In addition, its attacks on drinking were not strictly from a moral position. Its leaders challenged demon rum on a legal front. They began by demanding the enforcement of laws that were already on the books. Only later, when liquor dealers openly flaunted these laws, did they attempt to bring about national Prohibition.

WORLD WAR I provided the opportunity for which opponents of the saloon were looking. They used the war to challenge the saloon on two fronts. On the one hand, they claimed that brewers and distillers were wasting needed war supplies in the pursuit of profit. On the other hand, they challenged the loyalty of the predominantly German brewers. Against the wishes of President WOODROW WILSON, Congress in 1918 passed the Wartime Prohibition Act, banning the manufacture of beer and wine beginning in May 1919 and intoxicating beverages after June 30, 1919. It was to remain in effect until the end of hostilities. This vague terminology allowed the ban to be stretched out until formal Prohibition was adopted.

On the heels of wartime Prohibition, national Prohibition would be implemented. On December 18, 1917, Congress approved a constitutional amendment to prohibit the production, distribution, and sale of alcohol. Once again, the president opposed in vain, and the act was passed over his veto. President Wilson believed that the act's definition of intoxicating beverages—any beverage containing more than 0.5 percent alcohol—was too strict. He believed in the goal of the amendment, but he had his reservations about such a strict definition of alcoholic spirits. He was in favor of a law that allowed for the casual use of weaker wines and ales. His veto proved to be nothing more than a symbolic gesture.

Overriding the president's veto was only the first step toward amending the Constitution. The next step was winning approval in the states. At first it was believed to be a daunting task. But upon further assessment, it was not as difficult a task as once predicted. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League, and dozens of other pro-Prohibition organizations had been developing the local networks necessary to win support in the states. Twenty-five states already had dry laws. Prohibition forces received a boost when Detroit became the first large city



Law officials raid a cellar during Prohibition. (*Library of Congress*)

to support the amendment. State by state, the amendment was ratified. On January 15, 1919, New Hampshire became the 36th state to ratify the amendment. One year later, on January 20, 1920, the law took effect.

One of the primary shortcomings of the Prohibition amendment was that it proved difficult to enforce. The concurrent enforcement from the states and federal government allowed both the federal and state governments to leave enforcement of the act to the other. In open defiance of the Volstead Act, the legislatures in New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts passed laws in 1920 allowing for the production and sale of low-alcohol beer and light wines. Later in the same year, through national Prohibition cases, the Supreme Court crushed these efforts and set alcohol limits at .05 percent. These decisions did not win the support of reluctant states. Challenging the federal government, a number of states decided not to enforce national Prohibition.

In addition to problems with enforcing national Prohibition, criminal syndicates emerged to profit from the traffic in illicit spirits. Instead of decreasing criminal activity and misery, Prohibition seemed to be promoting criminal activity. Al Capone in Chicago, George Remus in Cincinnati, and dozens of other underworld figures made millions

bootlegging illicit spirits. It sparked considerable violence. In Chicago alone, between 1920 and 1930, nearly 550 men were killed by rival gang members, while police killed hundreds of others during the era. These murders began to capture the attention of the American public. Gangsters, not liquor, became public enemy number one.

The saloon of the pre-Prohibition era had been viewed as a den of evil. What emerged in its place during Prohibition had a far less ominous reputation. The speakeasy came to supplant the local tavern. The speakeasy quickly gained a reputation for being a place where Americans went to have a good time. Even though it was illegal to frequent these establishments, going to a speakeasy was viewed as a victimless crime. Patronizing speakeasies was increasingly viewed as an innocent way to challenge the unjust law. Along the way, women joined in the rebellion.

In the years that led to the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, women had been making slow but steady progress toward eroding the strictly male identity of the tavern. Women were demanding and, in some cases, receiving access to drinking establishments, but they were far from attaining an equal place within this male bastion. When they were admitted, women often needed to enter through “women’s entrances,” while only “questionable”

women entered drinking establishments without male escorts. With the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, women's slow encroachment became a full-scale frontal assault. The emerging speakeasy came to represent something that was risqué but not necessarily immoral. And women increasingly found the doors to the speakeasies open. As women began to frequent the local speakeasies in greater numbers, they helped to redefine gender and drinking roles. Simultaneously, women were less domesticated and drinking more.

The Great Depression, more than any single event, challenged the future of Prohibition. For many Americans, Prohibition not only failed to end drinking, crime, or violence, it also failed to deliver on the promise of a more prosperous nation. In the depressed economic climate of the early 1930s, men and women were tired of devoting needed resources to fighting demon rum. They also wanted the added revenue that a revitalized alcohol industry might foster. The Association against the Prohibition Amendment (AAPA) and the Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform (WONPR) had launched a serious challenge to Prohibition. Pauline Sabin, one of the leading forces behind WONPR, referred to herself as a "reformed Prohibitionist." She claimed to support the ideals of Prohibition but challenged the methods. She helped to promote that idea that it was acceptable for women to oppose Prohibition. By the middle of the 1920s, the AAPA had companies like General Motors and Standard Oil supporting them. Few predicted the repeal of national Prohibition. Morris Sheppard of Texas went as far as to note that, "There is as much chance of repealing the Eighteenth Amendment as there is for a humming bird to fly to the planet Mars with the Washington Monument tied to its tail." But after 13 years of the noble experiment, Americans decided that it was time for it to end. They repealed national Prohibition.

In some ways, the failure of Prohibition is a myth. Prohibition did reduce alcohol consumption in America. Whether due to Prohibition or not, drinking did not return to its pre-Prohibition levels until the 1970s. Most perceptions of Prohibition's shortcomings are based on its overly inflated objectives. It did not do what many had hoped. It did not wipe alcohol from the American landscape, nor did it end poverty and suffering. But it is difficult to imagine a scenario where Prohibition could have lived up to its promise. What is clear is that Prohibition was successful in putting an end to the reign of the old-time saloon. The drinking establishments that emerged in the wake of Prohibition were no longer the "Devil's den on Earth" that they had once been.

See also CRIMINAL JUSTICE; PROGRESSIVISM.

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—Steve Freund

## public health

"The golden age of public health" dawned at the beginning of the 20th century. As social reformers and public officials increasingly accepted environmental and epidemiological factors as the causes of the commonly fatal diseases of tuberculosis, diphtheria, typhoid fever, and cholera, they turned toward medicine for the answer. Directing new attention toward epidemic disease and educating the public in social hygiene, states abandoned the old practice of politically appointed public health officers and instead relied on medical experts to establish new rules and procedures to protect public health. City and state governments created boards of health to intervene in epidemics and regulate sources of contagion and disease, such as water supply and sewage systems, commercial milk production, and workplace ventilation. They also strengthened their efforts to immunize children against ailments such as diphtheria, to quarantine affected populations, especially immigrants, and to treat infectious diseases such as tuberculosis through isolation in public sanitariums.

There was tension, however, between public health officials and the private practice of MEDICINE. In every attempt to open up public health services, whether in private maternity hospitals, public schools, or community clinics, the new power of the American Medical Association (AMA) made itself felt. Even as medical knowledge and practice expanded, the AMA's ability to lobby for new state licensing boards and higher standards of medical education stymied lay practitioners. Its growing control over prescription drugs and medical treatment also made itself felt. By the end of the 1920s, the medical profession had been able to turn public health programs from a threat to private practice to an indirect subsidy for private physicians.

Epidemic disease, however, was the one area in which public health reigned. The principal reason why governments gave new powers to public health departments was the medical discovery of the origin, course, and treatment of such diseases as tuberculosis and diphtheria. The importance of factors such as exposure to disease in the spread of contagion, and the impact of the urban environment, required new public measures. Successful treatment of these two diseases alone promised a decline in the mortality rate, as they were among the leading causes of death in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.



Campaigns to control tuberculosis led the way. In 1904, the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis took steps to conduct studies, educate the public, and broadcast findings about the disease. Local and state campaigns followed. A leader in this effort was the state of New York, where the State Charities and Aid Association formed a Committee for the Prevention of Tuberculosis. New findings about the contagious nature of the disease led to a demand for greater reporting and oversight, and in 1908, the New York state legislature passed a law mandating that physicians report tuberculosis cases. While it was rescinded, reporting on the disease increased; and overall the rate of infection slowed incredibly between 1907 and 1917. Improved nutrition, better general health care, and the pasteurization of milk provided a context for the decline of tuberculosis. Isolation of tuberculosis patients in newly established state sanitariums stopped the epidemic spread of the disease and forced a decline in tuberculosis as one of the major causes of death. Within the sanitariums themselves, the period saw little change in cure rates, as medical practitioners continued to experiment with treatments. The better food, fresh air, and personal rest that were offered to minimally infected patients probably aided their recovery, while the severely ill tended to die in isolation from their families.

The creation of the United States Public Health Service in 1902 was emblematic of new trends in public health and medicine. The United States had been slow to create a public health agency because, unlike European industrial states, the federal government had a vested interest in relying on private health care. Congress had created a National Board of Health in 1879 but abolished it only four years later. In 1902 and 1912, Congress finally expanded the Marine Hospitals for seamen into the Public Health Service. It also took on medical research and care in the area of OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY, although it remained tied closely to manufacturing concerns in its work. For the most part, however, it left medical authority in the hands of local and state governments and private organizations. Voluntary associations such as ethnic benevolent societies, fraternal organizations, unions, and private employers provided some measure of health care and diagnosis. Health insurance, even in the private sector, was underdeveloped. And dispensary medicine, long the refuge of the poor, was under siege from private medical doctors.

During the period, public health officials directed attention to those areas of public health shunned by private practitioners. They addressed the spread of sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis (Paul Ehrlich invented salvarsan, for treatment of syphilis, in 1910; although only partly effective, it became available through public venereal disease clinics) and created new, if largely ineffective, laws



Demonstration at the Red Cross Emergency Ambulance Station in Washington, D.C., during the influenza pandemic of 1918 (*Library of Congress*)

that regulated or prohibited prostitution. During WORLD WAR I, concern over venereal disease led to increasing control of towns around military bases, sex education in military training, and the increased use of condoms. The war generally increased the willingness to allow state and federal interventions in public health matters.

The Influenza Epidemic of 1918–19, or Spanish Flu Epidemic, was a proving ground for the new powers of the state to regulate public health. Viewed in total numbers of lives lost, it was possibly the most devastating epidemic in history and claimed more than 25 million lives worldwide in a relatively short period of time. At least 12,500,000 people died in India alone; in Samoa 25 percent of the population perished in the epidemic. The magnitude of loss throughout the United States was such that some towns were decimated. The sudden onset of the flu, rapid loss of life, and the quick disappearance of the disease revealed the limitations of medical knowledge and public health measures as the disease spread rapidly and without any certain treatment.

There were three distinct waves to the outbreak of the epidemic. The first wave was thought to have originated in Kansas in March 1918. The cases were comparatively mild, and few Americans paid much attention to it. There were other, more pressing considerations at the time. The war in Europe, the TREATY OF VERSAILLES, and the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION captured the headlines more than the outbreak of flu. The second wave of cases, however, caused greater alarm. During the hot summer months, a lethal strain of the Spanish flu virus emerged. This more deadly strain worked extremely fast. It raced through both city and countryside. Unlike its relatively mild predecessor, this



virus brought pneumonia soon after the initial infection. The flu strain struck the armed forces and the civilian population hard. The third and final wave of the flu surfaced the following winter, when it cost millions of citizens their lives. It was more deadly than either of its predecessors. It disappeared, however, as fast as it had appeared. By spring, the epidemic had run its course. The social effects of the epidemic were pronounced. Unlike most flu outbreaks, which affect the young and the aged, nearly half the victims of the Spanish Flu were men and women between the ages of 20 and 40. The epidemic thus added to the losses endured during WORLD WAR I. The wildfire spread of the flu also brought new caution to a medical field that could no longer know with certainty that infectious diseases could be cured. Epidemic disease revealed the real limitations of the nation's health care delivery system.

Another area of weakness was in the provision of medical care for war VETERANS. Over 300,000 veterans had returned from the war in Europe in need of care in hospitals, sanitariums, and asylums. Prior to the war, the U.S. Public Health Service had no responsibility for providing military health care. In 1919, however, Congress assigned the Public Health Service responsibilities for veterans with service-related disabilities, including tuberculosis, neuropsychiatric disorders, and general medical and surgical cases. Given the lack of facilities, the PHS opened to veterans the 20 marine hospitals under its supervision and leased other hospital facilities from the army and navy, bringing the number to 62 hospitals. Even these were inadequate to care for the thousands of disabled veterans. In 1921, under the administration of WARREN G. HARDING, Congress passed the first Langley Act, which authorized \$18.6 million for veterans' hospital construction. It was in this period of time that veterans' medical care was moved from the Department of the Treasury to the VETERANS BUREAU. Medical care for disabled veterans had become a major investment in the public health care system.

In the case of pregnant mothers and young children, the health care system was engaged in an experiment with government-funded medical education. The interest of progressives in child welfare, evidenced in the creation of MOTHERS' PENSIONS, became the focus of women's organized efforts for a national health program under the Maternity and Infant Health Care Act, or SHEPPARD-TOWNER ACT, of 1921. Under the authority of the CHILDREN'S BUREAU, the program helped to nurture the public health nursing service and generally contributed to the continuing decline in infant mortality. Congress allowed the funding of the controversial program to expire in 1929. Competition between Public Health Service doctors and the nurse practitioners who provided health care under the Children's Bureau program had shadowed the program from the beginning.

The same competition that plagued publicly funded maternity and infant child care was an issue in the provision of BIRTH CONTROL as well. Between 1900 and 1920, radicals such as MARGARET SANGER and EMMA GOLDMAN battled for the right of poor women to have access to new birth control methods and safe abortions. Many in the medical profession, however, opposed methods of contraception both for reasons of personal belief and due to a lack of medical regulation. Sanger pushed for the adoption of the spring-loaded vaginal diaphragm, which she originally argued should be available at neighborhood clinics and from nurse-midwives. Seeking to pave the way for easily accessible birth control, Sanger eventually allied herself with the medical profession in creating Planned Parenthood, an organization dedicated to motherhood by choice. Not until the 1930s, however, did she succeed in getting birth control and fertility seen as a public health concern. By then, the medical profession had succeeded in limiting public health initiatives and expanding its role even in the provision of health care to the general public.

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### Pure Food and Drug Act (1906)

Changes in the manufacturing, processing, and distribution of goods and services fundamentally altered the nation's food supply and the way in which food was prepared. Gone were the days when food was grown, cultivated, and sold locally. By the first decade of the 20th century, much of the food supply for urban America was grown at some distance, shipped in bulk, and sold at markets or grocery stores. Food producers learned lessons from the automobile industry and increasingly began producing food in mass quantities. This food was then shipped in newly designed, refrigerated train cars and trucks. Technological innovations also allowed food manufacturers to produce canned goods. These innovations came with mixed blessings. The price of food declined steadily while the supply and variety of food increased substantially. However, because it was largely unregulated, the quality of the nation's food supply declined as food purity frequently took a back seat to reducing costs.

The alarming conditions of food production were first exposed in muckraking journalist UPTON SINCLAIR's *The Jungle* (1906). In 1904, Sinclair was commissioned to investigate the living and working conditions of the largely foreign-born workers in the Chicago meatpacking industry.

What Sinclair found was published in his book *The Jungle*. Sinclair's intent had been both to alert the public to the appalling lack of sanitation and to expose the low wages, hazardous working conditions, and substandard living conditions of the Chicago stockyard workers and their families. Although Sinclair would later complain, "I aimed at the public's heart and by accident I hit it in the stomach," *The Jungle* had a tremendous impact on an already wary public.

Concern about drug abuse and the purity of food products had been mounting since the 1890s. Dr. Harvey Wiley, the head of the Department of Agriculture, formed a "poison squad" to test food for chemical additives; and the American Medical Association, concerned that pharmaceutical drugs were being mislabeled and sold as health tonics, lobbied for the introduction of strict federal oversight. Intense lobbying on the part of progressive reformers and the medical community along with growing public

concern prompted President THEODORE ROOSEVELT to order investigations into the meatpacking and pharmaceutical industries. These investigations resulted in the passage of the MEAT INSPECTION ACT (1906) and the Pure Food and Drug Act (1906). The Pure Food and Drug Act established strict controls on food and drug labeling and placed oversight responsibility with the Department of Labor, the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of the Treasury. The act has been extended and strengthened numerous times since 1906, most notably in 1938 when the Food and Drug Administration was created.

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—Robert Gordon





### Quota Act (1921)

The Quota Act of 1921 was the culmination of 25 years of lobbying for restrictive immigration laws. Through much of the 19th century, the United States had an “open door” immigration policy, which had allowed individuals and families to enter the country with relatively few restrictions. As the economy of the United States became more concentrated in urban areas and focused on industrial production, the volume of migrants steadily increased. The growing number of immigrants in urban centers quickly became an issue of concern and gave rise to a vocal anti-immigrant movement. Although CONGRESS moved to restrict the entry of Asian immigrants, particularly those from China, as early as 1882, it was not able to enact legislation that closed the door to immigrants from Europe prior to WORLD WAR I. Indeed, with steady improvements in transatlantic transportation, European migrants were able to reach the United States in ever-increasing numbers. In 1882, some 788,922 immigrants entered the United States, and 1,285,349 entered in 1907. Not only did the volume of immigrants steadily increase, but the countries of origin for immigrants dramatically shifted as well. New immigration from southern and eastern Europe predominated.

World War I brought a precipitous drop in the number of immigrants arriving in the United States, but the volume of people seeking entry quickly returned to near prewar levels following the cessation of hostilities in Europe. By 1921, some 800,000 immigrants had sought entry to the United States, and the proportion of southern and eastern Europeans among them remained high. In 1917, Congress had enacted a literacy test in the hope of restricting the entry of immigrants to the United States in the IMMIGRA-

TION ACT OF 1917. Within only a few years, it became clear that this legislation would not have the desired effect. Accordingly, Congress moved to the next step and put into place legislation that limited the number of immigrants eligible to enter based on country of origin and the total number of immigrants that the United States accepted annually. The Quota Act of 1921 limited the annual number of entrants of each admissible nationality to 3 percent of that foreign-born nationality as recorded in the official census of 1910. The intended purpose of this legislation was to control the influx of immigrants. Immigration restrictionists thought that this legislation would effectively close the door on emigrants from southern and eastern Europe, who had quotas set at less than one-quarter the annual volume of immigration prior to World War I. Under this legislation, Congress continued to allow free emigration from its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere. Between 1907 and 1914, the average annual emigration from countries in northern and western Europe was nearly 177,000 while the same figure for emigrants from countries in southern and eastern Europe slightly exceeded 685,000. With the passage of the 1921 Quota Act, the volume and origins of immigrants to the United States dramatically shifted. Some 198,000 emigrants entered in 1922 from northern and western Europe, while only a little better than 158,000 emigrants from southern and eastern Europe were able to gain entry to the United States.

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—David R. Smith







### race and racial conflict

During the first decades of the 20th century, Americans significantly changed the way they thought about race. At the turn of the century, many believed that numerous distinct races existed. They categorized Scandinavians, Slavs, Japanese, Germans, and Irish as separate races. By 1930, the modern conception of race based on skin color had developed, and all groups of Europeans were now defined as white. Because racial categorization depended on political, legal, and social boundaries between recognized races, changes in how race was categorized involved recognizing and maintaining new boundaries. Part of this change involved violence between whites and African Americans as whites tried to distance themselves from African Americans. At the same time, intellectuals shifted the terms of the debate about racial differences from biology to culture.

In the United States socially and politically powerful groups imposed racial categories for the purpose of maintaining their own power. Members of the dominant racial group enjoyed greater access to the benefits of American society, benefits that differed only by gender. Even before the modern racial categorization based on African ancestry developed, race was thought of in terms of color. The police and the courts were open only to white Americans. The best jobs were open to them. They could send their children to the best schools. Whites' votes gave them a say in the political and economic arenas. Asian immigrants and Native Americans were consigned to a category outside citizenship, and to be considered black meant being shut off from all or most of these opportunities. At the turn of the century, not all Americans of European ancestry were believed to be white. New immigrant groups were categorized as black, meaning they were not deemed worthy of the benefits enjoyed by the dominant racial group. Only after they had suffered through a probationary period, in which their worthiness for full citizenship was evaluated, did they gain access to broader social and political rights. It was not unusual in the 1850s, for example, to refer to Irish Ameri-

cans as blacks. Once an immigrant group gained political and economic power, it eventually was seen as white. It was not, however, until the 1920s that all Europeans, regardless of their country of origin, fell into that category.

Before that time, immigrants were categorized according to their country of origin. As IMMIGRATION to the United States increased in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, whiteness was fractured into a myriad of scientifically defined races. The immigration laws specifically allowed only "white persons" to enter the United States freely. Laws such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT of 1907 restricted Asian immigration. People from these groups were not eligible, therefore, for even a probationary status in the eyes of white Americans. Despite the perceived inferiority of many groups, the exclusion of Asian immigrants gave every European immigrant some claim to whiteness. Many members of the socially and politically powerful groups within American society expressed the fear that immigrants, particularly those from southern and eastern Europe, threatened to dilute the purity of the white race. This fear led to a system of racial classification in which physical, mental, and emotional characteristics were attributed to individuals based on their nationally defined race.

The attempts of some Americans to redefine racial categories led to a debate over the nature of race. On one side were proponents of the pseudo-science of eugenics. Eugenics revolved around efforts to classify individuals into racial categories and to rank those races according to a set of criteria that favored northern Europeans. Many believed that Italians and Jews, for example, could be identified by their physical characteristics. Eugenicists used these racial classifications to argue that the whites were committing "race suicide" by allowing southern and eastern Europeans to settle. Eugenicists argued for changes in population policy, which ranged from sterilization of the poor and disabled to harsh anti-immigration measures. In his extremely popular 1916 book, *The Passing of the Great*

*Race*, Madison Grant argued that the American melting pot was creating a lower race of people, as southern and eastern European immigrants bred with native-born white citizens. In opposition to the eugenicists, anthropologists such as MARGARET MEAD and FRANZ BOAS demonstrated that perceived differences among races were products of historical circumstance, not products of inherent physical and mental characteristics. Sociologists at the University of Chicago such as Robert Park also defied the efforts of eugenicists.

Among the general public and policy makers, the eugenicists' view of race predominated. As early as 1911, the DILLINGHAM COMMISSION reported that the immigrants coming to the United States were different from earlier groups. It recommended that immigration from eastern and southern Europe be restricted. In coming to its conclusion, commission members ignored most of the data they collected to report, instead, preconceived findings. The commission's recommendation gained the force of law in the 1921 QUOTA ACT and the 1924 NATIONAL ORIGINS ACT, which established quotas that severely limited emigration from southern and eastern Europe. The new law had the effect of removing the threat of inferior white races, which allowed the immigrants and children of immigrants to gain white status. As all European Americans became white, the only racial distinctions remaining were those between whites and those defined as "other," specifically African Americans, Asian Americans, NATIVE AMERICANS, and, to a lesser extent, Hispanics. Thus, modern racial relations based on skin color developed.

As members of the few racial groups in the United States that never had the opportunity to become white, African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanics faced new efforts at codifying and strengthening racial discrimination. In this effort, many European Americans stressed the differences between themselves and African Americans, for example, through the ideology of white supremacy and the practice of SEGREGATION. Supporters of the idea of white supremacy developed the argument that non-European Americans were innately inferior to whites. At a time when mass-production industry was playing a larger role in American life, white supremacists constructed an image of African Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanics as pre-industrial and irrational peoples. In this scheme, whites were seen as rational for adopting time clocks in determining the pattern of their days. Eugenicists bolstered these arguments with purported scientific "facts" that non-Europeans belonged to more ancient, less developed racial groups. In the minds of many, if non-Europeans were not quite human, they did not need to be treated as such. Many proponents of education for non-European Americans, for example, argued that they required only a basic education that focused on rudimentary vocational skills.

In the Southwest, many of the same ideas were applied to Hispanic and Native American peoples, just as in the West, Asian Americans were viewed as products of a feudal society.

One outgrowth of white supremacy was the violation of non-European Americans' civil, political, and social rights through segregation, or the physical and legal separation of the races. The most systematic efforts to legislate racial prejudices came in the southern states. Beginning in the late 19th century, southern states launched an attack on African Americans that resulted in the passage of a myriad of oppressive laws known under the name of Jim Crow. By 1900, most southern states had passed laws restricting the voting rights of African Americans. The laws established either a property or literacy requirement for voting and then created loopholes through which white voters could vote. Most states also required payment of a poll tax.

After taking African Americans' voting rights, the southern states passed countless laws restricting the social and economic rights of African Americans. By 1910, every southern state had segregated railway stations in which African Americans and whites waited in separate rooms. Between 1901 and 1907, 10 states segregated their streetcars and trains, requiring African Americans to sit in the rear. States segregated hospitals, prisons, and parks. Theaters established separate entrances and seating areas. Even workplaces became segregated. A 1915 South Carolina law, for example, prohibited the races working together in the same room and required separate entrances, pay windows, doorways, toilets, and drinking water.

By 1920, 30 states had outlawed racial intermarriage. Most of these laws pertained to marriage between whites and blacks, but some states outlawed marriage between other racial groups. In 1905, for example, California outlawed marriage between Asians and whites. The movements to prohibit racial intermarriage led to the establishment of the "one-drop rule" of racial identification, which held that if a person had any ancestor considered to be of African descent, then they were considered black under the law. Some states also imposed the one-drop rule for Native American ancestry. The nature of race as a social construction was demonstrated in the 1924 Virginia Racial Integrity Act. The Virginia legislature established a "one-drop" law for determining African ancestry and outlawed all racial intermarriage. The legislature also sought to prohibit marriage between whites and Native Americans, originally proposing a "one-drop" law. A number of legislators and prominent citizens, however, traced their lineage to John Rolfe and Pocahontas. Any "one-drop" law would have applied to them. They therefore changed the law to allow citizens with up to one-sixteenth Native American ancestry to be considered white.

A complex racial etiquette accompanied the legal restrictions. In California, Japanese men were expected to be docile and deferential to whites. In the southern states, whites expected African Americans to demonstrate their inferior status by deferring to whites in public. African Americans were not to look whites in the eyes. When walking on the same sidewalks, African Americans were to move into the road to allow whites to pass. Southern whites reserved a special place in the racial etiquette for the relationship between African-American men and white women. A mythology surrounding African-American men existed in which they were supposedly interested in nothing but ravaging white women. These beliefs were spread through word of mouth and the new media of motion pictures. In 1915, the film, *The Nigger*, showed an African-American man attacking a white woman. D. W. GRIFFITH's film, *BIRTH OF A NATION*, claimed to tell the true story of Reconstruction in the South after the Civil War. Of special note was its portrayal of African Americans with white ancestry. Mulattoes, as they were known at the time, supposedly wanted what white men had—power and white women. The film included scenes of mulatto men degrading white women. The creation of the Jim Crow system was dedicated, many believed, to preserving the purity of white southern women.

The system of racial etiquette was backed by force. Any African American who violated the cultural rules faced punishment ranging from severe beating to death. A lynching was a mob action in which a group seized a person believed to have committed a crime and committed an extralegal murder by shooting or hanging the victim. Often the mob attacked and defaced the corpse. Between 1880 and 1930, white mobs lynched approximately 3,220 African Americans in the southern states. Sporadic lynching occurred in other regions as well. In the early 20th century, Japanese men faced beatings on the streets in California. Many African Americans in the South lived in fear that the slightest transgression could lead to death.

African Americans did not always stand idly by as they were attacked. In many instances, they fought back. In 1900, a New Orleans man refused to surrender to the police after an altercation with a white man. He ended up killing 10 white people before the police shot him. In 1906, African Americans in Mississippi took up arms on two separate occasions to defend themselves. The same year, whites in Atlanta were incited to riot by newspaper articles that alleged mobs of African-American men were roaming the city attacking white women. The whites took to the streets and began randomly to attack and murder African Americans. When the mob moved into the African-American neighborhood, blacks organized to defend themselves and killed several of the invaders.

Racial violence was not confined to the South. Race riots occurred in 1900 in New York City and Akron, Ohio. In

1908, white mobs took control of Springfield, Illinois, and attacked African Americans and their property. Racial violence in the northern states intensified after WORLD WAR I. African Americans had migrated to the northern cities in great numbers during and after World War I in the GREAT MIGRATION—with two effects. First, the growing populations of African Americans pushed against the boundaries of segregated neighborhoods. There was not enough housing in the traditional African-American areas, and migrants from the South sought housing in areas that whites saw as their own. Often an attempt by an African-American family to move into a new neighborhood led to an attack by whites. In Chicago between 1919 and 1921, for example, there were 58 bomb explosions, almost all of them related to African-American housing. Conflict erupted over control of other public spaces such as parks and beaches. One of the worst riots started when an African-American youth swam across the dividing line between black and white sections of a Chicago beach. Second, the African-American migrants came with the hope of securing an industrial job. Many white workers saw them as a threat. The use of African Americans as strikebreakers contributed to these anxieties, and economic crisis intensified white fears. An additional factor was the new, militant attitude of some African Americans returning from military service. They began to demand the rights and opportunities for which they had presumably fought.

All of these factors combined led to an outbreak of racial violence in the years immediately following the First World War. In the last six months of 1919, 25 separate incidents of racial violence erupted. In Chicago, conflict at a public beach flared into a riot that lasted almost a week and resulted in 38 deaths, 23 of which were African American. Countless others were injured and substantial amounts of property were damaged. In East St. Louis in 1917, tensions ran high over competition between African-American and white workers. On the night of June 30, 1917, a fight led to the shooting of a white policeman by an African American. White crowds gathered to avenge the police officer's death and attacked African Americans. Nine whites and 25 African Americans were officially counted as dead, but officials believed that more African Americans had died in fires set by attackers. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1921 whites assaulted the African-American section of the city, burned most of it to the ground, and killed anywhere from 20 to 60 African Americans.

Ironically, racial violence peaked just as anthropologists such as Franz Boas presented new challenges to scientific racism. Still, these incidents of racial violence took place during a time of change in the way race was perceived in the United States and were partially the result of white American attempts to redefine themselves. Only with the broad changes in society and politics in the years between



the wars did movements for racial equality begin to change Americans' perception of race.

See also ANTI-SEMITISM; ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS; RHINELANDER CASE; SWEET TRIAL.

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—Michael Hartman

### Racial Integrity Act (1924)

A widely known and enforced ban against racial intermarriage, the Racial Integrity Act was a Virginia law passed in 1924, which required that the race of all persons born in the state be recorded at birth and registered on marriage certificates. Most infamously, the law made marriage between “white persons” and nonwhites a felony offense. The Racial Integrity Act was passed at the same time as another important law, the Sterilization Act, which provided for the sterilization of individuals who were classified as “feeble-minded.” Inspired by the EUGENICS movement, these laws were designed to keep the population racially pure and to restrict the childbearing of the “unfit.” The Racial Integrity Act further acted in tandem with state laws of SEGREGATION, providing for the biological separation of one race from another.

The early 20th century witnessed the rise of eugenics as a supposed SCIENCE of human reproduction and heredity. Inspired by the work of Francis Galton, the goal of the eugenics movement was social engineering—to eliminate the hereditary weaknesses that supposedly led to lower intelligence, criminality, and poverty through selective reproduction. The popularity of eugenic ideas in the United States led to several state laws that prescribed sterilization for the feeble-minded and/or banned interracial marriage. Virginia's was not the first such law. By 1924, 15 states had similar legislation. The Racial Integrity Act, however, became the most strongly enforced law in the nation.

Dr. Walter Ashby Plecker, the Virginia registrar of vital statistics, played a central role in developing the racial criteria of the Act. The law required that any individual with even one drop of nonwhite blood be legally registered as

“colored.” While it made an exception for those who were as much as one-sixteenth Native American, a tribute to elite families' claim of descent from Pocahontas, the racial categories effectively masked the heritage of many Virginians of Native American birth and excluded them from federal recognition of Indian tribes. Despite political pressure to soften his stand on Native Americans, Dr. Plecker as state registrar vigorously enforced all the provisions of the law and even, by his own admission, exceeded his authority when he forced the exhumation and reburial of those of questionable racial heritage from white cemeteries.

The lasting effects of the Racial Integrity Act cannot be known, but the ban on interracial marriage clearly forced many interracial couples into clandestine marriages or migration to other states. Still, it was only in the context of the Civil Rights movement and the changed racial climate of the 1960s that the Racial Integrity Act was overturned in the SUPREME COURT case *Loving v. Virginia* in 1967.

See also BUCK V. BELL; MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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### radical and labor press

At the turn of the century, strong socialist and labor organizations supported a broad range of newspapers and journals across the United States. With membership in trade unions numbering in the millions after 1900 and socialist parties garnering hundreds of thousands of votes every year, journalists who explored radical causes found an audience for their own publications. The radical press ranged from the socialist *An Appeal to Reason* and *Solidarity*, published by the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW), to the *Woman Rebel*, edited by feminist birth control advocate MARGARET SANGER. Radical publishing houses such as Haldeman-Julius and Charles H. Kerr supplemented newspapers and journals with books and pamphlets on social and political issues.

At a time when major newspapers dominated the urban markets and printing costs escalated, radical newspapers continued to thrive in rural areas, where they appealed to farmers as well as workers, as did the socialist *Appeal*. Inspired by SOCIALISM, and taking seriously the need for alliances across class and region, radical editors sought ways to influence public opinion far beyond the formal membership of socialist and labor organizations. Their investigative

reporting on urban poverty and hazardous working conditions inspired the work of the MUCKRAKERS, reform journalists who directed their critical gaze at political corruption, business monopolies, and employer abuses.

By the turn of the 20th century, there were literally thousands of union newspapers published by city labor federations and national trade unions. They had a readership that numbered in the hundreds of thousands. Labor journals of the time ranged from the relatively conservative *American Federationist*, the journal of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and *Labor*, published by the railroad unions, to other more militant labor publications. The *American Federationist* had been established to communicate Federation policy and record its organizational progress. For the most part, it served chiefly as an organ for union members and labor organizers. Assistant editor of the *Federationist* between 1901 and 1909, EVA McDONALD VALESH, had a long career in mainstream and labor journalism. During her tenure on the *Federationist*, she reshaped the journal to better educate public opinion and provide publicity; and she gave it a more professional look. It remained, however, the creature of its national leadership. In contrast, the IWW's *Solidarity* served as a forum not just for its editor's agenda. A radical labor newspaper, it served as a forum for rank-and-file writings, songs, poems, and editorial comments. *Solidarity* was blessed with pungent humor and writing with a wide range of perspectives from the lyrics to Joe Hill's labor anthems to the cartoon satire of Mr. Block.

The image of labor in the period embraced a broad masculine labor, but its prose also revealed stories and viewpoints sympathetic to women workers. In the pages of both the *Federationist* and *Solidarity* could be found articles on women's labor organization as well as fiction and advice columns for women. Coverage of women's local labor campaigns and new tactics in organizing women workers, however, were extremely limited; and there was no national network to share information. Women's labor advocates who organized the NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE published *Life and Labor* to answer this need. Edited by Australian feminists Alice Henry and Stella Franklin, the journal incorporated some of the best labor reporting with editorial matter on citizenship, education, and politics for women.

Shifts in radicalism brought forth a new generation of radical newspapers and journals. By 1910, broadly defined radical publications such as *The Masses*, edited by Max Eastman and featuring the prose of writers such as JOHN REED and MARY HEATON VORSE, and anarchist EMMA GOLDMAN's *Mother Earth* touted birth control, sexual emancipation, and Freudian psychoanalysis in addition to traditional working-class and populist issues. Experimental arts journals provided a new forum for modern poetry and criticism, with such publications as *Seven Arts* and *Little*

*Review* (edited by Margaret Anderson) leading the way. Edited by Harriet Monroe, *Poetry*, the premier journal for modern poetry, published its first issue in 1911.

By 1910, there were more than 300 socialist newspapers and journals alone. Every major city had labor-oriented socialist newspapers as well, including the *Milwaukee Leader*, the *New York Call*, and the *National Rip Saw* (St. Louis), as well as ethnic journals such as the *Arbeiter Zeitung* (New York). Under the editorship of writer Abraham Cahan, the *Jewish Daily Forward*, published in New York, became a national Yiddish newspaper with a circulation of more than 200,000. Anarchist journals, from Alexander Berkman's short-lived the *Blast* to the *Freie Arbeiter Shtimme* drew audiences far beyond the small number of committed anarchists.

WORLD WAR I changed the political environment in which radical journals had thrived. Prior to the war, government censorship had focused largely on questions of sexual morality and language under the Comstock Laws (see Volume 6). Comstockery, as it was lampooned, had harassed editors and presses about the publication of works such as Theodore Dreiser's *The Genius* and James Joyce's *Ulysses*, which had been serialized in the *Little Review*. While publishers became more willing to take on the censors for the cause of free speech, government censorship had a dampening effect on publishing.

With the entry of the United States into the world conflict, the federal government turned against radical newspapers during the war to suppress discussion of and opposition to military conscription and the war effort. Under the TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT, Congress assigned the U.S. Postal Service the responsibility to censor private mail and deny mailing privileges to newspapers and journals critical of the war. It also required all foreign-language publications to submit translations before printing, a time-consuming and expensive requirement that forced many publications simply to close their doors. Under Postmaster General Albert S. Burleson, this broad-based authority was used to exclude publications not only for their opposition to the war but for any content he construed as anti-American. During the war, *The Masses*, *International Socialist Review*, *Appeal to Reason*, and the *Milwaukee Leader*, among others, were denied mailing privileges and hence lost subscribers and revenue. Some were forced to stop publication.

After the war, the antiradicalism of the RED SCARE shut down many radical and labor newspapers. While directed at immigrant RADICALISM and militant trade unionism with its wave of deportations and criminal syndicalism cases, the effort to suppress radical organizations also ensnared mainstream labor unions and labor newspapers. The decline of the labor movement in the face of organized opposition had led to a similar decline in the

information available about labor and working class organization throughout the world. The Federated Press, a labor news service established at the 1919 nominating convention of the FARMER-LABOR PARTY, set out to address that need. Under the editorship of Robert M. Buck, the Press had a subscription list of 32 labor and farmer-labor newspapers, a small base that almost immediately undermined the service. It nearly collapsed financially in 1921–22, but under the new editor, former war resister Carl Haessler, the Federated Press survived and sometimes even thrived until 1956. At times, the Press's subscription list numbered more than 100 newspapers and journals. With the aim of rebuilding the devastated labor movement, the Federated Press had as its primary objective changing the pro-business and antilabor political environment. To do so, it had to take on the news media monopoly and create a national—and even international—network of labor and working-class reporters who shared information from all corners of the country and even the world.

During the 1920s, the Federated Press ran its own national *Labor Letter* and also sent out wire service stories on strikes and organizing campaigns, periodic updates on the campaign to free SACCO AND VANZETTI, and reports from the road on workers' lives and struggles, as in the reporting of Art Shields and Esther Lowell. Writer Mary Heaton Vorse sent in her reports from the GASTONIA STRIKE and other labor protests. Harvey and Jessie O'Connor worked for the Federated Press in a similar capacity, with Harvey sometimes taking on editorial duties. Anna Louise Strong reported from Russia in the Federated Press's early years. Lawrence Todd sent reports from Washington, D.C., on Congress and federal policy; Louis Lochner reported on the political upheavals in Weimar Germany. While the Federated Press sometimes appeared a largely voluntary effort, as its reporters were often paid poorly, if at all, it managed to report on all the major issues of the 1920s and establish a firm basis for the revival of the labor press in the 1930s.

At the same time, the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION changed the nature of radicalism in the United States. Newly formed communist parties, sympathetic to the Soviet Union, seceded from older, more conservative socialist organizations. Labor unions divided along similar political lines, which rendered them ineffective in responding to the new conservatism. Antiunion activity both during and after World War I brought about the decline in union membership. All of these forces led to the closing of many small labor and radical publications. At the same time, a new generation of radical newspapers and journals, stimulated by new communist parties and the fomenting of revolution abroad, emerged on the scene.

In the 1920s, *Masses* editor Max Eastman joined with Floyd Dell to edit a new journal, the *Liberator*. V. F. Cal-

verton, an intellectual affiliated with the Greenwich Village group, began his new journal, *Modern Quarterly*, which kept radical theory and avant-garde literature before the public. The Communist Party launched its *Daily Worker* and radical labor groups began to publish infrequent numbers of newsletters and journals. City central labor unions, faced with steep declines in membership, still managed to keep their newspapers afloat. With the woman suffrage movement victorious, the old suffrage journals closed their doors, to be replaced with the *Woman Voter* (League of Women Voters) and *Equal Rights* (National Woman's Party). Neither attained the same loyal following as their suffrage predecessors. Only with the revival of radical fortunes in the wake of the GREAT DEPRESSION did the alternative press again thrive.

See also JOURNALISM; LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT.

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## radicalism

American radicalism played an important role in shaping the nation's political development between 1900 and 1930. Radicalism can be defined as opposition to the dominant economic, political, and social structures of the country. At the turn of the century, this meant opposition to the poverty and social inequality created by MASS PRODUCTION industry, free-market capitalism, and emerging consumerism. Radicalism in the United States had several different strains, including anarchism, socialism, labor militancy, feminism, and cultural radicalism. The upsurge in radicalism between 1900 and 1920 did not, however, result in an attempt to overthrow the government or the formation of a permanent third political party. Radicals tended to support gradual reform, rather than violent revolution. The RED SCARE and political repression in the 1920s kept radicals divided throughout the decade.

The radicalism of the early 20th century drew on the concerns and tactics of its predecessors. The emergence of the industrial revolution, urbanization, and the demise of small, independent farming resulted in social and political unrest in the 1880s and 1890s. Several political movements attempted to address the concerns of workers, farmers, and immigrants. In the 1880s, the Knights Of Labor attempted to organize the new industrial workers, southern African-

American sharecroppers, and farmers struggling to maintain their independence. In the 1890s, the populists also attempted to address the plight of farmers by attacking the power of the railroads and the banks. Both the Knights and the populists advocated that the federal government play a larger role in ensuring social harmony by redistributing wealth and property more equally, but they refrained from calling for the abolition of private property or from seeking violent means for social change. In the same period of time, women continued to organize for WOMAN SUFFRAGE and PROHIBITION, among other reforms.

A more class-based form of radicalism emerged at the dawn of the 20th century. Support for SOCIALISM grew rapidly among new immigrants, intellectuals, agrarian activists, and industrial workers. This new socialism was by no means confined to the working class, but it did highlight workers' concerns. Between 1890 and 1910, business and industry actively worked to suppress unionism by employing company spies to infiltrate unions, blacklisting suspected radicals and union supporters, forcing workers to sign anti-union contracts, and using labor injunctions to break strikes. Added to this were changes in the pace of work and how work was organized. As workers began to resist these changes, some found the efforts of the conservative AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) to be insufficient. Socialists, both in the labor movement and outside the labor movement, argued that industry and wealth should benefit all of society, not just a wealthy elite. In 1901, the Socialist Labor Party, led by Morris Hillquit and Daniel De Leon, merged with the Social Democratic Party, led by EUGENE V. DEBS, to form the Socialist Party of America (SPA). The SPA grew steadily between 1900 and 1912. Its goals were diffuse, from supporting political reform and labor legislation to municipal ownership of utilities and urban transportation.

Syndicalism, or revolutionary industrial unionism, was another form of socialism that gained support among workers. Its ultimate goal was to organize society and government on an industrial basis. The INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW), the leading voice of syndicalism in the United States, emerged in 1905 and quickly challenged the dominance of the AFL. In its most radical form, the IWW supported the general strike, producer cooperatives, workers' control of production, and the abolition of capitalism. More typically, the IWW directed its energies toward forms of direct action, including massive strikes at McKees Rocks in 1909 and the LAWRENCE STRIKE in 1912. Its membership grew steadily until WORLD WAR I, when it declined in the face of government repression under the ESPIONAGE ACT and SEDITION ACT and state criminal syndicalism laws, but it never seriously threatened the dominance of the AFL.

Anarchism, another form of radicalism, advocated extreme means of opposing capitalism and the status quo.

Some individualist anarchists feared that the rise of modern, urban, and industrial society threatened to undermine individual rights. The majority of American anarchists were followers of Peter Kropotkin, a Russian communitarian anarchist. In general, they opposed centralized government, because it inevitably led to economic exploitation, militarism, and war.

Finally, some socialists, anarchists, and syndicalists gravitated toward communism, particularly after the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION of 1917. In 1919, two competing factions—the COMMUNIST PARTY and the Communist Labor Party—split from the Socialist Party and its international sections. Each claimed to be the legitimate representative of the worldwide communist revolution. The two factions merged in 1924. By 1929 the party was known as the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA). Between 1919 and 1930, American communists focused their efforts on recruiting industrial workers in core industries such as steel, coal, and automobiles, and—to a lesser extent—organized among African-American sharecroppers. Prior to 1930, support for communism among union members remained very small.

Several key factors ensured that American radicalism failed to have the impact radicalism had in Europe. Judged by the absence of an independent working-class or labor politics, American radicalism failed. There were reasons for this failure. The national economy, despite cyclical depressions, grew at a faster rate than did the economies of Europe. Though workers and poorer Americans did not share equally in the nation's economic growth, many workers and recently arrived immigrants saw improvements in their standard of living. The result was that many ordinary men and women were reluctant to support efforts for greater state intervention in the economy, and indeed, there was a commonly held distrust of government among both working-class and middle-class Americans. Few advocated the abolition of private property. Socialists and Social Democrats, who generally advocated more moderate reforms, were able to generate much more widespread support. Even the million votes for Eugene Debs in 1912 could not compare in political dominance with the two mainstream political parties.

Possibly the most significant reason why radicalism failed to have a greater impact in the United States was that radicals encountered a coordinated resistance from the government, the courts, and employers. Employers fired and blacklisted suspected radicals. When violence did occur, judges sought to ensure that radical leaders were convicted and either deported or sentenced to long prison terms. Both federal troops and state militias as well as private corporate arming were used to violently repress strikes. Finally, at the outbreak of World War I, federal legislation made it illegal to criticize the government or to oppose American



involvement in the war. Socialist Eugene Debs and anarchist EMMA GOLDMAN both were arrested and convicted of violating these laws. Attacks against radicals and radicalism continued after the end of the war in 1918.

The fear that radicals were behind the massive post-war strikes fueled the Red Scare of 1919–20. Led by Attorney General A. MITCHELL PALMER, the government launched a series of raids against radicals, which specifically targeted the offices of the IWW and the Communist Party. The largest raid took place on January 2, 1920, when approximately 10,000 suspected communists and communist sympathizers were arrested and held without bail. Many of those arrested, particularly those who were recent immigrants, were deported from the country. Afterward the labor movement and other radical political organizations were in a shambles; longtime SPA leader Eugene Debs was serving a prison sentence for treason, and fear of deportation and blacklisting silenced many immigrants and workers.

At the same time, radical ideas did change the way that government and society functioned in the United States. Socialist thought influenced the reform movement of PROGRESSIVISM and helped to shape legislation to regulate business and protect women and child wage earners. Reformers such as the National Consumer League's FLORENCE KELLEY and Social Gospel minister WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH read socialist texts and moved to incorporate the more humanitarian strains of radical thinking. Feminist thinkers like CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN and civil rights advocate W. E. B. DUBOIS contributed to both mainstream and radical social thought. Sexual mores, gender norms, and racial etiquette were altered by the radical culture of the early 20th century. When the Republican administrations of WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT and CALVIN COOLIDGE argued that it was time to return the country to normalcy and economic prosperity, they spoke of retaking the government. But as the radical revival during the Great Depression would show, radicalism did not die in the 1920s; it just shifted ground.

See also RADICAL AND LABOR PRESS; WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Robert Gordon

## radio

The period from 1899 to 1930 was marked by two significant developments in the history of radio in the United States. In

1899, Guglielmo Marconi, the first inventor to successfully transmit and receive radio signals, demonstrated his invention for the first time to an American audience. By 1930, the *Amos 'n' Andy* radio program had set the standard by which all radio broadcasting would be developed. Between these two events, developments within the radio industry created the modern system of broadcasting in which stations are corporately owned, connected in a network, and made profitable by advertising.

During the first decade of the 20th century, the inventors and corporations involved in the development of radio technology hoped to develop an alternative to the use of wires in telegraph and telephone communications. Their goals were evident in the term used for the new technologies: radio telegraphy. Marconi's own company, which became Radio Corporation of America (RCA) in 1919, focused on developing applications such as ship-to-ship or ship-to-shore communications. The telephone company, AT&T, became involved in radio in the hope of discovering ways to better their phone service through wireless technology. The Westinghouse and General Electric companies also pursued radio technology in the hope that it would lead to large profits from the manufacture and sale of radio equipment. They assumed that once perfected, radio telegraphy would become essential for shipping companies, telegraph and telephone companies, and the U.S. government.

It was not until WORLD WAR I that any of these corporations saw the economic possibilities in transmitting voice signals over the air. Many other Americans had embraced voice transmission, or as it was known at the time, radio telephony. The first radio voice broadcast occurred in 1906. Radio telephony over the next decade was characterized by its amateur status. Thousands of radio enthusiasts throughout the country built their own transmitters and receivers and began to send signals. Some of them transmitted music, speeches, dramatic plays, and news. None of this was done for profit. The signals were weak and often interrupted by static.

When inventors improved the technology to send long distance signals that could be heard more clearly, the larger communication companies began to embrace radio telephony. In 1915, AT&T sent the first transatlantic voice transmission. This transmission attracted the U.S. Navy's attention, and it began to outfit its ships with radio stations capable of sending voice transmissions. United States involvement in World War I led the navy to seize control of the radio industry in the interests of national defense. Its demands for high-quality radio equipment favored the large companies. With the navy's help, the largest companies in radio joined in an organization known as the Radio Group for the purpose of sharing patent information. This combination of the companies helped speed the development

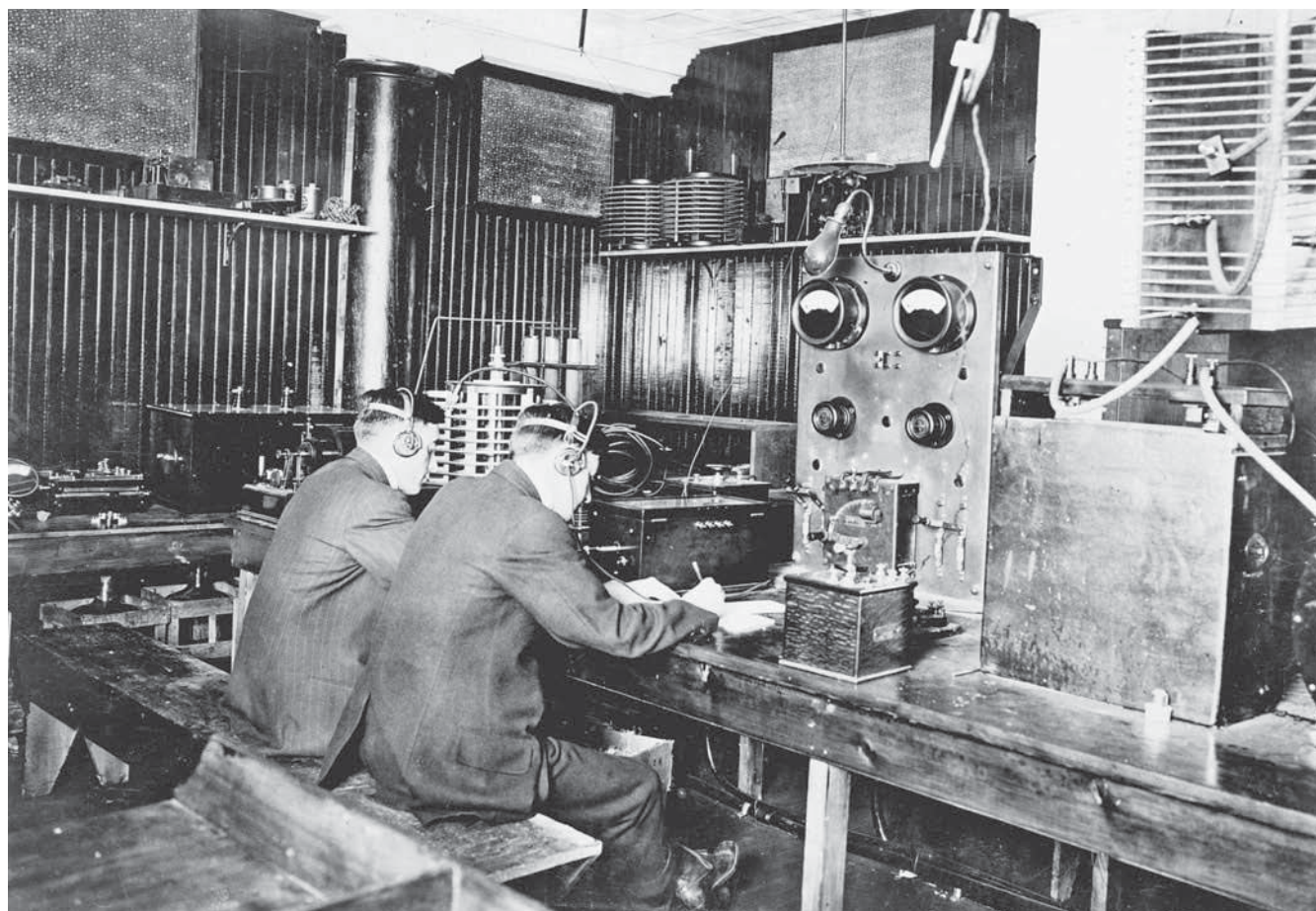
of better radio equipment, but it had unintended consequences. Four companies—RCA, Westinghouse, General Electric, and AT&T—came to dominate the production of radio equipment and the operation of stations.

At the end of the war, the companies that dominated radio still did not see the future of radio broadcasting. They believed that radio telephony was best suited for point-to-point communication; but this began to change in the 1920s. The turn to radio broadcasting emerged out of the wartime agreement between the large radio companies that the U.S. government had brokered. As part of the agreement, the Westinghouse Corporation had given up its rights to operate voice transmission stations in return for the right to share the manufacturing market with General Electric. Having lost out on the lucrative market of voice communications, Westinghouse began to look for other ways to profit from its radio manufacturing business.

In 1920 Westinghouse came up with an idea that changed the nature of radio and its role in American soci-

ety. Amateur radio broadcasts were becoming more sophisticated as equipment improved. More people were using their radio transmitters to send music and other programming over the airwaves. The number of radio sets also was increasing because there was more on the airwaves. In 1920, a Westinghouse official noticed that a Pittsburgh department store's newspaper advertisement for radio sets mentioned a specific radio program. Westinghouse decided that if an amateur program could sell radio sets, then professional radio broadcasts could help them sell their radio equipment. The desire to sell more radio equipment led to the first regular broadcast station in the United States.

On November 2, 1920, station KDKA, broadcasting from the Westinghouse factory in Pittsburgh, became the first radio station to institute regular broadcasting when it covered the Harding-Cox presidential election. After this first broadcast, KDKA broadcast a regular program every night. Originally only one hour in length, the program was a watershed in radio, because it was the first to be broadcast on a regular schedule.



Operators copying messages transmitted from ships at sea at the Marconi wireless school, New York, ca. 1912 (*Library of Congress*)

Once Americans realized the power of radio broadcasting, the number of stations expanded dramatically. The stations were owned by a variety of businesses and organizations. Radio stores and equipment dealers started local stations in order to increase demand for their products. Local department stores used radio stations to advertise their products and increase demand for the radios they sold. Newspapers established stations in an effort to join the new media that might threaten their control over the news. Colleges and universities used stations as learning tools for their students. Westinghouse's success in radio broadcasting led the other giants in the radio industry to establish their own stations.

The explosion of radio broadcasting led to questions about how radio was to survive financially. Some people advocated government control of radio broadcasting supported by a tax, but the ultimate solution embraced a free market approach. By 1923, the AT&T-owned station WEAJ in New York was broadcasting programs sponsored by commercial companies. WEAJ used the revenue from these programs to improve its equipment, which made it possible to reach more radio listeners. In turn, the growing audience made the station more attractive to sponsors. WEAJ's success led other stations to turn to sponsors for financing their programs, and the age of radio advertising was born. It was not until the end of the 1920s, however, that the true commercial possibilities of radio were recognized.

Programming in these early days was sporadic. Even the larger stations broadcast for only part of the day. Local stations often scrambled to find programming. Initially, broadcasters were able to attract musicians and other performers for free in return for the publicity. They also played phonograph records and read the news. In an effort to fill out programming, radio entrepreneurs established the network system. The network system was built around a single, high-powered station that provided high-quality programming (by recordings, when stations were beyond the reach of the network leader's transmitters) to its affiliates throughout the country. RCA and AT&T established the first networks in 1925. They did not, however, provide extensive broadcasting, but rather individual programs and special events. In 1926, in an effort to forestall competition that both companies saw as harmful, RCA and AT&T entered into an agreement in which AT&T sold its flagship station, New York's WEAJ, to RCA, which gave RCA control of both radio networks. RCA created a new corporation to run its broadcasting system, and in January 1927, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) began regular programming.

As the network system increased the quality and quantity of programs available, radio's popularity boomed. Between 1922 and 1928, the number of radio sets increased from 60,000 to 7,500,000. With approximately one-third

of the U.S. population listening, radio became a powerful force in American society. The programs helped shape American tastes for music, for example. In the 1920s, music made up the bulk of radio programming; and most of it was classical music. As radio's popularity increased so did the popularity of classical music. The number of orchestras in the United States increased dramatically, along with the sale of musical instruments. Schools began to teach music as part of their regular curriculum. Some stations helped popularize other kinds of music. Radio stations that played jazz and hillbilly music helped spread these to northern cities. Radio stations also introduced the first variety acts during the 1920s.

Even with the success of their programming, radio stations and networks had difficulty convincing businesses that sponsoring radio programs was worthwhile. One radio program changed all that. In 1928, the *Amos 'n' Andy* program went on the air and changed radio forever. Created by two veteran radio performers, Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, the program was based on the lives of two naive African Americans living in Chicago. The comedy revolved around the African-American dialect and their continuous mishaps and misunderstandings, which stemmed from an inability to understand the complex world in which they lived. The 15-minute program was the first successful radio comedy with a continuous story line from show to show. The radio public eagerly anticipated each week's show to find out what happened to the two main characters. By the end of the 1920s, 40 million listeners—one-third of the U.S. population—tuned into *Amos 'n' Andy* each week.

The program's significance spread beyond its mere popularity. It made the commercial possibility of radio clear. Colgate Company, the program's sponsor, enjoyed a marked increase in sales of its toothpaste. With prospective audiences of 40 million, companies began to line up to sponsor programs. As network advertising revenue grew, they could broadcast more programs and increase their role in American radio broadcasting, leading to the system of media broadcasting that still exists today in television.

See also ENTERTAINMENT, POPULAR.

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—Michael Hartman

## Railroad Administration

In the winter of 1917–18, President WOODROW WILSON took over the railroads in the United States and created the Railroad Administration. In seeking to forge a war economy, Wilson most often preferred voluntary means.



However, when the 2,905 companies that owned 397,014 miles of track refused to cooperate with each other and caused a standstill on the rails, the government acted swiftly. The railroads were just one part of the mobilization challenges facing the Wilson administration during WORLD WAR I. Because the United States was not prepared for its entry into global war, despite many warnings, its victory in the war could not be assured. Wilson, who had hoped for peace, had only belatedly joined in preparedness measures such as those in 1915 when he created the civilian Council on National Defense, which studied problems of economic mobilization.

Prior to the war, the railroads had functioned profitably. They had paid their workers low wages and had invested little in their operation costs. During wartime they had little interest in improving the system to upgrade service, even though they needed approximately 115,000 new railroad cars. The hard-won ADAMSON ACT ensured for railway workers an eight-hour day for all employees on trains in interstate commerce, with extra pay for overtime, but most workers were still unhappy with their lot. Other wartime industry jobs were more attractive and with better pay, leaving a critical shortage of railway workers.

Wilson strove to inspire all labor in the United States to put forth their best effort for the country with slogans like "Labor Will Win the War." Women picked up the slack by entering into industry and agriculture. The AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR gave loyal support to the war effort. Most mobilization for the war effort was voluntary.

Railroad companies, however, refused to coordinate their efforts to ensure the transport of war materials, and acute shortages on the war front endangered American efforts. In the winter of 1917–18, 180,000 railroad cars sat idle. The Military Affairs Committee under Senator George Earle Chamberlain (R–Oregon) called for an inquiry. The railroads' lack of preparedness was apparent to committee members. Two weeks after the hearing, the railroads were taken over by presidential decree. Secretary of the Treasury William McAdoo became "tsar of the rails." He faced challenging weather conditions immediately as winter storms raged in the Northeast. By summer, however, the railroads were operating effectively.

Passed in May 1918, the Overton Act gave the president powers for the duration of the war and six months after. It allowed him to consolidate the six war agencies (fuel, food, shipping, railroads, war trade, and war industries) into a war cabinet. It also gave him power to disband, add, or reorganize any executive or administrative agency without the approval of Congress. Thus, by 1918, the United States had changed within one year from being a "free economy" to a managed one. Railroads became a major beneficiary of government support and regulation, due to their vital role in defense.

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—Annamarie Edelen

### Railroad Shopmen's Strike (1922)

One of the most important labor conflicts in the 20th century, the Railroad Shopmen's Strike mobilized more than 400,000 railroad workers nationwide in 1922. The strike lasted into the following year and did not come to an official end until 1928. The shop craft workers struck in response to the decision of the Railroad Labor Board to institute a wage cut in July of 1922, the second in a series of wage cuts, and in opposition to work rule changes on the railroads. The striking workers sought better pay, the reinstatement of overtime pay, and an end to contracting out shop work, a business practice that undercut union labor.

As *Minnesota Union Advocate* editor William Mahoney wrote, "the greatest industrial struggle that ever occurred in America" began in countless towns and cities across the United States, wherever railroad labor had a presence, in the summer of 1922. While the railroad operators unions, such as the Brotherhood of Railway Engineers and Firemen, did not join the strike, the shop craft workers, who constituted about 20 percent of the railway labor force nationwide, walked off the job. Railroad shop men were those workers who maintained the rolling stock, the rails and rail beds, including machinists, boilermakers, sheet metal workers, and electrical workers. Their labor, while vital to the long-term condition of railroads, did not stop the trains from running immediately. This fact alone undermined the shop men's ability to negotiate with management. Further, the economic downturn that followed the war provided the rationale for reducing the wages of railroad workers from their wartime levels. With high unemployment and a surplus of available labor, the railroad companies were able to hire replacement workers to fill nearly three-quarters of the strikers' jobs.

The federal government played a major role in suppressing the strike. Because the aggressive response of the company and the militancy of the railroad shop unions led to confrontations in many towns and cities across the nation, the opponents of organized labor were able to call on the federal government for aid. Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty persuaded President WARREN G. HARDING that unions and workers were resorting to violent means to win the strike. Other members of Harding's cabinet, including Secretary of Labor James J. Davis and Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, argued that the workers had some real grievances. With information on unions from the Bureau of Investigation and Harding's approval, however, Daugherty sought a federal injunction against



the strike, which federal judge James Wilkerson granted. The “Daugherty Injunction” enjoined any form of strike activity, including picketing and even assembling near rail lines. The federal government hired 2,200 new U.S. marshals to enforce the injunction and sent federal troops into centers of strike activity to control crowds and protect strikebreakers.

Federal intervention undermined the ability of the railroad shop craft unions to maintain the strike. Settlement with the unions required that worker seniority be respected; but many railroad shop men found themselves unemployed and unemployable, at least in railroad work. Only about a third of all strikers went back to their railroad jobs. Railroad superintendents such as Northern Pacific’s H. M. Curry used the strike as an opportunity to “rid the service of chronic agitators, fault finders, time servers, etc.” Rail companies targeted such “undesirables.”

The 1922 Railroad Shopmen’s Strike ended in a decisive defeat of the union, which had a chilling effect on labor relations nationwide. More than the STEEL STRIKE OF 1919, which occurred on a similar scale in a strategic industry, the defeat of the rail strike signaled the beginning of organized labor’s retreat from workplace militancy and its turn toward accommodation during the 1920s. At the same time, because the national rail lines wished to avoid another massive confrontation, the 1922 strike paved the way for the Railway Labor Act of 1926, on which labor relations in the national railroad industry would be based for decades.

See also LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT.

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**Randolph, Asa Philip** See VOLUME VIII.

**Rankin, Jeannette** (1880–1973) *suffragist, pacifist, U.S. representative*

Born in 1880 in Montana, Jeannette Rankin was the oldest of 11 children born to John Rankin and Olive Pickering. Her father was a rancher, and her mother had worked as a teacher. Attending college at Montana State University, Jeannette earned a degree in biology in 1902. That same year, her father died, leaving Jeannette with an inheritance. After college, Rankin experimented with several vocations including teaching and social work. Her employment experiences eventually directed her into the WOMAN SUFFRAGE movement, as she believed that women needed to be part of the electorate in order to pursue social reform.

Rankin’s background in social work in Washington State convinced her to participate in that state’s 1910 wom-

en’s suffrage campaign. Three years later, she was hired by the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION to campaign for the passage of state suffrage laws. In her home state of Montana, Rankin’s grassroots experience and eloquence helped women’s suffrage to pass in 1914. Two years later, she ran for a seat in the House of Representatives as a Republican and won, making her the first woman elected to Congress. Her victory was partially the result of women’s new enfranchisement. Rankin’s pacifism, moreover, likely attracted votes from citizens who worried about the war in Europe.

Rankin’s historical fame would come as a result of her time in Congress. In 1917, she voted against Woodrow Wilson’s request for a declaration of war. Although this vote gained her the most attention, Rankin also worked on labor law reform, civil liberties, and a federal women’s suffrage amendment; the latter passed the House in 1917 and the Senate in 1918. Her first term in Congress, however, was overshadowed by her antiwar vote. After redistricting cost Rankin her seat, she ran for the Senate and eventually lost.

Her interwar activism was dedicated to peace through the WOMEN’S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM and to CIVIL LIBERTIES through the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. She continued to travel the country giving antiwar speeches. On the eve of World War II, she decided to run for Congress on a neutrality plank. She won. After the 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Rankin again voted against an American declaration of war. She was widely condemned but, as a pacifist, voted her conscience.

After Rankin left Congress, she traveled, cared for family members, and then became an antiwar activist once again. As social protest developed in the late 1950s and early 1960s around a variety of issues including racial discrimination, the nuclear arms race, and student rights, Jeannette Rankin was rediscovered. Rankin’s blending of feminism and pacifism inspired a new generation of women’s rights advocates and antiwar activists. In 1968, at the age of 87, Rankin led the Jeannette Rankin Brigade of 5,000 women in a dramatic protest against the war in Vietnam.

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—Natalie Atkin

**Rauschenbusch, Walter** (1861–1918) *Baptist theologian, educator, social reformer*

Baptist minister and social reformer Walter Rauschenbusch was born in 1861. His father was a German immigrant

clergyman in Rochester, New York, and Walter graduated from Rochester Theological Seminary in 1887. He went on to study economics, theology, and industrial relations in Germany and Britain in the 1890s. Named pastor of the Second German Baptist Church in New York City's "Hell's Kitchen," he witnessed the struggles of the urban immigrants firsthand. Rauschenbusch believed that industrialization eroded workers' religious commitment.

As a prominent figure in the Social Gospel movement of the Progressive Era, Rauschenbusch sought to apply the principles of Christianity to urban reform. Influenced by the Christian Socialism he saw in Germany and Britain, he critiqued the economic and social conditions that dehumanized urban immigrants and isolated them from religion. Broadening the context of sin, he saw social ills as a form of evil. Purifying democracy required Christians to infuse the spirit of Christ into the secular world. Like many other Social Gospel advocates, Rauschenbusch believed that the state should play a role in rectifying injustice. He also argued that Protestantism needed to become more socially relevant by addressing the problems of the urban poor. Salvation for the human race came through civic activism and social service.

Rauschenbusch was one of the first to undermine the social and intellectual assumptions of his time by arguing that Social Darwinism need not be a fierce competition among humans. Rather, evolution required the religious and social awakening of humanitarianism. In such works as *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907) and *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1917), Rauschenbusch rendered religious social reform a mainstream movement in the United States. In his 1910 prayer book, *For God and the People* (1910), he declared the Lord's Prayer the great prayer of social Christianity. His works had a wide readership.

In 1897, Rauschenbusch left parish work to become a professor of church history at Rochester Theological Seminary and devoted himself to a career of writing, public speaking, and active social reform. It was only when WORLD WAR I stirred anti-German sentiment that he withdrew from public life. He died in 1918.

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—Natalie Atkin

## recreation

Recreation, defined as leisure-time activities pursued for pleasure, underwent significant change during the early 20th century. At the turn of the century, class largely determined recreational opportunities. Upper-class Americans who were not tied down by work schedules and were

wealthy enough, enjoyed a variety of recreational activities ranging from bicycling to summer vacations. The growing middle class was beginning to engage in many of the same recreational opportunities, albeit on a less grand scale, by the turn of the century. Wageworkers, on the other hand, did not have the time or money to participate in recreational activities beyond trips to the saloon for men, informal interactions among neighbors, and church activities.

This pattern changed during the first three decades of the 20th century as recreation became democratized. Early 20th-century changes in the workplace led to decreased hours for wage laborers at a time when real income was rising. Although wage laborers were never able to afford the grand vacations undertaken by wealthier Americans, they enjoyed increased access to recreational activities. This in turn led to a tremendous increase in the number of available recreational activities as entrepreneurs jumped in to take advantage of the new demand and reformers attempted to use recreation as a means to reform society.

Americans participated in a tremendous variety of different activities. Some involved an afternoon while others occupied an entire week or longer. While many spent their leisure time in their homes and neighborhoods, the 20th century brought a blossoming of recreational activities in places designed specifically for recreation. It was during this period that amusement parks first emerged, BASEBALL became a national phenomenon both as a spectator sport and as a game to be played, and cities throughout America created public playgrounds and parks, to name just a few of the new recreational activities. Some forms of recreation brought people of various backgrounds together to share a common commercial culture, and many public amusements became places where social differences lessened. Other activities maintained social distinctions. The one common characteristic shared by all Americans was an increase in time spent taking part in recreational activities, despite industries' increasing reliance on the time clock and systemization. Some activities helped workers escape for a brief time while others provided longer respites.

One of the most popular recreational activities was a trip to public amusement parks. These parks symbolized the cultural changes taking place. They helped challenge Victorian codes of behavior but did so in a safe, controlled environment. Modeling themselves on the 1893 Columbian Exhibition in Chicago and the 1901 Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, amusement parks opened in or near every major city in the first years of the 20th century. The first and best known parks—Steeplechase, Luna, and Dreamland—opened on Coney Island, New York, and set the standard for parks nationwide. Developers of these parks created fantasylands where city residents could escape for a day to experience thrills. The key to their popularity was the parks' easy access by rail from neighboring cities and their appeal



Thousands of Americans flocked to the seashore, as seen here on the New Jersey shore. (*Library of Congress*)

to visitors of all classes, which they accomplished by offering a variety of attractions. The parks offered roller coasters and other thrill rides, theatrical performances, dance halls, animal shows and rides, sideshow performances, ostensibly educational performances, and disaster exhibitions demonstrating, for example, the floods that devastated Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and Galveston, Texas.

The amusements offered at the parks often challenged accepted modes of behavior by offering ribald attractions disguised as wholesome or educational entertainment. One park, for example, offered an exhibit of "The Streets of Cairo and Mysterious Asia," which included female dancers in states of dress that no proper audience would accept in other contexts. The parks also appealed to young men and women who were beginning to strain against Victorian codes of morality that prescribed a strict distance between the sexes. At the parks, men and women could interact socially with members of the opposite sex outside the supervision of their families. The rides were popular with youths, because the action of the rides often threw men and women together or forced them to hang on to one

another for balance, thus allowing physical contact frowned upon in other settings.

New forms of recreation did not have to involve day-long excursions to amusement parks. Many young working-class and middle-class men and women attended dance halls at night, an urban phenomenon made possible by the tremendous increase in young single women drawn to the cities by available work. Men and women went to the dance halls for the chance to mingle with members of the opposite sex outside of parental supervision. Other men and women attended dances and concerts sponsored by such organizations as the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION AND YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

Many types of recreation emerged during these years. The most significant was the motion picture. First made available by one-person nickelodeons in which customers could watch a brief film clip by dropping a nickel into the slot and peering through a small viewer, motion pictures enjoyed great popularity even before they could be projected onto a screen. Once the technology improved to where films could be shown on a screen, films quickly



became the most popular form of recreation. One reason for motion pictures' popularity is that they appealed to a wide audience. Ticket prices were low enough that practically anyone could attend as long as they followed the rules of behavior set forth by theater owners. Even when theater owners began to build ornate houses in central business districts in an effort to attract a wealthier clientele, working-class film lovers could still attend neighborhood theaters.

Americans of all classes also enjoyed SPORTS, both as participants and spectators. It was during the period from 1900 to 1930 that athletic contests witnessed by large crowds emerged. While the audiences were restricted by ticket prices and the fact that few games were played on Sunday, the workers' only day off, attendance at sporting events skyrocketed. Between 1903 and 1908, for example, attendance at major league baseball games doubled. In response, several professional teams built new stadiums. College football also enjoyed tremendous popularity, and universities built football stadiums with capacities up to 80,000. In the early years of the century, critics had tried to outlaw boxing because of the brutality of some fights, but by 1927 it had rebounded to a point where 145,000 fans witnessed a title bout between Gene Tunney and JACK DEMPSEY at Chicago's Soldier Field.

People were doing more than just watching sports; they spent a great deal of time participating in them. Baseball's popularity extended to a myriad of amateur teams and leagues. Towns throughout America had amateur or semipro teams for both men and women, factories formed leagues, and baseball gear became standard issue for U.S. military units. Golf, tennis, and skiing also exploded in popularity among those Americans able to afford them. Holiday celebrations, such as union picnics on Labor Day, often included athletic contests in which participants competed for prizes. Cities built parks with playing fields to provide play space for their working-class citizens.

Most cities did not, however, build parks and simply turn them over to the people. Many reformers hoped to use recreation as a way to reform American society. Every large city in America created its own recreation department staffed by a team of experts who oversaw the use of the city's parks and playing fields. Many reformers believed that athletic contests and games had the power to connect participants to their proper place in the social order, but only if played in the proper way. Unfortunately for the reformers, the users of the parks and playgrounds had their own ideas of how to use them, and no amount of coaching or policing could make them follow the guidelines set by recreation departments.

Americans also participated in numerous recreational activities that did not involve athletics. There were crazes, for example, for ping-pong in 1913, mah-jongg in 1923,

crossword puzzles in 1924, contract bridge in the 1920s, and miniature golf in 1930. As soon as they tired of one fad, people turned to new ways to spend their leisure time.

Citizens used their leisure time to make longer escapes from the city as well by going on vacations. In the early years of the 20th century, vacations were still enjoyed predominantly by the middle classes. Before the 1910s, any time off that wageworkers received was unpaid, which for the most part precluded taking any sort of vacation. The vacations taken by middle-class Americans usually involved trips to resorts and hotels at various waterfront locations. Many enjoyed their first vacation experience at camp revival meetings, where they immersed themselves in religious activity. Camping also became very popular, especially when the automobile became widely available. Families could hop in their car and tour the country, stopping to camp along the way. Automobiles provided a form of vacation that was affordable to many middle-class workers.

It was not until after WORLD WAR I that working-class Americans were able to take vacations in significant numbers, a change brought about by a number of developments. In the tightened labor market employers became more concerned with their employees' health and happiness, and studies showed that rest benefited both the workers and the employers. As a result, many more employers began to give paid vacations to wage workers. In addition, the cost of automobiles dropped considerably in the 1910s, putting them within reach of working-class Americans. Workers could, therefore, take their families on trips in their cars. Vacations still had to be cheap by necessity, but car trips to fishing and hunting spots, camping trips, and to visit relatives were within the financial means of many wage-workers. By 1930, the family vacation was well on its way to becoming the mass phenomenon that it is today. Between 1900 and 1930, many novel recreational activities became mainstream. Americans decided that recreation was integral to their happiness and therefore embraced a myriad of recreational possibilities. In doing so, they helped usher in many characteristics of our modern society.

See also POPULAR CULTURE.

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—Michael Hartman

## Red Scare

The Red Scare took place between 1919 and 1920 as a backlash against the recent successes, in Europe and the United States, of radicals and progressive who were calling



for sweeping economic and political reforms. The peak of the Red Scare hysteria took place in January 1920 when Attorney General A. MITCHELL PALMER coordinated raids against numerous labor unions and political groups and arrested hundreds of suspected radicals. The primary impetus behind Palmer's actions was the recent upsurge in labor militancy and fear that the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION of 1917 would inspire similar actions in the United States.

The withdrawal of Russia from WORLD WAR I in 1918 and the Bolshevik call for the worldwide overthrow of capitalism resulted in suspicion of a broad range of labor and political activism in the United States. During the war, President WOODROW WILSON had attempted to keep labor disputes in check by creating an accord between labor and employers in which the federal government arbitrated disputes in exchange for labor's pledge not to strike. Labor unrest mounted as the war reached its conclusion. Workers and union leaders felt they had not received their fair share of wartime profits and that inflation, which reached 69 percent between 1914 and 1918, had largely eroded any gains they had made. When military expenditures and overtime pay came to a halt following the war, labor unrest increased. Frustrated by loss of real wages and wage cuts, and inspired by labor militancy in Russia and western Europe, more than 4 million American workers walked off the job in 1919. Nor was political unrest limited to the workplace, as progressives and socialists gained a significant following among middle-class men and women, the intelligentsia, working-class immigrants, and African Americans. Membership in labor unions and radical political organizations peaked between 1918 and 1920. By 1920, the Socialist Party of America had over 150,000 members, and Socialist Party presidential candidate EUGENE V. DEBS received almost 1 million votes. Membership in the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA topped the 500,000 mark, and nearly 5 million workers belonged to labor unions.

Concern about RADICALISM and the growing strength of organized labor escalated following the war as a wave of strikes spread throughout the country, including strikes by miners, textile workers, a police strike in Boston, and the SEATTLE GENERAL STRIKE. The wave of unrest prompted Attorney General Palmer to conclude that a Bolshevik plot had been hatched to overthrow the country. He responded by launching an all-out effort to contain what he thought was a "Red Menace." After a series of bombings at the homes of Palmer and other government officials, he launched a series of raids against resident immigrant radicals, the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW), and factions of the COMMUNIST PARTY. The largest raid took place on January 2, 1920, when approximately 10,000 suspected communists and communist sympathizers were arrested and held without bail. Many of those arrested, particularly those who were recent immigrants, were deported.

The Red Scare also directed attention toward African Americans. Opposition to Jim Crow laws and the lynching of African Americans intensified after World War I as thousands of black soldiers returned home with a renewed determination to bring the fight for democracy back home. Between April and October of 1919, there were 25 race riots and dozens of African Americans were lynched. For the Department of Justice, however, the real threat lay in organized resistance, and government surveillance of African Americans increased during and after the war.

The Red Scare of 1919–20 had a chilling effect on labor unions and progressive politics throughout the 1920s. Union membership, which reached an all-time high of 5 million in 1921, plummeted throughout the rest of the decade. Similarly, support for the IWW and the Socialist Party peaked in 1919–20. Within the course of the next decade, membership in radical organizations plummeted.

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—Robert Gordon

**Reed, John** (1887–1920) *journalist, activist, communist organizer*

John Reed was one of the few American journalists in Russia during its 1917 revolution. Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World* recounted for an appalled and fascinated American audience the revolution that brought the Bolsheviks to power. Reed was born in Portland, Oregon, grew up in a wealthy family, and attended Harvard University, from which he graduated in 1910. After spending several years as a struggling journalist and poet, Reed began to write for progressive and socialist magazines, including the *New Review* and *THE MASSES*. Gradually, Reed became a radical labor and political activist. In 1914 he was arrested for addressing a gathering of striking silk workers in Paterson, New Jersey. Reed also spent four months traveling with Mexican revolutionary Pancho Villa, and in 1914 he published his account of the MEXICAN REVOLUTION in *Insurgent Mexico*.

By the beginning of WORLD WAR I, Reed had established himself as one of the leading radical journalists and political activists in the country. He agreed to work as a war correspondent for *Metropolitan Magazine*. During the war, Reed met and became friendly with Bolshevik leader Vladimir I. Lenin. In 1917, when Lenin and the Bolsheviks decided to move against the provisional government that had overthrown Czar Nicholas II, Reed and his wife, journalist Louise Bryant, were eyewitnesses to the October

Revolution. Reed's dispatches portrayed Lenin and the Bolsheviks in a very positive light. Carried first in the radical journal, *The Masses*, the dispatches were then consolidated into *Ten Days That Shook the World*. Reed's romanticized portrayal of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION helped the American COMMUNIST PARTY recruit new members between 1917 and 1919, but it also earned him the hostility of American political leaders. Upon his return to the United States, Reed became increasingly active in the Communist Party; and in 1919, he became one of the leaders of the Communist Labor Party when it splintered off from the larger organization. Later that year, Reed was forced to flee the country when his affiliation with communism caused him to be charged with treason. He spent his exile helping Lenin and the newly created Bolshevik government to consolidate their power, resist Western invasions, and fight a bitter civil war. Less than a year later in 1920, Reed contracted typhus and died in Moscow at the age of 33. Reed's influence continued well after his death. His life was memorialized in 1981 when Warren Beatty portrayed Reed in the Academy Award-winning movie, *Reds*.

See also GREENWICH VILLAGE; RADICAL AND LABOR PRESS.

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—Robert Gordon

## religion

Between 1900 and 1930, the once seemingly unified Protestant America became a nation diverse in its religious beliefs and practices and open to new religious thought along both liberal and conservative lines. For most of the 19th century, American political leaders referred to the United States not only as a democratic republic but also as a Christian nation, by which they meant its values were those of Protestant Christianity. With the influx of the new IMMIGRATION after 1900, it was clear that Americans faced a world in which religious diversity was increasing not only among Protestants and their dissenting sects but also in the growing number of Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Jewish citizens. New scientific discoveries, especially the theory of evolution; biblical criticism and comparative religion; and new liberal theology seemed to shake more traditional churches to their core. Some of these trends toward religious liberalism had been underway since the late 19th century. Evangelical and Pentecostal sects, renewed religious revivals, and what came to be called Fundamentalism developed at the same time.

For many conservative religious leaders, the most troubling development at the turn of the century was the

emergence of religious modernism. The scientific theory of evolution, and the life sciences and geology that supported the idea of a gradually evolving human species, threatened those who believed in the literal truth of the Bible. Liberal religious thinkers and biblical scholars expanded beyond human evolution to question the authority of biblical authors and to note contradictions in the sacred texts. They offered new interpretations about how the Bible, once thought to be the literal word of God, had been written. In addition, there was an increasing interest in world religion and in ecumenicalism, which focused on common ground among competing religious faiths. The World Parliament of Religions in 1893 led the way, but questions about the need for creed- or doctrine-based religions led to the creation of the Federal Council of Churches in 1907. Unitarians, who were among the leaders of religious liberalism for over a century, had an impact on American theology out of proportion to the number of their adherents. They, like other churches, questioned both the soundness and the efficacy of petitionary prayer, the practice of invoking the direct intervention of God. While remaining primarily theistic (that is, expressing belief in a supreme being), liberal churches began to understand many traditional religious practices as historically—not divinely—determined.

Religious liberalism found practical expression in a social movement known as the Social Gospel. As religions shifted their focus away from the mission of God on Earth to the world's problems, many leaders such as WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH advocated practicing religion through service. His book, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), became a primary text for the social gospel movement. Developing programs to tend to the needs of the poor and indigent, the working class and the disadvantaged, ministers and lay Christians organized institutional churches such as Charles Stetzel's Labor Temple in New York, which provided social services as well as religious ones. The influence of reforming religion could be felt in the settlement house movement, in which young socially concerned men and women moved into poor urban neighborhoods to provide a range of services, from soup kitchens and relief programs to education and political and social organizations. As JANE ADDAMS argued in her autobiography, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, the "social necessity of settlements" was not only in providing for the burgeoning needs of a poor urban population but also in offering an opportunity for the secular salvation of the settlement workers themselves.

The emergence of religious liberalism among Protestants was paralleled by developments in Roman Catholicism and Judaism. In the case of the Catholic Church, the new scientific findings and greater social consciousness had led to an opening of the church under Pope Leo XIII. His 1891 encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, was the basis of social activism among Catholic clergy and believers for the next

50 years. It inspired the work of social activist priests such as Father John Ryan, whose book, *A Living Wage* (1906), was a poetic call for social justice. The National Conference of Catholic Charities became an institutional voice to rival Protestant poor relief. The openness to scientific thought and scriptural criticism, however, faced opposition within both the Vatican and in the United States. The threat of theological and religious modernism provoked Leo XIII and his successor, Pius X, to issue the encyclicals *Testem Benevolentiae* in 1899 and *Pascendi Gregis*, in 1907, which warned against Americanism and dismissed the findings of the new science, threatened church sanctions, and reasserted the conservative stance of the Roman church. These policies caused a retreat in theological terms within the American church, even as social activism increased.

In the United States, Catholic immigrants continued to contribute to the growth of the church nationally. The number of parishes and parishioners increased dramatically, and church schools and social services expanded. In many ways, Catholicism became an ethnically defined religion, as neighbor and community churches reflected the folk practices of their national Catholic faiths, combining ethnic holidays with religious ones and shaping religious ritual with ethnic traditions. While there were some tensions among clergy who often served an ethnically diverse community of believers, the basic tenets of faith and services in Latin bound together Catholic believers beyond the church doors.

Among those of the Jewish faith, the turn-of-the-century wave of immigration brought both new growth and increasing division. In the 19th century, American Jews, the majority of German descent, had fostered Reform Judaism. Numbering only about 150,000 in 1870, they, like their Protestant counterparts, worked to incorporate the new science and commitment to social activism. Disengaged from its historic roots, Reform Jews founded Hebrew Union College and Seminary. A Reform rabbi, Stephen S. Wise, founded the Free Synagogue of New York in 1907 and later the Jewish Institute of Religion, a liberal seminary, in 1923, as a move to modernize Judaism. Arguing for absolute freedom of the pulpit, he was a well-known orator who also worked for reform causes. For new immigrants, however, much of Reform Judaism was alien in practice and belief. Nearly two million Jews from eastern Europe immigrated to the United States between 1870 and 1914, and more than half of these settled in New York City. They brought with them the traditional practices of the shtetl (or village), and their religious leaders adhered to these practices, despite the pressures to accommodate to secular American society. Conservative Judaism and a later Reconstruction movement existed as moderating influences between the forces of Reform and Orthodox Judaism.

The growth of immigration, religious expansion among non-Protestants, and the impact of liberal theology provoked a response among conservative religious leaders beginning in the 1910s. While they, along with religious liberals, had been active in social causes such as PROHIBITION, the belief that traditional religion was losing ground caused some conservatives, such as Baptist minister William Bell Riley, founder of the Northwestern Bible School, to call upon their peers to organize against the modernists. A series of pamphlets, called *The Fundamentals*, published between 1900 and 1930, addressed the threat of the new biblical criticism and other forces such as Roman Catholicism and the study of comparative religion. At yearly conferences, conservatives laid the groundwork for the emergence of what came to be called Fundamentalism in all the major Protestant denominations. Central to its appeal was its ideological opposition to the new science, especially evolution, and its insistence on codifying religious creeds. The northern Presbyterians and Baptists faced the most serious challenge from religious reaction, but they soon defeated calls for them to abandon the historical independence of local congregations.

Fundamentalists were only one part of the evangelical revivals of the 1910s and 1920s. Holiness churches and Pentecostal sects grew rapidly, especially among Methodists and in the African-American community. The Holiness movement had its roots in late-19th-century reform within the Methodist Church. Its followers believed that sanctification, which in the Methodist Church was seen as a life-long process of salvation, could be granted immediately. The sinner would then be relieved of a life of sin. By the turn of the century, Holiness churches had become independent. One of the Holiness preachers, Charles Parham, pushed its ideas further, arguing that sanctification, or the baptism of the Holy Spirit, manifested itself in signs. In Kansas in 1901, Agnes Ozma, a student at Bethel College and Parham's follower, spoke in tongues. Another of Parham's students, William Seymour, the minister of an African-American Holiness church in Los Angeles, employed Parham's ideas in a revival that began in 1906. The Azusa Street Revival, which lasted until 1909, recruited thousands. This new evangelical turn identified itself as Pentecostalism, after the day when the Holy Spirit descended on Jesus's disciples. Speaking in tongues, faith healing, distrust of medical care, and puritanical social mores characterized the new religious movement. An interracial movement from its beginnings, Pentecostalism soon divided along racial lines. A 1914 meeting of white Pentecostals had as its mission the creation of a new religious organization and the election of leaders to the presbytery. White followers separated from the African-American Church of God in Christ to form their own denomination, later called the Assemblies of God.

The revival of Protestant evangelical religion inspired new religious activism in the political realm. Seeing a “moral breakdown” in American life, conservative Protestants called for a stop to attacks on the Sabbath, the family, moral purity, and “the right to teach our children in our own schools fundamental facts and truths.” The teaching of evolution in schools led to the passage of several anti-evolution laws in states where fundamentalists were well organized. In 1925, the *SCOPES TRIAL*, in which fundamentalists technically won their case, had unexpected consequences, including rallying liberal Christians against the backlash of Fundamentalism. The causes for the revival of traditional religion, however, are unclear. Some reacted to fears about the impact of rural-to-urban migration, which caused a decline in rural church membership and the closing of many crossroads churches. A younger, more liberal clergy staffed new, consolidated churches that were located in larger towns. To a great extent, militant Protestant fundamentalism staged a comeback in both religious and political terms in order to survive.

Fundamentalist expressions drew from the surrounding consumer culture. Evangelists such as WILLIAM “Billy” SUNDAY and AIMEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON relied on radio broadcasts, new forms of advertising, and the sale of religious literature to pay the costs of the religious life. While revivals continued to sprout in rural Protestant areas, many of the new revivalists were dependent on urban donations to sustain their ministries. Marrying new forms of Pentecostal religion to old-time Protestant faiths, McPherson and Sunday, the precursors of later-day revivalists, used faith healing, talking in tongues, and “miracles” of faith to recruit new members. They also used the language of business and sport to bring in converts.

The darker side of the fundamentalist insistence of Protestant Christian orthodoxy was its intolerance toward the beliefs of others. For some conservative Protestants, the social threat of difference led to the growth of organizations such as the *KU KLUX KLAN*, which merged a belief in white superiority, anti-Catholicism, and anti-Semitism, and general fears about strangers in American society with the language of fundamentalist Christianity. For others, the influence of religious liberals in secular life meant a conservative retreat from public activism. Not until the 1970s did fundamentalist Christians reemerge as a political force and seek to use public power to implement their religious principles.

By 1930, divisions within every major Protestant denomination, within the Catholic Church, and among Jews shifted religious disputation away from the differences among churches and toward the liberal/conservative divide in religious belief. For religious liberals, whether Protestant, Catholic, or Jew, rigorous textual criticism, an understanding of comparative religion, and social activ-

ism seemed to underline the secularization of society and the uses of religion in secular politics. For religious conservatives, the battle to retain religious influences in a secular world remained the principal challenge of the 20th century.

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## Republican Party

Between 1900 and 1930, in both the White House and in Congress, the Republican Party was the dominant political party. The Republican Party’s long domination of national politics began with the crucial realigning election of William McKinley in 1896 and his reelection in 1900. In both elections, he narrowly defeated his populist Democratic challenger, William Jennings Bryan. Bryan and the Democratic Party had strong support in the South and Midwest among farmers, agrarian radicals, reformers, and populists; somewhat less securely, the party also held the loyalty of many immigrant groups. While the Republicans also had support among agrarian reformers, their strength came from support in northern cities, among eastern financial and business interests, and among middle-class men.

Mark Hanna, the chair of the National Republican Committee, solicited large campaign contributions from financial and business leaders. Hanna and McKinley viewed the great industrialists as the country’s natural leaders and gave them unprecedented access to the White House. Other financial conservatives, including Nelson Aldrich, Thomas Reed, and Thomas Platt helped shape the party’s support of the gold standard, in opposition to Democratic support of silver and more lenient economic policies. The triumph of the fiscal conservatives came in 1900 with the passage of the *CURRENCY (or Gold Standard) ACT*; industrial and agricultural interests also placed maintaining protective *TARIFFS* on the Republican political agenda as a major priority. The support of the nation’s financial and business communities was one of the consistent themes of the party’s electoral success. The party also tended to oppose American involvement in foreign affairs, to be financially conservative, and to view the role of the federal government as one of supporting industry and the general prosperity.



Relying on these issues, the Republican Party dominated the presidency and Congress between 1900 and 1930. It won presidential elections in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1920, 1924, and 1928, losing only in 1912 and 1916 to Democratic candidate WOODROW WILSON. The party also controlled the House of Representatives between 1900 and 1911 and from 1919 until 1932 and the Senate from 1900 to 1913 and again from 1919 to 1932. The party often had a large majority in both the House and the Senate, which gave it complete control over both the executive and legislative branches.

The dominance over the legislature was matched by control over the judiciary. At the national level, the party had a tremendous impact on the makeup of the Supreme Court. Of the 21 Supreme Court justices appointed between 1898 and 1932, Republican presidents appointed 18. They had a similar impact on the appointment of federal judges. The party used this control to shape federal policies on a wide range of issues, including international trade, foreign policy, labor relations, conservation, and domestic affairs. In general the party tended to support protective tariffs, and Republicans authored the historic PAYNE-ALDRICH TARIFF ACT in 1909 and the Hawley-Smoot Tariff of 1930. In general, the party also tended to favor employers in labor disputes and made an effort to keep government intervention to a minimum.

The extent to which the party maintained the support of financial and business leaders varied. Under the presidencies of THEODORE ROOSEVELT and WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, the party was at least partially responsive to progressive demands for restraints on the power of national corporations and the new industrial elite. Roosevelt earned a reputation as a trustbuster for taking on JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER and STANDARD OIL. Roosevelt also signed progressive federal legislation such as the MEAT INSPECTION ACT (1906) and the PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT (1906). As president, Taft continued Roosevelt's policy of trust busting and presided over the passage of the Sixteenth Amendment establishing a FEDERAL INCOME TAX. Nevertheless, Roosevelt and Taft remained strong supporters of free enterprise and big business, advocating the use of executive powers to correct only the most flagrant abuses.

The extent to which the federal government sought to police industry, support reforms, and control the economy caused a rift in the party between 1908 and 1916. Prior to 1900, agrarian radicals and progressive reformers had for a long time influenced the party. During the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt, the party's midwestern progressives and eastern financial and business backers maintained an uneasy truce. Roosevelt supported business growth, but he sought to regulate monopolies and supported limited progressive reforms. Progressives grew increasingly frustrated, despite Roosevelt's tentative commitment to a program of

reform. Conservative Old Guard Republicans maintained a firm control over Congress and blocked important reform legislation during much of the decade. A key obstacle was the conservative Speaker of the House JOSEPH CANNON. Using his control over the Rules Committee, he controlled the House of Representatives with an iron fist from 1903 to 1911.

Between 1909 and 1913, William Howard Taft initiated even more antitrust suits than trustbuster Roosevelt, but progressives in the Republican Party quickly became disenchanted with Taft's leadership. When Taft fired the head of the U.S. Forest Service, GIFFORD PINCHOT, developed closer ties with the party's Old Guard, and refused to oppose Cannon's control over the House, progressives organized to take control of the party. In June 1911, Senator ROBERT LA FOLLETTE, California governor HIRAM W. JOHNSON, and others formed the National Progressive Republican League. La Follette prepared to challenge Taft for the party presidential nomination in 1912. By 1910, however, Roosevelt had become convinced that Taft was too closely tied to business interests and the Old Guard. When Roosevelt announced that he too would seek the Republican nomination in 1912, Taft used his control of the party machinery to gain the nomination. With Taft's renomination secure, progressives bolted the party and formed the PROGRESSIVE PARTY with Roosevelt as their presidential candidate. Roosevelt outpolled Taft in the general election, but Democratic candidate Woodrow Wilson won the presidency. Most progressives rejoined the party by 1916, although some defected again to cast their ballot for Progressive Party candidate La Follette in the presidential election of 1924.

With the 1912 election of Democrat Woodrow Wilson, the Republican Party lost control of the federal government for the first time since 1896. Wilson proved to be a very effective president, winning reelection in 1916 over Republican nominee CHARLES EVANS HUGHES. He helped the Democratic Party maintain control over the House and Senate until 1919. Republican opposition to Wilson's peace program following the end of WORLD WAR I revitalized the party. Led by HENRY CABOT LODGE, Old Guard Republicans and isolationists, including some western progressives, opposed the peace treaty. Fearing that international coalitions would serve only to entangle the country in foreign conflicts, they vehemently opposed the provision of the TREATY OF VERSAILLES that required the United States to join the new LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Republican opposition ensured that the peace treaty with Germany was not ratified (a treaty officially ending the war with Germany was not signed until 1921).

With the wave of labor disputes and the economic depression that followed the war, the Republican Party was able to regain control of Congress and the presidency by

promising “a return to normalcy.” WARREN G. HARDING handily defeated Democratic nominee James M. Cox, winning 60 percent of the popular vote. The Republican Party continued its national dominance throughout the 1920s, winning every presidential election and controlling both the House and the Senate. Republican presidents Harding, CALVIN COOLIDGE, and Herbert Hoover championed fiscal conservatism, a smaller role for the federal government, lower taxes, and an emphasis on continued industrial development and economic growth. On that platform, they retained power until the economic crisis of the 1930s.

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—Robert Gordon

### Rhinelander case (1924)

The Rhinelander case was a widely publicized scandal involving a young interracial couple who met in September 1921 and married in October 1924. Interracial marriage was neither usual nor remarkable in the 1920s; but the Rhinelander case was different. The scandalous marriage and the subsequently spectacular divorce trial that followed seized the attention of the masses and became fodder for the “jazz journalists” of the 1920s. Leonard Kip Rhinelander, the bridegroom, was the son of an elite family that was listed in the *Social Register*. His father, Philip Rhinelander, owned a real estate business and controlled millions of dollars. Alice Beatrice Jones was the daughter of mixed-race parents and of more modest birth. Her father, whose racial credentials were at issue, had been a manservant in England, and her white mother also earned her living through domestic service. Alice Jones had worked as a nanny before she met and married Kip. The dizzying ascent of a young mixed-race woman from domestic service to the *Social Register*, in whose pages she briefly appeared, was one reason why the marriage caught the eye of ambitious reporters; the other reason was how race played out in a public trial that became a national spectacle.

After WORLD WAR I, race relations in the United States were becoming increasingly hostile and contentious. The GREAT MIGRATION had changed the racial makeup of northern cities; workers competed over industrial jobs, and businesses actively encouraged competition among ethnic groups over jobs and wages. Returning African-American soldiers brought with them expectations of greater freedom, and many white southerners reacted violently to the sight of black men with guns. Race riots in several cities

both during and after the war only intensified hostility and suspicion between groups. NATIVISM and anti-Catholicism similarly reappeared, a change in temper that increased demand for restrictive IMMIGRATION laws and AMERICANIZATION campaigns. The popularity of D. W. GRIFFITH’s film, *BIRTH OF A NATION*, also contributed to the culture of racism, even as the KU KLUX KLAN reemerged in the rural South and began to prosper in the urban North as well. Other racial confrontations suggested that those African Americans who fought back against segregation and discrimination would be subjected to prosecution from white mobs but also from the authorities, who often shared the racial views of the crowd.

This heightened atmosphere of racial fear and antipathy was the context for Kip Rhinelander’s suit for divorce from his wife, Alice. Pressured by his father to end his two-week-old marriage, Kip Rhinelander filed for an annulment, based on the theory that he did not know his wife was not white until after they were married. The divorce trial quickly became a circus. Some reporters for the tabloids alternately portrayed Alice Jones as willfully duplicitous and Kip Rhinelander as a willful dupe while others viewed Rhinelander as a cad and Alice Jones as an innocent victim. The proceedings included the testimony of movie star Al Jolson, who denied having propositioned or even met Alice, after she had claimed he’d done both, and a ritualistic disrobing of the spurned wife, the purpose of which was to prove that Rhinelander must have known his wife was not white. The record of their relationship, including premarital trysts and visits to Alice Jones’s parental home, made the public question Kip Rhinelander’s story. An all-white jury of men listened to the proceedings for weeks before rendering a verdict in two days of deliberation. They decided in favor of Alice Jones, who was awarded both immediate compensation and a lifetime annuity from Rhinelander. Neither remarried.

Needless to say, when the eugenics standard of “one drop” was sufficient to convict men and women of violating the Virginia RACIAL INTEGRITY ACT, the marriage of an elite white man to a mixed-race woman not only raised eyebrows but strengthened the resolve of those who fought integration on a larger scale. *Rhinelander v. Rhinelander* suggested that race was a deeply hidden secret in American culture, the signs of which were disguised in other forms. Race was also the major social conflict of the time. As W. E. B. DUBOIS wrote in *The Souls of Black Folk*, “the problem of the twentieth century [was] the problem of the color line.” While racial mixing stirred the imagination of novelists and filmmakers, sexual relationships and lasting marriages between blacks and whites intensified opposition to social integration North and South. The challenge would be whether Americans could move beyond the prejudices of the past and achieve a more racially egalitarian society.

See also JOURNALISM; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT; SWEET TRIAL.

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**Rockefeller, John Davison** (1839–1937) *industrialist and philanthropist*

Born in Richford, New York, to Eliza Davison Rockefeller and William Avery Rockefeller, an itinerant medicine peddler, John D. Rockefeller attended country schools and spent a year at Owego Academy before his family moved to Ohio. He attended high school for two years in Cleveland and started his business career there in 1855, when he obtained a bookkeeping job after three months' training at a commercial college. When he was only 18, he became a partner in a commission house. In 1863, four years after oil was first tapped by a well in Pennsylvania, Rockefeller and two partners bought into the oil refining business. In 1865 Rockefeller and his partners established their own refinery, where Rockefeller could be "daring in design" and



John D. Rockefeller (Hulton/Archive)

"cautious in execution," a formula he used throughout his career. From the beginning, he kept careful records of costs and profits that informed him where his business stood.

Setting out to monopolize the petroleum industry, the partners added a second refinery. In 1870 they replaced their partnership with a joint-stock firm, the STANDARD OIL Company (Ohio). In 1882 it became the Standard Oil Trust, with 40 allied firms controlling 90 percent of American refineries. Its monopoly was declared illegal by the Ohio Supreme Court in 1892. Starting that year and ending in 1899, Standard Oil operated as a community-of-interest combination of 20 firms. From then until 1911 when the Supreme Court declared it in violation of antitrust laws, Standard Oil acted as a holding company, the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey. Through the years, Standard Oil acquired its own warehouses, shipping facilities, tank cars, pipelines, and barrel-making plant and managed to cut the unit costs of refining oil almost in half, while extending the market for petroleum by-products.

The guiding genius behind Standard Oil, John D. Rockefeller pioneered the modern corporation. He has been called the "greatest business administrator America has produced." Although he often forced competitors to sell or to join his alliance, he seldom bankrupted them and occasionally treated them leniently. He paid his employees well and ruled his operation by consensus.

Efficient and benign within Standard Oil, Rockefeller's passion to bring order out of chaos in the infant oil industry made him ruthless in eliminating competitors. Although well informed, he often feigned ignorance of the tactics of terror and espionage employed against rivals by his underlings. Rebating was the most effective weapon Standard Oil used to force competitors to join it or be ruined. The huge volume of its shipments enabled it to secure from competing railroads discounts of up to 50 percent of the published freight rates. At times it even got "drawbacks," or rebates, on oil shipped by some competitors. Rockefeller's marketing practices ranged from shrewd to unscrupulous. By the 1890s the company marketed 84 percent of all petroleum products sold in America and produced a third of its crude oil. Later those percentages were reduced by new oil fields, stronger competitors, and more effective federal anti-monopoly legislation.

Rockefeller was a man of contradictions. He was determined to be both rich and virtuous. He was both a predatory businessman, trying to prove he was the fittest by surviving his competitors, and a church-going Baptist who aimed "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." He was devoted to his wife, Laura Celestia Spelman, whom he married in 1864, and to their children, four of whom lived to adulthood.

Tooth and claw business practices, however, made Rockefeller extremely unpopular, and his reputation and that



of Standard Oil was further damaged by Henry Demarest Lloyd's *Wealth Against Commonwealth* (1894) and even more by muckraker Ida Tarbell in her 1902–03 series on Standard Oil, first published in *McClure's Magazine*. Having ignored hostility and been anonymous in his giving (for example, he established the University of Chicago and gave it \$35 million with no strings attached), Rockefeller hired a publicist to broadcast his good works and tag his gifts with his name.

No longer active in his company's decisions after 1895, Rockefeller concentrated on his philanthropic work, giving away \$550 million in his lifetime (\$450 million of which went for medical research). Believing that the prevention of disease was more important than its relief, he was willing to fund pure research for generalized future benefits. In 1891 he endowed the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research; the next year the General Education Board, which became the world's foremost educational foundation; in 1913 the Rockefeller Foundation, the world's largest grant-making foundation and the country's main sponsor of medical science, medical education, and public health; and in 1918 the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. Many of these programs were later consolidated in the Rockefeller Foundation. The benefits of Rockefeller-funded research were mind-boggling, even surpassing those of the later World Health Organization. Among them were the actual elimination of hookworm, the virtual eradication of yellow fever, and the revitalization of medical schools and medical research throughout the world. Rockefeller outlived his enemies and his reputation improved when his giving became public knowledge. He distributed over a billion and a half dollars, making Rockefeller the greatest philanthropist in American history.

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—Olive Hoogenboom

**Roosevelt, Theodore** (1858–1919) *vice president, 26th U.S. president*

The son of Theodore Roosevelt and Martha Bulloch, future president Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., was born in New York City on October 27, 1858. Renowned as an advocate and exemplar of the manly virtues of physical fitness, military action, and adventure, he came into the world as a small, asthmatic, near-sighted boy. As the younger Roosevelt matured, he became an amateur naturalist, an interest expressed later in his conservationism. In 1876 Roosevelt entered Harvard, where he was unpopular due to his enthusiasm for studies in natural science. After graduating, he published a naval history of the War of 1812, the first of a long series of writings that would come from his pen. He was married twice, first to Alice Lee, the mother of



President Theodore Roosevelt (left) with John Muir (*Library of Congress*)

his daughter Alice Roosevelt Longworth, and later to Edith Carow, who gave birth to their five children—Theodore, Kermit, Ethel, Archibald, and Quentin.

In 1882, Roosevelt began his political career when he was elected to the New York State Assembly on the REPUBLICAN PARTY ticket. He was a freshman representative but did not play the part. Roosevelt startled the assembly by calling for an investigation of the state's Attorney General Hamilton Ward and Supreme Court Justice T. R. Westbrook, who failed to prosecute millionaire Jay Gould for manipulating stock of the Manhattan Railway Company. While the subsequent inquiry into the Westbrook scandal revealed no wrongdoing, Roosevelt earned a reputation as a reformer.

The emotional devastation caused by the death of his wife Alice and his mother on February 14, 1884, forced him to relinquish his seat and retreat to his ranch in the Dakota Territory. Politics called him back east in 1886, when the Republican Party, fearing that independent candidate Henry George might lead New York to a second Paris Commune, tapped Roosevelt to run for mayor. On Election Day, Roosevelt finished last in a three-way race, with many Republicans voting for the Democratic candidate and winner Abraham Hewitt. His candidacy, however, laid the groundwork for later political races. In 1889, President Benjamin Harrison appointed Roosevelt head of the Civil Service Commission, where he championed the merit system over the patronage system. Amazed that border patrolmen were tested for their spelling and arithmetic and not their riding skills and marksmanship, Roosevelt revised the



Civil Service examinations to assess practical skills, rather than theoretical knowledge.

In 1891 Roosevelt published his *History of New York City*. Its publication attracted the attention of the reform mayor of New York City, William L. Strong, who appointed Roosevelt police commissioner in 1895. The New York Police Department of the 1890s was rife with corruption. To improve the force's morale Roosevelt established the practice of handing out medals for exemplary service. He also modernized the police communications by developing a telephone call box system. His zealotry proved to be his undoing. In an effort to stop police extortion, he vigorously enforced the city's blue laws, which forbade the sale of alcohol on Sundays. Many saw his efforts as a form of class prejudice and a war on working-class recreation. Public support evaporated. He was saved from being driven from office when the McKinley administration appointed him to the position of assistant secretary of the navy in 1897. At the Navy Department, Roosevelt was an ardent and unabashed expansionist. He took advantage of Navy Secretary John Long's frequent absences to reorganize the administration of the navy in preparation for war with Spain. While President McKinley considered how to respond to the sinking of the USS *Maine* at Havana, Roosevelt told the chief executive that war was the only option "compatible with national honor."

After the declaration of war on Spain, Roosevelt resigned his post and accepted the rank of lieutenant colonel in the First Volunteer Cavalry Regiment soon to be known as the Rough Riders. Although they were trained as mounted riflemen at their base in San Antonio, Texas, they arrived in Cuba bereft of their horses because of transport problems. After landing at Daiquiri, Cuba, they were instrumental in pushing the Spanish back in skirmishes at Las Guasimas and El Caney. Six days after landing, Roosevelt and his regiment distinguished themselves in action outside Santiago by helping to take Kettle and San Juan Hills. Due to heavy rifle fire, losses among the Rough Riders were heavy; but by that afternoon, the army was in possession of the two strategic hills. After the war ended, Roosevelt returned home a hero; and in 1899, he was elected governor of the state of New York. As the state's chief executive, he ran afoul of his chief sponsor, Senator Thomas C. Platt, by supporting the Ford Bill, which placed a tax on any corporation owning public franchises. After thwarting efforts by Platt's followers to bury the bill in committee, Roosevelt signed the bill into law. After serving one term as governor, Roosevelt was elected in 1900 as William McKinley's vice president. The assassination of McKinley in 1901 elevated Roosevelt to the presidency.

Roosevelt's administration was known for its strong stands in favor of conservation, regulation of the trusts, and an assertive FOREIGN POLICY. Repudiating the country's

tradition of isolationism, Roosevelt had lobbied for U.S. intervention in Cuba and the Philippines under McKinley's administration. As president, he moved to show American strength in Latin America and the Pacific by issuing the ROOSEVELT COROLLARY to the Monroe Doctrine, jockeying to build the Panama Canal, and sending the GREAT WHITE FLEET to Japan. In addition, he mediated an end to the RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR (for which he won a Noble Peace Prize) and disputes in Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, and Morocco; and he sought to guarantee American interests in Asia with the ROOT-TAKAHIRA AGREEMENT and the GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT with Japan that assured peaceful relations by eliminating school segregation of Japanese immigrant children in the United States in return for a voluntary cessation of emigration from Japan.

Roosevelt preferred to work out national problems and needs through cooperative arrangements between private and public interests and to strengthen the hand of the federal government in domestic affairs, a political philosophy that he called the NEW NATIONALISM, echoing progressive Herbert Croly. Domestically, Roosevelt's preference for a stable economy and a strong national government led to his intervention in the ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE of 1902, the prosecution of monopoly trusts such as the railroad holding company in the NORTHERN SECURITIES CASE and STANDARD OIL, and the passage of government regulation of industry in the ELKINS ACT and HEPBURN ACT, the MEAT INSPECTION ACT, and the PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT. Roosevelt's conservationism expressed itself in the passage of the ANTIQUITIES ACT, the NATIONAL RECLAMATION ACT, and the creation of the NATIONAL PARK SERVICE.

During his nearly eight years in the White House, Roosevelt expanded the powers of the office and became a model for the modern presidency. While he refused to run for a second term in his own right, Roosevelt's discontent with the conduct of his self-chosen successor, WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, led to a failed presidential campaign as the PROGRESSIVE PARTY nominee in 1912. The death of his son Quentin during WORLD WAR I left Roosevelt devastated. He died in 1919.

See also BIG STICK DIPLOMACY; PROGRESSIVISM.

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—Timothy E. Vislocky

### Roosevelt Corollary

In an extension of the Monroe Doctrine, the Roosevelt Corollary claimed the right of the United States to intervene in the affairs of its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere if

they were unable to preserve domestic order on their own. In an annual address to Congress in 1823, President James Monroe had articulated what became known as the Monroe Doctrine, stating that the United States would not permit European powers to colonize independent nations in the Western Hemisphere. In 1904, President THEODORE ROOSEVELT extended the Monroe Doctrine with his own corollary.

Roosevelt used the corollary as a rationale for his intervention in the crisis of the Dominican Republic. Even though revolutionaries had overthrown a corrupt government in the Dominican Republic in 1903, the new government still was unable to make payments on its \$22 million debt to European nations. Citing the Roosevelt Corollary, the American administration took control of Dominican customs. Under American receivership, 45 percent of the country's revenues were distributed to Dominicans and the rest sent to foreign creditors. This arrangement lasted for more than three decades.

Having absorbed Cuba as a protectorate as a result of winning the Spanish-American War of 1898, the United States granted it independence in 1902. But Cuba became independent only after the new government agreed to abide by the Platt Amendment, which gave the United States the right to intervene in the affairs of Cuba if its independence were threatened by any foreign power. In 1906 Roosevelt intervened in Cuba when a rebellion undermined the stability of the country. American troops landed on the island, suppressed the rebellion, and stayed in the country for three years.

As an extension of Roosevelt's BIG STICK DIPLOMACY, the Roosevelt Corollary dramatically altered American foreign policy. It signaled a shift from merely intending to safeguard the Western Hemisphere against European intervention to openly promising U.S. intervention if Latin American countries were unable to keep their domestic affairs in order.

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—Glen Bessemer

### Root-Takahira Agreement (1908)

The Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908 came about as a result of the desire of the United States to protect its interests in Asia and to ease tensions between America and Japan. The RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR of 1904–05 had tested the resolve of American administrations to enforce the OPEN DOOR POLICY in Asia. At the time, Japan saw Russia's military presence in Manchuria as a direct threat to its own economic and territorial expansion. On February

8, 1904, the Japanese navy destroyed the Russian fleet in a surprise attack at Port Arthur. By 1905, the Japanese army had defeated the Russians at Mukden, where 97,000 Russian soldiers died, and the navy had sunk the Russian fleet in the straits of Tsushima. But Japan had drained its financial and military resources. On May 31, Minister Kogoro Takahira asked President THEODORE ROOSEVELT to negotiate a peace treaty with Russia and Japan.

Seeking a balance of power to protect American interests in the region, Roosevelt invited representatives from the two countries to meet at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on August 9, 1905. In the Treaty of Portsmouth, the Russians acquiesced to most of the Japanese demands. They agreed to allow Japan to take over the Liaodong Peninsula and the railroad from Harbin to Port Arthur. They conceded to the withdrawal of American troops from Manchuria, and they accepted Japanese freedom of action in Korea. The two parties stalemated on the issue of Russia ceding the island of Sakhalin. Czar Nicholas II then agreed to divide the island when Roosevelt wired the Czar to propose a partition between the two parties. Even though the czar refused to pay the indemnity that Japan demanded, Japan accepted the terms of the treaty on August 29.

In the aftermath of the war, Japan emerged as the dominant naval power in the Pacific, and relations between the United States and Japan eroded. Domestic problems in California heightened tensions between the United States and Japan. In addition to pushing for an extension of the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882, 1892, and 1902), nativist white workers in San Francisco demanded that Japanese immigrants be legally excluded. When the San Francisco school board voted to require Asian children to attend a separate "Oriental School" in 1906, anti-Asian riots broke out in California and WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST's papers published inflammatory stories about the "Yellow Peril."

Roosevelt eased tensions with Japan by making two agreements with the country. First, the president reached the GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT with Japan. In exchange for Japan agreeing to stop the flow of its immigrant laborers to the United States, Roosevelt agreed to have the school board withdraw its mandate for a separate school. Second, the two countries reached an understanding in the Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908. In the agreement, the United States and Japan promised to accept the territorial status quo in the Pacific. In addition, the two nations agreed to abide by the Open Door and to uphold the territorial integrity of China.

Even though Roosevelt saw the Root-Takahira Agreement as evidence that Japan did not plan to act aggressively against the United States, American leaders favorable to China saw it as a sanction of Japanese territorial expansion in Asia. To ensure that Japan abided by the agreements,

the president sent a bold message of American military strength by ordering the GREAT WHITE FLEET, composed of 16 naval ships, on a world tour that stopped by Japan.

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—Glen Bessemer

## rural life

Although often depicted in idyllic and pastoral fashion, rural life in the early 20th century witnessed much strife, hard work, and perseverance as American society underwent sweeping social and economic transformations. Frequently, this period in American history has been presented from the perspective of those at the center of these economic changes—urban dwellers, laborers, immigrants, or capitalists. But it is also useful to consider the daily lives of those on the periphery of the major economic changes taking place, men and women in rural communities. The major social and economic changes that rural areas faced during the early part of the 20th century stemmed from the rapid urbanization of American society, the growth of mass production industry, and the growing power of corporations in economic life.

Throughout many rural communities, the emergence of the United States as an urban nation brought many fears to rural residents. Rural America long had embraced the values of Protestantism, and the advent and triumph of more secular urban culture threatened to undermine the values that rural dwellers held dear. Still, rural communities also received radio waves, national magazines, and mail order catalogs that invited them to participate in the emerging consumer culture. Many within rural communities feared cities, because they viewed them as breeding grounds for atheism, sexual license, and radicalism. Despite rural reaction to consumer culture, the young of rural communities faced declining opportunities to own their own farms or even find a job. They continued to vote with their feet by migrating to urban centers for school and work.

The economic changes taking place meant that banks and agricultural corporations, or agribusinesses, had a new hold on rural life. The growing presence and power of corporate monopolies gave farmers places to borrow money from, market their goods, or buy crop insurance. It threatened their sense of local autonomy, and rural residents had to decide on the best course of action. New forces were at work, as mail-order catalogs and government agents challenged their ability to shape and control the communities in which they lived.

Increasingly after 1900, urban-industrial America became the most prosperous sector of society, and its consumer culture and commodities steadily penetrated the countryside. Although farmers had difficulty raising capital and lacked banking facilities, currency, and credit during the 1890s, the new century brought a wave of prosperity to rural areas that would last until shortly after the end of WORLD WAR I. The increasing demand for agricultural products and better transportation to foreign markets meant farmers had new opportunities to market their goods. As a result, the U.S. Department of AGRICULTURE estimated in 1920 that the average rural family had income to buy consumer goods such as clothing and foodstuffs. It produced only 40 percent of what it consumed, down from 60 percent 20 years earlier.

During this “Golden Age” of agriculture, farmers spent most of their newfound income on consumer goods to improve their standard of living. For instance, they often made their homes more livable by buying carpets, drapes, wallpaper, vacuum cleaners, and new furniture. They also found themselves installing such modern conveniences as electricity, indoor plumbing, or a telephone. HENRY FORD targeted rural families as a prime customer for his Model T, which sold for about \$240. While many rural residents, especially farmers, found work-related uses for the Model Ts they purchased, they were used as well for leisure and play. Beyond buying an automobile, many farmers, having witnessed the economic difficulties of the late 19th century, remained hesitant to invest in capital improvements, whether in expanding their landholdings or in purchasing new technologies.

The populists and farm organizations such as the American Farm Bureau long had championed the need for low-interest loans to help promote and make affordable the capital improvements needed to expand individual farms. Before the United States entered the First World War, the federal government responded to this demand, recognizing that the growing market for American agricultural goods while Europe was at war, required an expansion in farm production. Few farmers expanded their operations prior to the war, meaning that average farm size remained flat between 1900 and 1916. In an effort to overcome this obstacle, the FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT created the mechanism to extend low-interest loans for periods of five to 40 years to farmers through the control of a Federal Farm Loan Board—12 Federal Land Banks that paralleled the Federal Reserve Banks. As part of WOODROW WILSON’s NEW FREEDOM initiative, the Federal Farm Loan Act extended loans to farmers through a program that cut out private banks, which farmers viewed as outside institutions that easily exploited vulnerable farmers.

Although the First World War had created an expanded market for American agricultural goods and brought the





A rural farm family (Library of Congress)

means to borrow capital for expanding landholdings, the cessation of hostilities in Europe caused the market to contract. When farm production in Europe resumed, governments faced a capital shortage as they rebuilt their war-torn nations. Imports were down. With shifting market conditions during the 1920s, agricultural prices in the United States steadily declined. While lower prices for many consumer goods such as automobiles resulted in increased demand, most people did not purchase more bread as its price dropped. Many rural residents and farmers, accordingly, faced economic crisis well before the onset of the Great Depression late in 1929. Some 500,000 individuals lost their farms to bankruptcy during the 1920s. In response, farmers made persistent demands for relief from the federal government during the course of the twenties. As rural residents faced growing economic hardships, some responded by attacking what they perceived to be the

immorality of urban America. Accordingly, rural residents provided strong support for many of the movements that came to characterize American society by the 1920s: PROHIBITION, KU KLUX KLAN, IMMIGRATION restriction, and religious fundamentalism. At the same time, farmers also organized the FARMER-LABOR PARTY in the Midwest and farm organizations such as the American Farm Bureau to demand that the government address the problems of rural America.

See also CAPPER-VOLSTEAD ACT; ECONOMY; McNARY-HAUGEN FARM BILL; NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE; RELIGION.

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—David R. Smith



**Russian Revolution** (1917)

Radicals in the United States and around the world were inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1917, a popular revolution led by socialists in a country previously ruled by an autocracy. WORLD WAR I had broken out between the major powers in Europe in 1914, but by 1917, peasant soldiers were deserting the Russian army en masse, and their government collapsed. In the February Revolution of 1917, Russian liberals and leftists established a provisional government that was weak and inexperienced. In the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky, launched a coup and seized the Winter Palace, the last stronghold of the provisional government.

At the same time as the Bolshevik government declared itself a dictatorship of the proletariat, it faced internal enemies and a looming external threat as well. Lenin concluded that the Bolsheviks needed an armistice to protect the domestic revolution and allow revolution to spread throughout Europe. On March 3, 1918, Russia and Germany signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which ended Russian participation in the war.

Fearing that the new communist government would destabilize eastern Europe, the western Allies (Britain and France) pressured the United States to intervene. When a civil war broke out in Russia, the United States sent an expeditionary force (the SIBERIAN EXPEDITION) to assist any opposition to the Bolshevik army in the summer of 1918. Some of the American troops stayed there until April 1920. The Bolsheviks won the civil war and maintained their power, but the world revolution Lenin had hoped for never came to fruition. When Lenin died in 1924 after suffering from several strokes, Joseph Stalin succeeded him, consolidated his power, and eliminated his enemies, expelling Trotsky from the country by 1929. The United States refused to formally recognize the government of the Soviet Union until 1933, when diplomatic relations were restored.

The Russian Revolution had a significant influence on radicalism in the United States. In the postwar period, the United States experienced unprecedented labor unrest. More than four million workers went on strike in 1919. A strike wave began in Seattle, when shipyard workers walked off their jobs. The action spread into a general strike that paralyzed the city. In the SEATTLE GENERAL STRIKE, workers and war veterans formed councils of workers, soldiers, and sailors in several industries, declaring that they had established these Soviets to practice managing the economy.

In the United States, postwar hysteria against communism was accentuated when the Bolsheviks founded the Third International (or Comintern) in 1919 to export revolution around the world. When the COMMUNIST PARTY

(CP) was founded in 1919, both the CP and Communist Labor Party claimed to have nearly 70,000 members. During the war, many radicals had left the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) and the Socialist Party when they had been weakened by domestic repression. The Justice Department had targeted both socialists, who saw the war as a meaningless conflict between capitalist nations, and radical syndicalists in the IWW for their criticisms of militarism that had the potential to disrupt war production in the western lumber and copper industries. More than a thousand opponents of the war had been convicted for sedition and espionage.

Fears of domestic Bolshevism heightened when a series of bombs exploded in the spring of 1919. In November 1919, the attorney general, A. MITCHELL PALMER, mounted the first Palmer Raid. On New Year's Day in January 1920, at the peak of the RED SCARE, the federal government rounded up 6,000 radicals in one night. Federal agents thought that they would find caches of weapons and explosives, but they found only three pistols and no dynamite. Although most of the arrested radicals and aliens were released eventually, about 500 of the detainees who did not have U.S. citizenship were deported. In the absence of labor militancy, the Red Scare dissipated by the summer of 1920.

Although antiradical and antiimmigrant sentiments had been persistent throughout American history, the Russian Revolution illustrated to some American leaders that communism was a real threat in the world. The fear of communism remained a salient feature of American society throughout the 20th century.

At the same time, the concrete example of the Russian Revolution created a division on the American Left. On the one hand, for some progressives and leftists in the United States, the revolution provided an example of the benefits of a worker-controlled state and a rationalized economy. Furthermore, when the United States refused to recognize the new government and intervened in the Russian civil war, some on the American Left saw the Soviet Union as a victim in the face of capitalist intervention. On the other hand, liberals and leftists criticized Lenin's signing of the armistice with Germany, because it increased Allied casualties by allowing the Germans to devote more of their troops to the western front in Europe. In addition, many on the American Left condemned the undemocratic actions and brutality of the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union.

The contradictions of the Russian Revolution produced diverse reactions in the public and on the Left in the United States. The revolution gained praise among radicals as a concrete example of a socialist state in the 20th century. At the same time, it created a rift on the American Left and provoked anticommunist hysteria in the American public.

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—Glen Bessemer

### Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905)

The Russo-Japanese War was a conflict between Russia and Japan that grew out of competing imperialistic designs on Manchuria and Korea. In the late 1890s, the Russians had negotiated with China for the right to extend the Trans-Siberian Railway across Manchuria and thus secure a strategic base at Port Arthur. This base was designed to be the headquarters of Russian naval power in the Pacific. Russia had stationed troops in Manchuria during the BOXER REBELLION in 1900, but it had promised to remove them, a promise it broke. The Japanese, who also had expansionist plans in the region, went to war with Russia before the railway was completed.

Japan tried to negotiate a division of Manchuria into “spheres of influence,” but Russia was unwilling, blinded by the belief that Japan would be defeated and a looming internal Russian revolution could be averted by a Russian victory. For Japan, Manchuria and Korea in Czarist Russian hands was like a gun pointed at its strategic heart.

In early 1904, Japan broke off negotiations, and on February 6, it severed diplomatic relations with Russia. Two days later, Japan attacked Port Arthur and bottled up the Russian fleet. Port Arthur fell in January 1905. Japanese troops had a series of victories under General Oyama at Shenyang in February and March 1905, and the destruction of the Russian fleet by Admiral Togo’s fleet in May 1905 astounded the world. It was the first time an Asian power had defeated a European power in modern times. It established Japan from that time on as a major player in world affairs.

As the war went on, Japan began to run short of both men and money. Japanese officials approached President THEODORE ROOSEVELT secretly and requested that he sponsor peace negotiations. He agreed and gathered the two sides together at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in

1905. The Japanese demanded a large indemnity and the island of Sakhalin, considered a strategic location. The Russians, for their part, refused to concede. Roosevelt was frustrated, admitting that he wanted to “give utterance to whoops of rage,” but instead he pushed through an agreement in which the Japanese received no indemnity and only the southern half of Sakhalin.

For his efforts, Roosevelt received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906. The cost was that America’s relations with Russia were now in danger. Japan also felt wrongfully deprived of an indemnity by the agreement, and Japan and America soon became rivals in Asia. The Russo-Japanese War also produced a migration of Japanese laborers into California as dislocations and the tax burden of the war in Japan made America more appealing. By 1906, almost 70,000 Japanese lived along the Pacific Coast.

People in California became afraid of the “yellow peril.” An international crisis was created when local San Francisco school authorities declared that Asian children had to attend a special school. The Japanese saw this as blatant discrimination, and they were deeply offended. Theodore Roosevelt took matters into his own hands and invited the school board to the White House to convince them to repeal the measure to avert an international conflict. An agreement was then worked out between Japan and America to stem the tide of emigrants from Japan. Lest Japan think that America was afraid of it, Roosevelt ordered the GREAT WHITE FLEET on a voyage around the world. When the fleet was met by cheering Japanese school children, it allowed for a diplomatic atmosphere necessary to carry out the ROOT-TAKAHIRA AGREEMENT, in which the United States and Japan pledged to respect each other’s territorial possessions in the Pacific and uphold the OPEN DOOR POLICY in China.

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—Annamarie Edelen





### Sacco and Vanzetti

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were Italian immigrants convicted in a controversial murder case and executed in 1927. Supporters of Sacco and Vanzetti argued that their conviction and subsequent execution was based largely on their nationality and political views, and the pair quickly became martyrs for those on the political Left. The actual murder and trial took place at the height of the RED SCARE when labor militancy and political reaction were at their postwar peak.

Largely kept in check during WORLD WAR I, labor militancy and political radicalism intensified following the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION and the return of unemployment in 1919. Political and business leaders insisted that a Red Menace was spreading throughout the country. The backlash against labor militancy and radicalism culminated in the arrest and deportation of suspected socialists, communists, and anarchists in the Palmer Raids of January 1920. In the midst of this ferment, Sacco and Vanzetti were accused of killing two men and stealing \$16,000. Despite substantial evidence of their innocence, the pair were tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. Supporters were convinced that their only crime had been that they were anarchists.

Amid intense repression, the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti became a rallying point for militant unionists and political radicals. The INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW), the INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION, the COMMUNIST PARTY, and the Workers' Party raised money and held mass demonstrations calling for the release of the two men. Supporters warned that unless workers, radicals, intellectuals, and others united they could expect the same fate.

The case of Sacco and Vanzetti, however, was more than simply a rallying cry for the nation's radicals. It outraged many in the political mainstream who concluded that the case was weak and motivated by anti-immigrant sentiment. Harvard Law School professor and future Supreme Court justice Felix Frankfurter noted that the case against

Sacco and Vanzetti was based largely on the "systematic exploitation of the defendants' alien blood, their imperfect knowledge of English, their unpopular social views, and their opposition to the war." As the date of their execution neared, massive demonstrations took place. On July 7, 1927, 20,000 took part in a New York demonstration. On August 10, the day Sacco and Vanzetti were to be executed, over 200,000 workers walked off their jobs. Other protests, demonstrations, and strikes took place throughout the country.

Despite international appeals for clemency, Sacco and Vanzetti were put to death on August 23, 1927. Debates about the innocence or guilt of Sacco and Vanzetti raged in the decades after their execution, but they seem to have been resolved by William Young and David E. Kaiser's authoritative account, *Postmortem: New Evidence in the Case of Sacco and Vanzetti* (1985). After careful reconstruction of the evidence, Young and Kaiser concluded that, without a doubt, Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent. Because of the circumstances of the case and the widely held belief that the pair were innocent, the case is still cited by many as evidence of the excesses of the Red Scare and the rampant hostility and suspicion of immigrants that characterized the 1920s.

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—Robert Gordon

**Sanger, Margaret** (1879–1966) *birth control activist*  
Born on September 14, 1879, in Corning, New York, Margaret Louise Higgins (Sanger) became the foremost BIRTH CONTROL advocate of the early 20th century. The sixth of 11 children of Anne Purcell and Michael Hennessey Higgins, her father was the owner and operator of a stone monument business. As the child of an Irish-American father,





Margaret Sanger (Library of Congress)

she was early introduced to the ideas of Robert Ingersoll and Henry George, the Single Tax advocate. Margaret went to Claverack College, a coed preparatory school in upstate New York. Originally, she took a teaching job but left it when she was called home to nurse her mother. After her mother's death, she entered nursing school at the White Plains (New York) Hospital. In 1902, Margaret finished her degree and married William Sanger, an architect. The next few years, she recovered from ill health to give birth to her two sons, Stuart and Grant, and a daughter, also called Margaret. Sanger became discontented and she and her husband moved to the Lower East Side of New York, where they became active in the radical community. Active in the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW), Sanger helped ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN evacuate the children during the LAWRENCE STRIKE, an act that aroused national sympathy for the embattled textile strikers.

Sanger was a practicing nurse whose professional work brought her to understand the lack of control women had over their own bodies. She supported the idea that women needed the freedom to control their own life and body. From the first issue of her magazine, *Woman Rebel*, in

March 1914, to the financial and organizational support she gave to hormone research after World War II, she was dedicated to bringing effective birth control to women around the world. She became known in radical circles for her support of sexual reform and her advocacy of working-class women's need for information on venereal disease, birth control, and sexual practice.

Sanger brought information to the public by remaining in the spotlight. The public relations strategy she used helped to create awareness and challenge regulations and laws that suppressed the free circulation of contraceptive information. She created a pamphlet, *Family Limitation* (1914), which gave advice to women about various birth control methods. She also included the names and addresses of places where women could write for further information or purchase necessary items. She even included a recipe for the home production of vaginal suppositories. This pamphlet had two important features. First its straightforward approach was notable because of her focus on the working class, whose hardships were increased by low wages combined with excessive fertility. Sanger also criticized the use of coitus interruptus as a contraceptive device, indicating that it deprived women of sexual satisfaction. She clearly communicated more than technical information in her pamphlet. Sanger advocated the right of women to sexual enjoyment as well as control over their own bodies. It was this pamphlet that led to her prosecution under the Comstock laws, during which she fled to Europe.

In 1916 Sanger opened the first birth control clinic in Brooklyn, New York. The clinic faced many obstacles, the most important of which was staunch opposition from the medical profession. New York State law specified in Section 1142 that no one could give information to prevent conception to anyone for any reason. Additionally, Section 1145 stated that only physicians could give advice to prevent conception for the cure or prevention of disease. That same year, Sanger and two of the clinic's staff members were arrested for violating the state law. All the clinic's records were confiscated. In 1919, Sanger changed her emphasis from women's control of their own bodies to eugenic reasoning about the need for better babies. She joined in supporting the ideas of eugenicists who sought to improve the human race by selective breeding and sterilization of those thought unfit on the grounds of low intelligence or a propensity for crime and shiftlessness. For the most part, though, Sanger focused her efforts on educating the public and lobbying for the legalization of birth control. Continued opposition to birth control required political compromise with the medical establishment. Jealous of their own authority in the medical realm, doctors could support Sanger once she accepted that they should have the final authority in providing birth control. This shift in

emphasis increased Sanger's following and made birth control a respectable issue.

From the Great Depression to the 1960s, Sanger played a less vital and visible role in the birth control movement. In part, the ground had shifted, and birth control, once a feminist issue, was now seen largely in terms of family planning. Concern about the world population crisis, however, revived Sanger's reputation, and she took part in the founding of the International Planned Parenthood Foundation. Throughout her life, she had been devoted to improving methods of contraception, and in the 1950s, she helped raise funds to support the development of the birth control pill, which was first made available in 1960. Sanger died at a nursing home in Tucson, Arizona, in 1966.

See also EUGENICS; SEXUALITY; WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Marcia M. Farah

### ***Schenck v. United States* (1919)**

During WORLD WAR I, both Congress and state governments passed laws that restricted the right of free speech in order to ensure support for the war effort and to suppress what the government considered harmful dissent. *Schenck v. United States* was a court case testing the constitutionality of the ESPIONAGE ACT (1917) and its amendment under the SEDITION ACT (1918). These acts made it a crime to speak against the government, oppose the military draft, or act in any way that could be construed as giving aid and comfort to the enemy. *Schenck* was only one of a series of cases during the war that raised the specter of government suppression of civil liberties, including the rights to free speech and right of conscience. In *Schenck* as in *Frohwerk v. United States* (1919), *Abrams v. United States* (1919), and *Gitlow v. New York* (1924), the U.S. Supreme Court had to decide what was the extent and meaning of the First Amendment protection of free speech. Socialists who opposed U.S. entry into the war in Europe, radicals arrested under criminal syndicalism laws, German Americans who published in their native language, and militants supporting the Russian Revolution became the targets of state and federal prosecution. Challenging the laws were individuals who continued to advocate draft resistance, oppose bond sales, or criticize the nation's entry into or pursuit of the war.

In the *Schenck* case, the defendants, members of the Socialist Party, had printed and mailed 15,000 pamphlets opposing CONSCRIPTION and American entry into the war. When the lower courts found them guilty, *Schenck* and

Baer appealed their convictions to the Supreme Court. Lawyers in the case argued for the absolute right of citizens to freedom of speech and conscience. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, the chief justice, wrote the Court's opinion, which decided in favor of the government. Arguing that the freedom of speech was not unlimited, Holmes used the analogy of a man crying "fire" in a crowded theater as an illustration of how speech acts could endanger communities. It was the context of speech that determined whether or not it was protected. The "clear and present danger" of the war, Holmes argued, made subversion out of free speech uttered in the name of individual conscience. Mailing anti-conscription pamphlets and condemning the government's participation in the war were a threat to a nation at war.

Ironically, Justice Holmes, who wrote the majority opinion in *Schenck*, became within a few months a dissenting defender of First Amendment rights. Arguing against the majority in *Abrams v. United States* and subsequent cases, Holmes essentially defined the modern view of the First Amendment and civil liberties. He wrote that it was the "theory of our Constitution" that "the ultimate good desired is better reached by the free trade in ideas—that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market." The nature of our experiment in democracy required us to be "eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe," unless such speech represented an imminent threat.

Coming as it did at the end of a divisive war, *Schenck* had a sobering effect on the Left. The decision represented a conservative assessment of the powers of the state to override personal liberties and to restrict individual rights. At the same time, the case gave renewed importance to free speech struggles, as *Gitlow v. New York* (involving a New York criminal syndicalism statute) and a later case, *Near v. Minnesota* (on press censorship), took on questions of whether citizens were free to hold and promote unpopular political views and whether state and federal governments had the authority to silence dissenting voices.

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### **science**

By 1900, science in the United States—whether social, life, or physical sciences, theoretical or applied—was established as a profession. The expansion of universities and the development of specialized curricula opened doors for research scientists, and the creation of research laboratories in private industry (General Electric Research Laboratory, for example) or sponsored by private foundations

(the Carnegie Institute of Washington, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University) increased demand for university-educated scientists and engineers. The debate over Darwinism continued politically, as shown in the SCOPES TRIAL, but general acceptance of evolutionary theory meant that the war between RELIGION and science remained at a standstill. The growth of government, especially in the arena of social policy, also created opportunities for the new fields of sociology, anthropology, political science, and history. Leaving behind dependence on European science, scientists in the United States developed new scientific applications and, what was more, contributed to new scientific theories in the realms of chemistry, mathematics, biology, and astronomy. Married to the new philosophy of PROGRESSIVISM, with its promotion of rational social planning and detailed investigation, “science” became shorthand for the use of scientific method and technological solutions to solve human problems. Faith in science furthered the popularity of industrial reforms such as SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT and the adoption of eugenic theories in BIRTH CONTROL, SOCIAL WORK, and IMMIGRATION policy. It would be decades before the ideology of science was undermined by social realities.



Thomas A. Edison (Library of Congress)

In 1900, theoretical science remained under the dominance of European scientists. In the field of physics, Planck developed quantum theory in 1900, and Einstein published his theory of relativity in 1905. Science in the United States had seen its primary accomplishments in the field of applied science, but this was to change. Already the United States had become known for its accomplishments in astronomy. It had the largest number of observatories and the most powerful telescopes in the world, and some of its most important scientists, such as George Ellery Hale, were known for their work on planetary and lunar orbits. American scientists were on the verge of major breakthroughs in other theoretical and applied fields. Improved scientific and medical education gave rise to a new generation of scientists in university and private research laboratories. By linking more theoretical and obscure research with practical application, scientists were able to expand their research through private gifts and grants, new facilities, and larger resources. This investment seemed to pay off with the awarding of the Nobel Prize to Albert Michelson in 1907 for his experiments in the measurement of light and spectography and to Theodore Richards in 1914 for his work on atomic weights. Science in the United States had come of age.

By this time, bacteriological advances had already improved life expectancy with the discovery of the origins of common diseases such as diphtheria, cholera, and tuberculosis. New work on tropical diseases such as yellow fever and malaria enlarged the reputation of American medicine. The funding of the Rockefeller Foundation furthered these efforts as medical researchers turned their attention to other diseases such as hookworm. Advances in MEDICINE and in medical education stimulated other research as well.

Genetics as a field grew in stature with the work of Edmund Beecher Wilson and Nettie Stevens in 1904 on the chromosomes that determine sex and that of Thomas Hunt Morgan on mapping genes, based on his work with fruit flies, in 1920. In the succeeding decade, geneticists would work on isolating genes to improve crops through crossbreeding. Theories of genetics had other purposes. Under Charles Davenport, the federal government created a Eugenics Record Office in 1910 to build a database in human heredity. While later discredited for its racial assumptions and political uses, eugenics science had obtained enough respectability to be used to underwrite new restrictive immigration policies and to support the use of sterilization by relief agencies and institutions for the care of the mentally ill. The hope that one could improve the human species through selective breeding attracted some social thinkers who sought a more rational and controlled human environment.

New scientific discoveries in such fields as physics and astronomy fueled the public imagination. The Science News



Service, created by newspaper magnate E. W. Scripps, kept newspaper and journal readers informed about scientific developments as did the magazines such as *Scientific American*, *Popular Science*, and *Popular Mechanics*. The popularity of inventors such as Thomas Edison and Alexander Graham Bell inspired new series novels such as the Tom Swift stories about a boy inventor, which began publication in 1910. Politicians echoed the popular support for science and the public faith in the ability of science to address social and political ills. President THEODORE ROOSEVELT declared in 1908, “applied science, if carried out according to our program, will succeed in achieving for humanity, above all for the city industrial worker, results even surpassing in value those today in effect on the farm.”

The popularity of science and its policy applications can best be seen in research on the ENVIRONMENT. Utilizing theories of land utilization, conservation groups proposed and passed such bills as the NATIONAL RECLAMATION ACT and supported the creation of a NATIONAL PARK SERVICE as a way of shepherding the nation’s natural wealth. The National Conservation Commission, first proposed in 1908, conducted a long-delayed inventory of the nation’s natural resources. Management of forests and conservation of mineral sources, land reclamation, and protection of waterways were among the results of the joint work of scientists concerned with the environment and the Roosevelt administration. While divided between advocates of efficient, rational use and the champions of preservation, conservation policy was shaped by the interplay between the new science of ecology and calls for scientific management.

In many ways, science and expertise became substitutes for popular control and common knowledge. Just as scientific management had replaced the skilled workers’ control over how he or she produced goods, so too did experts in a range of fields—from land conservation to social welfare—take precedence over popular opinion and political control. In the rational society, scholarly objectivity and supposedly “value-free” science trumped the interests lurking behind popular demands and partisan agendas. However, experts in city planning, social work, and immigration shaped policies in ways that encroached upon or directly violated the neutral ideal. Scientific objectivity proved illusory, although it would take decades to discover the problem. The DILLINGHAM COMMISSION, influenced by the science of eugenics and a prejudicial belief in racial superiority, ignored its own findings to promote an immigration policy that restricted the entry of southern and eastern Europeans into the United States. Conservation debates altered the outcome of scientific research as eugenics did social policy.

WORLD WAR I was the turning point of the takeoff in government and private funding for scientific research. Defense needs activated private industrial and university

research laboratories to work on such projects as improving submarine detection, developing chemical gases and treatments for military use, optical glass, and improvements in aerial photography, mapping, and accuracy in aerial bombing. Improved sanitary engineering, medical research on wounds, and psychological studies of battle fatigue were other products of scientists’ support for the war effort. Members of the National Academy of Science, most notably astrophysicist George Ellery Hale, supported the creation of the National Research Council, which became a permanent peacetime body in 1919.

By the 1920s, expanded government and private industry support had cemented the position of theoretical and applied science as a priority in education, public policy, and funding. Only through continued innovation could the United States maintain its economic superiority; only through new technologies could the country hope to defend itself in a future war. Practical applications, however, rested on the support of theoretical science on the one hand and more widespread public EDUCATION in science on the other. Public opinion was key; so too was the encouragement of new generations of scientists through the improvement of science education in the schools. These trends would continue to elevate scientists throughout the period and guarantee a future for scientific research.

See also PUBLIC HEALTH.

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## scientific management

A system to make industrial production more efficient, scientific management came to dominate business in the early decades of the 20th century and eventually became part of American culture. Emerging predominately from the work of FREDERICK WINSLOW TAYLOR, scientific management was based on the idea that every task could be broken into a series of smaller tasks. Each individual task was then studied to determine the fastest and most efficient method for completing the task. The entire production process could then be split into specialized tasks, each done at peak efficiency. The end result was the creation of a production system in which workers became specialists at individual tasks but had no knowledge of the entire production process. The assembly line was the most



significant manifestation of scientific management. This movement to make scientific studies of processes evolved out of its industrial beginnings and took a place in other areas of American life.

The drive for efficiency of production was a response to the production system that relied on individual workers to complete a variety of tasks. It was also an attempt to reduce the power of individual craftsmen who could hold up production by striking because skilled replacements were difficult to find. Once the production process was broken into specialized tasks, any worker could complete them given just a few hours of training. American industrialists thus saw scientific management as the answer to many of their labor troubles. In a way they hoped to remove the human element from certain portions of the production process. Workers did not have to learn new skills nor did they have to unlearn anything to function in a scientifically managed production process. They simply had to perform the same task repeatedly for the entire workday.

Industrialists took the tenets of scientific management further than specializing the production process. They redesigned whole factories to make production more efficient. By moving machinery, for example, they could decrease the time spent transporting parts within the factory. Employers also tried to use scientific management principles in the hiring of workers by establishing personnel departments. Personnel departments then established criteria for hiring new employees. The goal of this was to avoid hiring workers who could not keep up the pace or would refuse to work in those conditions.

Many workers did protest the advent of scientific management. They argued that the managers' expectations for daily output were inhumane, and many protests erupted over the implementation of scientific management. In some instances workers were able to temper the implementation of scientific management, but they were unable to stop it completely, as it came to define MASS PRODUCTION in the United States.

Scientific management made its way into other parts of American life. Education adopted many of its principles in restructuring curricula, building schools, and attempting to develop an efficient citizenry in which each individual would be prepared for his or her proper place in the social order. Other businesses besides factories turned to scientific management. Department stores tried to make their operations more efficient by studying the actions of clerks. Offices were redesigned to make them more efficient. All of these actions were based on the ideal that individuals could be made to act more efficiently. This ideal, first developed in the early decades of the 20th century, has played a significant role in American industry and in the way Americans analyze various problems.

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—Michael Hartman

### **Scopes Trial** (1925)

The Scopes Trial was the climax of a conservative backlash against the teaching of evolution and featured a legal battle between two of the great orators of the day, lawyer CLARENCE DARROW and populist Democrat William Jennings Bryan. The spread of institutions of higher learning and of mass media had made more visible long-standing divisions in American society. By the early 1920s, differences over such matters as biblical interpretation and the scientific method developed between modernists and cultural conservatives who feared that modernization was undermining traditional American values and institutions. The rift took place at every level, but it had an important impact on EDUCATION and RELIGION. As the scientific method established supremacy in the nation's classrooms, traditionalists and religious conservatives dug in their heels, often splintering political alliances that had formed in the 1880s and 1890s. In 1925, these divisions came to a head in a test case of antievolution laws. Opponents of Charles Darwin and evolution, led by William Jennings Bryan, had succeeded in passing antievolution laws in 15 states. Supporters of evolution and free speech advocates, including the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), looked for a high-profile case to test the constitutionality of these laws.

Residents of Dayton, Tennessee, were more than willing to participate in this high-profile case. Several prominent Dayton residents hoped that the trial might put the town in the national spotlight and stem the tide of people



Scopes Trial lawyers Clarence Darrow (left) and William Jennings Bryan (Hulton/Archive)

leaving the town for places with greater economic opportunities. John Scopes, who routinely taught evolution in his high school biology course, agreed to test the legitimacy of the Tennessee law forbidding the teaching of evolution. Almost immediately, the case became highly politicized and thrust Dayton into the national spotlight. Within a matter of days thousands of people from all political and religious perspectives, along with a huge contingent of newspaper reporters, invaded the city, creating a carnival-like atmosphere. The ACLU reluctantly agreed to allow the controversial and flamboyant Clarence Darrow to head a strong defense team while Bryan put together an equally impressive team of prosecutors. Bryan and the prosecuting attorneys argued that what was really at stake was the survival of Christianity, the Bible, and traditional American values.

Over the course of the trial, Judge John T. Raulston, who was openly sympathetic to Bryan and the prosecution, allowed the prosecution great latitude while refusing to allow Darrow and the defense team to call scientific experts to assert the validity of evolution. Despite being hamstrung by Raulston's rulings, Darrow's impassioned defense of Scopes and evolution won him widespread praise from outside observers and national reporters, including H. L. MENCKEN. The climax of the case came when Darrow ruthlessly questioned Bryan, who took the stand as a biblical scholar, about whether or not the Bible should be interpreted strictly. Darrow, who severely weakened Bryan's credibility, convinced the jury to find Scopes guilty, in order for the law to be sent before the state supreme court. Although the jury found Scopes guilty and fined him \$100, the ruling was overturned on a technicality. It wasn't until 1968 that the Supreme Court in *Epperson v. Arkansas* ruled that antievolution statutes were unconstitutional.

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—Robert Gordon

### Seattle General Strike (1919)

In February 1919, nearly 100,000 workers went on strike in Seattle, Washington, in support of striking shipyard workers. The strike assumed great nationwide significance because of its timing. The Bolsheviks had seized control in Russia the previous year and Europe had witnessed a number of leftist uprisings in the aftermath of WORLD WAR I. The walkout by the Seattle workers without specifically stated complaints led many observers, both in Seattle and around the United States, to fear that the workers of Seattle were only the first to revolt against the American

economic and political system. Although the general strike lasted only from February 6 to February 11, it had significant consequences for labor.

One reason that the strike's failure assumed such significance was that Seattle had one of the strongest labor movements in the country. Many observers noted that Seattle was basically a closed-shop town, where workers had to join unions in order to work. Although affiliated with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL), Seattle's unions often challenged the AFL leadership. Seattle's workers generally supported the idea that workers should be organized by industry instead of by craft. The AFL was strongly opposed to industrial unionism. Seattle's workers also displayed strong class consciousness. They saw themselves as members of a distinct class based on their positions as wageworkers within the capitalist economic system.

Fear of radicalism was rampant in many sections of American society, especially after the Bolshevik revolution and civil war, and socialist uprisings in Germany and Hungary in 1919. In Seattle the authorities had been battling the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) who still had a strong presence in the West. The Seattle AFL went on record in support of the Bolsheviks in the struggle for power in Russia. Waterfront workers even refused to load-war material being shipped to anti-Bolshevik forces in Russia.

The immediate cause of the general strike was a strike by shipyard workers. During World War I, the U.S. government established the Emergency Fleet Corporation to oversee the production of ships. This quasi-governmental agency controlled the inputs to shipbuilding such as steel and the price of labor. Seattle's shipyard workers argued that the wage levels were too low and warned that after the war they would take action to raise their wages. Two weeks after the armistice, they made good on their pledge by notifying the Emergency Fleet Corporation and the shipyard owners that the unions would negotiate directly with the shipyard owners. By November 1918, the Seattle Metal Trades Council, a body made up of representatives from the trades working in the shipyards, had authorized a strike if their wage demands were not met. Negotiations began in January 1919 but bogged down because the Emergency Fleet Corporation ordered shipyard owners not to give in to the worker's demands.

With their demands for wage increases unmet, 35,000 shipyard workers went on strike on January 21, 1919. In support of the striking shipyard unions, the Seattle Central Labor Council, a body made up of representatives from all of Seattle's unions, passed a resolution calling for a general strike. Unions throughout Seattle responded quickly by voting in favor of the general strike. A mass meeting of workers on February 2 approved the general strike and official notice appeared in newspapers the next day stating

that the strike would begin on February 6. A sense of crisis descended upon Seattle. The business community and middle classes feared the worst in light of recent happenings in Europe. The mayor of Seattle, Ole Hanson, tried to intermediate between the two sides but was unsuccessful. On February 6, 1919, the general strike began as 60,000 workers walked off their jobs.

Despite the lack of violence, Seattle's newspapers portrayed the strike as a revolution seeking the overthrow of the economic, political, and social order. The Central Strike Committee made two mistakes that allowed this to happen and led to the strikers losing the propaganda battle. First, the Central Strike Committee never set any goals or a time limit for the strike. They were on strike simply for the vague purpose of supporting the shipyard workers. It was unclear what would lead the workers to end the strike. This lack of focus allowed their opponents to imagine their motives. The most popular was that the general strike was meant to begin the permanent revolution of the working class in the United States. Shipyard owners, the press, and the Seattle mayor popularized this view of events that made it seem vitally important that the strikers be defeated. The Central Strike Committee's second mistake was their decision not to continue publishing Seattle's labor newspaper. As their only means of telling their side of the story, the strikers' decision not to use the paper silenced their collective voice. The loss of the propaganda war, the opposition of Seattle's mayor who threatened to call in troops to establish martial law, and the difficulty in keeping all the workers united behind the strike when the purpose was vague, led to the strike's failure. It lasted only until February 11.

The failure of the strike had a profound effect on Seattle's labor movement. Local authorities cracked down on the IWW, suppressing the radical voice in Seattle's labor movement. Feuding arose among the different factions of the labor movement as each tried to blame the others for the failure. In addition, Seattle's employers undertook a powerful open-shop campaign in the strike's aftermath. This transformed Seattle from an almost entirely closed-shop city to an open-shop town.

The strike also had national ramifications. In the eyes of many, the general strike was a harbinger of things to come if employers and the government did not take action against the workers. The response on the part of employers took the form of the open-shop movement that came to define management-labor relations in the 1920s. The strike also helped usher in the RED SCARE. Ole Hanson resigned as mayor and undertook a speaking tour of the country, during which he related how he had faced down the workers' revolution in Seattle. In this effort to bolster his own reputation, Hanson exaggerated the threat posed by the strikers. His speeches and the other accounts of the strike by Seattle's newspapers convinced many readers, however,

that they now faced a red menace. The chilly climate for labor in the 1920s was the result.

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—Michael Hartman

### Sedition Act (1918)

Enacted during the crisis of WORLD WAR I, the Sedition Act was part of an effort to suppress domestic opposition to the entry of the United States into the war. With the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914, the Wilson administration, in an effort to ensure unity, steadily moved to restrict the civil liberties of its citizens. Even as it declared the United States neutral in the conflict, it began to prepare for war. In early April 1917, when President WOODROW WILSON asked Congress for a declaration of war against Germany, he also called upon Congress to pass legislation that would enforce the loyalty of all Americans to the country's role in the war. In response, Representative Edwin Webb of North Carolina and Senator Charles Culberson of Texas began to craft legislation that would give the president the ability to impose "stern repression" to ensure unity behind the nation's emerging war effort.

The ESPIONAGE ACT, as it was known when their legislative attempts were finally enacted in early June 1917, furnished the government with ample power for the suppression of those who opposed the war. It imposed stiff fines (between \$5,000 and \$10,000) and jail sentences of up to 20 years for individuals convicted under this legislation. The following year, Congress further restricted the ability to challenge America's participation in the war with the passage of a series of amendments that came to be known as the Sedition Act (May 1918). These amendments prohibited "any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, or the flag of the United States, or the uniform of the Army or Navy."

Combined, the Espionage Act and the Sedition Act went far beyond simply attempting to prevent spying for the enemy. Instead, their main effect was to make it illegal to write or utter any statement that could be construed as profaning the flag, the Constitution, or the military. The legislation stifled most domestic opposition to the war. The extreme nature of these legislative acts constituted the most drastic restriction of free speech since the enactment of the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. The Socialist Party of America and the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) had emerged by 1917 as the most vocal and organized forces opposing America's involvement in the war in Europe. Accordingly, they quickly became among the first

groups to feel the strong arm of the legal system. Under these two laws, some 6,000 arrests were made and 1,055 convictions were obtained. In 1919, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of this legislation in its ruling in *Abrams v. United States*. Both pieces of legislation expired in 1921.

See also *SCHENCK V. UNITED STATES*.

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—David R. Smith

## segregation

Segregation is the physical separation of individuals, usually based on their race, class, gender, or religion. Segregation can be either *de jure*, created by law, or *de facto*, meaning resulting from practice. In the early 20th century, both kinds of segregation came to define racial relations in the United States. Segregation resulted in the restriction of the civil, political, economic, and social rights of African Americans, Asian Americans, Mexican Americans, and NATIVE AMERICANS throughout the nation.

Segregation was a tool used by whites to separate themselves from nonwhites as Americans redefined race. During the first decades of the 20th century, Americans adopted the modern definition of race based on skin color, which underlined the belief that any nonwhite person was inferior. In addition, this gave rise to the belief that nonwhite Americans posed a threat to the physical and moral health of the nation. Proponents of segregation argued, therefore, that it was necessary to separate the less advanced racial groups from the whites.

Native Americans were the first minority group to face segregation. Segregated on reservations and subject to the rules of the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs, they faced restrictions on their education, occupational choices, and access to proper health care. Other racial groups experienced increased segregation early in the 20th century.

Segregation of African Americans, many have assumed, was a natural legacy of slavery and the Civil War. Southern states did not, however, establish the system of laws requiring segregation known as Jim Crow immediately after the war. African Americans enjoyed the right to vote and hold political office and used public facilities such as railroads and theaters alongside whites. Some states and cities had laws segregating public spaces, but nothing on the scale that came to dominate race relations in the South after 1890. At the end of the 19th century, the South was reeling from a number of economic, political, and social crises that led to the passage of segregation laws. The end of slavery had not ended racial prejudice and violence. The South, with other regions, experienced its first industrial depres-

sion during the 1890s. The Populist Movement had created political conflict between whites of different economic classes, each of which sought African-American allies. Many southern whites looked for a remedy for society's ills. Segregating African Americans became the answer in the eyes of many.

Prior to the end of the 19th century, a number of factors limited the ability of southern states to completely segregate society on racial lines. By the turn of the century, however, southern whites were given, in the words of historian C. Vann Woodward, "permission to hate." Under the influence of conservative jurists, federal courts no longer broadly interpreted the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, which granted equal protection under the law to African Americans and gave black men the right to vote. Instead, judges repeatedly ruled that the restrictions on discrimination applied only to the actions of states and not individuals. In 1896, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court ruled that separate facilities were not inherently unequal. This decision allowed states, companies, and individuals to segregate public spaces such as waiting rooms by race, while arguing that the separate facilities were equal.

Political changes also affected race relations. Northern liberals dropped their opposition to racist policies in an effort to unify the nation. In the South, militant populists frightened whites with their appeal to small southern farmers, both white and African-American. The conservative political element in the South abandoned its traditional policy of racial moderation to attack the populists with charges of race mixing. By manipulating the vote in African-American areas, the conservatives defeated the populists in the 1896 elections. These events had significant consequences. Conservatives assumed the mantle of white supremacy in their battle for political power and did not turn back. Many agrarian activists blamed the African Americans for their defeat in the elections and turned to white supremacy.

The final development leading to segregation was the change in American racial attitudes arising from its imperialist ventures. In 1898, the United States took control of Hawaii and the Philippines, bringing eight million people of color under its jurisdiction. The federal government argued that the Philippine people were not capable of governing themselves. Northern politicians, who supported the domination of the Philippines, stood on shaky ground when criticizing southern racial attitudes.

By the 1890s, southern states had begun to pass Jim Crow laws restricting the social and economic rights of African Americans. By 1910, every southern state had segregated railway stations in which African Americans and whites waited in separate rooms. Between 1901 and 1907, 10 states segregated public transportation, requiring African Americans to sit in the rear. States segregated





African-American children learning washing and ironing at Whittier Primary School, Hampton, Virginia, 1900 (*Library of Congress*)

hospitals, prisons, theaters, workplaces, and cemeteries. Parks had separate areas for African Americans. Mobile, Alabama, passed a curfew law that required African Americans to be off the street by 10 P.M. Florida and North Carolina required that separate textbooks be used for African-American students, and Florida required the two sets of books to be stored separately.

A complex racial etiquette accompanied the legal restrictions imposed on African Americans. Whites expected African Americans to demonstrate their inferior social status through outward signs of deference. African Americans were not to look whites in the eye. When walking on the same sidewalks, African Americans were to move into the road to allow whites to pass. African Americans were forced to call whites "Mister," while whites called African-American men "boy," or by their first names. This system of racial etiquette was backed by force. Any African American who violated the cultural rules faced punishment ranging from intimidation and physical beating to death. Lynching became a southern racial phenomenon during the period from 1900 to 1910 as white southerners fought to enforce segregation.

Segregation was not, however, solely a southern phenomenon nor was it enacted solely against African Americans. Minorities throughout the United States faced segregation in their residential choices, their jobs, and their use of public space. In the West and Southwest, Asian Americans and Hispanics faced segregation. Most of the segregation outside the South was *de facto*, although some states and municipalities passed laws to segregate members of certain ethnic groups. In 1906, for example, the San Francisco Board of Education segregated all Korean, Chinese, and Japanese students. By 1913 the state of California had passed a law prohibiting the sale of real property to all noncitizens, an act aimed at Asian Americans. Even in the absence of such laws, whites often acted to prohibit the sale of property in certain areas of cities to nonwhites. Whites who did not want African Americans or Mexican Americans living in their neighborhood, for example, simply terrorized them into moving out. Another strategy was to include in property deeds a racial covenant that prohibited the sale of the property to nonwhites, a practice that was also used to deny Jewish Americans residence in many neighborhoods. Discrimination in housing led to the cre-

ation of ethnic ghettos in cities with their own schools and businesses. Many labor unions refused to accept nonwhites, which restricted the occupational choices of nonwhites.

By 1930, African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanics in most regions of the country lived in segregated neighborhoods, faced restrictions in their use of public spaces, and found their choice of work severely limited. Whether it came through the Jim Crow laws of the southern states or the cultural attitudes of northern whites, segregation was the tool by which white Americans repressed nonwhites.

See also DUBOIS, W. E. B.; GARVEY, MARCUS; NIAGARA MOVEMENT; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT; UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

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—Michael Hartman

### Selective Service Act (1917)

The Selective Service Act was the law passed by Congress in order to raise troops for the U.S. entry into WORLD WAR I. Facing a requirement specified by General JOHN PERSHING, commander of the AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE, to recruit 3 million men to alter the outcome of the war, men from the ages of 21 to 31 filled out their draft registration cards on June 5, 1917. More than 24 million men responded to the call, and local draft boards selected 6,400,000 of them to serve in the military. Hundreds of thousands more volunteered before the draft could call them up. No exemptions were allowed outside of those needed for vital wartime production. No one was allowed to hire a substitute, a difference from the Civil War practice.

President WOODROW WILSON had tried to rely on a public call to arms, as had been the tradition since America's inception. In the Civil War, there had been antidraft riots, and Wilson was anxious to avoid social unrest. Many warned that the streets would run red with blood. On the actual day, however, most registered patriotically.

General Enoch Crowder was chosen head of the new Selective Service System. Under it, the local draft boards were organized to deflect criticism for selection from the federal government. George Creel, a social reformer, headed the committee. Using advertising methods, his

committee convinced Americans to leave their isolationism behind and protect democracy from Germany.

Behind the legislative mechanism for preparedness was a network of organizations and individuals who had led the way for selective service. First, the PREPAREDNESS movement at the outbreak of the conflict in Europe tried to convince Americans of the need to improve military capability. Through literature, programs, and training camps, advocates urged the Wilson administration and the populace to take the German threat seriously. Events, especially German submarine warfare, aided their efforts until war was declared. The COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC INFORMATION, created by President Wilson shortly after the United States joined the war in 1917, raised public support for the war effort through propaganda. War posters, marching bands, and billboards celebrated those who "did their duty." A darker side of the CPI encouraged and spread fear of Germans and German spies who, they said, had infiltrated the United States. Thanks to the CPI, the nation stood as one behind its war effort.

Locally, communities gave their soldiers farewell parties and parades. Draftees met citizens and loved ones waving flags, with bands playing farewell songs and girls spurring them on to victory against the dreaded Hun. Back at home, citizens bought liberty bonds, grew victory gardens, and worked in war factories to further the war effort. Some served in the Red Cross, helping to alleviate human suffering in the United States and abroad. They assisted over 300,000 American families with financial troubles and sought to ease the grief of families who had lost their relatives in war. America sent more than 13,000 of its women as Red Cross nurses overseas.

See also CONSCRIPTION.

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—Annamarie Edelen

### sexuality

The years between 1900 and 1930 witnessed fundamental changes in sexual mores and practices, including an increase in premarital sex and the use of BIRTH CONTROL, a reorientation of marriage toward companionate relationships, a rising divorce rate, and the emergence of distinct gay and lesbian identities. There was a shift from Victorian silence about the body and sexuality to the emergence of a new psychological language about sex. On the margins of mainstream society, sexual radicalism transformed the ways that middle-class and elite intellectuals arranged their private lives. And new venues for leisure where men and women could meet and share entertainment such as movie

theaters, dance halls, and amusement parks, brought a shift in the average American's experience of courting and sexuality. So, too, did the introduction of the automobile and the new youth culture.

The Victorian era had brought with it a sharp divide in social expectations of men and women. Men were supposed to be active, public, and sexual creatures while women—apart from prostitutes and the morally depraved—were assumed to be passive, domestic, and asexual in nature. Such differences and the demand that women remain protected and pure led to practices of social life and leisure in which men and women were segregated from each other. By the turn of the century, however, these patterns had changed. Men and women mingled in the new workplace and also after work when they sought RECREATION and popular entertainment.

Along with such changes in social life came changes in sexual practice. Courting among single men and women had long focused on polite, heavily chaperoned visits in parlors, small social gatherings, and front porches. The boundaries of this social world began to change with the emergence of a new YOUTH culture, in which young men and women were encouraged to meet each other outside the family circle. Changed attitudes toward sexuality were reflected in an increase in the occurrence of premarital sex and the use of birth control. For the generation born before 1900, only 14 percent of women (about one in seven) admitted to having premarital sex before they were 35. Among women in the generation of the 1920s, however, more than one in three (36 percent) had experienced premarital intercourse. With public activism on the issue of birth control, women gained new access to contraceptives. New birth control clinics provided advice and contraceptive devices, so that by 1925 one study reported that more than 80 percent of middle-class women used birth control. In contrast, only about 36 percent of poorer women did.

In a new urban culture, single men and women worked out sexual lives and identities not all of which ended in novel-like marriages. The dance halls, speakeasies, pool halls, and recreational clubs opened up alternatives to family life for both heterosexual and homosexual men and women. A new gay subculture, with a separate identity, began to emerge for men in the tearooms and clubs as well as on the streets; among women, freedom from family could mean the possibility of relationships not only with men but with women. At the same time, the Society for the Suppression of Vice sought to prosecute the public and private acts of those seen as deviant. Police in many cities cracked down especially on gay men whose sexual conduct differed from the norm.

On average, most men and women refrained from marrying until their early to mid-twenties. A prolonged period of courtship preceded marriage, and married couples often

had widely different expectations about marital sex. New ideas about marriage, however, began to alter the experience. By the 1910s, men and women, reading the work of sex theorists such as HAVELOCK ELLIS and psychologist SIGMUND FREUD had different beliefs in and practices of sex than had their parents. Many also developed greater expectations for what marriage might be. They emphasized that couples could be companions and share the joys and burdens of marital life. They also gave new attention to happiness, including sexual happiness, in marriage.

Rising expectations increased pressure on men and women who married to achieve the new ideal of companionate marriage. Individuals and couples came to expect more from each other than their parents had, wanting an economic and sexual union to also be fulfilling in emotional terms. The hopes many had for marital life, however, frequently led to disappointment. As many states started to reform divorce laws and make it easier for couple to attain a divorce, the divorce rate rose. Those who married expecting happiness could now file for divorce on more ambiguous grounds such as mental cruelty; and many chose to do so. Also true was that rates of remarriage rose in response.

In what was called the first sexual revolution of the 1920s, these trends came together to create more open attitudes about heterosexual relationships both inside and outside marriage. The widespread adoption of the automobile in recreation opened the way for its use in courtship and sexuality. Mass-market magazines such as *True Confessions* and romance novels spread the language of companionate marriage and new modern sexuality, and new styles of DRESS and cosmetics brought the “sex appeal” of ADVERTISING into daily view. Still, new methods of birth control, smarter, sexier language, and the new availability of divorce did not change the double standard of morality between men and women. Women continued to be ostracized within their communities for violating strict norms of female virtue. While these standards varied according to race, class, and region, respectable women had to remain free of the taint of immorality and illegitimacy. The new emphasis on heterosexual relationships also stigmatized those who remained outside traditional monogamous marriage and deepened social prejudice and hostility toward gay men and lesbian women. The widening scope of traditional sexual relations stirred doubts about the psychological stability of celibate, unmarried, and homosexual men and women.

See also COSMETICS AND BEAUTY INDUSTRY; ENTERTAINMENT, POPULAR; MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE; MEDICINE.

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**Shaw, Anna Howard** See VOLUME VI.

### Sheppard-Towner Act (1921)

The Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act was the first federal program for social welfare. It was introduced into Congress in 1919 and signed into law by President WARREN G. HARDING on November 23, 1921. The Sheppard-Towner Act set up a federal administration that disbursed funds to individual states for the purpose of improving the health of America's children. Originally set to expire in 1926, the act was renewed for an additional two years, but Congress allowed it to expire in 1928. Despite its brief tenure, the act improved the health of millions of American children.

The Sheppard-Towner Act emerged out of the efforts of Progressive Era reformers to improve the health of America's children. The U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU had been researching infant health since 1913. It discovered that the U.S. infant and maternal fatality rates were among the highest in the industrialized world. The studies of the Children's Bureau suggested that better infant and prenatal care might have prevented half of the infant and child deaths. In addition, during WORLD WAR I, one-third of American men were rejected by the draft board for medical reasons. These findings highlighted the need for better infant and maternal health care. Reformers also feared that state and local programs ignored women and infants in rural areas. To solve these problems, child welfare reformers, led by the Children's Bureau, began a campaign to establish a federal program that would standardize child and maternity care across the nation.

The law passed in 1921 named the Children's Bureau as the federal department in charge of overseeing state health programs. Each state's legislature had to vote acceptance of the act. By June 1922, 42 of the 48 states had accepted Sheppard-Towner funding. After a state voted to accept federal funds, it received \$5,000. A matching \$5,000 grant was available for states that appropriated their own funds for child and maternity programs and additional funds were available based on state population. The Sheppard-Towner Act required each state to name a state agency to administer the programs. These agencies in turn had to submit a program proposal to the Children's Bureau for approval. The bureau's power to approve state programs meant that the state agencies addressing child and maternal health did so within the guidelines of the Children's Bureau staff. The

Children's Bureau supported, for example, professional public social service agencies and often rejected state programs run by private agencies.

Programs operating under the Sheppard-Towner Act reached hundreds of thousands of women and children through state agencies that ran child health and prenatal conferences and mothers' classes. At the conferences, the agencies provided prenatal and infant health examinations. In 1924, for example, 303,546 children received examinations. New mothers attending mothers' classes learned the importance of prenatal care. They were introduced to the child-rearing standards of the middle-class professionals in charge of the agencies. Child welfare advocates hoped that these temporary conferences would grow into permanent prenatal and infant care centers, which happened in a number of localities.

Sheppard-Towner agencies also instituted visiting nurse programs. Under these programs, a nurse employed by the agency visited pregnant women and new mothers. The purpose of the visits was to teach the women proper prenatal and infant care. The nurses helped improve the health of mothers and infants. For many women, particularly in rural areas, the nurses' advice was their first introduction to prenatal care. In addition, nurses explained the value of sterilizing all items used during delivery. They also taught the importance of immunizations. Despite all of the benefits of the program, the visiting nurses could, at times, become intrusive in the lives of women. Because they promoted proper child-rearing techniques established by the Children's Bureau, visiting nurses sometimes made new mothers feel inadequate. They counseled new mothers, for example, that children should be raised on strict schedules. They criticized mothers for keeping disorganized homes and told parents that they should not play with their children. There emerged, therefore, a tension between the Sheppard-Towner Act employees and the many mothers who did not subscribe to the Children's Bureau's standardized view of child-rearing.

The Sheppard-Towner Act eventually succumbed to the more conservative environment of the late 1920s. Medical professionals and other federal agencies such as the Public Health Service had worked for years to take over the functions of the maternal and child health care program. They put pressure on Congress to cut Sheppard-Towner money. After receiving a two-year appropriations extension in 1927, the Sheppard-Towner Act was allowed to expire in 1929.

See also MOTHERS' PENSIONS; PUBLIC HEALTH.

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—Michael Hartman



**Shirtwaist Makers Strike** (1909–1910)

One of the major strikes in labor history in the United States, the Shirtwaist Makers strike of 1909–10 brought together various elements of labor conflict in the period—immigrant socialism, militant trade unionism, the role of new workers in mass-production industries, sympathetic community support, and the resistance of employers. The strike began in September 1909 when workers from the Leiserson Shirtwaist Company walked out. A few weeks later, the Triangle Shirtwaist Company locked out its workers, as the employer sought to halt the union organizing drive. During these strikes, women faced violence on the picket line from company thugs. Police also arrested women strikers for streetwalking and inciting violence. Wealthy women, who had come out in support of the strike, also were present, and their accusations of police brutality made headlines. On November 22, at Cooper Union, garment worker Clara Lemlich took the stage to call for a general strike. With her call to action, the massive walkout began. The next morning, more than 30,000 shirtwaist makers were on strike from over 300 shops in the industry. Within a few days, a hundred of the smaller shops settled with the union and reopened their doors, and 10,000 strikers returned to work.

The INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION (ILGWU) Local 25, which had been organizing workers in the trade, assumed leadership of the strike. Supported by the Socialist Party in New York, various community, political, and ethnic associations, and the recently organized NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE (NWTUL), a cross-class organization of women, the strike captured the imagination of the public and the support of many of New York's elite. The resistance of large clothing employers, however, remained the most significant obstacle to union success. Major garment firms counted on the police to guard replacement workers and to intimidate and arrest strikers. Even public outrage at the treatment of the "girl strikers" did not break through employer hostility.

By January, most of the small garment shops already had signed agreements with the ILGWU, but the larger factories still refused to bargain with the union. Attempts to negotiate a return to work through AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) president Samuel Gompers led only to accusations that the AFL had sold the workers out. Others, notably labor publicist EVA McDONALD VALESH, accused the socialist leadership of running roughshod over the needs of women workers. Her red-baiting comments brought fire from the NWTUL, which saw her as an opportunist. With the progressive failure of the strike, thousands of women garment workers returned to work. The strike officially came to an end in February 1910. It was, however, only the first of a long series of strikes that built the ILGWU and unionized a significant part of the clothing

industry in New York City and other major garment centers. In 1911, the TRIANGLE SHIRTWAIST FIRE, another landmark, called attention to dangerous working conditions in the trade and brought with it the will to completely organize the industry. By 1920, the ILGWU was the third largest union in the AFL, and it remained an influential force in union politics in the 20th century.

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**Siberian Expedition**

On August 18, 1918, 9,014 American soldiers, including the 27th and 31st Infantry, then in the Philippines, and selected men from the 8th Division in California, were placed under the command of Major General William S. Graves and sent to Vladivostok to join Japanese and other Allied troops in Siberia. In this Siberian Expedition, they were assigned to intervene in the civil war then taking place in Russia. The object was to secure a government friendly to the war effort by helping to protect Allied troops.

Even as the war in Europe ground onward, fighting continued in northern Russia and Siberia. The RUSSIAN REVOLUTION had begun in February 1917, and Lenin had taken over as premier on January 7, 1918. Afterward, Lenin signed a treaty with Germany and released hundreds of thousands of German, Austrian, Hungarian, and Turkish prisoners of war from Siberian detention. In the same region, many Czechs had deserted and formed a legion of 50,000 to 70,000 men. Their leader claimed the legion as the future Army of Czechoslovakia and offered its services to France and against the Bolsheviks. The Czechs hoped they could fight their way to Archangel in northern Russia, where American troops were also engaged.

On July 23, 1918, a Siberian republic had been declared, but there were competing claims to political leadership. Red Bolsheviks, White anti-Bolsheviks, Russian army soldiers, bandits, warlords, Cossacks, former prisoners-of-war, and men from foreign armies vied for power. The situation merited the words of President WOODROW WILSON that "military intervention would add to the present sad confusion in Russia rather than cure it." Pressured by allies to send men to Siberia, an area more than half the size of the United States, Wilson ordered them to intervene.

General Graves maintained that the only reason for intervention was "to aid the Czecho-Slovakians to consolidate their forces and to steady any efforts at self-government

or self-defense.” He resisted pressure to intervene in the Russian Civil War on the side of the White Army. In January 1920, the Czechs instead fought eastward and defeated a large force of Cossacks. The Americans guarded the line from Lake Baikal to Vladivostok on the Pacific until all the Czechs had evacuated. Americans did, therefore, intervene in the Russian Civil War to help anti-Bolshevik forces. Once the Czechs reached Vladivostok, the survivors boarded ships for Europe, where they became the nucleus of the Czech army. In April 1920, the last Americans withdrew, but the Japanese did not follow until 1925.

American casualties numbered 35 killed and 135 who died of disease. Fifty-two others were wounded, and 50 deserted. The American intervention was a failure. A parallel intervention in Archangel in August 1918, landed 1,200 men from the French Foreign Legion, and some from the British Royal Marines and the U.S. Navy and Marines. They served under a British officer, General Poole. Later, a regiment was added of 4,487 men mainly from Michigan and Wisconsin. Both of these interventions were largely forgotten in subsequent years. America’s intervention, however, set the tone for its relations with the new Soviet Union. The United States refused to recognize the Soviet government until 1933.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

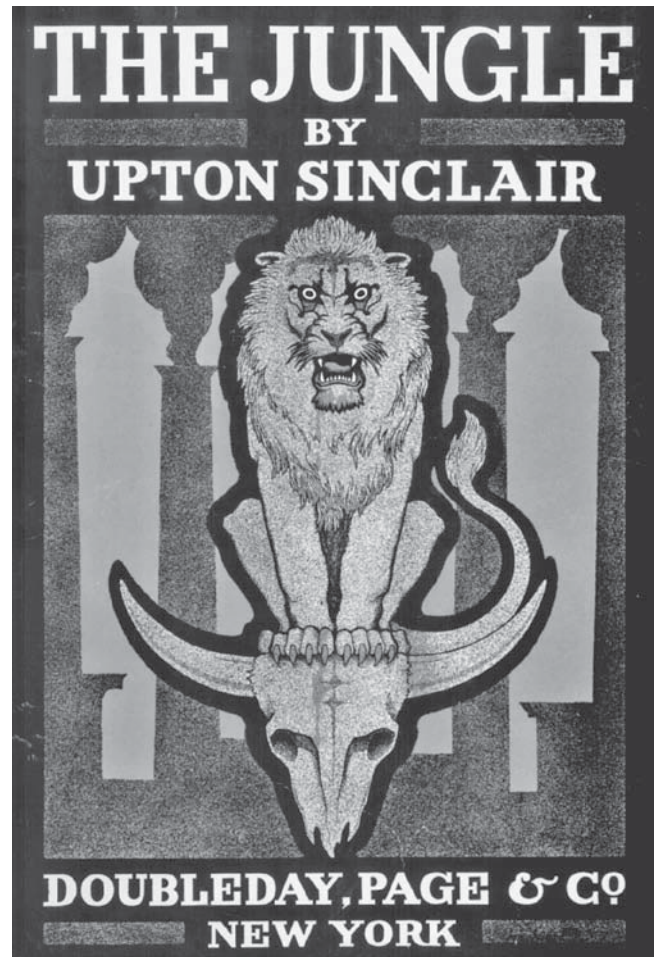
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—Annamarie Edelen

**Sinclair, Upton** (1878–1968) *journalist, novelist, activist*

Upton Sinclair was one of the most widely known author-journalists of his generation. In his polemical and political writings, he helped to establish the muckraking style of JOURNALISM and called national attention to the excesses of corporate America. Born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1878, he was the son of a poor, alcoholic father; but he spent part of his youth in the home of his wealthy grandparents. Sinclair claimed that these widely divergent experiences heightened his awareness of the nation’s social inequality and prompted him to become a socialist. He graduated from City College of New York at the age of 19, by which time he had already established himself as an accomplished journalist.

Sinclair and other progressive journalists were becoming increasingly alarmed at the state of urban America and the virtually unregulated power of corporations. In 1904,



Book cover for Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* (Library of Congress)

Fred Warren, editor of the socialist journal, *Appeal to Reason*, commissioned Sinclair to investigate the living and working conditions of the largely foreign-born workers in the Chicago meatpacking industry. What Sinclair found, he published in *The Jungle*, a book that shocked the nation. Public outrage prompted President THEODORE ROOSEVELT to order an investigation of the meatpacking industry, which resulted in the passage of the MEAT INSPECTION ACT (1906) and the PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT (1906). Both the public outrage and the legislative initiatives that followed tended to focus almost exclusively on the lack of, and need for, sanitary preparation of food. The fact that the nation’s supply of hot dogs, sausage, pork, and beef was likely contaminated was a cause of far more concern than the low wages, hazardous working conditions, and substandard living conditions of the Chicago stockyard workers and their families. In later years, Sinclair would lament, “I aimed at the public’s heart and by accident I hit it in the stomach.”

In the decades following the publication of *The Jungle*, Sinclair became heavily involved in politics. After joining the Socialist Party in 1902, he utilized the substantial proceeds from *The Jungle* to establish a utopian socialist community, Helicon Home, in Englewood, New Jersey. Sinclair was an active party member until the party split over American involvement in WORLD WAR I, when Sinclair supported intervention. Sinclair's departure, however, was only temporary. In 1926, he ran unsuccessfully for the governorship of California as the Socialist Party candidate. Not deterred by this defeat, Sinclair launched another bid for the California governorship in 1934. With the state mired in the grip of the Great Depression and unemployment approaching 25 percent, Sinclair ran on a platform of Ending Poverty in California (EPIC). Calling for partial state control of industry and a return to full employment, the EPIC campaign successfully tapped into the widespread resentment and frustration of California voters. The state's business and conservative organizations vehemently opposed Sinclair's campaign, warning that a Sinclair victory would result in the state degenerating into communism. Though Sinclair was defeated, the outcome of the bitterly contested election was surprisingly close, as he received 879,537 votes to his opponent's 1,138,620. Despite his foray into the world of politics, Sinclair continued to write works of political fiction. These included *The Metropolis* (1908), *King Coal* (1917), *Oil!* (1927), and *Boston* (1928). In 1942, Sinclair's *Dragon's Teeth* won the Pulitzer Prize. His final novel, *The Return of Lanny Budd*, was published in 1953. Sinclair died in 1968 at the age of 90.

See also MUCKRAKERS; RADICAL AND LABOR PRESS.

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—Robert Gordon

**Smith, Alfred E.** (1873–1944) *politician, presidential candidate*

Al Smith served four terms as governor of New York, where he was instrumental in running the powerful Tammany Hall political machine between 1900 and 1930. One of the most charismatic politicians of his generation, Smith was the first Irish American and the first Catholic to run for the presidency of the United States. Unlike many other politicians of his day who were born and raised in rural America, Smith was born on New York City's Lower East Side in December 1873. The son of poor Irish immigrants, Smith was forced to drop out of school after the eighth grade to begin working when his father died. During his teenage

years, Smith worked in a variety of jobs before landing a steady one at the Fulton Fish Market. A tall, gregarious man, Smith quickly became well known in New York's close-knit Irish community.

Smith's political career began in 1895 when Tammany Hall appointed him as an investigator for the commissioner of jurors. In 1903, with the support of Tammany Hall, he ran for and was elected to the New York State Assembly. Smith was a popular and effective representative. In 1911 he became the DEMOCRATIC PARTY majority leader and in 1913 speaker of the New York Assembly. During this time, Smith established a reputation as a man of the people and developed close ties with the progressive wing of the Democratic Party. In 1911 he joined future New York senator Robert Wagner and future secretary of labor Frances Perkins in investigating working conditions in New York City factories. The commission found conditions to be deplorable and called for sweeping reform legislation.

Smith's reputation as a reformer vaulted him into the 1918 New York gubernatorial race. He upset the incumbent Republican governor. Smith was defeated in his reelection bid in 1920, but he was reelected in 1922 and remained in office until 1928. As governor, Smith continued to push for reforms aimed at helping poor and working-class New Yorkers. He called for an end to CHILD LABOR and pressed for improved working conditions, child welfare laws, affordable housing, the creation of state parks, and reforms in the treatment of the mentally ill. In addition, Smith spent considerable time attempting to reform and streamline the state's bloated bureaucracy, finally convincing the state assembly to enact a constitutional amendment that reduced the state's 187 agencies to 19. During his tenure as governor, Democrat Smith was frequently faced with a Republican-controlled state assembly and proved very adept at using his immense popularity to push through his legislative agenda. He was often seen walking the streets of New York in his brown derby hat, smoking a cigar, and mingling with local merchants and passersby.

By 1920, Smith had become a powerful force within the Democratic Party. Put forward as a presidential contender, he was the first Irish American and Roman Catholic to receive serious consideration. Smith failed to win the nomination in 1920, but he was brought forward again at the 1924 Democratic convention when long-time friend and political ally Franklin Delano Roosevelt threw his name into the ring. At the 1924 convention, Smith's Catholicism and his public opposition to PROHIBITION were used to deny him the nomination. Finally in 1928, as his popularity and effectiveness as New York governor continued to grow, Smith won the Democratic presidential nomination. In the 1928 general election, Smith faced Republican nominee Herbert Hoover. The 1928 election



was never seriously in doubt, with Hoover winning all but eight states. Although Smith's ties with Tammany Hall, his opposition to Prohibition, and his Catholicism certainly contributed to his defeat, Hoover had other important advantages, including a national reputation as an engineer, a successful tenure as secretary of commerce in the Coolidge administration, and a booming economy, that contributed to his landslide victory.

Although Smith effectively retired from politics following his 1928 defeat, he helped Franklin Roosevelt win the Democratic nomination and the presidency in 1932. Smith's support of the Roosevelt administration, however, was short-lived. Smith, who had entered private business after his retirement from politics, became convinced that the New Deal had gone too far in expanding the role of the federal government. In 1936 and again in 1940, Smith not only opposed Roosevelt's renomination but also publicly endorsed the Republican presidential candidates.

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—Robert Gordon

**Social Darwinism** See VOLUME VI.

**Social Gospel** See VOLUME VI.

## socialism

Socialism is the name we give to ideas developed in the 19th century about the necessity of sharing the costs and benefits of economic productivity broadly through cooperative means of production or through government redistribution of benefits and social provision. The nature of American society changed dramatically in the last decades of the 19th century. The nation became more urban and industrial as people moved from the farm to the city. City life was vastly different from rural life, and millions of new immigrants meant that the country was more racially and ethnically diverse. The nature of work changed as well. Semiskilled factory workers gradually replaced skilled craft workers. Goods were increasingly mass-produced on assembly lines, and the pace of work increased as employers attempted to streamline production and maximize profits. Finally, the rise of a new financial and industrial elite resulted in growing social and political inequality.

These changes convinced many American citizens to reject the capitalist system and to insist that socialism was the only viable alternative. In its purist form, socialism

rejected private property, the free-market economy, and inequality. It advocated that the means of producing goods and wealth be controlled and shared equally by all members of society. Socialism had roots dating back to the utopian socialism of the 1840s, but scientific socialism began to take hold in the 1870s. The Socialist Labor Party (SLP) was established in 1877 and quickly came under the leadership of Daniel De Leon. It specifically looked toward craft and industrial workers for its support and hoped to achieve control over the labor movement as a means for acquiring political power. A competing faction, the Socialist Democratic Party (SDP), was formed in 1898. More broad-based agrarian socialism found expression in the populist movement. By the turn of the century, socialists were looking to found a new organization.

Led by EUGENE V. DEBS and Victor Berger, the SDP merged with the SLP in 1901 to form the Socialist Party of America (SPA). The SPA grew steadily between 1900 and 1912. From a membership of barely 10,000 in 1901, the party grew to over 150,000 members by 1912. Debs also played a leading role in mobilizing the left wing of the labor movement between 1900 and 1920, helping to form the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) in 1905. As head of the Socialist Party, Debs ran for the presidency in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920. Although he garnered only 96,000 votes in 1900, the SPA had become the largest third party in the country by 1904, when Debs received over 400,000 votes. He tallied 897,000 votes in 1912. Socialist candidates also gained a small minority of state and local offices across the nation, in a showing of working-class strength.

From the outset, socialist organizations represented an uneasy coalition of supporters, ideas, and objectives. Adherents included radical immigrants, workers, pacifists, Zionists, Christian socialists, revolutionaries, and reformers. They supported a broad range of issues, including prison reform, BIRTH CONTROL, WOMAN SUFFRAGE, and municipal ownership of streetcar companies and public utilities, in addition to more extreme demands to abolish private property and overthrow capitalism. Socialists also created institutions and organizations to support their struggle, including newspapers and journals, socialist summer schools and camps, and communal settlements. Many of these activities had an ethnic cast. In northern cities such as New York and Chicago, immigrant radicals fostered workingmen's circles, newspapers, and drama societies, along with ward clubs. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, became known for its socialist city government. In rural areas where populism once held sway, socialist organizations reemerged. The *Appeal to Reason*, a national socialist newspaper, was edited and published in Kansas; the NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE sprang to life in North Dakota and Minnesota; and the Green Corn Rebellion arose in Oklahoma.



Within the socialist movement, there were long-standing debates about the pace at which American capitalism should be overturned. Some advocated immediate revolution, and others urged more gradual reforms. Still others believed in using socialist means to moderate the effects of industrial capitalism through state regulation of industry and finance, the passage and enforcement of antitrust laws, the institution of democratic reforms of referendum, initiative, and recall, and protective labor measures.

There were numerous ideological variations of early-20th-century American socialism, including communism, anarchism, and syndicalism. All adhered to the basic tenets of socialism, which advocated a fair distribution of public goods and popular control of the economy; but on the best way to achieve those ends, they differed greatly. Anarchists and syndicalists argued that a strong, centralized government was the biggest obstacle to socialism while democratic socialists believed that some form of activist government was essential to ensure progress and a more equitable society. While there was widespread disagreement about the use of direct action and violence for change, some radical socialists and anarchists believed that a revolution was essential and that gradual reform would not work. Ideas about gender equality, sexuality, and marriage also differed greatly among socialists.

The Socialist Party of America was the dominant socialist organization between 1900 and 1930. As a result, the party frequently became the target of repression. When war broke out in Europe in 1914, Debs and the SPA opposed American intervention and warned the public against American involvement. When Congress and President WOODROW WILSON declared war against the Central Powers on April 6, 1917, Debs and the SPA reiterated their opposition to the war. Congress attempted to silence opposition by passing the ESPIONAGE ACT of 1917 and the SEDITION ACT of 1918, which made it illegal to criticize the American government and its involvement in the war. Debs, however, continued to agitate against CONSCRIPTION and the war. Following a June 18, 1918, speech in Canton, Ohio, he was arrested and—after a short trial—sentenced to a 10-year prison term.

After the outbreak of WORLD WAR I, the SPA became more radical, particularly as class relations grew hostile. Debates between militant unionists and conservative craft workers grew more intense as well. By the time of Debs's arrest and imprisonment, a powerful faction in the SPA was advocating revolution, instead of gradual reform. Its anti-war position and increasing radicalism made the party one of the chief targets of the conservative postwar backlash that culminated in the RED SCARE. Led by Attorney General A. MITCHELL PALMER, the government launched a series of raids against suspected socialists. Beginning with American entry into the war and the end of the Red Scare

in 1921, American socialists suffered serious setbacks. The party differed on its attitude toward and support for the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, and it began to splinter into small new parties intent on capturing the support of the emerging Soviet Union. The COMMUNIST PARTY, a much smaller entity, formed in the early 1920s. The Socialist Party itself remained intact, although it suffered from the absence of its longtime leader Eugene Debs. Although Debs remained in prison, he again was the party's presidential candidate in 1920 and received almost 1 million votes. The election, however, proved to be a last gasp. The conservative backlash of 1919–21 resulted in the election of the Republican WARREN G. HARDING and his successor CALVIN COOLIDGE. Between 1921 and 1930, socialism ceased to be an important factor in American political life. Socialism and its many heirs would again become influential with the onset of the Great Depression.

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—Robert Gordon

## social work

The field of social work emerged at the turn of the 20th century as a major new profession in the United States. The first use of the term “social work” was at a National Conference of Charities and Corrections meeting in 1897. From that time on, the term encompassed a broad range of activities, including the traditional work of charities, increasingly known as philanthropy; the care of poor, disabled, and orphaned individuals through private institutions; industrial social work, sometimes called welfare work; hospital or medical social work; settlement house work; and the social services of public relief agencies. During these years, charitable institutions and universities created the new field of social work education, some of which emphasized supervision of clients through the casework method. There were as well growing differences between social workers, which put progressive social reformers at odds with those dedicated to the profession of social work alone.

By 1900, many private charitable organizations, which had been among the first to respond to the urban poor, lacked sufficient resources to address the multiplying social ills of the industrial age. Work accidents, high infant and maternal mortality, family violence, delinquency and



Social worker talking with young girl in her home in New York City, 1913. Photograph by Lewis W. Hine (*Library of Congress*)

crime, and public health crises all seemed on the increase. A new generation of social reformers, many involved in the Settlement House Movement, emerged that combined concern about social disorder with a philosophy of political empowerment. According to JANE ADDAMS, founder of Hull-House, there was a social necessity for settlements, both in addressing the needs of urban immigrants and in providing an almost religious calling for the young. In industry, new calls for efficiency in factories and greater control were often accompanied by programs to provide health care at the workplace, create recreational programs, offer EDUCATION, especially in citizenship skills, and even to supervise workers' home lives. Collectively, WELFARE CAPITALISM demanded more personnel workers and the hiring of industrial social workers to attend to workers' needs.

Even as the need for social workers grew, so too did questions about what held them together as a profession. In 1915 at the National Conference of Social Work meeting, Abraham Flexner, assistant secretary of the General Education Board and the man responsible for reforming

medical education, addressed a gathering of social workers. At that meeting, he raised the question of whether social work was a profession. He frankly told his listeners that it was not. It lacked a common method, approach, or technique that could be taught, and the variety of tasks assigned to social workers made it impossible to define its boundaries. Moreover, the task of distributing relief to the poor was a task almost anyone could do. In response to Flexner's challenge, social work leaders looked toward professional associations to create a collective identity and advertise the value of their work to society as a whole. Casework, in the end, was the collective answer to Flexner's implicit question.

Early professional organization began as social workers started professional clubs in cities across the country. The Monday Club of Boston was the first such organization; it was quickly followed in the 1910s by clubs in New York, Detroit, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and other cities. Meeting to discuss their work and the problems they faced, the clubs were the first step toward national organization and would form the basis for local chapters of a national

organization. In 1921, members of social work organizations from across the country met to form the American Association of Social Workers, which became the National Association of Social Workers in 1955. The organization provided a forum in which to discuss professional standards, present findings of social research and exchange information, encourage professional training, and recruit new members.

More importantly, the move to create social work training and degree programs enhanced the status of social work as a profession. Responding to a call for better training of social workers, the New York Charity Organization Society created first a summer training program for social workers in 1898. Later established as the New York School of Social Work (later affiliated with Columbia University), it became an academic program that combined internships with social study. Soon after, in 1904, Boston Associated Charities, Simmons College, and Harvard University established the Boston School of Social Work. In 1907, Graham Taylor of Chicago Commons Settlement and Julia Lathrop of Hull-House helped found the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy (later the University of Chicago School of Social Work). In keeping with its settlement house origins, the school curriculum combined social science research, social policy, and public administration. By 1910, there were five major schools of social work providing some form of graduate training. In 1915 Bryn Mawr developed a post-baccalaureate program, and Ohio State University, Indiana University, and the University of Minnesota established the first undergraduate degrees in social work. The trend toward greater education continued throughout the 1920s.

Central to a number of programs was the new method of casework. As many social workers argued, social work had to become scientific. First articulated in Mary Richmond's 1917 book, *Social Diagnosis*, casework combined the traditional approach of friendly visiting with social scientific method. Occasional notes, intuition, and talk with peers were replaced with systematic case record, theories of scientific philanthropy, casebook studies, and professional guidance through journals, conferences, and consultation with experts. Above all, there was an emphasis on diagnosis and cure of individual ills. By 1918, a new tool became available to social workers, as Freudian psychology became more influential in social work education. In 1918, Smith College established a School of Psychiatric Social Work to train students in working with mental patients. Probing the personality and emotional history of clients promised to aid social workers in performing their duties and to provide relief tailored to individual need. Psychiatric casework also had the possibility of completely severing the profession of social work from its unscientific past. In opposition to this approach stood those social workers who continued to believe that environment, not heredity or individual

pathology, was the key to understanding the poor and to solving their problems. Change the environment, and you change the person. The tension between the two schools of thought continued to dog social work and social policy throughout the 20th century.

Despite debates over how to solve the problems of poverty, the state's expanding role in providing assistance and relief enhanced the reputation of and demand for social workers. Apart from the growth of city relief boards, there was as well a need for social workers in the new juvenile justice system, in schools and through city recreation programs, and in supervising new social programs. The most important relief program created in these years was MOTHERS' PENSIONS. By 1911, the states of Illinois and Missouri began to provide so-called mothers' aid, or "mothers' pensions," to supplement the wages of widowed mothers and to enable them to keep their children in the home. By 1920, 40 states and hundreds of counties had implemented some version of the program. Overall, it was believed that this program protected mothers faced with poverty in retaining their financial independence and improving their family lives. The rule of the program, and the prejudices of its administrators, limited mothers' pensions to white, largely native-born, widowed mothers. The standards for eligibility were strict, and no divorced or deserted wives were thought to have the same claim as widows to state supplemental income. Moreover, when mothers were granted a pension, they agreed to moral supervision and random investigation demanded by the state with any relief allowance. The mothers' pension program thus required states to hire a new corps of workers to supervise the program. While mothers' pensions were never adequately funded, the simple existence of the new bureaucratic agency called for even greater numbers of social work professionals.

The period between 1900 and 1930 saw major new policy initiatives at the state and local levels that increased the need for trained social workers. So, too, did new programs for social work in private industry, public education, and PUBLIC HEALTH. For young men and women committed to a progressive social vision, and those who simply wanted employment that had meaning, the social work profession offered engagement with the public, a moral and even religious mission, and the possibility of helping to change American society. Along with these ideals there was the concrete reality of poverty, chronic disease, the need for education and for hope among the urban immigrant working class and in African-American communities. Taking a role in addressing these problems ennobled some and made others dispirited. Social work became a profession by combining these challenges with the individual desire for prestige and status. By the end of the 1920s, social workers faced the coming crisis of unemployment during the Great Depression with a range of tactics from investigation and



casework to unionization and social protest; but they did so with renewed belief in the ability of their profession to solve the social ills.

See also CRIMINAL JUSTICE; YOUTH.

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### **Soldiers' Bonus (Soldiers' Adjusted Compensation Act) (1924)**

Following the end of WORLD WAR I, there were significant pressures to increase soldiers' compensation, especially given the abysmal pay of soldiers and the institution of military CONSCRIPTION. In response, Congress passed an act to grant soldiers a \$60 bonus on their discharge from the army. When the newly organized and powerful AMERICAN LEGION began to assess the value or damage of wartime service, its leadership suggested a program for further compensation based on the idea of renegotiating "the soldier's contract for service" with the government. The argument was simple. Soldiers had been disadvantaged in not benefiting from the war boom and lost real wages in the bargain. Railroads and industries had received government largess and bonuses during the war. Industrial workers earned high wages for their labor and, according to bonus advocates, now wore "silk shirts." The American public was saved for democracy and incidentally became rich. These forces had their reward. It was only "just due" that a government that scrimped on soldiers' wages, failed to help them adjust to civilian life, and did not guarantee jobs should be forced to ante up.

Veterans' advocates both independently and in the American Legion arrived at a scheme for the government to adjust its payments to veterans to include wages they lost during their wartime service. Based on length of service and time abroad, the proposed Soldiers' Bonus was determined by deducting military pay from the wages that soldiers would have earned as civilians. The government would pay its obligation to veterans as a lump sum payment with interest, due in 1945. Bonus advocates hoped that the long period of time between the Adjusted Compensation Act and the payment of the Bonus would make it more politically palatable. Between 1920 and 1924, however, the plan for additional compensation provoked opposition from across the political spectrum.

Attempts to pass veterans' legislation for the Bonus failed in 1920, 1921, and again in 1922, when President WARREN G. HARDING, not opposed to the bill in principle, still vetoed it as an economy measure. In his veto message, he argued "It is as inevitable as that the years will pass that provision for World War veterans will be made, as it has been made for those who served in previous wars." Financial considerations, however, forced the government to postpone its obligation. "In a personal as well as public manner," Harding said, "I have commended the policy of generous treatment of the nation's defenders, not as a part of any contract, not as the payment of a debt which is owing, but as a mark of the nation's gratitude." In essence Harding chose to voice his own support but let his advisers have their way. As Secretary of the Treasury ANDREW MELLON argued, "the country is staggering under the existing burden of taxation and debt, and is clamoring for gradual relief from war taxation." The last thing that was needed was a new financial burden. Further, military service was an obligation of citizenship and should not be rewarded. In a decade given to the scaling back of government machinery, the Bonus was seen as contrary to the will and interests of the people. Neither Mellon nor Harding mentioned the escalating cost of creating and sustaining the VETERANS BUREAU and its hospitals.

After much debate and amendment, Congress in 1924 passed the Soldiers' Adjusted Compensation Act (nicknamed the Soldiers' Bonus) over a presidential veto. Designed to compensate individual soldiers for income lost during the war, it was funded by 20-year insurance certificates (25 percent increase plus 4 percent annually compounded interest) payable in 1945. Its success was due in large part to the power of organized veterans in the American Legion. The legion, which was modeled on the Civil War veterans' organization, the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), improved on the basic idea of military pensions. As one American Legion leader wrote, "We extracted more from Congress in one year than the GAR did in its whole existence." The legion excelled in pragmatic politics. Its original plan for the Bonus postponed payment for 20 years; no immediate provision for empowering tax revenues was included in the bill, and there was that common-sense "rational" calculus of lost wages. For these reasons, they were able to overcome objections about the need for a balanced budget. In the years ahead, they and other veterans' groups pushed for the early payment of the Soldiers' Bonus, a drive that sparked the Bonus March of 1932 and the final, early payment of the Bonus during the Great Depression.

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### southern demagogues

The word “demagogue” comes from Greek roots that mean leader of the people. In both ancient Greece and contemporary society, “demagogue” came to represent anyone who appealed in visceral terms to the fears and prejudices of the mass of voters. In the United States, it most often has been used to designate agrarian politicians from the South who combined populist appeal, social conservatism, and homespun oratory and who were, for the most part, allied with the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. During the late 19th century, southern demagogues emerged as the product of a distinct rural political culture and ascended to some of the most powerful political offices in the region. The failure of the populist movement to improve the conditions of embattled southern white farmers, the sharp division between town and country within the region, the single-party system that offered no opposition to Democratic Party control of local and state government, and the legacy of racial conflict created the preconditions for the emergence of southern demagogues at the turn of the century. Sometimes stereotyped as rednecks, hillbillies, and yokels, they embraced the traditions of the rural South and white southerners with their earthy language, exaggerated personalities, and homely dress.

Unlike the populist radicals of an earlier day, these agrarian politicians verbally attacked the power of the rich but failed to offer any political solutions to the economic and social woes of the region. Echoing the fears and grievances of the rural poor and middle classes as well as southern workers, demagogues such as Cole Blease of South Carolina and THOMAS WATSON of Georgia played on racial and religious prejudices while they used class rhetoric and the celebration of Christian white supremacy. Even those who sought to better the lives of their constituents found the way to progressive social legislation blocked by conservative state legislatures and the even more conservative judiciary. Competing with other political forces in the South, most notably rivals within the Democratic Party, southern demagogues offered greater political participation for their rural supporters but did not deliver more than symbolic representation.

As governors, congressmen, and senators, southern demagogues played a major role in state and national POLITICS. Among the best known were Pitchfork Ben Tillman of South Carolina, who was elected governor of that state in 1890. He helped to secure legislation that took the right to vote away from African-American men. Elected as senator from South Carolina in 1894, Tillman served in Congress until his death in 1925. In the aftermath of the Spanish-American War, he argued against the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines as a member of the Anti-Imperialist League. He rooted his opposition in his fear of the threat Filipinos presented to White America. While most southern

demagogues echoed Tillman’s racism, some also directed their concerns toward issues of education, taxes, and public improvements. Tillman himself believed that he had his greatest accomplishment in establishing a new agricultural college in South Carolina. Theodore Bilbo, known for his racist rhetoric, helped to improve the roads, lower property taxes for farmers, and increase funding for common schools in Mississippi. Cole Blease had a following among white textile workers in the Piedmont region. Others claimed to speak for white farmers and laborers. Other politicians from the South similarly identified as demagogues—men such as Jeff Davis of Arkansas, James K. Vardaman of Mississippi, and Fiddlin’ Bob Taylor of Tennessee—carried the banner of white supremacy in their domestic and foreign politics.

The most famous southern demagogue of the 20th century, and the one whose popularity transcended the region, was Louisiana’s Huey “Kingfish” Long. Growing up, he had heard a speech by Wild Jeff Davis of Arkansas, and he was strongly influenced by demagogues of the South. While he became the most conspicuous heir to its political legacy, Long also expressed its most radical side. His call to “Soak the Rich” and his attempt to broaden the number of his constituents who benefited from government largesse in new educational and social programs expanded his popularity beyond its rural base. Later southern politicians such as Eugene Talmadge of Georgia and George Wallace of Alabama carried the traditions of southern demagoguery into the 1960s with their staunch opposition to school integration and civil rights legislation.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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### sports

Prior to 1900, Americans participated in a variety of sporting activities, but few sports drew a large number of spectators. As men and women of all classes had more leisure time, spectator sports increased in popularity. The most popular sports of the time were BASEBALL, boxing, and football. All three sports, along with basketball and hockey, began to evolve into their current form of professional organization. At the same time, there were tensions between team owners and their employees. Professional athletes sought to exert greater control over their by forming player associations and unions. Their efforts, however, were largely unsuccessful. By 1930, owners had more power and control than they had in 1900.

The sport of football emerged in the decades following the end of the Civil War. Played initially on college campuses, the modern game developed slowly as teams altered the rules of rugby and soccer into a hybrid game that featured more scoring and physical contact. The early game of football was extremely violent. In 1909, for example, there were 33 recorded football fatalities, prompting many college presidents to question their support of the game. Despite its hazards, football had become synonymous with collegiate athletics, masculinity, and school pride by the 1920s, as it retained and even expanded its popularity.

Between 1900 and 1920, when the first professional football league emerged, there were many rule changes. None revolutionized the game more than the introduction of the forward pass. Passing greatly increased the game's popularity, and attendance skyrocketed over the next several decades. Many of the best early professional teams were located in the Midwest, with Ohio's Canton Bulldogs and Massillon Tigers among the elite. Professional football players, however, rarely received wages sufficient enough to allow them to rely on the game as their only source of income. The result was that most professional squads devoted little time to practice, and they experienced frequent personnel changes, which prevented them from developing the cohesiveness of collegiate squads. Until the emergence of the American Professional Football Association in 1920 (renamed the National Football League in 1922), the collegiate game remained far more popular and competitive. With the league's formation, interest in professional football grew steadily; attendance at NFL games increased, and by 1934 it totaled 492,000.

The popularity of professional boxing also grew tremendously between 1900 and 1930 as some of the sport's most memorable figures captured the nation's attention. JACK JOHNSON was one of the most talented boxers of the time. He won the heavyweight title in 1908 when he defeated Canadian Tommy Burns, in Sydney, Australia. As the nation's first African-American heavyweight champion, Johnson was treated as a hero in the black community. Many white boxing fans, promoters, and reporters, however, were desperate for a "Great White Hope," the white boxer who would "put Johnson back in his place." In 1910 former heavyweight champion Jim Jeffries came out of retirement for a July 4 fight for a record prize of \$100,000. Johnson, at the peak of his career, put on a brilliant boxing display and knocked Jeffries out in the 15th round. News of Johnson's victory was greeted with enthusiastic celebrations in African-American communities. Johnson eventually lost the heavyweight title to Jess Willard in a controversial bout in Havana, Cuba, in 1915.

Boxing finally found its great white champion in WILLIAM HARRISON "JACK" DEMPSEY, who won the heavyweight title in 1919. Although others have had a longer



Jim Thorpe kicks the football during a game in October 1912. (*Cumberland County Historical Society*)

reign as heavyweight champion, Dempsey's impact on the sport is hard to exaggerate. His boxing exploits were captured on film and shown to audiences across the country, giving Dempsey the kind of exposure no other fighter had ever enjoyed. Part of his popularity undoubtedly stemmed from the fact that by 1919, when he won the heavyweight title, many boxing fans were still searching for a great white champion. Jess Willard's victory over Jack Johnson in 1915 remained controversial. When the untainted, handsome, rugged, and gregarious Dempsey arrived on the scene, he was, for many white boxing fans, the right kind of champion. He held the heavyweight boxing title until 1926 when challenger Gene Tunney defeated him. The following year in a rematch, Tunney was again defeating the challenger on points when Dempsey knocked him to the canvas. After a "long count," during which Tunney had enough time to recover, he rejoined the match. He went on to win the controversial bout on points.

The spectator sport that grew most dramatically between 1900 and 1930 was professional baseball. Baseball

had been played in the United States since before the Civil War. Professional leagues dated back to the formation of the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players in 1871. At that time, the sport was often in a state of chaos. Teams formed and then moved or disbanded. Players jumped from team to team in search of higher pay, often playing for numerous teams within a single year. The sport also lacked a uniform set of rules, which prevented players, managers, and gamblers from determining the outcome of games. By the 1890s, the sport had developed a sense of cohesiveness as owners of teams in the newly formed National League began to drive out competitors and secure the services of the game's best players.

A challenge to the dominance of the National League came in 1899 when the Western League renamed itself the American League. League president Ban Johnson recruited several prominent National League owners and managers who were dissatisfied with its management. The American League began to lure high-profile players away from the National League. In 1902, the two leagues worked out an agreement that allowed both leagues to coexist and flourish. It created a National Baseball Commission consisting of the two league presidents and a neutral third party. The agreement also established rules regarding the transfer of players from one team to another and the movement of players from the minor leagues to the major leagues. Several dominant teams emerged in the period, including the New York Giants, the Chicago Cubs, the Detroit Tigers, the Boston Red Sox, and the Philadelphia Athletics. In 1903, pennant winners from each league competed in the first World Series, which the American League champion, Boston, won. The game grew tremendously in popularity, surpassing all other professional sports.

Baseball, however, continued to be plagued by scandal and corruption. Gambling and the fixing of games had been a problem in baseball and other sports, and the payoffs could be lucrative. The lure of money for fixing games was made more tempting when the 1902 agreement prevented American and National League teams from raiding players. The result was that owners had complete control over the rights of the players. The no-raiding rule prevented them from jumping to a team willing to pay more for their services. While baseball players were paid handsomely compared to the wages of many fans, they complained that owners received revenues far in excess of what they paid in salaries.

The problem of gambling came to a head in 1919 with the "Black Sox" scandal, which almost ruined the sport. That year, eight players on the American League champion Chicago White Sox accepted money from gamblers to intentionally lose the World Series to the underdog Cincinnati Reds. Each of the eight players reportedly agreed to accept \$10,000 to play poorly. When the plot was uncov-

ered, evidence of similar scams came to light; and the public began to question the integrity of the game. Realizing that the future of the game was on the line, owners moved quickly to regain public confidence. An agreement was reached in 1920 to create an independent baseball commissioner. Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis agreed to become the sport's first commissioner. He insisted on almost dictatorial control over the game, and in 1921 he banned all eight White Sox players (whom he had acquitted for lack of evidence) from the game for life. The decision helped reestablish public confidence in the sport, but it was the emergence of the legendary Babe Ruth that put the sport back on solid footing.

Between 1920 and his retirement in 1934, Ruth dominated the sport like no player has before or since. He had been one of the game's best pitchers and hitters for the Boston Red Sox since he entered the league in 1914. In 1920, the Red Sox's financially strapped owner sold Ruth's contract to the New York Yankees for \$125,000. His arrival in the New York market brought his game to a new level and catapulted him into national celebrity. Ruth excelled at every aspect of the game, but it was his tremendous home run power and off-the-field exploits that made him the country's most popular sports hero. Prior to 1920 home runs in baseball were extremely rare, with league-leaders rarely approaching double figures. In 1920, Ruth belted an amazing 54 home runs and topped that with 60 in 1927.

Other professional and amateur spectator sports either emerged or grew in popularity between 1900 and 1930. These included basketball, hockey, and golf. Invented by James Naismith in the 1880s, basketball mirrored the path of development taken by football. The amateur game emerged as a staple of college athletics and increased in popularity. The first college games were played in the 1890s, and a college rules committee was created in 1905. By 1920, most colleges and universities had established teams. At the professional level, basketball grew slowly. The National Basketball League was created in 1898. Prior to WORLD WAR I, the best professional team was the original Celtics. Support for the professional game, however, remained minimal; and few teams developed a loyal fan base until the formation of the National Basketball Association in 1949.

Professional and collegiate ice hockey also grew in popularity between 1900 and 1930. Developed in the 1860s, the game first took root in Canadian colleges and universities but quickly spread to the professional level in both Canada and the United States. The Stanley Cup was first awarded to the best Canadian team beginning in 1894. The trophy began to be awarded to the best professional team with the formation of the National Hockey League (NHL) in 1917. The NHL reformed in 1925 with professional teams in Toronto, Detroit, Montreal, Chicago, Boston, and



New York. Between 1900 and 1930, the sport had a sizable following in Canada, the upper Midwest, and on the East Coast, but it had not yet developed a large national audience.

Racial and gender discrimination were common features of American society between 1900 and 1930, and professional and collegiate sports were no exception. Universities, team owners, and promoters had almost complete control over who was allowed to participate. Most spectator sports excluded the participation of women and African Americans. At the turn of the century, some players of color, if their skin was light enough, were allowed to compete professionally. Native American Jim Thorpe, for example, was allowed to play collegiate and professional football. As SEGREGATION intensified, most sports rigidly enforced the color bar. Excluded from white male professional sports, women, African Americans, and other people of color formed their own teams and leagues. African-American baseball teams toured the country as far back as the 1880s. These barnstorming teams formed the Negro National League in 1920 and the Negro Eastern League in 1921. The Negro Leagues boasted some of the game's greatest players, including Josh Gibson, Cool Papa Bell, and the legendary Satchel Paige. Though not widely supported, women competed on basketball teams as early as 1895, but the women's game did not develop a wide audience. Most women athletes remained confined to amateur sports teams in college, at work, or in the community.

Spectator sports had a profound impact on the development of modern American culture. They emphasized physical prowess, competitiveness, and passive consumerism over all other attributes. The public and the media hailed athletes as heroes. Even in the period between 1900 and 1930, professional athletes earned incomes well in excess of those enjoyed by ordinary Americans. In 1927, Babe Ruth demanded and received a salary of \$100,000. Fans of spectator sports also were encouraged to be passive consumers. Prior to 1900, most local communities had semiprofessional and amateur baseball and football squads. As spectator sports increased in popularity, adult participation in these sports dwindled. Attendance at virtually every professional sport increased dramatically between 1900 and 1930. Similar rates of growth occurred in collegiate spectator sports. Finally, because of the increase in the number of spectators, sports became a medium through which owners and advertisers could, by identifying a team or an individual player with a product, sell consumer goods. Product endorsement, while it would become much more prevalent in the decades following the end of World War II, began to emerge in the 1920s and helped transform professional sports into a multimillion dollar industry that exerts its influence on virtually every aspect of American life.

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—Robert Gordon

## Standard Oil

The Standard Oil Corporation was among the largest, most influential companies in the Progressive Era. By 1900, it had established a near monopoly in the American oil production industry. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, a self-made entrepreneur, was the driving force behind the company. Despite having little formal education, Rockefeller built one of the most profitable corporations in American history and helped revolutionize the nature of business. Shortly after oil was discovered in Titusville, Pennsylvania, in 1859, the Cleveland, Ohio, area became one of the centers of the oil refining industry. Within a short period of time there were dozens of competing refineries located in and around the city. In 1863, Rockefeller and his partner Maurice Clark joined the fray and established an oil refining business near Cleveland. Initially the industry was extremely chaotic. Dozens of different companies focused on isolated aspects of the production process, and all attempted to undercut the profitability of their competitors. In addition, because each aspect of production was independent, there was great inefficiency. Using the profits he made to expand his company, Rockefeller began squeezing out or buying up competing refineries.

In 1867, Rockefeller, along with his brother William Rockefeller, Samuel Andrews, Henry M. Flagler, and S. V. Harkness, pooled their resources to create the Standard Oil Corporation with a capital outlay of \$1 million. By 1872, Standard Oil controlled 10 percent of the oil refining industry. Rockefeller was determined to control every aspect of the industry, including drilling, refining, transportation, sales, and distribution. He ruthlessly exploited the size of Standard Oil to force concessions and lower rates from the railroads. Once these lower rates were secured, Rockefeller was able to undercut other competitors and soon dominated the Cleveland market. By 1882, Standard Oil controlled over 90 percent of the oil refining industry. Throughout the rest of the century, Rockefeller expanded his oil empire to include ownership of oil wells, railroads, refineries, and distribution facilities throughout the country. He could set oil prices at whatever level he desired. Popular resentment about the power of new national corporations such as Standard Oil led to passage of the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. The legislation was intended to





Political cartoon depicting a Standard Oil tank as an octopus with its tentacles wrapped around the steel, copper, and shipping industries as well as a state house and the U.S. Capitol while one tentacle reaches for the White House (Library of Congress)

prevent companies from monopolizing an entire industry. In actual practice, however, the Sherman Act was invoked only infrequently and then typically directed against organized labor.

In the first decade of the 20th century, popular resentment against monopolies and trusts intensified. Muckraking journalists exposed political and corporate corruption, further fueling demands that the federal government intervene and break the power of the monopolies. In 1902, *McClure's Magazine* began publishing a series of 18 articles exposing the way in which Rockefeller built and maintained his oil empire. Written by journalist IDA M. TARBELL, *The History of Standard Oil* (1904) galvanized public and political opposition against the company and helped convince the federal government to look into possible antitrust violations. President THEODORE ROOSEVELT had promised to enforce the antitrust legislation and take an aggressive stand against illegal trusts and monopolies. In 1906, Roosevelt, claiming Standard Oil was 20 times larger than its nearest competitor, instructed the federal government to take action. The case wasn't resolved until 1911 when the Supreme Court ruled that the company had in fact violated federal antitrust laws and ordered that the company be broken into smaller, independent parts.

For a period of time, the Supreme Court's decision to break up Standard Oil had the desired impact. Even before the court ruling, it had become clear that Standard Oil's domination of the industry had begun to wane. Several new competitors entered the field before 1911, including Texaco (1902), Shell (1907), and British Petroleum (1909). By the time it was dissolved, Standard Oil controlled only 65 percent of the industry. The Supreme Court ruling against Standard Oil broke the giant into 34 smaller companies.

Eventually, however, several large corporations dominated the industry. Known as the Seven Sisters, Esso, Shell, Amoco, Chevron, Atlantic Richfield, British Petroleum, and Texaco extended their control over all aspects of the industry, both in the United States and around the world.

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—Robert Gordon

## steel industry

By 1900, the United States had become the world's dominant steel producer. Record demand for its products in the construction of skyscrapers, ships, and railroads had made the industry the engine of the nation's ECONOMY as well. The steel industry had prospered by the dynamic growth of city construction in the 1890s. It also had drawn strength from such changes as improved and expanding urban transport systems, the rebuilding of railroads with new, heavier steel rails, and the introduction of nickel-plated steel armor on battleships during the naval rearmament efforts at the turn of the century. In each of these arenas, new technologies and methods of organization had driven out small firms and increased the demand for capital to expand and improve steel production.

The fortunes that were made in steel did not, however, guarantee the industry's profitability. Fueled by Andrew Carnegie's cutthroat methods, competition among steel firms had made the steel industry and subsidiary concerns in railroad transportation and iron, coke, and coal mining prone to sharp drops in profit, periodic recession, and market chaos. Major industrial and finance capitalists such as JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER and John Pierpont Morgan had invested in the field as a means of stabilizing their own enterprises. In the late 1890s, however, Carnegie once again threatened to undercut competitors when he moved from producing raw steel to constructing a finishing plant to make steel tubes and girders and building his own rail link from the plant to Pittsburgh. These moves directly threatened both Federal Steel, a competitor directed by Elbert Gary and financed by Morgan, and the Pennsylvania Railroad. Contacting Carnegie's superintendent, Charles Schwab, Morgan proposed a gigantic merger of Carnegie Steel with Federal Steel and a host of subsidiaries, including American Bridge and National Tube. Founded in February 1901 at the end of a decade-long merger movement in the industry, U.S. STEEL was the brainchild of Schwab and Morgan.

U.S. Steel became the nation's largest corporation with over \$1.4 billion in assets and control of 65 percent of the

market in steel production. It employed over 168,000 workers at the time (the number would grow to over 350,000 by 1920). Its holdings included 41 iron mines, 213 steel mills, 78 blast furnaces, 1,100 miles of rail, and 112 Great Lakes iron ore boats. The industrial empire continued to acquire new properties throughout the first three decades of the 20th century. While U.S. Steel lost some market share due to the growth of the market and new competition, especially in sheet steel, it dominated the steel industry, controlled large parts of the subsidiary economy, and had substantial influence on government at all levels.

The consolidation of steel manufacture under U.S. Steel had, however, detrimental effects on innovation in the industry. Up to 1900, Carnegie Steel had been a leader in improving the quality of open-hearth steel beams for construction. Now under the U.S. Steel Corporation name, Carnegie Steel lost its place as an industry leader. Since stability was the key goal of the U.S. Steel merger, there was little incentive for innovation. Technological change came, instead, from smaller and more marginal firms, most of which were outside the U.S. Steel combine. Midvale Steel, a subsidiary firm, was the location of FREDERICK WINSLOW TAYLOR's experiments in cutting metal and his reorganization of the labor force and production later known as SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT. Bethlehem Steel, a smaller firm that earlier competed with Carnegie Steel in steel beam construction and the production of armor plating, constantly worked on improving its product and became a premier government contracting firm. It reinvested its profits from WORLD WAR I defense production and became the second largest steel producer in the United States by the 1920s. Finally, in the areas of high-speed steel for machine tools and alloy, sheet and electric steel, it was the smaller start-up companies that made a difference. Automobile manufacturers, the largest consumer of domestic steel in the 1920s, experimented with producing their own steel and created the alloy steels for new models. Alloying steel with nickel, chromium, vanadium, manganese, and molybdenum made it both stronger and more flexible for molding into bumpers, fenders, and other automobile parts. Continuous sheet steel, another innovation of the period, helped to guarantee automobile makers the supply of steel they needed for body parts.

Since the cataclysmic Homestead strike of 1892, the steel industry steadily decreased its dependence on union labor and worked to drive labor union organization out of steel plants. The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, which originally had contracts with several major firms, was locked out of steel manufacturing plants and steadily declined in numbers and influence in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The changing division of labor in steel factories de-skilled steel production and replaced skilled iron puddlers and boilers with semiskilled

production workers and a resulting decline in wages. This shift affected the ethnic makeup of the labor force, and the average steel worker of the early 20th century was an eastern or southern European immigrant workingman, with little formal schooling and few resources. He usually had limited English and had little recourse to employer demands. In the workplace, corporate leaders insisted that steel production in blast, Bessemer, or open-hearth furnaces required 24-hour production. While hours varied by occupation, more than 60 percent of the steel labor force worked between 60 and 84 hours per week. That often meant two standard 12-hour shifts with a long turn (24-hour shift) every two weeks. Dangerous heat and heavy machinery, unstable production methods (explosions were a common occurrence), and fatigued workers led to a shockingly high rate of industrial accidents in the steel industry.

Wage cuts in the wake of industry downturns led to labor disturbances in 1907, 1909, and 1919. U.S. Steel and its competitors such as Bethlehem and Republic Steel had no intention of recognizing and bargaining with unions. With the decline of the Amalgamated union, labor conflicts in the steel industry were, for the most part, not a welcome occurrence for the weakened union. Workers protested informally and struck collectively, largely without union support. Organized under the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, however, the STEEL STRIKE OF 1919 brought union resources to the industry. The largest segment of striking workers was, in fact, new to unionism. William Z. Foster, a radical trade unionist, and John Fitzpatrick, a Chicago trade unionist, led the drive to organize the mass-production steel industry. They had organized more than 100,000 when they began to ask for government mediation in the industry. When U.S. Steel president Elbert Gary refused to negotiate, more than 365,000 workers went out on strike in protest of the post-World War I wage cuts. Between September 1919 and January 1920, the strike held the attention of the industry and nation. U.S. Steel called on the Pennsylvania State Constabulary to repress unionism in the Pittsburgh area, and their Gary, Indiana, plants drew on local police to break up picket lines and protect replacement workers. The strike was broken, and industrial unionism in steel became moribund.

The immediate postwar crisis of unemployment had little long-term impact on the steel industry, which recovered strongly under the economic boom of the 1920s. It used the profits of wartime production to retain its dominance in the world steel market, including growing exports to Japan. At the same time, riding on the coattails of an expanding domestic automobile market, profits in steel hit record levels. U.S. Steel kept growing, even as it began to slowly trim its labor force. The automobile industry was a force for steel industry expansion, as steel continued to expand its production facilities in the Great Lakes region,

especially around Detroit, and in the South. Despite its positive growth, a looming economic crisis threatened to undermine the stability and prosperity of the steel industry. Overextended credit and over-expanded production facilities allowed little room for the drop in demand in the late 1920s. Overstocked automobile manufacturers and growing unemployment suggested that the boom times of the steel industry, begun in the 1890s, were about to come to an end.

See also FOREIGN TRADE.

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### Steel Strike of 1919 (1919)

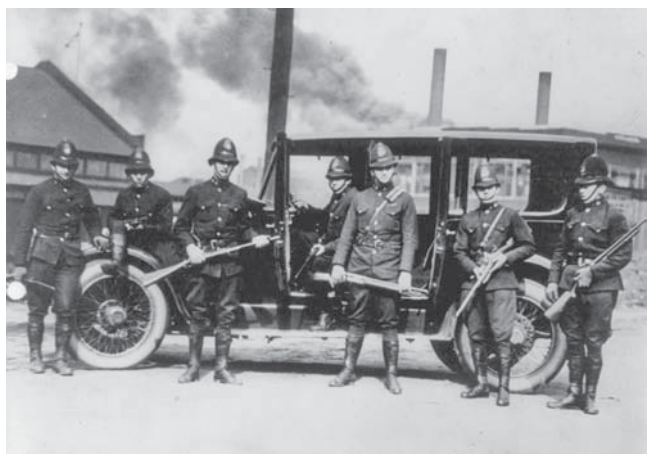
The Steel Strike of 1919 was the largest of a wave of strikes that shook the country following the end of WORLD WAR I. The strike, which began on September 22, 1919, and lasted until January 8, 1920, involved 365,000 steelworkers and marked the end of the wartime labor accord. Prior to the war, the STEEL INDUSTRY was largely unorganized. Steel companies vigorously opposed unionization. They sought to keep workers divided and unionization at bay by perpetuating ethnic and racial tensions in the workplace. The strategy was very effective. During the war, however, the administration of President WOODROW WILSON wanted to prevent production delays by avoiding labor disputes. When the administration created the War Labor Board to arbitrate labor conflicts, progressives in the labor movement, including WILLIAM ZEBULON FOSTER, took advantage of the opening to launch a drive to organize steelworkers.

Despite efforts to organize workers, conditions in the steel industry remained harsh. Steelworkers put in an average of 68.7 hours a week, considerably more than workers in other industries. In addition, wages were low and working conditions hazardous. In 1918, Foster convinced Samuel Gompers and the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) to launch an organizing drive among steel and ironworkers. They created the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers, which targeted industry giant U.S. STEEL in its Gary, Indiana, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, plants. The company had a long history of antiunionism and vowed to resist the organizing effort at all costs. Despite opposition from local officials and U.S. Steel's threat to use replacement workers to break the union, the organizing committee succeeded in unionizing 100,000 steelworkers by June 1919. The effort succeeded

because organizers aggressively recruited foreign-born unskilled laborers, to whom they portrayed the union as patriotic and an integral part of the fight against Kaiser Wilhelm and Germany. U.S. Steel responded by reiterating its commitment to maintaining a nonunion workplace. The company fired suspected union organizers and union leaders. Its efforts backfired and greatly increased rank-and-file support for the union.

In May 1919, the National Committee demanded a significant wage increase, an eight-hour workday, the abolition of company unions, the rehiring of workers fired for union activities, and union recognition. U.S. Steel refused to negotiate with union representatives. By August 1919, the crux of the conflict centered on union recognition. Gompers believed that Wilson and the NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD would pressure U.S. Steel president Elbert H. Gary to keep the peace. Gary, however, informed the War Labor Board that he was unwilling to even meet with the union. When Wilson refused to pressure the company, militants criticized Gompers's faith in the War Labor Board and began preparing for a strike. Led by William Z. Foster and Chicago trade unionist John Fitzpatrick, the National Committee prepared for an all-out strike; but Gompers, worried about the reliability of unskilled, foreign-born steel workers, agreed to a request by President Wilson to postpone any labor action.

Foster and Fitzpatrick were outraged and pushed ahead with plans to launch an industry-wide strike on September 22, 1919. Response to the strike call was massive. An estimated 275,000 steelworkers walked off the job the first day and their number peaked at 365,000 the next week. U.S. Steel, the media, local officials, and the federal government responded swiftly and forcefully. Striking



State troopers armed and ready to quell rioters during the Steel Strike of 1919 in Farrell, Pennsylvania (Library of Congress)



workers were threatened, intimidated, fired, and beaten. By the end of the walkout, 22 strikers had been killed. Many local newspapers reported that foreign-born radicals bent on undermining American society were leading the strike. Wilson and the War Labor Board stood by as local business and political leaders called on the police and militias to disperse striking workers and escort replacement workers safely inside plants. When Gompers and the AFL leadership refused to commit more support, the strike collapsed. It began to lose support among workers by December, and the National Committee officially called off the strike on January 8, 1920.

Critics of Gompers, at the time of the strike and since, maintain that massive support of the strike indicated that it could have been successful if the AFL had fully supported the action. The AFL's distrust of foreign-born unskilled workers and its preference for craft unionism ensured that the strike failed. More importantly, the AFL's reluctance to organize mass-production industries on an industrial rather than craft basis meant that the labor movement failed to capitalize on the nascent militancy and radicalism of unskilled industrial workers and ensured that the labor movement remained small and weak until the Great Depression.

See also LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT.

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—Robert Gordon

**Steffens, Lincoln** (1866–1936) *reformer, journalist*

Born in San Francisco, California, in 1866, Lincoln Steffens was among a handful of turn-of-the-century writers and journalists collectively known as MUCKRAKERS. The son of a wealthy businessman, Steffens attended the University of California, where he became actively involved in radical politics and began writing about the rampant corruption and excess in both private and public life.

Steffens began his career in journalism in 1892 and had modest success. It was as editor of *McClure's Magazine* that Steffens established himself as one of the most influential journalists in the country. He edited *McClure's* between 1902 and 1906. Determined to make *McClure's* a financial and political success, Steffens hired a staff of progressive writers that included UPTON SINCLAIR, IDA TARBELL, and Ray Standard Baker. As editor, Steffens transformed *McClure's* into the leading political magazine in the country. Articles by Upton Sinclair exposed unsafe and unsanitary conditions in the Chicago stockyards. Ida Tarbell chronicled the unsavory way in which STANDARD OIL became one of the largest and most powerful corporations in the country. In *Shame of the Cities*, Steffens

himself railed against the power of corporations and the new business elite, who, he argued, were lining their pockets, undermining democracy, and corrupting the nation's political, legal, and economic systems at the expense of the common people. Although President THEODORE ROOSEVELT and others chaffed at the manner in which Steffens exposed corporate greed and corruption, they understood the depth of popular resentment and initiated legislative reforms. These reforms included the MEAT INSPECTION ACT (1906), the PURE FOOD AND DRUG ACT (1906), and the HEPBURN ACT (1906).

Under Steffens's leadership, sales of *McClure's* expanded, as did its influence among progressives, socialists, and political reformers. In 1906 Steffens decided to leave the magazine to form a new, more radical journal, *American Magazine*, along with Tarbell and Baker. Despite an impressive roster of writers, *American Magazine* never achieved the critical or financial success of *McClure's*. Throughout the Progressive Era, Steffens's politics continued to evolve along more radical lines, culminating with his self-exile in the Soviet Union between 1919 and 1921. Steffens's support of the Soviet experiment was ultimately short-lived. By the time he published his autobiography in 1931, he had become thoroughly disenchanted with the Soviet government.

See also JOURNALISM; PROGRESSIVISM.

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—Robert Gordon

**Stock Market Crash** See VOLUME VIII.

**strikes** See LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT.

**suburbs**

American suburbs took shape during the period from 1900 to 1930. Four characteristics have made suburbs in the United States unique compared to suburbs in other countries. The first distinguishing characteristic is a low population density, a settlement pattern that Americans sought in an effort to make their lives private. The second characteristic is the desire for homeownership; a greater percentage of Americans own their own homes than in any other country. The third defining characteristic is the socioeconomic distinction between the core city and the suburbs. Those living in the suburbs tend to be wealthier and better educated than residents living in core cities. The



final characteristic is the length of the journey to work. As suburbs grew, Americans accepted ever-longer commutes to and from work. These four characteristics set America apart from the rest of the world. To understand why America's suburbs have developed in this manner, one needs to look at the confluence of developments that created suburbs in the early 20th century.

The 20th-century suburb evolved through three stages determined by the dominant mode of transportation. During the late 19th century, the railroad served as the only way to reach the outer limits of a city and thus determined the settlement patterns of the suburbs. Early in the century, the electric streetcar revolutionized URBAN TRANSPORTATION and made it possible for a greater number of city residents to live outside the city center. Automobiles provided the next great change in suburbanization. Cars and the expansion of roads led to an explosion in suburban populations as the outer rings of metropolitan areas became more accessible. Transportation changes were not the only determinants of suburbanization, however. Cheaper construction methods, the availability of home mortgages, cultural changes, and public funding of transportation improvements also contributed to America's flight to the suburbs.

Suburbs arose out of people's desire to escape the city. At the turn of the century, escape was possible only for a few wealthy businessmen and their families. Due to the cost of rail transportation, which was prohibitive for most middle-class and working-class people, the rail suburbs consisted of the homes of wealthy businessmen—and workers who provided services such as gardening and domestic labor. The development of the electric streetcar profoundly affected labor. Fares were much lower on the streetcars than on the regular railroads, which made it possible for middle-class people to live in suburbs. The streetcar lines also reached more areas than the railroad, opening up new lands for housing development. In fact, urban transport companies used the streetcar lines to attract purchasers for land near to their lines.

Streetcar suburbs grew in a spoke-and-wheel pattern, with the city at the center of streetcar lines radiating out into the suburbs. This pattern of suburbanization was aided by public-funded city services. In the 1900s street-paving and other utilities such as sewers were paid for by a special assessment on those property owners living on the street being improved. In the early 20th century, influenced by the lobbying of property developers, city governments decided that paving streets would bolster commerce. Cities therefore began to tax all city residents for civic improvements. In effect, it taxed all residents for the benefit of those moving to the city's edge.

Many other developments aided the creation of American suburbs during this period. As the streetcar companies extended their lines, cheaper property became available

outside cities, which made the very cheapest housing opportunities available farther outside the cities. The development of the balloon-frame house also made single-family dwellings affordable. Before the development of balloon-framing, heavy masonry columns and walls supported the weight of a house. This method of building was too expensive to use for large numbers of houses. Balloon-framing, in which a frame constructed of two-by-four boards supports the weight of the house, was much cheaper and made it economically possible for a wider section of American society to own a single-family home. Another development that aided suburban growth was the willingness of farmers to sell their land to property developers because agricultural prices had declined. It made economic sense for them to sell their land instead of continuing to farm.

New methods of financing home ownership also helped spread America's suburbs. Building and loan associations emerged during the early 20th century. Members of these associations bought shares and in return the association granted loans for its members to buy homes. By spreading the cost of a home over a number of years, building and loan associations made houses affordable for many Americans who could not afford to buy a house outright. Finally, Americans underwent a cultural change that raised the value of privacy. Suburbs appealed to those seeking to escape the crowded environment of the city. A home of one's own, set in the middle of a large yard, possibly with a hedge to screen the view from the road, provided the privacy that many sought.

The next step in the evolution of suburbs came with the rising popularity of the automobile in the 1920s. In 1905 there were 8,000 automobiles registered in the United States. By 1925 there were 17,481,001 autos registered. This tremendous increase in the number of Americans driving cars changed the suburbs. The turn to cars as the preferred mode of transportation encouraged the expansion of roads. The federal government aided local governments in expanding the road system. The 1916 Federal Aid Road Act offered matching funds to city governments that organized highway departments, and the 1921 Federal Road Act offered funds for the construction of roads. In an effort to relieve traffic congestion for commuters, state and municipal governments used these funds to pave and expand traffic arteries out of the cities and later to build "parkways." These roads limited access in an effort to maintain constant traffic speeds and, as their name implies, were meant to provide a parklike environment for the drivers, with natural settings constructed along the roadway. America's embrace of the automobile was accompanied by the decline of streetcar systems. By the 1920s streetcar systems had become unprofitable for a variety of reasons, a development that made automobile travel the preferred method of transportation.

Cars also reshaped suburban settlement patterns. By necessity, streetcar suburbs were concentrated within walking distance of streetcar lines. Automobile transportation and the expansion of roads made it possible for suburbs to grow anywhere. Thus, suburban settlement began to fill in the spaces between streetcar lines, altering the spoke-and-wheel settlement pattern. Because land was cheaper in the areas between streetcar lines, the inhabitants could afford larger pieces of property, which gave rise to the uniquely American pattern of a single-family home sitting in the middle of a large yard. It further deepened the disparity in population density between the cities and suburbs.

Trucks also played an important role in America's suburbanization by making industrial suburbs possible. During the era of rail transportation, manufacturers concentrated within the central area of the city, close to rail lines, because the only way to transport large amounts of goods was by rail. The expansion of the road systems made it possible to use trucks to transport goods. Businesses jumped at the opportunity afforded by the truck, because land was cheaper in the suburbs than in the city. As industry moved out of the city, workers followed, which helped the dispersal of population to the suburbs.

By 1930, America's suburbs had evolved into the pattern familiar today. It is important to remember that suburbanization occurred through the actions of many different interests. It was not accidental. Developers, automobile companies, street car companies, reformers, individual citizens, and government officials all acted to create the American suburb.

See also AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY; CITIES AND URBAN LIFE.

**Further reading:** Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Becky M. Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

—Michael Hartman

**Sullivan, Louis H.** See VOLUME VI.

### **Sunday, William Ashley, Jr. (Billy Sunday)**

(1862–1935) *evangelist*

Billy Sunday was one of the foremost evangelical ministers of his era. Like many clergymen of the time, his sermons were built upon a combination of devotion to Christ and dedication to hard work and social responsibility. His ability to overcome adversity led him to believe, and then preach, that moral fortitude was the principle prerequisite for success.

Billy's life was one of hardship and challenge. Just three weeks after his birth, his army father, Private William Ashley Sunday, died of pneumonia. His mother, Mary Jane Corey, kept the Sunday family together for the next nine years. Then in 1872, abject poverty forced Mary Jane to send her two sons, Billy and Edward, to the Civil War Soldier's Orphans Home in Glenwood, Iowa. The Soldier's Orphans Home was the first but not the last orphanage for Billy. For almost a decade, he and his brother bounced from orphanage to orphanage.

Sunday was an extremely talented athlete. In 1880, two months before his 18th birthday, he took the first step toward making baseball a career. He was recruited by the Marshalltown Fire Brigade, a voluntary firemen's organization and team. After a short stint with the Brigade, Billy was drafted by the Chicago White Stockings, and his career as a professional baseball player began. His early career was rather inauspicious; but while he was never a starter in Chicago, he managed to stay with the White Stockings for five years. When he was traded to the Pittsburgh Pirates in 1887, Sunday's career took off, and he was



William Ashley Sunday, Jr. (Library of Congress)

elevated to the starting lineup. As his skills grew, so did his salary and status.

Despite Sunday's athletic success and good salary, he was convinced that something was missing from his life. In 1886 he began to see what that might be. It was then that he converted to the Christian faith. A short time later, during a visit to the Pacific Grove Mission, he realized his passion for the gospel and devotion to teaching. Within a few months, Sunday began teaching at the Jefferson Park Presbyterian Church and offering programs at the Chicago YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YMCA). His abilities as a public speaker made him one of the most popular in the area. At the end of the 1886 baseball season, Billy met Helen Amelia Thompson at a church social. After a short courtship, the couple was married. Helen changed Billy's life. She reinforced his devotion to RELIGION and helped to persuade him to continue this education. It was likely Helen who influenced him to enroll in classes at Evanston Academy on the campus of Northwestern University. While taking classes, Sunday coached local students on the fundamentals of baseball.

It was not long after the couple married that Sunday began to question his future as a baseball player. Even though both Philadelphia and Cincinnati had offered him more money than he had made in either Pittsburgh or Chicago, he decided to end his career as a professional baseball player and devote himself to spreading the word of the Lord. He accepted a job with the YMCA paying a mere \$1,000 a year, significantly less than the \$3,500 that he would have earned playing baseball during the seven-month season. Leaving baseball was a crucial step in Billy's personal, professional, and spiritual development. Sunday apprenticed himself to Reverend J. Wilburn Chapman, a renowned evangelist, in 1884. After working with Chapman for two years, Sunday ventured out on his own. From January 1896 through November 1907, he preached in approximately 70 different communities.

One of Sunday's greatest talents was his ability to reach men and women from different social and economic backgrounds. He was close to many of America's elite. JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, Jr., became one of his close friends. His friendships with wealthy philanthropists, however, did not make him unapproachable to those on the lower rungs of the ladder. Due in part to his rural upbringing, Sunday retained the ability to speak in a language that farmers could understand. This ease and comfort did not, however, translate to all classes. He often found it difficult to empathize with industrial workers and city dwellers.

Sunday's sermons went beyond scripture. At times they were overtly political. As a devout member of the REPUBLICAN PARTY, Sunday was often criticized for attacking organized labor. He increasingly focused on redeeming American cities from what he believed to be moral sick-

ness. He especially hated what he saw as an urban propensity toward drink. After 1907, he preached his famous booze sermon, "Get on the Water Wagon," at least once in every city that he visited. Until his death, Sunday remained convinced that the moral weakness of the urban poor, not the economic system, was the source of pain and discomfort in American cities.

Sunday's life was highlighted by success in athletics and the ministry, but his life was far from charmed. He was viewed by many as a hypocrite and a money monger. His relationship with his family suffered from prolonged absences. And he was often associated with the extreme views of men such as William Jennings Bryan. In the later years of Sunday's life, his message and style began to lose its appeal. In the early decades of the 20th century, religious liberalism and the Social Gospel arose to challenge conservative Christian churches. With the onset of movies and radio, Sunday soon found his popularity waning, but until his death on November 6, 1935, he remained one of the most influential evangelists on the scene.

**Further reading:** Lyle W. Dorsett, *Billy Sunday and the Redemption of Urban America* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans, 1991).

—Steve Freund

## Supreme Court

Like the Roman god Janus, the U.S. Supreme Court in the early 20th century seemed to have two faces, simultaneously looking in different and often opposite directions. Looking toward the past, the Court felt compelled by precedent and belief to continue its property- and contract-protecting jurisprudence. At the same time, the Court considered a worrisome future, driven by Progressive calls for groundbreaking social legislation that was at odds with the Court's beliefs. The Court's task, therefore, was to chart a course that would honor its earlier constitutional principles while according the legislative and executive branches the deference and latitude they required.

No Supreme Court era exists in a vacuum. The issues in the nation affect the Court's deliberations, and, in turn, the Court's opinions affect not only the parties to the litigation but the course of governance and society at large. The early 20th-century Court made its decisions in a society where legislatures sought to create a more activist government that challenged earlier laissez-faire principles. The nation also faced internal dissent associated with WORLD WAR I and the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION even as justices and scholars questioned the role of law and jurisprudence in modern society.

With the rise of Progressive political philosophies, legislatures enacted laws that sought to address the excesses in

America's economic system. In reaction to that legislation, the Supreme Court from 1900 to 1930 invalidated more legislation than it had in its previous history. At the same time, the Court often deferred to the popularly elected branches. While seemingly inconsistent, the Court's opinions suggest that it was trying to balance core laissez-faire constitutional principles with the democratically elected branches' drive to provide for the general welfare.

The Court struck this balance by defining the due process clauses of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to protect citizens and corporations against laws the Court viewed as socialistic while granting exceptions for select social welfare needs. The cases perhaps most reflective of this balance are *LOCHNER V. NEW YORK* (1905) and *MULLER V. OREGON* (1908). In *Lochner*, the Court invalidated legislation restricting bakers' working hours, because that law improperly subjected worker and employer contract rights to "the mercy of legislative majorities" and interfered "with the rights of the individual" in violation of due process. Justice OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, in a dissent that resonated in the late 1930s, questioned using due process principles to prevent legislative social experiments, even when the Court considered those experiments ill-advised.

In *Muller*, the Court permitted exceptions to its *Lochner* principles in unanimously upholding an Oregon law limiting a woman's workday to 10 hours. Basing its decision on health and safety concerns, the Court accepted Oregon's restrictions in order to protect "women's physical structure and the performance of maternal functions." In later cases, the Court carved out further exceptions to its *Lochner* opinion, even to the point of upholding a law restricting the hours men could work in manufacturing and mining jobs in *Bentley v. Oregon* (1917).

That deference to legislatures slowed with the demise of the Progressive movement. In 1923 the Court invalidated a congressional measure regulating wages and hours for women and children. In that case, *ADKINS V. CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL* (1923), the Court determined that Congress had gone too far in regulating wages and that the legislation struck at the core of an individual's right to contract, in violation of the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. The Court also took notice of the recently passed Nineteenth Amendment, which granted women the right to vote, suggesting that protective legislation undermined gender equality.

It is not coincidental that *Adkins* limited legislative prerogatives as the Progressive movement declined, just as it is not coincidence that the Court allowed regulations of contract rights in *Muller* and *Bentley* at the height of the Progressive Era. In granting limited exceptions to its contract- and property-protecting rules, the Court somewhat bowed to social forces while holding firm to its core principles. When the Progressive movement's pressures abated,

the Court reverted to the purer *Lochner* standard. The Court followed that approach until the economic upheavals of the Great Depression (see Volume VIII).

Members of the Supreme Court often referred to property and contract rights as individual liberties against which the government could not intrude. In striking down regulatory legislation, the Court deemed itself a protector of those rights and a bulwark against the abuses of majority rule. With the advent of World War I, the Court again faced the problem of protecting individual rights against government intrusion. This time the issue would focus on First Amendment free speech rights. As part of its war efforts, Congress passed a series of laws to protect the nation in time of war, among them the ESPIONAGE ACT of 1917. Charles Schenck was arrested and convicted for violating the act by distributing pamphlets opposing the draft. Schenck appealed to the Supreme Court. Speaking for a unanimous Court in *SCHENCK V. UNITED STATES*, Holmes wrote that CONGRESS could limit speech that created "a clear and present danger" of the "substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent," in this case obstruction of the draft. In affirming the conviction, Holmes likened Schenck's words to "falsely shouting fire in a theatre."

Later that year, the Court in *Abrams v. United States* revisited the Espionage Act and affirmed a conviction for advocating strikes against munitions factories. While the majority relied on the *Schenck* opinion, Holmes dissented. In that dissent, Holmes tightened his clear and present danger test to require an "imminent danger that will bring about forthwith certain substantive evils." Later Courts would take up Holmes's requirement of immediate danger of substantive evil.

The Supreme Court did not adopt Holmes's imminent danger tests until well after he left the court. In 1925, however, the Court in *Gitlow v. New York* took a substantial step in widening First Amendment protections. In *Gitlow* the Court confronted the conviction under New York's Criminal Anarchy law of Benjamin Gitlow for publishing a manifesto advocating mass strikes and proletariat revolution. While the Court acknowledged the manifesto had no effect, it upheld the conviction, fearing "a single revolutionary spark may kindle a fire that, smoldering for a time, may burst into a sweeping and destructive conflagration." In limiting Gitlow's speech rights, however, the Court ruled that speech was a fundamental personal right protected against state encroachment. The First Amendment now applied to state laws as well as federal laws.

Shortly after *Gitlow* the Court faced another state law case. In *Whitney v. California*, the Court considered Anita Whitney's conviction under California's criminal syndicalism statute for membership in the Communist Party. The Supreme Court affirmed her conviction, but in his concurrence, Justice LOUIS BRANDEIS, offered a new



standard and logic that would be adopted about 50 years later. Brandeis wrote that democratic governance required nearly unfettered speech and that if there was time to answer the speech, with no threat of immediate danger, then the speech was protected by the First Amendment. Between them, Holmes and Brandeis set the standard for speech protection that later Courts would adopt.

While the Court ruled on these important issues, judges and scholars were reassessing how the courts and the law interrelated with society. In 1897, Holmes published *The Path of the Law*, introducing the idea that law and judicial decision making could neither be divorced from societal needs nor could they be viewed apart from the values of the judges. Holmes rejected the notion that judges formalistically applied set rules to facts, as mathematicians would apply numbers to a formula. Instead, public policy did and should play a significant role in judicial decision making. Courts increasingly accepted Holmes's position as they progressively applied laws in a more flexible and pragmatic fashion.

Scholars often view the 1900–30 Supreme Court as archaic. More realistically, the Court should be viewed a body struggling with government's place in an increasingly complex nation. In addressing the balance between personal freedoms and general needs, the early 20th-century Supreme Court set the foundation for many of the liberties Americans now enjoy.

See also *BUCK'S STOVE*; *CIVIL LIBERTIES*; *DANBURY HATTERS*; *PROGRESSIVISM*.

**Further reading:** Morton J. Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 1870–1960: The Crisis of Legal Orthodoxy* (New York: Oxford University Press 1992); Robert G. McCloskey, *The American Supreme Court*, 4th ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

—Robert Olender

### Sweet trial (1926)

In the summer of 1925, Dr. Ossian Sweet, his wife, Gladys, and nine friends and relatives were arrested for the death of a neighbor while defending their recently bought home against a hostile crowd that had gathered outside. The issue for many was one of racial integration. As one NAACP press release stated, "If in Detroit the Negro is not upheld in the right to defend his home against eviction at the hands of a riotous mob, then no decent Negro home anywhere in the United States will be secure." Supported by the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) and other civil rights groups, the Sweets declared their innocence with a powerful defense of equal property rights. Participating in their trial were figures of major national significance. Judge Frank Murphy, later

mayor of Detroit and governor of Michigan, presided over the case. CLARENCE DARROW, one of the greatest attorneys in American history, led the defense team, and Arthur Garfield Hays, another prominent liberal lawyer, assisted him. Local and national reporters covered the trial for national and African-American newspapers as the entire country followed the proceedings.

Like many other northern cities, Detroit experienced the growth of racial conflict in the years during and after WORLD WAR I. Chicago, St. Louis, Washington, D.C., and Tulsa had race riots during those years. In Detroit, police brutality against African-American men and small housing riots had left much of the city with a tenuous racial peace. Restrictive real estate covenants and common banking practices, even when not enforced by legal segregation, kept most African Americans from buying houses in mostly white neighborhoods. The habits of racial separation did the rest. The early 1920s saw the revival of the KU KLUX KLAN, with a particularly strong contingent in suburban Detroit. While the Klan spent much of its venom on immigrant workers and Catholics, it also promoted the ideology of white supremacy and enforced its ideas through collective violence. In the mayoral election of 1924, Klan member Charles S. Bowles almost won as a write-in candidate. He was narrowly defeated after the city disqualified 15,000 ballots.

The African-American community in Detroit numbered about 80,000 in 1920. Most African Americans were relatively recent migrants. Centered for the most part on the near east side in the area called Paradise Valley, the community opened Dunbar Hospital, the first black facility in the city, and housed businesses that catered primarily to the migrants. The *Detroit Independent* provided news to black Detroiters, and the local NAACP, United Negro Improvement Association, and the Detroit Urban League played major roles in advocating for African-American causes.

Ossian Sweet, an African-American doctor from Florida, moved with his family to Detroit in 1924, seeking to escape the segregated South by moving to the Motor City. Gladys Mitchell Sweet, his wife, came from one of the oldest African-American families in Detroit, and her elite connections aided her husband in establishing a practice in the city. After their move, the Sweets became part of the expanding community, joining elite St. Matthews Episcopal Church and other local civil rights organizations.

As a follower of MARCUS GARVEY, Ossian Sweet had little patience for racial accommodation and wanted to take the lead in integrating the city. In June 1925, he put a sizable down payment on a house in the largely immigrant northeast sector of the city. Despite racial bars, Sweet was able to buy a modest home on Garland and Charlevoix, a house previously owned by an interracial couple. The

neighborhood, however, had not known that the previous owner was African American, and so the Sweets' purchase of the house raised the ire of some local homeowners. The same year, two other African Americans in Detroit had been removed from their homes in all-white neighborhoods. The homeowners around Waterworks Park had similar aims.

For that reason, when the Sweets moved into their new home, they brought not only two vans of furniture but a generous supply of food, guns, and ammunition, the elements of a siege. Within days the Waterworks Improvement Association, a neighborhood group, set out to evict the Sweets from their home, if necessary through violence. On September 8, 1925, the Sweets moved into their home. They requested police protection, a move that had ambiguous results. The following evening, a white mob had gathered outside the Sweet house and began throwing stones, first at those arriving and then at the house itself. From the house and from police positions outside the home shots were fired. Leo Breiner was killed, and another man, Erik Halberg, was wounded.

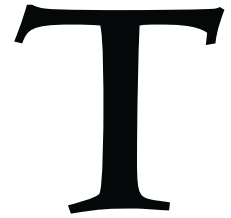
Promptly taken into police custody, all 11 of those in the Sweet home, including Gladys Sweet, were arrested for murder. The trial itself juxtaposed the Sweets, who came from the respectable black professional class, with their neighbors, upwardly mobile Polish and Hungarian immigrants and their children. Darrow's defense team played on

the differences of education and respectability between the Sweets and the immigrant mob. In addition, they suggested how the Sweets' state of mind, inflamed by the history of violence directed against African Americans, determined their course of action. Threatened by an angry mob, Sweet and his compatriots defended their rights as citizens and property owners to the same liberties as whites. The first trial of all 11 defendants ended with a hung jury after 46 hours of deliberations. Following the outcome, the defense chose to try the defendants individually. Henry Sweet, Ossian's brother, was tried first, as the only defendant to admit he fired a gun. After only four hours of deliberation, an all-white jury acquitted Henry Sweet and, by implication, all the other defendants. While the Sweet case did not settle the racial troubles of Detroit, the acquittal of the Sweets' actions in defense of their property led the way to further housing integration and improved race relations in the city.

See also NATIVISM; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

**Further reading:** Kevin Boyle, *The Arc of Justice: A Saga of Race, Civil Rights and Murder in the Jazz Age* (New York: Henry Holt, 2004); Victoria W. Wolcott, *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).





**Taft, William Howard** (1857–1930) *27th U.S. president, chief justice of the Supreme Court*

Often referred to as the “Reluctant President,” William Howard Taft was the 27th president of the United States. Taft was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on September 15, 1857. Taft’s father was himself a politician and served as secretary of war and attorney general under Ulysses S. Grant. Growing up and as a young man, Taft preferred law to politics. He attended Yale University and graduated in 1878. He then attended Cincinnati Law School and joined the bar in 1880. For the next decade, Taft practiced law in Cincinnati. A large man, 6 feet, 4 inches tall, he weighed more than 300 pounds during his presidency. He was easygoing and hardworking. He made friends easily and quickly earned a reputation for honesty and personal morality. Taft also preferred quiet and stability, tended to procrastinate, and lacked the ability to inspire or motivate audiences. At a time when political scandals and corruption were common, Taft’s reputation enabled him to win appointment to increasingly important judicial positions and the support of Ohio’s REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Taft’s first important break came in 1887, when, at the age of 29, he was appointed to the Ohio superior court. From the early days of his professional career, Taft’s goal was to become a member of the U.S. Supreme Court. Though heavily involved in the Ohio Republican Party, he had little interest in running for political office. Taft served on the U.S. Sixth Court of Appeals between 1892 and 1900. During that time, his judicial rulings were mixed. On several occasions, he ruled against organized labor, upholding a lower court injunction against a railroad strike and a ruling declaring secondary boycotts illegal. On the other hand, Taft supported in principle the right of workers to join unions and to conduct strikes.

Though Taft was more comfortable in the courtroom, his wife, Helen Herron, encouraged him to seek political office. Taft’s political career began in 1900 when President

William McKinley appointed him to oversee the formation of a government in the Philippines and named Taft its first civil governor a year later. During his tenure, Taft created an efficient administration, free from corruption. As civil governor, he established a system of public education and convinced the Catholic Church to sell small plots of land to Filipino farmers. Largely as a result of his success, President THEODORE ROOSEVELT chose Taft to be his secretary of war in 1904. Between 1904 and 1908, he and Roosevelt became strong political allies. When Roosevelt, nearing the end of his second term in office, decided not to seek reelection, he chose Taft to be his successor. Taft was initially reluctant; but at the urging of his wife, family members, and supporters, he agreed to seek the Republican nomination, which he easily won. In the general election, Taft faced Democrat William Jennings Bryan. During the presidential campaign, Taft promised to adhere to the policies established by the popular Roosevelt. Taft defeated Bryan, winning the popular vote 7,679,114 to 6,410,665 and the Electoral College vote 321 to 162.

During his only term in office, Taft was largely ineffective and personally very unhappy. From the outset, Taft aligned himself with the Republican Party’s conservative Old Guard. Led by Speaker of the House JOSEPH CANNON, the Old Guard opposed progressives in their party who wanted the federal government to play a more active role in society. Unlike Roosevelt, Taft did not believe in using the power of the presidency or the federal government to push legislative reforms or achieve social equality. Still, while in office, Taft signed several significant pieces of legislation, including the MANN-ELKINS ACT, which increased railroad regulation, and furthered Roosevelt’s trust-busting agenda by continuing Justice Department investigations of antitrust violations. At the same time, divisions began to emerge in the Republican Party as early as 1909 during the debate over the PAYNE-ALDRICH TARIFF ACT. Wisconsin senator ROBERT LA FOLLETTE and other



William Howard Taft (*Library of Congress*)

midwesterners were vehemently opposed to the tariff, because they believed that it kept prices artificially high and benefited primarily large corporations and eastern financial markets. When Taft called for a special session of Congress to deal with tariffs, he originally intended to have them lowered. However, the final version of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff did the exact opposite. When Taft signed the tariff, he created a split in the party.

Between 1909 and 1911 a series of controversies deepened the divide between progressives and conservatives in the Republican ranks. In 1909 Taft fired the progressive head of the U.S. Forest Service and long-time Roosevelt supporter, GIFFORD PINCHOT, after he disagreed with Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger. Hoping to galvanize progressive opposition to Taft and the Old Guard, Pinchot had deliberately provoked a conflict. His firing angered Roosevelt and convinced many progressives of the need to support a different candidate in the 1912 election. In August 1910, Roosevelt delivered a speech criticizing Taft and laying out the idea of the NEW NATIONALISM, which provided the basis for his 1912 presidential campaign.

Finally, in the 1910 elections, Taft and the Old Guard Republicans attempted to unseat or block the nominations of congressional progressives, convincing La Follette to form the National Progressive Republican League. As the popularity of the league grew and the intensity of La Follette's attacks on Taft's lack of leadership intensified, Taft and Roosevelt realized that the dissidents would be a force to be reckoned with in the election of 1912. Initially Roosevelt refused to publicly side with either Taft or the progressive dissidents, but Roosevelt soon announced that he would seek the Republican nomination. Taft felt personally betrayed by Roosevelt. Now being publicly attacked by his mentor, Taft refused to give in. He began touring the country, criticizing both Roosevelt and La Follette. In so doing, he secured the support of enough delegates to the 1912 Republican convention that he was able to defeat Roosevelt's bid to win the nomination. Convinced that they could defeat Taft and the Democratic nominee, WOODROW WILSON, dissidents in the Republican Party formed the PROGRESSIVE PARTY. At their convention in August 1912, they selected Roosevelt as their presidential nominee and California governor HIRAM W. JOHNSON as their vice presidential candidate.

Taft attempted to rally the Republican Party's conservative base in order to stave off defections to the Progressive Party, but his campaign failed to generate much enthusiasm. The election of 1912 was tightly contested. The Progressives hoped they could lure enough votes away from both parties to secure a victory. In the end, though Roosevelt easily outpolled Taft, the party failed to make significant inroads with Democratic voters. Wilson received 6,293,000 votes, Roosevelt 4,119,000, and Taft 3,484,000. The electoral vote was even more decisive with Wilson receiving 435 votes, Roosevelt 88, and Taft 8.

After his defeat in the 1912 election, Taft accepted a position teaching constitutional law at Yale University. During WORLD WAR I, he served on the NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD. Following the war's conclusion, he became a strong supporter of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS. In 1921, Taft realized his life-long dream when President WARREN G. HARDING appointed him chief justice of the Supreme Court. Taft served on the high court until his retirement in 1930. During his tenure as chief justice, he made important strides in modernizing the Court and improving its efficiency. Taft's failing health forced him to retire from the Court in February 1930, and he died a month later.

See also DOLLAR DIPLOMACY.

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—Robert Gordon

**Tarbell, Ida Minerva** (1857–1944) *reformer, journalist*

Born in Erie County, Pennsylvania, in 1857, Ida Tarbell was one of the nation's first influential female reporters. After studying biology and graduating from Allegheny College in 1880, Tarbell did not intend to become a journalist; but as she struggled to find work as a teacher, she began writing articles to support herself. Concerned that modern day political machines and laissez-faire capitalism were undermining traditional American values, Tarbell committed herself to rooting out and exposing corruption. In 1891 she moved to Paris, where she met S. S. McClure, future owner of *McClure's Magazine*.

Tarbell joined the staff of *McClure's* when it was created in 1894. Labeled MUCKRAKERS, she and other reform journalists LINCOLN STEFFENS, UPTON SINCLAIR, and Ray Stannard Baker turned their attention to the increasing power of corporations and corruption in government. Tarbell began an in-depth investigation of JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, owner of the nation's largest and most profitable corporation, STANDARD OIL. Between 1902 and 1904, Tarbell wrote a series of articles that exposed the lengths to which Rockefeller went to build and maintain his oil empire. Published in 1904 as *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, Tarbell's expose outraged people throughout the country and contributed greatly to the 1911 Supreme Court decision to dismantle the company for its violation of the 1890 Sherman Antitrust Act. It marked the first time federal antitrust laws had been enforced against an influential national corporation. Tarbell also became a staunch critic of the KU KLUX KLAN and the lynching of African Americans. In the pages of *McClure's*, she spoke out against racism and lynching frequently and eloquently. In 1906, Tarbell, Steffens, Baker, and others left *McClure's* to create the more radical journal, *American Magazine*, where she served as editor until its demise in 1915. Although Tarbell was reluctant to embrace the WOMAN SUFFRAGE movement and held traditional views about the role of women in society inconsistent with her public career, she inspired an entire generation of female reporters and helped to change the shape of American public life.

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—Robert Gordon

## tariffs

As a tax on imports, tariffs have been used in the United States to aid and develop the nation's industrial and agri-

cultural sectors since the nation's founding. For this reason, though, politicians frequently have used the tariff to gain political advantage from certain sectors of American society. The central debate in struggles to adjust the tariff has been whether to protect manufacturing and agricultural interests by keeping the tariff rate high in order to minimize foreign competition or to aid consumers with a low tariff that would help keep the price of consumer goods low. Frequent tariff debates have contributed to long-standing struggle over the role of the federal government in the development of the nation's economy. For President Abraham Lincoln and subsequent Republican administrations, high tariff duties became the principle strategy to aid and assist industrial development. According to President Benjamin Harrison, "the protective system . . . has been a mighty instrument for the development of the national wealth." In contrast, the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, as the advocate of states' rights, frequently attacked the protective tariff and called instead for freer trade.

During the late 19th century, a protective tariff was put into place with the passage of the McKinley Tariff of 1890. But as the nation began to face growing concern over the increasing power held by the corporate elite, the tariff became a target of attack for many progressive reformers. Progressives considered protective tariffs a major factor in the consolidation of economic power that had contributed to the decline of competition in the American marketplace. Instead of protective tariffs, progressives argued for a revenue tariff that allowed the federal government to generate needed revenues but did not close the market to less-expensive imported goods. Despite advocating a progressive agenda during his presidential campaign, once in office, President WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT quickly annoyed many progressives when he signed the PAYNE-ALDRICH TARIFF ACT in 1909. The chair of the Senate Finance Committee, Nelson W. Aldrich, guided through Congress a bill that drastically revised and enlarged the tariff on more than 800 items. The tariff caused an acrimonious debate to emerge, with midwestern Republicans charging that the legislation was a throwback to the days when the REPUBLICAN PARTY served the interests of industry without question. By signing the bill, Taft quickly alienated the progressive wing of his party and caused it to split, with the formation of the PROGRESSIVE PARTY by the next presidential election.

Shortly after entering the White House, Taft's successor, WOODROW WILSON, aggressively attempted to address the problem of economic power that the nation had been debating for some 20 years. Topping his list of reforms was the need for tariff revision. Progressives had long advocated a reduction in tariff rates as a way to undercut the economic power of trusts, but they had not prevailed in this endeavor until Wilson took office. As one of his first policy

efforts, Wilson pushed for a lowering of the tariff rates in the United States. From the prevailing average of 40 percent, the UNDERWOOD-SIMMONS TARIFF Act of 1913 pared rates down to an average of 25 percent. The legislation reduced the import duty on more than 900 items, raised them on only 86, and left some 300 items untouched. Because the new tariff legislation especially targeted trust-dominated industries, the Democrats strongly felt that this new tariff would spur competition and reduce prices for consumers by opening protected American markets for foreign products.

With the return of Republicans to the White House in 1921, President WARREN G. HARDING's administration set about restoring many traditional Republican policies, among them a tax cut and a protective tariff. Harding's secretary of the treasury, ANDREW W. MELLON, strongly advocated that both these policies be adopted shortly after the administration entered office. WORLD WAR I had allowed the chemical and metal industries to develop a number of innovative technologies; and they, along with Mellon, argued for protective tariffs to allow them further to develop. The FORDNEY-MCCUMBER TARIFF of 1922 increased tariff rates on chemical and metal products as a safeguard against the revival of German industries, which had dominated these sectors of the international economy prior to the outbreak of hostilities in Europe in 1914.

The global economy witnessed significant changes with the First World War. Accordingly, the imposition of a new protective tariff in the United States had far-reaching consequences that had not previously been imagined by the federal government. In particular, the change of the United States from a debtor to a creditor nation made the international economy increasingly dependent on American investment for economic development. As a result, the onset of economic crisis in 1929 was aggravated by the passage of yet another protective tariff in the United States in 1930. American economic policies had far-reaching ramifications. Given the large war debts and investment loans that European nations owed the United States, there was a vested interest in open movement of capital and goods throughout the international economy. The Tariff Act of 1930, also known as the Hawley-Smoot Tariff, accelerated economic decline both at home and abroad. The tariff was the result of domestic political pressures. Because the agricultural sector of the American economy experienced economic decline during the decade of the 1920s, farmers had become increasingly vocal in their demand for a protective high tariff that would reduce the amount of competition that farmers faced from foreign agricultural products.

With the collapse of the stock market in 1929, Congress responded by enacting the Hawley-Smoot Tariff in 1930, which increased the tariff on 75 foreign agricultural products and on some 925 manufactured goods. Many

industrialists and farmers convinced the Republican-controlled Congress that protection was the remedy to the economic crisis that was unfolding as the United States entered the 1930s. Despite strong reservations from economists, President Herbert Hoover signed the legislation into law. With ad valorem duties from 32 to 40 percent, the highest tariff rate in American history, it effectively closed the domestic market to foreign goods. In response, the United States' trading partners retaliated by imposing their own high tariffs to minimize competition from American products in their respective economies, and the economic crisis deepened.

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—David R. Smith

### **Taylor, Frederick Winslow** (1856–1915) *management consultant*

Born into an affluent family, Frederick W. Taylor grew up in comfort in Germantown, Pennsylvania. His father, Franklin, was an attorney. After spending three years in Europe, Frederick entered the Phillips Exeter Academy, a preparatory school. After he graduated, he was accepted by Harvard University, but his poor health and eyesight prevented him from enrolling. He then became an apprentice machinist and pattern maker, the beginning of a career that would lead him to fame as the father of SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT. After finishing his apprenticeship in 1878, he took courses in mechanical engineering from Stevens Institute of Technology and earned his degree in 1883.

Taylor worked full time at Midvale Steel Company while he pursued his degree. His first position was tool clerk, the person responsible for keeping time records, and he quickly rose to become gang boss or superintendent. In this position, he became concerned over worker soldiering, or doing only the minimum amount of work required. He instilled a system of differential pay to get more out of his workmen, paying more to those who exceeded a predetermined goal. When they rebelled with minor sabotage, he made them pay for the repairs. Taylor improved efficiency by developing a command and control system based upon what he called functional foremen, or people assigned to oversee a particular task. He also began time and motion studies, using hidden stopwatches and specially designed forms, to determine the amount of work that could be accomplished during a prescribed time.

Taylor's most famous human engineering experiment was with pig iron handlers at the Bethlehem Steel



Corporation. Working in teams, pig iron handlers lifted 92-pound pigs, or slabs of iron, from a pile and carried them onto railroad cars. When Taylor began his study, the handlers moved an average of 12.8 tons per man per day. After watching a gang work at maximum speed, Taylor determined the proper amount to be 47 tons of iron per person per day. Providing workers with precise instruction on how to perform the job as determined by time-motion studies, and motivating them with differential pay, he had workers exceed that goal. One, Henry Knolle, lifted and carried 68.3 tons of iron in one day and received in return \$2.57.

Borrowing heavily from other business theorists, Taylor developed a complex method of cost accounting to complete his system of detailed analysis of every operation in a plant. Critics complained that his management system reduced workers to mere cogs in a machine. They also argued that it was simply a way of driving people beyond their endurance. Taylor's admirers, however, noted that he called for high wages and wanted people to work smarter, not harder. The debate over Taylor's management techniques tends to obscure his inventive nature. He held 45 patents ranging from high-speed steel cutting tools to golf clubs and tennis rackets. His influence, though, spread beyond the industry. Scientific management became the watchword for reform in city government, social agencies, and businesses, and changed the way work in general was organized.

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—Harold W. Aurand

## Teapot Dome

In his 1920 election pledge to “return to normalcy,” WARREN G. HARDING promised voters he would end the pervasive intervention and regulation of the Wilson era. By bringing order to the federal government through such legislation as the BUDGET AND ACCOUNTING ACT and cleaning up such problems as the UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD, Harding sought to establish his administration on stable footing. It would eschew reform in favor of honest government. By 1923, however, Harding's hands-off administration was beginning to show a different side. Rumors of misdeeds at the VETERANS BUREAU, gossip about Attorney General Harry Daugherty, and the illegal leasing of government oil lands in a corruption scandal that became known as Teapot Dome began to trouble the president. Many afterward thought that the stress had contributed to his early death.

In 1921, the newly elected president appointed Albert Fall to be secretary of the Department of the Interior, a posi-

tion with vast authority over federal lands and the nation's natural resources. Unsympathetic to conservation policy, Fall was not a popular choice to head the Interior Department. Conservationists feared that his first act would be to transfer the right to log the nation's vast forest reserves to private lumber companies. Instead, Fall had his eye on the oil on Native American reservations and in the naval reserves. The General Leasing Act of 1920 had authorized the secretary of the navy to grant private leases on naval reserve land at his discretion. This left the door open for Fall to intervene. First, however, he declared that the Leasing Act applied to reservations for Native Americans, which were under the authority of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (and hence of the Interior Department). More than 22 million acres of reservation land, Fall determined, would now be open for exploration and drilling. There was widespread opposition to this move. The Indian Rights Association and the American Indian Defense Association, along with organizations such as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, led the charge, labeling Fall's actions outright theft. The leasing plan was soon halted.

Next, having convinced the navy secretary to transfer authority over the oil reserve to the Interior Department, Fall proceeded to lease the oil fields to the highest bidder. Without consulting Congress or the administration, Fall illegally granted leases to develop the naval oil reserves in Salt Creek, Wyoming (also known as Teapot Dome), and at Elk Hills, California, to oil industry magnates Harry Sinclair and Edward Doheny. In exchange for gifts amounting to nearly a half-million dollars, including a \$100,000 “loan” for Fall's Three Rivers ranch and \$200,000 in bonds, Fall signed over the leases without public bidding. Doheny's Pan American Petroleum and Transportation Company expected to net 250 million barrels of oil from the Elk Hills reserve, netting a profit of about \$100 million. Sinclair's Mammoth Oil Company had similar hopes for Teapot Dome. In 1923, as rumors began to circulate about Fall's private deals, he resigned from the Interior Department and accepted employment with Sinclair's Mammoth Oil Company. The Senate Committee on Public Lands began investigating the leases in 1924. They uncovered evidence of the oil companies' gifts and loans to Fall, and they charged him with graft. A Justice Department investigation led to his indictment and conviction. He was sentenced to a year in the Santa Fe prison and fined \$100,000.

In the context of the conservative preference for private investment and corporate development, Fall's willingness to sign oil leases, both on naval reserve lands and in his thwarted attempt to access Native American lands, could be seen as business-as-usual. The Republican Harding administration did not give priority to either conservation of natural resources or preservation. It was the way in which Fall accepted loans and other cash payments for



exclusive leases that incensed his critics. By denying the general public the right to bid on the naval reserves and accepting what amounted to bribes, Secretary Fall was guilty of graft and corruption.

The first cabinet officer to ever be convicted of a crime, Albert Fall also was the only government appointee of the Harding administration whose acts were punished to the full extent of the law. Both Attorney General Harry Daugherty and Veterans Bureau director Charles Forbes faced public approbation but little in the way of punishment. The scandals of the Harding administration, however, had little or no effect on the REPUBLICAN PARTY in subsequent elections. The lack of public furor over governmental corruption may be due to the fact that Harding died in office. There was no evidence of his personal involvement, although he most certainly knew of Forbes's graft and Daugherty's misconduct. The investigations by Montana senator Burton K. Wheeler, who used the hearings as a pulpit to criticize Republican policies, also were perceived as politically motivated. Neither the progressive wing of the Republican Party nor the Democrats were able to make political gain from Teapot Dome and the public disgrace of Harding administration's appointees.

**Further reading:** Robert K. Murray, *The Harding Era: Warren G. Harding and His Administration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969).

**Terrell, Mary Eliza Church** (1863–1954) *founder of the National Association of Colored Women*

One of an exceptional generation of African-American leaders, including Ida B. Wells-Barnett and MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE, Mary Church Terrell was born in Memphis, Tennessee. The first of two children, Mary (Mollie) was the daughter of Louisa Ayers, the owner of a beauty parlor, and Robert Reed Church, a real estate investor and the first African-American millionaire in the postwar South. After her parents' divorce, Mary went to school in Ohio. She graduated from the classics course at Oberlin College in 1884.

Mary Church returned to Memphis, where her father expected her to act in the role of hostess at social events. Tired of the social round, she took a job teaching at Wilberforce University in Ohio and later moved to Washington, D.C. There, she taught at the M Street School, interrupting her teaching for a two-year stint touring Europe. In 1891, she married Robert Heberton Terrell, who had been principal at the M Street School and a lawyer. He became a justice of the peace and later a municipal judge in Washington, D.C. Mary Church and Robert Terrell had four children, only one of whom, a daughter, Phyllis, born in 1898, survived infancy. They later adopted her brother's daughter, Mary.



Mary Church Terrell (Library of Congress)

For the next few decades, Mary Terrell became deeply involved in community affairs. She devoted much of her energy to the causes of WOMAN SUFFRAGE, racial equality, and education. She served in a range of offices both in government and in voluntary associations. From 1895 to 1901 and 1906 to 1911, she sat on the District of Columbia School Board. In 1896, she was elected president of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN, which had only recently been founded. In 1901, she was named honorary president for life.

Terrell was a prolific newspaper and magazine writer. Much in demand as a public speaker, she lectured on such topics as "The Progress of Colored Women" for the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION as well as speaking on lynching, racial inequality, and disenfranchisement. A light-skinned woman, she could and did pass as white during her travels, but she felt humiliated by the rituals of SEGREGATION. Much of her anger was muted, however, by a personal style that repressed emotions. During WORLD WAR I, Terrell worked as a clerk

in the government, despite her own distaste for its segregated policies. She also picketed the White House for the NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY and sat on the executive committee of the WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM. After suffrage was gained in 1920, Terrell mobilized African-American women voters for the Republican National Committee and worked on individual campaigns. After her husband's death in 1925, Terrell dedicated her time to writing, speaking, and organizing in the civil rights cause.

In the last years of her life, Terrell was more outspoken with her protests. Struggling against both racial segregation and women's inequality, she became a role model for women and young African Americans. Breaking the color bar in women's organizations, she realized how much further there was to travel. In the 1950s, she helped lead the fight to desegregate public restaurants in Washington, D.C. Terrell died in 1954 at age 90. Terrell's career marked the coming of age of black women's political activism and their new role in civil society.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT; WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Paula Giddings, *Where and When I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: Morrow, 1984); Mary Church Terrell, *A Colored Woman in a White World* (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Colored Women, 1968).

### Tin Pan Alley

Known as the center of the sheet MUSIC publishing industry, the district of Tin Pan Alley in New York became synonymous with popular music in the early 20th century. It fostered the talents of some of America's greatest songwriters, including GEORGE GERSHWIN and Irving Berlin, popularized music in a wide range of styles from dance tunes to Broadway musicals, and familiarized American audiences with African-American music in its adoption of ragtime rhythms and blues themes. The first successful Tin Pan Alley tunes came from the pen of Charles K. Harris, whose song, "After the Ball," became a success in 1892, when it sold over 75,000 copies. Early Tin Pan Alley songwriters were seen as seedy, dissolute, and disreputable Bohemians. They were constantly on the road, visiting 60 joints a week to plug song music. While one music publisher remarked, "the best songs came from the gutter in those days," the pattern quickly changed. Increasingly after 1900, popular song music came from different sources, including musical composers like George M. Cohan, professionally trained musicians like Gershwin, and popular songwriter Irving Berlin. Music publishers enjoyed enormous success in popular terms, having created new markets by plugging

songs both in popular venues like saloons and music halls and on the VAUDEVILLE and touring show circuits. Stage performers boosted sheet music sales, and new mediums, such as wax cylinder and, later, phonograph recordings, also increased the demand.

Between 1892 and 1905, Tin Pan Alley music publishers enjoyed great success with over 16 best-selling songs, including still familiar standards like "In the Good Old Summertime" (1902), "Sweet Adeline" (1903), and "In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree" (1905). Using a brief piano opening, the songs launched into romantic narratives, many to a waltz rhythm and a repeating chorus. Other anthems, such as novelty songs like "Under the Bamboo Tree" (1902), folk songs, and new ragtime music reached popular audiences through the sheet music of Tin Pan Alley. While African-American songwriters received little attention from the music publishers, ragtime music influenced songwriters such as Berlin, who softened its rhythms in the popular "Alexander's Ragtime Band," published in 1911. With the advent of vaudeville and Broadway musical comedies in the work of Cohan and Gershwin, sheet music linked New York, the epicenter of popular culture, to the rest of the nation. The coming of RADIO, however, eroded the market for sheet music, as did the continued expansion of the music recording industry and the new popularity of sound motion pictures. Increased labor costs and a paper shortage further undermined the cheap prices and large market that had made the rise of Tin Pan Alley possible. By the 1920s, the market for sheet music and the district itself was in decline.

See also ENTERTAINMENT, POPULAR.

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### trade, foreign

Throughout the history of the United States, foreign trade has played a critical role in the nation's development. Between the opening of the 20th century and the economic collapse of the 1930s, foreign trade became increasingly important as the United States emerged as one of the most powerful nations in the world. This power, however, was economic and not military. In 1900, few European nations feared military invasion by the United States. Rather, they found fault with the increasing dominance of U.S.-made goods and America's multinational corporations. Statistics that reveal the growing importance of foreign trade to the ECONOMY of the United States are impressive, but they tell only part of the story. Equally important was the perception

or belief that the continued economic vitality of the nation rested on the very presence of external markets. Accordingly, much of the nation's FOREIGN POLICY agenda during the period between 1900 and 1930 was aimed at maintaining an open door to markets deemed vital to the economic interests of the United States.

On the eve of the Civil War, the United States had a significant trade deficit. In 1860, the country imported some \$354 million worth of goods while exporting only \$316 million. Although it had experienced annual trade imbalances throughout its history, the trend began to reverse course in the 1870s. By 1897, the nation imported nearly double the volume of goods that it had in 1860, but exports had more than tripled to \$1.03 billion. The United States had turned an important corner in its economic development that would allow it to achieve world economic supremacy during the 20th century. In tripling the value of its exports, the United States steadily captured an increasing share of the world market in trade. In 1868 the United States controlled approximately 6 percent of world trade; by 1913, this figure had increased to 13 percent. Not only had the United States increased its market share of world trade, but also the increase in exports was almost entirely accounted for by industrial products after 1900.

The growth of exports was an amazing development, especially given the stiff opposition that it encountered from European nations prior to WORLD WAR I. According to many business leaders, overproduction and insufficient markets had caused the economic crises of the 1890s. Only by securing foreign markets, they argued, could the United States achieve stability. However, it was not the only nation looking for foreign markets. The early 1900s was an era of competition between industrial nations for access and control of raw materials and markets for finished industrial products. American manufacturers were largely able to overcome many of these hurdles (e.g., tariff walls) through the sheer wealth of many corporations that allowed them to launch aggressive ADVERTISING campaigns that promoted their products and their ability to control transportation costs. For example, an enterprise such as the United Fruit Company built and operated its own ships, which allowed it to better control costs.

American companies benefited from the direct assistance of the federal government as well. Foremost in this support was the protection afforded American shipping by the growing power of the U.S. Navy. President THEODORE ROOSEVELT often said that the United States needed to "Speak softly and carry a big stick." On several occasions, he ordered the American military to directly intervene in Caribbean and Latin American nations (for the benefit of corporations such as the United Fruit Company). He approached foreign policy in a very different way, however, when it came to Asia. Indeed, when in 1907 Roosevelt

ordered the so-called GREAT WHITE FLEET to embark on a 45,000-mile world tour, he hoped that the show of American force would preserve and strengthen the nation's economic interests in Asia. Roosevelt's principal foreign policy objective was to maintain the OPEN DOOR POLICY in China, because of its great market potential for American manufacturers.

The importance of exports to the economic health of the nation strongly influenced the actions taken during President WOODROW WILSON's administration. Although the United States took a position of neutrality with the outbreak of war in 1914, many Americans recognized the new economic possibilities of trading when European nations were at war. Accordingly, few connections with Europe were severed. Instead, President Wilson argued that the potential loss of trade with Europe, especially with Great Britain, threatened the country with economic depression. He contended that open and free access to international shipping channels was critical to the nation's economic well-being, a decision that brought American ships increasingly into harm's way. As Germany aggressively employed its new submarine fleet to stop Great Britain's trade, it also interfered with American shipping. It was in the name of free trade and "freedom of the seas" that Wilson declared war on Germany.

During the course of the war, American economic strength continued to grow. Not only did the nation benefit from its continuing ability to export manufactured and agricultural goods during the war, but it also emerged from the war as the leading economic nation in the world. The devastation of the war severely crippled the European economy both in terms of infrastructure and the availability of labor. Europe lost markets and the ability to compete. By the end of the war, European citizens owed private Americans \$3 billion and their governments owed another \$10 billion. Wartime loans from the United States to Europe constituted the primary source of this capital imbalance. While the war marked the emergence of the United States as the leading economic power in the world, it also signaled the increasingly integrated nature of the world economy. Debts tied nations' economies together.

Complicating the ability of European nations to repay war loans to the United States were the reparations that Germany owed to the international community as a result of the TREATY OF VERSAILLES of 1919. Ravaged by war, the French wanted to cripple Germany at the Peace Conference. Accordingly, along with the British, the French were able to have included in the final treaty a "war guilt clause" that held Germany directly responsible for the damages caused by the war. To determine the amount of reparations, the Versailles Peace Treaty established a commission to make a specific dollar amount recommendation. In 1921, the Reparations Commission concluded that the



German nation, which also had been ravaged by the war, owed the international community \$33 billion.

The repercussions of this expensive bill would long be felt, as it destroyed international economic relations for more than a decade. The international trade system depended on the flow of capital between nations to maintain at least a semblance of equitable trade relations between nations. European nations, which owed the United States some \$13 billion, relied on new investments and the sale of goods to raise the capital for repayment of these loans. During the 1920s, however, the country experienced a trade surplus that promised to ruin the international economy. This trade surplus ranged from \$375 million in 1923 to over \$1 billion in 1928. European nations did not create any surplus with which to pay their debts to the United States.

The new U.S. position as dominant economic nation meant that its policies would have far-reaching ramifications. Since the start of the 20th century, the international economy increasingly had become interconnected, and the United States depended heavily on foreign trade and foreign investments. In particular, given the indebtedness of European nations after the war, there was a vested interest in open movement of capital and goods through the international economy. The government's response to the collapse of the stock market in October 1929, however, undermined even further the very health of the international economy. Despite the strong need for the open movement of capital and commodities through the international economy, the Hoover administration imposed the Hawley-Smoot Tariff, which effectively closed the American economy to foreign commerce. Nations around the world responded in kind, closing their markets to American industrial and agricultural goods. Accordingly, the economic contraction was deepened by the shortsighted trade policies imposed by the federal government after the beginning of the Great Depression.

See also **TARIFFS**.

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—David R. Smith

### Trading with the Enemy Act (1917)

Along with the **ESPIONAGE ACT** and the **IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1917**, the Trading with the Enemy Act solidified the anti-immigrant and antiradical sentiments that the federal government came to embrace during the early part of the 20th century. When war erupted in Europe in 1914, the public response in the United States was divided. Diverse

political and ethnic identities contributed to the debate regarding the war in Europe. Anticipating that the United States would enter the war on the side of the Allies (principally, Britain, France, Italy, and Russia), the administration of President **WOODROW WILSON** initiated programs aimed at strengthening a sense of patriotism and national unity. Its efforts culminated in increasingly systematic efforts at the Americanization of immigrants, especially emigrants from Germany and its allies. By 1914, German immigrants still formed the largest foreign-born group, 2.3 million, of the population. In addition, there were more than 2 million emigrants from the various parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Throughout his first term as president, Woodrow Wilson expressed a concern about the large immigrant population and frequently referred to the need for national loyalty, especially after the United States declared war on Germany in April 1917. Within this context of heightened patriotism, the Trading with the Enemy Act sought to reinforce American nationalism and to garner unity for America's involvement in **WORLD WAR I**. Despite Woodrow Wilson's public image as a supporter of democratic rights (e.g., his Fourteen Points speech), the federal government during the war came to rely on repression to achieve domestic unity and support for the war. Specifically, under Wilson's direction, the Congress passed the Trading with the Enemy Act as an effort to control all international trade and communications. The act provided for the seizure and operation of property in the United States owned by Germans and by enemy aliens (emigrants from Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey) and for the control of German assets, which came under the authority of the Alien Property Custodian, **A. MITCHELL PALMER**. He obtained additional authority to operate German-owned factories and licensed German patents to American industrial firms. Patents for dyes and chemicals were particularly important for the war effort and helped to further develop the chemical industry in the United States after the war.

Communications during the war were another area of control. The Trading with the Enemy Act prohibited the publication of news and editorial matter that was critical of the U.S. government, military **CONSCRIPTION**, or the war effort. Section 19 of the act also required foreign-language publications to submit their war-related stories to a post office censor for approval. When censors at the post office deemed a publication to be unsuitable because of its critical stance on the war, that publication ran the risk of losing its second-class mailing privileges, making it extremely difficult to distribute and, subsequently, publish. Accordingly, the Trading with the Enemy Act became a further means for the federal government effectively to quiet voices of dissent. Members of two of the leading organizations opposed to America's involvement in the war, the Socialist Party



and the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, faced arrest and found that circulation of their publications was extremely difficult, as censors at the Post Office objected to their antiwar positions. It broadly denied mailing privileges to other radical publications, including *THE MASSES*, *International Socialist Review*, *American Socialist*, the *Appeal to Reason*, and the *Milwaukee Leader*. For many radical and foreign-language publications, exclusion from the mails was the death knell of the free press. Many closed their doors, unable to meet either the cost of publication or to accept the silence of censorship.

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—David R. Smith

**Treaty of Versailles** See VERSAILLES, TREATY OF.

### Triangle Shirtwaist Fire (1911)

A half-hour before quitting time on a Saturday afternoon, March 25, 1911, 147 New York City garment workers perished in a massive fire in one of the city's most notorious sweatshops, the Triangle Shirtwaist Company. The workers were mostly young immigrant women, who worked long hours in hot, cramped, and dusty conditions for low wages. They perished as the result of a fire that began in a bin and spread wildly throughout the factory, lasting only thirty minutes "from spark to ember." As the factory's workers frantically searched for a means of escape, they found that the doors, stairs, and elevators had been blocked by their employers, in what was then a common practice to ensure greater productivity.



Photograph of police placing Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire victims in coffins, March 25, 1911 (*Library of Congress*)

The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory occupied the eighth, ninth, and 10th floors of the Asche Building on New York's Lower East Side. Many of those on the eighth and 10th floors of the building eventually found a way out alive, but the majority of the workers on the ninth floor were not so fortunate. They died from the effects of the fire, or from being crushed as they attempted to slide down the elevator cables, or leapt to their deaths on the pavement below, tangled in each other's arms with flames streaming dramatically from their hair and clothes. Hordes of onlookers witnessed the gruesome sight as fire trucks' efforts were made futile by the bodies strewn on the sidewalk and street, and an escape ladder that could only reach to the sixth floor of the building. The public process of identification of victims by their families was painfully long as the number of victims was so great, and many had been burned or crushed beyond recognition, identifiable only by small details such as the mending of a shoe.

The owners of Triangle, Isaac Harris and Max Blanck, were known as the "Shirtwaist Kings" for their large, efficient garment factories. For their role in creating the hazards that led to the fire, the two men were indicted for manslaughter but later acquitted by a jury. Most employers of the time were not held accountable for the safety of their workplaces. A later civil suit awarded only \$75 to victims' survivors who filed a claim.

The Women's Trade Union League held a public funeral demonstration in which 100,000 workers took to the East Side streets demanding protection for industrial workers. The huge outcry among workers and Progressive reformers in New York led to the creation of the "Committee of Fifty," organized out of a large crowd that convened in the Metropolitan Opera House just days after the fire. The committee comprised leaders from labor, business, civic, and religious organizations. Its leaders immediately demanded that the state legislature conduct a formal investigation. The New York State Investigating Committee was headed by assemblyman Alfred E. Smith and Senator Robert F. Wagner. In subsequent years, the committee was active in proposing 56 laws and aided in the creation of the best industrial safety codes in the nation, which included the installation of fire alarms and sprinklers and the banning of locked doors during working hours. The support for these broad reforms by Tammany Hall boss Charles Murphy inspired the trust of a new generation of immigrants in the Democratic Party's political machine.

While the tragedy of the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire was almost unprecedented at the time, the public's outcry did not guarantee that changes in the safety of industrial working conditions actually would take place. Indeed, previous tragedies had caused citizen outrage, only to be slowly forgotten. Just four months before the Triangle Fire, 25 young women in Newark had similarly lost their lives in a

garment factory fire. The changes in the industrial workplace that followed the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire can be seen as a critical moment in which working-class organizers protested against dangerous working conditions and joined middle-class reformers and pragmatic politicians in making incremental changes. In 1909 and again in 1910, wealthy Progressive reformers and the working women of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory led shocking strikes that were violently put down but prompted tens of thousands of male and female garment workers in the city to leave their jobs and make demands. Moreover, from 1909 to 1913, the numbers of unionized workers in New York grew from 30,000 to a quarter of a million. At a time when workplace safety was unregulated and WORKER'S COMPENSATION virtually nonexistent, America's workers organized among themselves to make their own demands. The reforms implemented in New York were replicated in urban centers across the nation.

See also LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT; OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY; SHIRTWAIST MAKERS STRIKE.

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—Monica Foley

**Trotter, William Monroe** (1872–1934) *civil rights activist*

Reform journalist and civil rights leader William Monroe Trotter was born in Chillicothe, Ohio, in 1872, the son of James Monroe Trotter and Virginia Isaacs. His parents, who originally settled in Massachusetts, returned to Boston shortly after William's birth. His father, James, served in the African-American 55th Massachusetts Regiment in the Civil War. He was a strong advocate for racial equality and a Republican partisan, as evidenced by his appointment as Recorder of Deeds. William Monroe Trotter followed his father's example in challenging the racial norms of the time. Seeking a career in international banking, William graduated from Harvard University summa cum laude in 1895 and earned his master's degree there in 1896. Encountering racial discrimination in the business world, Trotter pursued a career first in real estate and then in newspaper publishing. Trotter married Geraldine Louise Pindell in 1899.

In 1901, Trotter and George Forbes, an Amherst graduate, founded the *Boston Guardian*, a black newspaper that targeted the racism of its time. Challenging the conservative approach of Booker T. Washington, Trotter and Forbes focused their ire on Washington's accommodation to SEGREGATION and his tacit acceptance of second-class citizenship for African Americans. The newspaper influenced public opinion far beyond Boston and its black population. As W. E. B. DuBois, later the leader of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), wrote, "The *Guardian* was bitter, satirical, and personal; but it was earnest, and it published facts. It attracted wide attention among colored people; it circulated among them all over the country; it was quoted and discussed."

As an ally of DuBois, Trotter participated in the founding of the Niagara Movement in 1905. He left the movement to form his own National Equal Rights League, which focused on direct action and on the role of the presidency in civil rights. When the Niagara Movement formed the NAACP in 1909, Trotter attended its first founding meeting; but he and the Equal Rights League were often at odds with the NAACP's agenda. Trotter remained active in politics, supporting the election of WOODROW WILSON in 1912. When the Wilson administration began to segregate federal office buildings and the number of black federal workers rapidly declined, Trotter led protests against the president's discriminatory policies. In 1915, he coordinated nationwide protests of the film *BIRTH OF A NATION*, based on Thomas Dixon's racist novel, *The Clansman*. Later, in the 1930s, Trotter organized support for the defense of the Scottsboro boys, who had been unjustly accused of sexual assault.

After Trotter's death in 1934, DuBois wrote that "Monroe Trotter was a man of heroic proportions and probably one of the most selfless Negro leaders during all our American history." His militant advocacy of racial equality helped to further the cause of civil rights in the first three decades of the 20th century.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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**trusts** See VOLUME VI.

**Twain, Mark** See VOLUME VI.



# U



## **Underwood-Simmons Tariff** (1913)

Shortly after entering the White House, WOODROW WILSON attempted to address and remedy the problem of economic power that the nation had been debating off and on for some 20 years. The DEMOCRATIC PARTY had not yet held the office of president in the 20th century and it was hungry for a variety of reforms. Topping its list of initiatives was tariff reform. President Wilson actually convened a special session of Congress to tackle immediately what he perceived was one of the nation's most pressing needs, lowering the tariff. Progressives had long advocated a reduction in tariff rates as a way to undercut the economic power of trusts, but they had not succeeded in trimming tariff rates before Wilson took office in 1913. As one of his first policy efforts, Wilson pushed for a lowering of the tariff rates in the United States. From the prevailing average of 40 percent, the Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act of 1913 pared rates down to an average of 25 percent. The legislation reduced the import duty on over 900 items, raised them on only 86, and left some 300 items untouched. Beyond reducing the overall duty on imported products, the Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act also expanded the list of commodities that could now enter the United States duty free. More than 300 items were now put on this list, including sugar, wool, iron ore, steel rails, agricultural implements, cement, coal, wood and wood pulp, and many critical farm products. Because the new tariff legislation especially targeted trust-dominated industries, the Democrats strongly felt that this new tariff would spur competition and reduce prices for consumers by opening protected American markets for foreign products.

The other pressing issue that Wilson had to address as he sought lower TARIFFS was the fact that the federal government stood to lose a significant source of revenue. Accordingly, the Wilson administration supported a companion initiative to raise the federal government's revenues through domestic programs. Accordingly, Wilson pushed for the adoption of the nation's first FEDERAL

INCOME TAX, which became law when the states ratified the Sixteenth Amendment in 1913. The income tax adopted in 1913 made good on the progressive pledge to reduce the power and privileges of wealthy Americans by requiring them to pay taxes on a greater percentage of their income than the poor. Shortly into his first administration, President Wilson had achieved two longtime goals of the Progressive movement: tariff reduction and a graduated income tax.

See also TRADE, FOREIGN.

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—David R. Smith

## **United Mine Workers of America (UMWA)**

Formed in 1890, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) fought numerous battles between 1900 and 1930 to organize the nation's anthracite and bituminous coal miners. When the American coal mining industry emerged in the decades following the Civil War, it relied for labor primarily on British, Irish, and Scottish immigrants, who brought with them the knowledge of mining and a tradition of labor militancy. Although there were attempts to organize mine workers prior to 1890, it wasn't until the formation of the UMWA that these organizing efforts proved effective.

Between 1890 and 1902, the UMWA had considerable success organizing bituminous miners in the eastern United States. Because mining bituminous coal required less skill and expense than the extraction of anthracite coal, the bituminous coal industry was marked by frequent labor disputes, excessive competition, and overall instability. As a result, the Central Competitive Field, which represented eastern mine operators, readily consented to a general agreement with the UMWA. Anthracite mine



operators, however, proved much more reluctant, and it wasn't until JOHN MITCHELL took control of the UMWA in 1898 that the union's attempts to organize anthracite miners began to succeed. The union had to overcome ethnic and racial divisions, differences in skill and wages, and the larger, more efficient, and more powerful anthracite mine operators. Tension between the UMWA and mine operators came to a head in 1902 when 140,000 miners walked off the job. The ensuing ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE was frequently violent. It lasted five-and-a-half months before President THEODORE ROOSEVELT intervened and the two sides agreed to allow him to arbitrate the dispute.

By the time Mitchell retired as head of the UMWA in 1908, the union had successfully organized most of the eastern coalfields. Prior to the emergence of the UMWA, miners had been organized primarily along craft, racial, and ethnic lines. Much of the union's initial success is attributable to the fact that it was able to overcome these divisions. Mitchell, who realized the importance of organizing the entire industry and overcoming divisions among workers, frequently told miners "the coal you dig is not Slavish coal, Polish coal, or Irish coal. It is coal."

Over the next few decades, the union turned its attention to organizing miners in the western United States. Attempts to organize western miners proved difficult and resulted in considerable conflict and bloodshed. The most notorious incident was the LUDLOW MASSACRE of 1914, when Colorado state militia and private security forces brought in to break the strike murdered 20 miners. Violent clashes were hardly unique to western mines. They occurred almost as frequently in the more heavily unionized East as well. Many of the violent conflicts occurred as a result of mine operators' attempts to break the UMWA's hold in the eastern coalfields. Some of the clashes, such as the 1920 incident in Matewan, West Virginia, turned deadly when company-hired security forces battled with striking miners and local union supporters.

Despite the staunch opposition of mine operators and the ethnically and racially diverse workforce, the UMWA continued to have organizing success. By 1920, the year after John L. Lewis became UMWA president, the union boasted a membership of 384,000 bituminous miners and over 200,000 anthracite miners. Over the course of the next decade, however, the UMWA steadily declined. The decade-long tailspin occurred for several reasons, including wartime overproduction, competition from oil refining, technological innovation, antiunion efforts, and mismanagement by the Lewis leadership. The end result was that the UMWA had stumbled badly by the onset of the Great Depression in 1929. Wages were 25 to 50 percent lower; unemployment and poverty were widespread; and union membership had plummeted below 250,000.

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—Robert Gordon

### United States Shipping Board

As the United States faced the possibility of entering WORLD WAR I, one of its most pressing needs was to transport personnel, war materiel, and supplies to the battlegrounds of Europe. Cross-Atlantic transport was in short supply, as the United States had an underdeveloped shipping fleet. To bolster the creation of a strong merchant marine, the Congress created the United States Shipping Board with the Shipping Act of 1916. The board was empowered to operate shipping vessels as the Emergency Fleet Corporation. During the war, the U.S. Shipping Board contracted with private firms to build approximately 18 million tons of shipping vessels. Only about three million tons were built during the war. The government canceled 4.5 million tons of the contracts, and the remaining ships, weighing 10.5 million tons, were completed after the war. With their completion, the government was faced with a major dilemma.

The existence of a new, but outmoded, federal merchant marine fleet presented two problems. First, in the war's aftermath, few supported the idea of a government-owned shipping fleet. Second, the ships built during the war were of an obsolete design, and many of them deteriorated at their docks. In June 1920, noting the state of the merchant marine, Congress passed the Jones Merchant Marine Act, which increased the Shipping Board to seven members and assigned them the task of decommissioning the wartime fleet. During his presidential campaign, Republican WARREN G. HARDING had made the merchant marine a central issue. Once elected president, he appointed Albert Lasker, an ADVERTISING executive, head of the Shipping Board. Lasker's charge was to sell or dismantle the wartime fleet, find a way to subsidize private shippers to build new vessels, and strengthen the merchant marine. A highly competent businessman with many successes to his credit, Lasker promised to relieve the country of its unwanted ships and modernize the merchant fleet.

Over the next two years, the task proved to be far more difficult than originally thought. The Shipping Board found few takers for the rapidly deteriorating fleet, even at rock-bottom prices. In 1921, the Shipping Board had 1,109 steel vessels in operation, with 520 in dry dock. It was operating at a deficit. There also were charges of graft, corruption, and incompetence. Lasker made little headway against these overwhelming problems. While he off-loaded some vessels, he was less successful in eliminating the board's

chronic deficits. With a budget of \$3.5 billion appropriated, it still fell behind about \$150 million a year.

To deal with these problems, the Shipping Board proposed a twofold program. First, the Shipping Board would sell the government's entire merchant fleet, if only for scrap; second, it sought to substitute for government ownership a direct subsidy program for the merchant marine. The cost of the subsidies would be an estimated \$30 million a year, a tremendous savings for the government. In addition, the board proposed creating a merchant marine naval reserve of 500 officers and 30,000 men and an army transport service. The bill failed to pass Congress in 1923. In the face of mounting problems, Lasker resigned as head of the Shipping Board.

By the end of 1927, the United States Shipping Board still owned 823 ships. Deficits continued to rise in maintaining the deteriorating fleet. Lasker's successor was able to dismantle the fleet only by selling the majority of the ships as scrap material. The problem of how to sustain a strong merchant marine was solved only when government subsidies became a permanent fixture through the Merchant Marine Act of 1936.

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### Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)

Established in 1914 in Kingston, Jamaica, by MARCUS GARVEY, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) became the most significant Pan-Africanist and black nationalist movement of the early 20th century. The UNIA was intimately tied to Garvey who founded it and whose 1923 conviction on mail fraud charges led to the organization's demise. In the brief decade of its viability, UNIA was dedicated to promoting African-American communities and businesses and in establishing a country and government solely for Africans and people of African descent.

The initial platform for the UNIA, as established by Garvey in 1914, called for caring for the needy of the race, civilizing backward African people, and developing schools and colleges for African and African-American youths that would teach a commitment to racial brotherhood around the globe. In addition, it called for the establishment of agencies around the world to protect the rights of Africans and for the creation of commercial and industrial trade among them.

The UNIA was not very successful in its first two years. The organization had only 200 members by 1916. In an effort to strengthen the organization, Garvey came to the United States in March 1916. He undertook a tour of the

United States in which he tried to raise funds for UNIA. During his tour, Garvey was impressed by the conditions of African Americans in relation to those faced by Africans in Jamaica. He hoped that the relative wealth of the African-American community in America and the existence of black leadership would help his organization. In 1916 he decided to move UNIA's headquarters to Harlem in New York City.

The UNIA enjoyed a measure of success in the years following its move to the United States. Answering Garvey's call for the establishment of black-owned businesses, the UNIA bought its own building in Harlem, opened a restaurant, began a newspaper, the *Negro World*, and established a steamship line, the Black Star Line. The Black Star Line was the most visible manifestation of UNIA's philosophy. Garvey believed that the line could function as the core of a worldwide black economy. The black-owned and operated Black Star Line would not only carry black immigrants back to Africa but also would foster trade among blacks in the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa. This trade would form the basis, according to Garvey, of the worldwide black economy of the future. UNIA raised the money needed to buy steamships by selling stock in the Black Star Line. Many African Americans embraced the idea, and UNIA had no trouble selling the stock.

In 1920, UNIA held its first international convention in Madison Square Garden. For one month, 25,000 delegates met to establish the UNIA as an international organization. The convention elected Garvey as the provisional president of Africa and approved a *Declaration of Negro Rights*. The declaration called for equal rights for Africans throughout the world. It named the injustices suffered and demanded equal treatment before the law, access to economic opportunity for blacks, an end to colonialism, and the return to Africa to African rule, and it adopted an African national anthem.

UNIA began to unravel soon after the convention. In 1920–21, the United States suffered through an economic recession. As unemployment skyrocketed among African Americans, sales of Black Star Line stock plummeted. In addition to its financial troubles, UNIA began to suffer from opposition to Garvey's leadership. Critics questioned his financing of the Black Star Line, charging that he was selling more stock than legally allowed. In 1922, Garvey added further fuel to the fire when he met with the second-in-command of the KU KLUX KLAN. His critics charged that he had made a deal with the Klan to remove African Americans from the United States, leaving it as the white man's country that Garvey had always claimed it was. He responded to these charges by purging his critics from the UNIA's leadership. Garvey did not last long enough to take advantage of these moves. He was convicted of mail fraud in a federal court in New York City in June 1923.

The court sentenced Garvey to five years in prison and a \$1,000 fine. After losing his appeal, he began to serve his sentence in 1925. In 1927, President Calvin Coolidge commuted his sentence, and Garvey was deported to Jamaica. The UNIA did not survive Garvey's trial and deportation. He attempted to re-create it in Jamaica, but by the mid-1930s both UNIA and Garvey had fallen into obscurity. In an era of SEGREGATION, the UNIA was a popular expression of African-American discontent. It provided a means for African Americans in the urban North to organize economically and politically. For many, the UNIA was a way station on the journey toward civil rights activism.

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—Michael Hartman

### urban reform

During the Progressive Era, a coalition of city politicians, educators, social workers, and others enacted reforms aimed at improving city government and the lives of city residents. Urban reform was a reaction to problems brought on by rapid urbanization and the rule of political machines and urban bosses. Political machines that existed as a competing force within government controlled many city governments. Due to the rapid urbanization of the late 19th century, these governments had difficulty responding to the needs of their inhabitants in finding work or getting relief during unemployment. Political machines stepped into the void by providing supporters with help finding a job or perhaps money in hard times. In return, the machines expected recipients's support at the ballot box. The machines also were able to assist businessmen in gaining franchises for trolley lines and other utilities from the governments. The recipients of the machine's aid then contributed to the its political fund. In many cities, the leaders of the political machine became wealthy during their rule.

The cities run by these machines were, for many of their residents, dangerous and unhealthy places to live. City governments struggled to keep pace with changing urban environments. It was often difficult, for example, to build schools fast enough to keep up with the growing school-age population. Sewers, water systems, and garbage pick-up were overburdened. Many poorer residents suffered from a lack of hospital space. The massive factories that accompanied city growth polluted the air and water, and few residents had access to clean air and green space in which to escape the city's environment.

By the late 19th century, reformers began to blame the problems of the city on inefficient city government, and they specifically targeted the political machines for bribery, corruption, and inefficiency. Reformers concentrated their efforts on structural changes to city government and social changes to improve the lives of city residents.

The structural changes in city government centered around three innovations: citywide elections, commission-style government, and city manager government. Because they blamed the power of the political machines on neighborhood and ward-based politics, reformers enacted laws creating citywide elections. In the older ward-based system, each section of the city elected a member to the city council. Reformers argued that this led to corruption because local saloon owners, as the reformers often characterized ward bosses, could buy the votes of their constituents. By electing council members in citywide elections, it was hoped, each candidate would have to appeal to voters in all sections of the city. The reformers believed that it would end the power of the ward bosses and, not coincidentally, lead to the election of the city business elite.

As adherents to the Progressive Era belief in efficiency and expertise, urban reformers attempted to place experts in control of city governments. This tendency gave rise to the city commission mode of government. Commission government consisted of a board of commissioners elected in citywide elections. Each commissioner was elected as head of a particular city department such as the water department or sewer department. The commissioner then met as the legislative body for the city. One of the purposes for the commission was to make city government more accessible to all its residents. If a resident had problems with his water service, for example, he could contact the water commissioner. Galveston, Texas, became the first city to adopt the commission-style of government in 1901. Des Moines, Iowa, followed in 1908, and hundreds of medium and small cities created city commissions in the following years. The city commission model suffered from the lack of a single leader to coordinate its activities. In response to this problem, reformers created the city manager model of government. In the city manager model, an elected city council hired a city manager to oversee the day-to-day operations of the city. Although few large cities hired city managers, the system did spread to many smaller cities.

For many reformers, the purpose for making city governments more efficient was to improve the lives of residents. Reformers attacked the problem in a number of ways. Reform mayors such as Detroit's Hazen Pingree and Cleveland's TOM JOHNSON attacked the streetcar companies for charging high fares that many residents could not afford and providing poor service. The streetcar companies operated under a franchise agreement with the city. This meant that the city granted the companies the right

to build streetcar lines in return for tax payments. Under the administration of reform mayors, the franchise agreements were renegotiated. The new agreements called for increased tax payments and lower fares. Reformers also attacked the electric and gas companies for making exorbitant profits. Many argued that public utilities should be owned by the cities, which would then charge the customers less for their utilities. Municipal ownership never emerged, but the reform movement did result in greater regulation of utilities by the states.

Other nonelected officials played a significant role in reshaping cities. City planning became a new profession in the early 20th century. City planners attacked the inefficient and wasteful growth of cities. They believed that, if planned properly, cities could grow while remaining pleasant places to live. To this end, they created city plans that included, for example, park spaces and curving roads meant to break up the monotony of gridline streets and large buildings. The urban planning movement gave rise to property zoning. First established in New York City in 1916, zoning put restrictions on the type and structure of buildings that could be built on certain properties. Zoning quickly spread to other cities.

In addition to the efforts of reform mayors, private citizens undertook efforts to improve living conditions in cities. These reformers investigated factories and tenement houses, for example, and publicized their findings in order to force city governments into improving conditions. Many of these reformers, such as FLORENCE KELLEY of Chicago, attacked a problem first as a private citizen and then went to work for government agencies. Kelley first investigated working conditions in Chicago's factories as a resident of Hull-House. Her findings played a key role in the establishment of an Illinois factory inspection law and she was named the state's first factory inspector.

See also CITIES AND URBAN LIFE; PROGRESSIVISM.

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—Michael Hartman

## urban transportation

Developments in transportation technology played an integral role in shaping American cities. Transportation developments such as the electric streetcar, the subway, and the automobile made it possible for city residents to spread out,

which led to a tremendous expansion in the size of cities. It also shaped settlement patterns within individual cities. The shape and size of American cities today are a result of these early urban transportation developments.

Until the mid-19th century, the size of cities was constrained by how far city residents were willing or able to walk. Cities developed compactly therefore. In the mid-19th century, horse-drawn public transportation was introduced, first the omnibus and then the streetcar. The horse-drawn streetcar greatly expanded the distance that residents could travel to work. By the 1890s, cities had changed from horse-powered to machine-driven transportation. The first machine-powered urban transport was cable cars. They ran by gripping a moving cable that ran under the street. There were a number of problems with cable car operation, however, and they soon lost out to electric streetcars. Drawing power from electrical wires strung overhead, the streetcars—or trolleys, as they were often called—greatly increased the range of urban transportation. Electrification also allowed the development of subways. Boston built the first subway system in 1897, followed by New York in 1904 and Philadelphia in 1908. The electric streetcar and subways helped the cities expand and shaped the pattern of settlement within the cities.

Electric trolleys shaped the spatial distribution of residential, economic, and recreational activities. Traveling at speeds ranging from 10 to 15 miles per hour, the trolley cars allowed residents to live farther away from the city center than in the past. The residents who moved out of the city center moved into neighborhoods organized along trolley lines. The walk to catch the trolley was still a limiting factor in residential choices. This dynamic led to a radial arm or spoke-and-wheel pattern of settlement in which the most densely populated areas of the city followed the trolley tracks.

The pattern of trolley lines also played an essential role in the growth and vitality of central business districts. Almost all trolley lines traveled from the city fringes to the central business district. There were very few crosstown lines. The practical effect of this was to force almost everyone who used the streetcar system to rely on the central business district. The central business districts witnessed an unprecedented building boom during this time. Not only corporate offices and financial institutions settled in the central business district, but also entertainment venues such as VAUDEVILLE and motion picture theaters and stores emerged. Depending on the trolley lines to bring thousands of riders a day to their doorstep, the large department stores that came to characterize shopping emerged during this period.

The owners of trolley lines also acted to reshape the spatial distribution of entertainment activity by encouraging pleasure riding. They realized that they could make





Electric trolleys were a growing form of urban transportation. (*Library of Congress*)

more money if residents rode their lines for more than trips to work and shopping. Therefore, in order to attract riders, streetcar line owners built parks, racetracks, beer gardens, amusement parks, and baseball parks on their lines. Every city that had trolley lines had amusement parks at the end of them. Baseball owners built their new stadiums at the end of lines or where multiple lines intersected. The Brooklyn team became known as the Dodgers because fans had to dodge so many trolleys outside the stadium.

Electric streetcars contributed to the social differentiation and separation among city residents by making it possible for the wealthy and middle class to move out of the city center while the working class stayed. This rearrangement of people altered the social landscape of cities as residents sorted themselves out based on economic class and race, instead of ethnicity. The wealthy and middle class followed the streetcar lines and settled in the outer sections or in SUBURBS. Working-class residents were left behind where they lived in the older housing stock that had been abandoned by the wealthy.

The heyday of the trolley car was relatively short. In 1908, the same year that Philadelphia was completing its subway system, HENRY FORD produced the first Model T.

The automobile soon bypassed the electric streetcar as the preferred mode of urban transportation, and by mid-century streetcars had vanished from city streets. Henry Ford played an important role in the development of the automobile as a mass transportation technology. He did this by producing an automobile that a significant proportion of Americans could afford. From 1910 to 1924, the price of a Model T dropped from \$950 to \$290. Led by Ford, automobile production boomed between 1910 and 1930. In 1905 there had been 8,000 automobiles registered in the United States. By 1915 there were over 2 million, and by 1925 Americans owned 17,481,001 automobiles. In addition to the automobiles owned for private use, the number of trucks for use in commerce skyrocketed from 1,400 in 1905 to 2,569,734 in 1925.

The automobile required a revolution in road building. City roads at the beginning of the century were unpaved and in poor condition. Whereas a horse might be able to step around the numerous potholes, automobiles could not. To meet the needs of automobiles and increase profits, a coalition of private LOBBYING AND INTEREST GROUPS, including tire manufacturers, parts suppliers, oil companies, service station owners, road builders, and property

developers promoted road building. Government officials succumbed to the pressure and used public money to build roads. Initially, local governments concentrated on improving existing roads but soon launched a program to build entirely new ones. The development of new roads helped usher in a change in the way Americans thought about them. Before the rise of the automobile, roads had provided an open space that performed a recreational function. By the 1920s, city residents saw roads primarily as thoroughfares for cars. In order to deal with the traffic congestion, cities began to build roads restricted to automobile use and provided them with limited access. The first of these was the Long Island Motor Parkway, completed in 1911.

The rise of the automobile and the construction of road systems reshaped the spatial distribution of urban activities. Residents were no longer dependent on the streetcar lines and no longer needed to live within walking distance of them. Residential areas filled in the spaces between the old radial settlements, and urban populations became more evenly distributed. In addition to the new settlement pattern within the cities, automobiles made it possible for more Americans to leave the cities for the suburbs, which established a new spatial distribution between cities and their suburbs. By allowing urban residents to travel freely between different areas of the city, the automobile created a significant drain on the central business district. Cross-town roads meant that residents were no longer funneled to the city center by the transportation system. The outer areas of cities began to develop their own business areas, aided in part by the adoption of the truck for commercial transport. By the 1930s the modern urban transportation system dependent on the automobile had developed. As Americans expanded their use of the automobile, the effects on the central city intensified and suburbs became the major site for new growth.

See also AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY; CITIES AND URBAN LIFE.

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—Michael Hartman

## U.S. Steel

Created in 1901, United States Steel was immediately the nation's largest industrial manufacturer and helped revolutionize American industry. U.S. Steel evolved out of the

steel empire created by industrialist Andrew Carnegie. Beginning in the 1870s, he capitalized on technological advances in the production of steel and quickly dominated the fledgling American steel industry. In 1889, Carnegie and his partner, Henry Clay Frick, consolidated all of their steel holdings to create the Carnegie Steel Company. With a net worth of \$25 million, the company was immediately the most valuable in the country.

Between 1889 and 1901, Carnegie and Frick expanded both the size of Carnegie Steel and their control over the nation's steel industry. Emulating the practices JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER introduced at STANDARD OIL, they streamlined production in order to maximize profits. They also integrated all aspects of steel production and distribution under the control of a single company. By 1890, Carnegie Steel controlled the entire production process, from the extraction of raw materials, to the delivery of those materials to the mill, through to the sale and distribution of the finished product, all of which enabled the corporation to maximize profits and undermine competitors. For Carnegie, maximizing profits also meant keeping wages low and workers unorganized. In 1892, when workers organized by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers struck at the company's Homestead plant, Carnegie used Pinkerton private security guards to attack striking workers, replace them with scab workers, and break the union. Carnegie's chief rival in the steel industry was Elbert H. Gary, who had created the Chicago-based Federal Steel Company.

The genesis for U.S. Steel began in 1900 when Carnegie, whose relationship with Frick had become strained, announced that he intended to retire. Upon hearing news of Carnegie's impending retirement, financier Charles M. Schwab approached both Carnegie and Gary about merging the two steel giants. After securing additional funding from banker J. P. Morgan, Schwab was able to engineer the merger and the formation of U.S. Steel in 1901. With an initial capitalization of \$1.4 billion, U.S. Steel instantly became the largest corporation in the world and marked the pinnacle of an era of industrial mergers and monopolies. Public concern about the emergence of such wealthy and consolidated corporations, widespread before the creation of U.S. Steel, intensified over the course of the next decade. The emergence of a billion-dollar monopoly in an industry essential to industrial vitality prompted progressive reformers, radicals, and even some old-money conservatives to call for enforcement of the Sherman Antitrust Act, which since its passage in 1890 had been used more to undermine organized labor than regulate corporate mergers.

Between 1900 and 1930, U.S. Steel remained one of the nation's largest, wealthiest, and most antiunion corporations. The company employed a number of tactics to keep its workforce nonunion. In addition to keeping its work-

force divided along racial, ethnic, and craft lines, U.S. Steel created company towns, which not only reinforced these divisions, but also ensured that workers would be dependent upon the company for food, clothing, and housing. In 1909, Gary, who took over the day-to-day operations after Carnegie retired, announced that the company was committed to an open shop policy and would no longer employ unionized workers. (See also OPEN SHOP MOVEMENT.)

Attempts to unionize U.S. Steel's workforce and the company's bitter opposition to such efforts came to a head in the STEEL STRIKE OF 1919. U.S. Steel had tolerated organizing efforts during WORLD WAR I, but the temporary truce between labor and management ended almost as soon as the war came to an end. Wages were lowered, workers fired, and hours extended as tensions again esca-

lated. When U.S. Steel refused to negotiate, members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers voted to go on strike. On September 22, 1919, approximately 365,000 steelworkers walked off the job. Once again, the company responded swiftly and forcefully, hiring scabs to cross picket lines and private security forces to provoke and attack striking workers. The strike was eventually broken. U.S. Steel continued to fight unionism at its factories until the formation of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in the 1930s.

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—Robert Gordon



# V



**Valesh, Eva McDonald** (1866–1956) *journalist, lecturer*

Labor journalist and political reformer Mary Eva McDonald Valesh was born the daughter of carpenter and trade union activist John McDonald and Elinor Lane in 1866 in Orono, Maine. At age 12, Eva McDonald moved with her family to Minnesota. Trained as a teacher, McDonald had little desire or aptitude for teaching and chose, instead, to work as an apprentice printer and later as an investigative labor reporter for the *St. Paul Globe*. Her first article, “Mong Girls Who Toil,” published in 1888, sparked the interest and engagement of its urban audience and especially women working in a local garment factory. A few weeks later, when the garment workers went on strike due to wage cuts and harsh management, McDonald’s article was credited with having inspired the protest. The strike catapulted McDonald, at the age of 22 years, into citywide and even national significance. Both local labor leaders and the nationally known Minnesota populist, Ignatius Donnelly, recognized McDonald’s ability to write and speak to the burgeoning number of working women and their families. She wrote widely for labor and reform newspapers and appeared at several national conventions, where she met and formed a friendship with Samuel Gompers, president of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

After a string of successes in local and state politics, McDonald married trade unionist Frank Valesh, and they had a son, Frank. Eva Valesh’s ambitions were far greater than those of her husband, and they soon separated. Valesh left for New York, where she wrote for the Hearst newspaper, *New York Journal*, and she later moved to Washington, D.C. There she ran a public relations business, wrote and edited freelance, and eventually reestablished her friendship with Samuel Gompers. In 1900, Gompers hired her as a general organizer and assistant editor of the journal *American Federationist*. In the 10 years she edited

the journal, Valesh broadened its coverage and authored individual articles, including several on child labor, immigration, and working women. After a dispute over editorial credit for the journal, Valesh resigned from the AFL. She relied on her connections in the conservative NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION to provide her with a livelihood as a writer, publicist, and political consultant and organized club women. She married again, this time to a New York socialite named Benjamin Franklin Cross, who supported her club work. Together they published a journal, *American Club Woman*, and dabbled in other social reform work. In 1926, after having published the journal for a few years, Valesh ended her second marriage and abandoned JOURNALISM as a career. For 25 of the last 30 years of her life, Valesh worked as a proofreader for the *New York Times*. She died just short of her 90th birthday in 1956.

Eva McDonald Valesh had a life that was extraordinary for her time and that demonstrated the possibilities and limitations of social reform. She repeatedly broke through barriers to women’s participation in labor organizing, politics, and journalism, advancing from her working-class background in later life when she socialized and organized with elite women and married a wealthy man. While society often stigmatized women workers as unskilled, unstable, and morally loose, Valesh’s writing revealed working women’s lives as both at risk in the industrial cities of the time and also enriched by urban culture. She shared many of the attitudes of her age, with regard to immigration and gender, but she also saw new possibilities for women to create cross-class alliances and mutual aid. One of a new generation of reform journalists and labor organizers in the early 20th century, Valesh was able to educate public opinion on the plight of workers, and especially working women, in the age of mass production.

See also LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT; NATIONAL WOMEN’S TRADE UNION LEAGUE; SHIRTWAIST MAKERS STRIKE; WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS.



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### vaudeville

A form of theatrical entertainment consisting of a variety of acts, vaudeville was the most popular form of entertainment in the early decades of the 20th century. The secret to its success was the range of entertainment it offered. Vaudeville theater included acts such as singers, comedians, acrobats, animal trainers, dancers, and jugglers. This variety appealed to a broad range of audiences, which meant economic success for theater owners. Vaudeville also set the pattern for much of the popular entertainment of the 20th century. Many of the best-known names in American show business got their start in vaudeville.

Vaudeville, in the form in which it gained popularity, developed in the late 19th century, partly due to changes in the business ownership of theaters. Prior to this time, theaters were owned on a local basis. This meant that per-

formers had to contract with individual theaters, which was difficult. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a group of entrepreneurs began to buy theaters throughout the country. These men then established syndicates with theaters in each major U.S. city. Performers then needed only to sign one contract for a tour of the United States. The new syndicates undertook efforts to transform vaudeville into respectable entertainment. In its earlier form, vaudeville had appealed to young males through ribald acts, and the audiences often participated by heckling the acts on stage. The new syndicates realized that they could sell more tickets if they appealed to a wider audience and, therefore, cleaned up vaudeville both in terms of the acts and the behavior of the audience. The syndicates also created a star system and relied on it to fill seats. Performers such as Mae West and W. C. Fields, later stars of the MOVIE INDUSTRY, became draws on their own. Because they helped fill seats, they were paid more.

The success of vaudeville owed much to the social and economic changes of the time. As urban populations grew, there was a built-in audience for new forms of popular entertainment. The sheer numbers of people available in cities helped fill the theaters. Economic changes also built audiences. The rise of large-scale corporate capitalism created new managerial jobs. The men who filled these jobs enjoyed a higher standard of living than clerks had previously, and they had more money to spend on leisure. Many middle-class women, whose husbands worked in these new managerial jobs, enjoyed more leisure time and more money with which to enjoy it. In addition, many younger unmarried women were working outside the home, earning money with which to purchase entertainment. Families in general were enjoying more leisure time as the hours of work declined.

The theater owners pursued potential audiences by tailoring the shows to the audience. In theaters located in working-class and immigrant sections of cities, tickets were cheaper; but the big stars never played these venues. Performances might include parodies of wealthier citizens or other jokes meant to appeal to the audience. Theaters located in the center of cities, usually close to the central business district and main shopping areas, catered to middle-class audiences. Tickets were more expensive; but for a higher price, the audiences got to see the stars of the day perform. Performances in the higher-priced theaters emphasized more genteel acts. They would often include ethnic jokes that poked fun at the working-class immigrants then streaming into the United States. Many of the vaudeville acts thus helped maintain stereotypes about ethnic groups. Performers also altered their performances in different parts of the country. They quickly learned that what New York audiences found entertaining, audiences in Milwaukee, for example, might not. The strength of vaudeville



Poster for a popular vaudeville act (Library of Congress)

and the key to its success was its ability to change nightly and regionally.

The role played by vaudeville in spreading stereotypes is paradoxical, given that most of the performers came from immigrant working-class backgrounds. In New York City in particular, vaudeville was seen as a ticket out of the immigrant ghetto; and it was from these immigrant ghettos that many of vaudeville's best-known performers emerged. Its working-class origins helped vaudeville play a role in the cultural transformations of the era. Performers helped shape new ethnic identities that became part of American culture. By lampooning the genteel ways of the middle classes, performers helped weave the egalitarian thread in big-city culture. Furthermore, when traveling outside New York, the performers introduced New York culture to audiences across the country. In this way, vaudeville contributed to the development of a national culture.

Vaudeville declined due to competition from radio and film and the onset of the Great Depression of the 1930s. Whereas in earlier days, one could see the star performers only by attending vaudeville shows, radio brought these performers into America's homes. Films actually began as part of vaudeville shows. Some of the less expensive vaudeville theaters would show short clips as part of the performance. In the early years, movies did not threaten vaudeville; but as the quality of films improved, more theaters began to show them. The newer films, which had better quality both in terms of picture and story lines, began to play a larger role in vaudeville performances. By the end of the 1920s, only four vaudeville theaters in the United States were not showing films as part of their performances. The introduction of sound into films made them even more attractive for Americans. When the economic depression of the 1930s hit, vaudeville, already teetering on the edge of collapse, declined and never recovered.

Despite its short reign, vaudeville played an important role in setting the pattern for American entertainment of the 20th century. It played a key role in the cultural transformation that took America from the Victorian age to the modern day. It substituted for the older culture of hard work, asceticism, and morality a new urban vision of success and happiness based on luxury and consumption. Vaudeville's legacy included the creation of a mass audience consisting of people from all walks of life. In addition, vaudeville was the first entertainment industry. The syndicates that controlled theaters across the country were precursors to large movie and music corporations. The syndicates relied on stars to attract an audience. The movie industry quickly learned to copy vaudeville's star system. Performances often tested the boundaries of propriety, and they were censored only by the theaters, a situation that paralleled the later film rating system. Vaudeville was the first entertainment form to commercialize ethnic cultures.

It also gave ethnic and racial outsiders a chance to join the mainstream through entertainment. Vaudeville was more than just a type of entertainment; it was the beginning of the modern entertainment industry.

See also ENTERTAINMENT, POPULAR.

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—Michael Hartman

### Versailles, Treaty of (1919)

Drafted during the Paris Peace Conference, the Treaty of Versailles was the peace settlement signed after the armistice ending WORLD WAR I, on June 28, 1919. In the Palace of Versailles outside Paris, the Allied and associated powers meeting with representatives of 37 countries brought the four-year worldwide conflict to an end by negotiating a peace treaty to be presented to Germany. The four major Allied powers (Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States) attended, as well as delegates from many other nations who sought recognition for their contributions to the war. Large numbers of unofficial representatives thronged the corridors. Germany, the successor states to Austria-Hungary, and Turkey were not invited, as they had officially surrendered, and the recently established Soviet government in Russia was excluded as well from the negotiations.

President WOODROW WILSON led the U.S. delegation, despite the warnings of many of his advisers. They feared that he might lose influence domestically if he did not prevail in Paris. Wilson was, however, welcomed as a hero to France. Having caught the imagination of many Europeans, he was at the height of his popularity worldwide. The "Big Four," including David Lloyd George of Great Britain, Georges Clemenceau of France, Woodrow Wilson of the United States, and Vittorio Orlando of Italy, controlled the decision making. Throughout the war, Wilson had advocated a fair and balanced settlement that did not impose harsh terms and conditions on those defeated. His Fourteen Points were the basis for a "peace without victory." Despite Wilson's popularity, he was not able to persuade the Allies to agree to his terms for peace. The others believed Germany had to be weakened and ultimately took control; they signed a treaty very different from what Wilson had envisioned. The Treaty of Versailles represented a victory for the French demands for security, modified by British concerns for continental stability. Wilson's single-minded pursuit of the League of Nations and a policy of national self-determination also shaped the treaty.

The treaty began with the Covenant of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS. The league was to be a form of world government with countries committing themselves to further peace by negotiating conflicts among themselves. The league was intended, according to Woodrow Wilson, to operate as a “partnership of the great and free self governing peoples of the world.” It was meant to make it a “matter of certainty that thereafter, nations like Germany would not have to conjecture whether nations would join against them but rather, would know that mankind would defend to the last the rights of human beings.” By creating a court of international justice, the league would substitute the process of mediation and arbitration for the brutal process of war. All members sought to advance the human condition. Members were bound to advance humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children. Wilson, therefore, called it a “magna charta” for labor.

The League of Nations, however, was only one part of the treaty. War reparations formed the majority of the treaty’s priorities. The treaty reduced the population and territory of Germany by approximately 10 percent by its terms. Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France, and the Saarland (formerly German) was placed under the supervision of the League of Nations until 1935. In the north, three regions of Germany were given to Belgium, and northern Schleswig was returned to Denmark. The nation of Poland was resurrected from most of western Prussia and Posen and part of Upper Silesia. All of Germany’s overseas colonies were made into “trusteeships,” or mandates, controlled by Britain, France, Japan, and other Allied nations. The land ideally belonged to the people who lived on it, according to Wilson’s Fourteen Points, but in 1919, the British and French Empires were at the apex of their power. They would not extend self-determination to the non-European world. The concept of mandates acknowledged the direction in which Wilson wanted to move to realize self-determination. A few countries like India, Egypt, and Turkey had produced nationalist movements and they sought freedom from European rule or interference. In Turkey, the Nationalists under Mustafa Kemal established their own republic in opposition to Allied plans. Other countries had to wait for self-determination. The national frontiers drawn at Paris lasted until 1938–39 and even then survived the periods of Nazi and Soviet domination with few changes.

The Versailles Treaty created four new nations. They were Finland, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, formed from what had been the Russian Empire. Yugoslavia was created from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, including Serbia and Montenegro; and Czechoslovakia was created mostly from Austrian lands.

The “war guilt clause” declared Germany as the aggressor, and the Big Four sought to ensure that Germany would

never again be a threat to Europe. To this end, the German army was restricted to 100,000 men. It had no reserves, conscripts, tanks, aircraft, or general staff. Its navy was reduced to a coastal defense force, as French leader Clemenceau demanded. Germany was held responsible for making reparations to the Allied nations in payment for losses and damages sustained during the war. Although the Versailles Treaty did not stipulate the exact amount, the sum settled upon was so high as to be beyond Germany’s ability to pay. War debts and reparations eventually upset international economics.

On June 28, 1919, Germany’s new Weimar Republic representatives signed the treaty. It was according to Germans, a “dictated peace,” quite unlike the one that Wilson had envisioned. The treaty aroused resentment in Germany, which felt it had been betrayed. Wilson’s Fourteen Points had promised the Germans their territorial integrity. Too harsh a peace, Wilson thought, would impoverish and destabilize Germany. The other defeated states were dealt similar terms for peace. Resentments about the war colored international relations and domestic politics for the next two decades, culminating in World War II.

Many, including the British economist John Maynard Keynes, predicted that Germany would not be able to pay the stipulated reparations and that the terms of the treaty would destroy the world economy. The decision to delay stipulating the exact amount of reparations was a major error. Lloyd George had hoped that this would satisfy the demand for reparations, yet give sufficient time for tempers to subside. Instead, as the Americans withdrew from the treaty process, it became a continual, ongoing battleground with the German government.

There were three other major problems mentioned in relation to the treaty’s terms. First was the isolation of Russia from western Europe by buffer states along its western border. Second, the terms left the German people weak and bitter toward the Weimar Republic. Popular discontent allowed the gradual emergence of a dictator. Finally, the Versailles Treaty did not include Germany in the planning of the League of Nations, which led to the league’s undoing.

The Versailles Treaty met with much opposition in CONGRESS when President Wilson returned from Paris in 1919. Wilson’s DEMOCRATIC PARTY had lost control of Congress in the election of 1918. Although Wilson had urged the people to support his mission in Europe by returning a Democratic Congress, the people voted for Republican majorities. Ambivalence toward the war resurfaced. Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE led the opposition in their attempts to defeat the ratification of the treaty. President Wilson again attempted to appeal directly to the people and initiated a speaking tour of the country to urge support for the treaty. He suffered a stroke halfway

through his speaking tour. In Wilson's absence, Congress voted against ratifying the Treaty of Versailles.

The Paris peace treaties were considered a disappointing end to the long, protracted struggle of World War I. It was commonly claimed that the Treaty of Versailles was too harsh to conciliate Germany and too soft to restrain it. It was not enforced, mainly because France sought strict compliance and Britain, appeasement and revision. The balance of power that had existed prior to the world war was destroyed. France was too weak to maintain the balance on her own. The treaty did, however, establish the League of Nations, a seminal beginning to institutions of international cooperation. It also set up national boundaries in Europe that, except for Poland, are substantially the same today.

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—Annamarie Edelen

## veterans

By the 1890s, Civil War pensions for Union war veterans had become a major source of political power and political conflict. The Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) remained the most powerful veterans' group in the early years of the 20th century, despite new organizations such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars for those who served in the Spanish-American War. With the entry of the United States into WORLD WAR I, however, a new generation of veterans came to the fore. What, some wondered, would these new veterans demand? Because many progressive reformers viewed the military pension system as a font of political corruption and a waste of tax revenues, they were eager to find ways to avoid similar demands from the more than four million veterans of the AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE. After the war, both as members of the AMERICAN LEGION, a powerful new veterans' organization, and as individual citizens, veterans demanded compensation for the lost wages and opportunities of their war service. In addition, through the legion, conservative war veterans had a voice in FOREIGN POLICY, military funding, and even labor relations in the years between 1919 and 1930.

At the turn of the century, hundreds of thousands of Civil War veterans, their widows, and children, continued to play an active role in politics through such organizations as the GAR, the Sons of the GAR, and Confederate war veterans' organizations. In periodic gatherings called encampments, dwindling numbers of veterans reenacted Civil War battles, reminisced about the war, and made symbolic gestures of reconciliation with their former foes. American political life was tinged, even at that late date, with refer-

ences to the great struggle of the Republic. Because the REPUBLICAN PARTY thrived on high TARIFFS and the pensions they funded, Republican presidents played a major role in liberalizing what were once disability pensions into a general pension system. By a 1903 executive order, President THEODORE ROOSEVELT established pension eligibility to cover old age. In 1912, Congress passed a bill that expanded the system again. In 1900 alone, nearly a million war veterans and their dependents were in the system at a cost of over \$142 million a year; in 1909, the cost had grown to \$162 million. Spanish-American War veterans, despite the more recent memory of struggles, were far less successful in capturing benefits from military service.

The cost of "the pension racket" troubled those who wanted a more rational and efficient state. Once the threat of war again existed in 1916, opponents of the patronage-ridden military pension system sought to avoid the same problem in the next war. American intervention in the European war meant not only the development of ways for the government to recruit or conscript a fighting force but also calculating what compensation those serving in the new army should receive. With nearly five million soldiers in the armed forces, there were broader social, economic, and political consequences as well. Planners wondered how the economy would adjust to the drain on its labor supply and what were the potential social and economic dislocations caused by millions of returning veterans. Government officials and progressive social scientists engineered a new program of contributory social insurance for soldiers during the war. Called War Risk Insurance, it was a voluntary and contributory system modeled on workmen's compensation schemes. Specifically, it was designed to address the problem of soldiers' lack of insurability in the private market. Soldiers paid low premiums to the government during the war on insurance for death or disability. They were allowed to convert their war insurance into whole life policies with private insurance after the war. In creating this program, its sponsors sought to substitute insurance payments for postwar claims to death, disability, and pension benefits. In actuarial tables, the insurance program charted the cost to the government of war. It was an insurance system based on quantifiable losses—so much per arm, so much per leg, so much for death, so much per widow and orphan. Other programs for the treatment and rehabilitation of wounded and disabled veterans, reeducation, and reemployment were seen as marginal to the centerpiece of social insurance.

While the war lasted, War Risk Insurance remained the major program to deal with the problems of returning veterans. By war's end, however, political pressure to reward American doughboys (World War servicemen) with some monetary compensation for wartime service led Congress to pass an act granting \$60 additional





World War I veterans in a workshop (*Library of Congress*)

compensation for their wartime losses. High inflation and escalating unemployment after the war added to the soldiers' grievances. Politicians, veterans' advocates, and the veterans themselves sought government aid in adjusting to civilian life. Part of their efforts were directed toward expanding the power and budget of the VETERANS BUREAU and construction and maintenance of hospitals and rehabilitation programs for disabled veterans, originally under the Public Health Service. At the same time, veterans' advocates sought more generous benefits for the average veteran.

Under pressure from its members, a newly created organization for World War veterans, the American Legion, developed a plan for "adjusted compensation" (the SOLDIERS' BONUS) in 1919. They, too, had quantifiable measures for what was appropriate compensation for military service. The legion calculated what the nation owed ex-soldiers from the loss of wages while in service. Civilian workers and corporations had made good wages and profits during the war, and veterans had been effectively cut out

of the war boom. Now was the time, the legion argued, to make good on the nation's obligation to its heroes, those who lost economic ground while patriotically serving their country. Against political reluctance to increase the national debt and the feat of inflation, the legion designed a long-term payment plan, with interest, as its final selling point. Predictability—for nation and citizen—was the keystone of the program; so, too, was universality. Payments to ex-soldiers were to be distributed on the basis of so-called rational criteria for eligibility. After two unsuccessful attempts, Congress in 1924 finally passed the Soldiers' Adjusted compensation Act, or Soldiers' Bonus, over the presidential veto of CALVIN COOLIDGE.

Over the next two decades, the Bonus remained a contentious issue in American political life. Veterans' groups lobbied for a liberalization of the Bonus system. In the face of worsening economic circumstances in the late 1920s and 1930s, they fought for veterans to be able to borrow money from their Bonus and for it to be paid early. As both a measure to benefit worthy veterans and infuse money into a

depressed economy, the Bonus became a universal solution to social ills.

In this period, the American Legion remained ambivalent to its role in veterans' politics. Because it competed for influence with the Veterans of Foreign Wars and other patriotic groups, it was inclined to downplay its role in the Bonus fight. Its leaders, beginning with Legion commander Hanford McNider, were less than enthusiastic about the Bonus, which was principally a rank-and-file demand. The legion leadership preferred lobbying for a conservative political agenda in foreign policy, military PREPAREDNESS, and labor relations. Immediately after the war, conservative legion posts had joined the ranks of police and state militia in suppressing strikes. Legionnaires contributed to raids on labor organizations and street violence against American radicals in 1919–20. The legion's role in foreign policy was to voice demands for greater military preparedness and higher levels of defense spending, as well as an aggressive presence for the United States in its own spheres of influence.

By the 1930s, veterans had discovered their own diversity. Membership in the American Legion had reached a saturation point, and most war veterans did not belong. The Bonus March of 1932 demonstrated that veterans could make radical demands of their government, and the depths of the Great Depression would reveal that many veterans were willing to join the labor movement that the American Legion leadership had so vigorously opposed. While veterans' organizations, from the legion to the VFW and the Disabled American Veterans (DAV), continued to lobby for expanded veterans' benefits, they represented only a militant minority of veterans in American political life.

See also LOBBYING AND INTEREST GROUPS; PUBLIC HEALTH.

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## Veterans Bureau

Created by Congress under the so-called Sweet Act of 1921, the Veterans Bureau had as its responsibility the oversight of the system of health care and benefits for VETERANS of the armed forces in WORLD WAR I. In particular, the United States faced the return of many veterans who were disabled or in need of vocational training and placement or health care. The new Veterans Bureau had a central office in Washington, D.C., and 14 regional offices. President WARREN G. HARDING, under pressure to address the needs of veterans, appointed a social acquaintance, Colonel Charles Forbes, as director of the bureau. Harding viewed Forbes as “a fine, outstanding man” who had performed

“constructive service” and had a “brilliant record.” Harding and his wife, Florence, hoped that Forbes would provide needed leadership for the “boys” who had returned from France disabled or in need of long-term medical care and disability pensions.

As soon as he was in office, Forbes sought to expand his area of authority. He arranged to have veterans' hospitals and supply depots, which had previously been under the supervision of the U.S. Public Health Service in the Department of the Treasury, transferred to the Veterans Bureau. At that point, Forbes, without the knowledge of the Executive Branch, proceeded to contract for new buildings, sell surplus supplies, and acquire land for hospitals through private hands. In each case, Forbes was able to make a profit by private bidding for public construction contracts. To private firms, he sold surplus food, clothing, sheets, towels, medical supplies, drugs, alcohol, and even floor wax at incredible discounts while he paid obscenely high prices for hospital land and new supplies. When Harding found that Forbes had sold nearly \$3 million in government surplus for a modest \$600,000, Harding quietly fired him. By that time, Forbes had already stolen a fortune from the government coffers. By modest estimates, he and his friends had appropriated over \$200 million (\$33 million by Forbes alone) from a Veterans Bureau that in the aftermath of the war was one of the best-funded and most loosely supervised arms of the federal government.

When President Harding died unexpectedly of a heart attack in 1923, his administration came under congressional scrutiny. The granting of oil leases, which came to be known as TEAPOT DOME, corruption in the Justice Department, and the Veterans Bureau scandal surfaced in Senate testimony. The story gradually unfolded of how Elias H. Mortimer, an agent for a construction company, had bribed Forbes through loans and direct payments to grant his firm government contracts. Forbes had become fast friends with Mortimer and his wife Kathryn, but it was the affair blossoming between Forbes and Mortimer's wife that led to revelations of widespread graft and corruption. Not only through government construction contracts and land deals, but also through the Veterans Bureau's procurement system, millions of dollars had been siphoned from the hospital budget. On the testimony of Mortimer, Charles Forbes and one of his coconspirators, J. W. Thompson, a construction contractor, were sentenced to two years in prison for their part in raiding the treasury of the Veterans Bureau. Forbes alone served his term, as Thompson died in the interim. None of the money was recovered.

Despite the publicity surrounding the Harding administration, the REPUBLICAN PARTY did not suffer any electoral losses in the subsequent election, an outcome shaped by the distance of CALVIN COOLIDGE, who succeeded Harding after his death, from the scandals. At the same time,

the scandal probably left many veterans with an embittered view of the government's role in providing for its citizen-soldiers. It may have contributed to the continued push for a Soldiers' Bonus. The Soldiers' Adjusted Compensation Act finally passed over Coolidge's presidential veto in 1924.

In ensuing years, the Veterans Bureau was presided over by Brigadier General Frank T. Himes, who kept himself and the Veterans Bureau free from scandal. He continued to improve and bolster Veterans Hospitals, vocational training, and rehabilitation efforts through the period. At a time when the federal government retrenched from wartime expansion, the Veterans Bureau grew and broadened its functions, and the cost of veterans' benefits soared. From 1918 to 1941, the cost of services and benefits paid to World War I ex-servicemen, including disability, insurance allotments, and health care costs, equaled \$14 billion, which represented 11.8 percent of government expenditures.

See also LOBBYING AND INTEREST GROUPS.

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### Volstead Act (1919)

The Volstead Act, also known as the National Prohibition Act, was named after its Minnesota representative, Andrew J. Volstead. It provided the foundation for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment to the constitution of the United States. PROHIBITION was the product of a nearly century-long crusade against alcohol. Countless men and women represented the temperance cause, but none more than the Anti-Saloon League's principal agent, Wayne Wheeler, who supported the amendment, which prohibited the sale, manufacture, and transportation of alcoholic beverages.

On December 18, 1917, Congress approved an amendment to prohibit the production, distribution, and sale of alcohol. The act was passed over the veto of President Woodrow Wilson. The president believed that the act's definition of intoxicating beverages—any beverage containing more than 0.5 percent alcohol—was too strict. Wilson believed in the mission of the amendment, but he had his reservations about placing such a strict definition of alcoholic spirits. He was in favor of a law that allowed for the casual use of weaker wines and ales. His veto proved to be nothing more than a symbolic gesture.

Overriding the president's veto was the first step toward amending the Constitution. The next step was winning approval in the states. At first it was believed to be a daunting task. But upon further assessment, it was not as difficult a task as once predicted. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League, and dozens of other organizations had been developing the local networks necessary to win support in the states. Twenty-five states

already had dry laws. Prohibition forces received a boost when Detroit became the first large city to support the amendment. State by state, the amendment was ratified. On January 15, 1919, New Hampshire became the 36th state to ratify the amendment. One year later, on January 20, 1920, the law took effect.

The Volstead Act provided the federal and state governments with concurrent power to enforce the Prohibition Amendment, but also created a number of problems with enforcement. The states looked to the federal government to provide for the enforcement, while the federal government believed that it was the responsibility of local authorities to enforce the ban on intoxicants. The problem became even more apparent when states and localities began to openly flout the law. As the law became increasingly less popular, few were willing to devote the resources necessary to wage war on liquor traffickers.

In addition to difficulties with enforcement, the unpopular amendment had a number of other challenges that it was forced to overcome. The most apparent was the scale and scope of the venture. The goal of the Volstead Act, national Prohibition, was arguably one of the most aggressive ventures ever attempted by the U.S. government. In the name of social development, the amendment destroyed private property. It devastated entire industries. It allowed the federal government to legislate what the individual could do in his or her own home. In fundamentally altered the relationship between citizens and their government. All of these concepts, often considered to be alien to American law, were justified by the premise that they were necessary to ensure a more moral society. Its proponents believed that it could and would usher in an era of enlightenment. Other factors soon arose to challenge the idea of national Prohibition. Bootlegging and the crimes associated with the sale and delivery of illicit spirits soon seemed to be more of a threat than the alcohol itself. The most salient factor in the repeal of Prohibition, however, was the global economic crisis of the 1930s.

The amendment's lofty expectations hindered its chances for success. The fact that many of its proponents promised an end to the pain and suffering attributed to drink made it virtually impossible for the amendment to live up to the expectations. As a result, what seemed to be impossible in 1919 took place. This groundbreaking amendment created the opportunity for an even more revolutionary amendment. It opened the door for the Twenty-first Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

In February of 1933, Congress proposed the Twenty-first Amendment, better known as the Repeal Amendment, to repeal Prohibition. On December 5, 1933, Utah became the 36th state to ratify the amendment. It put an end to the great social experiment.

—Steve Freund



**Vorse, Mary Heaton** (1874–1966) *labor activist, writer*

Writer, journalist, and labor activist Mary Heaton Vorse was born into a prosperous family in New York City in 1874. She originally wanted to become an artist; but after brief stints at art schools in Paris and New York, Vorse chose instead to take up writing. In 1898 Mary Heaton married would-be novelist Albert Vorse, with whom she had two children. The Vorses made their way into the “Bohemian” social world of GREENWICH VILLAGE. Among such writers as JOHN REED, Eugene O’Neill, Hutchins Hapgood, Max Eastman, Susan Glaspell, and Neith Boyce, Vorse was exposed to radical political and cultural ideas. Vorse also belonged to Heterodoxy, a circle of feminist activists, including Glaspell, Crystal Eastman, and Ida Rauh, Max Eastman’s wife. Vorse’s home in Provincetown on Cape Cod became a center of cultural and political activity, and the Provincetown Players, made up of much of the Greenwich Village group, began staging productions during summers on the Cape.

After her husband, Albert, died in 1910, Vorse became the sole provider for her family. She began to churn out what she derisively called “lollipops,” that is, short stories and nonfiction articles, for mass circulation magazines, most of them directed at women. While she wrote for a mass audience as her means of living, Vorse’s real passion became political activism and the writing she did in the cause of the peace movement and the working class. She was one of the editors of *THE MASSES*, and her articles on child labor, housing, and infant health raised public awareness on issues that were the mainstay of Progressive reform. The LAWRENCE STRIKE of 1912 gave Vorse her start as a labor journalist. Seeing, for the first time, the poverty and terrible working conditions of immigrant workers in the textile industry, Vorse saw her goal as supporting the labor movement by telling the stories of workers. It was a commitment she took seriously for more than 40 years and one which shaped both her personal and political lives.

In 1912, Vorse met and married radical journalist Joseph O’Brien. The couple had a child together, but O’Brien died three years later. Vorse spent most of the rest of her life as an engaged and committed journalist, with many friendships but few intimate ones. The causes of

her time absorbed most of her energies. Engaged in the PEACE MOVEMENT, she joined the Women’s Peace Party. During WORLD WAR I, she worked as a war correspondent in Europe and later toured the continent for refugee and children’s war relief. Vorse organized workers in the shirt industry briefly in the 1920s and reported major strikes, including the STEEL STRIKE OF 1919, the GASTONIA STRIKE in 1929, and Harlan County mine strike in 1932. Vorse also contributed to the fledgling labor news service, the Federated Press.

Constantly on the move, Vorse spent the tumultuous years of the 1930s covering the lives of ordinary workers and labor conflicts. The vibrant labor press of the next two decades gave her a growing audience of working-class and union readers. In her work for the Federated Press and in mainstream journals, Vorse captured the demand for social justice in the Great Depression, the hopelessness of the unemployed, the buoyant revival of unionism during the economic crisis, and the shock of the Memorial Day massacre during the Little Steel strike in Chicago, where she herself was injured. Vorse further documented the rise of industrial unionism in automobile, rubber, and steel in the rousing account *Labor’s New Millions*. The book focused in particular on the role of women, families, and communities in helping to build a new labor movement. Vorse continued to cover the labor movement for mainstream journals and the labor press throughout the 1940s and 1950s.

During her lifetime, Mary Heaton Vorse published 18 books and more than 400 articles; she pioneered in writing about working-class lives, whether native-born or immigrant, for a mass national audience through her investigative journalism, documentary accounts, and fiction, and she stirred public support for the struggles of ordinary workers for more than 40 years. She died in 1966.

See also JOURNALISM; LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT; RADICAL AND LABOR PRESS.

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# W



**Wald, Lillian** (1867–1940) *public health activist, social reformer*

Lillian Wald, an important social reformer of the 20th century, was born in 1867 in Cincinnati, Ohio. After attending elite schools, she enrolled at the New York Hospital Training School for Nurses. Graduating in 1891, she then took classes at medical school while working as a nurse in New York City. Wald pioneered in the practice of home nursing to the poor. It was in this capacity that she gained firsthand experience with the city's poor tenement residents.

In 1893, Lillian Wald and a colleague moved to New York City's Lower East Side to be closer to the residents for whom they were caring. By 1895, with the philanthropic support of Jacob H. Schiff, Wald established a larger settlement, the Nurse's Settlement. Known as the Henry Street Settlement, it expanded its services to include educational training and youth clubs. Wald's brainchild developed into a prominent social service agency in New York City. She introduced the city to a public school nursing program. In 1909, she also persuaded the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to provide nursing services as a benefit to its industrial policyholders.

Wald's accomplishments were not limited to New York City. Her nursing experience in New York City provided her with the background to establish a new profession, PUBLIC HEALTH nursing. In 1912, she became the first president of the National Organization for Public Health. Through her social service activity, Wald, along with other Progressive Era women, contributed to the development of the SOCIAL WORK profession.

A contemporary of JANE ADDAMS, Wald was active in the pacifist movement and in progressive politics for the Democrats. Like other progressive women, her political activity often revolved around advocacy for the poor and for children. In large measure because of Wald's initiatives, in 1912 Congress established the U.S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU, a division of the Labor Department designed to oversee child labor issues. Labor struggles drew Wald

into the NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE, which was a group of reform-minded upper- and middle-class women. They initially made a name for themselves in the SHIRTWAIST MAKERS STRIKE of 1909, where they lent their moral, legal, and financial support to thousands of working-class garment workers. Wald also participated in the founding of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.

Wald ran the Henry Street Settlement House until 1933, when her poor health forced her into retirement. She died in Connecticut in 1940. Wald exemplified many threads of Progressive Era activism. She never married and drew her emotional support from the women around her. She became an advocate for women's new professions and became active in women's causes. Wald is remembered for helping to professionalize, and thus to some extent legitimize, the predominantly female fields of nursing and social work.

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—Natalie Atkin

## War Industries Board

The War Industries Board (WIB), a regulatory agency set up to manage the economy during WORLD WAR I, had more powers than any other government agency in the United States to that date. In practice, however, the board did not become a centralized regulatory agency that rationalized the economy. Instead, the WIB became a partner with businesses to coordinate the production and distribution of war materials in the American economy.

The WIB was established in July 1917 to coordinate government purchases of war materials. After months of ineffectiveness, President WOODROW WILSON reorganized it in March 1918 and appointed Wall Street financier

BERNARD BARUCH as its chairman. Under the leadership of Baruch, the WIB extended its reach over much of the American economy. Dominated by industrialists, the board included representatives of major economic interests in the United States.

The WIB matched the demands of war production with the needs of the armed forces, the European allies, other war organizations, and consumers. In some cases, the board persuaded corporations to cooperate voluntarily to meet the priorities of war production. The WIB established 57 committees, which were organized by commodities. The Commodity Committees negotiated for the U.S. government with the War Service Committees, or trade associations, which represented the suppliers. The committees shared information that would assist companies in planning for war production.

Despite its regulatory powers, the WIB did not come to embody the state control of the economy that some Progressives had been advocating in the early 20th century. First, mismanagement and inefficiency plagued the board. Second, the power of the federal government over corporations was limited. The government was dependent on business cooperation to support the war effort. In addition, the federal government needed the skills and knowledge of business leaders to manage production and distribution in the American economy.

The experience of the WIB illustrated to many leaders of government and industry that a cooperative relationship between the public and private sectors was beneficial to both. In fact, Baruch saw himself as a partner with business. The WIB sought to promote the private powers of business rather than restrict them or limit business profits. For many business leaders, profits came before patriotism in their decision making. In fact, major corporations earned huge profits with the help of the WIB.

The Great War had already ended by the time war production peaked under the coordination of the WIB. Immediately after the war, the government dismantled the regulatory structures that had been set up to manage the economy. President Wilson ordered the WIB to end its activities at the start of 1919. Even though the powers of the WIB had been limited during World War I, it served as a model for the National Recovery Administration, an early New Deal agency set up to facilitate an economic recovery during the Great Depression.

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—Glen Bessemer

### War Revenue Act (1917)

Anticipating the costs of American participation in WORLD WAR I, Treasury Secretary William McAdoo predicted that the U.S. government would need billions of dollars for the war effort. Progressive and conservatives sharply disagreed on how to pay for the war. Specifically, they, like McAdoo, addressed the problem of the ratio of war taxes to war loans. Progressives believed that the war offered an opportunity to solidify a system of progressive taxation based on ability to pay. The Revenue Act of 1916 and the passage of the Sixteenth Amendment for a FEDERAL INCOME TAX had opened the door to taxation as a means to redistribute income. Further, progressives envisioned that paying for the war effort through current taxes was more rational and efficient than long-term war debts. These taxes were to be imposed on incomes, estates, luxury goods, and excess profits. Among conservatives, especially in the business community, loans, not taxes, were the better option. Business interests offered their own variations on what taxes would be imposed. Some suggested a war profits tax, which would have been borne disproportionately by agriculture and manufacturing sectors, which had experienced recessions before the war. Other conservatives preferred to fund the war on consumption taxes alone, though taxing consumption was regressive and punitive.

For the most part, the principles of progressive taxation won out in the War Revenue Act of 1917. While the Liberty Loan and the War Revenue bills were introduced into Congress at the same time, it took six months for the War Revenue Act to make it into law. The act put into force an excess profits tax, raised both individual and corporate income taxes to 4 percent and 6 percent, respectively, and raised excise and estate taxes. New taxes on services, facilities, and on luxury goods such as automobiles were part of the broad-based revenue act. It also increased the maximum surtax on incomes to 63 percent. The 1918 Revenue Act further increased the tax on the highest incomes to 77 percent.

One of the major casualties of the new excise taxes was independent journalism. At a time when inflation had already boosted the costs of publishing newspapers, the introduction of new excise taxes in the form of higher postal rates costs skyrocketed. Already before the war, newspapers had folded under the pressures of escalating costs of new printing machines and linotype metal. Now, along with the soaring price of newsprint, newspapers saw declining profits. The consolidation of newspapers before the war continued due to these new pressures, and hundreds of journals and newspapers either merged with other companies or closed their doors.

The War Revenue Act changed the shape of American taxation and government finance. It shifted the tax burden from customs and excise taxes to taxes on income, profits,

and estates, which were at least marginally progressive. During the war, federal tax receipts escalated more than five times, and they never returned to the lower levels of the prewar years. The federal debt also became a permanent part of American political discourse, as government indebtedness increased during the war years from \$1 billion in 1915 to over \$20 billion in 1920. The cry for tax relief, however, was never far behind, and tax cuts formed a major part of the REPUBLICAN PARTY platform in the elections of the 1920s.

See also ANDREW W. MELLON.

**Further reading:** David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

**Washington, Booker T.** See VOLUME VI.

### Washington Conference on Naval Disarmament (1921–1922)

With the Senate's rejection of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS, the United States was isolated in world affairs. The question for its leaders was how to protect the economic interests of the country without committing the nation to an active international role. After Secretary of State CHARLES EVANS HUGHES succeeded in persuading Congress to ratify a treaty in 1921 to formally end the war with Germany, WARREN G. HARDING looked for a way to ensure world peace and stability without limiting American freedom to act in world affairs. Hughes also attempted to prevent a costly naval arms race between the United States, Britain, and Japan. The Washington Conference on Naval Disarmament of 1921–22 provided a way to achieve that end. At the conference, Hughes surprised the delegates by outlining drastic reductions in the naval fleets of all three nations as well as a 10-year moratorium on the construction of large battleships. He proposed to scrap two million tons of shipping that already existed.

To the surprise of Hughes, the delegates actually agreed to most of the terms of his proposal. The Five-Power Pact of February 1922 established limits for total naval tonnage and a ratio of armaments for each of the nations. For every 5 tons of American and British warships, Japan was allowed 3 tons and France and Italy 1.75 tons.

Two other treaties also came out of the Washington Conference. The Nine-Power Pact pledged the five naval powers, plus other nations with interests in the Pacific (Belgium, China, the Netherlands, and Portugal), to maintain the OPEN DOOR POLICY of protecting the territorial integrity of China and keeping equal commercial access in the region. Meanwhile, the countries (the United States, Brit-

ain, France, and Japan) pledged in the Four-Power Pact to cooperate to prevent aggression and to maintain the status quo of each nation's territories in the Pacific. In the event that one of the countries was unable to resolve a conflict in the Pacific diplomatically, the four signatories agreed to invite the other countries to a conference to resolve the dispute.

If the signatories abided by the treaties, the pacts would effectively end the arms race in capital ships, but they did temporarily halt Anglo-American competition and reduced Japanese-American conflict in the region. The treaties sanctioned Japanese dominance in the Pacific. Yet compared to the latitude allowed the United States and Britain internationally, the pacts reinforced the military inferiority of Japan.

A majority of American naval officers opposed the pacts. Naval officers criticized the Five-Power Pact, because it did not produce parity with Britain. The Royal Navy would maintain superiority in large warships in the 1920s. In addition, Britain and the United States did not scrap all the large ships that were covered under the pacts. Instead they converted some of them to carriers. Consequently, the 10-year moratorium was an empty promise.

Nevertheless, Hughes lobbied for the treaties, saying that the Five-Power Treaty "ends, absolutely ends, the race in the competition of naval armaments." The Senate approved the treaties by a large majority even though some senators viewed the pacts as only a first step toward disarmament. For example, Senator Borah wanted the abolition of submarines and parity between France and Japan in capital ships, but that kind of parity would have greatly disturbed the British and derailed the major powers' acceptance of the treaties. Most Americans approved of the treaties of the Washington Conference of 1921. The American press generally praised the treaties. In addition, most businessmen supported disarmament, seeing government reductions in military spending as a way to bring domestic tax relief.

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—Glen Bessemer

### Watson, Thomas Edward (1856–1922) politician, publisher

Agrarian reformer and populist politician Thomas E. Watson was born in Columbia County near Thomson, Georgia, the son of John Smith Watson and Anna Eliza Maddox. He attended Mercer University in Macon, Georgia. Following his sophomore year, Watson left Mercer



and returned to Thomson, where he privately studied law. In 1875, he obtained his law license and embarked on a career as a criminal lawyer. On October 9, 1878, Watson married Georgia Durham, with whom he had seven children.

By the 1880s, Watson had not only established himself as a successful criminal lawyer, but also was becoming increasingly involved in Georgia politics. Former Confederates Alexander H. Stephens and Robert Toombs were his political mentors. Entering Georgia politics as a Democrat, he was an agrarian reformer steeped in the traditions of the nostalgic Old South, and hostile to the order of things in the post-Reconstruction New South. A new spirit of enterprise had entered into southern life, and many southerners were calling for greater northern investment in the region. Watson often attacked Henry W. Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, for his advocacy of the New South ideology. He also blamed northern bankers and industrialists for the failure of southern family farms and spoke out against the Georgia DEMOCRATIC PARTY, which was dominated by capitalist-industrialists (Bourbons). Watson's fiery populist rhetoric helped him win election to a seat in the Georgia Assembly.

In the state assembly, Watson continued his attacks on Georgia Bourbons and their cooperation with northern banking and industrial interests. In 1890, he won election to the U.S. House of Representatives. Although a member of the Democratic Party, Watson supported the Farmers Alliance platform. By 1892, politically active members of the alliance movement formed the People's Party. Watson eventually left the Democrats and joined the Populists.

Once in Congress, Watson introduced many agrarian reform bills, supported the growth of labor unions, and won passage of legislation bringing free mail delivery to rural areas. In 1892, his district had been gerrymandered, and he was defeated for reelection. Watson also lost a controversial election to a Democratic opponent in 1894. Despite these electoral setbacks, he continued to denounce bankers, the trusts, and the policies of the Bourbon Democrats.

In 1896, the People's Party endorsed the Democratic presidential candidate William J. Bryan. However, they nominated Watson for the vice presidency on a fusion ticket. The Republican candidate William McKinley won the election. The defeat of the Democratic-Populist fusion ticket was a bitter and humiliating experience for Watson. He retired from public life and turned to writing popular history and biography.

Watson returned to national politics in 1904. He gained 117,183 votes as the Populist candidate for president that year. In 1905, he founded *Tom Watson's Magazine*, which featured his reform editorials. He made a final, symbolic run at the presidency as a populist in 1908. He died in 1922.

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—Phillip Papas

## welfare capitalism

In an effort to combat the bitter labor strife and high worker turnover of the early 20th century, many employers offered new incentives to workers. They hoped that by providing workers with new benefits, they could gain greater productivity, higher profits, and worker loyalty. Collectively referred to as welfare capitalism, these incentives did not end labor-management strife, but they did offer improved working conditions and standards of living for some workers.

By 1910, employers were seeking a solution to the problem of labor turnover. Most workers, feeling underpaid and overworked, exhibited little loyalty to their employers. They left a job as soon as another, better job appeared. In addition, the continued militancy of the labor movement frightened employers. To combat both problems, employers tried to make their firms more appealing to workers. Many employers realized that turnover and worker unrest arose out of the conflict between modern industrial work and human nature. They therefore sought to socialize—or engineer—a modern workforce that accepted its place in industrial society. They did so by offering welfare programs that tried to meet workers' intellectual, creative, and recreational needs. Some programs were directed at making the workplace more pleasant while others focused on the hours after work. A small number of firms also offered financial incentives for hard work.

To meet worker needs, employers created a myriad of programs. On the job improvements such as showers, lunchrooms, and more work breaks softened some of the harshness of factory labor. Employers also tried to heighten workers' dependence on the company by extending their company into the hours after work. Employers who provided company houses, such as those in many southern mill towns, sponsored house beautification contests in an effort to build workers' attachment to the mill village. Other employers created baseball teams in the hope of fostering company pride and loyalty. English-language classes and civics classes also were used to train loyal workers. To skilled workers, the most prized sector of the workforce, many companies offered pension plans and profit sharing in efforts to convince workers to stay with the same company. The Ford Motor Company simply offered its workers more money than any other company paid with its "Five Dollar Day."

Employers offered two basic explanations for their embrace of welfare capitalism. Some stated that they wanted to humanize business and end the war between labor and capital. They would do so by showing that capitalism was not as exploitive as many workers argued. Most employers were straightforward, however, in stating their justification for the programs. Elbert Gary, head of U.S. STEEL, stated that the purpose behind his company's programs was to make sure that his employees had it a little better than workers represented by a union. The head of International Harvester also frankly stated that his programs were developed strictly for business reasons. If workers were happier, then they would show up to work more often and work harder.

Because employers intended to use the welfare programs to create compliant workers, some of the programs became oppressive. HENRY FORD accompanied his pay raise, for example, with strict rules for eligibility of employees, and, to make sure that his employees met the criteria of cleanliness and wholesomeness, his "sociological department" investigated workers at home to see how they lived. If the company found the workers wanting in their morality or cleanliness, they might fire them or take away the Five Dollar wage. Many immigrants took advantage of English-language and citizenship classes offered or sponsored by employers. After all, learning English could help them get a better job. The classes, however, focused on more than simple language and civics. Some taught immigrant workers to be loyal to their employers, criticized unions, and discouraged ties to old-world cultures. International Harvester provided English-language instruction in which the first lesson began: "I hear the whistle. I must hurry." As a consequence, immigrant workers who took the free English-language courses faced an assault on their way of life.

Many workers took advantage of employers' welfare programs, and many enjoyed the benefits. Welfare capitalism did not, however, end the problems of worker turnover and labor-management conflict. Workers recognized the purpose behind welfare capitalism. They often resented the intervention of their employers into their nonwork lives and contended that softball teams and company picnics were not a substitute for higher wages. Many workers who attended English classes, went to the company picnics and played on the sports teams on company time, but attended labor union meetings on their own time. Welfare capitalism as an attempt at socially engineering a compliant workforce failed, and by the 1920s many companies had abandoned their welfare programs.

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—Michael Hartman

**Wells-Barnett, Ida B.** See VOLUME VI.

## Western Federation of Miners

Miners from local unions in Idaho, Colorado, Montana, and South Dakota founded the Western Federation of Miners (WFM), a radical labor union, in Butte, Montana, on May 19, 1893. Their purpose was to provide a network of mutual support for miners and smelter workers in the Rocky Mountain region. Many of the miners involved in the creation of the union had participated in the labor dispute at the Coeur d'Alenes mine in Idaho the previous year. That strike resulted in the deaths of three union members and the U.S. Army's arrest of more than 600 union members, more than half of whom were imprisoned for a week without trial.

The WFM claimed its first victory in Colorado in 1894, after a five-month strike in protest against the Cripple Creek mine owners' decision to increase the length of the working day and reduce wages. The strike, which had been punctuated by sporadic outbreaks of violence, concluded when the owners agreed to revert to the eight-hour day and increase the miners' daily wage to three dollars.

Two years later, the union embarked on a short-lived affiliation with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL). The WFM left the AFL in 1897 when it failed to obtain the federation's support for its strike in Leadville, Colorado. A broader reason for the split was the AFL's emphasis on craft unionism, a method of organization that grouped skilled workers according to trade and that effectively discriminated against semiskilled and unskilled workers. The WFM envisioned organizing workers on an industrywide basis. The following year, its leaders formed the Western Labor Union (WLU) as a substitute for the AFL. The WLU stressed the principles of industrial unionism and sought to organize all workers across the American West. In 1901, it changed its name to the American Labor Union (ALU) to reflect those values.

The WFM continued to bring a confrontational approach to its strikes. In Arizona in 1903, a clash between hard-rock miners and their employers prompted President Theodore Roosevelt to dispatch federal troops to the state. He withdrew them when the two parties reached a settlement shortly afterward. In 1904 a strike at Cripple Creek, Colorado, turned violent when an explosion at the Finley mine's rail depot killed several nonunion strikebreakers. Company officials, who claimed that the union was responsible for the explosion, embarked on a violent rampage in which they murdered union leaders, destroyed union property, and deported union members to neighboring states.

In the same period, WFM organizers made their first foray into the Lake Superior region. At the end of 1903, the union's nationwide membership stood at 30,000, a number

that the organizers hoped to increase significantly. Their efforts to organize the copper mines in Michigan between 1903 and 1906 were generally unsuccessful. Joy Pollard, one the union's radical leaders, succeeded in establishing a local branch of the union in Laurium, Michigan, in January 1904, but it struggled to survive. The local refused to engage in a dialogue with mine operators, did not receive enough funding from national headquarters, and did not actively try to recruit non-English-speaking miners.

The leadership of the WFM, including Secretary-Treasurer WILLIAM HAYWOOD played a pivotal role in the creation of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) in Chicago in 1905. The WFM was briefly affiliated with the new revolutionary labor organization, but IWW leaders' insistence that the WFM was too conservative caused the alliance to disintegrate in 1908. The same year, the WFM renewed its efforts to organize miners in the Lake Superior district, without much more success than before. While it succeeded in creating additional locals and boosting its overall membership, it struggled to convince miners that they shared similar goals. This was attributable to the fact that wage and skill levels varied widely across the region. Despite the obstacles it faced in the Lake Superior region, by 1910 the WFM had 45,000 members in 177 locals across the United States and parts of Canada.

The WFM recognized that the support of a broader labor organization was vital to its success and thus realigned itself with the AFL in 1911. Two years later, the union finally established a strong union presence in the Lake Superior copper mines. They achieved this by employing immigrant organizers who were able to appeal to the vast array of ethnic groups present in the region. Their success led to major industrial action in Michigan's Upper Peninsula.

In July 1913 the miners went on strike to protest the Calumet and Hecla Copper Company's replacement of the two-man drill with the one-man drill as part of a plan to reduce operating costs. The one-man drill reduced the size of the workforce and made working conditions more dangerous for those who remained. The miners also had grievances against the company's low wages determined by the distance they tunneled into the mine, its long working hours, and exploitation of young boys in mining operations. The copper strike continued into the following year and finally ended in April. Its conclusion did not bring victory to the WFM. Union members' realization that they might be on strike indefinitely, combined with leaders' realization that the strike was draining union funds, forced the miners back to work. By this time, the population of Calumet had already begun to decline, and the union's failure to win recognition for their grievances further weakened the position of organized labor in the mining industry.

In 1918, the union changed its name to the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. It

would, however, take more than a decade for the union to rebound in numbers and influence, coming of age with the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in the 1930s.

See also LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT.

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—Richard Fry

### **Wilson, Thomas Woodrow** (1856–1924) 28th U.S. president

The 28th president of the United States, Thomas Woodrow Wilson, was described as a “professor-politician.” Born in Virginia just prior to the Civil War, on December 28, 1856, he was raised in Georgia and the Carolinas, the son of a Presbyterian minister, in an atmosphere of austere piety. Remembered for both his oratorical skills and his idealism, he appealed to the “sovereign people” when legislators threatened his agenda. He was known to be impatient with those whom he felt were unable to understand his reforms. Unwilling to bend, Wilson was considered by some to be cold and unyielding at times and incapable of the compromises necessary in politics.

Despite an apparent dyslexia, which prevented him from learning to read until the age of 10, Wilson developed a heightened interest in literature and politics as a boy. He attended Davidson College near Charlotte, North Carolina, for a year before entering Princeton University in 1875. He studied law after graduation at the University of Virginia. Two years of practicing law, however, was enough to prompt him to leave law and continue his graduate studies in history and government at Johns Hopkins University. In 1886 he received his Ph.D., the only president to earn that degree. He taught history and political science at Bryn Mawr College, Wesleyan University, and finally at Princeton.

In 1885, Wilson married Ellen Louise Axson, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister from Georgia. He had three daughters—Margaret, Jessie, and Eleanor. Although Ellen suffered from depression, their marriage was said to be happy. Ellen's death in August 1914 devastated Wilson until he met and married his second wife, Edith Bolling Galt, in December 1915.



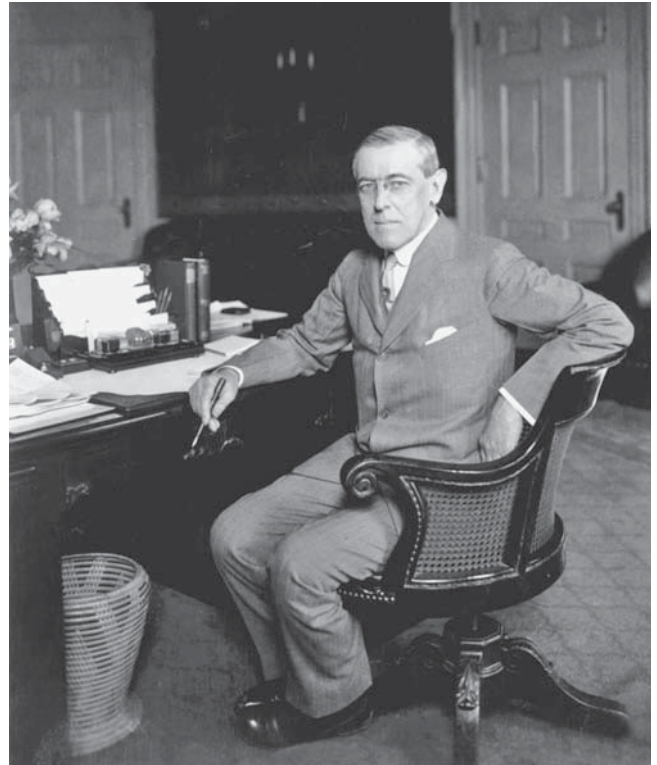
Wilson's rise to political power was meteoric. In 1909 he was the president of Princeton University, where he was known for progressive programs and innovations that attracted the attention of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. They helped elect him governor of New Jersey. Known for fighting political corruption, he was picked out for the presidential nomination in 1912. A fractious split in the REPUBLICAN PARTY between THEODORE ROOSEVELT and WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT gave Wilson the opportunity he needed. A split party ensured Wilson's success in the presidential election as well as a Democratic victory in Congress. These victories created an environment for reform.

Wilson's domestic policies focused on social and economic reforms. The NEW FREEDOM, Wilson's platform in the 1912 election, included legislation concerning tariff reform, currency reform, and child labor laws, and was the basis of the early success of his presidency. The Wilson administration's first attack on the domestic front was on the tariffs, the banks, and the trusts, known as the "triple wall of privilege." Wilson personally presented his appeal to Congress for the UNDERWOOD-SIMMONS TARIFF bill. This bill provided for a large reduction in rates and import fees. He moved the Congress sufficiently to have the bill pass. A related measure, instituting the new graduated income tax, also was enacted.

Sweeping reform of the banking system was the second area of interest. Again Wilson appealed to the sovereign people and won. In 1913 he signed the FEDERAL RESERVE ACT. It created the new Federal Reserve Board, which controlled 12 regional reserve districts, each with a central bank. It also issued Federal Reserve notes backed by paper money, thus controlling the amount of currency. Trusts were targeted with the FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION ACT of 1914. This commission focused on monopolies and tried to prevent unfair trade practices. It furthered the antitrust policies of Roosevelt and Taft. Other progressive measures put forth included the FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT of 1916, making credit available to farmers at low interest rates; the WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT of 1916 for federal civil service employees; and the ADAMSON ACT of 1916, which established an eight-hour day for railroad workers. In contrast, Wilson ignored race relations and demands for civil rights, as he presided over a new, segregated federal bureaucracy.

The Wilson administration inherited troubles in Mexico. Throughout his presidency, Wilson wavered between a policy of "watchful waiting" and armed intervention in the affairs of Mexico. He tried to maintain good relations, but raids conducted by Pancho Villa, kidnappings of American government officials, and threats of an alliance with Germany made this policy hard to keep.

In foreign policy, Wilson is perhaps best remembered for his vision of a "New World Order in the Four-



Thomas Woodrow Wilson (*Library of Congress*)

teen Points." A man of peace, Wilson charted a course of NEUTRALITY for the United States during the first years of WORLD WAR I. From 1914 to 1917, he successfully kept the country neutral by maintaining trading rights with Britain while not provoking Germany. In the 1916 election, Wilson ran on the slogan, "he kept us out of war," and defeated Supreme Court Justice CHARLES EVANS HUGHES. During the neutrality policy, Wilson continually strove to put an end to the fighting and called on all to accept "peace without victory." Germany's acceleration of unrestricted submarine warfare in 1917 left Wilson with no choice but to go to Congress with a declaration of war on April 2, 1917.

The military policy of the United States at this point was shaped by the desire to exert American influence after the war. Wilson rebuffed attempts to limit American participation or place troops under European command. European commanders allowed the AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE (AEF) to function under the command of the general, JOHN PERSHING. At home, Wilson directed the mobilization of resources and he continued to work for an end to the fighting during mobilization. The American Expeditionary Force made vital contributions to the Allied effort. When the United States entered the war, France was on the verge of collapse. Within 18 months, the Germans agreed to an armistice due to the AEF's intervention.



Wilson became a leading figure at the Paris peace negotiations that established the postwar order in Europe. As the first president of the United States to leave the country while in office, he departed for France on December 4, 1918. He arrived in France as a hero, but he was unable to convince the other three Allies—Italy (Orlando), France (Clemenceau), and Britain (Lloyd George)—to accept his vision of peace. France especially was determined to keep Germany weak through loss of territory and payment of reparations. Wilson did manage to prevent or delay some of the more extreme provisions. He convinced the Allies as well of the necessity of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS, and with this returned home.

Once in the United States, Wilson was unable to convince Congress to accept the TREATY OF VERSAILLES. Led by Republican and old-time rival, Senator HENRY CABOT LODGE, the opposition argued against the League of Nations, calling it a “sewing circle.” Wilson refused to make concessions and again went to the American people with his ideas. He toured the country giving speeches until his health failed and his tour stopped abruptly. He lost the vote in Congress, and the Versailles Treaty was not ratified. For the rest of his administration, Wilson was an invalid. Even after his second term ended in 1921, he did not regain his physical capacities. He died on February 3, 1924.

The legacy of Wilson’s administration is vast. Three amendments to the Constitution were passed during his presidency. The Seventeenth Amendment provided for DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS, a move toward increased democratization. The Eighteenth Amendment prohibited the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors. The Nineteenth Amendment granted women the right to vote. Other successes included the Federal Reserve Act, the CLAYTON ANTITRUST ACT, the KEATING-OWEN ACT, and the Adamson Act. In foreign policy, Wilson’s vision of the League of Nations, the precursor to the United Nations, and his influence on the TREATY OF VERSAILLES, remained paramount.

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—Annamarie Edelen

### woman suffrage

At the beginning of the 20th century, the woman suffrage movement, founded at women’s rights conventions in the 1840s and 1850s, reached a watershed. The generation of pioneer leaders, including such notable suffragists Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Sojourner Truth, had passed from the scene. Susan B. Anthony, considered

by many suffragists as “the mother of us all,” resigned as president of the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION (NAWSA), having reached her 80th birthday. In 1900, women had the right to vote only in four western states (Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and Idaho). Lacking financial support, with a small and dispersed membership, disorganized leaders, and facing a long dry spell in suffrage activity, NAWSA elected Anthony’s handpicked protégée, CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, as its next president.

In the next two decades, Catt had an enormous impact on reorganizing and revitalizing the suffrage at both the federal level and in the states. As NAWSA president from 1900 to 1905 and again from 1916 to 1920, Catt recruited prestigious members of society (Catt’s “society plan”) to the suffrage ranks and, in doing so, established the credibility and respectability of the suffrage cause. Further, NAWSA was able to fill its empty coffers with the funds gained from new converts. By shepherding its resources and focusing on winnable state-level campaigns, NAWSA was able to overcome the long gap between suffrage victories and gain the vote for women in Washington State in 1910 and in California the following year. In each campaign, precinct-level organization, and the coalition among progressive reformers, proved crucial.

Suffrage supporters faced strong opposition from organized ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS, due to widespread beliefs about women’s traditional role, but the public often had other fears. Giving women the right to vote radically expanded the electorate, and it was, along with other democratic reforms, controversial in the magnitude of its action. Since the late 19th century, anti-suffrage leagues brought together those who wanted to restrict the ballot with those who reacted against women entering public life. Yet, by 1910, the “society plan” had given new respectability and new resources to the struggle for woman suffrage. Catt’s choice of a more consciously political strategy to educate public opinion and mobilize citizens in favor of women’s right to vote brought NAWSA a wave of new members. As a matter of expediency, she also downplayed the historic role of racial equality in the struggle for women’s rights. Some suffragists argued for literacy tests for voters and for women to have admission to whites-only primaries in the segregated South, among other ways of restricting the vote. Catt, however, did not accept the southern states’ rights strategy that would have rejected a federal amendment entirely. African-American women, for the most part, organized their own suffrage organizations when faced with these segregationist sentiments. Support for woman suffrage was, on the whole, stronger in the black community than among whites. But while suffragists conflicted with each other in such key areas as organizing among wage-earning women, racial equality, states’ rights, and the importance of a federal

amendment, the woman suffrage movement rapidly gained ground under Catt's plan.

By the 1910s, Catt's deliberate organization and the seeming incompetence of then NAWSA president, Anna Howard Shaw, made younger women impatient. Working with such leaders as Alice Stone Blackwell and HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH, the daughters of suffrage pioneers, a younger generation of suffragists mobilized in support of women's right to vote through independent means and organizations. The College Equal Suffrage League, the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women, and Political Equality Association, among many others, began to shift interests away from the gradualism advocated by NAWSA into more militant tactics and publicity-minded campaigns. Blatch and others created new forms of protest, borrowing from other social movement traditions, and inaugurated suffrage parades and motorcades and street corner debates.

The most important of these efforts came originally under the wing of NAWSA, when it formed its Congressional Committee to pursue the question of a federal woman suffrage amendment. Led by ALICE PAUL, the committee soon left NAWSA's ranks to form the Congressional Union (CU), reorganized as the NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY in 1916. What the Congressional Union attempted to do was to redirect the efforts and resources of the woman suffrage movement away from state-by-state campaigns toward the passage and ratification of what came to be called the Anthony Amendment, in honor of the great suffragist. State campaigns had exhausted the energies of an entire generation, and yet by 1914 women could vote in only a handful of states. By working toward a federal amendment, long the ambition of both Anthony and Stanton, women would be granted the vote not by separate state campaigns but in one sweeping piece of legislation.

The tactics of the young radical suffragists extended the pressure tactics of public lobby and petition campaigns to hold the party in office responsible. They sought to make a politician's failure to support woman suffrage costly. Borrowing heavily from British suffragist Emmeline Pankhurst's Women's Political Union, the Congressional Union adopted militant protest as its hallmark. In 1917 it developed the Silent Sentinel campaign to picket the White House nonstop until then-president WOODROW WILSON agreed to support woman suffrage. When women were arrested in the course of picketing, CU members, following the lead of British suffragists, went on hunger strikes to arouse public sympathy.

In 1915, after a 10-year hiatus, Carrie Chapman Catt once again became president of NAWSA. She returned with a campaign of her own design, the "Winning Plan" for a federal amendment. Catt offered the suffrage movement a centralized, efficient, and partisan means of achieving

the goal of woman suffrage. To stop wasting time on endless state-level campaigns, NAWSA was now to join ranks with those who proposed and supported a federal amendment granting women the right to vote. Rather than spend time petitioning and lobbying countless state legislatures, NAWSA, through its Congressional Committee, was to take on the job of persuading a majority of congressmen and senators to shift their votes toward woman suffrage. As part of the move to focus all energies on the federal Anthony amendment, Catt also centralized decision making in the hands of the Executive Board, which she appointed. Catt's goal was to "keep the suffrage noise up" all around the country in order to ensure the ultimate victory for women's vote. She was vastly helped by money from the widow of publisher Frank Leslie, who willed her estate to NAWSA to fund suffrage work.

During WORLD WAR I, woman suffragists faced a central dilemma. They were divided not only on issues of strategy and tactics, but also about the war itself. When the United States entered the war in 1917, there were many suffragists who opposed the war, both due to their pacifism and also because they viewed America's participation as wrong. For Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, the war was irrelevant to the goal of winning the vote for women, an attitude for which they were widely condemned. A founding member of the Woman's Peace Party, Carrie Chapman Catt set aside her pacifism with a pragmatic understanding that opposition to the war effort would only undermine the case for woman suffrage. She served during the war on the Woman's Committee on National Defense, which coordinated women's volunteer work in support of the war.

In 1918, women's support for American participation in the war persuaded some politicians to end their opposition to woman suffrage and vote for the federal amendment. Supported now by President Wilson, what became the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which granted women the right to vote, passed the House of Representatives. The Senate, after voting it down in 1918, passed the federal amendment in 1919. NAWSA, the National Woman's Party, and other suffrage organizations now swung into action in the ratification campaign. Tennessee became the 36th state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment in August of 1920, and woman suffrage was finally a reality throughout the United States.

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### Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

In the midst of WORLD WAR I, female suffragists primarily from Europe and the United States met in The Hague, Netherlands, to discuss prospects for world peace and expanding women's rights. The seeds that were planted in 1915 came to fruition in 1919 when the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was created. WILPF was an early proponent of marrying suffrage and post-suffrage activism to issues of world peace. Its founders believed that only in a world without war and injustice could people be truly free. WILPF's first international president was JANE ADDAMS, a well-known American progressive activist and founder of Hull-House. In 1931, she became the first American woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize.

WILPF's philosophy reflected the progressive emphasis on social justice and exemplified the moral grounds on which women entered male politics in the Progressive Era. The organization was influenced by the belief that war and other forms of violence could be prevented if politics and government had more women representatives and if society adopted more "feminine" characteristics. Women possessed certain traits, such as cooperativeness, that most WILPF women claimed would counteract male competitiveness and violence. Although the group's philosophy corresponded to what most Americans believed about women, its political affiliation was often questioned. During the RED SCARE, WILPF's antimilitarism was sometimes viewed as unpatriotic, causing some of its critics, including Secretary of War John D. Weeks, to label it "red." Other critics, however, opposed female suffrage and female political activism and, therefore, rebaited the organization in order to discredit it and undermine its appeal. Despite the attacks, WILPF's appeal grew. With 2,000 members in 1921, the American section grew to 13,000 by 1937.

During its early years, WILPF dedicated itself to three main issues: internationalism, disarmament, and antimilitarism. WILPF supported the efforts of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS and other international institutions in their attempts at international disarmament and diplomatic cooperation. Through these campaigns, the women of WILPF demonstrated their belief in their own power as women to influence nations and leaders in foreign policy decision making. In 1926, WILPF sent a delegation to Haiti to investigate the effects of the American occupation. In the late 1920s, the organization petitioned American politicians to withdraw from Nicaragua. WILPF represen-

tatives, including Jane Addams, lobbied President CALVIN COOLIDGE to support the KELLOGG-BRIAND TREATY, a treaty proposing that countries renounce war.

A major tenet of the organization's agenda was the establishment of an international network of women. To that end, WILPF sent a delegation to Indochina and China in 1927. WILPF women maintained that if women in nations around the world pressured their governments, then war could be prevented. Although WILPF enjoyed considerable success as far as having access to influential politicians, particularly in the United States, its goal of averting war was not an international priority in the 1930s, as most Western economies fell into a depression, prompting governments to focus on economic strategies. Disarmament, an issue that most Western nations pursued in theory in the 1920s, was abandoned in practice as countries could not enforce its provisions in the 1930s. The 1932 disarmament conference in Geneva included female delegates for the first time, including WILPF's Mary Woolley in the American delegation. Diplomatic crises in Asia and President Hoover's lukewarm support for the conference revealed that international cooperation on disarmament was taking a backseat to other issues. WILPF, nonetheless, continued to focus on disarmament throughout the decade.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Natalie Atkin

### women's status and rights

Women's struggle for greater political rights and higher social status came to a peak in the years between 1900 and 1920. In 1900, only a few American states granted women the right to vote. Few women practiced law, due to long-standing exclusions from law schools and the bar. A host of other laws and customs kept women from full equality. Protective labor legislation kept them from night work and prescribed their hours of work. By the 1920s, some feminists came to view these laws as barriers to women's equality. During the first 20 years of the 20th century, women poured their energy into gaining the vote and other political rights. Volunteer organizations laid the groundwork for women's intense civic engagement. At the same time, the WOMAN SUFFRAGE movement faced a new challenge from feminism, an ideology of equality between the sexes that went from the single-minded pursuit of the vote into broader issues of women's equality.



In the years between 1900 and 1930, women in the United States were faced with inequality in every area of social, political, and economic life. As the 20th century began, they lacked the vote, could not serve on juries, and did not, for the most part, have the right to run for elected office. School suffrage in some states had opened the door for women to run for school superintendent, but apart from this position, they did not serve in government. In social life, married women continued to be subordinate to their husbands, and most took his name at marriage. They had no easy access to birth control. They had only recently received the right to own property, have custody of their children, and retain their own wages. In practice, few women had control over how family money was spent.

In the workplace, women faced discrimination and even exclusion from certain occupations and lacked the political clout or the union organization to fight back. While female labor force participation slowly rose from 1900 to 1930, most women continued to hold low-wage semiskilled jobs and often had only seasonal employment. There was little job security and even less opportunity for promotion. For married women, who constituted only a small proportion of the labor force, there was even less opportunity, as

employers often refused to hire married or older women by preference. Family work also kept married women from regular employment, and those who needed income had to take in sewing, laundry, or boarders.

The poverty, poor working conditions, and uncertainty of working women's lives prompted many to organize. For working-class women, it most often meant turning to the labor movement, but middle- and upper-class women also were aware of working women's plight and turned toward new forms of organization. In 1903, settlement house workers, trade unionists, and reformers met to form the NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE (NWTUL). Based on a British model of cross-class alliance, the NWTUL urged women workers to organize unions and informed the public about their needs. Like the National Consumers' League, the NWTUL supported maximum hour and minimum wage laws and even local ordinances that required stores to have seats for women workers. The General Federation of Women's Clubs, originally organized as a forum for women's educational and social needs, evolved a new agenda of legislation to improve workplace conditions and require new safety standards, such as barring the manufacture of phosphorous matches. Suffrage



Suffragists marching in New York City, 1913 (Library of Congress)



organizations also developed new approaches to mobilizing women for the vote, and they began to work with working-class women in suffrage campaigns.

The commitment to women's equality was evident in the work of CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN. A follower of progressive sociologist Lester Ward, Gilman believed in social evolution, social progress, and equality of opportunity between the sexes. As a result of her 1898 work, *Women and Economics*, Gilman became the leading intellectual of the women's movement in the United States during the early 20th century. In *Women and Economics*, Gilman spoke of the high cost to society and individual women of their isolation in the home and exclusion from the world of paid work. She urged women to move out of home occupations into arenas previously dominated by men.

By the turn of the century, the struggle for women's equality generated a new BIRTH CONTROL movement to combat state and federal laws against the distribution of birth control information or devices. Radicals EMMA GOLDMAN, MARGARET SANGER, and Mary Ware Dennett challenged conventional respectability and the law in speaking publicly about sex and contraception. They urged women to exercise their sexual freedom and control their reproductive capacity free from state interference. Without birth control, women were prevented from achieving full economic status and rights in their sexual freedom.

Sanger's work in promoting birth control brought her into the public spotlight. Her work as a practical nurse had brought her to understand the lack of control women had over their own bodies. The public relations strategy she used deepened public awareness and challenged laws that suppressed the free circulation of contraceptive information. She published a journal, *The Woman Rebel*, beginning in 1914, and a pamphlet, *Family Limitation*, which gave advice to women about various birth control methods. In 1916 Sanger opened the first birth control clinic in Brooklyn, New York. New York State law specified in Section 1142 that no one could give information to prevent conception to anyone for any reason. Sanger and two of the clinic's staff members were arrested for violating the law. While she fled to Europe to evade prosecution and later returned to a successful public acquittal, Sanger changed her emphasis by 1919 from women's control of their own bodies to eugenic reasoning about better babies.

The struggle for women's equality inspired women's activism in an ever-broadening range of causes. The prime obstacle, however, was women's lack of voting rights. When CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, head of the NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, publicly argued "Why Women Want to Vote" in early 1915, the first of her reasons was justice, and the second was that voting was the duty of women citizens. Society, Catt believed, needed women's skills and labor in schooling, dealing with unem-

ployment, and caring for the indigent. An important aspect of her argument was its blend of the two schools of feminist thought. Catt argued both for women's "sameness" (their similarity to men) and their "difference" as reasons to grant women the same political capacities as men.

The struggle for women's equality took a turn for the better when, in 1920, the required number of states ratified the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which gave women the right to vote. Although many people thought the need for the women's movement ended with its passage, women still faced many enormous obstacles in their pursuit of equal rights. ALICE PAUL was a leader in seeking to pull down the obstacles to women's equality. She believed that women's rights would be won only through ongoing struggle. Even though the vote advanced the cause of women's equality, it did not satisfy them. As leader of the NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY, Paul took the next step by drafting the EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA) to the Constitution. This amendment, she argued, would guarantee that men and women would have uniform, equal rights throughout the United States. The proposed amendment generated immediate response, most of it negative, from many former suffragists. They also had fought for protective labor legislation for women workers, and they saw the ERA as a threat to these protections. In support of the ERA, Suzanne La Follette in her book, *Concerning Women*, argued against protective legislation for women. She believed labor laws that applied only to women allowed employers to discriminate against them. For women to have equal opportunity for industrial employment, labor standards must apply equally to men and women. La Follette believed full economic independence and personal autonomy would be achieved only through true sex equality.

Women advocates now moved in different and sometimes opposing directions. In 1919, Carrie Chapman Catt proposed that the enormous National American Woman Suffrage Association reconfigure itself as the League of Women Voters. Its agenda focused on three main areas: equal legal status for women, efficiency in public welfare, and international peace through cooperation. Catt's preference was for women to remain aloof from partisan commitments and independent from party politics.

Many agreed that woman suffrage was an outstanding victory, but they felt that the great expectations held for it were not realized and claimed that there were few female candidates for elective office. Still, despite the failure of women to vote as a bloc or even in sufficient numbers, many aspects of politics were transformed when women gained the right to vote. Party women insisted on representation in state and national committees, and women began appearing at national political conventions. Women lobbyists and federal agency employees were able to pass the SHEPPARD-TOWNER ACT (1921) and the CABLE ACT (1922), which

granted women access to maternal health programs and equal citizenship after marriage. The agenda of political parties had shifted under the influence of women voters and their organizations.

Women like settlement leader JANE ADDAMS, known for founding Hull-House and the social work movement, turned thus reform convictions to a new direction. Addams believed that, in order for women to have equality, violence in its many forms must be suppressed. In particular, to free women of their inferior status, the possibility of war must be controlled through peace organizations and war itself eventually outlawed. At the outbreak of WORLD WAR I, Addams poured her energy into the peace movement. She helped to found the WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (WILPF).

Addams, like other feminists of her generation, was a target for the postwar anti-radicalism of the RED SCARE. While A. Mitchell Palmer focused on immigrant radicals and militant labor organizers, other politicians viewed women's organizations as a threat. In the 1920s, a spider chart of the red network located Addams as the leader of the WILPF at its center. She was, some claimed, "the pinkest of the pink." The postwar period also gave rise to anti-feminism and a trend toward stifling social conformity in the relations between the sexes. Opponents of women's equality used a conservative defense and sought to constrict women's sphere to the domestic realm through appeals to scripture and contemporary social scientific theories, which placed emphasis on physical differences between men and women. Practitioners of psychology found common ground with conservative thinkers by opposing the gains of women. They used the theories of SIGMUND FREUD to bolster beliefs in the biologically determined and divinely sanctioned subordination of women. Sexologists turned to HAVELOCK ELLIS for a new celebration of heterosexual marriage. Their psychobiological approach claimed that "biology is destiny" for women. In contrast, new studies by anthropologist MARGARET MEAD downplayed sexual differences and argued for a much greater range of gender identity and sexual practice.

The 1920s and the 1930s saw a group consciousness among minority women. This generated a new energy toward the gain in women's status and rights. The long-standing NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN focused its agenda on confronting racial oppression. It also continued to unite black clubwomen across the United States, who had the "double task" of struggling for race oppression and sex emancipation.

The struggle for women's rights went through a period of scrutiny at the end of the 1920s. Some saw feminism as outdated, since women had the vote. Others believed things had gone too far and claimed the pursuit of sexual equality was destructive to society. The indisputable legacy

of the postwar debate was its understanding of the paradox of how to be a human being and a woman too.

See also *ADKINS V. CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL*; *LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT*; *MULLER V. OREGON*; *NEW WOMAN*.

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—Marcia M. Farah

## work, household

The period between 1900 and 1930 showed a marked change in the way that household labor was organized and performed, especially among urban families. The changes were threefold: improvement in municipal sanitation, water supply, and heat and light; changes in domestic technology, including the introduction of household appliances such as the refrigerator, the washing machine, and electric or gas stoves; and the decline of live-in domestic servants among the middle class, which increased the domestic work of women. Food provision and preparation already had changed with the increasing use of commercial bakeries, the widespread production and use of canned goods, chain grocery stores, and electrical appliances for the preparation of food. Ready-made clothing began to be more widely available in the 1880s, especially for men; by 1900, new styles of DRESS, including the introduction of the shirtwaist and the increased availability of children's clothing, reduced the amount of sewing done in the home. The purchasing of groceries, clothing, and household items further changed as chain food and department stores and new forms of urban and suburban transport, including the automobile, made possible the use of downtown shopping districts and centralized stores rather than neighborhood shops. These changes also shifted the burden of obtaining household goods almost entirely to women.

Improvements in access to and quality of public utilities changed the daily routine of urban women doing household work. Fetching water from public pumps, long a major and dreaded chore for women and children, was no longer necessary in an era of running tap water and water closets. Indoor plumbing throughout the house, including heated water, however, led to a demand for cleaner kitchens and bathrooms. Gas and then electric lighting became widespread in urban areas; so, too, did oil and gas furnaces for heating and gas ranges for food preparation. By 1930, nearly 50 percent of households did their cooking with



From a young age girls were trained for the housework that was expected of them when they matured. (*Library of Congress*)

gas. The price of electric energy and appliances dropped significantly, so that more than one-third of all residences were wired for electricity by 1920. During the ensuing decade, electric washing machines, vacuum cleaners, sewing machines, and reliable refrigerators became cheaper and more available. Electric toasters, cake mixers, irons, and food grinders were more popular. Among rural households there were fewer changes, especially due to the lack of a rural electrical supply. It would not be until the 1930s that farmsteads saw the widespread adoption of household appliances and indoor plumbing.

The overall impact of these developments was to alter the division of labor within the household and shift the burden even more heavily onto women. Indoor plumbing and gas stoves removed the need to fetch water and chop wood or shovel coal, but these tasks had normally been shared among household members. In contrast, the addition of new appliances for cooking and cleaning, such as the power vacuum and the partially mechanized washing machine, caused household work to multiply. Height-

ened standards of cleanliness, abetted by fears of infection and enhanced by the hard sell of ADVERTISING, steadily increased the number of meals cooked, clothes washed, and rooms cleaned.

Further, child care remained the responsibility of women in the household, even as children spent less time at home. Public EDUCATION, including new kindergarten programs and compulsory schooling laws, removed children from the care of their parents and siblings for long hours, and new high schools offered adolescents extended schooling and time outside the family. These changes meant that older children were no longer available to supervise younger siblings. Further, new forms of RECREATION, especially those designed for YOUTH, and continued patterns of employment among young adults meant less help with household chores. At the same time, there were increased expectations for women within motherhood. Hysteria about the new sexual behavior of Jazz Age youth gave rise to the criticism that the NEW WOMAN was a poor parent. Spending time with younger children, and



devoting increased time to keeping a clean and well-regulated household, increased women's household labor and lengthened their domestic work day.

See also MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE.

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**work, wage** See LABOR AND LABOR MOVEMENT.

### workers' compensation

In the Progressive Era, workers' compensation was the name for any payment workers received to cover the cost of treating workplace injuries and lost wages. Its provision varied according to different states, and it did not extend to occupational diseases and illnesses. At the turn of the century, workers who suffered physical injuries as a result of industrial accidents rarely received any form of payment from employers. To successfully win any claim, injured workers had to prove that the accident was the result of employer negligence, but the lack of evidence after the fact, combined with the power of large corporations, made this a difficult task. Similarly, if families of workers killed on the job wanted to claim compensation, they had to provide evidence that showed the culpability of the employer. Employers rarely had to accept liability for workplace injuries and deaths. Even if a worker or bereaved family successfully won compensation, the amount of money they received was fairly small and usually not enough to cover lost earnings and medical and/or funeral expenses. The compensation system in the United States differed from Great Britain, where the government had introduced comprehensive laws in 1897.

Despite the inadequacy of the compensation system, workers found alternative support mechanisms. In the MINING INDUSTRY, the WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS (WFM), the largest mining union in the western states, provided care and support for sick and injured members. This included treatment at one of the union's own hospitals and access to its health and disability programs. The WFM's measures were more than just a system of support for the miners. They were also a strategy of opposition toward employers who evaded the responsibility of providing adequate health care and compensation. Aside from such programs, millions of other workers offset the costs of injury or death by joining life insurance programs.

Labor leaders and some lawyers, unwilling to accept the status quo, pressed for more extensive protective labor

laws, such as an adequate worker compensation system, while state governments conducted studies with the intention of stemming the rising number of industrial deaths and injuries. Judges contributed to the debate over workers' compensation by advocating a system of employer liability based on the law of torts. Developed by the judiciary after the Civil War, the law of torts stipulated that a person was entitled to compensation if he or she was the victim of an act of injustice.

The year 1907 marked a turning point in the struggle of those seeking better compensation laws. On Georgia Day, at the Jamestown Exposition, President THEODORE ROOSEVELT acknowledged that industrialization was exacting a growing toll in industrial injuries and diseases and proposed an overhaul of the nation's work laws. Roosevelt asserted that all workers involved in industrial accidents should be entitled to compensation, so long as the injury was directly attributable to their work. He envisioned a compensation program financed by employers, which would eradicate the need for costly litigation and encourage employers to exercise more care. In an effort to set an example, Roosevelt's government established a compensation program for federal employees in 1908. Roosevelt still believed, however, that the federal government should not interfere with the states' rights to create their own compensation programs.

Corporate leaders did not completely disagree with Roosevelt's sentiments. They recognized that a more comprehensive compensation system might help to stem escalating unrest among workers. This unrest was particularly acute in the STEEL INDUSTRY, where Andrew Carnegie's vehemently antiunion stance deprived workers of the right to organize. Without a union to address their grievances, injured workers brought lawsuits, refused to work, or engaged in other methods of protest. Carnegie's company, U.S. STEEL, introduced a new compensation program in 1910 called the Voluntary Accident Relief Plan. Although the plan provided substantial compensation payments for injured workers and bereaved families, based on worker contributions, it assigned the blame for accidents to claimants and prevented employees from taking the company to court.

The growing visibility of workplace hazards across all sectors of industry led to the passage of new workers' compensation laws. From 1911 to 1921, the majority of states passed such laws, which guaranteed monetary compensation for injured workers and the families of workers who died as a result of workplace accidents. Employers assumed responsibility for workers' compensation, which motivated them to reduce industrial accident rates. Workplace fatalities and injuries meant monetary losses not only through payments to workers but also through higher insurance premiums. Workers who claimed compensation, however,



automatically relinquished the right to sue their employer. Employers, in an effort to limit the workplace accident rate, created an organization called the National Safety Council in 1913.

There were limits to the compensation laws, as they did not cover workers who developed occupational diseases. Coal miners, for instance, were unable to obtain coverage for a lung disease called pneumoconiosis, otherwise known as black lung, which many of them contracted by spending prolonged periods of time in dust-filled underground mines. Similarly, workers who developed cancers as a result of direct exposure to chemicals found that employers fiercely contested responsibility for their illness. The most significant reason for this discrepancy in the laws was that it was almost impossible to prove the link between workplace hazards and long-term diseases.

The laws remained largely unchanged in the 1920s, although North Carolina and Missouri passed compensation laws during that decade, which left South Carolina, Arkansas, and Mississippi as the only states without a system of workers' compensation. The workers' compensation laws reflected the federal government's reluctance to infringe on the rights of individual state governments, and in that sense, they were very much a product of their time.

See also NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION; OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY; WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT.

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—Richard Fry

### **Workmen's Compensation Act (1916)**

The Kern-McGillicuddy Workmen's Compensation Act of 1916 enabled workers to collect compensation for injuries sustained in the workplace. Prior to the passage of the act, workers alone were deemed responsible for their actions and ensuring their own safety. Following the "fellow-servant rule," employers were not held responsible for injuries sustained as a result of negligence on the part of other employees. Prior to 1900, state and federal courts interpreted this rule to mean that employers were almost never responsible for work-related injuries. As greater num-

bers of employees worked in dangerous industrial workplaces, which were often made even more hazardous by the employer's failure to provide safeguards, the need for effective workmen's compensation increased.

One of the immediate stimuli behind the push for workmen's compensation was the 1911 TRIANGLE SHIRTWAIST FIRE in New York City, which killed 146 female employees. The workers were unable to escape the blaze because exits were either blocked or locked from the outside. The disaster and subsequent acquittal of the company's owners shocked many and convinced reformers and labor leaders of the need for legislative action. In the absence of federal legislation, individual states had begun to enact workmen's compensation legislation. In 1902, Maryland became the first state to pass legislation. By 1910 many others had followed its lead. The organized labor movement was among the first to support state and federal legislation. The AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR began calling for effective workmen's compensation in 1894. Other labor organizations, including the American Association for Labor Legislation (AALL), also supported compensation for injured workers.

By 1916, 35 states had passed workmen's compensation legislation, but the effectiveness of these laws varied greatly. Some state laws, such as the one passed in New Jersey in 1911, were comprehensive and highly effective. Other states, however, had much weaker laws. The problem was complicated by the fact that state laws were consistently challenged and undermined by state judiciaries. Arguing the fellow-servant clause, employers convinced state and federal courts that workmen's compensation legislation violated equal protection under the law and freedom of contract. In 1909, in an important case, *Ives v. South Buffalo Railway Company*, the New York State law was ruled unconstitutional, this time by the state supreme court.

Pressure to pass federal legislation mounted in the aftermath of the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire. Concerned about maintaining the support of organized labor as he prepared for the inevitable entry of the United States into WORLD WAR I, President WOODROW WILSON announced his support for the Kern-McGillicuddy Act in 1916. Drafted by the AALL, the act received widespread support. Wilson signed it into law in 1916. The Workmen's Compensation Act was an important step in improving working conditions and protecting workers. The law was given greater weight in 1917, when in *New York Central Railroad Company v. White*, the Supreme Court finally upheld legislation passed in New York. Nevertheless, the ability of workers to collect compensation for employer negligence remained limited. Employer negligence remained difficult to prove, and many state courts continued to be reluctant to hold employers responsible.

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—Robert Gordon

## World War I

The First World War, known at the time as the Great War, was the first war to engage the entire European continent since Napoleon was defeated in 1815. It produced worldwide social and political upheaval. The war involved over 70 million combatants and ended in the death of between nine and 12 million people. By its end, the economy of Europe was devastated and its governments either overthrown or reorganized. After it was over, many hoped that it would be “the war to end all wars.”

Internationally, the period before 1914 was one of heightened tensions between the “Great Powers” and great change. Nationalist movements, strengthened by an increasing awareness of ethnic identity, added to the instability. The Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires struggled to come to grips with their citizens’ desire for self-determination, and an arms race among the nation-states of Germany, Britain, France, and Russia heightened the conflict.

The war had several causes. Great Britain sought to preserve her empire and control of the seas; France fought against German dominance and for return of her lost territories of Alsace and Lorraine. Japan sought to expand its territory as did Italy. China looked for the return of territory lost in the BOXER REBELLION. The Americans entered, belatedly, when the Wilson administration convinced the nation to make the world safe for democracy. The violation of freedom of the seas and the loss of American lives in U-boat attacks stiffened the country’s resolve to join the war.

Europe exploded in the summer of 1914 when a Serb patriot killed the heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary. An outraged Austria, backed by Germany, instantly presented an ultimatum to Serbia. Backed by its Slavic patron, Russia, Serbia refused to concede. The Russian czar mobilized his army, threatening Germany on the east. France, Russia’s ally, confronted Germany on its west. Alarmed, Germany struck at France through Belgium to knock the enemy out of action. Witnessing its coastline threatened by the assault on Belgium, Great Britain entered the fight on France’s side. Overnight, Europe was at war on three fronts—in the Balkans, in Russia (the eastern front), and in France and Belgium (the western front). On one side, there were the Central Powers of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. The Allies of France, Britain, and Russia, and later Japan and Italy, opposed them. The United States remained neutral.

American neutrality did not prevent it from filling British and French war orders, as business boomed. The Central Powers protested American shipments to Britain,

but trade was not against international neutrality laws. Germany was free to trade with the United States as well, but it was prevented from doing so by an effective British naval blockade. The British controlled the sea lanes, and they put a blockade in place across the North Sea, which forced American ships away from German ports. In retaliation for this blockade, Germany quickly instituted a submarine war around the British Isles. German officials declared that they would try to avoid neutral ships, but they warned that, ultimately, mistakes would occur. President Wilson, therefore, had to calculate the importance of free trade and the economic benefits of insisting on neutral trading rights. The loss of American ships endangered American neutrality. Germany declared unlimited warfare on all ships. Submarine warfare ultimately drew the United States irrevocably into the fray. Once the ZIMMERMANN TELEGRAM was discovered and published, there was no going back.

When the war began, the American army numbered only 128,000 men. Due to budget cuts and traditional reliance on state militia, the army was badly in need of arms and equipment. Germany was aware of these factors, and thus discounted America’s entry into the war. This prediction was seemingly confirmed by the isolationist policy of the Wilson administration until Germany’s policy of unrestricted submarine warfare, brought to life by the sinking of ships such as the *LUSITANIA*, gave Wilson no choice but to protect America’s economic and political interests abroad. He declared war on Germany in April 1917.

Instituting the draft in the United States under the SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT, along with the accompanying appropriation bills, prepared the AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE for entry into the war. By the end of the war, over four million soldiers, sailors, and Marines had served their country in the war effort. For the first time in the history of the United States, women were allowed to join the armed services. Twenty-four thousand women served in the military during the war as nurses and clerks.

The Wilson administration quickly realized that it needed to mobilize resources to meet the needs of a nation at war. For the first time, the federal government stepped in to regulate all aspects of the country’s industry and life. Wilson established the Food Administration, which advised Americans what and how much they should eat. The FUEL ADMINISTRATION controlled coal, gas, and oil. To fight shortages, they relied on the public’s cooperation and patriotism, rather than on rationing. The NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD was another example of government regulation. It worked to prevent labor unrest that interfered with the wartime economy and tried to keep wages in line with needs. The WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD controlled industrial output. It made sure that industrial production met war needs. The WAR REVENUE ACT raised taxes and issued Liberty Bonds to finance the war.



American soldiers manning a firing position behind barbed wire in a trench at Dieffmatten, in Alsace (National Archives)

Many Americans responded with enthusiasm to the patriotic call. The COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC INFORMATION (CPI), created by President Wilson, raised public support for the war effort through propaganda. War posters urged Americans to join the army. Movie stars, marching bands, and billboards celebrated those who “did their duty.” As flags were waved and bands played farewells, men rushed to volunteer for the war and the American Expeditionary Force. Back at home, citizens sacrificed for their boys. The CPI prompted support for the war partly by playing on fear of German spies and other radicals. The CPI informally censored publications until Congress, with the TRADING WITH THE ENEMY ACT (1917), gave the U.S. Post Office the responsibility of censoring materials that opposed the military draft and the war by denying mailing privileges. Government propaganda and fear turned many Americans against everything German. Many states outlawed the German language, and mobs terrorized many German-American citizens. Both the ESPIONAGE ACT of 1917 and the SEDITION ACT of 1918 reflected the government’s desire to suppress dissent and popular fears of Germans and other antiwar individuals. The government prosecuted antiwar socialists and members of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) under these acts. Antiradical prosecutions culminated in the postwar RED SCARE.

Many important social and economic changes came of the war. Massive intervention in industry, the significant but temporary transformation of the role of women, the decline in social deference, and a realignment of class relations were all consequences of the war. There was also, however, a political shift, in the expansion of the state in relation to private citizens. The wartime suspension of individual rights in the military draft and under the Espionage

and Sedition Acts had a tremendous impact on society. In addition, the Wilson administration developed machinery for domestic political surveillance. The Justice Department and military intelligence kept tabs on labor organizers and later unhappy ex-servicemen. Such surveillance demonstrated the increased willingness of government to intervene in the lives of its private citizens.

The Great War marked the end of one era and the beginning of a new age. The military struggle of World War I was but one aspect of a changing world. As a modern war, it involved whole societies in support of the armed forces. Sweeping, irrevocable changes on the home front resulted. In the United States, where resources, labor, and industrial plants were plentiful, corporations used the War Industries Board to promote expansion. European domination of the world economy ended, and the war’s end introduced a new world order. In the United States, influential capitalists sought increasing economic control over resources internationally, especially in Latin America and on the Pacific Rim. They looked to the armed forces to protect their interests.

The human cost of war was, for the first time, expressed through new media. Books, films, poetry, songs, and newspapers depicted the human cost of war and affected an entire generation, but it was not only war that had changed society. The WOMAN SUFFRAGE movement finally won its battle, with passage of the Nineteenth Amendment giving women the right to vote. Sexual norms changed in other ways, as women bobbed their hair, smoked cigarettes openly, and danced freely in public. Overall, women experienced more freedom, as the war had expanded their horizons. Returning servicemen found a social atmosphere quite different from what they had left. There were bootleggers, gangsters, Prohibition, bathtub gin, and jazz. Many returning from overseas relocated in the cities and left the rural areas behind. The popular song that asked “How you gonna keep ’em down on the farm, after they’ve seen Paris” seemed to be true.

The idealism of Wilson, his LEAGUE OF NATIONS, and world peace also were casualties of war. Congress, and in particular HENRY CABOT LODGE, refused to accept the league or ratify the TREATY OF VERSAILLES. As unemployment rose after the war, race relations at home soured, and disillusioned VETERANS returned home and contributed to the social discontent.

See also LOST GENERATION; VETERANS BUREAU.

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—Annamarie Edelen



**Wright, Frank Lloyd** (1867–1959) *modernist architect*

America's best-known architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, helped create an American style of ARCHITECTURE and ushered in the modern architectural age. He is known for his designs ranging from large office buildings to small houses. His best-known work is the Pennsylvania house known as Fallingwater. Built over a waterfall in 1936, the house is a definitive example of Wright's desire to fit his designs into their surroundings. His other famous designs include the headquarters of the Johnson Wax Company in Racine, Wisconsin, the Unity Temple in Oak Park, Illinois, and the Guggenheim Museum in New York City. Due to a variety of personal developments, Wright never achieved the acclaim during his early career that he did after 1930. He is recognized today, however, as the preeminent American architect whose design style was the first to be applicable to all building types.

Born in Richland Center, Wisconsin, Wright entered the University of Wisconsin at age 15 to study engineering, although he wanted to become an architect. After two semesters, he dropped out and went to work in the architectural studio of Louis Sullivan in Chicago. After six years, he quit Sullivan's firm and opened his own office in the Chicago suburb of Oak Park.

Wright quickly won recognition and hundreds of commissions that allowed him to work out new principles of design. Borrowing from many previous architectural styles, he eventually developed his own unique style that, in the years prior to 1930, he used primarily in the design of houses. He rejected the artificiality and rules of the classical style in favor of designs that combined structure, function, and idea with the inspiration of natural forms. The design that Wright eventually developed revolved around a set of guiding principles. These principles called for the reduction of necessary parts and the number of rooms in order to create a sense of unity throughout the entire house. He also believed that it was vital for a house to fit its surroundings, whether a rectangular lot marked by the street grid or a more natural setting.

Wright's designs eliminated boxlike rooms in favor of wide doorways between rooms that occurred more naturally and he often relied on screens for dividing rooms. His principles also called for the use of straight lines and just one building material in order to make them "clearer and more expressive." His principles went beyond the structure of the house itself. Wright's desire for clarity led him to design ornamentation based on straight lines and rectangular shapes that matched both the natural settings of the house and its materials. He also sought to incorporate furnishings into his architecture by designing them in simple terms along straight lines and in rectangular forms.

Wright's designs became known as prairie-style houses because of their open design and embrace of the open spaces of the Midwest. A group of architects embraced Wright's style and became known as the "Prairie School." Wright's influence in the years before 1930 was tempered, however, by his insistence on individualism and a series of scandals that surrounded him. Because Wright believed that each architect should express his own individualism and creativity in his designs, he never set out to create a school of design. He was, in fact, openly critical of the Prairie School architects. In addition, Wright became unpopular when in 1909 he left his wife and began living with the wife of one of his clients. His personal choices lost him many commissions in the Chicago area. Despite these obstacles to the spread of his ideals, Wright became the most recognized architect in America. He did so because he was the first American architect to develop a set of principles applicable to the complete range of buildings, from small houses to large office buildings, demanded by American society.

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—Michael Hartman

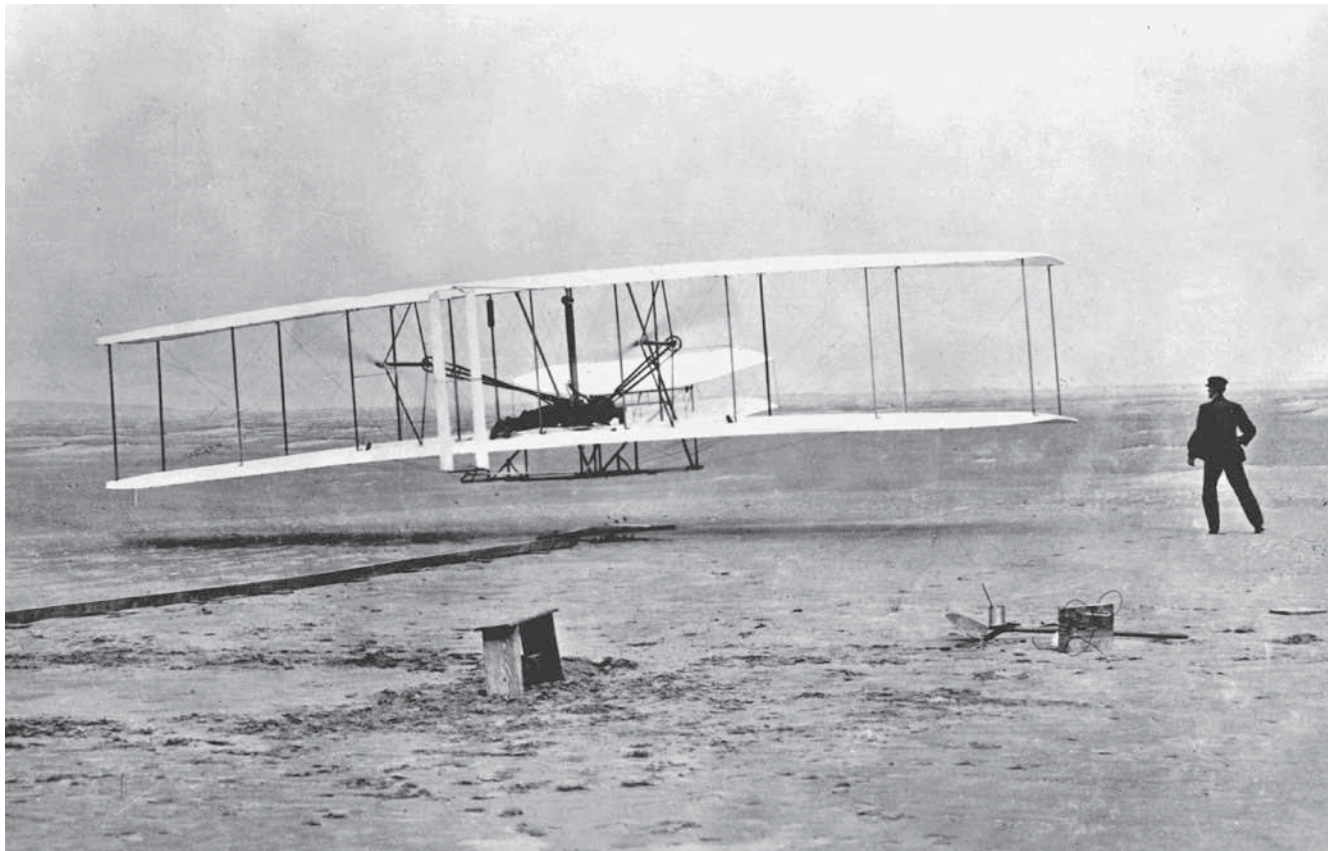
**Wright Brothers (Wilbur [1867–1912] and Orville [1871–1948])** *inventors of the airplane*

Wilbur and Orville Wright made the first powered, sustained, and controlled flight with a heavier-than-air flying machine at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, on December 17, 1903. The AVIATION pioneers grew up in a household led by their father, a bishop in the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, whom they later credited with fostering in them a curiosity about the way things worked. The two brothers never graduated from high school, choosing instead to study mathematics and engineering on their own. In 1889 they launched their first joint venture, a print shop. They also began to publish two short newspapers.

During the 1890s, the Wright brothers sought to use their mechanical skills to supply the booming market for bicycles. Americans were experiencing a bicycle craze triggered by mechanical developments that made them easier to ride. By 1896, the Wrights were building bicycles for sale in their small shop in Dayton, Ohio. Their business was successful, and the brothers used their profits from the sale of bicycles to finance their experiments in flight.

The Wright brothers became interested in flight after reading articles reporting the death of a German aeronautical pioneer in 1896. Between 1899 and 1905, they manufactured seven aircraft, three of which were powered. In





Orville Wright flying a Wright glider at Kill Devil Hills, near Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. The flight was officially the first sustained, controlled flight by a heavier-than-aircraft. Wilbur Wright runs alongside his brother. (Hulton/Archive)

1901, they designed and built their own wind tunnel, which proved crucial to their eventual success. The wind tunnel allowed them to experiment with different wing designs and arches. While doing these tests, they developed the first accurate tables of lift and drag, the parameters that govern flight. From their experiments in the wind tunnel and in actual flights in the gliders they constructed, the Wright brothers developed the proper wing and tail shape to provide stability in flight. They then built an engine to power their aircraft. The aircraft that made the first flight had a wingspan of 40 feet and weighed 750 pounds, with the pilot. The brothers took turns flying it. The longest flight on that first day in 1903 lasted 59 seconds and the plane traveled at 10 mph.

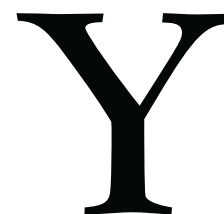
The Wright brothers patented their control system and offered their plane to the U.S. War Department. They did not, however, begin to exhibit their aircraft publicly

until 1908 when they undertook a promotional tour of the United States and Europe. By 1909, they could sustain a flight for 20 miles and governments in the United States and Europe began to order planes. To meet the demand, the Wright brothers formed the Wright Company to manufacture and sell their aircraft.

Wilbur Wright died of typhoid fever in 1912, and Orville sold the Wright Company to investors in 1915. He continued to play an important role in aeronautics. He served as a consulting engineer during WORLD WAR I and became a member of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics.

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—Michael Hartman



### **Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association (YMCA and YWCA)**

The YMCA and YWCA were established in the mid-19th century by middle-class Protestants in reaction to the movement of both native-born, white rural migrants and alien immigrants into American cities. The reformers who established the associations worried about the moral health of the young men and women migrating to the cities. They feared that the established churches were not equipped to cope with the problems that single young migrants presented. They therefore established YMCAs and YWCAs to help the migrants adapt to urban life. During the first three decades of the 20th century, the YMCA and YWCA expanded their programs in an effort to bring more young men and women through their doors. As its programs became less attractive to young men, the YMCA began to offer recreational programs for YOUTHS, which would eventually become its primary mission.

American cities provided numerous challenges for new migrants. They had to find a job, a place to live, and food. After they took care of all these necessities, then they would seek out leisure-time activities. All of these decisions could present problems for young men and women. The wrong job or place to live could pose dangers to the moral health of the migrants.

Of particular concern to the YMCAs was what the young men did in their leisure time. Because the young migrants had left their families and communities behind they often made these decisions without the guidance of family members. The YMCA sought to step in to help young male migrants adjust to urban life. At the same time, middle-class Protestants feared that if the migrants remained unsupervised, they posed a threat to the social order. If the young men were not taught proper middle-class values and behaviors, they might fall prey to radical political propaganda. The YMCAs created programs, therefore, to both protect the migrants and the social order.

The YWCA's original mission was to protect women from the dangers of the city and to lessen class conflicts by teaching working women middle-class values. The YWCAs sought to provide a moral environment for young women in what the YWCA leaders saw as an immoral urban world. Eventually, the YWCA recognized the economic reality that was at the root of the dangers posed to young women in the industrial order and began to champion reform movements for the betterment of the social and economic conditions in which young working women lived. YWCAs altered their mission to meet the needs of these new migrants to the city. As YWCA workers interacted with young women, they realized that their low wages presented the real problem for single working women and that the threat to the young women's morality lay in what they might do to make ends meet. YWCA workers feared that women might resort to prostitution as the only available means to earning enough money to live on. The YWCA's programs therefore revolved around the dangers presented by the low wages available to women.

To fight this threat, the YWCAs established programs aimed at making it cheaper for these women to live in American cities and also joined reform movements that sought to change women's place in the social, political, and economic order. By creating vocational education classes, for example, the YWCA tried to help women gain skills with which they could earn higher wages. Low-cost lunchrooms provided the women with a decent meal at an inexpensive price. Affordable apartments in a supervised, Christian environment protected women from the dangers of immoral landlords and neighborhoods. Social events attracted women who might otherwise have gone to commercial leisure establishments such as dance halls where they might fall prey to immorality. In addition to these local programs, YWCA workers fought for WOMAN SUFFRAGE, higher wages, women's education, and an end to domestic violence.



Boys using the gymnasium at the YMCA (Library of Congress)

The YMCA's first programs were simple prayer meetings. However, the YMCA realized that its prayer meetings were not attracting the men they wished to save. Therefore, in order to attract young men, the YMCA leaders expanded their program to include leisure activities and living space. The first offerings were libraries and reading rooms. When the associations realized that their new programs were successful, they rapidly expanded. Soon the YMCAs established employment bureaus, classrooms, gymnasiums, pools, bowling alleys, and cafeterias. The purpose behind all these programs was to attract young men so that they would spend their leisure time in a Christian institution instead of commercial leisure places. For the same reason, the YMCAs across the country built large dormitories. YMCA leaders feared that many young men put themselves in moral danger by living in low-priced lodgings. To protect the men, YMCAs offered low-priced lodging in a supervised setting.

The men that the YMCA originally sought to serve lost interest over the years, and the YMCAs had difficulty attracting members. In reaction, YMCAs across the country lowered the age range of their target population. By offering sports leagues and other recreational programs, the YMCAs attracted urban youth. By making this adjust-

ment, the YMCAs maintained a significant presence in urban America.

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—Michael Hartman

### youth

Between 1900 and 1930, the modern version of adolescence emerged in America. Today when we think of youth, we picture a time when children are gradually given more responsibility in preparation for their entrance into the adult world, after leaving either high school or college. Most children leave elementary school when aged 11 or 12, enter high school at age 14 or 15, and enter college or the full-time job market at age 18. A range of institutions exists, from juvenile courts to high schools, to help America's youth through these transitions. Youth also live in common cultures partially determined by age. Youth is thus a shared experience among all Americans, differing only by race, class, and gender.



At the turn of the century, the lives of America's youth differed a great deal from one another due to race, class, gender, educational, and regional differences. Growing up was not the normative process that it would become. Some youths went to work before their teenage years, for example, while others stayed in school through college. During the first decades of the 20th century, a number of factors combined to change the paths followed by America's youths as they matured.

Youth is a socially constructed category. The definition of youth has changed over time in reaction to social, cultural, and economic changes in society. During transitional times in American history, society has placed great emphasis on youth. When the social order appears to be threatened, America has turned to its youth as the hope for the future. The first three decades of the 20th century were no exception. American society was dealing with the profound changes stemming from industrialization, urbanization, and immigration. Many feared that the country's youth were threatened by these changes. Large numbers of working-class youth were unable to find jobs that offered a chance for advancement. In addition, the increase in the number of immigrant children in schools and cities frightened reformers, who feared that the immigrant youth would pose a threat to the social order if not properly socialized. Reformers also feared that cities created a dangerous environment for young people. They bemoaned the lost opportunity for youth to experience the green pastures of the country and then started summer camps to expose urban children to the healthier rural atmosphere.

Actions taken by reformers helped construct the modern definition of youth. Efforts to simultaneously protect youths from the evils of industrialization and protect the social order from the poorly socialized youth created new ideas about adolescence. At the core of the conflict about modern youth was the struggle between authorities in defining youth and the actions of youths on their own terms. Society tried to maintain youths' dependence on adults, while youths fought for their independence in a variety of ways.

The creation of the juvenile courts systems highlights this tension. The juvenile courts served both to help youths in trouble and to punish youths for independence from adult authority. Prior to the establishment of juvenile courts, youths who committed a crime went into the adult court system and, if sentenced to jail, served their time in an adult prison. Believing it dangerous to treat youths as adults, reformers established the juvenile court systems in the states. The idea behind the courts was that youthful offenders presented special circumstances. If they were simply placed in adult courts and adult prisons, they would be at risk either of physical harm or of learning criminal behaviors from adults. Reformers therefore sought to sepa-

rate the youths from the adults. Special courts were created in which youths arrested for crimes went before a single judge who was supposedly better prepared to analyze their special circumstances. Judges also had new options available with regard to sentencing. As part of the new juvenile court system, states created youth reformatory or industrial schools as they were called in some states. Instead of sentencing youthful offenders to adult prisons, judges could send them to a child-only reformatory, where the authorities focused on behavioral, educational, and vocational training so that the inmates would be useful members of society upon their release.

The juvenile court system was undoubtedly an improvement over the sentencing of youths in their teen years to adult prisons. The courts were not, however, an unqualified success. The creation of special courts for juveniles led to new definitions of crimes for youths. Adolescents could be arrested for hanging out on the street corner, sexual promiscuity, or other acts of independence from their families. Once in front of the judge, youths often had no recourse to an attorney and did not receive a jury trial. Because the purpose of a sentence in the reformatory was to reform each inmate, sentences were often of indeterminate length, ending only when prison officials decided that an inmate had become reformed. The negatives of the juvenile systems tended to affect working-class and minority youths to a greater extent than middle-class youths because police and the courts often released middle-class youths to their parents instead of sentencing them.

Between 1900 and 1930, the number of American youths working full-time declined tremendously due to changes in industry and society. Reformers feared that factory work threatened the physical and mental health of America's youth. To protect youth from these dangers, reformers passed CHILD LABOR laws and compulsory schooling laws. State legislatures across the United States passed compulsory education laws in reaction to economic changes. By the 20th century, the apprentice system for learning a trade was all but nonexistent. In addition, many of the jobs in new large factories, did not offer opportunities for advancement. Educators feared that the young men and women entering factory work faced a life of toil without the hope of advancing to a better-paid position with better working conditions. Educators also feared that the immigrants streaming into America would never adopt American ways and values if they never received an EDUCATION. To counteract these threats, educators undertook efforts to bring more children into school. Compulsory education laws were the favorite tools in their efforts. Most states passed such laws in the late 19th century and expanded the targeted ages in the early 20th century. By 1910, many states had passed laws that mandated education up to at least 14 years of age. Many of these laws exempted youths



aged 15 and 16 only if they could prove that they could read and write at a satisfactory level.

Changes in the economy also decreased the number of youths working full-time. Mechanization replaced many of the jobs formerly done by child workers. The rise of large industrial corporations and a new tier of management increased the value of a high school education. Large corporations depended on personnel departments for hiring workers, and the newly created personnel departments often set a high school education as the minimum requirement for employment. Corporations also created new clerical jobs that required a high school education.

Compulsory schooling and child labor laws acted to dramatically increase school enrollment. American schools during this period witnessed an increase in the number of students attending school, and particularly high school. Between 1900 and 1930, the proportion of 14- to 17-year-olds enrolled in high school grew from 10.6 percent to 54.9 percent. Total enrollment increased almost 700 percent. The increase in high school enrollment for outstripped the growth of the high school-aged population. The percentage of 17-year-olds who had graduated from high school increased from 6.4 percent in 1900 to 32.1 percent in 1930.

The growth in the high schools had unintended consequences. By placing a greater proportion of teenaged youths together, it led to the creation of youth subcultures centered on the high school. Cultures based on the common experience of high schools were not necessarily new, but the number of youths participating was. Middle-class adolescence, defined by schooling through high school, was becoming democratized. The youth cultures that developed were based on peer interactions and sanctions rather than adult restrictions. New norms of dating behavior emerged, for example, because teenaged women spent greater amounts of time with men of their own age. Dating flourished under this system, because women felt safe to go on dates unchaperoned by adults. Commercial interest also played a role in the creation of youth cultures. As incomes rose for most Americans during the 1920s, youths, and in particular middle-class youths, had more money to spend. Marketers targeted youths and a youth market developed. One important consequence of the development of the youth market was that it gave teens power outside the family. Instead of relying on family consumption decisions, teens decided on their own how to spend money. The development of the teen market slowed during the Great Depression, but rebounded with a bang in the post-World War II era.

The rise of the number of high school students led to an increase in the power of youths to challenge the

roles prescribed to them by society's institutions. There was power in numbers. Youths who challenged the social roles often faced punishment, such as a sentence to a juvenile home or parental sanction. However, as the number of youths sharing common experiences increased, so too did the number of youths mounting challenges to certain restrictions. When a group of youths became powerful enough, they could successfully change their roles. In the 1920s, for example, middle-class teens used their purchasing power to successfully challenge the dependent roles assigned to them. Commercial interests began to market directly to this new group of consumers, bypassing the family. Youths thus gained a powerful ally in their quest for independence.

The rising role of the schools in the lives of America's youths helped to establish age as a basis for social categorization. At the beginning of the century, students in most school districts moved through the school systems at their own pace. Educators, fearing that they were not meeting the needs of many of their students, created high schools that provided a differentiated curriculum designed to prepare each student for their future occupation. The curriculum became the same one offered today, with its separate tracks of vocational and college preparatory classes. Educators discovered, however, that many students were old enough to leave school before reaching high school and the vocational training it offered. In an effort to expose all students to the differentiated curriculum at the high school, educators began to promote students by age, instead of achievement. Age-based education played a key role in establishing age-based norms for growing up.

By the end of the 1920s, American youth went to school more, worked less, had stronger youth cultures, and were more tightly supervised by the state than their parents had been. The unemployment crisis of the 1930s pushed even more youths into high school, because they could not find jobs. The lengthening of adolescence through schooling set the stage for the development of the American teenager as a key consumer in the affluence of the post-World War II period.

See also CRIMINAL JUSTICE; KEATING-OWEN ACT; KELLEY, FLORENCE.

**Further reading:** Harvey J. Graff, *Conflicting Paths: Growing Up in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995); Joseph Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

—Michael Hartman



### Zimmermann telegram

Henry Lewis Stimson, secretary of war, once remarked that “gentlemen do not read each other’s mail.” This observation did not apply to the Zimmermann telegram of 1917. Arthur Zimmermann was a member of the German Diplomatic Corps since 1908. He had risen to the position of secretary of state for foreign affairs in 1916. During WORLD WAR I, the German government had petitioned the U.S. State Department to use its cable lines to communicate with its foreign missions about President WOODROW WILSON’s mediation proposals. Secretary Zimmermann sent a coded cable via the American embassy in Berlin to the United States. The State Department in Washington, which handed it to the German ambassador, then cabled it to the German embassy in Mexico City.

Unfortunately for the Germans, the British intercepted the cable, deciphered it, and presented it to the Americans. The British government hoped that the message would hasten American involvement in the war. The cable informed the German ambassador in Mexico City that his government planned to resume unrestricted submarine warfare on February 1, 1917. It announced that the German government was repudiating a policy established in the wake of the sinking of RMS *LUSITANIA*. Additionally, the cable further proposed to the Mexican government a Mexican-German alliance in which Mexico was urged to reconquer territory lost to the United States. In the 1840s Mexico had lost land in Texas and California as a result of the Mexican-American War of 1846–48. Kidnappings of American dignitaries and raids by the Mexican leader Pancho Villa had caused tension between the two nations. President Wilson found it difficult to maintain a policy of noninterference, given the upheaval in Mexico.

Wilson finally sent an expedition led by General JOHN PERSHING to locate and kill Pancho Villa. The army did not operate effectively in Mexico, which is one reason that Germany probably felt it could risk war with the United States. The expedition, popularly known as the MEXICAN INVASION, failed to capture Pancho Villa. The American army withdrew in January of 1917. Despite the army’s defeat, Mexican leaders were furious with the U.S. intervention. The Mexican president, Venustiano Carranza, even proposed an alliance to Germany. As the war situation worsened for Germany, it became increasingly interested.

When the deciphered telegram was published on March 1, 1917, it further intensified anti-German feeling in the United States. Shortly after the Zimmermann telegram was made public, German U-boats sank four unarmed American merchant vessels in the first two weeks of March. Wilson lost his gamble that the United States could pursue neutral trade without being brought into the European war.

Those favoring neutrality claimed that the note was a forgery. Zimmermann himself, however, admitted that the telegram was genuine. The publication of the note was central to eliciting public support for the war. Without the telegram the United States might have delayed entering the war; Germany’s decision to once again engage in unrestricted submarine warfare against the British blockade, however, guaranteed that the United States, largely sympathetic to the Allies, would declare war on Germany. The Zimmermann telegram was the catalyst that set the U.S. war effort in motion.

**Further reading:** Barbara Tuchman, *The Zimmermann Telegram* (New York: Macmillan, 1996).

—Paul Edelen



# Chronology

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## 1900

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaties give the United States exclusive control over the construction and management of any future isthmian canal in Central America.

Madame C. J. Walker begins selling cosmetics and hair treatment systems to African-American women; her business eventually makes her America's first female self-made millionaire.

The first of a series of conservative Christian tracts called *The Fundamentals* is published. The books, which reject a scientific view of the world, particularly the theory of evolution, are enormously popular.

With the Currency Act of 1900, the United States officially returns to the gold standard.

The Foraker Act of 1900 creates a civil government for U.S.-controlled Puerto Rico.

Susan B. Anthony's handpicked successor, Carrie Chapman Catt, becomes president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Harry Houdini begins performing his spectacular escapes.

After the failed antifoiegnier Boxer Rebellion in China, the United States and European powers agree to equal access to the nation's markets with the Open Door Policy.

The General Electric Company creates a lab in Schenectady, New York, devoted exclusively to scientific research. America's first corporate research and development facility, it sees the development of numerous profitable inventions, including the incandescent light bulb, the vacuum tube, and the X-ray machine.

Republican William McKinley is reelected over Democrat William Jennings Bryan.

## 1901

Financier J. P. Morgan buys out Andrew Carnegie and forms U.S. Steel, the world's largest corporation.

The American Medical Association asserts its influence to control entry of doctors to the profession.

The United States forces Cuba to incorporate the Platt Amendment into its 1901 constitution. The measure effectively makes Cuba a vassal state of the United States.

Two socialist parties merge to form the Socialist Party of America under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs.

A huge underground oil deposit is discovered in Beaumont, Texas, starting a boom.

President William McKinley is assassinated by an anarchist at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York; Theodore Roosevelt succeeds him.

## 1902

Roosevelt appoints Oliver Wendell Holmes to the U.S. Supreme Court; Holmes remains on the Court for 29 years and constructs the modern theory of civil liberties.

Lincoln Steffens, a leading muckraking journalist, joins the staff of *McChure's Magazine*. As editor, Steffens transforms *McChure's* into the leading political magazine in the country.

Scott Joplin composes the ragtime tune "The Entertainer."

U.S. Congress passes the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1902, which indefinitely suspends Chinese immigration to the United States and prohibits resident Chinese from gaining citizenship.

U.S. forces capture Filipino insurrection leader Emilio Aguinaldo and assert American sovereignty over the Philippines.

United Mine Workers of America organizes an Anthracite Coal Strike that idles 140,000 miners for five months. President Roosevelt intervenes, ultimately reducing the hours and boosting the wages of miners.

U.S. Congress passes the Spooner Act, authorizing U.S. construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama.

The United States Public Health Service is created.



**1903**

U.S. intervention prevents the Colombian government from suppressing a revolution in Panama.

Jack London publishes his novel *The Call of the Wild*.

W. E. B. DuBois's *The Souls of Black Folk* is published.

Republican congressman Joseph Gurney Cannon becomes speaker of the House of Representatives; his autocratic reign lasts eight years.

The U.S.-Canadian Convention of 1903 establishes a six-person joint commission to settle a dispute over the boundary between the Alaskan Panhandle and British Columbia.

U.S. Congress passes the Elkins Act of 1903 to prohibit discriminatory railroad rebates.

The Supreme Court upholds the legality of land sales in the Indian Territory in violation of a U.S.-Kiowa treaty. The ruling will serve as a precedent for U.S. violations of treaties with Native Americans for the next five decades.

U.S. secretary of state John Hay and Panamanian minister Philippe Bunau-Varilla negotiate the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903. The treaty gives the United States the right to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama and confers on the United States control of the canal for 100 years.

At Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, Orville and Wilbur Wright make the first successful airplane flight.

**1904**

Construction of the Panama Canal begins.

O. Henry's first collection of short stories, *Of Cabbages and Kings*, is published.

Incumbent Republican Theodore Roosevelt wins the presidential election against Democrat Alton B. Parker.

The Roosevelt Corollary modifies the Monroe Doctrine. The corollary states that the United States will intervene in any Latin American country guilty of "chronic wrongdoing."

Muckraking journalist Ida Tarbell publishes *History of the Standard Oil Company*, exposing how John D. Rockefeller had ruthlessly created a monopoly through his company. The book prompts a federal investigation of Standard Oil for antitrust violations.

In *Northern Securities Company v. United States*, the U.S. Supreme Court demands the dissolution of the Northern Securities Company because it violates the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. It is the first successful prosecution under the Sherman Act.

**1905**

The Niagara movement is organized to promote political, social, and civil equality for African Americans.

Photographer Alfred Stieglitz founds the 291 gallery in New York City. The gallery helps establish photography as an art form.

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) begins organizing semiskilled and unskilled workers regardless of their race, ethnicity, or gender, starting with mineral mine workers in the West.

Ruling counter to its earlier precedent, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidates an 1893 New York State law that regulates the length of the bakery work day in *Lochner v. New York*.

John P. Harris and Harry Davis open the first nickel-odeon in Pittsburgh; patrons can view a movie for five cents.

Using the Roosevelt Corollary, the United States seizes the finances of the Dominican Republic when the country is unable to make payments on its \$22 million debt. The nation's finances will be under U.S. control for the next three decades.

**1906**

President Theodore Roosevelt wins the Nobel Peace Prize for negotiating an end to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05.

The Burke Act of 1906 grants to Native Americans full title to their homesteads immediately, eliminating the 25-year trust period previously required.

Upton Sinclair publishes *The Jungle*. Its vivid descriptions of the hideously unsanitary conditions in the meat-packing industry lead to national outrage and a government investigation.

U.S. Congress passes the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, which prohibits the manufacture, sale, and transportation of adulterated or fraudulently labeled foods and drugs shipped in foreign or interstate commerce.

The Meat Inspection Act of 1906 gives the U.S. secretary of agriculture the power to inspect meat and label products that are unfit for human consumption.

A rebellion threatens the stability of Cuba; President Roosevelt sends U.S. troops to Cuba, where they remain for three years.

After being accused of covering up the murder of a local white man, all 167 soldiers in an African-American unit stationed in Fort Brown, Texas, are dishonorably discharged.

Prompted by President Theodore Roosevelt, U.S. Congress passes the Antiquities Act, which grants the chief executive authority to proclaim public lands as national monuments.

The Hepburn Act of 1906 gives the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) the power to review railroad rate decisions for antitrust violations.

**1907**

The Indian Territory is formally dissolved as Oklahoma becomes a state.

An agreement between the governments of the United States and Japan, the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, limits Japanese immigration to the United States.

Florenz Ziegfeld launches *The Follies*, a series of 20 annual and opulent musical revues that capture the popular imagination.

U.S. Congress passes the Expatriation Act of 1907. The act bars the entry of suspected radicals and revokes the citizenship rights of female U.S. citizens who marry foreign nationals.

### 1908

The United States and Japan issue the Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908, pledging to respect each other's territorial possessions in the Pacific and uphold the Open Door Policy in China.

President Roosevelt orders the U.S. Navy's "Great White Fleet" on a world tour to demonstrate American military might.

"The Eight," consisting of Robert Henri and other realist artists, exhibit their work at the MacBeth Galleries. Critics derisively call them the "Ashcan school" of artists.

Jack Johnson knocks out Tommy Burns and becomes the first black heavyweight boxing champion.

In *Muller v. Oregon*, the U.S. Supreme Court upholds a 1903 Oregon law that limits the maximum hours women can work in any factory or laundry.

In *Loewe v. Lawlor*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that a union boycott constitutes a conspiracy to restrain trade.

Republican William Howard Taft, vice president under Theodore Roosevelt, defeats Democrat William Jennings Bryan in the presidential election.

Henry Ford introduces the Model T Ford automobile, the first car produced by assembly line. The inexpensive car is received with phenomenal popularity.

### 1909

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is founded. Black writer W. E. B. DuBois begins editing *Crisis*, the NAACP's journal.

Robert E. Peary of the U.S. Navy becomes the first man to reach the North Pole.

The Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act of 1909 increases the already high duties imposed in the Dingley Tariff Act of 1897; President Taft's support of the bill divides the Republican-controlled Congress.

President Taft sends U.S. troops to Nicaragua to support U.S.-friendly revolutionaries.

The Shirtwaist Makers strike of 1909–10, in which 300,000 garment workers strike 300 sweatshops, galvanizes a broad range of laborers and arouses public sympathy.

### 1910

U.S. Congress passes the Mann Act of 1910 to prohibit interstate transportation of women and girls for "immoral" purposes.

The Mann-Elkins Act of 1910 places the growing telecommunications industry under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC).

The Mexican Revolution begins: Francisco Madero, Pancho Villa, and Emiliano Zapata lead public outcry in Mexico for the overthrow of President Porfirio Díaz.

### 1911

In *Standard Oil Company of New Jersey et al. v. United States*, the U.S. Supreme Court upholds a decision by a U.S. circuit court that ordered the dissolution of the Standard Oil Company.

Illinois and Missouri begin to provide mothers' pensions to supplement the wages of certain widowed mothers.

The Dillingham Report concludes that the "new immigrants" are racially inferior to emigrants from northern and western Europe and contends that they are "incapable of becoming Americans."

President Taft sends U.S. troops to Nicaragua; this time they remain for more than a decade.

The death of 146 female garment workers in a fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City spurs passage of labor and safety laws.

Frederick Winslow Taylor's influential book *The Principles of Scientific Management* promotes the removal of human inefficiencies from the production process.

In *The Mind of Primitive Man*, anthropologist Franz Boas argues that the differences between cultures result from differences in historical conditions, not inherent racial predetermination.

Democrats take control of the House of Representatives for the first time since 1895.

### 1912

Textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, strike across ethnic and skill lines, winning wage increases. Organized by "Big Bill" Haywood and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn of the IWW, the strike is hailed as a model of "new unionism."

The steamship *Titanic* sinks; more than 1,500 lives are lost, many of them American.

Democrat Woodrow Wilson, former governor of New Jersey, is elected president over Republican incumbent William Howard Taft, Progressive Party candidate Theodore Roosevelt, and candidates from the Socialist and Prohibitionist Parties.

### 1913

The Armory Show in New York City showcases modern art; among the painters featured is Edward Hopper.

The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution are ratified; the Sixteenth gives the U.S. Congress the power to collect income taxes, and the Seventeenth provides for the direct election of senators.

The Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act of 1913 imposes the first income tax under the Sixteenth Amendment and significantly reduces import duties.

The Federal Reserve Act restructures the U.S. banking system.

The Webb-Kenyon Act of 1913 prohibits the interstate shipment of alcohol into states where its sale or use is illegal.

## 1914

World War I breaks out in Europe; President Wilson declares U.S. neutrality.

Private security forces and National Guard troops attack the camp of striking miners in Ludlow, California, killing 32 miners.

U.S. Congress passes the Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914, which creates a regulatory organization to investigate suspected monopolies.

The Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914 is enacted to supplement the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890; its efforts to protect labor unions from antitrust rulings prove ineffective.

The Harrison Act of 1914 restricts the legal use of narcotics in the United States.

The Thomson-Urrutia Treaty of 1914 compensates Colombia for the role the United States played in the rebellion and eventual independence of Panama.

The Panama Canal opens; its construction has been supervised by engineer George Goethals.

President Wilson sends U.S. troops to support Pancho Villa in the Mexican Revolution.

## 1915

The first "Great Migration" begins; blacks move from the rural South to the urban North.

D. W. Griffith's film *Birth of a Nation* traces an idealized version of the development of the Ku Klux Klan and the white supremacy movement in the U.S. South. It is considered a milestone in the development of movies as an art form.

German submarines sink the British passenger ship *Lusitania*. One hundred twenty-eight U.S. citizens lose their lives in the attack.

In *Coppage v. Kansas*, the U.S. Supreme Court prohibits employers from forcing employees to sign contracts requiring that workers not join unions.

The U.S. Supreme Court declares the "grandfather clause" unconstitutional. The clause had restricted voting to those whose fathers or grandfathers had voted before 1867.

Eleven hundred women from around the world, including American social reformer and peace activist Jane Addams, convene in Holland to try to help bring an end to World War I.

The Wilson administration sends U.S. Marines to Haiti to suppress a revolution. Troops remain until 1934.

The Industrial Relations Commission delivers its report to President Wilson condemning industry's violent antiunion tactics.

Withdrawing U.S. military support for Pancho Villa, the Wilson administration recognizes the government of Venustiano Carranza of Mexico.

American Telephone and Telegraph sends the first transatlantic voice transmission.

## 1916

Pancho Villa retaliates against U.S. recognition of Venustiano Carranza's government in Mexico by executing several American civilians, while his forces raid Columbus, New Mexico, killing more Americans. General John J. Pershing leads a "punitive expedition" of 6,000 U.S. troops into Mexico but fails to catch Villa.

Louis Brandeis is appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court. He is the first American Jew to be so appointed.

Jeannette Rankin of Montana becomes the first woman elected to the House of Representatives.

U.S. Congress passes the Jones Act of 1916, which gives the Philippine Islands greater autonomy.

The Adamson Act of 1916 establishes an eight-hour day for railroad workers operating on interstate lines, without reducing their wages.

In an effort to curb child labor abuses, U.S. Congress passes the Keating-Owen Act of 1916. The law prohibits interstate shipments of products made by children under age 14 or by children ages 14 to 16 who had worked more than eight hours per day.

President Woodrow Wilson is narrowly reelected over Republican challenger Charles Evans Hughes.

Margaret Sanger establishes the first U.S. birth control clinic in Brooklyn, New York. The clinic provides assistance to nearly 500 women before police close its doors 10 days later. Sanger is jailed for violating New York State law forbidding distribution of birth control information.

The United States sets up a military government in the Dominican Republic when the nation rejects a treaty that would have made it a protectorate of the United States. American troops remain until 1924.

The Kern-McGillicuddy Workmen's Compensation Act enables workers to collect compensation for injuries sustained in the workplace.

Alice Paul and other radical suffragists form the National Woman's Party to fight for a federal suffrage amendment.

The National Park Service is established to manage and maintain the national system of federal parks and wilderness areas.

The Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916 makes low-interest loans available to farmers.

Charlie Chaplin appears in the two-reel silent comedy called *The Pawnshop*.

## 1917

The United States receives an intercepted message proposing a Mexican-German alliance.

The United States enters World War I.

The Committee for Public Information is established to distribute pro-war, anti-German propaganda.

The Selective Service Act of 1917 requires all men between the ages of 18 and 45 to register for military service.

U.S. Congress passes the Immigration Act of 1917, or the Alien Exclusion Act. The act sets quotas, creates an "Asiatic Barred Zone," and institutes a literacy test to restrict immigration.

The Espionage Act of 1917 suppresses treasonable and disloyal activities during World War I.

An estimated 100 blacks die in a three-day race riot in East St. Louis, Illinois.

The Jones Act of 1917 grants U.S. citizenship to the inhabitants of Puerto Rico and expands their role in the island's government.

U.S. secretary of state Robert Lansing and Viscount Kikujiro Ishii of Japan negotiate the Lansing-Ishii Agreement of 1917, which recognizes Japan's special commercial interests in China.

Bolsheviks seize power in the Russian Revolution, provoking anticommunist hysteria among Americans.

Margaret Sanger helps organize the National Birth Control League, which ultimately evolves into the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

## 1918

The U.S. government assumes control over the national rail system to support the war effort.

In his "Fourteen Points" speech, President Wilson outlines his plan for a fair and lasting European peace.

President Wilson establishes the National War Labor Board to formalize federal policies for dealing with organized labor during World War I.

The first wave of a deadly strain of influenza reaches the United States; within a year it has decimated world populations.

In *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidates the child labor control measure, the Keating-Owen Act of 1916.

U.S. Congress passes the Sedition Act of 1918, prohibiting criticism of the U.S. war effort.

Americans write a new constitution for Haiti, occupied by U.S. troops since 1915.

Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs is convicted under the Espionage Act of 1917 for making antiwar speeches.

The Allies (France and Britain), strengthened by newly arrived U.S. troops under General John Pershing, turn back a German offensive along the Marne River.

The massive Argonne Offensive, fought largely by U.S. troops, weakens the German army; Germany agrees to an armistice, and President Wilson sails for France to participate in a peace conference.

## 1919

The Eighteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, which prohibits the sale of alcohol nationwide, is ratified. The Volstead Act of 1919 provides for its enforcement.

Alice Hamilton appointed assistant professor of industrial medicine at Harvard Medical School; she becomes the first woman on the faculty.

Industry magnates led by John D. Rockefeller launch the "American Plan" to roll back the wartime gains of labor unions.

The first citywide general strike immobilizes Seattle for six days. At the end of the strike, the workers have won none of their demands.

President Wilson unsuccessfully urges U.S. Congress to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, which calls for American membership in the League of Nations; Senator Henry Cabot Lodge leads congressional resistance to ratification.

Jack Dempsey becomes heavyweight champion of the world.

Twenty-five race riots break out in American cities, killing and wounding hundreds of people. This period is known as the Red Summer.

U.S. Congress passes the Child Labor Act of 1919 in an attempt to protect children in the workplace.

The American Farm Bureau is founded to lobby for the interests of farmers, who represent 25 percent of voters.

The U.S. Supreme Court upholds the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918, asserting that the "clear and present danger" of war makes certain types of free speech subversive.

The "Black Sox" scandal, in which Chicago White Sox players accept bribes in exchange for purposely losing the World Series, damages baseball's popularity.

Bolsheviks found the Third International (or Comintern) to export revolution around the world; American socialists who support the Russian Revolution form an American communist party.

Steelworkers wage a strike of 365,000 in September, signaling the end of the uneasy truce between industry and labor during World War I; by January, the strike ends in failure and 22 strikers have been killed.



Responding to a wave of strikes after the war, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer counterattacks with a series of raids targeting labor militants and radicals. Thousands of radical activists and writers are arrested or deported in the “Red Scare” raids, including Emma Goldman.

## 1920

Esch-Cummins Act of 1920 returns railroads to private control.

Marcus Garvey, founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, addresses 25,000 blacks in New York City, calling for a “back to Africa” movement.

Forty-six nations participate in the first meeting of the League of Nations.

The Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is ratified, giving American women the vote.

KDKA in Pittsburgh becomes the first radio station to institute regular broadcasting when it covers the Cox-Harding presidential race nightly.

Republican Warren G. Harding, formerly a senator from Ohio, is elected president over Democrat James M. Cox; President Harding’s tenure is marked by scandal.

Eugene O’Neill’s play *The Emperor Jones*, which later stars Paul Robeson, opens on Broadway.

## 1921

L. C. Dyer, a white congressman from Missouri, proposes an antilynching law; it is passed in the House but not in the Senate.

Immigration to the United States is limited by the first of a series of quota acts.

The U.S.-German Peace Treaty of 1921 adopts most measures of the Treaty of Versailles, but excludes participation in the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization. The agreement formally ends World War I for the United States.

Great Britain, the United States, Japan, and France agree to respect one another’s island territories in the Pacific Ocean and to confer with the other party in the event of any disputes in the Four Power Pacific Treaty of 1921.

U.S. Congress passes the Budget and Accounting Act, which provides guidelines for the modern budget and expands presidential control over federal spending.

## 1922

The “Harlem Renaissance” is initiated with Claude McKay’s book of poetry titled *Harlem Shadows*.

U.S. Congress passes the Capper-Volstead Act of 1922, which exempts various agricultural associations, producers, and cooperatives from antitrust laws.

Poet T. S. Eliot publishes *The Waste Land*.

In *Balzac v. Puerto Rico*, the U.S. Supreme Court denies citizens of the U.S. territory of Puerto Rico the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

The Cable Act establishes that women neither gain nor lose American citizenship through marriage.

In the Yap Treaty of 1922 the United States formally agrees to the Japanese claim on the former German possession of Yap, in the Caroline Islands.

In *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Company*, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidates the Child Labor Act of 1919.

The United States, Britain, France, Japan, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, China, and Portugal sign the Nine Power Pact of 1922. The agreement reaffirms the Open-Door Policy toward China and reflects a consensus of opinion in their relations with China.

U.S. Congress passes the Fordney-McCumber Tariff to protect the American chemical and metal industries, which developed considerably during World War I.

After a massive federal injunction, the Railroad Shopmen’s Strike, involving more than 400,000 railroad craft workers, is lost in a defeat that signals the rapidly declining power of labor.

## 1923

Alice Paul introduces the Equal Rights Amendment proposal to U.S. Congress; the proposed amendment will be debated off and on for most of the rest of the century.

In *Adkins v. Children’s Hospital*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that sex-specific minimum wage laws are unconstitutional.

President Warren G. Harding dies in office; Vice President Calvin Coolidge, a former governor of Massachusetts, succeeds him.

Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall is accused of accepting bribes in exchange for oil rights on public lands in the Teapot Dome scandal. He becomes the first cabinet member to be convicted of a crime.

## 1924

U.S. Congress passes the Indian Citizenship Act, which gives all Native Americans U.S. citizenship without affecting their rights to tribal property.

Calvin Coolidge wins the presidential race against Democrat John W. Davis and Progressive Party candidate Robert M. La Follette.

The National Origins (Immigration) Act of 1924 further decreases the number of immigrants allowed into the United States each year and creates the Border Patrol to police U.S. land borders.

The Virginia legislature passes the Racial Integrity Act, which bans interracial marriage and requires all residents to register their race with the state.

J. Edgar Hoover becomes director of the Bureau of Investigation, a department of the Justice Department that later becomes the FBI.

Composer George Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*, a piece that combines the rhythms of jazz with classical orchestration, is first performed.

Under orders from the Soviet Comintern, two American communist parties merge, eventually becoming known as the Communist Party of the United States of America.

Defense attorney Clarence Darrow uses psychological testimony to argue against the death penalty in the trial of accused murderers Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb.

U.S. Congress approves the Soldiers' Bonus to compensate soldiers for income lost during the war.

## 1925

U.S. Congress passes the Kelly Air Mail Act, which establishes contracts with commercial airlines for the delivery of U.S. mail by air.

Lawyer Clarence Darrow defends John Scopes, a young Tennessee teacher accused of teaching Darwin's theory of evolution rather than the biblical creation story required by state law. Three-time presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan serves as chief attorney for the prosecution.

In a case in Detroit, Ossian Sweet, an African-American doctor, and his family and friends are put on trial for murder after a crowd member dies during a housing riot. An all-white jury cannot agree on guilt or acquittal. Within a month, Henry Sweet, one of the defendants, is acquitted in a separate trial, in a decision that affirms the rights of African Americans.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision *Pierce v. Society of the Sisters* overturns an Oregon state law that requires all children between the ages of eight and 16 to attend public school.

## 1926

General Billy Mitchell resigns from the U.S. Army after a court-martial for insubordination; he had charged that the U.S. military was paying insufficient attention to air power.

A strike of 20,000 textile workers in Passaic, New Jersey, fails; union membership nationwide declines.

Ernest Hemingway's novel *The Sun Also Rises* is published.

Jazz musician Louis Armstrong begins his "four golden years" when he records his "Hot Five" and "Hot Seven" tracks.

The Watson-Parker Act of 1926 establishes the U.S. Board of Mediation to negotiate with parties involved in railroad labor disputes.

## 1927

Charles Lindbergh completes the first solo airplane flight from New York to Paris.

Richard Byrd of the U.S. Navy successfully completes the first airplane flight over the North Pole.

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, immigrants and political radicals, are executed after a controversial and widely publicized murder trial.

The Supreme Court in *Buck v. Bell* affirms the rights of states to demand that those thought mentally deficient or otherwise likely to become wards of the state be forcibly sterilized.

Babe Ruth of the New York Yankees sets a record with 60 home runs during a 154-game season.

## 1928

Fifteen nations sign the Pact of Paris as an attempt to eliminate war as an instrument of national policy and to settle international disputes through peaceful means.

In *Olmstead v. United States*, the U.S. Supreme Court allows the admission of wiretapping evidence in court.

The Clark Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine limits the U.S. right to intervene in Latin American affairs.

In *Coming of Age in Samoa*, anthropologist Margaret Mead argues that culture, not biology, determines gender identity and sexual behavior.

The *Amos 'n' Andy* radio program goes on the air; the first commercially successful serial, it garners 40 million listeners, fully one-third the U.S. population.

Republican candidate Herbert Hoover wins the presidential election over Democratic candidate Alfred E. Smith.



# Documents



## Theodore Roosevelt's "Strenuous Life" Speech, April 10, 1899

*Landmark Documents in American History.*  
CD-ROM (New York: Facts On File, 1995)

In speaking to you, men of the greatest city of the West, men of the State which gave to the country Lincoln and Grant, men who preeminently and distinctly embody all that is most American in the American character, I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life, the life of toil and effort, of labor and strife; to preach that highest form of success which comes, not to the man who desires mere easy peace, but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph.

A life of slothful ease, a life of that peace which springs merely from lack either of desire or of power to strive after great things, is as little worthy of a nation as of an individual. I ask only that what every self-respecting American demands from himself and from his sons shall be demanded of the American nation as a whole. Who among you would teach you boys that ease, that peace, is to be the first consideration in their eyes—to be the ultimate goal after which they strive? You men of Chicago have made this city great, you men of Illinois have done your share, and more than your share, in making America great, because you neither preach nor practice such a doctrine. You work yourselves, and you bring up your sons to work. If you are rich and are worth your salt, you will teach your sons that though they may have leisure, it is not to be spent in idleness; for wisely used leisure merely means that those who possess it, being free from the necessity of working for their livelihood, are all the more bound to carry on some kind of non-remunerative work in science, in letters, in art, in exploration, in historical research—work of the type we most need in

this country, the successful carrying out of which reflects most honor upon the nation. We do not admire the man of timid peace. We admire the man who embodies victorious effort; the man who never wrongs his neighbor, who is prompt to help a friend, but who has those virile qualities necessary to win in the stern strife of actual life. It is hard to fail, but it is worse never to have tried to succeed. In this life we get nothing save by effort. Freedom from effort in the present merely means that there has been stored up effort in the past. A man can be freed from the necessity of work only by the fact that he or his fathers before him have worked to good purpose. If the freedom thus purchased is used aright, and the man still does actual work, though of a different kind, whether as a writer or a general, whether in the field of politics or in the field of exploration and adventure, he shows he deserves his good fortune. But if he treats this period of freedom from the need of actual labor as a period, not of preparation, but of mere enjoyment, even though perhaps not of vicious enjoyment, he shows that he is simply a cumberer of the earth's surface, and he surely unfits himself to hold his own with his fellows if the need to do so should again arise. A mere life of ease is not in the end a very satisfactory life, and, above all, it is a life which ultimately unfits those who follow it for serious work in the world.

In the last analysis a healthy state can exist only when the men and women who make it up lead clean, vigorous, healthy lives; when the children are so trained that they shall endeavor, not to shirk difficulties, but to overcome them; not to seek ease, but to know how to wrest triumph from toil and risk. The man must be glad to do a man's work, to dare and endure and to labor; to keep himself, and to keep those dependent upon him. The woman must be the housewife, the helpmeet of the homemaker, the wise and fearless mother of many healthy children. In one of Daudet's powerful and melancholy books he speaks of "the



fear of maternity, the haunting terror of the young wife of the present day." When such words can be truthfully written of a nation, that nation is rotten to the heart's core. When men fear work or fear righteous war, when women fear motherhood, they tremble on the brink of doom; and well it is that they should vanish from the earth, where they are fit subjects for the scorn of all men and women who are themselves strong and brave and high-minded.

As it is with the individual, so it is with the nation. It is a base untruth to say that happy is the nation that has no history. Thrice happy is the nation that has a glorious history. Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory nor defeat. If in 1861 the men who loved the Union had believed that peace was the end of all things, and war and strife the worst of all things, and had acted up to their belief, we would have saved hundreds of thousands of lives, we would have saved hundreds of millions of dollars. Moreover, besides saving all the blood and treasure we then lavished, we would have prevented the heartbreak of many women, the dissolution of many homes, and we would have spared the country those months of gloom and shame when it seemed as if our armies marched only to defeat. We could have avoided all this suffering simply by shrinking from strife. And if we had thus avoided it, we would have shown that we were weaklings, and that we were unfit to stand among the great nations of the earth. Thank God for the iron in the blood of our fathers, the men who upheld the wisdom of Lincoln, and bore sword or rifle in the armies of Grant! Let us, the children of the men who proved themselves equal to the mighty days, let us, the children of the men who carried the great Civil War to a triumphant conclusion, praise the God of our fathers that the ignoble counsels of peace were rejected; that the suffering and loss, the blackness of sorrow and despair, were unflinchingly faced, and the years of strife endured; for in the end the slave was freed, the Union restored, and the mighty American republic placed once more as a helmeted queen among nations.

We of this generation do not have to face a task such as that our fathers faced, but we have our tasks, and woe to us if we fail to perform them! We cannot, if we would, play the part of China, and be content to rot by inches in ignoble ease within our borders, taking no interest in what goes on beyond them, sunk in a scrambling commercialism; heedless of the higher life, the life of aspiration, of toil and risk, busying ourselves only with the wants of our bodies for the day, until suddenly we should find, beyond a shadow of question, what China has already found, that in this world the nation that has trained itself to a career of unwarlike and isolated ease is bound, in the end, to go down before

other nations which have not lost the manly and adventurous qualities. If we are to be a really great people, we must strive in good faith to play a great part in the world. We cannot avoid meeting great issues. All that we can determine for ourselves is whether we shall meet them well or ill. In 1898 we could not help being brought face to face with the problem of war with Spain. All we could decide was whether we should shrink like cowards from the contest, or enter into it as beseemed a brave and high-spirited people; and, once in, whether failure or success should crown our banners. So it is now. We cannot avoid the responsibilities that confront us in Hawaii, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. All we can decide is whether we shall meet them in a way that will redound to the national credit, or whether we shall make of our dealings with these new problems a dark and shameful page in our history. To refuse to deal with them at all merely amounts to dealing with them badly. We have a given problem to solve. If we undertake the solution, there is, of course, always danger that we may not solve it aright; but to refuse to undertake the solution simply renders it certain that we cannot possibly solve it aright. The timid man, the lazy man, the man who distrusts his country, the over-civilized man, who has lost the great fighting, masterful virtues, the ignorant man, and the man of dull mind, whose soul is incapable of feeling the mighty lift that thrills "stern men with empires in their brains"—all these, of course, shrink from seeing the nation undertake its new duties; shrink from seeing us build a navy and an army adequate to our needs; shrink from seeing us do our share of the world's work, by bringing order out of chaos in the great, fair tropic islands from which the valor of our soldiers and sailors has driven the Spanish flag. These are the men who fear the strenuous life, who fear the only national life which is really worth leading. They believe in that cloistered life which saps the hardy virtues in a nation, as it saps them in the individual; or else they are wedded to that base spirit of gain and greed which recognizes in commercialism the be-all and end-all of national life, instead of realizing that, though an indispensable element, it is, after all, but one of the many elements that go to make up true national greatness. No country can long endure if its foundations are not laid deep in the material prosperity which comes from thrift, from business energy and enterprise, from hard, unsparing effort in the fields of industrial activity; but neither was any nation ever yet truly great if it relied upon material prosperity alone. All honor must be paid to the architects of our material prosperity, to the great captains of industry who have built our factories and our rail-roads, to the strong men who toil for wealth with brain or hand; for great is the debt of the nation to these and their kind. But our debt is yet greater to the men whose highest type is to be found in a statesman like Lincoln, a soldier like Grant. They showed by their lives that they recognized the

law of work, the law of strife; they toiled to win a competence for themselves and those dependent upon them; but they recognized that there were yet other and even loftier duties—duties to the nation and duties to the race.

We cannot sit huddled within our own borders and avow ourselves merely an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters who care nothing for what happens beyond. Such a policy would defeat even its own end; for as the nations grow to have ever wider and wider interests, and are brought into closer and closer contact, if we are to hold our own in the struggle for naval and commercial supremacy, we must build up our power without our own borders. We must build the isthmian canal, and we must grasp the points of vantage which will enable us to have our say in deciding the destiny of the oceans of the East and the West.

So much for the commercial side. From the standpoint of international honor the argument is even stronger. The guns that thundered off Manila and Santiago left us echoes of glory, but they also left us a legacy of duty. If we drove out a medieval tyranny only to make room for savage anarchy, we had better not have begun the task at all. It is worse than idle to say that we have no duty to perform, and can leave to their fates the islands we have conquered. Such a course would be the course of infamy. It would be followed at once by utter chaos in the wretched islands themselves. Some stronger, manlier power would have to step in and do the work, and we would have shown ourselves weaklings, unable to carry to successful completion the labors that great and high-spirited nations are eager to undertake.

The work must be done; we cannot escape our responsibility; and if we are worth our salt, we shall be glad of the chance to do the work—glad of the chance to show ourselves equal to one of the great tasks set modern civilization. But let us not deceive ourselves as to the importance of the task. Let us not be misled by vainglory into underestimating the strain it will put on our powers. Above all, let us, as we value our own self-respect, face the responsibilities with proper seriousness, courage, and high resolve. We must demand the highest order of integrity and ability in our public men who are to grapple with these new problems. We must hold to a rigid accountability those public servants who show unfaithfulness to the interests of the nation or inability to rise to the high level of the new demands upon our strength and our resources.

Of course we must remember not to judge any public servant by any one act, and especially should we beware of attacking the men who are merely the occasions and not the causes of disaster. Let me illustrate what I mean by the army and the navy. If twenty years ago we had gone to war, we should have found the navy as absolutely unprepared as the army. At that time our ships could not have encountered with success the fleets of Spain any more than nowadays we can put untrained soldiers, no matter how

brave, who are armed with archaic black-powder weapons, against well-drilled regulars armed with the highest type of modern repeating rifle. But in the early eighties the attention of the nation became directed to our naval needs. Congress most wisely made a series of appropriations to build up a new navy, and under a succession of able and patriotic secretaries, of both political parties, the navy was gradually built up, until its material became equal to its splendid personnel, with the result that in the summer of 1898 it leaped to its proper place as one of the most brilliant and formidable fighting navies in the entire world. We rightly pay all honor to the men controlling the navy at the time it won these great deeds, honor to Secretary Long and Admiral Dewey, to the captains who handled the ships in action, to the daring lieutenants who braved death in the smaller craft, and to the heads of bureaus at Washington who saw that the ships were so commanded, so armed, so equipped, so well engined, as to insure the best results. But let us also keep ever in mind that all of this would not have availed if it had not been for the wisdom of the men who during the preceding fifteen years had built up the navy. Keep in mind the secretaries of the navy during those years; keep in mind the senators and congressmen who by their votes gave the money necessary to build and to armor the ships, to construct the great guns, and to train the crews; remember also those who actually did build the ships, the armor, and the guns; and remember the admirals and captains who handled battle-ship, cruiser, and torpedo-boat on the high seas, alone and in squadrons, developing the seamanship, the gunnery, and the power of acting together, which their successors utilized so gloriously at Manila and off Santiago. And, gentlemen, remember the converse, too. Remember that justice has two sides. Be just to those who built up the navy, and, for the sake of the future of the country, keep in mind those who opposed its building up. Read the "Congressional Record." Find out the senators and congressmen who opposed the grants for building the new ships; who opposed the purchase of armor, without which the ships were worthless; who opposed any adequate maintenance for the Navy Department, and strove to cut down the number of men necessary to man our fleets. The men who did these things were one and all working to bring disaster on the country. They have no share in the glory of Manila, in the honor of Santiago. They have no cause to feel proud of the valor of our sea-captains, of the renown of our flag. Their motives may or may not have been good, but their acts were heavily fraught with evil. They did ill for the national honor, and we won in spite of their sinister opposition.

Now, apply all this to our public men of to-day. Our army has never been built up as it should be built up. I shall not discuss with an audience like this the puerile suggestion that a nation of seventy millions of freemen is in

danger of losing its liberties from the existence of an army of one hundred thousand men, three fourths of whom will be employed in certain foreign islands, in certain coast fortresses, and on Island reservations. No man of good sense and stout heart can take such a proposition seriously. If we are such weaklings as the proposition implies, then we are unworthy of freedom in any event. To no body of men in the United States is the country so much indebted as to the splendid officers and enlisted men of the regular army and navy. There is no body from which the country has less to fear, and none of which it should be prouder, none which it should be more anxious to upbuild.

Our army needs complete reorganization,—not merely enlarging,—and the reorganization can only come as the result of legislation. A proper general staff should be established, and the positions of ordinance, commissary, and quartermaster officers should be filled by detail from the line. Above all, the army must be given the chance to exercise in large bodies. Never again should we see, as we saw in the Spanish war, major-generals in command of divisions who had never before commanded three companies together in the field. Yet, incredible to relate, Congress has shown a queer inability to learn some of the lessons of the war. There were large bodies of men in both branches who opposed the declaration of war, who opposed the ratification of peace, who opposed the upbuilding of the army, and who even opposed the purchase of armor at a reasonable price for the battle-ships and cruisers, thereby putting an absolute stop to the building of any new fighting-ships for the navy. If, during the years to come, any disaster should befall our arms, afloat or ashore, and thereby any shame come to the United States, remember that the blame will lie upon the men whose names appear upon the roll-calls of Congress on the wrong side of these great questions. On them will lie the burden of any loss of our soldiers and sailors, of any dishonor to the flag; and upon you and the people of this country will lie the blame if you do not repudiate, in no unmistakable way, what these men have done. The blame will not rest upon the untrained commander of untried troops, upon the civil officers of a department the organization of which has been left utterly inadequate, or upon the admiral with an insufficient number of ships; but upon the public men who have so lamentably failed in forethought as to refuse to remedy these evils long in advance, and upon the nation that stands behind those public men.

So, at the present hour, no small share of the responsibility for the blood shed in the Philippines, the blood of our brothers, and the blood of their wild and ignorant foes, lies at the thresholds of those who so long delayed the adoption of the treaty of peace, and of those who by their worse than foolish words deliberately invited a savage people to plunge into a war fraught with sure disaster for them—a war, too,

in which our own brave men who follow the flag must pay with their blood for the silly, mock humanitarianism of the prattlers who sit at home in peace.

The army and the navy are the sword and the shield which this nation must carry if she is to do her duty among the nations of the earth—if she is not to stand merely as the China of the western hemisphere. Our proper conduct toward the tropic islands we have wrested from Spain is merely the form which our duty has taken at the moment. Of course we are bound to handle the affairs of our own household well. We must see that there is civic honesty, civic cleanliness, civic good sense in our home administration of city, State, and nation. We must strive for honesty in office, for honesty toward the creditors of the nation and of the individual; for the widest freedom of individual initiative where possible, and for the wisest control of individual initiative where it is hostile to the welfare of the many. But because we set our own household in order we are not thereby excused from playing our part in the great affairs of the world. A man's first duty is to his own home, but he is not thereby excused from doing his duty to the State; for if he fails in this second duty it is under the penalty of ceasing to be a freeman. In the same way, while a nation's first duty is within its own borders, it is not thereby absolved from facing its duties in the world as a whole; and if it refuses to do so, it merely forfeits its right to struggle for a place among the peoples that shape the destiny of mankind.

In the West Indies and the Philippines alike we are confronted by most difficult problems. It is cowardly to shrink from solving them in the proper way; for solved they must be, if not by us, then by some stronger and more manful race. If we are too weak, too selfish, or too foolish to solve them, some bolder and abler people must undertake the solution. Personally, I am far too firm a believer in the greatness of my country and the power of my countrymen to admit for one moment that we shall ever be driven to the ignoble alternative.

The problems are different for the different islands. Porto Rico is not large enough to stand alone. We must govern it wisely and well, primarily in the interest of its own people. Cuba is, in my judgment, entitled ultimately to settle for itself whether it shall be an independent state or an integral portion of the mightiest of republics. But until order and stable liberty are secured, we must remain in the island to insure them, and infinite tact, judgment, moderation, and courage must be shown by our military and civil representatives in keeping the island pacified, in relentlessly stamping out brigandage, in protecting all alike, and yet in showing proper recognition to the men who have fought for Cuban liberty. The Philippines offer a yet graver problem. Their population includes half-caste and native Christians, warlike Moslems, and wild pagans.

Many of their people are utterly unfit for self-government, and show no signs of becoming fit. Others may in time become fit but at present can only take part in self-government under a wise supervision, at once firm and beneficent. We have driven Spanish tyranny from the islands. If we now let it be replaced by savage anarchy, our work has been for harm and not for good. I have scant patience with those who fear to undertake the task of governing the Philippines, and who openly avow that they do fear to undertake it, or that they shrink from it because of the expense and trouble; but I have even scantier patience with those who make a pretense of humanitarianism to hide and cover their timidity, and who can about "liberty" and the "consent of the governed," in order to excuse themselves for their unwillingness to play the part of men. Their doctrines, if carried out, would make it incumbent upon us to leave the Apaches of Arizona to work out their own salvation, and to decline to interfere in a single Indian reservation. Their doctrines condemn your forefathers and mine for ever having settled in these United States.

England's rule in India and Egypt has been of great benefit to England, for it has trained up generations of men accustomed to look at the larger and loftier side of public life. It has been of even greater benefit to India and Egypt. And finally, and most of all, it has advanced the cause of civilization. So, if we do our duty aright in the Philippines, we will add to that national renown which is the highest and finest part of national life, will greatly benefit the people of the Philippine Islands, and, above all, we will play our part well in the great work of uplifting mankind. But to do this work, keep ever in mind that we must show in a very high degree the qualities of courage, of honesty, and of good judgment. Resistance must be stamped out. The first and all-important work to be done is to establish the supremacy of our flag. We must put down armed resistance before we can accomplish anything else, and there should be no parleying, no faltering, in dealing with our foe. As for those in our own country who encourage the foe, we can afford contemptuously to disregard them; but it must be remembered that their utterances are not saved from being treasonable merely by the fact that they are despicable.

When once we have put down armed resistance, when once our rule is acknowledged, then an even more difficult task will begin, for then we must see to it that the islands are administered with absolute honesty and with good judgment. If we let the public service of the islands be turned into the prey of the spoils politician, we shall have begun to tread the path which Spain trod to her own destruction. We must send out there only good and able men, chosen for their fitness, and not because of their partisan service, and these men must not only administer impartial justice to the natives and serve their own government with honesty and fidelity, but must show the utmost tact and firmness,

remembering that, with such people as those with whom we are to deal, weakness is the greatest of crimes, and that next to weakness comes back of consideration for their principles and prejudices.

I preach to you, then, my countrymen, that our country calls not for the life of ease but for the life of strenuous endeavor. The twentieth century looms before us big with the fate of many nations. If we stand idly by, if we seek merely swollen, slothful ease and ignoble peace, if we shrink from the hard contests where men must win at hazard of their lives and at the risk of all they hold dear, then the bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by, and will win for themselves the domination of the world. Let us therefore boldly face the life of strife, resolute to do our duty well and manfully; resolute to uphold righteousness by deed and by word; resolute to be both honest and brave, to serve high ideals, yet to use practical methods. Above all, let us shrink from no strife, moral or physical, within or without the nation, provided we are certain that the strife is justified, for it is only through strife, through hard and dangerous endeavor, that we shall ultimately win the goal of true national greatness.

### Niagara Movement Declaration of Principles (July 1905)

Courtesy of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.  
University Library. Special Collections and Archives.

#### Progress

The members of the conference, known as the Niagara Movement, assembled in annual meeting at Buffalo, July 11th, 12th and 13th, 1905, congratulate the Negro-Americans on certain undoubted evidences of progress in the last decade, particularly the increase of intelligence, the buying of property, the checking of crime, the uplift in home life, the advance in literature and art, and the demonstration of constructive and executive ability in the conduct of great religious, economic and educational institutions.

#### Suffrage

At the same time, we believe that this class of American citizens should protest emphatically and continually against the curtailment of their political rights. We believe in manhood suffrage; we believe that no man is so good, intelligent or wealthy as to be entrusted wholly with the welfare of his neighbor.

#### Civil Liberty

We believe also in protest against the curtailment of our civil rights. All American citizens have the right to equal treatment in places of public entertainment according to their behavior and deserts.



### **Economic Opportunity**

We especially complain against the denial of equal opportunities to us in economic life; in the rural districts of the South this amounts to peonage and virtual slavery; all over the South it tends to crush labor and small business enterprises; and everywhere American prejudice, helped often by iniquitous laws, is making it more difficult for Negro Americans to earn a decent living.

### **Education**

Common school education should be free to all American children and compulsory. High school training should be adequately provided for all, and college training should be the monopoly of no class or race in any section of our common country. We believe that, in defense of our own institutions, the United States should aid common school education, particularly in the South, and we especially recommend concerted agitation to this end. We urge an increase in public high school facilities in the South, where the Negro-Americans are almost wholly without such provisions. We favor well-equipped trade and technical schools for the training of artisans, and the need of adequate and liberal endowment for a few institutions of higher education must be patent to sincere well-wishers of the race.

### **Courts**

We demand upright judges in courts, juries selected without discrimination on account of color and the same measure of punishment and the same efforts at reformation for black as for white offenders. We need orphanages and farm schools for dependent children, juvenile reformatories for delinquents, and the abolition of the dehumanizing convict-lease system.

### **Public Opinion**

We note with alarm the evident retrogression in this land of sound public opinion on the subject of manhood rights, republican government and human brotherhood, and we pray God that this nation will not degenerate into a mob of boasters and oppressors, but rather will return to the faith of the fathers, that all men were created free and equal, with certain unalienable rights.

### **Health**

We plead for health—for an opportunity to live in decent houses and localities, for a chance to rear our children in physical and moral cleanliness.

### **Employers and Labor Unions**

We hold up for public execration the conduct of two opposite classes of men: The practice among employers of importing ignorant Negro-American laborers in emergencies, and then affording them neither protection nor

permanent employment; and the practice of labor unions in proscribing and boycotting and oppressing thousands of their fellow-toilers, simply because they are black. These methods have accentuated and will accentuate the war of labor and capital, and they are disgraceful to both sides.

### **Protest**

We refuse to allow the impression to remain that the Negro-American assents to inferiority, is submissive under oppression and apologetic before insults. Through helplessness we may submit, but the voice of protest of ten million Americans must never cease to assail the ears of their fellows, so long as America is unjust.

### **Color-Line**

Any discrimination based simply on race or color is barbarous, we care not how hallowed it be by custom, expediency, or prejudice. Differences made on account of ignorance, immorality, or disease are legitimate methods of fighting evil, and against them we have no world of protest; but discriminations based simply and solely on physical peculiarities, place of birth, color or skin, are relics of that unreasoning human savagery of which the world is and ought to be thoroughly ashamed.

### **“Jim Crow” Cars**

We protest against the “Jim Crow” car, since its effect is and must be to make us pay first-class fare for third-class accommodations, render us open to insults and discomfort and to crucify wantonly our manhood, womanhood and self-respect.

### **Soldiers**

We regret that this nation has never seen fit adequately to reward the black soldiers who, in its five wars, have defended their country with their blood, and yet have been systematically denied the promotions which their abilities deserve. And we regard as unjust, the exclusion of black boys from the military and navy training schools.

### **War Amendments**

We urge upon Congress the enactment of appropriate legislation for securing the proper enforcement of those articles of freedom, the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

### **Oppression**

We repudiate the monstrous doctrine that the oppressor should be the sole authority as to the rights of the oppressed. The Negro race in America stolen, ravished and degraded, struggling up through difficulties and oppression, needs sympathy and receives criticism; needs help and is given hindrance, needs protection and is given mob-violence,

needs justice and is given charity, needs leadership and is given cowardice and apology, needs bread and is given a stone. This nation will never stand justified before God until these things are changed.

### **The Church**

Especially are we surprised and astonished at the recent attitude of the church of Christ—on the increase of a desire to bow to racial prejudice, to narrow the bounds of human brotherhood, and to segregate black men in some outer sanctuary. This is wrong, unchristian and disgraceful to the twentieth century civilization.

### **Agitation**

Of the above grievances we do not hesitate to complain, and to complain loudly and insistently. To ignore, overlook, or apologize for these wrongs is to prove ourselves unworthy of freedom. Persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty, and toward this goal the Niagara Movement has started and asks the co-operation of all men of all races.

### **Help**

At the same time we want to acknowledge with deep thankfulness the help of our fellowmen from the abolitionist down to those who to-day still stand for equal opportunity and who have given and still give of their wealth and of their poverty for our advancement.

### **Duties**

And while we are demanding, and ought to demand, and will continue to demand the rights enumerated above, God forbid that we should ever forget to urge corresponding duties upon our people:

The duty to vote.

The duty to respect the rights of others.

The duty to work.

The duty to obey the laws.

The duty to be clean and orderly.

The duty to send our children to school.

The duty to respect ourselves, even as we respect others.

This statement, complaint and prayer we submit to the American people, and Almighty God.

## **Preamble to the Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World, 1905**

The Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs,  
Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University

### **Preamble**

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the

few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers. These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation, we unite under the following constitution:

## ***Muller v. Oregon, 1908***

28 *Supreme Court Reporter*, pp. 324–327

(208 U.S. 412) *Curt Muller*,

*Plff. in Err.*, v. *State of Oregon*

Argued January 15, 1908. Decided February 24, 1908.

Mr. Justice Brewer delivered the opinion of the court:

On February 19, 1903, the legislature of the state of Oregon passed an act (Session Laws 1903, p. 148) the first section of which is in these words:

"Sec. 1. That no female (shall) be employed in any mechanical establishment, or factory, or laundry in this state more than ten hours during any one day. The hours of work may be so arranged as to permit the employment of females at any time so that they shall not work more than ten hours during the twenty-four hours of any one day."

Sec. 3 made a violation of the provisions of the prior sections a misdemeanor subject to a fine of not less than \$10 nor more than \$25. On September 18, 1905, an information was filed in the circuit court of the state for the county of Multnomah, charging that the defendant "on the 4th day of September, A.D. 1905, in the county of Multnomah and state of Oregon, then and there being the owner of a laundry, known as the Grand Laundry, in the city of Portland, and the employer of females therein, did then and there unlawfully permit and suffer one Joe Haselbock, he, the said Joe Haselbock, then and there being an overseer, superintendent, and agent of said Curt Muller, in the said Grand Laundry, to require a female, to wit, one Mrs. E. Gotcher, to work more than ten hours in said laundry on said 4th day of September, A.D. 1905, contrary to the statutes in such cases made and provided, and against the peace and dignity of the state of Oregon."

A trial resulted in a verdict against the defendant, who was sentenced to pay a fine of \$10. The supreme court of the state affirmed the conviction (48 Or. 252, 85 Pac. 855), whereupon the case was brought here on writ of error.

The single question is the constitutionality of the statute under which the defendant was convicted, so far as it affects the work of a female in a laundry. That it does not conflict with any provisions of the state Constitution is settled by the decision of the supreme court of the state. The contentions of the defendant, now plaintiff in error, are thus stated in his brief:

"(1) Because the statute attempts to prevent persons *sui juris* from making their own contracts, and thus violates the provisions of the 14th Amendment, as follows:

"No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

"(2) Because the statute does not apply equally to all persons similarly situated, and is class legislation.

"(3) The statute is not a valid exercise of the police power. The kinds of work prescribed are not unlawful, nor are they declared to be immoral or dangerous to the public health; nor can such a law be sustained on the ground that it is designed to protect women on account of their sex. There is no necessary or reasonable connection between the limitation prescribed by the act and the public health, safety, or welfare."

It is the law of Oregon that women, whether married or single, have equal contractual and personal rights with men. As said by Chief Justice Wolverton, in *First Nat. Bank*

*v. Leonard*, 36 Or. 390, 396, 59 Pac. 873, 874, after a review of the various statutes of the state upon the subject:

"We may therefore say with perfect confidence that, with these three sections upon the statute book, the wife can deal, not only with her separate property, acquired from whatever source, in the same manner as her husband can with property belonging to him, but that she may make contracts and incur liabilities, and the same may be enforced against her, the same as if she were a *female sole*. There is now no residuum of civil disability resting upon her which is not recognized as existing against the husband. The current runs steadily and strongly in the direction of the emancipation of the wife, and the policy, as disclosed by all recent legislation upon the subject in the state, is to place her upon the same footing as if she were a *female sole*, not only with respect to her separate property, but as it affects her right to make binding contracts; and the most natural corollary to the situation is that the remedies for the enforcement of liabilities incurred are made coextensive and coequal with such enlarged conditions."

It thus appears that, putting to one side the elective franchise, in the matter of personal and contractual rights they stand on the same plane as the other sex. Their rights in these respects can no more be infringed than the equal rights of their brothers. We held in *Lonchner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45, 49 L. ed. 937, 25 Sup. Ct. Rep. 539, that a law providing that no laborer shall be required or permitted to work in bakeries more than sixty hours in a week or ten hours in a day was not as to men a legitimate exercise of the police power of the state, but an unreasonable, unnecessary, and arbitrary interference with the right and liberty of the individual to contract in relation to his labor, and as such was in conflict with, and void under, the Federal Constitution. The decision is invoked by plaintiff in error as decisive of the question before us. But this assumes that the difference between the sexes does not justify a different rule respecting a restriction of the hours of labor.

In patent cases counsel are apt to open the argument with a discussion of the state of the art. It may not be amiss, in the present case, before examining the constitutional question, to notice the course of legislation, as well as expressions of opinion from other than judicial sources. In the brief filed by Mr. Louis D. Brandeis for the defendant in error is a very copious collection of all these matters, an epitome of which is found in the margin. . . .

While there have been but few decisions bearing directly upon the question, the following sustain the constitutionality of such legislation: *Com. v. Hamilton Mfg. Co.* 120 Mass. 383; *Wenham v. State*, 65 Neb. 394, 400, 406, 58 L.R.A. 825, 91 N. W. 421; *State v. Buchanan*, 29 Wash.

602, 59 L.R.A. 342, 92 Am. St. Rep. 930, 70 Pac. 52; *Com. v. Beatty*, 15 Pa. Super. Ct. 5, 17; against them is the case of *Ritchie v. People*, 155 Ill. 98, 29 L.R.A. 79, 46 Am. St. Rep. 315, 40 N.E. 454.

The legislation and opinions referred to in the margin may not be, technically speaking, authorities, and in them is little or no discussion of the constitutional question presented to us for determination, yet they are significant of a widespread belief that woman's physical structure, and the functions she performs in consequence thereof, justify special legislation restricting or qualifying the conditions under which she should be permitted to toil. Constitutional questions, it is true, are not settled by even a consensus of present public opinion, for it is the peculiar value of a written constitution that it places in unchanging form limitations upon legislative action, and thus gives a permanence and stability to popular government which otherwise would be lacking. At the same time, when a question of fact is debated and debatable, and the extent to which a special constitutional limitation goes is affected by the truth in respect to that fact, a widespread and long-continued belief concerning it is worthy of consideration. We take judicial cognizance of all matters of general knowledge.

It is undoubtedly true, as more than once declared by this court, that the general right to contract in relation to one's business is part of the liberty of the individual, protected by the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution; yet it is equally well settled that this liberty is not absolute and extending to all contracts, and that a state may, without conflicting with the provisions of the 14th Amendment, restrict in many respects the individual's power of contract. Without stopping to discuss at length the extent to which a state may act in this respect, we refer to the following cases in which the question has been considered: *Allgeyer v. Louisiana*, 165 U.S. 578, 41 L. ed. 832, 17 Sup. Ct. Rep. 427; *Holden v. Hardy*, 169 U. S. 366, 42 L. ed. 780, 18 Sup. Rep. 383; *Lochner v. New York*, *supra*.

That woman's physical structure and the performance of maternal functions place her at a disadvantage in the struggle for subsistence is obvious. This is especially true when the burdens of motherhood are upon her. Even when they are not, by abundant testimony of the medical fraternity continuance for a long time on her feet at work, repeating this from day to day, tends to injurious effects upon the body, and, as healthy mothers are essential to vigorous offspring, the physical well-being of woman becomes an object of public interest and care in order to preserve the strength and vigor of the race.

Still again, history discloses the fact that woman has always been dependent upon man. He established his control at the outset by superior physical strength, and this control in various forms, with diminishing intensity, has continued to the present. As minors, though not to the

same extent, she has been looked upon in the courts as needing especial care that her rights may be preserved. Education was long denied her, and while now the doors of the schoolroom are opened and her opportunities for acquiring knowledge are great, yet even with that and the consequent increase of capacity for business affairs it is still true that in the struggle for subsistence she is not an equal competitor with her brother. Though limitations upon personal and contractual rights may be removed by legislation, there is that in her disposition and habits of life which will operate against a full assertion of those rights. She will still be where some legislation to protect her seems necessary to secure a real equality of right. Doubtless there are individual exceptions, and there are many respects in which she has an advantage over him; but looking at it from the viewpoint of the effort to maintain an independent position in life, she is not upon an equality. Differentiated by these matters from the other sex, she is properly placed in a class by herself, and legislation designed for her protection may be sustained, even when like legislation is not necessary for men, and could not be sustained. It is impossible to close one's eyes to the fact that she still looks to her brother and depends upon him. Even though all restrictions on political, personal, and contractual rights were taken away, and she stood, so far as statutes are concerned, upon an absolutely equal plane with him, it would still be true that she is so constituted that she will rest upon and look to him for protection; that her physical structure and a proper discharge of her maternal functions—having in view not merely her own health, but the well-being of the race—justify legislation to protect her from the greed as well as the passion of man. The limitations which this statute places upon her contractual powers, upon her right to agree with her employer as to the time she shall labor, are not imposed solely for her benefit, but also largely for the benefit of all. Many words cannot make this plainer. The two sexes differ in structure of body, in the functions to be performed by each, in the amount of physical strength, in the capacity for long continued labor, particularly when done standing, the influence of vigorous health upon the future well-being of the race, the self-reliance which enables one to assert full rights, and in the capacity to maintain the struggle for subsistence. This difference justifies a difference in legislation, and upholds that which is designed to compensate for some of the burdens which rest upon her.

We have not referred in this discussion to the denial of the elective franchise in the state of Oregon, for while that may disclose a lack of political equality in all things with her brother, that is not of itself decisive. The reason runs deeper, and rests in the inherent difference between the two sexes, and in the different functions in life which they perform.



For these reasons, and without questioning in any respect the decision in *Lochner v. New York*, we are of the opinion that it cannot be adjudged that the act in question is in conflict with the Federal Constitution, so far as it respects the work of a female in a laundry, and the judgment of the Supreme Court of Oregon is affirmed.

### Why Women Should Vote By Jane Addams

Frances M. Bjrkman and Annie G. Porritt, eds., *"The Blue Book"; Woman Suffrage, History, Arguments and Results* (New York: National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., 1937)

For many generations it has been believed that woman's place is within the walls of her own home, and it is indeed impossible to imagine the time when her duty there shall be ended or to forecast any social change which shall release her from that paramount obligation.

This paper is an attempt to show that many women today are failing to discharge their duties to their own households properly simply because they do not perceive that as society grows more complicated it is necessary that woman shall extend her sense of responsibility to many things outside of her own home if she would continue to preserve the home in its entirety. One could illustrate in many ways. A woman's simplest duty, one would say, is to keep her house clean and wholesome, and to feed her children properly. Yet if she lives in a tenement house, as so many of my neighbors do, she cannot fulfill these simple obligations by her own efforts because she is utterly dependent upon the city administration for the conditions which render decent living possible. Her basement will not be dry, her stairways will not be fireproof, her house will not be provided with sufficient windows to give light and air, nor will it be equipped with sanitary plumbing, unless the Public Works Department sends inspectors who constantly insist that these elementary decencies be provided. Women who live in the country sweep their own dooryards and may either feed the refuse of the table to a flock of chickens or allow it innocently to decay in the open air and sunshine. In a crowded city quarter, however, if the street is not cleaned by the city authorities, no amount of private sweeping will keep the tenement free from grime; if the garbage is not properly collected and destroyed, a tenement house mother may see her children sicken and die of diseases from which she alone is powerless to shield them, although her tenderness and devotion are unbounded. She cannot even secure untainted meat for her household, she cannot provide fresh fruit, unless the meat has been inspected by city officials, and the decayed fruit, which is so often placed upon sale in the tenement districts, has been destroyed in the interests

of public health. In short, if woman would keep on with her old business of caring for her house and rearing her children, she will have to have some conscience in regard to public affairs lying quite outside of her immediate household. The individual conscience and devotion are no longer effective.

Chicago one spring had a spreading contagion of scarlet fever just at the time that the school nurses had been discontinued because business men had pronounced them too expensive. If the women who sent their children to the schools had been sufficiently public-spirited and had been provided with an implement through which to express that public spirit, they would have insisted that the schools be supplied with nurses in order that their own children might be protected from contagion. In other words, if women would effectively continue their old avocations they must take part in the slow upbuilding of that code of legislation which is alone sufficient to protect the home from the dangers incident to modern life. One might instance the many deaths of children from contagious diseases the germs of which had been carried in tailored clothing. Country doctors testify as to the outbreak of scarlet fever in remote neighborhoods each autumn, after the children have begun to wear the winter overcoats and cloaks which have been sent from infected city sweatshops. That their mothers mend their stockings and guard them from "taking cold" is not a sufficient protection, when the tailoring of the family is done in a distant city under conditions which the mother cannot possibly control. The sanitary regulation of sweatshops by city officials is all that can be depended upon to prevent such needless destruction. Who shall say that women are not concerned in the enactment and enforcement of such legislation if they would preserve their homes?

Even women who take no part in public affairs, in order that they may give themselves entirely to their own families, sometimes going so far as to despise those other women who are endeavoring to secure protective legislation, may illustrate this point. The Hull-House neighborhood was at one time suffering from a typhoid epidemic. A careful investigation was made by which we were able to establish a very close connection between the typhoid and a mode of plumbing which made it most probable that the infection had been carried by flies. Among the people who had been exposed to the infection was a widow who had lived in the ward for a number of years, in a comfortable little house which she owned. Although the Italian immigrants were closing in all around her, she was not willing to sell her property and to move away, until she had finished the education of her children. In the meantime she held herself quite aloof from her Italian neighbors and could never be drawn into any of the public efforts to protect them by securing a better code of tenement house sanitation. Her

two daughters were sent to an Eastern college; one June, when one of them had graduated and the other still had two years before she took her degree, they came to the spotless little house, and to their self-sacrificing mother for the Summer's holidays. They both fell ill, not because their own home was not clean, not because their mother was not devoted, but because next door to them and also in the rear were wretched tenements, and because the mother's utmost efforts could not keep the infection out of her own house. One daughter died, and one recovered, but was an invalid for two years following. This is, perhaps, a fair illustration of the futility of the individual conscience when woman insists upon isolating her family from the rest of the community and its interests. The result is sure to be a pitiful failure.

One of the interesting experiences in the Chicago campaign for inducing the members of the Charter Convention to recommend municipal franchise for women in the provisions of the new charter was the unexpected enthusiasm and help which came from large groups of foreign-born women. The Scandinavian women represented in many Lutheran Church societies said quite simply that in the old country they had had the municipal franchise upon the same basis as men for many years; all the women living under the British Government, in England, Australia or Canada, pointed out that Chicago women were asking now for what the British women had long ago. But the most unexpected response came from the foreign colonies in which women had never heard such problems discussed, and took the prospect of the municipal ballot as a simple device—which it is—to aid them in their daily struggle with adverse city conditions. The Italian women said that the men engaged in railroad construction were away all summer and did not know anything about their household difficulties. Some of them came to Hull-House one day to talk over the possibility of a public wash-house. They do not like to wash in their own tenements; they had never seen a washing-tub until they came to America, and find it very difficult to use it in the restricted space of their little kitchens and to hang the clothes within the house to dry. They say that in the Italian villages the women all go to the streams together; in the town they go to the public wash-house; and washing, instead of being lonely and disagreeable, is made pleasant by cheerful conversation. It is asking a great deal of these women to change suddenly all their habits of living, and their contention that the tenement house kitchen is too small for laundry work is well taken. If women in Chicago knew the needs of the Italian colony they would realize that any change bringing cleanliness and fresh air into the Italian household would be a very sensible and hygienic measure. It is, perhaps, asking a great deal that the members of the City Council should understand this, but surely a comprehensive of the needs

of these women and efforts toward ameliorating their lot might be regarded as matters of municipal obligation on the part of voting women.

The same thing is true of the Jewish women in their desire for covered markets which have always been a municipal provision in Russia and Poland. The vegetables piled high upon the wagons standing in the open markets of Chicago become covered with dust and soot. It seems to these women a violation of the most rudimentary decencies and they sometimes say quite simply: "If women had anything to say about it they would change all that."

If women follow only the lines of their traditional activities, here are certain primary duties which belong to even the most conservative women, and which no one woman or group of women can adequately discharge unless they join the more general movements looking toward social amelioration through legal enactment.

The first of these, of which this article has already treated, is woman's responsibility for the members of her own household that they may be properly fed and clothed and surrounded by hygienic conditions. The second is a responsibility for the education of children: (a) that they may be provided with good books; (b) that they may be kept free from vicious influences on the street; (c) that when working they may be protected by adequate child-labor legislation.

(a) The duty of a woman toward the schools which her children attend is so obvious that it is not necessary to dwell upon it. But even this simple obligation cannot be effectively carried out without some form of social organization, as the mothers school clubs and mothers congresses testify, and to which the most conservative women belong because they feel the need of wider reading and discussion concerning the many problems of childhood. It is, therefore, perhaps natural that the public should have been more willing to accord a vote to women in school matters than in any other, and yet women have never been members of a Board of Education in sufficient numbers to influence largely actual school curricula. If they had been kindergartens, domestic science courses and school playgrounds would be far more numerous than they are. More than one woman has been convinced of the need of the ballot by the futility of her efforts in persuading a business man that young children need nurture in something besides the three r's. Perhaps, too, only women realize the influence which the school might exert upon the home if a proper adaptation to actual needs were considered. An Italian girl who has had lessons in cooking at the public school will help her mother to connect the entire family with American food and household habits. That the mother has never baked bread in Italy—only mixed it in her own house and then taken it out to the village oven—makes it all the more necessary that her daughter should understand the

complications of a cooking-stove. The same thing is true of the girl who learns to sew in the public school, and more than anything else, perhaps, of the girl who receives the first simple instruction in the care of little children, that skillful care which every tenement house baby requires if he is to be pulled through his second summer. The only time, to my knowledge, that lessons in the care of children were given in the public schools of Chicago was one summer when the vacation schools were being managed by a volunteer body of women. The instructions were eagerly received by the Italian girls, who had been "little mothers" to younger children ever since they could remember.

As a result of this teaching I recall a young girl who carefully explained to her Italian mother that the reason the babies in Italy were so healthy and the babies in Chicago were so sickly was not, as her mother had always firmly insisted, because her babies in Italy had goat's milk and her babies in America had cow's milk, but because the milk in Italy was clean and the milk in Chicago was dirty. She said that when you milked your own goat before the door you knew that the milk was clean, but when you bought milk from the grocery store after it had been carried for many miles in the country, "you couldn't tell whether or not it was fit for baby to drink until the men from the City Hall, who had watched it all the way, said that it was all right." She also informed her mother that the "City Hall wanted to fix up the milk so that it couldn't make the baby sick, but that they hadn't quite enough votes for it yet." The Italian mother believed what her child had been taught in the big school; it seemed to her quite as natural that the city should be concerned in providing pure milk for her younger children as that it should provide big schools and teachers for her older children. She reached this naive conclusion because she had never heard those arguments which make it seem reasonable that a woman should be given the school franchise, but no other.

(b) But women are also beginning to realize that children need attention outside of school hours; that much of the petty vice in cities is merely the love of pleasure gone wrong, the over-restrained boy or girl seeking improper recreation and excitement. It is obvious that a little study of the needs of children, a sympathetic understanding of the conditions under which they go astray, might save hundreds of them. Women traditionally have had an opportunity to observe the plays of children and the needs of youth, and yet in Chicago, at least, they had done singularly little in this vexed problem of juvenile delinquency until they helped to inaugurate the Juvenile Court movement a dozen years ago. The Juvenile Court Committee, made up largely of women, paid the salaries of the probation officers connected with the court for the first six years of its existence, and after the salaries were cared for by the county the same organization turned itself into a Juvenile Protec-

tive League, and through a score of paid officers are doing valiant service in minimizing some of the dangers of city life which boys and girls encounter.

This Protective League, however, was not formed until the women had had a civic training through their semi-official connection with the Juvenile Court. This is, perhaps, an illustration of our inability to see the duty "next to hand" until we have become alert through our knowledge of conditions in connection with the larger duties. We would all agree that social amelioration must come about through the efforts of many people who are moved thereto by the compunction and stirring of the individual conscience, but we are only beginning to understand that the individual conscience will respond to the special challenge largely in proportion as the individual is able to see the social conditions because he has felt responsible for their improvement. Because this body of women assumed a public responsibility they have seen to it that every series of pictures displayed in the five-cent theatre is subjected to a careful censorship before it is produced, and those series suggesting obscenity and criminality have been practically eliminated. The police department has performed this and many other duties to which it was oblivious before, simply because these women have made it realize that it is necessary to protect and purify those places of amusement which are crowded with young people every night. This is but the negative side of the policy pursued by the public authorities in the fifteen small parks of Chicago, each of which is provided with halls in which young people may meet nightly for social gatherings and dances. The more extensively the modern city endeavors on the one hand to control and on the other hand to provide recreational facilities for its young people, the more necessary it is that women should assist in their direction and extension. After all, a care for wholesome and innocent amusement is what women have for many years assumed. When the reaction comes on the part of taxpayers, women's votes may be necessary to keep the city to its beneficent obligations towards its own young people.

(c) As the education of her children has been more and more transferred to the school, so that even children four years old go to the kindergarten, the woman has been left in a household of constantly narrowing interests, not only because the children are away, but also because one industry after another is slipping from the household into the factory. Ever since steam power has been applied to the processes of weaving and spinning woman's traditional work has been carried on largely outside of the home. The clothing and household linen are not only spun and woven, but also usually sewed by machinery; the preparation of many foods has also passed into the factory and necessarily a certain number of women have been obliged to follow their work there; although it is doubtful, in spite of

the large number of factory girls, whether women now are doing as large a proportion of the world's work as they used to do. Because many thousands of those working in factories and shops are girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two, there is a necessity that older women should be interested in the conditions of industry. The very fact that these girls are not going to remain in industry permanently makes it more important that some one should see to it that they shall not be incapacitated for their future family life because they work for exhausting hours and under insanitary conditions.

If woman's sense of obligation had enlarged as the industrial condition changed, she might naturally and almost imperceptibly have inaugurated the movements for social amelioration in the line of factory legislation and shop sanitation. That she has not done so is doubtless due to the fact that her conscience is slow to recognize any obligation outside of her own family circle, and because she was so absorbed in her own household that she failed to see what the conditions outside actually were. It would be interesting to know how far the consciousness that she had no vote and could not change matters operated in this direction. After all, we see only those things to which our attention has been drawn, we feel responsibility for those things which are brought to us as matters of responsibility. If conscientious women were convinced that it was a civic duty to be informed in regard to these grave industrial affairs, and then to express the conclusions which they had reached by depositing a piece of paper in a ballot-box, one cannot imagine that they would shirk simply because the action ran counter to old traditions.

To those of my readers who would admit that, although woman has no right to shirk her old obligations, all of these measures could be secured more easily through her influence upon the men of her family than through the direct use of the ballot. I should like to tell a little story. I have a friend in Chicago who is the mother of four sons and the grandmother of twelve grandsons who are voters. She is a woman of wealth, of secured social position, of sterling character and clear intelligence, and may therefore, quite fairly be cited as a "woman of influence." Upon one of her recent birthdays, when she was asked how she had kept so young, she promptly replied: "Because I have always advocated at least one unpopular cause." It may have been in pursuance of this policy that for many years she has been an ardent advocate of free silver, although her manufacturing family are all Republicans. I happened to call at her house on the day that Mr. McKinley was elected President against Mr. Bryan for the first time. I found my friend much disturbed. She said somewhat bitterly that she had at last discovered what the much-vaunted influence of woman was worth; that she had implored each one of her sons and grandsons; had entered into endless arguments

and moral appeals to induce one of them to represent her convictions by voting for Mr. Bryan; that, although sincerely devoted to her, each one had assured her that his convictions forced him to vote the Republican ticket! She said that all she had been able to secure was the promise from one of the grandsons, for whom she had and especial tenderness, because he bore her husband's name, that he would not vote at all. He could not vote for Bryan, but out of respect for her feeling he would refrain from voting for McKinley. My friend said that for many years she had suspected that women could influence men only in regard to those things in which men were not deeply concerned, but when it came to persuading a man to a woman's views in affairs of politics or business it was absolutely useless. I contended that a woman had no right to persuade a man to vote against his own convictions; that I respected the men of her family for following their own judgment regardless of the appeal which the honored head of the house had made to their chivalric devotion. To this she replied that she would agree with that point of view when a woman had the same opportunity as a man to register her convictions by vote. I believed then as I do now, that nothing is gained when independence of judgment is assailed by "influence," sentimental or otherwise, and that we test advancing civilization somewhat by our power to respect differences and by our tolerance of another's honest conviction.

This is, perhaps, the attitude of many busy women who would be glad to use the ballot to further public measures in which they are interested and for which they have been working for years. It offends the taste of such a woman to be obliged to use indirect "influence" when she is accustomed to well-bred, open action in other affairs, and she very much resents the time spent in persuading a voter to take her point of view, and possibly to give up his own quite as honest and valuable as hers, although different because resulting from a totally different experience. Public-spirited women who wish to use the ballot, as I know them, do not wish to do the work of men nor to take over men's affairs. They simply want an opportunity to do their own work and to take care of those affairs which naturally and historically belong to women, but which are constantly being overlooked and slighted in our political institutions.

In a complex community like the modern city all points of view need to be represented; the resultants of diverse experiences need to be pooled, if the community would make for sane and balanced progress. If it would meet fairly each problem as it arises, whether it be connected with a freight tunnel having to do largely with business men, or with the increasing death rate among children under five years of age, a problem in which women are vitally concerned, or with the question of more adequate street-car transfers, in which both men and women might be said to



be equally interested, it must not ignore the judgments of its entire adult population.

To turn the administration of our civic affairs wholly over to men may mean that the American city will continue to push forward in its commercial and industrial development, and continue to lag behind in those things which make a city healthful and beautiful. After all, woman's traditional function has been to make her dwelling-place both clean and fair. Is that dreariness in city life, that lack of domesticity which the humblest farm dwelling presents, due to a withdrawal of one of the naturally co-operating forces? If women have in any sense been responsible for the gentler side of life which softens and blurs some of its harsher conditions, may they not have a duty to perform in our American cities?

In closing, may I recapitulate that if woman would fulfill her traditional responsibility to her own children; if she would educate and protect from danger factory children who must find their recreation on the street; if she would bring the cultural forces to bear upon our materialistic civilization; and if she would do it all with the dignity and directness fitting one who carries on her immemorial duties, then she must bring herself to the use of the ballot—that latest implement for self-government. May we not fairly say the American women need this implement in order to preserve the home?

### **"Make the World Safe for Democracy" Speech (1917)**

**President Woodrow Wilson**

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94), pp. 519–527

April 2, 1917

Gentlemen of the Congress: I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making. On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained

the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospitals ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principles. I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations.

International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meagre enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been

no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity, indeed, to endeavour to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense or rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual: it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to

bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least five hundred thousand men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation.

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty,—for it will be a very practical duty,—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall. While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the

unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-sixth of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbour states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honour, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold

their purpose and their honour steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honour.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our court of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured

security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. Just because we fight without rancour and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honour. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights. It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early re-establishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us,—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present gov-

ernment through all these bitter months because of that friendship,—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbours and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts,—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

### President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" Speech, 1918

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1966–94), pp. 534–539

#### Fourteen Points

Gentlemen of the Congress: Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible bases of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between representatives of the Central Powers, to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into



a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement. The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace, but also an equally definite programme of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific programme of practical terms was added. That programme proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied,—every province, every city, every point of vantage,—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power. It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own peoples' thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the Resolutions of the German Reichstag of the ninth of July last, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

But, whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their

objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definitive terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain. There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her Allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of Society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does. There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret

covenants entered into the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The programme of the world's peace, therefore, is our programme; and that programme, the only possible programme, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest and cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more

than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interests of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this programme does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this programme that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world,—the new world in which we now live,—instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination. We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole programme I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safely with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The normal climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

### Flapper Jane by Bruce Bliven

The following article by Bruce Bliven appeared in *The New Republic* on September 9, 1925:

Jane's a flapper. That is a quaint, old-fashioned term, but I hope you remember its meaning. As you can tell by her

appellation, Jane is 19. If she were 29, she would be Dorothy; 39, Doris; 49, Elaine; 59, Jane again—and so on around. This Jane, being 19, is a flapper, through she urgently denies that she is a member of the younger generation. The younger generation, she will tell you, is aged 15 to 17; and she professes to be decidedly shocked at the things they do and say. That is a fact which would interest her minister, if he knew it—poor man, he knows so little! For he regards Jane as a perfectly horrible example of wild youth—paint, cigarettes, cocktails, petting parties—Moooh! Yet if the younger generation shocks her as she says, query: how wild is Jane? Before we come to this exciting question, let us take a look at the young person as she strolls across the lawn of her parents' suburban home, having just put the car away after driving sixty miles in two hours. She is, for one thing, a very pretty girl. Beauty is the fashion in 1925. She is frankly, heavily made up, not to imitate nature, but for an altogether artificial effect—pallor mortis, poisonously scarlet lips, richly ringed eyes—the latter looking not so much debauched (which is the intention) as diabetic. Her walk duplicates the swagger supposed by innocent America to go with the female half of a Paris Apache dance. And there are, finally, her clothes. These were estimated the other day by some statistician to weigh two pounds. Probably a libel; I doubt they come within half a pound of such bulk. Jane isn't wearing much, this summer. If you'd like to know exactly, it is: one dress, one step-in, two stockings, two shoes.

A step-in, if you are 99 and 44/100ths percent ignorant, is underwear—one piece, light, exceedingly brief but roomy. Her dress, as you can't possibly help knowing if you have even one good eye, and get around at all outside the Old People's Home, is also brief. It is cut low where it might be high, and vice versa. The skirt comes just an inch below her knees, overlapping by a faint fraction her rolled and twisted stockings. The idea is that when she walks in a bit of a breeze, you shall now and then observe the knee (which is not rouged—that's just newspaper talk) but always in an accidental, Venus-surprised-at-the-bath sort of way. This is a bit of coyness which hardly fits in with Jane's general character.

Jane's haircut is also abbreviated. She wears of course the very newest thing in bobs, even closer than last year's shingle. It leaves her just about no hair at all in the back, and 20 percent more than that in the front—about as much as is being worn this season by a cellist (male); less than a pianist; and much, much less than a violinist. Because of this new style, one can confirm a rumor heard last year: Jane has ears.

The corset is as dead as the dodo's grandfather; no feeble publicity pipings by the manufacturers, or calling it a "clasp around" will enable it, as Jane says, to "do a Lazarus." The petticoat is even more defunct. Not even a snicker can be raised by telling Jane that once the nation

was shattered to its foundations by the shadow-skirt. The brassiere has been abandoned, since 1924. While stockings are usually worn, they are not a sine-qua-nothing-doing. In hot weather Jane reserves the right to discard them, just as all the chorus girls did in 1923. As stockings are only a frantic, successful attempt to duplicate the color and texture of Jane's own sunburned slim legs, few but expert boulevardiers can tell the difference.

These which I have described are Jane's clothes, but they are not merely a flapper uniform. They are *The Style*, Summer of 1925 Eastern Seaboard. These things and none other are being worn by all of Jane's sisters and her cousins and her aunts. They are being worn by ladies who are three times Jane's age, and look ten years older; by those twice her age who look a hundred years older. Their use is so universal that in our larger cities the baggage transfer companies one and all declare they are being forced into bankruptcy. Ladies who used to go away for the summer with six trunks can now pack twenty dainty costumes in a bag.

Not since 1820 has feminine apparel been so frankly abbreviated as at present; and never, on this side of the Atlantic, until you go back to the little summer frocks of Pocahontas. This year's styles have gone quite a long step toward genuine nudity. Nor is this merely the sensible half of the population dressing as everyone ought to, in hot weather. Last winter's styles weren't so dissimilar, except that they were covered up by fur coats and you got the full effect only indoors. And improper costumes never have their full force unless worn on the street. Next year's styles, from all one hears, will be, as they already are on the continent, even *More So*.

Our great mentor has failed us: you will see none of the really up-to-date styles in the movies. For old-fashioned, conservative and dowdy dressing, go and watch the latest production featuring Bebe, Gloria or Pola. Under vigilant father Hays the ensilvered screen daren't reveal a costume equal to scores on Fifth Avenue, Broadway—or Wall Street.

Wall Street, by the way, is the one spot in which the New Nakedness seems most appropriate. Where men's simple passions have the lowest boiling point; where the lust for possession is most frankly, brazenly revealed and indeed dominates the whole diurnal round—in such a place there is a high appropriateness in the fact that the priestesses in the temple of Mammon, though their service be no more than file clerk or stenographer, should be thus Dionysiac in apparelling themselves for their daily tasks.

Where will it all end? do you ask, thumbing the page ahead in an effort to know the worst. Apologetically I reply that no one can say where it will end. Nudity has been the custom of many countries and over long periods of time. No one who has read history can be very firm in saying that *It Never Can Happen Again*. We may of course mutter, in feeble tones of hope, that our climate is not propitious.

Few any more are so naive as not to realize that there are fashions in morals and that these have a limitless capacity for modification. Costume, of course, is *A Moral*. You can get a rough measure of our movement if you look at the history of the theatre and see how the tidemark of tolerance has risen. For instance:

- 1904—Performance of “Mrs. Warren’s Profession” is halted by police.
- 1919—“Mrs. Warren” O. K. Town roused to frenzy by “Aphrodite,” in which one chorus girl is exposed for one minute in dim light and a union suit.
- 1923—Union suit O. K. Self-appointed censors have conniption fits over chorus girls naked from the waist up.
- 1925—Nudity from waist up taken for granted. Excitement caused by show in which girls wear only fig leaves.

Plotting the curve of tolerance and projecting it into the future, it is thus easy to see that complete nudity in the theatre will be reached on March 12, 1927. Just what will the appalling consequences be?

Perhaps about what they have been in the theatres of several European capitals, where such displays have long been familiar. Those who are interested in that sort of thing will go. Others will abstain.

At this point Billy Sunday, discussing this theme, would certainly drop into anecdotage. Were we to do the same, we might see Jane on the sun porch talking to a mixed group of her mother's week-end guests. “Jane,” says one, “I hear you cut yourself in bathing.”

“I’ll say I did,” comes crisply back. “Look!” She lifts her skirt three or four inches, revealing both brown knees, and above one of them a half-healed deep scratch. Proper murmurs of sympathy. From one quarter a chilly silence which draws our attention to the enpurpled countenance of a lady guest in the throes of what Eddie Cantor calls “the sex complex.” Jane's knees have thrown her all a-twitter; and mistaking the character of her emotion she thinks it is justified indignation. She is glad to display it openly for the reproof thereby administered.

“Well, damn it,” says Jane, in a subsequent private moment, “anybody who can’t stand a knee or two, nowadays, might as well quit. And besides, she goes to the beaches and never turns a hair.”

Here is a real point. The recent history of the Great Disrobing Movement can be checked up in another way by looking at the bathing costumes which have been accepted without question at successive intervals. There are still a few beaches near New York City which insist on more clothes than anyone can safely swim in, and thereby help to drown several young women each year. But in most places—universally in the West—a girl is now compelled to wear no more than is a man. The enpurpled one, to be



consistent, ought to have apoplexy every time she goes to the shore. But as Jane observes, she doesn't.

"Jane," say I, "I am a reporter representing American inquisitiveness. Why do all of you dress the way you do?"

"I don't know," says Jane. This reply means nothing: it is just the device by which the younger generation gains time to think. Almost at once she adds:

"The old girls are doing it because youth is. Everybody wants to be young, now—though they want all us young people to be something else. Funny, isn't it?"

"In a way," says Jane, "it's just honesty. Women have come down off the pedestal lately. They are tired of this mysterious-feminine-charm stuff. Maybe it goes with independence, earning your own living and voting and all that. There was always a bit of the harem in that coverup-your-arms-and-legs business, don't you think?"

"Women still want to be loved," goes on Jane, warming to her theme, "but they want it on a 50-50 basis, which includes being admired for the qualities they really possess. Dragging in this strange-allurement stuff doesn't seem sporting. It's like cheating in games, or lying."

"Ask me, did the War start all this?" says Jane helpfully.

"The answer is, how do I know? How does anybody know?"

"I read this book whaddaya-call-it by Rose Macaulay, and she showed where they'd been excited about wild youth for three generations anyhow—since 1870. I have a hunch maybe they've always been excited.

"Somebody wrote in a magazine how the War had upset the balance of the sexes in Europe and the girls over there were wearing the new styles as part of the competition for husbands. Sounds like the bunk to me. If you wanted to nail a man for life I think you'd do better to go in for the old-fashioned line: 'March' me to the altar, esteemed sir, before you learn whether I have limbs or not."

"Of course, not so many girls are looking for a life mealticket nowadays. Lots of them prefer to earn their own living and omit the home-and-baby act. Well, anyhow, postpone it years and years. They think a bachelor girl can and should do everything a bachelor man does." "It's funny," says Jane, "that just when women's clothes are getting scanty, men's should be going the other way. Look at the Oxford trousers!—as though a man had been caught by the ankles in a flannel quicksand."

Do the morals go with the clothes? Or the clothes with the morals? Or are they independent? These are questions I have not ventured to put to Jane, knowing that her answer would be "so's your old man." Generally speaking, however, it is safe to say that as regards the wildness of youth there is a good deal more smoke than fire. Anyhow, the new Era of Undressing, as already suggested, has spread far beyond the boundaries of Jane's group. The fashion is followed by

hordes of unquestionably monogamous matrons, including many who join heartily in the general ululations as to what young people are coming to. Attempts to link the new freedom with prohibition, with the automobile, the decline of Fundamentalism, are certainly without foundation. These may be accessory, and indeed almost certainly are, but only after the fact. That fact is, as Jane says, that women to-day are shaking off the shreds and patches of their age-old servitude. "Feminism" has won a victory so nearly complete that we have even forgotten the fierce challenge which once inhered in the very word. Women have highly resolved that they are just as good as men, and intend to be treated so. They don't mean to have any more unwanted children. They don't intend to be debarred from any profession or occupation which they choose to enter. They clearly mean (even though not all of them yet realize it) that in the great game of sexual selection they shall no longer be forced to play the role, simulated or real, of helpless quarry. If they want to wear their heads shaven, as a symbol of defiance against the former fate which for three millenia forced them to dress their heavy locks according to male decrees, they will have their way. If they should elect to go naked nothing is more certain than that naked they will go, while from the sidelines to which he has been relegated mere man is vouchsafed permission only to pipe a feeble Hurrah!

Hurrah!

### "Children's Era" Speech (1926)

**Margaret Sanger**

James Andrews, ed., *American Voices, Significant Speeches in American History, 1640–1945* (New York: Longman, 1989), pp. 429–432

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: My subject is "The Children's Era." The Children's Era! This makes me think of Ellen Key's book—*The Century of the Child*. Ellen Key hoped that this twentieth century was to be the century of the child. The twentieth century, she said, would see this old world of ours converted into a beautiful garden of children. Well, we have already lived through a quarter of this twentieth century. What steps have we taken toward making it the century of the child? So far, very, very few.

Why does the Children's Era still remain a dream of the dim and the distant future? Why has so little been accomplished?—in spite of all our acknowledged love of children, all our generosity, all our good-will, all the enormous sending of millions on philanthropy and charities, all our warm-hearted sentiment, all our incessant activity and social consciousness? Why?

Before you can cultivate a garden, you must know something about gardening. You have got to give your seeds

a proper soil in which to grow. You have got to give them sunlight and fresh air. You have got to give them space and the opportunity (if they are to lift their flowers to the sun), to strike their roots deep into that soil. And always—do not forget this—you have got to fight weeds. You cannot have a garden, if you let weeds overrun it. So, if we want to make this world a garden for children, we must first of all learn the lesson of the gardener.

So far we have not been gardeners. We have only been a sort of silly reception committee. A reception committee at the Grand Central Station of life. Trainload after trainload of children are coming in, day and night—nameless refugees arriving out of the Nowhere into the Here. Trainload after trainload—many unwelcome, unwanted, unprepared for, unknown, without baggage, without passports, most of them without pedigrees. These unlimited hordes of refugees arrive in such numbers that the reception committee is thrown into a panic—a panic of activity. The reception committee arouses itself heroically, establishes emergency measures: milk stations, maternity centers, settlement houses, playgrounds, orphanages, welfare leagues and every conceivable kind of charitable effort. But still trainloads of children keep on coming—human weeds crop up that spread so fast in this sinister struggle for existence, that the overworked committee becomes exhausted, inefficient and can think of no way out.

When we protest against this immeasurable, meaningless waste of motherhood and child-life; when we protest against the ever-mounting cost to the world of asylums, prisons, homes for the feeble-minded and such institutions for the unfit, when we protest against the disorder and chaos and tragedy of modern life, when we point out the biological corruption that is destroying the very heart of American life, we are told that we are making merely an “emotional” appeal. When we point the one immediate practical way toward order and beauty in society, the only way to lay the foundations of a society composed of happy children, happy women and happy men, they call this idea indecent and immoral.

It is not enough to clean up the filth and disorder of our overcrowded cities. It is not enough to stop the evil of Child Labor—even if we could! It is not enough to decrease the rate of infantile mortality. It is not enough to open playgrounds, and build more public schools in which we can standardize the minds of the young. It is not enough, to throw millions upon millions of dollars into charities and philanthropies. Don’t deceive ourselves that by so doing we are making the world “Safe for Children.”

Those of you who have followed the sessions of this Conference must, I am sure, agree with me that the first real step toward the creation of a Children’s Era must lie in providing the conditions of healthy life for children not only before birth but even more imperatively before con-

ception. Human society must protect its children—yes, but prenatal care is most essential! The child-to-be, as yet not called into being, has rights no less imperative.

We have learned in the preceding sessions of this Conference that, if we wish to produce strong and sturdy children, the embryo must grow in a chemically healthy medium. The blood stream of the mother must be chemically normal. Worry, strain, shock, unhappiness, enforced maternity, may all poison the blood of the enslaved mother. This chemically poisoned blood may produce a defective baby—a child foredoomed to idiocy, or feeble-mindedness, crime, or failure.

Do I exaggerate? Am I taking a rare exception and making it a general rule? Our opponents declare that children are conceived in love, and that every new-born baby converts its parents to love and unselfishness. My answer is to point to the asylums, the hospitals, the ever-growing institutions for the unfit. Look into the family history of those who are feeble-minded; or behind the bars of jails and prisons. Trace the family histories; find out the conditions under which they were conceived and born, before you attempt to persuade us that reckless breeding has nothing to do with these grave questions.

There is only one way out. We have got to fight for the health and happiness of the Unborn Child. And to do that in a practical, tangible way, we have got to free women from enforced, enslaved maternity. There can be no hope for the future of civilization, no certainty of racial salvation, until every woman can decide for herself whether she will or will not become a mother and when and how many children she cares to bring into the world. That is the first step.

I would like to suggest Civil Service examinations for parenthood! Prospective parents after such an examination would be given a parenthood license, proving that they are physically and mentally fit to be the fathers and mothers of the next generation.

This is an interesting idea—but then arises the questions “Who is to decide?” “Would there be a jury, like a play jury?” Would a Republican administration give parenthood permits only to Republicans—or perhaps only to Democrats? The more you think of governmental interference, the less it works out. Take this plan of civil service examination for parenthood. It suggests Prohibition: there might even be bootlegging in babies!

No, I doubt the advisability of governmental sanction. The problem of bringing children into the world ought to be decided by those most seriously involved—those who run the greatest risks; in the last analysis—by the mother and the child. If there is going to be any Civil Service examination, let it be conducted by the Unborn Child, the Child-to-be.

Just try for a moment to picture the possibilities of such an examination.

When you want a cook or housemaid, you go to an employment bureau. You have to answer questions. You have to exchange references. You have to persuade the talented cook that you conduct a proper well-run household. Children ought to have at least the same privilege as cooks. Sometimes in idle moments I like to think it would be a very good scheme to have a bureau of the Child-to-be.

At such a bureau of the unborn, the wise child might be able to find out a few things about its father—and its mother. Just think for a moment of this bureau where prospective parents might apply for a baby. Think of the questions they would be asked by the agent of the unborn or by the baby itself.

First: “Mr. Father, a baby is an expensive luxury. Can you really afford one?”

“Have you paid for your last baby yet?”

“How many children have you already? Six? You must have your hands full. Can you take care of so many?”

“Do you look upon children as a reward—or a penalty?”

“How are your ductless glands—well balanced?”

“Can you provide a happy home for one! A sunny nursery? Proper food?”

“What’s that you say? Ten children already? Two dark rooms in the slums?”

“No, thank you! I don’t care to be born at all if I cannot be well-born. Good-bye!”

And if we could organize a society for the prevention of cruelty to unborn children, we would make it a law that children should be brought into the world only when they were welcome, invited and wanted; that they would arrive with a clean bill of health and heritage; that they would possess healthy, happy, well-mated and mature parents.

And there would be certain conditions of circumstances which would preclude parenthood. These conditions, the presence of which would make parenthood a crime, are the following:

1. Transmissible disease
2. Temporary disease
3. Subnormal children already in the family
4. Space out between births
5. Twenty-three years as a minimum age for parents
6. Economic circumstances adequate
7. Spiritual harmony between parents.

In conclusion, let me repeat:

We are not trying to establish a dictatorship over parents. We want to free women from enslavement and unwilling motherhood. We are fighting for the emancipation of the mothers of the world, of the children of the world, and the children to be. We want to create a real Century of the Child—usher in a Children’s Era. We can do this by handing the terrific gift of life in bodies fit and perfect as can

be fashioned. Help us to make this Conference which has aroused so much interest the turning point toward this era. Only so can you help in the creation of the future.

### Supreme Court of Tennessee *John Thomas Scopes v. The State*

(Nashville, December Term, 1926.) Opinion filed January 17, 1927. Appeal from the Criminal Court of Rhea County; Hon. J. T. Raulston, Judge.

JOHN R. NEAL, CLARENCE DARROW, ARTHUR G. HAYES, DUDLEY FIELD MALONE, WILLIAM T. THOMAS, and FRANK B. MCELWEE, for plaintiff in error.

THOMAS H. MALONE and HENRY E. COLTON *amici curiae* for appellant.

FRANK M. THOMPSON, Attorney-General, ED. T. SEAY, and K.T. MCCONNICO, for defendant in error.

CHIEF JUSTICE GREEN delivered majority opinion; JUDGE CHAMBLISS concurring opinion, and JUSTICE COOK concurred; JUDGE COLIN P. MCKINNEY, opinion dissenting, and Judge SWIGGART did not participate.

Scopes was convicted of a violation of chapter 27 of the Acts of 1925, for that he did teach in the public schools of Rhea county a certain theory that denied the story of the divine creation of man, as taught in the Bible, and did teach instead thereof that man had descended from a lower order of animals. After a verdict of guilty by the jury, the trial judge imposed a fine of \$ 100, and Scopes brought the case to this court by an appeal in the nature of a writ of error.

The bill of exceptions was not filed within the time fixed by the court below, and, upon motion of the state, at the last term, this bill of exceptions was stricken from the record. *Scopes v. State*, 152 Tenn. 424. A motion to quash the indictment was seasonably made in the trial court raising several questions as to the sufficiency thereof and as to the validity and construction of the Statute upon which the indictment rested. These questions appear on the record before us and have been presented and debated in this court with great elaboration.

Chapter 27 of the Acts of 1925, known as the Tennessee Anti-Evolution Act is set out in the margin. While the Act was not drafted with as much care as could have been drafted, nevertheless there seems to be no great difficulty in determining its meaning. It is entitled:

“An Act prohibiting the teaching of the evolution theory in all the Universities, normals and all other public schools in Tennessee, which are supported in whole or in part by the public school funds of the state, and to provide penalties for the violations thereof.”

*Evolution*, like *prohibition*, is a broad term. In recent bickering, however, evolution has been understood to mean the theory which holds that man has developed from some pre-existing lower type. This is the popular significance of evolution, just as the popular significance of prohibition is prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating liquors. It was in that sense that evolution was used in this Act. It is that sense that the word will be used in this opinion, unless the context otherwise indicates. It is only to the theory of the evolution of man from a lower type that the Act before us was intended to apply, and much of the discussion we have heard is beside this case. The words of a Statute, if in common use, are to be taken in their natural and ordinary sense. *O'Neill v. State*, 115 Tenn. 437; *State ex rel. v. Turnpike Co.*, 34 Tenn. (2 Sneed) 90.

Thus defining evolution, this Act's title clearly indicates the purpose of the Statute to be the prohibition of teaching in the Schools of the State that man has developed or descended from some lower type or order of animales.

When the draftsman came to express this purpose in the body of the Act, he first forbade the teaching of "any theory that denies the story of the divine creation of man, as taught in the Bible"—his conception evidently being that to forbid the denial of the Bible story would ban the teaching of evolution. To make the purpose more explicit, he added that it should be unlawful to teach "that man had descended from a lower order of animals."

Supplying the ellipsis in section 1 of the act, it reads that it shall be unlawful for any teacher, etc.—"to teach any theory that denies the story of the divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead [of the story on the divine creation of man as taught in the Bible] that man has descended from a lower order of animals."

The language just quoted illustrates what is called in rhetoric exposition by iteration. The different form of the iterated idea serves to expound the first expression of the thought. The undertaking of the Statute was to prevent teaching of the evolution theory. It was considered this purpose could be effected by forbidding the teaching of any theory that denied the Bible story, but to make the purpose clear it was also forbidden to teach that man descended from a lower order of animals.

This manner of expression in written instruments is common, and gives use to the maxim of construction *noscitur a sociis*. Under this maxim subordinate words and phrases are modified and limited to harmonize with each other and with the leading and controlling purpose or intention of the act. For example, see Lewis' Southerland Stat. Const. Sec. 415 et seq.; *Caldwell & Co. v. Lea*, 152 Tenn. 48. It thus seems plain that the Legislature in this enactment only intended to forbid teaching that men descended from a lower order of animals. The denunciation of any

theory denying the Bible story of creation is restricted by the caption and by the final clause of section 1.

So interpreted, the Statute does not seem to be uncertain in its meaning nor incapable of enforcement for such a reason, notwithstanding the argument to the contrary. The indictment herein follows the language of the Statute. The statute being sufficiently definite in its terms, such an indictment is good. *State v. Odam*, 70 Tenn. (2 Lea) 220; *Villines v. State*, 96 Tenn. 141, *Griffin v. State*, 109 Tenn. 17. The assignments of error, which challenge the sufficiency of the indictment and the uncertainty of the Act, are accordingly overruled.

It is contended that the Statute violates section 8 of article 1 of the Tennessee Constitution, and section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States—the Law of the Land clause of the state Constitution, and the Due Process of Law clause of the Federal Constitution, which are practically equivalent in meaning.

We think there is little merit in this contention. The plaintiff in error was a teacher in the public schools of Rhea county. He was an employee of the State of Tennessee or of a municipal agency of the State. He was under contract with the State to work in an institution of the State. He had no right or privilege to serve the State except upon such terms as the State prescribed. His liberty, his privilege, his immunity to teach and proclaim the theory of evolution, elsewhere than in the service of the State, was in no wise touched by this law.

The Statute before us is not an exercise of the police power of the State undertaking to regulate the conduct and contracts of individuals in their dealings with each other. On the other hand, it is an Act of the State as a corporation, a proprietor, an employer. It is a declaration of a master as to the character of work the master's servant shall, or rather shall not, perform. In dealing with its own employees engaged upon its own work, the State is not hampered by the limitations of section 8 of article 1 of the Tennessee Constitution, nor of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

In *People v. Crane*, 214 N.Y. 154, the validity of a Statute of that State, providing that citizens only should be employed upon public works was sustained. In the course of opinion (page 175), it was said: "The Statute is nothing more, in effect, than a resolve by an employer as to the character of his employees. An individual employer would communicate the resolve to his subordinate by written instructions or by word of mouth. The State, an incorporeal master, speaking through the Legislature, communicates the resolve to its agents by enacting a statute. Either the private employer or the State can revoke the resolve at will. Entire liberty of action in these respects is essential unless the State is to be deprived of a right which has heretofore been deemed a constituent element of the relationship of



master and servant, namely, the right of the master to say who his servants shall (and therefore shall not) be." A case involving the same Statute reached the Supreme Court of the United States, and the integrity of the Statute was sustained by that tribunal. *Heim v. McCall*, 239 U.S. 175, 60 L.Ed. 207. The Supreme Court referred to *People v. Crane*, supra, and approvingly quoted a portion of the language of BARRETT, Chief Judge, that we have set out above.

At the same term of the Supreme Court of the United States an Arizona Statute, prohibiting individuals and corporations with more than five workers from employing less than 80 per cent. thereof of qualified electors or native-born citizens of the United States was held invalid. *Truax v. Raich*, 239 U.S. 33, 60 L.Ed. 131.

These two cases from the Supreme Court make plain the differing tests to be applied to a Statute regulating the State's own affairs and a statute regulating the affairs of private individuals and corporations.

A leading case is *Atkins v. Kansas*, 191 U.S. 207, 48 L.Ed. 148. The court there considered and upheld a Kansas Statute making it a criminal offense for a contractor for a public work to permit or require an employee to perform labor upon that work in excess of eight hours each day. In that case it was laid down:

"...For, whatever may have been the motives controlling the enactment of the statute in question, we can imagine no possible ground to dispute the power of the State to declare that no one undertaking work for it or for one of its municipal agencies, should permit or require an employee on such work to labor in excess of eight hours each day, and to inflict punishment upon those who are embraced by such regulations and yet disregard them.

"It cannot be deemed a part of the liberty of any contractor that he be allowed to do public work in any mode he may choose to adopt., without regard to the wishes of the State. On the contrary, it belongs to the State, as the guardian and trustee for its people, and having control of its affairs, to prescribe the conditions upon which it will permit public work to be done on its behalf, or on behalf of its municipalities. No court has authority to review its action in that respect. Regulations on this subject suggest only considerations of public policy. And with such considerations the courts have no this concern." In *Ellis v. United States*, 206 U.S. 246, 51 L.Ed. 1047, *Atkins v. Kansas* was followed, and an Act of Congress sustained which prohibited, under penalty of fine or imprisonment, except in case of extraordinary emergency, the requiring or permitting laborers or mechanics employed upon any of the public works of the United States or of the District of Columbia to work more than eight hours each day. These cases make it obvious that the State or Government, as an incident to its power to authorize and enforce contracts for public services, "may require that they shall be carried out only in

a way consistent with its views of public policy, and may punish a departure from that way." *Ellis v. United States*, supra. To the same effect is *Waugh v. Board of Trustees*, 237 U.S. 589, 59 L.Ed. 1131, in which a Mississippi Statute was sanctioned that prohibited the existence of Greek letter fraternities and similar societies in the State's educational institutions, and deprived members of such societies of the right to receive or compete for diploma, class honors, etc.

This court has indicated a like view in *Leeper v. State*, 103 Tenn. 500, in which the constitutionality of chapter 205 of the Acts of 1899, known as the "Uniform Text Book Law," was sustained. In the opinion in that case Judge WILKES observed:

"If the authority to regulate and control schools is legislative, then it [is] must have an unrestricted right to prescribe methods, and the courts cannot interfere with it unless some scheme is devised which is contrary to other provisions of the Constitution..."

In *Marshall & Bruce Co. v. City of Nashville*, 109 Tenn. 495, the charter of the City of Nashville required that all contracts for goods and supplies furnished the city, amounting to over \$50, must be let out at competitive bidding to the lowest responsible bidder. In the face of such a charter provision, an ordinance of the city, which provided that all city printing should bear the union label, was held unauthorized—necessarily so. The lowest bidder, provided he was responsible, was entitled to such a contract, whether he employed union labor, and was empowered to affix the union label to his work or not. Other things said in that case were not necessary to the decision.

*Traux v. Raich*, supra, *Meyer v. Nebraska*, 262 U.S. 390, *Pierce v. Society of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary*, 268 U.S. 510, and other decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, pressed upon us by counsel for plaintiff in error, deal with Statutes affecting individuals, corporations, and private institutions, and we do not regard these cases as in point.

Since the State may prescribe the character and the hours of labor of the employees on its works, just as freely may it say what kind of work shall be performed in its service, what shall be taught in its schools, so far at least as section 8 of article 1 of the Tennessee Constitution, and the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, are concerned.

But it is urged that chapter 27 of the Acts of 1925 conflicts with section 12 of article 11, the Educational clause, and section 3 of article 1, the Religious Preference clause, of the Tennessee Constitution. It is to be doubted if the plaintiff in error, before us only as the state's employee, is sufficiently protected by these constitutional provisions to justify him in raising such questions. Nevertheless, as the State appears to concede that these objections are properly here made, the court will consider them.

The relevant portion of section 12 of article 11 of the Constitution is in these words:

“...It shall be the duty of the General Assembly in all future periods of this government, to cherish Literature and Science.”

The argument is that the theory of the descent of man from a lower order of animals is now established by the preponderance of scientific thought and that the prohibition of the teaching of such theory is a violation of the legislative duty to cherish Science.

While this clause of the Constitution has been mentioned in several of our cases, these references have been casual, and no Act of the Legislature has ever been held inoperative by reason of such provision. In one of the opinions in *Green v. Allen*, 24 Tenn. (5 Humph.) 170, the provision was said to be directory. Although this court is loath to say that any language of the Constitution is merely directory *State v. Burrow*, 119 Tenn. 376, *Webb v. Carter*, 129 Tenn. 182, we are driven to the conclusion that this particular admonition must be so treated. It is too vague to be enforced by any court. To cherish Science means to nourish, to encourage, to foster Science.

In no case can the court directly compel the Legislature to perform its duty. In a plain case the court can prevent the Legislature from transgressing its duty under the Constitution by declaring ineffective such a legislative Act. The case, however, must be plain, and the legislative Act is always given the benefit of any doubt.

If a bequest were made to a private trustee with the avails of which he should cherish Science, and there was nothing more, such a bequest would be void for uncertainty. *Green v. Allen*, 24 Tenn. (5 Humph.) 170, *Ewell v. Sneed*, 136 Tenn. 602, and the cases cited. It could not be enforced as a charitable use in the absence of prerogative power in this respect which the courts of Tennessee do not possess. A bequest in such terms would be so indefinite that our courts could not direct a proper application of the trust fund nor prevent its misapplication. The object of such a trust could not be ascertained.

If the courts of Tennessee are without power to direct the administration of such a trust by an individual, how can they supervise the administration of such a trust by the Legislature? It is a matter of far more delicacy to undertake the restriction of a coordinate branch of government to the terms of a trust imposed by the Constitution than to confine an individual trustee to the terms of the instrument under which he functions. If language be so indefinite as to preclude judicial restraint of an individual, such language could not possibly excuse judicial restraint of the General Assembly.

If the Legislature thinks that, by reason of popular prejudice, the cause of education and the study of Science generally will be promoted by forbidding the teaching of

evolution in the schools of the State, we can conceive of no ground to justify the court's interference. The courts cannot sit in judgment on such Acts of the legislature or its agents and determine whether or not the omission or addition of a particular course of study tends “to cherish Science.”

The last serious criticism made of the Act is that it contravenes the provision of section 3 of article 1 of the Constitution, “that no preference shall ever be given, by law, to any religious establishment or mode of worship.”

The language quoted is a part of our Bill of Rights, was contained in our first Constitution of the state adopted in 1796, and has been brought down into the present Constitution.

At the time of the adoption of our first Constitution, this government had recently been established and the recollection of previous conditions was fresh. England and Scotland maintained State churches as did some of the Colonies, and it was intended by this clause of the Constitution to prevent any such undertaking in Tennessee.

We are not able to see how the prohibition of teaching the theory that man has descended from a lower order of animals gives preference to any religious establishment or mode of worship. So far as we know, there is no religious establishment or organized body that has in its creed or confession of faith any article denying or affirming such a theory. So far as we know, the denial or affirmation of such a theory does not enter into any recognized mode of worship. Since this cause has been pending in this court, we have been favored, in addition to briefs of counsel and various *amici curiae*, with a multitude of resolutions, addresses, and communications from scientific bodies, religious factions, and individuals giving us the benefit of their views upon the theory of evolution. Examination of these contributions indicates that Protestants, Catholics, and Jews are divided among themselves in their beliefs, and that there is no unanimity among the members of any religious establishment as to this subject. Belief or unbelief in the theory of evolution is no more a characteristic of any religious establishment or mode of worship than is belief or unbelief in the wisdom of the prohibition laws. It would appear that members of the same churches quite generally disagree as to these things.

Furthermore, chapter 277 of the Acts of 1925 *requires* the teaching of nothing. It only *forbids* the teaching of evolution of man from a lower order of animals. Chapter 102 of the Acts of 1915 requires that ten verses from the Bible be read each day at the opening of every public school, without comment, and provided the teacher does not read the same verses more than twice during any session. It is also provided in this Act that pupils may be excused from the Bible readings upon the written request of their parents. As the law thus stands, while the theory of evolution of man may not be taught in the schools of the State, nothing

contrary to that theory is required to be taught. It could scarcely be said that the statutory scriptural reading just mentioned would amount to teaching of a contrary theory.

Our school authorities are therefore quite free to determine how they shall act in this state of the law. Those in charge of the educational affairs of the State are men and women of discernment and culture. If they believe that the teaching of the Science of Biology had been so hampered by chapter 27 of the Acts of 1925 as to render such an effort no longer desirable, this course of study may be entirely omitted from the curriculum of our schools. If this be regarded as a misfortune, it must be charged to the Legislature. It should be repeated that the act of 1925 deals with nothing but the evolution of man from a lower order of animals.

It is not necessary now to determine the exact scope of the Religious Preference clause of the Constitution and other language of that section. The situation does not call for such an attempt. Section 3 of article 1 is binding alike on the Legislature and the school authorities. So far we are clear that the Legislature has not crossed these constitutional limitations. If hereafter the school authorities should go beyond such limits, a case can then be brought to the courts.

Much has been said in argument about the motives of the Legislature in passing this Act. But the validity of a statute must be determined by its natural and legal effect, rather than proclaimed motives. *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45; *Grainger v. Douglas Park Jockey Club* 148 F. 513; 6 R.C.L. 111, 81. Some other questions are made, but in our opinion they do not merit discussion, and the assignments of error raising such questions are overruled.

This record disclosed that the jury found the defendant below guilty, but did not assess the fine. The trial judge himself undertook to impose the minimum fine of \$100 authorized by the Statute. This was error. Under section 14 of article 6 of the Constitution of Tennessee, a fine in excess of \$ 50 must be assessed by a jury. The Statute before us does not permit the imposition of a smaller fine than \$ 100. Since a jury alone can impose the penalty this Act requires, and as a matter of course no different penalty can be inflicted, the trial judge exceeded his jurisdiction in levying this fine, and we are without power to correct his error. The judgment must accordingly be reversed. *Upchurch v. State*, 153 Tenn. 198. The Court is informed that the plaintiff in error is no longer in the service of the State. We see nothing to be gained by prolonging the life of this bizarre case. On the contrary, we think the peace and dignity of the State, which all criminal prosecutions are brought to redress, will be better conserved by the entry of a *nolle prosequi* herein. Such a course is suggested to the Attorney-General.

Mr. Justice SWIGGART took no part in the decision. He came to the bench upon the death of Mr. Justice HALL, after the argument and submission hereof.

#### CHAMBLISS, J. (concurring)

While I concur in the conclusions announced by Chief Justice GREEN, and agree, as so ably shown by him, that it is within the power of the Legislature to so prescribe the public school curriculum as to prohibit the teaching of the evolution of man from a lower order of animals life, even though the teaching of some branches of science may be thereby restricted, I am of the opinion that the constitutional objections urged do not apply for yet other reasons, and in another view.

Two theories of organic evolution are well recognized, one the *theistic*, which not only concedes, but maintains, consistently with the Bible story, that "the Lord God formed man from the dust of the earth, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul." This is the theory advanced eloquently by learned counsel for Scopes, and held to by numerous outstanding scientists of the world. The other theory is known as the *materialistic*, which denies that God created man, that He was the First Cause, and seeks in shadowy uncertainties for the origins of life. The act before us, as I view it, prohibits the teaching in public schools of the State of this latter theory, inconsistent not only with the common belief of mankind of every clime and creed and "religious establishment," even those that reject Christ or Judaism, and look through Buddha or Mohammed to God, but inconsistent also with our Constitution and the fundamental declaration lying back of it, through all of which runs recognition of and appeal to "God," and a life to come. The Declaration of Independence opens with a reference to "the laws of nature and nature's God," and holds this truth "to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator," etc., and concludes "with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence." The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union read—"And whereas, it hath pleased the Great Governor of the world." And so section 3 of article 1 of the Constitution of this State, which declares that "no preference shall ever be given, by law, to any religious establishment," opens with the declaration "that all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God," while section 2 of article 9 declares that "no person who denies the being of God, or a future state of rewards and punishments, shall hold any office in the Civil department of this state." That the Legislature may prohibit the teaching of the future citizens and office holders of the State of a theory which denies the Divine Creator will hardly be denied.

Now I find it conceded in an exceptionally able brief for Scopes, devoted exclusively to the question of uncertainty,

that “the act might be construed as only aimed at materialists.” This is my view of it. As I read it, the act makes no war on evolution, except in so far as the evolution theory conflicts with the recognition of the Divine in creation.

While it is conceded that the language is in some respects ambiguous, analysis of the caption and body of the act as a whole appears to sustain this view. The variance between the caption and the body of the act is significant. The caption refers broadly to “the Evolution Theory” but it is clear that the act itself, as finally framed and passed, was expressly limited and restricted in its body to the prohibition of the teaching—not of *any* theory of evolution at all, but of any theory only that denies or controverts “the Divine Creation of man.” While the language used is “any theory that denies *the story of* the Divine Creation of man *as taught in the Bible*,” the italicized phraseology may be said to be descriptive only of the essential matter. It may be insisted that these words, when given their proper force, serve to narrow the meaning of the act so as to confine its operation to prohibition against the denial of the Divine Creation of man to the story taught in the Bible as interpreted by those literalists who hold to the instantaneous creation view. In reply, it may be said that however plausible may be this construction or application of this language, it must be rejected on the very grounds emphasized by learned counsel, who adopt it and then proceed to predicate there on their argument for the unconstitutionality of the act. The courts may go far to avoid a construction which will destroy the act. This is axiomatic. One may not consistently contend for a construction of language, at all open to construction, which, if applied, will make void the act. Moreover, it would seem that, since “the story as taught in the Bible” of man’s creation by God from the dust of the earth is readily susceptible of the construction given it by those known as liberalists, this language is consistent with the conclusion that what the act aims at and effects is the prohibition of the teaching of any such theory only as denies that man was *divinely created* according to the Bible story, *however this story may be interpreted as to details*. So long as the story as told in the Bible is so construed as to recognize the Divine creation of man, these words have no limiting effect upon the central and essential object of the act as hereinbefore suggested—to restrain the inculcation into the minds of pupils of the public schools of any theory that denies the Divine Creation of man, and on the contrary traces his origin, *in exclusion of the divine*, to a lower order of animal life. It is this materialistic teaching which is denounced, and, so construed, the act may clearly be sustained, negative only as it is, first, of the right to teach in the public schools as denial of the existence, recognized by our Constitution, of the Creator of all mankind; and second, of the right to teach any theory which involves the support or advocacy of either, or any, religious dogma or view.

The concluding phrase, “and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals,” is added on the apparent assumption that such teaching involves a denial, which the preceding clause prohibits, of Divine creation. The use of this language, aptly defined by our learned Chief Justice as a species of iteration, for the purpose of emphasis, indicates an intention to set over one against the other, the theory, or “story” of man’s Divine creation, and the antagonistic and materialistic theory, or “story,” of his origin in the animal kingdom, to the exclusion of God. The phraseology is antithetical—a favorite form of strengthening statement. “Measures, not men.” Springing from God, not animals. The two theories of man’s origin are placed in direct opposition; the manifest purpose being to emphasize the essence of the thing prohibited, the teaching of a denial of man’s divine creation.

The following statement of Dr. E. N. Reinke, Professor of Biology in Vanderbilt University, is repeatedly quoted in briefs of counsel for the defense:

“The theory of evolution is altogether essential to the teaching of biology and its kindred sciences. To deny the teacher of biology the use of this most fundamental generalization of his science would make his teaching as chaotic as an attempt to teach astronomy without the law of gravitation or physics without assuming the existence of the ether.”

Conceding that “the theory of evolution is altogether essential to the teaching of biology and its kindred sciences,” it will not be contended by Dr. Reinke, or by learned counsel quoting from him, that the theory of evolution essentially involves the denial of the Divine creation of man, and that, when construed to prohibit such a denial only, the act is objectionable as denying to “the teacher of biology the use of the most fundamental generalization of his science.”

Now, in this view, it is clear that the constitutional direction to cherish education and science is not disregarded. The teaching of all sciences may have full legitimate sway, with the restriction only that the teaching shall not convey a denial of man’s Divine origin—God as his Creator. The theories of Drummond, Winchell, Fiske, Hibbens, Millikan, Kenn, Merriam, Angell, Cannon Barnes, and a multitude of others, whose names are invoked in argument and brief, do not deny the story of the Divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, evolutionists though they be, but construing the Scripture for themselves in the light of their learning, accept it as true and their teaching would not come under the ban of this act.

Much that has been said here bears directly upon the contention that section 3, art. 1, of our Constitution is violated, in that a preference is given by law to those “religious establishments which have as one of their tenets or dogmas the instantaneous creation of man.” As was said by



Chief Justice GREEN, the act gives no preference to any particular religious establishment. The doctrine or tenet of the instantaneous creation of man is not set forth or preferred over other conceptions. It is too well established for argument that "the story of the divine creation of man as taught in the Bible" is accepted—not "denied"—by millions of men and women who do not interpret it as teaching instantaneous creation, who hold with the Psalmist that "a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past," as but a day. It follows that to forbid the teaching of a denial of the biblical account of Divine creation does not, expressly or by fair implication, involve acceptance or approval of instantaneous creation, held to by some literalists. One is not prohibited by this act from teaching, either that "days," as used in the book of Genesis, means days of 24 hours, the literalist view, or days of "a thousand years" or more, as held by liberalists, so long as the teaching does not exclude God as the author of human life.

Considering the caption and body of this act as a whole, it is seen to be clearly negative only, not affirmative. It requires nothing to be taught. It prohibits merely. And it prohibits, not the teaching of *any* theory of evolution, but that theory (of evolution) only that denies, takes issues with, positively disaffirms, the creation of man by God (as the Bible teaches), and that, instead of being so created, he is a product of, springs from, a lower order of animals. No authority is recognized or conferred by the laws of this State for teaching in the public schools, on the one hand, of the Bible, or any of its doctrines or dogmas, and this act prohibits the teaching on the other hand of any denial thereof. It is purely an act of neutrality. Ceaseless and irreconcilable controversy exists among our citizens and taxpayers, having equal rights, touching matters of religious faith, and it is within the power of the Legislature to declare that the subject shall be excluded from the tax-supported institutions—that the State shall stand neutral—rendering "unto Caesar the things which be Caesar's and unto God the things which be God's," and insuring the completeness of separation of Church and State.

In the light of this interpretation, is the act void for uncertainty? I think not. If the act were affirmative in its requirements, calling for the teaching of *some* theory, the objection would be more plausible. A clear chart is more necessary when one must move, over matter or in mind, than when one is required merely *not* to act or teach. Any reasonable intelligence should be able to understand and observe the plain prohibition against instilling into the minds of the pupil a denial that he is a creation of God, but rather a product of the beast of the field; against teach-

ing—and the term is here employed in the sense of seeking to convince—the pupil affirmatively that his origin is not Divine, but material, through the animal. He who runs may read. He need do no guessing as to what particular conception or view of the Bible account he shall teach. The act does not require that he choose between the fundamentalist and the modernist, the literalist and the liberalist. Our laws approve no teaching of the Bible at all in the public schools, but require only that no theory shall be taught which denies that God is the Creator of man—that his origins not thus to be traced.

In brief, as already indicated, I concur with the majority in the conclusion (1) that this case must be reversed for the error of the judge in fixing the fine, (2) that a *nolle prosequi* should be entered, and (3) that the act is constitutional as within the powers of the Legislature as the employer of its teachers. However, I go further and find the act constitutional for additional reasons rested upon the view that the act fairly construed is limited to the prohibition of the teaching of any theory of evolution only which denies the Divine creation of man, without regard to details of religious belief, of differing interpretations of the story as taught in the Bible. In this view the constitutionality of the act is sustained, but the way is left open for such teaching of the pertinent sciences as is approved by the progressive God recognizing leaders of thought and life.

#### MCKINNEY, J. (dissenting)

An elemental rule of statutory construction, which is well stated by Mr. Justice SUTHERLAND in delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Connally v. General Construction Company*, 46 Sup. Ct. Rep., 126, is as follows:

"That the terms of a penal statute creating a new offense must be sufficiently explicit to inform those who are subject to it what conduct on their part will render them liable to its penalties is a well-recognized requirement, consonant alike with ordinary notions of fair play and the settled rules of law; and a statute which either forbids or requires the doing of an act in terms so vague that men of common intelligence must necessarily guess at its meaning and differ as to its application violates the first essential of due process of law. *International Harvester Co. v. Kentucky*, 234 U.S. 216, 34 S.Ct. 853, 58 L.Ed., 1284; *Collins v. Kentucky*, 234 U.S. 638, 34 S.Ct. 924, 58 L.Ed. 1510."

Applying the foregoing rule to the statute here involved, I am of the opinion that it is invalid for uncertainty of meaning. I therefore, respectfully dissent from the contrary holding of my associates.

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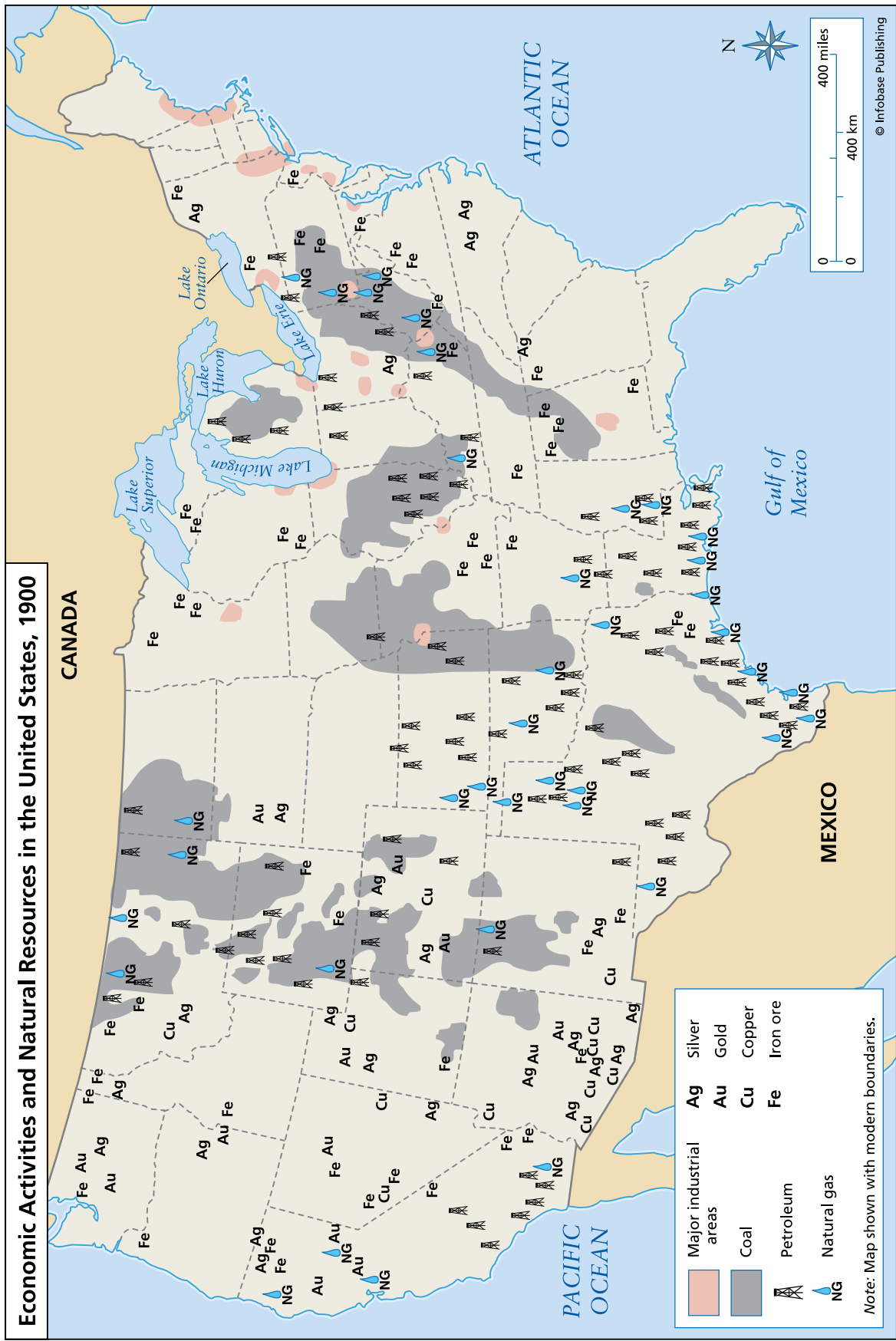
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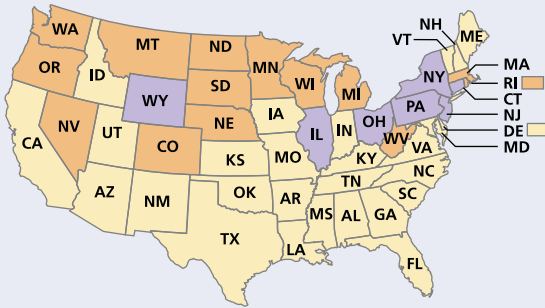
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1900 to 1928

# MAPS

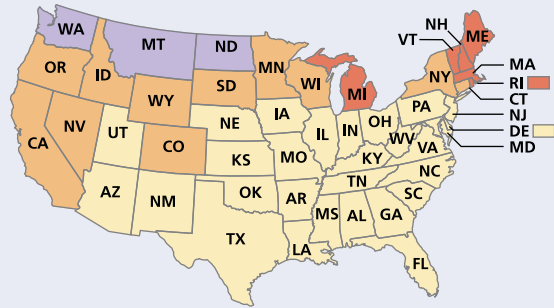


## Distribution of Foreign Born in the United States, 1910

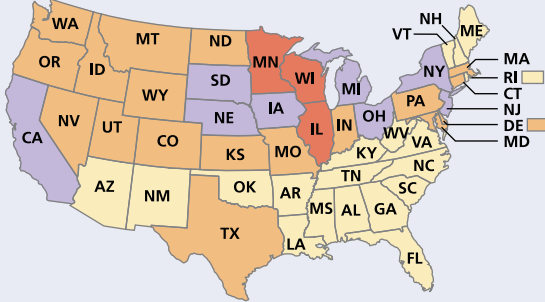
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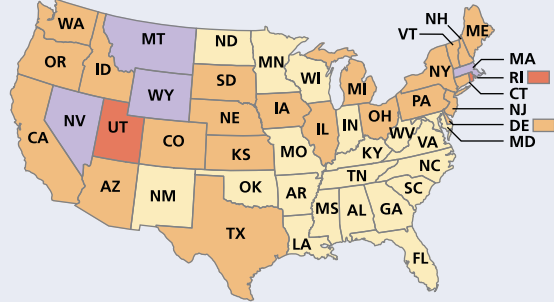
### Canada and Newfoundland



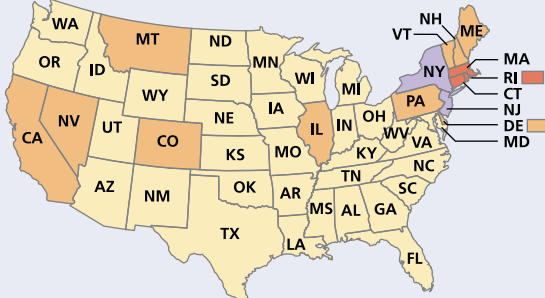
### Germany



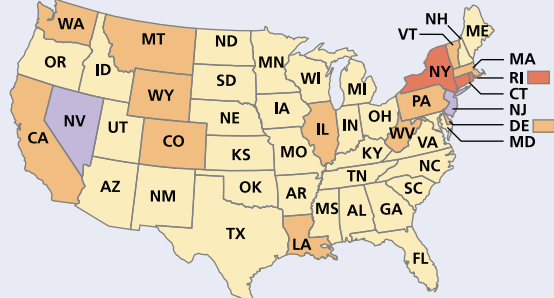
### Great Britain



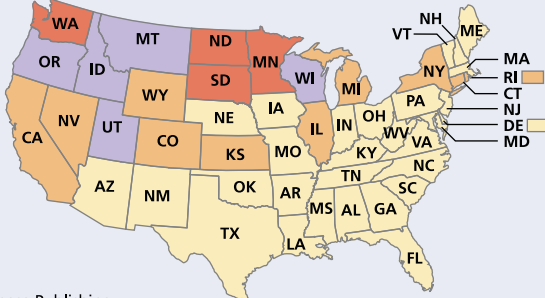
### Ireland



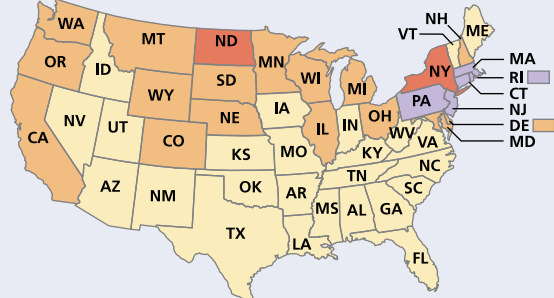
### Italy



### Norway, Sweden and Denmark



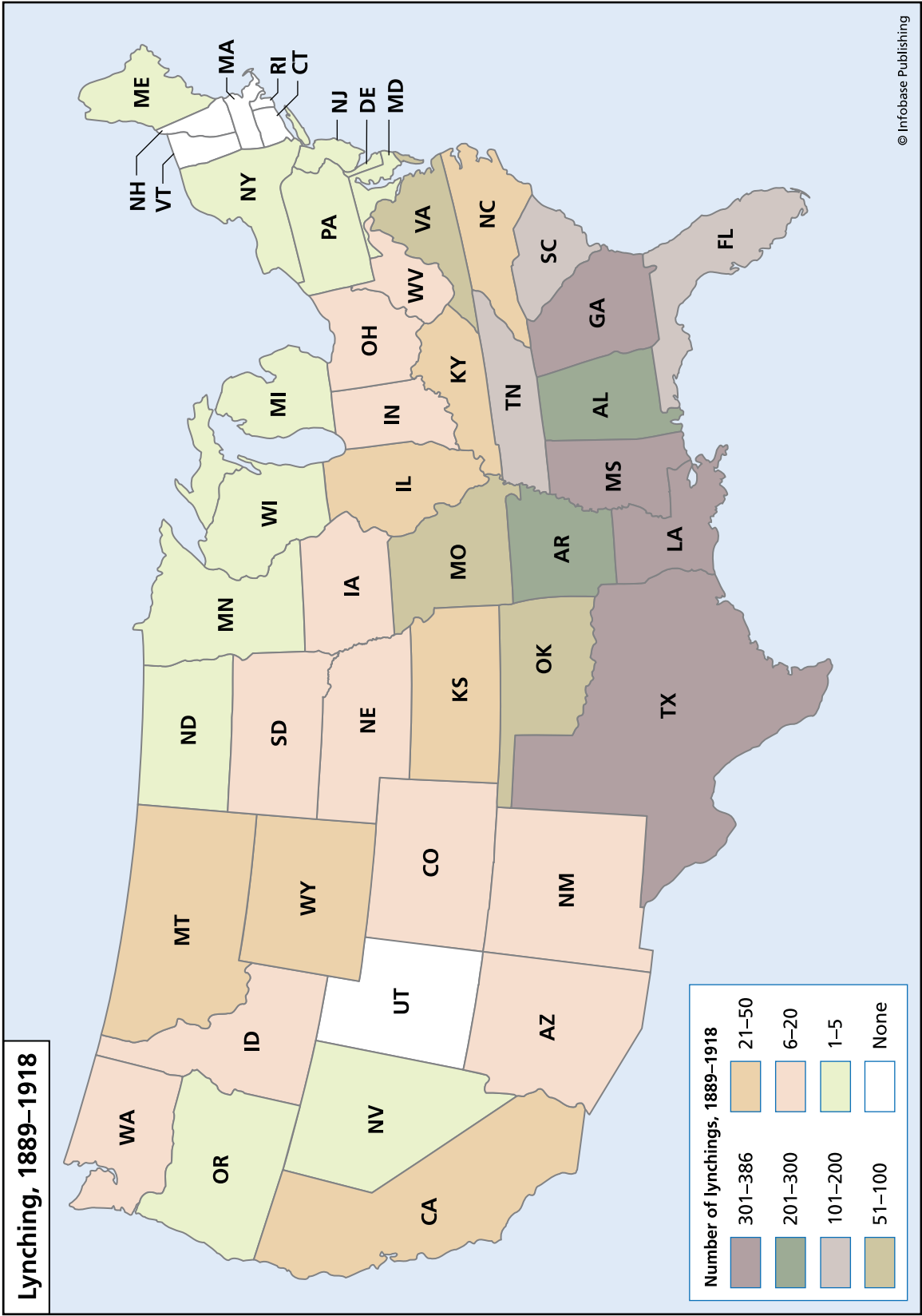
### Russian Empire (various minorities)



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### Percent of Population of Each State Born in Principal Foreign Countries

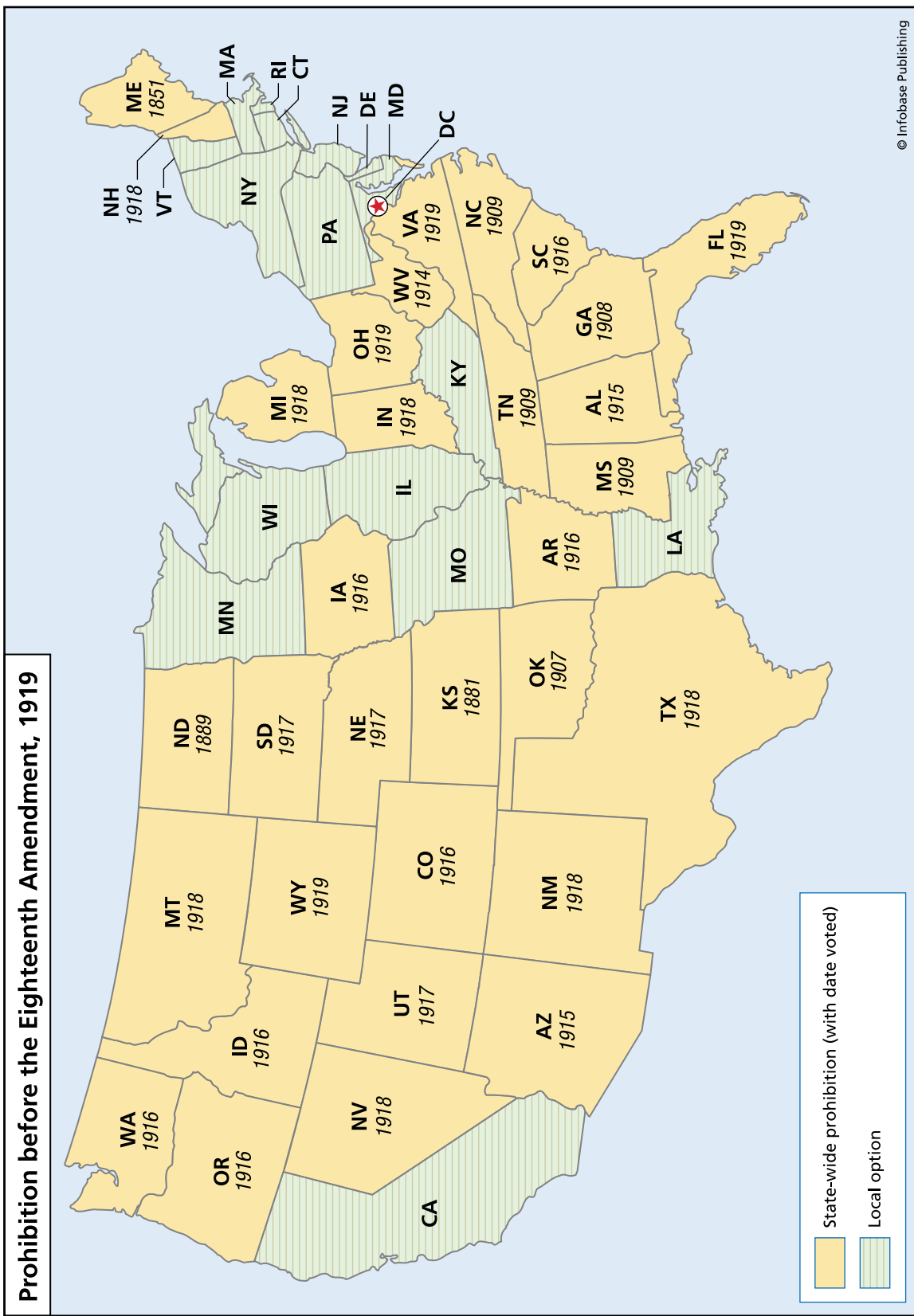


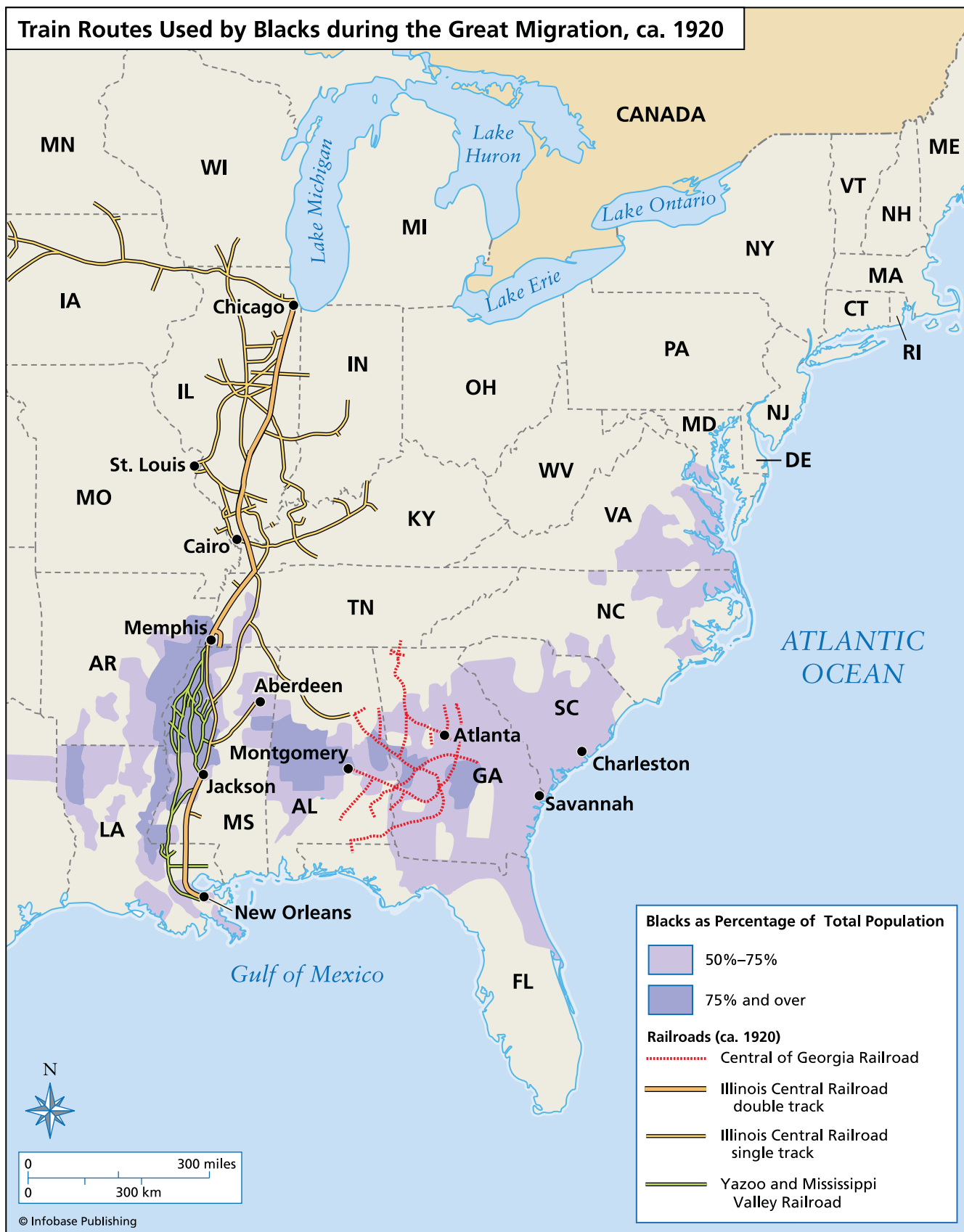




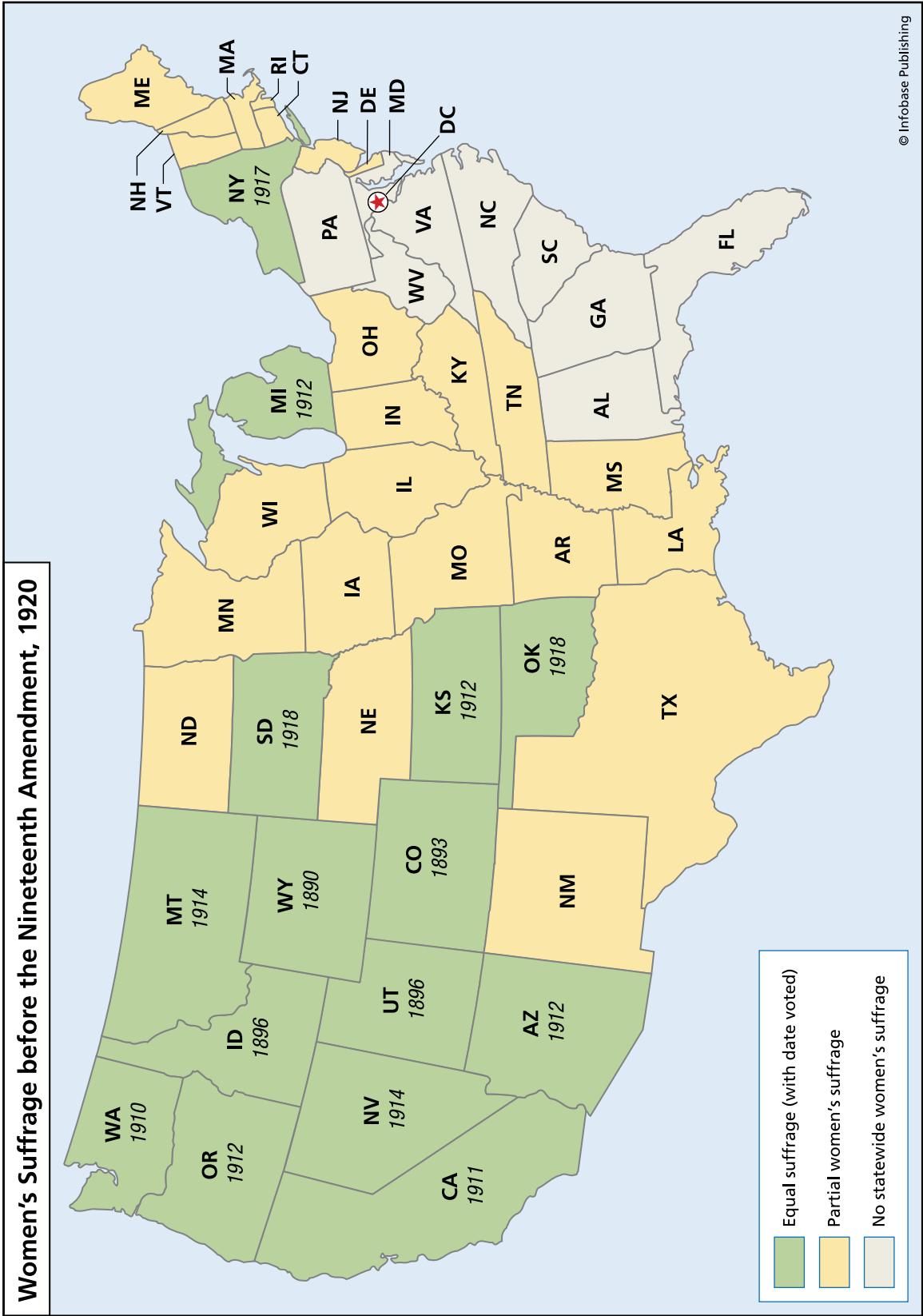


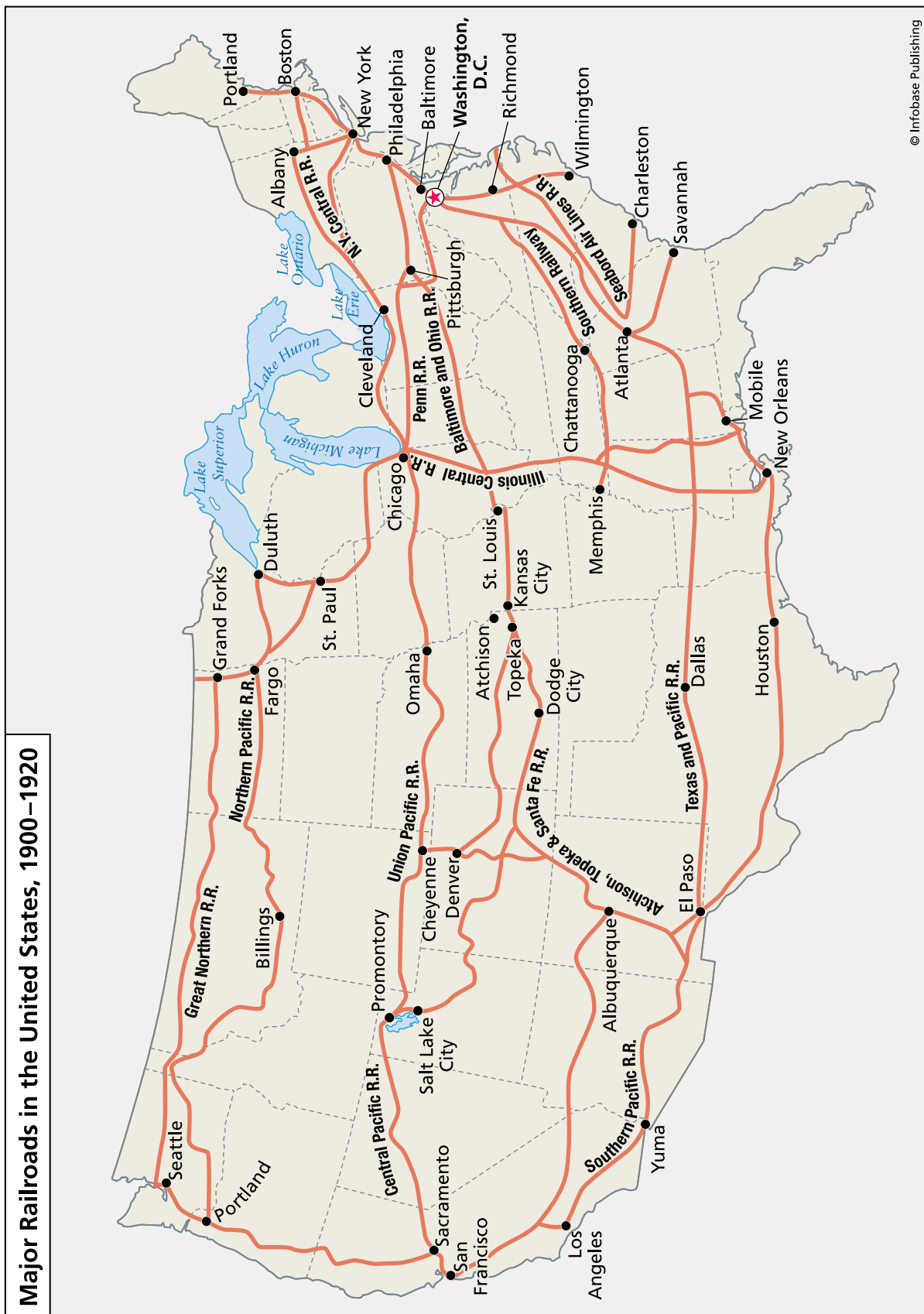


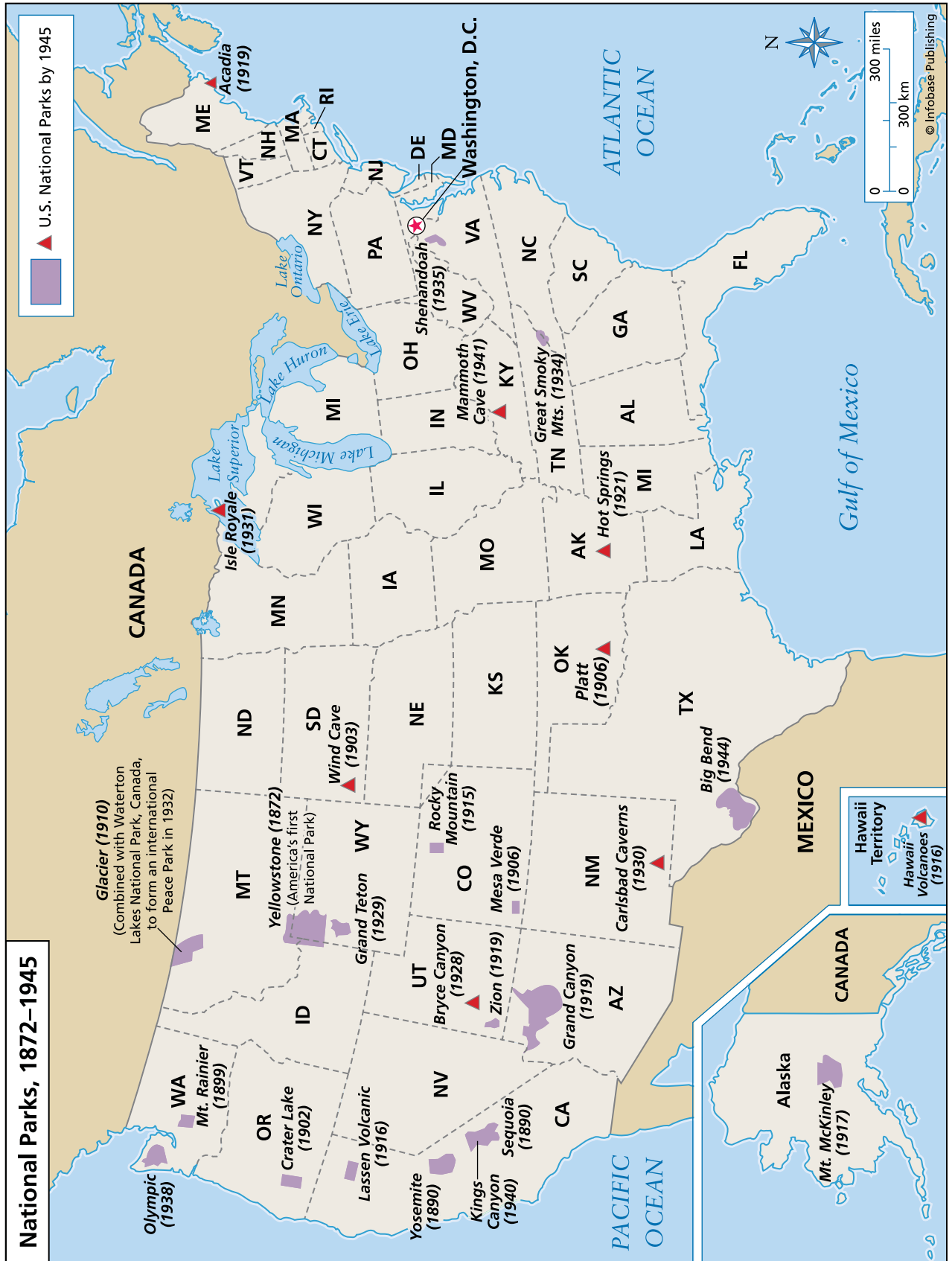


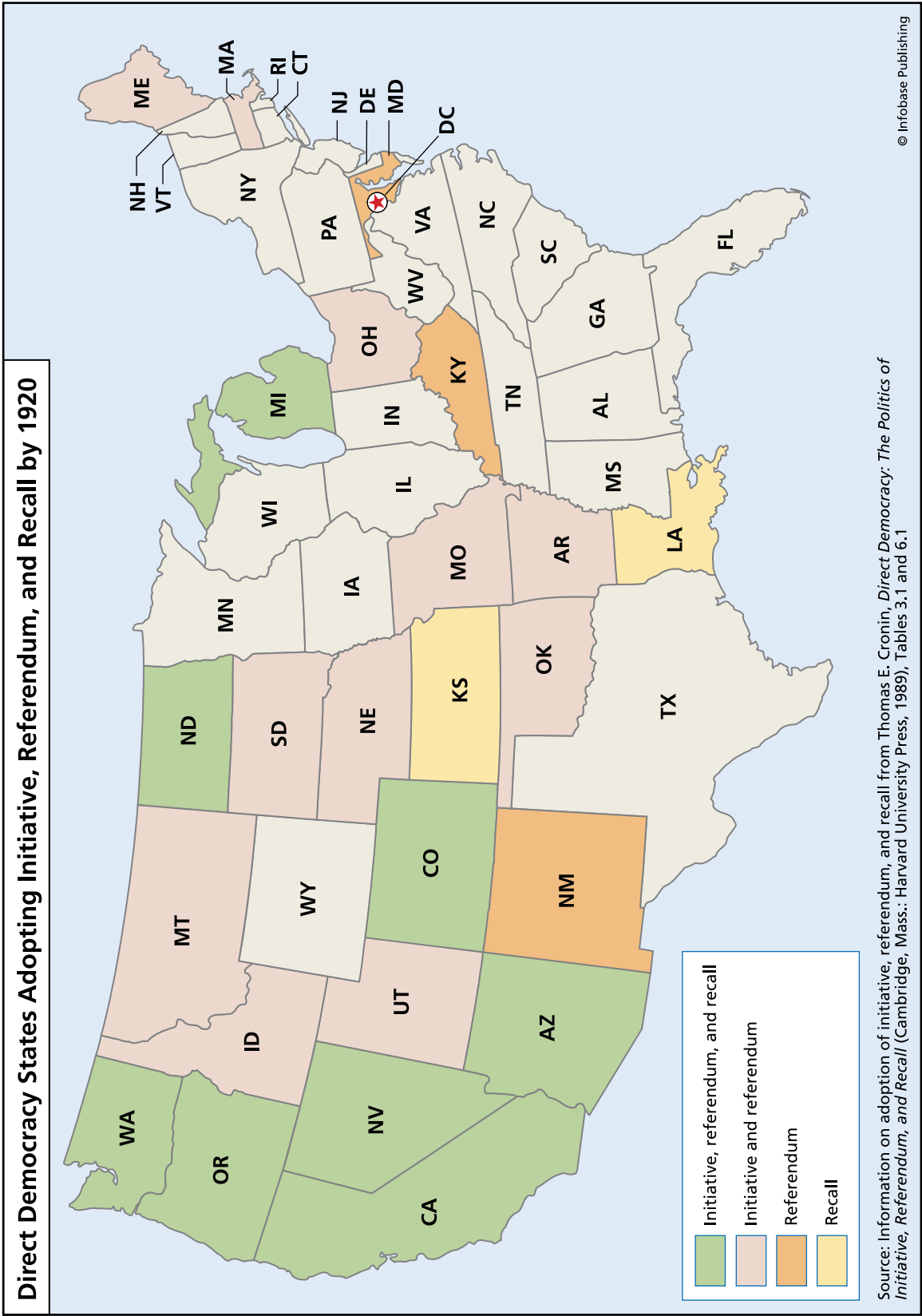




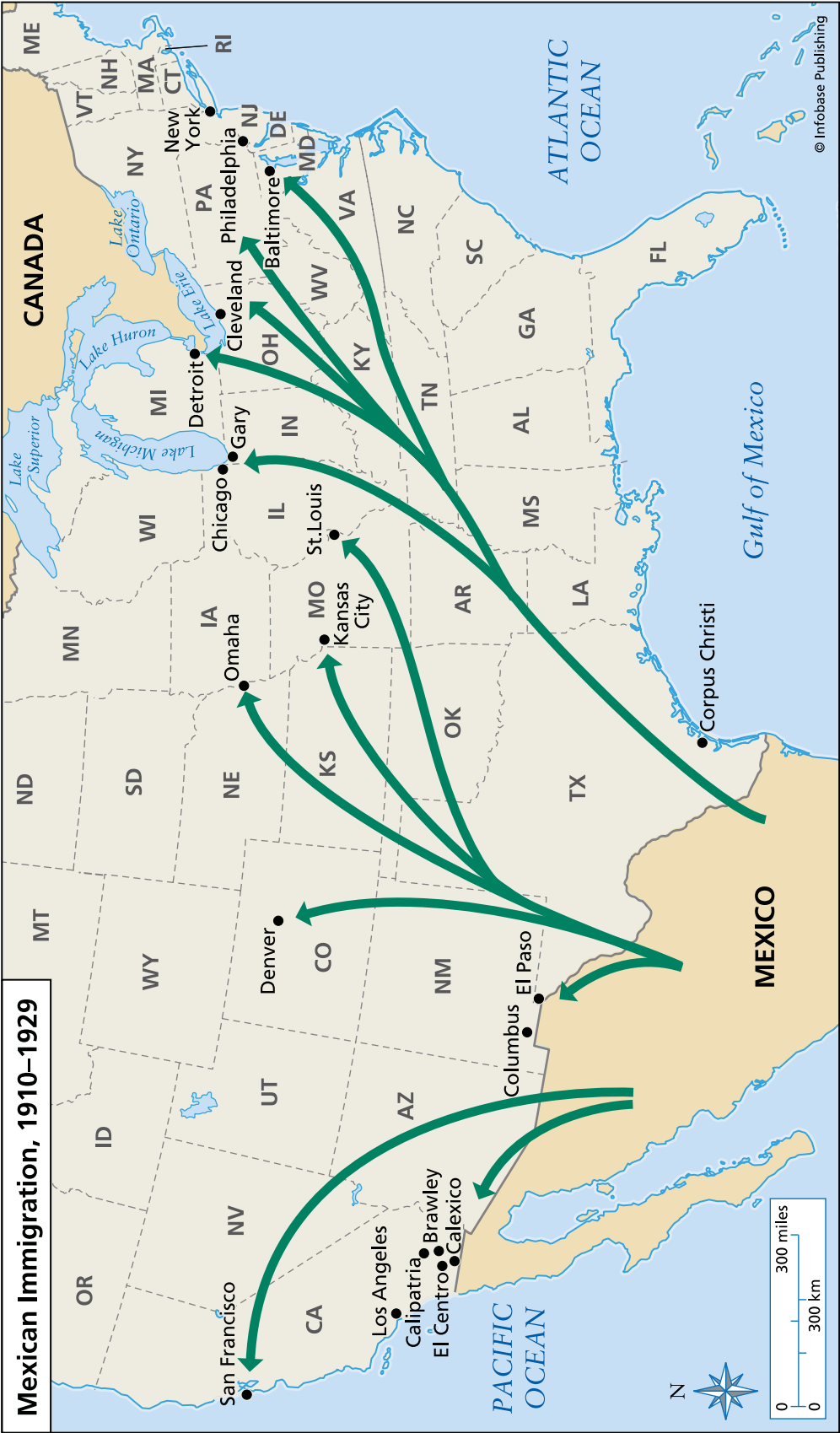


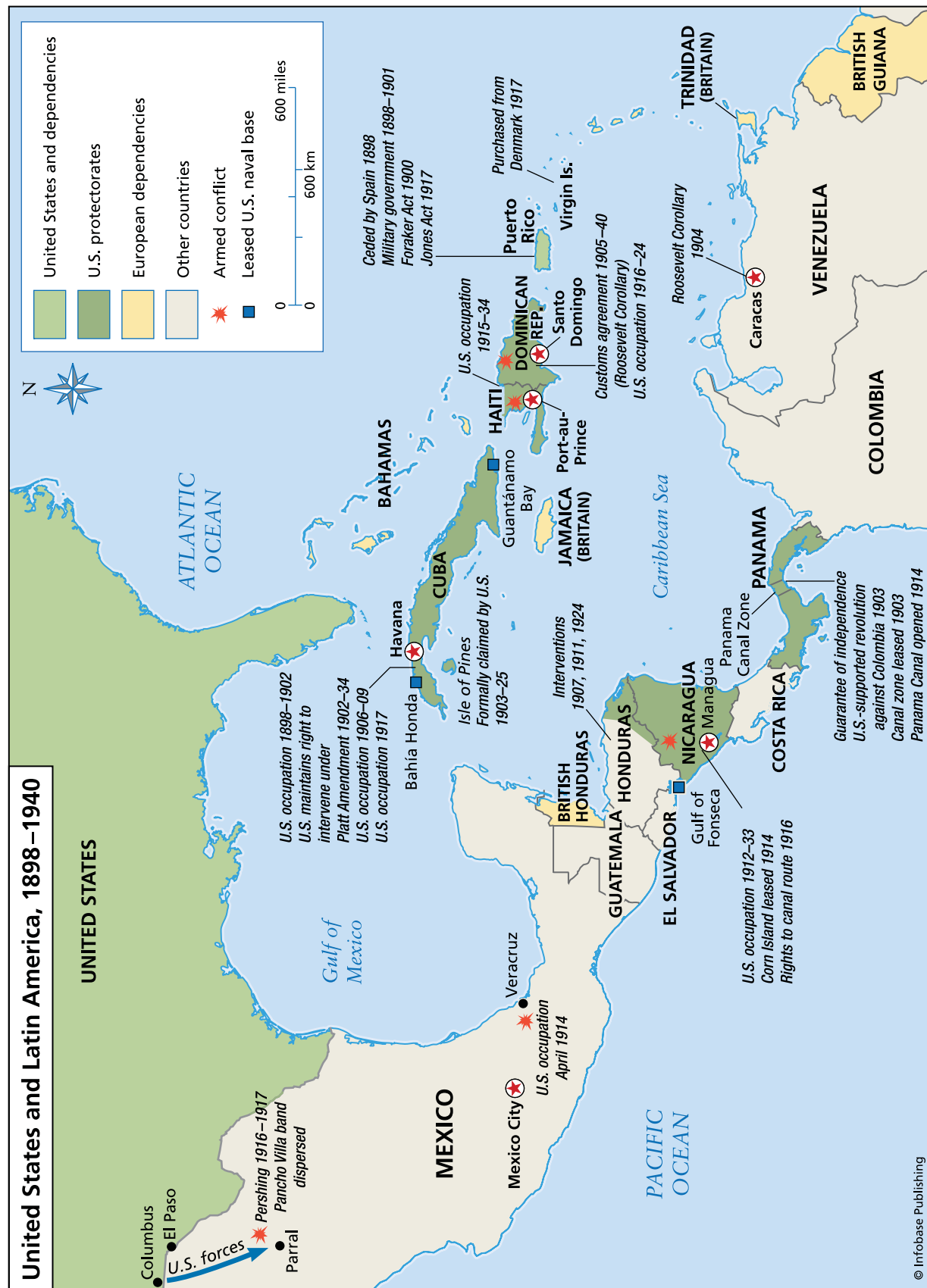


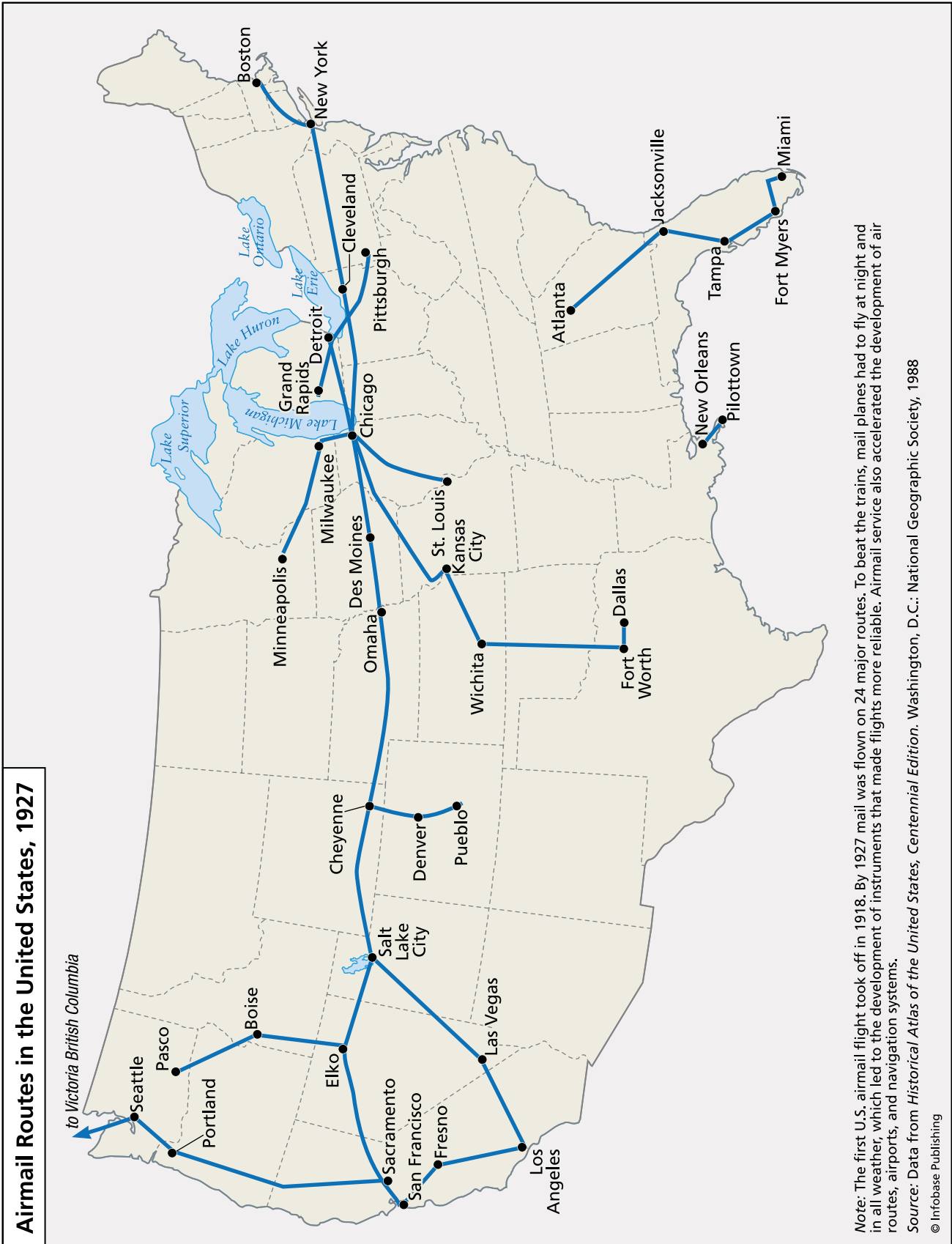


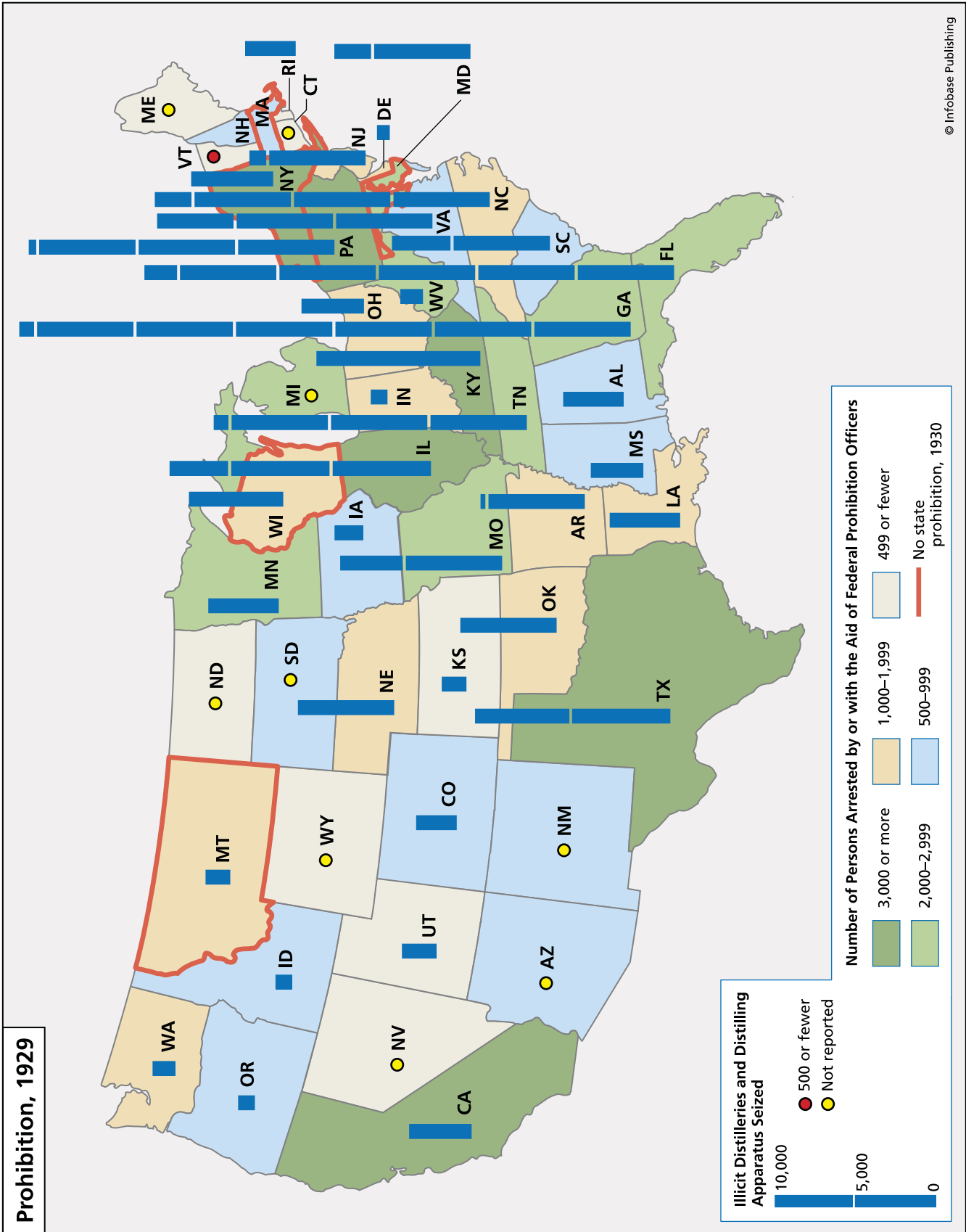














# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Revised Edition

## The Great Depression and World War II 1929 to 1945



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## The Great Depression and World War II 1929 to 1945



John W. Jeffries, Editor  
Katherine Liapis Segrue, Assistant Editor  
Gary B. Nash, General Editor

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The Great Depression and World War II (1929 to 1945)**

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# About the Editors



**General Editor: Gary B. Nash** received a Ph.D. from Princeton University. He is director of the National Center for History in the Schools at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he teaches American history of the colonial and Revolutionary era. He is a published author of college and precollegiate history texts. Among his best-selling works are the coauthored *American People: Creating a Nation and Society* (Longman, 1998), now in its seventh edition; *American Odyssey: The U.S. in the Twentieth Century* (McGraw-Hill/Glencoe, 1999), now in its fourth edition; and *The Atlas of American History*, coauthored with Carter Smith (Facts On File, 2006).

Nash is an elected member of the Society of American Historians, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Antiquarian Society, and the American Philosoph-

ical Society. He has served as past president of the Organization of American Historians in 1994–95 and was a founding member of the National Council for History Education. His latest books include *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (Viking, 2005), and *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Era of Revolution* (Harvard University Press, 2006).

**Volume Editor: John W. Jeffries**, dean of arts, humanities, and social sciences at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, received a Ph.D. from Yale University. He is the author of several books, including *Wartime America: The World War II Home Front* (Ivan Dee, 1996).



# Foreword



The Encyclopedia of American History series is designed as a handy reference to the most important individuals, events, and topics in U.S. history. In 10 volumes, the encyclopedia covers the period from the 15th century, when European explorers first made their way across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas, to the present day. The encyclopedia is written for precollegiate as well as college students, for parents of young learners in the schools, and for the general public. The volume editors are distinguished historians of American history. In writing individual entries, each editor has drawn upon the expertise of scores of specialists. This ensures the scholarly quality of the entire series. Articles contributed by the various volume editors are uncredited.

This 11-volume encyclopedia of “American history” is broadly conceived to include the historical experience of the various peoples of North America. Thus, in the first volume, many essays treat the history of a great range of indigenous people before contact with Europeans. In the same vein, readers will find essays in the first several volumes that sketch Spanish, Dutch, and French explorers and colonizers who opened up territories for European settlement that later would become part of the United States. The venues and cast of characters in the American historical drama are thus widened beyond traditional encyclopedias.

In creating the eras of American history that define the chronological limits of each volume, and in addressing major topics in each era, the encyclopedia follows the architecture of *The National Standards for United States History, Revised Edition* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Mandated by the U.S. Congress, the national standards for U.S. history have been widely used by states and school districts in organizing curricular frameworks and have been followed by many other curriculum-building efforts.

Entries are cross-referenced, when appropriate, with *See also* citations at the end of articles. At the end of most entries, a listing of articles and books allows readers to turn to specialized sources and historical accounts. In each volume, an array of maps provide geographical context, while numerous illustrations help vivify the material covered in the text. A time line is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events occurring in the given era. The selection of historical documents in the back of each volume gives students experience with the raw documents that historians use when researching history. A comprehensive index to each volume also facilitates the reader’s access to particular information.

In each volume, long entries are provided for major categories of American historical experience. These categories may include: African Americans, agriculture, art and architecture, business, economy, education, family life, foreign policy, immigration, labor, Native Americans, politics, population, religion, urbanization, and women. By following these essays from volume to volume, the reader can access what might be called a mini-history of each broad topic, for example, family life, immigration, or religion.

—Gary B. Nash  
University of California, Los Angeles



# Foreword to the Revised Edition



“History has to be rewritten in every generation because, although the past does not change, the present does,” writes Lord Christopher Hill, one of Great Britain’s most eminent historians. “Each generation asks new questions of the past, and finds new areas of sympathy as it re-lives different aspects of the experiences of its predecessors.” It is this understanding, that the pursuit of historical knowledge requires new research and new reflections on the past, that undergirds a revised and extended edition of the *Encyclopedia of American History*.

The individual volume editors of this revised edition have made important additions and revisions to the original edition published in 2003. Most important, they have added many new entries—several hundred for the entire 11-volume set. This puts more meat on the bone of what was already a comprehensive encyclopedia that presented four centuries of American history in all its diversity and complexity. For the 10th volume, covering the period from 1969 to the present, new entries cover momentous events and important figures of the last six years. For the other volumes, new entries increase the diversity of Americans covered by biographical accounts as well as events that new scholarship shows have had greater importance than recognized heretofore.

In addition, careful attention has been given to correcting occasional errors in the massive number of entries in the first edition. Also, many entries have been revised to add further details while making adjustments, based on new scholarship, to the interpretation of key events and movements. Consonant with that effort to make the encyclopedia as fresh and usable as possible, the volume editors have added many new recently published books to the “Further Reading” notes at the ends of the entries, and new full-color historical maps help put history in its geographical context.

—Gary B. Nash



# Introduction



The years from 1929 to 1945 were by any reckoning among the most eventful and important in American history. In barely more than a decade and a half, the United States experienced the Great Depression and World War II—the worst period of hard times in the nation’s history and then the worst war in world history. Having a large and ramifying impact on the United States, the events of the depression and war deeply influenced national life and directions in the decades to follow. For most of the period, moreover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, the most important American president of the 20th century, was in the White House. The Roosevelt administration implemented the New Deal and, with it, the modern American regulatory-welfare state; it made the Democratic Party the nation’s majority party for a generation and more; it managed the wartime mobilization that not only helped win the war but also ended the depression; and it led the United States into a new era of global activism and leadership.

The Great Depression and World War II thus brought pivotal economic, political, diplomatic, and military developments, and the entries in this volume of the *Encyclopedia of American History* reflect that fact. But the period was also one of important social and cultural developments. Demographic patterns; popular culture; the arts and literature; the status and roles of African Americans, women, and immigrant groups—these and other areas of American life also underwent change crucial to the shape of postwar America and receive significant attention in the entries that follow. And in addition to illuminating the importance and impact of the 1929 to 1945 era, the entries in this volume help to explain the period’s important continuities and connections to the pre-1929 past as well as to the post-1945 future.

I am grateful to the many people who helped make this volume possible. Gary Nash of UCLA and Owen Lancer of Facts On File gave me the opportunity to work on the project. Katherine Liapis Segrue, my assistant editor, wrote a number of entries, helped edit the others, and performed a variety of crucial administrative duties. In preparing the first edition, a number of people then in administrative positions at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, made important contributions—Provost Art Johnson, by making essential space available; Policy Sciences Director Marv Mandell and Dean of Arts and Sciences Rick Welch, by enabling Kathy Segrue to work with me; and my department chair, Jim Grubb, by offering numerous kindnesses. Perhaps my greatest debt is to the contributors to this volume, many of them my present and former

students. Working with UMBC undergraduate and graduate students on this project has been a special and rewarding pleasure.

In this enterprise, my family—happily now a larger one—again sustained me and enriched my life. My gratitude for everything they have given to me goes to my wife, Renate; to our children, Martha and Bill, and their spouses, Scott and Amy; and to our grandchildren, Sarah, Julia, Savannah, Christopher, Rebecca, and Jack.

—John W. Jeffries  
Catonsville, Md.



# ENTRIES

## A TO Z





## advertising

Advertising from 1929 to 1945 experienced the challenges of other BUSINESS enterprises in coping with the GREAT DEPRESSION and in adjusting to the priorities and changed circumstances of the WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT.

Advertising revealed important aspects of American culture as well. Both appealing to and influencing the hopes and fears of the American people, advertising patterns also reflected the emergence of RADIO as a central component of both the NEWS MEDIA and the POPULAR CULTURE. Newspapers remained by far the largest venue for advertising, accounting for close to half of advertising expenditures in the 1930s and for about one-third during the war. Direct mail was second for most of the period. By 1939, however, radio had passed magazines for third place, and then by 1944 overtook direct mailing. (After the war, direct mailing reclaimed second place in advertising dollars and television advertising became a major factor in the 1950s.)

As the ECONOMY plummeted in the early 1930s (and advertising expenditures dropped from \$3.4 billion in 1929 to just \$1.3 billion in 1933), advertisers tried various tactics to stimulate buying. Some pursued a tactic of boosterism, hoping to increase purchases by raising morale and confidence in the economy; others took a different tack, trying to capitalize on fears of declining economic and social status by pointing out such perils as an unappealing complexion or unstylish clothing; still others simply tried to enhance the allure of their products. Advertisers also turned increasingly to sophisticated market research and to scientific PUBLIC OPINION POLLS to determine public preferences and how to appeal to them.

The depression brought increased criticism of advertising, consistent with the declining image of business more generally. Some critics suggested that there needed to be truth in advertising regulations similar to the stock market reforms that required full and accurate disclosure. Consumers Research, Inc., was formed to test products and adver-

tising claims, and a splinter group from that organization established the Consumers Union. The FOOD, DRUG, AND COSMETIC ACT of 1938 gave the Food and Drug Administration additional power over labeling and advertising.

Advertising picked up by the middle of the decade and spending on ads rose to \$2.1 billion by 1940, with some of the increase going to marketing the electrical appliances—refrigerators, for example, and washing machines—that continued to transform American homes. (The importance and appeal of such TECHNOLOGY-based consumer goods were reflected in displays at the 1939–40 NEW YORK WORLD’S FAIR.) The federal GOVERNMENT also did its own form of advertising in the 1930s, from the “Blue Eagle” campaign of the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION to publicity for the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT, to the posters for such agencies as the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION and the FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION. Political parties and candidates for office continued election-time advertising as well.

Expenditures on advertising increased further as the economy recovered because of defense MOBILIZATION, but the American entry into WORLD WAR II raised issues for advertisers. Despite the return of prosperity, they worried that there might be little need for advertising when consumer goods were restricted because of war production. Concerned also that the government might take steps to limit advertising for fear that it would contribute to inflation by increasing product costs and consumer demand, advertisers formed the Advertising Council soon after PEARL HARBOR to protect the industry.

The Advertising Council worked with the OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION and other government agencies to support the war effort. Facilitated by the Ad Council, advertising firms donated time and expertise to a sort of domestic PROPAGANDA that promoted WAR BONDS, victory gardens, scrap and fat drives, conservation of food and vital materials, and recruitment of men and women for the armed forces and defense industries. Such contributions

## 2 African Americans

to the war effort, which the Ad Council said amounted to some \$1 billion in services, paid off in continued visibility, increased prestige, and even tax write-offs.

Product advertising continued as well, and painted an appealing picture of the nation as well as of the goods the ads promoted. Expenditures on advertising rose to \$2.9 billion by 1945, and surely would have risen more without the constraints of the war years. Wartime ads depicted American GIs as innocent and decent idealists who would do their duty and win the war, and the home front as a place of hard work, common cause, sacrifice, and old-fashioned values that sustained the GIs and helped speed victory. As the end of the war neared, advertisements portrayed an America rooted in values and patterns of the past but propelled by the free enterprise system into a postwar future of economic abundance and wonderful new consumer goods. As it so often does, advertising both reflected and influenced the culture, for polls showed that most Americans wanted an era in which traditional American ways would continue but the American standard of living would be much better. It was a compelling picture, one that wartime and postwar Americans eagerly pursued.

**Further reading:** Stephen R. Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its Creators* (New York: Morrow, 1984); Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

### African Americans

For African Americans, the era of the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II was one of continuing and sometimes increased difficulties, but also one of achievement and change that laid important groundwork for the postwar CIVIL RIGHTS movement.

During and after World War I, southern blacks in significant numbers left the Jim Crow discrimination, segregation, disfranchisement, and brutality of the SOUTH for the “Promised Land” of the North and the factory jobs that offered a higher standard of living and greater autonomy from whites. This “Great Migration” forever changed the nature of black America. By the mid-20th century African Americans were becoming predominantly urban and non-southern, and a solid, though still small, black middle class had begun to emerge.

Urbanization was crucial to bringing down the wall restraining African Americans from full and equal access to the opportunities and benefits of American life. In 1928, Oscar DePriest, a Chicago Republican, became the first African American elected to CONGRESS from the North and the first black member of Congress since 1901. Growing political clout was further demonstrated when in 1930



Most Americans suffered greatly during the depression of the 1930s, but blacks, especially those in rural areas, were the hardest hit. Shown here is an evicted sharecropper with her baby. (*Library of Congress*)

the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) helped turn back President HERBERT HOOVER’s nomination to the SUPREME COURT of John J. Parker, who had made racially prejudiced statements. Parker’s defeat prompted African Americans to focus on other unfriendly politicians, often effectively. The NAACP also had some significant successes with lawsuits and Supreme Court decisions in the 1930s and 1940s that began to erode legalized Jim Crow. The NAACP and other black leaders failed, however, to get federal ANTILYNCHING LEGISLATION through Congress.

By 1932, black voters were well along in the shift that had begun in 1928 from the REPUBLICAN PARTY to the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, and by 1936 they had become an integral part of the “Roosevelt Coalition” that made the Democrats the new majority party of the country. Symbolic of this change in party allegiance, a black Democrat, Arthur W. Mitchell, won DePriest’s congressional seat in



1934. This shift reflected dissatisfaction with the inattention, if not open hostility, of the party of Lincoln to the racial situation in America. Where Hoover had seemingly tried to build a “lily-white” Republican Party in the South, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT appointed more African Americans to significant GOVERNMENT positions than any prior president. An unofficial “BLACK CABINET” emerged in the Roosevelt administration to give advice on issues critical to African Americans and to recruit other blacks to government.

Indicative, however, of the ambivalent attitude and actions of the NEW DEAL on racial issues, the Black Cabinet was sometimes rebuffed by FDR and forced to see his subordinates. At other times, they sought access through the president’s wife, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT. She made her most famous gesture of support for African Americans in 1939, when she resigned from the Daughters of the American Revolution after the DAR refused to allow the singer Marian Anderson to give a concert recital in its Constitution Hall in Washington. Secretary of the Interior HAROLD ICKES offered an alternative site, and Anderson sang instead on Easter Sunday on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. Mrs. Roosevelt was especially close to MARY McLEOD BETHUNE, leader of the Black Cabinet and head of the National Council of Negro Women, inviting her to the White House over the protest of white southern Democrats.

Although the Harlem Renaissance that defined “the New Negro” as poised and self-reliant was winding down by the end of the 1920s, it prompted many writers to continue producing. Writer and folklorist ZORA NEALE HURSTON published her best works during the depression decade of the 1930s, most importantly *Their Eyes Were Watching God* in 1937. The saga of the strong-willed, independent Janie’s journey of self-discovery attracted considerable attention. Even better known was RICHARD WRIGHT’s 1940 novel *Native Son*, a gripping examination of the effects of racial oppression upon a hapless young man named Bigger Thomas and the black community around him. The JAZZ that flourished during the Harlem Renaissance continued to influence American MUSIC as more and more whites listened to the swing music of DUKE ELLINGTON, Count Basie, Cab Calloway, and many others.

Despite such obvious achievements, life was often grim for African Americans. In the infamous 1931 SCOTTSBORO BOYS case, nine black youths were unjustly accused of raping two white women while riding a freight train through Alabama. Their hasty convictions and death sentences illustrated the inequalities of the justice system, especially but not exclusively in the South, where lynch law remained a problem. (Twice, however, the Supreme Court overturned the Alabama decisions and ordered retrials, and eventually all nine regained their freedom.) During the 1930s and 1940s, black workers encountered continuing resistance

from LABOR unions in gaining admission. The new CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO) was often helpful, however, and black workers were able, for example, to gain increased entry in the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY with the support of the United Automobile Workers.

The depression that caused so much havoc hit African Americans well before it descended upon the rest of the country. By the time the stock market crashed in 1929, many black workers were already experiencing hard times—and things then got worse, as black Americans were laid off from jobs in disproportionately high numbers. By 1932, half the black workers in the urban South were out of work. In 1934, roughly two of every five black workers were unemployed, twice the national level. Black farmers and farm workers in the South similarly saw a bad situation turn worse.

New Deal programs aided distressed blacks and reestablished federal government support of African Americans, though typically with limits and discrimination. The CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS (CCC), for example, maintained segregated facilities but, nevertheless, employed young black men. The NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION (NYA) had programs for black youths, though kept them separate from whites. The NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (some blacks said NRA stood for “Negroes Ruined Again”) countenanced racial disparities in wages. Agencies granting mortgages and business loans extended them to blacks with the proviso they live and operate in segregated areas. The AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION (AAA) gave little support to black farmers in the South. Blacks were included in New Deal RELIEF programs, though often the help given was not commensurate with need.

Given the status of race relations at the time, New Deal support of African Americans, limited and uneven though it may have been, provided an important start for government intervention on behalf of blacks. Racial discrimination in New Deal programs often came at the local level, in the North as well as the South, and New Deal officials found it difficult to overcome resistance—though many did not try. Important members of the Roosevelt administration, including Harold Ickes and HARRY HOPKINS, did, however, urge more attention to blacks and to racial prejudice, as did Eleanor Roosevelt.

World War II brought more and better jobs to black workers. First fired during the Depression, blacks were typically last hired during wartime economic MOBILIZATION, but the shortage of workers did eventually lead to their increased presence in the industrial work force. Roughly one million black men and women served in the armed forces, and the U.S. ARMY and U.S. NAVY began to relax some of the discrimination and segregation that marked the wartime military. Black GIs fought with distinction under



Shown here are Negro Air Corps cadets in an advanced flying class. (*National Archives*)

General GEORGE S. PATTON. Best known were the Tuskegee Airmen, the “Fighting 99th” Pursuit Squadron, organized in 1941, and the 332nd Fighter Group. Trained under separate and adverse conditions, these airmen proved their abilities time and again, both as escorts and active fighters. In Europe, the army experimented with platoon-level troop integration. Despite its success, the policy was largely abandoned until President Harry S. Truman desegregated the military.

On the home front, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, president of the BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, pressured Roosevelt to end discrimination in the defense mobilization effort with his 1941 MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT (MOWM). Randolph threatened a march of as many as 100,000 black protestors in the nation’s capital if the president did not take corrective action against discrimination in defense hiring and the armed forces. Not wanting international embarrassment, FDR issued EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802 in June 1941, banning discrimination in

government and government contractors and establishing the FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE (FEPC) to enforce the order. The wartime labor shortage probably made more difference in increasing black employment, but these were important steps.

In other ways, too, black protest increased during the war. Such protest was fueled by the irony African Americans felt in the nation fighting a war against the Nazis and their master race philosophy under America’s own system of racial supremacy. Black newspapers thus publicized the “Double-V” campaign—victory abroad over the AXIS but also victory at home over Jim Crow. The NAACP grew from 50,000 to 450,000 members during the war. Though some protest took place in the South, the renewed migration of blacks out of the rural South and toward the centers of defense industry in the North and on the West Coast gave blacks more opportunity for activism than in the repressive South. And given prejudice and discrimination in the North as well as the South, they had reason for protest.

Black-white tensions remained high, and sometimes increased, as African Americans moved to crowded war-boom cities. Municipal police forces often acted more like occupying armies in the “colored sections” of American cities. Whenever blacks left these ghettos, even for employment or school, they were regarded with suspicion and harassment. Vicious race riots broke out in 1943 that left many dead in Harlem and Detroit over discrimination that underscored the reluctance of white America to accede to any more than minimal racial opportunity. The massive and enormously important examination of America’s racial problem in the 1944 two-volume study by the Swedish economist GUNNAR MYRDAL, *An American Dilemma*, put the onus for racial problems squarely on white shoulders and set the tone for racial inquiry for years to come.

The difficulties, disappointments, and frustrations of the Great Depression and World War II, and also the progress, changes, and hopes of the era, contributed to a surge of determination that World War II had provided the opportunity for equality for which blacks had long been waiting. The result was the postwar Civil Rights movement. The first signal accomplishment of the decades-long struggle to reverse legalized Jim Crow came with the unanimous Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) reversing *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) that had sanctioned racial segregation.

See also AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT; CITIES AND URBAN LIFE; POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

**Further reading:** Dan T. Carter, *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969); Richard M. Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939–1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969); John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, 6th ed. (New York: Knopf, 1988); John B. Kirby, *Black Americans in the Roosevelt Era: Liberalism and Race* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980); Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Nancy J. Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln: Black Politics in the Age of FDR* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983); Neil A. Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War*, rev. ed. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1993).

—Howard Smead

### Agricultural Adjustment Act (1933)

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT signed the Agricultural Adjustment Act into law on May 12, 1933, during the first Hundred Days of the NEW DEAL. The result-

ing AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION was, together with the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION for industry, central to the effort of the FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933 to achieve economic recovery by means of planning and controls.

By 1933, American AGRICULTURE was in crisis. Overproduction and declining foreign markets after World War I had resulted in low prices and profits for American farmers during the 1920s. The 1929 AGRICULTURAL MARKETING ACT of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY proved unable to curtail production or protect prices, and then the GREAT DEPRESSION produced disastrous conditions for farmers. By 1933, farm income had fallen by some 60 percent from 1929, hundreds of thousands of farm mortgages were being foreclosed, and small farmers were in an especially desperate situation. The farmers’ plight had become so desperate that loud and sometimes violent protests erupted throughout rural America, and a number of agricultural states passed moratorium laws preventing farm foreclosures.

With farmers roughly one-fourth of the work force and agriculture vital to the nation’s ECONOMY, a variety of solutions were suggested to ease the farmer’s plight. One idea was to use the protective tariff to reserve the U.S. agricultural market for American farmers, and have a government agency “dump” surplus crops onto foreign markets. A second idea was simply to have farmers cut back on production in order to free themselves from surpluses that depressed prices, with the federal GOVERNMENT “advising” the agricultural sector. Some argued for currency inflation to raise the price of farm goods. Montana State College economist M. L. Wilson offered another approach, the domestic allotment plan, in which the federal government would pay farmers who voluntarily reduced acreage of certain crops and would finance the program by taxing the processors of farm products. As the situation deteriorated, the new concept of domestic allotment found increasing favor among many farming authorities. Eventually the most vocal exponent became HENRY A. WALLACE, editor of *Wallace’s Farmer*, who advocated its adoption in numerous farm publications. In 1932, Wallace convinced a Chicago conference of farm leaders and economists of not only the concept’s validity but also its relevance to solving the widespread problems. His visibility on the issue and the urgency with which he addressed it also brought him to the attention of incoming president Franklin D. Roosevelt, who considered him for a cabinet appointment.

Roosevelt and his new administration had a particular concern about agriculture in order to achieve a balanced economy and restore prosperity. FDR had endorsed the domestic allotment plan during the ELECTION OF 1932, influenced by agricultural advisers Henry A. Wallace and REXFORD G. TUGWELL. After his election, Roosevelt met with farm leaders, expressed his support for wide-ranging



## 6 Agricultural Adjustment Act

agricultural legislation, and directed Wallace to draft a bill for introduction into CONGRESS. Wallace drew up legislation that incorporated a variety of approaches, and soon after its submission in March, the House of Representatives passed the bill without change. To head off efforts by Senate inflationists to include the unlimited coinage of silver in the bill, Roosevelt endorsed legislation introduced by Democratic senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma giving discretionary authority to increase the money supply by reducing the gold content of the dollar, by coining silver, or by issuing up to \$3 billion in paper money not backed by precious metal of any kind. With the Thomas amendment, Congress passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act on April 28, 1933, and Roosevelt signed the bill on May 12.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act had three sections. Title I was the domestic allotment plan, in which the government entered into agreements with growers of basic commodities (corn, cotton, hogs, milk, rice, tobacco, wheat) to reduce production. Producers would receive a “parity” price, which provided the same purchasing power farmers had enjoyed during the so-called golden age of agriculture from 1909 to 1914. This would be financed initially by \$100 million and then by taxes on farm processors (millers, canners, and the like). Title II provided for federally funded emergency, low-interest mortgage payments to farmers who faced foreclosure and eviction from their homes and land, an issue of immediate importance because of growing agricultural debt, attempts to “stave off the sheriff,” and threats of a nationwide farmers’ strike. Title III incorporated the Thomas amendment, and in addition, the bill created the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), which would oversee New Deal farm policy.

Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace named George N. Peek, a farm implements manufacturer who had championed the plan to dump farm surpluses abroad, as AAA administrator. Following disagreements with Wallace over AAA policy, Peek was fired in December 1933 and replaced by Chester Davis, who supported the acreage reduction approach. By 1934, more than three million farmers were participating in AAA programs, organized into more than 4,000 local associations at the county level, especially in Midwestern states, to implement production controls. Together with other New Deal farm programs—the FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION to save farm mortgages, for example—the AAA helped stabilize American agriculture.

From the beginning, however, the AAA was embroiled in controversy involving both external criticism and internal dissension. With AAA payments going largely to big farmers and landlords, who often took land out of production that was being farmed by tenants, sharecroppers, and other small farmers, a number of critics complained that the AAA ignored suffering small farmers. NORMAN THOMAS, other SOCIALISTS, and the SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION

that they helped found criticized the AAA for neglecting the rural Southern poor, especially sharecroppers. Inside the AAA, a group of liberal reformers led by Legal Division head Jerome Frank attempted to shift policy to give more help to tenant farmers but were fired in 1935 by Chester Davis, who feared alienating big farmers and their powerful (largely southern) allies in Congress.

Critics of the AAA also included agricultural processors, who objected to the processing tax. The constitutionality of the levy was at issue when the SUPREME COURT, in January 1936, struck down the processing tax—and the Agricultural Adjustment Act itself—ruling that such a tax was an improper exercise of the federal government’s power. The Court also held that agriculture was local production and did not fall under the regulatory power of Congress, which had authority only over interstate commerce, not local production or intrastate commerce.

Congress moved quickly to pass a new farm bill in 1936, the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, that provided benefits to farmers who practiced soil conservation (and limited the production of staple cash crops) by growing such soil-building crops as grasses rather than soil-depleting crops like wheat and cotton. However, the program failed when an insufficient number of farmers signed on to voluntary production limits. Consequently, in 1936 cotton yielded a bumper crop that further depressed market prices. Farmers producing wheat, corn, and tobacco also suffered low prices brought on by overproduction. But Secretary Wallace, rather than consider demands for higher subsidies, fewer production restrictions, and dumping surpluses abroad, worked with the president to devise new remedies. In 1938, Congress passed another Agricultural Adjustment Act, which eliminated processing taxes, allowed compulsory production controls (if they were approved by the farmers themselves), established the ever-normal granary plan allowing the government to advance loans on surplus crops at prices slightly below parity levels, and implemented federal crop insurance. It also established four regional laboratories in California, Illinois, Louisiana, and Pennsylvania that specialized in agricultural research for improving soil quality and enhancing productivity. In March 1938 the government sponsored elections for farmers to vote on the new compulsory marketing quotas, and they passed overwhelmingly. But even with these new restraints, crop surpluses continued multiplying, and the government found it necessary to dump vast quantities of wheat and cotton on foreign markets throughout 1938 and 1939.

Though the Agricultural Adjustment Act helped big farmers more than small ones and though the recovery of farm prices and the agricultural sector owed at least as much to drought and then to heightened demand during WORLD WAR II as it did to AAA policy, the Agricultural



Adjustment Act of 1933 and its successors laid the foundations for American farm policy in the postwar era.

**Further reading:** David Hamilton, *From New Day to New Deal: American Farm Policy from Hoover to Roosevelt, 1928–1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Van L. Perkins, *Crisis in Agriculture: The Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the New Deal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964); Theodore Saloutos, *The American Farmer and the New Deal* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1982).

—William J. Thompson

### Agricultural Adjustment Administration

When the GREAT DEPRESSION struck in 1929, AGRICULTURE had been reeling from overproduction and declining commodity prices since the end of World War I. To this crisis was now added massive national UNEMPLOYMENT, reduced markets abroad, and the rising expenses and credit necessary to operate modern, highly mechanized farms. The administration of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT was determined in its efforts to assist struggling farmers and make farming once again profitable, but it had first to surmount deep-seated constitutional and ideological objections to enlarging the federal government's role in daily life. Yet, CONGRESS convened an emergency session on March 9, 1933, to try to head off a complete collapse of the nation's agricultural industry. The result was passage of the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT on May 12, 1933, which established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA). This enacted several novel ideas that had been floated throughout the 1920s but not enacted, including voluntary production limitations for cotton, corn, wheat, hogs, tobacco, rice, and dairy products, which were invoked to drive up commodity prices. Moreover, participating farmers were subsidized by the federal GOVERNMENT for letting fields lay fallow and reducing their herd size. The government, which had levied a new tax on industrial processors of the aforementioned products, would mail farmers a monthly check based on the "parity" price ratios of the pre-World War I era. In effect, farmers would be paid not to produce certain crops. The government anticipated that through such voluntary reductions, parity prices for key commodities would be achieved and a pending collapse of the farming sector averted.

Implementation of the AAA's program may have been well-intended, but it triggered a firestorm of public criticism. Coming at a time when workers were hard-pressed to find employment, many were outraged that the government enacted policies specifically designed to make basic necessities like food more expensive. Many of the programs also struck others as extremely wasteful in a time

of general shortages. Slaughtering 6 million pigs and then disposing of their remains, along with ploughing under 10 million acres of cotton, may have made sense economically, but it rankled public opinion and further stoked conservative opposition to what was perceived as rising tyrannical bureaucracy. In practice, AAA policies primarily benefited the major planters and growers, who received large subsidies from the government, purchased additional tractors and machinery, and laid off unskilled laborers. Small farmers gained precious little to remedy their plight, and many accused the AAA of serving the interests of the American Farm Bureau Federation, which represented large commercial farmers. Nonetheless, millions of participants signed up by 1934, since a government check had become their only guaranteed source of income. That year the program was expanded to add barley, rye, peanuts, flax, cattle, and sorghum to the list of basic commodities subject to production limits.

Despite vocal criticism among conservative politicians, the AAA found its greatest challenge in the courts. On January 6, 1936, the U. S. SUPREME COURT found the act in violation of the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution and declared it unconstitutional. The Court held that farm problems were local in nature, not national, and therefore lay beyond the realm of congressional authority. The Roosevelt administration reacted quickly by passing the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act on February 29, 1936. This new bill had essentially the same objectives as the AAA, for it paid farmers to take acreage out of production—but now in the name of soil conservation. Where crops were grown, greater emphasis was placed on soil-building plants such as grass and legumes. Furthermore, all land laying fallow would be leased to the government, which subsequently made subsidies in the form of rent payment to participants. Stiff production quotas were also imposed on specific crops once two-thirds of all farmers had agreed to participate. However, despite the government's best efforts, 1936 proved a bumper crop for cotton, and prices collapsed. Wheat, corn, and tobacco production also rose so that prices remained depressed. Two years later Congress was forced to pass a new Agricultural Adjustment Act, which funded the program through general revenues instead of processing taxes. The Commodity Credit Corporation was also created to make loans on surplus crops just below parity prices and also allowed farmers to store crops at government expense until market prices hit or exceeded parity levels.

All told, the AAA failed to solve the agricultural sector's principal problem: huge crop surpluses. Moreover, farm commodity prices rose only to about 80 percent of parity prices by 1939. Large farmers profited most, at the expense of tenants, sharecroppers, and farm workers. But government subsidies nonetheless allowed average farming

## 8 Agricultural Marketing Act

households to double their annual income by 1940, and the infusion of \$4.5 billion throughout the crisis proved sufficient to forestall a major agricultural collapse. Farmers' prospects brightened considerably with the onset of WORLD WAR II, when focus of the AAA shifted to maximum production to meet wartime demands. And, thanks to their previous efforts at helping preserve the agricultural industry, American farmers proved fully capable of dramatically expanding food production and feeding the nation and many of its allies for the duration of the conflict. In sum, the AAA was hardly a completely successful story, but direct government subsidies have since become a standard feature of modern American agribusiness.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Agricultural Marketing Act (1929)

The Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929 was the effort, ultimately unsuccessful, of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY to solve the problem of overproduction and declining prices that had afflicted American AGRICULTURE in the 1920s.

As he had promised during his 1928 campaign for the White House, President HERBERT C. HOOVER made addressing the farm problem one of the priorities of his administration. He convened a special session of CONGRESS in April 1929 and asked for a new agricultural policy, but one that would not rely on GOVERNMENT taxes and subsidies as had the proposed McNary-Haugen bills of the 1920s. Consistent with his philosophy of government, Hoover also wanted a farm policy that rested upon private and voluntary efforts, with government providing assistance but not imposing controls.

On June 15, the Agricultural Marketing Act was signed into law. It created a Federal Farm Board, funded at \$500 million, to provide technical assistance to farmers and to lend money to support existing agricultural cooperatives and establish new ones. The cooperatives could buy equipment more cheaply than individual farmers; they could coordinate voluntary production agreements among farmers; and they could manage sales to keep prices up and middlemen charges down. The cooperatives could also form crop stabilization corporations that were eligible for Farm Board

loans to enable them to buy surplus crops, store them, and put them on the market in an orderly fashion that would keep prices as high as possible.

The Agricultural Marketing Act was a creative and unprecedented effort to address the problems of farmers, and one that avoided direct government intervention to curtail production or support prices. Yet it failed because it lacked adequate power over production—and also sufficient funds for the stabilization corporations to take the mounting farm surpluses off the market, despite what seemed the huge sum of \$500 million. The situation was made more difficult by the fact that in such staple crops as wheat and cotton there was a glut on the world, not just the national, market. American farmers (and also those abroad) continued to produce at high levels, the onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION reduced consumer spending, and the Farm Board's resources were soon overwhelmed. In 1931, the Farm Board and key stabilization corporations abandoned efforts to keep surpluses off the markets. Prices plunged still further, and the crisis in agriculture grew worse. With the defeat of Hoover in the ELECTION OF 1932, it fell to the new president, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, and the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT of 1933 to deal with the problem of farm production and farm prices.

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### agriculture

The period from 1929 to 1945 brought major changes to American agriculture. The onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION dramatically worsened the difficulties that many American farmers had experienced in the 1920s. From 1929 to 1933, despite efforts of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY, farm income plummeted and small farmers in particular experienced great hardship. The AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT and other NEW DEAL measures provided assistance and created a new and permanent role of the federal GOVERNMENT in agriculture. WORLD WAR II then brought recovery to the agricultural sector as well as to the ECONOMY overall. The events of the depression and the war also hastened MIGRATION out of rural America, spurred technological change, and augmented the economic and political power of large agribusiness. Thus, in a number of ways, American agriculture was significantly different in 1945 from what it had been in 1929.

When the Great Depression struck in 1929, many farmers were already suffering from hard times that had marked much of the 1920s. After World War I, increased domestic agricultural production, growing competition in

world markets, and declining demand for American agricultural products, combined to drive many agricultural prices, especially in such staple products as cotton and wheat, to extremely low levels. Farmers who saw their incomes shrink typically attempted to make up the difference by increasing production, which, in the absence of new markets, only drove down prices even further. Many small farmers had difficulties paying taxes and mortgages, and foreclosures and tenancy increased.

By the mid-1920s, most analysts realized that the best way to increase agricultural prices was to reduce or eliminate the growing agricultural surpluses. CONGRESS twice passed versions of the McNary-Haugen bill, designed to reduce agricultural surpluses and raise domestic prices by creating a government corporation to purchase surplus agricultural products and sell them on the world market at greatly reduced prices. President Calvin Coolidge vetoed both McNary-Haugen bills on the grounds that they involved improper federal subsidy of agriculture and would invite economic retaliation from other nations.

Coolidge's successor, President HERBERT C. HOOVER, then made the agricultural problem an early top priority of his administration. In June 1929, Hoover signed the AGRICULTURAL MARKETING ACT, which authorized the president to appoint a Federal Farm Board, funded at \$500 million, to help farmers create marketing cooperatives that might regulate production and sales of farm goods and thus keep prices up. Although the legislation marked a significant new departure, it relied upon voluntary action by farmers and lacked sufficient funds. Production therefore continued to rise and commodity prices and farmer incomes continued to fall—disastrously so, once the depression hit.

The net income of American farmers plummeted from \$7 billion in 1929 to only \$2.5 billion in 1932. By 1930, more than 25 percent of farmers produced less than \$600 worth of farm products a year, and an even higher percentage lived in primitive and isolated conditions. Few farmers even had electricity or running water. Farm tenancy rose sharply again in the early 1930s with new waves of foreclosures because of farmers' inability to pay their taxes and mortgages. By 1933, banks were foreclosing on some 20,000 farm mortgages monthly, and thousands of small, undercapitalized country banks had failed, while thousands were barely solvent. With farmer incomes dropping and with land values down by 40 percent, the chances that farmers would be able to secure additional sources of funding quickly vanished. As the Great Depression worsened, farmers experienced abandoned homesteads, collapsing prices, longer working hours, buildings and equipment in disrepair, a lack of cash or credit, and a rising wave of political discontent.

Compounding this economic disaster was an ongoing environmental one. Overfarming, overgrazing, and overtill-

age depleted the soil of moisture and nutrients, resulting in accelerated topsoil loss. This trend was further exacerbated by the onset of prolonged and destructive dry spells commencing in 1931, with recurring episodes in 1934, 1936, and 1939–40. In fact, poor management of arboreal areas and the ensuing loss of trees allowed winds to gradually remove and redeposit millions of tons of fertile topsoil. The region hardest hit involved 27 states ranging from the Great Plains to the SOUTH and Southwest, whose distress only complicated already depressed conditions there. Many small farmers, faced with the prospect of working parched earth, simply abandoned their plots and allowed the winds to carry off more valuable topsoil. In April 1935, a massive dust storm blanketed 100 million acres across the Midwest and West. The ensuing "DUST BOWL" conditions, replete with crop failures, livestock die-offs, and respiratory ailments, finally triggered the wholesale abandonment of subsistence farms. This flight culminated in the migration of hundreds of thousands of "Okies," or dispossessed dirt farmers, to California in search of better lives.

By the time FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT assumed the presidency in March 1933, the economic crisis of American agriculture had thus reached crisis proportions. The sheer magnitude of the crisis prompted Roosevelt to propose direct federal intervention to return agriculture to prosperity. The strategy and programs he gradually adopted involved government planning, production, distribution, and financial subsidies, all on a scale never previously attempted by any administration. The centerpiece of the New Deal agricultural policy of Roosevelt and Secretary of Agriculture HENRY A. WALLACE was the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION (AAA). Created in 1933 by the Agricultural Adjustment Act, this agency attempted to raise agricultural prices to what was called "parity." This meant that prices of agricultural and nonagricultural goods would have the same relation as they did in the "golden age of agriculture" baseline years from 1909 to 1914, and thus farmers would gain more actual purchasing power. To accomplish this, the AAA made benefit payments to farmers for limiting acreage under production—in effect paying farmers not to produce the surpluses as well as raising prices by limiting production. AAA helped reduce surpluses and raise prices, though it assisted large farmers more than small ones, and tenants, sharecroppers, and farm laborers often got little or no help.

In January 1936, the SUPREME COURT invalidated the Agricultural Adjustment Act, on grounds that the processing tax used to raise money for the benefit payments was unconstitutional and that agricultural production was local production beyond the power of the federal government to regulate. In February 1936, Congress responded by passing the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, which paid farmers to take land out of production—but ostensibly

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to conserve soil, not limit production—with the money to come from the government's general fund rather than from a processing tax. The net effect of these programs rendered many farmers better off than they had been four years earlier, even if the improvement was only marginal. Consequently, they delivered some three-fifths of the farm vote to Roosevelt's reelection bid in 1936.

In February 1938, Congress passed another Agricultural Adjustment Act. This new law expanded the soil conservation programs under the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act. It offered crop insurance to wheat producers to protect them against drought, and gave the secretary of agriculture power to authorize crop loans and impose marketing quotas. It also approved the idea of Secretary of Agriculture Wallace to develop an "ever-normal granary," which would be used to store surplus crops, thereby taking surpluses off the market and ensuring adequate food in the event of a crop failure.

A number of other New Deal programs also sought to help farmers. In May 1933, President Roosevelt created the FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION to help increase the amount of credit available to farmers and make it easier for farmers to pay off debts. That same month Congress established the TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY, which built dams, improved flood control, implemented better land-use practices, and brought cheap hydroelectric power to farmers in the Tennessee Valley. In October 1933, the president created the Commodity Credit Corporation, which allowed farmers to borrow money from the federal government with the understanding that if commodity prices did not rise, the government would take a farmer's crops in lieu of the unpaid loans and would still be willing to lend money to the farmer in the following year.

In April 1935, Roosevelt established the RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION to relocate struggling farmers from submarginal land that had been depleted by overfarming, mining, and drought, to new land with fertile soil. In 1937, the Resettlement Administration was absorbed into the FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, which also provided farmers with debt reduction assistance, technical support, and loans to buy land or equipment. The RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION, which the president established in May 1935, brought electrical power to millions of farmers by making low interest loans to private electrical companies if they agreed to extend their power lines into thinly populated RURAL AREAS.

Ultimately, the expansion of electric service revolutionized life in rural America. In 1934, only 10 percent of American farms had electricity; by 1950, more than 90 percent did. Nonetheless, chronic difficulties, the depression, the dust bowl, and then the new industrial jobs produced by World War II led to a significant migration of people from rural to urban America that reinforced the long-term

redistribution of the population toward urban areas. From 1930 to 1950, the number of people working in agriculture fell from 10.3 million to 7.5 million—and from 23 percent to 12 percent of the nation's workers.

Advances in SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, and MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH in the 1929–45 era helped to resolve problems that had long beset agriculture. Traditionally, farmers could only watch as diseases killed their animals and crops, insects ate their harvests, and weeds overtook their pastures. Drought, frost, or storms could easily destroy an entire year's harvest in a matter of days. These situations cost American farmers millions of dollars each year, and for the growing number of farmers living on the verge of financial ruin in the 1930s, a natural disaster could easily mean the difference between impoverishment and economic prosperity.

In 1928, Alexander Fleming discovered penicillin, which by the end of World War II had replaced sulfa drugs as the principal antibiotic used in America and allowed the United States to bring under control many diseases, such as bovine tuberculosis, that had ravaged livestock as well as people for centuries. In 1943, a Swiss company also introduced the insecticide DDT to America, and two years later, the United States began marketing the herbicide 2,4-dichlorophenoxyacetic acid (shortened to 2,4,-D in 1945). Furthermore, the development of better plant varieties and fertilizers allowed American farmers to double, and in some cases even triple, the yields of some crops. Improved livestock care and breeding techniques also increased the amount of meat and milk animals produced. And the use of tractors and other labor-saving devices not only sharply reduced the need for manual labor, but also reduced the time needed for planting, harvesting, and general upkeep—and contributed to the migration of farm workers from rural to urban areas.

Lastly, advances in TRANSPORTATION—along with new food processing techniques, such as the large-scale use of metal cans and frozen foods—made it easier to preserve food for long trips. This helped to produce new food distribution methods, such as the emergence of large supermarket chains, as well as changes in the nation's diet. Because of these transformations, agricultural production continued to rise even as the number of people engaged in agriculture continued to fall. By the end of World War II, a farmer in the United States could produce enough food to feed 12 people, up from only seven people in 1910.

World War II had a powerful impact on American agriculture. Millions of poor farmers looking for new opportunities left the farm and entered the military or took jobs in the nation's rapidly growing defense plants and shipyards. Moreover, after years of urging farmers to reduce production, the government, using draft exemptions as well as subsidies and exhortation, now found it necessary



to encourage farmers to increase production in order to ensure that America had enough food for military and civilian needs. Indeed, the war did what two decades of federal farm policies had been unable to do—eliminate agricultural surpluses and raise commodity prices.

Congress passed the LEND-LEASE Act in March 1941, which sent Great Britain much-needed food and material. In May 1941, Great Britain and the United States formed the Anglo-American Food Committee, and in June 1942, the Combined Food Board, to coordinate food shipments to the Allies. Soon the federal government became the chief food buyer in the United States. The rise in demand caused agricultural prices to rise sharply during the war, and farm income more than doubled. For the first time since World War I, American farmers enjoyed the financial freedom to pay off debts, restore their credit, purchase needed and wanted goods, and put money in the bank. Yet, despite these good times, millions of agricultural workers and sharecroppers were removed from the land, either by the military draft or migration to the cities. The lure of good wages brought them to defense plants, munition factories, and shipyards across the nation. Afterwards, many chose to remain rather than return to the farmland.

However, most farmers remembered how agricultural surpluses after World War I had driven down commodity prices, and wanted some assurance that they would be protected from falling prices at the end of the war. Congress provided the first of many such assurances in May 1941 when Senator John H. Bankhead of Alabama pushed an amendment through Congress guaranteeing farmers that prices for corn, wheat, cotton, rice, and tobacco would be at least 85 percent of what they had been during the AAA's "parity" baseline years. Two months later, Congress extended this guarantee to include all agricultural goods produced for the war effort. The U.S. government also used cash incentives and subsidies to encourage farmers to produce scarce commodities and keep the cost of living down. Nevertheless, because the need for food was so high and supply could not keep up with demand, the government used price controls to combat inflation—though, pressured by the "farm bloc," Congress exempted farm goods from price controls until they had reached 110 percent of the parity level.

Traditionally, rural poverty has been a chronic problem in the United States. But the economic developments of the depression and World War II together with new federal programs begun by the New Deal helped raise commodity prices and lift millions of rural people out of poverty, often by means of migration to metropolitan areas. After World War II, Washington continued to play an important and increasing role in American food production as new challenges and changing world markets began to confront American farmers. Moreover, the impact of the Great

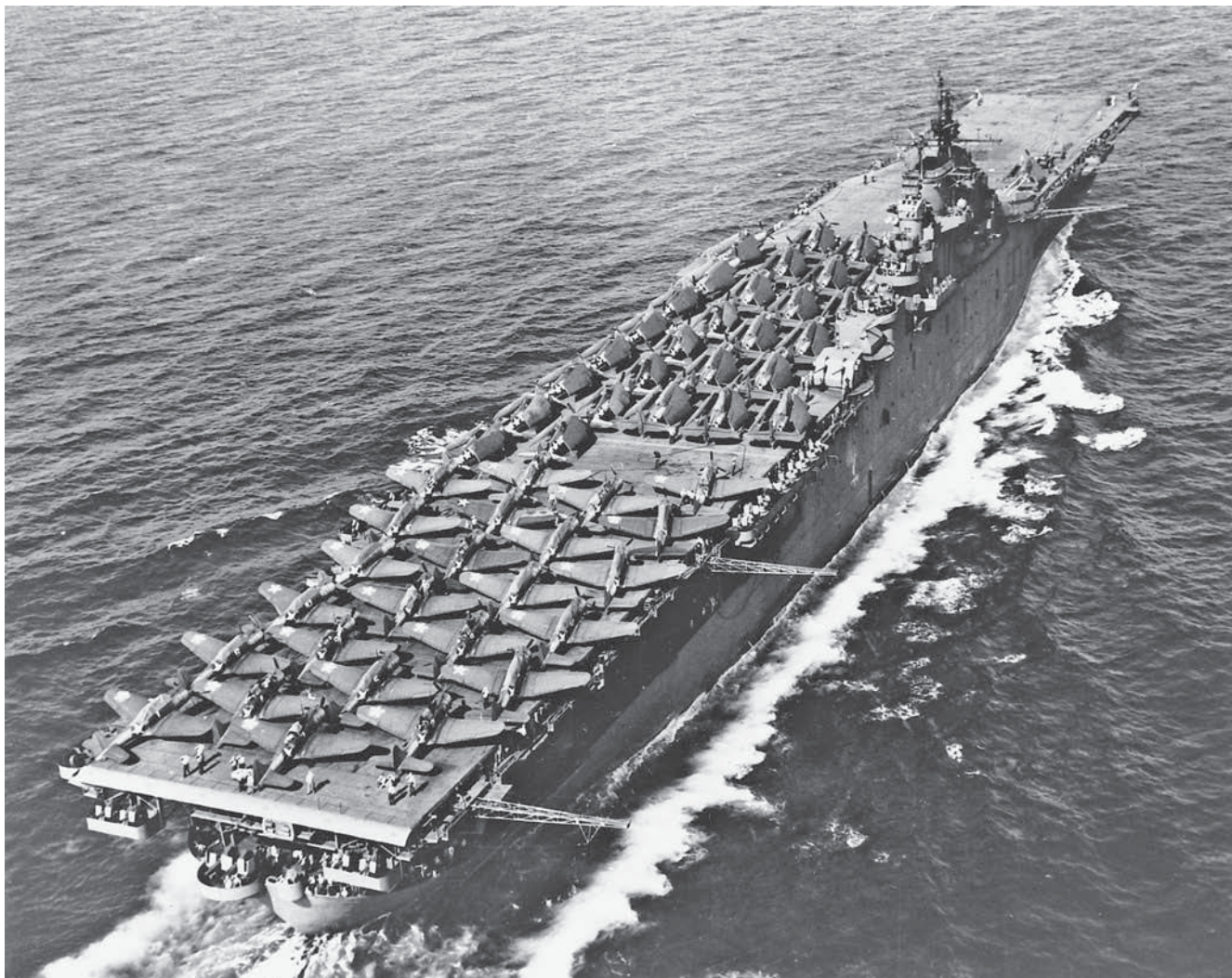
Depression and World War II meant that direct government subsidies and regulations became a staple of American agribusiness well into the 21st century.

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—David W. Waltrop

### aircraft carriers

The U.S. NAVY began experimenting with aviation platforms as early as the Civil War, when observation balloons were tethered and launched from moored vessels. However, experiments with heavier-than-air craft did not formally commence until the 20th century following the development of viable airplanes. On November 14, 1910, civilian pilot Eugene B. Ely conducted the first ship-launch by flying his wooden biplane from a wooden platform rigged to the cruiser USS *Birmingham*. On January 18, 1911, Ely reversed the process by successfully landing his craft on a platform affixed to the cruiser USS *Pennsylvania*. But over the ensuing decade, the navy apparently lost interest in ship-based aircraft operations, preferring instead to concentrate on the development of large flying boats. It thereby fell upon the Royal Navy to develop the first functional aircraft carriers during World War I. Their success prompted the U.S. Navy to resume developments in this field, and in 1919 the collier USS *Jupiter* was converted into the first American aircraft carrier, the USS *Langley*. The new vessel was commissioned in 1922 and began training the first generation of naval aviators versed in carrier deck operations. This proved so successful that in 1927 two large 33,000-ton cruisers underwent conversion and went into service as the carriers USS *Lexington* and *Saratoga*. Throughout the 1930s both ships were employed in various fleet exercises and demonstrated how effectively carriers could project military force far beyond the range of the fleet escorting them. Concurrently, a new generation of carrier-based airplanes such as all-metal fighters, dive



USS Essex (CV 9) underway in May 1943 (*Naval Historical Foundation*)

bombers, and torpedo planes underscored the realization that the next naval war would be strongly affected by air power.

By the time of the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR on December 7, 1941, the Navy fielded eight carriers of various sizes and capabilities. Moreover, the destruction of the American battle fleet left aircraft carriers as the only method of carrying the war to the enemy in the Pacific. The soundness of American tactical doctrine and the importance of aircraft carriers were clearly manifested in the BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA in May 1942, the first naval engagement where neither fleet engaged the other directly. The ensuing BATTLE OF MIDWAY in June proved a decisive victory for the United States, which sank four Japanese carriers. Thereafter, the tactical supremacy of aircraft carriers in naval warfare was readily accepted and

the navy embarked on an accelerated program to acquire more. By 1945 it possessed some two dozen heavy (CV) *Essex*-class carriers, which were 888 feet in length, carried nearly 100 aircraft apiece, and displaced 36,000 tons. These vessels effectively tipped the strategic and tactical balance of the Pacific naval conflict. To these were added nine additional light carriers (CVL), constructed from light cruiser hulls and 112 escort carriers (CVE), converted from transport vessels. The latter class, while unspectacular as combat vessels, worked as part of submarine hunter-killer groups and proved decisive in driving German U-boats from the Atlantic Ocean. By war's end two huge 45,000-ton carriers, the *Franklin D. Roosevelt* and the *Coral Sea*, were under construction and joined the fleet in 1947. Since the end of WORLD WAR II aircraft carriers have figured prominently in American naval strategy,



and the U.S. Navy continues to operate the world's largest and most effective carrier fleet.

See also WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### aircraft industry

After the growth of aviation for both business and pleasure during the 1920s, the aircraft industry was hit hard by the onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION. Passenger travel nonetheless increased during the decade, and as WORLD WAR II approached, growing military demands for aircraft began the enormous wartime expansion of the industry. By the end of World War II, the importance of AIR POWER in modern warfare had been established, and aviation was poised to become an increasingly important component of American TRANSPORTATION.

The so-called Lindbergh Boom in the civil aircraft industry, associated with the famous transatlantic flight, peaked in 1929. Just a few years later, many aircraft manufacturers were bankrupt, and the total value of industry production plummeted from \$91 million in 1929 to \$33 million in 1933. GOVERNMENT policy then played an increasingly important part in the operations of the aircraft and airline industries during the 1930s. Government mail contracts were a major source of airline revenue, and the military purchases helped sustain aircraft production. New technologies developed by the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics brought improvements in aircraft manufacturing. Better airframe construction enabled airlines to expand their passenger business and rely less on government contracts. In 1938, the federal government established the Civil Aeronautics Authority to oversee aviation, while the government also built and operated ground facilities for air traffic control.

Despite the economic hardships of the 1930s, the decade proved one of the most fruitful and innovative in terms of new technologies destined to improve the safety and performance of all aircraft. The most conspicuous change was the gradual replacement of wood with metal, which conferred greater strength and reliability to the airframes. The first airliner so endowed, the Boeing 247,

flew in February 1933 as a streamlined, low-wing, all-metal machine. Other innovations include scientifically streamlined engine cowlings for greatly reduced drag, high-octane aviation fuel for improved engine performance, variable pitch propellers that automatically adjusted to speed and RPM settings, and increasing use of wing flaps to assist both take-offs and landings. Cockpits were likewise revolutionized by canopies to enclose by them, use of pressurization for high altitudes, automatic piloting, artificial horizons, and turn and bank indicators, all of which enhanced pilot performance and airplane safety. These changes made the United States a world leader in the rapidly expanding field of commercial aviation. In 1938 these developments necessitated the rise of a new bureau, the Civil Aeronautics Authority (CAA), which promoted development of advanced airliners and safer air traffic control procedures in this rapidly expanding field.

By the late 1930s, the aircraft industry had begun to recover economically. The value of industry production increased to nearly \$200 million in 1938 and \$370 million by 1940. This was due in part to increased passenger travel, which grew from fewer than 400,000 passengers in 1930 to more than 2.5 million in 1940. In the mid-1930s, Douglas Aircraft began producing the venerable DC-3 airliner, which accounted for the great majority of air passengers by the end of the decade. This aircraft, by dint of high speed and passenger capacity, revolutionized air travel prior to World War II. Douglas manufactured more than 11,000 units, many of which, by dint of ruggedness and reliability, still fly commercially in the 21st century. But by 1940, the rise in industry sales came mostly from the demand for military aircraft. In November 1938, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT told advisers that he wanted the aircraft industry to expand production to supply the British and the French and to provide the American air corps with 10,000 aircraft. Despite criticisms from ISOLATIONISTS and others worried about possible violations of the NEUTRALITY ACTS, American aviation helped meet the needs of the British and the French.

In January 1939, Roosevelt asked Congress for a \$300 million special appropriation for aircraft construction, signaling the start of the American rearmament program. After the Nazi BLITZKRIEG overran western Europe in the spring of 1940, Roosevelt in May set a stunning production goal of 50,000 planes a year, in part to cover French and British requirements. Following PEARL HARBOR and American entry into the war, FDR increased his goals still further—to 60,000 aircraft in 1942 and 125,000 in 1943.

Although Roosevelt's goals at first seemed fantastic, the aircraft industry by the end of the war had produced some 300,000 aircraft—about the same number as Germany, Britain, and Japan combined. It took an unprecedented and monumental effort to reach such totals. Manufacturers

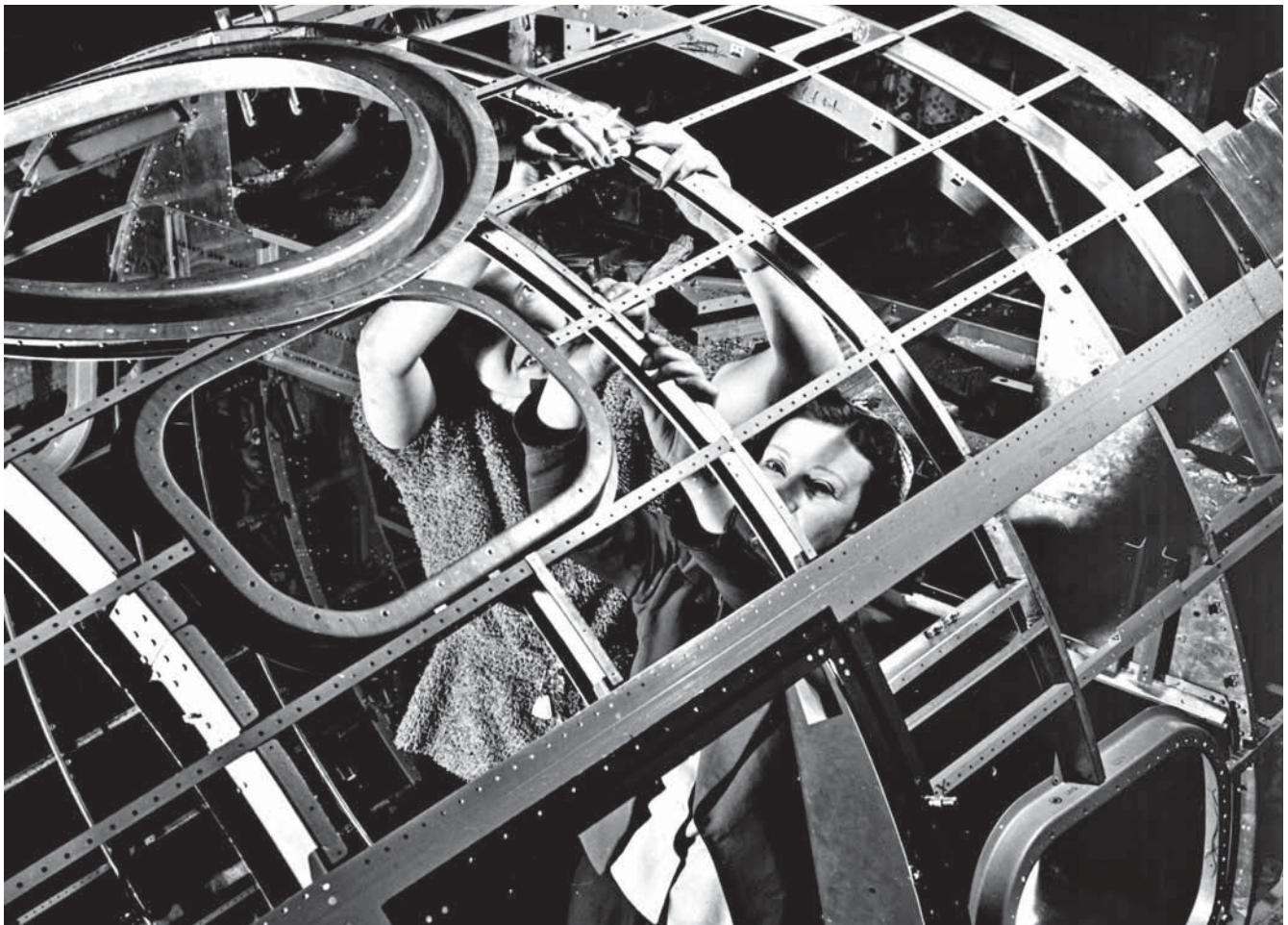
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had to expand current plants, create new facilities and production processes, subcontract smaller parts out to other industries, and recruit qualified workers. Dozens of new aircraft plants were created in the United States, many of them in the SUNBELT states. Cooperation within the aircraft industry in the sharing of manpower, materials, new techniques, and technologies also contributed to the remarkable production totals.

Naturally, this infusion of money, coupled with greater emphasis on scientific research and development, accelerated the trend toward aviation prowess. Pressurized fuselages, computer-directed fire control systems for gun turrets, radar bombing, more powerful engines, and flush riveting all gave the United States, particularly its strategic bomber fleet, decided advantages over Axis adversaries. The huge Boeing B-29 Superfortress, which was deployed in 1944, was the largest bombardment aircraft of the war and could fly higher, faster, and farther than any other con-

temporary. Massed formations of B-29s literally burned Japan's economic infrastructure to the ground, and B-29s also were called upon to deliver the first two atomic bombs over HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI. The Americans also acquired sophisticated jet engine technology from Great Britain and flew their first jet fighter, the Bell XP-59, in 1943. The following year the Lockheed P-80 Shooting Star took to the skies and, while it missed combat operations during World War II, performed capable frontline service as a fighter bomber throughout the Korean War, 1950–53. In 1944 the U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES also fielded the Sikorsky R-4 Hoverfly, the world's first military helicopter, and quickly secured dominance in this field throughout the postwar period.

Though never matching the efficiency and productivity of HENRY J. KAISER in wartime SHIPBUILDING, Henry Ford conceived and carried out the creation of an enormous aircraft facility near Detroit in Willow Run, Michi-



One of the most important World War II contractors was the Boeing Company of Seattle, Washington. In this photograph two assembly-line workers are seen completing the fuselage framework of a B-17 Flying Fortress bomber. (*Library of Congress*)



gan, that utilized the assembly line process. After early difficulties, “the Run” produced 500 bombers a month and at peak efficiency in 1944 could turn out a new B-24 Liberator bomber every 63 minutes. The standardization of parts in the industry allowed for certain components to be manufactured at smaller facilities and shipped for final assembly elsewhere. The switch to the assembly line process in aircraft plants not only increased efficiency and productivity but also allowed the use of unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

As the value of industry production soared to \$5.8 billion in 1942, \$12.5 billion in 1943, and the wartime peak of \$16 billion in 1944, employment within the aircraft industry burgeoned from some 50,000 in 1939 to over 2 million by 1943. AFRICAN AMERICANS comprised more than 6 percent of employees, while the employment of women, found to be highly efficient and more dexterous than men while welding in small spaces, increased to a peak of nearly one-half million. (Despite the enduring image of ROSIE THE RIVETER, relatively few women were trained as riveters or other higher-skilled jobs.) Facility managers counteracted low morale and high turnover among assembly-line workers with the use of on-site nurseries, music, and lunchtime entertainment as well as appeals to patriotism.

Government planning for RECONVERSION helped cushion the impact of the war’s end on aviation as it did for other industries in the early postwar period. The aircraft industry—which had effectively demonstrated the importance of air power, established the ease of air transport for passengers and cargo, and continued to create such new technologies as jet engines and helicopters—would continue to grow in size and importance in the postwar era.

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—Traci L. Siegler and John C. Fredriksen

## air power

WORLD WAR II was the first conflict in history to see the daily use of strategic and tactical air power. Air power thus played a major role in the war, not only in support of ground operations but also in naval combat in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER.

Japanese air forces, divided into army and naval forces, contained the most sophisticated aircraft in the world by

1941, and scored triumphs against the United States at PEARL HARBOR in December 1941, and during campaigns in the Pacific early in 1942. But Japan suffered major defeats at the hands of the U.S. NAVY at the BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA in May 1942 and at the BATTLE OF MIDWAY in June 1942—encounters that underscored the new importance of air power in naval warfare, for the surface fleets never came in contact. The BATTLE OF THE PHILIPPINE SEA in 1944 brought the effective end of Japanese air power. The Japanese air forces, and Japan’s smaller aircraft industry, were overwhelmed by more numerous and mobile American air forces to the point that air defenses of the home islands were practically nonexistent when the American BOMBING campaign began in mid-1944.

In the EUROPEAN THEATER, the Germans demonstrated air power in a ground support role in Poland in September 1939. The German Luftwaffe quickly destroyed the Polish air force, enabling attacks at will on depots, factories, transportation centers, and enemy forces. This same pattern, using aircraft as “flying artillery,” was used in every German BLITZKRIEG campaign in Europe between 1940 and mid-1942. However, the BATTLE OF BRITAIN in 1940 and subsequent military operations severely strained the Luftwaffe, as did demands for home air defense after Allied bombings campaigns began in 1942. Although the Anglo-American strategic air campaigns encountered heavy Luftwaffe resistance, this threat ended by early 1944, as did Germany’s ability to provide air support for German troops in the field.

The Allies developed sophisticated tactical air forces. As they prepared for the INVASION OF NORMANDY, the British Royal Air Force and the U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES gained air superiority over Europe and destroyed transportation and communications networks vital to counter-attacking enemy forces. When the Normandy invasion took place, Anglo-American air power was overwhelming, numbering approximately 12,000 aircraft, compared to 300 Luftwaffe aircraft. On D day, the Allies flew 15,000 sorties, the Luftwaffe only 100. For the remainder of the war, Allied air forces controlled European skies.

The Anglo-American strategic air campaigns against Germany and Japan were controversial and involved questions of effectiveness versus costs in money, material, and manpower, as well as the military value and morality of bombing urban areas. The British began the strategic bombing of Germany in 1940, but discovered that daylight long-range missions were costly and bombing inaccurate, prompting the start of night area attacks on nonindustrial targets. When the U.S. Eighth Army Air Force arrived in Britain in 1942, its leaders emphasized daylight precision bombing in the erroneous belief that B-17 Flying Fortresses, using the Norden bombsight, could obtain significant results with acceptable losses. They asserted

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bombers could reach and destroy “choke points” in the German economy that would shut down the enemy war effort. Operations against ball bearing plants in 1943 had little impact, but the discovery that petroleum was the vital “choke point” quickly brought Germany to grief. In addition, the early 1944 advent of long-range escort fighters such as the U.S. P-51 Mustang and the P-47 Thunderbolt assured the survival of the bomber and made the Allied Combined Bomber Offensive more lethal. Although it failed to destroy enemy morale, strategic bombing reduced war production, snarled TRANSPORTATION and communications, and diverted significant resources from the fronts to home defense. Allied raids killed an estimated 600,000 German civilians.

In the Pacific, American raids on Japan, using the B-29 Superfortress, had little effect until bases were established in the MARIANA ISLANDS, and carpet bombing with napalm was substituted for high-level bombing in March 1945. Between March and August 1945, an estimated 60 percent of Japan’s urban areas were burned out, killing an estimated 500,000 people. In August 1945, American aircraft used the new ATOMIC BOMB on HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI and World War II came to an end.

A country’s capacity for developing air power depended on the availability of a large industrial base, scientific and technical knowledge, a skilled workforce, secure training and base areas, and ample raw materials and fuel. Between 1939 and 1945, the United States, with its productive AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY, produced some 300,000 aircraft. During the same period, the Soviet Union produced 157,000 aircraft; the United Kingdom, 131,000; Germany, 120,000; and Japan, 77,000. Aircraft losses were greatest for Germany (95,000), followed by the Soviet Union, the United States (59,000), Japan (49,000), and Great Britain (49,000).

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—Clayton D. Laurie

### Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACW)

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACW) was founded on December 25, 1914, as an outgrowth of another labor union, the United Garment Workers (UGW). The latter was unable to adequately represent the influx of immigrant labor in a series of devastating STRIKES, 1910–14, so a faction arose under SIDNEY HILLMAN, a Lithuanian Jew, which declared its independence from

the older organization. The ACW was not recognized by the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL), but Hillman and his cohorts remained fixed in their determination to organize the entire men’s clothing industry. His dogged pursuit of this goal seemed far-fetched initially, but the aggressive Hillman proved himself an exceptionally talented labor organizer. In 1916 he secured a 44-hour workweek for the rank and file and agitated strongly against the exploitive sweatshop conditions usually encountered by immigrant workers. He also managed a rapprochement with the AFL and eventually joined their ranks in 1933. However, the clothing industry was devastated by the onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION in 1929 and the ACW was hard-pressed to keep its members fed, clothed, and housed over the next four years. Hillman managed to assist by mitigating wage and benefit cuts for those workers still employed, while agitating for the election of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. Roosevelt’s victory in the ELECTION OF 1932 placed a pro-labor administration in Washington, D.C., and the ACW proved to be at the cutting edge of labor reforms such as unemployment insurance, cooperative housing, employer-provided health and life insurance programs, and union daycare centers. Hillman’s militant activism grated upon the more conservative and trade-oriented AFL leaders, however, so in 1935 he joined UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMW) leader JOHN L. LEWIS in founding the industrial-based CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO). The AFL eventually expelled the ACW in 1938 for its strident militancy. Hillman’s success as an organizer swelled the ranks of the ACW, which reached 260,000 members by 1939. Demographically, the union remained dominated by Jewish, Italian, and other ethnic groups from southern and eastern Europe. By the time Hillman died in 1946, he had made the ACW into one of the nation’s most effective labor unions, with an extensively broad social welfare program that many other unions sought to emulate.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### America First Committee

The America First Committee was the most prominent organization opposing American intervention in Europe and the Pacific and challenging the FOREIGN POLICY of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT during the 15 months leading up to PEARL HARBOR and the U.S. entry into

WORLD WAR II. It was the brainchild of R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., a Yale Law School student, who during the summer of 1940 enlisted the support of a number of businessmen and politicians, primarily from the Midwest, where ISOLATIONISTS were especially numerous.

The formation of the America First Committee was announced in Chicago on September 4, 1940, following the announcement of the DESTROYERS-FOR-BASES DEAL with England. General Robert E. Wood, the chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck, & Company, became the national chairman; Stuart became the national director; and a five-member executive committee, mostly of midwestern businessmen, was established. A larger national committee included such prominent individuals as Alice Roosevelt Longworth, the daughter of Theodore Roosevelt; George N. Peek, the former head of the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION; Eddie Rickenbacker, the noted aviator and World War I flying ace; and Lillian Gish, the famous silent film actress. Henry Ford served on the national committee for several months, but was dropped by America First because of his suspected ANTI-SEMITISM. The celebrated aviator Charles A. Lindbergh became a national committee member in April 1941, after declining an offer to replace Wood as chairman.

Many prominent Americans in business, labor, and politics spoke at America First rallies and lent their names to committee activities. The list included HERBERT C. HOOVER, BURTON K. WHEELER, Gerald P. Nye (chairman of the NYE COMMITTEE), ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., NORMAN THOMAS, HUGH S. JOHNSON, and JOHN L. LEWIS. While most America First members and their allies were affiliated with the REPUBLICAN PARTY, a broad range of political ideologies were represented, including neofascists, members of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, SOCIALISTS, and even a few COMMUNISTS. At its peak, the America First Committee had a membership of between 800,000 and 850,000, with the greatest concentration of members in the Midwest—especially within a 300-mile radius of Chicago. It was weakest in the interventionist SOUTH.

To the embarrassment of many America First leaders, the committee, its local chapters, and its activities, attracted some neo-Nazi elements, as well as followers of the vitriolic radio priest FATHER CHARLES E. COUGHLIN. Opponents of America First, including the Roosevelt administration, accused the committee of being a “Nazi transmission belt.” Roosevelt himself authorized wiretaps and FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION probes and urged his attorney general to investigate the America First Committee. While most members of America First were loyal, patriotic Americans who hated German tyranny, doubts lingered, especially after Lindbergh gave an inflammatory and, some believed, anti-Semitic speech under committee auspices at Des Moines, Iowa, in September 1941.

The America First Committee believed that it was more important for the United States to stay out of the European conflict than to assist a British victory over the AXIS powers. In early 1941, the America First Committee fought vigorously against LEND-LEASE aid to Great Britain. After Roosevelt signed the Lend-Lease bill, the America First Committee opposed naval escorts for shipping CONVOYS across the Atlantic Ocean, fearing that the sinking of American vessels would draw the nation into war. The committee also objected to sending U.S. military draftees outside the Western Hemisphere. Unsuccessful in those efforts, the America First Committee also failed to prevent the repeal of the provisions of the NEUTRALITY ACTS forbidding the arming of American vessels and allowing them access to belligerent ports.

The America First Committee nonetheless continued its efforts up until the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Over the next month, the America First Committee ceased all noninterventionist activity, postponing rallies and halting the distribution of literature, and the national committee voted to dissolve the organization. By April 1942, the America First Committee had ceased to exist.

See also COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA BY AIDING THE ALLIES.

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—William J. Thompson

### American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)

In 1920, members of the National Civil Liberties Bureau, which had defended conscientious objectors and other dissidents in World War I, founded the American Civil Liberties Union. For most of the 1920s, the ACLU was a small group of lawyers and other activists that fought primarily for freedom of political speech and occasionally for academic freedom, as in the famous Scopes trial of 1925. In 1929, the ACLU began contesting limits on other types of expression, such as CENSORSHIP of books and MOVIES.

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the ACLU's conception of CIVIL LIBERTIES became even broader and went beyond first amendment rights. The organization became especially active in cases involving issues of race and minority rights. In 1932, it issued a report entitled “Black Justice,” which detailed the extent of institutional racism in America, and it took part in *Powell v. Alabama*, a U.S. SUPREME COURT case that arose out of the SCOTTSBORO BOYS incident. In 1934, the ACLU lobbied for the INDIAN REORGANIZATION ACT. During WORLD WAR II, it opposed the RELOCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS on

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the basis of race and argued for the desegregation of the armed forces.

At the same time, the ACLU continued to defend political dissenters in the 1930s and 1940s. For example, it fought the loyalty oaths required of teachers by law in more than 20 states. The organization opposed the Alien Registration Act (known as the SMITH ACT) of 1940, which required all resident aliens to be fingerprinted and made it illegal to advocate violent overthrow of the U.S. GOVERNMENT. It also defended American Nazi groups' right to rally. Though it did not oppose the SELECTIVE SERVICE system, it did fight for the rights of CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS in various court cases.

In other instances, the positions adopted by the ACLU sometimes seemed to contradict its professed ideals. In 1940, for example, the ACLU declared that persons belonging to "political organizations that support totalitarian governments" could no longer serve on any of its committees, a stipulation many considered analogous to the loyalty oaths previously denounced by the organization. And while ACLU lawyers represented Japanese Americans who claimed that internment during World War II was based on their race, and therefore illegal, they did not, as a group, challenge the constitutionality of EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066.

Despite being criticized by some for being too radical and by others for being too timid, the ACLU was an important organization in the 1930s and 1940s. Most significant were its efforts to prevent a repeat of the widespread abuses of civil liberties that had occurred during World War I and its willingness to broach the subject of racial injustice at a time when few Americans would.

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—Pamela J. Lauer

### American Federation of Labor (AFL)

The American Federation of Labor (AFL), had long been the preeminent LABOR organization by the onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION. Founded in 1886 and led until his death in 1924 by Samuel Gompers, the AFL was an association of craft unions, including carpenters, clothing and garment workers, electricians, machinists, meat cutters, and teamsters, along with coal miners.

The AFL shunned radical politics in favor of conservative unionism, which emphasized volunteerism without GOVERNMENT interference in labor-management relations, and focused on the bread and butter goals of wages, hours, and working conditions of union members. Its membership primarily comprised native-born, "old-stock" skilled

craftsmen, rather than the "new-immigrant" (southern and eastern European) and African American unskilled workers who toiled in mass production industries such as automobiles, coal, and steel. In the heavy industries where the AFL had a presence, they impeded organizing, prevented strikes, and often ignored workers. The 1920s were not good years for organized labor, as prosperity, the hostility of BUSINESS toward workers, government sympathy toward employers, and the rigidity of the AFL's leadership, helped thin the ranks to less than 3 million members on the eve of the Great Depression.

Important AFL leaders, including its president, William Green, and JOHN L. LEWIS, had backed HERBERT C. HOOVER for president in 1928 and 1932. However, the election of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in 1932, and then such NEW DEAL legislation as the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT and the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT, shifted labor support to the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. In the ELECTION OF 1936, AFL unions contributed significant amounts of money to Roosevelt and the Democrats and union members voted overwhelmingly Democratic.

By the mid-1930s, however, conflict was growing within the labor movement between the craft unionists, who wanted workers organized according to skill, and leaders like Lewis and SIDNEY HILLMAN, who believed in "industrial unionism"—gathering *all* workers in an industry into a single union. The tensions within the AFL reached a boiling point at the federation's convention in October 1935. There, Lewis appealed to the delegates that they had a duty to support the struggling unions in the mass production industries because the labor movement, he said, was founded on the principle that "the strong shall help the weak." A resolution demanding industrial unionism in the AFL was decisively defeated, and Lewis got into a fistfight with "Big Bill" Huteson, the head of the carpenters' union.

On November 4, 1935, Lewis, Hillman, and several other union leaders met and formed the Committee for Industrial Organization, originally intended to be a branch within the AFL. The AFL leadership, however, opposed the organizational efforts by the committee in the mass production industries, and suspended 10 dissident unions in 1937. A year later, in November 1938, Lewis, Hillman, and the other suspended unionists broke away from the AFL, and formed a separate labor federation, the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO).

Hostilities between the two groups persisted as the AFL began a "counterreformation," claiming to be the honest union, rather than the "radical-infested" CIO—points they made by testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee and urging boycotts of CIO-made products. Between 1937 and 1945, the AFL claimed nearly 4 million new members, more than the CIO over the same



period, and enjoyed remarkable growth in nonmanufacturing industries such as transportation, communication, construction, hotel, restaurant, and retail, and public service workers.

The onset of WORLD WAR II did not end the hostility between the two labor federations, despite efforts by some union leaders and Democratic Party politicians. Conflict occurred in defense industries such as aircraft and electrical plants, and the AFL was accused of red-baiting, corruption, and being cozy with business. Competition between the AFL and CIO continued after the war, until the two organizations came to a merger agreement as the AFL-CIO in 1955.

See also **POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA**.

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—William J. Thompson

### American Liberty League

In August 1934, a number of conservative Democrats joined with important businessmen to form the American Liberty League for the purpose of opposing President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and the NEW DEAL. The Liberty League argued that the New Deal was an unconstitutional effort to enlarge GOVERNMENT and regulate BUSINESS and that it would impede recovery from the GREAT DEPRESSION and harm the nation's ECONOMY and political system. A significant voice of CONSERVATISM in the 1930s, this well-financed organization used speeches and publications to promote its message, but it never gained many followers and disbanded in 1940.

The league's leadership came largely from wealthy businessmen and members of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY who were unhappy with Roosevelt and the New Deal. The Du Pont family provided about one-third of the league's funding, but such major businessmen as Alfred Sloan of General Motors, Edward F. Hutton of General Foods, Sewell L. Avery of Montgomery Ward, and Nathan Miller of U.S. Steel contributed as well. Important conservative Democrats, including 1928 Democratic presidential candidate Al Smith, former Democratic Party chairman John J. Raskob, and 1924 Democratic presidential candidate John W. Davis, also joined the League and played important roles.

Though claiming to be nonpartisan and nonpolitical, the league spoke out against Roosevelt, New Deal programs and many of the people Roosevelt brought to government. Jouett Shouse, a former chairman of the Democratic Party

Executive Committee who headed the Liberty League, explained that the league's goal was "to defend and uphold the Constitution, . . . [to] teach the duty of government to encourage and protect individual and group initiative and enterprise, to foster the right to work, earn, save, and acquire property and to preserve the ownership and lawful use of property when acquired." In league speeches and publications Roosevelt was characterized as a tyrant and the New Deal was characterized as fascistic, socialistic, or communistic. (Roosevelt said that the league seemed to him like a group formed to support just two or three of the Ten Commandments.)

In 1936, the Liberty League focused on unseating Roosevelt in that year's presidential election. At a league dinner in Washington, D.C., on January 25, 1936, Al Smith gave the keynote address, in which he accused the New Deal of causing class warfare and betraying both the Democratic platform of 1932 and the United States Constitution. He said that "there can be only one capital, Washington or Moscow." The Roosevelt administration turned this speech on the league, arguing that it was merely representing big business and their selfish interests.

In the ELECTION OF 1936, the league supported REPUBLICAN PARTY presidential candidate ALFRED M. LONDON, who saw its endorsement as a liability. The league's membership (at its peak, reportedly 125,000) fell off following the landslide reelection of Roosevelt in 1936, and the league stopped its public activities and disbanded within a few years.

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—Edwin C. Cogswell

### amphibious warfare

During WORLD WAR II, amphibious warfare, the practice of invading enemy-held territory from the sea by transporting troops, along with armor, artillery, and all material to sustain short-term operations, and then securing a beachhead, became a new operational art. Requiring the full integration of air, land, and sea forces, it also depended upon a degree of planning, organization, technical and operational competence, and flexibility of command and control rarely seen prior to 1942. Although methods were initially crude, by 1945 the art of amphibious warfare was brought to near perfection, especially by the U.S. MARINES and the U.S. ARMY. Although Japan and Germany carried out limited amphibious assaults between 1937 and 1942, it was the United States that first created a specific amphibious warfare doctrine, with specialized troops, landing craft, weapons, and equipment.



The amphibious assault of Normandy beaches was a major part of the Allies' Operation Overlord. Seen here are men of the veteran U.S. First Infantry Division going ashore under enemy fire. (*Library of Congress*)

The U.S. Marine Corps began amphibious warfare experiments in the 1930s and subsequently tailored its weapons and units to fit the naval ships then under construction. In addition, the marines experimented with landing craft, based on the American Higgins boat, and with amphibious tracked vehicles and other larger types of craft developed in Britain. The marines also developed the concept of combat loading, ship-to-shore artillery support, as well as close air support. All six U.S. Marine divisions during World War II were trained in amphibious assault tactics, and marine instructors trained U.S. Army divisions that were used in the landings of the NORTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN, at SICILY, in the ITALIAN CAMPAIGN, in the INVASION OF NORMANDY, and at the Aleutians, New Guinea, the PHILIPPINES, and OKINAWA.

The drive of the U.S. NAVY and Marine Corps across the central Pacific against Japan in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER started with the assault on TARAWA in the Gilbert Islands in November 1943, which demonstrated the validity of amphibious warfare. Although marine forces encountered fierce opposition and heavy losses, amphibious assaults were subsequently carried out in the Marshall Islands (February 1944), in the MARIANA ISLANDS (June–July 1944), on Peleliu (September 1944), at IWO JIMA (February 1945), and at Okinawa (April 1945).

General Douglas MacArthur, commanding U.S. Army forces in the Southwest Pacific theater, became equally

expert in amphibious operations and performed a series of leapfrog assaults in New Guinea and the Philippines between 1942 and 1945. Indeed, U.S. Army forces in the Pacific undertook more amphibious assaults than the Marine Corps, and between October 1944 and August 1945 alone, MacArthur conducted 52 amphibious landings against Japanese-held areas.

In the EUROPEAN THEATER, the British carried out amphibious operations at Dieppe in August 1942, and larger, more successful landings with U.S. Army forces in North Africa; at Sicily, Salerno, and Anzio in Italy; in southern France; and at Normandy. Amphibious operations became central to British and American strategic conduct of the war. The amphibious assault was shown at its most complex in the Normandy invasion on June 6, 1944, and the January 1945 invasion of Luzon Island in the Philippines, which were the largest operations of their kind in history.

Landing forces were usually divided into assault troops, reinforcing units, and occupation forces. Following a prelanding air and naval bombardment, landing craft carrying the assault formations were guided toward the beaches. Landing craft were loaded with supplies and equipment in such a way that they could be unloaded in the order they were needed ashore. The assault took place in waves using specially designed landing craft, each carrying a complete military unit. Each wave was timed to reach shore at a particular time to prevent an excessive buildup of forces on the beach and to assure landing in the correct tactical order. Landing forces were most vulnerable when hitting the beach, and it was vital to have the correct mix of air and naval gunfire available at H-Hour, the moment of landing on D day, to assure that troops would not be pushed back into the sea. Complications necessitated great command flexibility. Once troops had secured a beachhead, reinforcing units arrived with heavier equipment and weapons. When the beachhead was secure, occupation forces, usually comprised of logistical and construction personnel, landed to establish a base for further operations.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

### Anglo-American relations

The era of WORLD WAR II brought the development of a uniquely close diplomatic relationship between the United States and Great Britain. Although the United States was

absorbed by the GREAT DEPRESSION in the early 1930s and then sought insulation from global affairs with the NEUTRALITY ACTS of the mid-1930s, Anglo-American collaboration in World War II brought the two nations together in what came to be known as the “special relationship.”

During the Great Depression and the resulting domestic turmoil, the United States largely withdrew from leadership in international affairs. President HERBERT C. HOOVER did attempt to maintain some American involvement in global affairs, cooperating for example with Great Britain and Japan to limit naval building at the LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE of 1930. But other actions, such as the protectionist HAWLEY-SMOOT TARIFF ACT of 1930, weak American responses to the Japanese invasion of MANCHURIA and the Italian invasion of ETHIOPIA, and the lack of American cooperation at the LONDON ECONOMIC CONFERENCE of 1933, during the HOOVER PRESIDENCY and the first term of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, reflected the U.S. reluctance to provide significant international leadership. The Neutrality Acts then confirmed the American effort to avoid entanglements in the events that ultimately led to World War II, and Roosevelt was essentially a bystander as British prime minister Neville Chamberlain concluded the MUNICH CONFERENCE with Nazi Germany. Such American policy, prompted in part by significant anti-British sentiment within sectors of the American public, contributed to an atmosphere of some suspicion between the two nations.

By the end of the 1930s, however, Roosevelt grew increasingly disturbed about events in Europe and, especially after the outbreak of war in 1939, sought to establish a closer relationship with Great Britain. In 1939, the president succeeded in ending the arms embargo of the Neutrality Acts and to have CASH-AND-CARRY apply to war goods, thus allowing belligerent nations (Britain, in particular) to obtain war supplies if they were paid for in cash and were not transported in American ships. Roosevelt further illustrated his belief that the United States and Great Britain had developed concurrent interests in FOREIGN POLICY by establishing a close personal relationship with new British prime minister Winston Churchill. Continued collaboration between the two world leaders would later play a crucial role in the course of Allied action in World War II.

American popular opinion began to shift significantly in favor of aiding England in wake of the German BLITZKRIEG offensive of spring 1940 and the ongoing BATTLE OF BRITAIN. Such measures as the DESTROYERS-FOR-BASES DEAL of 1940 and the LEND-LEASE Act of 1941 authorized significant American assistance to the British in the war against Germany. Discussions began in early 1941 to make strategic plans in preparation for the possibility of American entrance into World War II, a cooperation that would continue throughout the course of the war. Roosevelt and

Churchill met in person for the first time in August 1941 and produced the ATLANTIC CHARTER, which outlined Allied war principles and aims.

After PEARL HARBOR and the American entry into the war, the Soviet Union joined the United States and Great Britain in endorsing the terms of the Atlantic Charter, creating the GRAND ALLIANCE. Because the United States and Great Britain shared democratic views and values as well as mutual concerns and often similar visions of the postwar world, Anglo-American relations were always closer than SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS. Significantly, the British were involved in the ATOMIC BOMB project and discussions about the bomb's potential use, while the Soviets were not notified of the bomb's existence until the POTSDAM CONFERENCE in July 1945—and even then cryptically. Shared interests between the United States and Great Britain often placed them in direct opposition with their Soviet allies. For much of the war, Roosevelt acquiesced in Churchill's desire to delay the opening of a SECOND FRONT in western Europe, much to the dismay of Soviet premier Joseph Stalin. These mutual interests also extended to preparations for the postwar world as both the British and Americans were concerned about Soviet efforts to create a sphere of influence in eastern Europe.

But there were differences as well, and some tensions in Anglo-American relations during the war. The British did not share the anticolonial views of the United States, and resisted American pressure to grant its colonial possessions—India in particular—independence. American strategists were much more eager than the British to open the second front as soon as possible. And as it became more apparent that Great Britain would no longer be able to maintain its previous stature in international affairs and that the United States and the Soviet Union would be the dominant postwar powers, Soviet-American relations became increasingly important in Roosevelt's priorities. At the TEHERAN CONFERENCE of late 1943, Roosevelt sided with Stalin in insisting on launching the Normandy invasion to open the second front in the spring of 1944.

Despite such differences and disagreements, and despite the shifts in global power, Anglo-American relations remained close. In the postwar world, Anglo-American relations would remain friendly as both nations would find themselves opposing their erstwhile Soviet ally in the developing cold war.

See also WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER.

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—Mary E. Carroll-Mason



### anticommunism

The period immediately following World War I witnessed an upsurge in activities and membership of the American Communist Party, largely inspired by the Russian Revolution. Militant workers triggered a so-called “strike wave” that BUSINESS and other conservative interest groups believed was instigated by the new Soviet Communist party in Moscow. In the great red scare of 1919–20, the federal government also took an active role in arresting and deporting high-level communist leaders in a campaign orchestrated by Attorney General J. Mitchell Palmer. Palmer created the Bureau of Investigation (a precursor to the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION) and placed its General Intelligence Division in the hands of a youthful agent, J. Edgar Hoover. High-ranking labor leaders like Samuel Gompers of the trade-oriented AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) also worked against COMMUNISTS within his organization and drove them out. Ultimately, Hoover and Palmer were responsible for the arrest and deportation of 6,000 Communists and suspected sympathizers by the end of the decade, when the communist threat had evidently subsided. The nation’s anticommunist animus nonetheless remained strong.

The American Communist Party rebounded in labor circles following the onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION in 1929 when some workers, perplexed by capitalism’s apparent collapse, turned to that ideology in desperation. The party’s resurgence increased after 1935, when the Soviet sympathizers were ordered by Joseph Stalin to stop advocating class revolution and to form associations within labor and liberal circles throughout the western democracies. American Communists consequently began agitating for helping the chronic unemployed, organizing workers, ending segregation, supporting NEW DEAL legislation, and forming a POPULAR FRONT against fascism around the world. They enjoyed their greatest success infiltrating the ranks of the new CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO), which was bitterly attacked by Gompers and other labor leaders for their perceived allegiance to Moscow.

In response to these developments, such conservative organizations as the American Legion and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce joined the anticommunist effort. By the late 1930s the REPUBLICAN PARTY increasingly alleged that the New Deal and the DEMOCRATIC PARTY had communist ties and sympathies, allegations that mounted in the 1940s. The Catholic Church also joined the crusade after 1938, alarmed by the treatment of the church and its clergy in the leftist-dominated SPANISH CIVIL WAR. The Vatican strongly denounced what it viewed as assaults upon organized religion by Communists, and American Catholics responded with organizations, such as the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU), that urged

workers and trade unions to expel Communist members. Anticommunism in America received another boost in September 1939 following the NAZI-SOVIET PACT, which alienated American liberals and SOCIALISTS from the Communist Party. They joined with traditional anticommunist factions in business and religion and joined in denouncing the American Communist Party for placing Soviet aims over security interests of the United States. The Roosevelt administration also responded by arresting Communist Party leader Earl Browder on a passport charge, while the CIO began purging Communists from high office within its ranks.

The rising tide of anticommunism abated somewhat following the Nazi invasion of Russia in June 1941 and America’s entry into WORLD WAR II six months later. The United States was now part of the GRAND ALLIANCE with the Soviet Union against the Axis powers. The American Communist Party, previously isolationist, did much to ameliorate prior suspicions about its loyalty by throwing itself vigorously behind the war effort. But the anticommunist movement, though temporarily muted, emerged in the postwar period stronger than ever and drew up a variety of corporate, patriotic, political, labor, and church alliances that first coalesced in the late 1930s.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### antilynching legislation

From Reconstruction down through the 1930s, white racial antipathy toward AFRICAN AMERICANS was often manifested in the form of mob violence and lynching, especially in the SOUTH, where the majority of lynchings occurred. Existing Jim Crow laws had basically stripped blacks of voting and other CIVIL RIGHTS, and white authorities typically felt no compulsion or obligation to arrest and prosecute those committing the murders. Not surprisingly, the strongest and most vocal opposition to racially induced mob violence came from the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), which in 1919 sponsored the first national conference on lynching and published the noted tract *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889–1918*, with annual supplements. The first concerted political action against lynching was introduced in 1922 by Republican congressman Leonidas Dyer of Missouri, who had worked closely with NAACP president James Weldon Johnson to fine and imprison local officials who failed to prosecute those responsible. The



Dyer Bill passed the House of Representatives but died in the Senate under the threat of a southern filibuster.

The onset of the NEW DEAL stimulated a renewed drive to pass antilynching legislation by CONGRESS. In 1933 the Commission on Interracial Cooperation published a report entitled *The Tragedy of Lynching*, which dwelt upon the 28 murders that had been committed that year. The following year NAACP president WALTER WHITE prevailed upon Democratic senator Joseph Costigan of Colorado to introduce legislation that would have declared lynching a federal crime if state and local authorities failed to act properly within 30 days. However, owing to entrenched opposition from southern senators, the bill never made it out of committee. Similar efforts attempted in 1935, 1936, and 1937 failed to muster the votes necessary to end a filibuster, despite vocal support for the bill mounted by a varied coalition of minorities, LABOR, women, churches, and civil liberties groups. In 1938 Costigan, backed by a fellow Democrat, Senator ROBERT F. WAGNER of New York, reintroduced antilynching legislation but was stymied by an intense obstructionist campaign by southerners in the Senate. The southern Democrats found allies in the conservative Republicans who, while generally opposed to lynching, were worried about further federal intrusion in state prerogatives.

Although President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and his wife, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, went on record opposing lynching, neither took an active role in marshaling the political support necessary to outlaw it. The president, in particular, feared offending southern Democrats who controlled Congress through committee chairmanships and upon whom he depended to pass New Deal legislation. Eleanor Roosevelt, for her part, restricted her activities to consulting with the NAACP in the White House and sounding out possible legislative strategies. Not until 1968 did Congress formally enact federal laws outlawing lynching.

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—John C. Fredriksen

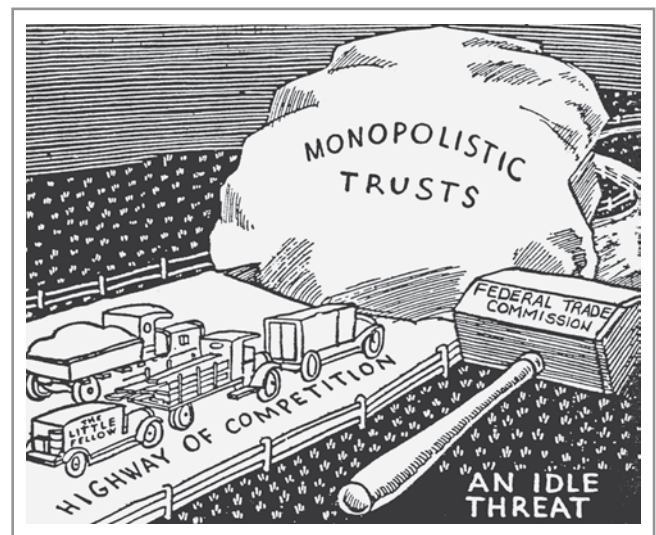
### antimonopoly

The conviction that economic concentration harmed the economy and gave big BUSINESS excessive political power was an important part of 20th-century LIBERALISM going back to the Progressive Era and especially to the ideas of Louis Brandeis. But while Brandeis (a SUPREME COURT justice in the 1930s) and his views continued to have significant influence among liberals, antimonopoly (or antitrust)

policy did not figure prominently in NEW DEAL reform and recovery programs until the mid- and late 1930s. Efforts to reduce the size and power of the corporate giants then lost momentum during WORLD WAR II.

The most important development in antimonopoly policy in the HOOVER PRESIDENCY involved LABOR rather than business. The 1932 NORRIS–LA GUARDIA ACT, sponsored by Republican senator GEORGE NORRIS of Nebraska and Republican congressman FIORELLO LA GUARDIA of New York, prohibited the use of federal court injunctions under the antitrust laws to enforce “yellow dog” employment contracts forbidding workers to join unions. President HERBERT C. HOOVER, an opponent of monopoly and of suspending or easing antitrust laws for business trade associations, reluctantly signed the legislation.

With the election of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to the presidency in 1932, antitrust advocates, including Brandeis disciple FELIX FRANKFURTER, a Harvard Law School professor, tried to influence New Deal policy in an antimonopoly direction. But the so-called FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933 sought instead to combat the GREAT DEPRESSION by cooperating with big business in national planning and controls. The NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA) of 1933 suspended antitrust laws so that the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA) could develop “codes” of fair competition with cartel-like arrangements in industry. The NRA, however, failed to bring economic



In June 1934 President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the Securities and Exchange Commission. The measure was intended to protect consumers and the national economy, but as the cartoon shown here indicates, some felt the federal government's efforts to regulate trade were simply not powerful enough to destroy all the “roadblocks” facing small businesses. Cartoon by Philip Dorf (Private collection)

recovery and came under sharp criticism for breeding monopoly power from such progressive Republicans in CONGRESS as Gerald Nye and WILLIAM E. BORAH as well as from liberal Democrats. In 1935, the Supreme Court found the NRA unconstitutional in *SCHECHTER POULTRY CORPORATION V. UNITED STATES*.

Frankfurter and his protégés in the administration had more influence on the SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935. The PUBLIC UTILITY HOLDING COMPANY ACT sought to dismantle the giant corporations that dominated the electric power industry. New Deal TAXATION beginning with the REVENUE ACT OF 1935 aimed at taxing big business much more heavily than before, and the undistributed profits tax proposed in 1936 had an important antimonopoly dimension. The Robinson-Patman Act of 1936 prohibited manufacturers or wholesalers from giving special discounts to chain stores and other large purchasers, and the 1937 Miller-Tydings Act extended such “fair trade” protection to small retailers. Nonetheless, antitrust efforts remained secondary to other New Deal programs.

The RECESSION OF 1937–1938 then gave antimonopoly policy a far more central place in administration priorities. A number of New Dealers, including LEON HENDERSON, maintained that concentrated economic power allowed business to restrict production and fix prices higher than they should be, which in turn led to depressed sales, unemployment, and insufficient consumer spending power. Brandeisians had long held that the depression itself could be ascribed in large part to such monopoly power—and the recession, they said, provided more evidence yet. In April 1938, just after he had also announced an increase in federal spending, Roosevelt asked Congress to conduct an investigation into concentrations of economic power, and Congress created the TEMPORARY NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE (TNEC).

The creation of the TNEC, with Henderson as its executive secretary, and the 1938 appointment of Thurman Arnold as assistant attorney general in charge of the Anti-trust Division of the Justice Department gave antimonopoly efforts impressive new momentum. The TNEC undertook a massive investigation of the American economy from 1938 to 1941, calling some 552 witnesses and publishing several dozen volumes of testimony and analysis. Arnold enlarged his division’s budget and staff fivefold, greatly stepped up its antitrust suits (some of them against labor unions), and had significant early successes. Yet the antimonopoly momentum was soon spent. When the TNEC issued its final report and recommendations in 1941, they attracted little attention, and Arnold encountered increasing resistance and difficulties.

World War II proved decisive in the ebbing of the new antimonopoly campaign, despite Arnold’s efforts and the concern of liberals in Washington about the grow-

ing size and power of big business in wartime economic MOBILIZATION. Wartime spending and the resulting prosperity confirmed the doctrine of KEYNESIANISM that government compensatory spending could fire the economy, and antitrust policy lost appeal as a way to enhance consumption and bring prosperity. Conservatives and businessmen won increasing influence in national policy. By mid-1942, antitrust efforts were essentially called off for the duration of the war when business and the military persuaded the administration that antitrust efforts distracted business and impaired mobilization efforts. In early 1943, Roosevelt appointed Arnold to the Washington, D.C., Court of Appeals. By the end of the war, antimonopoly efforts had lost much of their force and support.

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## anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism in America, present since the nation’s founding and particularly virulent in the 1920s, remained high and in some ways intensified during the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II. Manifested not just in attitudes about JEWS but also in actions ranging from name-calling to discrimination to acts of vandalism and sometimes violence, anti-Semitism rose during the war before declining by the end of the war.

PUBLIC OPINION POLLS in the 1929–45 era indicated that a significant minority of Americans accepted derogatory stereotypes of Jews. Such views held, for example, that Jews had too much political and economic power, and that they used this power to manipulate world and national events for their own benefit. The economic insecurities of the depression years sometimes led to scapegoating and reinforced anti-Semitic attitudes and behavior. Job discrimination, restrictive quotas in universities, and bans against Jews belonging to clubs or buying property in some developments remained common. Because President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT included a number of Jewish officials in his NEW DEAL, anti-Semites called his administration the “Jew Deal.” After the United States entered into World War II, many Americans erroneously accused Jews of shirking military duty and charged them with profiteering from the war. From 1941 until 1944, Americans consistently reported to poll-

sters that they were more suspicious of Jewish Americans than they were of either Japanese Americans or German Americans.

Anti-Semitism was frequently expressed in harsh rhetorical attacks against Jews, including those by the Silver Shirt League, a nativist group, and by the American Bund, a Nazi-funded group that the U.S. GOVERNMENT would later target after America's entry into the war. A single anti-Jewish demonstration in Madison Square Garden in 1939 by the Bund drew more than 20,000 people and little counterprotest. Millions of Americans listened as well to the RADIO programs of FATHER CHARLES E. COUGHLIN, a Catholic priest who accused Jews of being Communist sympathizers and of subversively plotting to draw America into World War II. In his broadcasts, Coughlin subtly advocated violence against Jews. He openly supported the Christian Front, a native fascist group, whose members physically assaulted Jewish children in cities across America and, in one instance, conspired to poison dozens of Jews in Detroit and to assassinate members of CONGRESS. Hostility toward Jews also led to vandalizing Jewish businesses and to desecrating synagogues in some cities.

Most tragically, anti-Semitism contributed to the refusal of most Americans to support admitting the mostly Jewish refugees fleeing from Hitler's regime and the unfolding HOLOCAUST in Europe into the United States. A poll in 1938, in fact, indicated that 60 percent of Americans objected to the presence of Jews in America. The anti-Semitism of high-ranking officers in the State Department and in consulates abroad helped produce restrictive IMMIGRATION procedures designed to drastically limit Jewish immigration into the United States. Fear of provoking a powerful anti-Jewish backlash inhibited pro-immigration organizations that might otherwise have more forcefully called for members of the United States Congress to liberalize immigration quotas.

Jewish organizations, including the Anti-Defamation League, formed the General Jewish Council to counter the real and perceived threats posed by widespread anti-Semitism and to debunk anti-Semitic rumors and stereotypes. The U.S. government used other evidence gathered by the council to pursue and dismantle the American Bund. Not until 1944, when Americans felt confident that the nation would emerge victorious from World War II, did anti-Semitic sentiment in the United States subside. After the war, anti-Semitism declined sharply, in part because of a horrified reaction to the Holocaust and the attitudes that had produced it.

**Further reading:** Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

—Julie Whitcomb

## Army, U.S.

The U.S. Army in WORLD WAR II was the largest ground force ever fielded in the nation's history and was vital to the Allied victory in both the EUROPEAN THEATER and the PACIFIC THEATER. In Europe, the army engaged AXIS forces beginning in November 1942 in the NORTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN, and followed the victory there with successful operations in SICILY, the ITALIAN CAMPAIGN, the INVASION OF NORMANDY, and central Europe. In the Pacific theater, the army supported island-hopping advances of the U.S. NAVY and U.S. MARINES in the central Pacific and vanquished Japanese forces in the southwest Pacific and the PHILIPPINES.

The U.S. Army raised a force of more than 8.2 million men and women by March 1945, in both combat and support arms, including nearly 1.8 million personnel in the U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES. Under President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT as commander in chief, the War Department, with headquarters at the newly constructed Pentagon, supervised the recruitment, training, deployment, and operations of the largest force in American history.

Roosevelt, like British prime minister Winston Churchill and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, retained overall control of the nation's war effort, but he entrusted his civilian and military subordinates with greater responsibility for the conduct of affairs than did his contemporaries. Secretary of War HENRY L. STIMSON was responsible for the administration of the army from July 1940 until the end of the war. Stimson was assisted by Under Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson, who was primarily concerned with procurement; by Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy, who acted as Stimson's deputy; and by Assistant Secretary of War for Air Robert A. Lovett, who supervised air force administrative functions.

This civilian team controlled subordinate military elements consisting of three separate, coequal, and autonomous components following the reorganization of the War Department in March 1942. The first component was the U.S. Army Ground Forces under Lieutenant General Lesley J. McNair, whose command trained and developed ground combat branches including armor, infantry, airborne, and artillery. Once units were raised, trained, and equipped, they were shipped overseas to one of seven theaters where they became the theater commander's responsibility.

The second component, and eventually the largest, was the Services of Supply (later Army Services Forces), under Lieutenant General Brehon B. Somervell. This command bore responsibility for ground force logistics and procurement, and included the transportation and quartermaster corps, chemical warfare service, ordnance, medical, and signal corps, and the corps of engineers and military police. The third component was the army air forces under



## 26 Army Air Forces, U.S.

General HENRY H. “Hap” ARNOLD, which had its own organizations comparable to those of the ground forces.

The establishment of these commands left chief of staff GEORGE C. MARSHALL and the War Department General Staff free to plan and execute operations from the Operations and Plans Division at the Pentagon. Marshall controlled the theater commanders worldwide and coordinated U.S. Army operations with other military services represented on the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as well as British forces through the Combined Chiefs of Staff.

When the war started in 1939, the army consisted of 190,000 troops that were well trained and led, yet were understrength and lacking in modern equipment. The National Guard consisted of a mere 200,000 men. With the beginning of conscription, following passage of the SELECTIVE SERVICE Act in September 1940, the army ranks increased rapidly to approximately 1.4 million men by December 1941. During the war, 38.8 percent of personnel were volunteers and 61.2 percent were draftees. Although Marshall planned to raise 100 divisions, the army finally comprised 90 divisions. Approximately 73 percent served overseas, with an average duration of 33 months. At the beginning of the war, the army accepted AFRICAN AMERICANS only in limited numbers, usually in segregated noncombat units, but by 1945 the numbers and duties of black soldiers had expanded and some steps had been taken toward desegregation. Women served in the WOMEN’S ARMY CORPS (WAC).

The creation of the triangular infantry divisions in May 1940, each consisting of three regiments with three battalions and three companies, totaling 14,250 men, with supporting engineer, artillery, armor, service, and headquarters units, proved wise, as they were flexible in combat. The army was deployed in 11 field armies (First to Ninth, and 10th and 15th), containing 26 corps total. In addition to infantry divisions, the basic unit, the army created 16 heavy and light armored divisions, with 390 and 263 TANKS, respectively, and 60 nondivisional tank battalions, 326 artillery battalions, 400 antiaircraft batteries, and 86 tank destroyer battalions. In response to needs for specialized units, the army raised one mountain, five airborne, and two cavalry divisions. The army deployed 68 divisions to the European theater and 22 divisions to the Pacific theater.

It is generally accepted that the organization and administration of the army during World War II, both at home and abroad, was second to none. Critics do cite a faulty replacement system that tended to damage unit cohesion, and a lack of infantry replacements late in the war because of the draw of other branches of the military. American soldiers, however, were well trained, equipped, fed, and led. Their access to, and liberal use of, copious amounts of materiel, munitions, technically advanced weaponry, and firepower usually gave them a crucial edge.

Overall, army personnel performed well under fire and aggressively took the initiative to the enemy in diverse terrain, weather, and battle conditions. Casualties (combat and noncombat losses) in the U.S. Army and U.S. Army Air Forces numbered approximately 820,000, including 234,874 dead.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

### Army Air Forces, U.S.

By the end of WORLD WAR II, the U.S. Army Air Forces comprised the largest and most powerful air armada ever created and dominated the skies in both the EUROPEAN THEATER and the PACIFIC THEATER. Vastly superior in size and technical sophistication to any other air force on either side of the conflict, the army air forces conducted decisive strategic BOMBING campaigns against both Nazi Germany and imperial Japan, significantly impairing Axis war production and morale. The army air forces also provided vital tactical close air support to American and Allied ground forces in every major campaign worldwide, especially after 1943, effectively denying enemy forces of their mobility and supplies.

In September 1939, the U.S. Army Air Corps was an administrative unit of the U.S. ARMY, under the command of Major General HENRY H. “Hap” ARNOLD. Many airmen, however, desired greater autonomy, believed that AIR POWER would play a major role in any future conflict, and were dissatisfied by a chain of command dominated by ground officers. Their agitation prompted the army to create a nearly autonomous and coequal U.S. Army Air Forces within the larger army in June 1941. As commander of the later Army Air Forces Headquarters, Arnold sat on the Joint Chiefs of Staff and directed subsequent air operations without formally reporting through the army chain of command to the chief of staff.

With a separate headquarters, training establishment, bases, meteorological and intelligence services, communications and transport system, and procurement and supply structure, the army air forces expanded at an extraordinary rate following the outbreak of the European War in 1939. In that year the army possessed 17 air bases in the continental United States, a figure that grew to 345 main bases, 116 smaller bases, and 322 auxiliary fields by 1943 alone, not counting additional thousands of bomber bases, airstrips, and other tactical fighter bases in the combat theaters abroad. Manpower grew from 20,000 men in June 1938 to nearly 1.8 million by March 1945, eventually com-





Formation of P-40s in a practice flight at the Army Air Forces advanced flying school (Library of Congress)

prising about one-fifth of the U.S. Army's total strength. Barred from the army air forces at the beginning of the war, African Americans subsequently served in limited numbers as pilots and crewmembers, most notably in the 99th Pursuit Squadron of the Tuskegee Airmen. In addition to those in uniform, the air forces also employed a further 422,000 civilians performing a host of technical, administrative, and service duties such as ferrying aircraft or serving in the Civil Air Patrol. Some 1,000 women served in the WOMEN AIRFORCE SERVICE PILOTS (WASP), a quasimilitary civilian organization that performed a variety of piloting tasks for the army air forces.

In September 1939 the air force possessed 2,470 aircraft, largely obsolescent types, although new state-of-the-art models, such as the B-29 Superfortress, were already in development. By its peak strength in July 1944, the air force had nearly 80,000 operational aircraft of all types and descriptions from fighters, reconnaissance and cargo aircraft to light, medium, and heavy bombers, many of them rated among the best in the world in terms of bomb load capacity, technical and mechanical performance, durability, and ability to deliver firepower in the air and on the ground.

During World War II the army developed 16 separate air forces (the First through 16th), 11 of these serving either in strategic, reconnaissance, patrol, or tactical roles in the European theater and the Pacific theater, or in Panama, the Caribbean, or Alaska. Four of these air forces remained in the United States for purposes of continental defense and training. The organization and equipping of the air forces varied widely depending on roles and missions, but each force most usually contained fighter, bomber, and air service commands. Other air forces, such as the Ninth Air Force in Europe, played a primarily tactical support role, while the Eighth and 15th Air Forces in Britain and the Mediterranean, respectively, and the 20th Air Force in the Mariana Islands conducted largely strategic bombardment missions. The 10th Air Force in India provided tactical ground support in the China-Burma-India theater and organized and flew the "Hump" supply route over the Himalayas to Nationalist China.

The combat units in an air force varied widely as well, with the group, roughly equivalent to an army ground unit, serving as the main administrative and operational unit. Altogether the air forces created 243 fully equipped groups, each consisting of three or four squadrons, the basic combat unit. Squadrons were described and numbered according to function, and they normally did their training together and fought together as a unit. In 1944, a squadron, which contained three or more flights or aircraft, contained from seven B-29 Superfortress bombers up to 25 fighter aircraft, numbering from 200 to 500 men.

By the end of the war, the U.S. Army Air Forces had taken delivery of some 158,000 aircraft out of the 300,000 produced by the United States for itself and for the GRAND ALLIANCE. The force included 51,221 bombers and 47,000 fighters, of which nearly 23,000 were lost in combat. During the war the air force flew over 2,363,000 combat sorties, dropped 2,057,000 tons of bombs (more than 75 percent of that on Germany), and expended 459,750,000 rounds of ammunition. Casualties numbered 115,383, including 40,061 dead, of whom 17,021 were officers.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

**Arnold, Henry H. ("Hap")** (1886–1950)

*commanding general of U.S. Army Air Forces*

The commanding general of the U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES during World War II, an aviation pioneer, and a leading proponent of AIR POWER, Henry Harley "Hap" Arnold is

considered the creator of the modern United States Air Force.

Born in Gladwyne, Pennsylvania, Arnold graduated from West Point in 1907. In 1911, he volunteered for flight training with the Wright Brothers, and was one of the first army aviators. During World War I, he served in Washington overseeing the training of flying units and the acquisition of air bases. In the 1920s and 1930s, Arnold served at a number of military posts where he developed his ideas on the uses of air power and the importance of technology. In 1938, he was promoted to the rank of major general and assumed command of the U.S. Army Air Corps (later the U.S. Army Air Forces).

Arnold played a vital role not only in building the U.S. Army Air Forces during World War II but also in furthering ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS and the prosecution of the war. Recognizing the danger posed by the German Luftwaffe, Arnold began working in the late 1930s to impress upon President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT the need to expand America's air strength. His efforts contributed to CONGRESS appropriating billions of dollars for the expansion of the army air forces from 1939 to 1941. Among Arnold's first tasks was to allocate aircraft production between expanding the U.S. forces and those of Allies under the LEND-LEASE Act, and he served as President Roosevelt's air adviser at the ATLANTIC CHARTER conference of Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill in 1941. Early in 1942, Arnold agreed to a British-American strategic BOMBING offensive in Europe. As a member of the American Joint Chiefs of Staff and the British-American combined staffs, Arnold attended the CASABLANCA CONFERENCE and the POTSDAM CONFERENCE. In 1944 he was promoted to the rank of five-star general.

General Arnold was known for his brusque and demanding style of command. More an organizer and builder than a strategist, he realized technology's importance and sponsored research into advanced electronics and aeronautical design. By war's end, his command had grown from fewer than 20,000 men and 300 aircraft to some 1.8 million personnel and well over 60,000 aircraft. He retired in early 1946 because of a heart condition. Even in retirement his influence continued, as he pushed to make the air force a separate branch of the armed forces, and for the use of missiles. (The U.S. Air Force was created in 1947.) Arnold died in 1950.

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—Robert J. Hanyok

## art and architecture

From 1929 to 1945, American art and architecture underwent important developments that reflected both long-term trends and the momentous events of the era. Modernism (a broadly defined movement based upon the intentional rejection of traditional, classical methods of artistic expression) continued to profoundly influence American art, but the social and political context of the GREAT DEPRESSION and the NEW DEAL had a significant impact as well. Aided by a large influx of European artists, New York City especially revealed the growing accomplishments of American art and architecture and increasingly displaced Paris as the world capital of art.

Architectural achievement in the period included the continued prominence and productions of Frank Lloyd Wright and the emergence of urban skyscrapers, most notably in New York. A modernist architect with natural instincts, the Wisconsin-born Wright continued to build upon the legacy he had established in earlier decades. His most notable achievement of the era was the rustic Falling Water (constructed between 1936 and 1939), a blended, modernistic and Japanese-styled home built in the secluded woods of Pennsylvania near Pittsburgh.

Meanwhile, architecture in the New York City area in the interwar years came to epitomize the very notion of the modern big city. Especially in Manhattan, the 1920s and early 1930s witnessed the rise of the skyscraper as a powerful symbol of urban civilization. Relying upon an adapted French art deco style, the New York City skyline was expanded to include the Chrysler Building (designed by William Van Allen and completed in 1930) as well as the world-famous symbol of modern New York City itself, the towering Empire State Building (completed in 1931 under the direction of the architectural firm Shreve, Lamb and Harmon). The architect Raymond Hood, who had been at the forefront of early Manhattan skyscraper development in the 1920s (for example, the Daily News Building and the American Radiator Building), continued to be a powerful architectural force through the 1930s. While the McGraw-Hill Building was one of his notable achievements, he is best known for the Rockefeller Center, begun in 1929 and completed in 1939. Under the patronage of the powerful Rockefeller family, Hood designed the multipurpose area to include such notable venues as the RCA building and the popular Radio City Music Hall (conceptualized by Samuel Lionel "Roxy" Rothafel and designed by Wallace Harrison).

The opening of the NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR in 1939 further cemented the developing image of New York City as the world's cosmopolitan, architectural center. The modernistic obelisk Trylon and the soaring, triangular Perisphere (also designed by Wallace Harrison) complemented





The home and studio of Frank Lloyd Wright, Chicago, Illinois (*Library of Congress*)

the prophetic Futurama exhibition, designed by Norman Bel Geddes under the sponsorship of the General Motors Corporation. Such international exposure gave New York City a creatively vibrant, cutting-edge feel, and helped to transform the image of Manhattan from one of a crowded destination for industrial immigrants to that of a center for cultural and artistic progressivism. With the construction of the Museum of Modern Art (1929) and the Whitney Museum (1931), New York City was poised to become the new world center for sculpture and painting as well. During World War II, war production and construction needs took priority over such architectural projects in New York and elsewhere.

The leading figure in American sculpture during the period was the innovative Alexander Calder (1898–1976). The inventor of the “mobile” form of sculpture, Calder had studied and worked in Paris prior to coming back to America. Calder constructed abstract figures out of wire, wood,

tin, and other materials, often placing ball-like shapes at the ends. Sometimes, his constructions were enormous (especially later creations, which could approach the size of an airplane), and at other times they were interconnected arcs or leaflike structures that moved with room air currents. Calder’s mechanical engineering background doubtless enabled him to effectively manipulate materials and shapes in unique ways that greatly expanded the creative horizons of modern sculpting.

The Great Depression brought about major changes in the relationship between GOVERNMENT and the arts. Such New Deal programs as the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP) and the FEDERAL ART PROJECT (FAP), undertook various art ventures in order to provide work RELIEF jobs for unemployed artists. The resulting publicly funded paintings, sculptures, and murals often reflected populist and patriotic themes. These works sometimes displayed a noticeably chauvinistic emphasis upon displaying

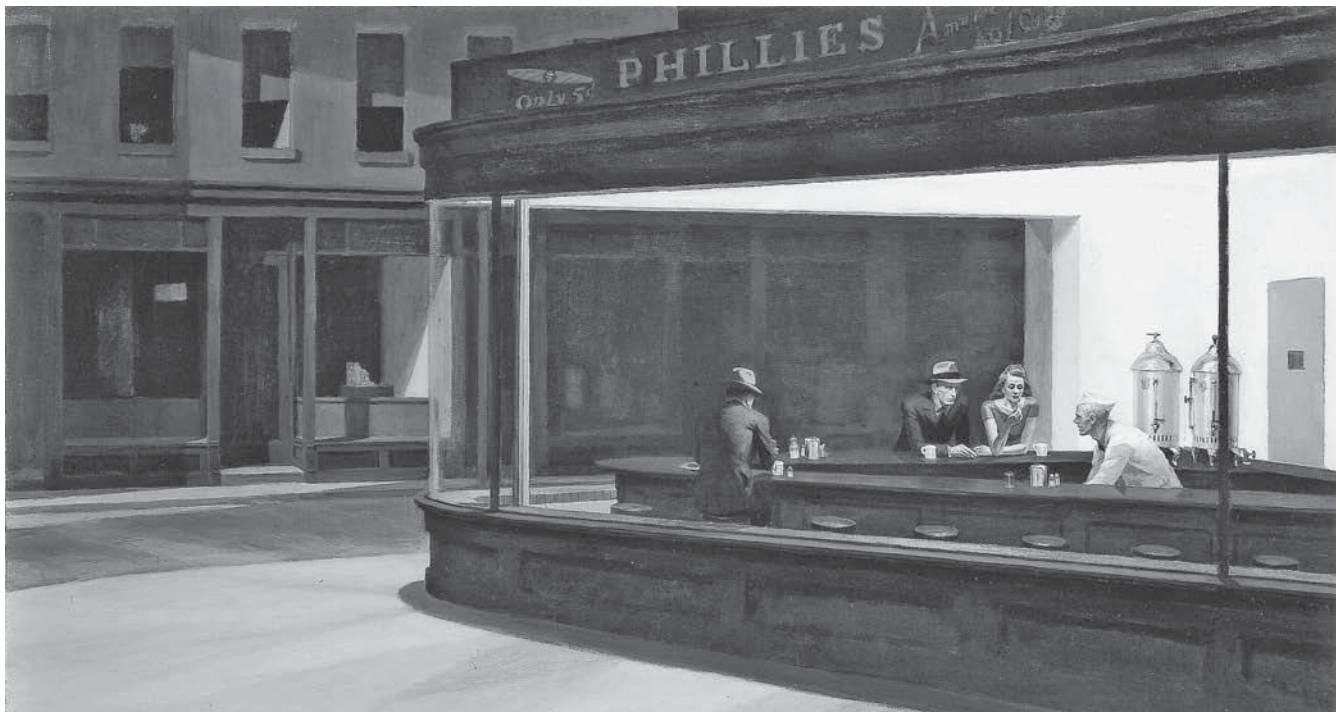
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the strength of indigenous American character, as well as teaching the necessary public virtues to weather the economic crisis. Generally, the work produced by the federal programs was not highly regarded by art critics, although such subsequently renowned artists as Jackson Pollock and Willem de Kooning were at one time supported by the Federal Art Project.

The increasing role of government in the arts during the depression also offered opportunities to African American artists, particularly the New Jersey-born Jacob Lawrence. As a young man, Lawrence had traveled to New York City, where he was stimulated by the Harlem Renaissance. Lawrence focused on the contemporary Great Migration of AFRICAN AMERICANS from the southern poverty and racism to almost equally grim northern urban areas. During the 1930s and 1940s, Lawrence painted a series of 60 works that came to be known as the Migration Series (originally known as *The Migration of the Negro*). In these paintings, which were influenced by cubism and the French painter Henri Matisse, Lawrence depicted the harsh realities of life for African Americans during the Great Depression. Even while depicting such themes as rural African-American poverty, urban slums, and prison life, however, Lawrence did not display a radical or overtly political ideology in his works, in contrast to more openly leftist artists of the period.

PHOTOGRAPHY continued to develop as an art form in the era, particularly in the Western School of Ansel Adams and others. Also of continuing importance was Alfred Stieglitz (1864–1946), a pioneer in the emergence of photography as a distinct art form who brought European avant-garde artistic styles to America in the late 1800s. Opening in New York City the most influential artistic photography studio in America, Stieglitz was highly active not only in photography but also in promoting modernist painting and sculpture and in lecturing widely, until his death in 1946.

But photography reached a larger audience through the photojournalism of *LIFE* MAGAZINE and the NEWS MEDIA. As with other aspects of art, photography also reflected the social and political currents of the era—not only in the photojournalism of the depression and war years, but also in the documentary photographs of the New Deal's FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION (FSA). Such accomplished FSA photographers as DOROTHEA LANGE and WALKER EVANS provided graphic (and often carefully and purposefully composed) depictions of rural poverty designed to develop support for reform programs. During World War II, the FSA's photographic section was transferred to the OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION, which sought to inspire patriotism as well as to document social change and progress.



*Nighthawks*, painting by Edward Hopper, 1942 (The Art Institute of Chicago)



During the Great Depression and World War II, three camps emerged that defined particular artistic styles and preoccupations: abstract artists, social realists, and regionalists. While the sculptor Alexander Calder clearly was one of the most notable representatives of the abstract wing, other important abstract artists of the period (overwhelmingly centered in New York City) included Fritz Glarner, Burgoyne Diller, Carl Holty, Ilya Bolotowsky, and Charmion von Wiegand. The abstract artists were influenced by Europeans (such as Piet Mondrian and others), and they often produced works of geometric and abstractly utopian construction. In general, however, this group received little attention at the time, perhaps because the economic and social difficulties of the Great Depression tended to point toward a focus upon more realistic themes.

The social realists of the time can themselves be broadly divided into two groups: those artists who were more overtly political from a liberal or leftist perspective and those who can best be characterized as apolitical. Strongly political and leftist themes were injected into the U.S. art scene by the Mexican artist Diego Rivera, whose mural, *Man at the Crossroads*, created a furor for its heroic depiction of Soviet leader Vladimir Lenin. Though commissioned by the Rockefeller family for inclusion in the new Rockefeller Center, the mural so offended the Rockefellers that they removed Rivera, and the mural, from the project. Other politically radical social realist artists included Ben Shahn, Jack Levine, and Philip Evergood, who generally displayed overtly Marxist themes and social commentary in their works.

From a more apolitical perspective, artists such as Stuart Davis and Edward Hopper especially focused on urban scenes and the realities of life in the big city. Davis tended more toward abstraction in his later works, as he was increasingly influenced by the cubist movement. Two of his most noteworthy works were both murals: *Men without Women* (1932) and *Swing Landscape* (1938), itself a piece created under the auspices of the New Deal's WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION. Davis often drew inspiration from his excursions into various New York City neighborhoods, including Chinatown and JAZZ clubs catering primarily to blacks.

Edward Hopper likewise portrayed landscape and cityscape works that often had the feel of a vignette, and a certain dreamlike character often pervaded his paintings. Hopper depicted the realities and complexities of both rural and especially urban life in 20th-century America, with a special attention given to lighting, shadow, and mood, which often provided his works with a mysterious or even lonely quality. Works such as *Early Sunday Morning* (1930), *Room in New York* (1932), and perhaps Hopper's most notable work, *Nighthawks* (1942), are primary examples of this particular style and emphasis.

From a completely different venue came the work of the regionalists, including such artists as Grant Wood, John Steuart Curry, and Thomas Hart Benton. These artists developed themes relating to small-town, rural, and farm life in the America of the period. Quintessentially American in their portrayal of heartland values, religion, and morality, these artists gained, perhaps surprisingly, a critical following in the sophisticated New York City art world of the day. Notable works of these artists include Wood's *Stone City, Iowa* (1930) and especially his well-known *American Gothic* (1930), Curry's *Baptism in Kansas* (1928), and Benton's *Social History of Missouri* (1935). In a somewhat different vein, the popular artist Norman Rockwell also gave attention to such themes in his mass-produced works. Rockwell's name became practically synonymous with the image of small-town Americana as exhibited in his productions, which provided reassurance in the trying days of depression and war, and his works were deeply beloved by the public at large.

Finally, the mid-1940s witnessed the emergence of the movement that would later become known as abstract expressionism, a phenomenon that would last into the 1950s and beyond. This movement would shift the artistic focus to the examination of Jungian-style concepts and themes, such as the primordial, the primitive, and archetypal explorations. Such notable figures as the "drip" artist Jackson Pollock (*Mural* and *Pasiphae*, both 1943), Willem de Kooning (*Seated Figure*, 1940), and Mark Rothko (*Baptismal Scene*, 1945), would all lay the foundations for this next influential period in American art in the postwar era.

See also CITIES AND URBAN LIFE.

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—Haelim Allen

## Asian Americans

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, many Asian Americans struggled both to preserve their ethnic identity and customs and to deal with increased prejudice and win new opportunities. As it did for other groups, WORLD WAR II ultimately hastened their assimilation and acculturation, though only after severe trauma in the case of Japanese Americans.

Although the term "Asian Americans" can include a variety of peoples from throughout the Asian continent,

Japan, and the Philippines, it typically refers to those from East Asia. (Only a few thousand immigrants from India lived in the United States in this period.) Among the East Asians, Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans were most numerous and prominent. By 1930, primarily as a result of IMMIGRATION restrictions imposed during the late 19th century and early 20th century, culminating in the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 that among other things essentially prohibited immigration from China and Japan, immigrants from East Asia represented only about 1 percent of the U.S. foreign-born population (and roughly one-tenth of 1 percent of the total population). East Asian immigrants were concentrated in the western states, particularly in California.

Like other immigrant groups, Asian Americans came in search of economic opportunities. Arriving at Angel Island in San Francisco Bay, many immigrants from East Asia looked for work in cities such as San Francisco where they established ethnic enclaves known as “Chinatowns” or “Japan towns.” However, unlike European immigrants in the East, the majority of Asian Americans found employment not as industrial workers but as laborers in the developing agricultural economy of the West and in mining. During the GREAT DEPRESSION, the scarcity of jobs often confined Asian Americans, even those with professional training, to menial jobs in the service sector as domestics.

Opportunities for Asian Americans were limited not only by the depression but by prejudice as well. Nativist groups such as the Asian Exclusion League and the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West worked to bar Asian Americans from more desirable occupations. And although some Chinese American workers in the garment industry experienced limited success in the INTERNATIONAL LADIES’ GARMENT WORKERS UNION of San Francisco, Asian Americans were largely kept out of LABOR unions. Federal law prevented Asian immigrants from becoming naturalized citizens, though the American-born children of Asian immigrants did have U.S. citizenship.

Because of the shortage of jobs and the growing extent and cost of RELIEF programs in the 1930s, GOVERNMENT officials wanted to limit additional immigration. The prevailing hostility toward nonwhite groups prompted officials to target MEXICAN AMERICANS and also Filipinos, who as residents of a U.S. territory had enjoyed unrestricted immigration. In 1934, after the Tydings-McDuffie Act pledged independence for the Philippines by 1945, Filipino nationals were classified as aliens, given an annual immigration quota of just 50 people, and disqualified from NEW DEAL programs.

Anti-Japanese sentiment escalated sharply after the bombing of PEARL HARBOR and U.S. entry into World War II. By February 1942, pressure from local political orga-



The 442nd Regimental Combat Team, established in 1943 and composed entirely of Japanese Americans from the mainland United States and Hawaii, was one of the most highly decorated in U.S. history. (*National Archives*)

nizations and the military prompted President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to issue EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066 that led to the RELOCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS from the West Coast. Suffering considerable financial and personal losses, more than 110,000 Japanese Americans—roughly two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens—were incarcerated in camps. The SUPREME COURT sustained the relocation policy, by far the worst violation of CIVIL LIBERTIES on the WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT, in its 1944 decision in *KOREMATSU V. UNITED STATES*.

For Asian Americans, especially Japanese Americans, World War II marked a turning point in which many communities worked to identify more closely with mainstream America. During the war, an estimated 25,000 or more Japanese Americans, many seeking to demonstrate their loyalty, served in the U.S. armed forces. In fact, the most decorated unit in the U.S. ARMY, with more than 9,000 casualties, was the Japanese-American 442nd Regimental Combat Team. China’s suffering at the hands of Japanese militarism received considerable attention during the war, and Chinese Americans began to gain political influence and support from groups such as the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION and prominent figures such as publisher HENRY LUCE in campaigns to permit Chinese immigration. After the war, the barriers facing Asian Americans did not disappear, but they began to steadily, if slowly, crumble as Asian Americans sought new opportunities and became more fully accepted members of American society.

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—Shannon L. Parsley

### Atlantic, Battle of the (1940–1943)

The Battle of the Atlantic involved the effort of German SUBMARINES to disrupt the shipping of American goods to Great Britain and the Soviet Union. During the most intense period of the Battle of the Atlantic, from 1940 until early 1943, the Germans so threatened imports of American supplies and war materials to Great Britain that near crisis conditions existed. Yet the Allied ability to marshal technology, to organize and coordinate antisubmarine forces, and to produce ships, ultimately assured victory and enabled American LEND-LEASE Act materials to reach their destinations in sufficient quantities.

Germany possessed 40 U-boats in September 1939, but these vessels could not access Atlantic shipping routes

until the German conquest of Norway and France in April and June 1940. That summer, British antisubmarine resources were stretched thin, but CONVOYS soon reduced losses. Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz then ordered U-boats to attack in “wolf packs” of up to 20 U-boats, and the wolf packs sank increasing tonnage from September 1940 into 1941, including 1,299 merchant ships in 1941 alone. Despite British and American successes in CODE BREAKING, and in using improved radio direction-finding equipment, radar, sonar, depth charges, and sea and air escorts, the wolf packs dominated in 1942. U-boats scored successes along the North Atlantic “Murmansk run” to the Soviet Union, in the Caribbean, and along the American coast.

The tide turned quickly between February and May 1943. Allied naval and air forces made better use of intelligence, and the American SHIPBUILDING industry provided more shipping and escort ships with improved antisubmarine weapons. Air cover provided by escort carriers of the U.S. NAVY and by U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES B-24 bombers equipped with radar and searchlights closed the “Atlantic



Coast Guardsmen on the deck of the U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Spencer* watch the explosion of depth charges against a German submarine trying to penetrate a convoy, April 17, 1943. (*National Archives*)



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gap.” In February 1943, 22 U-boats were sunk, followed by 32 in March and April and 46 in May. Germany then suspended operations, tacitly admitting defeat, and convoys went unmolested to Europe after mid-1943. During the Battle of the Atlantic, the Germans lost 785 out of some 1,160 U-boats and sank nearly 2,600 Allied merchant ships.

See also WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

### Atlantic Charter (1941)

The Atlantic Charter was a document of common principles issued by U.S. president FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and British prime minister Winston Churchill on August 14, 1941, following a meeting on August 9–12 aboard U.S. and Royal Navy ships in Placentia Bay, off the coast of Newfoundland. The conference marked the first wartime meeting between Roosevelt and Churchill, but the two leaders had divergent aims. Churchill wanted a clear American commitment to join Britain in WORLD WAR II at a time when Britain was facing setbacks in North Africa, the Atlantic, and Southeast Asia. Already, the LEND-LEASE Act of March 1941 had enabled increased material support of England, and Lend-Lease had been extended to the Soviet Union following her invasion by Germany in June 1941. But with most Americans still hoping to avoid entry into the war (the conference came just as the SELECTIVE SERVICE Act was being extended by only one vote in the House of Representatives), Roosevelt wanted to signal cooperation with Great Britain, but to stop well short of an explicit commitment to a military alliance. He also wanted a statement of principles to show that American principles would not be eroded by cooperation with the British or the Soviets.

The Atlantic Charter reflected principles stated in Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points of World War I, including self-determination, disarmament, and economic cooperation. It stated that neither country sought territorial aggrandizement. It acknowledged that all people had the right to choose their own form of government and not have territorial changes forced upon them, and called for free trade and freedom of the seas. The charter also vaguely indicated a desire for “the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security.” Though ISOLATIONISTS remained suspicious, most Americans felt that Roosevelt had successfully avoided a commitment of war, while many in Britain felt that Churchill had gotten too little and given up too much, including the possibility of los-

ing its colonies. But the conference did serve to symbolize American-British cooperation. The Atlantic Charter itself became a basis of the Declaration of the United Nations in January 1942 and later a foundation of the UNITED NATIONS organization.

See also ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

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—Charles Marquette

### atomic bomb

The atomic bomb was a stunningly powerful new weapon developed during WORLD WAR II that relied upon nuclear fission—splitting the nucleus of a uranium or plutonium atom—to release a tremendous amount of energy. It played a vital role not only in the surrender of Japan in the PACIFIC THEATER of the war but also in the deteriorating relations of the GRAND ALLIANCE after the war.

The wartime race for an atomic weapon began in Germany in 1938 when two scientists discovered a way to split uranium atoms and produce atomic fission. The following year, with the threat of a potential Nazi nuclear arsenal in mind, the physicist Albert Einstein successfully persuaded President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to undertake an American-sponsored effort to build a bomb. In 1941, the U.S. government’s OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT began secretly coordinating what became known as the MANHATTAN PROJECT. Scores of handpicked researchers at universities across the country confirmed that a fission chain reaction was possible by isolating the rarer uranium isotope U-235 from the more common form, U-238, and later found that a new element, plutonium, behaved the same way. Between 1943 and 1945, army general Leslie R. Groves and physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer directed about 120,000 personnel in the \$2 billion Manhattan Project at installations in 37 facilities in the United States and Canada. A laboratory at Los Alamos, in the New Mexico desert, was responsible for putting the weapon together.

In July 1945, as tests continued, and two months after Germany surrendered, President Harry S. Truman traveled to Germany to meet with his British and Soviet allies at the POTSDAM CONFERENCE. Among other issues, the “Big Three” leaders discussed how to prosecute the war against the sole remaining AXIS power, Japan. At the conclusion of the conference, Truman and new British prime minister Clement Attlee (the Soviets had not yet entered the war against Japan) issued the Potsdam Declaration, which called upon Japan to surrender unconditionally by August 3 or face “prompt and utter destruction,” although



not specifically mentioning the atomic bomb, which had just been successfully tested at Alamogordo. Nor did Truman explicitly inform Soviet leader Joseph Stalin about the bomb (the British had been involved in the project). Rather, as the conference neared its end, Truman (as he later wrote) “casually mentioned to Stalin that we had a new weapon of unusual destructive force.” Stalin, who knew about the Manhattan Project because of Soviet ESPIONAGE, gave little reaction.

As the bomb moved from a potential weapon to an actual one in the spring and summer of 1945, questions arose over whether and how to use the bomb against Japan. It had generally been assumed by policymakers that the bomb would be a legitimate weapon of war, but the reality of the bomb and its immense power reopened the issue. Some of the very scientists who helped create the bomb, Oppenheimer among them, argued for restraint. Others advised Truman to demonstrate the bomb for spectators at a disclosed site or issue a warning to Tokyo. Army Chief of Staff General GEORGE C. MARSHALL, however, argued that using the awesome weapon was preferable to accepting a large number of Allied casualties in an invasion of Japan. The excessive brutality of the Pacific war, anger at Japan, and racial antagonisms also contributed to the decision. So did worsening SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, for some American policymakers believed that using the bomb would impress the Soviets with American power and resolve and make them more amenable to cooperating on the host of postwar issues facing the Grand Alliance and causing disagreement and tension. Although he admitted “that an atomic bomb explosion would inflict damage and casualties beyond imagination,” Truman went ahead with the prior decision to use it.

On August 6, 1945, the B-29 bomber *Enola Gay* dropped a uranium bomb on Hiroshima, devastating the city and killing up to 50,000 people immediately, with another 50,000 or more dying soon thereafter. Still, the Japanese refused to accept surrender terms. On August 8, the Soviet Union declared war against Japan. On August 9, the United States dropped a plutonium bomb, this time on the port city of Nagasaki, killing at least 50,000, and injuring another 60,000 (see HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI). In the face of the new atomic threat, the emperor intervened and offered surrender.

Almost immediately, the atomic bomb began to affect the postwar American economy, foreign policy, domestic affairs, and popular culture. Scientists, cultural critics, and government officials debated control over atomic know-how. Some cold war anticommunists saw the American atomic monopoly as a way to forestall Soviet aggression and intimidation. Idealistic opponents, however, believed that atomic power was so awesome that only international control could preserve the fragile peace. In 1949, the Sovi-

ets shocked Americans when they detonated their first atomic device. This event contributed to the United States adopting a more stringent form of containing communism, launched the development of a hydrogen bomb, and sparked investigations into spying at Los Alamos.

The atomic bomb also triggered conflicting feelings of optimism and fear. In the 1950s, the government promoted atomic energy as an efficient, clean, inexpensive form of power. Unrealistic innovators foresaw a nuclear utopia where atomic power fueled kitchen appliances and automobiles. Others acknowledged the potential danger of radiation fallout by building bomb shelters. All the while, the government’s civil defense program assured Americans that fear had been exaggerated and that the peaceful atom could bring benefits to all.

Issues of control gradually gave way to the threat of proliferation. While the atomic bomb ignited the superpowers’ nuclear arms race, other nations also sought atomic technology. Despite a global nuclear nonproliferation treaty, by the end of the 20th century no fewer than two dozen countries possessed nuclear weapons, many of which were used for leverage against old regional enemies.

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—Andrew J. Falk

## automobile industry

By the 1920s, the American automobile industry had become one of the nation’s most important big businesses, central to the nation’s ECONOMY and to patterns of TRANSPORTATION. The secret to success for the “Big Three” manufacturers (Ford, General Motors [GM], and Chrysler) that dominated the industry was to mass produce automobiles for a mass market, selling the product at a reasonable price and thereby assuring large profits. In fact, GM was the world’s largest industrial corporation, responsible for manufacturing some 40 percent of all passenger cars, trucks, and buses then sold in the world. The United States dominated global auto production, providing 85 percent of all the world’s vehicles and exporting 10 percent of these to foreign markets. Workers were paid well but were nonunion, a condition that Ford and the other corporate heads enforced through various means of infiltration and intimidation. More than half a million people were employed in the automotive industry. In 1929 alone, nearly 4.5 million cars were sold—roughly one for every 25 Americans. The automobile industry

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then suffered during the GREAT DEPRESSION, was crucial to the efforts of LABOR to unionize mass production industries in the 1930s, and played a vital role in economic MOBILIZATION during WORLD WAR II.

The 1930s proved to be a trying decade for automobile industry leaders, who had to cope with the impact of the depression and with NEW DEAL regulatory and labor policies. As automobile sales dropped by three-fourths between 1929 and 1932, production, profits, and employment all plummeted as well. The ranks of new car dealers thinned from 42,000 to 30,000. Against this backdrop, the New Deal's NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA) drafted codes of fair competition for automobiles as for other industries. Although Ford refused to cooperate, the auto codes were lenient, allowing for industry self-regulation and bypassing NRA Section 7(a)—the guarantee of collective bargaining between employers and workers—with a clause that enabled companies to hire and fire employees for union-related activities.

Another New Deal measure, the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT of 1935, which guaranteed the right of collective bargaining and outlawed unfair labor practices, together with the emergence of the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO) in the mid-1930s, then led to the unionization of much of the automobile industry. The key event in the automotive industry—and because of its significance, in mass production industries more generally—was the 44-day sit-down strike at General Motors' Fisher Body Plant in Flint, Michigan, the largest automobile industry plant in the world. The strike began on December 30, 1936, when workers refused to leave the plant until the demands of the new United Automobile Workers union were recognized, and ended on February 11, 1937, when GM gave in. During the brilliantly organized strike, neither Roosevelt nor Michigan's governor, Frank Murphy, used troops to break up the job action, and GM lost \$175 million in sales as car production dropped from 15,000 per week to barely 150.



Automobiles affected all levels of American life. Here a jeep is used by soldiers on a reconnaissance patrol in 1942. (*Library of Congress*)

As a result of the General Motors strike, UAW membership increased from 98,000 to 400,000 in the first months of 1937. Buoyed by success at GM and Chrysler, the auto-workers' next objective was Ford, but the old carmaker and his vigilante police force—the "Service Department," which intimidated and physically roughed up labor organizers—kept the UAW out until May 1941. But the CIO success with GM and Chrysler in the automobile industry helped produce unionization in the STEEL INDUSTRY and elsewhere.

After the RECESSION OF 1937–1938, when car sales dropped by half, the automobile industry recovered and was rolling out nearly 4 million vehicles by 1941, a million more than two years earlier. Remembering the lean years of the early 1930s, automakers worried about the consequences of converting to defense production at the expense of a growing consumer market and moved slowly and without urgency toward conversion to military production. They continued to produce new cars despite growing shortages of materials and the suspension of new model changes to allow the use of machine tools for military needs. After PEARL HARBOR, the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD ordered suspensions of passenger vehicle production for the duration of the war.

World War II proved a turning point in the history of the automotive industry because it was forced to quickly retool itself for manufacturing wartime material, and it played a large and vital role in the war effort. By dint of its massive factories; huge, highly trained workforce; and its proven capacity for mass production, the industry was strategically well placed to assist in the greater war effort. Not only did the automakers turn out trucks, jeeps, and TANKS, but they produced aircraft parts, machine guns, small arms ammunition, helmets, and binoculars as well. The tally came to 27,000 aircraft, 170,000 boat engines, and more than 5 million guns for military usage—in all, roughly one-fifth of all military supplies made during the war years. By any standard the automobile industry made indelible contributions to the allied cause. For its efforts, GM received \$802 million in public revenues to expand its various facilities, and by war's end the company enjoyed a commensurate 50 percent increase in production capability—paid for by the taxpayer. Conversion to military production led to the employment of new workers, including AFRICAN AMERICANS and women (who at one point constituted one-fourth of the workers in auto industry plants), and to a decline in factory control over workers, which increased workers' power and strikes.

Beginning in 1943, RECONVERSION of the auto plants was planned, but carmakers took part in the so-called war within a war, in which companies still producing war goods opposed others converting to peacetime production. At war's end, with much of the existing passenger vehicle

stock aging or lacking proper parts, the automobile industry began to make up for lost time, as more than 2 million new vehicles were produced in 1946 and nearly 7 million in 1950. In the immediate postwar years, the U.S. automotive industry produced 80 percent of all motor vehicles made in the world.

See also BUSINESS.

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—William J. Thompson

## Axis

The Axis was a coalition of nations led by Germany, Italy, and Japan that fought against the United States and other nations of the GRAND ALLIANCE during World War II. (See WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER.)

Several treaties signed from 1936 to 1940 bound Germany, Italy, and Japan together. The first came on October 25, 1936, with the announcement of an "axis" connecting Germany and Italy. A month later, on November 25, 1936, Germany and Japan signed an anti-Comintern treaty aimed at the Soviet Union, and on November 6, 1937, Italy joined Germany and Japan in an anti-Comintern agreement. On May 22, 1939, the "Pact of Steel" brought Germany and Italy into a full military alliance. And then on September 27, 1940, the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis was cemented when Germany, Italy, and Japan signed the Tripartite Pact.

In the Tripartite Pact, signed after Germany had overrun western Europe in the spring of 1940, Germany, Italy, and Japan declared they would assist each other by "all political, economic and military means" if one of them were attacked by a "Power at present not involved in the European War or in the Chinese-Japanese conflict." The two major nations not involved in combat in Europe or Asia in September 1940 were the United States and the Soviet Union. But since a separate article excluded the Soviet Union, which had signed a mutual nonaggression treaty with Germany (the NAZI-SOVIET PACT) in 1939, the treaty was really aimed at the United States and at deterring the U.S. from military action on behalf of Britain or China. By 1940, therefore, Germany and Italy were cooperating in military operations in Europe and North Africa, while Germany, Italy, and Japan had joined together in what amounted to a military treaty of defense against the United States.





Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler (left to right) in Munich, Germany, 1940 (*Library of Congress*)

As the 1936 and 1937 anti-Comintern treaties indicated, concerns about the Soviet Union helped to produce the Axis alliance. But each of the three major Axis nations also had broad territorial and political ambitions that lay behind their alliance. In particular, Germany aspired to conquer Europe, establish a “thousand-year Reich” of Nazi domination, and implement the HOLOCAUST to eliminate Jewry, while Japan sought to create and dominate what it called a “Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.” One Axis strategy was to turn conquered territories into suppliers of their war machines, and in some cases Axis-controlled nations contributed troops to the war effort. Such states as Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and Slovakia, as well as the Japanese-controlled government in Manchukuo, became part of the Axis alliance.

Despite growing American opposition to the ambitions and actions of the Axis nations from the late 1930s on, and despite its increasingly pro-Allied and anti-Axis policies in 1940 and 1941, the United States did not enter the war until the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR in December 1941. In response to America’s declaration of war on Japan, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. The

American entry into the war against the three Axis nations helped create the Grand Alliance of the United States, the Soviet Union, and Britain that ultimately defeated the Axis.

In actuality, there was little collaboration and coordination between the Germans and Italians on the one hand and the Japanese on the other. Japan had been angered when Germany concluded the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 despite the anti-Comintern treaties of 1936 and 1937. Germany subsequently did not inform Japan when it abrogated the Nazi-Soviet Pact and invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, nor did the Japanese tell Germany of their plans to attack Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Japan did not declare war on the Soviet Union after the German invasion of the USSR. During critical points in the war, moreover, Japan and Germany cooperated only minimally, and Hitler criticized the Japanese for not doing more to attack Allied merchant shipping in the Pacific delivering American LEND-LEASE aid to the Soviets.

German and Italy did work together in the EUROPEAN THEATER, with Germany as the dominant partner. They jointly waged the NORTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN, and Germans contributed in a major way to the defense of Italy during the ITALIAN CAMPAIGN. Italian troops went to the eastern front to support the Nazis in the German-Soviet campaign. But the Italian surrender to the Allies in September 1943 confirmed the German conviction that Italy was an unreliable partner.

The United States’s entrance into the war turned the tide of the war in favor of the Grand Alliance and led to the defeat of the Axis. In the European theater, American Lend-Lease assistance and the U.S. ARMY and the U.S. NAVY contributed importantly to bringing the surrender of Germany in May 1945 and, with it, the effective end of the Axis alliance. In the PACIFIC THEATER, the United States played the major role in defeating Japan, and the Japanese surrender came soon after the use of the ATOMIC BOMB on HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI in early August 1945.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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—Michael Leonard





### Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act (1937)

AGRICULTURE, particularly in the SOUTH, had been hard-pressed economically before the advent of the GREAT DEPRESSION. After World War I a precipitous drop in crop prices meant that many farmers who were unable to meet their obligations became tenants rather than owners. During the depression years the number of farmers falling into tenantry increased sharply. The fact that many farmers lacked funds to purchase expensive farming machinery, in order to compete successfully in the marketplace, further stoked the rise in tenant farming. By 1935 it was estimated that tenants operated two-fifths of American farms. That year President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT determined, as part of the NEW DEAL, to halt the trend toward farm tenancy and promote ownership through the Bankhead Bill of 1935. This ambitious piece of legislation, capitalized at \$1 billion, would facilitate GOVERNMENT purchase of farmland, which would then be resold to tenants and sharecroppers with easy credit terms. The bill passed the Senate but entrenched conservative opposition killed it in the House of Representatives.

In 1937 Roosevelt again sought to assist farmers with the new Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act. This bill, the product of Senator John Bankhead of Alabama and Marvin Jones of Texas, differed from the original proposal, but it was passed by CONGRESS on July 22, 1937. It was capitalized at only \$10 million for 1938, a sum that rose to \$50 million by 1940. Moreover, the bill was designed to aid only tenants who possessed the capital necessary to make a down payment and could be expected to successfully pay off their obligations in a timely fashion. As such, the new law exerted only a marginal effect on the vast bulk of poor tenants and sharecroppers throughout the hard-hit South. After conservatives in 1941 tied future loans to average farm values in each county, the program languished in many of the poorest regions. The onset of WORLD WAR II dramatically revived the agricultural sector, making the

Bankhead-Jones Act seem less necessary. By 1946, when Congress terminated the FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, which oversaw the Bankhead-Jones program, it had made only 44,300 loans and, overall, had failed to help the lowest tier of subsistence farmers.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### banking

Banking in the United States mushroomed throughout the 1920s, with a total of 30,000 commercial institutions in operation nationwide. However, many banks remained undercapitalized and served RURAL AREAS experiencing distress on account of overproduction and low commodity prices. Banks had previously loaned heavily to farmers during the World War I years, before the postwar price declines set in, and suddenly found themselves unable to collect their money. Consequently, 5,100 rural banks failed between 1921 and 1929. The GREAT DEPRESSION then shook the national banking system to the core when many banks, having invested heavily in stocks or made loans to brokers to buy stocks, found their assets badly depleted. This led to a run on the banking system by depositors desperately seeking to retrieve their savings, and banks were compelled to liquidate their assets to generate cash. Gold and currency hoarding by the general public also became endemic on a national scale. From 1929 to 1932, some 4,300 banks had failed, and President HERBERT C. HOOVER attempted to help by signing into law the RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION (RFC), which was designed to lend money to troubled institutions. But once the names of those institutions receiving RFC funds were published, frightened depositors resumed their hasty withdrawals. Furthermore,

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the monies provided by RFC proved inadequate, and another 1,453 banks failed in 1932.

Bank collapses were reaching epidemic proportions when Governor William A. Comstock of Michigan ordered all banks to declare a “holiday” on February 14, 1933. By month’s end, no fewer than 21 states had also declared moratoria to stop the panics and hemorrhaging of funds. The first official act of the FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT administration was to declare a bank holiday from March 6 to March 9, whereby all banking actions—including money withdrawals—were temporarily suspended in the remaining states. This holiday was subsequently extended by presidential fiat to March 13. On March 12, the president also took to the airwaves in the first of his celebrated FIRESIDE CHATS to assure the American people that the banking system was safe. The public responded favorably to his appeal, and when the banks opened two days later, deposits greatly outnumbered withdrawals. Meanwhile, the EMERGENCY BANKING ACT OF 1933 included provisions for the RFC to help fund banks that appeared economically viable so that they could reopen as quickly as possible. It also received the ability to keep unsound banking establishments closed and placed under the supervision of conservators. Roosevelt was criticized by some liberal Democrats for failing to nationalize the banking system outright, but he took a more conservative route and chose instead to revive the existing system. The next major legislation was the BANKING ACT OF 1933, which established the FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION (FDIC). This measure, designed to bolster consumer confidence, insured individual bank deposits up to \$2,500. Beyond protecting banks against panics, it further extended federal supervision over a larger number of state banks, thereby dramatically reducing the number of failures. The act also separated investment banking and commercial banking because one of the causes of the stock market crash of 1929 was securities speculation by several leading banks. Even more important was a shift in authority from Federal Reserve Banks to the Federal Reserve Board, which afforded additional oversight on these institutions.

As influential as the 1933 reforms were, Roosevelt intended them only as stop-gap measures as he was facing a myriad of other problems and priorities. Then in 1935 newly appointed Federal Reserve Board chairman MARLINER ECCLES approached the president with a plan to increase the powers of the Federal Reserve Board while also centralizing control of banking in Washington, D.C. Roosevelt was receptive to the idea, and on February 2 he signed the BANKING ACT OF 1935 into law. This was the most sweeping banking reform since creation of the Federal Reserve in 1913 and mandated changes in the overall structure of the entire system. Hereafter, regional Federal Reserve banks came under the control of the Fed-

eral Reserve Board and a new Board of Governors, whose members were appointed for 14-year terms. The chairman served a term of only four years. More important, the new board enjoyed abilities to directly control reserve requirements, discount operations, interest rates, and open-market operations. Members also became responsible for appointing the heads of district banks. Their new power signaled a new concentration of power in the Federal Reserve Board, whereby centralized banking became a distinguishing feature of the American banking industry.

Despite their far-reaching effects, the bank reforms initiated by President Roosevelt as part of the NEW DEAL were decidedly conservative in outlook and a far cry from the nationalization and direct government control called for by many in the Democratic Party. But the banking system was stabilized, and public confidence was restored. These reforms also ensured that abuses arising from securities speculation by banks, a leading cause of the stock market crash, would not be repeated. Hereafter, federal deposit insurance became a common and welcome fixture in banks across the nation, while centralized control of the entire banking process through the Federal Reserve Board, unthinkable before 1929, also became an accepted reality.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Banking Act of 1933

The Banking Act of 1933, also known as the Glass-Steagall Act, was the first piece of NEW DEAL legislation to bring significant reform to the BANKING system. Developed by CONGRESS and signed by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT on June 16, 1933, the act’s main provisions were to separate commercial and investment banking, to create the FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION (FDIC), and to increase the power of the Federal Reserve Board. It played a major role in strengthening and stabilizing American banking.

Banking policy of the early 20th century allowed commercial banks to trade in stocks and bonds and underwrite securities. This practice was never seriously challenged until the STOCK MARKET CRASH of 1929, which wiped out billions of dollars in assets. Because banks could not turn their greatly devalued paper assets into cash, they were often unable to pay off panicked depositors. As the GREAT DEPRESSION deepened in the early 1930s, thousands of

banks failed and countless individual bank accounts were lost. When President Roosevelt was inaugurated in March 1933, the banking system was in crisis and had been temporarily shut down by banking “holidays” declared in state after state. The EMERGENCY BANKING ACT OF 1933 restored confidence and brought the reopening of the banking system, but it did not bring fundamental change.

Although Roosevelt wanted to defer further banking legislation, members of Congress thought reform was essential. In mid-May, Senator Carter Glass (D-Va.) and Congressman Henry Steagall (D-Ala.) proposed their bill to address problems in banking. The prohibition against commercial banks from also engaging in investment banking ended a practice that had contributed not only to the liquidity crisis of the early 1930s but also to speculation that had helped bring on the stock market crash. The Glass-Steagall Act prohibited commercial banks from underwriting or dealing in corporate securities. The act’s most important contribution to banking stability, at first opposed by Roosevelt and most bankers, was the creation of the FDIC (initially called the Temporary Deposit Insurance Corporation). The FDIC insured individual bank depositors up to \$2,500 (raised to \$5,000 in 1934), a crucial guarantee that eliminated the individual investor’s fear of losing deposited money and thus prevented bank panics and resulting bank failures. The Glass-Steagall Act also gave the Federal Reserve Board new power over open-market operations (selling and buying government securities to affect interest rates), an important reform carried further by the BANKING ACT OF 1935.

The Glass-Steagall Act, especially the creation of the FDIC, brought stability to the banking industry and a sharp reduction in bank failures. In fact, fewer banks suspended operations between 1933 and 1940 than in any single year in the 1920s. Ironically, the Roosevelt administration received credit for a major and successful measure that really originated in Congress.

**Further reading:** Susan Estabrook, *The Banking Crisis of 1933* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1973).

—Michael Leonard

### Banking Act of 1935

Recognized as the last major accomplishment of the SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935 and as the most important BANKING reform of the NEW DEAL, the Banking Act of 1935 produced the first substantial modification of the Federal Reserve system since its inception in 1913. It gave the federal GOVERNMENT effective control of the banking system and MONETARY POLICY.

In 1934, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT appointed MARRINER ECCLES to head the Federal

Reserve Board, and Eccles then drafted a banking bill that would give the federal government more control over money and credit. Sent to CONGRESS in February 1935, the bill passed the House of Representatives relatively easily. It encountered resistance in the Senate, however, particularly from Virginia’s Carter Glass, a principal architect of the 1913 Federal Reserve Act who opposed centralized federal control of banking, and from many private bankers, especially the big New York bankers. In June, FDR made the bill a “must” item of legislation. Despite the fact that Glass rewrote much of the bill, the final draft, though not as far-reaching as originally intended, kept many of Eccles’s main objectives intact.

The banking act, signed by Roosevelt on August 23, 1935, had several key features. It created a strong, central board of governors of the Federal Reserve System that could control the operations of regional banks and manage discount and interest rates. The law centralized open-market operations (the sales and purchases of government securities to affect interest rates) in the Federal Open Market Committee in order to reduce the influence of the private bankers and to consolidate control of the U.S. money market. The law also empowered the president to appoint seven members to this newly formed board of governors, with the consent of the Senate, for 14-year terms. Eccles was appointed chairman of the new board of governors. Finally, the act also completed the implementation of deposit insurance and the FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION (FDIC), which was initiated under the BANKING ACT OF 1933. State banks were required to join the Federal Reserve System before July 1, 1942, if they wanted the benefits from the FDIC.

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—Michael T. Walsh

**Baruch, Bernard M.** (1870–1965) *financier, presidential adviser*

A millionaire stock speculator, Bernard Baruch offered advice to the administration of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, as he did to presidents from Woodrow Wilson to Lyndon B. Johnson. He assiduously cultivated the press and his own public image as the “park-bench statesman” and adviser to presidents.

Bernard Mannes Baruch was born in South Carolina, graduated from City College of New York, and became a millionaire by the time he was 30 by virtue of his success on the stock market. During World War I, President Wilson

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appointed Baruch head of the War Industries Board, and Baruch won a favorable public reputation for his role in helping to increase American war production. He was an influential member of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY during the 1920s, and gave financial support to many Democrats in the CONGRESS, especially those sharing his pro-BUSINESS views.

In the ELECTION OF 1932, Baruch did not endorse Roosevelt until after FDR had won the Democratic nomination. Though a number of Roosevelt's advisers were wary of Baruch, his standing in the Democratic Party and the money he could bring to the campaign led Roosevelt to suggest that he consult with the BRAIN TRUST on industrial recovery policy. Baruch's protégé, General HUGH JOHNSON, became the first administrator of the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION, a NEW DEAL agency modeled on the War Industries Board. Other Baruch associates, including George Peek, the first head of the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION, also had significant roles in New Deal programs. Baruch himself remained close to conservative Democrats, had a good relationship with ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, and maintained his cordial relations with the press.

Baruch's relationship with FDR and other New Dealers remained strained, however, as his career in WORLD WAR II revealed. At first, Roosevelt attempted to keep him at arm's length, but Roosevelt eventually named him to lead an investigation of the RUBBER shortage. FDR then agreed that Baruch might become head of the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD (WPB), but the president backed away from the appointment and it never eventuated. Toward the end of the war, Baruch coauthored a report on RECONVERSION for the WPB that played an important role in shaping reconversion policy in a way favorable to business.

After the war, Baruch presented American recommendations on atomic energy to the UNITED NATIONS. But President Harry S. Truman, like others, thought Baruch self-serving and cut ties with him after Baruch refused to serve on Truman's 1948 reelection committee. Nonetheless, Baruch's public reputation remained such that Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson made a point of consulting with him in the 1960s.

**Further reading:** Jordan A. Schwarz, *The Speculator: Bernard Baruch in Washington, 1917–1965* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981).

### Bataan Death March (1942)

On April 9, 1942, an estimated 10,000 American and 60,000 Filipino troops surrendered to the Japanese on the Bataan Peninsula of Luzon island in the PHILIPPINES. On the subsequent "Bataan Death March," the Japanese drove



Photograph taken of American and Filipino soldiers during the Bataan Death March (*National Archives*)

the 70,000 PRISONERS OF WAR (POWs), the largest seizure ever of American forces, on a brutal 65-mile journey to prison. Some 600 Americans and nearly 10,000 Filipinos died when the Japanese clubbed, bayoneted, or shot stragglers. Thousands more died in prison camps. The Bataan Death March was one of the events producing a fierce animosity toward Japan during WORLD WAR II.

The Japanese had landed in northern Luzon in December 1941 after the attack on PEARL HARBOR, and pushed American forces south to Bataan and Corregidor Island. On April 9, the embattled and weakened American and Filipino contingent, without sufficient ammunition, food, or medicine to continue effective resistance, surrendered. The Japanese, who were unprepared for so many prisoners and who did not respect them because they had surrendered, forced the POWs to march northward to Camp O'Donnell in the hot sun without food and water. Along the way, the Japanese subjected their captives to a variety of cruel humiliations, and to death by decapitation, beating, gunfire, or bayonets if they were to stop.

After reaching Camp O'Donnell, the remaining prisoners died at the rate of one person every 45 minutes. With only three badly working water taps, diseases such as malaria and dysentery along with starvation and dehydration took their toll. Another 1,500 Americans and at least 25,000 Filipinos died by July 1942. Beginning in June, the Americans were moved to a better-equipped POW camp on the other side of Manila Bay with those who had surrendered on Corregidor on May 6. Gradually, these pris-



oners would be split up and put to work for the Japanese until their eventual liberation at the end of the war. The Filipinos who remained behind at Camp O'Donnell were released at the end of July.

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—Ronald G. Simon

**Berle, Adolf A., Jr.** (1895–1917) *government official*  
Adolf Augustus Berle, a member of the BRAIN TRUST of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and later an assistant secretary of state, was born January 29, 1895, in Boston, Massachusetts, to devoutly Christian and socially active parents. Berle graduated from high school at age 12 and earned his bachelor's, master's, and law degrees from Harvard University by the time he was 21. He practiced law and taught at Harvard Business School, developing expertise in corporate law and Latin American affairs, before joining the faculty of Columbia Law School in 1927. Heavily influenced by the Social Gospel movement, he entered public life through service with New York City's Henry Street Settlement House.

In 1932, RAYMOND C. MOLEY introduced Berle to Roosevelt, and Moley, Berle, and REXFORD G. TUGWELL formed the nucleus of FDR's Brain Trust. Also in 1932, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* appeared, coauthored with the economist Gardiner C. Means. The book became Berle's most influential publication and articulated his intellectual contribution to the Brain Trust. He believed that the modern corporate economy had concentrated power in the hands of a professional managerial class, out of reach of stockholders and public control, a situation that required federal intervention through reform of the BANKING system and securities markets. As the most moderate of the Brain Trusters, and still steeped in his Social Gospel roots, Berle believed businessmen could be "converted" to a more responsible brand of capitalism rather than being forced to do so by the GOVERNMENT.

After Roosevelt's victory in the ELECTION OF 1932, Berle did not immediately take up a post in the administration, although he continued as a presidential adviser. He advised FIORELLO La GUARDIA in his successful 1933 New York City mayoral race and served as city chamberlain for three years. In 1938, Berle became an assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs, and in this position played a crucial role in implementing Roosevelt's GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY and advocating collective security in the Western Hemisphere after the outbreak of WORLD WAR II in 1939. During the war, his duties included coordinating the

INTELLIGENCE activities of the State Department. By 1944, however, Berle had lost much of his earlier influence with Roosevelt, and his notorious arrogance had alienated most of his State Department colleagues. In November 1944, he resigned his position as assistant secretary of state.

Berle then served for a year as ambassador to Brazil before returning full-time to his law practice and teaching. In later years, he remained active in public life, and although never regaining his earlier influence, served with such organizations as Radio Free Europe and John F. Kennedy's Interdepartmental Task Force on Latin America. Berle died in New York City on February 17, 1971.

See also NEW DEAL.

**Further reading:** Jordan A. Schwarz, *Liberal: Adolf A. Berle and the Vision of an American Era* (New York: Free Press, 1987).

—Mary E. Carroll-Mason

**Bethune, Mary McLeod** (1875–1955) *educator, civil rights leader, presidential adviser*

Mary McLeod Bethune, an educator and the leading member of the BLACK CABINET of the NEW DEAL era, was an advocate for CIVIL RIGHTS and education for the black community and for New Deal efforts to assist AFRICAN AMERICANS. One of 17 children born to an illiterate sharecropper in South Carolina, Bethune was schooled at the



Mary McLeod Bethune (National Archives)

Presbyterian Mission School, graduated from Scotia Seminary in North Carolina in 1893, and then received two years of higher education at Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. In 1898 she married Albertus Bethune, and they had one son, Albert. After leaving Moody, Bethune went to teach in the SOUTH and in 1904 founded the Daytona Normal and Industrial School for Negro Girls, which later became Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach, Florida.

In 1927, Bethune began an important personal friendship with ELEANOR ROOSEVELT after a meeting of the National Council of Women, where Bethune was the only black woman invited. She introduced Roosevelt to influential African Americans and educated her about race relations and racial inequalities. In 1935 she helped found the National Council of Negro Women, and throughout the 1930s fought for racial justice on a variety of issues, including the effort to free the black youths convicted in the SCOTTSBORO BOYS case. She also supported ANTI-LYNCHING LEGISLATION, demonstrated against the poll tax, worked for extended employment and educational opportunities for blacks, and urged federal support of the SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION, which sought to help tenant farmers and sharecroppers.

Bethune's formal relationship with FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and the New Deal began in 1936, when she asked to meet with FDR regarding the impact of the NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION (NYA) on minority groups. Roosevelt appointed Bethune as head of the NYA's Division of Negro Affairs, which made her the highest-ranking African American in the government. She became the leader of the Black Cabinet, an informal but significant group of black federal officials who worked to increase New Deal attention and assistance to African Americans.

Bethune received numerous honorary degrees and awards, and her writings include *What the Negro Wants*, *Spiritual Autobiographies*, weekly columns in newspapers, and articles in publications of the National Council of Negro Women. She continued her civil rights work until her death in 1955.

**Further reading:** Rackman Holt, *Mary McLeod Bethune* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964); B. Joyce Ross, "Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Youth Administration: A Case Study of Power Relationships in the Black Cabinet of Franklin D. Roosevelt," *Journal of Negro History* 60 (January 1975): 1–28.

—Anne Rothfeld

## big bands

Musically speaking, the 1920s was the "Age of JAZZ" but, by decade's end, a new form of jazz requiring larger ensem-

bles and a more forceful style of delivery began evolving. In terms of impact, it was one of the first popular styles aimed directly at younger audiences. The new style quickly acquired the name "big band" since it usually required instrumentation by three trumpets, three trombones, five saxophones, and numerous guitars, pianos, and drums. The GREAT DEPRESSION, which led to high UNEMPLOYMENT rates among musicians and a commensurate lowering of wages, further facilitated the formation of big bands. As with jazz, AFRICAN AMERICANS were quick to assert themselves creatively within the new format, and noted performers such as DUKE ELLINGTON, Louis Armstrong, and Cab Calloway began popularizing the sound among black and white audiences alike. In 1937 William "Count" Basie emerged with his own unique style of black music, which was based on carefully scripted precision and not the free-wheeling innovation of many contemporaries. Soon the big band sound, also called "swing" by jazz musicians, began permeating dance and concerts halls across the nation. It was further spread by the growth of RADIO and noted venues such as the Cotton Club in Harlem, which attracted a racially mixed audience. Ironically, the most successful exponent of the period was a young white clarinetist, BENNY GOODMAN, who soon gained a reputation as the "King of Swing." He was joined by competing bands led by Artie Shaw, Tommy and Jimmy Dorsey, and Glenn Miller. Miller's was one of the most popular bands of the WORLD WAR II era, and he led it at home and abroad until his death in an airplane crash in 1944. The big band sound continued after World War II as the sound of a mass youth culture, but it gradually lost popularity in the 1950s owing to increasing expense associated with large bands. Youthful musical tastes began moving toward rock and roll, which centered upon individual artists backed by far fewer musicians.

One important sidelight to big band music was its decidedly racial component. Black musicians were at the forefront of the big band sound throughout this period and, while they usually played to segregated white audiences, music began bridging the social and cultural divide. It also exposed millions of white youths to African-American-inspired music and also introduced black slang, or *jive*, into the mainstream culture. In this sense big bands helped transcend racial barriers on the stage, for white bandleaders began employing black performers such as BILLIE HOLIDAY, Lionel Hampton, and Roy Eldridge in their acts. Big band music thus afforded minority musicians greater and more favorable exposure to white audiences on a scale that would not be repeated until the onset of rock and roll music. In this significant respect, big bands helped pave the way for growing acceptance of black musicians and mixed audiences that finally arrived in the 1950s.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Black, Hugo L.** (1886–1971) *U.S. senator, associate justice of the Supreme Court*

Hugo Lafayette Black was a United States senator from Alabama (1927–1937) and the first SUPREME COURT justice appointed by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Black was born on February 27, 1886, in Clay County, Alabama. He attended the University of Alabama Law School, graduating in 1906. Black's practice in Birmingham focused on the concerns of working-class whites, including personal injury litigation. He also served as a police court judge and public prosecutor, where he demonstrated great concern for CIVIL LIBERTIES. After army service in the United States during World War I, Black returned to an expanding law practice. To make contacts, he joined several organizations, including the Ku Klux Klan. Black was first elected to the Senate in 1926.

Reelected to a second term in 1932, Black became one of the strongest supporters of the NEW DEAL and gained significant attention for his investigation of public utility corporations. His dramatic style during legislative hearings delighted the press, but overshadowed his hard work in winning passage of significant legislation including the FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT, the PUBLIC UTILITY HOLDING COMPANY ACT, and the TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY. Black also supported some of President Roosevelt's less successful ventures, including the 1937 COURT-PACKING PLAN proposed after the Supreme Court overturned major New Deal programs in the mid-1930s.

Roosevelt nominated Black to the Supreme Court in August 1937, and after confirmation by the Senate, Black took his seat on the Court that month. Shortly thereafter, reports of his membership in the Klan made headlines. A storm of controversy raged until Black addressed the nation, admitting his past Klan membership but repudiating the Klan and declaring the matter closed. Though Black wrote the majority decision in *KOREMATSU V. UNITED STATES* (1944) that upheld the RELOCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS—he maintained that military necessity justified the policy—any doubts about his commitment to justice for Americans of all races were dispelled during the remainder of his career.

In his early years on the Court, Black joined the new liberal majority in decisions sustaining activist federal policy. During his 34 years as justice, Black became known especially for his belief in absolute freedom of speech; for

his strict, literal interpretation of the Constitution; and for his view that the Fourteenth Amendment required the states to abide by the limitations set by the first eight amendments.

After several strokes, Black retired from the Supreme Court on September 17, 1971. He died eight days later.

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—Jill Frahm

## Black Cabinet

An informal, self-organized advisory group in the administration of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, the "Black Cabinet" worked to improve the impact of NEW DEAL programs on AFRICAN AMERICANS. Sometimes also referred to by the press as the "black Brain Trust," though participants called themselves the Federal Council on Negro Affairs, the Black Cabinet included a changing group of African Americans holding official positions in the GOVERNMENT. The most important members of the Black Cabinet included MARY McLEOD BETHUNE, director of the Division of Negro Affairs in the NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION (NYA); William H. Hastie, assistant solicitor in the Department of the Interior (and later appointed by FDR as the first black federal judge); Robert C. Weaver, adviser for Negro affairs in the PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION; and Robert Vann, assistant to the attorney general.

Often meeting at Bethune's home, the Black Cabinet sought to identify and recruit gifted black men and women to serve in government positions, to make the Roosevelt administration more sensitive to the problems of black communities, and to influence federal policies affecting African Americans. Their recommendations ranged from avoiding racial slurs in speeches and stories, to desegregating government cafeterias, to ensuring that African Americans got their fair and needed share of government programs. In such efforts, the Black Cabinet sometimes found ready allies from administration figures, including ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, Secretary of the Interior HAROLD ICKES, relief administrator HARRY L. HOPKINS, and NYA director Aubrey Williams. The Black Cabinet also fielded complaints and inquiries from black constituents, with some being forwarded to the White House's attention, and they provided information to the press on discriminatory aspects of the New Deal and of government programs.

The impact of the Black Cabinet was both significant and limited. It marked a distinct break from the absence of a significant black voice in the federal government and served to raise the consciousness of FDR and New Deal officials. In part because of its efforts, Roosevelt



appointed many more African Americans to federal positions than had previous administrations. And the Black Cabinet had some impact on New Deal programs. Thanks to Bethune and Aubrey Williams, the NYA gave substantial assistance to African Americans, while Harold Ickes worked to ensure that Public Works Administration projects hired black workers. Other New Deal agencies—the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION and the CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS, for example—were less discriminatory than they might otherwise have been. Yet New Deal programs frequently did discriminate against African Americans, often but not always because of local implementation; and in view of their disproportionate UNEMPLOYMENT and poverty blacks rarely got their full share of New Deal help despite the continuing efforts of the Black Cabinet.

Despite such limits, the Black Cabinet had both real and symbolic importance. It represented a change from past administrations, and it helped push the New Deal further than it would otherwise have gone in giving attention and help to African Americans. Many black Americans recognized and appreciated such change, and both by its efforts in Washington and by its active campaigning, the Black Cabinet helped Roosevelt win black votes as African Americans began to shift decisively to the DEMOCRATIC PARTY in the ELECTION OF 1936. By the end of the 1930s, as WORLD WAR II approached and attention went increasingly to FOREIGN POLICY and defense issues, the Black Cabinet became less active and influential.

See also CIVIL RIGHTS; POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA.

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## black market

In order to allocate consumer goods fairly during WORLD WAR II, the OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION (OPA) administered the RATIONING program of the federal GOVERNMENT. To prevent inflation, the OPA regulated prices in the wartime system of WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS. Though generally successful, rationing and restrictions on consumer spending proved unpopular in a nation just emerging from the GREAT DEPRESSION and with money to spend again after a decade of hard times. As a consequence, an illegal “black market” existed on the WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT.

Home front Americans understood the need for rationing and controls, but even though overall consumer spending increased during the war, the public did not enjoy or always abide by the rules. In order to buy additional amounts of coveted but scarce and rationed goods—gasoline, for example, or meat, or sugar, or shoes—people sometimes would pay prices above the established limits or buy items without using the required rationing coupons. Most black market violations took place in established retail operations between merchants and customers, and proved difficult for the OPA to prevent. Up to one-fourth of Americans surveyed said that it could be justifiable to purchase goods on the black market. One study estimated that one in five businesses received warnings about such activities and that one in 15 were charged with illegal operations. By some estimates, up to half of all businesses were involved in black market activities of various kinds. The court system generally gave no more than light fines to the few who were prosecuted and convicted.

Some of the rationed items proved especially susceptible to flourishing black market activities. Gasoline rationing, particularly unpopular because it limited the use of automobiles for both necessary and recreational driving, gave rise to an extensive black market. Here, organized criminals played an important role by producing counterfeit ration coupons that they sold both to gasoline station operators and to drivers. Legitimate coupons were stolen from OPA offices (coupons for 20 million gallons were lifted from the Washington, D.C., office) and sold at a premium. Motorists sometimes sold excess coupons to service stations or to other drivers—or gave them to friends, which was also an infraction of the rules. Working with the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, the OPA took such measures as it could to stop these and other black market activities, but the agency estimated that 5 percent of all gasoline sold was sold illegally. Similarly, an active black market existed for tires.

Food was another source of widespread black market activities, especially when shortages occurred. Meat gave rise to especially serious black market operations, including the resurgence of cattle rustling in some places and selling the stolen beef to cooperating packers and butchers. Wholesalers and retailers would sell meat and poultry above ceiling prices in a variety of ways, including taking side payments, or giving short weights. Another practice was the so-called red market, whereby a low grade of meat was sold for higher-grade prices or where more bone or fat than allowable was included. “Tie-in” sales, requiring customers to purchase an unpopular item in order to get a desired one, also took place in meat as with other items. Expensive restaurants apparently turned to the black market to ensure meat for their customers. Sugar, coffee, and other desirable scarce items also experienced black market operations.



The majority of home front Americans participated only incidentally at most in black market activities and supported efforts to end them—partly because the black market often siphoned goods away from legitimate sales. Some communities organized campaigns that reduced such operations. Even so, the black market was a reality on the World War II American home front, an indication that many people were unwilling to experience sacrifice that they thought excessive or unfair or even inconvenient, and that many merchants were willing to profit from scarcity.

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### blitzkrieg

Blitzkrieg, or “lightning war,” was the tactic of rapid attack with massive numbers of mechanized infantry and tank divisions covered by close air support that enabled the German army to quickly invade and overrun Poland, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and France in the early stages of WORLD WAR II. Blitzkrieg doctrine was to use highly mechanized armored forces to win quick victories, robbing the enemy of time to mobilize their forces and resources, and thus avoid a war of attrition that Germany was ill prepared to win.

Blitzkrieg tactics were developed from the traditional German military doctrine of encirclement and annihilation, and from the high losses during the static trench warfare during World War I. During the interwar period, the German general staff adopted the idea that TANKS should be separated from traditional infantry units and be used with motorized infantry units or operate independently. Tanks could be used to destroy the enemy's front lines, and then penetrate deep into the rear areas, destroying the enemy's command and control infrastructure and its will to fight. In theory, the use of mechanized forces in unison with tactical AIR POWER would allow movement of some 250 miles per day and devastate the enemy before they could form any resistance.

Europe got its first taste of blitzkrieg warfare on September 1, 1939, when 50 divisions of the German army rolled across the German-Polish border, and Poland surrendered by the end of the month. The true power of blitzkrieg was demonstrated in the spring of 1940. Using amphibious landings, paratroopers, and panzer divisions, the German army swept into Scandinavia in April 1940 with such speed that Denmark surrendered within a few hours and Norway was subdued in a few weeks. Then, on May 10, 1940, Germany invaded the Low Countries of Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg. Four days later, German forces moved through the Ardennes Forest, north of the useless Maginot

line, and pivoted north toward the English Channel, eventually trapping the majority of the Allied army in the port of Dunkirk. The remaining French forces crumbled in front of the German onslaught and France surrendered in less than 40 days from the start of the invasion.

The greatest asset of blitzkrieg proved to be its largest drawback. While blitzkrieg gave the German army the ability to drive large distances over a relatively short period of time, it required huge amounts of supply and support to sustain such long-distance drives. It could not be successful against an enemy that could trade soldiers and space for time, a lesson that Germany would learn from the ultimately disastrous invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941.

See also WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER.

**Further reading:** James S. Corum, *The Roots of Blitzkrieg: Hans von Seeckt and German Military Reform* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992).

—George Michael Curry

### bombing

As early as January 1941, U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES representatives in London, England, began conferring with their Royal Air Force counterparts about the possibility of waging large-scale strategic bombing campaigns against Nazi Germany in the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER. By that time British nighttime strategic bombing against German industrial targets involved area bombing of cities and industrial sectors to displace workers and the urban populations living there. The Americans, however, objected to such practices on a moral basis, preferring instead to use daylight precision raids against specific factories, which would cut down on collateral damage to civilians. The unexpected onset of war with Japan in December 1941 and the U.S. entry into WORLD WAR II complicated American war planning, so it was not until August 17, 1943, that a force of 12 Boeing B-17 Flying Fortresses, based in England, successfully struck the German marshaling yards of Sotteville-les-Rouen, France, and returned unscathed. The strategic campaign against the German heartland had commenced in earnest on August 13, 1943, when the U.S. Eighth Air Force massed two air groups to strike the aircraft factory at Regensburg and the critical ball bearing plant at Schweinfurt. Nearly 400 heavily armed B-17s were committed to combat, and they scored relatively good results, but tenacious resistance from German fighter and antiaircraft defenses knocked 60 of the giant bombers from the sky. A similar raid against Schweinfurt on October 14, 1943, brought the loss of another 60 aircraft. Given this staggering attrition, General Carl Spaatz suspended deep raids into Germany over the ensuing four months until large numbers of North American P-51

Mustang escort fighters, which could accompany bomber streams to Berlin and back, were deployed. Large-scale bombing resumed in January 1944, and this time Americans targeted oil production and transportation centers and urban areas, with crippling results to the defenders. By the time Germany surrendered in May 1945, large swaths of its industrial sector had been laid to waste by concerted British and American bombing, its air force was largely grounded due to lack of fuel, and its transportation net was almost completely shattered.

Operational conditions in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER represented new challenges in TECHNOLOGY and logistics. Because of the vast distances involved, American strategic bombing of Japan did not materialize until August 1944, when a group of new Boeing B-29 Superfortresses flew from bases deep in China and hit the Yawata steel plants. Results from high-altitude bombing proved disappointing, largely because the Americans were unaware that a 200-mile-per-hour jet stream was directing their bombs off target. Sustained bombing efforts could not commence until the fall of the MARIANA ISLANDS in November 1944, which brought the B-29s much closer to their target. However, results from high altitude still proved unimpressive until a new commander, General Curtis E. LeMay, ordered his aircraft stripped of armament and sent in at low altitude, at night, with incendiary bombs. Results proved devastating, and the Tokyo raid of March 9–10, 1945, devastated large sections of the city, killing upwards of a half-million people. The tactic proved all the more devastating as Japanese housing construction was preponderantly of highly flammable wood. The Americans then enacted a sustained bombing effort of Japanese cities until the end of the war, although the Imperial government stubbornly refused to surrender. President Harry S. Truman, fearful of the casualties arising from a land invasion of the home islands, ordered two atomic bombs dropped on HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI in August 1945, and Japanese authorities finally capitulated and ended the war.

On November 3, 1944, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT authorized the United States Strategic Bombing Survey to analyze the aerial campaigns against Germany and Japan. Roosevelt, mindful of future developments, wanted to evaluate AIR POWER as a component of military strategy and its role in future national defense planning. The scientifically collated results suggested that, while the bombing campaign gutted oil production, halted submarine production, and made decisive inroads on ammunition and truck procurement, it was hardly the panacea that aerial advocates had envisioned. Moreover, while bombing did make significant contributions to the fall of Germany and Japan, it was not decisive in and of itself and cannot be isolated from the general collapse of either nation.

**Further reading:** Tami D. Biddle, *Rhetoric and Reality in Air Warfare: The Evolution of British and American Ideas about Strategic Bombing, 1914–1945* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002); Herman Knell, *To Destroy a City: Strategic Bombing and Its Human Consequences* (Cambridge, Mass.: Da Capo Press, 2003).

—John C. Fredriksen

### Bonus Army (1932)

As the GREAT DEPRESSION deepened in the early 1930s, UNEMPLOYMENT reached at least one-fourth of the workforce and impoverished Americans increasingly looked to the federal GOVERNMENT for help. Asking for prepayment of a bonus due them beginning in 1945, World War I veterans constituted one group asking for federal assistance. In 1931, CONGRESS enacted (over the veto of President HERBERT C. HOOVER) legislation allowing the veterans to borrow up to half the value of their bonus. Then in 1932, some 20,000 veterans and family members—the “Bonus Army”—went to Washington, D.C., to demand full payment of their bonus. Hoover’s response in not just opposing the bonus but having the military forcibly disperse the Bonus Army contributed to his landslide defeat in the ELECTION OF 1932.

The “Bonus Expeditionary Force,” as the bonus marchers called themselves (after the American Expeditionary Force of World War I), came from across the country to urge Congress to pay their benefits immediately. Traveling by car, on trucks, in empty railroad cars, and even by foot, the Bonus Army arrived in Washington, D.C., in the late spring of 1932. Most lived in tents and huts in a makeshift camp in Anacostia Flats just outside the city. Some moved into empty federal buildings in downtown Washington.

President Hoover, who insisted that a balanced budget was essential for recovery from the depression, opposed accelerating the bonus payment. He also objected to prepaying the bonus because he thought it would set a bad precedent and encourage other groups to seek RELIEF assistance from the federal government—something the HOOVER PRESIDENCY firmly opposed. Many members of Congress, however, supported the veterans’ request. The Patman Bonus Bill, proposed in June 1932, called for immediate payment to the veterans and passed the House of Representatives. It was then defeated in the Senate, as Republicans and many Democrats agreed with Hoover that the bill would further harm the ECONOMY by seriously unbalancing the budget.

Following the failure of the Patman Bonus Bill, several thousand marchers departed, but others stayed on. Hoover, who never met with the veterans, had the White House put under armed guard, and in late July his administration ordered the veterans removed from the unused



Members of the Bonus Army at their tent city in Washington, D.C., before being evicted by the U.S. Army (*Library of Congress*)

federal buildings they occupied. On July 28, the Washington police took over the buildings, and in one confrontation two marchers were shot and killed. Hoover then directed the army to remove the marchers from the downtown area. Commanded by General Douglas MacArthur, some 600 troops, using tear gas, rifles affixed with bayonets, and light tanks, cleared downtown Washington and, with men, women, and children fleeing before them, moved on to empty and burn the Anacostia camp. One baby died from the tear gas.

MacArthur's use of force went beyond Hoover's orders, but the country blamed the president, who defended the army's actions and held the marchers themselves responsible for the consequences. Other administration officials claimed that the Bonus Army had been dominated by criminals and by radicals. But, as most people understood, the bonus marchers were in fact dispirited, down-and-out people who had served their country and wanted help from the government in the hard times of the Great Depression. In Washington, the marchers organized committees to operate the camp safely, disavowed Communist efforts, and with rare exceptions proved peaceful and law-abiding. The military action against the Bonus Army was an appalling episode that sent Hoover's popularity plummeting still further and spelled his certain defeat in the coming election.

The dispersal of the Bonus Army did not end the bonus issue. In May 1933, roughly 1,000 veterans came to Washington, hoping that the new president, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, would support their cause. Roosevelt also opposed accelerating the bonus payments (although

he did implement federal relief programs for the unemployed and destitute), but he was able to handle the protest far more adeptly than Hoover had the year before. His wife, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, met the marchers to discuss their concerns, showing that the administration cared about their needs. Realizing that Roosevelt would veto any bonus bill, this second bonus march dispersed peacefully. Veterans finally succeeded in securing their bonus early in 1936, when Congress passed a bonus bill over Roosevelt's veto.

**Further reading:** Roger Daniels, *The Bonus March: An Episode of the Great Depression* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1971); Paul Dickson and Thomas B. Allen, *The Bonus Army: An American Epic* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004).

—Katherine Liapis Segrue and Justin Taylor

### **Borah, William E.** (1865–1940) *U.S. senator*

William E. Borah was one of the most visible progressive Republicans of the interwar years and one of the staunchest ISOLATIONISTS in FOREIGN POLICY. Known as the Lion of Idaho for his forthright and eloquent stands, he was also called the "spearless leader" by one colleague because his independence left him with little influence among fellow senators.

Born near Fairfield, Illinois, on June 29, 1865, Borah settled in Idaho on the advice of a fellow train passenger as he headed west to pursue a legal career. Borah became a successful prosecuting attorney, married an Idaho governor's daughter, and became involved in local REPUBLICAN PARTY politics. Elected by the Idaho legislature to the U.S. Senate in 1906, Borah served five and a half terms as senator until his death.

In the Senate, Borah became a progressive Republican, supporting regulation of big BUSINESS and other reforms. He supported American entry into World War I, but opposed U.S. membership in the League of Nations and remained a firm isolationist in the 1920s in his position as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Borah backed HERBERT C. HOOVER for president in 1928, but along with other Republican progressives became disillusioned with the HOOVER PRESIDENCY and its response to the GREAT DEPRESSION. He refused to support Hoover for reelection in 1932, and was hopeful that the new president, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, would pursue a progressive agenda.

Borah endorsed much of the early NEW DEAL, but his steadfast individualism and distrust of big GOVERNMENT led him into vocal opposition by the time of Roosevelt's 1937 COURT-PACKING PLAN. In 1936, although 71 years old, Borah briefly ran for president, dropping out

after winning the Wisconsin primary but doing poorly elsewhere; in the fall, he refused to support Republican nominee ALFRED M. LONDON in the ELECTION OF 1936. He remained among the ardent isolationists in the 1930s, supporting the NEUTRALITY ACTS and opposing American military aid to Great Britain and France after WORLD WAR II erupted in Europe in 1939. Borah died in Washington, D.C., on January 19, 1940.

**Further reading:** Marian C. McKenna, *Borah* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961).

—William J. Thompson

**Bourke-White, Margaret** (1904–1971) *photojournalist* Margaret Bourke-White was born in the Bronx, New York, on June 14, 1904, the daughter of an engineer and amateur photographer. She attended various colleges and also married and divorced before finally graduating from Cornell University in 1927 with a degree in biology. While at Cornell she supported herself by taking and selling photographs of students and the campus. Smitten by PHOTOGRAPHY, Bourke-White subsequently opened her own photographic studio in Cleveland, Ohio, while also employed by the natural museum there. At this stage in her career she was fascinated by anything industrial, and her coverage of factories and machines came to the attention of editor HENRY LUCE in 1929, who invited her to work for his new magazine *Fortune*. One of Bourke-White's first assignments was to photograph industry in the Soviet Union, which led to her first book, *Eyes on Russia* (1931). Back in America, she returned to industrial topics until 1934, when she switched to covering the DUST BOWL and the Plains States. The following year she was voted one of the 10 most successful women in New York City and, a year later, won similar kudos as one of the 10 most outstanding women in the nation. Following a brief marriage to writer Erskine Caldwell, she published another noted work on poor southern sharecroppers entitled *You Have Seen Their Faces* (1937), shortly after Luce signed her on as one of the four original photographers for his new *LIFE MAGAZINE*. Bourke-White's dramatic photo of Montana's Fort Peck Dam was chosen to adorn the cover illustration of the magazine's premiere issue.

Bourke-White continued functioning as a *Life* photo correspondent throughout WORLD WAR II. In this capacity she was the only foreign photographer in Moscow during the German invasion of 1941, and she gained further distinction as the only female photographer accredited by the U.S. ARMY. She also became the first woman to accompany and record a U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES bombing mission and also the first to document the horrors of the newly

liberated Buchenwald concentration camp in Germany. Among the leading and noteworthy personalities she covered were FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Joseph Stalin, Winston Churchill, Haile Selassie, and Pope Pius XII. After World War II Bourke-White functioned as a wide-ranging photojournalist for *Life*, and her topics included South African miners, the 1948 war between India and Pakistan, and the Korean War, which she attempted to cover from a Korean perspective. In 1956 she was diagnosed with Parkinson's disease and gradually retired from photography in favor of writing. She published her autobiography, *Portrait of Myself* (1963), and was the recipient of several photographic awards before succumbing to her illness in Stamford, Connecticut, on August 27, 1971. Bourke-White remains celebrated for her 26 years as a globe-trotting photojournalist who thrived on danger in a profession traditionally dominated by men.

See also DOROTHEA LANGE.

**Further reading:** Vicki Goldberg, *Margaret Bourke-White: A Biography* (Boston: Addison-Wesley, 1987); Stephen B. Phillips, *Margaret Bourke-White: The Photography of Design, 1927–1936* (Washington, D.C.: Phillips Collection, 2002).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Bradley, Omar N.** (1893–1981) *American general* General Omar Nelson Bradley's tactical skills and firm but low-key leadership helped secure the Allied victory in the EUROPEAN THEATER of WORLD WAR II. His concern for his soldiers, celebrated by the journalist ERNIE PYLE, won him the reputation as the "G.I.'s general."

Born on February 12, 1893, in Clark, Missouri, Bradley graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in the famed class of 1915, which included Dwight D. Eisenhower. He remained on the home front during World War I and served in a variety of posts, including a number of U.S. ARMY schools, in the interwar period. In 1941, General GEORGE C. MARSHALL offered Bradley the position of Commandant of the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia. This assignment brought Bradley the rank of brigadier general, and in 1942 he was promoted to Major General. In February 1943, Bradley was sent to North Africa, and in April he assumed command of the U.S. Army II Corps, directing important victories in the successful NORTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN. Later in 1943, Bradley helped plan and implement the invasion of SICILY, and he was promoted to lieutenant general.

Bradley's greatest contributions came during and after the 1944 INVASION OF NORMANDY. After commanding the U.S. First Army at Normandy, Bradley was put in charge of the 12th Army Group, which comprised the Ninth, First,



and Third Armies and included roughly one million soldiers. Bradley led the 12th Army Group in the Allied advance across France and helped win the Ardennes campaign and the BATTLE OF THE BULGE in the winter of 1944–45. He then played a leading role in the drive westward through the Rhineland and the Ruhr area that ended with the surrender of Germany in May 1945. He was promoted to full general in 1945.

In 1948, President Harry S. Truman named Bradley army chief of staff. He then served as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1949 to 1953 and was promoted to five-star rank—general of the army—in 1950. Bradley retired in 1953.

**Further reading:** Omar N. Bradley and Clay Blair, *A General's Life: An Autobiography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983).

—Daniel J. Fury

## Brain Trust

The “Brain Trust” was the collective name given to a small group of academics who advised FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and provided ideological foundations for the FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933. Assembled at Roosevelt’s request in 1932 by RAYMOND C. MOLEY, a professor of government at Columbia University’s Barnard College, the original and most important members of the Brain Trust were Moley, Columbia University economist REXFORD G. TUGWELL, and Columbia Law School professor ADOLF A. BERLE, JR. Roosevelt referred to these advisers as his “privy council,” and then a newspaper reporter dubbed them the “Brains Trust” in September 1932.

While the members of the Brain Trust often disagreed about what specific policy measures would end the GREAT DEPRESSION, they did agree that the depression was the result of structural flaws in the American ECONOMY, that antitrust and other efforts to restore an economy of small units were misguided, and that the economy should function, with appropriate planning, as an organic structure of interdependent parts. Corporate interests, in their view, had gained a disproportionate amount of power over the American economy in the years preceding the depression and had upset the balance of parts. Borrowing from the English economic theorist J. A. Hobson, the Brain Trusters held that, left unchecked, this imbalance had caused a crisis of “underconsumption” in which consumers could no longer afford to buy enough products and services to sustain prosperity. Moley and Berle believed this imbalance would be best remedied by allowing BUSINESS to regulate itself to eliminate unfair business practices. Tugwell, who believed that depressed farm prices caused by agricultural overproduction were central to problems in the domestic

economy, maintained that a GOVERNMENT-planned economy was required for economic recovery and balanced prosperity.

The First New Deal, as it took shape under the leadership of the Brain Trust, combated the Great Depression much differently from previous attempts by the HOOVER PRESIDENCY. In its insistence that the causes *and* solutions for the depression were domestic in nature, the Brain Trust rejected Hoover’s internationalist approach. The ideas of the Brain Trust contributed to the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA) and the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION (AAA), both of which involved economic planning and controls coordinated by the government. The NRA, created to implement the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA) in 1933, sought to implement industry-wide codes of fair competition and improve employment practices in the manufacturing sector, while the AAA sought to raise agricultural prices by reducing output and granting subsidies to farmers who cut production. In practice, both the NRA and the AAA faced significant obstacles in achieving their established goals and had disappointing and sometimes unintended results.

The Brain Trust was most influential during 1932–33 in creating philosophical foundations of the First New Deal, but was less successful in directing the subsequent implementation of NEW DEAL policy. Many DEMOCRATIC PARTY politicians were suspicious of the Brain Trust and feared that their status as nonelected advisers to the president gave them undue influence in policy decisions without the accountability of having to answer to constituents. Political considerations made Roosevelt reluctant to associate himself with any specific economic philosophy for fear of alienating the conservatives within his own party. The problems of the NRA and the AAA only heightened Roosevelt’s increasing tendency to turn to other advisers and ideas. The Brain Trust was effectively disbanded when Raymond Moley left the Roosevelt administration in 1933. The other two original members, Tugwell and Berle, continued to work closely with Roosevelt until 1936 and 1944, respectively; but like Moley, although not for the same reasons, they would express disappointment with the subsequent path of the New Deal.

Despite the limits on their actual influence on policy-making, the Brain Trust left an important legacy, for their proximity to Roosevelt helped inspire a generation of idealistic and ambitious young liberal lawyers and scholars to enter careers with the federal government.

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—Mary E. Carroll-Mason

**Bretton Woods Conference** (July 1944)

The United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, commonly known as the Bretton Woods Conference, took place in New Hampshire in July 1944. It resulted in the establishment of two organizations: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to facilitate international monetary cooperation; and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD, usually called the World Bank), to provide loans to individual nations and to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) for postwar rebuilding and development. The IMF and IBRD were designed to underwrite world peace and prosperity by preventing another global depression and the economic nationalism that many thought had contributed to the coming of WORLD WAR II.

Several dozen nations met at Bretton Woods, with the United States leading the discussions. The American position reflected long-term concerns of Secretary of State CORDELL HULL about the dangers of high tariffs and other forms of economic nationalism. But the principal American figures in creating the Bretton Woods system, with its emphasis on currency convertability, expanded trade, development loans, and a healthy, cooperative world economy, were Secretary of the Treasury HENRY T. MORGENTHAU, JR., and his assistant secretary, the economist Harry Dexter White.

The United States emerged from World War II with a large accumulation of gold and credits and a strong industrial economy. This great economic strength, together with American power in wartime and postwar global politics, made it virtually inevitable that the United States would dominate the Bretton Woods conference and the instrumentalities it created. The U.S. Senate approved the Bretton Woods agreements in July 1945, and by December 1945 the required number of governments had ratified the treaties establishing the IMF and the IBRD. The Soviet Union took part in the conference but did not participate in the Bretton Woods system because of worsening SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS as the cold war developed.

The main objective of the International Monetary Fund was to prevent the currency devaluations of the 1930s that had seemed so harmful to international economic and political stability. It sought to protect and stabilize short-term foreign exchange rates without jeopardizing a country's domestic economic goals and production levels, and to standardize international monetary transactions in a smooth, efficient system that would promote free trade, stability, and prosperity. The U.S. plan that emerged from Bretton Woods protected the GOLD STANDARD and established the dollar as the world's dominant currency. IMF operations were disappointing in the early postwar period, but the agency did help to establish the principle that cur-

rency devaluations not be used in international economic competition.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was to provide loans at reasonable interest rates to underwrite the reconstruction of economies damaged by World War II and to promote investments and growth in developing countries. The goal was a healthy, growing world economy. The United States, as the largest subscriber to the World Bank, had the principal voice in its operations, and in the early postwar period saw that it channeled assistance to European countries whose economic difficulties made them vulnerable to communist inroads. Such assistance was connected to American "containment" policy in the cold war and prefigured the Marshall Plan assistance to Europe. Smaller developing nations did not get the sort of assistance envisioned in the initial agreements.

Like the American leadership in creating and implementing the UNITED NATIONS, the Bretton Woods system reflected the new role and power of the United States in global affairs and its determination to use its power in pursuing its own interests and principles as well as global peace and prosperity. In the early postwar era, the IMF and IBRD became tied to American containment policy in the cold war, but both would play larger roles in subsequent decades in fostering currency convertability and stability and in providing loans for economic development.

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—Anne Rothfeld

**Bridges, Harry** (1901–1977) *labor activist*

An Australian-born maritime worker who identified with the radical and militant elements of the LABOR movement, Harry Bridges played an important role in the resurgence of organized labor in the United States during the GREAT DEPRESSION.

Bridges was born on July 28, 1901, into a middle-class household near Melbourne, Australia, and went by the name Alfred Renton Bridges. A number of experiences and people in his early life exposed him to dissenting ideas, including his uncle Harry, an official of Australia's main labor party, whose name Bridges adopted. Bridges left home when he was 16 to pursue adventure as a sailor, and journeys to the slums of Bombay and London impressed upon him the degree to which capitalism could materially and spiritually impoverish working people. Bridges also learned of protest tactics and strategies as a participant in the massive 1917 general strike in Australia and as a brief

recruit of the International Workers of the World (IWW) while unemployed in New Orleans.

In 1922, Bridges found work as a longshoreman on the San Francisco waterfront and experienced its dreadful working conditions. Longshoremen who did not belong to the company union had to endure the humiliation of the morning “shape-up” in which throngs of men waited on the docks in hopes of gaining temporary employment. Blacklists, kickbacks, and favoritism often influenced hiring decisions, and speedups rendered already dangerous work even more threatening to life and limb. Bridges joined the International Longshoremen’s Association (ILA), but its conservative leadership refused to seek change. The Great Depression severely aggravated these hardships, leaving Bridges without work and his family on RELIEF and pushing him and many other longshoremen toward unionism and radicalism.

GOVERNMENT sanction of union organizing under the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA) of the NEW DEAL inspired longshoremen to act. When 12,000 Pacific Coast longshoremen went on strike in May 1934, area seamen and teamsters joined them, as did more than 100,000 San Francisco workers who waged a general strike to protest police violence against unionists. Bridges became an effective union organizer and a major spokesperson for the longshoremen. Despite the use of strikebreakers, the longshoremen won union recognition, a pay increase, a shorter workweek, and an end to the hated shape-up.

The solidarity displayed by various maritime workers during the strike quickly crumbled. Seamen returned to the tradition of craft-oriented and racially discriminatory unionism, while Bridges and his ILA supporters championed industrial unionism. This conflict mirrored larger splits occurring within the labor movement during the 1930s between the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) and the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO). In 1937, Bridges led an overwhelming majority of Pacific Coast longshoremen into the CIO to form the International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU). Emphasizing common economic interests among workers, he welcomed AFRICAN AMERICANS into the ILWU and helped to organize a multiethnic force of sugar and pineapple plantation workers in Hawaii.

Between 1934 and 1962, Bridges fought a number of attempts on the part of his enemies in BUSINESS, government, and organized labor to force his deportation on the grounds that he sought to overthrow the government by force. These legal battles intensified considerably with the revival of ANTICOMMUNISM following WORLD WAR II. Although he apparently joined the Communist Party, according to his biographer, Bridges always denied membership, and he avoided deportation. In any event, he was

guided less by communist ideology than by a commitment to addressing the needs and desires of longshoremen.

By the 1960s, rapid technological changes undermined the bargaining power of skilled workers. Bridges accepted mechanization in return for a hefty pension benefit for older longshoremen, an agreement that contributed to high unemployment, unsafe working conditions, and a large temporary workforce on the docks. He died in 1977.

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—Theresa Ann Case

### Britain, Battle of (1940)

The Battle of Britain, waged between Great Britain and Germany in the summer and fall of 1940, was the first battle in history conducted entirely by AIR POWER, as Germany attempted to gain air supremacy over Britain in preparation for an invasion. Although the German effort was ultimately unsuccessful, the threat to Great Britain, following the success of the German BLITZKRIEG in overrunning western Europe in the previous months, was instrumental in the shift of American FOREIGN POLICY to anti-AXIS intervention through such measures as the DESTROYERS-FOR-BASES DEAL.

The German Luftwaffe forces based in France, the Low Countries, Norway, and Denmark consisted of 1,260 medium bombers, 320 dive-bombers, and more than 1,000 fighters. Continental bases were a mere 20 minutes from England, but German fighters had a short range, and Luftwaffe twin-engine fighters and dive-bombers could not match the RAF Supermarine Spitfire or Hawker Hurricane. In addition, German bombers carried small bomb loads.

The British Royal Air Force (RAF) Fighter Command operated over home ground, which allowed longer times in the air and rapid pilot recovery. Increases in fighter production in 1939, an efficient ground-to-air communications network, and a radar system along the southern coast, gave a slight advantage to the 600 RAF pilots flying 900 fighters.

Early skirmishes in the Battle of Britain began in July 1940, with combat beginning in earnest on August 13, called “Eagle Day,” when the Luftwaffe attacked in strength. The period of mid- to late August was one of heavy fighting, with RAF pilots flying multiple sorties each day. Yet both sides overestimated the other’s casualties and their own successes. German intelligence failures caused a shift in tactics based on the assumption that the RAF had suffered irreplaceable losses. The Luftwaffe starting

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attacking airfields, but then shifted to terror BOMBING of cities, particularly London, in retaliation for an RAF raid on Berlin on August 25. Regular daylight attacks on London, known as the Blitz, began on September 7. The RAF responded quickly against Luftwaffe bombers over London on September 15, known as “Battle of Britain Day,” and downed 175 aircraft in one week, prompting a suspension of daylight raids. While the Blitz continued with decreasing intensity through May 1941, attacks on airfields never resumed, and the planned German invasion was canceled on September 17. Between July 31 and October 31, the RAF lost 788 aircraft compared to 1,295 Luftwaffe aircraft destroyed. Referring to the RAF’s successful defense of Britain, Churchill memorably said that “Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.”

See also WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

### Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

The Pullman Company of Chicago, Illinois, employed large numbers of AFRICAN AMERICANS as porters beginning in the late 19th century. By 1920 the number reached 12,000, making it the largest private employer of blacks in the nation. However, low wages and insistence upon a servile attitude led to formation in 1925 of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), which insisted upon improved working conditions and greater respect for its members. The labor union achieved initial success in New York, where it first formed, but faltered in the Chicago region, where the Pullman Company, however paternalistic in nature, enjoyed deep roots in the black community, and resistance to the BSCP proved surprisingly strong. But the union, headed by A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, adopted a community-based strategy of winning over leaders such as clergymen, editors, and politicians, and by 1929 the union enjoyed a surging membership. This trend promptly ended with the onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION that year, and membership declined from 7,300 to only 658 in 1933. However, the BSCP was strategically placed to carry the message of unionism within African-American communities, and it began allying itself with the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) to forge interracial alliances during those difficult times. But the union’s fortunes were not revived until the election of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT as president in 1932 and the introduction of labor-friendly NEW DEAL legislation. Foremost among this was the Railway Labor Act as amended in 1934, which guaranteed railroad

workers the right of collective bargaining. Randolph also heightened his national visibility in the black community by serving as president of the National Negro Congress in 1936, and he began applying pressure upon Pullman for greater recognition. A year later the company signed a historic agreement with the BSCP, marking the first time an American corporation entered into a labor agreement with an all-black union.

Although concerned with the working conditions of its members, Randolph also agitated for a broad-based social agenda. His threat of a MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT and protest in Washington, D.C., induced President Roosevelt to sign EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802 in June 1941, which banned discrimination in GOVERNMENT and defense-related employment and also led to establishment of the FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE. In July 1948, Randolph used the BSCP’s leverage with Democrats to have President Harry S. Truman sign Executive Order 9981, which effectively ended segregation in the U.S. military. Over the ensuing decades airlines largely supplanted railways as the national mode of TRANSPORTATION, and in 1978 the BSCP merged with the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks. Prior to this it had performed seminal work in spreading unionism among black workers and committing the government to policies reflecting greater social justice.

See also NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Bulge, Battle of the (December 1944–January 1945)

In the six months after the INVASION OF NORMANDY in June 1944, American and British forces drove the German army from France and began threatening the German border. In December 1944, the Germans launched a counteroffensive in the Ardennes Forest in Belgium in a desperate effort to halt the Allied advance and capture the vital Belgian port of Antwerp. This last German major thrust in the EUROPEAN THEATER of WORLD WAR II was named the Battle of the Bulge, because of the wedge that the Germans drove into the Allied lines before American forces repelled the German attack.

Early in the morning of December 16, 1944, the Germans attacked vulnerable American positions in the Ardennes Forest, sending them reeling back in surprise and confusion. But the German army soon encountered fierce American resistance. When the Germans demanded the





American soldiers of the 75th Division in the Ardennes during the Battle of the Bulge (U.S. Army)

surrender of the key town of Bastogne on December 22, General Anthony McAuliffe, personifying the courage and resiliency of American troops in the battle, replied with his famous single-word message: “Nuts!”

The tide turned for the Allies by December 23. In a remarkable feat of generalship, General GEORGE S. PATTON, JR., had wheeled his Third Army northward from the Moselle to attack the German flank from the south. The fog and heavy clouds that grounded Allied air forces lifted, and Allied planes resupplied isolated garrisons and began to attack the German troops and supply lines. The German advance was halted just miles from the Meuse River by the U.S. First Army on December 26. The extent of the “bulge” that the Germans created was some 60 miles deep and 50 miles wide at the base—a considerable salient, but well short of Hitler’s ambitious objectives. By mid-January, the battle had been won, and by end of the month the Allies were ready to press ahead into Germany.

The Battle of the Bulge was the largest engagement on the western front, and the largest that American soldiers—who did almost all of the fighting—had ever been part of.

More than a half-million American troops were involved, and the American casualties of at least 70,000 (virtually the entire Allied total and more than in any other battle of the war) included some 20,000 dead. British prime minister Winston Churchill said that the Battle of the Bulge would “be regarded as an ever-famous American victory.” Turning back this final German offensive and depleting the Germans’ reserves of manpower and equipment, this victory effectively secured the fate of Nazi Germany and led to its surrender in May 1945.

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—Michael Leonard

### Bureau of Motion Pictures

Throughout WORLD WAR II the United States did not possess a centralized PROPAGANDA agency to dictate feature film content. However, on June 13, 1942, President

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT signed an executive order creating the OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION (OWI) to oversee and coordinate domestic and foreign propaganda relating to the war effort. Among its various subdivisions was the Bureau of Motion Pictures (BMP) under White House assistant Lowell Mellett, with offices in New York; Washington, D.C.; and Hollywood, California. The New York office under playwright Sam Spewack became responsible for government information films produced at the OWI's behest. The 26 titles, known collectively as "Victory Films," were documentary in nature and portrayed various facets of the GOVERNMENT war effort in a favorable light. BMP also oversaw an additional 52 short films entitled "America Speaks." They were aimed directly at public audiences and intended to be screened in tandem with regular motion pictures at theaters, although smaller 16mm prints were released for schools, churches, and community centers. Given this mass distribution, an estimated 4.7 million people had seen at least one title by 1943.

BMP's Hollywood office was headed up by Nelson Poynter, who enjoyed close professional contacts with the film community and was charged with providing them with guidelines for assisting the war effort. His office wrote and distributed a pamphlet entitled *The Government Information Manual for the Motion Picture*, which contained voluntary guidelines. BMP agents were allowed to review scripts and make suggestions as to how best to portray America at war. Some changes in dialogue or emphasis could be requested and were usually made, although in some instances the bureau did ask that certain MOVIES not be filmed or distributed until after the war. Moreover, the agency wished that the military always be shown in a positive light, never surrendering, and invariably fighting to the end. Ultimately, the BMP reviewed 1,650 scripts and compliance for suggested changes remained completely voluntary. However, BMP's influence ended abruptly in May 1943 when Republicans in CONGRESS, fearful that the agency was promoting "Democratic" values for political ends, sharply reduced its funding.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Bush, Vannevar** (1890–1974) *electrical engineer, science administrator*

Vannevar Bush, born in Everett, Massachusetts, the son of a Universalist minister, is best known for directing the mas-

sive effort to mobilize American SCIENCE and TECHNOLOGY for WORLD WAR II. His classic manifesto, *Science: The Endless Frontier*, written at the request of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT as a proposal for continuing this mobilization during peacetime, inspired the creation of the National Science Foundation and other GOVERNMENT funding organizations of the cold war.

During undergraduate work at Tufts College, doctoral studies in electrical engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and various work with industry and the military, Bush developed an early faith in technology and its potential for public good. He held strong beliefs on ethics and public responsibility for engineers. As a professor in electrical engineering and later dean of engineering at MIT (1919–39), he was at the center of curricular reforms in this fast-developing field so closely connected with industry. Known for his administrative acumen, he also won respect as an able and innovative researcher in engineering science for his work in solving difficult quantitative engineering problems using graphical methods and analog computers.

In 1939, Bush became president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and also served as chairman of the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics. Soon after arriving in Washington, he was at the center of mobilizing science and technology for the war effort. He instigated and chaired the National Defense Research Committee, which was quickly succeeded in 1941 by the OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT (OSRD) as the war MOBILIZATION effort expanded. Enjoying a close and trusted relationship with President Roosevelt, personal acquaintance with numerous industry leaders, familiarity with and respect in the university world, and knowledge



Vannevar Bush (Library of Congress)

of the military establishment, Bush masterfully led and defended OSRD during challenging and often chaotic times. The impressive number of major wartime inventions (radar, radio-inertial navigation, amphibious vehicles, the proximity fuse, penicillin, and of course the ATOMIC BOMB, to cite just a few) that issued from OSRD-sponsored research crowned Bush's already substantial reputation.

Bush's July 1945 report, *Science: The Endless Frontier*, became the blueprint for instituting what some scholars have called the "permanent mobilization" of science and technology for the cold war, and has been reprinted and studied continuously since, often forming the starting point for periodic review of the subject by government. Bush also arranged for an extensive history of OSRD to be written and published in a series of popular books—and proved to be as masterful in crafting and controlling the remembrance of OSRD as he was in building and operating it in the first place.

Bush believed that it was the peculiarly American democratic character and institutions that made science and technology successful in the United States and correspondingly hindered it in totalitarian states. He therefore wished to dismantle the OSRD as quickly as possible, viewing it as an effective but undemocratic emergency measure for the war effort. In its place he envisioned a National Research Foundation that would support science and technology with public money, but place funding decisions and accountability in the meritocracy of science and technology leadership rather than in a government body. The National Science Foundation was established by President Harry S. Truman in 1950, one of a number of postwar government agencies with responsibilities for science and technology.

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—Joseph N. Tatarewicz

## business

Few business enterprises, small or large, fully escaped the consequences of the GREAT DEPRESSION of the 1930s. Between 1929 and 1933, industrial production was halved and UNEMPLOYMENT soared from three percent to 25 percent. In these four years, 110,000 businesses failed and more than 5,000 banks went under. For many businesses that survived the initial collapse of the ECONOMY, the problems of these early years of the depression—reduced markets and low profits—dragged on for the rest of the 1930s. General conditions only improved following the increased

demand brought about by GOVERNMENT spending for military preparedness in Europe and the United States in the late 1930s, and then for MOBILIZATION for WORLD WAR II in the early 1940s. World War II then had important consequences for business.

Nevertheless, during the depression and war, experiences varied among businesses in different industries and sectors. Generally, larger businesses did better than smaller, manufacturing suffered less than BANKING and finance, consumer goods manufacturers performed better than makers of capital goods. The country's biggest businesses—those among the 100 largest industrial enterprises in the country in terms of employees, total assets, and gross receipts—probably did best. There were no bankruptcies within this group, although most initially faced reduced sales, profits, and dividends. The biggest enterprises were apt to be in oligopolistic industries—such as the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY, the STEEL INDUSTRY, chemicals, and electrical products—where the few firms in an industry had the market power and financial reserves to stay in business despite the difficult times. They cut back on operations, reduced workforces, repositioned resources, and concentrated on producing those products for which markets still existed. General Motors, for example, experienced a 75 percent drop in sales between 1929 and 1933. Sales declined precipitously for the company's most inexpensive vehicles, so GM focused on its more expensive lines of automobiles designed for the middle and upper classes.

Among the largest companies, managers took advantage of low LABOR, material, and equipment costs. Some stockpiled raw materials, upgraded equipment, repaired idle plant, and invested in improving manufacturing processes. Firms with established research laboratories—General Electric, AT&T, DuPont, Alcoa, General Motors, RCA, Merck & Co., Eli Lilly, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Shell Oil—were able to hire large numbers of engineers and scientists with advanced degrees because of the low wages for university graduates. Such highly trained personnel also found jobs in industries such as glass making and food processing, where they had not been so well represented before.

Managers also embraced strategies of product diversification that moved businesses into new markets. A long-term consequence of diversification and larger research and development (R and D) operations was that many enterprises were well positioned to meet the needs of the World War II economy. During the war, many firms proved adept at moving far afield from their accustomed markets. Workers at the consumer products company Procter & Gamble, for example, filled almost 25 percent of the country's artillery shells with explosives. Stepped up R and D in the 1930s led Alcoa to develop several alloys later widely used in military aircraft. Similarly, advances in



petroleum refining TECHNOLOGY prepared the industry to meet increased wartime demands for petroleum products, including high-octane aviation fuel.

Small businesses—defined as firms employing fewer than 100 workers—experienced the depression very differently. Historically, such enterprises had faced a precarious existence, enduring high rates of failure. The depression years were no exception. Even so, there was an increase in the numbers of small businesses formed during the 1930s. In the retail sector, there were almost 1.8 million stores in 1939, an increase of 300,000 from 1929. But most of these new enterprises were products of the troubled times, small operations in labor intensive, service-oriented businesses. Unemployed workers turned to small-scale, low capital retailing to eke out some kind of a living.

In contrast, larger businesses producing consumer goods fared best during the depression. Consumption spending (in “constant” dollars corrected for the deflation of the early depression) declined only about 20 percent between 1928 and 1932, whereas investment fell nearly 90 percent. Consequently, consumer goods manufacturers were apt to be more “depression proof” than those engaged in producing machinery and equipment. Households continued to purchase everyday items (groceries, beverages, cigarettes, soaps, medicines, detergents, personal hygiene products, work clothes, newspapers, magazines). Moreover, while most families could not afford new automobiles or new homes, they needed to fuel and service the cars, and maintain and repair the houses, they already had. Thus, sales of petroleum products, automobile parts, and tires remained strong. By 1936, for example, petroleum sales exceeded those of 1929. New home building plummeted during the depression, making the HOUSING construction sector one of the most troubled of the decade, along with AGRICULTURE and mining. Those already owning homes, though, continued to make improvements. In 1930, for example, only 51 percent of homes had flush toilets; by 1940 the proportion was 60 percent.

Further belying the general view that the 1930s were a period of unrelieved doom for business were examples of new companies that achieved later success. Entrepreneurs established companies in the 1930s that were destined to become household names to a later generation: Hewlett-Packard, Polaroid Camera, Texas Instruments, and Ryder Truck. Fledgling companies established earlier also took off in the 1930s. Because the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT of 1935 meant that the federal government needed to keep information about almost every wage earner, for example, IBM’s electromechanical punchcard equipment gave the company a new market and positioned it for even more rapid growth during the war and postwar periods.

The 1930s were also a period of important business innovations with far-reaching consequences for Ameri-

can life. New firms emerged, and established businesses grew, in industries that commercialized new technology, products, and services. Developments in industries related to aviation, supported in part by federal funding for their military applications, led to improvements in avionics, aircraft engines, aviation fuel, and aluminum alloys. These advances proved vital to the United States’s capabilities in fighting World War II. Commercial RADIO broadcasting, and the growth of the MOVIES, structured a mass entertainment industry with profound long-run consequences, both good and ill, in creating a more national, less regional, American POPULAR CULTURE. Chemical and petroleum companies engaged in research focused on carbon (found in petroleum), which served as the basis for the making of numerous synthetic materials. The most famous result of these efforts was DuPont’s commercialization of nylon, first created in 1934. Such work on polymers (the building blocks of this chemical revolution) in the 1930s paid off in the war years with the production of many new materials, including synthetic RUBBER.

The retail sector also saw innovations in the 1930s. A particularly vibrant area of growth was in gasoline service stations, funded in part by the major petroleum companies to spur on retail sales of gasoline. Chain grocery stores (which had over a third of the market for grocery sales in 1933) continued to grow during the 1930s, as did supermarkets, stores that sold a larger number and variety of goods than the chain stores. Between 1935 and 1939, the number of supermarkets increased from about 300 to almost 5,000.

Advances in grocery chain and supermarket retailing resulted from innovations in the food processing industry. Major food processing companies, such as General Foods and General Mills, invested heavily in improving processing, packaging, and distribution, and launched heavily advertised new products and product lines. The industry, for example, introduced pasteurized fruit juices and individually packaged baked goods. In adding zinc to can coatings, food processors made canned goods safer. By 1939, the output of these products had doubled from the 160 million units produced in 1931. Progress in bottling soft drinks, along with innovations in vending machines, increased the market for a growing variety of these popular products. General Foods Corporation introduced frozen foods in the 1930s, although it was not until after World War II that household refrigerators had freezers able to store such products safely.

Business also had to face up to the growing presence of the federal government in the economy during the 1930s. NEW DEAL legislation fundamentally altered the structure and behavior of key industries by creating new independent regulatory agencies or granting increased authority to already established government departments. Industries



affected included banking, securities, telephone, aviation, railroads, broadcasting, electric power, petroleum, lumber, mining, and agriculture. These changes affected businesses differently, and generated differing responses from business leaders, many of them hostile to the New Deal, but others more supportive. Perhaps the most significant piece of legislation from a general business point of view was the 1935 NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT. By conferring on workers a right to organize unions, the New Deal altered the fundamental relationship between workers and owners/managers. LABOR relations became for many businesses one of the most contentious matters of the time, an issue that for many firms lasted well into the postwar years.

World War II had a profound impact on American business. Wartime government spending of more than \$300 billion to finance mobilization ended the depression. This sum was 10 times greater than that expended on World War I. Indeed, it was about double what the federal government had spent in its entire history. The rapid economic turnaround provided a robust stimulus to employment, sales, and business profits. But, as with the depression, the consequences of the war for businesses varied among industries and economic sectors. The requirements of a government geared to total war had a greater positive impact on the largest enterprises than the smallest. Federal officials needed the expertise of mass production manufacturers to produce great quantities of war materials, and businessmen often played key roles in mobilization agencies. Government also employed the research and development skills of the largest businesses, enterprises capable of developing and producing highly sophisticated, technologically advanced products and weapons.

A high level of collaboration with technologically advanced companies continued into the cold war years, forming what became known as the military-industrial-university complex. Government-business cooperation during World War II was closest in munitions, aviation, electronics, metals, chemicals, and nuclear power. The most famous collaboration occurred in the MANHATTAN PROJECT that produced the ATOMIC BOMB. Perhaps less well known was the government's enlisting the pharmaceutical companies in a crash program to produce large quantities of penicillin to reduce combat deaths attributable to infection.

New technologies emerging from World War II had long-lasting effects on American business. In the postwar decades, many of the largest companies commercialized the new technologies. Wartime advances in aviation, nuclear power, radar, jet propulsion, antibiotics, synthetic materials, and computers eventually all found their way into products for industry and households. World War II also solidified the position of big business in the American economy. During the war, over half of the government's \$175 billion in prime defense contracts went to 33 compa-

nies. While many of them subcontracted work to smaller enterprises, about three-quarters of subcontracts went to enterprises employing more than 500 employees. Businesses employing more than 10,000 people increased their share of industrial employment from 13 to 30 percent between 1939 and 1944. Small businesses, employing 100 or fewer people, dropped from 26 to 19 percent of industrial employment in the same years. These trends toward industrial concentration were to continue in the postwar period.

The Great Depression and World War II thus had important consequences for American business. Few enterprises escaped the problems created by the collapse in 1929 or the effects of the U.S. involvement in World War II, and all had to deal with a federal government that had vastly increased powers because of the New Deal and wartime mobilization. This new environment often created problems for the owners of small firms, as well as for the managers of giant enterprises. But economic collapse and a wartime economy also prompted among the largest businesses a greater commitment to developing and commercializing technology, and to diversifying their operations. Smaller businesses had a more difficult time adjusting to the economic changes and challenges, but some also found opportunity in these years—especially during the war—by supplying goods and services to government and big business.

From the perspective of more than half a century, the business losses, failures, and disruption of the depression and war provide only part of the story. The 1930s were also a time of innovation and experiment that prepared business to meet the demands of a global war. And World War II also positioned business, mainly large enterprises, to meet the government's needs in the cold war and to take advantage of the boom times that followed the most destructive war in history.

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—William H. Becker

**Byrnes, James F.** (1882–1972) *U.S. senator, associate justice of the Supreme Court, secretary of state*

As a United States senator from South Carolina, SUPREME COURT justice, wartime administrator, and secretary of state, James F. Byrnes was one of the most influential political figures of the 1929–45 period. Byrnes, who earned a reputation as sly and able, was perhaps the most important southern politician between John C. Calhoun and Lyndon B. Johnson.

James Francis Byrnes was born on May 2, 1882, in Charleston, South Carolina, seven weeks after his civil servant father died of tuberculosis. Though he dropped out of school at age 14 to help support his mother and sister, Byrnes was an ambitious young man who received his education in law and politics by running errands for a prominent Charleston attorney and working as a court stenographer.

By 1910, Byrnes had settled in Aiken, South Carolina, married (converting from the Roman Catholic to the Episcopal Church), and become a successful attorney and prosecutor. He was elected that year, at age 28, to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he would serve for 14 years. As a congressman, Byrnes gained several patrons important to his political career, including BERNARD M. BARUCH, the financier and DEMOCRATIC PARTY insider who owned a South Carolina estate, and FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, who met Byrnes while assistant secretary of the navy. Byrnes ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate in 1924, his refusal to join the Ku Klux Klan being a factor in his defeat, and returned to Aiken to practice law.

In 1930, Byrnes was elected to the U.S. Senate, and immediately became an important figure in Washington. He was an early supporter of Roosevelt's presidential candidacy in 1932, and served as consultant and sometimes speechwriter during the campaign. After Roosevelt's election, Byrnes was a staunch supporter of the NEW DEAL, helping to draft some legislation and to shepherd through CONGRESS such measures as the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT, the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT, the CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS, and the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION. During the SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935, Byrnes helped win passage of the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT despite his links to South Carolina textile interests and his growing antipathy toward organized LABOR.

In 1936, Byrnes easily won reelection to the Senate, defeating an opponent in the Democratic primary who attempted to tie the New Deal and Roosevelt to racial equality. Byrnes emphasized economic issues and how

the New Deal benefited all—especially white—South Carolinians. After Roosevelt's reelection in 1936, Byrnes backed the president's COURT-PACKING PLAN, but broke with FDR on labor issues, including sit-down strikes by the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS. Byrnes also opposed Roosevelt's attempted "purge" of anti-New Deal Democrats (including his South Carolina colleague "Cotton Ed" Smith) in 1938, but he remained on friendly terms personally with the president. He worked against CIVIL RIGHTS for AFRICAN AMERICANS and helped defeat ANTI-LYNCHING LEGISLATION.

Although ambitious for the presidency himself, Byrnes backed Roosevelt for a third term in the ELECTION OF 1940, but was disappointed when he was passed over for the vice presidency, due to opposition from labor and northern liberals. In 1941, Roosevelt appointed Byrnes to the Supreme Court, but the South Carolinian found the job too constraining. After the American entry into WORLD WAR II, Byrnes resigned from the Court in 1942 to direct the Office of Economic Stabilization. A year later, Roosevelt named Byrnes to head the OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION, a position so important that he had an office in the White House East Wing, and became known as the "assistant president."

In 1944, Byrnes was again passed over for the vice presidency, and again Roosevelt placated his old friend, this time by having him accompany the president to the YALTA CONFERENCE in February 1945. Rumors persisted that Roosevelt would name Byrnes as either secretary of state or UNITED NATIONS ambassador. After Roosevelt died in April 1945, the new president, Harry S. Truman, a former Senate colleague, named Byrnes secretary of state. Byrnes served in that position until 1947, when personal and philosophical differences with Truman, and growing disillusionment with the Democratic Party on labor and racial issues, led to his resignation.

In 1950, Byrnes was elected governor of South Carolina on a conservative, segregationist platform; he served one term. In 1952, although still nominally a Democrat, he made little secret of his preference for Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower in the presidential race. Byrnes lived out his final years in South Carolina as a wayward Democrat who in 1968 endorsed Richard M. Nixon for president. James F. Byrnes died in Key West, Florida, on April 9, 1972.

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—William J. Thompson



### **Cairo Conference** (November 1943)

The Cairo Conference, involving the United States, Great Britain, and China, was held in late November 1943 to discuss strategy and objectives for the Far Eastern arena of the PACIFIC THEATER of WORLD WAR II.

American president FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and British prime minister Winston Churchill scheduled this conference to take place before they met with Soviet leader Joseph Stalin at the TEHERAN CONFERENCE, which would focus on Allied strategy in Europe. Originally Roosevelt had planned to meet only with Stalin at Teheran; however, Churchill insisted that he attend the Teheran Conference and also that he and Roosevelt meet beforehand at Cairo, Egypt, to coordinate their approach to the Teheran meeting and decisions about Europe. Roosevelt suggested that the Soviets and Chinese join the Cairo Conference and discuss Allied strategy in the Pacific. China agreed, but the Soviets demurred, preferring not to meet with the Chinese because of the Soviet nonaggression pact with Japan.

Roosevelt intended that the Cairo Conference focus especially on discussions with Chinese leader Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) about the war in Asia. Besides wanting to keep China in the war, Roosevelt thought China should be added to the “Big Three” (the United States, Soviet Union, and Britain) and as one of the major powers should have a significant voice in wartime and postwar policies. Roosevelt also attempted to get Churchill to pledge postwar independence to Britain’s Asian colonies, as the United States had for the PHILIPPINES. Churchill tried unsuccessfully to ignore Jiang, whom he considered unimportant, and to pressure Roosevelt into agreeing upon a united diplomatic front to present to the Soviets at Teheran.

Despite tensions between Roosevelt and Churchill, the Cairo Conference did come to some agreements about the Pacific war before the two men flew on to their meeting with Stalin at Teheran. The conferees decided that Japan would be stripped of territorial gains it had made since World War I and would return to China territory taken

before and during the war, and they agreed that the Allies would require an unconditional surrender from Japan. These points, along with other decisions, were made public in December in the Cairo Declaration. Roosevelt also promised Jiang and his Nationalist Chinese forces continued assistance, including LEND-LEASE Act aid and American support of an attack on Burma, although he came to the conclusion previously reached by others that Jiang was a weak and indecisive leader.

Roosevelt and Churchill met again less formally at Cairo in early December 1943, just after the Teheran Conference, in what is sometimes known as the Second Cairo Conference. Here they unsuccessfully tried to coax neutral Turkey into the war on the Allied side, and decided to delay the Burma offensive in order to shift needed resources into the cross-Channel invasion of France set at Teheran for the spring of 1944.

See also ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS; GRAND ALLIANCE.

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—Nicholas Fry

### **Capra, Frank** (1897–1991) *motion picture director*

Frank Capra was perhaps the most famous motion picture director of the 1930s and 1940s. His celebration of democracy and the common man permeated his most important Hollywood MOVIES of the 1930s as well as his *Why We Fight* films of WORLD WAR II, produced in collaboration with the U.S. GOVERNMENT. Capra’s focus on the dignity and decency of ordinary people reflected not only his own views but also themes often found elsewhere in the ART,

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Capra himself lived a version of the American dream after his family moved to the United States from Sicily when he was six years old. Working his way through college, Capra earned a degree in engineering before beginning his career in Hollywood. His 1934 comedy, *It Happened One Night*, won five Academy Awards, including both best picture and best director. Capra's celebration of American democracy and the American dream shaped his subsequent films of the 1930s, especially *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936) and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939). Deeds, after inheriting a fortune and moving to the city, gives his money away and returns to his small-town home, disillusioned by greed and the power of money. Smith, a newly elected senator, sees the corruption of money and power in the U.S. Senate when he arrives in Washington and fights to expose it and return to the democratic ideal.

In 1941 Capra joined the U.S. ARMY Signal Corps and was asked by the War Department to create a series of films explaining the significance of the war and depicting the dangers of fascism and Nazism. Though much different in format from Capra's fictional Hollywood movies and really part of the government's wartime PROPAGANDA effort, the seven-film *Why We Fight* series also expressed his strong patriotism and his belief in the ideal of democratic government and the strength of ordinary people. The films were shown to soldiers going overseas to impress upon them the meaning of the war. The first film in the series was also released for general distribution and, while faring poorly at the box office, won a 1942 Academy Award.

After the war, Capra continued to make films designed to celebrate American values and inspire optimism in his audiences. His most famous work, *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946) is now considered to be the peak of Capra's career, though it was not a commercial success. By the 1950s and 1960s, audiences and their tastes changed, and Capra's films became relics of an older generation.

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—Ann Adams

### Casablanca Conference (January 1943)

With victory near in the NORTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN by early 1943, a meeting of the Allied leaders seemed desirable to discuss the next steps to be taken against the AXIS powers in the EUROPEAN THEATER of WORLD WAR II. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT wanted the conference to include Soviet premier Joseph Stalin, but Stalin insisted that the military situation in the Soviet Union was



U.S. general George S. Patton, Jr., was military host of the Casablanca Conference. He is shown here with President Franklin D. Roosevelt at Casablanca on January 17, 1943. (Patton Museum of Cavalry and Armor, Fort Knox, Kentucky)

too delicate for him to leave. British prime minister Winston Churchill and Roosevelt then decided to meet in the small seaside city of Casablanca in North Africa.

Roosevelt, Churchill, and their staffs met from January 13 to 23, 1943. Much of the conference was given over to debate between the British military, which wanted next to invade SICILY, and the smaller and less well-prepared American military contingent, which wanted to launch a cross-Channel invasion of German-occupied France as soon as possible and thus open a true SECOND FRONT in Europe. The joint communiqué of January 23 indicated that Sicily was to be the next target for the Allies and said that the BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC would be given top priority in order to end the German U-boat threat to Allied shipping. Roosevelt and Churchill also pledged to fulfill LEND-LEASE Act agreements with the Soviet Union and to launch the round-the-clock Combined Bomber Offensive against Germany. They agreed to put 30 percent of the American total war effort to operations in the PACIFIC THEATER, thus allowing the U.S. NAVY to remain on the offensive against the Japanese.

Roosevelt and Churchill understood that Stalin would be angry about the decision not to open the second front by a cross-Channel invasion of France that would relieve German pressure on the Soviet Union. To help ease Stalin's suspicions after his inability to deliver the cross-Channel invasion, and after agreement to the negotiated surrender of Vichy French forces in North Africa, President Roosevelt announced at a January 24 press conference that the Allied powers would accept nothing less than unconditional surrender from the Axis powers. This doctrine of unconditional surrender was enunciated chiefly to reassure Stalin



and solidify the GRAND ALLIANCE and SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS. Aiming also to prevent a future German leader from claiming, as Hitler had, that civilian leadership had “sold out” the military, it committed the Allied powers to totally defeat the Axis powers, possibly extending the duration and cost of the war.

See also ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

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—George Michael Curry

### cash-and-carry

As global tensions increased in the 1930s, CONGRESS enacted a series of NEUTRALITY ACTS between 1935 and 1941 aimed at preventing the United States from entering war again as it had during World War I. To maintain American neutrality, yet permit sales of raw materials and other nonmilitary goods that might help the U.S. ECONOMY, a “cash-and-carry” provision was included in the 1937 Neutrality Act. It permitted nations at war to buy nonmilitary goods from the United States if paid for in advance by cash and carried away on ships not under United States registry. The cash-and-carry provision was set to expire in two years.

By the beginning of WORLD WAR II in 1939, cash-and-carry, like the Neutrality Acts generally, fit uncomfortably with the growing anti-AXIS sentiment in the United States. In the Atlantic, cash-and-carry helped Britain and France, which had significant trade contacts with the United States as well as ample shipping. In the Pacific conflict between China and Japan, however, the cash-and-carry principle favored Japan, with its shipping capacity and trade with the United States. And even for Britain and France the requirements of cash-and-carry had the potential to limit the acquisition of needed materials.

The Neutrality Acts had imposed an embargo on military items to nations at war, and these goods were also included under cash-and-carry after the beginning of the war in Europe in September 1939. Over the objections of ISOLATIONISTS, pro-Allied interventionists helped President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT eliminate the arms embargo from the Neutrality Act of November 1939. Those opposed to intervention succeeded, however, in renewing cash-and-carry, which had expired in the spring and which now applied to the sale of military as well as nonmilitary items. The new legislation also continued the ban on loans to nations at war.

By late 1940, England was no longer able to pay cash for the war materials and other goods it needed. The BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC, moreover, was reducing British

shipping at an alarming rate. In his annual address to Congress, on January 6, 1941, Roosevelt announced that he was sending LEND-LEASE legislation to Congress for action, so that England could acquire the materials it needed for its defense. Passage of the Lend-Lease Act removed the cash requirement of cash-and-carry, and the subsequent Neutrality Act of November 1941 allowed American ships to carry cargo to nations at war.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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—Edwin C. Cogswell

### Catholics

Throughout the era of the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II, the United States GOVERNMENT restricted IMMIGRATION in accordance with legislation of the 1920s. But previous Roman Catholic immigration, especially to larger CITIES, laid the foundation for such Catholic groups as IRISH AMERICANS, ITALIAN AMERICANS, and POLISH AMERICANS to become religious, social, and political forces in American life. Although the Roman Catholic Al Smith’s failed presidential run in 1928 exposed persistent strands of anti-Catholic nativism in America, ethnic Catholics would become key components in the political success of the NEW DEAL programs of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in the 1930s and beyond. By far the largest religious group in the United States, Catholics generally became more “respectable” and accepted from 1929 to 1945, particularly in urban areas. They did so in part through devout juxtapositioning of traditional social concerns, which played directly into New Deal objectives, and staunchly antitotalitarianism sentiments (especially anticommunist), which were completely synchronized with existing American conservatism.

Roman Catholic lay people played an increasingly large role in American life in the era. JAMES A. FARLEY and EDWARD J. FLYNN served as chairmen of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY National Committee and as important political advisers to President Roosevelt, and other Catholics held important offices in federal, state, and local government. JOSEPH P. KENNEDY served as the first head of the SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION and as ambassador to Great Britain. Partly because of the unprecedented number of Catholics appointed to government positions by Roosevelt, though especially because of New Deal programs that helped the heavily working-class Catholic population, Catholic voters were a key part of the new Democratic majority forged in the elections of the 1930s. To many practicing church members, it appeared the

president was answering the call set out in Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* (1937), which called for social justice around the world and for all Catholics to work to that desired end. In 1940 Roosevelt further cemented his allegiance to Catholics by appointing Cardinal Francis Spellman of New York as his unofficial envoy to the Vatican in Rome, despite vocal protests mounted by several Protestant denominations. Thus the Catholic hierarchy was generally supportive of the New Deal and its goals, while church members engaged in levels of social and political activism that were unthinkable a generation earlier. Catholics also figured prominently in such diverse areas as LABOR, LITERATURE, and SPORTS.

Roman Catholics began to effectively utilize mass media, especially the RADIO. For instance, the popular bishop Fulton J. Sheen possessed keen intellectual abilities, but became known as a great preacher and orator who could connect personally and spiritually with the general American public. Later a television personality, Sheen is often credited with being a key founder of the so-called electronic church in America. A far more controversial Roman Catholic broadcaster was Father CHARLES E. COUGHLIN, who became as much known for his political and social commentary as for his purely doctrinal messages. His fierce anticommunist stances quickly became mixed with overtly anti-Semitic diatribes and global conspiracy theories. Coughlin opposed Franklin Roosevelt, the New Deal, and American involvement in World War II, as well as displaying pro-Nazi sympathies—and the church brought about an end to his public pronouncements.

Another notable Catholic figure of the era was Archbishop (later, Cardinal) Francis Joseph Spellman, who was simultaneously an ardent anticommunist, archbishop of New York, and diplomatic representative of Pope Pius XII during World War II. Serving as U.S. military vicar and unofficial envoy for Franklin Roosevelt during wartime, Spellman was also involved in promoting conservative social positions on such issues as birth control, movie CENSORSHIP, and the relationship between government funding and private EDUCATION.

Whereas the Catholic clergy was more or less uniformly conservative in its approach to communism and many social issues, the laity proved somewhat more diverse, often embracing LIBERALISM and containing some radical elements. Such women as Dorothy Day, who was a founding figure in the Catholic Worker movement, became active in the public arena. A pacifist, Day surprisingly had converted to Roman Catholicism from a secular, socialist past, and she pursued radical social and political change through the church. Another influential Roman Catholic figure of the period was Father John A. Ryan. Trained in political and economic theory, Ryan served as director of the Social Action Department of the influential National

Catholic Welfare Council. He was a fierce critic of the economic policies of President HERBERT C. HOOVER and one of Franklin Roosevelt's staunchest New Deal supporters. Ryan became a key figure in forging a progressive social and political image for the 20th-century Catholic Church in America.

The period also witnessed a developing focus upon issues involving AFRICAN AMERICANS, as demonstrated by the urban missionary priest William McCann in Harlem, and the Jesuit priest William Markoe in St. Louis, who functioned as a type of proto-CIVIL RIGHTS spokesman there. While Roman Catholicism did not generally appeal to African Americans, emerging groups like the Federation of Colored Catholics demonstrated that African American Catholics were attempting to shape the religious, political, and social debates of a stormy era. The Jesuit priest John LaFarge helped establish the Catholic Interracial Council in 1934, and by the 1940s, local chapters were located in cities throughout the North and SOUTH, thus providing key lay and clerical support for the future Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and beyond.

Where Roosevelt failed to gather strong Catholic support in the 1930s was in the realm of international relations. His recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933, for example, angered Catholics, who were averse to rising totalitarianism in Europe and the persecution of the church in Mexico and Spain. This position, however, radically changed with the outbreak of war in 1941. World War II saw Catholics patriotically supporting the war effort, further reinforcing their sociocultural legitimacy, though they were still perceived as "ethnics" by the broader Anglo-American culture. While continuing to hold important government positions, Catholics also served in large numbers in the U.S. military and constituted a significant part of the labor force in the defense industry. By the end of the war, MEXICAN-AMERICAN Catholic immigrants were moving in substantial numbers into already Hispanic areas of the American Southwest, especially around Los Angeles. These Hispanic Catholics imported a unique style of Catholicism, which often led to hostilities with already established Catholic communities.

From the depression to the end of World War II, Catholics continued to influence the evolving face of urban environments in America. At the grassroots level, Catholic laypeople displayed increased interest in Marian devotion and neighborhood festivals. Dynamic priests at the parish level often functioned as much as social and economic spokesmen and activists as they did as purely spiritual leaders. The period also marked Catholicism's rapid transition into the national mainstream, both politically and culturally, a remarkable occurrence considering the traditional Protestant domination of both spheres and their traditional antipathy toward Catholics and their church.

See also POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA; RELIGION.

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—J. Henry Allen, Jr.

## censorship

Censorship is the prior review of all forms of expression in order to suppress or restrain, in part or entirely, anything considered objectionable. The era of the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II was marked by a number of efforts by the GOVERNMENT and by private organizations to censor objectionable speech, publications, and other forms of expression. The period also brought some state and federal court rulings that overturned or eased censorship laws and practices. During World War II, government censorship, while extensive and pervasive, was nonetheless less onerous than during World War I.

In the first part of the 20th century, censorship clashed with the prohibition in the First Amendment of the Constitution of laws abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. During World War I, for example, the Espionage Act and the Sedition Act sharply restricted opposition to the war or criticism of the government, and in 1919 the SUPREME COURT upheld such censorship in *Abrams v. the United States*. In 1925, the Supreme Court (*Gitlow v. New York*) ruled that even speeches that posed no immediate danger to public order could be punished. The 1930 HAWLEY-SMOOT TARIFF ACT prohibited the import of anything immoral or obscene.

New forms of expression, such as MOVIES and RADIO encountered censorship during this period. Following several scandals, the Motion Picture Association of America adopted a strict code for the film industry in the 1920s to head off government censorship. Private groups, notably the Roman Catholic Legion of Decency, had their own film rating system, lobbied against a number of movies, and contributed to the film industry strengthening its self-censorship with the Production Code Administration, established in 1934. Many states and municipality censorship boards banned totally, or in part, a number of films. Such actions did not apply only to obscenity or “immoral” behavior, but also to portrayals of violence, crime, and social problems. The Chicago Board of Censors refused to allow the show-

ing of a 1937 Paramount newsreel of the Republic Steel Memorial Day Massacre, for example, while a Memphis board blocked a film showing black and white children going to school together.

Because radio stations were licensed, strict government controls could be enforced on this medium. Programs considered inflammatory or immoral, such as those of FATHER CHARLES E. COUGHLIN and Mae West were reviewed by the FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION or canceled by the radio stations. Radio and film self-censorship came partly for economic reasons. Since so many Americans attended movies or listened to the radio, continued income from admissions and ADVERTISING depended upon the widest possible audience appeal. Controversial programs or films would reduce industry profitability.

During the 1930s and 1940s, court decisions overturned some censorship laws and practices. In 1931, the Supreme Court (*Near v. Minnesota ex rel. Olson*) ruled that a Minnesota statute preventing the publication of “scandalous and malicious” material was an unconstitutional prior restraint of the press. In 1934, a New York federal judge lifted the ban on James Joyce’s *Ulysses*, seized under the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, although other courts upheld bans of the novels *Tropic of Cancer* (1934) by Henry Miller and *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* (1944) by D. H. Lawrence. The Supreme Court also struck down a Georgia law prohibiting speeches by COMMUNISTS (1937).

The approach of World War II caused the U.S. government to take actions to ensure domestic security and to protect military secrets. The U.S. ARMY and U.S. NAVY began planning for censorship by the late 1930s, and during the war censored communications and also correspondence of armed forces personnel. In 1940, CONGRESS passed the SMITH ACT, which among other things outlawed advocating the overthrow of the government and authorized deporting aliens who belonged to revolutionary organizations or expressed revolutionary sentiments.

On December 19, 1941, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT issued Executive Order 8985 creating the federal Office of Censorship under Associated Press editor Byron Price. The office eventually grew to 90 offices across the country staffed by more than 14,000 examiners who scanned radio and movie scripts, magazine and newspapers stories, listened to telephone conversations, monitored radio broadcasts, checked for invisible inks, banned crossword puzzles, and reviewed more than a million overseas letters a day. Letters marked with the sticker *Opened by Censor* became a common sight during the war.

While primarily meant to protect wartime secrets and uncover ESPIONAGE, censorship also shaped how Americans perceived the war and served PROPAGANDA purposes. Censors restricted the publication of brutal images of the

war and problems on the domestic front. Not until 1943 were photos of dead Americans released for publication; before then, such images were thought harmful to morale, but as the Allies clearly gained the upper hand, the government wanted to avoid home-front overconfidence. The armed forces censored their own photographers and filmmakers—and used their products for public relations purposes. The OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION and its BUREAU OF MOTION PICTURES ensured that the content of Hollywood films during the war fit with the administration's war aims through appeals to patriotism and threats to restrict distribution. Like war reporters and photographers, filmmakers cooperated with government wishes.

Still, whatever the tensions with First Amendment rights, wartime censorship never seemed excessive, especially in comparison with the other nations at war or with the World War I home front. In part this was due to the unwillingness of many leaders, especially President Roosevelt, to repeat the excesses of World War I. Only two cases were brought to trial during the war under the Smith Act. Moreover, Byron Price exercised his power with restraint, while American journalists adhered to a system of self-censorship. The Office of Censorship was terminated at the end of the war.

See also AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION; CIVIL LIBERTIES.

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—Robert J. Hanyok

## children

The dramatic events engaging Americans from 1929 to 1945 deeply shaped the lives of children, and young people made their own important contributions to the American experience during these significant years. Together with demographic shifts and other POPULATION TRENDS, these events also contributed to growing debates about the role of public policy for children and their families.

The census of 1930 showed the median age of Americans as 26.4 and counted approximately 24 million individuals of less than 20 years of age. This significant group constituted 38 percent of the total population. Although

the numbers suggest that America's youngest citizens were statistically important, the 1930 census also revealed that children and adolescents comprised a shrinking proportion of the total U.S. population. One hundred years earlier, people under 20 made up a majority of the total population (56 percent), and the country's median age was only 17.2. Over the next century, life expectancy lengthened and families became smaller, thereby reducing children's share of the total population.

Despite the fact that young people were a smaller part of the total, by the 1930s and 1940s social policies directed at children combined with a revised cultural definition of childhood to bring positive changes for America's youngest citizens. Beginning in the mid-19th century Americans moved toward a new middle-class definition of childhood and adolescence that was firmly grounded in law and culture by the 1930s and 1940s. In this new formulation, the average family (4.3 members) was approximately half of what it had been in 1830. Smaller families allowed parents to focus more attention on their offspring. Health care improved and overall life expectancy lengthened. A declining number of youngsters worked for wages and children spent more years in school. Compulsory school attendance fostered age segregation that increased the influence of peer groups and the development of a separate youth culture.

The GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II then presented different but difficult hurdles for America's youngest citizens and produced ambivalence among adults toward expanded public policies for young people in the postwar years. As the U.S. Children's Bureau noted in its 1933 report, the onset of the Great Depression often hit children the hardest. One-third of Americans were ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed—and of those, the majority were children. In addition, young people eligible to work found it very difficult to get a job. Americans 16 to 20 years of age had UNEMPLOYMENT rates twice those of adults, and an estimated 23,000 homeless teens rode the nation's railways and hitchhiked along its highways looking for work.

Several NEW DEAL programs sought to help young people. The CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS, a work RELIEF program open to males 16 through 23 years of age, but closed to females, provided jobs for unemployed young men. The NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION offered part-time jobs and tuition assistance to help young people remain in high school and college (and off the job market). The NYA included a division focused on the needs of young AFRICAN AMERICANS, a foreshadowing of postwar efforts to end racial inequality.

New Deal policymakers also took advantage of the fact that the economic crisis of the 1930s eroded opposition to federal legislation to regulate child labor and increased pressure on the government to keep young people under



eighteen out of the paid LABOR force. Child labor regulations of the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA) immediately removed 150,000 young workers from payrolls. After the NRA was declared unconstitutional in 1935, child labor provisions of the 1938 FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT outlawed the employment of individuals under 16 in the manufacture of materials shipped across state lines. The law also regulated the hiring of young people aged 16 and 17, although AGRICULTURE and domestic service were exempted from the law. The new legislation did not end the exploitation of all young workers, but it combined with the decade's labor crisis and existing compulsory school attendance laws to force the vast majority of individuals under 18 years of age out of the wage-labor market and into school.

During the 1930s, even Hollywood MOVIES reflected the new social status of children based on the middle-class model emphasizing EDUCATION. Films featuring the "Our Gang" kids, and child stars such as Mickey Rooney, Judy Garland, and Shirley Temple idealized childhood and adolescence as a time of schooling and fun absent from adult responsibilities. For the first time in American history a majority of 17-year-olds attended high school.

Young people also experienced greater independence. Dating moved adolescent boys and girls far from the watchful eyes of parents. Youth clubs such as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, YMCA, YWCA, and 4-H gained new members. Racial and ethnic segregation persisted, but comic books and other "kid"-centered aspects of POPULAR CULTURE crossed such social lines. Reflecting the evolution of a separate youth culture, a 1941 article in *Popular Science* introduced the word "teenager" into the American print vocabulary for the first time.

Some of the programs involving children and youth begun during the New Deal era took on new aspects when the United States entered World War II. For example, nursery schools begun by the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION to provide unemployed teachers with relief jobs during the Great Depression expanded as a growing pool of mothers entered the wartime labor force. Many parents and child welfare advocates worried that day care was not good for children, but the wartime demand for women's labor overrode such concerns.

The Title V program for maternal and child health of the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT was also transformed by wartime needs. As more men enlisted or were drafted into the military, authorities became concerned about maintaining high morale among the troops. Many soldiers and sailors worried about pregnant wives and newborns unable to get good health care. In response, CONGRESS expanded Title V to include the Emergency Maternity and Infant Care program (EMIC), which provided free prenatal, delivery, postnatal, and infant health care to the wives and children of

enlisted men. This far-reaching effort meant that one out of every seven children born in the United States from 1943 to 1949 could be called a "government baby." And just in time, for overall birthrates rose during the war years—and then continued to climb for the next two decades. EMIC appears to have contributed to the continued decline in the U.S. infant mortality rate, which fell from 47.0 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1940 to 29.2 in 1950. However, despite the program's popularity and the rising U.S. birthrate, Congress had designed EMIC only as a wartime measure to enhance morale among the troops. The program ended with the conclusion of DEMOBILIZATION in 1949.

Some child welfare advocates argued that the demise of EMIC reflected the growing ambivalence among adults about programs for children as the war came to a close. As more mothers worked outside the home, young people gained autonomy that some viewed as a threat to society. The postwar worry about juvenile delinquency actually began on the WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT. The population exploded near military bases and war production centers, and critics raised concerns about unsupervised children and adolescents judged to be "out of control." The 1943 riots against ZOOT-SUITERS in Los Angeles where U.S. sailors and soldiers attacked Mexican-American adolescents, ironically underscored for many adults their perception of rising delinquency among young people. A 1950 report by the U.S. Children's Bureau declared that such conclusions were false, but during the 1940s and 1950s adults became increasingly concerned about juvenile delinquency.

Of course, most children and adolescents did not engage in antisocial behavior during the war. Instead, they participated in SCRAP DRIVES, WAR BONDS sales, and other patriotic endeavors. Some youths took factory, service, or agricultural jobs. Older siblings cared for younger brothers and sisters while parents worked. The military draft included a deferment for all males through age 19 attending high school, but many younger boys lied about their age and joined up anyway.

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—Kriste Lindenmeyer

### cities and urban life

In 1929, America's cities basked in the glow of nearly three decades of rapid growth and general prosperity. By 1932, cities were foundering and sliding toward bankruptcy as they attempted to deal with the massive **UNEMPLOYMENT** of the **GREAT DEPRESSION**. The continuation of the depression for another eight years affected cities in several fundamental ways. First, urban growth nearly halted. Population stagnated and did not rebound until **WORLD WAR II**, while new construction did not reach 1920s levels until the postwar era. Second, the depression created a municipal fiscal crisis that forced cities to cut back drastically on basic urban services and facilities, leaving many of them with serious problems in these areas by 1945. Deteriorating conditions and inadequate **HOUSING** in central cities helped lead to the burgeoning of **SUBURBS** in the postwar era. Finally, urban unemployment and fiscal problems caused cities to turn to the federal **GOVERNMENT** for aid, producing long-term alliances between cities and both the federal government and the **DEMOCRATIC PARTY**. The Second World War then created so many new war-related jobs that rural and small-town people flocked from **RURAL AREAS** to metropolitan areas. A number of southern and western cities expanded rapidly, laying foundations for a major shift in urban population centers away from the Northeast and Middle West toward **SUNBELT** areas of the **SOUTH**, the West, and especially the Pacific Coast.

The most visible impact of the Great Depression in the nation's cities was the huge decline in new construction. Housing starts fell to one-tenth of the peak years of the 1920s, and commercial or industrial construction likewise almost halted. Cities that had been growing rapidly for many decades suddenly seemed frozen in time, looking in 1940 much as they had in 1930. In the residential areas of cities and in their suburbs, miles of streets and sidewalks seemed to disappear as grass and weeds grew up in thousands of vacant lots. By 1940 almost all the major cities faced serious problems that stemmed in part from the depression: an aging and neglected physical plant, increased **TAXATION** made necessary by the decline of property values, and reduced urban services. War production demands created a substantial construction boom of new factories and other facilities in a number of cities and their suburbs; but there was little spending on the urban infrastructure.

Urban population during the 1929–45 era followed a pattern that was dictated by the economic health of each city. Prior to the 1930s, city populations had increased steadily through in-migration and the annexation of outlying suburbs. The Great Depression halted both these trends, and urban population growth slowed dramatically and in some cities was reversed. Among the nation's largest 15 cities, only New York and Los Angeles showed any significant gains, and even their growth rates were far below

those of the 1920s. World War II then reversed the population trend of the 1930s. Between 1940 and 1945, many cities experienced huge influxes of war workers and their families. The arrival of so many new residents created extremely overcrowded housing conditions and increased social problems.

During the 1930s, unemployment and destitution became a familiar part of urban life, most visibly in the big cities. During the depths of the depression, from 1931 to 1933, the nation's largest cities held hundreds of thousands of unemployed people, and **RELIEF** rolls exceeded anything ever seen before. In some manufacturing cities like Detroit, up to half and sometimes higher proportions of the labor force found themselves unemployed or working part-time. By 1931, private charitable agencies were overwhelmed, and municipal governments began to spend ever larger portions of their funds to aid the unemployed.

While **NEW DEAL** programs brought help from 1933 to 1941, the economic atmosphere of cities remained grim. Even in the late 1930s, unemployment remained high, and city dwellers who did hold jobs lived in fear of losing them. Yet without the New Deal's massive job programs, the history of the nation's cities during the depression years could have been quite turbulent. The only major urban violence arising from economic conditions occurred during the middle and late 1930s in connection with the formation of the new industrial **LABOR** unions; but even these disturbances fell far short of anything like a general uprising of the urban working class.

The continuing sluggishness of the urban economy throughout the 1930s also had an impact on the movement of people within cities, and from the city to the suburbs. Both types of movement slowed considerably. Very few people could afford to buy new homes on the urban fringe, and so they remained in houses and neighborhoods that in the normal course of events would have been turned over to a new generation of upwardly mobile families leaving overcrowded, substandard housing. World War II brought rising incomes and an influx of new residents, but little new housing. Thus, by 1945, cities contained a large number of people who had been living for over a decade in undesirable housing conditions, but whose savings were now sufficient to allow them to buy new homes.

In the postwar era, home builders, some of whom had learned how to mass-produce relatively good, inexpensive houses for the federally financed war worker housing projects, responded by constructing huge numbers of houses, mostly in the suburbs. Suburban housing was especially attractive because it allowed families to escape the problems that bedeviled the central cities and which they had been nearly powerless to deal with since 1930. The outflow of the city's middle classes, which had begun in a limited



A tenement in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1938 (*Library of Congress*)

way in the 1910–30 era, now commenced on a much larger scale.

Only the federal government in the 1930s might have been able to help America's cities sustain themselves as places where a large portion of the middle- and upper-income groups would have wished to live, but it proved unwilling to undertake such an ambitious (and perhaps impossible) task. Although the New Deal was quite active in cities, its spending, with the exception of low-income housing projects, was aimed primarily at relieving urban unemployment and only secondarily at efforts to improve the basic fabric of city life. Even so, the assistance that the New Deal brought to cities and city residents brought Roosevelt and the Democratic Party great support, and the urban vote played a major role in the emergence of the Democrats as the nation's new majority party in the *POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA*.

The United States Conference of Mayors, formed in 1932 to seek federal aid for the unemployed, helped draw President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and the New Deal into their relationship with the nation's cities. Led by Mayor Frank Murphy of Detroit, the conference pleaded with the Roosevelt administration to give cities money to employ the

jobless—a financial burden that cities like Detroit could no longer carry. Indeed, by 1933 most of the nation's cities were headed toward bankruptcy or already in the hands of receivers. The municipal fiscal crisis of 1931–33 arose from the fact that property tax revenues fell sharply at the same time that unemployment relief added a large new item to municipal budgets. Few state governments had the resources, or, dominated by unsympathetic rural legislators, the desire to give cities much if any assistance.

The New Deal responded to the mayors' requests for help by providing millions of dollars for urban employment projects. Almost all the federally funded projects—through such agencies as the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION, the CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION, and the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION—made improvements in the urban environment. These included such activities as street repairs, urban highway and bridge construction, the embellishment of parklands, and the expansion of water and sewer systems; but the projects were never large enough or numerous enough to make a major impact on the overall quality of city life. More important, the Roosevelt administration never conceived of these activities as anything like a coordinated or comprehensive



## 70 Civilian Conservation Corps

attack on the basic urban problems of poverty, lack of education and skills, social disorganization, crime, pollution, and traffic congestion.

The only long-range, permanent urban improvement undertaken by the New Deal was its slum clearance and low-income housing program embodied in the United States Housing Act of 1937. Under the UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY, terrible slums were cleared and replaced by safe, sanitary public housing projects. The chief drawbacks to the program were its late start and small scale. Still in operation today, it has never come close to replacing all the substandard dwellings in America's cities and has played only a small role in housing the urban poor.

In contrast to the economic stagnation and nearly static nature of the urban physical plant, the social and cultural life of cities retained a real vitality for their heterogeneous populations. City life was grim for the unemployed and impoverished, but for many working-class families and those of middle and upper income, the cities still offered a cornucopia of moderately priced or free entertainments and diversions: parks, playgrounds, professional SPORTS teams, movie theaters, department stores, soda fountains, dance halls, night clubs, amusement parks, and dozens of other attractions. Crime, vice, juvenile delinquency, and poverty continued to plague cities, but were accepted as part of the price of urban living—balanced by the big and little pleasures of city life.

A significant long-term trend often obscured by the economic problems of cities was that ethnic differences and antagonisms began to fade as the immigrants of the 1890–1920 era were gradually replaced by the second and third generations. Most cities still had their Little Italy or Polish Town; saloons (brought back by the end of prohibition) still catered to particular ethnic groups; and urban political machines still based much of their strength on ethnic allegiances. But dance halls, cabarets, and amusement parks became places where younger people of all backgrounds were thrown together. Both neighborhood theaters and downtown movie palaces showed Hollywood MOVIES that largely ignored the distinctiveness of America's ethnic cultures and thus tended to undermine them. City park and RECREATION departments sponsored a variety of sports and recreational programs that also brought people from different ethnic groups into contact. Tensions and even conflict persisted, and AFRICAN AMERICANS and MEXICAN AMERICANS remained isolated—but important change was under way.

World War II turned attention to the use of America's cities as war production centers. The huge task of economic MOBILIZATION for war ended urban unemployment and actually created a greater demand for workers than the local labor force could supply. Extraordinarily heavy wartime MIGRATION added a new layer of in-migrants to

American cities, particularly in rapidly growing Sunbelt cities. Despite some tensions between in-migrants and old-timers, the wartime emphasis on national unity, the breakdown of ethnic (and to some degree racial) barriers in war plants, and the intermingling of peoples at USO centers and other recreational facilities further reduced ethnic suspicions and differences. However, the renewed influx of African Americans, and a substantial immigration of Mexican immigrants into the cities of the West Coast, often heightened racial animosities and in some cities brought a wave of racial violence.

In conclusion, America's cities suffered significantly during the Great Depression from massive unemployment and financial problems that forced them to cut back drastically on municipal facilities and services. The New Deal made its major contribution to the nation's cities by giving work relief to the unemployed. Despite federal construction projects in the cities, the urban physical plant as a whole, and especially urban housing, was in poor condition by 1945. There was never any major attempt to address the basic social, economic and physical problems of the cities, problems sometimes exacerbated by World War II. When the war ended, the central cities appeared increasingly unattractive to many of its middle- and upper-income residents. They began to move to the suburbs and new housing as quickly as possible—creating problems for central cities that ultimately became even more serious than the ones they faced during the 1930s.

See also POPULATION TRENDS.

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—Joseph L. Arnold

### Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)

Established in March 1933 during the first Hundred Days of the FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was an important part of both the conservation and the RELIEF efforts of the NEW DEAL. One of the most popular New Deal agencies, it was also especially close to the heart of Roosevelt himself. Deeply troubled by the plight of hundreds of thousands of youthful transients at the depth of the GREAT DEPRESSION, Roosevelt and others saw the CCC as a way to conserve not only the nation's land and natural resources but also the spirits of young men by providing them income and



new opportunities and experiences. The CCC peaked at roughly a half million workers in 1935, ultimately employed a total of some three million young men over its 1933–42 lifetime, and accomplished a large and imaginative assortment of projects.

At its inception, the CCC was authorized to employ some 250,000 young men in a variety of conservation efforts. Jobless young men between 18 and 25 years old were to enlist for a period of six months (renewable for three more terms, or up to two years) and were paid \$30 a month (\$25 of which they were to send home) for working on a variety of conservation projects. The program worked through established GOVERNMENT agencies, coordinated by the CCC director, with the Labor Department selecting the young men, the War Department transporting them to camps, and the Agriculture and Interior Departments supervising the projects. The CCC did not enroll women, and it imposed a quota on AFRICAN AMERICANS and operated segregated camps.

Perhaps most noted of the CCC accomplishments were its reforestation projects, which accounted for some 75 percent of all trees planted in the nation down to 1942. But the CCC did far more than this—in implementing other forms of erosion control; in protecting wildlife and building some 300,000 wildlife shelters; in stocking nearly 1 billion fish; in developing trails, campgrounds, and other infrastructure in national parks; in preserving and restoring national historical sites; in building dams for flood control; in building firebreaks, lookout towers, and trails for fire control; and in other ways protecting, preserving, and beautifying the nation's natural and built environment. And in accomplishing such tasks, the CCC also pioneered in work relief that brought needed money to destitute young people and their families. Like subsequent New Deal programs aimed at work relief, training, and education for young people, it also had the desired effect of keeping them off the job market, so that jobs might go to unemployed adults.

As a work-relief agency, the CCC seemed increasingly unnecessary and was vulnerable to conservative opposition as prosperity returned with WORLD WAR II. Even before the off-year election of 1942 gave a clear ideological majority to the congressional CONSERVATIVE COALITION of Republicans and conservative Democrats, Congress stepped up its opposition to such holdover 1930s agencies as the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (WPA) and the CCC. The CCC's numbers had been falling steadily since the late 1930s in any event, and by 1942 it was to focus its efforts on those related to the war effort. Even public support for the CCC waned in these new circumstances. In July 1942, Roosevelt unhappily terminated the agency after Congress cut off its appropriations.

See also ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES.

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## civil liberties

The term *civil liberties* refers to individual rights guaranteed in the federal Constitution, particularly in the Bill of Rights, and often refers especially to First Amendment rights of speech, RELIGION, the press, assembly, and petitioning the GOVERNMENT. From 1929 to 1945, civil liberties issues sometimes involved efforts at CENSORSHIP in such areas as MOVIES, the NEWS MEDIA, and LITERATURE, but they more often arose out of efforts to clamp down on radicalism and to protect national security. Despite challenges to civil liberties, the era also helped lay foundations for protecting and expanding civil liberties in the postwar era.

During the 1930s, government policies that raised worries about abridging First Amendment rights were largely responses to perceived threats from political groups on the far left and far right. In 1938, the House Committee on Un-American Activities was formed, and in 1939, CONGRESS passed the Hatch Act, denying federal employment to anyone belonging to a revolutionary group. The loyalty board of the Civil Service Commission subsequently increased its investigations of the political backgrounds and beliefs of potential employees. COMMUNISTS were often under surveillance and their literature was subject to confiscation, but the government also watched American Bundists and other pro-Nazi or pro-Fascist groups.

The economic impact of the GREAT DEPRESSION also led to concerns about civil liberties. High UNEMPLOYMENT levels and stiff competition for jobs, for example, led government officials to deport thousands of MEXICAN AMERICANS, many of whom were U.S. citizens, in the MEXICAN REPATRIATION PROGRAM. The growth and increased activism of organized LABOR raised worries about civil liberties, for during previous times of labor conflict, government had often taken the side of management and disregarded the civil liberties of workers and their leaders. By the mid-1930s, however, workers had gained significant protection under the law to organize, bargain collectively, and conduct strikes, especially with the passage of the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT of 1935.

With the U.S. entrance into WORLD WAR II, some feared a renewal of the repressive governmental policies of World War I. The SMITH ACT of 1940 had authorized the deportation of any alien belonging to a “revolutionary” organization or expressing revolutionary sentiments, and it outlawed speech attempting to breed disloyalty in the military or advocating the overthrow of the government. But only two cases were brought under the Smith Act during

the war, and fears of a repressive home front proved generally to be unfounded. Widespread popular support for the war effort and a dearth of outspoken protestors, as well as the memory of World War I excesses, helped prevent widespread violations of civil liberties.

Even the draft did not ignite extensive protest, as it had in World War I and would years later during the Vietnam War. Groups such as the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, which championed civil liberties in a number of important episodes in the era, failed to protest the passage of the SELECTIVE SERVICE Act of 1940, although it tried to ensure that the draft was implemented democratically. The act provided alternatives for CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS, and men who refused to participate in combat for religious reasons were offered noncombatant or civilian duties. However, those who objected for purely political reasons or for religious reasons deemed illegitimate were not excused, and more than 5,000 objectors were imprisoned over the course of the war.

But the WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT did witness one of the most egregious violations of civil liberties in American history, the relocation of JAPANESE AMERICANS, citizens and noncitizens alike, and their incarceration in internment camps. The SUPREME COURT let the relocation policy stand in the case of *KOREMATSU V. UNITED STATES*. Unnaturalized German-American and Italian-American immigrants were also labeled ENEMY ALIENS and subjected to various regulations, but these did not involve violations of the civil liberties of citizens.

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—Pamela J. Lauer

## civil rights

Civil rights means, in effect, citizenship rights, including the rights to move about freely, to have economic opportunity, to obtain an education, to rent or own a home wherever personal fortune permits, to have access to public accommodations, and to vote and hold public office. The U.S. Constitution and its Bill of Rights incorporated civil rights into the nation's fundamental law. The extension of civil rights to all citizens has become a central tenet of American political culture and embodies the idea that "the people" have certain basic rights that may not be violated.

Until the era of the Civil War and Reconstruction, however, and the adoption of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, the civil rights of AFRICAN AMERICANS were denied by slavery

or abridged by law and custom. By the early 20th century, a series of "Jim Crow" laws and practices producing segregation, disfranchisement, and discrimination in the SOUTH had eliminated most of the civil rights gained during Reconstruction. In other regions, custom and law also abridged the rights of African Americans and sometimes those of ASIAN AMERICANS and MEXICAN AMERICANS. The post-World War I period did not produce much progress toward safeguarding civil rights despite growing black protest, the activities of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), and the "Great Migration" of blacks from the rural South to urban areas of the nation.

The 1930s brought some limited gains in the area of civil rights for African Americans. The 1931 SCOTTSBORO BOYS case, in which Alabama authorities jailed and prosecuted nine young black men wrongly accused of raping two white women, brought national attention to civil rights, and ultimately federal court decisions overturned the convictions. During the decade, the NAACP and its executive secretary, WALTER WHITE lobbied heavily for the Costigan-Wagner antilynching bill from its introduction in CONGRESS in 1933 until its final failure late in the decade. Fear of the bill's passage did help reduce lynchings, and ANTI-LYNCHING LEGISLATION won significant support from the public and northern congressmen and senators, but President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, fearing alienating southern Democrats he thought crucial to his NEW DEAL programs, refused to sponsor it or other corrective federal legislation. The New Deal itself did little for civil rights, though its programs were extended to African Americans and ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, HAROLD ICKES, and others supported efforts to safeguard civil rights, as did the unofficial BLACK CABINET that advised the president.

Meanwhile, the NAACP and other groups continued chipping away at the wall of legal segregation. During the HOOVER PRESIDENCY, the NAACP had helped block the nomination to the SUPREME COURT of John J. Parker, a foe of civil rights for blacks. The all-white Democratic primary, which prevented blacks from taking part in the most important elections in the one-party Democratic South, remained a particular target of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, which pursued a number of cases, culminating in *Smith v. Allwright* in 1944 that found the all-white primary unconstitutional. The NAACP's efforts in the 1930s and 1940s also produced decisions against segregation in higher EDUCATION that laid groundwork for the 1954 decision of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* that overturned the legal sanction given segregation by *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896.

As WORLD WAR II approached, blacks remained largely excluded from economic opportunity. In 1941, the black activist A. PHILIP RANDOLPH organized the MARCH





A drinking fountain on the county courthouse lawn, Halifax, North Carolina, 1938 (*Library of Congress*)

ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT and threatened a mass march on Washington to protest discrimination in defense plant hiring and in the armed forces. To head off the march, FDR issued EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802, which forbade discrimination on grounds of race, nationality, and religion in defense industry and government hiring and established the FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE (FEPC) to implement the new rules.

The war years nonetheless saw continued denials of the civil rights of African Americans and other minorities. The most notable wartime violation of civil rights and CIVIL LIBERTIES was the relocation of JAPANESE AMERICANS, citizens and noncitizens alike. The South denied black servicemen civil rights that it granted German PRISONERS OF WAR, and despite Executive Order 8802, blacks only slowly were offered jobs in defense industry. The armed forces remained segregated for most of the war. Mexican Americans encountered discrimination in the West and Southwest. Wartime patterns of RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT included race riots in the summer of 1943 between whites and African Americans and Mexican Americans.

Even so, World War II marked a turning point for civil rights. Black protest increased—the NAACP mushroomed from some 50,000 members to 450,000 members, for example, and many blacks talked about a double victory over the AXIS abroad and Jim Crow at home. White Americans outside the South became more aware of discrimination against African Americans and other racial minorities, in part because of the highly influential and best-selling 1944 study of American race relations by GUNNAR MYRDAL, *An American Dilemma*. Executive Order 8802 was a significant initiative, and by the end of the war a number of northern states had adopted interracial commissions and civil rights had won a new place on the agenda of liberals and northern Democrats. The armed forces had begun to move toward desegregation. And the wartime rhetoric of democracy and of opposing the master race philosophy of Nazi Germany resonated in postwar America and helped build more support for civil rights.

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—Howard Smead

### Civil Works Administration (CWA)

The Civil Works Administration (CWA) was a NEW DEAL program that provided work RELIEF in the winter of 1933–34. In the autumn of 1933, relief administrator HARRY HOPKINS persuaded President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT that millions of Americans would suffer during the coming winter without major new action. The ECONOMY was not recovering sufficiently to provide jobs for the unemployed, the PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION (PWA) could not produce a significant number of jobs until the spring of 1934, and the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION (FERA) could not provide sufficient assistance for the jobless. UNEMPLOYMENT remained at over one-fifth of the labor force.

Early in November 1933, Roosevelt transferred \$400 million from the PWA and authorized Hopkins to establish the Civil Works Administration, which would implement work-relief projects to hire unemployed workers. Unlike the FERA, the CWA was entirely a federally supported program and was from the first a work-relief agency that hired needy people to work on specific projects, an approach that Hopkins and Roosevelt much preferred to dispensing direct relief. Half of the CWA workers came from existing relief rolls, but the other were unemployed and were not subjected to a means test. CWA workers were paid at regional average minimum wages, well above prevailing relief payments.

Harry Hopkins implemented the new agency with his characteristic energy. By late November, nearly 1 million workers had received their first checks from the CWA, and its height in mid-January, the agency employed more than 4 million people. Spending some \$900 million in just a few months, the CWA inevitably involved some inefficiencies and slipshod or seemingly unnecessary work (often called “boondoggles”), but it also enriched the nation’s infrastructure. CWA built or improved 40,000 schools, 1,000 airports, 3,500 parks and playgrounds, and hundreds of thousands of miles of roads. It laid more than 10 million feet of sewer pipe and built 150,000 outhouses for rural families. It employed 50,000 teachers and some 3,000 artists and writers. And it helped the nation through the winter of 1933–34, providing the dignity of work instead of a handout and raising both the income and the spirits of millions of Americans, not only in the Christmas season of 1933 but through the rest of the winter as well.

The CWA nonetheless came to seem too expensive and too vulnerable to President Roosevelt, who terminated

it in the spring of 1934. It had served its essential function of seeing the country through the winter of 1933–34; it was increasingly criticized for inefficiency and political manipulation (although, as with other New Deal relief efforts, corruption and graft were remarkably small); and by the spring, the administration hoped that economic improvement and PWA projects would provide jobs for CWA workers. Always concerned about the psychological impact as well as the costs of GOVERNMENT relief, moreover, Roosevelt was worried about creating a permanent group of people dependent upon government jobs and money. As early as February, Hopkins began reducing CWA rolls in the South, where warm weather returned first; and by early April he had let some 4 million workers go throughout the nation. A number of CWA projects were taken over by the FERA in 1934, and beginning in 1935, the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION would begin an even more expansive work-relief program. Although a short-lived agency, CWA was nonetheless an important one, not only in the help it gave and in the projects it undertook but also in the precedents it established for work relief and federal responsibility for economic security.

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### coal industry

Throughout the 1920s, the coal industry declined because of a profusion of mines and miners, large coal surpluses, and shrinking demands for their product. By 1927 bituminous (soft) coal production had fallen 60 million tons from the 1920 levels, while the number of miners constricted from 700,000 to 575,000. Moreover, the business was locked in a volatile competition involving numerous small nonunion companies, which usually resulted in lower wages being paid. In 1924 the secretary of commerce, HERBERT C. HOOVER, attempted to remedy the situation by arranging the so-called Jacksonville Agreement between management and the militant UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMW) to stabilize the industry by establishing wage and production levels. But the agreement proved unenforceable due to harsh regional competition, and the plight of both the industry and its workers worsened steadily. The onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION in 1929 further exacerbated conditions in coal mining. As American industry began closing down, there was less demand for coal as an energy source, which in turn led to mass UNEMPLOYMENT in mining and greatly reduced wages. The miners and their families grew increasingly desperate and, at the behest of UMW president JOHN L. LEWIS, they resorted to their only





Coal miners in Jenkins, Kentucky, 1935. Photograph by Ben Shahn (*Library of Congress*)

remaining tactic—**STRIKES**. This militancy may have worsened their condition initially, but it induced the National Association of Manufacturers to encourage formation of economic cartels aimed at restricting overt competition and increasing wages, prices, and profits. President Hoover also encouraged voluntary cooperation among various sectors of the mining industry to the same ends. However, neither approach could mitigate the scope of deprivation occasioned by the depression, and the coal mining industry continued on the verge of collapse.

It took the election of **FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT** to create an improved climate for recovery. In 1933 Roosevelt sponsored the **NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA)**, which produced industrial codes written by business, **LABOR**, and **GOVERNMENT** representatives. In coal mining and other industries, such codes contained authority for imposing price fixing to maintain wages and profits. That year the government also established the Coal Arbitration Board to secure the peaceful resolution of strikes. Finally, in 1935, **CONGRESS** passed the comprehensive Guffey-Snyder Coal Stabilization Act, which legalized the miners' right to organize under collective bargaining, insti-

tuted minimum wages and maximum hours, and created a federal commission tasked with fixing prices and allocating production. When noncompliance from the private sector proved endemic, the government tightened its control over the industry even further. In 1935, when the **SUPREME COURT** ruled that the **NRA** was unconstitutional, Congress responded by passing the **NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT (NLRA)**, which guaranteed workers the right to unionize and facilitated the growth of trade unionism in mining. In 1936, the Supreme Court declared the Guffey-Snyder Act unconstitutional, though it did uphold the **NLRA** in 1937.

Despite all these efforts, the coal mining industry languished until the United States entered **WORLD WAR II** and, like virtually all union leaders, **UMW** president Lewis agreed to a "no-strike pledge" until the end of hostilities. Production rates soared commensurately, but wage caps imposed by the **NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD** restricted increases to the rate of inflation, or 15 percent. This limit induced Lewis to initiate a series of strikes in summer 1943, which the public perceived as unpatriotic in light of the overall war effort. Roosevelt, using authority granted to him by

the 1943 Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act, was preparing to have U.S. troops seize the mines when the UMW finally relented. That October Lewis again determined that the wage cap imposed by the government was excessive, and he called for a second strike. This time the government seized control of the mines, but the impasse continued until Secretary of the Interior HAROLD ICKES agreed with Lewis to boost miners' wages. Though ultimately successful, the UMW's militancy alienated many former supporters in the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and also began tilting public opinion against organized labor in general.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## code breaking

Code breaking played an important role in WORLD WAR II. Codes are systems of words, letters, or symbols that represent others. A code substitutes groups of two or more numbers or letters for words, phrases, or sentences making up a message. A cipher substitutes a letter or number for each letter of the message. After Samuel Morse invented his code of dots and dashes for telegraph communication in the 1830s, hundreds of different ways were soon invented to encode and decode the messages, and the invention of cipher machines and computers in the 20th century made the process of encoding and decoding faster and more complex. The German Enigma machine and the Japanese "J" or Type 97 Alphabetical Typewriter, or Purple machine, are the most famous examples.

Codes and ciphers were used during the American Civil War, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05, and World War I, but greater attention was devoted to code breaking following Britain's founding of the Code and Cypher School at Bletchley Park in 1919. Numbering 150 people in 1939, the Bletchley Park staff increased to 3,500 in 1942 and to 10,000 by 1945. Approximately 65 Americans worked at Bletchley Park, working almost exclusively on the German Enigma machine ciphers, which produced Ultra INTELLIGENCE, the code name for decrypted German and Italian radio messages. The British first deciphered German Enigma codes in May 1940.

The American code word *Magic* represented intelligence derived from Japanese diplomatic communications using the Purple machine, while *Ultra* referred to intercepted and decoded military communications. Unlike Great Britain and the USSR but like the AXIS nations, the United States did not have a central code and cipher school and

operated separate offices within the military services. The U.S. NAVY Operations Division (N-2) and the War Department General Staff (G-2) began code and cipher operations (known as cryptanalysis, which was distinct from traffic analysis) in 1924 and 1929, respectively. Americans working for the U.S. ARMY Signal Intelligence Service, later known as the Special Intelligence Branch, Military Intelligence Service, under Colonel William F. Friedman, first broke the Japanese Purple diplomatic code in September 1940 and provided a machine to the British in 1941. Although only occasionally deciphered through 1940 and 1941, the Japanese Purple code was read with increasingly regularity by 1942. By spring 1942, American code breakers working for the U.S. Navy Communications Security Unit formed by Commander Laurence F. Safford, were also reading messages enciphered in the Japanese naval code, known as JN-25. Breaking the JN-25 code was an extraordinary feat as the code comprised some 45,000 five-digit groups, each signifying a word or phrase, further embedded in additional five-digit groups taken from a continually changing list of 50,000 random numbers. Perhaps the greatest triumph of this navy unit during the war, under Commander Joseph P. Rochefort, Jr., was the accurate prediction of the Japanese attack at the BATTLE OF MIDWAY in time for Americans forces to take effective countermeasures and turn the tide of the war in the PACIFIC THEATER in June 1942.

The Germans and Japanese used many codes and ciphers during the war, some of which were never broken. The Japanese had more than 50 codes, while the Allies knew of 200 German codes by 1945. The Axis powers were convinced that their systems were unbreakable, as were the Allies, although both sides were successful in breaking each other's code to some extent. The Allied emphasis on strict security, especially between the Americans and British, prevented the Axis, and the Soviet Union, from breaking their codes following 1943, while Allied intelligence services had increasingly regular and direct knowledge of Axis plans through decrypted enemy communications after 1942.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

## Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies

In 1939, events in Europe prompted formation of the Non-Partisan Committee for Peace through Revision of the

Neutrality Act, which supported the FOREIGN POLICY of the administration of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. Its purpose was to mobilize public support for the president's plan to enact CASH-AND-CARRY policies to allow France and England to obtain American arms to fight Nazi Germany. However, Germany's smashing BLITZKRIEG in spring 1940 prompted concerned parties to revise the organization into a new entity, the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies (CDAAA). It was headed by Clark M. Eichelberger, executive director of the League of Nations Association, and William Allen White, respected editor of the Emporia (Kansas) *Gazette*. The committee advocated direct governmental aid and assistance to the beleaguered Allies short of direct American intervention. Eichelberger proved something of an organizational genius in this respect, for by that fall the committee boasted 750 local chapters in all 48 states, along with a donor list numbering 10,000 and annual expenditures of \$230,000. One of its first objectives was marshaling public support behind Roosevelt's DESTROYERS-FOR-BASES DEAL with Great Britain, whereby the Royal Navy obtained 50 antiquated destroyers in exchange for naval bases in the Atlantic and the Caribbean. It also supported the LEND-LEASE program. However, its influence waned following White's resignation for health reasons in January 1941, and many chapters of the committee broke away to join the new and more aggressive Century Club Groups, based in New York City, which agitated for direct American intervention. The CDAAA's advocacy became further complicated in June 1941, following the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, because of the aversion of many members to Joseph Stalin and Communism, so rather than imply that the Soviets were allies it renamed itself simply Committee to Defend America (CDA). The committee's existence proved moot following the December 7, 1941, Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR, and by January 1942 it had formally merged with the Council for Democracy to form a new entity, Citizens for Victory.

See also AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

**Further reading:** Lise A. Namikas, "The Committee to Defend America and the Debate between Internationalists and Interventionists, 1939–1941," *The Historian* (61), 1999.

—John C. Fredriksen

## Communists

While they were never a major force in American politics, the high point of influence for Communists came during the 1930s, when the GREAT DEPRESSION gave them hope that the impending collapse of capitalism would create favorable conditions for Marxist revolution in the

United States. The Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) attracted disappointingly small political support and membership gains from 1929 to 1945, but Communists did play important roles in LABOR and other reform efforts in the 1930s. As directed by the Soviet Union, Communists also sometimes infiltrated GOVERNMENT agencies during the NEW DEAL and WORLD WAR II.

In the early years of the Great Depression, Communists established Unemployed Councils, which acted as local RELIEF agencies, and organized protest demonstrations and marches against poverty, joblessness, and hunger. Communists also fought for AFRICAN AMERICANS, as in the SCOTTSBORO BOYS case, although blacks never comprised over 10 percent of CPUSA membership. In the ELECTION OF 1932, however, Communist Party candidate William Z. Foster (and his African-American running mate, James Ford) received just 103,000 votes (three-tenths of 1 percent of the total popular vote), despite UNEMPLOYMENT of at least one-fourth of the labor force and the failure of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY and private enterprise to improve economic conditions.

But however favorable the circumstances for enlarged membership were, American Communists remained overtly beholden to the Communist International (Comintern) in Moscow. At that time, the Comintern's Sixth World Congress decreed that they alone formed the vanguard of revolution, and that party members around the world were expected to aggressively assert themselves and seize control of the working-class movement. Accordingly, Communists brooked no competition and harshly attacked reformists and other radical elements as traitors. Their vocal stridency had the net effect of preventing any cooperation between leftist groups and effectively kept them isolated from mainstream LIBERALISM until 1935.

From 1933 to mid-1935, Communists denounced new President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and his New Deal legislation, labeling FDR "a social fascist" who was worse than his predecessor, HERBERT C. HOOVER, and whose programs were "the same as [Adolf] Hitler's." Communists were especially critical of such key New Deal legislation as the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT, calling it a "slave program"; the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT, which rewarded large farmers at the expense of sharecroppers, tenants, and migrant workers; and the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT, termed an "antistrike" bill.

In the summer of 1935, the Communist line changed, when Soviet leader Joseph Stalin ordered a POPULAR FRONT strategy, with the Communist Party to forge alliances with SOCIALISTS, other left-wing groups, and liberals in the fight against fascism. American Communists were told to stop criticizing Roosevelt and the New Deal and work to gain influence within mainstream labor unions, peace, and youth groups. Thus disposed, the party took an



active lead in organizing union members in various industries, spearheading a drive for black CIVIL RIGHTS throughout the SOUTH and helping to spread an activist, antifascist message on college campuses. Despite their new, more pragmatic approach, Socialists remained skeptical and often hostile to CPUSA motives. The Roosevelt administration took a largely benign attitude toward Communists, believing that they were no threat to domestic order and had little influence as a political party.

During the Popular Front period from 1935 to 1939, Communists had their greatest impact in the industrial unions. When JOHN L. LEWIS and the mass production unions separated from the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR to create the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO), Communists helped organize automotive and steel workers, resulting in control of a third of CIO unions by the late 1930s, and party influence in the national organization. With considerably less success, but with great personal courage, Communists attempted biracial organization of southern sharecroppers and tenant farmers and of California agricultural workers, an effort which was crushed by planters and growers. By dint of hard work and energetic organizing, the late 1930s was perhaps the apogee of Communist influence in labor matters. Party membership constituted only 1 percent of the CIO's overall workforce, yet by 1945 Communists clearly controlled 14 unions with 1.5 million workers. Another 1.5 million workers belonged to unions where Communist influence was very strong.

Although Communists were active in the political life of the 1930s, they had little success in building membership or political power. While an estimated 200,000 to 250,000 people joined the CPUSA during the decade, few stayed for more than a year, resulting in low membership numbers. Actual membership figures of the CPUSA ranged from about 9,000 in 1929 to roughly 80,000 ten years later. The CPUSA evolved from being a party of the unemployed with a largely foreign-born, Jewish, and New York-based leadership to a more middle-class, union-affiliated, and native-born membership. Few blacks or women were members, and even fewer had leadership roles. In the ELECTION OF 1936, Communist Party national chairman Earl Browder received only some 80,000 votes for president—just two-tenths of 1 percent—and he attracted barely more than half that total in 1940.

The Popular Front strategy remained the Moscow-directed policy for American Communists until August 1939, when the NAZI-SOVIET PACT was signed. For the next two years, Communists joined ISOLATIONISTS in criticizing Roosevelt's anti-AXIS defense and foreign policy, including the SELECTIVE SERVICE Act and LEND-LEASE, and some party members spoke at AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE rallies. Hitler was treated as an ally of the Soviet Union by the CPUSA until Germany invaded Russia in

mid-1941, when the Communists reversed themselves again and attacked fascism. After PEARL HARBOR, Communists supported the war effort, endorsing universal military training and no-strike pledges by labor and calling for national unity.

In addition to the visible public world of American communism, a covert world also existed. The CPUSA was used by the Soviet Union to infiltrate federal government agencies from the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION and NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD to the State and Treasury Departments, and even the White House staff. Communists also engaged in ESPIONAGE during World War II, including gathering information on the nation's most closely guarded secret, the MANHATTAN PROJECT to produce the ATOMIC BOMB. Although the extent and impact of Soviet-sponsored espionage has often been exaggerated, it was nonetheless significant, as the release of documents in Moscow and Washington in the 1990s demonstrated.

The CPUSA, whose membership peaked at 80,000 in 1939, declined rapidly after World War II, as the cold war and domestic ANTICOMMUNISM so depleted the party that American communism had nearly ceased to exist by the late 1950s.

**Further reading:** Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party: A Critical History* (New York: Praeger, 1962); Harvey Klehr, *The Heyday of American Communism: The Depression Decade* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

—William J. Thompson

## Congress

Reflecting the political developments of the era, control of Congress from 1929 to 1945 shifted from the REPUBLICAN PARTY to the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, and Congress enacted major programs increasing the size, cost, and power of the federal government. Changes in American GOVERNMENT arising from the NEW DEAL and WORLD WAR II significantly enhanced the power of the PRESIDENCY, but Congress nonetheless played a large role in shaping domestic and foreign policy, particularly in the 1930s. Within Congress, power typically resided more with committee chairmen, the "barons" of Capitol Hill, than with the Speaker of the House or the Senate majority leader.

The election of 1928 that sent HERBERT C. HOOVER to the White House by an overwhelming margin also continued the control of Congress that Republicans had enjoyed in the 1920s. (See table "Party Strength in Congress, 1929–1946" on page 80.) Hoover called Congress into special session in the spring of 1929 to deal with economic issues facing farmers, and within two months, Con-



gress passed the AGRICULTURAL MARKETING ACT. In 1930, Congress also passed the HAWLEY-SMOOT TARIFF ACT, a much-criticized tariff that went beyond Hoover's wishes by raising protection to the highest levels ever. In the remainder of the year, Congress generally acquiesced in the president's program to deal with the early stages of the GREAT DEPRESSION.

In the off-year congressional elections of 1930, the Democrats made striking gains. Losing eight senators, Republicans held only a 48-47 edge in the Senate (a Farmer-Labor senator held the other seat). Each party won 217 seats in the House, with one Farmer-Labor representative as the potential decisive vote; but by the time Congress assembled in late 1931, deaths and replacements favoring the Democrats gave them a 220-214 seat majority. Despite the swing to the Democrats, the 1930 election results did not reflect quite such a rejection of Hoover and the Republicans as the totals might suggest, for the turnover of some 50 seats in the House was only about 15 more than the average loss for the incumbent president's party in off-year elections since 1900. Moreover, the Republicans, who won some 54 percent of the total popular vote for Congress, remained clearly the majority party outside the SOUTH. The loss of eight Senate seats, on the other hand, was about twice the usual number for the party holding the presidency and provided an early indication of the impact of the depression on the Republican Party.

The 72nd Congress that met in the final two years of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY only slowly staked out positions much different from Hoover's. A number of key Democratic leaders were southern conservatives who shared Hoover's concern about the federal government doing and spending too much. Early in 1932, Congress established at Hoover's request the RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION to lend money to banks and other financial institutions to help them weather the depression.

But as the ECONOMY continued down and as UNEMPLOYMENT continued its sharp rise, Congress became more active. A coalition of Democrats and progressive Republicans, often led in the Senate by New York Democrat ROBERT F. WAGNER, Wisconsin Republican ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., and Nebraska Republican GEORGE W. NORRIS, pushed for public works and RELIEF spending. Partly to embarrass Hoover, conservative Democrats also became more assertive and critical of his policies. When Hoover vetoed the Garner-Wagner relief bill, Congress virtually forced upon him the RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION ACT of 1932, a compromise measure enabling the federal government to lend states money for relief and public works. Still, neither Congress nor the Democrats were ready to move much beyond Hoover, as revealed by their refusal to mandate direct relief assistance to the unemployed and by their approval of a record peacetime

tax increase in 1932, supported by an emotional plea for balancing the budget by Speaker of the House JOHN NANCE GARNER.

Democrats overwhelmingly controlled the 73rd Congress following their landslide victory in the ELECTION OF 1932. Though southern Democrats dominated leadership posts because of their seniority, the new Congress nonetheless proved exceptionally responsive to the agenda of new president FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT—and, in any case, southerners in the House and Senate tended to be more liberal than northerners on domestic economic policy in the early and mid-1930s. Not only did Democrats want to make a positive record to contrast with that of Hoover and the Republicans, but over half of the Democrats in Congress has been elected in 1930 and 1932, and were disposed to following the president and his more liberal policies. Roosevelt effectively used his personal leadership and patronage power to win support in Congress. Above all, the collapse of the economy—unemployment was at least 25 percent by early 1933 and national production and income were down by about 50 percent—compelled action. In the hundred days that produced the so-called FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933, Congress enacted a host of major programs, focusing especially on recovery and relief and including the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT, the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT, and the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION.

The election of 1934 then registered great public support for the New Deal. Counter to the usual trend in off-year elections, Democrats picked up seats in both the House and the Senate. Democratic gains came especially in urban areas, and in the 74th Congress urban liberal Democrats, led by Robert F. Wagner, had more power than before. The SECOND NEW DEAL enacted by Congress in 1935 reflected the greater strength of liberal Democrats and included such landmark reform legislation as the EMERGENCY RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS ACT, the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT (also called the Wagner Act), the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT, and the REVENUE ACT OF 1935 (or "Wealth Tax"). But while Congress remained remarkably responsive to the president, it also asserted its own priorities. The Wealth Tax, for example, was more limited than Roosevelt had wanted, and Congress (especially Senator Wagner) was much more responsible than Roosevelt for the Wagner Act supporting organized labor.

The ELECTION OF 1936 gave Democrats their most top-heavy control of Congress ever. Yet even though voters had ratified the New Deal and reelected Roosevelt by a record landslide, Roosevelt achieved little of the expansive program he had in mind for his second term. A CONSERVATIVE COALITION of Republicans and conservative Democrats in Congress began to cooperate across party lines to oppose liberal measures. The coalition arose partly from

the changing nature of the Democratic Party, increasingly dominated by northern liberals pursuing the agenda of urban LIBERALISM and eclipsing southern, conservative, and rural leaders in the party. The coalition also reflected the continuing strength of CONSERVATISM in the nation, a prevailing “antimetropolitan” ideology in a Congress where rural constituencies retained a disproportionate influence, and also a sense that power was shifting too far to the presidency at the expense of the Congress. Roosevelt’s heavy-handed, and ultimately successful, effort to have the Senate elect Kentucky’s Alben Barkley as majority leader over Mississippi’s Pat Harrison further disaffected southern and conservative Democrats in Congress.

A series of events in 1937–38—especially Roosevelt’s COURT-PACKING PLAN, sit-down STRIKES by LABOR, and the RECESSION OF 1937–1938—brought the formation of the conservative coalition. In November 1937, a bipartisan group led by southern Democrats issued a “Conservative Manifesto,” criticizing the New Deal welfare state and insisting upon lower taxes, balanced budgets, states’ rights, and small government. A varying coalition of Republicans and conservative (mostly southern) Democrats cooperated to oppose key administration proposals beginning with the 1937 court-packing bill. The president did have some limited successes in his second term—the UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY, the FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, the FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT, and the EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION ACT, for example—but even they were weaker than proposed. Angered at anti-New Deal Democrats, Roosevelt tried to defeat a number of them in the party’s 1938 primaries. This largely unsuccessful “purge” attempt deepened party divisions and further

emboldened conservative Democrats to oppose the president. Then, in the election of 1938, Republicans gained more than 70 seats in the House and seven in the Senate, strengthening not only the GOP’s presence in Congress but also the power of the conservative coalition that stymied Roosevelt’s domestic program.

By the end of the 1930s, FOREIGN POLICY increasingly commanded attention of Roosevelt and the Congress. Earlier in the decade, Congress had demonstrated its power in foreign policy. With ISOLATIONISTS holding substantial power, the Senate rejected American participation in the World Court, the NYE COMMITTEE carried out its critical investigation of the munitions industry, and Congress passed the NEUTRALITY ACTS that went further than Roosevelt had wanted. As Roosevelt turned to more active and clearly anti-AXIS defense and foreign policies during his second term, he needed the support of southern Democrats in Congress, particularly as much of the midwestern and western delegations of both parties remained anti-interventionist. (The priority Roosevelt gave international affairs by the late 1930s and his dependence upon southern Democratic support further limited chances for domestic reform.) After the outbreak of World War II in the late summer of 1939, isolationists lost influence and Congress supported Roosevelt’s initiatives, beginning with the repeal of the arms embargo in 1939. In the next two years, Congress agreed to such key measures as the National Defense Appropriations Act of 1940, the SELECTIVE SERVICE Act of 1940, and the LEND-LEASE Act of 1941.

For the remainder of Roosevelt’s presidency, Congress largely followed the patterns established from 1937

PARTY STRENGTH IN CONGRESS, 1929–1946

Congress	Years	House			Senate		
		Dem.	Repub.	Other	Dem.	Repub.	Other
71st	1929–31	167	267	1	39	56	1
72nd	1931–33	220	214	1	47	48	1
73rd	1933–34	310	117	5	60	35	1
74th	1935–36	319	103	10	69	25	2
75th	1937–38	331	89	13	76	16	4
76th	1939–40	261	164	4	69	23	4
77th	1941–42	268	162	5	66	28	2
78th	1943–44	218	208	4	58	37	1
79th	1945–46	242	190	2	56	38	1

Source: *The Statistical History of the United States, from Colonial Times to the Present* (Stamford, Conn.: Fairfield Publishers, 1965)

to 1941. Democrats remained the majority party, but the conservative coalition continued to thwart domestic reform. In the ELECTION OF 1940, Roosevelt won an unprecedented third term, but Democrats picked up only seven House seats and lost three more senators. Then in the election of 1942, Republicans picked up nearly 50 congressional seats and nine seats in the Senate, paring the Democratic majority in the House to just 218-208. Those gains partly reflected the typical off-year pattern of losses by the incumbent party, but they also reflected the more limited appeal of New Deal issues in the context of wartime priorities and prosperity. By the early 1940s, moreover, southern Democrats in Congress had become distinctly more conservative than they had been in the early and mid-1930s and were instrumental in opposing liberal programs.

In this context, such New Deal relief programs as the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION and the CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS that now seemed unnecessary were eliminated or slashed. Proposals to expand the New Deal went nowhere, and the NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD, which proposed a far-reaching liberal agenda, was terminated. The most important social legislation Congress passed was the GI BILL OF RIGHTS, but that was enacted more as a politically popular reward to veterans than as a piece of domestic reform. As the war came to an end, Congress also ensured generous RECONVERSION policies for BUSINESS. Yet even the conservative 78th Congress that met from 1943 to 1944 did not seriously attack the heart of the New Deal regulatory welfare state. Democrats gained two dozen House seats but lost two more in the Senate in the ELECTION OF 1944, but neither those results nor Roosevelt's fourth-term reelection altered domestic policymaking.

In defense and foreign policy, Congress continued largely to go along with the president's requests during World War II. Although often justifiably critical of early disorganization and inefficiency in the MOBILIZATION programs, and frequently complaining about excessive executive power, Congress nonetheless gave Roosevelt great leeway to establish agencies and implement policies to spur production, mobilize manpower, and check inflation. Such important new agencies as the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD, the OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION, and the OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION had little congressional involvement. Congress played an even smaller role in military and foreign policy, whereas commander in chief Roosevelt had extraordinary authority. In planning postwar foreign policy, on the other hand, Roosevelt did have to play close attention to the Senate's authority over treaties in working toward such postwar international organizations as the UNITED NATIONS and the economic agencies coming out of the BRETTON WOODS CONFERENCE.

Trends established during Roosevelt's presidency persisted after 1945. Particularly in foreign policy, Congress typically responded to the president's agenda rather than taking the lead itself. The executive branch was larger, better organized, and more powerful than before. Changes in the NEWS MEDIA contributed to enhancing the power of the presidency, for RADIO (and later television) allowed the president to address the nation and mobilize support more effectively than could the Congress or its individual members. But while the dynamics of policymaking shifted toward the presidency in the 1929-45 era, Congress had by no means been eclipsed. It retained its essential legislative authority on both foreign and domestic policy, and the conservative coalition continued during Harry Truman's presidency and after (until briefly in the mid-1960s) to thwart liberal efforts to expand the regulatory-welfare state established in the 1930s.

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### Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)

The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) was formed in November 1938 by leaders of 10 dissident unions within the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) who had created its predecessor, the Committee for Industrial Organization, three years earlier. Organizing workers by industry instead of by craft, the CIO quickly became a major LABOR organization with significant economic and political power.

The AFL, which had been the dominant labor organization in the United States since its founding in the 1880s, organized skilled workers according to craft or trade rather than seeking the mass organization of all workers in a particular industry. By the early 1930s, the AFL's approach increasingly frustrated union leaders in mass production industries, such as JOHN L. LEWIS of the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA and SIDNEY HILLMAN of the AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, who believed that their members as well as other unskilled,



This cartoon of September 1937 depicts the angry Congress of Industrial Organizations leader John L. Lewis after the Supreme Court's ruling in *Jones and Laughlin Steel v. NLRB* (1937), which upheld the National Labor Relations Act. (Library of Congress)

immigrant, and African-American workers in big industry were being treated like second-class citizens.

Beginning in 1934, Lewis and other unhappy labor leaders called on the AFL at their annual convention to organize mass production workers into industrial unions. The first year, about one-third of the convention delegates agreed, and Lewis repeated his demands in October 1935, but the rank-and-file delegates voted down industrial unionism by an 18,464 to 10,987 margin. Three weeks later, Lewis, Hillman, DAVID DUBINSKY of the INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS UNION, and seven other union leaders formed the Committee for Industrial Organization as a branch within the AFL.

Immediately, Lewis set out to organize the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY, the STEEL INDUSTRY, and the RUBBER industry by using United Mine Workers money and key lieutenants such as PHILIP MURRAY, who set up the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC). After "heresy" hearings, the AFL suspended the Committee for Industrial Organization unions in September 1937, and in November 1938, the committee formally became the Congress of Industrial Organizations, with Lewis as its president.

Between 1935 and 1938, the Committee for Industrial Organization achieved major successes in organizing unions in the mass production industries. In 1936, rubber workers went on strike at Goodyear Tire and Rubber, and Murray and the SWOC traveled throughout the Pennsylvan-

ia steel mills signing up new members. In late December 1936, the United Auto Workers (UAW) began a six-week sit-down strike against General Motors at the large Flint, Michigan, plant, which resulted in the automaker's capitulation to the union's demands for recognition and wage and hour benefits in February 1937. The United States Steel Corporation recognized the SWOC in March 1937, and agreed to their demands.

By late 1937, both the automotive and steel unions had grown to over 350,000 members. The CIO helped set up the Non-Partisan League, which worked for the reelection of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in the ELECTION OF 1936, and Lewis, a lifelong Republican, endorsed FDR in 1936. The CIO's progress was slowed in late 1937 and 1938 by several factors, the RECESSION OF 1937–1938 that raised UNEMPLOYMENT, the mobilization of moderate and conservative forces against "radical" sit-down STRIKES, and company police forces preventing union organizing at Republic, Bethlehem, and other "Little Steel" plants, and at the Ford Motor Company.

By the early 1940s, however, even Little Steel and Henry Ford could not stop the CIO organizing drive, as membership increased to 2.6 million. A factor that both helped and hurt the CIO was the presence by the early 1940s of active COMMUNISTS or those with pro-communist sympathies, who led several unions and maintained a strong and influential minority in others, including the UAW. Lewis resigned as head of the CIO after the ELECTION OF 1940, when his brief truce with Roosevelt ended and he endorsed Republican WENDELL L. WILLKIE, a decision opposed by his fellow union leaders, the majority of whom backed Roosevelt. Philip Murray succeeded Lewis as president of the CIO.

After PEARL HARBOR, the CIO, along with the AFL, agreed to a no-strike pledge for the duration of the war—although Lewis led the miners out on strike, independent of either large labor organization. During World War II, the CIO organized AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY and SHIPBUILDING workers, and increased its membership by nearly 2 million. Through its political action committee (PAC), the CIO helped forge a strong link in the post-war years between the American labor movement and the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Strife between the CIO and AFL continued until the two organizations merged in 1955.

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—William J. Thompson



### conscientious objectors

During WORLD WAR II, religiously motivated conscientious objectors (COs) received exemptions from serving in combat roles in the armed forces. More than half of the roughly 70,000 men who applied for CO status received it, with some 25,000 serving as noncombatants in the military and 12,000 serving in alternative civilian public service positions.

Anticipating America's entry into World War II, CONGRESS in June 1940 held hearings on what would become the Selective Training and Service Act. Representatives of CIVIL LIBERTIES, religious, and pacifist groups testified at these hearings. They advocated a broad definition of conscientious objection to include a nonreligious exemption as well as provisions for alternative civilian service.

Signed into law by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in September 1940, the act provided CO exemption from combat service only for a person who "by reason of religious training and belief is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form." Moral or ethical objection to war did not qualify. The act classified COs as noncombatants in the armed forces and also authorized a new status allowing COs to perform alternative work under civilian administration.

To influence the design of civilian service, historic peace churches (Quakers, for example) together with other religious organizations formed the National Service Board for Religious Objectors (NSBRO). NSBRO representatives, SELECTIVE SERVICE, and President Roosevelt agreed in December that NSBRO would be responsible for administering and financing civilian service COs, with the work performed under Selective Service direction. Unlike the noncombatant COs serving in uniform, COs performing civilian service were not paid any wages or benefits by the federal GOVERNMENT.

The plan called for civilian service COs to work in Civilian Public Service (CPS) camps and to continue CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS projects. Projects at new CPS camps as well as in hospitals and on farms were later included. Some 500 COs volunteered as human guinea pigs in medical experiments, and more than 2,000 worked as attendants in hospitals for the mentally ill. Many COs spent the war performing such chores as digging ditches rather than performing work to benefit humanity as they desired.

Originally, noncombatant COs in the military served in medical or supply units around the world. After January 1943, noncombatant assignments were confined to the medical corps, where they often served with great bravery and distinction.

Between 5,500 and 6,000 people went to prison rather than perform duties in civilian service or in the military as noncombatants. Most of those imprisoned were Jehovah's

Witnesses, who had unsuccessfully sought deferments as ministers. Sentences generally ranged from one to three years imprisonment at federal penitentiaries.

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—D. K. Yates

### conservatism

Conservatism from 1929 to 1945 was concerned with what conservatives saw as the erosion of economic freedom, individual liberty, and moral values, resulting from the growth of a stronger federal GOVERNMENT and changes in traditional American institutions. Above all, conservatism in the era of the GREAT DEPRESSION, the NEW DEAL, and WORLD WAR II focused on limiting the growing power of the federal government. For most of the period it was primarily reactive, critical of the New Deal and of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and their impact upon the country.

The rise of industrial capitalism in America during the decades after the Civil War engendered a debate about the right and capacity of government to regulate BUSINESS in the nation's general interest. In the 19th century, protecting individual liberty and economic freedom and otherwise limiting the power of the state was labeled "classical" or "laissez-faire" LIBERALISM. During the early 20th century, this limited-government approach to economic freedom and individual liberty became the domain of conservatives. Progressives (later redefined as liberals) called for a strong state to restrain the growing economic and political power of big business, to protect individuals from corporate power and political corruption, and to provide for social welfare and moral uplift. Conservatives defended the status quo: limited government, economic and individual freedom, government by elites, and fundamentalist religion.

In the 1920s, conservatism and the REPUBLICAN PARTY regained power because of a backlash against progressivism, the tensions of World War I, and challenges to traditional patterns of American life. Prosperity during the decade enabled business to reassert itself, the Republican administrations of the 1920s pursued pro-business policies and opposed social and economic reform, and a cautious and even docile LABOR movement made little impact on workers' lives. Cultural conservatism was manifest in several ways. The growth of urban immigrant populations threatened the "old stock" base of traditional America, and CONGRESS passed the National Origins Act in 1924, which restricted immigration, especially from southern and eastern Europe. Prohibition was to a significant degree a

response to the drinking habits of an “un-American America.” The controversy over evolution and the Scopes Trial was part of a larger debate between liberal Christianity, urban and with a somewhat secular outlook, and a mainly rural Protestant fundamentalism. The presidencies of Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and HERBERT C. HOOVER reflected the economic and cultural conservatism of the times.

When the HOOVER PRESIDENCY began in 1929, there seemed little doubt that conservatism would be the governing mandate for the foreseeable future. Then in 1929 came the calamitous Great Depression. Conservatives held that there were no structural flaws in the national ECONOMY, and that prosperity would return if the market were allowed to correct itself. But despite Hoover’s efforts—which some conservatives criticized as going too far—the economy continued to fall and UNEMPLOYMENT soared. Conservatism seemed discredited, and certainly unsuccessful, and a new liberalism emerged in the 1930s, similar in ideas and programs to the old progressivism, with the goal of reforming capitalism.

After the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the ELECTION OF 1932, conservatism was defensive and sometimes confused, partly because of the new president’s adroitness in moving around the center of the ideological spectrum. The major measures of the FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933—the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT, the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT, the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION, the TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY, and the CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS—were looked upon first with skepticism, then outright hostility by conservatives. By 1934, conservatives were harshly critical of the New Deal. Former president Hoover led the critics, calling for a return to the philosophy of individualism. A number of business and other conservative organizations, ranging from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers to the Sentinels of the Republic and the National Taxpayers League, all weighed in against the New Deal.

The most visible and vocal of the conservative organizations was the AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE, a diverse group of businessmen, industrialists, and conservative Democrats, who were bankrolled with Du Pont money and led by dissident Democrats including former presidential nominees John W. Davis and Alfred E. Smith. For a brief time, the Liberty League raised nearly as much money as both major parties to support their message that the New Deal was an unconstitutional peril to the nation’s economy and institutions. However, for all their financial resources and organizational planning, the American Liberty League failed to stop Roosevelt and the New Deal, or for that matter, even to attract a wide group of conservatives under their banner. Hoover and other small-town, heartland con-

servatives, for example, distrusted the Wall Street-oriented leadership of the league.

Further conservative attacks on Roosevelt and the New Deal came from two additional sources. One was a small but committed group of intellectuals and journalists, some of whom could be classed as libertarians, who believed in government noninterference in both the economic and social spheres and retained a belief in social Darwinism; the other was a small but loud group of neofascists who came from the far right. The first group included such intellectuals as Irving Babbitt, Paul Elmer More, and George Santayana, and journalists such as Henry L. Mencken and Albert Jay Nock. Mencken, who had been a hero to liberals and civil libertarians for his attacks on CENSORSHIP and closed-minded thinking in the 1920s, became a caustic critic of the New Deal and of Roosevelt.

On the far right, the best known was Gerald L. K. Smith (a former associate of HUEY P. LONG), who saw the New Deal as either a “Red” or “Jewish” plot. Combining fundamentalist Christianity with ANTI-SEMITISM, the neofascists labeled the New Deal as the “Jew Deal,” because of the visible number of JEWS in the administration. Until he was later silenced by the Catholic Church, FATHER CHARLES E. COUGHLIN became notorious for his anti-Semitism mixed with harsh denunciations of the New Deal and Wall Street.

The programs of the SECOND NEW DEAL in 1935, such as the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT, the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT, and the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION, made labor and the working class central to liberal policy (and to the politics of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY). These measures further antagonized business conservatives as well as upper-class easterners who believed that Roosevelt, one of their own, was a “traitor to his class.” The REVENUE ACT OF 1935 and other New Deal efforts to reform TAXATION also alienated conservatives, business, and the wealthy.

With Congress dominated by liberal Democrats in the mid-1930s, only one branch of government, the SUPREME COURT, remained a bastion of conservatism at the federal level. To the delight of conservatives, the court upheld economic liberty by invalidating the NRA in 1935 and the AAA in 1936. Overturning other New Deal measures as well, the Court seemed to be sharply restricting the role of government and was due to rule on cases involving the National Labor Relations Act and Social Security.

In 1936, conservative forces geared up to defeat Roosevelt. The Liberty League gave money to Republican Party nominee ALFRED M. LANDON, but seemed more interested in attacking Roosevelt directly. The Coughlin–Gerald Smith faction formed the UNION PARTY, which won fewer than 900,000 votes. Roosevelt, in seeking reelection, relished attacking his conservative and well-heeled oppo-

nents, saying that he “welcomed their hatred.” He won a landslide victory, and Democrats controlled the Congress by enormous majorities in both the House and the Senate.

The ELECTION OF 1936 did not still the forces of conservative opposition. Roosevelt, angry about the Supreme Court overturning New Deal legislation (and denouncing the justices as “nine old men”), sent to Congress a court reorganization bill, called the COURT-PACKING PLAN by opponents. Conservatives in Congress, particularly southern Democrats and Republicans, joined by progressives from the GOP and maverick Democrats, eviscerated the court bill, although Roosevelt claimed to have lost the battle but won the war, as several of the justices retired and were replaced by liberals.

But perhaps Roosevelt won only a campaign and lost the larger struggle, for the court-packing episode helped change the dynamics of Congress and increase the influence of conservative legislators on Capitol Hill. Only a few years earlier, conservatives in Congress chiefly comprised eastern Republicans and a few southern Democrats. By the late 1930s, large Republican gains in the 1938 elections and the defection of a number of southern Democrats and progressive Republicans helped create a powerful CONSERVATIVE COALITION that emerged as a barrier to the New Deal’s expansion of liberal reform. The court-packing plan played a role in that, as did labor unrest, the RECESSION OF 1937–1938, and, for the southerners, concerns about the growing strength of urban northern Democrats in the party and their CIVIL RIGHTS efforts. As outlined in the “Conservative Manifesto” of November 1937, the conservative coalition opposed the New Deal regulatory welfare state and championed the core conservative issues of the era: limited central government, lower taxes, balanced budgets, individual responsibility, economic freedom, states’ rights, and property rights.

By the late 1930s, FOREIGN POLICY became an issue that affected all Americans as World War II approached. Conservatives, as with every political and ideological group, were divided between intervention and nonintervention. Conservative southern Democrats often supported anti-AXIS policies. A number of important conservatives were ISOLATIONISTS, however, as indicated by the leadership of the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and by such important voices in Congress as ROBERT A. TAFT. Those on the far right, the neofascists, were thinly veiled Nazi sympathizers.

World War II strengthened conservatism in a number of ways. Wartime prosperity made liberal programs seem unnecessary, and wartime priorities made them seem diversionary. Business had more influence in Washington during the war than in the New Deal years as government MOBILIZATION agencies used businessmen in important positions. In 1942, the Republicans nearly won numerical

control of the House of Representatives, and the conservative coalition strengthened its control of Congress. Such liberal Depression-era RELIEF programs as the CCC and the WPA were terminated. The strike by JOHN L. LEWIS’s miners in 1943 gave antilabor conservatives the impetus to pass the Smith-Connally Act, which placed restrictions on certain union activities and presaged the postwar Taft-Hartley Act. The wartime Congresses did not roll back the heart of the New Deal, but conservatism plainly was resurgent.

In 1944, an important book was published that helped guide the postwar conservative movement—*The Road to Serfdom*, written by economist and Austrian émigré Friedrich A. von Hayek. In his book, Hayek contended that centralized state planning (such as the New Deal) inevitably led to totalitarianism. A free market would guarantee freedom; economic planning and social welfare in the hands of government would lead to dictatorship. Despite the general moderation of the Truman and Eisenhower presidencies, what has been called the “liberal consensus” generally characterized early postwar America. But the antistatist ideas of Hayek and of the 1937 “Conservative Manifesto,” joined to fierce ANTICOMMUNISM in the cold war, continued to dominate conservative thought. By the 1960s, beginning especially with the movement associated with Arizona senator Barry Goldwater, conservatism gained significant new strength and influence.

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—William J. Thompson

### conservative coalition

The conservative coalition was an informal alliance of Republicans and conservative Democrats in CONGRESS that formed during the second term of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to oppose the NEW DEAL. Such opposition had been minimal in the first term. The devastating collapse of the ECONOMY in the early years of the GREAT DEPRESSION from 1929 to 1933 made decisive action seem essential. Democrats, in control of the national GOVERNMENT after the ELECTION OF 1932, wanted the party to make a positive record. Party loyalty and their generally

good personal relationships with Roosevelt brought support from most conservative as well as liberal Democrats, including southern Democrats who recognized also that New Deal aid was crucial to their region and popular among their constituents. Roosevelt could count as well on support from progressive Republicans, and liberal Democrats gained even more power in Congress in the election of 1934. With the overwhelming Democratic victory in the ELECTION OF 1936 that produced top-heavy Democratic majorities of nearly 4-1 in the House and 5-1 in the Senate, Roosevelt and the New Deal seemed to have little effective opposition.

Yet within a year, a group of Republican and conservative Democrats, dominated by southern Democrats, had issued a "Conservative Manifesto" enunciating major themes of CONSERVATISM in the Roosevelt years. The manifesto insisted upon balanced budgets, lower taxes, limited central government, states' rights, and property rights, and it sharply criticized the emerging welfare state of the New Deal. Republicans and conservative Democrats increasingly cooperated across party lines in support of those principles and succeeded in thwarting much of Roosevelt's second-term agenda. The conservative coalition, a loose working alliance varying from issue to issue, included at its core most Republicans, frequently joined by a large number of southern Democrats and a scattering of rural and conservative Democrats from other areas. With half or more of the membership of both houses coming from rural constituencies, an "antimetropolitan" ideology, affronted by the growing urban liberalism of New Deal policy, helped bring congressional conservatives together.

A number of circumstances and events gave rise to the conservative coalition. A key factor was the changing nature of the national DEMOCRATIC PARTY during Roosevelt's presidency. Democrats became the party of the big-government regulatory welfare state and increasingly pursued the agenda of urban liberalism. Northern liberals began eclipsing southerners in party councils and decisions, and government money and programs seemed to go increasingly to labor, to the urban unemployed and impoverished, to ethnic groups and to AFRICAN AMERICANS. Not only did rural constituencies and interests have less power and influence, but New Deal RELIEF, LABOR, SOCIAL SECURITY, and AGRICULTURE programs threatened to upset traditional economic and political patterns in the SOUTH. Southerners were further provoked by the 1938 antilynching bill that was supported by northern Democrats before being killed by a filibuster by southern Democrats. Most Republicans shared concerns about the size, cost, and focus of government programs with conservative Democrats, and they shared as well a sense that under Roosevelt and the New Deal excessive power was gravitating toward the executive branch at the expense of the Congress.

A series of developments in 1937 and 1938 then brought the coalition into being and led to the November 1937 "Conservative Manifesto." Roosevelt's 1937 inaugural address was a ringing call to expand the New Deal. Early in the year, he introduced an executive reorganization bill, which threatened further to increase presidential power at the expense of the Congress. Then he proposed the COURT-PACKING PLAN, which aroused conservatives (and many liberals as well). As one conservative Texas Democrat put it, "Boys, here's where I cash in"; and conservative Democrats worked across party lines with Republicans to oppose the bill. The sit-down strikes conducted by the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, in which strikers occupied plants seeking union recognition, seemed a radical assault on property that was enabled by New Deal policy. The RECESSION OF 1937-1938 sent the economy spiraling downward again in the fall, suggesting that New Deal economic policy had failed and leading conservatives to insist upon small-government, budget-balancing approaches.

Court-packing, labor unrest, and the "Roosevelt recession" also weakened public support for the president, emboldening New Deal opponents, as did the reelection in the mid-1930s of key conservative Democrats, which made them feel more secure in opposing FDR. Angered at the anti-New Deal Democrats, Roosevelt worked to defeat a number of them in the 1938 party primaries—but his "purge" attempt was largely an embarrassing failure and deepened the fissures in the party. In the election of 1938, Republicans gained some 70 seats in the House and seven in the Senate, significantly enlarging the Republican contingent in the Congress and strengthening the conservative coalition. By the late 1930s, moreover, the coming of WORLD WAR II shifted Roosevelt's priorities to defense and foreign policy, where he needed support from southern Democrats. For the remainder of Roosevelt's presidency, indeed well beyond it, Republicans and conservative Democrats effectively produced a sort of stalemate in domestic policy, in which the New Deal would not be significantly expanded or rolled back.

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### convoys

Following the outbreak of WORLD WAR II in 1939, the Royal Navy began convoying seaborne commerce with the limited resources available to it. This practice entailed naval vessels as escorts to protect merchant ships. Usually,



a rectangular column was deployed 12 ships abreast and four to six ships deep for a distance of 1,000 yards. Several of these columns would make up the actual convoy while armed escort vessels assembled in the van, on the flanks, and in the rear of the procession. SUBMARINES launching a torpedo attack on the convoy were likely to be quickly detected by sonar and attacked by rockets and depth charges, sometimes with deadly effect. Initially the German attackers enjoyed modern submersibles and torpedoes, as well as the additional advantage of AIR POWER, and British shipping suffered enormously. But the BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC slowly turned in the Allies' favor following American entry into World War II and the influx of numerous U.S. NAVY warships into the struggle. The Allies were further abetted by improved sonar and detection technology, better naval intelligence, deciphering of the German submarine code, and most important, the introduction of small, escort AIRCRAFT CARRIERS into the convoy system. This enabled armed warplanes to attack U-boats directly, and by 1944 the enhanced convoy system had effectively won the Battle of the Atlantic. The Germans managed to sink nearly 2,600 merchant vessels totaling 14.5 million tons, but at a cost of more than 780 U-boats sunk, along with 32,000 highly skilled sailors.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### **Coral Sea, Battle of the** (May 1942)

The Battle of the Coral Sea took place from May 3 to May 8, 1942. The Imperial Japanese Navy had been on the offensive since the attack on PEARL HARBOR in December 1941, and by the spring of 1942 was threatening Australia. Suffering from what has been called the “victory disease,” the Japanese overreached themselves. At the Battle of the Coral Sea, the U.S. NAVY was able to check Japanese expansion to the south; and although tactically neither side achieved full victory, strategically the battle was a significant American success. The battle was also important for revealing the new realities of naval warfare in which AIRCRAFT CARRIERS, not battleships, were the major force: Surface ships never encountered each other, and the battle was fought entirely by planes from the two fleets' aircraft carriers.

To cut off Australia from U.S. support, the Japanese aimed to win control of the Coral Sea, bordering Australia to the north, by taking over Port Moresby, on the southwest tip of New Guinea, and Tulagi in the SOLOMON ISLANDS. But American INTELLIGENCE was able to track movements of the Japanese fleet and to break the Japanese code, thus

allowing Admiral CHESTER W. NIMITZ to have two carrier groups ready to meet the Japanese. The battle began on May 3, with the Japanese invasion of Tulagi, though it did not reach full scale until May 7. On that day, the Americans were able to sink a Japanese light carrier and force the Japanese to abort their Port Moresby invasion. The battle ended on May 8, 1942, after a fierce naval air battle. The Japanese temporarily lost use of two of their most valuable ships, the badly damaged carriers *Shokaku* and *Zuikaku*, on this day, and retreated from the Coral Sea, ending their attempt on Port Moresby and their pressure on Australia. Because the American carrier *Lexington* was lost as a result of the action (and the carrier *Yorktown* damaged), the Japanese had something of a tactical edge in the battle; and the Japanese control of Tulagi would be significant in later combat in the Solomons. But the Japanese advance south toward Australia had been halted, and because of the Battle of the Coral Sea, the Japanese could not use their damaged carriers *Shokaku* and *Zuikaku* a month later at the pivotal BATTLE OF MIDWAY.

See also AIR POWER; WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER.

**Further reading:** Ronald Spector, *Eagle against the Sun: The American War with Japan* (New York: Free Press, 1985).

—Michael Moore

### **Coughlin, Father Charles E.** (1891–1979) *priest, radio personality*

Father Charles Edward Coughlin, the controversial “radio priest,” was an important figure in American politics in the 1930s and organized an unsuccessful political challenge to President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in the ELECTION OF 1936.

Coughlin was born on October 25, 1891, in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, and at the urging of his mother decided to enter the Roman Catholic priesthood. He taught at Assumption College in Ontario and then received his first, and only, parish—the Shrine of the Little Flower outside Detroit in Royal Oak, Michigan. Using the relatively new medium of RADIO in an effort to raise funds for his struggling parish and increase its membership, Father Coughlin gave his first radio sermon on October 17, 1926. The program quickly became popular, and the donations sent to Father Coughlin allowed him to syndicate his show in 1929 and reach listeners throughout most of the Midwest. When he began broadcasting *The Golden Hour of the Little Flower* on CBS in 1930, Coughlin was heard by up to 40 million Americans every Sunday night.

Until 1930, Father Coughlin's radio program was primarily religious in nature. But as the GREAT DEPRESSION



Father Charles E. Coughlin (Library of Congress)

deepened, his sermons became more overtly political, as he denounced President HERBERT C. HOOVER and the group he blamed for the depression—international bankers. By 1932, Coughlin had become an enthusiastic supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt, whom he believed would radically reform the American economy. “Roosevelt or Ruin,” he told his audience. Roosevelt, aware that Coughlin reached millions of listeners, cultivated the radio priest’s support. However, although Coughlin saw himself as a critical component of Roosevelt’s victory in the ELECTION OF 1932, the relationship was never a close or personal one. By 1934, frustrated by his lack of influence and by the BANKING policy of the FIRST NEW DEAL and the administration’s efforts to regulate rather than dismantle big BUSINESS, Coughlin broke with Roosevelt.

In November 1934, Coughlin created the National Union for Social Justice (NUSJ) and used the organization to increase his following and challenge Roosevelt and the NEW DEAL. At the heart of the NUSJ platform were its demands for establishing a central bank, nationalizing public utilities, and increasing the coinage of silver. Attracting a following dominated by working-class and lower-middle-class CATHOLICS who found Coughlin’s populist message appealing, the NUSJ claimed to have 8 million members at its peak in 1936. In addition, millions more were sympathetic to Coughlin’s message attacking international bankers and political parties and calling for radical monetary reform.

An apparent test of Coughlin’s power came in the Senate debate of early 1935 over the United States joining the World Court. Coughlin saw the World Court as dominated by the same international bankers he blamed for the depression, and he urged his listeners to call, telegram, and write to their senators to vote against the World Court. When the Senate voted against membership, it seemed that Coughlin had proven his political muscle. But the unsuccessful political party that he created in the presidential election of 1936 revealed how limited the radio priest’s power really was.

In 1936, Coughlin, Dr. FRANCIS TOWNSEND, and Gerald L. K. Smith, who had taken over the Share Our Wealth program following the death of HUEY LONG, joined to form the UNION PARTY. The new party nominated North Dakota congressman William Lemke for president, but it lacked both unity and organization and Lemke won less than 2 percent of the popular vote. The results reflected the facts that Coughlin’s followers also tended to support Roosevelt and that they overwhelmingly preferred Roosevelt to Coughlin’s candidate. Coughlin himself hurt the Union Party by denouncing the popular FDR as “anti-God” and as “Franklin Double-Crossing Roosevelt.” Rejected by the voters, denounced by superiors in the Catholic hierarchy, and likening himself to the martyred Jesus Christ, Coughlin announced his retirement from public life after the election.

Unhappy out of the spotlight, Coughlin resumed his radio show in January 1937, but his popularity was never the same. He became increasingly anti-Semitic; when he began speaking favorably of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini in 1940, he lost all but his diehard supporters and his radio show was taken off the air. A fringe figure by the time the United States entered WORLD WAR II, Coughlin left the public arena for good in 1942. As part of the government’s CENSORSHIP of far right- and left-wing groups, the postmaster general prohibited delivery of Coughlin’s magazine, *Social Justice*, and the attorney general arranged to have Coughlin’s archbishop silence him. Father Coughlin then retreated back to his parish. He retired in 1966 and died an obscure figure in 1979.

See also ANTI-SEMITISM.

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—Katherine Liapis Segrue

### court-packing plan

The “court-packing plan” of 1937 was the controversial attempt by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to enlarge

the SUPREME COURT so that it would make more favorable rulings on NEW DEAL programs.

In a remarkable period from May 1935 to May 1936, the Supreme Court had invalidated a number of major New Deal measures, including the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT and the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT. The reasoning in those decisions suggested, moreover, that the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT and the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT (Wagner Act) were likely to be overturned as well, and that a federal wages and hours law that President Roosevelt had in mind would stand no chance. One obvious possibility to protect the New Deal from judicial veto was a constitutional amendment to limit the Court's power or to augment the authority of the CONGRESS in economic and social areas. But agreeing upon wording proved difficult, and any amendment would need approval by two-thirds majorities in each house of Congress and then ratification by 36 states—a slow and uncertain process at best, especially when the Roosevelt administration believed that quick action was needed in order to safeguard programs made necessary by the GREAT DEPRESSION.

Congress also had the authority to alter the number of judges on the Supreme Court and other federal benches, and had done so in the past. Many of the unfavorable decisions, moreover, had been decided by narrow 5-4 and 6-3 votes, with four conservative justices—Willis Van Devanter, James C. McReynolds, George Sutherland, and Pierce Butler—consistently voting against the New Deal, often joined by Owen J. Roberts and Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes. The liberal wing of the Court—Justices Louis D. Brandeis, Harlan Fiske Stone, and Benjamin N. Cardozo—believed that the Constitution was expansive enough to support most New Deal programs and that in any case the Court should more prudently exercise its power of judicial review.

On February 5, 1937, Roosevelt announced his Judicial Procedures Reform Bill, which was quickly dubbed the “court-packing bill.” If a federal judge who had served at least 10 years did not retire six months after reaching age 70, the president could appoint a new judge to the bench—up to as many as six to the Supreme Court and 44 to lower federal courts. (The average age of Supreme Court justices, not coincidentally, was 71.)

Roosevelt's proposal set off a furor. He had launched the bill with no advance warning to key congressional leaders and with no public mention in the 1936 presidential campaign or otherwise. He claimed he wanted a younger and more efficient judiciary, when he plainly wanted a more responsive and liberal one. Conservatives feared

that the bill was part of an administration plan to subordinate the legislative and judicial branches to the executive branch. Many liberals were also unhappy, upset not only by Roosevelt's tactics but worried about what a different kind of president might do with such powers. Even so, it was widely assumed that the court-packing bill would pass, given Roosevelt's landslide victory in the ELECTION OF 1936 just a few months earlier and his apparent power in the overwhelmingly Democratic Congress.

But the proposal encountered insuperable obstacles. Conservative Democrats joined with Republicans in working against it, and liberal Democrats often were passive at best. Chief Justice Hughes made it plain that the Court was neither inefficient nor behind in its work. In the famous “switch in time that saved nine,” Hughes and Roberts joined in 5-4 decisions that upheld the National Labor Relations Act in April and the Social Security Act in May, and in May conservative justice Van Devanter retired. With a liberal Supreme Court evidently assured, the court-packing bill's chances faded quickly, even after FDR agreed to a slightly revised version and became more forthright about his real purpose. Public opinion, so far as it can be measured, evidently turned against the proposal, too. Roosevelt, uncharacteristically politically tone-deaf, persevered nonetheless, but met humiliating defeat.

In the aftermath, Roosevelt claimed that he lost the battle (the court-packing bill) but won the war (a more liberal Supreme Court). He was partly right, for the Court would not invalidate another piece of New Deal legislation; and as vacancies occurred on the Supreme Court, Roosevelt was able to form a more liberal “Roosevelt Court.” But Roosevelt lost more than the court-packing bill. He also lost a cooperative Congress that would approve liberal legislation, as the disaffection of conservative Democrats over court-packing helped produce the CONSERVATIVE COALITION in Congress that would stymie and limit the New Deal for the remainder of Roosevelt's presidency. And although the Court had apparently changed direction in 1937 (some scholars believe that the Court was trending toward a more expansive view of GOVERNMENT policy in any event) and ratified the modern regulatory welfare state, it retained its powers of judicial review and would exercise them robustly in the years and decades to follow.

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## demobilization

The surrenders of Germany and Japan in the spring and late summer of 1945 marked the beginning of the demobilization of the massive military and industrial machine that the United States had assembled to fight WORLD WAR II. The demobilization of the armed forces proceeded at a rapid pace. During the two-year period from June 1945 to June 1947, the number of military personnel dropped from 12 million to 1.5 million.

Almost immediately after V-J DAY in mid-August 1945, and weeks before Japan's formal surrender in early September aboard the USS *Missouri*, pressure began to mount to reduce the size of the armed services and to reconvert the nation's industry to peacetime production. Within a few months, disgruntled U.S. servicemen stationed overseas were protesting for Washington to bring them home so they could get on with their lives, especially to take civilian jobs and raise families. Idle and bored GIs in Manila booed top brass during one demonstration. Others, who were fed up with regulations and regimentation, protested in Frankfurt and also in Paris, where they marched down the Champs Elysees and yelled "scab" and "slacker" at American soldiers who refused to join the march. Some even purchased advertising space in American newspapers to voice their demands. Many civilians joined the protests, organizing into clubs and petitioning Washington for the immediate release of their husbands, sons, and loved ones from active duty.

The pressure at home and abroad forced the military to scrap its plans for an orderly partial demobilization. Originally the War Department had planned discharges based on a point system that recognized the length and difficulty of service. The department, however, decided to release all men with two years' service. U.S. ARMY Chief of Staff Dwight D. Eisenhower soon ordered his commanders to return home any men "for whom there is no military need."

The demobilization of U.S. forces proceeded at an alarming rate, one that President Truman admitted

amounted virtually to a "disintegration." Soon after Japan's surrender, the president announced that the army and the U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES would be cut to 1.95 million by June 1946. By spring 1946, he had further reduced the number to one million as of July 1946. The U.S. NAVY was reduced to less than 500,000 by 1947, the U.S. MARINES to less than 100,000. Along with the release of service members came training camp closures and the destruction and sale to private industry of ships and unneeded war equipment. The hasty discharge of seasoned specialists and combat veterans particularly damaged military readiness. Because of global instability, and at the president's request, Congress extended the SELECTIVE SERVICE Act to March 31, 1947.

The war's sudden end caught the Truman administration unprepared for peace and without a plan for confronting changing and potentially volatile domestic and global situations. Fears that the rapid demobilization and RECONVERSION would disrupt the ECONOMY and perhaps mean a return to depression conditions proved unfounded. Wartime savings, quick reconversion, pent-up demand for consumer goods, the return of many women to the home from industry jobs, and the 1944 GI BILL OF RIGHTS that sent many veterans to college kept UNEMPLOYMENT low and the economy strong.

In foreign affairs, the president's immediate problem was twofold. He had to find a way to maintain a military force sufficient both for the occupation of Germany and Japan and for ensuring global stability and national security. Balancing these requirements proved difficult, especially considering public pressure and Truman's tight fiscal policies.

Compounding his task was residual, although hardly dominant, isolationist sentiment in Congress. Believing that AIR POWER and the exclusive possession of the ATOMIC BOMB would ensure the nation's security, some conservative lawmakers wanted the president to leave the world's problems to the UNITED NATIONS. Taking this approach,

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they believed, would require only limited U.S. military participation. Their sentiments changed, however, as tensions between the United States and Soviet Union intensified in mid- and late 1940s. The reduction of military strength finally ended with the outbreak of war in Korea in June 1950.

Although Americans did not realize it at the time, a good deal of the regimentation and wartime way of life that had developed with the MOBILIZATION for World War II would not completely disappear with the end of the war. During the next few years, policymakers would find themselves having to come to grips with exactly how much of the wartime apparatus and system of doing things they should retain in order to confront new postwar problems.

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—Edwin D. Miller

### Democratic Party

From 1929 to 1945, the Democratic Party went from a disorganized minority party to the majority party of the nation. As the decade of the 1920s neared its end, the prospects of the Democratic Party in national politics seemed dim. Only two Democrats had won the presidency since 1860; the REPUBLICAN PARTY had been the normal majority party since the mid-1890s; and Republicans had dominated national politics throughout the 1920s. In the election of 1928, HERBERT C. HOOVER defeated the Democratic presidential nominee, Alfred E. Smith, by 58.2 to 40.9 percent of the popular vote. In the CONGRESS elected that year, Republicans outnumbered Democrats by 267-167 in the House of Representatives and by 56-39 in the Senate. The Republican Party's organizational strength, longstanding majority status, and identification with the prosperity of the 1920s seemed to promise its continued dominance.

The Democratic Party did have some areas of significant strength. The SOUTH, where few AFRICAN AMERICANS could vote, had been solidly Democratic since the era of the Civil War and Reconstruction, and Democrats controlled a number of CITIES outside the South because of strong organizations and support from Catholic immigrant groups (especially IRISH AMERICANS). But the party had severe weaknesses as well. It was more a collection of state and local machines than an organized national party. Its two major areas of strength, old-stock rural Protestants

in the Midwest and South and ethnic urban CATHOLICS in the North, were bitterly at odds on the polarizing social issues of the 1920s (Prohibition and IMMIGRATION restriction, for example), and it had taken the divided Democrats 103 ballots to decide upon a compromise presidential nominee in 1924. Al Smith, the Irish-American Catholic governor of New York, won the party's nomination in 1928; but while he rallied millions of new urban voters to the Democratic Party, he carried only six states in the deep South plus heavily Catholic Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In addition to its deep cultural and geographical divisions, the Democratic Party offered little real policy alternative to the Republicans and no common position on most big issues. "I don't belong to an organized political party," quipped the humorist Will Rogers. "I'm a Democrat."

The GREAT DEPRESSION provided the Democrats the opportunity to regain national power. The two parties essentially broke even in the election of 1930, and when the new Congress met, Democrats had a narrow majority in the House and a coalition of Democrats and progressive Republicans were able to control the Senate when they wished. But the Democrats were unified only in their efforts to blame the collapse of the ECONOMY on Hoover and the Republicans. A number of leading congressional Democrats from the South, including Speaker of the House JOHN NANCE GARNER of Texas, were traditional small-government conservatives, as unwilling as Hoover to support expensive or expansive new federal programs. Others in the party wanted more GOVERNMENT action, but progressive southern and western rural Democrats typically emphasized assistance to AGRICULTURE, while liberal urban Democrats focused on help for workers and the cities.

As the Democrats prepared for the ELECTION OF 1932, many supported the popular and progressive governor of New York, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. Roosevelt had ties to both rural and urban Democrats, partly through his efforts in the 1920s to have the party establish an effective national organization, and he understood that Democrats had to stress the economic problems that might unite the party. Although opposed by leading Democratic conservatives, and by Al Smith, who wanted renomination, Roosevelt was the early front-runner. He won the necessary two-thirds of the convention delegates on the fourth ballot, when John Nance Garner, subsequently nominated for vice president, helped deliver enough votes to ensure Roosevelt's nomination.

The election of 1932 was in many ways a transitional one for the Democratic Party. Roosevelt and the Democrats swept to landslide victory, with 57.4 percent of the presidential vote and with margins of 310-117 in the House and 60-35 in the Senate. But the election marked more a rejection of Hoover and the Republicans than an affirma-

tion of Roosevelt and the Democrats, who waged a campaign that was inconsistent and unclear, criticizing Hoover for doing and spending too much as well as for doing too little to deal with the depression. The Democrats' forthright opposition to Prohibition was perhaps the most obvious distinction between the two parties. Yet if Roosevelt did not clearly or consistently outline what would become the NEW DEAL, his greater emphasis on providing action for the economy and RELIEF for the unemployed distinguished him from Hoover. And the election had transferred power to the Democrats and given them a chance to govern—and to build a new coalition of voters that would keep them in power.

Once in office, Roosevelt began to implement the New Deal and, helped by new national chairman JAMES A. FARLEY, to build the organizational strength and voter support that made Democrats the majority party. Democrats gained strength in both houses of Congress in the election of 1934, a significant departure from the usual pattern of the incumbent president's party losing substantial ground in off-year elections and a telling confirmation of public support for Roosevelt and the New Deal. The Democratic gains, moreover, came especially from northern and urban constituencies increasingly central to the party's voter base and policy agenda. The social reform programs of 1935 came in significant measure from the greater strength of urban liberals in Congress, typified in many ways by Senator ROBERT F. WAGNER of New York. The new directions of the party upset conservative Democrats, some of whom joined Al Smith in the anti-New Deal AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE.

The ELECTION OF 1936 confirmed the Democratic Party's new urban, liberal orientation and established it as the nation's new majority party. At their national convention, the Democrats abolished their requirement of a two-thirds majority for nomination, which ended the veto power that southern Democrats had long enjoyed. Roosevelt tried to rally the working class and lower middle class behind him and his party with rhetoric castigating "economic royalists." Democrats made particular efforts to turn out the vote among ethnic groups and LABOR, and unions in 1936 provided the party unprecedented financial and organizational support. Led by ELEANOR ROOSEVELT and MARY W. DEWSON of the Democratic National Committee, the party made special efforts to bring women to the polls. Secretary of Labor FRANCES PERKINS was the first woman cabinet member ever, and the New Deal's WOMEN'S NETWORK brought political dividends. Roosevelt's appointments of Catholics and JEWS to important government positions in unprecedented numbers helped solidify the support of those groups. Similarly, Roosevelt named many African Americans, such as MARY McLEOD BETHUNE, to significant posts, and the resulting informal BLACK CAB-

INET as well as assistance from New Deal programs led black Americans to vote Democratic in unprecedented numbers. New Deal programs, relief especially, also helped Democratic urban politicians build or strengthen powerful organizations that brought voters to the polls.

In November, FDR won more than three-fifths of the presidential vote, losing (as Farley had predicted) only Maine and Vermont, and Democrats swept to even more top-heavy control of the Congress, with margins of nearly 4 to 1 in the House and 5 to 1 in the Senate. Unlike 1932, the electorate had voted not just against the Republicans, but for Roosevelt, the Democrats, and the New Deal. The Democratic Party's new majority came from the Roosevelt Coalition of voters, based partly on the South but even more on overwhelming support in northern metropolitan areas from working-class and lower-income voters, Catholic and Jewish ethnic groups, and African Americans. And the realignment of the 1930s had not only made the Democratic Party the majority party at the national level but, in varying degrees, had also built substantial new Democratic strength in many states and cities.

Yet the Democratic Party's new top-heavy majority status carried its own difficulties. A coalition so broad was hard to keep together, as subsequent years would show. Many voters in 1936 had supported Roosevelt but did not necessarily think of themselves as Democrats. Democratic politicians and officials at the state and local levels, particularly in the South, were often lukewarm at best toward New Deal policy and at odds with liberal Democrats in Washington. Rural Democrats thought too much attention and money were going to urban areas and industrial workers. Southerners feared also that too much power was going to the North and that New Deal programs were undermining traditional social, political, and even racial patterns in the South. Senator JAMES F. BYRNES of South Carolina complained that the introduction of ANTILYNCHING LEGISLATION meant that southerners had "been deserted by the Democrats of the North," and by the end of the decade southern Democrats in Washington increasingly opposed social and economic reform. Conservative Democrats retained their small-government preferences and feared the growing size, power, and costs of the federal government. At times, Roosevelt seemed inclined to try to reorient the party system along clear liberal/conservative lines, but it was never a priority and was probably impossible given the exigencies of the era and the obstacles of the American political system.

Democratic factionalism flared in 1937 and 1938, when conservative, most southern and rural, Democrats in the Congress, began joining with Republicans to form a CONSERVATIVE COALITION that would stymie much of Roosevelt's domestic agenda for the remainder of his presidency. In addition to their concerns about the federal government

doing and spending too much, congressional conservatives feared that the executive branch was aggrandizing power, diminishing states' rights, and giving excessive attention to the agenda of urban liberals. The COURT-PACKING PLAN of 1937, sit-down strikes by CIO workers, and the RECESION OF 1937–1938 fueled public criticism of Roosevelt and led conservative Democrats to ally with Republicans in defeating proposals to extend the New Deal. Angered, Roosevelt sought to “purge” anti-New Deal Democrats by opposing them in party primaries in 1938—but his efforts at punishing them and liberalizing the party were on balance an embarrassing failure that deepened party divisions. In the election of 1938, Republicans picked up substantial strength in the Congress.

For the remainder of the Roosevelt years, the Democratic Party remained divided along ideological and geographical lines, with the majority liberal wing unable to control Congress because of the strength of the conservative coalition. As the economy recovered during WORLD WAR II, New Deal programs aimed at the unemployed and impoverished were eliminated or cut back, and liberal proposals to extend the New Deal stood no chance. Though the heart of the New Deal regulatory welfare state remained intact, Democratic liberals were often distressed not just by the party's conservatives, but even by Franklin Roosevelt, who many thought did not provide enough leadership for domestic programs in the war years. Yet liberals themselves typically altered their programmatic emphasis as LIBERALISM changed in the late 1930s and 1940s, emphasizing KEYNESIANISM to produce economic growth via fiscal policy rather than the regulation and redistribution of the early New Deal. As liberal northern Democrats also increasingly championed CIVIL RIGHTS, southern Democrats became all the more worried about the party's direction; and although the South remained solidly Democratic in 1944, seeds were laid for the “Dixiecrat” revolt of 1948. In Congress, Southern Democrats in the House and Senate were clearly more conservative than Democrats from the North by the early 1940s, a geographical split in the party that would continue in the postwar years.

Despite their ongoing divisions and tensions, however, Democrats remained the majority party for the remainder of Roosevelt's presidency, and for decades beyond. In the ELECTION OF 1940, Roosevelt decisively won an unprecedented third term, with the party division in Congress changing little. James Farley resigned as national chairman, upset by FDR's decision to seek a third term as well as by the party's liberal direction, but EDWARD J. FLYNN proved an able successor. Republicans cut sharply into Democratic margins in Congress in the election of 1942; but in the ELECTION OF 1944, Roosevelt won another decisive victory and Democrats increased their control of Congress. Democrats thus retained their majority status in the

new politics of prosperity and global war. The core of the Roosevelt Coalition, like the core of the New Deal regulatory-welfare state, emerged largely intact from World War II, as did the party issues and images of the realignment of the 1930s. POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA had not just transformed the Democratic Party but had profoundly changed the American political system.

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### **destroyers-for-bases deal** (1940)

The “destroyers-for-bases” deal of 1940 resulted from negotiations between Great Britain and the United States over sending 50 U.S. World War I–vintage destroyers to Britain in return for British bases in the Atlantic and the Caribbean.

British prime minister Winston Churchill made the request for destroyers to President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in order to augment the British fleet while production of new British warships was under way. The destroyers would be used to protect British convoys from German U-boat attacks in the BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC. The fall of France and the BATTLE OF BRITAIN in the spring and summer of 1940 brought additional concerns about the defense of Britain.

Because any such agreement to help Britain would make U.S. FOREIGN POLICY more interventionist and anti-AXIS, Roosevelt knew that it would provoke outcries from ISOLATIONISTS. He was also concerned that it would encounter resistance from others in CONGRESS and the American public who still believed it more important not to get involved in another war than it was to help the British. Roosevelt thus knew that he would have to proceed carefully, especially since 1940 was an election year.

At first, FDR thought that congressional approval might be needed for transferring the ships, but after consultation with advisers, he concluded that he could use his authority as commander in chief to exchange materials the military declared surplus if the result enhanced national security. Acquiring British bases in the Western Hemisphere could be justified in terms of national security, and Roosevelt announced the exchange on September 3. As he



had expected, the agreement outraged isolationists, who formed the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE; but the public, increasingly supportive of helping Britain short of directly entering the war, generally endorsed it, and it had relatively little impact on the ELECTION OF 1940.

The 50 destroyers eventually transferred to the Royal Navy after refitting provided some help to the British, though their importance was more symbolic than military. In return for the destroyers, the United States received naval bases in Bermuda and Newfoundland and leases to bases in the Caribbean. A major step away from the NEUTRALITY ACTS and toward a more anti-Axis foreign policy, the destroyers-for-bases deal prepared the way for LEND-LEASE.

See also ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS; COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA BY AIDING THE ALLIES.

**Further reading:** Warren F. Kimball, *Forged in War: Roosevelt, Churchill, and the Second World War* (New York: Morrow, 1997); William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason, *The Challenge to Isolation, 1937–1940* (New York: Harper, 1952).

**Dewey, Thomas E.** See VOLUME IX.

**Dewson, Mary (“Molly”)** (1874–1962) *political organizer, government official*

Mary “Molly” Dewson, a DEMOCRATIC PARTY official and Social Security Board member during the administration of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, was born on February 18, 1874, in Quincy, Massachusetts. Educated at nearby Wellesley College, she used her liberal arts education to enter the Progressive Era social reform movement in New England. She served in a number of positions, including superintendent of probation for Lancaster State Industrial School for Girls and executive secretary of the Massachusetts Commission on the Minimum Wage. In addition, Dewson also became involved in politics during this time through activity in the woman’s suffrage movement.

Dewson moved to New York in 1920 to take a position with the National Consumers League. Through the league, Dewson became a part of New York’s social reform movement, making lifelong friendships with women such as ELEANOR ROOSEVELT and FRANCES PERKINS. It was during this time that Dewson became involved in Democratic Party activity, and she played a role in resolving disputes among women’s groups during Al Smith’s 1928 presidential campaign.

By 1932, Dewson was committed to Franklin D. Roosevelt’s candidacy for president, and he appointed Dewson as director of the Women’s Division of the Democratic

National Campaign Committee, in charge of organizing and mobilizing female Democratic Party voters. While dedicated to mobilizing women voters, Dewson, along with Eleanor Roosevelt, also worked during the next five years to secure prominent appointments for women in the Roosevelt administration. Their major success was the appointment of Frances Perkins as secretary of labor, the first female cabinet member. Dewson was an important member of the WOMEN’S NETWORK, which sought to advance women and women’s interests in the administration.

By 1937 Dewson, anticipating that Roosevelt would serve only two terms, and becoming less interested in political activity, was ready to leave the Women’s Division to a capable successor. She was appointed to the Social Security Board in 1937 and promptly resigned her directorship of the Women’s Division to accept the new position. But for health reasons, Dewson served on the board for only a short time. In June 1938 she resigned from the board, but not before making sure that her successor was a woman (Ellen S. Woodward). Dewson spent her remaining years in retirement at her home in Castine, Maine, where she suffered a stroke and died five days later on October 12, 1962.

**Further reading:** Susan Ware, *Partner and I: Molly Dewson, Feminism, and New Deal Politics* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987).

—Katherine Liapis Segreue

**DiMaggio, Joe (Joseph Paul)** (1914–1999) *baseball player*

Joe DiMaggio, the “Yankee Clipper,” was one of the greatest and most revered baseball players ever. Voted the American League’s most valuable player in 1939, 1941, and 1947, he had a lifetime batting average of .325, batted in 1,537 runs, hit 361 home runs, and in 1941 set the amazing record of hitting safely in 56 consecutive games. He made the All-Star team every year he played, and was elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1955.

Born in San Francisco in 1914, the son of an immigrant ITALIAN-AMERICAN fisherman, Joseph Paul DiMaggio was expected to carry on the family trade. However, he had little interest in fishing—or in school, for he dropped out at age 15—and preferred sandlot baseball. He was signed by the San Francisco Seals of the Pacific Coast League and began playing minor league baseball with the Seals in 1932 at age 17.

In 1936, he joined the New York Yankees, batting .323 and leading the league in triples. He led the league in home runs, total bases, and runs scored in his second year. But DiMaggio was not just a great hitter—he excelled in every phase of the game and was one of the most graceful

and talented center fielders in baseball history as well. A man of enormous pride, he always played to the best of his ability—because, he said, there might be someone in the stands who had never seen him play. He led the Yankees' return to the eminence of the Babe Ruth era (the team won the American League pennant 10 times and the World Series nine times in DiMaggio's 13 seasons), and helped make SPORTS such an important diversion as the GREAT DEPRESSION lingered on. Baseball was the national pastime, and "Joltin' Joe" DiMaggio was its new hero.

DiMaggio enlisted in the U.S. ARMY during WORLD WAR II, and when he left the service in 1945, having missed three seasons, he was no longer the same player. But although troubled by a bone spur in his heel, he had several more productive seasons before retiring in 1951. After retiring, DiMaggio remained in the public eye, partly because of his marriage to the fabled movie star Marilyn Monroe, but also because of the grace and dignity that had marked his baseball days as well. Recent biographical studies have pointed to a less appealing private side of Joe DiMaggio, but it is the remarkable public figure that the nation celebrated and remembers.

**Further reading:** Richard Ben Cramer, *Joe DiMaggio: The Hero's Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).

—Anthony Lavin

## dollar-a-year men

"Dollar-a-year men" was a term used to describe businessmen who volunteered their services during WORLD WAR II for a token salary of one dollar (although they usually retained their corporate pay) to head or serve in GOVERNMENT agencies that oversaw wartime economic MOBILIZATION. Although they played a significant role in organizing the massive American wartime production, some of their activities were criticized for favoring large BUSINESS interests.

Dollar-a-year men first appeared during World War I when President Woodrow Wilson attempted to mobilize the American economy for the First World War with the War Industries Board (WIB). After Wilson appointed BERNARD M. BARUCH, an independent Wall Street investor, to head the WIB, it became more effective, but was criticized by progressives for allowing businesses to serve their own interests.

Early in World War II, NEW DEAL liberals sought ways to mobilize the economy without business interests again dominating. But since the government lacked enough experienced bureaucrats to direct the mammoth project of economic mobilization, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT turned to businessmen to help direct and staff mobilization agencies. These included such dollar-a-year

men as William Knudsen of General Motors, who chaired the National Defense Advisory Commission, and DONALD NELSON of Sears Roebuck, who headed the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD.

Several thousand corporate executives, financial officers, technical experts, and lawyers took positions as dollar-a-year men in the wartime mobilization agencies and the War Department. Together with military procurement officers, they dominated the award of contracts, and they favored large corporations as the fastest way to achieve large-scale, high-quality war production. In the first year of the war, about 60 percent of contracts went to just 20 firms; in the first four years more than half of all contracts were awarded to only 33 companies. This approach was sometimes criticized despite the extraordinary totals of wartime production.

Although the economic mobilization agencies were dissolved at war's end, the close relationship between business and the military continued after the war in the so-called military-industrial complex.

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—Robert J. Hanyok

**Douglas, William O.** (1898–1980) *Securities and Exchange Commission chairman; associate justice of the Supreme Court*

William O. Douglas was the third chairman of the SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION (SEC) and a SUPREME COURT justice appointed by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Born in Maine, Minnesota, on October 16, 1898, Douglas moved with his family to Washington State when he was three. As a child, he contracted polio, which left him weak and sickly. Hiking helped regain his strength and made him a lifelong advocate for the environment. Douglas attended Whitman College and returned home to teach. Dissatisfied after a year, Douglas entered Columbia Law School, graduating in 1925. After two unhappy years at a Wall Street law firm, he returned to Columbia Law School to teach. Within a year he resigned to join the faculty at Yale University, where his research focused on corporate bankruptcy law.

Douglas's connection with the SEC began in 1934 while he was still at Yale, when he was selected to perform a study of the reorganization of bankrupt corporations. During this assignment, Douglas impressed SEC chairman JOSEPH P. KENNEDY and was introduced to President

Roosevelt. Kennedy arranged for Douglas to be named to the commission in 1936 and Roosevelt made him the SEC chairman a year later. Under Douglas, the SEC took significant steps to protect investors and compel stockbrokers to abide by SEC regulations.

While on the SEC, Douglas, a staunch advocate of the NEW DEAL, became part of the president's trusted inner circle. In 1939, Roosevelt offered Douglas the seat on the Supreme Court vacated by Louis D. Brandeis. Douglas accepted the nomination, which was confirmed that April, and became part of the liberal "Roosevelt Court."

Douglas, the longest serving justice ever, remained on the Supreme Court for more than 36 years. Although he supported the majority when the Supreme Court upheld the legality of the relocation of JAPANESE AMERICANS during World War II, he later proved to be a strong defender of free speech, the right to privacy, CIVIL RIGHTS, and CIVIL LIBERTIES. His extreme liberal positions on some issues and unorthodox behavior outside the Court led to an impeachment investigation by the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives in 1970. He was exonerated when no impeachable offense was found.

Douglas suffered a stroke in 1974. Although he tried to return to the bench, his condition led to his retirement in November 1975. William O. Douglas died on January 19, 1980.

**Further reading:** James F. Simon, *Independent Journey: The Life of William O. Douglas* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).

—Jill Frahm

**Dubinsky, David** (1892–1982) *International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union president*

David Dubinsky was born David Dobniewski in Litovsk, Russian Poland, on February 22, 1892. He began working as a baker in 1901 but quickly fell into illegal unionizing activity and was arrested by the czarist police. Exiled to Siberia, he escaped and settled in New York in 1911, working as a cutter in the garment industry. An outspoken LABOR leader, Dubinsky was elected vice president of a local within the INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION (ILGWU) in 1922. As ILGWU president by 1933, he invigorated the nearly moribund union through selected STRIKES and the provisions of the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT of 1933, which recognized workers' rights to collective bargaining. Membership in the ILGWU reached 200,000 by 1935. As a socialist, Dubinsky was committed to a shorter workweek, better wages, and safer working condition for his members, something he proved very adept at achieving. However, he was also interested in extending such benefits to all industrial workers, which his

parent organization, the craft-oriented AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL), proved reluctant to do. Therefore, in 1935 he joined SIDNEY HILLMAN of the AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA and JOHN L. LEWIS of the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA in founding the Committee for Industrial Organization (later CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS) or CIO. Stridently anti-Stalinist, Dubinsky was never reconciled to what he considered a Communist threat to the CIO and the industrial labor movement, and in 1940 he took the ILGWU out of the CIO and back to the AFL.

Throughout this period, Dubinsky also served as a political associate of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, and he mobilized labor votes for him in the ELECTION OF 1936. He served on the Labor Advisory Board of the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION, 1933–35, and in 1936 he helped found the American Labor Party, though he gradually distanced himself from it because of mounting Communist influence. Dubinsky capably managed the ILGWU until his retirement in 1966. He died in New York on September 17, 1982, a major player in industrial unionism and NEW DEAL politics.

**Further reading:** Robert D. Parmet, *The Master of Seventh Avenue: David Dubinsky and the American Labor Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).

—John C. Fredriksen

**DuBois, William Edward Burghardt** See VOLUME VII.

## dust bowl

In the 1930s, a large area in the southwestern plains of the United States came to be known as the *dust bowl*. Years of farming using environmentally damaging techniques, combined with economic depression and severe drought, produced environmental disaster and human tragedy. The geographical boundaries of the dust bowl were never clear-cut, but most often the term was used to describe the area bordered by western Kansas and southeastern Colorado on the north and by northeastern New Mexico and the Oklahoma and Texas panhandles on the south. At its worst, the dust bowl included some 100 million acres of land.

Throughout much of the 19th century, the Great Plains had been considered by many to be a wasteland, the "Great American Desert." By the early 20th century, however, advances in agricultural technology led to a reassessment of the region. Farmers began growing drought-resistant crops, primarily wheat, while mechanized farming equipment made it possible to farm enormous plots of land. High wheat prices during World War I encouraged





Dust storms compounded the problem of the depression when they swept across the Midwest. (National Archives)

further cultivation. This cultivation entailed the removal of the area's native grasses and the sod formed by the grasses' roots, both of which had held the dry, powdery soil of the plains in place. "Sod-busting" did not by itself cause the dust bowl, but it left the land vulnerable to environmental damage and when drought struck, disaster ensued.

Nearly every region of the continental United States was affected by drought in the 1930s, but the plains states were particularly hard hit. In Boise City, Oklahoma, for example, an average of less than 12 inches of rain fell per year from 1931 to 1936. Farmers, desperate to stay afloat financially, continued to plow and plant each year, but crop yields were dismal. With no roots to hold it in place and no rain to tamp it down, the soil simply blew away, forming the massive dust storms from which the dust bowl got its name. Between 1930 and 1941, the region was plagued by more than 325 dust storms, 72 of them in 1937 alone. Skies were often darkened in the plains states and the Midwest by such storms, and some reached still further east, depositing grit as they did so. One particularly fierce storm in May 1934 removed an estimated one-third of a billion tons of topsoil—and dropped dust as far east as Washington, Boston, and even on ships hundreds of miles offshore in the Atlantic Ocean.

Heavily in debt, in part because of farm machinery bought on credit, and unable to eke out a living under such adverse climatic conditions, thousands of farmers lost their land and moved elsewhere to look for work. These displaced farmers were part of a large MIGRATION to the West Coast, particularly to California, that took place during the GREAT DEPRESSION. More than 300,000 left from Oklahoma alone, and for this reason the term "Okie" was applied to all of the new migrants, even though large numbers also left from Texas, Kansas, and Colorado. Photographer DOROTHEA LANGE recorded the plight of the Okies in her book, *An American Exodus: A Record of Human Erosion* (1939). Lange's stark images remain well known, as do those of JOHN STEINBECK in his novel about an Oklahoma family's journey west, *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939).

The federal GOVERNMENT recognized the difficulties faced by farmers in the dust bowl, and a number of NEW DEAL agencies attempted to relieve the suffering of those who remained in the region. In 1934, the Soil Erosion Service was developed to teach new farming methods that minimized erosion. These methods included terracing the land, contour plowing, planting wind-resistant crops, and regrowing native grasses in some areas. A year later, the Soil Erosion Service became the Soil Conservation Ser-



vice. In its new guise, this agency took an even more active role, paying farmers cash to plant soil-conserving crops. The Forest Service, at the urging of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, planted a 2,000 mile-long “shelterbelt” of trees down the center of the Great Plains, in an attempt to reduce wind-related erosion. The RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION proposed a more radical solution to soil erosion in the plains states: Stop cultivating the land altogether and resettle the farmers in more productive agricultural areas. Resettlement plans were not popular with farm families, and many chose to stay put and “tough it out”—although they often accepted help in the form of government relief checks.

Soil-conserving farming techniques, along with improved irrigation, did help restore fertility to the soil in some areas of the southwestern plains. Still, the situation

for farmers in that region did not get appreciably better until 1941. At that time, the drought ended and WORLD WAR II caused an increase in demand for crops. As soon as these factors made farming the plains profitable again, much of the land was put back into cultivation. Because of the marginal quality of the soil in this region, dust bowls have recurred, although never again on the scale seen in the 1930s.

See also AGRICULTURE; ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES.

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—Pamela J. Lauer



# E



**Eccles, Marriner S.** (1890–1977) *businessperson and banker, government official*

Serving as governor (1934–36) and chairman (1936–48) of the Federal Reserve Board, Marriner Stoddard Eccles was one of the most important individuals in shaping the economic policy of the United States in the era of the NEW DEAL and WORLD WAR II. An early advocate of substantially increasing government spending to promote recovery, he became one of the strong supporters of KEYNESIANISM in the administration of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Born in Logan, Utah, on September 9, 1890, Eccles was the eldest son of a Scottish immigrant and prominent Utah industrialist, David Eccles. As a boy, Marriner worked at his father's companies, and in 1909 his formal education ended after three and a half years of high school. He then traveled to Glasgow, Scotland, to fulfill his duties as a missionary of the Mormon Church. Two years later, David Eccles's death shifted a tremendous responsibility to Marriner, who took control of his family's portion of the Eccles estate.

Throughout the 1920s, Marriner Eccles adhered to his father's belief in thriftiness and the principles of laissez-faire as he honed his administrative and analytical skills. By 1928, he had consolidated more than 17 banks and lending institutions into the First Security Corporation. Under Eccles's leadership First Security withstood runs on its central branch in Ogden as well as other branches during the early years of the GREAT DEPRESSION, and Eccles negotiated a merger to rescue the failing Deseret National Bank in Salt Lake City.

Eccles also began reading the work of the economists William T. Foster and Waddill Catchings, who argued that the economic orthodoxy of the 1920s failed to address the deficiencies in consumer demand created by excessive saving and insufficient wage increases. Foster and Catchings concluded that in order to compensate for declining demand, GOVERNMENT must increase its spending. By the early 1930s, Eccles had adopted Foster and Catchings's

views and spoke out for the need for compensatory FISCAL POLICY and MONETARY POLICY. He went to Washington to present his views to the Senate, and was asked to assist in drafting the EMERGENCY BANKING ACT OF 1933 and the legislation creating the FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION. In 1934 Eccles was appointed special assistant to Secretary of the Treasury HENRY MORGENTHAU, and in November he was appointed governor of the Federal Reserve by President Roosevelt.

As governor of the Federal Reserve, Eccles began to press Roosevelt for substantial increases in spending for public works projects. He also set himself to the task of reorganizing the Federal Reserve System as the primary sponsor of the BANKING ACT OF 1935. Throughout his service in the Roosevelt administration, Eccles encountered numerous challenges from Secretary Morgenthau, who advised the president to curb spending and work toward a balanced budget. However, after the RECESSION OF 1937–1938, New Deal policymakers turned toward deficit spending to promote recovery; and, during World War II, widespread prosperity provided evidence of the efficacy of Keynesianism and the fiscal policies championed by Eccles.

Continuing to serve as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board until 1948, Eccles also contributed after the war to the development of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund created by the BRETTON WOODS CONFERENCE. He served as Federal Reserve Board vice chairman until 1951, when he resigned and returned to his personal business interests. Later he wrote articles and spoke in public on the Vietnam War, communism in China, and world overpopulation. Marriner Eccles died on December 18, 1977.

**Further reading:** Marriner Eccles, *Beckoning Frontiers: Public and Personal Recollections* (New York: Knopf, 1951).

—Shannon L. Parsley

### Economic Bill of Rights

In his State of the Union message of January 11, 1944, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT called for a “second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all. . . .” This new “Economic Bill of Rights,” as it came to be called, included the rights to a useful and remunerative job, to income enough for adequate food, clothing, and recreation, to a decent home, to a good education, to adequate medical care, and to economic protection against old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment. Roosevelt again called for an economic bill of rights at the end of his campaign in the ELECTION OF 1944. Although it remained rhetoric more than concrete policy prescriptions, the economic bill of rights indicated the direction that many liberals wanted GOVERNMENT policy to take after WORLD WAR II.

Roosevelt’s January 1944 declaration of the new bill of rights came as a surprise, because he made it two weeks after a much-heralded press conference in December 1943 in which he had suggested that “old Dr. New Deal” with his internal medicine had largely completed his job and was giving way to “Dr. Win-the-War.” Most listeners understood this to be a signal that the president would not pursue further liberal reform during the war. Yet at that same press conference Roosevelt also talked about a “new program” that would “result in more security, in more employment, in more recreation, in more education, in more health, in better housing for all of our citizens.”

In fact, Roosevelt had been hearing and thinking about such an economic bill of rights for some time. The idea had been discussed by the NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD (NRPB) as early as 1939 and communicated several times to the president. The NRPB’s important 1943 report, *Post-War Plan and Program*, included such goals as adequate and decent jobs, good wages, housing, health care, education, and other aspects of a good and secure life in what it called a “new bill of rights” as part of its far-reaching liberal postwar program.

But while Roosevelt and many liberals talked in such expansive terms, they had little chance of implementing the economic bill of rights. The NRPB reports fell on indifferent public ears and hostile congressional ones, and CONGRESS terminated the agency in 1943. Nor did Roosevelt’s January 1944 State of the Union message have much impact, and though FDR again advocated the economic bill of rights in his reelection campaign, the political context of the mid-1940s was not conducive to major new reform measures. Even the FULL EMPLOYMENT BILL of 1945, which addressed the widespread public concern about postwar jobs and called for FISCAL POLICY to ensure the right to a job for everyone willing and able to work, became the watered-down Employment Act of 1946. The

Economic Bill of Rights did, however, provide an agenda for LIBERALISM in the postwar era.

**Further reading:** John W. Jeffries, “The ‘New’ New Deal: FDR and American Liberalism, 1937–1945,” *Political Science Quarterly* 105 (Fall 1990): 397–418.

### economy

The period from 1929 to 1945 was one of the most eventful in the history of the American economy. Following the expansion of the 1920s, the nation’s economy at 1929 had achieved unprecedented levels of production and income as well as widespread expectations of continuing growth and prosperity. Then in late 1929, the GREAT DEPRESSION struck, sending the economy plummeting. By 1933, UNEMPLOYMENT had reached some 25 percent or more of the labor force. The NEW DEAL of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT helped bring some improvement, but the Depression lasted for a decade. As late as 1940, unemployment stood at nearly 15 percent. MOBILIZATION for WORLD WAR II then ended the depression, took production, income, and employment to record highs, and set the stage for two decades more of extraordinary economic growth and prosperity. The modern “mixed economy” of increasing GOVERNMENT regulation of BUSINESS and responsibility for economic security emerged in the era. (See the table “Selected Economic Data, 1929–1945” on page 103.)

After recovery from the 1921–22 recession, the economy had grown prodigiously in the 1920s. From 1922 to 1929, the gross national product rose by just over 40 percent, from \$74 billion to \$104.4 billion; national income increased by close to 40 percent, from \$63.1 to \$87.8 billion; and unemployment stabilized at about 4 percent by late in the decade. Home and road construction and the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY paced the economy, though such newer industries as electrical appliances contributed as well. It appeared to many as though the United States had developed a “new economy,” in which productivity and living standards would continue to rise because of modern technology and management practices.

Impressive as the economic performance of the 1920s was, however, there were underlying problems that became clearer later. The distribution of income was such that there was not enough money in the hands of workers and farmers to sustain the consumer spending necessary for continued growth. Such “sick industries” as coal and textiles experienced difficulties in the decade. AGRICULTURE faced overproduction and low prices, which bore especially heavily on small farmers. Construction and automobile production could not maintain their growth by the late 1920s because of saturated markets, and unsold inventories began to



mount in other industries. Newer industries, including electrical appliances, aviation, petrochemicals and plastics, and processed foods, had not developed enough to carry the economy. Questionable practices and a lack of coordination and regulation marked the BANKING system. By the end of the decade, uncontrolled speculation characterized the stock market. Conventional economic thought lacked the tools for adequate analysis of or prescription for such economic problems. In short, for all its strengths and successes in the 1920s, the American economy had important weaknesses.

The economy began to show signs of decline by mid-1929, and then fell sharply in the winter of 1929–30. The STOCK MARKET CRASH of October 1929 is often taken as the beginning of the Great Depression, but the crash was no more than a contributing factor to the economic collapse and the decade-long duration of the depression. Year by year from 1929 to 1933, the economy spiraled down and

unemployment grew worse, despite occasional rallies and plateaus. By 1933, the gross national product stood at just 54 percent of the 1929 high, and national income at only 46 percent. Industrial production was down by more than half, and manufacturing wages and farm income by about 60 percent. The New York Stock Exchange was at 17 percent of 1929 levels, foreign trade was off by 70 percent, and unemployment was at least one-fourth and perhaps as high as one-third of the labor force. The consumer price index had fallen by about 25 percent, for the depression was a profoundly deflationary event—but income had fallen even more, so there was no ability to increase spending and consumption and (with profits down catastrophically too) no incentive for new investment. Never had the nation's economy sunk so low.

The ELECTION OF 1932 brought President Franklin D. Roosevelt to the White House, and his New Deal programs aimed to produce economic recovery as well as RELIEF for

#### SELECTED ECONOMIC DATA, 1929–1945

Year	Gross National Product (Billions of Dollars)		National Income (Billions of Dollars)	Unemployment (% Civilian Labor Force)
	Current Prices	1929 Prices	Current Prices	
1929	104.4	104.4	87.8	3.2
1930	91.1	95.1	75.7	8.7
1931	76.3	89.5	59.7	15.9
1932	58.5	76.4	42.5	23.6
1933	56.0	74.2	40.2	24.9
1934	65.0	80.8	49.0	21.7
1935	72.5	91.4	57.1	20.1
1936	82.7	100.9	64.9	16.9
1937	90.8	109.1	73.6	14.3
1938	85.2	103.2	67.6	19.0
1939	91.1	111.0	72.8	17.2
1940	100.6	121.0	81.6	14.6
1941	125.8	138.7	104.7	9.9
1942	159.1	154.7	137.7	4.7
1943	192.5	170.2	170.3	1.9
1944	211.4	183.6	182.6	1.2
1945	213.6	180.9	181.2	1.9

Note: Under Gross National Product, “current dollars” means GNP as measured by the value of the dollar each year; “1929 dollars” means that the GNP for each year is given in the value of 1929 dollars. In looking at the columns, one can see that the decline in the GNP from 1929 to 1933 as measured in “current dollars” exaggerates the decline in the GNP because of the *deflation* of that period, which increased the value of the dollar. Conversely, the rise in GNP during World War II as measured in current dollars exaggerates the increase because of the *inflation* of that period, which decreased the value of the dollar.

Source: *The Statistical History of the United States, from Colonial Times to the Present* (Stamford, Conn.: Fairfield Publishers, 1965)

the unemployed and impoverished and reform to the nation's economic and social institutions. The major programs of the FIRST NEW DEAL, the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT and the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT, sought recovery for the agricultural and manufacturing sectors. While helping to arrest the decline and stabilizing the economy, they had small success at best in bringing expansion. New Deal relief programs, which contributed to unwanted budget deficits, had more impact on the economy, and expansionary monetary policies evidently played some role, too. And while New Deal reforms strengthened banking, the stock market, and other segments of the economy, New Deal regulation, TAXATION, and LABOR policy worried and angered business and worked against investments needed to stimulate the economy.

In any event, the economy did show improvement from 1933 to 1937. The gross national product grew by more than 60 percent, national income increased by over 80 percent, and unemployment fell from roughly 25 to 14 percent. By 1937, in fact, the GNP as measured in constant 1929 dollars had exceeded 1929 levels. But although those figures represent one of the most impressive peacetime expansions ever, they really reflect how far the economy had fallen by 1933, not the health of the economy in 1937. The economy remained far below full-employment, full-production prosperity.

Despite the continuing slack in the economy, Roosevelt was heartened by the gains and turned to more restrictive FISCAL POLICY and MONETARY POLICY in 1937, out of a desire to avoid budget deficits and a worry about inflation. The result was the fierce RECESSION OF 1937–1938 (sometimes called the “Roosevelt Recession”). From the late summer of 1937 to the spring of 1938, economic indexes fell faster than at the beginning of the depression, although not as far or for as long. By the spring of 1938, industrial production and payrolls were off by more than one-third, and unemployment rose to 19 percent for the year. The recession caused a searching reevaluation of economic policy within the administration, and in April 1938 Roosevelt increased spending and asked for a study of monopoly. Especially significant was the new importance by the late 1930s of KEYNESIANISM—which argued for government deficit spending to produce economic growth—among New Deal economists and policymakers.

The return to expansionary fiscal and monetary policy helped stimulate the economy. Between 1938 and 1940, GNP and national income both increased by about 20 percent and unemployment fell from 19 to 14.6 percent. But it was the economic mobilization and massive spending for World War II, not New Deal policies or spending, that at last took the American economy out of the Great Depression. The figures are remarkable: from 1940 to 1944 (the peak year of wartime prosperity), GNP more than

doubled, rising by 110 percent; national income increased by 124 percent; and unemployment shriveled from 14.6 to an amazing 1.2 percent. Even when corrected for wartime inflation, the gains in production, income, and living standards were extraordinary. Personal savings increased rapidly, too. World War II—and the huge federal budget deficits of some \$50 billion per year in each of three years—ended the depression and began a quarter century of unprecedented growth and prosperity.

But World War II did not just galvanize the economy; it also brought important change that laid foundations for the postwar era. Newer industries, such as aviation, electronics, and petrochemicals, took off. Winning the lion's share of war contracts, established or emerging giants in the STEEL INDUSTRY, the AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY, automobiles, and other industries expanded and modernized their plants and increased their economic (and political) power. Big agribusiness, boosted by new applications of mechanization, grew more important, too. Military needs and SCIENCE produced new breakthroughs in TECHNOLOGY—with atomic power, aerospace, synthetic RUBBER and other petrochemical products, pharmaceuticals, communications, and electronics especially prominent. New patterns of subsidizing research and development tied government, universities, and the military together, contributing to what President Dwight D. Eisenhower would later call the “military-industrial complex.” The GI BILL OF RIGHTS helped lay foundations for home construction, business enterprise, and EDUCATION that would spark the postwar economy. Wartime military and economic mobilization stimulated economic growth and change in SUNBELT areas of the SOUTH and the West Coast. Keynesian economic analysis, confirmed by wartime prosperity, became much more widely accepted, and, together with wartime changes in taxation, laid the basis for postwar economic policy.

Not everything changed during the war, of course, and much wartime change reinforced or accelerated change already under way. The distribution of income and wealth remained much the same, for example (as it had in the New Deal years as well), but the much higher incomes of the war years and beyond meant that most people enjoyed rising income and more spending power. The economy had long been trending toward concentrations of industrial and economic power, and new industries had begun to emerge in the interwar years. The striking wartime growth in California industry built on prewar developments, as did the larger role of the government in the economy. Nonetheless, the war had a large and lasting impact on the American economy—and set the stage for the remarkable expansion and prosperity that would characterize the next two decades.

Finally, the war also changed the nation's status in the global economy. By 1929, the United States had already

become the world's most important economic power. But by 1945, its global status was even more dominant. Not only had the war produced growth and prosperity in the United States, but it had also skewed and damaged—sometimes virtually destroyed—the economies of the other major industrial nations. In 1947, the United States produced almost half the world's manufactured goods, nearly 60 percent of the world's oil and steel, and some 80 percent of the world's automobiles. The United States also played a more important role in world economic policies, as reflected by the BRETTON WOODS CONFERENCE and the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank that stemmed from it. As Alan M. Milward has written, “by 1945 the foundations of the United States’ economic domination over the next quarter of a century had been secured”—and that “may have been the most influential consequence of the Second World War for the post-war world.”

**Further reading:** Michael Bernstein, *The Great Depression: Delayed Recovery and Economic Change in America, 1929–1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Lester Chandler, *America's Greatest Depression* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970); Peter Fearon, *War, Prosperity, and Depression: The U.S. Economy, 1917–1945* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1987); Alan S. Milward, *War, Economy and Society: 1939–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Harold G. Vatter, *The U.S. Economy in World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); *The Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present* (Stamford, Conn.: Fairfield Publishers, 1965).

## education

The American education system, like other aspects of society from 1929 to 1945, reflected the impact first of the GREAT DEPRESSION and then of WORLD WAR II. As it typically does, education in the era also reflected the nation's social structure and societal priorities. During the 1930s this meant a public education system based upon the individual-centered “progressive” pedagogy to train good citizens. With the coming of World War II, the progressive approach gave way to an emphasis on patriotism and to education aimed at preparing students for whatever roles their nation needed them to fill. By the end of the war, educational priorities changed to more functional, “life-adjustment” objectives, reflecting the new global state of affairs and the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy. For a variety of reasons, enrollments in schools and colleges generally increased during the 1930s, declined during the war, and then shot up in the postwar era.

Throughout the 20th century, the American education system broadened its reach, with public education growing

increasingly accessible and uniform. By 1929, education was becoming the province of professional teachers who were more concerned with the social value of knowledge than with the scholarly pursuit of it for its own sake. Professional associations and state and local governments had expanded their influence and authority over both content and methodology. For elementary school students, this meant an education in how to become a productive member of society. Still influenced by the progressive educator John Dewey, progressive pedagogy came to dominate educational thought by the early 1920s and reached its greatest level of influence in the 1930s.

Progressive education emphasized the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as social studies, which encompassed not only national history but also civics. This broadened emphasis on all the social sciences was a result of the progressive philosophy of educating the citizen and of the particular early-20th-century concern about “Americanizing” immigrant youth. In 1931, the state of Virginia created a new progressive curriculum that quickly became a model for 31 other states. This new curriculum was based on the specific progressive principles of protection and conservation of life, property, and natural resources; production, distribution, transportation, and consumption of goods and services; exploration; recreation; extension of freedom; and expression of aesthetic and religious impulses. Termed “social reconstructionism,” this approach also reflected the economic turmoil of the depression and the political liberalism of the NEW DEAL.

At the same time that they addressed their curricula, school systems found themselves struggling with budget cuts resulting from the onset of the depression. The shrinking tax base nationwide resulted in deep budgetary cuts across the board, so that by 1934 educational spending had fallen to only 34 percent of the previous decade. The lack of money, in turn, resulted in school closures, construction halts, teacher firings, and reduced salaries for those retained. The SOUTH, the nation's poorest region, was particularly hard hit, and an estimated 20,000 rural schools were forced to close their doors. Other districts managed to stay open only by shortening attendance periods, so much so that by 1934, 10 rural states were reduced to school years of less than three months. Average annual expenditures per pupil in public day schools dropped from \$87 in 1930 to \$67 in 1934 before slowly rebounding to \$88 in 1940 and to \$117 in 1944. As a result, some public schools began charging tuition to meet basic needs while others were forced to close their doors—with either solution depriving some American CHILDREN of ready access to education. On the other hand, the depressed job market helped keep many youth in school, and the percentage of young people aged 5 through 17 in public day schools rose from 81 percent in 1930 to 85 percent in 1940. (Counting

nonpublic schools, more than 90 percent of the 5- through 17-year-old population attended school in 1940.)

Lost in all these statistics was the especially unenviable fate of AFRICAN AMERICANS. Before the Great Depression, the average per-capita expenditure on black students in the South was only \$12, fully \$32 less than was spent on southern whites and \$75 less than the national average for all students. The economic downturn only exacerbated these conditions, and at one point the Urban League lamented that no fewer than 230 counties in 15 states lacked any high schools for resident blacks to attend.

During the war years, progressive pedagogy lost ground as emphasis shifted toward the encouragement of nationalism and support for the war effort. Those on the left fringe of progressive education who took aim at capitalism as a root cause of social ills found themselves targets of criticism from educational and noneducational groups alike. Patriotic organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution issued positions and statements on classroom content and textbook selection during World War II aimed at promoting nationalism and rooting out what they saw as subversive material. Such concerns resulted in changing goals even by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Educational Association. This body's 1944 report of top 10 objectives changed from the community-minded list set forth in its 1938 report to more conservative and national goals six years later. This conservative trend then gave way by the middle of the 1940s to a more functional approach to education emphasizing "life-

adjustment" in such areas as citizenship, home and family life, use of leisure, health, tools of learning, work experience, and occupational adjustments.

By the end of the 1930s, more than 7 million students were enrolled in secondary schools. Just between 1930 and 1934, the percentage of school-aged youth in secondary schools increased by more than 25 percent, a testimony to family, local, state, and national efforts to educate American youth in the face of the Great Depression as well as a product of the lack of employment opportunities for young people. The percentage of high school graduates among 17-year-olds increased from 29 percent in 1930 to 51 percent in 1942.

In a major departure from the early years of the century when the chief function of secondary schools was to serve as college preparatory institutions for a select few, high schools of the 1930s and 1940s focused on becoming comprehensive schools for all American youth. The typical curriculum, which had previously stressed preparation for college and white-collar jobs, was broadened considerably to include a wider array of vocational training. Perhaps even more than in the primary grades, emphasis shifted during the war from the individual and his or her role in society to war aims and service to society. By the end of this era, more students than ever were attending and graduating from high school, but a smaller percentage—about one-third—of high school graduates were attending college, reflecting the change in educational goals and the broadening student population in high schools.

College enrollments rose from 1.1 million to 1.5 million between 1930 and 1940 (after falling off for a few years early in the decade), and from 12.4 percent to 15.7 percent of the 18 to 21 age group. By 1944, college enrollments had fallen back almost to 1930 levels because of the demands of the armed forces and war MOBILIZATION. Similarly, the number of degrees conferred by institutions of higher education rose from 140,000 in 1930 to 217,000 in 1940, before declining to 142,000 in 1944. Where male graduates had typically far outnumbered women before the war and would do so again afterward, women earned a majority of degrees conferred in the mid-1940s. The college population did remain overwhelmingly upper and upper middle class, and the majority of courses taught therefore emphasized preparation for white-collar and professional occupations.

As part of the larger role of the federal GOVERNMENT during the presidency of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, federal programs provided assistance to education. The NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION, in addition to giving out-of-school youth part-time employment, also gave more than 2 million students financial assistance to stay in school from 1935 to 1943. The CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS provided unemployed youth conservation jobs in military-style camps that provided education as well as work skills. The



Rural school near Tipler, Wisconsin, May 1937 (*Library of Congress*)



New Deal also assisted two groups that the hard-pressed schools usually ignored. The government opened and operated 1,500 day care centers that provided 40,000 preschoolers their first brush with an educational environment, while millions attended free adult-education courses that covered everything from parenting to vocational training. Direct aid to colleges and universities also helped address the needs of higher education, and the BANKHEAD-JONES FARM TENANT ACT of 1935 added money to higher education institutions that were already receiving federal funds under the Morrill Act of 1890. On average, the Bankhead-Jones Act added some \$2 million dollars per year between 1937 and 1945 to the \$2.5 million annually received from Morrill for colleges of agriculture and mechanical arts. During World War II, the Student War Loans Program was established, and through the Interior Department's Office of Education the federal government subsidized courses in engineering, chemistry, physics, and production supervision, all essential to the war effort.

Even with federal aid to address financial concerns, institutions sometimes found it difficult to find or retain qualified faculty to teach those enrolled. Colleges also responded to the war effort by shortening holidays, eliminating summer breaks, and often housing officer training programs. While the majority of secondary school programs and many college programs stressed training to prepare youth for their part in the war effort, graduate school came to be viewed as having the role of promoting and preserving democracy in a world perceived to be increasingly threatened by totalitarian states.

As the end of the war neared, attention turned toward the returning soldiers who would flood the job market possibly leading to a resumption of depression-era problems. Education was once again the preferred solution, and the GI BILL OF RIGHTS included grants to help veterans afford a college education—and also slow their reentrance into the workforce. Furthermore, higher education allowed attendees to obtain better-paying jobs after graduation, which under normal circumstance might have otherwise proven beyond their means. In the postwar era, education once again would respond to the changing societal conditions in which it operated and to the needs of the students whom it educated.

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—Thomas Campbell

**Eisenhower, Dwight D.** See VOLUME IX.

## elderly

The GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II had a significant impact on the lives of people over the age of 65. As the nation entered the depression years, the elderly found themselves a particularly vulnerable age group economically. Campaigns to provide a national old-age pension, notably the one led by Dr. FRANCIS TOWNSEND, brought their plight to national attention, and the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT of 1935 addressed the economic insecurity of old age. MOBILIZATION for World War II finally ended the depression, and the need for war workers opened up job opportunities for the elderly. By the postwar period, the elderly constituted a growing proportion of the nation's population, had an expanding safety net, and formed an increasingly important political constituency.

The elderly as a group had been growing since the turn of the 20th century, as advances in MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH helped to increase life expectancy from 47 in 1900 to 60 in 1930. By 1930, those over age 65 were estimated at 6.5 million people, or about 5 percent of the United States's population. But the elderly were a vulnerable group, disproportionately likely to live in poverty. Most did not have access to private pensions (only an estimated 150,000 elderly lived on private pensions in the 1930s), and for those who planned to live on their savings, the BANKING crisis of the depression wiped out many accounts. State old-age assistance programs were in no better shape—by 1934, only about 180,000 elderly were receiving state elderly aid, with an average monthly payment of less than \$20. Families, which had been the traditional safety net for the elderly, found themselves increasingly unable to assist elderly parents and relatives as the UNEMPLOYMENT rate continued to rise. Compounding this was the fact that the elderly tended to be among those first fired, and their UNEMPLOYMENT rates were consistently higher than the national average.

The condition of the elderly became part of the national agenda during the NEW DEAL of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. As the depression continued, several grassroots movements of the elderly began gaining momentum. The largest was the Townsend Movement, begun by a California physician, Dr. Francis Townsend. Townsend's impracticable but popular program proposed a \$200 per month pension to every person over age 60, to be spent by the end of the month and financed by a national sales tax. Townsend clubs began springing up around the nation and by 1935 had almost 500,000 dues-paying members. Concurrently, the President's Committee on Economic Security, created in 1934, was working on its recommendations that included addressing old-age poverty, and became the Social Security Act of 1935.

In the long run, the most significant part of the Social Security Act was the Old-Age Insurance program (OAI,

changed to Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance in 1939), popularly known as Social Security. A federally administered retirement program, OAI was funded through employer and employee payroll taxes, with the amount of benefits tied to the worker's employment history. But benefits were not scheduled to begin until 1942 (changed to 1940), and the elderly needed immediate relief. Partly to address this gap, the Social Security Act also created a public assistance program, the Old-Age Assistance program (OAA), which absorbed the estimated 700,000 elderly receiving aid from the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION and provided financial assistance to the elderly not covered under OAI. At its peak, OAA supported over 2.7 million elderly persons in 1950, though by 1951 the number of OASI recipients exceeded those under OAA.

World War II showed that the elderly could be, and often wanted to be, productive members of the workforce. The war years saw a critical shortage of workers and the elderly helped to fill this need. The number of elderly receiving old-age assistance declined each year as they reentered the workforce, although DEMOBILIZATION put many back into retirement after 1945. The number of persons over 65 on OAA and OASI climbed once more, even as the elderly were becoming a larger proportion of the population (8 percent by 1950). A by-product was that the economic independence OAA and OASI provided the elderly meant that they were less dependent on their families and were increasingly less likely to live with their adult children or other relatives.

Through the efforts to provide them with economic security, the elderly also found their political voice by the postwar period. Social Security, as it was expanded over the decades to include most workers and benefits were also increased, became one of the "sacred cows" of American politics, and any perceived threat to the program could bring out large numbers of voters. The years 1929–45, then, ameliorated the economic plight of the elderly and helped create one of the strongest political lobbying groups in the United States.

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—Katherine Liapis Segrue

## election of 1932

Taking place in the depths of the GREAT DEPRESSION, the election of 1932 transferred power from the REPUBLICAN

PARTY to the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and sent FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to the White House.

Although they had been the nation's majority party since the 1890s and had dominated the politics of the 1920s, the Republicans faced dismal prospects in 1932. In 1930, the GOP had lost some 50 seats in the House and eight in the Senate and failed to control CONGRESS for the first time in more than a decade. As the depression worsened in 1931 and 1932, the popularity of President HERBERT C. HOOVER and the Republicans had plummeted as well, all the more after the BONUS ARMY episode in the summer of 1932. With little hope of victory, the dispirited Republican Party renominated Hoover and his running mate, Vice President Charles Curtis.

The Democrats nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt, the popular activist governor of New York, for president, and Texan JOHN NANCE GARNER, Speaker of the House of Representatives, for vice president. (Garner had enabled Roosevelt's nomination on the fourth ballot by releasing delegates pledged to him, Garner, thus avoiding a deadlocked convention.) Wanting to symbolize his desire for change, Roosevelt broke longstanding political precedent by appearing in person at the convention to accept his nomination. He said that Democrats should be "a party of liberal thought, of planned action," and declared that "I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a New Deal for the American people."

Neither at the convention nor during the campaign, however, did Roosevelt clearly say just what the NEW DEAL would be. He and the Democrats criticized Hoover both for doing and spending too much and for doing and spending too little, and were perhaps most forthright in pledging to end Prohibition. Nevertheless, a real difference did emerge between the sunny, confident Roosevelt, with his obvious readiness to use the federal GOVERNMENT to address the social and economic problems of the depression, and the dour, discredited Hoover, who warned that Roosevelt was a dangerous radical and stubbornly defended his own unpopular and unsuccessful policies.

Election day brought a landslide victory for the Democrats. In the greatest four-year reversal ever at the presidential level, Roosevelt won 57.4 percent of the popular vote and 472 votes in the electoral college. (In 1928, Hoover had won 58.2 percent of the popular vote and 444 votes in the electoral college.) The first Democrat in 56 years to win a majority of the popular vote for president, Roosevelt lost only six states (Delaware, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine). Roosevelt added Protestant middle-class, working-class, and farm voters to his party's traditional urban, ethnic, and white southern strength, though as compared to the full-blown Roosevelt Coalition in the ELECTION OF 1936, which culminated the transformation of POLITICS IN THE

ROOSEVELT ERA, Roosevelt's 1932 vote was based less on massive strength in urban, working-class, ethnic, and AFRICAN AMERICAN areas. Picking up another 90 seats in the House of Representatives and 13 in the Senate from 1930, Democrats also took overwhelming control of the Congress, with a margin of 310-117 in the House and 60-35 in the Senate.

The 1932 election was a decisive rejection of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY and the Republicans, who were identified with the Great Depression and with policies that seemed unresponsive to national and human needs. Despite UNEMPLOYMENT of at least one-fourth of the labor force, voters also rejected radical alternatives: the Socialist candidate, NORMAN THOMAS, won just 2.2 percent of the vote, and the COMMUNISTS garnered a scant three-tenths of 1 percent. Although more a rejection of Hoover and the GOP than an affirmation of Roosevelt and the Democrats, the election was a call for change that gave Roosevelt and his party the chance to deal effectively with the depression and earn reelection in their own right. Only after 1932 did it become clear that Roosevelt's presidency would bring the transformation of American government and the realignment of American politics.

**Further reading:** Frank Freidel, "The Election of 1932," in *History of American Presidential Elections, 1789-1968*, Vol. 3, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (New York: Chelsea House, 1971), pp. 2,707-2,806.

## election of 1936

In the election of 1936, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT was reelected to his second term as president in one of the largest landslide victories in American political history. The election served to ratify Roosevelt's NEW DEAL, and it culminated the realignment of American politics that made the DEMOCRATIC PARTY the new majority party. It was therefore not only the most significant election of the POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA, but also one of the most important in American political history.

To run against Roosevelt and Vice President JOHN NANCE GARNER, the Republicans nominated ALFRED M. LANDON, the governor of Kansas, for president and FRANK KNOX, a Chicago newspaper publisher, for vice president. Landon won the GOP nomination partly because of his apparent electoral appeal (in elections in which Republicans had few successes, he defeated an incumbent Democrat in 1932 and then won reelection in 1934), partly because he seemed able to bridge the differences between the conservative and progressive wings of the REPUBLICAN PARTY. A significant new third party also appeared in the 1936 election, the UNION PARTY, which had been created by FATHER CHARLES E. COUGHLIN and which nominated

Congressman William "Liberty Bill" Lemke of North Dakota for president.

Neither Landon nor Lemke proved able to wage an effective campaign against Roosevelt and the New Deal. By autumn, the Union party had fallen into disarray, with Coughlin making increasingly intemperate attacks on the president, and Lemke having little impact. Landon tried to provide a moderate alternative to the New Deal, pledging support for AGRICULTURE, LABOR, and the ELDERLY, while saying that he would provide more careful management of GOVERNMENT programs and budgets than did FDR. But he generated neither excitement nor much support and proved unable to distance himself from anti-New Deal conservatives in the party. He became increasingly critical of the New Deal as the campaign wore on and called the popular SOCIAL SECURITY ACT a "cruel hoax."

For his part, Roosevelt tried to rally working-class and middle-class voters behind the New Deal and against what he called "economic royalists" opposing it. Such rhetoric reached its height on October 31, when he said that the forces of "organized money" are "unanimous in their hate for me—and I welcome their hatred." He continued that he hoped it would be said that "the forces of selfishness and of lust for power met their match" in his first term—and that they "met their master" in his second. Yet despite such words (demagoguery, his critics said), Roosevelt offered little in the way of new programs and campaigned especially on the nonideological slogan of "Four Years Ago and Now." Asking voters to look at the increase in jobs, production, national income, and economic security between 1932 and 1936, he wanted the election to be a referendum on his presidency and its programs to deal with the GREAT DEPRESSION.

The voters returned a smashing verdict for Roosevelt and the New Deal. The president won 27,752,869 votes, 60.8 percent of the total, as against Landon's 16,674,665 and 36.5 percent. (Lemke carried but 1.9 percent; Socialist NORMAN THOMAS not even half of 1 percent.) As Democratic national chairman JAMES FARLEY had predicted, Roosevelt lost only Maine and Vermont in winning 523 electoral votes to Landon's eight. And Democrats swept to top-heavy control of the CONGRESS, picking up another dozen seats in the House and seven in the Senate. When the 75th Congress met early in 1937, Democrats would control the House by a nearly 4 to 1 margin (331-89) over the Republicans, and the Senate by nearly 5 to 1 (76-16).

Democrats won such a stunning victory because the Roosevelt Coalition, formed in the political realignment of the 1930s, reached its apex in 1936. To the traditionally Democratic "Solid South," Roosevelt added massive support among working-class and lower-middle-class voters and among ethnic CATHOLICS and JEWS, especially in the big CITIES of the industrial North. Roosevelt won

nearly four out of five lower-income voters, three out of five middle-income voters, and even an impressive two out of every five upper-income voters. AFRICAN AMERICANS shifted from the party of Lincoln to the party of Roosevelt in 1936. Roosevelt also won some 80 percent of the union vote, and LABOR contributed to Democratic coffers in unprecedented amounts.

Yet the meaning of the 1936 election was complicated. Democrats had become the majority party, and the voters had resoundingly approved the New Deal. But as the remainder of FDR's presidency would show, CONSERVATISM remained a powerful force because of the entrenched power of small-government, antistatist, and individualist attitudes and values, and the Republican Party would rally from the rout of 1936. The election of 1936 thus proved to be more an endorsement of FDR himself and of the specific programs of the New Deal than an ideological conversion to LIBERALISM or a mandate to extend the New Deal.

**Further reading:** William E. Leuchtenburg, "The Election of 1936," in *History of American Presidential Elections, 1789–1968*, Vol. 3, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (New York: Chelsea House, 1971), pp. 2,809–2,904.

## election of 1940

The early stages of WORLD WAR II in Europe gave the presidential election of 1940 a much different context from that of the earlier POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA, when the domestic issues of the GREAT DEPRESSION and the NEW DEAL had dominated presidential politics. Yet despite the impact of the war on national life and politics, and the new salience of defense and FOREIGN POLICY, party images and voting patterns proved strikingly consistent with those of the 1930s. In November, the American people elected FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to an unprecedented third term.

Perhaps the greatest impact of the war on the politics of 1940 came in shaping the presidential nominations. The early front-runners for the Republican nomination were Ohio's conservative senator ROBERT A. TAFT and New York district attorney Thomas E. Dewey. But the war made Taft seem too isolationist to be president, and Dewey too young. WENDELL L. WILLKIE, a utilities magnate who had made a name for himself in the late 1930s as an engaging, articulate critic of New Deal regulatory policy (although he endorsed much New Deal social reform) came from far behind, backed by influential eastern internationalists, to win the Republican nomination on the sixth ballot. Charles McNary of Oregon, the minority leader in the Senate, was nominated for vice president.

On the Democratic side, Roosevelt's intentions were unclear down to 1940, and PUBLIC OPINION POLLS sug-

gested that a majority of voters opposed a third term. The Nazi BLITZKRIEG that overran western Europe in the spring of 1940 then helped to reverse public opinion on the third-term issue and led Roosevelt to seek reelection in order to ensure an active, pro-Allied foreign policy. After renominating Roosevelt, the Democratic convention reluctantly acquiesced in FDR's choice for vice president, Secretary of Agriculture HENRY A. WALLACE.

The war also affected the presidential campaign. At first, Willkie supported Roosevelt's defense and foreign policy; but as the campaign wore on, with Roosevelt clearly ahead, Willkie became more and more critical of Roosevelt. He claimed that FDR intended to take the nation to war and warned that a third term would lead the country to dictatorship. Worried that Willkie might make inroads into isolationist voters and ethnic groups opposed to his pro-Allied policy, Roosevelt near the end of the campaign issued his famous pledge: "I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." Yet even though questions of national defense and foreign policy affected American politics more in 1940 than in a generation, domestic issues and party images from the 1930s were central to the campaign. Again in 1940, Roosevelt ran especially as the candidate of reform and economic security—and also of recovery as well, as defense spending produced economic growth and more jobs. Again he portrayed the Republicans as the party of the rich and of hard times.

Roosevelt won another decisive victory, with 54.8 percent of the popular vote as against Willkie's 44.8 percent, and 449 of the 531 votes in the electoral college. Democrats also retained clear control of the CONGRESS, with margins of 268-162 in the House and 66-28 in the Senate. But where Roosevelt had carried 60.8 percent of the vote in 1936, winning by 27.8 million to 16.7 million votes, his margin of victory in 1940 fell from 11 million to five million votes (27.3 million to 22.3 million), and he lost 10 states (much of the isolationist Midwest as well as Maine and Vermont). Despite their commanding control of Congress, moreover, Democrats regained little of the ground lost in the House of Representatives in the 1938 election, when Republicans had picked up some 70 seats. And the Democrats lost three more seats in the Senate after dropping seven in 1938.

To some extent, the reduced Democratic totals reflected defections among well-off and more conservative voters, but losses came also from ISOLATIONISTS and from ethnic groups (especially IRISH AMERICANS, ITALIAN AMERICANS, and GERMAN AMERICANS) concerned about FDR's pro-Allied and anti-AXIS bent. Roosevelt retained or increased his support among internationalists and such pro-Allied ethnic groups as JEWS and POLISH AMERICANS, while many voters simply found his experience reassuring.



But continuity in voting patterns was more important than change, and the continued Democratic dominance was more important than the erosion of Democratic strength. Most voters cast their ballots as they had in the ELECTION OF 1936, and polls showed that voting decisions turned more on Roosevelt's domestic record and image than on foreign policy. The principal sources of Democratic strength—the SOUTH, CITIES, and ethnic, black, and working-class voters—remained the same. The new majority Roosevelt Coalition, forged in the 1930s, had clearly withstood its first challenge, despite the new circumstances and concerns of 1940.

**Further reading:** Robert E. Burke, “The Election of 1940,” in *History of American Presidential Elections, 1789–1968*, Vol. 3, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (New York: Chelsea House, 1971), pp. 2,917–3,006.

### election of 1944

In 1944, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT was elected to his fourth term as president, and there was less change in voting patterns between 1940 and 1944 than between any other pair of elections of the 1930s and 1940s. Yet despite the stability in the presidential vote, the 1944 election was a significant one. Not only did it show the continuing strength of the Democratic majority forged by POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA, but it illuminated national attitudes and priorities that would be important to early postwar politics and policy.

The most important choices that each party had to make in 1944 had both short-term and long-term significance. For Democrats, the decision involved who would run for vice president with Roosevelt. The incumbent was HENRY A. WALLACE, but he was far too liberal, on both domestic and FOREIGN POLICY issues, for most party leaders, and Roosevelt did little to support him. The nomination went to Missouri senator Harry S. Truman, who seemed a good political fit: he was a loyal but moderate New Dealer; he got on well with organization leaders; and he was from a border state at a time when the DEMOCRATIC PARTY was showing increasing strains between the its northern and southern wings.

For the REPUBLICAN PARTY, the issue was the presidential nomination. The initial front-runner was 1940 nominee WENDELL L. WILLKIE, but by 1944 Willkie was far more liberal than his party, especially on CIVIL RIGHTS, social reform, and foreign policy. The nomination went instead to the young governor of New York, Thomas E. Dewey, a moderate on both foreign and domestic policy. For vice president, the Republicans selected conservative Ohio governor John Bricker. Both parties thus rejected the more liberal candidates, and in Truman and Dewey chose

men well within the consensus of their parties, and the nation, on foreign and domestic policy—and who, as things turned out, would be the presidential nominees in 1948.

Once more, the presidential campaign centered on Roosevelt. Although FDR advocated a far-reaching ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS in 1944, he ran essentially as the candidate of prosperity and peace—issues that PUBLIC OPINION POLLS showed to be central to public concerns as the war neared its end. Despite assurances on both issues, neither Dewey nor the GOP could convince voters that they could better ensure jobs and peace than the experienced Roosevelt. Republican charges that Roosevelt was too old and infirm to serve as president had little impact upon the voters, even though Roosevelt was in fact suffering from serious heart disease by late 1944. Nor did GOP claims that COMMUNISTS had infiltrated the Democratic Party have much resonance in 1944, although they anticipated an important postwar issue.

Roosevelt won reelection by nearly the same margin and with essentially the same sources of support as in 1940. He won the popular vote with 25,606,585 votes and 53.5 percent to Dewey's 22,014,745 and 46 percent, and he carried 36 of the 48 states and 432 of the 531 votes in the electoral college. Again, working-class, lower-middle-class, ethnic, and black voters in metropolitan areas provided the heaviest Democratic vote, while the SOUTH remained solidly Democratic one last time. Organized LABOR played a major role in the campaign and election. Democrats also regained some of the ground lost in the House of Representatives in the election of 1942 in winning control of CONGRESS by 242-190 in the House and 56-38 in the Senate. To an important extent, the election of 1944, like wartime politics and policymaking more generally, showed that both the NEW DEAL and the Roosevelt Coalition had endured the new circumstances of the war years and would continue to be central to American politics and policies in the postwar era. But the politics of 1944 also revealed a continuing ebbing of the reformist impulse and of the top-heavy Democratic strength of the mid-1930s, trends that would be apparent as well in postwar politics.

**Further reading:** Leon Friedman, “The Election of 1944,” in *History of American Presidential Elections, 1789–1968*, Vol. 4, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (New York: Chelsea House, 1971), pp. 3,009–3,096.

### Ellington, Duke (Edward Kennedy) (1899–1974) bandleader, composer

Duke Ellington, pianist, bandleader, and composer, was one of the most influential figures in 20th-century American MUSIC. Although he disliked the term “JAZZ” applied to his work, preferring the term “Negro folk music,” Ellington



Duke Ellington directing his band from the piano at the Hurricane Club, New York City (Library of Congress)

had a major impact on the development of jazz as an art form in the United States by combining elements of African-American musical forms with Euro-American styles. His body of work includes such immediately recognizable titles as “Mood Indigo,” “Sophisticated Lady,” and “It Don’t Mean a Thing (If It Ain’t Got That Swing),” all written in the early 1930s. But he also wrote longer, concerto-like, pieces such as *Black, Brown and Beige* (1943) that marked the range and sophistication of his musicianship. More than a thousand compositions carry his copyright, three-fourths of them written by him alone.

Edward Kennedy Ellington was born in 1899 in Washington, D.C. Middle-class AFRICAN AMERICANS, his parents stressed to their children that they should be “representatives of a great and proud race.” The manners and bearing that developed from this idea inspired a friend to give young Edward the nickname “Duke,” a name that endured for the rest of his life. His music, like his demeanor, was characterized by a sophistication and elegance that led some to call him “Duke Elegant.”

Basic piano lessons during elementary school were Ellington’s only formal musical training. Later, he experimented independently and began to write original compo-

sitions. While a teenager, he decided to make music his career. Ellington’s primary concern throughout most of his life was his music, which often overshadowed his personal life. This is implied by the title of his autobiography, *Music Is My Mistress*, and by the early end to his 1918 marriage. By 1923, Ellington’s first band, the Washingtonians, had landed a job in New York. They spent over four years with the Hollywood (later Kentucky) Club. A subsequent five years at the famous Cotton Club in Harlem included regular RADIO broadcasts and along with recordings and tours brought Ellington national and international prominence and helped Ellington and his band endure the hard times of the early years of the GREAT DEPRESSION.

In the mid- to late 1930s, the big swing bands partly eclipsed Ellington, who refused to compromise his more complex and artistic music despite the popularity of commercial big band swing music. Yet Ellington remained popular and influential, partly with small-group performances but also with his own orchestra, enriched by new compositions and arrangements by Billy Strayhorn, including “Take the A Train” (1941), which became Ellington’s signature song. Like Ellington, Strayhorn preferred to focus on more artistic, less commercial music, but Ellington’s bands continued to perform and record popular songs as well as extended compositions and concert suites. Some critics consider Ellington’s late-1930s and early-1940s output perhaps the peak of his career and creativity and one of the extraordinary pinnacles not just of jazz but of American music. In 1943, Ellington gave his first of nine performances at Carnegie Hall.

The decline of the big bands, changing musical tastes, and new directions in jazz in the postwar era diminished Ellington’s public popularity, but after his band’s exciting performance at the 1956 Newport Jazz Festival, Ellington and his music reclaimed some of their earlier prominence. Certainly Ellington’s own reputation as a giant of American music soared, and he received many honors in later life, including honorary degrees from Yale and Columbia Universities, the President’s Gold Medal from Lyndon Johnson, and the Medal of Freedom from Richard Nixon.

**Further reading:** John Edward Hasse, *Beyond Category: The Life and Genius of Duke Ellington* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993).

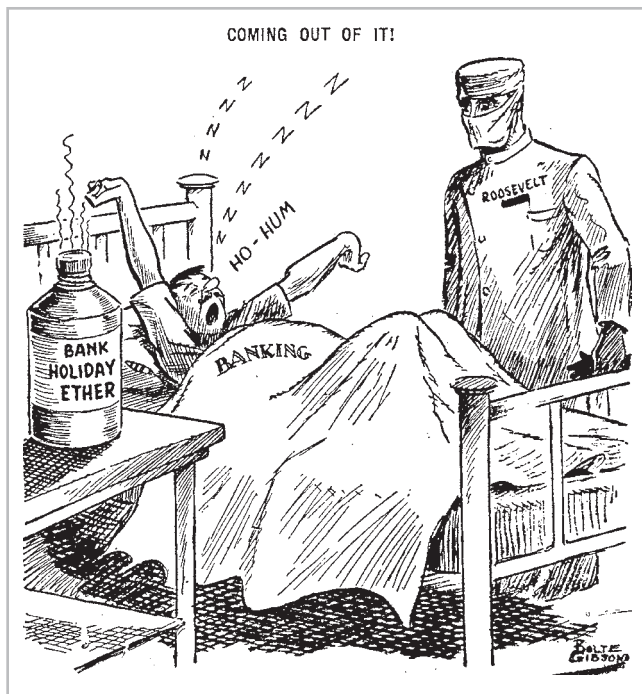
—Joanna Smith

### Emergency Banking Act of 1933

The Emergency Banking Act of 1933 was the first piece of NEW DEAL legislation enacted to strengthen the nation’s banking system. When FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT took office on March 4, 1933, more than 5,000 banks had failed

since the beginning of the GREAT DEPRESSION, and BANKING operations had been suspended by most states to prevent panicked depositors from making withdrawal demands that would shut down still more banks. The banking system was paralyzed—and it faced collapse.

During the “interregnum” between Roosevelt’s election and his inauguration, CONGRESS and the Hoover administration had unsuccessfully sought remedies for the banking system. Toward the end of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY, Hoover contemplated an executive order declaring a national banking “holiday” to close the banks to protect them from runs, but refrained from such action without Roosevelt’s support. Roosevelt refused to give such an endorsement, maintaining that he had no authority (and clearly wanting no responsibility) until he became president. Hoover’s and Roosevelt’s advisers nonetheless worked together toward finding a solution. On March 5, the day after his inauguration, Roosevelt authorized two proclamations: the first called Congress into a special session on March 9; and the second, drawing on documents earlier prepared for Hoover, suspended transactions in gold and declared a national banking holiday from March 6 to March 9. Later, Roosevelt extended the banking holiday until March 13.



The “banking holiday” extended the influence of the federal government on the U.S. economy. This cartoon expresses the hope that American banks would come out of the holiday refreshed and revitalized. Cartoon by Bolte Gibson (*Library of Congress*)

On March 9, following round-the-clock meetings at the Treasury Department, FDR submitted to Congress the Emergency Banking Bill, drafted in substantial part by Hoover administration officials. Because printed copies of the bill were not immediately available, the bill’s provisions were read to the House of Representatives, which passed the bill by unanimous voice vote. The Senate overwhelmingly approved the bill a few hours later, and that evening, just eight hours after the bill was introduced, Roosevelt signed the Emergency Banking Act into law.

The Emergency Banking Act permitted the RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION to purchase preferred stock of banks that were in trouble but basically sound in order to put needed money in their hands, authorized issuing new currency, and took the nation off the GOLD STANDARD. It also provided for the reopening of banks that were deemed financially stable by federal examiners and for the reorganization of others. On the evening of Sunday, March 12, in the first of his FIRESIDE CHATS, Roosevelt told the nation that it was safe to return money to banks. On March 13, eight days after FDR’s inauguration, deposits exceeded withdrawals in the first reopened banks. The banking system had survived the crisis.

In one sense, the Emergency Banking Act was profoundly conservative, for it did not nationalize the banks or implement far-reaching new GOVERNMENT power over the banking system. Rather, it enabled the government to shore up the existing system. Subsequent legislation would bring real reform. But the act was, together with Roosevelt’s public reassurances, remarkably effective in meeting the emergency of early March 1933. Understandably, although with exaggeration, RAYMOND MOLEY, a member of the president’s famous BRAIN TRUST, would say later that “Capitalism was saved in eight days.”

See also BANKING ACT OF 1933; BANKING ACT OF 1935.

**Further reading:** Helen M. Burns, *The American Banking Community and New Deal Banking Reforms, 1933–1935* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1974); Susan Estabrook, *The Banking Crisis of 1933* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1973).

### Emergency Relief Appropriation Act (1935)

Called the “Big Bill” by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT when he proposed it early in 1935, the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act was signed into law on April 8, 1935. It funded nearly \$5 billion for work RELIEF and public works programs—to that point, the largest single appropriation in American history—and marked new directions for NEW DEAL relief efforts.



The legislation resulted from the continuing ravages of the GREAT DEPRESSION, with UNEMPLOYMENT still at roughly one-fifth of the work force early in 1935, and from growing political pressure for more vigorous federal GOVERNMENT programs to assist jobless and impoverished Americans. The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act involved a restructuring as well as an expansion of New Deal programs and reflected Roosevelt's insistence that the federal government stop giving direct relief payments to the unemployed. "To dole out relief in this way," he said, "is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit."

The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act thus entailed work-relief projects that would put people to work on projects that would give them a sense of accomplishment and self-respect and add to the nation's infrastructure. Projects were to be labor-intensive, contribute to building useful projects that would if possible (like toll bridges) ultimately help pay for themselves, and pay a "security wage" higher than direct relief payments but lower than prevailing wages in private employment. The federal government would provide work-relief to employable workers then on relief rolls (then about 3.5 million—of some 10 million unemployed), but would return to the states responsibility for the roughly 1.5 million unemployable (aged, handicapped, and infirm) relief recipients. (The SOCIAL SECURITY ACT passed later in 1935 would provide some matching federal-state assistance for unemployables in addition to its programs for old-age retirement and unemployment compensation.)

Under the leadership of HARRY HOPKINS, the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act provided some additional funds to such existing programs as the CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS and the PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION and supported a number of major new programs, including the RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION and the RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION. By far the largest and most important of the new work-relief programs was the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (and its important subprograms, including the NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION before it became independent in 1939), which ultimately employed some 5 million workers in an innovative variety of jobs and projects. Funding those new programs marked a victory for Hopkins and others wanting quickly implemented, labor-intensive work relief over HAROLD ICKES and those advocating instead large-scale, long-term, capital-intensive public works programs that would employ fewer workers.

**Further reading:** Searle F. Charles, *Minister of Relief: Harry Hopkins and the Depression* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1963); Donald S. Howard, *The WPA and Federal Relief Policy* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1943).

## enemy aliens

After the United States entered WORLD WAR II in December 1941, unnaturalized immigrants from AXIS nations were officially classified as enemy aliens by the U.S. government. Concerns about ITALIAN AMERICANS, GERMAN AMERICANS, and JAPANESE AMERICANS had been rising since at least 1940, as the nation became increasingly anti-Axis in its sympathies. In this atmosphere, the loyalty of aliens came under scrutiny, and efforts to designate these groups as enemy aliens began in 1940 and 1941. In the case of the Italian Americans and Japanese Americans, suspicions stemmed also from ethnic and racial antipathies unrelated to the war. As the war progressed, what had begun as a suspicion of all enemy aliens shifted to focus almost exclusively on Japanese Americans.

By 1940, the number of unnaturalized persons living in the United States was approximately 3 percent of the U.S. population. There were 599,000 unnaturalized Italian immigrants (more than one-third of the total 1.6 million Italian American immigrants in the country). Among German Americans, there were 264,000 aliens. Of the 127,000 Japanese Americans in the United States, most (80,000) were American-born, while 47,000 were aliens and prohibited by law from obtaining U.S. citizenship. Although relatively few in number, aliens living in the United States increasingly came under surveillance during 1940, particularly as some GOVERNMENT officials feared the possibility of "fifth column" immigrants with loyalties to their home nation who might be engaged in ESPIONAGE or sabotage activities for the Axis nations.

The first official act to single out these groups came when President Roosevelt authorized the attorney general to use wiretaps to monitor aliens suspected of subversion in May 1940. Next came the SMITH ACT, passed by CONGRESS in June 1940 and intended to prevent espionage and acts of sabotage by agents of Axis nations in the United States. The Smith Act required that aliens from Germany, Italy, and Japan register with the federal government annually at their local post office, keep the government informed of any change of address, provide fingerprints, and report any organizational affiliations. In addition, any alien who had been part of a communist or fascist group could be deported.

Public opinion supported this restrictive policy, for many Americans had suspicions about the loyalties of Italians, Germans, and Japanese living in the United States. This could be seen in the job discrimination against these groups in 1940 and 1941, and some defense industry employers reported that they did not hire workers who were from these ethnic groups, whether alien or American-born. Chiefly in response to pressure from the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT to open up defense jobs to AFRICAN AMERICANS, Roosevelt issued EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802 in



June 1941, prohibiting ethnic as well as racial discrimination in employment by industries contracting with the federal government. This government action increased the hiring of German Americans and Italian Americans and also helped to ease suspicions of their loyalties.

After the attack on PEARL HARBOR on December 7, 1941, unnaturalized German, Japanese, and Italian immigrants were officially categorized as enemy aliens. In addition to the restrictions already imposed, this status restricted their movements from areas designated “sensitive military areas” and their ability to possess items that could be used for sabotage, such as short-wave radios; it required enemy aliens to have special identification; and it subjected them to possible detention and/or deportation. Policymakers then began discussing detaining all German, Italian, and Japanese aliens in the United States. In the months following Pearl Harbor, some enemy aliens already under surveillance were detained—about 8,000 Germans, 2,300 Japanese, and several hundred Italians.

As 1942 wore on, fear of espionage by German and Italian aliens receded, and the idea of relocating all Germans and Italians was discarded. Reflecting the larger numbers and greater assimilation of these groups, German Americans especially, this was partly a political decision. In particular, Italian Americans were a major component of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY coalition but had defected from the party in significant numbers in the ELECTION OF 1940. On Columbus Day, 1942, just before the November elections, Roosevelt removed Italians from the enemy alien classification.

On the other hand, the movement to detain and relocate Japanese Americans gained momentum. Pushed by West Coast politicians and the military, FDR issued EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066 on February 19, 1942, which authorized the RELOCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS, moving approximately 110,000 from the West Coast to camps farther inland. Though there is no evidence that Japanese Americans took part in any espionage or sabotage, Japanese Americans thus bore the brunt of enemy alien policy, reflecting their lack of political power and assimilation as well as the racism of the time.

**Further reading:** John W. Jeffries, *Wartime America: The World War II Home Front* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996); Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941–1945* (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1972).

—Katherine Liapis Segrue

## environmental issues

By the early 20th century, a growing number of Americans had become concerned about the rapid consumption, and possible depletion, of the nation’s natural resources, and

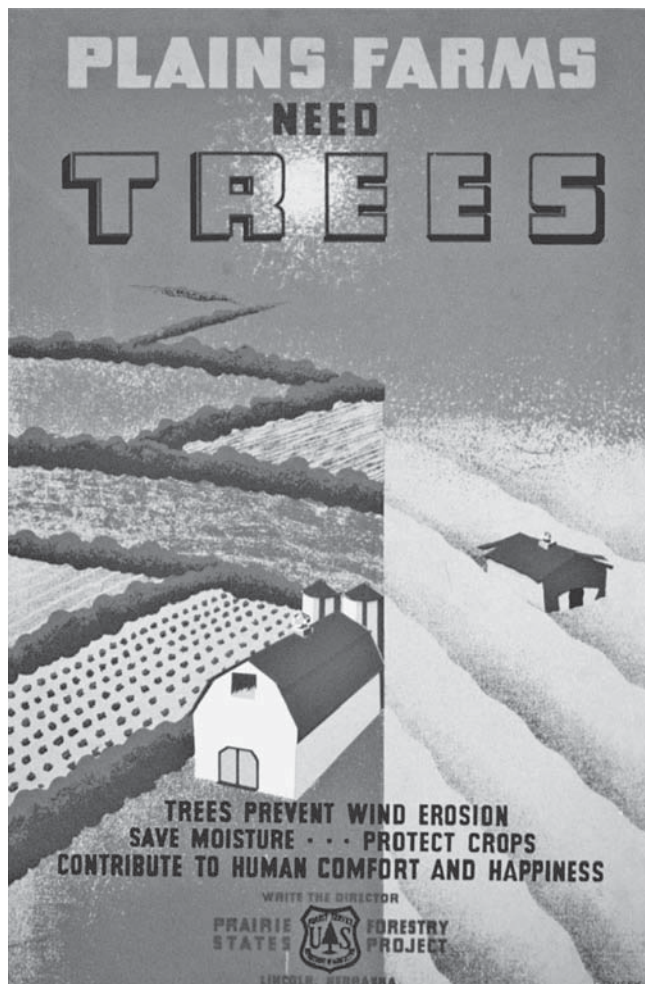
the Progressive Era included efforts to address such problems. After ebbing in the 1920s, GOVERNMENT involvement in environmental issues increased during the 1930s as part of the agendas of presidents HERBERT C. HOOVER and FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Hoover had sought with some success to promote conservation and resource management in the 1920s during his tenure as secretary of commerce in the cabinets of Warren Harding and Calvin Coolidge. He had advocated legislation that regulated aspects of the fishing industry, for example, and approved construction of Boulder Dam. As president, Hoover continued to work for environmental protection by such efforts as supporting the development of flood control measures and encouraging oil conservation.

Like Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt had a long-standing interest in environmental issues. As governor of New York, he campaigned for responsible forestry and sponsored a number of reforestation initiatives. Forest preservation remained an integral part of Roosevelt’s conservation program during his presidency. More forestland—more than 11 million acres—was added to the government’s holdings by FDR’s administration than had been added under any previous administration. Roosevelt’s secretary of the interior, HAROLD ICKES, worked to establish a number of new national parks, including Shenandoah National Park in Virginia and Olympic National Park in Washington State. Roosevelt and Ickes also supported various state reforestation plans.

Although forest management continued to be important to conservationists, natural disaster helped bring another environmental issue to the forefront during the 1930s. In the southwestern plains, prolonged drought coupled with soil-depleting farming techniques left the land barren and exposed. The resultant environmental damage in the DUST BOWL heightened awareness of soil erosion and the need for soil conservation. In 1933, FDR established the Soil Erosion Service as an emergency measure. Soil conservation efforts were expanded when the Soil Conservation Service (SCS), a permanent agency housed under the Department of Agriculture, was created in 1935. These agencies oversaw a number of conservation initiatives, including scientific research, flood control, reforestation, grazing and pasture regulations, and farmer education and cooperation programs.

Some environmental projects undertaken by the government during this period were designed to control the environment rather than protect it, and to allow expansion into previously inhospitable areas. The Reclamation Service became the Bureau of Reclamation in 1933 and experienced enormous growth in the 1930s. Through the building of massive dams, the bureau provided vast areas of the American West with water for irrigation and



Poster, by Joseph Dusek (1940), advocating planting trees as a method of soil conservation (*Library of Congress*)

hydroelectric power for industrial development. The dams were also designed to control flooding and soil erosion. Even more ambitious were the goals of the TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY (TVA), an agency formed to spearhead the revitalization of the Tennessee Valley, one of the country's most depressed areas. TVA planners hoped to combine reclamation and conservation projects with education and social programs in order to stimulate economic growth.

To accomplish his environmental goals, Roosevelt also incorporated conservation work into initiatives designed primarily to alleviate the nation's economic woes. One of the most popular NEW DEAL programs, the CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS (CCC), established in 1933, furnished much of the labor for FDR's forest and soil conservation programs. CCC enrollees planted over a billion trees, fought forest fires, and built roads,

campgrounds, and recreation facilities in the national parks. They worked on flood control projects for the Army Corps of Engineers and carried out agricultural demonstrations for the SCS. They also worked on a number of reclamation projects carried out by the Bureau of Reclamation and assisted in improving wildlife habitats and grazing lands. Another program, the PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION, also provided laborers for a number of conservation projects.

The environmentalism of Hoover and Roosevelt, like that of their predecessors, was based largely on a belief in the importance of wise usage of the nation's resources and a persuasion that the fundamental purpose of conservation was to ensure the availability of natural resources for future use and development. But government efforts in the 1930s also led to increased national consciousness about environmental issues. Private organizations such as the Sierra Club, Friends of the Land, and the National Wildlife Federation grew in size and number, helping build the foundation for a more preservationist environmentalism in the decades to follow.

Ironically, some of the very projects hailed as breakthroughs in environmental management in the 1930s and 1940s subsequently provoked criticism from environmentalists for being sources of ecological damage. Dam building, for instance, has frequently been blamed for a myriad of environmental problems in the American Southwest, including loss of wildlife habitat and increased salinity of the water supply. Similarly, some characterize the soil conservation programs of the era as misguided and overly expensive efforts to sustain commercial AGRICULTURE in areas essentially unfit for farming. And some developments of the war years, such as the increasing use of chemical pesticides, the harnessing of atomic power, and the expansion of SUBURBS, also presented significant environmental problems that would become issues in the postwar era.

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—Pamela J. Lauer

## espionage

Espionage is the systematic clandestine collection of information on other nations. Traditionally human agents (spies) collected such information; but since WORLD WAR II, technical methods, although less romantic, exciting, and glamorous, have produced far more reliable and timely INTELLIGENCE.

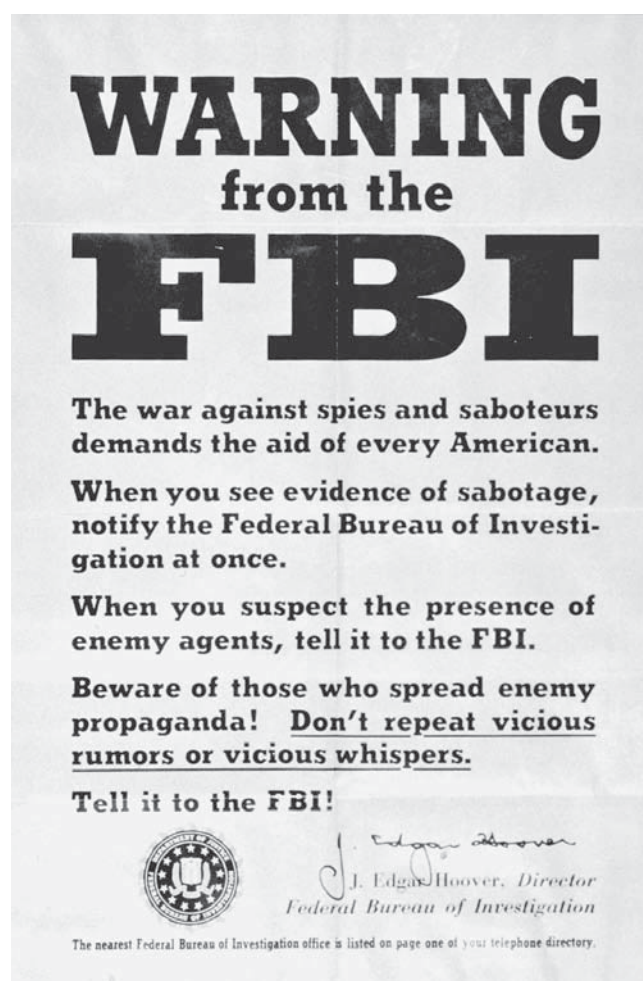
Before and during World War II, the intelligence services of the AXIS nations, especially those of Nazi Germany, were reputed to have legions of spies and saboteurs operating in the United States and South America organized into a centrally directed "fifth column," capable of damaging not only war industries but also national unity. In the United States, the task of countering this reputedly well-entrenched clandestine force was the job of the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, which expanded from fewer than 400 agents in 1933 to nearly 5,000 agents by 1944. The process began in 1936 when President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, concerned about a coming war in Europe, requested that the FBI begin covert operations relative to potential foreign subversives, communist and fascist alike. However, he insisted that any action taken be done discreetly and within prescribed legal parameters.

On September 4, 1939, three days after Germany invaded Poland, Roosevelt escalated his policy and tasked the FBI with investigating espionage, sabotage, and violations of American neutrality regulations. The urgency of the situation also compelled the president to form a national intelligence committee, comprising leaders from the FBI, army intelligence, and naval intelligence, which was an unprecedented step in terms of national anti-espionage activity. Moreover, by 1940 the attorney general had also granted the FBI permission to begin wiretapping the telephones of suspected enemy agents. In March 1940 CONGRESS reactivated the Espionage Act of 1917, which criminalized issuing false reports that might benefit an enemy power, inciting disobedience in the military, or obstructing recruitment or enlistment activities. Three months later Congress also passed the SMITH ACT, or Alien Registration Act, through which five million aliens were registered with the GOVERNMENT and fingerprinted.

During the war itself, the FBI conducted more than 19,000 investigations of alleged Axis sabotage and espionage, although none was proven definitively. Thirty-three Axis agents residing in the United States in 1941 were quickly identified and imprisoned, as were thousands of Axis nationals who were taken into custody and deported by 1942. They had been identified by William G. Sebald, a naturalized citizen recruited by German intelligence who had agreed to serve as a double agent for the FBI. Indeed, postwar analysis found that no coherent Axis fifth column ever existed in the United States, or the Americas, and the few attempts to infiltrate agents were amateurish failures. The FBI apprehended eight German saboteurs who landed on Long Island in June 1942, and two who landed in Maine in November 1944, within days of their arrival.

Nazi espionage failures in the United States were shared by the Japanese military Special Service Organiza-

tions, which included units for decoding, recruiting foreign spies, and conducting propaganda and fifth column activities. The espionage agents attached to the Japanese diplomatic posts abroad did score some notable successes, such as gathering information about U.S. NAVY forces at PEARL HARBOR before December 1941. But Japanese ignorance of Allied successes in CODE BREAKING resulted in a massive security breach revealing tremendous amounts of vital Axis tactical and strategic information. Although most Americans assumed that Japanese Americans living on the Pacific coast constituted a fifth column force, a fear that contributed to the RELOCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS, no credible evidence existed at that time or later to support this fear and no Japanese espionage activities were



As Americans became more fearful that the United States would become involved in World War II, many citizens began to worry that there were spies among us. The FBI poster shown here warns Americans to be on the lookout for evidence of sabotage or rumormongering. (*National Archives*)



uncovered in the United States during the war. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover testified after the war that the bureau had been called in to investigate 19,587 cases of suspected sabotage, of which only 2,417 proved to be real. Because of bureau vigilance and prompt arrests, 611 cases ended up in convictions.

The USSR conducted far more successful espionage operations against the United States and Great Britain than did the Axis powers. Indeed, Soviet intelligence and espionage services, consisting of the Red Army GRU, and its Communist Party counterpart, the NKVD, later known as the KGB, enjoyed enormous wartime success against the Allies and Axis alike, that carried over well into the postwar era. The GRU had extensive agent networks in Europe, including the Rote Kapelle, or Red Orchestra, that controlled the Lucy ring in Switzerland that handled spies within the Nazi military and political high command in Berlin. In Japan, Richard Sorge, another GRU agent, provided copious information on Japanese military and political activities until his capture and execution in 1944. Soviet espionage operations against the Allies included successful NKVD efforts in recruiting double agents within the British MI organizations that operated into the postwar years and by the GRU in recruiting spies working on the American MANHATTAN PROJECT that produced the ATOMIC BOMB. One of the most celebrated Soviet spies of the later cold war period, Julius Rosenberg, began his espionage activity by working as an electrical engineer during World War II and passing along highly sensitive technical intelligence to Soviet handlers regarding top secret radar proximity fuses for antiaircraft artillery.

Espionage efforts by Great Britain were equally sophisticated during the war. In July 1940 the British created the Special Operations Executive (SOE) to conduct espionage operations and to control a growing body of agents belonging to resistance groups in Nazi-occupied Europe. The British had extraordinary success in running clandestine organizations in Europe, consisting largely of SOE administered guerrilla organizations and individually recruited and trained agents. The XX or 20 Committee managed to identify and recruit all German agents sent to Great Britain to become double agents for the purpose of feeding the Nazis false information. The British intelligence agencies also excelled at deception operations, such as the 1943 operation that led the Germans to think that an invasion of the Balkans was imminent.

The United States formed the OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES in June 1942 to conduct espionage operations abroad. However, with the British SOE dominating in Europe, and given the geographic expanses of the Pacific, the Americans came to rely on technical means of intel-

ligence collection and their agent networks remained relatively small and of secondary importance.

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—Clayton D. Laurie and John C. Fredriksen

## Ethiopia

On October 3, 1935, Italian troops invaded the independent African country of Ethiopia. Italian dictator Benito Mussolini hoped that the conquest of Ethiopia would be the first step toward establishing a new Roman Empire around the Mediterranean. Like the 1931 Japanese invasion of MANCHURIA, Italy's invasion of Ethiopia revealed the inability of the League of Nations to halt aggression and the lack of American readiness to take decisive action. This encouraged the AXIS nations to continue their paths of aggression in Europe and Asia that ultimately led to WORLD WAR II.

The invasion of Ethiopia demonstrated the failure of the League of Nations to protect the territory and independence of its members. Although the league imposed economic sanctions against Italy, it refused to place an embargo against oil shipments, which were essential to the Italian military, partly because the United States would not agree to honor the embargo. France and Britain also feared that Italy might declare war in retaliation to an oil embargo, or threaten British economic and strategic interests in Malta, Alexandria, or the Suez Canal.

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT sympathized with Ethiopia's plight. But the first of the NEUTRALITY ACTS, which CONGRESS had passed only five weeks earlier, prevented him from intervening in the conflict or even joining the league's proposed oil embargo. Roosevelt also wanted to avoid antagonizing ISOLATIONISTS in the United States. FDR did quickly invoke the neutrality legislation to impose a strict arms embargo against Italy and Ethiopia, and the administration called for a "moral embargo" on oil and other goods for Italy. Nevertheless, U.S. sales of oil, scrap iron, and copper to Italy rose sharply, until Secretary of State CORDELL HULL threatened to release the names of American businesses engaged in this trade.

On May 5, 1936, Italian troops under Field Marshal Pietro Badoglio captured Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian emperor, Haile Selassie, fled to Britain



and asked the League of Nations to intervene directly on Ethiopia's behalf, but Britain and France opposed taking military action. On July 15, 1936, the League lifted all sanctions against Italy, effectively recognizing Italy's annexation of Ethiopia.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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—David W. Waltrip

**European theater** See WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER.

**Evans, Walker** (1903–1975) *photographer*

Walker Evans was born on November 3, 1903, the scion of a wealthy family in Kenilworth, Illinois. He attended Wil-

liams College, Massachusetts, for a single semester before venturing to Paris. There he developed an interest in PHOTOGRAPHY, and he relocated to New York City in 1927 to pursue it. From the outset Evans displayed talents that made him one of America's greatest photographers. In contrast to the flashier styles of his contemporaries, his work was characterized by a stark and sobering ultrarealism, unembellished by photographic technique. Fascinated by architecture, Evans specialized in depicting the wear and tear of his subjects, especially old buildings, junkyards, railway depots, and other unspectacular venues, and his skill in capturing their dilapidated state catered to tastes contemporaneous with the ongoing social crisis of the GREAT DEPRESSION. By 1930 his studies of New England architecture were so highly regarded that they were assembled into the first one-man photography show ever staged by New York City's Museum of Modern Art. In the mid-1930s Evans worked for the RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION of the NEW DEAL (later absorbed by the FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION) and helped chronicle the suffering and



A mother and daughter from a sharecropper family in Hale County, Alabama, are featured in this photo by Walker Evans, 1936. (*Library of Congress*)

deprivation of poor people for the enlightenment of the general public. His work proved both riveting and revealing, and in 1936 he ventured into the SOUTH with writer Philip Agee to reside among and document the lives of the rural poor in Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi. This led to the publication in 1941 of *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, which was hailed as an American classic and helped to visually document the depression era.

Evans quit fieldwork in 1943 to serve as photographic editor of *Time* magazine, and two years later he transferred to the publication *Fortune*. He remained there for two decades and gained additional renown for numerous photo-essays. In 1965 Evans relocated to New Haven, Connecticut, where he became a professor of graphic design at Yale University. At the time he developed an obsession for the new Polaroid Land camera and utilized the new technology to take 2,000 additional photographs. Evans taught at Yale until his death at New Haven on April 10, 1975, and is still regarded as among the very best photographers to emerge from the Great Depression and a driving force behind the nascent documentary arts movement.

See also DOROTHEA LANGE.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Executive Order 8802 (1941)

Executive Order 8802, signed by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT on June 25, 1941, called for an end to discrimination in employment practices by the GOVERNMENT and by defense contractors because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and established the FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE (FEPC), the first federal agency devoted to CIVIL RIGHTS since Reconstruction. Although responding chiefly to the circumstances and demands of AFRICAN AMERICANS, the executive order applied to white ethnic groups as well.

Discrimination against blacks in defense industry and the armed forces in the early stages of the MOBILIZATION effort of WORLD WAR II produced protests from black leaders and efforts to change existing policy and practices. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH organized the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT (MOWM) early in 1941 to demand equal opportunity. He insisted that Roosevelt take tangible action or see 100,000 African Americans march on Washington to protest for change and a fair share in the war effort.

Roosevelt, worried also about discrimination against white immigrants with skills needed in defense production, and concerned that such a march might be embarrassing to the country, eventually responded by issuing Execu-

tive Order 8802. In addition to stating that “there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in the defense industries or government because of race, creed, color or national origin,” the executive order went on to say that both employers and labor unions had a responsibility “to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in the defense industries” and mandated that all further defense contracts contain a clause prohibiting discrimination. Perhaps the most important section of the executive order was the creation of the FEPC to investigate complaints and take remedial action. Although the order did not apply to the military, as Randolph and other black leaders had desired, the march on Washington was not held.

Executive Order 8802 and the FEPC helped to bring new opportunity to black Americans and to reduce job discrimination against other minority groups. During World War II, the number of African-American civilians employed by the federal government more than tripled, to some 200,000, while the proportion of blacks in defense industry jobs rose from 3 to 8 percent. Insufficient authority for penalizing noncompliance and an inadequate budget nonetheless limited the FEPC, and black employment gains came to a significant degree from the labor shortage created by the millions of men who joined the armed forces. Other problems, such as the continued practice of hiring blacks only for menial jobs and the denial of necessary training for advancement, eventually led to stronger support from Roosevelt. Whatever its limitations, Executive Order 8802 set a new precedent for government involvement in civil rights and helped encourage a new public responsibility among leaders of American industry.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—Ronald G. Simon

### Executive Order 9066 (1942)

Executive Order 9066, issued by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT on February 19, 1942, authorized the War Department to designate “military areas” and to exclude “any and all persons” from them. Although the executive order did not specify any individual group, it led to the RELOCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS from the West Coast and to the incarceration of more than 110,000 Japanese Americans, about two-thirds of them American citizens, during WORLD WAR II.

A number of factors accounted for the much different treatment given Japanese Americans than GERMAN AMERICANS and ITALIAN AMERICANS, the other two ethnic groups whose unnaturalized immigrants were designated as ENEMY ALIENS. By contrast to Italian Americans and German Americans, who played important roles in the ECONOMY and had political influence, mainland Japanese Americans were few in number, often isolated and unasimilated, and politically powerless. Such factors also help to explain why the large numbers of people (up to 200,000) of Japanese ancestry who made up more than one-third of the population of militarily vulnerable Hawaii were not relocated.

The reason given for Executive Order 9066 and the relocation and incarceration of Japanese Americans was military security. And indeed there were fears and rumors of attacks, sabotage, and espionage on the West Coast, although never any evidence of them. But racism and racial prejudice were at the heart of what happened. Anti-Japanese sentiment and restrictions had shaped the Japanese experience in America. On the West Coast, Japanese Americans had faced not only prejudice and discrimination in jobs and housing but also legal sanctions barring them from the full enjoyment of CIVIL RIGHTS. National law prevented Japanese immigrants from becoming American citizens.

The attack on PEARL HARBOR inflamed anti-Japanese feelings and triggered fear of Japanese Americans. Local citizens (some of them also harboring economic resentments against the Japanese) and politicians pressed for action, and the military agreed. Speaking for such groups, the army general in charge of the Western Defense Command said of the Japanese Americans: "A Jap's a Jap. . . . It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not. . . . Racial affinities are not severed by migration. The Japanese race is an enemy race."

Pressed by local and military officials, President Roosevelt agreed to Executive Order 9066 over the objections of Justice Department officials. Secretary of War HENRY L. STIMSON implemented the order only on the West Coast and only against Japanese Americans. Some 15,000 Japanese Americans moved of their own accord before such voluntary relocation was stopped, and more than 110,000 were relocated by the GOVERNMENT and incarcerated in internment camps run by the War Relocation Authority. Stimson understood that the policy made a "tremendous hole in our constitutional system." Nonetheless, the SUPREME COURT upheld the policy in *KOREMATSU V. UNITED STATES* (1944).

Some compensatory and corrective action was taken after the war. In 1948, CONGRESS approved some reparations to internees—\$37 million for the relocation and the loss of an estimated \$400 million in property. In 1988, Congress acknowledged the "fundamental injustice" of the

policy and awarded \$20,000 to each living survivor of the relocation.

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### Executive Reorganization Act (1939)

The Executive Reorganization Act, passed in April 1939, authorized the creation of the Executive Office of the President, to include six presidential assistants. It also enabled President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to transfer the Bureau of the Budget to the Executive Office, to establish the NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD within the Executive Office, and to create a liaison officer for personnel management to enlarge the president's control over the federal bureaucracy. Reflecting Roosevelt's desire to streamline the executive branch and enable better policy planning and coordination by the White House, the Act was an important step in strengthening and modernizing the PRESIDENCY.

Yet the Executive Reorganization Act was significantly weaker than the executive reorganization bill Roosevelt had sent to CONGRESS in January 1937, and it thus marked not only a significant milestone in the development of the presidency but also a compromise reflecting the vicissitudes of Roosevelt's second term. Wanting to improve the administrative and management capacity of the presidency as the federal bureaucracy expanded rapidly and often confusingly with the proliferation of NEW DEAL agencies, Roosevelt established the President's Committee on Administrative Management in 1936. The committee proposed a number of reforms including: expanding the president's staff; moving the Bureau of the Budget from the Treasury Department to the White House; establishing a powerful planning agency in the executive branch; consolidating the many independent GOVERNMENT agencies into 12 cabinet departments reporting directly to the president; reorganizing the civil service and greatly extending the merit system. Taken together, the proposals would not simply have strengthened the executive branch but also would have substantially freed executive reorganization from congressional control and created a far more powerful administrative state controlled by the White House. Some scholars have seen in the executive reorganization bill the central aim of a THIRD NEW DEAL in which the administration sought to add enhancing the capacity of the executive branch to the FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933 and the SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935 that had created the modern regulatory welfare state.

But in the political context of Roosevelt's second term, the executive reorganization bill stood little chance. It was followed soon thereafter by the COURT-PACKING PLAN, which provoked great public and congressional resistance. Together, the two proposals raised the specter among conservatives of dangerous executive aggrandizement at the expense of both the legislative and the judicial branches. As other events of 1937 and 1938 diminished Roosevelt's influence in Washington and helped create a CONSERVATIVE COALITION in Congress, and as the course of Nazi Germany enabled critics to warn of an American dictatorship, the executive reorganization bill encountered growing opposition. In April 1938 the overwhelmingly Democratic House of Representatives defeated the president's proposal by eight votes. The bill was revived

in much weaker form in 1939, lacking such important features as civil service reform and creation of new executive departments, exempting key independent agencies from reorganization, and enabling Congress to veto reorganization plans. The Executive Reorganization Act then won passage in April and took effect July 1, 1939. On September 8, Roosevelt established the Executive Office of the President.

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### Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC)

On June 25, 1941, EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802 established the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), officially known as the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, to investigate and take action against discrimination based on race, creed, color, or national origin in the GOVERNMENT and defense industry. Created by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT under pressure from A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT, the FEPC was the first federal agency established to address the CIVIL RIGHTS of AFRICAN AMERICANS since Reconstruction. The FEPC was also instituted to address employment bias against white ethnic groups, but the great majority of the FEPC's caseload involved discrimination against blacks.

Throughout the GREAT DEPRESSION, black workers suffered from extremely high levels of UNEMPLOYMENT due to the shattered ECONOMY and widespread discrimination in the labor market. The percentage of African-American workers in some industries was lower in 1940 than it had been in 1910. As MOBILIZATION for WORLD WAR II began to pour billions of dollars into the economy and to create hundreds of thousands of new jobs, the overwhelming majority of black workers continued to be excluded from all but a small percentage of the lowest paid and most onerous work in defense industries. Additionally, segregation and the denial of skilled and leadership positions for African Americans persisted throughout the military. Randolph and other black leaders, including WALTER WHITE, the secretary of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), had been unable to gain any tangible concessions on the protection of the rights of African Americans from Roosevelt. Finally, with an all-black march on Washington, D.C., scheduled for July 1, 1941, the president issued Executive Order 8802, forbidding discrimination in many areas of the federal government and in companies with war contracts with the federal government and the

unions they worked with. The directive did not include the armed forces.

The FEPC was authorized to conduct mediation and advise the government on employment discrimination but had little enforcement power. The only punitive measure it wielded was to suggest the discontinuation of war labor contracts with companies it found had violated the Executive Order—a suggestion quite unlikely to be taken because of the wartime need for defense production. In mid-1942, the FEPC was placed under the authority of the WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION, which proved reluctant to have the agency pursue complaints. A year later, upon the urging of civil rights leaders, Roosevelt established a new version of the FEPC in the Executive Office of the President, where it had more autonomy and authority.

Despite the variety of problems that plagued it during its five-year tenure, including insufficient funding, chronic understaffing, and the lack of real enforcement power, the FEPC was able to make some headway against employment bias as it urged unions to accept African Americans, pressured corporations in defense industries to change their hiring policies, helped to resolve dozens of race-related strikes when white workers refused to work with blacks, held national public hearings, and received thousands of complaints yearly. Additionally, even as difficulties in the arena of RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT continued to afflict the country, the FEPC and Executive Order 8802 contained great symbolic value as part of the struggle for civil rights.

The percentage of defense industry jobs filled by African Americans rose from 3 percent to 8 percent between 1942 and 1945, and the number of blacks employed by the federal government more than tripled. It is very difficult, however, to quantify the effectiveness of the committee as the heavy MIGRATION of blacks from the rural SOUTH to industrial centers and the tight labor market of wartime were also important factors in the increased employment and wage levels of African Americans. By one accounting,

the FEPC successfully resolved only about one-third of the complaints it received, and only about one-fifth from the South.

By 1946, when the Fair Employment Practices Committee was dissolved because of opposition from CONGRESS, several states had created their own agencies to monitor discrimination, but an attempt to establish a permanent federal FEPC was killed by conservative and southern legislators. It was only with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that many of the aims of the Fair Employment Practices Committee became national law.

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—Aimee Alice Pohl

### Fair Labor Standards Act (1938)

Signed by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT on June 25, 1938, the Fair Labor Standards Act (sometimes known as the Wages and Hours Act) established national minimum wage and maximum hours standards in manufacturing and prohibited employing child labor in interstate commerce. Although the CONSERVATIVE COALITION in CONGRESS succeeded in significantly limiting the bill's initial coverage, it marked a significant beginning for further reform.

The campaign for the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) arose from the need to replace the wages, hours, and child labor provisions of the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA) that were invalidated when the SUPREME COURT ruled the NRA unconstitutional in 1935 in the case of *SCHecter Poultry Corporation v. United States*. Regulating wages and hours and ending child labor had long been on the agenda of many liberals, and were reforms that Roosevelt and Secretary of Labor FRANCES PERKINS sought. The president also thought such legislation would help produce economic recovery, for higher wages would help create a market for both manufactured goods and agricultural products.

Several groups opposed the wages, hours, and child labor reforms. Conservatives and BUSINESS disliked such an extension of GOVERNMENT power over business. Many southerners feared that by creating a national minimum wage, the SOUTH would lose an attractive enticement for industry to locate there—low-wage labor. These southern congressmen wanted a wage differential that would create different minimum wage levels for each region of the nation, with the lowest minimum in the South. Conserva-

tive southerners also feared the impact on the region's social and racial patterns. Some LABOR leaders in the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR opposed the legislation, for they worried that the new minimum wage would eventually become the maximum wage and preferred to win better wages and other demands through collective bargaining rather than government regulations.

In May 1937, liberal Alabama senator HUGO BLACK introduced a federal wages and hours bill into the Senate. The Senate approved it within two months, but the bill faced much stiffer opposition and made much slower progress in the House of Representatives. Opponents who wanted to weaken the act by exempting industries and workers covered proposed dozens of limiting amendments. Not until May 1938 did a version pass the House; it then took another month for the House and Senate to agree upon the final bill.

In its final form, the Fair Labor Standards Act exempted agricultural workers, retail and service employees, domestic workers, fishermen, and others from the regulations. Many of these activities employed AFRICAN AMERICANS at wages much lower than the proposed minimum wage. The final version also limited application of the child labor provisions, exempting CHILDREN under 16 in such areas as AGRICULTURE and various retail and service employment where child labor was concentrated. Consequently, the FLSA child labor provisions applied to only about 50,000 of the 850,000 child workers under 16 in 1938.

The FLSA set minimum wages at 25¢ per hour and maximum hours at 44 per week, with a provision that the minimum wage would rise to 40¢ per hour by 1945 and maximum hours would fall to 40 hours per week by 1940. The bill also provided for payment of wages at time and a half for overtime, and it established the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor to supervise and enforce the FLSA. In the case of *United States v. Darby Lumber Co.* (1941), the Supreme Court upheld the FLSA as constitutional under the commerce clause of the Constitution.

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—Courtney D. Mattingly

### Farley, James A. (1888–1976) *Democratic Party leader*

With LOUIS MCHENRY HOWE and EDWARD J. FLYNN, James A. Farley completed the triumvirate of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT's closest political strategists. Like Flynn, Farley also served as chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) during Roosevelt's presidency.

A second generation IRISH AMERICAN, Farley was born on May 30, 1888, in Grassy Point, New York, and even as a boy he expressed an interest in party politics. By his early 20s, he was actively involved in electioneering for the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. In 1911, Farley successfully ran for the office of town clerk in the predominantly Republican township of Stony Point, and by 1918, he was elected Democratic county chairman for Rockland County, New York. As chairman, he developed contacts with county party leaders, as well as with Tammany Hall, the prominent political machine of New York, and learned the effective use of patronage and the value of local organization.

In 1928, Farley was elected state secretary of New York's Democratic Party and managed Franklin Roosevelt's successful gubernatorial campaign, and then as state chairman managed Roosevelt's reelection campaign in 1930. Farley first achieved national recognition as the director of Roosevelt's bid for the presidency in the ELECTION OF 1932. He not only toured the country on behalf of FDR, but also assisted in securing Roosevelt's nomination by helping to persuade JOHN NANCE GARNER to release his delegates at the Chicago convention (Garner then received the vice presidential nomination). In 1932, Farley was appointed DNC chairman; after Roosevelt's inauguration, he was named postmaster general of the United States, holding both posts simultaneously.

Known by thousands simply as "Jim," Farley was an affable and engaging man. His personal style of campaigning, from his extensive use of correspondence to whirlwind tours of the country, helped him to develop a keen sensitivity to current sentiment among party leaders. As chairman of the DNC and as U.S. postmaster general, Farley used his influence over patronage during the 1930s to reward party members who supported the president and penalize those who did not. During the ELECTION OF 1936, his use of PUBLIC OPINION POLLS allowed him to concentrate on doubtful sections of the country and to accurately predict Roosevelt's landslide victory over ALFRED M. LONDON, who carried only Maine and Vermont.

During Roosevelt's second term, a rift developed between Farley and the president as FDR attempted to extend the power of the executive branch and pursued policies that conflicted with Farley's more conservative views. In 1938, Roosevelt attempted to punish his conservative opponents within the Democratic Party by using his influence to bring about their defeat in the congressional primaries. This "purge" strategy disturbed Farley, who felt it inappropriate for the president to interfere in local matters such as primary elections. In 1940, after Roosevelt's decision to run for an unprecedented third term, Farley resigned his cabinet post and his position as DNC chairman. At the Democratic convention in Chicago, he publicly protested FDR's decision by allowing his own name

to be placed before the convention. Farley was nominated by Virginia senator Carter Glass, but won only 72½ votes. However, despite his differences with the president, Farley reluctantly endorsed Roosevelt's candidacy in the ELECTION OF 1940.

After leaving the DNC, Farley turned to private industry, taking a post as chairman of the Coca Cola Export Corporation. He remained in politics as New York state party chairman, and in the ELECTION OF 1944 again opposed FDR's nomination but supported the president during the campaign. Retiring from politics after the 1944 election, he largely confined his efforts to business. On June 9, 1976, Jim Farley died one week before he was to be named chairman emeritus of the party at the Democratic national convention.

See also POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA.

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—Shannon L. Parsley

### Farm Credit Administration (FCA)

On March 27, 1933, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT issued an executive order creating the Farm Credit Administration (FCA). The FCA increased the amount of credit available to farmers during the GREAT DEPRESSION, made it easier for farmers to refinance their farm mortgages and pay off their debts, helped shore up struggling rural banks, and more effectively coordinated the government's increasingly large and complex farm credit system.

After the STOCK MARKET CRASH of October 1929, many people who had deposited money in banks began withdrawing their money. In order to get cash for depositors, banks responded to the accelerating number of withdrawals by calling in their loans. But in many rural communities, falling land and commodity prices during the 1920s made it difficult for farmers to meet their loan payments. Consequently, thousands of small rural banks ran out of money and shut down, while many more were barely solvent. The failure of so many rural banks caused a severe credit shortage for farmers; the number of mortgage foreclosures rose sharply; and many farmers lost their life savings as well as their farms.

To resolve the financial crisis gripping America's BANKING system, President HERBERT C. HOOVER created the RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION, which was designed to help struggling banks increase their liquidity. But such efforts largely ignored the problems of farmers. Instead, Hoover relied on two institutions to extend credit to farmers: the Federal Farm Loan Board, which President Woodrow Wilson had created in 1916;

and the Federal Farm Board, which Hoover created in 1929 when he signed the AGRICULTURAL MARKETING ACT. Yet, despite the efforts of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY, the credit shortage facing American farmers continued to worsen.

When the FCA became operational on May 27, 1933, it disbanded the Federal Farm Loan Board and Federal Farm Board and took over their remaining activities. On June 16, 1933, CONGRESS passed the Farm Credit Act, which gave congressional approval to Roosevelt's executive order creating the FCA. The chairman of the Federal Farm Board became the governor of the FCA, and a 13-member Federal Farm Credit Board was appointed to serve as the FCA's policymaking body. Roosevelt appointed HENRY T. MORGENTHAU, JR., as the first governor of the FCA, a position he held until early 1934 when he became secretary of the treasury.

The FCA supervised the operation of the nation's federal land banks, intermediate credits banks, farm loan associations, and the central bank for cooperatives. On an average day, the FCA could refinance more than 300 mortgages; within its first 18 months of operation, the FCA refinanced more than 20 percent of all farm mortgages in the United States. Through the Crop Loan Act, the FCA also gave loans to farmers for crop production and harvesting, and under the Farm Mortgage Refinancing Act, issued up to \$2 billion in bonds for refinancing farm debts. By the end of 1940, the FCA had made a total of nearly \$7 billion in loans, saved hundreds of thousands of struggling farms from foreclosure, and stopped thousands of small rural banks from declaring bankruptcy.

Although originally established as an independent GOVERNMENT agency, the FCA lost its independent status in 1939, when FDR, as part of his EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION ACT, transferred it to the Department of Agriculture. It remained part of the Department of Agriculture until the Farm Credit Act of 1953 reestablished it as an independent agency.

See also AGRICULTURE; HOME OWNERS LOAN CORPORATION.

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—David W. Waltrap

### Farmer's Holiday Association (FHA)

In the early years of the GREAT DEPRESSION, farm and dairy commodity prices, already low, plummeted disas-

trously and increased hardship for small farmers throughout the Midwest. In May 1932 a small but vocal group of some 3,000 farmers under radical activist and minister Milo Reno formed a protest group in Des Moines, Iowa, and called themselves the Farmer's Holiday Association (FHA). They took their inspiration from the "bank holidays" that closed BANKING institutions to prevent runs on their holdings. Reno and his followers declared a "holiday" of their own by refusing to sell or distribute their own goods, thereby hoping to drive up prices and call national attention to their predicament. Reno insisted that farmers had a right to adequate compensation to offset farm costs, as well as to make a reasonable profit from their goods. They also adopted the slogan "Stay at Home—Buy Nothing—Sell Nothing," but it was not until August 1932 that the FHA began mobilizing at Sioux City, Iowa. Reno and the majority of his followers sought to protest peacefully, but when some of the more militant protestors attempted to block highways to prevent goods from going to market, battles with the police resulted. Events climaxed at a major demonstration in Sioux City, when one farmer was killed and several were wounded by gunfire. Consequently, Reno called a halt to strike activity as of September 1, 1932.

While the FHA had garnered national press coverage, it had failed in its efforts to affect prices through strikes, so that fall Reno switched objectives. On October 26, 1932, he declared a moratorium on tax and mortgage payments to forestall farm foreclosures. FHA members used intimidation at foreclosure auctions to discourage outside buyers. They would then purchase the farm for a penny and return it to the original owner. Their protests and other actions did have the effect of inducing midwestern state legislatures to pass moratoriums on foreclosures and prevent further outbreaks of violence. As part of the NEW DEAL of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, the federal GOVERNMENT enacted the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT of 1933, which regulated AGRICULTURE in order to raise prices. Reno, whose charismatic leadership kept the FHA together in these hard times, died on May 5, 1936, and the organization never regrouped around another leader. The dispersal of government checks by the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION reduced farmers' discontent. The FHA was ultimately absorbed by the Iowa Farmer's Union in 1937.

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—John C. Fredriksen



### Farm Security Administration (FSA)

The Farm Security Administration (FSA) was a NEW DEAL agency created in 1937 to help sharecroppers, tenant farmers, migrant workers, and other American farmers cope with the problems of rural poverty during the GREAT DEPRESSION. However, because it adopted several approaches that alarmed conservatives, it quickly became one of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT's most controversial GOVERNMENT programs and had only limited success.

In early 1934, HARRY HOPKINS, director of the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION (FERA), established a special division within the FERA to address the chronic problem of rural poverty in the United States. In 1935, President Roosevelt consolidated many of FERA's antipoverty efforts, as well as pieces of several other programs, into a new agency called the RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION (RA). Headed by REXFORD G. TUGWELL, the RA provided disadvantaged farmers with technical support, debt reduction assistance, money for land rehabilitation, and loans to buy land and equipment. It also planned to give struggling farmers a fresh start by moving them from substandard land to new land with good soil, adequate equipment, and expert guidance. But because the RA lacked sufficient funds, it moved fewer than 4,500 of the planned half-million families it hoped to relocate, and hardly made a dent in alleviating the problem of rural poverty.

In early 1937, the President's Farm Tenancy Committee issued a report recommending that CONGRESS expand the rural antipoverty programs that had been developed by FERA and the RA. In July 1937, Congress approved the BANKHEAD-JONES FARM TENANT ACT, which extended long-term, low-interest loans to poor farmers so that they could purchase their own farms. But because the farm tenancy report made it clear that struggling farmers needed much more assistance than the Bankhead-Jones Act provided, Secretary of Agriculture HENRY A. WALLACE established the Farm Security Administration with instructions to take over the remaining activities of the RA, implement the provisions of the Bankhead-Jones Act, and develop a unified approach to combat rural poverty.

From its inception through fiscal year 1947, the FSA's tenant-purchase program made available nearly \$300 million in loans to just over 47,000 farmers, and as of May 1941, the FSA and its predecessor organization, the RA, helped work out debt reductions totaling almost \$100 million for approximately 145,000 farmers. Under the leadership of Will W. Alexander, its first director, the FSA encouraged farmers to save money by pooling their financial resources, creating cooperatives, and selling their crops collectively. It helped migrant workers by maintaining a series of safe, sanitary, labor camps throughout the country. Because poor health often prevented farmers from working, the FSA

worked with state and local authorities to establish special medical and dental care programs across the nation. The FSA also tried to treat AFRICAN AMERICANS fairly.

Despite the FSA's efforts and achievements, the dimensions of the problem were simply too great for the agency to solve. The FSA also faced fierce political opposition. The American Farm Bureau Federation feared that if poor farmers received too much assistance they might have the financial resources to open their own business, thus increasing the number of competitors, tightening the labor market, and raising the wages of workers. The American Medical Association opposed the FSA because it worried that the medical and dental cooperatives would reduce physicians' fees. Large farm corporations and southern landowners argued that the FSA undermined traditional landholding patterns. And congressional conservatives maintained that the FSA's relief efforts sounded too much like socialism, and viewed the entire agency as a liberal attempt to redistribute the nation's wealth. Even many of the FSA's own clients resented the agency, claiming that it was overly paternalistic and insisting that its loan management system interfered with their private lives.

During WORLD WAR II, the FSA took part in the RELOCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS. But with Roosevelt preoccupied with the war, congressional resistance to the President stiffening, and the need to cut nondefense spending growing, the power of the FSA rapidly declined. As a result, in 1941, Congress began to cut funding to the FSA, and by 1943 the agency was struggling for survival. President Harry S. Truman abolished the FSA in 1946 when he signed the Home Administration Act, and created the Farmers Home Administration in its place.

See also AGRICULTURE.

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—David W. Waltrop

### Faulkner, William (1897–1962) author

Winner of the Nobel Prize in literature and the Pulitzer Prize in fiction, William Cuthbert Faulkner is one of the most celebrated American authors. His novels, poems, and short stories made Faulkner perhaps the most prominent figure in the LITERATURE of the American SOUTH. Among his best-known works are the novels *The Sound and the Fury* (1929), *As I Lay Dying* (1930), *Sanctuary* (1931), *Absalom! Absalom!* (1936), and *Intruder in the Dust* (1948).

William Faulkner was born on September 25, 1897, in New Albany, Mississippi, and grew up in the nearby town of Oxford, where he would spend much of his life. Oxford eventually provided the background for many of Faulkner's works. His education was not lengthy, for he left high school before graduating and later spent only a little over a year at the University of Mississippi. He joined the Royal Canadian Air Force during World War I, but returned home after a short stint during which he never saw combat. Faulkner's first published work was a poem, "L'Après-Midi d'un Faune." The following years resulted in the appearance of several pieces in the University of Mississippi newspaper, as well as the release of a book of poetry entitled *The Marble Faun* (1924). His first novel, *Soldiers' Pay*, was published in 1926.

In 1932, Faulkner began working as a contract writer for MGM studios in Hollywood. Deciding that film was not his preferred medium, he asked on more than one occasion for a release from his contract, but it was not granted. For more than two decades, he continued to write screenplays for Hollywood MOVIES, as well as working on his own projects. He was awarded the 1949 Nobel Prize in literature for



William Faulkner (Library of Congress)

his accumulated works, and he won the Pulitzer Prize in 1955 for *A Fable* (1954), which also won the National Book Award for Fiction. In the 1950s, he spent a few semesters as writer in residence at the University of Virginia, where he was appointed to the faculty in 1960. In 1962, he died of a heart attack in Oxford.

In his writings, Faulkner created the fictional Yoknapatawpha County, Mississippi, based on Oxford and surrounding Lafayette County. He drew inspiration from people and experiences that he encountered in his life and created a community that seemed almost real, with many characters appearing in more than one work. Each family had its own history, and several generations might appear in one book or throughout several. The Snopes family, for example, was developed over the course of a trilogy. Quentin Compson, whose family's downfall is the subject of *The Sound and the Fury*, tells the story of Thomas Sutpen in *Absalom! Absalom!* Faulkner depicted the SOUTH as an area deeply rooted in the past, frequently with tragic results for the characters in his works.

Faulkner's writing style was dark and emotional. His narratives often contained aspects of the South's racial and class divisions, and of violence and immorality, including rape, incest, theft, and the heavy drinking to which he himself sometimes succumbed. Frequently making use of a stream-of-consciousness format, he switched thoughts and even timelines suddenly, sometimes even in the middle of a sentence. He tended to write in the vernacular, particularly for the characters in the lower classes. All of these characteristics make his writing difficult to understand for many, and unpalatable to others. Many, however, in Faulkner's own time and into the present, view him as one of the greatest authors in American history and as the greatest and most illuminating writer of the American South.

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—Joanna Smith

### Federal Art Project (FAP)

The Federal Art Project (FAP), which provided work for unemployed artists, was part of a revised effort by the NEW DEAL in 1935 to provide work RELIEF for the unemployed. Under the provisions of the EMERGENCY RELIEF APPROPRIATION ACT of April 1935, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in May created the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (WPA), with HARRY HOPKINS as its administrator. Hopkins decided that part of the WPA's funds should be used to create federal programs to employ jobless artists

and writers. The separate programs of the FEDERAL THEATRE PROJECT, FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT, FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT, and Federal Art Project were collectively referred to as Federal One. Ultimately, some \$40 million went to FAP, which helped an estimated 9,000 artists.

Hopkins appointed Holger Cahill as director of the FAP. Cahill's professional credentials were not as an artist but rather as a museum curator, art buyer, and prolific writer on American art. Preserving the skills of America's artists at all levels of proficiency and providing a source of income to impoverished artists were only part of the program's objectives. Cahill also desired that FAP artists feel a sense of participation in American life and that art be integrated into the lives of the American people by means of increased exposure to the arts.

Achieving such goals proved difficult despite the genuine concern of those involved in the FAP. At its peak in 1936, the FAP employed more than 5,000 artists nationwide, but spreading the program beyond the urban centers in which artists typically were concentrated proved a challenge. In November 1936, New York City and Chicago accounted for roughly half of all FAP employment. The most common operation of the FAP outside of urban areas involved community art centers, more than 100 of which were set up in 38 different states by 1940 in an attempt to achieve Cahill's dream of an art-conscious America. Inexpensive to operate and usually run by a small staff, the art centers provided classes for children and adults as well as exhibitions open to the entire neighborhood.

Most of the artists employed by the FAP were involved in the production of artistic works. FAP workers used many different media types. An estimated 2,500 murals, 18,000 sculptures, 108,000 paintings, 200,000 prints of 11,000 designs, and 2,000,000 silkscreen posters of 35,000 designs were produced throughout the life of the project. Regionalism and social consciousness were common themes in the art produced, which was often influenced by Mexican muralists as well as by LABOR rights organizations. The FAP's Index of American Design, an ambitious attempt to compile a pictorial survey of American art, involved research rather than original art. Traveling exhibitions of American art work reproduced as part of the index and exhibitions of FAP production pieces had attendance figures in the millions, including presentations at the World's Fairs in San Francisco and New York in 1939 and 1940. FAP murals and sculptures appeared in public buildings throughout the country.

Unlike the strong political criticism faced by the Federal Theatre Project, and, to a lesser degree, the Federal Writers' Project, criticism of the FAP focused on the skill level of the artists employed. Although the FAP nurtured such important artists as Jackson Pollock and Willem de Kooning, much of the original FAP art was of indifferent



Poster for a Federal Art Project exhibition of work by WPA Federal Art Project artists at the Albany Institute of History and Art (Library of Congress)

quality and was disdained by the professional and academic art communities.

By the beginning of WORLD WAR II, federal funding for the Federal One programs was eliminated, and control of the projects was transferred from Washington, D.C., to state administrations. With the transfer of control to state governments, community centers disappeared due to lack of funds, and the FAP dissolved in the face of wartime priorities and economic recovery. Cahill and his colleagues had failed to convince CONGRESS that federal support of the arts was a legitimate function of GOVERNMENT. During its lifetime, however, the FAP not only provided employment to artists during the GREAT DEPRESSION but apparently also contributed to an increase in public awareness of the arts.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

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—Courtney D. Mattingly

## Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

The expansion of GOVERNMENT programs under the NEW DEAL went beyond social and economic reform to other areas, including crime control. To emphasize the expansion of the federal government in the area of law enforcement, the word "federal" was added to the title of the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation in 1935, making it the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Legislation enacted



in 1934 and 1935 also gave the FBI broader authority to seek fugitives, investigate bank robberies, and follow interstate thefts. During WORLD WAR II, its duties were expanded to include national security investigations.

This expansion in jurisdiction brought with it expansion in the FBI's staff and budget. In 1934, the agency had 391 special agents to conduct investigations; by 1935, it had 568. The FBI then grew to 1,596 special agents in 1941, and during World War II reached 4,886 special agents in 1944, with no further significant increases until 1952. The bureau's budget rose from \$2.5 million in 1934 to \$14.7 million in 1941, and peaked in 1945 at \$44 million.

J. Edgar Hoover led the FBI during this period. Appointed in 1924 to straighten out the bureau's internal problems, Hoover had built an agency that was widely respected and he had developed significant political power himself. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT considered replacing Hoover, but decided to keep him, intending to use the FBI to lead a national effort to crack down on crime.

Hoover, ever aware of public image and the use of the NEWS MEDIA, sought with the Roosevelt administration's help to build an agency that would be recognized as the nation's premier crime control agency. Publicizing the bureau's exploits fighting gangsters such as Bonnie and Clyde and John Dillinger boosted its visibility. The agents were popularized in American culture as G-men—which stood for “Government Men”—when George “Machine Gun” Kelly shouted “Don't shoot G-men, don't shoot” during his arrest by the FBI.

As part of its expanded role, the bureau developed a central reporting system for fingerprint records, and its national forensic crime laboratory provided service to local law enforcement agencies that lacked detailed arrest records and evidence examination capabilities. To assist in further professionalizing law enforcement agencies, the bureau opened the FBI National Academy in 1935 to provide training in modern investigative methods and police management to law enforcement officers around the country.

As tension in Europe increased in the late 1930s, worries about fascists and COMMUNISTS led to investigation of people associated with such groups, and the bureau went beyond criminal investigations to establish a domestic INTELLIGENCE-gathering apparatus. National security concerns led to surveillance of dissidents and to infiltration of LABOR unions, political groups, and other organizations. Hoover even opened a file on the president's wife, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, for her alleged association with communists.

While Hoover reported the resulting information to his direct boss, the attorney general, he was aware that it was also shared with the president. Through Attorney Gen-

eral Homer Cummings, Roosevelt requested Hoover to report on Earl Browder, the head of the Communist Party U.S.A., as well as individuals critical of the administration. At the direction of the White House, Hoover in 1937 and 1938 ordered investigations of the American Youth Congress, the Workers' Alliance, and some WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION employees, with investigative reports being forwarded to the White House.

In 1939, Roosevelt directed the FBI to coordinate ESPIONAGE investigations for the federal government. Its intelligence-gathering authority led the bureau to examine AXIS activities in the Western Hemisphere, with Hoover placing a number of agents in South American countries. The FBI exposed the largest spy ring in 1941, when 33 people were arrested in New York. The following year, 1942, eight German saboteurs were arrested shortly after they landed in New York and Florida.

While expansion in the 1930s and 1940s improved addressing national crime problems in a mobile society, it also increased the prestige of the FBI and the political influence of Hoover himself, whose conservative political purposes were often quite different from those of the Roosevelt administration. The broadened wartime authority of the agency to eliminate security threats also enabled the Roosevelt administration to keep tabs on troublesome foreign policy critics and political opponents. Both the salutary and the troubling features of the FBI and its practices would continue into the postwar era.

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—Edwin C. Cogswell

### Federal Communications Commission (FCC)

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was established by the Communications Act of 1934 to regulate wired and wireless communications—RADIO and the telephone system especially—in the United States. One of the regulatory agencies established as part of the NEW DEAL, the FCC helped bring order and establish standards in the communications industry.

The FCC was created after a quarter-century of failed attempts by the federal GOVERNMENT to regulate the growing commercial radio broadcast industry. The latest effort had been the Radio Act of 1927 that established the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) under the Department of Commerce. The FRC reorganized licensing and frequency assignment and reduced some of the chaos produced by radio stations that changed frequencies, operated at whatever power and schedules suited them, and interfered



with each other's operations. However, there were many problems with the FRC. CONGRESS approved the commission for only one year of operation, and annually had to renew its charter. Its authority was limited to radio. Other government agencies, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Post Office, and the Department of State had responsibilities that overlapped those of the FRC. The advances in radio technology, the development of television, and the need to regulate telegraph and telephone communications also put pressure on the government to create a more centralized and responsive agency.

Late in the HOOVER PRESIDENCY, Congress proposed legislation to assign additional regulatory functions to the FRC, but President HERBERT C. HOOVER killed this bill with a pocket veto. A 1933 interagency government panel appointed by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT then recommended a single agency to regulate all communications. Roosevelt proposed such an agency in the Communications Act, which was easily passed by Congress in 1934. The FCC was part of a series of New Deal measures that brought the creation of new regulatory agencies (for example, the SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION and the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD) and the strengthening of existing ones (for example, the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Food and Drug Administration).



The Federal Communications Commission was one of a number of new federal agencies created during the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Shown here is the FCC's logo. (*Federal Communications Commission*)

Early in its existence, the FCC faced many issues created by the commercial and technological advances of the communications industry. Commercial radio was entering its "golden age" of broadcasting, and the medium filled a large public need for information and entertainment. In addition to assigning specific frequencies to stations and establishing technical operating standards, the FCC in 1937 issued its first guidelines for radio program content and balance, ADVERTISING, and obscenity. It also initiated investigations into the industry practice of one company owning multiple radio networks and examined AT&T's telephone rate structure. The FCC worked closely with the new and developing communications technologies of the time and by 1940 had established the transmission standards for the dozen experimental television stations in the United States, and had approved the initial broadcasts of the first FM radio stations. The FCC also was asked to investigate the controversial *War of the Worlds* radio broadcast by ORSON WELLES.

When WORLD WAR II began, commercial radio station construction was halted and restrictions were placed on amateur radio use. The FCC performed radio INTELLIGENCE work in conjunction with the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI), the State Department, and the military. This effort grew out of the FCC's Field Division, which had a nationwide net of monitoring stations supplemented by mobile units that measured the field strength of radio transmissions and located illicit stations. In 1940, the FBI asked the FCC to monitor German radio transmissions from the Western Hemisphere. In early 1942, the commission was asked to review the army's claim of ESPIONAGE content in radio transmissions by Japanese Americans, a charge it disproved. Later that year, a presidential order restricted the FCC from further work in radio intelligence with the military.

The FCC's principal contribution to the war was its work in Latin America. The Rio Conference of American Republics of January 1942 issued a resolution that called for the elimination of clandestine AXIS radio stations in the Western Hemisphere. The FCC, in conjunction with the State Department and FBI, sent technical experts and equipment to 10 Latin American countries to help establish their own radio monitoring organizations. By the beginning of 1943, all clandestine Axis radio stations, except in Argentina, were shut down and their agents arrested.

The FCC proved to be an important regulatory agency for the communications industry in ensuring order and setting technical standards and content guidelines. Its efforts would facilitate the postwar explosion in commercial radio and television.

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—Robert J. Hanyok

### Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) was created in 1933 to protect bank deposits in the event of a bank failure by insuring deposits up to a specified amount (which has increased over the succeeding decades). Established in the wake of the BANKING crisis of the early 1930s, the FDIC played a major role in restoring the stability of the banking system and public confidence in banks.

The first years of the GREAT DEPRESSION brought thousands of bank failures, and the number of closings accelerated in the winter of 1932–33. Banks failed in such numbers because their assets—mortgages and other loans, for example—had lost value to the point where they could not be converted into enough cash to cover deposit withdrawals. When one bank failed and depositors lost their money, panicked depositors of other banks tried to recover their money. This led to “bank runs” that only aggravated the situation and brought still more failures.

After President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT was inaugurated in March 1933, he declared a bank holiday that closed all banks temporarily while his administration and CONGRESS worked on the EMERGENCY BANKING ACT OF 1933. Congress passed the act on March 9, and the banks began reopening on March 13. The emergency measures helped to restore some public confidence in the nation’s banking system, but deposits remained vulnerable to runs and banks to possible failures.

Although Roosevelt wanted to defer further banking legislation, Congress initiated the push for federal insurance for bank deposits and passed the BANKING ACT OF 1933 in June. Separating commercial and investment banking and strengthening the Federal Reserve System, the act also created federal deposit insurance. Over the initial objections of Roosevelt and his secretary of the treasury, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation was to begin operation on July 1, 1934; in the meantime, the Temporary Deposit Insurance Corporation (TDIC) was established to provide insurance protection for depositors. Deposit insurance guaranteed depositors their first \$2,500, and all banks that were part of the Federal Reserve System were required to participate in TDIC by January 1, 1934. Non-Federal Reserve banks could join TDIC if they could prove the financial well-being of their institution. Overall, 90 percent of commercial banks and more than one-third of savings banks joined the TDIC.

FDIC was scheduled to succeed the TDIC in July 1934 under the Banking Act of 1933. Instead, at the urging

of TDIC officials, Congress extended the TDIC through the summer of 1935. The BANKING ACT OF 1935 then strengthened the FDIC system created in 1933, and the FDIC began operations in August 1935. The major changes since 1933 included an increase in the amount insured to \$5,000 per account, while the insurance fund was raised by a levy on the total bank deposits in an institution (one-twelfth of 1 percent). To address the fear that insuring deposits might be too expensive, FDIC was also given more power to supervise and ensure the financial health of member banks, including making loans to troubled banks, purchasing their assets, and helping mergers between institutions by issuing guarantees. Nearly all of the banks that had been part of the TDIC joined the FDIC and by 1941, almost all American banks were FDIC members.

The FDIC was one of the most successful reforms of the NEW DEAL. Between 1934 and 1941 there were only 370 bank failures, with the FDIC paying out almost \$23 million to cover lost deposits. The failure rate in subsequent years was even lower (just 28 failures from 1942 through 1945, for example). By insuring the money Americans deposited in their banks, the FDIC helped to restore confidence in the banking system, worked to reverse the trend toward more bank failures, and contributed to the financial stability of banking institutions.

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—Katherine Liapis Segrue

### Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)

By the winter of 1932–33, at the depths of the GREAT DEPRESSION, the UNEMPLOYMENT rate had soared to at least one-fourth of the labor force. Chief among the priorities of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and his NEW DEAL administration upon taking office in March 1933 was the provision of financial assistance—or RELIEF—to unemployed Americans. On May 12, 1933, CONGRESS created the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and authorized it to distribute \$500 million to state and local governments. A week later Roosevelt named HARRY HOPKINS to head the new agency. The FERA was an important part of the FIRST NEW DEAL enacted during the first Hundred Days of the Roosevelt administration and of the New Deal’s efforts to support unemployed and impoverished Americans until economic recovery could provide jobs.

Unlike the relief funds authorized by the 1932 RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION ACT of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY, the FERA granted rather than lent money to states and localities. Of the \$500 million authorized by Congress, half

would be granted directly on the basis of need and half would be spent on a matching basis of one federal dollar for every three state dollars. Hopkins, who had headed New York's Temporary Emergency Relief Administration when Roosevelt was governor of New York, was from the beginning a key adviser and policy maker in Roosevelt's administration and the central figure in New Deal relief policy.

Hopkins implemented the FERA with dispatch, spending some \$5 million in his first two hours on the job and hundreds of millions more in the next weeks and months. Dispensing the money as quickly and flexibly as possible and having to rely upon an underdeveloped and inexperienced organizational structure, FERA invited criticism from opponents for inefficiency—and for the inevitable political use, especially by local officials, of relief spending. Hopkins and the FERA encountered additional difficulties in the reluctance of state officials to provide the money for matching grants. Sometimes that was because state constitutions forbade such spending or because poorer states simply lacked the fiscal capacity; but it was also because of fiscal conservatism and a disinclination to provide money to what some officials thought were the “undeserving” poor who were supposedly responsible for their plight despite the collapse of the ECONOMY. Racial and ethnic biases, not only in the SOUTH, also shaped distribution of FERA funds at the local level. To circumvent such resistance, to avoid inequity, and to reduce local political use of FERA funds, Hopkins increasingly relied on direct grants—and then often encountered criticism that the federal GOVERNMENT was interfering with state policymaking and subverting the American federal system.

At first, the FERA emphasized payments directly to the poor (the “dole”), which seemed essential to getting it to the unemployed needy as quickly as possible. But the process often seemed demeaning or degrading in a number of ways. After presenting themselves at a public “intake” room for screening, potential recipients had to undergo a “means” test whereby officials would closely examine income and spending habits prior to certifying applicants for aid. Many FERA clients received only food or clothing or specific food orders instead of cash to spend as they desired. But while such direct relief disbursements in cash or kind continued for otherwise unemployable recipients (the aged, handicapped, and dependent children, for example), FERA funds increasingly went for work relief projects, which would hire the unemployed for such projects as constructing roads and buildings, and sometimes hired middle-class professionals as well. In this way, the FERA continued projects begun by the CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION in the winter of 1933–34 and anticipated the efforts of the New Deal's major work relief program, the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (WPA), begun in 1935.

FERA projects erected some 5,000 public buildings and 7,000 bridges, built nearly a quarter million miles of new roads, and taught an estimated 1.5 million adults how to read. Project workers had to be on relief rolls and undergo the means test, and received on average only some \$6.50 per week. Despite its limitations and difficulties, and the criticisms of politics, inefficiency, and useless but expensive “boondoggle” projects, the FERA was an important agency that helped hundreds of thousands of Americans and marked the federal government's acceptance of direct relief to the unemployed. It was phased out after the WPA, the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT, and other programs of the SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935 further defined the emerging American welfare state.

**Further reading:** Searle E. Charles, *Minister of Relief: Harry Hopkins and the Depression* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1963).

### Federal Housing Administration (FHA)

The National Housing Act of 1934 created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to revive the HOUSING industry by ensuring long-term mortgages and stimulating the construction of new homes. Prior to the 1930s, home mortgages usually required a down payment of 35 percent or more, with the loan lasting only five to 10 years and necessitating a large “balloon” payment at the end. Many working- and lower-class Americans could not meet these stringent requirements to qualify for a home mortgage, and for the middle-class families who had bought homes in the 1920s, the economic collapse of the GREAT DEPRESSION created havoc in their ability to pay their mortgage. Compounding this problem was the fact that new home construction had nearly ground to a halt by 1933 because of the depression's impact on incomes and the housing industry.

NEW DEAL housing policy developed over the 1930s. In 1933, the first priority was to stop the avalanche of home foreclosures, and the HOME OWNERS LOAN CORPORATION (HOLC) was created in June 1933 to help by providing assistance in refinancing existing mortgages. The PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION (PWA) also provided money at the local level to build new housing and provide jobs in construction, but the PWA, headed by HAROLD ICKES, was very cautious in granting money and the agency built little new housing by 1937. In 1937, the UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY was created to build urban public housing.

The FHA had two functions: to guarantee home mortgages by providing lenders insurance against default and to provide money for home modernization and construction. FHA initially proved disappointing in stimulating new home construction, but its insurance aspect had an

immediate, discernible impact. Together with the HOLC's refinancing of existing mortgages, the FHA helped to stabilize the foreclosure rate on existing mortgages, which had reached 1,000 per day in early 1933. The FHA had clear rules on what condition homes needed to be in to qualify for an FHA guarantee, and this clarity provided standardization in the inspection of homes across the mortgage industry, including private inspections. The FHA also stimulated the issuance of new mortgages, as the agency was able to convince lenders to reduce the down payment needed to purchase a home and stretch payment terms to a more affordable 20- or 30-year period.

But the policies of the FHA had some unintended and negative consequences, particularly for America's central CITIES. Following the practices of private banks, FHA "red-lined" high risk areas of cities, refusing to insure homes in declining or blighted urban neighborhoods. Rental properties and home improvement loans were also viewed as high-risk investments. Rental unit construction dropped off markedly in the next several decades, from about 40 percent of all new home construction in 1927 to less than 10 percent in 1956. The FHA chiefly financed single-family home units in the SUBURBS, and this became one of the contributing factors to the acceleration of white, middle-class suburbanization during the post-WORLD WAR II period.

See also FEDERAL NATIONAL MORTGAGE ASSOCIATION.

**Further reading:** Mark I. Gelfand, *A Nation of Cities: The Federal Government and Urban America, 1933–1965* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

—Katherine Liapis Segrue

### Federal Music Project (FMP)

The Federal Music Project (FMP) was one of several NEW DEAL projects that provided work RELIEF for a variety of people in the arts. Organized as part of the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (WPA) in 1935, these projects, collectively known as Federal One, also included the FEDERAL THEATRE PROJECT, the FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT, and the FEDERAL ART PROJECT. The FMP allowed thousands of musicians and MUSIC workers to continue their crafts and to enhance the cultural life of the nation through performances, instruction, composition, and the preservation of American musical traditions.

Even before the GREAT DEPRESSION struck, American musicians had experienced difficult times. Such innovations in TECHNOLOGY as the phonograph, RADIO, and the introduction of sound in MOVIES had replaced live

with "canned" music and displaced thousands of performers. Prohibition caused many nightclubs and other musical venues to close down. With the additional impact of the depression, up to two-thirds of the nation's musicians were unemployed by 1933 by one estimate.

The choice of Nikolai Sokoloff, the Russian-born director of the Cleveland Orchestra, as national director of the Federal Music Project lent the project immediate prestige. Emphasizing orchestral over popular or folk music during his 1935–39 tenure, Sokoloff ensured that the FMP met the highest standards of musical competence as assessed by required auditions. Under his leadership of the FMP, the number of symphony orchestras in the United States expanded significantly, and a much larger segment of the public had access to "serious" music. A number of CITIES held composers' forums, where the performance of a new work was followed by discussions between composer and audience. The FMP sponsored compositions by such masters as Aaron Copland and Roy Harris and often broadcast its compositions over the radio.

But the FMP did much more than support and stimulate symphonic music. It put on free concerts across the nation, sponsored glee clubs, dance bands, and JAZZ ensembles, commissioned operas, and provided social music to communities in rural and small-town America. The FMP gave thousands of performances in hospitals and schools, sponsored music festivals across the country, and conducted workshops and panel discussions. The project also provided work for music teachers, music librarians, music therapists, and repairers of musical implements.

The FMP preserved not only the skills of musicians and music workers but also the nation's musical traditions. In 1938, it began cooperating with the WPA's committee on the folk arts, and recorded and studied music by AFRICAN AMERICANS, MEXICAN AMERICANS, and NATIVE AMERICANS, as well as other regional folk music. It employed thousands of music copyists to transcribe music for easier use by schools and libraries. And it launched the ambitious Index of American Composers project, which although never completed or published (it remains stored in the Library of Congress), includes some 20,000 entries on 7,300 compositions by more than 2,000 composers.

The FMP did not encounter the sharp ideological and political opposition of other Federal One projects, the Federal Theatre Project in particular, but it faced the same struggle for adequate appropriations from CONGRESS as did the others. When the Federal Theatre Project was terminated in 1939, the FMP and the artists and writers projects were allowed to continue under state and local sponsorship. Budget cuts reduced FMP rolls from their high of 16,000 to just 5,500 in 1939. With the coming of WORLD WAR II, the WPA Music Program (as it was called under local control) organized bands to play at armed



forces training camps and worked with the military, until it was terminated in 1943 together with the other remaining arts programs.

**Further reading:** William F. McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts: The Origins and Administrative History of the Arts Projects of the Works Project Administration* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969).

—Timothy Arnquist

### Federal National Mortgage Association

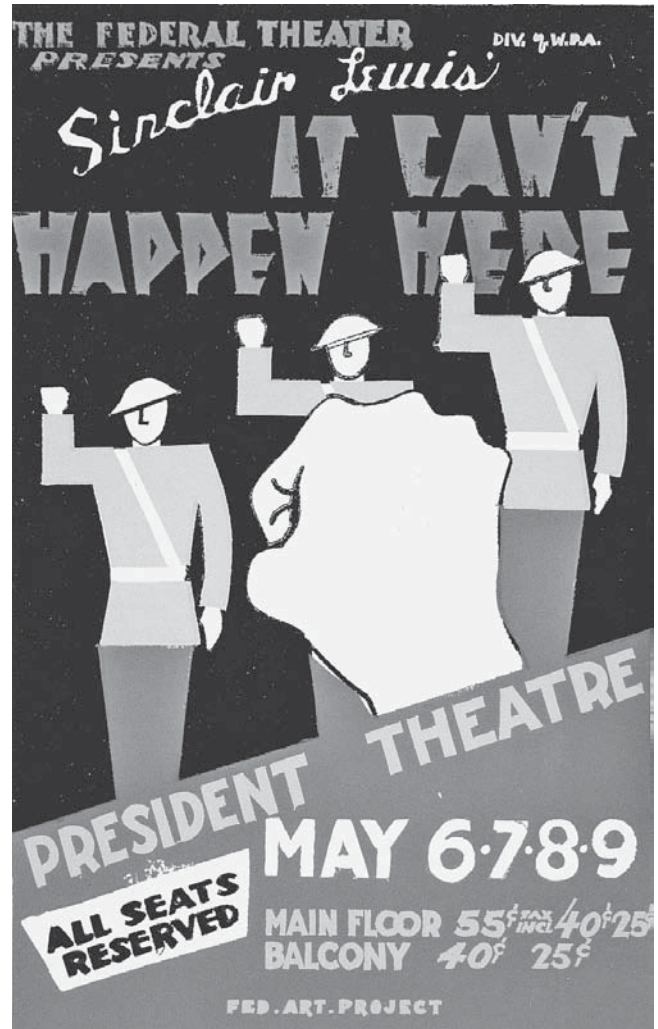
The onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION severely damaged the construction industry, a crucial component of the ECONOMY. To ameliorate the crisis and make more funding available to prospective home buyers, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT encouraged passage of the National Housing Act in 1934 and the creation of the FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION. To further help revive the home construction industry, Roosevelt in 1938 approached JESSE H. JONES, president of the RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION, to charter the Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA, popularly known as “Fannie Mae”) as a subsidiary. This new organization, created on February 10, 1938, under President Sam Husbands and capitalized with \$11 million, was authorized to purchase home mortgages from lending institutions, thereby encouraging banks, building and loan associations, and savings banks to resume making home loans. This, in turn, was expected to stimulate the home construction industry at the national level and greatly reduce UNEMPLOYMENT. Despite its ambitious aims, FNMA proved a small operation in the late 1930s and issued only two series of obligations, totaling \$29.7 million in 1938 and \$55.5 million in 1939. The program then achieved greater impetus following WORLD WAR II. By 1947, FNMA had purchased 66,966 mortgages worth \$271 million, rendering it one of the postwar period’s most active agencies for expanding home ownership nationwide. In 1948, FNMA was authorized to purchase loans insured by the Veterans Administration.

**Further reading:** Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

—John C. Fredriksen

### Federal Theatre Project (FTP)

From its inception in 1935 until its demise in 1939, the Federal Theatre Project (FTP), created as a way to provide work RELIEF for an estimated 13,000 unemployed theater workers, faced challenges different from those



Poster for the theatrical staging of Sinclair Lewis's *It Can't Happen Here* (1935) (Library of Congress)

encountered by most other NEW DEAL relief programs. Formed as a part of the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (WPA), the Federal Theatre Project, together with the FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT, the FEDERAL ART PROJECT, and the FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT, made up an effort known collectively as Federal One to provide work relief for the arts. The FTP became the most controversial of these programs.

Hallie Flanagan, a Grinnell College classmate of New Deal relief administrator HARRY HOPKINS and head of Vassar College's Experimental Theatre, was chosen to lead the Federal Theatre Project. Enthusiastic about the FTP and its possibilities from the very beginning, the dynamic Flanagan believed that the project could and should be used for the creation of a socially relevant theater. She and the other project organizers intended to spread the FTP

across the United States. Each region would have its own center, with local theaters established in the surrounding communities. Personnel would be recruited locally.

A thriving federal theater took root only in three cities. New York City had the most important programs, but Los Angeles and Chicago also built successful projects and loyal audiences. Actors of varied backgrounds and experience shared the stage. Successful productions resulted, including ORSON WELLES's production of *Macbeth* with an all-black cast and *It Can't Happen Here*, Sinclair Lewis's controversial play about fascism. FTP audiences ultimately totaled an estimated 30 million people, and the program provided employment for thousands of theater people.

Despite its successes and the public support it gained, the Federal Theatre Project encountered a variety of challenges and problems. One of the most important issues faced by the FTP was whether the chief goal was to provide work relief or to create a quality theater, a debate that was never satisfactorily settled. Facing pressure from Washington to place workers on the payroll as quickly as possible in order to meet relief needs, many regional projects hired actors without auditioning them first. The result was typically an underqualified or inexperienced workforce. Challenges also came from the unions, which demanded that specific hours limitations be placed on workers; consequently, opening dates were often pushed back to allow for further rehearsals. In addition, commercial theater criticized the federal productions, claiming that they led to unfair competition.

Another problem that Flanagan faced was that she frequently lost well-qualified staff members because of the frustrations of working with uncooperative or unsympathetic GOVERNMENT officials. Within six months after the creation of the Federal Theatre Project, two-thirds of the original 24 regional directors had resigned their posts. Bureaucrats or relief workers with little or no interest in the artistic attributes of the project often replaced these valuable personnel.

A significant aspect of Hallie Flanagan's plan for a socially relevant theater was the creation of what were called Living Newspapers. The goal of these productions was to draw the public's attention to contemporary social or political issues. All were commercially successful, but each one also faced criticism from people in government. Members of Congress who were quoted in one production felt that they had been misrepresented by the context in which their words were placed.

In 1938, the project came under investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee, led by the conservative Texas Democratic congressman Martin Dies. Accusations of New Deal propaganda and Communist sympathies in the FTP had been leveled for some time, from both inside and outside sources. For several weeks,

witnesses were brought before the committee to testify about alleged—and sometimes real—radical and Communist activities within the FTP. When Hallie Flanagan appeared before the committee to defend the FTP, she was only allowed one morning in which to make her case, and was not permitted to complete her argument. By the time the investigations closed in late 1938, national public support for the Federal Theatre Project was dwindling.

Despite the negative publicity of the period during and immediately following the Dies committee hearings, successful shows continued to be produced in the major centers. However, the Federal Theatre Project was an endangered institution. It encountered not only ideological opposition but also criticism that its operations (and money) were focused too narrowly on New York and a few other big cities. In 1939, when the other Federal One arts projects were placed under state control, the Federal Theatre Project was abolished completely. Subsequent attempts to reinstate the project in 1940 and 1941 proved unsuccessful.

**Further reading:** Jane DeHart Mathews, *The Federal Theatre 1935–1939: Plays, Relief, and Politics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967); William F. McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts: The Origins and Administrative History of the Arts Projects of the Works Project Administration* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969).

—Joanna Smith

### Federal Writers' Project (FWP)

The Federal Writers' Project (FWP) was one of four NEW DEAL arts projects, collectively known as Federal One, that were created as part of the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (WPA) in 1935 to provide work RELIEF for the unemployed. After conducting an occupational survey of families on relief, New Deal relief administrator HARRY HOPKINS realized the need for specific relief programs for white-collar workers, including writers and other artists. In addition to the FWP, the other arts projects were the FEDERAL THEATRE PROJECT, the FEDERAL ART PROJECT, and the FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT. Congressional hostility and defense spending priorities during WORLD WAR II eventually led to the termination of the Federal Writers' Project and the other Federal One programs.

The FWP, under the direction of former journalist Henry Alsberg, gave thousands of unemployed writers work on over a thousand publications on American topics during the GREAT DEPRESSION. Early questions arose as to what a government-sponsored writers' project should do. The idea that FWP writers would simply work on government manuals and reports was quickly discarded as

bureaucratic and mundane. Another option would have given writers freedom to select their own projects, including novels, short stories, and poems. This was seen as risky, however, because of the potential for controversial content. Ultimately, the FWP focused chiefly on nonfiction.

But the FWP was characterized by ambiguity of aims from its inception and was often criticized for pedestrian work. Bringing together ambitious young writers, librarians, journalists, and teachers, once-talented writers past their literary prime, and writers with very little talent or experience, the FWP involved a peculiar and precarious mix of individuals. Relatively few of its participants were creative writers, and pressure for instant results hastened the writing process, generating numerous books and pamphlets that later often made for dull reading, even though good editing in Washington improved much of the submitted work. The writers' project was never intended to produce great LITERATURE, although a number of notable writers worked on the FWP, including RICHARD WRIGHT. Peak FWP employment came in April 1936, with nearly 6,700 women and men on its payrolls, and the project employed some 10,000 writers in all.

FWP writers produced a popular collection of guidebooks, the American Guide series, for each of the states, major cities and counties, regions of the country, and interstate highway routes. As the published volumes of the American guides delved deeper below the surface of American life, the FWP progressed from a set of tour books, almanacs, educational pamphlets, and natural history books to introductory essays of the state guides, county and local histories, ethnic studies, and folklore studies that added to national self-knowledge. The FWP's Life in America series contained some 150 volumes on a range of topics. Interviews with former slaves and life histories of southern black tenant farmers, farm and cotton-mill owners, and workers published in *These Are Our Lives* (1939) gave new perspectives to American history and more knowledge about the plight of the marginalized and dispossessed. Such attention to the downtrodden was a common theme in depression-era art and literature, and the FWP's most productive period, 1935–40, was a time when the Great Depression inclined Americans to seek knowledge about the past and each other.

The need for a larger defense budget in the years leading up to World War II siphoned off federal dollars from the FWP, as did criticism from conservatives, including the House Committee on Un-American Activities and its chairman Texas Democratic congressman Martin Dies. The Dies committee targeted the FWP as a "Red nest" and "a festering sore of communism." By 1939, budget cuts had forced the project to scale down to 3,500 workers, although it was so popular that every state provided money to keep it alive when CONGRESS reduced funding in 1939.

The Federal Writers' Project was eliminated along with the WPA in 1943 and much of its unpublished work was lost or destroyed. Even so, the FWP left a substantial legacy in its American Guide and Life in America series and in its compilations of folklore and oral histories.

**Further reading:** Jerre Mangione, *The Dream and the Deal: The Federal Writers' Project, 1935–1943* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972); William F. McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts: The Origins and Administrative History of the Arts Projects of the Works Project Administration* (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1969).

—Joseph C. Gutberlet

### fireside chats

In 1929, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, then the governor of New York, began employing RADIO to advocate political reforms in his state. Throughout his first term in office, he faced entrenched opposition from a largely Republican legislature, so Roosevelt frequently took to the airwaves on behalf of his programs and appealed directly for public support. This typically resulted in thousands of letters written to legislators on behalf of the governor's agenda, which then usually passed. Roosevelt entered the White House in 1933 determined to utilize mass media on behalf of his programs, although this time on a national level. The president first sat before the microphone on Sunday, March 12, 1933, only eight days after his inauguration, and in his chatty and unpretentious manner, he reassured the American people that the banks would be reopened shortly and that their savings were safe. His efforts yielded the appropriate calming effect, for when the banks opened on Monday there were no runs on banking institutions and, in fact, deposits outnumbered withdrawals. However, it was not until an address delivered on June 24, 1933, that the term *fireside chats* was coined.

Roosevelt was the first chief executive to effectively exploit the broadcast milieu for political advantage. Here he was assisted by his sonorous, friendly delivery and a team of skilled speechwriters, including celebrated writers Robert Sherwood and Archibald MacLeish, who carefully composed and redrafted each "chat" to the president's specifications. Roosevelt spoke as though he was talking not to a mass audience but rather to individual listeners, and he did so in the soothing manner of a good and trusted friend. He also delivered his chats in front of a small audience gathered in the White House basement, which enabled him to gesticulate realistically to them, yet give listeners the distinct impression that he was speaking directly to them in their living rooms. Given their deliberate emphasis on informality, firesides chats were never intended as formal speeches or addresses, and their folksy demeanor



helped cement the president's close relationship with the American public. The broadcasts, moreover, were kept brief and to the point; the majority were only 30 minutes in length and usually delivered on Sunday evenings between 9 and 11 P.M. to ensure the largest radio audience. At their height, fireside chats were carried by 800 radio stations. Significantly, an estimated 17 million families tuned in to hear the first of 28 fireside chats, which gradually averaged 24.4 percent of the adult population—around 100 million people. This constituted the largest listening audience of any program aired throughout radio's "golden age."

As in New York, the fireside chats were carefully calculated to generate popular support for his NEW DEAL programs, and they frequently resulted in thousands of letters sent to congressmen of both parties to that effect. However, after the outbreak of WORLD WAR II in 1939, Roosevelt shifted the focus of his talks from domestic politics to international affairs, whereby he frequently reassured listeners of his determination to embrace neutrality. When this became impossible in the wake of Japan's PEARL HARBOR attack of December 7, 1941, the fireside chats served as a rallying point for the nation. Roosevelt delivered his last fireside chat on June 12, 1944, to promote the Fifth War Loan Drive. In terms of style and effect the president made mass media into an effective ally and a conduit for national policy. In doing so, Roosevelt helped usher in the age of modern media politics.

**Further reading:** Lawrence W. Levine and Cornelia R. Levine, *The People and the President: America's Conversations with FDR* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002); Jason Loviglio, *Radio's Intimate Public: Network Broadcasting and Mass-mediated Democracy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

—John C. Fredriksen

## First New Deal

The first Hundred Days of the administration of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT marked the beginning of what scholars have come to call the First New Deal of 1933, which emphasized economic recovery from the GREAT DEPRESSION and RELIEF assistance to the unemployed.

Historians have long used a "two New Deals" framework to impose order on the myriad agencies and pieces of legislation of the NEW DEAL, and to understand the changes in the policies and legislative agenda of between the First New Deal of 1933 and the SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935, which emphasized social reform. Although the first and second New Deal model tends to exaggerate change in policy and ideology between 1933 and 1935 while often overlooking continuities, it has nonetheless proven a useful conceptual framework. (Recently scholars have also identi-

fied a THIRD NEW DEAL in Roosevelt's second and third terms.)

Unlike his predecessor, HERBERT C. HOOVER, Roosevelt, counseled by members of his BRAIN TRUST, attributed the causes of the Great Depression to structural flaws in the American economy and to a failure to regulate BUSINESS. The Roosevelt administration thus turned toward an enlarged role for the federal GOVERNMENT in regulating and stabilizing the ECONOMY. In addition to programs designed to provide relief, the most prominent of which was the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION, the administration implemented programs to use national government planning to prevent further economic decline and promote recovery through the coordination and regulation of private industry and AGRICULTURE.

The two key agencies that embodied this philosophy behind the First New Deal were the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION (AAA) created by the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT and the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA) developed in 1933 to carry out the provisions of the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT. The AAA used subsidies and taxes to control farm production and raise prices on agricultural goods. The NRA suspended antitrust laws for those companies that complied with its codes for production, prices, and employment practices. By 1935, however, after the Supreme Court decision in *SCHECHESTER POULTRY CORPORATION V. UNITED STATES* declared the NRA unconstitutional, policymakers began to turn away from efforts to advance recovery through planning and controls, and looked toward social reform to provide both immediate relief and long-term security during the Second New Deal.

**Further reading:** William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932–1940* (New York: Harper, 1963); William H. Wilson, "The Two New Deals: A Valid Concept?" *The Historian* 28 (February 1966): 268–288.

—Shannon L. Parsley

## fiscal policy

Fiscal policy involves the GOVERNMENT budget—revenues and expenditures. Traditionally, economists and governments had stressed the importance of a balanced budget and the dangers of budget deficits, which might fuel inflation, undermine BUSINESS confidence and investment, and in other ways harm the ECONOMY. Both President HERBERT C. HOOVER and President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT held to the conventional wisdom of balanced budgets in the early years of the GREAT DEPRESSION, although because of the ravages of the depression on national income and thus government revenues, neither was able to achieve



a balanced budget. Roosevelt for his part was willing to countenance deficits in order to finance RELIEF and other essential NEW DEAL measures. But by the middle and late 1930s, a number of economists and officials in the Roosevelt administration became persuaded of the arguments of the British economist John Maynard Keynes that fiscal policy was a crucial tool in managing the economy and that purposefully incurred deficits might in fact spur an economy toward full production and full employment. The RECESSION OF 1937–1938 seemed to confirm the validity of KEYNESIANISM to many New Dealers, and subsequently Keynesian fiscal policy became more central to New Deal planning and policy. For many economists, WORLD WAR II was a fundamental proving ground for Keynesianism: Though nearly half the wartime expenses were financed by current revenues, the costs were so high that federal deficits skyrocketed—to as much as \$50 billion per year (as compared to the highest deficit in the 1930s of some \$4.4 billion). And with the burgeoning deficits, the gross national product doubled and UNEMPLOYMENT plummeted, from some 15 percent in 1940 to just 1 percent in 1944. By the end of World War II, Keynesian fiscal policy was a central component of liberalism, and fiscal policy was increasingly accepted by professional economists and by some business officials as vital to managing the economy.

See also FULL EMPLOYMENT BILL; MONETARY POLICY.

**Further reading:** Herbert Stein, *The Fiscal Revolution in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

**Flynn, Edward J.** (1891–1953) *Democratic Party leader, government official*

Edward Joseph Flynn, a New York lawyer and leader of the Bronx County [New York] Democratic organization, rose to national prominence as a political adviser to FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. Flynn was a close associate of Roosevelt's during the 1920s, and in 1928 helped to persuade FDR to run for governor of New York. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Flynn continued to serve Roosevelt as an informal adviser, and in 1940 succeeded JAMES A. FARLEY as chairman of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY National Committee.

Flynn was born on September 22, 1891, to a well-to-do IRISH-AMERICAN family in New York, and in 1912 graduated from Fordham Law School. He entered politics in 1917 as a member of the New York State Legislature, where he remained for four years. Flynn was then elected sheriff of Bronx County and in 1922 was elected chairman of the Bronx Democratic committee. After Roosevelt was elected governor of New York in 1928, Flynn accepted an appointment as New York secretary of state. In 1932, Flynn worked with James Farley and LOUIS MCHENRY HOWE in helping

to win the presidential nomination for Roosevelt. Flynn continued to use his influence as Bronx County leader and as national committeeman for New York to garner support for the president throughout the 1930s. In 1938, during FDR's attempt to "purge" the Democratic Party of conservative opponents to the NEW DEAL, Flynn campaigned on behalf of pro-New Deal candidates for the president. Although, concerned for the president's health, he urged Roosevelt not to seek a third term in the ELECTION OF 1940, Flynn helped HARRY HOPKINS to organize the efforts to renominate Roosevelt at the Chicago convention.

In 1943, FDR appointed Flynn minister to Australia and ambassador-at-large for the South Pacific. This appointment provided fodder for Roosevelt's critics in the Senate, who argued that Flynn was unqualified for the job. In order to stave off the developing controversy Flynn withdrew his name. Although Flynn, anticipating his appointment, had resigned his position as Democratic National Committee chairman, he returned to the DNC until he was succeeded by Robert Hannegan in 1944.

With the ELECTION OF 1944, Flynn was assigned the task of finding a suitable vice-presidential candidate. He settled on Missouri senator Harry S. Truman and helped secure his nomination. After FDR's death, Flynn largely retired from national politics. He remained involved in local politics and emerged as a champion of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party in New York during the postwar struggle between liberals and conservatives, led by James Farley. In 1953, Edward Flynn died while on vacation in Ireland.

See also POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA.

**Further reading:** Edward J. Flynn, *You're the Boss* (New York: Viking, 1947).

—Shannon L. Parsley

**Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act** (1938)

The Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 strengthened the power of the Food and Drug Administration, a federal regulatory agency created in 1906 to protect American consumers from harmful food and drug products. Strengthening the FDA was consistent with NEW DEAL efforts to increase the regulatory power of the federal GOVERNMENT. It was also consistent with New Deal efforts to better balance consumers' and producers' interests and to include consumers as a constituency in the agencies of the federal government, beginning with the establishment of the Consumer Advisory Board of the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION in 1933.

In working to protect the public from unsafe food and drugs in the 1930s, the Food and Drug Administration was constrained by inadequate statutory power and by limited

funding and staffing. Products continued to come on the market that harmed, and sometimes killed, consumers, despite the best efforts of the FDA's modest staff of fewer than 250 chemists and inspectors. In 1937, the Massengil Company distributed a new drug for syphilis, Elixir of Sulfanilamide, which contained an untested lethal solvent that caused more than 100 deaths. The ensuing stir revealed the FDA's weaknesses and spurred the passage of a stronger statute the following year.

The resulting law, the 1938 Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, one of the last New Deal successes in strengthening the regulatory powers of the federal government, gave the FDA new power to eliminate abuses in production, labeling, and advertising, as well as additional authority over cosmetics and medical devices. The law also gave the FDA power to establish legally enforceable food standards, to conduct factory inspections, to enforce injunctions on seized products and companies, and to require the pre-market approval of drugs.

In the years after 1938, the FDA enjoyed enhanced power, activity, and success, even though wartime priorities brought some decrease in the agency's staffing. SUPREME COURT decisions in the 1940s and 1950s upheld FDA actions on ADVERTISING and confirmed its power in overseeing and regulating food, drugs, and cosmetics.

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—David Slak

## foreign policy

The foreign policy of the United States from 1929 to 1945 was marked by the gradual reemergence of a major American presence in world political and military affairs. The domestic problems wrought by the GREAT DEPRESSION and a continuing adverse reaction to World War I and the nation's participation in it limited the U.S. role in international politics throughout much of the 1930s. The coming of WORLD WAR II compelled the United States to take an active part in the global geopolitical arena. Producing a national consensus for ongoing American involvement and leadership in world affairs and making the United States the world's great superpower, rivaled only by the Soviet Union, World War II dramatically changed the nation's foreign policy and world role. It also laid the groundwork for continuing and heightened tensions with its wartime ally, the Soviet Union, during the cold war period that followed.

After World War I, many Americans believed that large corporations who desired lucrative military contracts had orchestrated U.S. involvement in the war, and suspi-

cion of big BUSINESS and of internationalism deepened after the STOCK MARKET CRASH of 1929. President HERBERT C. HOOVER, a firm believer in international cooperation, economic and otherwise, attempted to alleviate the global crisis through collaboration with European nations to restore the international economy as well as working for arms reduction agreements at the LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE and the WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. A number of factors, including German and Japanese ambitions for arms parity, prevented the success of these efforts at international peace and prosperity. The protectionist HAWLEY-SMOOT TARIFF ACT, signed by Hoover in 1930, worked against international cooperation and contributed to the failure to halt the downward spiral of the American and world economies.

As the United States struggled in the depths of the depression, the international scene grew increasingly more ominous. Imperial Japan invaded MANCHURIA in September 1931, and Hoover adopted the policy of "nonrecognition" by refusing to acknowledge diplomatically the Japanese conquest of Manchuria. This essentially passive policy, called the Stimson Doctrine after Secretary of State HENRY L. STIMSON, would be representative of American foreign policy toward global turmoil for much of the next decade. This tepid response only emboldened the Japanese further, and when the League of Nations likewise refused to confer its recognition on the conquest of Manchuria, Japan quit the league and continued consolidating its grip on the region.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT succeeded Hoover as president in 1933, and while Roosevelt never withdrew from international affairs as much as American ISOLATIONISTS hoped, the foreign policy of his first term was marked by noninterventionism. Global affairs took second place to Roosevelt's primary concerns with American domestic troubles, as shown by his action during the LONDON ECONOMIC CONFERENCE of 1933. While Roosevelt initially seemed eager to cooperate in an agreement on currency stabilization, he abruptly withdrew American support from the tentative settlement after being convinced that global currency stabilization could harm American economic recovery. Other examples of the administration's approach to foreign policy include American recognition of the Soviet Union in November 1933 (partly in hopes of economic benefits for the United States) and the concurrent development of the GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY toward Latin America. The United States, in fact, had been a trading partner with the Soviets since 1918, so de facto recognition did not involve dramatic alterations in their basic relationship. However, this pragmatism changed with the onset of bloody political purges conducted by Premier Joseph Stalin after 1935, and distrust between the two nations increased. Although SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS did not change

much in the short run, restraint in Latin America allowed the United States to avoid active intervention while developing relationships with nations whose goodwill would later become important. This rapprochement did require some work to overcome incipient anti-American feelings that had festered since the early 20th century, but leaders typically welcomed the new emphasis on nonintervention.

Nonintervention remained the most distinguishing feature of American foreign policy through the mid-1930s. The emergence of expansionist aggressor governments in Europe and Asia seemed at first to be disturbing but unrelated phenomena that posed little threat to the United States, as the Japanese continued their assault on China and Italy invaded ETHIOPIA. The outbreak of the SPANISH CIVIL WAR in 1936 changed this situation, however, when Germany and Italy sided with General Francisco Franco's Fascist regime in their attempts to oust the Soviet-aided republican government of Spain. In addition, Germany, Italy, and Japan signed an anti-Comintern (really an anti-Soviet) pact in November 1937. While the treaty indicated the possibility of conflict between totalitarian nations of the right and left that were often hostile to American interests, it also signaled the more ominous prospect of cooperation among Germany, Japan, and Italy, the three militarily aggressive nations on two separate continents.

In 1935, the United States enacted the first of the NEUTRALITY ACTS, and then extended them in subsequent years to avoid American involvement in the conflicts in Europe. Roosevelt did exert some authority by not cutting the Chinese off from American arms after the Sino-Japanese War began. One possible reason was the unprovoked BOMBING of the American gunboat USS *Panay* on the Yangtze River in November 1937. The Japanese quickly apologized for the incident and paid compensation, but the incident underscored Japan's growing willingness to use force. By 1939, however, the situation in Europe had grown even more menacing. At the September 1938 MUNICH CONFERENCE, the British and French made unsuccessful attempts to appease Nazi Germany by acquiescing in its seizure of part of Czechoslovakia, but Hitler took the remainder of Czechoslovakia in March 1939.

With the signing of the NAZI-SOVIET PACT in August 1939 and the formal beginning of World War II the following month with the German invasion of Poland, the United States began slowly, but steadily, moving toward anti-AXIS intervention. The United States had already begun a naval buildup, and then, in the autumn of 1939 enabled the British and French to purchase American arms by amending the Neutrality Acts so that the CASH-AND-CARRY provisions would allow belligerents to buy arms as long as they paid in cash and transported their purchases in non-American vessels. The United States was more assertive with Japan, abrogating the commerce treaty between the two nations.



Prime Minister Winston Churchill addressing the U.S. Congress, December 1941 (*University of Kentucky Libraries*)

The beginning of World War II thus found the United States sympathetic to the Western democracies and China, but still hoping that the nation might stay out of the war. Hostility toward Germany and Japan grew, however, especially after the Nazi attack on western Europe in the spring of 1940, and American opinion increasingly turned toward actively supporting the Allies. Roosevelt continued to seek ways to help the British and French, including the DESTROYERS-FOR-BASES DEAL of September 1940 in which the United States exchanged 50 overage destroyers for British naval bases in the Western Hemisphere. This new initiative came just before Germany, Italy, and Japan signed the Tripartite Pact on September 27, cementing the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.

In the meantime, the United States continued to prepare for the possibility of war. The SELECTIVE SERVICE System was begun in the autumn of 1940. Moral embargoes against the Japanese were extended into mandatory bans on the sale of aviation fuel and scrap iron outside the Western Hemisphere. The United States also began to plan strategy with the British, who had been left alone to fight the Axis powers after the French surrender to Germany in June 1940. American leaders believed that the Nazi-Soviet alliance was doomed to failure, but were not certain when the split might come. It occurred in June 1941, when Germany abrogated the nonaggression pact and invaded the Soviet Union.

The United States and Japan undertook talks in the summer of 1941 that proved to be a final, fruitless attempt to prevent war. The Americans insisted that the Japanese, who had concluded a neutrality treaty with the Soviets in April 1941, should respect the territorial integrity of China and restore the status quo of 1937, while the Japanese

hoped to use American influence to generate a settlement with the Chinese legitimating Japanese encroachment in China. Cut off from American oil by embargo and believing that additional territorial expansion in pursuit of more oil would invite American retaliation, the Japanese began to prepare the December 7, 1941, attack on the United States at PEARL HARBOR, Hawaii.

Meanwhile, Roosevelt continued to do what he could to aid the nations fighting Germany in Europe. He extended military aid to the Soviets as well as to the British under the LEND-LEASE Act of 1941, and U.S. warships patrolled the Atlantic. After one of these ships, the *Greer*, was attacked by a German submarine in September 1941, FDR issued a "shoot on sight" order toward Axis vessels that entered American "defensive" waters of the Atlantic. In mid-October 1941, U-boats attacked and sank the destroyer USS *Kearny* in the North Atlantic, with considerable loss of life. The German government apologized and paid reparations for the incident, but in its wake Roosevelt finally prevailed upon CONGRESS to strike most remaining restriction clauses in the neutrality statute. Continued submarine attacks on American ships prompted Roosevelt to authorize merchant vessels to carry arms. The United States conducted these activities as an undeclared war until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Following the American declaration of war on Japan on December 8, Germany declared war on the United States on December 11. The United States was now at war against the Axis Powers.

American entrance into World War II solidified the GRAND ALLIANCE of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. The alliance grew out of the closer ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS created by cooperation between Roosevelt and the new British prime minister, Winston Churchill beginning in 1940. The Soviet Union joined the alliance after endorsing the objectives of the war as outlined in Roosevelt and Churchill's ATLANTIC CHARTER of August 1941. The three nations concluded that Nazi Germany posed much the greatest threat and that war strategy should thus focus on defeating Germany first.

Wartime strategy nonetheless became a sticking point for the various members of the alliance. The Soviets desperately wanted the Americans and British to open a SECOND FRONT in western Europe to relieve German pressure on the eastern front that was causing enormous death and destruction in the Soviet Union, but neither the Americans nor the British were ready for such a move in 1942. Despite this delay, the Soviets were able to turn the tide of the war in favor of the Allies by repulsing the German siege of Leningrad and forcing a German surrender at Stalingrad. Although Stalin continued to demand a second front, the Soviet successes allowed the Americans and British to postpone the opening of this second front until spring 1944.

From the beginning of the war, Franklin Roosevelt thought about the postwar world as well as wartime strategy. He hoped that the members of the wartime alliance, along with China, would emerge as global leaders that could preserve the peace. Especially at the late 1943 TEHERAN CONFERENCE and the early 1945 YALTA CONFERENCE, the Allies discussed both military strategy and the restructuring of the postwar world. The mechanisms for international political and economic cooperation included not only the new UNITED NATIONS, but also the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank agreed to at the BRETTON WOODS CONFERENCE. In working for the creation of such organizations, Roosevelt was supported by a dramatic wartime transformation in public and congressional opinion away from the isolationism and noninterventionism of the 1930s and toward overwhelming agreement that the United States should play a leading role in the postwar world and in a collective security organization to keep the peace. Roosevelt hoped to achieve a postwar world order in which all peoples would have the right to peaceful self-determination and in which the United Nations, led by the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and China, would provide a means by which stronger, more prosperous nations could keep the peace and assist weaker nations with military protection or economic development.

The Soviet Union and Great Britain, however, did not always share Roosevelt's vision of the world to come, causing tensions to emerge between the Allies once victory appeared inevitable. The British were reluctant to dismantle their colonial empire, but a far more serious source of discord was the Soviet desire for a sphere of influence in eastern Europe to address their security concerns. The Allies managed to come to agreement on tentative general principles governing the new power structure, but it was clear that serious ideological differences and divergent national aims were straining the Grand Alliance.

A number of other events then accelerated the deterioration of the Grand Alliance, including Roosevelt's death in April 1945 and Germany's surrender in May. Without Roosevelt and without a mutual enemy, the alliance lost important cementing forces. In addition, the development of the ATOMIC BOMB by the United States promised to change global politics forever. The tensions caused by these events were evident at the last of the wartime conferences of the Grand Alliance, the POTSDAM CONFERENCE. Issues that had been major points of conflict at Yalta, such as the independence of Poland and German reparations, remained so at Potsdam. The Allies were able to agree on the course the rest of the Japanese war would take, but discussion on European questions only illustrated how much the Grand Alliance had deteriorated. The British shared enough common interests with



the United States that their relationship was not seriously affected by disagreements, but Soviet-American relations continued to worsen.

The Japanese surrender in August 1945 brought an end to World War II, leaving the United States and Soviet Union as the unquestioned leaders of the new global order. This position, however, presented a whole host of new problems for American diplomacy and the new determination by the United States to play a leading role in global affairs on behalf of international peace and prosperity and American interests and principles. The United States found itself in a developing cold war with its former ally, the Soviet Union, in a world where the specter of nuclear war made global conflict more dangerous than ever before.

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—Mary E. Carroll-Mason

**Forrestal, James V.** (1892–1949) *secretary of the navy*

James Vincent Forrestal, who helped transform the U.S. NAVY into the largest and most powerful naval force in the world during World War II, served as undersecretary of the navy (1940–44), secretary of the navy (1944–47), and then as the nation's first secretary of defense (1947–49).

Forrestal was born on February 15, 1892, in what is now Beacon, Dutchess County, New York, to IRISH-AMERICAN parents. He attended Princeton University, but left weeks before his graduation in 1915 (after failing an English course) and went to work as a bond salesman for a Wall Street investment firm. With the U.S. entry into World War I in 1917, Forrestal enlisted in the navy and became a naval aviator, although he never went overseas. He returned to Wall Street in 1920 and was a prominent figure there for two decades.

Embittered by a power struggle in his company, Forrestal left Wall Street to work as a special assistant to President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in 1940 to aid in the war MOBILIZATION effort. Within two months, he was appointed undersecretary of the navy, where he helped build the massive U.S. fleet by coordinating procurement and contracts. He became the secretary of the navy after FRANKLIN KNOX died in April 1944, and worked hard to impress the navy's achievements upon the public. Forrestal also toured the battlefronts, including IWO JIMA; what he saw, according to Rear Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias, "turned his dislike of war into hatred of war." As victory in the war came closer in 1944–45, Forrestal turned his attention to the potential threat from the Soviet Union in a postwar world. At the POTSDAM CONFERENCE, Forrestal argued against using the ATOMIC BOMB without warning, and against requiring unconditional surrender from Japan.

President Harry S. Truman named Forrestal the nation's first secretary of defense in 1947, despite Forrestal's opposition to the unification of the armed forces under the National Security Act of 1947. As defense secretary, Forrestal aided in shaping the cold war policy of containment to limit the growth and power of the Soviet Union and communism. Forrestal opposed some of Truman's administration policies, including low defense budgets and the emphasis on AIR POWER. In March 1949, Truman asked for Forrestal's resignation. Suffering from physical and mental exhaustion, Forrestal was hospitalized in April. He committed suicide on May 22, 1949, jumping from the 16th floor of the Bethesda Naval Hospital where he was undergoing psychiatric treatment.

**Further reading:** Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley, *Driven Patriot: The Life and Times of James Forrestal* (New York: Knopf, 1992).

—Michael T. Walsh

## Four Freedoms

In his State of the Union address of January 6, 1941, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT stressed the importance of opposing the AXIS nations in WORLD WAR II and preserving democracy. Outlining measures that included the increased production of war materials, he announced his decision to send CONGRESS his proposal for the LEND-LEASE Act, which, if passed, would allow the United States to significantly increase aid to Britain's war efforts. Roosevelt supported his position on these issues by introducing the concept of "a world founded upon four essential human freedoms." He defined these freedoms as the freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.



Poster for the Four Freedoms (Library of Congress)

The freedoms of speech and religion paralleled those set forth in the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution. Roosevelt characterized freedom from want as “economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants,” and freedom from fear as “a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor.” He maintained that it was possible to create a world in which these Four Freedoms predominated, and indicated that the United States should support those who sought such a world.

The concept of the Four Freedoms, a powerful image that was simply expressed and that had clear philosophical similarities to the NEW DEAL, came to represent American views of the war and why it was being fought. The Four Freedoms became the subject of an extremely popular illustration by the artist Norman Rockwell that was distributed by the OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION. Yet despite the role of the Four Freedoms in wartime rhetoric and in shaping memories and understandings of the war’s meaning, just 13 percent of military personnel asked about them during the war could name three of the Four Freedoms,

and one-third could not name one. Americans believed in the Four Freedoms, but they fought the war especially to achieve victory and to enjoy better days at home.

—Joanna Smith

**Frankfurter, Felix** (1882–1965) *presidential adviser, associate justice of the Supreme Court*

Felix Frankfurter was a distinguished law professor, an important adviser to President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and the NEW DEAL, and an associate justice of the United States SUPREME COURT.

Frankfurter was born on November 15, 1882, in Vienna, Austria, and immigrated at age 12 with his parents to the United States. Although he spoke no English when he arrived in the United States, he went on to study at the City College of New York and then Harvard Law School where he edited the *Harvard Law Review*. While a law student at Harvard, Frankfurter developed a life-long friendship with Louis D. Brandeis, later a Supreme Court justice. He came to share especially Brandeis’s ANTIMONOPOLY conviction that economic concentration should be limited because of the economic and political harm it produced.

When he became a professor at Harvard Law School, Frankfurter took a keen interest in his students, seeking to place them in clerkships with leading judges and later in important GOVERNMENT posts. While teaching administrative law, Frankfurter also advised then New York governor Franklin D. Roosevelt on public utilities regulation and recommended individuals for various state positions.

After Roosevelt was elected president in 1932, Frankfurter continued to advise him on a wide range of issues, including personnel appointments. Frankfurter’s counsel to Roosevelt was generally in the areas of antitrust policy, securities regulation, TAXATION reform, and public utility regulation. Although Frankfurter was offered the post of solicitor general, he declined it, believing it would limit his ability to influence liberal reforms. Frankfurter also served as an informal placement bureau, assisting bright, liberal, young lawyers in finding government positions—and those who came to Washington on Frankfurter’s recommendation were referred to as the “happy hot dogs.”

The death of Justice Benjamin Cardozo in 1938 left a vacancy on the Supreme Court, and Roosevelt nominated Frankfurter as his successor. Many applauded his nomination because of Frankfurter’s work for CIVIL LIBERTIES and his support of liberal causes. On the Court, he proved reluctant to overturn policy, and concurred with the majority in *KOREMATSU V. UNITED STATES* (1944), which upheld the RELOCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS by the government. Although sometimes disappointing his liberal supporters, Frankfurter’s philosophy of judicial restraint was

consistent with liberal criticism of the Supreme Court's invalidation of New Deal programs in the mid-1930s.

After 23 years on the Court, Frankfurter retired in poor health in 1962. He died three years later in Washington, D.C.

**Further reading:** Michael E. Parrish, *Felix Frankfurter and His Times: The Reform Years* (New York: Free Press, 1982).

—Edwin C. Cogswell

### Full Employment Bill (1945)

The Full Employment Bill proposed in 1945 called for the federal GOVERNMENT to ensure a full-employment economy. It reflected both the new emphasis of LIBERALISM on Keynesian FISCAL POLICY to underwrite full-employment prosperity as well as the prevailing public concern about jobs once the economic stimulus provided by the MOBILIZATION for WORLD WAR II had ended. The bill faced substantial opposition from conservatives and BUSINESS, and in its final form was enacted as the watered down, though still important, Employment Act of 1946.

The Full Employment Bill embodied the new importance in the liberal agenda of KEYNESIANISM that had emerged as central to the THIRD NEW DEAL during and after the RECESSION OF 1937–1938 and that had been confirmed and enhanced by the wartime prosperity produced by heavy government spending. As liberals and LABOR planned postwar domestic policy, they came to focus especially on full employment, an emphasis that dovetailed with the concern among most Americans about sufficient postwar jobs. The POSTWAR PLANNING reports of the NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD reflected

this emphasis on full employment, as did other postwar initiatives by liberals and by the FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT administration. The ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS that Roosevelt espoused in 1944 included the right to a job, and in the ELECTION OF 1944 both Roosevelt and Republican nominee Thomas E. Dewey indicated their support of a full-employment economy. PUBLIC OPINION POLLS showed that postwar jobs ranked highest in public priorities.

In early 1945, liberals in CONGRESS introduced the Full Employment Bill, to commit the government to sufficient spending to ensure jobs for all Americans. But the bill, the centerpiece of the mid-1940s liberal agenda, encountered opposition from the powerful CONSERVATIVE COALITION in Congress, and as prosperity continued after the end of the war it commanded relatively little support from the public. In 1946, Congress enacted and President Harry S. Truman signed the Employment Act of 1946, an attenuated measure that called for “maximum” rather than “full” employment, did not provide for the “right to a useful and remunerative job” that the original bill had specified for all Americans able and willing to work, and lacked explicit Keynesian provisions for mandatory compensatory fiscal policy to ensure full employment. But the employment act did create the new Council of Economic Advisors, and it did reflect not only the new importance of Keynesian perspectives but also the government's new responsibility since the GREAT DEPRESSION and the NEW DEAL for the performance of the economy and the economic welfare of the American people.

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# G



**Garner, John Nance** (1868–1967) *representative, Speaker of the House, U.S. vice president*

John Nance Garner served two terms as vice president of the United States under President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, from 1933 to 1941. Prior to becoming vice president, Garner had represented southern Texas in the House of Representatives for more than 30 years, and had been elected speaker of the House in 1931. Nicknamed “Cactus Jack,” Garner came to regret leaving the House for an office he regarded as powerless, or in his well-known words, “not worth a pitcher of warm spit.”

Born in western Texas on November 22, 1868, Garner had little formal education and left Vanderbilt University after less than a year to study law on his own in Clarksville, Texas. Admitted to the bar at 22, Garner was elected to the Texas House of Representatives in 1898, and in 1902 won a seat in CONGRESS. Best known for his expertise in taxes, tariffs, and poker, he had a command of legislative process that led to his selection as Speaker of the House in 1931. As Speaker, Garner’s support for a national sales tax to balance the budget during the GREAT DEPRESSION reflected his deeply conservative views. But he was also a fierce DEMOCRATIC PARTY partisan who as the ELECTION OF 1932 approached exerted his influence to thwart Republican president HERBERT C. HOOVER’s programs and embarrass the president.

Garner became a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president in the spring of 1932. Falling far short, he released his delegates to Roosevelt, who then offered Garner the vice presidential nomination. As vice president, Garner’s amiable style and political savvy made him a useful liaison with Congress, and he facilitated passage of early NEW DEAL programs. But Garner was never personally or philosophically close to the president. Like other conservative southern and rural Democrats, Garner increasingly objected to the emerging New Deal regulatory welfare state—especially its spending and LABOR policies. Following Roosevelt’s controversial COURT-PACKING PLAN

of 1937, Garner became a leader of the CONSERVATIVE COALITION in Congress opposing the New Deal, although he did so privately rather than publicly, winning the title, “conniver-in-chief.”

Garner’s conservative allies convinced him to consider running for president in 1940. But he had no real chance at the Democratic nomination, and he left Washington in 1941, after 38 years in government, vowing to never again come east of the Potomac. John Nance Garner died in Uvalde, Texas, on November 7, 1967, days before his 99th birthday.

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—Joseph C. Gutberlet

## gays and lesbians

The period from 1929 to 1945 brought significant developments for gays and lesbians in the United States. Despite societal disapproval and sanctions, the emergence of a more active homosexual subculture in such major CITIES as New York and Los Angeles in the late 1920s and 1930s helped gays and lesbians find new opportunities to pursue their sexuality and to achieve a greater collective consciousness. Then MOBILIZATION and MIGRATION during WORLD WAR II uprooted millions of Americans, contributed to greater sexual permissiveness in American society, and produced nonfamilial and often sex-segregated environments in urban areas and the military where gays and lesbians could meet others like themselves and find support and solidarity. Although the military undertook efforts to winnow out homosexuals, gay men and lesbians served in all branches of the armed forces during the war.

During the interwar years, gays and lesbians increasingly developed friendship networks and meeting places, particularly in big cities, and often gained greater acceptance

among younger city dwellers. But a society and legal system rooted in the Judeo-Christian tradition remained hostile to homosexuality, which was widely condemned as immoral, and to homosexual acts, which were typically made criminal under the law. Doctors supported a medical model that understood homosexuality as congenital disease, and some performed sterilization to prevent carriers from passing the disease on to future generations. Meeting places for gays and lesbians, often controlled by organized crime and situated in out-of-the-way locations, remained open at the pleasure of police. Patrons of gay bars risked entrapment and arrest, and gays and lesbians typically pleaded guilty to avoid further embarrassment in court proceedings that aimed to inculcate shame. Despite the development of gay communities in urban areas, then, the interwar years also meant continuing dangers and proscriptions and public socializing remained unusual.

Complexity also characterized gay and lesbian history during World War II. As young gays and lesbians joined the armed forces and relocated to urban settings to help with mobilization efforts, they found in the unusually sex-segregated arrangements of wartime America opportunities to encounter other homosexuals and forge personal ties and supportive networks. Some found that wartime mobilization reinforced the greater freedom they had already experienced before the war. On the other hand, the war years also brought new sanctions against homosexuality by the military and produced in many communities efforts to enforce old standards of behavior against what seemed improper sexual permissiveness among both homosexuals and heterosexuals.

Prior to World War II, the armed forces had not screened for homosexuality. But by 1943, military psychiatrists convinced the U.S. NAVY and the U.S. ARMY to establish policies banning gays and lesbians from military service. For the first time—and unlike the policies of other nations at war—the military medical examination forced homosexuals, previously accustomed to a measure of privacy, to face public inquiry. Few gay or lesbian inductees revealed their homosexual identity in these examinations, and only superficial and stereotypical signs of homosexuality were noticed by psychiatrists, who because of time constraints typically conducted hasty, perfunctory screenings. Only a tiny number of homosexuals were denied entry into the military or were subsequently discharged, but in the postwar era proscriptions against homosexuals in the military became routine, and some gay veterans who had been discharged were denied benefits under the GI BILL OF RIGHTS. Many gay men nonetheless served with distinction on the battlefronts. Lesbians generally experienced fewer difficulties in the military than did gay men.

For gays and lesbians, the events of the 1930s and the war years thus brought continuing and sometimes increased

scrutiny and sanctions, but they also brought new opportunities and experiences that helped lay foundations for the more cohesive and assertive gay subculture of the postwar era.

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—Joseph C. Guterlet

## German Americans

German Americans represented one of the largest and oldest ethnic groups in the United States. An upwardly mobile group that was largely assimilated by the 1930s, German Americans’ experiences during the GREAT DEPRESSION differed from those of newer immigrants. During WORLD WAR II, the striking differences between the experiences of German Americans and of other ENEMY ALIENS underscored the degree to which German Americans had become accepted members of society.

While the immigration of Germans to America dates back to the colonial period, the largest influx of Germans began in the mid-19th century. Although German IMMIGRATION declined after 1890, first- and second-generation German Americans represented about 6 percent of the total U.S. population by 1930, and all Americans of German descent accounted for a significantly larger proportion of the population. In the mid-1930s, German immigration rates again began to rise as political and Jewish REFUGEES, among them many educated professionals, arrived from Germany.

German Americans in the 1930s and 1940s were scattered in rural and urban areas throughout the country and had established a strong occupational structure. Although many German Americans remained concentrated in the manufacturing industries, German Americans by the 1930s increasingly occupied positions not only as skilled workers but also in white-collar and professional jobs. Given their range of occupations, the experiences of German Americans varied considerably with the onset of the depression.

During the depression, however, the political response of many Germans to the failures of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY in dealing with the depression had a significant impact on the balance of party power in the United States. Traditionally supporters of the REPUBLICAN PARTY for the most part, German Americans had slowly begun to break away from the GOP in the 1920s. However, with

the depression and the ELECTION OF 1932, greater numbers of German Americans began to shift their support to FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, and with the ELECTION OF 1936, they continued generally to endorse the NEW DEAL policies of the Roosevelt administration.

As FOREIGN POLICY became increasingly important in the late 1930s and U.S. policy became increasingly anti-AXIS, many German Americans recalled their experiences during World War I, when they were viewed with suspicion and were often the victims of persecution—a shocking experience that had led them to assimilate still further in the aftermath of the war. In the late 1930s, German ethnic ties became important again as the Nazi Party received support from groups such as the German American Bund. Roosevelt's anti-Axis policies alienated a substantial number of German-American voters during the ELECTION OF 1940. But very few German Americans supported the Bund or Nazi Germany, and during World War II, German Americans, unlike ITALIAN AMERICANS and Japanese Americans, experienced little discrimination or difficulty. Despite some concerns about the loyalty of German Americans and such "fifth column" activities as sabotage and ESPIONAGE, the idea of relocating German aliens was quickly abandoned. German Americans contributed vitally to the war effort, both on the home front and in the armed forces.

If the World War II experience clearly signified the acceptance of German Americans, it also revealed the continued erosion of a distinct German-American ethnic identity. As newer German and Austrian immigrants arrived, they quickly adopted American customs. By the 1940s, many of the elements that bound ethnic Germans together, including the German-language press and mutual aid societies were gone or disappearing, either as a result of the depression or due to concerted efforts among Germans to assimilate.

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—Shannon L. Parsley

## GI Bill of Rights

Officially entitled the Serviceman's Readjustment Act, the GI Bill of Rights provided a wide array of benefits designed to help veterans back into the civilian mainstream after WORLD WAR II. It turned out to be one of the landmark pieces of social legislation of the mid-20th century.

The GI Bill had multiple origins. In part, it came from proposals in 1943 of the NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD (NRPB) and of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. As CONGRESS was working on several bills to assist veterans, the American Legion recommended an omnibus bill early in 1944 that after being modified and somewhat weakened by conservatives gained widespread support and was signed into law by Roosevelt in June 1944. Though a significant piece of reform legislation that underwrote upward mobility for veterans in the postwar era, and the only such reform measure passed by the conservative 78th Congress, it was supported not so much as a reform but as a reward for veterans and their service. Its passage also reflected the lobbying efforts of the American Legion and the political power of the millions of servicemen and their families and friends. The press immediately dubbed the law the GI Bill of Rights, with the "GI" standing for Government Issue, the label soldiers had given themselves.

An estimated 16 million people were eligible to participate in the GI Bill programs administered by the Veterans Administration (VA). More than 10 million veterans ultimately collected benefits. The law did not discriminate on the basis of race or sex. Although originally intended to expire in 1956, the popularity and success of the GI Bill moved Congress to extend the law to allow veterans from virtually every conflict since World War II to benefit from the program.

The GI Bill included direct benefits for UNEMPLOYMENT and job assistance, as well as BUSINESS and farm loans and aid to disabled veterans and their dependents. The most significant elements of the law, however, were the benefits that helped veterans further their EDUCATION and acquire homes. Veterans were free to attend the educational institution of their choice. While attending class, the VA paid the veteran's full tuition and up to \$500 per year for related school costs. They also received a monthly stipend of \$50 if they were single and \$75 if married for living expenses and to ease other financial burdens. Congress later increased the stipend amounts.

By 1948, nearly half of all male college students participated in the education benefits program, and in the 10 years that the full education benefits were made available, nearly 7 million veterans received tuition and training through the GI Bill. This unprecedented increase in college enrollment strained the resources of many universities, often resulting in shortages of student housing, classrooms, and faculty. Despite such problems, the GI Bill had a major impact on higher education by reshaping the popular image of college and helping to democratize higher education in America.

The GI Bill also helped veterans get their piece of the American dream by offering low interest mortgages. The law empowered the VA to issue payment guarantees for home lenders who made mortgages to veterans, and

it capped the interest rate on these loans. With such liberal financing terms, veterans could buy a home without a down payment and make monthly payments that were less than prevailing rentals. By 1947, more than \$4 billion in mortgages had VA guarantees, and 15 years later the figure exceeded \$50 billion. Furthermore, the increase in mortgage funds resulted in thousands of houses built specifically for veterans and their families.

The VA mortgage program helped increase the level of homeownership significantly after World War II. Within ten years of the creation of the GI Bill, 57 percent of all nonfarm homes were owner-occupied, a dramatic increase from the 1940 level of just 41 percent. Furthermore, because much of this new HOUSING was in the SUBURBS, the GI Bill had a major effect on how Americans lived. Of the 13 million new homes built in the 1950s, 85 percent were in suburbs. Because many of these new homeowners were white, the GI Bill indirectly contributed to the so-called white flight from the CITIES.

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—Dave Mason

## gold standard

The United States had subscribed to the international gold standard, a monetary system where currency is convertible to a fixed amount of gold to promote stable exchange, since 1879. However, with the onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION in 1929, many nations, including England, abandoned the gold standard, and the system began unraveling. In 1932, during his presidential campaign, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT apparently came under the sway of economic advisers who also recommended departing from the gold standard to cheapen the dollar and make American exports more competitive overseas. The mounting number of bank failures, declining production, employment, prices, and income, and a lack of public confidence in the ECONOMY also weighed on Roosevelt. Once in office, he ordered a bank holiday on March 6, 1933, to prevent a further run on the failing banking system and also forbade banks to make payment in gold or export it. Roosevelt followed this action up on April 5 by ordering that all gold coins and gold certificates in private hands be exchanged for money, which produced the same effect as if the GOVERNMENT had taken in \$300 million in gold coin and an additional \$470 million in gold certificates. Roosevelt then formally suspended the

gold standard on April 19, 1933. As expected, interest rates charged by banks declined, making loans more affordable; and the value of the dollar fell nearly 40 percent at international exchange rates, rendering U.S. exports cheaper and imports from gold standard nations more expensive. Then on January 30, 1934, CONGRESS adopted the Gold Reserve Act, and Roosevelt fixed the price of gold at \$35 an ounce, returning the United States to a modified form of the gold standard. This policy allowed foreign central banks to demand payments in bullion as before, but gold could not be used as a form of domestic exchange. In other words, no individual could obtain gold for paper money, coin, or bank deposits. The net result of leaving and then resuming the gold standard was a period of increased currency stabilization and, with the price of gold now overvalued in the United States, an influx of that metal from around the world. Roosevelt's actions gave the government more leeway in economic policy, helped expand the money supply, and contributed to economic growth between 1933 and 1937, which nonetheless fell far short of full recovery.

See also LONDON ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## Goodman, Benny (Benjamin David) (1909–1986) musician, bandleader, composer

Benny Goodman was one of the greatest JAZZ clarinet players of all time and the leader of one of the most important and famous BIG BANDS of the 1930s and 1940s. Known as “the King of Swing” because of his contributions to swing MUSIC, Goodman was a stylistic and technical innovator in big-band jazz.

Benjamin David Goodman was born the eighth of 12 children to a poor immigrant Jewish family in Chicago, Illinois. He enjoyed a gift for music, and studied under both classically trained and popular musicians in Chicago. Throughout the 1920s, Goodman was fascinated by the music of the jazz bands that dominated the Chicago entertainment scene. Although he became an accomplished classical clarinetist, it was in jazz that Goodman made his towering contributions. He began full-time professional employment in music at age 16 when he joined Ben Pollack's band in Venice, California. In the fall of 1929, Goodman left the band and began to perform as a freelance sideman with a variety of groups on RADIO and records.



In 1934, Goodman began developing a revolutionary musical style when he organized his own band to make records for release in England. He based his band's organization on the traditional jazz band of the time, but wanted every musician in his band to be able to solo at any given moment while at the same time having the capability to play in harmony with the rest of the band. This produced a band that could perform both jazz and the standard dance numbers of the day. In combining the two forms, building a remarkably strong rhythm section, and incorporating some of the "hotter" jazz of Fletcher Henderson's music, Goodman helped create a style of music called swing.

The Goodman band performances of the 1930s and 1940s became sensations, to popular audiences and jazz aficionados alike. Hiring extraordinarily talented musicians and getting the most from them, Goodman helped to give jazz a new legitimacy in 1938 when his band played in New York's Carnegie Hall to rave reviews. In addition to his big band performances and recordings, he also led important smaller groups and ensembles. And Goodman (himself influenced heavily by black musicians, including Henderson and DUKE ELLINGTON) took the unusual step of giving public performances with integrated groups, although he was motivated more by a desire for good music than by social reform.

With the decline of big band jazz after WORLD WAR II and the rise of such star attraction singers as FRANK SINATRA and the emergence of rock and roll, Goodman and the other swing era bandleaders lost much of their popularity. Goodman died, still a legend, in 1986 of a heart attack at age 77.

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—Nicholas Fry

### Good Neighbor policy

Most closely identified with the administration of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, the Good Neighbor policy established the practice of nonintervention as the hallmark of United States FOREIGN POLICY toward Latin America. American policymakers hoped that ending U.S. intervention (especially military and political intervention) in the domestic affairs of Latin American countries would create healthy economic and political ties among the nations of the Western Hemisphere and combat the challenges presented by the GREAT DEPRESSION and by the increasing global tensions that would culminate in WORLD WAR II.

Historians disagree about the degree to which the Good Neighbor policy had its origins in the Republican

administrations of the 1920s but agree that the first significant steps toward a noninterventionist policy toward Latin America occurred during the HOOVER PRESIDENCY. President HERBERT C. HOOVER rejected Theodore Roosevelt's "corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine, which had asserted the right of the United States to intervene in the affairs of nations in the Western Hemisphere if necessary to maintain order. Hoover ended American occupation of Nicaragua and committed to do the same in Haiti, but these good-faith attempts at ending military intervention were largely overshadowed by widespread dissatisfaction in Latin America at the passage of the HAWLEY-SMOOT TARIFF ACT in 1930, which reduced imports to the United States.

Franklin Roosevelt's actions toward Latin America expanded Hoover's noninterventionist policy into what is now known as the Good Neighbor policy. FDR's first major step toward this end came in his support for a resolution stating that "no state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another." This resolution, passed at the 1933 Pan-American Conference held in Montevideo, Uruguay, where the American delegation was led by Secretary of State CORDELL HULL and Assistant Secretary of State SUMNER WELLES, was followed by a number of substantive actions to implement the policy, ending 30 years of armed intervention by the United States in Latin America. Roosevelt honored Hoover's commitment to withdraw the United States military from Haiti, leaving troops in the Panama Canal Zone as the last American military forces remaining outside United States territory. In 1934, FDR abrogated the Cuban constitution's Platt Amendment, a stipulation that authorized United States intervention in Cuban domestic affairs. Roosevelt maintained the policy of the "good neighbor" even when it was put to its greatest test when the Mexican government nationalized the Mexican oil industry, including property belonging to several American oil firms, in 1938. Rejecting pressure from BUSINESS interests to use armed force to reclaim the American property, Roosevelt negotiated a compensatory settlement between the Mexican government and the oil corporations.

The Good Neighbor policy reflected an increasing tendency toward hemispheric regionalism in foreign policy. This regional approach allowed the United States to pursue international measures for economic recovery and, later, defense, while maintaining a safe distance from increasingly complicated European affairs. The good faith generated by the approach of the "good neighbor" allowed the United States to establish economic agreements with many Latin American nations under the auspices of the RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS ACT. Diplomatically, the Good Neighbor policy achieved its most notable success in December 1938, when the United States joined with the other republics of the American continents to sign

the Declaration of Lima, agreeing to consult each other if war threatened any portion of the Western Hemisphere. This expression of solidarity was the first of its kind among the nations of the Western Hemisphere. After the U.S. entrance into World War II, this cooperation continued among the republics of North and South America as all but Argentina agreed to sever diplomatic relations with the AXIS powers at the Rio de Janeiro Conference of January 1942. Throughout the war, the nations of the Western Hemisphere collaborated in mutual defense against potential German submarine attack and sent troops to aid Allied forces.

While many of the connections initiated in this era between the United States and its Latin American neighbors were maintained after World War II, the Good Neighbor pledge of nonintervention was not sustained in the postwar era. The beginning of the cold war and fears of the spread of communism once again brought American military presence into Latin America to quell political instability.

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—Mary E. Carroll-Mason

## government

From 1929 to 1945, the American federal government grew enormously in size, power, and cost in order to cope with the GREAT DEPRESSION and then to mobilize the nation for WORLD WAR II. Particularly in the 1930s, state and local governments also took on new responsibilities.

Although the changed contours of American government by 1945 were largely a product of the exigencies of depression and war and of the leadership of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, the preexisting structure, culture, and heritage of the American political system also shaped—and limited—what government did. Structurally, the American political system was characterized by a federal state of national, state, and local governments, and by a separation of executive, legislative, and judicial power. Ideologically, the American political culture included strong antistatist concerns about a powerful national government and corresponding emphases on states' rights, individualism, and a market economy. State and local governments were limited by their own legal authority and traditions—and by SUPREME COURT decisions that had also restrained the power of the federal government. As American government at all levels had expanded since the late 19th century in response to the challenges of modernizing

change, its growth and authority had been constrained by such factors.

At the onset of the Great Depression, American government thus lacked the capacity—the size, authority, and expertise—to cope with such an economic and social calamity. Soaring UNEMPLOYMENT quickly outstripped the ability of private agencies and of local and state governments to deal with widespread impoverishment, while the federal government did not have the tools to meet the economic and social problems of the depression. President HERBERT C. HOOVER was in any case opposed to federal RELIEF programs or other extensions of federal authority that might create a powerful regulatory or welfare state. Partly because of action by CONGRESS, the HOOVER PRESIDENCY nonetheless did do more than any previous administration to deal with hard times. New agencies and programs were initiated, the number of federal employees rose slightly, and federal expenditures rose by about 40 percent from 1929 to 1933. (See table on page 153.) Plainly, however, government had barely begun to respond to the enormous challenge of the Great Depression.

The presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt from 1933 to 1945 then proved to be a decisive turning point for American government. As the NEW DEAL sought to achieve economic recovery, effect social and economic reform, and provide assistance to the unemployed, it greatly increased the size and scope of the federal government. Assuming federal responsibility for relief assistance to the poor and jobless, implementing regulation of BANKING and BUSINESS, and enacting such landmark social legislation as the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT, the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT, and the FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT, the New Deal created the modern American regulatory welfare state. As the role of the federal government expanded under the New Deal, the number of federal employees increased by almost 75 percent and federal expenditures nearly doubled between 1933 and 1940.

The expansion of the size and power of the federal government was by the late 1930s accompanied by—and enabled by—apparent change in Supreme Court rulings. After at first allowing federal and local governments some leeway in dealing with the emergency of the depression, the Court in 1935 and 1936 seemed intent on halting the growth of government power when it overturned a number of major New Deal programs and invalidated a New York state minimum wage law. But then after the COURT-PACKING PLAN and controversy of 1937, the Court upheld another state minimum wage law and approved the Social Security Act and the National Labor Relations Act. The Supreme Court did not subsequently invalidate another piece of New Deal social or economic reform, thus ratifying the powerful American state that emerged in the 1930s.

Another key change in American government during the New Deal years was that the **PRESIDENCY** became far more than before the center of policymaking in Washington, framing agendas and sending bills to Congress for approval and then using a much-expanded bureaucracy to implement policy. Roosevelt's personality and his adept use of **RADIO** and press conferences to communicate with the public further enhanced presidential power, as did his efforts to enlarge and improve the administrative capacity of the White House. Under the terms of the **EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION ACT** of 1939, a new Executive Office of the President was established, including six administrative assistants, the Bureau of the Budget, and the **NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD**. Many scholars hold that Roosevelt fundamentally redefined the presidency—indeed, virtually invented the modern presidency and its role in the American political system.

But though the dynamics of executive-legislative relations changed in the 1930s, Congress remained a powerful force in American government. Throughout his presidency,

Roosevelt had to take account of the “barons” on Capitol Hill, and Congress did more than simply respond to the president's agenda. Some of the major New Deal programs—the National Labor Relations Act, for example—came from Congress rather than from the White House. In the late 1930s, a **CONSERVATIVE COALITION**, opposing the further growth of the regulatory welfare state, and emphasizing states' rights and local authority, emerged in Congress to assert congressional authority and thwart Roosevelt's efforts to expand the New Deal. Congress also used the investigative powers of its committees to watch the activities of the increasingly powerful executive branch.

The New Deal also marked a turning point in federal-state and federal-city relations. Many states adopted “little New Deals” to deal with the depression, not only by administering new federal programs but also by implementing their own social and economic programs, often supported at least in part by federal money. State social services, taxes, and bureaucracies expanded, though at different rates in different areas. But while the size and the

#### SIZE AND COST OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, 1925–1950

	Federal Government Civilian Employees	State/Local Government Non-Teaching Employees	Federal Government Expenses	State/Local Expenses
1925	553,045		\$3,063,105,000	
1927			2,974,030,000	\$7,810,000,000
1928	560,772		3,103,265,000	
1929	579,559	1,411,000	3,298,859,000	
1930	601,319	1,472,000	3,440,269,000	
1931	609,746	1,544,000	3,577,434,000	
1932	605,496	1,518,000	4,659,203,000	8,403,000,000
1933	603,587	1,479,000	4,622,865,000	
1934	698,649	1,525,000	6,693,900,000	7,842,000,000
1935	780,582	1,577,000	6,520,966,000	
1936	867,432	1,668,000	8,493,486,000	8,501,000,000
1937	895,993	1,717,000	7,756,021,000	
1938	882,226	1,815,000	6,791,838,000	9,988,000,000
1939	953,891	1,823,000	8,858,458,000	
1940	1,042,420	1,907,000	9,062,032,000	11,240,000,000
1941	1,437,682	1,957,000	13,262,204,000	
1942	2,296,384	1,887,000	34,045,679,000	10,914,000,000
1943	3,299,414	1,813,000	79,407,131,000	
1944	3,332,356	1,764,000	95,058,708,000	10,499,000,000
1945	3,816,310	1,784,000	98,416,220,000	
1950	1,960,708	2,454,000	39,617,003,000	27,905,000,000

Source: *The Statistical History of the United States, from Colonial Times to the Present* (Stamford, Conn.: Fairfield Publishers, 1965)

expenses of state and local governments increased, so as well did their dependence on the federal government for funds and ideas, and state and local governments often had to answer to Washington for how they carried out programs and spent money.

The structure and culture of the American political system nonetheless also constrained the power of the national government in its relationships with state and local governments. Because of the limited capacity of the federal government even after 1933, Roosevelt had to depend upon state and local officials—often conservative or otherwise opposed to expanding federal authority—to administer many New Deal programs. Together with congressional conservatives, state and local governments frequently continued to resist the burgeoning power of the federal government. In the SOUTH, for example, particular care was taken to prevent New Deal measures from upsetting the established social structure, especially in race relations—although conservative opponents of New Deal programs could be found in all sections of the nation. Still, as the national government grew during the 1930s, so did its reach and its authority over state and local governments. The decade was thus in many ways a crucial one for American government.

Yet the impact of the Great Depression and New Deal on the federal government was in some respects eclipsed by that of World War II. Between 1940 and 1945, the number of civilian employees of the federal government nearly quadrupled, and federal expenditures increased nearly elevenfold. Federal expenditures were somewhat less than those of state and local government at the end of the 1930s; by 1945, federal expenditures were about ten times as large. The demands of economic and military MOBILIZATION for war both underlay such growth and overcame objections to a larger and more costly government. Some 16 million people served in the military, and during and after the war American FOREIGN POLICY was transformed as the United States became the world's most powerful nation and played a leading role in world affairs. As commander in chief, Roosevelt further expanded presidential power by exercising unprecedented influence in military and diplomatic affairs. The war effort also brought into clearer definition what President Dwight D. Eisenhower later called the "military-industrial complex," in which military and business officials worked closely with each other and with government officials in shaping and implementing national policy.

World War II brought great expansion of the federal government's role at home. With extraordinary delegations of authority from Congress to the executive branch, the presidency and the federal government took on powers far beyond those of the New Deal—to control material priorities and production (the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD and

the OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION), to regulate manpower (SELECTIVE SERVICE and the WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION), to fix prices and wages and ration consumer goods (the OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION and the OFFICE OF ECONOMIC STABILIZATION), to coordinate defense-related scientific and technological advances (the OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT). Although much of the cost of wartime mobilization was met by deficit spending, corroborating KEYNESIANISM and its emphasis on FISCAL POLICY, the federal government extended the income tax far more broadly than before and inaugurated the withholding system. The number of taxable returns soared more than tenfold, from some 4 million in 1939 to nearly 43 million by 1945; personal income taxes exceeded corporate taxes for the first time; and the groundwork was laid for the far more important role of federal fiscal policy in the postwar era.

The size and cost of the federal government fell sharply once the war was over, but the combination of an ongoing international role and the "ratcheting" effect whereby not all the increased size and cost of government were eliminated left the federal government much more powerful than before. In 1950, the federal government had nearly twice as many employees and it spent four times as much as in 1940—and its size was three times greater than in 1930 and its expenditures more than 11 times higher. In 1930, the federal government had spent only about half the amount of state and local government expenditures, and even in 1940 had spent 20 percent less; in 1950, the federal government spent 40 percent more than state and local government. As late as 1940, there were about two times as many employees of state and local government (excluding teachers) as there were federal civilian workers; in 1950, the ratio was just 5 to 4.

The era of the Great Depression and World War II, especially the Roosevelt years, thus produced signal changes in American government. The federal government grew far larger, more powerful, and more costly as it implemented the regulatory welfare state in the 1930s, mobilized the nation for war, and increasingly overshadowed state and local government. After 1937, the Supreme Court approved such expansions of federal authority. The presidency gained power relative to the Congress and became far more central than before to national policy. Yet such changes did not transform basic features of the nation's political structure and political culture. The federal structure and the separation of powers remained at the heart of American government, and antistatist and individualist sentiments continued to slow the growth of the federal government. But the unparalleled demands of depression and war and the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt had nonetheless brought large and lasting change to American government.



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## Grand Alliance

The Grand Alliance is the name given to the anti-AXIS coalition of nations headed by the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union during World War II. This wartime collaboration of the three nations not only presented a united front against Nazi Germany (the Soviets did not declare war on Japan until August 8, 1945) and deliberated on military strategy but also helped create the geopolitical power structure of the postwar world. A product of the common need to defeat Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany, the Alliance was troubled from the beginning by a history of American and British discord with the Soviet Union and by divergent worldviews and war aims. Disagreements between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States and Britain on the other as the war drew to an end led to the dissolution of the partnership and the onset of the cold war.

The Grand Alliance had its origins in the development of strong ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS beginning in 1939. In August 1941, American president FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and British prime minister Winston Churchill met and produced the ATLANTIC CHARTER, which outlined war aims and principles. A number of other events paved the way for the Soviets to join the United States and Great Britain in the alliance. Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, allowing the three nations to unite against their common Nazi enemy and opening the opportunity for the United States to provide the Soviets with assistance under the LEND-LEASE Act. With Soviet endorsement of the Atlantic Charter and American entrance into the war in December 1941, the Grand Alliance was formed. The partners made the defeat of Nazi Germany their top priority, both because the Allies agreed that Hitler posed the greatest danger and because the

Soviet Union had concluded a neutrality agreement with Japan in April 1941, which it did not formally abrogate until August 1945.

Throughout the war, the Allies consulted each other in a series of conferences to decide on both military strategy and how to reconstruct the global order in Europe and Asia. These conferences allowed the Allies to coordinate their military efforts, but also illuminated key issues producing conflict in the alliance both during and after the war. From the beginning, moreover, suspicions and tensions going back to the formation of the Soviet Union in 1917, divergent war aims, and ideological differences between the democracies and the totalitarian-communist USSR strained the alliance.

Initially, the opening of a SECOND FRONT in western Europe proved to be the most significant issue for the Grand Alliance, and it remained a source of suspicion and resentment for the Soviets. The German invasion of the Soviet Union had inflicted catastrophic destruction and loss of human life, and the Soviets badly wanted immediate relief on the eastern front. Stalin began to demand a second front as early as 1942, but the Americans and especially the British, concerned about their own military readiness, resisted early attempts to open the second front. Finally, in late 1943 at the TEHERAN CONFERENCE, Roosevelt sided with Soviet premier Joseph Stalin against Churchill in favor of opening the second front in the spring of 1944. For Roosevelt, a central priority, to which he eventually won Stalin's agreement, was the formation of the UNITED NATIONS as a guardian of international peace and a forum for continued big-power cooperation.

Throughout the war, a shifting balance of power among the members of the Grand Alliance also affected their deliberations. As the ravages of war left the British bankrupt and diminished their stature as a global power, SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS became increasingly important as a priority for Roosevelt, sometimes even at the cost of relations with Churchill. This situation did not substantially harm the special relationship between Great Britain and the United States, built on a foundation of shared democratic ideals and values, and both the British and Americans found that their dealings with the Soviets were often marked by mutual suspicion and mistrust. Indeed, the United States did not even inform the Soviets about the MANHATTAN PROJECT that produced the ATOMIC BOMB, while including the British in developing and discussing the new weapon.

Despite tensions, the members of the Grand Alliance appeared willing to try to work through their differences to create a peaceful, postwar geopolitical structure. But disagreements within the Alliance were plain at the YALTA CONFERENCE of early 1945, with the defeat of Germany in sight and questions about the postwar world becoming

more pressing by the day. At Yalta, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin gathered for what proved to be the last time to discuss the terms of German surrender, the postwar status of eastern Europe, especially Poland, and the conditions of Soviet entrance into the war with Japan. A compromise settlement was reached that included a Soviet commitment to join the Asian war after the surrender of Germany and a tentative decision about Poland's border and government, but not without concern from Roosevelt and Churchill about the implications of a Soviet presence in eastern Europe. It appears, however, that Roosevelt understood Stalin's concerns about Soviet security on the western borders and hoped his willingness to compromise would convince Stalin that Soviet control of Poland was unnecessary.

The already fragile Grand Alliance continued to deteriorate after the conclusion of the Yalta Conference. The Americans and British complained that the Soviets were not living up to agreements about the creation of independent governments in eastern Europe. President Roosevelt died in April 1945; Germany surrendered in May, eliminating the reason the Alliance had been formed. Much American public opinion opposed Roosevelt's compromise at Yalta concerning Soviet influence in Poland, as the new president, Harry S. Truman, knew. In addition, the successful development of the first atomic bomb suddenly gave the United States more leverage than ever before but ultimately also increased Soviet-American tensions.

The POTSDAM CONFERENCE of July 1945, the last of the Grand Alliance's wartime conferences, marked the final semblance of cooperation among the Allies. By the end of the conference, Joseph Stalin was the single remaining original leader of the Grand Alliance; Clement Attlee replaced Winston Churchill as British prime minister part-way through the conference. With Great Britain badly weakened by the war, Truman and Stalin were the primary actors at Potsdam, and Truman proved to be less willing to negotiate and compromise with Stalin than Roosevelt had been. The three nations were able to agree upon an unconditional surrender formula for the end of the war with Japan in the Potsdam Proclamation, and Truman notified Stalin for the first time, albeit in a cryptic manner, of the existence of the atomic bomb that the Americans had been working on with the British for some time. The Soviet Union agreed to enter the war against the Japanese in August, as it had promised at Yalta, but the atomic bomb made this pledge less significant than it had been just a few months before.

Truman was still on his way home from Potsdam when he heard the news that the first atomic bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, heralding the beginning of the nuclear age (see HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI). The official end of the Japanese war came on September 2, 1945, an event that also brought the end of the Grand Alliance

and a shift toward the postwar power structure. The United States and the Soviet Union emerged out of their alliance as the world's superpowers, and the ongoing tensions and disagreements between the two nations soon developed into the cold war.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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—Mary E. Carroll-Mason

## Great Depression

The Great Depression, the worst and longest contraction ever of the American ECONOMY, began in 1929 and lasted until 1941. For more than a decade, the American people experienced record levels of UNEMPLOYMENT and poverty. At the depth of the Great Depression, in the winter of 1932–33, unemployment was at least one-fourth of the workforce, and national income had dropped by more than 50 percent. From 1933 to 1937, significant economic expansion occurred, although it fell far short of full recovery; and then the RECESSION OF 1937–1938 sent economic indexes plummeting again. Not until defense spending began to stimulate the economy in 1940–41 did the depression end. In addition to its economic and human impact, the Great Depression affected virtually every aspect of American life, and brought a transformation of American politics by enabling the victory of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in the presidential ELECTION OF 1932. Roosevelt's presidency produced the NEW DEAL and made the DEMOCRATIC PARTY the nation's majority party for decades to come. The depression of the 1930s was thus "great" not only in its magnitude but also in its widespread and far-reaching consequences.

But while the course and impact of the Great Depression are clear enough, there remains much disagreement about its causes and the reasons for its unprecedented depth and length. Scholars agree that a distinction must be made between the STOCK MARKET CRASH of late October 1929 and the Great Depression that engulfed the economy for more than a decade. Because economic indexes turned down so sharply after the stock market crash, that event has often seemed the cause of the Great Depression. But while the market crash played some role in the development of the Great Depression, the economy was already in trouble and evidently heading for at least

a recession before the crash. By the late 1920s, construction and automobiles, the two key industries that had supported much of the prosperity of the 1920s, had begun to fall off, and unsold BUSINESS inventories were increasing in other industries as well. Layoffs and declining production followed. AGRICULTURE had experienced problems throughout the decade. To an important degree, in fact, early signs of difficulty on the stock market in the summer and fall of 1929 apparently reflected concern about the larger economy. Why had the economy begun to stumble, and why did the downturn become the Great Depression of the 1930s?

Although those questions elude clear consensus, a number of factors seem important. Much of the economic expansion of the 1920s had been solidly based, but there were flaws in the economy that limited both the extent and the duration of the decade's prosperity. One significant problem was the distribution of income in the United States. Simply put, too little money was in the hands of too many people, and too much money was in the hands of too few. In 1929, the bottom 40 percent of families earned just one-eighth of personal income, while the top 20 percent of families earned more than half—and the top 5 percent alone earned nearly one-third of national income. The average family income of the bottom 40 percent was just \$725, a subsistence level or worse. The key issue in the income distribution data involves economic efficiency, not social equity: There was not enough disposable income in the hands of most workers and farmers to help carry the economy. Even for those in the middle-income ranges, there was no longer sufficient money—or credit—to continue the purchases that had sparked the 1920s boom. And for those at the top, who had plenty, money increasingly was saved instead of spent—or was put into the stock market, contributing to the price rise that helped to bring on the stock market crash. The maldistribution of income thus contributed to troubles in the economy evident by 1929.

The economic slowdown of the late 1920s was connected to another important pattern: the dependence of 1920s prosperity on HOUSING and automobiles, and the failure of new industries to emerge that might have sustained the economy. Some important older industries—coal, textiles, and railroads in particular—had struggled throughout the decade. Such new industries as electronics and electrical appliances, aviation, processed foods, and petrochemicals had not developed far enough to attract sufficient investment and consumer spending that might have compensated for the saturated housing and automobile industries. Nor was there sufficient government spending at the local or national levels to make up for inadequate private investment.

Financial issues comprised a third major set of causes for the Great Depression. The nation's credit and BANK-

ING system was shaky. Because so many farmers were in debt, small country banks experienced growing difficulties by the late 1920s as their customers defaulted on loans. Many businesses were in debt too. Beyond that, the banking system itself was unsound—indeed, it was scarcely a system at all—with little real control or integration from the Federal Reserve Board, with no deposit insurance that might have reassured depositors, with undercapitalized small banks, and with unsound practices followed by a number of major banks in their loans and stock market investments. The international debt structure was also problematical. Because high American tariffs made it difficult for European nations to earn money by selling goods in the United States, American loans abroad were helping to maintain Germany's war reparation payments and Allied payments of World War I debts to the United States.

Finally, economic policy and prevailing economic ideas sustained or exacerbated economic problems and were inadequate for dealing with the depression. High tariffs during the 1920s not only made it difficult for foreign nations to earn credits to buy American goods or repay war debts, but also inhibited purchasing in the United States by propping up prices. The HAWLEY-SMOOT TARIFF ACT of 1930 made things worse. National farm and LABOR policies during the 1920s contributed to the low earnings and the inadequate purchasing power of many farmers and workers. The Federal Reserve Board, whose easy credit policies helped fuel borrowing and stock market speculation, could not discipline dangerous banking practices, and there was similarly no control over speculation and shady dealings on the stock market. When the depression did come and then continued to deepen, the conventional insistence on balanced budgets and preserving the GOLD STANDARD inhibited federal action, as did the orthodox view that downturns were inevitable and self-correcting. The Federal Reserve Board's tight money policies and higher interest rates in the early 1930s to protect the gold standard contributed to the worsening depression.

In a number of ways, then, the economy was unsound by late 1929. Scholars do not agree on precisely what role the stock market crash played in bringing on the Great Depression, but it was clearly a blow to the confidence that had helped support the economic expansion of the 1920s and it no doubt reduced some of the investment and consumer spending necessary for prosperity. The crash also helped bring down some financial institutions that had invested heavily in stocks and to dry up some of the loans supporting international finances. But the crash itself did not begin the economic downturn of the late 1920s, nor did it cause the Great Depression.

In fact, it took some time before the realization dawned that the slump was not a normal cyclical downturn in the economy. Spectacular though the stock market crash





Shown in this 1931 photograph is a breadline in Boston during the Great Depression, the most severe economic crisis in U.S. history. (*Library of Congress*)

was, most observers agreed with President HERBERT C. HOOVER that the economy was fundamentally sound and would soon right itself and begin to expand. Temporary plateaus and rallies reinforced such expectations. Only as the depression deepened year after year, and as it became obviously a worldwide depression by 1931, with the collapse of the European trade and financial system that further damaged the American economy, did the gravity and the distinctiveness of this depression become obvious. By 1933, unemployment was at least one-fourth and perhaps one-third of the labor force, and many who were employed were working part-time or at reduced wages. National income had fallen by 54 percent, manufacturing wages

and farm income by 60 percent. Industrial production was down by more than half (automobile production by 80 percent and steel production by 90 percent); foreign trade was off by 70 percent; and new capital investment in plants and equipment had plummeted by 98 percent. Business profits fell sharply, with estimates of the decline ranging from 60 to 90 percent. More than 5,000 banks had failed, and millions of savings accounts were lost or decimated. More than 100,000 businesses failed. The New York Stock Exchange was down to only about one-fifth of 1929 levels. The consumer price index fell by about 25 percent—but income had fallen much more than that, and declining prices further inhibited business investment.



Such catastrophic figures meant human calamity. Jobs were lost, income shriveled, hundreds of thousands of home and farm mortgages were foreclosed, and decent food, clothing, and shelter often could not be purchased. People starved, or were weakened by malnutrition—while unsold foodstuffs piled up or went bad on the nation's farms for want of enough money to buy them. Breadlines, soup kitchens, and shantytowns dotted CITIES. Industrial workers and small farmers suffered especially, as did AFRICAN AMERICANS, MEXICAN AMERICANS, and other minority groups on the lower rungs of the economic ladder. Young people and the ELDERLY also had particular trouble getting or keeping jobs. The loss of income, houses, bank accounts, and white-collar jobs brought distress and suffering to middle-class Americans, too. Private and public RELIEF was altogether inadequate in the first years of the depression, and New Deal relief programs, although a major change from the HOOVER PRESIDENCY, never brought help to everyone in need.

The Great Depression ramified through American society in other ways as well, especially in the first half of the 1930s. POPULATION TRENDS clearly reflected the depression's impact. Despite the highly visible transients, internal MIGRATION fell off, and IMMIGRATION totals plummeted to their lowest levels in a century. MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE was affected too. Marriage and birth rates declined in the early years of the depression, and hard times increased strains within families, which often experienced role reversals as unemployed men lost their status as breadwinner and wives necessarily played a larger economic and decision-making role. Following as it did the high expectations and growing prosperity of the 1920s, the depression was an especially heavy psychological blow. Indeed, economic depression could bring personal depression, as unemployed and impoverished Americans often blamed themselves for their plight. Such areas of POPULAR CULTURE as SPORTS, RECREATION, and MOVIES were affected by the depression, as were LITERATURE and ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

The Great Depression also had enormous consequences for the American political system. In the election of 1932, voters overwhelmingly turned Hoover and the REPUBLICAN PARTY out of office and elected Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Democrats. Particularly in his first term from 1933 to 1937, Roosevelt's presidency produced the New Deal programs that created the modern American regulatory welfare state and transformed American GOVERNMENT. In POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA, voters responded to Roosevelt and the New Deal by making the Democratic Party the nation's new majority party.

Finally, it must be emphasized that the Great Depression lasted for more than a decade, until defense spending brought recovery and full employment in the early 1940s. Not until 1941 did unemployment, which averaged some

20 percent throughout the decade, fall below 14 percent; by 1944, unemployment had plummeted to just 1 percent. Not until 1937 did the volume of gross national product (GNP) equal that of 1929, and then it fell again with the recession of 1937–38, which helped turn the administration toward KEYNESIANISM. Not until 1941 did the dollar value of GNP attain 1929 levels, and it soared to new record levels in the next few years. The New Deal contributed to some economic improvement and brought help and hope to tens of millions of Americans in the 1930s, but it was WORLD WAR II, not the New Deal, that at last ended the Great Depression.

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## Guadalcanal

The campaign for Guadalcanal, an island located in the southern part of the SOLOMON ISLANDS, consisted of dozens of separate naval and land engagements between August 1942 and February 1943. The first significant joint operation of the U.S. NAVY, the U.S. ARMY, and the U.S. MARINES during WORLD WAR II, the campaign led to the withdrawal of the Japanese army from Guadalcanal by early 1943 and secured Allied supply routes to Australia. After the BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA in May 1942 and the BATTLE OF MIDWAY in June had halted the Japanese advance south and west, Guadalcanal began the three-year campaign in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER to push the Imperial Japanese forces back to the home islands.

Following the landing of marines on the beaches of Guadalcanal on August 7, 1942, the Japanese quickly responded by reinforcing their troops on the island. At the Battle of Savo Island of August 8–9, the U.S. Navy suffered perhaps its worst defeat in history, and in mid-August the Japanese landed more forces on Guadalcanal in an effort to drive the marines off the island and recapture the prized airstrip renamed Henderson Field by the marines. But by

October, some 27,000 Americans were on Guadalcanal and nearby Tulagi.

Meanwhile, the navy fought an increasingly successful series of actions against the Imperial Japanese Navy from late August 1942 to January 1943, deterring Japanese efforts to strengthen their foothold on Guadalcanal. In the decisive naval battles of Guadalcanal (November 12–13 and November 14–15, 1942), the U.S. Navy, under Vice Admiral WILLIAM F. “Bull” HALSEY, stalled the “Tokyo Express” and left Japanese forces stranded on Guadalcanal without reinforcements and supplies.

By the end of 1942, American forces on Guadalcanal numbered nearly 60,000, almost triple the opposing Japanese strength, and American naval and AIR POWER in the area doomed the Japanese efforts. In early February 1943, the Imperial Japanese Army executed one of the rare Japanese retreats of the war, pulling all forces off Guadalcanal and conceding the island to the Americans. The campaign for the Solomons continued for the rest of the year, but the victory at Guadalcanal was a key breakthrough that put U.S. forces on the offensive.

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—Michael Leonard

### **Guthrie, Woody** (1912–1967) *singer, songwriter*

Woodrow Wilson Guthrie was born in Okemah, Oklahoma, on July 14, 1912. He endured a hardscrabble existence as a young man, and after the DUST BOWL storms ravaged his native state, he packed up his guitar and drifted from home at the age of 15. Guthrie ended up in California with many other “Okie” refugees and witnessed firsthand their deprivation and struggles in the fields and orchards of his adopted state. The experience both radicalized his politics and also inspired him to compose and perform original compositions portraying their plight. Guthrie was among the earliest exponents of social ballads that decried the inequities and suffering of the GREAT DEPRESSION. These were set to simple yet catchy melodies derived from traditional Appalachian folk music, and after his performances were broadcast over the RADIO, Guthrie was somewhat surprised to find that he had acquired a mass following. He also gained a degree of notoriety as a spokesman for LABOR and other leftist causes, although his best-known song, “This Land Is Your Land,” became something of a national standard. In 1939 Guthrie relocated to New York



Woody Guthrie (Library of Congress)

City, where he circulated among radical and Communist circles and wrote songs and articles for a number of left-wing newspapers. During WORLD WAR II he served two years in the merchant marine out of his hatred for fascism, and he also composed a number of patriotic ballads, including “Reuben James.” After the war he struck up a close liaison with fellow balladeer Peter Seeger and toured with his group, the Almanac Singers. He was subsequently blacklisted during the cold war period and suffered from intermittent bouts of Huntington’s chorea, but Guthrie lost none of his popularity among protest movements of the 1950s and 1960s. He died of the illness on October 3, 1967, a towering figure in the history of popular American song writing. In 1988 Guthrie was honored by his induction into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame for his work in pioneering socially conscious MUSIC.

**Further reading:** Ed Cray, *Ramblin’ Man: The Life and Times of Woody Guthrie* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004).

—John C. Fredriksen

# H



**Halsey, William F., Jr. (“Bull”)** (1882–1959) *admiral*  
Admiral William Frederick “Bull” Halsey, Jr., whose personality, penchant for action, and aggressive leadership earned him his nickname, helped the U.S. NAVY turn the tide in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER.

Halsey was born in Elizabeth, New Jersey, on October 30, 1882, and graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1904. His obvious abilities brought him rapid promotion to command of destroyers before and during World War I. After a variety of assignments in the 1920s and 1930s, he qualified as a naval aviator in 1935 at the age of 52—the oldest man ever to do so. He won promotions to rear admiral in 1938 and to vice admiral in 1940.

Halsey was instrumental in the American victory over the Imperial Japanese Navy in the Pacific theater. His performance was characterized not only by bold leadership but also by the hostility toward the Japanese common after the attack on PEARL HARBOR. His mission, he said, was to “Kill Japs, kill Japs, kill more Japs.” Early in 1942, he directed carrier attacks on Japanese positions in the Marshall and Gilbert Islands. Made commander of the Allied naval forces in the South Pacific in October 1942 (and promoted to full admiral in November), Halsey energized and brought success to the pivotal campaign in the SOLOMON ISLANDS that included the crucial victory at GUADALCANAL.

In June 1944, Halsey took command of the U.S. Third Fleet, and played a controversial role in the BATTLE FOR LEYTE GULF off the PHILIPPINES in October. As part of the large and complex battle, the Japanese positioned several AIRCRAFT CARRIERS north of the main action, wanting to lure Halsey and his Third Fleet to the north so that a Japanese force could pass through the San Bernardino Strait and attack the U.S. Seventh Fleet. Eager to sink the Japanese carriers, Halsey took the bait and steamed north, permitting Vice Admiral Takeo Kurita’s surface ships to enter Leyte Gulf through the San Bernardino Strait and inflict damage on the American forces. Ultimately, the Japanese experienced a disastrous defeat at Leyte Gulf, one marking

the end of the Japanese navy as a serious threat, but Halsey’s reputation was tarnished. His impulsive decision to seek out the Japanese carriers, leaving the San Bernardino Strait unguarded, became known as “the Battle of Bull’s Run.” Halsey’s record throughout the war nonetheless brought him appointment to admiral of the fleet—five-star rank—in December 1945. He retired from the navy in 1947.

**Further reading:** E. B. Potter, *Bull Halsey* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1985).

**Harriman, W. Averell** (1891–1986) *businessperson, government official, diplomat*

William Averell Harriman, businessman, NEW DEAL administrator, ambassador to the Soviet Union, secretary of commerce, and governor of New York, was born in New York City in 1891. He was the son of Edward Harriman, a powerful railroad financier who organized the Union Pacific Railroad. After graduating from Yale in 1913, Harriman trained to take over his father’s firm but soon struck out on his own. During the 1920s he created one of the world’s largest shipping fleets and developed businesses in the Soviet Union before being elected chairman of the board of Union Pacific in 1932.

Despite his BUSINESS background, Harriman had switched to the DEMOCRATIC PARTY in 1928 and he supported FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in the ELECTION OF 1932. In 1933, presidential adviser HARRY HOPKINS helped Harriman win a post in the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION. Harriman left the GOVERNMENT in 1937 to head the Business Advisory Council.

WORLD WAR II brought Harriman back to the Roosevelt administration in 1941, when he joined the OFFICE OF PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT. With the passage of the LEND-LEASE Act in March 1941, Harriman went to London to oversee that program in England. He traveled to various battlefronts and expedited war material shipments





Soviet foreign minister V. M. Molotov, W. Averell Harriman, and British prime minister Winston Churchill (Library of Congress)

to the British. He often bypassed the American ambassador and communicated directly to the White House, usually through Hopkins. In September 1941, Harriman traveled to Moscow to arrange Lend-Lease shipments to the Soviet Union; he later returned to the USSR with British prime minister Winston Churchill to discuss Allied strategy with Joseph Stalin. In 1943, President Roosevelt named him ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Harriman was a member of the American delegation at the wartime CAIRO CONFERENCE, TEHERAN CONFERENCE, and YALTA CONFERENCE.

Harriman's work as ambassador was noteworthy for a meticulous attention to details. He won Stalin's respect with a blunt, face-to-face candor and a serious consideration of Soviet demands for Allied cooperation. He held no illusions about Soviet postwar aims and reported on Soviet methods to establish Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. By war's end, however, Harriman's influence in FOREIGN POLICY had diminished, and he played a smaller role at the Yalta Conference than he had at previous wartime meetings. He left Moscow in 1946.

Harriman subsequently served in the Truman administration as ambassador to Great Britain in 1946, secretary of

commerce from 1946 to 1948, and as U.S. administrator of the Marshall Plan from 1948 to 1950. He was elected governor of New York in 1954, negotiated the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty under President John F. Kennedy, and served as President Lyndon B. Johnson's ambassador to the Paris peace talks with North Vietnam. He died in 1986.

See also GRAND ALLIANCE; SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

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—Robert J. Hanyok

### Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act (1930)

Signed into law in June 1930 during the HOOVER PRESIDENCY, the Hawley-Smoot Tariff, coauthored by Oregon congressman Willis Hawley and Utah senator Reed Smoot, increased U.S. tariffs on imports to the highest levels in history. Often described as an “infamous” piece of legislation, the Hawley-Smoot Act has been blamed for prompting a worldwide increase in tariffs and for helping turn a mod-



erate recession into the full-blown GREAT DEPRESSION. Although historians and economists have disagreed about the extent to which it contributed to the Great Depression, the Hawley-Smoot Tariff nonetheless had important political and economic consequences during the early 1930s.

Traditionally the REPUBLICAN PARTY had advocated a policy of high tariffs in an effort to protect American industry and workers from an influx of inexpensive foreign goods. In 1922, a Republican CONGRESS passed the Fordney-McCumber Tariff, which established high protectionist rates, and throughout the 1920s the GOP championed protective tariffs. During the election of 1928, the Republican platform called for a reexamination of Fordney-McCumber, and an upward revision of the tariff. As the tariff became a primary subject of debate in Congress in 1930, a number of special interests worked to secure high duties on foreign goods.

President HERBERT C. HOOVER, who favored high duties on agricultural imports in order to protect farmers, but increases on industrial products only when made necessary by increased UNEMPLOYMENT, argued against a general increase in the tariff. He also felt that lobbyists had an excessive amount of influence in tariff legislation. He desired a more flexible tariff to be controlled by a tariff commission operating under the authority of the president, which could raise or lower tariffs by up to 50 percent. Although Congress acquiesced in Hoover's demand for greater flexibility through a strengthened tariff commission, it nonetheless passed a bill with high tariff levels for both industrial and agricultural goods, after 44 days and five nights of testimony and debate. Despite the protests of nearly a thousand economists who warned against continued restriction of trade through such high tariffs, and against his better judgment, President Hoover signed the Hawley-Smoot Act into law.

Politically, the Hawley-Smoot Tariff weakened the president. Ultimately losing the struggle with Congress, Hoover had demonstrated that he did not have the political skill to maintain control over his party. While the precise economic effects of the tariff remain difficult to gauge, its adoption in 1930 was interpreted by other nations as America's turn toward even more stringent protectionist policies. As a result, many other nations also increased tariff levels. Between 1930 and 1932, the retaliation of at least 25 trading partners would play a part in the decline of U.S. exports that would continue until the NEW DEAL and the passage of the RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS ACT of 1934.

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—Shannon L. Parsley

**Henderson, Leon** (1895–1986) *economist, government administrator*

Leon Henderson, one of the NEW DEAL's most influential administrators, served in a number of significant posts under President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT between 1934 and 1942.

Born in Millville, New Jersey, on May 26, 1895, Leon Henderson graduated from Swarthmore College, and after postgraduate work taught economics at the University of Pennsylvania and the Carnegie Institute of Technology. After serving two years as deputy secretary of Pennsylvania, he became director of consumer credit research for the Russell Sage Foundation in 1925.

Henderson joined the Roosevelt administration in 1934, when he became consumer affairs adviser and then director of the Research and Planning Division of the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA). A persistent consumer advocate, Henderson criticized the NRA's industry-written codes, claiming they increased BUSINESS concentration and prevented recovery by permitting production restrictions and price increases. Originally an advocate of national industrial planning, Henderson became one of the New Deal's foremost advocates of ANTIMONOPOLY policy.

After the SUPREME COURT declared the NRA unconstitutional in 1935, Henderson became economic adviser to the DEMOCRATIC PARTY National Committee, and consultant to HARRY L. HOPKINS at the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION. Influenced by Hopkins and MARRINER ECCLES, Henderson by 1938 had become a convert to KEYNESIANISM, the idea that GOVERNMENT deficit spending could stimulate the economy.

The RECESSION OF 1937–1938 led the Roosevelt administration to turn both to additional spending and to increased emphasis on antimonopoly policy. At Roosevelt's request, CONGRESS established the TEMPORARY NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE (TNEC) in 1938, and Henderson became TNEC's executive director, urging investigations of all forms of economic concentration and continuing his opposition to monopoly. Roosevelt appointed Henderson to the SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION in 1939, further antagonizing opponents in business and industry.

In 1941, Roosevelt selected Henderson to head the OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION (OPA), which administered RATIONING during WORLD WAR II and set maximum prices on nonfarm consumer goods. The OPA became one of the most unpopular wartime agencies, and Henderson, always outspoken and often abrasive, became a lightning rod for public discontent and a target for unhappy interest groups. Democratic Party officials were also upset with Henderson's refusal to use OPA for political patronage appointments. Henderson resigned as OPA director after

Democratic setbacks in the 1942 elections, citing illness and overwork.

After the war, Henderson worked as an economist in both the public and private sectors, and served as chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, the liberal, anticommunist advocacy group. Henderson retired in the middle 1960s, settled on the West Coast, and died in Oceanside, California, on October 19, 1986.

**Further reading:** Ellis W. Hawley, *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966).

—William J. Thompson

**Hersey, John R.** (1914–1993) *journalist, novelist*

John Richard Hersey was born in Tientsin, China, on June 17, 1914, a son of missionaries. He attended private academies in the United States and was accepted to Yale University in 1932, majoring in LITERATURE. Hersey graduated in 1936 and subsequently attended Cambridge University but did not take a degree. The following year he briefly served as secretary to novelist Sinclair Lewis before joining HENRY LUCE's *Time* magazine as a reporter. In this capacity he covered several leading figures in the Far East and, following the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR, December 7, 1941, he unsuccessfully sought a commission in the U.S. NAVY. Hersey then served during WORLD WAR II as a war correspondent for publications such as *Time* and *LIFE MAGAZINE*. In 1943 his coverage of the GUADALCANAL campaign in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER was published as *Into the Valley*, to rave reviews. Hersey also reported on military affairs in North Africa and Italy, and his first novel, *A Bell for Adano*, emerged in 1944. The following year it received the Pulitzer Prize, and it was made into a Hollywood movie. He next completed several journalistic tours in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe before and after the fighting concluded. However, Hersey's most celebrated publication came in 1946 following his visit to the ruins of Hiroshima. The resulting book, simply entitled *Hiroshima*, is regarded as a seminal work of wartime reporting. In it his simple yet evocative renderings of six ATOMIC BOMB victims, rendered in a compelling journalistic fashion, proved an immediate best seller and ultimately sold 3 million copies. Hersey then experienced a bitter fallout with Luce in 1946 and transferred as a freelance writer to the *New Yorker* and *Atlantic Monthly* magazines, where he published several revealing essays along with a dozen novels over the next three decades. Of this body of work only one piece, *The Wall* (1950), concerning the Jewish HOLOCAUST, proved a commercial success. In 1953 he also became, at 39, the youngest writer ever elected to the prestigious National Academy of Arts. Hersey, a life-

long Democrat, also campaigned for Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and 1956 before joining the staff of Yale University as a professor of literature. His final collection of essays emerged in 1993 as *Key West Tales*, shortly before he died in Key West, Florida, on March 24, 1993.

See also HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Hershey, Lewis B.** (1893–1977) *director, U.S. Selective Service system*

Lewis Blaine Hershey was born in Steuben County, Indiana, on September 12, 1893, a son of farmers. Despite his Mennonite background, he joined the Indiana National Guard in 1911 and performed patrols along the Mexican border under General John J. Pershing. He subsequently saw service with the artillery in Europe during World War I and was afterwards commissioned in the regular army. Hershey attended the Command and General Staff College in 1931 and the Army War College in 1933, and three years later he reported for duty with the General Staff of the War Department in Washington, D.C. It was here that Hershey made indelible contributions to the military establishment as part of the Joint Army and Navy Selective Service Committee by drawing up extensive plans for the first-ever peacetime draft that went into effect in October 1940. Following the American entry into WORLD WAR II Hershey was tapped by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to serve as assistant director, then director, of the new SELECTIVE SERVICE System. In this capacity, Hershey orchestrated a massive, nationwide system of conscription, based on 6,400 local draft boards, that efficiently brought in some 10 million recruits out of a combined pool of 40 million eligible men. So effectively did Hershey administer the draft that in 1942 he advanced to major general, and in March 1947, after the draft ended, he was retained as director of the Office of Selective Service Records.

The onset of the cold war in 1948 led to a resumption of draft activities, and Hershey was reappointed head of the Selective Service by President Harry S. Truman. Throughout the Korean War he managed his affairs adroitly, procuring 550,000 men for the army, and he also retained his position under the administrations of presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy. However, growing American involvement in Southeast Asia resulted in an expansion of draft activities in 1965 and a commensurate growth of antiwar activities. Hershey, disdainful of war protesters, threatened to remove their draft deferments as college students, but he was dissuaded by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Johnson's successor, Richard M. Nixon, viewed

Hershey as a political liability, so in February 1970 he was promoted to full general and reassigned as a presidential adviser on manpower matters. Hershey resigned from active duty in April 1973, and he died in Angola, Indiana, on May 20, 1977. His 30-year tenure as head of the Selective Service Agency marks him as a successful military bureaucrat.

**Further reading:** George Q. Flynn, *Lewis B. Hershey, Mr. Selective Service* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Higgins, Andrew J.** (1886–1952) *innovative shipbuilder of World War II*

Andrew Jackson Higgins was born in Columbus, Nebraska, on August 28, 1886, the son of a judge. He worked as a logger and truck driver before settling in Mobile, Alabama, to manage his own lumber company. He then relocated to New Orleans, Louisiana, to operate another lumbering firm, but after 1923, he began dabbling in shipbuilding. An innovative designer and builder, Higgins enjoyed considerable success, and in 1931 he founded Higgins Industries to expand his line of products to motorboats, tugs, barges, and racing craft. Ironically, his most notable product was Eureka, a simple square-ended barge with a ramp at the bow that had been designed for use in extremely shallow water. This invention was relatively fast, maneuverable, and could carry prodigious amounts of cargo for its size. In 1938 Higgins was approached by the U.S. NAVY and U.S. MARINES, which sought military applications for the vessel, and in 1940 it entered the service as a landing craft, or “Higgins Boat.” Throughout WORLD WAR II thousands of these vessels were constructed by Higgins, and they gave the United States an unmatched capacity for waging AMPHIBIOUS WARFARE. For example, no fewer than 1,500 such craft were utilized in Operation Overlord, the INVASION OF NORMANDY, and large numbers were also employed throughout the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER. By war’s end Higgins employed 20,000 workers and had constructed no less than 20,000 vessels of varying sizes, including those capable of hauling several TANKS ashore, and company profits rose to \$94 million. Higgins was also unique among contemporaries in embracing the notion of collective bargaining for LABOR, an unusual stance in the SOUTH, which gained him favorable attention from President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. In the ELECTION OF 1944 Higgins reciprocated by heading “Businessmen for Roosevelt.” In 1945 he abolished his old firm and created Higgins, Incorporated, which specialized in building commercial craft, pleasure craft, and housing materials. Though innovative as ever, Higgins proved less successful in the postwar period, and his company eventually folded.

Higgins died in New Orleans on August 1, 1952, hailed by General Dwight D. Eisenhower and others as “the man who won the war for us.”

**Further reading:** Jerry E. Strahan, *Andrew Jackson Higgins and the Boat That Won World War II* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Hillman, Sidney** (1887–1946) *labor leader*

Sidney Hillman, president of the AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA (ACW) for more than 30 years and a cofounder of the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO), was a politically influential LABOR leader of the 1930s and 1940s.

Born in Zagare, Lithuania, then part of Russia, on March 23, 1887, “Simcha” Hillman was sent by his parents to study for the rabbinate, but instead turned to socialist politics and labor agitation, which led to his arrest and imprisonment for protesting in favor of a 10-hour working day. Fleeing Russia in 1906, Hillman lived in England with an uncle before moving to the United States and settling in Chicago. In Chicago, Hillman went to work as a cloth cutter, and led a successful 1910 strike of women garment workers.

Over the next several years, Hillman became a prominent union organizer among garment workers in Chicago and New York, and in 1914 became the first president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. During World War I, he served in Washington, D.C., on the Board of Control and Labor Standards for Army Clothing. Hillman organized clothing workers in the 1920s, maneuvering his way around COMMUNISTS and labor gangsters, and became a leader of the “new unionism”—the effort to improve every aspect of workers’ lives, not merely to seek higher wages.

The election of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to the presidency in 1932 changed the position of organized labor in America and brought union leaders such as Hillman into greater public prominence and political influence. Hillman welcomed the NEW DEAL, and he served on the Labor Advisory Board of the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA) and on other New Deal agencies. Hillman’s association with labor leader JOHN L. LEWIS led to the ACW being admitted to the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL), and he joined with DAVID DUBINSKY of the INTERNATIONAL LADIES’ GARMENT WORKERS’ UNION (ILGWU) to organize clothing workers.

Hillman, along with Lewis and others, grew increasingly frustrated with the AFL’s neglect of workers in the mass production industries such as automobiles, coal, steel, and, of course, clothing. Beginning in 1934, Hillman, Lewis, and the other dissident leaders called on the AFL

to organize mass production workers into industrial unions. Along with Lewis, Dubinsky, and seven other union leaders, Hillman cofounded the Committee for Industrial Organization in 1935 as a branch within the AFL. When the AFL suspended the dissident unionists in 1937, Hillman and the others formally separated in 1938, changing the group's name to Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

In 1936, Hillman, who had previously been an active Socialist for many years, endorsed Roosevelt, and as treasurer of Labor's Non-Partisan League, raised more than \$1 million for the president's reelection. In the latter 1930s, Hillman organized the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, attempting unsuccessfully to break into the non-union SOUTH and in the process earning the enmity of southern politicians such as JAMES F. BYRNES (whom Hillman may have prevented from being FDR's running mate in 1940 and 1944). In contrast to Lewis, who broke with Roosevelt after 1936, Hillman moved closer politically to the president, supporting, for example, the FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT.

In 1940, with WORLD WAR II having begun in Europe, Roosevelt named Hillman as associate director general (with General Motors chairman William Knudsen) of the OFFICE OF PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT, and as labor member of the National Defense Advisory Commission. After PEARL HARBOR, Roosevelt named Hillman as labor member of the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD, and unlike Lewis, he and the ACW abided by the president's "no-strike pledge" request. In 1943, Hillman became chairman and director of the CIO-Political Action Committee, which would help pro-labor DEMOCRATIC PARTY candidates.

At the Democratic National Convention in 1944, Hillman played a visible but mysterious role in the nomination of Harry S. Truman for vice president, as Roosevelt instructed aides to "clear it (Truman's nomination) with Sidney." In the fall campaign, the REPUBLICAN PARTY used "Clear It with Sidney" to portray Roosevelt as a tool of Hillman and the CIO-PAC as a haven for Communists, and some Republicans engaged in Red-baiting and ANTI-SEMITISM to smear the union leader. The tactics backfired as Hillman and labor played a significant role in Roosevelt's victory in the ELECTION OF 1944.

After Roosevelt's death in 1945, Hillman remained influential with Truman and the Democrats, while locked in a struggle with Communist elements in the CIO. In ill health since 1942, Hillman suffered a series of heart attacks, and died on July 10, 1946, at his Point Lookout, New York, summer cottage.

**Further reading:** Steve Fraser, *Labor Will Rule: Sidney Hillman and the Rise of American Labor* (New York: Free Press, 1991).

—William J. Thompson

## Hiroshima and Nagasaki

On August 6, 1945, an American B-29 bomber, the *Enola Gay*, dropped the first operational ATOMIC BOMB on Hiroshima, Japan, incinerating the heart of the city of a quarter million people. A second atomic bomb was dropped three days later with comparable damage on Nagasaki, and the Japanese offer of surrender came on August 10. The bombing of the two cities, Hiroshima especially, has come to symbolize the end of WORLD WAR II and the beginning of the atomic age. The American use of the atomic bomb has also provoked continuing inquiry and debate among scholars and the public—as the furor about the proposed *Enola Gay* exhibit at the Smithsonian Institution in the mid-1990s revealed.

The atomic bomb was developed by the American MANHATTAN PROJECT and was successfully tested at Alamogordo, New Mexico, on July 16, 1945. The light from the test could be seen some 200 miles away, sand was fused into glass pellets, and a mushroom cloud rose eight miles into the sky. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the chief scientist on the Manhattan Project, quoted from the Hindu *Bhagavad Gita*: "I am become Death, destroyer of worlds." In the aftermath of the test, the Potsdam Declaration, issued on July 26 at the end of the POTSDAM CONFERENCE, demanded that Japan surrender unconditionally by August 3 or face "prompt and utter destruction."

The Japanese did not surrender, and destruction promptly came. Much of Hiroshima was obliterated by the "Little Boy" uranium bomb, with perhaps as many as 50,000 deaths almost instantaneously and estimates of additional deaths by the end of the year from injury, burns, and radiation poison ranging as high as 100,000. President Harry S. Truman announced to the world that the atomic bomb involved the "harnessing of the basic power of the universe." The Japanese still did not surrender, even after the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan on August 8. Another American bomber, the *Bockscar*, then dropped the "Fat Man" plutonium bomb on Nagasaki on August 9, with another 50,000 deaths and eventually tens of thousands more. At last Japan surrendered.

Jubilant V-J DAY celebrations erupted when the news of the Japanese surrender became public. American servicemen in or heading toward the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER and their families rejoiced that the war was over and that the atomic bombs had evidently saved the GIs from a bloody invasion of the Japanese home islands. The overwhelming majority of the American public endorsed the use of the bombs. Truman told sailors as he returned home from Potsdam that the BOMBING of Hiroshima was "the greatest thing in history."

But while all Americans were glad to see the war end with no more peril to U.S. servicemen, and while most continued to approve using the atomic bomb, reserva-



tions, regrets, and questions about the bomb soon began to emerge. Truman himself, on hearing the news from Alamogordo, had written in his diary about “the most terrible thing ever discovered.” Some religious leaders and scientists, and even a few military leaders, asked whether it had been necessary or right to use so awful a weapon. So did some critics, conservatives and liberals alike, in politics and the press. The author JOHN HERSEY’s compelling and graphic account of several survivors of the Hiroshima bombing written for the *New Yorker* magazine and then published in his best-selling 1946 book, *Hiroshima*, had a huge impact on perceptions of the bomb. And for the following half century and more, the decision to use the atomic bomb has been discussed and often debated.

In fact, Truman did not so much make a decision to use the bomb as he did not reverse a longstanding decision to use it if necessary. From the beginning of the Manhattan Project, it had been assumed, implicitly and explicitly, that the bomb would be a legitimate weapon of war to be used if needed against the AXIS nations to end the war. Some support for developing and using the bomb ebbed after it became plain that Germany would not develop an atomic bomb, and even more support waned after Germany’s surrender; but the original assumptions remained in place.

As the Manhattan Project neared completion, some scientists and GOVERNMENT officials suggested alternatives to using the atomic bomb—for example, an explicit warning to Japan; a demonstration of the bomb; agreeing to conditional surrender. U.S. NAVY and U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES leaders believed that a continuation of the naval blockade and air campaign against Japan would bring surrender. But there were counterarguments to such views, and Truman did not reverse the prior decision to use the bomb.

Some explanations for Truman’s choice point to the difficulty the new president might have had in not following the unconditional surrender policy identified with President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, who had died only a few months earlier. Others suggest that the administration might have feared criticism for not using a weapon that cost \$2 billion to develop. Some critics maintain that the bomb was dropped out of racism and revenge for PEARL HARBOR, the BATAAN DEATH MARCH, and other Japanese acts of war—although officials from the beginning had contemplated using the weapon on Germany, and anti-Japanese sentiment was at least as high among such Asian peoples as the Chinese and Filipinos who had suffered atrocities under the Japanese. The brutality of the war, and the bombing and killing of civilians by both the Allies and the Axis powers, contributed to a certain hardening of sensitivities among policymakers. In the several months prior to Hiroshima, for example, the American firebombing of Japanese cities, including Tokyo, took an estimated half-million Japanese lives.

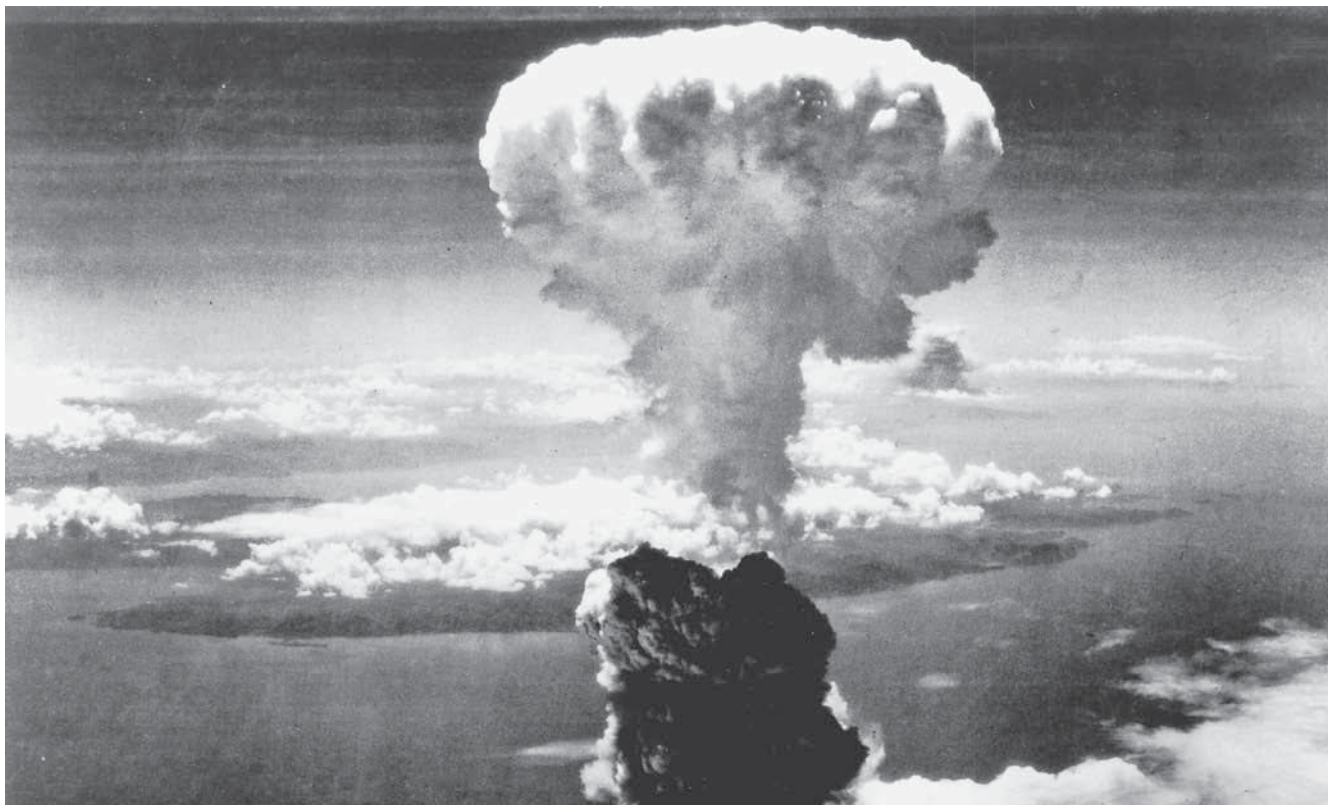


The aerial photo shows the aftermath of the atomic bomb explosion over Hiroshima. (*National Archives*)

Simple bureaucratic momentum also played a role, and helps to answer the question of why the second bomb was dropped, on Nagasaki. Once authorization was given to use the bomb after August 3, the timing of the bombings and the target of the second bomb were in the hands of military officials in the Pacific. Four cities, chosen for their shock value in demonstrating the destructive power of the bomb, were on the list of approved target cities. Hiroshima was designated for the first bomb because it was an undamaged industrial city lying on a plain surrounded by mountains, so that the bomb would cause maximum damage. Nagasaki (put last on the list) became the second target on August 9 because of weather conditions and the unexpected speed of preparing the “Fat Man” for use.

While most scholars agree that the atomic bomb was used to bring the surrender of Japan as quickly as possible, less consensus exists on whether the bomb was necessary to end the war. Some historians believe that conventional military power, a demonstration of the bomb, the entry of the Soviet Union into the war, agreement to a conditional surrender, or some combination of these factors, might have brought the Japanese surrender. On the other hand, a number of scholars, including some in Japan, hold that the shock of the atomic bomb was necessary to produce surrender by Japan’s military leaders.

Some recent scholarship also calls into question the widespread understanding that the only alternative to the use of the bomb was invasion of the Japanese home islands, with a half million or more American deaths. Not only do some historians emphasize evidence suggesting that surrender might have come without an invasion or the atomic bomb, but a few contemporary documents indicate an expectation of no more than several tens of thousands



A dense column of smoke rises more than 60,000 feet into the air over the Japanese port city of Nagasaki, the result of the second atomic bomb that was dropped on Japan. (Library of Congress)

of American deaths were an invasion to be launched. But even that would have been a high cost, especially after more than three bloody years of war in the Pacific theater; and other contemporary documents project much higher figures. Since Truman had become president three months earlier, moreover, the United States had experienced nearly half of its total casualties in the Pacific theater, and the brutal warfare and high casualties on both sides at IWO JIMA and OKINAWA weighed much on American minds. Certainly Truman would have had a hard time justifying extending the war and losing even a small number of additional American lives. In any case, there is no way to know just what would have happened without use of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

If the primary reason for dropping the bomb was to compel the quick surrender of Japan, most scholars also agree that a secondary and reinforcing reason was that it might work to the advantage of the United States in SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS. By the summer of 1945, as the YALTA CONFERENCE and the Potsdam Conference had revealed, the United States and the Soviet Union were increasingly at odds about significant postwar questions, including Eastern Europe. Some American policymakers

concluded that the American possession and use of the bomb might make the Soviet Union more tractable on postwar issues. In fact, the bomb evidently exacerbated Soviet-American tensions and contributed to the development of the cold war—and to the uncertainties of the nuclear age.

**Further reading:** Richard B. Frank, *Downfall: The End of the Imperial Japanese Empire* (New York: Random House, 1999); John Hersey, *Hiroshima* (New York: Knopf, 1946); Michael J. Hogan, *Hiroshima in History and Memory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Philip Nobile, ed., *Judgment at the Smithsonian* (New York: Marlowe & Co., 1995); Richard Rhodes, *The Making of the Atomic Bomb* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986); J. Samuel Walker, *Prompt and Utter Destruction: President Truman and the Use of Atomic Bombs against Japan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

#### **Holiday, Billie** (1915–1959) *jazz singer*

Billie Holiday is widely considered to be the most significant JAZZ-blues singer of the 1930s and 1940s. Her innova-

tive style of singing made her a major figure in the world of MUSIC.

Born Eleanora Fagan, she spent her childhood in Baltimore. She did not begin singing professionally until she and her mother, Sadie Fagan, moved to New York. Unable to find work dancing, as had been her plan, she agreed to sing for \$18 a week. She took her working name, Billie Holiday, from her father, Clarence Holiday, and from the actress Billie Dove.

Throughout her career, she worked with many influential jazz musicians. Her friend Lester Young gave her the nickname “Lady Day,” by which she was known in jazz circles for much of her life. She performed with BENNY GOODMAN, Teddy Wilson, Count Basie, and Artie Shaw, and counted Louis Armstrong and Bessie Smith as her most important inspirations. Her singular style of singing meant that her voice was most suited to a more intimate musical accompaniment than could be achieved with a big band. It was her unusual style—relaxed and smooth, with an extraordinary capability for communicating emotion—that appealed greatly to jazz connoisseurs. Despite her popularity in jazz clubs, however, she never gained a large following in the general listening public. Among her best-known songs is “Strange Fruit,” an account of a lynching that she introduced to her repertoire in 1938.

Holiday had a difficult personal life. She spent her childhood in poverty. She married twice, with both marriages ending unhappily, and she faced the discrimination routinely faced by AFRICAN AMERICANS in the venues where she worked. In addition, Holiday struggled with heroin addiction. She was arrested in 1947 and voluntarily committed to a rehabilitation program. Her addiction contributed to the gradual decline in her health and the quality of her voice during the 1950s. She died in a hospital at the age of 44 while under arrest for possession of drugs.

**Further reading:** Leslie Gourse, *Billie Holiday: The Tragedy and Triumph of Lady Day* (New York: Grolier Publishers, 1995).

—Joanna Smith

## Holocaust

The Holocaust was the methodical persecution and attempted annihilation of European Jewry and Roma (Gypsies) by Nazi Germany. Between 1933 and 1945, Nazi forces murdered some 5 to 6 million JEWS—about two-thirds of Europe’s Jewry—and more than 500,000 Roma.

Nazi persecution of Jews within Germany began immediately after Adolf Hitler’s ascension to power in January 1933. Between 1933 and 1939, the Nazis undertook systematic measures to isolate Jews and to confiscate their assets. The Nuremberg Laws, for instance, implemented

by the Nazi Party in September 1935, stripped Jews of their citizenship. Ongoing Nazi violence against Jews first crested on November 9–10, 1938, during Kristallnacht, a planned campaign of destruction and terror that resulted in the destruction of synagogues and Jewish businesses throughout Germany.

Hitler’s annexation of Austria in 1938, the conquest of most of western Europe by the summer of 1940, and the invasions of Poland in 1939 and of the Soviet Union in 1941 brought the vast majority of Europe’s Jews under Nazi control. By mid-1941, Nazis succeeded in removing German and Austrian Jews and Roma from all arenas of civil life, and had begun to persecute Jews living in western Europe. Millions of Polish Jews struggled to survive disease, starvation, and Nazi brutality in greatly overcrowded urban ghettos. More than 500,000 Jews and thousands of Roma were killed in large-scale massacres in the Soviet Union by divisions of the Nazi’s police and security apparatus, with the assistance of local police and civilian collaborators. Initially, victims were shot after being forced to dig their own graves; later, they were gassed in mobile vans by Einsatzgruppen units.

By mid-1941, Hitler made clear his intention to annihilate Europe’s Jews. The decision to exterminate all Roma in Europe came in December 1941. Planning of the “Final Solution” of what Hitler termed “the Jewish problem in Europe” took place in Wannsee, Germany, in January 1942. Those gathered for the meeting drew up a plan to round up and deport Jews from Nazi-occupied western Europe to concentration camps in the East. Jews in Poland, already segregated in ghettos, were to be sent to extermination camps such as Treblinka and Belzec in Poland, designed



This 1945 photo was taken at Buchenwald concentration camp by a member of the U.S. 80th Infantry. Photograph by Private H. Miller (*United States Army*)



to gas Jews on a mass scale immediately upon arrival. More than 3 million Jews died in these camps between 1942 and 1944. More than 1 million western and central European Jews selected for immediate death died in the gas chambers of Auschwitz-Birkenau. Jews chosen for slave labor in the thousands of Nazi concentration camps were systematically degraded, tortured, and starved. Jews sometimes fought back, notably during a three-week uprising in the Warsaw ghetto, but they were invariably defeated by an enemy intent upon their total annihilation.

News of Nazi persecution of Jews between 1933 and 1941 reached an American public marked by significant anti-immigrant sentiment and ANTI-SEMITISM. Events in Germany such as Kristallnacht in 1938 did provoke temporary outrage and a movement to boycott German-made goods. Fearing competition for scarce jobs during the GREAT DEPRESSION, however, the majority of Americans strongly opposed allowing REFUGEES fleeing from Nazism to enter the United States. Most members of CONGRESS echoed this public sentiment, defeating the few proposals offered to make exceptions to the restrictive IMMIGRATION quotas established in the 1920s.

The U.S. State Department administered American refugee policy. These officials, notably Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long and many consulate officers abroad, designed impediments to drastically limit the number of Jewish and other refugees entering the United States. Despite public and congressional hostility toward loosening immigration quotas, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT called for a conference, held in France in July 1938, to respond to the developing refugee crisis caused by hundreds of thousands of German and Austrian Jews fleeing Nazi terror. No attending nation, however, including the United States, agreed to change its immigration laws, and no nation agreed to resettle what all insisted were “political,” not Jewish, refugees.

The United States entered WORLD WAR II one month before Hitler’s lieutenants formalized plans to exterminate Europe’s Jews. Credible reports indicating the existence of extermination camps and the death of more than 1 million Jews reached the State Department by mid-1942. The State Department essentially confirmed their accuracy by autumn 1942, yet over the next year attempted to conceal that information from the American public. Roosevelt, aware of the reports, continued to insist that the best means of helping all of Hitler’s victims was to achieve quick victory in the war.

Although divided by ideology and questions of strategy throughout the war, America’s Jewish leadership was largely responsible for bringing public attention to the unfolding tragedy of the Holocaust in late 1942 and throughout 1943. Their efforts contributed to some public criticism of the administration’s inaction. In response, FDR agreed to a

bilateral conference suggested by the British government. The April 1943 Bermuda Conference, however, did not yield any changes in refugee policy, nor was the ongoing annihilation of Jews explicitly discussed.

In the winter of 1943–44, Secretary of the Treasury HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR., provided Roosevelt with more evidence about Nazis’ killing of millions of Jews and a report on the State Department’s obstructionist actions. Turning refugee policy over to the Treasury Department, FDR in January 1944 created a War Refugee Board (WRB) to facilitate the rescue of those in imminent danger of death by Nazi forces. WRB efforts are believed to have been responsible for saving about 200,000 Jews.

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—Julie Whitcomb

### Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC)

Designed to provide relief for homeowners facing foreclosure and to rescue the mortgage industry, the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) was created during the first Hundred Days of the NEW DEAL.

The GREAT DEPRESSION had created grave troubles in the mortgage industry. Prior to the 1930s, mortgage loans typically required high down payments (typically 35 percent or more) and had terms of five to 10 years, with a large “balloon” payment at the end of the loan. As homeowners were increasingly unable to meet the balloon payment, they had to refinance the loan or face foreclosure. To meet their own debts, banks called in balloon payments and liquidated the mortgages. Foreclosures jumped from 150,000 in 1930 to 250,000 in 1932, and to 1,000 per day by early 1933. With banks needing liquid assets and no home insurance to protect the owners, the mortgage industry was in shambles.

President HERBERT C. HOOVER had tried to address the problem with the Federal Home Loan Bank Act in 1932. CONGRESS, however, weakened Hoover’s proposal to allow homeowners to use their home as collateral for a refinancing loan by making the amount of collateral needed to secure the loan more than most homeowners could afford. The result was that the Federal Home Loan Banks proved unable to slow the rate of foreclosure. Faced with an accelerated number of home (and farm) foreclosures after his inauguration, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT proposed the Home Owners Refinancing Act in the spring



of 1933; the act passed Congress in June 1933, creating the Home Owners Loan Corporation. (The FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION was also created in June to refinance farm mortgages.)

The HOLC had two purposes. First, it provided help to homeowners in danger of losing their homes by refinancing their mortgages. Second, it assisted troubled banks holding the mortgages by insuring the loans, thus allowing the banks to liquefy defaulted mortgages rather than owning and trying to resell the homes themselves. Operating mostly in America's CITIES, the HOLC refinanced almost one out of every five mortgages during the agency's life. Just from 1933 to 1936, it spent some \$3 billion and refinanced a million homes. But while the agency assisted with refinancing, it was really an insurance agency for banks, not for homeowners, and it also foreclosed on properties, especially during the RECESSION OF 1937–1938, when it foreclosed on 100,000 homes.

The Home Owners Loan Corporation did not survive WORLD WAR II. It was a victim of Congress's budget-cutting in 1943, when many New Deal RELIEF agencies, such as the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION and NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION, were eliminated. But the HOLC left a lasting legacy on the mortgage industry. Together with other New Deal HOUSING programs, such as the FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION and the FEDERAL NATIONAL MORTGAGE ASSOCIATION (known popularly as Fannie Mae), HOLC helped to stabilize and rationalize the mortgage process. Mortgage loans became more affordable for many more Americans, the appraisal of homes was standardized so that insured banks financed homes at their appropriate value, and banks were able to turn their mortgages into liquid assets quickly by reselling them for their current value. By 1945, the risk that had long been a part of the realty and home construction industry had largely been removed, greatly aiding in the home building explosion of the postwar period.

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—Katherine Liapis Segrue

**Hoover, Herbert C.** (1874–1964) 31st U.S. president Herbert Clark Hoover served from 1929 to 1933 as the 31st president of the United States. Following impressive successes in BUSINESS and GOVERNMENT, Hoover won an overwhelming majority in the presidential election of 1928. But as the HOOVER PRESIDENCY was barely

under way, the GREAT DEPRESSION struck, and Hoover's unsuccessful efforts to revive the ECONOMY and deal with UNEMPLOYMENT led to his landslide defeat in the ELECTION OF 1932.

Hoover was born on August 10, 1874, in the Quaker community of West Branch, Iowa. Orphaned at the age of nine, he went to live with the Minthorn family in Newberg, Oregon. In 1891, Hoover entered Stanford University as a member of the "pioneer class" and pursued an interest in engineering. After graduating in 1895 with a degree in geology, he went to work for several mining operations throughout the West. He married fellow Stanford geology major Lou Henry, an outgoing woman who compensated for some of Hoover's introverted reserve.

In 1897, Hoover took a position with the London-based mining firm Bewick, Moreing and Company. By 1902, he had become a partner in Bewick Moreing, and for the next five years he traveled throughout the world, developing international prominence as an entrepreneur and geologist and earning praise as "the great engineer." After leaving the firm in 1908, Hoover invested in a number of successful mining and oil ventures. By 1910, at the age of 36, Hoover had amassed a fortune estimated at \$3 million.

Hoover's Quaker upbringing had instilled in him not only an optimism that society could be improved and ordered through cooperative efforts, but also a conviction that wealth brought an obligation to work toward such goals through public service. With the outbreak of World War I, Hoover was given several opportunities to pursue his interest in humanitarianism and to apply his managerial skills to large-scale public endeavors. He headed the international committee for the relief of Belgium, which was successful in feeding 11 million people in Belgium and northern France. President Wilson then appointed Hoover as U.S. food administrator to coordinate efforts to provide food for allies. As food administrator, Hoover sought to avoid rationing, and instead encouraged Americans to voluntarily help conserve food by observing "wheatless" and "meatless" meals. After the war, Hoover headed the American Relief Administration's European Children's Fund, which continued to feed children through the summer of 1922.

Hailed as "the great humanitarian" for his wartime efforts, Hoover was appointed Secretary of Commerce under President Warren G. Harding. Although a member of the REPUBLICAN PARTY, ideologically Hoover was a progressive, and his appointment prompted opposition within the GOP. Hoover believed, as he described in his 1922 essay "American Individualism," that the government should play an active role in coordinating private industry and promoting voluntary associational efforts that would improve the overall standard of living without crossing the boundary between the public and private sectors.



Herbert Hoover campaigning from the back of a railroad car during the 1928 U.S. presidential election (*Library of Congress*)

During his time as secretary of commerce, he transformed an insignificant department into one of the most important in the executive branch. Hoover not only made efforts to open foreign markets for U.S. goods, but he also worked to promote efficiency throughout the private sector through the standardization of consumer items, the reduction of costly LABOR strikes, and the improvement of planning processes. Moreover, Hoover worked to develop projects for the irrigation of dry lands and flood control.

In 1928, after President Calvin Coolidge chose not to run for reelection, the GOP turned to its most capable administrator to maintain control of the White House. Receiving 58 percent of the popular vote and carrying 40 out of 48 states, Hoover won by one of the largest margins in history. But with the STOCK MARKET CRASH of 1929 and the onset of the Great Depression, Hoover's presidency encountered enormous economic and political difficul-

ties and his reputation sank with the economy. Although Hoover made efforts to stave off further economic decline and to encourage business confidence, including the creation of the RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION, his failure to take effective action to alleviate unemployment and provide adequate RELIEF led many to perceive him as inept and uncaring. Hoover's presidency ended with his overwhelming defeat at the hands of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in 1932.

In 1933, Hoover returned to his home in Palo Alto, California, but he never completely retired from public life. Although he wanted the 1936 GOP presidential nomination, the party turned instead to Kansas governor ALFRED M. LANDON. Hoover remained an outspoken critic of the NEW DEAL, characterizing several programs as "fascistic," and vehemently criticizing Roosevelt's 1937 COURT-PACKING PLAN. He generally sided with ISOLATIONISTS who criticized Roosevelt's increasingly interventionist FOREIGN

POLICY in the late 1930s and early 1940s, although he did not join the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE.

During WORLD WAR II, Hoover established the privately run Polish Relief Commission, which fed children in occupied Poland until 1941 and the U.S. entry into the war. In 1946, President Harry S. Truman asked Hoover to head the Famine Emergency Commission to address post-war famine in Europe. In 1947, Hoover asked Congress to appoint a commission to examine the reorganization of the executive branch and address inefficiency in the federal government. The resulting Hoover Commission offered nearly 300 recommendations for change, more than two-thirds of which were accepted and which enhanced the managerial powers of the president. Hoover died on October 20, 1964.

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—Shannon L. Parsley

**Hoover, J. Edgar** See VOLUME IX.

### Hoover presidency

In 1928, HERBERT C. HOOVER was elected president with nearly three-fifths of the popular vote in a landslide victory over his Democratic opponent, Alfred E. Smith. Four years later, in the depths of the GREAT DEPRESSION, Hoover lost to FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT by margins as sweeping as those of 1928. The ELECTION OF 1932 was not just a rejection of the REPUBLICAN PARTY but also a repudiation of Hoover. For decades afterward, Hoover's image was that of a do-nothing, even heartless, president who deserved the political fate of 1932. More recently, however, historians have reexamined the Hoover presidency and found it more complicated and innovative than the prevailing stereotype. Some have even claimed to find significant origins of Roosevelt's NEW DEAL in Hoover's policies.

Hoover entered the White House with high public expectations. A mining engineer educated at Stanford, Hoover was a millionaire by the time he was 40 and devoted the rest of his life to public service. He earned a glowing reputation administering important programs during World War I, and in the 1920s was an active and powerful secretary of commerce under Presidents Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge. Apparently one of the architects of the decade's prosperity, Hoover came to the presidency hailed as "the great engineer" and (because of his leadership in World War I relief efforts) as "the great humanitarian." On his inauguration in March 1929, the journalist

Anne O'Hare McCormick wrote that "We were in a mood for magic. . . . We had summoned a great engineer to solve our problems for us; now we sat back comfortably and confidently to watch the problems being solved."

And Hoover, a deeply thoughtful man committed to his ideas and principles, was prepared to act. Convinced that modern technocratic skills could be brought to bear on public problems, he envisioned a "New Day" of ongoing prosperity. He believed that GOVERNMENT had a role to play in sustaining economic growth and social progress, but he also believed that the role of government must be limited and that the federal government should not intrude upon the responsibilities of the private sector or local government. Public policy should help to catalyze and coordinate voluntary "associational" activities in the private sector to stabilize the economy by promoting cooperation and efficiency, and it should facilitate a "new individualism" devoted to service and social progress. But the federal government should not direct and control those efforts and must above all avoid moving toward a regulatory or welfare state. He brought to the executive branch a number of "Hoover men" who shared his view and aims and his confidence in establishing coordinating mechanisms for addressing economic and social issues.

The Hoover presidency opened with a number of initiatives. The new president called a special session of CONGRESS to deal with AGRICULTURE, and within two months won passage of the AGRICULTURAL MARKETING ACT of 1929 that created the Federal Farm Board to sustain prices in a number of commodities by means of farm cooperatives and stabilization corporations. The administration planned a series of conferences and studies on other economic and social problems, with the intent of coordinating efforts to address them, and it began action in other areas too. But the early energy and high promise of the Hoover presidency soon ebbed. Little ultimately came from the detailed social and economic studies in terms of policy. Congress turned Hoover's request for tariff revision to provide flexibility into the HAWLEY-SMOOT TARIFF ACT of 1930, which imposed the highest tariff ever. Signed by Hoover despite criticism from virtually all the experts, the tariff suggested Hoover's deficiencies as a political leader. So did his unsuccessful efforts to revise IMMIGRATION policy, to reach agreement on oil production policy, and to find solutions to the vexing problem of Prohibition.

But it was the Great Depression that came to dominate administration priorities and policymaking. The depression also exposed the shortcomings of Hoover's leadership and produced his crushing defeat in 1932 and his unenviable public reputation for years after. Contrary to that public reputation, however, Hoover rejected orthodox advice to let the economy recover by itself. Rather, he took quick action to try to restore confidence and reverse the



economic downturn. He issued statements declaring that the ECONOMY was fundamentally sound; he held meetings with BUSINESS leaders urging them not to cut production, prices, wages, or employment; he met with LABOR leaders requesting them not to press new wage demands or to conduct strikes; he promised to maintain and increase public works spending and urged local government to do the same; he supported lower interest rates and lower taxes to stimulate investment and buying.

Although such steps were in the right direction and went well beyond what previous presidents had done during depressions, none went far enough to have significant effect, and economic indexes continued down. The Agricultural Marketing Act was also unsuccessful, for in relying on voluntary action it gave the Federal Farm Board no authority to restrict production, and mounting surpluses overwhelmed the board's capacity and helped send agricultural prices plummeting still further. And the Hawley-Smoot Tariff went in exactly the wrong direction: It helped keep prices of American manufactured goods too high, and it invited retaliation from other nations to restrict markets for American industrial and agricultural goods. As the depression deepened, Hoover became less innovative, more resistant to new federal initiatives, and increasingly insistent that the origins of the depression lay abroad and that his policies were correct.

Two areas of policy—RELIEF and BANKING—reveal how Hoover's ideology shaped and constrained his action. They reveal as well how a number of significant initiatives of his presidency—such as the NORRIS–LA GUARDIA ACT of March 1932 that limited the use of court injunctions against labor unions—often came from Congress with Hoover's reluctant acquiescence. With UNEMPLOYMENT mounting catastrophically in the early 1930s and with private and local relief efforts entirely inadequate, pressure mounted in the nation and in Congress for federal action. But Hoover's principles were clear: The federal government might encourage, support, and coordinate local and private efforts, but the federal government must not take on direct responsibility for relief. He created two agencies to collect information and to encourage and assist private and local efforts—the PRESIDENT'S EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR EMPLOYMENT and then the PRESIDENT'S ORGANIZATION ON UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF—but they had little impact. As the depression worsened, moreover, Hoover insisted all the more on limiting government spending and trying to balance the budget. (In June 1932 he signed, with Democratic support, the largest peacetime tax increase ever.) Finally, after rebuffing or vetoing congressional measures for public works and relief spending, Hoover reluctantly signed the compromise RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION ACT in July 1932, which authorized the RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION to lend (not grant) states up to

\$300 million for relief and up to \$1.5 billion for self-liquidating public works projects (toll roads, for example). But the administration allowed little of that money to be spent, and federal unemployment relief did not come until the New Deal.

In banking, Hoover took more action than he did with relief. The great problem of banking in the early 1930s was one of liquidity: how to turn declining paper assets (mortgages and business loans, for example) into the cash needed to pay off depositors. The Glass-Steagall Act of February 1932 expanded the currency supply by permitting the use of government securities to back Federal Reserve notes. In July 1932 the Congress passed the Federal Home Loan Bank Act, which did less than Hoover had recommended but did allow home loan banks to accept mortgages as collateral for loans. But these significant measures could not provide the help needed by faltering and failing commercial banks. Pressured by Hoover, who preferred private cooperative action, a number of the nation's major banks organized the National Credit Corporation late in 1931, with a fund of \$500 million to help banks in need. But the bankers had exacted from Hoover a promise of federal assistance if the NCC proved inadequate to the task, as indeed it did. At Hoover's request, Congress in January 1932 created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), authorized to lend up to \$2 billion to banks and other financial institutions. But although it marked a significant new departure, the RFC disbursed money slowly, advanced loans largely to the largest banks and institutions, and did little to shore up the banking system. Under Roosevelt, the RFC was used far more dynamically to spur lending and expansion, not just to protect financial institutions.

Although his presidency came to be all but consumed by domestic economic matters, Hoover also gave attention to FOREIGN POLICY. He sought to reduce American intervention in Latin America, anticipating Roosevelt's GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY of the 1930s. At the LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE in 1930, he succeeded in winning modest expansion and a five-year extension of naval arms limitations. But the growing global depression and advancing militarism in Europe and Asia became the major problems; and here Hoover, like other heads of state, had little success. He sought major reductions in armaments at the WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE in 1932, and tried to tie them to resolving economic problems, but nothing came of his proposals. As the collapse of the American economy dried up the American loans abroad that had helped finance German reparations, Allied war debts, and European purchases of American goods, pressure mounted to reduce American tariffs and implement a moratorium on intergovernmental debts. Hoover finally agreed to the latter in June 1931, but the moratorium, unpopular among many Americans, could not rescue the international



financial system. Nor did the administration take effective action to check militarism and aggression. After Japan invaded MANCHURIA in 1931, Secretary of State HENRY L. STIMSON could only persuade Hoover to respond with an essentially toothless “nonrecognition” policy with respect to Japanese territorial gains that violated international treaties involving the United States.

By mid-1932, then, the Hoover presidency and its efforts at home and abroad were in disarray. For most Americans, it was the domestic, not the global, situation that mattered, with the Great Depression approaching its nadir. By the fall election, Hoover’s reputation was badly tarnished not only by the depression and by his unsucces-

ful policies to deal with hard times, but by what seemed his hard-hearted refusal even to grant relief assistance. His role in sending military troops in late July to evict the BONUS ARMY that came to Washington to seek prepayment of the bonus voted them in the 1920s came to symbolize Hoover’s presidency. The widely respected “Great Humanitarian” of 1928 had become the butt of jokes by 1932, with the shantytowns of the unemployed called Hoovervilles. In the election that fall, Hoover went down to overwhelming defeat, losing the popular vote by 57.4 to 39.7 percent and carrying just six of the 48 states.

Although the electoral verdict of 1932 is understandable, the lingering image of a reactionary, do-nothing



With between 12 million and 14 million people out of work during the early 1930s, many Americans sought shelter in towns constructed of cardboard shacks on vacant land. In a gesture aimed at the government’s unwillingness to act on their plight, they ironically dubbed these towns Hoovervilles. Shown is the Hooverville outside of Seattle, Washington. (Private collection)

Hoover—in part the result of artful Democratic politicking in the 1930s—needs revision. Hoover did more than any president previously in combating a depression, and he often went beyond orthodox economic thought. Few leading Democrats advocated more far-reaching policies, and a number criticized him for doing and spending too much. Some of Hoover's initiatives were continued and expanded by Franklin Roosevelt, who also shared Hoover's concern about deficit spending and about the corroding effect of relief on initiative and self-respect. But the differences between the New Deal's regulatory welfare state and Hoover's policies far outweigh the continuities and similarities; and while the New Deal failed to end the depression, it did bring a variety of highly visible programs to provide relief and to effect social and economic reform.

Above all, perhaps, Hoover was an ideologue and a technocrat, unwilling to violate his ideas and principles, often contemptuous of politics and politicians, and unsuited by his shy and aloof temperament to providing public leadership. Roosevelt by contrast was a politician and a leader, at ease with people and in touch with public opinion, and ready to experiment in using government to provide humanitarian assistance and to preserve the American democratic capitalist system. The depression pushed Hoover's ideas and leadership ability to their limits and beyond, and then brought his defeat and the demise of his reputation. Indeed, the very failure of Hoover's programs helped set the stage for the far more expansive use of the federal government by the Roosevelt presidency.

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**Hopkins, Harry L.** (1890–1946) *White House adviser, government official, diplomat*

Harry Lloyd Hopkins, RELIEF administrator for the NEW DEAL in the 1930s, was one of the principal advisers of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and during WORLD WAR II served as the president's personal ambassador on key FOREIGN POLICY and military issues. A wisecracking, practical, and sometimes cynical man who was as comfortable at the

race tracks as at the White House, Hopkins was tenderhearted as well as tough-minded, and he brought to public service deep concern for underprivileged and destitute Americans and unflagging dedication to Roosevelt and the nation.

Born and raised in Iowa and educated at Iowa's Grinnell College, Hopkins moved to New York City in 1912, and for nearly two decades worked as a social worker and administrator. In those capacities he developed his convictions that public and private agencies needed to do more to alleviate poverty and ill health and that every American should "have access to the opportunity to provide for himself and his family a decent and American way of living." In 1931, Roosevelt, then governor of New York, named Hopkins to head the state's Temporary Emergency Relief Administration; in 1933, Roosevelt brought Hopkins to Washington to head the first major national relief program, the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION (FERA).

From 1933 to 1938, Hopkins served as Roosevelt's relief administrator, heading not just the FERA but subsequently also the CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION (CWA) and the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (WPA). Like Roosevelt, Hopkins preferred work relief, which preserved dignity and self-respect in addition to building the national infrastructure, over direct relief (cash payments or food and clothing) to the unemployed and needy. He took part throughout the decade in an often vitriolic and usually successful struggle for works projects money with Secretary of the Interior HAROLD ICKES, who headed the PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION and preferred carefully planned, capital-intensive public works projects over the labor-intensive work relief projects that could quickly get money into the economy. Hopkins's enormous energy and bureaucratic talents helped the relief programs accomplish what they did in the face of fiscal, ideological, and political obstacles. Despite the heavy and sometimes inefficient spending on relief, Hopkins's reputation for probity was never questioned—although he did come under fire, sometimes justified, for using relief spending for political purposes.

In Roosevelt's second term, Hopkins's role changed, and he became even more important in New Deal politics and policymaking. He had a significant part in Roosevelt's decision to try (with little success) to "purge" the DEMOCRATIC PARTY of anti-New Deal conservatives in the election of 1938, and by 1938 he was among the New Dealers pushing hardest to adopt FISCAL POLICY based on KEYNESIANISM to lift the ECONOMY out of the RECESSION OF 1937–1938. Late in 1938, he resigned as relief administrator to become secretary of commerce, and in the latter capacity not only tried to reconcile BUSINESS to the New Deal but also continued to push for Keynesian spending to underwrite recovery and reform. By the late 1930s, how-

ever, Hopkins was suffering from stomach cancer and a severe digestive disorder that led him to resign from the cabinet in 1940. But when Roosevelt decided to run for a third term in the ELECTION OF 1940, he relied on Hopkins to help assure his renomination and the somewhat unpopular nomination of HENRY A. WALLACE for vice president.

During World War II, Hopkins served as Roosevelt's adviser and personal envoy on diplomatic and military matters and lived for long spells in the White House. He worked especially to find ways to speed the defeat of the AXIS and to ensure the effectiveness of the GRAND ALLIANCE. Early in 1941, Hopkins visited England to help enhance coordination and cooperation between the two nations, and until August 1941 headed the LEND-LEASE Act program sending assistance to Great Britain and later the Soviet Union. He worked with General GEORGE C. MARSHALL on military policy, served as FDR's envoy to British prime minister Winston Churchill and Soviet leader Josef Stalin, and played significant roles at the CASABLANCA CONFERENCE, the CAIRO CONFERENCE, and the TEHERAN CONFERENCE in 1943. At Teheran he helped persuade Churchill to agree to open a SECOND FRONT in the spring of 1944.

But cancer and his digestive disorder continued to ravage Hopkins and to diminish the energy of this once indefatigable man. His health kept him on the sidelines for much of 1944, and after participating in the February 1945 YALTA CONFERENCE he returned to the United States for treatment at the Mayo Clinic, where he was when Roosevelt died in April 1945. Although he resigned from the government in early May, he undertook at the request of new president Harry S. Truman another mission to Moscow later that month to try to persuade Stalin, with some limited success, to be more cooperative on a number of issues. Hopkins died in January 1946.

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## housing

During the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II, the construction of private housing in the United States fell dramatically from the peak it had reached during the housing boom of the mid-1920s and did not recover fully until the postwar era. In 1925, 937,000 new housing units were constructed (more than 80 percent of them in urban areas). In 1933, the worst year of the Great Depression, only 93,000 units were built. Construction recovered slowly during the balance of the decade, but never approached the level reached in the 1920s.

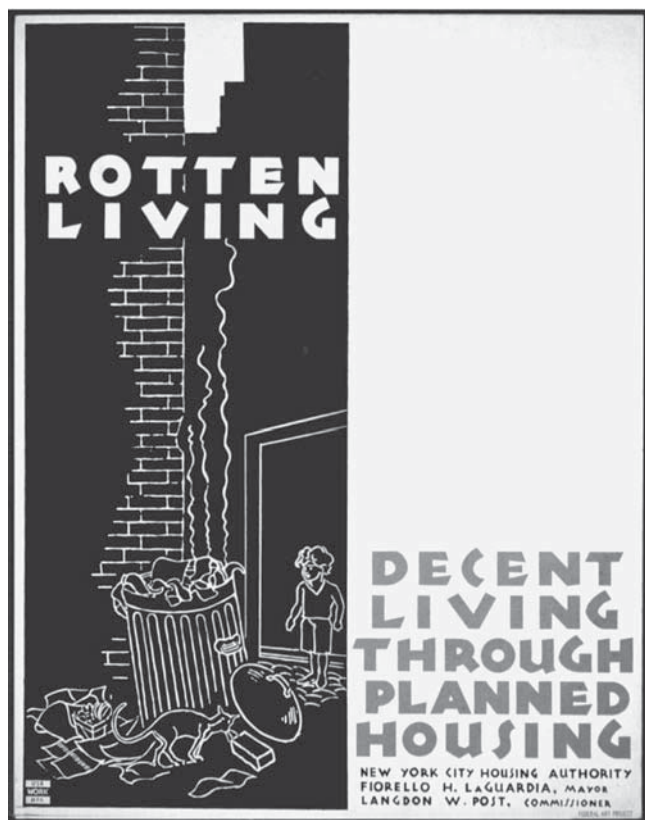
In response to the collapse of the private housing industry during the 1930s, the NEW DEAL implemented legislation to stimulate the residential building and aid both middle- and lower-income families seeking better housing. Two of these acts, the National Housing Act of 1934 and the U.S. Housing Act of 1937, have survived to the present day. Also, during World War II the federal government built over 700,000 housing units to accommodate war workers, but only a relatively small number of them survived after 1945 to become permanent residences.

The long slump in new home construction crowded families and individuals into smaller, less attractive dwellings, and in the most extreme cases, into self-constructed shanties. For millions of Americans, the dream of buying their own home was shattered. In addition, hundreds of thousands of families who had purchased homes during the 1920s faced foreclosure when UNEMPLOYMENT forced them to stop making their mortgage payments. Finally, the collapse of the home building industry threw construction workers out of jobs.

The Great Depression impelled millions of Americans to look to the federal GOVERNMENT, and to President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT's New Deal, to help them survive the hard economic times. In response, FDR and the New Deal Democrats launched a host of programs to deal with the depression, and several focused on housing. Between 1933 and 1937, CONGRESS passed three major pieces of legislation that had varying degrees of influence on the housing sector. (Other New Deal programs, such as the RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION, also involved housing.) The first of these measures was the Home Owners Refinancing Act of 1933 that prevented nearly a million homeowners from losing their houses. This was accomplished by the HOME OWNERS LOAN CORPORATION, a federal lending agency that allowed homeowners to refinance their mortgages, stretching them out for 20 years or longer, thus reducing the monthly payments.

By far the most important piece of housing legislation passed during the 1930s was the National Housing Act of 1934. Its goal was to stimulate new housing construction and reduce unemployment in the construction industry. It did this through another federal agency, the FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION (FHA), which guaranteed loans for the construction of new houses if the dwellings met FHA guidelines involving the quality of construction, location, and the creditworthiness of the buyer. Mortgage lenders, now assured that they would bear no real risk in making loans on FHA-approved houses, offered low down payments and 20- to 30-year mortgages, terms far superior to those offered during the 1920s. Almost immediately, housing starts began to rise, and in 1939 over 500,000 private housing units were started. World War II brought private home construction to a temporary halt; but after the war,





Poster for planned housing in New York City (*Library of Congress*)

the long-term mortgages and housing standards established by the FHA, plus an even more generous financial package offered to veterans by the Veterans Administration, helped create the great postwar boom of the SUBURBS.

The FHA program also had the unintended effect of contributing to the decline of central CITIES. During the depressed 1930s, FHA administrators saw their overriding goals as creating the maximum number of new homes and assuring that these houses would retain their value and that owners would not default on their mortgages. Consequently, the FHA favored as prospective buyers middle-income families seeking homes built in white, middle-class areas on the fringes of central cities and out in the suburbs. New houses built in older neighborhoods, or in areas with more mixed populations, were generally not approved for FHA loans. As a result, FHA policy accelerated the outward movement of the white middle classes and denied financial help to older, central city neighborhoods that had begun to decline, but were still far from slums.

The third major federal housing program of the New Deal, and the only one that generated real controversy, was the U.S. Housing Act of 1937 (also known as the Wagner Public Housing Act, after its chief sponsor, New York sena-

tor ROBERT F. WAGNER). Creating the UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY, the measure in its final form authorized direct federal funding for the construction of publicly owned, low-rent housing by local governments willing to create public housing authorities. Conservatives opposed all types of directly financed, publicly owned housing, but disagreement also existed among supporters of federally financed housing. One group, composed mainly of social workers, favored legislation that would construct federally subsidized housing within central cities exclusively for low-income families currently living in slum housing. Another group, composed more of architects and city planners, wanted legislation that would allow the federal government not only to help low-income families but also to provide financial aid to groups of moderate-income families that wished to build not-for-profit or cooperative housing. Since moderate-income people composed a much larger segment of the nation's population than the very poor, a federal housing program including them in publicly aided housing developments had the potential to create a far higher proportion of dwellings outside the traditional private housing market.

This more sweeping proposal alarmed the private housing industry. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, and a number of other housing-related organizations were generally opposed to all types of publicly owned housing, but they lobbied most strenuously against the moderate-income housing proposals. As a result, the final version of the Wagner Housing Act authorized federal aid for housing projects open only to very low income families, and virtually guaranteed that these projects would be constructed only in central cities, on former slum sites. Suburban areas could keep public housing out by refusing to create public housing authorities. Finally, the act put a cap on per-unit construction costs that compelled local housing authorities to build dwellings or apartments that, while safe and sanitary, contained such a minimum amount of space and so few amenities that they would attract only those living in slum housing.

By 1941, hundreds of local housing authorities created under the Wagner Housing Act built approximately 160,000 housing units in the inner-city areas of the great metropolitan centers and in the poorer sections of smaller cities and towns. Because the housing in these projects was far safer and more sanitary than the typical slum dwelling, and because the federal subsidy allowed local housing authorities to charge very modest rent, waiting lists quickly developed. This new construction upgraded the housing conditions of many low-income families, but like FHA construction also reinforced the growing separation of lower- and middle-income groups from one another and accelerated the decline of central cities.



Quite separate from the New Deal housing programs of the 1930s were the housing units built by the federal government between 1940 and 1945 to house war workers and their families. The gigantic scale of war production brought millions of men and women to work in defense plants, often overwhelming the adjacent communities. Single family houses were divided up for three or four families, garages were converted into dwellings, and still there was not nearly enough space for the war workers. In June 1940, the federal government funded 20 housing developments for war workers; but the vast majority of war housing was built under the guidelines of the Lanham Defense Housing Act of October 1940. Congressman Lanham had been an opponent of the Wagner public housing program and wrote into the war housing legislation a section that prohibited the federal government from converting any of the war housing into public housing units for low-income families without the specific authorization of Congress.

By 1945, the federal government had spent approximately \$2.5 billion constructing more than 700,000 housing units that ranged from trailer camps and temporary barracks-like housing units to entire residential communities. Some of these communities were designed by leading architects and achieved high standards, but most of the war housing developments were far more prosaic. No specific plan had been developed for disposing of the war housing units, so it took the federal government over a decade to dispose of them. Because of the provisions of the Lanham Act, only a tiny number of the housing units were conveyed to local public housing authorities. Approximately 250,000 temporary housing units were torn down and another 270,000 moved to college campuses to provide housing for veterans (and their families) attending school under the GI Bill. Approximately 182,000 permanent housing units, including a number of the most well-designed communities, were sold to veterans or to private investors. The government contractors who constructed some of the larger federal war housing projects gained valuable experience in the mass production of dwellings that they employed after the war in building communities such as the Levittowns.

See also **FEDERAL NATIONAL MORTGAGE ASSOCIATION**.

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—Joseph L. Arnold

**Howe, Louis M.** (1871–1936) *secretary to the president*

Louis McHenry Howe was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, on January 14, 1871, the son of a small businessman. He was raised and educated at Saratoga Springs, New York, where he subsequently worked as a reporter for his father's newspaper, the *Sun*. It was while working in this capacity that Howe developed a taste for politics, and in 1906, while reporting for the New York *Herald*, he met and befriended a young New York state senator, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. In 1912 Howe was appointed manager of Roosevelt's reelection campaign, and in 1913 he accompanied him to Washington, D.C., following the latter's appointment as assistant secretary of the navy under Woodrow Wilson. In 1920 Howe managed Roosevelt's unsuccessful bid for the vice presidency and briefly abandoned politics to embark on a business career. However, when Roosevelt was stricken with polio in 1921, Howe resumed a close association with his friend, helping to run his affairs and keeping his political career alive. More than any other individual, Howe prevailed upon Roosevelt to persist in politics despite his crippling handicap. For seven years Howe wrote articles and issued press releases on Roosevelt's behalf, and he served as Roosevelt's top political aide during his successful 1928 gubernatorial campaign. Howe continued enhancing Roosevelt's standing within the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and helped him secure the presidential nomination in the ELECTION OF 1932. Howe then accompanied his friend to the White House, where he served as his personal secretary and enjoyed greater access than any person but ELEANOR ROOSEVELT. However, as chief executive, Roosevelt surrounded himself with a large entourage of political advisers, many of them more liberal-minded than the conservatively inclined Howe. In fact, as a political figure, Howe was frequently uninformed, rigid in thinking, and highly traditional in outlook, which placed him at odds with the LIBERALISM of the NEW DEAL coterie surrounding the president. Consequently, he had scant impact on policy making even though the two men continued their cordial relationship. Howe died in Washington, D.C., of illness on April 18, 1936, a good friend and close confidant of the president, despite his declining influence.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Hull, Cordell** (1871–1955) *secretary of state, U.S. senator, U.S. representative*

Cordell Hull served as a U.S. congressman (1907–21, 1923–31), senator (1931–33), and secretary of state (1933–44), and was the recipient of the 1945 Nobel Peace

Prize. Born and raised in Tennessee, he attended Cumberland Law School and graduated in 1891. At age 21, Hull was elected to the Tennessee legislature, where he was a member from 1893 to 1897. After serving as a captain in the Spanish-American War, he presided as a circuit court judge from 1903 to 1907. In 1917, he married Rose Frances Whitney.

Hull was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Tennessee in 1906 and soon became an expert in economic policy. During Woodrow Wilson's presidency, Hull helped draft the first modern federal income tax as part of the Underwood Tariff Act (1913), and strongly supported U.S. membership in the League of Nations. He remained a devoted Wilsonian in his approach to international affairs throughout his career. Active in post-World War I world trade agreement efforts, Hull opposed the Republican Party's high tariffs and included a low-tariff program when writing portions of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY platform for the ELECTION OF 1932.

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT appointed Hull secretary of state in 1933, in part as a reward for Hull helping him win the 1932 Democratic nomination. Because of Roosevelt's own interest and involvement in FOREIGN POLICY, the president himself dominated major diplomatic decisions and initiatives with respect to Europe before and during WORLD WAR II. Hull was given more responsibility for Latin America and the Pacific, and for international trade negotiations. Hull and Roosevelt generally had good personal relations and shared many views, although some of Roosevelt's close advisers disparaged Hull. In 1937, SUMNER WELLES became undersecretary of state, an appointment that created friction between Roosevelt and Hull because FDR often preferred to work with Welles. Particularly during the war, Hull complained privately about being bypassed or ignored on key foreign policy decisions.

Throughout his tenure as secretary of state, Hull was a leading advocate of lower tariffs to stimulate international trade. At the LONDON ECONOMIC CONFERENCE of June and July 1933, Hull, who headed the American delegation, presented a plan to reduce trade barriers, only to be embarrassed by FDR's last minute decision not to back Hull's proposals or to participate in a new international economic program. Nonetheless, Hull was instrumental in having CONGRESS approve the RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS ACT of 1934, which gave the president authority to lower tariff rates for countries trading with the United States. He had an important role in working for reduced trade barriers in the 1930s and the postwar era.

In addition to his efforts for freer international trade, Hull pursued other of Woodrow Wilson's aims, including better relations with Latin America. In November 1933 Hull was the chief American representative at the seventh

Pan-American Conference in Montevideo, Uruguay, winning the confidence of Latin American leaders and laying foundations for the GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY. The Montevideo conference was especially important for a protocol opposing intervention into the affairs of an independent country, an agreement that promised to change American policy in Latin America.

During the 1930s, Hull generally supported noninterventionist and neutrality policies, but he became by the end of the decade a proponent of rearmament, collective security, and aid to the Western democracies in order to resist AXIS aggression. Although Roosevelt rarely consulted with Hull about European affairs before or during the war, he did give Hull a larger role in trying to preserve peace and protect American interests in East Asia. Hoping to stop Japanese imperialism and aggression, Hull proposed the extension of oil, iron, and steel embargoes on the Japanese, as well as economic and military credit to the Chinese to build their defenses. Ultimately, of course, Hull and the United States proved unable to come to agreement with Japan, and war came at PEARL HARBOR in December 1941.

Consistent with Wilson's efforts to create the League of Nations, Hull throughout World War II sought to ensure an effective international organization to provide collective security and keep the peace in the postwar era. His work in helping to establish the UNITED NATIONS was perhaps the major achievement of Hull's career. Avoiding Wilson's mistakes, Hull carefully included Congress in planning for the United Nations, and in 1943 he visited Moscow to urge Soviet participation in the new organization. The longest serving secretary of state in American history, Hull resigned as secretary in November 1944 because of failing health. He continued to work as a senior adviser to the United Nations Conference in 1945.

Hull received the 1945 Nobel Peace Prize in honor of his work in Latin America and his efforts in the establishment of the United Nations. He devoted his remaining years to international peace issues and died in July 1955 at the age of 84.

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—Anne Rothfeld

**Hurston, Zora Neale** (1891–1960) *writer, folklorist, anthropologist*

Zora Neale Hurston was born in Notasulga, Alabama, on January 7, 1891, and raised in Eatonville, Florida, the nation's first incorporated black township. She sporadically



Zora Neale Hurston (Library of Congress)

attended Howard University, Washington, D.C., between 1919 and 1925, but was dogged by financial problems. In 1925 she published her first essay in the university literary magazine and relocated to New York, where the Harlem literary renaissance was blooming. After winning several

prizes for her fiction and dramatic works, Hurston won a scholarship to Barnard College and studied anthropology under Franz Boas of Columbia University. She graduated in 1928 and performed fieldwork collecting African folklore from Haiti, Jamaica, the Bahamas, and the Florida Everglades. Hurston then returned to New York and collaborated with Langston Hughes on the play *Mule Bone* in 1931. However, her continuing interest in black folklore from Florida led her to write and publish two celebrated treatises entitled *Mules and Men* (1935) and *Tell My Horse* (1938). Both works were noted for their painstaking reproduction of black idiom and dialogue and were well received academically. In 1937 she also composed her most noted work, the novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, concerning a black woman's search for self-definition. Politically, however, Hurston was largely out of step with her more left-wing contemporaries in Harlem for, as a staunch Republican conservative, she opposed integration and argued for the maintenance of separate black communities and black identities. Several other books and novels followed throughout the 1940s but with less critical success. Hurston consequently returned to the SOUTH to work at several odd jobs before dying in poverty and obscurity at Fort Pierce, Florida, on January 28, 1960. Since that time her writing has been rediscovered and hailed by feminists and black women writers for its pioneering qualities.

See also AFRICAN AMERICANS; LITERATURE.

**Further reading:** Valerie Boyd, *Wrapped in a Rainbow: The Life of Zora Neale Hurston* (New York: Scribner's, 2003).

—John C. Fredriksen







**Ickes, Harold L.** (1874–1952) *government official*

Harold LeClaire Ickes served as secretary of the interior from 1933 to 1946, longer than anyone has ever held that office. He also headed the PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION (PWA) of the NEW DEAL and served as petroleum administrator during WORLD WAR II. Despite his numerous differences with President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and other New Deal officials, Ickes, the self-described “old curmudgeon,” was widely hailed for his honesty and efficiency.

Born on his grandfather’s farm in Pennsylvania, Ickes moved to Chicago as a teenager. He became a reporter for the *Chicago Tribune* after graduating from the University of Chicago, where he earned a law degree in 1907. Originally a Republican, he joined the progressive Bull Moose movement of Theodore Roosevelt. Above all, Ickes was a GOVERNMENT reformer. He fought corruption in both major parties, and, as a progressive, inveighed against graft and boss rule in Chicago. After heading the Western Independent Republican Committee for Franklin Roosevelt in 1932, Ickes became his secretary of the interior and served FDR in a number of key administrative capacities from 1933 to 1945. The irascible Ickes, characterized by his rugged honesty and referred to, with some sarcasm by his opponents, as “Honest Harold,” was one of the more colorful and sometimes controversial figures of the Roosevelt administration.

From the beginning, Ickes was involved in a number of different policy areas. As secretary of the interior, he was responsible for the nation’s natural resources, including federal land and mineral, water, fish, and wildlife resources. During the 1930s, he created a service aimed at fighting soil erosion, designed to improve conditions in parts of the Midwest and Southwest that became known as the DUST BOWL, crusaded for the preservation of domestic energy resources, worked on reforms involving public land in the West, sought to entice private investment into land pres-

ervation projects, and increased the stature of the national park system. Intent on carrying out the work of national resource conservation, Ickes expanded the traditional role of the Interior Department.

As head of the Public Works Administration, a key New Deal agency established by the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT in 1933 to combat the GREAT DEPRESSION, Ickes controlled the expenditure of billions of dollars in federal money designed to boost the ECONOMY by constructing public works projects. His extreme frugality at the PWA significantly diminished the effectiveness of the program. In 1933, Ickes spent just \$110 million of the more than \$3 billion allocated to the PWA. Ickes differed sharply and often with RELIEF administrator HARRY HOPKINS, who held that government work funds should be spent more quickly and on LABOR-intensive projects that would give employment and income to workers rather than on capital-intensive projects. As a result of Ickes’s cautious and penurious management, the PWA fell far short of delivering a badly needed economic boost in the early years of the Roosevelt administration—although the agency did earn a well-deserved reputation for honest, economical, and high-quality projects.

Roosevelt found Ickes a valuable asset as an administrator and a political adviser. He frequently called on Ickes for political help, particularly during the ELECTION OF 1936 and then during the controversial COURT-PACKING PLAN of 1937, which Ickes had encouraged. Mounting frustrations with New Deal opponents led Ickes in 1940 and 1944 to launch vituperative attacks on Republican presidential nominees WENDELL WILLKIE and Thomas Dewey, respectively. Ickes also quarreled with FDR and other New Dealers, feeling that his suggestions had not been given serious consideration, but his personal friendship with the president endured. As petroleum administrator during the war, Ickes played a key role in the wartime MOBILIZATION efforts on the American home front.

Ickes served one year as interior secretary under Harry S. Truman, before resigning from the government in 1946 because of disagreements with the new administration. Upon leaving Washington, he settled on a farm near Olney, Maryland, working on his voluminous diary published as *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes*, which serves as a valuable source on the politics of the New Deal. Ickes died in Washington, D.C., on February 3, 1952, at age 77.

See also ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES.

**Further reading:** Graham White and John Maze, *Harold Ickes and the New Deal: His Private Life and Public Career* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985).

—Joseph C. Gutberlet

## immigration

The most important developments in immigration from 1929 to 1945 were the sharp reduction in the number of immigrants because of the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II and the issue of what to do about REFUGEES, especially Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany and the HOLOCAUST.

Immigration to the United States dropped off precipitously in the 1930s. The number of immigrants had averaged about 1 million per year in the decade before World War I, surged again once the war was over, and then fell off with the immigration restriction legislation of 1921 and 1924. Even so, immigration averaged nearly 300,000 annually from 1925 to 1930. The Great Depression then sent immigration plummeting to barely more than 50,000 per year from 1931 to 1940—the lowest rate since the 1820s. In the early years of the 1930s, in fact, more people left than entered the United States. Immigration picked up in the second half of the decade, before declining again, to only about 30,000 annually, during the war.

The social composition of immigration changed in the era too. Because the 1924 legislation imposed immigration quotas for nations outside the Western Hemisphere (and prevented most immigration from Asia), a higher proportion of immigrants than before came from Canada and Mexico. In terms of gender, immigration changed from about three-fifths male from 1900 to 1930 to three-fifths female in the next two decades.

While the decline in immigration in the 1920s had resulted from laws motivated in substantial part by nativist desires to keep out immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and from Asia, the low totals of the 1930s came largely because mass UNEMPLOYMENT made the United States a much less attractive destination. American policy also played a role, however. Concerned about the economic crisis, President HERBERT HOOVER insisted upon tight enforcement of national policy going back to the late 19th

century preventing admission of immigrants who were likely to become public charges (the “LPC clause”). The MEXICAN REPATRIATION PROGRAM of the 1930s begun in the HOOVER PRESIDENCY returned up to a half million MEXICAN AMERICANS to Mexico, many of them U.S. citizens, on the grounds that they might take scarce jobs or swell RELIEF rolls.

The administration of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT brought little liberalization to immigration policy. The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, in addition to setting independence for the Philippines for 1945, established a quota of just 50 per year on Filipino immigration. But the Mexican Repatriation Program slowed in the mid-1930s, the number of immigrants deported declined significantly, and during World War II the United States inaugurated the bracero program to bring Mexicans into the country to help alleviate the shortage of agricultural LABOR. In 1943, CONGRESS repealed the Chinese exclusion laws that went back to 1882 but established a yearly quota of just 105 for Chinese immigration. (It also made immigrant Chinese Americans eligible for citizenship, which paved the way for ultimately ending the ban on ASIAN-AMERICAN immigrants becoming citizens.)

By the mid-1930s, the issue of refugees, especially Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany, began to emerge. In the contexts of the 1924 national quota law, the unemployment problem of the 1930s, and widespread ANTI-SEMITISM, the United States accepted only a small proportion of those who wanted to flee Nazi rule. Roosevelt did convene an unsuccessful conference in France in 1938 to discuss the refugee problem and also directed that refugees on temporary visas be allowed to remain in the United States and that the LPC clause not be rigidly enforced against refugees. He did not, however, make the refugee issue a major priority or take action to liberalize policy when German quotas were filled in the late 1930s. From 1933 through the end of World War II, the United States accepted an estimated quarter million refugees from Europe, most of them Jewish—but that total fell far below the quota limit even though it significantly exceeded what any other nation did.

During the war, immigration from outside the Western Hemisphere slowed to a trickle. Caused partly by the impact of wartime conditions on international travel, the decline also reflected State Department concerns about admitting immigrants who might be a threat to national security and by the anti-Semitic prejudices of some influential officials in the department. Secretary of the Treasury HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR., dismayed by the accumulating evidence of the Holocaust and the obstructionism of the State Department, helped persuade Roosevelt to create the War Refugee Board in January 1944, which may ultimately have helped rescue as many as 200,000 Jews. New U.S. policy on refugees and other displaced persons, and the resump-

tion of significant immigration, did not occur until the early postwar era.

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### Indian Reorganization Act (1934)

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was a major piece of NEW DEAL legislation aimed at reforming the relationship of the federal GOVERNMENT with NATIVE AMERICANS. The centerpiece of John Collier's "Indian New Deal," the act sought to restore self-government and cultural pride to

Native Americans. While the act fell far short of Collier's initial intent, it reversed federal policy designed to assimilate Native Americans and provided a precedent for Indians to organize in later decades to demand full political and civil rights.

The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 had guided federal policy toward Native Americans until the GREAT DEPRESSION. Providing for an allotment of 160 acres to family heads living on a federal reservation, the Dawes Act was intended to weaken tribal authority and to assimilate Indians through private property and individualism by providing them with land to make a living as farmers. By 1933, however, it was obvious that allotments had not improved the lives of Native Americans, whose economic and social circumstances were often dreadful.

The major advocate of reforming Indian policy was the commissioner of Indian affairs, John Collier. A social worker



Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes handing the first constitution issued under the Indian Reorganization Act to delegates of the Confederated Tribes of the Flathead Indian Reservation (Library of Congress)



by EDUCATION and training, Collier had been a major critic of federal Indian policy during the 1920s. Deeply influenced by Chief Justice John Marshall's 1832 decision that described Native American tribes as roughly comparable to foreign nations, meaning they should have limited self-government, and impressed by the Pueblo Indian reservation's agricultural success and cultural cohesiveness, Collier wanted to overhaul Indian policy to give tribes autonomy over their land, local politics, and cultural identity.

CONGRESS passed the Indian Reorganization Act, popularly known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, on June 18, 1934, though only with the personal intervention of Secretary of the Interior HAROLD L. ICKES and President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. The act effectively ended the allotment policy, allowing those who held land allotments to exchange them for shares in newly created tribal corporations. The corporations were able to hire legal counsel and oversee all issues arising from the communally held land, including disputes with state governments. For those who wanted to retain ownership of their land, inheritance rights were retained. Surplus land, meaning reservation land not allotted, reverted to the tribal corporation. Two million dollars were appropriated to allow reservations to acquire new lands to consolidate their land, while a \$10 million fund was set up for tribes to modernize their reservations. For those tribes who voted to participate, a fund was set aside to assist them to set up a tribal corporation.

A tribal referendum was the mechanism to decide whether to participate in the Indian Reorganization Act. If a tribe rejected participation, it remained under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. If the referendum accepted the act, an election for tribal council members was then held; and once one-third of the members asked for a tribal corporation, a charter was written and a majority vote put the tribal corporation into effect. In the year following the act, tribes held referendums on whether to accept the act, with the larger reservations generally accepting the act and the smaller ones rejecting it. Only 71 tribes voted to participate and fully incorporate under the act.

The self-government that Collier had wanted through the Indian Reorganization Act did not work as effectively as he had envisioned. Many white westerners opposed the reform, and Native Americans were not unified in their support of the new policy. Many tribal leaders had been raised and educated under assimilation policy, and Collier could not convince them that the land reform would benefit them in the long term. A major blow came when the Navajo reservation voted in June 1935 to reject the act. Finally, Congress had weakened the legislation in 1934 to secure its passage, and provisions for an autonomous Indian court and another that made the tribal corporations the equivalent of municipalities were taken out of the act. Tribes who participated in the Indian Reorganization Act

thus had something less than the self-government Collier had intended.

Opposition to significant reform began building as early as 1934. Funding for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Reorganization Act was cut in each succeeding year, especially as Collier himself became more unpopular in Congress among opponents of the New Deal. He resigned as commissioner in 1945. In the 1950s, Congress tried to undo the Indian New Deal and return to assimilation with its "termination" policy of ending both public support of Indians and their special status under the law, but that policy was largely ignored and then ended in the 1960s.

Ultimately, the Indian Reorganization Act failed to significantly improve the economic and social conditions of Native Americans living on reservations, though it did have some residual success. It did end the allotment program, and by implication, reversed assimilation policy. And the tribal corporations that the act allowed for were able to reignite a sense of unity among Native Americans that would turn into a larger Pan-Indian movement in later decades.

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—Katherine Liapis Segrue

## intelligence

Intelligence is information about other nations that has been carefully winnowed and analyzed for use by military and political leaders. The existence of permanent state institutions devoted to the collection and analysis of information on other nations, such as the Soviet Union's KGB or the American Central Intelligence Agency, is a recent phenomenon dating from WORLD WAR II. Before then, nations operated intelligence agencies only in wartime, and such agencies tended to be small military-affiliated ad hoc groups. Also beginning in World War II, the collection of information by technical means—for example, CODE BREAKING and intercepting communications—has far outweighed information gathered by human spies.

The United States greatly expanded its intelligence apparatus after 1941, having learned valuable lessons from the military disasters at PEARL HARBOR and in the PHILIPPINES. The major American intelligence organizations were affiliated with the military and included the U.S. Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) and the War Department Military Intelligence Division (WDGS/MID or G-2). The War Department also created a Counter Intelligence Corps to



ferret out spies in cooperation with the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, as well as a Special Branch in the Military Intelligence Service to conduct decoding operations, similar to the U.S. NAVY's Communications Security Unit. Both army and navy groups excelled at code breaking, giving a significant strategic and tactical military advantage to Allied leaders. The United States also created the OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES (OSS) in June 1942, under the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, to gather foreign intelligence. Although terminated in 1945, the OSS provided the basis for creating the Central Intelligence Agency in 1947.

In Great Britain, intelligence agencies were centralized in the military, were identified by the initials MI, and eventually numbered 19 organizations covering the full gamut of intelligence, counterintelligence, and ESPIONAGE operations. The two most famous included MI-5, the security service, and MI-6, the special or secret intelligence service, which were expanded during the war, although both had existed since 1909. MI-6 contained the Code and Cipher School at Bletchley Park, as well as the Radio Security Service.

The Soviet Union had two successful intelligence organizations during the war, the Red Army intelligence and ESPIONAGE organization known as the GRU, and the Communist Party internal security apparatus known as the NKVD, which evolved into the postwar KGB. The GRU had important success with its espionage efforts in the American MANHATTAN PROJECT that produced the ATOMIC BOMB.

Japan alone among the major belligerents had a long history of organized intelligence operations, dating back to the Sino-Japanese War of 1895 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05. In addition to the navy and army Special Service Organizations, Japan operated a secret state police force, the Kempeitai, which handled internal security and counterintelligence, as well as an intelligence service associated with the diplomatic service abroad. Surprisingly, considering Japan's long experience and extensive organizations, tactical intelligence gathering by military forces during World War II was exceptionally poor.

Nazi Germany suffered from a diffusion of intelligence efforts. Several state, Nazi Party, and military intelligence organizations existed during the Nazi era, although each tended to work in isolation and rarely shared information, a common handicap afflicting intelligence agencies in totalitarian states. The SS contained the Nazi Party intelligence service, the Sicherheitsdienst, or SD, which ran foreign and domestic intelligence branches. Germany had a Research Department prior to 1933, linked to the state of Prussia, that had intelligence gathering and analytical functions, as well as a secret state police, or Gestapo, for purposes of internal security. The primary military intelligence agency was the Abwehr, which provided assistance to German field units, and which coexisted with a separate military office

for signals intelligence. The navy and air force had similar, smaller offices, focusing on tactical intelligence.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

### International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU)

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) was created in June 1900 to represent a largely female workforce engaged in the needle trade. A series of successful STRIKES in 1909–10 won important concessions from the clothing manufacturers employing them, including limited homework and a six-day workweek. By 1920, the ILGWU could boast a thriving membership of over 100,000. However, the union was gradually infiltrated by Communist agitators in the post-World War I period, which led to an unsuccessful strike in 1926. Most COMMUNISTS were driven out of the union by the end of the decade, at which time the GREAT DEPRESSION had commenced and union rolls fell precipitously. By 1933 membership had dipped to 40,000, and manufacturers, helped by women workers desperate to support their families, began outsourcing their work to nonunion shops in Philadelphia, Scranton, and other large cities in Pennsylvania. It was not until the election to the ILGWU's presidency of DAVID DUBINSKY in 1932 that the ILGWU revived its fortunes and began to reassert itself as one of the most aggressive LABOR unions in the nation.

Under Dubinsky's leadership, the union began organizing women workers nationwide. He knew that females had gradually displaced male workers in the clothing BUSINESS over the past decade, and by 1935 they represented three-fourths percent of the workforce. The ILGWU successfully induced strikes against nonunion sweatshops throughout Pennsylvania in 1933, after which membership rose dramatically. Dubinsky's efforts were greatly facilitated by the NEW DEAL administration of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, which created the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA) in part to encourage and legitimize collective bargaining. By 1934, the union could claim 200,000 members nationwide. In 1933 Dubinsky orchestrated an industrywide strike throughout the Northeast that not only won adoption of the new NRA code but also higher wages, shorter hours, and a voice in establishing job conditions. During the creation of the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS in the mid-1930s, Dubinsky withdrew the ILGWU from the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) but rejoined the AFL in 1940. Dubinsky continued at the helm of the ILGWU until the 1960s, at which time it remained one of the most successful and

progressively minded unions in the AFL/CIO. In 1995 declining membership and low-wage competition from overseas forced it to merge with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Worker's Union to form the new Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (Unite!)

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—John C. Fredriksen

## Irish Americans

One of the oldest and largest of the nation's immigrant groups, Irish Americans in the 1930s and 1940s achieved new prominence in the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, GOVERNMENT, literary and artistic circles, organized LABOR, and the Catholic Church. Irish Americans, now largely second-, third-, and even fourth-generation Americans, were increasingly accepted by others despite the persistence of anti-Catholic and anti-Irish prejudice well into the mid-20th century.

Most of the heavily urban Irish Americans were of the working class and lower middle class, often overrepresented in police and fire departments. Despite such obvious exceptions as JOSEPH P. KENNEDY, their economic circumstances often proved trying during the GREAT DEPRESSION. The *Studs Lonigan* trilogy of novelist James T. Farrell reflected the difficulties of working-class Irish-American life. But the Irish had grown accustomed to group self-reliance, could count on assistance from Irish-dominated city governments, and had a growing middle class able to weather the depression.

Irish neighborhoods were most prevalent and cohesive in the big CITIES of the Northeast, such as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, although Chicago and San Francisco also had large and significant Irish-American populations. Elsewhere, Irish communities slowly dissolved in the early decades of the 20th century, partly because IMMIGRATION declined, especially after 1924, partly because of residential mobility, partly because younger Irish Americans were increasingly less inclined to marry someone of Irish extraction, particularly in the West and Midwest. Irish Americans were elected to both houses of CONGRESS in larger numbers, another indication of declining prejudice against them. In sum, the Great Depression and the NEW DEAL buttressed the alliance between Irish Americans and the Democratic Party, and for many years thereafter they, in concert with JEWS and AFRICAN AMERICANS, were among the party's most loyal constituents.

Irish Americans were inextricably tied to the Roman Catholic Church and were central to the role of CATHO-

LICS in American life. By the middle of the century, more than half of the bishops and one-third of all priests in the U.S. Catholic Church were Irish Americans. After the family, the parish was most important social unit in Irish America, and the church figured prominently in such areas as Irish-American education and politics as well. During the 1930s, the "radio priest" FATHER CHARLES E. COUGHLIN attracted millions of listeners for his political commentary and criticism of Roosevelt and the New Deal, while Monsignor John Ryan took an active role both in the church and in politics with his support of Roosevelt.

By 1932, only one Irish Catholic, Justice Pierce Butler, who had been appointed to the SUPREME COURT in 1922, had occupied a top-level position in the executive and judicial branches of the federal government in the 20th century. In 1928, Irish Americans were energized by the nomination of New York governor Al Smith, the first Irish Catholic nominated for president by a major party, but Americans were reluctant to disrupt the prosperity of the 1920s and Smith was also the target of virulent anti-Catholic prejudice. The election of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in 1932 then presented the overwhelmingly Democratic Irish Americans with new opportunities. Two of FDR's closest political advisers, JAMES A. FARLEY and EDWARD J. FLYNN, served as Democratic National Committee chairmen during the Roosevelt presidency. Irish Americans were also named to influential positions in FDR's administration, including Thomas Walsh as attorney general and Farley as postmaster general. In 1938, Joseph P. Kennedy became the first Irish Catholic to be named American ambassador to Great Britain. Entertainers and actors of Irish descent such as Bing Crosby and Spencer Tracy also gained wide acceptance with mainstream American audiences and were among the most popular and highly paid entertainers of their day.

Roosevelt's election also had large implications for Irish-dominated big-city political organizations. New Deal programs enabled Irish politicians to consolidate their power bases in the cities and provided new sources of federal patronage in the form of jobs for working-class and lower-middle-class citizens. Jobs and help dispensed under New Deal programs strengthened the standing of the Irish political bosses not only with Irish Americans but also with the southern and eastern European immigrant groups who became more solidly Democratic. Frank Hague of Jersey City, New Jersey, and Thomas Pendergast of Kansas City, Missouri, were among the most skilled at this style of politics. James Michael Curley, who served four nonconsecutive terms as mayor of Boston, exerted considerable control over party politics in Massachusetts and was revered among Boston's poor for his populism and patronage. Over the long run, however, the New Deal also sometimes eroded the power of urban bosses and local government, as fed-

erally directed programs displaced local ones as the chief source of assistance.

Irish Americans also took active leadership posts in American labor unions and played important roles in union organizing successes of the era. PHILIP MURRAY, the son of an Irish laborer, became president of the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO) in 1940 and aided Roosevelt in establishing government labor policies during WORLD WAR II. George Meany, the grandson of a famine refugee, was active in the Roosevelt era and became president of the AFL-CIO after the 1955 merger.

For millions of Irish Americans, particularly in urban centers, the 1930s and 1940s represented a time of increased stature for the Irish collectively. In LITERATURE, F. Scott Fitzgerald remained a significant figure while James T. Farrell and John O'Hara also gained recognition; and in 1936, Eugene O'Neill became the only American playwright to win the Nobel Prize in literature. Also significant was the growing trend of social mobility among the children of Irish immigrants. Many second- and third-generation immigrants acquired an EDUCATION and entered the workforce as professional accountants, lawyers, businessmen, or clergymen. Though persisting antipathy toward Great Britain led many Irish Americans to resist supporting England in the early stages of World War II, full participation in economic MOBILIZATION and in the armed forces after the U.S. entry into the war provided both evidence and hope of greater acceptance and influence in American life.

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—Joseph C. Gutberlet

## isolationists

Isolationists believed that the United States should avoid intervention in European wars, “entangling alliances” with other nations, and the use of military force except to defend American shores. The high point of isolationist sentiment and influence came during the 1930s, when noninterventionists kept the United States out of the worsening European situation, and prevented President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT from taking action to oppose aggression. While not advocating a complete cutoff of trade and other relations with the rest of the world, isolationists believed that the United States should have self-determination in foreign affairs and limit spending on the

military. Liberal isolationists wanted to curtail the power of BUSINESS to shape FOREIGN POLICY, while conservative isolationists wanted to restrict the power of the federal GOVERNMENT—especially the president (and in particular FDR)—to involve the United States in what they saw as international adventurism.

Isolationists in the 1930s included men and women from all walks of life. They were most numerous in the upper Midwest, and fewest in the SOUTH. While most isolationists were in the REPUBLICAN PARTY, a significant number were in the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, and some came from right- and left-wing groups as well. Isolationists were more prevalent in RURAL AREAS and small towns in the Midwest than in large eastern cities. Ethnically, isolationists were found primarily among GERMAN AMERICANS, IRISH AMERICANS, Scandinavian Americans, and ITALIAN AMERICANS. In religious affiliation, noninterventionists were mainly Lutherans and CATHOLICS, although it was much more their ethnic roots (German, Scandinavian, Irish, and Italian) than their religion that made them isolationists. Evidently more women than men were isolationist.

Isolationism reached its peak during Roosevelt's first term, from 1933 to 1937. Such progressive Republicans as GEORGE NORRIS, ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., and WILLIAM E. BORAH supported much of the NEW DEAL, and since most were isolationist, Roosevelt often acquiesced to them in matters of foreign policy in order to retain their support on domestic legislation. Under pressure from peace groups who blamed financially powerful “merchants of death” for American involvement in World War I, the Senate in 1934 created the NYE COMMITTEE, which investigated the munitions industry, its financial backers, and its role in influencing U.S. policy. Influenced by the Nye Committee, CONGRESS in 1935 passed the first of the NEUTRALITY ACTS, imposing an arms embargo and restricting American travel on belligerent ships.

After Roosevelt's reelection in 1936, which was supported by a number of congressional isolationists, the president's problems with the isolationists increased. Ironically, the troubles were exacerbated by a domestic issue, Roosevelt's COURT-PACKING PLAN, which alienated the Senate's largely isolationist progressive Republican bloc from the president. As events in Europe heated up, mistrust developed and an eventual break occurred. Roosevelt's “quarantine speech” of October 1937, when he warned of worsening international conditions, was criticized by isolationists, as was the president's attempt to block the Ludlow Amendment, which would have submitted any declaration of war to a national referendum.

Even after Germany's annexation of Austria, the MUNICH CONFERENCE in 1938, and Adolf Hitler's seizure of Czechoslovakia and invasion of Poland in 1939, most Americans remained noninterventionist. But within a year,

Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and then France fell to the Nazis, a majority of Americans came to support the need to help Great Britain and defeat the AXIS powers. The isolationists responded by forming the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE in September 1940, and most prominent noninterventionists either were members or spoke at sponsored rallies. After Roosevelt's third-term victory over interventionist Republican WENDELL L. WILLKIE in the ELECTION OF 1940, the American First Committee and its allies attempted, without success, to prevent the passage of the LEND-LEASE Act and the repeal of Neutrality Act provisions banning the arming of American vessels crossing the Atlantic.

The attack on PEARL HARBOR on December 7, 1941, effectively ended the efforts of isolationists. When war was declared, every isolationist in Congress, except Jeannette Rankin, a Republican representative from Montana (who had also voted against entry into World War I), voted yes. During World War II, some prewar isolationists were concerned about postwar American FOREIGN POLICY, especially membership in an international peacekeeping organization. But in July 1945, with only two dissenting votes, the Senate ratified the UNITED NATIONS charter, and the prominent isolationists in the Senate and elsewhere largely faded from the scene by the mid- to late 1940s. The lessons of the interwar years and the coming of WORLD WAR II, the enormous economic, military, and political power of the United States at the end of the war, worsening SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, and the world's entry into the nuclear age all made it impossible for the United States to retreat into isolationism. The events of 1929–45 had transformed American foreign policy, and the United States pursued a much-expanded role in international affairs in the post-World War II world.

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—William J. Thompson

## Italian Americans

With nearly 4 million Italians coming to the United States during the wave of IMMIGRATION between 1880 and 1920, Italian Americans represented the largest of the “new immigrant” groups from southern and eastern Europe. For Italian Americans, more than for most other ethnic groups, the events of the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II sometimes exacerbated ethnic tensions, but the war also hastened their assimilation and acceptance.

Italians tended to cluster in urban enclaves, often called “Little Italies,” where they formed mutual aid societies and

other community institutions and established local Italian-language newspapers. The Catholic Church also played an important role in Italian-American life. Although early Italian immigrants often resented Irish-American dominance of the church in America, by the 1930s the establishment of national parishes and the continuation of traditional religious celebrations in the form of feasts and festivals helped Italian Americans cultivate a unique ethnic and religious identity.

Coming primarily from the agricultural areas of southern Italy, the majority of Italian immigrants were peasants and arrived in the United States with relatively few industrial skills. Italian Americans had very high rates of transiency, as many sought only temporary employment and returned to Italy with their earnings. Generally, Italian immigrants were concentrated in lower-level industrial occupations. However, by the early 1930s, many Italian Americans had slowly begun to move into better jobs in manufacturing and into positions as clerks, mechanics, and carpenters. Often every able family member was expected to contribute to the family's budget, and by 1930 Italian women represented a substantial proportion of the labor force in the garment trades.

Italian Americans holding blue-collar jobs were hit hard by the Depression and many turned to NEW DEAL programs for support. During the 1930s, Italian Americans also became active members of LABOR unions and began to exert a greater influence in politics. Though national successes such as those of FIORELLO LA GUARDIA were exceptional, increasingly Italians reaped the benefits of political patronage and effectively mobilized support within their communities, gaining power as ward leaders and local officials. With the 1928 presidential candidacy of Al Smith—New York governor and fellow Catholic—Italian Americans went to the polls in much greater numbers than before in support of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. In 1932 and 1936, Italian Americans comprised a substantial portion of the multiethnic coalition that supported FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and the New Deal.

The approach of World War II created tensions for Italian Americans, as questions of FOREIGN POLICY began to overshadow domestic issues. Although many denounced fascism throughout the 1930s, other Italian Americans praised Benito Mussolini for his efforts to revitalize their homeland and create a respected “New Italy.” Owing in part to an exaggerated association with organized crime, Italian Americans were often considered undesirable and untrustworthy—a sentiment reflected in a 1939 national opinion poll in which Italian Americans were rated the worst citizens among the immigrant groups. In 1940, when more than one-third of America's 1.6 million Italian immigrants were not naturalized U.S. citizens, FDR's denunciation of the Italian invasion of France as a “stab in the back” and his pursuit of anti-AXIS interventionist policies



prompted many Italian Americans to desert the Democratic Party in the ELECTION OF 1940.

Although tension between the United States and Italy and their lack of acceptance in America caused many Italian Americans to be troubled by conflicting loyalties, after the attack on PEARL HARBOR in 1941 and the German and Italian declarations of war on the United States, Italian Americans wholeheartedly supported the war effort, demonstrating their loyalty by serving in the military and working in defense industries. Early in the war, however, unnaturalized Italian-American immigrants bore the stigma of being classified as ENEMY ALIENS and encountered suspicion and prejudice in employment. But unlike the massive relocation of JAPANESE AMERICANS, only a few hundred of the 600,000 Italian aliens in the United States were interned. In 1942, on the Italian-American holiday Columbus Day, Roosevelt removed Italian Americans from enemy alien status. While this was done partly out of concern for the upcoming midterm congressional elections and the declining support for Democrats among Italian Americans, it was also a recognition of Italian-American loyalty.

Although they continued to encounter prejudice, Italian Americans by the end of the war had taken important steps toward acceptance in American society. In addition to modest political and economic gains made during the depression and World War II, many of Italian Americans were able to take advantage after the war of the GI BILL OF RIGHTS in order to enter the middle class. Educational opportunities and loans from the FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION helped to stimulate economic and social mobility among Italian Americans and allowed them opportunities to find the recognition and acceptance that earlier generations had been denied.

See also POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA.

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—Shannon L. Parsley

## Italian campaign

One of the most controversial enterprises in the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER, the Italian campaign began with high Allied hopes of quick victory but soon deteriorated into a relentless, slow-moving war of attrition. Because of a lack of Anglo-American agreement about opening a SECOND FRONT in France, a decision was reached at the CASABLANCA CONFERENCE in January 1943 to follow up the NORTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN with an invasion of SICILY. As the Sicilian campaign proceeded in the summer of 1943,

the western Allies decided to invade Italy. The goals were to divert AXIS forces from other fronts, to obtain bases for the Combined Bomber Offensive against Germany, and to force the ouster of Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini, while quelling Soviet leader Joseph Stalin's doubts about the cohesiveness of the GRAND ALLIANCE.

The Anglo-American Combined Chiefs of Staff did not anticipate a protracted fight for Italy, but planning for the invasion was hurried and based on numerous miscalculations—including, foremost, the belief that the Germans would retreat beyond the Alps and surrender Italy without a struggle. The invasion was delayed for weeks in the late summer of 1943 because of secret negotiations about the surrender of Italy following Mussolini's removal from office on July 25. Germany used this opportunity to move 16 divisions into Italy, occupying virtually the entire peninsula by the time the surrender of the Italian government was announced on September 8.

The British Eighth Army had already landed at Reggio, across the Straits of Messina from Sicily on September 3, and that was followed by an amphibious landing by the U.S. Fifth Army at Salerno and a British airborne landing at Taranto, both on September 9. The Allied actions convinced Hitler that his commander in Italy, Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, was correct in his strategy to fight for every inch of the peninsula, and a defensive belt across the country south of Rome, known as the Gustav Line, was constructed. Kesselring's defensive effort, conducted with ever decreasing numbers of troops and resources, was one of the most impressive aspects of the entire campaign. Although the Germans retreated throughout the fall, the Allied advance ground to a halt on reaching the Gustav Line. Facing poor weather, and rugged terrain that negated Allied air and armor advantages, the campaign developed into a series of small infantry actions in the mountains and valleys south of Rome. The Allies repeatedly attempted to find weak spots in the German line, but largely failed. Infantry assaults and air bombardments conducted on the abbey at Monte Cassino that dominated the strategic Liri Valley route toward Rome, and an amphibious invasion at Anzio north of the Gustav Line in January 1944, failed to dislodge the well-entrenched German forces.

A concerted offensive effort by the Allies in May 1944 succeeded in breaking the steadily weakening German forces in Italy. A well-ordered retreat, however, combined with an American diversion to capture Rome and a generally sluggish British advance, allowed German forces to retreat north where yet another series of fortifications, the Gothic Line, was constructed north of Florence. Although U.S. Fifth Army forces commanded by Lieutenant General Mark W. Clark liberated Rome on June 4, 1944, the triumph was incomplete, and by September the Allied advance halted at the Gothic Line. Following the June 1944 INVASION OF NORMANDY and the August 1944 invasion

of southern France, the Allies in Italy were increasingly starved of troops and supplies diverted to swifter moving fronts in France. The Italian campaign continued much as it had the year before as Allied forces probed for weaknesses and attempted breakthroughs in the Gothic Line with only local success. The war in Italy degenerated into a grinding war of attrition, with the Allies attempting to hold down as many Axis troops as possible, at the lowest possible cost. By February 1945, both sides in Italy were conducting a frustrating holding operation, tying down similar numbers of troops on both sides.

The final Allied offensive in Italy launched between April 9 and 14, 1945, caused the greatly weakened Germany forces to retreat all along the line with Allied forces in rapid pursuit. A secretly negotiated surrender of Axis forces resulted in a cease-fire and surrender on May 2, 1945. Allied casualties during the campaign were 188,746 for the U.S. Fifth Army and 123,254 for the Eighth Army. German losses were estimated at 434,646.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

### Iwo Jima (February–March 1945)

By the winter of 1944–45, particularly after their crushing defeat at the BATTLE FOR LEYTE GULF in October 1944, the Japanese were fighting desperately to protect the home islands from the relentless American advance in the final stages of the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER. Because the tiny island of Iwo Jima lay between Japan and American B-29 bomber bases in the MARIANA ISLANDS, the United States planned to capture the island in order to eliminate a major Japanese radar and communication center and to enhance the American position for attacking mainland Japan.

Following more than two months of bombing and three days of naval gunfire shelling, U.S. MARINES landed on the soft volcanic ash of the Iwo Jima beach on February 19, 1945. At first, the Americans expected the battle would be over quickly, but the island was extraordinarily well defended—the BOMBING and naval gunfire had caused little damage—and the Japanese resisted fiercely. Savage combat on both sides continued until late March, often hand-to-hand and inch by inch, with the Japanese refusing to surrender and fighting almost literally to the last man. By the end of the battle in late March, more than 20,000 Japanese troops had been killed, with only a few hundred taken prisoner. The United States also suffered significant losses, with some 6,000 dead and 17,000 wounded. One-third of all marine deaths in the Pacific theater occurred on Iwo Jima.



The raising of the Stars and Stripes atop Mount Suribachi, Iwo Jima (National Archives)

Iwo Jima thus proved to be one of the most costly battles in the Pacific theater, and one with several ironies. In retrospect, many have thought it an unnecessary campaign, arguing that the island might simply have been bypassed. The fierce, many Americans thought fanatical, Japanese resistance on Iwo Jima and later on OKINAWA had the effect of reinforcing the American readiness to use the ATOMIC BOMB on Japan to end the war without a bloody invasion of the home islands. And the battle produced one of the most famous photographs of the war, the flag raising on Mount Suribachi. Marines had captured Suribachi early in the battle and had planted an American flag there; but because the first flag was too small to be seen, a contingent was sent to raise a larger one. As this second flag was being raised, Associated Press photographer Joe Rosenthal took the picture that has come to be a symbol not just of Iwo Jima but also of the U.S. Marine Corps and of the war in the Pacific.

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### Japanese Americans, relocation of

Following President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT's issuance of EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066 on February 19, 1942, more than 110,000 Japanese Americans living along the West Coast of the United States were evacuated and then incarcerated in relocation camps. The process affected both the Issei, immigrants who were denied citizenship by federal law, and their American-born children, the Nisei, who were citizens.

Historically, Japanese immigrants to the United States had faced prejudiced treatment from non-Japanese Americans and from national and local GOVERNMENT, which limited IMMIGRATION, citizenship, and property ownership and other rights. Relatively few in number and mostly isolated from mainstream America, Japanese Americans were politically powerless. The BOMBING of PEARL HARBOR fueled the existing anti-Japanese sentiment, and led to unsubstantiated reports of sabotage against the United States.

The decision to intern Japanese Americans, two-thirds of whom were citizens, came only after a debate within the administration about its legality and necessity. In the period immediately following Pearl Harbor, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover assured the president that press and army accounts of West Coast sabotage were exaggerated, which encouraged Attorney General Francis Biddle to resist initial moves toward internment. These sentiments were echoed by the Office of Naval Intelligence, whose officials acknowledged the overwhelming loyalty of Japanese Americans. The impasse continued until early February 1942, when War Department Assistant Secretary John J. McCloy instructed General John L. De Witt, the army's commanding officer on the West Coast, to submit a final recommendation on the issue for the secretary of war. De Witt recommended wholesale internment, saying among other things that Japanese Americans belonged to an "enemy race" whose loyalty remained questionable. It was not until a final confrontation between McCoy and two Justice Department lawyers

on February 17, 1942, who were gravely concerned about constitutional issues, that administration legal authorities capitulated to arguments of military necessity and Executive Order 9066 was issued two days later.

The Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA) was established on March 11, 1942, and began to prepare for the evacuation of Japanese Americans from preestablished military zones. (Approximately 15,000 Japanese Americans had already moved voluntarily from the West Coast.) Sixteen temporary assembly centers in California, Washington, Oregon, and Arizona were quickly manufactured from existing facilities, usually racetracks or fair grounds. Given a week or less to prepare for an unknown destination, ill-equipped families hastily sold off their property and traveled by train to arbitrarily assigned assembly centers. There, they were subjected to roll calls, curfews, inspections, and armed guards for approximately three months.



This 1942 photograph shows the Mochida family awaiting the evacuation bus to an internment camp. (*National Archives*)



Beginning in May 1942, the evacuees were moved to 10 relocation centers in California, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Arizona, Colorado, and Arkansas. Families were housed in barracks-style facilities divided into rooms averaging 20 × 16 feet per family and containing cots, a coal-burning stove, and a light bulb. Facilities within the camps included a mess hall, toilet and bathing areas, a laundry, and a recreation hall. Responsibility for the confined Japanese Americans was transferred to the War Relocation Authority (WRA), under the direction of Milton Eisenhower.

While in the camps, Japanese Americans attempted to create a sense of normalcy. Adults worked in AGRICULTURE, EDUCATION, food preparation, and the creation of camouflage nets, although an individual's earnings were capped at \$19 a month. Religious services conducted in English were allowed. Children attended schools with varying curriculums and materials. Much like the government education of NATIVE AMERICANS, these schools worked toward the assimilation of the young into American culture. Japanese Americans engaged in RECREATION such as baseball and organized dances, as well as in Boy Scouts activities.

Beginning in 1943, the adults were subjected to loyalty questions. This process was used to register the Nisei for the draft, which was reinstituted for Japanese Americans in January 1944. Although many resisted the draft and some Nisei renounced their citizenship, an estimated 25,000 or more served in the military, often with distinction. Nisei who passed the loyalty questions received clearance to leave the camps on the condition that they stay outside the military zones. Many took the one-way ticket and \$25 and settled in cities such as Chicago, Denver, and New York, while others were recruited to work on farms. Distrust by non-Japanese Americans and bureaucratic paperwork slowed the process, but by June 1946 all of the camps except Tule Lake in northern California had been closed. Eventually two-thirds of the incarcerated would return to their original area of residence.

Despite being wronged, the Japanese community did not attempt widespread resistance to the evacuation process. Members of the Japanese American Citizens League and the Issei wished to demonstrate their loyalty to their adopted country by following the orders. Within the camp, traditional patterns of leadership were reversed. Typically, the head of the household had been detained by the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION for questioning prior to evacuation and was reunited with the family only after a mother or an older son had taken charge. Also, the WRA disqualified Issei from holding offices such as block monitor within the camps, thereby shifting responsibility to the younger generation. A few individuals did take legal action against internment; however, as in *KOREMATSU V. UNITED STATES*, most judgments sided with the government and upheld the relocation policy.

One of the cruel ironies of this entire affair is that while the majority of Japanese Americans languished in detention camps, some 1,000 Nisei were allowed to enlist in the U.S. ARMY as soldiers. The majority saw active duty in Europe with the segregated 100th Infantry Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team, where they emerged with a sterling reputation for heroism and won more combat medals than any other unit. A handful of others performed equally useful service in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER as part of the Military Intelligence Service, where their language skills proved an invaluable asset. Nisei battlefield prowess was aptly captured in the 1951 war film *Go for Broke*, which was also their unit motto.

Readjustment to the outside life proved difficult. The Issei lost the authority afforded them by Japanese culture; as a result, many became even more isolated from the American culture. Nisei were shocked that they had not been treated as citizens. In addition, there was a large loss of property. Japanese Americans sometimes had burned their artifacts and heirlooms prior to evacuation for fear of being suspected of disloyalty. In the haste of evacuation, homes and businesses had been sold off at extraordinarily low prices, and many more were repossessed due to nonpayment of taxes. The Japanese Evacuation Claims Act of 1948 attempted to compensate for the loss of property incurred during confinement; eventually \$37 million was distributed to settle \$148 million worth of claims. In 1988, CONGRESS provided \$20,000 in restitution for surviving evacuees and acknowledged the injustice committed against them.

See also ASIAN AMERICANS; ENEMY ALIENS.

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—John C. Fredriksen and Traci L. Siegler

## jazz

Jazz drew upon an eclectic base of musical styles in its origins, including African-American blues, Dixieland, and Western traditions as far-ranging as New England religious hymns, hillbilly MUSIC, and European military band music. It evolved in the early 20th century from various black musical forms centered in New Orleans, Louisiana, and gradually matured into its own unique style. The term *jazz*, however, did not gain common usage until around 1915. Jazz as an entertainment form reached a peak in the 1920s when it became the nation's most popular form of



music and gained sufficient respect to be played in concert halls. It also became the form of music most identified with the sophisticated nightlife of speakeasies throughout the Prohibition Era, and the entire decade became popularly known as the Jazz Age. In the 1930s, jazz arrangements grew larger and more elaborate and gave rise to BIG BANDS and the “Swing Era.” Here tunes were basically played by large ensembles, even orchestras, and were scored for the furious dance styles of that era. The best-known figures of this jazz period are bandleaders and arrangers such as BENNY GOODMAN, Glenn Miller, and DUKE ELLINGTON, all of whom wielded a dominant influence in swing. The era also spawned a generation of noted singers, both black and white, including Bing Crosby, Ella Fitzgerald, and BILLIE HOLIDAY. An important transitional form, Kansas City Jazz, took root in the Kansas City, Missouri, jazz scene and creatively anticipated the more avant-garde bebop movement of the next decade. This style, which lent itself to soulful and bluesy renditions of more common big band and smaller ensemble arrangements, arced outward from the Midwest and eventually gained both a following and respectability in the jazz-oriented nightclubs of Harlem, New York.

By the 1940s a new form of jazz had emerged, known as bebop, which employed fewer classical formats and was skewed toward improvisation by individual artists. Performers of this style were numerous and popular, such as Charlie “Yardbird” Parker, Bud Powell, and John “Dizzy” Gillespie, whose interpretation was more innovative and far less dance-oriented. However, big bands and swing dominated the music and dance scene during WORLD WAR II and retained their popularity up through the end of the decade. By then the sheer expense associated with traveling orchestras grew prohibitive, and the music gradually reformatted itself for smaller combos. Bebop subsequently evolved into the newer cool jazz, attracted aesthetic dissent from mainstream musical norms, and helped usher in the Beat generation of the 1950s. From a sociological standpoint, jazz harbored considerable implications for race. Despite widespread segregation, many white bandleaders actively recruited black musicians and showcased their talents visibly during performances. The performing stage became one of few areas in the nation where integration was the norm, exposing many whites to AFRICAN AMERICANS on a positive, nonhostile basis. Sometimes integrated bands touring the SOUTH ran afoul of Jim Crow ordinances that forbade interracial mingling, and trouble resulted, but in the North and Midwest racially mixed bands were accepted without controversy.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## Jews

For American Jews, the period between 1929 and 1945 marked a time of substantial change. Once divided by cultural and class differences, and by conflicts over theology and ZIONISM (the effort to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine), Jews emerged from the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II unified by a stronger sense of group identity. The war years also helped reduce the barriers of ANTI-SEMITISM that Jews had long faced.

Arriving in America as early as 1654, Jews were a well-established, yet diverse ethnic group in the United States by the late 19th century. The period between 1880 and 1924 then witnessed the largest migration of Jews to the United States as more than 2.3 million Jews, largely from Russia and other eastern European nations, came to America. The majority of these immigrants came to escape religious persecution. The eastern European Jews crowded into urban enclaves, particularly in New York, and often had uneasy relations with the already established German Jews who had immigrated earlier. Like many other immigrants, Jews contributed to American POPULAR CULTURE including RADIO and MOVIES, yet also worked to preserve their customs and ethnic identity through the establishment of Hebrew and Yiddish weeklies, mutual aid societies, and fraternal associations such as B’nai B’rith and the Young Men’s Hebrew Association.

By the 1930s, the roles and experiences of Jews in the workplace varied considerably. Jews placed a strong emphasis on the importance of education for economic advancement, and as a result, second-generation Jews often tended to be more successful than other ethnic groups in improving their occupational status, moving into skilled jobs and the professions including medicine and law. However, others worked as street peddlers with pushcarts in an effort to establish themselves in the retail trades, and many Jews who had arrived from Russia and eastern Europe worked as skilled laborers in the garment industry and other manufacturing industries.

The depression hit working-class Jews with particular force, and reinforced the important roles of Jewish leaders and members in LABOR unions. Throughout the 1930s, Jews often became active members and leaders of unions, including the AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS UNION (ACW) and the INTERNATIONAL LADIES’ GARMENT WORKERS’ UNION. SIDNEY HILLMAN of the ACW helped found the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO).

Along with unionization came an increase in political activity among American Jews during the depression. Though Jewish representation among SOCIALISTS continued to be disproportionately high, Jews had by the ELECTION OF 1936 become a significant part of the emerging Democratic majority. Not only had Jewish voters endorsed

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, but like CATHOLICS, Jews held prominent positions as advisers and administrators in the NEW DEAL. At a time when economic strains sometimes intensified anti-Semitic attitudes and actions, Jews had particular reason to be grateful for the New Deal's inclusiveness.

With the expulsion of Jews from Nazi Germany throughout the 1930s, FOREIGN POLICY issues increasingly shaped the experiences and activities of American Jews. Organizations such as the American Jewish Congress (AJC), led by Rabbi Stephen Wise, encouraged boycotts of German goods and held demonstrations. In the ELECTION OF 1940, many American Jews, seeking to end the systematic persecution of European Jews, continued to endorse President Roosevelt. Many also supported U.S. intervention against Germany.

After U.S. entry into the war, PUBLIC OPINION POLLS indicated a substantial increase in hostility toward Jews. Throughout the war, Jews not only encountered prejudice and discrimination in employment, but Jewish businesses and synagogues also were sometimes vandalized. Jews were accused of profiting from the war and were perceived as more likely to evade service in the armed forces.

Anti-Semitism also hindered efforts to rescue European Jews from the HOLOCAUST. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, efforts to assist REFUGEES by easing IMMIGRATION restrictions were thwarted in part by prejudice in the State Department and CONGRESS. Such attempts sometimes encountered obstacles within the Jewish community as well. Nevertheless, Jews worked aggressively on behalf of refugees, even if they achieved only limited success. In 1944, at the urging of Secretary of the Treasury HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR., Roosevelt established the War Refugee Board, which rescued more than 200,000 Jews. After the war, many Jews continued to work to provide support for displaced persons and for the establishment of the Jewish state of Israel.

Despite the difficulties, World War II ultimately hastened the acceptance and assimilation of American Jews. Wartime anti-Semitism led to increased efforts by Jews and others to combat it, and anti-Semitism was further discredited as the ghastly evidence of the Holocaust became plain in 1945 and afterward. Jewish participation in the war effort also had an impact, as refugee scientists worked on the development of the ATOMIC BOMB, and more than a half-million Jews served in the armed forces. Many others worked in defense industries. Although anti-Semitism did not vanish, American Jews in the postwar era encountered less prejudice and fewer obstacles than before.

See also POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA.

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—Shannon L. Parsley

**Johnson, Hugh S.** (1882–1942) *army officer, public official, columnist*

Hugh Samuel Johnson, first administrator of the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA), was one of the early NEW DEAL's most visible and controversial officials.

Born in Fort Scott, Kansas, on August 5, 1882, Hugh S. Johnson grew up in rural Oklahoma, attended teachers college, and became the first Oklahoman to graduate from the United States Military Academy at West Point. Receiving his commission in 1903, Johnson served army stints in Texas, California, the Philippines, and Arizona, earned a law degree, participated in General John J. Pershing's pursuit of Mexican rebel Pancho Villa, and wrote several boys' adventure books.

Rising through the ranks to brigadier general, Johnson was assigned during World War I to implement Selective Service, and was director of the army's Bureau of Purchase and Supply. In that position, he served as liaison to the War Industries Board, where he met BERNARD M. BARUCH, who headed the agency. Retiring from the army in 1919, Johnson became vice president and general counsel for the Moline Plow Company, then board chairman of the Moline Implement Company. In 1927, Johnson joined Baruch as his assistant, became involved in DEMOCRATIC PARTY politics, and by 1932 was promoting industrial planning with the BRAIN TRUST of presidential candidate FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

In early 1933, Johnson helped draft the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA), and then Roosevelt chose him to head the National Recovery Administration (NRA) and administer its industrial code system under Title I of the NIRA. Alternately blustery and profane, eloquent and reflective, the colorful Johnson traveled the country over the summer and fall of 1933 convincing business and industry to sign on to the "Blue Eagle" (the symbol of NRA, designed by Johnson). By early 1934, however, the NRA was under attack from BUSINESS, LABOR, and other critics, and Johnson's rash statements, fueled by anger and excessive use of alcohol, only worsened matters. Finally, in September 1934, Roosevelt requested Johnson's resignation.

After leaving the NRA, Johnson briefly headed the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION in New York City, then left the New Deal altogether, becoming a syndicated columnist for the Scripps-Howard newspapers. Backing Roosevelt in 1936, Johnson soon broke with the president

over the COURT-PACKING PLAN, the RECESSION OF 1937–1938, and FOREIGN POLICY. In the ELECTION OF 1940, Johnson backed WENDELL L. WILLKIE for president; and, as a leading isolationist, he helped launch the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE. After PEARL HARBOR, Roosevelt refused to restore Johnson's commission, which embittered the old general. Worn out and ravaged by alcohol, Hugh S. Johnson died in Washington, D.C., on April 15, 1942.

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—William J. Thompson

**Jones, Jesse H.** (1874–1956) *businessperson, government official*

Jesse Holman Jones, millionaire Texas businessman, chairman of the RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION (RFC) from 1933 to 1945, and secretary of commerce from 1940 to 1945, was one of the NEW DEAL's most powerful and influential officials.

Jones was born in Robertson County, Tennessee, on April 22, 1874. His family moved to Dallas, Texas, in 1883, and Jones graduated from Hill's Business College in 1891. Moving to Houston, Jones amassed a personal fortune in lumber, real estate, construction, and BANKING by the time he was 40. He became known as "Mr. Houston" for his role in the city's business and development. Prominent in the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, he almost single-handedly brought the Democrats' 1928 national convention to Houston, where he was Texas's "favorite son" presidential candidate. In 1932, President HERBERT C. HOOVER named Jones to the newly created Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

After FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT became president in 1933, he named Jones chairman of RFC, a position the

Texan held for nearly 12 years. Jones transformed the RFC into arguably the most powerful agency in the federal GOVERNMENT during the New Deal. Under Jones's leadership, the RFC, sometimes referred to as the "fourth branch of government," disbursed billions of dollars (the chairman's own estimate was nearly \$50 billion) to businesses and financial institutions. Among New Deal officials, Jones was perhaps the most pro-BUSINESS and conservative. His pro-business outlook, however, was not cautious like that of the eastern financial elite, but represented a westerner's desire for expansion and new economic ventures.

In 1940, Roosevelt appointed Jones secretary of commerce after CONGRESS enacted special legislation to allow him to serve simultaneously as RFC chairman and as a cabinet officer. During WORLD WAR II, the RFC was given broad powers related to national defense, especially in war procurement and loans to build defense plants. Roosevelt was quoted as saying that Jones was "the only man in Washington who can say 'yes' or 'no' intelligently twenty-four hours a day."

Despite the president's confidence, the Roosevelt-Jones relationship grew strained, and in 1945, after Vice President HENRY A. WALLACE was replaced on the Democratic ticket by Harry S. Truman, FDR asked Jones to resign as commerce secretary in order to give Wallace a consolation position. Jones then resigned his other federal positions including RFC and returned to Houston. In retirement, Jones devoted most of his time to philanthropic activities, establishing the largest charitable foundation in Texas. Jesse H. Jones died in Houston, Texas, on June 1, 1956.

**Further reading:** Jordan A. Schwarz, *The New Dealers: Power Politics in the Age of Roosevelt* (New York: Knopf, 1993); Bascom M. Timmons, *Jesse H. Jones: The Man and the Statesman* (New York: Henry Holt, 1956).

—William J. Thompson





# K



**Kaiser, Henry J.** (1882–1967) *construction magnate, shipbuilder*

Henry John Kaiser was a pioneering industrialist of great importance from the 1930s to the 1960s. His ability to bring large construction projects to completion allowed him to make important contributions in industrial development, and he played a vital role in the WORLD WAR II economic MOBILIZATION effort of the United States.

Kaiser was born to German immigrant parents in Spring Brook, New York, in 1882. He left school at the age of 13 and began to work full time to help support his family. Moving to the Pacific Northwest in 1906, he began working for a construction company. In 1914 he established his first company in Vancouver, British Columbia. He brought an uncanny ability to improvise and find solutions to various problems that allowed him to turn obstacles into opportunities. His company prospered, and Kaiser spent the next years earning a great deal of money building highways.

While building a highway in Cuba in 1928, Kaiser learned of the planned damming of the Colorado River. He was captivated by the idea of building such a large structure, and in 1931, he helped form Six Companies, Inc., and won the contract to build what became the Hoover Dam. After completion of the Hoover Dam (well under the deadline for completion mandated by the federal GOVERNMENT), Kaiser went on to build the Grand Coulee and Bonneville Dams, naval facilities in the Pacific, and levees, aqueducts, and pipelines in the West.

During World War II, Kaiser won international fame for his achievements in SHIPBUILDING. He used his tried-and-true methods of economy of scale, centralized distribution of building materials, and assembly line methods to build ships at an amazing rate. These ships came to be known as liberty ships because they conveyed vital supplies and troops to the war fronts from the United States; early in the war, dozens were lost to enemy action. By war's end, Kaiser Shipbuilding had produced 1,490 cargo vessels and 50 small aircraft carriers. Overall, Kaiser built one-third of

the total U.S. merchant ship production from 1941 through 1945.

After the war, Kaiser diversified into automobile, aluminum, and aircraft production. He received awards from organized LABOR for the generous health care benefits that were provided to his workers and that led to the incorporation of Kaiser Permanente in 1946. Kaiser died in Hawaii in 1967.

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—Nicholas Fry

**Kennedy, Joseph P.** (1888–1969) *financier, U.S. government official, diplomat*

Joseph Patrick Kennedy was chairman of the SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION (1934–35) and ambassador to Great Britain (1938–41) in the administration of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Kennedy was born on September 6, 1888, in Boston, Massachusetts. The son of an Irish-Catholic saloonkeeper and politician, he worked his way through Harvard University and by his 30th birthday was a bank president and financial magnate who had amassed a personal fortune through BANKING, SHIPBUILDING, and motion picture distribution. In 1915, he married Rose Fitzgerald, the daughter of colorful Boston mayor John Francis Fitzgerald, and the couple had nine children.

Kennedy joined Roosevelt's first presidential campaign in 1932 as an important financial contributor and fundraiser. After disappointing Kennedy by not appointing him secretary of the treasury, Roosevelt in 1934 named him the

first chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, a major NEW DEAL agency charged with regulating the stock market. Roosevelt was criticized for this nomination because of Kennedy's record of financial manipulation and profiteering on the market, but on resigning from the post in September 1935, Kennedy was hailed from all quarters as one of Roosevelt's most successful appointments. He also served as an effective contact with the BUSINESS community for the administration.

After working for Roosevelt again in the 1936 election, Kennedy became the first chairman of the United States Maritime Commission in 1937, and in 1938 was appointed ambassador to Great Britain, then the most prestigious diplomatic appointment and an especially striking one for an IRISH AMERICAN. But despite being the apparent pinnacle of Kennedy's public career, the ambassadorship to Great Britain put him in a position that ultimately damaged his reputation and his standing with Roosevelt. He supported British prime minister Neville Chamberlain's policy of appeasing Nazi Germany and, during the BATTLE OF BRITAIN in the early stages of WORLD WAR II, sent cables to Washington arguing that the British cause was hopeless and urging President Roosevelt to rearm the United States rather than aid England. Although unhappy with Roosevelt's efforts to help Britain, he eventually supported FDR for a third term in 1940 but then resigned the ambassadorship. Despite his experience and contacts in GOVERNMENT and business, Kennedy was offered no significant position during the war and wartime economic MOBILIZATION.

The war took not only a public toll on Kennedy, but also a personal one. His oldest son, Joe Jr., was killed over Germany in a BOMBING campaign, and his daughter Kathleen was killed in a plane crash with her husband. After the war, Kennedy attached his political ambitions to the career of his second son, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who was elected president in 1960. Joseph P. Kennedy died in 1969 at the age of 81.

**Further reading:** Michael R. Beschloss, *Kennedy and Roosevelt: The Uneasy Alliance* (New York: Norton, 1980); Doris Kearns Goodwin, *The Fitzgeralds and the Kennedys* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987).

—Julie F. Hanlon

## Keynesianism

The term *Keynesianism* refers to the economic analysis and policies based on ideas advanced by the British economist John Maynard Keynes, especially in his *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*, published in 1936. Keynesian ideas and policies had little impact on NEW DEAL policy until the late 1930s, but after the RECES-

SION OF 1937–1938 and especially during WORLD WAR II, Keynesianism was increasingly embraced by liberal policymakers, played a major role in the redirection of LIBERALISM as part of the THIRD NEW DEAL, and came to be accepted at least in part by many economists and some businessmen as well.

At the heart of Keynes's ideas was his view that capitalist economies do not inevitably and automatically reach or sustain full-production, full-employment prosperity. This understanding led Keynes to focus on the dynamics of a market economy, which he said depend upon the sum total of private investment, consumer spending, and GOVERNMENT spending. If there were enough of these sources of spending taken together, an economy could reach and maintain full-employment, full-production prosperity; if not, the economy might languish at lower levels. This insight pointed to the importance of government spending, for if there were not sufficient private investment and consumer spending, then there was a clear role for additional, or compensatory, government spending to produce full-production full-employment prosperity. And to have its fullest impact, compensatory spending by the government should be deficit spending—for if the government raised revenues in order to balance the budget while spending more, it would take money from the hands of consumers and investors. Keynesianism had an important place for MONETARY POLICY (interest rates and the volume and value of currency); but it focused especially on FISCAL POLICY (TAXATION and spending).

Down to the late 1930s, New Deal fiscal policy was not Keynesian. Though some New Dealers—MARRINER ECCLES, for example—had emphasized the importance of government spending and some knew about Keynes's ideas, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Treasury Secretary HENRY MORGENTHAU, and other important administration officials remained devoted to fiscal prudence and balanced budgets. The New Deal did of course incur deficits—but in order to finance essential programs, including RELIEF assistance to the unemployed and impoverished, rather than for the purpose of compensatory economic stimulus. The largest deficit was just some \$4.4 billion dollars in 1936.

The recession of 1937–38 then led to a departure in economic thinking and policy. As some policymakers and economists looked at the pattern of the ECONOMY after 1933, they saw mild deficits and economic expansion from 1933 to 1937, followed by reduced spending and a plummeting economy in 1937 and 1938. Harvard economist Alvin Hansen was the foremost American mediator and proponent of Keynesian ideas, and he had a significant impact on key New Dealers, including HARRY L. HOPKINS, HENRY A. WALLACE, LEON HENDERSON, and others. In the policy debates over how to address the recession, proponents of

spending won out over advocates of fiscal restraint and balanced budgets—and the economy began to recover from the 1937–38 downturn.

But World War II turned out to be the real proving grounds for Keynesianism. With less than half of the high costs of wartime MOBILIZATION financed by current revenues, deficits skyrocketed to some \$50 billion per year from 1943 to 1945—more than 10 times the highest annual deficit during the 1930s. The result was full-production, full-employment prosperity, with the gross national product soaring, UNEMPLOYMENT plummeting from 15 percent in 1940 to just 1 percent in 1944, and living standards rising. Massive deficits had produced economic recovery and prosperity. Although it is not clear that Roosevelt himself ever fully understood or accepted Keynesianism, many in his administration did, and Keynesian ideas increasingly shaped economic policy and analysis. The 1943 report of the NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD, *Post-War Plan and Program*, provided especially clear evidence that many liberals had come to understand that government spending on liberal programs could underwrite social reform as well as full-employment prosperity.

This liberal version of Keynesian compensatory spending on social reform did not, however, triumph in policymaking. Postwar fiscal policy (like that of the war years) was often more a “military Keynesianism” of national security spending in the cold war than it was “reform Keynesianism” of progressive taxation and spending on domestic reform programs. Postwar fiscal policy tended also to reflect the “commercial Keynesianism,” preferred by BUSINESS, with deficits incurred by tax cuts more than by increased spending on liberal social programs. And the Keynesian FULL EMPLOYMENT BILL that was the centerpiece of the liberal agenda at the end of the war became the attenuated Employment Act of 1946 that did not commit the government to compensatory spending to ensure full employment. But if Keynesianism did not usually take the form preferred by liberals, Keynesian ideas had become central not only to the liberal agenda but also to economic analysis and policy more generally by the postwar era. The use of fiscal policy to manage the postwar economy was abetted by another wartime development, the REVENUE ACT OF 1942, which greatly expanded the number of Americans paying income taxes, led to implementation of the withholding system, and permitted more effective use of taxation in economic policy.

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**King, Ernest J.** (1878–1956) *chief of naval operations during World War II*

Admiral Ernest Joseph King served as chief of naval operations during WORLD WAR II. Born in Lorain, Ohio, on November 23, 1878, King graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1901, having already seen combat on the USS *San Francisco* during the Spanish-American War. Commissioned as an ensign in 1903, he served on the USS *Cincinnati*, the USS *Alabama*, and the USS *New Hampshire*, and also as an instructor at the Naval Academy. In command of the USS *Terry*, King participated in operations at Vera Cruz, Mexico, in April 1914, and in 1916 joined the staff of Admiral Henry T. Mayo, commander, Atlantic Fleet, where he remained through World War I.

In the early 1920s, King commanded Submarine Divisions Three and 11, and the New London, Connecticut, submarine base. In 1928, at the age of 49, he underwent aviation training, one of the few senior naval officers to gain such qualifications. The next year he became the assistant chief of the Bureau of Aeronautics. In 1930 King took command of the aircraft carrier USS *Lexington*. After graduating from the Naval War College three years later,



Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King (Naval Historical Foundation)



he was named chief of the Bureau of Aeronautics. Made vice admiral and commander of the five-carrier Aircraft Battle Force in 1938, King served on the General Board in 1939–40 and in February 1941 was appointed chief, Atlantic Fleet.

A few days after the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR in December 1941, King succeeded Admiral Husband E. Kimmel as commander in chief, U.S. Fleet, with the rank of admiral. In March 1942, he became the first officer to combine this post with the position of chief of naval operations, the top position in the U.S. NAVY. In the Atlantic, the navy took on the role of convoy protection, antisubmarine patrol, and amphibious operations support, which King undertook only after pressure was exerted by the president and the British. The WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER was more clearly a naval conflict and was King's main interest, marked as it was by frequent fleet actions on sea and in the air, and by AMPHIBIOUS WARFARE assaults by the U.S. MARINES. The principal Pacific units under King's overall command, through his Pacific Ocean Area subordinate Admiral CHESTER W. NIMITZ, were the Third Fleet under Admiral WILLIAM F. HALSEY, the Fifth Fleet under Admiral Raymond A. Spruance, and the Seventh Fleet under Admiral Thomas C. Kincaid. By 1945, King commanded the largest naval armada ever created, consisting of some 4 million men and more than 92,000 ships and boats. Although directing the naval war from Washington, D.C., King was present during the landings of the INVASION OF NORMANDY in June 1944. That December he was given the temporary five-star rank of fleet admiral, which was made permanent in April 1946.

King also served as the chief naval adviser to President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and was involved in all of the major wartime Allied conferences. A gruff, fiercely determined, and plainspoken man, he was a staunch advocate of sea power and a well-known Anglophobe, who constantly battled with the U.S. ARMY and the British to maintain U.S. Navy predominance in the Pacific. He vocally disapproved of the "Europe first" strategy and the secondary role the U.S. Navy played there.

The post of commander in chief, U.S. Fleet, was abolished in October 1945, and King relinquished his additional post of chief naval operations to Nimitz that December. On inactive status, King returned to limited duty in 1950 as an adviser to the secretary of the navy and President Harry S. Truman. He died on June 25, 1956, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

**Further reading:** Thomas B. Buell, *Master of Sea Power: A Biography of Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980).

—Clayton D. Laurie

**Knox, Frank** (1874–1944) *secretary of the navy*

William Franklin Knox was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on January 1, 1874. He was attending Alma College when the Spanish-American War erupted in 1898, and he left college to serve with Colonel Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders in Cuba. Knox subsequently entered the field of journalism, and in 1912 he founded the Manchester *Leader* in New Hampshire, which espoused a strong prointerventionist line during World War I. Once the United States entered the war, Knox enlisted in the army at the age of 43 and served as an artilleryman in France. Afterward he resumed his journalism career and gained appointment as general manager for newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst before editing the Chicago *Daily News* in 1931. Knox also developed a taste for politics, and he identified with the progressive wing of the REPUBLICAN PARTY. In 1924 he made an unsuccessful bid for the party's gubernatorial nomination in New Hampshire. He grew more conservative in the 1930s and openly criticized the NEW DEAL legislation of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. Knox unsuccessfully sought his party's presidential nomination in 1936, and then served as vice presidential candidate with ALFRED M. LANDON in the crushing defeat of the ELECTION OF 1936. Within a few years events in Europe had increased the cries for intervention abroad, and Roosevelt, seeking to make his administration more bipartisan, invited Knox to serve as his secretary of the navy in 1939. Knox hesitated until 1940 before finally agreeing and was roundly accused of treason by many fellow Republicans.

Despite his lack of experience in naval matters, Knox proved himself an able and energetic naval secretary during WORLD WAR II. He was instrumental in helping shape the DESTROYERS-FOR-BASES DEAL with Great Britain and urged stronger defense measures in anticipation of war with the AXIS powers. In June 1941 his calls for American warships to escort LEND-LEASE convoys to Great Britain resulted in isolationist demands for his removal. Following the December 7, 1941, attack on PEARL HARBOR, Knox immediately flew to Hawaii, returned shortly after, and candidly admitted that the navy had been caught unprepared. Shortly thereafter he made two of his most important personnel changes by appointing Admiral CHESTER W. NIMITZ as head of the Pacific Fleet and Admiral ERNEST J. KING as chief of naval operations. Knox was also active in coordinating ship procurement efforts and presided over the largest wartime expansion of the U.S. NAVY from 160,000 in 1940 to 3.5 million sailors and marines. He also rendered valuable service by opposing Admiral King's suggestion of reorganizing the navy by subordinating naval procurement within his office. Knox died suddenly in Washington, D.C., on April 28, 1944, and was lauded by President Roosevelt as a patriot who placed country above politics.



**Further reading:** Paolo E. Coletta, ed., *American Secretaries of the Navy*, 2 vols. (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1980).

—John C. Fredriksen

### ***Korematsu v. United States***

In the *Korematsu* case decided in December 1944, the SUPREME COURT upheld the RELOCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS implemented pursuant to EXECUTIVE ORDER 9066 of February 1942. The relocation and incarceration of Japanese Americans constituted the worst violation of CIVIL LIBERTIES in the United States during WORLD WAR II, and the *Korematsu* decision was overturned in 1984.

Before the *Korematsu* case, the Supreme Court had in June 1943 unanimously upheld the GOVERNMENT's policy in two cases involving curfew orders. In one of them, *Hirabayashi v. United States*, the Court said that "residents having ethnic affiliations with an invading enemy may be a greater source of danger than those of different ancestry" and that it was "not for any court to sit in review of the wisdom" of military authorities. Despite the unanimous decision, however, there was concern within the Court. Justice Frank Murphy wrote in a concurring decision in *Hirabayashi* that the policy had "a melancholy resemblance to the treatment accorded to members of the Jewish race in Germany and in other parts of Europe" and involved "a substantial restriction of the personal liberty of citizens of the United States based upon the accident of race or ancestry."

The two 1943 cases were decided on narrow grounds that avoided a direct ruling on the forced removal of Japanese Americans. The case that would directly test the relocation policy involved Fred Korematsu, whose lawsuit was championed by the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. As the case worked its way through the judicial system to the Supreme Court, it created tension between the army, which insisted upon the military necessity of the relocations, and the Justice Department, which was convinced that the army's position was based to an important degree upon exaggerated or false evidence. Such doubts about

military necessity might well have produced a majority decision by the Court that the relocation was unconstitutional, and under intense pressure from the army, the Justice Department brief removed a footnote indicating its strong doubts about the army's report. By a 6-3 margin, the Supreme Court on December 18, 1944, ruled in the *Korematsu* case (with Justice HUGO BLACK writing the majority decision) that the relocation policy was sufficiently justified by military necessity to meet constitutional strictures. In a bitter dissent, Justice Murphy called the decision a "legalization of racism." (Justices Owen Roberts and Robert Jackson also dissented.) On the same day, however, the Court also ruled unanimously in *ex parte Endo* that while temporary detention in relocation centers was constitutional, the government could not retain loyal American citizens (some two-thirds of the internees were citizens) in the centers.

The relocation policy upheld by the *Korematsu* decision was criticized and often condemned as unjust and unconstitutional from the beginning, and underwent searching review after the war. In 1948, Congress approved reparations to internees—some \$37 million in compensation for the relocation and the estimated \$400 million in property losses to Japanese Americans. In 1984, a federal court ruled that "fundamental error," including the government's fraudulent use of evidence, had tainted the *Korematsu* case and overturned the conviction. With other relocation cases pending, Congress in 1988 acknowledged the "fundamental injustice of evacuation, relocation and internment" and offered both apologies for the policy and reparations of \$20,000 to living survivors of the internment. In 1998, President Bill Clinton awarded Fred Korematsu the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor.

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## labor

The rise of the labor movement in America between 1929 and 1945 was one of the most important social and political phenomena of the era. NEW DEAL reforms helped American union membership grow fivefold between 1933 and 1945, from 2.7 million to 14.3 million workers. By the end of WORLD WAR II, more than one-third of nonfarm wage earners belonged to a labor union—the highest percentage ever. Moreover, the period signaled a sea change in the pattern of organized labor from the trades to industrial workers, as well as a political realignment into the ranks of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Millions of newly arrived and organized immigrant workers now enjoyed degrees of representation in the workplace, higher standards of pay, and improved working conditions that were heretofore unattainable.

In addition to the enormous overall growth of unions, other factors made the rise of organized labor an important part of the New Deal era. With the formation of the new CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO), unions expanded beyond the skilled trades into the mass production industries (for example, autos, electrical products, rubber, and steel). The newly organized mass production industrial unions recruited first- and second-generation immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and AFRICAN AMERICANS, who had largely been ignored by the long-established AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL). The union movement formed a crucial component of the Roosevelt Coalition that made the Democratic Party the nation's majority party in the 1930s and beyond.

Such growth in the size and significance of American unions did not seem possible in the years preceding the GREAT DEPRESSION. In the 1920s, growing prosperity, the hostility of BUSINESS toward unions, and GOVERNMENT sympathy for employers helped to thin the ranks of unions from 5 million to about 3.5 million members. Some prospering businesses, such as the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY, paid workers well, but kept them nonunion, a condi-

tion that Henry Ford and other corporate heads enforced through various means of infiltration and intimidation.

In addition, the AFL's conservative leadership emphasized "volunteerism"—no government interference in labor-management relations—and focused on wages, hours, and working conditions of union members. The AFL's membership of native-born, "old stock" skilled craftsmen ignored the growing southern and eastern European immigrant and African-American unskilled workers who toiled in the mass production industries of automobiles, coal, and steel. In heavy industry where the AFL had a presence, leaders often impeded organizing, prevented strikes, and ignored worker demands.

A number of powerful union leaders, among them AFL president William Green and JOHN L. LEWIS backed HERBERT C. HOOVER for president in both 1928 and 1932. But the Great Depression and the seeming indifference of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY and the REPUBLICAN PARTY to the plight of workers changed the thinking of many in the labor movement. By 1932, manufacturing UNEMPLOYMENT reached nearly one in three workers, and wages and hours were often reduced for those with jobs. Union membership fell still further, and work stoppages declined. Labor received needed help from CONGRESS in 1932 with the passage of the NORRIS-LA GUARDIA ACT, which forbade federal courts from issuing injunctions to enforce "yellow-dog" contracts prohibiting workers from joining unions and restricted the use of injunctions against STRIKES. Hoover reluctantly signed the bill, warning that only the courts could decide on the law's provisions.

Much change occurred after the election of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in 1932. Although the new president would often be ambivalent toward unions and their goals, his administration presided over the greatest legitimization of the labor movement yet in American history. An important early step in the New Deal for labor was the passage of the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA) during the first Hundred Days at the start of Roosevelt's

presidency. The NIRA contained section 7(a), the key provision of the act for labor, which stated that “employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.”

Section 7(a), which was erratically enforced by the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA), became an area of conflict between government and employers. Business responded by setting up “company unions,” which they claimed fulfilled the Section 7(a) mandate. Workers, however, disagreed and responded by organizing into existing unions and forming new ones (typically not treated by the AFL leadership in the same manner as the established trades unions) and engaging in a series of confrontations with employers and local government authorities in 1933 and 1934.

Tensions between the AFL and leaders of mass production unions such as Lewis and SIDNEY HILLMAN boiled over beginning in 1934. At the AFL convention that year, Lewis, Hillman, and other dissidents called on the federation to organize mass production workers. The AFL’s rank and file turned down industrial unionism in 1934; and when they did it again in 1935, Lewis, Hillman, DAVID DUBINSKY of the INTERNATIONAL LADIES’ GARMENT WORKERS’ UNION (ILGWU), and seven other union leaders formed the Committee for Industrial Organization as a branch within the AFL. Immediately, Lewis

set out to organize the automotive, rubber and steel industries by using money from his own UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMW) union and dispatching key lieutenants such as PHILIP MURRAY, who set up the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC). After “heresy” hearings, the AFL suspended the committee unions in 1937, and in November 1938, the Committee for Industrial Organization formally became the Congress of Industrial Organizations, with Lewis as its head.

After the election of 1934, which brought more pro-labor members to the House of Representatives and the Senate, Congress moved toward greater protection of workers and their right to organize. A bill sponsored by Senator ROBERT F. WAGNER of New York would give a new NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD (NLRB) the power to set union elections, define and prohibit unfair labor practices, and legally enforce its own decisions. Business leaders predictably opposed the bill, and Roosevelt, who had urged Wagner to shelve the bill in 1934, “never lifted a finger,” recalled Secretary of Labor FRANCES PERKINS, for the legislation until after Senate passage.

In May 1935, while the House was deliberating the Wagner bill, the SUPREME COURT declared the NRA—and thus Section 7(a)—unconstitutional. The president now considered the Wagner bill “a must,” and the House passed the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT (NLRA), the most sweeping piece of workers’ legislation in American history. The NLRA, or the Wagner Act, as it became commonly called, established a permanent NLRB to determine union representation and restrain business from committing “unfair labor practices” such as establishing company unions, espionage, blacklisting, strikebreaking, and yellow-dog contracts. The law would be challenged, but was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1937.

The peak years for CIO organizing in the mass production industries came from 1935 to 1938. During 1936, rubber workers went on strike at Goodyear Tire and Rubber, and Murray and the SWOC traveled throughout Pennsylvania signing up new members. In late December 1936, the United Auto Workers (UAW), led by WALTER REUTHER, began a six-week sit-down strike against General Motors at the large Flint, Michigan, plant, which resulted in the automaker’s capitulation to the union’s demands for recognition and wage and hour benefits in February, 1937. In the STEEL INDUSTRY, the United States Steel Corporation recognized the SWOC in March 1937, and agreed to its demands.

During the first half of 1937, at least a million and a half workers joined trade unions, most in the CIO-dominated mass production industries, but also in AFL-organized trades such as transportation (teamsters), construction, communication, and hotel and restaurant work. The CIO



This cartoon shows President Roosevelt “peeking in” on a dispute between United Mine Workers of America president John L. Lewis and William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor. Cartoon by Walter Berryman (*Library of Congress*)



helped set up the Non-Partisan League, which worked for Roosevelt's reelection, and Lewis, a lifetime Republican, endorsed the president in the ELECTION OF 1936. In a more pragmatic sense, the success of unionization meant direct changes in the manner of how factories would be run on a daily basis. Newly empowered shop stewards were expected to be aggressive in their dealings with foremen and plant managers, and soon grievance procedures and seniority systems arose, bringing a degree of orderliness and predictability to the sometimes chaotic world of the shop floor. This represented a welcome change from past practices.

The organizing drive, especially by the CIO in the automobile and steel industries, was slowed in 1937 and 1938 by several factors, including the RECESSION OF 1937–1938, which resulted in a 50 percent drop in production in the auto, rubber, and steel industries, and a corresponding rise in UNEMPLOYMENT. Conservative forces mobilized against “radical” sit-down strikes, with company police preventing union organizing, at Bethlehem, Republic, and other “Little Steel” plants, and at Ford.

A factor that both helped and hurt labor—especially the CIO—was the presence by the late 1930s and early 1940s of active COMMUNISTS or those with pro-Communist sympathies, who led several unions or maintained a strong and influential minority in others. Communists played important roles in organizing efforts, but they also produced tensions in organized labor and damaged its reputation. Roosevelt distanced himself from such radicals, knowing it would hurt him, especially with southern politicians, if he became too closely identified with them. Still, he did not actively oppose their efforts, provided they assisted in his desired goal of organizing labor for the benefit of the workers and not the Communist Party.

The ELECTION OF 1940 also produced friction in organized labor. John L. Lewis broke with Roosevelt and endorsed Republican WENDELL L. WILLKIE, a decision opposed by Hillman, Murray, and most other union leaders. Lewis resigned as president of the CIO after Roosevelt's reelection victory, with Murray succeeding him.

The labor movement entered another significant period, and one of rapid growth, during World War II. Led by Hillman and Murray, most labor chiefs backed Roosevelt's moves toward anti-AXIS intervention, although Lewis was among the leading ISOLATIONISTS. An upsurge in strikes occurred in 1941, culminating in the army's breakup of the UAW-sponsored aircraft workers strike in June. To avoid being portrayed as unpatriotic, Hillman, as associate director of the OFFICE OF PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT, mediated nearly 250 disputes in 1941. After PEARL HARBOR, union membership increased from roughly 10 million to more than 14 million by 1945, including many more women and African Americans.

During the war, unions, particularly the CIO, not only grew but became “domesticated,” caught between satisfying the demands of workers on the one hand and being perceived as patriotic and not disrupting the war effort on the other. The AFL, whose membership increased as rapidly as the CIO's, especially in defense construction, the AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY, and SHIPBUILDING, criticized government for favoritism and the CIO for radicalism. Labor leaders agreed to a no-strike pledge for the war's duration, and the NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD (NWLB), established to keep workers and management at peace, was as important as the Wagner Act in shaping industrial relations. Labor also received positions, typically as junior partners, in war MOBILIZATION agencies.

In 1942, the government made three policy decisions that significantly affected labor. The OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION (OPA) issued in April its General Maximum Price Regulation (known as “General Max”), which capped prices to prevent inflation. In June, the NWLB issued the “maintenance of membership” rule, mandating that in any place of employment covered by union contract, new employees would automatically become union members unless they requested differently during the first fifteen days on the job; employers would collect dues and enforce the guidelines. And in July, the NWLB settled a dispute with “Little Steel” by imposing a settlement limiting wage increases to the rise in the cost of living between January 1941 and May 1942—about 15 percent.

By 1943, more aggressive management tactics and growing frustration and restiveness among many workers led to an increased wave of strikes, the longest and most significant of which was the Lewis-led walkout of the UMW in the spring. Although the strike ended peacefully, the miners' walkout led to the passage, over Roosevelt's veto, of the Smith-Connally Act. This legislation, a precursor to the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, gave the president power to seize striking plants, barred unions from giving money to political candidates, required a secret ballot to strike, mandated a 30-day cooling-off period, and authorized jailing of anyone suspected of encouraging other plants to strike. Labor's response was a further increase in strikes (some 5,000 in 1944, more than in the “radical” year of 1937) and the establishment of the CIO Political Action Committee (PAC) by Hillman and others, which supported primarily pro-union Democrats, and backed Roosevelt for a fourth term in the ELECTION OF 1944.

As World War II concluded in 1945, strikes continued, as labor, management, and government grappled over the issues of RECONVERSION. In the factories, workers who had won the right to collectively bargain in the 1930s had no intention of turning back the clock. The wave of post-war strikes, however, continued to fuel antilabor sentiment in Congress and led to union-restricting action, especially

passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947. But by this time the practice of collective bargaining had become accepted, routine behavior by the majority of business leaders, so no concerted assault on labor unions developed as happened following World War I. After a long struggle unions had, in fact, become an integral part of the American business equation and were now poised to exert great influence on the conduct of the nation's political economy.

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—William J. Thompson and John C. Fredriksen

### **La Follette, Robert M., Jr.** (1895–1953) *senator*

Born in Madison, Wisconsin, on February 6, 1895, Robert Marion La Follette, Jr., was the son of Robert M. La Follette, the governor and senator from Wisconsin whose name was identified with the early-20th-century Progressive movement. His college career at the University of Wisconsin cut short by illness, “Young Bob” became personal secretary in his father’s Senate office and campaign manager of his 1924 Progressive Party candidacy for the presidency. When La Follette Senior died in early 1925, Robert Junior won a special election to fill the remainder of his father’s term, and would win reelection three times. Once in the Senate, La Follette sought to link the older progressivism of his father with the growing strength of urban LIBERALISM.

La Follette was a harsh critic of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY during the GREAT DEPRESSION, and in the ELECTION OF 1932, he endorsed Democrat FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT for the White House. La Follette supported most of the NEW DEAL, and in 1934 left the REPUBLICAN PARTY to form the Progressive Party. He won reelection with Roosevelt’s personal endorsement, a favor returned in the ELECTION OF 1936, when the senator supported the president’s reelection. La Follette backed Roosevelt’s 1937 COURT-PACKING PLAN, one of the few progressives to do so, and chaired a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, known as the La Follette committee, to investigate harassment and intimidation against LABOR union organizers.

In foreign policy, La Follette remained firmly with the ISOLATIONISTS in the Senate, supporting the NEUTRALITY

ACTS and a national referendum on war (which his father had once proposed) and opposing the SELECTIVE SERVICE Act and the LEND-LEASE Act. After PEARL HARBOR, La Follette’s influence began to wane, and he broke with Roosevelt over his opposition to American membership in any postwar international organization.

By 1945, La Follette decided to take the Progressive Party back into the Republican Party. This proved the undoing of his political career, for he lost the GOP senatorial primary in 1946 to an obscure circuit court judge, Joseph R. McCarthy. Devastated by his defeat, La Follette became increasingly depressed, and committed suicide in Washington, D.C., on February 24, 1953.

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—William J. Thompson

### **La Guardia, Fiorello** (1882–1947) *mayor of New York City*

Fiorello Henry La Guardia, “the Little Flower,” is remembered as one of New York City’s most famous and beloved mayors. He had a political career as unique as his quirky personality. A Republican who worked on behalf of LABOR and campaigned for FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, La Guardia was, at various times, elected as a Republican, a Progressive, a Republican-Democrat, and a Fusion candidate. Born to an Italian father and a Jewish mother, he was throughout his career a foe of racial, religious, and ethnic prejudice. He served as a U.S. congressman and as president of the New York City Board of Alderman as well as mayor of New York.

Born on December 11, 1882, in Greenwich Village, La Guardia spent most of his early life on army bases in the West, because of his father’s job as an army bandmaster. In 1906 he returned to New York City, where he worked as an interpreter at Ellis Island and attended law school at night. He began practicing law in 1910, and soon got involved in local politics. Disgusted by graft and corruption in the Tammany-run Democratic Party, La Guardia registered as a Republican. Although he lost his first race for CONGRESS in 1914, the margin was surprisingly close, and La Guardia was encouraged to run again. In 1916, he won election to Congress by a few hundred votes.

When the United States entered World War I, La Guardia enlisted in the Signal Corps, where he rose to the rank of major and earned a number of commendations. After the war, in 1919, he was elected president of the Board of Aldermen of New York. Following an unsuccessful bid for mayor in 1921, La Guardia was elected in 1922 to the House of Representatives, where he remained until

1933. In Congress, La Guardia earned a reputation as a liberal and a friend of labor. Most notably, he coauthored the NORRIS–LA GUARDIA ACT in 1932, a bill that protected workers' right to go on strike. After losing reelection to the House in the ELECTION OF 1932, La Guardia set his sights on becoming mayor of New York.

Although winning the nomination of the anti-Tammany Fusion Party required a fierce political battle, La Guardia won the general election and became the first Italian American elected to the city's highest post. After taking office on New Year's Day, 1934, he enthusiastically attempted to make good on his campaign promises to improve government efficiency, decrease corruption, end partisanship, increase social programs, and clean up the city, physically and morally. He cooperated with the Roosevelt administration and used NEW DEAL assistance in improving the city. Reelected in 1937 and 1941, La Guardia became New York's first three-term mayor.

Despite La Guardia's genuine devotion to New York, he never quite lost the desire for national influence. In the ELECTION OF 1940, he supported Roosevelt, and, in 1941, he was appointed director of the OFFICE OF CIVILIAN DEFENSE, a position he resigned under fire in 1942 because of OCD's early missteps. He declined to run for another term as mayor in 1945 and returned to private life, although he remained visible in public affairs as a writer and speaker. In 1946, he became the director of the UNITED NATIONS Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. La Guardia died on September 21, 1947.

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—Pamela J. Lauer

**Landon, Alfred M. ("Alf")** (1887–1987) *Kansas governor, presidential candidate*

Alf Landon, who described himself as "an oilman who never made a million, a lawyer who never had a case and a politician who carried only Maine and Vermont," was governor of Kansas from 1933 to 1937 and achieved national prominence as the unsuccessful REPUBLICAN PARTY candidate for president in the ELECTION OF 1936.

Born Alfred Mossman Landon on September 9, 1887, in West Middlesex, Pennsylvania, he was the son of an oil prospector. In 1904, the Landon family moved to Kansas, where, at the insistence of his father, Landon attended the University of Kansas School of Law. Graduating in 1908, Landon chose not to enter the law profession, but instead decided to work as a bookkeeper in Independence. There

he began investing in oil ventures, and by 1912 he had formed his own oil company.

During World War I, Landon received a commission in the U.S. Army's chemical warfare corps, but before he completed his training the war came to an end. Landon returned to Kansas and developed a successful oil business. He also took an active interest in party politics, and by 1928 was head of the Kansas Republican Party. Landon won the governorship of Kansas in 1932, appealing to common workers by appearing in work clothes, boots, and a battered brown fedora. In 1934, he was one of the few Republican governors to be elected as Democratic candidates were swept into state and federal offices throughout the nation. His success made him a frontrunner for the 1936 Republican presidential nomination.

The GOP selected Landon by acclamation in 1936 as the candidate to challenge FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. Landon argued that a Republican administration would be able to implement needed social and economic reforms more efficiently and economically than could the NEW DEAL, and his success in balancing the budget in Kansas was touted by Republicans throughout the campaign. Although Democrats depicted Landon as a reactionary, labeling him the "Kansas Coolidge," Landon represented the progressive wing of the GOP and agreed with many of the goals and programs of the Roosevelt administration. No match for the popularity of Roosevelt and the New Deal, however, Landon won only 36.5 percent of the popular vote and carried only the states of Maine and Vermont.

Although he never returned to public office, Landon remained active in the Republican Party and continued to voice his opinions. He continued to criticize the New Deal, but often supported Roosevelt's FOREIGN POLICY in the late 1930s. Though not among the Republican ISOLATIONISTS, he ultimately concluded that FDR's policies were too interventionist. After WORLD WAR II, he endorsed the Truman administration's efforts to provide aid to Europe. Later he supported many of the social welfare programs of the Johnson administration's "Great Society." In 1978, his daughter, Nancy Landon Kassebaum, was elected to the United States Senate, where she represented Kansas until 1997. Barely a month after his hundredth birthday, Alf Landon died at home in Topeka, on October 12, 1987.

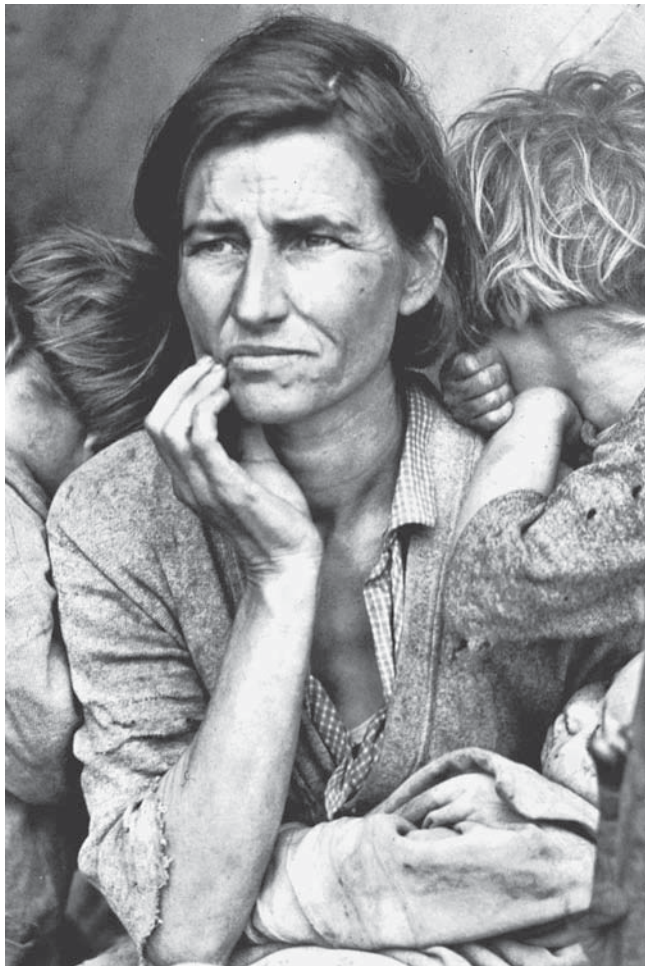
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—Shannon L. Parsley

**Lange, Dorothea** (1895–1965) *photographer*

Dorothea Lange was one of the most important documentary photographers of the 1930s and 1940s. She was born in Hoboken, New Jersey, and she attended the New York





This classic photograph, *Migrant Mother*, Nipuma, California (1936), was taken by Dorothea Lange for the Farm Security Administration. (Library of Congress)

Training School for Teachers. However, she became preoccupied with PHOTOGRAPHY and upon graduation relocated to San Francisco, California, to open her own studio. Lange enjoyed considerable success working for a wealthy clientele and gained the reputation as an innovative photographer. The onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION deeply disturbed her and, financially secure, she determined to use photography to capture the reality of poverty and deprivation for public enlightenment. Her endeavors soon came to the attention of university professor and social reformer Paul S. Taylor, whom she married, and the duo redoubled their efforts to call national attention to the poor. One of Lange's earliest success stories was her 1935 coverage of squalid conditions endured by migrant farm workers, and it resulted in federal grants to assist them. The following year her composition "Migrant Mother," featuring a gaunt, melancholy woman holding her infant, was reproduced thousands of times and

became a visual icon for the age. Lange's work brought her to the attention of ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, who helped her find employment with the RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION and then the FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION. In this capacity she and Taylor extensively toured the DUST BOWL states and the rural SOUTH, carefully documenting the desperate plight of subsistence farmers. In 1939 their collective efforts were published as *An American Exodus: A Record of Human Erosion*, which is considered a classic text on the depression era.

During the WORLD WAR II years, Lange shifted her attention to other topics on behalf of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION and, above all, the War Relocation Authority. Her pensive studies of displaced Japanese internees were deliberately calculated to evoke public sympathy for the subjects and were immediately suppressed by the agency that commissioned her. Lange subsequently worked as a roving photographer for *Victory* magazine during the war years and also covered the historic founding of the new UNITED NATIONS in San Francisco. By this time Lange was in declining health and she spent the rest of her life in semiretirement, although she did occasionally engage in commercial projects and overseas ventures with her husband for the Ford Foundation and the U.S. Information Agency. Foremost among these was her compelling work on community life in Egypt, South America, and Vietnam. Lange died in Berkeley on October 11, 1965, months before a major retrospective exhibition on her work opened at New York's Museum of Modern Art.

See also AGRICULTURE; WALKER EVANS.

**Further reading:** Pierre Borhan, *Dorothea Lange: The Heart and Mind of a Photographer* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2002); Laura B. Litwin, *Dorothea Lange: A Life in Pictures* (Berkeley Heights, N.J.: Enslow, 2007).

—John C. Fredriksen

**Leahy, William D.** (1875–1959) *admiral*

William Daniel Leahy was a distinguished American naval officer, a longtime friend of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, and an important architect of Allied strategy during WORLD WAR II. He was born on May 6, 1875, in Hampton, Iowa. In 1882, his family moved to Wisconsin, where he lived until he entered the U.S. Naval Academy in 1893. After graduation in 1897, Leahy served on board the battleship *Oregon*, and saw action at the Battle of Santiago in July 1898 during the Spanish-American War. As a young officer, he also served in China during the Boxer Rebellion, and witnessed first hand America's colonial expansion into Latin America and the Pacific. In February 1904, he married Louise Tennent Harrington; they had one son, who also had a distinguished naval career.



During World War I, Leahy became an aide to Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, and began a lifelong friendship with Franklin Roosevelt, who was then an assistant secretary of the navy. After World War I, Leahy held a number of important positions in Washington and in the fleet was promoted to full admiral in 1936 and in 1937 became chief of naval operations (CNO), the top position in the U.S. NAVY. With World War II on the horizon, Leahy's main goal as CNO was to prepare the navy for conflict. He used his considerable political connections to persuade CONGRESS to increase appropriations for the navy, and created contingency plans to be used in the event of war. Leahy remained CNO until 1939, when he reached the mandatory retirement age of 64.

After leaving the navy, Leahy became governor of Puerto Rico, a post he held until November 1940, when Roosevelt asked him to become America's ambassador to Vichy France. In 1942, Roosevelt recalled him to active duty, and he acted as both the chairman of the newly created Joint Chiefs of Staff and as the president's own personal chief of staff. As one of Roosevelt's most trusted advisers, Leahy took part in almost all top-level discussions during World War II, including the TEHERAN, YALTA, and POTS-DAM CONFERENCES, and served as chairman of the combined British-American Chiefs of Staff whenever it met in the United States. On December 15, 1944, he became the first of only four U.S. naval officers ever to receive the rank of fleet (five star) admiral.

After Roosevelt's death, Leahy served as Truman's chief of staff until March 1949, when poor health caused his final retirement. As a staunch anticommunist, he supported Truman's efforts to block the expansion of communism into Iran, Greece, and Turkey and argued against withdrawing American support to the Chinese Nationalists. In 1950, he published his autobiography, *I Was There*. He died on July 20, 1959, at Bethesda Naval Hospital.

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—David W. Waltrop

## Lend-Lease

The Lend-Lease Act enabled the United States to supply its allies with much-needed war materials during WORLD WAR II. It authorized the president "to sell, transfer title to, exchange, lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of" defense articles to nations the president declared "vital to the defense of the United States." In all, Lend-Lease extended an estimated \$50 billion worth of weapons, foodstuffs, and other supplies to nearly 40 countries and played a significant role in the victory of the GRAND ALLIANCE over the AXIS. That

it successfully skirted domestic and international restrictions against such arms transfers, accomplished with a minimum of domestic protest, is also testimony to the legal and political acumen of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT's administration.

The Lend-Lease Act came about because of the precarious situation of Great Britain at the end of 1940, when Prime Minister Winston Churchill informed President Franklin D. Roosevelt that Britain's financial resources, and thus its ability to resist Germany, would soon be exhausted under the system of CASH-AND-CARRY. Roosevelt devised Lend-Lease as a way around existing FOREIGN POLICY constraints, including the NEUTRALITY ACTS, which barred loans to nations at war. In effect, Roosevelt's scheme proposed a neighborly system of lending needed supplies instead of charging for them. As the president put it at a December 17, 1940, press conference, Lend-Lease would be like a garden hose that would be lent to a neighbor to extinguish their burning home and to protect your home from burning, as well. The garden hose would then be returned. Roosevelt also gave a powerful defense of the proposed policy in a December 29 fireside chat where he called on the United States to be the "arsenal of democracy."

ISOLATIONISTS vigorously opposed the Lend-Lease proposal, viewing it as a means of pushing the United States into the war. Among those dissenters were famed aviator Charles A. Lindbergh and noted historian Charles Beard, among others, who stridently insisted on preserving American neutrality. But by the winter of 1940–41, American public opinion was shifting to a readiness to aid Great Britain even at the risk of war. The Lend-Lease bill, symbolically designated H.R.1776, passed by 317–71 votes in the House and by 60–31 in the Senate, and was signed into law by President Roosevelt on March 11, 1941. The office of Lend-Lease Administration, headed first by HARRY HOPKINS and then by Edward Stettinius, Jr., oversaw the distribution of funds.

Initial Lend-Lease expenditures not only provided Britain with essential material but also helped convert the United States from peacetime to wartime production. For the duration of the war, Britain requested the supplies that were needed and the United States provided as much as possible. For Britain, which received much the largest share of Lend-Lease assistance (about \$30 billion), this meant an enormous flow of wartime goods that included aircraft, guns, bombs, ammunition, and foodstuffs. What Churchill called "the most unsordid act in the history of any nation" (though it did involve certain concessions by the British) helped Britain survive.

Lend-Lease was intended initially for Great Britain only but was extended to dozens of other nations. Especially important were China and the Soviet Union. In the

spring of 1941, Roosevelt declared the defense of China vital to the defense of the United States, and thus China was included in Lend-Lease aid. Supplies sent ranged from trucks, spare parts, lubricants, and gas to planes, guns, and ammunition. However, a majority of funding to China was for the expansion of the Burma Road, a treacherous mountain passage that was the only overland route into China. Ultimately, no fewer than 38 nations became slated to receive military assistance under Lend-Lease provisions. Great Britain proved the largest recipient, but France also received \$3.4 billion, while China and India acquired \$2.2 billion apiece. Total expenditures under the program have never been computed with certainty, but scholars exploring the issue place the total bill at nearly \$50 billion. So-called "Reverse Lend-Lease," which stipulated payment in kind by recipients, amounted to roughly \$8 billion, mostly from England and France, so that the vast majority of Lend-Lease debt was never paid. However both nations did repay the United States \$650 million and \$750 million, respectively, for civilian goods ordered and delivered.

Lend-Lease aid was extended to the Soviets in the autumn of 1941, following the German invasion of the Soviet Union that summer. Because of American suspicions of the USSR, Lend-Lease for the Soviets was treated as a form of credit to be repaid beginning five years after the war. The United States promised the Soviets a fixed amount of supplies in a specified time period, typically a year. These supplies included planes, TANKS, guns, and clothes. However, shipments were slow, and not all of the promised goods actually reached the Soviet Union. This complicated SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, as did the American and British delay until June 1944 of the opening of a SECOND FRONT in Europe to ease the burden of the Soviet Union resisting German forces. The Soviets complained that they were bearing the brunt of fighting Hitler's forces and not receiving enough aid from the United States. Many in America, however, saw it differently; the Soviets, they believed, were not sufficiently grateful for the aid they did receive, estimated to be a total of \$10 billion by the end of the war.

Considering Lend-Lease a wartime policy for America's defense, not a measure to underwrite the costs of the war or to support postwar relief and reconstruction, CONGRESS wanted Lend-Lease ended as soon as possible. On May 11, 1945, three days after V-E DAY, the new president, Harry S. Truman, authorized cutbacks to nations receiving supplies under Lend-Lease. Shipments were confined to supplies that could be used in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER until the defeat of Japan, at which time Lend-Lease would be terminated. The Soviet Union was again treated differently, for Truman stopped shipments to the Soviets immediately after V-E Day. After protests from the Soviet Union, he then allowed some shipments to con-

tinue. This episode increased (and reflected) the growing tension in Soviet-American relations, although the British, too, were unhappy about the quick termination of Lend-Lease after V-J DAY. The Soviets were even less happy over being assessed \$10 billion for wartime aid and refused to pay. This controversy remained a sticking point in U.S.-Soviet relations until 1977, when President Richard Nixon and Premier Leonid Brezhnev signed an agreement at the Moscow Summit, whereby the latter finally paid the Americans \$722 million.

Whatever the disagreements about Lend-Lease and its termination, however, the Lend-Lease Act played a critical role supplying the Allies and bringing victory in the war, and it provided a model of sorts for postwar American foreign assistance programs. In retrospect it proved to be one of FDR's most far-sighted and successful foreign policy initiatives.

See also ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

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—Jonathan R. Mikeska and John C. Fredriksen

**Lewis, John L.** (1880–1969) *union leader*

John Llewellyn Lewis, president of the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMW) for four decades, and cofounder and first president of the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO), was the most important figure in American LABOR during the 1930s and 1940s.

Born in Lucas County, Iowa, on February 12, 1880, Lewis was the son of Welsh immigrants. He ended formal schooling at an early age and followed his father and brothers into the mines of southern Iowa. After working for several years in western mines, Lewis returned to Iowa, married, and became head of the local UMW union. Skilled as a union organizer, he settled in Illinois and worked his way up the UMW ladder.

In 1917, Lewis became UMW vice president, and in 1920 he became president of the United Mine Workers, a post he would hold until 1960. An imposing figure with large head, bushy eyebrows and booming voice, Lewis was given to biblical allusion and Shakespearean quotes. During the 1920s, Lewis established firm control of the UMW by beating back his opponents, though the union lost 80 percent of its membership in the decade. A Republican, Lewis backed HERBERT C. HOOVER for president in 1928, calling him the "foremost industrial statesman of modern times." That support, however, failed to gain for Lewis and the miners any advantage from the HOOVER PRESIDENCY.

The coming of the GREAT DEPRESSION eroded Lewis's firm belief in free enterprise and led him toward the idea of national economic planning.

In the ELECTION OF 1932, Lewis publicly backed Hoover for reelection but privately worked behind the scenes for FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. After Roosevelt's election, Lewis backed NEW DEAL legislation benefiting labor, beginning with the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (he served on the Labor Advisory Board of the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION) and continuing with the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT of 1935 and the Guffey-Snyder Bituminous Coal Act of 1936. Taking advantage of the NRA's Section 7(a) providing for collective bargaining, Lewis launched a massive organizing drive during the summer of 1933, resulting in 500,000 new UMW members.

Lewis became increasingly frustrated, however, with the neglect of workers by the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) in mass production industries such as automobiles, clothing, steel, and coal. Beginning in 1934, Lewis, SIDNEY HILLMAN of the AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS (ACW), and other dissident leaders called on the AFL to organize mass production workers into

industrial unions. After one-third of AFL members agreed the first year, Lewis in 1935 again repeated his demands for industrial unionism. Afterward, when words were exchanged, Lewis punched Carpenters Union head "Big Bill" Hutcheson, bloodying his face. Three weeks later, after being voted down again, Lewis, Hillman, DAVID DUBINSKY of the INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION (ILGWU), and several other union heads formed the Committee for Industrial Organization as a branch within the AFL.

Immediately, Lewis set out to organize the mass production industries, using UMW money, and dispatching his key lieutenant PHILIP MURRAY to organize the STEEL INDUSTRY. When the AFL suspended the Committee for Industrial Organization unions in 1937, Lewis and the other dissident leaders formally separated in 1938, changing the group's name to the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), with Lewis as first president.

Lewis also took an active role in the decade's politics. The United Mine Workers gave \$500,000 to help set up the Non-Partisan League, which worked for Roosevelt's reelection, and Lewis, the lifelong Republican, endorsed the president in the ELECTION OF 1936. The Roosevelt-Lewis relationship soured quickly, however, over CIO involvement in sit-down STRIKES, COMMUNISTS in CIO unions, and Lewis's isolationist FOREIGN POLICY views. By 1940, the break between Lewis and Roosevelt was complete, as the CIO president endorsed WENDELL L. WILLKIE for president, although most of his fellow union leaders again backed FDR's reelection.

After the ELECTION OF 1940, Lewis, who promised to quit if Roosevelt was reelected, resigned as CIO president and was replaced by Murray. Two years later, Lewis pulled the UMW out of the CIO. During WORLD WAR II, Lewis dissented from labor's no-strike pledge as the UMW went on strike in 1941 and 1943, the latter walkout leading to GOVERNMENT seizure of the mines. While the wartime strikes were successful in winning major concessions from mine operators, Lewis's imperious attitude alienated both the public and CONGRESS, which led to passage of the anti-union Smith-Connally Act in 1943 and the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947.

After the 1940s, Lewis's influence on national labor affairs diminished, and he retired as UMW president in 1960. John L. Lewis died in Washington, D.C., on June 11, 1969.

See also COAL INDUSTRY.

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—William J. Thompson



John L. Lewis (left) (Library of Congress)



**Leyte Gulf, Battle for** (October 1944)

The Battle for Leyte Gulf (October 23–25, 1944) was the largest naval engagement in history, involving four major actions between hundreds of ships of the U.S. NAVY and the Imperial Japanese Navy over a hundred thousand square miles of the Pacific Ocean. It marked the end of the Japanese navy as a significant fighting force in the PACIFIC THEATER of WORLD WAR II and ensured the success of the American invasion of Leyte Island in the PHILIPPINES.

Following American victories in the BATTLE OF THE PHILIPPINE SEA (which had destroyed Japan's naval air strength) and in the MARIANA ISLANDS in the summer of 1944, U.S. ARMY general Douglas MacArthur landed forces on Leyte Island on October 20. His assault was supported by the U.S. Third and Seventh Fleets, the largest naval force ever assembled. It included some 35 aircraft carriers, 12 battleships, 28 cruisers, 150 destroyers, plus other ships. At the same time, Japan implemented a complicated plan, involving four forces of its Combined Fleet, that was designed to lure U.S. ships away from Leyte and leave the American invasion force vulnerable to attack.

After contact was made with Japanese ships on October 23, aircraft from Admiral WILLIAM F. "Bull" HALSEY's Third Fleet launched attacks against Vice Admiral Kurita's force, sinking the superbattleship *Musashi* and other ships, though losing the light aircraft carrier USS *Princeton*. Two of the other Japanese forces encountered Vice Admiral Thomas Kinkaid's Seventh Fleet in the Surigao Strait, lost two battleships and three cruisers in a one-sided surface battle, and were forced to withdraw.

Meanwhile, airplanes from the Third Fleet had spotted the fourth Japanese force. The aggressive Halsey turned his fleet north to intercept what was really a decoy force of four aircraft carriers with few planes. Although Halsey sank all four Japanese carriers, he left the San Bernardino Strait unprotected, in what some derisively called the "Battle of Bull's Run." Elements of Kurita's force returned to the strait on October 25 and steamed toward Leyte Gulf, but were repelled by badly outnumbered ships from the American Seventh Fleet. The battered Japanese forces withdrew.

The heavy losses in the Battle for Leyte Gulf dealt the Japanese navy a lethal blow. In all, the Japanese lost four aircraft carriers, three battleships, 10 cruisers, and nine destroyers; the U.S. Navy lost three carriers, two destroyers, and one destroyer escort. But while the engagement meant the death of the Imperial Japanese Navy as a serious force, it also witnessed the birth of Japan's newest weapon—the kamikaze, the suicide airplane attack that would cause such enormous damage at the battle for OKINAWA in the spring of 1945. Though the destruction of its

navy and the impending loss of the Philippines ended any realistic hopes in the war, Japan would fight on.

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—Michael Leonard

**liberalism**

Liberalism in the era of the GREAT DEPRESSION and the NEW DEAL was concerned especially with issues of political economy and economic security, above all with the role of the federal GOVERNMENT in reforming and strengthening the ECONOMY. But liberalism in America has never been unitary or unchanging. Not only were there various strands and emphases of liberalism from 1929 to 1945, but the dominant priority of liberal economic policy went from microeconomic regulation and control of the private sector in the early New Deal to macroeconomic FISCAL POLICY to underwrite full-employment prosperity by the end of WORLD WAR II.

American liberalism changed in character in the early 20th century. In the 19th century, it had been "classical" or "laissez-faire" liberalism, concerned with protecting individual liberty and economic freedom and otherwise limiting the power of the state. During the early 20th century, and particularly in the New Deal era, that limited-government approach to protecting economic liberty became the domain of conservatives, as progressives and liberals called for a strong state to achieve their aims. Though reformers of the Progressive Era had important disagreements about government policy, most agreed that stronger government was necessary to restrain the growing economic and political power of big BUSINESS, to protect individuals from corporate power and corrupt politics, and to ensure opportunity in the face of the powerful modernizing forces of industrialization, urbanization, and large organizations. An important segment of progressivism, especially in the urban North, wanted government to take on a stronger social welfare role as well. In addition to its concern with economic issues, progressivism also emphasized moral regeneration—thus the campaigns to end corruption in business and politics, or to combat individual as well as societal ills by such measures as Prohibition. And the Progressive Era saw efforts to integrate immigrants into American life and to advance the rights of women and AFRICAN AMERICANS. Some of these social and cultural priorities—the Americanization of immigrants, for example, or Prohibition—would often seemed later to be repressive programs of social control, but up until World War I they also involved moral uplift and efforts to enhance democracy.

During the 1920s, the social and cultural emphases of prewar progressivism ebbed, and reform—increasingly



known as liberalism—came to focus more on economic issues. Partly that was because of the nationalistic and ethnic forces unleashed or illuminated by World War I that seemed so uncontrollable and harmful in international and national affairs. The fierce ethnocultural conflict of 1920s America helped prevent workers and farmers from making common cause and diverted attention from fundamental economic issues. Many liberal intellectuals thus came to distrust ethnic and racial passions and to believe that rational public activity could be focused more usefully on economic issues. For some, the exciting possibilities of the Russian Revolution and the new Soviet Union turned attention to the working class, industrial democracy, and economic reform. The growing power of business, large disparities of wealth and living standards, and conservative Republican national governments also helped focus liberalism increasingly on economic issues—on taxes, tariffs, regulation, farm prices, and hydroelectric power, for example. Then in 1929 came the calamitous Great Depression, which for a decade commanded public attention and shaped politics and public policy.

A number of liberal approaches to the depression emerged, some of them drawing on ideas and economic programs of the progressives. These approaches included government planning and economic controls to produce equity and economic expansion, government spending to restore prosperity, and social welfare policies to help the unemployed and the impoverished. Some left-wing liberals were at times enticed by still more far-reaching ideas of state power and collectivism advocated by SOCIALISTS, COMMUNISTS, and other radicals; but in seeking to reform and sometimes to restructure economic institutions, liberalism sought to strengthen and preserve capitalism, not replace it. At the heart of early 1930s liberalism—and at the heart of the differences between liberals and conservatives—was a conviction that the depression had resulted from structural flaws in the domestic economy and that government must reform American capitalism in order to solve the nation's economic problems.

Although there was more to liberalism in the 1930s than the New Deal, and although the New Deal involved numerous and sometimes conflicting ideas and programs and seemed insufficient to many liberals, the principal policies and directions of the New Deal can nonetheless help to trace the focus and dynamics of liberalism during the presidency of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT from 1933 to 1945. In Roosevelt's first term, the lineaments of the modern American regulatory welfare state were established, and liberalism's growing focus on economic security became apparent. The cornerstone measures of the FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933—the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT and the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT—sought to produce economic recovery by means of

government planning and controls. In 1933, the New Deal also accepted federal responsibility for RELIEF assistance to the unemployed and impoverished. Then the SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935 brought new programs with a social-democratic focus, such as the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT and the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT, while the EMERGENCY RELIEF APPROPRIATIONS ACT reorganized and expanded relief policy. These programs of the Second New Deal made LABOR and the working class central to liberal policy and to the politics of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Concerned primarily with economic issues and the role of government to address and resolve them, the New Deal thus focused on issues of political economy. Although 1930s liberals often did have an intensely moralistic concern about economic democracy and social welfare, New Deal liberalism for the most part did not share the focus on moral regeneration that had characterized much of pre-war progressivism. New Deal liberals supported the repeal of Prohibition and often worked closely with political machines. They prided themselves on being practical and realistic, not sentimental. Northern liberals often cooperated with southern liberals on economic reform, despite the insistence of most southern liberals on maintaining their region's racial patterns. Women, African Americans, and ethnic groups, though important components of the majority coalition the Democrats forged in the 1930s and though given significant positions within the Roosevelt administration, did not receive the same policy priorities as did such economic groups as workers, farmers, and the unemployed. Particularly in New Deal efforts to enhance the administrative state, including the EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION ACT of 1939, there was some effort at government reform, but it lacked the moral fervor of Progressive Era reform.

But although it commanded the support of most liberals, the emerging New Deal state had not solved the economic problem of the depression, as the severe RECESSION OF 1937–1938 revealed. Sending economic indexes plummeting even faster than in 1929, the 1937–38 recession caused a reevaluation and ultimately a redirection of the New Deal and of mainstream liberalism in what some scholars have called the THIRD NEW DEAL. One important group of liberals wanted to effect structural reform and substantially to increase the regulatory power of the federal government, some by more vigorous ANTIMONOPOLY policy, others by enlarging the administrative capacity of the state in economic planning and control. Another group, believing with others that the recession had demonstrated that the American economy had become a mature economy lacking the ability to expand or sustain full-employment prosperity, called for enlarging public assistance and economic security programs to protect the unemployed and the impoverished. And yet another group (although there

was overlap among all three approaches) advocated turning to KEYNESIANISM to revive the economy by means of fiscal policy. Keynesian liberals held that government spending on reform programs could not only bring economic recovery and full employment by compensating for inadequate private spending but could also underwrite social reform programs. The expansive liberal agenda for the postwar period developed by the NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD in the early 1940s reflected the new importance of Keynesianism in liberal policymaking.

By the end of the war, the Keynesian approach had largely triumphed among liberals and had come to define the political economy of wartime and postwar liberalism. The aims of thoroughgoing planning and controls to achieve structural reform by means of a far stronger administrative state had faded. There were a number of reasons for this. The heavy wartime deficit spending and the return to full-employment prosperity by the middle of the war confirmed Keynesian analysis. The wartime economic expansion also restored the faith of most liberals in the structure and growth capacity of the American economy and seemed to make an enlarged welfare state unnecessary. At the same time, microeconomic controls and planning fell out of favor among liberals, partly because wartime MOBILIZATION agencies had not seemed to work efficiently and had proved susceptible to “capture” by business and conservatives, partly because the examples of Nazism and communism made liberals increasingly wary about enlarging government power. Late-1930s antimonopoly efforts came to nothing, particularly as big business regained popularity and political power, and as antitrust action was abandoned during the war.

The political situation had changed, too, with the rise of the CONSERVATIVE COALITION in Congress, the return of prosperity, and the priorities given defense and foreign policy. In this changed context, the less intrusive macroeconomic fiscal policy to underwrite prosperity became far more politically feasible than planning, controls, and efforts to redistribute wealth and power. And PUBLIC OPINION POLLS showed that it was not economic or social welfare reform but, rather, prosperity and security—jobs, above all—that dominated public hopes for the postwar era at home. As a consequence, the far-reaching postwar program of the National Resources Planning Board developed in the early 1940s found little support, and Congress terminated the agency in 1943. Similarly, the ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS based upon NRPB proposals and adumbrated by Roosevelt in 1944 had little resonance. By 1945, the principal aim of liberalism had become ensuring full-employment prosperity by means of Keynesian tools, as the emphasis on the FULL EMPLOYMENT BILL reflected.

But as liberalism became less aggressive on matters of political economy, it became more assertive on CIVIL

RIGHTS and, eventually, CIVIL LIBERTIES. Intellectual and academic liberals had continued to chip away at the intellectual foundations of racism and ethnocentrism and thus to support efforts to respect minority groups and cultural liberalism. By the end of the 1930s, northern liberals were increasingly ready to promote civil rights for African Americans. The appalling treatment of JEWS by Nazi Germany caused more attention to combating racial and religious intolerance in America. The war years then greatly accelerated these dynamics. The notion of “Americans All” fighting a war for democracy against the master-race philosophy reinforced efforts for an inclusive cultural pluralism, and the mounting evidence about the HOLOCAUST had enormous impact. Prejudice and discrimination in wartime America, disturbing developments in RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT, and the publication of the hugely important book by GUNNAR MYRDAL on American racial patterns, *An American Dilemma*, made civil rights much more a cause of liberals. By 1948, the growing insistence of northern Democrats on civil rights produced the “Dixiecrat” split in the Democratic Party. Though liberals in general did not take up women’s rights in the 1940s and often acquiesced in wartime violations of civil liberties, the rights-based liberalism of the postwar era was clearly under way.

By 1945, then, liberalism was different from just a decade earlier. Still concerned mostly about the economy, liberalism had shifted from the emphasis of the early New Deal on planning and controls on behalf of structural reform, economic regulation, and industrial democracy to a focus on compensatory fiscal policy to sustain full employment prosperity. But as liberalism came to emphasize economic security in a full-employment economy, it also increasingly supported individual opportunity and freedom in the areas of civil rights and civil liberties. Finally, most liberals by 1945 had come to a conviction that the United States must pursue an active, internationalist FOREIGN POLICY, including participation in the new UNITED NATIONS. The emphasis on foreign policy would mean less attention on, and less money for, domestic policy, and, as in the case of SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, sometimes caused sharp disagreement among liberals.

See also POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA.

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### **Life magazine**

HENRY LUCE, the head of Time Inc., established *Life* as America's first picture magazine in 1936. *Life's* use of PHOTOGRAPHY and its innovative photojournalistic approach quickly brought it astonishing success and made it one of the nation's most influential periodicals. Not only did *Life* make its mark in POPULAR CULTURE and the NEWS MEDIA, but the work of such accomplished staff photographers such as W. Eugene Smith, MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE, and Peter Stackpole also found homes in many of the great art galleries, including the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

*Life* began its weekly publication on November 19, 1936, when it sold out its entire press run of 466,000. Within a few weeks, *Life* was selling a million copies, and improvements in advertising and printing technology soon turned the magazine into a profit-making publication of immense popularity. Containing weekly sections such as "Speaking of Pictures" and its "Picture of the Week," *Life* reported the news in pictures, offering a more vivid image of events than words could provide and opening the eyes of millions of Americans to the nation and world around them. Its photo essays became a staple of the magazine.

During WORLD WAR II, the popularity of *Life* increased still further. By one estimate, two out of every three Americans in the military read the magazine, as did tens of millions of civilians. In its coverage of the war, *Life* followed GOVERNMENT preferences in avoiding graphic pictures of American casualties, and waited until spring 1945 to show the blood of an American soldier.

After reaching its peak of some 24 million readers weekly, *Life's* circulation declined as the growth of television in the 1950s provided America with a new medium for seeing current events. *Life's* subscription rates dropped until the magazine closed down in 1972, marking the end of an era in photojournalism. (*Look* magazine, *Life's* competitor going back to the 1930s, had folded the year before.) *Life* was reestablished as a monthly in 1978 but never had the same success and discontinued publication in March 2000. It continued to release special collections to commemorate important and historical events experienced throughout the world.

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—Ronald G. Simon

**Lilienthal, David E.** (1899–1981) *director of the Tennessee Valley Authority*

David Eli Lilienthal served as a member of the board of directors and then as chairman of the TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY (TVA), an important NEW DEAL agency, and later as director of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Lilienthal was born July 8, 1899, in Morton, Illinois, to parents who were immigrants from Austria-Hungary. He attended DePauw University, and then Harvard Law School, where he became friends with Professor FELIX FRANKFURTER. After Lilienthal graduated from law school, Frankfurter helped him find a position practicing law at a small firm in Chicago. Lilienthal's work with utility law brought him to the attention of Wisconsin Governor Philip La Follette, who asked him to join the state utility commission in 1931. He gained national recognition through this commission, with the result that President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT appointed him one of the three original members of the TVA board of directors, along with Harcourt Morgan and board chairman Arthur Morgan.

Lilienthal's concept of the TVA's purpose contrasted greatly with that of Arthur Morgan. Whereas Lilienthal believed that the TVA should compete outright with private power companies, providing electricity at lower rates, Morgan maintained that the agency ought to cooperate with the utilities companies and be above all an instrument of planned social and economic change to end poverty and improve conditions in the region. Lilienthal's views ultimately prevailed, and in 1938 Roosevelt fired Morgan for his public criticisms of Lilienthal and Harcourt Morgan. Lilienthal was named chairman of the TVA in 1941, and he led it during WORLD WAR II, when the TVA provided inexpensive power to the atomic energy installation at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, an important component of the MANHATTAN PROJECT that developed the ATOMIC BOMB. Some of TVA's manufacturing facilities also furnished munitions for the war effort.

Lilienthal was reappointed TVA chairman in 1945, but left soon after to work with a State Department committee on atomic energy and weapons. The resulting Acheson-Lilienthal report recommended international cooperation in the development of atomic energy. In 1946, President Truman appointed Lilienthal chairman of the new Atomic Energy Commission, making him the first civilian to head an effort previously run by the army. After resigning from the GOVERNMENT in 1950, Lilienthal devoted his efforts especially to heading a private company involved in overseas economic development. He died of a heart attack in 1981.

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—Joanna Smith

## literature

During the 1920s, many Americans, but particularly writers and other intellectuals, felt estranged from the prevailing culture. While mainstream society found outlets in consumerism, booster clubs, or SPORTS events and professed faith in BUSINESS as much as RELIGION, the more rebellious indulged in gin and JAZZ, danced the jitterbug, experimented with sexuality, and read sarcastic criticisms of what H. L. Mencken derided as the “booboisie” culture. Indeed, many noted writers of the Roaring Twenties spent considerable time and energy both lampooning and lambasting the materialistic values and excesses of their day. All of this contrasted considerably with the symbols of the period that followed: breadlines, shantytowns, and shovels.

The GREAT DEPRESSION led writers to formulate new perspectives and find new philosophies to describe and explain the conditions that enveloped the nation. The newer generation of writers, politicized by the Great Depression, now channeled anger and angst into social constructs that addressed the pervasive malaise of the times and changed the focus of most literary tales from decadent aristocrats to heroic struggles of common men and women. Many authors looked disparagingly at the irresponsibility and intolerance that characterized the 1920s and promoted such themes as the strength of families and the ideals of social justice. In addition, writers in the 1930s unveiled sympathetic representations of destitute farmers, downtrodden immigrant laborers, and oppressed AFRICAN AMERICANS. Only a few years earlier such folks routinely had been regarded as inconsequential but now were depicted as resolute and striving to enjoy America’s benefits.

Indeed, by the 1930s, old America—symbolized by Protestant villages and towns, small family farms, horses and buggies, and artisans—nearly was gone. In its place was a nation of impersonal, expanding CITIES characterized by ethnic enclaves, automobiles, and factory workers. Machines were more important to corporations than were the men who operated them, thus unskilled laborers became dependent on industrial barons. Likewise, motorized tractors enabled corporations to cobble together expansive farms from what had been the lifeline of some families for generations. As JOHN STEINBECK observed in *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), unknown bankers in the East controlled Oklahoma farms. LABOR unions now were disparaged not for their affront to the American way but, as John Dos Passos illustrated in *The Big Money* (1933), for their ineffectiveness in effecting social change and improv-

ing working conditions for the people they supposedly championed. The most significant literature in the period following the STOCK MARKET CRASH, including WORLD WAR II, celebrated the common man and depicted those with power as the enemy.

Under these circumstances, literary circles acquired a distinctly left-wing bent. Many of the more radical elements looked to the Soviet Union for inspiration and devised a unique “proletarian movement” within the social literature movement. These works extolled the virtues of the working class and the “promise” of Communism, but taken as a whole, they never made deep inroads into American *belle lettres*. In fact, the notion of literary-inspired class warfare died quickly in 1935 on orders from Moscow, which preferred a newer “POPULAR FRONT” that substituted cooperation with SOCIALISTS and liberals instead of confrontation. But while radical writers proved a short-lived phenomenon in American literature of the 1930s, they did manage to influence contemporaries by inducing them to abandon flighty notions of aristocratic decadence and concentrate more on the real social strife that the depression era engendered. The resulting body of literature was much less a tocsin to revolution than blunt and realistic social commentary, if couched in sharp criticism of prevailing economic systems. This, in turn, gave rise to new notions of the United States as a very diverse yet fraternal society with strong egalitarian overtones, and the new school of literature began expounding upon these increasingly familiar themes.

Exploitation of the weak by the powerful hardly was a new concept in literature. However, in Edith Wharton’s tales of wealthy New Yorkers and in such accomplished works as *Babbitt* (1922) by Sinclair Lewis, trampling the underclass had been akin to spending summers in Newport or scanning the business pages over breakfast—largely emblematic of a lifestyle. The themes espoused during the depression were fresh because the view and voice were altered and the suffering hidden beneath the boom, exposed now by the indignity of economic anguish, came to light in raw, undisguised portraits.

Many intellectuals repudiated democracy as a weapon used to dominate the minority, and a concentrated proletarian literary movement even emerged to capture the fiercest criticisms of usually marginal marxist writers. Few critics advocated such notions during the Roaring Twenties, but manifest changes in the ECONOMY and society during the 1930s inspired more grim and bitter criticism than the ironic and sarcastic skein of commentary in years past. Clifford Odets reflected this radical perspective in his noted play *Waiting for Lefty* (1935), as did such novelists as Michael Gold and Grace Lumpkin.

Dos Passos managed to blend rebuke of the 1920s and disillusion with the 1930s in three successive, connected



works. Critics debate the significance of his U.S.A. trilogy (*The 42nd Parallel* [1930], *1919* [1932], and *The Big Money*), but the series remains an illuminating profile of social and cultural currents that shaped the age. Over the course of the novels, the characters changed from farm folks to urbanites, embraced the temptations of alcohol and artificial profits, encountered socialism, and gave birth to innovations or modern philosophies that later destroyed them. In that way, the character Charlie Anderson, seen throughout the series, was an icon for the generation. He journeyed from the Midwest for work in New York and adventure in Florida; he became wealthy because of skill with machines, speculated in real estate, drank his dinners, and continuously moved farther from the fundamental things that anchored common men—family and work. Despite their limitations, the novels present an array of individuals who ably illustrate a vital cross-section of American culture and society.

Other novelists shared Dos Passos's disdain for the fruits of American capitalism. James T. Farrell examined the collapse of morality among working-class Irish youth in Chicago in his *Studs Lonigan* trilogy. In *The Grapes of Wrath*, Steinbeck memorably detailed the economic paradox of ripe fruit rotting on the vine as able-bodied men yearned for work and CHILDREN starved because inadequate profits would result from bringing the fruit to market. Erskine Caldwell's *Tobacco Road* (1932) conveyed the story of object poverty, ignorance, isolation, and hunger in the agricultural SOUTH. Earlier authors had regularly explored sin and oppression, yet no defined period in American literature invited so pervasive and persuasive a dissection of helplessness and despair as the depression era.

Perhaps nowhere is the tale of injustice and domination told more starkly than in *Native Son* (1940) by RICHARD WRIGHT. The novel conveyed without illusion the struggle, fear, and fate of one race at the mercy of another. Wright's juxtaposition of panic and control in his depiction of a black man, Bigger Thomas, who worked for an upper-middle-class white family in Chicago is both grim and distressing. The pain-filled narrative apparently struck a chord with many Americans, for *Native Son* sold 215,000 in three weeks following its release and went on to become a national best seller. This marks it as one of the most popular works by a black author to that date. Similarly, Wright's compelling autobiography, *Black Boy* (1945), depicted growing up in the oppressive racial conditions of the Deep South.

Two works by Thomas Wolfe vividly reflected the awakening among intellectuals to social exploitation and the limits of democracy and capitalism. *Look Homeward, Angel* (1929), published within days of the stock market crash, is hopeful, idealistic, and lacking an awareness of broad social conflicts. By contrast, *You Can't Go Home Again* (1940) is a passionate acknowledgment of the nameless and powerless

fellowship of laborers who were victimized by unforgiving social and economic systems.

If Wolfe spoke for those coming of age in the depression decade, Steinbeck gave voice to the unremarkable people who had long existed in the background of American society. He uncovered the experiences of the struggling poor—fruit pickers, common laborers, and especially farmers—and he traced the consequences of the era on them. Steinbeck's simple stories and elegant prose, evidenced in *Tortilla Flat* (1935) and *Of Mice and Men* (1937), masked the provocative and insightful social criticism they conveyed. His most acclaimed novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, remains a powerful and enduring tribute to families, humanity, and the land as well as a coherent protest against an unjust system.

The enthusiasm and energy of the NEW DEAL notwithstanding, the onset of another world war was the fuel that finally fired the American economy. The war also sparked home-front changes that contributed to transitions in the social landscape of the nation. As one important example, large numbers of African Americans migrated from the rural South to northern cities for jobs. They earned wages, attended schools, and also fought for liberty. Indeed, the war years forged a foundation on which the advances of the next 20 years were constructed.

A simultaneous change is evident in the literature of the 1929–45 period. Blacks typically had appeared infrequently in major literary works and usually as stereotyped or one-dimensional characters, such as house servants. However, WILLIAM FAULKNER interwove and scrutinized race issues in three of his most celebrated novels, published during these years. Moreover, the voices of blacks themselves grew more prominent. In *Jonah's Gourd Vine* (1934) and *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), ZORA NEALE HURSTON shared forceful stories of black communities. Langston Hughes published poems, essays, and stories that revealed the daily life of poor blacks in cities. In addition, *Native Son*, the most significant novel by a black author during this period, also was one of the most momentous depictions of the period itself.

The most significant literature of World War II emerged in the years immediately after the war—written by men who served as soldiers—but clearly reflected the war years. Whereas novels regarding World War I largely had celebrated positive principles, major war fiction in this period frequently mirrored the themes found in contemporary social and political novels: the common man as hero and the powerful versus the powerless. *The Naked and the Dead* (1948), by Norman Mailer, involved an array of diverse men destined to die in a pointless conflict. Similarly, in *From Here to Eternity* (1951), James Jones made heroes of spirited enlisted men who refuse to conform and who defy the cruel indifference of officers and the system.

Two other significant works about the war examine the idea of power from the perspective of those wielding it. In *The Caine Mutiny* (1951), Herman Wouk examined the commitment of officers to the code of command and illustrates how that faithfulness fomented success as well as failure. Finally, James Gould Cozzens's *Guard of Honor* (1948), which includes a racial component, also detailed the motivations of senior officers and illuminated their efforts to meet the challenges of maintaining order, enforcing rules, and ensuring stability. All of these novels, however, reinforced the narrative pattern established before the war to tell harsh stories candidly.

The remarkable generation of writers who gave voice to and, at times, personified the 1920s lingered into the 1930s, but their predominant message became obsolete as the economy stalled—there was little materialism or complacency to denounce. Sinclair Lewis continued to publish but never matched his earlier form, and Scott Fitzgerald declined in health and then died in 1940. Ernest Hemingway remained productive, but even his notable successes of the decade (*To Have and Have Not* [1937] and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* [1940]) lacked the political immediacy and social resonance of such authors as Steinbeck and Faulkner.

Faulkner emerged from the 1930s as the country's literary champion. Grounding his work in his native Mississippi, he examined the implications of relationships and emotions using ordinary characters with unsophisticated problems and through them revealed a complex profile of social conditions. One consistent Faulkner theme is that a man often can be his own worst enemy. Thomas Sutpen, in *Absalom! Absalom!* (1936), is emblematic of that view; he seeks to achieve notoriety so that he can gain revenge against those whom he believes humiliated him as a youth. By homing in on traits and conditions that defined community, family, and sin in the South, as in *The Sound and the Fury* (1929) or *Light in August* (1932), Faulkner managed to outline social and economic conditions that circumscribed the nation. Faulkner was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature in 1949.

If there is a rival to Faulkner as the greatest American literary figure of the era, it probably is the playwright Eugene O'Neill, who received the Nobel Prize in literature in 1936. O'Neill probed psychological more than social themes in his arresting if often bleak portraits of families, relationships, and emotions. The play widely regarded as his greatest, *The Iceman Cometh*, which illustrates the need for hope to mask despair, was written in 1939 though not published until 1946. O'Neill also completed two more of his most important plays, *A Long Day's Journey into Night* and *A Touch of the Poet* in this period (although both were published years later).

Despite the prevalence of pessimistic themes, all literature between 1929 and 1945 was not negative. A number



Eugene O'Neill (Library of Congress)

of poets—for example, Carl Sandburg and Robert Frost—celebrated American strengths and democracy and sought to inspire the nation during hard times. Likewise, history and biography became more popular during the depression, as Americans turned to them for guidance and for evidence of previous challenges—and successes.

A variety of novels emerged to satisfy popular demand for escapism during the melancholy era. A vast audience surfaced that was receptive to provocative but simple stories about amoral women or flawed but honest detectives in books like *The Big Sleep* (1939) by Raymond Chandler. Historical novels, such as *Gone with the Wind* (1936), by Margaret Mitchell, and *Drums Along the Mohawk* (1936), by Walter Edmonds, which both examine facets of survival as well as the bond between people and land, sold steadily to readers searching for a retreat into a more romantic age.

Ironically, the federal GOVERNMENT, long a disappointment to authors, also sponsored an innovative writing initiative amid the varied programs of the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION. At its peak, the FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT (FWP) employed more than 6,500 writers, most

often on nonfiction projects. The FWP supported authors pursuing fiction as well, including Saul Bellow, Zora Neale Hurston, and Richard Wright. Writers so employed were encouraged to extol common persons, along with the local cultures and regional groupings to which they belonged. The result was a truly representative body of national literature that celebrated diversity, progress, and the need for outreach across sectional, racial, and class lines.

Through literature, readers as well as historians can glimpse the social arrangements, manners, aspirations, and values of an era in ways not usually possible with textbooks and monographs. Examining an era through its fiction can foster an understanding of imagery, motivations, and trends that standard historical analysis may not reveal. By 1945, America had accepted the concept of an active, centralized government; women and blacks entered a critical phase of their journeys toward equality; and the balance between capitalism and social progress was refashioned. Together, these factors and others formed new social, economic, and political systems, and literature evolved as well to capture the changes.

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—Douglas Prophetier

### London Economic Conference (1933)

The World Monetary and Economic Conference met in London, England, from mid June to late July 1933, to formulate cooperative economic policies to alleviate the global GREAT DEPRESSION. Sixty-six nations convened in London to discuss an international GOLD STANDARD, currency stability, tariff reductions, and other international economic agreements that were thought to be potential solutions to the economic crisis. The London Economic Conference proved unsuccessful largely because of U.S. president FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and his preference for domestic rather than international action to deal with the depression.

The U.S. delegation to London was headed by Secretary of State CORDELL HULL, a staunch advocate of international economic cooperation who believed that he was sent to London to seek cooperation among nations and to negotiate a currency stabilization agreement. However, FDR had stated in his inaugural address that international economic commitments were secondary to the national economy, a belief that such members of his

BRAIN TRUST as RAYMOND MOLEY and REXFORD G. TUGWELL shared. In the weeks leading up to the London conference, FDR's initial support of currency stabilization waned due to his fear that a stabilization agreement would thwart efforts to raise domestic prices, which he thought key to recovery. Hull had also been promised by FDR that he would ask CONGRESS for the authority to pursue reciprocal tariff agreements. Hull believed that such a proposal would reveal the U.S. commitment to ending the high tariffs in effect since the passage of the HAWLEY-SMOOT TARIFF ACT of 1930. On the eve of the conference, Roosevelt went back on his promise to Hull to seek a reciprocal trade bill.

In London, Moley, with Roosevelt's approval, issued a statement approving currency stabilization by the United States, Britain, and other gold-bloc countries. Then on July 1, FDR cabled Moley objecting to any premature currency stabilization agreement that would hinder his NEW DEAL agenda. On July 3, Roosevelt delivered what was called his "bombshell message" that the United States would not join in rate stabilization or a return to the gold standard. He declared that "old fetishes of so-called international bankers are being replaced by efforts to plan national currencies," and that "the sound internal economic system of a nation is a greater factor in its well being than the price of its currency in changing terms of the currencies of other nations." The United States would pursue a national, not an international, approach to solving its economic woes. Although this nationalistic approach was based on Moley's own ideas, Moley was surprised and embarrassed by this sudden reversal in Roosevelt's agenda, and resigned soon after as assistant secretary of state.

At the conference, Hull struggled to keep the other participating nations from denouncing Roosevelt and the United States for preventing a meaningful approach to the staggering international economy. Subsequently, the Roosevelt administration succeeded in enacting the RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS ACT of 1934 that aimed at increasing foreign trade by decreasing high tariff rates and concluded an exchange stabilization agreement with Britain and France in 1936. Nonetheless, Roosevelt's action in July 1933 not only torpedoed the London conference but also contributed to the lack of common cause among the western democracies as WORLD WAR II approached during the 1930s.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

**Further reading:** Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Lloyd Gardner, *Economic Aspects of New Deal Diplomacy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964).

—Michael T. Walsh



**London Naval Conference (1930)**

As part of his FOREIGN POLICY efforts at international cooperation to reduce armaments and prevent war, President HERBERT C. HOOVER helped arrange a naval arms limitation conference in London in 1930. By the time the conference opened, the GREAT DEPRESSION was in its early stages, and Hoover sought to link arms reduction with efforts to address the economic difficulties, as he would also during the WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE that convened in Geneva in 1932. He believed that by spending less on arms, nations might balance their budgets and stabilize economic conditions as well as reduce the chances of war. The London Naval Conference produced the first arms limitation agreement since the early 1920s, but subsequent attempts at arms control in the 1930s proved fruitless.

The Washington Naval Conference of 1921–22 had produced among the major naval powers a limitation agreement on capital ships (major combatant vessels including battleships, aircraft carriers, and heavy cruisers), using a ratio of 5:5:3:1.75:1.75 for the United States, Great Britain, Japan, Italy, and France, respectively. A 1927 conference in Geneva to extend controls to auxiliaries (light cruisers, destroyers, submarines) had failed. At London in 1930, the Americans, British, and Japanese agreed after hard bargaining to a six-year treaty with tonnage ratios for cruisers, destroyers, and submarines that amounted overall to roughly a 10:10:7 ratio on auxiliary ships. The conference maintained the 5:5:3 ratio of the Washington conference on capital ships.

Hopes that the agreement reached at London might lead to further arms control and international cooperation turned out to be false, however. In Tokyo, the Japanese military sharply criticized the treaty for maintaining American and British naval superiority. The 1932–34 World Disarmament Conference failed, as did efforts in the mid-1930s to sustain the naval arms limitation system of the Washington and London conferences. As Japan and Germany built their armed forces and pursued their paths of aggression, the world moved toward WORLD WAR II.

**Further reading:** L. Ethan Ellis, *Republican Foreign Policy, 1921–1933* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1968).

**Long, Huey P. (1893–1935)** *Louisiana governor, U.S. senator*

Huey Pierce Long, the controversial Louisiana governor (1928–32) and U.S. senator (1932–35), was born on August 30, 1893, in Winnfield, Louisiana, in the state's northern hill country. The second youngest of nine children, Long left school in 1910 to take a traveling sales position. In 1913, he married Rose Connell, whom he met

when reentering school in Shreveport in 1911. In 1914, Long moved to New Orleans, where he enrolled at Tulane University Law School. Despite not finishing his classes at Tulane, he passed the bar exam in May 1915. The couple moved to Winnfield to set up Long's law practice, first with his brother Julius, then by Long alone. Not particularly interested in practicing law, Long used his practice as a stepping-stone to his long-held ambition: political office.

Long began his political career by winning election to the Louisiana Railroad Commission in 1918 (he served as chairman for several years in the 1920s), and his campaign foreshadowed his techniques in future statewide elections. Long's strategy was to portray himself as the candidate of the common man and win the vote of the rural, agricultural areas of Louisiana to make up for his lack of appeal in the urban areas. After winning the governorship in 1928, he dominated Louisiana politics until his death, and the state became polarized between pro- and anti-Longites. Although Long fulfilled many of his campaign promises, such as more paved roads and increased school spending, corruption in Louisiana politics also increased, with Long and his organization reaping the benefit. Following an unsuccessful attempt to impeach him in 1929, Long, known as "the Kingfish" in the state, consolidated his virtual total control over Louisiana politics and shifted his focus to national office.

Long was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1930, just as the GREAT DEPRESSION was beginning to deepen, but he did not take his seat until 1932 so that he could serve out his term as governor. A fierce critic of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY, Long at first supported FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. But he soon soured on FDR and the NEW DEAL. Following such legislation of the FIRST NEW DEAL as the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT, Long saw the patrician Roosevelt as serving the interests of big BUSINESS and Wall Street rather than the common man, whom Long claimed to represent. He became a vocal critic of Roosevelt, claiming that the New Deal did not do enough to end the Great Depression or to help the millions of Americans suffering due to the economic collapse.

In 1934, Long announced his own prescription for curing the depression, the Share Our Wealth plan. Long proposed a progressive income tax that would tax each million dollars of personal fortunes, exempting the first million, and would confiscate inheritances after the first million dollars. Money collected was to be redistributed to Americans with a one-time \$5,000 payment to allow every American family to own a house, car, and radio. Each family would be assured of \$2,500 per year for income maintenance, and Long also promised money for EDUCATION, pensions, and other benefits. Long then used his plan, which was appealing to many, though deeply flawed in its numbers, to pursue his larger ambition: to be elected president. In Feb-



ruary 1934, Long created the Share Our Wealth Society, made up of local clubs, to launch himself onto the national stage. He also made effective use of RADIO. By 1935, Long claimed to have 5 million Share Our Wealth members, a number that seems to have been inflated, and he published *My First Days in the White House*, a fictionalized account of a Long presidency. Long's sights were on the election of 1940; he believed that if he could split the Democratic vote in 1936, electing a Republican, he would then be a viable Democratic candidate in 1940.

Just as Long was positioning himself to challenge Roosevelt, he was assassinated on September 8, 1935, in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The shooter was Carl A. Weiss, a doctor from Baton Rouge and a passionate anti-Longite. Without Long, the Share Our Wealth Society withered away, though Long's most ardent and ambitious follower, Gerald L. K. Smith, tried to keep it alive. In 1936, Smith allied the society with FATHER CHARLES E. COUGHLIN and Dr. FRANCIS TOWNSEND to form the UNION PARTY, which nominated North Dakota congressman William Lemke for president. But the followers of the three men were also largely supporters of Roosevelt, and most chose FDR over the Union Party in the ELECTION OF 1936.

Often portrayed as a demagogue, Long, at his peak in 1935, was the leading populist voice in a nation where many still feared that the Great Depression would never end. Without his voice, the movement for redistribution of wealth in America withered away, although the SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935 did begin to address some of the social issues that had fueled Long's appeal.

**Further reading:** Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (New York: Knopf, 1982); Harry T. Williams, *Huey Long* (New York: Knopf, 1969).

—Katherine Liapis Segrue

### **Louis, Joe** (1914–1981) *heavyweight boxer*

Joe Louis, nicknamed “the Brown Bomber,” was the premier American boxer and the heavyweight champion of the world from 1937 to 1949. In his career, he won 68 fights while losing only three. Because of the racial situation of the times, Louis, an African American, was an important figure in the social history of the United States during the era of the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II.

Louis was born Joseph Louis Barrow on May 13, 1914, near Lafayette, Alabama. In 1924, he moved to Detroit, where his father worked in a Ford plant. Louis started boxing while in vocational school, and by the time he was 20 years old he had won the national Amateur Athletic Union boxing title and had begun boxing professionally. Not quick on his feet, Louis was famous for his powerful and polished



Joe Louis (Library of Congress)

punching style. After winning some two dozen bouts, he fought the German boxer Max Schmeling in 1936, and lost in the 12th round in an upset. German Minister for Propaganda Joseph Goebbels hailed Schmeling's victory as a triumph for Nazism.

In 1937, Louis took the heavyweight title from James Braddock. Asked how it felt to be champion, Louis responded, “I don't want nobody to call me champ until I beat Schmeling.” In a 1938 rematch, Louis beat Schmeling, knocking out the German two minutes into the first round. He remained heavyweight champion until 1949, when he retired. During the war, Louis staged a number of bouts to raise money for the Army and Navy Relief Societies before he joined the army. As a GI, he traveled more than 21,000 miles, helped with recruiting, and staged 96 boxing exhibitions before millions of soldiers and sailors.

In an era of harsh racial attitudes and institutionalized segregation, Joe Louis was one of the AFRICAN AMERICANS most easily recognized by white America. He was aware of his position as a symbol for all of black America. He maintained a dignified manner, claiming that this could make it easier for others who would follow him. He also would not accept stereotypes, once refusing to pose for photographers while holding a watermelon. To the black communities of the depression and war years, Joe Louis was a hero, and such African Americans as Malcolm X would subsequently

write of their admiration for Louis's example. In later years, Louis twice returned to boxing, but with little success. He died in 1981 after years of poor health.

See also SPORTS.

**Further reading:** Chris Mead, *Champion—Joe Louis, Black Hero in White America* (New York: Scribner's, 1985).

—Robert J. Hanyok

**Luce, Henry R.** (1898–1967) *magazine publisher*

A prolific publisher and the cofounder and longtime editor in chief of Time Inc., Henry Robinson Luce was one of the most influential journalists and shapers of American public opinion in the 20th century.

Luce's publishing empire, which included *Time*, *Life*, *Fortune*, and *Sports Illustrated*, allowed him the opportunity to send his generally conservative views on American society and America's role in the world into most of the nation's households. For decades, average Americans and national policymakers often looked to Luce to help make sense of a changing world and America's position in it. It was Luce who in 1941 described the 20th century as "the American Century."

Luce's childhood helps explain his zeal for his later work. He was born on April 3, 1898, in China, the oldest child of Presbyterian missionaries from Pennsylvania. He lived in China until he was 15 years old, visiting the United States only twice in that period. The contrasts between the relatively prosperous and ordered existence inside the compound in which he lived in China and the bleak situation outside its walls reinforced in Luce the sense of the spiritual superiority of Christianity and the moral and cultural superiority of America. Luce later remarked that his "idealistic view of America came from the fact that the Americans I grew up with—all of them—were good people."

After study at Yale University in the United States and Oxford University in Great Britain, Luce worked briefly at two newspapers before founding *Time*, the first weekly newsmagazine, in 1923 with his college friend Briton Hadden. In their prospectus to potential investors, they described *Time* as meeting the new needs of busy people to keep informed. They promised to provide readers with both sides of an issue and still "clearly indicate" *Time's* preference. Hadden died in 1929, and Luce became editor in chief of Time Inc. until 1964. The *Time* publishing empire grew over the years. Luce founded *Fortune*, a business monthly, in 1930; *LIFE MAGAZINE*, a phenomenally popular pictorial newsmagazine, in 1936; and *Sports Illustrated* in 1954. By the end of WORLD WAR II, Time Inc. was perhaps the most influential publishing house in the world.

Luce's landmark essay "The American Century" was published in *Life* in February 1941. By then, much of the world was engulfed in World War II, but the United States had not yet entered the conflict, and there were many ISOLATIONISTS who did not want the nation to intervene. Luce argued that the world was so interdependent, and the strength of the United States so great, that the United States had a responsibility to intervene in the war against the AXIS, assume world leadership, and share its economic power, technical skills, and political ideals—and in the process make the 20th century the "American century." Many newspapers and groups reprinted the article, and it soon became the basis for public and official debates about national policy.

Two of Luce's major lifelong concerns, reflected in the editorial views of *Time*, were combating communism in Asia and promoting the REPUBLICAN PARTY at home. After World War II, Luce actively pushed for American help for Chiang Kai-shek's army in his Chinese civil war with the communists led by Mao Zedong. After Mao proclaimed the People's Republic of China and Chiang retreated to Taiwan, Luce became a powerful advocate of resistance to China and aid to Taiwan. He also advocated a global strategy of massive United States resistance to communism in both Asia and Europe.

Luce called the Republican Party his "second church." He worked to rebuild and reorient the party after its disastrous showing in the ELECTION OF 1936, and was a leader of the eastern, internationalist Republicans who supported the successful effort of WENDELL L. WILLKIE for the GOP nomination in the ELECTION OF 1940. He actively promoted Dwight D. Eisenhower's candidacy and presidency in the 1950s. Luce's affection for John F. Kennedy led Time Inc. to be somewhat less partisan in the 1960 election, and Luce had remarkable access to Kennedy during his term as president.

In his personal life, Luce was a deeply religious man who rarely missed church and prayed regularly. He had a large circle of friends, traveled widely, met with many foreign leaders, and had an ongoing friendly rivalry with his famous wife, Clare Boothe Luce, an accomplished playwright who served in CONGRESS from Connecticut during World War II. Henry Luce died in February 1967 from a sudden heart attack.

See also NEWS MEDIA; POPULAR CULTURE.

**Further reading:** James L. Boughman, *Henry R. Luce and the Rise of the American News Media* (Boston: Twayne, 1987); Robert Herzstein, *Henry R. Luce: A Political Portrait of the Man Who Created the American Century* (New York: Scribner's, 1994).

—John Day Tully

# M



**MacArthur, Douglas** See VOLUME IX.

## **Manchuria**

On the night of September 18, 1931, an explosion orchestrated by Japanese saboteurs destroyed a segment of track on the Japanese-controlled South Manchuria Railway near Mukden Station in the northern Chinese province of Manchuria. In the ensuing chaos, the Kwantung Army, the Japanese force that had occupied the area since 1905, advanced through the rest of the province, beginning the attempted Japanese conquest of Asia that would eventually culminate in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER. As with the 1935 Italian invasion of ETHIOPIA, the failure of the United States to cooperate with the League of Nations in a firm effort to quell aggression reflected the American policy of noninterventionism produced by the adverse reaction to World War I and by the focus on domestic problems arising from the GREAT DEPRESSION.

Despite pleas for stronger action from his Secretary of State HENRY L. STIMSON, President HERBERT C. HOOVER expressed only moral disapproval of the Japanese actions. The United States adopted a policy of “non-recognition,” meaning that it would not recognize as legal any action that violated the administrative and territorial integrity of China or threatened the American commercial interests within China guaranteed by the Open Door Notes of 1899 and 1900 and the 1922 Nine-Power Treaty. The League of Nations, unable to pursue stronger action without American support, essentially adopted this same policy of nonrecognition, popularly known as the Stimson Doctrine. Not surprisingly, such a weak reaction encouraged the Japanese to pursue their expansionist agenda even more vigorously. In early 1932, Manchuria was converted into the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo, and in 1933 Japan withdrew from the League of Nations. The defeat of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY in 1932 raised fears among American ISOLATIONISTS of a shift in policy towards Japan,

but the new president, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, and his secretary of state CORDELL HULL, continued to follow the Stimson Doctrine.

Throughout the 1930s, the Japanese grew increasingly more aggressive in East Asia and in asserting their military and diplomatic equality with the Western powers. Attempts to renew the naval limitation agreements signed at the 1930 LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE failed in 1935 as the Japanese demanded arms parity in all categories of ships, a concession that neither the United States nor Great Britain was willing to make. In November 1936, Japan allied with Germany in the Anti-Comintern Pact. Despite evidence of increasing levels of Japanese militarism, the American government was caught by surprise when the Japanese conquest of Manchuria escalated into full-scale war with China in July of 1937. Roosevelt responded by refusing to intervene unless American citizens and property in China were threatened. This policy was tested when Japanese pilots sank the American gunboat *Panay* in the Yangtze River on December 12, 1937, killing two Americans in what seemed plainly a deliberate action. Public outcry about the incident within the United States was minimal, however; and after the Japanese government quickly offered apologies and indemnities, the episode blew over with no American retaliation or change in policy.

Tensions between the United States and Japan escalated as the Roosevelt administration began to move by the end of the decade toward more interventionist policies to stop German and Japanese aggression, including Japanese expansion in Manchuria. Negotiations in the autumn of 1941 offered a final opportunity to forestall hostilities between Japan and the United States. The Japanese requested the lifting of sanctions on materials such as iron ore, aviation gasoline, and scrap iron that Roosevelt had begun to impose the previous year, and demanded American acquiescence to their expansionism in East Asia. Roosevelt and Hull, believing that the conquest of Manchuria and war with China were part of larger Japanese designs on



the rest of Asia, refused these terms and demanded that the Japanese withdraw from China and drop their expansionist campaign. On October 16, 1941, Japan's civilian government, led by Prime Minister Prince Fumimaro Konoye, fell and was succeeded by a militarist government led by General Hideki Tojo. While the civilian government had hoped to obtain international compliance with their expansionist aims through diplomacy, the militarists believed that this could only be achieved by force. The Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR came on December 7, 1941.

While the Chinese regained direct control of Manchuria after World War II under terms established at the 1943 CAIRO CONFERENCE, the province continued to fall under foreign influence. In the wake of the Japanese surrender in 1945, the Soviet Union successfully demanded that several possessions in northern China lost by the Russians at the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, including the South Manchuria Railway, should revert back to Russian control. After being liberated from the Japanese empire, Manchuria would quickly fall under the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union in the early years of the cold war.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

**Further reading:** Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Armin Rappaport, *Henry L. Stimson and Japan, 1931–1933* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

—Mary E. Carroll-Mason

## Manhattan Project

The Manhattan Project was the bland code name given to an effort of unprecedented scope and secrecy to produce the ATOMIC BOMB during WORLD WAR II. It began as a “uranium committee” under VANNEVAR BUSH’s National Research Defense Council and its successor, the OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT (OSRD). Its expansion and secret existence approved personally by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, the Manhattan Project expended nearly \$2 billion, a cost about two-thirds that of all the conventional bombs, mines, and grenades procured for the entire war effort, and all without direct knowledge of CONGRESS. The result was a vast complex of “atomic cities” across the nation, where thousands of scientists and engineers worked in extreme secrecy, and which produced two operational bombs used on HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI in August 1945.

Shortly after the discovery of radioactivity in the 1890s, the possibility of liberating the enormous potential energy within matter motivated much theoretical and laboratory work. The so-called splitting of the atom in an experimental setting, with its implications for moving the weapons

concept toward reality, was achieved by German physicists in late 1938, and perhaps in Italy a few years earlier. Leo Szilard, a Hungarian physicist living in New York and in communication with other refugee scientists from Germany and Russia, joined in 1939 with another émigré, Edward Teller, to persuade Albert Einstein to lend his name and influence to a letter informing President Roosevelt of the danger.

British and American physicists then worked on the problem without much progress beyond demonstrating the theoretical possibility of such a weapon. After PEARL HARBOR, and believing that the Germans were working effectively toward an atomic bomb, Vannevar Bush and others became convinced that developing an atomic bomb required a massive and organized effort that could produce a workable fission weapon within three years or so. Roosevelt agreed, and in the summer of 1942 the project was established within the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, where its massive construction projects and funding could be most easily hidden. General Leslie Groves, a brusque organizational genius with graduate degrees in engineering who had just completed building the Pentagon, assumed control of what was termed the Manhattan Engineer District and attempted to maintain strict security within the project.



Leslie Groves (r) and Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer examine an atomic test site, 1945. (*New York World Telegram and the Sun Newspaper Collection. Library of Congress*)



Six months later, barely a year after Pearl Harbor, a team of physicists directed by the Italian émigré Enrico Fermi, achieved the first sustained and controlled chain reaction with uranium, and construction was underway on several new sites. In Hanford, Washington, a plutonium extraction plant arose; in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, massive facilities were constructed to purify and extract, literally atom by atom, a specific isotope from uranium. Near isolated Los Alamos, New Mexico, thousands of physicists, chemists, and engineers gathered under the leadership of J. Robert Oppenheimer in hastily constructed military facilities to pursue the SCIENCE and practical engineering of bomb design. At universities and industrial facilities throughout the country, other teams worked on various parts of the problem. Reflecting wartime tensions in SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS and in the GRAND ALLIANCE against the AXIS, the British were privy to—and junior partners in—the Manhattan Project, while the Soviets were excluded from participation and knowledge (except through their own ESPIONAGE).

Both eventual bomb designs were fission weapons—designed to compress purified uranium or plutonium long enough (a split second) for the material to achieve critical mass and the subsequent chain reaction that would release the explosive power. The uranium weapon (“Little Boy”) was relatively unproblematic and did not even need to be tested before its use on Hiroshima in August 1945. The plutonium weapon (“Fat Man”) was used on Nagasaki, and was first tested at Alamogordo, New Mexico, in July 1945.

The atomic scientists, whom Groves called his bunch of “brilliant crackpots,” initially worked together in patriotic unanimity. Deep rifts about the project and the use of the bomb developed after it became clear by 1944 that Germany would not be a contender in this race. Nonetheless, Groves, Oppenheimer, Bush, and others drove the project forward and presented it to a surprised President Truman shortly after Roosevelt’s death in April 1945. The project and its leaders survived congressional and other scrutiny after the war largely because it was deemed a brilliant success that had won the final phase of the war and saved thousands of lives. The physical and personnel infrastructure became elements of an enormous and elaborate new cold war complex, with some of the laboratories under the civilian Atomic Energy Commission and others absorbed into the new Department of Defense.

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—Joseph N. Tatarewicz

## March on Washington Movement (MOWM)

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH organized the March on Washington Movement (MOWM) in 1941 to put pressure on President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to ensure a greater role for AFRICAN AMERICANS in the defense MOBILIZATION effort of WORLD WAR II. Tired of an established pattern of conferences, negotiations, and official statements but no advances on CIVIL RIGHTS, the MOWM aimed at forcing the administration to take action by organizing a protest march to be held in Washington, D.C. To head off the march, Roosevelt, on June 25, 1941, issued EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802, which established the FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE and prohibited discrimination by GOVERNMENT and by defense contractors.

The MOWM grew out of continued economic discrimination facing African Americans. As the ECONOMY began to recover from the GREAT DEPRESSION in 1940 and 1941, blacks found themselves largely excluded from defense employment. For example, 56 St. Louis factories with government war contracts employed an average of three African Americans each, and a United States Employment Service poll showed that over 50 percent of defense industries questioned refused to hire blacks at all. African Americans were also excluded from federally organized training programs because it seemed a mistake to train people for jobs they would not receive. The few who did find jobs in defense industry were typically restricted to positions at the lowest levels, despite their qualifications. Nor did the armed forces provide much opportunity, for the U.S. MARINES accepted no African Americans; the U.S. NAVY let them enlist only as cooks and stewards; and the U.S. ARMY accepted them only in restricted numbers, typically in segregated noncombat units.

Randolph (head of the BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS), WALTER WHITE (the secretary of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE [NAACP]), and T. Arnold Hill of the National Urban League met with Roosevelt in September 1940 to discuss these issues and to petition the president for defense jobs and desegregation of the armed forces. When the resulting press release indicated that there would be no policy change and seemed wrongly to imply their endorsement of this outcome, the black leaders took further action. The NAACP announced a two-day Conference on the Negro in National Defense at Hampton Institute and began organization of a 23-state National Defense Day to be held on January 26, 1941, to protest discrimination in defense industry.

For his part, Randolph began to sow the seeds of the MOWM. He declared that “a pilgrimage of 10,000 Negroes would wake up and shock official Washington

as it has never been shocked before.” The purpose of the march on Washington was to demand fair employment in defense jobs as well as desegregation and equality in the armed forces. Randolph’s early support came from local black community groups, because established civil rights organizations thought the march too militant, while the black press believed it an impossible task. Undeterred, Randolph raised his original call for 10,000 marchers to 100,000 and established the March on Washington Committee (MOWC) to organize and supervise the march. As Randolph envisioned it, the March on Washington would be an exclusively African-American event: “We shall not call upon our white friends to march with us. There are some things Negroes must do alone. . . . Let the Negro masses speak!”

In an effort to prevent the march, Roosevelt enlisted his wife, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, and New York mayor FIORELLO LA GUARDIA to discuss possible alternatives with Randolph, who refused to back down. Fearing the potential violence and political embarrassment that could occur if thousands of African Americans converged on Washington, Roosevelt invited Randolph and White back to the White House and offered a personal promise for better treatment of blacks if the march were called off. When Randolph demanded tangible action, FDR issued Executive Order 8802, which created the FEPC and forbade discriminatory employment practices by government and by defense contractors, but which did not apply to the armed forces. Randolph then agreed to call off the scheduled march, though he called it a postponement in order to retain leverage with the administration and avoid criticism from those who wanted no compromise.

Executive Order 8802 gave a measure of federal assistance in defense employment and contributed to a greater share of jobs for African Americans in the wartime economic boom. Although criticized by some more militant blacks for not going through with the march, Randolph continued with his objectives of nonviolent mass action protest and held a reorganization conference in Detroit in 1942. Following a poorly attended convention in Chicago in July 1943, the MOWM eventually disintegrated. But in addition to its success in bringing about Executive Order 8802 and the FEPC, the MOWM foreshadowed mass-action protest ideas and strategies used during the postwar Civil Rights movement.

**Further reading:** Herbert Garfinkel, *When Negroes March: The March on Washington Movement in the Organizational Politics for FEPC* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959); Paula F. Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph, Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).

—Ronald G. Simon

## Mariana Islands

Because of their strategic location, the Marianas were a major American objective in 1944 during the island-hopping campaign of the U.S. NAVY and U.S. MARINES across the Central Pacific in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER. Once captured from the Japanese, the Marianas became an important staging point for air attacks on Japan.

The Marianas are a group of 15 Central Pacific Ocean islands stretching in a 500-mile curve midway between Japan and New Guinea. The four major islands, running north to south, are Saipan (the largest, at 14 miles long), Tinian, Rota, and Guam. The United States took control of Guam from Spain following the Spanish-American War in 1898 and subsequently used the island as a coaling station and naval base. Saipan, Tinian, and Rota had been under Japanese rule since World War I and had been fortified and made into significant military bases. On December 10, 1941, just days after the attack on PEARL HARBOR, Imperial Japanese forces from Saipan overcame the small U.S. Marines garrison on Guam. Saipan subsequently became a major military administrative center and the Marianas as a whole served as a defensive cornerstone of the Japanese empire in the Central Pacific.

The American invasion of Saipan began on June 15, 1944, with an amphibious assault by Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner’s Fifth Amphibious Force of 530 warships and 127,000 troops under U.S. Marine Corps Major General Holland M. “Howling Mad” Smith. The Second and Fourth Marine Divisions, following reinforcement by the U.S. Army 27th Infantry Division, succeeded in overcoming the 32,000-man Japanese garrison after a month of heavy fighting on July 13. Only 2,000 members of the enemy garrison survived the assault, and 3,126 Americans were killed and 13,160 wounded. Shockingly, hundreds of Japanese civilians resident on Saipan committed suicide by jumping off the cliffs into the sea at Marpi Point because of fear of what their fate might be in American hands.

Neighboring Tinian was assaulted on July 25, 1944, by the Second and Fourth Marine Divisions and was declared secured on August 2 with U.S. losses of 389 killed and 1,816 wounded. Virtually none of the Japanese garrison of 9,000 survived. The final invasion, of Guam, began on July 21 and lasted until August 10. It was undertaken by the Third Marine Division, First Marine Brigade, and 77th U.S. Army Infantry Division against some 11,000 Japanese defenders, all but a handful of whom died or committed suicide rather than surrender. More than 1,400 Americans were killed on Guam, and a further 5,600 were wounded. Mopping-up and search operations against Japanese hold-outs that had fled into the hills and jungles of the islands, especially on Guam, lasted well into the late 1940s. The last Japanese soldier on the island did not turn himself in to American authorities until the late 1970s.

The loss of the Marianas, combined with the stunning Japanese naval defeat in the BATTLE OF THE PHILIPPINE SEA of June 19 and 20, brought about the downfall of General Hideki Tojo as prime minister of the Japanese government and his retirement from public life. As expected, the Marianas played a major role in the subsequent American war effort. Strategically located some 1,200 miles south of Japan, Saipan, Tinian, and Guam, with their preexisting and rapidly improved airfields, proved vital for the American strategic air campaign against Japan. The first B-17 Flying Fortress and B-24 Liberator bombers of U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES arrived on the islands in August, and were joined in October 1944 by B-29 Superfortresses of the Twenty-first Bomber Command capable of reaching Japan. On August 6 and 9, 1945, B-29s flying from Tinian dropped the ATOMIC BOMB on the Japanese cities of HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI.

Following World War II, in 1947, the UNITED NATIONS designated the Mariana Islands as a trust territory of the United States. This relationship continued until 1978 when the people of the Marianas negotiated and signed a covenant with the United States, which granted the island's inhabitants the right to form a self-governing commonwealth. Residents of the Mariana Islands have U.S. citizenship, but they are not represented in Congress and do not have the right to vote in presidential elections.

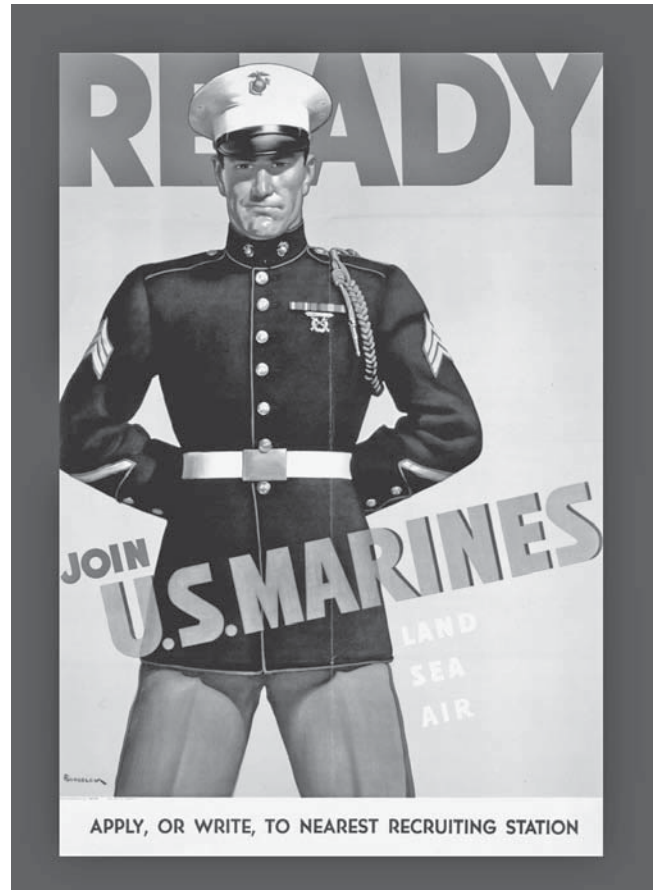
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—Clayton D. Laurie

## Marines, U.S.

The U.S. Marine Corps played a vital role in the U.S. NAVY's island-hopping campaign through the Central Pacific during WORLD WAR II. Excelling at AMPHIBIOUS WARFARE, the marines overwhelmed Imperial Japanese garrisons in the Gilbert, Marshall, MARIANA, Palau, SOLOMON, Bonin, and Ryukyu Islands between November 1943 and July 1945. Unlike the other and larger American combat services, the marines were largely confined to the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER and saw little action in the EUROPEAN THEATER.

A constituent part of the U.S. Navy, the Marine Corps has always been the smallest of the American combat services. Traditionally serving as the navy's land force, including providing guards at naval bases, ports, and aboard ships, the corps not only conducted amphibious operations during World War II but, unlike similar services elsewhere in the world, also had its own air force. The highest serving marine officer, the commandant of marines, had his own headquarters and staff, but he did not hold a position on



Poster advertising U.S. Marines (Library of Congress)

the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. Aboard ship, marine officers were subordinate to naval command.

Seeking an expanded combat role, the Marine Corps in 1933 created the Fleet Marine Force to undertake amphibious landings. By the time of the outbreak of World War II in 1939, about 25 percent of the corps' 19,400 men belonged to this assault force. The Fleet Marine Force was divided into two brigades, one stationed on the East Coast at Quantico, Virginia, and the other in San Diego, California. In February 1941, the two Fleet Marine Force brigades were expanded and renamed the First and Second Marine Divisions, each consisting of three infantry regiments, an artillery regiment, and various support units. Their supporting aviation units became the First and Second Marine Aircraft Wings. Other, much smaller marine units were scattered around the globe at the time of the attack on PEARL HARBOR in December 1941, in a total force numbering some 54,300 men.

Like the other military services, the U.S. Marine Corps expanded rapidly during the war. Although historically an all-volunteer force, the marines accepted draftees during



World War II in order to maintain troop levels. The corps began accepting AFRICAN AMERICANS in 1942. Between August 1943 and September 1944, the marines formed six consecutively numbered divisions that totaled some 474,680 men by V-J DAY in 1945. The marines also formed raider and parachute battalions, a glider group, barrage balloon squadrons, and seven island defense battalions for guarding garrisons such as Wake Island and Guam. The marine aviation wings grew just as rapidly, from 641 pilots in 13 squadrons in December 1941, to 10,049 pilots in 128 squadrons formed into five aircraft wings, the First through Fourth and the Ninth plus a training wing. In addition, the aviation wings included 106,475 ground officers and enlisted men and women by 1945.

The First and Second Marine Divisions, and their attendant air wings, engaged in their first major operation at GUADALCANAL in August 1942 as part of the combined First Marine Amphibious Corps, which became the primary amphibious operations planning headquarters in the South Pacific area. Marines also saw service elsewhere in the central and Northern Solomon Islands and at New Britain, but were always outnumbered by U.S. ARMY troops, the predominant force in the Pacific theater.

Before Admiral CHESTER W. NIMITZ opened the Central Pacific offensive in November 1943, the Fifth Amphibious Corps was formed and saw service in the Gilbert Islands, landing on TARAWA on November 20, 1943, and on Eniwetok, Roi, and Namur in the Marshall Islands on February 1944. Later in 1944, both Marine Amphibious Corps came under the Fleet Marine Force, which was renamed the Fleet Marine Force, Pacific, commanded by Major General Holland M. "Howling Mad" Smith. The Second, Third, and Fourth Marine Divisions under Smith landed on Saipan, Guam, and Tinian in the Mariana Islands in June and July 1944. In October 1944, Smith relinquished his post to Major General Harry Schmidt. Following the marine assault on Peleliu in September, the marines invaded IWO JIMA in the Bonin Islands in February 1945. The bloodiest marine assault of the war, Iwo Jima cost the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Marine Divisions at least 6,000 dead and 17,000 wounded. Between April and June 1945, the First and Sixth Marine Divisions participated in the conquest of OKINAWA.

U.S. Marine Corps casualties during the war amounted to 86,940, of whom 19,733 were killed, with the vast majority of casualties incurred between July 1944 and July 1945.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

## marriage and family life

The GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II significantly affected marriage and family life in the United States. Reduced incomes during the 1930s forced families to adapt, as did wartime conditions. Although families might have been a bit more egalitarian at the end of the war, traditional family dynamics remained intact, with men typically the jobholders and women the homemakers.

There was hardly a family in the United States that did not suffer some financial loss during the depression. However, with most of the workforce employed even during the years of highest UNEMPLOYMENT, breadwinners typically did not lose their jobs. But jobholders frequently suffered pay cuts, shortened hours, or both, and adjustments had to be made at home to compensate. Women substituted their own labor for goods and services that were formerly purchased. Families turned to less expensive forms of RECREATION, such as listening to the RADIO or playing games at home. Endless little savings and sacrifices made by each member enabled straitened families to cope with the depression.

Even if the husband lost his job, families often had some resources to fall back on. Other family members might get jobs to supplement the household income. By the 1930s, the wife was more likely than the CHILDREN to look for work, despite societal pressure for her to remain at home. She might be able to find a job when her husband could not because some jobs were perceived as "women's work," which men would not usually take even during hard times. The wife might also take in boarders, sew, or bake to earn money. Although laws and changing values restricted their employment opportunities, children still might contribute to the family income by delivering newspapers, collecting bottles, or baby-sitting. If all else failed, the family went on RELIEF, which was widely viewed as failure.

Farm families, both white and AFRICAN AMERICAN, were especially hard hit by the depression. They had been suffering financially since the end of World War I because of overproduction, low prices, and debts incurred when trying to expand or mechanize. If farmers were unable to pay their bills, the banks foreclosed on their farms. Tenants and sharecroppers were sometimes forced off their farms when landlords cut production or mechanized. Many farm families, especially in the DUST BOWL, packed their meager belongings and traveled north to the industrial Midwest or west to California in search of a better life. These poor, desperate families, vividly depicted by JOHN STEINBECK's classic novel of the period, *The Grapes of Wrath*, became the symbol of the hopeless suffering of the depression.

Most families held up during the depression, despite fears that hard times might fragment them, and typically turned to one another for financial and emotional support. The ELDERLY might move in with younger relatives; fami-



lies with jobs might assist unemployed cousins. The depression did force some families to break up either temporarily or permanently. A man might leave in search of work or children might be placed in an institution if their family could no longer support them. The divorce rate dropped during the worst years of the depression because many couples could not afford to legally end their marriages. Although some broke up without a formal divorce, most marriages endured.

Traditional patterns of family roles and status survived the depression. Men remained the expected breadwinners and women the homemakers. Most of the time, the father retained his position as head of the household, even if he lost his job. At the same time, the mother's status frequently increased. Her savings around the house and, sometimes, her extra income helped the family cope. In some families, an unemployed husband lost status and respect. Marriages may have become more egalitarian during this period as the wife became more of a partner in the survival of the family.

The depression was a difficult time psychologically for young people. While the proportion of 14- to 18-year-olds in school increased from about 50 to 75 percent in the 1930s by one estimate, there was often little to look forward to after graduation from high school. College was frequently unaffordable, job prospects dim, and the possibility of marriage and families of their own uncertain. Marriage rates dropped significantly, falling from 67.6 per thousand unmarried women aged 15 and over in 1930 to 56 per thousand in 1932. Although the marriage rate rebounded after 1932, it is estimated that by 1938, 1.5 million couples had been forced to postpone marriage for financial reasons.

Similarly, birthrates fell as couples postponed children. The birthrate per thousand people fell from 21.3 in 1930 to 18.4 in 1933. It is possible that sexual relations may have declined due to depression-induced exhaustion, anxiety, and frustration. Pregnancy was sometimes seen as a misfortune, and the use of contraceptives increased, as did the number of abortions. However, the birthrate generally inched up after 1933.

Almost every New Deal program affected some families and mostly for the better. For example, the CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION, WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION, CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS, and other such programs provided income. The NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION provided young men and women with part-time jobs and financial assistance to help keep them in school. SOCIAL SECURITY ACT benefits assisted the elderly. The HOME OWNERS LOAN CORPORATION helped families keep their homes, and the FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION protected their savings.

It took World War II to end the poverty of the depression. With an abundance of jobs available, unemployment

disappeared and wages for most jobs increased significantly. However, the war brought families new challenges.

Marriage and birthrates increased with the start of World War II. With more money, couples who had postponed marriage and children could now afford them. Unmarried people far from home during the war sought companionship and these relationships frequently led to marriage. Whirlwind courtships were common as many couples married before the men went overseas. Between 1939 and 1942, the marriage rate increased by more than 25 percent. Following closely was the birthrate, which grew by about 20 percent between 1939 and 1943. The belief that husbands with children would not be drafted contributed to this increase in marriages and births, as did "good-bye babies." The increased marriage and birthrates were a precursor of the baby boom that lasted for nearly two decades following the war as well as of the family culture of the postwar era.

The war had a profound impact on family life. Roughly one-fifth of American families had at least one member serving in the armed forces. In addition to the 16 million people, mostly men, who served in the military, another 15 million civilians moved. Frequently, a family relocated to follow a military or civilian husband to military bases or war plants, and together military and civilian migrants totaled about one-fourth of the nation's population. This MIGRATION led to a shortage of housing, schools, and other services in war-boom communities, as well as an emotional toll on the migrants, especially if the move was far from home. Black families who left the South in search of war-related jobs found the change especially difficult because of prejudice and the vastly different lifestyle in other regions of the nation. Life grew even more complicated after the soldier husband went overseas. Wives suddenly found themselves head of the family, responsible for the finances and children, and accompanied by anxiety for her husband's safety.

For a variety of reasons, increasing numbers of married women took jobs during the war. Sometimes, the allotment military families received was not enough. Some women wanted to work for patriotic reasons or to help combat loneliness. The significant expansion of women workers during the war often had an impact on family life. Although women with small children were discouraged from seeking paid employment, some did take jobs. When child care was needed, it was usually provided by a neighbor or relative, partly because many mothers did not want to leave their children with strangers at day care centers, partly because such facilities were limited in numbers. While some school children had to return to empty homes because of working mothers, the extent of "latch-key" children was probably exaggerated, as most families found appropriate child care.

Physicians and child psychologists worried about the effects that a mother working outside the home had on her children, and believed it upset family stability. A small but significant rise in juvenile delinquency by both girls and boys led to national concern. However, these incidents of petty theft, minor violence, and sexual promiscuity were probably a response to the turbulent war years and not a serious problem. The emergence of a teenage culture separate from home and family did occur during this time, especially as young people also found new opportunities for earning money during the war years.

Even if the husband remained at home, a family had to make significant wartime adjustments. One or both of the parents might work long hours in a defense job. Many goods, including sugar, gasoline, clothing, and meat, were in short supply and limited through RATIONING. Other items like new cars were completely unavailable. Families grew VICTORY GARDENS to supplement their diet and adapted to other shortages. Once again, the family pulled together to weather difficult times.

The end of the war brought new pressures as families tried to return to old ways. Many marriages were strained when the husband returned from the war. Couples had grown apart during the long separation or had barely known each other when they married. Sometimes a husband or wife changed because of wartime experiences. The divorce rate increased significantly in the years immediately following the war, peaking at 17.8 per thousand married women in 1946. However, most marriages and families survived. Indeed, postwar America was marked not only by the baby boom but also by an emphasis on marriage, family, and traditional family patterns.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); William H. Chafe, *The Paradox of Change: American Women in the 20th Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Susan Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne, 1982); William M. Tuttle, Jr., *"Daddy's Gone to War": The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Susan Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (Boston: Twayne, 1982).

—Jill Frahm

**Marshall, George C.** (1880–1959) *army chief of staff, secretary of state, secretary of defense*  
General George Catlett Marshall was chief of staff of the U.S. ARMY during WORLD WAR II, and served as secretary of state (1947–49) and secretary of defense (1950–51) after

the war. A leader of formidable talents and unimpeachable integrity, steady, direct and plainspoken in demeanor, and a keen analyst of situations and people, Marshall was widely respected by the military and civilians alike. Twice named *Time* magazine's Man of the Year, he won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1953 for his work as secretary of state.

Marshall was born in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, on December 31, 1880. He graduated from the Virginia Military Institute in 1901 and in 1902 received a commission as a second lieutenant of infantry. After service in the Philippines and Oklahoma, he went to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where he attended the Infantry and Cavalry School and General Staff College. Between 1913 and 1916 Marshall began a series of staff assignments and went to the Philippines as an aide to General Hunter Liggett and, later, General James Franklin Bell.

Upon the American entry into World War I, Marshall went to France as a staff officer with the First Infantry Division, where he remained until July 1918. In August, he moved to the staff of the U.S. First Army. In September, Marshall supervised the movement of 500,000 troops and 2,700 guns from the St. Mihiel salient to the Argonne in preparation for the Meuse-Argonne offensive. In Octo-



General George C. Marshall (Hulton/Archive)

ber, he was named First Army chief of operations, and, in November, Eighth Corps chief of staff.

Following the war, Marshall served as aide to the army chief of staff, General John J. Pershing, before going to Tientsin, China, with the Fifteenth Infantry. Returning to the United States in 1927, Marshall became assistant commandant of the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia. While there, he came to personally know many of the junior officers who would one day become his principal lieutenants in World War II. Promoted to colonel in 1933, Marshall served as commander of the Eighth Infantry at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, then as an instructor with the Illinois National Guard, becoming a brigadier general in 1936.

Two years later, in July 1938, Marshall joined the War Department General Staff. He became deputy chief of staff in October, acting chief of staff with the rank of major general in July 1939, and chief of staff of the army, with the rank of general, on the outbreak of war in Europe on September 1, 1939. In cooperation with President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and Secretary of War HENRY L. STIMSON, Marshall immediately began an expansion of the army and a reorganization of the War Department General Staff. Following the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR, he had the major responsibility for organizing, training, supplying, and deploying U.S. troops abroad. By his direction, the army in March 1942 was reorganized into three major commands: the U.S. Army Ground Forces, under Lieutenant General Lesley J. McNair; the U.S. Army Service Forces, under Lieutenant General Brehon B. Somervell; and the U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES, under Lieutenant General HENRY H. "Hap" ARNOLD. During the war, Marshall himself worked out of the War Plans Division.

Marshall was also a principal adviser to President Roosevelt on strategy and attended all of the major conferences of the GRAND ALLIANCE, from Casablanca to Potsdam. As senior member of the Allied Combined Chiefs of Staff, Marshall was the principal architect of the Allied strategy of fighting a two-theater war with a priority on defeating Germany first and opening a SECOND FRONT in France as early as possible. Although desiring the position of supreme Allied commander in Europe, Marshall deferred to Roosevelt's wish for him to remain in Washington, where he continued to manage both military and political aspects of a global war effort. In December 1944 he was promoted to the five-star rank of general of the army.

Soon after resigning as chief of staff in November 1945, Marshall was sent by President Harry S. Truman to mediate an end to the civil war in China, a mission that ended in failure. In January 1947, however, Marshall was appointed secretary of state, and he left the army the following month. In June of that year, in a speech at Harvard University, he proposed the European Recovery Program,

a massive influx of aid benefiting a devastated Europe. The program was undertaken the following year and became known as the Marshall Plan. Marshall was instrumental in the founding of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949. In January 1949 he resigned from the cabinet, but returned in September 1950 as secretary of defense, a post he held until retiring from public life in September 1951. During 1949 and 1950 he served as president of the American Red Cross, and in 1953 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, primarily for his European Recovery Plan. He died on October 16, 1959, in Washington, D.C.

**Further reading:** Forrest C. Pogue, *George C. Marshall*, 4 vols. (New York: Viking, 1963–87); Mark A. Stoler, *George C. Marshall: Soldier-Statesman of the American Century* (New York: Twayne, 1989).

—Clayton D. Laurie

### **Mauldin, Bill** (1921–2003) *artist*

Best known for his characters Willie and Joe, two war-weary infantrymen, the Pulitzer Prize-winning editorial cartoonist Bill Mauldin depicted the absurdities of military life and provided a realistic view of the American GI during WORLD WAR II.

William Henry Mauldin was born on October 29, 1921, in Mountain Park, New Mexico. He studied cartooning at the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts and in 1940 enlisted in the U.S. ARMY, where he served in the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER with the Mediterranean edition of the army newspaper, *Stars and Stripes*. In 1942, Willie and Joe made their first appearance in *Stars and Stripes*. While the disheveled appearance and irreverent demeanor of Willie and Joe displeased officers as prominent as General GEORGE S. PATTON, JR., Mauldin's duo endeared themselves to GIs, who empathized with the pair, and to Americans at home, who found in them a way to understand the soldiers' experience and perspective.

Mauldin, much like journalist ERNIE PYLE, felt that GIs possessed a "nobility and dignity" that was shaped by the extraordinary circumstances in which they had been placed. His drawings not only gave a human face to America's citizen army but also provided poignant insights into the hardships of a soldier's life. Willie and Joe comics appeared in several papers and were presented in a number of books including *Star Spangled Banter* (1944), *Up Front* (1945), and *Back Home* (1945). In 1945, Mauldin became one of the youngest recipients ever of the Pulitzer Prize.

After the war, Mauldin continued to draw editorial cartoons addressing a range of social and political issues, including the difficulties encountered by many soldiers during their transition back to civilian life. Throughout his career, Mauldin produced drawings that spoke to important



and often controversial issues, even when his editors wanted him to avoid such topics. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, while working for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *Chicago Sun-Times*, he published drawings that dealt with race relations and civil liberties, and won a second Pulitzer Prize in 1959. During the Persian Gulf War of 1991, he published cartoons that used a soldier's-eye view of the war to criticize the Bush administration. Although he effectively retired in 1992, he remained an influential presence in the cartooning profession into the 21st century.

**Further reading:** Bill Mauldin, *The Brass Ring* (New York: Norton, 1971).

—Shannon L. Parsley

### **medicine and public health**

From 1929 to 1945, significant advances occurred in medical knowledge, treatment, and TECHNOLOGY, in employer-sponsored health insurance programs, and in the role of the federal GOVERNMENT in medical research and health care. WORLD WAR II played an especially important role in bringing such progress in medicine and public health, which contributed not only to increased life expectancy (from 57.1 years to 65.9 years between 1929 and 1945) but also to enhanced quality of life.

A number of important breakthroughs came in medical equipment, surgical procedures, and pharmaceuticals. In 1929, Philip Drinker invented the iron lung, an airtight metal tank using electrically powered bellows for artificial respiration for patients who could not breathe because of illnesses such as polio and a variety of injuries. X-ray machines enabled improved diagnosis and surgery. To reduce mortality from blood loss, Dr. Bernard Fantus of Chicago's Cook County Hospital established in 1937 the first repository in a hospital to store and preserve blood from donors, and called it a "blood bank." Then, in 1938, Dr. Charles Drew established a system to collect blood plasma, which the American Red Cross later relied upon to establish massive wartime blood drives and to distribute the blood needed for the war effort at home and abroad.

In cancer research, the most striking discovery of the era came from Dr. Charles B. Huggins, who in 1941 demonstrated the impact of the endocrine system in the functioning of the prostate gland. Enabling Huggins to successfully treat prostate cancer through hormone therapy in some patients, this pioneering research was a milestone in the use of chemotherapy for prostate and breast cancer and led to a significant drop in the mortality rate for these types of cancers.

In the early 1940s, Dr. Alfred Blalock and technician Vivien Thomas developed a shunt to bypass obstruction of the aorta. Using this technique, Dr. Blalock performed

the first open-heart operation in 1944 at the Johns Hopkins University Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland, on a 15-month-old baby girl (who successfully recovered from "blue baby" syndrome), thus opening the door to using the technique for other heart diseases.

During the World War II era, the U.S. made significant contributions in the production, packaging, and delivery of medical services, which led to saving countless numbers of lives throughout the world. The combination of wartime necessity and governmental support led to marked progress and innovation in many areas, particularly sanitation, infection control, pain management, evacuation procedures, blood collection and storage, and rehabilitative medicine. The progress in sanitation came in part as a response to the high incidence of malaria in the Pacific Islands. Antimalaria efforts included aggressive prevention and treatment measures. Because quinine, the traditional treatment, was unavailable (it was made from tree bark found in some Pacific islands, which were held by the Japanese), the United States used Atabrine, a substitute that sometimes caused violent side effects in the troops.

In the area of infection control, U.S. GIs carried sulfa powder to use on open wounds, which greatly reduced the rate of infection during the war. To fight bacteria, the government in 1941 challenged pharmaceutical companies to develop methods to mass-produce penicillin, the highly effective antibacterial drug discovered by the British bacteriologist Sir Alexander Fleming in 1928. Leading the way, Pfizer devoted three years to improve penicillin production using a deep-tank fermentation method, and the company produced 90 percent of the penicillin held by the Allies in 1944. The availability of penicillin, considered the first "wonder drug," helped save thousands of lives. In 1943, the microbiologist Selman Waksman discovered the natural antibiotic streptomycin in soil, which was effective against two debilitating and often fatal diseases of the day—tuberculosis and meningitis.

The United States also made great strides in alleviating the suffering of the wounded. The American pharmaceutical company Squibb developed a syrette for medics to use to quickly administer morphine, an addictive but potent painkiller. Because of new rapid evacuation techniques (primarily airlifting the wounded), almost all war casualties who were evacuated from northwest Europe recovered. Important advances also came in rehabilitative medicine, and in 1944 President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT officially gave federal support to rehabilitation medicine for war casualties. Building upon work in rehabilitation in World War I, Dr. Howard Rush promoted a "whole person" aggressive "reconditioning" rehabilitation model that included acute care, physical and psychological rehabilitation, and vocational training designed to return the injured to civilian life as productive citizens.



With respect to more general government involvement in health care from 1929 to 1945, the federal government at first reduced and then expanded its role in public health, research, and health care and became involved in controversy over the most hotly debated health care issue of the day—health insurance. Although much important ground was covered in extending benefits to the poorest segments of society, the notion of government-sponsored, universal health care for all citizens remains controversial down to present times.

The onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION proved something of a watershed and a catalyst in the history of American health care, both in the magnitude of problems encountered and the scope of governmental responses it engendered. Economic dislocation and loss of income was manifested in the inability of many middle- and working-class families to afford medical care, which was often dropped altogether. This was particularly true throughout the rural SOUTH, long the nation's poorest region in terms of disposable income, while cash-strapped urban centers also slashed expenditures for health and preventive sanitation. Consequently, large segments of society began contracting chronic illnesses usually associated with the poorest classes. Their plight was further complicated by another factor, malnutrition, exacerbated when many former middle- and working-class people refused to avail themselves of food and RELIEF programs, apparently out of shame. This malady was also highly visible among rural schoolchildren, but it was not until the ascent of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the White House in March 1933 that the government began marshaling resources to bear on this and other medical problems.

In health policy, partly because of criticism from the American Medical Association (AMA) that it was socialistic, the 1921 Sheppard-Towner Act providing funds for health care education for mothers and CHILDREN was allowed to expire in 1929. Soon after Roosevelt assumed the presidency in 1933, CONGRESS restored provisions of the Sheppard-Towner Act and began to make very limited provisions for assistance with medical expenses for people on relief in the Federal Emergency Relief Act. Such assistance was expanded in 1935 in the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT, which gave grants-in-aid to states for maternity and child health care as well as for several categories of health-impaired groups. Other governmental programs focused on expansion of infrastructure by building and improving hospitals, sanitoriums, and clinics nationwide, with many new buildings rising in previously unserved regions.

Some growth also came in the role of the federal government in support for medical research during this period. In 1930, Congress created the National Institute of Health (NIH) to conduct medical research, and in



Poster promoting sanitary facilities as a means of halting the spread of disease (Library of Congress)

1937 it established the National Cancer Institute, which awarded grants for cancer research. In 1938, Congress established a grants-in-aid program to help states study and investigate venereal disease, and that same year the FOOD, DRUG, AND COSMETIC ACT extended the authority of the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to monitor pharmaceuticals.

Because RURAL AREAS were the hardest hit, they continued attracting the most attention from governmental health programs. Between 1935 and 1946 the RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION and the FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION fostered improved care in rural regions for farmers and migrants alike through the creation and maintenance of medical cooperatives. Concentrated throughout the South and West, these catered to some of the poorest counties in the nation and brought a wide range of drugs,

obstetrical care, emergency surgery, and hospitalization to the most needy. Doctor participation in the program remained voluntary, but women nurses involved received increased responsibilities in the fields of education and prevention among indigent migrants and wielded clinical and administrative responsibilities they might never have otherwise assumed. The end result proved both cost effective in terms of outlays and pathbreaking in extending treatments to poor Americans.

One government-funded study, however, became perhaps the most unethical and immoral program in the history of U.S. medical research. In 1932, the U.S. Public Health Service began a study on how syphilis would affect the cardiovascular and neurological systems of AFRICAN AMERICANS. This experiment, which included some 400 blacks in advanced stages of syphilis, was conducted at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. The men were told that they would be given medical treatment for “bad blood,” yet were denied penicillin, a known cure, so that the experiment could continue. By 1972, when the study ended, 128 of the men had died of syphilis or complications from syphilis, and 40 wives and 19 children had become infected as a result of the participants not having received treatment.

As World War II approached, the NIH directed its attention to war-related issues. For the military, the NIH reported on categories of medical deferments, studied the effect of high altitude flying, prepared vaccines, and developed first-aid, burn, and trauma therapy for the injured. For the war effort at home, the agency researched hazardous substances and their effects on war-industry workers in order to improve working conditions. In 1944, Congress passed the Public Health Service Act, which included provisions to expand the National Cancer Institute’s research grants program and made it part of the National Institute of Health. (In 1948, when Congress authorized the National Heart Institute and made it part of the NIH, it formally changed the agency’s name to the National Institutes of Health to reflect the several research institutes it included.)

Perhaps the most controversial areas for health policy during this period involved national health insurance and prepaid health plans. The primary issue was whether the federal government or employers should sponsor or supplement health insurance. Employer-sponsored health insurance for hospitalization made a giant leap forward in 1929 when schoolteachers signed up for the first Blue Cross program, as did insurance for medical care in 1939 when the first Blue Shield plan was founded in California. In 1938, the industrialist HENRY J. KAISER enrolled 6,500 workers on the Grand Coulee Dam into his employer prepaid health insurance plan, entitled Permanente, a forerunner of today’s HMOs. During the war buildup, more

than 200,000 members of Kaiser’s SHIPBUILDING plants in California and Washington enrolled in the plan.

Interest in government-funded, national health insurance increased during the Great Depression and World War II, particularly as advances in medicine caused corresponding increases in the cost of medical care. During the depression, President Roosevelt seemed to support national health insurance, at least in principle, but it was not included in the bill sent to Congress in January 1935 that became the Social Security Act. In 1944, FDR spoke of the right to adequate medical care as part of the ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS, but again did not send Congress any legislation for national health insurance. Stronger support at the federal level came from such liberal Democrats in Congress as New York senator ROBERT F. WAGNER, and subsequently from President Harry S. Truman. In 1935, 1939, 1943, and 1945, Democrats introduced bills for federal subsidies of state medical care and national health insurance supported by taxes. In 1948 Truman, a strong and vocal supporter of national health insurance, proposed comprehensive national health insurance through a 4 percent increase in the Social Security tax. All these proposals sparked strong conservative opposition, led by the AMA, which vehemently argued that passage of national health insurance would be an “end to freedom” and would introduce socialized medicine. (The AMA also strongly opposed prepaid health plans and corporate medicine, both forerunners of HMOs.) National health insurance bills did not get through Congress, and the tradition of employer-sponsored health insurance in the United States continued.

By the late 1940s, the United States found itself a healthier nation, due to new discoveries, advances in TECHNOLOGY, government sponsorship of medical research, and expanded private health insurance. In the postwar era, the government began to address new problems, such as the need for more medical facilities and personnel as demand for doctors, nurses, hospitals, and equipment increased because of the postwar baby boom, the increased life span of Americans, and rising expectations about medical care.

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—Michelle M. Hall and John C. Fredriksen

## Mexican Americans

Mexican Americans faced many obstacles from 1929 to 1945. The GREAT DEPRESSION worsened their economic condition and intensified mistrust and resentment of them, particularly in the southwestern states. WORLD WAR II then brought change and new opportunities, but it sometimes exacerbated tensions as well.

There had long been a substantial Hispanic population in the United States, with the annexation of the Southwest from Mexico in the mid-19th century. But the beginning of the 20th century witnessed a surge in Mexican immigration. The search for economic opportunities accounted for most of the migration, first in railroad jobs, then as agricultural laborers by the 1910s. Roughly 500,000 Mexicans immigrated to the United States during the 1920s (Mexico was exempt from the stringent IMMIGRATION quotas of the decade), and thousands more immigrated illegally during the decade as well. Settling mainly in the Southwest, especially in California and Texas, the Mexican-American population also began to migrate to CITIES in California and the industrial Midwest. By 1930, Mexican Americans comprised about one-fifth of the population of Los Angeles, while their numbers in Chicago had grown from just over 3,000 in 1920 to almost 20,000 in 1930. The Mexican-American population in 1930 was at least 1.5 million people.

Overall, Mexican Americans remained undereducated and poor. In 1930, most were employed in unskilled jobs, with AGRICULTURE accounting for the largest occupational category (40 percent, with only 10 percent of Mexican Americans as farm owners). Manufacturing jobs in urban areas accounted for about 20 percent of Mexican-American employment in 1930. Among women, domestic service employed nearly half the workers, while one-fifth worked as agricultural laborers. Mexican Americans' RELIGION set them apart not only from the larger Protestant majority but from other CATHOLICS as well, for the Catholic Church ignored the language barrier by appointing priests and bishops who did not speak Spanish and disdained Mexican Catholic traditions.

The scarcity of jobs during the 1930s heightened suspicion and resentment toward Mexican Americans, who were often assumed to be illegal immigrants and were accused of taking jobs and draining local RELIEF rolls. Mexican officials, who needed unskilled agricultural labor, and U.S. local, state, and the federal GOVERNMENT officials encouraged migration back to Mexico in the MEXICAN REPATRIATION PROGRAM. From 1929 to 1940, an estimated half million Mexican Americans were sent to Mexico, as many as half of them born in the United States or were legal residents. The pace of the repatriation slowed by the mid-1930s, but the experience contributed to Mexican Americans' suspicions of Anglo-Americans for decades, and Mexican immigration

to the United States dropped dramatically, to only about 30,000, in the 1930s.

For the Mexican Americans who remained, the Great Depression exacerbated their conditions. Living for the most part in rural or urban barrios, often in poor conditions, they experienced an UNEMPLOYMENT rate consistently higher than for most groups. The MIGRATION of other Americans to California, such as those escaping the DUST BOWL, increased the pool of agricultural workers, and Mexican Americans there found themselves losing jobs to the new arrivals. But they remained a significant number of the underpaid agricultural workforce, and Mexican Americans were leaders in the attempts to organize LABOR unions and force farm owners to pay higher wages and provide better working conditions. By the early 1930s there were about 40 agricultural unions in California, with the largest the Confederation of Mexican Farm Workers' and Laborers' Union, consisting of 50 locals and 5,000 members. But with jobs scarce, competition from new migrants, and farm owners' stiff resistance to unionization, wages, hours and conditions did not improve significantly.

World War II brought new opportunities for Mexican Americans and increased their urbanization as well. About 350,000 Mexican Americans served in the military, while the recovering economy and MOBILIZATION for World War II opened up new jobs in war-related industries. The wartime urban migration of Mexican Americans also helped to create a labor shortage in agriculture. In response, the United States and Mexico initiated the bracero program, importing 220,000 seasonal workers from Mexico from 1942 to 1947.

For urban Mexican Americans, increased contact with Anglo society also led to tensions, culminating in the riots against ZOOT-SUITERS in June 1943, when navy personnel in Los Angeles assaulted Mexican Americans they saw wearing a zoot suit while city and military authorities did nothing. The experience showed the continued isolation of Mexican Americans, as their language, religion, and concentration in barrios continued to separate them from the larger society. Despite incidents like this, the war nonetheless proved to be a positive experience overall for Mexican Americans, and in the decades to follow, they would continue to urbanize, with the proportion engaged in agriculture in permanent decline.

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—Katherine Liapis Segrue



### Mexican Repatriation Program

The Mexican Repatriation Program returned an estimated half million MEXICAN AMERICANS (often unwillingly) to Mexico during the GREAT DEPRESSION.

The number of Mexican Americans had swelled in the previous decades, as hundreds of thousands of Mexicans immigrated to the United States looking for better job opportunities. By 1930, there were approximately 1.5 million Mexican Americans in the United States (illegal IMMIGRATION makes the number difficult to pinpoint), largely concentrated in the Southwest, particularly in California and Texas, and near the bottom of the economic ladder. When the Great Depression began in the United States in 1929, Mexican Americans found themselves vulnerable to still higher levels of unemployment and poverty than before. Some 85,000 Mexican Americans voluntarily returned to Mexico from 1929 to 1931.

The rising UNEMPLOYMENT rate exacerbated resentments toward Mexican Americans in the early 1930s. Typically assumed to be illegal immigrants, Mexican Americans were viewed as taking scarce jobs and draining RELIEF funds. In this atmosphere, and at the urging of Mexico (which had a critical shortage of agricultural workers), local, state, and federal GOVERNMENT officials moved to crack down on illegal residents, mainly in California and the Southwest but also in midwestern CITIES like Chicago.

Most of the repatriation was carried out at the local level, with relief officials taking their cue to initiate deportation from NEW DEAL programs requiring citizenship or legal residency for participation. Los Angeles, whose population was one-fifth Mexican American by 1930, took especially tough measures, subjecting Mexican Americans to harassment and detention, and providing relief recipients free one-way tickets to Mexico. By 1932, almost 75,000 Mexican Americans had left Southern California alone. But California was not alone in its efforts, and between 1929 and 1940, an estimated 500,000 Mexican Americans were sent to Mexico, up to half of them born in the United States or legal residents.

The rapid return of so many Mexican Americans created difficulties in absorbing them back into Mexico's economy and society. By 1937, the repatriation of Mexican Americans slowed considerably, and when WORLD WAR II opened up a need for industrial and agricultural workers, some returned to the United States. Then the U.S. government reversed the repatriation program and inaugurated the bracero program that imported some 220,000 Mexican agricultural workers on a temporary basis from 1942 to 1947. For many Mexican Americans, however, the experience of the repatriation program left a lingering suspicion of American authorities.

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—Katherine Liapis Segrue

### Midway, Battle of (June 1942)

The Battle of Midway, together with the BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA a month earlier, marked a decisive turning point in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER. The Battle of the Coral Sea had halted the Japanese movement southward toward Australia; Midway stopped the Japanese advance eastward in the central Pacific. To this point, the Japanese had controlled the war in the Pacific; after Midway, the first important American victory in the Pacific, the Japanese were on the defensive. As in the Battle of the Coral Sea, surface combat ships never came in contact with each other, and the two engagements thus also demonstrated the new importance of aircraft carriers and AIR POWER in naval warfare. The two battles also reflected the importance of CODE BREAKING and INTELLIGENCE in the war.

The Japanese saw Midway as a major strategic site, particularly after the Americans had launched successful BOMBING raids on Tokyo and Japanese cities from the area in April 1942. They also hoped an attack on the island would draw the U.S. fleet into a decisive defeat. But with the help of "Magic," the intelligence system for breaking Japanese codes, the United States learned of the Japanese plans for attacking Midway, and Admiral CHESTER W. NIMITZ was able to prepare American forces accordingly. Early in the morning of June 4, 1942, planes from Japanese aircraft carriers—part of a huge attack force that included nearly three times as many combat ships as the U.S. NAVY could deploy—began the assault on Midway, although they caused only relatively minor damage on the island and experienced significant losses themselves. Planes from the American base on Midway found the Japanese fleet, and waves of planes from the American aircraft carriers *Enterprise*, *Hornet*, and *Yorktown* then struck the Japanese during rearmament operations, causing massive damage to ships and aircraft. By the end of the battle on June 7, Japan had lost some 300 planes and four of the six aircraft carriers involved in the attack on Pearl Harbor. The United States lost approximately 150 planes, but the only major American casualty was the carrier *Yorktown*, already damaged at the Battle of the Coral Sea. Though luck as well as intelligence information, planning, and skill accounted for the sweeping American victory, the Battle of Midway marked a decisive shift in the Pacific War. The U.S. Navy now had the upper hand, and U.S. forces soon were on the offensive.



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—Charles Marquette

## migration

From 1929 to 1945, migration within the United States produced significant redistribution of the population. Except for the early years of the GREAT DEPRESSION, the principal patterns of migration were highly consistent with previous trends. Americans moved especially from the rural Midwest, Southwest, and SOUTH toward metropolitan areas in the North and West. Within metropolitan areas, SUBURBS grew faster than central CITIES. SUNBELT areas of the West and South Coasts, California especially, grew even more rapidly than before. With the exception of armed forces personnel during the war, economic factors were as usual paramount in shaping patterns of population movement. And migration had important consequences not just for the migrants but also for the areas from and into which they moved and for the nation as a whole.

The period from 1929 to 1935 was different in two major ways from the years preceding and following: Migration levels were much lower, and urban-to-rural movement was far more pronounced. Both patterns resulted from the Great Depression and the dismal economic prospects in urban-industrial and rural-agricultural areas alike. Despite the highly visible unemployed transients of the depression years, there was a sharp decline in geographic mobility. Where net out-migration of the farm population had averaged more than one-half million per year during the 1920s and did so again from 1935 to 1940, for example, it fell to less than 60,000 annually from 1930 to 1935. Conversely, there was a noticeable back-to-the-land movement in urban-industrial states. Only California, Florida, and the Washington, D.C., area had net migration gains of more than 100,000 during this period, while Pennsylvania lost a quarter million people and Oklahoma nearly 120,000.

As the shock of the early depression years diminished and as economic prospects seemed to improve, migration picked up again from 1935 to 1940 and resumed patterns evident in the 1920s. In 1940, some 14 million people lived in a different county from the one in which they had lived in 1935. Migrants moved especially toward the Pacific Coast and out of the Midwest, Southwest, and South, with the rural-farm population diminishing rapidly and metropolitan areas, especially suburbs, gaining. The Great Plains states, where drought produced the DUST BOWL, had strikingly high out-migration; California and Florida had much the greatest population growth. As usual, people in their 20s and 30s predominated in the migrant streams. Native-born

whites were significantly more likely to migrate than were AFRICAN AMERICANS or foreign-born whites, although blacks figured disproportionately among migrants from the South to such northern cities as New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Chicago. Among whites, men were somewhat more likely to move long distances, women more apt to move to cities (where they could more easily find jobs than in RURAL AREAS). People with more EDUCATION (particularly those with college degrees) and with higher-status professional and semiprofessional jobs were significantly more likely to migrate, especially between states or regions, than those with less education or lower-status jobs.

One particularly compelling migratory stream of the late 1930s, vividly portrayed in JOHN STEINBECK's novel *The Grapes of Wrath*, was that of the "Okies" moving from Oklahoma to California. Oklahoma lost 184,000 more migrants than it gained from 1935 to 1940, by far the highest net loss of any state; and the 95,000 Oklahomans who went to California easily topped the number arriving there from any other state. Yet the migrating Oklahomans were a more diverse group than the dispossessed dust bowl farmers of Steinbeck's novel who joined the agricultural workforce in California. Not much more than one-third of Oklahoma's migrants were farmers and perhaps nearly as many were professional, white-collar, and skilled workers. Just one out of eight Oklahomans who moved to California took up rural-farm residency. Like most other migrants, a majority of Oklahomans, including a majority of those who had been farmers, gravitated to metropolitan areas.

WORLD WAR II accelerated but otherwise did not fundamentally alter the migratory patterns of the late 1930s. More civilians—some 15 million in all—moved to a different county in just over three years from December 1941 to March 1945 than in the five years from 1935 to 1940. Another 16 million served in the armed forces in World War II; and adding them to the civilian migrants makes a total of more than 30 million Americans—nearly one out of every four—who experienced cross-county population movement during the war. Interstate migration increased significantly during the war, and an estimated 12 million people—almost one out of 10—moved permanently to another state.

Going to war plants and military bases on the packed trains and buses of wartime America, migrants moved especially to metropolitan areas and to the Pacific, Gulf, and South Atlantic Coasts, where war MOBILIZATION brought dramatic growth. Industrial areas in the upper Midwest also attracted large numbers of migrants, as did Washington, D.C., because of GOVERNMENT workers flocking in to staff the mobilization effort. Ongoing "depopulation" of rural America, especially in the South and Southwest, was particularly noticeable, as on average the farm population

lost some 1.5 million people per year during the war, and the farm population fell by 20 percent. Between 1940 and 1950, by contrast, metropolitan areas grew by 21 percent and suburban areas by 35 percent. Overall, the geographic patterns of wartime migration correlated strongly with those of the 1920s and late 1930s, and those patterns persisted after the war. For example, California and the other Pacific Coast states grew spectacularly during the 1940s, by some 49 percent—but their population had increased by 47 percent in the 1920s.

Other characteristics of wartime migration were also significant. Particularly for the civilian migrants, it was far more optimistic, even vibrant, than depression era migration, for people counted on finding jobs rather than desperately searching for them. But opportunities opened more slowly for some groups than others, which in turn affected the timing of migrant streams. Young adults, the most employable and least rooted, dominated wartime migration. Because women slowly entered—and were slowly accepted into—the paid labor force, they were at first only a small fraction of the migrating workforce, although (especially as wives of workers and servicemen) women constituted a majority of all wartime civilian migrants.

As the supply of white male workers dried up with so many men entering the armed forces, employers necessarily turned to other sources of LABOR, including African Americans as well as women. The migration of African Americans peaked from 1943 to 1945, as more than 700,000 moved during the war, especially out of the rural South toward the burgeoning war production centers of the South, upper Midwest, and West. Black migration was much heavier than previously to West Coast cities, especially Los Angeles, and was relatively lighter than before to northeastern cities. The percentage of blacks living in the South declined from 77 to 68 percent from 1940 to 1950, while the percentage living in urban areas rose from 49 to 62 percent. MEXICAN AMERICANS resumed their movement away from rural barrios and toward urban areas in the West, where they found jobs in the booming SHIPBUILDING industry and AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY. Similarly, many NATIVE AMERICANS moved from tribal reservations to urban defense industries.

Wartime migration had important social consequences. For millions, it produced new opportunities and better lives. Migration also reduced barriers between groups and reinforced longstanding trends toward cultural diffusion and greater national homogeneity. Whether in the armed forces or in defense production centers, people from different backgrounds, regions, and experiences came together. But population movement also produced difficulties. Migrants who left homogeneous urban or rural communities often experienced disorientation in adjusting to new places and new people. Family strains sometimes developed, partly because decent HOUSING was often difficult to find.

For residents of war-boom areas inundated by immigrants, there were anxieties about rapid change and often animosity toward the unwanted newcomers—“riff-raff” or “trailer trash”—who seemed to threaten community standards and existing racial or religious or class patterns, and whose presence created crowded conditions and higher taxes to provide essential services. Rural white southerners and African Americans caused particular distaste and apprehension, and race relations often deteriorated during the flux and tension of the war years. Particularly in the summer of 1943, race riots, involving also Mexican American ZOOT-SUITERS in California, broke out. But Americans also found common cause during the war, sometimes even across racial lines, and tensions typically abated as newcomers and old-timers alike adjusted to new circumstances and learned more about each other.

Migration from 1929 to 1945 thus had important consequences. Except at the outset of the depression, it continued, and during the war it accelerated, patterns long underway, redistributing the population away from the agricultural South, Southwest, and Midwest and toward metropolitan areas and their suburbs. Coastal and urban Sunbelt areas, especially California and Florida, grew rapidly. That also in part continued existing trends, but the continuing importance of defense industry and military installations in Sunbelt areas, together with their appealing climates and lifestyles signaled an important increase in the Sunbelt’s economic, political, and even cultural influence that would be felt in the postwar era. And despite wartime tensions and the persistence of regional and group differences, migration contributed to the ongoing social and cultural homogenization of American life.

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## **mobilization**

The American economic and military mobilization for WORLD WAR II made the United States the great “arsenal of democracy” that provided munitions, materials, and military power indispensable to victory over the AXIS. By 1944, the United States accounted for about 40 percent of all war goods produced in the world, and throughout the

war the U.S. sent supplies to its allies under the provisions of the LEND-LEASE Act.

Mobilization had important domestic consequences as well. It vanquished not only the Axis but also the GREAT DEPRESSION, as unemployment dropped from 15 percent to 1 percent between 1940 and 1944 and the gross national product more than doubled. It triggered massive MIGRATION, particularly to the SUNBELT states, which held so many military facilities and war plants. And it greatly increased the size, cost, and power of the federal GOVERNMENT.

Mobilization of the American military proceeded more easily than many had expected after passage of the initial SELECTIVE SERVICE legislation in September 1940. The draft got under way in October, and by 1945 the Selective Service System had administered the conscription of some 10 million of the 16 million men who served in the armed forces. Training camps and operational bases had to be enlarged and constructed, and a huge new military and civilian bureaucracy built. Inevitably there were problems and protests, but on balance the system worked well, providing the U.S. ARMY and U.S. NAVY sufficient personnel to carry out their operations in the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER and the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER. Together with the WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION—and sometimes in conflict with it—the Selective Service System tried to allocate manpower optimally between essential civilian tasks (especially in war industry) and the armed forces.

Economic mobilization underwent a disorganized and sometimes disheartening beginning before reaching the prodigious levels that underwrote the victory of the GRAND ALLIANCE over the Axis and the return of prosperity to the American ECONOMY. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT from the start set what seemed impossibly high production goals—in 1940, for example, he called for producing 50,000 airplanes per year—and his habits of administration made the organization of war mobilization less effective and orderly than it might have been. But the president also provided crucial leadership for both the WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT and the battlefronts and eventually hit upon an organizational framework that did the job.

Difficulties were inevitable, however, because economic mobilization involved such formidable challenges. Existing production facilities had to be converted to war production and new ones had to be built. Mechanisms had to be established for finding and allocating the raw materials, supplies, manpower, and money necessary for mobilization. Priorities and schedules had to be set for producing a bewildering variety of war and consumer goods. And there had to be enough production not just for American needs but for shipments of materials, munitions, and food to the Allies.



Poster depicting woman operating a machine as part of the World War II production effort (*Library of Congress*)

The real beginning of economic mobilization came with the National Defense Appropriation Act of 1940, which initiated the appropriation of billions of dollars for defense after the Nazi BLITZKRIEG had overrun western Europe that spring. In 1939 and 1940, Roosevelt had begun working toward an effective organizational and bureaucratic framework, and in January 1941 he established the OFFICE OF PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT (OPM) to coordinate conversion to defense production. The OPM, however, proved ineffective in mobilizing the economy, partly because prior to PEARL HARBOR many manufacturers (in the STEEL INDUSTRY and the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY, for example) resisted converting to war production as domestic markets began to revive after the long decade of the depression.

In January 1942, Roosevelt created the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD (WPB) to succeed the OPM. But the WPB lacked authority over manpower, and the military had final authority over contracts. WPB director DONALD M. NELSON, moreover, lacked the leadership skills necessary for the task. In May 1943, the president established the OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION (OWM) as a sort of super-agency to coordinate all the various mobilization agencies and efforts, including the “czars” established for such key materials as RUBBER and petroleum. FDR appointed former South Carolina senator and SUPREME COURT justice JAMES F. BYRNES as head of the OWM and invested him with such authority that he became known as the “assistant president.”

By 1943, war production and its administration at last began to hit their stride. From the beginning, the government used such devices as subsidies, low-cost loans, tax write-offs, and guaranteed profits with “cost-plus” contracts to bring about conversion and expansion of production sites. The substantial slack in the ECONOMY in 1940 facili-

tated the initial stages of war production, since the need was to mobilize underutilized factories, labor supplies, and materials, rather than to squeeze more out of already mobilized resources. Subsequently, productivity gains and management efforts as well as government assistance helped raise output. The Controlled Materials Plan developed by the WPB in the fall of 1942 enabled an effective allocation of raw materials. The DOLLAR-A-YEAR MEN, brought into Washington from BUSINESS to staff the mobilization agencies because of an insufficient number of experienced government officials, helped too. And even in 1938, after the RECESSION OF 1937–1938, American national income had been almost twice the combined national incomes of Germany, Japan, and Italy, so the United States could build upon a formidable economic base.

Contracts for the production of war goods went disproportionately to the old or emerging giants in autos, steel, the AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY, electronics, and other industries. Thirty-three firms garnered more than half of all prime war contracts awarded from 1940 to 1944. That was partly because representatives of big business played an important role in the war agencies, but mostly because it made sense to turn to the biggest, most experienced and productive companies to turn out the desperately needed war goods. The mobilization process also brought business and the military into closer contact, helping create what President Dwight D. Eisenhower would later call the “military-industrial complex.”

The quality as well as the quantity of war goods was sometimes disappointing at first. Aircraft, torpedoes, tanks, and semiautomatic rifles, for example, had early problems and were sometimes inferior to Japanese and German counterparts. But inexorably, American production improved qualitatively as it surged quantitatively. Advances in SCIENCE and TECHNOLOGY made key contributions, and like production were often underwritten by government funds. In this, the OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT was instrumental, helping to develop items from proximity fuses to radar to the ATOMIC BOMB—and helping also to develop what some have called the “military-industrial-scientific complex.”

A variety of other home-front efforts supported and supplemented the mobilization agencies. The OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION (OPA) administered PRICE CONTROLS and RATIONING of scarce civilian goods. WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS helped keep wartime inflation under control, while rationing sought to ensure an equitable distribution of consumer goods in short supply. The NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD worked to achieve wage and other settlements that would satisfy LABOR and avoid STRIKES that would disrupt production. The RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION lent money for plant expansion. To staff this mammoth effort, the number of civilian

employees of the federal government quadrupled, from about 1 million to roughly 4 million.

Mobilizing for war was extraordinarily expensive. In all, the federal government spent some \$300 billion during the war—almost twice as much as in its previous history from 1789 to 1941—and annual expenses soared from \$9 billion in 1939 to \$98 billion in 1945, when government spending accounted for nearly half of gross national product. TAXATION provided essential revenues for the government as well as siphoning off money from consumer spending and thus reducing inflation. But taxes provided less than half of government expenses. Borrowing—including via WAR BONDS—accounted for the rest, and the combination of heavy deficits and returning prosperity confirmed the tenets of KEYNESIANISM and the importance of FISCAL POLICY to the performance of the economy.

War production reached its peaks of output and efficiency by 1943 and 1944. Industrial output increased by about 15 percent yearly from 1940 to 1944, and by one estimate American output per work hour was twice that of Germany and five times that of Japan. Perhaps no industry so well revealed American ingenuity and mass-production techniques as SHIPBUILDING, particularly by HENRY J. KAISER. The fabled wartime “prodigies of production” yielded (estimate vary) some 300,000 aircraft, 90,000 TANKS, 80,000 landing craft, 5,800 merchant ships, 1,500 navy ships, 2.6 million machine guns, 20 million small arms, 41 billion rounds of ammunition, and 6 million tons of bombs. Yet the United States never devoted its economy so heavily to war production as did other nations at war; about 40 percent of the U.S. GNP went to war goods, for example, whereas more than half did in Britain and Germany.

By 1944, with an Allied victory clearly in sight, attention began to turn to RECONVERSION to a peacetime economy and DEMOBILIZATION of the wartime military. In late 1944, the Office of War Mobilization was converted to the OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION AND RECONVERSION, and the WPB and other agencies began to plan for (and sometimes squabble about) when and how to implement reconversion. War production declined in 1945, particularly after the surrender of Germany in May. With the surrender of Japan in August, reconversion and demobilization began in full force. The nation now had to deal with a new set of issues and problems, including achieving the paramount aim of most Americans—how to ensure a full-employment economy once the stimulus of war mobilization was gone.

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**Moley, Raymond C.** (1886–1975) *professor, government official*

Raymond Charles Moley, known for his role as leader of the BRAIN TRUST of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, was born on September 27, 1886, in Berea, Ohio. He received his bachelor's degree from Berea's Baldwin-Wallace College and a master's degree from Oberlin College before embarking on an initial career in education as a teacher and superintendent of schools. In 1914, he entered the doctoral program in political science at Columbia University.

After receiving his Ph.D. in 1918, Moley became an assistant professor of politics at Western Reserve University in Cleveland. In 1919, he accepted an appointment as director of the Cleveland Foundation, which undertook civic reform through research on urban problems, cooperation between BUSINESS and GOVERNMENT, and local philanthropy. Moley remained at this post until 1923 when he returned to Columbia as an associate professor of public law. Moley became an expert on criminal justice and it was in this capacity that he worked with Roosevelt when FDR was governor of New York from 1928 to 1932. In the Brain Trust that he was asked to form during Roosevelt's 1932 campaign for president, Moley advocated a policy of cooperation between business and government developed during his years with the Cleveland Foundation.

After Moley and the Brain Trust advised Roosevelt during the ELECTION OF 1932, Moley played a major role in shaping the FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933 that sought to achieve economic recovery by means of planning and controls worked out with business. He was appointed an assistant secretary of state in the new Roosevelt administration, but lasted less than a year in the position. His most famous assignment was as a delegate to the LONDON ECONOMIC CONFERENCE of June and July 1933, where he was instructed to negotiate a currency stabilization agreement. After concluding a seemingly innocuous agreement, Moley was heralded by the American press as the savior of American interests at the conference. This success was short-lived, however, as Roosevelt revoked the agreement on July 3 employing, in the ultimate of ironies, Moley's own idea that domestic economic reform should take precedence over international agreements.

Moley resigned from his State Department post in the autumn of 1933 to resume his teaching at Columbia and to assume the editorship of the political magazine *Today*. He continued as an occasional speechwriter for Roosevelt until 1939, when he publicly disengaged himself from the NEW DEAL, disillusioned with what he

perceived as its increasing hostility to business. In later years, Moley became associated with the conservative wing of the REPUBLICAN PARTY. He died in Phoenix, Arizona, on February 18, 1975. While his direct political influence in the creation of the New Deal was limited, his accounts of the election of 1932 and the "Hundred Days" found in his books, *After Seven Years* (1939) and *The First New Deal* (1966), have made a significant contribution to historical understanding of Roosevelt's first administration.

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—Mary E. Carroll-Mason

## monetary policy

Monetary policy involves the supply and availability of money. Down to 1933, the primary concern of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board was protecting the international GOLD STANDARD, largely by restricting the money supply in circulation at any given time. However, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT entered the White House that March determined to increase the money supply in order to fuel economic recovery from the GREAT DEPRESSION. Encouraged by the ideas of RAYMOND MOLEY, George F. Warren, Irving Fisher, and Secretary of the Treasury HENRY MORGENTHAU, Roosevelt embraced the notion that enlarged money supplies would bring about inflated prices and spur recovery. Toward these ends, he would have to exert presidential authority over the Federal Reserve and institute a "managed currency" under his control. Roosevelt's first step was declaring a bank holiday and passing the BANKING ACT OF 1933, which created the FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION to entice the public to resume depositing their money. People did so in droves, and the increased deposits enabled banks, in turn, to expand loan activities and increase the national money supply. However, the recovery appeared sluggish, so in November Roosevelt announced a new policy that reduced the gold content of the dollar by 50 percent, thereby artificially boosting the price of that metal. This led to an influx of gold from abroad, which was exchanged for Federal Reserve notes and enlarged the money supply. The Gold Reserve Act of 1934 then officially devalued the dollar by pegging its price to gold at \$35 an ounce, which once again led to a major influx of foreign gold. The BANKING ACT OF 1935 also produced an expansionary monetary policy. Consequently, the money supply increased rapidly by 11 percent between 1933 and 1937 and helped fuel some national economic recovery. Throughout that period the gross national product expanded at a robust 12 percent annually, a record that has never been matched.

By 1937 Roosevelt was fearful that the rapid growth of the economy might trigger inflation, so he authorized the Federal Reserve to reduce the influx of gold to the United States. Also because of a return to restrictive FISCAL POLICY, a severe recession ensued in 1937–38, which only ended when the president ordered the Federal Reserve to resume the acquisition of gold and when federal spending increased. On the downside, this constant flow into America's coffers drained Europe of gold and forced them off the gold standard. This had the effect of promoting unstable exchange rates, which further impeded international trade and economic recovery abroad. WORLD WAR II produced an economic boom for the United States, primarily because of defense spending but also due in part to Roosevelt's monetary policy. From a standpoint of policy implementation, the era marks an important precedent: Hereafter, chief executives have wielded their power in both monetary and fiscal policy to head off economic conditions that might bring on a depression.

See also ECCLES, MARRINER; ECONOMY; RECESSION OF 1937–1938.

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—John C. Fredriksen

**Morgenthau, Henry T., Jr.** (1891–1967) *government official*

A close friend and confidant of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., served as secretary of the treasury from 1934 to 1945.

Morgenthau was born in New York City in 1891, into a wealthy family active in social justice efforts and the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. After studying at Cornell and working briefly at the Henry Street Settlement in New York, he used family money to purchase a farm that he managed himself in Dutchess County, New York, not far from Roosevelt's home in Hyde Park. Despite their much different personalities—Morgenthau tended to be an introverted and often insecure worrier who was not very articulate in public, while Roosevelt was just the reverse—the two became fast friends after meeting in 1915. Among other

things, they shared a devotion to rural life and a conviction that GOVERNMENT should play an important role in ensuring the well-being of the American people.

After being elected governor of New York in 1928, Roosevelt named Morgenthau chairman of the state Agricultural Advisory Commission and then when reelected in 1930 appointed him state conservation commissioner. When FDR was elected president in 1932, he put Morgenthau in charge of the Federal Farm Board created by the AGRICULTURAL MARKETING ACT of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY. Morgenthau oversaw the transition of the Federal Farm Board into the new FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION, and when Secretary of the Treasury William H. Woodin, ill with cancer, could no longer perform his duties, Roosevelt named Morgenthau acting secretary in November 1933 and then secretary of the treasury in January 1934.

Serving as secretary of the treasury longer than anyone but Andrew Mellon, Morgenthau was deeply involved in NEW DEAL MONETARY POLICY and FISCAL POLICY. In fiscal policy, he was always a staunch champion of the balanced budget. He vigorously objected when the administration turned to KEYNESIANISM and deficit spending as a result of the RECESSION OF 1937–1938, and even threatened to resign. As always, however, he remained loyal to FDR, and in any case he supported the social reform priorities of New Deal spending even if he abhorred the deficits. He also supported New Deal efforts for more progressive TAXATION and was disappointed that CONGRESS kept tax reform from going further in closing loopholes and taxing the wealthy.

During WORLD WAR II, Morgenthau not only was instrumental in policies to finance economic MOBILIZATION efforts but also played a role in the development of the LEND-LEASE Act, the BRETTON WOODS CONFERENCE, and the UNITED NATIONS. He opposed the relocation of JAPANESE AMERICANS and urged Roosevelt to do more to help European JEWS, particularly as evidence of the HOLOCAUST surfaced. Toward the end of the war, he helped to establish the War Refugee Board. An ardent foe of Hitler and Nazi Germany and an early advocate in the 1930s of a more vigorous FOREIGN POLICY to oppose the AXIS, he proposed the so-called Morgenthau Plan in 1944 that called for not only denazifying and demilitarizing but also dividing and deindustrializing Germany after the war. Seen by many as vindictive and misguided, the Morgenthau Plan and the reaction to it contributed to his difficult relationship with new president Harry S. Truman. Morgenthau resigned as secretary of the treasury in July 1945 and returned to his life as a farmer in Dutchess County until he died in 1967.

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## movies

During the prosperous 1920s, the motion picture industry enjoyed success in keeping with the times. By 1930, 90 million filmgoers poured into theaters across America each week. Then, during the early years of the GREAT DEPRESSION, attendance dropped considerably and many studios struggled. Admissions expenditures fell from \$732 million in 1930 to \$482 million in 1933. However, as early as 1934, ticket sales began rising again as movies became for many the primary source of diversion during the depression and, after that, WORLD WAR II. Although attendance did not recover to the 1930 peak, it averaged 85 million weekly during the war. Theater receipts rose to \$735 million by 1940 and then soared to almost \$1.5 billion by 1945.

The depression decade accelerated development of the system of conglomerate studios, which characterized the motion picture industry for decades. Between 1930 and 1933, 5,000 theaters closed and numerous small Hollywood studios folded or were absorbed by a few major film companies. Yet, as attendance and revenues climbed, big studios perfected an assembly-line production technique, and producers repeatedly returned to successful formulas to maximize returns. The dismal economic conditions fueled demand for escape, and a huge manufacturing system evolved to create standardized entertainment for the public.

With the development of talking pictures in the 1920s, sound itself often was the star and stories were less significant, but a simple underlying framework emerged nonetheless: violence did not exist, evil was punished, and sexuality was not acknowledged. Certainly, there were exceptions, but it was no coincidence that 6-year-old Shirley Temple was a major attraction. America on film was, generally, a utopian society filled with middle-class white families who wore nice clothes, lived in nice houses, and enjoyed nice lives. Through a variety of genres, such as comedies, westerns, and musicals, movies in the 1930s usually served as entertaining diversions from reality rather than as social or political statements. Historical biographies and period dramas, such as *Gone With the Wind* (1939), held particular resonance because such films typically portrayed an era safely distant but which delivered a message that problems had arisen before and been overcome.

Nonetheless, considerable changes in the film industry accompanied the depression. Slapstick comedy, portrayed most notably by Charlie Chaplin, had been enormously popular during the silent age. But, with the economic despair that followed the STOCK MARKET CRASH, irrev-

erent and cynical comedy by W. C. Fields and the Marx Brothers gained tremendous popularity in contrast to their goofy peers like Abbott and Costello or the pleasant team of Bob Hope and Bing Crosby. The Marx Brothers' skits often were nonsensical but bitter and sarcastic as well, and the five films they released between 1929 and 1933 garnered huge profits.

Not surprisingly, there were cinematic adaptations of suffering families too, but since most people hoped to escape their daily lives, the number of poignant sagas about misery was small. The most highly regarded "depression" film was *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), based on the novel by JOHN STEINBECK. Yet while the novel examined issues such as economic justice, humanity, and the control of land, the Hollywood version was more conservative and concentrated primarily on the family unit. Both the novel and the film affirmed positive messages despite the gloomy setting, but the film conveyed a more optimistic outlook at the expense of Steinbeck's most pointed social and political criticisms.

The decline in ticket sales in the early 1930s generated a range of responses by studios and theaters to retain their customers, including double features and instant-winner contests. Themes involving sexuality and immoral women also became more visible, and major female stars, such as Greta Garbo and Marlene Dietrich, played central roles. Typically, the women characters sinned, suffered indignities, and were punished or atoned, although Mae West starred in a succession of films that conveyed brash, confident sexuality and showed her having fun, which made her a sensation.

A second, more pronounced, change in movie content involved gangsters. Urbanization and IMMIGRATION, preoccupation with prohibition and organized crime, and cynicism about businessmen and politicians were bundled together into classic tales of bad guys and their thirst for power. The first important gangster film was *Little Caesar* (1930), which was followed the next year by some 50 imitations. Two others, *The Public Enemy* (1931) and *Scarface* (1932), complete the trio of films that set the standard for the genre. Most gangster films had similar plots: the bad guy was honorable in his way and used the corrupt system already in place to achieve success. Gangster films frequently mocked politicians and moralists and often depicted crime as the only avenue by which immigrants could rise out of poverty. Despite criticism from advocates for "decency," these movies were extremely popular.

Eventually, the moralists prevailed, however. Persistent pressure for virtuous film content persuaded the film industry to protect itself against potential CENSORSHIP or boycotts. In 1934, the motion picture industry adopted a code of practices that shaped filmmaking for the next 30 years. The basic tenets of the code ensured that dialogue

was tame, criminals were not glorified, and violence and promiscuity were marginal. As a result, a second phase of gangster movies began in which the heroes were GOVERNMENT agents. Interestingly, the man who epitomized gangsters in the early films, James Cagney, became the leading star among those who played the crusading G-men.

Another genre of movies arose in which other good guys prevailed—screwball comedies. Conventional screwball comedies were witty and offbeat, and they followed basic thematic patterns: farcical misunderstandings that end happily ever after; love triangles in which the right guy ends up with the girl; the naive common man temporarily outmaneuvered who turns the tables on the corrupt sophisticate. *It Happened One Night* (1934), which starred Clark Gable as the guy who gets the girl (Claudette Colbert), established the model on which many subsequent comedies were based. As the depression continued, however, big stars like Gable were less important in the role of the common man who succeeds. Folksy Will Rogers was celebrated for his “country boy” charm and hopeful humanity. In a quite different genre, westerns also usually emphasized good guys who triumphed.

The war effort also prompted its share of cinematic productions, which were watched closely by the OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION and its BUREAU OF MOTION PICTURES to ensure that appropriate messages were evident. Patriotism was pervasive, and movies about evil Nazis were numerous as the war in Europe unfolded. After the United States entered the conflict, war films illuminated the daring of pilots and the bravery of soldiers and sailors, but they tended to portray stereotypical characters and eschewed examinations of political issues. The most acclaimed war-themed film of the era was *Casablanca* (1942), which told the story of a cynical expatriate (played by Humphrey Bogart) who rediscovers his commitment to liberty and democracy.

The Hollywood community lent considerable support to the effort abroad as well as at home. Several leading men, such as Clark Gable and Jimmy Stewart, joined the military while numerous other performers served meals and visited hospitals. FRANK CAPRA, the premier director of screwball comedies as well as of movies celebrating the common man—perhaps most notably, *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939)—created an instructional and inspirational series of films (“Why We Fight”) for the War Department, part of which was released to the public. Walt Disney, famous for cartoons, produced an animated documentary about the effectiveness of aerial BOMBING. And Bob Hope led a parade of entertainers into combat zones across Europe, spreading goodwill and offering cheer for homesick GIs.

Films targeted at women were released with regularity throughout the 1940s. By 1944, women represented more

than one-third of the workforce, and a significant portion of the male population was committed to military service. Producers recognized the change and devoted resources to capturing women’s attention. In the 1930s, women often played supportive roles; however, throughout the war years, women not only were the leads but men sometimes were not a significant part of the story. Characters were mostly respected professionals (teacher, reporter) who wore elegant clothes and exuded matronly comfort. Women films revolved around concepts common in male-oriented films, such as bonding and justice, but typically involved emotions, attachment, and family, as in *Dark Victory* (1939) or *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944).

The hundreds of films produced each year required dozens of stars to keep the movie machine functioning. Clark Gable was the favorite leading man; Jean Harlow was the original “blonde bombshell”; Fred Astaire’s elegance defined musicals; and Greta Garbo’s glamour and detachment made her a mysterious goddess. Gene Autry and Roy Rogers personified the cowboy until John Wayne created the classic western profile in *Stagecoach* (1939). Millions of boys emulated Mickey Rooney, who was the biggest box-office star in America before he turned 20.

Two men—James Cagney and Humphrey Bogart—were especially influential in the era and conveyed distinct personalities that illustrated societal conditions and changes. Cagney starred in 38 films between 1930 and 1941, but achieved stardom in *The Public Enemy*. His character, Tom Powers, became the template for nearly every subsequent gangster role. Cagney also symbolized much that was changing in American society. He was IRISH AMERICAN, and many of his roles involved urban tough guys who projected anger toward conventions of old America, such as naive morality and Prohibition.

Humphrey Bogart was the archetype of the 1940s male star, whose three successive roles in *High Sierra* (1941), *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), and *Casablanca* (1942) established him as the preeminent actor in America. Bogart frequently played cynical, wry, and streetwise loners who exuded toughness and sexuality despite the actor’s ordinary appearance.

Although male performers, directors, and producers dominated filmmaking in the era, many women also achieved fame and influence. Despite an undistinguished early career, Bette Davis became a supremely confident and compelling attraction who dominated women’s roles after her performance in *Of Human Bondage* (1934). Her fiery persona and captivating eyes made her a symbol of feminine strength. Katharine Hepburn became a symbol of evolving social conventions because her roles often challenged traditional norms regarding gender functions and responsibilities. Her controversial characters led many theaters to avoid her films in the 1930s, but she indisputably





Actor James Stewart (r) with British actor Claude Rains in a scene from *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, 1939 (Hulton/Archive)

was Hollywood's leading actress following the release of *The Philadelphia Story* (1940).

Walt Disney began the 1930s as the creator of an animated mouse named Mickey, and emerged after the war as the leader of a worldwide entertainment enterprise crafted around children's fairy tales. Disney films originated as brief cartoons, but they possessed qualities that connected with audiences and impressed critics. In 1933, at the low point of the depression, Disney released *The Three Little Pigs*, which delivered through allegory complementary messages: work hard, do it right, don't give up, and stick together to defeat the enemy. Those old-fashioned virtues mirrored the optimism and confidence of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, and the theme song from the film ("Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?") became a social anthem for the period. *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) was the company's first full-length feature film, and its success inspired the growth of a wholly new type of movie.

In part because of the depression, in part because of sound, and in part because of stars, the 1930s represent the period of Hollywood's greatest influence on American life. In the decade, spending on movie admissions accounted for roughly one of every five dollars spent on entertainment and RECREATION, and motion pictures also served as a powerful marketing tool for BUSINESS and industry. America's population had become preponderantly metropolitan, and the film industry helped sell a national urban culture to citizens across the country.

Still, dreams were the principal products of Hollywood's film factories. Some movies linked fantasy worlds with facts to engage the audience, such as *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), but many merely were replicas of a simple formula that had proved successful before. If the woeful ECONOMY eroded confidence, the film industry attempted to rebuild the American psyche one dream at a time. Hollywood embraced an audience that was confused, downtrodden,

and widely divergent, and sold everyone the same hope: Ordinary people can survive and humanity will prevail over sinister forces. Whether as an escape from despair or a distraction from war, the people came. And, when the depression was over and the war won, the people stayed.

See also POPULAR CULTURE.

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—Douglas Propheteter

### Munich Conference (1938)

The Munich Conference of September 1938 has long symbolized the fruitless “appeasement” policy by which the western democracies sought to halt German aggression in the 1930s through negotiations and concessions. At Munich, British prime minister Neville Chamberlain and French premier Edouard Daladier agreed that Germany might take part of Czechoslovakia if the German führer, Adolf Hitler, agreed to make no further territorial demands. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT interposed no objection. In March 1939, Germany seized the remainder of Czechoslovakia. In September 1939, Germany invaded Poland, and WORLD WAR II began when Britain and France declared war on Germany.

The immediate context for the Munich Conference was Hitler's demand for the cession of the Sudetenland, a region of Czechoslovakia bordering on Germany that contained some 3 million ethnic Germans—and his clear intention to take the area by force if necessary. In late September 1938, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini proposed that a four-power conference involving himself, Hitler, Daladier, and Chamberlain convene in Munich, Germany, on September 29 and 30 to find a solution. On September 30, the four leaders released the Munich Agreement, which called for the Sudetenland to be handed over to Germany and for Hitler to forego additional territorial demands in Europe. Chamberlain came home to cheering crowds in London after the conference, claiming he achieved “peace in our time.” More realistically, Winston Churchill, who would succeed Chamberlain as prime minister in May 1940, called the Munich Agreement a “total and unmitigated defeat.”

The United States, reflecting the influence of ISOLATIONISTS who had helped produce the NEUTRALITY ACTS of the mid- and late 1930s, played no significant role in the Czech crisis or the Munich Conference. Although he had privately counseled British resistance to Germany, Roosevelt on hearing about plans for the Munich Conference sent Chamberlain a cable, saying, “Good man.” The president also assured Hitler that “the United States has no political involvements in Europe, and will assume no obligations in the conduct of the present negotiations.” PUBLIC OPINION POLLS showed that the American public overwhelmingly approved this hands-off policy; and in any case, the United States had neither the military power nor the diplomatic leverage to influence events in Europe. The nation could only remind the European powers of the toothless Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, the “international kiss” that had supposedly outlawed war, and urge a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

Privately, however, Roosevelt was appalled by the Munich Conference and deeply disturbed by the course of events as Germany, Japan, and Italy, soon to be joined in the AXIS alliance, pursued their paths of aggression. By 1939, the president began to increase American defense spending, to work to provide support for Britain and France should war come, and to forge a more interventionist American FOREIGN POLICY, including revision of the Neutrality Acts. A symbol of the weakness of the western democracies in the 1930s, the Munich Conference also marked a turning point of sorts, not only feeding Hitler's appetite for aggression but clarifying his intentions and leading to a more active and anti-Axis American defense and foreign policy.

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—Michael J. Leonard

### Murray, Philip (1886–1952) labor leader

Philip Murray, a major LABOR leader of the 1930s and 1940s, became president of the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO) in 1940 and led the CIO until his death in 1952. He also headed the Steelworkers Organizing Committee from 1936 to 1942 and then served as the first president of the United Steelworkers of America from 1942 to 1952.

The son of Irish Catholic parents, Murray was born in Scotland on May 25, 1886. Murray's father, a coal miner

who became president of a local union, imbued in his son an appreciation for social and political LIBERALISM, later reflected in his efforts to advance the lot of the working class. In 1902, Murray and his father left Scotland and came to America, where they settled in the coal-rich Pittsburgh area. Murray began working in the mines at age 16. He lost his job after a dispute with a weighmaster two years later, and 600 men followed Murray out of the mines on a strike that lasted four weeks. Although ultimately unsuccessful, the strike led Murray to become involved with organized labor. He was named to the international executive board of the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UMW) in 1912, served on the War Labor Board during World War I, and by 1920, at age 34, was a vice president of the UMW.

The GREAT DEPRESSION and the NEW DEAL policies of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT brought Murray to national prominence, and he joined the ranks of other notable IRISH AMERICANS involved in the rise of industrial unionism. When JOHN L. LEWIS of the UMW and other leaders of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) formed the Committee for Industrial Organization in 1935, Lewis asked Murray to head the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC) to organize the STEEL INDUSTRY, and the UMW provided money and manpower for the effort. The SWOC won recognition from the powerful U.S. Steel Corporation in March 1937 following the sit-down STRIKES in the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY that led General Motors to recognize the United Auto Workers.

But Murray and the SWOC encountered difficulties with the so-called Little Steel firms (including Republic, Bethlehem, and others) that resisted unionization. Perhaps the worst conflict came in the “Memorial Day Massacre” in 1937 at a plant of the Republic Steel Company when police opened fire on union sympathizers, killing 10 men (seven of whom were shot in the back) and wounding 30 others, including one woman and three children. In all, 18 steelworkers died in organizing efforts during the summer of 1937, but Little Steel avoided unionization until the early 1940s.

Murray gradually surpassed Lewis’s influence in the labor movement, and, by 1940, a rift had developed between the old friends. Lewis supported WENDELL L. WILLKIE, the Republican nominee for president in the ELECTION OF 1940, while Murray and most other CIO leaders continued to support Roosevelt. Keeping his promise to resign the CIO presidency if Roosevelt won, Lewis stepped down after the election, paving the way for Murray to succeed him.

During WORLD WAR II, Murray (now president of both the United Steelworkers of America and the CIO, called for increases in production and controls on the nation’s ECONOMY, although he did not support wage controls and continued to push throughout the war for increased wages

for workers. He did agree to a no-strike pledge in order to avoid strikes that would harm production levels. Lewis rejected upholding the no-strike pledge, proving less cooperative with industry during wartime economic MOBILIZATION than Murray.

After the war, Murray successfully negotiated substantial wage increases for labor, forged even stronger links between the labor movement and the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, played an active role in shaping legislative priorities in Washington, and led the United Steelworkers in three national strikes in which workers successfully sought pensions and union security. Murray also worked in the postwar years to purge the CIO of COMMUNISTS, who dominated several unions. Philip Murray died of a heart attack in San Francisco, November 9, 1952, at the age of 66.

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—Joseph C. Gutberlet

## music

The period from 1929 to 1945 was a significant one for American music, particularly for the remarkable variety of indigenous music that flourished in the era and for the continued development and popularity of JAZZ. Music reflected the impact of both the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II on American life as well as the role played by TECHNOLOGY, especially RADIO, in American POPULAR CULTURE. Other important developments included the growing influence of AFRICAN AMERICANS on the nation’s music and efforts to document and preserve traditional music. New York, Chicago, and New Orleans remained key centers of American music, though a number of other cities, including Kansas City, Memphis, and Nashville, were also important.

Perhaps the most notable patterns in American music in the 1930s involved the development, growing commercialization, and expanded audiences experienced by various forms of traditional and regional music. Much of this music was southern, ranging from African-American blues to white country and “hillbilly” music, and it included significant connections and even fusions among different ethnic, racial, and regional musical traditions, abetted in this era by the radio, phonograph records, and population movement. Reflecting the exigencies of the depression, protest songs also figured significantly in the decade, and gospel music became an important phenomenon in urban as well as rural areas. Though sales of phonographs and phonograph records fell off sharply early in the depression, radio



had grown in extent and importance during the 1920s and provided an essential source of the expanding audiences for music in the 1930s.

White country music underwent developments in the 1930s with significant implications for the wartime and postwar periods. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Jimmy Rodgers, like some other white country musicians, combined hillbilly with aspects of blues music. The Carter family gave traditional Appalachian folk music wider audiences with their recordings, as did Roy Acuff and his Smoky Mountain Boys for old-time country music and Bill Monroe and his Blue Grass Boys for bluegrass. The Grand Ole Opry broadcasts of Nashville radio station WSM and the National Barn Dance broadcasts of Chicago's WLS played key roles in building the popularity of such music.

The 1930s also saw the rise of "western music," particularly in Texas, with its stringband style and its impact on country music. The Cajun music of southern Louisiana, for example, was influenced by "western swing" music, including that of Bob Wills and the Texas Playboys. The popular movies of such cowboy singers as Roy Rogers and Gene Autry helped expand audiences for western music. And particularly in Texas, western music also developed what became known as "honky-tonk" music, with a harder sound, including electric guitars, and often with harder-edged lyrics than traditional country music.

The Great Depression of the 1930s, and the criticism of economic and political institutions that it often produced, contributed to a more protest-oriented folk music. Somewhat different from the lamentations of much blues and country music, this protest music was more self-consciously political and paralleled themes of social criticism in other artistic endeavors of the decade. Its best-known artist was WOODY GUTHRIE, but there were others as well, and they sang songs of both rural and urban tribulation and protest. By the 1940s, and the American entry into the war and the return of prosperity, this folk music of social criticism subsided, not to reemerge significantly until the 1950s and especially the 1960s.

One reason that folksingers in the 1960s revival could draw on earlier musicians was the remarkable effort made in the 1930s, particularly by various government agencies, to locate and preserve traditional American music. Two important agencies of the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION, the FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT and especially the FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT, with its field research on regional folk music and its Index of American Composers, sought to identify the indigenous music of America and the American people. The Library of Congress sent John Lomax and his son Alan to the SOUTH to locate and record the music of rural southerners, white and black. The Smithsonian Institution conducted similar efforts, as did various academic folklorists and aficionados of traditional music.

These efforts played an important role in helping to document traditional African-American music and musicians. The Lomaxes were instrumental in discovering (in Louisiana's Angola Penitentiary) Huddie Ledbetter, better known as "Leadbelly," who was more a singer of traditional black folk songs and "shouts" than of the blues with which he is also identified. The Lomaxes and others also helped to bring recognition to some of the black bluesmen of the 1930s and 1940s. Alan Lomax recorded McKinley Morganfield—later known as Muddy Waters—singing Delta blues on Stovall's Plantation in Mississippi in the early 1940s. Part of the wartime and postwar black MIGRATION north, Morganfield moved to Chicago in 1943 and, as Muddy Waters, began using an electric guitar. With Little Walter, Howlin' Wolf, and others, Waters developed the Chicago urban blues so important in the postwar era.

But many of the black blues singers of the 1930s did not have to be discovered by northern folklorists coming South. The radio and phonograph were already giving traditional bluesmen, including Charley Patton, Son House, and Blind Lemon Jefferson, significant audiences. Radio and phonograph recordings also helped spread the music of such "boogie-woogie" blues pianists as Little Brother Montgomery, Jimmy Yancey, and Memphis Slim, who developed great popularity in northern cities. As blues singers and musicians migrated from the rural South to the urban North, they also influenced other genres from gospel to jazz and "swing" music, including the rhythmic, flowing Kansas City jazz popularized by Count Basie's band.

The most important development in jazz in this era was the emergence of the "Swing Era" BIG BANDS that dominated jazz, and much popular music, from the mid-1930s to just after World War II. Louis Armstrong and his "Hot Fives" and "Hot Sevens" recordings of the 1920s had revolutionized jazz and laid foundations for the Swing Era to follow. Early in the depression decade, jazz suffered from the general economic collapse, but especially with the rise to stardom of BENNY GOODMAN in 1935, jazz gained not only a new direction but a new popularity throughout the nation. Such black bands as those of DUKE ELLINGTON pioneered swing music, but with Goodman and other white bandleaders such as Tommy and Jimmy Dorsey and Glen Miller, jazz attained widespread new popularity.

A telling indication of the new stature of jazz and of the recognition of the importance of African-American music came from two landmark performances at New York's Carnegie Hall in 1938: One was Benny Goodman's now-legendary January jazz concert; the other was a December performance of traditional African-American music. And in 1943, Duke Ellington gave the first of what ultimately became nine Carnegie Hall concerts.

Other important developments marked jazz in the 1930s and 1940s. Duke Ellington, as composer as well as





Louis Armstrong (l) with Bing Crosby (Getty Images)

pianist and bandleader, produced remarkable music based in African-American and jazz traditions but taking it to a new and different level. BILLIE HOLIDAY, FRANK SINATRA, and others made individual singers more important than before, a factor contributing to the demise of the big bands after World War II. And as big bands and their swing music began to dissolve after the war because of changing tastes and economic difficulties, “bebop,” a harder-driving, less danceable jazz by smaller combos popularized by such artists as saxophonist Charlie Parker and trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie, began to reshape jazz in the postwar era.

Jazz as well as black and white traditional music also affected classical and other more “serious” music in the era—though such compositions by Duke Ellington as his 1943 concerto *Black, Brown and Beige* were serious music by any reckoning. George Gershwin worked jazz and African-American elements into his music, most famously in his 1935 opera *Porgy and Bess*. The composer Aaron Cop-

land sometimes drew on jazz and African-American music, and in *Billy the Kid* (1938), *Rodeo* (1942), and *Appalachian Spring* (1944) on traditional white music as well.

Among the other significant developments in American classical music in the era were efforts to bring it to larger audiences. On Christmas Day, 1931, New York’s Metropolitan Opera broadcast live on the radio, beginning the Saturday broadcasts of the “Met” that put opera in millions of American homes. In addition to its work documenting and preserving American music, the Federal Music Project of the NEW DEAL gave employment and income to professional musicians (perhaps two-thirds of whom were unemployed by 1933), provided musical education and instruction, and helped stage live performances of classical as well as popular music. While opera companies struggled and sometimes failed in the 1930s, the efforts of the Federal Music Project helped the number of symphony orchestras to increase significantly late in the decade.

A number of emigrés and exiles from Nazi-dominated Europe came to the United States in this era, with important consequences for American classical music. These artists included the Italian conductor Arturo Toscanini, the Polish pianist Arthur Rubenstein, and such composers as the Russian Igor Stravinsky, the Austrian Arnold Schoenberg, the Hungarian Béla Bartók, and the German Kurt Weill. With others, they brought additional vitality to American classical music in a way paralleling the impact of European expatriates on other aspects of American intellectual and artistic life. Yet even some of them, Stravinsky, for example, with his *Ebony Concerto* of the mid-1940s, also worked jazz and other indigenous American music into their compositions. The American John Cage, briefly a student of Schoenberg's, pursued decidedly untraditional music with his development of radical percussive compositions in the 1930s and 1940s.

American musical theater in the 1920s and 1930s was part of what became known as the "golden age" of the American musical, with talents such as Irving Berlin, George Gershwin, Cole Porter, and Richard Rodgers leading the way. While the subject matter of musicals varied, they also reflected some of music's broader themes in the era and included such socially conscious productions in the 1930s as Gershwin's *Of Thee I Sing* (1931), a satire of the U.S. government that became the first musical to win a Pulitzer Prize, shows such as Richard Rodgers's *Oklahoma!* (1943) celebrating folk patterns, and such war-related musicals as Berlin's *This Is the Army* (1942) and Rodgers's *South Pacific* (1948).

The war had other effects on popular music. A number of snappy, chauvinistic anti-Japanese and anti-German songs were produced, but never really caught on. Rather, the big sellers were such patriotic standards as Kate Smith's version of "God Bless America," danceable songs such as "The Boogie-Woogie Bugle Boy of Company B," and sentimental ballads such as 1944's most popular song, "I'll Be Seeing You." With patriotism supplanting protest even among those who had produced or sung music of social criticism in the 1930s, Woody Guthrie's "This Land Is Your Land" became a hit during the war. The Andrews Sisters and other musical artists also visited overseas bases as part of the efforts of the UNITED SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS (USO) to lift morale. The best-selling record of the war years was Bing Crosby's "White Christmas," which reflected the sentimental focus on home characteristic of the war years. Much of this wartime music was evanescent, but such popular standards as "White Christmas," would have been hits in any era.

The really significant musical impact of World War II lay in how it continued or redirected many of the patterns of the 1930s, thus setting the stage for the postwar era. The big bands perhaps gained their peak of popularity,

despite wartime restrictions and demands. (Glenn Miller was killed in an airplane crash on his way to entertain troops.) The frenzied reaction to Frank Sinatra ("Sinatramania") reflected not only the emergence of the first true "teen idol" but also the growing importance of individual singers at the expense of the big bands and thus heralded the postwar decline of the big bands. By the end of the war, swing was giving way to bebop and big bands to smaller ensembles in more intimate settings. Blues singers, with other African Americans, continued their migration North, and particularly in Chicago developed electrified urban blues, based importantly on Delta blues and other rural traditions. Gospel music had increasing commercial success. White country music continued to grow in popularity, abetted by Grand Ole Opry tours and broadcasts. As rural whites moved toward cities and joined the armed forces, country music gained in popularity and geographic reach; honky-tonk emerged as the dominant strain of country music; and by the late 1940s Hank Williams had become a major national star. Based especially on such strands of African-American music as blues, jazz, and boogie-woogie, "rhythm and blues" began to emerge as important popular music. Rather than simply being "race" music aimed at black audiences, R&B became much more generally popular in the postwar era and contributed powerfully to the emergence of the rock 'n' roll that came to dominate American popular music.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE; FEDERAL ART PROJECT; FEDERAL THEATRE PROJECT; LITERATURE.

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### **Myrdal, Gunnar** (1898–1987) *scholar*

The Swedish scholar Gunnar Myrdal is best known in the United States for his enormously important 1,500-page study of American race relations—*An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, published in 1944. Myrdal's work provided one of the first in-depth examinations of America's racial system that kept its black

citizens poor, uneducated, and deprived of most CIVIL RIGHTS. It played a major role in opening the eyes of white Americans to the plight and dissatisfaction of AFRICAN AMERICANS and in making civil rights a priority of many whites in the 1940s and 1950s. Its findings also contributed to the Supreme Court's landmark 1954 ruling against segregation in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

Born on December 6, 1898, in a small Swedish village, Gunnar Myrdal became one of his country's leading intellectuals and was active in Swedish politics before the Carnegie Corporation commissioned him in 1938 to head a study of what was called the "American Negro problem." Upon completing his research in 1942, he returned to Sweden and was elected to the Swedish Senate. Later he served as the executive secretary of the UNITED NATIONS Economic Commission for Europe and left that post to conduct an important study of the economic conditions in Asia. In 1974 he was awarded the Nobel Prize in economic science jointly with Austrian professor Frederich von Hayek for work relating economic analysis to social and cultural conditions. His wife, Alva Myrdal, received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1982.

*An American Dilemma* was a highly ambitious project, involving historians, sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, economists, and others—all creating a formidable body of work that led to one inescapable conclusion: The treatment of African Americans amounted to virtually a total denial of the fundamental principles upon which the United States had been founded. Myrdal's striking analysis of the history and consequences of slavery, white racism, and racial discrimination and segregation made a compelling case for immediate correction if America was to live up to its promise. The study became highly influential—and was a best seller—at a time when the majority of white Americans supported racial segregation and turned a blind eye to the violence that supported it. Its impact was all the more remarkable considering that it came out during the tensions of WORLD WAR II. "I know of no other country where such a thing could have happened," Myrdal later remarked.

In conducting his study, Myrdal became one of the first scholars to connect racial conditions to repressive violence. He initiated his research by traveling by car through the SOUTH, meeting with white and black leaders. His African-American colleague, Ralph Bunche, was forced to pose

as his chauffeur in order to avoid the wrath of affronted whites. Research lasted from 1939 through 1942. In addition to providing an incisive exploration of all facets of the African-American experience, including family life, RELIGION, and culture, *An American Dilemma* examined racial prejudice and its effects on the black community and its institutions. It described a broad pattern of lynching, riots, and individual acts of violence, perpetrated with the help or acquiescence of law enforcement, that amounted to little more than racial terrorism. The "dilemma" referred to in the title involved the tension between the high-minded idealism of the American creed of "liberty, equality, justice, and fair opportunity for everybody" and the racial prejudice that resulted in proscription, harassment, humiliation, and violence that characterized race relations. The true test of American greatness, Myrdal argued, would come in how it confronted and solved this dilemma.

Myrdal intended his study to force whites to see the sizable nature of the problem *they* had created, and through a systematic, detailed presentation of the facts, impel them to correct it. He placed the onus for the plight of black America squarely on the shoulders of whites. He called it the "principle of cumulation," which meant the inferior status of blacks forced upon them by whites, first by slavery and then by segregation, created a self-perpetuating cycle of low status that confirmed white prejudice and encouraged the status quo. Only by raising blacks to fully assimilated members of society could this problem be resolved. Myrdal hoped that a careful though passionate exploration of the facts offered in conjunction with the ongoing war against tyranny in World War II would convince whites to change their attitudes and practices. In this approach, he revealed a pronounced faith in the inherent integrity of the American system and in the essential goodness and strength of character of the American people—to which, ultimately, he made his appeal.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—Howard Smead







### National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

During the era of the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) continued to play a central role in working for CIVIL RIGHTS for AFRICAN AMERICANS and combating the racial discrimination, segregation, and violence they faced, especially in the SOUTH. On the eve of the Great Depression, the NAACP had 325 branches in 44 states but just over 21,000 members nationwide. By 1945, due to a rigorous recruitment campaign and an expanded plan of attack, the NAACP had experienced unprecedented growth and included nearly a half million members.

Several significant events occurred in the early 1930s. In 1930, the NAACP led a successful protest to block the nomination of Judge John Parker to the United States SUPREME COURT because of Parker's racist statements. Later that year, James Weldon Johnson resigned as executive secretary of the association, and in March 1931 WALTER WHITE became his successor. A month into White's tenure, the trial of nine black teenagers accused of raping two young white women began in Scottsboro, Alabama. The case of the SCOTTSBORO BOYS tested the NAACP, which became involved in an unsuccessful struggle over representing the defendants with the International Labor Defense (ILD), a communist-led organization.

During the 1932 presidential election, most African Americans remained loyal to the REPUBLICAN PARTY, the party of Lincoln, although a minority viewed liberal northern Democrats and FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT's promise of a "New Deal" as a hopeful alternative. In 1933, Robert C. Weaver and John P. Davis, together with the NAACP and a number of other black organizations, joined forces to create the Joint Committee on Economic Recovery (JCER). The JCER had some success in fighting against the racial wage differentials and for the inclusion of black Americans in NEW DEAL programs. White and the NAACP were unable, however, to persuade Roosevelt actively to

support, or CONGRESS to enact, federal ANTILYNCHING LEGISLATION. The organization repeatedly asked the Justice Department to intervene in lynching cases, because of the demonstrated reluctance or refusal of state and local authorities to take action, but the department denied any jurisdiction in the matter. The NAACP proved even less successful presenting its case before Congress, where several antilynching bills were brought up and passed in the House but invariably died in the Senate at least in part for want of presidential support. Thereafter, the NAACP placed greater emphasis on promoting negative publicity about lynching, ever more vigorously even as the actual number of lynchings decreased by the end of the decade.

By 1936, the association had become part of a New Deal political coalition consisting of liberal Democrats, LABOR, and civil rights organizations. The liberal-labor coalition helped FDR secure a landslide victory in the ELECTION OF 1936, and Walter White established a close relationship with ELEANOR ROOSEVELT that gave the NAACP some access to President Roosevelt. Such connections with the Roosevelt administration won little support for NAACP civil rights efforts, but they did bring help in 1939, when the Daughters of the American Revolution excluded the famed African-American singer Marian Anderson from performing at Constitution Hall in Washington. The NAACP quickly reacted and with the assistance of Eleanor Roosevelt, HAROLD ICKES, and other New Deal leaders, the concert was moved to the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, where Anderson performed before 75,000 people.

Throughout the depression, the NAACP experienced a number of internal conflicts, but none so important as that involving William E. B. DuBois, one of the organization's founders and leaders. In 1934, DuBois criticized the NAACP's program in the pages of its publication, the *Crisis*, suggesting that blacks organize among themselves and use self-segregation to defeat segregation and discrimination. Following those controversial remarks and his support of socialism, the board of directors denounced DuBois

and forced him to resign from the association. DuBois later returned to the NAACP in 1944 as director of special research.

In 1935, Howard University law professor Charles Houston was appointed chief legal counsel of the NAACP. Assisted by his former student Thurgood Marshall, the two men began to lay the foundation for an extended and increasingly successful legal assault against school segregation. To accomplish this they would have to overturn the infamous Supreme Court decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which institutionalized constitutional notions of separate but equal. On November 5, 1935, the Maryland Court of Appeals ordered the University of Maryland to admit Donald Murray, an African American. This was done less out of altruism than to avoid the expenses of building a separate law school for blacks, but a significant blow had been struck for integration. The following year, the NAACP initiated successful lawsuits against unequal salaries for African-American teachers. In 1938, Marshall replaced Houston as special counsel of the association, and other cases in EDUCATION and voting rights brought by the NAACP in the late 1930s and war years led to further Supreme Court decisions eroding the legal edifice of Jim Crow and pointing toward the landmark 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. In 1938, in *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a state's refusal to provide a law school education to a qualified African American. In *Smith v. Allwright*, the Court in 1944 found the all-white primary used in the South unconstitutional.

As the United States drew nearer to involvement in World War II, African Americans remained in segregated military units and were barred from most defense jobs. In 1941, the NAACP supported A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and his MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT that led FDR to sign EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802 in June 1941, which outlawed discrimination in GOVERNMENT and war industries and created the FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE. When the order was signed the NAACP canceled its threatened march, sparing Roosevelt an otherwise embarrassing predicament. Subsequently, the NAACP joined and often led the growing activism of the war years on behalf of civil rights for African Americans. Under the leadership of Ella Baker, who joined the NAACP staff in 1941, southern membership increased from 18,000 in the late 1930s to 156,000 by the war's end. Nationwide, the association witnessed record growth and by 1946 had nearly half a million members in roughly 1,000 branches. But, on balance, the NAACP in this period failed to reach major improvements in civil rights, partly because the president, while he empathized with blacks, was not willing to risk New Deal legislation that he regarded as more pressing. The political support of the southern Democrats in Congress proved too

important. But significant battles had been won, and the successes presaged the even greater victories awaiting the cause of civil rights in the ensuing decade.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—Anthony Ratcliff and John C. Fredriksen

### National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) (1933)

The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), signed by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT on June 16, 1933, was the central industrial recovery measure of the FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933. Though unsuccessful in lifting the ECONOMY out of the GREAT DEPRESSION, it did help to energize LABOR union organization, led to a reduction in child labor, and eventually underwrote major public works projects that strengthened the nation's infrastructure.

The legislation had multiple origins and many authors. The War Industries Board of World War I was a significant precursor. The NIRA drew on ideas from businessmen on how to avoid excessive competition and ensure stability by agreeing on production limits, prices, and other matters. Some labor leaders saw in such arrangements a way to safeguard wages and employment. Roosevelt's BRAIN TRUST had advocated planning and controls involving BUSINESS to address the depression. General HUGH S. JOHNSON, a former member of the War Industries Board, and New York senator ROBERT F. WAGNER, a liberal and an advocate of labor, played an especially important role in drafting the final legislation. Johnson felt that destructive competition was a central factor in the collapse of the economy and supported the principle of business self-regulation, while Wagner insisted upon provisions for labor's rights.

Title I of the NIRA authorized business and GOVERNMENT to create codes of fair competition regarding production quotas, prices, wages, and labor standards in an attempt to stabilize the market and prevent unfair competition. It also created the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA), which would be led by Hugh Johnson and would oversee the formation and administration of the codes. The NIRA gave participating businesses exemption from anti-trust laws and the NRA had power to license corporations. Section 7(a) of the NIRA provided for the right of workers

to organize and bargain collectively as well as authorizing establishing maximum hours and minimum wages.

Title II of the NIRA established the PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION (PWA) and appropriated \$3.3 billion dollars to fund the agency. Headed by HAROLD L. ICKES, the PWA was to stimulate the economy by means of public works projects and provide employment opportunities on the projects. The NIRA also included TAXATION on capital stock and excess profits to help finance public works spending.

The NIRA failed to bring about economic recovery. Especially at first, the PWA spent money too slowly to make much difference, and the NRA codes were unable to stimulate investment or expansion. The NRA proved increasingly unpopular as well as unsuccessful. Many businessmen resented government regulations, labor representatives were unhappy about the lack of enforcement of Section 7(a), consumers complained about high prices, and defenders of small business claimed that the codes promoted monopoly. Troubles for the NIRA culminated with the unanimous SUPREME COURT decision of May 1935 in *SCHECHTER POULTRY CORPORATION V. UNITED STATES* declaring the NIRA unconstitutional. Despite its denouement, however, the NIRA was one of the major NEW DEAL measures.

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—Courtney D. Mattingly

### National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) (1935)

The National Labor Relations Act (often called the Wagner Act, after its chief author, New York Democratic senator ROBERT F. WAGNER) was passed by CONGRESS in June 1935, and signed into law by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT on July 5, 1935. Often called the “Magna Carta” of organized labor, the NLRA was the most significant piece of LABOR rights legislation ever passed in the United States and enabled large-scale unionization of American industry over the next decade.

Although Section 7(a) of the 1933 NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT of the NEW DEAL guaranteed collective bargaining, the National Labor Board established under the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION had little enforcement power. Senator Wagner, a member of the NLB, introduced legislation in May 1934 to create a new board with enhanced enforcement powers in labor-management relations, including preventing acts of coercion

by employers and requiring BUSINESS to negotiate with union representatives. President Roosevelt, hopeful for management’s cooperation with NRA and fearful of losing business support over a stricter labor bill, asked Wagner to put his legislation aside and back a resolution allowing the president to create a new National Labor Relations Board. Wagner agreed to Roosevelt’s request, despite opposition from progressive Republicans, and a new NLRB was created in June 1934.

Wagner was not satisfied, however, and he introduced a revised labor bill in February 1935 that would give a new NLRB the right to hold elections to determine union representatives and to define and prohibit specified unfair labor practices. It would also grant the NLRB legal power to enforce its decisions. Hearings were held before Wagner’s Labor Committee in March, as the National Association of Manufacturers, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and other pro-business groups testified against the bill, while labor representatives spoke in favor of the legislation. The Roosevelt administration, however, remained silent as Wagner almost single-handedly moved his bill through Congress, while neither the president, nor Secretary of Labor FRANCES PERKINS, nor NRA officials endorsed the legislation. Under Wagner’s leadership, the Labor Committee unanimously reported out the bill on May 2. Southern Democrats, no friends of organized labor, asked Roosevelt to delay a final Senate vote, but Wagner convinced the president not to stall action on the legislation. On May 15, Wagner brought the labor bill to the Senate floor, where it was approved 63-12, after a pro-business amendment was defeated.

On May 27, the SUPREME COURT declared the National Industrial Recovery Act—and its Section 7(a)—unconstitutional, and Roosevelt reconsidered his earlier nonsupport of the labor bill. By mid-June, the House of Representatives had the legislation, with southern Democrats and business groups leading the opposition and liberal northern Democrats and the AFL leading support. On June 19, the House passed the bill. Eight days later, a House-Senate conference report approved the legislation, and Roosevelt signed the Wagner Bill on July 5.

The National Labor Relations Act was the most sweeping piece of workers legislation in American history. The act established the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD as a permanent, independent agency empowered to conduct elections to determine union representation, and restrain business from committing unfair labor practices, such as fostering company unions, discharging workers for union membership, and engaging in antiunion espionage, black-listing, strikebreaking, yellow-dog contracts, or discrimination in wages. As with other New Deal legislation, the Wagner Act’s constitutionality was tested in the courts, and on April 12, 1937, by a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court,



in *National Labor Relations Board v. Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation*, upheld the NLRA in ruling that Congress had broad authority to regulate labor-management conflicts that affected interstate commerce.

The act's impact on union activity was apparent by 1940, as roughly 9 million workers were union members in the United States, three times the 1933 membership of some 3 million. The National Labor Relations Act, enacted at a critical time for American labor, provided legal and political protection for worker organization and contributed to a striking rise in union membership and power. Although the National Labor Relations Act has been amended subsequently, the fundamental features of the law still shape union organization and activities.

See also AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR; CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS; *SCHECHEER POULTRY CORPORATION V. UNITED STATES*.

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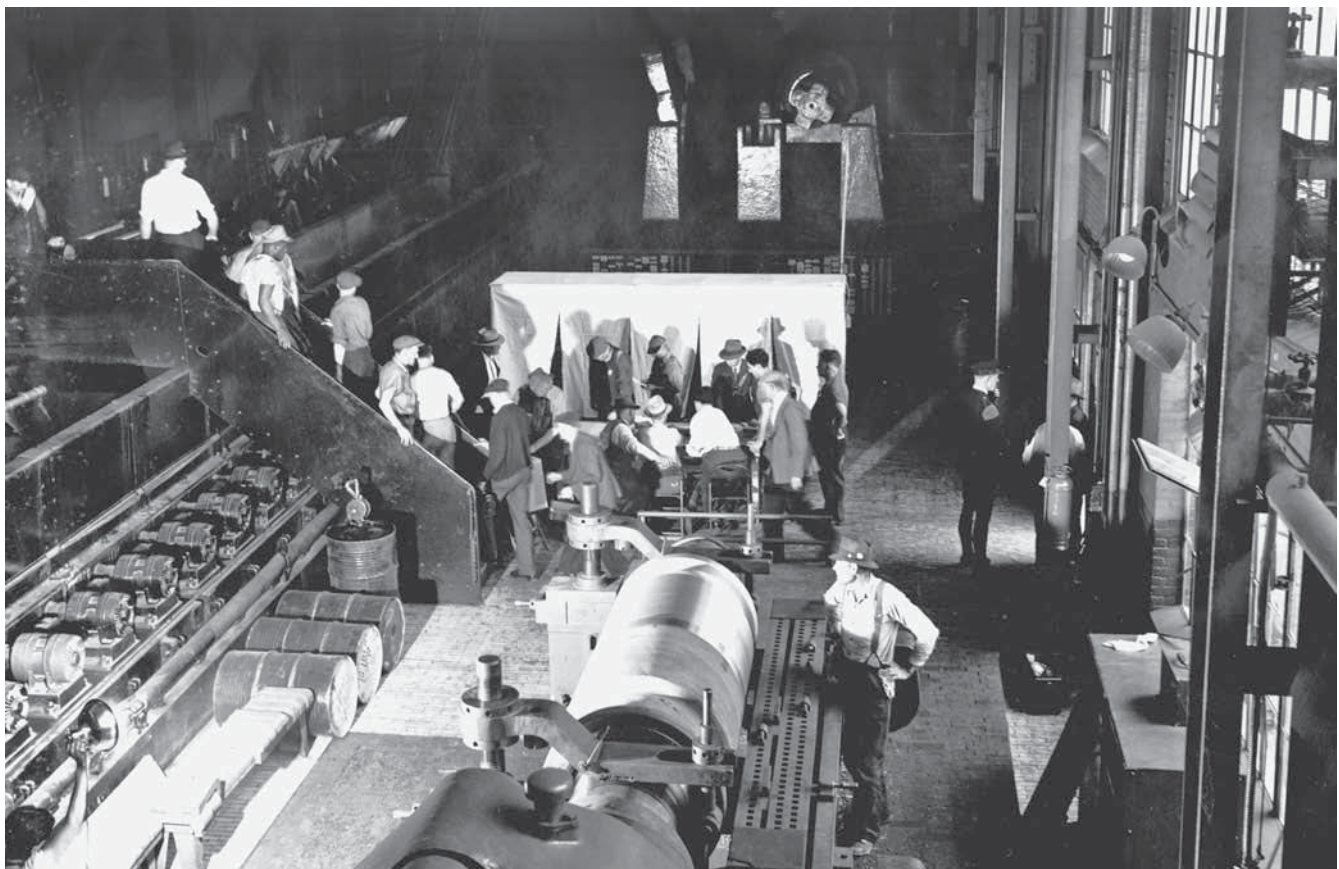
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—William J. Thompson

### National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) was established with passage of the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT (NLRA) of 1935, also known as the Wagner Act, during the SECOND NEW DEAL. The NLRB was intended to administer the NLRA's provisions that guaranteed workers' right to organize into independent unions to practice collective bargaining and that prohibited unfair labor practices by employers. The creation of the NLRB as a permanent, independent agency to protect the rights of workers and unions was a pivotal event in the history of American LABOR. Amendments to the NLRA in later years changed the duties of the NLRB to monitor unfair labor practices by unions and to restrict the involvement of COMMUNISTS.

The NLRB succeeded ineffectual agencies set up to monitor Section 7(a) of the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL



Shown here is a National Labor Relations Board election for union representation at the River Rouge Ford plant. (Library of Congress)



RECOVERY ACT (NIRA) of 1933, which provided for labor's right to collective bargaining and required employers to participate in good faith in such bargaining. These agencies (the National Labor Board, established in 1933, and the first version of a National Labor Relations Board, set up in 1934) had no real enforcement power. When the SUPREME COURT declared the NIRA, including section 7(a), unconstitutional, CONGRESS passed the NLRA, and the new NLRB was created as a permanent, independent, quasijudicial agency.

The three-member NLRB had three major functions. Its first was to hold employee elections for the selection of union representation and to certify the unions winning a majority of the vote. Second, it reviewed charges and conducted hearings when necessary to determine whether management had violated the act by engaging in unfair labor practices, defined as employer conduct interfering with the right of employees to bargain collectively. The third function assigned to the NLRB was the authority to issue cease and desist orders against violators of the NLRA and also to take "affirmative action, including reinstatement of employees" in order to further enforce the act's provisions.

The NLRB had reduced responsibilities during WORLD WAR II, when the NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD had principal authority over labor relations. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT also appointed more conservative members to the NLRB during the war. With the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, union power was weakened as the NLRB's powers were extended to cover union practices considered unfair to employers, including the use of secondary boycotts and jurisdictional STRIKES. The Taft-Hartley Act also required union chiefs to file affidavits proving that they were not communists in order to obtain a hearing before the new five-member NLRB, a requirement repealed by the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959.

In its early years, critics on the right complained that the NLRB sided with labor over management and with the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS over the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. Later, critics from the left often charged the NLRB with curbing union independence; widening the definition of workers not protected by the NLRA, which included agricultural and domestic employees; and being biased against labor, especially after the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. But clearly the passage of the NLRA and the creation of the NLRB were crucial for the growth of organized labor and its power by affirming and protecting the rights of workers to organize and join unions.

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—Aimee Alice Pohl

### National Recovery Administration (NRA)

Created by Title I of the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA) of June 16, 1933, the National Recovery Administration (NRA) was one of the cornerstone agencies of the so-called FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933. It sought to lift the industrial sector of the ECONOMY out of the GREAT DEPRESSION by means of cartel-like agreements on production, prices, wages, and labor in various industries. Although the NRA proved unable to produce economic expansion, became increasingly unpopular, and was declared unconstitutional by the SUPREME COURT in 1935, it was nonetheless one of the important programs of the NEW DEAL.

Ideas leading to the NRA came from several sources. BUSINESS had long understood that agreements on prices and production limits might bring stability to an industry by eliminating price-cutting and overproduction, and trade associations in the 1920s had advocated exemption from antitrust laws to enable industry-wide production and marketing policies. The War Industries Board of World War I had involved production agreements worked out by GOVERNMENT and business organizations. A segment of LIBERALISM going back to the Progressive Era embraced economic concentration, with government planning and controls to make it more efficient and equitable. During the depression, a number of LABOR leaders, especially in the most troubled industries, believed that agreements on production and prices might stabilize employment and wages. The BRAIN TRUST of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT inclined toward accepting large organizations and planned economic activities as an approach to the depression. Such ideas sometimes differed considerably. Business wanted self-regulation approved by the government, for example, while such liberals as REXFORD G. TUGWELL wanted thoroughgoing government planning and controls over business. But these various approaches had in common some version of national planning to stabilize the industrial sector of the economy and produce expansion and recovery.

General HUGH S. JOHNSON, who had served on the War Industries Board and preferred the business self-government approach, was NRA's first administrator and together with New York senator ROBERT F. WAGNER had played a role in drafting the National Industrial Recovery Act. The NIRA suspended the ANTIMONOPOLY laws for two years so that industrial organizations could draft, in conjunction with labor and consumer representatives as



Shown here is the logo of the National Recovery Administration (NRA), a New Deal agency. (*New York Public Library*)

well as with government officials, codes of fair competition on prices, production, wages, and labor conditions. The complicated legislation was nearer to the business self-regulation than it was to the government-control model, but it did require presidential approval of codes and the government could impose codes when an industry did not come to agreement. In return for labor support, Section 7(a) of the NIRA authorized labor's right to organize and bargain collectively.

Johnson, a hard-drinking, mercurial, colorful figure, launched an aggressive publicity effort and conducted a frenetic "We Do Our Part" campaign to get industries to cooperate in approving codes—and winning the NRA Blue Eagle emblem. Until specific industry codes were approved, he asked employers to sign a "blanket code" with minimum, maximum hours, and the end of child labor, and he urged consumers to deal only with businesses displaying the Blue Eagle. Eventually, 541 hastily written codes were approved, many in industries where the codes were unnecessary, irrelevant, or simply not worth the time and effort. Other industries involved codes that seemed almost impossibly complicated and often inconsistent. A large bureaucracy inevitably emerged.

After an initial "NRA boom," caused largely by manufacturers trying to beat the implementation of the codes,

industrial production briefly turned down again, and the NRA did little to stimulate economic expansion. Probably it did help arrest the economy's downward spiral, but it did not provide impetus for recovery, for it was restrictionist rather than expansionist. Prices were set too high to increase buying (and thus production and employment), while production quotas gave no incentive for businesses to cut costs, improve products, and create new demand. Moreover, the PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION, a companion agency created by the NIRA to pump money into the economy, spent too slowly to have any real economic stimulus. The NRA did, however, make significant progress in reducing child labor and increasing labor organization.

A failure at achieving recovery, NRA also became more and more unpopular. Business and conservatives increasingly disliked government regulation and bureaucracy. Liberals, labor, consumers, and small business thought big business and trade associations had too much say in drafting and implementing the codes. Small business and liberals believed that the NRA codes fostered and protected monopoly. Consumers, labor, and liberals thought prices too high. Labor was unhappy with employers for evading Section 7(a) and with Johnson and the NRA for not enforcing it. In 1934, Roosevelt prevailed upon Johnson to resign, but no improvement came in results or acceptance.

By 1935, the NRA seemed an unpopular failure, and its future was questionable. In May, in the case of *SCHECHEER POULTRY CORPORATION v. UNITED STATES*, the Supreme Court found the NIRA (and thus the NRA) unconstitutional for exceeding the power of the federal government by regulating intrastate commerce and for wrongly delegating legislative authority to the executive branch in the code-making process. The NRA was terminated in 1936, though "little NRAs" were established in coal and some other industries in transportation, natural resources and service, and the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT replaced and greatly expanded Section 7(a). The failure of the NRA led the New Deal to turn to other approaches at economic recovery, reform, and regulation.

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### National Resources Planning Board (NRPB)

The National Resources Planning Board (NRPB) was created under the provisions of the EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION ACT of 1939. The successor to the 1933–34 National Planning Board, the 1934–35 National Resources Board, and the 1935–39 National Resources Committee, the NRPB reflected the desire of President FRANKLIN

D. ROOSEVELT to enhance the policy planning and coordination capacity of the PRESIDENCY as part of the NEW DEAL. The NRPB developed a far-reaching liberal postwar program for the nation, though one that found little support among the public and much opposition in CONGRESS, which killed the agency in 1943.

The several predecessors of the NRPB had been concerned primarily about the nation's resources, especially land and water resources. The NRPB quickly took on a far larger agenda, and building on some of the work of the National Resources Committee focused more broadly on social and economic conditions and policy. With the beginning of WORLD WAR II in Europe in 1939, the NRPB became the Roosevelt administration's principal agency for domestic POSTWAR PLANNING, and it produced a series of wide-ranging studies and reports.

Most important among the NRPB's reports were two that Roosevelt transmitted to Congress in March 1943 and that embodied the development of liberal policy ideas in the late 1930s and early 1940s. The first, *Security, Work, and Relief Policies*, which had largely been completed by December 1940, was based primarily on late 1930s fears of a chronically depressed ECONOMY with high levels of UNEMPLOYMENT. It called especially for comprehensive expansion of government public assistance, work RELIEF, and social insurance programs to ensure minimal economic security for all Americans.

The second, more important, and more recently developed report, *Post-War Plan and Program*, reflected the remarkable wartime expansion of the economy and the related acceptance by liberals of KEYNESIANISM, which stressed the importance of government FISCAL POLICY for economic prosperity. This second report called for the GOVERNMENT to ensure full employment in a "dynamic expanding economy" with "increasingly higher standards of living." It also contained the basis of the ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS that Roosevelt would propose in 1944. Together, the two reports urged a much-enlarged government role in ensuring full-employment prosperity, rising living standards, and economic security.

Though reflecting expansive new wartime hopes and aims of LIBERALISM, the NRPB reports generated little support among an indifferent public enjoying wartime prosperity and focusing on the war. Rather, the reports encountered active opposition in the CONSERVATIVE COALITION that controlled the Congress after the election of 1942. As a result, the NRPB reports stood no real chance of implementation, were buried by Congress, and quickly faded from public view. Congress, as part of its effort to curb the power of the executive branch and to roll back New Deal programs that seemed unnecessary or vulnerable, terminated the agency a few months after its two landmark reports were made public.

Despite its relatively short career, however, the NRPB was an important agency. Its recommendations reflected the changing liberal program of the war years, especially the new importance of Keynesian fiscal policy to underwrite full-employment prosperity. Its demise reflected the more conservative atmosphere on the WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT and the augmented power of conservatives in Congress. And although its proposals generally went unfulfilled in the short run, it provided an agenda for postwar liberalism and played a significant role in the development of the GI BILL OF RIGHTS enacted in 1944 and of the FULL EMPLOYMENT BILL proposed in 1945.

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### National War Labor Board (NWLB)

One of a number of agencies created by the federal GOVERNMENT to mobilize the nation and its ECONOMY during WORLD WAR II, the National War Labor Board (NWLB) was established by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in January 1942. Replacing the ineffective and shortlived National Defense Mediation Board, the 12-member board was composed equally of representatives from BUSINESS, LABOR, and the public and was directed to settle labor disputes in order to prevent disruption of the war effort. Other agencies with responsibility for labor included the WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION, created in April 1942 to ensure the efficient allocation of workers to necessary jobs, and the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD, which had been established in 1935 to protect workers' rights to organize and bargain collectively.

In 1941, as MOBILIZATION brought increased industrial production, demands by workers for higher pay led to a wave of STRIKES around the nation. Soon after American entry into the war, in recognition of the need to curtail such disruptions of the war effort, Roosevelt helped negotiate a no-strike, no-lockout agreement between management and the two largest labor organizations, the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) and the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO). This pledge deprived the labor movement of its most powerful weapon, the strike, and placed workers' gains in the hands of the NWLB, which was empowered to impose binding agreements between labor and management. The NWLB was also given authority to recommend the government takeover of plants involved in work stoppages due to strikes or lockouts.

In an effort to slow inflation in 1942, the Roosevelt administration began to implement WAGE AND PRICE

CONTROLS through caps on price increases by the OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION. In a companion measure to keep wages from rising too quickly, and also in an attempt to resolve conflicts over pay, the NWLB established in July what became known as the “Little Steel” formula. Worked out to settle disputes in smaller steel companies but then applied broadly, the formula allowed for wage increases in accord with the rise in the cost of living between January 1941 and May 1942. This Little Steel formula was used to resolve pay disputes for the duration of the war and was a key part of the effort to combat inflation. Although workers’ wages consistently rose less than farm income and corporate profits, the cap did not apply to overtime and incentive pay, job upgrades, and benefits, and workers’ compensation and spending power did rise significantly during the war. And despite inevitable inequities and inefficiencies, the policy was generally successful.

Even as the no-strike pledge and wage controls placed a double burden on the labor movement’s power, unions received what most considered an enormous bounty in June 1942 when the NWLB instituted the “maintenance of membership” rule. The maintenance of membership policy stipulated that every new worker hired into a place of employment with a union contract would automatically become a member of the union unless making a specific request to the contrary within 15 days of being hired. Additionally, the employer was required to collect union dues and to dismiss any employee who did not pay his or her dues and maintain good standing in the union. The rule kept nonunion workers from flooding war plants and reversing the gains of the strong union movement of the 1930s and contributed to a nearly 50 percent growth in union membership during the war.

Although most labor leaders were anxious to maintain a good relationship with the government and a positive image in the public eye in order to keep the gains they had won, including the maintenance of membership rule, not all leaders or workers were content to give up their bargaining power, and they continued to use strikes as a weapon. And some criticized the maintenance of membership rule as part of a general decline of the labor movement’s independence. At the same time, many workers had real grievances that remained unresolved by the NWLB. The year 1943 saw a large increase over 1942 in the number of work stoppages, including strikes by miners led by UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA head JOHN L. LEWIS. These labor disturbances in the midst of the war were perceived as unpatriotic by many and helped lead to public support for an anti-union backlash, including the antilabor Smith-Connally Act passed by CONGRESS in 1943.

During its tenure the National War Labor Board was an important force in labor relations, and was an example of the extended power of the executive branch in the nation’s

economy. It imposed some 20,000 wage-dispute settlements affecting 20 million workers and approved more than 4,000 wage agreements. The government took over several dozen plants shut down by labor disputes. Additionally, the NWLB had a policy mandating that women and minority workers receive equal pay for equal work. Although this was only rarely enforced, the idea continued in other government agencies and government guidelines. The NWLB was dissolved at the end of the war.

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—Aimee Alice Pohl

### National Youth Administration (NYA)

On June 26, 1935, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT created the National Youth Administration (NYA), as part of the SECOND NEW DEAL’s effort to provide work RELIEF. NYA provided part-time work, schooling, and vocational training for unemployed youths between 16 and 25 years of age, and aimed at keeping youths in school and out of the saturated employment market.

In 1933, the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION (FERA) inaugurated NEW DEAL efforts to help young people, who had one of the highest UNEMPLOYMENT rates in the GREAT DEPRESSION, with a successful pilot student aid program. (The CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS also provided work for young men.) With FERA being phased out in 1935, President Roosevelt established the NYA after such figures as ELEANOR ROOSEVELT and HARRY L. HOPKINS urged him to address the problem of youth unemployment. Originally part of the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (WPA), the NYA was transferred to the Federal Security Agency in 1939 and was placed under the WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION in 1942 until it ceased operations in 1943. Aubrey Williams, a southern liberal, served as NYA director.

The NYA put a majority of its resources into keeping youth out of the workforce by providing high school and college students part-time jobs so they could remain in school, finish their education, and become productive assets for the American ECONOMY. For high school and precollege youth who went to college, the NYA provided apprenticeships or internships in areas including public planning and research and also cooperated with state and local agencies



who filled available positions with NYA youths. “Learning by doing” became an NYA motto.

Williams saw the NYA college aid programs as shaking up the existing educational establishments by having the schools accept working- and middle-class unemployed students, who would receive NYA money to pay their college costs. To qualify for NYA assistance, students had to have a strong academic background and be able to carry at least three-quarters of the normal academic course load. Participating institutions were required to supervise the NYA students’ academic progress. NYA students worked in such diverse areas as surveys and statistical work, ground and building maintenance, and library services. The NYA college program later became one model for GI BILL OF RIGHTS educational provisions.

Williams’s interest in promoting racial equality led the NYA to establish a Division of Negro Affairs, with educator MARY McLEOD BETHUNE as its director. She used her prominent government position and her leadership of the BLACK CABINET to lobby for more inclusion of AFRICAN AMERICANS in the New Deal. The NYA was one of the first federal agencies to have racially integrated programs, teaching African Americans skills necessary for employment in the industrial economy and creating a college aid program for black students. Blacks who participated in NYA-sponsored programs were later commended for their efforts in defense industries.

In 1936, less than a year after its beginning, the NYA enrolled about 600,000 young people. Its peak came in April 1937 with 630,000 youths; the lowest point was in October 1937 (after Roosevelt had cut relief spending, helping to bring on the RECESSION OF 1937–1938) with 360,000 youths. By 1943, the NYA had provided assistance to more than 2 million young people. NYA students were divided fairly equally between the sexes and were racially proportionate to the nation’s population. Males often worked in construction and technical workshops, females in “socially useful work” including assisting in libraries, holding clerical positions, and serving as school aides.

As unemployment declined in the early 1940s because of the beginning stages of MOBILIZATION for WORLD WAR II, NYA programs shifted away from EDUCATION and toward vocational training for defense industry. Williams received high praise for his foresight and his contribution to the war effort, and student trainees, including blacks and females, were quickly hired in their vocational fields as positions became available. Student programs not involving the war effort were almost all dropped by 1942; and to trim federal expenditures and roll back New Deal relief programs, Congress terminated the NYA in 1943, deeming it no longer essential. But during its tenure, the NYA provided valuable financial assistance, education, and vocational training to young people and contributed

to the pool of workers as the nation emerged from the Great Depression.

See also CHILDREN.

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—Anne Rothfield

## Native Americans

Despite efforts to ameliorate the poverty and isolation of Native Americans during the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II, conditions for the most part did not significantly improve. But in the longer run, the period provided new experiences and important changes in GOVERNMENT policy that laid the groundwork for later grassroots mobilization for CIVIL RIGHTS.

Native Americans in the United States made up a diverse group (approximately 170 distinct tribes, bands, or peoples) who lived mainly west of the Mississippi River, especially in Oklahoma, Arizona, and the upper Great Plains. The population, which had been declining since the first European contacts, began to experience growth after 1900 (237,000 in 1900; 366,000 in 1940). Different languages, cultures, and tribal rivalries had combined with the impact of federal policy to leave Native Americans isolated, internally fractured, and often living in desperate poverty.

The federal government had established reservations for Native Americans in the 19th century, and under the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, reservation Indians were considered wards of the government, overseen by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The Dawes Act guided federal policy toward Native Americans into the 1930s, a policy sometimes called “coercive assimilation” for its emphasis on teaching American values such as individualism and private property through boarding schools for children and individual land allotments. The only significant change in federal policy between the 1880s and 1930s came when CONGRESS bestowed United States citizenship on Native Americans in 1924.

By the 1920s, a growing number of social reformers were denouncing assimilation policy as a failure. A significant 1928 Brookings Institution report, *The Problems of Indian Administration*, called on the federal government and the BIA to reject that approach in order better to address the economic, educational, and social needs of Native Americans. Economic and social indicators provided glaring proof that assimilation had indeed failed to help Native Americans. By the time of the Great Depression, more than half of all reservation Indians were landless (many had sold or rented their land allotments to white neighbors); more than half had incomes of under \$200 per



Two of the Navajo code talkers in World War II (*National Archives*)

year; infant mortality was three times that of white Americans; and crime and alcoholism on reservations were well above the national averages. Native Americans were the most impoverished ethnic group in the United States, with overall poverty rates higher than those of AFRICAN AMERICANS in the SOUTH.

Reform of Indian policy was accomplished during the NEW DEAL under Secretary of the Interior HAROLD L. ICKES and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier. Collier especially had become a vocal critic of federal Indian policy during the 1920s, and with Ickes's support proposed what has been called the "Indian New Deal." The centerpiece was the INDIAN REORGANIZATION ACT of 1934, which aimed to restore self-government and cultural pride to Native Americans and ended land allotment. While only 71 tribes elected to participate in the act and it generally failed to achieve its goals, the seeds of self-government begun by the experience would be a precedent for Native American organization in later decades.

The New Deal also brought various RELIEF and work programs to the reservations. The CIVILIAN CONSERVA-

TION CORPS (which had an Indian Division) and the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION provided employment and agricultural improvements on reservations, and the PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION built much-needed new school and hospital facilities. The Indian boarding schools, the hated symbol of assimilation policy for most Native Americans, were gradually replaced by new day schools, with Collier giving preference to Native American teachers and trying to implement a more Indian-centered curriculum. And although the poverty rates among Native Americans did not significantly improve, the "Indian New Deal" did bring desperately needed social services to reservations and at least stabilized their economic circumstances.

As it did for many other ethnic groups, World War II brought new opportunities for Native Americans. Some, including not only the well-known Navajo but also Hopi, Choctaw, and Cherokee, were "code talkers" for the military. Using their native languages, they made military messages unintelligible to AXIS code breakers. But Native American participation in the war was much broader than just the code talkers. About 25,000 Native Americans served in the armed forces, while another 40,000 found employment in defense work, migrating especially to the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas. The war provided the first major experience for many young Native Americans in the larger American culture.

During World War II, Native Americans also began efforts at organizing across tribal lines. With Collier's support, the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) was created in 1944. Initially formed by major Oklahoma tribes, particularly the Cherokee, the NCAI became the leading intertribal political organization, lobbying for Indian rights and trying to dispel stereotypes about Native Americans.

The experience of Native Americans from 1929 through 1945 provided significant new departures. The Indian Reorganization Act and Collier's leadership reversed (at least temporarily) assimilation policy. World War II brought many Native Americans off the reservations and initiated the first significant urban migration, particularly among the younger generation. But the poverty and isolation of many Native Americans were only marginally alleviated. After the war, the "Indian New Deal" was rolled back, with the federal government replacing it with the "termination" policy of the 1950s that paid a lump sum to tribes to sever the "ward" relationship with the federal government. But the 1929–45 period helped to plant the seeds for the later Pan-Indian movement to demand full civil and political rights for Native Americans.

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*Reform, 1920–1954* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977); Graham D. Taylor, *The New Deal and American Indian Tribalism: The Administration of the Indian Reorganization Act, 1934–1945* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980).

—Katherine Liapis Segrue

## Navy, U.S.

The U.S. Navy played a decisive role in WORLD WAR II, particularly in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER where, in a series of engagements from the BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA and the BATTLE OF MIDWAY in 1942 to the BATTLE OF THE PHILIPPINE SEA and the BATTLE FOR LEYTE GULF in 1944, it destroyed the Imperial Japanese Navy. The new importance of naval AIR POWER was an especially significant feature of the Pacific war. In the EUROPEAN THEATER as well as the Pacific theater, the navy also supported AMPHIBIOUS WARFARE operations, including the INVASION OF NORMANDY and the battles of IWO JIMA and OKINAWA. With the British Royal Navy, the U.S. Navy prevailed in the BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC against German SUBMARINES.

During World War II, the Navy Department was directed by a civilian secretary of the navy comparable to the secretary of the army heading the U.S. ARMY and responsible to President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, the commander in chief. From July 1940 until his death in May 1944, W. Franklin “FRANK” KNOX was secretary of the navy. JAMES V. FORRESTAL replaced Knox. Below the secretary were a variety of navy bureaus, which administered the service, and a Navy Board, which advised civilian leaders. The navy’s highest military commander was the chief of naval operations, a position held in 1939 by Admiral Harold R. Stark. The preponderance of the navy’s strength then rested in the Pacific Fleet, the U.S. Navy’s largest, led by the commander in chief, U.S. Fleet, based at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The United States also had a small Asiatic Fleet based in Manila, in the PHILIPPINES, and a much smaller Atlantic Squadron. In February 1941, the Atlantic Squadron was upgraded to become the Atlantic Fleet, and a true two-ocean navy was created, with the Atlantic Fleet led by Vice Admiral ERNEST J. KING and the Pacific Fleet commanded by Vice Admiral Husband E. Kimmel. Following the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR, when Admiral Stark moved to Europe to command U.S. naval forces in that theater, King merged the posts of commander in chief, U.S. Fleet, and chief of naval operations, and held both positions himself. King thus had unprecedented power over the navy bureaus and reported directly to the president.

The U.S. Navy organized seven separate fleets during World War II, and these operated continuously in every ocean, including the Mediterranean, and along the Ameri-

can coastline. Following the attack at Pearl Harbor, the U.S. Navy also took administrative control of the 170,000 member U.S. Coast Guard and 1,150 coast guard ships and boats. The strengths of the navy’s fleets varied according to their primary duties. The 10th Fleet was in charge of anti-submarine warfare along the U.S. coasts, but had no ships. Other fleets were often combined into much larger and more powerful task forces for specific operations. During the invasion of the MARIANA ISLANDS in June and July 1944, for example, Task Force 58 commanded by Rear Admiral Marc Mitscher, consisted of eight battleships, 15 fleet carriers, 24 cruisers, and smaller supporting vessels.

At the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939, the U.S. Navy, like most other naval powers, was still oriented toward capital ships, of which it had 15 of varying ages, most dating from the World War I era. In addition to its battleships, the navy also possessed five AIRCRAFT CARRIERS, 18 heavy cruisers, 19 light cruisers, 61 submarines, and a variety of smaller craft including destroyers, patrol-torpedo boats, and gunboats; together, these totaled approximately 1,099 vessels, manned by 125,000 sailors. Thanks to SHIPBUILDING programs initiated in the 1930s, and especially in July 1940, the U.S. Navy was undergoing a major expansion by the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. That attack devastated the battleship fleet and hastened the new emphasis on aircraft carriers and air power. Between July 1, 1940, and August 31, 1945, the U.S. Navy, supported by the nation’s remarkable shipbuilding program, completed or acquired an astounding 92,000 ships, boats, and craft of all varieties. In this total were 66,000 landing ships and landing craft, plus some 1,300 ships larger than destroyer escorts, including 138 aircraft carriers, 111 of which were escort carriers. The U.S. Navy lost through all causes, 157 ships, including submarines, destroyers, and larger vessels.

The U.S. Navy, like the army and U.S. MARINES, controlled its own air force, including carrier-based fighters, dive bombers, and torpedo bombers, as well as land-based patrol craft. Naval aviation grew tremendously between July 1940 and August 1945 as more than 75,000 aircraft were delivered; naval air personnel rose from 10,923, of whom 2,965 were pilots, to 437,524 personnel, of whom 60,747 were pilots.

The navy as a whole expanded from 161,000 personnel in 1940 to more than 3,400,000 in August 1945, including aviators but not counting the nearly half million marines. At the beginning of the war, AFRICAN AMERICANS could serve in the navy only as messmen; but during the war, the navy began using blacks not only in service and labor positions but also, in some cases, as radiomen, gunners’ mates, and in other capacities. Particularly after racial unrest in 1944 arising from its treatment of black sailors, the navy also took steps toward desegregation. U.S. Navy casualties



between December 7, 1941, and September 2, 1945, numbered approximately 37,000 killed and 38,000 wounded.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

### Nazi-Soviet Pact (1939)

On August 23, 1939, the Soviet Union signed a nonaggression treaty with Nazi Germany. The Nazi-Soviet Pact gave Germany assurance it could attack Poland without fear of a Soviet military response—and barely more than a week later the German invasion of Poland began WORLD WAR II in Europe. The agreement also reflected important concerns that would continue to shape Soviet foreign policy during the war and after, including the Soviet Union's alienation from the United States and the other western democracies, its fear of Germany, and its territorial aspirations in eastern and northern Europe.

The treaty came as a shocking blow to many COMMUNISTS and others in the United States and elsewhere who had seen the Soviet Union as leading the opposition to Nazi Germany (though some lauded it as a brilliant piece of statecraft that saved the Soviet Union from attack). After signing the agreement, the Soviets abandoned the POPULAR FRONT effort to work with liberals against fascism. Increasing American suspicions of the Soviet Union, the Nazi-Soviet Pact contributed to troubled SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS during and after World War II.

The nonaggression treaty between Germany and the Soviet Union reflected the circumstances, concerns, and calculations of German führer Adolf Hitler and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin. As Hitler planned his invasion of western Poland, which seemed certain to bring declarations of war from England and France, he feared provoking conflict also with the Soviet Union and having to fight a major war on two fronts. Stalin knew that his military was not ready for war with Germany, and he believed that Britain, France, and the United States would not come to the support of the Soviet Union. In addition, Stalin had his eyes on territories in eastern Poland, the Baltic States (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia), Finland, and Romania that had been part of the prerevolutionary Russian Empire.

Following several months of negotiations (while the Soviets were also talking with Britain and France about an alliance against Germany), Germany and the Soviet Union announced their nonaggression treaty on

August 23, 1939. The pact included secret protocols that divided Poland between the two powers and allotted the Soviets spheres of influence in the Baltic states, Bessarabia (then part of Romania), and Finland. On September 1, 1939, Germany invaded Poland, and World War II officially began with the resulting declaration of war against Germany by Britain and France. The Soviet Union then seized the eastern part of Poland, invaded Finland later in the fall to take territorial and other concessions there, and annexed Bessarabia and the Baltic states in the summer of 1940.

After Germany abrogated the nonaggression treaty and attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, the United States and Great Britain gave support to the Soviet Union that paved the way for the wartime GRAND ALLIANCE of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union against Germany. But the 1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact, a disturbing treaty that reinforced American suspicions of the Soviet Union, and the subsequent Soviet seizure of territory contributed to tensions within the Grand Alliance during the war. Soviet territorial aspirations evident in the secret protocols, and especially the issue of Poland, played a major role in the unraveling of the Grand Alliance and the onset of the cold war.

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**Nelson, Donald M.** (1888–1959) *government official* After a successful career with Sears, Roebuck, Donald Marr Nelson headed the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD (WPB) during the economic MOBILIZATION for WORLD WAR II.

Nelson was born in Hannibal, Missouri, on November 17, 1888. After graduating from the University of Missouri with a B.S. degree in chemical engineering in 1911, Nelson became a chemist for Sears, Roebuck and Company in 1912. Made manager of the men's and boys' clothing department in 1921, he was promoted to head of merchandising in 1928, and in 1939 was appointed executive vice president and chairman of the executive committee.

Because of his business experience, his wide-ranging contacts gained through his work at Sears, and his support of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and NEW DEAL policies, Nelson was asked to serve in several positions in defense mobilization agencies. He first came to Washington as one of the DOLLAR-A-YEAR MEN in 1940 to coordinate purchasing for the National Defense Advisory Commission and then headed the Division of Purchases of the OFFICE OF PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT (January 1941–January



1942) and the Supply Priorities and Allocation Board (July 1941–January 1942).

On January 16, 1942, FDR replaced the Office of Production Management with the WPB and named Nelson as chairman. The WPB's purpose was to oversee procurement, allocation, and production in the economic mobilization for war. However, Nelson was indecisive, lacked full authority over manpower and LABOR issues, and did not respond effectively to the military's refusal to surrender the power to control procurement and contracts. In the summer of 1944, Nelson battled unsuccessfully with military officials and big war contractors with respect to his program for limited RECONVERSION to civilian production. Nelson favored gradual reconversion as war production needs declined, so as to sustain full employment, while the large war contractors feared that competitors might get a head start on peacetime production and markets and the military opposed any reduction of war production capacity. Nelson resigned and went to China as the president's personal representative to discuss economic problems.

After the war ended, Nelson returned to private business. He died of a stroke in Los Angeles in 1959.

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—Michael T. Walsh

### Neutrality Acts (1935–1941)

The Neutrality Acts were a series of laws passed by CONGRESS in 1935, 1936, and 1937, and then revised in 1939 and 1941, for the purpose of preventing American involvement in wars outside the Western Hemisphere. Sentiment for such legislation had been building since the 1920s because of an adverse reaction to U.S. participation in World War I and the subsequent rise of isolationist thinking in public opinion and FOREIGN POLICY. In response to pressure from peace groups seeking investigations into munitions makers and bankers, Congress established the NYE COMMITTEE in 1934 to probe corporate collusion in war.

In April 1935, Senator Gerald P. Nye, Republican of North Dakota and chairman of the Munitions Investigating Committee, introduced neutrality resolutions to restrict travel, loans, and export of arms by American citizens, businesses, and government. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT had encouraged neutrality legislation despite the opposition of Secretary of State CORDELL HULL, who was wary of bills being prepared by ISOLATIONISTS. After several months of debate, the Senate in August passed the Neutrality Act of 1935, which was signed by Roosevelt despite his strong preference for a discretionary arms

embargo that would enable the president to help nations that had been attacked. The law imposed a mandatory arms embargo against any nation involved in armed conflict, prohibited the export of munitions without the government's permission, authorized the president to declare that Americans traveling on belligerents' ships did so at their own risk, restricted the use of U.S. ports by belligerent submarines, and established a munitions control board to license arms dealers.

Roosevelt invoked Neutrality Act provisions less than two months after passage when Italy invaded ETHIOPIA and urged a "moral embargo" against each side, a request ignored as oil and other shipments to the Italians increased. In February 1936, Congress extended the act until May 1, 1937, keeping the arms embargo and now also prohibiting loans to belligerents. Roosevelt chose not to challenge the mandatory provisions of neutrality, fearing he might alienate the public, something he was unwilling to risk during an election year. When the SPANISH CIVIL WAR broke out in July 1936, Roosevelt urged a nondiscriminatory arms embargo against each side, which Congress enacted in January 1937.

With the 1936 Neutrality Act set to expire on May 1, 1937, congressional isolationists were determined to enact permanent legislation. Bills extending neutrality were introduced in both the Senate and House of Representatives, but were in disagreement over whether the president's authority to invoke CASH-AND-CARRY—permitting shipments of raw materials and nonmilitary items if paid for and carried in belligerents' ships—should be mandatory or discretionary. After a compromise was reached agreeing to the discretionary version, the Neutrality Act of 1937 was passed and signed by Roosevelt on May 1, 1937. The 1937 law made most of the 1935 act provisions ostensibly permanent, except for cash-and-carry, which would expire in 1939.

On January 4, 1939, Roosevelt told Congress that neutrality legislation "may actually give aid to an aggressor and deny it to a victim." Isolationists in Congress, however, wanted stricter legislation. When a compromise bill was introduced in March to revoke the arms embargo, noninterventionist senators in both parties killed the legislation. When Germany seized Czechoslovakia the same month, Roosevelt asked Congress to amend the 1937 law to eliminate the compulsory arms embargo. Attempts to eliminate the arms embargo in the House failed, and the Senate put off action until October, the month after WORLD WAR II began in Europe. Finally, on October 27, the Senate passed a revised neutrality bill as isolationists failed to keep the arms embargo provision in the legislation, and the House passed the bill in early November. Interventionist southern Democrats, though at odds with Roosevelt over NEW DEAL measures, helped secure passage of the bill. The Neutrality

Act of 1939 lifted the arms embargo, but it retained cash-and-carry (which now applied to arms and munitions), continued the ban on loans to belligerents, and prohibited American vessels from transiting a broad “danger zone” that embraced most sea lanes to western European ports.

By the fall of 1941, with most of Europe in AXIS hands and Japan advancing on its neighbors in Asia, Roosevelt desired further changes in the neutrality laws, specifically to permit the arming of American merchant ships and allow them to transport goods to belligerent ports—and thus repeal the “carry” of cash-and-carry. (The “cash” part had been bypassed with congressional passage of the LEND-LEASE Act enabling aid to Great Britain.) Despite opposition from the isolationist bloc, especially the AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, Congress passed a revised neutrality bill in November. The Neutrality Act of 1941 permitted the arming of American merchant vessels and allowed transportation of cargo to belligerent ports. Despite the alterations of 1939 and 1941, the Neutrality Act of 1937 remained in force until PEARL HARBOR, just three weeks after the last revisions, when the United States itself became a belligerent in World War II.

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—William J. Thompson

## New Deal

In accepting the Democratic nomination for president in 1932, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT declared that “I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a New Deal for the American people.” Just what that “New Deal” entailed never became clear during the ELECTION OF 1932, but the two words quickly became the identifying term for Roosevelt’s candidacy and then his presidency. The New Deal’s plethora of new programs and “alphabet” agencies to meet the crisis of the GREAT DEPRESSION had an enormous impact on the American people, ECONOMY, and political system. The New Deal created the modern American regulatory welfare state; it greatly increased the size, power, and cost of the federal GOVERNMENT; it reshaped LIBERALISM; it gave new voice and influence to LABOR, farmers, and other groups; and it underlay the transformation of American politics that made the DEMOCRATIC PARTY the new majority party of the country.

Efforts to understand and evaluate the New Deal by contemporaries and by scholars have taken a variety of forms and have produced a variety of interpretations. Three approaches have been especially fruitful. One is topical—to categorize and analyze New Deal programs in terms of their aims and substance. The second is chronological—to

follow the unfolding of the New Deal year by year. The third is more judgmental and often ideological—to analyze just what difference the New Deal made and whether its impact was positive or negative.

Each of these three approaches has its shortcomings as well as its strengths, and there are other important ways to understand the New Deal. As one example, focusing on the personality and purposes of Franklin D. Roosevelt, one of the most important and powerful presidents ever, obviously helps in explaining the New Deal—although the New Deal was also shaped by other members of the administration, by the CONGRESS and the SUPREME COURT, by public opinion and politics, and by changing circumstances and unintended consequences. In any event, the three approaches sketched below have proved particularly useful in understanding and evaluating the complex set of programs that constituted the New Deal, and they can accommodate other perspectives.

The first interpretive or analytical framework is topical, to elucidate the aims and substance of New Deal programs. The New Deal was above all an attempt to cope with the Great Depression and it involved three clear goals: to achieve economic recovery from the depths of the depression; to provide humanitarian assistance—RELIEF—to the unemployed and destitute until recovery was achieved; and to enact social and economic reform to prevent another such depression from occurring and to shield citizens against its impact should another depression strike. This framework is often called the three R’s—recovery, relief, and reform.

Some analysts might add a fourth goal, and a fourth R, to recovery, relief, and reform: reelection for Roosevelt and the Democrats. And not the least of the consequences of the New Deal was that the Democratic Party became the new majority party of the nation because of POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA and would remain so for decades beyond the 1930s. But while politics and reelection were important priorities of Roosevelt and the Democrats, and while the New Deal had profoundly important political effects, the three-R framework involves the New Deal itself, not New Deal-era politics.

Economic recovery was the overriding priority of Roosevelt and the New Deal. When Roosevelt took office in March 1933, national income was down by more than half, and the gross national product by almost half, from 1929 levels. UNEMPLOYMENT was at least 25 percent, and perhaps as high as 33 percent, of the labor force. Millions more were impoverished because of reduced hours and wages. Yet as late as 1940, after 10 years of the Great Depression and seven years of the New Deal, unemployment remained at the depression level of 15 percent. WORLD WAR II, not the New Deal, ended the Great Depression.

But the New Deal did try to achieve recovery, and it did help bring some improvement in economic conditions. In

1933, the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA) and the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT (AAA) were implemented to use government planning and controls to bring recovery in the manufacturing and agricultural sectors. Both had important limits, failed to bring recovery, and were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in the mid-1930s (the AAA was reinstituted in somewhat different form), but each contributed to stopping the downward slide.

From 1933 to 1936, economic indexes improved—not to prosperity levels, but to well above the 1933 lows. New Deal spending played a significant role in that expansion, though Roosevelt spent to finance his programs, not to produce Keynesian economic stimulus. On the other hand, New Deal regulation, TAXATION, and labor policy upset BUSINESS and inhibited private investment needed to stimulate the economy.

In 1937, Roosevelt turned to tighter FISCAL POLICY and MONETARY POLICY, confident that the economy was on the right track and worried about budget deficits and inflation. Then the RECESSION OF 1937–1938 struck, sending economic indexes down faster than—though not as far as—in the early years of the depression. This “Roosevelt Recession” caused a reconsideration of New Deal policy, and a turn toward KEYNESIANISM and purposeful government deficit spending to stimulate the economy. The economy began to turn up again, but not until wartime economic MOBILIZATION and massive deficit spending did the nation reach full-production, full-employment prosperity.

If the New Deal failed to achieve full recovery, it did provide relief assistance for millions of unemployed and impoverished Americans. The FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION (FERA) provided direct financial assistance beginning in 1933 and was supplemented by the CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS (CCC) and the 1933–34 CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION (CWA), both of which provided work relief in the form of jobs on government projects. In 1935, the largest New Deal relief agency, the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (WPA) superseded the FERA and provided work relief for millions. (At the same time, the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT provided public assistance as well as old age and unemployment insurance.) The New Deal never provided relief aid to all who needed it, and relief payments were typically low. But the acceptance of federal responsibility for relief assistance was a major change, and millions of Americans were helped through hard times by government relief programs.

In addition to jobs and assistance, Roosevelt and the New Deal provided another kind of relief—relief of the spirit and psyche. Partly by means of his “FIRESIDE CHATS” over the RADIO, FDR was able to communicate to Americans his concern and optimism, and New Deal programs provided tangible effort that the president and the govern-

ment understood and cared. The lifting of American spirits after the worst days of the early 1930s was surely one of the administration’s achievements.

Finally, the New Deal sought to implement reforms to prevent or cushion another depression. The BANKING ACTS of 1933 and 1935 and the FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION (FDIC) strengthened the banking system. The SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION (SEC) made the stock market sounder and safer, and other regulatory agencies such as the FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION (FCC) sought to improve and stabilize sectors of the economy. The NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT (NLRA, or the Wagner Act) enabled labor to organize and bargain effectively. The REVENUE ACT OF 1935 and other New Deal tax legislation sought to make taxation fairer and to increase government revenues. Partly as a result of the EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION ACT of 1939, the PRESIDENCY became more powerful.

The New Deal also brought important social as well as institutional reform, including accepting federal responsibility for relief. The Social Security Act included old age and unemployment insurance, and the FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT (FLSA) established minimum wages and maximum hours. The FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION (FSA) sought to help small farmers and migrant workers. The HOME OWNERS LOAN CORPORATION (HOLC), the FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION (FHA), and the FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION (FCA), refinanced or insured home and farm mortgages (and rescued many banks that had made mortgage loans), while the UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY (USHA) began to provide public HOUSING.

The three-R framework of recovery, relief, and reform thus provides a way to understand the New Deal as a whole and its efforts to ensure economic stability and security. But it is in an important sense a static framework, which does not trace the development and dynamics of New Deal policymaking. Here the second, or chronological framework, is useful. It helps to understand how and why New Deal priorities and programs evolved, and to link policymaking to politics and to the circumstances of the American people.

The chronological framework that has been used since the New Deal era itself distinguishes between the FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933 and the SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935. In this interpretation, the First New Deal was concerned above all with recovery and relief, with its cornerstone agencies being the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA) and the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION for recovery and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration for relief. The Second New Deal, by contrast, was concerned more with social reform, with its distinctive programs being the Works Progress Administration, the National Labor Relations Act, the Social Security Act, and the Revenue Act of 1935.

Critics of this framework complain, with reason, that it exaggerates differences and underestimates continuities. Early New Deal programs persisted into 1935 and after, for example, while some of the new 1935 programs either had precursors in the early New Deal (the Wagner Act had origins in Section 7(a) of the NIRA, for example), or had been in the planning stages for some time. The 1933 TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY (TVA) had been a reform, as had implementing relief programs. Throughout the 1930s, the New Deal sought recovery and relief and reform.

Still, there was a different focus to the 1933 and the 1935 legislation, and circumstances and politics can help to explain the change. In 1933, at the depths of the depression, the compelling need was to stop the economic collapse and get help to people. By 1935, the economy was doing better, and new reform measures had been developed. The political situation was also different by 1935. Such critics of the New Deal as HUEY LONG and FRANCIS TOWNSEND complained that Roosevelt had not done nearly enough for the poor and the ELDERLY. The Congress elected in 1934 was more liberal and far readier to accept reform programs for the poor and the working class—and, in the case of the Wagner Act, to insist upon such reform, despite little initial interest or support from Roosevelt and Secretary of Labor FRANCES PERKINS. The Second New Deal was thus to a significant degree a product of changing political dynamics.

The legislative achievements of the First and Second New Deals of 1933 and 1935 were extraordinary and laid the foundations of the modern regulatory welfare state. But after his landslide reelection in the ELECTION OF 1936, Roosevelt never again had such successes. The CONSERVATIVE COALITION in Congress thwarted much of his second-term agenda, and then FOREIGN POLICY and World War II changed the administration's focus and priorities.

Recently, however, scholars have identified a THIRD NEW DEAL in Roosevelt's second and third terms. This third stage of the New Deal was distinguished partly by a more conservative atmosphere in Washington and the nation, the result of the ongoing strength of American CONSERVATISM and adverse reactions to the 1937–38 recession, Roosevelt's COURT-PACKING PLAN, and labor unrest. But the Third New Deal was also characterized by the growing emphasis in liberal policy on macroeconomic FISCAL POLICY to achieve full-production, full-employment prosperity instead of the earlier efforts at microeconomic regulation and control and at redistributive economic and social policies. (It also included a new ANTIMONOPOLY thrust, including the formation of the TEMPORARY NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, though this ultimately had little impact.) The Third New Deal, characterized by a more conservative political climate and by the new Keynesian agenda, was as important to post-war politics and government as were the First and Second

New Deals, which produced the regulatory welfare state and the new Democratic majority.

Taken together, the topical approach of recovery, relief, and reform, and the chronological approach of the First, Second, and Third New Deals provide intersecting and complementary frameworks for understanding, analyzing, and explaining the New Deal and its development. Such understanding provides the essential basis for the third interpretive framework—evaluating or judging the New Deal. What difference did it make? Was it good or bad? Did it go too far or not far enough?

The basic viewpoints about the New Deal were largely established in the 1930s and have been reiterated and embellished since. Conservatives have called the New Deal a bad thing that went much too far. In this view, the New Deal harmed the American political system by making the federal government (and the presidency) too big and too powerful. It weakened the American economy by wasteful spending and by government intrusiveness and regulation that impaired the free enterprise system, and by labor and tax policies that prevented economic recovery by alienating business. And the New Deal, it is said, had an adverse impact on the American people by making them dependent upon government and eroding principles of individualism. In the conservative interpretation, Roosevelt was an erratic, devious, and misinformed leader concerned more about politics and reelection than about the public good.

From the opposite perspective, analysts and scholars on the left have complained from the start that the New Deal merely shored up corporate capitalism, that it helped business and the upper class more than workers and the poor, that it did not redistribute wealth or income and only partly redistributed power, and that it did virtually nothing to advance AFRICAN AMERICANS or CIVIL RIGHTS. In this view, Roosevelt was a calculating president, protecting corporate capitalism with his programs while winning support from working-class and lower-middle-class Americans and from minority groups with his rhetoric. “New Left” scholars of the 1960s reprised such contemporary 1930s criticism. More recently, some scholars have also criticized the New Deal for doing little to improve WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

But if the New Deal and Franklin D. Roosevelt have been criticized from right and left, they have also been celebrated and defended. Liberals then and since have rejoiced in New Deal reform that accepted responsibility for assistance to the poor and unemployed, challenged business and the wealthy, enabled the organization of powerful labor unions, strengthened the nation's economic institutions, created a broker state where the power of business was rivaled by that of government and often by labor and farmers as well, and that gave African Americans, women, JEWS, CATHOLICS, and other groups a larger voice in American



government. They have praised Roosevelt for championing such causes and achieving such results. In this view, the New Deal profoundly changed the nation—and for the better.

Each of these judgmental frameworks can adduce significant evidence in support of its views. But each also has shortcomings or blind spots. The conservative criticism, for example, often goes too far, with claims that the New Deal was socialist or fascist. In fact, most New Dealers wanted to strengthen and protect American capitalism by reforming it—and the modern mixed economy of government regulation and support of private enterprise did just that. Similarly, radical critiques point out shortcomings and limits of the New Deal, but often overlook successes and achievements. While correct that New Dealers, including FDR, were often cautious and even conservative reformers, operating within the traditions of American democratic capitalism, they often miss the degree to which the limits of the New Deal were imposed by the conservatism and antistatism of the culture, by opponents in Congress, by resistant, or racist, local officials who implemented New Deal programs, by events at home and abroad. And the admiring liberal accounts of the New Deal often exaggerate its virtues and successes and fail adequately to take into account significant criticisms from the right and the left.

Wherever one ultimately stands on the several evaluative frameworks of the New Deal, each raises important questions, rests on substantive evidence, and provokes reflection than can illuminate the New Deal and lead to still more questions and insights. Conflicting interpretations of the New Deal show no signs of ending, and scholars and others will continue to search for valid understandings and evaluations of the New Deal.

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## news media

During the 1930s and 1940s, the news media—newspapers, magazines, RADIO, and newsreels at the MOVIES—provided

extensive coverage of the news and illuminated important issues. In their various ways, the news media gave Americans information on such diverse matters as the extent and nature of the GREAT DEPRESSION, the experiences of UNEMPLOYMENT and the DUST BOWL, the PRESIDENCY of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, the exploits of SPORTS stars, and the progress of WORLD WAR II.

Despite the fact that the depression era witnessed declining numbers of papers printed daily, Americans continued to rely upon the morning or evening newspaper for news. In addition to the major general circulation newspapers of the big cities—which typically still had several newspapers—an enormous variety of newspapers served the nation, from small town and rural journals to papers that catered specifically to particular groups. A number of newspapers were published by and for AFRICAN AMERICANS, with some—for example, the *Chicago Defender*—having widespread circulation. Such ethnic groups as GERMAN AMERICANS, ITALIAN AMERICANS, POLISH AMERICANS, and JEWS also had their own newspapers, often in foreign-language format.

Increasingly, however, newspapers and journalism were becoming consolidated under such publishing magnates as William Randolph Hearst, who owned 28 national dailies and wielded complete editorial control from his office. This occasioned accusations in some quarters that the news media had become the pawn of conservatives who, throughout most of the depression era, editorially savaged President Roosevelt and the NEW DEAL. Publishers also denounced the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION's code for the publishing industry, which included minimum wages, limits on hours, and close regulation of child labor. On the other hand, the 1930s marked the rise of the left-leaning American Newspaper Guild, whose writers struck repeatedly for more pay and fewer hours, and which openly supported new federal programs espoused by the administration. All told, it was a time of dynamic flux for both newspapers and news coverage, and the ongoing tussle did little to diminish the centrality of newspapers to an informed American public.

In the 1930s, radio newscasts (either produced locally or through the major networks) increasingly brought news of the entire nation and world into American homes. By the end of the decade, radio was eclipsing newspapers as the most important source of daily news, and foreign-language broadcasts had a significant voice in ethnic communities. By the end of the 1930s, most households and many automobiles had radios, and radio served as a centerpiece of family enlightenment and entertainment. Some of the decade's most indelible moments were captured on radio, including coverage of the 1937 *Hindenberg* disaster and the 1938 broadcast of *War of the Worlds* by Orson Welles, a program that literally panicked millions. Both proved illustrative of

the power and persuasiveness of the broadcast milieu. Some broadcasters—for example, Walter Winchell and Edward R. Murrow—became at least as well known as the leading print journalists. The importance of radio newscasts was vividly demonstrated on Sunday, December 7, 1941, when the Japanese attacked PEARL HARBOR. Millions of listeners were glued to their sets as the dreadful news came in, while newspapers were slower to cover the story.

Magazines had been relatively unimportant as sources of news down to the 1920s, being largely the realm of literature and specialty pieces. HENRY R. LUCE cofounded *Time*, the first weekly newsmagazine, in the early 1920s, however, and such competitors as *Newsweek* soon emerged as well. In the 1930s, moreover, the photo magazines such as *LIFE MAGAZINE* and *Look* appeared, using PHOTOGRAPHY to bring the events of the week to millions of readers.

Their access to large audiences gave newspapers, radio, and magazines the ability not only to increase the knowledge but also to sway the opinions of readers and listeners. While newspaper publishers in the 1930s generally reflected the conservative views of BUSINESS and often opposed Roosevelt and the New Deal, reporters and columnists were typically more favorable to the administration. Roosevelt himself used his press conferences and his radio broadcasts to get his side of the story out and cultivated reporters to get friendly coverage. In fact, the president proved uniquely gifted in terms of radio broadcasting, given his rich voice and folksy demeanor, and with his "FIRESIDE CHATS" he was the first chief executive to pioneer political broadcasting seemingly beamed toward individual households—and voters. The explosion of radio stations nationwide, coupled with improved AM and FM technology, also culminated in the new FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION in 1934 to provide better oversight and regulation for the industry.

Even before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the news media brought Americans the news of World War II. Edward R. Murrow reported via radio from London on the BATTLE OF BRITAIN and the British experience under German aerial attack, and he and other radio broadcasters followed the subsequent progress of the war. Among print journalists, ERNIE PYLE in particular won the loyalty and love of American GIs and professional acclaim at home for his unpretentious style in telling the story of the war through the eyes of ordinary soldiers. His down-home earnestness and rapport with the troops made his columns a weekly fixture in newspapers across the nation, and in 1944 he received a Pulitzer Prize. Like Pyle, other reporters carried friendly and positive accounts of American servicemen. Newsmagazines and newsreels also provided news and images of the war. Many of these images were taken by noted women photographers such as MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE, the first female journalist allowed to accompany a

BOMBING mission over Germany, which lowered another gender-based barrier for women photojournalists.

The news media, however, had to comply with CENSORSHIP by the GOVERNMENT, often in ways that advanced government PROPAGANDA efforts. The armed forces censored war reports and photographs, for example, while journalists frequently had to rely upon the military and the OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION for information. Photographs of dead Americans were not released for publication until 1943, out of concern that they would harm morale, and the news media rarely provided information or images of the most grisly and brutal side of the war. Generally, however, the control of information and photographs was consistent with national security and humane concerns, and typically the news media willingly practiced self-censorship in such matters. They also pooled their resources during the war so that the various media outlets could share information and reports. Nor did radio escape the long arm of censorship. During the war years the National Association of Broadcasters initiated their own set of rules banning any type of programming, such as wartime dramatizations, that might trigger panic or disaffection at home. The airing of weather reports was also discontinued until 1943 in order to deprive enemy pilots of potentially useful information.

In the era of the Great Depression and World War II, the news media brought home the severity of the Great Depression, did generally a successful job of reporting the war, and provided insight into dominant personalities and dramatic events as well as into everyday life. Radical changes lay ahead, however, for the rapid development of television in the postwar era would profoundly affect the news media and the roles played by newspapers, magazines, newsreels, and radio.

See also POPULAR CULTURE.

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—Nicholas Fry and John C. Fredriksen

### New York World's Fair (1939–1940)

The New York World's Fair of 1939–40 was the largest and most expensive world's fair ever to that point, and the most important of the world's fairs of the 1930s. Although attendance fell short of hopes, the fair reflected important

aspects of American culture at the juncture of the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II.

Costing more than \$150 million and covering more than 1,200 acres in the borough of Queens, the New York World's Fair was immense. Special highways, bridges, and subway stations were built to accommodate traffic to the fair, and 300 buildings were constructed on the fairgrounds. Two lakes were created, 10,000 trees were planted, and 25 miles of road were paved. Fifty-nine foreign nations and 33 U.S. states and territories participated. In addition, the fair corporation commissioned the creation of more than 100 murals and more than 60 sculptures.

The purported reason for the fair was the celebration of the 150th anniversary of George Washington's inaugural address. In reality, the fair of 1939 touched only lightly on historical themes. Far more obvious was the fair's emphasis on the future. The official guide book claimed that visitors would gain a "new and clearer view of today in preparation for tomorrow," and that the exhibits would "show the way toward the improvement of all the factors contributing to human welfare." This was reflected in the fair's official theme—"the World of Tomorrow."

This futuristic focus was also reflected in the architecture and layout of the fair. All of the physical elements were coordinated to impart a feeling of modernity and uniformity. Clean lines and bold shapes dominated in the buildings. The streets were arranged in an orderly manner, and even the color scheme was carefully planned. The only completely white buildings were the Perisphere and the Trylon, respectively a globe 200 feet in diameter and a 600-foot-tall three-sided obelisk that stood together at the center of the fair. The main thoroughfare, at one end of which these structures stood, also featured an 85-foot statue of Washington and an elaborate fountain called the Lagoon of Nations.

Many of the fair's exhibits shared this futuristic motif. Inside the Perisphere, revolving balconies afforded an aerial view of the model metropolis of the future, called Democracy. Similarly, the fair's most popular exhibit, General Motors's "Highways and Horizons," allowed visitors to travel through the America of 1960. Known as the Futurama, this exhibit showcased a time when the problems of society had been solved by new technologies, including superhighways, urban planning, and scientific agriculture. Other futuristic attractions included an electrified farm and the Town of Tomorrow, which featured single-family homes built with innovative materials and equipped with novel appliances. In the RCA building, crowds gathered around a seven-inch television screen to see the future of mass media. Westinghouse, Ford, Kodak, Nabisco, American Telephone & Telegraph, Heinz, Bethlehem Steel, and a host of other corporations also exhibited products at the fair.



Shown here are the futuristic symbols of "the World of Tomorrow," the 600-foot-tall needlelike Trylon and the Perisphere, a globe nearly 200 feet in diameter. (Hulton/Archive)

In addition to the attractions offering EDUCATION and enlightenment, the fair also provided pure entertainment. The amusement area of the fair contained elaborate attractions such as Jungleland, Old New York, Merrie England, and Children's World, as well as the more typical thrill rides, carnival games, and "girlie shows." Numerous parades and nightly fireworks shows were staged. Arenas housed Broadway plays, MOVIES, and fashion shows. The Aquacade, which featured synchronized swimming productions, was one of the fair's most popular attractions.

Despite the time and effort that went into creating the fair, attendance failed to meet expectations. Instead of the projected 40 million to 50 million, only 25 million people visited the fair in its 1939 season, and the fair corporation lost money. As a result, some adjustments were planned for 1940. The admission price was dropped from 75¢ to 50¢. The official theme of the fair was also changed, evidently in response to increased qualms over the future and concern about the outbreak of World War II. Rather than "the World of Tomorrow," the planners now promised fairgoers refuge in patriotic celebrations of America's "Peace and Freedom." In addition, advertisements emphasized the fun and escapism offered at the fair. While the fair corporation



made money in 1940, turnout remained low, with only 18 million attending.

Although the New York World's Fair of 1939–40 was an economic failure, it was, and remains, an important icon of mid-20th-century America. The fair reflected a faith in TECHNOLOGY as a means of progress—a theme which, though tempered in later decades, continues to be an enduring element of American culture. Likewise, the fair's enthusiasm for new gadgets and material comforts reflected the emergence of the consumer culture, a ubiquitous, if often criticized, characteristic of modern American life. More poignantly, perhaps, the fair symbolized for many the possibility of hope in the midst of depression and international conflict.

See also POPULAR CULTURE.

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—Pamela J. Lauer

**Nimitz, Chester W.** (1885–1966) *commander in chief, U.S. Pacific Fleet in World War II*

Admiral Chester William Nimitz served as the commander in chief of all United States land, sea, and air forces in the Pacific Ocean Areas during WORLD WAR II.

Nimitz was born in Fredricksburg, Texas, on February 24, 1885. He attended the U.S. Naval Academy and graduated in 1905. He was a submariner during the earliest days of the “silent service,” and held a variety of assignments prior to World War I, including tours on the China station and as commander of the Atlantic Submarine Flotilla. In 1913 he traveled to Germany and Belgium to study advances in diesel engines; on his return to the United States, he supervised the construction of the first diesel ships built for the U.S. Navy, then undergoing the transition from coal to oil power.

In 1916, Nimitz was promoted to the rank of lieutenant commander. During World War I, he served as chief of staff to the commander of the submarine division, Atlantic Fleet. Various assignments followed after the war, including attendance at the U.S. Naval War College (1922–23), and staff assignments with the commander in chief of the Battle Fleet and the commander in chief of the U.S. Fleet. After attending the University of California (1926–29), Nimitz commanded Submarine Division 20 (1929–31) and the USS *Augusta* (1933–35), and served as assistant chief of the Bureau of Navigation (1935–38). He was promoted to rear admiral in 1938, and for a year commanded a cruiser division before taking command of a battleship division. In

June 1939 he was made chief of the Bureau of Navigation, where he remained until the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR in December 1941.

A senior commander with vast experience (although he never served aboard a ship in combat), extraordinary organizational and leadership talents, and a deliberate, low-key, but confident demeanor, Nimitz was named commander in chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet in March 1942, with the rank of admiral. Soon thereafter, Nimitz was named commander of all land, sea, and air forces in the Pacific Ocean Areas. This included the North and Central Pacific Ocean Areas under his direct command, and supervision of the South Pacific Ocean Area, first commanded by Admiral Robert L. Ghormley and later Admiral WILLIAM F. HALSEY. As commander in chief of the Pacific Ocean Areas, Nimitz was responsible for the buildup, coordination, and overall direction of the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER campaign against Imperial Japan in cooperation with U.S. ARMY general Douglas A. MacArthur, commander of the Southwest Pacific Area. In addition, Nimitz commanded his own U.S. NAVY and U.S. MARINES subordinates including Admirals Halsey, Marc A. Mitscher, Raymond A. Spruance, Thomas C. Kincaid, John S. McCain, Sr., and Richard K. Turner.

Following a massive two-year buildup of naval, air, and land forces in Hawaii, Nimitz directed the sea battles and island-hopping AMPHIBIOUS WARFARE assaults across the Central Pacific toward the Japanese home islands. These included landings in the Gilbert Islands (November 1943), the Marshall Islands (January–February 1944), the MARIANA ISLANDS (June–July 1944), the Palaus (September 1944), the PHILIPPINES (October 1944), IWO JIMA (February 1945), and OKINAWA (April 1945). Nimitz also served as overall commander during the time his subordinates fought the BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA (May 1942), the BATTLE OF MIDWAY (June 1942), the BATTLE OF THE PHILIPPINE SEA (June 1944), and the BATTLE FOR LEYTE GULF (October 1944).

In December 1944, Nimitz was promoted to the newly created rank of admiral of the fleet, the naval equivalent to the U.S. Army five-star general-of-the-army rank. On September 2, 1945, the formal surrender of Japan was received aboard the battleship USS *Missouri* anchored in Tokyo Bay, then serving as Nimitz's flagship.

From December 1945 until his retirement from the U.S. Navy in December 1947, Nimitz served as chief of naval operations and then as special assistant to the secretary of the navy. In 1949 he was chosen to supervise the UNITED NATIONS plebiscite in Kashmir. He died on February 20, 1966.

**Further reading:** E. B. Potter, *Nimitz* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1976).

—Clayton D. Laurie



**Normandy, invasion of** (June 1944)

The June 6, 1944, invasion of Normandy, popularly known as D-day, was the long-awaited opening of the **SECOND FRONT** in France with an amphibious assault across the English Channel. It was the largest **AMPHIBIOUS WARFARE** operation in history. When the Normandy campaign ended on September 1, 1944, Paris and most of France had been liberated, the Germans had lost a force of 700,000 men, and the western Allies were poised for the assault on Germany that together with the Soviet attack from the east would bring victory to the **GRAND ALLIANCE** in the **WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER**.

The Combined Chiefs of Staff decision to launch the invasion was made in spring 1943, with D-day set for May 1, 1944, a decision made official at the **TEHERAN CONFERENCE**. Planning for Operation Overlord began under British lieutenant general Sir Frederic Morgan, whose small

staff drew up an invasion plan approved at the Quebec Conference in August. It called for landing a force eventually consisting of 60 U.S. and 20 British and Canadian divisions, under the overall command of U.S. **ARMY** general Dwight D. Eisenhower as the supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces. Subordinate to Eisenhower was British field marshal Bernard Law Montgomery, who would command the 21st Army Group, the major ground force for the invasion. Admiral Sir Bertram Ramsay of the British Royal Navy would command naval forces, and Air Chief Marshal Trafford Leigh-Mallory of the Royal Air Force would oversee the air units.

As the buildup of forces continued in Britain, Allied air forces began a **BOMBING** campaign aimed at transportation and communications centers in northern France and the Low Countries to deny counterattacking enemy forces access to the invasion area. Similarly, the air forces made



In this photo, taken in England a few hours before their jump into France, General Dwight D. Eisenhower urges men of the U.S. 101st Airborne Divisions to "Full victory—nothing else." (*Library of Congress*)

an effort to clear the skies of the Luftwaffe, an effort that succeeded by March. Simultaneously, a massive deception campaign convinced the Germans that the Allied assault would be launched across the narrowest point of the English Channel at the Pas de Calais, rather than at Normandy.

To ensure the success of the landings, code-named Operation Neptune, planners increased the size of the invasion force from three to five divisions, to assault five beaches. Two beaches, code-named Utah and Omaha, would be assaulted by American divisions; one beach, Juno, by a Canadian division; and two beaches, Gold and Sword, by British divisions. Three airborne divisions, one British and two American, totaling 23,000 men, would land at opposite ends of the 50-mile-long invasion beachhead prior to the amphibious landings to block transportation routes at Ouistreham in the east and Ste. Mère Eglise in the west. By increasing the size of the invasion force, however, a postponement was necessary in order for the military to obtain more landing craft. D-day was moved from May 1 to June 5, 1944.

The Germans knew the invasion was coming, but the Allied deception campaign kept them guessing as to where. A confused German chain of command, coupled with shortages of manpower, equipment, and resources, hindered German defensive preparations. Indeed, differing opinions between the commander in the west, Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt, and his subordinate commanding Army Group B in Normandy, Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, prevented coherent planning. Von Rundstedt hoped to defeat the Allies with a mobile counterattacking force once the Allies had moved inland, while Rommel, backed by Hitler, favored repelling the invaders on the beaches. In the end, neither plan was followed, although Rommel did clutter the beaches with obstacles.

Bad weather on June 5, 1944, prompted the recall of the 600-ship invasion force from mid-channel, but the decision was made to land the next day rather than waiting until June 19, the next date on which tidal conditions would again favor an assault. Following the dropping of airborne forces, and under naval shore fire, 176,000 Allied troops began landing at dawn on June 6, 1944. The Allies achieved tactical surprise; the landings on Utah, Gold, Juno, and Sword succeeded in establishing beachheads against moderate resistance, but the Americans landing on Omaha suffered heavy casualties fighting against a determined enemy. Nonetheless, by nightfall, more than 75,000 British and Canadian troops and 57,500 American troops were ashore. Casualties were approximately 4,300 British and Canadian soldiers, and about 6,000 Americans. When Operation Neptune ended on June 30, 1944, more than 850,000 Allied troops had landed, along with 148,000 vehicles, and 570,000 tons of supplies.

Although the Allies had hoped to quickly break out of the beachhead and move inland, increasingly stubborn German resistance against the British advance on Caen prompted American forces to divert south into the hedgerows of the Bocage country of Normandy, delaying the breakout until July 25–31.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

**Norris, George W.** (1861–1944) *U.S. representative and senator*

George William Norris, elected to five terms in the United States Senate from Nebraska, was a progressive and independent member of the REPUBLICAN PARTY who played a significant role in national politics in the 1920s and 1930s.

Born in Sandusky County, Ohio, on July 11, 1861, Norris worked from an early age to support his widowed mother and siblings, and attended Baldwin and Valparaiso Universities. He taught school in the Washington Territory, then moved to Nebraska, where he practiced law and entered local Republican politics.

Elected to Congress in 1902, Norris evolved from a conservative to progressive Republican during five terms in the House of Representatives, and broke with the GOP in 1912 to support the Progressive “Bull Moose” Party of Theodore Roosevelt. After he was elected to the U.S. Senate by the Nebraska legislature in 1912, he supported progressive reform legislation, but opposed American involvement in World War I and fought against membership in the League of Nations. During the 1920s, as chairman of the Agriculture Committee, Norris championed the development of hydroelectric power in the Tennessee Valley at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, and he also fought for the rights of organized LABOR. In 1928, Norris refused to back HERBERT C. HOOVER for president, preferring Democrat Al Smith instead, and four years later was an early advocate of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. He was coauthor of the pro-labor NORRIS–LA GUARDIA ACT of 1932.

After Roosevelt became president, Norris staunchly supported most NEW DEAL legislation, including the TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY, the culmination of years of struggle for him. With Roosevelt’s strong endorsement, Norris won reelection to a fifth term in 1936 after 40,000 Nebraskans signed petitions urging him not to retire. Norris eventually backed Roosevelt’s COURT-PACKING PLAN, albeit with misgivings, but in FOREIGN POLICY he was among the

ISOLATIONISTS opposing Roosevelt's interventionist aims. After voting against the SELECTIVE SERVICE Act in 1940, however, he moved away from the isolationists with his support of the LEND-LEASE Act. Norris sought a sixth term in 1942, but despite another endorsement from Roosevelt, he lost reelection after 30 years in the Senate. In retirement, Norris wrote his memoirs and supported Roosevelt for a fourth term, praising his conduct of WORLD WAR II. Norris died in McCook, Nebraska, on September 2, 1944.

**Further reading:** Richard Lowitt, *George W. Norris: The Persistence of a Progressive, 1913–1933* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971); ———, *George W. Norris: The Triumph of a Progressive, 1933–1944* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978).

—William J. Thompson

### Norris–La Guardia Act (1932)

The Norris–La Guardia Act significantly restricted the use of antiunion injunctions during LABOR disputes. Since the 1880s a standard management practice for thwarting labor boycotts, picketing, and STRIKES was to obtain an injunction from a federal court. Many companies also resorted to the tactic of securing from employees signed agreements that they would not join labor unions, the so-called “yellow-dog contracts.” The net result was to make federal courts the de facto ally of management in labor issues, with ruinous effects upon unions and organizing. Between 1880 and 1930 an estimated 4,300 antistrike injunctions were issued to squelch worker unrest. The AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) determined that such practices were detrimental to the continued existence of organized labor and began concerted lobbying efforts to change the law. The onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION in 1929 and the mass UNEMPLOYMENT that followed, moreover, soured public attitudes toward management and stimulated considerable sympathy for workers. In 1932, two progressive Republicans, Senator GEORGE W. NORRIS of Nebraska and Congressman FIORELLO LA GUARDIA of New York, sponsored the Norris–La Guardia Act, which proscribed federal courts from automatically issuing injunctions against strikes, boycotts, and picketing without a proper period of negotiation or mediation. Moreover, courts were now required to affirm that illegal acts had been committed by union members or that irreparable harm to property would result from such actions in order to stop them. Equally important, the Norris–La Guardia Act eliminated “yellow-dog” clauses from contracts and thus allowed workers to join unions, engage in collective bargaining, and strike under the protection of the law. The Norris–La Guardia Act was signed into law by President HERBERT HOOVER on March 23, 1932, initiating a more even-handed relationship between the courts

and the unions and between employers and labor. It also anticipated the more favorable legislation toward organized labor that would appear in the NEW DEAL of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

**Further reading:** Irving Bernstein, *The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker, 1920–1933* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960); Daniel Ernst, “The Yellow Dog Contract and Liberal Reform, 1917–1933,” *Labor History* 30 (1989), 251–274.

—John C. Fredriksen

### North African campaign (November 1942–May 1943)

The Western Allies were facing a Japanese onslaught in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER during the first half of 1942, yet President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and British prime minister Winston S. Churchill agreed with their military advisers that it was important for them to engage the AXIS powers in the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER at the earliest opportunity. (Germany and the Soviet Union had been fighting on the eastern front since June 1941.) While an indecisive seesaw battle had been raging in North Africa between British and Commonwealth forces and Axis forces since November 1940, it was decided that Morocco and Algeria, colonies of the nominally independent Vichy France government that was in fact subservient to Germany, would be suitable landing sites. Planning for Operation Torch, the invasion of Northwest Africa, began in the summer of 1942. Its ultimate goal was the destruction of Axis forces between two large east-west pincers.

The invasion plan called for landing three armies in Casablanca, Morocco, and in Oran and Algiers, Algeria. The Western Task Force, landing in Casablanca, embarked directly from Hampton Roads, Virginia, under command of Major General GEORGE S. PATTON, and consisted entirely of U.S. ARMY troops. The Central Task Force, also American, was commanded by U.S. Army major general Lloyd R. Fredendall. It would sail from Great Britain and land in Oran, Algeria. The Eastern Task Force, a composite British-American team, was commanded by U.S. Army major general Charles W. Ryder, and would take Algiers. The invasion force totaled 65,000 men, accompanied by 650 British and American warships. The landings took place early on November 8, 1942, and achieved total surprise. Although Vichy French resistance was light, except at Casablanca, more than 1,400 Americans and 700 French soldiers were killed during the assault.

In spite of Allied efforts to decipher French reactions, the political situation in North Africa was initially far from clear. On November 10, however, the Allies gained the cooperation of a Vichy official, Admiral Jean Darlan,



who called for a cease-fire, which ended the fighting. In response to this perceived betrayal by the Vichy regime, Adolf Hitler ordered German forces to occupy all of metropolitan France. Hitler then dispatched 17,000 men of the Fifth Panzer Army under General Jürgen von Arnim to Tunisia.

Although the Allies attempted a dash to Tunisia in December, logistical difficulties, American inexperience, poor Allied cooperation, bad weather, and mountainous terrain, as well as stubborn German resistance, halted the Allied advance. As German field marshal Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps entered Tunisia in February, after a long retreat before advancing British and Commonwealth forces under Lieutenant General Bernard L. Montgomery, the Axis commanders decided to launch an offensive against inexperienced Allied troops in Tunisia, in particular Fredenall's U.S. II Corps. German forces attacked the Americans on February 14–15, 1943, at the Kasserine Pass and gained temporary successes. Determined British units, reinforced by the U.S. First Armored and U.S. Ninth Infantry Divisions stopped the German push, however, and the over-extended Axis forces withdrew. On February 23, Rommel was appointed commander of the Panzer Army, Africa; but, tired and ill, he relinquished command to von Arnim and left Africa on March 9.

Following Kasserine, the Allies reorganized. British general Harold R. L. G. Alexander assumed command of Allied ground forces in North Africa with the 18th Army Group, under overall command of Lieutenant General Dwight D. Eisenhower, who directed the campaign from Allied Force Headquarters in Algiers. Below Alexander were three armies, one consisting of the American II Corps under General Patton, the British command in Tunisia coming under General Kenneth A. N. Anderson's First Army, and Montgomery's Eighth Army, now entering Tunisia. Following Montgomery's successful flanking attack on the last German defensive position (the Mareth line) in southern Tunisia in March, and with clear, dry weather and increasing material and manpower advantages, the Allies made rapid progress. Allied AIR POWER was especially telling, and more than 13,000 sorties were flown unopposed against Axis ground forces and the sea CONVOYS attempting their resupply. On May 7, 1943, the Americans took Bizerte, while British forces entered Tunis. With Allied aircraft dominating the skies and Allied navies blocking escape routes, Axis forces surrendered on May 13, 1943, giving the Allies control of the North African coast and jumping off points for the invasion of SICILY and the subsequent ITALIAN CAMPAIGN.

The 275,000 Axis prisoners taken spoke of the magnitude of the defeat, with other casualties, dead and wounded since February 1941, reaching a total of 345,000. Allied casualties since Torch included 12,200 British, American,

and French troops killed, 42,000 wounded, and 20,000 captured or missing.

See also GRAND ALLIANCE.

**Further reading:** Norman Gelb, *Desperate Venture: The Story of Operation TORCH, the Allied Invasion of North Africa* (New York: Morrow, 1992); Alan Moorehead, *Desert War: The North African Campaign, 1940–1943* (New York: Penguin, 2001).

—Clayton D. Laurie

### Nye committee (1934–1936)

The Nye committee, officially named the Special Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry, was created by the U.S. Senate on April 12, 1934. The widespread sense that participation in World War I had been a mistake led many Americans, especially isolationist and pacifist groups, to have suspicions about business-government complicity in the U.S. involvement in World War I. Peace groups called for congressional investigations of the munitions makers and their financial allies, and ISOLATIONISTS in the Senate succeeded in passing legislation that called for an investigation of munitions makers and their profits. Under the resolution, Vice President JOHN NANCE GARNER selected the committee members, including Senator Gerald P. Nye as chairman. Nye, a progressive Republican from North Dakota, was an ardent isolationist, as were the majority of the committee's other members.

After spending the summer of 1934 searching files of armament companies and subpoenaing witnesses, the committee held a first round of hearings in September. The committee interrogated BUSINESS leaders from companies engaged in the production and sale of armaments and munitions, with the star witnesses being the DuPont brothers of E. I. DuPont de Nemours and Company. The second round of hearings, held from December 1934 to April 1935, shifted focus from the armament makers themselves to the relationship between the munitions interests and the federal GOVERNMENT. In March 1935, the Nye committee met with President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, who urged the group to study and submit neutrality legislation to Congress, and Nye and his colleagues introduced legislation that led to the passage of the NEUTRALITY ACTS.

Chairman Nye, through speeches and RADIO addresses, generated a great deal of publicity for the committee, but he and his committee often sparked controversy as well. The committee issued two reports in late 1935, one urging a defensive navy built without profiteering or collusion, and the other proposing wartime taxes and price controls to take the profit out of war. The Nye committee's third round of hearings was held in January and February 1936, with testimony from representatives of firearms companies,



steel companies, and financier J. P. Morgan, Jr. While interrogating Morgan, Nye accused President Woodrow Wilson of falsifying knowledge of Allied secret tactics during World War I—and was denounced by Senate Democrats for his attacks on Wilson.

In all, the Nye committee issued seven reports. In the reports, the committee accused munitions makers of bribery and influence peddling, proposed new approaches to wartime mobilization to eliminate profit, recommended permanent neutrality legislation, detailed the activities of J. P. Morgan and Company, and advocated government ownership of the munitions industry. The two years of hearings, investigations, and reports of the Nye committee helped

build public support for isolationism and led to passage of the restrictive neutrality laws of the mid-1930s.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

**Further reading:** Wayne S. Cole, *Senator Gerald P. Nye and American Foreign Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962); Mathew Coulter, *The Senate Munitions Inquiry of the 1930s: Beyond the Merchants of Death* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1947); Paul A. C. Koistinen, *Planning War, Pursuing Peace: The Political Economy of American Warfare, 1920–1939* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998).

—William J. Thompson





### Office of Civilian Defense (OCD)

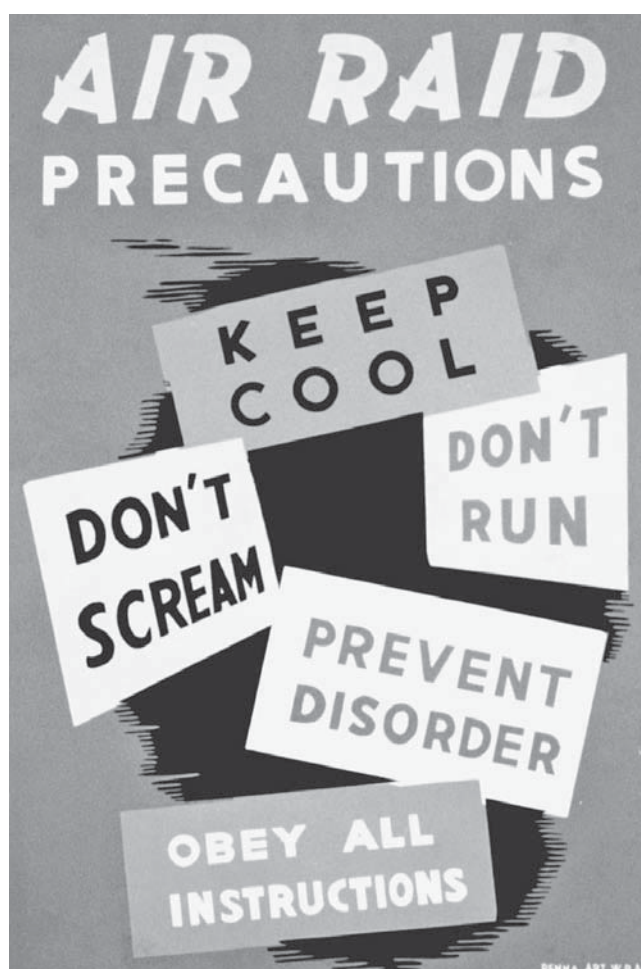
The federal Office of Civilian Defense (OCD) was created on May 20, 1941, and was initially headed by FIORELLO LA GUARDIA, the charismatic mayor of New York City. It had a twofold purpose: to protect civilians from enemy attack, and to maintain high morale on the WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT. By early 1942, more than 5.5 million Americans had enrolled for such activities as coast watching, air raid defense and aircraft spotting, and enforcing blackouts.

At the time of the BOMBING of PEARL HARBOR in December 1941, the OCD comprised 1 million civil defense volunteers organized into 6,000 local councils. But the OCD fell far short of La Guardia's claims of effective organization. Local OCD councils bungled their assignments, and the air raid sirens that were supposed to warn city residents of air attacks often could be barely heard over the traffic. Soon, "wildcat" civilian defense organizations were begun by individual communities to compensate for the inefficient and ineffective local councils. The need for a comprehensive and effective civil defense organization became clearer after Pearl Harbor. False air raid alarms rippled across the country, particularly in San Francisco and Los Angeles as panicked citizens saw "Japanese" planes heading in all directions. As municipal and federal officials sought to bring some kind of order from the chaos, La Guardia maintained that the primary responsibility for the OCD was air raid defense and nothing more.

The OCD was not, however, completely inept. It added thousands of private pilots who had not joined the army air corps to its operations of the Civil Air Patrol, which supplemented and assisted army and navy antisubmarine patrols along the coasts. The air patrols, along with the coastal dim-outs, which eliminated light directed toward the sea, helped to diminish the U-boat threat along the East Coast.

Still, the OCD obviously needed improvement. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT sought to strengthen the agency by naming John Landis to the position of executive director. La Guardia would remain involved with larger policy decisions, but Landis would run the day-to-day oper-

ations. La Guardia soon resigned and escaped the mounting criticism of his leadership coming from CONGRESS. Landis reorganized the OCD and eliminated some of the



Posters, such as the one above, were used by the Office of Civilian Defense to help Americans prepare for wartime. (*Library of Congress*)

more superfluous programs such as the Arts Council of the Voluntary Participation Branch and the Children's Activities Section of the Physical Fitness Division of the OCD that had been suggested by ELEANOR ROOSEVELT. By the summer of 1942, although he was still facing a shortage of equipment and a poorly trained volunteer force, Landis had begun to enhance the operations and stature of the OCD.

By 1943, the OCD was better organized and fairly well equipped. By then, however, it was of little real use, for the tide of the war had shifted to the Allies and there was no real threat of an enemy attack on the United States. From 1943 to 1945 the OCD nonetheless continued to carry out air raid drills and blackouts and maintained its disaster preparedness programs.

**Further reading:** Richard Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On? The American Home Front, 1941–1945* (New York: Putnam, 1970).

—Nicholas Fry

### Office of Price Administration (OPA)

The Office of Price Administration (OPA) played a leading role in the WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS of the WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT and also administered the federal GOVERNMENT program for RATIONING various goods in short supply.

By 1941, economic MOBILIZATION for World War II had begun to increase employment, income, and purchasing power and to divert materials and production to military goods. It thus raised the questions of how to combat the potentially large “inflationary gap” between limited supply and growing demand and of how to assure the equitable distribution of essential consumer goods. In April 1941, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT created the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply (OPACS), headed by LEON HENDERSON, an outspoken and sometimes abrasive and impolitic New Dealer. In August 1941, Roosevelt replaced the OPACS with the new Office of Price Administration, also under Henderson. The Emergency Price Control Act of January 1942 gave the OPA authority to set maximum prices on nonfarm consumer goods and rents.

It took more than a year for effective price controls on consumer goods to be implemented. Not only did a workable system have to be put in place, but the OPA lacked authority over farm prices, and CONGRESS authorized farm prices to rise to 110 percent of the “parity” level established by the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT of the NEW DEAL. Wage policy fell to the NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD. The OPA's General Maximum Price Regulation (“General Max,” in the parlance of wartime Amer-

ica) issued in April 1942 set maximum prices for consumer goods at the highest level reached in March 1942, but it was evaded in a number of ways and addressed only part of the wage/price problem. In October 1942, Congress passed the Economic Stabilization Act at Roosevelt's urging, and FDR appointed SUPREME COURT justice JAMES F. BYRNES to head the new Office of Economic Stabilization, with authority over farm prices and wages. In April 1943, FDR issued a “hold-the-line” order on wages and prices.

In this new framework, the OPA's efforts at price controls proved far more effective. Where the consumer price index had risen by some 24 percent from 1939 to 1943, it rose only about 4 percent more for the rest of the war. (It should be noted, however, that the official price index underestimated inflation and did not take into account the “hidden” inflation resulting from such factors as reduced quality and choice or the higher prices paid on the wartime BLACK MARKET.) The OPA rent control program proved generally successful from the outset.

The OPA administered rationing, its most unpopular function, as requested by supply agencies, with the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD ultimately acquiring authority to determine which goods would be rationed, and in what amounts and when. The OPA began rationing programs on 10 items in 1942, with additional items added to the rationing list later. Most Americans understood and accepted the need for rationing, as they did for wage and price controls, but they often disliked the implementation. The OPA relied upon local boards staffed by volunteers, which gave a certain local standing to the operations but also could produce favoritism and inefficiency. The rationing system was complicated and sometimes confusing, with coupons, certificates, stickers, stamps, and a changing point system for buying rationed items. Not all items in short supply were rationed, but a number of important ones were—gasoline, tires, meat, sugar, coffee, shoes, and canned goods, for example. And rationing seemed all the more frustrating when Americans had money to spend again after the long depression decade of the 1930s. Many consumers and merchants evaded OPA restrictions by black-market operations—and the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION worked with the OPA to cut down on black market violations.

The OPA was most unpopular in 1942 when it was one of many home-front war agencies that had yet to find their stride, and public unhappiness with the OPA played a role in the sharp Republican gains in the election of 1942. OPA administrator Henderson had become a lightning rod for public discontent and the target of unhappy interest groups and of congressmen who thought him and his staff arrogant. He now became also a scapegoat for frustrated Democrats already unhappy with his resistance to using the agency for political patronage appointments. Citing health issues, Henderson resigned under pressure.



Henderson's successors as OPA administrator, Prentiss Brown and Chester Bowles, fared much better. They were far more adept at public relations and assuaging constituencies and critics than Henderson had been. They also improved the agency's operations, especially in using local volunteers to administer price controls. And they had the good fortune of presiding over the OPA as the overall system of wage and price controls and rationing became more effective. The OPA and its programs were phased out after the war, though price controls and inflation again became a major political issue and a Democratic liability in the election of 1946.

**Further reading:** Lester V. Chandler, *Inflation in the United States, 1940–1948* (New York: Harper, 1951); Harold G. Vatter, *The U.S. Economy in World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

### Office of Production Management (OPM)

The Office of Production Management (OPM) was created in January 1941 to coordinate the conversion of industry from civilian to defense production. It proved to be a weak and ineffectual agency for preparing the American ECONOMY for WORLD WAR II, and in January 1942 was folded into the new WAR PRODUCTION BOARD.

In order to facilitate economic MOBILIZATION and rearmament efforts, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT organized a National Defense and Advisory Commission (NDAC) in May 1940. NDAC had little success, and in January 1941, Roosevelt replaced that agency with the Office of Production Management. OPM was jointly directed by General Motors executive William S. Knudsen and AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA Union president SIDNEY HILLMAN in an effort to combine the interests of both BUSINESS and LABOR in mobilizing the economy for war. The primary objective of OPM was to coordinate the procurement and production of armaments and equipment. Its greatest legacy was its Division of Research and Statistics' compilation of "shopping lists" of estimates and production requirements for U.S. military needs.

Later in 1941, FDR diminished the potential effectiveness of OPM by creating two new agencies aimed at economic mobilization: the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply (OPACS) headed by LEON HENDERSON, and the Supply Priorities and Allocation Board (SPAB) led by DONALD M. NELSON. The existence of so many mobilization agencies enabled FDR to keep economic organization under his control, but the agencies often overlapped in complex and confusing ways that rendered many of them ineffectual and resulted in consolidations and the creation of still more agencies.

As production demands steadily increased, the OPM was to divert resources from civilian to military needs. But OPM encountered problems in purchasing and procurement of military equipment because the army and navy had divisions with those powers as well. Ironically, despite Knudsen's position, OPM also failed in getting the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY to convert their factories from civilian production to war production. In January 1942, OPM, together with SPAB, was replaced by the War Production Board.

**Further reading:** Harold G. Vatter, *The U.S. Economy in World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

—Michael T. Walsh

### Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD)

Directed by VANNEVAR BUSH, the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD) became the chief GOVERNMENT arm for mobilizing SCIENCE and TECHNOLOGY for WORLD WAR II. Given unusual access and trust by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Bush masterfully directed and defended OSRD, quickly making it a major element of the war MOBILIZATION effort.

While enjoying only about a third of the overall wartime research and development funds, the OSRD's numerous projects nonetheless led to major inventions such as radar, radio-inertial navigation, new amphibious vehicles, the proximity fuse, mass production of penicillin, whole-blood substitutes, pesticides, and of course the ATOMIC BOMB. The OSRD was initially responsible for the "uranium" project, which rapidly became so large it was transferred to the U.S. ARMY Corps of Engineers' Manhattan Engineer District in 1942—the MANHATTAN PROJECT.

OSRD seemed a complete success, and Bush's final report, *Science: the Endless Frontier: A Report to the President on a Program for Postwar Scientific Research* (July 1945), was a blueprint for instituting what some scholars have called the "permanent mobilization" of science and technology for the cold war. Bush also arranged for an extensive history of the OSRD to be written and published in a series of popular books, *Science in World War II*, by the Atlantic Monthly Press.

The OSRD was the successor of the National Defense Research Committee (NDRC), established by Roosevelt in June 1940 with Bush as its head. The NDRC's membership, handpicked by Bush, constituted a who's who of research and development in the United States: Karl Compton, James Conant, Frank Jewett, Conway Coe, Richard Tolman, Rear Admiral Harold Bowen, and Brigadier General George Strong. In May 1941, the NDRC became the

OSRD, adding research in MEDICINE to its mandate. By the end of the war, the OSRD had spent half a billion dollars on some 2,000 contracts, with another \$2 billion for the atomic bomb project.

Bush and his cadre of closest associates believed strongly in using existing private industrial and university capacities rather than creating new governmental ones. The leadership of the OSRD embodied or could easily tap the expertise and support of most major corporations and universities, had through Bush the sympathetic ear of the president, and found it relatively easy to impress even recalcitrant elements of the military services and congressional oversight committees. Bush and the OSRD were also adept at other, stronger organizational tactics that proved effective through the war but only partially so during RECONVERSION to peacetime and the cold war. The result was a highly productive scientific discovery and invention machine whereby the 1,500 or so employees of the OSRD could contract for research of promising utility for the war effort, select out those elements best suited for quick development, and get hardware into production and troops trained in time to be useful.

While the postwar institutions connecting science and technology with the government and military would diversify from rather than simply imitate the OSRD, it remained the exemplar and model of a successful relationship. The thousands of scientists and engineers mobilized in support of the war effort on OSRD contracts, many of them young men (and a few women) whose conventional training or careers had been interrupted, emerged with fundamentally changed notions and expectations when it came to science, technology, and government. While many of their mentors returned to university life glad to be done with intimate contact with military and government bureaucracy, they became the senior statesmen of science and technology, eager to perpetuate many aspects of the OSRD.

The OSRD also changed the fundamental relationships and institutions by which the military and civilian national security apparatus uses science and technology and fosters its development. In this case, however, to Bush's chagrin, science and technology units and advisory committees sprouted everywhere, in an undisciplined, decentralized, and duplicative manner. Finally, the atomic bomb project was only the largest and most unsettling of a host of OSRD-sponsored initiatives that had gone on hidden in secrecy from the institutions of democracy (even the vice president and most of Congress), that were based on esoteric and almost incomprehensible knowledge, and that produced powerful and sometimes terrifying weapons. As Congress and a new president emerged from the war, they had to face the problem of how the civilian trustees of democracy could manage a government dependent on things they could not themselves comprehend.

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—Joseph N. Tatarewicz

### Office of Strategic Services (OSS)

The Office of Strategic Services (OSS) was created during WORLD WAR II to collect and analyze INTELLIGENCE information on the AXIS. The institutional predecessor of the Central Intelligence Agency, the OSS marked a significant change in American intelligence capabilities.

The OSS had its origins in the Coordinator of Information (COI), a civilian office attached to the White House and created in July 1941 by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to force the various intelligence units of the U.S. NAVY, the U.S. ARMY, and the State Department to cooperate. Roosevelt chose New York attorney William J. "Wild Bill" Donovan to head this new office, which was to analyze data collected by other agencies. Previously, Donovan, who enjoyed links to the British intelligence community, had been residing in London and studying their Special Operations Executive (SOE), which he felt was an excellent model for an American equivalent. More than any other individual, it was Donovan who persuaded the president to create a civilian-operated intelligence agency apart from the traditionally military-dominated ones extant. Soon, Donovan's operations included small ESPIONAGE units from the Office of Naval Intelligence and the War Department and the State Department's overseas radio operation. After the attack on PEARL HARBOR in 1941, the COI was, at Donovan's request, assigned to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, while the OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION took over the radio operations.

Despite the acquisition of the COI by the Joint Chiefs, Donovan and his personnel were involved in a struggle for power with the Office of Naval Intelligence and the U.S. Army's G-2 Branch. The FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION joined the resistance to Donovan's group by blocking it from operating in North and South America and from having any domestic counterintelligence capabilities. Moreover, in 1942 General Douglas MacArthur, commanding the Southwest Pacific, proscribed the OSS from his theater owing to an intense dislike of their clandestine operations, individualistic nature, and unconventional tactics.

Donovan nevertheless remained with the intelligence gathering and analysis unit, which was renamed the Office of Strategic Services in 1942. He immediately began acquiring personnel both to gather information in the field

and to analyze it at home in the newly formed research and analysis unit. Donovan recruited some of the finest minds in American academia, particularly historians, political scientists, geographers, and psychologists, who carefully examined the information gathered by OSS agents to determine what the information meant and what should be done with it. Even so, the OSS by most reckonings did not contribute as much as did army and navy intelligence and the operations of the British. At its height, the agency recruited 12,000 agents and specialists of one kind or another, of whom 830 were ultimately decorated for wartime service. Significantly, many noted CIA officials of the Cold War era, including Allen Dulles, Richard Helms, and William Colby, all acquired their intelligence credentials while working for the OSS.

The OSS also began to train agents to operate in the field and to train citizens of Axis-occupied territory to fight guerrilla wars against their conquerors. Members of the OSS helped train and supply members of the French Resistance as well as local anti-Japanese guerrilla units in China and Southeast Asia. The unit enjoyed particular success in the jungles of Burma, where operatives and native consorts



William J. Donovan (Library of Congress)

killed or wounded an estimated 15,000 Japanese. Other field agents were trained to gather intelligence from inside Germany and occupied Europe, although the dangerous assignments and the lack of experience and proper training of OSS agents sometimes resulted in casualties. But there were spectacular successes as well. In neutral Switzerland, agent Allen Dulles infiltrated the German Foreign Office and secretly managed to arrange the surrender of all German forces holding out in northern Italy a week before the war ended.

Aside from gathering and analyzing intelligence, the OSS undertook other important operations during the war. It had a special morale unit that tried to undermine the will of the Axis soldiers and citizens by creating antiwar PROPAGANDA and dispersing it over enemy territory. The OSS also did conducted operations that were specific to particular theaters of the war. As one example, the agency ran a special bomb targeting office for the U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES in China that greatly enhanced the accuracy and effectiveness of air strikes against Japanese positions.

Following the surrender of the Axis powers in 1945, the Office of Strategic Services was disbanded and some of its departments were transferred to other agencies in the federal government, primarily the War Department. This was despite Donovan's repeated pleading with President Harry S. Truman that it be maintained in light of growing cold war tensions with the Soviet Union. Two years later, the National Security Act of 1947 created the Central Intelligence Agency to oversee the nation's intelligence-gathering and analysis operations. Many of the agency's traditions of daring and innovation in clandestine matters, however, were first demonstrated and can be traced directly back to the OSS.

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—Nicholas Fry and John C. Fredriksen

### Office of War Information (OWI)

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT created the Office of War Information (OWI) in June 1942 to manage the dissemination of GOVERNMENT information during WORLD WAR II. Using publications, RADIO, and films to provide information about the nation's war effort and to give favorable portrayals of the American way of life, the OWI also



carried out some CENSORSHIP functions. Elmer Davis, a respected CBS radio broadcaster, headed the agency.

The establishment of the OWI culminated administration efforts beginning in 1939 to organize the collection and dissemination of government information. As with other aspects of war MOBILIZATION, these efforts were marked by early confusion and bureaucratic conflict before a satisfactory structure was devised. Roosevelt wanted an agency that would both provide accurate information and serve government PROPAGANDA purposes at home and abroad—and without the troubling excesses of the Committee on Public Information during World War I. Stressing the principles of the ATLANTIC CHARTER and the FOUR FREEDOMS, the OWI sought above all to convey positive images of the United States and its war aims and to inspire confidence in an Allied victory. Although the goals of truth and propaganda sometimes worked at cross purposes, and although OWI had both shortcomings and critics, the agency generally was successful in meeting its objectives.

The OWI included a Domestic Branch and an Overseas Branch. The Domestic Branch was established to provide Americans information on the war and the war effort, to motivate them to greater efforts, and to convince them of the need for a leading American role in the world. It published pamphlets such as *Divide and Conquer* that illuminated the threat of fascism. It also published *Negroes and the War*, which in favorably depicting the circumstances and contributions of AFRICAN AMERICANS provoked criticism from white southern conservatives and African Americans alike for presenting what they saw, for different reasons, as a misleading portrayal of actual conditions.

The Overseas Branch produced materials for foreign audiences that illustrated the American contributions to the war, the accomplishments of democracy, and the virtues of America's people, institutions, and war aims. It published a magazine for overseas distribution titled *Victory*. This publication met opposition from its first issue, when a prominent article featured a large photograph of Roosevelt and an article portraying him and the NEW DEAL in very flattering terms. The magazine also contrasted the New Deal with such "reactionaries" as former Republican president HERBERT C. HOOVER. Such OWI material, some of it distributed to GIs as well, persuaded many in the REPUBLICAN PARTY that OWI was part of FDR's fourth-term campaign effort for the ELECTION OF 1944. It led to considerable opposition to some OWI activities in CONGRESS.

In addition to its informational and propaganda duties, the OWI included an Office of Censorship, under Associated Press news editor Byron Price, which monitored incoming and outgoing international communications, including films, that did not fall under armed forces censorship. And the OWI's BUREAU OF MOTION PICTURES not only produced and released its own films but also worked

successfully to persuade Hollywood to portray acceptable themes in its wartime MOVIES.

As victory over the AXIS seemed increasingly likely, and the OWI thus less necessary, and as the agency provoked opposition among conservatives and Republicans, Congress cut off most Domestic Branch funding in 1943, sharply curtailing its activities, and continued to scrutinize the Overseas Branch. President Harry S. Truman dissolved the OWI at the end of the war in August 1945.

**Further reading:** Allan M. Winkler, *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information, 1942–1945* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978).

### Office of War Mobilization (OWM)

In May 1943, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT established the Office of War Mobilization (OWM) to more effectively coordinate America's MOBILIZATION efforts during WORLD WAR II. In order to accomplish this mission, Roosevelt gave the OWM and its director, JAMES F. BYRNES, significant power over America's wartime ECONOMY, so much so that people often called Byrnes "the assistant president."

In January 1942, more than a year before Roosevelt created the OWM, a well-publicized Senate report found that America's mobilization program was plagued by waste, inefficiency, and political self-interest, and recommended reorganizing the entire effort into a single authority. Immediately after this report, Roosevelt created the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD (WPB), which he hoped would effectively coordinate all aspects of America's wartime procurement and production. But because its director, DONALD M. NELSON, was not a decisive leader and lacked authority over important segments of the U.S. economy, such as RUBBER, petroleum, LABOR, and the military, the effectiveness of the WPB was limited from the beginning.

Roosevelt created the OWM because he realized that if he did not create an agency with more authority than the WPB, it would be extremely difficult for the United States to maximize its industrial and economic resources for war-time use. The OWM did not replace the WPB, but Byrnes quickly replaced Nelson as the real director of America's mobilization efforts and the WPB became one of OWM's subordinate agencies.

Byrnes, a former U.S. senator from South Carolina and SUPREME COURT justice, had exceptional political and administrative skills, which played a large part in the success of the OWM. Byrnes ensured that the OWM did not encroach on the jurisdiction of other agencies or become too involved in the details of wartime production and procurement, choosing instead to set larger national goals and coordinate the activities of the agencies under the OWM. But



the fact that his office was located in the White House was an important reminder that his decisions carried full presidential authority.

America's mobilization program was initially poorly organized, but in part because of the efforts of the OWM, American wartime production rose steadily after mid-1943, so that by 1944, the United States was producing 60 percent of all Allied munitions and 40 percent of the world's arms. The OWM formally ended in October 1944 when CONGRESS reconstituted it as the OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION AND RECONVERSION (OWMR).

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—David W. Waltrop

### Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion (OWMR)

In October 1944, CONGRESS converted the OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION (OWM) into the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion (OWMR). Where the OWM had been responsible for coordinating the MOBILIZATION of America's economic and industrial resources for WORLD WAR II, the OWMR was charged with reconverting the ECONOMY to a peacetime basis.

In late 1943, as an Allied victory in World War II became more certain, Congress began to consider plans for an agency that could oversee the difficult problems of RECONVERSION and DEMOBILIZATION. Congress wanted an organization that could determine the best way to curtail wartime production, relax RATIONING and other wartime controls, settle wartime contracts that were no longer needed, dispose of surplus GOVERNMENT property, and help American industries resume producing civilian products. Moreover, Congress wanted this agency to be created through congressional legislation, not executive order, because the PRESIDENCY had grown extremely powerful during World War II, and Congress wanted to reassert many of the powers it had given to FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT during the war.

In what became known as the "war within the war," demobilization and reconversion involved extremely controversial issues. Liberals and LABOR hoped that an early and incremental reconversion would help protect workers' wartime jobs as production fell off. On the other hand, the military feared that reconversion would hamper wartime production and wanted to delay reconversion as long as possible, or at least until Germany was defeated. Large wartime contractors also wanted to delay reconversion, because they did not want to give competitors a head start in resuming civilian production. They also did not want to

terminate wartime contracts without receiving generous compensation from the U.S. government.

As labor had feared, the so-called human side of reversion, such as the training and placement of discharged workers and returning veterans, took a back seat to the interests of the military and big BUSINESS. The OWMR allowed war manufacturers to buy government-owned factories and other surplus property at greatly discounted rates, offered them lucrative bonuses to terminate wartime contracts, and protected them against competitors.

JAMES F. BYRNES, who had been the highly successful director of the OWM, became the first director of the OWMR, ensuring continuity in the agency's operations. The OWMR was effectively terminated in December 1946.

**Further reading:** Herman Miles Somers, *Presidential Agency: OWMR, the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).

—David W. Waltrop

### Okinawa (April–June 1945)

On April 1, 1945, with Japan near defeat in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER, the United States invaded the Japanese island of Okinawa. One thousand miles from Tokyo and just 350 miles from the Japanese home islands, Okinawa could provide a base both for staging an anticipated amphibious attack on Kyushu (the southernmost home island) and for launching air attacks on Japan. Understanding Okinawa's strategic value for the defense of the home islands, Japan had heavily fortified the island and placed some 100,000 troops upon it. The battle became one of the bloodiest of the war, both on the island and in the waters offshore.

The American invasion, launched by an enormous U.S. NAVY fleet including more than three dozen aircraft carriers, came on April 1, 1945, with amphibious craft landing two divisions of U.S. MARINES and two divisions of U.S. ARMY troops. The bloody, brutal battle lasted nearly three months. Because the Japanese stayed entrenched in heavily fortified blockhouses, caves, and pillboxes, U.S. troops had to move inland before the fighting actually started. The Americans, who ultimately outnumbered the Japanese by roughly two to one, moved forward relentlessly, using their enormous arsenal of weaponry and firepower and both inflicting and taking huge losses. The navy and the U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES launched thousands of aircraft sorties in support of the ground troops before and during the invasion. By May, the Americans had pushed the Japanese back to the southern part of the island, and after weeks more of heavy fighting, U.S. forces broke through the Japanese fortifications. The battle officially ended on June 22, but some fighting continued beyond that date.

Two aspects of the Japanese resistance were especially dramatic. First, as at IWO JIMA, Japanese soldiers fought tenaciously to their deaths, typically refusing to surrender or be taken prisoner. Thousands committed suicide. Second, waves of Japanese kamikazes, suicide planes that dived into American ships, caused enormous damage. In all, the U.S. Navy took more losses than in any other battle of the war—one-fifth of its total wartime casualties—at Okinawa, losing 36 ships, 760 aircraft, and 4,900 men. Another 368 ships were damaged. On land, the United States took some 40,000 combat casualties, including more than 7,000 dead; one out of every seven marines killed in the war died on Okinawa. The ferocious Japanese resistance and the large American losses at Okinawa, the last major battle of the war, reinforced the perception that an invasion of the Japanese home islands would be enormously costly in lives. It

thus contributed to the American use of the ATOMIC BOMB to bring the war to an end.

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**Owens, Jesse (James Cleveland)** (1913–1980)

*Olympic medalist in track and field*

Jesse Owens was a phenomenal track and field athlete who earned a lasting place in American history as the African American who embarrassed German chancellor Adolf Hitler and undermined his ideas of Aryan superiority at the 1936 Berlin Olympics. However, despite his exemplary



Jesse Owens winning the 220-yard low hurdles and setting a world record at the Big Ten meet in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on May 25, 1935 (*National Archives*)

performance at Berlin and the fame it brought him, Owens had to deal with racial prejudice and economic difficulties at home.

James Cleveland “Jesse” Owens was born in Alabama into a family of sharecroppers in 1913. He moved with his family to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1922. At age 13, Owens ran in his first race; by the time he had graduated from high school he was a nationally recognized sprinter. He entered Ohio State University without a scholarship, and, in a remarkable performance as a sophomore in 1935, broke three world records and tied another in just 45 minutes of competition. That same year, Owens married his high school sweetheart, Ruth Solomon.

In his junior year, Owens won a place on the United States Olympic team for the 1936 Berlin Olympics. The Nazis had hoped to use the games to showcase their own racial superiority and they scoffed at the American team, especially the AFRICAN AMERICANS and JEWS on it, as being racially inferior. Owens undercut the Nazis’ belief in their own racial superiority by capturing four gold medals. In winning three individual medals, he tied one Olympic record and broke two others, as well as breaking one world record. (Ironically, Owens and another African-American runner on the relay team that broke the world and Olympic records had replaced two Jewish athletes who had been

removed to avoid offending the Germans.) After the American victory, Hitler responded by snubbing the victorious American athletes—Owens in particular—at the medal presentations, refusing to shake their hands and later walking out during some events. Owens became an overnight celebrity as the American press lauded his victories and the consternation they caused the Nazis.

Despite his performances in Berlin, Owens never was able to turn his athletic fame into financial success. He was forced to leave Ohio State before graduating to help support his own family. To earn money he became a playground janitor just one year after his Olympic triumph, and he gave up amateur track and field competition for show races against horses, greyhounds, cars, and trucks. Later, Owens became a disc jockey, ran his own public relations and marketing firm, and was active as a professional speaker. In 1976, President Gerald Ford awarded Owens the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his lifetime accomplishments. Owens died of lung cancer in 1980 at age 66.

See also SPORTS.

**Further reading:** William J. Baker, *Jesse Owens: An American Life* (New York: Free Press, 1986).

—Nicholas Fry





# P



**Pacific theater** See WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER.

**Patton, George S., Jr.** (1885–1945) *general in World War II*

George Smith Patton, Jr., was one of the most charismatic, effective, and controversial military leaders in American history. An active promoter of armored warfare in the 1920s and 1930s, he became famous for his aggressive and successful generalship of American armies in the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER.

George Patton was born in San Gabriel, California, on November 11, 1885, and educated at the Virginia Military Institute and the United States Military Academy at West Point, from which he graduated in 1909. In World War I, Patton served in the infant American Tank Corps, leading an American tank brigade. During the interwar period, he served in various commands and continued his professional development by attending military schools such as the Army War College where he was a leader in promoting and developing armored warfare and tactics. In 1932, Patton took part in dispersing the BONUS ARMY of World War I veterans that came to Washington, D.C., seeking assistance from the government during the GREAT DEPRESSION.

After an important role in the invasion of Morocco during the NORTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN, Patton was given command of the U.S. Seventh Army in the invasion of SICILY in July 1943. Visiting wounded soldiers during an inspection tour of local military hospitals, he slapped two soldiers suffering from battle fatigue because he felt they were malingering cowards. General Dwight D. Eisenhower temporarily removed Patton from command and directed him to apologize for his actions. When the incident was made public in the United States, Patton was removed from consideration for command of the Fifth Army in Italy, and it took Eisenhower's influence to keep Patton in the war at all.

Patton was sent to England to take command of the Third Army, which went into France after the INVASION OF NORMANDY. With the opportunity to restore his name, Patton conducted an astonishingly rapid advance of his mechanized forces across France that continued into Germany through the vital Saar region. Producing one of the most impressive advances in the history of warfare, Patton's aggressive leadership also helped Allied forces turn the tide at the BATTLE OF THE BULGE. He was promoted to full general in 1945.

At the conclusion of the war, Patton was appointed as the military governor of Bavaria but was relieved of command in October 1945 because of his leniency in the denazification of German officials and his hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union. In December, he was involved in a serious car accident, and he died later in the month.

See also TANKS.

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—George Michel Curry

## Pearl Harbor

The Imperial Japanese Navy air attack on the U.S. NAVY Pacific Fleet base at Pearl Harbor on the Hawaiian island of Oahu on Sunday, December 7, 1941, was the event that brought the United States into WORLD WAR II.

Planned by the commander in chief of the Imperial Japanese Combined Fleet, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, in mid-1941, the attack was intended to cripple the U.S. Navy, the one force that could effectively intervene to halt Japanese conquests in the Pacific and Asia. With no means of challenging Japanese power with its Pacific Fleet strength destroyed, the United States, Yamamoto believed, would have to accept Japanese conquests as a fait accom-

pli. Although U.S. INTELLIGENCE experts were expecting a Japanese attack in Asia in late 1941 or early 1942, their focus was on Malaya, Hong Kong, and the PHILIPPINES, then thought more vulnerable. Few even considered the possibility of a naval air attack on Pearl Harbor, more than 3,400 miles from Japan, although U.S. commanders there were put on alert on November 27. Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, the U.S. Navy commander, Pacific Fleet, and Lieutenant General Walter Short, the U.S. ARMY commander in Hawaii, interpreted the warnings to indicate possible sabotage or submarine attacks.

Intelligence failures contributed to the overall lack of preparedness. The United States was unable to read Japanese diplomatic codes that could have revealed ESPIONAGE by their diplomats in Hawaii. In addition, military interservice rivalries, the lack of a centralized intelligence agency capable of analyzing available information, and sheer disbelief that Japan was capable of launching an attack of such magnitude from so far away all added to the eventual

shock and surprise. Despite claims of revisionist historians, no credible evidence has surfaced to indicate that President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, British prime minister Winston Churchill, or any other Allied military or political leaders had direct evidence of an attack on Pearl Harbor and deliberately failed to act in hope of creating a “back door” to war.

Strict radio silence hid the movements of the Japanese Combined Fleet of some 20 warships, including six aircraft carriers with 360 warplanes, after it left the Kurile Islands Naval Base on November 26, under the command of Vice Admiral Chuichi Nagumo. Arriving 275 miles north of Hawaii early on December 7, the Japanese launched their first wave of 49 bombers, 40 torpedo-bombers, 51 dive-bombers, and 43 fighters at 6:00 A.M. A second wave of 54 bombers, 78 dive-bombers, and 36 fighters soon followed. The first contact with the incoming aircraft was reported by the Opana Mobile Radar Unit at Kahuku Point between 6:45 and 7:00, but the sightings were misinterpreted as an incoming flight of B-17s expected to arrive that morning from California, and no alert was sounded.

When the first wave arrived at 7:55, they found 70 ships in Pearl Harbor, including eight battleships. The American fleet's three AIRCRAFT CARRIERS and its heavy cruiser force, however, were still at sea, having just delivered fighter aircraft to Wake Island. Following BOMBING and strafing runs that lasted until 8:25, a 20-minute lull took place before a second raid by the high-level bombers and dive-bombers began, lasting until 9:45. Three battleships were sunk, one capsized, and all the others were damaged. Three destroyers, three light cruisers, and four other ships were also sunk or damaged. On the airfields, of 231 army aircraft, only 166 remained intact, while only 54 navy and marine planes, out of some 250, were operable. Fearing a counter-attack, Nagumo decided against a third attack on dry-docks, machine shops, repair facilities, and fuel depots.

American losses were significant nonetheless, and more than 2,400 servicemen were killed, about half of them dying aboard the *USS Arizona*. Nearly 1,200 were wounded. Encountering only a weak and ineffective defense, the Japanese suffered light casualties, and only 29 aircraft and six SUBMARINES, five of them midgets, were lost that day.

Although it was a major disaster for the United States (and cost Kimmel and Short their careers and reputations), the raid galvanized American public opinion for war. And while a short-term tactical victory for Japan, the attack on Pearl Harbor turned into a long-term strategic defeat. The Japanese contention that the United States would not intervene to contest Japanese conquests proved overwhelmingly false, as the Pearl Harbor attack so enraged the United States that American participation in the war until final victory was guaranteed. The failure to destroy the harbor's infrastructure also harmed Japan, because within a year all but two vessels damaged or sunk



Seen here are two of the six U.S. battleships sunk in the attack on Pearl Harbor. (National Archives)

at Pearl Harbor were back in service. And the sinking and damaging of so many battleships accelerated the navy's emphasis on aircraft carriers and AIR POWER. Pearl Harbor continued to function as the headquarters of the U.S. Pacific Fleet throughout the war and was the starting point of all the major campaigns in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER that led to Japan's ultimate defeat in 1945.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

**Perkins, Frances** (1880–1965) *secretary of labor*

Frances Perkins, secretary of labor from 1933 to 1945, was the first female cabinet member ever and played an important part in shaping key NEW DEAL policies, including the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT.

Born Fannie Coralie Perkins in Boston on April 10, 1880, Perkins grew up in Worcester, Massachusetts. Her interest in social activism developed when she was attending Mount Holyoke College and was introduced to Florence Kelley and the National Consumers League. After several years teaching at a girl's school in Chicago, Perkins became involved in the city's settlement house movement. She changed her name to Frances, which had a more formal sound, and began a career in social reform.

After moving to New York in 1910, Perkins, like many social reformers of her time, was deeply affected by the Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire in 1911, which killed 146 female workers. Following this tragedy, she forged a close working relationship with Al Smith, the governor of New York during much of the 1920s. Through Smith, Perkins received her first public sector job, an appointment to the state Industrial Commission, where she sought protective labor legislation and better safety protections. While Perkins worked to educate Smith on the problems of industrial working conditions, she also became involved in politics, taking part in Smith's unsuccessful presidential candidacy in 1928 by working to mobilize female voters. When FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT was elected governor of New York in 1928, he appointed Perkins as industrial commissioner.

Roosevelt's election to the presidency in 1932 brought Perkins to Washington, D.C., as secretary of labor in 1933, the first female cabinet member ever and the highest-ranking woman in the executive branch. Her selection was opposed by the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF

LABOR (AFL) and by other LABOR unions, who considered Perkins a social worker, not a union advocate. But at the urging of ELEANOR ROOSEVELT and MARY "Molly" DEWSON, director of the Women's Division of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, Roosevelt appointed Perkins to the cabinet post despite the misgivings of organized labor and of Perkins herself. Perkins did bring a labor agenda with her to Washington, though it was more to fulfill Progressive Era protective labor legislation proposals than to promote such interests of labor unions as collective bargaining. She also became an important member of the so-called WOMEN'S NETWORK of the Roosevelt administration. Highest on her agenda were old-age insurance and UNEMPLOYMENT insurance, programs that Perkins wanted included in a social security system for Americans.

Perkins helped persuade Roosevelt in 1934 that the time was right for a plan for economic security. Like Roosevelt, Perkins favored insurance programs over RELIEF programs to provide financial support for the unemployed or destitute. In June 1934, Roosevelt created the Committee on Economic Security (CES) by executive order and charged the committee to formulate legislation. Perkins headed the CES, whose proposals led to the Social Security Act of 1935, a package of programs that mixed social insurance and public assistance and helped create the modern American welfare state. Social Security was the major achievement of Perkins's tenure as secretary of labor, but she also helped secure passage of the FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT of 1938, which prohibited child labor in interstate commerce and established for many industrial workers a 40-hour work week and the first federal minimum wage.

Perkins's role in the landmark labor legislation of the New Deal, the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT (NLRA) of 1935, was far smaller. Concerned about protective legislation and raising workers' purchasing power rather than ensuring their rights to organize and engage in collective bargaining, Perkins initially opposed the NLRA. After the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT, with its provisions for labor organizations, was declared unconstitutional in May 1935, Perkins and the Roosevelt administration eventually gave their support to the NLRA.

Perkins remained secretary of labor until Roosevelt's death in April 1945, and resigned soon after Harry S. Truman assumed the presidency. She had been the only secretary of labor during Roosevelt's 12 years as president and had achieved many legislative successes in addition to breaking a gender barrier in high GOVERNMENT positions. Her goal as secretary of labor had been to achieve greater protection for workers, using the government to do what she felt private industry would not: setting hour and wage minimums and creating a system of economic protection against unemployment and old age. She went on to serve first as a civil service commissioner, then as a professor at



Cornell University. Perkins died on May 14, 1965, following a series of strokes, at the age of 85.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Katherine Liapis Segue

## Philippines

The Philippine Islands were an important focus of military action in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER. The Philippines had been a possession of the United States since the 1898 Spanish-American War. In 1936, the United States decided to grant the islands full independence by 1946, and the remainder of the 1930s saw efforts at nation building. Special emphasis was placed on raising a Philippine Commonwealth Army of 110,000 men, commanded by retired American general Douglas A. MacArthur, to protect the islands amid growing threats posed by Japan in Asia. At the

request of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, MacArthur came out of retirement in July 1941 and assumed command of the U.S. ARMY Forces, Far East, which included the Filipino army and 22,000 American troops. Although the War Department considered the 7,100-island Philippine archipelago indefensible, MacArthur convinced the high command that his preparations, when complete in April 1942, would deter or delay a Japanese attack until relief could arrive from the United States.

The Japanese air attack on the Philippines on December 8, 1941, caught MacArthur's command by surprise and resulted in the destruction of his 125 warplanes on the ground. Two days later, on December 10, Japanese forces from Formosa landed on Luzon, with Filipino forces offering only token resistance before retreating toward Manila. On December 20, additional Japanese forces landed on Mindanao and Jolo. Facing overwhelming odds, MacArthur declared Manila an open city and withdrew to the Bataan Peninsula, moving his headquarters to Corregidor Island. The precipitate retreat left no time to move food and supplies, and food rationing began in January 1942. Under constant attack between January and April, starving Ameri-



After directing a stubborn but ultimately unsuccessful defense against the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in 1942, General Douglas MacArthur was evacuated from Bataan in March and taken by PT boat to Australia, vowing, "I shall return." On October 20, 1944, with the tide of war turned in the Allies' favor, MacArthur fulfilled his promise to the Philippine people by wading ashore at Luzon. (Hulton/Archive)



can and Filipino forces continued to await reinforcements, although relief was never a realistic possibility. Following MacArthur's evacuation to Australia on March 11, 1942, the Americans held Bataan until surrendering on April 9. Forces on Corregidor, under Major General Jonathan M. Wainwright, surrendered unconditionally on May 6. At least 10,000 Americans, and some 60,000 Filipinos, were brutalized by the Japanese during the infamous BATAAN DEATH MARCH to prisoner of war camps, compounding the tragedy that had already cost 20,000 American and Filipino lives.

Many American and Filipino soldiers escaped into the jungles and formed guerrilla units, but not until 200,000 U.S. Army forces supported by some 700 vessels invaded Leyte Island between October 20 and 22, 1944, was any serious challenge to Japanese control of the Philippines mounted. The battle for Leyte Island lasted until December 31 and cost 15,500 American and 70,000 Japanese casualties. Neither significant Japanese reinforcements nor attempts by its navy to interfere with the landings altered the outcome, although the naval BATTLE FOR LEYTE GULF, October 23–25, 1944, was the largest of the war and destroyed Japan's remaining sea power.

The wisdom of liberating the entire Philippine archipelago rather than bypassing the remaining 300,000 Japanese troops there was hotly debated among American leaders. MacArthur's entreaties that the United States had a moral obligation to the Filipinos, however, won out, and the main island of Luzon was invaded on January 9, 1945, by 68,000 U.S. Army troops. While American forces made rapid progress, Japanese forces melted away into the jungles to mount further resistance, which lasted until August 15. The capital, Manila, was declared an open city by General Tomoyuki Yamashita in February, but his order was ignored by Imperial Navy Marines, and the city was largely destroyed in the subsequent liberation. The conquest of Luzon cost 41,000 American casualties and 192,000 Japanese dead. Elsewhere between February and August 1945, U.S. Army troops began the island-by-island liberation of the country, beginning with the Visayas, Mindanao, and other southern islands. This campaign cost 119,000 American casualties and 50,000 Japanese dead.

The final liberation of the Philippines was not accomplished until August 15, 1945, when Japanese forces were ordered to lay down their arms by the emperor. In keeping with American promises, the Philippines became an independent republic on July 4, 1946.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

### Philippine Sea, Battle of the (June 1944)

The Battle of the Philippine Sea took place off the MARIANA ISLANDS on June 19 and 20, 1944. It resulted from the effort of the Imperial Japanese Navy to attack the U.S. NAVY Fifth Fleet of Admiral Raymond Spruance then supporting U.S. MARINES and U.S. ARMY amphibious landings on the islands of Saipan, Guam, Rota, and Tinian that had begun on June 15. The largest aircraft battle of the war, the Battle of the Philippine Sea was an overwhelming victory for the U.S. Navy, which destroyed what remained of Japanese naval aviation.

Admiral Jisaburo Ozawa's First Mobile Fleet consisted of five battleships, 13 cruisers, 28 destroyers, nine AIRCRAFT CARRIERS and 473 aircraft. The larger, newer, and technologically superior U.S. Navy force, Task Force 58, consisted of seven battleships, 21 cruisers, 69 destroyers, and 15 aircraft carriers with 956 aircraft piloted by seasoned American airmen who were veterans of several prior combat actions.

The Japanese, whose location in the Philippine Sea was made known to Spruance well in advance by American SUBMARINES, radio-direction finding, and radar, launched four successive carrier air strikes toward the U.S. fleet on June 19. Surprised and intercepted 150 miles away from the American fleet by U.S. naval aviators, the outclassed Japanese fliers were annihilated in what became known as "the Great Marianas Turkey Shoot." Only 29 American warplanes were lost, compared to Japanese losses of 301 aircraft the first day. On June 20, Spruance launched a further devastating attack on the Japanese fleet, using aircraft and submarines, destroying a further 145 Japanese aircraft, sinking three aircraft carriers, damaging two others, and sinking and damaging numerous other smaller vessels. Of the 80 American aircraft lost during the battle, most were forced to ditch at sea after running out of fuel at the extreme limits of their range, and most of the downed American pilots were recovered.

Following the Battle of the Philippine Sea, the American landings continued without threat of interference from Imperial Japanese Naval forces and the Marianas were secured by August 1944.

See also AIR POWER; WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

### photography

Between 1929 and 1945, photography became increasingly important in art (see ART AND ARCHITECTURE), social reform, POPULAR CULTURE, and even military operations.

By the onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION, photography had become an effective agent of reform as well as an established form of art. The efforts of such photographers as Alfred Stieglitz and Edward Steichen had enabled photography to gain acceptance as an art form, while others had followed the lead of Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine in pursuing documentary photography on behalf of social reform.

In the early 1930s, the nature-oriented Western school of photographers further developed the place of photography in the art community. Led by Edward Weston, members of this school abandoned soft-focus effects for a sharper, more detailed study of nature. Guided by this principle, Weston went on to help establish the f.64 Group in 1932. This group derived its name and artistic objectives from the smallest f-stop on the camera, which allowed for the maximum sharpness necessary for landscape photography. The most accomplished member of the Western school and the f.64 Group was the famous photographer Ansel Adams.

Although photography was not included in the FEDERAL ART PROJECT of the NEW DEAL, it did find an important place in the FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION (FSA). Recognizing the power of photography in the cause of reform, FSA director Roy Stryker undertook an effort to create a photographic record of the dreadful conditions of farmers and migratory laborers who faced economic disaster brought on by the depression and the DUST BOWL. FSA photographers, including DOROTHEA LANGE and WALKER EVANS, created some 270,000 negatives during this project. Lange (coauthor of *An American Exodus* with Paul S. Taylor, 1939) devoted much attention to migrant workers, while Evans (coauthor of *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* with James Agee, 1941), spent two years with the FSA following the plight of sharecroppers. When the Farm Security Agency was terminated during WORLD WAR II, its photographic section was transferred to the OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION (OWI).

In 1936, the introduction of *LIFE* and *Look* magazines established a popular outlet for the new genre of photojournalism, which combined photographers with researchers, writers, and editors. Photographers were briefed for their assignments and encouraged to take great quantities of photographs, so that the editors could develop a picture story with maximum impact on readers. *Life*'s W. Eugene Smith and MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE quickly became recognized as top photojournalists for their ability to depict the drama of events while maintaining perfect composition. Photojournalism also produced

one of the most memorable images of World War II, when Associated Press photographer Joe Rosenthal took his Pulitzer Prize-winning picture of U.S. MARINES raising the American flag atop Mount Suribachi on IWO JIMA in 1945.

During the war, OWI photographers sought to portray American life and culture to inspire patriotism as well as to document social change for AFRICAN AMERICANS, women, and other groups. Also responsible for coordinating the release of war news for domestic use, OWI controlled images produced by combat cameramen, who served on the battlefronts and whose work was essential to the historical record of the war. OWI wanted the photographs used to bolster home-front morale and to maintain popular approval for the America war effort, so images of American casualties and other photographs deemed inappropriate for release were kept at the Pentagon in a file known as the "Chamber of Horrors." By September 1943, concerned with public complacency as the war turned in favor of the Allies, the GOVERNMENT released the first images of dead Americans and thereafter presented increasingly more graphic depictions in order to maintain the support needed for victory. Even so, *Life* did not show photographs of American blood being shed until 1945.

Photography also took on new roles for the military as it served as a primary source of INTELLIGENCE during World War II. In the two years following the bombing of PEARL HARBOR, U.S. airmen mapped some 21 million square kilometers of the earth's surface. General HENRY H. "Hap" ARNOLD, the commanding general of the U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES, declared that "a camera mounted on a P-38 often has proved more valuable than a P-38 with guns." The role of photography was especially evident in preparations for the INVASION OF NORMANDY, which relied on vital intelligence gathered from more than 4,500 photographic reconnaissance sorties. Photography thus served a variety of purposes in the era of the Great Depression and World War II.

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—Ronald G. Simon

### Polish Americans

One of the largest ethnic groups in the United States, Polish Americans became increasingly assimilated into American society during the period of the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II. The depression had a particularly severe impact upon the predominantly working-class Polish-American population, and the NEW DEAL programs of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT made them staunch supporters of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. During the war, the status of Poland deeply concerned them and affected their reaction to American FOREIGN POLICY.

Although there had been Poles in America since colonial times, the largest wave of IMMIGRATION occurred in the 30 years before World War I, when nearly 3 million ethnic Poles emigrated from eastern Europe. Most settled near industrial CITIES in the industrial and mining states of the Northeast and upper Midwest, and they typically took low-income jobs in mining and manufacturing. Polish Americans tended to live in their own enclaves, where language, culture, community institutions, and a devout Catholicism maintained their ethnic identity and slowed assimilation. A number of Polish JEWS also arrived during this period, but they experienced different geographic and economic patterns from those of the Catholic Polish population and generally identified themselves as Jews rather than as Poles.

World War I and the decade of the 1920s brought important developments for Polish Americans. The nation of Poland was reconstituted after the Versailles Treaty. Native-born individuals now often controlled the fraternal aid associations, and postwar prosperity enabled Polish Americans to begin leaving their initial urban neighborhoods. Polish Americans also had increasing political success; some won election to CONGRESS, and many Poles enthusiastically supported the presidential candidacy of Catholic Democrat Al Smith.

The Great Depression hit Polish Americans particularly hard because so many were employed in the most heavily affected industries. The economic downturn overwhelmed the ability of self-help and fraternal aid associations to support the families of the unemployed workers, and threatened the traditional stability of Polish neighborhoods. In those ways and others, the depression probably hastened the assimilation of Polish Americans, who became a greater presence and force in the mainstream political and LABOR activities. Voting overwhelmingly for Roosevelt and the New Deal, Polish Americans proved to be an important component in the coalition of urban and southern voters that made the Democratic Party the nation's new majority party in the 1930s. Polish Americans were also active in the burgeoning of the labor movement. Historically involved in union activity, they accounted for a large portion of the growing membership of the unions in such blue-collar

industries as steel, mining, and automobiles that played a crucial role in the emergence of the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

Polish Americans supported the Allied cause from the beginning of World War II in September 1939, when Poland fell to Nazi Germany. They supported the LEND-LEASE Act helping Britain and voted in even larger numbers than in 1936 for Roosevelt in the ELECTION OF 1940 because of his anti-AXIS interventionism as well as his domestic reform. An estimated 1 million Polish Americans or more joined the military. The war accelerated their assimilation as many Polish Americans mixed with other Americans in the armed forces and as workers in war industries, and they made impressive contributions to the war effort.

For Polish Americans, the fate of Poland was of crucial importance, especially regarding issues concerning the nation's postwar borders, the independence of its government, and its domination by the Soviet Union. Although their political support for FDR waned only slightly, many were critical of his actions at the YALTA CONFERENCE in 1945, where Roosevelt, keenly aware of the political clout of millions of Polish Americans, had tried unsuccessfully to ensure the independence of Poland. The end of the war also saw a growth of a pervasive anticommunist attitude among Polish Americans due to the actions of the USSR in Eastern Europe. This attitude was reinforced by the postwar arrival of thousands of refugees from Communist-dominated Poland, many of whom later came to have a large influence in Polish-American associations.

See also POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA.

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—Robert J. Hanyok

### politics in the Roosevelt era

The DEMOCRATIC PARTY became the nation's majority party in the 1930s and retained its majority status during WORLD WAR II and after. This constituted a major turning point in American politics, for at the outset of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY in 1929, the REPUBLICAN PARTY seemed in a position of virtually unchallenged dominance. The normal majority party since the 1890s, Republicans had decisively won each of the three presidential elections in the 1920s and had controlled CONGRESS throughout the decade. In 1928, HERBERT C. HOOVER defeated Democratic nominee Alfred E. Smith by a margin of 58.2 percent to 40.9 percent in the popular vote for president and by 444 to

87 votes in the electoral college. Republicans controlled the 71st Congress that met in 1929 by 267-167 in the House and by 56-39 in the Senate. The Democratic Party was badly divided between its urban and rural wings and offered neither substantial policy alternatives nor serious political challenge to the Republicans.

Then came the STOCK MARKET CRASH of late 1929, and over the next three years the GREAT DEPRESSION sent the ECONOMY spiraling down, with UNEMPLOYMENT reaching at least one-fourth of the labor force and with national income down by more than 50 percent. The depression had devastating political consequences for Hoover and the Republican Party. In 1930, Democrats and Republicans virtually broke even in elections to the House of Representatives and the Senate. When the 72nd Congress met in 1931, Democrats controlled the House by 220-214 (because of the deaths and replacements that gave Democrats a net gain of three seats). Although Republicans nominally controlled the Senate by 48-47, that body was effectively in the hands of a coalition of Democrats and progressive Republicans.

The ELECTION OF 1932 then completed the transfer of power from the Republicans to the Democrats. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT defeated Hoover for the presidency by winning 42 of the 48 states, with 57.4 percent of the popular vote and 472 of the 531 votes in the electoral college. Democrats picked up some 90 additional seats in the House and 13 in the Senate and controlled the 73rd Congress that met in 1933 by 310-117 in the House and 60-35 in the Senate. The elections of 1930 and 1932 thus constituted a political turnaround of great magnitude—yet the electorate had voted much more against Hoover and the Republicans than for Roosevelt and the Democrats. Except for making it clear that he would be a more active president than Hoover, Roosevelt had not clearly or consistently said just what his policies would be. Voters also rejected truly radical alternatives in 1932, as they would throughout the depression decade, for NORMAN THOMAS, the Socialist Party candidate, won just 2.2 percent of the vote, and the COMMUNISTS just three-tenths of 1 percent.

In the off-year election of 1934 and then in the presidential ELECTION OF 1936, voters returned powerful affirmative verdicts on Roosevelt and the NEW DEAL to complete a realigning transformation of American politics that established the Democrats as the new majority party. In 1934, Democrats picked up nine additional House seats and another nine Senate seats—a significant departure from the previous off-year elections in the 20th century, when the incumbent president's party had lost on average some three dozen seats in the House and three or four in the Senate. Then, in 1936, Roosevelt won 60.8 percent of the popular vote and 523 of the 531 votes in the electoral college; only Maine and Vermont voted for Republican

candidate ALFRED M. LANDON. All minor party candidates combined won less than 3 percent of the vote, with Socialist and Communist candidates together winning less than 1 percent. And the Democrats increased still further their already top-heavy control of the Congress, outnumbering Republicans by 331-89 in the House and 76-16 in the Senate when the 75th Congress met in 1937.

The Democrats owed their new majority status to the Roosevelt coalition of voters forged from 1928 to 1936. The coalition showed some continuities from past voting patterns, but also reflected the impact of the depression, New Deal, and Franklin Roosevelt on American politics. In part the Democratic majority was based on the party's continuing dominance of the "Solid SOUTH" that southern whites (most blacks remained disfranchised) had made reliably Democratic since the era of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Democrats also built upon and increased traditional strength among ethnic voters in cities, with heavy support from CATHOLICS and JEWS. AFRICAN AMERICANS shifted to the Democratic Party in the mid-1930s. Decisive margins among working-class and middle-class voters also contributed to the new Democratic majority; in 1936, Roosevelt won roughly 4 out of every 5 working-class and union voters, and 3 out of every 5 middle-class voters. Such strength among urban ethnic, black, and working-class voters helped Roosevelt and the Democrats to win most metropolitan areas by margins of two-thirds and more. For their part, Republicans continued to find their greatest support among upper-income and old-stock Protestant voters. Farmers voted heavily for Roosevelt in 1932; but by 1936, midwestern farmers had begun to return to their more traditional Republican moorings.

The structure of the Roosevelt coalition reflected the dynamics of American politics from the late 1920s to the mid-1930s. For one thing, it depended upon the continuing importance of ethnic identities in the era and the Democrats' image as the more inclusive party. Democrats had nominated Al Smith for president in 1928, and millions of urban ethnic voters came to the polls for the first time, to rally behind Smith, a second-generation American and the first Catholic nominated for the presidency. Although he was soundly defeated, Smith's 15 million votes were almost as many as Democrats had won in the past two presidential elections combined. Most of the new voters evidently stayed with the Democratic Party, largely because these predominantly working-class people were especially vulnerable to the depression and were then helped by New Deal policies. But the Democrats continued after 1928 to offer more GOVERNMENT appointments and political nominations to Catholics and Jews and thus won their allegiance for ethnic as well as economic reasons.

But it was the depression and the New Deal, not ethnic or racial issues, that counted most in forging the new



PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1928–1944					
Year	Candidate	Party	Popular Vote		Electoral Vote
			Total	Percent	
1928	Herbert C. Hoover	Republican	21,391,993	58.2	444
	Alfred E. Smith	Democratic	15,016,169	40.9	87
	Norman Thomas	Socialist	267,835	.7	
	Other	(Socialist Labor; Workers; Prohibition)	62,890	.2	
1932	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democratic	22,809,638	57.4	472
	Herbert C. Hoover	Republican	15,758,901	39.7	59
	Norman Thomas	Socialist	881,951	2.2	
	William Z. Foster	Communist	102,785	.3	
	William D. Upshaw	Prohibition	81,869	.2	
	William H. Harvey	Liberty	53,425	.1	
	Other	(Socialist Labor)	33,276	.1	
1936	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democratic	27,752,869	60.8	523
	Alfred M. Landon	Republican	16,674,665	36.5	8
	William Lemke	Union	882,479	1.9	
	Norman Thomas	Socialist	187,720	.4	
	Earl Browder	Communist	80,159	.2	
	Other	(Prohibition; Socialist Labor)	50,624	.1	
1940	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democratic	27,307,819	54.8	449
	Wendell L. Willkie	Republican	22,321,018	44.8	82
	Norman Thomas	Socialist	99,557	.2	
	Roger Q. Babson	Prohibition	57,812	.1	
	Other	(Communist; Socialist Labor)	61,143	.1	
1944	Franklin D. Roosevelt	Democratic	25,606,585	53.5	432
	Thomas E. Dewey	Republican	22,014,745	46.0	99
	Norman Thomas	Socialist	80,518	.2	
	Claude A. Watson	Prohibition	74,758	.2	
	Other	(Socialist Labor)	45,336	.1	

Source: *The Statistical History of the United States, from Colonial Times to the Present* (Stamford, Conn.: Fairfield Publisher, 1965). Only candidates with at least 50,000 votes are listed separately.

Democratic majority. In 1932, massive switching from the Republican to the Democratic Party because of the depression produced Roosevelt's landslide: Hoover had won 21.4 million votes in 1928, but just 15.8 million in 1932; by contrast, in 1932 Roosevelt won 22.8 million votes as against Smith's 15 million in 1928. In 1936, the entry of millions of new voters into the active electorate, rather than voter-

switching, was the most important dynamic. Alf Landon actually won nearly a million more votes than Hoover had in 1932, but Roosevelt won almost 5 million votes more than in 1932 and increased his percentage of the popular vote from 57.4 to 60.8 percent. Some of Roosevelt's higher totals came from African-American and other voters switching from the GOP, but most came from young,

ethnic, black, and working-class voters entering the active electorate for the first time and voting overwhelmingly for Roosevelt and the Democrats. Women, especially working-class, ethnic, and black women, also voted in much larger numbers beginning in 1928, and also to the benefit of the Democrats. From 1924 to 1936, voter turnout increased by almost three-fifths, from 29.1 million to 45.6 million voters, with the big surges coming in 1928 and 1936 and among working-class, ethnic, and urban voters flocking to the Democratic Party.

But while some feared for the two-party system after the 1936 election, the Republican Party retained major sources of real and potential strength. In addition to their own large core of supporters, Republicans could appeal to those concerned about the direction of the New Deal and the Democratic Party. Though the election of 1936 had obviously ratified the New Deal, voters generally seem to have supported specific programs for practical reasons rather than being converted ideologically to an expansive LIBERALISM. As subsequent events would show, traditional small-government and individualistic CONSERVATISM, opposed to a too-powerful central government, remained strong, even among many Democrats. Republicans made significant gains in the off-year election of 1938, especially because of the RECESSION OF 1937–1938, but also because of the COURT-PACKING PLAN and LABOR unrest and the opposition they generated. In a striking return to the customary pattern of the incumbent president's party losing strength in off-year elections, the GOP gained 75 seats in the House and seven in the Senate. Democrats still easily controlled the Congress (261-164 in the House, 69-23 in the Senate), but an emerging CONSERVATIVE COALITION of Republicans and conservative (especially southern) Democrats increasingly thwarted Roosevelt and liberal Democrats in their efforts to expand the New Deal.

Despite Republican gains and Democratic setbacks in the late 1930s, however, Roosevelt won an unprecedented third term in the ELECTION OF 1940, and the new Democratic majority proved its durability. Roosevelt defeated Republican nominee WENDELL L. WILLKIE by 54.8 to 44.8 percent in the popular vote and by 449 to 82 in the electoral college. Although the beginning of WORLD WAR II in Europe produced a political context much different from the 1930s, the war figured less in the campaign and voting than did issues and party images from the depression and New Deal years. Accordingly, most voters voted as they had in 1936, and the Roosevelt coalition emerged largely intact from its first major test. To a significant degree, the victory was a personal one for Roosevelt himself, for Democrats picked up only a few seats in the House and lost three more in the Senate.

Republicans again made inroads into Democratic control of Congress in the off-year election of 1942, the

first true wartime election in the United States. A number of things favored Republicans in 1942: Prosperity had returned, diminishing the impact of New Deal issues, especially with Roosevelt off the ballot; many voters were angry at inflation, shortages, and RATIONING on the home front; and the war effort down to election day seemed ineffective, with red-tape snarls affecting MOBILIZATION and with the Germans and Japanese seemingly successful in both the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER and the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER of the war. Republicans gained 46 seats in the House and another nine senators, paring Democratic control to 218-208 in the House and 58-37 in the Senate and placing ideological control clearly in the hands of the conservative coalition.

But the ensuing presidential ELECTION OF 1944 demonstrated the continuing dominance of Roosevelt and the Democrats. Roosevelt defeated Republican presidential nominee Thomas E. Dewey by 53.5 percent to 46 percent in the popular vote and by 432 to 99 votes in the electoral college, and Democrats increased their margin in the House (to 242-190) though dropping two more Senate seats (which pared their control there to 56-38). In the election, the chief issue was postwar prosperity and full employment, followed by postwar peace; and on both issues, Roosevelt and the Democrats enjoyed a clear margin in public confidence. Voting patterns changed less between 1940 and 1944 than in any other election in the 1930s and 1940s, with nine of 10 voters voting in 1944 as they had in 1940. The Roosevelt coalition had thus endured the test of new circumstances and issues during the war with relatively modest erosion. In fact, Democrats would remain the majority party for another quarter century, and issues, party images, and voting patterns from the Roosevelt era remained visible in the nation's politics at the turn of the 21st century.

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### popular culture

Amidst the economic and political insecurity of the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II from 1929 to 1945, an unprecedented national popular culture emerged, express-

ing both an expanded sense of national unity and widespread feelings of dissent and discontent. The popular culture of this period had a reach beyond that of previous decades largely because of the new mass media, particularly RADIO and the MOVIES. The advent of new printing and recording technologies enabled other media and popular culture forms—magazine publishing, ADVERTISING, and popular MUSIC—to assume a new national scope and importance too. As Americans tuned their radios to the same national daily programs, flocked to the same Hollywood movies, and memorized the same Madison Avenue jingles and slogans, they came to share a common cultural experience.

More than that, thanks to these shared encounters, Americans experienced dramatic changes in social space. Radio waves invaded the intimate space of the home, blurring the boundaries between public and private. National broadcasts, along with the national distribution of movies, consumer goods, popular music, and professional SPORTS increasingly collapsed the nation into a single market and shrunk the distance between different social groups who now had access to the same popular culture vernacular.

One of the most striking things about the new mass-mediated popular culture of the period was its celebration of the mass audience that it catered to. The figure of “the people” was a central, if ambivalent symbol. In the context of the Great Depression, the still-new national mass media discovered “the people” as both a new audience and a new protagonist. “The people” consisted in large part of the millions of unionized laborers, immigrants, and unemployed who resonated so strongly with FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT’s rhetoric of the “Forgotten Man.”

In movies, advertisements, popular songs, and on the radio and playing fields, populist images abounded. Many of these images—the corrupt banker and honest outlaw of John Ford’s classic western, *Stagecoach*, for example—tended to reinforce a left-leaning critique of capitalism, or, more broadly, to support the LIBERALISM of the NEW DEAL. Indeed, the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION itself subsidized a great deal of populist popular art, including theater, storytelling, and painting.

But the overall ideological message of this new sphere of popular culture and its embrace of “the people” is not at all clear. With its commercial financing and emphasis on romance, comedy, and happy endings, most of the popular narratives of Hollywood, network radio, and Broadway reinforced conformity and nonpolitical solutions to problems of poverty and oppression. And the very structure of the new media, with centrally produced messages directed to a largely passive mass audience, led some critics to fear that the fascist potential of mass media, tapped so adeptly in Germany, could be exploited in the United States as well. For example, popular music, like BIG BAND swing, exuded a liberal urban ethos of racial diversity, use of illicit drugs,

and increasingly frank expressions of sexuality. However, musicians and audiences were often constrained to conform to the segregated and conservative conditions of broadcast studios, record companies, and some nightclubs.

Nowhere were these contradictions more apparent than in Hollywood’s “dream factory.” By 1934, the motion picture industry had already begun to recover from the depression. Weekly attendance figures rose from some 60 million in 1932 to 85 million during the war. Weekend visits to the movie theater often included a newsreel, cartoons, and an A and a B feature—an impressive entertainment value at 25¢ a ticket. A significant fraction of this massive national audience comprised immigrants and laborers sympathetic to or affiliated with the new industrial unions. The highbrow settings common to the movies prior to the depression gave way after the STOCK MARKET CRASH to the demimonde of gangster, dancers, and prostitutes; to the devastated farms of the DUST BOWL; and to the streets, shop floors, and saloons of the CITIES, where the forgotten men and women, sang, danced, fought, and fell in love.

In 1934, with the advent of the Hays Commission, an industry-sponsored censorship bureau, Hollywood movies lost some of their brazen sexuality and subversive storylines. Lovers became more chaste, and gangsters and other outlaws were required to pay for their crimes at the end of the film. Still, movies like *Gold Diggers of 1933*, *The Grapes of Wrath*, and *Modern Times* depicted with sympathy the struggles of the forgotten people at the bottom of the economic pyramid. Movies like *Little Caesar*, *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*, and *All Quiet on the Western Front* revealed the ugly underside of the optimism and patriotism that had been so central to the popular and political culture of the 1920s. Hollywood stars Will Rogers and Charlie Chaplin embodied the humble Everyman with comic flair that made them box-office favorites. And more than any other figure of the 1930s, the phenomenal popularity of Walt Disney’s cartoon character Mickey Mouse epitomized the power of the motion pictures to generate loveable “underdog” characters.

Network radio achieved an even more impressive saturation, as daily broadcasts of *Amos 'n' Andy* and *The Goldbergs* and weekly broadcasts of *The Jack Benny Program* and *Fibber McGee and Molly* reached millions of Americans. When President Roosevelt addressed his public in his famous FIRESIDE CHATS, he set new audience records. During these highly popular broadcasts, cab drivers in big cities reported a drop-off in business, water utilities recorded a similar drop-off in water usage, and movie theater ushers confronted empty seats. These broadcasts were like national rituals, uniting Americans in simultaneous moments of shared experience. The fireside chats in particular emphasized the powerful connection between participation in a mass audience and citizenship, a link that





Actor, entertainer, and comedian Jack Benny plays the violin on stage during a radio broadcast. (Hulton/Archive)

proved to be crucial to Roosevelt's political power, given the fact that the majority of newspaper publishers were quite hostile to the New Deal and to Roosevelt himself.

Radio's power to unite was complicated—and undermined—by representations of AFRICAN AMERICANS and other racial and ethnic minorities that tended to reinforce existing segregation and prejudice. While *Amos 'n' Andy* brought the lives of black characters (played by white actors) into the homes of millions of Americans on a daily basis, the stereotypical representations of African Americans did little to challenge the racist notions behind segregation and racial violence.

Along with the advent of sound in motion pictures, radio broadcasts ushered in a new era in which voice was

a powerful means of popular culture expression. The voice in talkies and on radio conveyed gender, ethnic, and class identities in ways that words and images could not. Voice—accent, intonation, timing, and pitch—conveyed subversive meanings that could not necessarily be captured by censors reviewing scripts. Through these media, Americans were brought into regular intimate contact with the untutored voices of “the people” in ways that often did undermine traditional class hierarchies. In an invisible medium like radio, voice carried the full burden of representing distinctions in race, gender, region, and socioeconomic background.

Documentary was another characteristic mode of the popular culture of the period. From the New Deal-funded arts projects to movie newsreels and photojournalism, to



the new science of PUBLIC OPINION POLLS, popular culture increasingly took the form of documenting the people. Following the lead of social scientists, advertisers and politicians invoked “the Great American Average” as a way to represent consumers and citizens, respectively. The Living Newspapers of the FEDERAL THEATRE PROJECT, films like Pare Lorentz’s *The River* and *The Plow That Broke the Plains* and the PHOTOGRAPHY of WALKER EVANS and MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE used the documentary form as social and political commentary about depression-era poverty and injustice. Audience participation broadcasts, *March of Time* newsreels, and print advertisements also employed documentary style to emphasize the immediacy and relevance of their messages and to achieve a kind of ersatz journalistic authenticity.

While much of the popular culture in the years 1929–45 centered on images of “the people,” this was also an era in which supermen reached a new kind of iconic status in the United States. Superheroes such as the Shadow, Batman, the Green Hornet, and, of course, Superman himself burst onto the scene, achieving enormous popularity across a variety of media: comic books, pulp novels, radio, film, and newspaper cartoons. Sports figures like Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, Dizzy Dean, Babe Didrikson, and JOE LOUIS became larger than life thanks in part to the perpetual glare of the news media, which celebrated their feats and recorded their every move. JESSE OWENS’s victory over the Germans in the 1936 Olympics in Berlin carried layers of symbolic importance for Americans, especially for African Americans.

As the likelihood of U.S. entrance into World War II became ever clearer, the popular culture, along with the rest of the country, veered into war MOBILIZATION mode as early as 1939. Radio programs retuned their formats to promote the defense industry; motion pictures increasingly turned to plots sympathetic to the Allied cause, even cartoons began to incorporate comically exaggerated images—some of them racist—of AXIS leaders as the nemeses of popular heroes like Bugs Bunny. As some of the superstars of professional sports and Hollywood enlisted for one form or another of national service to the war effort, American popular culture increasingly embraced the war effort over themes of social diversity and critique.

Feeling the subtle but unmistakable pressure exerted by the OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION, the Justice Department and other federal agencies, such cultural producers as broadcasters, filmmakers, publishers, and advertisers, avoided controversy and conflict in favor of morale-boosting images of wartime unity. The popular culture of the war years was marked by patriotic imagery and liberal pluralism, two concepts that were often joined in the multicultural foxhole scenes that became Hollywood clichés, to cite one example. In addition, popular films, radio programs,

songs, and advertisements continually evoked lofty national goals, including the FOUR FREEDOMS, the virtues of the American people and their way of life, and the prospects of the good life of abundance once the war was over.

See also RECREATION; TECHNOLOGY.

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—Jason Loviglio

## Popular Front

In 1935, the Communist International, known as the Comintern, issued a statement urging COMMUNISTS around the world to postpone their revolutionary goals and work instead toward the eradication of fascism. Fascism, Moscow said, must be recognized as a distinct and serious threat, one that must be overcome before the broader struggle against bourgeois hegemony could continue. Communists were instructed to join forces with SOCIALISTS and others on the left in a “Popular Front” and to refrain from such anti-Socialist and antiliberal rhetoric as calling FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and other liberals “social fascists.”

Support for the new policy was most widespread among communists in France and Spain, and Popular Front coalitions gained control of the governments in both countries. French communists supported socialist Leon Blum, who was elected to head a Popular Front government in 1936. In Spain, a series of Popular Front governments ruled from 1936 to 1939, throughout the SPANISH CIVIL WAR between loyalist supporters of the government on the one hand and Francisco Franco and his Nationalist Party on the other. Although Popular Front candidates did not gain control of the government in Great Britain, they garnered support among substantial segments of the population.

The Popular Front was unable to acquire such influence in the United States, primarily because of the minor role traditionally played by the far left in American politics. In addition, the Popular Front initiative met with serious resistance from Socialist Party leaders. The Comintern instructed the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) to concentrate its efforts on building a new political party, the Farmer-Labor Party, which would function as

an American Popular Front organization. When the Socialists refused to participate in a Farmer-Labor campaign for the presidency in 1936, the CPUSA, led by Earl Browder, petitioned the Comintern for permission to adapt the directive to the unique circumstances faced by communists in the United States. Moscow agreed that a new tactic was needed, and proposed that the CPUSA support Roosevelt's bid for reelection. This plan was also abandoned, when it was recognized that an endorsement by communists would likely hurt Roosevelt's campaign more than it would help. In the end, the CPUSA ran its own ticket headed by Browder, who railed against the REPUBLICAN PARTY but avoided criticizing Roosevelt or his NEW DEAL policies. He received just 80,000 votes—a scant two-tenths of 1 percent of the popular vote.

After the ELECTION OF 1936, the CPUSA continued to work toward the creation of a strong Farmer-Labor Party. To attract prospective members and broaden its influence, the CPUSA stepped up its efforts on behalf of organized LABOR. Party members sometimes played important roles in helping establish the fledgling CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO) and held important positions in some CIO unions. The CPUSA criticized the Roosevelt Administration for applying the NEUTRALITY ACTS to the Spanish civil war and was instrumental in forming the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, comprised of several thousand American volunteers who went to fight against Franco in Spain.

Throughout the Popular Front period, Browder also tried to “Americanize” communism. His 1936 campaign slogan claimed that “Communism is Twentieth-Century Americanism,” and CPUSA rallies of the time placed Washington and Lincoln on the same pedestal with Lenin and Marx. While the CPUSA's foray into coalition building never convinced many workers to become communists, it did win for communism more American support than it had ever had before. In the years between 1935 and 1939, CPUSA membership grew considerably and reached its highest number ever, with estimates ranging as high as 100,000. The CPUSA also sponsored or infiltrated peace, youth, and religious groups in an effort to expand its influence.

In the fall of 1939, following the signing of the NAZI-SOVIET PACT in August, the Communist Party leadership in Moscow announced that the Popular Front strategy was to be abandoned. Many people, including some top CPUSA leaders, were shocked and angered by the reversal in policy. This sense of betrayal, together with the CPUSA's renewed criticism of Roosevelt and the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, reduced party membership and increased anticommunist sentiment. In the next two years, the CPUSA sided with ISOLATIONISTS in opposing a FOREIGN POLICY that was increasingly anti-AXIS.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Communist Party again sounded the call for antifascist unity. The Soviet people's bravery and sacrifice while fighting the Nazis, together with the formation of the GRAND ALLIANCE after U.S. entry into the war, helped to partially rehabilitate communism's image. This second “Popular Front” also proved to be short-lived, however, for the end of World War II brought the beginning of the cold war and the escalation of ANTICOMMUNISM in American politics.

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—Pamela J. Lauer

### population trends

Events of such great magnitude and diverse consequences as the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II almost inevitably affect population trends. Overall, the 1929–45 era divides into three segments in terms of the impact on population. The early years of the depression generally slowed existing trends, most obviously in marriages, births, divorces, and MIGRATION. From the mid-1930s to the beginning of World War II, population trends largely resumed previous patterns. And then during the war, population change sped up, sometimes dramatically, particularly in marriages, births, and migration. But there were variations and exceptions to these generalizations, and dynamics already underway before 1929 often continued to shape demographic trends.

Population growth slowed dramatically in the 1930s, partly because of falling birth rates but also because of a sharp reduction in IMMIGRATION as a result of the depression and of the immigration restriction legislation of the 1920s. Between 1930 and 1940, the U.S. population increased by just 7 percent (from 123 million to 132 million)—the lowest growth rate for a decade ever registered since the nation's founding. Population growth in the 1940s was about twice that, in line with the 1910–30 rate, as it picked up during the war and then still more afterward.

The depression and then the war had a significant impact on MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE. Economic insecurity produced by high UNEMPLOYMENT and low incomes meant the postponement of many marriages early in the depression, and the marriage rate (measured by the number of marriages per 1,000 unmarried women aged 15 and over) fell from 67.6 in 1930 to just 56 in 1932. It then increased, to 72.5 in 1935, to 82.7 in 1940, and to a wartime high of 93.6 in 1942. It fell to 84.5 in 1945 and then shot up to a peak of 120.7 in 1946. (It declined to the still substantial level of 90.2 by 1950.)

Because the marriage rate had been above 90 in 1920, the sharp drop early in the depression may have been in part a continuation of 1920s trends. But the increase after the mid-1930s, and especially during the war, is clear; deferred marriages from the early 1930s and then war marriages evidently account for the trend. Having generally fallen in the first three decades of the century, the median age of first marriage held steady for men (24.3) and rose only slightly for women (increasing from 21.3 to 21.5) in the 1930s, before decreasing with wartime and postwar marriages (to 22.8 for men and 20.3 for women by 1950).

Divorce rates also showed significant changes in the era. The divorce rate (divorces per 1,000 married women) had risen from 4 in 1900 to about 5 in 1910 and then to 8 in 1920 before falling slightly in the 1920s to 7.5 by 1930. In the early years of the depression, the divorce rate dropped to 6.1 in 1932 and 1933, then rose to 7.8 in 1935 and 8.8 in 1940, and then increased more rapidly still to 14.5 in 1945 before peaking at 17.8 in 1946. Clearly, the end of the war brought the dissolution of war marriages that had not worked, as well as enabling marriages that had been deferred.

Both the depression and World War II affected birthrates. Continuing their long-term decline, birthrates had fallen from 30.1 per 1,000 people in 1910 to 21.3 in 1930. They then fell further, to 18.4 in 1933; and the rate of decline from 1930 to 1933 was about three times that of the 1910–30 rate. Birthrates then generally moved up in the mid- and late 1930s, reaching 19.4 in 1940 and peaking in 1943 at 22.7 before falling back to 20.4 in 1945. The true “baby boom” began in 1946, when the birthrate reached the mid-20s, where it would remain for a decade and more; but the war years began the increases in marriages and births that would characterize postwar America.

The depression and the war also had a significant impact on migration within the United States. Overall, the era brought a significant redistribution of the population toward the SUNBELT states of the SOUTH and West Coast, toward metropolitan areas, and toward SUBURBS. Much of this essentially reinforced ongoing trends, as rural and small-town America continued their long-term decline and metropolitan areas and the West their long-term growth.

In migration, the three-part division of the era is especially obvious. From 1930 to 1935, population movement and redistribution slowed dramatically. Given the widespread ravages of the depression, there seemed little to be gained by moving from one region to another or by moving from RURAL AREAS to CITIES or vice versa, although there was more urban to rural movement than in previous decades. In the late 1930s, population movement increased and resumed pre-depression patterns, away from the rural South and Midwest toward metropolitan areas and toward the Pacific Coast.

World War II then greatly accelerated migration. More than 30 million people, or nearly one-fourth of the population, moved during the war, as some 15 million civilians moved to a different county, and about 16 million GIs served in the armed forces. Approximately 12 million people—almost one-tenth of the population—moved permanently to another state. The depopulation of rural America accelerated, as did the growth of the Sunbelt, which housed so many wartime defense industries and military bases. Suburbs attracted more people because of a lack of space in the central cities. Impressive though the numbers are, however, the basic geographic patterns were largely consistent with previous ones.

Wartime migration did more than simply redistribute the general population: It had other important consequences as well. The growing importance of the Sunbelt states on American culture and politics would be especially evident in the postwar era. (In the last third of the 20th century, every elected president came from a Sunbelt state.) The renewed migration of AFRICAN AMERICANS out of the rural South and toward cities, especially in the North and West, was of crucial importance for American race relations and the status of blacks. Crowded war-boom cities often experienced tensions, including racial tensions and sometimes conflict, as newcomers moved in and seemed to challenge and change old ways. In bringing different people into contact with one another, migration also had the effect of reinforcing trends toward cultural diffusion and homogenization.

The reduction of immigration, long a major source of American population increase, also contributed importantly to population trends and influenced various aspects of American life from 1929 to 1945 and afterward. The slowed population growth rate of the 1930s stemmed partly from the effect of the restrictive immigration laws of the 1920s in curtailing immigration and of the depression in tarnishing the economic lure that had traditionally made America so attractive to immigrants. World War II also held down immigration.

The decline in immigration led to the diminishing presence of immigrants in the United States. The number of foreign-born people in the population fell from close to 12 percent in 1930 to 9 percent in 1940 to 7 percent in 1950. Of course, the children and grandchildren of immigrants made up a substantial part of the population, and ethnic groups and ethnicity thus remained central to virtually every aspect of American life. But until the changes in immigration law in the 1960s, immigrants made up a far smaller part than previously of the population.

Some other population trends bear scrutiny. Average life expectancy continued its long-term rise, going from 47.3 years in 1900 to 50 in 1910, to 54.1 in 1920, to 59.7 in 1930, to 62.9 in 1940, and to 68.2 in 1950. Median population age

rose from 26.5 to 29 in the 1930s, higher than the trend line and partly a result of declining birthrates, and then to 30.2 in 1950 before turning down in the 1950s because of the baby boom. Death rates trended down overall in the 1930s (from 11.3 per 1,000 people in 1930 to 10.8 in 1940) and then averaged 10.6 from 1941 to 1945. In part reflecting the fact that almost all of the 400,000 American military deaths in World War II were men, women comprised slightly more than half the population in 1950 after being under half down to the mid-1940s. Changes in immigration patterns also affected the gender ratio, for the heavy immigration in the century's first three decades had been about 60 percent male, while the reduced immigration from 1930 to 1950 was almost 60 percent female.

By the end of World War II, the United States was, in significant ways, different from what it had been at the outset of the Great Depression. Important changes had come to the nation's ECONOMY and to its GOVERNMENT and politics. But American society had also changed, not least because of population trends of the era. In all of those areas, the changes often involved continuing or reinforcing long-term trends, but the Great Depression and World War II had important effects as well.

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### postwar planning

American planning for the postwar era was shaped by the experiences of the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II. The decade-long depression and the understanding that economic recovery had come only with war MOBILIZATION engendered planning efforts by GOVERNMENT, by BUSINESS, and by LABOR to maintain a prosperous, full-employment ECONOMY when the war was over. The collapse of the international economy and the breakdown of the peace in the 1930s led to planning for postwar FOREIGN POLICY to maintain global peace and prosperity. There were other planning efforts as well, conducted by countless public agencies and private organizations from their own perspectives and for their own purposes. But the dominant priorities of postwar planning in the United States—and the overriding goals of the American people as revealed by PUBLIC OPINION POLLS during the war—were to achieve the security of prosperity and peace in the postwar era.

Even before American entry into the war, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT directed the NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD (NRPB) to initiate domestic postwar planning. The NRPB developed a far-reaching set of proposals for government programs to underwrite full-employment prosperity and economic security. Reflecting the postwar agenda of LIBERALISM, the NRPB reports had no chance in the conservative wartime CONGRESS, which largely ignored them and killed the NRPB itself in 1943. But other administration agencies, including the Bureau of the Budget and the Social Security Board, continued the NRPB's planning for postwar FISCAL POLICY based on KEYNESIANISM to underwrite full-employment prosperity and for social policies to ensure economic security. Given the strength of the CONSERVATIVE COALITION in Congress and the emphasis of public opinion on jobs rather than social welfare, only the fiscal policy approach had significant support. The FULL EMPLOYMENT BILL of 1945 (which became the attenuated Employment Act of 1946) was the most concrete manifestation of administration postwar planning.

Meanwhile, such war agencies as the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD, the OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION AND RECONVERSION, and the SELECTIVE SERVICE system planned for RECONVERSION to a peacetime economy and for DEMOBILIZATION of the armed forces. Congress enacted postwar policies to assist business in making the transition from war to peace. Drawing in part on NRPB recommendations, Congress and the administration agreed upon the GI BILL OF RIGHTS, signed by Roosevelt in June 1944, to ease the readjustment of veterans to civilian life by providing a variety of benefits including EDUCATION grants and home loans.

But government at all levels, not just in Washington, conducted postwar planning. States, larger CITIES, and also smaller jurisdictions established planning efforts, particularly with an eye to ensuring continuing business and employment opportunities, but also for other purposes as well. Innumerable business and service organizations in the private sector also launched planning initiatives. ADVERTISING, working with business, portrayed visions of a bountiful future hoping to stimulate spending that might produce prosperity as well as profits.

Not all of the domestic planning involved the economy. Racial prejudice, tensions, and sometimes conflict during the war, for example, led not only AFRICAN AMERICANS but also many whites to plan to ameliorate such patterns of RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT. In the SOUTH, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation became the Southern Regional Council and aimed to bring equal opportunity to blacks. In the North, interracial commissions were created by a number of state and local governments to study the causes of racial tensions and propose corrective action.



Concern about wartime ANTI-SEMITISM also figured in the work of such agencies.

The federal government also conducted important planning for postwar foreign policy, efforts manifesting the nation's determination to play a leading role in world affairs in the postwar era. The BRETTON WOODS CONFERENCE of 1944, and the resulting International Monetary Fund and World Bank, reflected the conviction of American officials that high tariffs, currency devaluation, and other breakdowns of economic cooperation in the 1930s had not only harmed the international economy but had contributed to the coming of World War II.

But the most important postwar planning in foreign policy involved efforts to create an effective international collective security organization to keep the peace. (The military also initiated planning for the postwar period—and for the next war, should it come.) Wanting to avoid the errors of the Woodrow Wilson administration in designing the League of Nations during World War I, the Roosevelt administration stayed in close contact with Congress in planning for a new collective security organization. The UNITED NATIONS conference in San Francisco in April 1945, and the Senate's overwhelming ratification of the United Nations charter in July 1945, brought that planning exercise to a successful conclusion.

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### Potsdam Conference (July–August 1945)

The Potsdam Conference, held outside of Berlin, Germany, from July 17 to August 2, 1945, was attended by U.S. president Harry S. Truman, Soviet premier Joseph Stalin, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and, after Churchill's election defeat, new British prime minister Clement Attlee. Potsdam was the first meeting of the “Big Three” leaders of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union without FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT present, the first since the surrender of Germany in May 1945, and the only conference where Truman and Stalin met. This meeting was held to clarify issues discussed at the YALTA CONFERENCE of February 1945 including Germany, Poland, and ending the war against Japan. It concluded with the Potsdam Declaration, which called for the unconditional surrender of Japan.

Much of the discussion at Potsdam involved policy toward postwar Germany. As agreed at Yalta, Germany

was divided into four occupation zones (American, British, French, and Soviet), with a joint Allied Control Council to address general issues. Truman reluctantly conceded German territory east of the Oder and Neisse Rivers to Poland (which had lost its eastern section to the Soviet Union). Stalin had called for German reparations in the amount of \$20 billion at Yalta, but Roosevelt and Churchill had deferred decision on reparations. At Potsdam it was agreed that each occupying power could take reparations from its zone, with the Soviets to get special consideration because of their enormous losses during the war. The Big Three agreed that Germany would be de-Nazified and demilitarized, but did not fully settle the political or economic future of Germany, which would remain a cause of contention as the cold war developed. The conference established a Council of Foreign Ministers to draft peace treaties with Germany and her allies and to implement agreements made at Potsdam and Yalta.

With respect to Poland's government, the United States and Britain understood that the Soviet Red Army was in control of Poland, and Truman agreed to recognize the new Polish government, controlled by Moscow, provided that free elections were held as originally agreed to at Yalta. Like Germany, Poland remained a source of controversy in SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS and in the developing cold war.

With the war in Europe over, the war against Japan figured even more prominently than at Yalta in the discussions. As Roosevelt had done, Truman sought to insure the involvement by Soviet Union, still party to a nonaggression pact with Japan, in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER, so that the war could be brought to an end as quickly as possible. Essentially reaffirming his Yalta pledge to enter the war within two or three months of Germany's



Clement Attlee, Harry S. Truman, and Joseph Stalin at Potsdam, 1945 (National Archives)

surrender, Stalin guaranteed Soviet entry into the campaign by mid-August.

At Potsdam, however, Truman's calculations and performance were affected by news that the ATOMIC BOMB had been successfully tested at Alamogordo, New Mexico. While it was not at all obvious just what the impact of the bomb would be on the war against Japan or on Soviet-American relations, it plainly would be a significant factor in both. Truman had known in advance of the conference that word of a successful test might come, and his advisers had discussed whether he should inform Stalin and whether a successful test should change the policy of unconditional surrender. Toward the end of the conference, Truman, as he later put it, "casually mentioned to Stalin that we had a new weapon of unusual destructive force." Stalin (who knew of the atomic bomb project from Soviet ESPIONAGE) gave little reaction.

On July 26, Truman and Attlee issued the Potsdam Declaration, calling upon Japan to surrender unconditionally by August 3 or face "prompt and utter destruction." The surrender terms included an end to Japanese militarism, disarmament, the evacuation of all Japanese territories except for the home islands, the punishment of war criminals, and the Allied occupation of Japan. It contained no mention of the emperor and his status, although it did say that the Allies would establish a democratic system. The Japanese did not accept these terms at first, which led to the dropping of atomic bombs on HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI on August 6 and 9.

See also FOREIGN POLICY; GRAND ALLIANCE.

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—Anne Rothfeld

### presidency

From 1929 to 1945, the presidency grew significantly in size and power and took on a larger role than ever before in American GOVERNMENT. This resulted from both the extraordinary demands of the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II and from the leadership of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. The executive branch grew very slowly during the HOOVER PRESIDENCY from 1929 to 1933, expanded rapidly during the NEW DEAL years of the 1930s, and then nearly quadrupled in size during World War II. Even after postwar retrenchment, the executive branch remained far larger than it had before 1933, and both the CONGRESS and the public looked much more to the president for policy direction than had been the case prior to Roosevelt's presidency.

At the beginning of his term as president in 1929, HERBERT C. HOOVER intended to energize the executive branch and apply modern organizational techniques to national issues. A powerful secretary of commerce in the 1920s, Hoover believed in an active presidency, although he wanted—consistent with his convictions about the role of the federal government—an office that would catalyze and coordinate efforts to address national problems rather than directing and controlling them. Appointing like-minded "Hoover men" to cabinet and subcabinet positions, he initiated action on a number of issues, began studies of social and economic trends, and planned conferences on social and economic problems.

But inertia and Hoover's reluctance to push too hard or change things too fast limited such undertakings, and by late 1929 the onset of the Great Depression and the collapsing ECONOMY commanded his attention. Although the Hoover presidency did more than any previous administration had done during economic hard times, those efforts were constrained by Hoover's steadfast opposition to a regulatory or welfare state. By the end of his term, Hoover used the power of the presidency largely to restrain Congress from doing or spending too much. Hoover also lacked the temperament to take on the political and symbolic roles of the presidency, and his gloomy outlook and growing unpopularity diminished the authority of the White House. "This office," he said, "is a compound hell."

Franklin D. Roosevelt saw the presidency much differently. "I want to be a *preaching President*," he once declared; and he wanted to be a powerful president as well. Confident in his abilities, comfortable in the White House, and ready to use the federal government to deal with the Great Depression, Roosevelt from the first expanded the size and power of his office. He served far longer than any other president and, during his 1933–45 tenure, played a decisive role in the evolution of the modern presidency. Under FDR, the president became more than ever before the center of national government, setting the agenda for public policy, sending proposals to Congress, and then implementing the resulting programs. Congress increasingly responded to the president's agenda rather than initiating its own, and the SUPREME COURT ultimately approved the expansion of federal and executive-branch

#### NUMBER OF EXECUTIVE BRANCH EMPLOYEES

1929	567,721
1933	590,984
1940	1,022,853
1945	3,786,645
1950	1,934,040

power. Although Roosevelt has often been criticized for his untidy administrative style, he infused the executive branch with energy, focused its efforts, and expanded its role and authority in both domestic and foreign policy. His adept use of the NEWS MEDIA contributed still further to the new power of the presidency in national affairs.

In the first months of his presidency, Roosevelt oversaw the remarkable first Hundred Days that began the New Deal's unprecedented array of programs to combat the depression. As the subsequent proliferation of new programs greatly enlarged the size and reach of the executive branch, he also wanted to reorganize the presidency in order to provide more efficient policy planning and coordination. Although the CONSERVATIVE COALITION that stymied much of his second-term agenda considerably weakened the final measure, Roosevelt in 1939 won passage of the EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION ACT, which established the Executive Office of the President and provided more presidential control over the executive branch. During World War II, the size and powers of the presidency grew even faster and further than during the depression. Congress delegated great authority to the president to coordinate war MOBILIZATION, and Roosevelt also exercised the military and diplomatic powers of commander in chief to an unprecedented degree. Much of the wartime growth of the presidency was cut back once the war was over; but in 1950, the executive branch had nearly twice as many employees as in 1940, and more than three times as many as in 1933. The Executive Office of the President established in 1939 provided an institutional foundation for presidential power, while managing the regulatory welfare state implemented in the 1930s and overseeing the nation's new global role further entrenched the new size and authority of the presidency.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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### President's Emergency Committee for Employment

The President's Emergency Committee for Employment (PECE) was an initial effort of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY to address the mounting UNEMPLOYMENT problem of the GREAT DEPRESSION. In 1921–22, HERBERT HOOVER, then

secretary of commerce, had proposed creation of a “federal employment committee” to address the issue of unemployed workers during the recession of that year. The committee, charged with coordinating the efforts of various federal, state, and local agencies, was headed by Colonel Arthur Woods and was generally considered successful. The onset of the Great Depression in 1929 found Hoover, now president, determined to address the new problem through similar means. By October 1930, conditions had deteriorated to the point where he created PECE, which he based on his prior experience; and, again, the effort was headed up by his friend Colonel Woods. PECE arose for the purpose of “job-creation,” which was to be accomplished by expanded federal employment and locally financed public construction, along with the stimulation of private sector job-creation schemes. Here, local governments were encouraged to commence immediate work on construction projects in the planning stages, while agency officials urged CONGRESS to increase available funding for federal public works expenditures. Furthermore, it encouraged more active intervention on behalf of private RELIEF efforts and also served as a central clearinghouse for information pertaining to relief efforts. All told, the issue was well received publicly as a moderate and tempered response to the initial surge of unemployment, especially considering Hoover's stated preference for “volunteerism” (private initiatives) and his ingrained resistance to activist federal intervention in the ECONOMY.

Unfortunately, the employment situation grew bleaker by the spring of 1931, and it became apparent that PECE lacked the scope and resources to adequately address the problem. In fact, the private sector was laying off workers instead of hiring them, while cash-strapped local governments were also scaling back public employment for lack of funding. Unemployment lines grew exponentially, so Colonel Woods pressed Hoover to provide a \$347 million congressional appropriation to directly fund relief efforts, a proposal that the president rejected out of hand. Woods resigned his position in consequence, and PECE efforts at relief continued to flounder until the agency was reorganized and renamed the PRESIDENT'S ORGANIZATION ON UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF (POUR) in August 1931.

**Further reading:** David Burner, *Herbert Hoover: A Public Life* (New York: Knopf, 1979); Jeff Singleton, *The American Dole: Unemployment Relief and the Welfare State in the Great Depression* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000).

—John C. Fredriksen

### President's Organization on Unemployment Relief

The worsening GREAT DEPRESSION had, by the summer of 1931, occasioned renewed calls that the HOOVER



PRESIDENCY adopt a more active federal role to ameliorate the growing UNEMPLOYMENT emergency. This clamoring, however, ran counter to President HERBERT HOOVER's deeply ingrained opposition to such action, and he invoked his belief that the private sector remained a more palatable alternative. Yet, with the failure of the PRESIDENT'S EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR EMPLOYMENT (PECE) to realistically address skyrocketing unemployment rates, Hoover disbanded it and absorbed it into a new effort called the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief (POUR) in August 1931. The new organization bore a superficial resemblance to its predecessor and was headed by AT&T president Walter S. Gifford. But, whereas PECE focused upon the local public ECONOMY and private sector for job creation, POUR was tasked with organizing and coordinating a national fund-raising campaign to subsidize RELIEF for unemployed workers.

In operation, POUR shared many similarities with the Liberty Loan drives of World War I and the Community Chest drives of the 1920s. Here the GOVERNMENT appealed to a sense of civic obligation through mass ADVERTISING in newspapers, magazines, and billboards emblazoned under the rubric "Of Course We Can Do It." The public responded in kind by staging hundreds of benefit football games and air shows to raise funds to assist the unemployed. From an administration standpoint, POUR helped relief expenditures to nearly double over the winter of 1931–32. Unfortunately, the Great Depression had yet to bottom out, and it became painfully apparent that private donations simply could not address the problem adequately. By the spring of 1932, POUR funding was nearly exhausted, and Hoover, faced with an election that fall, was forced to make additional concessions to provide meaningful unemployment relief. Consequently, in 1932 POUR was disbanded following passage of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act, which finally made allowances for direct federal intervention in the private sector.

**Further reading:** David Burner, *Herbert Hoover: A Public Life* (New York: Knopf, 1979); Jeff Singleton, *The American Dole: Unemployment Relief and the Welfare State in the Great Depression* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000).

—John C. Fredriksen

### prisoners of war

According to the 1899 and 1907 Hague Conventions and the 1929 Geneva Convention, capturing powers in wartime were to remove prisoners from battle areas and give them medical care, housing, clothing, and food comparable to those of their own troops. When interrogated, prisoners of war (POWs) were to receive treatment commensurate with

their rank, and could refuse to give any information except their name, rank, and service number. While in captivity, POWs were to be able to practice their religion, correspond, and expect humane treatment. The Geneva-based International Red Cross inspected camps to insure compliance. During WORLD WAR II, however, reality typically departed far from such guidelines, with the circumstances of the millions of POWs dependent on resources, the time and place of capture, and the attitudes of the capturing powers. The treatment of POWs by the United States was in general good, while American POWs received decent treatment from Germany and usually dreadful treatment by the Japanese.

Germany took more than 2 million prisoners in its conquests of Poland and France in 1939 and 1940, and then 5 million Red Army captives after the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. Germany treated Soviet prisoners exceptionally badly. Unlike Allied POWs in the West, who were housed in camps built for the purpose, captured Soviets became inmates of the Nazi concentration camp system. More than 3 million Soviet prisoners died in German captivity. Because the Soviet government had not signed the Geneva Convention, the Germans held that Soviet prisoners were not covered by its terms. This attitude, when combined with Nazi racial policies defining Slavs as subhumans, sealed the fate of Soviet prisoners. German treatment was reciprocated by the Soviets toward their portion of the nearly 4.5 million Germans captured by the Allies. Of the nearly 3 million Germans in Soviet captivity, fewer than a million had returned to Germany by 1957, the remainder perishing in Soviet labor camps. Moreover, after the war, repatriated Russians, at Joseph Stalin's insistence, were imprisoned in the USSR as punishment for having been captured. The Western Allies repatriated all AXIS prisoners by 1947.

Germany and Japan captured 200,000 and 108,000 British and Commonwealth soldiers, respectively—most between 1940 and 1942 in Europe, North Africa, Burma, Malaya, and Hong Kong. Some 80,000 British troops were captured by the Japanese at Singapore alone in 1942 and were joined in squalid camps by 22,000 Dutch from the Netherlands East Indies. German treatment of British prisoners was far better than that by their Japanese allies, largely because of the German belief that the British would then treat well the growing numbers of Germans in British hands. The same logic and pattern held true for the 90,000 Americans captured by the Germans after 1942.

Particularly for those German and Italian POWs transported to the United States, the U.S. treatment of POWs was generally humane and within convention guidelines. In fact, the treatment of Axis prisoners sometimes drew civilian complaints that the enemy was being "mollycoddled" while American servicemen were dying abroad. The



670,000 Italian and German prisoners held in the 155 main camps and 500 subcamps in the continental United States were often used as farm labor. Sometimes POWs were permitted to leave camps in the United States for brief periods of recreation. AFRICAN AMERICANS complained that German and Italian POWs in the United States received better treatment and more access to public accommodations than did black Americans. Relatively few Japanese soldiers surrendered and became POWs in the bloody WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER.

Japanese military and racial attitudes, coupled with Japan's lack of recognition of the Geneva and Hague Conventions, reinforced the Japanese belief that prisoners were dishonored and inferior weaklings, unworthy of respect, if not of life itself. This same attitude dominated the beliefs of Japanese soldiers and was the reason that fewer than 11,000 Japanese military personnel were taken prisoner by all of the Allied powers before August 15, 1945. The Japanese in turn were infamous for their brutal treatment of British prisoners and of the 15,000 Americans captured in the PHILIPPINES (site of the BATAAN DEATH MARCH of American and Filipino POWs), at Guam, and at Wake Island. The Japanese captors ruthlessly demanded hard labor on military projects, and typically denied POWs adequate food, medicine, clothing, and proper care. In MANCHURIA, Unit 731 of the Japanese Army conducted heinous medical and biological warfare experiments on prisoners. Thousands of Allied prisoners were transported to Japan and Manchuria to perform slave labor in mines and war industries in direct violation of the Geneva Convention. More than 12,000 British and Commonwealth prisoners died from overwork, ill treatment, and disease constructing the Burma railway. All told, nearly 40 percent of the Allied prisoners in Japanese captivity died.

While it was considered the duty of prisoners to escape, only about 35,000 British, Commonwealth, and American prisoners escaped German captivity. The number of Axis prisoners escaping Allied custody, and Allied prisoners escaping the Japanese, was so low as to be statistically insignificant.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

## propaganda

Propaganda is the use of the written and spoken word to persuade a population to adhere to a particular point of view or to follow the policies of a leader, group, or party. Propaganda used for military purposes, especially as refined

during WORLD WAR II, is known as *combat propaganda* or *psychological warfare*. Propaganda has been used since ancient times, but its use in war and peace has increased dramatically in modern times with the advent of mass communications and literate audiences. During World War II, all belligerent powers used propaganda to build morale, unity, and support for the war effort in their own populations, while simultaneously using propaganda abroad to undermine enemy military and civilian populations.

Nazi Germany put enormous efforts into propaganda beginning in 1933. Led by Joseph Goebbels, who directed the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda and Popular Enlightenment, the Nazis thoroughly controlled all print and film media as well as all radio communications within Germany, while also seeking to influence overseas populations through radio broadcasts and print media, especially during the pre-war years. The heavy emphasis on crude racial philosophies, and the inability of the Nazis to adapt their appeals to specific populations, severely limited the effectiveness of their efforts. The same was true for the propaganda efforts of the Soviet Union during the early years of World War II. Recognizing communism's unpopularity Joseph Stalin changed the emphasis of Soviet propaganda from defending the world communist movement to fighting a great patriotic war for the fatherland against fascism, a theme that appealed to all members of the GRAND ALLIANCE.

In Japan, government propaganda aimed at its own citizens succeeded in maintaining both civilian and military morale until late in the war, when the mounting evidence of an imminent and overwhelming defeat could no longer be denied. Otherwise, however, Japanese propaganda had virtually no success. Japanese propaganda efforts beyond the homeland were hampered by the broad expanses of territory needing coverage, the dearth of personnel with knowledge of the hundreds of languages found in Asia and the Pacific, and the lack of a mass literate audience with access to radios. The primary propaganda theme, "Asia for the Asiatics," initially had appeal to those desiring an end to decades of European colonial rule, but Japanese ruthlessness, brutality, and blatant racism quickly convinced most Asians that the Japanese had come as cold-blooded oppressors and not liberators. Propaganda directed toward Allied soldiers and sailors also failed badly. The efforts of "Tokyo Rose" (a term coined by Allied forces to refer to any English-speaking female radio broadcaster on Japanese radio) provide a case in point. She delivered 15-minute daily radio broadcasts to Allied troops, who found the music entertaining but the crude propaganda messages entirely unconvincing.

Great Britain created a large and sophisticated propaganda bureaucracy by 1941 that emphasized the ideals of the ATLANTIC CHARTER. The Ministry of Information controlled all radio broadcasts and print media to populations in enemy, neutral, and Allied nations worldwide

through the programs of the British Broadcasting Corporation. The British also formed the Political Warfare Executive in early 1941 to conduct Britain's psychological warfare campaign, in cooperation with British and Allied military services, against enemy populations, both civilian and military, worldwide. The British emphasis on what they termed "political warfare," either clandestine ("black") or overt ("white"), was so great that British officials often referred to such unorthodox means as the fourth dimension of warfare to be fully utilized in conjunction with conventional air, sea, and land forces.

The United States developed domestic and overseas propaganda organizations for civilian audiences as well as a sophisticated psychological warfare capacity for use against enemy military forces in the combat theaters abroad. The OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION, formed in June 1942, consisted of both domestic and overseas branches. Domestically, the OWI produced literature portraying the war in clear good-versus-evil terms, and assisted film producers in portraying the conflict in similar ways. Although successful in enhancing national unity and morale, the domestic OWI was often criticized for glorifying FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and his administration. The overseas OWI, in its publications, in literature placed in OWI-sponsored reading rooms in neutral, liberated, and Allied nations, and in Voice of America RADIO broadcasts heard worldwide, portrayed the American war effort and the nation's war aims in similar lofty and high-minded terms. The OWI emphasized the truth, although often in simplistic and vague news reports. In spite of its critics, however, who maintained that the office was attempting to globalize the NEW DEAL, the overseas OWI did lift morale and promote unity among the populations of Allied and AXIS-occupied nations.

With respect to combat propaganda, the overseas OWI cooperated with U.S. ARMY psychological warfare units in the combat theaters abroad. OWI assisted military propagandists with the production of "white" or overt propaganda leaflets and radio broadcasts that had some success in helping to weaken the morale and fighting ability of Axis military forces, especially in the latter days of the war. The OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES, in cooperation with the OWI and the British Political Warfare Executive, produced a variety of covert or "black" psychological warfare programs, although their effectiveness and utility were often in doubt.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

## public opinion polls

During the 1930s and 1940s, important advances in sampling techniques and methods of data collection and analysis contributed to a substantial increase in the use and variety of public opinion polls by BUSINESS, GOVERNMENT, and political parties.

Beginning in the 1920s, scientific polls were increasingly used by business to gauge consumers' responses to new products and to ADVERTISING campaigns, and by the growing RADIO industry to determine the popularity of specific programs. Such surveys were conducted by scholars trained in the social sciences and employed systematic methods for gathering and interpreting data. Beginning in 1929, the federal government used surveys to assess the extent of the GREAT DEPRESSION and its impact on the public.

Many polls however, like those used as early as 1824, were designed simply to predict the outcome of an election by using what was called a "straw vote" survey in which newspapers and magazines published ballots or sent out postcards to be returned to the publisher and tallied in the final poll. This method, used in the 1920s by the *Literary Digest* as well as newspapers throughout the country, relied on those who took the time to return their ballot, or answered telephone surveys. Although publishers touted such polls as being scientific, many scholars criticized them in the 1930s for their large and unscientific sample size and their bias in favor of the middle and upper classes.

During the ELECTION OF 1936, disparities between the work of social scientists and some media pollsters highlighted the shortcomings of straw-vote polling methods. Before the *Literary Digest* began its polling, George Gallup, an influential innovator in survey research methods, correctly predicted that the *Literary Digest* would favor Republican nominee ALFRED M. LANDON to defeat incumbent president FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. Gallup's own prediction—of a Roosevelt victory—was published by his organization, the American Institute for Public Opinion (AIPO), which, he argued, could give a more accurate prediction of the national and state-level results. Two other established polls, one by Archibald Crossley, a prominent market researcher, and one published by *Fortune* magazine and directed by Elmo Roper, also predicted Roosevelt's reelection. Roosevelt's victory with three-fifths of the popular vote confirmed the criticisms of the *Literary Digest* polls and prompted pollsters to reevaluate and refine their research methods.

The lessons of the *Literary Digest* debacle contributed to the proliferation of survey research among political strategists, policymakers, businessmen, and scholars. Both the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and the REPUBLICAN PARTY used opinion surveys in the ELECTION OF 1940 and especially the ELECTION OF 1944. Scholars also began to use survey research to study social and economic characteristics of the electorate.

The use of scientific surveys, however, was not limited to business and politics. Building upon the work of Gallup and Roper, psychologists such as Hadley Cantril used polls to measure general attitudes and analyze various aspects of “everyday life.” In 1937, the Princeton Radio Research Project (later called the Office of Radio Research, or ORR) was established to study the cultural impact of radio. Among other studies, the ORR published *The Invasion from Mars* (1940), which used survey data to examine listener’s reactions to ORSON WELLES’s radio production of *War of the Worlds*.

In the late 1930s, as WORLD WAR II approached, researchers as well as politicians used polling data to measure American opinion on FOREIGN POLICY issues. In 1940, Cantril together with social scientist Paul Lazarsfeld established the Office of Public Opinion Research at Princeton University. Cantril directed surveys of American attitudes on intervening in the war, and during the war served as a consultant to the White House and War Department. (In 1951, Cantril published *Public Opinion: 1935–1946*, an invaluable compendium of surveys in the era.)

After the attack on PEARL HARBOR and the official U.S. entry into the war, CONGRESS appropriated funds for survey research focusing on military morale, foreign morale, and civilian morale on the WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT. Roosevelt continued to use surveys both in the White House and in government agencies. Opinion researchers hoped to promote the use of polls as a guide for policymakers by providing them with a reasonably accurate assessment of the “will of the people.” Near the end of the war, however, Congress, suspicious of the Roosevelt administration’s use of social research to promote its own political interests, severely cut the budget of the OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION as well as funding for other studies. Nevertheless, the wartime experiences of researchers served to broaden the scope of opinion research as well as reveal its practical applications.

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—Shannon L. Parsley

### Public Utility Holding Company Act (1935)

The Public Utility Holding Company Act led to the restructuring of the public utility industry by reducing the size and power of the giant holding companies that had dominated it. Part of the SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935, the legislation (also known as the Wheeler-Rayburn Act, after its princi-

pal congressional sponsors, Senator BURTON K. WHEELER of Montana and Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas) did not go as far as President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT had desired. It was nonetheless one of the most significant ANTIMONOPOLY efforts of the NEW DEAL and part of its increased regulation of BUSINESS.

The public utility (electric power) industry had attracted many critics and foes by the 1930s. The industry was dominated by a small number of large holding companies that owned local operating companies, often in complicated, multistate organizational structures. Reaping large profits from the local companies by selling them management services and receiving their stock dividends, the holding companies typically proved unresponsive to improved, cheaper, or expanded electrical service and avoided state regulation. Their reluctance to extend operations into RURAL AREAS caused Roosevelt to create the RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION in May 1935.

Roosevelt and other members of his administration thought the utility industry was perhaps the most egregious example of harmful monopoly power. If the holding company pyramids could be leveled, the local operating companies could be more responsive and less expensive. The president sent CONGRESS a bill that would give the SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION (SEC) power to dissolve after January 1, 1940, any holding company that could not justify its existence in terms of economic efficiency and geographical integration.

The utility industry and its lobbyists put enormous pressure on Congress to defeat the bill, and especially its “death sentence” clause requiring the dissolution of holding companies that could not justify their existence. After a fierce battle, the Senate approved the bill with the death sentence clause by just one vote in June. In July the House defeated the death sentence clause but passed the rest of the bill. In August, Congress agreed upon a revised bill that eliminated holding companies more than twice removed from operating companies but required the SEC to justify dissolving other utility holding companies.

The Public Utility Holding Company Act seemed to many a modest victory for the Roosevelt administration, because the initial “death sentence” had been defeated. But the legislation did significantly expand the regulatory power of the GOVERNMENT over public utilities, even though the big companies fought it in the courts and the SEC made slow progress in rationalizing the industry. Eventually the law had a real impact on the structure of the electric power industry, and companies that were reorganized and geographically integrated were typically the stronger and more profitable for it.

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*Industry* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973); Michael E. Parrish, *Securities Regulation and the New Deal* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970).

### Public Works Administration (PWA)

The Public Works Administration was created by the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA) of June 16, 1933, one of the cornerstone measures of the FIRST NEW DEAL. Title I of the NIRA created the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA), which was to help achieve recovery from the GREAT DEPRESSION by means of economic planning and controls for industry. Title II of the NIRA established the PWA and allocated the agency its initial \$3.3 billion for large-scale public-works projects. These PWA projects were to stimulate the ECONOMY by producing new jobs and BUSINESS activity and to build projects that would enrich the national domain. Directed by Secretary of the Interior HAROLD L. ICKES, the PWA was a major NEW DEAL agency that achieved its aims of building important, well-engineered, and well-constructed public works projects. Like the NRA, however, it did not contribute significantly to economic recovery.

The public works achievements of the PWA were significant and sometimes spectacular. Spending more than \$6 billion on some 35,000 projects in the 1930s, the PWA underwrote an astonishing array of projects, from public HOUSING to hospitals, dams, and battleships, and allocated nearly \$2 billion more to other federal projects and programs, including the CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION (CWA). From 1933 to 1939, PWA helped construct some two-thirds of the nation's new schools and one-third of its hospitals and public health facilities. La Guardia Airport in New York City, the Skyline Drive in Virginia, the San Francisco–Oakland Bay Bridge in California, and the aircraft carriers *Enterprise* and *Yorktown* were all financed by PWA. Under Ickes's meticulous, prudent leadership there was almost none of the inefficiency and waste of some New Deal programs, and no hint of corruption. The PWA Housing Division pioneered the first federal housing projects, which though disappointing in the volume of housing built became in some ways a model for slum clearance and public housing projects to follow. PWA projects also signally advanced the conservation aims of the administration, and provided employment at prevailing wages for more than 1 million workers. By one accounting, all but three counties in the United States had at least one PWA project.

Yet the economic impact of the PWA was consistently disappointing. Not just insistent upon the most careful planning and management, but also deeply suspicious and greatly concerned about his own reputation for rectitude, Ickes spent money far too slowly to have the desired effect on recovery or employment. In the PWA's first six months,

when the economic situation was most perilous, for example, Ickes expended just \$110 million of the agency's \$3.3 billion authorization. The Housing Division built only some 22,000 units of low-cost public housing from 1933 to 1937, leading impatient reformers such as New York senator ROBERT F. WAGNER to create the UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY. Ickes's priorities and performance also produced near-constant conflict over public works money with RELIEF administrator HARRY L. HOPKINS, who believed that government public-works and work-relief money should be spent as rapidly as possible and on labor-intensive projects like those of the CWA and the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (WPA) rather than on the capital-intensive projects of the PWA. In these often acerbic intra-administration battles, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT more often than not sided with Hopkins. But while Roosevelt shared Hopkins's preference for quick-impact projects that would directly provide jobs and income (and political benefit), he did not embrace the emerging view of KEYNESIANISM that large-scale government deficit spending could produce economic recovery. The failure of PWA to spend sufficiently to underwrite recovery was thus by no means the responsibility of Ickes alone.

In the end, the PWA should be remembered for its accomplishments as well as for its limitations. Although it never achieved its aims or potential before being phased out in June 1941 (by which time defense spending had begun to confirm Keynesian doctrine of the importance of government spending to economic recovery), the PWA not only financed thousands of important and well-constructed projects but provided a model for prudent, efficient, effective federal funding of major construction and conservation projects.

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### Pyle, Ernie (Ernest Taylor) (1900–1945) war correspondent

Ernie Pyle, the most famous combat correspondent of WORLD WAR II, won the Pulitzer Prize for his reports that captured the hopes and fears of ordinary soldiers.

Born on August 3, 1900, in the small farming community of Dana, Indiana, Ernest Taylor Pyle was a quiet but restless youth with dreams of a future filled with travel and adventure. In 1923, he left Indiana University to work for a small paper in La Porte, Indiana, only to move a few months later to a desk job with the *Washington Daily News*. Pyle



spent the next 12 years with this paper, where he worked as a reporter and copy editor, launched the country's first daily aviation column in 1928, and reluctantly became the paper's managing editor in 1932.

In 1935, Pyle sought and received a roving reporter position with the Scripps-Howard newspapers. Over the next seven years, Pyle and his wife Jerry crossed the United States some three dozen times and traveled to Canada, South America, and England as he wrote a daily column, which appeared in as many as 200 newspapers across the country. His reports were intertwined with nostalgic themes and provided stories of adventure and escape to readers who could never hope to make such journeys.

Pyle asked to work as a war correspondent in 1942. In covering the war over the next three years, he revealed his personal fears and hatred of war as he tried to interpret his own feelings as well as those of the GIs. Pyle's dispatches often contained the names and hometowns of the men who

experienced the hardships, sacrifices, and homesickness he wrote about. His reports were collected in his best-selling books *Here Is Your War* (1943) and *Brave Men* (1944). He won the Pulitzer Prize in 1944 for his reporting from the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER.

Tragically, on April 18, 1945, while covering the OKI-NAWA campaign in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER, he visited the nearby island of Ie Shima and was killed by Japanese gunfire. His reporting, however, lived on. His coverage of the Italian campaign inspired the 1945 motion picture *G.I. Joe*, and a final book, called *Last Chapter*, was published in 1946.

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—Ronald G. Simon





### race and racial conflict

The economic dislocations of the GREAT DEPRESSION and the contradictions of fighting for freedom abroad during WORLD WAR II while enforcing discrimination and segregation at home exacerbated racial and ethnic conflict throughout America. Lynchings of AFRICAN AMERICANS surged in the rural SOUTH in the early 1930s, and during the war rioting occurred in major CITIES, accompanied by other acts of communal discord. Despite this, the era offered hope for improved race relations as black activists and white liberals joined forces with renewed vigor to fight racial discrimination and protect CIVIL RIGHTS.

The era began on a discouraging note as lynching increased sharply during the depths of the depression. Organizations such as the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), the National Urban League, and the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (which had been founded in 1919 “to quench, if possible, the fires of racial antagonism” in the South) had helped reduce the practice. But in 1930, lynchings shot up from 10 to 21 per year, fell to six in 1932 and then jumped to 28 the next year. According to the Tuskegee Institute’s lynching statistics, 20 lynchings took place in 1934, after which the annual number fell into the single digits.

The horrific 1934 lynching of Claude Neal in the Florida panhandle so shocked the nation that sentiment built against such actions. Claude Neal was arrested for the rape and murder of his 19-year-old white neighbor. In fact, she hadn’t been raped and Neal’s guilt in the murder was uncertain. The sheriff removed him to Alabama for safety. But a mob tracked him down, extracted him from the jail, and took him in a car caravan back to Florida, where he was castrated, made to eat his genitalia, and ultimately riddled with bullets. His body was dragged to the home of the victim, where a mob that included children stabbed, kicked, and cut pieces from the body for souvenirs. With the corpse hanging in the local courthouse square—its

torso covered for modesty’s sake—a race riot ensued that drove many blacks from their homes and jobs. Regional papers had advertised the impending lynching, RADIO stations broadcast its location, and the lynchers released a statement inviting all white people to the affair. Between 3,000 and 7,000 attended.

After researching lynching several years later, GUNNAR MYRDAL reported in his seminal 1944 work on race relations, *An American Dilemma*, that he encountered few people in the middle and upper classes in the South who approved of it. Yet few of them said they would try to stop a lynching or punish the perpetrators. In fact, prominent people often participated. At the national level, efforts of the NAACP and their supporters to persuade CONGRESS to pass ANTILYNCHING LEGISLATION failed in the 1930s. A major reason for this failure was that President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT refused to throw his political weight behind the effort. He feared that such a stance would alienate the many powerful southern Democrats whose support he needed for passage of NEW DEAL legislation.

The “legal lynching” of the SCOTTSBORO BOYS in 1931 grew directly out of this sort of poisoned atmosphere. The trial of the nine young black men falsely accused of raping two white women in Alabama made a mockery of justice—although, because of SUPREME COURT rulings, all nine eventually regained their freedom.

In the Scottsboro case and other situations, COMMUNISTS tried during the depression to win support from working-class blacks in order to displace the NAACP, whose legal gradualism and middle-class bias also alienated those pressing more militant agendas. The Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) gained control of the defense of the Scottsboro Boys and sought to use it to attract black support. The CPUSA’s International Legal Defense obtained the pro bono services of Samuel S. Leibowitz, at the time perhaps the country’s best criminal attorney. Communists were instrumental in freeing Birmingham coal miner Angelo Herndon, who had been jailed for inciting

insurrection. His crime was trying to convince other blacks to join the Communist Party.

Despite such episodes, however, and the continuing Jim Crow system of segregation and disfranchisement in the South, African Americans overwhelmingly embraced the American system, rejected radical ideologies, and stayed well away from communists and communism. The National Negro Congress, for example, formed in 1936 by aggressive young black intellectuals, fell apart when leaders like Ralph Bunche and A. PHILIP RANDOLPH resigned in protest at Communist threats to take over its agenda.

Although public protest led to a reduction in lynchings, heinous acts continued sporadically. In the 1942 lynching of 25-year-old Cleo Wright in Sikeston, Missouri, the county prosecutor and local police were present at the jail when a mob seized Wright and dragged him behind a car to the black section of the community, poured gasoline over him, and set him afire. Local whites responded to the horrible affair by advocating more segregation—for the “protection” of African Americans.

Also alarming during this 15-year period was the spread of rioting. White mob actions were similar to those in industrial centers during and after World War I. In the early 1930s, Arkansas whites burned homes and crops and fired upon black sharecroppers active in the SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION. Elsewhere, black farmers who were thought to have fallen under radical LABOR influences were harassed and attacked. ANTI-SEMITISM led to violence in depression-racked New York City when gangs of young IRISH AMERICANS and GERMAN AMERICANS roamed the streets of Washington Heights, Flatbush, and the South Bronx robbing and harassing JEWS, occasionally vandalizing their stores.

Indicative of a rising anger and determination in black America, insurrectionary rioting also emerged in which African Americans resorted to mass violence to express outrage over continued subordination. A riot erupted in Harlem in 1935 after police scolded (and released) a black youth caught shoplifting candy. Rumors spread that they had killed the boy. Fueled by simmering bitterness, blacks dismissed police denials and retaliated against symbols of their subordination. One white was killed, and 200 white-owned stores were trashed.

In 1941, black soldiers rioted in North Carolina when they were not allowed on a bus with white soldiers. One black and one white were killed. Many of these men came from the North and had no experience in the ways in which Jim Crow governed day-to-day race relations in the South. A similar incident took place in El Paso, Texas, in 1943. In Camp Stewart, Georgia, rumors of a black man raping a white woman led ultimately to a riot by black troops that took two battalions to suppress.

Fisk University reported 242 separate incidents of racial violence in 1943. Race riots broke out in several major cities, often setting African Americans against ethnic whites. Tulsa, Chicago, East St. Louis (Illinois), Philadelphia, Buffalo, and Beaumont (Texas) all experienced racial disturbances. In Mobile, Alabama, whites rioted because 12 black men had been promoted into skilled jobs in the shipyards, the preserve of whites. The mob drove away every black worker it could find.

The most violent riots of 1943 occurred in Harlem and Detroit, where whites resented black economic incursions, and blacks resented continuing discrimination. The Detroit riot began over racial taunting at the Belle Isle public park and lasted for three days. In typical fashion, whites invaded black neighborhoods and blacks fought back. Thirty-four people, including 25 African Americans, were killed before the police, supported by the military, were able to quell the disturbance.

In Harlem a few weeks later another riot broke out, triggered by a confrontation involving a white policeman, as had been the case in 1935. This time, a uniformed black soldier was shot in a hotel lobby by a patrolman. Rumors that the serviceman died led to a riot in which six people were slain and 150 stores were looted. The two Harlem riots set the pattern for the ghetto insurrections of the “long hot summers” of the 1960s, in which the urban African-American poor resorted to violent protest over their powerlessness.

The Port Chicago, California, incident of July 1944—the worst war-related disaster in the territorial United States—exemplified the depths of racial disharmony. While poorly trained African-American sailors were loading ammunition onto Liberty Ships, a huge explosion obliterated two ships, killing 320 men, 202 of whom were black. Fifty black sailors were court-martialed for refusing to return to this duty, claiming that only African Americans were assigned such dangerous work. This affair contributed to the decision of the U.S. NAVY to begin integrating before the war ended.

One apparently forgotten minority, NATIVE AMERICANS, did manage to post some minor gains during this period. Their plight had worsened since passage of the 1887 Dawes Severalty Act, which divided Indian land into small plots to promote assimilation and sedentary agriculture but also made it easier for whites to gain control of the land; and they were further beset by the corrupt Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in Washington, D.C. However, in 1933 John Collier was appointed BIA head by President Roosevelt, and he used his extensive experience in urban reform to upgrade existing programs. Beyond making it harder for outsiders to expropriate Indian land, he found thousands of jobs for Native Americans through the CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS and also acquired money from the



PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION to construct hundreds of schools. Collier also achieved the INDIAN REORGANIZATION ACT, which ended land allotment and sought to restore self-government. This move was not popular among many tribes, but the BIA had finally accorded Native American tribes recognition and government attention that had been sadly lacking.

Los Angeles' infamous "Zoot-Suit Riot" broke out in June 1943 when a white mob comprising soldiers, sailors, and civilians descended upon Mexican barrios invading theaters, streetcars, and even homes. The riot received its name from the fancy, high-waisted suits that many young male MEXICAN AMERICANS were wearing. With police acquiescence, mobs attacked these individuals, stripped them of their clothes, and beat them, often quite severely. After the Hearst newspapers wrote prejudicial stories about ZOOT-SUITERS, the Los Angeles City Council made wearing the garb a misdemeanor. Hispanics also suffered continued discrimination at the hands of local Anglo administrators throughout the Southwest, who believed that Mexicans were, at best, a temporary source of imported labor and unworthy of any kind of assistance. This indifference plus the MEXICAN REPATRIATION PROGRAM resulted in a "reverse mass migration" south of the border whereby an estimated half-million Mexicans returned home during the 1930s.

During World War II, nativist and racial hostility led to the relocation of JAPANESE AMERICANS and the incarceration of more than 110,000 first- and second-generation Japanese Americans in internment camps. These unfortunate families often lost their homes, businesses, and investments in the government's haste to protect national security—and to respond to political pressure. In the camp at Manzanar in the California desert, which opened in June 1942 surrounded by barbed wire with guard towers, searchlights, and machine gun emplacements, two inmates died and eight were injured in a riot against the War Relocation Authority's use of informants within the camp.

The war galvanized black determination to enter the American mainstream, and led to more attention to minorities and to civil rights. Leading black newspapers popularized the "Double V" campaign—victory at home over Jim Crow as well as victory abroad over the AXIS. The NAACP grew from 50,000 to 450,000 members during the war, and black protest increased. The MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT organized by A. Philip Randolph in 1941 led President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802 banning racial discrimination in GOVERNMENT and in industries with government defense contracts and establishing the FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE.

At the same time, an increasing number of concerned whites became convinced that the problems of racial preju-

dice, tension, and conflict heightened by the Great Depression and highlighted by the war effort had to be addressed. As early as 1938, the Southern Conference for Human Rights sought to improve conditions for the underprivileged. This organization spoke out boldly against lynching, Jim Crow voting laws, and other forms of racial discrimination. More important, in response to the violence of 1943, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was reformed into the Southern Regional Council to bring to African Americans "the equal opportunity that every other citizen of the United States has."

Outside the South, too, new initiatives were undertaken. In Chicago that same year the American Council on Race Relations was formed to advise communities on racial problems. Local and state interracial commissions were created to look into the causes of racial tensions and to address prejudice and discrimination. In California, the governor implemented an effort to investigate and improve the situation of Mexican Americans following the zoot-suit riots. Such initiatives sought to build upon the foundation of government protection of minority rights and helped lay groundwork for the restoration of civil rights in the postwar era. Gunnar Myrdal's influential *An American Dilemma*, Supreme Court decisions eroding the legal foundations of Jim Crow in education and voting, and the growing prominence of civil rights in the agenda of LIBERALISM also contributed to the momentum of such efforts. In this respect World War II proved a catalyst for gradual changes in attitudes toward race, whereby the traditional status quo was no longer perceived as either legal or even desirable in many quarters. Moreover, the participation of blacks and other minorities in that conflict and their significant contribution to the ultimate victory lent greater credence to their demand for a greater share of the American dream in the postwar period.

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—Howard Smead

## radio

The difficult years of the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II coincided almost exactly with what has since become known as radio's golden age. The irony of radio's glory days occurring during such a troubled period is not

hard to understand. In a time of economic privation and insecurity, radio offered cheap entertainment and information for virtually every American household. And in an era of great social and political upheaval, radio provided a sense of cohesiveness to a national audience of listeners in the privacy of their own homes.

By 1930, radio had become the “electronic hearth” in 12 million of the country’s 30 million homes. By 1945, virtually every home and millions of automobiles were equipped with radio sets. All across the nation, listeners shared the daily ritual of tuning in a favorite program and listening to familiar voices. Part of the ritual quality of radio listening had to do with the phenomenon of millions of people tuned into the same show simultaneously. By the start of the 1930s, three national networks and hundreds of local broadcasters had blanketed the country with daily programming fare consisting chiefly of classical and popular MUSIC, coverage of SPORTS events, and a few enormously popular dramas and comedies like *The Goldbergs* and *Amos ’n’ Andy*. Popular memory and contem-

porary journalistic accounts relate the common anecdote of a pedestrian walking down a public street and listening to a single broadcast as it issued from the windows of every home. Without breaking stride, the pedestrian could listen to an entire broadcast of *Amos ’n’ Andy* or a fireside chat of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. This story also suggests the curious way that radio blurred the boundaries between the public world of politics and entertainment and the private world of the home. As radio brought the public world inside the private one, Americans had to adjust to the ubiquity of strange voices in their home. Inundated with advertising chatter about laxatives, soap operas, and the voice of the president, the American home became an important crossroads for public and private modes of speech.

The best radio performers understood the significance of radio’s incursion into the privacy of the home and adjusted their voices accordingly. Many of radio’s first and best performers migrated from the vaudeville and Broadway theater traditions and had to learn to speak softly and conversationally into microphones. Politicians and preachers, used to the stump or the pulpit, had to make similar adjustments. Roosevelt’s FIRESIDE CHATS are perhaps the most famous example of the power of an intimate, informal vocal presentation to deliver public addresses over the airwaves. These broadcasts were among the most listened-to in radio history, as determined by the new ratings services that began to measure radio’s audience and, thus, its commercial value to advertisers. Fictional dramas and comedies set in the family home—soap operas and situation comedies—provided another means for making radio appropriately intimate. Finally, audience participation programs—quiz shows, interview programs, and amateur hour shows—lent the informal sound of everyday voices to radio’s daily repertoire.

Radio broadcasts also made an indelible impression on the historical memory of the nation. Replacing newspapers as the most important of the NEWS MEDIA for information about current events, radio in the 1930s and 1940s became the central conduit through which millions of Americans experienced the MUNICH CONFERENCE crisis in 1938, the BATTLE OF BRITAIN in 1940, the attack on PEARL HARBOR in 1941, news from the battlefronts, and the death of Roosevelt in 1945. Radio was also the means by which listeners shared other kinds of information. The infamous *War of the Worlds* broadcast by ORSON WELLES in 1938, for example, scared some listeners with its fictional, dramatized news bulletins of an invasion from Mars. More significantly, this broadcast drew attention to the broad cultural authority radio had attained as a source for news of the world. It also renewed criticisms of radio’s negative effect on the rationality of its mass audience.



John Frost and his daughter listening to the radio in their home, Tehama County, California, 1940. Photograph by Russell Lee (*Library of Congress*)

The essentially commercial, centralized nature of the broadcasting industry was shaped by the Federal Radio Act of 1927 and reaffirmed and made permanent by the Communications Act of 1934, which established the FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION (FCC) as a continuing federal regulatory agency. These laws confirmed the dominance of the airwaves by CBS, NBC Red, and NBC Blue, precursors to the big three television networks that emerged at the end of the 1940s, and a handful of smaller networks and for-profit regional stations. The basic structure of radio broadcasting—network domination, commercial sponsorship, a handful of recognizable genre formulas, and oversight by the FCC—has exerted enormous influence on the shape of television in the United States. And radio's tendency to blur the boundaries of public and private space has become its most significant legacy in the world of mass-mediated POPULAR CULTURE. This legacy is most evident in such recent technological developments as cell phones, the Internet, miniature cameras, and wireless voice and data devices, and in such cultural phenomena as confessional talk shows, personal webpages, and the “reality programming” fad.

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—Jason Loviglio

**Randolph, A. Philip** (1889–1979) *labor and civil rights leader*

A LABOR and CIVIL RIGHTS leader, A. Philip Randolph spent much of his life working for equality for AFRICAN AMERICANS.

Asa Philip Randolph was born in Crescent City, Florida, on April 15, 1889. The son of a minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Randolph was raised to appreciate EDUCATION. He graduated from high school in 1907, and in 1911 moved to Harlem, where he continued his education through night classes and became familiar with the principles of socialism. He met and married a widow, Lucille Green, who introduced him to a Columbia University student named Chandler Owen. Together, Randolph and Owen joined the Socialist Party in 1916 and began speaking on street corners. They encouraged unionization of black laborers and discouraged black men

from fighting in World War I. They created and published a magazine titled the *Messenger*, called the “only radical Negro magazine in America.”

In 1925, Randolph was persuaded to become head of the newly formed and all-black BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS. Randolph was a good choice for this position because of his gift for oratory, his understanding of unionization, and the fact that he was not an employee of the Pullman Company—and thus the company could not fire him, as it had done to leaders of prior attempts at organization. In 1937, the Brotherhood was finally recognized as the representative body for the porters, rather than the Pullman Company union. This was a triumph for labor, for African Americans, and for Randolph himself, who became one of the most influential black leaders in the country.

In 1941, Randolph organized the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT, in an attempt to persuade the GOVERNMENT to allow black Americans to participate fully in defense industry and the armed forces during WORLD WAR II. The march, intended to mobilize 100,000 African Americans to come to the nation's capital to protest, was scheduled for July 1, 1941. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT met with Randolph and other black leaders, attempting to convince them to call off the march, but was initially unsuccessful. It was only with the issuance of EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802, ordering an end to discrimination in government and firms with defense contracts, and establishing the FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE, less than a week before the march was to be held, that Randolph agreed to cancel the scheduled march.

In 1948, Randolph organized a campaign of civil disobedience for the cause of a desegregated military, an effort that contributed to President Harry S. Truman's decision to ban segregation in the armed forces. Randolph remained a visible labor leader, in 1955 taking a place as the vice president of, and the only black representative on, the executive council of the AFL-CIO, and creating the Negro American Labor Council in 1960.

In the 1960s, Randolph's preference for pacifism and nonviolent protest in the search for civil rights led to criticism from younger, more militant, black leaders. However, in 1963, Randolph helped to organize the March on Washington. He spoke at this event, in front of the Lincoln Memorial, sharing the podium with Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. As Randolph grew older, he became less active, though he established the A. Philip Randolph Institute to use political means to encourage social change. Randolph retired as head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1968, and he died in 1979.

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—Joanna Smith

### rationing

Economic MOBILIZATION for WORLD WAR II created the need to ration consumer goods on the WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT. Military material and production requirements meant limited supplies of a variety of consumer goods, as did also the inability to import sufficient quantities of some raw materials. The higher incomes created by wartime prosperity and the price controls imposed to restrain inflation meant that people could afford consumer goods—and they wanted to buy them after a decade of deprivation. A rationing system was thus necessary to ensure that essential goods were allocated fairly. Wartime rationing, administered by the OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION (OPA), was generally effective, but it was never popular.

The OPA implemented rationing when requested by various supply agencies, with the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD ultimately gaining the authority to determine which goods would be rationed, when, and in what amounts. Ten rationing programs were begun in 1942, with more following in the remainder of the war. They involved a number of products for a variety of reasons. Rationing of tires, for example, came because of the near total cutoff of the importation of RUBBER from Japanese-controlled Asia and the need for rubber for the military and essential civilian uses. Gasoline rationing was implemented largely to save rubber and tires, fuel oil rationing because of the needs of railroads as well as the military. Shoes were rationed because of military needs. Canned foods rationing came because of military requirements for tin; coffee and sugar rationing, because shipping was diverted to other purposes; meat and butter rationing, to ensure adequate supplies for the military and for LEND-LEASE shipments to the Allies. Some goods in short supply were not rationed. Automobile production, for example, was shut down during the war as the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY converted to wartime production, and no rationing was needed. Clothing (except for shoes) was not rationed, nor were fresh fruits and vegetables, nor whiskey and cigarettes.

Consistent with the OPA's grassroots organization principles, every county had a rationing board and tens of thousands of volunteers implemented a changing system of ration books, coupons, colored stamps, stickers, and certificates for various goods and amounts. Merchants could not get new supplies until they turned in coupons, certificates, and so forth for the inventories they had sold. OPA also employed a complicated and variable point system to try better to balance supply and demand.



Poster advocating food rationing during World War II (Library of Congress)

While most Americans understood the need for rationing and supported the principle, the system seemed complicated and confused and susceptible to arbitrary and unfair decisions. And inevitably, board members sometimes (many Americans thought *usually*) showed favoritism to friends and family, or to those with influence.

Moreover, rationing seemed somehow un-American, depriving people of their right to buy what they wanted in the amounts they wanted, especially after the decade-long GREAT DEPRESSION. The scarcity and rationing of some items was especially galling—above all, perhaps, for gasoline and meat, which struck at driving and eating preferences. Indeed, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT postponed gasoline rationing until after the 1942 elections because he knew how unpopular it would be. Rationing gave rise to the flourishing BLACK MARKET of the American home front, most notably in such items as gasoline and meat. Panicked buying and hoarding preceded the imposition of rationing on sugar, coffee, meat, canned foods, and other items.

The wartime mantra of shortages and sacrifice was “use it up, wear it out, make it do or do without”—but few



Americans wanted to do without, and when they used it up or wore it out they wanted to buy more. Often they could not buy more—not only was automobile production stopped but other consumer durables requiring metal (refrigerators and other appliances, for example) were in short supply, and rationing restricted purchases of many other items. Still, overall consumer spending and production of consumer goods increased during the war, despite the shortages and rationing, and despite grumbling about deprivation. The United States devoted only about 40 percent of its GNP to war production, as compared to more than half in Germany and Britain. Quality and choice often declined, but buying did not, and nutritional standards rose. Where annual per capita meat consumption fell in Britain from 132 to 115 pounds during the war, for example, it rose from 134 to 162 in the United States. Corrected for inflation, consumer spending rose by 12 percent in the United States from 1939 to 1943 and fell by about 30 percent in Britain.

Rationing, then, became an accepted though never popular feature of wartime American life, accepted in principle but criticized and sometimes resisted or evaded in application. And while rationing produced inconvenience and frustration, it did not prevent generally rising living standards, and it created little real hardship.

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### ***Recent Social Trends in the United States* (1933)**

Soon after assuming office in 1929, President HERBERT C. HOOVER commissioned the first statistical analysis of the United States to help formulate what his administration deemed “sound national policies.” In 1930 he approached noted sociologist William Fielding Ogburn to undertake this extensive project as head of the President’s Research Committee on Social Trends. Ogburn enthusiastically embraced his duties and solicited help from no less than 34 fellow scholars. His efforts were also abetted and underwritten by a half-million-dollar grant provided by the Rockefeller Foundation. The resulting product, entitled *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, was finally published in 1933, the year after Hoover had been voted out of office in the ELECTION OF 1932 as a consequence of the GREAT DEPRESSION. It consisted of two volumes of thirty-four chapters, each penned by an expert in the field, in addition to 13 separate monographs. The study, 1,500 pages in length, was extremely wide-ranging in scope and covered such topics as SCIENCE, inventions, marriage, family life, and economics in precise detail. It remains one of the leading sources on American society from 1890 to the cusp of

the depression era and highlights the manifold dramatic changes experienced by the nation during that interval.

One of the major findings was the glaring dichotomy in wealth and opportunity existing between urban and RURAL AREAS. The former, comprising 56 percent of the population, enjoyed relative prosperity and affluence in contrast to the remaining 44 percent living in rural areas. Stark statistics proved that most country dwellers subsisted largely without the amenities of modern life, including electricity and indoor plumbing, with little basic improvement in lifestyles since the previous century. Another disturbing finding was that, while the consumer ECONOMY produced an ever-widening variety of products such as automobiles, radios, and refrigerators, trends throughout the 1920s reflected a diminishing ability of many to purchase these products. Hoover ultimately interpreted *Recent Social Trends* as a backhanded assault upon his presidency, and he officially distanced himself from the report he had so enthusiastically commissioned. Nonetheless, it represented the first modern application of statistical analysis on a national basis and remains a respected and important source of data on America through the 1920s. Its acute methodology and erudite conclusions also influenced a generation of sociologists in terms of information-gathering techniques and interpretation.

See also HOOVER PRESIDENCY.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### **recession of 1937–1938**

The recession of 1937–38, also known as the “Roosevelt Recession,” was a sharp downturn of the ECONOMY following some recovery from the depths of the GREAT DEPRESSION. Caused largely by a turn to tighter fiscal and monetary policies in 1937, the recession of 1937–38 had important political as well as economic consequences.

Although the NEW DEAL programs and spending of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT’s first term did not bring full recovery from the depression, they did contribute to economic improvement. Between 1933 and 1937, UNEMPLOYMENT fell from about 25 percent to 14 percent of the labor force, while the gross national product (GNP) rose by an average of nearly 16 percent annually, and national income by about 21 percent annually. Measured in constant 1929 dollars to correct for the falling

price levels of the depression, the GNP actually exceeded 1929 levels by 1937. Those gains constitute one of the most impressive peacetime expansions ever, although that was largely because economic indexes had fallen so far by 1933. In 1937, the economy still languished well below full-production, full-employment prosperity.

Roosevelt and Secretary of the Treasury HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR., thought that the improving economy provided a chance to reduce the budget deficits incurred during the first term, a priority of both men. The administration therefore slashed spending—the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION was cut sharply, removing more than a million people from its rolls—at the same time that new payroll taxes under the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT took money from consumers. Worried like Roosevelt and others in the administration about inflation, the Federal Reserve Board imposed tighter MONETARY POLICY by raising reserve requirements for banks, and the Treasury Department “sterilized” incoming gold by putting it in inactive accounts instead of using it to increase the money supply. In addition, New Deal LABOR and TAXATION policies from 1935 to 1937 had the effect of further worrying and alienating BUSINESS and thus inhibiting private investment.

In the late summer and fall of 1937, the economy abruptly turned down; indeed, indexes dropped faster (though not farther nor for as long) than at the outset of the Great Depression. The Dow Jones industrial stock average sank from 190 to 115 in three months; steel production fell off by 75 percent; corporate profits plummeted by 80 percent; and unemployment shot up some 25 percent, to nearly 10 million, in the winter. By the spring of 1938, payrolls and industrial production were down by more than one-third, and the Dow Jones was off by nearly 50 percent. Unemployment for 1938 was 19 percent of the labor force.

The new economic collapse led to a serious reconsideration of economic policy within the administration. Morgenthau continued to urge balanced budgets to restore economic health and confidence, while Postmaster General (and Democratic National Committee chairman) JAMES A. FARLEY and others recommended moderating regulation, tax, and other policies that disturbed business and impeded investment and production. Advocates of ANTIMONOPOLY policy, led by LEON HENDERSON, maintained that economic concentration had led to restrictions on production and to higher prices, resulting in reduced investment, production, employment, and income. They argued for stepping up antitrust policy. Others, led by MARRINER ECCLES and HARRY L. HOPKINS, advocated returning to the deficit spending that had evidently produced the 1933–37 expansion. The antimonopoly and spending approaches were not mutually exclusive, for Henderson was among the New Dealers converted by 1938 to KEYNESIANISM, the idea that

GOVERNMENT deficit spending could compensate for inadequate private spending and stimulate the economy.

In mid-April 1938, Roosevelt announced an emergency increase in RELIEF spending, and then at the end of the month requested that Congress form a special committee to look into economic concentration. In June, Congress established the TEMPORARY NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE (TNEC). As the economy began to expand again, especially with the beginning of heavy spending for WORLD WAR II, Keynesian ideas reoriented LIBERALISM toward seeking full-production, full-employment prosperity by means of government compensatory spending—a change in the liberal agenda that was central to what some scholars have called the THIRD NEW DEAL of Roosevelt’s second and third terms. Meanwhile, antimonopoly efforts faded.

But the recession had political implications beyond the reorientation of the New Deal and liberalism. It weakened Roosevelt’s popularity and power, emboldened conservative critics, and contributed to the formation of the CONSERVATIVE COALITION in CONGRESS that would henceforth thwart significant expansion of the New Deal and roll back some New Deal reforms when it could. The recession of 1937–38 was thus in several ways one of the most important episodes in Roosevelt’s eventful second term.

See also FISCAL POLICY.

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### Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act (1934)

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT proposed the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 as part of the NEW DEAL policy to combat the GREAT DEPRESSION. The legislation was designed to stimulate foreign trade by authorizing the president to increase or decrease existing tariff rates up to 50 percent for nations that would reciprocate with similar terms for American products.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act superseded the HAWLEY-SMOOT TARIFF ACT of 1930, which had sharply raised tariff rates in the United States between 1930 and 1932. While the Hawley-Smoot act was in effect, some two dozen trading partners retaliated by increasing their tariffs, contributing to a precipitous reduction in U.S. exports. Though FDR criticized the Hawley-Smoot act in the 1932 presidential campaign, he said that international trade relations were secondary to the establishment of a solvent

domestic economy. FDR's emphasis on the domestic economy was reflected as well by his "bombshell message" that wrecked the LONDON ECONOMIC CONFERENCE of 1933 by declaring that the United States would not participate in currency exchange rate stabilization. FDR also prevented Secretary of State CORDELL HULL from submitting a reciprocal tariff agreements proposal to CONGRESS. However, as the Great Depression wore on, FDR and his administration looked increasingly to international trade as a means of alleviating the economic problems in the United States.

Hull, an advocate of free trade, favored the idea of reciprocity in which the president would have the power to negotiate agreements with other nations to reduce tariffs without the interference of Congress. Support of Hull's position by Secretary of Agriculture HENRY A. WALLACE and by HENRY L. STIMSON, secretary of state during the HOOVER PRESIDENCY, helped lead FDR to ask Congress for such power in March 1934. Republican congressmen and BUSINESS interests opposed the bill, and were especially hostile to the most favored nation clause, which stated that the United States would negotiate tariffs with another nation at rates equal to those applied to any other nation with whom it traded. Opponents thought that the United States should not make any concessions unless certain privileges were received in return. Ultimately, the bill was passed in June despite these objections.

As a result of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934, Hull negotiated 18 reciprocity treaties in the next four years. The act, which remained in effect until amended in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, helped prevent further drastic decline in the world economy, even though the most prominent and immediate economic effect was limited to Latin America. The long-term effects of lowering tariffs included expanded world trade in the post-WORLD WAR II era and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade signed in 1947.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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—Michael T. Walsh

### Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC)

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) was created by CONGRESS in January 1932 at the request of President HERBERT C. HOOVER and continued through the presidency of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. Under the leadership of JESSE H. JONES, it played important roles in NEW DEAL efforts to stimulate the ECONOMY during the GREAT DEPRESSION and in the economic MOBILIZATION for WORLD WAR II.

The RFC came about because of the crisis of the BANKING system in the early 1930s. Initially resisting bankers' requests for federal assistance, President Hoover prevailed upon them late in 1931 to establish the National Credit Corporation, with a fund of \$500 million to lend to banks needing cash to sustain their operations. But Hoover also agreed to provide federal help if the NCC proved inadequate; and when it did, Congress in January 1932 created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and authorized it to lend up to \$2 billion to commercial banks, savings banks, credit unions, and other financial institutions. RFC loans went especially to major banks and institutions, but with little apparent impact upon the collapsing banking system, and the HOOVER PRESIDENCY came under fire for the RFC's ineffectiveness as well as for its apparent favoritism to large banks.

In the summer of 1932, the RFC took on new responsibilities in public works and RELIEF. As the depression worsened, Congress increasingly supported spending on public works and relief to spur the economy and alleviate distress. Hoover rebuffed or vetoed most such efforts, but in July 1932 reluctantly agreed to the compromise RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION ACT, which authorized the RFC to lend states up to \$300 million for relief and up to \$1.5 billion for self-liquidating public works projects (for example, toll roads and bridges). To qualify for federal loans, states had to certify that they had reached their financial limits, and the combination of this "pauper's oath" and the reluctance of the Hoover administration to spend on relief and public works meant that little of the money was expended.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt thus inherited an agency with significant potential but little accomplishment. Roosevelt energized and redirected the RFC. The EMERGENCY BANKING ACT OF 1933 allowed the RFC to buy preferred commercial bank stock, thus increasing the working capital of banks instead of lending them money and increasing their indebtedness. FDR also named Texas banker Jesse Jones, who served as an RFC director under Hoover, to head the agency. Believing that the RFC had favored conservative eastern banks over smaller banks in other regions, Jones wanted to make the RFC a far more venturesome and expansive agency.

While other New Deal agencies took over government relief and public works functions, the RFC became a major source of money for GOVERNMENT agencies and private businesses and banks. It became, in effect, the largest bank and the largest investor in the nation, and by 1945 had distributed more than \$35 billion in loans, investments, and other expenditures. Among its many operations, the RFC helped to underwrite such key agencies as the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION and the RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION, directed the Commodity Credit Corporation and the Export-Import Bank

and financed the various federal mortgage agencies, including the HOME OWNERS LOAN CORPORATION, the FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION, and the FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION. The RFC also made BUSINESS loans in an effort to stimulate the economy, and by 1940 had expended some \$8 billion in business and banking loans. Although the New Deal failed to bring full economic recovery, the RFC under Roosevelt and Jones became a powerful and innovative agency.

The RFC then played an important role in economic mobilization during World War II. The Defense Plant Corporation, a subsidiary of the RFC, spent more than \$9 billion in constructing more than 2,000 factories, while the Defense Supply Corporation spent a similar amount in acquiring materials necessary for the war effort. As ubiquitous during the war as in the 1930s, the RFC also undertook such diverse activities as overseeing the synthetic RUBBER industry, financing defense HOUSING, and buying up materials needed by the AXIS nations. RFC overseas efforts led to a bitter dispute between Jones, who had become secretary of commerce in 1940 in addition to his duties as RFC chairman, and Vice President HENRY A. WALLACE, which ultimately led to Jones's resignation from government in early 1945. The agency itself continued into the postwar era, though without the significance or impact of the Roosevelt-Jones era of 1933–45.

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## reconversion

As early as spring 1943, with Allied victory in WORLD WAR II increasingly likely, GOVERNMENT and military officials began seriously considering plans for returning the United States to a peacetime ECONOMY after the war—a process called reconversion. Reconversion included terminating wartime contracts that were no longer needed, helping returning veterans and former war workers find civilian employment, disposing of surplus government property, assisting BUSINESS to resume production of civilian products, and relaxing WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS, RATIONING, and other wartime restrictions.

Most people agreed that early planning for reconversion was a necessary part of POSTWAR PLANNING. America's unplanned demobilization after World War I had disastrous consequences for the U.S. economy, and policymakers hoped that early planning would allow the United States to avoid making the same mistakes again. Moreover, Americans realized that the wartime economic recovery was

based largely on the money spent on war MOBILIZATION, and many feared that without carefully planned reconversion the United States might slip back into the GREAT DEPRESSION once the stimulus of wartime spending had disappeared. Yet, despite the agreement that timely and effective planning for reconversion was necessary, policy clashes ensued over how and when reconversion should take place.

Although the NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD and the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD had done some work on reconversion, CONGRESS did not give reconversion significant attention until 1943, when the tide of war had clearly turned in favor of the Allies. In March 1943, the Senate created a special committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning chaired by Walter F. George of Georgia, followed 10 months later by a parallel House of Representatives committee headed by William Colmer of Mississippi.

By then, however, DEMOBILIZATION and reconversion had already become controversial issues. Liberals and LABOR argued that an early, incremental, and well-planned reconversion would limit the number of worker layoffs as well as protect small businesses as war production declined. On the other hand, the military argued that early reconversion would disrupt the production of war goods and wanted to delay reconversion for as long as possible. Big war contractors wanted to delay reconversion because they feared that early reconversion would allow competitors to resume civilian production, while they would still be producing war materials. Businesses also did not want to dispose of surplus government property, or terminate wartime contracts, without receiving generous compensation from the U.S. government.

In November 1943, JAMES F. BYRNES, director of the OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION (OWM), announced that BERNARD M. BARUCH and John M. Hancock had agreed to head a special unit within OWM to develop a unified approach for dealing with postwar reconversion. The Baruch-Hancock Report, made public in February 1944, proposed creating a Joint Contract Termination Board within OWM to unify all government contract termination efforts, as well as a Surplus Property Administrator to dispose of surplus property. It also suggested creating a “work director” to supervise the discharge of personnel from the armed forces, coordinate efforts to care for disabled veterans, and provide job placement assistance and educational training to returning service personnel.

Many of these provisions went into effect. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT set up the Surplus War Property Administration within OWM, as well as a new unit called the Retraining and Reemployment Administration, which became the “work director” proposed in the Baruch-Hancock Report. Roosevelt also signed the GI BILL OF RIGHTS



in June 1944, and in October 1944 Congress created the OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION AND RECONVERSION (OWMR). Yet as many people had feared, the so-called human side of reconversion, such as the training and placement of discharged veterans, took a back seat to the interests of the military and big business. Indeed, OWMR, its Surplus Property Administration, and other reconversion agencies allowed war manufacturers to purchase government-owned factories and other surplus property at greatly discounted rates, offered them lucrative bonuses to settle wartime contracts, and protected them from competitors.

Nevertheless, because of careful planning, generally efficient retooling of factories, higher incomes and savings, and pent-up demand during the war years, the nation did not slip back into depression after the war as many had feared. Despite some difficulties, such as labor unrest that impaired production and inflationary price rises for many items, consumer spending increased significantly once the war was over and wartime restrictions were lifted. The resulting surge in demand helped maintain prosperity and enabled returning service members and war workers to be reintegrated into America's peacetime economy.

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—David W. Waltrap

## recreation

Recreation in the United States expanded during the 1920s, largely because of the increasing amounts of free time and discretionary income in urban areas. The commercial recreation industry was badly hurt by the onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION, but recreation and leisure activities increased later in the 1930s and during WORLD WAR II. Personal consumption expenditures for recreation grew from a depression low of \$2.2 billion in 1933 (down from \$4.3 billion in 1929) to more than \$6.1 billion in 1945.

In response to growing interest and demand, President HERBERT C. HOOVER directed his 1929 Committee on Social Trends to pay special attention to recreation. The following year, during the White House Conference on Children and Youth, Hoover declared that all CHILDREN should receive "wholesome physical and mental recreation" from birth through adolescence. Little came of these efforts, however, and even though CITIES provided recreational outlets for citizens, UNEMPLOYMENT and underemployment produced a greater need for facilities and programs provided by voluntary and municipal agencies. The National Recreation Association received a substantial private grant to expand its work in 1932, but the federal

GOVERNMENT did not begin more fully to address the seriousness of the situation until the Roosevelt administration.

Though focused on economic problems, the NEW DEAL of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT created work RELIEF programs that established affordable recreational opportunities for the public. New Deal agencies such as the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION, the CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS, and the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION (WPA) provided jobs constructing community centers, libraries, parks, picnic areas, roads, and trails. WPA arts projects introduced many Americans to the worlds of MUSIC, LITERATURE, ART, and the theater. The WPA, along with the NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION, also employed recreation leaders and held instructional institutions to train new recreation workers. The growing demand for trained administrators encouraged development of college programs across the country devoted to recreation management.

Public usage of national parks, monuments, and related areas increased from fewer than 4 million visitors in 1932 to approximately 15 million visitors in 1937. Another major development occurred in 1936 when the National Park Service (created by Roosevelt in 1933) established Lake Mead as the first national recreation area and initiated 46 Recreational Demonstration Areas that helped increase the popularity of the outdoor sports of hunting and fishing. The federal government spent an estimated \$1.5 billion on the development of recreational facilities as some 881 new parks, 1,500 athletic fields, 12,700 playgrounds, 750 swimming pools, 3,500 tennis courts, 123 golf courses, 1,000 ice skating rinks, and 28 miles of ski trails were created.

Such activities as listening to the RADIO, attending MOVIES and SPORTS events, dancing, parlor games, and prize contests were popular throughout the 1930s. After movie attendance dropped in the early 1930s, the



Crowd waiting to enter movie theater in Littleton, New Hampshire (Library of Congress)

remainder of the decade saw an increase to an average of about 85 million weekly moviegoers. In many respects, the 1930s represented the “Golden Age” of Hollywood movies, and stars such as Cary Grant, Jean Harlow, and Clark Gable became national icons. Fans flocked to their movies with slavish devotion, despite hard times, and movie magazines abounded. From a production standpoint, the year 1939 also proved pivotal with the release of three seminal films, *Citizen Kane*, *Gone With the Wind*, and *The Wizard of Oz*, whose cinematic craftsmanship, production values, and audience allure have never been surpassed. By 1935, swing music and the BIG BAND sound of the swing era had left behind the more sedate dancing of the early 1930s for jitterbugging. With the repeal of Prohibition, thousands of new bars and taverns installed jukeboxes to provide the latest tunes, and the listeners dropped approximately 5 million nickels each day by the end of the decade, producing a multimillion dollar industry.

An early 1930s craze for contract bridge brought about an increase in playing card manufacturing as an estimated 20 million people began to play the game, and no major newspaper was without a bridge column by the middle of the decade. Another game that became popular during the depression years was bingo, with variations such as beano or keno. Low-cost bingo contests offered prizes such as a tin of coffee, a ham, or cash. Get-rich quick dreams also inspired the 1935 introduction of the nation’s best-selling game, Monopoly, which sold an estimated 6 million copies by early 1937.

In January 1931, the Department of Commerce reported that miniature golf had become a \$125 million industry and provided employment for 200,000 workers, as some 30,000 newly built roadside courses became almost as common as hotdog stands and filling stations. By year’s end, this fad had burned out, leaving courses to be reclaimed by weeds, but by the mid-1930s other recreation sports such as bowling and softball began to gain in popularity. The number of bowling teams reportedly grew from a 1933 low of around 30,000 to more than 130,000 in 1940, while an estimated 2 million people played softball in 1935 and more than 5 million people played in 1939. By the end of the decade, young boys were also provided with a chance to participate in organized sports with the creation of Little League Baseball (1939).

Despite a growing interest in recreational events, professional sports attendance suffered during the depression as spectator sports admissions dropped from \$66 million in 1929 to a low of \$47 million in 1932; but by 1941, paid admissions rebounded to an estimated \$107 million. To reverse the decline in baseball attendance, owners implemented new ideas including doubleheaders, radio broadcasts (St. Louis, 1935), and the advent of night baseball (Cincinnati, 1935). Such changes and the improved econ-

omy brought an increase of some 1.6 million spectators between 1936 and 1940. Other sports, including professional and college football, horse, dog and automobile racing, and prize fighting, also drew larger crowds in the late 1930s. The slow rise in attendance can be partly attributed to national sports celebrities such as Babe Ruth and JOE DIMAGGIO in baseball, Red Grange in football, and JOE LOUIS in boxing. Fan adoration was never stronger, with large segments of the population strongly identifying with their local teams and athletic heroes. In many respects the successes of the Notre Dame football team also became a source of pride for Irish Catholics nationwide. Similarly, the highly talented but lesser known stars of baseball’s Negro Leagues, who flourished in the shadows of segregation but acquired large followings in the black community, served as inspirations and role models for AFRICAN AMERICANS.

Americans spent an estimated \$4 billion—roughly 7 percent of personal income—on all recreational activities in 1935. Vacation travel associated with the automobile accounted for more than half of this figure. Travel to foreign countries dropped by nearly half from 1930 to 1933, but by 1937 it rebounded to the level of 1926. Inspired by economic realities and by new advertising slogans, such as “See America First,” traveling by automobile became a principal source of recreation for many Americans. Holiday and vacation travel, trips to the beach, and simple recreational driving were all now within practical reach. Statistically, the greatest growth in travel by Americans was to national parks and monuments. Motor courts became an important industry by late in the decade. The invention of the mobile home in 1929 also increased travel, as it offered an alternative to the cost of dining and lodging. By 1936 an estimated 160,000 mobile homes were on the road.

Americans on the WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT once again faced restrictions on their leisure activities, this time because of gas RATIONING, blackouts, dimouts, food shortages, travel restrictions, and occasional curfews. Encouraged by the government, civilians nonetheless continued to pursue leisure and entertainment opportunities. Neighborhood teen centers, adult education programs, and home gardening all flourished. More than 2,000 war plants provided dancing facilities during breaks, and parlor games such as chess, checkers, and card playing grew in popularity. A 1942 survey reported that 87 percent of Americans played cards at home, and playing card sales increased by 1,000 percent during the war.

Aided by the introduction of the inexpensive paperback book in 1939, reading—especially of nonfiction, mysteries, and comic books—became a more important part of leisure time as well. Book sales jumped from \$255 million in 1941 to \$520 million at the end of 1945, and membership in the Book-of-the-Month Club (established in 1936)

doubled during the war. Read by tens of millions of civilians, *LIFE MAGAZINE* and other news periodicals saw an increase of nearly \$330 million in income over the same period. Radio listening increased by 20 percent just from 1941 to 1942 and continued to grow throughout the war as people tuned in for the latest news. Radio programming itself was becoming highly professionalized, sophisticated, and extremely innovative throughout this period and a far cry from the halting efforts of the 1920s. Avid listeners could daily tune to their favorite news, entertainment, variety, drama, and comedy shows, all of which drew and showcased top flight talent.

The government renewed its emphasis on promoting better mental and physical health through recreation when large numbers of draftees were judged to be unfit for service. Organizations such as the American Red Cross and the UNITED SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS (USO), along with the U.S. military, promoted programs on the battlefield, in camps, and in rest centers to relieve tension and bolster morale among servicemen. The armed services alone employed 12,500 recreation directors. The American Red Cross established close to 750 clubs worldwide, with another 250 mobile entertainment units, while the USO established community drop-in centers for servicemen looking for food, dancing, books, or conversation and promoted tours starring Hollywood stars for servicemen around the world.

Youth agencies were also busy on the home front, as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls collected scrap metal, sold WAR BONDS, and made supplies for USO centers. Besides aiding the war effort, these groups helped provide adolescents with things to do. Together with recreational centers and teen canteens that sprang up across the country, these organizations wanted to provide a chaperoned environment to deter the growing problem of teen delinquency. Larger cities also developed privately owned teen clubs. Moreover, the millions of dollars sunk into recreation infrastructure during the depression years, with innumerable gymnasiums, swimming pools, tennis courts, track-and-field layouts, set the stage for a postwar sports boom that expanded through the remainder of the century. Sporting equipment, sports clubs, and an all-around ethos of athleticism fueled a boom in the national preoccupation with physical fitness.

At the end of the war, recreational facilities, expenditures, and participation continued to grow rapidly. The strong economy and a new knowledge of the world inspired people to broaden their horizons and to travel, as they never had before. The automobile and other consumer goods began to catch up with the growing demands of veterans and industrial workers ready to spend their savings on pent-up desires of travel and leisure.

See also POPULAR CULTURE.

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—Ronald G. Simon

## refugees

Nazi persecution of JEWS and other minorities during the HOLOCAUST and the effects of WORLD WAR II precipitated a refugee crisis in Europe. IMMIGRATION policies of the U.S. GOVERNMENT significantly shaped the American response to this crisis, as did concerns in the 1930s about immigrants taking jobs during the high UNEMPLOYMENT of the GREAT DEPRESSION. ANTI-SEMITISM in the United States also contributed to the reluctance to accept refugees from Europe. Even so, perhaps as many as a quarter million refugees were accepted by the United States by the early postwar years, far more than by any other nation.

In 1924, CONGRESS enacted legislation that sharply reduced immigration and apportioned it according to national origins. The onset of the Great Depression led to an unsuccessful effort in Congress to further restrict immigration, but in 1930 President HERBERT C. HOOVER directed immigration officials to stringently exercise their authority under the law to deny visas to those who might become public charges. Within a year, this move decreased the number of visas granted by 90 percent.

Although Hoover established a precedent for executive action that President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT would later exploit, FDR's ability to maneuver was circumscribed by a restrictionist Congress and a nativist and increasingly anti-Semitic American public fearful of having to compete with refugees for scarce jobs. Worry about a backlash that might cause Congress to eliminate immigration altogether made Jewish and refugee aid organizations hesitant to call for measures to circumvent the quota system to aid refugees.

The United States did accept about one-third of the initial 150,000 refugees fleeing Nazi persecution in accordance with existing law. As the numbers of the primarily Jewish refugees grew larger, Roosevelt convened an international conference in Evian, France, in 1938, but the conference yielded few tangible results. Available options



such as resettling refugees or negotiating with the Nazi regime for the safe passage of refugees foundered, as no nation, including the United States, would agree to amend its immigration laws to admit refugees. Responding to the German annexation of Austria in 1938, FDR pledged unilaterally to merge and fill German and Austrian quotas for entry into the United States. He also used his executive power to mitigate Hoover's public charge visa criteria for admission and enabled refugees on temporary visas to remain. Over 120,000 refugees, comprising nearly 100 percent of available quotas, were allowed entry into the United States from 1938 to mid-1940.

The proposed Wagner bill of the late 1930s, an effort to admit some 20,000 primarily Jewish German children outside the quota system, demonstrated the limits of FDR's power to affect refugee policy, and also his unwillingness to challenge restrictionists in Congress. Debate over the bill mobilized strong public opposition led by veterans' and patriotic organizations. According to PUBLIC OPINION POLLS, most of the public also opposed the bill. The administration did little to promote passage of the measure, which failed even to reach the floor for a vote. Congress did in 1940 easily approve a bill to temporarily admit English children to the United States so they could escape the BOMBING attacks launched by Germany in the BATTLE OF BRITAIN.

The swift conquest of western Europe by the Nazi BLITZKRIEG in the spring and summer of 1940 activated Roosevelt's Presidential Advisory Committee (PAC) on Refugees, a nongovernmental group, to secure emergency visas for a select group of intellectuals and political refugees. State Department officials, notably Breckinridge Long, however, acted in concert with consular officers abroad to restrict visas issued to those on the PAC's list. Eventually about 2,000 political refugees were allowed into the United States, fewer than one-third of those approved by the PAC. State Department officials justified the creation of a series of increasingly restrictive bureaucratic hurdles to immigration between 1940 and 1943 as necessary to counter the threat of a "fifth column" of infiltrating Nazi and Communist spies. These hurdles imposed by the State Department slashed immigration to levels that a restrictionist Congress had not been able to achieve by legislation. At the height of Nazi atrocities in Europe, America's immigration quotas thus went unfilled.

Toward the end of the war some change began, when Secretary of the Treasury HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR., showed Roosevelt evidence of State Department obstructionism on refugees, and the president established the War Refugee Board in January 1944. Although the WRB may have helped rescue as many as 200,000 Jews, a new national policy on refugees and others displaced by World War II did not come until after the end of the war.

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—Julie Whitcomb

## relief

Relief, as the term was used in the 1929–45 era, meant assistance—money, food and clothes, jobs—to the needy. Before the GREAT DEPRESSION, relief had been the responsibility of state and local GOVERNMENT and of private charitable agencies. But the catastrophic impact of the Great Depression on the nation's ECONOMY, creating unprecedented levels of UNEMPLOYMENT, transformed the provision of relief in the United States during the presidency of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. Though limited in their levels of coverage and assistance, NEW DEAL relief programs of the 1930s accepted federal responsibility for aiding the unemployed and destitute, provided essential help to tens of millions of needy Americans, and helped initiate the modern American welfare state.

Almost from the beginning, the Great Depression pushed traditional sources of relief assistance to their limits, and beyond. Private organizations and local government simply lacked the ability—and in the case of local government sometimes the legal authority—to provide adequate assistance to the needy. Only a tiny fraction of the unemployed and impoverished received assistance in the early years of the depression, and what they got was typically meager indeed—sometimes just a few dollars a week for those lucky enough to receive anything at all. Soup kitchens and breadlines became more prevalent and visible but, like other sources of public and private aid, provided nothing close to adequate support.

With the need so great and the customary sources of relief assistance so overmatched, attention turned to the federal government. President HERBERT C. HOOVER addressed the issue in a way consistent with his general principles about the role of the national government, convictions that also shaped his other responses to the Great Depression. Help for the needy, Hoover thought, should come from the local level and private sources, not from Washington. He feared that federal relief programs would make the poor dependent upon the government and would dry up voluntary giving and private and local charity. He believed that heavy spending on relief was in any case fiscally irresponsible and would help create a too-powerful bureaucratic central government. The federal government did in his view have a role, but, as in other areas, it was to encourage, publicize, and, as much as possible, help coordinate private and local efforts. In October 1930,





Red Cross workers give boxes of seed to crowds of farmers in Mississippi, 1930. (*Hulton/Archive*)

Hoover established the PRESIDENT'S EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR EMPLOYMENT, which was replaced in 1931 by the PRESIDENT'S ORGANIZATION ON UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF. But these agencies lacked the power or the will to do much and consistently underestimated need and overestimated what was being done to help.

With the HOOVER PRESIDENCY thus constrained by its ideology, the CONGRESS, controlled by Democrats and progressive Republicans after the election of 1930, seized the initiative. Senators ROBERT F. WAGNER of New York and ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., of Wisconsin took the lead in calling for large relief and public works program to assist the unemployed. Hoover denounced and resisted such efforts. His sharp objections to a proposal that would have created a new federal agency to aid the states in providing relief assistance helped kill that bill in February 1932, and in July 1932 he vetoed the Garner-Wagner relief bill, which would have created an expensive federal public works and loan program for the unemployed. Later in July Hoover did sign as a compromise the RELIEF AND RECON-

STRUCTION ACT, which authorized the RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION to lend states up to \$300 million for relief and up to \$1.5 billion for self-liquidating public works projects (toll roads, for example). But in the remaining months of the Hoover presidency, little of that money was expended, partly because states had to certify that they had exhausted their borrowing and taxing powers in order to qualify for the loans, and partly because the administration had agreed to the bill only under pressure from Congress.

By the ELECTION OF 1932, relief had become one of the important differences between Hoover and his opponent, Franklin D. Roosevelt. As governor of New York, Roosevelt had been among the most innovative governors in the nation, establishing the state's Temporary Emergency Relief Administration in 1931 and declaring that relief "must be extended by Government, not as a matter of charity, but as a matter of social duty." And perhaps nothing so diminished Hoover's popularity and image by 1932 as his adamant resistance to federal relief. The "Great

Humanitarian” of World War I relief efforts in Europe now seemed not just tightfisted but hard-hearted, symbolized in the public mind not just by his opposition to relief assistance but also by his handling of the BONUS ARMY of the summer of 1932, when World War I veterans came to Washington for help and were driven out by federal troops.

Relief was one of the highest priorities of the New Deal, and marked one of the great changes in government between Roosevelt’s administration and Hoover’s. Roosevelt and his relief administrator, HARRY HOPKINS, implemented a number of major relief programs, designed to tide over the unemployed until the economy recovered and there were jobs enough in the private sector. In fact, both men shared some of Hoover’s misgivings about relief, fearing in FDR’s words that direct relief or the “dole” (payments in cash or food and clothing) could be a “narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit” that robbed recipients of dignity and independence. Like Hopkins, FDR preferred work relief—jobs for the unemployed and destitute on government work projects—that would preserve self-respect and a sense of productivity at the same time that it produced valuable work for the nation. Roosevelt, who was sincere in his concern about budget deficits in the 1930s was concerned as well that heavy spending on relief would have adverse fiscal consequences. And Roosevelt, together with most other New Dealers, much preferred private to public employment and wanted the government to “quit this business of relief” as quickly as possible. But Roosevelt also saw relief as a “social duty” of government—and as politically potent as well, so long as it was needed—and the New Deal included a number of large-scale and expensive relief programs. Where Hoover would not act, Roosevelt did.

The first relief programs came in the first Hundred Days of Roosevelt’s administration, during the so-called FIRST NEW DEAL. The CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS, (CCC) both a conservation and a work-relief program, came first, followed by the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION (FERA), which provided for direct relief to unemployed people who qualified via a means test. But these programs only began to address the needs of massive unemployment and poverty, and as the winter of 1933–34 approached, with the specter of widespread suffering that might rival that of the preceding winter, Roosevelt and Hopkins established the CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION (CWA). Beginning in November 1933, the CWA spent some \$900,000 and put more than 4 million people to work on a variety of work relief projects. When Roosevelt terminated the CWA in the spring of 1934, worried about its costs and about criticisms of it, some of its work-relief programs were transferred to the FERA.

In 1935, New Deal relief programs took a new turn, beginning the SECOND NEW DEAL of the spring and sum-

mer of that year. Unemployment remained high, and pressure had built for more effective federal action to help the jobless and needy. Roosevelt, moreover, was increasingly concerned about the federal government’s role in providing direct relief and perhaps creating a class of people dependent upon the federal government. Restructuring New Deal relief efforts, the EMERGENCY RELIEF APPROPRIATION ACT approved by Congress on April 8, 1935, authorized almost \$5 billion—the largest single appropriation ever to that point in American history—for work relief and public works programs. Under the bill’s provisions, the federal government would assume responsibility only for those jobless people who were on relief rolls and who were able to work and thus “employable.” “Unemployables” (those too old or infirm to work, for example) would again be the responsibility of state governments. (Later in 1935, the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT authorized federal matching grants to the states for such unemployable and dependent people in addition to its much larger and better-known old-age insurance and unemployment compensation programs.)

The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act spawned a number of major new agencies. Most important among them was the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION, the most significant and expensive of the New Deal relief agencies. Before its termination in 1943, the WPA employed more than 8 million workers, spent more than \$10 billion, and accomplished a huge and varied number of projects, including tens of thousands of buildings and bridges and hundreds of thousands of miles of roads and highways. But the WPA did not only provide needed jobs and income to manual workers for construction projects. It also employed white-collar workers in a variety of projects to save their skills and dignity. It created the FEDERAL WRITERS’ PROJECT, the FEDERAL THEATRE PROJECT, the FEDERAL ART PROJECT, and the FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT to help unemployed writers, actors, artists, and musicians. The NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION, by 1939 an independent agency, also began under the WPA and provided both jobs and training for out-of-school youth and money to help other young people stay in school.

Despite their impressive range and impact, and the changes they marked in the role and responsibility of the federal government, New Deal relief agencies had real limits and encountered increasing resistance and criticism. Funding was never adequate to meet the needs of the jobless and destitute, and Roosevelt continually worried about the psychological and fiscal impact of relief spending. Even the WPA, by far the largest and best-financed of the relief programs, never employed more than about one-third of the unemployed at any given time, could not count on predictable funding from CONGRESS, and paid wages well below prevailing rates in private enterprise. In varying degrees and ways, relief programs discriminated

against AFRICAN AMERICANS, other minority groups, and women. After 1935, unemployables, the most vulnerable of the poor, were returned to state and local government responsibility. Relief agencies, and particularly the WPA, were often used for nakedly political purposes, to win support from working-class voters and to reward local politicians with patronage. Attacked by conservatives for doing too much, New Deal relief programs were attacked from the left for doing too little, and for subordinating the needs of the poor to politics and private enterprise. Not just critics but also New Deal relief administrators complained that recipients were too often made to feel like charity cases by submitting to a means test; or by receiving not work or even cash, but, rather, prescribed grocery and food orders; or, on most work-relief projects, by receiving only a fraction of prevailing wages in the private sector.

Yet the limits and shortcomings of the relief programs were only partly the responsibility of Roosevelt and the New Dealers. They reflected also constraints arising from the very structure of American government including a central government that in 1933 was small and had little established administrative capacity and a federal system where much power lay with state and local government.

Congress was loath to delegate too much power to the executive branch. Conservative resistance in Congress thus limited relief programs and their funding, while reluctant, tightfisted, and sometimes inept or racist administration by local officials shaped the implementation of federal relief programs. Local politicians and Republicans, not just New Dealers and Democrats, used relief programs for political purposes. The limits of New Deal relief programs reflected as well the continuing power of CONSERVATISM during the New Deal years, especially by the late 1930s, and of widespread concerns—sometimes shared by relief recipients themselves—about government spending, government support of the poor, and a too powerful central government. It required the devastating impact of the Great Depression and the reformist impulses of Roosevelt and the New Deal to take relief programs as far as they went. Once prosperity returned with WORLD WAR II, the relief agencies seemed unnecessary, popular support waned rapidly, and conservative opponents in Congress attacked and reduced appropriations for the relief programs, which were largely liquidated by 1943. Nonetheless, the magnitude and the importance of New Deal relief programs should not be minimized. Spending billions of dollars on millions of people and hundreds of thousands of projects, they provided essential sources of income and often of self-respect, produced work of enduring value, and constituted a major new departure in American government.

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### Relief and Reconstruction Act (1932)

The Relief and Reconstruction Act of July 1932 authorized the RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION to lend states up to \$300 million to spend on RELIEF assistance to the unemployed and to lend states and municipalities up to \$1.5 billion to finance self-liquidating public works projects (for example, toll roads).

President HERBERT C. HOOVER reluctantly signed the measure as a compromise between his own opposition to federal financial assistance to the unemployed and his concern for fiscal prudence on the one hand and the growing readiness of the CONGRESS to spend on relief and on public works projects on the other. Hoover had earlier in July vetoed the far more expansive Garner-Wagner bill providing direct federal relief to the unemployed and committing the government to a large public works program. His administration then implemented the Relief and Reconstruction Act slowly and grudgingly, lending only a portion of the money authorized to states and localities.

By mid-1932, as the GREAT DEPRESSION neared its nadir and UNEMPLOYMENT continued to soar, the question of relief had become an important political issue, with Hoover and most Republicans still opposing direct relief from the federal GOVERNMENT and Democrats increasingly supporting the idea. Hoover's opposition to federal relief was among the factors that made him increasingly unpopular as the ELECTION OF 1932 approached. The large-scale federal relief and public works programs of the NEW DEAL would mark one of the major differences between the HOOVER PRESIDENCY and that of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

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### religion

The American religious landscape at the end of the 1920s reflected the rapidly increasing complexity of American society. Modernizing social and cultural change since the



late 19th century involved a number of developments that continued to influence American religion in the era of the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II. These included the continuing growth of religious pluralism beyond the previously simpler patterns of Anglo-Protestant and Roman Catholic Christianity; the maturation of an increasingly ethnic Roman Catholicism into a political and cultural power, especially in industrialized CITIES; the fragmentation of Anglo-Protestantism into fundamentalist and modernist wings; the influential emergence of the neo-orthodox (or Christian Realism) movement; the continuing expansion of non-Anglo ethnic/religious groups (for example, Lutherans and Dutch Reformed throughout the Midwest and various wings of Judaism in urban areas); the development and expansion of a recently emergent Pentecostal form of Christianity; increasing regional and cultural/moral religious tensions (for example, urban versus small town/rural, northeastern cosmopolitan versus southern evangelical, and differing views on Prohibition); the continuation of racially based religious divisions; the continued dominance of the white Southern Baptist Convention as a religious force in the SOUTH; and, a noticeable growth in cosmopolitan secularism and religious indifference, especially in heavily urbanized areas. The events of the Great Depression and World War II posed major challenges to existing patterns of belief and religious adherence. But these events did not dramatically redirect the changes set in motion during previous decades; and, despite the challenges, organized religion and religious belief remained potent factors in American life.

By the end of the 1920s, the United States had implemented legislation restricting large-scale IMMIGRATION and thus ending the massive influx of Roman CATHOLICS and JEWS from southern and eastern Europe typical of the early years of the 20th century. However, this interlude allowed the estimated 20 million Roman Catholics, especially urban Irish, Italian, and Polish immigrants, to become more settled and Americanized, as well as to become a potent political force during the NEW DEAL era. While still the objects of anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic nativism, (as evidenced by the failed 1928 presidential campaign of the Roman Catholic Al Smith), ethnic Roman Catholics became key participants in LABOR movements as well as fervent supporters of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and the NEW DEAL. Nobody knew this better than Roosevelt, and he paid careful attention to Catholics. Of the 196 federal judges that he appointed no fewer than 51 were Catholic, a dramatic contrast to the three previous administrations, which only appointed eight Catholics out of 214 vacancies. Roosevelt further cemented his relationship to the church with the appointment of two high-visibility officials, JAMES A. FARLEY as postmaster general and Thomas J. Walsh as attorney gen-

eral. So, politically speaking, Catholicism had finally been accepted by the establishment.

Roman Catholic religion itself became a more accepted and "respectable" form of American religion, especially in cosmopolitan areas, and influential bishops and church leaders obtained new political and social clout. The depression helped to produce the social empowerment of Roman Catholic clergy and lay voters, as Roman Catholics began to effectively utilize mass media, especially the RADIO. Some Roman Catholic broadcasters, most notably the controversial preacher FATHER CHARLES E. COUGHLIN, became nationally recognized figures, as much known for their political and social commentary as their purely doctrinal and ecclesiastical commitments. Meanwhile, women, such as Dorothy Day, who was a founding figure in the Catholic Worker movement, became active in the public arena as well, especially as related to labor and social issues that affected Roman Catholics. At the grass-roots level, Roman Catholic piety was characterized by Marian devotion, neighborhood festivals in urban areas, and more frequent reception of the Eucharist by the laity in worship services. At the onset of World War II, most Roman Catholics fervently and patriotically supported the war effort, further cementing their sociocultural status as "real" Americans.

Jewish religion during this period continued to display the dominance of Orthodox Judaism (the most traditionalist, rabbinical, and ethnically self-conscious branch) over the Conservative (less traditional with respect to Americanization and doctrinal issues) and Reform (the most nontraditional and Americanized) wings. The continuing power of Jewish Orthodoxy came about especially because of large-scale, urban Orthodox immigration from eastern Europe in previous decades. This predominant status was reinforced by the emergence of Yeshiva College (later University) in New York City as a vibrant intellectual center of Orthodoxy. By the late 1930s, Orthodox Judaism registered approximately 200,000 families, Conservative Judaism 75,000 families, and Reform Judaism 50,000 families. This represents a 40 percent increase in religiously active Jews over the previous decade, with the number of synagogues nationally rising from 1,910 in 1917 to 3,748 by 1937.

Both increased secularism and Americanization on the one hand, and the development of traditionalist, fervently mystical, and insular piety on the other, especially among Hasidic Jews (a more mystically inclined wing of Orthodoxy), flourished during this period. This set the stage for later controversies over the nature of Judaism and Jewish identity in modern America. Out of Jewish circles came several profoundly influential theologians and intellectuals, including Martin Buber (who also had a major impact in Christian circles). Also, Abraham Heschel became an influential participant in emerging Jewish/Christian dialogue, especially at the social level. And Mordecai Kaplan, who



wrote the influential work *Judaism as a Civilization* (1934), advocated a comprehensive Jewish culture as a means of slowing the tide of secularism and religious indifference that was increasingly evident in the Jewish-American community of the day.

As with the Catholics, Roosevelt found it politically expedient to cultivate close relationships with the Jewish community, particularly noted intellectuals. As governor of New York, he found that many Jews were politically progressive and shared his own reform agenda. Once in the White House, Roosevelt surrounded himself with an influential coterie of Jewish friends and advisers, including Louis Brandeis, FELIX FRANKFURTER, BERNARD BARUCH, and HENRY MORGENTHAU. Moreover, an estimated 4,000–5,000 young Jews already trained in law, economics, and similar fields, who could not navigate through the prevailing ANTI-SEMITISM encountered in the job market, were welcomed to fill government posts.

Of all the increasingly diverse groups in America during the era of the Great Depression and World War II, long-established white Anglo-Protestant religion suffered the most controversy, fragmentation, and continued upheaval. Some historians have labeled this period the era of the final “disestablishment” of Anglo-Protestant Christianity. This religious outlook had been the dominant religious and cultural framework of the nation from its founding until the early 20th century. Many factors contributed to this outcome, including the immigration patterns discussed previously. But conflict within mainstream Protestantism itself contributed greatly to its ebbing hegemony.

Most significantly, the fundamentalist/modernist controversy of the 1920s had split many Anglo-Protestant denominations, such as the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Methodists, with the smaller Episcopal Church eventually embracing modernism for the most part. Theological disputes centered upon the key question of how Protestant groups should respond to the challenging perspectives of modern SCIENCE and biblical criticism, as well as to the growing spirit of rationalistic anti-supernaturalism among intellectuals. On the surface, a progressive-minded and optimistic modernism received the most positive exposure from the national media, academia, and intellectuals, as the movement attempted to accommodate and reinterpret traditional Christian doctrines in the light of a more modern mind-set. However, rapidly developing underground networks of evangelical and fundamentalist (two groups with similar theological perspectives but differing views on the question of engagement with broader, pluralistic society) organizations emerged that would lay the groundwork for the future public role of Protestant evangelicalism and fundamentalism. For example, the public evangelicalism of Billy Graham from the late 1940s onward would significantly influence American cultural and political ideology,

especially in connection with ANTICOMMUNISM during the cold war era. Part of this shift can be traced to the DUST BOWL era, when hundreds of thousands of Midwestern conservative evangelical Protestants migrated to California, took up residence, and established their religion on the West Coast, where it flourished. Another cause for the increase in conservative Protestantism was its ceaseless efforts at evangelization coupled with a studious growth of educational and parachurch organizations. Through the 1930s the number of students attending the 70 or so evangelical Bible colleges doubled, and the churches also published their own newsletters and magazines.

Less visible groups (at least from the vantage point of the Anglo-Protestant oriented media) included such ethnic and regional religious forces as the varied Lutheran bodies, often divided by Germanic and Scandinavian ethnic identities, and the Dutch Reformed churches, with both groups having important cultural and religious influences throughout much of the Midwest. Many white southerners continued to be profoundly influenced by the region’s sociocultural and revivalist powerhouse, the Southern Baptist Convention. However, newly emergent Pentecostal groups, such as the Assemblies of God, would further lay the groundwork for the future, rapid expansion of this charismatic variety of Christianity throughout the South and beyond. And African-American religion, virtually ignored outside of black circles, would continue its status as a crucial institution for blacks in a still highly segregated America. Black churches and religion especially offered hope to those in the South suffering under the ongoing burdens of Jim Crow life. Not surprisingly, blacks migrating northward to urban centers in search of work brought their own unique brand of Protestantism with them. Church life had a particularly strong hold on many black followers, especially in these hard times, and institutions such as Oliver Baptist Church and Pilgrim Baptist Church were among the nation’s largest Protestant denominations.

Theologically, the most noteworthy developments centered upon the continuing emergence of the Neo-Orthodox, or Christian Realism, movement through the 1940s and beyond. This movement, sparked in Europe by such thinkers as Karl Barth and Emil Brunner (both from Switzerland), challenged the prevailing theological and cultural optimism that pervaded much of early-20th-century liberalism and modernism. Advocating the reappropriation of such Protestant Reformation-era themes as original sin, as well as the necessity of absolute human dependence upon divine grace for all aspects of existence, the theologian brothers Reinhold and H. Richard Niebuhr became profound spokespersons for the Neo-Orthodox movement in America. H. Richard Niebuhr explored the complex interactions of religion, culture, and the role of institutional Christianity in America. Reinhold Niebuhr examined

overarching political and economic themes from the vantage point of a theological realism that severely criticized the optimistic (and what he believed to be naive) assumptions of modernistic Christianity. Reinhold Niebuhr would especially gain widespread exposure through the mass media as well as through his influential list of publications. The earlier optimism of religious liberalism was sent into widespread retreat by the emergence of the Neo-Orthodox movement, though religious liberalism continued to survive in certain quarters.

With such religious diversity prevalent throughout the increasingly fragmented Protestant world, the Great Depression mounted further challenges to mainstream Protestantism. The situation was further destabilized by rampant poverty and the growing despair of individuals who, in former times, might have looked to especially Protestant benevolent and charitable societies to provide effective RELIEF assistance. Protestant churches and organizations were quickly overwhelmed by the scope of the Great Depression, and, with the advent of Franklin Roosevelt's comprehensive New Deal programs, individuals in the future would look increasingly to a rapidly expanding federal government for economic stability and confidence. But the anxieties and challenges of both the depression and World War II conversely led many people to seek comfort and ultimate explanations in religion.

By the time of World War II, more and more Americans embraced an increasingly generic monotheism (a broadly Protestant–Roman Catholic–Jewish nexus) in contrast to the dominant Protestant evangelical outlook of the 19th and early 20th centuries. While concern for “civil” religion continued to be stressed (a general faith in a less-defined God and the corresponding need for community morality and “decency”), foundations were being laid for a more secular nation in the years to come. On the other hand, and no doubt reflecting wartime and subsequent cold war fears, church membership actually grew from about 49 percent of the population in 1940 to 57 percent in 1950, and both church membership and church attendance in the United States were higher than in other Western nations. By the close of World War II, Americans appeared to be more willing to accept the proposition that the nation would be increasingly pluralistic religiously in the years to come.

See also IRISH AMERICANS; ITALIAN AMERICANS; MEXICAN AMERICANS; POLISH AMERICANS.

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—J. Henry Allen, Jr.

## Republican Party

When HERBERT C. HOOVER won the presidency in 1928, the Republican Party (sometimes colloquially called “the Grand Old Party,” or GOP) had been the majority party in American politics since the 1890s, and had elected all but two of the presidents since 1860. With their decisive victory in the election of 1928, the Republicans seemed poised to retain control of CONGRESS and the White House for the foreseeable future. In a few short years, however, the GOP's dominance ended dramatically and the Republican Party struggled in the mid-1930s to remain a viable political force. By the end of WORLD WAR II, Republicans remained the minority party, but a changed, strong, and combative one.

The onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION and the response of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY to it sharply eroded the Republican Party's support, exposed rifts within the GOP, and galvanized opposition in the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, which had been divided during the 1920s. Voter constituencies that had previously supported the GOP, such as AFRICAN AMERICANS and many farmers and workers, were being drawn away from the Republicans. Hoover's opposition within the Republican Party came primarily from such mid-western and western progressives as WILLIAM E. BORAH, ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., and GEORGE W. NORRIS, who all were unhappy with the president's response to the economic crisis. After the mid-term elections of 1930, the Republicans retained a tiny one-vote majority in the Senate, and the election-day tie of 217 elected members for each party in the House of Representatives shifted to a slim Democratic majority when several GOP members died during the interim period between congressional sessions.

In the ELECTION OF 1932, with America in the depths of the depression, the Republicans, with neither enthusiasm nor any real alternative, renominated the embattled Hoover. The Republicans offered little new in the party platform to solve the economic crisis, and GOP progressives either remained neutral or endorsed FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, the Democratic nominee. In the election, Roosevelt carried 57.4 percent of the popular vote and 42 of 48 states as Hoover won only 59 electoral votes in suffering the worst reversal ever for an incumbent president. The rout of the GOP was made complete in the Congress as Democrats held commanding margins of 60 to 35 in the Senate and 310 to 117 in the House.

The situation got worse for the party in 1933 and 1934, when NEW DEAL programs—many backed by Republican progressives—were passed in such rapid succession that

GOP leaders were left dazed, often bewildered, and unable to mount a well-organized response to Roosevelt and the Democrats. The Republicans' congressional leadership—Senate minority leader Charles McNary, an Oregon progressive, and House minority leader Bertrand Snell, an upstate New York conservative—reflected divisions within the Republican Party on how to respond to the New Deal. The “old guard,” led by Hoover, his hand-picked Republican National Committee chairman, and congressional conservatives, primarily from the Northeast, persisted in a direct assault on the New Deal and what they claimed were its threat to American traditions. Western progressives wanted to affirm basic agreement with the New Deal and proposed further reform in AGRICULTURE, regulation of BUSINESS, and RELIEF programs. The mid-term election of 1934 was disastrous for the Republicans, as Hoover's high-profile attacks on the New Deal reminded voters of his discredited presidency, and the GOP progressives' embrace of Roosevelt spelled doom for the party. The Democrats increased their margins in the Senate to 69-25 and in the House to 319-103, while also achieving a 39-7 majority among the nation's governors.

Increasingly in 1935, when FDR and the SECOND NEW DEAL moved leftward by passing legislation beneficial to LABOR unions and workers, business broke with the president, and through groups such as the AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE hoped to ally with the Republican Party in the ELECTION OF 1936. As 1936 approached, several candidates appeared as GOP presidential contenders. Borah was the progressives' choice; Hoover, still lashing out at the New Deal, was ready to run again; and two former “Bull Moose” supporters of Theodore Roosevelt—Chicago newspaper publisher FRANK KNOX and Kansas governor ALFRED M. LANDON, who had been elected and then reelected in the Democratic landslides of 1932 and 1934—had support. Hoover's potential renomination frightened many Republicans, even the old guard, who foresaw the Democrats focusing on his failed administration; Borah's candidacy, opposed by conservatives and hampered by his age (71), ran aground early in the primary season; and Knox had not built a large base of support.

The Republicans therefore turned to Landon, nominating him in Cleveland, on a platform that attempted an awkward combination of condemning the New Deal while at the same time quietly endorsing aspects of it. In addition, the GOP platform advocated a noninterventionist FOREIGN POLICY, hoping to win back Republican progressives, most of whom were ISOLATIONISTS. Landon at first campaigned as a moderate, seeking to unite both wings of the party, but with the influence of the conservative Republican National Committee chairman, and the infusion of money and rhetoric from William Randolph Hearst and his newspapers and from the Liberty League—which sent out spokesmen such

as Al Smith to denounce Roosevelt—the Kansas governor soon began attacking the New Deal more harshly. Although one poll, in the *Literary Digest*, predicted a Landon victory, many observers, at least in private, conceded that Roosevelt would win. In the election, Roosevelt scored one of the biggest landslides in presidential election history as he won all but two states—Maine and Vermont, with a total 8 electoral votes—and held Landon to 36.5 percent of the popular vote. Democrats achieved near total domination of Congress as the Republican Party emerged from 1936 with only 89 of 435 House seats and 16 of 96 in the Senate. Never had the party's fortunes fallen so low.

The Republicans entered 1937 seemingly close to extinction and unlikely to be competitive for years, as they held 105 total seats in Congress, a handful of governorships, and had lost much of the eastern urban, Midwest farmer, and African-American base that had formed the core of the party prior to 1932. But Roosevelt's COURT-PACKING PLAN, a political misstep by the president, split the Democrats and reenergized Republican hopes. Southern Democrats, often skeptical already of New Deal programs, and some western Democratic progressives such as BURTON K. WHEELER spoke out against the court plan. In the Senate, GOP leader McNary urged his small group of colleagues to “let the boys across the aisle do the talking.” Landon urged other Republicans to adopt a “strategy of silence,” which Hoover, a rival to the Kansan for leadership in the party, reluctantly acceded to. The GOP strategy worked, as leading dissident Democrats joined with Republicans to defeat court-packing, inaugurating the CONSERVATIVE COALITION in Congress, which would apply the brakes to the New Deal.

The court-packing plan, the RECESSION OF 1937–1938, unpopular labor unrest, and the emergence of the congressional conservative coalition led to a GOP comeback in the 1938 mid-term election, as Republicans gained 7 Senate seats, 75 House seats, and won 18 of 27 governorships outside the SOUTH, giving the party hope of capturing the presidency in 1940. Meanwhile, the Republican Party was being reoriented geographically and ideologically. The party's former alignment of eastern conservatives and western progressives was being transformed into a coalition of an eastern moderate wing, interventionist in foreign policy, and, reflecting their urban base, accepting much of the New Deal, and a midwestern and western anti-New Deal, conservative, isolationist wing that reflected the deaths, defeats, and defections of the old GOP progressives.

Roosevelt's decision to seek a third term, and the advent of war in Europe affected the ELECTION OF 1940. GOP isolationists such as ROBERT A. TAFT wanted the party to nominate a noninterventionist, while a growing number of Republicans believed that in order to defeat the Democrats, an internationalist had to head the ticket. The

early front-runner was Thomas E. Dewey, a New York district attorney, who had narrowly lost the governor's race in 1938; but another group of eastern Republicans, backed by publisher HENRY LUCE, promoted utilities executive WENDELL L. WILLKIE, a nominal Democrat but a vocal critic of the New Deal. Roosevelt himself undercut the Republicans by naming two of their own to his cabinet: HENRY L. STIMSON as secretary of war, and Frank Knox, the 1936 GOP vice presidential candidate, as secretary of the navy. As the Republican convention approached, the fall of France occurred, highlighting the youth and inexperience of Dewey and the isolationism of Taft. At the Philadelphia convention, anxieties about the war helped create a groundswell that led to Willkie's nomination.

Although Willkie ran an energetic campaign as the first candidate of the eastern, moderate, internationalist wing of the Republican Party, GOP conservatives and isolationists were cool to him, and Roosevelt's continuing popularity and experience in the face of possible war gave the incumbent president an insurmountable advantage. In the election, Roosevelt won 54.8 percent of the popular vote and all but 82 electoral votes, although Willkie won back the midwestern farm vote for the Republicans, and received more of the popular vote than any previous GOP candidate. The party lineup in Congress remained about the same as it had been after the 1938 election.

After PEARL HARBOR, most Republicans closed ranks behind Roosevelt and supported the war effort, although many joined the conservative coalition with southern Democrats to stymie and scale back the New Deal. In the 1942 mid-term election, Republicans nearly captured the House, winning 46 seats for a total of 208 seats, just a dozen fewer than the Democrats won; gained 9 seats in the Senate for a total of 37; and won a key governorship in New York, where Dewey was elected.

Dewey then emerged as the early front-runner for the Republican nomination in the ELECTION OF 1944. After Taft declined an opportunity to run from the conservative wing, and Willkie, now a party pariah because of his liberal domestic and foreign policy stances, was bumped from the race by the early primaries, Dewey became the nominee. Running in the midst of the war and wartime prosperity against the popular Roosevelt, Republicans had little to campaign on beyond alleging communist tendencies in the New Deal, and raising veiled questions—accurate in retrospect—about the president's declining health. In the election, Roosevelt won 53.5 percent of the popular vote and 432 of the 531 electoral votes, and Democrats made a modest recovery in the Congress from the Republican gains of two years earlier.

By the end of World War II, the Republican Party had made great strides in recovering from its perilous situation in the middle 1930s. Its new dominant eastern moderate

wing had accepted the heart of the New Deal regulatory welfare state and an internationalist foreign policy for a larger American role in the world. The western, conservative, isolationist wing did remain a vocal and persistent minority with particular strength in the GOP's congressional delegations. Despite gaining control of Congress in 1946 and 1952, and the presidency in 1952, the Republican Party would have to wait several decades until the Democratic New Deal coalition would fragment, opening the door to GOP parity at the national and state levels.

See also POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA.

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—William J. Thompson

### Resettlement Administration (RA)

The Resettlement Administration, a NEW DEAL agency created by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT in May 1935 under the auspices of the EMERGENCY RELIEF APPROPRIATION ACT, sought to assist and relocate struggling farmers and to provide new HOUSING for urban workers. Limited funding, opposition from conservatives, large farmers, and real estate interests, and sometimes resistance from the groups it tried to help, impeded the agency's ability to accomplish its goals.

Headed by REXFORD G. TUGWELL, the Resettlement Administration (RA) focused on tenants, sharecroppers, and small farmers in its efforts in AGRICULTURE. These groups, Tugwell and others thought, had not received sufficient aid from the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT, yet they had suffered disproportionately from the GREAT DEPRESSION and other ills of American agriculture. The RA took over the Department of the Interior's Subsistence Homestead Division and the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION's rural rehabilitation efforts as part of its programs.

The RA sought both to provide technical advice and other assistance to struggling rural people to improve land-use practices where they lived and to relocate poor farmers and workers from unproductive and overused land to more fertile sites with new housing and community services. The RA also built camps for migrant workers and moved some



farmers into new suburban areas. The agency established communal farms in New Madrid, Missouri; Casa Grande, Arizona; and Lake Dick, Arkansas. Some families were unwilling to relocate to new areas or to trust agency personnel despite impoverished conditions, and CONGRESS proved unwilling to finance the RA adequately. The RA relocated less than 1 percent of the more than half million farm families it planned to move.

The Resettlement Administration also sought to improve housing for urban workers. The primary project involving disadvantaged urban laborers was the “greenbelt” program. RA planners intended to transplant urban workers from crowded inner cities into new suburban settlements designed to include cooperative services and democratic involvement in community management. Nine such communities were proposed, but only three were built: Greenbelt, outside of Washington, D.C.; Greenhills, near Cincinnati; and Greendale, close to Milwaukee.

These greenbelt towns did not attract the anticipated numbers of needy workers from the inner cities. Site selection contributed to the shortcomings of the program, for the locations chosen were outside cities that were already taking action on housing and other urban ills. Other problems included a lack of funds needed to build enough houses to support community services, rent levels too high for low-income workers, and the rapid turnover of younger tenants, which limited participation in neighborhood management. While these difficulties limited the number of workers assisted, many middle-class families were able to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the greenbelt towns to move to a suburban setting. The ideas and concepts behind the greenbelt towns also provided information for later GOVERNMENT housing planning projects.

The Resettlement Administration faced sharp criticism and stiff opposition throughout its short existence. Some detractors focused on Tugwell as too radical to head the agency, and labeled the agency’s efforts “socialistic.” To counteract such criticism, Tugwell created an Information Division to produce favorable publicity about the RA’s efforts. PHOTOGRAPHY proved an important medium for this task, leading to a collection of documentary photographs of the difficulties of rural life. Despite his efforts at creating a positive image for the Resettlement Administration, Tugwell resigned in 1936 in order to protect the agency from further objections due to his presence. The RA’s programs also faced opposition from conservatives, larger farmers, and local real estate organizations who protested federal interference in agriculture and housing. With the enactment of the BANKHEAD-JONES FARM TENANT ACT in 1937, the Resettlement Administration became part of the FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION.

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—Courtney D. Mattingly

### **Reuther, Walter** (1907–1970) *union leader*

Walter Philip Reuther was born in Wheeling, West Virginia, on September 1, 1907, the son of a brewery worker who had immigrated from Germany. His father was a committed socialist, and Walter matured in a household much given to discussion about social ills and inequities. Reuther left school at 15 and worked in a steel mill before moving to Detroit, Michigan, in 1926, where he worked as a tool and die maker at the Ford Motor Company. True to his upbringing, he was dissatisfied with the lot of workers and began agitating for collective bargaining and unions before these were politically acceptable. He lost his job in 1933 to the GREAT DEPRESSION, then traveled abroad and worked in the Soviet Union, 1933–35, although he was disillusioned by the lack of political freedom he encountered there. Reuther returned to Detroit in 1936, took a job at General Motors, and continued his LABOR activism as a committed socialist and member of the United Auto Workers (UAW). Although he supported the Socialist Norman Thomas in the ELECTION OF 1932, he was impressed by the attempts of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to address social inequities through the NEW DEAL, so he distanced himself from socialism and thereafter became identified with the liberal wing of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. By this time Reuther also became president of the tiny but militant Local 174, which he led during STRIKES in 1937 and 1940. He was beaten up by police and company security several times on the picket lines, but his militancy impressed fellow workers, and membership in Local 174 expanded commensurately. Reuther’s leadership resulted in new unions at General Motors in 1940 and Ford in 1941. During WORLD WAR II he strongly opposed any wildcat STRIKES that might have interrupted the flow of military production.

The war had no sooner ended than Reuther initiated a 113-day strike at General Motors in 1946, which resulted in higher wages and improved benefits. That year he also formally broke with the SOCIALISTS, gained election as head of the UAW, and began purging it of all known Communist elements. He was also active in the ranks of the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO) and expelled 11 Communist-dominated unions from the membership. Reuther also remained politically active and was a founding member of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) in 1947. He frequently ventured abroad

to help establish the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in 1949. Back home, he fought for better wages and benefits, winning for the UAW employer-funded pensions, medical insurance, and supplementary unemployment benefits from the big three auto manufacturers. In 1955 he reached an agreement with AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR leader George Meany to found the new AFL-CIO. Reuther died in an airplane crash in Michigan on May 10, 1970, one of the most significant figures of the American labor movement.

See also NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT.

**Further reading:** Nelson Lichtenstein, *The Most Dangerous Man in Detroit: Walter Reuther and the Fate of American Labor* (New York: Basic Books, 1995).

—John C. Fredriksen

### Revenue Act of 1935

The Revenue Act of 1935 was the first major effort of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and the NEW DEAL to reform federal TAXATION. Part of the SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935, it became known as the “Wealth Tax,” because Roosevelt sought a more progressive tax structure that would take proportionately much more from BUSINESS and the wealthy. In its final form, however, “Wealth Tax” was a misnomer, for it fell far short of Roosevelt’s proposal and had little if any impact on the distribution of wealth. It nonetheless did have important political implications.

Roosevelt had contemplated reform of the tax structure since early in his presidency. Partly his concern was to raise revenue to meet growing GOVERNMENT expenses under the New Deal, especially given his dedication to balancing the budget. But Roosevelt also wanted a more progressive (graduated) tax system that would take relatively more from business and the very wealthy to pay for social and economic reform that would benefit the struggling and needy. Secretary of the Treasury HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR., shared those concerns and priorities.

But more lay behind the proposed Revenue Act of 1935 than policy considerations. By 1935, Senator HUEY P. LONG was building a national following for his “Share Our Wealth” program that called for heavy taxes on the very wealthy to be redistributed so that all Americans could have a home, health and education benefits, and adequate income. Long and others on the left complained that the New Deal had done more to help business and the well-off than to help the poor. And by 1935, the cooperation between the New Deal and business that Roosevelt had hoped to establish had turned into sharp conflict. Politically, then, FDR might profit from appealing to the follow-

ers of Long and others without fear of losing business and conservative support that was already vanishing.

In June 1935, Roosevelt sent CONGRESS what soon became known as the “Wealth Tax” (some called it the “soak-the-rich tax”) bill. In addition to reforming the tax structure and raising revenues, FDR believed that his plan would free up money held by wealthy individuals and corporations and thus enhance economic opportunity and efforts at recovery from the GREAT DEPRESSION. The bill called for a graduated tax on corporate incomes, a corporate excess profits tax, and an intercorporate dividends tax. It proposed sharply increasing the maximum tax rate on high incomes and adding a federal inheritance tax to the existing estate tax. And it recommended a constitutional amendment to allow the federal government to tax the interest earned on state and municipal bonds, used by the wealthy to avoid taxes.

The tax bill encountered stiff opposition in the Congress, and the legislation finally passed more than two months later by Congress and signed by Roosevelt did not go nearly as far as the original proposal. The proposed tax rates for wealthy individuals were pared back, and the taxes on corporate income and intercorporate dividends were slashed even more. Congress increased the estate tax but defeated the proposed inheritance tax and the constitutional amendment.

The Revenue Act of 1935 had more important political than policy and economic consequences. Roosevelt could take political credit for proposing the bill and thus steal some of the thunder from critics on the left—and in fact Morgenthau thought that Roosevelt meant the bill mostly as a “campaign document” and worried about what seemed the president’s lukewarm commitment to it. The proposal contributed to the emerging split in the DEMOCRATIC PARTY between liberals and conservatives, worsened anti-Roosevelt sentiment among the wealthy, and increased the estrangement of business from Roosevelt and the New Deal. Yet despite the storm over the tax, it did little to either redistribute income or raise revenue.

**Further reading:** John Morton Blum, *Roosevelt and Morgenthau: A Revision and Condensation of From the Morgenthau Diaries* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970); Mark Leff, *The Limits of Symbolic Reform: The New Deal and Taxation, 1933–1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

### Revenue Act of 1942

The Revenue Act of 1942 greatly expanded the number of people who paid income taxes and led to the withholding system that has been central to the United States tax system ever since.

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT wanted the 1942 Revenue Act to do three things: raise money to help pay the MOBILIZATION costs of WORLD WAR II; combat inflation by reducing spending power; and make the tax structure more progressive by sharply raising taxes on high personal incomes and corporate profits. CONGRESS, consistent with its previous responses to the TAXATION proposals of the Roosevelt administration, resisted steeply graduated taxes. In the end, the Revenue Act of 1942 did raise personal and corporate income taxes, though not as much as Roosevelt had desired. It also taxed all incomes over \$624 (median annual family income was about \$2,000) as a compromise substitute for a sales tax desired by many in Congress. Lowering the minimum taxable income to that level meant that a much higher proportion of the population paid federal income taxes—and the number of taxable incomes soared from roughly 4 million in 1939 to nearly 43 million by the end of the war. By 1944, personal income taxes had replaced corporate taxes as the most important source of federal revenue.

With so many more people paying taxes than ever before, the Treasury Department wanted a way to simplify and ensure collection, and recommended initiating a payroll deduction plan. But beginning the withholding system in 1943 would mean that taxpayers would have money deducted from their pay for 1943 taxes at the same time that they had to pay their 1942 tax bills. The solution was to forgive most of the 1942 tax obligations and have the 1943 payroll deductions provide the government's revenue in 1943. The proponent of this idea Beardsley Ruml, chairman of the New York Federal Reserve Bank and treasurer of R.H. Macy and Company, likened it to daylight savings time: It would just move "the tax clock forward, and cost the Treasury nothing until Judgment Day." And on Judgment Day, said one politician, "no one will give a damn." Roosevelt opposed absolving taxpayers of so much of their 1942 taxes, believing that it amounted to an undeserved windfall for the wealthy and deprived the GOVERNMENT of needed revenue, but Congress approved the 1942 tax forgiveness plan in 1943.

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**Robeson, Paul** (1898–1976) *singer, actor, political activist*

A world-renowned and critically acclaimed African-American singer and actor, Paul Robeson was a political activist for the rights of AFRICAN AMERICANS and took controversial stances in support of communism and the Soviet

Union. He was famous for his rich baritone renditions of African-American spirituals, his MOVIES, and his numerous stage appearances during the 1930s and 1940s, as well as for his political beliefs.

Robeson was born April 9, 1898, in Princeton, New Jersey, to Reverend William Robeson, who had escaped from slavery at age 15, and Maria Robeson, a schoolteacher. At Rutgers College, he won awards for scholarship, oration, and athletics, and was class valedictorian and an All-American football player. While attending Columbia Law School he supported himself by playing professional football, and married fellow Columbia student Eslanda "Essie" Goode, with whom he later had one son, Paul Robeson, Jr. Encouraged by Essie, he began acting in amateur theater and in 1922 made his professional debut in the play *Taboo*. After graduation from law school Robeson became the only African American at a prominent New York law firm, but resigned and ended his law career when a white secretary refused to take dictation from him because he was black.

Between 1924 and 1930 Robeson became a celebrity, starring in plays and musicals in New York and London including Eugene O'Neill's *All God's Chillun Got Wings*, *Porgy and Bess*, *Show Boat* (singing his famous interpretation of "Ol' Man River"), and *Othello*. He also performed



Paul Robeson (Hulton/Archive)

solo concerts of African-American spirituals across Europe and the United States.

During the 1930s, Robeson began focusing more of his attention on political issues and the examination of other cultures, studying African languages and history and including the folk songs of Russian serfs in his performances. In 1934, he spoke out against Nazi oppression of Jews and was invited by the Russian filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein to visit the Soviet Union. During his visit in 1935, Robeson described the USSR as a society free from racial discrimination and said, "Here, for the first time in my life, I walk in full human dignity."

In the second half of the 1930s, Robeson began studying socialism, helped found the Council on African Affairs (an organization promoting African self-rule) and supported the antifascist forces fighting in the SPANISH CIVIL WAR. In 1939 he defended the NAZI-SOVIET PACT, arguing that it was important for the USSR's national security.

Throughout the 1940s, Robeson supported a variety of liberal and leftist causes. He promoted ANTILYNCHING LEGISLATION, refused to sing before racially segregated audiences, and announced that he would no longer act in Hollywood movies because of their demeaning and condescending portrayal of blacks. His starring role in *Othello* on Broadway was acclaimed as a landmark in race relations and the show was the longest-running Shakespeare play in Broadway history. In 1941, the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI) placed Robeson under surveillance as a suspected member of the Communist Party.

In the 1950s, Robeson continued to defend the Soviet Union despite revelations of Stalin's purges and brutalities. He also refused to answer the questions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the State Department about his political affiliations. Consequently, his passport was taken away and his career was severely damaged. He was blacklisted by recording companies, banned from television and from performing in certain areas of the country, and the leading journals and newspapers refused to review his autobiography, *Here I Stand*. Despite his deteriorating health he spent several more years as a political activist before retiring completely. He died on January 23, 1976.

**Further reading:** Martin Duberman, *Paul Robeson* (New York: Knopf, 1988).

—Aimee Alice Pohl

### **Roosevelt, Eleanor** (1884–1962) *first lady, social reformer*

Eleanor Roosevelt was first lady of the United States longer than any other woman, and in the 12 years from 1933 to 1945 she changed the nature and status of the position. The

stances she took on such issues as race and social justice earned her both tremendous praise and sharp criticism. By the time of the death of her husband, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Eleanor Roosevelt had become the most important and controversial first lady the nation had seen.

Born Anna Eleanor Roosevelt in New York on October 11, 1884, she was the oldest child and only daughter of Anna and Elliott Roosevelt and the niece of President Theodore Roosevelt. Her mother died when Roosevelt was a young girl, while her father, before his early death, was an important, if distant, part of her life. Following the wishes of her mother, she was provided an expansive EDUCATION for a girl of her time, and her time spent at the Allenswood School near London proved to be a major influence on the shy, awkward girl. At Allenswood, Roosevelt was exposed to the world beyond her affluent upbringing in New York; the experience also gave her a new sense of confidence. Returning to New York in 1902, Roosevelt was deemed ready to enter society and begin her search for a husband.

As her grandmother wanted, Roosevelt began to socialize among her peers, but she resisted attempts to marry quickly. Instead, she became involved in the settlement house movement in New York, working with young immigrant girls at the Rivington Street Settlement House. In the meantime, she had begun seeing Franklin D. Roosevelt, her fifth cousin from Hyde Park, New York. Over the objections of Franklin's mother, Sara Delano Roosevelt, who remained an active and often interfering part of their lives until her death in 1941, the two were married in 1905. Eleanor spent the first years of the marriage concentrating on her family, which grew to six children, of whom five survived infancy. As her husband's career as a Democratic politician developed in the 1910s, she busied herself in the role of an upper-class wife and mother, including charity work, reading, and domestic life. But she was dissatisfied with not being able to utilize the intellectual talents she had nurtured at Allenswood. The turning point in her life came nearly two decades into her marriage when two life-altering events occurred; the revelation in 1918 of her husband's affair with Lucy Mercer, and Franklin's attack of polio in 1921.

By the 1920s she had taken a more assertive role, both within her marriage and in her public activities. FDR's polio, which had left him paralyzed from the waist down, made Eleanor Roosevelt his public representative, keeping his political aspirations alive through her appearances on his behalf. She also moved to expand her own life. In addition to becoming more active in charity work, Roosevelt went to work, taking a teaching position at the Todhunter School for Girls in New York and pursuing her interests in social causes. The expansion of her world brought together both her political training as her husband's surrogate and her interest in women's issues so that she became a cham-



pion of female participation in the public sphere. While she never had an interest in achieving public office, she was a major advocate of women's involvement in politics and of their holding GOVERNMENT positions.

Franklin Roosevelt made his political comeback when he was elected governor of New York State in 1928 and then won the presidency in the ELECTION OF 1932. While FDR was governor, Eleanor Roosevelt continued to nurture her own interests and influence her husband, becoming his "social conscience." She was reluctant to have her husband run for president, worried about how the more public role of being the president's wife might restrict her activities. But when FDR entered the presidency in 1933, Roosevelt turned her energy to using her public stature to advocate for policies she cared deeply for. Her interests were seemingly everywhere, from CIVIL RIGHTS to rural poverty to obtaining prominent government positions for women as part of the WOMEN'S NETWORK.

Eleanor Roosevelt's championing of civil rights for AFRICAN AMERICANS was a prominent and controversial example of how she stepped beyond the customary bonds of the first lady's role. Several incidents garnered her criticism, especially sharp from Republicans and southerners, such as when she was photographed at a ceremony dedicating a public HOUSING unit accepting flowers from a young African-American girl and then giving the girl a flower from the bouquet. Roosevelt's awareness of racial disparities had been awakened when she struck up a friendship with educator MARY McLEOD BETHUNE in the late 1920s. Further motivated by friendships she developed with other prominent black leaders, including WALTER WHITE, president of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, Roosevelt pressured her husband to gain access for African Americans in NEW DEAL programs. Her efforts, along with those of like-minded liberals, including HARRY HOPKINS and HAROLD ICKES, helped to increase black participation in programs such as the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION, as well as in the creation of the Division of Negro Affairs in the NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION, headed by Bethune. One of the issues that Roosevelt came to passionately champion was ANTILYNCHING LEGISLATION. While the measure failed in CONGRESS in the 1930s, she continued to lobby for it in the decades to follow.

The United States's entrance into WORLD WAR II augmented Roosevelt's highly public role. Representing the president, she toured military bases both at home and abroad, visited wounded soldiers, and, in a much-publicized event, flew in an army air force fighter plane. The war also reenergized her commitment to fighting for social justice. Roosevelt provided a major voice in the White House when she thought that domestic needs were being overshadowed by the emphasis on winning the war. Her major regret from



Eleanor Roosevelt (National Archives)

the war years was that she backed down from her opposition to the relocation of JAPANESE AMERICANS, one of the few times that her public voice was stifled by her husband, when she followed the president's wishes to not to speak out against this violation of CIVIL LIBERTIES.

After FDR died in April 1945, Roosevelt embarked in a new stage in her life. Many of her associates suggested that she enter electoral politics. But she did not feel it was appropriate for a former first lady, nor was she particularly interested in public office. Instead, Roosevelt spent the next two decades championing causes that she strongly supported while remaining a major force within the DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Without the limitations of being first lady, Roosevelt's activities included supporting international cooperation, giving more vocal support to civil rights and civil liberties, participating in Democratic Party politics, and continuing to write the newspaper column that had caused her so much criticism in the 1930s, *My Day*. In 1945, she was a selected as a delegate to the UNITED NATIONS, where she worked with the United Nations Human Rights Commission and

was instrumental in the passage of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Roosevelt also remained active in party politics, often disagreeing with the positions of Harry S. Truman's cabinet members, whom she saw as too conservative. After Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidential victory in 1952, Roosevelt submitted her resignation from the United Nations, and accepted a position with the American Association for the United Nations to defend the international organization. She also spoke out critically about the anticommunist campaigns of the 1950s, and served as honorary chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, a liberal organization she helped found after World War II. A supporter of Adlai Stevenson's unsuccessful campaigns for the presidency in 1952 and 1956, she maintained her influence within the Democratic Party, as demonstrated when John F. Kennedy courted her public support during the 1960 presidential election.

Finding a more active role when Kennedy won in 1960, Roosevelt once again became a UN delegate while also chairing the President's Commission on the Status of Women. But just as she found another role for herself, Roosevelt began to slow down, suffering from anemia and a rare form of bone marrow tuberculosis. Eleanor Roosevelt died on November 7, 1962, leaving behind the legacy of an activist first lady who turned attention to important social issues.

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—Katherine Liapis Segrue and Susan F. Yates

### **Roosevelt, Franklin D.** (1882–1945) 32nd U.S. president

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the 32nd president of the United States, is widely acknowledged to have been the most important American public figure of the 20th century. Elected to the White House four times from 1932 to 1944, FDR, as he was commonly called, led the nation through two of the century's greatest crises, the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II. His presidency launched both the nation's modern regulatory welfare state and the internationalist FOREIGN POLICY of World War II and after. The NEW DEAL and POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA produced large and lasting changes in American GOVERNMENT and politics and

profoundly affected the nation's ECONOMY and society. Historians count Roosevelt, with Washington and Lincoln, as one of America's three greatest presidents.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was born January 30, 1882, in Hyde Park, New York, the son of James and Sara Delano Roosevelt. A distant cousin of Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin grew up in the genteel security of 19th-century "old money" wealth. The protective world of Hyde Park gave young Roosevelt a sunny confidence and serene self-assurance that served him well later in facing his own polio and the challenges of the Great Depression and World War II. His childhood evidently contributed also to his social conscience and sense of noblesse oblige. Roosevelt attended Groton, an exclusive prep school, and Harvard University. After graduating from Harvard in 1904, Roosevelt enrolled at Columbia University law school, left after one year, but passed the bar and joined a New York City firm.

In 1905, Franklin married his fifth cousin ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, a niece of Theodore, and the couple had five children who lived to adulthood. Intimacy within the marriage ended in 1918 with Eleanor's discovery of Franklin's affair with Lucy Mercer, her former social secretary. The affair terminated after ultimatums from Eleanor and from his mother, a doting and at times obtrusive presence in Franklin's (and Eleanor's) life until her death in 1941. Thereafter, the marriage became an effective partnership that served them both well, with Eleanor supporting Franklin's political ambitions and FDR encouraging Eleanor in her various activities and causes.

Roosevelt was ambitious, and, wanting to emulate Theodore Roosevelt, decided to enter politics. Despite his mother's opposition, Roosevelt ran for and won a seat in the New York State Senate in 1910 and won reelection in 1912. In 1912, he also supported Woodrow Wilson's campaign for the White House, and Wilson appointed Roosevelt assistant secretary of the navy in 1913. In 1920, Roosevelt was nominated for vice president on the Democratic national ticket headed by Ohio governor James M. Cox.

Following his return to private life after the decisive Democratic defeat in the election, Roosevelt was felled by acute poliomyelitis in August 1921. For three years, Roosevelt valiantly but unsuccessfully attempted to regain use of his legs and for the remainder of his life used heavy metal leg braces as well as a wheelchair. Perhaps deepening Roosevelt's sensitivities, polio made him more dependent upon Eleanor as his envoy. When he reentered public life, the extent of his handicap—although not the fact that he had been stricken by polio—was hidden from the public by a compliant press corps, in what scholars have labeled "FDR's splendid deception."

Although his mother wanted him to retire to the life of a country squire, Eleanor and political adviser LOUIS MCHENRY HOWE encouraged Roosevelt to return to poli-

tics. In 1924, he nominated New York governor Alfred E. Smith for president at the Democratic National Convention, a speech that reestablished Roosevelt as an important national figure in the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. In 1928, Roosevelt narrowly won election as governor of New York. Reelected overwhelmingly in 1930, Roosevelt was noted as governor for his progressive initiatives, including establishing a model agency of its kind for giving RELIEF help to the unemployed.

As governor of the nation's most populous state and an innovative chief executive in dealing with the Great Depression, Roosevelt emerged as the early favorite for the 1932 Democratic presidential nomination. Helped by a campaign team headed by JAMES A. FARLEY, Roosevelt ultimately gained the nomination on the fourth ballot. With UNEMPLOYMENT at 25 percent, he decisively won the ELECTION OF 1932, capturing some 57 percent of the vote against the embattled incumbent president, HERBERT C. HOOVER.

Accepting his nomination, Roosevelt pledged a "New Deal" for the American people, but he was often vague and even contradictory about his plans during the campaign. In fact, there was never a master plan, as Roosevelt allowed himself wide leeway to accommodate his constantly changing thinking. Experimentation and flexibility would be hallmarks of Roosevelt's leadership and administrative styles. He once wrote, "I dream dreams but am, at the same time, an intensely practical person." "Take a method and try it," Roosevelt said. "If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something." Indeed, FDR's ideas were often as difficult to pin down as his frequently enigmatic personality, and even his closest associates were sometimes dismayed by his changes of mind and his deviousness.

But although he was no rigid ideologue, Roosevelt did have consistent convictions and principles about the purpose of government and clear priorities as president. He believed that government should promote the general welfare and help the "forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid." A "little left of center," in his own words, he tended to accept incremental and moderate reform rather than wholesale or radical change. Believing deeply in American democratic capitalism, he wanted to reform the system in order to strengthen and preserve it. He sought in the 1930s to bring recovery from the depression (although it was war MOBILIZATION, not the New Deal, that ended the depression), humanitarian assistance to the unemployed and impoverished, and reform to the nation's institutions. During the war, he sought victory above all, and victory that might lead to lasting peace. Roosevelt was also a politician, sometimes a manipulative and polarizing one, as he sought to build his own political power and to make the Democratic Party the liberal and enduring majority party of the nation.

When Roosevelt took office on March 4, 1933, America was at the nadir of the Great Depression. After declaring that the "only thing we have to fear is fear itself," the new president called CONGRESS into special session, launching the first Hundred Days of remarkable legislative achievement. Contrary to legend, Roosevelt did not simply bend Congress to his will in framing the New Deal. Rather, the House and the Senate sometimes took the lead on legislation and particularly after his first term also denied him reform measures he wanted.

But Roosevelt was a powerful chief executive, not only in his dealings with Congress but also with the public. In speeches and in his FIRESIDE CHATS, Roosevelt effectively used the RADIO to explain his programs and build support for them. He also used the radio to buttress national confidence during both the depression and the war, as his buoyant, optimistic voice reached and offered reassurance to millions of listeners. He cultivated the press through frequent press conferences, holding court for reporters by offering up what information he wanted the public to know. He was from the beginning a confident and effective leader. Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes supposedly said that Roosevelt had "a second-rate intellect, but a first-rate temperament."

The programs of the FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933, perhaps especially relief assistance for the unemployed and efforts to effect economic recovery and social reform, made Roosevelt enormously popular. In the election of 1934, Democrats increased their margins in both houses of Congress, an obvious show of support for the president and his policies. In 1935 came a second wave of reform, known as the SECOND NEW DEAL, including the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT, the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT, and the REVENUE ACT OF 1935.

As he sought reelection in 1936 on the basis of his first-term record, Roosevelt exploited criticism from conservatives and BUSINESS, denouncing "economic royalists" and saying that he hoped it would later be said that "the forces of selfishness and of lust for power met their match" in his first term and "met their master" in his second. With chin pointing upward, cigarette holder jutting forward, and a ready grin, Roosevelt inspired confidence and hope among unemployed, working-class, and middle-class voters. Critics thought him a dangerous demagogue. In the ELECTION OF 1936, Roosevelt won 46 of 48 states and captured more than three-fifths of the popular vote in putting together a coalition of voters based upon great strength in the CITIES and the SOUTH, and among LABOR unions, AFRICAN AMERICANS, CATHOLICS, and JEWS, that would make the Democrats the majority party for decades to come.

Following his landslide reelection, Roosevelt intended to address the plight of what he called at his second inauguration the "one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad,



ill-nourished.” But early in his second term, he encountered a series of problems that prevented him from achieving much of his second-term agenda. First came the storm of controversy over his COURT-PACKING PLAN to protect the New Deal from the SUPREME COURT, which had overturned a number of key New Deal programs. Then, the severe RECESSION OF 1937–1938, labor unrest, and FDR’s unsuccessful attempt to “purge” anti-New Deal Democrats in the 1938 primaries compounded his difficulties. In 1938, the REPUBLICAN PARTY made a strong resurgence, and, beginning in the late 1930s, congressional Republicans and conservative Democrats often cooperated in a CONSERVATIVE COALITION that would hinder liberal reform for a quarter century.

During the second half of Roosevelt’s second term, events in Europe and Asia increasingly shifted the president’s focus to foreign policy. By heritage and experience, Roosevelt was an internationalist with a keen interest in foreign affairs, but during his first term, foreign policy took a backseat to pressing domestic concerns. Recognizing the strength of ISOLATIONISTS and the opposition to interventionism in Congress and among the public, Roosevelt acquiesced in the NEUTRALITY ACTS of the mid-1930s. By the late 1930s, however, and especially after the beginning of World War II in Europe in late 1939, FDR

shifted toward anti-AXIS interventionism. Winning revision of the Neutrality Acts in 1939, he increased military appropriations and gained approval of SELECTIVE SERVICE in 1940.

With the war approaching, Roosevelt decided to seek an unprecedented third term in the ELECTION OF 1940 and defeated WENDELL L. WILLKIE, winning 55 percent of the vote. The war figured importantly in the election, but even more important were Roosevelt’s record in the first two terms and the loyalty he had won from his supporters and the continued enmity of his opponents. Following his reelection, Roosevelt continued his increasingly anti-Axis foreign policy, including the LEND-LEASE Act of early 1941.

After the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR on December 7, 1941, which the president memorably called “a date which will live in infamy,” Roosevelt focused on economic mobilization, military and diplomatic strategy, and national morale. The president’s management of mobilization resembled his earlier untidy administering of the New Deal and contributed to the early difficulties of economic mobilization. Ultimately, American production both ended the depression and helped win the war. In military affairs, Roosevelt was an active commander in chief, acting decisively and closely monitoring strategy, while placing trust in his commanding generals and admirals, especially GEORGE C. MARSHALL. To boost national morale, the president depended once again, as during the depression, on his unique combination of personal dynamism and buoyant optimism.

As chief diplomat, Roosevelt bypassed Secretary of State CORDELL HULL and largely conducted wartime diplomacy himself. Wanting to keep the GRAND ALLIANCE together after the war, he forged a close relationship with British prime minister Winston Churchill, and tried with less success to do the same with Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. At the TEHERAN CONFERENCE and the YALTA CONFERENCE, the “Big Three” leaders discussed both war strategy and the postwar world order. In pursuing a new internationalism of ongoing American leadership in world affairs, Roosevelt also supported the development of the UNITED NATIONS as a collective security organization to keep the peace and the BRETTON WOODS CONFERENCE to produce mechanisms for global prosperity. He also authorized the MANHATTAN PROJECT that produced the ATOMIC BOMB.

By 1943, Roosevelt had largely shelved “Dr. New Deal” for “Dr. Win-the-War,” frustrating liberals hoping to expand programs in wartime, and delighting conservatives in Congress who succeeded in rolling back domestic initiatives. Roosevelt’s record on CIVIL RIGHTS and CIVIL LIBERTIES was mixed at best, issuing under pressure from African Americans EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802 that estab-



This 1941 photograph shows President Franklin D. Roosevelt asking Congress to declare war on Japan the day after the attack on Pearl Harbor. (*Library of Congress*)



lished the FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE, but also acquiescing in restricting the immigration of Jewish REFUGEES from Europe and in the RELOCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS. In 1944 FDR espoused the ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS that reflected the reorientation of LIBERALISM during his presidency.

By 1944, Roosevelt's health was failing, and he was diagnosed with hypertension and congestive heart failure. But with the war in progress, Roosevelt felt obligated to see the conflict to conclusion. So he ran again for president, as problems with his health were kept secret from the American public (although photographs showed a visibly aged president, and friends and associates were shocked by FDR's ashen complexion, hand tremors, and mental drift). At the 1944 Democratic National Convention, conservatives, with Roosevelt's acquiescence, forced out liberal vice president HENRY A. WALLACE and selected the more moderate Harry S. Truman as FDR's running mate. In the fall, Roosevelt defeated GOP nominee Thomas E. Dewey.

Returning home from the Yalta Conference in February 1945, the president, obviously frail, spoke to Congress and the American people while sitting at a desk in the House chamber. In early April, Roosevelt went to Warm Springs, Georgia, for a period of rest and relaxation. He died there of a cerebral hemorrhage on April 12, 1945, three weeks before the war ended in the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER and four months before hostilities ceased in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER. His death was a shock to the tens of millions of Americans who could scarcely remember or imagine anyone else as president, and the impact of his presidency resonated throughout the remainder of the century and beyond.

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—William J. Thompson

## Rosie the Riveter

The iconographic image of Rosie the Riveter, perhaps best known through a 1943 *Saturday Evening Post* cover by Norman Rockwell and similar portrayals in wartime efforts to attract women to industrial jobs, has largely defined popular American perceptions about women's roles during WORLD WAR II. While the long-term impact of wartime industrial employment on WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS has often been exaggerated, women defense workers represented by "Rosie" played a significant role in wartime production and the experience provided countless women with greater independence and self-confidence.

Successful wartime recruitment of women into the industrial workforce occurred only after 1942, when severe shortages of male workers who had entered the military forced employers to look for alternative sources of labor, and when more women were willing to take such jobs. By 1945, the proportion of women working rose from 28 to 37 percent—nearly one-third of them in blue-collar positions. Yet, while the war expanded the range of jobs that women held, employment patterns frequently followed old norms. Many more women worked in secretarial, clerical, sales, and service employment than in heavy industry (and were more likely to keep such work after the war); relatively few women with young children entered the labor force; and marriage and family held higher priorities for most women than did employment. As the historian David M. Kennedy has put it, "Rosie the Riveter might therefore more appropriately have been named . . . Sally the Secretary, or even, as events were to prove, Molly the Mom."

On the job, real-life Rosies faced a number of obstacles. Women workers were generally relegated to the least-skilled and worst-paid jobs in wartime industry—and in fact, comparatively few were given work in riveting, which required skill and training. Women often faced patronizing or blatantly hostile male coworkers. Black women suffered from additional discrimination, as industrial employers frequently refused to consider them for anything but janitorial and similar low-level positions. Employers were slow to address the needs of their new female workers, who often maintained full responsibilities at home in addition to their jobs, contributing to higher rates of absenteeism and turnover among women. Unions admitted female members, but rarely fought against discriminatory practices in promotion and wages on behalf of women. Once an Allied victory appeared imminent, women were the first employees laid off as the United States prepared to absorb returning

veterans into the peacetime economy. While some women lamented being forced from their relatively high-paying industrial jobs, others had expected only to work “for the duration” and willingly returned to their domestic responsibilities at the end of the war.

Despite these issues, however, many women defense workers considered their wartime experiences to be positive. These women had obtained their jobs for a variety of reasons and appreciated the sense of personal and economic self-sufficiency obtained in doing what previously had been deemed “men’s work.” Both those women who remained in the workforce and those who never again held employment outside the home shared the belief that, in the words of one former “Rosie,” their wartime work had proven they were able “to hold their own with men.”

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—Mary E. Carroll-Mason

## rubber

Vulcanized rubber is a product with widespread industrial, commercial, and military applications. By 1940 world rubber production had reached 1.2 million tons annually, of which 726,000 tons were consumed by American industry. With most of Southeast Asia in Japanese hands early in WORLD WAR II, the Western Allies found themselves cut off from their most important rubber sources. Yet, because rubber remained critically important to modern military establishments, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT sought to address the problem in two distinct ways. The first was to encourage production of synthetic rubber, which rose from 9,000 tons in 1941 to 919,000 tons by 1945, sufficient for most military applications. This constituted a major accomplishment by American industry as, prior to the war, there existed virtually no capacity for mass producing this essential commodity. The second was an active program of civilian conservation. As with scrap metal, citizens were encouraged to collect all unnecessary rubber household goods or toys and donate them in ongoing drives to the war effort. To preserve existing stocks, the GOVERNMENT also froze the sale of tires and the recapping of old tires, seeing that these constituted the bulk of rubber consumption. Moreover, car owners could not legally own more than five tires at any given time, and all surplus tires had to be turned over to gas stations for industrial reuse. Finally, the government also imposed a 35-mile-per-hour speed limit on all commercial and civilian vehicles, since rubber tires wore down more quickly at higher speeds. In

concert with gasoline RATIONING, this had the net effect of greatly reducing automobile usage nationwide, with the added benefit of relieving traffic congestion in urban areas and markedly reducing auto-related fatalities. After the war and the liberation of Pacific rubber plantations, the normal American consumer patterns of rubber utilization resumed. Significantly, although great strides had been made in the perfection of synthetic rubber, worldwide production did not finally outstrip that of natural rubber until the 1960s.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## rural areas

Between 1932 and 1945 rural areas experienced profound economic hardship yet were subject to considerable change and modernization. Farm commodity prices, which began declining in the 1920s, fell precipitously following the onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION in 1929. The result was a marked increase in hardship, deprivation, and foreclosures brought on by insufficient revenues. The suffering involved was concentrated especially at the lowest rung of tenants and subsistence farmers. With the near collapse of the farm ECONOMY in rural regions, one-third of American farmers lost their farms between 1929 and 1933, and many were forced to look for work in urban areas or other states. Others were ruined by the DUST BOWL, which closed down many small farms, and they migrated elsewhere. For those farmers capable of working their land, there was also the problem of generational flight from family farms. Many siblings who normally would have inherited the family plots lacked the capital to invest in new machinery to be competitive. Rural regions became one of the starkest faces of poverty in America, particularly among African-American sharecroppers, with many families, black and white, eking out an existence in small shacks with dirt floors, no electricity, and no running water.

The dire situation of AGRICULTURE and rural America prompted President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to address their situation along two distinct fronts. The first was government price supports supplied by the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION (AAA), created in 1933, which afforded some relief but which helped large farmers far more than small farmers, tenants, and sharecroppers. Government price supports, however, have since become a standard practice in American agribusiness. In 1937 Roosevelt created the FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION (FSA), which provided a broad, though limited, program of rural rehabilitation aimed at the poorest landowners, tenants, and sharecroppers. But the biggest,

most successful, and most dramatic change in everyday life came in the form of rural electrification. Regional electric grids were initiated at the turn of the century but rural areas remained unserved because power companies felt that extending electrical service to remote farmlands was too expensive and promised too little return. In 1930, only about 10 percent of farms had electricity. Roosevelt consequently signed an executive order of May 11, 1935, which created the RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION (REA) for the purpose of forming rural electric cooperatives. These organizations received low-interest, long-term loans from the agency to both build delivery systems and buy electricity from private utilities. In this manner 419 cooperatives had emerged by the end of the 1930s, and they brought the benefits of modernization directly to some of the most remote, depressed areas in the nation. By 1941, two of every five farms had electricity and began to enjoy the luxuries of electric lights, radios, telephones, washing machines, and home appliances for the first time. The REA proved one of the NEW DEAL's greatest success stories, and by 1950, 90 percent of farms had electricity and only a handful of regions lacked electricity and the modern benefits and comforts it conferred.

Rural areas generally shared in the economic revitalization brought on by WORLD WAR II, but the influx of young men and women into cities and towns for work in factories only exacerbated continuing MIGRATION away from the farm. Many transplants proved unwilling to return to a life of hardship and remained in urban areas or the growing SUBURBS. This, in turn, stimulated pressing labor shortages that accelerated the trend toward greater mechanization of agricultural production. The net result, overall, was the continuing absorption of small family farms by large commercial aggregates, a trend that continues to present times.

See also CITIES AND URBAN LIFE.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### Rural Electrification Administration (REA)

With the onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION, the situation of the nation's farmers became even more dire than it had been in the 1920s. By 1932, net farm income was about one-third of what it had been in 1929, and throughout the agricultural regions of the country, farm families lived lives of poverty, tedium, and endless toil. The Rural Electrification Administration (REA) was one of many NEW DEAL

agencies aimed at ameliorating the harsh conditions found in RURAL AREAS.

As late as 1930, only about one out of 10 farms in the United States had electricity. In Mississippi, the figure was as low as one out of 100. The cost of installing and maintaining power lines in areas with few customers, together with the expectation that small farms would never use enough electricity to offset costs, discouraged private utility companies from extending service to most rural communities. Many people, however, were committed to the idea that access to electrical power would greatly enrich the lives of the rural poor. The programs sponsored by the Rural Electrification Administration, like those of the TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY (TVA) before it, were based upon this idea. Electricity would help improve the health of rural populations by permitting running water and proper storage of food. It would also improve other aspects of life in rural America by allowing the use of such labor-saving and leisure-enhancing devices as washing machines and radios. Finally, it would enable agricultural diversification, giving farmers the opportunity to produce commodities such as poultry and dairy products on a larger scale, which could in turn lead to improved economic prospects.

The REA was actually an outgrowth of the TVA. Plans to follow the success of the TVA by establishing seven "little TVAs" were halted by wary congressmen who were afraid of too much GOVERNMENT interference and anxious to retain the support of the private utility interests. Proponents of rural electrification had to formulate a new plan. They found a model in Alcorn County, Mississippi, where one of the TVA's first customers, an electricity cooperative, had made money so quickly that it was able to pay back its TVA loan much earlier than required. This cooperative was successful in large part because of the Electric Farm and Home Authority, an agency that gave farmers the chance to purchase electrical appliances with low-cost loans; ownership of such appliances obviously boosted the farmers' use of electricity. Because the Alcorn County cooperative had met with such success, the electrical cooperative was seen as a promising means of continuing the work of electrifying rural America. With the passage of the EMERGENCY RELIEF APPROPRIATION ACT of 1935, the REA was set up to fund these cooperatives, at first under the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION in 1935, and later, in 1936, as an independent agency.

Private utility companies often tried to hinder the work of the REA. Attempting to undercut REA revenues, they strung so-called spite lines along REA lines and served any large customers in an area, leaving only the smaller consumers of electricity to be serviced by the REA. Private companies also tried to discourage farmers from applying to the REA and used their influence in state governments to thwart the electrical cooperatives. Nonetheless, the REA

successfully extended access to low-cost electricity to millions of people.

Although the REA, like the other New Deal attempts to aid AGRICULTURE, did not reverse the declining economic and cultural importance of the family farm in American society, it was largely successful in achieving its primary goal—delivering electrical service to rural areas. By 1941, two out of every five farms had electricity. Although the REA's funding was sharply decreased in 1943, it had set in motion the electrification of rural America. By 1950, 90 percent of farms had access to electricity, and this access

did indeed help to alleviate the hardships of farm life. In fact, the historian William Leuchtenburg claims that the REA “revolutionized rural life.”

See also PUBLIC UTILITY HOLDING COMPANY ACT.

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—Pamela J. Lauer





### ***Schechter Poultry Corporation v. United States*** (1935)

On May 27, 1935, “Black Monday” to the administration of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, the SUPREME COURT in the *Schechter* case struck down the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA), one of the cornerstone agencies of the FIRST NEW DEAL. Subsequent Court decisions would overturn other major NEW DEAL programs, but perhaps no decision was so important as *Schechter* in the escalating conflict between the judicial and executive branches that led to the COURT-PACKING PLAN of 1937.

The Schechter Poultry Corporation was a Brooklyn, New York, company that specialized in kosher chickens. In 1934, the company had been convicted of selling diseased chickens, of not killing its chickens in the required fashion, and of not complying with wage and hour requirements—all violations of the Live Poultry Code of the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA). A number of lawsuits against the NRA worked their way through the judicial system, and as part of its effort to end unwanted GOVERNMENT regulation, the Iron and Steel Institute financed the Schechter company’s appeal to the Supreme Court. By a unanimous 9-0 decision, the Court found the NIRA unconstitutional on two grounds. First, the Constitution authorized the federal government to regulate commerce only between states—but the Schechter company operated only within the state of New York. Second, the NRA codes (which regulated such matters as production, prices, and wages) were an unconstitutional delegation of legislative authority to the executive—“delegation running riot,” as one justice put it.

The *Schechter* (or “Sick Chicken”) decision caused consternation in the Roosevelt administration. It indicated the Court’s readiness to use the commerce clause and the distinction between interstate and intrastate commerce to invalidate other New Deal measures. It threatened the administration’s efforts to extend the authority of the

executive branch and the role of independent rule-making agencies. And although by May 1935 the NRA was unpopular and ineffective, it was a major New Deal program that embodied an approach to recovery to which Roosevelt was still committed. In fundamental ways, then, the decision seemed to challenge the New Deal itself.

Angry at the decision and distressed by its unanimity, Roosevelt at a press conference four days later called it the most important ruling since the *Dred Scott* case. He wondered whether the Court thought the federal government had control over any national economic problem and declared that the ruling put the nation back to “the horse-and-buggy definition of interstate commerce.” Beyond this initial response, the *Schechter* decision was crucial to the dynamics producing the SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935 as well as Roosevelt’s court-packing plan of 1937.

See also PRESIDENCY.

### **science**

Continuing trends that accelerated throughout the 20th century, science from 1929 to 1945 became ever more closely related to TECHNOLOGY and dependent on large and expensive instruments. Science and technology were individually transformed and advanced in numerous ways in the hothouse environment of WORLD WAR II, and also brought into even closer interaction. Supported almost entirely by private foundations and conducted in limited facilities before the war, science became woven into the federal agencies and increasingly dependent on GOVERNMENT support during and after the war, and it became dominated by large, resource- and labor-intensive projects sometimes referred to as “big science.”

In MEDICINE, new vaccines and antibiotics appeared during the 1930s, and mass-production techniques made them increasingly available in large quantities and high purity. Intravenous anesthetics, improved blood transfusion methods, and X-ray and other electrical diagnostic

machines made surgery more of a reliable cure for some conditions and less of a last resort. Wartime urgencies pushed such methods rapidly into common use, and thousands of medical practitioners gained an accelerated experience in treatment of battlefield and other injuries and conditions.

Biology as a holistic discipline encompassing all scientific understanding of living things had been promoted by various leaders in the life sciences since the 19th century. In the early 1920s, new biology departments and programs at a number of major research universities, including the California Institute of Technology and Harvard, replaced a somewhat tangled and quaint variety of approaches with a scientific discipline fully established on a solid foundation of laboratory work and connections to physics and chemistry. The mechanisms, role, and power of heredity and environment in shaping individuals constituted a vital issue in science no less than in social theory and public policy. Quantitative and qualitative theories from many areas merged to form consistent and satisfying elaborations of the process of individual embryological development as well as evolution.

As the basic chemistry of biological processes became clearer, biologists and chemists were able to synthesize artificial versions of some vitamins and other biological substances, strongly influencing pharmacology and medical practice. In this they drew on new optical and electric diagnostic instrumentation that provided new insights into molecular structure. Theoretical chemistry explored the use of quantum physics in illuminating the mechanisms of chemical reactions, while, on the more practical side, a host of synthetic plastics, polymers, and artificial fibers and synthetic rubbers such as neoprene issued from laboratories, making industrial and organic chemistry one of the most productive and publicly appreciated areas of science.

In astronomy, the great optical telescopes, dominated by the Carnegie Institution's 100-inch-diameter reflector opened on Mount Wilson in 1917, provided a continuing string of discoveries. Edwin Hubble during the 1920s demonstrated that many of the so-called spiral nebulae were actually whole galaxies themselves, all rushing away from one another as if from a central explosion. By 1929 he had developed the basis of the so-called expanding universe. Within just a few short years the size and complexity of the universe had grown dramatically, and its ultimate history and fate seemed within the grasp of knowledge. A completely new kind of telescope, the radio antenna, was developed during the 1930s; and with wartime improvements in antennas and receivers, radio astronomy blossomed after the war and finally allowed the radio sky to be compared to the optical sky in some detail.

Physicists used balloons and aircraft, and then rockets, to hoist their detectors to higher altitudes where they could

detect cosmic rays and other energetic radiation absorbed in the lower layers of the atmosphere. Solar astronomers using various telescopes contributed to physicists' attempts to understand the nuclear reactions that powered the Sun in terms of quantum physics. Continuous wartime monitoring of the Sun to predict conditions of radio transmission and reception helped solar astronomers understand better the interaction of various particles and radiation with the upper atmosphere and magnetic field of the earth.

Physicists investigating the smallest particles of matter and working out the theories of Einstein and of the new quantum physics turned to astronomical data and to laboratory apparatus of increasing size, complexity, and power. In the early 1930s, high voltage electrostatic generators, such as those of van de Graaff and Tesla, could only dissociate matter so far, even with the 5 million volts reached by Westinghouse in 1937. E. O. Laurence at Berkeley developed the first "atom smasher," or cyclotron, in 1932, which relied less on brute force and more on great velocities to bring particles into mutual collision and reach higher voltages. By the late 1930s, controlled laboratory splitting of uranium atoms showed the feasibility of atomic power, and several nations began development of crude reactors and of the ATOMIC BOMB during the war. Physicists were beginning to understand the series of fission and fusion nuclear reactions that power the Sun and stars, and were making headway in grappling with the picture of the early universe implied by Edwin Hubble's studies of galaxies and the expanding universe.

Through the 1930s, geology was joined—and sometimes challenged—by the hybrid discipline of geophysics, which sought to understand the deeper interior of the earth and the physical processes that operated on short and long time scales. Global measurements of magnetism, gravity, and other parameters as well as long series of time-based measurements, such as those of seismology, slowly revealed the structure of the earth below its surface, a planet with a solid core with a molten covering, surrounded by a mantle of rock, and a thin crust, similar to the other interior planets of the solar system. Like oceanography, geophysics would find enormous demand as well as lucrative possibilities during the war. Geologists, geophysicists, and oceanographers in the course of their war work and travels were almost constantly on a field survey or expedition.

Scientific research moved increasingly from private foundation support to dependence on the federal government, particularly during and after World War II. A uniquely American phenomenon, private philanthropic foundations, established earlier by wealthy capitalists such as Andrew Carnegie, Henry Ford, John D. Rockefeller, and others for a variety of altruistic and self-serving motives, supported many research and educational ventures. During the 1920s, emphasis was on training researchers and

equipping institutions, while the 1930s targeted emerging new disciplines or interdisciplinary areas, such as molecular biology and cultural anthropology.

Science during the interwar years was vigorous and exciting, and drew broad public support and interest. Major discoveries in numerous fields, as well as intriguing syntheses and theories, made scientists in all areas reluctant to interrupt their work. However, they enlisted in the war effort quickly and wholeheartedly, where they made many unexpected discoveries and contributions, often outside their own fields of study. Transformed by the unprecedented mobilization of science for the war, and with the solid achievements of the interwar years as a basis, science and scientists were poised in 1945 for the well-funded, hectic, and productive postwar period.

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—Joseph N. Tatarewicz

### Scottsboro Boys

On March 25, 1931, nine African-American teenagers were arrested near Scottsboro, Alabama, for the rape of two white women who had been riding on a freight train with the defendants when the alleged assault took place. By April 9, eight of the youths had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to death for the alleged crime; the trial of the youngest defendant ended in a mistrial. Although all of the accused ultimately regained their freedom, what many saw as a “legal lynching” became a symbol for the unjust treatment of AFRICAN AMERICANS in the SOUTH. The case of the “Scottsboro Boys” (as everyone called them because of their youth) contributed to the growing visibility of CIVIL RIGHTS issues and to increasing attention to RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT. The Scottsboro appeals and retrials also strengthened the use of the court system to gain civil rights for African Americans.

The International Labor Defense (ILD), the legal branch of the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA), took charge of the defense because the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) reacted cautiously to the legal needs of the defendants. Despite attempts to take the case from the ILD and the hiring of the renowned defense attorney Clarence Darrow, the NAACP never gained the trust of the defendants.

## *The* SCOTTSBORO BOYS MUST NOT DIE!

MASS SCOTTSBORO DEFENSE MEETING

At St. Mark's M. E. Church

137th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue

Friday Eve., April 14th, 8 P. M.

Protest the infamous death verdict rendered by  
an all-white jury at Decatur, Alabama against  
HAYWOOD PATTERSON

*The Meeting will be addressed by:*

Mrs. JANIE PATTERSON, mother of Haywood Patterson, victim of the lynch verdict; SAMUEL LEIBOWITZ, chief counsel for the defense; JOSEPH BRODSKY, defense counsel; WILLIAM PATTERSON, National Secretary of the I. L. D.; RICHARD B. MOORE; Dr. LORENZO KING; WM. KELLEY of the Amsterdam News; and others.

THUNDER YOUR INDIGNATION AGAINST THE JUDICIAL MURDER  
OF INNOCENT NEGRO CHILDREN!

COME TO THE MASS PROTEST MEETING

AT ST. MARK'S M. E. CHURCH

137th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 14th, 8 P. M.

Emergency Scottsboro Defense Committee

119 West 135th Street, New York City

This poster represents the reaction of the African-American community to the Scottsboro Boys case. (*New York Historical Society*)

The involvement of the COMMUNISTS led to a backlash against those sympathetic to the defense. In Camp Hill, Alabama, a meeting of African Americans to protest the Scottsboro trials was mistaken for a radical gathering and violently broken up by sheriffs. In addition, the distrust of southerners for northerners resulted in death threats directed at the defense attorney, Samuel Leibowitz, a skillful noncommunist attorney from New York retained by the CPUSA to counter anticommunist sentiment.

The United States SUPREME COURT overturned the convictions in 1932 and in 1935, citing lack of counsel during the first trials and a scarcity of African-American representation on the jury during the initial retrials. Despite a recantation by one of the accusers, the last set of retrials resulted in one death sentence (never carried out) and four long-term imprisonments. In July 1937, charges against the

other four defendants were dropped. In the 1940s, four more of the Scottsboro Boys were released, although two served additional prison terms because of parole violations. The ninth escaped from prison in 1948.

See also COMMUNISTS.

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—Traci L. Siegler

### scrap drives

Throughout WORLD WAR II the American public was exhorted to engage in the collection of various commodities, ranging from paper to tin, iron, steel, RUBBER, and cooking fat. Even silk stockings were subject to the GOVERNMENT emphasis on recycling scarce materials for the war effort. Scrap metal became the most visible collection effort, given its direct application to military manufacturing. In 1942, the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD declared a shortage of scrap

metal and urgently sought donations from the civilian sector. The changing nature of warfare had greatly increased the army's need for metal of all kinds. In World War I it is estimated that an American soldier needed 90 pounds of scrap metal to support him in the field, but by World War II a GI required nearly 5,000 pounds. Consequently, the call went out for the collection of old roller skates, radiators, rusted barrels, razor blades, and other objects that could be melted down and recast into TANKS, ships, and warplanes. As a result, the use of scrap metal in steel production rose by one-third between 1941 and 1945. Similar efforts were made for tin and aluminum, which were largely imported from abroad and whose supply was now endangered by U-boats. Copper pennies were also taken out of circulation and replaced by zinc so that copper could be used in the manufacture of brass shell casings. Tin was obtained by requiring consumers to exchange old tubes of toothpaste or shaving cream cans in order to purchase new ones.

Less known but equally important to the war effort was rubber, used in the manufacture of tires and motor parts, among other things. Japanese advances in Southeast Asia captured 90 percent of the world's sources for raw rubber, and the United States initially lacked meaningful capacity to manufacture synthetics. Until this capacity had been gained, the government both cut back domestic consumption in the form of RATIONING automobile tires and increasing the recycling of rubber scrap. The program was kicked off on June 15, 1942, by one of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT's FIRESIDE CHATS and brought in tons of old tires, hot water bottles, rubber bands, and children's toys, resulting in an impressive 400,000 tons by the time the drive ended on July 10. This cache was then bought for a penny a pound from filling stations and \$25 a ton from oil companies by the Rubber Reserve Corporation. Scholars continue to debate the significance of the amount collected, which in 1943 was only 2 percent higher than the peacetime consumption rate in 1947, but it undoubtedly helped ease the shortage until the production of synthetic rubber reached maximum capacity in 1944.

Scrap drives made an important contribution to the war effort, but they were probably more important for promoting patriotism and community support for the war than producing badly needed materials to wage it. Nonetheless, they remain a celebrated and even cherished part of home front folklore associated with World War II and symbolic of the national unity it engendered.

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—John C. Fredriksen



Poster promoting commuting and working together as part of the war effort. Poster by Harry Russell Ballinger (*Library of Congress*)



### second front

On June 6, 1944, Allied forces crossed the English Channel and attacked the German-held beaches of Normandy in France. Known popularly as D-day, the INVASION OF NORMANDY opened the second front in the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER and helped produce the surrender of Nazi Germany within a year. (The “first” front was the eastern front, where Soviet and German forces had fought since mid-1941.) In addition to its military importance, the question of a second front was a significant factor in the strained relations among the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union in the wartime GRAND ALLIANCE.

Soon after the American entry into the war in December 1941, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin demanded a second front to draw German troops away from the eastern front and relieve pressure on the Red Army and on the Soviet Union. (Ultimately, the Soviet Union lost at least 20 million people during World War II.) The United States supported the idea of opening a second front as soon as possible, and in April 1942, General GEORGE C. MARSHALL, the U.S. ARMY chief of staff, and HARRY L. HOPKINS, a close adviser of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, arrived in London to seek British agreement for an attack across the English Channel into France. Their proposal, which won apparent acceptance by Winston Churchill, involved three stages, code-named Bolero, Roundup, and Sledgehammer. Operation Bolero would consist of an initial buildup of men and munitions in Britain that would culminate in Operation Roundup, a substantial cross-Channel invasion. Operation Sledgehammer would be a smaller landing to seize a bridgehead in the Cherbourg Peninsula.

Churchill had reservations about this strategy because he feared a repeat of the heavy British losses that had occurred in land battles on the western front in World War I. When Soviet foreign minister Molotov traveled to London and to Washington, D.C., to get an agreement on a second front in May 1942, he was tersely informed in London that Britain was not prepared for such an extensive operation. In Washington, the United States told Molotov that a second front would be initiated in 1942, though LEND-LEASE Act materials for the Soviets would have to be decreased as a result of the military buildup. After Molotov's visits, Churchill met with FDR to discourage a second front in 1942. Churchill preferred a peripheral strategy, which called for a NORTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN instead. Although U.S. military advisers opposed this approach, Churchill was able to convince FDR to agree to the campaign, on the basis that the United States was still not fully prepared to mount a successful cross-Channel attack in 1942.

The CASABLANCA CONFERENCE of January 1943 brought together U.S. and British delegations to revitalize the talks on a second front. Stalin refused to leave the Soviet Union during the pivotal Battle of Stalingrad for

this conference. After initial U.S. reluctance to postpone a cross-Channel invasion again, the British and Americans decided that they would not immediately undertake an invasion into France after the North African campaign ended. Instead, they would forge ahead into the Mediterranean for an invasion of SICILY in the spring of 1943. At the Trident Conference in Washington in May 1943, Churchill and Roosevelt concluded that the second front would have to be delayed until 1944 because the buildup of Operation Bolero was proceeding slowly. Roosevelt was able to extract a British commitment to a cross-Channel invasion, now called Operation Overlord, for May 1, 1944.

The TEHERAN CONFERENCE (November 28 to December 1, 1943) provided an opportunity for the Grand Alliance to devise a strategy to end World War II as well as to make preliminary plans for the postwar period. Roosevelt feared that unless a second front were opened in the near future, much of postwar Europe would be controlled by the Soviet Union, while Stalin continued to complain about the American and British delay. Distrust in the Grand Alliance and in SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS over these and other issues foreshadowed the cold war. When Stalin agreed to enter the Pacific war against Japan after Germany was defeated, Roosevelt set the date of May 1, 1944, for opening the second front, and Churchill could offer no other effective alternative to further postponing it. The Allies then devised a military strategy that involved a joint British and American invasion of France coupled with a simultaneous Soviet offensive against the Germans from the east that would force the Germans to spread out their forces on two fronts.

The projected date of Overlord was changed and postponed until June 5, to ensure more equipment and weapons for the landing force. A storm on June 5 delayed the invasion for another day. Early on June 6, under the leadership of General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the cross-Channel invasion began. The successful opening of a second front signaled that war was nearing its finale in the European theater. The pincer movement by Allied forces from the east and west forced Germany to surrender in May 1945.

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—Michael T. Walsh

### Second New Deal

The so-called Second New Deal of 1935 marked a shift in domestic policy from the GOVERNMENT planning and

controls that provided the foundation for the FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933 to a greater emphasis on social reform. The Second New Deal was characterized also by a heightening of anti-BUSINESS rhetoric in President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT's appeals to an increasingly class-conscious electorate.

As with notions of a First New Deal and a THIRD NEW DEAL, scholars disagree about the extent to which the Second New Deal represented either a dramatic ideological shift or a substantial change in policy. While some argue that in 1935 the agenda of the Roosevelt administration moved left, becoming increasingly antibusiness and pro-LABOR, others contend that the Second New Deal marked a conservative retreat from national planning and restructuring of the American ECONOMY, to traditional progressive ANTIMONOPOLY policy. Still others argue that the Second New Deal maintained strong continuities with the First New Deal and was really a practical reshaping of NEW DEAL policy in response to limitations of the First New Deal and to the changing political climate of the mid-1930s and the election of a more liberal CONGRESS in 1934.

Although the Second New Deal appeared to represent a break from the ideology and methods that characterized the First New Deal, its goals of providing economic security and making efforts to protect the rights of organized labor were broadly consistent with those of earlier New Deal programs. The most prominent pieces of Second New Deal legislation were the EMERGENCY RELIEF APPROPRIATION ACT (ERAA), the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT, and the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT (or Wagner Act). The ERAA provided an alternative to the direct handouts of the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION by placing a greater emphasis on the work-RELIEF programs of the new WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION, though it drew upon earlier work-relief programs. The Social Security Act continued to expand the role of government in social welfare by establishing long-term programs for economic security. And the Wagner Act provided statutory authority to guarantee labor the right of collective bargaining as first outlined in Section 7(a) of the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA) of 1933.

While relief efforts and the Wagner Act had precursors in the First New Deal, and the Social Security Act had been under development since 1934, the REVENUE ACT OF 1935 and the PUBLIC UTILITY HOLDING COMPANY ACT (PUHCA) represented a move toward the left on the part of FDR. Facing political challenges from grassroots movements, notably the Share Our Wealth movement, led by HUEY LONG, Roosevelt sided with members of Congress who were proponents of "soak-the-rich" tax legislation. The PUHCA, designed to use the SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION to disentangle and reorganize complex webs

of utility holding companies, prompted harsh criticism of the Roosevelt administration among businessmen and conservatives alike.

According to the "two New Deal" framework, the Second New Deal continued into WORLD WAR II when, according to Roosevelt, "Dr. New Deal" gave way to "Dr. Win-the-War." However, some scholars argue that during the late 1930s, a Third New Deal began, marking a substantial change in economic policy that was strongly influenced by the principles of KEYNESIANISM.

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—Shannon L. Parsley

### Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)

A federal GOVERNMENT regulatory agency created as part of the NEW DEAL in June 1934 by the Securities and Exchange Act, the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) enforced standards for securities markets and brought protection for individual investors. It did this by regulating securities trading practices and requiring the full disclosure and registration of information for securities traded on the nation's exchanges.

Despite the disastrous STOCK MARKET CRASH of 1929, Wall Street traders and investment bankers continued to claim that the American securities industry operated well. In fact, it had a number of legal and functional problems. Chief among these was that much trading was done in ignorance. Many companies issued no financial reports or published ones with information that was misleading or unaudited. Certain investment banks and firms held a near monopoly on reliable information concerning securities and the companies issuing them. This ignorance made individual investors and securities firms vulnerable to abuses such as misrepresentation, insider trading, and uncontrolled speculation. In 1933, the Senate's Banking and Currency Committee, under the leadership of its chief counsel, Ferdinand Pecora, held hearings revealing criminal fraud and improper trading practices in securities markets that had contributed to the Crash. Calls for reforms of the securities industry followed the hearings.

The first step in regulating the securities industry came when CONGRESS passed the Securities Act of 1933. The act mandated that all new securities offerings must be accompanied by accurate public information filed with the Federal Trade Commission. Then, in February 1934, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT asked for legislation to take the next step and establish a regulatory agency to monitor the operations of the nation's securities exchanges. The proposed

securities and exchange bill provoked strong opposition from the securities industry, which claimed that the act would turn Wall Street into a “deserted village.” The New York Stock Exchange, said its president, Richard Whitney (later sent to prison for mishandling funds), “is a perfect institution.”

Though compromising on some of the bill’s more stringent proposals, FDR arrived at an understanding with moderates on Wall Street and the leaders of the country’s numerous regional exchanges, who were more sensitive to the need for regulation. This coalition eased the way for the passage of the Securities and Exchange Act on June 6, 1934. In addition to establishing the Securities and Exchange Commission to carry out the provisions of both the 1933 and 1934 securities legislation, the act mandated full disclosure of an issuing company’s financial information, required the verification of such data by independent auditors using accepted, standard accounting procedures, and established federal control of trading practices on the stock markets. The SEC thus had authority to regulate securities registration, exchanges, dealers, and trading. The Securities and Exchange Act also gave the Federal Reserve Board authority to regulate the sort of credit purchasing of stock that had fueled speculation leading to the 1929 Crash.

Roosevelt appointed JOSEPH P. KENNEDY, a wealthy businessman and Wall Street investor, as the first SEC chairman. This surprising appointment, at first likened by many observers to putting the fox in charge of the henhouse, worked well. Kennedy and his immediate successors, lawyers James M. Landis and WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, proved effective administrators who helped ensure that securities markets operated along rational and legal lines so that investment decisions could be based upon reliable information. In the decade of the 1930s, the SEC prevented the issue of some \$150 million of fraudulent securities, and by 1941 it operated 10 regional offices to oversee 20 stock exchanges and 7,000 brokers and dealers. Protecting purchasers, it also won the support of most of the financial community. The later study of government agencies by HERBERT C. HOOVER noted that the SEC was an “outstanding example of the independent commission at its best.”

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—Robert J. Hanyok

## Selective Service

On September 16, 1940, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT signed the Selective Training and Service Act that created the Selective Service System. Authorizing the conscription of 900,000 men between 21 and 36 years of age, the legislation marked the nation’s first attempt to mobilize

a military force before it declared war, and was approved for one year. It narrowly won extension a year later, and then, with further amendment, enabled the huge expansion of the armed forces after the United States entered WORLD WAR II.

The original impetus for the 1940 draft came from outside the GOVERNMENT rather than from President Roosevelt or the War Department. The Military Training Camps Association, a private organization that stressed preparedness, lobbied CONGRESS to use conscription as the means to prepare the nation for war. Conservatives who opposed the draft argued that it tampered with the nation’s traditional antimilitary, antistatist, and pro-individualist ideals and feared it would become a first step toward totalitarianism. Supporters, however, argued that the traditional volunteer system would not work.

The Nazi BLITZKRIEG that overran western Europe in the spring and summer of 1940 lent momentum to preparedness sentiment, and the Selective Service bill passed 47 to 25 in the Senate and 232 to 124 in the House. October 16 was set as the date when all males from 21 to 36 years old would register. It appeared that conscription might become a major issue in the ELECTION OF 1940, one reason that Roosevelt was slow to back the measure, but Republican presidential nominee WENDELL L. WILLKIE also supported the draft.

The Selective Service System administered the draft through 6,443 local boards and 505 appeal boards. It oversaw the registration of men, selection by lottery, requests for deferments or conscientious objector status, and appeals. Planners looked to the lessons of World War I and the Civil War to avoid flaws in the system, and consequently citizens rather than federal bureaucrats or military officers ran local draft board offices. Using the principle of a rational and orderly use of manpower, the Selective Service System attempted to balance military with domestic needs and to decide whether each man could do the country the most good as a soldier or as a civilian worker. Efforts to put the Selective Service System under the control of the WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION, however, created a bureaucratic battle that Selective Service director LEWIS B. HERSHEY fought to a standoff and that left him with authority over the draft.

During World War II, the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION checked on 373,000 draft evaders and obtained 16,000 convictions. In addition, 4.5 million of the 36 million men classified by local boards million appealed their classifications, mostly in hope of avoiding service. By war’s end, of the 22 million registrants between ages 18 and 38, some 10 million—or about 45 percent—had received deferments for a variety of reasons, mostly for family status, infirmity, or occupation. The military preferred men under 26, and fathers generally were not drafted until late in the war.





President Franklin D. Roosevelt is seen looking on as a blindfolded Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson draws the first numbers in the Selective Service lottery. (*National Archives*)

The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 exempted from combat men who “by reason of religious training and belief” opposed war. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS served in noncombat roles in the military or performed national service in lieu of military duty. Many of these men worked as civilians in public service camps on conservation projects. Some served as human guinea pigs in experiments on diet, endurance, and control of diseases and infections. In all, about 40,000 men were classified as conscientious objectors.

Although the Selective Service Act included an anti-discrimination clause, it did not initially reduce discrimination against AFRICAN AMERICANS in the armed forces. Top military officials refused to expand black units sufficiently to allow the induction in proportion to their numbers in the population, and a higher rejection rate for blacks than for whites suggests that the mostly white draft boards often discriminated against blacks. Several incidents of black resistance to the draft occurred in Chicago and other cit-

ies. Roughly 400 African-American men refused to serve, viewing the war as a white man’s war or refusing to serve in a Jim Crow army or fight for a country that denied them their CIVIL RIGHTS.

The Selective Service System performed well during World War II and ensured that the military received the number and quality of men it requested rapidly and efficiently. The massive effort directed by the agency from 1940 until 1945 was unprecedented. In September 1939, U.S. ARMY strength stood at about 190,000 men, which made it the world’s 17th-largest force. Five years later, the army stood at more than 8.2 million and American armed forces were the world’s most powerful. During the war, local draft boards registered about 50 million men and inducted more than 10 million of them. In all, the agency conscripted nearly two-thirds of the 16 million men who served in the armed forces during the war. The rest were volunteers, as were the women who served in the military.



While they did not intend it, the lawmakers who passed the 1940 Selective Service Act created a historical precedent. After World War II ended, policymakers used this first “peacetime” draft act to justify extending the draft in the cold war until 1973.

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—Edwin D. Miller

## shipbuilding

WORLD WAR II had two important effects on shipbuilding in the United States. First, the war pulled the shipbuilding industry out of its doldrums of the 1920s and 1930s by catalyzing the construction of new shipyards and the production of thousands of ships. Second, it led to innovations in shipbuilding that made the process faster, more efficient, and more profitable.

During the interwar years, the American shipbuilding industry fell upon hard times. Demand for new vessels shrank because of high production during World War I (ships typically have long life spans) and because of naval arms limitation agreements. The GREAT DEPRESSION dealt the industry another blow. Then, in the late 1930s, the naval rearmament in the United States and Europe brought new business to shipyards. British and then American losses to German U-boats—which reached more than 100 ships per month by early 1942—in the BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC increased the need for both merchant ships and surface combat vessels. Large appropriations for expanding the U.S. NAVY began in 1940 and 1941, as the nation committed itself to a two-ocean navy. After PEARL HARBOR and the American entry into the war, further appropriations came, and the merchant marine as well as the navy underwent dramatic expansion.

New innovations in shipbuilding helped meet the exploding demand for new vessels. HENRY J. KAISER, an industrialist who had made his fortune with construction and public works projects, came up with a way to increase the volume and efficiency of ship construction. When his company took GOVERNMENT contracts to build new merchant vessels, popularly called liberty ships, Kaiser built an entirely new type of shipyard in Richmond, California, on San Francisco Bay. First, he put all of the necessary supply operations, such as a steel mill and rolling plant, on the same property as the shipyard, which

eliminated time spent waiting for the delivery of steel plates. He prefabricated as many of the ship’s parts as possible, again saving precious time. And he instituted an assembly line technique that put together the ships quickly and efficiently.

Kaiser was able to reach astounding speed and volume of production. It had taken traditional East Coast shipyards a year to build a liberty ship in 1941; by 1942, Kaiser had pared the time to two months, and subsequently to a few weeks. Once, as a demonstration, the Kaiser yards built a liberty ship in less than five days. Accounting for about one-third of the nation’s shipbuilding in 1943, Kaiser became known as “Sir Launchalot.” Kaiser’s employees were motivated not just by patriotism but also by the high wages and good benefits that he provided, including a health plan for his workers and child-care centers to help working women.

Kaiser was not the only innovator in the shipbuilding industry. Based in New Orleans, ANDREW J. HIGGINS used mass-production techniques in his new shipyards for the construction of landing craft that became known as Higgins Boats. These were the small motorized boats carried by AMPHIBIOUS WARFARE assault ships that transported the troops, equipment, and vehicles ashore during the INVASION OF NORMANDY and the various amphibious assaults in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER. Higgins also built the small, fast, and maneuverable PT-boats that played an important role in the Pacific.

Using the new mass-production methods of prefabrication and assembly line techniques in modern shipyards, American shipbuilding accomplished remarkable feats during the war. In addition to speeding up the production process, the new shipyards turned out a prodigious quantity of construction. By war’s end, the United States had produced some 5,800 merchant ships, with a cargo-carrying capacity of nearly 60 million tons, and 1,500 naval vessels.

The war brought changes in the labor force as well as new shipbuilding processes. The workforce in American shipyards had always been racially diverse, but with racial stratification that gave white workers the best jobs, AFRICAN AMERICANS the lower-status and lower-paying jobs. The production demands and labor shortage of the war years eroded such disparities and brought black workers new opportunities in shipyards. African Americans began to take on jobs as welders and electricians, for example, although the advances were limited and sometimes brought white resentment and troubled race relations. Women entered the shipyards in large numbers during the war (helping give rise to the popular image of ROSIE THE RIVETER), and at the Kaiser yards in Richmond, California, made up 40 percent of the welders.

Contributing to the growth of the SUNBELT states during the war, the U.S. shipbuilding industry expanded enormously, from Seattle to San Francisco to San Diego on the

Pacific Coast, from Houston to New Orleans to Mobile to Tampa on the Gulf Coast, and from Charleston to Norfolk on the South Atlantic Coast. The new yards were more efficient and cost effective, and in the SOUTH there was less LABOR union organization and cheaper labor. As the war drew to a close, shipbuilding slowed and the industry began to contract again.

See also MOBILIZATION; WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Nicholas Fry

## Sicily

The decision to invade Sicily, a large Italian island in the Mediterranean across the Strait of Messina from the mainland, was made at the CASABLANCA CONFERENCE in January 1943. While the Americans wanted to open a SECOND FRONT in the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER by launching a cross-Channel invasion of German-occupied France, they agreed to continue pursuing the British peripheral approach strategy with further Mediterranean operations. The invasion of Sicily in July 1943 drove AXIS forces from Sicily by August and led to the invasion of mainland Italy in September that began the ITALIAN CAMPAIGN.

The invasion of Sicily, code-named Operation Husky, was given to British general Harold R. L. G. Alexander's newly formed 15th Army Group. Comprising Lieutenant General Bernard L. Montgomery's British Eighth Army and Major General GEORGE S. PATTON's U.S. Seventh Army, the 15th Army Group totaled eight divisions, including airborne, commando, and ranger units. The British sea and air commanders, Admiral Andrew B. Cunningham and Air Marshall Arthur Tedder, worked with Alexander under the overall command of U.S. ARMY lieutenant general Dwight D. Eisenhower at Allied Forces Headquarters in Algiers. Planning for the invasion was poor and was complicated by Anglo-American disagreements, a lack of close interservice and interarmy cooperation, and a general high level of acrimony. The American and British armies that invaded Sicily largely acted independently of each other in both planning and operational stages.

The invasion took place at dawn on July 10, 1943. It was the second largest AMPHIBIOUS WARFARE assault in Europe during the war (the later INVASION OF NORMANDY was the largest), involving 180,000 troops, more than 2,500

ships, and 3,700 aircraft. Axis air power was destroyed at the outset, but strong winds made the first large airborne operation of the war a disaster as many of the gliders carrying airborne units were forced down in the ocean, drowning many of the troops. The amphibious landings, in spite of the bad weather, went smoothly. Montgomery's forces landed on the eastern coast, between Pozallo and Syracuse, where they encountered only slight opposition. Syracuse was captured the first day. The Americans landed on the southwestern coast, between Cape Scaramia and Licata, and were more exposed to the weather. The opposition they encountered was also stronger, but all three divisions were ashore by the end of the first day, with U.S. NAVY warships providing much needed fire support.

Although ordered to protect Montgomery's flank as his Eighth Army advanced north toward Messina to cut off the Axis retreat, General Patton, already frustrated with the plodding pace of the British advance, formed a provisional corps for an advance on Palermo at the opposite end of the island. When Alexander again ordered him to continue protecting Montgomery's flank, Patton flew to see him in protest, while continuing his advance. New instructions from Alexander allowed the Americans to reach Palermo on July 22 after a stunning advance. Although the rugged Sicilian terrain confined armored and motorized units to a few narrow winding roads, the Americans made rapid progress, unlike their British allies, who moved very slowly, allowing Axis troops to retreat in good order before them. Only two German divisions were in Sicily, the Hermann Göring Division and 15th Panzer Grenadier Division, but both offered stubborn resistance. Overall Axis morale, however, including that of 250,000 Italian troops, was low.

Hitler initially opposed any retreat; but when Italian dictator Benito Mussolini was ousted from power on July 25, Hitler ordered plans for an evacuation. On July 27, the Germans began withdrawing across the island, although continuing to offer resistance. The Italians had virtually given up. German field marshal Albert Kesselring ordered a full evacuation on the night of August 11, 1943. In a brilliantly planned and executed move, as many as 40,000 German and 62,000 Italian troops, including most of their equipment and supplies, escaped unmolested to Italy. Although Ultra INTELLIGENCE had given the Allies 10 days warning of Axis intentions, cooperation and coordination were so poor that no real effort was made to intervene. A final dash by the Americans put them in Messina before the British, with one patrol entering the city on August 16. Axis casualties numbered some 164,000, of which 32,000 were German. American casualties were 7,300, and British casualties 9,350.

Although the Sicily campaign failed to knock Italy out of the war, it did provide a base for invading the Italian

mainland and gave the Americans much-needed fighting experience.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

### **Sinatra, Frank (Francis Albert)** (1915–1998) *popular singer*

During WORLD WAR II, Frank Sinatra became perhaps the most popular singer in the country, and his remarkable career ultimately spanned more than half a century. He played a major role in shifting the focus of popular MUSIC from the bands that had dominated “swing era” JAZZ of the 1930s to the singers themselves.

Francis Albert Sinatra was born on December 12, 1915, in Hoboken, New Jersey, the son of Italian immigrants. He often ignored his studies, and eventually dropped out of school at the age of 16. Determined to make a living with his voice, Sinatra played nightclubs, roadhouses, DEMOCRATIC PARTY meetings, and gatherings of the Hoboken Sicilian Cultural League in the 1930s.

Sinatra's break came in February 1939, when he was hired by popular band leader Harry James. A year later, in January 1940, Sinatra signed a contract with the Tommy Dorsey Band. In May, the band released “I'll Never Smile Again,” which catapulted Sinatra to stardom. By January 1942, Sinatra began considering severing his ties with Dorsey. Creative and personal differences along with the success of “Night and Day” and other songs made Sinatra desire a solo career. He played his final show with the Tommy Dorsey Band in September 1942, although he was not finally released from his contract until March 1943.

In December 1942, Sinatra gave a solo performance at New York's Paramount Theater that helped catapult him to still greater fame and popularity. The audience was comprised mostly of teenage girls known as bobbysoxers, who welcomed his performance with extraordinary enthusiasm. “Sinatramania” had begun and persisted through the war, with Sinatra playing to packed audiences and enjoying huge record sales. An inner ear dysfunction exempted him from the armed forces, and although his general popularity did not suffer, he was held in low esteem by many GIs.

Called by some the greatest popular singer of the 20th century, Sinatra went on to a long and influential career, and he also won plaudits from critics and fellow musicians for the craftsmanship he brought to his singing, especially his phrasing of lyrics. Sinatra also acted in Hollywood films,

and won an Academy Award in 1953 for his acting in *From Here to Eternity*, a film about World War II adapted from a novel by James Jones. His life, both private and public, was often tempestuous and controversial.

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—Daniel J. Fury

### **Smith Act** (1940)

In June 1940, CONGRESS overwhelmingly approved the Alien Registration Act, popularly known as the Smith Act after its principal author, Virginia Democratic representative Howard W. Smith. The registration of ENEMY ALIENS during WORLD WAR II was carried out under the provisions of the Smith Act.

The Smith Act mandated the registration and fingerprinting of all resident aliens (hence its official name) and authorized the deportation of any alien who belonged to a revolutionary organization or expressed revolutionary sentiments. But much of the legislation aimed at limiting political expression. The act made illegal any speech that attempted to create disloyalty among members of the military. It also outlawed speech that “advocated the necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing the government by force.” Organizations were forbidden to teach overthrow of the GOVERNMENT, and any printed matter intended for use in violation of the act was subject to seizure. Originally, the penalty for conviction of these offenses was a prison term of up to 10 years and/or a fine of up to \$10,000, but these limits were later doubled.

Talk of an antisedition measure had begun in response to leftist activities in the 1930s, but increasing concerns about the war in Europe and the role there of fifth-column internal subversion and sabotage paved the way for the bill's passage. By June 1940, when Germany defeated France, many Americans, including President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, supported measures to limit political dissent, especially among supporters of fascism and the AXIS powers.

Only two cases were prosecuted under the Smith Act during World War II. In one case, 29 members of the Socialist Workers Party, a communist group centered in Minnesota, were indicted for conspiring to destroy the U.S. GOVERNMENT. Of the 29, 18 were convicted, 10 were acquitted, and one committed suicide. The other case, which became known as the Great Sedition Trial, involved 39 defendants who were alleged to be leaders of a fascist conspiracy. It resulted in no convictions.

In the early years of the cold war, prosecutions under the Smith Act became more common, because of fears of communism and accusations made by the House Un-

American Activities Committee. In all, more than 150 persons have been indicted for violating this law. In 1951, the SUPREME COURT upheld the Smith Act in *Dennis v. United States*; the Court subsequently narrowed the law's scope, but has never found it unconstitutional.

See also CIVIL LIBERTIES; COMMUNISTS.

—Pamela J. Lauer

## socialists

Led by NORMAN THOMAS, socialists during the 1930s and 1940s offered a left-wing alternative to the two major parties. Although the GREAT DEPRESSION offered opportunities for socialism to gain support, the American people chose to preserve capitalism instead of replacing it with a form of collectivism.

The primary means for advancing socialist political views was through the Socialist Party, led for many years by Eugene V. Debs until his death in 1926. The party, whose membership swelled to over 100,000 before World War I, had fallen on hard times during the 1920s, as the Red Scare early in the decade, prosperity throughout the decade, and the weakness of party organization had reduced the number to only 7,000 by 1928. In 1928, Norman Thomas, the Socialist presidential candidate, received 267,835 votes—less than 1 percent of the popular vote.

The collapse of the ECONOMY with the onset of the Great Depression gave socialists hope that Americans would turn their way for solutions to the economic crisis. The Socialist Party platform in the ELECTION OF 1932 called for federal RELIEF and public works, medical and old age insurance, the right of collective bargaining by unions, repeal of Prohibition, arms reduction, and American membership in the League of Nations. Despite internal rifts, Thomas was once again the Socialists' nominee in 1932, but received only the disappointing total of 881,951 votes (barely more than 2 percent).

The election of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and the enactment of NEW DEAL legislation seemed to steal much of the Socialists' thunder and undercut the party's potential base of support among LABOR and farmers. A number of Socialist-leaning labor leaders, such as SIDNEY HILLMAN and WALTER REUTHER, viewed the New Deal as a giant step forward for workers' rights, and passage of the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT in 1935 moved union members to the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Other socialists, led by Thomas, criticized much of the New Deal, especially the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT, which it called the framework for a fascist state. They also denounced the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT for offering little to poor farmers, and the Socialist Party sponsored the formation of the SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION (STFU), a biracial group which sought

to organize agricultural workers throughout the SOUTH, often at great personal risk.

The Socialist Party was also hurt by factional infighting between the moderate "old guard" (New York-based and European-born trade unionists) and two insurgent groups: progressives (including Thomas), who wanted to organize farmers and labor into a democratic socialist state; and militants (middle-class and recently converted socialists), who sought accommodation with American COMMUNISTS and cooperation with the SOVIET UNION. The split among Socialists was apparent at the party's 1934 convention, where militants pushed through a "Declaration of Principles" (supported by Thomas but opposed by the old guard), which called for war resistance through general STRIKES, and for organizing a socialist government if American capitalism collapsed. In the ELECTION OF 1936, with the old guard defecting to Roosevelt, Thomas was again the Socialist Party nominee, but he received only 187,720 votes (less than one-half of 1 percent). Party membership dropped to about 7,000.

With the old guard, including Hillman, moving into the Democratic Party, the militant socialists split into two groups, and were joined for a time by dissident ex-Communists until their expulsion from the Socialist Party in 1938. Thereafter, the Thomas-led progressives were in control of the party. Thomas became a leading spokesman for the ISOLATIONISTS, opposing the LEND-LEASE Act and SELECTIVE SERVICE and appearing at AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE rallies. In the ELECTION OF 1940, with party membership down to barely 2,000, Thomas ran for a fourth time as the Socialist Party nominee and received 99,557 votes (just one-fifth of 1 percent). After PEARL HARBOR, Socialists gave "critical support" to the war, but the party never adopted a clear statement on the conflict, as Thomas ran a fifth time for president in 1944, his vote down now to 80,518.

By the end of WORLD WAR II, the socialists, having failed to win farmers and labor, been undercut by the New Deal, and weakened by factionalism, had seen their greatest opportunity as a political force go unfulfilled. By the 1950s, they would nearly fade into oblivion.

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—William J. Thompson

## Social Security Act (1935)

The Social Security Act of 1935 was a landmark piece of NEW DEAL legislation that created the framework of the United States welfare system. The best-known feature of



the legislation is what is known popularly today as “Social Security”—old-age insurance. In addition, the Social Security Act contained unemployment insurance as well as public assistance programs, including Aid to Dependent Children (renamed Aid to Families with Dependent Children in 1962), Aid to the Blind, and Old-Age Assistance (folded into Supplemental Security Income in 1972). Part of the SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935, the act was a first step to provide Americans with “freedom from want.”

The social welfare system of the United States prior to the GREAT DEPRESSION had been the responsibility of state and local GOVERNMENT, together with private charities. But the economic collapse of the Great Depression quickly exhausted the resources of these traditional sources of RELIEF. When FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT was elected president in 1932, the nation was entering the worst winter of the depression, with UNEMPLOYMENT estimated at nearly 25 percent. As part of the FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933 of the Roosevelt presidency, CONGRESS enacted several measures to address the collapse of the ECONOMY. For desperate Americans and cash-strapped states, the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF AGENCY (FERA) was the most immediate response, providing direct assistance to the unemployed and destitute. Roosevelt, Secretary of Labor FRANCES PERKINS, and relief administrator HARRY L. HOPKINS, among others, saw FERA and direct federal relief as a temporary measure. The major work-relief program of the early New Deal, the CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION provided needed jobs in the winter of 1933–34 but was terminated in the spring of 1934. By 1934, the administration wanted a permanent program that did not appear to be a handout.

The president created the Committee on Economic Security (CES) on June 29, 1934, to study and make recommendations on the problem of economic security. Headed by Perkins, the CES included Treasury Secretary HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR., and Agriculture Secretary HENRY A. WALLACE, as well as Hopkins. The committee concentrated on unemployment, old-age security, and national health insurance, and submitted its recommendations to Roosevelt on January 15, 1935. National health insurance was not included in the recommendations, for CES thought it too controversial to pass in Congress, given the opposition of the American Medical Association. The CES report was sent to Congress on January 17, 1935, as the Economic Security Bill.

The legislation was part of a larger framework created in 1935 to address the continuing problems of unemployment and economic need. The Economic Security Bill was thus an omnibus measure also aimed at those considered “unemployable,” meaning the elderly, CHILDREN, and the blind, and it included establishing a longer-term program for those temporarily in need when they were laid



A poster for Social Security, 1934 (*Library of Congress*)

off from their job. The other side of the new 1935 framework was assistance for people able to work but who could not find jobs. The EMERGENCY RELIEF APPROPRIATION ACT (ERAA) of 1935 addressed this group by providing the unprecedented sum of nearly \$5 billion to fund public works projects. Out of the ERAA came such programs as the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION and the NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION, as well as additional money for the CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS and the PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION. Passed by Congress on April 8, 1935, the ERAA provided assistance to the unemployed through meaningful jobs, guided by the theory that the economy might be permanently stagnant and the federal government needed to step in and help provide jobs.

While working on the ERAA, Congress was also debating the Economic Security Bill, which passed the House in April by a margin of 372 to 33 and the Senate in May by 77 to 6. But in the final version of what Congress renamed

the Social Security Act, the legislators did make changes to the act, some of which would have a significant impact on the course of social welfare. The old-age public assistance title was placed first, an acknowledgement of the increasing support for an old-age pension, coming most loudly from the followers of Dr. FRANCIS TOWNSEND. But a flat-grant pension such as Townsend advocated was voted down in favor of including the self-supporting old-age insurance program of the Social Security Act, providing a victory for Roosevelt and the CES bill's supporters.

The other significant changes made by Congress involved the public assistance titles. A provision allowing the federal government to determine whether each state's public assistance programs gave recipients "a reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health" was deleted by southern conservatives, preventing effective federal control of state welfare programs. The other major change was administrative. Originally, the programs were to be administered by the Department of Labor, with Aid to Dependent Children and the maternal and child welfare programs placed in the Children's Bureau. In committee, however, Congress reorganized the administration by creating the Social Security Board (Title VII), a three-member independent agency that was given authority over all of the program except the Public Health Service and maternal and child welfare grants, both given to the Labor Department. (The board was replaced by Congress in 1946 with the Social Security Administration.)

The Social Security Act passed in the House by voice vote on August 8, 1935, and the next day passed in the Senate; it was signed into law by FDR on August 14, 1935. The first four titles of the act set up the core of the social security system. Title I, Old-Age Assistance (OAA), was public assistance for needy elderly, and like the other public assistance titles, was funded through a matching grant to the states and administered by the state welfare apparatus. Title II, Old-Age Benefits, was the centerpiece of the act, setting up a retirement system for covered workers funded by an employee payroll tax and matching contributions by employers. Unlike public assistance, this Old-Age Insurance (OAI) program as passed in 1935 was not supposed to use public funds to support the program and it was the only program to be federally administered. Title III, Unemployment Compensation (UC), set up a federal-state unemployment insurance program, funded through employee payroll deductions and employer contributions but administered by the states. Title IV, Aid to Dependent Children (ADC), provided public assistance to children deprived of parental support (usually the father's support) to allow their mothers to raise them at home. The act also included a maternal health, crippled children, and child welfare grant (Title V), which was a federal grant-in-aid to states that resurrected the defunct Sheppard-Towner Act

to provide money for education and public health care for pregnant women, mothers, and young children; created the Public Health Service (Title VI); and established Aid to the Blind (Title X), a public-assistance program to support disabled individuals in the one group everyone then agreed was unable to gain employment. Taken together, the programs were aimed at two groups: the temporarily unemployed, the large group who were of working age and could not find suitable work in the current (or future) depression; and the unemployables, those groups who, due to age or disability, should be taken out of the workforce and given public support.

Together with the work-relief programs created by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, the Social Security Act aimed at providing Americans with what Roosevelt called protection "from cradle to grave." But just as the work-relief programs had shortcomings, the social insurance and public assistance programs also had important limitations in coverage. The most glaring was that old-age insurance and unemployment compensation excluded many worker categories, most notably agricultural and domestic workers. Also, public assistance was left to the states to establish eligibility criteria and benefits. The result was that the programs varied greatly and were vulnerable to efforts of some states to exclude groups of Americans. Thus, AFRICAN AMERICANS, other minorities, and women, disproportionately employed in noncovered employment categories and subjected to state efforts to exclude them, received little immediate assistance from the programs of the Social Security Act. But on the positive side, proponents of an expanded social welfare system saw the act as the first step, with gaps and limitations to be addressed over the years.

The most controversial feature of the Social Security Act in 1935 was Old-Age Insurance, because of the payroll tax that funded the program. Critics argued that the payroll tax would take needed income out of the economy (payments were not scheduled to begin until 1942, when a large enough pool of funds had accumulated) and tended to favor a larger old-age pension program. Supporters of the act also feared that the SUPREME COURT would overturn the act based on the payroll tax feature, but the Court, in *Steward v. Davis* (1937) and *Helvering, et al. v. Davis* (1937), upheld the Social Security Act. Another potential threat to OAI was the popularity of flat grant pensions for the elderly. The idea of providing income maintenance for the elderly had been growing in popularity during the decade, and the Townsend Plan was the most visible of the many plans for the elderly. The Townsend Plan was introduced into Congress several times after 1935 as a replacement for OAI, although, because of the expense of funding a widespread pension out of general revenues, it never had a realistic chance of passage.

The Social Security Act received its first revision in 1939. One goal of Social Security officials was to strengthen the Old-Age Insurance program and thwart the old age pension movement. Benefit payments were accelerated to begin in 1940, and benefit amounts were also increased. In addition, a survivors' provision was added, making widows with underage children eligible for the employee's benefits if the employee died before retirement (Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, OASI). The amendments also made some changes to the public assistance programs, notably putting the Aid to Dependent Children program on par with Old-Age Assistance and Aid to the Blind with a 50-50 matching grant to the states.

Following the 1939 amendments, there remained gaps in the social security system that were addressed throughout the next several decades. For example, there was no national health insurance, and large numbers of workers were excluded from OASI, especially in categories that employed large numbers of women and minorities. Exclusions in coverage were addressed over the next several decades, as Congress made small changes to the programs, but the much more expansive welfare program developed by the Social Security Board during WORLD WAR II was not pursued by FDR or his successors, Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The Social Security Act underwent its next significant revision in 1950, when disability assistance was added and a caretaker grant was put into the ADC program, greatly increasing its costs; and in 1956, disability insurance was added for those qualified for OASI (and renamed OASDI). And over time, OASDI coverage was expanded to include most workers. But while the insurance programs have remained largely intact, the public assistance programs have undergone major changes, beginning with their separation from Social Security in 1963, when the short-lived Welfare Administration was created (1963–67). In 1965, Medicare and Medicaid addressed the last major gap in coverage: providing health insurance for the retired and poor, respectively. Finally, the old-age and disabled assistance programs were folded together in 1972 to create Supplemental Security Income (SSI), while AFDC was changed to Temporary Aid to Needy Families (TANF) in 1996. Despite the flaws of the Social Security Act and its various revisions, it was a major step in the federal government providing economic security, with Social Security becoming the major source of retirement security for working Americans.

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—Katherine Liapis Segrue

## Solomon Islands

The fierce struggle for the Solomon Islands (and especially for GUADALCANAL) that lasted from August 1942 until December 1943 provided a significant victory for the United States over Japan in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER.

Collectively, the Solomon Islands consists of a double chain approximately 600 miles long in the South Pacific, northeast of Australia. Green and Bougainville islands became Australian League of Nations mandates following World War I, while the islands to the southeast, including Choiseul, Rendova, Vella Lavella, Santa Isabel, Florida, the Treasury Islands, New Georgia, Tulagi, and Guadalcanal, were British protectorates. Japanese forces occupied the entire chain between January and July 1942. Guadalcanal, the southernmost island, became the construction site for a Japanese airfield that could threaten Allied supply lines to Australia.

Following the American victories at the BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA in May 1942 and at the BATTLE OF MIDWAY in June, General Douglas A. MacArthur and Admiral ERNEST J. KING decided to launch offensives in New Guinea and the Solomons to halt further Japanese expansion. MacArthur's forces began operations in Papua New Guinea in July 1942. In the neighboring South Pacific theater, Admiral Robert L. Ghormley, commanding U.S. NAVY and U.S. MARINES units under Rear Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner and Major General Alexander A. Vandergrift, ordered the First U.S. Marine Division to land on Guadalcanal and Tulagi islands on August 7.

While the marines surprised the Japanese on both islands, their actions brought the region to the attention of the Japanese high command, which quickly moved to reinforce Guadalcanal by sea. The marines completed the airstrip begun by the Japanese, renaming it Henderson Field, and fought ever larger Japanese forces on the island. The Japanese, in turn, sought to control "the slot," the channel between the two Solomon chains, and harassed the marines on the island with air and naval attacks. They continued to stubbornly resist marine advances through insect-infested, thick tropical jungles into early fall. By October, the number of marines on Guadalcanal had increased to 23,000, following reinforcement by the Second Marine Division. By early December the Japanese were clearly on the defensive, the result of increased American AIR POWER and troop reinforcements, consisting of the U.S.



ARMY American and 25th Infantry Divisions. This raised the number of Americans on the island to 58,000, nearly three times the Japanese strength. Between January 10 and February 7, 1943, a final American offensive secured the island following the evacuation by sea of the remaining 17,000 Japanese troops.

During the struggle for Guadalcanal, the U.S. Navy, with increased success, contested the Japanese presence in the waters of the Solomons. Following the Battle of Savo Island in August, the U.S. Navy engaged the Imperial Japanese Navy in a series of sea battles between late August 1942 and January 1943. These included the Battle of Cape Esperance, October 11–13; the Battle of the Santa Cruz Islands, October 26–27; the sea battles of Guadalcanal, November 12–15; the Battle of Tassafaronga, November 30, 1942; and the Battle of Rennell's Island, January 29–30, 1943. American control of the air and sea around the Solomons was a major reason for the Japanese withdrawal from Guadalcanal, for their position on the island became increasingly untenable.

Following the conquest of Guadalcanal, the major Japanese base at Rabaul became the next Allied objective, with forces in the Solomons coming under control of General MacArthur's Southwest Pacific theater command. MacArthur intended to reduce Rabaul through a two-pronged assault, one moving up through New Guinea, and the other advancing northwestward up the Solomons chain. American forces in the Solomons began their preparations in early 1943 under a new South Pacific commander, Admiral WILLIAM F. "Bull" HALSEY, before launching an attack that took the island of Rendova on June 30. Between July 2 and August 25, 1943, U.S. Army troops, with marine support, assaulted and secured New Georgia. The capture of Vella Lavella followed, with action taking place between August 15 and October 7. By October, the Japanese presence in the Solomons was confined to the Treasury Islands, which fell on October 27, and to the islands of Bougainville and Choiseul. These two islands were secured following a hard-fought campaign that started on November 1 and extended through late December 1943.

Although the Solomons were in Allied hands by the end of 1943, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff made the decision to bypass, rather than reduce, the Japanese base at Rabaul, contrary to MacArthur's original plan. Although Allied naval and air power would continue to harass Japanese forces in the region, the Solomon Islands were no longer a scene of significant combat after 1943.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

## South

Although the South remained the nation's most distinctive region in the 1929–45 era, the GREAT DEPRESSION, the NEW DEAL, and especially WORLD WAR II had a large impact on virtually every area of southern life. By 1945, a restructuring of southern AGRICULTURE, massive rural depopulation, industrial and commercial growth, and burgeoning CITIES were changing the face of the region. The Jim Crow system that segregated, disfranchised, and oppressed AFRICAN AMERICANS was beginning to undergo significant challenge, and the foundations of the Democratic "Solid South" in place since the era of the Civil War and Reconstruction were eroding.

The Great Depression exacerbated long-standing southern economic and social problems. Overwhelmingly rural, and dependent upon such staple crops as cotton and tobacco in an agricultural system where sharecropping and tenant farming mired millions in debt, poverty, and dependency, the South was in many ways a sort of agricultural colony producing raw materials and providing a market for the industrial North. The region's coal and textile industries were marked by overproduction, low prices, low wages, and dreadful conditions. In such key social or economic indexes as EDUCATION, health, and income, the South lagged well behind the rest of the nation. Economic and political power was concentrated in the hands of a small elite who resisted change. Intensifying such problems, the depression brought still more hardship upon the region and further impoverished southerners of both races.

A variety of New Deal programs—chief among them the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT, the TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY, the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION, and RELIEF agencies—brought attention and assistance to the South. Most southerners applauded the early New Deal, and in the ELECTION OF 1936, the South increased its overwhelming support for FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to more than 80 percent of the vote. In CONGRESS, southerners in the House and Senate were at first more liberal overall than their northern counterparts. But partly because of the depth of the problems, partly because of the limits of the programs, especially when administered at the local level by people who resisted significant change, New Deal programs had but limited success. The AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION, for example, helped big farmers more than small ones and helped whites more than blacks, and its acreage reduction programs deprived many tenant farmers and sharecroppers of their means of subsistence. Although the New Deal energized southern liberals, efforts made by progressive white politicians and by such groups as the SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS did little to change economic, social, or racial patterns.



In releasing the National Emergency Council's *Report on Economic Conditions in the South* in 1938, which called for concentrated federal efforts for regional development in the South, President Roosevelt called the South the nation's number one economic problem.

It was World War II rather than the New Deal that brought dramatic change to the South. Billions of dollars poured into the region, which received nearly one-fifth of federal money spent on defense production and more than one-third of the money spent on military installations. Birmingham steel revived, the AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY in the Atlanta-Marietta and Dallas-Fort Worth areas burgeoned, petrochemical industries in the Gulf Coast grew rapidly, and coastal SHIPBUILDING from Norfolk to New Orleans accounted for one-quarter of the nation's ship production during the war. Most southern cities grew rapidly, as people flocked there from the rural South and from elsewhere in the nation. During and after the war, state governments initiated new development efforts to encourage industrial and commercial growth and to lure northern BUSINESS and dollars South. Although the South remained far behind the North in industrialization and urbanization, World War II catalyzed major change that increasingly would link the South to economic patterns elsewhere in the SUNBELT.

MIGRATION was another important factor changing the South and connecting it more to larger national patterns. More than 3 million people—one-fifth of the region's rural population—departed the rural South for the armed forces and for urban areas, often in the South but also in the North and West. Partly because of the exodus of so much of the farm population, farmers turned increasingly to mechanized production involving such equipment as tractors and the mechanical cotton picker. The mechanization of farming continued after the war, changing the structure of southern agriculture and contributing to the departure of millions more displaced sharecroppers and tenant farmers from the rural South in the postwar years. For their part, rural folk of both races who moved to new wartime jobs in urban areas often had no desire to return to the poverty and primitive conditions of tenant farming and sharecropping. Millions of people came South, too, especially to military bases but also to war production centers, and some of them remained or returned once the war was over.

World War II also had important implications for southern racial and political patterns. African Americans who stayed in the South or who returned there from war work or the armed forces, had tasted new opportunities and prospects. During and after the war they were increasingly ready to protest and work for change. Many northern veterans, both black and white, who passed through the South also supported CIVIL RIGHTS efforts in the postwar era because of what they had seen or experienced. Most white southerners resisted changes in the region's racial

patterns, and racial tensions and conflict flared in the wartime South. There were at least six civilian riots, nearly two dozen military riots or mutinies, and dozens of lynchings. Partly because of the impact of the war upon the South, and partly because of larger national developments, including increasing support for civil rights in the North and in Washington, important challenges to the South's racial system were under way.

Even before the war, concern about challenges to Jim Crow, including proposed ANTILYNCHING LEGISLATION, had contributed to a growing disaffection among southern political leaders with the national DEMOCRATIC PARTY, and as the party had increasingly pursued an agenda of urban LIBERALISM, southern Democrats led the way in forming the CONSERVATIVE COALITION in Congress in the late 1930s and early 1940s. By the early 1940s, southerners in Congress were more conservative than northerners in the House and the Senate. Although the South gave Roosevelt 72 percent of its vote in 1944, that was down nearly 9 percentage points from 1936 and was the last time that the South voted solidly Democratic in a presidential election.

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### Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU)

During the GREAT DEPRESSION, the already dreadful conditions of sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and other small farmers and farm laborers in the SOUTH grew worse. These farmworkers, disproportionately African American, were confronted with the loss of their livelihood as well as eviction from their homes because of a combination of low crop prices and the policies of the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION (AAA), which favored large landowners. In response, a small group of black and white sharecroppers and tenant farmers formed the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU) in Arkansas in July 1934. Although met with violence, repression, economic retaliation, and threats of lynching by local officials and large landowners, the STFU, supported by NORMAN THOMAS, the Socialist Party, and the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, attracted a membership of some 25,000 within a few years.

In an attempt to raise prices in AGRICULTURE, the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT of 1933 subsidized farmers to limit crop production, but big landowners rarely shared these funds with the tenant farmers and sharecroppers who

worked the land. Such farmworkers were thus subject to both a major reduction in their already meager income and a lack of federal assistance. Additionally, when landowners were required to distribute part of the subsidies to those who lived and worked on their lands, they often evicted the workers to avoid giving them any share of the funds.

Over the next several years, the STFU organized strikes for greater compensation, led the struggles against evictions and for the direct distribution of AAA payments to tenant farmers and sharecroppers, and worked for ANTI-LYNCHING LEGISLATION to help protect their members from violence. In January 1939, almost 2,000 tenant farmers and sharecroppers, many of them evicted from their homes, appealed for help from the federal GOVERNMENT by camping along Highway 61 in Missouri for nearly a week until they were forcibly removed. Despite such pleas, as well as requests by some federal investigators and NEW DEAL officials, neither CONGRESS nor President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT responded favorably to the STFU agenda because of strong opposition by southern legislators.

Although beset by internal disputes as well as external opposition, and in sharp decline by the end of the 1930s, the STFU brought attention to the conditions of AFRICAN AMERICANS and the poor in the rural South and is considered a milestone in successful interracial LABOR organizing.

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—Aimee Alice Pohl

### Soviet-American relations

The diplomatic relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States underwent considerable change from 1929 to 1945. While ideologically based tensions between the two nations—one a totalitarian Marxist regime, the other a democratic capitalist state—never disappeared, Nazi Germany created pressing mutual concerns that led the United States and the Soviet Union to cooperate during WORLD WAR II. By 1945, however, old frictions and new issues produced discord, and the international structure of the postwar era would be defined largely by the developing cold war rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.

In 1929, the United States had no formal diplomatic relationship with the Soviet Union, having refused to recognize its Communist government as legitimate since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. This state of affairs did not

change until President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT extended official recognition to the Soviet Union in November 1933, in hope not only of normalizing relations but also of finding markets to help the American ECONOMY during the GREAT DEPRESSION. This change in FOREIGN POLICY, however, brought no significant change in the substance of Soviet-American relations.

The continuing distrust between the Soviet Union and the western democracies both helped produce and was exacerbated by the NAZI-SOVIET PACT of August 1939. The Soviets evidently felt they could not rely upon the United States, Britain, or France in the event of conflict with Germany. After signing the nonaggression treaty, they began their own campaign of territorial expansion, invading eastern Poland almost immediately and Finland in October. These actions increased anti-Soviet sentiment in the United States, as did the Soviets' signing of a neutrality pact with the Japanese in April 1941.

By late 1941, Soviet-American relations had changed dramatically. After Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, the United States extended aid to the Soviets under the LEND-LEASE Act in the autumn. Then, with the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR and the American entry into the war, the Soviet Union became a part of the GRAND ALLIANCE with the United States and Great Britain and endorsed the war aims set forth in the ATLANTIC CHARTER. Because of the Japanese-Soviet neutrality pact, the Soviets did not become involved in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER until August 1945, but the Soviet Union was included in strategic discussions throughout the remainder of the war.

The diplomatic relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, however, was never as strong as the one between the United States and Great Britain. Significantly, the Soviets were not included in talks between the Americans and British about the potential uses of the ATOMIC BOMB and were not informed of American progress in the development of the weapon in the MANHATTAN PROJECT. (The Soviet Union did know about the project, however, as a result of its ESPIONAGE activities in the United States.)

A series of wartime conferences of the Grand Alliance illuminated differences and disagreements among its members. The "Big Three" leaders of the alliance—Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin—met for the first time at the TEHERAN CONFERENCE in late 1943. Over British objections, Roosevelt agreed to set the invasion of Normandy for the spring of 1944 and thus open the SECOND FRONT in Europe long desired by Stalin to reduce German military pressure on his country. The decision brought Soviet-American relations to their highest point during the war, despite disagreements at Teheran about postwar plans.

By 1944, it was apparent that the United States and the Soviet Union would emerge from the war as the two remaining great powers, but the impending end of the war increased tensions. Disagreements about eastern Europe, liberated from Nazi control and then occupied by the Soviet Union, figured especially prominently. At the YALTA CONFERENCE of early 1945, Roosevelt seemed willing to allow the Soviets to create a "buffer zone" of Communist governments in eastern Europe in order to maintain Soviet-American cooperation, though with the hope that the Soviet Union would not exercise iron control over this sphere of influence. At Yalta, the Soviets agreed to take part in the postwar UNITED NATIONS and to enter the war against Japan within a few months after the surrender of Germany. In addition to eastern Europe, however, contention also arose concerning postwar Germany and other matters.

By the POTSDAM CONFERENCE in the summer of 1945, following the surrender of Germany, difficulties in the Soviet-American alliance were even clearer. Issues involving eastern Europe, Germany, and economic assistance for the Soviets remained unresolved, and Soviet-American relations were further complicated by the atomic bomb. New president Harry S. Truman continued to defend the principles of the Atlantic Charter, not wishing to be accused of selling out eastern Europe, as had happened to Roosevelt following Yalta. Stalin continued to defend the right of the Soviet Union to protect its borders from yet another invasion by surrounding itself with Communist puppet states. Such differences, partly ideological and partly involving national security concerns, became even sharper over the next year and would help dissolve the wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union, replacing the world war with a cold war that would last 45 years.

See also ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

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—Mary E. Carroll-Mason

## Spanish civil war

The Spanish civil war, which lasted from July 1936 to April 1939, pitted Spain's existing government, the Republic, against a Nationalist movement led by General Francisco

Franco. The conflict had repercussions far beyond Spain. The Soviet Union sent military equipment and advisers to its allies on the leftist Republican side, while Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany supported the fascist Nationalists with equipment and tens of thousands of troops, and used the situation to test new military technology and techniques. France and Britain, fearful of a wider conflict, gave no aid to the Republic. Reflecting the power of ISOLATIONISTS and the political influence of the anti-Republic Catholic Church, the United States remained officially neutral throughout the war and imposed an arms embargo against both sides.

Most Americans were apathetic toward or ignorant about the Spanish civil war. Two-thirds of those polled in 1937 had no opinion about it. These responses reflected interwar isolationist tendencies and a preoccupation with the GREAT DEPRESSION. Having witnessed the catastrophes of World War I, the great majority of Americans opposed entry into another conflict in Europe. In addition, most Americans in the 1930s were more interested in the ECONOMY and their own circumstances than in FOREIGN POLICY and events overseas.

American support for Franco came largely from CATHOLICS aroused by reports of anticlerical acts committed by the Republic, which was seeking to lessen the power and influence of the Catholic Church in Spanish daily life. The American Catholic Church urged support of Franco, who, with papal backing, was seeking the reunification of church and state in Spain. In addition, many American Catholics were swayed by Franco's argument that he was fighting for the establishment of democratic government and against encroaching communism and socialism.

Support for the Republic in the United States came especially from Protestants and JEWS on the political left. Seeing the conflict as one between fascism and democracy, they expected the Republic to establish a permanent liberal democracy, abolish unification of church and state, and improve education and the rights of women and children. They organized parades and other demonstrations of support for the Republic and raised money for relief supplies. Ernest Hemingway's novel, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, provides a sympathetic account of the Republic's supporters.

The most radical leftists committed to the Republic volunteered to fight in Spain against Franco. Largely organized by the COMMUNISTS, the International Brigades, formed to support the Republic's army, drew men from across Europe and the United States. The most notable American contingent was the Abraham Lincoln Battalion of the XV International Brigade (popularly known as the Abraham Lincoln Brigade). The approximately 3,000 men who volunteered for the Lincoln Brigade from 1936 to 1938 came from a variety of occupational and ethnic backgrounds but what they shared was their passionate

support of the Republic's liberal cause and the fight against fascism.

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and Secretary of State CORDELL HULL maintained American neutrality during the Spanish civil war. The president, although later regretful about what he understood to have been a mistaken course of action, was influenced both by Catholics, whose political support he wanted, and by the pervasive anti-interventionism that helped produce the NEUTRALITY ACTS of the mid-1930s. In any case, Spain was not among his priorities in the mid-1930s. The State Department, influenced by the British decision against intervention, sought neutrality partly because of concerns that the Soviet-backed and increasingly communist-dominated Republic might lead to the establishment of a communist state. Roosevelt initially urged a "moral embargo" on arms to both sides, and CONGRESS acceded to his subsequent recommendation that the arms embargo of the Neutrality Acts be extended to the Spanish civil war.

As the war continued, American supporters of the Republic demanded lifting the embargo so that munitions and medical supplies could be sent to aid the failing Republican forces. As Franco's fascist intentions and brutal warfare, including the BOMBING of civilians, became clearer, others joined the campaign. Secretary of Commerce HAROLD ICKES said of Hull's refusal to issue passports to Americans who wanted to serve as ambulance drivers for the Republic, "It makes me ashamed." Even isolationist senator Gerald Nye, chairman of the NYE COMMITTEE, urged lifting the arms embargo. But the United States maintained the embargo until the end of the civil war on April 1, 1939, when the Republic surrendered to Franco. For those Americans who actively supported one side or another, passions and animosities provoked by the conflict resonated for years.

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—David Slak

## sports

During the 1920s, American sports experienced a golden age, as stadiums and arenas filled with spectators cheering their teams and athletic heroes. Sports had become as central to American POPULAR CULTURE as ART, LITERATURE, MUSIC, and the MOVIES. The onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION and the decline or retirement of star golden age athletes, however, made the 1930s a decade of uncertainty—but ultimately also one of innovation—in Ameri-

can sports. Sports and the appearance of new stars and fan-friendly rule changes gave depression-era Americans a diversion from harsh economic realities. Financially, sports, like other sectors of the ECONOMY, struggled in the early 1930s, but recovered later in the decade. Annual spending on spectator sports, which had risen to \$66 million by 1929, fell to \$47 million in 1932 but then climbed steadily to \$107 million in 1941.

WORLD WAR II brought new challenges for sports, but Americans from President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT on down were determined that sporting pursuits should continue whenever possible as a morale booster for the nation. The subpar quality of competition arising from so many men away at war did not deter Americans from attending sporting events, although receipts fell to \$62 million by 1943 before rising to \$80 million in 1944 and a new record \$116 million in 1945.

## Baseball

During the 1920s, baseball, "the national pastime," had reached new heights of popularity, thanks in large part to the explosion of offense featuring Babe Ruth and the home run. Then, with the onset of the depression, attendance and revenue dropped, player salaries were cut, and the sport struggled financially.

Baseball remained resilient, however, and survived the decade's economic crisis, due in part to innovations that became integral parts of the game. The "farm system" of minor-league franchises allowed poorer baseball clubs to compete with wealthier rivals, who could buy top prospects, by developing talent at less cost. Night baseball, originating in the minor leagues, was brought to the reluctant majors, first in Cincinnati in 1935, then in Brooklyn in 1938, as a means to stimulate sagging attendance and to attract working-class and younger fans to ball games. The 1930s also saw the inauguration of the mid-season All-Star Game, featuring the American and National Leagues' best players, and the opening of the Hall of Fame Museum in Cooperstown, New York.

On the field, the New York Yankees, baseball's dominant team in the Ruth era of the 1920s, became so again by the mid-1930s, winning four consecutive World Series from 1936 to 1939, led by JOE DIMAGGIO. In the world of segregated baseball, the Negro Leagues survived the depression, due to stable financial backing—albeit much of it from gambling interests—and to talented players such as Josh Gibson and Satchel Paige, who were the equal of the best white major leaguers. But major league baseball remained resistant to integration, a situation unchanged until 1946, when Jackie Robinson was signed by the Brooklyn Dodgers.

After PEARL HARBOR, baseball was given the green light to continue by Roosevelt, who deemed it important



to national morale. But baseball was adversely affected by the war as many players joined the military, leaving major league squads composed of aging veterans, inexperienced youngsters, and players rejected by draft boards because of assorted physical problems.

### **Football**

Football's popularity during the 1920s lay primarily with the college game, as large crowds filled campus stadiums to root for regional favorites, or for "national" teams such as Army, Navy, and especially Knute Rockne's Notre Dame. Professional football, on the other hand, was small-town and blue-collar, with many teams located in smaller cities such as Green Bay, Wisconsin, and Canton, Ohio.

Notre Dame's dominance of college football ended for a time after Rockne's death in a 1931 airplane crash, and grid-iron supremacy passed to Minnesota, Alabama, Stanford, and others. Among the top college players of the 1930s, Don Hutson of Alabama and Sammy Baugh of Texas Christian became important to the growing professional game, and Jay Berwanger of Chicago (who never played professionally) won the first Heisman Trophy in 1936 as the best collegiate in the nation. The economic health of college football remained strong, as evidenced by creation of the Orange, Sugar, and Cotton Bowls as rivals to the Rose Bowl.

World War II greatly affected college football, as more than 300 schools temporarily dropped the sport. The Rose Bowl was moved east from California, and teams played with 17-year-olds, wounded veterans, and young men rejected by the draft. The strongest wartime teams were schools with naval training programs, military bases such as Great Lakes Naval Training Station, and the service academies—especially Army, which went undefeated in 1944 and 1945.

The National Football League (NFL) gained respectability in the 1930s—helped by the 1927 signing of college star Red Grange (by the Chicago Bears, the era's dominant pro team)—and expanded into more of the larger cities. The NFL split itself into two divisions, with the winners meeting for the league championship. In addition, the college player draft was instituted in 1936 to allow more competitive balance, and rule changes were made to increase offense, such as allowing the *T* formation.

During World War II, dozens of NFL players saw military service, forcing teams to cut rosters and merge franchises. In 1943, the Philadelphia Eagles and Pittsburgh Steelers became the "Steagles"—and a year later, the Steelers and Chicago Cardinals merged into "Card-Pitt" (or because of their 0-10 record, "Carpets").

### **Basketball**

Basketball had advanced since its peach-basket origins, but the style of play was slowed by center jumps after each

basket, and it was still a regional sport, most popular in New York City, Philadelphia, the Midwest, and on the West Coast. In 1934, Ned Irish, a New York sportswriter, introduced the doubleheader at Madison Square Garden, and soon attracted college teams from around the country. The center jump after each basket was eliminated after 1937, opening up play, producing more offense, and enabling the emergence of star players such as Stanford's Hank Luisetti, who utilized the one-handed jump shot in an era still dominated by the two-handed set shot. The popularity of the Garden doubleheaders led to establishment of the New York-based, postseason National Invitation Tournament (NIT) in 1938, and the NCAA Tournament the following year.

Meanwhile, professional basketball languished in obscure eastern and midwestern leagues, denied access to Madison Square Garden and other major arenas, with teams owned by businessmen whose players often worked for the owner's company as their primary jobs. The best pro teams in the 1930s were barnstorming African-American teams, especially the Harlem Globetrotters. During World War II, basketball benefited from the increased height of players (many rejected for military service), bringing new interest to the sport and producing the first star "big man," 6'10" George Mikan of DePaul University and later the Minneapolis Lakers.

### **Boxing**

Boxing in the 1920s was dominated by the rivalry between heavyweights Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney, and most important bouts occurred at Madison Square Garden, the mecca of boxing. During the early 1930s, boxing experienced difficulties as Dempsey and Tunney faded from the scene, promoters lost money, and the sport's already suspect image was further enhanced by criminal wrongdoing, primarily in fixing fights.

The African-American boxer JOE LOUIS helped boxing rebuild its popularity and credibility with epic fights against the German Max Schmeling that coincided with the rise to power of Hitler and the Nazis. After losing to Schmeling by a 12-round technical knockout in July 1936, Louis dispatched Schmeling with a quick TKO only two minutes into the first round in June 1938. As the most prominent black athlete of his generation, Louis's accomplishments were welcomed with pride by AFRICAN AMERICANS.

Boxing was affected by World War II, as outdoor fights were virtually eliminated because of blackout regulations, prize purses were lowered, and percentages of money were given over to the war effort. Most star fighters were in military service, including Louis, whose celebrity was used to boost the war effort among African Americans by touring bases and staging exhibition bouts.

### ***Golf***

At the end of the 1920s, golf was played and governed primarily by the country club elite that considered the amateur, as personified by Bobby Jones, the outstanding player of the decade, as the true embodiment of the sport. Professional golf was a loosely organized seasonal activity, with uneven purses, and was looked down upon by the club amateurs.

The 1930s brought technical changes to golf and the growth of the professional tour. Two major innovations were the sand wedge, used to hit the ball out of course hazards, and the steel-shafted club, which replaced wooden shafts and gave golfers more driving power. The Professional Golfers Association (PGA) struggled early in the decade, but was energized by Bobby Jones's creation of the Masters Tournament in 1934, a year-round schedule, more sponsors putting up more money for purses and player endorsements, and rising young stars such as Byron Nelson and Sam Snead. Women's professional golf was boosted with the addition of Mildred "Babe" Didrikson, an Olympic track-and-field champion of 1932 and a great all-around athlete.

World War II affected golf, as many players served in the military, foreign tournaments were discontinued, and



Mildred "Babe" Didrikson (Zaharias) (Hulton/Archive)

events in the United States were curtailed. In addition, purses were reduced or a percentage given to WAR BONDS, and the ball's quality diminished due to rubber shortages. Nelson's record 11 consecutive tournament victories in 1945 set the stage for golf's postwar resurgence.

### ***Tennis***

In the 1920s, tennis was even more of a preserve of amateurism than was golf, and the patricians who dominated eastern clubs barred professionals from major tournaments. The 1930s brought a new group of talented young players who would transform men's and women's tennis. Although tennis was still run by the eastern elite, the best American players (especially the men) came from California: Bobby Riggs, Jack Kramer, and the top performer of the 1930s, Don Budge, who in 1938 won the Grand Slam by winning the sport's four major titles (the Australian, French, and U.S. Opens, and the tournament at Wimbledon). Women's tennis in the 1930s was dominated first by Helen Wills Moody—a star from the 1920s—then by Helen Jacobs, Alice Marble, and Sarah Palfrey. Tennis was affected by World War II as international tournaments were stopped, the professional tour was curtailed due to travel restrictions, most players were in military service, and the ball, made of reclaimed (that is, recycled) rubber, bounced poorly. After the war, while most top U.S. players turned professional, leadership in the still-dominant amateur game passed to the Australians for the next generation.

### ***Track-and-Field***

American prowess in track-and-field throughout the 1930s was concentrated in the sprint events—the 100, 200, and 400 meters, plus relays—and the long jump, where a number of African-American runners—Ralph Metcalfe, Eddie Tolan, Mack Robinson, and especially JESSE OWENS—dominated world and Olympic events. In 1932, the Olympic Summer Games were held in Los Angeles, and Americans dominated the track events, with the star performer being a woman, Babe Didrikson, who won two gold medals, in the javelin and 80 meter hurdles. Four years later, the games were held in Berlin as a showcase for Nazi superiority, a goal ruined by victories by Owens and the other African-American track stars. Track-and-field nearly ceased during World War II as athletes served in the military, meets were reduced, and international events were canceled, including the Olympics of 1940 and 1944.

### ***Hockey***

Ice hockey, Canada's national sport, had arrived professionally in the United States during the 1920s with National Hockey League (NHL) franchises in Boston, Chicago, Detroit, and New York. The players, however, were predominantly Canadian, even as American franchises won a

number of Stanley Cup titles. During World War II, American and Canadian players went into military service, and in 1944 the number of franchises was reduced to six, a number that would remain unchanged until the NHL expanded 23 years later.

### ***Horse Racing***

Thoroughbred racing in the 1920s was dominated by old wealthy families such as the Vanderbilts and Whitneys, with racetracks in only a few states, and few legal outlets for wagering (leaving betting in the hands of bookmakers). After suffering in the early years of the depression, racing experienced a resurgence by the mid- to late 1930s, for several reasons: States re-legalized betting under the pari-mutuel system (winnings divided in proportion to sums individually wagered); California legalized racing and a new track was built at Santa Anita, in Los Angeles; and the rivalry between War Admiral, the 1937 Triple Crown winner, and Seabiscuit, who became the all-time prize winner (with \$437,730 in earnings). World War II saw a temporary decline in racing, a result of gasoline and tire shortages affecting transportation of thoroughbreds. In December, 1944, OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION czar JAMES F. BYRNES ordered horse racing to suspend operations; racing did not resume until V-E DAY.

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—William J. Thompson

### **steel industry**

Once the backbone of the American ECONOMY, the steel industry was hit hard by the GREAT DEPRESSION. Production, employment, and profits all plummeted in the early 1930s, and then the industry underwent internal conflict between LABOR and management. However, with the national MOBILIZATION for WORLD WAR II, the steel industry recovered and gave vital support to the U.S. war effort.

When the Great Depression struck, the steel industry saw its output drop by some 60 percent or more by 1933, primarily because of the decreased purchases of such consumer goods as automobiles and lower capital investment in factories and machinery on the part of American BUSINESS. UNEMPLOYMENT among steelworkers climbed to staggering figures, sometimes reaching 50 percent and more, and many of the remaining workers suffered from cuts in hours and wages. By the mid-1930s, the economy had improved from the depths of the depression, and steel mills increased

production, partly because of GOVERNMENT public works projects established under the NEW DEAL. The industry still had considerable excess capacity, however.

Also in the mid-1930s, JOHN L. LEWIS of the Committee for Industrial Organization (later the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS) saw an opportunity to unionize the steel industry. Helped by the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT of 1935, Lewis established the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC) headed by PHILIP MURRAY as part of his effort to unionize the mass-production industries. In practice, the committee proved as hierarchical in its decision-making as the industry it was trying to reform and, in effect, deliberately mimicked the management style of its opposition. The steel industry had in the past witnessed epic labor-management battles, and another seemed to loom ahead.

A struggle ensued, though steel was spared the worst of the potential labor conflict. After General Motors came to an agreement with autoworkers in February 1937 following the sit-down strike at GM's Flint, Michigan, plant, the powerful U.S. Steel Corporation quickly recognized the SWOC in order to avoid such an experience. It was a remarkably painless occurrence, considering that U.S. Steel, which accounted for nearly 40 percent of all steel-making capacity, had consciously functioned as a bastion of entrenched antiunion activity as far back as the 1890s. The so-called Little Steel companies (Republic, Bethlehem, and others) resisted unionization until the early 1940s, and in the summer of 1937 their opposition led to bloody confrontations that resulted in the death of 18 steelworkers. Nonetheless, the agreement between U.S. Steel and the SWOC was crucial not just for the steel industry but for the unionization of American industry more generally.

The sharp RECESSION OF 1937–1938 sent production and employment in the steel industry spiraling downward again, but real recovery at last began with the outbreak of World War II in Europe in 1939. The industry saw its production increase to meet the needs of other nations as well as the American rearmament effort, and by the early 1940s the industry far exceeded predepression levels. The production of steel ingots and castings, which had plunged from 56 million long tons in 1929 to 14 million in 1932, rose to 47 million in 1939 and then increased to 74 million by 1941 and 80 million by 1944. Like the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY, however, the steel industry resisted expanding and converting to defense production until after PEARL HARBOR, for it did not want to forego the recovering market for consumer goods and feared excess capacity.

When the United States entered World War II, steel became a strategic material used in the production of a huge variety of equipment needed for the war effort. The SHIPBUILDING industry was a major consumer of steel because of the need for steel for U.S. NAVY combat vessels



as well as the humble, but no less vital, “liberty ship” cargo vessels. The U.S. ARMY also needed large quantities of steel for ammunition, transport vehicles, weapons, and tanks, and all of the military services needed millions of helmets, mess tins, gas cans, canteens, and many other items requiring steel. Increased output during the war also meant expanded and modernized plants that made the American steel industry the most productive in the world.

There was equally good news for organized labor. As the steel industry began gearing up for mass production in anticipation of World War II, SWOC orchestrated a series of strategically timed strikes at Bethlehem Steel. The company quickly recognized the union, as did the majority of Little Steel, and in May 1942 the SWOC remodeled itself as the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), now representing the vast majority of workers in the industry. Wartime labor peace was facilitated through creation of the NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD in 1942, which was authorized to establish peaceful procedures for settling disputes. Unions took a nonstrike pledge during hostilities in exchange for membership security agreements, and no major disruptions of war-related productivity occurred.

The change to wartime production came at the expense of consumer goods. The automobile industry, for example, stopped production of new cars when it converted to war production. At the same time, the war brought full-employment prosperity to the nation and a desire to spend again after the deprivations of the depression decade. When World War II ended in 1945, this pent-up demand for consumer goods together with wartime savings and relatively quick RECONVERSION to peacetime production helped the steel industry avoid contraction. The postwar period was a time of continued health for the industry—until steel from newer mills in Germany and Japan that the United States had helped to build after the war led to the contraction of the American steel industry.

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—Nicholas Fry and John C. Fredriksen

**Steinbeck, John** (1902–1968) *novelist, short story writer*

The celebrated writer John Steinbeck is best known for his Pulitzer Prize–winning novel, *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), which quickly became the dominant fictional account of

the impact of the GREAT DEPRESSION. One of the major figures in mid-20th-century American LITERATURE, Steinbeck also won the Nobel Prize in literature in 1962.

Born in Salinas, California, on February 27, 1902, Steinbeck began writing and submitting his work for publication at the age of 15. After finishing high school, he entered Stanford University but left before finishing a degree. As a young man, Steinbeck worked a number of jobs to support his writing career, including a stint in farming and processing sugar beets, which gave him insight into California farm life that would later serve as the background for many of his novels. He remained virtually unknown until the publication of *Tortilla Flat* in 1935.

During the 1930s, work as a journalist offered Steinbeck the opportunity to gather the material for his novels *In Dubious Battle* (1936), *Of Mice and Men* (1937), and *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939). His experiences interviewing farm-labor organizer Cecil McKiddy and countless “Okies” who had streamed into California’s Central Valley from Oklahoma looking for work allowed him to depict the plight of rural Americans displaced by the depression with startling realism. The trials of the Joad family in *The Grapes of Wrath* gave many Americans their first glimpse of the suffering experienced by refugees from the DUST BOWL of the Great Plains. To this day, *The Grapes of Wrath* provides the archetypal portrayal of the American experience of the Great Depression. Steinbeck’s stark realism and his sympathy for his hopelessly dispossessed subjects, however, left him open to accusations of leftist tendencies—and indeed the novel was one of social protest.

After the United States entered WORLD WAR II, Steinbeck worked for several government information agencies on a volunteer basis. At this time, he wrote the novel *The Moon Is Down* (1942), which once again embroiled him in controversy. While *The Moon Is Down* ultimately depicted Western democracy as superior to Nazi tyranny, Steinbeck’s characterization of German officers as ordinary men in the service of an evil dictator through circumstance rather than conviction raised questions about his loyalties. These questions left Steinbeck unable to join the army air corps, and instead he accepted an assignment as war correspondent for the *New York Herald-Tribune*.

The years after World War II brought significant problems for Steinbeck personally and professionally. Literary critics dismissed his nostalgic novel *Cannery Row* (1945) as trite and sentimental, and his second marriage suddenly failed not long after. In addition, the painfully shy Steinbeck continued to be dogged by the demands of literary stardom and lingering questions about his political beliefs. These pressures caused a severe nervous breakdown.

Following his recovery, Steinbeck’s fiction focused on the exploration of failed family relationships and the values of middle-class America with such works as *The Winter of*



*Our Discontent* (1947) and *East of Eden* (1952). The literary establishment continued to disparage Steinbeck's work, even after he was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature in 1962. This course of events prompted Steinbeck to turn increasingly toward journalistic and travel writing. After serving for a brief time as a war correspondent in Vietnam, John Steinbeck died in New York City on December 20, 1968. His work, in its political content and literary quality, remains controversial for both popular and academic audiences.

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—Mary E. Carroll-Mason

**Stimson, Henry L.** (1867–1950) *diplomat, secretary of state, secretary of war*

Henry Lewis Stimson served as secretary of state from 1929 to 1933 under President HERBERT C. HOOVER and as secretary of war from 1940 to 1945 under Presidents FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and Harry S. Truman. He had previously served as secretary of war from 1911 to 1913 under President William Howard Taft.

Born in New York City on September 21, 1867, Stimson was educated at Andover, Yale University, and Harvard Law School. After joining the law firm of Root and Clark in 1891, Stimson moved up through Republican political circles to a post on the New York County Republican Committee and served as the U.S. attorney for the southern district of New York between 1906 and 1909. After running unsuccessfully for governor of New York in 1910, Stimson joined the law firm of Bronson Winthrop before accepting President Taft's nomination as secretary of war. In this post, from May 11, 1911, to March 4, 1913, Stimson built upon reforms and reorganizations begun by his predecessor and law partner Elihu Root, and greatly increased the power and influence of the civilian secretary over the army high command. Following Taft's defeat for reelection in 1912, Stimson returned to the practice of law.

Stimson joined the army in 1917 and as a lieutenant colonel in the 31st Field Artillery served in France between December 1917 and August 1918. After practicing law again following his service in World War I, Stimson became a presidential emissary to Nicaragua in 1927 and was then governor-general of the PHILIPPINES between 1927 and 1929. Nominated in March 1929 by President Hoover to serve as secretary of state, Stimson held that post until March 1933. During his tenure, Stimson chaired the American delegation to the 1930 LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE. Although his name was attached to the Stimson Doctrine of nonrecognition and nonintervention when the

Japanese took control of MANCHURIA in 1931–32, Stimson wanted a stronger American response, and throughout the 1930s was an ardent opponent of fascism and an advocate of a more active FOREIGN POLICY against militarism. Following his service as secretary of state, Stimson once again returned to his law practice.

In July 1940, wanting to give his cabinet a bipartisan look, President Franklin D. Roosevelt nominated Stimson as secretary of war. Immediately upon his confirmation, which was opposed by conservative and isolationist members of his own REPUBLICAN PARTY, Stimson began to give order and direction to a War Department badly in need of both after decades of retrenchments and neglect. He quickly surrounded himself with a group of able civilian aides, including Robert A. Lovett, Robert P. Patterson, and John J. McCloy, and established a good working relationship with chief of staff GEORGE C. MARSHALL. Stimson was a strong advocate of conscription and led the effort for the SELECTIVE SERVICE Act in the fall of 1940. Soon after the United States entered WORLD WAR II, Stimson became closely involved with the RELOCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS from the West Coast, a decision that disturbed him but which he nonetheless felt was necessary. Although he appointed a black adviser on racial matters and made Benjamin O. Davis the army's first African-American general, he opposed desegregating the U.S. ARMY.

As the war progressed, Roosevelt increasingly bypassed Stimson on questions of strategy, tactics, and operations, choosing to confer with General Marshall directly. The president, however, trusted Stimson's judgment on military and administrative matters and relied on Stimson's capacity for hard work and his able management of the War Department. (Stimson for his part thought FDR a poor administrator.) From the outset, Stimson pushed development of the ATOMIC BOMB, and shortly after Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, he advised incoming president Harry S. Truman about its existence and potential.

Although Stimson appeared stern, reserved, and forbidding, he was also considered a man of high moral principles and advocated absolute candor in public affairs. He was reputed to have opposed CODE BREAKING as a form of ESPIONAGE, saying that gentlemen did not read other gentlemen's mail. Stepping down as secretary of war on September 21, 1945, Stimson retired to his Long Island estate, where he died at age 83 on October 20, 1950.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

**stock market crash** (1929)

The collapse of prices on the American stock market in late October 1929 has come to symbolize the end of the prosperity of the 1920s and the beginning of the long decade of the GREAT DEPRESSION. But while the stock market crash was a shocking and significant event, the ECONOMY was already in trouble and the market crash itself did not cause the depression.

After declining early in the autumn of 1929, stock prices fell sharply on October 23. The next day, “Black Thursday,” a record high 12.9 million shares were traded, as panicked selling drove stock prices down still further before major bankers succeeded in rallying prices and confidence. Then on “Black Tuesday,” October 29, the bottom dropped out of the stock market, with more than 16 million shares changing hands in a stampede of liquidation. By November, the value of industrial stocks had plummeted to just half of their September high—and prices continued generally down for the next three years. By 1932, the total price of all stocks on the New York Stock Exchange had fallen by more than 80 percent. For the stocks of some of the leading industrial and commercial companies, the collapse of prices was devastating: General Electric and RCA fell by 98 percent from 1929 to 1932, for example; Sears, Roebuck by 95 percent; and U.S. Steel by 92 percent. It took the stock market until 1954 to regain 1929 levels.

The basic reason for the stock market crash is that by 1929 stock prices were so high, out of a sound relation to the real value of the stocks, that a decline was virtually inevitable. Throughout much of the 1920s, there had been a steady rise in stock prices, largely reflecting solid investments in companies doing well in an expanding economy. But in 1928, get-rich-quick speculation increasingly displaced careful investment, and trading and prices on the stock market exploded. The volume of sales on the New York Stock Exchange nearly doubled from 1927 to 1929, and the prices of the major industrial stocks doubled just between May 1928 and September 1929. Though by some analyses prices of most stocks were not hugely out of line with earnings and potential, many were seriously overpriced—and the general high price level rested on confidence that both individual firms and the “new economy,” would continue to grow and prosper.

A number of factors had caused the spectacular bull market of 1928–29. The expansion of the American economy after the 1921–22 recession produced a confident expectation of continued prosperity. Worried about attracting too much gold to the United States and thus weakening the international financial system, the Federal Reserve Board lowered interest rates in 1927, facilitating heavy borrowing by investors and speculators. Stockbrokers’ call loans were easy to get—often requiring a margin payment from their borrowers of only a small fraction

of a stock’s current price, with the stock itself serving as collateral for the loan. Major corporations by the late 1920s increasingly were putting their large cash reserves into the stock market rather than into plant expansion, while commercial banks put more and more money into the stock market instead of into commercial loans. The unregulated stock market enabled stock promoters to put out inflated (often simply dishonest) information and prospectuses. And as prices shot up in 1928 and 1929, a speculative buying momentum drove prices up still further, despite tighter money policies by the Federal Reserve. In retrospect, it is clear that market prices were dangerously high, and that a downward correction or readjustment was almost sure to come.

The readjustment, which became the crash, then occurred in the late summer and fall of 1929. Evidence that the economy was slowing led some stockholders to sell their shares in order to take their profits before prices fell. Instability on the London Stock Exchange unsettled the American market. As some prices began to fall, investors and speculators alike became concerned about the future, and an increase in orders to sell stocks caused sharp price declines. Nervous brokers began to call loans on declining stocks, which caused still more liquidation. What had been a speculative dynamic that sent prices up became a panicked dynamic driving them down in a ferocious bear market. The stock market buckled in mid-October, broke on “Black Thursday,” and then collapsed on “Black Tuesday.” The doubling of industrial stock prices that had occurred in the previous 16 months was wiped out in just two months. The market would continue to spiral down to its nadir some three years later.

The consequences of the Great Crash were serious, though often exaggerated or misunderstood. At most, some 2 or 3 percent of the population owned stock, and few were so heavily invested that the crash produced bankruptcy or impoverishment. Tales of suicidal leaps from tall buildings are essentially myth. And the Great Crash did not by itself cause or begin the Great Depression; indeed, some scholars assign it a relatively small role in the collapse of the economy. But the crash was a stunning event with large impact and evidently played some role in the development of the Great Depression. It dashed much of the economic confidence of the 1920s, illuminated weak spots in the economy, weakened the vulnerable BANKING system, inhibited consumer spending and private investment that might have helped buoy the economy, and helped to dry up American loans overseas that had supported the international economy. The stock market crash and investigations launched by CONGRESS also helped to bring about NEW DEAL reforms of the stock market and the creation of the SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION as the regulatory agency to enforce new standards.

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## strikes

The GREAT DEPRESSION and the mounting economic desperation of workers prompted the LABOR movement to adopt more confrontational tactics to obtain their demands. Strikes were an obvious weapon of choice for unions and nonorganized laborers in their dealings with management and helped produce a renaissance of organized labor. In this, workers were substantially aided by the federal GOVERNMENT, beginning with the NORRIS–LA GUARDIA ACT of 1932 and the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA) of 1933, both of which endorsed the right of workers to engage in collective bargaining and unionizing activities. The new legislation galvanized millions to seek union representation through an extraordinary wave of strikes that persisted through the end of the decade.

A notable action occurred in May 1934, when the longshoremen's union of San Francisco went on strike to secure recognition of their union. The shipping companies responded violently by hiring vigilantes to rough up and intimidate workers, and police fired on a crowd of workers that July, killing two. But with 125,000 workers idle from San Diego to British Columbia, the companies finally capitulated, and the workers received their principal demand, a union-controlled hiring hall. Another violent event was the strike of workers at the Auto-Lite Plant in Toledo, Ohio, in April 1934. Police were called in and killed another two protestors, but order was not restored until National Guard troops arrived in force. Work was also finally resumed that month when the federal government pressured the company into recognizing the new union. Yet another large labor action was the strike of teamsters engaged in coal hauling activities in Minneapolis. A brief strike won them union recognition by management, but when the company refused to consider their demands, members struck a second time. The struggle was supported by many city residents, and when police arrived to restore order, rioting ensued, with several workers dead and 67 wounded. All told there were 1,856 separate strikes in 1934 alone, which involved 1.5 million people—an eightfold increase from 1930.

The NEW DEAL administration of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT became increasingly supportive of organized labor. When the NIRA was overturned by the SUPREME COURT, the president responded by backing passage of the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT (NLRA) of 1935, a far-reaching piece of legislation that again legalized the right to organize and has been called labor's "Magna

Carta." This legislation coincided with the formation of the new CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO) under JOHN L. LEWIS, which broke away from the trade-oriented AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) and began organizing unskilled industrial workers. Workers responded by joining unions or forming new ones, which triggered another round of strikes. The most notable action came in 1937 when the United Auto Workers (UAW) struck General Motors by barricading themselves in factories for 40 days in the first nonviolent "sit-down" strike. This was a tactic that could be readily employed by others, and in short order other workers engaged in sit-down strikes. There were more strikes (4,740) involving more workers (1.86) million) in 1937 than ever before. Another major victory happened on March 2, 1937, when the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee (SWOC) signed a contract with the nation's largest corporation, U.S. Steel, and acquired both recognition and a pay hike. Labor enjoyed less success in organizing smaller steel companies, which resisted union organizing attempts violently, but RUBBER and textile workers struck for union contracts at various locales. By 1941 UAW scored another triumph by organizing Chrysler and Ford through a spate of successful sit-down actions.

In 1940 organized labor could look back upon the previous decade with some pride of accomplishment. Between 1933 and 1938, workers engaged in an average of some 2,500 strikes per year, with many unions finally gaining official recognition. It was a period that completely revitalized the American workforce and made organizations such as the CIO, AFL, and others a major force in the nation's ECONOMY.

The build-up to American participation in WORLD WAR II dramatically altered the overall relationship between labor, management, and government. Strikes continued to play a significant role during this period. By



Armed guards stand ready outside of the Republic Steel factory during a strike, 1937. (Library of Congress)



1940, the administration of President Roosevelt began emphasizing defense production, and UNEMPLOYMENT rates gradually shrank to pre-depression rates. The AFL utilized this period to aggressively recruit new members in various trades, so that by the time of the attack on PEARL HARBOR in December 1941, it could claim nearly 5 million members. This success, and labor's determination to consolidate gains of the previous decade, resulted in a wave of 4,300 strikes in 1941, involving 2.4 million workers. This militancy, which threatened to disrupt Roosevelt's MOBILIZATION efforts, resulted in establishment of the National Defense Production Board (NDPB) to adjudicate labor-management disputes in strategic defense industries.

The American entry into the war and the patriotic fervor that followed induced the leadership of many unions to sign an unconditional "no strike pledge" for the duration of the war. The successor of the NDPB, the NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD (NWLBB), continued soothing relations between big BUSINESS and big labor by limiting wage increases to control inflation yet insuring that all workers hired by factories were automatically enrolled in the appropriate unions. Overall, this arrangement had the effect of expanding union membership and discouraging serious unrest during the war years. Strikes nonetheless did occur and reached a record high of some 5,000 in 1944, but these were mainly over local shop-floor grievances and usually ended in an average of under six days.

An important exception to this generally harmonious picture was the UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA under John Lewis, which refused to agree to the "no-strike" pledge like the majority of big unions. Lewis chafed under existing wage-hike limitations, so in 1943 he led coal miners out on strike—which resulted in the government seizing control of the mines. CONGRESS responded by passing the Smith-Connally Act that year, which allowed the president greater leverage in taking control of threatened strategic industries in wartime and also forbade unions to make direct political contributions. Roosevelt, who felt the bill was too punitive, vetoed it, but his veto was overridden by the Republican-controlled Congress. By this juncture, Lewis's actions were also viewed by 87 percent of the public as unpatriotic; nonetheless, he managed to secure a pay increase for the miners, and they remained at work for the remainder of the war.

The end of the war in September 1945 witnessed a surge in unemployment due to DEMOBILIZATION. This, coupled with rising inflation and an end to the "no strike" pledge, led to a postwar strike wave that in 1946 produced nearly 5,000 strikes involving a record 4.6 million workers. Lewis also led the United Mine Workers on another series of lengthy strikes, which further alienated public opinion against organized labor, forced President Harry Truman to seize control of the mines, and contributed to passage of

the restrictive Taft-Hartley Act of 1947. But by that time, collective bargaining had become widely accepted, and unions had become, at the very least, a junior partner in the national economic equation. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s strikes proved an effective tool for obtaining union objectives and preserving hard-won gains.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## submarines

Submarines played a major role in WORLD WAR II. The invention of electric motors in the 1880s and of internal combustion engines in the early 1900s made the submarine a practical vessel, and by the time of World War I, submarines had made major advances, able to reach surface speeds of 16 knots and 10 knots submerged, and carrying crews of 35 or more. Armed with torpedoes and deck guns, submarines revolutionized sea warfare and posed new dangers to merchant shipping. The Germans, in particular, excelled at such warfare and in World War I their U-boats threatened Allied commerce and the viability of the British blockade.

During World War II, the Germans, Americans, British, Japanese, and Italians launched several thousand larger and more powerful "blue water" boats capable of high seas operation and difficult to detect. Crew sizes, tonnage, and lethality doubled. Germany built more than 1,160 U-boats and seriously contested Allied control of the Atlantic between 1939 and 1943. During the BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC, Germany lost some 785 submarines, more than any other belligerent—but the U-boats also sank nearly 2,600 Allied merchantmen totaling some 14.5 million tons gross weight.

British submarines sank 169 warships and 493 merchant vessels, while suffering 74 losses, about 33 percent of the total British submarine force during the war. In the Mediterranean, British submarines impeded the supply of AXIS forces in the NORTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN, contributing significantly to their May 1943 defeat. Although Italy possessed some 150 submarines, vastly superior British antisubmarine tactics restricted their use, and 86 Italian submarines were lost with only six enemy warships and 500,000 tons of destroyed merchant shipping claimed in return.

U.S. NAVY submarines in the Pacific destroyed Japanese merchant shipping between 1943 and 1945 to the point that enemy offensive operations were made impos-



sible. Although having to overcome early defects in torpedo design, the 288 U.S. submarines sank nearly 1,300 Japanese merchantmen as well as one battleship, eight aircraft carriers, and 11 cruisers. Fifty-two American submarines were sunk. The 200 submarines ultimately comprising Japan's submarine force did not register significant successes, although they sank a score of American warships and about 170 merchant and transport vessels while losing 128 of their own.

Little is known of Soviet submarines during the war, although they were active in the Baltic and Black Sea areas. With Soviet submarines technologically inferior to the boats of other powers, it has been speculated that the Soviets lost one submarine for each enemy ship sunk.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

## suburbs

Residential suburbs grew in the 1920s because of prosperity, technological developments including the increased use of automobiles and electricity, and a desire by many Americans to live outside the CITIES. A declining HOUSING market in the late 1920s, followed by the onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION, slowed suburban expansion, but a number of NEW DEAL programs under President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT helped the housing industry and spurred suburban growth by the mid-1930s. Innovative ADVERTISING schemes and new TECHNOLOGY in housing enhanced the allure of suburbs, and WORLD WAR II further accelerated economic and population growth in the suburban areas of metropolitan centers. As people sought to escape deteriorating and crowded conditions and undesirable housing in the central cities, the suburban population growth rate jumped from 12 to 32 percent from the 1930s to the 1940s.

Roosevelt's rallying cry of "get building going" was an attempt to increase construction and put builders back to work, but he also took steps to help homeowners who were in danger of foreclosure. The HOME OWNERS LOAN CORPORATION (HOLC) took the initiative by providing funds for assisting banks with defaulted loans and refinancing low-cost mortgages for middle-class homeowners. The success of the HOLC helped win support for other New Deal policies including the FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION (FHA), which stimulated the building and pur-

chasing of new homes in the suburbs. FHA policy also had the effect, not always intended, of reinforcing the white, middle-class character of the suburbs.

Under the auspices of the RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION (RA), the Greenbelt New Towns program aimed to relocate urban workers to rental communities outside cities where they would be involved in decision-making for the neighborhood. The first such town, aptly named Greenbelt, was located 13 miles outside of Washington, D.C., on an undeveloped tract of 12,000 acres. Preplanned facilities included a town center, school, theater, centrally located artificial lake, and encircling the town, a green belt of grass for gardening and RECREATION. Only two other Greenbelt New Towns communities were constructed: Greenhills, a suburb of Cincinnati; and Greendale, on the outskirts of Milwaukee.

At the same time that the Greenbelt program was being created with government funds, many private developers were experimenting with suburban communities. The building firm of Abraham Levitt and Sons (later famous for the mass-produced postwar "Levittowns") began building Strathmore-at-Manhasset in assembly line fashion on Long Island, approximately 15 miles from Manhattan. They targeted the upper middle class with brand-name products and high-quality engineering. Rather than adopting the community decision-making policy of the Greenbelt towns, they instituted regulations concerning the appearance of properties. The firm used surveys and advertising to target a specific consumer base and effectively market their homes.

The look of the suburban home changed considerably after the early 1930s. Suburban lots in the older "streetcar suburbs" averaged 3,000 square feet, whereas new housing lots in the more distant "automobile suburbs," with lower per-acre land costs, averaged 5,000 square feet. New suburban houses were designed to be functional and representative of a simpler lifestyle. Frank Lloyd Wright's Usonian (United States of North America) designs were published in *LIFE MAGAZINE* in 1938 and billed as the home for "true Americans." These one-story homes, which could be prefabricated, averaged only some \$5,000 to \$6,000 in price and featured flexible, sunlit interiors. Making such functional, attractive, and low-cost housing available for middle-class Americans is sometimes counted Wright's most important achievement. Likewise, technological improvements such as the attached garage, automatic heating system, storm windows, and power lawn mowers added to the idea of the functional house.

The image of conformity in the suburbs resulted in large part from marketing strategies of the time. Developers created the "model home"—a prebuilt, prefurnished home for prospective buyers to peruse. In 1935, General Electric sponsored an architectural competition to inspire the

creation of single-family homes replete with their electric appliances and gadgets. The *Ladies' Home Journal* sponsored an exhibit called the "House of Tomorrow" in 1937, which was a precursor to the 1939 NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR exhibit of 21 single-family homes within the "Town of Tomorrow." In the same year, the FHA survey depicted the typical American home to be "bungalows or colonials on ample lots with driveways and garages." The *Ladies' Home Journal* furthered the conformity of housing design with the "dream homes" series from 1941 to 1946.

The immediate postwar period was characterized by explosive growth of suburbs and by the movement of white, middle-class and also working-class families away from the cities and into new homes of their own. Several interrelated factors fueled this rapid development. The American Gross National Product had doubled during WORLD WAR II, decisively ending the Great Depression. Workers had accrued good wages during the war years and now often possessed significant disposable income. Moreover, under the GI BILL OF RIGHTS, the government provided veterans with guaranteed loans for buying homes, while government-subsidized mortgages supported their construction. This ready availability of cash, coupled with pent-up demands for new housing, led to a rapid expansion of new neighborhoods, usually on the outskirts of urban centers. Accordingly, the housing starts, which only tallied 142,000 in 1944, skyrocketed to 1.4 million units by 1950. In 1946, a newly married veteran could purchase a single-family house on a 30-year mortgage for a monthly cost lower than most apartments in downtown sections. More families now owned their homes than at any other period in American history.

The image of suburbs as socially homogeneous areas is thus not wholly accurate. Working-class Americans began to move to the nearer suburbs, and "industrial suburbs" began to encroach upon some middle-class residential suburbs. Other suburbs included a variety of occupational, religious, and ethnic groups. Nonetheless, suburbs were largely middle and upper class and mostly white, partly because of the results, intentional and unintentional, of FHA policies. FHA officials, seeking to minimize loan defaults, favored middle-class loan applicants wanting to build in the suburbs, and FHA guidelines sought to keep "inharmonious" groups apart. Private restrictive covenants barring sales to such groups as AFRICAN AMERICANS, JEWS, MEXICAN AMERICANS, and ASIAN AMERICANS also helped keep the suburbs racially homogenous in this era.

For many whites, at least, life in the new suburbs signaled a diametrically different experience from the crowded conditions and grinding deprivation of the depression era. The new houses constructed were relatively spacious, uniform, attractively designed, and laid out in carefully planned neighborhoods. Women, who were typically expected to remain at home to care for the children, enjoyed an array

of new and relatively inexpensive home appliances that eased the burdens of daily routines. Better pay and shorter working hours for fathers also led to increased emphasis on family life and entertainment through community interaction, spacious backyards, and the new medium of television. Thus the notion of "the good life," recently a remote dream for the majority of Americans, had suddenly become the national norm and was exemplified by suburbia, which came to dominate the American social landscape.

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—Traci L. Siegler and John C. Fredriksen

## Sunbelt

The Sunbelt has eluded precise geographical definition—or, perhaps more accurately, it has been defined in a variety of ways. Virtually everyone agrees that the Sunbelt includes areas on or near the Atlantic coastline of the SOUTH and the Gulf and Pacific coasts from Norfolk to Miami to Mobile to Houston to Los Angeles, plus noncoastal areas of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona north of the Rio Grande. Many would include areas as far inland as the 37th parallel of latitude (roughly, a line running from North Carolina's northern border west to California), while others would include the entire West Coast (despite the cool, rainy climate of the Pacific Northwest). But whatever the exact boundaries of the Sunbelt, it expanded significantly in the 1929–45 era and became increasingly important in the nation's economic, cultural, and political life in the post–World War II era.

Although Sunbelt growth accelerated dramatically during WORLD WAR II, the expansion of some Sunbelt areas had long been underway. During the long decade of the GREAT DEPRESSION of the 1930s, with its low rates of population growth and of MIGRATION, for example, the population growth of California and Florida dwarfed that of other areas, chiefly because of high in-migration rates. California had a net in-migration of just over 1 million people, Florida of one-third million. Both states attracted migrants because of their climate and quality of life, while California's AGRICULTURE and industry were also lures. But except for urban California, the Southwest was sparsely populated and without much manufacturing, while President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT called the South the nation's "number one" economic problem because of its widespread poverty, depressed agriculture, and limited manufacturing. For the most part, then, the Sunbelt shared the hard times and limited growth that marked the rest of the nation in the 1930s.

As wartime MOBILIZATION galvanized the nation, it had a particularly large impact on the Sunbelt, especially its metropolitan areas. Military bases along the southern Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific coasts were built or expanded to take advantage of climate, open space, and access to sea transportation to the battlefronts. Tens of billions of federal dollars poured into Sunbelt states to finance war production. California alone received nearly 10 percent of all federal money spent during World War II. Pacific Coast shipyards and aircraft plants from Seattle to San Diego built about half of all ships and planes during the war, while the southern SHIPBUILDING industry from Norfolk to New Orleans built about one-fourth of all ships. The South also had a nascent AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY in the Atlanta-Marietta and Dallas-Fort Worth areas; Birmingham's steel industry boomed; and Gulf Coast petroleum industries played a vital role in synthetic RUBBER production and other vital needs. In the West, metals and electronics expanded. The MANHATTAN PROJECT that built the atomic bombs depended heavily upon installations in Los Alamos, New Mexico, and Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Not only did the war stimulate economic growth and expansion, then, but it did so in defense-related and technological industries that would be increasingly important in the postwar era.

The expansion of military installations and defense industries brought wartime migrants flocking to Sunbelt cities. Of the eight most congested metropolitan centers produced by wartime migration, three were in the South and the other five on the West Coast. Servicemen came from all around the nation, while defense workers and their families came especially from the rural South, Southwest, and Midwest. Many of those who had moved to Sunbelt cities remained after the war, while some servicemen who passed through returned, especially to California. Between 1940 and 1950, the nation's population increased by 15 percent—and California's by 53 percent. Such major metropolitan areas as Los Angeles, San Diego, Houston, Dallas-Fort Worth, Miami, and Atlanta grew by at least 50 percent, and sometimes much more, during the decade, as did a host of other Sunbelt cities.

Such economic and demographic change had major impact not just on the Sunbelt but also on the nation as a whole. Underwritten by federal money, wartime and postwar economic growth, especially in new aerospace, electronics, and other defense-related industries occurred to a substantial degree not in the old urban-industrial northeastern quadrant but rather in the Sunbelt. The Sunbelt also continued to attract the largest migratory streams, as people moved there to find good jobs, to enjoy the quality of life, or to retire. Wartime migrants had been young people for the most part, and they, with the postwar newcomers, lent a dynamic, optimistic aura to their new communities. The Sunbelt played an increasingly vital role in

such areas as RELIGION, MUSIC, and politics. Every president elected from 1964 to 2008 was from a Sunbelt state. The World War II mobilization, though largely accelerating trends already under way, thus played a key role in the growing importance of the Sunbelt in national life.

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### Supreme Court

The Supreme Court underwent important change in composition and outlook in the 1929–45 era. After overturning a number of major NEW DEAL programs in 1935 and 1936, it ultimately upheld the New Deal regulatory welfare state that greatly expanded the size and power of the federal GOVERNMENT.

President HERBERT C. HOOVER inherited a Supreme Court that had in the 1920s generally taken conservative positions on economic policy, LABOR unions, and CIVIL LIBERTIES. During his presidency, Hoover made three appointments: Charles Evans Hughes as the successor to William Howard Taft as chief justice, and Benjamin Cardozo and Owen Roberts as associate justices. Although more than two dozen senators voted against Hughes because of his Wall Street ties, Hughes, in addition to serving as secretary of state in the 1920s, had been governor of New York in the Progressive Era and had already served as a generally progressive associate justice of the Supreme Court from 1910 to 1916 before resigning to run unsuccessfully for president as the Republican candidate in 1916. Roberts had won plaudits as a prosecutor in the Teapot Dome scandal, while Cardozo was one of the most highly regarded judges in the country. Hoover also nominated John J. Parker of North Carolina to the Court, but Parker's antilabor rulings and his efforts to weaken the role of AFRICAN AMERICANS in the southern Republican Party led to his narrow defeat by the Senate and to the subsequent nomination and confirmation of Roberts. Hoover's appointees pointed the Supreme Court in a more liberal direction, but the Court heard few significant cases from 1929 to 1933—a situation that changed dramatically with President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and the New Deal.

At first, a majority of the Supreme Court justices seemed ready to permit both state and federal governments latitude to deal with the emergency of the GREAT DEPRESSION. Narrow 5–4 decisions in 1934, for example, allowed state governments to impose a moratorium on mortgage payments and to fix prices, and early in 1935 the



Court by a 5-4 margin upheld New Deal policies suspending gold payments on both private contracts and the public debt. But during the next year, the Supreme Court used its power of judicial review to invalidate a number of important New Deal programs. In early May 1935, the Court found against the Railroad Retirement Act by a 5-4 vote, on the grounds that the federal government's long-established authority over interstate railroads did not extend to mandatory pensions. On "Black Monday," May 27, 1935, in the famous case of *SCHECHTER POULTRY CORPORATION v. UNITED STATES*, the Court unanimously overturned the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT and by another 9-0 vote also invalidated the Frazier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act. In the *Schechter* case, the Court ruled that the company had been involved in intrastate commerce, outside the authority of the federal government to regulate interstate commerce, and that the NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION (NRA) codes were an improper delegation of legislative authority to the executive branch.

In January 1936, the Court invalidated the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT by a 6-3 vote in *United States v. Butler*, on the grounds that agriculture was local production, not interstate commerce, and that the AAA processing tax violated the Tenth Amendment by encroaching upon rights reserved to the states. In March, by another 6-3 vote, the Court in the *Carter Coal* case overturned the Guffey-Snyder Act, a "little NRA" for coal, holding that

coal production was local production beyond the power of the federal government to regulate. Then, having limited the federal government's power, the Court declared by a 5-4 margin in the *Tipaldo* case that a New York minimum wage law violated freedom of contract.

These decisions revealed three major blocs on the Court. One comprised the conservative "Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse," as their liberal critics called them—George Sutherland and Pierce Butler (Harding appointees), James MacReynolds (a Wilson appointee), and Willis Van Devanter (a Taft appointee)—who opposed New Deal economic regulation and social welfare as violating economic liberty and exceeding the proper power of government. A second group included the three "liberal" judges—Cardozo, Harlan Fiske Stone (a Coolidge appointee), and Louis Brandeis (a Wilson appointee)—who believed that the Court should exercise judicial restraint and allow the executive and legislative branches of the government leeway to take action in the absence of clear constitutional prohibition. As Stone put it in dissenting from the majority decision in the AAA case, "Courts are not the only agency of government that must be assumed to have a capacity to govern." In the middle, as the crucial swing votes on 5-4 and 6-3 decisions, were Hughes and Roberts.

Hurriedly written, much New Deal legislation contained flaws that conservative jurists could seize upon. Particularly in interpretations of the commerce clause and of the due process clauses of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, conservatives could also find precedents in previous decisions that had overturned economic and social reform. Liberals believed that the conservative Four Horsemen were interpreting the Constitution to make their decisions come out where they wanted them to for ideological reasons; liberals criticized, for example, rulings that agriculture or coal mining were local production when shipment and sales of agricultural products and coal clearly involved interstate commerce. But whatever the motivation or reasoning of the decisions invalidating liberal reform, their cumulative impact was seemingly to hamstring the New Deal, which was above all concerned with economic regulation and social welfare. Roosevelt complained that the decisions seemed to create "a no man's land where no Government—State or Federal—can function." And both the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT and the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT were working their way through the appeals process, and, on the bases of the 1935–36 decisions, seemed likely to be invalidated as well, as did the wages and hours regulation that Roosevelt desired.

Early in 1937, Roosevelt introduced the Judicial Procedures Reform Bill, which among other things would have permitted the president to name up to six additional justices to the Supreme Court and which quickly became



Roosevelt's plan to reorganize the federal judiciary was met with objections from his fellow New Dealers, including Harold Ickes, Roosevelt's secretary of the interior and leader of the Public Works Administration, depicted here in the cartoon. Cartoon by Walter Berryman (Library of Congress)



## JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT, 1929–1945

	Term of Service
Oliver Wendell Holmes	1902–1932
Willis Van Devanter	1911–1937
James C. McReynolds	1914–1941
Louis D. Brandeis	1916–1939
William Howard Taft, <i>Chief Justice, 1921–1930</i>	1921–1930
George Sutherland	1922–1938
Pierce Butler	1922–1939
Edward T. Sanford	1923–1930
Harlan Fiske Stone, <i>Chief Justice, 1941–1946</i>	1925–1946
Charles Evans Hughes, <i>Chief Justice, 1930–1941</i>	1930–1941 (also 1910–1916)
Owen J. Roberts	1930–1945
Benjamin N. Cardozo	1932–1938
Hugo L. Black	1937–1971
Stanley F. Reed	1938–1957
Felix Frankfurter	1939–1962
William O. Douglas	1939–1975
Frank Murphy	1940–1949
James F. Byrnes	1941–1942
Robert H. Jackson	1941–1954
Wiley B. Rutledge	1943–1949
Harold H. Burton	1945–1958

known as the COURT-PACKING PLAN. His proposal, obviously intended as a way to appoint liberal justices, touched off a furor. Ultimately, FDR met an embarrassing defeat with the bill, and the struggle played a major role in the formation of the CONSERVATIVE COALITION in CONGRESS, which thereafter made it difficult for the president's congressional supporters to pass further liberal legislation.

But the Supreme Court, by 5-4 votes with Roberts and Hughes voting in favor, upheld the National Labor Relations Act in April and the Social Security Act in May. The role of the court-packing bill in this apparent reversal remains unclear. Some analyses have found substantive consistency, not just a politically motivated “switch in time that saved nine” in the votes by Hughes and Roberts to uphold New Deal legislation; but the obvious public approval of the New Deal in the ELECTION OF 1936 and the court-packing challenge evidently played some role too. Some scholars also maintain that the trend of Supreme Court decisions had for some time been toward allowing greater government power in economic and social policy.

In May 1937, conservative justice Willis Van Devanter resigned, and he was replaced by liberal Alabama senator HUGO BLACK. During the remainder of Roosevelt's presi-

dency, vacancies on the court allowed FDR to appoint seven additional justices, and he named Harlan Fiske Stone as chief justice when Hughes resigned in 1941. Despite the defeat of the court-packing proposal, the Supreme Court had been reshaped as Roosevelt wanted, and the Court never again invalidated a major New Deal program. The modern regulatory welfare state was safe from judicial veto.

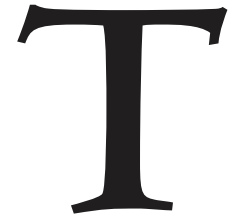
The “Roosevelt Court” proved liberal not only on social and economic policy but often also on CIVIL RIGHTS and sometimes on civil liberties. In the area of civil rights, it began to provide momentum toward the famous 1954 school desegregation decision of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* by ruling in 1938 in the case of *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada* that a state's refusal to provide law-school education to a qualified African American was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1943, the Court found unconstitutional a railroad union's discrimination against black workers, and in 1944 in *Smith v. Allwright* it declared the all-white primary prevalent in the SOUTH unconstitutional. In the half decade after the war, the Court struck down segregation on interstate buses, ruled against restrictive racial covenants in private contracts, and found against segregation in higher EDUCATION.

The Roosevelt Court was less bold on civil liberties. In the 1930s, the Hughes Court had done much more than the

Taft Court of the 1920s to protect First Amendment rights, and during WORLD WAR II the Court upheld the rights of Jehovah's Witnesses to worship as they wished, restored the citizenship rights of a naturalized citizen stripped of citizenship for being a Communist, protected freedom of expression for apparent German sympathizers, and established safeguards in prosecuting treason in 1945. But the Supreme Court also largely avoided safeguarding the rights of CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS, overturned only in 1946 a 1943 measure sponsored by the House Committee on Un-American Activities to dismiss three federal employees on hearsay evidence of disloyalty, and in *KOREMATSU V. UNITED STATES* sustained the worst wartime violation of civil liberties, the RELOCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS. Despite its equivocal wartime record on civil liberties, however,

the new Roosevelt Court marked important departures in upholding economic regulation and social welfare and in protecting civil rights.

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**Taft, Robert A.** (1889–1953) *senator*

A United States senator from Ohio from 1939 until his death in 1953, Robert Alphonso Taft became known as “Mr. Republican” for his fiercely partisan leadership roles in the REPUBLICAN PARTY in the 1940s and early 1950s.

Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on September 8, 1889, Taft was the elder son of William Howard Taft, the 27th president of the United States (1909–13) and chief justice of the SUPREME COURT from 1921 to 1930. He was educated at Yale University and Harvard Law School. After practicing law in Cincinnati, Taft served as assistant counsel of the U.S. Food Administration during World War I and as a member of the American Relief Administration to aid European war survivors. Returning to Ohio, Taft entered politics, served in the state House of Representatives and then in the state Senate, and became the acknowledged leader of the Ohio GOP.

Taft won election to the U.S. Senate in 1938, and quickly became a prominent member of the CONSERVATIVE COALITION and a persistent critic of FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and the NEW DEAL. Conservative on domestic policy, Taft was among the ISOLATIONISTS in FOREIGN POLICY, opposing the SELECTIVE SERVICE Act and the LEND-LEASE Act. Yet Taft could also be pragmatic: He supported some federal aid to EDUCATION and HOUSING, a limited national health program after WORLD WAR II, and the establishment of the UNITED NATIONS. During the 1940s, Taft became the Republican Party’s chief spokesman on domestic policy. He cosponsored the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which amended the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT of 1935 by imposing restrictions on unions. During Harry S. Truman’s presidency, he remained a critic of the Democratic agenda. After the Korean War began, Taft criticized what he saw as excessive presidential power in sending American troops to Korea; he attacked the Truman administration over the loss of China and for being soft on communism, but he supported the war.

Ambitious for the White House, Taft sought the Republican presidential nomination three times—losing in 1940 to WENDELL L. WILLKIE, in 1948 to Thomas E. Dewey, and in 1952 to Dwight D. Eisenhower. After Eisenhower’s election and the Republican recapture of the Senate, Taft became majority leader in the Senate and established a good working relationship with the new president. But Taft was soon diagnosed with cancer, and he died in Washington, D.C., on July 31, 1953.

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—William J. Thompson

**tanks**

Tanks were important armored vehicles used in WORLD WAR II by both the Allied and AXIS forces. From 1941 to 1945, the United States produced nearly 90,000 tanks, including the Locust, Grant, and Sherman models, though the combat performance of these tanks differed widely.

After World War I, the United States disbanded its tank corps until May 1940, when the Armored Forces were created in response to the effectiveness of the German BLITZKRIEG. Despite the creation of the Armored Forces and the objections of GEORGE S. PATTON, JR., who wanted a more central role for tank warfare, the U.S. ARMY viewed tanks as an auxiliary of the infantry. Tank doctrine included tactics that stressed exploiting breakthroughs, protecting and assisting unarmored units, and seizing and holding strategic positions.

Of the American tanks of World War II, the medium-sized Sherman tanks were especially important. The Shermans were designed specifically for speed, mobility, and easy modification, so that they could be updated as tank TECHNOLOGY progressed. However, against Field Marshal

Rommel's German Panzer divisions in the NORTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN, the Sherman tanks were revealed to be ill equipped for tank-to-tank duels. Inferior to tanks such as the German Mark V Panther or the Mark VI Tiger, they were dubbed "Purple Heart Boxes" because so many of their operators were wounded. The Sherman tanks, however, far outnumbered the German tanks, a testament to the American MOBILIZATION and production effort, and the sheer number of Allied tanks proved instrumental.

U.S. tanks continued to have mixed results in the later stages of the war. During the INVASION OF NORMANDY in June 1944, many Sherman tanks, which were equipped to "swim" to the shore of Omaha Beach, sank far from their beach destination, causing thousands of casualties among the infantry. But once they were ashore, two-bladed steel prows called hedgehogs were attached to the front of the tanks and successfully sliced through the hedgerows that had provided a natural defense for the Germans. At OKINAWA, flame-throwing tanks fired jellied gasoline at Japanese defenses, eventually causing those defenses to break. After the war, a general board assessed the performance of U.S. tanks and recommended improvements in design.

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—Michael T. Walsh

### Tarawa (November 1943)

On November 20, 1943, the U.S. MARINES 5th Amphibious Corps, under Major General Holland Smith, invaded two small atolls in the Gilbert Islands—Tarawa and Makin. These invasions marked the beginning of the Central Pacific offensive of the U.S. NAVY in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER. But the invasion of Tarawa was a costly learning experience for the marines and changed how they conducted future AMPHIBIOUS WARFARE operations.

Because of poor communications, the preinvasion bombardment of Tarawa was too short, and it did little damage to the well-entrenched Japanese defenders. Furthermore, Admiral Raymond Spruance, the overall commander of the operation, mistakenly believed that the water would be deep enough for U.S. landing craft to pass over the coral reefs that surround the Gilbert Islands. New American amphibious landing craft ("amtracs"), which had the ability to climb over the coral reefs, landed the first three waves of marines on the beach with few casualties. But there were not enough amtracs, so the marines that followed had to use deep-draft landing craft, which became caught on the reefs. Some marines had to wade through shoulder-high water for hundreds of yards before reaching

the beach, all the time under heavy Japanese artillery and machine gun attack.

By the end of the first day, the 2nd Marine division, under Major General Julian Smith, only held a small beachhead 300 yards deep, and 1,500 of the 5,000 troops that landed were dead or wounded. It took two more days of savage fighting before the marines finally secured the island on November 23, 1943. In total, the marines lost more than 1,000 dead and more than 2,000 wounded, a dreadfully high price to pay for such a small atoll. Only 17 Japanese soldiers survived out of a garrison of 5,000.

After Tarawa, the Navy continued its island-hopping campaign up the Central Pacific toward the MARIANA ISLANDS, while the U.S. ARMY, under General Douglas MacArthur, advanced up the southwestern Pacific toward the PHILIPPINES. Because of the experience at Tarawa and the lessons learned from it, the marines subsequently had better information on the strength and location of the enemy defenses, more effective command-and-control procedures, and greater awareness of the tides and other factors that could affect their amphibious assaults.

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—David W. Waltrop

### taxation

Taxation in the United States changed dramatically from 1929 to 1945. In 1929, the total of local, state, and federal taxes amounted to roughly \$10 billion (about one-tenth of the gross national product); by 1945, total taxes had risen to approximately \$50 billion (about one-fourth of GNP). While state and local taxes rose by roughly 50 percent in that period, federal internal revenue collections soared from just under \$3 billion to nearly \$44 billion. The federal individual income tax also came to include far more people than ever before: in 1929, some 2.5 million individuals filed taxable federal returns; in 1945, nearly 43 million did so.

The most significant changes in taxation thus came at the federal level, because of the NEW DEAL, the economic MOBILIZATION for World War II, and the great expansion of the federal GOVERNMENT during the administration of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. Although the New Deal brought some reform to the federal tax system, the war years had a far larger impact on taxation: from 1939 to 1945, the number of people paying income taxes increased from some 4 million in 1939 to almost 43 million; individual income tax payments became a more important source of federal revenue than corporate income taxes; and the withholding tax system was adopted. The changes



in the federal income tax enabled FISCAL POLICY based on KEYNESIANISM to be implemented more easily during and after World War II.

At the outset of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY in 1929, state and local taxes exceeded federal taxes by about a two-to-one ratio, and local property taxes accounted for approximately half of the total tax incomes of government at all levels. During World War I, the administration of President Woodrow Wilson had extended the income tax (authorized by the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1913) rather than sales taxes to help pay for the war. It had also made individual and corporate income taxes more progressive (that is, more graduated, with higher tax rates for higher incomes). During the 1920s, the Republican administrations scaled back individual and corporate income taxes. Local governments continued to rely chiefly on property taxes in the decade, while state governments expanded sales taxes much more than income taxes to help pay for their increasing costs of constructing roads and schools.

As the GREAT DEPRESSION developed, federal individual and corporate income taxes fell sharply in the early 1930s because of plummeting BUSINESS and personal income. With the great majority of federal tax revenues coming from income taxes (about 80 percent in the first years of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY), the federal deficit approached \$3 billion in 1932—more than half of the government's expenditures. President HERBERT C. HOOVER, sharing the orthodox belief that balanced budgets were essential to economic health, asked CONGRESS for increased taxes. Congress, led by Republican representative FIORELLO LA GUARDIA of New York, defeated Hoover's request for a national sales tax, but it did make the Revenue Act of 1932 the largest peacetime tax increase in American history to that point. Excise taxes (levies on the production, sale, or consumption of commodities and services) were increased significantly, and by 1933 they accounted for half of federal tax income.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt became president in 1933, the budget situation remained as worrisome as it had been in 1932. He and many of his advisers (including HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR., treasury secretary from 1934 to 1945) also believed in the balanced budget, although they were willing to incur budget deficits if necessary to provide help for impoverished and unemployed Americans. Raising revenues thus became a priority, especially as New Deal programs increased the costs of government. One reason for supporting the end of Prohibition was to levy excise taxes on alcohol. A key part of the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT of 1933 was the processing tax paid by processors of farm goods (millers, canners, and so forth) to help support agricultural subsidies. The NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT of 1933 included an excess profits

tax and a small tax on capital stock. In 1935, the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT imposed payroll taxes on employers and employees to pay for benefits.

But the major New Deal tax efforts involved the income tax. Roosevelt, Morgenthau and his Treasury staff, and others in the administration wanted to reform the income tax system, not only to increase revenues to pay for government programs but also to make taxes more progressive and to make use of money held by wealthy individuals and corporations. In the early years of the New Deal, regressive excise taxes increased by the 1932 legislation contributed more to federal revenues than did individual and corporate income taxes combined. The Revenue Act of 1934 raised taxes on higher incomes and on gift and estate taxes, but this only marked the beginning of New Deal attempts to restructure the tax system.

The first major effort to reform the income tax structure came with the REVENUE ACT OF 1935, which became known as the "Wealth Tax" because it sought to levy much higher taxes on high incomes and corporate profits. It was the result not only of administration analysis of the tax system, but also of the political atmosphere of 1935, in particular the success of Senator HUEY P. LONG in capturing a large national following with his Share Our Wealth program of heavy taxes on the wealthy to be redistributed to the general public.

In June 1935, Roosevelt sent a revenue bill to Congress asking for increased taxes on high personal incomes, for graduated corporate income taxes, and for new taxes on excess corporate profits, intercorporate dividends, and inheritances, as well as for a constitutional amendment to allow the federal government to tax interest earned on state and municipal bonds. Business and the wealthy bitterly opposed the proposal, and conservatives in Congress diluted it. Roosevelt, who often seemed more interested in gaining political credit for proposing the bill than in fighting for it, settled for some increase in personal and corporate taxes, for a scaled-down intercorporate dividend tax, and for a new estate tax. Hardly a wealth tax at all in its final form, the Revenue Act of 1935 did little to redistribute income or even raise revenues. Still, it began the efforts for significant tax reform.

In 1936, Roosevelt and Morgenthau proposed another tax reform bill, this one involving a graduated tax on undistributed corporate profits. The undistributed profits tax would replace other corporate taxes and thus eliminate what seemed "double taxation," whereby corporations paid taxes on profits and then individuals paid taxes on dividends received from corporate profits. It would close an important loophole—by preventing dividend distributions, wealthy corporate directors were able to avoid taxes on higher incomes. And the tax would increase revenues—a necessity after the SUPREME COURT had invalidated the

Agricultural Adjustment Act and its processing tax and after Congress had authorized prepaying bonuses to World War I veterans.

As the administration saw it, the bill also had two other virtues: it might reduce the concentration of economic power by forcing big business to seek money for expansion in the money market instead of relying on its pools of undistributed profits, and it might stimulate the ECONOMY by forcing idle money out of corporate coffers and into the hands of smaller stockholders who would spend it or invest it. Following another battle with Congress, the Revenue Act of 1936 ultimately implemented a smaller undistributed profits tax than Roosevelt had requested, though it retained the corporate income tax. It constituted a significant reform and further embittered business against the administration.

The Revenue Act of 1937 then closed a number of additional loopholes (involving, for example, personal holding companies, artificial losses on property sales, and nonresident taxpayers), again with the aim of making the tax system more productive as well as fairer. Roosevelt and Morgenthau wanted still further reforms in 1938, including an increase in the undistributed profits tax and the imposition of a graduated tax on capital gains. But by 1938, Congress was in the hands of the CONSERVATIVE COALITION, and the RECESSION OF 1937–1938 (the so-called Roosevelt Recession) had emboldened conservative and business critics of the New Deal. The Revenue Act of 1938 eliminated the graduated corporate income tax and reduced the undistributed profits tax, and the Revenue Act of 1939 then eliminated the undistributed profits tax.

The Revenue Acts of 1935 to 1937 constituted the high water mark of New Deal tax reform. The legislation did make federal taxes somewhat more progressive, imposed new taxes on business, and at least partly closed a number of loopholes. But the tax measures did not bring about any real redistribution of income, wealth, or economic power, and were weakened significantly in the late 1930s. Moreover, the increasing reliance of state governments on sales taxes (which more than doubled in the 1930s) and the imposition of the new Social Security payroll tax outweighed any small increase in the progressivity of the federal income taxes.

But although tax reform was essentially dead by the late 1930s, major revision of the tax system did come during World War II because of the need to raise money to meet the enormous costs of mobilizing for war. The federal government spent some \$300 billion during the war, which it financed by a combination of increased revenues and massive borrowing. Wartime mobilization created a full-production, full-employment economy with rising personal and corporate incomes and thus more money to be taxed. And in addition to producing revenue to help pay

for the war, taxes helped to siphon money from consumers and thus combat inflation. During the war, the tax system underwent significant change, particularly in greatly expanding the reach of the federal income taxes. Tax measures early in the 1940s began the process by lowering the threshold for paying federal income taxes.

The major tax legislation of the war years, and one of the most important in American history, was the REVENUE ACT OF 1942. It taxed all incomes over \$624, vastly enlarging the number of Americans paying income taxes; and it led to the adoption in 1943 of the withholding system of payroll deductions to simplify the collection of taxes from so many more people. The number of taxable incomes soared from 7.4 million in 1940 to 40.2 million by 1943. And by 1944, for the first time, individual income taxes exceeded corporate income taxes. The expanded tax base and the withholding provision also made it much easier for the government to increase or decrease revenues and implement Keynesian fiscal policy during and after the war.

Wanting to increase revenues further, Roosevelt in 1943 sent the Congress legislation that would have produced \$10.5 billion more in taxes. Congress, controlled more firmly than before by the conservative coalition after the election of 1942, provided for an increase of only some \$2 billion, and rather than hiking taxes on the wealthy and on business profits gave generous tax benefits to business. Angrily calling it “not a tax bill but a relief bill providing not for the needy but for the greedy,” Roosevelt vetoed the bill in February 1944—and, for the first time in history, Congress passed a tax bill over the president’s veto.

By the end of World War II, the American tax system, and especially the federal income tax, was far different from what it had been a decade and a half earlier. Federal taxes, about half the size of state and local taxes in 1929, were more than four times their size by 1945. Individual and corporate income taxes, which contributed less than half of federal tax revenues in 1933, produced about 80 percent in 1945. Individual income taxes, with their enormously expanded base, exceeded corporate income taxes. The new withholding system allowed for the easy and routine collection of taxes. The modern American tax system—mass-based more than class-based—had been created, with the demands and politics of World War II playing a more important role than the reforms of the New Deal.

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## technology

In spite of the GREAT DEPRESSION, the 1930s were increasingly technological times for most Americans. They rode automobiles, trains, and even airplanes. Most had electricity and running water, a few appliances, and access to a telephone. More families had a RADIO than had a telephone, and even in the midst of the depression, one could find cheap entertainment by going to the MOVIES—sometimes to see color films in an air-conditioned theater. Television broadcasts could be received in New York and Chicago, although only a handful of households had television sets. Electrical devices were becoming more common in physicians' offices, either for diagnosis or therapy. A host of new consumer products, made cheaply from various chemicals and resins, imitated older, more expensive products or evolved into new forms of commercial design. The 1939–40 NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR gave many Americans the opportunity to celebrate hope for the future based on SCIENCE and technology. During WORLD WAR II, the United States GOVERNMENT aggressively and deliberately fostered many areas of technology, and trained troops and homefront workers in the most modern methods of production and logistics. This new capacity and knowledge helped fuel postwar prosperity and social change.

While coal and gas still dominated heating, government-sponsored electrification brought service to most Americans by World War II, and to more than half the RURAL AREAS by 1946. By 1931, 1 million electric refrigerators had been produced, and electric dishwashers, clothes dryers, and a host of smaller appliances followed rapidly. At war's end the microwave oven, descended from radar, appeared, as did the fully automatic washing machine, although the former did not become a common household appliance until the 1980s. Air conditioning and refrigeration systems found growing commercial use throughout the 1930s, and began to transform daily life, particularly in the SOUTH.

The automobile entered a mature phase, with styling and options augmenting Henry Ford's initial austere approach, although Ford still commanded much of the market. Paved roads multiplied, and gasoline engines improved with higher compression, longer life and reliability, and easier maintenance that made driving more accessible to a greater variety of people. The AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY alone during the war produced approximately 4 million engines of all types, 6 million guns, 3 million tanks and trucks, and 27,000 aircraft. In AGRICULTURE, mech-

anization proceeded with tractors for small farmers, and huge self-contained combination harvesters and pickers brought economies of scale in food production that fed the war effort and European reconstruction thereafter.

Charles Lindbergh's solo flight across the Atlantic in 1927 and other impressive feats by famous aviators had demonstrated aviation's utility and safety. In 1935, the Douglas DC-3 offered middle-class patrons the first truly comfortable air TRANSPORTATION, and this reliable twin-engine aircraft captured 80 percent of domestic service by 1941. Throughout the era, the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics (NACA) operated federal laboratories and cooperated with the AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY to introduce improvements, and the federal government regulated routes, prices, safety, and other areas to help establish civil aviation. Starting well behind even the other allies, the massive U.S. production of aircraft during World War II bequeathed a surplus of planes, pilots, mechanics, and infrastructure to the postwar period. The jet engine, developed just before the war, began to dominate in the 1950s, and by the end of the decade air travel finally surpassed rail in the number of domestic passenger-miles.

Telephone service improved with better switching and transmission, and U.S. telephone access became the highest in the world. Throughout the 1930s commercial radio, which had been launched in 1920, blossomed. Entertainment comedy and drama programs, game shows, daytime soap operas, and news and public affairs filled the programming schedule. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT used his famous FIRESIDE CHATS to inform the country, buoy spirits, and build support for his programs during the depression. All areas of communications technology were targeted for development during the war, and afterward legions of technically adept young developers emerged to make good use of the technology in peacetime. The 1947 invention of the transistor made possible smaller and more portable radio sets and other entertainment and communications devices.

Automated punch card systems and mechanical calculators were commonly used in BUSINESS and government in the era. Beginning in the late 1930s several electronic computers, using vacuum tubes in place of mechanical switches, were built and found early use during the war in CODE BREAKING, ballistics calculations, the ATOMIC BOMB project, and other applications. These leviathans were hundreds of feet long, contained tens of thousands of tubes, and consumed about 100 kilowatts of electricity each. In 1946, mathematician John von Neumann, a close adviser to the war effort, added the notion of changeable stored programs to produce the basis for the modern computer, with the construction of a prototype in 1947.

While science underwent dramatic changes in direction and intensity from the interwar years through World

War II, technology enjoyed a more incremental yet no less impressive advance. In the interwar years, it was perceived as fueling prosperity and, with scientific management, as the basis for unlimited possibilities. It was a crucial tool in some NEW DEAL programs. Like scientists, engineers and industrial managers joined the war effort, though typically working somewhat closer to their prewar areas of expertise. Many of the most distinguished and powerful engineers and industrial leaders served as DOLLAR-A-YEAR MEN and engaged their firms and companies in war MOBILIZATION. Crucial engineering refinements, supplanted by applying scientific principles and research in selected areas, led to a panoply of clever and impressive devices that were ready for postwar civilian use.

The thousands of engineers who had worked to develop these devices, and the many thousands more young soldiers who were trained in technology and science to operate them, would form the basis of a postwar social transformation and economic boom. The INTELLIGENCE-gathering technologies and the many and powerful instruments of war would also find an enduring role to play and opportunities for steady development in the cold war.

See also POPULAR CULTURE.

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—Joseph N. Tatarewicz

### **Teheran Conference** (November 28–December 1, 1943)

From November 28 to December 1, 1943, U.S. president FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin, the “Big Three” leaders of the GRAND ALLIANCE fighting the AXIS, met in Teheran, Iran. Focusing on major issues of military strategy, geopolitics, and postwar planning, the discussions and decisions at Teheran were important not only for the conduct of WORLD WAR II but also for the postwar world.

The conference marked the first meeting between Roosevelt and Stalin, and Roosevelt tried hard to establish a good working relationship with the Soviet leader, even staying at the Soviet embassy and sometimes siding with Stalin against Churchill. Reflecting the relative power of the three nations by late 1943, Churchill’s influence was waning, and Roosevelt and Stalin dominated the conference. The clear Allied ascendancy in both the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER and the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC

THEATER by late 1943 underlay the general good spirits at Teheran but also underlined the need to make decisions about the future.

Military discussions primarily involved the long-delayed SECOND FRONT in Europe. Stalin, who had long insisted that the United States and Great Britain open the second front to relieve pressure on Soviet forces on the eastern front, demanded that Operation Overlord, the cross-Channel invasion of German-occupied France, take place as soon as possible. At Roosevelt’s insistence, Churchill acquiesced in a date of May 1, 1944, in conjunction with an attack on southern France. The Soviets agreed to launch an eastern offensive at the same time so that the Nazis could not concentrate forces on the new western front. Stalin also indicated that the Soviets would enter the war against Japan (the Soviet Union and Japan were still bound by a neutrality treaty signed in 1941) after the defeat of Germany—a pledge that FDR had long wanted in order to help bring the Pacific war to an end as quickly as possible.

But the geopolitical and postwar issues brought no such agreement—and reflected disagreements and suspicions that would trouble the Grand Alliance for the remainder of the war and lead to its dissolution in the early postwar period. There was some discussion and vague agreement about a postwar world organization, and other issues were addressed as well, but Poland and Germany were central to the agenda. Stalin insisted that the Soviet Union should retain the borders established by the NAZI-SOVIET PACT of 1939, in particular as they affected Soviet control of eastern Poland and the Baltic states. Roosevelt and Churchill agreed that the Soviet Union might retain the eastern section of Poland, with Poland’s western border extended west into what was then eastern Germany. As to the postwar government of Poland, Stalin refused to recognize the anti-communist Polish government-in-exile in London. Roosevelt explained that the millions of Polish-American voters (and much smaller number of voters from the Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia) made it difficult for him publicly to acquiesce in their domination by the Soviet Union. Final decisions were left for the future, though it seemed clear enough that the Americans and British would not challenge Soviet interests—or troops—in those areas.

The question of what to do about Germany also loomed large at Teheran, as it would for the remainder of the war and after. Deeply concerned about German power and intentions, the Soviets wanted Germany dismembered into smaller states and left without the economic or military power to threaten other nations. Roosevelt and Churchill did not agree to such draconian action, although they did seem amenable to some dismemberment to weaken Germany. Specific decisions about postwar Germany were left for future resolution.



The major issues discussed at the Teheran conference proved significant to the outcome of World War II and the postwar world. Operation Overlord was the decisive D-day INVASION OF NORMANDY in June 1944. The questions left unanswered, in particular those surrounding Poland and Germany, continued to plague the Grand Alliance and SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS and were taken up again at the YALTA CONFERENCE in early 1945. Although the Teheran Conference from some perspectives marked the apex of Big Three comity and agreement, the issues and disagreements also evident at the conference would help disrupt the Grand Alliance and lead to the cold war.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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### Temporary National Economic Committee (TNEC)

On the recommendation of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, CONGRESS established the Temporary National Economic Committee (TNEC) in June 1938 to analyze the poor performance of the American ECONOMY during the GREAT DEPRESSION. Arising from a concern about the impact of monopoly BUSINESS power on the economy, the TNEC held hearings from December 1938 to March 1941 and eventually published dozens of volumes of testimony and studies of the economy. The TNEC hearings unexpectedly provided a more important forum for KEYNESIANISM and compensatory FISCAL POLICY than for ANTIMONOPOLY policy.

The impetus for the TNEC had both long-term and short-term roots. To some degree it reflected the antimonopoly component of LIBERALISM going back to the Progressive Era and advocated by a number of New Dealers. It stemmed also from the long depression of the 1930s and related concern about big business and concentrated economic power. But the proximate reason for the creation of the TNEC was the severe RECESSION OF 1937–1938 and the policy debates within the administration about what had caused it and what to do to restore the economy to full production and full employment.

As the debates proceeded in the winter and spring of 1938, several viewpoints existed. Some in the administration, led by LEON HENDERSON and others, believed that monopoly power kept prices high, restricted production, produced unemployment, and sharply restricted consumer spending. They believed that the administration must turn to antitrust policy to stimulate the economy.

Another group, led by MARRINER ECCLES and HARRY L. HOPKINS, argued that compensatory fiscal policy based on Keynesianism could provide the stimulus required to move the economy toward full production and full employment. (These two approaches were not mutually exclusive; Henderson, for example, advocated both antimonopoly and compensatory fiscal policy.) Some in the administration, led by Secretary of the Treasury HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR., advocated fiscal prudence and the balanced budget as the way to right the economy, and others argued for more thorough regulation of business. But the main contest was between antimonopoly and spending as the focus of government economic policy.

In April 1938, Roosevelt seemed to avoid making a final decision by taking both approaches. In the middle of the month, he announced a renewed spending program. Then, at the end of the month, he recommended to Congress a “thorough study of the concentration of economic power in American industry.” In June, Congress passed legislation, signed by Roosevelt, establishing the TNEC. FDR had anticipated an administration committee to conduct the investigation, but Congress wanted half the committee to come from Congress, half from federal agencies. Chaired by Wyoming Democratic senator Joseph C. O’Mahoney, the committee included a variety of viewpoints, and was charged to study economic policy broadly, not just economic concentration and its consequences. Leon Henderson served as executive secretary and managed the committee’s operations.

The TNEC began its hearings in late 1938, and ultimately heard from some 552 witnesses. Some argued for vigorous antitrust policy, some for compensatory spending, some for accepting concentrations of economic power but imposing more stringent regulation. The committee also developed a wealth of detail about the economy. But as the committee labored on, it became increasingly peripheral, as attention in Washington and the nation focused on global events and FOREIGN POLICY. Perhaps the most significant testimony came from a number of Keynesians who argued in the spring of 1939 for the importance of compensatory fiscal policy to achieve economic recovery. They reflected the direction of the Roosevelt administration in the so-called THIRD NEW DEAL of the second and third terms, and their view-point was corroborated when massive deficits during WORLD WAR II produced full-production, full-employment prosperity.

Although the TNEC’s testimony and studies were full of useful information, its final report and recommendations in 1941 were anticlimactic, unfocused, and largely ignored, partly because they came in the much different context of war in Europe, economic MOBILIZATION, and returning prosperity. Seemingly of great potential importance as it began its work, the TNEC together with its reports and

recommendations quickly became little more than a footnote to history. The economic recovery of the war years brought the ascendancy among liberals of the Keynesian approach to economic policy over both antimonopoly and increased regulation and control.

**Further reading:** David Lynch, *The Concentration of Economic Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946).

### Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was created by CONGRESS in May 1933 to breathe new life into the economically depressed Tennessee River region. Part of the first Hundred Days legislation of the NEW DEAL, the TVA represented the commitment of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to depressed regions in America, and culminated years of legislative struggle for Nebraska senator GEORGE W. NORRIS, the champion of public power.

The Tennessee River basin encompassed seven states, extending 650 miles from Knoxville, Tennessee, near the Great Smoky Mountains, to the Ohio River at Paducah, Kentucky. Widespread poverty characterized the region, and timber companies left the area scarred and workers unemployed. Farmers, hampered by poor soil, eked out a bare existence. Few had electricity, and the area received more than 50 inches of rain annually, creating floods that devastated crops.

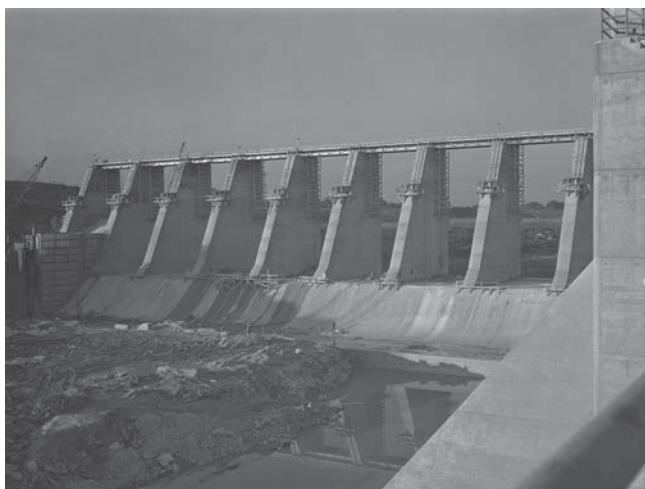
The Tennessee River dropped 130 feet over a distance of 40 miles in the area of Muscle Shoals, Alabama, creating rapids that had great potential for economic development but that constituted a navigational nightmare. During

World War I, the federal government built the Wilson Dam and two partly completed power plants at Muscle Shoals, but throughout the 1920s the Republican administrations wanted to sell or lease the complex to private interests. Norris stopped an attempt by Henry Ford to lease Muscle Shoals, and introduced six bills for Tennessee Valley public power development. Twice the legislation passed Congress, only to be vetoed by Presidents Calvin Coolidge and HERBERT C. HOOVER, who said that government ownership of Muscle Shoals was a “negation of the ideals upon which our civilization has been based.”

In the ELECTION OF 1932, Roosevelt, the Democratic presidential nominee, endorsed public development of the Tennessee Valley for water power, flood control, soil conservation, reforestation, agricultural innovation, and industrial growth, a stand that earned Norris’s endorsement. On April 10, 1933, Roosevelt submitted to Congress a message calling for creation in the Tennessee Valley of a “corporation clothed with the power of government, but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise.” Both houses of Congress passed Tennessee Valley legislation, with the House of Representatives’ version limiting government power to build dams and transmission lines for electricity—restrictions that Senator Norris would not accept. Roosevelt, after ensuring that the final bill provided the stronger federal role preferred by Norris, signed the Tennessee Valley Authority Act on May 18, 1933.

The TVA was to be an independent agency responsible directly to the president and Congress, and governed by a three-person board with one member as chairman. The first chairman of the TVA was Arthur E. Morgan, an engineer and former college president, who advocated centralized economic planning, the elimination of poverty from the valley, and cooperation with private utilities in the region. The other board members were Harcourt Morgan, an agricultural scientist and advocate for larger farming interests who was suspicious of Arthur Morgan’s utopian schemes, and DAVID E. LILIENTHAL, a Harvard-trained lawyer and member of the Wisconsin Public Service Commission, who wanted TVA electricity to compete directly with private utilities. Arthur Morgan’s desire to turn the TVA into a social planning agency created conflict with Harcourt Morgan and Lilienthal, and led to his dismissal by Roosevelt in 1938 after the chairman publicly attacked his colleagues.

The private utilities, led by Commonwealth and Southern, which controlled electric power in the region, had assets of over \$1 billion, and was headed by New Deal critic WENDELL L. WILLKIE, mounted legal challenges to the TVA’s constitutionality. In the *Ashwander* case, which began as a lawsuit by private utility stockholders in Alabama, the SUPREME COURT in February 1936 affirmed the



Fort Loudon Dam, Tennessee Valley Authority construction. Photograph by Arthur Rothstein (*Library of Congress*)

TVA's constitutional authority to market power from Wilson Dam to local municipalities, but sidestepped issues of the TVA's overall legality.

Under the TVA, dams were built on the Tennessee and its tributaries that turned the river into a series of large lakes providing a 300-foot wide channel for shipping. Although falling well short of Arthur Morgan's grand goals of transforming the Tennessee Valley's society and economy by comprehensive government planning, the TVA provided flood control, fertilizer manufacture, reforestation, soil erosion prevention, agricultural experimentation, industrial development, and public works projects. The main goal of the TVA, however, was to bring electric power to the Tennessee Valley, and from 1933 to 1945 the percentage of farms with electricity jumped from 2 percent to 75 percent. During WORLD WAR II, the TVA, which had become the largest producer of power in the United States, produced nitrates for munitions and provided electricity for the Oak Ridge plant of the MANHATTAN PROJECT that produced the ATOMIC BOMB. Although the Tennessee Valley Authority would be studied throughout the world as a model for developing agriculturally poor regions, its success was never copied at home, despite Roosevelt's desire to develop other American rivers.

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—William J. Thompson

### Third New Deal

The "Third New Deal" refers to domestic policy developments in the second and third terms of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. A distinction between a FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933 that emphasized recovery and RELIEF, and a SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935 concerned especially with social reform, has long provided one important framework for understanding the NEW DEAL. The period after 1935 seemed far less significant, as a more conservative CONGRESS and then the prosperity and global priorities of WORLD WAR II stymied efforts to expand the New Deal.

But a number of New Deal scholars now recognize a Third New Deal that began to take shape in Roosevelt's second term and that was perhaps as important to postwar American GOVERNMENT as the bursts of liberal reform in 1933 and 1935 that created the modern regulatory welfare state. As with the First and Second New Deals, scholars do not always agree on precisely what the Third New Deal entailed. Some, for example, emphasize efforts to enhance

the policy planning and coordination capacity of the executive branch by such means as the EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION ACT of 1939 and the NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD. But a consensus has come to emphasize two related aspects of a Third New Deal: a more conservative political atmosphere in Washington and the nation that prevented significant expansion of the New Deal; and a new focus of LIBERALISM on government spending to produce full-employment prosperity.

The key event leading to this Third New Deal was the RECESSION OF 1937–1938. Together with such other events as the COURT-PACKING PLAN of 1937 and LABOR unrest, the 1937–38 recession eroded President Roosevelt's popularity and power, helped produce a CONSERVATIVE COALITION of Republicans and conservative Democrats in Congress, and fueled Republican gains in the 1938 elections. Henceforth, Roosevelt would not have Congresses nearly so cooperative as those of 1933 and 1935. But the recession also persuaded a growing number of New Deal economists and policymakers that deliberate deficit spending based on KEYNESIANISM was the way out of the GREAT DEPRESSION and that spending on social programs could underwrite both recovery and reform.

World War II then confirmed and reinforced patterns under way in the late 1930s. Particularly after the 1942 congressional elections, the conservative coalition became even more powerful in Washington. As war priorities became paramount, and as the massive wartime deficit spending brought full employment and rising living standards, several New Deal relief agencies were terminated, and liberals stood little chance of expanding social welfare programs or enacting new ones. Wartime MOBILIZATION efforts, though ultimately successful, showed the difficulties of federal micromanagement of the ECONOMY—and also the ability of BUSINESS and the military to "capture" government agencies designed to regulate the economy. At the same time, wartime prosperity proved the resiliency of the American economy and corroborated the theory that deficit spending could produce prosperity. Moreover, fiscal policy—taxing and spending—did not entail government control of the economy, was politically more feasible than major new economic and social reform, and brought obvious gains to working- and lower-class Americans by producing full-employment prosperity. Although Roosevelt and other liberals talked about a far-reaching ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS toward the end of the war, the FULL EMPLOYMENT BILL proposed in 1945 embodied the change in liberal priorities from the more aggressive economic reform and regulation of Roosevelt's first term. The emphasis on fiscal policy and full-employment prosperity of the Third New Deal would continue (along with a new emphasis on CIVIL RIGHTS) to characterize liberalism in the postwar era.

**Further reading:** John W. Jeffries, "A 'Third New Deal'? Liberal Policy and the American State, 1937–1945," *Journal of Policy History* 8, no. 4 (1996): 387–409.

**Thomas, Norman** (1884–1968) *socialist leader, pacifist*

Pacifist, civil libertarian, writer, and longtime leader of American SOCIALISTS, Norman Thomas headed the U.S. Socialist Party from 1928 until his death in 1968 and was a six-time candidate for the presidency on its ticket.

Norman Mattoon Thomas was born in 1884 in Marion, Ohio, into a family of Presbyterian ministers. He graduated from Princeton University and then from Union Theological Seminary, where he became a disciple of the Social Gospel movement. Ordained in 1911, Thomas had become a pacifist by 1916. In 1917, motivated by the poverty he had witnessed, he identified himself as a Christian Socialist. During World War I, Thomas helped found the National Civil Liberties Bureau, predecessor of the AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. He joined the Socialist Party in 1918, and in 1921 he became associate editor of the *Nation*, a major journal of the left. During the 1920s and early 1930s, Thomas worked for reform in New York City, running for mayor twice. He first ran for president as a Socialist Party candidate in 1928, polling less than 300,000 votes.

In the ELECTION OF 1932, Thomas won almost 900,000 votes, a disappointing total (just 2 percent of the popular vote) for the Socialists in the midst of the GREAT DEPRESSION. Many NEW DEAL policies reflected important parts of Thomas's platform, including RELIEF for the unemployed and impoverished and support for the rights of LABOR. When President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT achieved some of the goals of the Socialist platform, many of Thomas's followers left the Socialist Party for the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. In the ELECTION OF 1936, Thomas polled some 190,000 votes. Increasingly frustrated with both the church and marxism in the 1930s, Thomas resigned his ordination, condemned Stalinism, and tried to build up the non-marxist wing of the Socialist Party. He continued to be active in the fight to protect CIVIL LIBERTIES, working for the release of Communist Party leader Earl Browder and for CIVIL RIGHTS, supporting ANTILYNCHING LEGISLATION and the SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION.

Although Thomas opposed U.S. entry into WORLD WAR II before PEARL HARBOR, he supported the U.S. war effort afterward. During the war he condemned the relocation of JAPANESE AMERICANS, aided CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS, and protested racial inequality. He remained active until he died in 1968 at the age of 82, helping victims of anticommunist legislation, founding the antinuclear organization Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), and protesting against the Vietnam War.

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—Aimee Alice Pohl

**Townsend, Francis E.** (1867–1960) *advocate for old-age pensions*

Francis Everett Townsend, a retired physician in Long Beach, California, mobilized many of the ELDERLY during the GREAT DEPRESSION into a mass movement demanding a retirement pension. The passage of the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT of 1935 led to the decline of Townsend's movement. While Townsend continued to advocate his plan of a \$200 per month pension for the elderly, what had seemed to be a potent challenge to President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and the NEW DEAL in the mid-1930s dwindled away as Social Security programs benefited Townsend's constituency.

Born on January 13, 1867, Townsend had grown up in Nebraska and, until he entered medical school in 1897, had failed at several ventures, including farming and sales. Setting up his medical practice in South Dakota, Townsend spent the next several decades with a comfortable practice. But concerns about his health led him to relocate in 1919 to the more comfortable climate of Long Beach, California, where he set up a new practice and lived in relative obscurity.

Townsend claimed that the idea for his plan to help the elderly came from a vision he had when he watched three elderly women searching for scraps in garbage cans near his home in 1933. But however it came about, Townsend began to publicize his idea for a \$200 per month pension for all persons over age 60. The Townsend Plan, as it came to be called, was to be funded through a 2 percent sales tax, with pension recipients to spend the entire \$200 by the end of each month. Townsend promoted his plan as pumping money back into the ECONOMY, taking "surplus workers" out of the LABOR market, and providing economic security for the nation's elderly. The plan was economically unsound, for, as Townsend's critics pointed out, estimates indicated that the plan would have cost up to half of the nation's income and possibly doubled the tax burden on younger generations. But despite the flaws in the plan, Townsend had hit upon an issue that carried tremendous appeal.

Following Townsend's publication of his plan in the *Long Beach Press-Telegraph* in September 1933, the Townsend movement grew explosively. Townsend formalized his organization on January 1, 1934, when he created the Old-Age Revolving Pensions, Ltd., and launched a weekly newsletter. The organization began circulating a petition for a federal old-age pension and quickly spread beyond California. By mid-1935, perhaps as many as 25 million people had signed the petition, while about 5,000



local Townsend clubs (which claimed to have more than 2.2 million members) had sprung up around the nation. There were at least 500,000 dues paying members, and it appeared that Townsend had wide support in CONGRESS for his pension plan.

In early 1935, a Townsend-supported congressman introduced the Townsend Plan in Congress. The plan was easily defeated, with many congressmen recognizing its impracticality and expense. (Many also did not want to be on record as voting against it, and some 200 members of the House of Representatives were absent when the vote came up.) Coming just before President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent Congress the Economic Security Bill (which became the Social Security Act), the popularity of Townsend's plan may have helped the old-age programs of Social Security gain increased support in Congress as a more realistic method to assist the elderly.

The passage of the Social Security Act in August 1935 did not end Townsend's quest for an across-the-board pension, for he felt the act did not do enough to support the elderly. Partly because Roosevelt had opposed the Townsend plan, the doctor became a major, though soft-spoken, opponent of the president as the ELECTION OF 1936 approached. Recognizing that many of his supporters were also drawn to Senator HUEY P. LONG and FATHER CHARLES E. COUGHLIN, Townsend made overtures to these two men about forming a loose alliance. But his distaste for them was apparent in his lukewarm support for the UNION PARTY, formed by Father Coughlin and supported by Long's organization to challenge Roosevelt in the 1936 election. While Townsend lent his endorsement to the Union Party in the 14 states where it was on the ballot, he preferred REPUBLICAN PARTY candidate ALFRED M. LANDON. The dismal showing by the Union Party allowed Townsend to distance himself from Coughlin, and he returned to advocating his pension plan.

Townsend spent the next several decades trying to replace Social Security with his plan. But the Social Security Act had sapped much of his support and his attempts to reintroduce it in Congress never went very far. Townsend died on September 1, 1960, having failed to achieve his plan but contributing to the organization of one of the largest lobbying groups in American politics, the elderly.

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—Katherine Liapis Segrue

## transportation

The 1930s and 1940s brought dramatic changes in the transportation of goods and people in the United States.

A number of significant developments in automobiles, aircraft, and railroads combined to change the way Americans moved freight and passengers on local, national, and international levels. These changes contributed to the important role of transportation in supporting economic and military MOBILIZATION and interstate MIGRATION during WORLD WAR II.

Although the United States possessed a relatively extensive transportation network when the GREAT DEPRESSION struck in 1929, NEW DEAL programs of the 1930s expanded this network. Beginning in 1933, the PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION, directed by HAROLD ICKES, embarked on a nationwide campaign to create and upgrade roads, dams, airports, bridges, subways, tunnels, and harbors. Given the rising importance of four-wheeled transportation to the ECONOMY, highway construction received much of the agency's funding. In 1935 the WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION headed by HARRY HOPKINS, expanded on prior commitments to enhance the national transportation infrastructure, so that by the time projects ceased in 1943, it had constructed, repaired, or improved 651,087 miles of highway, roads, and streets; 124,031 bridges; and 853 airports. One of the most memorable accomplishments was the Pennsylvania Turnpike, which opened in October 1940 as an ultramodern, four-lane concrete highway that presaged superhighways of the 1950s. Other notable accomplishments were La Guardia Airport, New York, and the Lake Shore Drive, Chicago. Fortunately, this GOVERNMENT emphasis on infrastructure upgrades could not have been better timed, for the nation found itself well-equipped to handle the mammoth transportation issues associated with World War II logistics and production.

In the interwar years, America's railroads faced new competition for business from automobiles, buses, and trucks. Automobiles allowed people to travel at their pleasure rather than at times and by routes dictated by the rigid schedules of the railroads, and railroad passengers and passenger mileage declined in the 1920s, while automobile travel increased. The early years of the Great Depression reduced passenger traffic still further and, by causing American industries to curtail production, also reduced shipments of raw materials and finished goods. From 1929 to 1933, the number of railroad passengers fell from 786 million to 435 million, passenger miles fell from 31.2 to 16.4 billion, and freight tonnage fell from 1.34 billion to 699 million. In those four years, American railroads went from a net income of \$977 million to \$27 million (after net losses of \$122 million in 1932).

The problems besetting railroads proved so endemic that CONGRESS tried twice to directly intervene on their behalf with appropriate legislation. In 1935 it passed the Motor Carrier Act to address competition from the trucking industry by setting uniform, minimum freight rates



Pictured here is the McDonnell Douglas DC-3, the workhorse of commercial aviation in the 1930s. (*Library of Congress*)

but it had little effect. Consequently, in March 1938 the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) and several other government departments convened to survey the status of railroads and appointed a Committee of Three to seek possible remedies. Their projected solution was to continue funding cheap equipment and credit loans to the railroads through the RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION while consolidating the entire industry to promote greater efficiency. Whatever the plan's economic merits, it had the immediate net effect of angering railroad unions and brotherhoods, who felt that many jobs would be eliminated outright. The proposal was then highly modified to appease them, and when the Transportation Act of 1940 finally passed Congress in March 1940, it granted ICC oversight to coastal, inland waterway, and contract water carriers but left the entire issue of railroads unaddressed.

Federal regulation prevented the railroads from raising rates and abandoning routes to stem the loss of income, so a new way of increasing revenue had to be found. On September 29, 1932, the Burlington Railroad and a Philadelphia metal maker began construction of the first streamlined train, the Burlington Zephyr, as part of the railroad's plan to regain passengers lost to cars and buses. The streamliner provided fast transportation for its passengers in air-conditioned comfort and at lower cost to the railroad. The streamliners so enchanted the public that the Zephyr had to turn away passengers during its first year of service. Soon other railroads introduced new diesel streamliners of their own, or streamlined their older trains like the New York Central's 20th Century Limited, and the Baltimore and Ohio's Royal Blue. Passenger travel and revenue rose slowly after 1933.

With the outbreak of World War II, railroads experienced a rapid resurgence of their freight traffic as defense plants began to produce war material that needed to be moved from the factories to embarkation points along the coasts. On December 18, 1941, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT established the Office of Defense Transportation to coordinate all transportation for the war effort. Railroad freight traffic, both raw materials and finished products, increased during the war. So did rail passenger traffic when gasoline RATIONING made traveling long distances by automobile impractical and millions of GIs and defense workers and their families had to move across the country. Soon, American railroads were transporting war material, supplies, soldiers, and civilians in unprecedented volume. In 1944, railroad passenger miles peaked at their all-time high of 95.7 billion as railroads carried more than 900 million passengers, and freight tonnage reached a new record 1.5 billion. The net income of American railroads also reached new levels during the war.

Sales of new cars by the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY collapsed early in the depression, plummeting from nearly 4.5 million cars sold in 1929 to a low of 1.1 million sold in 1932. Nevertheless, the automobile became still more popular during the 1930s because of the personal freedom that it gave to travelers. Despite widespread economic hardship, Americans did not give up the cars they already owned, and passenger vehicle traffic held roughly steady early in the 1930s and then increased significantly in the second half of the decade; the number of vehicle miles traveled in 1940 was nearly 50 percent higher than in 1930. As travel for pleasure increased in the late 1930s, it sparked the development of the nascent motor court industry. Automobile sales picked up after 1932, but just as they neared predepression levels in 1940 and 1941, the automobile industry had to switch to military production because of World War II.

During the 1920s, efforts to improve road surfaces across America gained momentum in order to facilitate the growing use of trucks to transport goods over short and medium distances as well as automobile and bus traffic. When the Great Depression hit, road-building projects suffered as state and municipal finances were strained. But President Roosevelt's New Deal funded federal highway projects such as the Pennsylvania Turnpike and U.S. Route 66, while more local "farm to market roads" were built to assist farm recovery efforts as part of the Works Progress Administration. These roads were to make up for the loss of railroad transportation that had previously served farmers' shipping needs, and they enabled farm products to be shipped cheaply to the market via trucks. During the war, such roads facilitated the transportation of goods, especially of foodstuffs from farms to canneries and packing plants and then on to markets and ports for shipment to war zones.

Railroads and automobiles also facilitated population migration, especially during the war years. Although the early years of the Great Depression greatly reduced population movement, migration picked up in the second half of the 1930s as people moved away from the rural Midwest, Southwest, and South toward metropolitan areas and the Pacific Coast in search of work. An unknown but highly visible number of Americans became hoboes, taking to the rails and riding freight trains in the hope that they would be taken somewhere where work was available. Whole families left the DUST BOWL of the Midwest and Southwest and headed to California in their family cars looking for a better life. Later, with the need for more workers in factories during World War II, millions of Americans headed to the war production centers of the industrial Northeast, Midwest, and West, and joined military personnel on the crowded trains and buses of the war years.

While the automobile and railroad industries had become fairly well established in America, the AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY was still in its infancy at the beginning of the depression. There were few customers for new airplanes, especially for large commercial aircraft. However, as the 1930s progressed and the speed and convenience of air travel became more obvious, more and more people began traveling by air. Not only did cross-country air travel increase, but international flights also enabled more and more people to fly across the oceans for pleasure and business. In 1930, the aircraft industry transported fewer than 400,000 passengers; in 1940, it carried more than 2.5 million passengers. Twenty-three million paying passenger miles were flown in 1929, 56 million in 1935, and a record-breaking 110 million paying passenger miles were flown in 1940. Despite such dramatic increases, particularly late in the decade, passenger traffic in commercial aircraft in the 1930s was dwarfed by travel on railroads and automobiles. After the war, however, and the enormous wartime expansion of the aircraft industry, airplanes took an increasing share of the railroads' long-distance passenger traffic, while automobiles took many of the local passengers. Moreover, the large and capacious multiengine transport aircraft previously developed for the military, such as the Douglas C-54 Skymaster (DC-4) and Lockheed C-69 Constellation, were readily adapted by civilian airlines, which granted them unrivaled carrying capacity and greater passenger comfort. With such craft, the U.S. airline industry was poised for leadership in global aviation throughout the postwar period.

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*Highways Transformed America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Mark H. Rose, *The Best Transportation System in the World: Railroads, Trucks, Airlines, and American Public Policy in the Twentieth Century* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006).

—Nicholas Fry and John C. Fredriksen

**Truman, Harry S.** See VOLUME IX.

**Tugwell, Rexford G.** (1891–1979) *government official*

Rexford Guy Tugwell was a noted economist, a member of the BRAIN TRUST of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, governor of Puerto Rico, and historian of the NEW DEAL.

Tugwell was born near Buffalo, New York, in 1891, and received his bachelor's, master's, and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Pennsylvania. In 1920, he joined the Economics Department of Columbia University in New York, and taught progressive ideas of activist GOVERNMENT and cooperative LABOR-management relations. A respected scholar, Tugwell's central tenet was the "magnificence of [government] planning," which he believed could produce prosperity by ensuring balanced investment, production, and consumption.

After the GREAT DEPRESSION struck, Tugwell criticized the approach of the HOOVER PRESIDENCY. Believing that the depression had resulted from structural flaws in the U.S. ECONOMY, he maintained that underconsumption was the primary cause of the depression and that recovery must start in AGRICULTURE. In 1932, RAYMOND MOLEY asked Tugwell to join Roosevelt's inner advisory circle, which soon was known as the "Brain Trust." Witty, confident, assertive, and a resourceful thinker, Tugwell had FDR's ear even when they disagreed. He was regarded as the most radical member of the Brain Trust and saw the key to recovery in government economic planning and controls.

After Roosevelt's victory in the ELECTION OF 1932, Tugwell was appointed assistant secretary of agriculture and became undersecretary in 1934. He was instrumental in drafting the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA) and the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT (AAA), both of which reflected his belief in government planning, though neither of which went nearly as far as Tugwell desired. In 1935, Roosevelt appointed Tugwell to head the RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION, which sought to resettle farmers from depleted to arable farmland and also sponsored model "greenbelt" towns—planned communities designed to avoid urban congestion.

Tugwell resigned from the GOVERNMENT after Roosevelt's reelection in 1936. Though still on good terms with

FDR, he was unhappy with the limits of the NIRA and the AAA, indeed with the more general limits of the New Deal to provide the sort of planning, controls, and policy he thought essential, and he had become a controversial target of conservatives. He had lost a battle in 1935 to have AAA payments go to tenants and sharecroppers, and he had also argued unsuccessfully for a national system of UNEMPLOYMENT compensation and health insurance as part of the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT. Two years later, New York City mayor FIORELLO LA GUARDIA appointed him chairman of the New York City Planning Commission. In 1941, Tugwell

was named governor of Puerto Rico, serving in that position until 1946. In later years, Tugwell was a prolific and influential writer on the history of the New Deal, writing prize-winning studies of Roosevelt and of the Brain Trust. He died in 1979.

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—Robert J. Hanyok



# U



## unemployment

Unemployment was one of the chief defining characteristics of the GREAT DEPRESSION of the 1930s. By 1933, at least one-fourth and perhaps as much as one-third of the American LABOR force was unemployed. Unemployment generally declined for the rest of the 1930s, and NEW DEAL programs provided RELIEF and other assistance to the unemployed; but as late as 1940, nearly 15 percent of the labor force remained unemployed. Spending for WORLD WAR II finally ended the Great Depression, produced a full-production, full-employment ECONOMY, and returned unemployment to low levels.

Unemployment had for the most part been low in the 1920s, after the sharp recession at the outset of the decade, and only about 1.6 million workers, just 3.2 percent of the civilian labor force, were unemployed in 1929. The Great Depression then began late in 1929, and unemployment (see the table accompanying this entry) soared over the next four years—to nearly 13 million workers and one-fourth of the civilian labor force by 1933, when the economy reached its nadir. These figures, moreover, are really little better than informed estimates, probably on the low side; some scholars believe that the real unemployment rate was nearer to one-third of the labor force. Nor do the net figures for unemployment adequately reflect the depression's impact on employment, for millions more were underemployed, working part-time instead of full-time or at lower-level jobs than before, and thus with sharply reduced income. And some workers simply left the labor force as the depression wore on, and thus were not counted in unemployment figures.

The overall figures on unemployment also fail to show how the Great Depression affected particular areas, industries, and groups. By 1933, manufacturing unemployment was off by at least one-third, and perhaps by as much as two-fifths; and in some industries and CITIES unemployment rates were 50 percent and higher. The troubled industries of the 1920s, coal and textiles, were joined in

high unemployment rates by the automobile, construction, and other consumer durable industries that had sparked the economic growth of the 1920s. In Detroit, for example, that symbol of American production and prosperity in the 1920s, more than half the labor force was unemployed by 1933. In Akron, Ohio, unemployment was estimated at 60 percent in 1932; in Dayton, Ohio, the figure was 80 percent. Most farmers, of course, kept their jobs, working harder than before though earning less money as AGRICULTURE suffered; but the impact of the depression and of the New Deal's AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION meant significant unemployment among tenant farmers, sharecroppers, and migrant farmworkers.

The depression hit other groups, especially minority groups, with particular force. AFRICAN AMERICANS, last hired during the prosperity of the 1920s and even then with relatively high unemployment rates, were first fired in the hard times of the 1930s and experienced significantly higher unemployment rates than whites. By 1932, more than one-half of black workers in southern cities were jobless. In Pittsburgh, one-third of white workers were unemployed in 1933—and half of black workers. MEXICAN AMERICANS also had unemployment rates well above the disastrous national and local averages. Young and ELDERLY workers also had disproportionately high unemployment rates, with workers under 20 and those over 60 being twice as likely to be unemployed.

The story of unemployment for women was complicated. Initially, women tended to lose jobs faster than men, since domestic and unskilled manufacturing workers were often laid off first and married women with employed husbands were sometimes fired in an effort to spread jobs around. But there were countervailing forces, ironically sometimes the result of longstanding disparities, that worked in favor of women's employment: Women were concentrated in "women's jobs" in the service and clerical sectors, which recovered or expanded faster than manufacturing, and in teaching and light industry, which had lower

unemployment rates than heavy industry; and they typically were paid lower wages, which made them more attractive to employers. Many women had to work, because their husbands were unemployed—and the percentage of married women working rose by some 50 percent in the 1930s.

A sense that poverty and unemployment were somehow personal failings, and that GOVERNMENT should not do too much to help the jobless and destitute, proved widespread and strongly ingrained. The continuing strength of CONSERVATISM even in the reformist 1930s included an emphasis on personal responsibility and a concern about too-costly or too-powerful government. A keen feeling of personal inadequacy often dogged the unemployed themselves, even when it was obvious that the economic system had collapsed and that millions of hardworking, responsible people were out of work through no fault of their own. Many people receiving relief assistance were ambivalent about it and worried about the new role of the federal government in directly helping the unemployed. Although the New Deal reforms of the 1930s eroded such feelings, they did not end them. As unemployment declined sharply during World War II, so did popular support for relief programs for the unemployed and destitute, which most Americans, including most New Dealers, had envisioned only as temporary stopgaps.

The table below charts unemployment totals from 1929 to 1945. After its explosive growth from 1929 to 1933, unemployment declined steadily during the early New Deal and was down from 24.9 percent to 14.3 percent by 1937 as the economy expanded from the low point of 1933. The RECESSION OF 1937–1938 then sent unemployment soaring again, to nearly one of five workers in 1938; and despite some economic improvement as the Roosevelt administration began to turn in the late 1930s to an expansive FISCAL POLICY based upon KEYNESIANISM, nearly 15 percent of the civilian workforce (a rate not much below that of 1931) remained unemployed in 1940—10 long years after the onset of the Great Depression. However, by 1941, with the impact of defense spending as the nation began the MOBILIZATION of its productive and military resources, unemployment declined sharply as industry began to produce and hire more and as the armed forces drew people from the workforce. During the war the nation's economic problem was how to find workers for jobs, not the 1930s problem of how to find jobs for workers—which offered new opportunities (sometimes slowly) to African Americans and other minority groups, to women, to young and old workers, to displaced farmworkers. With some 54 million Americans employed in civilian jobs and another 11.5 million in the military, barely two-thirds of a million people

#### UNEMPLOYMENT, 1929–1945

	Unemployed Workers	% Unemployed of Civilian Labor Force	Civilian Labor Force Employment	Armed Forces
1929	1,550,000	3.2%	47,630,000	255,031
1930	4,340,000	8.7	45,480,000	255,648
1931	8,020,000	15.9	42,400,000	252,605
1932	12,060,000	23.6	38,940,000	244,902
1933	12,830,000	24.9	38,760,000	243,845
1934	11,340,000	21.7	40,890,000	247,137
1935	10,610,000	20.1	42,260,000	251,799
1936	9,030,000	16.9	44,410,000	291,356
1937	7,700,000	14.3	46,300,000	311,808
1938	10,390,000	19.0	44,220,000	322,932
1939	9,480,000	17.2	45,750,000	334,473
1940	8,120,000	14.6	47,520,000	458,465
1941	5,560,000	9.9	50,350,000	1,801,101
1942	2,660,000	4.7	53,750,000	3,858,791
1943	1,070,000	1.9	54,470,000	9,044,745
1944	670,000	1.2	53,960,000	11,451,719
1945	1,040,000	1.9	52,820,000	12,123,455

Source: *The Statistical History of the United States, from Colonial Times to the Present* (Stamford, Conn.: Fairfield Publishers, 1965)

and just 1.2 percent—a stunningly low level—of the civilian labor force were unemployed in 1944. Because of the searing impact of unemployment during the Great Depression, a concern about unemployment would be central to POSTWAR PLANNING and to politics and policy during and after the war; but the war had ended the unemployment crisis of the 1930s and begun a quarter century of remarkable economic growth and prosperity.

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### Union Party

The Union Party was a short-lived phenomenon, created in the summer of 1936 and withering away after its weak showing in the ELECTION OF 1936. William “Liberty Bill” Lemke, a North Dakota congressman unhappy that the NEW DEAL was doing too little for impoverished farmers, ran for president on the Union Party ticket. The party was formed by FATHER CHARLES E. COUGHLIN, a bitter foe of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT by the mid-1930s, who tried to forge a coalition of his followers with those of other critics of the limits of the early New Deal—in particular, Dr. FRANCIS TOWNSEND, who had rallied millions of elderly people behind his old-age pension plan, and HUEY P. LONG, whose Share Our Wealth clubs had enlisted millions of supporters. Townsend agreed to support the new party, as did Gerald L. K. Smith, who had assumed leadership of the Share Our Wealth clubs after Long’s assassination in 1935.

But by 1936, the potential strength of those groups had faded. Not only was the magnetic Long dead, but the SECOND NEW DEAL of 1935, by passing such measures as the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT and the REVENUE ACT OF 1935 (or “Wealth Tax”), had seemed to meet key demands of Townsend and Long. Roosevelt in 1936 proved again an adept campaigner, aggressively reaching out to lower-income voters who had seemed dissatisfied a year earlier. With no real organization, indeed with no common cause apart from its leaders’ enmity for Roosevelt, the Union Party fell into bitter disarray. Townsend distanced himself from the campaign, and Smith and Coughlin became increasingly intemperate. Calling Roosevelt a “betrayal and liar,” a communist, and a “scab president,” Coughlin was denounced by his superiors in the Catholic Church. When Coughlin began calling Lemke “Liberty Bell Lemke,” crit-

ics reminded voters that the Liberty Bell was cracked. Lemke (educated at Georgetown and at Yale Law School) campaigned gamely on, but with no success. Coughlin had claimed that the party would win at least 9 million votes; in fact, it won only 882,479, just 1.9 percent of the vote. Coughlin veered into the ANTI-SEMITISM that marked the rest of his career. Lemke tried to keep the party alive, but he gave up the effort by the end of the decade.

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### United Mine Workers of America (UMW)

The United Mine Workers of America (UMW) was organized in 1890 to address the often horrendous working conditions associated with the mining industry. By the 1920s the UMW had emerged as a power to reckon with, both at the negotiating table and within the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL). However, increased competition between union and nonunion mines over the ensuing decade, coupled with a chronic depression in the mining industry, undercut many previous gains. The onset of the GREAT DEPRESSION in 1929 further depleted membership ranks, which had declined from half a million to about 100,000 in less than a decade. Fortunately, the UMW was led by the aggressive JOHN L. LEWIS, who had already secured such benefits as higher wages and retirement pay and who now took active steps to both expand membership and also extend unionization to all industrial workers. With the passage of the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT in May 1933, which guaranteed collective bargaining, Lewis waged a determined campaign to incorporate the nonunion mines in the SOUTH and Midwest. By dint of Lewis’s charisma among workers and hard bargaining with management, all remaining mines were forced to sign wage agreements in July 1933, which also boosted union membership by some 300,000 workers. However, Lewis was unhappy with the AFL’s indifference to industrial workers, so in 1935 the UMW spearheaded creation of a new LABOR organization, the Committee for Industrial Organization (later CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS or CIO). Again, he proved successful and brought thousands of workers in the auto, steel, RUBBER, and related mass-production industries into the union fold. In fact, the efforts of the UMW probably did more to improve the wages and living standards of workers throughout the South, white and black alike, than any previous organization. The AFL responded by ejecting

the insurgents, although Lewis managed a rapprochement with them by 1946.

During WORLD WAR II, Lewis's militancy remained a constant source of labor strife. He refused to sign the no-strike pledge and in 1943 led a stoppage that resulted in military control of the mines. This seemingly unpatriotic stance undermined public sympathy for trade unionism, as did defiance of many strike injunctions of the immediate postwar period. The UMW's refusal to endorse anticommunist affidavits stipulated under the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act led to further public estrangement, as did union STRIKES at the beginning of the Korean War. The more conservative-minded AFL again ejected the UMW in 1947. Since that period the UMW has experienced a period of stagnation and decline, as have many industrial unions, but under Lewis's aegis it functioned as one of the largest and most influential organizations in organized labor.

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—John C. Fredriksen

## United Nations (UN)

As WORLD WAR II drew to a close in the spring of 1945, the leaders of the Allied nations sought to establish an international organization to ensure lasting world peace. Representatives of 50 nations met in San Francisco in April 1945 to flesh out an agreement on the charter of the United Nations based especially on the principle of collective security to combat aggression. Reflecting the wartime change toward internationalism in American FOREIGN POLICY, the U.S. Senate ratified the UN Charter on July 28, 1945, by a vote of 89 to 2.

From the beginning of World War II, the Allied nations opposing the AXIS took steps toward international cooperation to defeat Germany and then to preserve peace in the postwar era. Representatives of nine European nations joined with Britain and members of the Commonwealth in signing the Inter-Allied Declaration in 1941, which united these countries in their efforts to liberate Europe from Hitler so that its people could live in peace and security. While the European allies took the initial step toward a United Nations with the Inter-Allied Declaration, the ATLANTIC CHARTER, issued by President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and British prime minister Winston Churchill in August 1941, linked the United States to this mission of freedom and cooperation—though Roosevelt at this stage opposed a public declaration of a new collective security organization.

The Declaration by United Nations (January 1942), the first official use of the phrase *United Nations*, sanctioned the goals of the Atlantic Charter and was signed by some two dozen nations, including the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. Later, at the TEHERAN CONFERENCE (1943), Roosevelt, Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin agreed to the idea of an international organization charged with preserving world peace.

Because of lessons learned from the coming of World War II, and because of the efforts of President Roosevelt and his administration, American public opinion and foreign policy shifted decisively toward internationalism during the early and mid-1940s. Roosevelt, like other Americans, believed that the weaknesses of the League of Nations had contributed to unchecked aggression and the breakdown of peace in the 1930s and that a new collective security organization would have to be based on a more realistic readiness to use force to stop aggression and prevent war. Learning from Woodrow Wilson's mistakes, Roosevelt also made certain to include Republicans in the planning process.

Further discussions among the Allied nations in the fall of 1944, at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in Washington, led to several concrete proposals that were eventually included in the UN Charter, including a major role for the Security Council in preventing conflicts and brokering peace agreements. Disagreements between American and Soviet negotiators at these meetings reflected the emerging rift in SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS. In February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin met at the YALTA CONFERENCE, where they announced plans for the United Nations Conference on International Organization.

The conference opened in San Francisco on April 25, 1945. Delegates from 50 nations worked out the details of the UN Charter, amid major disagreements over the veto power of the larger nations. Though unable to curb the role of the major Allied powers on the Security Council, the smaller nations were successful at increasing the relative importance of the other more egalitarian organs such as the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.

Article 1 of the United Nations Charter enunciated its objectives: to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations based on mutual respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; to achieve international cooperation in addressing international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian nature; and to operate as a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in order to reach these ends. The charter enumerated six principal organs: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat. Chiefly responsible for keeping the peace, the Security Council was delegated the most critical task.



The five major Allied powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China—became permanent members of the UN's peacekeeping arm, the Security Council, each holding the right to veto its actions. The charter took effect on October 24, 1945, the date celebrated annually as United Nations Day. In January 1946, the first session of the 51-member Assembly convened in London, before voting to move the UN headquarters to New York, its present location. Cold war tensions between the United States and the USSR sometimes threatened to paralyze the United Nations, casting doubt over its ability to maintain international peace and security.

In the decades after 1945 the United Nations grew to include almost every country in the world, expanding rapidly during the postwar period from 51 countries in 1945 to nearly 192 in 2009. As its budget, its mission, and its sometimes controversial role in the arbitration of conflicts between nations spread, the UN helped to establish the independent states of Israel and Pakistan in the late 1940s. Dominated by the Americans, UN forces waged the Korean War from 1950 to 1953. In addition to numerous peacekeeping missions around the world in subsequent years, various UN agencies have worked to improve health and environmental standards for the world's people.

See also CORDELL HULL.

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—Joseph C. Gutberlet

### United Service Organizations (USO)

The United Service Organizations (USO) was created in 1941, after President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT urged six private welfare organizations to meet the off-duty RECREATION and relaxation needs of members of the armed forces. The six agencies that pooled their resources to form the USO were the Salvation Army, the National Catholic Community Services, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Travelers Aid Association, and the National Jewish Welfare Board. This combined enterprise sought to avoid the contention and overlapping efforts that plagued such private-sector agencies in World War I, though not with total success. Often concerned about their own welfare and visibility, and with differing goals and constituencies, the agencies sometimes quarreled or complained about the assignment of specific USO sites and responsibilities.

Such interagency disagreements did not, however, prevent the USO from successfully meeting its aim of



Seen here are the Andrews Sisters—La Verne, Maxene, and Patty—an extremely popular singing trio who performed in USO productions for troops around the world. (*National Archives*)

helping to sustain the morale of the armed forces during WORLD WAR II. By 1944 there were approximately 3,000 local USO sites, providing facilities for a variety of activities from washing up to writing letters, to simply resting in lounges. USO personnel also gathered local sightseeing information and provided local clergy for personal counseling. Perhaps the best-known activities of the USO, but not necessarily the most important, were the camp shows. Organized with the help of the entertainment industry, the USO camp shows brought live entertainment to bases in the United States and overseas. Star entertainers such as Bob Hope and the Andrews Sisters were especially prominent in bringing first-rate performances to troops stationed around the world.

The USO played a significant role in the war, both on the home front and overseas. Providing recreation, relaxation, and entertainment, the USO also reminded the men and women in the armed forces that the nation supported them, thus helping to sustain the morale of youth pursuing essential, challenging, and often dangerous military tasks far from home.

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—Amanda Lea Miracle

### United States Housing Authority (USHA)

The United States Housing Authority (USHA) was created by the United States Housing Act of 1937. The first agency specifically concerned with urban HOUSING, the USHA was charged with clearing slum units and building low-cost, livable housing for low-income Americans. Like many NEW DEAL social programs, the USHA suffered from insufficient funding because of conservative opposition in CONGRESS to such an expansion of the role of the federal GOVERNMENT. But while the initial accomplishments of the agency were limited, the USHA did set the precedent for federal efforts to alleviate the shortage of adequate housing in America's CITIES and for a much larger government role in the postwar period.

The first New Deal efforts to address urban housing came from the PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION. The agency allocated funds for new home construction in 1933, but the PWA's director, HAROLD ICKES, was extremely careful in expending his funds, wanting to make sure every PWA project was an efficient use of government money. By 1937, the Housing Division of the PWA had built only 25,000 new housing units.

Ickes's caution was not the major impediment to New Deal housing policy. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT was not a major supporter of public housing, and the New Deal was interested first and foremost in reviving the sagging home mortgage industry through the HOME OWNERS LOAN CORPORATION and the FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION. Primarily aimed at middle-class homeowners, neither agency actively engaged in promoting affordable home construction in cities. In addition, there was considerable opposition to federally funded public housing by southern Democrats and conservative Republicans with ties to BUSINESS. Neither group saw public housing as benefiting important parts of their constituencies—rural residents of the SOUTH and BANKING and realty interests in the North. But as the shortcomings of the PWA's Housing

Division came clear by 1935, New York senator ROBERT F. WAGNER began pushing for a more comprehensive public housing program.

Wagner introduced his housing bill several times before he received the reluctant support of President Roosevelt in 1937. As created by the United States Housing Act (sometimes known as the Wagner Public Housing Act) of 1937, the USHA emerged as a compromise agency, with provisions that limited the agency's spending to 10 percent in any one state to make sure that USHA did not operate only in large northern cities, capped building expenditures per unit, made local financial participation a condition to receiving USHA funds, and cut the initial appropriation to half of the \$1 billion Wagner had proposed. But while the record of public housing building by the USHA never produced nearly the amount of low-cost housing units that Wagner had envisioned, the agency did provide the first precedent for federally funded public housing.

The first years of the agency reflected the limitations placed upon the USHA and the lukewarm reception given to public housing. Municipalities and other local units of government who chose to participate were required to set up local housing authorities to administer their public housing as well as financially contribute to the units' cost. By 1939, there were only 221 local housing authorities created to take advantage of the USHA's funds and fewer than 150,000 new housing units built, with the building rate decreasing rapidly after 1939, when Congress cut the USHA's appropriation.

Under President Harry S. Truman, the USHA was given new life in 1949, when recognition of a severe housing shortage created an alliance of urban Democrats and Republicans. But while the 1949 Housing Act allowed for 810,000 new public housing units, just over 200,000 were built by 1960. Overall, the USHA built only one-tenth of the estimated number of public housing units needed from 1939 to 1960. When the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was created in 1965 as a cabinet-level agency, it reflected the growing role of the federal government in the problems faced by American cities in the latter half of the 20th century.

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—Katherine Liapis Segrue

# V



## V-E Day

*V-E Day* is the term that designates the day of Victory in Europe in **WORLD WAR II**. Germany surrendered unconditionally to the Allied Powers on May 7, 1945, but May 8 was the date of the official announcements and celebrations of V-E Day. U.S. president Harry S. Truman, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet premier Joseph Stalin, representing the wartime **GRAND ALLIANCE** that had defeated Germany, decided to coordinate a time when they would formally announce the victory in Europe to their countries. Churchill and especially Truman (the Soviet Union was not yet at war with Japan) hoped to limit the excitement and keep their citizens from losing sight of the war in the **WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER**, where Japan was reeling but not expected to surrender soon.

World reaction to V-E Day varied according to country. Truman kept his speech restrained by expressing great satisfaction over Germany's surrender, but also warning the country to stay focused on the war in the Pacific. Generally low-key celebrations took place in the United States, and within a week attention to the end of the war in Europe had faded and American newspapers were emphasizing the Pacific theater. Churchill, like Truman, reminded his nation that the war in the Pacific would likely be long and difficult. Still, compared to the somewhat restrained reaction in the United States, British reaction was jubilant—not surprisingly, since Britain had been directly attacked by Germany, had undergone such anxiety and loss in the war, and was not so heavily involved as the United States in the Pacific theater. For the British, the **WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER** was the dominant part of their war, and V-E Day was a time of great celebration in London and throughout the United Kingdom. France, defeated by Germany in 1940 and liberated by the Allies in 1944, responded joyously as well, as did the Soviet Union, which had suffered so grievously from the German invasion, losing 20 million or more soldiers and civilians.

There was much work to be done after V-E Day, in rebuilding Europe, winning the war in the Pacific, and working to establish a permanent peace. Accordingly, Americans looked at V-E Day as a significant event to be celebrated, a giant but not the final step to the end of the war, and only the beginning of a period of readjustment at home and abroad.

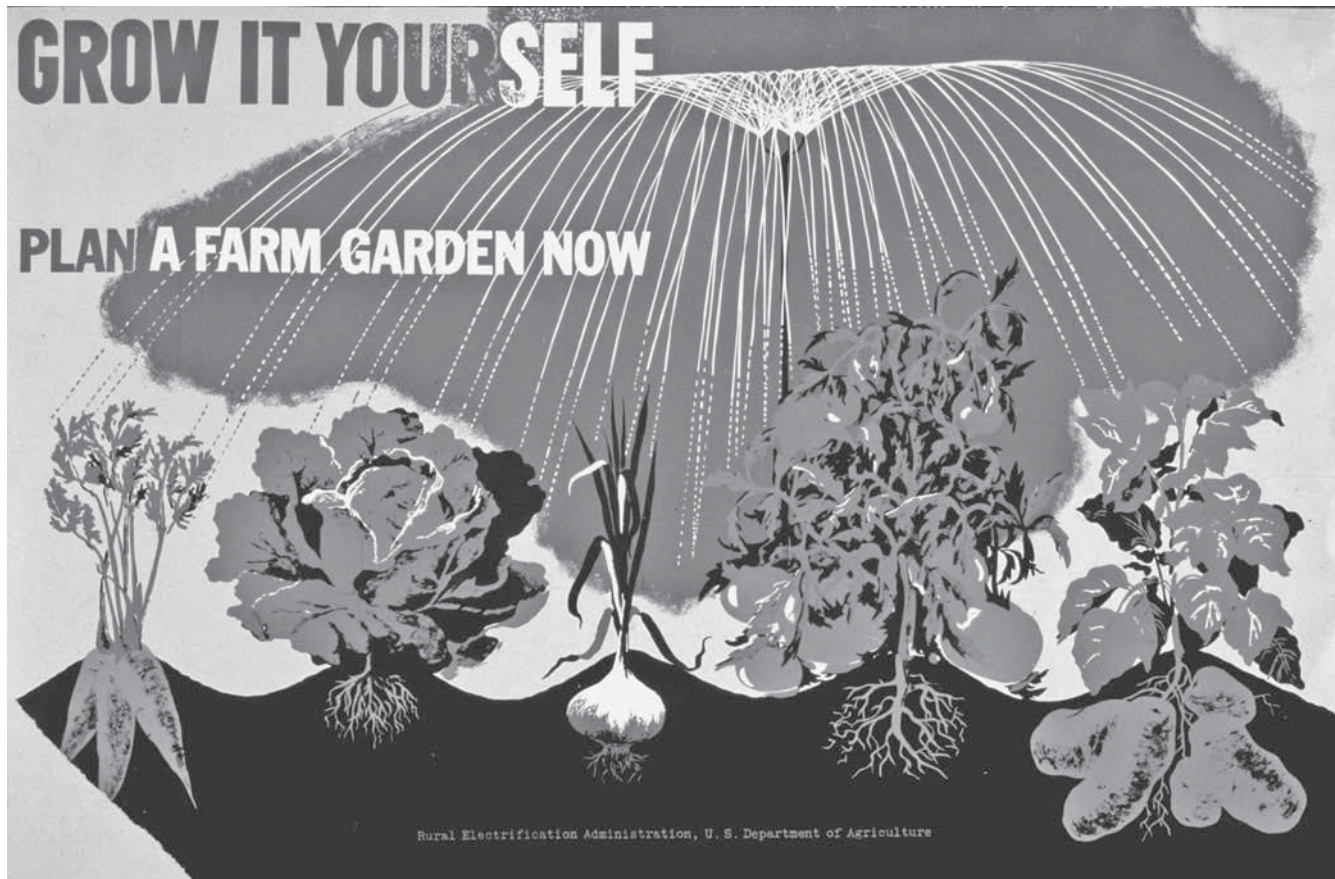
See also **V-J DAY**.

—Prathyusha B. Reddy

## victory gardens

During World War I, the **GOVERNMENT** encouraged the populace to voluntarily supplement their diets by growing much of their own food in plots popularly called war gardens. After the armistice ended the war in 1918, these plots were hailed as “victory gardens.” In December 1941, following America's entry into **WORLD WAR II**, Secretary of Agriculture Claude Wickard sponsored a National Defense Garden Conference in Washington, D.C., for the purpose of resuscitating the practice of victory gardens. This was done as much to convince American families to grow their own food and supplement their diets as for producing food-stuffs for the troops. A consortium of seed companies, the agricultural press, and gardening organizations then conferred over how best to stimulate interest in the program among the private citizens. Fortunately, the population was enthusiastic about gardening, and the program quickly assumed impressive proportions. By 1943 it is estimated that some 20 million families had established plots of one kind or another. These assumed an astonishing variety of sizes and locales, ranging from backyards to vacant city lots, rooftops, school yards, and window sills—in sum, any place that fruits and vegetables could be cultivated. And, because most Americans were far removed from the soil, the Department of Agriculture wrote, printed and distributed handy and informative pamphlets outlining what crops to grow





Poster for the U.S. Department of Agriculture promoting victory gardens (Library of Congress)

and how. A wide variety of produce was encouraged, especially tomatoes, which yielded abundantly in little space. The bulk of food raised was then stored and preserved by a combination of drying and freezing, but the most popular method was canning. During the war years victory gardens produced more than one million tons of vegetables and at their peak up to 40 percent of all vegetables grown in the United States.

Victory gardens became so popular that they also served as a de facto badge of civic pride for supporting the war effort. Gardening and the ethos of self-sufficiency granted average citizens a genuine sense of contributing to the war effort, and all sectors of the population, the ELDERLY, women, teenagers, and even CHILDREN, were encouraged to do their share. In this vital respect victory gardens became a popular symbol for the war and a conduit for fostering morale and national unity.

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—John C. Fredriksen

### V-J Day

Victory over Japan Day (V-J Day) was celebrated on August 14 and into August 15, 1945, after President Harry S. Truman announced the surrender of Japan to end WORLD WAR II, although it was officially observed on September 2, when the surrender documents were signed.

On the morning of August 10, 1945, just days after the dropping of the ATOMIC BOMBS on HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI and the Soviet declaration of war against Japan, President Truman received a letter from the War Department containing an informal message relayed through the Swiss government that Japan was ready to surrender, but with the emperor remaining in power. This conflicted with the unconditional surrender demanded by the POTSDAM CONFERENCE, and the war continued until a satisfactory solution was reached by an agreement that the emperor's



powers were “subject to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers.”

On August 14, at 7 P.M. Eastern War Time in Washington, President Truman announced, simultaneously with Great Britain and the Soviet Union, the surrender of Japan. The true V-J Day, Truman said, “must wait until formal signing of the surrender terms by Japan.” Americans said differently, and joyous demonstrations erupted across the country on August 14. Los Angeles celebrated with spontaneous parades; crowds in Salt Lake City danced in the rain; and in Washington, D.C., jubilant conga lines formed in front of the White House. Nothing was so memorable as the scene in New York City, where an estimated 2 million Americans thronged around Times Square, hugging and kissing and together celebrating the end of the war. Celebrations, sometimes more organized, continued on August 15.

The end of the war was officially observed on September 2, 1945, when surrender documents were signed aboard the USS *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay. The actual signing was anticlimatic because the war had been over for nearly three weeks, and Americans were attempting to adjust to the new world that World War II had created. On the home front, Americans faced the challenges of DEMOBILIZATION and RECONVERSION. In the area of international relations, postwar efforts to avoid yet a third major conflict provided a primary focus. Growing tension and suspicions in SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS added to concerns, especially among American policymakers. And the world had now entered the atomic age. Americans had much to celebrate on V-J Day, but also much to ponder.

See also V-E DAY.

—Jonathan R. Mikeska



# W



## wage and price controls

Because the economic MOBILIZATION for World War II raised employment and income and diverted production to needed war goods, a potentially dangerous “inflationary gap” threatened to open because of increasing disposable income and the restricted availability of consumer goods. In order to head off inflation, the GOVERNMENT imposed price controls and wage controls. (RATIONING helped to ensure the fair allocation of essential items.) By 1943, a generally effective system of wage and price controls had been implemented, and wartime inflation was held within reasonable bounds. It must be noted, however, that economists and economic historians have produced a number of divergent estimates of wartime price levels and that official figures underestimate, perhaps seriously, the real inflation of the war years.

As with rationing, the public understood the need for wage and price controls but typically disliked them nonetheless. As always, moreover, personal circumstances and interests shaped opinion. BUSINESS liked wage controls much more than price controls; LABOR had just the opposite reaction. Farmers might applaud price controls on manufactured goods, but farm products were another matter. Landlords approved of price controls but not of rent controls.

The development of a satisfactory system of wage and price controls took several years and mirrored the early difficulties overall in economic mobilization. In April 1941, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT established the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply (OPACS) headed by LEON HENDERSON. Like other agencies created before PEARL HARBOR and the American entry into the war, the OPACS had little authority and effectiveness. In August 1941, FDR replaced it with the OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION (OPA), also under Henderson; then, in January 1942, CONGRESS gave the OPA authority to set maximum prices on nonfarm goods and rents with the Emergency Price Control Act.

In April 1942, the OPA froze most prices at the highest level reached in March 1942. (The order was called the General Maximum Price Regulation—or, in the wartime atmosphere, “General Max.”) But General Max could not regulate farm prices or wages, involved various discrepancies and inequities, and failed to stop price rises. Congress allowed agricultural prices to reach 110 percent of the parity level of the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT of the NEW DEAL. Manufacturers found ways around price controls by introducing slight changes in packaging or content of items that allowed them to call them “new” items not falling under the authority of General Max. The OPA did have more success with rent controls.

As the OPA tried to implement effective price controls, the administration turned to the other side of the equation—wage controls. In July 1942, the NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD (NWLBB) enacted the so-called Little Steel formula (developed in working with the smaller steel companies) allowing a 15 percent increase in hourly wage rates after January 1, 1941 (to compensate for the rise of prices between then and May 1942). The formula applied to regular hourly wages, but not to overtime or incentive pay, benefits, or job upgrades. Average weekly earnings ultimately increased by some two-thirds.

Together the “General Max” and “Little Steel” policies helped check the upward movement of prices and wages. In October 1942, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to pass the Economic Stabilization Act and arranged for SUPREME COURT justice JAMES F. BYRNES to head the new Office of Economic Stabilization, with power over farm prices and wages. In April 1943, FDR issued a “hold-the-line” order on wages and prices.

By 1943, inflation had largely been brought under control. The consumer price index rose only by about 4 percent for the rest of the war, after having increased by some 24 percent from 1939 to 1943. The wage and price control programs were by no means perfect or altogether equitable. Some prices and incomes rose faster than others.

While the NWLB turned down requests to allow raising wages of the lowest-paid workers—in 1944, one-fourth of manufacturing workers earned less than 60¢ per hour—conservatives in Congress beat back administration efforts to cap salaries of the well-off. The consumer price index, in addition to underestimating wartime inflation, did not take into account such hidden price increases as diminished quality, choice, discounts, and services, or the prices paid on the wartime BLACK MARKET. Yet despite the problems, the efforts did have important success; and although controls were never very popular, most Americans understood the need for wage and price controls and accepted the principle.

**Further reading:** Lester V. Chandler, *Inflation in the United States, 1940–1948* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951); Harold G. Vatter, *The U.S. Economy in World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

### **Wagner, Robert F.** (1877–1953) *senator*

Robert Ferdinand Wagner, a Democratic United States senator from New York from 1927 to 1949, became the leading voice and symbol of urban LIBERALISM. He was an important supporter of the NEW DEAL, an assertive advocate of LABOR, and an architect of significant reform legislation.

Wagner was born in Germany in 1877, and his family immigrated to the United States in 1886, settling in New York City. The youngest of seven children, he was able to attend City College through the efforts of his family. He then went on to New York Law School and became involved in local politics as a student. In 1904, Wagner won his first election, to the state assembly, as the Tammany Hall candidate. He spent the next two decades involved in New York politics, and was elected a state senator in 1908 and then a state Supreme Court judge in 1918. Over the years Wagner became increasingly liberal, and with state assembly leader Al Smith provided New York with one of the most progressive labor laws of the time following the tragic 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire. When Wagner was elected to the United States Senate in 1926, he brought his concern about the working class to CONGRESS.

During the HOOVER PRESIDENCY, Wagner became one of the most vocal proponents of measures to address rising UNEMPLOYMENT. After the GREAT DEPRESSION struck in 1929, Wagner pushed hard for his “three bills” legislation—to collect better unemployment data, to fund public works projects, and to strengthen the United States Employment Service. His efforts led to the RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION ACT of 1932, which authorized the RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION to lend states and municipalities up to \$1.5 billion for self-liquidating

public works projects and states up to \$300 million for RELIEF assistance to the unemployed.

By 1933, Wagner was disappointed by what had been done to alleviate the Great Depression. He was an early supporter of the candidacy of New York governor FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT for president in 1932, although his friendship with Al Smith kept him from publicly campaigning for FDR. When Roosevelt was elected, Wagner worked closely with the administration and sometimes went well beyond it in advocating labor, public HOUSING, and other reforms aimed especially at the urban working class. A proponent of ANTILYNCHING LEGISLATION efforts during the 1930s, Wagner also supported CIVIL RIGHTS for AFRICAN AMERICANS.

Wagner is perhaps best known for successfully championing landmark legislation for labor unions. When the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT (NIRA) of 1933 was being drafted in Congress, Wagner ensured that it not tilt too far toward BUSINESS by insisting that collective bargaining, minimum wage, and maximum hours provisions were included in Section 7(a) of the legislation. But Section 7(a) did less than he had hoped to underwrite labor organization, despite his efforts to strengthen its enforcement. In 1935, after the SUPREME COURT had declared the NIRA unconstitutional, Wagner pressed for the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT (also known as the Wagner Act). Despite lukewarm support from FDR and Secretary of Labor FRANCES PERKINS, the NLRA passed Congress in June 1935, and was signed by Roosevelt in July. Establishing the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD with the power to oversee union elections and investigate unfair business practices, the Wagner Act was justly called the magna carta of labor for guaranteeing its right to organize and bargain collectively.

Another of Wagner’s major concerns was the lack of adequate and affordable housing for low-income Americans. Early New Deal programs, such as the HOME OWNERS LOAN CORPORATION and the FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION were concerned more with the sagging construction and mortgage industries than with providing affordable housing. Beginning in 1935, Wagner began introducing legislation to provide federal money to build low-income public housing, again with only reluctant support from FDR. The resulting U.S. Housing Act of 1937 (sometimes known as the Wagner Public Housing Act) created the UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY, which provided money to local housing authorities to build low-income housing units.

During WORLD WAR II, Wagner had less success in advancing liberal reform. He was particularly concerned about the postwar period, fearful that the economic depression would reemerge once the nation began DEMOBILIZATION. In 1943, the Wagner-Murray-Dingall bill was



introduced, which would have greatly expanded the welfare state set up by New Deal programs such as the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT of 1935. It also included national health insurance. After it died in committee, a less expansive version was reintroduced in 1945 and also went nowhere. Despite these setbacks to social welfare policy for the postwar era, Wagner persevered, cosponsoring the FULL EMPLOYMENT BILL of 1945, which declared the right to a job for all Americans. It was passed as the watered-down, though still significant, Employment Act of 1946.

By the late 1940s, Wagner finally began to accept that neither Congress, controlled since the late 1930s by a CONSERVATIVE COALITION, nor the nation, prosperous again, was prepared for more sweeping liberal reform. In ill health since 1940, Wagner resigned from the Senate on June 29, 1949, and returned to New York. He passed away on May 4, 1953.

**Further reading:** J. Joseph Huthmacher, *Senator Robert F. Wagner and the Rise of Urban Liberalism* (New York: Atheneum, 1968).

—Katherine Liapis Segrue

**Wallace, Henry A.** (1888–1965) *secretary of agriculture, vice president*

Secretary of agriculture and vice president of the United States under President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Henry A. Wallace was a major proponent and architect of NEW DEAL policies of the 1930s and an insistent advocate of liberal domestic and FOREIGN POLICY in the 1940s. He ran unsuccessfully for president as the Progressive Party candidate in 1948.

Born on October 7, 1888, and raised in Iowa, Wallace was the son of a Republican secretary of agriculture in the 1920s, Henry C. Wallace. Young Wallace demonstrated an independent streak both in politics and farming. Creative by nature, he was an early proponent and developer of scientific farming. Wallace conducted experiments in the hybridization of corn, and this early work was later credited as a major catalyst for the “green revolution” of the 20th century. In 1926, Wallace founded a hybrid seed company. By 1928, he had broken with the REPUBLICAN PARTY over its farm and tariff policies.

Roosevelt tapped Wallace, who had supported him in the ELECTION OF 1932, as his first secretary of agriculture. Controversial throughout his years in Washington, Wallace served as agriculture secretary during Roosevelt’s first two terms. His principal responsibility was the AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT, a cornerstone of the FIRST NEW DEAL of 1933, which sought to resolve the crisis in AGRICULTURE through subsidies and production controls. But his views and goals expanded from his efforts to rescue commercial

farming and he became increasingly concerned with small and struggling farmers. Along with such presidential advisers as HARRY HOPKINS, HAROLD ICKES, and ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, Wallace also advocated the implementation and expansion of adequate RELIEF programs, public works projects, progressive TAXATION, and other liberal New Deal programs to help not just farmers but also destitute and struggling Americans of all types.

In the ELECTION OF 1940, Roosevelt prepared to seek an unprecedented third term as president and personally selected the liberal Wallace as his running mate despite the disgruntled reaction of many Democrats. As vice president, Wallace helped organize MOBILIZATION efforts during WORLD WAR II, headed the Board of Economic Warfare, and served as one of the leading voices of LIBERALISM. But he was often frustrated with what he saw as the administration’s increasing conservatism and became increasingly outspoken. He advocated liberal domestic programs and also a “Century of the Common Man,” in which the United States would assist the underprivileged and attempt to spread democratic beliefs. Wallace’s progressivism was not popular with many in the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, and his often eccentric and impolitic ways alienated party professionals. In the ELECTION OF 1944, when Roosevelt ran for a fourth term, Wallace was removed from the ticket with FDR’s acquiescence and replaced by Senator Harry S. Truman, who was regarded as more moderate.

Still loyal to Roosevelt and the party, Wallace accepted a post as secretary of commerce at the beginning of FDR’s new term in 1945. He continued to clash with the administration’s conservative members, particularly former commerce secretary JESSE H. JONES, a pro-BUSINESS Texas banker. Following Roosevelt’s death in April 1945, Wallace retained his cabinet position under Truman, but the often-strained relationship between the two men deteriorated badly. Amid rising ANTICOMMUNISM and cold war fears, fostered in part by the Truman administration, Wallace’s call for a conciliatory stance toward the Soviet Union rankled the president. Throughout 1946, Wallace publicly criticized the ATOMIC BOMB tests on Bikini atoll, the proliferation of air bases throughout Europe and Asia, and increasing American militarism in general. In September 1946, Truman fired Wallace after the commerce secretary delivered a particularly fierce attack on the administration’s foreign policy. Wallace remained politically active and later that year became editor of the liberal *New Republic*.

In 1948, Wallace challenged Truman for the presidency. As the Progressive Party candidate, Wallace proposed a minimum wage, federal aid to EDUCATION, and a national health care system, and made a special appeal to minorities with the inclusion of a CIVIL RIGHTS plank. He

also explicitly condemned Truman's employee loyalty program, which had forced applicants for federal jobs to reveal their political activities and renounce communism. While mainstream liberals embraced "Vital Center" liberalism, with its emphasis on anticommunism and attacks on the tyranny of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, Wallace and the Progressives argued that cooperation with the Soviet Union, even the sharing of atomic technologies, was possible—and were accused of being a communist front. Wallace and the Progressives garnered only 1.2 million votes out of some 49 million cast in Truman's upset victory over Republican candidate Thomas E. Dewey.

Following his poor showing in 1948, Wallace remained largely absent from the political scene, and he died in relative obscurity in 1965.

**Further reading:** John C. Culver and John Hyde, *American Dreamer: The Life and Times of Henry A. Wallace* (New York: W. W. Norton Press, 2000); Graham J. White and John Maze, *Henry A. Wallace: His Search for a New World Order* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

—Douglas G. Weaver

## war bonds

Soon after the entrance of the United States into WORLD WAR II, Secretary of the Treasury HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR., announced that war bonds would be available for purchase by the American public. The bonds, redeemable for a higher price after being held for a fixed period of time, were sold for the multiple purposes of providing funds for the GOVERNMENT, involving the public in the war effort, and combating inflation by providing a savings outlet for the higher incomes and greater spending power of the war years.

Bond purchases by the public accounted for a far smaller part of government borrowing (which paid for more than half the costs of the war) than by such commercial enterprises as banks and corporations. However, Morgenthau and President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT felt that it was important that Americans feel connected to the war effort. Morgenthau saw selling bonds as an opportunity to "sell the war," and war bond campaigns became in part a form of PROPAGANDA, encouraging Americans to buy bonds as part of their patriotic duty. Morgenthau and Roosevelt also preferred a voluntary savings program provided by bonds to a compulsory one and hoped for heavy public purchases. Stars of MOVIES and SPORTS, as well as other celebrities, traveled the nation and performed for free at events at which war bonds were promoted and sold, and ADVERTISING agencies contributed their expertise to the bond campaigns.



Poster advocating for war stamps and bonds (Library of Congress)

Americans of all income levels bought war bonds, thanks to the small-denomination Series E bonds, and to the war stamps that could be bought for pennies and then collected and redeemed for bonds. Many people had money regularly taken out of their paychecks for the purchase of bonds, and in 1944 sales of E bonds absorbed about 7 percent of after-tax personal income. Although sales to the public were not as high as the administration had hoped, estimates of individual bond sales range as high as \$50 billion, or up to one-sixth of the costs of fighting the war.

—Joanna Smith

## War Manpower Commission (WMC)

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT created the War Manpower Commission (WMC) on April 18, 1942, about four months after PEARL HARBOR and the American entry into WORLD WAR II. With the NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD and the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD, the WMC was charged

with facilitating full production by the nation's war industries. More specifically, the WMC was to ensure there were enough workers for war and essential civilian industries in the war MOBILIZATION effort.

President Roosevelt's decision that the United States would provide military forces in both the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER and the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER while also serving as the "arsenal of democracy" for the GRAND ALLIANCE that fought the AXIS created a manpower dilemma. In early 1942, planners estimated that defeating the Axis powers might require a combined military and civilian workforce of up to 60 million people, or about 45 percent of the U.S. population. Balancing military and production requirements would be difficult if the military grew larger than 8.2 million, some military planners said. Yet by 1945, approximately 16 million men had joined the military, and in 1942 millions of men began reporting for military duty, sometimes leaving key industries and also AGRICULTURE facing shortages of workers.

The massive mobilization of the LABOR force was hardly flawless. Throughout the war, a number of problems highlighted the difficulty of coordination in an increasingly complex and interdependent modern society. Agencies with overlapping mandates often refused to cooperate or to coordinate their efforts. Many of these problems fell at the feet of Roosevelt, who demonstrated an unwillingness to delegate broad authority to any single agency to manage the mobilization effort. Ultimately, however, the nation's military and production needs were met.

FDR named former Indiana governor Paul V. McNutt to head the WMC and direct manpower policy. McNutt soon tried to consolidate the functions of about 20 agencies responsible for different aspects of the manpower effort. The president, however, did not place SELECTIVE SERVICE, which administered the military draft, under the WMC until McNutt complained in December 1942. The WMC faced similar problems with other agencies and departments. In January 1943 it lost control over the agricultural labor supply to the Labor Department. The Civil Service Commission began recruiting workers independently to fill the expanding wartime bureaucracy. As the war continued, the WMC also lost authority over railroad workers and merchant marine sailors.

Putting Selective Service under the WMC did not alleviate McNutt's problems. Throughout the war, the military attempted to keep the WMC and other civilian-run agencies from dictating either manpower or procurement policies. Although the Selective Service System technically reported to the WMC, the War Department continued to treat the agency as its own and expected it to represent military interests. The Selective Service System, and its director, General LEWIS B. HERSHEY, responded and fought to ensure that the military always received the number and

quality of men it asked for, sometimes over WMC objections. In late 1943, CONGRESS, overruling FDR, made the Selective Service System an independent agency free of WMC control. Congress effectively had prevented the president from integrating the draft into the overall manpower program.

The primary means the WMC used to manage industrial manpower became the draft deferment, which excused from military service certain groups of civilian workers, including farmers, deemed essential to the war effort. In all, some 5 million such deferments were granted. But factories often competed for skilled workers, which led to high turnover and production inefficiencies. Compounding the situation was the government's refusal to outlaw STRIKES and its rejection of national service and "work or fight" programs that would have allowed it to draft workers for jobs in industry or agriculture.

In May 1943, Roosevelt decided he needed a more powerful agency to better allocate resources, coordinate the mobilization effort, and ameliorate the political bickering among the agencies. He created the OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION, (OWM), which toward the end of the war became the OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION AND RECONVERSION (OWMR). The president named JAMES F. BYRNES, a former SUPREME COURT justice and U.S. senator from South Carolina, as the new agency's director.

Although subordinate to the OWM and then the OWMR, the WMC operated with little interference from Byrnes, whose philosophy was that the OWM must not administer anything or interfere with the normal operations of existing agencies. For the remainder of the war, the WMC recruited and trained labor for the war effort, analyzed manpower utilization practices to increase labor efficiency, and issued lists of deferrable and nondeferrable jobs that were sometimes not followed by local draft boards. The WMC was dissolved on September 19, 1945, after Japan's formal surrender earlier in the month. McNutt soon was named high commissioner for the Philippines.

**Further reading:** George Q. Flynn, *The Mess in Washington: Manpower Mobilization in World War II* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979); Herman M. Somers, *Presidential Agency: The Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950).

—Edwin D. Miller

### War Production Board (WPB)

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT established the War Production Board (WPB) in January 1942, just a month after the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR. The agency was designed to coordinate America's economic



MOBILIZATION for WORLD WAR II and to resolve the difficult problems of setting material and production priorities. However, because its director, DONALD M. NELSON, was not a strong leader and lacked authority over important segments of the ECONOMY, the WPB's power and effectiveness fell far short of Roosevelt's intentions.

In 1940, with America's entry into World War II seeming increasingly likely, the United States began a massive effort to mobilize its industrial and economic resources for war. But until the creation of the OFFICE OF WAR MOBILIZATION in 1943, the agencies involved were poorly organized and frequently at odds with each other. Moreover, down to Pearl Harbor, several key industries, such as the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY and the STEEL INDUSTRY, were reluctant to convert to wartime production. To encourage American BUSINESS to convert to wartime production, the GOVERNMENT from the beginning of its mobilization efforts walked a fine line between coercion and persuasion, and often gave government subsidies, low-cost loans, and quick tax write-offs to businesses that agreed to invest in defense production.

Although Nelson had been a Sears, Roebuck executive and had directed other mobilization efforts from 1940 to 1942, he lacked both the authority and the diplomatic and administrative skills needed to unify American business and organize America's mobilization efforts. The WPB did not have power over LABOR and manpower issues, and the OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION was in charge of price controls. The U.S. ARMY and U.S. NAVY insisted upon their power to approve military contracts. President Roosevelt continued to create additional war mobilization agencies as well as several independent "czars" over manpower, RUBBER, and petroleum—areas that were beyond Nelson's control. Making things still more difficult, the mild-mannered and often indecisive Nelson had difficulty asserting his authority, especially over the single-minded and often battle-hardened officials in the War and Navy Departments, who were not likely to knuckle under to pressure from anyone outside their normal chain of command.

Before the WPB was created, CONGRESS had expressed the need for a strong central authority to administer America's mobilization efforts. As it became clear that Nelson and the WPB were not meeting the president's high production goals, several congressional committees urged the administration to replace the WPB with a more effective agency. Some members of Congress were also concerned, as they would be throughout the war, about what seemed the excessive influence of big business in the WPB and mobilization policy. Realizing that something needed to be done, and wanting to avoid undue congressional involvement in something he considered to be firmly within his authority, the president issued an executive order in May 1943 creating the Office of War Mobilization (OWM) to

coordinate economic mobilization. The OWM was headed by JAMES F. BYRNES, who quickly succeeded Nelson as the director of the mobilization program.

The WPB became one of the OWM's subordinate agencies. Under this new organizational structure, the WPB helped to implement more efficient mobilization policies. The Controlled Materials Plan, which had been developed in late 1942 and which allowed the army and navy to continue awarding contracts while the WPB had power to allocate materials, proved especially effective. Nelson remained head of the WPB until June 1944, when he resigned after losing a fight with the military and business over his proposal to begin limited RECONVERSION to civilian production. The WPB itself was dissolved in November 1945 and the Civilian Production Administration was established to take over its remaining reconversion duties.

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—David W. Waltrop

### **Welles, Orson** (1915–1985) *actor, director*

Known as the "Boy Wonder" of Hollywood for his early work as an actor and director there, Orson Welles was an innovator in RADIO, MOVIES, and the stage. His best-known works were the 1938 radio adaptation of H. G. Wells's *War of the Worlds*, which caused a nationwide panic, and the groundbreaking and controversial 1941 film *Citizen Kane*.

Welles was born in Wisconsin, in 1915, the son of upper-middle-class parents. After five years of schooling, Welles acted professionally from 1930 to 1934, moving to Broadway in 1934. While playing supporting roles on stage, he became a radio actor to help make ends meet and became famous as the voice of the mysterious crime fighter on the radio show *The Shadow*. Despite his radio work, Welles's main source of income remained the theater. With other theater workers and actors, Welles felt the effects of the GREAT DEPRESSION, and he became involved in the FEDERAL THEATRE PROJECT of the NEW DEAL's WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION. There, working with John Houseman, Welles mounted avant-garde dramas, including a production of *Macbeth* with a cast comprised entirely of AFRICAN AMERICANS.

In 1937, Welles and Houseman founded the Mercury Theater. Following some stage hits, the company moved on to radio and was reborn as the Mercury Theater of the





Orson Welles (*London Illustrated News*)

Air, which broke new ground in radio with dramatic acting and innovative sound effects. On October 30, 1938, the Mercury Theater group performed its infamous broadcast of *The War of the Worlds*. Welles's production, portions of which were similar to a news bulletin, caused listeners across the United States to believe that Martians were invading Earth. Panic erupted, and some listeners even armed themselves to battle the Martians. The ensuing public uproar led to an investigation by the FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION.

The Mercury Theater folded soon after the *War of the Worlds* broadcast, and the troupe moved to Hollywood, signing with RKO Pictures. Then Welles undertook his most ambitious project, *Citizen Kane*, whose plot centered on a publishing magnate resembling William Randolph Hearst. *Citizen Kane* broke new technical ground in a number of ways. It used impressionistic camera angles, sophisticated mood lighting for scenes, deep focus photography, new sound and editing methods, and flashbacks. Though now regarded as a historic and classic film, *Citizen Kane* was released in 1941 to mixed reviews and disappointing box-office business.

Hurt by Hollywood's refusal to accept him as a director (he demanded complete control over all aspects of his

film productions), Welles turned to acting to finance his own low-budget movies. Over the years Welles appeared in such films as *The Third Man*, *Touch of Evil*, and *A Man for All Seasons*.

**Further reading:** Frank Brady, *Citizen Welles: A Biography of Orson Welles* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990); Simon Callow, *Orson Welles: The Road to Xanadu* (New York: Viking, 1996).

—Nicholas Fry

### **Welles, Sumner** (1892–1961) *under secretary of state*

Sumner Welles, a friend and FOREIGN POLICY adviser of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, served in several important posts in the State Department and was an architect of the GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY toward Latin America in the 1930s.

Benjamin Sumner Welles was born in New York City on October 14, 1892. After graduation from Harvard University, he entered the foreign service in 1915. He became acting head of the Latin American Division in the State Department in 1921, and worked to improve the image of the United States in the region by reducing the American military presence there. After leaving the State Department in 1925, he maintained his interest in the region, and wrote a book about the Dominican Republic.

Welles was appointed assistant secretary of state in 1933, and played a leading role in implementing the Good Neighbor policy. Continuing his involvement in Latin American affairs as WORLD WAR II approached, he was deeply involved in developing a common Western Hemisphere policy toward Nazi Germany at the Buenos Aires Inter-American Conference in 1936, and then later at the Rio de Janeiro Conference in 1942.

In 1937, Roosevelt appointed Welles under secretary of state over the objections of Secretary of State CORDELL HULL, and the president increasingly relied upon Welles's advice. Welles accompanied Roosevelt to the August 1941 Atlantic Conference, assisting in the preparation of the ATLANTIC CHARTER. He also played an important role in early State Department planning that led to the postwar UNITED NATIONS.

Hull resented Welles's close relationship with Roosevelt and his access to the president, believing that Welles was usurping his authority as secretary of state. In 1943, Hull told Roosevelt that either Welles would have to leave the administration or Hull himself would. Welles's own position was further complicated by innuendos regarding possible homosexual activity on his part. Though Welles had become a political liability, Roosevelt did not want to embarrass him; the president asked for his resignation

and offered to send him on a special mission to Moscow. Welles refused this proposal but resigned on September 25, 1943.

Following his departure from the State Department, Welles continued to write on issues affecting diplomatic matters. Welles was married three times. He died in New Jersey in 1961.

**Further reading:** Irwin F. Gellman, *Secret Affairs: Franklin Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, and Sumner Welles* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

—Edwin C. Cogswell

### **Wheeler, Burton K.** (1882–1975) *senator*

Burton Kendall Wheeler was a progressive four-term Democratic senator from Montana who became known best for his isolationist opposition to the FOREIGN POLICY of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Born in Hudson, Massachusetts, on February 27, 1882, Wheeler settled in Butte, Montana, and opened a law practice there in 1905, after card sharps had left him broke while he was on his way west to pursue a legal career. He became active in local Democratic politics, served as Montana's U.S. attorney, and in 1922 was elected to his first of four terms in the U.S. Senate. Wheeler quickly came to national prominence, serving as a chief investigator of the scandals in the Warren G. Harding administration and running as the vice presidential candidate on the Progressive Party ticket of Robert M. La Follette in 1924.

A progressive Democrat who was inspired by William Jennings Bryan, Wheeler was among the first advocates of Roosevelt's presidential candidacy in 1932, and he supported most of the early NEW DEAL, especially in the areas of BANKING, securities, and utilities regulation. By the late 1930s, however, he was increasingly at odds with the president and his programs. Like other western Democrats still suspicious of excessive power in the central GOVERNMENT, Wheeler came to think the New Deal was going too far. He broke publicly with the president over the COURT-PACKING PLAN and played a decisive role in its defeat. Roosevelt excluded Wheeler from White House discussions of New Deal legislation and from Montana patronage decisions, and Wheeler compared Roosevelt to "a king trying to reduce the barons."

By the end of the decade, Wheeler became one of the most important and outspoken of the ISOLATIONISTS critical of Roosevelt's anti-AXIS foreign policy. He opposed the SELECTIVE SERVICE Act, and he called the LEND-LEASE Act the "New Deal's Triple-A foreign policy," saying "it will plough under every fourth American boy"—a statement that Roosevelt termed "the rottenest thing that has been said in public life in my generation." After considering a

presidential bid for himself in 1940, Wheeler refused to campaign for Roosevelt's third term in the ELECTION OF 1940. Instead, he devoted his energy to speaking on behalf of the isolationist AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE and opposing the president's interventionist foreign policy.

During WORLD WAR II, Wheeler's isolationism reduced his influence in the Senate. Ultimately, his isolationist and maverick ways split the Montana Democratic party, and he was denied renomination in 1946. Wheeler remained in Washington, D.C., until his death in 1975.

**Further reading:** Burton K. Wheeler, with Paul F. Healey, *Yankee from the West: The Candid, Turbulent Story of the Yankee-born U.S. Senator from Montana* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1962).

—William J. Thompson

### **White, Walter** (1893–1955) *civil rights leader*

A leading advocate of CIVIL RIGHTS, and executive secretary of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), Walter White devoted his life to seeking equality for AFRICAN AMERICANS.

Walter Francis White was born July 1, 1893, in Atlanta, Georgia. He attended Atlanta University, where he was elected class president, and graduated in 1916, after which he worked selling insurance. He chose to live his life as an African American, although only a small percentage of his ancestry was black, and his appearance was that of a white man. (He had light skin, blue eyes, and blond hair.) After joining the NAACP in 1916, he impressed the executive secretary, James Weldon Johnson, and was hired as an assistant secretary in 1918. White moved to New York, where the association was headquartered, but spent much of his time over the next several years traveling. He made speeches throughout the country and investigated lynchings in the SOUTH, under the guise of a white reporter from Chicago. He published two novels in the 1920s—*The Fire in the Flint* (1924) and *Flight* (1926). Both dealt with issues of RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT, as did his frequent magazine articles, his two syndicated newspaper columns, and his three other books. In 1930, he led the successful effort to prevent Judge John J. Parker, who favored racial segregation, from being appointed to the U.S. SUPREME COURT.

White succeeded Johnson as executive secretary of the NAACP in 1931. In that position, he devoted much energy to securing federal ANTILYNCHING LEGISLATION, nearly succeeding in 1938 before the bill was finally defeated. He worked with A. PHILIP RANDOLPH to induce President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT to establish the FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE in 1941, their goal being to give blacks an opportunity to take part in the defense

MOBILIZATION for WORLD WAR II. He continued to speak to large audiences worldwide, and although he was primarily concerned with American race relations, he also found time to serve as a government adviser on issues of the Virgin Islands and the UNITED NATIONS. In addition, he worked from 1943 to 1945 as a special war correspondent for the *New York Post*.

Walter White continued to lead the NAACP and remained active in pursuing its goals until his death in 1955.

**Further reading:** Walter Francis White, *A Man Called White: The Autobiography of Walter White* (New York: Viking, 1948).

—Joanna Smith

**Willkie, Wendell L.** (1892–1944) *utilities executive, presidential candidate*

The REPUBLICAN PARTY nominee for president in the ELECTION OF 1940, Wendell Lewis Willkie was born in Elwood, Indiana, on February 18, 1892. He graduated from Indiana University in 1913, taught high school in Kansas, worked at a Puerto Rico sugar factory, attended law school, and enlisted in the army after America entered World War I, though he did not see combat. After the war, Willkie moved to Akron, Ohio, where he established his own legal practice, and soon became one of the city's leading citizens. Active in DEMOCRATIC PARTY politics, Willkie was a delegate to the party's 1924, 1928, and 1932 national conventions and supported FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT for president in the ELECTION OF 1932.

In 1929, Willkie moved to New York to become counsel for Commonwealth and Southern, a public utility holding company with assets over \$1 billion. He became president of the company in 1933 and chief executive officer the following year. Willkie gained national attention with his attacks on the NEW DEAL, especially the TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY, a direct competitor of Commonwealth and Southern, and the PUBLIC UTILITY HOLDING COMPANY ACT. In the ELECTION OF 1936, Willkie, still nominally a Democrat, backed Republican ALFRED M. LONDON for president.

Over the next several years, anti-Roosevelt Democrats and eastern Republicans urged Willkie to switch parties and run for president in 1940 on the GOP ticket. By early 1940, HENRY LUCE and other internationalist, eastern Republicans, many of them from Wall Street, had begun a concerted effort to draft Willkie for the Republican nomination. Germany's advance across western Europe during the spring of 1940 in the early stages of WORLD WAR II increased the appeal within the GOP for Willkie, instead of the youthful Thomas E. Dewey or ROBERT A. TAFT,

one of the U.S. Senate's leading ISOLATIONISTS. By the time of the Republican convention in July in Philadelphia, Willkie's popularity had grown, although he still seemed a long shot for the nomination. But with his partisans packing the upstairs convention hall galleries and chanting "We want Willkie," he surged into second place by the third ballot and won his improbable nomination on the sixth.

Willkie proved to be an effective campaigner. His boyish looks, tousled hair, and rousing stump style enabled him to draw large crowds to rallies, where he often ad-libbed his speeches. Luce's *Time* magazine declared him the first candidate since Theodore Roosevelt whom Republicans "could yell for and mean it." On the issues, Willkie promised to keep New Deal programs intact and expand the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT, although he criticized Roosevelt and the New Deal for anti-BUSINESS policies that had prevented economic recovery and said that FDR's attempt for an unprecedented third term would lead to dictatorship. Willkie's FOREIGN POLICY views differed little from Roosevelt's interventionist, anti-AXIS approach, and he endorsed the SELECTIVE SERVICE Act and did not make a major issue of the DESTROYERS-FOR-BASES DEAL. Near the end of the campaign, however, Willkie attacked Roosevelt as a "warmonger" who would have the United States at war by April 1941, a statement that prompted the president to declare: "Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." Despite Willkie's best efforts, Roosevelt won 38 states with 449 electoral votes, to Willkie's 10 states and 82 electoral votes. Willkie received more than 22 million votes, at that time the most ever for a Republican presidential candidate.

During World War II, Willkie became a traveling ambassador for Allied unity and international cooperation. He urged Congress to pass the LEND-LEASE Act, and visited Great Britain in 1941, and the Middle East, China, and the Soviet Union in 1942, as Roosevelt's personal emissary. He wrote a best-selling book entitled *One World*, which urged a more liberal and internationalist American foreign policy, and he became an advocate of CIVIL RIGHTS. In the ELECTION OF 1944, Willkie again sought the Republican presidential nomination, but by then he was too liberal for the GOP on both foreign and domestic policy and ended his campaign after a crushing defeat in the Wisconsin primary. By September 1944, Willkie was considering backing Roosevelt, but an endorsement never came—he suffered a series of heart attacks, the last of which was fatal, on October 8, 1944, in New York City.

**Further reading:** Donald Bruce Johnson, *The Republican Party and Wendell Willkie* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960); Steve Neal, *Dark Horse: A Biography of Wendell Willkie* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984).

—William J. Thompson



### Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES)

Approximately 85,000 WAVES served as officers and enlisted personnel in the U.S. NAVY from mid-1942 to the end of WORLD WAR II. These women performed a number of duties, including technical activities in INTELLIGENCE, navigation, and aviation, as well as “traditional” women’s roles of office and clerical work. WAVES faced many of the difficulties with respect to acceptance by men and restrictions in their duties as did women serving in the WOMEN’S ARMY CORPS (WAC) of the U.S. ARMY and the WOMEN AIRFORCE SERVICE PILOTS (WASP), a quasimilitary organization working with the U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES. Like other women in the military, the WAVES had also to deal with civilian attitudes of hostility, condescension, and skepticism about their morals.

Women had served in private or semiofficial capacities for the U.S. Navy since the 19th century, at first almost exclusively in nursing. In 1917, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels approved enlisting women in the naval reserve as yeoman (F) in order to release men from shore duty to service in the fleet. Eventually, 12,500 of these “yeomanettes” served in a number of departments such as intelligence and censorship, and held jobs as translators, draftsmen, electricians, and other specialties. Except for nurses, women were demobilized from the navy after World War I and were subsequently prevented from enlisting.

By 1940, with the increased fleet building program because of World War II, the navy faced a potential manpower shortage. Yet, the Navy Department was uncertain how to proceed. Many admirals did not want women to join at all. Other officers suggested that women join an auxiliary arm, not unlike the army’s Women’s Auxiliary Army Corps (later the WAC). The navy’s aviation branch pushed for direct service for women. In early 1942, President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, after urging from his wife, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, intervened in favor of including women in the navy. On July 30, 1942, Public Law 689 established the navy’s Women’s Reserve; Mildred McAfee, the president of Wellesley College, served as the first director of the WAVES. The act specified that women serve only on shore duty within the continental United States. As in 1917, the purpose in recruiting women was to release men for duty at sea by replacing them in shore stations.

Eligibility standards for the Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES) were more restrictive than for men in the navy. The minimum enlistment age was 20. Women with children under 18 were not accepted. The educational requirement for enlisted personnel was graduation from high school or technical training. Female officers had to be college graduates or have the equivalent years of experience. As a practical concern,

physical requirements for women were less than those for men. Generally, WAVES were older than their male counterparts. AFRICAN AMERICANS were rejected until FDR ordered them included in 1944, and even then only about 100 served. The navy maintained a more prudish outlook toward its women than for its men, and discharged WAVES for actions that violated the moral standards of the period. Even so, rumors circulated about their sexual promiscuity, both heterosexual and lesbian.

Initially, the navy believed that WAVES would be restricted to duties identified as “women’s jobs.” Yet, as men were shipped overseas, demands increased for WAVES to replace them in a wider range of assignments. By 1944, women held virtually every occupation outside of direct combat. These jobs included such diverse ones as radio operators, parachute riggers, aircraft engine mechanics, and navigation instructors. Some WAVES participated in classified projects such as manning long-range navigation stations, developing a navy night fighter, and CODE BREAKING of German U-boat radio traffic. Late in 1944, women were finally allowed to serve overseas at naval facilities in the Western Hemisphere and the territories of Hawaii and Alaska. Ultimately, some 4,000 WAVES went overseas, mostly to Hawaii.

By war’s end, some 85,000 WAVES and another 11,000 nurses, in the separate Navy Nurse Corps, served in the U.S. Navy. The chief of naval operations, Admiral ERNEST J. KING, praised their efforts. By one estimate, the WAVES had freed up enough sailors to man a large carrier task force of 25 ships. More importantly, the WAVES’ accomplishments and attitude had convinced the Navy leadership to retain them in the naval reserve beyond the DEMOBILIZATION at the end of the war. On June 12, 1948, President Truman signed the Women’s Armed Services Integration Act that established permanent places for women in all four branches of the armed services.

See also WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Julius A. Furer, *Administration of the Navy Department in World War II* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1959); Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne, 1982).

—Robert J. Hanyok

### Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP)

The Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP), a quasimilitary civilian organization that worked for the U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES during WORLD WAR II, provided an example of the unprecedented ways women contributed to the war effort—and of the difficulties that they often faced in making those contributions.



The WASP was created in July 1943. Two prominent women aviators, Jacqueline Cochran and Nancy Harkness Love, had maintained since 1939 that women pilots should be used in noncombat roles, but not until the army air forces ran short of male pilots for such duties did the War Department take steps in that direction. In September 1942, Cochran was authorized to form the Women's Flying Training Detachment and Love to form the Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron. In July 1943, those two organizations were merged to form the WASP, which was headed by Cochran.

Some 25,000 women applied to the WASP (for fewer than 2,000 places), and they faced stringent requirements. In addition to being high school graduates between the ages of 18 and 34, they had to have accumulated 200 flying hours, possess a pilot's license, and pass an interview with a recruiting officer. The initial high number of flying hours required (the requirement was eased later) helped to alleviate some of the criticism the program would have received for using women pilots. Ironically, the WASP, which encountered disparities in pay and treatment as compared to men, discriminated against AFRICAN AMERICANS, and the organization remained all white.

WASP aviators at first ferried planes from factories or bases to pilots waiting at embarkation points, but they subsequently assumed other responsibilities. They towed targets so recruits could practice shooting at moving objects and performed searchlight and tracking missions. Despite being told at first that bombers were too big and too difficult for them to operate, they flew the B-17 Flying Fortress, the B-25, and the B-26, sometimes as test pilots. They engaged in smoke laying, participated in radio-control flying, and taught basic instrument instruction. They were sometimes responsible for test-flying previously damaged planes for pilots who would use them in combat—an extremely hazardous assignment, in which the women would put great stress on the planes to ensure they were ready for combat. They also test-piloted unproven and often dangerous new planes, including fighters. In performing such tasks, the women compiled more than 60 million miles in the air. Thirty-eight of the roughly 1,000 women who ultimately served in the WASP died, although the women's accident rate was somewhat lower than that of comparable civilian male pilots.

Despite their contributions and accomplishments, the WASP never gained military status. Wanting to keep the WASP a separate unit, Cochran resisted having it become part of the WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS (WAC) when the WAC was given full army status in 1943. Then in 1944, when the army air forces requested that CONGRESS give the WASP full military status, circumstances worked against the women. Thousands of male flight instructors and trainees called to active duty wanted to be pilots, not crew members, and many combat veterans wanted the stateside ferry-

ing jobs that women held. Petitioned by male trainees and pilots, and lobbied by the aviation industry and the American Legion, Congress defeated the WASP militarization bill and chose instead to disband the organization. WASPs did not receive veteran status or benefits until a special act of Congress in 1977.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Amanda Lea Miracle

### Women's Army Corps (WAC)

Approximately 200,000 women served in the U.S. ARMY during WORLD WAR II. Some 60,000 served in the Army Nurse Corps, while the others served first in an auxiliary status in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), and then in regular military status in the Women's Army Corps (WAC) that succeeded the WAAC. Women in the WAC filled a variety of noncombat roles, mostly in administrative and clerical positions but also in mechanical and technical jobs requiring extensive training. Like their counterparts in the WOMEN ACCEPTED FOR VOLUNTEER EMERGENCY SERVICE (WAVES) of the U.S. NAVY and the quasimilitary WOMEN AIRFORCE SERVICE PILOTS (WASP) that worked with the U.S. ARMY AIR FORCES, Wacs faced discriminatory practices that were pervasive in the nation's culture.

With the country's impending involvement in World War II by the early 1940s, women's organizations urged that women be fully included in wartime efforts. In large part because of the persistence of Massachusetts Republican congresswoman Edith Rogers in working to overcome resistance in the army and the CONGRESS, the WAAC was created in May 1942. A major premise for approving the WAAC was that women could free men for combat by performing a number of the clerical, communications, and service duties essential to modern warfare. A noted Texan politician, Oveta Culp Hobby, was selected to head the organization, with a rank of major. However, all WAAC enlistees were paid at lesser rates than men and were denied the GOVERNMENT life insurance, death benefits, or veterans benefits usually allotted male soldiers.

The Waacs, as members of the WAAC were called, soon began to serve in a variety of capacities and places, but numerous questions arose with respect to how existing army policies and procedures would apply to the Waacs. Rogers then introduced a bill to grant full military status to Waacs, and despite some continuing opposition and a campaign of slander against the group, focusing especially on allegations of heterosexual promiscuity



1943 recruitment poster for the Women's Army Corps by Bradshaw Crandell (*Library of Congress*)

and of lesbianism, the WAC was created in 1943. Army regulations were amended in matters such as clothing, HOUSING, military justice, and discharge for pregnancy. Director Hobby also obtained her full colonelcy with commensurate pay and responsibilities.

The typical Wac was in her mid-20s, a high school graduate with clerical experience, single, without CHILDREN, and desirous of being actively engaged in the war effort to a degree that civilian status did not allow. AFRICAN AMERICANS were accepted into WAAC and WAC in the same proportion (about 10 percent) as in the army, but they served in racially segregated units and generally were given lower-status positions. Women with children under 14 could not serve. Wacs were explicitly forbidden to serve in combat units or in positions in units with a combat mission (though nurses did see service in the war theaters, often near combat lines).

The U.S. Army Air Forces' (USAAF) relatively progressive attitude toward the employment of women provided nearly 40,000 positions for Wacs. The USAAF was the first Army command to substantially integrate women, admitting them to all noncombat schools. Wacs served as radio operators, mechanics, and photographers on B-17 training flights. Others filled positions as clerical staff, instructors, weather observers, cryptographers, business machine operators, control tower operators, and medics. Thousands of Air Wacs served overseas in Alaska, Hawaii, Great Britain, Africa, and India. By war's end some 150,000 women had served in the WAC and in varying capacities, both at home and abroad. Of the 8,000 or so stationed in Europe, many endured V-1 and V-2 rocket attacks on their bases, while others frequently rendered valuable service to within 20 miles of the battle lines. Those 5,000 Wacs campaigning in the China-Burma-India theater also operated under horrendous tropical conditions and were subject to the same outbreaks of malaria, dysentery, and other maladies consistent with that region.

The Army Ground Forces (AGF) did not have the same success with utilizing Wacs, largely because its units were tactical in nature and accordingly women were excluded from many positions. AGF lost one-third of its women during the conversion period from the WAAC to the WAC because of poor morale caused by malassignment and underutilization. Eventually, women were placed into more meaningful assignments such as clerks, dispatchers, drivers, radio mechanics, parachute riggers, control tower operators, and instructors. Difficulties in integration persisted, since the Wacs were not allowed to wear the insignia of the AGF and had problems receiving advancements. However, as the manpower shortage increased, the AGF WAC units became the backbone at many of the replacement depots across the country.

The Army Service Forces (ASF) requested the use of women in the Signal Corps, which led to the creation of the WIRES plan (Women in Radio and Electrical Service). However, until the conversion to military status took place, the ASF faced difficulties utilizing the women without violating their auxiliary status. From that point on, women played crucial roles in such areas as the Signal Corps, Chemical Warfare Service, and the Corps of Engineers. At first, the Medical Department of the ASF did not make use of the women, but eventually Wacs successfully completed training courses and worked as psychiatric social workers, therapy assistants, laboratory and surgical technicians, stenographers, and clerks. All told, the experience of World War II proved a turning point for women serving, or who aspired to serve, in the U.S. military. WAC members, for their part, received eight Legion of Merits, three Air Medals, 10 Soldier's Medals, 16 Purple Hearts, and five Bronze

Stars. This tally was achieved at a cost of 432 American military women killed and 201 captured.

Once DEMOBILIZATION began, the future of WAC became a significant question. Recognizing the contributions of the WAC to the American effort in World War II, Congress in 1948 passed the Women's Armed Forces Integration Act, which made the WAC part of the regular army, albeit with a number of restrictions on the numbers and roles of women. WAC veterans received generally the same benefits as men, including those provided by the GI BILL OF RIGHTS.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Public Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984); Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps During World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1954).

—Traci L. Siegler

## women's network

The term “women's network” refers to an interconnected group of women with important positions in the administration of President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

The growth of the federal GOVERNMENT under the NEW DEAL greatly expanded the federal workforce and provided unprecedented opportunities for women. Most of the women who worked for the federal government had traditional “pink-collar” jobs as entry level clerks, phone operators, and secretaries. But for the first time, a substantial number of women also held top-level federal positions. This group of women included Secretary of Labor FRANCES PERKINS; Democratic Party Women's Division director and then Social Security board member MARY DEWSON; Jane M. Hoey, director of the Bureau of Public Assistance; Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Josephine Roche; and about two dozen other highly placed women. Taken together, this group of women has been termed the women's network.

The women's network members had much in common. Many were not only colleagues but had been friends before coming to Washington. As they strived to establish their careers in the 1910s and 1920s, they had formed bonds based on their experiences in trying to forge professional careers in a culture that still thought of women as primarily wives and mothers. They also tended to come from a similar professional background, beginning their careers in the social welfare field. This was one area where women were seen as having particular expertise, and the women of the

women's network had the opportunity to build careers in social welfare in the private sector and state and local governments. Perkins, for example, began her career in Chicago's Hull-House before moving to New York and entering a public service career concerned with the conditions of LABOR. Dewson was involved in consumer advocacy before entering electoral politics and raising awareness of women's issues with the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. At the local level, Jane Hoey rose to become the assistant secretary of the New York City Welfare Council, the largest city social welfare agency at the time, as well as building political connections through state advisory committees on prison conditions and reform.

The central figures of the women's network were ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, Frances Perkins, and Molly Dewson. Roosevelt, the only one without an official position but at the heart of the network through her status as first lady and her relationships with most of the other women, was the network's conduit to the White House. She lobbied President Roosevelt to appoint women to major government positions, raised women's issues with her husband and his senior staff, and worked to raise awareness about social problems through her public appearances and newspaper column. Perkins, as the first female cabinet secretary, gave more attention to women's issues than had the secretaries of labor who preceded her. The women who worked for her at the Department of Labor included Grace Abbott and then Katharine Lenroot, who were directors of the Children's Bureau, and Mary Anderson, who headed the Women's Division. Dewson worked in the political arena, carving out a role for women in the Democratic Party through the Women's Division as well as campaigning tirelessly for female appointments in the Roosevelt administration.

Given their background in social welfare field, the largest policy impact of the women's network was the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT of 1935. Perkins was the major advocate pushing FDR to formulate a system of social security that would include old-age and unemployment insurance. Women in the Children's Bureau provided input on children's issues, presenting their plan to federalize the state-level Mother's Pension programs, which became the Aid to Dependent Children program (changed to Aid to Families with Dependent Children in 1962). Without the interest of the Children's Bureau in having the omnibus Social Security Act include a program for dependent children, the act likely would not have provided for children who lacked parental financial support.

The legacy of the women's network is mixed. This group of approximately 30 women achieved many firsts for women in the federal government, including the first cabinet secretary and first female ambassador (Ruth Bryan Owen, minister to Denmark, 1933–36). They also brought



valuable experience to the federal government as it began entering the social welfare field and influenced New Deal policy and politics. But these women did not see themselves as only advocates for women nor did they view themselves essentially as feminists; they were working for the betterment of all Americans. On this basis, many opposed the Equal Rights Amendment, fearing it would erode protective labor legislation. That they did not pursue a more feminist agenda has been a source of criticism aimed at the women's network. Nonetheless, it took decades for women to match the achievements of the women's network in terms of position and influence.

See also WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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—Katherine Liapis Segrue

### women's status and rights

During the GREAT DEPRESSION and WORLD WAR II, the status and rights of women in the United States continued to expand, following trends dating back to the beginning of the 20th century and before. Progress was made in spite of the fact that the women's movement had fragmented during the 1920s, after the unifying goal of suffrage was achieved. More of the legal and other constraints on women, including some preventing married women from working, fell during these years. In the 1930s and 1940s, married women entered the workforce in increasing numbers as acceptance of their presence grew, and by 1945 there were more wives in the paid workforce than single women. These lasting changes, however, were not simply the result of either the depression or the war but reflected long-term developments as well.

Throughout the 1930s, the great majority—about three-fourths—of American women were not employed outside the home. A 1936 Gallup Poll revealed that 82 percent of Americans believed that married women, especially those with CHILDREN, should remain at home. Both the depression and traditional American values influenced this attitude. Throughout the depression, with its high UNEMPLOYMENT rates, employers often tried to reserve available jobs for men and might fire women to create openings. Many organizations, including government agencies, banks, and schools, had rules against employing married women. For much of the decade, the federal GOVERNMENT prohibited two members of the same family from holding civil service jobs, a rule that chiefly affected women workers.

In spite of pressures to stay home, about 25 percent of American women, both single and married, were members of the paid workforce by the end of the decade, continuing the increase of previous decades. Although only about one-fifth of white women were employed, almost two-fifths of black women worked, mostly as domestic servants or agricultural laborers. Women usually took jobs because they or their family needed the money. Removing women from the workforce did not always create work for men. Women were frequently segregated into jobs perceived as "women's work" including clerical work, light industry, or domestic service. Men were reluctant to take these jobs even during hard times and even though such jobs were cut back less than "men's jobs" in heavy industry. Job segregation thus sometimes worked to women's benefit, keeping jobs open to them throughout the depression. So did the lower wages typically earned by women, and the numbers of women and of married women working rose during the 1930s.

Some professional women faced the added difficulty of competing with men for education and jobs. Admission to medical and law schools remained extremely difficult and, for the most part, reserved for men. Women dropped from almost 44 percent to about 40 percent of the college student population, and those who managed to graduate had a difficult time finding and keeping a job, given employers' prejudices. Teaching and nursing standards rose during these years due to stiff competition for few positions. Rare professional victories did occur, as when Florence Allen was named the first female judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals.

Women made significant gains in the public arena during the 1930s. Although they had held appointive office in the past, never before had they attained such numerous or influential positions. The NEW DEAL brought social problems similar to those women reformers had long been involved with at the local level and in private organizations. Now they sometimes held key positions in the new federal agencies. There was a small increase in the number of women in CONGRESS, and about a quarter of the newly appointed postmasters were women. Women holding other important offices included Secretary of Labor FRANCES PERKINS (the first woman cabinet member ever); Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Marion Glass Banister; Director of the U.S. Mint Nellie Tayloe Ross; and the ambassador to Denmark, Ruth Bryan Owen. Perkins, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, and MARY DEWSON, head of the Women's Division of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY National Committee, led the WOMEN'S NETWORK that advocated bringing women into GOVERNMENT and advised President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT on women's issues. This increased presence in government, however, declined after the 1930s.



While few New Deal programs explicitly included women, women did benefit from many of them. Some held jobs or were in circumstances that qualified for SOCIAL SECURITY ACT benefits. Minimum wage laws and the NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS ACT assisted some as well. However, RELIEF programs were difficult for women to enter. Since only one person per household qualified for federal relief programs, women did not get on the rolls very often. And, when they did, it was sometimes hard to place them; women could not work as laborers on construction jobs, for example. But despite such limits, which were greater in the case of AFRICAN AMERICANS, the New Deal did help women. New Deal programs and Molly Dewson's work in mobilizing the women's vote helped make women an important component of the "Roosevelt Coalition" that made the Democrats the new majority party of the nation.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE were also affected by the depression. Most men did not lose their jobs, but even those who did not often suffered significant salary cuts. Not only the loss of a husband's salary, but also a smaller salary coming into the household forced women to provide goods and services that had previously been bought or hired. Although the depression often reinforced the traditional family division of labor, women's work at home became more valuable during these years. How a wife managed the household might determine whether or not her family successfully navigated the hard times. The greater responsibilities that women had in the home when men lost job or experienced pay cuts sometimes changed family dynamics, giving women a larger voice.

In the early years of the depression, cash-strapped Americans postponed marriage and childbearing, and the rates of both dropped significantly. However, marriage and birth rates began to rise by the middle of the decade, and then increased more rapidly when World War II brought economic improvement. The number of marriages continued to rise after the United States entered the war. Babies followed, and there were more babies born in 1943 than any other year to that point in the 20th century. By the early postwar years, a higher proportion of Americans were married and they were marrying younger than any time in the century; the resulting baby boom continued for almost two decades.

At first, World War II changed few attitudes about women. Most Americans continued to believe that women, especially wives and mothers, belonged at home. As job prospects improved, employers continued to favor male workers. Yet, as men were drafted and the number of jobs continued to increase, a severe LABOR shortage developed, and attitudes did undergo some change. President Roosevelt urged reluctant employers to forget their prejudices and hire women. Companies and the government launched campaigns to encourage women to take jobs "for the dura-



The Office of War Information issued this poster in 1943 to encourage the participation of women in the war effort. By 1944, approximately 3.5 million women worked side by side with 6 million men on the factory assembly lines. (National Archives)

tion." By 1944, the portion of American women working had increased from about a quarter to more than one-third. Many of the new workers were women over 35 whose children no longer needed their constant care. Nearly one out of four wives had jobs. The number of working wives with small children increased only marginally, and American society continued to discourage them from seeking employment outside the home. By 1945, more than 35 percent of women worked. And since women had high turnover rates, it is possible that almost half of American women were employed at some point during the war,

The enduring symbol of the World War II woman worker, ROSIE THE RIVETER, nonetheless is misleading. While women did take on a greater number and array of jobs, sometimes as riveters, fewer than 10 percent of female workers labored in defense plants, where they were usually considered short-term, unskilled employees and not given training for skilled jobs such as riveting. More

frequently, women held clerical and service positions during the war, and both the number and the type of white-collar jobs available to women expanded during the war. There was an increased need for secretaries and record keepers, and about 20 to 25 percent of the women workers were so employed. However, women also moved into jobs that were previously held by men including bank tellers, store clerks, and some middle management positions. Unlike the industrial jobs, women were more likely to keep these jobs after the war.

World War II brought some changes in the employment of female AFRICAN AMERICANS as well. During the war, they began to move out of agricultural work and domestic service into other jobs. Some took cleaning, cooking, or serving jobs in offices, hotels, or restaurants. Others were employed in laundries and foundries, and in factories where federal standards required fair treatment. The number of black women working for the federal government increased significantly, and more than half of these new employees held white-collar jobs. However, such women were a very small minority of the population, and wherever African-American women were employed, racial barriers continued to restrict hiring and promotions.

The war also affected women's EDUCATION. Many dropped out of school to take war-related jobs, although high school completion rates continued to rise and exceeded men's. At the same time, with fewer male students, traditionally male disciplines enrolled more women. The number of women majoring in mathematics, SCIENCE, and engineering increased by 29 percent. Females now made up 14 percent of all medical students. However, this trend reversed after the war when colleges turned away new female students and gave preference to veterans.

Perhaps the most significant new departure involved women entering the military. Although nurses had been made a permanent part of the army and navy years before, other women had not. Some women joined the WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS (WAC), the navy's WOMEN ACCEPTED FOR VOLUNTEER EMERGENCY SERVICE (WAVES), the coast guard's SPARS (from *Semper Paratus*, the coast guard's motto), or the women's branch of the marines. Others volunteered for the WOMEN AIRFORCE SERVICE PILOTS (WASP), although they never achieved full military status. Only the WAC initially accepted African Americans. At first, women performed jobs perceived as "women's work"; four-fifths of women who were not nurses held clerical positions. However, as the demand for their labor grew, they were given a wide variety of noncombat roles. Although the 350,000 women involved were not initially accepted by most of their male counterparts, their competency, efficiency, and bravery soon changed many men's minds. After the war, women remained part of the military.

The women's movement saw some progress at both the state and federal levels during these years. A few states passed equal pay laws. Several states made women eligible for jury duty. In many places, rules prohibiting the employment of married women were thrown out. Although the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) gained a few key endorsements during the 1930s, it generally lost momentum during the depression decade. Women's contributions to the war effort then rallied supporters to force Congress to finally consider the amendment seriously, but when it came to a vote after the war, it did not receive the necessary two-thirds majority. While this interest kept the ERA alive, real action did not come until the 1960s.

Many women who did not take a paid job participated in wartime volunteer work. Although all races, ages, and classes were involved, the majority of the volunteers were white middle-class wives. The OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION used volunteers to help administer prices, rents, and RATIONING. Women grew victory gardens and helped in the scrap and WAR BONDS drives. They worked as hostesses or dance partners at Red Cross or UNITED SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS recreation centers. Probably as many as one in four women were involved with such activities.

No matter what a woman's situation was, her home life was most likely disrupted by the war. More women than in any previous decade in the United States found themselves head of a household while their husbands were absent for the duration. Many problems and decisions that he might have dealt with were suddenly her responsibility. Women were usually the ones forced to cope with rationing, merchandise shortages, and unavailable items. If she had a war job, household chores could be even more onerous and were frequently performed with little help from her husband, if he was home. Shops often closed before she finished work. There was some day care, but many women did not want to leave their children with strangers. Although services improved during the war, wives and mothers sometimes skipped work to nurse a sick child, catch up on housework, or simply to rest.

When the war ended, many women wanted to keep their jobs. However, businesses and the government often urged women to return home, reminding them that they had only been hired for the duration. Many lost jobs to returning soldiers. Others quit because they wanted to stay home full time. In spite of the jobs lost at the end of the war, many women who wanted paid employment were back at work by 1947, although usually in traditionally feminine jobs.

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—Jill Frahm

### Works Progress Administration (WPA)

The largest, most important, and most innovative of the RELIEF programs of the NEW DEAL, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) was created under the auspices of the EMERGENCY RELIEF APPROPRIATION ACT of April 8, 1935. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT created the Works Progress Administration by executive order on May 6, 1935, and New Deal relief administrator HARRY HOPKINS headed the new agency until he resigned to become secretary of commerce in December 1938.

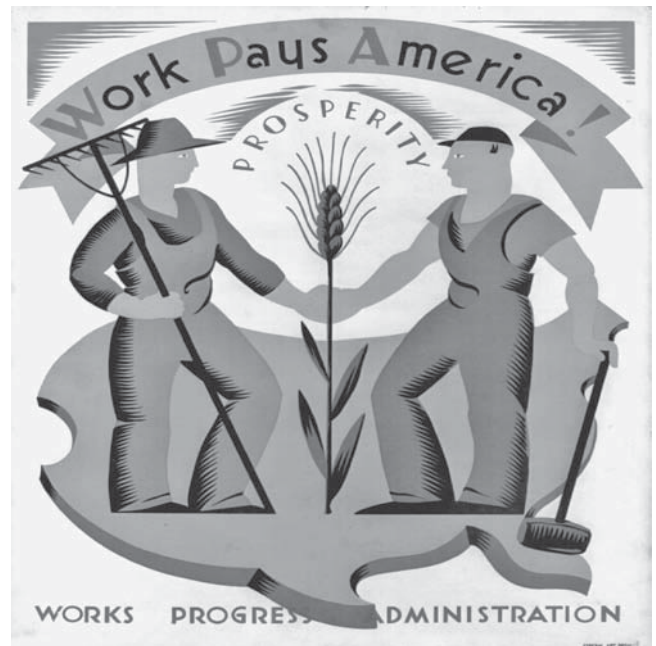
The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act and its funding of nearly \$5 billion escalated a struggle going back to 1933 for works projects funds between Hopkins and public works administrator HAROLD ICKES. Ultimately, the great majority of the funds went to Hopkins and his emphasis on labor-intensive work relief projects rather than to Ickes's capital-intensive heavy public works projects that would employ fewer workers and dispense money more slowly. The WPA reflected the desires of Roosevelt and Hopkins to replace direct relief programs (payments in cash or food and clothing) still being carried out by the FEDERAL EMERGENCY RELIEF ADMINISTRATION (FERA) with work relief programs (jobs on GOVERNMENT projects) of the sort begun by the CIVIL WORKS ADMINISTRATION (CWA) and then partly continued by the FERA when the CWA was terminated. In the new organization of relief, the federal government would assume responsibility for employable jobless workers, while unemployables on relief (handicapped, aged, infirm, DEPENDENT children) would become the responsibility of the states (which subsequently would receive federal matching funds for such groups via the SOCIAL SECURITY ACT of August 1935). The WPA projects were to be useful, employ workers on relief rolls, spend money promptly, and put as much of the spending as possible into wages.

As always, Hopkins acted quickly, and by December the WPA had plans to employ 3.5 million workers. Paying its workers wages that were higher than direct relief assistance, yet were below prevailing wages so as not to compete with the private sector for workers, the WPA continued and enlarged the variety of projects building the nation's infrastructure begun by the CWA and the FERA in their work relief efforts. Within three years, the WPA had employed 5 million workers, some 3.3 million at its height during the RECESSION OF 1937–1938. By the time the agency was terminated in 1943, the WPA had spent more than \$10 bil-

lion, employed more than 8 million workers, and built or improved an estimated 80,000 bridges and viaducts, 8,000 parks, 850 airports, and hundreds of thousands of miles of roads, and 85,000 public buildings.

But the impact of the WPA went beyond its achievements in construction projects and work relief for manual workers. The agency also launched an array of programs aimed at preserving and enhancing the skills of a variety of white-collar workers, artists, actors, authors, professionals, and young people, and it gave unusual attention as well to AFRICAN AMERICANS and women. It created the FEDERAL ART PROJECT, the FEDERAL THEATRE PROJECT, the FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT, and the FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT (together known as "Federal One"). The WPA also launched the NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION (NYA), which provided young people assistance to stay in school (and out of the job market) as well as employment and training for out-of-school youth. Hopkins and other officials made the WPA one of the New Deal agencies most sensitive to and supportive of blacks, including establishing the NYA's Division of Negro Affairs headed by MARY McLEOD BETHUNE. The Women's and Professional Division of the WPA gave substantial attention to helping working women.

Despite such achievements, the WPA had real limitations. It never employed more than about one-third of the unemployed at any one time, paid low wages, and proved unable to surmount various forms of prejudice and



Poster for the Works Progress Administration (Library of Congress)



discrimination. Such limitations stemmed largely from obstacles that the WPA encountered. It never received funding from CONGRESS sufficient in size or predictability to meet Hopkins's larger aims. Like other New Deal programs, its implementation depended in part on state and local governments that were often inefficient and resistant to federal direction.

Although criticized from the left for doing too little for the unemployed, the WPA faced criticism from conservatives for doing and spending too much, and in the late 1930s it came under fire from the emerging CONSERVATIVE COALITION in the Congress. Critics alleged that WPA workers engaged in useless "boondoggle" projects and that WPA really stood for "We Poke Along." A special Senate committee uncovered evidence of inappropriate political activity. The House Committee on Un-American Activities and other congressional committees investigated the agency—especially the theater and writers' projects—for "un-American" activities. The House Subcommittee on Appropriations eliminated the Federal Theatre Project, reduced funding for a number of projects, and required workers to sign an oath of loyalty to the United States. In 1939, Roosevelt changed the agency's name to the Works Projects Administration to draw attention to its projects, but as prosperity returned with increased defense spending, the WPA like other relief agencies lost favor with the public and encountered growing opposition from conservatives and the Congress. In December 1942, with Congress sharply reducing appropriations for the WPA, Roosevelt reluctantly gave the agency its "honorable discharge" and ordered its termination by the end of 1943.

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### World Disarmament Conference (1932–1934)

The World Disarmament Conference opened in Geneva, Switzerland, under the auspices of the League of Nations, in February 1932. Following the partial success of the LONDON NAVAL CONFERENCE of 1930 in extending naval arms limitation agreements, there was hope that new agreements could be reached to curtail arms expenditures and production. The GREAT DEPRESSION, and the desire of the United States and other nations to spend less on armaments so that more could be devoted to domestic economic and social programs, also provided part of the context for the discussions of arms reduction. The conference none-

theless proved a disappointing failure, unable to achieve any significant agreement on disarmament.

In approaching the general question of disarmament, the conference faced the specific issue of Germany's demand for parity in armaments and France's concerns about Germany and its own national security on the European continent. Hopes of a disarmament agreement turned on the willingness of the French to scale down their armaments, thus sacrificing the arms superiority over Germany granted by the Versailles treaty. France required that other nations, in particular Great Britain, provide guarantees of security and assistance in the event of conflict, but the British said they could not take on new commitments.

The United States played a significant role at the conference. In June 1932, President HERBERT C. HOOVER took the initiative by proposing a general one-third reduction in armaments, but he failed to gain sufficient support. In what some called the Hoover Plan, the United States proposed a reduction especially in offensive weapons. As he had in the London Naval Conference, Hoover wanted to reduce arms expenditures so that nations could stabilize their domestic economies as well as reduce the chances for armed conflict, and he also hoped that linkages might be made between the disarmament conference and the planned LONDON ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

In 1933, new U.S. president FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT said that disarmament was "one of the principal keys to the world situation," and he pledged to use "every possible means" to help the disarmament conference have some success. In May 1933, he promulgated an "Appeal to the Nations of the World for Peace and for the End of Economic Chaos" and drew attention to both the World Disarmament Conference and the London Economic Conference. But FDR helped torpedo the London conference by refusing to support currency stabilization and a return to the GOLD STANDARD. Committed to working for arms control, despite the lack of significant progress at Geneva and his own growing pessimism about the discussions, Roosevelt did try to salvage something from the disarmament conference. But opposition from ISOLATIONISTS in Washington led FDR to withdraw even an offer to link arms reduction to American cooperation with League of Nations economic sanctions against an aggressor nation.

In October 1933, Adolf Hitler, who had become Germany's new chancellor in January 1933, withdrew Germany from the World Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations. Germany's withdrawal, and its clear intention to rearm, killed hopes of any meaning disarmament agreement. Like Germany, Japan also withdrew from the League of Nations and pursued both rearmament and territorial aggrandizement as the decade wore on. The United States, though having played active roles in such interwar arms reduction efforts as the Washington Naval Conference of



1921–22, the London Naval Conference, and the World Disarmament Conference, followed a noninterventionist FOREIGN POLICY until the outbreak of WORLD WAR II.

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—Michael Leonard

## World War II

World War II was an enormous conflict that had great impact on the global role of the United States and on the American home front. It has inevitably given rise to an abundance of interpretations of its events and meaning.

Some of the important interpretations and debates involve specific events and developments. Did President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT know about the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR beforehand and welcome it as a “back door” to war? (Most scholars find little credible evidence for that view.) Was the two-pronged American campaign in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER by the U.S. ARMY and the U.S. NAVY the wisest course of action? (Perhaps not—but it worked.) Why did the United States use the ATOMIC BOMB in August 1945? (Most scholars agree that it was for the primary purpose of bringing the war to an end as quickly as possible, though with the secondary purpose of impressing the Soviet Union and making it more cooperative after the war.) Did the atomic bombings of HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI end the war and prevent an invasion of Japan that would have cost up to a million American dead? (The conventional view has been yes, but a number of scholars suggest that there were other alternatives to invasion and that the estimate of so many American deaths is greatly inflated.)

There are many important interpretive questions. Why did SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS sour and the GRAND ALLIANCE dissolve at the end of the war? (Most scholars point to longstanding tensions antedating the war and to wartime disagreements arising from conflicting worldviews and war aims.) Why did the United States do so little to rescue victims of the HOLOCAUST? (There is no clear consensus, but many scholars continue to hold that evidence was more fragmentary and even more unbelievable than it now seems, although ANTI-SEMITISM played a role too.) What led to the RELOCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS and their incarceration? (Historians emphasize racism as the key factor, but also point to unfounded military fears and to the small numbers and lack of political power of Japanese Americans.)

These and other questions continue to attract the attention of scholars of World War II. But beyond the interpretations of such specific issues, there are also two overriding interpretations about the meaning and signifi-

cance of World War II for the United States that have come to shape general understandings of the war—and that have also provoked debate among historians. One is that it was the “Good War” that defeated the AXIS, saved democracy, and brought unity, prosperity, and social advance in the United States. The other is that World War II was a watershed in history that changed the world, transformed American FOREIGN POLICY, and in numerous ways made the United States a far different place from what it had been before the war.

The interpretation of World War II as the “Good War” fought and won by America’s “greatest generation” has taken firm hold as the prevailing public view of the war. Shaping the 50-year celebrations of the war from 1989 to 1995, the idea of the Good War focuses partly on the global significance of World War II, partly on the benefits it evidently brought the United States. In this analysis, the Grand Alliance against the AXIS vanquished Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, liberated conquered areas from their control, and saved democracy. At home, the “Good War” unified the nation, restored prosperity, provided new opportunities, and laid groundwork for the postwar CIVIL RIGHTS and women’s movements—and without the home front destruction and casualties of the other nations at war. In retrospect, many wartime Americans thought the war years the best and most rewarding time of their lives.

There have always been qualifications to or dissent from the idea of the Good War. But concurrently with, and partly in reaction to, the celebratory semicentennial observations of World War II, the idea of the Good War came under sharp attack from a number of scholars. They have stressed for one thing the degree to which racism and prejudice shaped the American conduct of the war—including the relocation of Japanese Americans, discrimination against and segregation of AFRICAN AMERICANS, limited chances for MEXICAN AMERICANS and NATIVE AMERICANS, the disturbing anti-Semitism of the war years, discrimination against GAYS AND LESBIANS, especially in the armed forces, and the limited and often short-lived gains for WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

This alternative interpretation also points out that home-front shortages, RATIONING, and restrictions gave rise to complaints, selfishness, favoritism, and a BLACK MARKET; that social tensions flared in crowded war-boom communities; that MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE was disrupted; and that juvenile delinquency became a national concern. Racial violence sometimes erupted, most notably in the summer of 1943. And in this view, the American home front was marked by an illiberal, enforced conformity in which the incarceration of innocent Japanese Americans was simply the worst and most obvious violation of CIVIL LIBERTIES. Government CENSORSHIP and manipulation of war news and images shaped NEWS MEDIA reporting

and PHOTOGRAPHY and infringed upon First Amendment rights.

Even the idea of the virtuous Good War abroad against the Axis has experienced some challenge. A few Americans lamented from the beginning the alliance with the Soviet Union and the Soviets' increased power in the world as a result of the war. More have regretted and questioned the use of the atomic bomb against Japan. Increasing evidence has surfaced about the brutal warfare on all sides, including the bombing of civilian populations, not just in the Pacific theater but also in the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER. Although almost no one disputes the notion that defeating the Axis was a good thing, more accounts now point to questionable or even unworthy means toward that end.

The other prevailing interpretation of World War II is that it was a watershed event that transformed both the world and the United States. The argument is compelling with respect to America's world role and foreign policy. Because of World War II, the United States became by far the world's richest and most powerful nation and embarked upon a course of active leadership in world affairs, including a major role in the new UNITED NATIONS.

The watershed interpretation of the WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT holds above all that the war ended the depression and triggered unprecedented prosperity. It also expanded the middle class, and strengthened and diversified the economies of the SOUTH and the West. It enlarged the size of organized LABOR and integrated unions into the policymaking machinery. It restructured AGRICULTURE, especially by accelerating the growth of large, mechanized, commercial agribusiness.

The war, moreover, greatly increased the size and reach of the federal GOVERNMENT—especially the PRESIDENCY—and made KEYNESIANISM central to FISCAL POLICY. Wartime SCIENCE and TECHNOLOGY (underwritten by the government) produced not only such instruments of war as radar and the atomic bomb but also the computer revolution and the development of sundry wonder drugs, new insecticides, and synthetic materials.

The interpretation of World War II as a watershed in national life also focuses on the social consequences of the war. For African Americans, the war produced massive movement out of the rural South, new opportunities in industry and the armed forces, rising expectations, and the determination to use the war as a lever of social change. For women, too—for whom the abiding and partly misleading symbol is ROSIE THE RIVETER—the war brought new opportunities and new roles. For white ethnic groups, the war evidently hastened inclusion into the social and economic mainstreams. Servicemen—and sometimes women—encountered extraordinary new circumstances and experiences, gained vital new training and skills, and

profited from the GI BILL OF RIGHTS. And World War II brought important demographic change. MIGRATION sped the growth of the SUNBELT states of the South and West, of metropolitan areas, and of SUBURBS. The war also affected POPULATION TRENDS by helping to launch a marriage and baby boom of great proportions and still greater implications.

Yet for all the strength of the “watershed” interpretation, which is only sketched here, there is another side, one stressing continuity as well as change and suggesting that the “watershed” interpretation oversimplifies or exaggerates the war's impact. In important areas of American life, for example, longer historical perspective suggests that many of the changes associated with the war had long been under way. These include new roles for women, altered circumstances and civil rights activism for blacks, the rise of suburbs and the Sunbelt, the growing size and role of the federal government, the assimilation of white ethnic groups, and the global power of the United States. The war may have reinforced or accelerated such changes, but it did not necessarily produce them.

Nor did World War II complete or consummate many of the changes commonly attributed to it. The Civil Rights movement took more than a decade after 1945 to gain great momentum, the women's movement more than two decades; and both blacks and women remained in significant ways on the margins of American society at the end of the war. Similarly, the baby boom, the mushrooming of the suburbs, the decline of small farming and of the farm population, and the impact of new technologies were more evident after than during the war.

Not all areas of American life experienced dramatic change during the war. Examinations of New England and the Midwest, for example, often show basic continuities, and important studies have recently contended that even in California the war largely reinforced longstanding patterns of population and economic growth. There was nationally no great change in the distribution of wealth and little in the distribution of power. In politics, existing party appeals, voting patterns, and domestic policy changed little during the war, despite the resurgent strength of CONSERVATISM.

One reason for the incompleteness and slowness of social change, moreover, was the continuing hold of old values, old norms, old patterns of life with respect to race, to gender, to family and community life, and to much else besides. Most wartime Americans—African Americans were an obvious exception—tended to visualize the post-war era as a more prosperous version of prewar America. The transformations that most people wanted were in personal circumstance and opportunity, not broad social patterns and norms.

Several perspectives can help in sorting through the claims and counterclaims with respect to World War II as

a watershed or as the Good War. For one thing, the issues are to an important extent ones of balance and focus. One can find both change and continuity in the war years, both huge successes and troubling shortcomings.

With both the watershed and the Good War frameworks, moreover, comparative analysis can be illuminating. The World War II American home front, for example, was not so repressive or illiberal as the World War I home front or as those of other World War II belligerents. Nor did the war affect American life as it did the other nations at war.

As compared to the watershed interpretation, the idea of the Good War turns more on value judgments than on dispassionate analysis. In this respect, the two interpretive frameworks have quite different dimensions and raise different issues. In another sense, however, they are often mirror images of one another. To a significant extent the view of the war as a watershed suggests that it was a good war: It restored prosperity; it provided new opportunities; it improved the roles, status, and prospects of women, of African Americans, of the working class. By contrast, challenges to the Good War thesis are also often, implicitly at least, challenges to the notion of the war as a great divide: Longstanding prejudice limited the gains of blacks, of women, and of other groups on the margins of status and power; the already rich and powerful—not workers or unions or small business or small farmers—profited from the war.

For the nature and significance of World War II—as for virtually any important and complicated question in history—there is no single, all-purpose interpretation. For wartime America, different people, different groups, different regions, had different experiences, true for them but not necessarily representative of the whole. The war also had diverse and differential effects on the various components of American life and government. Students of the Second World War will thus continue to come to different interpretations about its meaning and impact, as well as about its leading events and personalities.

See also WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER; WORLD WAR II HOME FRONT; WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER.

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### World War II European theater

The European theater of World War II broadly encompassed those land, sea, and air operations taking place between the GRAND ALLIANCE headed by the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union, and the AXIS powers of Germany and Italy and their allies, in northwestern, central, and eastern Europe, in the Atlantic Ocean, in North Africa and the Mediterranean Sea, and in the Soviet Union. In terms of intensity, the amount of manpower and national resources expended, and the number of casualties and the destruction incurred, World War II in the European theater dwarfed the war against Japan in the WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER.

After a series of Axis BLITZKRIEG campaigns conducted between September 1939 and August 1942, the Germans and Italians dominated the European continent from Norway to the Mediterranean Sea (and also North Africa) and from the Bay of Biscay off the western coast of France to the breadth of European Russia. With Axis forces well entrenched, and opposing powers struggling either to survive or to rearm and mobilize, moves to liberate Europe from fascist rule came only following a long and costly war of attrition. When combined with the necessity of defeating Imperial Japanese forces in the Pacific, World War II became a global "total war" of unprecedented proportions.

At a post-PEARL HARBOR conference in Washington, D.C., held between December 14, 1941, and January 15, 1942, the United States and Great Britain built upon earlier joint military staff talks held in August 1941. They developed a combined Anglo-American command, control, and logistical structure for their growing military forces as well as the broad outlines of a strategy to liberate the continent and defeat the Axis. An agreement was reached that the defeat of the European Axis, especially Nazi Germany, would take top priority in the years ahead, for Germany was considered the most powerful and dangerous of the Axis powers, requiring the greatest amount of effort to overcome. The Anglo-American talks also produced a statement of support for the Soviet war effort against Germany—the USSR was already receiving American assistance under LEND-LEASE—and a decision to engage Axis forces as soon as possible on the continent itself, using all available air, land, and sea capabilities. Once the European Axis was defeated, Allied attentions would focus on defeating Imperial Japan. Until such time as Allied predominance in Europe was assured, however, the war against Japan



would take secondary priority and would consist of holding actions and limited offensives. Five subsequent wartime conferences held between 1943 and 1945, involving American president FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, British prime minister Winston S. Churchill, and Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin (known together as the “Big Three”) and their military and diplomatic staffs, further refined Allied strategy in consideration of ever changing events.

Yet even with the broad consensus gained in Washington, significant disputes remained among the Soviet, American, and British allies. The United States favored an immediate cross-Channel assault on Axis-occupied France to speed the ultimate goal of invading Germany and destroying its war-making capability. Soviet premier Stalin also favored the immediate opening of a SECOND

FRONT, both to ease pressure on the Red Army fighting in the east, and to gain reassurance of the commitment of the Western Allies to the Grand Alliance. Great Britain, however, mindful of American military inexperience, and of the bloody stalemate of the Western Front during World War I, opposed an early direct assault on “Fortress Europe,” preferring a peripheral approach until the Axis was sufficiently weakened to insure Allied success at the lowest possible cost.

While the Americans continued to favor a direct assault in either 1942 or 1943, building up the necessary manpower and war production needed to guarantee Allied superiority was going to take years. As a result, the Americans agreed to follow the British peripheral approach, while securing the Atlantic sea lanes, conducting a campaign of psychological



A U.S. armored column rolls through the streets of Palermo, Sicily, on July 22, 1943. (*National Archives*)



warfare and aid to resistance movements, and mounting an ever more powerful strategic AIR POWER campaign against Germany. In spite of repeated calls by Stalin for an immediate second front, the British strategic view prevailed until 1944, when American war production and military power allowed the United States to determine overall strategy for the Western portion of the Grand Alliance.

As the Western Allies mobilized to conduct a total war, the decision was made to build upon British and Commonwealth efforts against Italian and German forces in North Africa (in the Western Desert in Libya and Egypt) that had commenced in late 1940, providing a foothold for the NORTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN. Anglo-American planning began immediately in the summer of 1942 to invade Vichy French territories in Northwest Africa, specifically in Morocco and Algeria, with a subsequent thrust toward Tunisia, thus placing Axis forces in a large east-west pincer movement. Once the Allies had defeated Axis forces in North Africa, they would be poised to launch an offensive on the European continent through the perceived “soft underbelly” of Italy or the Balkans.

Operation Torch, the Anglo-American invasion of North Africa, took place on November 8, 1942, with Anglo-American forces landing in Casablanca, Algiers, and Oran. The Anglo-American forces quickly overcame resistance by Vichy French forces and effected a cease-fire on November 10, but soon bogged down in the advance toward Tunisia due to poor weather, logistical difficulties, and the relative inexperience of American forces. This allowed the Germans to significantly bolster their armies in Tunisia, and to undertake offensive operations against the Allies—most notably at the Kasserine Pass, where U.S. Army forces were dealt a defeat in February 1943. Yet, with British Commonwealth forces pressing retreating Axis armies from the east, following the Second Battle of El Alamein in October 1942, the increased Allied pressure succeeded in forcing Axis troops into Tunisia, where they surrendered on May 13, 1943.

With preparations for the cross-Channel attack on France still ongoing, the Allies decided at the January 1943 CASABLANCA CONFERENCE to continue Mediterranean operations by invading SICILY. At the midsummer Quebec Conference, the Western Allies decided to continue this line of advance to the Italian mainland itself, having dismissed both the possibility of an invasion of France in 1943 and of other peripheral attacks in the Balkans. The conquest of Sicily by August provided the Allies with a major base for the September 1943 invasion of Italy. Earlier, in July, fascist dictator Benito Mussolini was ousted from power; Italy surrendered on September 8. While it was hoped that the Germans would withdraw beyond the Alps, German forces (with fascist Italian support) instead occupied the entire Italian peninsula. Following Anglo-American invasions on

September 3 and 9 at Salerno, Taranto, and Reggio, the ITALIAN CAMPAIGN turned into a drawn-out war of attrition through the remainder of 1943 and into 1944, moving northward up the Italian peninsula toward Rome. Attempts to break the German defensive belt known as the Gustave Line south of Rome failed even after the Anglo-American amphibious invasion at Anzio in January 1944.

In the meantime, the Soviet Red Army continued to battle for survival against the bulk of Axis military forces on the 1,800 mile-long eastern front. Following the beginning of Operation Barbarossa, the German invasion of the Soviet Union, on June 22, 1941, the Germans killed or captured 3 million Red Army troops in a series of stunning blitzkrieg operations that took them deep into the Ukraine, to the gates of Leningrad in the north, and to the outskirts of Moscow by December 1941. Weather, Axis logistical difficulties, and sizeable Soviet manpower reserves, however, slowed and then halted the German advance, while a massive counteroffensive on December 5, 1941, pushed German forces 100 miles away from Moscow. Although German forces again went on the offensive in the spring of 1942, with the goal of capturing the Caucasus oil fields, a midsummer diversion to seize Stalingrad resulted in one of the longest urban battles of attrition in military history. German forces succeeded in capturing two-thirds of the city by late October, but a Soviet counteroffensive on November 19 succeeded in surrounding and isolating Axis forces, and a lengthy siege forced their surrender in late January 1943. While the Germans would launch one further (yet limited and failed) offensive, in the summer of 1943 at Kursk, the tide of the war in the east had clearly turned, and growing Soviet military and industrial power promised to overwhelm the increasingly weaker Axis forces.

Planning for a second front in the west continued through 1943 with the decision made at the TEHRAN CONFERENCE in the fall of 1943 to launch the invasion in Normandy in May 1944. The subsequent INVASION OF NORMANDY on June 6, 1944, succeeded in establishing a beachhead, and was followed by a breakout in July. Combined with a second Anglo-American invasion in southern France in August 1944, the Allies succeeded in liberating the bulk of French territory by September 1, 1944. Although the Allies attempted to pierce German frontier defenses on the Siegfried Line, or West Wall, in the fall of 1944, these attempts, as well as offensives in the Huertgen Forest, and an airborne operation in the Netherlands to seize Rhine River crossings, failed to produce the expected breakthroughs. In Italy, American forces liberated Rome on June 4, 1944, and, with British forces, pushed the Germans north of Florence before the offensive again stalled for yet another winter on the Gothic line. A mid-December 1944 second Ardennes offensive, known popularly as the BATTLE OF THE BULGE, produced temporary German

gains against American forces in Belgium, but was quickly reversed by overwhelming Allied ground and air forces by mid-January 1945.

A major Soviet offensive in the east in June 1944, timed to coincide with the Normandy and French Riviera landings, sent Axis forces along the entire eastern front reeling, resulting in the liberation of European Russia, Poland, and the Balkans by September 1944. Red Army advances prompted the surrender of Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland by the late fall of 1944. By February 1945, Red Army forces were on the Oder River 50 miles from Berlin, and were besieging Budapest in Hungary, and were closing in on Austria. The final offensives in the west began in March 1945, with Anglo-American armies forcing multiple crossing of the Rhine River and capturing the German industrial Ruhr Valley by April. In eastern Germany, the final Soviet offensive annihilated the remaining German forces, and the city fell to Soviet forces on May 2, 1945. On the same day, Axis forces in Italy surrendered. In the west, German commanders signed the instrument of surrender in General Dwight D. Eisenhower's headquarters in Rheims, France, on May 7, 1945, in a ceremony repeated the following day, May 8, 1945, in Berlin. Victory in Europe Day, or V-E DAY, was marked officially on May 8, 1945.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

## World War II home front

As compared to its huge and sometimes catastrophic impact on the home fronts of the other major combatants, WORLD WAR II had smaller, generally salutary, but nonetheless significant effects on the American home front. Most obviously, MOBILIZATION returned the ECONOMY to full-production, full-employment prosperity after the long decade of the GREAT DEPRESSION. To manage the war effort, GOVERNMENT grew much larger and more expensive. More than 30 million people—nearly one out of every four—took part in the massive wartime MIGRATION, and the SUNBELT and metropolitan areas saw their populations surge. Women and AFRICAN AMERICANS gained new opportunities, as Americans joined in common cause to defeat the AXIS and win the war. In significant ways, the United States at 1945 looked and felt different—and better—from the way it had just five years earlier.

But there was another side to the home front experience. Migrants often were greeted with suspicion and even hostility in their new communities, and prejudice and discrimination continued to affect American life. People complained about shortages of some consumer goods and other apparent sacrifices, and many turned to the BLACK MARKET for items they wanted. Wartime CENSORSHIP and other government actions sometimes eroded CIVIL LIBERTIES. Old attitudes and values shaped both home front life and hopes for the future, and wartime change often essentially continued prewar trends. Some things scarcely changed at all. Not just the complicated military and diplomatic history of the war but also the fascinating, kaleidoscopic home front experience has contributed to the variety of interpretations of World War II.

Mobilization for war was the fundamental fact and factor on the home front. Producing the war goods and military force that made the United States the “arsenal of democracy” galvanized the nation's economy and society and brought a dual victory—over the Great Depression as well as over the Axis. As late as 1940, UNEMPLOYMENT stood at a depression-level 14.6 percent; by 1944, it had shrunk to a remarkable 1.2 percent. The gross national product and national income more than doubled in those same four years. After a somewhat stumbling start, the mobilization effort worked well and inflation was brought under control. Despite wartime shortages and RATIONING, spending on consumer goods rose, as did living standards.

Mobilization opened new opportunities and experiences, and, with them, heightened aspirations and expectations for millions of Americans. In the 1930s, the pressing national issue had been how to find jobs for all the nation's workers; on the home front, it was how to find workers for all the jobs that needed doing, especially with 16 million men joining the armed forces. As a result, BUSINESS, encouraged by government, eventually turned to other sources of workers—including young people, the ELDERLY, and especially women and African Americans, who gained access to a greater range and higher level of jobs than before. For the first time, married women and women over 35 outnumbered the unmarried and under-35 women in the workforce. Young men (and women) joining the armed forces gained experience, training, and broadened perspectives, and in the postwar period benefited from the GI BILL OF RIGHTS. Organized LABOR grew in numbers and influence.

Mobilizing industry and the armed forces sent GIs, defense workers, and their families to military bases and war plants around the country, but particularly in the Sunbelt states along the Pacific, Gulf, and Atlantic coasts. CITIES, and especially their suburbs, grew rapidly, while the long-term depopulation of rural America accelerated. By the end of the war, one-tenth of the nation's population

had moved permanently to a different state. For African Americans, moving out of the rural SOUTH to cities in the North and on the West Coast had especially important long-term consequences. And unlike the dispirited travels of the depression decade, wartime migration and the crowded public TRANSPORTATION facilities of the war years were marked by a bustling excitement and vitality, if often by understandable apprehension as well. Marriage and birth rates picked up early in the war—partly out of hopes that husbands and fathers would be deferred from the military draft by SELECTIVE SERVICE—and set the stage for the great postwar baby boom.

Wartime changes often came with old constraints, however. Despite EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802 that created the FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE, the defense industry did not begin to hire blacks in significant numbers or in better jobs until the middle of the war. The somewhat misleading symbol of ROSIE THE RIVETER notwithstanding, women were sometimes reluctant to enter the workforce, encountered prejudice and limited opportunity, and made their most lasting employment increases in white-collar clerical and secretarial work. Prosperity raised income and living standards, but there was virtually no change in the distribution of wealth or economic power—though it often felt that way because national income was so much higher and so many more people were doing better.

Mobilization also brought social strains and even conflict. Arriving migrants were often greeted with some apprehension and distaste, because they seemed to tax community resources and challenge community standards. Worrisome misbehavior by some young people made juvenile delinquency a concern. Divorce rates increased toward the end of the war, reflecting hurried, inappropriate marriages and sometimes wartime tensions in MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE. ITALIAN AMERICANS were treated with distrust early in the war, and ANTI-SEMITISM sometimes flared on the home front. GAYS AND LESBIANS faced new discrimination in the military. MEXICAN AMERICANS encountered prejudice as they took part in the migration to urban areas, and in Los Angeles in 1943 Mexican American ZOOT-SUITERS were the target of ugly rioting. In Detroit, New York, and elsewhere race riots involving African Americans also broke out in the summer of 1943. And the RELOCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS and their incarceration constituted by far the worst violation of civil liberties during the war.

Social change and home front life had positive and uplifting sides, too, of course. The war ultimately hastened the assimilation of Italian Americans and other white ethnic groups into the mainstream of American society. African Americans pursued what some black newspapers called the “Double V” campaign—victory at home over Jim Crow as well as abroad over the Axis—and laid crucial groundwork for the postwar Civil Rights movement. Many women, in

the workplace or (with husbands away) at home had new experiences and autonomy.

Shortages and rationing of consumer goods, especially of gasoline and meat, may have rankled and led to violations of policy, but most people went along. Indeed, they often found common cause in the grumbling and limited sacrifice as well as in efforts on production lines, military units, and wartime communities. Home front Americans pitched in with such diverse activities as civil defense efforts, SCRAP DRIVES, VICTORY GARDENS, and WAR BONDS sales. From the first shocking news of the Japanese attack on PEARL HARBOR, moreover, Americans were sure of their cause and confident of victory. The complaints about home front disruptions and the frustrations with the rocky beginning of mobilization did not in any serious way impair home front morale.

Americans on the home front also found time to enjoy themselves, engaging in RECREATION, watching SPORTS events, going to the MOVIES, listening to MUSIC at home and at live performances, and enjoying RADIO and other aspects of POPULAR CULTURE. Spared the often devastating impact of war on home fronts of their British and especially Russian allies and of their German and Japanese foes, home front Americans often did have a “good war,” despite some sacrifices and real anxieties about family and friends in the armed forces. Tens of millions found solace and reassurance in RELIGION. Although worries existed about the postwar economy, the new jobs, training, experiences, and higher living standards of the war years restored confidence and optimism to Americans and raised hopes for the future. Many would later look back to the wartime experience as the best years of their lives.

In addition to its economic and social impact, wartime mobilization also had important consequences for American government. To acquire and allocate the material, manpower, and money required for the war effort greatly increased the power, size, and cost of the federal government—far beyond the growth in the NEW DEAL years of the 1930s. Staffing the mobilization agencies quadrupled the number of civilian federal employees to nearly 4 million. Paying for the gigantic war effort increased the expenses of the government from \$9 billion to almost \$98 billion between 1939 and 1945. In addition to drafting men for the wartime military, the government conscripted money to help meet wartime costs—and wartime TAXATION, especially the REVENUE ACT OF 1942, greatly expanded the reach of the income tax and produced the withholding tax system. The number of taxable individual incomes soared from 4 million in 1939 to nearly 43 million by war’s end.

The mobilization effort had important consequences for the political economy. Not only did the government’s size, power, and costs grow, but so too did its scope—in underwriting SCIENCE and TECHNOLOGY, for example,

especially through the OFFICE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. Because there were not enough experienced bureaucrats to manage economic mobilization, DOLLAR-A-YEAR MEN and other businessmen came to Washington to head or serve on key agencies, and in the process helped to increase the economic and political power of big business. Some scholars see World War II as the crucial period for the development of the so-called military-industrial complex—or the military-industrial-scientific complex. Organized labor and big AGRICULTURE also gained new power during the war, as the modern political economy of big government, big business, big labor, and big farming took clearer shape.

Wartime government spending had important consequences for FISCAL POLICY. From PEARL HARBOR to V-J DAY, the government spent about \$300 billion—twice as much as in all its previous history, from 1789 down to 1941. Despite the increase in taxes, current revenues paid for less than half of the costs of mobilization. The rest the government funded by borrowing. The massive deficits not only paid for the war but underwrote full-production, full-employment prosperity and thus confirmed the central argument of KEYNESIANISM that government deficit spending could produce growth and prosperity. Together with the much enlarged tax structure of the war years, this provided the basis for postwar fiscal policy. It also helped consummate a shift in LIBERALISM toward Keynesian fiscal policy.

Despite the large impact of the war on the nation's economy, society, and government, politics changed surprisingly little from 1940 to 1945. Indeed, unlike even Great Britain, which called off elections for the duration, the normal rhythms—and the fierce partisanship—of American politics continued. President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT won an unprecedented third term in the ELECTION OF 1940, and then a fourth in the ELECTION OF 1944. Voting patterns closely resembled those of the previous decade, and depression-era party images and issues continued to shape voter preferences, with the DEMOCRATIC PARTY still seen as the party of prosperity and economic security. But, particularly in the congressional elections of 1942, the REPUBLICAN PARTY regained some of the strength lost in the 1930s—partly because of unhappiness with shortages, rationing, and the OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION. In CONGRESS, the CONSERVATIVE COALITION of Republicans and conservative Democrats that had emerged in the late 1930s grew stronger still and prevented any expansion of liberal reform.

As victory in the war came in sight by 1944, Americans began to look ahead to the postwar era. POSTWAR PLANNING revealed the emphasis on full employment and postwar prosperity evident in PUBLIC OPINION POLLS, while ADVERTISING showed visions of the good life of abundance

that people wanted. Polls and ads also demonstrated the emphasis on marriage and family that would characterize the postwar decades. Apprehension—what some called “depression psychosis”—nonetheless persisted about what would happen to the economy once the stimulus of war mobilization was gone.

The end of the war in August 1945 brought jubilant V-J Day celebrations, but also concern about the challenges at home and abroad. RECONVERSION and DEMOBILIZATION went generally effectively, however, and despite early problems and disruptions, prosperity continued. The nation shifted more easily into the postwar period than many had feared during the war. Postwar America would be different from prewar America, different because of World War II and its impact on the home front. But along with those differences were powerful continuities in social, political, and economic patterns and in the nation's bedrock values and attitudes.

See also POLITICS IN THE ROOSEVELT ERA; WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

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## World War II Pacific theater

As compared to the WORLD WAR II EUROPEAN THEATER, the Pacific theater opened more than two years later, encompassed a far greater geographic expanse, and involved fewer troops and nations at a lower cost in casualties, physical destruction, and material expended. Although many nations participated, the ultimate victory over Japan was overwhelmingly the result of American naval, air, and ground operations.

Imperial Japan began a campaign of Asian conquest in MANCHURIA in September 1931, followed by the invasion of China in July 1937, which had bogged down by 1940. Events in Europe, however, provided the military-controlled Japanese government with the opportunity to profit from Dutch, French, and British weakness in Asia, where these powers controlled lightly defended, yet resource-rich colonies in the Netherlands East Indies, Indochina, Burma, Malaya, and elsewhere. These regions could provide Japan with resources it needed as a modern industrial power, as



well as its own empire, the “Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.” Japanese expansion would end Western hegemony in Asia and Western support of the Nationalist Chinese regime.

While Japanese diplomacy produced an alliance with Thailand, the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo AXIS, and bases in French Indochina, American opposition to Japanese activities strained relations and prompted an American embargo on Japan in September 1940, which was followed by an Anglo-American freezing of Japanese assets in July 1941. In response, and despite negotiations between the United States and Japan to maintain the peace, the Imperial Japanese military decided in July 1941 to launch a campaign of conquest in the Pacific by December. As the United States was the only power that could interfere with these plans, Japan planned to destroy the U.S. Pacific Fleet at PEARL HARBOR, Hawaii. Before the United States could recover from this devastating blow and mobilize its forces, Japan expected to have vanquished China and created a fortified empire in Asia and the Pacific. The United States, the Japanese believed, would then negotiate a settlement leaving the new Japanese empire intact rather than fight over former European colonies of little interest or value to Americans.

The surprise Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, opened hostilities, and coincided with similar attacks throughout Asia and the Pacific. Moving aggressively against disunited, demoralized, and weak British, Dutch, American, and Australian forces, a relatively small Japanese army of 250,000 troops, supported by powerful naval and air forces, quickly conquered Hong Kong, Singapore, the PHILIPPINES, the Dutch East Indies, Burma, Malaya, Indochina, and New Guinea. By late spring 1942, Japanese forces had pushed deep into the Pacific as far as the Gilbert, Solomon, and Aleutian Islands, and were poised for invasions of Australia, India, and southern China, having cut the Burma-Ledo Road supplying Nationalist Chinese forces.

Although the United States and Great Britain had decided on a strategy to defeat the European Axis first, the attack on Pearl Harbor enraged Americans, and the rapid Japanese advance resulted in a shift of most American manpower and material produced during 1942 to Asia and the Pacific. The number of powers with diverse holdings in the Pacific theater also caused unique problems in supply, planning, and coordination. The primary aim of the Dutch and the British (and, to a lesser extent, of the French and Australians) was to liberate their colonies, while the United States had as its priority the destruction of Japanese military power in the Pacific.

Unlike the European theater, which enjoyed a unity of command and purpose, with the early designation of supreme allied commanders in the Mediterranean and

northwestern Europe, no similar allied command situation existed in the Pacific. Instead, the British established an India theater headquarters, later expanded to a Southeast Asia Command under Lord Louis Mountbatten, operating in Burma. These British and Indian forces served in the China-Burma-India (CBI) theater in conjunction with Nationalist Chinese and American forces, under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his American military adviser, U.S. Army lieutenant general Joseph W. Stilwell. Operations in the CBI were distinct from operations conducted by the American-supplied Nationalist Chinese Army in the China theater directly controlled by Chiang.

In the greater Pacific Ocean Area, command and control was even more diffuse due to interservice U.S. rivalries. In Australia, U.S. Army general Douglas A. MacArthur commanded a mixed American and Australian force in what became known as the Southwest Pacific theater. MacArthur was unwilling to allow U.S. NAVY commanders to control army air or ground forces, but he also needed their support for his planned advance in New Guinea. In 1942, the Joint Chiefs of Staff decided to conduct a two-pronged Pacific offensive. Admiral CHESTER W. NIMITZ, designated commander in chief of U.S. Forces, Pacific Ocean Areas, was authorized to conduct a westward advance through the North, Central, and South Pacific theaters with the U.S. Navy and U.S. MARINES, using U.S. ARMY air and ground support where necessary. MacArthur was granted similar navy and marine support for his operations. Although the American strategy defied the axiom about never dividing one's forces, the multiple front nature of the Pacific war strained Japan's limited resources and logistics capabilities, hastening their defeat.

American ground operations began in August 1942 with the marine invasion of GUADALCANAL and Tulagi in the SOLOMON ISLANDS in the South Pacific theater under Admiral WILLIAM F. “Bull” HALSEY. In a hard-fought campaign involving marine, army, and navy units, Japanese forces were defeated on the ground and at sea by February 1943, while U.S. forces continued to move up the Solomons to Bougainville. Simultaneously, U.S. Army and Australian forces under MacArthur began operations in Papua New Guinea from Port Moresby. Following the conquest of Buna, and a series of leapfrog amphibious operations up the New Guinea coast at Lae, Salamaua, Finschafen, Hollandia, Biak, and Morotai, MacArthur prepared to invade the Philippines by September 1944. In the process, he bypassed the Japanese base at Rabaul, now surrounded and ineffectual.

In the China-Burma-India theater and the China theater, Allied troops tried without success to push back Japanese forces. This area, starved of manpower and material by the demands of other fronts and the relative lack of military prowess shown by Nationalist Chinese forces,



Marines of the first wave to land on Saipan taking cover before moving inland, June 15, 1944 (*National Archives*)

was maintained almost solely by airlifted supplies coming over the Himalayas (or “the Hump”). The CBI and China theaters remained regions of secondary and diminishing importance as opposed to the faster moving offensives in the Southwest and Central Pacific.

The long-awaited U.S. Navy and Marine Corps Central Pacific advance began in November 1943 with the invasion of TARAWA atoll in the Gilbert Islands chain. Tarawa was the first of several island-hopping **AMPHIBIOUS WARFARE** assaults conducted by naval and marine forces, where each island taken served as a jumping-off point for further advances west. In relatively quick succession, the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps team, with U.S. Army support, secured the Marshall Islands in February 1944, followed by the June–July 1944 conquest of Saipan, Tinian, and Guam in the **MARIANA ISLANDS**. The storming of Peleliu in the Palau Group in September 1944, and the bypassing of the

Japanese-held Caroline Islands with its major stronghold at Truk, which was left to wither on the vine, brought American forces close to the Philippines by fall 1944.

The Central Pacific advance was only possible because of the significant expansion of the U.S. Navy and its ability to defeat Imperial Japanese sea and air power in a series of engagements. After Pearl Harbor and the Allied defeat at the Battle of the Java Sea in February 1942, U.S. Navy forces had succeeded in halting Japanese expansion toward Australia in the **BATTLE OF THE CORAL SEA** in May 1942 and then decisively turned the tide with their stunning victory at the **BATTLE OF MIDWAY** in June 1942. Japanese efforts to repel U.S. forces in the Marianas during the July 1944 invasions resulted in their further defeat in the **BATTLE OF THE PHILIPPINE SEA**, which brought the final destruction of Japanese naval air power. Although the Japanese navy would again attempt to contest American landings in

the Philippines, the BATTLE FOR LEYTE GULF in October 1944 resulted in the destruction of the remaining elements of Japanese naval strength and gave naval supremacy in the Pacific to the United States. The successful efforts of U.S. SUBMARINES against the Japanese merchant fleet showed both the glaring deficiencies in Japanese maritime power and the inability of its military to keep its far-flung forces adequately supplied. Increasingly, after 1943, Japanese forces were literally starved for food, medical supplies, and war materials necessary to defend the empire.

With the conquest of the Mariana Islands, it became possible to launch a strategic air campaign against the Japanese home islands using the new, long-range B-29 Superfortress bomber, which moved from less effective bases in India and China in October 1944. The U.S. Marine landings on IWO JIMA in February 1945, the bloodiest battle in marine corps history, succeeded in gaining a fighter escort base and emergency landing field for B-29s returning from their firebombing raids on Japan. The BOMBING raids caused an estimated 500,000 Japanese civilian deaths between March and July 1945.

The original American strategy in the Pacific called for an invasion of Japan from bases in Formosa (Taiwan) and the Chinese coast, but the lack of Chinese progress in liberating these potential base areas by 1944 made it imperative that alternatives be found. Following MacArthur's invasion of the Philippines, at Leyte in October 1944 and at Luzon in January 1945, it was determined that OKINAWA, in the Ryukyu chain, some 350 miles south of Japan, would provide a suitable base. While the Australians invaded Borneo, the British and Indians liberated Burma, the U.S. Army continued to fight the Japanese in the Philippines (in a campaign that would last until the end of the war), and American forces invaded Okinawa in April 1945. The bloody Okinawa campaign, taking nearly three months, demonstrated Japanese tenacity and seeming willingness to fight to the last man. Costly attacks by Japanese kamikaze suicide aircraft on U.S. Navy forces offshore convinced American military leaders that Japan would fight to the bitter end during any invasion of the home islands, now scheduled for October 1945 and January 1946.

The successful test of the ATOMIC BOMB by the United States on July 16, 1945, however, offered an opportunity to end the war quickly without an invasion. Although questioned in later years, the use of the atomic bomb brought the surrender of Japan and saved the many American and Japanese lives that would have been lost had there been a grinding, drawn-out campaign of attrition in Japan. Following the atomic bombings of HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI on August 6 and 9, and the Soviet declaration of war against Japan on August 8, Japanese emperor Hirohito called on his forces to lay down their arms on August 15. The official

document of surrender was signed aboard the USS *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on September 2, 1945, ending the war in the Pacific, as well as World War II.

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—Clayton D. Laurie

### **Wright, Richard** (1908–1960) *author*

Richard Wright powerfully depicted the prejudice and discrimination facing AFRICAN AMERICANS in *Native Son* (1940), his gripping novel about black life in Chicago, and in *Black Boy* (1945), his autobiographical account of growing up in the deep SOUTH. These and other of his writings illuminated the circumstances of African Americans and contributed to black protest and activism on behalf of CIVIL RIGHTS. *Native Son*, his major and most influential work, was a selection of the Book of the Month Club, and thus had a particularly widespread readership and impact.

Wright was born on September 4, 1908, near Roxie, Mississippi, not far from Natchez. His father was an illiterate sharecropper, his mother a teacher. After a difficult childhood because of poverty, racism, and the desertion of his father, he moved to Chicago when he was 19 years old. Although he had little formal education, he read widely, and his reading helped shape his understanding of the plight of the urban poor, especially in the black community. In 1933, Wright was introduced to the John Reed Club, a Communist literary group, and attracted by the Communist Party's writings about radical change and equality for the lower classes, he joined the party in 1934. He was supported by the FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT of the NEW DEAL while also writing for left-wing literary magazines. His first book, *Uncle Tom's Children*, a collection of his stories, was published in 1938. Increasingly disillusioned by the COMMUNISTS, he publicly broke with the party during WORLD WAR II, and his 1944 essay explaining his decision was reprinted in *The God That Failed* (1950).

But Wright was also disillusioned and disheartened by the patterns of RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT in the United States, and he moved to France after the war. In addition to continuing to write, he also became a spokesman for Africa and anticolonialism. He died in Paris in 1950.

See also LITERATURE.

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# Y



## **Yalta Conference** (February 1945)

The Yalta Conference was held February 4–12, 1945, in Yalta, in the Soviet Union province of Crimea on the Black Sea. It involved the “Big Three” leaders of the **GRAND ALLIANCE** against the **AXIS** in **WORLD WAR II**: Soviet premier Joseph Stalin, British prime minister Winston Churchill, and U.S. president **FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT**. The meeting took up issues previously discussed at the **TEHERAN CONFERENCE**, including the surrender and postwar status of Germany; the postwar status of eastern Europe, especially Poland; the establishment of an international organization to maintain postwar peace; and the final stages of the war in the **WORLD WAR II PACIFIC THEATER**. Issues not settled at Yalta were left to later meetings, and ongoing questions involving Poland, eastern Europe, and Germany played an important role in the unraveling of the Grand Alliance and the development of the cold war. Particularly in the United States, decisions made at the conference were controversial from the beginning.

At Yalta, Stalin wanted to ensure secure borders for the Soviet Union in eastern Europe and to receive heavy German reparations to help rebuild the postwar Soviet Union. His advantages for negotiating at the conference included the immense Soviet contribution to the war effort and the position of the Red Army, which by February 1945 had wrested eastern Europe from Nazi control and was driving toward Berlin. Roosevelt’s objectives included Soviet agreement to joining the postwar **UNITED NATIONS** and a Soviet declaration of war on Japan. He wanted to avoid overt Soviet domination of eastern Europe and to ensure cooperative **SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS** and Stalin’s constructive participation in the postwar world.

The Big Three confirmed the **CASABLANCA CONFERENCE** policy of Germany’s unconditional surrender and agreed to the division of Germany into four zones of occupation. The Soviets, Americans, British, and French would each administer their own zone, with a central control commission in Berlin overseeing all four zones. With respect to

reparations from Germany, Stalin wanted \$20 billion, but the British and the Americans only agreed to use that sum as a working number, with the Soviets to receive no more than half. The final amount would be decided at a subsequent conference.

Discussions of Poland focused on the country’s borders and its government. Churchill and FDR agreed to the Soviet acquisition of eastern Poland, with the prospect, to be decided later, of Poland being compensated by receiving part of eastern Germany to the Oder and Neisse Rivers. The question of Poland’s government proved especially difficult. Stalin insisted upon recognizing the Soviet-sponsored government located in the Polish city of Lublin, rather than the rival anticommunist Polish government-in-exile in London. FDR was concerned about the possible political backlash from Polish-American voters and was not ready to accept the new Lublin government. The Big Three agreed to a provisional government, which was to include members of the London government-in-exile and to hold free elections. No date or enforcement procedures were established, and the Soviets, who occupied Poland, would oversee the process. FDR was unable to receive firmer guarantees from Stalin and explained to his chief of staff, Admiral **WILLIAM D. LEAHY**, that “it’s the best I can do for Poland at this time.”

The Big Three also agreed to a Declaration on Liberated Europe, which committed them to “arrange and conduct free elections” so that liberated countries could democratically meet their political and economic problems. Interim governments would be created that would be “broadly representative of all democratic elements,” including both Communists and non-Communists, until free elections were held. The terms of this were also vague and open to interpretation.

Roosevelt had success on two issues of paramount importance to him. Stalin agreed to help establish the postwar United Nations, on condition of big-power veto authority on action items in the Security Council and



Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin at Yalta (*Library of Congress*)

the membership of two Soviet republics in the General Assembly. Roosevelt also wanted Stalin's commitment to declare war against Japan (still linked to the Soviets by a mutual nonaggression treaty) so that the war in the Pacific theater could be brought to an end as quickly as possible. Stalin agreed to enter the war within two or three months of Germany's surrender in exchange for postwar annexation of the Kurile Islands, southern Sakhalin Island, restoration of rights lost in Manchuria in the 1904–05 Russo-Japanese War, and recognition of Soviet-controlled Mongolia. Stalin also agreed to deal with the Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek)'s Nationalists as the legitimate government in China.

After Yalta, Roosevelt was criticized by conservatives and by Polish Americans for betraying Poland, Eastern Europe, and China, and such charges played a signifi-

cant role in the postwar McCarthy era. Historians have disagreed about Roosevelt's performance at Yalta, including the degree to which his failing health hampered him. Most historians agree, however, that he received important concessions from Stalin on the United Nations and the war against Japan and that Soviet influence over eastern Europe was inevitable, given Soviet security concerns and the Red Army's control of the area.

See also POTSDAM CONFERENCE.

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## Zionism

Support of Zionism, the international movement to create a Jewish state in Palestine, increased in the 1930s because of the plight of Jewish REFUGEES from Nazi Germany. During WORLD WAR II, mounting evidence of the HOLOCAUST further augmented Zionist sentiment. By the middle of the war, most American JEWS, including such prominent figures as Supreme Court justice FELIX FRANKFURTER and Secretary of the Treasury HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR., had apparently become supporters of a Jewish state in Palestine; so too had many people outside the Jewish community, including Vice President HENRY A. WALLACE.

At a conference in New York in May 1942, American Zionist leaders called for an independent Jewish state in Palestine and subsequently stepped up pressure for support from the American GOVERNMENT. Congressional resolutions for a Jewish state in Palestine were reviewed and supported by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, but they encountered opposition from the State Department, which feared that an official acceptance of these resolutions would create problems with the Arab nations where the United States was building oil pipelines. ANTI-SEMITISM among some State Department officials also militated against Zionist aims.

Zionists also sought support from President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, who seemed open to providing assistance. The Roosevelt administration helped organize the Conference on Refugees in Bermuda in 1943, but the conference failed when Britain continued to oppose the immigration of Jewish refugees from Europe to Palestine. Even though Roosevelt, concerned about American-Arab relations and about stability in the Middle East and deferring to British policy, continued to avoid formal backing of a Jewish state in Palestine, Zionists supported him in the ELECTION OF 1944. But following the election, Roosevelt, despite some sympathy for Zionist goals, still refrained from endorsing a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

At the end of World War II, Zionists had thus failed to win official support of their goal of a Jewish state in Palestine. Concerns about oil and relations with the Arab states, especially Saudi Arabia, had proved more powerful than the lobbying and political influence of Zionist supporters. But a highly effective publicity campaign by the American Zionist Emergency Council helped persuade some three-fourths of all Americans to support a Jewish homeland in Palestine by late 1947 and produced growing pressure on new president Harry S. Truman to support Zionist aspirations. When the British mandate over Palestine ended in May 1948, Palestinian Jews declared the independence of the new state of Israel. Reflecting among other things sympathy for Jewish suffering during the Holocaust and the importance of the Jewish vote to the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, President Truman gave de facto recognition to Israel. His action helped secure the success of the Zionist aim of an independent Jewish state in Palestine.

**Further reading:** Henry L. Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938–1945* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1970); Melvin I. Urofsky, *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975).

—Ann Adams

## zoot-suiters

Zoot-suiters, mostly young male AFRICAN AMERICANS and MEXICAN AMERICANS, earned their name by wearing an ostentatious style of suit, zoot suits, in the early 1940s. Newspapers across the nation sensationalized the outfit, and the term “zoot-suiter” quickly gained a negative association with unpatriotic and criminal activity. Backlash against the “zooters”—rooted in deeper racial and ethnic animosities—reached a zenith in the summer of 1943 with the “zoot suit riots,” a series of mob attacks on minority youth in several American cities.

Zoot suit coats were characterized by wide padded shoulders, sleeves reaching the fingertips, baggy fit, wide lapels, and an extended length, often reaching to the knees. This was paired with loose-fitting pants with very narrow cuffs, and with string ties, gold watch chains, and wide brimmed hats with narrow crowns. The brighter and bolder the color of the suit, the more stylish and noticeable it was—characteristics highly desired by zoot-suiters.

The origin of the zoot suit is found in the vigorous improvisational MUSIC of swing, a highly danceable type of JAZZ. The narrow cuffs of the zoot suit prevented catching one's shoes while performing the athletic movements of the jitterbug and lindy hop. Swing inspired many young people of all races to spend evenings dancing at large urban dancehalls such as Minton's in Harlem. Musicians' use of improvisation in playing was also echoed in the jive or slang language adopted by zoot-suiters. Originating in Harlem, the zoot suits spread across the country to the West Coast.

Many African Americans relocated from rural communities in the SOUTH to northern CITIES in search of new employment opportunities produced by the economic MOBILIZATION for WORLD WAR II. Similarly, Mexican Americans moved to West Coast defense industries, especially in and around Los Angeles. The renewed energy created by this economic change inspired young urban Americans to spend more of their earnings on entertainment and on fashionable clothing like the zoot suit. The influx of African Americans and Mexican Americans also produced racial tensions and sometimes conflict in crowded war boom areas.

Clothing regulations issued by the WAR PRODUCTION BOARD, including allowable usage of natural materials such as wool, contributed to the disparagement of the zoot-suiters. The WPB promoted the so-called victory suit—and with its slim pants, narrow lapels, and conservative styling, the victory suit was an obvious opposite of the zoot suit. The WPB found zoot suits unpatriotic because of the flagrant excess amount of fabric used and ordered an end to production of the suits.

Newspapers across America amplified antipathy against the zoot suit and its wearers through accounts connecting zoot-suiters to gangsters and moral deficiencies. Zooters were described as shiftless hustlers who dodged the draft and assaulted white women. While some zoot-suiters did engage in criminal behavior, most did not. In Los Angeles and elsewhere, many belonged to gangs, though often for social, not unlawful, activities. For many of these youth, the zoot suit exemplified an independent spirit.

Violence against zoot-suiters erupted in Los Angeles, California, in June 1943. White U.S. servicemen, fueled by rumors that Mexican-American zoot-suiters harassed and molested white women, assaulted zoot-suiters and destroyed and stripped the suits off of them. Bystanders cheered as zoot-suiters were beaten and then arrested by local police. More than 100 Mexican Americans suffered serious injuries, in contrast to only 20 servicemen in the L.A. riot. Racism was a clear motive of the violence, as many victims of the riot were not even wearing zoot suits. Newspaper articles recounted the riot with an air of festivity, further stimulating anti-Mexican sentiment.

Violence against zoot-suiters, part of a more general pattern of racial conflict in the summer of 1943, also broke out in other cities such as New York and Detroit, where violence was directed at young African Americans. The zoot suit's popularity declined sharply after the rash of riots in the summer of 1943. In California, the zoot suit riots produced an effort led by the governor to combat prejudice and enhance the prospects of Mexican Americans. Similarly, the general outburst of race riots suits in the summer of 1943 sparked efforts elsewhere to address the problems of racial discrimination and conflict.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

**Further reading:** Mario T. Garcia, *Mexican-Americans: Leadership, Ideology, and Identity, 1930–1960* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989); Mauricio Mazon, *The Zoot-Suit Riots: The Psychology of Symbolic Annihilation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984).

—Courtney D. Mattingly



# Chronology

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## 1929

William Faulkner publishes *Sartoris* and *The Sound and the Fury*.

Comedian Groucho Marx and his brothers appear in their first movie, *The Cocoanuts*.

The Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929 establishes the Federal Farm Board to promote the sale of agricultural products through cooperatives and stabilization corporations.

Thomas Wolfe publishes his first novel, *Look Homeward, Angel*.

The United States and 19 Latin American states sign the Inter-American Treaties of 1929, which oblige the signatories to submit all disputes of an international nature to arbitration and conciliation commissions.

The New York stock market crashes on Black Tuesday. The crash helps usher in the Great Depression in the United States.

Mexico and the United States establish the Mexican Repatriation Program to resettle Mexican Americans in Mexico during the Great Depression. Some 500,000 Mexican Americans resettle through the program by 1940, as many as half of them American citizens.

## 1930

Sinclair Lewis is the first U.S. citizen to receive the Nobel Prize in literature. In his acceptance speech, he attacks the conservative American literary establishment as antithetical to the revolutionary nature of the United States.

The Nation of Islam is founded in Detroit.

Herbert Hoover signs into law the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act of 1930, which raises U.S. protective duties to their highest rate ever.

Drought takes hold in the Great Plains; over the next decade more than 300 dust storms rob the region of billions of tons of topsoil, crippling agriculture and producing the dust bowl.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) leads a successful protest to block the nomination of Judge John Parker to the U.S. Supreme Court because of racist statements.

## 1931

The “Scottsboro Boys” trial begins and attracts national attention, illuminating the rural southern judicial system.

The economic depression deepens; unemployment skyrockets, and hundreds of U.S. banks close.

The Empire State Building opens; it is the tallest skyscraper in the world.

In *Near v. Minnesota*, the U.S. Supreme Court upholds the right of the press to criticize public officials.

Imperial Japan invades Manchuria. In response, the U.S. secretary of state enunciates the Stimson Doctrine, which states that the United States will refuse to recognize any territorial gains brought about by use of armed force in violation of international law.

## 1932

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation is created to give financial assistance to failing banks; it later funds self-liquidating state public work projects under the Relief and Reconstruction Act.

The League of Nations hosts the World Disarmament Conference in Geneva, Switzerland; negotiations fail to bring about significant arms reductions before Germany and Japan withdraw.

Comedian Jack Benny begins his radio show; it remains on the air, via radio and, later, television for 23 years.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) issues *Black Justice*, a report detailing the extent of institutional racism in America.

Pilot Amelia Earhart becomes the first woman to fly solo from the United States to Europe.

In *Powell v. Alabama*, the U.S. Supreme Court overturns the conviction of the “Scottsboro Boys,” who were tried and sentenced for rape without the defense of legal counsel.

The Norris–La Guardia Act of 1932 prevents the government from issuing injunctions to restrain strikes, boycotts, or picketing, except where such strikes affect the public safety, or to enforce antiunion “yellow dog” contracts.

The United Conference of Mayors forms to seek federal aid for the urban unemployed.

In Tuskegee, Alabama, the U.S. Public Health Service begins a 40-year study on the effects of untreated syphilis, using approximately 400 African-American men. The men are never informed of their disease, nor are they given treatment.

Approximately 20,000 World War I veterans and their family members set up camp in Washington, D.C., seeking early payment of service bonuses; President Hoover refuses to pay bonuses early and has the military forcibly disperse the “Bonus Army.”

Amid growing dissatisfaction with government efforts to bring the country out of the depression, incumbent president Herbert Hoover is defeated by Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt.

### 1933

Franklin Roosevelt is sworn in as president on March 4; he had pledged a “new deal” for the American people and initiates numerous economic stimulus and relief programs in his first hundred days in office.

The Emergency Banking Relief Act of 1933 gives the president broad powers over the national banking system.

The U.S. Congress ratifies the Twentieth and Twenty-first Amendments to the U.S. Constitution; the Twentieth Amendment adjusts the length of congressional and presidential terms of office, and the Twenty-first Amendment ends Prohibition by repealing the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Dorothy Day founds the *Catholic Worker*, a monthly newspaper that aims to raise society’s consciousness regarding the poor.

Benny Goodman records Billie Holiday and introduces her distinctive singing style to the American public.

The U.S. Congress passes the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, which raises farm income and commodity prices—and reduces surpluses of basic commodities—by curtailing production.

The U.S. Congress creates the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to help support unemployed Americans until economic recovery can provide jobs.

The U.S. Congress creates the Tennessee Valley Authority to stimulate the economically depressed Tennessee River region.

The Gold Repeal Resolution of 1933 moves the United States away from the gold standard. Currency is no longer tied to the amount of gold held in reserve by the U.S. Treasury.

With unemployment of at least 25 percent of the American workforce, the U.S. Congress passes the National Industrial Recovery Act in an attempt to encourage industrial and business recovery, reduce unemployment, foster fair competition, and provide for the construction of public works.

President Franklin Roosevelt names Frances Perkins secretary of labor; she becomes the first female cabinet member.

U.S. Congress passes the Securities Act of 1933, which is designed to ensure full disclosure to purchasers of most stocks and bonds offered for public sale.

Fiorello La Guardia is elected mayor of New York City; his 12 years in office are marked by government reform and the expansion of public services.

President Roosevelt extends U.S. recognition to the Soviet government.

The Banking Act of 1933 separates commercial and investment banking and creates the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) to protect deposits in the event of bank failure.

### 1934

The Civil Works Administration provides work relief to help otherwise unemployed Americans through the winter of 1933–34.

The Indian Reorganization Act reverses federal policy designed to assimilate Native Americans.

Actress Shirley Temple receives a special Academy Award at age six.

The Communications Act of 1934 creates the Federal Communications Commission to regulate interstate and foreign communications by telegraph, cable, and radio.

The U.S. Congress passes the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934, which establishes the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to regulate American stock exchanges and to enforce the Securities Act of 1933.

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 authorizes the president to negotiate agreements to reduce tariff rates, up to 50 percent, with foreign countries that would reciprocate with similar concessions for American goods.

The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 pledges independence for the Philippine Islands by 1945.

The U.S. Congress passes the Frazier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act of 1934 to assist farmers threatened with foreclosures on their mortgages by enabling them to get credit extensions.

The U.S. Congress passes the National Housing Act of 1933, which creates the Federal Housing Administration, an agency designed to revive the housing industry by insuring long-term mortgages and stimulating construction of new homes.

### 1935

Senator Huey P. Long delivers his "Share Our Wealth" speech, in which he advocates the liquidation of large personal fortunes and the redistribution of funds so that every American family can buy a house, a car, and a radio.

The U.S. Congress passes the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, which funds nearly \$5 billion for work relief and public works programs, the largest single appropriation to date in U.S. history.

The Works Progress Administration (WPA) is created; it provides work relief in the areas of art, theater, writing, and music; provides assistance to young people to stay in school and out of the workforce; and gives millions of people jobs on government projects.

The Resettlement Administration begins to relocate struggling farmers to new, fertile lands; photographer Dorothea Lange memorably records their plight.

In *Schechter Poultry Corporation v. United States*, the U.S. Supreme Court overturns the National Industrial Recovery Act, a key piece of New Deal legislation.

The U.S. Congress passes the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, which guarantees workers the right to organize and to bargain collectively through their chosen representatives.

The U.S. Congress passes the Social Security Act to provide old-age retirement insurance, unemployment insurance, and public assistance.

Huey P. Long, the controversial senator from Louisiana, is assassinated.

The Committee for Industrial Organization is founded by John L. Lewis and the heads of eight member unions of the American Federation of Labor in order to organize unskilled laborers.

### 1936

In *United States v. Butler et al.*, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidates another piece of New Deal legislation, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933.

The U.S. Congress passes the Walsh-Healey Government Contracts Act of 1936, which specifies working condi-

tions and wages for employees of companies that had U.S. government contracts greater than \$10,000.

Playwright Eugene O'Neill is awarded the Nobel Prize in literature.

Construction begins on architect Frank Lloyd Wright's Falling Water, a modernist-style country house.

German dictator Adolf Hitler is infuriated when African-American athlete Jesse Owens wins four gold medals at the Olympic games in Berlin.

The U.S. Congress passes the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act of 1936 to control soil erosion and limit agricultural production.

British economist John Maynard Keynes asserts the importance of government spending in fostering full-production, full-employment prosperity in his book *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*.

Ty Cobb becomes the first player elected to the National Baseball Hall of Fame.

In one of the largest landslide victories in American political history, Franklin D. Roosevelt is reelected to the presidency over Republican challenger Alfred M. Landon. Scientific public opinion polls are used to accurately predict this outcome.

*Life* magazine begins weekly publication November 19; the first photojournalistic magazine in America, it is an immediate success.

The United Automobile Workers (UAW) conducts a sit-down strike at General Motors' Flint, Michigan, plant; after 40 days, GM recognizes the UAW in February 1937, setting a precedent for the automobile and steel industries.

### 1937

William H. Hastie becomes the first African-American jurist to be appointed to the federal bench.

In order to protect New Deal legislation, Roosevelt tries to "pack" the Supreme Court; his efforts are blocked by U.S. Congress.

Under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace establishes the Farm Security Administration (FSA), which grants low-interest, long-term loans to farm tenants, sharecroppers, and farm workers who wish to purchase their own farms.

The Wagner-Steagall Act establishes the U.S. Housing Authority (USHA), under the Department of the Interior, to build public housing for low-income people.

Despite opposition due to his former membership in the Ku Klux Klan, Hugo Black becomes a U.S. Supreme Court justice.

The U.S. Supreme Court upholds the National Labor Relations Act and the Social Security Act.

Congressmen critical of the New Deal draft the *Conservative Manifesto* opposing the federal regulatory welfare state; they form a strong opposition known as the conservative coalition.

In summer the economy takes a sharp downturn, leveling many New Deal economic gains and beginning the recession of 1937–38.

Walt Disney releases *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, the first full-length animated film.

### 1938

Benny Goodman's swing band performs in Carnegie Hall, helping legitimize jazz as a music form.

American novelist Pearl S. Buck wins the Nobel Prize in literature.

Terminally ill, Lou Gehrig retires from baseball after playing 2,130 consecutive major league games with a batting average of .340.

In *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that a state's refusal to provide law school education for a qualified African American was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Vinson Naval Act expands the U.S. Navy in response to the hostilities developing in Europe.

The Civil Aeronautics Act creates a supervisory body to regulate the commercial aviation industry.

The Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 prohibits the sale of foods dangerous to health as well as foods, drugs, and cosmetics packaged in unsanitary or contaminated containers.

In a widely publicized boxing rematch, African-American Joe Louis knocks out German Max Schmeling in the first round.

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 establishes a minimum wage, caps the work week at a maximum of 44 hours, and outlaws employment of individuals under age 16 in the manufacture of materials shipped across state lines.

The United States protests the violation of American treaty rights incurred by the Japanese invasion of China in 1937.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities is formed.

Orson Welles's radio adaptation of H. G. Wells's *War of the Worlds* causes a nationwide panic.

Led by John L. Lewis, the 10 unions of the Committee for Industrial Organization break away from the American Federal of Labor (AFL), becoming known as the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Twenty-one countries in North and South America adopt the Declaration of Lima, which asserts Western Hemisphere solidarity against foreign intervention.

### 1939

The film *Gone With the Wind* is released, starring Clark Gable and Vivien Leigh.

*The Grapes of Wrath*, John Steinbeck's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel about depression-ravaged migrants, is published.

Albert Einstein informs President Roosevelt that it is possible to construct a new type of extremely powerful bomb.

The New York World's Fair opens, showcasing "The World of Tomorrow."

The Soviet Union signs a nonaggression treaty with Nazi Germany.

After being refused the use of Constitution Hall by the Daughters of the American Revolution, opera singer Marian Anderson gives a concert on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C.

Germany invades Poland; Britain and France declare war on Germany. The conflict escalates into a world war. The United States remains neutral.

The Neutrality Act of 1939 restates the U.S. policy of neutrality but revision allows Great Britain and France to buy arms and munitions on a cash-and-carry basis.

The Declaration of Panama of 1939 creates a safety zone around the Panama Canal to be protected by U.S. and Latin American navies.

The Hatch Act of 1939 prevents federal officeholders from participating in election campaigns.

### 1940

Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., becomes the first African-American general in the U.S. armed forces.

In spring the Nazi blitzkrieg, or "lightning war," overruns western Europe.

The U.S. Congress passes the National Defense Appropriation Act of 1940, which initiates appropriation of billions of dollars for defense.

In *Cantwell v. Connecticut*, the U.S. Supreme Court upholds the right to the free exercise of religion protected by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The U.S. Congress passes the Smith Act of 1940, which mandates the registration and fingerprinting of all resident aliens and authorizes the deportation of suspected revolutionaries.

Canadian prime minister L. Mackenzie King and President Roosevelt issue the Ogdensburg Declaration of 1940, which announces the establishment of the Permanent Joint Board of Defense. The board's purpose is to plan for the cooperative defense of North America in case of any foreign attack.

In the destroyers-for-bases deal, the United States trades World War I destroyers for 99-year leases on British bases in the Western Hemisphere.



The America First Committee is formed; it is the most prominent organization to oppose American intervention in World War II.

The U.S. Congress passes the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, which establishes the first peacetime program of compulsory military service in the United States.

Germany, Italy, and Japan sign the Tripartite Pact committing the Axis nations to mutual action against attack.

Republican Wendell Willkie loses the presidential race to Franklin D. Roosevelt; Roosevelt becomes the only president elected to a third term.

Richard Wright's novel *Native Son* examines the effects of racial discrimination on blacks.

## 1941

Despite opposition from isolationists, the U.S. Congress passes the Lend-Lease Act of 1941, which allows for the shipment of war materials to Britain (and later the Soviet Union).

A. Philip Randolph threatens to march on Washington, D.C., with 100,000 African Americans to protest racial discrimination and segregation in defense industry and the military. In response, President Roosevelt issues Executive Order 8802, which bans discrimination in defense industries and in government.

Joe DiMaggio, "the Yankee Clipper," sets a baseball record by hitting safely in 56 consecutive games.

Former U.S. attorney general Harlan Fiske Stone becomes chief justice of the United States.

The United States and Britain issue the Atlantic Charter, which states their common standards for world peace.

President Franklin Roosevelt's message to Emperor Hirohito urges the Japanese monarch to do his part to avoid hostilities with the United States.

Orson Welles releases *Citizen Kane*; the film breaks new technical ground in cinematography, lighting, sound, and editing, but fails to win over contemporary audiences and critics.

The Japanese attack the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii; the United States declares war on Japan.

Italy and Germany declare war on the United States; the United States responds in kind.

Six agencies pool their resources to form the United Service Organizations (USO) to sustain the morale of the armed forces during World War II.

## 1942

The U.S. Congress gives the Office of Price Administration (OPA) authority to set maximum prices on nonfarm goods and rents with the Emergency Price Control Act. The OPA

freezes prices at March 1942 levels and implements rationing programs for the duration of the war.

President Roosevelt issues Executive Order 9066, which enables the relocation of Japanese Americans from the West Coast to military-supervised camps. More than 110,000 Japanese Americans are incarcerated under the order.

Admiral Chester Nimitz is named commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet; General Douglas MacArthur is named supreme commander of the armed forces in the southwest Pacific.

William Donovan becomes director of the Office of Strategic Services, which coordinates military intelligence in World War II and is a forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Despite resistance by Filipino and American forces, the Philippines falls to Japan. Japanese forces drive 60,000 Filipinos and 10,000 Americans to prison camps in the Bataan Death March.

The Office of War Information is established to manage dissemination of government information at home and abroad during World War II.

Physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer leads research on atomic weapons at Los Alamos, New Mexico.

U.S. naval forces halt the Japanese in the Battle of Midway, and U.S. troops land on Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a civil rights organization committed to the nonviolent confrontation of racism and segregation, is established.

The United States and Mexico establish the bracero program to import Mexican seasonal farmworkers to alleviate U.S. agricultural labor shortages.

Humphrey Bogart and Ingrid Bergman star in the movie *Casablanca*.

U.S. troops invade North Africa; they are led by General Dwight D. Eisenhower and General George S. Patton.

In one of his fireside chats, President Roosevelt urges U.S. citizens to help participate in a scrap-rubber drive to help locate rubber that can be used in the war effort.

The Revenue Act of 1942 greatly expands the number of people who pay taxes and leads to the system of withholding. Within two years, individual income tax revenues exceed corporate tax revenues for the first time.

## 1943

At the Casablanca Conference, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill decide against opening a second front against the Germans. Instead, Allied forces plan to focus on Sicily and on ending the German U-boat threat in the Atlantic. The Soviet Union continues to take the brunt

of the German offensive. Roosevelt announces the doctrine of unconditional surrender.

African-American actor Paul Robeson plays the title role in a record-breaking run of Shakespeare's *Othello* on Broadway; the production is acclaimed as a landmark in race relations.

After six months of combat, the U.S. Marines secure Guadalcanal Island; the U.S. Navy and Marines employ an island hopping strategy to gain control of the Pacific.

Axis forces surrender North Africa to the Allies.

Navy personnel in Los Angeles assault Mexican Americans wearing zoot suits while authorities stand by in the Zoot Suit Riots. Race riots also break out in New York City and Detroit that summer.

The Allies, led by General Omar Bradley, land in Sicily; Italy surrenders.

Leonard Bernstein conducts the New York Philharmonic Orchestra for the first time.

Folksinger Woody Guthrie publishes *American Folksongs*, a collection of his best-known works.

In *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that the state cannot compel students to declare a belief, stating that "no official . . . can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein."

In the Moscow Conference Declarations of 1943, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and Great Britain pledge to continue the war against the Axis powers, to establish an international organization to maintain peace and security, and to cooperate with one another to bring about an agreement to control armaments in the postwar period.

The U.S. Congress passes the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act of 1943, which gives the president the power to seize any plant or industry where a labor dispute might interfere with war production.

At the Teheran Conference, President Franklin Roosevelt, Premier Joseph Stalin, and Prime Minister Winston Churchill schedule the opening of the long-awaited second front against Nazi Germany.

The leaders of the United States, Great Britain, and China issue the Cairo Conference Statement, which charts Allied military strategy for the war in the Pacific theater.

## 1944

The War Refugee Board is established to assist European Jews and other foreign nationals displaced by World War II.

The U.S. Congress authorizes the Missouri River Basin Project; the building of dams and reservoirs becomes an important issue between Native American reservations and the government.

Allied forces liberate Rome.

The U.S. Congress passes the GI Bill of Rights, which authorizes economic and educational assistance for World War II veterans.

Evangelist Billy Graham holds the first of his massive revival meetings.

Representatives of 44 countries meet in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire; the resulting Bretton Woods Agreement lays the foundations of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The D day invasion of Europe begins on June 6; the Allies penetrate the Normandy coastline of German-occupied France.

The Allies liberate Paris.

Along with saxophonist Charlie Parker and others, trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie launches the bebop movement in jazz.

In *Smith v. Allwright*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that the exclusion of African Americans from the Texas Democratic Party is a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal publishes *An American Dilemma*, his study of race relations in the United States.

U.S. forces begin to liberate the Philippines from Japan.

President Roosevelt is reelected for a fourth term over Republican challenger Thomas Dewey.

In *Korematsu v. United States*, the U.S. Supreme Court upholds the wartime relocation and incarceration of Japanese Americans. On the same day, the Court rules in *Ex parte Endo* that the government cannot hold loyal American citizens.

German forces launch an offensive effort to retake Belgium in the Battle of the Bulge; surprised American forces repel the attack.

## 1945

President Roosevelt, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, and British prime minister Winston Churchill meet at the Yalta Conference to discuss postwar plans for Europe.

The U.S. Marines capture Iwo Jima and Okinawa.

President Roosevelt dies; Vice President Harry S. Truman succeeds him.

Twenty-one countries in North and South America sign the Act of Chapultepec, which expands the Monroe Doctrine's unilateral guarantee against intervention in the Western Hemisphere into a mutual security system.

Berlin falls and Germany surrenders.

Truman, Stalin, and British prime minister Clement Attlee attend the Potsdam Conference; the Soviet Union agrees to declare war on Japan.

The United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union demand the unconditional surrender of Japan; Japan refuses.

The United States drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; Japan surrenders, ending World War II.

The United Nations is created; Eleanor Roosevelt is named U.S. delegate to the United Nations and becomes chairperson of the Committee on Human Rights.

President Truman's Statement on Fundamentals of American Foreign Policy outlines a 12-point policy based

on U.S. military strength as a means to preserve world peace.

W. E. B. DuBois helps write a constitution for the NAACP. The document is created in response to attacks against the organization's conservative approach to civil rights reform.





# Documents



## President Franklin D. Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address, 1933

Henry Steele Commager and Milton Cantor, eds., *Documents of American History*, 10th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), pp. 239–242

March 4, 1933

I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment

of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it cannot live.

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action, and action now. Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, State, and local governments act forthwith on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which to-day are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly.

Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order; there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money, and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency. There are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress in special session detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States.

Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor as a practical policy the putting of first

things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment.

The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in all parts of the United States—a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that the recovery will endure. In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of other—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced. It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations.

It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may built out of its experience

and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority to bring to speedy adoption.

But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe. For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less.

We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of the national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life.

We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it. In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come.

## Social Security Act (1935)

*United States Statutes at Large* (74th Cong., 1st sess., chap. 531), pp. 620–647

### An Act

*To provide for the general welfare by establishing a system of Federal old-age benefits, and by enabling the several States to make more adequate provision for aged persons, blind persons, dependent and crippled children, maternal and child welfare, public health, and the administration of their unemployment compensation laws; to establish a Social Security Board; to raise revenue; and for other purposes.*

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

### Title I—Grants to States for Old-Age Assistance

#### Appropriation

Section 1. For the purpose of enabling each State to furnish financial assistance, as far as practicable under the conditions in such State, to aged needy individuals, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, the sum of \$49,750,000, and there is

hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year thereafter a sum sufficient to carry out the purposes of this title. The sums made available under this section shall be used for making payments to States which have submitted, and had approved by the Social Security Board established by Title VII (hereinafter referred to as the “Board”), State plans for old-age assistance.

#### State Old-Age Assistance Plans

Sec. 2. (a) A State plan for old-age assistance must (1) provide that it shall be in effect in all political subdivisions of the State, and, if administered by them, be mandatory upon them; (2) provide for financial participation by the State; (3) either provide for the establishment or designation of a single State agency to administer the plan, or provide for the establishment or designation of a single State agency to supervise the administration of the plan; (4) provide for granting to any individual, whose claim for old-age assistance is denied, an opportunity for a fair hearing before such State agency; (5) provide such methods of administration (other than those relating to selection, tenure of office, and compensation of personnel) as are found by the Board to be necessary for the efficient operation of the plan; (6) provide that the State agency will make such reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Board may from time to time require, and comply with such provisions as the Board may from time to time find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports; and (7) provide that, if the State or any of its political subdivisions collects from the estate of any recipient of old-age assistance any amount with respect to old-age assistance furnished him under the plan, one-half of the net amount so collected shall be promptly paid to the United States. Any payment so made shall be deposited in the Treasury to the credit of the appropriation for the purposes of this title.

(b) The Board shall approve any plan which fulfills the conditions specified in subsection (a), except that it shall not approve any plan which imposes, as a condition of eligibility for old-age assistance under the plan—

(1) An age requirement of more than sixty-five years, except that the plan may impose, effective until January 1, 1940, an age requirement of as much as seventy years; or

(2) Any residence requirement which excludes any resident of the State who has resided therein five years during the nine years immediately preceding the application for old-age assistance and has resided therein continuously for one year immediately preceding the application; or

(3) Any citizenship requirement which excludes any citizen of the United States.

#### Payment to States

Sec. 3. (a) From the sums appropriated therefor, the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay to each State which has

an approved plan for old-age assistance, for each quarter, beginning with the quarter commencing July 1, 1935, (1) an amount, which shall be used exclusively as old-age assistance, equal to one-half of the total of the sums expended during such quarter as old-age assistance under the State plan with respect to each individual who at the time of such expenditure is sixty-five years of age or older and is not an inmate of a public institution, not counting so much of such expenditure with respect to any individual for any month as exceeds \$30, and (2) 5 per centum of such amount, which shall be used for paying the costs of administering the State plan or for old-age assistance, or both, and for no other purpose. . . .

## **Title II—Federal Old-Age Benefits**

. . .

### ***Old-Age Benefit Payments***

Sec. 202. (a) Every qualified individual (as defined in section 210) shall be entitled to receive, with respect to the period beginning on the date he attains the age of sixty-five, or on January 1, 1942, whichever is the later, and ending on the date of his death, an old-age benefit (payable as nearly as practicable in equal monthly installments) as follows:

(1) If the total wages (as defined in section 210) determined by the Board to have been paid to him, with respect to employment (as defined in section 210) after December 31, 1936, and before he attained the age of sixty-five, were not more than \$3,000, the old-age benefit shall be at a monthly rate of one-half of 1 per centum of such total wages;

(2) If such total wages have more than \$3,000, the old-age benefit shall be at a monthly rate equal to the sum of the following:

(A) One-half of 1 per centum of \$3,000; plus

(B) One-twelfth of 1 per centum of the amount of which such total wages exceeded \$3,000 and did not exceed \$45,000; plus

(C) One-twenty-fourth of 1 per centum of the amount by which such total wages exceeded \$45,000

(b) In no case shall the monthly rate computed under subsection (a) exceed \$85.

(c) If the Board finds at any time that more or less than the correct amount has theretofore been paid to any individual under this section, then, under regulations made by the Board, proper adjustments shall be made in connection with subsequent payments under this section of the same individual.

(d) Whenever the Board finds that any qualified individual has received wages with respect to regular employment after he attained the age of sixty-five, the old-age benefit payable to such individual shall be reduced, for

each calendar month in any part of which such regular employment occurred, by an amount equal to one month's benefit. Such reduction shall be made, under regulations prescribed by the Board, by deductions from one or more payments of old-age benefit to such individual.

### ***Payments Upon Death***

Sec. 203. (a) If any individual dies before attaining the age of sixty-five, there shall be paid to his estate an amount equal to 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> per centum of the total wages determined by the Board to have been paid to him, with respect to employment after December 31, 1936. . . .

## **Title III—Grants to States for Unemployment Compensation Administration**

### ***Appropriation***

Section 301. For the purpose of assisting the States in the administration of their unemployment compensation laws, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, the sum of \$4,000,000, and for each fiscal year thereafter the sum of \$49,000,000, to be used as hereinafter provided. . . .

## **Title IV—Grants to States for Aid to Dependent Children**

### ***Appropriation***

Section 401. For the purpose of enabling each State to furnish financial assistance, as far as practicable under the conditions in such State, to needy dependent children, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, the sum of \$24,750,000, and there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year thereafter a sum sufficient to carry out the purposes of this title. The sums made available under this section shall be used for making payments to States which have submitted, and had approved by the Board, State plans for aid to dependent children. . . .

### ***Payment to States***

Sec. 403. (a) From the sums appropriated therefor, the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay to each State which has an approved plan for aid to dependent children, for each quarter, beginning with the quarter commencing July 1, 1935, an amount, which shall be used exclusively for carrying out the State plan, equal to one-third of the total of the sums expended during such quarter under such plan, not counting so much of such expenditure with respect to any dependent child for any month as exceeds \$18, or if there is more than one dependent child in the same home, as exceeds \$18 for any month with respect to one such dependent child and \$12 for such month with respect to each of the other dependent children. . . .



**Definitions**

Sec. 406. When used in this title—

(a) The term “dependent child” means a child under the age of sixteen who has been deprived of parental support or care by reason of the death, continued absence from the home, or physical or mental incapacity of a parent, and who is living with his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, stepfather, stepmother, stepbrother, stepsister, uncle, or aunt, in a place of residence maintained by one or more of such relatives as his or their own home;

(b) The term “aid to dependent children” means money payments with respect to a dependent child or dependent children.

**Title V—Grants to States  
for Maternal and Child Welfare  
Part 1—Maternal and Child Health Services**

**Appropriation**

Section 501. For the purpose of enabling each State to extend and improve, as far as practicable under the conditions in such State, services for promoting the health of mothers and children, especially in rural areas and in areas suffering from severe economic distress, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, the sum of \$3,800,000. The sums made available under this section shall be used for making payments to States which have submitted, and had approved by the Chief of the Children's Bureau, State plans for such services.

**Allotments to States**

Sec. 502. (a) Out of the sums appropriated pursuant to section 501 for each fiscal year the Secretary of Labor shall allot to each State \$20,000, and such part of \$1,800,000 as he finds that the number of live births in such State bore to the total number of live births in the United States, in the latest calendar year for which the Bureau of the Census has available statistics.

(b) Out of the sums appropriated pursuant to section 501 for each fiscal year the Secretary of Labor shall allot to the States \$980,000 (in addition to the allotments made under subsection (a)), according to the financial need of each State for assistance in carrying out its State plan, as determined by him after taking into consideration the number of live births in such State.

(c) The amount of any allotment to a State under subsection (a) for any fiscal year remaining unpaid to such State at the end of such fiscal year shall be available for payment to such State under section 504 until the end of the second succeeding fiscal year. No payment to a State under section 504 shall be made out of its allotment for any

fiscal year until its allotment for the preceding fiscal year has been exhausted or has ceased to be available.

**Approval of State Plans**

Sec. 503. (a) A State plan for maternal and child-health services must (1) provide for financial participation by the State; (2) provide for the administration of the plan by the State health agency or the supervision of the administration of the plan by the State health agency; (3) provide such methods of administration (other than those relating to selection, tenure of office, and compensation of personnel) as are necessary for the efficient operation of the plan; (4) provide that the State health agency will make such reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Secretary of Labor may from time to time require, and comply with such provisions as he may from time to time find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such report; (5) provide for the extension and improvement of local maternal and child-health services administered by local child-health units; (6) provide for cooperation with medical, nursing, and welfare groups and organizations; and (7) provide for the development of demonstration services in needy areas and among groups in special need.

(b) The Chief of the Children's Bureau shall approve any plan which fulfills the conditions specified in subsection (a) and shall thereupon notify the Secretary of Labor and the State health agency of his approval. . . .

**Part 2—Services for Crippled Children****Appropriation**

Sec. 511. For the purpose of enabling each State to extend and improve (especially in rural areas and in areas suffering from severe economic distress), as far as practicable under the conditions in such State, services for locating crippled children, and for providing medical, surgical, corrective, and other services and care, and facilities for diagnosis, hospitalization, and aftercare, for children who are crippled or who are suffering from conditions which lead to crippling, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, the sum of \$2,850,000. The sums made available under this section shall be used for making payments to States which have submitted, and had approved by the Chief of the Children's Bureau, State plans for such services. . . .

**Part 3—Child-Welfare Services**

Sec. 521. (a) For the purpose of enabling the United States, through the Children's Bureau, to cooperate with State public-welfare agencies in establishing, extending, and strengthening, especially in predominantly rural areas, public-welfare services (hereinafter in this section referred

to as “child-welfare services”) for the protection and care of homeless, dependent, and neglected children, and children in danger of becoming delinquent, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, the sum of \$1,500,000. Such amount shall be allotted by the Secretary of Labor for use by cooperating State public-welfare agencies on the basis of plans developed jointly by the State agency and the Children’s Bureau, to each State, \$10,000, and the remainder to each State on the basis of such plans, not to exceed such part of the remainder as the rural population of such state bears to the total rural population of the United States. The amount so allotted shall be expended for payment of part of the cost of district, county or other local child-welfare services in areas predominantly rural, and for developing State services for the encouragement and assistance of adequate methods of community child-welfare organization in areas predominantly rural and other areas of special need. . . .

#### **Part 4—Vocational Rehabilitation**

Sec. 531. (a) In order to enable the United States to cooperate with the States and Hawaii in extending and strengthening their programs of vocational rehabilitation of the physically disabled, and to continue to carry out the provisions and purposes of the Act entitled “An Act to provide for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise and their return to civil employment”, approved June 2, 1920, as amended (U.S.C., title 29, ch. 4; U.S.C., Supp. VII, title 29, secs. 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 39, and 40), there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1936, and June 30, 1937, the sum of \$841,000 for each such fiscal year in addition to the amount of the existing authorization, and for each fiscal year thereafter the sum of \$1,938,000. . . .

#### **Title VI—Public Health Work**

##### ***Appropriation***

Section 601. For the purpose of assisting States, counties, health districts, and other political subdivisions of the States in establishing and maintaining adequate public-health services, including the training or personnel for State and local health work, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, the sum of \$8,000,000 to be used as herein-after provided. . . .

##### ***Investigations***

Sec. 603. (a) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, the sum of \$2,000,000 for expenditure by

the Public Health Service for investigation of disease and problems of sanitation. . . .

#### **Title VIII—Taxes with Respect to Employment**

##### ***Income Tax on Employees***

Section 801. In addition to other taxes, there shall be levied, collected, and paid upon the income of every individual a tax equal to the following percentages of the wages (as defined in section 811) received by him after December 31, 1936, with respect to employment (as defined in section 811) after such date:

(1) With respect to employment during the calendar years 1937, 1938, and 1939, the rate shall be 1 per centum.

(2) With respect to employment during the calendar years 1940, 1941, and 1942, the rate shall be 1½ per centum.

(3) With respect to employment during the calendar years 1943, 1944, and 1945, the rate shall be 2 per centum.

(4) With respect to employment during the calendar years 1946, 1947, and 1948, the rate shall be 2½ per centum.

(5) With respect to employment after December 31, 1948, the rate shall be 3 per centum.

##### ***Deduction of Tax from Wages***

Sec. 802. (a) The tax imposed by section 801 shall be collected by the employer of the taxpayer, by deducting the amount of the tax from the wages as and when paid. . . .

##### ***Excise Tax on Employers***

Sec. 804. In addition to other taxes, every employer shall pay an excise tax, with respect to having individuals in his employ, equal to the following percentages of the wages (as defined in section 811) paid by him after December 31, 1936, with respect to employment (as defined in section 811) after such date:

(1) With respect to employment during the calendar years 1937, 1938, and 1939, the rate shall be 1 per centum.

(2) With respect to employment during the calendar years 1940, 1941, and 1942, the rate shall be 1½ per centum.

(3) With respect to employment during the calendar years 1943, 1944, and 1945, the rate shall be 2 per centum.

(2) With respect to employment during the calendar years 1946, 1947, and 1948, the rate shall be 2½ per centum.

(3) With respect to employment after December 31, 1948, the rate shall be 3 per centum. . . .

## Title X—Grants to States for Aid to the Blind

### Appropriation

Section 1001. For the purpose of enabling each State to furnish financial assistance, as far as practicable under the conditions in such State, to needy individuals who are blind, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, the sum of \$3,000,000, and there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year thereafter a sum sufficient to carry out the purposes of this title. The sums made available under this section shall be used for making payments to States which have submitted, and had approved by the Social Security Board, State plans for aid to the blind. . . .

## Neutrality Act of 1937

*United States Statutes at Large* (75th Cong., 1st sess.), pp. 121–128

### Joint Resolution

To amend the joint resolution entitled “Joint resolution providing for the prohibition of the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to belligerent countries; the prohibition of the transportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war by vessels of the United States for the use of belligerent states; for the registration and licensing of persons engaged in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing arms, ammunition, or implements of war; and restricting travel by American citizens on belligerent ships during war,” approved August 31, 1935, as amended.

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the joint resolution entitled “Joint resolution providing for the prohibition of the export of arms, ammunition, and implements of war to belligerent countries; the prohibition of the transportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war by vessels of the United States for the use of belligerent states; for the registration and licensing of persons engaged in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing arms, ammunition, or implements of war; and restricting travel by American citizens on belligerent ships during war,” approved August 31, 1935, as amended, is amended to read as follows:

### “Export of Arms, Ammunition, and Implements of War

“Section 1. (a) Whenever the President shall find that there exists a state of war between, or among, two or more foreign states, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export, or attempt to export,

or cause to be exported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any place in the United States to any belligerent state named in such proclamation, or to any neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent state.

“(b) The President shall, from time to time, by proclamation, extend such embargo upon the export of arms, ammunition, or implements of war to other states as and when they may become involved in such war.

“(c) Whenever the President shall find that a state of civil strife exists in a foreign state and that such civil strife is of a magnitude or is being conducted under such conditions that the export of arms, ammunition, or implements of war from the United States to such foreign state would threaten or endanger the peace of the United States, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export, or attempt to export, or cause to be exported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any place in the United States to such foreign state, or to any neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of, such foreign state.

“(d) The President shall, from time to time by proclamation, definitely enumerate the arms, ammunition, and implements of war, the export of which is prohibited by this section. The arms, ammunition, and implements of war so enumerated shall include those enumerated in the President’s proclamation Numbered 2163, of April 10, 1936, but shall not include raw materials or any other articles or materials not of the same general character as those enumerated in the said proclamation, and in the Convention for the Supervision of the International Trade in Arms and Ammunition and in Implements of War, signed at Geneva June 17, 1925.

“(e) Whoever, in violation of any of the provisions of this Act, shall export, or attempt to export, or cause to be exported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war from the United States shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both, and the property, vessel, or vehicle containing the same shall be subject to the provisions of sections 1 to 8, inclusive, title 6, chapter 30, of the Act approved June 15, 1917 (40 Stat. 223–225; U.S.C., 1934 ed., title 22, secs. 238–245).

“(f) In the case of the forfeiture of any arms, ammunition, or implements of war by reason of a violation of this Act, no public or private sale shall be required; but such arms, ammunition, or implements of war shall be delivered to the Secretary of War for such use or disposal thereof as shall be approved by the President of the United States.

“(g) Whenever, in the judgment of the President, the conditions which have caused him to issue any proclamation under the authority of this section have ceased to exist, he shall revoke the same, and the provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to apply with respect to the state or

states named in such proclamation, except with respect to offenses committed, or forfeitures incurred, prior to such revocation. . . .

#### ***“Financial Transactions***

“Sec. 3. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act, it shall thereafter be unlawful for any person within the United States to purchase, sell, or exchange bonds, securities, or other obligations of the government of any belligerent state or of any state wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation, or of any political subdivision of any such state, or of any person acting for or on behalf of the government of any such state, or of any faction or asserted government within any such state wherein civil strife exists, or of any person acting for or on behalf of any faction or asserted government within any such state wherein civil strife exists, issued after the date of such proclamation, or to make any loan or extend any credit to any such government, political subdivision, faction, asserted government, or person, or to solicit or receive any contribution for any such government, political subdivision, faction, asserted government, or person: *Provided*, That if the President shall find that such action will serve to protect the commercial or other interests of the United States or its citizens, he may, in his discretion, and to such extent and under such regulations as he may prescribe, except from the operation of this section ordinary commercial credits and short-time obligations in aid of legal transactions and of a character customarily used in normal peacetime commercial transactions. Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to prohibit the solicitation or collection of funds to be used for medical aid and assistance, or for food and clothing to relieve human suffering, when such solicitation or collection of funds is made on behalf of and for use by any person or organization which is not acting for or on behalf of any such government, political subdivision, faction, or asserted government, but all such solicitations and collections of funds shall be subject to the approval of the President and shall be made under such rules and regulations as he shall prescribe.

“(b) The provisions of this section shall not apply to a renewal or adjustment of such indebtedness as may exist on the date of the President’s proclamation.

“(c) Whoever shall violate the provisions of this section or of any regulations issued hereunder shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than \$50,000 or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both. Should the violation be by a corporation, organization, or association, each officer or agent thereof participating in the violation may be liable to the penalty herein prescribed.

“(d) Whenever the President shall have revoked any such proclamation issued under the authority of section 1

of this Act, the provisions of this section and of any regulations issued by the President hereunder shall thereupon cease to apply with respect to the state or states named in such proclamation, except with respect to offenses committed prior to such revocation.

#### ***“Exceptions—American Republics***

“Sec. 4. This Act shall not apply to an American republic or republics engaged in war against a non-American state or states, provided the American republic is not cooperating with a non-American state or states in such war.

#### ***“National Munitions Control Board***

“Sec. 5. (a) There is hereby established a National Munitions Control Board (hereinafter referred to as the ‘Board’) to carry out the provisions of this Act. The Board shall consist of the Secretary of State, who shall be chairman and executive officer of the Board, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of Commerce. Except as otherwise provided in this Act, or by other law, the administration of this Act is vested in the Department of State. The Secretary of State shall promulgate such rules and regulations with regard to the enforcement of this section as he may deem necessary to carry out its provisions. The Board shall be convened by the chairman and shall hold at least one meeting a year.

“(b) Every person who engages in the business of manufacturing, exporting, or importing any of the arms, ammunition, or implements of war referred to in this Act, whether as an exporter, importer, manufacturer, or dealer, shall register with the Secretary of State his name, or business name, principal place of business, and places of business in the United States, and a list of the arms, ammunition, and implements of war which he manufactures, imports, or exports.

“(c) Every person required to register under this section shall notify the Secretary of State of any change in the arms, ammunition, or implements of war which he exports, imports, or manufactures; and upon such notification the Secretary of State shall issue to such person an amended certificate of registration, free of charge, which shall remain valid until the date of expiration of the original certificate. Every person required to register under the provisions of this section shall pay a registration fee of \$500, unless he manufactured, exported, or imported arms, ammunition, and implements of war to a total sales value of less than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately preceding his registration, in which case he shall pay a registration fee of \$100. Upon receipt of the required registration fee, the Secretary of State shall issue a registration certificate valid for five years, which shall be renewable for further periods of five years upon the payment for each renewal of a fee of \$500 in the case of persons who manufactured,



exported, or imported arms, ammunition, and implements of war to a total sales value of more than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately preceding the renewal, or a fee of \$100 in the case of persons who manufactured, exported, or imported arms, ammunition, and implements of war to a total sales value of less than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately preceding the renewal. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to refund, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$400 to every person who shall have paid a registration fee of \$500 pursuant to this Act, who manufactured, exported, or imported arms, ammunition, and implements of war to a total sales value of less than \$50,000 during the twelve months immediately preceding his registration.

“(d) It shall be unlawful for any person to export, or attempt to export, from the United States to any other state, any of the arms, ammunition, or implements of war referred to in this Act, or to import, or attempt to import, to the United States from any other state, any of the arms, ammunition, or implements of war referred to in this Act, without first having obtained a license therefor.

“(e) All persons required to register under this section shall maintain, subject to the inspection of the Secretary of State, or any person or persons designated by him, such permanent records of manufacture for export, importation, and exportation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war as the Secretary of State shall prescribe.

“(f) Licenses shall be issued to persons who have registered as herein provided for, except in cases of export or import licenses where the export of arms, ammunition, or implements of war would be in violation of this Act or any other law of the United States, or of a treaty to which the United States is a party, in which cases such licenses shall not be issued.

“(g) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act, all licenses theretofore issued under this Act shall ipso facto and immediately upon the issuance of such proclamation, cease to grant authority to export arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any place in the United States to any belligerent state, or to any state wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation, or to any neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent state or any such state wherein civil strife exists; and said licenses, insofar as the grant of authority to export to the state or states named in such proclamation is concerned, shall be null and void.

“(h) No purchase of arms, ammunition, or implements of war shall be made on behalf of the United States by any officer, executive department, or independent establishment of the Government from any person who shall have failed to register under the provisions of this Act.

“(i) The provisions of the Act of August 29, 1916, relating to the sale of ordnance and stores to the Government of Cuba (39 Stat. 619, 643; U.S.C., 1934 ed., title 50, sec. 72), are hereby repealed as of December 31, 1937.

“(j) The Board shall make an annual report to Congress, copies of which shall be distributed as are other reports transmitted to Congress. Such reports shall contain such information and data collected by the Board as may be considered of value in the determination of questions connected with the control of trade in arms, ammunition, and implements of war. The Board shall include in such reports a list of all persons required to register under the provisions of this Act, and full information concerning the licenses issued hereunder.

“(k) The President is hereby authorized to proclaim upon recommendation of the Board from time to time a list of articles which shall be considered arms, ammunition, and implements of war for the purposes of this section.

#### ***“American Vessels Prohibited from Carrying Arms to Belligerent States***

“Sec. 6. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act, it shall thereafter be unlawful, until such proclamation is revoked, for any American vessel to carry any arms, ammunition, or implements of war to any belligerent state, or to any state wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamations, or to any neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent state or any such state wherein civil strife exists.

“(b) Whoever, in violation of the provisions of this section, shall take, or attempt to take, or shall authorize, hire, or solicit another to take, any American vessel carrying such cargo out of port or from the jurisdiction of the United States shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both; and, in addition, such vessel, and her tackle, apparel, furniture, and equipment, and the arms, ammunition, and implements of war on board, shall be forfeited to the United States.

#### ***“Use of American Ports as Base of Supply***

“Sec. 7. (a) Whenever, during any war in which the United States is neutral, the President, or any person thereunto authorized by him, shall have cause to believe that any vessel, domestic or foreign, whether requiring clearance or not, is about to carry out of a port of the United States, fuel, men, arms, ammunition, implements of war, or other supplies to any warship, tender, or supply ship of a belligerent state, but the evidence is not deemed sufficient to justify forbidding the departure of the vessel as provided for by section 1, title V, chapter 30, of the Act approved June 15, 1917 (40 Stat. 217, 221; U.S.C., 1934 ed., title 18, sec. 31), and if, in the President’s judgment; such action

will serve to maintain peace between the United States and foreign states, or to protect the commercial interests of the United States and its citizens, or to promote the security or neutrality of the United States, he shall have the power and it shall be his duty to require the owner, master, or person in command thereof, before departing from a port of the United States, to give a bond to the United States, with sufficient sureties, in such amount as he shall deem proper, conditioned that the vessel will not deliver the men, or any part of the cargo, to any warship, tender, or supply ship of a belligerent state.

“(b) If the President, or any person thereunto authorized by him, shall find that a vessel, domestic or foreign, in a port of the United States, has previously cleared from a port of the United States during such war and delivered its cargo or any part thereof to a warship, tender, or supply ship of a belligerent state, he may prohibit the departure of such vessel during the duration of the war.

#### **“Submarines and Armed Merchant Vessels**

“Sec. 8. Whenever, during any war in which the United States is neutral, the President shall find that special restrictions placed on the use of the ports and territorial waters of the United States by the submarines or armed merchant vessels of a foreign state, will serve to maintain peace between the United States and foreign states, or to protect the commercial interests of the United States and its citizens, or to promote the security of the United States, and shall make proclamation thereof, it shall thereafter be unlawful for any such submarine or armed merchant vessel to enter a port or the territorial waters of the United States or to depart therefrom, except under such conditions and subject to such limitations as the President may prescribe. Whenever, in his judgment, the conditions which have caused him to issue his proclamation have ceased to exist, he shall revoke his proclamation and the provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to apply.

#### **“Travel on Vessels of Belligerent States**

“Sec. 9. Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1 of this Act it shall thereafter be unlawful for any citizen of the United States to travel on any vessel of the state or states named in such proclamation, except in accordance with such rules and regulations as the President shall prescribe: *Provided, however,* That the provisions of this section shall not apply to a citizen of the United States traveling on a vessel whose voyage was begun in advance of the date of the President’s proclamation, and who had no opportunity to discontinue his voyage after that date: *And provided further,* That they shall not apply under ninety days after the date of the President’s proclamation to a citizen of the United States returning from a foreign state to the United States. Whenever, in

the President’s judgment, the conditions which have caused him to issue his proclamation have ceased to exist, he shall revoke his proclamation and the provisions of this section shall thereupon cease to apply with respect to the state or states named in such proclamation, except with respect to offenses committed prior to such revocation.

#### **“Arming of American Merchant Vessels Prohibited**

“Sec. 10. Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section 1, it shall thereafter be unlawful, until such proclamation is revoked, for any American vessel engaged in commerce with any belligerent state, or any state wherein civil strife exists, named in such proclamation, to be armed or to carry any armament, arms, ammunition, or implements of war, except small arms and ammunition therefor which the President may deem necessary and shall publicly designate for the preservation of discipline aboard such vessels. . . .”

#### **Albert Einstein’s Letter of 1939 to President Franklin D. Roosevelt**

Courtesy Franklin D. Roosevelt Library,  
PSF: Box 5, PSF: Safe File, Sachs

Sir:

Some recent work by E. Fermi and L. Szilard, which has been communicated to me in manuscript, leads me to expect that the element uranium may be turned into a new and important source of energy in the immediate future. Certain aspects of the situation which has arisen seem to call for watchfulness and, if necessary, quick action on the part of the Administration. I believe therefore that it is my duty to bring to your attention the following facts and recommendations:

In the course of the last four months it has been made probable—through the work of Joliot in France as well as Fermi and Szilard in America—that it may become possible to set up a nuclear chain reaction in a large mass of uranium, by which vast amounts of power and large quantities of new radium-like elements would be generated. Now it appears almost certain that this could be achieved in the immediate future.

This new phenomenon would also lead to the construction of bombs, and it is conceivable—though much less certain—that extremely powerful bombs of a new type may thus be constructed. A single bomb of this type, carried by boat and exploded in a port, might very well destroy the whole port together with some of the surrounding territory. However, such bombs might very well prove to be too heavy for transportation by air.

The United States has only very poor ores of uranium in moderate quantities. There is some good ore in Canada

and the former Czechoslovakia, while the most important source of uranium is Belgian Congo.

In view of this situation you may think it desirable to have some permanent contact maintained between the Administration and the group of physicists working on chain reactions in America. One possible way of achieving this might be for you to entrust with this task a person who has your confidence and who could perhaps serve in an unofficial capacity. His task might comprise the following:

a) to approach Government Departments, keep them informed of the further development, and put forward recommendations for Government action, giving particular attention to the problem of securing a supply of uranium ore for the United States;

b) to speed up the experimental work, which is at present being carried on within the limits of the budgets of University laboratories, by providing funds, if such funds be required, through his contacts with private persons who are willing to make contributions for this cause, and perhaps also by obtaining the co-operation of industrial laboratories which have the necessary equipment.

I understand that Germany has actually stopped the sale of uranium from the Czechoslovakian mines which she has taken over. That she should have taken such early action might perhaps be understood on the ground that the son of the German Under-Secretary of State, von Weizsacker, is attached to the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institute in Berlin where some of the American work on uranium is now being repeated.

Yours very truly,  
[signed]  
(Albert Einstein)

### Atlantic Charter, 1941

Henry Steele Commager and Milton Cantor, eds.,  
*Documents of American History*. 10th ed. (Englewood Cliffs,  
N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), p. 451

August 14, 1941

*The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.*

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

[signed]  
(Franklin D. Roosevelt)  
(Winston S. Churchill)

### "Four Freedoms" Speech (1941) President Franklin Roosevelt

Franklin D. Roosevelt, *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, Vol. 9, *War—And Aid to Democracies*, 1940 (New York: Macmillan, 1941), pp. 663–672

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress:

I address you, the Members of the Seventy-seventh Congress, at a moment unprecedented in the history of the Union. I use the word "unprecedented", because at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today.

Since the permanent formation of our Government under the Constitution, in 1789, most of the periods of crisis in our history have related to our domestic affairs.

Fortunately, only one of these—the four-year War Between the States—ever threatened our national unity. Today, thank God, one hundred and thirty million Americans, in forty-eight States, have forgotten points of the compass in our national unity.

It is true that prior to 1914 the United States often had been disturbed by events in other Continents. We had even engaged in two wars with European nations and in a number of undeclared wars in the West Indies, in the Mediterranean and in the Pacific for the maintenance of American rights and for the principles of peaceful commerce. But in no case had a serious threat been raised against our national safety or our continued independence.

What I seek to convey is the historic truth that the United States as a nation has at all times maintained clear, definite opposition to any attempt to lock us in behind an ancient Chinese wall while the procession of civilization went past. Today, thinking of our children and of their children, we oppose enforced isolation for ourselves or for any other part of the Americas.

That determination of ours, extending over all these years, was proved, for example, during the quarter century of wars following the French Revolution.

While the Napoleonic struggles did threaten interests of the United States because of the French foothold in the West Indies and in Louisiana, and while we engaged in the War of 1812 to vindicate our right to peaceful trade, it is nevertheless clear that neither France nor Great Britain, nor any other nation, was aiming at domination of the whole world.

In like fashion from 1815 to 1914—ninety-nine years—no single war in Europe or in Asia constituted a real threat against our future or against the future of any other American nation.

Except in the Maximilian interlude in Mexico, no foreign power sought to establish itself in this Hemisphere; and the strength of the British fleet in the Atlantic has been a friendly strength. It is still a friendly strength.

Even when the World War broke out in 1914, it seemed to contain only small threat of danger to our own American future. But, as time went on, the American people began to visualize what the downfall of democratic nations might mean to our own democracy.

We need not overemphasize imperfections in the Peace of Versailles. We need not harp on failure of the democracies to deal with problems of world reconstruction. We should remember that the Peace of 1919 was far less unjust than the kind of “pacification” which began even before Munich, and which is being carried on under the new order of tyranny that seeks to spread over every continent today. The American people have unalterably set their faces against that tyranny.

Every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the

world—assailed either by arms, or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

During sixteen long months this assault has blotted out the whole pattern of democratic life in an appalling number of independent nations, great and small. The assailants are still on the march, threatening other nations, great and small.

Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to “give to the Congress information of the state of the Union,” I find it, unhappily, necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders.

Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents. If that defense fails, all the population and all the resources of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australasia will be dominated by the conquerors. Let us remember that the total of those populations and their resources in those four continents greatly exceeds the sum total of the population and the resources of the whole of the Western Hemisphere—many times over.

In times like these it is immature—and incidentally, untrue—for anybody to brag that an unprepared America, single-handed, and with one hand tied behind its back, can hold off the whole world.

No realistic American can expect from a dictator’s peace international generosity, or return of true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom of expression, or freedom of religion—or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. “Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety.”

As a nation, we may take pride in the fact that we are soft-hearted; but we cannot afford to be soft-headed.

We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal preach the “ism” of appeasement.

We must especially beware of that small group of selfish men who would clip the wings of the American eagle in order to feather their own nests.

I have recently pointed out how quickly the tempo of modern warfare could bring into our very midst the physical attack which we must eventually expect if the dictator nations win this war.

There is much loose talk of our immunity from immediate and direct invasion from across the seas. Obviously, as long as the British Navy retains its power, no such danger exists. Even if there were no British Navy, it is not probable that any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate.



But we learn much from the lessons of the past years in Europe—particularly the lesson of Norway, whose essential seaports were captured by treachery and surprise built up over a series of years.

The first phase of the invasion of this Hemisphere would not be the landing of regular troops. The necessary strategic points would be occupied by secret agents and their dupes—and great numbers of them are already here, and in Latin America.

As long as the aggressor nations maintain the offensive, they—not we—will choose the time and the place and the method of their attack.

That is why the future of all the American Republics is today in serious danger.

That is why this Annual Message to the Congress is unique in our history.

That is why every member of the Executive Branch of the Government and every member of the Congress faces great responsibility and great accountability.

The need of the moment is that our actions and our policy should be devoted primarily—almost exclusively—to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency.

Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all our fellow men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

Our national policy is this:

First, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to all-inclusive national defense.

Second, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to full support of all those resolute peoples, everywhere, who are resisting aggression and are thereby keeping war away from our Hemisphere. By this support, we express our determination that the democratic cause shall prevail; and we strengthen the defense and the security of our own nation.

Third, by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship, we are committed to the proposition that principles of morality and considerations for our own security will never permit us to acquiesce in a peace dictated by aggressors and sponsored by appeasers. We know that enduring peace cannot be bought at the cost of other people's freedom.

In the recent national election there was no substantial difference between the two great parties in respect to that national policy. No issue was fought out on this line before the American electorate. Today it is abundantly evident that American citizens everywhere are demanding

and supporting speedy and complete action in recognition of obvious danger.

Therefore, the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production.

Leaders of industry and labor have responded to our summons. Goals of speed have been set. In some cases these goals are being reached ahead of time; in some cases we are on schedule; in other cases there are slight but not serious delays; and in some cases—and I am sorry to say very important cases—we are all concerned by the slowness of the accomplishment of our plans.

The Army and Navy, however, have made substantial progress during the past year. Actual experience is improving and speeding up our methods of production with every passing day. And today's best is not good enough for tomorrow.

I am not satisfied with the progress thus far made. The men in charge of the program represent the best in training, in ability, and in patriotism. They are not satisfied with the progress thus far made. None of us will be satisfied until the job is done.

No matter whether the original goal was set too high or too low, our objective is quicker and better results.

To give you two illustrations:

We are behind schedule in turning out finished airplanes; we are working day and night to solve the innumerable problems and to catch up.

We are ahead of schedule in building warships but we are working to get even further ahead of that schedule.

To change a whole nation from a basis of peacetime production of implements of peace to a basis of wartime production of implements of war is no small task. And the greatest difficulty comes at the beginning of the program, when new tools, new plant facilities, new assembly lines, and new ship ways must first be constructed before the actual materiel begins to flow steadily and speedily from them.

The Congress, of course, must rightly keep itself informed at all times of the progress of the program. However, there is certain information, as the Congress itself will readily recognize, which, in the interests of our own security and those of the nations that we are supporting, must of needs be kept in confidence.

New circumstances are constantly begetting new needs for our safety. I shall ask this Congress for greatly increased new appropriations and authorizations to carry on what we have begun.

I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations.

Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves. They do not need

man power, but they do need billions of dollars worth of the weapons of defense.

The time is near when they will not be able to pay for them all in ready cash. We cannot, and we will not, tell them that they must surrender, merely because of present inability to pay for the weapons which we know they must have.

I do not recommend that we make them a loan of dollars with which to pay for these weapons—a loan to be repaid in dollars.

I recommend that we make it possible for those nations to continue to obtain war materials in the United States, fitting their orders into our own program. Nearly all their materiel would, if the time ever came, be useful for our own defense.

Taking counsel of expert military and naval authorities, considering what is best for our own security, we are free to decide how much should be kept here and how much should be sent abroad to our friends who by their determined and heroic resistance are giving us time in which to make ready our own defense.

For what we send abroad, we shall be repaid within a reasonable time following the close of hostilities, in similar materials, or, at our option, in other goods of many kinds, which they can produce and which we need.

Let us say to the democracies: "We Americans are vitally concerned in your defense of freedom. We are putting forth our energies, our resources and our organizing powers to give you the strength to regain and maintain a free world. We shall send you, in ever-increasing numbers, ships, planes, tanks, guns. This is our purpose and our pledge."

In fulfillment of this purpose we will not be intimidated by the threats of dictators that they will regard as a breach of international law or as an act of war our aid to the democracies which dare to resist their aggression. Such aid is not an act of war, even if a dictator should unilaterally proclaim it so to be.

When the dictators, if the dictators, are ready to make war upon us, they will not wait for an act of war on our part. They did not wait for Norway or Belgium or the Netherlands to commit an act of war.

Their only interest is in a new one-way international law, which lacks mutuality in its observance, and, therefore, becomes an instrument of oppression.

The happiness of future generations of Americans may well depend upon how effective and how immediate we can make our aid felt. No one can tell the exact character of the emergency situations that we may be called upon to meet. The Nation's hands must not be tied when the Nation's life is in danger.

We must all prepare to make the sacrifices that the emergency—almost as serious as war itself—demands.

Whatever stands in the way of speed and efficiency in defense preparations must give way to the national need.

A free nation has the right to expect full cooperation from all groups. A free nation has the right to look to the leaders of business, of labor, and of agriculture to take the lead in stimulating effort, not among other groups but within their own groups.

The best way of dealing with the few slackers or trouble makers in our midst is, first, to shame them by patriotic example, and, if that fails, to use the sovereignty of Government to save Government.

As men do not live by bread alone, they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and the courage which come from unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending. The mighty action that we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all things worth fighting for.

The Nation takes great satisfaction and much strength from the things which have been done to make its people conscious of their individual stake in the preservation of democratic life in America. Those things have toughened the fiber of our people, have renewed their faith and strengthened their devotion to the institutions we make ready to protect.

Certainly this is no time for any of us to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world.

For there is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work.

Security for those who need it.

The ending of special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living.

These are the simple, basic things that must never be lost sight of in the turmoil and unbelievable complexity of our modern world. The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political systems is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfill these expectations.

Many subjects connected with our social economy call for immediate improvement.

As examples:

We should bring more citizens under the coverage of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance.

We should widen the opportunities for adequate medical care.

We should plan a better system by which persons deserving or needing gainful employment may obtain it.

I have called for personal sacrifice. I am assured of the willingness of almost all Americans to respond to that call.

A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my Budget Message I shall recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order to tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception—the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.

Since the beginning of our American history, we have been engaged in change—in a perpetual peaceful revolution—a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions—without the concentration camp or the quick-lime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society.

This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God. Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose.

To that high concept there can be no end save victory.

## **Executive Order 8802 (June 25, 1941)** **President Franklin Roosevelt**

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Official File, of 4245-G.

*Reaffirming Policy of Full Participation in the Defense Programs by All Persons, Regardless of Race, Creed, Color, or National Origin, and Directing Certain Action in Furtherance of Said Policy.*

Whereas it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the Nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

Whereas there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in defense production solely because of considerations of race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of workers' morale and of national unity;

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, and as a prerequisite to the successful conduct of our national defense production effort, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

And it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

2. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color or national origin;

3. There is established in the Office of Production Management a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which shall consist to a chairman and four other members to be appointed by the President. The chairman and members of the Committee shall serve as such without compensation but shall be entitled to actual and necessary transportation, subsistence and other expenses incidental to performance of their duties. The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of

this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid. The Committee shall also recommend to the several departments and agencies of the Government of the United States and to the President all measures which may be deemed by it necessary or proper to effectuate the provisions of this order.

Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House,  
June 25, 1941.

### **"Day of Infamy" Speech (1941)**

#### **President Franklin D. Roosevelt**

Public Papers of the Presidents, Franklin Delano Roosevelt,  
1941, p.300–301

The Capitol, December 8, 1941

Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and, at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in the American Island of Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to our Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. And while this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war of armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces, I regret to tell you that very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Hong Kong.

Last night Japanese forces attacked Guam.

Last night Japanese forces attacked the Philippine Islands.

Last night the Japanese attacked Wake Island.

And this morning the Japanese attacked Midway Island.

Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday and today speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications to the very life and safety of our nation.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

But always will our whole nation remember the character of the onslaught against us.

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people in their righteous might will win through to absolute victory.

I believe that I interpret the will of the Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us.

Hostilities exist. There is no blinking at the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.

With confidence in our armed forces—with the unbounding determination of our people—we will gain the inevitable triumph—so help us God.

I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December seventh, 1941, a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

### **Executive Order 9066, 1942**

*Federal Register* 7, no. 38 (February 25, 1942): 1,407

#### **Executive Order**

#### **Authorizing the Secretary of War to Prescribe Military Areas**

Whereas the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material, national-defense premises, and national-defense utilities as defined in Section 4, Act of April 20, 1918, 40 Stat. 533, as amended by the Act of November 30, 1940, 54 Stat. 1220, and the Act of August 21, 1941, 55 Stat. 655 (U.S., Title 50, Sec. 104):

Now therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders whom he may from time to time designate, whenever he or any designated Commander deems such action necessary or desirable, to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as the or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of



any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to provide for residents of any such area who are excluded therefrom, such transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary, in the judgment of the Secretary of War or the said Military Commander, and until other arrangements are made, to accomplish the purpose of this order. The designation of military areas in any region or locality shall supersede designations of prohibited and restricted areas by the Attorney General under the Proclamations of December 7 and 8, 1941, and shall supersede the responsibility and authority of the Attorney General under the said Proclamations in respect of such prohibited and restricted areas.

I hereby further authorize and direct the Secretary of War and the said Military Commanders to take such other steps as be or the appropriate Military Commander may deem advisable to enforce compliance with the restrictions applicable to each Military area hereinabove authorized to be designated, including the use of Federal troops and other Federal Agencies, with authority to accept assistance of state and local agencies.

I hereby further authorize and direct all Executive Departments, independent establishments and other Federal Agencies, to assist the Secretary of War or the said Military Commanders in carrying out this Executive Order, including the furnishing of medical aid, hospitalization, food, clothing, transportation, use of land, shelter, and other supplies, equipment, utilities, facilities, and services.

This order shall not be construed as modifying or limiting in any way the authority heretofore granted under Executive Order No. 8972, dated December 12, 1941, nor shall it be construed as limiting or modifying the duty and responsibility of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with respect to the investigation of alleged acts of sabotage or the duty and responsibility of the Attorney General and the Department of Justice under the Proclamations of December 7 and 8, 1941, prescribing regulations for the conduct and control of alien enemies, except as such duty and responsibility is superseded by the designation of military areas hereunder.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

The White House,

February 19, 1942.

### Yalta Agreement (1945)

Franklin D. Roosevelt, *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, Vol. 13, *Victory and the Threshold of Peace, 1944–45* (New York: Random House, 1950), pp. 531–537.

February 11, 1945

### Yalta Agreement

#### *The Defeat of Germany*

We have considered and determined the military plans of the three Allied powers for the final defeat of the common enemy. The military staffs of the three Allied Nations have met in daily meetings throughout the Conference. These meetings have been most satisfactory from every point of view and have resulted in closer coordination of the military effort of the three Allies than ever before. The fullest information has been interchanged. The timing, scope, and coordination of new and even more powerful blows to be launched by our armies and air forces into the heart of Germany from the East, West, North, and South have been fully agreed and planned in detail.

Our combined military plans will be made known only as we execute them, but we believe that the very close working partnership among the three staffs attained at this Conference will result in shortening the war. Meetings of the three staffs will be continued in the future whenever the need arises.

Nazi Germany is doomed. The German people will only make the cost of their defeat heavier to themselves by attempting to continue a hopeless resistance.

#### *The Occupation and Control of Germany*

We have agreed on common policies and plans for enforcing the unconditional surrender terms which we shall impose together on Nazi Germany after German armed resistance has been finally crushed. These terms will not be made known until the final defeat of Germany has been accomplished. Under the agreed plan, the forces of the three powers will each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Coordinated administration and control has been provided for under the plan through a central control commission consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the three powers with headquarters in Berlin. It has been agreed that France should be invited by the three powers, if she should so desire, to take over a zone of occupation, and to participate as a fourth member of the control commission. The limits of the French zone will be agreed by the four Governments concerned through their representatives on the European Advisory Commission. It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment and exact reparation

in kind for the destruction wrought by the Germans; wipe out the Nazi Party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions, remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future peace and safety of the world. It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when Nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for Germans, and a place for them in the comity of Nations.

### ***Reparation by Germany***

We have considered the question of the damage caused by Germany to the Allied Nations in this war and recognized it as just that Germany be obliged to make compensation for this damage in kind to the greatest extent possible. A commission for the compensation of damage will be established. The commission will be instructed to consider the question of the extent and methods for compensating damage caused by Germany to the Allied countries. The commission will work in Moscow.

### ***United Nations Conference***

We are resolved upon the earliest possible establishment with our allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. We believe that this is essential, both to prevent aggression and to remove the political, economic, and social causes of war through the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving peoples.

The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks. On the important question of voting procedure, however, agreement was not there reached. The present Conference has been able to resolve this difficulty.

We have agreed that a conference of United Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco in the United States on April 25, 1945, to prepare the charter of such an organization, along the lines proposed in the informal conversations at Dumbarton Oaks.

The Government of China and the Provisional Government of France will be immediately consulted and invited to sponsor invitations to the conference jointly with the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. As soon as the consultation with China and France has been completed, the next of the proposals on voting procedure will be made public.

### ***Declaration on Liberated Europe***

The Premier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and the President of the United States of America have consulted with each other in the common interests of the peoples of their countries and those of liberated Europe. They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary

period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter—the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live—the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor Nations.

To foster the conditions in which the liberated peoples may exercise these rights, the three Governments will jointly assist the people in any European liberated state or former Axis satellite state in Europe where in their judgment conditions require (a) to establish conditions of internal peace; (b) to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed peoples; (c) to form interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people; and (d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

The three Governments will consult the other United Nations and provisional authorities or other Governments in Europe when matters of direct interest to them are under consideration.

When, in the opinion of the three Governments, conditions in any European liberated state or any former Axis satellite state in Europe make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measures necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this declaration.

By this declaration we reaffirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the declaration by the United Nations, and our determination to build in cooperation with other peace-loving Nations world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom, and general well-being of all mankind.

In issuing this declaration, the three powers express the hope that the Provisional Government of the French Republic may be associated with them in the procedure suggested.

### ***Poland***

A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army. This calls for the establishment of a Polish provisional government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the

recent liberation of western Poland. The provisional government which is now functioning in Poland should therefore be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new government should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

M. Molotov, Mr. Harriman, and Sir A. Clark Kerr are authorized as a commission to consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present provisional government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad, with a view to the reorganization of the present government along the above lines. This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot. In these elections all democratic anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates.

When a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has been properly formed in conformity with the above, the Government of the U.S.S.R., which now maintains diplomatic relations with the present provisional government of Poland, and the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the U.S.A. will establish diplomatic relations with the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, and will exchange ambassadors by whose reports the respective Governments will be kept informed about the situation in Poland. The three heads of government consider that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon line with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometers in favor of Poland. They recognized that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the North and West. They feel that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course on the extent of these accessions and that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should thereafter await the peace conference.

### ***Yugoslavia***

We have agreed to recommend to Marshal Tito and Dr. Subasic that the agreement between them should be put into effect immediately, and that a new government should be formed on the basis of that agreement.

We also recommend that as soon as the new government has been formed it should declare that:

1. The anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation (Avnoj) should be extended to include members of the last Yugoslav Parliament (Skupschina) who have not compromised themselves by collaboration with the enemy, thus forming a body to be known as a temporary Parliament; and,
2. Legislative acts passed by the anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation will be subject to subsequent ratification by a constituent assembly.

There was also a general review of other Balkan questions.

### ***Meetings of Foreign Secretaries***

Throughout the Conference, besides the daily meetings of the heads of governments and the Foreign Secretaries, separate meetings of the three Foreign Secretaries, and their advisers have also been held daily.

These meetings have proved of the utmost value and the Conference agreed that permanent machinery should be set up for regular consultation between the three Foreign Secretaries. They will, therefore, meet as often as may be necessary, probably about every three or four months. These meetings will be held in rotation in the three capitals, the first meeting being held in London, after the United Nations Conference on World Organization.

### ***Unity for Peace as for War***

Our meeting here in the Crimea has reaffirmed our common determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of purpose and of action which has made victory possible and certain for the United Nations in this war. We believe that this is a sacred obligation which our Governments owe to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world.

Only with the continuing and growing cooperation and understanding among our three countries and among all the peace-loving Nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized—a secure and lasting peace which will, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, “afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.”

Victory in this war and establishment of the proposed international organization will provide the greatest opportunity in all history to create in the years to come the essential conditions of such a peace.

[signed]

(Winston S. Churchill)

(Franklin D. Roosevelt)

(J. Stalin)

## **President Truman's Announcement of the Atomic Bombing of Hiroshima, 1945**

Public Papers of the Presidents (Harry S. Truman, 1946, pp. 197–200)

### **Statement by the President Announcing the Use of the A-Bomb at Hiroshima**

Sixteen hours ago an American airplane dropped one bomb on Hiroshima, an important Japanese Army base. That bomb had more power than 20,000 tons of T.N.T. It

had more than two thousand times the blast power of the British "Grand Slam" which is the largest bomb ever yet used in the history of warfare.

The Japanese began the war from the air at Pearl Harbor. They have been repaid many fold. And the end is not yet. With this bomb we have now added a new and revolutionary increase in destruction to supplement the growing power of our armed forces. In their present form these bombs are now in production and even more powerful forms are in development.

It is an atomic bomb. It is a harnessing of the basic power of the universe. The force from which the sun draws its power has been loosed against those who brought war to the Far East.

Before 1939, it was the accepted belief of scientists that it was theoretically possible to release atomic energy. But no one knew any practical method of doing it. By 1942, however, we knew that the Germans were working feverishly to find a way to add atomic energy to the other engines of war with which they hoped to enslave the world. But they failed. We may be grateful to Providence that the Germans got the V-1's and V-2's late and in limited quantities and even more grateful that they did not get the atomic bomb at all.

The battle of the laboratories held fateful risks for us as well as the battles of the air, land and sea, and we have now won the battle of the laboratories as we have won the other battles.

Beginning in 1940, before Pearl Harbor, scientific knowledge useful in war was pooled between the United States and Great Britain, and many priceless helps to our victories have come from that arrangement. Under that general policy the research on the atomic bomb was begun. With American and British scientists working together we entered the race of discovery against the Germans.

The United States had available the large number of scientists of distinction in the many needed areas of knowledge. It had the tremendous industrial and financial resources necessary for the project and they could be devoted to it without undue impairment of other vital war work. In the United States the laboratory work and the production plants, on which a substantial start had already been made, would be out of reach of enemy bombing, while at that time Britain was exposed to constant air attack and was still threatened with the possibility of invasion. For these reasons Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt agreed that it was wise to carry on the project here. We now have two great plants and many lesser works devoted to the production of atomic power. Employment during peak construction numbered 125,000 and 65,000 individuals are even now engaged in operating the plants. Many have worked there for two and a half years. Few know what they have been producing.

They see great quantities of material going in and they see nothing coming out of these plants, for the physical size of the explosive charge is exceedingly small. We have spent two billion dollars on the greatest scientific gamble in history—and won. But the greatest marvel is not the size of the enterprise, its secrecy, nor its cost, but the achievement of scientific brains in putting together infinitely complex pieces of knowledge held by many men in different fields of science into a workable plan. And hardly less marvelous has been the capacity of industry to design, and of labor to operate, the machines and methods to do things never done before so that the brain child of many minds came forth in physical shape and performed as it was supposed to do. Both science and industry worked under the direction of the United States Army, which achieved a unique success in managing so diverse a problem in the advancement of knowledge in an amazingly short time. It is doubtful if such another combination could be got together in the world. What has been done is the greatest achievement of organized science in history. It was done under high pressure and without failure.

We are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely every productive enterprise the Japanese have above ground in any city. We shall destroy their docks, their factories, and their communications. Let there be no mistake; we shall completely destroy Japan's power to make war.

It was to spare the Japanese people from utter destruction that the ultimatum of July 26 was issued at Potsdam. Their leaders promptly rejected that ultimatum. If they do not now accept our terms they may expect a rain of ruin from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth. Behind this air attack will follow sea and land forces in such numbers and power as they have not yet seen and with the fighting skill of which they are already well aware. The Secretary of War, who has kept in personal touch with all phases of the project, will immediately make public a statement giving further details.

His statement will give facts concerning the sites at Oak Ridge near Knoxville, Tennessee, and at Richland near Pasco, Washington, and an installation near Santa Fe, New Mexico. Although the workers at the sites have been making materials to be used in producing the greatest destructive force in history they have not themselves been in danger beyond that of many other occupations, for the utmost care has been taken for their safety.

The fact that we can release atomic energy ushers in a new era in man's understanding of nature's forces. Atomic energy may in the future supplement the power that now comes from coal, oil, and falling water, but at present it cannot be produced on a basis to compete with them commercially. Before that comes there must be a long period of intensive research.



It has never been the habit of the scientists of this country or the policy of this Government to withhold from the world scientific knowledge. Normally, therefore, everything about the work with atomic energy would be made public.

But under present circumstances it is not intended to divulge the technical processes of production or all the military applications, pending further examination of possible methods of protecting us and the rest of the world from the danger of sudden destruction.

I shall recommend that the Congress of the United States consider promptly the establishment of an appropriate commission to control the production and use of atomic power within the United States. I shall give further consideration and make further recommendations to the Congress as to how atomic power can become a powerful and forceful influence towards the maintenance of world peace.



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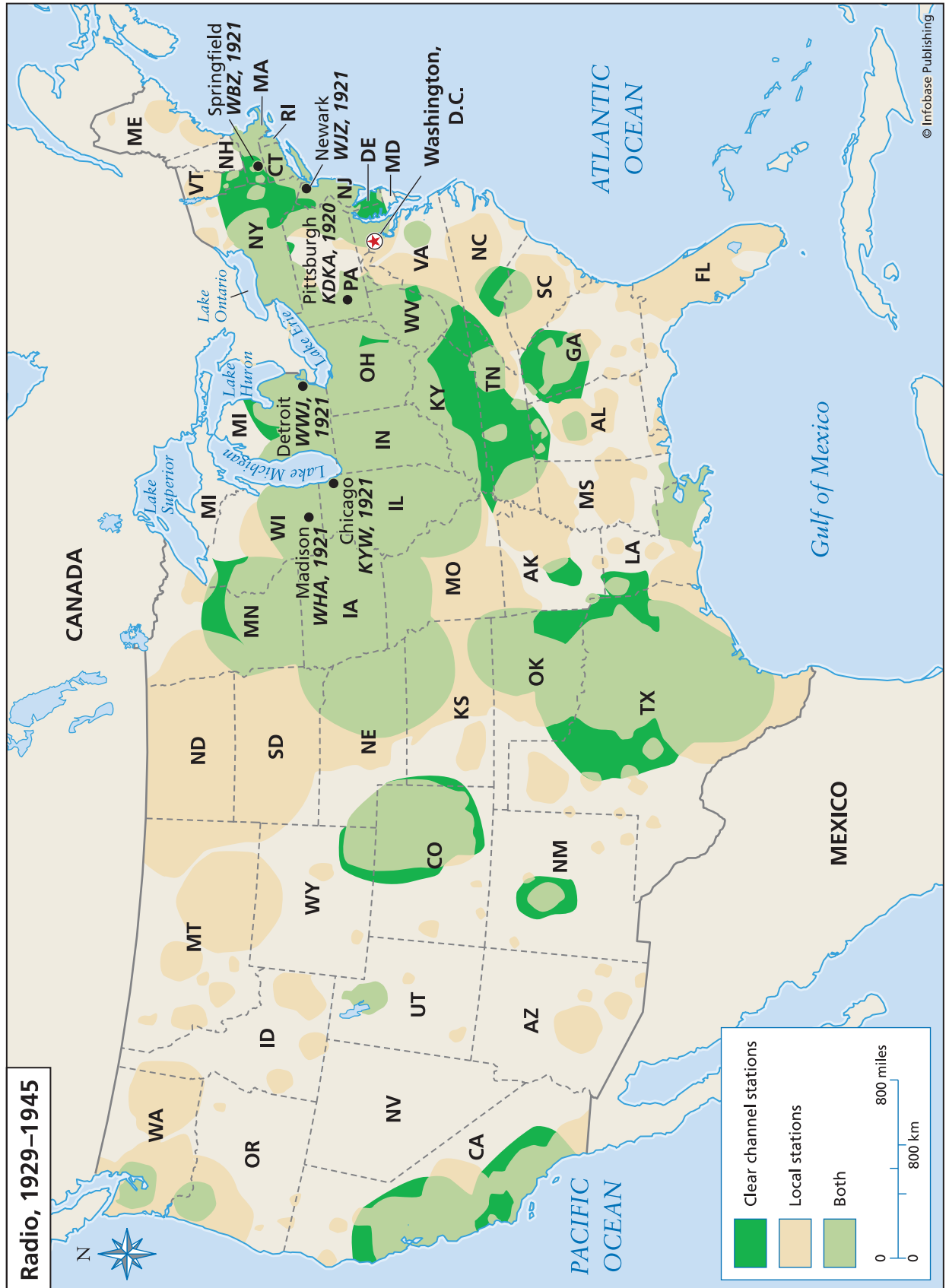


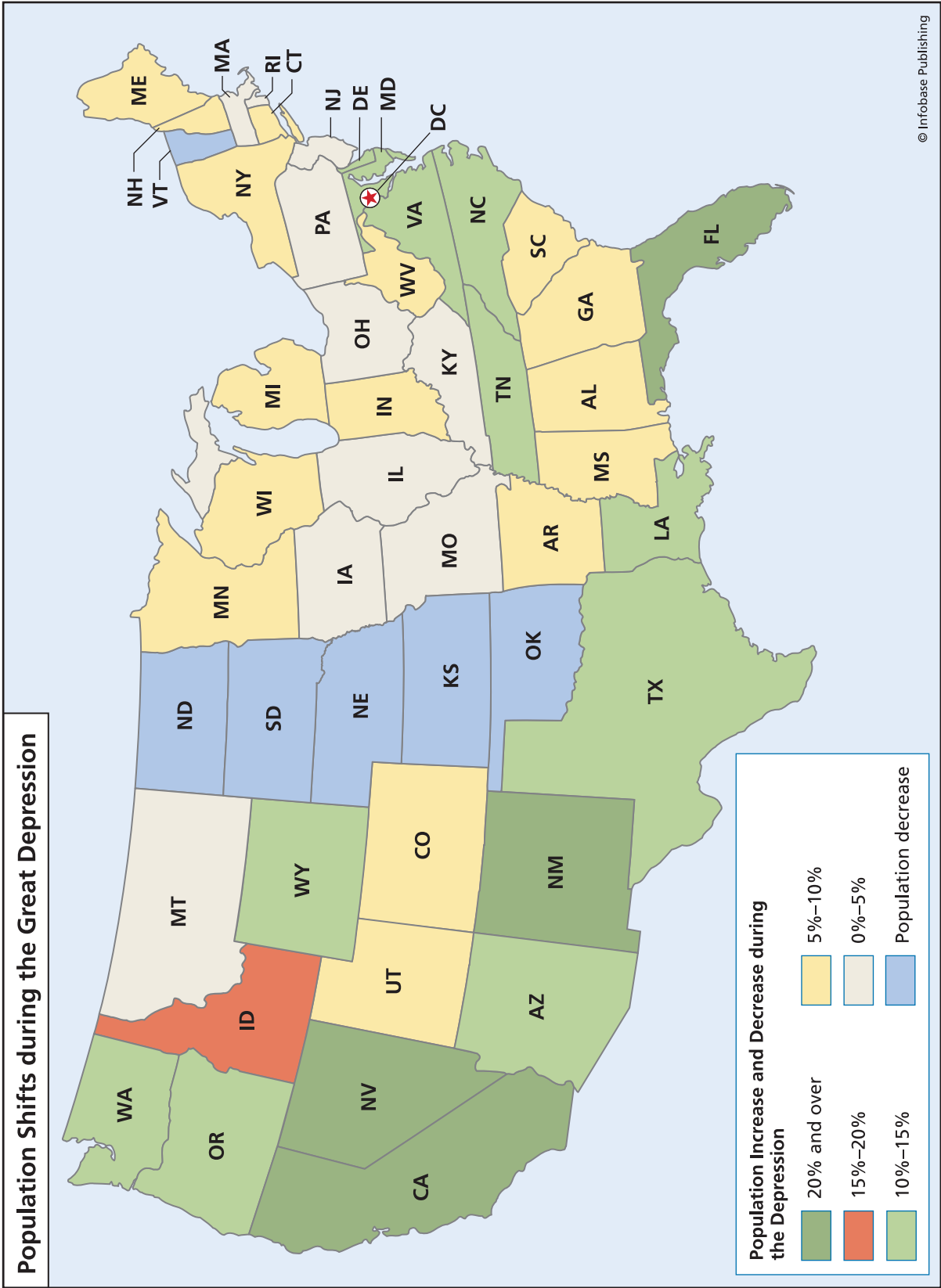
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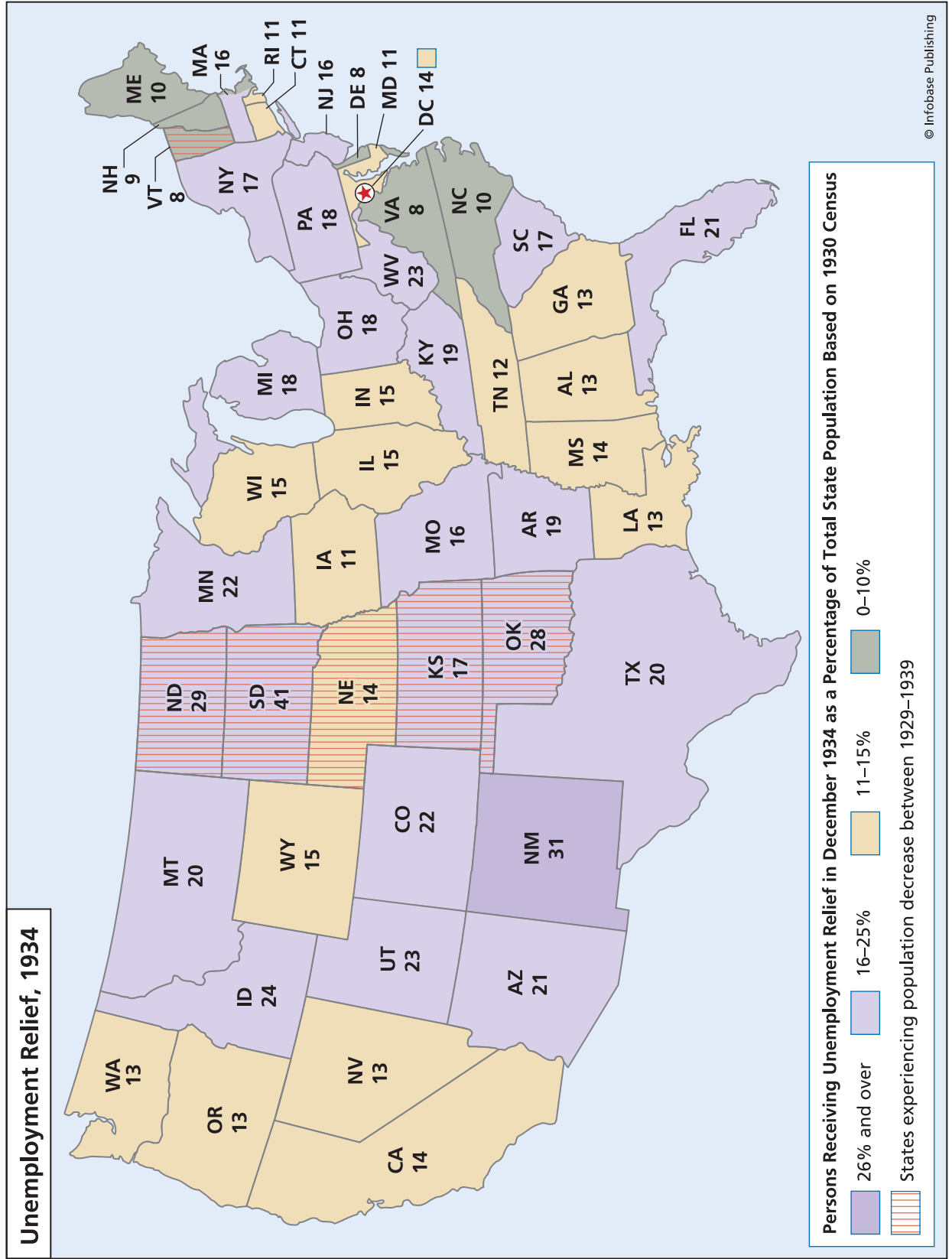
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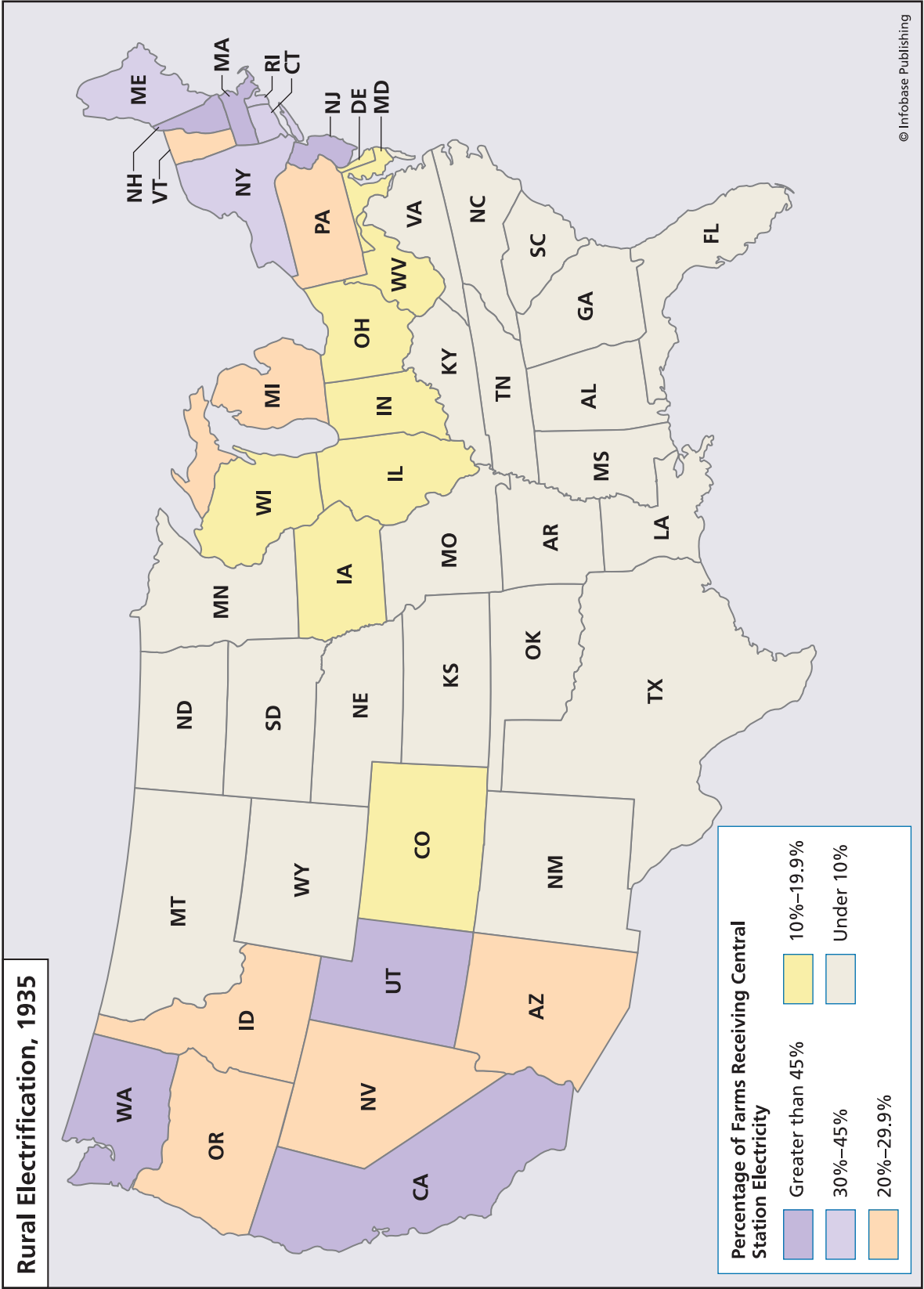




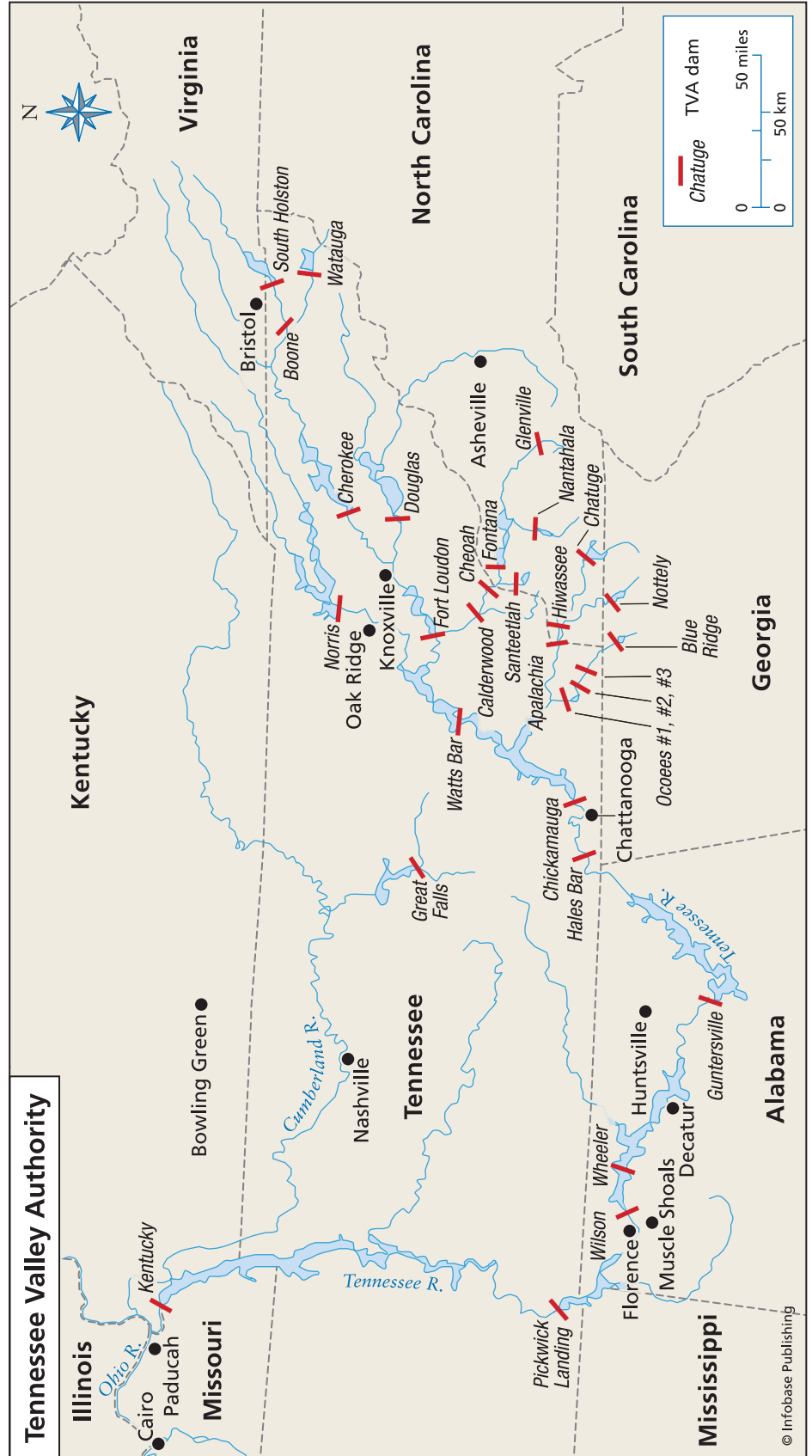


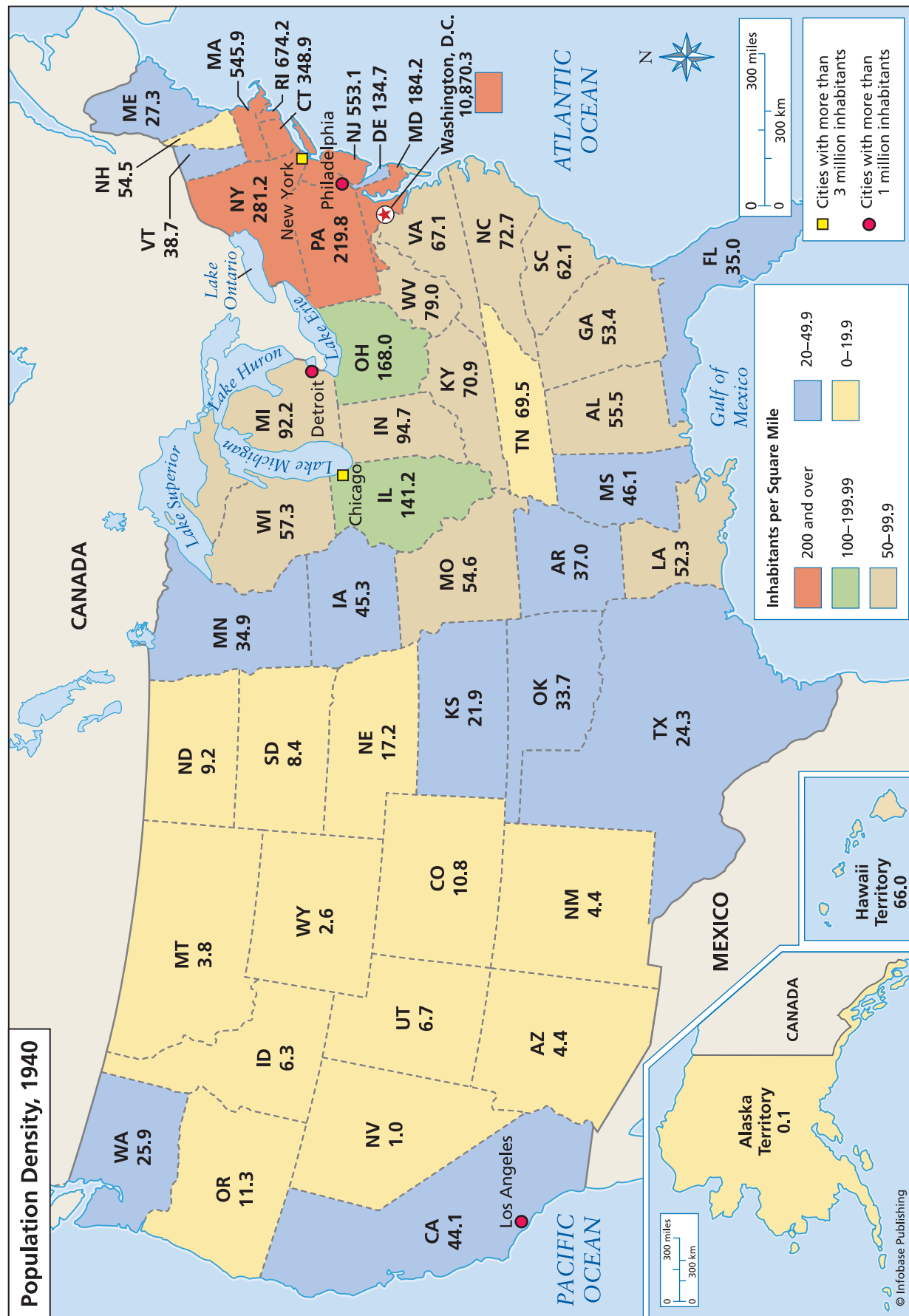


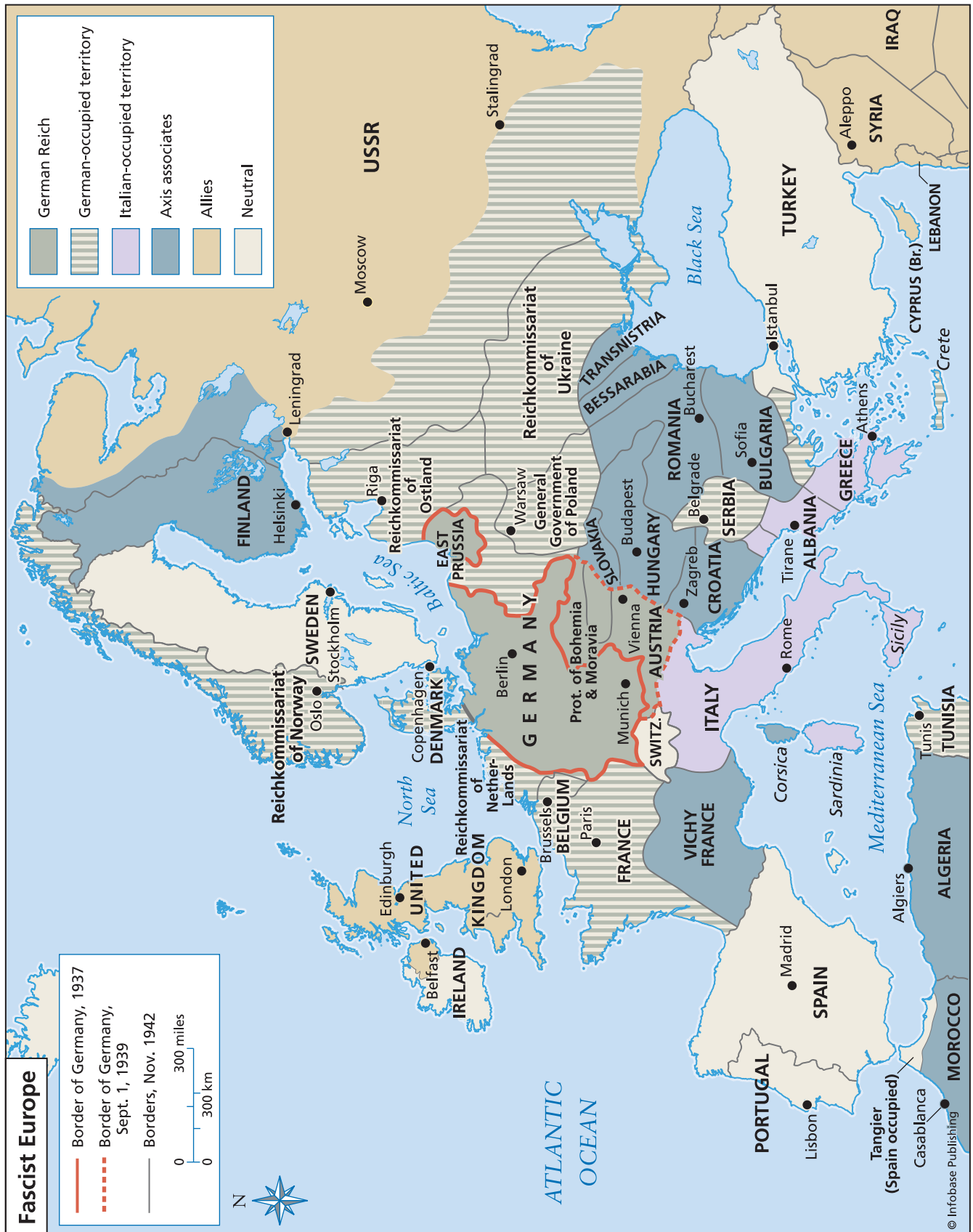










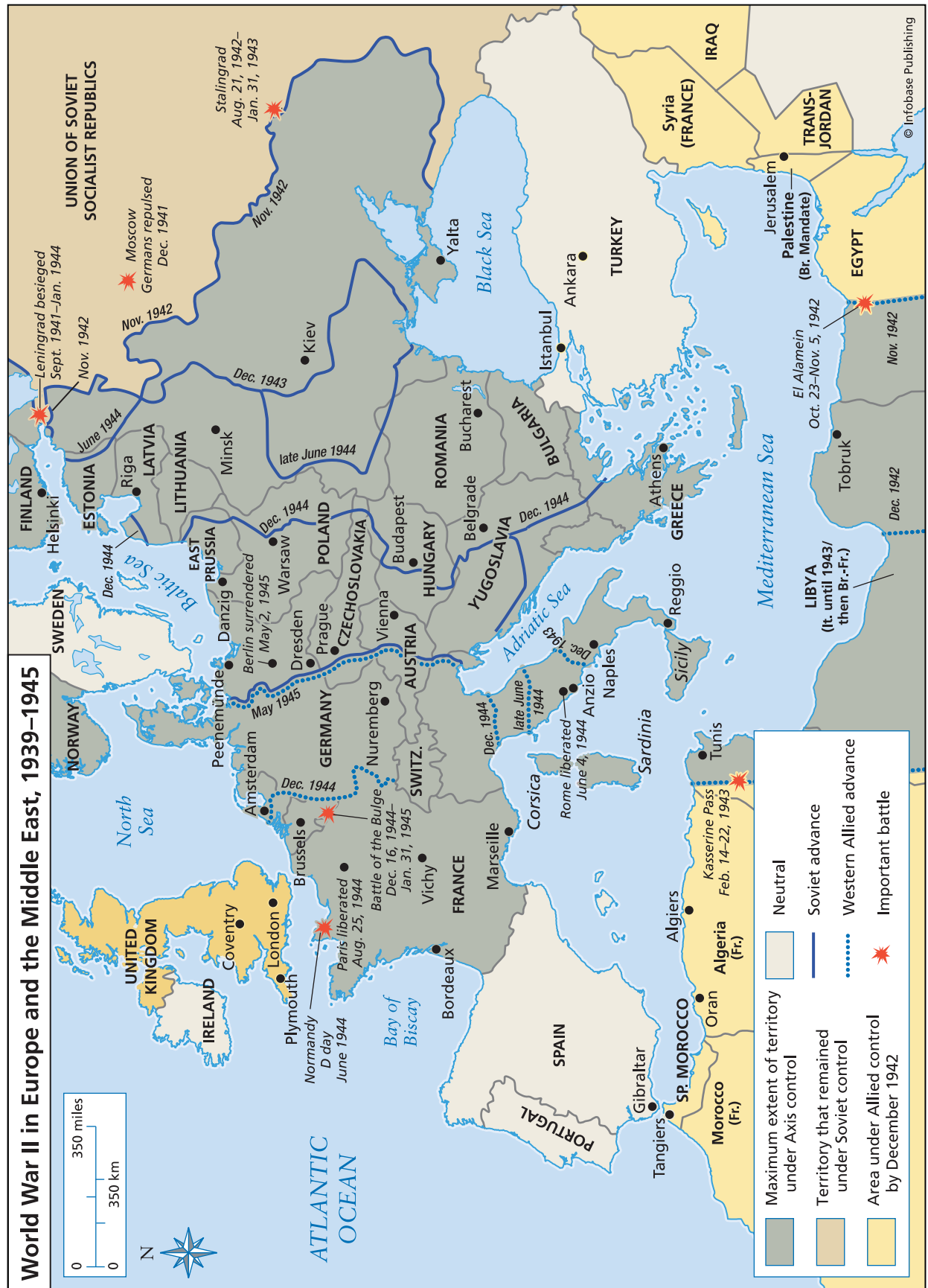






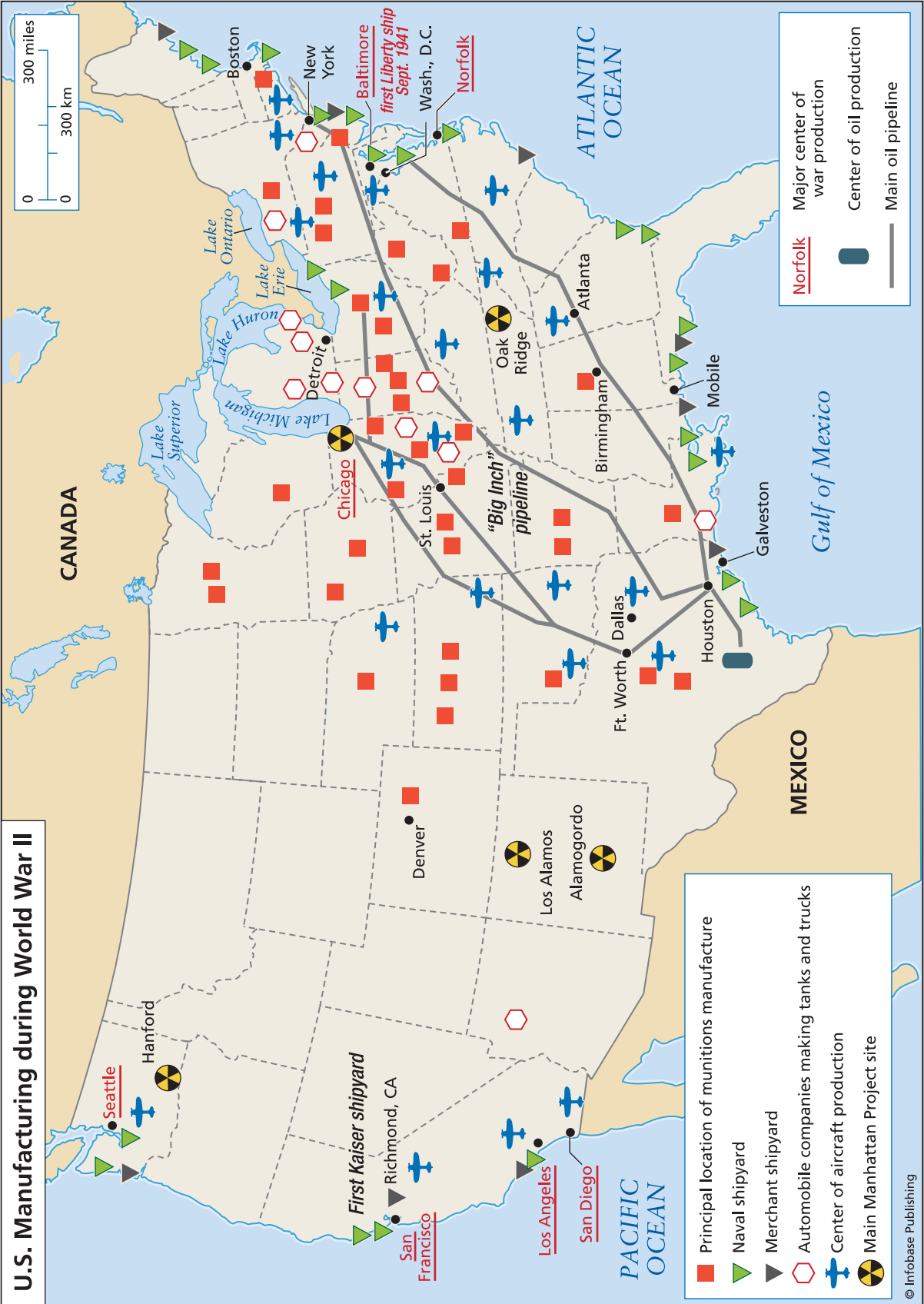


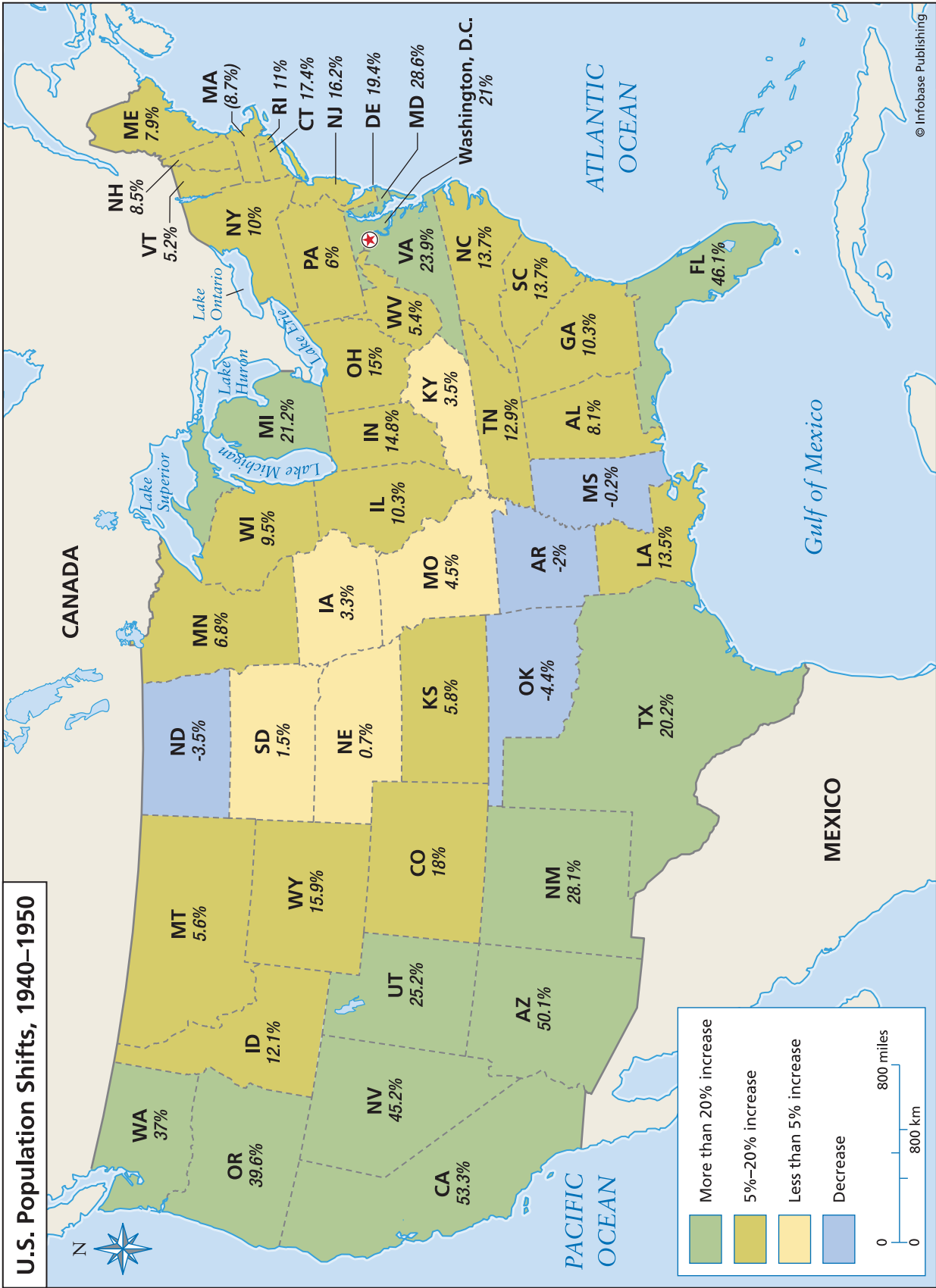












# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Revised Edition

Postwar United States  
1946 to 1968



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Revised Edition

Postwar United States  
1946 to 1968



Allan M. Winkler and Charlene Mires, Editors  
Susan V. Spellman, Associate Editor  
Gary B. Nash, General Editor

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Postwar United States (1946 to 1968)**

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# About the Editors



**General Editor: Gary B. Nash** received a Ph.D. from Princeton University. He is director of the National Center for History in the Schools at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he teaches American history of the colonial and Revolutionary era. He is a published author of college and precollegiate history texts. Among his best-selling works are the coauthored *American People: Creating a Nation and Society* (Longman, 1998), now in its seventh edition; *American Odyssey: The U.S. in the Twentieth Century* (McGraw-Hill/Glencoe, 1999), now in its fourth edition; and *The Atlas of American History*, coauthored with Carter Smith (Facts On File, 2006).

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**Charlene Mires**, Villanova University, edited revisions and additions to the current edition. She received a Ph.D. from Temple University and is the author of *Independence Hall in American Memory* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).





# Acknowledgments

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★

This book depended on the good work of the dozens of contributors who met deadlines, rewrote entries as requested, and kept the venture moving forward. Their names appear at the end of each entry. Gary B. Nash played an important role in conceptualizing the entire project, and in helping define how this volume, the ninth of 11, fit into the overall plan. He was equally helpful in reading and critiquing drafts of the table of contents and the entries themselves. Our thanks go to Miami University's Graduate School for providing a fellowship for a graduate student to assist with this book. Susan V. Spellman, who accepted that fellowship, played a major role in keeping track of contributors, doing a first edit of all entries, and performing all of the other assignments that had to be done for the first edition, and she richly deserves the designation of associate editor of this volume. Another graduate student, Hillary S. Kativa at Villanova University, provided valuable assistance in preparing revisions for the current edition.

—Allan M. Winkler  
Miami University  
Oxford, Ohio

—Charlene Mires  
Villanova University  
Villanova, Pennsylvania



# Foreword



The Encyclopedia of American History series is designed as a handy reference to the most important individuals, events, and topics in U.S. history. In 10 volumes, the encyclopedia covers the period from the 15th century, when European explorers first made their way across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas, to the present day. The encyclopedia is written for precollegiate as well as college students, for parents of young learners in the schools, and for the general public. The volume editors are distinguished historians of American history. In writing individual entries, each editor has drawn upon the expertise of scores of specialists. This ensures the scholarly quality of the entire series. Articles contributed by the various volume editors are uncredited.

This 11-volume encyclopedia of “American history” is broadly conceived to include the historical experience of the various peoples of North America. Thus, in the first volume, many essays treat the history of a great range of indigenous people before contact with Europeans. In the same vein, readers will find essays in the first several volumes that sketch Spanish, Dutch, and French explorers and colonizers who opened up territories for European settlement that later would become part of the United States. The venues and cast of characters in the American historical drama are thus widened beyond traditional encyclopedias.

In creating the eras of American history that define the chronological limits of each volume, and in addressing major topics in each era, the encyclopedia follows the architecture of *The National Standards for United States History, Revised Edition* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Mandated by the U.S. Congress, the national standards for U.S. history have been widely used by states and school districts in organizing curricular frameworks and have been followed by many other curriculum-building efforts.

Entries are cross-referenced, when appropriate, with *See also* citations at the end of articles. At the end of most entries, a listing of articles and books allows readers to turn to specialized sources and historical accounts. In each volume, an array of maps provide geographical context, while numerous illustrations help vivify the material covered in the text. A time line is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events occurring in the given era. The selection of historical documents in the back of each volume gives students experience with the raw documents that historians use when researching history. A comprehensive index to each volume also facilitates the reader’s access to particular information.

In each volume, long entries are provided for major categories of American historical experience. These categories may include: African Americans, agriculture, art and architecture, business, economy, education, family life, foreign policy, immigration, labor, Native Americans, politics, population, religion, urbanization, and women. By following these essays from volume to volume, the reader can access what might be called a mini-history of each broad topic, for example, family life, immigration, or religion.

—Gary B. Nash  
University of California, Los Angeles



# Foreword to the Revised Edition



“History has to be rewritten in every generation because, although the past does not change, the present does,” writes Lord Christopher Hill, one of Great Britain’s most eminent historians. “Each generation asks new questions of the past, and finds new areas of sympathy as it re-lives different aspects of the experiences of its predecessors.” It is this understanding, that the pursuit of historical knowledge requires new research and new reflections on the past, that undergirds a revised and extended edition of the *Encyclopedia of American History*.

The individual volume editors of this revised edition have made important additions and revisions to the original edition published in 2003. Most important, they have added many new entries—several hundred for the entire 11-volume set. This puts more meat on the bone of what was already a comprehensive encyclopedia that presented four centuries of American history in all its diversity and complexity. For the 10th volume, covering the period from 1969 to the present, new entries cover momentous events and important figures of the last six years. For the other volumes, new entries increase the diversity of Americans covered by biographical accounts as well as events that new scholarship shows have had greater importance than recognized heretofore.

In addition, careful attention has been given to correcting occasional errors in the massive number of entries in the first edition. Also, many entries have been revised to add further details while making adjustments, based on new scholarship, to the interpretation of key events and movements. Consonant with that effort to make the encyclopedia as fresh and usable as possible, the volume editors have added many new recently published books to the “Further Reading” notes at the ends of the entries, and new full-color historical maps help put history in its geographical context.

—Gary B. Nash



# Introduction

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The United States changed dramatically in the post–World War II years. The economic boom based on wartime spending continued and made the nation richer than ever before. Large corporations dominated the business world, but unions grew too, and most American workers saw their lives improve. Some Americans, however, still found themselves left out. Huge gaps still existed between rich and poor, and millions of people were still part of what one critic called “the other America.” Building on a start made during the war, African Americans and members of other minority groups began to mobilize to change American society. In time, the Civil Rights movement encouraged other movements for reform.

Meanwhile the United States found itself in the midst of a new kind of international conflict. The cold war, which stemmed from divergent views about the shape of the postwar world, pitted the United States against the Soviet Union in a competitive struggle that had ramifications around the globe. Strong and secure after its successful involvement in World War II, the United States sought to spread the values of liberty, equality, and democracy that provided the underpinning of the American dream, and to create a world where American enterprise could thrive. When those aims and values came into conflict with Soviet insistence on a different kind of security and stability, the cold war was the result.

This volume, part of an 11-volume Encyclopedia of American History, charts the changes that occurred in the decades following World War II. It seeks to provide easy access to the social and political developments of the postwar years, highlighting social, cultural, and economic issues as well as political and diplomatic affairs. Taken together, the entries provide a good overview of the shifts of the postwar years.

—Allan M. Winkler  
Miami University  
Oxford, Ohio





# ENTRIES

## A TO Z



# A



## **Acheson, Dean** (1893–1971) *secretary of state*

Secretary of state when Communist forces drove Jiang Jieshi off the Chinese mainland, Dean Acheson found himself labeled “The Red Dean” and the man who “lost” China by critics of presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and HARRY S. TRUMAN.

Acheson, born in Middletown, Connecticut, on April 11, 1893, was the eldest son in a distinguished family with Scots-Irish roots. His father, Episcopal bishop of Connecticut, preached hope, charity, and good works. His mother, Eleanor Gooderham, was the daughter of a prominent Toronto whiskey distiller and banker. His father insisted the young Acheson attend all the finest schools—Groton, Yale, and later Harvard Law School. Although he found Groton to be a harsh environment, Acheson developed a fierce independent streak, which he found invaluable in maintaining his composure later in life. At Harvard Law, Felix Frankfurter took him under his wing and Acheson bloomed. After a year clerking for Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis, at Frankfurter’s recommendation, Acheson joined a Washington law firm and quickly made a name for himself in financial law.

Perhaps at Frankfurter’s suggestion, newly elected president Franklin D. Roosevelt asked Acheson to serve as undersecretary of the treasury. Unfortunately, Acheson and Roosevelt disagreed on fiscal policy. When Roosevelt took the nation off the gold standard, Acheson resigned in protest at what he thought was an unwise action. His loyalties, however, remained with the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, and he never fully cut ties with the Roosevelt administration.

In 1941, Roosevelt called upon Acheson to serve as assistant secretary of state, and within four years he was promoted to undersecretary. In 1949, President Harry S. Truman chose him to succeed GEORGE C. MARSHALL at the State Department. Acheson believed that the SOVIET UNION was the major threat to the United States and felt the nation’s first priority was to contain Soviet expansion into Eastern Europe. To accomplish this, he was convinced

American allies would have to be strengthened both economically and militarily. Acheson helped draft the blueprint for European economic recovery, the MARSHALL PLAN, and the military alliance that evolved into the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO). Although ASIA was a secondary concern to Acheson, he also negotiated the Japanese Peace Treaty.

More controversial was Acheson’s involvement in framing the National Security Council’s new foreign policy document, NSC-68, which called for an increased military



Dean Acheson (*Library of Congress*)

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buildup to contain the Soviet Union in the way diplomat GEORGE F. KENNAN had counseled. During Acheson's tenure as secretary of state, the COLD WAR held center stage and the way Acheson and the Truman administration dealt with it came increasingly under fire. Equally controversial was Acheson's role in the KOREAN WAR. He encouraged American intervention and advised Truman to go to the United Nations rather than Congress for approval. The Republican-controlled Congress thereby acquired the ammunition to label Korea "Truman's War," but Republicans before the attack also accused Acheson of giving the North Koreans a green light when he remarked in a Washington speech that the peninsula was not within the U.S. defense sphere.

While many criticized Acheson, JOHN F. KENNEDY consulted him during the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, and both Kennedy and LYNDON B. JOHNSON sought his advice on the VIETNAM WAR. Initially hawkish, Acheson encouraged intervention because he was certain the United States would win the war. As the struggle dragged on, Acheson, ever the pragmatist, became convinced the war could not be won and urged the withdrawal of troops. Acheson died in 1971.

**Further reading:** Robert L. Beiser, *Dean Acheson: A Life in the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); James Chace, *Acheson: The Secretary of State Who Created the American World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998).

—Gisela Abels

### advertising

Advertising encouraged Americans to buy all kinds of new products in the increasingly materialistic consumer society of the post–World War II years.

Advertising, which came of age in the 1920s, changed significantly with the advent of TELEVISION in the 1950s. New ads now appeared not just in newspapers and on the radio but on television screens as well. Advertising agencies jumped at the opportunity to use audio and visual components together in creative combinations. Many companies rushed to find ad agencies that specialized in TV promotions. In 1957, *Variety* magazine reported that, during a typical week, an average viewer encountered 420 commercials, totaling five hours, eight minutes. By year's end, ad expenditures in radio and TV crossed the \$2 billion mark.

In the 1950s, advertising agencies concentrated on simple themes, with slogans that were repeated over and over again. One candy manufacturer told consumers that "M&M's melt in your mouth, not in your hands," while a toothpaste company proclaimed "Colgate cleans your breath while it cleans your teeth." The theory that a con-



Man wrestles with manual razor in television commercial. (Library of Congress)

sumer could only retain one strong claim from an ad lay behind the simplistic ads of the 1950s. Rather than being original, advertisements were all alike in their format and style.

The 1950s also saw a rise in CONSUMERISM with the end of the war, and advertising promoted a host of new goods and products. Mass housing was developed, as were supermarkets and shopping malls. There was a rise in RECREATION, where families took yearly vacations and generally went outside the home for entertainment to events such as baseball games and the theater. Families also became increasingly materialistic, buying up new products such as dishwashers, blenders, and freezers. Ad agencies played to middle-class families during such popular television shows as *I Love Lucy* and *Leave It to Beaver*. Ad companies knew these were popular sitcoms, with millions of Americans tuning in each week. Ad agencies vied with one another for commercial time during these shows.

The 1960s produced a creative wave in the advertising world. Ad agencies began to use brighter images,



and to shy away from short slogans. The Avis car-rental company told customers in a highly effective campaign: "Avis is only No. 2 in rent-a-cars. So why go with us?" The answer: "We try harder. (When you're not the biggest, you have to.) . . . We can't afford to take you for granted. Go with us next time. The line at our counter is shorter."

Political advertising also became more commonplace. In 1964, negative political TV advertising began with the "Daisy" commercial. It appeared in LYNDON B. JOHNSON's presidential campaign, and cast Republican candidate BARRY GOLDWATER as a warmonger who might start a nuclear war. It showed a little girl counting while pulling the petals off a daisy. As she finished, the ad showed a nuclear explosion dissolving into a mushroom cloud behind her. It caused such controversy that it only appeared once nationwide.

Consumers were not always pleased with the ads they saw. The American Association of Advertising released a study in 1965 on what consumers thought of ads. The survey included television, radio, newspaper, magazine, and outdoor advertising. It found that only 35 percent of those interviewed thought that advertisements were informative. Consumers believed that some ads were misleading or made statements that they thought were false. In the same study, however, consumers acknowledged they were more likely to accept information from television than from a printed ad. These criticisms notwithstanding, advertising remained an important part of American culture.

**Further reading:** Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and Its Creators* (New York: William Morrow, 1984); Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

—Megan D. Wessel

### Africa (and foreign policy)

World War II marked an important watershed in American-African relations because the United States established a new relationship with Africa, which had been closely identified in the past with its European allies, such as Great Britain and France, which had colonies on that continent.

In the immediate post–World War II years, U.S. dealings with Africa were largely driven by two key determinants: decolonization of European colonies and the need to contain the spread of COMMUNISM. In principle, successive postwar American administrations referred to the Atlantic Charter of 1941 to insist that the "right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live" must be extended to all European colonies in Africa and not just countries then occupied by the Axis powers. The United States also believed that the spread of communism

to EUROPE and regions like Africa, where decolonization was becoming increasingly likely, would run contrary to its vision of a global economy under American leadership. Africa, potentially, could serve American geostrategic, political, and economic interests.

American preoccupation with containing expansionism by the SOVIET UNION meant that, by the early 1950s, American policymakers still considered the future of European colonies in Africa important only insofar as how U.S. attitudes toward colonial issues would affect U.S. relations with its European allies. State Department officials therefore carefully weighed the practical advantages of strengthening the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) alliance against what would accrue from granting self-government to European colonies in Africa. Not only was the United States cautious not to alienate its European allies but it also still recognized Africa as a "special European responsibility." Thus, in spite of its official rhetoric in support of self-determination for all peoples of the world, American support for African independence was tempered by its desire to maintain strong ties with its European allies.

From the mid-1950s onward, the Soviet Union became more actively engaged in debates in the United Nations calling for African independence and established friendly relations with newly independent African states, including Ghana (1957) and Guinea (1958). In spite of this obvious Soviet drive to extend its influence in Africa, the American response to African affairs was slow and ambivalent, reflecting the dilemma of supporting decolonization while not pushing it at a pace that would alienate European allies of the United States.

Ghana's independence served as a catalyst for rapid decolonization in the rest of Africa, prompting Americans to rethink their position about the continent. An independent Bureau of African Affairs was created in the State Department in 1958. A number of American consulates in Africa were replaced by fully operational embassies. The United States realized that it could lure the votes of the newly independent African states in the United Nations to strengthen its global dominance.

A significant milestone in American-African relations came with the ascension of JOHN F. KENNEDY to the presidency in 1961. In Kennedy's view, anticolonialism could serve the United States and guard against growing Soviet influence in Africa. Furthermore, his administration realized that Africa could serve American military and non-military needs with products such as uranium and copper. American aid to Africa thus expanded during this period. More than any other presidency before it, the Kennedy administration became more directly involved in African affairs. In 1961, for example, the United States provided some covert financial support for rebel Holden Roberto's

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Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA), a revolutionary independence movement then fighting a guerrilla war against the Portuguese-controlled Angolan government.

Apartheid in South Africa prompted responses by Kennedy and his successor, LYNDON B. JOHNSON. In the aftermath of the 1960 Sharpeville riot in Johannesburg, during which South African police opened fire at black protesters, killing 67, Kennedy not only criticized apartheid but also announced that the United States would discontinue its arms trade with South Africa after 1963. The Johnson administration went one step further. In June 1964, the United States endorsed a UN Security Council resolution to establish a special committee of experts to study the feasibility of sanctions against South Africa.

While most Africans welcomed such developments, American involvement in the Congo was considered less palatable. During the Congo civil war, on November 24, 1964, American planes transported Belgian paratroopers to Stanleyville in an apparent move to rescue hostages from the rebel forces of the Congolese National Liberation Council. Many Africans, however, viewed the Stanleyville airlift as a cover for a military operation to assist the central government then headed by the largely unpopular Moïse Tshombe against the rebels. On a more positive note, on October 27, 1966, the United States supported the UN General Assembly resolution terminating the South African mandate in Namibia.

In spite of some significant changes in the 1960s, American policy toward Africa continued to be predicated on the need to support only moderate and constitutional demands from African nationalists and also to prevent Soviet influence from spreading throughout the continent. Rather than being regarded as important in their own right, African countries were generally perceived by United States policymakers as a means of preventing the spread of Soviet communism.

**Further reading:** Peter Duigan and L. H. Gann, *The United States and Africa: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Peter J. Schraeder, *United States Foreign Policy toward Africa: Incrementalism, Crisis and Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

—Tamba M'Bayo

### African Americans

The post–World War II period brought immeasurable advances for African Americans, as the Civil Rights movement helped to guarantee blacks equal status under the law, and the coupling of the black arts movement and rise in black nationalism during the 1960s cultivated a sense of African-American pride.

During World War II, large numbers of African-American men served the United States in the armed forces, fighting the threat of fascism in Europe and the Pacific. They returned home in 1945, however, to a country where blacks still suffered from legal SEGREGATION and discrimination in the South, and were relegated to squalid ghettos of de facto segregation in the North.

Though most northern states had adopted public policies that outlawed racial discrimination, the South in the 1940s was still guided by a collection of policies referred to as “Jim Crow laws” that reinforced segregation practices. The segregation principle in the South subjected African Americans to second-class public transportation, schools, parks, theaters, restaurants, and even cemeteries. Those blacks who violated the social norms laid out by Jim Crow risked the threat of lynching, a form of vigilante justice, which persisted from the Reconstruction era through the mid-20th century, despite pleas from the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) to President Franklin D. Roosevelt to make the practice a federal crime.

The hostile racial tensions of the South prompted large numbers of African Americans to migrate during the early 20th century to northern urban centers such as New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh, in a population shift known as the Great Migration. Living conditions in the North for migrants were incredibly poor, however. Unfair housing and employment practices served to segregate blacks from whites in northern cities, creating predominantly African-American communities. The flood of migrants from the South overwhelmed many African-American communities such as the Bronzeville neighborhood of Chicago and Harlem in New York, which prior to the war had become thriving and economically diverse centers of black culture and business. By the 1940s, many African-American neighborhoods in the North had deteriorated into urban ghettos.

Efforts to end legalized racial discrimination in the South and to improve the quality of life for northern blacks were spearheaded by the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, which was independently established in 1939 as the legal arm of the NAACP. The earliest successes in the Civil Rights movement came as a result of the war effort, with the outlawing of discrimination in defense industries in 1941 and the desegregation of the armed forces in 1948. In the early 1950s, the NAACP legal team began pressing a series of civil rights–related cases before the U.S. Supreme Court in which the lawyers argued that segregation affirmed inherently unequal educational and other public facilities for African Americans. The landmark Supreme Court decision in *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION of Topeka, Kansas* (1954), in which the majority opinion declared that separate, segregated educational facilities

were unequal and unconstitutional, was a tremendous victory for the NAACP, and sparked a mass movement among African Americans and liberal whites to end segregation and racially unjust practices across the country.

Protest took other forms as well. In 1955, ROSA PARKS, an African-American seamstress in Montgomery, Alabama, was arrested for refusing to give up her seat and move to the black section at the back of a city bus. Parks's arrest prompted a one-day boycott of the Montgomery bus system, and the boycott movement then continued under the leadership of a young Montgomery minister, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., until Montgomery felt the economic pressure and capitulated. The SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), founded in 1957 by King, brought the resistance movement to cities across the South. The passive acts of CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE advocated by King and the SCLC aimed to undermine the system of segregation and racial discrimination through nonviolent means.

The early 1960s brought a new practice of resistance in the form of SIT-INS. African-American college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, staged the first sit-in at a local lunch counter that did not serve blacks. Despite verbal and physical harassment, the students demanded service, and they refused to leave. Similar sit-ins were carried out at restaurants, theaters, and department stores across the nation, largely under the leadership of the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC). In the summer of 1961, the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) expanded the sit-in movement by coordinating a group of "freedom riders" who traveled across the South, testing segregation policies in interstate transportation. More than 70,000 young people, both white and African-American, participated in the FREEDOM RIDES. The nonviolent protests of the early 1960s prompted the desegregation of a wide range of private businesses, and fueled the optimism of the Civil Rights movement.

Perhaps the most dramatic moment of the movement came in August 1963, as hundreds of thousands of people rallied in the nation's capital for the MARCH ON WASHINGTON, a sign of support for the major civil rights legislation that was pending in Congress. The passage of that legislation, in the form of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964, which prohibited discrimination in public accommodations, and the VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965, which outlawed prejudicial voter registration tactics, marked the climax of the movement for equality and integration.

The effects of the growing sense of black identity found their way into the African-American artistic and literary landscape as well. While black writers in the 1930s and 1940s, such as *Native Son* author Richard Wright, focused on LITERATURE as a means of protesting racial injustice, the progress of the Civil Rights movement and

the decline of segregation tended, in the words of writer Arthur P. Davis, "to destroy the protest element in Negro writing." James Baldwin and Ralph Ellison, who were both protégés of Wright, broke away from the tradition of the protest novel and called for a body of literature that more completely reflected the complexity of the African-American experience. Baldwin's novel *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953) portrayed the experiences of migrant blacks in Harlem and the role of the black church in their lives. Ellison drew on a variety of subjects ranging from segregated education to competing political ideologies in his deeply resonant novel *Invisible Man* (1952). In 1959, playwright Lorraine Hansberry became the first African-American woman to have a play produced on Broadway with *Raisin in the Sun*, her depiction of the struggles of a working-class black family living in Chicago.

Prior to World War II, even the playing fields of professional SPORTS had been divided along segregated lines. Though black athletes such as boxer Joe Louis and Olympian Jesse Owens had achieved national popularity in the 1930s, they were exceptions to the rule, and most African Americans, such as the stars of the Negro baseball leagues, played in relative anonymity, excluded from all-white professional leagues. The racial line was crossed in 1947, however, when JACKIE ROBINSON became the first black player in modern major league baseball, signing a contract with general manager BRANCH RICKEY of the Brooklyn Dodgers. Robinson endured steady abuse from white spectators and opposing players, but, spurred on by the support of his white teammates, he won the 1947 Rookie of the Year Award and helped carry the Dodgers to the National League championship. The success of Robinson paved the way for other black baseball players such as Willie Mays and Henry (Hank) Aaron, who, starring during the 1950s and 1960s, became household names and beloved national icons.

As more and more African-American athletes achieved stardom, some, such as heavyweight boxer MUHAMMAD ALI (formerly known as Cassius Clay), used their status to address racial injustice and take a political stand. Ali first attracted notice by winning the gold medal at the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome, and he subsequently became the world heavyweight champion by defeating Sonny Liston in 1964. That same year, he joined the Nation of Islam and changed his name from Cassius Clay to Muhammad Ali. Ali adored the spotlight and became famous for his proclamations of invincibility, often delivered in poetic verse, and his personal slogan "I am the greatest!" The image of an articulate and boastful black athlete angered many whites, and his taunting of black opponents, often calling upon slave stereotypes such as stupid and illiterate, drew the ire of many in the black community. Nonetheless, Ali's popularity was unmatched by any black athlete of his time,

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and he fascinated the media and public alike, even more so in 1967, when he refused induction into the U.S. Army on the basis of his religious convictions. Ali called upon other blacks to refuse induction rather than fight in the VIETNAM WAR for a country that oppressed them. He was convicted of violating the Selective Service Act and stripped of his heavyweight title, though the U.S. Supreme Court overturned his conviction in 1971.

The sense of promise that the early years of the Civil Rights movement brought African Americans gradually declined into disappointment, frustration, and unrest during the mid-1960s as it became clear that the overall political and economic welfare of blacks had been changed little by civil rights legislation. Younger blacks sparked a sense of radicalism in the movement; they grew impatient with the slow rate of progress and called for a more militant approach in demanding change. Violent riots in Harlem during the summer of 1964 were followed by similar demonstrations in predominantly black urban ghettos across the country over the next two years. In addition, the tragic murders of civil rights activist Medgar Evers in Mississippi and four young black girls in a church bombing in Birmingham, Alabama, shocked many African Americans into rethinking the established principles of the Civil Rights movement.

Notions of nonviolence and racial harmony were increasingly replaced by ideas such as BLACK POWER and “separatism” during the middle and late 1960s. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, a longtime civil rights activist who became the chair of SNCC in 1966, became frustrated with the nonviolence doctrine and, while leading a march in Mississippi in 1966, he rallied demonstrators around the concept of “Black Power.” Carmichael associated Black Power with self-defense, the ability to defend the black community, political and economic power, and racial pride. African-American leaders who had been critical of King’s pragmatic and nonviolent methods, such as Black Muslim leader MALCOLM X, found an alert national audience calling for black separatism, pride, and self-dependence. Malcolm X had risen to power within ELIJAH MUHAMMAD’s Nation of Islam before breaking off and establishing his own organization. His assassination in 1965 was followed soon after by publication of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* by Alex Haley, which became an inspiration for numerous young black radicals.

In 1966, African-American activists Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale founded the BLACK PANTHERS in Oakland, California, a militant organization that epitomized the separatist movement. The Black Panthers advocated the use of violence to protect African-American communities from police brutality. The party gradually developed into a Marxist political organization, calling for all blacks to arm themselves and demanding that African-American prisoners be released from jail.

A sense of black nationalism pervaded the artistic world by way of the Black Arts Movement, which was characterized by dramatic artistic and literary development during the 1960s. Proponents of the movement called for the destruction of traditional Eurocentric cultural norms and the creation of a “black aesthetic.” The Black Arts Movement encouraged African Americans to embrace their cultural ancestry and helped coin familiar slogans, such as “black is beautiful,” in the desire to cultivate a sense of racial pride. Adherents to the movement broke away from traditionally white artistic institutions and established African-American publishing houses, theater troupes, and even repertory schools. Author and playwright Leroi Jones, who changed his name to Amiri Baraka in 1968, was a leader in the movement. Baraka’s play *Dutchman* (1964) appeared Off Broadway and drew considerable critical acclaim. The play focused around the interaction between a white woman and a black intellectual, highlighting the anger of African Americans toward the dominant white culture. In 1965, Baraka founded the Black Arts Repertory Theatre in Harlem, which encouraged young black playwrights to create a stronger black aesthetic in theater.

**Further reading:** Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and Cornel West, *The African-American Century: How Black Americans Have Shaped Our Country* (New York: Free Press, 2000); James N. Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

—Guy R. Temple

### agriculture

American agriculture in the post–World War II years underwent a massive transition from labor-based to mechanized farming and from traditional small family farms to large corporate establishments. Although the federal government sought to protect farmers from the economic risks of free enterprise, American farmers struggled throughout the postwar years for an income competitive with the national average.

While the productivity of American agriculture continually rose throughout the postwar period due to technological advances, the number of American farmers fell. In 1940, there were more than 6 million farms in the United States operated by a farmer population that exceeded 30 million. By 1973, the number of farms had declined to 2.8 million, and the farmer population had dropped by nearly 10 million. The American farm had a new face, one characterized by the presence of more tractors and fewer farmhands, by electricity, chemical fertilizers, hybrid crops and livestock, and greater size.



Between 1940 and 1970, farms increased in average size from 138 to 385 acres, as mechanization and automation increased the farmer's staple crop production rates per acre and per man-hour. In 1940, one farm worker could supply 11 people with the agricultural products they required; by 1970, one worker was able to supply 47 people. From 1910 to 1970, tractors increased from fewer than 1,000 to 5.5 million, as horses and mules decreased from 25 million to approximately 2.4 million. Interest in the scientific aspects of farming increased, as scientists and researchers developed techniques that could increase production. Soil analysis became widely employed to determine the elements needed by a particular soil to maintain or restore its fertility. Farmers learned to combat the loss of soil by erosion with strip cropping, which involved sowing strips of dense-rooted plants to serve as water-breaks or wind-breaks in fields of plants with loose-root systems, the use of cover crops which were quick-growing plants with dense root systems to bind soil, and contour plowing, in which the furrows followed the contour of the land and ran parallel to hills instead of up and down them, thus providing channels for runoff water. After the first hybrids appeared in the 1930s, research in the field of selective breeding continued, producing improved strains of both farm animals and crop plants. More farms received electrification, mail service, telephone lines, and consolidated schooling, services that were predominantly traits of urban life prior to the 1950s.

Agricultural transport also underwent changes during the postwar period. The improvement of trucks that increased their range and payloads, as well as the construction of the highway network that came as a result of the INTERSTATE HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956, greatly added to the efficiency of agricultural transport. By 1967, 51 percent of foods and kindred products were transported by trucks, 47 percent by rail, and 2 percent by water. Trucks hauled most of the perishable crops, while railroads continued to transport grains and other semiperishables.

Tenant farmers or sharecroppers, historically always large providers of agricultural labor, decreased in number after 1940, largely due to the many changes resulting from the revolution in farming methods that nearly eliminated marginal farms and drastically reduced labor requirements. In the 1930s, tenant farmers made up 62 percent of the South's farmer population and 42 percent of the farmer populations elsewhere in the United States. By 1969, the number of farms worked by tenants dropped to 11.7 percent in the South and 12.9 percent in the other farming regions. Tenant farmers either migrated to urban centers or became owners or part-owner operators. Sharecropping was lowest for livestock farming and highest in the cash-crop fields of cotton and tobacco. The primary shift in tenant farming after 1940 was toward part ownership. The number of farms in this group remained small, however, in

terms of acreage operated and percentage of farm production. Part owners had become the largest group by 1969, leasing farmland mainly on a cash basis. Between 1940 and 1969, the percentage of farms owned by part owners increased from 10.1 percent to 24.6 percent.

Farmer organization during the 20th century was inconsistent compared to other labor fields, as farmers generally only organized when there was a mutual advantage to be had or the circumstances warranted it. Popular during the 1950s was the National Farmers Union, founded by Newt Gresham at Point, Texas, in 1902. Although the union first grew in the South, it gained notable strength after 1910, as it moved into the wheat-growing states of the West. By 1974, its national membership included about 250,000 farm families. Its policies were generally aimed at preserving family farms, increasing bargaining power with the federal government, and gaining special assistance for low-income farmers. Also popular during the mid-20th century was the American Farm Bureau Federation, formed in 1920 by a coalition of state representatives seeking a body of farmer representation in Congress to fight falling prices after World War I. After World War II, overproduction became a major problem, and, in 1947, the American Farm Bureau Federation began to advocate a reduction in the use of public funds to increase farm productive capacity, returning to policies that allowed prices to respond to supply and demand. By the 1970s, the American Farm Bureau Federation was the largest American farmers' organization, with a national membership of more than 2 million families. The National Farmers Organization (NFO), however, was perhaps the most significant farmers' organization during the postwar period. The NFO was formed in Iowa in 1955 to protest low farm prices, and within a few months it became an organization of approximately 71,000 members. The NFO sought to establish a collective bargaining system whereby farmers set prices for their produce. To accomplish this end, it initiated a system of withholding products from market until prices were met. During the 1960s, NFO membership figures were not released, but estimates vary from 115,000 to 270,000.

A persistent problem of American agriculture in the 20th century has been the tendency of farm income to fall behind increases in the costs of production. Government policies to protect farmers from the economic risks of a free enterprise system began most notably during the New Deal of the 1930s under President Franklin D. Roosevelt with a concept called parity, in which the federal government established a level for farm-product prices. When actual prices fell below that level, government would augment farmer income to ensure farmers maintained economic stability during price depressions. The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 established quotas limiting production of basic agricultural commodities. The Supreme Court found

## 8 Alaska statehood

the act unconstitutional in 1936, but after several new justices were appointed to the Supreme Court, it became law again in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, based on the same quota system. Throughout the postwar period, the act was amended several times, the basic aims being formation of a price-support program to bring farm income into balance with national income.

World War II drove farm-product prices back up, although cost of production was also up, which meant actual farmer income did not increase, and thus government parity payments remained in place. Federal costs for supporting the ongoing parity payments at a fixed rate became too expensive, as some commodities were being sold at prices much less than those paid to farmers. To reduce the government costs of maintaining farming support programs, the administration of President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER proposed that flexible, or variable, price supports replace the rigid 90 percent of parity in force. Congress enacted a bill authorizing a sliding scale of payments at 82.5 percent to 90 percent of parity on the basic commodities in 1954. Another measure in 1956 established the soil-bank program, which was designed to reduce surpluses by removing land from production. The soil-bank program authorized federal payments to farmers if they reduced production of certain crops. A subsidy plan was formulated to pay farmers for converting part of their cropland to soil-conserving uses. In practice, farmers shared the costs of planting trees or grasses, receiving annual payments that compensated them for economic loss incurred by the removal of some of their land from crop production. In 1959, Congress terminated the acreage reserve section of the soil-bank program, but left the conservation reserve program in effect until 1965, when the entire act was repealed by passage of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965.

The Department of Agriculture in the administrations of Presidents JOHN F. KENNEDY and LYNDON B. JOHNSON during the 1960s made control of overproduction a primary goal of farm policy. Farmers were offered payments in what amounted to a rental for part of their land, which would be taken out of production the following year. At the same time, measures were implemented to expand export markets for agricultural products. During this period, the ratio of a farmer's per capita income to that of a nonfarm person increased from about 50 percent to about 75 percent. The Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 established a long-term land-retirement policy, as well as a new four-year price-adjustment program. In 1966, the federal minimum wage was extended to farmer workers and the President's Committee on Rural Poverty was established.

The national agricultural policy in the postwar years also included improvement of the standard of living for nonfarming Americans. Some significant legislation passed under this intent included the National School Lunch Act

of 1946, a provision for food distribution to the needy in 1961, and the Food Stamp Act of 1964, an allocation of funding for the purchase of groceries for needy people. In 1967 and 1968, legislation provided food packages for expectant mothers as well as special food services for children. During the 1970s, the Department of Agriculture, through its extension service, began to expand nutrition and 4-H programs into urban areas of the nation.

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—Jason Reed

### Alaska statehood

The question of Alaska's statehood was a prominent political debate in the mid-20th century, ultimately leading to its admission to the Union on January 3, 1959.

The United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867. The discovery of gold prompted American emigration to the vast frontier. Between 1880 and 1900 the population nearly doubled to 63,592. At this time, Alaska was subject to the first Organic Act of 1884, which made Alaska a "civil and judicial district" but did not provide for an elected legislature. Many immigrants from the mainland thus felt cheated out of their right to vote.

In 1906 Congress allowed Alaskans to elect a nonvoting congressional delegate. In 1912 Congress passed the Second Organic Act, allowing Alaska an elected legislature with restricted powers. Notably it had no control over the lucrative fishing industry and lacked the authority to issue bonds. At this time, many began to see statehood as Alaska's best hope for internal autonomy. Congressional delegates such as Joseph Wickersham and Anthony Dimond proposed statehood bills to Congress into the 1930s without receiving serious consideration.

The statehood movement received a great boost during World War II, when Alaska and Hawaii both became strategically important to the United States. The population boomed with defense personnel, and Alaska governor Ernest Gruening led an effort to make statehood a national priority. Within Alaska, opposition to statehood came from industries that benefited from the territory's inability to tax. Some also questioned whether Alaska could afford the financial strain of statehood. The majority, however, desired statehood and invoked the revolutionary slogan "no taxation without representation." In 1946 a referendum favored immediate statehood by a margin of 3 to 2.

In Washington, Democratic-leaning Alaska had support in the Midwest and West, as well as from liberals in the Northeast. Opposition came from conservative Republicans and southern Democrats, who feared that Alaska's

large native population would lead to increased pressure for civil rights legislation. Frustrated with delay, in 1955 the territorial legislature announced a constitutional convention without federal approval. This move sought to create a state government and elect a congressional delegation in order to pressure Washington to grant statehood. A delegation was elected in 1956, but Congress refused to seat it.

The delegation, however, lobbied and generated enough support that Congress finally passed an Alaskan statehood bill signed by President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER on July 7, 1958. It was formally admitted the following January.

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—C. D. Beard

**Ali, Muhammad** (1942– ) *heavyweight boxing champion, activist*

One of the greatest heavyweight boxers of all time, Muhammad Ali was also one of the most important and controversial cultural figures of the 1960s, a symbol of the racial, cultural, and ideological conflicts of the decade.

Born Cassius Marcellus Clay, Jr., on January 17, 1942, in Louisville, Kentucky, Ali began boxing when he was 12 and quickly established himself as an elite athlete, winning national Amateur Athletic Union and Golden Gloves championships. His skills gained a wider audience in the 1960 Summer Olympics in Rome, where he defeated a Soviet boxer to win the gold medal in the light-heavyweight division.

As a handsome, accomplished athlete who also was skilled in the arts of self-promotion, Clay seemed destined to become a star. He began his professional boxing career in October 1960, and during the next three years won all 19 of his fights, 15 of them by knockout. Then, and throughout his career, Clay attracted attention as much for his actions and words outside of the ring as for his victories in it, often using playful rhymes to predict exactly when his opponents would fall and then backing up his boasts. Despite his claims that he already was the “greatest,” when Clay challenged Sonny Liston for the heavyweight championship in February 1964, he entered the ring as a 7-1 underdog. When Liston stayed in his corner at the beginning of the seventh round, Clay had his first championship belt.

The next day, after he announced his membership in the controversial Nation of Islam, the American public had another reason to discuss Clay. During the mid-1960s, the adherents of the Black Muslim faith frightened and threatened much of white America. In March 1964 Clay drew more attention to his conversion by rejecting his given



Muhammad Ali, formerly Cassius Clay, 1964 (*Library of Congress*)

name and accepting Muhammad Ali, a name given to him by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the leader of the Nation of Islam. With his new name, his conscious rejection of Christianity, and his increasingly controversial statements about American race relations, Ali lost most of his support from mainstream America even as he continued dominating the heavyweight division.

By March 1967 Ali had a 29-0 record, but battles more significant than those in any ring helped define his professional boxing career. After stating in 1966 that he had “no quarrel with them Viet Cong,” referring to the VIETNAM WAR, in 1967 Ali officially became a conscientious objector to the draft. In the face of a five-year prison sentence and a \$10,000 fine, he refused to join the military. Because of this decision, governing boards stripped Ali of his titles, and he did not fight for more than three years. Ali’s refusal to enlist drew the maximum sentence from a judge, the hatred of many older and more traditional Americans, and the adulation of a new generation of Americans, white and black, who were beginning to protest the war in Vietnam. Throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, Ali was a highly visible symbol of the nation’s growing division over the war.



## 10 Alliance for Progress

In October 1970, Ali resumed his boxing career, knocking out two opponents in a seven-week span. In March 1971, in the first of three classic bouts, Ali met Joe Frazier in New York City, suffering his first loss in a titanic 15-round struggle. Within months, Ali won a more significant victory when the U.S. Supreme Court overturned his conviction for draft evasion.

Ali won 12 out of his next 13 fights, losing only to Ken Norton, before the 1974 “Rumble in the Jungle” in Kinshasa, Zaire, against heavily favored George Foreman. Using a new tactic, the “rope-a-dope,” Ali fought defensively for several rounds, absorbing Foreman’s punches and wearing him out. When Ali attacked, Foreman had no energy left, and Ali became the second heavyweight champion to regain his belt. By this time, as many others had come to share Ali’s views on the war, he became one of the most popular athletes in the nation and around the world.

After several other legendary fights, Ali lost his title in February 1975 to Leon Spinks. Ali defeated Spinks a mere seven months later, regaining the title for the final time and becoming history’s first three-time heavyweight champion. After retiring as champion, Ali returned for two more fights, losing them both and leaving him with a final professional record of 56 wins, five losses, and 37 knockouts.

Although Ali no longer boxed, he remained in the public eye. Still widely hailed as the greatest boxer and SPORTS showman of all time, Ali remains one of the most recognizable humans on earth. The onset of Parkinson’s disease in the mid-1980s reduced the number of his public appearances and tempered his ability to speak out on issues, but it has not dampened his wit or his desire to contribute to society. In 1990, he met with Saddam Hussein, the ruler of Iraq, in an attempt to forestall war in the Persian Gulf. Ali created the Muhammad Ali Community and Economic Development Corporation in Chicago to teach job skills to low-income public-housing residents. In 1996, 36 years after his original Olympic glory, he lit the flame at the Summer Olympics in Atlanta, reminding billions around the world that he could still perform when the spotlight was on him.

In 1999 Ali’s daughter, Laila, announced her intention to compete in women’s boxing. A personal trainer based in Los Angeles, Laila Ali competed in her first match on October 8 of that year, knocking out her opponent in the first round and going on to win all of her 24 matches. During this time, her father’s legacy was further augmented when a biographical film, *Ali*, starring Will Smith as Muhammad Ali was released in 2001. In 2005 the Muhammad Ali Center opened in Louisville, dedicated to initiatives involving peace, social responsibility, respect, and personal growth. Notably, it was not only Ali’s dominance in the boxing ring but also his community activism that was lauded when he received the Presidential Medal of Freedom that same year.

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—Brad Austin and William L. Glankler

### Alliance for Progress

A regional reform program created during the administration of JOHN F. KENNEDY, the Alliance for Progress, or Alianza para el Progreso, promised economic aid to Latin American countries in return for political and social reforms.

Kennedy outlined the new program in a speech to Latin American diplomats in March 1961. The United States pledged large amounts of economic aid to Latin American countries, and in return those leaders would institute land and tax reforms, improve health care, education, and housing, streamline bureaucratic procedures, and undertake other changes to benefit the poor and middle classes. The Kennedy administration promised \$20 billion in public and private capital over the next 10 years, as well as an additional \$80 billion in internal investment. The first congressional appropriation for the Alliance was \$500 million in 1961.

This influx of foreign money was designed to double the economic growth rate in LATIN AMERICA, raise literacy rates and living standards, cut infant mortality in half, and provide every school-age child access to primary education. Kennedy and his advisers believed that poverty and repression left Latin America vulnerable to instability, agitation, and revolutionary communist movements, both internal and Soviet-directed. The experience of the MARSHALL PLAN and new social science models, especially modernization theory dealing with the process of moving into the industrial age, influenced these policymakers and caused them to underestimate the difficulties ahead. They also overestimated the communist threat to the region.

The Alliance for Progress failed to meaningfully transform Latin American societies. The annual economic growth rate held at a paltry 1.5 percent throughout the 1960s; the number of unemployed persons rose; annual per capita income did not change; and agricultural production per person declined. The population growth rate was 3 percent, the highest in the world. Societies remained inequitable with a sharp division between rich and poor, and political instability continued. Adult literacy and infant mortality did improve, but not as much as expected.

One major contribution to the program’s failure was the desire for short-term stability, which clashed with the need for long-term permanent change. The U.S. government continued to support right-wing dictators, like



the Somozas in Nicaragua, because they were reliable allies and maintained stability. Congress, less enthusiastic about the Alliance than the executive branch, did not order U.S. funds to be used to carry out land redistribution, the heart of the program, because doing so smacked too much of socialism. Latin American oligarchs often pocketed the Alliance money and ignored implementing reforms. Even moderate politicians came from families that would be disadvantaged by progressive taxation or land reforms, and the only other alternative internal source of funds would be to nationalize foreign enterprises, a step that would not have met with approval in the United States.

Economic factors also played a key role. The balance of payments problem—whereby more money was going out than coming in—exacerbated Kennedy administration concerns about the standing of the United States in the world economy and meant that less funds were available than during the heady days of the Marshall Plan. Latin American economies depended on exports, and while export income grew steadily throughout the 1960s, it was not enough to keep up with global trade during that prosperous decade. The prices of primary products that most Latin American countries exported, especially coffee, fluctuated wildly. The region also faced new competition from Western Europe and Japan, now fully recovered from World War II, and emerging Asian and African nations.

Cultural differences also hampered the Alliance for Progress. American policymakers hoped to replicate their Marshall Plan success, but the Western European nations they rebuilt had social and political arrangements remarkably similar to those in the United States. Most Latin American societies, on the other hand, were characterized by Iberian and Amerindian traditions, including planned economies, strong central governments, and the organization of society into corporate groups, all unfamiliar to American policymakers. In addition, the modernization theories that required Latin Americans to copy the Western European and North American models implicitly disparaged Latin American traditions and culture and met with resentment.

The Alliance withered away during the administration of LYNDON B. JOHNSON. Congress found itself even less likely to appropriate the necessary funds due to intensifying problems in Vietnam. Much of the money that was available went to military goals, such as training and funding internal security forces.

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—Jennifer Walton

## American Federation of Labor (AFL)

The AFL was an important skilled trade organization that helped mobilize organized labor, and bolstered the union movement in the decades after the 1930s.

A precursor to the AFL was the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, which began in 1881. In 1886, a reorganization led by Samuel Gompers, a cigar-maker, created the AFL to protect the legislative interests of craft unions. Unifying the American labor movement for nearly half a century, the AFL coordinated activities of nearly 100 national and international unions, which maintained autonomy and controlled their own immediate affairs. Membership grew with a booming ECONOMY. But even though the organization did a good job in settling disputes among member unions, it had a hard time negotiating with BUSINESS owners. Without legal recognition of the right to bargain collectively, the AFL, like the union movement in general, had a tough time.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected president in 1933, labor enjoyed a more sympathetic political climate. Unprecedented opportunities to organize and to bargain collectively led to the formation of the AFL's main competition, the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO), organized in 1935, which sought to do for industrial unions in mass-production industries like steel, rubber, and motorcars what the AFL did for the skilled trades.

As labor grew stronger in the 1940s and began to use its political support, conservatives passed the TAFT-HARTLEY ACT in 1947, which circumscribed the right to strike, limited political activity, and demanded that union leaders sign anticommunist oaths. Initially, some AFL unions found the Taft-Hartley Act advantageous to them in their rivalry with CIO affiliates. For example, few AFL leaders balked at signing noncommunist affidavits, therefore permitting them to challenge nonsigning CIO organizations for the upper hand in labor circles.

Although the Taft-Hartley Act created some tension between the AFL and the CIO, they both agreed on the need for the federal government to stimulate economic growth. Labor leaders, such as George Meany of the AFL and Emil Rieve, Phillip Murray, and WALTER REUTHER of the CIO, agreed that there needed to be improvements in workmen's compensation, Social Security, EDUCATION, and health care for its lower-income members. As a result, the AFL and CIO began to work together to ensure a greater governmental role in economic matters.

In 1955, the two organizations merged into the AFL-CIO. Despite conflicting personalities, Walter Reuther, head of the United Auto Workers (UAW) and president of the CIO, agreed to work with former AFL president George Meany. Meany's personality and ideology were very different from those of Reuther, who espoused socialist principles. Icy relations between the conservative

## 12 American Indian Movement

Meany and the liberal Reuther made working together difficult.

The AFL, like the CIO, recognized the need to uphold ethical standards. In the 1950s, the Central and Southern States Pension Fund, controlled by Teamster president Jimmy Hoffa, accumulated hundreds of millions of dollars for a wide variety of investments. Teamster money was not available for social projects, but rather flowed to hotels, nightclubs, and casinos, helping to underwrite the development of Las Vegas. In 1957, the AFL expelled the TEAMSTERS UNION, the largest union at the time, after disclosures of corruption and labor racketeering. Governmental probes resulted in Hoffa's imprisonment in 1967 for jury tampering, pension fund fraud, and conspiracy.

Meanwhile, relations between the AFL and the CIO deteriorated. Meany relied, at one point, on distorted information supplied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to accuse antiwar spokesmen in the CIO of being dupes for the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) and of the SOVIET UNION. Emil Mazey, Reuther's close associate and secretary treasurer, accused Meany of character assassination. In 1968, Meany succeeded in getting Reuther and several others expelled from the executive board, and as a result, Reuther's UAW promptly withdrew from the AFL-CIO. Reuther angrily declared that Meany was forcing labor to become "a complacent custodian of the status quo."

Yet prospects for the future depended on working together. Despite friction, the AFL had a far more powerful voice as a result of its link to the CIO.

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—John E. Bibish IV

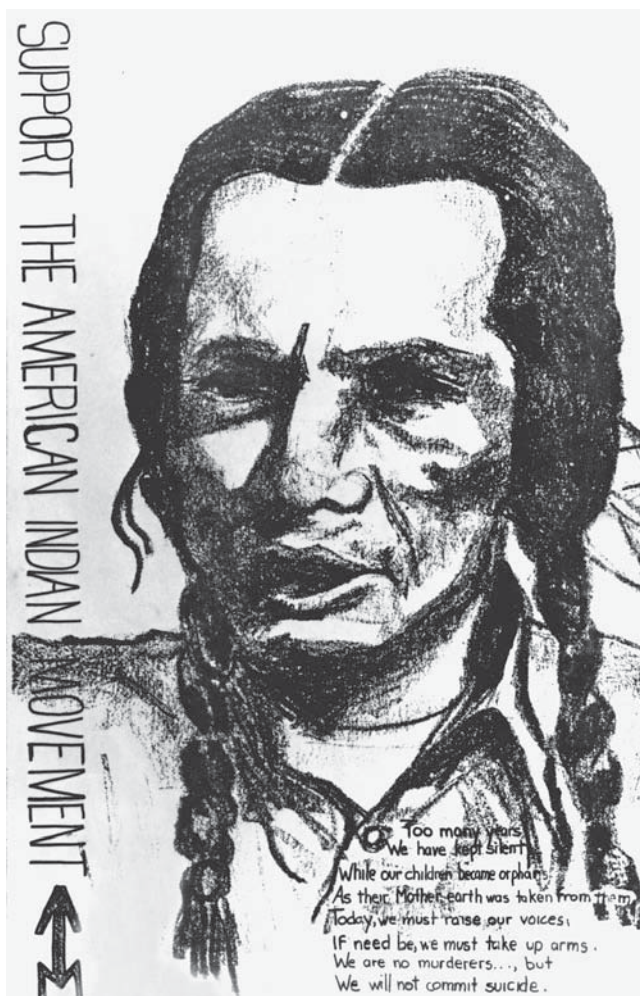
### American Indian Movement (AIM)

The American Indian Movement (AIM), founded in 1968, was an activist Indian group concerned with the civil rights of NATIVE AMERICANS.

Founded in Minneapolis, Minnesota, by Dennis Banks, Clyde Bellecourt, Eddie Benton Banai, and George Mitchell, AIM's original purpose was to help Native Americans deal with discriminatory practices of and harassment by the police in the arrest of Indians in the urban ghettos of Minneapolis and Saint Paul. AIM gave expression to the anger and agitation building up in Native Americans over centuries of mistreatment by the government. In a time when there existed many groups clamoring for social change, AIM embodied the Native American battle cry of "Red Power."

Although primarily an urban phenomenon, the appeal of this social movement spread quickly and as a result, chapters formed all over the United States. AIM also became involved in tribal affairs on Indian reservations, established "survival schools" in urban areas, and sponsored international conferences on several Lakota Sioux reservations, resulting in the 1977 International Treaty Conferences with the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland.

AIM first turned its attentions to aiding Native Americans living in urban ghettos, who faced problems as a result of the Termination policy of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER's administration, which led to urban relocation in the 1950s. Many Indian people found themselves facing poor housing conditions, including overcrowding, high rents, discrimination in the renting process, and a sense of displacement. AIM sought to foster a feeling of community and tradition in these urban areas and provide protection and support



Support the American Indian Movement poster (Library of Congress)

against mistreatment by landlords and law enforcement officials.

In time, AIM's ambitions began to grow. At its height, the group's demands encompassed economic independence, revitalization of traditional culture, protection of legal rights, and, most especially, autonomy over tribal lands and areas and the restoration of lands that Indians believed the U.S. government illegally seized in the past.

Joining in the wave of militancy prevalent in many activist groups, such as the BLACK PANTHERS, AIM, too, took militant action. In 1969, AIM seized and occupied the defunct federal prison of Alcatraz in San Francisco Bay, symbolically protesting the inefficiency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in handling Indian welfare issues. The group converted the prison into an Indian education and cultural center until forced by government officials in 1971 to abandon the enterprise. In November 1972, AIM was instrumental in the weeklong occupation by Native Americans of the BIA building in Washington, D.C., and, in early 1973, the group took over the village of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, for 10 weeks. The occupation of Wounded Knee came almost a century after the massacre of Native Americans at the site by the U.S. Cavalry in 1890. Protestors gathered to remember the massacre and protest contemporary Native American injustices as well as the numerous treaties made with Native American tribes that were broken by the U.S. government.

Involved in much highly publicized protest, AIM was thought too militant by many, generally older, Native Americans who believed change could occur through peaceful means and who sought to distance themselves from the movement. This caused a division between the older and younger generations who felt that their elders had "sold out" to the white establishment. With many of its leaders in prison and rife with internal dissention, AIM's national leadership disbanded in 1978, although local chapters continue to function.

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—Nichole Suzanne Prescott

### Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)

Favoring liberal domestic and foreign policies and ANTI-COMMUNISM, the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) worked to bring a strong liberal approach to American government.

Founded in 1947, the Americans for Democratic Action brought together a coalition of anticommunist liberals during the COLD WAR. The organization was born out

of Franklin D. Roosevelt's fragile political coalition, the developing global conflict, and the burgeoning Civil Rights movement. The ADA, recognizing the postwar era as a time of both opportunity and danger, promoted pragmatic liberalism and anticommunism.

President HARRY S. TRUMAN presided over America's difficult transition from ghastly war to unstable peace. The years 1946–48 were marred by industrial strikes, a housing crisis, and fears of a renewed depression. In foreign affairs, Americans perceived a communist threat at home and abroad. At times, Truman's foreign policy appeared erratic, ranging from genial negotiation to blustery bullying, and his domestic policy was equally inconsistent. *The Nation* labeled the president a "weak, baffled, angry man." For many of his fellow Democrats, Truman appeared ill-prepared to face the daunting challenges that lay ahead, a marked contrast from his savvy predecessor.

By 1948, the DEMOCRATIC PARTY threatened to fracture. On the left, HENRY A. WALLACE, the former vice president and commerce secretary, enjoyed support from progressives who favored accommodation with the SOVIET UNION. Disagreeing publicly with Wallace in September 1946, Truman fired Wallace from his cabinet post. In response, Wallace formed his own rival political organization, initiated a nationwide speaking tour, and waged a presidential campaign.

On the right, conservative southern Democrats bristled over Truman's domestic agenda, particularly its civil rights components. Many openly preferred South Carolina governor Strom Thurmond. Furthermore, after the 1946 midterm elections, Truman's Republican opponents controlled Congress, thwarted many of his domestic policies, and eagerly awaited the 1948 presidential election.

In January 1947, in part as a response to Truman's perceived weakness and Wallace's high-profile defiance, 130 former New Dealers and other prominent liberals organized the ADA with the ultimate purpose of finding an alternative to Truman in the next election. Although small, the membership rolls included influential public figures such as economist JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH, historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Minneapolis mayor HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, former first lady Eleanor Roosevelt, theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, black newspaper publisher John Stengstacke, attorney Joseph Rauh, labor leader WALTER REUTHER, and journalists Joseph and Stewart Alsop. Later, the Hollywood chapter included Ronald Reagan, Frank Sinatra, and Bette Davis.

In domestic affairs, the ADA defended Roosevelt's NEW DEAL programs that provided a government-sponsored "safety net" for all Americans. Members also promoted the extension of civil rights and protection of civil liberties. In general, their domestic agenda resembled Henry Wallace's, but whereas Wallace advocated a



centralized government role and insisted on “full employment,” ADA members argued for, in Schlesinger’s words, “the necessity of political compromise” and pragmatism. They favored “doers” over “utopians” and put their faith in “the limited state.”

In foreign affairs, the ADA rejected Wallace’s accommodationist approach toward the Soviet Union. They viewed COMMUNISM as a vital threat to world peace and American security. In particular, Niebuhr, Rauh, and Roosevelt expressed alarm over Soviet expansion in EUROPE and frustration over Soviet intransigence in the United Nations. Humphrey, Reuther, and the Alsops envisioned political rewards for liberals espousing anticommunism. For these reasons, ADA members embraced both internationalism and containment.

Despite holding similar political opinions, Truman never joined the ADA, and the ADA pursued DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER as an alternative to Truman in 1948. Once the popular general declined to run, the ADA reluctantly supported the incumbent against New York governor THOMAS E. DEWEY in the election. At the 1948 Democratic convention, Humphrey sponsored the civil rights plank that sparked the Thurmond-led DIXIECRAT PARTY walkout. ADA members reasoned that the plank not only supported liberal ideals but also attracted a neglected constituency. Meanwhile, they resisted Henry Wallace’s PROGRESSIVE PARTY campaign for the presidency. Throughout the fall, Truman and the ADA marginalized the Wallace and Thurmond candidacies and stressed Truman’s anticommunist credentials. Rather than suffering defeat, Truman’s storied campaign triumphed. Together, Truman and the ADA successfully designed a political blueprint for future Democrats to follow.

In later years, the ADA repeatedly faced the troublesome dilemma of balancing its liberal ideals with its anti-communist crusade. During the 1950s Red Scare, members struggled to reconcile their fight against communism with their protection of civil liberties. While they expressed distaste for JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY’s anticommunist witch-hunt tactics, many members feared the political consequences of appearing “too soft” on communism. Later, as the VIETNAM WAR intensified, the ADA membership split. Some members portrayed the war as another ideological contest with communism and appealed for escalation; others emphasized American imperialism and argued for withdrawal.

Internal divisions over Vietnam, the GREAT SOCIETY’s end, and the conservatives’ rise to power proved insurmountable to the small, underfunded organization. While important in its early years, the ADA’s influence waned.

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—Andrew J. Falk

## anticommunism

The primary force behind the COLD WAR, anticommunism constituted both popular attitude and government policy after World War II.

Foreign policy was one obvious area that anticommunism affected greatly. Despite a wartime hiatus, anticommunism dominated the tone of America’s relations with the Soviets. Although divisive geopolitical issues existed between the United States and the SOVIET UNION, American anticommunist attitudes made these disagreements seem much more dangerous.

The cold war’s anticommunist atmosphere led the United States to view radical political movements across the globe as threats. These movements ranged from the far left political parties of America’s European allies to anti-imperialist national liberation movements and, of course, to any group that openly espoused COMMUNISM. Americans saw the world as divided into two hostile camps. They gauged a nation’s friendliness to the United States by the degree of its opposition to communism.

This attitude had negative consequences for America’s relationship to many other nations. It drove some nationalist leaders, including Egypt’s president Gamal Abdel Nasser and Cuban dictator Fidel Castro, into greater cooperation with the Soviet Union than they might otherwise have contemplated. Also, the United States felt compelled to send troops to several places around the world to oppose perceived communist expansion directly. The KOREAN WAR and the VIETNAM WAR were the most significant examples of this intervention. In the eyes of much of the non-Western world, America’s insistence that other nations adopt its commitment to anticommunism resembled the domineering demands of the European colonial powers in the past. This undermined American efforts to establish constructive relations with the nations that were freeing themselves from European colonial rule.

Anticommunism also affected American society and domestic politics, mainly by making people feel insecure and paranoid about a communist takeover. The Red Scare of the late 1940s and early 1950s was perhaps the most dramatic manifestation. The federal government helped start this hysteria with the FEDERAL EMPLOYEE LOYALTY PROGRAM, which sought to remove communists from government employ. Such actions caused many Americans to believe that there was a serious problem with communist traitors in the United States. Congress also contributed to this climate when it passed the MCCARRAN ACT (1950). This highly publicized law openly stated that a commu-



nist conspiracy existed that was bent on overthrowing the constitutionally established government of the United States. The HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE (HUAC) treated witnesses aggressively in its effort to determine whether they were now or had ever been members of the Communist Party. Several highly publicized and sensational spy trials, including those of ALGER HISS and JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG, confirmed this in the eyes of much of the American public.

The culmination of this anticommunist paranoia came in the early 1950s. Although only a minuscule number of actual subversives and spies were uncovered by Wisconsin senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, his scare tactics created such hysteria and outrage in the American public that hundreds of those accused of being communists lost careers in government, education, and entertainment. In terms of policymaking, this climate compelled politicians and government officials to take hard-line positions to avoid later accusations of being soft on communism. This often made American diplomacy inflexible and uncreative.

Fear of communist takeover made many Americans uneasy. One effect of this was to intensify an existing post-war trend of seeking comfort and stability in the traditional American family and Judeo-Christian values. This led to a zealous emphasis on conformity reflected in clothing, housing, and living styles, as well as thought. Those who challenged established traditions were often labeled as communist subversives. People became extremely willing to support almost any plan that was aimed at protecting the United States from communism. One popular way to get support for an idea was to link it to fighting communism. Conversely, people began to label policies they opposed as communist inspired, regardless of their actual ideological origins.

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—Dave Price

**antiwar movement** See VOLUME X.

## Appalachia

The term *Appalachia* refers to a region of the United States centered on the Appalachian Mountains in eastern North America. During the period from 1946 to 1968, Appalachia underwent dramatic changes as a result of the extension of electrical power into the region, which linked it to the rest of the country. Many of the antipoverty programs instituted

by JOHN F. KENNEDY and later by LYNDON B. JOHNSON as part of his GREAT SOCIETY agenda had a significant impact on Appalachia, which historically had been considered one of the most impoverished regions of the country.

Although the Appalachian Mountains stretch from southern Alabama northward into New England and Canada, the area considered as “Appalachia” is more limited, corresponding to cultural and historical boundaries more than geologic formations. Appalachia is generally considered to include all of West Virginia, central Pennsylvania, southeastern Ohio, the eastern portions of Kentucky and Tennessee, the western panhandle of the state of Virginia, and western North Carolina. The Appalachian Regional Commission, created in 1965 to promote economic growth and improve quality of life in the area, also serves portions of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and southwestern New York State.

Residents of Appalachia inhabit a region whose first European settlers were mainly English and Scots-Irish who moved westward from the British American Colonies. During the 19th century, vast reserves of coal found in the mountains led to a massive coal-mining industry, which dominated the region’s economy for many years, along with timber and some agriculture. A sense of self-sufficiency and rugged independence based on survival in the mountains pervades the Appalachian personality, and resistance to outside influence is reflected in the region’s ambiguous loyalty in the Civil War. The Civil War included several important battles fought in the area, and some regions, including eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina, saw considerable support for the Union cause in spite of their inclusion in the Confederate States of America, fueling the memory of “brother versus brother” commonly associated with that conflict. The state of West Virginia was formed as a result of tensions between pro- and antislavery groups in Virginia, and the Appalachian state of Kentucky was one of the ambiguous border states, which maintained the practice of slavery but never joined the Confederacy.

Largely isolated from the rest of the United States by its mountainous landscape, by the middle of the 20th century Appalachia acquired a stereotype of being impoverished, illiterate, and backward in comparison to the rest of the country. Furthermore, the region’s mostly one-dimensional economy, dependent on coal mining, went into a steep decline as coal reserves were used up and alternative forms of energy, such as petroleum, came into vogue. These factors attracted the attention of federal lawmakers who sought to bring Appalachia more into the fold of modern American society.

To combat these perceptions (and real shortcomings), Congress passed the Appalachian Regional Development Act in 1965. This law created the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC), which improved employment,



A poverty-stricken family in Appalachia, Virginia (Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

education, and transportation infrastructure in the region. While underemployment and poverty remained a problem, the ARC spurred some development in the area by bringing electricity and improved health care to Appalachia.

Appalachia's culture, preserved by the isolation of the mountains, retained many of the influences of the original Scots-Irish and English settlers. Appalachian folk music, based on traditional Celtic melodies and played on instruments such as the banjo and the fiddle, was a key influence in the development of American country music, and traditional folk bands continue to play the old-time style throughout the region. Religious belief, particularly Protestant traditions, also has been a foundation of Appalachian life. The distinctive Appalachian accent, though frequently mocked as an indicator of poverty and ignorance, is easily recognizable and adds to the local flavor of the area.

By the end of the Johnson administration, improvements had been made in the standard of living in Appalachia,

but serious problems with poverty and underemployment continued. With the decline of the local coal-mining industry, Appalachia's future remained in question into the 21st century. The projects of the ARC did much to improve the economy of the region. Businesses such as industrial chemicals manufacturing and medical instrument and supplies manufacturing brought new high-wage jobs and improved employment figures. The region's natural beauty and unique history drew increased tourism. Poverty remained a problem, however, and further economic growth would require diversification of the region's industry.

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—Mark Kehres

## arms race

The arms race refers to the buildup of nuclear weapons by the United States and the SOVIET UNION during the COLD WAR, a buildup that provoked fear of global destruction in the already tense standoff between the two most powerful nations in the post–World War II era.

The arms race began in 1949, when the Soviet Union successfully tested its first ATOMIC BOMB. The United States had naively assumed it would have a monopoly for 15 years after the war. Now it found itself in competition to build bigger and better bombs. The American decision to create a HYDROGEN BOMB in 1950, with the expectation that the Soviets would do the same, escalated the arms race.

Then in 1957, the Soviet Union launched its first satellite, *Sputnik*. This meant that the Russians now had the missile capability to launch nuclear warheads as well. Competition developed in the missile area. President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER offered intermediate-range ballistic missiles to NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) allies, and by 1958, Great Britain, Italy, and Turkey all deployed American missiles on their territory. Additionally, Eisenhower pushed for the development of long-range intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and created the NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) to coordinate the advancement of missile TECHNOLOGY. As the Eisenhower administration came to a close in 1961, the arms race was well under way, and the president had good reason to decry the advent of a MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX in his farewell address.

The arms race further accelerated during the administration of JOHN F. KENNEDY. The NEW FRONTIER, Kennedy's call for a more assertive and revitalized America both at home and abroad, included an ambitious arms buildup. Consequently, nuclear confrontation reached new heights and came to a head as the two superpowers confronted one another over Cuba in October 1962. Only in the aftermath of the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS did Kennedy attempt to reduce tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. The result was the LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY OF 1963, negotiated with both Great Britain and the Soviet Union. This treaty banned detonations aboveground, an effort to curb atmospheric pollution with radioactivity. It was a first, small step toward reining in the arms race.

It fell to Richard M. Nixon to achieve significant reduction in the arms race. Nixon's efforts at détente with the Soviet Union culminated in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). The SALT agreement of 1972 limited the number of ICBMs in the possession of each nation, and limited the construction of antiballistic missile systems.

President Jimmy Carter attempted to follow Nixon's lead. Carter renewed talks with the USSR to further bring the arms race under control. SALT II, initiated in 1978,

placed limits on the number of bombers and missiles on both sides and on the development of new weapons systems. Carter's efforts, however, satisfied no one at home. Liberals charged that the SALT II agreement did not go far enough to reduce the arms race. Conservatives believed Carter had surrendered a decisive advantage to the Soviet Union in terms of the number of missiles, and the agreement was never ratified.

Carter's successor, Ronald Reagan, assumed office in 1980 and, in language reminiscent of Kennedy 20 years before, declared that a "missile gap" existed between the United States and Soviet Union. The results were similar as well. The arms race was renewed in earnest as the United States embarked on a major military buildup. Reagan's tone changed, however, during his second term in office, and he attempted to negotiate an arms agreement with Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev. In December 1987, Reagan and Gorbachev signed a treaty to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear forces. The treaty was a significant accomplishment, marking the first time that the two rival nations had agreed to destroy a whole class of weapon system. Additional agreements followed during the administration of George H. W. Bush.

While the arms race that dominated the cold war era ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the world still



Launch of a U.S. Air Force Atlas missile, February 20, 1958, Cape Canaveral, Florida (U.S. Air Force)



## 18 Army-McCarthy hearings

faces the threat of nuclear proliferation, as more and more nations develop nuclear weapons.

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—Matthew Flynn

### Army-McCarthy hearings

The Army-McCarthy Hearings of 1954 began as an attempt to oust alleged Communist Party members from the U.S. Army, but instead exposed the brutal tactics of Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY.

During the years following the close of World War II, anticommunist sentiment swept the United States. McCarthy, elected to the Senate as a Republican from Wisconsin, began, in the 1950s, an effort aimed at purging alleged communists from the government of the United States, which came to be known as McCarthyism. He gained considerable support from both the REPUBLICAN PARTY and the American public.

In late 1953 and early 1954, McCarthy concentrated his attacks on the U.S. Army. David Schine, one of his assistants, was drafted into the army. Because of McCarthy's clout, Schine became a highly privileged recruit, receiving weekend passes and relief from unpleasant duties. Even so, McCarthy felt the army was not taking sufficient action, and so he decided to investigate the army itself for alleged sympathies to communism.

McCarthy accused army members of communist affiliations. He claimed that Captain Irving Peress, an army dentist, was guilty of communist activity. When Peress invoked the Fifth Amendment, which gave him the right not to speak about the charges against him, he received an honorable discharge from the army, and McCarthy immediately began questioning General Ralph Zwicker about the discharge. When Zwicker could not provide answers to these questions, McCarthy accused him of evading the truth. This type of brutal attack on the general made other senators question McCarthy and his accusations.

In the midst of the hearings, McCarthy displayed a carbon copy of a letter from J. EDGAR HOOVER, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), to a member of Army Intelligence. The letter supposedly listed communists within the army stationed at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey. This piece of evidence led others to question how McCarthy had obtained the letter, and if his methods were within the parameters of the law.

The climax of the hearings occurred when McCarthy attacked Fred Fisher, a member of the law firm of Joseph Welch, attorney for the army, for having belonged to an organization with communist sympathies. Welch, angered

because Roy Cohn, McCarthy's assistant, had agreed not to raise this issue, lashed out at McCarthy, "Until this moment, Senator, I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness . . . Let us not assassinate this lad further, Senator. You have done enough. Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?" Applause followed Welch's remarks, but McCarthy still continued his relentless attacks.

Although no legal verdict resulted from the Army-McCarthy hearings, the American public was, for the first time, exposed to the brutal inquisition method used by McCarthy. TELEVISION played an important role in the hearings over the course of the weeks they took place. The public could both see and hear McCarthy make his attacks, and his lack of hard evidence became obvious. While American viewers may have missed the constitutional significance (civil liberties such as freedom of speech and the right not to testify guaranteed by the First and Fifth Amendments) of the hearings, focusing instead on the emotions of the event coming out of the images they were watching, the impact was still powerful. Television stations even played unedited versions of the hearings in order to portray the harshness of McCarthy.

The hearings also had a tremendous impact on McCarthy's popularity. According to the GALLUP POLL, McCarthy had a 50 percent approval rating in January 1954. By June, his approval had dropped to 34 percent. The percentages of those people who outrightly opposed him increased significantly as well. Republicans and Democrats also began to grow more weary of McCarthy. A backlash resulted, involving such people as President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER and members of the Senate. As head of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, McCarthy was put under tighter restrictions in his efforts, and many bills he attempted to push through the Senate were adamantly opposed. The Senate resisted censuring McCarthy, but in December 1954, the Senate voted 67-22 to condemn McCarthy because of his abuse of senatorial power. This was only the third time in 165 years that this punishment had occurred.

The Army-McCarthy hearings became the climax of the age of McCarthyism. The once popular and powerful senator now dropped out of the public scene, and he died of alcohol-related ailments only three years later in 1957. These hearings enabled Americans, through the medium of television, to witness McCarthy for the first time in the midst of his attacks. After seeing and experiencing McCarthyism firsthand, the public stopped supporting McCarthy and his tactics.

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*America's Most Hated Senator* (New York: Free Press, 2000); David Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense: The World of Joe McCarthy* (New York: Free Press, 1983).

—Jennifer Parson

## art and architecture

During the period from 1946 to 1968, American art and architecture came into its own. For the first time, American painters, sculptors, and architects became trendsetters on the international art scene. New York was suddenly the center of the art world, rather than Paris or Rome. This was arguably the most exciting and complex period in the history of the visual arts in the United States. Scholars still vigorously debate how the United States came to dominate the art world at mid-century and why that domination ended two decades later when many new artistic styles, new media, and new art markets began to emerge across the globe.

Some historians have argued that it was inevitable that the United States would lead the art world by the late 1940s because New York had become the locus of so much financial and political power. Others maintain that the United States only seemed to be leading because New York critics such as Clement Greenberg, Harold Rosenberg, and Meyer Schapiro were so forceful in claiming that New York's new abstract expressionist movement was the culmination of everything that European artists had been working toward for half a century. Other scholars give the full credit for the United States's rising influence in the art world to the groundbreaking ideas and works of men like Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, and David Smith and women such as Lee Krasner, Helen Frankenthaler, and Louise Bourgeois.

Abstract expressionism was seen, by the critics at least, as an amalgam of three movements that had emerged in Europe over the previous 50 years or so: abstract art, German expressionism, and surrealism. In abstract expressionism, the goal of the artist was to express the totality of his or her existence, both conscious and subconscious, on the canvas. Pollock is probably the best-known figure of the abstract expressionist movement. With his "drip" paintings, in which he literally dripped paint onto a canvas lying on his studio floor, Pollock tried to express the totality of his being as he experienced it at given moments. For him, art was an attempt at complete self-revelation or self-expression. Art was not, in the end, about pretty shapes and colors or about telling a story. Creating art was a cathartic experience, and viewers could have their own cathartic experiences, which need not be the same as the artist's.

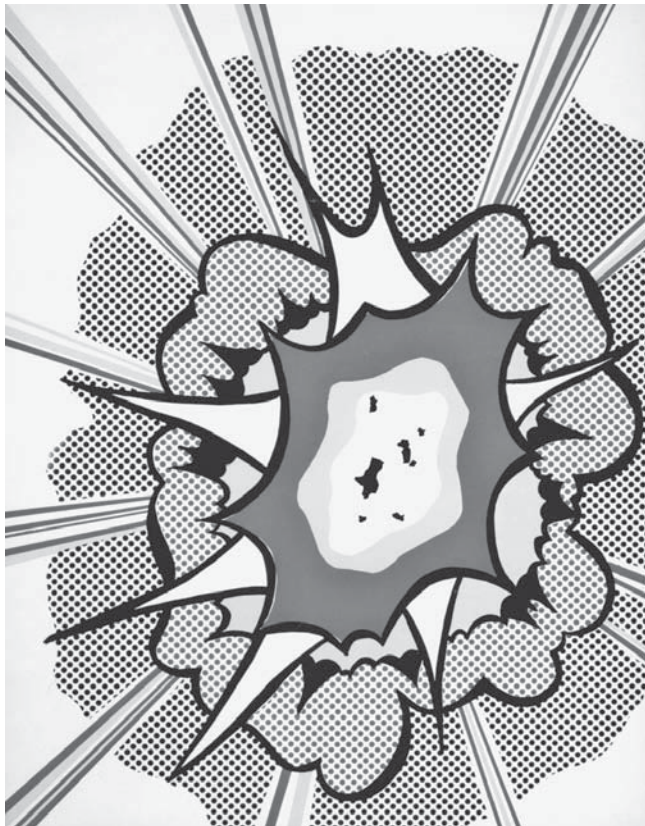
Abstract expressionism caught on partly because it was heavily promoted by important New York critics and patrons such as Peggy Guggenheim, but it also expressed how many Americans were feeling after World War II. In

their art, as well as in their personal lives, Pollock and De Kooning wanted to express their anger and grief about the war. The paintings of these "action painters," as Pollock and De Kooning were also called, may have helped Americans to process more effectively the historical events of recent times. Pollock and De Kooning were the art-world equivalents of James Dean or ELVIS PRESLEY, asserting their individuality and feelings at a time when many others were afraid to do so.

Abstract expressionism never became the predominant art style in the United States, though, because it was seen by most Americans as inaccessible or too difficult to understand. After all, it was nonrepresentational (that is, nonrealistic) in a country that has always had a strong preference for representational, narrative art. Abstract expressionism, meant to be interpreted in any way that the viewer chose, was just too unsettling for an audience used to a painting or a sculpture having one clear meaning. To make matters worse, the abstract expressionists and their spokespersons tended to dismiss representational art as insincere or not weighty enough in subject matter to be dignified with the title of "art." This led, inevitably, to a challenge from younger artists who wanted to prove them wrong.

Pop Art, the movement that dominated the United States in the 1960s, began as a challenge to the elitism of abstract expressionism. Pop Art was all about accessibility and creating a dialogue between the artist and the viewer (or among the viewers). Artists such as Larry Rivers, Jasper Johns, and Robert Rauschenberg began asserting that representational art was just as valid as nonrepresentational art. Art should open up discussions about current events, they said, rather than being a separate disjointed experience. With little or no recollection of World War II, these artists focused their attention on the consumer culture of the late 1950s and the early 1960s and questioned whether the United States really was benefiting from economic prosperity and technological innovations. They wanted to engage the public in a discussion about the nature of everyday American life and culture. As their spokesperson John Cage once said, the Pop artists wanted to wake viewers up "to the life that we are so excellently living."

Pop artists like Andy Warhol and Roy Lichtenstein challenged the idea that fine art was inherently better than commercial art, or that museums and concert halls were superior to Hollywood movies and comic books. Warhol made depictions of Campbell's Soup cans, Coca-Cola bottles, and boxes of Brillo pads; Lichtenstein appropriated images from Popeye comic books. The pop artists embraced all forms of artistic expression, as long as that expression was sincere. Art, they said, should not be defined by its materials or by criteria such as uniqueness, authenticity, or conformity to an accepted style. This openness led to the pluralistic art scene of later decades, when



*Explosion*, by Roy Lichtenstein, 1967 (Library of Congress)

no style dominated and artists were encouraged to express themselves in any manner that seemed fitting.

American architecture in the 1950s was, to a large extent, an echo of European high modernism, with its emphasis on rational, ideal forms and its fascination with concrete, glass, and steel. Indeed, many of the leading architects in the United States were of European origin, among them Walter Gropius, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Eero Saarinen. The exception was Frank Lloyd Wright, the Wisconsin-born maverick and genius who, in his 90s during the 1950s, was creating one-of-a-kind structures such as the Guggenheim Museum in New York and the Beth Shalom synagogue outside of Philadelphia.

Around 1960, however, “postmodern” architecture began to emerge. A new generation of architects began to question, or challenge, everything that the High Modernists had held so dear. The high modernists had placed a premium on functionalism; the postmodernists wanted form and function to be of equal concern to the architect. The United States was on the cutting edge of this movement, with Philadelphians Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown in the forefront. The Vanna Venturi House, which Venturi built for his mother in the early 1960s, returned to

pre-20th-century materials and an architectural vocabulary that would have been detested by the modernists. Post-modern architects challenged Mies van der Rohe’s slogan “Less is more” (Venturi’s slogan was “less is a bore”). They sought to combine the best of commercial and fine architecture. Venturi was a friend of Warhol and shared his goal of breaking down the barriers between fine and commercial art.

Venturi was very controversial among his colleagues at first, because he advocated the idea of architects as facilitators, rather than as demigods or heroic figures who grudgingly bestow wisdom upon a chaotic, benighted public. But Venturi’s method of creating consensus among the client, building users, and neighbors has since become standard procedure.

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—Mark Sullivan

### Asia (and foreign policy)

After World War II, the United States became increasingly interested in areas bordering on the Pacific Ocean, and, as a result of the COLD WAR, Asia became the site of a number of conflicts.

Following the defeat of the Japanese by American forces in World War II, the United States occupied Japan. Reforms included a new constitution, war crime trials, women’s rights, the dismantling of the feudal landownership system, and American censorship of Japanese films, so that Emperor Hirohito was not depicted as a god but as a constitutional monarch.

As a more pacifist culture replaced militarism in Japan, the cold war became more contentious in China, where Mao Zedong led his forces to victory in a triumph of COMMUNISM. Feeling threatened by a revived Japan, the SOVIET UNION was sympathetic to Mao, while it was at the same time anxious about American expansion in Asian markets.

Mao came to power in 1949. The communists defeated the Guomindang, the corruption-riddled Nationalist government led by Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), and drove him and his supporters to the island of Taiwan. The U.S. government then issued the China WHITE PAPER, a lengthy document offering reasons why the United States was unable to alter the result of the communist victory. In his “Letter of Transmittal,” or brief summary of the situa-

tion, Secretary of State DEAN ACHESON wrote to President HARRY S. TRUMAN saying, “nothing that this country [the United States] did or could have done within the reasonable limits of its capabilities could have changed the result.” As Nationalists retreated to Taiwan, the United States refused to recognize the People’s Republic of China. Because Mao needed an ally, he negotiated with Soviet leader Joseph Stalin to obtain a treaty of friendship and alliance, declaring that each nation would come to the other’s aid if attacked by a third party.

Soon after the Chinese Revolution, the United States found itself involved in Korea. The nation had been divided at the end of World War II along the 38th parallel, with American troops accepting surrenders in the North, and the Soviet Union doing the same in the South. Soviet and American occupation forces clashed when the communist North invaded the South in 1950, triggering the KOREAN WAR. Truman readied American naval and air forces and directed General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR in Japan to supply South Korea. The United States went to the UN Security Council to secure a unanimous resolution branding North Korea the aggressor, and another resolution calling on UN members to assist South Korea. When the United Nations intervened and repulsed the North Korean troops, Communist China became involved. A stalemate resulted, in part because of Truman’s decision to conduct only a limited war, provoking a bitter struggle between MacArthur and Truman, which culminated in Truman firing the general for insubordination. The Korean War led to the election of a Republican administration in 1952, and helped fuel fear of communist subversion in the United States.

No Asian country was untouched by the ideological confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. Vietnam became another trouble spot. During the VIETNAM WAR, Communist forces won in Vietnam when China and the Soviet Union aided North Vietnam in the defeat of the United States–supported South Vietnam in 1975. From 1946 to 1954, the Vietnamese had struggled for their independence from France, the colonial power for much of the century, during the First Indochina War. After the Vietnamese defeated the French, the country was divided into North and South Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh, the communist leader in the North, hoped to bring all Vietnam under his control. The United States became involved because it believed that if Vietnam fell under communist rule, then all of Southeast Asia could fall as well. This “DOMINO THEORY” triggered U.S. support of the South Vietnamese government, first through aid and then through military involvement. The United States failed to achieve its goal of preventing the collapse of the South Vietnamese government. In 1975, unified under communist control, the nation became the Social-

ist Republic of Vietnam. During the conflict, millions of Vietnamese lost their lives.

Other areas faced similar turbulence. On the Indian subcontinent, religious separatism caused a continuing rift between Muslim Pakistan and Hindu India after partition and independence in 1947.

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—John E. Bibish IV

## Asian-American movement

As an integral part of the Civil Rights movement, the Asian-American movement played an important role in the formation of an Asian-American identity.

The movement was born in the late 1960s as some radical Asian-American youths, especially college students, participated in the ANTIWAR MOVEMENT and became aware of the need to unite and struggle for racial equality, social justice, and political empowerment in their own lives. Emulating the AFRICAN AMERICANS, they focused their efforts on establishing a pan-Asian identity and targeted racial discrimination that had long excluded them from mainstream society. The history of Asian Americans fighting against oppression and racial discrimination differed from ethnic group to ethnic group because of the existing cultural and class diversity, but the movement represented the first time in American history that combined action was taken in the name of Asian Americans rather than of Chinese Americans or Japanese Americans.

Asian Americans had been historically discriminated against and oppressed in American society. From the mid-19th century onward, the entry of Chinese immigrants, the earliest Asian immigrant group, was restricted by harsh legislation, which culminated in the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. From the 1860s onward, a series of local and federal laws driven by anti-Chinese sentiment consistently denied the rights of Chinese immigrants to become citizens, own certain kinds of property, attend first class schools, or marry outside of their race. These laws later affected other Asian immigrants as well. The incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II was an extreme case of how war hysteria and racial discrimination could lead American society to deviate from its ideology of democracy and equality.

During World War II, however, images of Asian Americans, particularly Chinese and Filipinos, were enhanced because of both their contributions to America’s war effort and the contributions of their countries of origin. In the



postwar era, the racially based immigration and naturalization laws against Asians were gradually lifted, and the number of Asian Americans entering professional fields appreciably increased. However, the situation of Asian Americans in the postwar era still called for improvement. When soldiers were fighting Asians in the KOREAN WAR in the 1950s and in the VIETNAM WAR in the 1960s and 1970s, some Asian Americans feared the possibility of being unjustly treated as the Japanese Americans had been in World War II. In addition, although Asian Americans were stereotypically depicted as members of a “model minority,” problems such as unequal employment opportunities and media stereotypes still negatively affected them.

Early activities of the movement copied what other radical Americans did in the turbulent antiwar protests. Meetings, demonstrations, and the publication of leaflets and broadsides of radical ideas argued the participants’ case. Activists also formed various study groups to discuss the problems that plagued their ethnic communities. These activities enabled them to reassess their position in American society and address issues that in their belief resulted from racial discrimination, class oppression, imperialism, and sexism. Their activities brought profound changes to the ideology of the Asian Americans. From the late 1960s onward, Asian Americans were more active and united in struggling for their interests than ever before.

The second stage of the movement in the 1970s included a turn to communist ideology. Even though the conservative tone in the Asian-American community remained strong, a small number of college students adopted ideology from communist countries such as China. They believed in a total facelift of the American social system to change the fate of the country and its people. They formed communist study groups to promulgate COMMUNISM and prepare for a proletariat revolution. The revolution they expected never materialized.

In later years, the Asian-American movement was marked by Asian Americans’ active participation in electoral politics. From the 1980s onward, more Asian Americans became actively involved in running for public office.

The movement did not directly engender substantial changes in terms of the economic and political situation of the Asian-American community, but it did promote class and ethnic consciousness. The movement gave birth to a new field of higher learning in colleges—Asian-American studies—and created a network of organizations and activists dedicated to the betterment of the Asian-American community.

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—Mingyi Weng

## assassinations

During the social upheaval of the 1960s, the assassinations of key public figures exemplified the tumultuousness of the era.

President JOHN F. KENNEDY’s assassination in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963, is commonly regarded as a moment that singularly marked the nation’s loss of innocence during the 1960s. As the youngest man elected president, Kennedy embodied a national optimism that, amid the decade’s political and cultural struggles, increasingly diminished following his death. During a campaign trip, Kennedy was fatally shot while riding in a motorcade with his wife, Jacqueline, and Texas governor John Connally. Within hours of the shooting, police arrested LEE HARVEY OSWALD, who claimed that evidence linking him to the murder weapon was fabricated. While being transported by police, Oswald was murdered two days later, further complicating his allegations of a conspiracy. TELEVISION provided an important chronicle of the events surrounding the Kennedy assassination, which was famously captured on film by Dallas dress manufacturer Abraham Zapruder. Through the emerging technology of television, millions of Americans watched live as Oswald was shot by Jack Ruby and later shared in the images of national grief broadcast during Kennedy’s funeral.

The fact that Oswald never went on trial augmented both doubts about his guilt and suspicions of a conspiracy. Following Kennedy’s assassination, President LYNDON B. JOHNSON established the Warren Commission, chaired by Supreme Court Chief Justice EARL WARREN, to review the events in Dallas. The commission published its findings on September 24, 1964, having concluded that Oswald acted alone and that all shots were fired from the Texas School Book Depository. According to the single-bullet theory, developed by commission member Arlen Specter, one bullet caused both Kennedy’s and Connally’s nonfatal wounds, while a second bullet was responsible for the president’s fatal injuries. Derisively nicknamed the “magic bullet theory” by its critics, Specter’s analysis and the commission’s overall findings ultimately failed to resolve the ambiguity surrounding the assassination. As Americans grew increasingly distrustful of governmental authority, suspicions that the Soviet Union, Cuba, or the CIA somehow were involved became part of a popular folklore that also nostalgically elevated Kennedy and his family to iconic stature.

As the decade progressed, such feelings of disquiet and disillusionment intensified in the wake of other notable assassinations. As AFRICAN AMERICANS battled for racial equality, two key figures of the movement, MALCOLM X and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., were killed in incidents that both inspired conspiracy theories. Amid ongoing tensions with the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X was shot on Feb-





President John F. Kennedy in the Dallas, Texas, motorcade prior to his assassination, November 22, 1963 (*Library of Congress*)

ruary 21, 1965, during a speech at the Audubon Ballroom in Manhattan. Previously informed that he was marked for assassination, Malcolm X was shot first from among the crowd and then multiple times as two unidentified men charged the stage in the disturbance that followed. Witnesses later identified the two men as Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson, who were both arrested along with Talmadge Hayer. Hayer subsequently confessed to shooting Malcolm, though he maintained that the others were not involved.

The events surrounding King's assassination on April 4, 1968, in Memphis, Tennessee, were equally perplexing. While touring the South in support of striking black workers, King presciently addressed leaders with his famed "I've been to the mountaintop" speech before being shot on the balcony of the Lorraine motel the next day. Following King's assassination, riots erupted in 60 U.S. cities, and President Johnson declared a National Day of Mourning. Two months later, police arrested escaped convict James Earl Ray and charged him with King's murder. Ray confessed on March 10, 1969, though he recanted three days

later. Nonetheless, to avoid facing the death penalty, Ray eventually pled guilty, even while claiming that he was not "personally responsible" for shooting King. Ray's statements fueled suspicions of a larger plot to assassinate the civil rights leader that also gained credence from ongoing uncertainty about the direction from which the bullets originated.

On the night of King's assassination, presidential candidate ROBERT F. KENNEDY urged racial reconciliation during an impromptu speech in Indianapolis, a historical moment made even more poignant by Kennedy's own assassination on June 5, 1968. After winning the California Democratic primary, Kennedy addressed supporters in Los Angeles's Ambassador Hotel. As he exited through the hotel kitchen, Kennedy was shot by Palestinian Sirhan Sirhan and later buried near his brother in Arlington National Cemetery. Following Kennedy's assassination, the mandate of the Secret Service was altered to include the protection of presidential candidates, a measure whose necessity was reinforced by the attempted assassination of Democratic candidate George Wallace in

## 24 atomic bomb

1972. While campaigning for the Democratic nomination, the one-time Alabama governor and ardent segregationist was shot and critically wounded in Laurel, Maryland, by Arthur H. Bremer. While Bremer was convicted of the shooting and sentenced to 53 years in prison, Wallace's injuries left his legs paralyzed, and he eventually failed to win the nomination.

As a hub of national disillusionment and conspiracy theories, these prominent assassinations embodied the social upheaval of the era and comprised a critical legacy of their time.

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—Hillary S. Kativa

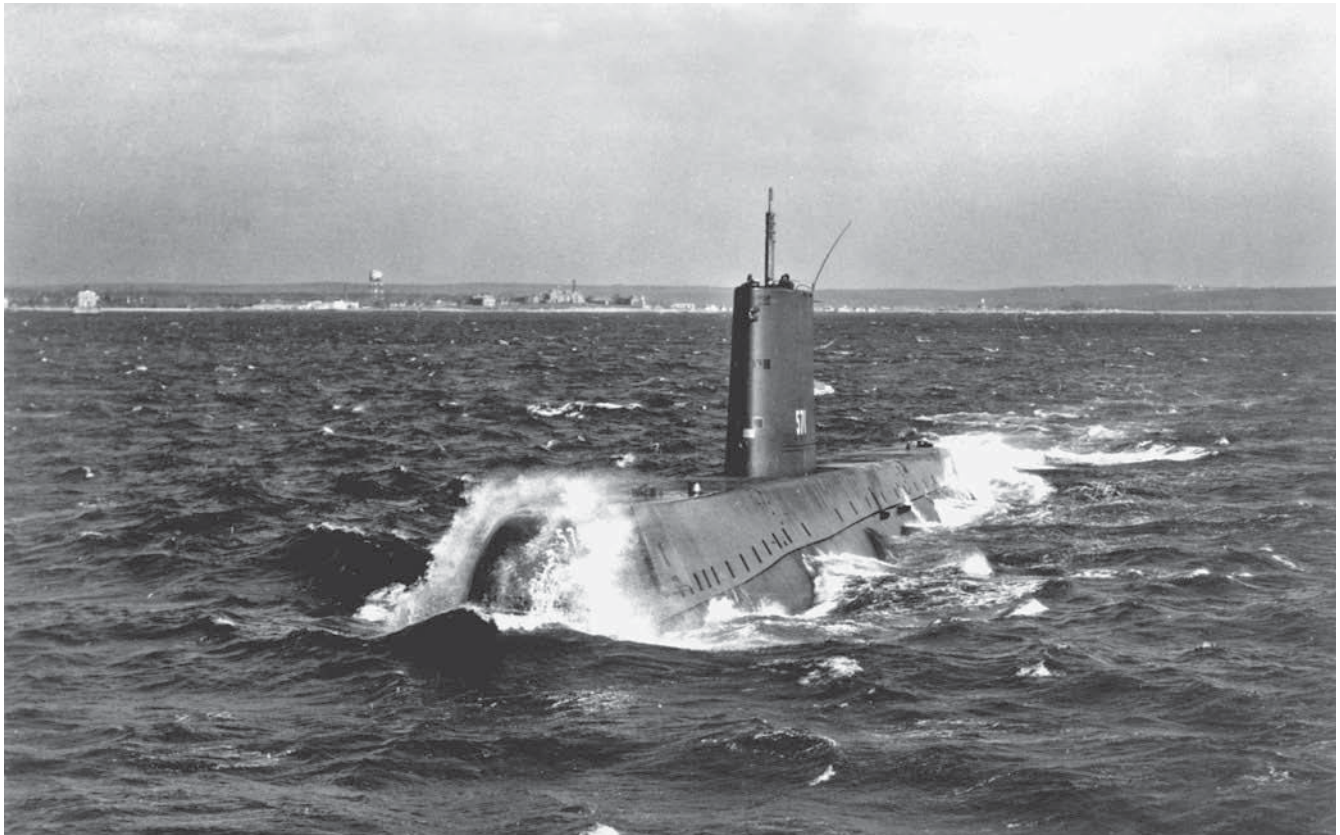
**atomic bomb** See VOLUME VIII.

### Atomic Energy Commission (AEC)

The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) was a civilian agency created to explore, promote, and regulate the uses of nuclear energy.

Established by the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, the AEC inherited the central task of the Manhattan Project, which created the first ATOMIC BOMB, developing fissionable weapons for military purposes, but also sought to create peacetime applications of atomic power. President HARRY S. TRUMAN appointed the commission's five civilian members, only one of whom was a scientist (Robert F. Bacher). The first chairman was David E. Lilienthal, former head of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Protected under tight security and privileged with a virtual monopoly on nuclear matters, the AEC and its constituent labs invested resources heavily on classified research and weapons production.

The mounting COLD WAR tensions of the late 1940s and the early 1950s resulted in a massive rearmament campaign, one that included the HYDROGEN BOMB project, that began with the decision to move ahead with this new weapon in 1950. The AEC tested all weapons, beginning with tests in the Bikini atoll in the Pacific Ocean in 1946, and continu-



The USS *Nautilus* (SS-571), the navy's first atomic-powered submarine, on its initial sea trials (Library of Congress)



ing with other tests in subsequent years both in the Pacific and at the Nevada Test Site, near Las Vegas, that opened in 1950. Between 1951 and 1963, the United States conducted approximately 106 tests at this site. As tests around the world showered fallout—residual radioactive debris produced by the weapons being tested—over people everywhere, concern mounted about the health dangers. The AEC, responsible for both development and control, went out of its way to minimize the danger fallout posed.

At the same time, the AEC hoped to ease public fears by promoting the atom in peace-minded terms. Lilienthal, whom the press dubbed “Mr. Atom,” routinely wrote and spoke about the benevolent promises of atomic energy. Research institutions under contract with the commission, such as Brookhaven National Laboratory in Long Island, New York, actively publicized the nonmilitary benefits of nuclear science. President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER further voiced the optimistic uses of the atom. In his “Atoms for Peace” speech delivered at the United Nations on December 8, 1953, the Republican president called for the international control of atomic energy and underscored its possibilities in fostering global peace.

The Atomic Energy Act of 1954 assured a continuation and expansion of the AEC’s activities. The new act called for further development of atomic weapons, renewed discourse about the “peaceful atom,” and encouraged the implementation of nuclear reactors through the assistance of private companies. AEC members believed that commercial power plants would not only provide for an alternative energy source but also would exemplify the peacetime potential of atomic power and help restore the nation’s preponderant status in nuclear technology (once broken by the Soviets’ successful testing of their A-bomb in 1949).

The first breakthrough came when Admiral Hyman G. Rickover directed the development of the first nuclear-powered submarine, launched in 1954. The submarine provided a model for a reactor on land. In 1957, Rickover presided over the development of a reactor that went online in Shippingport, Pennsylvania. Nuclear power, while expensive, was a reality.

The AEC did all it could to promote atomic power. It offered previously classified information, technical assistance, financial support, and a number of other inducements to private businesses. Even though the operation and maintenance costs of the early reactors were considerably higher than those of fossil fuel plants, by August 1955, five companies announced their interest in running nuclear power plants. The breakthrough construction of the Oyster Creek power plant of the Jersey Central Power and Light Company in 1963—a facility that was almost fully financed by General Electric (GE)—ushered in a booming phase in the reactor industry. Competition intensified among pri-

vate entities, particularly between GE and Westinghouse. Applications for power plants increased in number, the size of plants grew, and the electrical capacity of fissionable sources multiplied. In 1966 and 1967, utilities ordered about 50 plants. Between 1970 and 1974, they ordered more than a hundred additional facilities.

Meanwhile, reactor development raised serious medical and environmental concerns. The bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as nuclear testing of the early post–World War II years, sparked the fear of nuclear fallout and prompted scientists of the National Committee on Radiation Protection (and other groups) to assess the dangers of radiological contamination. The fallout debate quickly spread to the general public; in an effort to prevent disastrous consequences, the AEC decided to tighten its radiation standards for power plants and elaborate on safety procedures. The Price-Anderson Act of 1957 further granted compensations for damages caused by power plant accidents. Despite these new agendas and policies, professional and public apprehensions continued to surface over such issues as thermal pollution, waste disposal, and core meltdown.

The growing concern about the environment and safety issues revealed the difficulties in appropriating atomic power for peacetime uses. Eventually, the AEC found itself more than fully occupied with the task of both development and regulation of nuclear energy. In 1974, Congress passed the Energy Reorganization Act, which divided the AEC into the Energy Research and Development Administration and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. The act went into effect in January 1975.

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—Hiroshi Kitamura

## automobile industry

The decades after World War II saw automotive production in the United States rise to unparalleled heights, as American machines set the global standard for style and quality.

The postwar period marked the golden age for American car producers, at least for those that survived in the competitive industry. Dozens of firms produced cars in the 1940s, but only four remained by 1968: General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, and American Motors. In time, each would be rocked by foreign competition, environmental critiques, and consumer safety concerns.



A 1956 Ford Fairlane Crown Victoria automobile (*Library of Congress*)

The end of World War II found the industry primed for profits. After years of war and depression, the nation possessed a nearly insatiable automotive appetite. Numerous independent firms joined the Big Three (General Motors, Chrysler, and Ford) in the race to supply America's automotive needs, but to the misfortune of many of these ambitious concerns, the demand for parts and labor in the initial postwar years was nearly insatiable as well. Labor disputes and shortages of vital materials plagued the nation's return to peace, forcing automakers to pay dearly for both supplies and workers. Union employees made great strides in this tight labor market, and, in 1947, the United Auto Workers won promises from the Big Three tying wage increases to the Labor Department's cost-of-living index. Ford guaranteed retirement wages for workers with three decades of service the following year, and similar packages quickly became the industry standard. Independent car manufacturers could hardly afford such premiums, and though their market share reached nearly 18 percent in 1948, few survived the 1950s.

When the federal government lifted the KOREAN WAR's price controls and production restrictions in 1953, America's largest automakers began their period of greatest prosperity and their famed infatuation with large cars. Unburdened by war, depression, labor strife, or material shortages for the first time in a quarter-century, the Big Three began producing vehicles of unprecedented size.

Cars in America had never been merely for transportation; to many, they represented their owner's status and visible prosperity. With cheap gasoline prices and prosperity visible everywhere, style and power drove design as never before. Large amounts of chrome adorned models whose dimensions seemed to stretch with every passing year, and features once considered luxuries, such as air conditioning, automatic transmission, and power brakes and steering, all became standard equipment. Not until 1959 did the Big Three even offer a compact model.

Style and size mattered in the 1950s, not only because Americans were generally prosperous but also because they spent more time in their cars. SUBURBANIZATION forced motorists into longer commutes. The INTERSTATE HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956, arguably the largest civil engineering project in human history, encouraged this trend, promising drivers coast-to-coast transit along over 42,000 miles of federally funded highways. The interstate system, supported by DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, also provided civil defense planners with easy means to evacuate the nation's largest cities, should the COLD WAR ever turn hot.

By 1960, the market dominance of the Big Three and their large machines began to crack. Even though imported cars amounted to less than 2 percent of the American domestic market in 1953, by 1959 their market share had reached double figures and was rapidly growing. Chief among the foreign imports was the Volkswagen Beetle, a



fuel-efficient compact automobile whose diminutive stature made it a natural pick for consumers eager to snub the conventions of the 1950s. Of greater future importance was the growing availability of Japanese models, including Toyota and Datsun (later Nissan), which appeared in America's marketplace in 1957 and 1958. Already buffeted by these imports, America's auto industry came under assault from consumer and environmental advocates as well. In 1965, attorney RALPH NADER published *Unsafe at Any Speed*, a critique of the industry's safety record that claimed faulty vehicle design was a major factor in highway accidents. Public furor over Nader's revelations helped spawn the NATIONAL TRAFFIC AND MOTOR VEHICLE SAFETY ACT OF 1966 and the Highway Safety Act, which mandated that safety devices, such as seat belts, become standard on every American car. The industry also suffered from environmental criticisms during these years, especially after scientists reported that 70 percent of Los Angeles's famous smog was produced by automobile exhausts. California lowered acceptable emissions levels in 1960, and five years later Congress passed similar legislation. Such standards have been part of automotive design ever since.

By the end of the 1960s, the heyday of America's automotive industry was indeed over. Its image tarnished by consumer and environmental complaints and its market share weakened by foreign pressure, the industry's ability to ward off these threats suffered under the weight of the lucrative labor packages signed during the heady 1940s. Worse days were yet to come, particularly with the oil shortages of the 1970s. Increased competition in subse-

quent years ultimately made cars cleaner, safer, and more fuel-efficient.

**Further reading:** John B. Rae, *The American Automobile Industry* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984); Rude Volti, "A Century of Automobility," *Technology and Culture*, 37, no. 4 (October 1996): 663–685.

—Jeffrey A. Engel

## aviation

Aviation provided Americans with a new and exciting form of transportation that became more accessible in the post–World War II years.

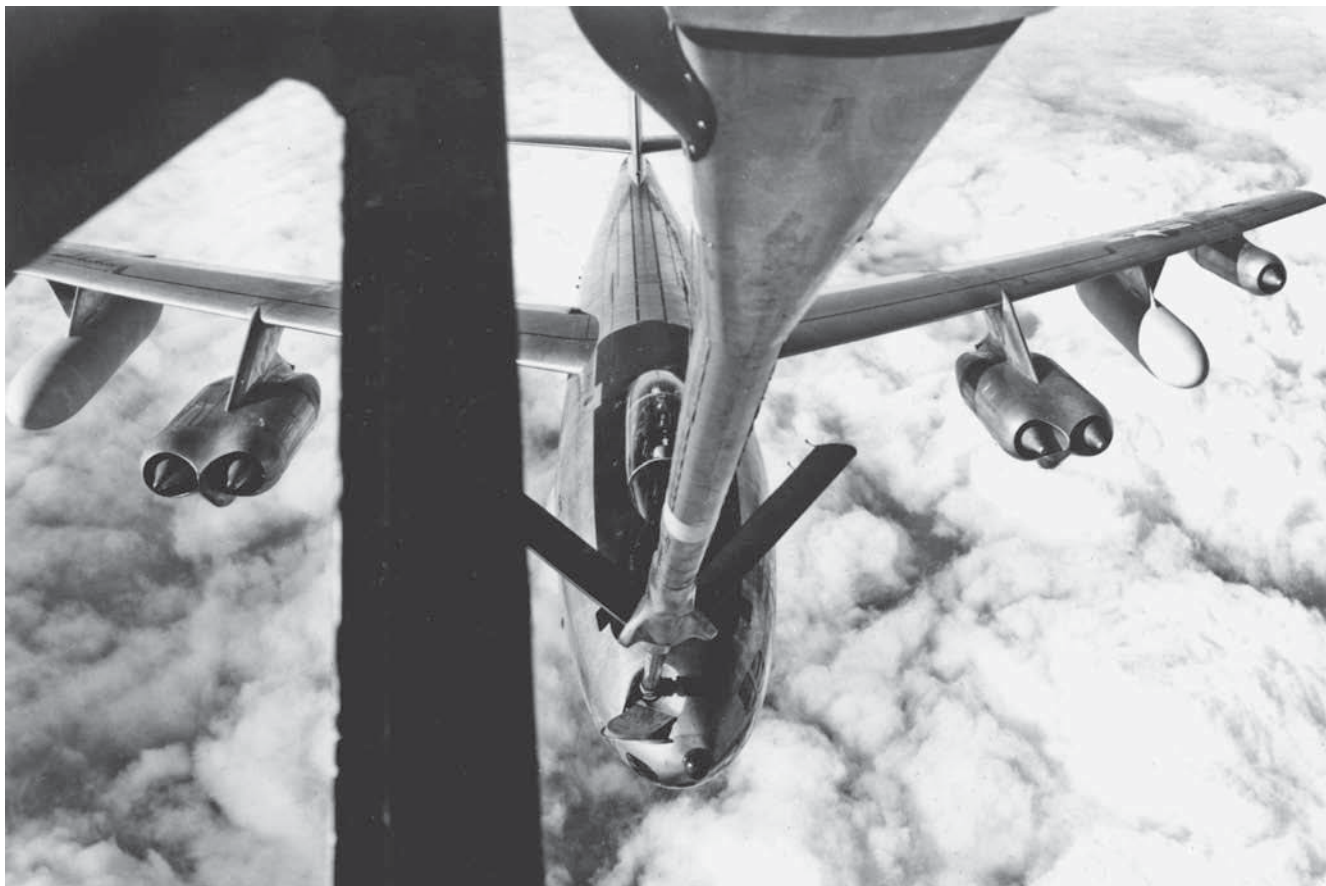
An exciting new epoch in American aviation began in 1946, a time when many of the dreams of the industry's first pioneers would come true. Millions took their first flights, as passenger travel grew at unprecedented rates. Jet aviation, which made its theoretical debut before World War II and its military appearance during the conflict, blossomed in the war's aftermath for both civilian airliners and warplanes alike. Test pilots challenged and broke the sound barrier (the speed at which sound travels) in the late 1940s, and a scant 15 years later, Great Britain and France committed to jointly produce the Concorde, a commercial jet promising twice that speed.

The postwar world was primed for a vast expansion in commercial aviation. Engineering knowledge gained from wartime bomber developments easily transferred to civilian use, as airlines offered services spanning the Atlantic and the vast expanse of America. Passengers could fly coast-to-coast, with stops along the way, in less than 11 hours. Unfortunately for aircraft manufacturers, the immediate postwar years were lean ones, as war-surplus planes saturated the market. Although impressive new machines rolled off their assembly lines (such as Lockheed's Constellation or Douglas's DC-6), few companies made profits during these years of military cutbacks.

These new aircraft, however, transformed commercial service, combining unprecedented range with the comfort of pressurized flight at high altitudes, far above turbulent weather. Passenger traffic doubled once wartime travel restrictions were removed in 1946, and with the introduction of "coach" or tourist class by Capital Airlines in 1948, commercial travel grew by nearly 15 percent. Indeed, by 1956, the nation's four largest domestic carriers—American, Eastern, United, and Trans World Airlines—were each larger than the entire industry had been only a decade before. Such growth heavily taxed the country's airports and its inadequate air-traffic control system. Federal and local officials struggled throughout the 1950s to coordinate so many new flights and to develop airports capable of handling progressively larger and noisier aircraft. Radar and



Woman demonstrates the benefits of wearing an automobile seat belt, 1955. (Library of Congress)



Aerial view of a Boeing B-47 Stratojet taking on a load of jet fuel from a Boeing KC-97 Stratofreighter tanker-transport (*Library of Congress*)

other advanced means of communication, coupled with the federal government's increasing willingness to help finance airport construction, eventually helped ease the nation's aviation growing pains.

To assist in the regulation and safety of civil aviation, the U.S. government established the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) as part of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958. The FAA encouraged and developed civil aeronautics, including new aviation TECHNOLOGY, and the agency created a common system of air-traffic control and navigation for both civil and military aircraft. With the help of the FAA, the aviation industry continued to grow and prosper throughout the 1960s.

As the industry grew, so too did its aircraft. The first commercial jet airliner appeared in 1952, a British plane called the Comet. Passengers flocked to this innovative craft's lure of comfortable and speedy jet travel. Unfortunately, the first Comets met with disaster, as several exploded in 1954 due to unforeseen problems of metal fatigue. Great Britain's lead in the blossoming field of jet

aviation never fully recovered. By the close of the decade, American manufacturers such as Boeing (with its 707) and Douglas (with its DC-8) led the way. Their planes could transport nearly 200 passengers at more than 600 miles per hour. Before the end of the 1960s, Boeing offered airlines its famed 747, capable of flying nearly 400 travelers even greater distances. Innovation did not always lead to profit, however, in this cutthroat industry. Many companies' commercial operations teetered on the brink of failure by the close of the decade, including both Douglas and Lockheed, and even the success of the 747 could not insulate Boeing from major layoffs.

Though commercial aviation made great strides in the 1950s and 1960s, the industry was truly propelled by its military role. COLD WAR expenditures boosted aviation manufacturing from its post-World War II slump, and the superpower conflict made the development of increasingly advanced aircraft and avionics a vital necessity. Military requirements advanced helicopter development, as witnessed by the craft's extensive use in both the

KOREAN WAR and the VIETNAM WAR. Frequently these military developments aided commercial projects, as with Boeing's 707, developed in conjunction with a U.S. Air Force jet tanker. As technological development broached the earth's atmosphere, aviation itself became aerospace, since advances in rocketry enabled humanity's initial forays into outer space during this period. The first human-made satellite, a Soviet-developed model named *Sputnik*, made its first successful orbit in 1957, and five years later, men orbited the earth. To further U.S. advancement in SPACE EXPLORATION, the NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) was created in 1958. By the close of the decade, Americans walked on the moon. America's military used these advances in rocketry to develop ballistic missiles, capable of propelling nuclear weapons into the earth's atmosphere and then back down onto targets halfway across the globe. It was the great irony of this innovative age that many of the same companies that strove

to bring the world closer together through travel and space exploration also gave policymakers the means by which to destroy it.

Across the entire breadth of the field, the aviation industry's technological achievements were breathtaking. With the use of airborne tankers, American bombers circled the globe while its most advanced spy plane (the SR-71 Blackbird) flew at more than three times the speed of sound with a cruising altitude above 80,000 feet.

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—Jeffrey A. Engel







### **baby boom**

The baby boom, a large and sustained increase in births in the United States between 1946 and 1964, created a generation that became a major engine for social change in America and momentarily reversed a decades-long trend in the United States and other industrial countries toward lower fertility rates.

American birthrates, low in the 1920s, fell even further during the Great Depression of the 1930s before rising again in 1940. In 1942, more Americans married than in any year since 1920, and in 1943, the birthrate reached its highest level since 1927. The real increases, however, began with the end of World War II. In 1945, for example, the median age at marriage for women fell to its lowest level of the century while the proportion of women who were married reached a high point. Nine months after the end of World War II, birthrates began to rise quickly, climbing to record heights in October 1946. By the end of 1946, 3.4 million children had been born, 20 percent more than in 1945.

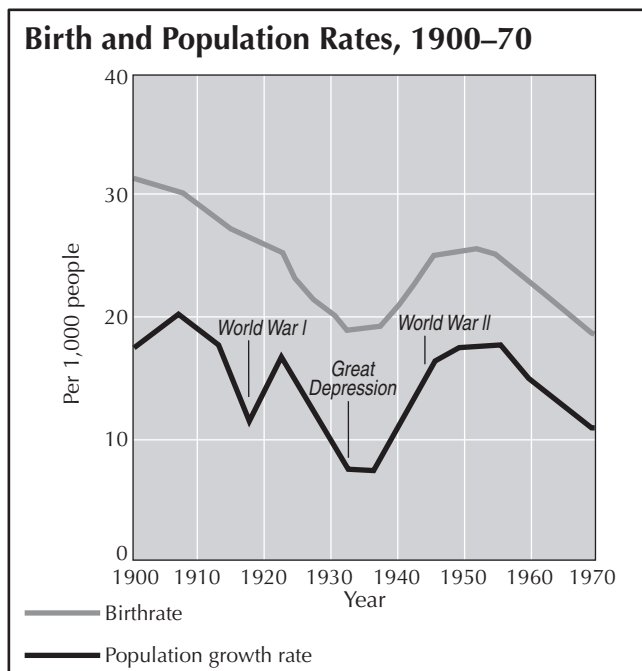
The booming birthrate proved to have remarkable longevity, constituting much more than just a statistical anomaly following the war. In 1947, total births rose to 3.8 million, and, in 1952, they reached 3.9 million; by 1954, total births passed the 4 million mark, where they remained through 1964, before declining. Measured by birthrate, or the number of births per thousand of population, the boom peaked in 1947 at 26.6, the highest rate since 1921. This rate declined slowly, remaining at 24.0 or higher through 1959, and falling only to 21.0 by 1964, after which it plunged to levels comparable to those of the 1930s. By 1964, a full 40 percent of the nation's population had been born since 1946—76.4 million births altogether.

The baby boom occurred in the context of unprecedented and sustained economic expansion, exceptional American influence abroad, and rapid expansion of the country's already broad middle classes. As the economic hard times of the 1930s became little more than a bad

memory, Americans moved in increasing numbers to new homes in the suburbs, attended colleges and universities in record numbers, and purchased an extraordinary range of consumer goods, from toasters and blenders to automobiles and televisions. With only 7 percent of the world's population, the United States possessed half of the world's manufacturing output, consistently low levels of unemployment, and the world's highest standard of living. Home ownership, EDUCATION, and seemingly secure employment within the reach of increasing numbers of Americans made settling down and forming a family a higher priority for more and more people.

Demographically, several factors served as important components of the marked increase in births of the period. First, many older couples who had delayed marriage during the hard times of the Great Depression decided to marry and have children once the ECONOMY began to turn around in the 1940s, particularly after the end of World War II. Second, more Americans in their late teens and early twenties chose to marry and have children than had their parents, driving down the average age at marriage for both men and women. Not only did more young people decide to get married—the percentage of women over 30 who had never been married fell from 15 percent in 1940 to only 7 percent by 1960—but more chose to have children—92 percent of all families in the 1950s, as compared to only 85 percent in the 1930s. Finally, the divorce rate, which spiked to record highs in 1945 and 1946, fell quickly thereafter and remained low until the mid-1960s.

The demographic bulge of the period had important consequences, reflecting a temporary reversal of long-term trends in the country toward lower birth rates, later (and shorter) marriages, and smaller families. Socially and culturally, the term “baby boom generation” quickly became a phrase journalists and social critics used to characterize the postwar era's large-scale changes. From the emergence of an enormous new youth market to the fascination with



juvenile delinquency in the 1950s to the social upheavals of the 1960s, the baby boom has often helped explain new developments and social trends. Traditional social distinctions of race, class, gender, age, and region still divided the baby boomers themselves, however, revealing the limits of the phrase's explanatory power and underlining the fact that the popular image of cozy domesticity of the period contains as much myth as reality.

**Further reading:** Landon Jones, *Great Expectations: America and the Baby Boom Generation* (New York: Coward, McCann, and Geoghegan, 1980).

—Christopher W. Wells

**Baker, Ella Josephine** (1903–1986) *civil rights leader*  
Ella Baker was a grass-roots organizer and leader of African-American progressive political and social movements during the Civil Rights movement.

From the 1940s through the 1960s, Baker was involved in behind-the-scenes organizing and held leadership roles in such key civil rights organizations as the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), and the MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY (MFDP). Throughout Baker's political life, she strove to inspire ordinary people to empower themselves.

Born in Norfolk, Virginia, on December 13, 1903, and raised in Littleton, North Carolina, Baker's early years were spent within a strong black community. Her father was a waiter on the Norfolk to Washington, D.C., ferry and her mother, who cared for sick and needy neighbors, was a schoolteacher prior to marriage. Both her parents were educated children of former slaves. Baker's maternal grandfather, a farmer and Baptist preacher, purchased tracts of North Carolina land which he had worked as a slave. He then parceled out the land to family members and shared crops and livestock with the entire community. Baker grew up with two siblings in this extended family. In 1918 she left home to attend secondary school and college at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina.

After earning her B.A. in 1927, Baker hoped to attend the University of Chicago for graduate study in sociology and to pursue a career as a medical missionary. Lacking financial support, Baker moved to New York City to live with relatives, arriving during the Harlem Renaissance. She waitressed and took sociology courses at Columbia University. During the Great Depression, Baker joined the editorial staff of the *American West Indian News*, and then managed the newspaper offices of leading black intellectual George Schuyler's *Negro National News*. She became active in the consumers' cooperative movement, and, along with Schuyler, she founded and led the Young Negroes' Cooperative League. In 1934, she joined the staff of the New York Public Library, where she was involved in the Works Progress Administration's (WPA) Library Project. This led to a teaching position with the WPA's Consumer Education Project.

In 1941, Baker began organizing for the NAACP. As a field secretary, she traveled the South recruiting members, raising funds, and creating a network of southern contacts. She was highly successful and soon became director of branches. Often at odds with its leadership, Baker worked to democratize the NAACP, insisting on larger, more active roles for local, rank-and-file members. In 1946, Baker resigned as director of branches, frustrated with the NAACP's bureaucracy. Baker then began work with the New York City NAACP on school desegregation. In 1952, she became that chapter's first woman president. The next year, she ran unsuccessfully for New York City Council as a Liberal Party candidate.

Baker's attention returned to the South by the mid-1950s. She helped Bayard Rustin and Stanley Levison to found In Friendship, a northern organization that raised money for the expanding southern civil rights struggle, aiding the Montgomery Improvement Association's bus boycott in 1955–56 among other actions. When the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was formed in 1957, Rustin and Levison convinced Baker to set up the Atlanta headquarters and to organize the SCLC's Crusade

for Citizenship, a voter registration campaign. Baker served as the first acting director of the SCLC. Just as she disagreed with the NAACP's strategies, however, Baker took issue with the SCLC's top-down leadership style and narrow focus of its charismatic president, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. Baker's philosophy was that "strong people don't need strong leaders." She argued for decentralized leadership and local decision making in the SCLC.

When hundreds of students led SIT-INS to protest segregated lunch counters in 1960, Baker organized a conference to foster student leadership and plan strategies. From this meeting the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) emerged. More radical than other civil rights organizations, SNCC utilized mass direct action and practiced nonviolent resistance in the fight for civil rights. Baker left the SCLC to focus on SNCC, where she mentored many students. In 1964, SNCC helped to launch the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), an alternative to the party's all-white delegation to the Democratic National Convention. Baker managed the party's national office and delivered the keynote address at its state convention. During the 1960s, Baker also worked for the National Student Young Women's Christian Association and the interracial Southern Conference Education Fund. She continued her political activism through the early 1980s in the Coalition of Concerned Black Americans, the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, and other organizations. Baker died in New York City in 1986.

**Further reading:** Ellen Cantarow, *Moving the Mountain: Women Working for Social Change* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1980); Joanne Grant, *Ella Baker: Freedom Bound* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998).

—Lori Creed

### **Baker v. Carr** (1962)

*Baker v. Carr* was a landmark Supreme Court decision in the early 1960s that aided the breakdown of SEGREGATION and discrimination in the South and furthered the role of the federal government in helping to advance the Civil Rights movement.

In March 1962, the Supreme Court, under the direction of Chief Justice EARL WARREN, ruled in favor of Charles Baker, a Tennessee voter, that his state was electing members of the state legislature based on district boundaries that were too old to represent accurately the distribution of the population. As a result, the sparse rural population of the state maintained its grip on the state government, while the growing urban population possessed but a muted voice.

With this ruling, the WARREN COURT determined that legislative apportionment by the states was now subject to

the scrutiny of the federal courts. The final decision was six-to-two. Justices Hugo L. Black, William J. Brennan, Tom C. Clark, William O. Douglas, and Potter Stewart joined Warren in support of the ruling, while Justices Felix Frankfurter and John Marshal Harlan dissented. This final margin, however, did not reveal the considerable internal debate and dissension within the Court that made this final tally closer than it appeared. One justice, Charles E. Whitaker, was forced to abstain from casting his vote due to his hospitalization. Had he been able to vote, Whittaker made it clear that he would have been a dissenting voice. Similarly, Clark had initially opposed the ruling. He was, in fact, originally chosen by Frankfurter to write the dissent. Clark, however, decided to switch his vote after preparing a draft of his statement. During this process he came to the conclusion that the federal courts were the only recourse open to the people of Tennessee to enact apportionment reform, the state legislature having proved itself unwilling to implement change. In Tennessee, the last time the district lines had been redrawn was 1900.

Warren asked Brennan to write the momentous opinion. Brennan did so, keeping in mind the tenuous support of a number of justices. Stewart, in fact, only backed the ruling on the grounds that it indicated the Court's willingness to hear cases about the apportionment of state legislatures. Brennan wrote his opinion to reflect Stewart's concern. Once drafted, it did little more than rule that Baker's complaint was now within the federal court's jurisdiction. Still to be decided were questions of enforcement and apportionment standards as required by the Constitution. Despite these limitations, *Baker v. Carr* was momentous in its own right. It chipped away at state's rights by overriding the Court's previous stand that state apportionment was a political question, one to be considered by the legislative branch only and not the judicial branch of the state or federal government. This was a reversal of the view of the Court reached in an earlier decision, that of *Colegrove v. Green* (1946).

Primarily for this reason, Warren considered *Baker v. Carr* "the most important case of my tenure on the Court." His statement contains much validity. Following this ruling, judicial activism was more the norm, and political activists, religious dissenters, and civil rights workers could expect new forms of legal protection. Additionally, and predictably, in the politically charged 1960s, this ruling rapidly became a racial one. Since blacks populated many southern cities in great numbers, they were effectively stymied by whites from flexing their true voting power under the old system of election that ignored population centers in favor of rural areas. With *Baker v. Carr*, this inequity was dismantled.

Consequently, this ruling heralded the Supreme Court's lead in the civil rights crusade. This was a great surprise considering that Warren, the three-time governor

of California, had supported the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II and, after this conflict, had attacked the administration of HARRY S. TRUMAN for “coddling” communists. The Warren court, however, proved more liberal than conservative, prompting DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER to remark that appointing Warren to the Supreme Court was the “biggest damn fool mistake I ever made.”

Not surprisingly, *Baker v. Carr* had to endure a number of legal challenges. Foremost among these were efforts undertaken in the House of Representatives, which passed a bill to deny federal court jurisdiction over state apportionment. But the Senate refused to concur and the bill failed. Meanwhile, in 1964, in *Wesberry v. Sanders*, the Supreme Court reaffirmed and encouraged the implementation of *Baker v. Carr*, underscoring the principle of equal representation, according to a system of “one man, one vote.” In the same year, with *REYNOLDS v. SIMS*, the Court again extended its ruling, declaring that both houses of a legislature had to be apportioned on the basis of population, the sole exception being the U.S. Senate. These guidelines had to be followed even if the people of a state had approved a different system of representation.

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—Matthew Flynn

### **Baldwin, James** (1924–1987) *writer*

James Baldwin was an African-American novelist, essayist, playwright, and poet, whose passion and eloquence on the subject of sexual identity and race relations in the United States made him a leading spokesperson of the Civil Rights movement.

Baldwin was born on August 2, 1924, into poverty in Harlem, in New York City, where he was raised by his mother and stepfather, David Baldwin, a Pentecostal minister. He began writing as a child, but at 14 his literary interests were put on hold when he became a junior minister in a Harlem storefront church. Although Baldwin left the ministry and Christianity three years later, his writings reflected biblical cadences and imagery throughout his career.

In 1943, Baldwin’s literary career began in earnest when the death of his stepfather and the outbreak of the Harlem riots within a 24-hour period spurred him to concentrate on his writing. During the winter of 1944–45, Baldwin met *Native Son* author Richard Wright, who became a mentor and helped him to win the 1945 Eugene Saxton Fellowship to allow him to write. Baldwin was soon publishing essays and reviews in the *Nation*, *New Leader*, *Commentary*, and



James Baldwin, 1955 (*Library of Congress*)

*Partisan Review*. In 1948, Baldwin won a Rosenwald Fellowship, which he used to travel to Paris, where he hoped to escape the racial and sexual prejudices that prevailed in the United States. Baldwin denied that he was an expatriate, referring to himself in his later years as a “transatlantic commuter,” but he maintained his residency in France for the rest of his life.

In his early career, Baldwin saw himself primarily as a novelist, but his fiction’s forthright portrayals of homosexuality disturbed many critics. In 1953, he published his first novel, *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, a partly autobiographical account of his teenage years that received widespread praise. But his later works of fiction received mixed reviews. In particular, the novels *Giovanni’s Room* (1956) and *Another Country* (1962), whose protagonists struggled to define sexual, racial, and national identities



amidst frank depictions of homosexual relationships, drew criticism from inside and outside the Civil Rights movement. The latter work prompted a famous response from BLACK PANTHERS leader Eldridge Cleaver, who declared that the novel exposed Baldwin's "agonizing, total hatred of black people."

Baldwin's essays, however, which focused for the most part on race relations, won him critical acclaim as an astute and prophetic commentator on racial discrimination and identity. Pieces such as "Everybody's Protest Novel" (1949) and "Many Thousands Gone" (1951) established him as an important voice in the Civil Rights movement, though the criticism of Wright contained in the essays produced a lasting break between the two writers. Baldwin's most important collections of essays, *Notes of a Native Son* (1955), *Nobody Knows My Name* (1961), and *The Fire Next Time* (1963), were published as the Civil Rights movement exploded across the American South. As one critic explained, they "won Baldwin a popularity and acclaim as the 'conscience of the nation,'" whose "knife-edged criticism of the failed promises of American democracy, and the consequent social injustices, is unrelenting and demonstrates a piercing understanding of the function of blacks in the white racial imagination."

In 1957, Baldwin returned to the United States to take part directly in the Civil Rights movement, organizing protests, lecturing, and speaking out at forums while continuing to write. In America, the slow pace of change tempered his initial optimism. In his earlier essays, Baldwin called for reconciliation between whites and blacks, attributing racial prejudice to the insecurities of whites, who made scapegoats of African Americans to assuage their own feelings of powerlessness. In *The Fire Next Time*, however, Baldwin argued prophetically that American race relations were in danger of erupting into violence. Still, he concluded the essay with a note of optimism, suggesting that "if we [blacks and whites] do not falter in our duty now, we may be able . . . to end the racial nightmare, and achieve our country, and change the history of the world."

Despite increasing criticism from more radical, separatist civil rights leaders and a general lessening of interest in his work, Baldwin continued to write until his death. His other works included the plays *The Amen Corner* (1955) and *Blues for Mr. Charlie* (1964); the short story collection *Going to Meet the Man* (1965); the essay collections *No Name in the Street* (1972), *The Evidence of Things Not Seen* (1985), and *The Price of the Ticket: Collected Nonfiction, 1948–1985* (1985); and the novels *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone* (1968), *If Beale Street Could Talk* (1974), and *Just Above My Head* (1979). When Baldwin died of stomach cancer in France, he was working on a play and a biography of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

**Further reading:** James Campbell, *Talking at the Gates: A Life of James Baldwin* (New York: Viking, 1991); David Leeming, *James Baldwin: A Biography* (New York: H. Holt, 1995).

—Kevin D. Smith

## Bay of Pigs

Located on the southern coast of Cuba, the Bay of Pigs marks the site of a failed invasion of Cuban exile forces trained by the CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA) in April 1961. The operation was designed to overthrow the regime of Fidel Castro, considered a dangerous communist by the American government.

By the late 1950s, North Americans owned most of the mines, cattle ranches, and sugar plantations in Cuba and the U.S. government propped up the corrupt and dictatorial regime of General Fulgencio Batista. After a three-year campaign, a group of revolutionaries and peasants led by Fidel Castro marched into Havana and overthrew the Batista government on New Year's Day, 1959. Castro had received little help from the Cuban Communist Party during his struggle, although he soon took control of it. He launched his own brand of reform program that involved massive land redistribution, seizure of U.S.-owned oil companies, and confiscation of other privately owned firms. In response, President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER halted American imports of Cuban sugar and cut off all trade to Cuba except for medicine and some food staples. Castro turned to Premier Nikita Khrushchev for economic assistance, and the Soviets bought increasing amounts of Cuban sugar. Convinced that Castro was a puppet of the Soviets and that this invasion was the first step toward communist control of the Caribbean, the Eisenhower administration prepared plans to overthrow the new Cuban leader.

CIA chief Allen Dulles dispatched agents to Guatemala to train a group of Cuban exiles to invade their homeland. The CIA believed that a small invasion force would trigger a large internal uprising, but it underestimated the depth of the Cuban public's support for Castro.

When JOHN F. KENNEDY became president and learned of the operation, he agreed to support it. He had made Cuba a major issue in the 1960 campaign by criticizing the Eisenhower administration for "losing" a country in America's backyard to the communists. Kennedy had promised to take action against Castro and believed that his political credibility was at stake. Like Eisenhower, Kennedy also subscribed to the domino theory and argued that if Castro was not defeated, he would launch a series of leftist revolutions culminating in the communization of LATIN AMERICA. He overestimated the degree of Cuban interference in the internal affairs of its neighbors, at least

at that time. Because he viewed COMMUNISM as a monolithic movement, Kennedy thought of Cuba as a Soviet satellite, a picture that was not entirely accurate. Castro approved all Soviet decisions about economic or military aid to Cuba. Kennedy's view of Castro contributed to his decision to approve the invasion, named Operation Zapata.

Concerned about American prestige, Kennedy wanted to hide U.S. involvement as much as possible. Less than a month before the invasion, he revised the plan so that the landing site was more isolated and the landing would occur at night. He also inserted a stipulation that there would be no direct U.S. military participation, including air cover. These changes proved to be disastrous.

The invasion began on April 17, 1961, and in less than two days it was over. Of the more than 1,450 men, 114 died and the rest were captured and imprisoned. Because the Bay of Pigs is a swampy area, easily cut off from the rest of the island, Castro's army quickly surrounded the invasion force and sank the ship transporting the reserve ammunition. Even if the commandos had somehow managed to evade Castro's forces, they would have had to cross the wetlands to reach the Escambray Mountains where they were supposed to meet up with internal anti-Castro allies, recoup their losses, and launch guerrilla operations from the mountainsides. More critical, the expedition failed to trigger an internal uprising. The exile army's fate was sealed when Kennedy canceled a planned second strike by American planes. Eventually, Kennedy authorized a payment of \$53 million in pharmaceuticals and food to the Cuban government in exchange for the release of the surviving prisoners.

The CIA's role in the operation soon became public knowledge and the United States suffered international condemnation. Although Kennedy publicly accepted sole responsibility for the invasion, he privately believed that his advisers had failed him and that the CIA and the military had misled him. He shook up the CIA, replacing Dulles with John McCone, and rearranged the national security bureaucracy to have more authority in the White House. The Kennedy administration also intensified its campaign against the Cuban government by tightening the economic blockade and instituting OPERATION MONGOOSE, an inter-agency task force designed to overthrow the Castro regime by fomenting discord, sabotaging economic targets in Cuba, and, if necessary, assassinating Castro himself. These covert operations led Castro to seek military assistance from the SOVIET UNION, precipitating the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS in 1962.

**Further reading:** Peter Wyden, *Bay of Pigs* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979).

—Jennifer Walton

## Beat Generation

The Beat Generation was a group of poets, authors, and artists who challenged and actively rebelled against the homogenization of American culture in the 1950s. Led by writers William S. Burroughs, ALLEN GINSBERG, and JACK KEROUAC, the group's defiant need to reject the predominant status quo, personified by uninhibited drug experimentation, helped sow the seeds of a COUNTERCULTURE that came into its own during the mid to late 1960s.

In 1944, Ginsberg, a student at Columbia University, and Kerouac, a former Columbia student, met Burroughs through their mutual friend Lucien Carr. Although they were a study in differences—Ginsberg was Jewish, a rather awkward and unassuming intellectual, Kerouac was a Catholic French-Canadian, attending Columbia on a football scholarship, and Burroughs was a polished upper-class Anglo-Saxon Protestant whose connections in New York's underworld helped support a rabid drug habit—they soon became fast friends and moved into a communal apartment in the city.

The three became part of a larger Bohemian community later christened by Kerouac as the Beats. It included John Clellon Holmes, whose 1952 work *Go* was the first true Beat novel, Gary Snyder, a naturalist thought of as his era's Henry David Thoreau, and Gregory Corso, the Beat poet considered second only to Ginsberg. Enjoying the sexual and cultural freedom of New York's Greenwich Village—both Burroughs and Ginsberg were openly gay—the group held a passion for living life raw and free, happily rejecting the affluence and passive accommodation of the Truman and Eisenhower eras. More important, these men were writers who desperately wanted to capture their emotions and experiences using the most nakedly honest words possible.

Kerouac, the man who many felt personified the Beats, was driven by a need to record the unpolished pace of a truly free life filled with action and adventure. Unsuccessful with the 1950 publication of his traditional novel *The Town and the City*, Kerouac shifted gears in 1951, writing *On the Road* in three weeks on one long roll of typing paper. At first Kerouac's masterpiece, based on travels in the West he took with friend Neal Cassady, amounted to a single extended paragraph with little punctuation; it remained unpublished until 1957. Ginsberg's 1955 free-form poem, *Howl*, which continued Kerouac's stream-of-consciousness style, was the first Beat success story. The considerable clout Ginsberg gained from *Howl* allowed him to promote the works of his friends.

Just as *Howl* and *On the Road* broke new ground in both form and content, Burroughs's novel, *Naked Lunch*, published in 1962, was one of the most innovative works of Beat literature. Devoid of a single protagonist and stubbornly nonlinear in its style and plot, the book took most of

its material from Burroughs's travels through South America and North Africa on a quest mainly for men and more potent drugs. Critics took Burroughs, like they did Ginsberg for *Howl*, to court on charges of obscenity.

By the late 1950s, the Beats were too well known and well read to be restrained by lawsuits or even bad reviews. As these men moved about the country, the movement spread to San Francisco as well as Kansas City and Chicago, and it reached college campuses nationwide. *On the Road*, *Howl*, and other Beat works quickly became a clarion call to a vast subculture of devoted followers. Their adoption of the slang of urban blacks (including words like "dig," "hip," "square," "swing," "cool," and "man") led novelist Norman Mailer in 1957 to reflect on the social connection in his essay, "The White Negro." Notorious for crowding into nightclubs to read poetry in the style of their heroes, the group also received the title of "Beatniks" and were precursors of the hippies of the 1960s.

As the counterculture emerged, Ginsberg took his newfound celebrity in stride, quickly becoming the Beats' most prominent spokesman, befriending such 1960s icons as Ken Kesey, TIMOTHY LEARY, and BOB DYLAN. Kerouac, at heart a rather conservative man, was discouraged by the attention his writing received as a blueprint for rebellion. He withdrew from his friends and turned instead to alcohol, living in seclusion in Florida. In the 1960s, he published a few books on Buddhism, particularly *The Dharma Bums*, which helped to popularize the religion during the period. By 1969, however, embittered that his life never truly lived up to his myth, he died of internal hemorrhaging brought on by his alcoholism. With Kerouac gone and Cassady dead a year earlier, the Beats, overtaken by a more mainstream counterculture they helped to create, faded into relative obscurity.

Both Ginsberg and Burroughs enjoyed long careers that lasted well into the 1990s, reuniting in 1982 with almost all of their Beat colleagues to celebrate the 25th anniversary of *On the Road*. Ginsberg died at 70 of liver cancer in April 1997, and Burroughs died, at 83, of natural causes in August of the same year.

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—Adam B. Vary

## Beatles

A British ROCK AND ROLL band, the Beatles brought their music and their enigmatic personalities to America in the 1960s and became a voice for COUNTERCULTURE youth.

The Beatles were formed in 1957 by John Lennon, Paul McCartney, and George Harrison in Liverpool, England. In 1962, the group replaced then drummer Pete Best with Ringo Starr (Richard Starkey), uniting the quartet that revolutionized popular MUSIC in the 1960s. The band went through several name changes, including the "Quarrymen," "Johnny and the Moondogs," and the "Silver Beetles," before settling on "Beatles," a name (and spelling) that came to Lennon in a dream. Influenced by American rock and roll musicians of the late 1950s, the Beatles' early repertoire included Carl Perkins, Chuck Berry, and Buddy Holly songs.

The group gained popularity in England by playing clubs such as the Cavern, a local Liverpool nightspot, as they sang their own songs composed primarily by Lennon and McCartney. The upbeat melodies, harmony vocals, and simple lyrics that characterized early Beatles's songs such as "Love Me Do," "P.S. I Love You," and "Please Please Me," combined with the high-spirited personalities and boyish good looks of the band members, propelled the Beatles to stardom in England. By 1963, crowds of hysterical fans thronged Beatles' performances attempting to catch a glimpse of the foursome and "Beatlemania" was born. That same year, their single, "From Me to You," went to number one on the British charts, followed by "She Loves You," which became the biggest-selling single in British history.

Yet in the United States, the "Fab Four" continued to remain relatively unknown. It was not until February 7, 1964, that the Beatles stepped off a plane at New York's Kennedy Airport and stepped into American POPULAR CULTURE history. Their February 9, 1964, appearance on "The Ed Sullivan Show" marked the first time most Americans got a glimpse of the band, and proved to be a watershed moment in TELEVISION history. Seventy-three million people tuned in to watch the Beatles perform five songs, shattering the previous record for the largest American television viewing audience. Their mop-topped heads, clean-cut appearance, and cheeky sense of humor won over American audiences, catapulting the Beatles into mainstream culture in a short time.

An aggressive merchandising campaign brought Beatles wigs, clothes, and dolls to the market, and fans flocked to stores to buy the latest Beatles magazine or album. In April 1964, the band held the top five positions on *Billboard* magazine's singles chart with "Can't Buy Me Love," "Twist and Shout," "She Loves You," "I Want to Hold Your Hand," and "Please Please Me." The Beatles quickly became four of the most recognizable men in America. When John Lennon commented in 1966 that the Beatles were "more popular than Jesus Christ," the tarnish from their popularity faded momentarily, but their resilient nature outlasted the bonfires some outraged fans lighted to destroy their Beatles albums.





Ed Sullivan and the Beatles (Library of Congress)

While delighted with their early recording efforts, the Beatles experimented with innovative sounds and more complex lyrical arrangements in later works. Their album *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967), considered by many to be the first concept album, incorporated elements of electronically altered sounds, exotic instruments, and enigmatic musical verse. Songs such as "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds" and "A Day in the Life" were carefully examined by listeners for hidden messages and meanings. The Beatles extended their creative talents to MOVIES, a form they had explored previously with the release of *A Hard Day's Night* (1964) and *Help!* (1965), producing *Magical Mystery Tour* (1967), a film panned by critics but representative of their creative talents and manifold countercultural influences. A brief encounter with transcendental meditation and the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi influenced their musical style, as Indian rhythms and instruments combined with experimental electronic sounds to create innovative music. Albums produced in this period, *The Beatles* (referred to as the White Album) (1968), *Abbey Road* (1969), and *Let It Be* (1970) reflected the band's ability to expand the scope of its musical style, and influenced a generation of musicians who tried to copy its sound and techniques.

The Beatles broke up in 1970 and each member pursued a career in music, either as a solo act or with other bands. While all found success in their endeavors, rumors of a Beatles reunion persisted until the shooting death of John Lennon on December 8, 1980, outside his New York City apartment building. The Beatles were inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1988.

In subsequent years, the three surviving band members continued to release music as solo artists and to augment their rock-and-roll legacy. After battling cancer throughout the 1990s, George Harrison died on November 29, 2001, at

the age of 58. In 2004 Harrison was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame as a solo artist, an honor bestowed on Lennon in 1994 and McCartney in 1999.

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—Susan V. Spellman

## Berlin blockade

The Soviet blockade of West Berlin, and the subsequent allied airlift that supplied the beleaguered city, signaled the first major crisis of the COLD WAR.

Following the surrender of Nazi Germany in May 1945, the United States, Great Britain, the SOVIET UNION, and later France, divided the vanquished nation into four occupation zones, with each responsible for administering its own zone. Deeply embedded in the Soviet zone, Berlin was treated as a special case because of its symbolic significance as the former capital of the Third Reich, and was also split into four parts. These divisions were intended to be a temporary military measure with the eventual goal of rebuilding a unified, neutral Germany. During the years immediately following the war, however, schisms appeared in the relationship between the occupying powers, rendering powerless such organs of unity as the Allied Control Council (the Council created to head a unified Germany) and the Kommandatura (the similar body intended for coordinated control of Berlin).

By 1948, international events had elevated tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union to the breaking point. In Germany, the American and Soviet occupying forces crossed swords over virtually every issue. The once mutually agreed upon goal of creating a unified neutral Germany was cast aside, as both the Americans and the Soviets sought to implement their own programs. Fearing the revival of a strong Germany, the Soviet Union maintained a punishing reparations program geared toward ensuring the continued weakness of the German people. Believing that this program would prevent Western European recovery, the United States, along with Great Britain and France, sought to rehabilitate West Germany. These strategic differences eventually culminated in the blockade of Berlin.

The final straw was the American effort to introduce currency reform in the Western occupation zones. Americans perceived the currency reform as a necessary measure to restore stability to the Western zone, whereas Soviets believed currency reform to signal the West determination to rebuild West Germany and permanently divide the Ger-



mans. From March to June 1948, the Soviets progressively closed off access to Berlin. On June 24, the Soviet Union announced that four-power administration of the city had ended and suspended all land traffic from the West into Berlin. Faced with this provocation, the administration of HARRY S. TRUMAN considered a number of options. Offered everything from bombing Soviet troops to sending an armored column to Berlin in defiance of the Soviet decree, Truman ultimately decided upon a more flexible and less hostile airlift.

On June 26, the United States and Great Britain began to supply West Berlin with food and other vital supplies by air. Although it began slowly at first, the airlift became increasingly efficient under the direction of General Curtis Lemay. The airlift kept Berlin supplied for 11 months until the Soviet Union lifted the blockade on May 12, 1949. Together, the United States and Great Britain made 300,000 flights along just three air corridors. The airlift delivered 2,323,738 tons of food, fuel, machinery, and other supplies at a total cost of \$224,000,000. The Soviet Union ultimately lifted the blockade because it failed to drive the Western powers out of Berlin, induced the West to initiate an embargo on all strategic exports to the Eastern Bloc, and sullied the Soviets' hard-won international prestige.

The blockade hastened the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany, spurred the creation of the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO), and solidified the division of Berlin, Germany, EUROPE, and the world. The Berlin Blockade also helped transform the perception of Germans in the West. The ostensible courage of West Berliners in standing firm in the face of Soviet intimidation and stoically enduring months of difficult living conditions helped convince Americans that West Germans were dependable democrats and not nascent Nazis.

**Further reading:** Thomas Parrish, *Berlin in the Balance: The Blockade, the Airlift, the First Major Battle of the Cold War* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1998); Ann Tusa and John Tusa, *The Berlin Blockade* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988).

—Brian Etheridge

## Birmingham (Alabama) confrontation

The Birmingham confrontation, launched by the SOUTH-EASTERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., in 1963, was a major effort to force desegregation in one of the most racially divided cities in the United States.

In spring 1963, the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth invited King and the SCLC to Birmingham. Many civil

rights activists nicknamed the city “Bombingham” because the metropolis was the site of 18 unsolved bombings in black neighborhoods and a vicious mob attack on people involved in the FREEDOM RIDES to desegregate interstate transportation on Mother’s Day, 1961. King had come to Birmingham in the midst of political upheaval in the city GOVERNMENT. Voters had decided to eliminate the three-man city commission and instead elect a mayor. This was done to force Eugene “Bull” Connor, the commissioner of public safety and the man responsible for the attack on the freedom riders, to step down. Connor refused to leave, however, and Birmingham housed two city administrations until the courts could adjudicate the matter.

During this time of political turmoil, the SCLC decided to launch “Project C” (for Confrontation). On April 3, 1963, “B Day” (for Birmingham), the SCLC staged SIT-INS. On April 6, police arrested 45 protestors who were marching from the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church to City Hall. The next day, Palm Sunday, even more protestors were arrested, and two police dogs attacked 19-year-old protester Leroy Allen. In response to the protests, Judge W. A. Jenkins, Jr., issued an order preventing 133 of the city’s civil rights leaders, King, and his fellow SCLC leaders Ralph Abernathy and Shuttlesworth from organizing more demonstrations in the city. “Project C,” however, planned for King to be arrested on April 12, Good Friday. King did manage to get himself arrested and he was placed in solitary confinement. While in jail, King read an advertisement in the *Birmingham News*, taken out by white ministers, calling him a troublemaker. He responded by writing in the margins of the newspaper and on toilet paper a long essay that was published as his famous “Letter from Birmingham Jail”: “While confined here in the Birmingham City Jail, I came across your recent statement calling our present activities ‘unwise and untimely.’ . . . Frankly I have yet to engage in a direct action movement that was ‘well timed’ in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation.”

King was released from the city jail on April 20. While he was in jail, the SCLC planned “D Day,” which was to include demonstrations by children. On May 2, children ranging in age from six to 18 gathered at Kelly Ingram Park, and around 1 P.M., 15 of the children began to march downtown singing “We Shall Overcome.” The children were arrested and put into police vans. In the same manner, children left the park in groups and were arrested by the police. Three hours later, the police had arrested 959 children and put them in jail. The next day, over a thousand children stayed out of school and gathered again in Kelly Ingram Park. “Bull” Connor was determined not to let the children march downtown, but he had no room left in the jails for them. Instead, he ordered firefighters out

## 40 Black Panthers

and turned hoses that shot water at high pressure at the children. The water was strong enough to break bones and many of the protesters rolled down the street as the water hit them. In addition, Connor also ordered police dogs to attack protesters as they tried to enter the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, which was located across the street from the park. Reporters took pictures of the confrontation and the media portrayed the horror of children being attacked by dogs and high-pressure fire hoses.

The demonstrations only escalated and the jails became more overcrowded. On May 12, 1963, the home of King's brother was bombed along with the A. G. Gaston Motel, which served as black integrationist headquarters. With the escalating violence, President JOHN F. KENNEDY ordered the National Guard to Birmingham and federalized the Alabama National Guard to bring order to the city. Finally, the BUSINESS community in Birmingham agreed to integrate lunch counters and hire more African Americans over the objections of city officials.

**Further reading:** Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000).

—Sarah Brenner

### Black Panthers

Dedicated to the improvement of the African-American community, the Black Panthers' commitment to armed self-defense and revolutionary politics led to violent conflicts with local, state, and national authorities.

The Black Panthers were formed on October 15, 1966, in Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. Students at Merritt College in Oakland, Newton and Seale were heavily influenced by the teachings of black activist MALCOLM X. In forming the Black Panthers, both men advocated the arming of the black community for self-defense.

Members of the Black Panthers were easily identified by their uniform, which consisted of a black beret, black pants, a powder blue shirt, black shoes, and a black leather jacket. As slogans the Panthers often proclaimed "Power to the People" and "Off the Pigs," referring to the overthrowing of police authority. The symbol of the panther was adopted from the Lowndes County Freedom Party in Alabama. It was chosen because the Panther never attacks unless cornered, and the African-American community of the 1960s felt cornered.

The founding of the Black Panthers reflected a major shift in the African-American struggle for equality and justice from a national to an international focus. The African-American community began to look toward those African nations that used force to gain independence from colonial powers, and they saw a need for a more militant approach

to gaining equality. They also questioned the legitimacy of the existing social, economic, and political systems more actively in the 1960s.

Newton and Seale created a 10-point program called "What We Want," which reflected a new nationalist thrust aimed at the average African American, not a black member of the middle class. The "What We Want" program called for freedom, full employment, the end of white destruction of the black community, decent housing, and equal EDUCATION. It also demanded exemption for all African Americans from military service and called for an end to police brutality and murder. The Panthers further demanded freedom for African Americans from federal, state, county, and city prisons, and for all African Americans to be tried by a jury of other African Americans. Newton and Seale said "We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace." The 10-point program reflected influences of revolutionaries such as Malcolm X, Frantz Fanon, the Chinese dictator Mao Zedong,



Poster for the Black Panther Party (Library of Congress)

and Argentinian revolutionary Che Guevara. Newton saw himself as the heir to Malcolm X, and the Black Panthers as a continuation of Malcolm's Afro-American Unity organization.

The Panthers attempted a coalition with the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) in 1968, and it appeared that an alliance had been forged at a rally in February 1968. Due to differences between the two groups and interference on the part of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the alliance was never brought to fruition. Members of SNCC believed that the Black Panther organization was too militant and sexist and they did not want to accept the Panther's 10-point program. The FBI also began calling SNCC leaders and their families, threatening them in the name of the Black Panthers.

From the years 1967 to 1970, Huey P. Newton was imprisoned, leaving Eldridge Cleaver as the main ideological figurehead of the Black Panthers. Cleaver began pushing alliances with white militant organizations, causing ideological disagreements with the imprisoned Newton. The Panthers no longer spoke of self-defense against police, but rather they began advocating the increased use of unprovoked attacks on police. Cleaver took the Black Panthers in a more openly revolutionary direction from the reformist position Newton envisioned.

Between 1968 and 1969, violence between the Panthers and police escalated due to Cleaver's increased emphasis on the use of guns. On April 6, 1968, police killed Panther leader Bobby Hutton in a shootout. During this period, J. EDGAR HOOVER and the FBI named the Black Panthers as the most dangerous black "extremist" organization in America. The FBI used counterintelligence programs against the Panthers. The goal of these programs was to destroy the Panthers from the inside as well as the outside. The FBI fabricated and distributed fake propaganda, created front groups, and gave misinformation. The violence of the period reached its peak in Chicago on December 4, 1969, when Black Panther members Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered during a police raid.

Beginning in 1969, the Black Panthers began a major reorganization at both national and local levels. This reorganization became public by 1971 when the Panthers officially expelled Cleaver in the February 20 issue of the *Black Panther*, the organization's newspaper.

Despite many internal and external struggles, the Black Panthers were one of the first organizations to forge new post-civil rights agendas and tactics in the struggle to gain equality for the African-American community.

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Jennifer B. Smith, *An International History of the Black Panther Party* (New York: Garland, 1999).

—Sarah Brenner

## Black Power

Coined by STOKELY CARMICHAEL on a march in Greenwood, Mississippi, in 1966, the phrase Black Power constituted an African-American call-to-action in cultural, racial, and political spheres.

In 1966, the mainstream Civil Rights movement lost much of its momentum. Following the passage of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 and the VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965, many of the original goals of the movement had been achieved. Yet racism and discrimination persisted, and young African-American radicals continued pressing for further change. One such activist was Stokely Carmichael, the head of the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC). Carmichael had become disenchanted with the notions of nonviolence as a tactic in the struggle for civil rights. As civil rights workers sometimes faced deadly violence, he felt they had to respond. Furthermore, he believed that integration as a goal was "a subterfuge for the maintenance of white supremacy."

Following his arrest for trying to erect a tent city on an African-American school playground for SNCC supporters, Carmichael reached the breaking point. Addressing those in attendance at the Greenwood march about his arrest in the African-American schoolyard, he said, "Everybody owns our neighborhoods except us. . . . Now we're going to get something and we're going to get some representing. We ain't going to worry about whether it's white—maybe black. Don't be ashamed. We been saying 'Freedom' for six years and we ain't got nothin.' What we gonna start saying now is Black Power!" Carmichael believed that Black Power meant "smashing everything Western Civilization has created." In addition to his opposition to integration, Carmichael also advocated the need for African Americans to take power for themselves, both politically and culturally. Perhaps the most important aspect of this call-to-arms was the notion that African Americans needed to take pride in their blackness.

Following Carmichael's proclamation, the notion of Black Power spread like wildfire. On the West Coast in October 1966, two African Americans in Oakland, California, founded the BLACK PANTHERS, a paramilitary organization. The group advocated the expansion of Black Power ideals. It sought self-determination for the African-American community, better housing, better education, and an end to police brutality. Black Panther members donned black leather jackets and black berets as symbols of unity, and they carried firearms.

The Black Power slogan was a perfect way for militant young African Americans to express their frustration





Poster showing John Carlos and Tommie Smith bowing their heads and raising their black-gloved fists in the air, a traditional symbol of Black Power, at the 1968 Summer Olympic games in Mexico (Library of Congress)

with the nonviolent, church-based movement of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. These young radicals wished to mold their communities into strong, cohesive units that reflected their racial consciousness. Politically they wanted nothing to do with patronizing white liberals, who had been active in the movement in the past.

The Black Power movement had a significant impact upon the African-American movement as a whole. Soon African Americans were highlighting the black aesthetic in the arts and literature. Many African Americans adopted a natural “Afro” look, leaving complex hair-straightening techniques behind. Many individuals chose to wear traditional African clothing and use a traditional black dialect. The terms *black* and *Afro-American* took the place of *Negro* in referring to African Americans.

The extent of the Black Power movement found its way into the world of SPORTS as well. At the 1968 Summer Olympic games in Mexico City, African-American sprint-

ers Tommie Smith and John Carlos lowered their heads and raised black-gloved fists as the “Star-Spangled Banner” played during the medal ceremony. A traditional symbol of Black Power, the act aroused both pride in some circles and anger in others.

With all of the positive aspects the Black Power movement brought to African Americans, it had its setbacks as well. Although the movement proclaimed to want to help all African Americans, women were often left out of the picture. When asked about the role of women, Stokely Carmichael once remarked with a sexual allusion as he declared that “the only position for women in SNCC is prone.” African-American women, angered by that statement, became increasingly involved in the black feminist movement. Meanwhile, the Black Power movement horrified white America, which still clung to hopes of nonviolence. In the end, the Black Power movement lost political momentum in the 1970s, but it left a legacy of cultural pride.

**Further reading:** Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Random House, 1967); William L. Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965–1975* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; 1992).

—Clayton Douglas

## braceros

Providing agricultural labor, the braceros were Mexican workers (literally “arms” in Spanish) imported by the U.S. government during the mid-20th century.

As early as 1942, as the United States plunged into World War II, critical labor shortages threatened farm production. In response to this dilemma, the U.S. government arranged for braceros to work in the fields. Between 1942 and 1947, these workers made the difference between lost production and harvested crops first in the Southwest and then in other parts of the nation. With immense pressure on an already labor-starved agricultural economy due to the war, the program became institutionalized among many farms across the nation.

In these early years of the program, braceros signed contracts in Mexico and then migrated to American farms to assist in crop cultivation and harvesting. During the period between 1942 and 1947, more than 20,000 braceros entered the United States, working on farms in 24 states, with the most employed in California. Other Mexicans, however, pejoratively called “wetbacks,” a name given to those who swam the Rio Grande, entered the United States illegally. The initial group consisted of both legal and illegal workers at the mercy of an oppressive labor system and unable to look out for themselves.



Between 1948 and 1951, the original bracero agreement devolved into the Mexican Labor Program. With government interference declining, the primary contractor was no longer the U.S. government, but rather the individual American farmer who now had more responsibility than before. The employer alone bore the cost of transporting the worker from his Mexican home into the United States, and then back again to Mexico at the end of the contracted time. Between 1948 and 1950, farmers imported more than 200,000 legally contracted braceros into the United States.

On July 12, 1951, however, the program changed again. Congress established a precedent by granting specific legislative authority for contracting this foreign labor on a government-to-government basis. President HARRY S. TRUMAN signed a joint resolution on August 16, 1951, to fund the bracero program, yet he hoped that “Congress would comply with his recommendations for strengthening the program’s penalty provisions,” thereby complying with the Mexican government’s position stating that “either punitive legislation aimed at halting the wetback flow would be enacted by Congress, or there would be no *bracero* program.” The Mexican government feared losing its own laborers. The “wetback bill,” signed by Truman on March 20, 1952, made it “a felony punishable by fine not exceeding two thousand dollars or by imprisonment for not more than five years, or both, to aid anyone entering the country illegally or harboring or concealing [an] illegal entrant.”

The period from 1952 to 1959 helped stabilize the bracero program. While continually negotiating compromises and amendments that improved arrangements for both the workers and the farmers, the two governments repeatedly extended the program. In a compromise document signed in 1954, the program was extended to December 31, 1955, under specific conditions that declared that the American secretary of labor determined wages, although the Mexican government retained the right to request a review. Furthermore, the bracero had the benefit of both nonoccupational and occupational insurance. Both the U.S. and Mexican governments determined places of unacceptable employment, and the Mexican government set up a new recruitment depot. Finally, employers were not required to pay full transportation and subsistence cost if the contract was not completed by their hired bracero; only payment in proportion to services rendered by the bracero was required. During this time a push for unionization of migrant farm workers began. Drives to unionize the braceros started in the 1960s, due in part to the efforts of CÉSAR CHÁVEZ, a migrant farmworker and organizer of the National Farm Workers Association.

Following a period of congressional hearings and rising Senate opposition, the bracero program was terminated on December 31, 1964. The acceleration of agriculture mechanization, increasing uneasiness about the morality

of the bracero program, and mounting burdens associated with bracero contracting, coupled with growing frustration among farm groups with the administration of the program, contributed to the end of the 22-year-long Mexican labor program.

**Further reading:** Richard Craig, *The Bracero Program* (London: University of Texas Press, 1971); Ernesto Galarza, *Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story; An Account of the Managed Migration of Mexican Farmworkers in California, 1942–1960* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: McNally & Loftin, 1964).

—Susan F. Yates

**Bridges, Harry** See VOLUME VIII.

**Brown Berets** See YOUNG CHICANOS FOR COMMUNITY ACTION.

### ***Brown v. Board of Education*** (1954)

One of the most important Supreme Court decisions of the 20th century, *Brown v. Board of Education* desegregated schools, reversing the Court’s 1896 decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

*Plessy* had established the “separate but equal” principle, which allowed individual states to provide separate public facilities for blacks as long as the facilities were equal to those provided for whites. The court thus decided that Jim Crow laws—state-mandated statutes establishing racial SEGREGATION in public accommodations and education—did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment’s Equal Protection Clause. *Plessy* also declared that using separate facilities carried with it “no badge of inferiority.” Southern states used the ruling to further entrench Jim Crow.

*Brown* marked the culmination of a decades-long litigation campaign against racial segregation organized by the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) and its legal arm, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund. Filing suits in state and federal courts, which challenged Jim Crow, the NAACP’s strategy was to chip away at the *Plessy* decision. By the early 1950s, the NAACP had secured several major victories against segregation, including *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948) in which the Court declared that restrictive covenants were unconstitutional, and *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), which rejected segregation in law schools.

After these successful precedents, the NAACP fought segregation in public elementary and secondary schools, filing suits against school boards across the nation. A Kansas suit involved Oliver Brown, a black minister who wanted

to enroll his young daughter Linda in a public elementary school located just blocks from his home. The Topeka school board refused since a state segregation law required black children to attend an all-black school located across town. Brown, backed by the NAACP, sought relief. By 1952, the Supreme Court had agreed to hear Brown's case combined with four others involving segregated public education in Delaware, South Carolina, Virginia, and Washington, D.C.

Led by THURGOOD MARSHALL, NAACP lawyers argued in *Brown* that separate schools could never be equal, regardless of the comparative quality of the facilities, and that segregated schools violated the Fourteenth Amendment. They used social scientific evidence to show that segregation socially and psychologically handicapped black children. In a series of studies conducted by psychologists Kenneth and Mamie Clark, northern and southern black children were shown two dolls—one black, one white—and asked which doll they liked. The Clarks found that a preponderance of the black children preferred the white doll. When asked which doll was most like them, many children became upset when they chose the black doll they had rejected. The Clarks concluded that black children, especially those educated under Jim Crow, had internalized a sense of inferiority. These tests and other social science data served as proof that school segregation in itself was damaging. The NAACP lawyers urged the court to consider these deeper negative effects of segregation.

Prominent constitutional lawyer John W. Davis represented the school boards. He argued that the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply to segregation in public schools. Davis also denied that the court had the power to force desegregation in school systems on the basis of controversial sociological evidence.

The court was leaning toward desegregation by mid 1953, but members remained undecided on the question of relief. During this stalemate, Chief Justice Fred Vinson died. He was replaced by EARL WARREN, who ended the stalemate by calling for rearguments and suggesting that a separate opinion be handed down regarding relief.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court unanimously struck down *Plessy's* separate but equal doctrine, outlawing segregated public schools. In the Court's opinion, Warren cited social science evidence and wrote that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" and were responsible for a "feeling of inferiority" in black children "as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." Therefore, the Court ruled that segregation in public schools denied blacks equal protection as guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment. This decision is referred to as *Brown I*. In 1955, after rearguments, the Court handed down *Brown II*, which dealt with implementation. In this second decision, the justices set no firm deadlines or guidelines

for desegregation. Instead, *Brown II* equivocally called for communities to desegregate their schools "with all deliberate speed."

After *Brown*, school desegregation proceeded slowly and met with resistance. While some communities quickly complied with *Brown*, many segregationists used violence or other means to prevent integration. In 1957 in Little Rock, Arkansas, Governor ORVAL FAUBUS barred nine black students from Central High School. President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER reluctantly sent federal troops to protect the black students' rights. Meanwhile, civil rights activists fought for integration in public facilities. *Brown* did not end the school desegregation battle; enforcement issues were debated in the nation's courts into the 1970s.

In the wake of declining enrollment, the Monroe Elementary School in Topeka closed in 1975 and was subsequently purchased by the Brown Foundation for Educational Equity, Excellence and Research, which lobbied Congress to preserve the case's historic role in the struggle for racial equality. In 1992 President George H. W. Bush signed the *Brown v. Board of Education* National Site Act to create a historic site at the school. Opened on May 17, 2004, the 50th anniversary of the court decision, the school is the only National Park site named after a Supreme Court case and commemorates *Brown's* significance as part of the ongoing struggle for equal educational opportunities in the United States.

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—Lori Creed

### **Bunche, Ralph** (1904–1971) *diplomat, UN official*

Serving his country in a variety of areas, Ralph Bunche was a political scientist, government official, and United Nations official, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950 for mediating the conflict between Israel and Arab countries.

Born in Detroit, Michigan, on August 7, 1904, Bunche was the descendant of both African Americans and Native American Indians. Orphaned at the age of 13, he moved to Los Angeles, California, and into the care of his maternal grandmother. He worked his way through the University of California at Los Angeles and graduated summa cum laude in 1927. During these years, Bunche developed an interest in race relations. He earned a Ph.D. from Harvard in government and international relations in 1934. Following graduation, Bunche became chief assistant from 1938 to 1940 to Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish sociologist who



Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, prime minister of Ghana (right), chats with United Nations official Ralph Bunche, 1958. (*Library of Congress*)

wrote a study on African Americans titled *An American Dilemma*.

During World War II, Bunche worked in the Office of Strategic Services as a senior social science analyst and expert on colonial areas and peoples. He then moved to the State Department in 1944, and, in 1946, he joined the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations (UN), an organization he helped establish. As problems developed in the Middle East, Bunche, now a member of the UN Secretariat, flew to Palestine in 1947 and formed the Palestine Implementation Commission to partition Israel and Palestine. As the first Arab-Israeli war broke out following the establishment of the state of Israel, the then acting chief mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte, was assassinated. Bunche took on the position of mediator himself. By negotiating separately with Israel and each Arab country, Bunche exercised extreme patience and diplomatic skills in breaking down resistance to peace and pushing for compromise. Following months of 18- to 20-hour days, an armistice was signed. For his work in mediation, Bunche received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950, the first black man to do so.

Bunche faced difficulties during the anticommunist crusade of the 1950s. A loyalty investigation, under the authority of Henry Cabot Lodge, the ambassador representing the United States at the United Nations, and executed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), began in 1953. Later, the administration of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER created the International Organizations Employees Loyalty Board to continue the investigation. When it came to public attention in May 1954 that Bunche was under investigation, Eisenhower sent Maxwell Rabb, a presidential assistant, to warn Bunche and offer support. Bunche, however, chose to stand alone at the hearing, as two ex-communist witnesses who had worked for the Justice Department accused him of having communist connections. After two days of testimony, Bunche was unanimously cleared of all charges.

Serving as deputy secretary general of the United Nations, Bunche held the highest position by an American in the organization. Much of his work in the 1950s involved settling continuing disputes in the Middle East. In the 1960s, he turned his attention to AFRICA, trying to end violence and make peace in the Congo.

Bunche continued to serve both the United Nations and the United States throughout the 1960s. He flew to Yemen in 1963 to try to prevent a possible civil war and to Cyprus in 1964 to direct troops for peacekeeping. He was also a participant in the Civil Rights movement, on the Board of Directors of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), and spoke at the 1963 MARCH ON WASHINGTON.

**Further reading:** Jean G. Cornell *Ralph Bunche: Champion of Peace* (Champaign, Ill.: Garrard Publishing Company, 1976).

—Katherine R. Yarosh

## business

The period from 1945 to 1968 was one in which American business made great strides materially and laid the foundation for the highest standard of living in the world, but such prosperity carried substantial costs, both to the nation's psyche and to its environment.

During World War II, economic policy had placed business activity firmly under government control. Ending these controls and dealing with their effects were top priorities for the business community when the war ended. The government had favored large firms for war contracts to such an extent that the 100 largest manufacturing firms accounted for over 70 percent of the nation's industrial production during the war compared with only 30 percent before the war. Although the share of smaller business increased slightly in the years after the war, the



war effort established that the nation's largest firms would conduct the lion's share of economic activity. In 1969, the Federal Trade Commission concluded that the trend in American business organization since World War II had been "centralizing and consolidating corporate control and decision-making among a relatively few vast companies." The negative effects of this consolidation on small business and the public interest were apparent as the nation's largest home appliance manufacturers and steel producers were convicted of price fixing and other anticompetitive practices in the 1960s.

The wartime experience of individual industries and firms varied greatly. Entire industries, such as watchmaking, abandoned production for the domestic market to meet military needs. American watchmakers soon discovered that the public grew accustomed to imported Swiss watches during the war. Until the COLD WAR re-created demand for explosive timers, the American watch industry floundered. There were businesses, however, that turned wartime production into postwar opportunities. With contracts to supply soldiers with its product, Coca-Cola penetrated overseas markets wherever American forces went.

When the war was over, the process of reconversion to a civilian economy began almost immediately. The government sold production facilities and a variety of surplus equipment and materials to private business for nominal fees. War contracts were abruptly cancelled and government controls on resource allocation were hastily abandoned. For a few months immediately following the war, unemployment was high, strikes were common, and there were shortages of almost everything.

After these initial hardships American business stabilized and inaugurated a period of sustained prosperity, interrupted by only four brief, mild recessions from 1945 through the 1960s. The sheer scale of America's economic growth was impressive. Even when adjusted for inflation, the nation's gross national product (GNP) grew dramatically, nearly doubling between 1946 and 1968. More important, the GNP rose in all but three years in this period, making this prosperity remarkably steady.

Initially, the growth was spurred by pent-up demand for housing and consumer goods. Out of economic necessity during the Great Depression and because of their unavailability during the war, products Americans desired were often hard to find. Americans were eager to end that deprivation, and \$140 billion in personal savings during the war gave them the financial means to do so. This consumption stimulated production and employment. Before this demand was satisfied, defense policy dictated high levels of military spending. This spending provided a solid base of demand for business that was independent of the fluctuations of consumer spending.

In this larger postwar American ECONOMY, business differed in several respects from its previous operation. Government spending played a noticeably greater role. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's peacetime budgets averaged 9.2 percent of the GNP. Government spending between 1945 and 1968 was double that on average. Meanwhile the SERVICE SECTOR grew while manufacturing remained steady at a little over 28 percent of GNP; professional and financial services increased their share of America's GNP to more than 24 percent by the late 1960s, up from less than 19 percent in the years immediately after World War II.

The American workforce experienced even greater changes. After World War II, clerical workers and blue-collar laborers each comprised slightly more than 20 percent of the workforce. By the late 1960s, clerical and kindred workers made up over one-third of the labor force, while the percentage of blue-collar workers fell. The percentage of workers in service industries rose from a little over 11 percent to almost 17 percent by the late 1960s. Manufacturing still accounted for roughly the same amount of economic activity as it did in the late 1940s and was still the single biggest component of the economy. Nevertheless, clerical positions had greatly expanded and the service industries produced a larger share of the nation's GNP and employed more of the nation's workforce in the 1960s than they had in the 1940s. Mining and AGRICULTURE saw the greatest decline in the percentage of the nation's economic activity.

Business activity spread out from the urban areas of the Northeast and West Coast during this period as well. The Sunbelt areas of the South and West recruited defense contractors to serve the military bases located in the regions. Soon, they began to draw manufacturing enterprises. Service and transportation industries quickly followed. The nation's business activities were spreading into areas previously dominated by agriculture and extractive industries, such as timber and mining, giving the Sunbelt a more diverse economic structure.

Following World War II, the United States dominated the global economy. This created many new opportunities for American businesses in both exporting and importing. Multinational corporations became a major factor in the world's economy. Increasingly, large American firms established overseas subsidiaries. This gave businesses more direct access to raw materials, markets, and labor outside the United States. The amount of America's economic activity that rested on international trade nearly quadrupled from 1946 to 1968. The U.S. government eagerly facilitated this increase in American overseas economic activity through programs such as the MARSHALL PLAN and POINT FOUR PROGRAM and by supporting institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World



Bank and inaugurating tariff reductions through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The UNION MOVEMENT emerged from the war very strong. Unions and their leadership, once considered a threat, were co-opted by business. Business leaders began dealing with union leaders more as equals than as adversaries. They relied on union leadership to help solicit government contracts and to keep the union rank and file from making extreme demands. Union leaders found themselves with their own vested interests and positions to protect, often making them more natural allies of management than the membership of their own unions. While some union members criticized the close relationship between unions and business leaders, they, too, were being placated into passivity. Work contracts began to include many provisions desirable to workers, including medical coverage, paid vacations, guaranteed annual wages, and an automatic COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT (COLA). With leadership more sympathetic to management and a workforce complacent following the material improvement in its condition, unions did little to shake the foundations of business in the 1950s and 1960s.

Beginning in the 1960s, the consumer movement and its most vocal spokesperson, author RALPH NADER, did shake up business. Nader and others, such as author and environmentalist RACHEL CARSON, alerted the country to how irresponsible business had been while creating the material prosperity that many Americans enjoyed. In response to public pressure generated from publicizing the negative effects of business activity, Congress embarked on a whole new series of regulations of business practices. Some hazardous products were banned or severely restricted, and laws such as the Water Quality Act, Clean Air Act, and the NATIONAL TRAFFIC AND MOTOR VEHICLE SAFETY ACT OF 1966 were passed to insure that business was attentive to consumer safety and to minimizing its destruction of the environment. This was the beginning of the most comprehensive round of business regulation since the Progressive era in the early 20th century.

A negative aspect of American business during this period was the effect increasingly larger and more bureaucratized work structures had on employees. Several authors, including sociologists C. WRIGHT MILLS and

David Riesman and novelist Sloan Wilson, explained how the new scale and structure of business organization made white-collar and clerical employees “cogs in a machine,” just as assembly-line production had done to blue-collar workers generations earlier. These critics charged that this imposed a dehumanizing conformity on almost every business employee. As author VANCE PACKARD pointed out, people were told to seek solace from this emotional emptiness by consuming more goods, reinforcing the materialist emphasis of American capitalism and stimulating sales and production of more goods. While businesses stripped away the humanity and individuality of their employees, their increasingly pervasive ADVERTISING told the workers not to worry, but instead to go shopping.

From a material standpoint, American business was in better shape between 1946 and 1968 than it had ever been. American businesses were growing in size and were spreading throughout the noncommunist world. Their ability to fulfill the desires of American consumers seemed limitless. One could reasonably ask, as critics did, at what price had this prosperity come? To a generation that grew up in the deprivation of the Great Depression and World War II, answers to that question were perhaps not that important. The public expressed its desire to be protected from businesses that were unconcerned about the safety of their products and environmental destruction, but few outside the COUNTERCULTURE expressed skepticism of capitalist materialism. Unions became docile and most Americans continued their consumptive race to “keep up with the Joneses.” As the BABY BOOM generation came of age, however, business would have to work harder to convince these younger Americans to accept the practices and dynamics of the American system of business that had been created after World War II, or, failing that, to adjust the system to the new generation’s ideals and expectations.

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—Dave Price





**Carmichael, Stokely** (1941–1998) *Black Power leader*

Stokely Carmichael was head of the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) and a prominent member of the BLACK PANTHERS during the 1960s.

Carmichael was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad, to Mabel and Adolphus Carmichael, a carpenter, in 1941. Stokely's parents moved to the United States when he was still very young, leaving the child in the care of relatives. Stokely and his three sisters joined their parents in New York City in 1952, settling in Harlem and later the Bronx.

Carmichael excelled as a student and gained admittance to the Bronx High School of Science, where he was one of only two black students in his class. He rejected a number of scholarships to predominantly white colleges and universities and entered historically black Howard University in 1960 as a premedical student, although he eventually graduated with a degree in philosophy. While at Howard, Carmichael joined the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) and became involved in a number of anti-SEGREGATION efforts from SIT-INS to voter education campaigns in the South. On a 1961 FREEDOM RIDE through Mississippi, Carmichael was arrested for violating state segregation laws and endured 53 days in deplorable conditions at the state's infamous Parchman Penitentiary, an experience that apparently only strengthened his resolve to fight for African-American rights.

Carmichael graduated from Howard in 1964 and joined SNCC, the major student-organized civil rights organization of the 1960s. In Lowndes County, Mississippi, Carmichael played an integral part in the evolution of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, formed as a separate political party for African Americans. He rapidly became known for his talent for working effectively with college-educated activists, working-class blacks, and white supporters.

By 1966 fissures were appearing in SNCC over what role whites should play in the organization. Although

Carmichael rejected the view of a minority of SNCC workers that whites be excluded, he took advantage of the climate of divisiveness and ran for SNCC chairman. Carmichael hoped to shape SNCC into an organization like the Lowndes County body, providing more power to working-class African Americans with less stress on nonviolence. In the election, Carmichael defeated JOHN LEWIS, who had led SNCC since 1963, and he began pointing the group in a more militant direction. During the summer of 1966, Carmichael spearheaded SNCC's efforts to complete the march across Mississippi begun by activist JAMES MEREDITH, who had been shot and wounded before completing the trek. During this march Carmichael first began using the phrase that soon became identified with him (although he was not the first to use it)—“BLACK POWER.” Carmichael's use of the phrase only codified a long-brewing shift toward militancy for SNCC. The slogan of “Black Power” galvanized white support for the Civil Rights movement and boldly called for an increasingly black nationalist agenda for younger civil rights activists.

In subsequent years Carmichael continued to move toward Black Nationalism instead of relying on white leadership and nonviolence. Black Power appealed to many within SNCC because it awakened a sense of pride and confidence in a uniquely black aesthetic dormant in more conservative forms of black protest. Carmichael still did not preclude interracial cooperation, but he stressed the need for self-determination and unity among people of color. The move toward Black Power further damaged the already fragile unity between SNCC and more conservative civil rights organizations.

Carmichael continued to call for Black Power throughout his time at the head of SNCC, but his support soon waned. The more radical SNCC became, the faster northern financial support disappeared. Likewise, many working-class southern African Americans did not relate to calls for Black Nationalism, and the issue of what role whites



Stokely Carmichael addressing an audience, 1966 (*Library of Congress*)

should play continued to divide SNCC. By the spring of 1967, it was clear that Carmichael's time at the head of SNCC was up, and he resigned as chairman.

In June 1967, Carmichael joined the Black Panther Party. That same summer he went on a tour that included Cuba, China, North Vietnam, and Guinea (among other countries). During the trip he further cemented his ties to left-wing radicalism and pan-Africanism. Carmichael's open willingness to associate with foreign leftists angered many Americans but only enhanced his prestige among Black Power advocates. Carmichael had become too radical for SNCC, though, and he was expelled in August 1968. The expulsion meant little to Carmichael, since he had not attended a staff meeting since his return from abroad and now worked primarily with the Black Panthers.

Facing increased pressure from Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) surveillance and feeling dissatisfied with his role with the Black Panther Party, Carmichael began spending time in Guinea and soon took up permanent residence there. In 1978 he changed his name to Kwame Toure. He died in 1998, having never stopped working toward his pan-African vision.

**Further reading:** Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981).

—Kevin P. Bower

**Carson, Rachel** (1907–1964) *writer, marine biologist, conservationist*

Biologist and author of the 1962 book *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson is credited with inspiring the modern ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT in the United States.

The publication of *Silent Spring* led to public outcry over the use of chemical insecticides such as DDT. Congressional hearings were held to look into the effects of the chemical and a grass-roots movement began calling for stricter environmental protection. The result was the establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in 1970 and the ban on DDT.

Born in Springdale, Pennsylvania, on May 27, 1907, Carson acquired an appreciation for the natural world from her mother. Carson attended the Pennsylvania College for Women (now Chatham College) where she agonized over whether to study English or biology. She changed her major to biology, but remained devoted to literary activity for the rest of her life. Carson studied zoology in graduate school at Johns Hopkins University, received her M.A. in 1932, and taught at the University of Maryland from 1931 to 1936. Family responsibilities kept Carson from pursuing her doctorate, but she did manage to spend her summers studying at the Marine Biological Laboratory in Woods Hole, Massachusetts. Although Carson loved the sea, her trip to Woods Hole marked the first time she had ever seen it. Carson became enchanted with the ocean and vowed to devote her life to the study of marine biology.

After her father's death in 1935, Carson began writing radio scripts on SCIENCE issues for the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries (the forerunner of the Fish and Wildlife Service) in Maryland. A year later she was appointed aquatic biologist. Her first book, *Under the Sea Wind* (1941) was an extension of a widely acclaimed article she published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Carson's flowing prose and her dramatic representation of sea life made science accessible to the public in a way that had not been done before. The book went unnoticed by critics, however, and Carson devoted more time to her work at the Bureau of Fisheries, where



she drafted conservation bulletins, wrote a series of pamphlets on wildlife refuges, and edited scientific reports. By 1949, Carson had been promoted to chief editor of publications.

Carson's second book, *The Sea Around Us* (1951), dealt with the geological processes that formed the earth and the oceans. It became a best seller and won both the John Burroughs Medal and a National Book Award. Financial success accompanied her literary acclaim, allowing Carson to retire from her position at the Bureau of Fisheries and devote herself to writing full time. She purchased a cottage on the coast of Maine and began work on her third book, *The Edge of the Sea* (1955), about the seashores of the world and their communities of plants and animals.

Carson had been concerned about the effects of insecticides on the environment since the mid-1940s. Chemical pesticides such as DDT were being used by the government to combat mosquitoes in Massachusetts, the gypsy moth on Long Island, and fire ants in the southern United States. Carson and other scientists realized that these pesticides were having catastrophic effects on many of the plants and animals in the affected ecosystems. When Carson heard that DDT and other harmful insecticide compounds were about to be approved for public use by the Department of Agriculture, she reluctantly abandoned her writing about the sea to warn the public of the dangers associated with insecticides.

The publication of *Silent Spring* (1962) sparked an international debate on the use of chemical insecticides. Carson was attacked by the chemical industry as a "hysteri-

cal woman" who misunderstood the scientific processes she wrote about. *Silent Spring* was officially endorsed by President JOHN F. KENNEDY's Science Advisory Committee, and sparked a grass-roots movement for a clean environment. Carson testified before Congress in 1963, encouraging legislators to institute environmentally responsible policies to protect human health and wildlife. When the Environmental Protection Agency was created in 1970, DDT was the first chemical to be banned.

Rachel Carson died of breast cancer at the age of 56. Her final book, *The Sense of Wonder* (1965), explained the importance of cultivating a child's natural curiosity about the environment.

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—Angela K. O'Neal

### Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

The best known of the American intelligence agencies, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was created to coordinate the government's intelligence operations and give the president quick, clear information for the conduct of domestic and foreign policy.

The CIA had its origins in intelligence operations during World War II. In the aftermath of Pearl Harbor, the fledgling American intelligence community was criticized for not disseminating vital information that could have prepared the U.S. Navy for the surprise Japanese attack in 1941. Government officials believed that a central clearinghouse responsible for coordinating intelligence-gathering operations and the distribution of vital information would prevent another Pearl Harbor. The Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the American intelligence corps that carried out intelligence-gathering activities as well as covert operations behind enemy lines, provided a further example of the need for and possible benefits of having a permanent government agency assigned to carry out these tasks after the war.

As the uneasy alliance between the Allies degenerated into Soviet-American confrontation, President HARRY S. TRUMAN supported the need for an intelligence agency to coordinate the acquisition and dissemination of needed information on potential foes. The NATIONAL SECURITY ACT OF 1947 created the Central Intelligence Agency.

In theory, the CIA was originally intended to oversee the entire American intelligence establishment, which included the separate intelligence branches of the armed services as well as the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In practice the various intelligence-gathering components



Rachel Carson speaking before a Senate Government Operations subcommittee studying pesticide spraying, 1963 (*Library of Congress*)

within the United States government were not willing to cooperate to the extent envisioned by Truman, especially as the intelligence community dramatically expanded in later years. Instead of coordinating intelligence activities, the CIA concentrated primarily on espionage, also known as HUMINT (human intelligence), and since its inception, it has carried out covert operations.

The two most important divisions within the CIA are the Directorate of Intelligence and the Directorate of Operations. The intelligence section is responsible for placing and/or recruiting spies within foreign governments and using them to gather information vital to American national security. The operations section carries out secret operations against foreign governments sometimes in tandem with but often independent of intelligence collection. The director of Central Intelligence oversees both aspects of the CIA's operations and acts as the primary liaison between the president and the intelligence community. The agency focuses its attentions on foreign governments, especially those deemed threats to American national security.

The history of the CIA has been inextricably linked with the COLD WAR. The chief target of the CIA's activities from the very beginning was the SOVIET UNION. The CIA spent much time and money infiltrating various Soviet government organizations, including the Soviet Army and the KGB (the Soviet counterpart of the CIA), and the agency provided much valuable information about Soviet intentions, troop strength, and nuclear missile capability to American foreign policymakers.

More controversial were the activities of the CIA in the Third World, which comprised the primary battlefield of the COLD WAR. Most of the agency's covert operations were aimed at governments in the developing world that American policymakers feared were leaning toward the Soviet bloc. The administration of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER placed a good deal of emphasis on covert operations, especially as they were more effective than diplomacy and much cheaper (and less risky in the nuclear age) than all-out war, despite their dubious legality. Eisenhower authorized the CIA to undertake operations that destabilized and overthrew democratically elected governments in Guatemala and Iran. President JOHN F. KENNEDY authorized the CIA to carry out a coup attempt against Fidel Castro's Cuba in 1961 using CIA-trained and -funded Cuban émigrés, but the BAY OF PIGS initiative failed disastrously. As a result of these and other controversial activities, the CIA came under increased congressional oversight and various presidents have prohibited covert operations that include activities such as assassination.

The end of the cold war in the late 1980s and early 1990s caused the CIA to dramatically change direction. Although some questioned the need for the agency at all, the CIA rapidly made the transition from cold war con-

cerns to such issues as the war on drugs, nuclear nonproliferation, and combating international terrorism.

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—Matthew M. Davis

### **Chambers, Whittaker** (1901–1961) *journalist*

Whittaker Chambers's significance stems almost exclusively from his involvement in the ALGER HISS perjury trial in 1948.

Hiss became an infamous target of the HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE (HUAC), a congressional committee originally convened in 1947 to ferret out communist infiltration of the film industry, a mandate later extended to track down communists from all walks of life. The accusation that Hiss was a communist agent came from Chambers.

Chambers's past was a checkered one. Born on April 1, 1901, in Philadelphia, and reared in New York, he came from a troubled upbringing. As a youth he had been dismissed from Columbia University. A writer of some talent, Chambers eked out an existence for a number of years as a journalist, all the while flirting with a radicalism he found appealing in the bohemian underworld of New York City. A confessed Communist agent in the 1920s and into the 1930s, Chambers claimed that he had grown disillusioned with COMMUNISM in the late 1930s. After the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939, his break with the party became total. In the 1940s, he continued his journalism career and became an editor for two notable publications, *Time* and the *National Review*, marking his total about-face from communist agent to conservative reactionary.

Chambers testified before HUAC that, in the late 1930s, Hiss had been a member of the Communist Party. He claimed that he had collected party dues from both Hiss and his wife. Hiss denied that he knew Chambers and that he had had any past affiliation with the Communist Party. Under continued and relentless questioning from HUAC member Richard M. Nixon, Hiss was forced to admit that he had known Chambers, even acknowledging that he had let him use his car and live in his apartment, although Hiss insisted that Chambers had used a different name at the time, that of George Crosley. Still, Hiss denied ever being a communist, and challenged Chambers to repeat his accusations outside of Congress where Congressional immunity would lapse and Hiss could sue Chambers for libel.

In response, Chambers went on the radio program *Meet the Press* and labeled Hiss a communist. Hiss sued.



Whittaker Chambers in courthouse corridor, 1949 (*Library of Congress*)

Chambers then revealed additional information. He testified that Hiss had passed him secret State Department documents to be turned over to the Soviet Union. Chambers dramatically produced microfilms of the documents he claimed to have received from Hiss, documents that were typed copies of State Department records reproduced on a Woodstock model typewriter once owned by Hiss. These were the famous “pumpkin papers,” so called because Chambers said he had kept them hidden in a pumpkin in his vegetable garden.

Unable to be tried for espionage because the statute of limitations had run out, Hiss was tried for perjury. His first trial ended in a hung jury in July 1949. But on January 21, 1950, at the conclusion of a second trial, Hiss was convicted of two counts of perjury for having lied about his communist connections in the 1930s. He spent almost four years in prison.

The exchange between Chambers and Hiss embodied the larger confrontation between NEW DEAL LIBERALISM and resurgent CONSERVATISM underlying the COLD WAR and carried with it far-ranging ramifications. Hiss’s past ser-

vice in the State Department cast further suspicion upon a body already suspected of harboring communists. From a more general perspective, the Hiss-Chambers confrontation aided and abetted the growing tide of McCarthyism, unleashed upon America in the early 1950s.

In the years after the Hiss case, Chambers slid into obscurity. Unable to revive his journalism career, he contented himself with publishing his memoirs telling his side of the controversial Hiss trial. He died in 1961.

**Further reading:** Sam Tanenhaus, *Whittaker Chambers: A Biography* (Random House: New York, 1997).

—Matthew Flynn

### **Chávez, César Estrada** (1927–1993) *American labor union leader*

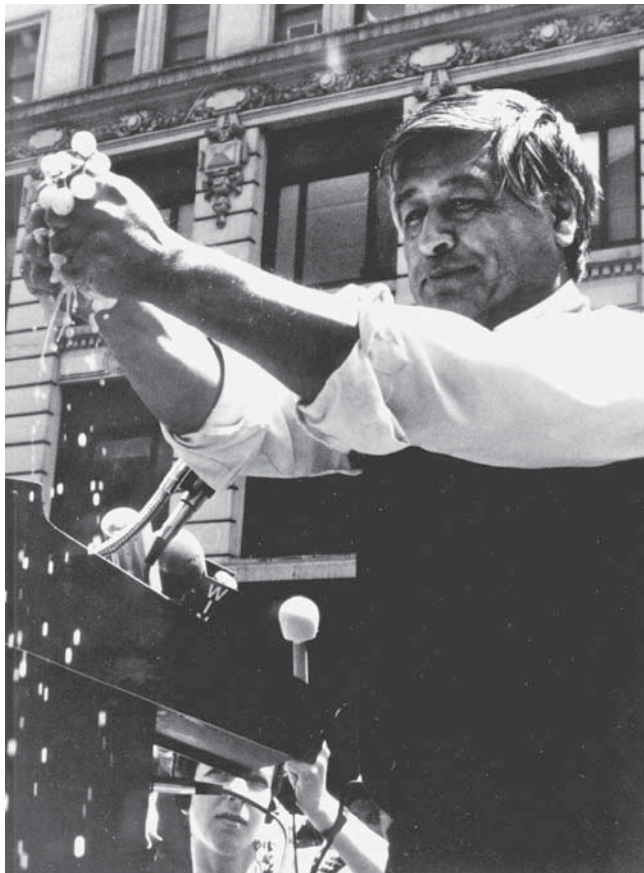
A second-generation American, César Estrada Chávez was a Mexican-American (Chicano) farmworker, labor leader, and civil rights activist who cofounded the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), which later became the UNITED FARM WORKERS of America, AFL-CIO (UFW).

Chávez was born near Yuma, Arizona, on March 31, 1927, to an American family of poor farmworkers of Mexican and Basque descent. After losing their land during the Great Depression, the family became migrants when Chávez was 10 years old. Achieving only an eighth-grade education, Chávez left school to work in the agricultural fields full-time to support his family. Following a two-year enlistment in the navy, in 1948 he married Helen Fabela, whom he had met as a teenager working in the vineyards of central California. Chávez and his wife settled in East San Jose, later moving to Delano, California, and eventually had eight children and 31 grandchildren.

Chávez’s life as a community organizer began in 1952 when he joined the Community Service Organization (CSO), a prominent Latino civil rights group. While with the CSO, he coordinated voter registration drives and conducted campaigns against racial and economic discrimination, primarily in urban areas. In the late 1950s and early 1960s Chávez served as CSO’s national director. After leaving the CSO in 1962, he cofounded the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), later the United Farm Workers of America (UFW), with fellow activist Dolores Huerta. Six months later, he and the NFWA led a strike of California grape-pickers on a march from Delano to the state capitol in Sacramento to protest for higher wages. The strike ultimately lasted five years and resulted in the first major labor victory for U.S. farmworkers, sparking similar movements in other states.

For more than three decades Chávez led the first successful farmworkers union in American history, fighting for fair wages, medical coverage, pension benefits, humane





César Chávez brought national attention to the plight of migrant farmworkers (Library of Congress)

living conditions, and other rights and protections for hundreds of thousands of farmworkers. He led successful strikes and boycotts that resulted in the first industrywide labor contracts in the history of American agriculture, and his union's efforts brought about the passage of the groundbreaking 1975 California Agricultural Labor Relations Act to protect farmworkers and their right to unionize.

A strong believer in the principles of nonviolence practiced by Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., Chávez effectively employed peaceful tactics such as fasts, boycotts, strikes, and pilgrimages. For example, in 1988, at the age of 61, he endured a 36-day "Fast for Life" to highlight the harmful impact of pesticides on farmworkers and their children. Chávez was also a strong advocate for immigration reform, concerned that undocumented migrant labor undermined the UFW and their campaigns for farmworker rights.

César Chávez died in his sleep on April 23, 1993, in San Luis, Arizona. More than 50,000 people attended his funeral service in the small town of Delano, California. Since his death, dozens of communities across the nation

have renamed schools, parks, streets, libraries, other public facilities, awards, and scholarships in his honor, as well as enacting holidays on his birthday, March 31. In 1994 he was posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian honor in the United States. In 2003, the United States Postal Service honored him with a postage stamp, and in 2006 he was among the inaugural class inducted into the California Hall of Fame located at the California Museum for History, Women, and the Arts in Sacramento.

**Further reading:** Susan Ferriss and Ricardo Sandoval, *The Fight in the Fields: César Chávez and the Farmworkers Movement* (New York: Harcourt, 1997).

—Lance R. Eisenhower

**Chicano movement** See LATINO MOVEMENT.

### childhood

In the post–World War II era, childhood became a more distinct phase of life. Whereas the economic hardships of the Great Depression forced many young people to accept adult responsibilities more quickly, postwar affluence allowed more children simply to be children. With ties to COLD WAR ideology, psychology, and growing CONSUMERISM, the emergence of a more defined sense of childhood converged with other notable aspects of American society during this period.

Increased attention toward childhood had much to do with the increase in live births, or the BABY BOOM. Whereas the birthrate had steadily declined during the difficult decades of the depression and World War II, the postwar years witnessed more women marrying at a younger age and subsequently having children. Between January and May 1946, the number of live births surged from 222,721 to 233,452, beginning a trend that saw 32 million babies born by the end of the decade. In 1954, annual births topped 4 million and did not drop below that figure until 1965, at which point four out of 10 Americans were under the age of 20.

The booming birthrate reflected vigorous economic growth in the United States during the 1950s as well as the greater educational benefits available to returning servicemen. As more individuals became college-educated through the GI Bill, they earned better incomes, which in turn led more families to have children. As they did, many men and women returned to the traditional gender roles that the war had disrupted and moved their families out of the cities and into the expanding suburbs. The suburban ideal, a country setting with modern conveniences, became a defining image of middle-class childhood and a family life



that was considered an important bulwark against COMMUNISM. As social scientists proposed a link between national character and family upbringing, the American family constituted a miniature democracy that ideally schooled children in the fundamental differences between the United States and the SOVIET UNION.

As parents questioned how to give their offspring distinctly democratic childhoods, Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK's *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Childcare* (1946) captured the values that parenting took on during the cold war. Emphasizing common sense, Spock described parenting not as a science but as a democracy in which ordinary citizens were urged to follow their instincts. Rather than stressing rigorous training for adulthood, Spock viewed children as naturally reasonable and friendly individuals whose sensibilities should be nurtured for what they were. Rejecting warnings against maternal sentimentality, Spock asserted that parental love ultimately produced healthy and capable adults, a progressive view that caused many to fault the pediatrician for the subsequent youth rebellion of the 1960s. Striking a chord with baby boom parents, *Baby and Childcare* remained a best seller for several decades and became emblematic of postwar parenting.

In keeping with Spock's approach, the baby boomers' childhood was typically a more privileged and permissive one than their parents had experienced, characterized by smaller families, better health and nutrition, and a greater sensitivity to mass media. Children felt blessed and special, sentiments that dominated their relationships with their parents and the world around them. As post-war society took shape, children were often at the center, most conspicuously in the case of the expanding consumer culture. In the midst of widespread abundance, as well as the growth of TELEVISION, children developed a greater awareness of fad and FASHION and became a key ADVERTISING demographic. The boom in the birthrate notably corresponded with a boom in the toy industry, as imaginative play that prepared children for adulthood became a central part of their lives. Overwhelmingly, the Barbie doll and G.I. Joe action figure defined this popular approach to children's play. Designed by Ruth Handler, the Barbie doll was launched at the International Toy Fair in 1959 and purchased by Mattel in 1964. One of the first toys marketed through television, Barbie sold 350,000 units in its first year, a success that inspired the G.I. Joe action figures released in 1964. Notably, the term "action figure" was invented for the G.I. Joe toys, as it was considered inappropriate for boys to play with dolls.

As the baby boomers came of age, the formative circumstances of their childhood uniquely combined with world events to feed the social upheaval of the 1960s. The sense of distinctiveness that marked childhood in this era caused many to believe in their ability to transform a soci-

ety whose values they rejected, a view clearly apparent in the PORT HURON STATEMENT in 1962. In this way, post-war childhood critically shaped the generational conflict that emerged in the 1960s, as old and young struggled for control of the national vision in the years to come.

**Further reading:** Joseph E. Illick, *American Childhoods* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004).

—Hillary S. Kativa

### **cities and urban life**

The changes that occurred in American cities after World War II significantly altered patterns of living in the 1950s and 1960s and beyond.

Beginning in the 1950s, manufacturing centers in the Northeast and Midwest declined in population, as industries moved out of these regions. An urban stretch extending across this part of the country became known as the Rust Belt because of all the abandoned factories. Industries such as steel and automobile manufacturing moved overseas or to other parts of the United States, as some failed to keep up with technological advancements and others were plagued with high costs and taxes. Rather than invest millions of dollars in updating existing machinery and employing high-wage union help, many corporations found it cheaper and easier to reestablish their businesses elsewhere. Areas affected by such moves experienced a significant loss of population. Major industrial cities such as Detroit, Michigan; Gary, Indiana; Cleveland, Ohio; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Buffalo, New York, were among the hardest hit.

While cities in the Northeast and Midwest bore the brunt of industrial relocation, areas in the South and West benefited in the years following World War II when corporations began investing in these warmer regions. Cities such as Los Angeles, Miami, Atlanta, Dallas, Houston, and Phoenix experienced substantial growth and prosperity. Referred to as the Sunbelt, for their temperate climate and plentiful sunshine, these cities exploded in population as Americans followed manufacturing industries and jobs, leaving behind difficult times and cold weather. Lower taxes and a more modest cost of living also helped attract workers and industry. Sunbelt cities profited from increased defense spending, high-tech industrial development, and greater interest in RECREATION, as millions moved to sunny areas to relax and retire.

The relocation of industries had a ripple effect on people and institutions in many cities throughout the nation. As the number of manufacturing jobs declined, lower paying SERVICE SECTOR jobs multiplied and unemployment

rates increased. Increasing poverty contributed to growing crime rates.

Racial tensions intensified as large numbers of African Americans moved into northern and western cities, continuing the rural to urban migration started in previous decades. As whites moved to the suburbs, African Americans began to move out of traditionally black neighborhoods and closer to all-white areas, sometimes escalating friction between the two groups. At the same time, other groups from rural backgrounds moved into the cities, including migrants from Appalachia and immigrants from Puerto Rico, Mexico, and other parts of Latin America. Between 1940 and 1960, the Puerto Rican population of New York City increased from 70,000 to more than 600,000. In the West, between 1950 and 1960, the Mexican population of Los Angeles doubled, from 300,000 to 600,000. After passage of the IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1965, IMMIGRATION to American cities from Asia increased as well. This influx of immigrants changed the appearance of the cities, making them more culturally diverse in their makeup. Though these changes resulted in different neighborhood composition, cities remained largely segregated by race with most less fortunate inhabitants having little prospect of moving to the suburbs.

In the 1960s, riots in cities such as Los Angeles, New York, Detroit, and Chicago reflected tensions resulting from social, economic, and racial segregation that reached a breaking point. The proliferation of images of urban violence on TELEVISION served to reinforce the notion that cities were unsafe, creating a further divide between cities and suburbs.

One response to the growing social, political, and economic inequality of urban America was the creation of government agencies and programs. The Housing Act of 1949 spurred URBAN REDEVELOPMENT through slum clearance. Under President LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Congress passed the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. The measure allocated almost \$3 billion for the rehabilitation of existing housing and the creation of new PUBLIC HOUSING. New business also began to develop, bringing a boom in the construction of high-rise office buildings. Some cities saw the redevelopment of previously abandoned or run-down blocks. In Boston, during the 1960s, the city tore down old buildings and built a new city hall and office buildings in an effort to revitalize the downtown area. Other regions experienced a revival in architecture and urban planning, as city managers sought new ways to cope with expanding populations. The infusion of new groups of minorities into a number of areas brought with it a mix of cultures resulting in a blending of art, music, and traditions. Many cities experienced a cultural renaissance during the 1960s that continued into the 1970s and beyond.

Other parts of Johnson's WAR ON POVERTY, particularly the COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM (CAP) and

MODEL CITIES PROGRAM, were intended to help the revitalization of cities by allowing residents to have a voice in public policy. Although the programs had many problems from the beginning, including conflicts between local government and community organizations, they did give some, particularly African Americans, the opportunity to practice political leadership.

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—Heather L. Tompkins

## civil defense

As the commitment to atomic weaponry increased after World War II, the issue of civil defense received considerable attention, as national politicians and scientific and military authorities debated the extent to which the United States should prepare for the immediate protection of civilian lives and property in case of a nuclear attack.

Influenced by German attacks on the English homefront during World War II, President Franklin D. Roosevelt created the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD) on May 20, 1941. The OCD's efforts to mobilize air raid warning systems, wardens, bomb shelters, rescue workers, and fire-fighting units, however, produced only victory gardens and physical-fitness programs, as the likelihood of an air attack on the U.S. homefront diminished. On June 30, 1945, President HARRY S. TRUMAN abolished the OCD. Although Truman resisted significant funding for civil defense, preferring to save money for weapons, the KOREAN WAR and the SOVIET UNION's development of an ATOMIC BOMB provided the impetus for the return of civil defense in 1950. The development of civil defense during the postwar period was erratic, as leaders continued debating its very necessity. The military community questioned its role in civil defense, the American public resisted spending too much money on questionable shelters, and high government officials failed to agree on the direction and form that civil defense should take.

In 1950, the Truman administration set up the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA) as an independent agency responsible for administering a national civil defense program. During this period of American civil defense history, funding was the most debated issue, as Congress continually cut FCDA funding requests by at least half. Much civil defense actually consisted of a propaganda campaign that produced a series of booklets, films, TELEVISION shows, and media stories aimed at convincing Americans that they could survive a nuclear attack with only the most basic preparations. It was dur-

ing this time that atomic air-raid drills became common practice in public schools where children were instructed to “duck and cover” by dropping to their knees, covering their heads, and so protecting themselves from an atomic attack.

During the presidency of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, civil defense changed. Because blast shelters were expensive, the nation began to consider evacuation. The INTERSTATE HIGHWAY ACT OF 1965 was justified on the grounds that it could offer a means of escape after a nuclear attack. With the discovery of fallout, the radioactive matter left in the atmosphere after an atomic blast, fallout shelters became popular. The FCDA distributed free literature on building such structures, usually in basements. The building of fallout shelters flourished during the Eisenhower years, particularly after the American public became increasingly aware of atomic capability as the government conducted regular tests and eventually developed the HYDROGEN BOMB. These developments, however, instilled gradually in the American public a belief that civil defense was useless against the effects of weapons that might wipe out entire cities. Eisenhower understood that only a catastrophic result could come from an exchange of nuclear weapons with the Soviets. In 1958, ignoring calls for a greater, more expensive civil defense program from the FCDA's director, Eisenhower cut civil defense funding and shut down the FCDA. The FCDA, together with the Office of Defense Mobilization, was merged into the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization. The Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization was placed under the Executive Office of the president in order to centralize nonmilitary defense functions in a single agency responsible directly to the president.

Presidential support for a civil defense program peaked in 1961 under President JOHN F. KENNEDY. In 1960, a thorough review of the civil defense program prompted Kennedy to reorganize it in 1961 by setting up a new Office of Civil Defense (OCD) under the secretary of defense, who was given the task of implementing a system of fallout shelters and emergency communications, as well as assisting state and local communities in establishing their own systems for maintaining order and safety after an attack.

During the debate over the fate of Berlin between Kennedy and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, Kennedy asked Congress to increase its defense effort as well as allocate an additional \$207.6 million for an expanded shelter program. After the LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY OF 1963 prohibited atmospheric testing, however, civil defense fell dormant and was not resurrected again until the late 1970s. In 1964, the OCD was transferred to the Office of the Secretary of the Army. After the establishment of the OCD, the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization became the Office of Emergency Planning, coordinating emergency

activities such as the use of manpower and materials and the provision of disaster assistance to states, counties, and local communities.

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—Jason Reed

### civil disobedience

Civil disobedience, the symbolic and illustrative violation of existing laws, gained considerable popularity as a form of protest in the 20th-century civil rights, labor, and antiwar movements in the United States and around the world.

Civil disobedience involves knowingly breaking a law that the protestor believes to be reprehensible. Since such an act is a crime, the civil disobedient then submits to punishment in the hopes of setting a moral example that will provoke those in GOVERNMENT to enact meaningful change. As an extralegal and moralistic approach, civil disobedience in principle should be nonviolent and used only as a last avenue for change.

Deeply rooted in Western philosophy, civil disobedience was championed by thinkers such as Cicero, John Locke, Thomas Aquinas, Thomas Jefferson, and most notably, American author Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau's 1849 essay “Civil Disobedience” called men to “break the law [and] let your life be counter friction to stop the machine,” if government is “of such a nature that it requires injustice.” In his advocacy of civil disobedience, Thoreau glorified the ability of the individual, acting on good conscience, to bring a system of government to its knees. In India in the mid-20th century, Mohandas Gandhi developed the philosophy of *satyagraha*, meaning “truth force” in Hindi, as a guiding philosophy for the Indian people in their fight to overthrow the British colonial government in India. *Satyagraha* prohibited the use of violence in opposition to evil, and required practitioners to disclose their intentions to the opposition, forbidding secrecy to be used as a tactic. Gandhi employed his philosophy through a series of non-violent individual and group protests, which included hunger strikes, boycotts, and organized noncooperation with British government structures.

Though critics claimed that the philosophy of *satyagraha* assumed the opposition held a certain level of morality that could be appealed to, Gandhi maintained that civil disobedience would prevail anywhere because it had the power to convert anyone.

The concept of nonviolent protest and civil disobedience was popularized in the United States by civil rights leader MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. King was first introduced to Gandhi's philosophy while attending the Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania. The SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), which King later organized, made contact with Gandhi's followers, and as a result of their discussion about the *satyagraha* philosophy, in 1959, King and the SCLC were received by Indian prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru, himself a veteran of the nonviolent movement in India.

Using the tactics of active nonviolence, King was able to energize blacks and gain the allegiance of liberal whites in the Civil Rights movement. King advocated the use of nonviolent actions such as SIT-INS and boycotts as a means to expose the injustice faced by blacks. Twice he was arrested and jailed. While participating in a student-organized lunch counter sit-in in Atlanta, in 1960, he was arrested along with 33 students and sentenced to Reidsville State Prison Farm, causing a public outcry that ended only when presidential candidate JOHN F. KENNEDY arranged for his release. Later, in the spring of 1963, while leading a march in Birmingham, Alabama, King was jailed along with large numbers of supporters, including numerous schoolchildren. While incarcerated, King composed his famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail," in which he answered the criticisms of both blacks and whites who discouraged his advocacy of civil disobedience. "You may well ask: 'Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches and so forth?'" said King. "Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. . . . We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed."

King's eloquent trumpet call for nonviolent protest made civil disobedience popular not only in the movement to secure civil rights for blacks but also in the anti-war movement, which gained momentum in its opposition to the VIETNAM WAR in the late 1960s. Many acts of civil disobedience in opposition to the war occurred on college campuses, beginning with the rise of the FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley. Student activists protested continued escalation of the war effort by occupying university buildings, invoking passionate rhetoric in their heated confrontations with the administration. In December 1964, over 800 students were arrested for occupying the Berkeley administration building. Movement leader MARIO SAVIO gave an impassioned speech moments before the sit-in, proclaiming, "There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious . . . you've got to indicate to the people

who own it . . . that unless you're free, the machine will be prevented from working at all." The sit-ins progressed into mass rallies known as "teach-ins," and soon appeared on campuses across the country, continuing to employ the principles of nonviolent protest and attempting to pressure the administration of President LYNDON B. JOHNSON to slow the escalating conflict in Vietnam.

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—Guy R. Temple

### Civil Rights Act of 1957

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 represented an important landmark in civil rights legislation, albeit primarily as a symbol, providing hope for future progress in the Civil Rights movement.

The 1957 act, passed 82 years after the last civil rights legislation, was the first attempt to deal with civil rights since Reconstruction. The new legislation, however, was limited by the context in which it developed. In particular, the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and the REPUBLICAN PARTY were battling for electoral support in the southern states. Republicans looked to protect President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER's gains in the South in the election of 1956, and they feared that too close an association with the cause of civil rights would threaten these gains. Southern Democrats also tried to distance their party from civil rights issues, fearing further Republican gains in the South.

Despite this shared fear of addressing civil rights issues in both parties, Eisenhower called for civil rights legislation in his State of the Union Message in 1957. Pushed forward in particular by opposition to the Montgomery bus boycott, the public indignation that it raised, and the Supreme Court's ruling in 1956 that Alabama's separate but equal law for transportation was unconstitutional, the House of Representatives passed a bill in 1957 that included all of the suggestions made in Eisenhower's address. The House bill proposed the creation of a Commission on Civil Rights, a bipartisan and independent agency within the executive branch, designed to investigate and recommend remedies for unconstitutional discrimination. The bill also proposed creating a Civil Rights Division within the Department of Justice. Title III, which met immediate opposition in the Senate, authorized the federal government to seek court injunctions whenever an individual's civil rights were violated. Finally, the House bill sought to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment by authorizing the Department of Justice to investi-



gate voting rights violations and to seek court injunctions against illegal interference with the right to vote.

Senator majority leader LYNDON B. JOHNSON, a skilled political negotiator with presidential ambitions, played a key role in the Senate's debate of the House bill. With Eisenhower's help, Johnson convinced enough northern senators to support the deletion of Title III in its entirety from the Senate's version of the bill. Johnson worked to remove Title III, a broad measure that was seen as a way for the federal government to sue for school desegregation, with broad language implying a much wider scope for the Attorney General's activities, to assure southern support for the revised bill in the Senate. The Senate further diluted the revised bill by attaching an amendment to it that required a trial by jury in all cases arising from the voting rights section of the proposed bill. This amendment, promoted in part by Johnson's appeals for moderation and pragmatism, further appeased wary southern Democrats who believed that local white juries would prove less threatening than federal judges in such cases. The Senate version of the bill eventually became the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

The deletion of Title III allowed many southerners to view the Civil Rights Act of 1957 as a victory. They argued, correctly, that the 1957 act was closely limited to voting rights. They also pointed out that they had prevented federal government intervention in favor of school desegregation, an especially threatening possibility from their point of view in light of the Supreme Court's *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* (1954) decision which ruled school SEGREGATION unconstitutional.

Liberal Democrats were less pleased with the 1957 act, viewing its reliance on due process as expensive and time-consuming. They had advocated moving beyond the federal government's voluntary model with weak enforcement mechanisms to a more aggressive use of federal government power. Title III had thus been central to the 1957 act for them, a symbol of the enlightened use of the power of the federal government to help those too poor, intimidated, or unenlightened to help themselves. Civil rights leaders likewise expressed disappointment with the 1957 act. It was used only once in its first 16 months, in a suit against the election registrars of Terrell County, Georgia. Many African-American spokesmen felt betrayed by the legislation.

The disappointing results achieved in the short term by the Civil Rights Act of 1957, however, proved to be less important than the act's long-term meaning. The Commission on Civil Rights would investigate and publicize civil rights issues. The disappointment generated by the deletion of Title III and the weakness of the 1957 act also helped galvanize a movement for stronger civil rights legislation. The federal government had become actively involved in civil rights, and its involvement would continue to grow in

the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1960, the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964, and the VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965.

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—Allan Wesley Austin

## Civil Rights Act of 1960

As frustration with the lack of progress under the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1957 continued to build, Congress passed new legislation in 1960 to aid blacks in registering to vote.

Critics of the 1957 act could demonstrate its impotence by pointing out widespread violations involving the denial of suffrage documented by the commission on civil rights. Despite the 1957 act's intentions to end such violations, only one case involving the denial of the right to vote came before the courts in the law's first 16 months. The 1958 elections increased northern liberal representation in Congress, and this development encouraged civil rights advocates to push for stronger measures. In particular, these advocates sought legislation that authorized the federal government to seek court injunctions whenever an individual's civil rights were violated (a provision that had been cut from the 1957 act prior to its passage).

A number of factors resulted in a new law that encompassed slight changes to the voting rights provisions of the 1957 act: delaying tactics in the House of Representatives, the longest filibuster in Senate history, efforts by the administration of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER to limit the scope of the proposed legislation, and the disorganized efforts of liberals. The 1960 act did not address the issue of school desegregation or other SEGREGATION issues under protest at SIT-INS throughout the South.

Although civil rights advocates now possessed greater legal, ideological, and political resources than they had in the past, they still proved unable to defeat their opponents. Eisenhower's lack of commitment to the cause of civil rights resulted in a passive administration stance that did not press for significant change in the 1960 act. The Eisenhower administration met renewed pressure for civil rights legislation with a modest plan to create a system of voting referees that would be used by the courts to register African-American voters. This proposal marked a step back from the proposal of the Commission on Civil Rights, which would have allowed the referees to register voters without court action. Southern Democrats in Congress shared the Eisenhower administration's reluctance to try to effect racial change in the South. The dominance of racial moderation in the 1950s, when even many of those favorable toward civil rights hesitated to act, continued to limit the achievements of civil rights legislation.

While a filibuster in the Senate prevented action on a proposed civil rights bill, the House produced a measure with four key provisions. The first three addressed voting issues. State election officials were ordered to retain registration and qualification records of voters in federal elections. The bill also proposed allowing federal courts to declare individuals eligible to vote, enabling the federal government to address violations of voting rights based on race. In addition, the bill proposed endowing federal courts with the power to appoint voting referees who would collect evidence and provide the courts with reports on how African-American voters were treated. The final provision of the bill provided criminal penalties for bombing and mob action that obstructed court orders. This section also made it a federal crime to cross state borders to avoid prosecution for such actions.

The Civil Rights Act of 1960, as many civil rights advocates feared, proved largely ineffective. The federal district judges charged with hearing voting violations cases were often unsympathetic to issues of civil rights and racial justice. They moved slowly and frequently acted to obfuscate the 1960 act. Southern judges in particular at times failed to appoint voting referees, despite the act's provisions. Recalcitrant judges could also delay the process in a variety of ways. Incorrect and insufficient rulings, unjustified dismissals, and other tactics of procrastination could make the process more expensive in terms of both time and money. The federal government appealed such decisions and often won but faced delayed results. Even decisions in favor of the federal government did not always bring about immediate progress; unsympathetic judges at times moved slowly to enforce rulings in the federal government's favor. African-American voter registration was little affected by the 1960 act. At best, token registration occurred.

The 16 months of debate, maneuver, and compromise that marked the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 produced much weaker legislation, similar to that which had happened with the Civil Rights Act of 1957, and left both friends and foes of the new act exhausted. In spite of some hyperbole from both sides, the 1960 act provoked little response from most involved in the lengthy debate. This lack of rancor resulted in part from the limited nature of the relatively innocuous 1960 act as well as the hopes it stirred for progress in the future.

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—Allan Wesley Austin

## Civil Rights Act of 1964

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the most comprehensive civil rights legislation yet passed, helping to initiate widespread changes in the racial patterns of American society.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 developed under forceful presidential leadership and bipartisan congressional support in an effort to avoid continued bloodshed and upheaval in the United States. The passage of the first effective civil rights law since Reconstruction was spurred by events of the BIRMINGHAM CONFRONTATION, where the police turned high-pressure fire hoses and snarling dogs on demonstrators, and by ugly episodes elsewhere. President JOHN F. KENNEDY sent Congress a broad civil rights bill in June 1963 that clearly represented a new and more comprehensive approach to the issue of civil rights designed to avoid the limited nature and ineffective results of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1957 and the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1960.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON committed himself to the passage of the civil rights bill in the aftermath of Kennedy's assassination. A cloture petition to terminate debate on the 1964 act was circulated in the Senate in an attempt to defeat southern resistance. A similar tactic had failed to garner the necessary two-thirds vote in 1960, but the cloture petition succeeded with votes to spare in 1964 because the uncompromising posture of southern hardliners alienated many senators who had been undecided about the 1964 act and because Johnson used his considerable persuasive skills to rally support. Senator Everett M. Dirksen, the Republican Senate minority leader, also played an important role in the approval of cloture and passage of the 1964 act.

Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law on July 2, 1964, describing it as promoting "a more abiding commitment to freedom, a more constant pursuit of justice, and a deeper respect for human dignity." The Johnson administration acted with considerable speed to enforce the provisions of the act. The president, Congress, and the courts worked in concert to promote civil rights following the passage of the measure.

The sweeping scope of the 1964 act covered a number of issues. Titles I and VIII addressed voting rights. Title I prohibited the denial of the right to vote in national elections on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin. It also limited the use of literacy tests to determine voter eligibility. Title VIII directed the Bureau of the Census to gather statistics from elections for the House of Representatives since 1960 concerning race, color, and national origin in districts selected by the Commission on Civil Rights.

Title II provided injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations. One of the 1964 act's boldest provisions, Title II faced opposition from southerners



Cartoon showing an African-American family watching fireworks. The fireworks represent the Civil Rights Bill.  
(Library of Congress)

who based their arguments on the rhetoric of states' rights, mythic memories of Reconstruction, and fears of federal tyranny betraying the ideals of the founding fathers. They pleaded instead for gradualism and voluntarism, but their pleas failed to rally support in light of TELEVISION coverage of events in Birmingham and elsewhere.

Titles III and IV permitted the Department of Justice to file suit to desegregate public facilities and public education. Such suits could be brought only upon receipt of a written complaint from an individual too poor or too threatened to undertake such a suit. The measure also empowered various agencies to work on civil rights issues. Title V extended the life of the Commission on Civil Rights through 1969 and authorized it to serve as a clearinghouse for civil rights information and to investigate alleged vote frauds. Title X established a Community Relations Service within the Department of Commerce to help states and communities resolve disputes based in allegedly discriminatory practices.

Title VI, prohibiting discrimination in federally assisted programs, drew bipartisan support and attracted little attention during debates over the 1964 act. It became, however, a very powerful weapon for the executive branch with its permission to terminate federal funding to programs in violation of the new act. This title continues to affect educational institutions that receive federal funding today.

Title VII, another very important provision of the measure, established the EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION (EEOC). The title prohibited discrimination by companies with 25 or more employees on the basis of race, color, religion, gender, and national origin. Opponents of the bill had inserted the clause on gender in hopes of derailing the bill; the tactic failed but led to revolutionary changes in the legal status of female workers.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 represented a watershed in civil rights legislation. It destroyed many southern defenses and cleared the way for the VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965. It also ended the paralysis of school desegregation that had followed the *BROWN v. BOARD OF EDUCATION* (1954) decision. Although discrimination was not eliminated by the act, it helped to alter attitudes among the public and at the workplace.

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—Allan Wesley Austin

**Civil Rights movement** See AFRICAN AMERICANS.

## Civil War centennial

Between 1961 and 1965, an extensive commemoration marked the 100th anniversary of the United States's seminal conflict. In 1957, Congress and President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER established the United States Civil War Centennial Commission, consisting of 25 members and headed by Major General Ulysses S. Grant III, grandson of Union general Ulysses S. Grant. The centennial project aimed to commemorate the heroism and sacrifice of both Union and Confederate soldiers, and it sought more generally to highlight a reunited nation in a time of civil rights agitation and COLD WAR conflict.

From the end of Reconstruction in 1877 to the initial planning of the centennial observances, Americans in both the North and South recalled the conflict through public ceremonies, historical scholarship, and popular culture. In doing so, they engaged in sometimes contentious, but mostly united, efforts to define the significance of the war in terms of shared sacrifice. The commission's message of



national unity, personal sacrifice, and battlefield heroism reflected a broader aim to find common ground amid the divisive political, economic, and social issues that arose from the war—issues that persisted in the racial conflict in American society in the early 1960s. In the South, especially, the Civil War centennial served to repair southern identity by focusing on the heroism and political culture of southern society. Battle reenactments of the firing on Fort Sumter and the Confederate victory at the Battle of Bull Run allowed southern men to reclaim the political legacy of the war at the same time that many were working to preserve racial segregation.

By the time the commemoration began in 1961, the escalating cold war, coupled with the emerging Civil Rights movement, complicated plans for patriotic pageantry. In keeping with the COLD WAR CULTURE's focus on forging national unity, the centennial's leaders sought to exclude the legacy of slavery, the impact of emancipation, and the military sacrifice of AFRICAN AMERICANS from the commemoration. They also acquiesced to segregating the centennial's public facilities—a decision countered when President JOHN F. KENNEDY, in his first action on civil rights, repealed an order segregating centennial observances in Charleston, South Carolina. The early observances of the centennial also provoked widespread indignation from African Americans, who pressed for projects focused on less-than-patriotic aspects of the war. Civil rights leaders pushed for the centennial pageantry to consider the legacy of emancipation and urged policymakers to sign civil rights legislation overturning Jim Crow laws and other discriminatory public practices in the South. While Confederate reenactors staged public ceremonies honoring southern secession and heralding the legacy of racial separation, civil rights leaders staged their own centennial celebration in September 1963 to mark President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

As African-American voices joined the Civil War debate, President Kennedy replaced Centennial Commission leader Grant with Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Allan Nevins. Together with civil rights activists and revisionist Civil War historians, Nevins recast centennial observances away from battle reenactments and toward more integrated ceremonies. By 1965, however, enthusiasm for the Civil War commemoration declined as planners were unable to bridge the divide between southern memories of the war and African-American claims for racial inclusion in public life. In the spring of 1965, as southern public officials focused attention on civil rights demonstrations and worked to prevent public integration, the Civil War centennial came to an unheralded close.

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— David E. Goldberg

## cold war

The cold war is the term that defines the all-encompassing struggle during the second half of the 20th century between the SOVIET UNION and the United States.

Coined by financier Bernard Baruch and popularized by journalist Walter Lippmann, the term “cold war” characterized this struggle as a political, ideological, and economic conflict that rarely included direct military confrontation. Consisting of propaganda battles, economic warfare, proxy wars, and an ARMS RACE, the cold war touched virtually every corner of the globe in the years after World War II.

American participation in the cold war represented a sharp break in the history of American foreign relations. Before World War II, most American presidents followed the advice laid out in George Washington's farewell address, and avoided political and military participation in the world. After World War II, the presidential administration of HARRY S. TRUMAN believed that global conditions demanded greater American participation. His advisers believed that world stability was predicated on peace and prosperity, and that peace and prosperity, in turn, depended on the expansion of American ideals abroad. Democracy, free enterprise, and the protection of individual liberties—together these beliefs constituted the core of the American ideology that, if adopted by other countries, would lay the groundwork for a wealthy and peaceful global economic and political system. The Truman administration also believed that the U.S. ECONOMY needed to import raw materials and export finished goods to remain healthy. At every turn, the Soviet Union represented a threat to this strategy.

Different concerns animated the conduct of Soviet foreign policy. Believing that its continued existence rested on securing its boundaries against renewed German and/or capitalist aggression, the Soviet Union focused on acquiring stable borders and friendly neighbors. Joseph Stalin, leader of the Soviet Union, also sought to reconstruct the Soviet Union's industrial base, maintain a strong army, and present the Soviet Union and COMMUNISM as a shining alternative to the capitalist system. Although the Soviet Union often preached world revolution, it proved to be very cautious and pragmatic in its foreign policy.

Despite its overall caution, however, the Soviet Union, in light of its strategic objectives, sought to establish a



buffer zone in Eastern Europe. In Poland, Stalin insisted that the new Polish government cohere around a group of communist exiles known as the Lublin Poles, claiming that Poland had served as a “corridor” for German advances in the past, proving that Soviet influence in Poland was necessary. For added protection, the Soviet Union reabsorbed the states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. In 1947, the Soviet Union overthrew the democratically elected non-communist government of Hungary. The following year, it helped communists seize power in Czechoslovakia. With communist states also in Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, the Soviets succeeded in establishing a large bloc of pro-Soviet states that was institutionalized in the Warsaw Pact of 1955.

Fearful that the Soviet Union sought to extend its sphere of influence farther, the United States attempted to rebuild Western Europe as a bulwark against communism. In February 1946, GEORGE F. KENNAN, a U.S. diplomat in Moscow, wrote a “Long Telegram” that urged American policymakers to realize the severity of the communist threat, arguing that the Soviet Union blended Russia’s historic sense of insecurity with an expansive political ideology. To meet this danger, Kennan articulated what became known as the “containment” policy, which stated that the United States should “contain” the Soviet Union within its present boundaries; such a policy, Kennan believed, would ultimately enable the internal contradictions of communist ideology to unravel. In 1947, the Truman administration, in response to perceived communist aggression in Turkey and Greece, announced the TRUMAN DOCTRINE, which stated that the United States would provide economic and military aid to these nations and would assist any nation attempting to resist communist subjugation. A year later, the United States offered the MARSHALL PLAN, which outlined an aid package for reconstructing Western Europe. In 1949, the United States broke with tradition and entered the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO), a permanent alliance with Canada and Western European states designed to deter Soviet aggression, in which an attack against one member nation was considered an attack against all, to be met with force.

The vanquished nation of Germany became a microcosm of the burgeoning cold war. After the defeat of Nazi Germany in May 1945, the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union partitioned the country into four zones, with the understanding that this division constituted a temporary military measure. Because of its special symbolic significance as the former capital of Nazi Germany, Berlin was also divided into four parts. Over time, as the Soviet Union and the United States began to pursue conflicting policies in their respective occupation zones of Germany, the division of Germany hardened and finally crystallized when the Soviet Union initiated the BERLIN

BLOCKADE in 1948, cutting off supply lines to the German capital. In response to the Berlin blockade, the United States and the other Western powers established the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949.

As Europe divided itself along a new ideological fault line, so too did the major powers of ASIA. In Japan, Americans, despite Soviet objections, assumed sole responsibility for Japanese occupation and reconstruction. At first hoping to reform Japan, the United States switched gears as events in EUROPE deteriorated, moving to establish a strong Japan as an Asian bulwark against communism. Under the leadership of DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, the United States abandoned efforts to break up Japanese business conglomerates, reinstated former imperial leaders, and funneled massive amounts of aid to Japan. In China, the civil war that raged between Mao Zedong’s Communist army and Jiang Jieshi’s Nationalist army came to an end in 1949, when the Nationalists fled to Taiwan (Formosa) and Mao proclaimed the People’s Republic on October 1. American aid had propped up Jiang’s regime for several years, but Jiang’s incompetence and reactionary policies finally convinced many American observers that the Nationalist cause was a lost one and the United States withdrew support.

With the fall of China to communism in 1949, the developing countries gradually emerged as the focus of the cold war. Much of the developing world had existed for centuries as colonies of Asian and European powers; with the conclusion of World War II, these colonial powers had exhausted themselves and their possessions became hotly contested areas. In such regions as the MIDDLE EAST, Southeast Asia, AFRICA, and even South America, the United States often sought to stem the revolutionary tide because it feared that these nationalist movements were sponsored by the Soviet Union. In the name of ANTICOMMUNISM, the United States found itself drawn into several civil wars in which the participants were indistinct and the issues exceedingly complex.

Such an example was the KOREAN WAR, which represented the first real military conflict of the cold war. A former colony of Japan, Korea was divided into two occupation zones that eventually became two separate states, the Republic of Korea sponsored by the United States and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea sponsored by the Soviet Union. Both claimed representation of all Korea. After the United States withdrew its forces in 1949, North Korean forces invaded South Korea in June 1950. Believing that this invasion symbolized a test of American resolve, the United States, under the auspices of the United Nations, sent troops to help the South Koreans. The Americans and Chinese fought directly in late 1950 when the United States approached the Chinese border in its own effort to reunify the Korean Peninsula. The United States eventually settled for a draw, when the combatants signed an armistice that

reestablished the 38th parallel as the dividing line between North and South Korea.

In later efforts, the American government used less overt means to ensure friendly governments. In 1953, the United States sponsored a coup against the nationalist prime minister of Iran, Mohammad Mossadegh. In 1954, the CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA) helped oust the democratically elected government of Guatemala because it feared that the new government was susceptible to communist influence. These successes spurred the growth of the American intelligence community and created unwarranted faith in the efficacy of covert operations.

The decision to stop short of direct warfare on the part of both the United States and the Soviet Union can in large part be attributed to the prevalence of nuclear weapons on both sides. After the United States detonated the first ATOMIC BOMB over Hiroshima in August 1945, the United States maintained a monopoly over the weapon until 1949. Once the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb in 1949, an extensive and expensive arms race began. During the administration of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, the U.S. nuclear arsenal grew from 1,000 to almost 18,000 warheads. During the administration of JOHN F. KENNEDY in the early 1960s, fears about a “missile gap” spurred American production of nuclear weapons to new levels. The number of American missiles jumped from 63 in 1961 to 424 in 1963. During the same period, NATO’s nuclear missile power increased 60 percent.

In Cuba, cold war confrontation came to a head. After Fidel Castro took power in a successful coup against the American-backed regime of Fulgencio Batista, the United States initiated a number of covert efforts to remove him from power. Although unsuccessful, and sometimes spectacularly so, as in the BAY OF PIGS invasion, these attempts worried the Soviet Union and it took measures to deter any future efforts. In October 1962, the United States discovered that the Soviet Union was installing medium- and intermediate-range ballistic missiles in Cuba. Acutely conscious that these missiles could reach the United States in a matter of minutes, the Kennedy administration pressed for their removal. After a tense period of time, the American and Soviet governments reached a compromise: the Soviets withdrew the missiles in exchange for an American promise that it would not invade Cuba. Secretly, the United States also agreed to withdraw nuclear missiles from Turkey. With the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, the United States and Soviet Union realized how close they had come to a hot war and agreed to take measures to reduce tension.

The biggest factor, however, in initiating the end of the cold war was the American involvement in Vietnam. In 1954, the nationalist forces of Ho Chi Minh decisively defeated the French at Dienbienphu. Unwilling to allow the communist Ho to assume control of the country, the

United States stepped in and became the primary sponsor for the South Vietnamese regime during the VIETNAM WAR. After a number of years of gradual escalation, the American government began pumping massive amounts of aid in the mid-1960s to support the South Vietnamese government. The futility of this effort made Americans realize the limits of their power, and many began to call for better relations with communist powers. Agreements to limit the arms race eventually led to a reduction of tension with the Soviet Union.

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—Brian Etheridge

## cold war culture

The domestic culture of Americans after World War II was dominated by the escalating COLD WAR between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Americans after the end of World War II were looking to come home, start families, and enjoy domestic life. After experiencing war on the battlefield and the home front, both men and women looked forward to settling down, purchasing a home, and starting a family. The number of marriages increased, and those entering into postwar nuptials were younger than they had been in several decades. All of these components combined to create a new culture, one based on the nuclear family, SUBURBANIZATION, CONSUMERISM, and in light of international relations, fear.

The threat of COMMUNISM invading the home and corrupting the nuclear family of mother, father, and children was ever present throughout the cold war. No person contributed to this fear more than Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY. McCarthy held a series of televised hearings to ferret out possible communists within American society. Through his Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, McCarthy entered the homes of everyday Americans with accusations of the communist leanings of some of their favorite movie stars, writers, singers, and television personalities. From Arthur Miller to Pete Seeger, Americans witnessed nightly interrogations of public figures, all in an effort to keep the country safe from communist ideologies. Americans, in love with the innovation of TELEVISION, were surrounded by anticommunist messages and the unrelenting threat of Soviet infiltration.

The threat of nuclear invasion and attack created a constantly vigilant society. CIVIL DEFENSE drills and air-

raid sirens were signals that men, women, and children alike understood and feared. School-aged children were instructed in proper “duck and cover” techniques, which directed the children to crouch under their desks and remain quiet until the drill or danger had passed. Even people walking in the street were attentive enough to know that once they heard the alarm, they should dive into the nearest ditch or take cover in a similar natural shelter. Families with the means to do so also built their own shelters, known as “fall-out” or simply “bomb” shelters. These shelters were built underground and stocked with canned food, water, and air purification systems, in case of a prolonged Soviet attack.

The American home of the 1950s and 1960s was a refuge from the Soviet threat. Suburban subdivisions offered families, especially those who wanted to leave urban centers yet still maintain a connection to the city, the opportunity to purchase their own homes. The simply designed Levittown homes in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey as well as imitators throughout the nation were sold to American families eager to buy a small plot of land and a piece of the “American dream.”

These communities were filled with young couples and their children. The neighborhoods were also filled with consumer goods. Televisions, automatic washing machines, and kitchen appliances neatly matched in color and style made each ranch-style house a home. In the 1950s and 1960s as people moved from urban to suburban communities, their shopping wants and needs changed as well. SHOPPING CENTERS replaced downtown “Mom and Pop” stores and designed their window displays and advertising efforts on their key demographic, women. With each purchase, consumers took a stand against communism by supporting the free-market ECONOMY.

After World War II, Americans reverted to traditional gender roles as a way to promote safety and stability within the home. Women as mothers and housewives solidified the traditional feminine gender role during the 1950s and 1960s. In 1959 at the American National Exhibition in Moscow, Vice President RICHARD NIXON praised the American housewife. Nixon, in his now-famous “kitchen debate” with Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev, highlighted the freedom American housewives were afforded with the variety of appliances and modern conveniences. With the international crisis of the cold war, a constant threat of attack, and communist suspicions at every turn, the home was to be a constant reminder of the nuclear family as the American ideal.

Americans throughout the 1950s and 1960s were also able to escape their fears through the new sensation of television. Reinforcing the sense of safety in the home and family, traditional gender roles were emphasized on the small screen. With the mother in the kitchen and the

father in the workplace, life seemed ordered and uncomplicated. Family comedies like *I Love Lucy* and *The Ozzie and Harriet Show* were popular as well as quiz shows like *The \$64,000 Question* and *Twenty One*. These shows and similar programs, some of which were holdovers from radio programs, were family-friendly and provided entertainment for family enjoyment.

Television, with its three major broadcast companies of ABC, CBS, and NBC, was also a source of information, beginning to replace newsmagazines in the American home. Instead of reading *The Saturday Evening Post*, people were tuning into news broadcasts and commentaries. The television set was a double-edged sword of family-oriented entertainment and critical and shocking news stories.

Within the film industry, MOVIES with cold war themes were commonplace. Films like *High Noon* (1952), *My Son John* (1952), *On the Waterfront* (1954), *Salt of the Earth* (1954), and *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964) crossed the genres of western, drama, and comedy, all with the undercurrent of political satire. These films and others like them made the film industry as a whole one of the target groups for McCarthy’s hearings. The increased number of moviegoers made this medium and the messages of cold war conflict it contained quite prolific.

The cold war and the domestic American culture it created constituted a balancing act between the need for privacy and community, innocence and information, fear and reality. The men and women who lived through World War II were eager to move on with domestic life and make the world safer and better for their children. These young parents sought to provide a safe and secure environment in the nuclear age, and in doing so they promoted traditional family values and tried to retain innocence in a world rocked by violence.

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—Beverly Kendall Gordon

## commemoration

Museums, memorials, and organizations of the post–World War II era were typified by their emphasis on democracy and American ideals. As an element of COLD WAR CULTURE, commemorations bolstered appreciation for American traditions at a time when COMMUNISM seemed to be an increasing threat. Commemorative activities were especially aimed at instilling democratic values in young people

of the BABY BOOM generation, who would be responsible for sustaining the freedom that their parents and grandparents fought two world wars to maintain.

The 1950s and 1960s were a key period for major anniversaries of events associated with the founding of the country. With the 175th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence in 1951, the 175th anniversary of the Constitution in 1962, and the 175th anniversary of the Bill of Rights in 1966, the time was ripe for a reaffirmation of democratic ideals. These documents also were part of the FREEDOM TRAIN exhibition (1947–49), which toured the United States and offered Americans the opportunity to view the founding documents.

New commemorative organizations blossomed. Groups such as the Advertising Council (1942) and the American Heritage Foundation (1947) explained, celebrated, and commemorated the democratic foundations of the United States. At the local level, groups such as the Lions Clubs, Jaycees, and American Legion posts were essential to the spread of small-town democracy. They sponsored festivals for national events such as Constitution Day, Armistice Day, Flag Day, and Independence Day. With youth essay contests and family-friendly events, these democratic holidays became family as well as national traditions. One such celebration was “I am an American Day,” which started in 1940 and was mandated by Congress to be the third Sunday in May. This day encouraged people to embrace American citizenship, whether obtained by reaching the age of majority or by naturalization, because youth and immigrants were considered most vulnerable to outside influences, namely the communists. This commemoration continued on the local and national level through the late 1940s. At that time, the day lost most of its appeal, as the organizers began to feel that the outside enemy of communism was too large to be quashed with a single day of festivity.

The National Park Service (NPS), administered by the Department of the Interior since passage of the 1935 Historic Sites Act, sought to protect sites related to the nation’s founding and expansion. For example, Independence Hall and other historic buildings in Philadelphia became features of Independence National Historical Park, authorized by Congress on June 28, 1948. The park commemorates the nation’s struggle for independence and the birthplace of the United States government. The Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, Missouri, commemorates the spirit of westward expansion and the American ideal of exploration. This memorial, designated by the federal government in 1935, grew to include the distinctive Gateway Arch (authorized in 1954 and dedicated in 1968). The memorial highlights Jefferson as a leader in westward expansion as well as the pioneers who ventured into the 19th-century frontier. With parks such as these, NPS efforts to educate the public about

both history and preservation grew during the 1940s and 1950s. With the Interstate Highway System providing ease of travel to motorists, family TOURISM to explore American heritage increased.

Families soon had another destination to add to their list. In 1955, President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed a bill granting the Smithsonian Institution \$36 million for construction, leading to the opening of the Museum of History and Technology in 1964. This museum, later renamed the National Museum of American History, collected and displayed the history of the United States and was the sixth building in the Smithsonian complex.

Historic sites established earlier in the century, such as Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia, also aided in the promotion of democratic values. In 1949, for example, Colonial Williamsburg held a contest in which high school students wrote essays entitled “I Speak for Democracy” and organized a “Democracy Workshop” in 1951. Colonial Williamsburg also sponsored an “International Assembly” in the late 1950s for foreign graduate students studying in the United States. The goal of this program was to relate the ideals of democracy to these students before they returned to their native country.

Younger children in American grammar schools were taught to respect the ideals of democracy as well. In 1954, President Eisenhower opted to add the phrase “under God” to the Pledge of Allegiance recited by school students each day. This linked American students to both democratic and spiritual values. Again, this sought to strengthen convictions and therefore make Americans less vulnerable to outside influences.

New presidential libraries, organized by private supporters and administered by the National Archives and Records Administration, were dedicated to the men who held the highest democratic office in the land. These libraries act not only as repositories for presidential archives and memorabilia but also as destinations for Americans. Starting with the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library in 1940, these complexes have stood as reminders of the triumph and tragedy that characterized the term of each man.

With World War II such a recent event in the lives of Americans, monuments to commemorate the veterans’ fight for freedom also served to honor and defend the American way of life. One such war monument was the Iwo Jima Memorial near Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia, dedicated in 1954. This monument, a bronze representation of the famous Joe Rosenthal photo of the raising of the American flag on Iwo Jima, became a destination for veterans and school children alike.

In its many forms, commemoration in the United States during the cold war era helped to combat the communist foe by linking local communities and citizens to the values of democracy and freedom.



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—Beverly Kendall Gordon

## communism

In the post–World War II years, communism, the system of government in which property and the means of production are owned by a community instead of individuals, created tensions between the United States and the SOVIET UNION, leading to the COLD WAR.

In the early 19th century, the idea of a communist society arose in response to the plight of the poor and the dislocated at the dawn of modern capitalism. Many communist experiments resulted in communal living societies based on utopian ideals of a classless, propertyless citizenry. Later, communism was associated with the philosophy advanced by German writers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, who contended that in order for a true communist society to form, a revolution of the proletariat, or working class, had to take place. Marx and Engels predicted in their *Communist Manifesto* (1848) that revolutions would succeed first in industrialized countries such as France, England, and Germany, but the first successful communist revolution occurred in Russia in November 1917.

Soviet leader Vladimir Ilych Lenin's vision of a communist world order, led by workers, conflicted sharply with Woodrow Wilson's dream of an anti-imperialist, free-trade, capitalist world. Wilson sent American troops into Russia in 1919 to attempt to defeat the Bolsheviks—Russian revolutionaries—and create a moderate republic. When he failed to turn the tide of rebellion, Wilson refused to formally recognize the newly formed Soviet Union as a legitimate government. Not until 1933 did Franklin D. Roosevelt acknowledge the communist government. By that time, many Americans, disillusioned with the failing capitalist system during the Great Depression, were attracted to communism as an alternative system of government. Throughout the 1930s, a number of Americans joined the Communist Party, a decision that haunted many later in life.

Since 1917, the term “communism” has informally come to connote a system of government that accepts the Russian Revolution as a model for all Marxists to follow. The communist state in Russia, first established by Vladimir Ilych Lenin, continued after his death under the leadership of Joseph Stalin. Under Stalin, communism moved

even further toward totalitarianism. Several million Russians died during the forced collectivization of the Russian peasantry, the elimination of the kulaks (rich peasants), and purges against political enemies. Then the United States joined the Soviet Union and Great Britain in World War II, in what became a difficult but effective alliance to defeat Nazi Germany, at the cost of 20 million Soviet lives. In the aftermath of the war, most Americans associated communism with its Stalinist version and defined it as a totalitarian, godless, imperialist conspiracy directed by Moscow, which led to ANTICOMMUNISM that culminated in the second “Red Scare” in the early 1950s.

The relationship of the Soviet Union with the rest of the world was consistently troubling to the United States. To Americans, a communist government, wherever it existed, always appeared as a threat. Following World War II, the fear of communist infiltration of the U.S. government prompted officials to take measures to ferret out suspected communist infiltrators. The HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE (HUAC), a government agency created to investigate individuals suspected of conducting un-American or subversive actions, led the battle against communism in labor, government, and the arts.

No group was excluded from accusations of communist ties. In 1947, HUAC turned its attention to Hollywood, where the committee, in the hope of uncovering communists, interrogated actors, writers, and directors. A select group of writers and directors, known as the HOLLYWOOD TEN, chose to stand up for their rights and refused to answer questions about any affiliation with the Communist Party. The following year, HUAC focused on ALGER HISS, a former State Department employee, who was suspected of being a secret Soviet agent. Hiss was found guilty of perjury and sentenced to prison. By 1950, JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG were accused of selling secrets regarding the ATOMIC BOMB to the Soviets. They were convicted and executed. Many feared that communists had made their way into the highest branches of the federal government and attempts to reveal those employees with communist ties were stepped up.

In the 1950s, Wisconsin senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, convinced that communists had indeed penetrated U.S. government agencies, used heavy-handed tactics and panic-inducing accusations to pursue government employees suspected of communist affiliation. “McCarthyism” raised the omnipresent fear of communism across the country. Radio and TELEVISION performers, teachers, college professors, and civil-rights activists faced charges of disloyalty. Congress launched its own loyalty probe, enacting the INTERNAL SECURITY ACT (1950) over HARRY S. TRUMAN's veto. The measure declared that it was illegal to conspire to act in a way that would contribute to establishing a totalitarian dictatorship in America and required

members of communist organizations to register with the office of the Attorney General. Intent on rooting out subversion, Congress helped contribute to the feeling held by many Americans that communists constituted an unseen threat to the stability of the nation.

The climate of suspicion and ideological conformity pervaded the nation throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, and it led to the continued opposition to communist advances around the world. When communist forces from North Korea crossed the 38th parallel and invaded South Korea in 1950, Truman sent troops to defend the American-supported government of South Korea as the KOREAN WAR unfolded. Implementing diplomat GEORGE F. KENNAN's proposed policy of containment, Truman strove to stop the spread of communism into new areas. The commitment to stopping the spread of communism led to massive involvement in Vietnam. Led by communist revolutionary Ho Chi Minh, a nationalist movement sought to take control of the American-backed government of South Vietnam headed by Ngo Dinh Diem. The ensuing struggle in the VIETNAM WAR tore the United States apart, wrought enormous damage in Southeast Asia, and forced a reevaluation of America's cold war policies.

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—Philippe R. Girard

### Community Action Program (CAP)

One of the most controversial features of President LYNDON B. JOHNSON's WAR ON POVERTY, the Community Action Program comprised one component of the ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964. CAP allocated federal funds and resources to local antipoverty programs in various cities throughout the United States, while advocating grass-roots organization and community activism.

Throughout the 1950s, the issue of poverty took a back seat as politicians and the media highlighted the ever-increasing economic prosperity of America's middle class. Beginning in the early 1960s, however, social activists strove to bring the existence of poverty to public attention in the country. MICHAEL HARRINGTON's best-selling book *The Other America* (1962) and President JOHN F. KENNEDY's growing awareness of the poor highlighted the problem. In late 1963, after Kennedy's assassination, the Johnson administration initiated its War on Poverty, a program that proposed various approaches to attack poverty at its roots. This antipoverty package included the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which in turn provided the funds necessary to form approximately 1,000 community action organizations in 50 states within the next three years.

On March 16, 1964, Johnson addressed Congress and stated that the Community Action Program would "strike at poverty at its source" by asking American citizens in locally impoverished areas "to prepare long-range plans for the attack on poverty in their own local communities." In this way, antipoverty programs would not be "imposed on hundreds of different situations" by the federal government but would be enacted by "local citizens [who] best understood their own problems and knew best how to deal with those problems." The programs were to involve the "maximum feasible participation" of local community members, particularly those members actually experiencing poverty. In this way, supporters of CAP hoped to stimulate political activism across America and empower the poor to challenge the more politically capable members of society.

While the overall goal of CAP was to initiate antipoverty programs geared toward the specific needs of a particular community, most programs shared characteristics, including nonprofit corporation status and local governing boards. The staffs of these organizations typically included a large proportion of social workers, academics, and employees drawn from the target population of the poor. Providing outreach services and community organization assistance were two major commitments of most community action programs. These organizations all received their funding from a variety of sources, including foundations, local government agencies, and federal agencies. CAP funds were designed for legal, health, and educational services, as well as other valuable causes in impoverished communities.

While the CAP initiative garnered much support for bringing poverty to the public's attention, many people criticized the programs for simply regulating the poor while maintaining them at or near subsistence levels. The CAP budgets, developed by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), were repeatedly attacked for their failure to appropriate funds that matched the goals of the programs, allocating too much money to some organizations and too little to others. Many also complained that the OEO spread federal funds too thinly over too many antipoverty programs, leaving little for CAP.

A great deal of controversy also arose over the phrase "maximum feasible participation," used within the Economic Opportunity Act itself. Originally, this meant that the poorest members of a community took an active role in the discussions and decisions regarding how the organization in their neighborhood operated. In reality, the poor often were relegated to subordinate positions within the program. Middle-class, college-educated political activists held leadership positions and were more interested in destroying the local power structure than providing services for the needy. These advocates used the CAP funds to form tenant and work unions, develop campaigns to overthrow

the local officials, and provide bail for protest demonstrators. The misappropriation of leadership roles and funds led to protest demonstrations, class-action lawsuits against state and federal agencies, and demands that poor people be granted representation on all agencies that dealt with problems of poverty.

This brewing class conflict alarmed Democratic and Republican officials alike as they strove to curb CAP at the federal level. In 1967, Congress began a series of revisions, calling for a decrease in the CAP budget. In that same year, an amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act presented legal difficulties for community action programs to be controlled by poor people. With choices to be made at the community level reduced after 1967, community action shifted to social action movements that were independent of federal sponsorship. The Nixon administration further curtailed community action programs by substituting a national program of income maintenance. In the end, although CAP failed as an antipoverty measure, the program encouraged community activism and organization among the poorest sectors of society.

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—Donna J. Siebenthaler

## computer

American computing was born in 1945, and, by 1968, computers helped carry men into space, run complex radar systems for national defense, assist students and researchers throughout the country, and organize massive amounts of information that governed Americans' taxes, their airplane reservations, and even their telephone calls.

In little more than two decades, American computers went from innovative scientific tools to fundamental elements of American life—even if the average American had little personal interaction with machines that remained costly and complex throughout the 1960s.

These decades set the pattern for American computing development that continued through the close of the century, as designers and engineers constructed machines capable of increasingly impressive feats of processing power and speed, coupled with equivalent decreases in physical size and expense. Simultaneously, the industry produced a broad-ranging diversification of computer users and consumers, and developed crucial standards for both operating systems and programming languages. By the 1970s, computers were more powerful, more affordable, and more prevalent than ever imagined, setting the stage for their thorough integration into all segments of American life in the decades that followed.

The patterns of the American computing industry were formed at its very inception. The field began during World War II, when scientists and engineers from the University of Pennsylvania developed the ELECTRONIC NUMERICAL INTEGRATOR AND COMPUTER (ENIAC). This was the world's first computer. Like many subsequent developments, ENIAC's creation was funded by the American military, in this case to develop rapid ways of solving complex equations for artillery ballistics tables. The machine was more a powerful calculator than a modern computer, but unlike its predecessors, which relied on movable parts for their computations, ENIAC was wholly electronic. This was its great advance. Without the physical limitations of moving parts, but with more than 18,000 vacuum tubes and miles of wiring (and weighing nearly three tons), this novel machine could perform more than 5,000 additions or subtractions or 360 multiplications of two 10-digit decimal numbers in a single second. Such speeds were without precedent, and prompted the *New York Times* to predict, "a new epoch of human thought" and scientific development.

This first computer was not without its flaws, however, and its service provided its creators with invaluable experience essential for the development of the more complex and more powerful machines that appeared in the 1950s. Though speedy, ENIAC lacked any means of storing its own data. It could neither retain its computational results for use in later procedures nor perform multiple tasks simultaneously, significant handicaps when computing complex equations. Moreover, its original design offered no means for programmers to switch easily from one assignment to another. Each ENIAC computation used a different wiring pattern, and shifting procedures required the physical rewiring and reconfiguration of the entire machine, a task that often took days to complete. Its developers soon realized that "hard-wiring" numerous programs and typical equations into its circuitry would enhance ENIAC's overall productivity, even though some computational speed would be lost as a result. A machine that could store both programming and data would be far superior in use and function to a faster but inflexible computer, they realized, and future computer designers have followed their lead in this respect ever since. As one of ENIAC's primary developers, John W. Mauchly, stated, "calculations can be performed at high speed only if instructions are supplied at high speed."

Recognizing the need for stored data and programming was a major step on the path toward modern computing. Mathematician John von Neumann brilliantly captured the desirability of such enhancements in his 1945 *First Draft of a Report on the EDVAC*, a paper considered by many to be the seminal document of the entire industry. Von Neumann's essay described a machine that would capture the speed of ENIAC with stored-program capability and a large internal memory cache. Within a few years, his ideas

took shape in working models of stored-program computers with effective data storage: the EDSAC, brought online in 1949, and the EDVAC, which began operation in 1951. More widely known than these machines was the UNIVAC, a computer developed for commercial use by Mauchly and John P. Eckert, Jr., ENIAC's principal designers. The UNIVAC was one of the first computers to store its data on magnetic tapes rather than on traditional punch cards, but its greater claim to fame came from its appearance on live TELEVISION to help predict the winner of the 1952 presidential election between DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER and ADLAI STEVENSON. For years afterward, the words "UNIVAC" and "computer" would be virtually synonymous throughout the United States.

The basic form of modern computing, where data storage and accessibility rivaled pure speed as desirable traits in hardware design, was well established by the 1950s. The decade saw tremendous strides in the availability of such machines. The first computers were powerful and fast, but they were also physically massive and tremendously expensive. Only the largest organizations in the country could afford and effectively use such complex products, chief among these the federal government. Indeed, without government support (and in particular, without government funding for COLD WAR programs and military defense), America's computer industry would have been hard pressed to make such rapid technological strides throughout the 1950s and 1960s. ENIAC itself was the product of military funding, and its first program equations for the nation's ATOMIC BOMB research. Unlike private companies or consumers, purchasers such as the Pentagon or the NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) valued performance and speed far more than cost, and willingly paid companies to develop state-of-the-art systems designed with national security in mind. The

government thus sponsored innumerable research projects that profit-conscious companies might otherwise have foregone, though the results of this labor typically enhanced civilian products over time. Many important technological developments, such as magnetic tape memory, real-time operation, and the digital transmission of data via phone lines, were all developed in this manner, either for specific military functions or for defense contractors primarily concerned with satisfying government's needs.

Aside from government use, computer ownership in the 1950s was still wholly the domain of large companies and universities. By the close of the decade, however, the ranks of computer users would begin to swell, as numerous military-inspired developments made the machines increasingly smaller and cost effective. There were nearly 6,000 general-purpose electronic computers installed in the United States in 1960, whereas the number at the start of the 1950s could have been counted on one hand. More than 70 percent came from the International Business Machines company (IBM), and most others from seven smaller companies. Though these smaller companies developed many innovative products, the larger IBM consistently led the way in both production runs and development. In 1957, the company marketed a spinning disk for random-access storage of data. This so-called Random Access Memory (RAM) device ensured that data stored at any point on a disk storage unit could be accessed with virtually the same speed as information stored at any other point on the drive, a development that greatly enhanced the operating speed of future machines. One of the first users of IBM's new disk was United Airlines, which stored its entire reservation system on such a machine. IBM also developed the first commercially profitable computer based on transistor technology, the 7090, which replaced vacuum tubes as the machine's basic operating structure. Invented by William Shockley and his research team at Bell Laboratories in 1948, the development of the solid-state transistor was arguably the most important postwar development in the realm of electronics. Vacuum tubes were both notoriously unreliable and expensive, and transistors required less power and operated at a far faster rate. Computers using transistor technology thus required less maintenance, while simultaneously offering greater performance and speed (at a smaller physical size), allowing computer designers to improve both the performance and the accuracy of their machines considerably.

IBM's 7090 was the classic "mainframe" computer, and typified how computers were used throughout the 1960s. A large machine that featured a bulky console filled with blinking lights, buttons, and switches (that supported Hollywood's enduring vision of what a computer should be), the 7090 required its own climate-controlled environment and highly trained operators. Since computer time was



Man prepares the UNIVAC computer, 1959 (Library of Congress)



such a valuable commodity for these expensive machines, programming was typically conducted in “batches.” Users submitted their programs on decks of punched cards to the mainframe’s operators, returning to retrieve their data several hours or days later. The concept of direct personal access to the machine, and of users retrieving results within moments of program submission, was simply not possible in this age when few mainframe processors were idle for even a few moments in a typical week. This was a time-consuming process, but still far faster than anything available only a decade before. Of greater hindrance to computer users was the industry’s lack of a unified programming standard. Because each mainframe used a different operating system, consumers could not easily transfer their programming from one machine to another. For example, none of IBM’s first six computers developed in the 1950s with semiconductor circuits could run programs written for another. Without a uniform operating system, transfer of data and programming from one machine to the next proved a daunting, if not impossible, task.

Programming and software development lagged behind advances in hardware during the early days of computing. Indeed, the term “software” only developed after 1959. The industry took a major step toward a uniform programming standard in 1964 when IBM introduced its System/360 line of computers. Unlike the individually designed products that came before, these machines were developed as a family of computers, each suited to particular customer needs, and run by the same operating programs, thus allowing consumers to integrate different machines with different functions. The company pledged that future computers in the family would use the same programming code. The 360 series comprised IBM’s first attempt at unifying the growing diversity of programming languages then in existence (such as FORTRAN, COBOL, and Pascal), and virtually the entire industry followed the company’s lead. Firms throughout the country produced peripheral devices and computer equipment specifically designed for compatibility with the IBM system. Late in 1964, the RCA Corporation even introduced a family of four computers, the Spectra 70 series; its makers promised it would be fully compatible with any 360 (and cost 40 percent less).

Competition made these machines increasingly affordable, and computer prices fell in the late 1960s. Such systems were still designed primarily for business and government, but cracks in that trend appeared in 1968, when Digital Equipment Corporation (DEC) introduced its PDP-8, the first of the “minicomputers,” at the reasonable cost of merely \$18,000 a machine. Though more expensive than the average American home at the time, the advent of the minicomputer with its integrated circuits foreshadowed the shape of things to come. Armed with such circuits

(called chips), first developed in 1957 by engineers working for Texas Instruments and Fairchild Semiconductor (and designed primarily to direct America’s ballistic missiles), computer designers were finally freed from the cost and reliability constraints of transistors or tubes. These semiconductor chips contained complex circuits using lines “drawn” with chemicals, and one transistor-sized chip could contain the equivalent of a dozen transistors. Chips allowed computer makers to further miniaturize their machines, and they allowed programmers the space and power they required to make their own products even more potent. Consumers were the primary benefactors of these developments, and the market bloomed. Between 1968 and 1972, around 100 new companies offered microcomputers on the commercial market, introducing an average of one new computer every three weeks. These were driven by a myriad of new programs. IBM’s lead in the field diminished in 1968 with its decision (made under threat of antitrust litigation by the federal government) to divorce its programming and hardware divisions. The decades to come saw computers become more powerful, more affordable, and more available.

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—Jeffrey A. Engel

### Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)

The CIO was formed in 1938 as part of the UNION MOVEMENT to help organize workers in mass-production industries such as steel, coal, and automobiles.

During World War II, the CIO supported government defense efforts, and in return for following a no-strike policy, the federal government required all workers in defense-related factories to join the union. As a result, membership in the CIO rose from 4 million in 1938 to over 6 million by 1948. At the same time, concerns about wartime inflation led LABOR, BUSINESS, and government to limit wage increases and instead provide workers with ever more lucrative benefit packages. After the war, the CIO unions renewed their struggle for higher wages and benefits by calling hundreds of strikes, sometimes against entire industries. In 1945 alone, unions in both the CIO and AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) conducted 4,750 strikes that involved 3.4 million workers, including a major walkout by the United Automobile Workers against GENERAL MOTORS. This strike was particularly important because the union demanded that the company increase wages without increasing prices. Although labor did not

get this concession, the demand influenced later collective bargaining in which unions won an automatic COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT (COLA), as well as annual automatic wage increases arising from savings based on technological advances.

By 1946, the number of strikes reached unprecedented levels, and although labor was generally victorious, there was also increased criticism and condemnation of its growing power. The following year, Congress passed the TAFT-HARTLEY ACT, which tried to curb the power of organized labor. It outlawed the closed shop (where a worker had to join a union before getting a job), the secondary boycott, and the use of union dues for political activities. The law also instituted an 80-day “cooling-off” period for strikes affecting national safety or health, and required all union officials to swear under oath that they were not communists. The law was a stinging defeat for the AFL and CIO, which denounced Taft-Hartley as the “slave labor bill.”

The next major wave of CIO union activism began in 1950 and climaxed in 1952 when the number of workdays lost because of strikes exceeded the total of every preceding postwar year except 1946. The most serious work stoppage was the 53-day strike by the United Steel Workers in 1952. President HARRY S. TRUMAN attempted to seize the STEEL INDUSTRY, a move the Supreme Court later ruled unconstitutional. Although the CIO scored several victories in these labor disputes, they impeded defense industries during the KOREAN WAR, attracting antiunion criticism from political commentators and the press.

The growing anticommunist hysteria of the post-World War II years reduced the effectiveness of the CIO. During the 1930s, some key CIO organizers held that industrial unionism would lay the foundations for the ascendancy of COMMUNISM in the United States, even though rank-and-file workers had little interest in communism. For years, some of the CIO’s largest unions had procommunist leaders or followed communist-influenced policies, and while this was not a major issue in the early history of the organization, by the late 1940s, some influential CIO leaders strongly criticized the presence of these groups. These tensions increased when America became embroiled in the Second Red Scare with its anticommunist agitation in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Eventually the CIO felt pressure to rid the organization of unpatriotic elements. In 1949, the executive committee formally expelled 11 left-wing unions, an action that resulted in the loss of nearly 1 million members, including many who were black and female.

During the postwar years, the CIO also attempted to expand its membership into the southern United States. Although the vast majority of CIO members were located in the North and Midwest, the CIO leadership wanted to organize the mining, textile, and transport workers of the

South who were notoriously underpaid and seemed ideal candidates for unionization. In the process, the CIO faced issues of race, a weak union tradition, and strong pro-business governments. As a result, a major southern organizing campaign conducted in 1946 met with only limited success.

Actions like the Taft-Hartley Act, the seizure of the steel industry, and the events of the Red Scare eventually led to unification of the two major American labor organizations. The process began as early as 1950 when the AFL and the CIO formed a United Labor Policy Committee to deal with government labor policies, and the committee soon became involved in other areas of organizational cooperation. In 1952, the deaths of AFL president William Green and CIO president Philip Murray also removed two of the main antagonists in the bitter rivalry between the two organizations, and brought the AFL and CIO closer to a merger. Early in 1955, a Joint Unity Committee was formed, and a new constitution was drafted. The formal merger of the labor organizations came in December 1955. George Meany, who had succeeded Green as head of the AFL, was elected president of the new AFL-CIO, which now had a membership of 16 million members, equal to about 30 percent of all employed Americans.

**Further reading:** Robert Zieger, *The CIO, 1935–1955* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

—Dave Mason

### Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

Multiracial and committed to a nonviolent strategy, CORE took part in many of the 1960s civil rights struggles, including SIT-INS, voter registration drives, and FREEDOM RIDES, before shifting to a more militant stance.

The Congress of Racial Equality was founded in 1942 at the University of Chicago by James Leonard Farmer, a black Methodist minister, George Houser, a white Methodist minister, Bernice Fisher and Homer Jack, two white divinity students at the University of Chicago, James R. Robinson, a white Catholic and pacifist, and Joe Guinn, a black NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) member. Farmer became the group’s leader.

Committed to the principle of nonviolence, CORE’s first action was the desegregation of the City Roller Rink in Chicago. Other early efforts included a campaign to desegregate Palisades Amusement Park in New Jersey and a “journey of reconciliation” that set a biracial team of 16 people on a ride through the upper South to test a Supreme Court decision outlawing SEGREGATION in interstate travel. Three of the riders were arrested in North Carolina and sentenced to 30 days on road gangs.



Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., addressing CORE demonstrators who are protesting the seating of the Mississippi delegation during the Democratic National Conference, Atlantic City, New Jersey, 1964 (*Library of Congress*)

CORE gained national attention in May 1961, following a Supreme Court decision holding that segregation in interstate transportation facilities was unconstitutional. Together with the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), CORE organized freedom rides, which carried biracial teams through the South in an attempt to desegregate bus terminals. The freedom rides, while unsuccessful in the short term, brought the civil rights struggle much attention. As a result, CORE's budget increased to \$750,000 in 1961. While most of the money came from northern white liberals, CORE membership quickly moved to include a majority of southern black activists. In the spring and summer of 1962, CORE led less-publicized efforts to desegregate restaurants along Virginia, North Carolina, and Florida highways.

Throughout the mid-1960s, CORE organized nationwide boycotts and sit-ins to force corporations to hire more blacks, targeting Sears and Roebuck, California's Bank of America and Lucky Stores, along with New York and Cleveland construction sites. In 1963, CORE-supported sit-ins

and demonstrations reached their apex with the August 28 MARCH ON WASHINGTON. That summer, CORE's national director James Farmer was almost killed by troopers as he organized registration drives and desegregation protests in Plaquemine, Louisiana.

On April 22, 1964, CORE demonstrators disrupted the opening of the NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR, chanting "Freedom Now!" as President LYNDON B. JOHNSON delivered a speech. Farmer, Bayard Rustin, and MICHAEL HARRINGTON were arrested. The 1964 Summer Project saw SNCC and CORE members organize freedom schools, registration drives, and the MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY (MFDP), which tried to replace the segregated state DEMOCRATIC PARTY. On June 21, James Chaney, a black CORE member, and white CORE workers Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman were shot dead near Meridian, Mississippi, while on their way to help register black voters.

The violence CORE activists faced, along with impatience on the part of blacks, pushed CORE to adopt a more



militant program of action. In 1964, grass-roots community organization replaced direct action as CORE's weapon of choice. Many CORE workers blamed white members for the lack of responsiveness on the part of local blacks and advocated programs of racial pride and autonomy, organized by blacks, as the main solution. Propositions to bar whites from membership in CORE multiplied and many whites left the organization. CORE's commitment to non-violence waned, as local activists sought the protection of self-defense groups, such as the Deacons for Defense. Farmer praised the Deacons' work at the 1965 CORE convention in Durham, North Carolina, where Jonesboro Deacons leader Ernest Thomas delivered a speech.

In January 1966 Farmer stepped down as national director. CORE chose Floyd McKissick over the less militant George Wiley as his successor. McKissick supported separatism and moved CORE's headquarters to Harlem in August 1966. That same year, the national CORE convention in Baltimore adopted BLACK POWER as the organization's main slogan, renounced nonviolence in favor of self-defense, and condemned the VIETNAM WAR.

Even though CORE's positions were not quite as radical as those of SNCC, the organization lost most of its white membership and financial support, which translated into rising deficits and acute financial problems starting in 1966. In mid-1968, Roy Innis, the chairman of the Harlem chapter, replaced McKissick as national director. Innis centralized CORE's structure, created the CORE Special Purpose Fund to increase fund-raising, and started reducing the organization's \$1 million debt. Innis toned down CORE's objectives, advocating Black Nationalism and community economic development. Even though it never managed to regain the influence it had garnered in the early 1960s, CORE, under the leadership of Innis, survives to this day.

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—Philippe R. Girard

## conservatism

Conservatism sought to resist liberal advances in the years following the establishment of the welfare state.

The period following World War II constituted the low point for American conservatism in national politics. Although liberal hopes of expanding the social service state often met with resistance in the context of postwar prosperity, conservatism could not find a base for any real counterreaction against the LIBERALISM of the NEW DEAL.

Republicans and conservative southern Democrats in Congress managed to frustrate many of President HARRY S. TRUMAN's more liberal legislative reforms. After Republicans took control of Congress in 1946, the failure of moderate Republican THOMAS E. DEWEY to get elected in 1948, along with the Democrats' taking back of Congress, reflected the American people's desire not to scale back the social service state to pre-Depression levels. Even the election of a Republican war hero president in 1952, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, did not represent a serious threat to liberalism's ascendancy.

In response to their travails, American conservatives began to attack liberals as being soft on COMMUNISM at home and abroad. This was not limited only to Republicans attacking Democrats, although the most infamous use of the communist issue as a means to power was that of Republican senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY of Wisconsin. In 1949 and 1950, a number of events opened the way to attacking liberals for their alleged soft stance against communism: the explosion of the first Soviet atomic bomb, the realization that the Soviets had obtained atomic secrets from American operatives, the communist victory in China, and the conviction of ALGER HISS, a New Deal figure, for perjury in denying he had had communist connections. Although so-called McCarthyism produced some short-term successes for conservative politicians, it led to no real change in political policy. In short, anticommunist foreign policy and the gradual growth of the social service state marked the American political scene in the 1950s, as conservatism remained on the outside looking in. Domestic prosperity helped to mute liberal dreams for expanding the role of the state, but the national mood at the same time offered no opportunity for a conservative reaction against liberalism.

A new conservative movement began in the 1950s, though, and came to dominate American politics. A new generation of conservatives began restructuring their ideology to include a strong anticommunist and interventionist role in foreign policy combined with calls for capitalism to function without state interference. Books like William F. Buckley's *God and Man at Yale* (1951) and *Up from Liberalism* (1959), BARRY GOLDWATER's *The Conscience of a Conservative* (1960), Willmoore Kendall's *The Conservative Affirmation* (1963), and Frank Meyer's *What Is Conservatism* (1964) espoused these ideas and formed the basis of what would become a neo-conservative movement. This burgeoning movement also found a voice in a number of journals, including *Human Events*, *The Freeman*, *National Review*, and *Modern Age*.

In 1960 the founding of YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM laid the foundation for a national conservative youth movement. The YAF spread rapidly on college campuses during the early 1960s.



The new conservatives abandoned the traditional isolationism of their fellows to stay in touch with political reality in the COLD WAR world. Unlike cold war liberals, though, the new conservatives stressed liberation of communist nations over simple containment. On the domestic front, new conservatives continued traditional conservative calls for laissez-faire capitalism, but they couched the calls in new terms. New conservatives argued that unfettered capitalism, with government intervention at a minimum, was an inherent moral good. Thus, they managed to combine the interests of libertarians who wanted little to no government interference in economic matters with the interests of traditionalists who sought to maintain a conservative social order, often based on Christian theology.

Still, neo-conservatism was slow to take root. In 1964, Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater sounded the neo-conservative trumpet of virulent ANTI-COMMUNISM and maintenance of the American social order, namely racial SEGREGATION, but he was crushed in the November election by liberal Democratic incumbent LYNDON B. JOHNSON. However, the neo-conservative movement continued to grow, and, as the 1960s wore on, it gained more support. Neo-conservatives appealed to working-class Americans, once the bulwarks of the Franklin D. Roosevelt coalition for the Democrats, by concentrating on issues such as the growth of a welfare society and a perceived moral decline in America. Conservative Republicans sought to win support in the South and West from independents and wavering Democrats, and so secure these regions to go along with their strongholds in the Midwest and Great Plains. The strategy relied on southern whites' disenchantment with liberal support for African-American civil rights and a more general perception that "limousine liberals" in Washington, D.C., were out of touch with common Americans.

Richard M. Nixon, a more moderate Republican, gained the REPUBLICAN PARTY nomination for president in 1968 and proceeded to win the White House. Nixon's election marked a victory for a more moderate conservatism, in the tradition of Dewey and Eisenhower, but which also relied on the new base of support being carved out by neo-conservatives. The neo-conservative movement came of age by 1968 and, having found its spokesperson in California governor Ronald Reagan, dominated the American political scene by 1980.

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—Kevin P. Bower

## consumerism

In the prosperous economy of the postwar years, consumption became an important act of citizenship in the eyes of many. From this perspective, a person who purchased goods bolstered employment and the economy as a whole—and those achievements increased the nation's stability and strength during the COLD WAR. This form of consumerism involved give-and-take between citizens, the national ECONOMY, and the federal government. For example, through educational aid and home loans, the nation's GI BILL made it easier for VETERANS and their families to prosper. As citizens and businesses thrived, the government collected greater tax revenues and had more money to spend on programs that might add to citizens' consumer power and businesses' success. After years of sacrifices in the Great Depression and World War II, Americans' indulgences, it now seemed, were good for the country.

The argument in favor of American luxuries received its most prominent airing in a 1959 debate between Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev in a model kitchen that was part of a U.S. exhibition in Moscow. Noting that 44 million families lived in the United States, Nixon asserted that "25 million of [them] live in houses or apartments that have as much or more floor space than the one you see in this exhibit. Thirty-one million families own their own homes and the land on which they are built. America's 44 million families own 56 million cars, 50 million television sets, and 143 million radio sets. And they buy an average of nine dresses and suits and fourteen pair of shoes per family member per year." Khrushchev responded skeptically and poked fun at Americans' fondness for labor-saving devices. "This is probably always out of order. . . . Don't you have a machine that puts food into the mouth and pushes it down?" Khrushchev contended that Soviet rockets carried far more importance than the higher standard of living available in the United States; however, as he stood in the international spotlight, Nixon chose to place his emphasis on American consumption and comfort. Home building was at the heart of that consumption: In 1960, 25 percent of the nation's houses were less than a decade old, and in that year, 60 percent of Americans owned their homes, a sharp rise from 40 percent just 20 years earlier.

Whether Americans built houses, bought TELEVISIONS, stayed at a Holiday Inn, or dined at McDONALD'S, the spending power of the growing middle class represented good news for American manufacturers and service industries. Enjoying the advantages of postwar prosperity became as American as standing up against the threat of worldwide COMMUNISM. Fulfilling individual desires could be viewed as one means of carrying out civic duty. At the same time, many more Americans faced the duty of paying income taxes. After becoming law in 1913, the collection

of federal income taxes initially focused on only the richest Americans; however, during World War II, it became clear that the nation needed greater revenue. To fulfill that need, the government began placing a larger tax burden on those who were less wealthy. Wider tax collection continued during the postwar years and further contributed to the cycle in which individual prosperity contributed to national wealth.

The postwar boom contributed to more widely available services, and material acquisitions such as TV sets became common even among working-class Americans. With consumption such a key factor in American life, AFRICAN AMERICANS who were fighting to broaden their rights saw an opening in the greater accessibility to goods and services. Rather than focusing on abstract ideas, civil rights activists could call attention to public facilities that provided leisure activities, such as restaurants, hotels, movie theaters, and swimming pools. Black leaders recognized that education was crucial to economic success—and as a result, the push for equal schooling became a key issue in the civil rights crusade.

Despite the celebration of prosperity, Americans lost a level of protection in the economic free-for-all of the postwar years. During World War II, the federal government's Office of Price Administration had played a role in regulating business to protect the consumer. These efforts had included mechanisms such as rationing and price controls. At the war's close, many Americans had hoped that federal intervention would continue to hold business interests in check while protecting American consumers from losing their hard-earned dollars to provide easy profits for businesses; however, businesses and their allies in Congress quickly removed the government from its position between the producer and the consumer. Over time, even special interest groups such as LABOR unions accepted the idea that consumption was a facet of good citizenship. However, limitless faith in consumption to cure the nation's social problems was based on erroneous belief in an ever-expanding economy—a concept refuted by subsequent spiraling inflation and unemployment, which tightened poverty's grip on many Americans.

In the 1960s, a consumer-protection movement changed the business climate. VANCE PACKARD's *The Hidden Persuaders* and *The Waste Makers* advocated consumer rights. RACHEL CARSON's *Silent Spring*, published in 1962, revealed pesticides' deleterious effects on the nation's wildlife, and Ralph Nader's 1966 exposé, *Unsafe at Any Speed*, drew public attention to shoddy construction of automobiles. These works and others sparked a movement that propelled consumer-friendly legislation through Congress. Consumer advocates pushed for truth in packaging, truth in lending, unit pricing, customer safety, and environmental protection. Among the bills passed were

the Kefauver-Harris Amendments to the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1962, which mandated testing of all drugs for safety before pharmaceutical companies marketed them, and the NATIONAL TRAFFIC AND MOTOR VEHICLE SAFETY ACT OF 1966, which led to orders for car manufacturers to install seat belts, safety glass, and padded dashboards in all cars.

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—Alice L. George

### cost-of-living adjustment (COLA)

The cost of living became an economic issue after World War II as workers worried about the impact of inflation, and the inclusion of COLA clauses in labor union contracts became common.

The cost of living is considered to be the amount of money needed to purchase the goods and services required to maintain a certain standard of living. Since World War I, when knowledge of price movements was thought to be helpful in order to maintain a stable national economy, cost-of-living statistics, provided by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), have become important figures for economic management.

Although cost-of-living wage adjustments were made during World War I when economists identified unstable prices as an economic problem, interest in COLAs fell when prices stabilized in the late 1920s. Interest in COLAs reappeared, however, as World War II destabilized prices and inflation began to affect real earnings. A 1942 survey of manufacturing firms disclosed that 40 percent had agreements which included COLA clauses, whereas only 5 percent of the contracts had included such provisions in 1939. When the War Labor Board applied the Economic Stabilization Act to freeze wages in 1942, approximately 2 million workers were covered by COLA clauses.

The union movement was at its peak in 1948 when GENERAL MOTORS (GM) and the United Auto Workers Union (UAW) attracted national attention with the settlement of a two-year agreement that included a COLA clause adjusting basic wages for the rise in the cost of living since 1940. The COLA clause was based upon the BLS Consumer Price Index (CPI), a monthly report used to determine the cost of living by measuring the change in prices for a mixed market basket of goods and services. The agreement addi-

tionally allotted a 2 percent “annual improvement factor” wage increase, intended to share GM’s productivity gains with workers.

While other unions and companies were at first reluctant to follow GM and the UAW, by 1956, renewed inflation had fostered the adoption of COLA clauses into most union-management contracts. From 1958 to 1960, 4 million workers, half of all employees under major labor-management agreements were covered by COLA clauses. Just as COLA agreement popularity peaked during the late 1950s, prices fell by half in 1958, and averaged only 1.4 percent annually over the next eight years. As a result, union interest in COLAs sharply fell again. BLS surveys revealed that between 1961 and 1970, the proportion of workers under major agreements who were covered by COLA clauses averaged only 25 percent.

A new period of inflation beginning in 1966 once again fostered an increasing union interest in COLAs. It was a sharp increase in prices from 1973 to 1975, however, that brought a renewed interest in COLAs comparable to that of the late 1950s. By the end of 1975, an estimated 8 million workers were covered by some version of a COLA clause.

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—Jason Reed

### Council of Economic Advisors (CEA)

The Council of Economic Advisors (CEA) was created as part of the EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1946, a landmark piece of legislation that made it the policy and responsibility of the federal government to design economic policies to promote maximum employment, production, and consumer purchasing power. The role of the CEA in this process was to provide nonpartisan advice and consultation to the president when formulating these policies.

The CEA’s role was to provide information on current and anticipated economic trends and to recommend national economic policies to fulfill the goals under the law. The CEA consists of three members appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate. It issues a wide array of economic reports and studies during the year, and it is required to submit an annual report on the state of the ECONOMY each December.

The CEA was created as part of a broader effort by the federal government to improve its ability to control the economy and prevent a recurrence of the Great Depression. The adoption of the idea that fiscal policy could influence the domestic economy demonstrated increased acceptance by federal officials of the theories of John Maynard Keynes, who outlined the potential for government

involvement in the economy in his landmark 1936 work *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. Keynes attacked classical economic thought that said that a free-market economy tended to produce full employment and maximum utilization of economic resources, and instead contended that spending, for both consumption and investment, was the critical element in determining the level of employment. He further argued that if private enterprise could not induce people to spend, then there were governmental means to do this. In 1939, Keynes’s ideas influenced the creation of the National Resources Planning Board, established to improve the long-range economic planning capabilities of government.

Keynesian theories also affected economic planners during World War II, who feared that when the war ended the country would again fall back into depression. One important way to avoid this was to focus on postwar employment, especially since more than 10 million servicemen would need jobs when they left the military. In 1945, Congress took up consideration of a full employment bill that would make it the responsibility of the government to provide jobs for everyone who was willing to work. This idea, however, was very controversial, and after months of debate, the measure President HARRY S. TRUMAN finally signed into law as the Employment Act of 1946 was significantly different from what was originally proposed. Instead of making it the responsibility of the government to ensure full employment, the law mandated only that the government set domestic policies that would promote economic growth, with the CEA helping officials attain this goal.

The idea of an independent advisory group responsible to the president was a new and controversial initiative. Even though all CEA members had to have a background in economics, legislators feared they would be able to manipulate or even control national economic policy. Despite such concerns, Congress felt that a permanent body was necessary to provide the type of information needed to fulfill the objectives of the law. As hoped, the CEA helped educate and increase the economic literacy of policymakers. Because its reports were based on factual and analytical precision, the CEA has provided an unbiased account of past trends and prospects for the future. Finally, the CEA has become a center for economic research, innovation, and experimentation that improves its ability to focus on long-term objectives.

The Employment Act of 1946 with the creation of the CEA represented a major expansion of government’s role in the economy. It institutionalized macroeconomic planning by the federal government and made the executive and legislative branches responsible for enactment of laws that would promote growth. This law was also part of a broader trend to increase government activism and involvement in the national economy.



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—Dave Mason

### counterculture

The counterculture movement of the 1960s reflected the loss of faith in the American system for many young people and a willingness to experiment with new social and cultural patterns.

Most members of the counterculture tended to be young, white, well educated, and from a comfortable economic background. Many experimented with illicit drugs, free sex, sexual patterns, and different social and marital arrangements. The powerful post–World War II ECONOMY raised the expectations of young Americans, giving room for such radical cultural expressions.

The Beat movement grew out of the jazz culture of the 1940s and 1950s. Beats, or “Beatniks” as their critics sometimes called them, strove to be “cool,” appearing detached from “square” society, seeking instead individualism and freedom. A central figure of the Beat movement was JACK KEROUAC. Kerouac coined the term BEAT GENERATION, which first meant weariness with American life, but later came to connote peacefulness and beatitude. Born of French-Canadian parents in Lowell, Massachusetts, Kerouac excelled at sports, earning an athletic scholarship to Columbia University in 1940. In the early 1940s Kerouac met poet ALLEN GINSBERG, and author William Burroughs. In 1946, he met Neal Cassady, whose manic lust for life became an inspiration to the group of writers. The Beats became nationally known in 1956 with the publication of Ginsberg’s *Howl and Other Poems* and Kerouac’s novel *On the Road* the following year. Because of the frank nature of *Howl*, media reports sensationalized the book and some critics called for its suppression. But the scandal only increased the fame of the Beats. *On the Road* was also a frank testament to the Beat lifestyle, openly celebrating their appetites for drugs, sex, or whatever thrills they could find. The novel quickly became a classic of countercultural LITERATURE, inspiring a generation of young Americans, especially those who found the 1950s a stifling decade in which to come of age. Other preeminent Beats included poets Michael McClure, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, whose City Lights Bookshop in San Francisco was central to Beat culture, and Gary Snyder.

Like the Beats before them, many young people in the 1960s, especially college students, criticized what they perceived to be a culture of conformity on the part of their parents’ generation, favoring individualism over “fitting in.” Many young Americans were inspired by the Beats. Others learned to question authority through

involvement with campus political movements such as the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) and the FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT at the University of California at Berkeley. Other sources of the counterculture include a resurgent feminist movement, sparked by BETTY FRIEDAN’s *Feminine Mystique* in 1963, which inspired many young women to question traditional roles. That same year, Harvard University dismissed TIMOTHY LEARY for experimenting with LSD and other drugs on himself and his students. Leary, who was often flanked at public events by Allen Ginsberg, became a hugely popular figure in the counterculture, urging students to “Tune in, turn on, drop out.” Americans began to popularly recognize rebellious youth as “Hippies” by 1965. Two years later, thousands of hippies, “freaks,” and others descended upon San Francisco, declaring a “Summer of Love.” Many hippies judged mainstream society overly rational and



Allen Ginsberg, Timothy Leary, and Ralph Metzner (left to right) standing in front of a 10-foot-high plaster Buddha, preparing for a “psychedelic celebration” at the Village Theater, New York City (*Library of Congress*)



technological, opting for things “natural,” such as organic foods, marijuana, and nudism. Rock musicians such as the BEATLES, BOB DYLAN, and Janis Joplin became iconic figures whose recordings and concerts were of central significance in the lives of their fans.

There is no single coherent narrative of the counterculture in the 1960s; the number of movements and fads is too numerous to catalog briefly. As the decade progressed, some countercultural ideas and customs became more popular or acceptable, among them relaxed styles of dress, long hair, vegetarianism, ROCK AND ROLL music, and extramarital sexual activity. Advertisers began to employ catchwords and styles favored by hippies in order to appear “with it” in the eyes of consumers. At the same time, many countercultural groups drifted further from mainstream society. Some fled from the cities for rural communes in remote places such as Taos, New Mexico, or to rural outposts in Northern California. Others such as Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin and their Youth International Party, or “Yippies,” embraced political radicalism and revolution. At the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in the summer of 1968, the Yippies gained national attention when they proposed the nomination of a pig for president and became involved in violent riots that convulsed Chicago’s streets. Many countercultural figures, including Rubin and Hoffman, were arrested at the convention, and the narrow victory that November of “law and order” candidate Richard M. Nixon may have been influenced, albeit negatively, by the actions of the radical counterculture.

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—Patrick J. Walsh

## credit cards

Credit cards expanded the buying power of postwar consumers, allowing Americans to purchase goods and services with little regard for income restrictions.

Prior to 1950, charge cards were a novelty for the rich, used in lieu of carrying large amounts of money, allowing the holder to sign for merchandise and services. Most Americans could not afford the luxuries of the rich and prosperous, making automobiles, washing machines, and other large-scale purchases beyond the means of the average consumer. The effects of the Great Depression and the onset of World War II further limited the market

production of commodities and the buying capabilities of most families.

The postwar boom of the 1950s ended production constraints, and brought an abundance of products and goods to American markets. With it came an increased desire to own the newest appliances, televisions, and automobiles. Americans willingly went into debt to purchase those products that had been beyond their means during the lean years of the 1930s and 1940s. Retailers capitalized on this trend and promoted installment buying, allowing consumers to make large purchases on a monthly payment plan; smaller purchases were still made with cash. In February 1950, Frank McNamara, a New York businessman, discovered that he had forgotten his wallet elsewhere while dining out and the idea for a charge card that favored credit buying on a smaller scale was born. McNamara founded the Diners Club, and he offered the first charge card constructed of cardboard to 200 people. Diners Club allowed its members to charge meals at 27 New York City restaurants. For an annual fee of \$3, cardholders were billed monthly with the balance to be paid in full each month.

In 1951, Franklin National Bank of New York introduced the first bank credit card. For a minimum monthly payment, consumers could make purchases at a small number of businesses that recognized the card. In 1958, the American Express card and Bank of America’s BankAmericard joined the growing number of bank-issued cards that consumers found easy and convenient to use. Within three months of the issuance of the first American Express card, 500,000 people owned the card, and in less than 10 years, 2 million cardholders used American Express at the checkout counter. The popularity of credit cards increased steadily throughout the 1950s and 1960s, with American Express offering a more durable plastic card in 1959.

The growth of credit cards had an enormous impact on the ECONOMY, changing buying habits and making it easier for consumers to finance purchases. Manufacturers encouraged this spending by introducing new models of various products on a yearly basis, urging consumers to buy the latest models. Businesses turned to ADVERTISING and TELEVISION in an effort to market their products on a larger scale. Middle-class families joined with the very wealthy in buying products that reflected their status and prosperity, and increasing numbers of Americans tried to keep up with their neighbors by buying the latest products that continually flooded the market. Consumer credit increased from \$8.4 billion in 1946, to nearly \$45 billion in 1958, reflecting the enthusiasm that people had in using credit cards, installment plans, and loans in the postwar period. By 1965, 5 million credit cards were in circulation, with the largest increase in use taking place in the late 1970s with the introduction of Master Card in 1979.

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—Susan V. Spellman

### Cuban missile crisis

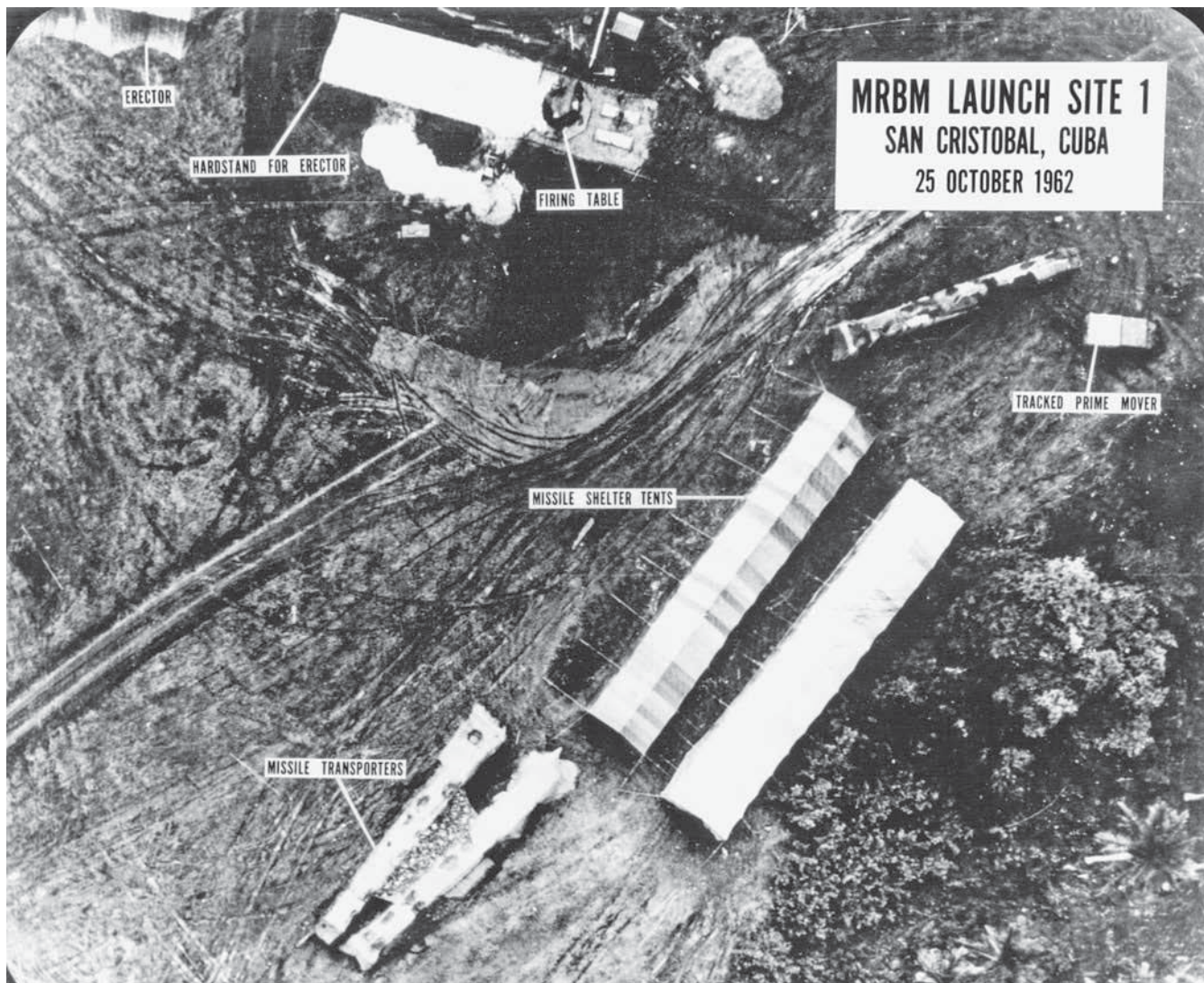
The Cuban missile crisis was a standoff between the United States, the SOVIET UNION, and Cuba during October 1962.

The Soviets had deployed nuclear missiles in Cuba that were capable of reaching targets in the United States. For two tense weeks, the world hovered on the brink of nuclear war. Disaster was averted when Soviet leader Nikita

Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles in exchange for an American pledge not to invade Cuba.

After the failure of the BAY OF PIGS invasion, the administration of JOHN F. KENNEDY had Cuba removed from the Organization of American States, tightened the economic blockade, and authorized OPERATION MON- GOOSE, an interagency task force devoted to the overthrow of Fidel Castro. In response, Castro moved closer to the Soviet Union, requesting military protection against another American invasion. Khrushchev responded with an offer to deploy Soviet nuclear weapons to Cuba.

The Soviet leader had several reasons to make this offer. He wanted to deter an American attack against Cuba, but he also sought to shore up the nuclear imbalance. By improving the Soviet Union's strategic position, he would



Picture from a spy satellite showing a missile launch site in Cuba (John F. Kennedy Library)



be able to cut back conventional military forces, reduce overall defense spending, shift more funds into the civilian economy, and raise the Soviet standard of living. Although Castro had asked for more traditional military aid, he agreed to Khrushchev's proposal. He wanted to stave off a future American invasion, enhance Cuba's geopolitical position, and contribute to strengthening the socialist camp.

The first Soviet missiles arrived in Cuba in the late summer and early autumn of 1962. By early October, the Soviet deployment included medium-range ballistic missiles with 1-megaton warheads and a range of 1,100 nautical miles, nuclear-capable light bombers, and cruise missiles. The increased Soviet activity on the island did not escape the notice of American intelligence and the press, but Kennedy was confident that the weapons were defensive, such as surface-to-air missiles. He warned the Soviets that they should not deploy offensive weapons to a nation only 90 miles from the southern coast of the United States.

On the morning of October 16, Kennedy was informed that American reconnaissance had detected offensive missile sites in Cuba. The president immediately called his closest high-level advisers to the White House. This group of policymakers constituted the Executive Committee of the National Security Council, or ExComm, and together with Kennedy they made most of the policy decisions during the crisis.

For the next week, ExComm met secretly to discuss various diplomatic, political, and military options. They weighed the merits of an air strike, an outright invasion, a naval quarantine to prevent the deployment of additional weapons, and negotiation through the United Nations. Realizing that an air strike would not be able to eliminate all of the weapons, Kennedy opted for the quarantine. A quarantine would keep Soviet ships from reaching Cuba, but it was not called a blockade, for a blockade was an act of war.

On the evening of October 22, Kennedy addressed the nation on TELEVISION. He described the nuclear missile sites in Cuba and announced the quarantine. Several hours before, he had informed the Soviets that their missiles had

been detected. The next week marked the most dangerous phase of the crisis. By October 27 all of the medium-range missiles in Cuba were assembled and could be tipped with nuclear warheads in four hours. In the meantime, a Soviet commander shot down an American U-2 reconnaissance plane, heightening the tension. Fortunately, cooler heads prevailed. After the quarantine went into effect, Khrushchev ordered many of his ships to turn back.

On October 26, Khrushchev offered to remove the weapons if the United States promised not to invade Cuba. The next day, another letter arrived with the additional stipulation of a public trade of the Soviet missiles in Cuba for the American Jupiter missiles in Turkey. Kennedy found this additional condition unacceptable, but several advisers suggested ignoring the second message and responding positively only to the first letter. This tactic proved successful.

On October 28, Khrushchev announced that work on the missile sites would cease and the weapons would be dismantled and returned to the Soviet Union. In return, Kennedy pledged not to invade Cuba, although Operation Mongoose continued unabated until the president's death in 1963. Kennedy also secretly agreed to remove the Jupiter missiles from Turkey.

Despite haggling among all three parties over the details of removal of the weapons, the crisis ended peacefully and all offensive missiles were shipped back to the Soviet Union. Kennedy terminated the quarantine on November 21. The danger of the crisis and the threat of nuclear war led both Khrushchev and Kennedy to try to improve U.S.-Soviet relations, including establishing a hotline to provide for constant communication. Although they achieved only limited success, the post-crisis thaw in relations did contribute to the LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY OF 1963.

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—Jennifer Walton





# D



## defense budget

Following World War II **DEMOBILIZATION**, the defense budget at times experienced major cuts, but then rose dramatically to meet the needs of the **COLD WAR**.

After the sizable defense buildup accompanying World War II, the United States sought to lower defense expenditures to more reasonable levels in peacetime. President **HARRY S. TRUMAN** wanted to scale back the defense budget, while at the same time raising the military's effectiveness. As Truman's presidency continued, the consistently lower budget allocations gradually began to worry many military leaders, who felt the continued cutbacks would limit the efficiency of any military action. Truman hoped that foreign economic aid, including the **MARSHALL PLAN**, would also curtail any aggressiveness by the **SOVIET UNION**, lessening any need for additional expenditures.

Nevertheless, Truman gradually relented, though he still retained a stranglehold over the disbursement of funds. With the 1949 communist takeover of China, the Soviet **ATOMIC BOMB** test, and countries demanding American assistance, it became imperative that the budget be increased. By fiscal year 1949, though Truman only requested \$10.3 billion for defense, the actual expenditures totaled just over \$12 billion. The same thing happened during the next fiscal year, though the excess was smaller.

Security issues demanded increased funding. The National Security Council, in an effort to repel security risks, drafted NSC-68, a document calling for larger budget expenditures to strengthen American defenses overseas and combat communist propaganda. Once presented with NSC-68, Truman quickly approved it. NSC-68 was not implemented immediately, but the start of the **KOREAN WAR** in June 1950 sped up the process. By December, Truman declared a national emergency, calling for additional defense expenditures. The defense budget quadrupled during this time.

The Korean War ended in a stalemate in 1953. By then, **DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER** had been elected president. Eisenhower knew that defense expenditures needed to be cut. Because he did not fully agree with the reasoning of NSC-68, he was forced to revise the Truman defense budgets. In the first fiscal year alone, Eisenhower cut approximately \$10 billion, with about half of that cut coming directly from national security measures.

Eisenhower also altered the defense plans in another way, with his "New Look" or "Massive Retaliation" policy. Focusing more on nuclear deterrents and large-scale retaliation for any threatening action, he reallocated dollars to the air force, often at the expense of the army and navy. This would, his administration claimed, give a "bigger bang for the buck." Throughout his presidency, Eisenhower sought to limit the burden on the American people so as not to lead the country toward financial dire straits, which he felt could occur if the militarization of American society continued. In his farewell address at the end of his second term, Eisenhower warned of the United States becoming a **MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX**.

By Eisenhower's second term, arguments over defense spending continued. The Gaither Report, a top-secret security document calling for an immediate increase in spending, only exacerbated the president's problem when it was leaked to the press. The Soviet Union's 1957 launching of *Sputnik* also led to calls for additional defense spending, as did the growing crisis over Berlin. As had Truman, Eisenhower ultimately relented somewhat, though not nearly as much as military leaders and others wanted. The battle was not over, though; in the 1960 election year, Eisenhower's submissions were not nearly high enough for legislators hoping to spend more on local projects and to close a supposed missile gap with the Soviets.

When **JOHN F. KENNEDY** became president in 1961, there was a slight budget deficit left from the Eisenhower administration. Despite this and a slow economy, Kennedy increased military spending, focused mainly in a program

called “Flexible Response,” on the more conventional weapons rejected by Eisenhower. As the Berlin question continued to cause problems, Kennedy further increased the budget and eventually called for a civil defense program that included fallout shelters.

The VIETNAM WAR issue became more predominant during the Kennedy administration, and after his assassination, LYNDON B. JOHNSON further expanded American presence in Southeast Asia. By 1968, the American troop involvement reached its peak. Substantial amounts of money were required to support the more than 500,000 American troops in Vietnam. On the domestic front, Johnson promoted his GREAT SOCIETY, but there was not nearly as much money as was needed for both of these endeavors. Nevertheless, in the five years Johnson was president, the actual military budget increased from \$51 billion to \$76 billion; within those numbers, spending for missiles and nuclear-related devices dropped considerably, while, as in the Kennedy administration, expenditures for conventional weapons skyrocketed, almost doubling.

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—D. Byron Painter

## demobilization, after World War II

America's military and economic demobilization proceeded very rapidly after the end of World War II.

Demobilization started as early as Victory in Europe Day on May 8, 1945, and accelerated after Victory over Japan Day on August 14. The size of the U.S. armed forces plunged from 12 million men and women in June 1945 to 4 million by the middle of 1946 and to 1.5 million in June 1947, by which time the armed forces reached their peacetime level. Economic demobilization proceeded accordingly. The annual rate of spending for military expenses dropped from \$90.9 billion in January 1945 to \$10.3 billion in the second quarter of 1947.

Troops were dispersed systematically. The army created a point system that was later copied by other services. Under this system, each soldier received one point for each month of army service since September 1940, one point for each month served overseas, five points for each Service Cross, Silver Star, and Purple Heart, and 12 points for each child under 18 up to a limit of three children. In May 1945,

the army announced it would send home every man with 85 or more points. The requirements decreased in subsequent months, falling to 60 total points by November.

This rapid demobilization had much to do with strong pressure from Congress. Troops, along with their family and friends, sent millions of letters asking for speedy return, warning their congressional representatives that any delay would cost them votes. Mothers even sent baby shoes accompanied by the words, “Please bring back my daddy.”

Popular support for demobilization embodied an American political tradition going as far back as the War of Independence. Americans were concerned that a large peacetime standing army would require the expansion of the federal government and high taxes. Traditional isolationism, the emphasis on domestic pursuit of wealth rather than on international adventurism, and hatred for the extensive government controls required by a wartime economy, all created pressure for quicker demobilization.

Rapid demobilization in 1946–47 created a variety of military and strategic problems. The army lacked sufficient troops to guard its large supply depots against theft and to carry out its occupation duties in Germany, Austria, Japan, and Korea. Withdrawal from Western Europe raised concerns that the SOVIET UNION, which had not demobilized as fast or as thoroughly, could further expand its sphere of influence in Europe. The Soviet army numbered 3 million troops (down from 11 million during the war), with most located in or near Eastern Europe. Dwindling numbers of ground troops made overreliance on a large air force and on the ATOMIC BOMB the only strategic option, and obliged the State Department to use economic tools such as the MARSHALL PLAN rather than military threats to achieve its foreign policy goals.

Many business leaders feared that the economic impact of demobilization would create a recession, or even a return to the Great Depression. Fifty percent of the gross national product, which had grown from \$101 billion in 1940 to \$214 billion in 1945, was connected with military expenses by war's end. Many feared that unemployment, created with the cancellation of large military contracts, would increase with the return of 12 million demobilized servicemen.

These fears eventually proved unfounded. Civilian consumption, fueled by large wartime savings, quickly replaced military contracts. Many veterans went to college under the provisions of the 1944 GI Bill instead of entering the workforce. Overtime work diminished as the necessities of war production ceased to justify its existence. Many workingwomen went back home as their husbands came back from the war. In August 1946, with more than two-thirds of the armed forces demobilized, unemployment remained at 3.3 percent.

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—Philippe R. Girard

## Democratic Party

In the two decades after World War II, the Democratic Party moved to the left of the political spectrum, alienating its southern, conservative wing while maintaining faith in the power of government to cure the ills of American society and play a dominant role in the world outside.

In the years directly after World War II, many Americans continued to perceive the Democratic Party as the party of the NEW DEAL. To some extent this was true: President HARRY S. TRUMAN oversaw the development of several New Deal-type programs, including the GI Bill, the FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION, and the Commission on Civil Rights. He also echoed Roosevelt by promising a FAIR DEAL to all Americans. Nevertheless, in 1946 the Democrats lost control of Congress. Even within his own party Truman was compelled to placate conservative southern legislators bent on denying any power to civil rights legislation. In the 1948 presidential election, both its liberal and conservative wings abandoned the party. In 1947, former vice president Henry A. Wallace had formed the PROGRESSIVE PARTY, perceiving an alleged slavish allegiance to big business at the expense of human rights by the Democrats. An even greater threat to the Democrats' power came from the STATES' RIGHTS PARTY, popularly known as the Dixiecrats. In their party platform the Dixiecrats declared their support for "segregation of the races and the racial integrity of each race." In the November presidential election, Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the Dixiecrats' candidate, won four Southern states. Republican candidate THOMAS E. DEWEY won much of the Northeast and Midwest but, although heavily favored to win, was unable to shake the Democrats' hold on the White House.

Four years later, in a wide-open race for president, the Democrats settled on Illinois governor ADLAI STEVENSON. A symbol of the party's liberal wing, Stevenson hoped to extend the New Deal and Fair Deal, but stood little chance against the widely popular General DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER. Stevenson, whose divorce likely cost him support of many Catholic voters, won no state north of West Virginia or west of the Mississippi. The Democrats retook control of Congress at the midterm election, however, criticizing their Republican opponents as weak on defense while stressing the need for a strong United States presence in the United Nations. When Stevenson again faced Eisenhower in the 1956 election, the Democrats were once more unable to unseat the president.

As the election of 1960 approached, Democrats, and their presidential candidate JOHN F. KENNEDY, warned of a supposed "missile gap" separating the United States from the SOVIET UNION. With the help of organized labor, Catholics, and African-American voters, the Democrats retook the White House. On the state level, the party prospered as well, holding 35 governors' chairs. Kennedy's victory represented a generational shift in the party. Narrowly defeating Vice President Richard M. Nixon, Kennedy declared the nation at the edge of a "New Frontier." Under Kennedy, the Democrats continued to pursue internationalism, initiating involvement that would develop into the VIETNAM WAR. In the year before his 1963 assassination, Kennedy began to use the power of the federal government to enforce desegregation and proposed a sweeping civil rights bill. After Kennedy's death in November, he was succeeded by LYNDON B. JOHNSON. Johnson's presidency is thought by some to represent the high water mark of American LIBERALISM. He instituted his GREAT SOCIETY, a wide slate of social programs, moving beyond the economic policy of the New Deal to address issues of race and poverty. During the mid-1960s, the Democrats passed the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 and the VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 and began such social welfare programs as VOLUNTEERS IN SERVICE TO AMERICA (VISTA) and HEAD START. Under Johnson, the Democrats waged a WAR ON POVERTY.

Despite Johnson's reelection in 1964, sectional tension in the party continued to be played out at the national convention. In this case, the state of Mississippi seated an all-white delegation, causing intense dissent among civil rights workers and blacks. In addition, the interventionist and internationalist style of government pursued by the Democrats was beginning to lose its widespread favor. This was largely due to the American struggle to win the conflict in Vietnam. By 1968, spending on the Vietnam War was several times larger than spending for social programs. As the war continued, a growing number of Americans voiced their opposition to its continuance. Johnson, challenged for the 1968 nomination by antiwar candidate EUGENE MCCARTHY, did not seek reelection. The assassinations of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., in April and Democratic front-runner senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY of New York in June further shook the political faith of many Americans. At the Democratic National Convention in Chicago that August, violence burst out both in the hall and on the streets. The party, in disarray, nominated Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. A New Deal Democrat, Humphrey was defeated by Nixon in November, as many southern Democrats left the party to vote for the rabble-rousing segregationist GEORGE C. WALLACE, former governor of Alabama.

**Further reading:** John Gerring, *Party Ideologies in America, 1828–1996* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Robert Allen Rutland, *The Democrats: From Jefferson to Clinton* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1995).

—Patrick J. Walsh

### ***Dennis v. United States* (1951)**

The *Dennis v. United States* case was part of the effort to stop the spread of COMMUNISM within the United States.

As the fear of domestic subversion spread throughout the nation after World War II, the administration of President HARRY S. TRUMAN attempted to eliminate the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) by enforcing the Smith Act. The Smith Act (1940) made it a federal offense to advocate the violent overthrow of the government. When Eugene Dennis, the general secretary in the CPUSA, was found guilty of violating the Smith Act in 1949, he was sentenced, along with 10 other members, to five years in prison. On appeal in 1949, the Supreme Court reviewed the case and subsequently affirmed the conviction by a 6-2 vote.

Eugene Dennis (originally known as Francis X. Waldron) was a veteran of the Comintern, a Moscow-based agency that worked to promote progressive coalitions against the spread of fascism in South Africa, China, and the Philippines. A graduate of the Lenin Institute in Moscow, he took on the position of general secretary for the CPUSA. Because of his position, he was charged under the Smith Act with advocacy and intent to overthrow the U.S. government by violent means. Despite the fact that the Smith Act had been enforced only once before, it now became more important as the COLD WAR intensified.

The case began with a suspect grand jury indictment. Thomas Clark, attorney general of the United States, wanted to test the feasibility of an indictment under the Smith Act in early 1948. Aided by the Justice Department's prosecutors, however, a grand jury indictment of Dennis and the other co-defendants was obtained without Clark's or President Truman's prior approval. This bureaucratic initiative pleased Truman in the election year of 1948, complementing his platform that outlined a tough policy on communism.

The rancorous trial began in January 1949 in United States District Court. For the government to win a conviction under the Smith Act, it had to establish that the co-defendants "willfully and knowingly conspired to organize a group that taught and advocated the overthrow of the government by sufficiently violent means."

The codefendants were represented by a defense team, all of whom were members of the left-wing National Lawyers Guild, which consisted of Harry Sacher of New

York, Abraham Isserman of New Jersey, Richard Gladstein of San Francisco, and George Crockett of Detroit.

International events provided the backdrop for the trial. The SOVIET UNION successfully tested an ATOMIC BOMB while the trial wound on through appeals, and the Chinese were in the midst of a violent revolution that soon ended in a communist triumph. On the home front, the trial of ALGER HISS, a former State Department employee accused of communist ties, unfolded at the same time as *Dennis* and in the same courthouse. As a result, the jury had no difficulty concluding that the CPUSA constituted a threat to national security. At the conclusion of the district court trial, 10 defendants, including Dennis, were sentenced to five years in prison.

Immediately following the verdict, Judge J. H. Medina found the defense counsel in contempt of court for deliberately prolonging the trial in order to increase chances of an acquittal.

The U.S. Second Circuit Court of Appeals, under Chief Judge Learned Hand and Judges Swan and Brigham, however, upheld the lower court's decision. The appeals court asserted that there was demonstrable evidence that exhibited intent to overthrow the government by violent means.

On June 4, 1951, the Supreme Court of the United States, by a 6-2 majority, affirmed the decisions of both the lower court and appellate court of New York. The KOREAN WAR had escalated during this time, and increasing numbers of people felt that the CPUSA posed a "clear and present danger" that required the suppression of First Amendment rights. The majority opinion assumed that the CPUSA was organizing a "violent overthrow" simply because it willfully advocated such a course in its Marxist-Leninist doctrines and literature.

Justices Hugo Black and William Douglas both argued, in separate dissents, that speech was advocacy and should not be punishable because it did not create a "clear and present danger." Moreover, Black wrote that "in calmer times when present pressures, passions, and fears subside, the First Amendment liberties will be restored to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."

**Further reading:** Michael Belknap, *Cold War Political Justice* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997); Stanley Kutler, *The American Inquisition* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1982).

—John E. Bibish IV

### **Dewey, Thomas E.** (1902–1971) *New York district attorney, New York governor*

Thomas E. Dewey ran as Republican candidate for the American presidency in 1944 and 1948, after having become nationally famous by prosecuting several notorious



New York gangsters in the 1930s. He also won the governorship of New York in 1942, 1946, and 1950.

Dewey was born on March 24, 1902, in Owosso, Michigan, to George Martin Dewey, a staunch Republican newspaper editor, and Annie Louise Thomas. Although Dewey showed an interest in politics from an early age, he also showed great promise as a baritone singer and for a time it appeared that his future might be in music. He studied music and law at the University of Michigan, graduating with a bachelor's degree in 1923. In the same year he moved to New York to study music while also attending Columbia Law School. Columbia sparked Dewey's interest in law and he soon abandoned music, graduating with a law degree in 1925.

After finishing law school, Dewey worked at two Wall Street law firms and became active in reform-minded Republican political clubs. By the end of the decade, Dewey had begun to make a name for himself among New York Republicans. In 1931, he left Wall Street for a job as chief assistant U.S. attorney for the southern district of New York. When his boss resigned in November 1933, Dewey succeeded him as U.S. attorney on an interim basis until Dewey himself was replaced by Franklin D. Roosevelt's new appointee in December. Dewey excelled at prosecuting organized crime and became New York governor Herbert Lehman's choice as special prosecutor when the governor became concerned with the power of criminal rackets in 1935. Dewey, who had returned to private practice, accepted the offer and by 1936 scored a spectacular success prosecuting the notorious mobster Charles "Lucky" Luciano. Dewey became nationally famous for his racket-busting and Hollywood soon began churning out movies like *Smashing the Rackets* and *Racket Buster* based on his exploits. Dewey capitalized on his popularity by running for Manhattan district attorney in 1937 and became the first Republican to win that office in 25 years. His success caught the attention of the REPUBLICAN PARTY, and he ran for governor of New York in 1938, narrowly losing to the popular incumbent Lehman. Dewey's reputation was still on the rise, though, and he might even have received the Republican nomination for president in 1940 had not the growing war crisis made the older, more interventionist Wendell Willkie a more attractive candidate.

Dewey did win the governorship of New York in 1942 and continued to establish himself as a progressive-minded Republican. He won the 1944 Republican presidential nomination but could not muster more than 46 percent of the popular vote running against President Roosevelt in the midst of World War II. Still, his percentage of the popular vote was the highest for a Republican in the Roosevelt years.

After being easily reelected as governor of New York in 1946, Dewey again gained the Republican nomination



Thomas E. Dewey (center) with Thomas J. Curran, Manhattan GOP leader, on return from a campaign tour (*Library of Congress*)

in 1948. Many assumed he would defeat unpopular Democratic president HARRY S. TRUMAN. Truman ran a fierce campaign, though, securing the middle of the political spectrum in the face of opposition from the liberal PROGRESSIVE PARTY of HENRY A. WALLACE and the segregationist STATES' RIGHTS PARTY of Strom Thurmond. In the meantime, Truman worked tirelessly to paint Dewey as little different than the "do-nothing" Republican Congress in power since 1946. Still, virtually all opinion polls predicted a Dewey victory. In a stunning upset, Truman won the popular vote from Dewey by a 49 percent to 45 percent margin while collecting 303 electoral votes to Dewey's 189. The Democrats also recaptured control of Congress.

The defeat was a crushing one for Dewey and was the defining moment of his career in popular and historical memory. Nonetheless, he continued as an important force in the more moderate, progressive wing of the Republican Party. Dewey won a third term as governor in 1950 and helped DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER secure the party's nomination in 1952 over Dewey's bitter rival, the conservative Ohio senator ROBERT A. TAFT. Dewey also played a role in

getting the 1952 vice-presidential nomination for his young protégé, California senator Richard M. Nixon.

Dewey retired from the governorship of New York in 1955 and took up law again in New York City. He remained active in the Republican Party, sometimes advising Eisenhower and, later, Nixon. Nixon offered Dewey the chance to be nominated for chief justice of the Supreme Court in 1968 but Dewey declined, partially so he could care for his ailing wife. He died in Florida in 1971.

**Further reading:** Richard N. Smith, *Thomas E. Dewey and His Times* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982).

—Kevin P. Bower

**Disney, Walt** (1901–1966) *pioneer in animation and cinematography, creator of Mickey Mouse*

The imagination of Walt Disney helped to shape America's vision of itself in the postwar years. Although the cartoonist first captured attention with his 1928 cartoon short *Steamboat Willie*, the prolific moviemaker's greatest impact on daily American life came after World War II when he began to touch the daily lives of children through his many MOVIES and TELEVISION programs. In the same era, his creation of Disneyland as the nation's first true THEME PARK further influenced the dreams of young Americans and the ways in which the nation's families spent time together.

Born in Chicago as the 20th century began, Disney spent most of his youth in America's heartland in the town of Marceline, Missouri. After his 1920s arrival at the heart of the film industry, he established himself as a pioneer willing to explore new technologies. *Steamboat Willie*, the film that made Mickey Mouse famous, was the first cartoon with synchronized sound. Beginning in the Great Depression, Disney's name became linked to popular full-length animated films. His success in this genre began with *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* in 1937. That triumph was followed in relatively quick succession by *Pinocchio*, *Fantasia*, *Bambi*, and *Dumbo*. These films attracted mixed reviews, and the crush of World War II slowed Disney's animation factory. During the war years, Disney produced military training films and a variety of animated short films with popular characters like Donald Duck, Goofy, and Pluto. In 1941, union organizer Herbert K. Sorrell led a strike against Disney's studio, and the filmmaker testified in 1947 before the HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE that Sorrell and other leaders of the walkout were Communists. When he testified, Disney asserted that there were no longer any Communists on his payroll.

After the war ended, Disney produced a new wave of animated successes between 1950 and 1961, when a string of full-length hits—*Cinderella*, *Alice in Wonder-*

*land*, *Peter Pan*, *Lady and the Tramp*, *Sleeping Beauty*, and *One Hundred and One Dalmatians*—brought children pouring into theaters. During the same time period, Disney released 24 live-action films, including *Old Yeller*, *Twenty Thousand Leagues under the Sea*, *Pollyanna*, and *The Parent Trap*. Disney's name became synonymous with family films.

Through television, he also entertained Americans with stories that brought adventure and comedy to life. The studio's showcase, *Walt Disney Presents*, as well as some stand-alone Disney series, gave viewers access to animated shorts, nature films, and adventure stories featuring heroes such as Zorro, Davy Crockett, and the legendary Revolutionary War hero Francis Marion, otherwise known as the Swamp Fox. Disney's Crockett series set off an early 1950s craze, with children across the nation donning coonskin caps like the one Crockett wore.

One of Disney's most popular television experiments debuted in October 1955. *The Mickey Mouse Club*, which targeted American children, appeared Monday through Saturday in the afternoons. The show, which aired for about four years, featured cartoons and live-action serials, but its heart was a group of singing children and teenagers known



Walt Disney, of Walt Disney Studios, posing with some famous cartoon characters (Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

as the Mouseketeers. (Revivals of *The Mickey Mouse Club* aired in the 1970s and 1990s.)

Disneyland put a new spin on amusement parks when its gates opened in Anaheim, California, on July 17, 1955. Before deciding whether to enter Disney's Adventureland, Frontierland, Tomorrowland, or Fantasyland, all visitors to Disneyland passed through Main Street, which attempted to recapture the innocence of small-town life before the spread of urban and suburban development. Less than three years after its opening, more than 10 million people had visited the park.

The message delivered by Walt Disney's various projects was an optimistic one that cherished the values of family unity and selfless courage. Goodness almost always triumphed over evil. His works promoted preservation—of the environment, of the family, and of the American way of life. After Disney's death in 1966, his empire continued to expand with construction of Walt Disney World in Orlando, Florida, beginning the year after his death. That resort, which includes four theme parks, quickly became a popular attraction for family trips after its opening in 1971. Walt Disney Studios continues to produce films, with an emphasis on animated works, and the company has expanded its storytelling venues to the Broadway stage and to Disney theme parks around the world.

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—Alice L. George

**Dixiecrat Party** See STATES' RIGHTS PARTY.

**domesticity** See MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE.

### domino theory

During the 20th century, the domino theory was an assertion among U.S. policymakers that if a country succumbed to communist influence, then neighboring countries would also fall, like a stack of dominoes, to COMMUNISM. It is closely tied to the COLD WAR doctrine of containment.

Although closely identified with the VIETNAM WAR, the theory has a longer history. Woodrow Wilson invoked a version of the theory during World War I. He warned that allied forces must defeat Germany in order to prevent it from achieving global domination. The domino theory as a stated ideology of the American government emerged during the cold war. In 1947 President HARRY S. TRUMAN argued that Greece and Turkey must be protected against

the Soviet sphere of influence; otherwise, communism might spread to western Europe.

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER popularized the domino theory in reference to Southeast ASIA. He evoked the image of falling dominoes at an April 1954 press conference. He warned that communist successes in Indochina would threaten other countries in the region, including Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia, which would then threaten larger nations in the South Pacific. Despite the references to the theory by both Eisenhower and President JOHN F. KENNEDY, it remains highly questionable whether the idea of a "domino effect" significantly affected the actions of government officials. Contrary to contemporary press accounts and much historical analysis, substantial evidence suggests that, particularly after 1954, the theory did not reflect U.S. officials' views on the fate of Southeast Asia. Instead, it served as a rhetorical device directed toward France and the SOVIET UNION for the purpose of illustrating the United States's dedication to confronting communist threats in Indochina.

The administration of President LYNDON B. JOHNSON also employed domino theory rhetoric in justifying intervention in South Vietnam. Most of Johnson's key advisers stressed the legitimacy of the theory even though the CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA) contested its soundness in a 1964 memorandum. The president went on to wield the vision of falling dominoes in explaining the war to the American people.

Regardless of whether post-World War II American policymakers believed in the theory and allowed it to influence their foreign policy decisions, it proved to be a powerful component in the logic of resisting communist aggression abroad during the cold war.

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—Zachary J. Lechner

### Dow Chemical Corporation

Originally founded to produce bleach, the Dow Chemical Corporation became a global SCIENCE and TECHNOLOGY company producing a wide array of chemicals, plastics, and agricultural products.

Established in 1897 by Herbert Dow, the company initially focused on developing a new way to make bleach. Dow had discovered a process by which bleach could be produced more cheaply and effectively. In January 1898, Dow made its first sales of bleach but ceased making bleach to explore other ventures in 1913. The direction of the Dow Chemical Corporation took a rapid turn as the United States entered World War I in April 1917. In order



to contend with the use of chemical weapons by Germany, Dow plunged into the production of these chemical agents. Herbert Dow abhorred this fact, calling the production of chemical weapons “the worst thing I ever had to do.” The company produced tear gas, chlorine gas, and, most deadly of all, mustard gas. By 1918, 90 percent of Dow’s production was for war purposes.

Following the conclusion of World War I, Dow diversified into other fields. The company developed Dowmetal pistons, constructed with magnesium, which was a third lighter than aluminum. In 1921, Tommy Milton won the Indianapolis 500 equipped with Dowmetal pistons.

Over the next few decades, Dow Chemical Corporation researchers perfected a method for producing vinyl chloride, the basic element in plastic products. The group produced Saran Wrap and Handi-Wrap, consumer products that became familiar items in the home. Dow also perfected the process of obtaining bromine from seawater, a critical element in an antiknock gasoline compound that kept an automobile engine running smoothly.

Perhaps the biggest challenge the Dow Chemical Corporation faced came with the onset of the VIETNAM WAR. Dow became the leading producer of napalm, a type of jellied gasoline that stuck to people’s bodies and burned at an intense heat. It was used to dislodge troops from fortified positions, which proved highly effective in the jungles of Southeast Asia. Due to TELEVISION footage from the field, however, protesters argued that napalm was also being used against innocent civilians, including women and children. Although military officials denied this, the Dow Chemical Corporation took the brunt of the protests. Often protesters carried signs saying “Dow Shall Not Kill,” and “Napalm burns babies, Dow makes money.” In addition to napalm, the Dow Chemical Corporation, along with other companies, also produced Agent Orange, a chemical defoliant that was used in Vietnam. Although these chemicals came under constant criticism, the Dow Chemical Corporation regained its position as one of the leaders of chemical research and production following the Vietnam War.

By the end of the 20th century, the Dow Chemical Corporation earned annual profits of \$20 billion through its wide variety of products.

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—Clayton Douglas

**Dulles, John Foster** (1888–1959) *American diplomat*  
John Foster Dulles was President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER’s first secretary of state, serving from 1953 to 1959.



John Foster Dulles (right) shakes hands with his brother Allen Welsh Dulles at La Guardia Field, New York City (*Library of Congress*)

Born in Washington, D.C., on February 25, 1888, Dulles was the grandson of John Watson Foster, an ambassador, international lawyer, and Benjamin Harrison’s secretary of state, and the nephew of Robert Lansing, Woodrow Wilson’s secretary of state. Dulles graduated from Princeton in 1908 and attended the Sorbonne in Paris the following winter before heading to the George Washington University law school in 1909.

Dulles spent the first half of his career as an international lawyer. In 1907, he attended a peace conference in The Hague, the Netherlands. In 1911, he joined the New York law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, and accompanied the U.S. delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919, serving as legal counsel and as a member of the war reparations commission. He helped draft the United Nations charter at the Dumbarton Oaks conference in 1944, and he attended the conference to set up the organization in San Francisco in 1945, where he served as senior adviser. He single-handedly negotiated the 1951 Japanese Peace Treaty.

When Eisenhower was elected president in November 1952, he chose Dulles as his secretary of state. The nation’s chief diplomat brought strong opinions to the office. A devout Presbyterian and the son of a minister, Dulles possessed a strong moralistic streak that led him to view issues in black-and-white terms and prevented him from seeking common ground with the SOVIET UNION.

Along with Eisenhower, Dulles devised a policy described as the New Look, which relied on the threat of massive retaliation with nuclear weapons if the Soviet Union proved belligerent. This was a way of providing ade-



quate defense while limiting spending. Abandoning containment as an immoral policy that accepted communist control of parts of ASIA and EUROPE, the New Look sought to lessen Soviet influence by preaching the need for liberation of captive nations from the Soviet yoke. Aware of the limited geographic reach of the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO), Dulles initiated talks to establish the SOUTHEAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION (SEATO) in an effort to unite nations in Southeast Asia in a similar defense pact.

During the 1950s, many Asian and African countries gained their independence. When some of these opted in favor of neutralism, Dulles was intent on making sure the third world chose the American side in the cold war. Neutralism, he declared, was immoral. He was furious when Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser sought to play the Soviet Union against the United States. When Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal after Dulles abruptly withdrew his offer to fund Nasser's pet project, the Aswan Dam, Dulles was furious, but he still kept allies in the MIDDLE EAST from destroying Egypt.

In other areas of the globe, ANTICOMMUNISM took precedence over third world sympathies. The United States funded France's war to keep Indochina French (1945–54). After the Geneva Accords (July 1954) temporarily divided Vietnam, the United States shored up the South Vietnamese government of Ngo Dinh Diem in the first move toward the VIETNAM WAR. In 1953 and 1954, the CIA helped overthrow the left-leaning nationalist governments of Mohammad Mosaddeq in Iran and Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala. Soon after Fidel Castro gained power in January 1959, U.S.–Cuban relations turned sour.

Sick with cancer, Dulles resigned on April 15, 1959, and he died the next month. Though he was often criticized for his harsh, calculated methods, particularly his support for “brinkmanship”—pushing an adversary to the brink—Eisenhower called him “one of the truly great men of our time.”

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—Philippe R. Girard

## DuPont Corporation

The DuPont Corporation, one of the oldest industrial companies in the United States, helped develop and produce nuclear weapons during the arms race of the COLD WAR, in addition to providing the public with many consumer goods.

The DuPont Corporation was founded in Delaware in 1802 by Éleuthère Irénée du Pont to produce black powder, and later, other explosives. As blasting powders became more important, the company produced “soda powder,” the first industrial explosive, in 1857. When three of du Pont's great-grandsons acquired full ownership of the company in 1902, they introduced the basic hierarchical structure associated with the modern corporation. Having been forced by the U.S. government to divest part of its manufacturing capacity in 1912, because it was considered a monopoly, DuPont diversified, acquiring a 25 percent stake in GENERAL MOTORS.

In the 1920s, following DuPont's invention of nylon, the main focus of production shifted to textiles and chemicals. Some products included plastics, photographic film, and agricultural chemicals. The company developed synthetics like Lucite, Teflon, Orlon, Mylar, Kevlar, and Dacron.

At the onset of the cold war, federally funded nuclear research linked the company to university scientists who could further the development of nuclear weapons. As the cold war unfolded, an ever-tighter relationship among scientists, corporations, and the military developed. After the SOVIET UNION detonated an ATOMIC BOMB in 1949, the United States built a number of nuclear centers, such as Livermore Laboratory near San Francisco, which supplemented a similar facility at Los Alamos, New Mexico.

Meanwhile, in 1950 DuPont assumed responsibility for a new plant in South Carolina intended to produce nuclear materials for HYDROGEN BOMBS. In so doing, it became an important part of the MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, which President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER warned Americans to be wary of in his farewell address in 1961. Nonetheless, DuPont found itself falling behind, as other industries took the lead in cold war research. DuPont, still committed to the chemical field, was unable to hire the researchers it needed.

During the 1960s, DuPont introduced Lycra brand spandex, which was popular as colorful swimwear material. DuPont introduced electronic materials, too, but the company concentrated on consumer items that featured Nomex and Kevlar brand fibers.

In the 1980s, DuPont acquired Conoco Inc., an oil firm later sold in 1999. Concentrating on the biological sciences and their expansion, DuPont purchased the biotechnology company Pioneer Hi-Bred International in 1998 for \$7.7 billion.

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—John E. Bibish IV

**Dylan, Bob** (1941– ) *singer, songwriter*

Bob Dylan is one of the most influential songwriters in the history of American music. His folk rock music was the voice of the youth in America during the 1960s.

Dylan was born Robert Allen Zimmerman on May 24, 1941, in Duluth, Minnesota. He began writing poetry, which he later set to music, at the age of 10. He taught himself both electric and acoustic guitar during his early teen years, along with the piano. During high school, he formed many rock bands, playing songs from his earliest influences such as ELVIS PRESLEY, Little Richard, and Jerry Lee Lewis. Upon graduation from high school in 1959, Dylan attended the University of Minnesota in St. Paul.

During his time in St. Paul, Dylan focused mainly on his songwriting and performing at local clubs in a part of the city called Dinkytown. Soon Dylan lost all interest in his studies, and by 1960, he had left St. Paul for life on the East Coast. Dylan had heard of the folk movement in Greenwich Village in New York City, and he moved there to join it.



Bob Dylan, 1967 (Library of Congress)

Upon arriving in New York, Dylan fulfilled a lifelong dream of meeting folk legend Woody Guthrie. Dylan visited the ailing Guthrie on a regular basis and sang Guthrie his songs. At the same time, Dylan was successful on the club circuit in the Village. Soon he was playing in the student center at Columbia University.

In 1961, he officially changed his name from Zimmerman to Dylan, broke out of the folk circle, and began to expand into other types of music. He played harmonica on a Harry Belafonte album, and he even sang solo in Carnegie Hall. Though only 53 people, mostly close friends, showed up, his review in the *New York Times* was outstanding, and it led to a contract with Columbia Records.

The following year, Dylan released his first album, which featured only two original songs. Though the album was not a success, Dylan's distinct singing voice and acoustic guitar work were widely noted by critics. His next album, released in 1963, *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan*, was a huge success, with songs such as "Blowin' in the Wind" and "A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall."

*The Times They Are A-Changin'* promoted a new message. Dylan had grown tired of being the poster boy for the FOLK MUSIC REVIVAL, and he wanted out. Dylan reaffirmed this growing separation from the movement with the album *Another Side of Bob Dylan* and the song "It Ain't Me Babe," in which he explained he was not the leader young people were searching for. Meanwhile, Dylan had gotten involved with Joan Baez, one of folk music's biggest names. This relationship, though it did not last long, proved beneficial to both Dylan and Baez. He used her previous fame and connections to further his music, and Baez used some of his unreleased songs.

By 1965, the relationship between Baez and Dylan was fading, and it was time for yet another change in Dylan's music. He released the album *Bringing It All Back Home*, a half-acoustic, half-electric collection that was mostly rejected by his folk fans, but it was a success on all other fronts. The acoustic song "Mr. Tambourine Man" was released on the album, and The Byrds soon picked it up and made it a hit in an upbeat, electric version. After this album was released, Dylan played at the Newport Folk Festival using his electric guitar, and he was booed off the stage by his folk fans. Dylan formed a new fan base, outside the folk movement, that came from the youth of the COUNTERCULTURE. His songs conveyed social messages and spoke out against U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Many young people embraced his music and its message of peace.

After breaking with Baez, Dylan married Sara Lowndes. He and Sara immediately had children, and Dylan continued to work, releasing two more albums, *Highway 61 Revisited* and *Blonde on Blonde*. Not long after, Dylan was injured in a motorcycle accident, and this changed his musical agenda again. After the accident, he

recovered in seclusion with his family in Woodstock, New York. Dylan did not tour again for eight years. In 1967, he released *John Wesley Harding*, which had a country sound. In 1968, he played at a Woody Guthrie Memorial Concert. He returned to the privacy of his home and to his family after the concert.

Dylan has gone on to release several more albums, which contain some of his biggest hits. He began to tour again in the early 1970s, and he continues to tour, singing his classics from his early years and new songs that he has recently composed.

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—Matthew Escovar

“dynamic conservatism” See MODERN  
REPUBLICANISM.







### Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 comprised the legislation behind President LYNDON B. JOHNSON's War on Poverty, and expanded many existing antipoverty programs while creating several new ones.

The Johnson administration tapped Democratic Congressman Phil Landrum of Georgia to introduce the sweeping antipoverty program that Johnson had called for in his 1964 State of the Union address. The Economic Opportunity Act created several new federal programs, including the JOB CORPS, VOLUNTEERS IN SERVICE TO AMERICA (VISTA), and work study. The Job Corps provided housing, employment, and job training for 16 to 21 year olds. Through work study, disadvantaged students could obtain work through vocational and higher educational institutions to help them meet the costs of furthering their education. VISTA created a nationwide force of volunteers to staff state and local antipoverty programs. Participants received living allowances and small stipends while serving with the program. The measure authorized the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish pilot programs to give job training and placement assistance to heads of households receiving Aid for Dependent Children payments as well.

Federal funding was provided for state and local antipoverty initiatives. Any programs, public or private, that helped people get jobs, job training and educational assistance, or improved the living conditions of the poor were eligible for funding, if they were administered by an organization that was already helping the poor. The federal government paid most costs of these programs initially, but it reduced its involvement over time to 50 percent. The act also offered federally guaranteed loans to small businesses and farmers to stabilize their operations and create jobs.

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of the bill was the creation of the Office of Economic Opportunity, a new federal agency to oversee the War on Poverty. The purpose of this office was to coordinate the nation's antipoverty pro-

grams, many of which were at least partially funded by this bill. Critics charged that this was "an unneeded layer of federal authority" and "a dangerous assault on the established system of state-federal relationships." Republicans ultimately introduced an antipoverty bill of their own that eliminated the Office of Economic Opportunity, Job Corps, and VISTA. The administration overcame this challenge by agreeing to amendments that effectively gave governors veto power over government activities in their state that were authorized or funded by the Economic Opportunity Act. This change still allowed privately run programs to receive federal assistance under the bill, regardless of the governor's approval.

Giving governors control over how the measure affected their states was not the only compromise that the Johnson administration had to make to get the act passed. The administration's original bill had been more generous to farmers. For example, the government was to establish a program to sell farmland to poor farmers below the land's market value. Congress deleted this provision and turned grants to farmers into guaranteed loans. Dairy farmers, however, did get relief that they had been seeking. The final bill authorized indemnity payments to dairy farmers who were unable to sell milk because it still contained traces of recently banned pesticides.

Several major organizations voiced their opinions on the measure. Labor groups, led by the AFL-CIO supported it, as did the URBAN LEAGUE and NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP). The Farm Bureau, National Association of Manufacturers, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce opposed it.

Debate in Congress over the bill was spirited. Republicans claimed that the bill and the entire War on Poverty were merely "election year gimmicks." They seized on the fact that LADY BIRD JOHNSON owned thousands of acres of land in Alabama with desperately poor farm laborers living on it as evidence of the administration's insincerity on the issue. The bill's opponents also interjected race into the

debate. They raised the specter of uncontrolled, integrated Job Corps camps in southern states and the NAACP receiving federal aid for its activities under the guise of combating poverty. The administration responded to these attacks by pointing out that 80 percent of Americans in poverty were white.

The measure was portrayed as a way to solve the problem of poverty. Conceived in the spirit of the NEW DEAL, these new programs went beyond providing economic assistance to the poor. The worker training and educational aspects gave some poor the skills to bring themselves out of poverty, and, more important, the training to stay out of poverty. Those who benefited became, as the bill's supporters put it, "taxpayers, not taxeaters." While these programs undoubtedly helped many people improve their lives and escape poverty, they did not end it. Measuring the act by the standards set by the rhetoric of its supporters was not entirely successful.

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—Dave Price

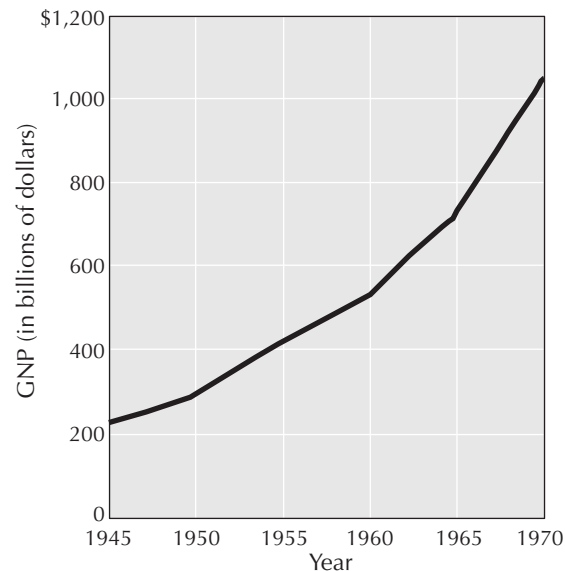
## economy

In the decades immediately following World War II, the United States entered one of the longest sustained economic expansions in the history of the country while contending with COLD WAR anxieties and the persistence of poverty.

The economic optimism that characterized America in the 1920s ended with the stock market crash of 1929. With the onset of the Great Depression in the 1930s, Americans witnessed poverty at its deepest levels. The illusion of permanent prosperity shattered as the unemployment rate and bread lines continued to grow. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt entered office in 1932, a new hope spread across the United States as he implemented his NEW DEAL, a welfare program to work in conjunction with the capitalist system, that sought to help those who could not help themselves. While the New Deal created dozens of relief measures and initiated the slow process to economic recovery, America remained unable to fully escape the Great Depression. The advent of World War II, however, brought the impetus needed to mobilize American industry for wartime production. Men and women not serving overseas went to work in the factories, building and producing everything from airplanes and merchant ships to uniforms and chemical weapons. The unemployment rate fell and the economy boomed as the entire country took part in the war effort.

As Americans returned home after World War II, the thriving economy relieved any lingering doubts of another

**Increase in GNP, 1945–70**



depression and strengthened the position of the United States as the richest nation in the world. The gross national product (GNP) took a giant leap from just over \$200 billion in 1945 to almost \$300 billion in 1950. By 1960, the GNP surpassed \$500 billion and reached \$685 billion in 1965. It jumped to a staggering \$970 billion by 1970. In 1945, per capita personal income was \$1,223, and by 1970, that figure rose to \$3,945. Almost 60 percent of all families in the country could boast of being a part of the middle class by 1970.

Cognizant of the role of spending in promoting economic revival, just as English economist John Maynard Keynes had predicted, legislators attempted to put in place such a program that could prevent a future downturn. The EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1946 was one way in which economists worked to institutionalize the ideas of Keynes. The initial bill called for the government to monitor the economy and maintain full employment by requisite spending or other fiscal tools if a downturn threatened. Though liberals and labor leaders supported the bill, business leaders denounced it as anticapitalist. In its final form, the act created a COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISORS to report to the president on the state of the economy. The president would then make an annual address to both Congress and the nation on the report's findings. The act, however, did not commit the government to use fiscal policy to maintain full employment when the economy turned downward.

Although the war energized American industry, factories concentrated on producing goods for the military rather than consumers. During the war, many Americans

made more money than they ever had previously, but they could not spend all they earned. By the war's end, Americans had an estimated total savings of \$140 billion that they were eager to spend. Furthermore, families had more discretionary income than ever before. Real purchasing power rose by 22 percent between 1946 and 1960, allowing more people to satisfy both their needs and wants. This was a dramatic change from the Great Depression era when less than 25 percent of all families had any discretionary income.

United States production companies after the war quickly realized the increased purchasing power of the working American and began to offer a whole host of new products for the average consumer. Using wartime TECHNOLOGY, companies developed a wide variety of machines and gadgets to be used in the home. With the use of ADVERTISING, the CONSUMER MOVEMENT of the 1950s created a constant demand for the newest products. By 1956, 81 percent of American families owned TELEVISION sets, 67 percent owned vacuum cleaners, and 89 percent owned washing machines. The expansion of private credit made it possible for a large majority of Americans to benefit from the material abundance of the 1950s. Families could purchase the new products with less savings, using a store's installment program or CREDIT CARDS. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, indebtedness grew fivefold and surpassed income increases.

The AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY played an important role in the economic boom as well. The total number of cars made in the United States jumped from 2 million in 1946 to 9 million in 1965. By 1960, 74 million automobiles were in operation throughout the country, while millions of outdated models piled up in junkyards. Companies offered a wide variety of engines and colors; each year's model featured its own distinguishing options, including grills and tail fins. Owning the latest or fastest model became part of the American dream and symbolized middle-class status. President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER's administration spent \$26 billion on the INTERSTATE HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956, allowing for the construction of over 40,000 miles of federal highway and boosting car sales even more. While it became the largest public works expenditure in American history, the act failed to invest in mass transportation, increasing both pollution and the nation's dependence on a constant supply of cheap oil.

Like the automobile industry, the housing industry also played an important role in the postwar economic expansion. As servicemen returned home from the war, they needed affordable and well-located housing. Construction companies began mass-producing houses just outside the cities, resulting in the SUBURBANIZATION of the 1950s and 1960s. The 1944 GI Bill offered low-interest home mortgages to servicemen along with priority for

many jobs and educational benefits. With the use of automobiles and the new highway system, millions of veterans were able to purchase their own suburban homes and commute to jobs in the cities. With the onset of the BABY BOOM, owning a home became even more of a necessity for the average American family. In 1940, 43 percent of American families owned their own homes, compared to 63 percent in 1970.

Though the United States produced half of the world's goods, the country continued to move from a goods-producing economy to a service-providing economy in the years after World War II. In the 1950s and 1960s, the number of people working to sell, distribute, or maintain goods continually increased. By 1956, the majority of American workers held white-collar jobs in the service industries. While clerical workers enjoyed better pay and more leisure time than did factory workers, work in huge corporations was often monotonous and subject to bureaucratization. Many labor leaders worried about worker displacement and alienation, while business leaders argued that the increase in white-collar jobs actually led to more employment opportunities and safer work.

Not all Americans held white-collar jobs. Many people still worked as factory workers on assembly lines. They, too, were able to take part in the American dream of owning a house in the suburbs and having two cars in the garage thanks to substantial union gains made throughout the 1950s and 1960s. By the end of the 1950s, a COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT (COLA) was a common feature in most union contracts, protecting workers against inflation. With the 1955 merger of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) and the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO), both trade and industrial unions unified under a single organization that represented more than 90 percent of the country's 17.5 million union members. Union members largely succeeded in gaining middle-class affluence, but by the end of the 1960s, the union movement slowed down as membership stabilized.

Following World War II, government and big BUSINESS became more dependent on one another than at any previous time in the history of the United States. During the war, the government relied on American industry to supply the necessary materials for the war effort. It was the government's active economic role in business that finally stimulated the economy and ended the depression. After the war, government continued to take part in the economy by allowing business to buy almost 80 percent of the factories built by the government during the war. In 1950, public spending accounted for 7 percent of the GNP, and by 1960, that figure rose to 9.4 percent. When cold war tensions escalated, Congress created the Department of Defense in 1947 with a budget of \$13 billion, rising to \$47 billion by 1953. More than half of the total national budget

each year went to the Department of Defense, boosting both the aircraft and electronics industries.

The close ties with big business produced a government policy that favored industrial concentration. Government contracts encouraged the expansion of big corporations, shutting out smaller firms. Few antitrust actions resulted in the rise of oligopolies and conglomerates that dominated American capitalism in the postwar years. Franchise operations such as MCDONALD'S and Kentucky Fried Chicken also expanded. Foreign markets became a viable option for large corporations, as the development of plants overseas increased market size and offered cheap labor costs.

Most Americans accepted the government's active role in the economy as a way to both stimulate and sustain the economic expansion. They recognized that military spending had a positive impact on the economy. At a time when the United States was both peaceful and prosperous, most citizens of middle-class status were content to enjoy the economic boom. They praised the American capitalist system as a way to maintain the freedom of business enterprise and private institutions while redistributing income so that all citizens could partake of the wealth. JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH, a prominent economist, went so far as to call the entire nation an "affluent society" and argued that poverty was not a "massive affliction" for the country.

Under the Eisenhower administration, this affluent society dominated the nation's consciousness. Before World War II, economic health was commonly measured by the volume of employment and industrial productivity. By the 1950s, however, most economists placed a heavy emphasis on overall economic growth measured in the GNP. Although inflation continued and the unemployment rate remained steady at 6 percent, the GNP and average personal income continued to increase during Eisenhower's presidency. The United States experienced the greatest peacetime prosperity it had ever known, and Eisenhower remained fiscally conservative throughout his time in office, making little effort to manipulate federal fiscal policy to stimulate economic growth.

The realization that the economy was heavily dependent on government spending temporized the economic optimism that characterized the 1950s. After the KOREAN WAR when the defense budget was cut, the economy took a similar dive. Although the economy soon recovered, many experts wondered what would happen when the government again made further cutbacks. In his 1961 farewell address, Eisenhower cautioned against the growing "economic, political, and even spiritual" influence of the MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX.

When President JOHN F. KENNEDY took office in 1961, his administration began to look for ways to stabilize the economy and sustain the expansion of the 1950s. The Kennedy administration made clear its support of the economic theories of John Maynard Keynes, whereby government

regulation of the money supply and fiscal policy prevented the regular pattern of booms and busts that characterized the capitalist system. In 1962, Kennedy proposed a tax cut to stimulate the economy based on the advice of Keynesian economists but did not live long enough to see it through. Once in office, President LYNDON B. JOHNSON pushed the tax cut through, and it worked. The GNP rose 7.1 percent in 1964, 8.1 percent in 1965, and 9.5 percent in 1966. The economic policy of both Kennedy and Johnson met with distrust and hostility from business leaders as they saw government interference in the free market a step closer to socialism. In reality, this economic policy largely favored individual corporations and did little to curtail the existing distribution of wealth and power in America.

Despite the continuing economic expansion of the 1960s, some economists and social critics began to address the issue of poverty in the United States. While economists in the 1950s argued that the poor benefited from the economic boom in ways comparable to the very rich, poverty remained a significant and persistent part of the American landscape. In 1962, MICHAEL HARRINGTON published *The Other America*, a work that emphasized the existence of poverty and the inequality of income distribution throughout the country. The existence of persistent poverty led Kennedy to initiate an expansion of the welfare state that had stagnated under the Eisenhower administration. While Kennedy brought these issues to the forefront of America with his NEW FRONTIER, President Johnson and his GREAT SOCIETY made the greatest strides for America's poor. The Great Society consisted of social programs to help the poor and disadvantaged, as well as middle- and upper-class Americans. Although Johnson's programs failed to eradicate poverty, they did serve to bring the issue of socioeconomic disadvantage to public attention. No longer could Americans claim that all was well in the country due to the economic boom and growing middle class.

Though poverty remained an issue for the United States, the decades immediately following World War II brought unprecedented prosperity and productivity to the country. The economic growth that characterized postwar America continued to affect the nation well into the 20th century.

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—Donna J. Siebenthaler



## education

After World War II, driven partly by COLD WAR tensions, American education underwent extensive changes.

During the early decades of the 20th century, primary schools provided education for all children up to the age of about 12, but only the wealthy went on to further schooling. High school and college education in the United States was just for the rich and the upper middle class. Secondary education was a fairly new concept, based on the European style of education designed for the small number of students planning to go on to college.

After World War II, education underwent a major change. It became an important issue for many more Americans, as experts offered ideas on how to expand educational opportunities in the United States and make schooling more available to the masses. Education became relevant to the everyday lives of Americans, as schools directed attention to the need for social, civic, and economic competencies. Most Americans believed that, like primary schooling, both secondary and college education should be made easily accessible to all.

The demand for better schools at all levels was further fostered in the 1950s by a growing consumer culture. The American dream of every family owning an automobile and a house with a yard could be achieved only through education. Primary education, which taught basic skills, remained important, while secondary schooling for everyone, not just the rich, became an important next step. Secondary schools, which came to be known as high schools, were now increasingly common in small towns across America. The curriculum of high schools became broader than it had been before the war, offering advanced mathematics, English, sciences, humanities, languages, and a host of other subjects necessary for the pursuit of what Americans came to feel was the good life. A prevailing assumption was that graduating from high school was necessary to secure a good job, defined as the ability to buy the abundant material goods now available.

Other factors also influenced the advancement of education. In 1957, the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik*, the world's first orbiting satellite. When Americans learned that the Russians had beat the United States into space, the country panicked. Americans believed that, if the Soviets already had a more highly developed TECHNOLOGY than the United States, their educational system must be superior. In response, President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER signed the National Defense Education Act on September 2, 1958. The act authorized grants to improve instruction in science, math, and foreign languages, with total expenditures of around \$1 billion. With the National Defense Education Act in place, state and local governments dispersed funds to various educational institutions.

In the 1960s, President JOHN F. KENNEDY began a drive to create programs that ensured that all students

would receive a well-rounded education and an opportunity to attend college. He called for aid to education during his administration, but legislation was not passed until 1965 under President LYNDON B. JOHNSON and his GREAT SOCIETY. The ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1965 played a major role in furthering the education of the average American. The measure made it more possible for all children, even the impoverished, to receive a quality education, bolstering the number of children able to pass college entrance exams. Congress also passed the Higher Education Act of 1965, a measure that provided a permanent program of financial aid to both public and private colleges as well as to individual students. This program sought to ensure that members of every social class could secure access to a higher education. The act allowed universities to expand and build new libraries, and fostered improvement in the overall quality of universities.

The most dramatic shift in college education came with the return of servicemen from World War II. The Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944, or the GI Bill as it was commonly called, dispersed funds for veterans to attend college. Following World War I, the National Defense Act of 1920 had provided military training in conjunction with higher education. Under this measure, the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) was established at universities around the country. It established military training programs as part of academic coursework. The aim of this program was to prepare reserve and noncommissioned officers for future military service. The GI Bill, however, was a comprehensive act that allowed veterans more than just military training. It included provisions such as: one year of schooling for veterans who had served at least 90 days, with additional schooling equal to the time they spent on active duty; payment for books and supplies, as long as the amount did not exceed \$500; and a monthly allowance of \$50. Veterans could attend any college desired, as long as it was an accredited school.

The GI Bill made a tremendous difference. In 1930, less than 10 percent of all high school graduates had gone on to further education; by 1965, more than one half of all high school graduates did so. While many veterans enrolled in large, four-year universities, almost half of veterans began their education at community colleges. In 1940, approximately 200,000 students were enrolled in community colleges. By 1968, nearly 2 million students chose to attend junior colleges. Aggregate numbers soared. In 1945, over 900,000 students were enrolled in two- and four-year colleges and universities. By 1947, more than 2 million students were enrolled in such institutions. Veterans comprised nearly 50 percent of students in attendance.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the rise in student enrollments extended to graduate schools and professional

schools. Increasingly, larger numbers of students chose to pursue education beyond a baccalaureate degree to earn masters or doctoral degrees at graduate schools. Others chose to enter professional schools for specialized training in areas such as law, business, medicine, dentistry, and veterinary science.

Many schools were at first unequipped to deal with such large numbers of students. Prefabricated housing and recycled Quonset huts, which once provided housing for soldiers, became part of the landscape on many college campuses in the early postwar years. Only later did permanent new buildings appear. The profusion of students also created a need for more professors in the classroom. In 1940, the nation's colleges and universities employed approximately 145,000 full-time teaching employees; in 1960, that number had doubled to more than 300,000. Large numbers of students chose to extend their education by entering graduate school to become professors. By the end of the 1960s, about 30,000 Ph.D.s annually were awarded to students across the United States.

Meanwhile, student activism became an important part of college life in the 1960s. Students participated in SIT-INS, picket lines, and other demonstrations, petitioning the government, among other issues, against the violation of civil rights of African Americans. College students also participated in the FREEDOM RIDES into the Deep South to desegregate transportation facilities. In 1964, the FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT at Berkeley sought to protect political and civil rights for all Americans. By 1965, students could be found protesting the U.S. government's actions in the VIETNAM WAR.

The post-World War II efforts by the United States to make the nation's educational system competitive with the rest of the world were largely successful. Education at the primary, secondary, and post-secondary levels improved dramatically in the postwar years.

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—Matthew Escovar and Megan D. Wessel

**Eisenhower, Dwight D.** (1890–1969) *commander of Allied forces in Europe during World War II, 34th U.S. president*

Following a successful military career, Dwight D. Eisenhower entered the political world and served as the 34th president of the United States.

Dwight David Eisenhower was born on October 14, 1890, in Denison, Texas. A year after his birth, the Eisenhower family moved to Abilene, Kansas, where Eisenhower spent the rest of his childhood. Although the family lived in poverty, Eisenhower won a merit appointment to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York. While at West Point, he suffered a serious knee injury that sidelined him from participating in both football and baseball. Following his graduation from West Point in 1915, he held a variety of military posts, including service as an aide to the assistant secretary of war in Washington, D.C., where he met General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, who was the Army Chief of Staff at the time.

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, Eisenhower rose to become supreme commander in the European Theater during World War II. He devised Operation Torch, which successfully gave the Allies a foothold in North Africa. His finest moment came in planning Operation Overlord, the Allied invasion of Europe on June 6, 1944, in Normandy, on the coast of France. The whole operation depended upon the weather at the time of invasion. Although the weather conditions were not ideal, Eisenhower ordered the invasion to proceed. Unable to predict the outcome of his orders, he kept a message in his wallet accepting personal blame if the Allies suffered a defeat. Operation Overlord, however, was a success, and the Allies went on to victory over the Axis powers.

Returning to the United States a war hero, Eisenhower served as Army Chief of Staff. Leaving the army in 1947, he accepted the post of president of Columbia University. In 1950, Eisenhower left his post at Columbia University, as President HARRY S. TRUMAN called upon him to serve as the supreme commander of the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) defense forces.

In 1952, Eisenhower won the Republican nomination for president. His advisers then suggested that Eisenhower choose a young, staunch anticommunist for the position of vice president. Although Eisenhower had never had an extended private conversation with Senator Richard M. Nixon, he chose the Californian as his running mate. On election night, Eisenhower beat his Democratic opponent, ADLAI STEVENSON, with 55.1 percent of the popular vote and 442 electoral votes.

After taking office in 1953, Eisenhower was immediately faced with finding a way out of the KOREAN WAR, which had begun three years before. By moving nuclear warheads to the island of Okinawa, Eisenhower gained the upper hand in dealing with China. Facing possible nuclear intervention, China signed an armistice effectively ending the war. In addition to this foreign affairs crisis, America was also entangled in Vietnam, sending millions of dollars of aid to the French-controlled government. Eisenhower realized the potential quagmire of greater American involvement in



Dwight D. Eisenhower talking with Clare Boothe Luce (*Library of Congress*)

Vietnam, and he resisted large-scale expansion of the role of the United States. He did support the formation of the SOUTHEAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION (SEATO) to try to cope with crises in the area.

On the home front, Eisenhower was committed to promoting a less activist government. While accepting the innovations of the NEW DEAL, he nonetheless wanted to scale back government intervention in the ECONOMY. Also given the opportunity to influence the courts, he appointed EARL WARREN as chief justice of the Supreme Court in 1953. Later in his career, Eisenhower objected to the extent of Warren's judicial activism.

Eisenhower also faced the unchecked allegations of Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY concerning rampant communist infiltration within the government. Following the ARMY-MCCARTHY HEARINGS, the president took action. Although he never publicly repudiated McCarthy, Eisenhower strongly encouraged Republican senators to vote for the condemnation of the senator in 1954, which effectively ended McCarthy's political career.

Following his reelection in 1956, Eisenhower was faced with yet another crisis at home. After the decision of the WARREN COURT in *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* (1954), which declared that segregated schools were unconstitutional, the president was compelled to uphold the ruling. When a number of African-American students were denied entrance to Little Rock's all-white Central High School, Eisenhower sent army paratroopers and National Guardsmen into Arkansas to enforce the Supreme Court's mandate.

Eisenhower was active on other fronts as well. He created the NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) in response to the 1957 Soviet launch of *Sputnik*, the first man-made satellite to circle the earth. He also supported the INTERSTATE HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956, which authorized the construction of more than 40,000 miles of access roads, forming the world's most complex highway network.

Eisenhower died on March 28, 1969, nine years after leaving office. The records of his presidency are preserved



at the Eisenhower Presidential Library and Museum in Abilene, Kansas. His life is also commemorated by the Eisenhower Birthplace State Historic Site in Denison, Texas, and by the Eisenhower National Historic Site in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

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—Clayton Douglas

## elections

Presidential and midterm elections constitute an important barometer of social and political trends.

As the country emerged from the Great Depression and World War II, the DEMOCRATIC PARTY held a clear edge in electoral politics. The NEW DEAL coalition that had united rural residents of the West and South with northern, urban ethnics had guaranteed Democratic control of both the White House and Congress since 1932. But the REPUBLICAN PARTY broke this hold by capturing both chambers of Congress in 1946 and the White House in the 1950s. Democrats regained control of Congress in the mid-1950s and held it for the next 15 years, retaking the White House again in 1960.

HARRY S. TRUMAN's transition into the White House did not go smoothly, and the 1946 midterm elections marked the low point of his tenure. The Republican Party gained control of both houses of Congress for the first time since 1930, winning a 245-188 majority in the House and a 51-45 lead in the Senate. Republicans capitalized on the public perception of Truman's ineffective leadership, a Democratic Party fractured into liberal and conservative wings, rampant postwar inflation, and the normal tendency of the out-of-power party to pick up congressional seats in midterm elections. Buoyed by this success, Republicans expected to expand their control and to retake the White House in 1948.

Republican Party leaders had every reason to be confident in the 1948 presidential elections. As the campaign proceeded, the Democratic Party split into three camps. Henry A. Wallace's PROGRESSIVE PARTY promised to siphon off the most liberal voters, and when Truman endorsed a strong civil rights plank at the Democratic convention, conservative southerners left the party as well. South Carolina governor Strom Thurmond headed the STATES' RIGHTS PARTY—known as the Dixiecrat Party—further weakening

Truman's position. Meanwhile, the Republicans stood solidly behind New York governor THOMAS E. DEWEY, who had run well against Franklin D. Roosevelt for president in 1944. Popular California governor EARL WARREN joined Dewey on the Republican ticket.

In response to these challenges, Truman and his advisers developed an ingenious strategy for the 1948 campaign: combine appeals to the old New Deal coalition while at the same time casting the Republican Congress as opposed to reform. To implement this plan, Truman sent an array of reform proposals to Congress, including housing reform, education aid, and a civil rights bill. As expected, these bills failed—but Truman successfully portrayed himself as a Roosevelt-style reformer blocked by an insensitive Congress. Truman also campaigned extensively, logging 22,000 miles and 271 speeches during the campaign season. Up until the eve of the election, however, the polls continued to predict a landslide victory for Dewey. These expectations led to the famous “Dewey Defeats Truman” headline run by the *Chicago Tribune* on the night of the election, published before a last-minute swing to Truman. Truman won the election (49.6 percent of the vote and 303 electoral votes to 45.1 percent and 189 for Dewey)—and the Democrats retook both houses of Congress (263-171 in the House and 54-42 in the Senate)—by holding together the New Deal coalition of union members, farmers, and urban ethnic voters. The Democratic splinter parties did



Harry S. Truman, president-elect, holds up edition of *Chicago Daily Tribune* with headline “Dewey Defeats Truman.” (Library of Congress)



not do as well as expected, although Thurmond's popularity in the South served notice of future troubles for the Democratic Party.

The Democratic victory of 1948 carried over to 1950; although the Republicans picked up five Senate and 28 House seats, the Democrats remained in control of both chambers (49-47 and 234-199). ANTICOMMUNISM, both as a domestic concern and as a commentary on the Truman administration's handling of the KOREAN WAR, emerged as the key issue of the 1950 midterm contests and remained a central topic of political debate for the next several elections.

When Truman decided not to run for reelection in 1952, General DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER emerged as the most popular potential candidate—but no one knew which party he would join. Eisenhower chose the Republican Party, with Senator Richard M. Nixon of California as a running mate. They faced Illinois governor ADLAI STEVENSON and Alabama senator John Sparkman, chosen in an effort to make the Democratic ticket more appealing to southerners. The Republicans again used the anticommunism issue effectively, and also contrasted Eisenhower's status as a war hero and political outsider with the Democrats' mishandling of the Korean conflict and the corruption scandals that had plagued the Truman administration. Eisenhower won easily, claiming 55 percent of the popular vote and 442 electoral votes, and the Republicans once more took control of both houses of Congress, albeit by the slimmest of margins (221-211 in the House, 48-47 in the Senate, with one independent vote).

The 1952 presidential election marked the emergence of a new force on the political scene: TELEVISION. More than 15 million households had televisions in 1952, compared to 178,000 in 1948. Eisenhower used the new medium effectively, running the first political commercials during the campaign.

Republican control of Congress proved short-lived. Despite continued emphasis on anticommunism, the 1954 midterms brought the Democrats a one vote lead in the Senate (48-47) and a 29-seat majority in the House (232-203). Rather than anticommunism, the election swung on economic issues, namely, rising unemployment and falling farm prices.

Democrats retained control of Congress (233-200 and 49-47) and Eisenhower remained in the White House in the election of 1956, a rematch of the popular president with Adlai Stevenson. Eisenhower needed little help in the election, and war in the MIDDLE EAST over the SUEZ CRISIS made Americans more likely to return an experienced leader to the White House. Eisenhower captured over 57 percent of the popular vote and easily won the Electoral College, 457 to 73. Television again played an important role, as 36 million homes now boasted TV sets. Both candi-

dates employed prestigious New York ADVERTISING firms to help manage their campaigns.

Despite Eisenhower's personal popularity, the Republican Party faced a difficult situation in the 1958 midterms because the ECONOMY, booming since the end of World War II, had slowed. What started as a mild downturn in 1957 became a full-blown recession in 1958, especially hurting industrial workers and Midwestern farmers. The Democrats accused the administration of being insensitive to rising unemployment and economic suffering. The strategy worked: the Democratic majorities exploded to 64-34 in the Senate and 283-153 in the House. This sweeping victory for the Democrats positioned them well for the 1960 election.

These prospects helped make the 1960 Democratic presidential nomination a hotly contested one. JOHN F. KENNEDY quickly emerged as a frontrunner and received the nomination, with Senator LYNDON B. JOHNSON of Texas (himself a presidential hopeful) as a running mate. They faced Richard Nixon and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. Four issues dominated the campaign: the adequacy of American military defense, the aggressiveness of foreign policy, the future of civil rights, and the need for continued economic growth. Kennedy took the initiative on all four issues, forcing Nixon to defend the policies of the Eisenhower administration. The Democrats focused especially on the "Missile Gap" (the idea that the Russians had outstripped the United States in missile production) and on civil rights. The Democratic convention endorsed the most liberal civil rights agenda in the party's history. Kennedy helped his cause with a well-publicized phone call to Coretta Scott King while her husband MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., was being held in a Georgia jail on a trumped-up traffic violation. Kennedy prevailed in one of the closest elections in American history, winning by just under 115,000 votes out of 69 million cast. Kennedy earned 49.7 percent of the popular vote and 303 votes in the Electoral College to 49.5 percent and 219 for Nixon. Democrats maintained their majority in Congress, although they lost seats in the House (now 263-174, and 65-35 in the Senate).

Scholars have pointed to several decisive issues in the close election. Kennedy's RELIGION (he was the first Catholic elected president and only the second nominated) cost him votes in the national tally, but probably helped him win key northern, urban states with large ethnic populations. Kennedy also picked up 70 percent of the African-American vote, which also might have decided the election. Television, too, played a role: More than 60 million viewers watched each of four televised debates that contrasted the composed Kennedy with a sweating, nervous Nixon. Although Kennedy might not have won the debate in terms of content, he clearly won the image war.

The 1962 midterm elections were important ones for Kennedy. He had accomplished little of his domestic agenda during the first two years of his term. Kennedy went against the recommendations of his advisers and took an active role in the midterm campaign, staking his own prestige on the outcome. Democrats lost only five seats in the House (258-177), and gained seats in the Senate (for a 67-33 majority)—the most successful midterm election by the in-party (other than 1934) since 1866. And the composition of the new Congress proved more sympathetic to Kennedy's goals, since moderates had replaced obstructionist conservatives in several southern Democratic seats. The 1962 midterm contest provided Kennedy with both the mandate and the momentum necessary to implement his reform agenda.

The 1964 presidential elections soundly confirmed this mandate for liberal reform. Lyndon Johnson chose Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY of Minnesota, the party's most vocal liberal, as a running mate. They faced Senator BARRY GOLDWATER of Arizona and a Republican Party that had turned sharply to the right. Goldwater's 1960 book, *The Conscience of a Conservative*, had become the manifesto of the Republican right, and he based his campaign on its ideas: aggressive COLD WAR foreign policy, little regulation of BUSINESS, and the dismantling of government welfare programs like social security. Johnson took advantage of the narrow Republican appeal and cast his campaign broadly, appealing to business and labor interests, urban and rural regions, and all racial and ethnic groups. Johnson's position as Kennedy's heir, his advocacy of civil rights and liberal domestic reform, and a fear of Goldwater's CONSERVATISM, along with the fear that he might ignite a nuclear war, produced a landslide victory. Johnson garnered 61 percent of the popular vote and 486 electoral votes, more even than Roosevelt in 1936, to 38.5 percent and 52 for Goldwater. Democratic margins widened in both chambers of Congress (295-140 and 68-32). The realignment of southern voters that had begun under Eisenhower continued, however, and Goldwater claimed five states in the Deep South. Perhaps more important, his campaign laid the groundwork for the nation's rightward shift in the coming decades.

This rightward turn became evident two years later, when the Republican Party made significant gains in Congress. Race riots, fears of a white backlash to civil rights legislation, the rise of the COUNTERCULTURE, unease over the VIETNAM WAR, and inflation caused Americans to question Johnson's leadership; his approval ratings plummeted from 66 percent in November 1965 to 44 percent in October 1966. These concerns persisted through the 1966 election. Although the Republicans remained in the minority in Congress (187-247 and 36-64), their successes ended the era of GREAT SOCIETY reform and heralded a new age of Republican political power.

Republican gains and growing domestic unrest guaranteed that Johnson would face a challenge for the Democratic nomination in 1968. Senator EUGENE MCCARTHY of Minnesota and Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY of New York both announced their bids for the presidency based on antiwar platforms. As Johnson watched his support erode, he decided to withdraw from the election to avoid polarizing the country further, and Vice President Humphrey entered the race with the aim of rebuilding the liberal coalition of farmers, African Americans, union members, and urban ethnics. Kennedy had claimed control of the race with a victory in the California primary when his assassination threw the election into turmoil. Humphrey emerged to head the Democratic ticket, although violence outside the Democratic national convention in Chicago tarnished his nomination. Southern conservative GEORGE A. WALLACE complicated the election by entering the race on a third-party ticket.

Republican nominee Richard Nixon capitalized on this social unrest. The murders of Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr., race riots, and antiwar protests fostered the feeling that the nation was coming apart at the seams. Nixon promised a "secret peace plan" for Vietnam and a return to "law and order." This time, it was Nixon who prevailed in a close race, easily winning in the Electoral College (301-91) but securing the popular vote by less than 1 percent (43.4 percent-42.7 percent). Humphrey managed to win only a single southern state (Texas), ending Democratic control of the region that had endured since Reconstruction. Nixon won because of social unrest, the stalemate in Vietnam, and by tapping into middle-class unrest over Johnson's WAR ON POVERTY. Democratic majorities in Congress slipped further still, to 243-192 in the House and 57-43 in the Senate. The Republicans had laced together a coalition of voters in the West, the South, and the Midwest, a coalition that delivered five of the next six presidential elections to the Republican Party.

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—Jim Feldman

### Electronic Numerical Integrator and Calculator (ENIAC)

ENIAC, the University of Pennsylvania's Electronic Numerical Integrator and Computer, was the world's first wholly electronic digital COMPUTER.

Introduced to an eager public on February 15, 1946, the machine revolutionized computational science and

radically advanced the speed by which mathematical equations could be solved. Problems that once would have taken months of simple hand calculations or days with the assistance of a differential analyzer now took only minutes. In the words of the *New York Times*' first report on the machine, ENIAC promised "a new epoch of human thought."

Computing machines were nothing new by the early 1940s. Humans have used one type, the abacus, for nearly 5,000 years, and many still use this elegant tool even today. In the 1930s, engineers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology developed a "product integrator," which solved simple equations through analog functioning. Later that decade, the International Business Machines corporation (IBM), with the aid of Harvard mathematicians, produced a sequence-controlled calculator capable of computing tables of mathematical functions such as sines and cosines. Unlike these early calculators, however, ENIAC was wholly electronic, functioning by turning vacuum tubes on and off. This was its great advance. It used no moving parts to perform its calculations, and it could thus function at astonishing speeds unhindered by the physical limitations of its predecessors. Its design proved capable of performing over 5,000 additions or subtractions or 360 multiplications of two 10-digit decimal numbers in a single second. No other machine on the planet could even approach these figures.

Such speed made complex problems appear simple, and the machine was designed with one specific problem in mind. In the early 1940s, America was at war against the Axis Powers, engaged in a conflict in which SCIENCE and TECHNOLOGY played a far greater role than ever before. In particular, America's army required hundreds of complex ballistic tables for powerful artillery pieces, tables that listed the expected trajectory of shells through hundreds of trajectories. Each of these tables required thousands of computations and could take a trained mathematician using the most advanced tools of the time nearly a month to complete. Dozens of "human computers," mainly young women with advanced mathematics degrees, were engaged in producing such tables at the University of Pennsylvania's Moore School of Electrical Engineering, home to the world's largest differential analyzer, but a faster method was needed. John W. Mauchly, a young professor, and John P. Eckert, Jr., a graduate student, proposed a machine that would use more than 18,000 vacuum tubes operating at a rate of 100,000 pulses per second to calculate the time-consuming tables. Immersed in a desperate war, the army agreed to fund the project.

The top-secret machine took nearly two years to build. Completed in the war's final year, Mauchly and Eckert's 30-ton creation, housed in a good-sized room, appeared too late to be used for its original purpose of calculating ballistic tables. Instead, ENIAC's first task dealt with calculations required for the construction of the ATOMIC BOMB.

Data was fed to ENIAC on punched cards, and the final results were themselves punched onto cards. Electronic circuits involving miles of wire performed the arithmetic computations, with such success that its operators eventually formed a waiting list of more than two years for eager users. Though a technological watershed, the machine was by no means perfect. Each new computation or program used a different wiring pattern, and thus shifting from one type of calculation to another required a manual rewiring of the machine that often took days—time that was in high demand for the world's only functioning computer. This difficulty was overcome in 1948 by hard-wiring more than 80 operations into the machine, albeit at a loss of some operating speed. Hard-wired operations were controlled by ENIAC's operator at a main console, and could be shifted—the machine in essence reprogrammed—at the flick of a switch, a technique that foreshadowed future computer designs.

As originally designed, ENIAC was also unable to store its data or results, even in the midst of its own computations. The machines' creators had recognized the significance of this deficiency while in the midst of its construction, and began designing its successors, the EDVAC and the EDSAC, in 1944 even before ENIAC ran its first program. Data storage and stored programming would be the hallmarks of these new machines. Though a marvel of its day, ENIAC's monopoly on electronic computing was, by necessity, short-lived. Its architecture and design were themselves never copied, and though the computer worked for many years at the university and at the U.S. Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland, its greatest contribution to the nascent field of computer science lay in its very existence. It proved rapid electronic machines both viable and useful, and it provided a testing ground for a whole generation of computer pioneers.

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—Jeffrey A. Engel

### Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) provided federal financial support to children who needed it, both in public and parochial schools. JOHN F. KENNEDY began the campaign for educational aid during his presidency. Americans at this time thought the educational system needed to be improved because of COLD WAR fears. They were concerned when the SOVIET UNION

launched the first satellite into space. The thought that a communist country could launch a satellite first made Americans feel inferior and underschooled. Many felt the need to better educate their children.

Kennedy faced many problems while trying to get the program started. A crucial issue involved the separation of church and state. Kennedy was not opposed to providing aid to parochial schools, but because he was the first Roman Catholic to be elected president, he was advised that he could not risk a program of aid to Catholic schools in his first months in office. A fear that critics might charge that American governmental policy was being made by the pope in Rome led Kennedy to deny aid to parochial schools. The Catholic Church became angry at Kennedy's stance, which proved problematic because Kennedy needed its support to pass the bill. Other complicated issues included whether segregated schools should receive funding, which Kennedy supported, and whether there would be federal control as a result of federal funding. The assassination of Kennedy in 1963 halted progress on the proposed bill.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON, who succeeded Kennedy, wanted to move beyond the Kennedy legacy by creating a GREAT SOCIETY, which provided something for everyone. In addition to a tax cut, medical care for the elderly, and civil rights legislation, it included better educational opportunities for all. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, in Johnson's plan for a Great Society, included equal educational opportunities for the disadvantaged, improved libraries, and better programs for gifted and slow learners. The ESEA in Johnson's view constituted an important component of the WAR ON POVERTY. Those who supported the measure thought that it would break the cycle of poverty.

Johnson overcame some of Kennedy's problems with the bill by saying he refused to take it to Congress without support from the National Education Association and the National Catholic Welfare Conference, which represented public and parochial schools, respectively. Johnson did not have to deal with the issue of whether aid would go only to desegregated schools because of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964, which moved the process of integration along. Johnson's last concern was with who received the money, and how the GOVERNMENT issued the funds. He decided that aid would go only to those individuals with educational disadvantages. The schools themselves would not receive aid. This in turn allowed aid to go to students in both public and parochial schools.

Republicans originally opposed the bill because they thought Democrats were trying to rush it through Congress. After much debate, however, the House of Representatives and the Senate both voted in favor of the act by overwhelming margins. Johnson signed it four months after sending it to Congress.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act has continued to help children who are disadvantaged, with Congress modifying the measure as new educational needs surface.

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—Megan D. Wessel

## Employment Act of 1946

The Employment Act of 1946 represented the legislative outcome of a hotly contested policy dispute over the federal government's role in providing full employment for Americans.

Based on sections of the "Economic Bill of Rights" enunciated in Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1944 State of the Union message, the bill was first introduced in January 1945 as the "full employment bill" by five prominent NEW DEAL senators, including Democrat James Murray of Montana and Democrat Robert Wagner of New York. It was rewritten almost beyond recognition before becoming law over a year later.

Originally the bill required the president to provide Congress with annual estimates of both the nation's projected workforce and the number of jobs likely to be created by the public and private sectors. If the number of jobs amounted to less than the predicted labor force, the president was to propose action that would stimulate private-sector job creation, such as tax incentives, or cause more public sector employment, such as public works programs. A joint committee of Congress was to have final say over which of the president's suggestions would be adopted. To preempt opposition that suggested the bill paved the way for direct federal government involvement in the economy, limits were placed on what the president could recommend.

Opposition erupted. Influential members of Congress and several powerful organizations, including the National Association of Manufacturers, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and the Farm Bureau, opposed the bill. Many arguments against the bill involved practical matters, such as the difficulty of making the type of employment forecasts called for and the potential cost. A few even suggested that unemployment was positive because fear of job loss kept workers from slacking off. The most passionate arguments against the bill linked full employment policies with the fascist and communists governments feared by most Americans. Ohio Republican senator ROBERT A. TAFT warned, "we can provide for full employment in the United States,



Russia does it; Germany does it . . . if we are willing to sacrifice freedom, we can secure employment.”

The bill supporters, including many labor unions and congressional New Dealers, also used fear of totalitarianism. Republican senator Wayne Morse of Oregon reminded his colleagues that “it was unemployment of the masses in Germany and in Italy . . . that brought about the rise of Mussolini and Hitler.” Already sensing the COLD WAR struggle for the world’s loyalty, Senator Murray promised, “that through this measure . . . we can prevent unemployment and prove to the world that democracy can work.” Supporters emphasized domestic benefits of the bill as well. They claimed that full employment would raise the standard of living for all Americans as well as take away the incentive of big BUSINESS to wipe out its smaller competitors.

The bill generated considerable debate, though it did not divide along partisan lines. *Congressional Quarterly* noted, “party lines practically vanished during the debate.” Although the bill passed, the changes made to it indicate that its opponents were largely successful in rendering it ineffective. Phrasing was changed to dilute the government’s commitment to full employment, with the word “full” even being dropped from the bill’s title. Instead of detailed estimates and policy proposals, the final bill stipulated that the president was merely to provide a yearly economic report to Congress on America’s employment situation and how federal policy affected it. The joint congressional committee was given power to review the report, but not to initiate legislation. An important addition to the bill was the creation of a COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISORS to assist the president in preparing the economic report.

Despite its weakened final form, some believed that, with sympathetic people in the Council of Economic Advisors and the Joint Economic Committee in Congress, the law could affect major policy changes. The Republican victory in 1946 dashed those hopes, as the new majority made Senator Taft chair of the committee.

This ineffectiveness has led to questions about whether it was a failure. Certainly, it did not live up to the hopes expressed in Roosevelt’s “Economic Bill of Rights.” Nevertheless, the bill did create the Council of Economic Advisors. Although the council might not have gained the trust of Congress, it has been an invaluable aid to presidents in considering a host of economic issues since its creation.

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—Dave Price

### **Engel v. Vitale** (1962)

*Engel v. Vitale* (1962) was a highly controversial judicial decision that held unconstitutional the recitation of a prayer composed by a group of clergymen for the New York Board of Regents as part of its program of “moral and spiritual training in the schools.”

In this decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the State Board of Regents of New York violated the establishment clause, a section of the First Amendment of the Constitution, by mandating the daily recitation of a prayer composed by the government. The prayer in question read: “Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessing upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country.” This daily invocation was adopted on the recommendation of the Board of Regents, and it was said aloud at the beginning of each school day, in every classroom, in the presence of a teacher.

Five plaintiffs, all parents of children, brought the lawsuit. The plaintiffs, with the backing of the American Civil Liberties Union, included members of the Jewish faith, the Society for Ethical Culture, the Unitarian Church, and one nonbeliever. The defendants represented the Board of Education of Union Free School District Number Nine.

The lawsuit challenged the constitutionality of the practice of school prayer on two separate grounds. First, the plaintiffs argued that the use of the official prayer in public schools was contrary to their religious beliefs and practices and thus infringed on their constitutionally guaranteed free exercise of religious rights. Second, they alleged that both the state law authorizing the use of prayer in the public schools and the school district’s regulation ordering the recitation of the prayer violated the establishment clause. The New York State Supreme Court upheld the prayer recitation based on its conclusion that the practice did not amount to religious instruction and was permissible as an “accepted” practice.

On December 4, 1961, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear the case. *Engel* was argued on April 3 and 6, 1962. In a 6-1 decision, with neither Justices Felix Frankfurter nor Byron White participating, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the state decision, holding the daily recitation of the regent’s prayer to be in violation of the establishment clause.

Justice Hugo L. Black, writing for the Court, held that “the Establishment clause . . . is violated by the enactment of laws which established an official religion whether those laws operate directly to coerce nonobserving individuals or not . . .” The Court ruled that neither the nondenominational character of the prayer nor the fact that students could be excused from the ceremony allowed this legislation to circumvent the restrictions of the establishment clause. The Court ignored the fact that the prayer did not promote a belief of any kind. Rather, the justices focused

on the state's promotion of religious practices in the public schools, concluding that this promotion alone was constitutionally prohibited. More narrowly, the Court focused on the fact that the prayer was composed by the state, holding that "it is no part of the business of the government to compose official prayers for any group of American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by the government."

Justice Potter Stewart wrote the sole dissent in *Engel*. In a scathing opinion, he asserted that the Court had violated the free exercise rights of the other students in the district, and he vigorously asserted the position that the students who wished to say the prayer should be permitted to do so.

After the ruling, many people were outraged, calling for the impeachment of Chief Justice EARL WARREN. Many members of Congress likewise delivered heated responses. Some genuinely believed the Court's decision was incorrect, whereas others expressed general criticisms of the Court, which had earlier handed down desegregation decisions they found objectionable. Representative George Andrews of Alabama said, "They put the Negroes in the schools and now they've driven God out." Congressman John Rooney of New York warned, "that the ruling could put the United States schools on the same basis as Russian schools." At a news conference, President JOHN F. KENNEDY responded: "We have in this case a very easy remedy, and that is to pray ourselves." Despite the ruling, prayer in public schools remains an emotionally charged issue.

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—Elizabeth A. Henke

## environmental movement

After World War II, the center of environmental politics shifted from Progressive-era "conservation," which stressed efficient use and management of natural resources, to a newer "environmentalism," which stressed issues such as pollution, environmental degradation, and the preservation of wilderness.

New groups and leaders came forward, and the role of government in addressing environmental problems greatly expanded. As environmental questions moved into the policy arena, a new rank of environmental professionals emerged, sometimes generating tension with the grass-

roots movement of concerned citizens that developed during the same period.

Although the conservation movement benefited in the 1930s from a range of NEW DEAL programs, it received low priority during and after World War II. When DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER became president—in the midst of rapid economic expansion, rising affluence, cheap energy, and escalating consumer spending—his administration actively dismantled older New Deal conservation policies. Representative actions of the era included auctioning off federal lands, the defeat of proposals for new public power projects modeled on the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the privatization of publicly owned energy resources.

Nevertheless, the seeds of many important new issues took root in the immediate postwar years. Pennsylvania's Donora-Webster "killer smog" of 1948, for example, killed 20 people and raised unsettling questions about air pollution and public health. Highly publicized nuclear tests created awareness of the dangers of radioactive fallout and generated a successful drive to ban atmospheric nuclear testing. The negative environmental effects of population pressure, too, gained a wide audience in Fairfield Osborn's best-selling *Our Plundered Planet* (1948). Perhaps the most important work of the period, however, was Aldo Leopold's *A Sand County Almanac*, published posthumously in 1949. Especially popular among environmental activists of a later era, the book eloquently argued that all people, as members of a "biotic community," had ethical responsibilities to maintain the health and diversity of the natural world.

Leopold, whose life work was grounded in the earlier conservation movement, also embodied the ability of conservationist groups founded before World War II to adapt to (and shape) the newer environmental agenda. For example, Howard Zahniser, executive director of the Wilderness Society, drafted the Wilderness Act, a key piece of environmental legislation passed in September 1964. The National Wildlife Federation, originally founded to promote hunters' interests, increasingly advocated environmental concerns that sometimes seemed to contradict its advocacy of hunters' rights. Most important was the Sierra Club, founded by John Muir at the beginning of the 20th century in California to foster an appreciation for the "cathedrals" of American wilderness. Under the leadership of David Brower, the Sierra Club championed the cause of wilderness preservation, spearheading drives against large dams in places like Echo Park (1955), Glen Canyon (1963), and the lower Grand Canyon (1966). The Sierra Club also took the lead in popularizing breathtaking nature photography, and especially landscape photography, to build support for preserving and protecting wild nature.

The publication of RACHEL CARSON's *Silent Spring* in 1962, however, constituted the major catalyst for grass-roots environmentalism. The book touched a nerve by dra-



Smog obscures view of lower portion of downtown highrises, Los Angeles, California, 1966. (*Library of Congress*)

matizing the dangers that ubiquitous “miracle” pesticides such as DDT posed to the health of plant and animal life. Carson was careful to moderate her position, objecting only to the indiscriminate use of pesticides and to what she saw as the hubris of trying to “control” nature, but her book prompted a firestorm of controversy and fierce resistance to her claims. Despite well-financed opposition, her work raised enough public concern to lead the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to ban DDT by 1972.

Through the 1960s, the American public became increasingly concerned with environmental issues, catching the attention of national political leaders. Big busi-

ness, too, often sought federal regulations to standardize the increasing agglomeration of local and state environmental regulations. As a result, the 1960s and early 1970s saw a wave of significant new federal environmental laws, including the Wilderness Act (1964), the Motor Vehicle Air Pollution Control Act (1965), the Water Quality Act (1965), the Air Quality Act (1967), the Clean Air Act Amendments (1970), the National Environmental Policy Act (1970), and the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (1972).

By the late 1960s, however, a growing number of Americans became disillusioned with regulatory and



technical solutions to environmental problems, leading them to call instead for personal solutions to environmental ills. Criticizing the United States as a “society of waste,” some members of the era’s COUNTERCULTURE called for a movement “back to the land.” Pleading for heightened “ecological consciousness” and adopting Native Americans as icons for harmonious coexistence with nature, these new environmentalists read publications like the *Whole Earth Catalog* and *Mother Earth News* and promoted decreased consumption and community-based recycling centers, stressing lifestyle issues over regulating industrial polluters. This different emphasis created an uneasy tension between “new” and “traditional” environmentalists, and set the stage for the changes and debates within environmentalism during the 1970s.

**Further reading:** Samuel Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955–1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

—Christopher W. Wells

### Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) investigated claims of discrimination by employers violating Title VII of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964.

Established on July 2, 1965, the EEOC sought to “ensure equality of opportunity by vigorously enforcing federal legislation prohibiting discrimination in employment.” Of greatest concern was preventing discrimination on the basis of religion, race, sex, color, national origin, age, or disability.

An independent regulatory agency, the EEOC informed the public about antidiscrimination laws and worked to ensure basic rights for oppressed groups in American society. In addition to Title VII, the EEOC in time came to enforce the 1963 Equal Pay Act, which prohibited discrimination on the basis of gender for similar work in similar conditions; the 1967 Age Discrimination in Employment Act, which barred discrimination against employees aged 40 and older; and the 1973 Rehabilitation Act, which prohibited discrimination against federal employees with a disability.

As part of LYNDON B. JOHNSON’S GREAT SOCIETY programs, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the subsequent development of the EEOC, grew out of the larger Civil Rights movement. Throughout the 1960s, activists fought SEGREGATION and its discriminatory effects on African Americans, challenging the president and Congress to pass comprehensive legislation that recognized their rights as citizens. Other groups joined the fight for equality, as Lati-

nos, Native Americans, and women spoke out against intolerance and discriminatory practices, demanding new laws to address numerous expressions of racism in American life. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 constituted a major step toward eradicating racism across the country.

Established as a response to inequality in the job place, the EEOC was originally limited to information gathering, mediation, and legal support. It relied on negotiation, persuasion, and voluntary compliance in an effort to coerce private employers to end discriminatory hiring practices. In 1972, Congress passed the Equal Employment Opportunity Act that expanded the power of the EEOC. This measure gave the EEOC the right to file legal suits against employers accused of discrimination, subpoena relevant witnesses and documents, and examine charges of discrimination in the federal government. Soon thereafter, the EEOC won several verdicts against major corporations, thereby increasing the consciousness of employers, and accelerating their willingness to comply with the law.

A number of Supreme Court decisions helped contribute to the EEOC’s importance as a regulatory agency. In 1971, the Supreme Court ruled that practices that appeared fair in their form but discriminatory in their function were illegal. This included preemployment tests that were not job-related, especially if they were more likely to exclude blacks and other minorities. The court extended its reasoning to rule out using arrest records as a method of screening job candidates.

In addition to eliminating sources of discrimination, the EEOC worked to prevent its recurrence. Headquartered in Washington, D.C., it was led by five commissioners appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate. A general counsel assisted the commissioners with litigation recommendations, policy shifts, and definitions of the law. More than 100 offices throughout the country engaged in outreach programs that increased public awareness about employment discrimination. Outreach efforts included regular reports on discrimination, national conferences on the topic, and a commitment to sending representatives to underserved areas to inform members of the public about their rights.

In later years, the EEOC adopted a National Enforcement Plan that articulated its mission as threefold. First, it would work to prevent discrimination through education and outreach programs. Next, it would encourage voluntary resolutions of disputes. Finally, if resolution could not be reached, it would seek to use strong and fair enforcement to maintain the laws.

**Further reading:** Clinton L. Doggett and Lois T. Doggett, *The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission* (New York: Chelsea House, 1990).

—Kirstin Gardner



**Escobedo v. Illinois** (1964)

The Supreme Court decision in *Escobedo v. Illinois*, a precursor to *MIRANDA v. ARIZONA*, marked a significant step in safeguarding the rights of suspects in police investigations. By stretching the constitutional requirement of right to counsel, *Escobedo* restricted the police from interrogating an individual without an attorney present.

On the night of January 19, 1960, Daniel Escobedo was arrested without a warrant and interrogated by police about the fatal shooting of his brother-in-law. Escobedo made no statements to the police and was released the following afternoon on a writ of habeas corpus, drafted by his retained attorney, Warren Wolfson, saying he was being held without charge.

Eleven days later, Benedict DiGerlando, an acquaintance of Escobedo now in police custody, told the police that Escobedo had fired the fatal shots in the murder of his brother-in-law. DiGerlando was later indicted along with Escobedo. The police again arrested Escobedo and brought him to police headquarters to be interrogated. On the way to the police station, Escobedo was told that DiGerlando had named him as the shooter. The police encouraged him to confess to the crime, but Escobedo declined and asked to speak to his attorney.

Shortly after Escobedo reached police headquarters, Wolfson, Escobedo's attorney, arrived and requested to speak to him. The lawyer was denied access to his client repeatedly for the next three to four hours. Officers in the Homicide Bureau told him on several occasions that he could not speak to Escobedo because the police had not finished questioning him. Wolfson remained at the station from 9:00 P.M. that evening until 1:00 A.M. the following morning; despite quoting passages from the Criminal Code to on-duty officers, Wolfson was never allowed to see his client.

Meanwhile, Escobedo continually requested, unsuccessfully, to speak to his lawyer. He later testified that police told him his lawyer "didn't want to see him." During the interrogation, the police encouraged Escobedo, who had yet to reveal any knowledge of the crime, to pin the shooting on DiGerlando. When police arranged a confrontation between Escobedo and DiGerlando, Escobedo denied firing the fatal shots and claimed that DiGerlando had done so, thereby implicating himself in the plot. Escobedo's statements were then used to convict him of murder. His conviction was affirmed by the Supreme Court of Illinois.

Attorneys for Escobedo decided to appeal his case to the federal level. The U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear the case on appeal, and it was immediately recognized by legal scholars that the case carried momentous judicial import. The central question before the Court was whether or not the right to counsel extended to the moment of arrest.

Bernard Weisberg, a vocal critic of police interrogatory powers, argued the *Escobedo* case for the American Civil

Liberties Union. In his brief, Weisberg examined current police interrogation manuals and highlighted what he considered unfair and inherently coercive police tactics which were considered lawful at the time. Weisberg harshly criticized the "virtually unlimited discretionary power" of police interrogators, which he claimed eroded the basic fairness of a criminal proceeding.

In arguing for the state of Illinois, Northwestern University law professor (and future Illinois governor) James Thompson warned the Court that any decision to extend the right to counsel would eliminate confessions as a tool for the police. Thompson predicted that such a decision would cripple law enforcement officers by requiring them to inform a suspect of his right to counsel.

In a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court reversed Escobedo's conviction. Justice Arthur Goldberg wrote the majority opinion, holding that because Escobedo was being detained as a suspect, by refusing to honor his request to consult an attorney, the police had denied him his constitutional right to counsel as provided by the Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments.

Legal scholars criticized the *Escobedo* opinion, claiming that at times it appeared to constitute a broad attack on police interrogatory powers and the use of confessions, while the language at other points tended to be confining and specific to the facts of the *Escobedo* case.

Justices John Harlan, Potter Stewart, and Byron White each wrote dissenting opinions, claiming that the majority's decision would unjustifiably shackle legitimate police investigative methods, and that the right to counsel should only attach at the initiation of formal proceedings against a defendant.

The *Escobedo* decision was subject to widespread controversy over the next two years. Narrow interpretations of the Court's decision only recognized a suspect's right to counsel when he or she chose to exercise that right. Broader readings, however, including the interpretation of James Thompson, asserted that *Escobedo* required that a suspect be informed of the right to counsel.

Contention over the scope and meaning of *Escobedo* was erased in 1966 with the landmark decision in *Miranda v. Arizona*. The Supreme Court bolstered *Escobedo* by requiring in the *Miranda* decision that police inform a suspect of his or her right to remain silent and to have legal counsel present. These requirements were to be carried out in what would become the famous "Miranda warnings."

**Further reading:** Walter V. Schaefer, *The Suspect and Society: Criminal Procedure and Converging Constitutional Doctrines* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1967).

—Guy R. Temple

**Europe (and foreign policy)**

Following World War II, Europe became a dangerous power vacuum that invited intervention from the world's new superpowers, the United States and the SOVIET UNION.

As the uneasy alliance between these two powers disintegrated and both eventually became engaged in the COLD WAR, Europe found itself divided between them. In both the Western and Eastern blocs, European nations were largely denied the ability to make independent decisions, and attempts to break free from their alliances met with marked hostility and, with regard to the Eastern bloc, occasionally outright force.

The military situation in Europe following World War II provided the Soviet Union with control over Eastern

Europe. With its armies spread out across the Balkans, the Soviet Union installed friendly governments in several Eastern European countries in order to create a buffer zone against a revived Germany. In Poland, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, claiming that the nation had served as a "corridor" for German advances, insisted that the new Polish government cohere around a group of communist exiles known as the Lublin Poles. For added protection, the Soviet Union absorbed the states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. In 1947, the Soviet Union overthrew the democratically elected noncommunist government of Hungary. The following year, it helped communists seize power in Czechoslovakia. With communist states also in Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, the Soviets forged a sphere of influence in 1955 that was institutionalized as the Warsaw Pact.



President John F. Kennedy stands on a platform overlooking the Berlin Wall. (*Kennedy Library*)

Fearful that the Soviet Union sought to extend its sphere of influence farther west, the United States sought to rebuild Western Europe as a bulwark against COMMUNISM. In February 1946, GEORGE F. KENNAN, an American diplomat in Moscow, wrote a "Long Telegram" that urged American policymakers to realize the severity of the communist threat, arguing that the Soviet Union blended Russia's historic sense of insecurity with an expansive political ideology. To meet this danger, Kennan articulated what became known as the "containment" policy, which stated that the United States should contain the Soviet Union within its present boundaries; such a policy, Kennan believed, would ultimately enable the internal contradictions of communist ideology to unravel the Soviet Union. The next year, the Truman administration, in response to perceived communist aggression in Turkey and Greece, provided economic and military aid and announced that the United States would assist any nation attempting to resist communist subjugation. In 1948, the United States offered the MARSHALL PLAN, which outlined an aid package for reconstructing Western Europe, then in 1949 created the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO), a permanent alliance with other Western European states and Canada designed to deter Soviet aggression, proclaiming that an attack against one member of the alliance would be considered an attack against all.

This division persisted throughout the 1950s and 1960s despite attempts in both blocs to strike a more neutral course. In Western Europe, the administration of French president Charles de Gaulle offered the greatest challenge to American leadership. After taking power in 1959, the former leader of Free French forces during World War II sought to reduce American influence in France and reach some sort of accommodation with the Soviets. De Gaulle pursued a unilateral French nuclear weapons program, closer ties for France with the Soviet Union, and greater French influence in the Third World. He untied French currency from the dollar and pulled French troops out of

NATO. Despite all of de Gaulle's efforts, however, France remained wary of the Soviet Union and thus remained firmly embedded in the Western bloc.

The Soviet Union faced even greater threats to its leadership. Three years after Joseph Stalin's death in 1953, the new Russian premier Nikita Khrushchev shocked communist Europe with a scathing denunciation of Stalin's brutal policies. Interpreting his speech as an implicit endorsement of Yugoslavian premier Marshal Tito's independent policies, revolutionaries in Poland and Hungary moved for greater independence from Moscow. In Poland, the Soviet Union responded to riots with force. In Hungary, where revolutionaries actually established a new government and announced that Hungary was leaving the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union crushed the resistance, killing at least 4,000 Hungarian students and workers. By the late 1960s, the Soviet Union faced another potential threat when Czechoslovakia, under Alexander Dubček, attempted to initiate a major reform of the communist system. Spurred by communist intellectuals, economists, and politicians, the Prague Spring, as the movement came to be known, sought to enable greater popular participation in the political system, foster the growth of free enterprise, and promote greater respect for individual liberties. Under Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet Union responded to Dubček's reform with an invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia.

The division of Europe persisted well into the next quarter century. Symbolized by the construction of the Wall in the divided city of Berlin, Europe remained split between two hostile superpowers. Efforts to achieve both autonomy and harmony in Europe reached fruition with the age of détente.

**Further reading:** A. W. DePorte, *Europe between the Superpowers: The Enduring Balance* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979); Mark Mazower, *The Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (New York: Knopf, 1999).

—Brian Etheridge







## Fair Deal

The Fair Deal was HARRY S. TRUMAN's domestic policy agenda calling for civil rights legislation, national health insurance, and other programs aimed at improving American society.

In his State of the Union address on January 15, 1949, Truman announced his domestic agenda for the next four years. "Every segment of our population and every individual," Truman proclaimed, "has a right to expect from our government a Fair Deal." The president outlined an expansion of many of Franklin D. Roosevelt's NEW DEAL policies into a series of programs that came to be known as the Fair Deal. Only a few planks of this ambitious agenda, however, passed through a hostile Congress to become legislation.

Truman proposed the Fair Deal at the height of his presidential career. His victory in the closely contested election of 1948 over THOMAS E. DEWEY signaled Truman's emergence from the shadow cast by his predecessor. Truman had earned his victory by holding together the New Deal coalition of farmers, union members, and urban ethnic voters. On the strength of this election success, the president proposed an ambitious domestic agenda that carried through his 1948 campaign promises and expanded many New Deal programs. The Fair Deal called for broader social security coverage; an increase in the minimum wage; a repeal of the antiunion TAFT-HARTLEY ACT; the development of power programs modeled after the Tennessee Valley Authority (such as the Columbia Valley Administration); an expanded federal housing program; federal aid to education; and a national health insurance program. Truman later added several civil rights measures to his Fair Deal proposals, including a federal antilynching law and the establishment of a permanent FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE (FEPC) to regulate racial discrimination in the workplace.

From the start, the Truman administration faced several obstacles in enacting the Fair Deal. Although the

DEMOCRATIC PARTY enjoyed a majority in both houses of Congress, a coalition of Republicans and conservative southern Democrats held control of the legislative process and successfully prevented passage of most Fair Deal programs. Truman needed the support of the southern Democrats to achieve his foreign policy objectives in the COLD WAR, and he was unwilling to risk these goals to push his domestic agenda. Perhaps most significantly, Truman proposed the Fair Deal just as the country was becoming more conservative and pulling back from the commitment to reform that had marked the 1930s.

These obstacles scuttled most Fair Deal legislation. For example, Truman had called for a national health insurance system that relied for funding on federal payments in combination with employee and employer contributions. The American Medical Association and the American Hospital Association, worried about a decrease in doctors' income, denounced the plan as "socialized medicine." Truman settled instead for a more conservative bill that funded the construction of new hospitals. Fair Deal plans for federal coordination of hydroelectric power in the Pacific Northwest stalled in Congress, as did Truman's proposals for federal aid to education and his attempt to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act (which limited unions' powers to conduct boycotts and enforce closed shops, where employees had to join unions before getting jobs).

Truman's civil rights initiatives had little chance of succeeding in a Congress controlled by conservative southern Democrats who opposed any action that threatened SEGREGATION. Although a weak FEPC bill did pass the House, the president agreed to hold off on a Senate vote on the bill in return for congressional support for his foreign aid policies. Stalled in Congress, Truman used executive orders to advance his civil rights initiatives, such as the appointment of African Americans to mid-level government posts and judiciary positions and the denial of federal contracts to firms that practiced racial discrimination.

Despite these setbacks, Truman did succeed in passing some parts of the Fair Deal agenda. Most of these successes, however, came in packages scaled down from the original proposals. The Social Security Act of 1950 increased the level of benefits in the social security program, and extended coverage to more than 10 million people, including agricultural workers (Truman had asked for an extension to 25 million workers). The National Housing Act of 1949 authorized the construction of 810,000 federal housing units (down from Truman's request for over 1 million). The administration also secured a raise in the minimum wage from 40 to 75 cents an hour.

The failure of most Fair Deal legislation is not surprising. Despite its lack of success, however, the Fair Deal remains important. Truman's vision of a "Fair Deal"—especially in housing, education, and civil rights—set the stage for debates over domestic reform for the next several decades.

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—Jim Feldman

**Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC)** See VOLUME VIII.

**family life** See MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE.

## fashion

Defined by fashion historian Valerie Steele as "a particular kind of clothing that is 'in style' at a given time," fashion changed radically from the 1940s through the 1960s. These changes reflected the rise in youth culture, with its freedom of expression, and ultimately became one way in which people dealt with what felt like a swiftly changing world.

Fashion of the early to mid-1940s was dictated by World War II rationing, which restricted such things as buttons, pleats, type of cloth, amount of fabric, lengths, widths, pockets, zippers, and the height of heels. Therefore, most styles for men and women were utilitarian, practical, and modeled after military uniforms. New styles for women, such as pants and shorter hair, also rose in popularity and acceptability as women went to work in wartime factories. In spite of the necessities of practicality, designers were determined that the war would not dampen their creativity. In England, for example, designers banded together and

created the "Utility Collection," and the two-piece bathing suit was born thanks to fabric rationing; it later morphed into the more controversial bikini, which was introduced in 1946 and named after Bikini Atoll, an island where the United States tested nuclear weapons.

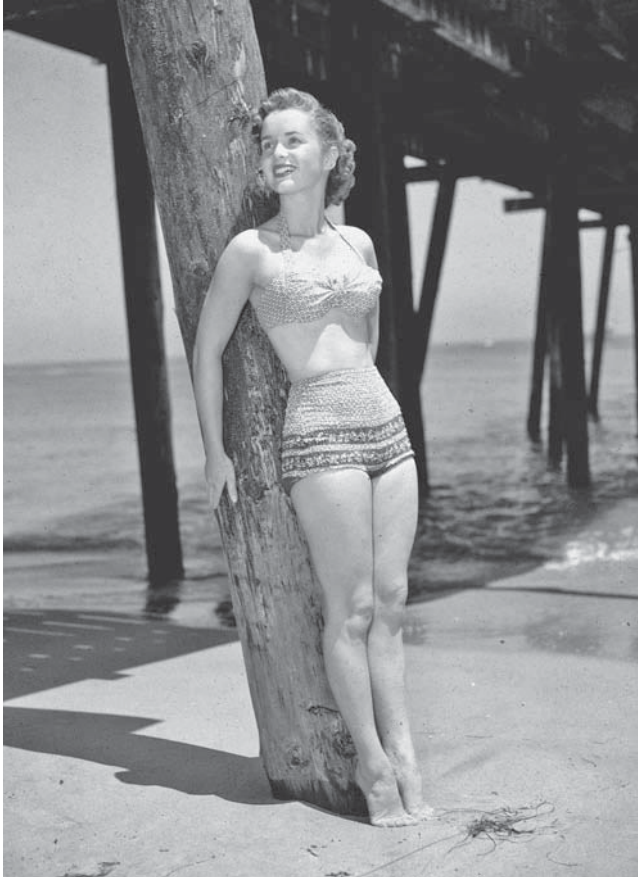
The United States briefly gained status as the center of the fashion world after the Paris fashion houses became inaccessible when the Germans captured France in 1940. This allowed new prominence for many American designers, including Claire McCardell, who designed with comfortable fabrics such as jersey for a more casual and everyday style. While the United States lost its status as the world's fashion center after the war, this era marked the beginning of a distinct "American Look," consisting of interesting and comfortable casual fashions.

After World War II, European style once again influenced the clothing that Americans chose to wear. Paris took back its title as the fashion center in 1947 when Christian Dior introduced his Corolla Line, more popularly known as The New Look. The New Look appealed to women because it was ultra-feminine and glamorous; it provided women with an alternative form, different from the boxy and military-inspired styles of earlier in the decade. The New Look featured a tight bodice, a small corseted waist, and full, long skirts. After initially balking about the longer length and functionality of The New Look, women ultimately embraced its delicacy for an entire decade. Other styles popular for women during the 1950s included pencil skirts, sweater sets, Coco Chanel's separates and suits, pedal pushers, and even dungarees (jeans).

It was not until Hubert de Givenchy's Sack Dress was introduced in 1957 that The New Look's popularity began to fade. The Sack Dress was simply a sack; it did not have a waist or any sort of remarkable form, but it paved the way for fashion of the early 1960s.

Initially 1960s fashion was not radically new. Seasonal changes were marked by altering fabric, color, texture, and palette. However, fashion radically changed as the children of the World War II generation became TEENAGERS. Beginning in the 1950s through the 1960s, they demanded their own unique style. An all out "youth-quake" began in England as the youth of Britain created their own styles, and London became the center of teenage fashion. The miniskirt was the most famous of all the youth fashions. Its hemline rose throughout the decade to eight or nine inches above the knee. Mary Quant, a British designer and boutique owner, is credited with the invention of the miniskirt. Quant, like other designers, copied the fashions she saw British youth wearing and designed solely for a teenage clientele.

In Great Britain, the influential youth group known as the "mods" was obsessed with style and music and demanded bright colors, geometric patterns, and a well-tailored fit; this clothing was extremely showy and



American actress and singer Debbie Reynolds modeling a two-piece swimsuit (Getty Images)

flamboyant. In the United States hippie style, although not mainstream, also informed fashion of the 1960s. Opposite of the “mods,” hippie style was free-flowing, natural, romantic, and colorful. Pants for women also became extremely popular, especially tight, hip-hugging bell bottoms and jeans.

While jeans had been worn as a work uniform by men since the 19th century and by women since the 1940s, their popularity began to grow among the youth of the 1950s. Attempting to assert their own style and independence, male and female teenagers wore dungarees as casual wear. MOVIES such as *The Wild One* and *REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE* helped increase the popularity of jeans, as did such notable figures as Marilyn Monroe and Princess Alexandra of England. Jeans were further established in the 1960s, and by the 1970s they were accepted by all ages, races, and genders. As fashion historian Elizabeth Ewing has said, jeans became “a way of life, universal, classless, irrespective of age or sex.”

These teenage street styles filtered into the mainstream and into the fashion houses. Men’s fashion, for example,

changed dramatically in the 1960s. Decade after decade men’s fashion had stayed the same with slight changes in style, especially leisure wear. As costume designer Deirdre Clancy has written, “Men didn’t have fashion . . . they just had clothes.” In a transformation known as the “peacock revolution,” many men, influenced by teenage fashion, broke away from the three-piece suit and tie. Instead they wore tight jeans, brightly colored shirts, printed patterns, long hair, and even bows and lace.

Street styles were so influential that often when fashion houses attempted to dictate styles—as they did with the midi and maxi skirts in the late 1960s and early 1970s—they were met with such resistance that their fashions failed. Even JACQUELINE KENNEDY, an iconic leader in mainstream American fashion, chose as her exclusive costumer American designer Oleg Cassini instead of fashions from Paris. By the end of the 1960s there was no single style dictated by fashion designers. Instead, Americans adopted a large variety of looks, which set the stage for what fashion editors came to call the “schizophrenic seventies.”

**Further reading:** Daniel Delis Hill, *As Seen in Vogue: A Century of American Fashion in Advertising* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2004); Valerie Steele, *Fifty Years of Fashion: New Look to Now* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997).

—Andrea Gómez

### **Faubus, Orval** (1910–1994) *politician*

Orval Faubus served six consecutive terms as governor of Arkansas (1955–67), and gained the national spotlight for his controversial role in the 1957 standoff at Little Rock’s Central High School, in which he called on the Arkansas National Guard to prevent the school’s desegregation.

Orval Eugene Faubus was born January 7, 1910, the son of a poor farmer, in Greasy Creek, Arkansas, a small Ozark Mountain community. He worked at a variety of jobs as a young man, including two terms as Madison County Circuit Clerk. Faubus enlisted in the U.S. Army in 1942, and he was commissioned as an officer in Europe, where he served from 1942 to 1946.

Following his return from his World War II service, Faubus worked as Huntsville, Arkansas, postmaster, and in 1949, was appointed to the Arkansas State Highway Commission. He became state director of highways in 1952, and he served for two years. In 1954, Faubus made a bid for governor.

Faubus defeated incumbent Francis Cherry in the 1954 Arkansas Democratic primary. Faubus later defeated Republican Pratt Rummel in the November 1954 election. The politics of race and integration played a prominent role in the campaign, for in May of that same year, the Supreme

Court handed down the landmark *BROWN v. BOARD OF EDUCATION* decision, ruling public school racial SEGREGATION unconstitutional. Governor Cherry had made it clear that Arkansas would comply with the Supreme Court ruling. Likewise, in his campaign as challenger, Faubus had pledged that “the rights of all will be protected but that the problem of desegregation will be solved on the local level, with state authorities standing ready to assist in every way possible.” A southern populist and New Deal Democrat, Faubus began his first term as governor with a liberal gesture, appointing six black men to the state Democratic Committee. He soon found that he could not afford such goodwill. Political opponents forced him to alter his liberal course, accusing him during the 1956 reelection campaign of being “soft” on racial issues.

Beginning with the city of Charleston, a few public schools across the state of Arkansas gradually began to comply with the Supreme Court’s ruling to end segregation “with all deliberate speed.” Opposition to integration, however, grew increasingly fierce. Faubus, campaigning for reelection in 1956, became vocal in his resistance to desegregation. In January 1956, he reported to the press that “85 percent of all the people” of Arkansas opposed desegregation, according to a statewide poll he had commissioned. Nonetheless, segregationist leaders rallied around former state senator James Johnson as a Democratic candidate for governor, accusing Faubus of taking a “do-nothing” stand on desegregation. In a July 1956 campaign speech, Faubus responded to the criticism, stating, “No school district will be forced to mix the races as long as I am governor of Arkansas.”

Faubus defeated Johnson for the Democratic nomination, and he was reelected governor in 1956. In the same election, voters approved three segregation measures on the ballot, including an act authorizing school districts to assign students to schools in ways that reflected opposition to integration, and the Act of Interposition, putting the state on record as being in opposition to “racial mixing” in schools. In March 1956, all eight members of the Arkansas congressional delegation signed the SOUTHERN MANIFESTO, pledging, along with other congressmen, to use “all lawful means” to resist and overturn the *Brown* decision.

Faubus actively resisted integration in his second term. Even as the Little Rock School Board prepared plans to integrate Central High School the following fall, he signed anti-integration legislation in February 1957 that included provisions allowing parents to refuse to send their children to desegregated schools and authorizing the use of state and local funds to pay for legal fees incurred in the anti-integration battle. Faubus antagonized the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) by signing into law a requirement for

organizations such as the NAACP to disclose membership and financial information, which put members at risk of violent attacks from anti-integration whites.

The desegregation effort officially began on September 4, 1957, when nine black students attempted to enter Central High School. The students were turned away by members of the Arkansas National Guard, called in by Faubus on orders to stand guard in front of the school to avert violence. Two weeks later, Federal District Judge Ronald Davies ruled that Faubus had used the National Guard not to maintain law and order but to prevent integration. The governor removed the guardsmen, but when the nine black students again attempted to attend school on September 23, a mob of 1,000 anti-integration whites became so unruly that the police feared a loss of control and escorted the students out a back exit. Prompted by pleas from Little Rock mayor Woodrow Mann, President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER dispatched 1,000 members of the 101st Airborne Division to Central High, and he federalized the National Guard. Under the escort of army troops, the nine black students attended school, ending the standoff.

For the next several years, Faubus utilized everything in his power as governor to resist the integration process, going so far as to close all Little Rock public high schools in 1958. His efforts to slow the progress of desegregation won him reelection for four more terms. He ran for governor three more times during the 1970s and 1980s, but he was unsuccessful. Faubus continued to defend his anti-integration efforts until his death in 1994, at the age of 84.

In 1977 Little Rock Central High School, the center of Faubus’s resistance to racial desegregation, was added to the National Register of Historic Places. While still functioning as a secondary school, Central High School was designated a National Historic Landmark on May 20, 1982, and in 1998 Congress passed legislation establishing a historic site directly across the street. Administered through a partnership between the National Park Service, Little Rock Public Schools, the city of Little Rock, and others, the historic site featured a permanent exhibit on the 1957 desegregation crisis and plans were made for a museum honoring the Little Rock Nine to coincide with the city’s 50th anniversary commemorations.

**Further reading:** Irving J. Spitzberg, *Racial Politics in Little Rock, 1954–1964* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987).

—Guy R. Temple

**Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956** See INTERSTATE HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956.



### Federal Employee Loyalty Program

HARRY S. TRUMAN initiated the Federal Employee Loyalty Program on March 25, 1947, with the aim of rooting out all communist sympathizers within the federal government.

The program comprised part of the anticommunist crusade that unfolded in the first decade of the COLD WAR. Fear of internal communist subversion accompanied Soviet advances in Eastern Europe, and led to the belief in the United States that national security was at stake. With the Federal Employee Loyalty Program, Truman hoped to squelch the possible charges that he was “soft on communism.”

The program began with fingerprinting more than 2 million federal employees. Along with fingerprinting, loyalty questionnaires sought to determine any questionable background. Agencies sent names to a “national-agency name check” in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Civil Service Commission, the armed forces and the HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE (HUAC). The name search sought to uncover any information that might lead to “reasonable doubt” as to an employee’s loyalty to the United States.

In 1950, Congress passed Public Law 733 that permitted the termination of any employee, without due process of law, for reasons of “national security.” A security risk constituted not only someone whose loyalty was in question, but also someone whose character made him or her vulnerable to disclosing classified information under pressure or blackmail. By 1952, more than 40,000 federal employees had undergone investigations, with interviews of neighbors, friends, schoolmates, fellow employees, and former teachers. After 1953, President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER demanded that a full investigation for every “sensitive position” in government be conducted. This was soon expanded to include every position in government.

When employees were suspected of being disloyal, they were sent before one of over 200 agency loyalty boards located across the country established by the Truman administration. Employees were given the opportunity to appeal to one of 14 regional boards and also to the 25-member Loyalty Review Board.

The program, however, did not ensure that, once cleared of disloyalty charges, an employee was free from harassment. Many employees found themselves charged and cleared seven or eight times as criteria became increasingly stringent. Eventually, many of those who had undergone investigation numerous times were suspended without pay or simply dismissed.

Many employees reacted to the investigations with fear and suspicion. Some referred to the practices the government was using as “Gestapo methods,” alluding to the Nazi secret service interrogations. The goal of all employees was to avoid an investigation. Many practiced extreme

caution, unwilling to discuss any political opinions inside or outside of the office. Employees of the federal government avoided conversational topics such as admitting China to the United Nations, developing atomic energy, supporting civil rights, and debating religion. Since involvement in any organization concerned with any kind of social reform immediately put a federal employee under suspicion, many felt that it was better not to join at all. No one could be sure which group would appear on the attorney general’s list of suspicious or subversive organizations. For a time, even the Consumers Union was on the list.

By the late 1950s, the Supreme Court began to reassert the rights of due process, including the right to cross-examine hostile witnesses. Rulings of the Supreme Court had the effect of restoring more than 100 employees to their jobs and led to dropping proceedings against more than 75 others. Over the course of the Federal Employee Loyalty Program, about 8,000 employees were forced to resign, three went to prison, at least seven were driven to suicide, and one died of a heart attack.

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—Sarah Brenner

### Federal Housing Administration

The New Deal’s National Housing Act of 1934 established the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), which was the dominant force in federal housing until the 1960s.

The FHA’s long-term mortgages required small down payments to purchase a home in the 1930s, and insured mortgages by providing guarantees against families losing their homes. The widespread loss of jobs and income, as a result of the Great Depression, led to a higher number of foreclosures and tenant evictions with creditors and borrowers both hit hard. This in turn hurt the building industry. The FHA made it possible for an average middle-class family to be able to afford a home within its financial means and bolstered the building industry at the same time.

Returning World War II veterans needed housing, and the FHA expanded aid to the housing industry to meet the high demand. With a growing clientele during the housing shortage crisis, it became politically difficult to attack the program. Congress was reluctant to touch the program because it facilitated the profitable business transactions of a key group of private market participants.

From the start of the program, the FHA turned away from the cities and minorities to support a growing

suburbia and an expanding white middle class. FHA programs supported racially segregated neighborhoods; the FHA believed this was the way to safeguard its financial investment. The agency also ignored the problems of rehabilitating and repairing older, still sound housing stock in inner-urban areas. This practice was encouraged by the businesses and attitudes of the time.

The administration of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER succeeded in slowing federal involvement in social welfare. The role of the FHA, Republicans believed, was to aid the private bankers in serving the middle class. Not until the return of liberals to the White House in the 1960s did pressure increase toward more governmental action to aid the disadvantaged and minorities. In 1962, an executive order of JOHN F. KENNEDY prohibiting racial SEGREGATION in FHA programs changed the agency's mandate. Instead of guaranteeing market-rate loans to qualified families, the FHA became a source of below-market interest loans, and it began to focus on inner-city development. Various programs supported by the FHA helped nonprofit organizations assist moderate-income families. More sensitive management of the programs, better administration, better understanding of the community, more tenant involvement, and expanded social services led to many successful endeavors in which better environments and housing for families were created. In other cases, though, the nonprofit organizations were just fronts for developers. The programs led to enormous profits for some of these builders, who did shoddy work to make a larger profit. There were also cases of mismanagement of funds and housing, which led to the units falling into disrepair.

Under FHA subsidy programs, builders, banks, and real estate firms were guaranteed a profit. But the quality of the housing was called into question, as many units were substandard. Poor construction or rehabilitation of buildings led to the abandonment of these structures. The low-income families who lived in these units could not afford the upkeep of these buildings. The same agency that helped create suburbia in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, helped destroy inner-city communities at the same time.

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—Robert A. Deahl

### folk music revival

The folk MUSIC revival flourished throughout the decade of the 1960s and into the 1970s. Songs with a clear politi-

cal message led to the development of an urban folk music revival that intertwined with the political upheaval of the 1960s.

In the 1930s and 1940s, the NEW DEAL's Works Progress Administration brought traditional African-American folk songs to the attention of urban middle-class audiences at the same time that singers with left-wing political sympathies promoted folk songs that they felt reflected the voice of the people. Singers such as Woody Guthrie and Sarah Ogan Gunning were among those who encouraged the spread of folk songs. In the 1950s Pete Seeger and the Weavers carried on the tradition of Woody Guthrie by bringing their music and political message to a wider audience as they began to develop their music on college campuses. With such hit songs as "Good Night Irene," and "The Midnight Special," the group paved the way for the folk singers of the 1960s to bring the revival to main-



Pete Seeger performing on stage at Yorktown Heights High School, Yorktown, New York, 1967 (Library of Congress)

stream culture. Seeger was one of the leading influences in developing folk music as a new form of popular music in the United States. Along with many other members of the entertainment industry, Seeger and the Weavers were targeted in the anticommunist hysteria of the 1950s and blacklisted, making it difficult for them to work.

There were four kinds of folk music singers who emerged during the 1960s. Traditional performers learned their folk music through the culture in which they were raised. Many of these performers stayed away from the mainstream and instead sang at folk festivals, on college campuses, and in coffeehouses. This first type of folk music included singers such as Sarah Ogan Gunning, Mississippi John Hurt, and Glenn Ohrlin. Other performers, many of them white middle-class suburban or urban young people, immersed themselves in both the culture and music of traditional singers and began to popularize it. Among those who could be called “emulators” were the New Lost City Ramblers, Dave Van Ronk, and the Jim Kweskin Jug Band.

Still other performers took traditional text and music and rewrote songs to appeal to mainstream urban audiences. They included such groups as the Kingston Trio. Finally, there were singers who attempted to blend traditional and urban aesthetics in their performance without losing the political messages they were conveying. The music of this group blended folk, classical, jazz, and pop styles. The fourth group created the mainstream sound of the urban folk song revival in the 1960s. Singers in this category remain popular and include Joan Baez; Peter, Paul and Mary; and BOB DYLAN.

Folk music became intertwined with the Civil Rights Movement. Singer Guy Carawan revived the old spiritual “We Shall Overcome,” taught it to civil rights volunteers, and helped it become the marching song of the movement. Baez and Dylan sang songs to protest the VIETNAM WAR and racism, and also sang in support of the movement for WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS. Dylan’s song “Blowin’ in the Wind,” sung by Peter, Paul and Mary as well as Dylan himself, became a standard protest song.

The folk music revival contributed to the antiwar protests of the late 1960s and continued through the turbulence of the 1970s. Many folk singers found the greatest forum for their political messages with the COUNTERCULTURE of the “hippie” generation. The folk music revival truly reached a high point with the participation of many folk singers in the most historically significant concert of the era, Woodstock. Woodstock brought together such folk and rock greats as Baez, Jimi Hendrix, The Who, and Jefferson Airplane, who sang the war protest song “Volunteers.” Woodstock, which was intended to be only a small gathering, caught the attention of the nation as it became the largest gathering of entertainers and fans up to that

time to protest peacefully the war in Vietnam and the injustices of the era.

Folk music captured the attention of the population in the 1950s through the 1970s with its political messages criticizing the problems of the era.

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—Sarah Brenner

## food

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, changes in the food Americans ate and where they ate it reflected the increasingly mobile lifestyle and suburban culture of the postwar United States.

As with other material goods, the economic boom following the war led to increased spending on food. As American incomes steadily rose from 1941 onward, the proportion of the average family’s income spent on food increased as well, totaling 26 percent in 1953. By and large, this increase was attributed to the growing market for prepared and processed foods, which tapped into the postwar focus on convenience, variety, and abundance. To create a continued market for wartime culinary innovations, the food industry heralded manufactured products like Spam and Pyequick as evidence of American superiority and triumphs of ingenuity that reduced housewives’ kitchen work. With the growing array of products and brands available to young families settling in the suburbs, supermarkets were seen as symbols of the success of capitalism and its high standard of living, sentiments famously expressed by Vice President Richard M. Nixon during his visit to Moscow’s American National Exhibition in 1959. While viewing the range of domestic conveniences displayed at the United States exhibit, Nixon praised consumer goods as the essence of American freedom, making a crucial connection between consumption and national identity in what became known as the “kitchen debate.”

Mobility was also central to the American way of life in this era. The growing dominance of the automobile indisputably affected trends in eating, particularly the rise of fast food. While New York City’s Automat, where customers used coin-operated slots to retrieve food from behind small glass windows, popularized the notion of convenience dining, modern fast food was truly a product of the automobile age. As Americans increasingly took to the road, restaurants distinctly designed to fit automobility emerged. Whether through unique facades intended to catch the motorist’s eye, as in Howard Johnson’s bright orange roof,



or drive-ins where customers were served in their cars, restaurateurs catered to a roadside market that increasingly included middle-class families in contrast to the traditional working-class clientele.

As more eating occurred on the go, no restaurant matched McDONALD'S in terms of fast food innovations that reflected how Americans ate in an age devoted to speed, consistency, and convenience. Opening in San Bernardino in 1948, Maurice and Richard McDonald's walk-up with a simple menu of hamburgers, French fries, and shakes and a streamlined "Speedee Service System" attracted the attention of milkshake salesman Ray Kroc. Amid the growing market for convenience food, Kroc saw potential for extending McDonald's concept of a cheap, ready-to-go menu nationwide and opened the first franchised chain in Des Plaines, Illinois, on April 15, 1955. Focusing on the ideas of quality, service, cleanliness, and value, Kroc marketed McDonald's to suburban families who, by virtue of standardized methods that included the amount of meat in each hamburger, found their dining experience dependable and familiar. Through such consistency McDonald's, more than any other fast food chain of the era, built a brand identity that led to 200 franchises by 1960 and \$37 million in profits that same year. By 1967, yearly profits had reached \$226 million, and the term "fast food" was arguably synonymous with McDonald's.

As with fast food, expediency was also the watchword when Americans ate at home in these years. Even as women largely resumed the supposedly natural roles of housewife and mother in the postwar decades, convenience products were marketed as time-savers that spared women from arduous and tedious work. Debuting in 1946, the Tupperware storage container was heralded as the mark of the modern kitchen, an efficient and well-organized space that eliminated open containers and extended food's shelf life. In addition, inventor Earl Tupper's products also became a staple of suburban social life, as Tupper marketed his products through home demonstrations beginning in 1948.

In the postwar kitchen, frozen foods were equally revolutionary, with yearly sales reaching \$2.7 billion by 1959 due in large part to the invention of the TV dinner. Tapping into public excitement for the new medium of TELEVISION, the product's name was originally coined for the brand of meal developed by C.A. Swanson and Sons in 1953. While the idea's origin is disputed, Swanson's was the first to become a nationally recognized name brand through the product, which initially featured a Thanksgiving-themed meal of turkey, cornbread dressing, frozen peas, and sweet potatoes. Packaged in a tray similar to those used on airlines, Swanson's meal was priced at 98 cents, and the company exceeded expectations by selling approximately 10 million in the first year. In the 1960s, First Lady JACQUELINE KENNEDY's reputed love of TV

dinners was credited with improving sales, as Swanson and other companies expanded into the production of frozen breakfasts and desserts.

Even as the convenience of fast and frozen foods dominated the postwar palate, culinary figures like Julia Child still inspired trends in more refined cooking. As coauthor of *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* (1961), Child demystified French cuisine for American audiences and helped introduce its techniques into the mainstream. Through her television series *The French Chef* (1963), Child continued to make fine cuisine accessible to the masses, attracting a popular following with her unaffected manner. In 1966, Child graced the cover of *Time* magazine under the headline "Our Lady of the Ladle," a title that captured her status as America's favorite cook and yet another inspiration for what Americans ate in the postwar years.

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—Hillary S. Kativa

## Ford Motor Corporation

The Ford Motor Corporation constituted one of the major automobile manufacturing companies in the 20th-century United States.

Craftsman Henry Ford founded the Ford Motor Company in his small Detroit, Michigan, workshop in 1903. By 1921, the company employed more than 32,000 people and produced over 930,000 cars per year. In the 1920s, Ford was a national and international hero, hailed, in the phrase of historian William E. Leuchtenburg, as the "high priest of mass civilization." The Ford Motor Company's Model T stimulated American's demand for automobiles, for unlike previous cars, it was both inexpensive and tough. The use of standardized parts kept the price low, as did the production of cars in just one color—black.

During World War II, Ford stopped making automobiles and produced airplanes in his new mile-long plant at Willow Run, near Detroit. It contained 1,600 pieces of heavy machinery along with 75,000 jigs and other fixtures. At full tilt, it employed over 42,000 people, and was, according to aviator Charles Lindbergh, "a sort of Grand Canyon of the mechanized world."

Passenger car production resumed in the summer of 1945. Henry Ford's grandson became president of the company that same year, and Ford himself died in 1947 at the age of 83. The Ford Motor Company became a publicly held company with the public sale of common stock in



1956, a major change from the days when Ford kept everything in his own hands.

The company found itself involved in a public relations disaster with the introduction of the brand-new Edsel in 1957, which became available at just about the time the SOVIET UNION launched Sputnik, the world's first artificial satellite. The new car, with a front grille that looked like a toilet seat, seemed to be a symbol of flabby, materialistic American culture in the 1950s that could not compete with Russian technological expertise.

In the face of mounting competition, one automobile, the Ford Mustang, emerged as the company's greatest success story during the 1960s. First rolling off the assembly line in Dearborn, Michigan, on March 9, 1964, the Mustang featured one of the most effective product launches in automotive history, debuting at the NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR in April 1964 and introduced to the public on all three American TELEVISION networks two days later. The Mustang went on to sell more than 1 million units during its first 18 months on the market and continued to be produced, albeit with revisions to its original form, decades later.

In the 1960s, the company received favorable exposure when the company's president, Robert McNamara, who had helped revive Ford's fortunes, became secretary of defense in the administration of JOHN F. KENNEDY.

**Further reading:** Robert L. Shook, *Turnaround: The New Ford Motor Company* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1990).

—Theresa Ann Case

**foreign policy** See AFRICA; ASIA; LATIN AMERICA; ETC.

**Freedom Democratic Party** See MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

### freedom rides

In May 1961, a biracial coalition from the STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) and the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) traveled throughout the South in an attempt to desegregate bus terminals.

The decision to organize the rides built on decades of attempts to end SEGREGATION in road transportation. In 1947, the Supreme Court banned discrimination in interstate travel. Later that year, CORE organized a freedom ride in the upper South, labeled the "journey of reconciliation." On December 1, 1955, ROSA PARKS refused to cede her seat to a white passenger on a Montgomery, Alabama, bus, triggering a yearlong confrontation that ended with a

December 13, 1956, Supreme Court ruling that banned segregation on buses and desegregated the city buses. In 1961, the Supreme Court also decided that segregated terminal facilities were unconstitutional, prompting the freedom rides.

On May 4, 1961, 13 passengers, including six whites, several journalists, and SNCC's JOHN LEWIS and Henry Thomas, chartered Greyhound and Trailways buses and left Washington, D.C., for New Orleans. They made their way through Virginia and North Carolina without encountering any violent opposition. The first incident occurred on May 9 in Rock Hill, South Carolina, where 20 people attacked the freedom riders, Lewis most prominently, as they tried to enter the white waiting room. Freedom riders made it out of the room unharmed after the police intervened. In Winnsboro, South Carolina, CORE's white member Jim Peck and SNCC's Thomas were arrested as they entered a white lunchroom. The buses continued their way through Georgia without further incident.

As it entered Anniston, Alabama, a mob attacked the Greyhound bus, slashed its tires, and broke its windows. When the bus left town, white demonstrators burned it and beat its occupants. They continued their trip on another bus. Another mob entered the Trailways bus, forcing its black occupants to move to the back section of the vehicle. The bus was once again attacked in Birmingham, Alabama, where many riders, including Peck, were severely beaten. The ride ended there when no bus agreed to take the riders any farther. The riders flew to New Orleans where they attended a May 17 rally celebrating the seventh anniversary of the 1954 *BROWN v. BOARD OF EDUCATION* decision.

On May 17, 1961, a second Freedom Ride organized by Diane Nash, coordinator of student activities for the Nashville Christian Leadership Council, SNCC, and Nashville student movements, left Nashville for Alabama, Mississippi, and New Orleans. On May 19, at the request of Alabama governor John Patterson, Alabama state circuit judge Walter B. Jones enjoined freedom riders from entering the state. When they ignored the order, the 10 riders, including two whites, were arrested in Birmingham, kept in jail for the night, and sent back to Tennessee by Police Chief Eugene "Bull" Connor the following day. They returned by car to Birmingham, where Patterson, at President JOHN F. KENNEDY and Attorney General ROBERT F. KENNEDY's request, provided them with an escort as they moved to Montgomery on May 20. There, the escort disappeared and a mob attacked the riders, severely injuring several of them, including Lewis and the Department of Justice's special envoy, John Seigenthaler, before the police broke up the crowd. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., who acted as chairman of the coordinating committee for the rides, went to Montgomery where he delivered a sermon at Ralph Abernathy's First



Freedom riders, sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality, gather outside a burning bus in Anniston, Alabama, 1961.  
(Library of Congress)

Baptist Church. When a mob threatened his listeners, Robert Kennedy sent federal marshals at King's request to protect them. Patterson declared martial law in Montgomery and sent 800 national guardsmen to the scene. On May 23, the riders boarded two buses to Jackson, Mississippi, where 27 of them were arrested for attempting to use segregated facilities.

Over the next months, several hundred protesters were arrested as they tried to desegregate facilities in Jackson. So many activists were imprisoned and refused to pay bail that nearby jails had to be used. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, who became SNCC's chairman in May 1966, and Ruby Doris Smith, who became SNCC's executive secretary the same year, were two of the many demonstrators sent to jail. Carmichael spent 50 days there. The Interstate Commerce Commission finally issued a September 22 ruling, effective November 1, banning segregation in bus and train terminals. While the ruling was not immediately implemented in small towns, integration gradually became the rule in southern transportation facilities. In the spring and summer of 1962, CORE led a less-publicized effort to deseg-

regate restaurant facilities along Virginia, North Carolina, and Florida highways.

The freedom rides triggered increased militancy on the part of both SNCC and black leaders. The dangers protesters faced made nonviolence less appealing to many. The realization that the federal government was carefully weighing political expediency with its official sympathy toward the protesters also disturbed many activists. The Kennedy administration, concerned about the risks of violent confrontations that freedom rides entailed, urged the Civil Rights movement to support voter registration drives in the following months.

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—Philippe R. Girard

### Freedom Train

From 1947 through 1949, the red, white, and blue Freedom Train crisscrossed the United States, bringing the

nation's most important and treasured documents out of the National Archives and to the people. The seven cars of this "traveling shrine" covered 37,000 miles in 413 days, stopping in 322 cities to display its precious cargo, which included the Bill of Rights, the Emancipation Proclamation, Washington's annotated copy of the Constitution, Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of Independence, and Lincoln's handwritten Gettysburg Address—127 documents in all.

Inspired by a 1946 exhibit at the National Archives that contrasted Nazi documents with American treasures such as the Bill of Rights, the Freedom Train set out to remind Americans of the ideals they fought for in World War II, to restore their faith in democracy, and to reinforce the superiority of the American way as a bulwark against the emerging COLD WAR threat of Soviet COMMUNISM. The project was endorsed by President HARRY S. TRUMAN and funded by the private sector, including movie studio executives, bankers, and most important, the Advertising Council directed by Thomas D'Arcy Brophy.

The Advertising Council, founded in 1942 as War Advertising Council, originated as government-private partnership to mobilize civilian support for World War II. When the war ended, many political and business leaders feared that complacency and a renewed sense of isolationism would overtake the American public. The private, post-war Advertising Council was in the business of "re-selling America to Americans." Brophy was enlisted by the Justice Department to lead the nonprofit, nonpartisan, educational American Heritage Foundation (AHF), incorporated in 1947 to plan and execute the Freedom Train tour and related patriotic and educational events in each city, and to mount a massive media relations campaign.

Never before had so many of the nation's defining documents been assembled in one place. The AHF and the National Archives assembled documents ranging from the Pilgrims' Mayflower Compact to the log of the USS *Missouri* detailing the Japanese surrender in World War II. One railroad car grew to seven cars, and the train christened the "Spirit of 1776" set out on its two-year tour on September 17, 1947, departing from Philadelphia on the 160th anniversary of the signing of the U.S. Constitution. In addition to a massive print advertising campaign, the Freedom Train's media and educational initiatives included community-organized "Rededication Weeks" in each destination city, free illustrated booklets entitled "Our American Heritage," and an RKO Pictures film of the same name. The AHF even commissioned Irving Berlin to compose the song "Freedom Train," which was recorded by Bing Crosby and the Andrews Sisters.

Critics of the project, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and labor activists, protested the exclusion of documents

such as President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, which prohibited racial discrimination in government employment and the armed forces, the President's Report on Civil Rights, the Wagner Labor Relations Act of 1935, documents related to women's suffrage, and even the TRUMAN DOCTRINE. The AHF responded that the Freedom Train would not include any documents that were controversial, partisan, or related to pending legislation.

One controversy the Freedom Train could not avoid was the issue of segregation in the South. The cruel irony of asking black Americans to view the Emancipation Proclamation in a segregated railroad car was not lost on the AHF, African Americans, and even some white southerners. Langston Hughes and W. C. Handy composed their own sardonic spiritual, "Checkin' on the Freedom Train," that questioned separate entrances for black and white: "Is that the way to get aboard the Freedom Train?" Pressured by the NAACP, the AHF announced in May 1947 that the Freedom Train would be open to all Americans regardless of race and would not abide by local segregation laws; any city that refused to comply would be left off the tour. As a result, tour stops were canceled in both Memphis, Tennessee, and Birmingham, Alabama.

The Freedom Train reached tens of millions of Americans in the North, South, East, and West, ending its tour back in Philadelphia in January 1949. More than 3 million people boarded the Freedom Train, and approximately 50 million people participated in related events such as taking the Freedom Pledge and signing the Freedom Scroll.

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—Melissa M. Mandell

## Free Speech Movement

The Free Speech Movement at the University of California at Berkeley sought to protect political and civil rights in the 1960s. It was the first major action in the nationwide student revolution.

The University of California had long been a place marked by student activism. In 1936, the students reacted vigorously to the university's policy requiring the approval of its president for off-campus speakers and the use of campus facilities by nonapproved groups. The students protested by using flatbed trucks at the university's entrances in order to speak. In 1956, when Democratic presidential candidate ADLAI STEVENSON was not allowed to speak on



campus, he ended up addressing students atop a car parked in a corner of campus.

Further conflict at Berkeley started in September 1964 when the dean of students sent a letter to all student organizations to inform them that the sidewalk area in front of the campus would no longer be available for setting up tables, raising funds, recruiting members, and giving speeches for off-campus political and social action. Later that month, five students were cited for violating the newly formed regulations against manning tables, and they were asked to appear before the dean of the university. More than 400 students signed statements saying that they were equally responsible for performing such activity, and they appeared in Sproul Hall, the university's main administration building, requesting that they also be subject to disciplinary hearings. All of the students were refused access to the dean, except for the original five students and three leaders of the protest group. The university's chancellor finally announced the indefinite suspension of the eight students. Other students protested the ruling, and they remained at Sproul Hall until the following morning. Later that month these students formed the United Front, which brought together students from all the various political organizations on campus.

On October 1, a major uprising occurred when Jack Weinberg, a former student, set up a civil rights information table on the campus. He was confronted by two deans and the police and was arrested for trespassing. Before the police could drive him to jail, a mob of 4,000 students surrounded the police car holding him. MARIO SAVIO, the main speaker of what came to be called the Free Speech Movement, then jumped on top of the police car and launched into a speech about how students were going to hold a rally until the university administration gave them back their civil right to organize politically. Savio led the protestors in negotiations with the administration. He also led the protestors in the first of many SIT-INS in Sproul Hall. The sit-in at this demonstration lasted 36 hours. Eventually, the police dragged away and arrested 773 of the protestors, including Savio. In response, students called a strike, and only 17 to 18 percent of the student body attended classes. The strike led Clark Kerr, the university's chancellor, to back down and grant the students the right to unrestricted political protest on campus. For his role in the uprising, Savio, along with several other students, was suspended from school.

Soon the university's graduate students and teacher's assistants agreed to strike unless the suspended students were allowed back into the school. In December, Kerr invited students to the Greek Theatre to declare amnesty for all actions before December 3. This in turn allowed the students who were suspended to come back to the university without any consequences. In April 1965, Savio

stepped down as leader of the Free Speech Movement. It soon faded, and it was eventually renamed the Free Student Union.

The Free Speech Movement created a backlash that resulted in the election of Ronald Reagan as governor of California in 1966. He supported traditional values and promised to bring student disruptions under control.

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—Megan D. Wessel

**Friedan, Betty** (1921–2006) *activist, author, founder of the National Organization for Women (NOW)*

Betty Friedan was one of the prominent leaders of the American feminist movement that swept the United States during the 1960s.

In her book *The Feminine Mystique* (1961), Friedan raised questions regarding middle-class women's place in American society. Millions of women related to Friedan's frustration at the lack of opportunity, and, as a result, many were drawn into the feminist movement.

Born Bettye Naomi Goldstein on February 4, 1921, in Peoria, Illinois, Friedan grew up in a middle-class Jewish household. Despite the family's financial success, the Goldsteins were not allowed to join the Peoria Country Club because they were Jews. Friedan was also excluded from a sorority while in high school because she was Jewish. Her experiences with anti-Semitism contributed to her recognition of inequality and her desire to improve society. She studied psychology at Smith College, where she graduated summa cum laude in 1942. She planned to continue her education in psychology and enrolled as a graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley in the fall of 1942. She spent one year at Berkeley, and then moved to Manhattan, where she worked as a journalist until 1952. She continued to work as a freelance writer from 1952 to 1963. She married Carl Friedan in 1947.

As a suburban middle-class housewife and mother of three children in the 1950s, Friedan, like many women, experienced what she later termed "the problem that has no name." She felt that a purely domestic life was inhibiting for many women, who focused exclusively on their husbands and children, without any time to realize their own full potential or develop their own identity. In 1957, she devised a questionnaire for her 15th college reunion. Friedan discovered that many of her Smith classmates felt the same way she did. They were dissatisfied with their domestic lives, and they felt that something was missing.





Betty Friedan, 1960 (Library of Congress)

Friedan used her classmates' responses as a basis for *The Feminine Mystique*, which applied primarily to white, middle-class women.

In *The Feminine Mystique*, Friedan criticized the popular theory that women could only find fulfillment through their roles as wives and mothers. She argued that the suburban environment could be oppressive to many women, and that they needed to develop their own identity in order to be happy. This meant that they needed to be more than just homemakers; they needed to be educated and have their own careers. The success of her book launched Friedan to national prominence.

As one of the leaders of the newly revived feminist movement, Friedan was a founding member of the NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW) in 1966. Friedan and the other members of this organization were dedicated to the realization of full equality for women in all areas of American life. As the first president of NOW, Friedan tackled everything from job discrimination to fair

marriage and divorce laws. She served as president until 1970 and was involved in every aspect of the organization, including the decision in 1967 to support the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

Friedan continued to maintain a position of national prominence. In August 1970, she helped to organize the Women's Strike for Equality, which commemorated the 50th anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment, granting women the right to vote. An extremely successful national protest, the march served to broaden the visibility of the feminist movement. She also played a key role in the development of the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971, an organization that was dedicated to increasing the number of women in politics.

In contrast to radical feminists such as Gloria Steinem, Friedan represented a more moderate alternative. Friedan appealed primarily to white, middle-class women, while Steinem and various others wanted to broaden the movement to include working-class, minority, and lesbian women. In several articles in the 1970s that *McCall's* magazine published, Friedan criticized Steinem and feminist politician Bella Abzug for taking the movement too far to the left. She claimed that they promoted an environment that encouraged women to blame men for everything, instead of working together to change America for the better. She argued that these radical feminists would ultimately undermine the quest for WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS. Friedan expanded on these ideas in *The Second Stage* (1981). She advocated a moderate stance and criticized both liberals and conservatives for contributing to the backlash against the movement. She argued that it was imperative for the movement to recognize that heterosexual relationships and families played important parts in women's lives.

Friedan continued to write and lecture throughout the 1980s and 1990s. *The Fountain of Age* (1993) focused on the process of aging. The book appealed to the white, middle-class elderly of America and presented aging as a positive aspect of life, with numerous opportunities for the elderly. In 1996, at a labor conference, she affirmed her support for strong unions.

On February 4, 2006, her 85th birthday, Friedan died of congestive heart failure at her home in Washington, D.C.

**Further reading:** Daniel Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of The Feminine Mystique* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

—Lori Nates



# G



**Galbraith, John Kenneth** (1908–2006) *economist, ambassador to India*

John Kenneth Galbraith was one of the leading economists of the 20th century.

Galbraith was born on October 15, 1908, in Ontario, Canada, and educated at the University of Toronto, the University of California at Berkeley, and Cambridge University in Great Britain. He began his career teaching economics in 1934 at Harvard University and later taught at Princeton University. During World War II, he served in several U.S. government agencies, including the National Defense Advisory Committee and the Office of Price Administration. From 1943 to 1948 he served on the editorial board of *Fortune* magazine, and in 1949, he returned to Harvard as the Warburg Professor of Economics. From 1961 to 1963, on leave from Harvard, he served as U.S. ambassador to India. He acted as an adviser for presidents JOHN F. KENNEDY and LYNDON B. JOHNSON, as well as for presidential candidates EUGENE MCCARTHY and George McGovern.

Galbraith is considered by many to be the “Last American Institutional,” a reference to the American Institutional School of economic thought commonly associated with economists Thorstein Veblen, John Commons, and Wesley Mitchell. The Institutionalists stressed the importance of historical, social, and institutional factors in shaping economic laws, and they dominated American economics from the early 1900s until the 1930s, when the Keynesian Revolution transformed economics. Galbraith, a student of Veblen, revived Institutional ideas after World War II with works that brought increased attention to an economic structure that focused on the great corporation as the characteristic organization in American business.

Galbraith’s first major work was *American Capitalism* (1952) in which he contended that American society suffered from a sickness that had its roots in the competitive ideal in industrial organization. Galbraith introduced

the concept of countervailing power as an antidote to that sickness. He argued that the existence of concentrations of power, such as in unions, was not detrimental if they formed a counterbalance to another concentration of power.

Galbraith achieved widespread recognition and success with his book *The Affluent Society* (1958). In this work, aimed at the general public, he attacked the myth of “consumer sovereignty” and argued that America had reached a stage in its economic development that should enable it to direct its resources toward the provision of better public services rather than the production of consumer goods. Galbraith criticized America’s “economics of abundance” and called for less emphasis on production and more attention to public services. This widely discussed and debated book helped to shape the WAR ON POVERTY initiated by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Galbraith’s *The New Industrial State* (1967) focused on intellectual and political innovations. He asserted that large, capital-intensive firms tried to create environments that minimized the risks to capital. Such ideal conditions included high degrees of certainty in terms of product demand, labor supply, market competition, and regulatory and tax policies. To achieve this, large corporations attempted to enhance the demand for their products by advertising heavily and lobbying government to maintain a stable public policy. In labor matters, large corporations found it convenient to deal with large, predictable labor unions. The result was a symbiotic relationship between big business, big government, and big labor, which Galbraith called the New Industrial State.

One of Galbraith’s salient characteristics remained his critical attitude toward conventional economics. He challenged the assumptions that firms were profit maximizing and that demand and supply determined the allocation of resources. Galbraith believed that free enterprise tended toward monopoly, that economic growth did not imply growth in the quality of life, and that resource allocation

decisions lay primarily in the hands of the managers and professionals in big corporations and government departments.

Galbraith's theories also exerted a profound influence on public policy. In particular, his efforts to show that structural reasons, as opposed to unfair practices, underlay the growth of giant corporations contributed to the Justice Department's backing away from antitrust prosecutions in the 1960s. Although Galbraith's ideas and theories fell outside mainstream economics and often attracted criticism from academics, he remained one of the best-known economists in postwar America.

Even as Galbraith's economic theories were challenged in subsequent years, he received his second Medal of Freedom from President Bill Clinton in 2000. John Kenneth Galbraith died on April 29, 2006, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, at the age of 97.

**Further reading:** Charles H. Hession, *John Kenneth Galbraith and His Critics* (New York: New American Library, 1972); J. Ron Stanfield, *John Kenneth Galbraith* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).

—Dave Mason

## Gallup Poll

The Gallup Poll, founded in 1935, has served as a resource for the American people to gain a better understanding of public opinion through random sampling.

George Horace Gallup, a public opinion statistician from Jefferson, Iowa, established a method of public opinion sample surveys, later named Gallup Polls. After teaching journalism at Drake University from 1929 to 1931, and then at Northwestern University from 1931 to 1932, Gallup founded the American Institution of Public Opinion in 1935. The organization conducted nationwide surveys of opinion on political, economic, and social issues in the United States. Combined with a more scientific method of polling called probability sampling, the Gallup Poll randomly selected a small sample of people who, if selected correctly, represented the opinions of a larger group of people. National Gallup Polls aimed to "present the opinions of a sample of people which are exactly the same opinions that would have been obtained had it been possible to interview all adult Americans in the country." To reach this goal, Gallup developed the principle of the equal probability of selection. This assumed that if each member of a population had an equal likelihood of being selected, the resulting sample would represent the whole population.

The Gallup Poll, while performing a variety of surveys, was most famous for pre-election surveys. The 1936 presidential election brought public attention to Gallup's organization when Gallup accurately predicted the vic-

tory of Franklin D. Roosevelt over Alfred M. Landon for U.S. president. Despite wrongly predicting the victory of THOMAS E. DEWEY over HARRY S. TRUMAN in the 1948 presidential election, the Gallup Polls continued to survey voters in subsequent presidential elections and developed a reputation for accuracy.

Gallup employed a specific process to ensure every American equal opportunity of "falling into the sample." Beginning in 1935, Gallup representatives conducted the earliest polls in person, scattering across the nation to interview people door-to-door. For nearly 50 years, this was the standard interviewing method until telephones became common in households and phone interviews replaced the in-person approach.

Generally, the target audience focused on those persons 18 years of age and older, labeled "national adults," who lived in noninstitutional environments. With the audience established, Gallup decided on the number of interviews to be conducted. Next, Gallup went to far-reaching lengths to make contact with the specific, randomly chosen adults living in American households. If the randomly selected adult was not at home, the interviewer returned at a later date to question that individual.

Wording questions utilized in polling proved the most difficult aspect of conducting the surveys. Compiling clear, unbiased questions required attention and sensitivity, as well as a thorough understanding of current issues and public opinion. Specific wording of a question could very easily affect the manner in which an individual answered a question. To Gallup's credit, however, he consistently posed a question exactly as it was written. He contended that, "if the exact wording of a question is held constant from year to year, then substantial changes in how the American public responds to that question usually represent an underlying change in attitude." Gallup intended always to present the polls objectively and accurately.

Gallup conducted public opinion polls on presidential approval, public policy, and various key issues. He asked the public for opinions on many issues, including presidential proposals such as social security, questions on family life, civil defense, foreign aid, the federal budget, American prestige, armed forces, and the role religion and church played in the household. On January 17, 1949, for example, Gallup asked the public, "Have you heard about the civil rights program suggested by Truman?" Of those queried, 64 percent had heard about the program while 36 percent had not. Of those who had heard of the program, Gallup followed up with, "Do you think Congress should or should not pass the program as a whole?" To this question 27 percent responded positively, while 22 percent said no, and 15 percent had no opinion. Gallup asked other questions concerning public opinion on the TAFT-HARTLEY ACT, noncommunist oaths, whether or not all members



of the Communist Party should be removed from jobs in the United States, and whether or not people felt Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY should be censured for his anti-communist actions and accusations.

The Gallup Poll intended to “amplify the voice of the public,” not distort it. People throughout the United States still rely on the polls to gain an understanding of public opinion and to forecast patterns of voting.

**Further reading:** George Horace Gallup, *The Pulse of American Democracy: The Public Opinion Poll and How It Works* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1940).

—Susan F. Yates

## gays and lesbians

Faced with intense scrutiny by law enforcement during the 1950s, gays and lesbians nonetheless began an unprecedented level of political and social organization, laying the groundwork for important gains in the future.

Prior to World War II, religious, medical, and legal condemnations of homosexuality permeated society so fully that they prevented any tangible social or political interaction. By 1940, however, the massive mobilization for the war—especially the sex segregation of millions of young, single women and men both at home and abroad—profoundly affected how homosexuals viewed themselves and their sense of community. The military’s psychiatric screenings for homosexuality were so perfunctory, and the need for personnel so great, that careful relations among homosexual servicemen and women often went unchecked. Gay women working industrial jobs on the home front also experienced new opportunities to interact. By the end of the war, a solid, though still small, gay subculture began to emerge in America’s larger cities, centered especially in gay bars.

Homosexual acts, however, were still against the law in every state, and the vast majority of gay men and women were frightened of public exposure. The increasing paranoia over domestic COMMUNISM, fueled in large part by Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY’s anticommunist crusade, did not help matters either. Reports of several gay State Department employees receiving discharges on the grounds of “moral turpitude” led the U.S. Senate to launch a full inquiry into government employment of homosexuals in June 1950. Testimony by psychiatric experts presented homosexuality as a sign of pathology and mental disease. In 1953, ALFRED C. KINSEY’s groundbreaking reports on America’s sexuality—which indicated surprisingly high incidences of homosexual experiences “in every age group, in every social level [and] in every conceivable occupation”—helped to fuel antigay paranoia as much as it helped to shatter long-held attitudes about homosexual tendencies.

Discharges for homosexuality in both government agencies and the military increased substantially. Law enforcement, bolstered by the support of J. EDGAR HOOVER’s Federal Bureau of Investigation, began a broad campaign of increased surveillance and harassment of homosexuals and gay establishments.

With the unparalleled increase in homosexual oppression came an equally unparalleled increase in homosexual, or “homophile,” organizations. In November 1950, Harry Hay and four gay male colleagues started the most prominent of these groups, formally naming it the Mattachine Society in April 1951. Their founding principle was the recognition of homosexuals as an oppressed minority group distinctive from the heterosexual majority, a concept unfathomable before World War II. After the group successfully defeated the arrest of one of its founders for allegedly propositioning a plainclothes police officer in June 1952, membership rolls swelled in various “guilds” along the California coast, though at its peak the society was never much larger than 2,000 people.

By 1953, the group’s biggest strength—the founders’ past involvement in the Communist Party imbued them with a strong sense of group organization and a knack for political activism—also proved to be its greatest liability. With anticommunist pressures mounting, more conservative members of the group staged a successful takeover at Mattachine conventions in April and May 1953. They shifted the group’s focus away from establishing a homosexual minority through public activism, instead adopting an accommodating view directed at presenting homosexuals as virtually no different from members of middle-class heterosexual society. Almost immediately, membership plunged, and by the early 1960s, the national organization splintered off into more activist-minded East-Coast groups and the more conservative San Francisco contingent.

Though it did include lesbian members, the Mattachine Society dealt almost exclusively with the concerns of gay men, so, in 1955, a San Francisco-based lesbian couple, Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, formed the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) with six other women. Many lesbians had children from heterosexual marriages in the past, and the prospects for now-single women earning an adequate wage were slim in the 1950s. The DOB viewed its role as offering lesbians “help, friendship, acceptance and support.”

With all homophile organizations suffering from chronically low membership, their journals, including the *Mattachine Review*, the DOB’s *Ladder*, and the independent *ONE*, served as vital instruments for reaching out to lesbians and gay men who did not reside in major cities. They also helped give the homophile movement its biggest victory. In January 1958, the U.S. Supreme Court, headed by Chief Justice EARL WARREN, unanimously overturned lower court decisions permitting the Los

Angeles postmaster's seizure of *ONE* on the grounds that it was "obscene." Indeed, court decisions allowing the dissemination of literature previously deemed indecent—particularly the work of the BEAT GENERATION, led by openly gay poet ALLEN GINSBERG—became a turning point for the homophile movement, as more and more material about lesbians and gay men made its way into mainstream American society.

By the late 1960s, the homophile movement, greatly overshadowed by the Civil Rights movement and the movement for WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS, had made some gains, but still had only limited accomplishments to show for its efforts. From 1965 through 1969, gay rights advocates staged demonstrations each Fourth of July at Independence Hall in Philadelphia. It was not until June 27, 1969, that the full-fledged national gay rights movement began, when a routine police raid of Stonewall, a gay bar in New York City's Greenwich Village, erupted into several days of rioting by gay men and lesbians and created a greater sense of public consciousness than ever before.

**Further reading:** John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States 1940–1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); John Loughery, *The Other Side of Silence: Men's Lives and Gay Identities: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998).

—Adam B. Vary

## General Electric

The General Electric Company, established in 1892 by Thomas Edison, changed the way people lived in the United States with its many different inventions.

Thomas Edison invented the electric light bulb in 1879. The stock of his company, Edison Electric Light Company, skyrocketed, and, in 1892, the company merged with Thomson-Houston to form the General Electric Company (GE). The invention of the light bulb popularized the use of electricity, and by the turn of the 20th century, the industry was growing at an extremely rapid rate. GE immediately capitalized on this growing market by inventing household appliances, including the first portable fans, electric washing machines, and radios. Through the first part of the 20th century, GE moved into plastics and locomotives, and began the first TELEVISION network, which later became NBC. GE quickly became one of the largest companies in the United States.

By the 1940s, GE's importance was evident. The company developed the first jet engines for the U.S. military. Radar, first developed in 1935, was now used effectively in

World War II, providing assistance in both bombing and anti-aircraft efforts. Radar also detected the enemy from long distances away. These advancements put the United States far ahead of any other country in military and conventional TECHNOLOGY.

GE's contributions continued through the 1950s. In 1951, the company developed the J79, its most famous jet engine. This model became the first commercial jet engine, which powered the world's fastest jet transports. The J79 formed the basis for the J93 engine, released in 1959, which was capable of traveling at three times the speed of sound. GE won a U.S. Air Force contract to produce the J93. It also continued work on the electric light, introducing an all-weather headlight that was mass-produced, and sold to car and locomotive companies. This one invention aided travel for millions of Americans, and it improved automobile safety.

The 1960s brought more inventions and innovations from General Electric. On the home appliance front, the company produced refrigerators, blenders, and many other kitchen aids. It sold the first self-cleaning oven to the public in 1963. GE also helped the fast-food industry take off, by inventing an oven that could reheat frozen food to table temperature in under a minute. General Electric was a household name and it continued to remain in the spotlight. In 1962, Bob Hall, a GE engineer, invented the first solid-state laser, later used in compact disc players and laser printers. By the close of the 1960s, General Electric owned several companies in such fields as appliances, aircraft, railways, plastics, electricity, and medical equipment, and it constituted one of the major corporations in the United States.

**Further reading:** James Cox, *A Century of Light* (New York: A Benjamin Company/Rutledge Book, 1979).

—Matthew Escovar

## General Motors

In 1955, automobile manufacturer General Motors (GM), capitalizing on post-World War II prosperity and consumer demand, became the first U.S. corporation to post a profit of \$1 billion.

GM was founded in 1908 in Flint, Michigan, by William C. Durant, a keen businessman who had become a millionaire in the horse-drawn carriage business. In 1904, Durant bought the financially troubled Buick Motor Car Company. Seeking a strategic advantage to ensure longevity and success in the auto industry, Durant embarked on a massive campaign, acquiring within two years more than two dozen automobile companies, including the Olds Motor Vehicle Company and the Cadillac Automobile Company. Durant's aggressive and expansionistic attempts to outstrip

the Ford Motor Company and control the auto industry overextended GM financially. Investors took control of GM from Durant, who then embarked on yet another auto industry venture, creating the Chevrolet Motor Company. Chevrolet adopted the Ford Motor Company's strategy of mass-producing cheap automobiles for the working class. Chevrolet was a success, putting Durant in a financial position to acquire enough GM stock to take control of the company again, and, in 1918, Durant merged Chevrolet with GM.

Upon the entry of the United States into World War II in 1941, GM switched from civilian automobile production to manufacturing tanks, airplanes, weapons, and other war supplies to support the Allied forces' war effort. Following the war, GM returned to producing cars and trucks, introducing new innovative features such as automatic gearboxes, power-assisted steering and brakes, air conditioning systems, and safety belts.

Alfred Sloan completely redesigned GM in the 1950s and made it into the world's biggest and most profitable company. The passage of the INTERSTATE HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956, aided by the general prosperity and economic growth of the postwar era, created a wave of auto consumerism that was responsible for the huge success of GM in the 1950s. Sloan's great skill in mass-production management made use of the American consumer's eye for style and fashion to keep engineering costs down. GM introduced car models that, year after year, exhibited little more than cosmetic changes.

GM also took advantage of the surge in mass media ADVERTISING and marketing. American TELEVISION viewers were aroused by shiny Chevrolet BelAirs and Pontiac Bonneville's that sat on rotating stages as elegantly dressed commercial actresses pointed out their impressive features.

By the end of the 1950s, GM faced problems with expensive union contracts, antitrust pressures from the government, and finally, competition from the Volkswagen Beetle, introduced in 1958. A final blow came in 1965 when Ralph Nader published *Unsafe at Any Speed*. Nader attacked the American auto industry's safety standard in general, but specifically targeted Chevrolet's Corvair as a dangerous car.

Postwar consumerism had put no pressure on the auto industry for improvements in fuel efficiency, durability, serviceability, environmental protection, TECHNOLOGY, or safety. The lack of concern for these factors left the industry unprepared for the foreign competition and fuel crisis challenges of the 1970s.

**Further reading:** Timothy Jacobs, *A History of General Motors* (New York: Smithmark, 1992).

—Jason Reed

**GI Bill of Rights** See VOLUME VIII.

### **Gideon v. Wainwright** (1963)

The case of *Gideon v. Wainwright* led to a decision by the U.S. Supreme Court that required states to provide legal counsel for indigent defendants regardless of the degree of crime they are accused of.

The Sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provides individuals the right to legal counsel in the event that they are accused of a crime. Prior to 1963, however, this provision remained vague and did not provide for whom and to what extent this right was to be offered.

In June 1961, Clarence Gideon, an indigent electrician, was arrested and charged with breaking into a pool hall in Panama City, Florida. Although police accused Gideon of attempting to steal beer, Coke, and money from a cigarette machine, he declared his innocence. In August, as the case went to trial, Gideon informed the judge that he was not prepared for his trial because he had failed to obtain legal defense. Gideon then requested the court to provide him with counsel. The judge responded, "Mr. Gideon, I am sorry, but I cannot appoint counsel to represent you in this case. Under the laws of the State of Florida, the only time the Court can appoint Counsel to represent a defendant is when that person is charged with a capital offense. I am sorry, but I will have to deny your request to appoint Counsel to defend you in this case."

With the denial of counsel, the trial continued. Gideon, ill-prepared and unable to adequately represent himself in court, was convicted by the jury and sentenced to five years in prison. At the time of Gideon's trial, the Sixth Amendment right to counsel was applicable only at the federal level and states had the discretion to determine the use of this amendment. Many, including Florida, elected not to apply the privilege of counsel to the impoverished at the state level.

In an attempt to appeal his sentence, Gideon filed a petition to invalidate his conviction on the grounds that the state of Florida's refusal to provide him with counsel violated his constitutional rights. The Florida Supreme Court denied the petition. After this defeat, Gideon filed an appeal with the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1962, after his second appeal, the Supreme Court decided to hear Gideon's case. In January 1963, Abe Fortas, Gideon's court-appointed counsel, asserted that it was unconstitutional for states to create independent legislation determining the appointment of legal counsel to a defendant, and, by so doing, they violated Gideon's Sixth Amendment rights. The Gideon team further argued that by allowing states to implement only certain elements of the Bill of Rights, the Fourteenth Amendment was also being violated. This amendment states that "No state shall make or enforce



any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.” The court issued its decision in March 1963. The justices reversed Gideon’s conviction on the grounds that he was denied due process provided by the Sixth Amendment when Florida courts denied him legal counsel. Justice Hugo Black, delivering the court’s opinion stated, “The individual, and especially the indigent, is in greatest need of his constitutional rights when he finds himself in trouble with the law.” The decision of the U.S. Supreme Court led to a new trial for Gideon.

Represented by competent legal counsel, Gideon was acquitted. The decision in *Gideon v. Wainwright* provided for the protection of those accused of crimes, however minor or serious. The Court concluded that states were constitutionally required to provide legal counsel for criminal defendants too needy to afford their own attorney. The case also served to illustrate the power of the federal government over state government. Previously, states had the choice of implementing certain parts of the U.S. Bill of Rights. The *Gideon* case illustrated that the ultimate power to determine acceptable boundaries of civil liberties rested with the federal government.

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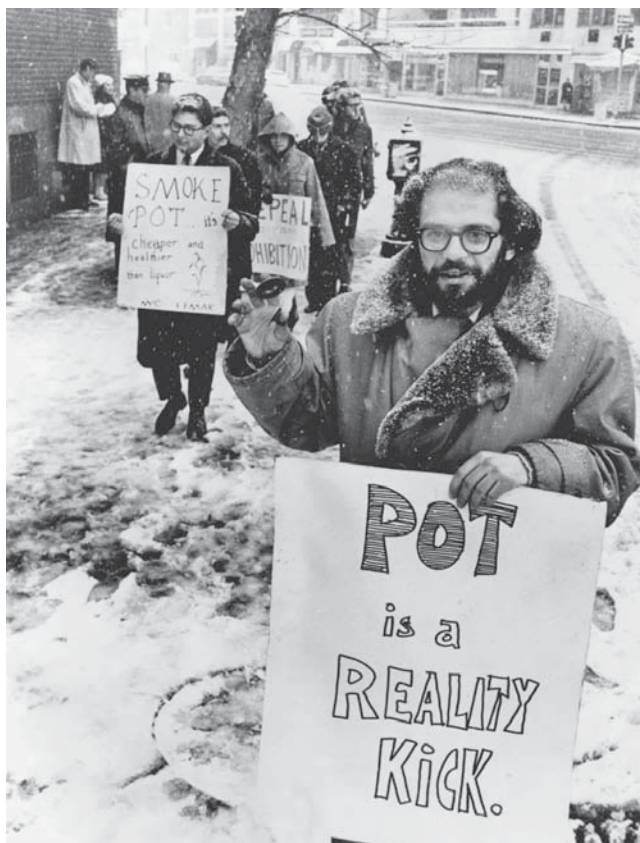
—Erin Craig

**Ginsberg, Allen** (1926–1997) *poet, Beat movement leader*

As one of the most influential voices of the BEAT GENERATION, Allen Ginsberg’s poetry and writing questioned the very essence of American life.

Ginsberg grew up in Paterson, New Jersey, the son of Louis and Naomi Ginsberg. As a child, Allen was exposed to a variety of factors that had a profound effect upon his later life as well as his poetry. Louis, Allen’s father, was himself a published poet. Naomi Ginsberg, however, may have left a more powerful impression upon her son. Haunted by episodes of schizophrenia, Naomi found it difficult to fulfill her role as mother to Allen. It was also during this time that Allen recognized his budding homosexuality, which played a pivotal role in both his professional and his private lives.

In 1943, Ginsberg headed off to Columbia University in New York. Originally, he studied to be a labor lawyer, though he soon changed his major to literature. During this period he met future authors William S. Burroughs and JACK KEROUAC, who became prominent members of the Beat Generation. This talented group all shared a common



Poet Allen Ginsberg leads a group of demonstrators outside the Women’s House of Detention on Greenwich Avenue in Greenwich Village, demanding the release of prisoners arrested for use or possession of marijuana, 1965. (*Library of Congress*)

realization, namely, that although America experienced a new era of profound opportunity following World War II, there was a dark side to this success. Ginsberg and his compatriots focused upon the controversial elements in American life, such as racial issues and an emerging new drug scene. This world fascinated these men, and along their journey of exploration they developed what they termed a “New Vision” for looking at life. Ginsberg and his peers believed that life could be understood only by expanding one’s own experiences, that truths could be found in different realities as well as in the lower levels of life. In addition to these thoughts, perhaps the most important aspect of this “New Vision” was the idea that all aspects of life should be explored as freely and openly as possible.

In the early 1950s, Ginsberg headed to San Francisco to join the burgeoning poetry movement. In 1955, he changed the face of poetry with the publication of *Howl*, a poem that gave voice to the outcasts of American society. Ginsberg accomplished this in the poem’s opening lines: “I



saw the best minds of my generation destroyed by madness, starving hysterical naked dragging themselves through the Negro streets at dawn looking for an angry fix, angelheaded hipsters burning for the ancient heavenly connection to the starry dynamo in the machinery of night.” The poem challenged the status quo of America by addressing such taboo topics as homosexuality and recreational drug use. *Howl*, however, was not a hit with everyone. In fact, the publisher of the first few editions of *Howl* faced charges for knowingly selling obscenity. Fortunately, the judge took a different view and recognized *Howl* as a poem of social importance.

Following the success of *Howl*, Ginsberg continued to develop as a poet and writer. In another controversial poem entitled *America* (1956), he yet again challenged American social and political views. Ginsberg then went on to write *Kaddish* (1959), a stirring tribute to his mother. Filled with compassion, the poem integrated all of the best memories as well as the worst concerning his mother’s illness.

During the 1960s, Ginsberg remained active in the political and cultural movements of the time. He became involved with TIMOTHY LEARY, the leader of the psychedelic drug movement. Ginsberg believed that psychedelic drugs were a perfect way to empower individuals to search their own minds, especially the young. The friendship between Ginsberg and Leary lasted until Leary’s death 35 years later. In addition to his friendship with Leary, Ginsberg befriended the BEATLES as well as BOB DYLAN. The work of Ginsberg and those within the Beat Generation had a profound effect upon these artists’ works. Ginsberg was also present at the disastrous 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago. Ginsberg, however, was outraged at the violent protests that erupted, and he instead supported nonviolent demonstrations.

Allen Ginsberg remained active in politics and culture for the rest of his life. On April 5, 1997, Allen Ginsberg succumbed to cancer of the liver at the age of 70.

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—Clayton Douglas

**Goldwater, Barry** (1908–1998) *U.S. senator, presidential candidate*

Barry Goldwater, an Arizona senator and the 1964 Republican presidential candidate against incumbent LYNDON B. JOHNSON, was one of the postwar architects of CONSERVATISM, a program stressing individual liberty and free

enterprise rather than government welfare programs in the United States.

Goldwater was born on January 1, 1908, into a prominent Phoenix, Arizona, family that owned a chain of general stores throughout the state. A mediocre student at first, Goldwater enrolled at the Staunton Military Academy in Virginia, where he graduated first in his class. He spent only one year at college, however, returning home to work in the family business when his father died in 1929. Goldwater was a successful manager, desegregating all the stores and establishing a five-day workweek. During World War II, Goldwater, a passionate aviator, flew supply planes from the United States to ASIA. Upon returning home, he left the family business, choosing instead to run for the Phoenix city council in 1949. In 1952, unhappy with his country’s participation in the KOREAN WAR, he campaigned for the U.S. Senate as a Republican.

After narrowly defeating incumbent Ernest W. McFarland—a powerful Arizona politician and the Senate majority leader—Goldwater established himself as an influential spokesperson for the conservative wing of the REPUBLICAN PARTY. He criticized what he saw as an encroaching welfare state, opposed foreign arms sales, and attacked any rapprochement with COMMUNISM in EUROPE and ASIA. Goldwater believed that his party’s positions embodied too soft a response to the policies of former presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and HARRY S. TRUMAN, calling President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER’s general acceptance of their welfare programs “a dime store NEW DEAL.” His comments earned the senator the respect of conservative Republicans in the West and the resentment of liberal Republicans in the East.

An increasingly prominent conservative leader with a reputation for always speaking his mind, Goldwater became a popular speaker at Republican fundraisers and was easily reelected to the Senate in 1958. In 1960, he published *The Conscience of a Conservative*, which outlined Goldwater’s ideals: belief in the free enterprise system, a robust and well-maintained military, custom and tradition over what Goldwater called change for the sake of change, a limited government, the constitutional process, and the advancement of spirituality rather than material wealth. At the 1960 Republican convention, Goldwater received 10 votes on the first ballot for the presidential nomination, but withdrew himself from consideration in favor of Vice President Richard M. Nixon. In his speech at the convention, however, Goldwater urged his fellow conservatives to “take this party back.”

In 1962, Goldwater began the groundwork for a 1964 presidential campaign, eager to run against President JOHN F. KENNEDY; the president’s assassination in 1963, however, caused Goldwater to consider strongly dropping out of the race. His concern about continuing the

eastern liberal wing's dominance over his party led Goldwater to run, nonetheless, what he knew would be a difficult campaign. Goldwater's casual statements about the use of nuclear weapons—he once joked about “lobbing one into the men's room of the Kremlin”—elicited strong criticism from his own party. Critics attacked the senator as an extremist who would pull the country into a third world war, and while he helped end SEGREGATION in his own state, the senator's vote against the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 (on the grounds that it was unconstitutional) lost him any substantial support from the African-American community. Goldwater lost the New Hampshire primary to write-in candidate Henry Cabot Lodge, but he upset his main competition, Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York, in the California primary. Goldwater went to the Republican convention in San Francisco with enough delegates to win the nomination.

At the convention, Goldwater again courted controversy in his acceptance speech when he said “extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice and moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue.” He had a strained relationship with the press; his aides frequently asked journalists to note what the senator meant and not what he said. Johnson's presidential campaign further attacked Goldwater as “a raving, ranting demagogue who wants to tear down society,” running an infamous TELEVISION campaign advertisement showing a young girl picking petals off a flower while a man's voice counted down to a nuclear explosion. Goldwater countered that the Johnson administration was “corrupt [and] power-mad, fail[ing] to provide moral leadership or control crime and disorder.” Regardless, Goldwater won only six states and received just 36 percent of the vote.

Goldwater remained out of politics for four years, running for Arizona senator again in 1968, and he was reelected to the position until his retirement in 1987. His efforts to promote conservatism led to the election of Richard Nixon and later Ronald Reagan and contributed to the rebirth of conservatism in the United States. He died on May 29, 1998, of complications from a stroke.

**Further reading:** Bart Barnes, “Barry Goldwater, GOP Hero, Dies,” *Washington Post*, May 30, 1998; Barry Goldwater with Jack Casserly, *Goldwater* (New York: Doubleday, 1988); Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2001).

—Adam B. Vary

**González, Rodolfo “Corky”** (1929–2005) *poet, essayist, activist*

Rodolfo “Corky” González was one of the most important Chicano civil rights advocates of the 1960s; in addition to

his activities as a civic leader, political reformer, and Chicano nationalist, he became widely known for his 1967 epic poem *Yo Soy Joaquín* (I am Joaquin), which inspired thousands of youthful Chicanos to demand their full civil rights.

González was born in the Mexican barrio of Denver, Colorado, to seasonal farmworkers. He was forced to move many times during his childhood while his parents sought work. He attended four grade schools, three junior high schools, and two high schools. He later said that his many teachers tried to teach him “how to forget Spanish, to forget my heritage, to forget who I was.” Despite these hardships he graduated from high school at the age of 16. By the age of 10, he was already working alongside his parents in the sugar beet fields. He became interested in boxing as a way to escape poverty. At the age of 20 he entered competitive boxing. In his career he won 65 of his 75 fights. By the end of his ring experience, he was the third-ranked contender for the World Featherweight title.

In 1953, González left the ring to operate a neighborhood bar and to work as a bail bondsman. He was active in Democratic politics in his hometown of Denver, and he advanced to district captain in 1959. The following year he became coordinator of the Colorado Viva Kennedy campaign that supported JOHN F. KENNEDY for the presidency, and chairman of the local WAR ON POVERTY program. Soon after, he was appointed to the Steering Committee of the Anti-Poverty Program for the Southwest, the national board for Jobs For Progress, and the community board of the Job Opportunity Center, and he became president of the National Citizens Committee for Community Relations. Many Mexican Americans criticized him and called him a puppet in the political system. In early 1966, the *Rocky Mountain News*, a local newspaper, published reports charging that González allegedly discriminated against whites and blacks in his antipoverty programs. The mayor of Denver asked González to resign or told him he would be fired. González resigned all of his political jobs and ended his Democratic affiliation. Because of this experience, González lost faith in existing political institutions. The target of his anger and bitterness became the Anglo system.

Soon after his resignation, he developed the Crusade for Justice, a program promoting Chicano self-definition and self-determination. In 1968, he bought an old school and church buildings in a condemned section of the barrio in downtown Denver. He converted the buildings into a school, theater, gym, nursery, and cultural center. During that same year, he and REYES LÓPEZ TIJERINA led a Chicano contingent in the Poor People's March on Washington, D.C. There he issued his “Plan of the Barrio,” calling for improved EDUCATION, with bilingual classes and teachers, and with provisions for teaching the history and culture of Mexican Americans. He also called for better housing,

more barrio-owned businesses, and restitution of Spanish and Mexican pueblo land grants.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Gonzáles was active in organizing and supporting school walkouts, demonstrations against police brutality, and legal cases on behalf of arrested Chicanos. He called for militant demonstrations among Mexican Americans all over the country to draw attention to their problems. He demanded that the federal government take immediate steps to provide Mexican Americans with equal education and employment opportunities. He also organized mass demonstrations against the increasingly unpopular VIETNAM WAR. He advised Chicano students to refuse to fight in Vietnam because Chicanos were used as “cannon fodder against a beautiful people with whom Chicanos have no quarrel. The fight for freedom, land, culture, and language isn’t in Vietnam. It is here in the Southwest.”

Gonzáles made one of the most important contributions to the Chicano Movement in instituting Chicano Youth Liberation conferences that focused and defined goals of Chicano youths. In further developing his ideas of Chicano self-determination and nationalism, he launched the Colorado Raza Party.

In addition to his accomplishments as a civic leader, he achieved a unique position as the foremost poet of the CHICANO MOVEMENT through his poem *Yo Soy Joaquín* (1967). This epic poem played a central role in the development of Chicano self-identity, especially among youths. Its verses state in part:

I am Joaquín,  
lost in a world of confusion,  
caught up in the whirl of a gringo society,  
confused by the rules,  
scorned by attitudes,  
suppressed by manipulation,  
and destroyed by modern society.

Although he suffered a debilitating automobile accident in October 1987, Gonzáles continued, in a more subdued manner, his activities in support of civil rights for Chicanos and Native Americans.

Following Gonzáles’s 1987 car accident, his health continued to decline. In 2005, Gonzáles was diagnosed with renal and coronary disease and, after refusing medical treatment, returned home to spend his remaining time among his family. Rodolfo Gonzáles died on April 12, 2005, at the age of 77.

**Further reading:** Christine Marin, *A Spokesman of the Mexican American Movement: Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzáles and the Fight for Chicano Liberation, 1966–1972* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1977).

—Elizabeth A. Henke

## government (state and local)

In the post–World War II years, state and local governments took on new roles as responsibilities changed in response to the growing role of the federal government.

The growth of the federal government provided the framework for changes at other levels. The NEW DEAL of President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the principle that the federal government would help those who could not help themselves. HARRY S. TRUMAN’s program, the FAIR DEAL, followed the same patterns that the New Deal had defined. When Republican DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER won the presidency in 1952, he wanted to scale back the role of the federal government, but refused to eliminate reforms, such as Social Security, that were now part of American life, and his acceptance of the broad outlines of the New Deal underscored its role in the country once and for all. In the 1960s, JOHN F. KENNEDY’s NEW FRONTIER and LYNDON B. JOHNSON’s GREAT SOCIETY further extended the reach of federal power. More and more, national government took responsibility for functions it had not handled before.

Meanwhile, local and state governments were necessarily defining a new role for themselves. With the huge SUBURBANIZATION movement, school districts proliferated. State governments began to realize that some small school districts simply were not viable, and mandated that they be consolidated. The growth of the national highway program, mandated by the INTERSTATE HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956, made transportation easier, and the act encouraged the consolidation process. Districts understood that if minimum standards were not met, consolidation had to occur.

At the same time, many urban regions began to establish special sewer and water districts, with fee authority to charge customers for services. Prior to the huge expansion of public works in the New Deal era, consumers paid for services, such as water, on the basis of a property tax. Now they began to pay fees based on their actual consumption. These new districts were autonomous. They had their own governing boards. They could issue bonds for construction. They set the clean water standards they intended to follow. The states maintained audit responsibility and engaged in some oversight, but most decisions were still taken at the district level.

Still another development involved the creation of gated communities. These residential areas were governed on the basis of covenants within a larger community. They were like community associations, which provided services and which had the power of coercion even though they were not, strictly speaking, real governments. The creation of these gated communities began in the 1920s, but they accelerated in the 1950s.

Municipal governments became increasingly professionalized in the postwar years. Federal expansion

encouraged the trend toward professionalism in the delivery of services to constituents.

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—Clayton Douglas

### **Graham, Billy** (1918– ) *evangelist*

William Franklin Graham, Jr., better known simply as Billy Graham, was a Presbyterian clergyman who became a world-renowned Christian evangelist in the 1950s and the decades that followed.

Born on November 7, 1918, in Charlotte, North Carolina, and raised in the reformed Presbyterian Church, Graham became a “born again” Christian (repenting of sins and receiving Christ as his savior) at a revival meeting in North Carolina when he was a teenager. Instilled with a passion for ministry, he began his career in 1943 as pastor of a Baptist church and shortly thereafter became involved with Youth for Christ (YFC), a religious organization, whose mission was to bring the gospel of Jesus Christ to young people everywhere. Eventually, Graham developed his own dreams of a nationwide religious revival. In September 1949, Graham saw his dream become a reality as he and a team of fellow visionaries led a three-week tent revival in Los Angeles.

The mid-1940s and the early 1950s were receptive years for a new voice in evangelical Protestantism. Two major world wars surrounding a period of severe economic depression left the American people with little sense of material or national security. In this time of transition, people searched for something stable. Graham offered a sense of meaning and purpose obtained through a life rooted in RELIGION. Across the nation, people flocked to churches searching for the spiritual fulfillment that Graham’s teachings offered.

By the 1950s, it was apparent that the United States was in a state of religious revival. Across the country, Graham led three-day- to eight-week-long revivals. Often taking place in concert halls, amphitheaters, and football stadiums, these revival meetings opened with testimony from widely known “born again” Christians, followed by MUSIC, and concluded with Graham’s powerful message calling people to come into a new relationship with Jesus Christ. He represented the fundamental Protestant beliefs that Jesus was Lord, God was the sovereign power, and people’s lives could be changed through religious conversion.

Those previously uninvolved in church activities sought a stable set of beliefs during times of difficulty. Confusion caused by dislocation induced by war and unemployment, together with the longing for a consistency in life that resisted the continual changes of society, brought the nation to church. Critical voices became muted and religion gained both popularity and respectability.

Graham felt it important to present his message in the context of modern-day political and social circumstances. “Geared to the times, anchored to the Rock,” became the motto of Graham’s movement as he saw the importance of being knowledgeable in current events. At the same time, he was a meticulous strategic planner. With each crusade, Graham and his team, the Billy Graham Evangelical Association (BGEA), exerted an enormous amount of effort to prepare a city for an upcoming event.

The period of the COLD WAR had a profound impact on people throughout the nation. Graham passionately despised this “Godless COMMUNISM,” and he felt that it was not only a threat to America but also a battle between Christ and the anti-Christ. Graham spoke to this issue at revivals as well as on the radio and TELEVISION, calling the American people to “be born again by the Holy Spirit, by repenting of their sins, and receiving Christ as Savior. The greatest and most effective weapon against Communism today is to be born again Christian.”

In the 1960s, Graham was an advocate for the Civil Rights movement. Speaking in favor of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964, he rejected claims that the Christian Bible supported SEGREGATION or barred intermarriage. In an article that appeared in *Life* magazine, Graham set forth his clear belief that racial prejudice was a sin, and he repeated this consistently in interviews and press conferences.

Graham was the only religious leader to maintain personal relationships with every U.S. president since DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER. With no political affiliations, Graham served as a type of spiritual adviser and political strategist for the president, and he established particularly close relations with presidents Eisenhower, JOHN F. KENNEDY, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, and Richard M. Nixon.

**Further reading:** Joe E. Barnhart, *The Billy Graham Religion* (Philadelphia: United Church Press, 1972); Billy Graham, *Just as I Am: The Autobiography of Billy Graham* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1997); William Martin, *A Prophet with Honor: The Billy Graham Story* (New York: William Morrow, 1991).

—Susan F. Yates

### **Great Society**

Following JOHN F. KENNEDY’s death in Dallas on November 22, 1963, LYNDON B. JOHNSON launched an ambitious



set of programs, known as the Great Society, whose main goals were racial equality and the eradication of poverty.

Presenting his ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964 to Congress, Johnson articulated the goals of the WAR ON POVERTY he launched to achieve his dream of a Great Society. In a speech he gave at a 1964 Democratic fund-raising dinner, Johnson told the audience: “We have been called upon—are you listening?<sup>2</sup>—to build a Great Society of the highest order, a society not just for today or tomorrow, but for three or four generations to come.”

The Great Society programs were designed to improve American life for everyone. As most Americans experienced unprecedented prosperity, the persistence of pockets of poverty in the United States, revealed in MICHAEL HARRINGTON’s *The Other America* (1962), became unacceptable. Liberals, inspired by economist John Maynard Keynes’s *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936), held that welfare spending would pay for itself through increased economic growth and government income. The tragic death of Kennedy created a popular desire to see the few timid social measures he had advocated expanded and adopted as a tribute to the deceased hero. Johnson’s landslide victory over Republican presidential candidate BARRY GOLDWATER in November 1964 gave Johnson a popular mandate and vast majorities in both houses of Congress to carry out whatever reforms he presented. The dire poverty Johnson had experienced when he was young pushed antipoverty measures high on his personal agenda. Johnson’s oversized ego, mixed with deep-seated insecurity, compelled him to outdo Franklin D. Roosevelt’s NEW DEAL and prove that he was more than simply the executor of Kennedy’s political estate. Johnson’s experience in Congress gave him the political know-how to push controversial bills through Congress.

A 1964 tax cut was the first of several legislative initiatives. At the same time, Johnson turned his attention to civil rights. His good relations with Illinois Republican and Senate minority leader Everett McKinley Dirksen allowed him to defeat a southern Democratic filibuster and to sign the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964, banning discrimination in public facilities, schools, unions, and the workplace. The VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 forbade state laws aimed at disenfranchising black voters.

Other measures dealt with the poor. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 created a wide variety of educational, training, loan, and assistance programs for the needy. Among these programs, the JOB CORPS provided 100,000 young, unemployed men and women with training and job experience; COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS (CAP) aimed at solving urban poverty through grass-roots community efforts; HEAD START sought to foster the healthy development of low-income families. Johnson, who considered EDUCATION the key to his own upward social mobility, signed

the ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1965, which gave better educational opportunities to the poor through federal subsidies. Created in 1965, MEDICAID and MEDICARE paid for part of the old and the poor’s health care costs. Social security benefits were also increased. The 1968 Housing Act proposed to build 600,000 federally subsidized housing units over the following 10 years. Under the provisions of the act, the federal government gave poor people a lower mortgage rate when they bought a house and partially subsidized the operations of real estate developers willing to build or to renovate low-cost housing.

Other programs targeted immigration, the arts, and the environment. The IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1965 abolished the quota system established in 1924. With the 1965 measure, immigrants were accepted on a first-come, first-served basis, regardless of their racial or national origins. The National Foundation of the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965 created the NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS and the NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES. The Federal Water Quality Administration was formed in 1965, while the National Air Pollution Control Administration, created in 1955, gained some regulatory powers under Johnson’s program.

Great Society programs met with only partial success. The Community Action Programs ended in failure, as did other programs marred by incompetence, hasty planning, and corruption. Medicaid and Medicare endured, but they proved costly over the long run. Johnson’s landmark civil rights legislation failed to improve race relations permanently as black militancy, increased by rising expectations, met white backlash. The WATTS UPRISING (1965) and BLACK POWER marked the radicalization of the black Civil Rights movement. The November 1966 midterm election, in which Democrats lost 47 seats in the House of Representatives, and the popular 1968 third-party candidacy of Alabama governor GEORGE C. WALLACE showed that the white middle class questioned Johnson’s objectives as they grew concerned about street violence, government expansion, and political divisions. As the Great Society moved from providing opportunities to giving away entitlements, traditional economic CONSERVATISM prevailed. The VIETNAM WAR, whose costs, combined with those of the Great Society, increased inflation and budget deficits, helped to destroy the Democratic coalition. Overall, the Great Society programs’ goals—achieving racial harmony and eradicating poverty—were so ambitious that complete success was difficult at best.

**Further reading:** Gareth Davies, *From Opportunity to Entitlement: The Transformation and Decline of Great Society Liberalism* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996); Allen J. Matusow, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984).

—Philippe R. Girard



# H



## **Hamer, Fannie Lou** (1917–1977) *civil rights leader*

An energetic, dedicated, and spiritual civil rights leader, Fannie Lou Hamer led voter registration drives, marched for civil rights, and employed the United States judicial system to demand fair treatment for African Americans, especially those seeking equality in Mississippi.

One of 20 children born into a family of sharecroppers in the Mississippi Delta, on October 6, 1917, Fannie Lou Townsend spent much of her youth in the cotton fields. She was a solid student but her formal education ended after the sixth grade, when she started to work full time in the fields. In 1944, she married Perry Hamer, a sharecropper. After bearing two daughters, Fannie Lou Hamer was sterilized in 1961 without her permission or knowledge.

Hamer was 44 years old when the STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) visited her hometown of Ruleville, Mississippi, in 1962 to register voters. Influenced by SNCC, Hamer attempted to register. She was denied her right to vote on the pretense that she could not explain the 16th section of the Mississippi constitution. That evening, she was evicted from the plantation where her family lived because of her refusal to abandon civil rights activities. By December of that year, she assumed the role of a fieldworker for SNCC, earning a reputation as a powerful singer who could inspire protesters, and she became a local leader for the Civil Rights movement in Sunflower County, Mississippi.

In June 1963, Hamer attended a Charleston voter registration training session. By then, Hamer had successfully registered to vote but she continued to work for justice for all African Americans. On her way home from the training session, she and her colleagues were harassed, arrested, and severely beaten by police in Winona, Mississippi. Hamer publicized this incident to direct public attention to the racism and violence prevalent in the South. Moreover, she incorporated this episode of violence into her personal narrative. In public speeches, she told people around the country the story of her life and the violence and cruelty

she faced while engaging in civil rights work. She testified before a federal jury about the occurrence, but the Winona police were never convicted.

An active participant of the Mississippi Freedom Summer project in 1964, Hamer led volunteer orientation sessions and continued to testify about the role of racism in Mississippi and America. She was a core member of the MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY (MFDP), a predominantly black political organization that challenged the power of the all-white DEMOCRATIC PARTY of Mississippi. Because of the widespread disenfranchisement of African Americans in Mississippi, the MFDP demanded that the Democratic Party recognize MFDP delegates at the national convention in Atlantic City. Protesters attracted media attention and the Democratic Party responded by establishing a credentials committee to listen to its complaints. Hamer testified before the committee and gained national recognition for her compelling narrative and personal conviction. Ultimately, the Democratic Party and the MFDP reached a compromise and MFDP delegates gained a few seats at the convention.

Hamer earned a reputation as a civil rights leader who encouraged others through her personal stories, dramatic voice, and powerful singing abilities. She also ran for several political positions, including both House and Senate seats. She continued to use the justice system to publicize civil rights abuses in America. In 1965, Hamer filed a lawsuit that challenged the legitimacy of elections in Sunflower County where African Americans were denied the right to register. One year later, new elections were ordered in several of the towns in the county.

Hamer led and participated in civil rights protests throughout the United States. She challenged distorted notions of equality and worked to end SEGREGATION, expand voting rights, relieve poverty, stop violence, and ensure better health care within the African-American community. By 1969, she participated in new initiatives, including a Pig Bank and Freedom Farm, to help

alleviate hunger and poverty. In 1971, she helped found the National Women's Political Caucus. Although she suffered from health problems throughout much of the 1970s, she continued her pursuit of justice and equality until her death in 1977.

**Further reading:** Chana Kai Lee, *For Freedom's Sake: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Kay Mills, *This Little Light of Mine: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* (New York: Dutton, 1993).

—Kirstin Gardner

**Harrington, Michael** (1928–1989) *antipoverty activist*

Michael Harrington, author and lecturer, devoted his career to raising awareness about the persistence of poverty in the United States.

His most famous work, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (1962), made the startling assertion that, despite the general prosperity of the 1950s, between one-fourth and one-fifth of Americans still lived in poverty. Harrington's revelations about the extent of poverty in the United States shocked many Americans and prompted President JOHN F. KENNEDY to call for federal action to reduce poverty in the United States. After Kennedy's assassination, President LYNDON B. JOHNSON launched a series of antipoverty initiatives known as the WAR ON POVERTY.

Edward Michael Harrington was born in St. Louis, Missouri, on February 24, 1928, and raised in an Irish Catholic family. He attended the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, studied law for one year at Yale University, and earned a master's degree in English literature from the University of Chicago. During the 1950s, Harrington worked as a social worker in St. Louis, as an associate editor of the *Catholic Worker*, and as a staff member of a settlement house in New York City. His experiences working with America's poor convinced him that social justice could be achieved only through a transformation of American capitalism into a system of democratic socialism. An outspoken social critic, he devoted the rest of his career to political activism and the study of poverty and other social problems in America.

Harrington first achieved national prominence with the publication of *The Other America*. In this book, he appealed to the conscience of the nation by pointing out the shameful fact that, in the most prosperous nation in the world, between 40 million and 50 million Americans lived in poverty. This "other America"—the America that had not benefited from the strong economic growth of the postwar decades—consisted largely of three groups: the rural poor of Appalachia, African Americans in the Deep South and urban ghettos, and the aged. Much of this

poverty remained invisible to most Americans. The rural poor had become invisible as more and more Americans concentrated in metropolitan areas. Harrington noted that travelers through the Appalachian region noticed the beautiful landscapes but failed to see the profound impoverishment that riddled the economically troubled region. The rise of suburbia similarly made the urban poor invisible by distancing white middle-class Americans from the depressing conditions of segregated inner-city slums. The growing population of Americans over the age of 65—at least half of whom could not afford decent housing, adequate nutrition, or medical care—remained close to home where they went unnoticed by society. Harrington's revelations in *The Other America* became widely influential in the antipoverty initiatives of the 1960s, for which Harrington became one of Johnson's consultants. Programs established under the ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964, the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, and the MEDICARE Act of 1965 sought to attack some of the causes of poverty in the United States.

In later writings, Harrington returned to the issue of poverty and the need for greater government action to alleviate the inequities caused by the American capitalist system. In *Toward a Democratic Left: A Radical Program for a New Majority* (1968), he proposed a new leftist political alignment among the poor, minorities, and labor organizations along with the "new class" of public-sector workers, which included professionals and educators. This alliance, Harrington believed, would carry the potential to expand upon the groundwork of the War on Poverty and promote a program of greater government planning in the ECONOMY. In *The New American Poverty* (1984), Harrington presented an updated analysis of poverty in the United States (emphasizing the increasing influence of global economic factors) and outlined proposals for government remedies for the persistent social ills arising from economic inequalities. Harrington wrote numerous other books and articles on poverty and socialism, including *The Accidental Century* (1965), *Fragments of the Century* (1973), *The Twilight of Capitalism* (1976), *The Vast Majority: A Journey to the World's Poor* (1977), and *Socialism: Past and Future* (1989).

In addition to his scholarly writings, Harrington worked as a political activist for a variety of democratic socialist organizations. He was a spokesman for the Democratic Socialists of America; a member of the national executive board of the Socialist Party of America, 1960–68; chairman of the board of the League for Industrial Democracy, 1964–89; chairman of the Democratic Socialists Organizing Committee, 1973–82; and cochair of the Democratic Socialists of America, 1982–89. From 1972 until his death in 1989, Harrington held the position of professor of political science at Queens College of the City University of New York.



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—Susan Allyn Johnson

## Hawaii statehood

On August 21, 1959, President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER signed the proclamation officially designating Hawaii as the 50th state of the Union, ending more than 60 years of struggle for admission.

Prior to 1959, Hawaii existed as a semicolonial appendage of the United States. Its independence formally ended with the overthrow of the monarchy of Queen Liliʻoukalani in 1893 by a tiny but powerful minority of white Americans. Five years later, against a background of war with Spain and unprecedented enthusiasm for expansion, the United States annexed the islands, then incorporated them as a territory in 1900.

Beginning shortly after annexation, Hawaii regularly, but with little initial enthusiasm, petitioned Congress for admission as a state. After 1919, statehood bills frequently were introduced into Congress by the territory's nonvoting delegate. This lack of enthusiasm was mostly the result of political pressure by sugar plantation owners such as the "Big Five," who found territorial status convenient because it enabled them to continue importing cheap foreign labor that would be prohibited otherwise.

By 1935, economic difficulties confronting "King Sugar" prompted Hawaiians, whose economic security relied largely on the prosperity of the plantations, to begin an organized, forceful, and expensive campaign for political equality with the existing states. Five years later, against a background of war in Europe and mounting tensions in the Pacific, a plebiscite indicated that more than two-thirds of Hawaii's electorate favored statehood. Gallup Polls conducted in the United States after 1945 also revealed that a substantial majority consistently favored immediate admission. After World War II statehood was supported by both major national political parties, recommended by Presidents HARRY S. TRUMAN and Eisenhower, and endorsed by an overwhelming majority of national editorial opinions. However, it took another decade for Hawaii to gain statehood.

The delay in Hawaii's long-frustrated bid for statehood was tied to wider national controversies such as minority rights, states' rights, internal subversion, Americanization, and racial equality. Hawaii presented Congress with a dilemma because it raised the question of equality for a noncontiguous area with a predominantly nonwhite population. In essence, statehood was withheld until the question could be extricated from such a deep national conflict,

a separation aided in large part by the burgeoning Civil Rights movement.

In March 1959, both houses of Congress passed the Admission Act, and President Eisenhower signed it into law. On June 27, a referendum asked residents of Hawaii to vote on whether to accept the statehood bill; all districts voted 93 percent or more in favor of admission. On August 21, the proclamation of Hawaii as the 50th state of the Union was announced. This date is celebrated yearly by Hawaii as Statehood Day.

After statehood, Hawaii quickly became a modern state with a construction boom and a rapidly growing economy. The Hawaii Republican Party, which was strongly supported by the plantation owners, was gradually voted out of office between 1956 and 1958 and replaced by the Democratic Party of Hawaii, which dominated state politics for 40 years. In later decades, the state government implemented programs to promote Hawaiian culture. The Hawaii State Constitutional Convention of 1978 enacted programs such as the Office of Hawaiian Affairs to promote the indigenous Hawaiian language and culture. At the beginning of the 21st century, however, these programs sparked controversial new political dialogues within the state as grassroots organizations began to call for restoring Hawaiian independence.

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—Lance R. Eisenhower

## Hayden, Tom (1939– ) activist, New Left leader

Thomas Emmett Hayden was one of the central figures of the NEW LEFT and student movements of the 1960s.

Born in Royal Oak, Michigan, on December 11, 1939, Hayden attended the University of Michigan where he served as editor of the *Michigan Daily* student newspaper. On a trip in 1960 to Berkeley, California, Hayden was inspired by the political atmosphere there, and during his senior year he immersed himself in student activism.

After graduating in 1961, Hayden fully devoted himself to the burgeoning student movement. He moved to Atlanta, Georgia, where he worked as field secretary for the newly formed STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), reporting on the southern Civil Rights movement. Not content merely to write about the movement, Hayden took part in activities organized by the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC). Because of his participation, Hayden was beaten by whites in McComb, Mississippi.

In 1962 Hayden wrote the Port Huron Statement, intended as SDS's mission statement but adopted generally as the New Left's manifesto. Influenced by sociologist

C. WRIGHT MILLS, Hayden, in the Port Huron Statement espoused participatory democracy, questioned the morality of the COLD WAR, and advocated activism among students. After its ratification, Hayden was elected president of SDS. SDS and the Port Huron Statement spread across college campuses, motivating a generation of students raised in the affluence of the 1950s to work for economic and racial equality and against apathy in America.

In 1963, Hayden helped form the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP) as part of SDS, with the aim of improving the economic lives of urban, working-class Americans on a grassroots level. Hayden moved to Newark, New Jersey, where he organized poor blacks against poverty, crime, and an unresponsive city government. Hayden left Newark after the city's riots in July 1967.

Hayden's next cause became the VIETNAM WAR. After its escalation in 1965, Hayden became increasingly devoted to ending the war. During December 1965, he visited North Vietnam, which increased government suspicion of him and the New Left in general as communist sympathizers. Indeed, Hayden openly admired the North Vietnamese and championed their cause. In 1967, Hayden returned from a second trip to North Vietnam having secured the release of three American prisoners of war.

By 1968, the seemingly endless war had frustrated the New Left. While pondering more confrontational tactics to end the war, Hayden participated in the Columbia University student strike of April 1968. Later that year, Hayden went to Chicago, Illinois, to organize the National Mobilization Committee's demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention (DNC). The demonstrations were intended to challenge the government's insistence on continuing the Vietnam War in the face of widespread public disapproval. Specific plans were vague, but the demonstrators intended to increase antagonism toward the government, reflecting the movement's growing disillusionment with nonviolent tactics.

Violence erupted outside the DNC as Chicago police and national guardsmen, under orders of Mayor Richard Daley, indiscriminately beat demonstrators, reporters, and bystanders. Antiwar activists were initially blamed for what was later acknowledged to be a police riot. As one of the main organizers, Hayden was charged with conspiracy to create a public disturbance and tried as one of the Chicago Seven in 1969. After a sensational trial, Hayden was found guilty of inciting violence and sentenced to jail for contempt of court. In 1972, these verdicts were overturned on appeal.

After the havoc of Chicago, the New Left disintegrated. Some activists became more extreme and violent while others, including Hayden, withdrew from the movement. Hayden relocated to Oakland, California, in 1969 where, after participating in the People's Park demonstra-

tions in Berkeley, he joined a commune. Members later voted to expel Hayden because of his dominant personality and he moved to Venice, California.

By 1972, Hayden had returned to the cause of ending the Vietnam War. With Jane Fonda, an actress who opposed the war and had angered many with her own trip to North Vietnam, Hayden organized the Indochina Peace Campaign (IPC), which successfully lobbied Congress to cut funding for the war.

Inspired by the IPC's success, Hayden entered California politics in an attempt to move 1960s values into mainstream politics. After losing his bid for election to the Senate in 1976, Hayden formed the Campaign for an Economic Democracy, which mirrored his goals for the ERAP in Newark. In 1982, supported by the funding of Fonda, who was now his wife, and her Hollywood connections, Hayden won election to the California State Assembly from Santa Monica, and he served there until he won election to the State Senate in 1992. Hayden continues to confront attacks on his radical past while, in his political work, he focuses on ecological concerns and the threat of large corporations to the lower classes.

**Further reading:** Tom Hayden, *Reunion: A Memoir* (New York: Random House, 1988); James Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets: From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987).

—Paul Rubinson

## Head Start

Head Start began in 1965 as a part of President LYNDON B. JOHNSON'S WAR ON POVERTY and represented a critical component of his GREAT SOCIETY legislation, which sought to equalize educational, economic, and political opportunities among Americans.

Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, played a leading role in launching Head Start. Upon discovering that about half of America's 30 million poor in 1964 were children, he committed leftover funds from the failed COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM to a summer program that would offer economically disadvantaged preschoolers a "running Head Start" in school. Shriver's hope was that early intervention by federally funded local institutions might provide poor children with a solid educational and psychological foundation for academic and personal success. This goal enjoyed widespread appeal because it targeted children, who could not be faulted for their economic and social status.

Conservatives viewed Head Start as a means to rescue the "deserving poor" from "culturally deprived" surroundings, while liberals admired its community-based approach, which they expected would empower poor neighborhoods

to organize politically. Head Start's instant popularity also signaled a broader shift in American culture away from viewing poverty as a moral problem to seeing it and other social problems as the product of a negative environment. In addition to educational instruction, Head Start provided its students with basic medical and dental care as well as two nutritious meals per day. By the fall of 1965, Congress approved plans to expand Head Start to a 10-month program.

Like many other Great Society projects, Head Start was hastily conceived and implemented. Johnson promised it would substantially raise the IQ levels of hundreds of thousands of America's children, despite the paucity of evidence to support this claim. Its administrators enacted Head Start only 12 weeks after its announcement and on a nationwide basis rather than as a pilot project. While promoters' appeal for immediate and massive action to end poverty struck a chord with the public, inspiring thousands to volunteer at Head Start centers, the program paid a high price in quality. Edward Zigler, one of Head Start's original planning committee members, remembered watching a grant review force rubber-stamping piles of applications, with little regard for the merits of individual proposals. Even Head Start's strongest supporters admitted that many of its programs ran the gamut from mediocre to poor in quality. Moreover, Head Start suffered from a lack of trained teachers. Many of those initially hired had little to no previous teaching experience or training in early childhood education. Due to poor pay, turnover among teachers has hovered at around 60 percent.

Despite budget setbacks in the 1970s and 1980s, Head Start continued. Defenders, while acknowledging the program's rather fleeting effects on educational achievement, sought to reform and expand it rather than to dismantle it. They pointed out that its policy of "maximum feasible parental participation" attracted the firm support and active involvement of parents, a significant number of whom returned to school and entered the workforce as a result of their experiences with Head Start. Increases in funding in the 1990s ensured the program's survival, though critics continued to argue that Head Start had a negligible long-term effect on graduates. Some claimed that gains in grades and self-esteem disappeared by the time students entered high school. Others asserted that genetic factors were more important than early intervention in children's academic success.

Head Start continues as a federal program with more than 2,000 local affiliates helping disadvantaged children gain an edge in school performance and achievement.

**Further reading:** Kay Mills, *Something Better for My Children: How Head Start Has Changed the Lives of Millions of Children* (New York: Plume, 1999); Edward Zigler

and Sally J. Styfco, eds., *Head Start and Beyond: A National Plan for Extended Childhood Intervention* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993).

—Theresa Ann Case

### ***Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States*** (1964)

In *Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States*, the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional discrimination in services to anyone based on race.

In its ruling on December 14, 1964, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 had been violated in Georgia because the Heart of Atlanta Motel had denied lodging to an African-American couple. The Court upheld a federal district court decision that prohibited the Heart of Atlanta Motel from discriminating against African Americans. It also reversed another federal district court decision that held the public accommodations section unconstitutional in a case involving a Birmingham, Alabama, restaurant.

The *Heart of Atlanta* case stemmed directly from the recent Civil Rights Act of 1964. The law contained numerous titles and sections. Title II and its seven sections dealt exclusively with goods, services, facilities, and places of accommodation. Each of these declared that it was illegal to discriminate on the basis of race, creed, religion, or national origin. In dealing with businesses, the act specified different places of public accommodation affected by the commerce of temporary visitors seeking lodging. These establishments included inns, motels, hotels, restaurants, and motion picture houses. The Heart of Atlanta Motel in Atlanta, Georgia, came under the jurisdiction of this section of Title II.

The Heart of Atlanta Motel argued that Congress, by passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964, had not only exceeded its power under the Commerce Clause, giving it the ability to regulate, prohibit, and protect trade among states, but also had violated Fifth Amendment rights by not allowing the motel to pick its own customers. Attorneys for the motel claimed that according to the Fifth Amendment, their client lost potential property, taken away without just compensation. The final argument declared that this also violated the Thirteenth Amendment, because Congress required the motel to rent motel rooms to African Americans, which, they affirmed according to the language of the Thirteenth Amendment, was "involuntary servitude."

The government, on the other hand, countered by stating that African Americans were unable to acquire suitable accommodations because the motel was interfering with interstate commerce in such a way that only Congress could rectify the situation by using its commerce clause power as specified by the U.S. Constitution. The

government also argued that the Fifth Amendment did not forbid the type of regulation found within the Civil Rights Act, nor did the damage involve taking away private property. Finally, the government argued that the assertion of a Thirteenth Amendment violation lay outside the scope of its initial purpose, because in this case there existed nothing pertaining to genuine slavery or disabilities associated with human bondage.

The main question before the WARREN COURT in *Heart of Atlanta* was whether Congress, by passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964, had exceeded its Commerce Clause powers by depriving motels, like the Heart of Atlanta, the right to choose their own customers. Justice Thomas Clark, a member of the Warren Court from 1949 to 1967, delivered the majority opinion for a unanimous court without dissent. This majority opinion declared that the Commerce Clause, found within the first article of the U.S. Constitution, allowed Congress to regulate forms of commerce. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was not illegal in this case because the applicability of Title II was “carefully limited to enterprises having a direct relation to the interstate flow of goods and people.” The Court continued by saying that obstructions in commerce might be removed according to the discretion of Congress, not the courts. The Heart of Atlanta, however, because it practiced racial discrimination, something not permitted by the U.S. Constitution, could not have legally obstructed the commerce power.

The Court concluded, in a unanimous decision, that places of public accommodation had no right to discriminate against certain guests without governmental regulation. Indeed, at this time, 32 states had already passed legislation banning such discrimination, and the decision underscored the acceptability of the measures passed.

At the same time, on December 14, 1964, the U.S. Supreme Court also barred a state from prosecuting demonstrators who had used peaceful means to bring about desegregation in places of public accommodation. Almost 3,000 SIT-IN demonstration prosecutions were brought before the Court, some dating back to 1960. Justice Hugo Black, in a dissenting opinion, expressed opposition to the concept that the law could aid those who took it into their own hands.

**Further reading:** Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000); *Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States*, 379 U.S. 241 (1964).

—John E. Bibish IV

**Hispanic-American movement** See LATINO MOVEMENT.

**Hiss, Alger** (1904–1996) *spy*

In 1948, Alger Hiss, a former State Department employee, became a target of the HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE (HUAC), a congressional committee that sought to ferret out communist subversion in the United States.

The accusation that he was a communist agent, and his subsequent conviction for perjury, made him a salient figure in an America that, at the end of the 1940s, already was deeply involved in the COLD WAR.

Born on November 11, 1904, in Baltimore, Maryland, Hiss had a distinguished educational background, graduating from Johns Hopkins University and Harvard Law School, and then embarking upon a career of public service. He first served as a clerk for Supreme Court justice Oliver Wendell Holmes. After the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the presidency in 1933, Hiss joined the Department of Agriculture. Later, during World War II, he worked for the State Department as an aide to the assistant secretary of state for the Far East. Near war's end, he appeared at Yalta as a presidential adviser.

Following a brilliant career with the State Department, Hiss served as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a private foundation dedicated to averting future wars. During this period, Hiss faced perjury charges for allegedly lying about his past connections with the Communist Party and passing classified documents to a communist spy located in the United States. WHITTAKER CHAMBERS was Hiss's primary accuser. Chambers, a confessed communist agent in the 1930s, later an editor at *Time* magazine in the 1940s, testified before HUAC that Hiss had been a member of the Communist Party. Chambers asserted that he had collected party dues from both Hiss and his wife. Hiss denied that he knew Chambers and likewise denied that he had any past affiliation with the party. Under relentless questioning from HUAC member Richard M. Nixon, however, Hiss was forced to admit that he had known Chambers, even acknowledging that he had let him use his car and live in his apartment, although Hiss maintained that Chambers had used the name of George Crosley at that time. Still, Hiss denied ever being a communist and challenged Chambers to repeat his accusations outside of Congress where congressional immunity would not apply and Hiss could sue Chambers for libel.

In response, Chambers went on the radio program *Meet the Press* and labeled Hiss a communist. Hiss sued. Chambers then revealed that Hiss had passed him secret State Department documents to be turned over to the SOVIET UNION. Chambers dramatically produced microfilms of the documents he claimed to have received from Hiss, documents that were typed copies of State Department records reproduced on a Woodstock model typewriter once owned by Hiss. These were the famous “pumpkin



papers,” so-called by the press because Chambers had kept them hidden in a pumpkin in his vegetable garden.

Hiss denied the charges of espionage and received unequivocal backing from the administration of HARRY S. TRUMAN. Secretary of State DEAN ACHESON was quoted as saying, “I do not intend to turn my back on Alger Hiss.” Such an endorsement carried with it much political weight, and Republican detractors of the administration soon labeled Acheson a communist sympathizer. Nonetheless, Acheson stuck by his statement, this despite being good friends with Hiss’s brother Donald, and not Alger. Truman added that the charges against Hiss were a “red herring” designed to deflect criticism from Republican failures at the polls in 1948.

The first Hiss trial ended in a hung jury in July 1949. But on January 21, 1950, at the conclusion of a second trial, Hiss was convicted of two counts of perjury for having lied about his communist connections in the 1930s. He spent nearly four years in prison.

This confrontation between NEW DEAL LIBERALISM and resurgent CONSERVATISM carried with it far-ranging ramifications. Hiss’s past service in the State Department cast further suspicion upon a body already suspected of harboring communists. His backing by Truman and Acheson further compromised an administration struggling against partisan opposition to defend its record regarding supposed communist infiltration of the federal government. The Hiss case allowed Nixon, a newcomer to the House, to gain exposure as a staunch anticommunist. And, the Hiss trial prepared the way for Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY and his anticommunist crusade.

After serving his prison term, Hiss attempted to rehabilitate both his career and his reputation. He became a frequent lecturer on college campuses. Claims by his defenders that Nixon had framed him gained more credence after that president’s Watergate debacle. Though evidence of his guilt seems inescapable today, the issue is still hotly debated among scholars, reflecting the continuing polarization between cold war conservatives and liberals.

**Further reading:** Alger Hiss, *Recollections of a Life* (New York: Holt, 1988); Allen Weinstein, *Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case* (New York: Knopf, 1978).

—Matthew Flynn

## Hollywood Ten

The Hollywood Ten were members of the motion picture industry accused of association with communist organizations in 1947.

The Hollywood Ten consisted of screenwriters Alvah Bessie; Lester Cole; Ring Lardner, Jr.; John Howard Lawson; Albert Maltz; Samuel Ornitz; and Dalton Trumbo;

directors Herbert Biberman and Edward Dmytryk; and producer Adrian Scott. The HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE (HUAC) cited these men for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions during investigations into communist activities in the motion picture industry.

Congressional conservatives used HUAC to accuse liberals and radicals in government, the diplomatic corps, academia, and Hollywood of harboring communist sympathizers. In particular, HUAC tried to prove that communists sought to infuse movie scripts with propaganda. Referring to the movie industry, conservative congressman John Rankin claimed, “Unless the people in control of the industry are willing to clean house of Communists, Congress will have to do it for them.”

Many Hollywood studio executives, artists, and union representatives bristled at HUAC’s proposed actions. They argued that very few “fellow travelers” worked in Hollywood, many having been disillusioned with Marxism-Leninism years earlier. Furthermore, they claimed that a motion picture was the product of collaboration, impenetrable to the political whims of writers and directors. Several actors, including Humphrey Bogart and Katharine Hepburn, organized the Committee for the First Amendment to protest the impending “witch hunt.” Although they were not communists themselves, these artists wanted the witnesses to declare their political affiliations proudly and to denounce further government interference. The Hollywood community appeared united against HUAC with only a vocal minority of anticommunists encouraging the investigation.

Undeterred, in September 1947, HUAC issued subpoenas to 43 studio executives, labor leaders, and filmmakers, evenly divided between “friendly” and “unfriendly” witnesses. Together, the accused hired their own counsel and debated their legal strategy. Although a few wanted to proclaim their political beliefs, others believed this was foolhardy given the COLD WAR’s charged atmosphere. Trumbo and Lardner argued that witnesses could challenge HUAC’s inquiry into an individual’s personal politics by asserting their Fifth Amendment right to prevent self-incrimination. They reasoned that the First Amendment prevented Congress from investigating or legislating political party affiliation. Eventually, 10 of the witnesses considered unfriendly to HUAC believed they could effectively resist the committee by answering questions in their own way.

On October 20, Representative J. Parnell Thomas, chairman of the committee, convened the hearings by calling “friendly” witnesses to testify. Among them, Louis B. Mayer, Walt Disney, and Gary Cooper asserted that although Hollywood’s “red” minority existed and caused trouble, members of this group did not control film



Hollywood screenwriters and directors (left to right) Samuel Ornitz; Ring Lardner, Jr.; Albert Maltz; Alvah Bessie; Lester Cole; Herbert Biberman; and Edward Dmytryk walk up steps of federal courthouse to face trial on charges of contempt of Congress for their defiance of the House Un-American Activities Committee, 1950. (*Library of Congress*)

content. When asked, they offered up the names of suspected communists.

HUAC called the first 10 unfriendly witnesses and asked each in turn about past and current affiliations. After invoking their First Amendment right guaranteeing free speech, some responded to the interrogation with sarcasm, some lectured the committee, and all appeared antagonistic. In one dramatic instance, Thomas ordered police to restrain and remove Lawson as he charged HUAC with “Hitler tactics!” Members of the Committee for the First Amendment were especially upset with the Ten’s daring refusal to answer questions. Rather than being martyrs, the Hollywood Ten appeared like rowdy radicals even to their defenders. “It was a sorry performance,” director John Huston later wrote, “I disapproved of what was being done to [them], but I also disapproved of their response.” Hollywood’s united front dissolved.

Feeling emboldened, HUAC sought contempt citations against the Ten on November 24. The next day, 50 top Hollywood executives issued their own condemnation

and foreshadowed the blacklisting to come. A communist would find no employment until he declared under oath that he was not a communist. The executives promised “to eliminate any subversives.”

For the next six months, the Hollywood Ten embarked on a legal struggle to keep their jobs and stay out of prison. By May 1948, all 10 had been tried, convicted, fined, and sentenced to prison. In June, an appeals court ruled that because of the “chaotic times” and the fact that Hollywood “plays a critically important role in the molding of public opinion” as “a potent medium of propaganda dissemination,” Congress had a right to investigate “whether or not they are or ever have been communists.” Likewise, the Ten’s breach of contract cases against the studios failed. In April 1950, the Supreme Court refused to hear their appeals. In June, the Hollywood Ten prepared for prison sentences ranging from six months to one year.

Prison life, the blacklist, and protracted lawsuits placed an overwhelming financial burden and social stigma on the Hollywood Ten. Only Dmytryk renounced his past

activities. He published an open letter and appeared before Hollywood's Rehabilitation Committee, a group formed to show publicly Hollywood's commitment to ANTICOMMUNISM. Headed at one time by Ronald Reagan, this panel cleansed the repentant communists. After appearing once again before HUAC to "name names," Dmytryk won a studio contract. The others sporadically worked by employing pseudonyms and ghostwriting. Trumbo, using the name Robert Rich, even won an Academy Award for the best screenplay of 1956. The blacklist effectively endured for the Hollywood Ten and hundreds of other victims until 1960, when a new generation of producers and directors insisted on changing the practice.

**Further reading:** Larry Ceplair and Steven Englund, *The Inquisition in Hollywood* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

—Andrew J. Falk

**Hoover, J. Edgar** (1895–1972) *director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation*

A staunch anticommunist crusader, J. Edgar Hoover headed the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), building it into a highly effective arm of federal law enforcement.

Hoover was born in Washington, D.C., on January 1, 1895. He studied law at George Washington University, where he earned his Masters of Law in 1917, the same year he joined the Department of Justice as a file reviewer. In 1919, he became special assistant to Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, overseeing the mass roundup and deportation of suspected communists following World War I. With the formation of the American Communist Party in 1919, Hoover found his lifelong calling: a self-styled crusade to destroy COMMUNISM in the United States. He began labeling anyone who disagreed with his rigid views—labor leaders, civil rights workers, and antiwar protesters—as communists. To root them out, he compiled files on radicals or anyone who dared to criticize him and developed a network of anonymous informants.

Hoover was named director of the FBI in 1924. Although the FBI was officially subordinate to the attorney general, Hoover successfully gained and ferociously maintained control of the operation. He built a reputation for efficiency by reorganizing the agency. He recruited agents and instituted rigorous methods of selecting and training personnel. He also established a fingerprint file, a scientific crime lab, and the FBI National Academy, which provided special training for selected individuals.

He also organized well-publicized captures of famous bandits such as John Dillinger, "Pretty Boy" Floyd, and "Baby Face" Nelson to earn his reputation as the ultimate G-man, the nation's indefatigable crime fighter. Although

Hoover was never actively involved in the arrests, he arrived just before the news photographers. Thus, he could argue that his successful pursuit of the "10 Most Dangerous Public Enemies" required ever-greater budgets. The arrest of Dillinger as well as the capture of Bruno Hauptmann, convicted kidnapper of aviator Charles Lindbergh's baby, brought much prestige to the organization, and enhanced Hoover's reputation, making the FBI virtually untouchable. Ironically, Hoover failed to seriously take on organized crime and went so far as to deny the existence of a Mafia. His hands-off policy allowed the Mafia to conduct illegal operations free of FBI surveillance.

Beginning in the 1940s, Hoover resurrected the specter of the early days as he pursued his lifelong crusade against communists. The FBI brought JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG to trial for passing atomic secrets to the SOVIET UNION. Not only did he bask in the favorable publicity that accompanied the Rosenberg case but he also built alliances with red-baiters in Congress, such as Richard M. Nixon, who, with the FBI's assistance, pursued ALGER HISS, accusing him of being a communist. Hoover provided JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY with information and witnesses, helping McCarthy continue his witch hunt of suspected communists in government. FBI agents even wrote speeches for the Wisconsin senator. In return, McCarthy attacked Hoover's enemies.

Hoover's hatred toward radicals of every kind led him to openly attempt to discredit the Civil Rights movement. He portrayed movement leaders as communists, calling MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., "the most dangerous and effective Negro leader in the country." Hoover collected



J. Edgar Hoover (Library of Congress)



and maintained a damaging file on King's private life, which he used to thwart the movement.

Hoover ruled the FBI through fear. He had files full of embarrassing if not incriminating evidence of all presidents other than HARRY S. TRUMAN, who admired Hoover. In 1971, Richard M. Nixon, a former collaborator with the director, asked Hoover to put the bureau at the president's disposal to investigate his own personal enemies and got a flat refusal. As a result, Nixon tried unsuccessfully to fire Hoover.

Hoover refused to be challenged; anyone who dared to do so was placed on the enemies list and hounded. While Hoover's ostensible intent was to build an efficient crime-fighting agency, 96 percent of the bureau's efforts were directed at investigating communists and left-wing radicals as defined by Hoover. He retained his post, however, until his death at age 77.

**Further reading:** Curt Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man and the Secrets* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990).

—Gisela Abels

### House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)

Formed by Martin Dies in 1938, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) emerged as one of the main institutions of ANTICOMMUNISM during America's Red Scare of the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Inspired by memories of the 1920s when the Communist Party was a significant power in America, the committee spent much of its time hunting communists. Fundamentally conservative, the committee also tried to tie advocates of Franklin D. Roosevelt's NEW DEAL to COMMUNISM.

In 1945, Democratic representative John Rankin of Mississippi made HUAC a permanent committee by forcing an immediate vote during the first session of Congress. While not its chair, the racist and anti-Semitic Rankin became the committee's true leader. As COLD WAR tensions escalated, HUAC investigated leftist groups including labor unions, political organizations, and the media. In the tradition of the Dies committee, Rankin also attempted to defame the New Deal as a communist conspiracy.

In 1947, suspecting that communists had infiltrated the film industry, Republican representative J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey (later convicted of fraud) led an investigation that brought HUAC into the public spotlight. During the Hollywood hearings, the committee heard from "friendly witnesses," conservative Hollywood figures who confirmed rumors of rampant communism. HUAC questioned 10 "unfriendly witnesses," asking "Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"

The witnesses, labeled the HOLLYWOOD TEN, refused to answer by invoking the First Amendment. The witnesses instead challenged the constitutionality of inquiring about a citizen's political beliefs.

As the committee had no power to prosecute, HUAC cited the Ten for contempt of Congress, sentencing them to jail for six to 12 months plus a \$1,000 fine. Hollywood executives feared a public backlash and worked with HUAC to remove communists from the industry. Promising to make anticommunist films, executives also blacklisted the Ten to ensure they would not work in Hollywood again. The blacklist only grew longer as the anti-communism scare spread.

Despite the successful Hollywood hearings, HUAC had yet to find any communist plot that threatened national security, although it claimed one existed. The ALGER HISS case provided HUAC with its first (and only) evidence of communist corruption in the Democratic administration. In 1948, journalist and editor WHITTAKER CHAMBERS identified Hiss, a former State Department official and New Dealer, as a communist agent. Chambers alleged that Hiss had given him government documents while the two were communists in the 1930s. While Hiss's eloquent self-defense absolved him in the eyes of the public and most HUAC members, committee member Richard M. Nixon was neither impressed nor convinced by Hiss's testimony. Aided by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Nixon pursued Hiss relentlessly but professionally. At a second hearing, Hiss was much more vague and unconvincing. When Hiss sued Chambers for libel, Chambers revealed documents Hiss had given him in the 1930s, which he had hidden in a pumpkin. Indicted on two counts of perjury, Hiss was sentenced in 1950 to five years in prison. Republicans relished the disgrace to the New Deal. Nixon's work propelled him to the Senate and vice presidency; in 1953, 185 of 221 Republican representatives requested an appointment on HUAC.

After reaching the heights of its power and influence during the Hiss trial, HUAC experienced an irreversible decline. Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY stole much of the committee's anticommunist thunder, and by the mid-1950s, with the Red Scare over, HUAC served little purpose.

HUAC nevertheless continued investigating unions, colleges, churches, organizations of nuclear scientists, feminist groups, civil rights groups, and even art shows. Hearings played out similarly to the Hollywood hearings but with different results. Friendly witnesses would give HUAC the names of communists; the accused would plead the Fifth Amendment's protection against self-incrimination—unlike the Hollywood Ten, who used the First Amendment's protection of free speech. HUAC would cite the accused for contempt but the Supreme Court consistently overruled these convictions. Despite being overturned, HUAC's



accusations carried much weight. To the public, pleading the Fifth Amendment was equivalent to an admission of being a communist; many who did so lost their jobs.

HUAC's success at exposing communists was largely due to the support it received from the FBI, an ostensibly nonpartisan government agency. When the FBI was unable to prosecute its leftist enemies for lack of evidence or wished to preserve its nonpartisan reputation, the bureau fed its information to HUAC. A contempt of Congress citation, or the mere stigma of pleading the Fifth Amendment, served as punishment for the FBI's enemies. Thus throughout the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, HUAC acted as an unofficial FBI enforcer.

In 1960, during hearings in San Francisco, local students started a small riot against HUAC. Americans tired of HUAC's abusive questioning and dubious constitutionality. By the late 1960s, the committee had become an obsolete relic of a bygone era. In 1969 HUAC was renamed the House Internal Security Committee; in 1975, the House abolished it altogether.

**Further reading:** Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Walter Goodman, *The Committee: The Extraordinary Career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1968).

—Paul Robinson

**Huerta, Dolores** See UNITED FARM WORKERS.

**Humphrey, Hubert H.** (1911–1978) *senator, U.S. vice president*

As both a United States senator and the 38th vice president of the United States, Hubert Horatio Humphrey was a leading champion of civil rights and other liberal causes.

Born in Wallace, South Dakota, on May 27, 1911, Humphrey grew up in nearby Doland, the son of a local drugstore owner. Humphrey began his college career at the University of Minnesota, but dropped out before finishing because of the Great Depression. He continued his schooling, earning a degree from the Denver College of Pharmacy in 1933. He later returned to the University of Minnesota where he graduated magna cum laude with a major in political science in 1939. Humphrey completed his education in 1940 at Louisiana State University, graduating with a master's degree.

After practicing pharmacy for several years, Humphrey taught political science and became involved in state politics. An ardent supporter of the NEW DEAL, Humphrey was elected mayor of Minneapolis in 1945, and he was reelected in 1947 by a record 50,000-vote margin. In

1948, Humphrey gained wide exposure at the Democratic National Convention when he argued successfully that the platform should include a firm civil rights plank, whatever the objections of southerners in the party. It was time to "walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights," he declared. That same year, Humphrey won election to the U.S. Senate. At the forefront of the fight for MEDICARE programs, Humphrey cosponsored a health insurance bill in 1949 that would have broadened the Social Security program. A similar measure eventually became law in 1965 during Humphrey's term as vice president.

Humphrey built personal ties with other politicians and was a very popular senator. "Let's not have one enemy," he proclaimed. Reelected to the Senate in 1954, he campaigned for the presidency in 1960. Following his defeat to JOHN F. KENNEDY in the West Virginia primary, Humphrey withdrew from the presidential race, and after reelection to the Senate in 1961, he became assistant majority leader. During this term, Humphrey helped win Senate approval of the LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY OF 1963, which banned atmospheric nuclear explosions. Humphrey also played a pivotal role in the passage of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964, mandating desegregation of public accommodations. President LYNDON B. JOHNSON assigned Humphrey to push the bill through the Senate, and, after passage, Humphrey declared that the victory was "my greatest achievement."

In 1964, Johnson chose Humphrey as his running mate. As vice president, Humphrey served as chairman of the NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA), and he played a key role in the administration's efforts to reduce poverty, secure civil rights for minorities, and push legislation aimed at helping the working class.

Humphrey went on numerous foreign visits to explain the U.S. position on the VIETNAM WAR. Disagreeing with Johnson, Humphrey felt that the United States should limit its part in Vietnam to military assistance, supplies, and training. In an effort to convince Johnson to delay bombing, Humphrey argued behind the scenes, "To escalate, to bomb in Vietnam, was to court it, or at least to invite another entanglement with the Chinese of the unpleasant kind that had snarled us up in Korea." Overruled, Humphrey supported Johnson's policy in Vietnam.

In 1968, Johnson's decision not to run for reelection made Humphrey a leading candidate for the Democratic nomination with Maine senator Edmund Muskie as his running mate. Critics of Vietnam, however, opposed Humphrey for his support of the Johnson administration during the escalation of the Vietnam War. In the final count, Humphrey lost by 1 percent of the popular vote to Republican Richard M. Nixon.

Humphrey taught at Macalaster College from 1969 to 1970, before returning to the Senate in 1970. In 1972, he

unsuccessfully sought the Democratic presidential nomination, and, following this defeat, he decided not to challenge front-runner Jimmy Carter for the nomination in 1976. Despite an operation for cancer in late 1976, Humphrey was reelected to the Senate. He was elected to his last political office as deputy president pro tem of the Senate in 1977. In 1978, he died of cancer in Waverly, Minnesota, leaving his wife, Muriel Humphrey, to finish out his term in the Senate.

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—Susan F. Yates

## hydrogen bomb

The hydrogen bomb was a weapon designed to release nuclear energy with much greater magnitude than its precursor, the atomic bomb.

The United States developed the first such device in 1952 to deter Soviet aggression. While its proponents claimed it provided national security, opponents argued that the bomb created fear and uneasiness in America and around the world.

In 1942, while working on the Manhattan Project to create an atomic bomb, nuclear physicists Edward Teller and Enrico Fermi discovered the possibility of using atomic TECHNOLOGY to ignite a thermonuclear reaction, like that on the surface of the sun. A fission reaction like the one used at Hiroshima resulted from split atoms creating energy and releasing heat. The heat generated from fission, surpassing the temperature of the earth's core, sparked a chain reaction using heavy water, leading to a hydrogen explosion. After the successful use of atomic weapons in Japan in 1945, Teller tenaciously lobbied the government to develop such a hydrogen bomb. Unlike his colleagues, particularly Albert Einstein and J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER, Teller expressed few reservations about exploring America's nuclear frontiers.

In 1949–50, COLD WAR events intervened as civilian and military leaders debated the nuclear program's future. Within a span of six months, the SOVIET UNION detonated an atomic device, communists overtook China, and American inspectors uncovered security lapses at Los Alamos and in the State Department. America's atomic monopoly and postwar pride in unlocking atomic secrets vanished. President HARRY S. TRUMAN promptly ordered the ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION (AEC) to initiate a hydrogen bomb program. Despite a stockpile of over 200 atomic bombs, American officials believed "the Super" would best deter Soviet expansion.

With the help of crude computers, Teller and mathematician Stanislaw Ulam led a successful effort to manufacture a hydrogen bomb at California's Lawrence Livermore Laboratory. The first thermonuclear test took place on the Pacific atoll Eniwetok on November 1, 1952. Code-named "Mike," the device weighed 65 tons and yielded 10.4 megatons of TNT, the unimaginable equivalent of 1,000 atomic bombs. It was enough to incinerate New York City. In seconds, the three-mile-wide mushroom cloud vaporized the island, leaving a crater one-half mile deep and two miles wide. Observation crews felt the intense heat 30 miles away.

As with the atomic bomb, the world situation changed. American physicist Herbert York wrote that the explosion marked "a moment when the course of the world suddenly shifted, from the path it had been on to a more dangerous one. Fission bombs, destructive as they might have been, were thought of [as] being limited in power. Now, it seemed, we had learned how to brush even these limits aside and to build bombs whose power was boundless." Just as in 1945, Americans experienced both relief and anxiety. The United States enjoyed the security in advancing beyond Soviet capabilities, but worried about the potential apocalypse the hydrogen bomb promised. Also, as in the case of atomic technology, the Soviets developed their own device earlier than expected, in 1953.

This shocking development fueled the domestic hunt for spies and communist sympathizers, particularly, in the atomic program. The "red scare" revealed atomic spies, such as German scientist Klaus Fuchs, and American accomplices, such as JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG. But the investigation also persecuted those merely guilty by association. Red hysteria even ensnared Oppenheimer, who, in 1954, was denied his security clearance at the AEC after Teller's damaging testimony against him. Oppenheimer's reservations about the martial uses of nuclear power cost him his reputation and any influence in the nuclear program.

America's hydrogen bomb, so quickly matched by the Soviets, also marked an acceleration of the ARMS RACE. Throughout the 1950s, the superpowers continued to seek nuclear advantage through the deployment of powerful delivery systems. Other countries also created atomic and hydrogen bombs, some using them for leverage against old regional enemies. The success and promise of the hydrogen bomb program prompted DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER to favor a nuclear arsenal over conventional forces. His "New Look" strategy provided what his administration called "more bang for the buck." But "brinkmanship" with the Soviets also held obvious risks.

While few Americans could adequately comprehend the complex technology behind the bomb, many appreciated its potential for swift devastation. Most complied with



The mushroom cloud from the hydrogen blast at Eniwetok in the Pacific in 1952 (*National Archives*)

civil defense drills, some constructed fallout shelters, and a few promoted disarmament. A vocal minority of pacifists, such as SANE (National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy), organized a campaign to prevent further construction, testing, and deployment. After the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS brought the superpowers dangerously close to nuclear war, Americans, Soviets, and nearly 100 other nations signed the LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY OF 1963

designed to curtail atmospheric testing. Five years later, more than 60 countries signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. By the end of the century, however, over two dozen countries possessed nuclear weapons.

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—Andrew J. Falk







## immigration

Immigration to the United States changed significantly in the 1960s with the landmark **IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1965** that dramatically altered the ethnic, religious, and cultural composition of the American people.

With the National Origins Act of 1924, the United States closed its doors to the population of eastern and southern **EUROPE**. The measure established quotas based on the presumed desirability of various nationalities, in particular, immigrants from northern and western Europe. Preference for visas was accorded annually on the basis of 2 percent of the foreign-born population of each nationality as determined by the 1890 U.S. census. In 1890, there were comparatively more immigrants from western and northern European countries, and this limited the opportunity for citizens of southern and eastern European countries to enter the United States.

The **MCCARRAN-WALTER ACT** of 1952, passed over President **HARRY S. TRUMAN**'s veto, reaffirmed the national origins quota system established in the 1924 measure. The 1952 law removed the ban on immigration from **ASIA** and Pacific areas. At the same time it gave immigration officials more authority to exclude and deport "undesirable" aliens. With the **COLD WAR** in full swing, many Americans were suspicious of those coming from southern and eastern European countries that were either sympathetic to or controlled by the **SOVIET UNION**. Giving more authority to immigration officials to deport or exclude undesirables from the United States caused immigration from southern and eastern Europe to effectively stop as a result of the communist threat.

In the 1960s, with support from both political parties, new policies created a more favorable climate for immigrants and refugees. The Immigration Act of 1965 revised the McCarran-Walter Act and altered the national quota system. It established annual immigration limits that included 170,000 aliens from outside the Western Hemisphere, and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere for a total admission

### IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

1945	38,119
1950	249,187
1955	237,790
1960	265,398
1965	296,697
1970	373,326

*Source: Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1997*

of 290,000 immigrants per year, although exceptions to the limits meant that the number of immigrants who entered the country far exceeded the annual quota. The new quotas significantly increased the number of immigrants allowed into the United States, compared to previous decades. During the 1960s, nearly 350,000 immigrants entered the country each year. By the 1970s, the number had risen to 400,000. Family members of U.S. citizens were exempted from the quotas, along with political refugees, who were now defined as victims of natural calamities and religious or political persecution. This allowed many new groups into the country, including Indochinese refugees who fled to the United States in response to unsettled conditions in Southeast Asia created by the **VIETNAM WAR**.

The 1965 measure did prevent some from entering the United States by establishing three categories of individuals who were excluded from the country: people with mental diseases and drug or alcohol addictions; criminals, prostitutes, and those with contagious diseases; and those considered subversive. Even with these exclusions, the Immigration Act of 1965 benefited many groups, including Asians and Latin Americans, although the measure was initially intended to promote the unification of eastern European family members previously denied admission to the United States.

Despite strict monitoring of the immigration system, large numbers of people entered the country illegally. The largest number of individuals coming to the United States illegally arrived from Mexico. Many undocumented persons found work in agriculture, harvesting crops or planting nursery stock. While it is difficult to determine how many illegal immigrants came to the United States, some estimate that anywhere between 1 million and 5 million crossed the border annually beginning in the 1950s, with even larger numbers in more recent years. In the early 1950s, the Immigration and Naturalization Service reported that it had deported nearly 3.8 million Mexicans from the United States. Many of those who crossed the border came in search of a higher standard of living and relief from hunger, poor medical care, and impoverished conditions.

Like many immigrants before, those who came to the United States in the 1950s and 1960s formed communities in large towns and cities across the nation. Beginning in 1959, large numbers of Cubans—in search of political asylum from the new communist government under Fidel Castro—settled in Miami, Florida, and in urban areas in New York and New Jersey. Asian and Filipino immigrants established communities in cities in Hawaii and California while Chinese immigrants often settled in the Chinatowns of New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Many immigrants favored living in ethnic boroughs in major cities upon arrival in the United States, but many later moved to small, outlying towns as they adapted to their new home.

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—Sarah Brenner

### Immigration Act of 1965

The Immigration Act of 1965 consisted of a series of amendments to the Immigration Act of 1924, making it easier for people from other countries to immigrate into the United States.

Known as the “melting pot,” America had welcomed new immigrants since the late 1700s. At the beginning of the 20th century, however, the United States tried to slow the large and steady stream of immigrants from around the world. Americans felt that the country possessed a thriving, level population. In fact, there were so many people in the country that even with industrialization, some felt that there were not enough jobs to keep the population employed. Given these factors, the U.S. government passed the National Origins Act of 1924. This legislation imposed a “quota system” on the number of people allowed to immigrate from each country. The measure mainly affected southern and eastern Europe, which provided the largest

numbers of new arrivals at the end of the 19th century and in the first two and a half decades of the 20th.

When JOHN F. KENNEDY became president in 1960, the issue of immigration surfaced again in Washington. For the first time since the restrictions of 1924, the United States was willing to begin loosening its restraints on immigration. Though Kennedy supported easing restriction, the measure did not become law until LYNDON B. JOHNSON’s presidency.

Amendments to the Immigration Act of 1924 made it easier for people to come to America. The Immigration Act of 1965 sought to eliminate the quota system, allowing for more people to immigrate from southern and eastern Europe, India, and China. The quota system was not entirely abolished until 1968; it took the government three years to phase it out. The Immigration Act of 1965 gave preference to certain groups of people for the first time. Members of the immediate family of a U.S. citizen, including parents, husbands, wives, brothers, and sisters, were now able to immigrate more swiftly. The new act also allowed political refugees to enter the country at a faster rate. Finally, people who excelled in certain professions or skills were given priority over others.

This caused major changes in the patterns of immigration. After the 1924 act was passed, immigration into the United States tapered off. No longer was there the massive immigration that the United States had experienced before the act. In 1965, in a slow period in immigration, the Immigration Act of 1965 led to a dramatic increase in numbers. Several hundred thousand a year could now come. Some arrived from LATIN AMERICA in the aftermath of Fidel Castro’s seizure of power in Cuba. Others came from Southeast ASIA in the aftermath of the VIETNAM WAR. After years of closed doors, the United States again provided a window of opportunity to people from abroad.

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—Jennifer Howell

### Indian Claims Commission

The Indian Claims Commission, established in June 1946, worked as a quasi-judicial branch of Congress, hearing and resolving all claims against the United States on behalf of any Indian tribe, band, or other identifiable group of Native Americans.

Such claims included those arising under the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States and executive orders of the president, those resulting if the treaties, contracts, or agreements between tribes and the United States were revised on the grounds of fraud, duress, unconscionable consideration, mutual or unilateral mistake, or those

arising from the taking by the United States, whether as a result of a treaty of cession or otherwise, of lands owned or occupied by Native American tribes without payment or compensation agreed to by tribes.

Historically, government policy toward Indian tribes has vacillated. Prior to World War II, the U.S. government supported tribal efforts at autonomy for more than a decade. In the 1950s, however, the government no longer encouraged self-government, choosing instead to enact a Termination policy. The administration of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER pushed for a settling of all outstanding claims and advocated the elimination of reservations as legitimate political entities. To facilitate termination by way of assimilation, the government instituted an urban relocation program to encourage NATIVE AMERICANS to leave their reservations and move to the cities. As a result of this policy, many Native Americans faced poor housing facilities, including overcrowding, high rents, and widespread discrimination. These conditions led to increased Indian activism in the late 1960s. Many tribes used the Indian Claims Commission to obtain monetary compensation for lost lands and to force the government to acknowledge their presence. As more tribes exercised their power as a legal entity within the Indian Claims Commission court system, the Termination policy became a less viable option. By the end of the 1950s, Eisenhower modified the policy, rendering his Termination policy ineffective in anything but a legal sense.

The Indian Claims Commission constituted both a product of past moral wrongdoing and an effort to relieve some of the burden on the U.S. Court of Claims, previously the only legal venue for tribal issues. Ninety percent of the claims handled by the commission concerned issues of land, with remaining cases regarded as accounting cases. Land cases were heard in three complex stages: title, value-liability, and offsets. Initially, attorneys defined those lands historically occupied by Native Americans. Next, they established the value of land at the time it was appropriated by the United States; and finally, assuming liability, they offset any proper payment against that value before the case was closed. Accounting cases involved assessing the management of tribal monies by the U.S. government as the appointed legal guardian for the tribes. As with land cases, records revealed overwhelming evidence of mishandling and malfeasance.

Congress originally established a period of 10 years for Native American tribes to file claims against the United States. This period was later extended. By 1951, Native Americans filed a total of 852 claims for more total acreage than existed in the entire United States. Overlapping claims accounted for the confusion. As of June 30, 1967, awards totaling \$208 million were made in 101 cases, with 133 cases dismissed for various reasons. By 1978, when

the Indian Claims Commission ceased operation, it had awarded more than \$800 million on nearly 300 claims. The decisions provided not only legal proof but also a cognizance that many past treaties and other agreements between the United States and Native Americans were immoral and unjust.

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—Nichole Suzanne Prescott

**Indians** See NATIVE AMERICANS.

### Internal Security Act (1950)

In the wake of COLD WAR anticommunist fears, Congress passed the Internal Security Act in an effort to protect the United States from communist infiltration.

As anticommunist fears developed after World War II and came to a peak after the outbreak of the KOREAN WAR on June 24, 1950, Congress began to debate the best manner in which to protect the United States from internal communist subversion. The internal threat of COMMUNISM clearly concerned both Democrats and Republicans in Congress, who could point to the ALGER HISS case and the government's successful prosecution of 11 Communist Party officials as recent examples of the need for legislation to defend the United States from within. Congressmen agreed that loyal Americans should support any anticommunist legislation that was drafted, placing opponents, even those who viewed such legislation as unconstitutional, in the position of being un-American.

In this context, Democrats and Republicans raced to outdo one another in writing and passing the strongest anti-communist legislation. President HARRY S. TRUMAN initiated the final stage of this race by submitting to Congress a proposed bill designed to deal more harshly with espionage and aliens. Democratic senator Patrick J. McCarran from Nevada responded by crafting an even more repressive proposal, combining his bill, which dealt with alien communists, with another bill that required the registration of communists. Six liberal Democratic senators responded to McCarran's bill with what they viewed as an even more potent proposal that authorized the detention of those likely to engage in espionage and sabotage during a time of internal emergency as declared by the president. Based on the precedent, upheld by the Supreme Court, established by the exile and incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II, this concentration camp bill, as it came

to be known, was proposed to avoid the perceived evils of McCarran's bill. The bills were eventually combined into a single bill and passed over Truman's veto.

The McCarran Internal Security Act as enacted on September 23, 1950, consisted of two sections. Title I, or the Subversive Activities Control Act, proclaimed that a communist organization posed a clear and present danger to the United States. While the statute declared that Communist Party membership was not a crime, it ordered communist organizations and their members to register with the attorney general. The organizations were also required to file periodic financial statements with the attorney general and to identify any LITERATURE they wrote or TELEVISION or radio program they produced. The act established a bipartisan Subversive Activities Control Board to decide which groups the law covered. Although the registration requirements of Title I resulted in considerable litigation, no communist group ever registered under its mandate.

Title I also tightened espionage and immigration laws to protect the United States from internal communist subversion. The act sought to prosecute individuals involved in efforts to establish a totalitarian regime in the United States under the direction of a foreign government. It also strengthened espionage laws by sharpening provisions of the law dealing with obtaining, possessing, or transmitting defense secrets. The act made it illegal for people seeking nonelective office or U.S. government employment or work in any defense facility to conceal membership in a communist group. Officers or employees of the U.S. government or defense facilities were also barred from contributing funds or services to communist organizations. Members of communist organizations were not allowed to use U.S. passports. Aliens belonging to communist organizations were now ruled excludable and deportable. Naturalization was denied to members of communist organizations, and the act allowed for the denaturalization of immigrants who joined a communist organization within five years of becoming American citizens unless such persons could prove they had been "innocent dupes."

Title II, or the Emergency Detention Act, based on the model of Executive Order 9066, incarcerating the Japanese, mandated detention of persons likely to engage in espionage and sabotage during a time of national emergency. It called for the attorney general to issue warrants for detention against those believed likely to conspire to engage in sabotage or espionage against the United States. It also included a right to appeal for those detained, but the attorney general could withhold evidence or sources deemed potentially dangerous to national security. Detainees denied release could appeal their case to a bipartisan Detention Review Board, which was required to hear the case within 45 days. The board, however, had no time limit imposed on its decision. Although Title II was never

invoked, Congress made appropriations between 1952 and 1957 to fund construction of six detention sites.

The McCarran Internal Security Act ultimately accomplished little. In 1967, a lower court found the registration provision unconstitutional and the government did not appeal. Title II was repealed, with Japanese Americans leading the movement to do so, in 1971. The Subversive Activities Control Board was abolished in 1973.

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—Allan Wesley Austin

## Interstate Highway Act of 1956

The Interstate Highway Act of 1956, known officially as the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956, created more than 40,000 miles of expressways, providing a comprehensive system of roads that mobilized Americans in an increasingly fast-paced society.

By the beginning of the 1950s, congested traffic plagued urban areas, while roads in poor repair cost drivers time, money, and occasionally their lives. Support for an interstate highway system, which would connect America's major cities to facilitate commerce and travel, had been growing since the early 20th century. Until the end of World War II, however, America's railroads constituted the primary method of transporting goods and people. In 1944, Congress authorized a national system of interstate highways, although no source of funding was designated for this purpose. Plans for an interstate system stalled again during the KOREAN WAR, which diverted supplies from the construction industry.

When DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER was elected president in 1952, America's highways were in dire shape. The post-World War II economic boom jumpstarted car sales, and, whereas America's traffic volume in 1950 had already surpassed levels predicted for 1958, Americans were still driving on roads built mostly before 1930. Eisenhower felt that construction of an interstate system would create numerous jobs and make travel more efficient and pleasant. The threat of nuclear warfare, always present during the COLD WAR, made the efficient evacuation of American cities a priority as well. In the event of nuclear attack, the existing roads of most American cities would be hopelessly clogged with traffic. A president anxious to cure America's highway ills, combined with an added defensive impetus, lent increased weight to the great wave of popular and political support for a revamped highway system.

Although most Americans agreed on the need for a new highway system, no one could agree on its primary pur-



pose or on how to fund its construction. Engineers sought to alleviate traffic problems while city officials wanted to build the highway system as a way of revitalizing decaying downtown areas. Few auto users, truckers especially, were willing to pay extra taxes to fund construction, especially because auto taxes had been diverted in the past from highway funding to nonrelated areas.

In 1954, Eisenhower appointed Lucius Clay to head the President's Advisory Committee on a National Highway Program in order to formulate a working proposal to build and fund the interstate highway system. According to Clay's plan, the federal government would pay as much as 90 percent of the costs of building the highways using bonds and taxes, while the states would pay the remainder. Like all previous highway bills, Clay's proposal fell victim to a gridlocked Congress, while politicians and the so-called

highway lobby—a fragmented group of transportation, construction, and motorist associations—argued over the method of funding. When Congress adjourned in August 1955 without passing a highway bill, it seemed there might never be a national highway system.

By 1956, many states were preparing to build their own highways using their own means. In April, however, the House approved a highway bill written by Hale Boggs of Louisiana and George Fallon of Maryland. The Boggs-Fallon bill managed to provide for 90 percent federal funding without imposing high taxes on truckers. Taxes on fuel, tires, and new vehicles would pay for construction, and the Highway Trust Fund was created to ensure that those taxes were not diverted to other areas. Refusing to contest the bill on partisan grounds, and under pressure to pass significant domestic legislation, the Eisenhower administration supported the bill. On June 26, the Senate passed the bill 89-1, and on the same day, the House approved it so overwhelmingly that votes were not even counted.

On June 29, Eisenhower signed the Interstate Highway Act, bringing the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways into being. More than 40,000 miles of roads were planned at a cost of \$25 billion, making it the largest public works program in history. The new interstate highway system, when finished, would connect most cities of 50,000 residents or more and all continental states with controlled-access, multilane expressways.

The Interstate Highway Act had a far-reaching impact on most Americans and much of America itself. In the end, those concerned with traffic patterns and commerce won out over those hoping to revitalize America's inner cities. The act proved a mighty boost to the automobile, trucking, and construction industries. It cemented Americans' well-known love affair with their cars, as the number of registered cars rose above 73 million by 1960, compared to just under 40 million in 1950. The new interstate system opened countless markets for motel and fast food restaurant chains. Yet not everyone was to thrive in the new age of highways. While 28,800 miles of highway opened between 1956 and 1969, the same period of time saw the closing of 59,400 miles of railroads to passenger service. Air quality in urban areas suffered, mass transportation fell into disuse, and expressways encouraged suburban growth, furthering the plight of inner cities.

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—Paul Robinson



Aerial photograph of intersecting freeways in Los Angeles, 1958 (*Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images*)

**inventions** See TECHNOLOGY.

### Israel (and foreign policy)

With the destruction of European Jewry in the Holocaust, many Western leaders responded to Zionist calls for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, creating the state of Israel.

Among those who responded was President HARRY S. TRUMAN, who argued that the European refugees had the right to settle in Palestine. In November 1947, the United Nations approved a plan to partition Palestine into Arab and Jewish states. In May 1948, the existence of the state of Israel was officially declared, and the United States immediately recognized the new nation. The two countries have shared a close relationship ever since.

The Arab countries surrounding Israel refused to recognize the new nation. They argued that Palestine was Arab territory and proclaimed their support for the Palestinian Arabs. Hostilities soon erupted in the MIDDLE EAST, leading to a series of wars in the region.

On May 15, 1948, one day after the establishment of Israel, armies from Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt invaded Israel. The Israelis successfully defended the new nation, and they proceeded to conquer various Palestinian towns. Thousands of Palestinians fled from their homes. This was the beginning of the refugee crisis that still exists today, with both sides blaming the other for creating this situation.

The United Nations immediately became involved in trying to bring about a peaceful end to the conflict. There were two cease-fires in June and July, but there was no true end to the fighting until January 1949. Several armistice agreements were signed between February and July 1949. The United States played an important role in the eventual settlement. At first, Truman demanded that Israel return to its original borders; however, Israel had no intention of doing this. Eventually, however, Truman yielded to political pressure, and he did not insist that Israel relinquish its newly conquered territory.

The map of the Middle East had been dramatically transformed by the war. Israel now possessed large amounts of new territory, including all of Galilee and the Negev as well as the entire Palestinian coast, with the exception of the Gaza Strip. Israel was now one-quarter larger than it had been under the original partition. In addition, the Palestinian state no longer existed.

The United States soon discovered that it was difficult to maintain peace in the Middle East. In 1956, Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal. Israel, with the support of France and Great Britain, proceeded to attack Egypt and capture the Sinai Peninsula.

In response, the United Nations issued a resolution commanding Israel to withdraw its troops immediately from the region. President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER demanded that Israel return the Sinai to Egypt, and he condemned British and French involvement in the conflict. The SOVIET

UNION strongly criticized the three countries for threatening Egypt and jeopardizing the stability of the region.

In the U.S. Jewish community, there was strong pressure for Eisenhower to support Israel. This tense situation continued until February 1957, when Eisenhower warned Israeli prime minister David Ben Gurion of serious repercussions if Israel did not withdraw from the Sinai. These repercussions included possible sanctions and the withholding of private assistance to Israel. One week later, Israel agreed to U.S. demands. In March, Israel departed from the Sinai.

The foreign policy of the United States was profoundly affected by this war. Fearing growing Soviet influence in the Middle East, in January 1957, the Eisenhower Doctrine stated that, if necessary, the United States would use armed forces to prevent COMMUNISM from securing a base in the Middle East. The Arab nations, however, did not trust the United States, and the Eisenhower Doctrine only served to further alienate them.

War broke out once again in the region in 1967. In the Six-Day War, Israel successfully defeated the combined forces of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. The conflict began in May 1967, when Syria claimed that Israel was sending troops to its border. Egypt then became involved, with President Gamal Abdel Nasser sending numerous troops to the Sinai and closing the Strait of Tiran to Israeli shipping. King Hussein of Jordan joined in the growing conflict, and he signed a mutual defense pact with Egypt. This greatly worried the Israelis, who feared that their country was about to be attacked. In June, the Israelis launched both air and ground attacks against the Egyptians, and also defeated the Jordanian and Syrian armies. As a result of their victory, the Israelis gained even more Arab territory, including the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights.

Once again, the United States was involved in trying to bring about a peace agreement in the region. American interests still revolved around reducing Soviet influence, maintaining access to oil, and guaranteeing Israel's safety. In addition, President LYNDON B. JOHNSON strongly believed that maintaining good relations with Israel was in the best interests of U.S. policy; some critics argued that this belief came at the expense of American relationships with Arab countries. Indeed, after the war, Arab relations with the United States worsened, Soviet influence in the region continued to increase, and the United States discovered in the years to come that a lasting peace would be extremely difficult to maintain in the Middle East.

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—Lori Nates



## Job Corps

Created under the ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964 as part of the WAR ON POVERTY launched by President LYNDON B. JOHNSON, the goal of the Job Corps was to provide education, vocational training, and work experience that would enhance the career opportunities of disadvantaged youths.

As one of several job training programs launched during the 1960s, the Job Corps targeted teenagers and young adults in response to rising rates of youth unemployment and alarming revelations by the military that one out of every three American young men failed to meet their minimum mental and physical requirements.

Job Corps training centers were located at rural and urban residential installations. The purpose of establishing residential centers was to remove trainees from impoverished neighborhoods where, it was believed, debilitating influences such as high crime rates, widespread unemployment, and pervasive feelings of hopelessness destined many youths to dismal futures. The vast majority of Job Corps enrollees were high school dropouts between the ages of 16 and 21 years, two-thirds of whom entered the program with reading and mathematical skills below the sixth-grade level. Job Corps centers offered vocational and remedial educational instruction to all enrollees. An integral goal of the educational program was to prepare enrollees to pass the General Educational Development (GED) test for high school equivalency. Along with providing educational and vocational training, Job Corps centers offered health care and counseling services to trainees.

Vocational training varied according to the type of center. The Job Corps established three kinds of centers. The large (1,000–3,000 trainees) centers for male participants offered vocational training in fields such as automobile and machine repair, construction trades, appliance repair, and service occupations. The smaller (100–250 trainees) centers for men targeted enrollees most lacking in basic reading and math skills. These centers were located in rural

areas and provided work experience on conservation projects, vocational training in fields such as construction, as well as a strong focus on remedial education. In addition, medium-sized (300–1,000 trainees) centers for women offered training for careers in business and clerical work, food service, health care, and childcare. In its first year of operation, 300,000 youths applied for admission to the Job Corps, although the program held spaces for only 10,000. By 1968, Job Corps enrollment had reached 65,000 trainees. Crucial to these vocational training programs was the involvement of BUSINESS corporations (notably IBM, RCA, and Litton Industries) and union training programs.

The Job Corps, however, was plagued by problems, including persistently low rates of completion among its participants. Since targets of the program were young high school dropouts, problems were likely from the outset. In its first decade, only 26 percent of participants completed Job Corps training programs. One factor that contributed to the high dropout rate was the residential nature of the program, which proved to be a difficult adjustment for many participants. In the program's early years, participants were deliberately relocated far from their homes on the theory that removal from "unhealthy" environments was a crucial aspect of transforming these youths into self-disciplined, productive members of the labor force. Thus, participants often found themselves in dormitories at training centers located thousands of miles from home. Feelings of homesickness and isolation contributed to high dropout rates; over 40 percent of enrollees left within the first 40 days of the program. The low rates of completion provoked sharp criticisms of the program; defenders of the Job Corps, however, argued that a high dropout rate was inevitable considering that enrollees had already quit high school and many were already among the hard-core unemployed.

The Job Corps quickly became one of the most controversial programs of the War on Poverty. In addition to questions raised by the high dropout rate, the program's high cost per enrollee provoked criticism. Residential



training was expensive—averaging \$9,000 per enrollee-year, or \$4,600 per enrollee—during the first decade of the program. President Johnson defended the cost of the program, stating: “One thousand dollars invested in salvaging an unemployed youth today can return forty thousand in his lifetime.” Critics, however, complained that the cost per participant was on par with the cost of sending a student to an elite university. Supporters of the program maintained that if the program could turn unemployed youths—who seemed destined to futures marked by frequent periods of unemployment and dependency on public assistance—into individuals with marketable skills who could secure and retain profitable employment, then investing in their futures was worth the expenditure. The most fundamental criticism of the Job Corps, though, centered on just how effective the program was in producing long-term benefits for participants. Early follow-up studies of Job Corps participants yielded unimpressive results. Enrollees improved their educational levels only slightly and—although they had higher rates of employment and improved earnings in the first six months after leaving the program—studies showed that participants were no better off than other disadvantaged youths in the long term.

During the presidency of Richard M. Nixon, administration of the Job Corps was transferred to the Department of Labor, where it struggled to survive in the face of budgetary cutbacks. The program, although somewhat modified in form, continues to offer vocational training to low-income youths.

**Further reading:** Michael Bernick, *The Dream of Jobs: The Job Training and Anti-poverty Programs of the Past Two Decades—and Their Results* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing, 1984); Christopher Weeks, *Job Corps: Dollars and Dropouts* (Boston: Little Brown, 1967).

—Susan Allyn Johnson

### Johnson, Lady Bird (1912–2007) *first lady*

Lady Bird Johnson earned a reputation as an environmentally conscious first lady during LYNDON B. JOHNSON’s administration and pursued her interest in beautifying America long after his presidency.

Claudia Alta Taylor was born on December 22, 1912, in the 600-person town of Karnack, Texas. The only daughter of a wealthy merchant, her mother died when she was six; her Aunt Effie played a significant role in her upbringing. Claudia assumed her lifelong nickname “Lady Bird” in childhood. Isolated and frustrated with small town life, she moved to Dallas for a college education in 1928 and attended St. Mary’s Episcopal School for Girls. In 1930, she transferred to University of Texas Austin where she pur-

sued a dual degree in journalism and history, graduating with honors in 1933.

After a short courtship in 1934, she married Lyndon Baines Johnson, then a congressional aide with political promise. In 1937, she facilitated his victory for the 10th district congressional seat in Texas by contributing her time, energy, and money. Later, she ran his congressional office while her husband served in World War II. Lady Bird supported Johnson and his political career throughout his life and their marriage of more than 40 years.

In 1943, she invested inheritance money in KTBC, a small radio station in Austin. She also purchased a home in Washington, D.C., that year and started commuting between Austin and Washington, D.C. Lady Bird’s business interests prospered as the radio station won a license from the Federal Communications Center and grew in size. In 1952, she purchased a TELEVISION station in Austin and continued to invest in real estate. By the mid-1960s her business ventures were estimated to be worth between \$7 million and \$10 million.

Lady Bird bore two daughters, Lynda Bird in 1944 and Lucy Baines in 1947. While she juggled the role of mother, business owner, and political wife, Johnson moved up the political ladder. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1948 and won the vice presidency in 1960. Lady Bird quickly adapted to the public attention that surrounded these positions. During the 1960 presidential campaign, she assumed a key role in organizing and recruiting female voters. Acting as the most visible woman in the DEMOCRATIC PARTY she campaigned throughout the country. After Johnson was elected vice president, Lady Bird attended dozens of official meetings and parties as a representative of the White House and started to promote some of her political concerns, including environmental conservation and civil rights.

After the assassination of JOHN F. KENNEDY, Lady Bird assumed the position of first lady with reluctance and courage. Within a year, she used her political presence to push for the adoption of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964. She also campaigned vigorously for Johnson’s reelection in 1964, traveling across much of the country to secure votes for him.

As first lady, Lady Bird envisioned a broad-based group of projects to beautify America. Defining her concern as “conservation,” she believed that efforts to clean up America would lead to better standards of living. Some mocked her concerns as trivial, but her efforts reflected a tradition of female activism focused on preserving the environment that dated back at least 50 years. She launched antilitter campaigns and recruited big businesses to join in this effort. Moreover, she initiated programs to clean up the interstate highways, by removing junkyards and regulating outdoor advertisements with billboards. Her involve-



ment with this cause was instrumental in the passage of the 1965 Highway Beautification Act.

In 1965, she created the Society for a More Beautiful National Capital that concentrated on maintaining and improving the appearance of monuments, parks, and public vistas in Washington, D.C. She effectively used the media to publicize these efforts and recognized the potential of increasing tourism to the capital through this effort. The organization also worked, less successfully, to improve the inner core of Washington, D.C. Lady Bird's concern for the environment, along with the president's support of this agenda, added legitimacy to conservation causes and helped set the climate for the ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT of the 1970s.

Throughout the 1970s, Lady Bird continued her conservation efforts. She launched a Town Lake Beautification program in Austin and honored Texas highway departments for impressive beautification programs. After Johnson's death in 1973, she represented him at many official gatherings and constantly reminded the public of his legacy in enactment of environmental and civil rights legislation. In 1982, she opened a Wildflower Research Center near Austin.

Lady Bird Johnson died on July 11, 2007. The City Council of Austin, Texas, changed the name of Town Lake to Lady Bird Lake as a memorial to her work to beautify the city.

**Further reading:** Lewis L. Gould, *Lady Bird Johnson: Our Environmental First Lady* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999).

—Kirstin Gardner

**Johnson, Lyndon B.** (1908–1973) *U.S. vice president, 36th U.S. president*

The 36th president of the United States, Lyndon Johnson pursued the largest agenda of domestic reform since Franklin D. Roosevelt's NEW DEAL.

Johnson's vision of a GREAT SOCIETY included successful attempts to expand civil rights, education aid, and access to health care. Throughout the 1960s, however, Johnson played a decisive role in escalating a destructive and divisive war in Vietnam that ultimately tarnished his accomplishments.

Born in Stonewall, Texas, on August 27, 1908, Johnson was raised in a middle-class family, the son of a state representative. After graduating from a state teacher's college, Johnson spent time as an instructor at a poor, largely Hispanic high school. In 1931, he accepted a position as clerk to a Texas congressman and less than four years after arriving in Washington, he became head of the National Youth Administration (NYA) for Texas. In 1937, campaign-

ing as a vocal supporter of Roosevelt's New Deal, Johnson won a special election to Congress as a Democrat. Johnson quickly earned a reputation as a skilled politician and legislator. Elected to the Senate in 1948, he became the youngest majority leader in history in 1955. Frustrated in his own attempt at the presidential nomination in 1960, Johnson was elected vice president on a ticket with JOHN F. KENNEDY. Johnson found the office politically weak and frustrating. Then, in November 1963, Kennedy was assassinated during a visit to Dallas, Texas.

Johnson moved quickly to calm a shattered nation. Citing the need to honor Kennedy's legacy, Johnson pushed for the domestic reforms that his predecessor had endorsed but had been unable to attain. In July 1964, despite a 75-day filibuster and the opposition of conservatives from both parties, Johnson signed the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964. The bill prohibited racial discrimination in all public accommodations and expanded access to education and employment for minorities. In August of that same year, Johnson gained congressional passage of the ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964, which established the JOB CORPS and HEAD START.

Later that year, Johnson was elected president in his own right with a landslide victory over Republican BARRY GOLDWATER. Johnson's own political skills and desire to build a lasting legacy, combined with economic prosperity, a large Democratic congressional majority, and a burgeoning Civil Rights movement, created an opportunity for major reforms. In another landmark civil rights bill, Johnson won passage of the VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965, which expanded federal oversight of elections and outlawed devices used to inhibit minority voting in the South. The MEDICARE bill of that same year insured that all Americans over 65 would have health coverage, while the establishment of MEDICAID made the same guarantee to the indigent. Other Great Society reforms focused on slum clearance, affordable housing, and environmental protection.

Johnson's attempts to implement foreign policy were less successful. While his administration inherited an American presence in the VIETNAM WAR, it was Johnson's decision to embark on the massive escalation of American involvement in the Saigon regime's struggle against the communists of both South and North Vietnam. Following a perceived attack by torpedo boats on U.S. destroyers in August 1964, Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which Johnson later used to fight an undeclared war in Indochina. When, by 1965, military success for the Saigon regime failed to materialize, Johnson introduced more American ground troops and began a sustained bombing campaign of North Vietnam.

Privately skeptical of the chances for American success in Vietnam, Johnson acted out of fear that the loss of



Lyndon B. Johnson being sworn in as president by federal district judge Sarah T. Hughes aboard *Air Force One*, as wife Lady Bird, former first lady Jacqueline Kennedy, and others look on, 1963 (LBJ Library Collection)

Vietnam to the communists would threaten his domestic achievements. With the near universal support of his advisers and many American citizens, Johnson based his decisions on a COLD WAR foreign policy consensus—articulated in the TRUMAN DOCTRINE—that communist aggression anywhere in the world had to be stopped by the United States. Though troop escalations were gradual, by 1967 there were 485,000 Americans in Vietnam. In addition to frustrations over American casualties and military setbacks, critics attacked Johnson for not clearly articulating the objectives of the war.

By 1967, college students and antiwar activists organized massive demonstrations around the country against American involvement in Vietnam. In January 1968, the surprise Tet Offensive by the North Vietnamese completely destroyed the administration's arguments that America was winning the war and that it would soon end. Later that same

year, Johnson surveyed a country ravaged by massive social and political upheaval. By 1968, the American presence in Vietnam peaked at 550,000 troops, and antiwar sentiment continued to spread throughout American society. These factors, along with his own low poll numbers, led Johnson to announce to a stunned nation that he would not seek reelection. In the final months of his presidency, Johnson secluded himself in the White House as urban riots raged around the country and the war in Vietnam continued.

Prior to his death, Johnson dedicated the majority of his post-presidential life to his library, which was established on 30 acres on the campus of the University of Texas at Austin. The Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library and Museum, which was the first to be associated with a university, was dedicated on May 22, 1971, and adjoins the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs. Well-known features of the Johnson library include the Great Hall and

its five-story glass-encased view of the archives, as well as a Model T from Henry Ford II and a First Lady's gallery. Speaking of his library, Johnson claimed that it would show "not just the joys and triumphs, but the sorrow and failures too," an aspiration that poignantly evoked the conflicted history of the Johnson years.

Johnson retired to his Texas ranch in 1969. He suffered a fatal heart attack there in January 1973 and died one day after the United States agreed to a cease-fire in Vietnam.

**Further reading:** Robert Dallek, *Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1961–1973* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Doris Kearns, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).

—Douglas G. Weaver

## journalism

American journalism underwent a transformation in the years following World War II. Daily newspapers, radio, and magazines, which had been the primary sources of news during the war, lost ground over the following two decades as Americans increasingly turned to TELEVISION for news. In 1949, televisions could be found in a million American homes, but at that time, the new medium seemed to be merely an entertainment gadget with news aspirations. Television broadcast the national political conventions, beginning in 1948, and Senate hearings on organized crime were broadcast in 1950. Four years later, Americans watched Senator JOSEPH MCCARTHY's communist witch-hunt and witnessed his downfall. In 1960, more than 70 million Americans watched the first of four debates between presidential candidates RICHARD M. NIXON and JOHN F. KENNEDY—an event that contributed to Kennedy's slim victory and reconfigured presidential politics for decades to come.

Live coverage had offered a hint of television's potential, but daily newscasts did not provide solid competition for newspapers until the 1960s. Newscasts began in the late 1940s as 10-minute spoken reviews of news gathered by other sources. The network reports quickly expanded to 15 minutes and began to incorporate reporting by new TV journalists who adapted their skills as radio reporters to the new medium. Newscasts remained only 15 minutes long until 1963, when both CBS and NBC expanded their programs to 30 minutes. Among the newly converted TV reporters, the biggest star was Edward R. Murrow, who helped to develop the television documentary format with his 1950s series *See It Now*.

Television also altered the way presidents communicated with constituents. Beginning in 1954, Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower allowed television cameras to record his press conferences for broadcast later, and in

1961, Kennedy began holding news conferences that were broadcast live. However, it was Kennedy's death—not his life—that gave television its greatest boost. As Americans sat transfixed before their televisions between Kennedy's ASSASSINATION on November 22, 1963, and his burial on November 26, TV created a shared national experience. Newspapers provided massive coverage, but it was television that shaped American memories of that long weekend, which included live broadcast of accused assassin LEE HARVEY OSWALD's murder.

Americans' growing dependence on television forced newspapers to change by trying to provide more in-depth coverage. Rising costs and advertising shifts to television led to a decline in the number of newspapers between 1945 and 1965, and more closures followed. The number of independently owned newspapers also dropped during the same period, with chains owning 43 percent of the nation's papers by 1965. Meanwhile, the heyday of big, picture-filled magazines was ending, and the magazine industry began promoting publications that appealed to narrow special interests. At the same time, radio lost much of its news-gathering talent and its power to television.



Edward R. Murrow broadcasting the 1956 election returns  
(Library of Congress)



In the 1960s, a new style of journalism emerged among writers eager to add literary elements to their writing. These writers often made themselves part of their stories by writing in the first person. They also placed greater emphasis on description and dialogue, thus bringing key elements of good fiction writing into nonfiction. This kind of reporting, which later became known as New Journalism, usually appeared in magazines. In New Journalism's early years, writers Tom Wolfe and Gay Talese were its best-known practitioners and its most vocal proponents.

Both print and broadcast journalists affected Americans' views of two of the era's hottest issues—the COLD WAR and the Civil Rights movement. Cold war government secrecy sparked media complaints because journalists feared that government restrictions permitted leaders to hide the truth from voters, even on issues not tied to national security. Nevertheless, journalists sometimes acquiesced to government requests for secrecy. In both the 1961 BAY OF PIGS invasion and the 1962 CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, the Kennedy White House begged editors to withhold articles about military mobilization, and in both cases, journalists bowed to their president. Journalists also influenced public opinion on one manifestation of cold war thinking—the war in VIETNAM. Beginning in the early 1960s, journalists raised questions about U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. In a war with-

out clear-cut battle lines, both print and broadcast reporters gathered information and raised questions as U.S. troop involvement expanded in the mid-1960s. Television's ability to take its audience onto the swampy battlefields heightened American visceral awareness of the war—something that had been impossible for the print journalists reporting on the Korean War in the early 1950s.

The AFRICAN-AMERICAN crusade for broader legal rights in the South did not receive widespread national attention until the mid-1950s, when 75 reporters from across the nation covered the trial of men accused of killing a black teenager, EMMETT TILL, in Mississippi. From that day forward, media outside the South began placing the national spotlight on civil rights protests, legal maneuvers, and segregationist violence. Televised scenes of police dogs and fire hoses being turned on peaceful protesters in BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, in 1963 helped to spur Kennedy's introduction of the first major civil rights legislation since Reconstruction.

**Further reading:** David R. Davies, *The Postwar Decline of American Newspapers, 1945–1965* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2006); W. David Sloan and Lisa Mullikin Parcell, *American Journalism: History, Principles, Practices* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2002).

—Alice L. George



# K



## **Kennan, George F.** (1904–2005) *diplomat*

George F. Kennan enjoyed an illustrious career as a diplomat and as a scholar, making his most famous contributions to American foreign policy as the first articulate exponent of the doctrine of containment and as a forceful realist thinker.

Born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on February 16, 1904, Kennan attended St. John's Military Academy in Delafield, Wisconsin, before obtaining a B.A. from Princeton University and then studying at the Foreign Service School in Washington, D.C. He served as vice consul in Geneva, Hamburg, Berlin, Tallinn, and Riga and studied Russian history and language at the Oriental Seminary at the University of Berlin. In 1931, he returned to Riga as a third secretary, where he stayed until 1933.

Aside from a short stint as consul in Vienna, Kennan spent the next four years in various posts at the U.S. embassy in Moscow where he witnessed firsthand the great Stalinist purges. He then moved to Prague and Berlin. He was temporarily held captive in Germany and spent the rest of the war in the State Department, Lisbon, London, and Moscow.

Kennan next taught at the National War College and became director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff where he was, along with Charles Bohlen, the department's foremost specialist on the SOVIET UNION. Aside from a few years serving as ambassador to the Soviet Union and to Yugoslavia, he spent the rest of his life at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University as a member, professor, and professor emeritus.

Kennan's most important contribution as a diplomat was his formulation of the doctrine of containment, which he most famously presented in a "Long Telegram" he sent from Moscow on February 22, 1946, in lectures at the National War College and in an article entitled "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," published in *Foreign Affairs* in July 1947. The article was published anonymously under the pseudonym "X." It was necessary to stop the Soviet

Union from encroaching on other territory anywhere in the world, he affirmed.

In direct contrast to the views of Americans such as 1948 presidential candidate HENRY A. WALLACE, Kennan argued that the Soviet Union was inherently expansionist and insecure, for ideological as well as historical reasons, and that no policy of peaceful coexistence was possible. This expansion would be achieved most likely by political means, given Russia's low resources in the short term. The United States should follow a highly realistic policy that would reject idealistic interventionism and focus on the most important areas, namely, EUROPE and Japan. The overarching goal was to maintain a balance of power in ASIA and Europe by helping U.S. allies to rebuild and by making sure they would not fall within the Soviet orbit. Economic aid, rather than military intervention, was the preferred means of action. Economic growth would prevent social unrest, thus preempting communist expansion through political means. Effective political and military counterpressure would also be used to prevent further communist penetration.

In works such as *American Diplomacy* (1951), Kennan lamented the influence public opinion and idealism exerted on American foreign policy. He constantly advocated that a policy of realism be implemented by a diplomatic elite. In the late 1950s he started distancing himself from COLD WAR policies. Kennan was an early opponent of America's involvement in the VIETNAM WAR, and he called for nuclear arms control and a policy of détente with the Soviet Union. He opposed economic aid to Third World countries, arguing that the money would be better spent in the United States, and he refused to advocate sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Kennan developed his ideas in a vast body of literature, winning the Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award for *Russia Leaves the War* (1956) and *Memoirs, 1925–1950* (1967).

Throughout the 1990s and into the new millennium, Kennan continued to be a leading thinker in international affairs at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. In 2004 Princeton University hosted a 100th birthday celebration for Kennan during which Secretary of State Colin Powell praised him for predicting the demise of the Soviet Union. George Kennan died on March 17, 2005, at the age of 101.

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—Philippe R. Girard

### **Kennedy, Jacqueline (Jacqueline Onassis) (1929–1994) first lady**

Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy, wife of President JOHN F. KENNEDY, brought to the role of first lady a youth, beauty, and attention to culture that contributed to the notion that the Kennedy administration was modeled after the mythological Camelot of King Arthur's day.

Jackie, as she was affectionately called, was born July 28, 1929, to John Vernon Bouvier III and Janet Lee. Jackie's early years were divided between New York City and East Hampton, Long Island. In 1942, Janet Lee divorced John Bouvier and married Hugh D. Auchincloss. Jackie and her younger sister, Caroline Lee, were brought to Auchincloss's home near Washington, D.C., and spent the summers at his estate in Newport, Rhode Island.

Jacqueline received an education that reflected her upper-class background. After preschool, Jackie entered into Miss Chapin's School, a New York private school for daughters of well-to-do families. Her formal education continued at Miss Porter's School in Farmington, Connecticut, where the girls were allowed and encouraged to keep horses.

In 1947, Jackie was officially presented to the world of the social elite at her "coming-out" dance. She was a success, and the New York press proclaimed her "Debutante of the Year" for the 1947–48 social season.

After her social triumph, Jackie studied at Vassar, where she began to explore her interest in traveling. She spent her junior year at the Sorbonne in France, before graduating from George Washington University. In 1952, she became an inquiring camera girl at the *Washington Times-Herald*. While at the *Times-Herald*, Jackie was asked to write a column about new members of Congress, whose numbers included a young senator from Massachusetts named John Fitzgerald Kennedy.



First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy during a visit to Greece, June 14, 1961 (Popperfoto/Getty Images)

Charlie Bartlett, a Washington correspondent for the *New York Times* and friend of both John and Jackie, decided that they were made for each other and, in June 1951, succeeded in arranging an intimate meeting between the two. The courtship between John and Jackie was private and often they spent quiet evenings with Bartlett and his wife or went to a movie with John's brother, ROBERT F. KENNEDY, and his wife Ethel. In the summer of 1953, the formal announcement appeared of Senator John F. Kennedy's engagement to Jacqueline Bouvier. The two were married September 12, 1953, at St. Mary's Church in Newport, Rhode Island.

In 1956 Jackie gave birth to a stillborn baby girl, Arabella. Caroline Bouvier Kennedy, the first of the couple's surviving children, was born in November 1957. John F. Kennedy, Jr., their third child, was born the morning after Thanksgiving, 1960. Two months later, the family moved to the White House after Kennedy's successful election campaign. Just three years after the birth of John, Jr., tragedy struck again when Patrick Bouvier Kennedy was born prematurely on August 7, 1963, and died two days later.

As first lady, Jackie strove to make the White House a museum of American history and decorative arts as well as a family residence of elegance and charm. She worked hard to bring the arts to the White House and succeed in having some of the most famous musicians of the era, such as cellist Pablo Casals, play at the White House. Her interest in the arts inspired an attention to culture never before evident at a national level. Jackie set the tone for women's fashion in the early 1960s with her bouffant hairstyle, low-heeled pumps, and sleeveless sheath dresses along with her pillbox hats. Jackie also agreed to accompany a television crew around the White House so that the average American could view the national monument. The program was broadcast on January 14, 1962.

Jackie's ability to speak three languages proved to be a valuable asset in entertaining foreign guests at the White House. The press popularized the resurgence of youth, beauty, and art within the White House, which it characterized as the American Camelot, as Jackie set the social tone for the Kennedy administration. On November 22, 1963, the dream of Camelot was cut short with the assassination of John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

After moving out of the White House, Jackie craved privacy for herself and her children, but the public would never allow Jackie to have such privacy. She moved to New York City, and, in 1968, she married a wealthy Greek businessman, Aristotle Onassis, and lived abroad for a time. After Onassis's death in March 1975, Jackie moved back to New York where she lived and worked as an editor at Doubleday until her death in 1994.

**Further reading:** Wayne Koestenbaum, *Jackie under My Skin: Interpreting an Icon* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1995); Mary Thayer, *Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy* (New York: Doubleday, 1961).

—Sarah Brenner

### **Kennedy, John F.** (1917–1963) *35th U.S. president*

John F. Kennedy was the 35th president of the United States, serving in that office from 1961 to 1963. The youngest man ever elected to the position of the presidency, Kennedy's term and life came to an abrupt end with his ASSASSINATION in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was born in Brookline, Massachusetts, a suburb of Boston, on May 29, 1917. His father, Joseph Kennedy, was a wealthy Irish Catholic who had served as director of the Securities and Exchange Commission for President Franklin D. Roosevelt and was later named ambassador to the United Kingdom. John's maternal grandfather, John "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, was also previously mayor of Boston and a three-term member of the U.S. Congress.

Although frequently depicted as a healthy and athletic youth, Kennedy in fact suffered from numerous medical ailments as a child, sometimes requiring hospitalization for appendicitis, stomach problems, and jaundice. In spite of these problems, Kennedy was able to be educated at a preparatory school in Connecticut before moving on to college, first at Princeton University and then at Harvard University. Kennedy graduated from Harvard in 1940 after publishing his honors thesis, a work regarding the Munich Agreement called *Why England Slept*.

At the outset of World War II, Kennedy enlisted in the U.S. Navy, again in spite of his existing medical problems. Kennedy was posted as the skipper of a patrol torpedo (PT) boat in the Pacific Ocean, serving against the forces of Japan. A well-known episode in Kennedy's naval career involved the destruction of his boat, PT-109, when it was split in half by a Japanese destroyer. Kennedy led his crew to the safety of a nearby island and was decorated with the Navy and Marine Corps Medal for his heroism, receiving his medal while recovering from back surgery in the hospital.

Kennedy's ability to produce a best-selling book while still in college, as well as his military service in spite of his physical condition, has been attributed by some to the influence of his wealthy family. This influence proved vital in his next career move, into the world of politics. In 1945 Kennedy decided to run for Congress as a representative from Massachusetts. At 29 years old, with an impressive war record, the support of his family, a handsome face, and name recognition, he was able to secure election to the House of Representatives. After serving there for three terms, Kennedy ran for the Senate, again securing a victory in 1952. While serving as a senator, Kennedy won the Pulitzer Prize for his book *Profiles in Courage*.

In 1960 Kennedy decided to seek the Democratic nomination for president of the United States. This proved a more difficult challenge than his legislative campaigns. No Catholic had ever been elected president before, and widespread suspicion of Catholics remained in the United States, particularly in the South. Some Americans worried that Kennedy, if elected, would give political control of the country to the pope. To soothe these concerns, Kennedy selected LYNDON B. JOHNSON of Texas as his running mate, in order to boost his appeal to southern voters. After his nomination, Kennedy outlined his "New Frontier" plan, a sweeping progressive agenda with emphasis on civil rights, foreign affairs, and economic reform, which would later shape his time in office. Kennedy was able to use his looks and charm in a series of televised debates against his opponent, Richard M. Nixon, the first debates of their kind in electoral history. Kennedy won the election in one of the closest races on record.

The first president born in the 20th century, Kennedy was also the first to allow press conferences to be televised



live, as he wanted direct communication with the public. His drive to appeal to the common people of the United States is well remembered in his avid support of SPACE EXPLORATION. Kennedy called for a manned American mission to the surface of the moon, a goal realized after his death. Another of Kennedy's lasting achievements for American society was the creation of the PEACE CORPS in March 1961. The Peace Corps continues to send many young Americans to poor countries as teachers, health care providers, and technicians. Kennedy also established the Alliance for Progress, providing health and educational assistance to the countries of Latin America.

Kennedy is also remembered for his involvement in the Civil Rights movement, appointing an unprecedented number of AFRICAN AMERICANS to government posts. One of these appointments, THURGOOD MARSHALL, would

later become the first African American to serve as a justice of the Supreme Court. Kennedy and his brother, ROBERT F. KENNEDY, who served as his attorney general, stepped up enforcement of existing voting rights laws in an effort to protect the rights of African Americans in the South. Although Kennedy was unable to secure passage of a civil rights bill that would have provided equal accommodations for all people, nevertheless many African Americans felt they had a sympathetic president in the White House.

Kennedy is also well remembered for his role in foreign affairs. Early in his presidency, Kennedy faced embarrassment as a result of an invasion of Cuba, known as the BAY OF PIGS incident. Aimed at overthrowing Cuba's communist leader Fidel Castro, the invasion was a total failure, and Kennedy took full responsibility for the episode. Later, Kennedy would redeem himself in his handling of



President John F. Kennedy greets Peace Corps volunteers, 1962. (*John F. Kennedy Library*)



the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, in which he was able to convince Soviet Union leader Nikita Khrushchev to remove midrange missiles from Cuba, defusing a serious threat to American security. Kennedy also found success in the Partial Test Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union, which ended nuclear testing in the atmosphere and confined it to underground detonations. Kennedy was less successful in dealing with the growing VIETNAM WAR. Kennedy eventually sent 16,000 military advisers to South Vietnam, some of whom saw combat. As the war was unresolved at the time of Kennedy's death, it remained a problematic issue for American society for years to come.

On November 22, 1963, Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, during a visit to raise support for his reelection campaign. His death was one of the first events to be experienced by a large segment of the world's population due to televised news coverage. Police arrested LEE HARVEY OSWALD and accused him of murdering the president, but Oswald was himself shot and killed on live TELEVISION before he could stand trial. Many people believe that Oswald was not responsible for Kennedy's death, but rather that a wide-ranging conspiracy planned the assassination. The conspiracy theories surrounding Kennedy's death remain a controversial topic.

Kennedy's legacy was reflected in the tremendous outpouring of grief in the wake of his assassination. The main international airport in New York City was renamed John F. Kennedy International Airport in his honor, and the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum in Boston, Massachusetts, preserves many of his writings and historical artifacts. Kennedy's widow, JACQUELINE KENNEDY, remained a public figure and philanthropist until her death in 1994. His children Caroline and John, Jr., also attracted public interest, culminating in the sense of sorrow felt by many at the death of John F. Kennedy, Jr., in a plane crash in 1999.

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—Mark Kehres and Robert A. Deahl

**Kennedy, Robert F.** (1925–1968) *attorney general, presidential candidate*

Robert “Bobby” F. Kennedy, brother of President JOHN F. KENNEDY, played an important role in American government from the early 1950s until he was assassinated in 1968.

Kennedy, born in Brookline, Massachusetts, on November 20, 1925, enjoyed the affluent lifestyle of the legendary Kennedy family. Many strong values were instilled in him during his youth. He enrolled at Harvard University and then left in 1944 to join the U.S. Navy near the end of World War II. After his discharge, Kennedy returned to Harvard where he played intercollegiate football and received his undergraduate degree in 1948. After graduation, he attended the University of Virginia Law School, from which he graduated in 1951. Soon after, Kennedy was admitted to the Massachusetts Bar.

With strong family political connections in Washington, D.C., Kennedy began his career as a congressional investigator working under JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY. Kennedy did not stay in this position for long. Seven months later, he walked out on McCarthy in protest against the methods he used to expose people as communists. He later returned as a congressional investigator and helped lead the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities. He resigned from his position in 1960 to help manage the presidential campaign of his brother John.

During his brother's presidency, Robert became attorney general. He received some criticism for obtaining such a powerful position so early in his career. When his brother was questioned about appointing Robert, John Kennedy stated, “I see nothing wrong with giving Robert some legal experience before he goes out to practice law.” During his time in this office, Robert supported the Civil Rights movement. Through his work he encouraged the desegregation of schools across the South. He was also a strong supporter of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964, which extended equal rights to minorities.

In 1964, Kennedy ran for, and won, the senatorial election in New York. The win came easily due to the popularity of the Kennedy family and Robert's strong support of civil rights.

Kennedy found Senate work slow-paced compared to prior political activities. Even so, he accomplished several things for the state of New York. He secured funding to build parks in poor neighborhoods, sponsored parties for underprivileged children, and aided the disadvantaged around the state. Kennedy also waged a revolutionary campaign against cigarette companies. Realizing the potential health hazard associated with smoking, Kennedy pressured the cigarette companies, TELEVISION, and magazines alike to discontinue cigarette advertisements. Kennedy received little support on this issue, but he continued to fight against these powerful conglomerates. While in office, Kennedy also led the opposition to the escalation of the VIETNAM WAR. He was against the violence, and felt the matter could be solved through peaceful negotiations.

In March 1968, after much thought, Robert F. Kennedy announced his bid for the presidency. Kennedy again



U.S. attorney general Robert F. Kennedy reporting to President Johnson in Washington, D.C., 1964 (*Library of Congress*)

received massive support in his campaign, especially from minorities across the United States. He won 5 of the 6 presidential primaries that he entered, winning his last in California. On June 6, 1968, after delivering his victory speech to his supporters in Los Angeles, Kennedy was fatally shot by an Arab immigrant, Sirhan Bishara Sirhan, and he died shortly after at the Good Samaritan Hospital. Sirhan was quickly convicted of first-degree murder.

Since Kennedy's death, his political contributions and career have been memorialized in numerous ways. In 1968 Kennedy's widow, Ethel, founded the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial organization to continue her husband's legacy of social change. To emphasize the global nature of Kennedy's efforts, the memorial organization created an international awards program in 1984 to recognize human rights activists. In 1978 Congress posthumously awarded Kennedy its Gold Medal of Honor, the congressional equivalent of the Presidential Medal of Freedom. In 1994 a monument commemorating Kennedy's famous speech on the night of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassi-

nation was erected in Indianapolis's King-Kennedy Park. Near the spot where Kennedy appealed for calm on the night of April 4, 1968, the monument depicts the two men reaching toward each other, symbolizing their efforts to bridge the nation's racial divide. In addition, Kennedy's tenure as attorney general was memorialized in November 2001 when the headquarters of the Department of Justice was renamed for him.

Kennedy's 11 children became a significant part of his legacy, as many have followed their father's example and become active in contemporary politics. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend served as Maryland's lieutenant governor from 1995 to 2003 and ran unsuccessfully for the governorship in 2002. She and sister Kerry, who headed the Robert F. Kennedy Center for Human Rights, also worked with the memorial organization founded after their father's death. Kennedy's son Joseph served as a U.S. representative for Massachusetts from 1986 to 1999, and Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., became an environmental attorney.

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—Jennifer Howell

**Kerouac, Jack** (1922–1969) *novelist, poet, and essayist*

Jack Kerouac, author of the meandering novel *On the Road*, was one of the most influential writers of the BEAT GENERATION, which stressed spontaneity and spirituality in writing and in life.

Kerouac was born in Lowell, Massachusetts, on March 12, 1922, to Leo and Gabrielle Kerouac. His parents were of French-Canadian descent and spoke French at home; Kerouac did not learn English until he entered school at the age of six. In high school, Kerouac excelled at football, earning a scholarship to Columbia University in 1940. In his first year of college, he was injured and sat out the rest of the football season. By his sophomore year, Kerouac had lost interest in football and college and dropped out to join the U.S. Navy. In boot camp, he hated the discipline and left the military with an honorable discharge.

After leaving the navy, Kerouac moved to New York to join his girlfriend, Edie Parker. Through Parker, Kerouac met William Burroughs, a morphine addict who became a mentor, and ALLEN GINSBERG, a young poet. Kerouac also came into contact with Neal Cassady, who had moved to New York from Denver. Life to Cassady was “pleasure and kicks,” and Ginsberg fell in love with him. Together, this group of men formed the leadership of the Beat Generation and embodied the angst and energy of the group.

Kerouac worked at odd jobs and occasionally shipped out as a merchant seaman. In 1946, he began writing his novel *The Town and the City*. The novel fictionalized Kerouac’s boyhood in Lowell and the new world he discovered in New York, especially the Greenwich Village area. Kerouac described the disillusioned intellectuals, referring to them as “beat,” a term that came to epitomize Kerouac, Ginsberg, Burroughs, Cassady, and the postwar generation. After *The Town and the City* failed to bring Kerouac fame, he hitchhiked to Denver to see Cassady. In 1951, Kerouac began to write *On the Road*, a story about his adventures traveling with Cassady. The novel was turned down by two publishers, including Kerouac’s own publisher who found the book too “new and unusual” to appeal to the public. Following this failure, Kerouac moved to Mexico to see Burroughs. While there, he began to experiment with drugs and wrote poetry. In 1954, author and editor Mal-

colm Cowley agreed to publish *On the Road*, as long as Kerouac agreed to edit the manuscript, which was simply a 250-foot roll of paper with a lack of standard punctuation and structure. *On the Road* finally appeared in 1957, and it was an immediate success, prompting others to use Kerouac’s unstructured and chaotic style of writing in their work.

Following the success of *On the Road*, Kerouac wrote a series of other books about adventures with Cassady and his other friends. *The Dharma Bums* (1958) dealt with West Coast Beats, while *Visions of Cody* (1960) centered on conversations with Neal Cassady in which Cassady gave his thoughts on travels, girls, and cars. Kerouac’s books found a large audience on college campuses, where groups of “beatniks” gathered in coffeehouses to read the words of their heroes, and celebrate their unconventional, antimaterialistic lives.

In his last years, Kerouac went into semiretirement and seclusion in Florida to take care of his invalid mother. He spent much of his time drinking and listening to jazz MUSIC. Kerouac made one more appearance in the 1960s and shocked his audience of readers when he came out in support of the VIETNAM WAR. In 1969, after a night of heavy drinking, Kerouac began to hemorrhage and was rushed to the hospital where he died at age 46.

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—Sarah Brenner

**King, Martin Luther, Jr.** (1929–1968) *Baptist minister, civil rights activist, Nobel Prize winner*

Martin Luther King, Jr., was one of the most influential black leaders of the 20th century and a key figure in the Civil Rights movement.

Born on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia, King was the son of the pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church. He entered Morehouse College at the age of 15, and he later studied at the Crozer Theological Seminary and Boston University, where he received a doctorate from the School of Theology.

In 1954 King became the pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. The next year, on December 1, 1955, ROSA PARKS, an African-American seamstress and civil rights activist, refused, while riding a Montgomery city bus, to give up her seat to a white male passenger. In the resulting bus boycott by the black citizens of Montgomery, King became a spokesperson. With the support of other civil rights leaders, King inspired 50,000 African Americans to walk with pride as part of a



campaign based on nonviolence such as that of the Indian leader Mohandas Gandhi, whom King had studied. King was also elected president of the Montgomery Improvement Association. The Montgomery bus boycott lasted 381 days, ending on December 20, 1956, when a court order ended the bus company's policy of racial SEGREGATION in transportation.

Near the end of the bus boycott, 52-year-old civil rights activist ELLA BAKER approached King with the idea of forming a permanent organization of black ministers to coordinate civil rights activities in the South. King established the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) in 1957 and served as the organization's president. He traveled throughout the United States, supporting nonviolent civil rights struggles. In 1960, King went to Atlanta, Georgia, to support a student-led civil rights campaign. He participated in SIT-INS over racially segregated lunch counters, and, along with 36 students, he was arrested. He was sentenced to four months of hard labor.

King's incarceration came to the attention of Democratic presidential candidate JOHN F. KENNEDY, who enlisted his brother ROBERT F. KENNEDY to pressure the sentencing judge to terminate King's sentence, and King



Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., at a New York press conference, 1961 (*Library of Congress*)

was released. Kennedy's decision to aid King was believed to play a crucial part in securing the support of African Americans in his narrow presidential victory over Richard M. Nixon.

In 1963, King and the SCLC, directed their attention to Birmingham, Alabama. King labeled Birmingham "probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States." The SCLC decided to boycott downtown department stores, hold marches and demonstrations, and present a petition to desegregate stores and lunch counters and to provide employment opportunities. King and SCLC vice president Ralph Abernathy led a march to City Hall, where they and their fellow marchers were halted by police and arrested. In jail, King wrote the famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail," which attracted national attention and became an important statement in the struggle.

In the summer of 1963, King helped organize the MARCH ON WASHINGTON, in which 250,000 people descended upon the nation's capital in the largest protest yet held. At the march, King gave his famous "I Have a Dream" speech from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. To listeners, and audiences worldwide, he proclaimed: "I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal.'"

After passage of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964, which outlawed discrimination in public accommodations, King turned to the issue of voting. He organized a march in Selma, Alabama, where more than 2,000 people tried unsuccessfully to register to vote. When they refused to leave, over 1,500 people were arrested. King said, "This is Selma, Alabama. There are more Negroes in jail with me than there are on the voting rolls."

The SCLC next planned a 54-mile march from Selma to Montgomery, where the marchers planned to present a list of grievances to the governor. After being halted three times, the marchers were finally allowed to proceed to Montgomery in March 1965. At the beginning, only 3,200 people marched in protest, but by the time King was ready to speak from the steps of the state capitol, nearly 50,000 people were in attendance. President LYNDON B. JOHNSON, in response to turbulence in Selma, introduced a voting rights bill in Congress, which became the VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 after its passage in August.

By the mid-1960s, King's message of nonviolence and integration failed to address the growing anger of a black underclass trapped in poverty. As new, more radical leaders such as MALCOLM X and STOKELY CARMICHAEL began to advocate militant action, King answered by campaigning for more advanced reforms. In January 1966, the SCLC



launched a crusade to address slum conditions in Chicago. King, however, was disappointed that his following in the North was not nearly as strong as in the South, and the campaign was a failure. As a result, King shifted his focus from civil rights—an issue closely associated with middle-class African Americans—to fighting for economic equality among the poor.

King faced resistance when he publicly declared his opposition to the VIETNAM WAR. While he voiced his opinion as early as 1965, King became embroiled in the protest in 1967, denouncing the actions of the government and angering many Americans who continued to support Lyndon Johnson. King emphasized the disproportionate number of African Americans who fought and died in the war and the war's effect on civil rights reform. As more funds were directed toward the conflict in Vietnam, less money was available for social programs that benefited African Americans. Once having praised Johnson for his civil rights stand, King now criticized him for his continued involvement in Vietnam.

Meanwhile, King became even more committed to class issues and the plight of the urban poor. He called for a redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor, and, in the fall of 1967, he began organizing the Poor People's March on Washington. His focus on economic rights led him in 1968 to Memphis, Tennessee, where he supported striking sanitation workers. Black workers had been sent home when it began to rain, while white workers were allowed to stay, earning a whole day's pay. When black workers were compensated with only two hours pay, they banded together against the city of Memphis, demanding equal treatment and pay. King joined the strike, hoping that a nonviolent walkout would help further his message of economic equality. In April, he gave a moving speech to encourage the strikers and reaffirm his commitment to racial equality, stating, "I may not get there with you. But we as a people will get to the promised land." The following day, on April 4, King was assassinated as he stood on the balcony of the Lorraine Hotel in Memphis. At his funeral, he was carried to his resting place near the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta on a mule-drawn cart. Eighteen years later, Martin Luther King, Jr. Day became a nationally recognized holiday.

Following her husband's death, Coretta Scott King established the King Center in Atlanta, which is dedicated to preserving Dr. King's legacy of tolerance and the techniques of nonviolent conflict resolution. King's son Dexter became director of the center, overseeing its numerous community organizations and international outreach projects. Prior to her death in 2006, Coretta Scott King continued to be active in contemporary matters of social justice and civil rights including apartheid, nuclear proliferation, capital punishment, and women's rights. In 1970, the American Library

Association created the Coretta Scott King Award, which annually recognizes the achievements of African-American authors and illustrators for young audiences.

In subsequent decades, monuments to the civil rights leader have proliferated throughout the United States, including the Martin Luther King Jr. National Historic Site at his boyhood home in Atlanta and an inscription marking the spot where King stood to deliver his "I Have a Dream" speech at the Lincoln Memorial. In 1998 Alpha Phi Alpha, the national fraternity of which King was a member, received congressional authorization to raise funds and design a King memorial for Washington, D.C. With the establishment of this memorial, King will become the first African American and the second nonpresident to be honored with a monument on the National Mall.

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—Robert A. Deahl

### **Kinsey, Alfred C.** (1894–1956) *scholar*

A pioneer sex researcher, Alfred C. Kinsey and his research team collected over 18,000 sex histories between 1939 and 1956. His widely publicized and informative studies introduced sex as a topic for public discussion, recognized sexual diversity, and paved the way for modern sex research and therapy.

Born to strict Methodist parents on June 23, 1894, in Hoboken, New Jersey, Kinsey was frail and ill throughout much of his youth. He expressed interest in botany in high school, started college at Stevens Institute (the school where his father taught) in 1912, and transferred to Bowdoin College in 1914. Kinsey excelled at Bowdoin, graduating magna cum laude with a B.S. in biology and psychology and securing a scholarship to the Busse Institute at Harvard for studies in applied biology.

Kinsey studied gall wasps (tiny insects) in graduate school, earning his Ph.D. in 1919. In 1920, Indiana University hired Kinsey as an assistant professor of zoology. Kinsey merited a reputation as a world-renowned expert on gall wasps by 1930 with the publication of his authoritative 577-page study *The Gall Wasp Genus Cynips—A Study in the Origin of the Species*. Kinsey identified new species of gall wasps and advanced theories of evolution and taxonomy.



Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey, 1954 (Library of Congress)

Kinsey expressed interest in sex as a subject for scientific research throughout the 1930s. In 1938, he taught the first marriage course at Indiana University and noted the vast amount of ignorance surrounding sex. In his marriage course, which became one of the most popular courses at the university, Kinsey offered an open and frank discussion of sex. He also invited students to share their sexual histories with him and conducted extensive one-on-one interviews with volunteers. Collecting these sex histories foreshadowed the more systematic study that he would launch a year later.

Similar to his gall wasp studies, Kinsey decided to collect huge samples of sex histories. He soon began interviewing people throughout the country, especially studying communities in Chicago and New York. In particular, he interviewed male homosexuals and theorized about the continuum of human sexuality. He devised a now famous graded scale that ranged from 0-6 and reflected sexual

identity. A score of zero indicated exclusive heterosexuality, while a score of six showed exclusive homosexuality.

In 1939 Kinsey launched his statistical study of sex that defined the physiological facts of sex and documented what people did during sexual activity, a subject virtually untouched by science up to that point. His substantial interviews recorded individual sex histories. Public criticism of his subject matter mounted and in 1940 Indiana University president Herman Wells asked Kinsey to choose to pursue either full-time sex studies or the continuation of his marriage course. Kinsey opted to pursue his research on sex. In that year he also offered his first formal paper on his sex research at the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Over the next several years, Kinsey pursued his sex studies and collected tens of thousands of interviews. He was intrigued with documenting all sexual behavior, especially sexual behavior that was frequently labeled “unusual” or “perverted.” He collected statistics on masturbation, erotica, homosexuality, bisexuality, and sadomasochism—topics shrouded by public ignorance. He continued teaching and lecturing, although most of his attention was directed toward his sex research. In 1941, Kinsey won a research grant from the National Research Council. With the first of many grants from this organization, Kinsey was able to hire additional researchers and expand the scope of his study. By 1947 he had amassed enough data to warrant the creation of the Institute for Sex Research. In addition to holding his interview material, the institute would house Kinsey’s vast library on subjects and artifacts related to sexuality.

In 1948, Kinsey published the first report from his research, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. It garnered unprecedented popular acclaim, and the publisher quickly sold thousands of copies. Moreover, academic journals and popular magazines devoted space to discuss sex and Kinsey’s research. In one frequently cited report, Kinsey concluded that 37 percent of the male population had at least one homosexual experience over the course of a lifetime and that 4 percent were exclusively homosexual. In 1953, he published *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, again to wide acclaim. Some of the most notable findings in this volume included the biological impossibility of the vaginal orgasm, the frequency of female masturbation, and the physiological similarities of sexual response in men and women. Although he envisioned a nine-volume series based on his research, health problems prevented him from attaining this goal. He continued to amass sex histories, conducting his last interview in 1956. He died later that year at the age of 62.

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—Kirstin Gardner

## Korean War

The Korean War was the first major American military engagement after World War II.

At its core a civil war, the Korean War pitted South Korea (Republic of Korea) against North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) in a struggle to reunite a nation divided in the aftermath of World War II. Fighting alongside the Republic of Korea Army were American and other forces mobilized under the banner of the United Nations (UN). The (North) Korean People's Army was joined by Chinese army forces and supported by the SOVIET UNION.

The underlying cause of the Korean War was the nature of the post-World War II occupation of Korea. Since 1910 Korea had been controlled by Japan and then Allied troops occupied the former Axis possession following World War II. In an arrangement necessitated by the rapid end of the war, American forces held the southern half of the country below the 38th parallel while Soviet forces occupied the northern half. Since the Koreans were not believed to be fit for immediate self-government, the Americans in the South and the Soviets in the North worked to develop favorable political elites and groom them for self-governance. The result led to the creation of the separate states of South Korea, under the leadership of Syngman Rhee, and North Korea, under the leadership of Kim Il Sung. Both men and their respective governments saw themselves as the rightful leaders of all of Korea and were supported as such by the respective occupying powers.

Prior to 1950, pressure mounted on the administration of President HARRY S. TRUMAN to deal with the perceived international threat of COMMUNISM at home and abroad. The 1947 TRUMAN DOCTRINE underscored the theory of containment, whereby the United States would attempt to prevent the spread of communism beyond where it already existed. In 1949, however, communist forces under the leadership of Mao Zedong emerged victorious in China, and the Soviet Union successfully detonated an ATOMIC BOMB. The Truman administration was blamed for "losing" China, and an ARMS RACE developed between the United States and the Soviet Union. As a result, American fears of communism escalated. When war broke out in Korea, the Truman administration was politically compelled to intervene.

The conflict began on June 25, 1950, when North Korean forces crossed the 38th parallel and invaded South Korea. Kim Il Sung masterminded the invasion after securing approval from both Soviet leader Joseph Stalin and Mao Zedong. North Korean forces advanced swiftly through the South, capturing the capital city of Seoul on June 28. South Korean forces were in disarray, severely outgunned by the Soviet- and Chinese-backed army of the North.

American secretary of state DEAN ACHESON insisted that the United States respond swiftly to defend South

Korea. In order to rally public and international support, the American government asked the UN Security Council to condemn the North Korean aggression and repel the invasion. The Soviet delegate to the Security Council held the power to veto this decision, but he was currently boycotting the council, and so action proceeded. American forces therefore fought the Korean War under the banner of the United Nations (UN), joined by British, Canadian, Australian, and other troops. Due in part to UN involvement, the United States never officially declared war against North Korea or China. The Korean War was instead referred to as a "United Nations police action."

The first American troops arrived in South Korea in early July and were put under the overall command of General DOUGLAS MACARTHUR. South Korean and UN forces were forced to retreat to the southeastern tip of the peninsula around the city of Pusan until sufficient American military strength was present in Korea. After a North Korean assault on Pusan was repelled, MacArthur's troops staged an amphibious assault behind the front lines on the city of Inchon, catching the North Koreans by surprise and forcing them to retreat in disarray. By October, South Korean troops were chasing the North Korean army back across the 38th parallel, and under authority from the UN General Assembly, UN forces joined South Korea in invading the North in an attempt to unify the country.

Shortly after the advancement of UN forces across the 38th parallel, Mao Zedong ordered Chinese troops to cross the Yalu River and join the fighting on the side of the North Koreans. Although UN forces swiftly advanced up the peninsula, capturing the North Korean capital of Pyongyang and driving as far as the Yalu River in some areas, the entry of China into the war balanced the playing field. In December 1950, Chinese and North Korean troops successfully drove South Korean and UN forces back beyond the 38th parallel. By June 1951, a series of offensives and counter-offensives left the war a stalemate. Although fighting continued well into 1953, most major territorial penetrations were over by mid-1951.

Meanwhile, tension between Truman and General MacArthur escalated, boiling over in April 1951, when Truman relieved MacArthur of his command. MacArthur strongly advocated the use of atomic weapons against North Korean and Chinese targets, but Truman was unwilling to risk having a "police action" turn into a nuclear war. General Matthew Ridgway replaced MacArthur as commander in Korea, and MacArthur returned to a hero's welcome in the United States. Truman's conflict with the popular MacArthur and the stalemate in Korea helped undermine the president's credibility at home. Although eligible to seek another term, Truman declined to run for reelection in 1952. Instead, World War II hero DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER won the presidential election,





Pvt. Seiju Nakandakarc and Pvt. Ralph Saul operate a new 3.5 bazooka on the front lines somewhere in Korea, 1950. (*Library of Congress*)

having campaigned in part on a pledge to go to Korea in order to end the war.

A state of stalemate persisted from mid-1951 through 1953 largely because the two sides were unable to work out a compromise on the issue of prisoners of war (POWs). North Korea mistreated many American and allied POWs, and many captured North Korean soldiers wanted to remain in South Korea. In addition, Syngman Rhee and the South Korean government stymied progress in securing an end to hostilities by insisting that any peace plan should reunify Korea.

Finally, on July 27, 1953, a cease-fire agreement was signed, ending the Korean War. American casualties during the conflict totaled approximately 34,000 dead and many more wounded, with other UN nations suffering modest casualties. An estimated 4 million Koreans died during the war, with two-thirds of that number civilians. The physical destruction to the peninsula, and especially to North Korea's economic infrastructure, was incalculable. Tension between the two halves of Korea persisted, with North Korea going so far as to boycott the 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul.

The long-term effects on the United States also ran deep. The United States and the People's Republic of China did not normalize relations until 1973. Additionally, although Eisenhower sought to curtail military expenditures, the Korean War played a key role in the expansion of what Eisenhower called the **MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX**. The budget for U.S. defense spending was increased by billions of dollars during the war, while the conflict established a precedent for American military intervention against communism in remote parts of the globe, leading in part to eventual American intervention in the **VIETNAM WAR**.

In October 1986 Congress authorized the American Battle Monuments Commission to design and construct a Korean War monument for Washington, D.C. Located in West Potomac Park, the memorial was dedicated on July 27, 1995, the 42nd anniversary of the armistice. Designed by Frank Gaylord, stainless steel statues depicting different squads on patrol form the centerpiece of the monument. Other notable features include the United Nations Wall that lists the 22 member nations that contributed troops or medical aid to the war effort and a pool of remembrance



with inscriptions of those killed, wounded, missing in action, or taken as prisoners of war.

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—Phil Huckelberry

**Korematsu, Fred** See VOLUME VIII.

**Kroc, Ray** See McDONALD'S.

### Ku Klux Klan (KKK)

The Ku Klux Klan, a white supremacy organization originally founded in Tennessee in 1865, experienced a resurgence in membership during the Civil Rights movement that took place in America during the middle of the 20th century.

After fading at the end of Reconstruction, the KKK was revived at Stone Mountain, Georgia, in 1915. The KKK was active in the 1920s, with its membership reaching millions of people. By the 1930s, however, Klan membership declined due to the Great Depression, feuding among leaders, and the exposure of terrorist activities undertaken by members. The racial turmoil ignited by the Civil Rights movement gave the KKK a window of opportunity to revive. While the Klan took aim at Jewish, Catholic, and black Americans in the 1920s, its focus by the middle of the 1900s was largely against blacks.

The "Invisible Empire," another name for the KKK, was (and is) led by the "Imperial Wizard," followed by leaders such as the "Grand Dragon," "Titan," and "Cyclops." Over the years, the Ku Klux Klan has relied heavily upon the secrecy maintained by its members. Most of the acts that the organization engaged in were illegal terrorist actions, requiring the utmost loyalty from members in maintaining secrecy. To aid in masking members' identity, KKK members donned what became trademark white robes and hoods during demonstrations and raids.

The Civil Rights movement troubled many whites in the South. Reconstruction failed to integrate blacks into American life and end racism, and the white community became accustomed to the practice of SEGREGATION in the South. Because the Civil Rights movement sought to put an end to the traditional practices of Southern society, many white Southerners became outraged at such efforts and interest in the KKK grew.

The Ku Klux Klan relied heavily upon scare tactics to intimidate blacks and whites alike who attempted to seek

equal rights for all. Many of these methods were extremely violent, sometimes leading to murder. The KKK was known for burning crosses, schools, and churches. Members also bombed buildings, beat and maimed people, committed murders, and lynched African Americans who pushed too hard for equality. Indeed, the KKK was responsible for most of the transgressions against civil rights activists at this time.

In 1965, the HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE (HUAC) opened a public investigation of members of the KKK. The committee first questioned Robert M. Shelton, Jr., the imperial wizard, then other Klan leaders. Many of these members utilized their constitutional rights to remain silent to avoid self-incrimination. Most of the members did not testify out of fear for their own personal safety. Klansman Ralph Pryor stated, "The government



Robert Shelton, imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, stands before a burning cross in Hemingway, South Carolina, 1965. (Library of Congress)

can't protect me. . . . If I testify, some day they are going to find me in Selma, Alabama, with 30 bullet holes in me, and that killer is going to get off scot free." An article in the *New York Times* during the trial of Klansman Daniel Burrows, a leader in New York, exposed the fact that he was born and raised Jewish. Upon the publication of this article, Burrows committed suicide out of fear of his fellow Klansmen's reaction to the news.

These committee hearings produced extensive knowledge of the workings of the KKK. They revealed over 15,000 active Klansmen during this time in states all over America. Imperial Wizard Shelton was convicted of contempt of Congress for not producing subpoenaed records and received a sentence of one year of jail time.

The Ku Klux Klan began to lose its following again toward the end of the 1960s. Just as the reputation for committing heinous crimes weakened the organization at the

end of the 1920s, the Klan's identification with such acts caused its demise yet again decades later. People exposed as members of the Klan were now the ones who experienced public ridicule.

Even so, the KKK is still alive and active in America today, its presence usually made visible in marches and demonstrations. While it does not enjoy the large numbers and support that it once did, it still attracts a following.

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—Jennifer Howell



## labor

Changes in labor during the postwar years reflected the country's efforts to cope first with DEMOBILIZATION and with an economic boom.

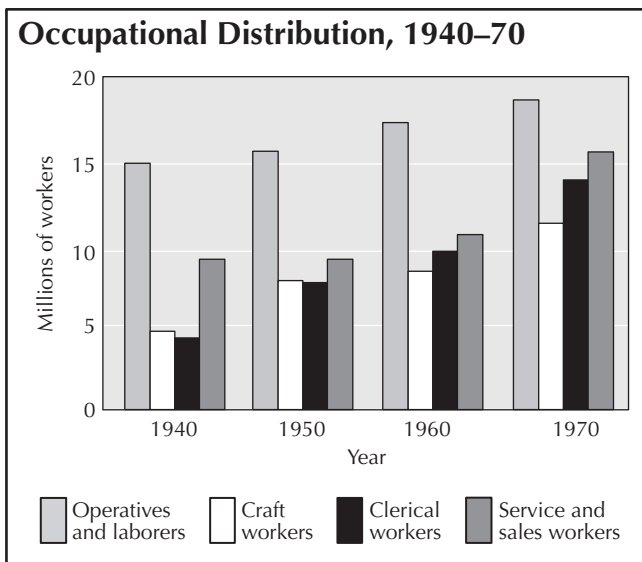
From the end of World War II through the 1960s, the percentage of the country's population that engaged in paid labor rose slightly, but steadily, from what it had been before the fluctuations of the Great Depression and World War II. By the late 1960s, more than 60 percent of the non-institutionalized adult population engaged in some form of compensated labor. The tasks and occupations that these people performed differed in many ways from those done by previous generations.

Aside from ever-increasing mechanization of most production processes, there were important structural changes taking place in the ECONOMY that affected the type of labor Americans did. AGRICULTURE declined drastically as an occupation throughout the period, falling from over 15 percent of the nation's workforce to around 3 percent by the late 1960s. Manual labor and manufacturing also lost ground, although not nearly as dramatically. Until the early 1950s, these traditional blue-collar occupations comprised a little more than 40 percent of jobs in America. By the late 1960s this had declined to around 36 percent. Professional and managerial positions grew steadily, from less than 15 percent of the workforce before the war to more than 20 percent by the late 1960s. Jobs in sales and clerical fields grew even more impressively. Accounting for a little more than 16 percent of all jobs before World War II, they constituted almost 25 percent at the end of the 1960s. Other SERVICE SECTOR professions saw a slight rise as well. It is also important to note the great reduction in the importance of paid domestic household service. Before World War II, it accounted for 4 in 10 jobs in the service sector. By the end of the 1960s, it was less than 1 in 8.

Shifts in America's occupational makeup influenced labor trends that had started during the depression and war years. The war effort left America's workforce with

more female employees and a stronger union structure. These trends were not consistently maintained in the years immediately after the war. During the war, many women entered the workplace to replace men who left to serve in the military. Although there was a noticeable drop in the percentage of American women working outside the home in the years immediately after World War II, the percentage of women in America's labor force remained higher than it had been in previous decades. By the late 1950s, the percentage of female workers had again reached the level it had in wartime, and it continued to climb. By 1968, more than 40 percent of the female population worked, up from a wartime high of 35 percent.

War work also gave women the opportunity to enter fields from which they had previously been excluded, especially in heavy industry. Although more women did work in these industries than before, women gained substantially in other sectors of the economy as well. Prior to World War II, women had constituted the majority of workers in the service industry (around 60 percent), and a preponderant majority in the domestic household sector of that industry, comprising around 95 percent of employees in that category. Even as that sector declined in economic importance, women still dominated the service industry in about the same proportion as before. The biggest gains for women, however, occurred in the clerical and sales sectors of the economy. Although they played a major role before the war, making up well over 40 percent of that part of the workforce, it was in the first decades after World War II that they began to dominate the clerical and sales sector. By the late 1960s, women comprised more than 60 percent of employees in that field. Over 40 percent of all women workers were employed in clerical and sales positions, double the number that worked in the next largest category, the domestic service industry. Women also significantly increased their presence in the managerial and professional sector, from 1 in 8 to 1 in 4 during the war. This trend continued a steady, but slower, increase through the late 1960s,



by which time almost 32 percent of white-collar workers in America were female. Women even gained some ground in the declining sectors of agriculture and manufacturing.

The type of woman working also changed during this period. Prior to World War II, most women who worked had never been married. The war reversed this situation. Married women outnumbered all others in the workforce. They maintained and expanded their preeminent position from 1945 to 1968. After the war, about 38 percent of working women had never been married, while 46 percent of female workers were currently married. By 1968, married women accounted for 63 percent of the female workforce and only 22 percent of working women had never been married. The percentage of women in the workforce who were widowed or divorced declined slightly in the postwar years from 17 percent to 14.6 percent.

Despite the gains made by women, the American workforce was still primarily male. Men held more than 75 percent of the better paying, more influential professional and managerial positions. Male dominance was even greater in blue-collar work, embodying the majority of the workforce. Over 80 percent of America's blue-collar laborers were male. Although the percentage of men in the workforce did drop slightly following World War II, by the late 1960s, over 80 percent of white men worked and over 75 percent of African-American males were employed. This discrepancy between the percentage of African-American and white males in the workforce comprised a new trend that started in the 1960s. In previous years, the percentage of men in each group that worked was roughly the same.

The percentage of workers represented by the UNION MOVEMENT continued to rise in the first decade after

the war, leveling off at slightly more than 25 percent of all laborers by the mid-1950s. These years also appeared promising for organized labor because of the 1955 merger of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) and the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO). This proved, however, to be the high-water mark for the American union movement in the 20th century. Although union membership continued to rise numerically, the percentage of the workforce that was unionized steadily declined starting in the late 1950s. Scholars have attributed this drop to several long-term economic changes that occurred during this period. Some of the decline was caused by a decrease in the share of America's workforce that was employed in sectors that were traditionally heavily unionized, such as manufacturing and mining, and the spreading of those sectors to areas that were historically hostile to unions. Labor leaders did try to compensate for this decline by branching into sectors of the economy that they previously ignored, such as agriculture with the UNITED FARM WORKERS and public sector employees through the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. Corruption scandals and unfriendly federal legislation such as the TAFT-HARTLEY ACT and Landrum-Griffin Act also hurt the effectiveness of unions, as did the increasingly aloof attitude of many union leaders to their rank and file, dubbed "Tuxedo Unionism" by critical union members.

Despite the waning influence of organized labor, American workers saw some important improvements in their position during the first decades after World War II. Employment contracts began to include many provisions favorable to workers; such as medical coverage, paid vacations, guaranteed annual wages, and automatic COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENTS (COLA). The minimum wage was increased by every administration in this period, quadrupling from \$.40 cents an hour in 1945 to \$1.60 in 1968.

The administration of LYNDON B. JOHNSON was most friendly to the American laborer. With his ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964, the federal government took a sustained, active role in helping even the most disadvantaged citizens acquire the skills needed to be productive members of the workforce through programs such as the JOB CORPS and encouragement of college work-study. The CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 empowered the federal government to respond to worker complaints of racial and gender discrimination.

The character and conditions of American labor changed significantly from 1945 to 1968. Jobs shifted from the traditional mainstays of the economy, such as agriculture and manufacturing, to the more white-collar service sector, and office work positions. Although organized labor experienced some difficult times at the end of the period, workers not only secured concrete gains from their employers, but also, by the 1960s, saw the federal govern-



ment using its power to help the most vulnerable workers acquire and keep jobs.

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—Dave Price

### La Raza Unida

A Mexican-American political party established by José Angel Gutiérrez and other students in south Texas in 1970, La Raza Unida, or The United People, grew out of the Mexican-American Youth Organization formed in 1967 by Gutiérrez and several other students, which aimed at solving problems and developing leaders in the Chicano community.

From its birth in Texas, La Raza Unida spread throughout the Southwest. Under the guidance of RODOLFO “CORKY” GONZÁLES, leader of the Crusade for Justice, an active 1960s militant nationalist group based in Denver, Colorado, La Raza Unida gained support in Colorado. Meanwhile, in California, La Raza Unida expanded from the Northern California Bay Area to San Diego within six months. Other La Raza Unida affiliations soon followed in Arizona, New Mexico, and the Midwest.

The members, goals, and philosophies of La Raza Unida varied depending on the individual state and local communities. For instance, in Northern California, the party included Central and South Americans and Cubans as well as other Spanish-speaking people. The constituency in Southern California consisted mainly of Mexican Americans. The aspirations of La Raza Unida in Texas included rallying for Chicano representation, exposing and confronting Anglos as exploiters of Mexican Americans, and acquiring economic power for Chicano communities. California branches sought reforms in education, labor, and the prison system, as well as control of land and equality for women. The Colorado organization envisioned building the Aztlán nation, the mythic Aztec Indian homeland in the American Southwest, to serve Chicano people.

The main ideological differences within La Raza Unida stemmed from differences between Gutiérrez and González. While both deemphasized national politics, González called for a nationalist and socialist sociocultural revolution that would unite Chicanos and other oppressed groups. Gutiérrez sought to balance power through local action, using the party’s national structure to garner attention and support for community efforts.

From its inception, La Raza Unida achieved numerous political gains, particularly in Texas and California. In 1970, La Raza Unida candidates won a total of 11 school board and city council elections in three south Texas cities.

By 1971, party members successfully secured the offices of mayor and two city commissioner positions in San Antonio. In the same year in Oakland, California, La Raza Unida challengers made a strong showing, capturing 25 to 35 percent of the vote in school board elections.

Socially, the party provided leadership roles for women and it became a strong tool to unify Chicano communities throughout the Southwest. Mexican-American women participated as candidates and in the day-to-day affairs of the party. Their efforts provided the stimulus for the development of La Raza Unida’s two feminist organizations: the Mujeres Pro-Raza Unida (Texas) and the Federación de Mujeres de la Raza Unida (California). The membership of La Raza Unida brought together poor Chicanos and Latinos, the young and the old, students, welfare recipients, ex-convicts, conservatives, radicals, and people who had never been involved in politics. The political victories of the early 1970s demonstrated that Chicanos could successfully unite to achieve positive change against a discriminatory system.

The political impetus of La Raza Unida spurred a cultural awakening in Chicano music, history, and literature. Chicano scholars challenged perceptions of Mexican Americans as passive victims and helped establish Chicano studies program at numerous universities. Although, at times, La Raza Unida invoked violence, it raised the political consciousness of a generation of Mexican Americans, particularly the youth, on an unprecedented scale.

Despite the successes in the elections of the early 1970s, La Raza Unida’s influence had all but faded by 1978. From the outside, the party had been weakened by repeated sabotage from local courts that removed candidates and rejected or reversed vote counts. From within, La Raza Unida suffered from diverging ideologies, lack of young, trained organizers, few financial resources, and a general loss of appeal. Gutiérrez’s 1982 resignation of his seat on the increasingly Democratic Party–controlled county commissioner’s court in Crystal City, Texas, ended La Raza Unida’s activities and influence.

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—Michelle Reid

### Latin America (and foreign policy)

Latin America has long been an immediate and important sphere of influence for the United States, but during the COLD WAR, tensions between countries grew increasingly hostile as the influence of Soviet COMMUNISM made its way into the Southern Hemisphere.

During the post–World War II era, Latin America suffered from economic and social problems, including stagnant economic growth, poverty, illiteracy, inadequate health care, and a population boom. The United States hoped to see gradual, peaceful modernization led by a moderate political center, but the sharp divide between the rich and the poor left little room for moderation. Nationalist movements gained support and took on an anti-American character. The U.S. government feared that revolutionary nationalism would invite Soviet influence into this critical region. It sought to protect American investments, the market for U.S. exports, the strategic value of the Panama Canal, Caribbean naval bases, and reserves of oil and copper. In the process, Latin America became a cold war battleground.

The administration of HARRY S. TRUMAN launched two programs designed to transform the Monroe Doctrine into a more collective, multilateral effort. The 1947 Rio Pact was a defensive military alliance that promised reciprocal assistance if Soviet intervention threatened any country in the Western Hemisphere. The Organization of American States (OAS) was formed in 1948 to settle inter-American disputes. Article 15 of the OAS charter, inserted against American wishes, stated that member states did not have the right to intervene in the affairs of other member states.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Latin America witnessed political instability that included a series of military coups, which were sometimes supported or organized by the CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA). For example, the administration of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER spearheaded a coup against the elected leader of Guatemala, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, in 1954. Foreigners, led by the United Fruit Company (UFCO), owned most of the big plantations that produced bananas and coffee for export in Guatemala. Arbenz sympathized with workers' strikes and expropriated and redistributed large amounts of UFCO land that lay fallow. In compensation he paid the company the low value it had set on the land for taxation purposes. The Eisenhower administration did not want this land redistribution to set a bad precedent throughout Latin America, and the administration became convinced that Guatemala had come under communist influence. Alarmed, Arbenz signed an arms deal with the Soviet Union. In response, the CIA planned a coup, selecting General Carlos Castillo Armas to lead an invasion of 150 troops and a few minor air raids from Honduras. The CIA-run radio station broadcast threats of a huge invasion force, and Arbenz, who commanded a disloyal army, panicked and fled Guatemala. Castillo took power, executing hundreds of Arbenz supporters in the process, and though he was assassinated in 1957, a long line of military dictators followed him.

The late 1950s marked a low point in inter-American relations. When Vice President Richard M. Nixon toured South America in 1958, he was met everywhere by angry anti-American demonstrations protesting U.S. support of armed strongmen in Venezuela and Cuba and interventions such as the Guatemala incident. An angry mob almost killed Nixon in Caracas, Venezuela. During the following year, Panamanians rioted in protest of continued American control of the Canal Zone, and Fidel Castro's rebels seized power in Cuba. The Castro government launched an ambitious reform program and expropriated U.S.-owned oil companies and other privately owned firms. Many attributed these developments to an international communist conspiracy.

Worried about its global image and Soviet encroachment, the American government sought to improve relations with Latin America and to bring about rapid social and political improvements in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Initiatives such as the Inter-American Development Bank and the ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS that sought to promote economic and social development, however, were largely unsuccessful at combating the poverty and inequity of many Latin American societies. Furthermore, ANTICOMMUNISM and the desire for stability continued to trump any intentions of altruism.

This pattern held during the presidency of LYNDON B. JOHNSON. The United States tacitly supported a military takeover in Brazil in 1964 after João Goulart, facing serious economic trouble, began to seize U.S. properties. The Brazilian military took power and began a 20-year dictatorship, while Johnson ordered an American naval fleet to stand off the coast of Brazil in case it was needed. In 1965, Johnson sent 20,000 American troops to the Dominican Republic to intervene in a civil war between the military regime and forces supporting Juan Bosch, an elected radical reformer. This intervention lasted for one year and helped put in power Joaquín Balaguer, a pro-American military man. Order was eventually restored and elections were held in 1966. The crisis in the Dominican Republic produced the Johnson Doctrine, which stated that an American president could use military force whenever he felt COMMUNISM threatened the Western Hemisphere.

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—Jennifer Walton

## Latino movement

In the years following World War II, Latinos joined together in a united effort to bring about better political, economic, and educational opportunities for Spanish-speaking Americans across the nation.

Throughout the 20th century, increasing numbers of Mexican Americans and other Latin Americans immigrated to the United States. In the postwar period, many Mexican Americans, called Chicanos, entered the United States as BRACEROS, providing much-needed field-hand support to western AGRICULTURE. Under an agreement with the Mexican government, nearly 220,000 Mexicans entered the United States between 1942 and 1947, working in California truck farms, Texas cotton fields, and Northwest sugar-beet fields. The wartime employment boom also contributed to the rise of Latino populations in West Coast cities and other urban areas, as families and individuals came to America in search of greater opportunities and work. The largest numbers of Latinos came to the United States from the Caribbean, South America, Puerto Rico, and Mexico, settling primarily in the southwestern states, New York, and regions of Florida.

Once in the United States, however, opportunities were not often forthcoming. Large numbers of PUERTO RICANS, like many Mexicans under the bracero program, were brought to the United States through Operation Bootstrap in the 1940s and thereafter to work in fields and factories. Both groups, however, experienced racial hostility and were pushed out when economic pressures disfavored their presence. While they remained effectively disenfranchised at this time, it was this kind of treatment that primed both groups for a civil rights struggle.

During the 1950s political participation was curtailed in the Puerto Rican community, in New York specifically, by use of English literacy tests and later, sixth-grade educational equivalency tests that most first-generation emigrants could not pass. Community organizations formed in response to these injustices to provide social and economic assistance for Puerto Ricans.

Puerto Rico's commonwealth status, imposed after the 1898 Spanish-American War when Puerto Rico became a U.S. protectorate, led to nationalist sentiments for political autonomy. A group of Puerto Rican nationalists, including Lolita Lebrón, opened fire on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives after displaying a Puerto Rican flag and proclaiming a desire for independence. While five congressmen were wounded, and the activists were sentenced to life in prison, they later received a presidential pardon, at which time Lebrón returned to Puerto Rico and became president of the Nationalist Party.

By the 1960s, Puerto Ricans questioned the progress being made in mainstream politics and became politically

discontented with their local representatives, including the few elected Puerto Ricans, who some felt to be too focused on accommodation and personal political advancement. Riots erupted in Puerto Rican ghettos with many identifying their struggle with that of African-American and Chicano activists. Groups such as the Young Lords were formed with the notion of community self-defense, much like the BLACK PANTHERS and the Brown Berets. Initiated in Chicago in 1967, the Young Lords later affiliated with other young militants in New York City as the party's ideas spread.

Meanwhile, among Mexican Americans the civil rights struggle was referred to as *El Movimiento* or the Chicano Movement. While it did not fully manifest itself until after 1968, the development of the movement can be observed in the decades leading up to that watershed year. The movement was multidimensional in character and included a student movement, an antiwar movement, demands for social justice and land rights, labor unionization efforts, a political party, and an arts movement, all expressive of regional experiences and concerns. Later, the movement also included issues raised by the concerns of Chicana feminists for WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

Elements of the movement extended back to when Mexican Americans organized mutual aid societies and League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) chapters earlier in the 20th century to support their communities, but some felt that these organizations should not take strong political stances. Responding to earlier pressures to Americanize, Mexican Americans returned home from World War II with a renewed sense of expectation that the United States would live up to its promises of equality. Despite their anticipation, Mexican Americans continued to suffer from injustices. In 1948 the GI Forum was created following the refusal to allow the burial of a Mexican-American war veteran in a "whites only" cemetery in Corpus Christi, Texas. Mexican Americans continued to organize, after successfully pressuring politicians to acknowledge and respect those who had supported the war effort, regarding other issues.

The movement also focused on another issue that had long been of concern to Mexican-American communities, namely, the inferior conditions of their schools. Community groups had been struggling for decent schools, and they demanded that the situation be remedied. The 1948 *Mendez v. Westminster School District* decision prohibited SEGREGATION of Mexican-American students and helped to set the stage for the 1954 *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* ruling. Though the structure of formal segregation eventually began to give way, the predominant school experience of Mexican Americans remained characterized by informal segregation and so the struggle for educational improvements continued beyond the legal realm.

By the 1960s many Chicanos became critical of working within the system and suspicious of political accommodation, and, consequently, they wanted to change the terms of the debate. Confrontation became the preferred political strategy, though some organizations and leaders, committed to the earlier mainstream approach, continued to work within the DEMOCRATIC PARTY to try to achieve reforms. The Latino movement as a whole, however, sought to challenge the values of the dominant society, offering a critique of capitalism and calling for a renewed sense of culture and identity. An important element of this effort—like that of other social movements by people of color at this time—was a strong sense of the need for people to recover their histories and, with that knowledge, spark consciousness and politicization. Movement newspapers such as *El Grito del Norte*, established by activist Elizabeth “Betita” Martinez, spread information about political meetings and conferences and the ideas espoused at them.

The Latino movement and the migrant farmworker’s struggle became intertwined in California with the formation of El Teatro Campesino by Luis Valdez in 1965. Valdez, who had been a student activist and traveled with a delegation of the Progressive Labor Party to Cuba, was an early critic of the accommodation and assimilation of earlier Mexican-American organizations. A radical organization, the Teatro was an effective consciousness-raising tool.

The desires and activities of the farmworkers in California launched César Chávez and Dolores Huerta to status as national figures within the movement. As trained Community Services Organization (CSO) organizers committed to social justice, they helped to build the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), which later merged with a union of Filipino farmworkers into the UNITED FARM WORKERS in 1966. Activities in California helped encourage farmworkers in Texas to hold marches and strike as well. When their demands were not received sympathetically, student activists in the Mexican America Youth Organization (MAYO) took note and helped organize Raza Unida conferences that in 1970 resulted in the formation of LA RAZA UNIDA to exert further pressure on the political process.

At about the same time in New Mexico, the long-held resentments of Latino farmers, and a tradition of protest, led to the enthusiastic response to the charismatic leadership of REYES LÓPEZ TIJERINA. The group Tijerina founded, La Alianza Federal de las Mercedes (The Federal Land-Grant Alliance), asserted land claims dating back to the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. While not effective in regaining lands, Tijerina did become a notable symbol for participants in the movement. The activities of the Alianza inspired Chicanos to struggle for their civil rights and also brought attention to the poverty in the region.

Women provided another crucial element to the struggle. Though Chicana feminism did not flower until 1970,

the seeds of the feminist critique lay in the experiences of women in the 1960s and in their analysis of the limitations of cultural nationalism. Feminists believed racism was a source of oppression for Chicanos, but they also felt that issues of sexism were being overlooked. The concerns of gay and lesbian Chicanos, who organized in opposition to the homophobia present in this (as well as other social movements of the time), later became more visible, especially as the Chicano movement made gains in institutions of higher education.

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—Toni Nelson Herrera

## League of Women Voters

Throughout its existence, the League of Women Voters (LWV) has functioned as a political mobilizer, increasing awareness of WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS, encouraging women to work through traditional channels to achieve political goals, and forming part of the women’s rights wing of the feminist movement.

The LWV, a nonpartisan organization, emerged from the suffragist era to become one of the leading forces critically analyzing governmental problems and educating the public about these problems. In the post–World War II period, the LWV switched from defending the special interests of women to a broader program that encouraged women to become political activists. The league in these years worked to inform citizens about such issues as internationalism and economic development.

An offspring of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the LWV formed in 1920 after the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution granting women the vote had been approved. With its sole purpose fulfilled, the older group disbanded and left the work of educating women about politics to the LWV. From its earliest years, the league defined as its mission the removal of legal and administrative discrimination against women. Reorganized in 1946, the league became activist and political though still determinedly nonpartisan. The changes enabled the LWV to take action on governmental measures and policies in the public interest by providing information, building public opinion, and supporting legislative measures. The LWV



defined its role as influencing all parties by influencing the public. It neither supported nor opposed any political party, but it did encourage members as individuals to participate actively in the party or campaign of their choice.

With the number of people involved hovering around 100,000 in the 1940s, the LWV never managed to attract mass membership. It remained essentially a volunteer organization with unpaid national officers. Most members were in their 30s and 40s, married, college-educated, middle class, and white. Branches existed in all the states, as well as 1,050 localities, with nonpartisan community service contributing to a membership jump in the 1950s. Members preferred to participate in study groups, provide voter service, and concentrate on local political issues, while only a very small portion of the members encouraged the league to support legislation.

The LWV achieved its greatest success in creating public roles for women denied access to the usual sources of power. Its members became seasoned civic activists, and the issues that they focused upon included economic development, water pollution, U.S. security, individual freedom, and voter service. Equitable electoral apportionment also became a league concern, and several state branches pursued legal remedies to stop the disenfranchisement of urban dwellers by rural-dominated legislatures.

As internationalism expanded after the end of World War II, the LWV became an energetic supporter of the new United Nations (UN). When the San Francisco Conference convened to formally draft the UN Charter in 1945, Anne Hartwell Johnstone served as the league representative. Invited by the State Department to consult, she promoted league ideas for regional peace machinery and UN control over the development of atomic energy. When she was asked by the U.S. delegation to assume leadership in helping resolve the question of creating a Commission on the Status of Women as a specialized UN agency, Johnstone agreed. Although the LWV took no official position in support of such a body, its representative did work to establish the commission.

League internationalism also found expression in its consistent support for foreign economic assistance. The LWV backed the MARSHALL PLAN in 1948. It insisted that the key to expanding world trade lay through reciprocal trade agreements and the encouragement of imports. To educate citizens about the importance of world trade, the organization conducted a nationwide grassroots survey in 1954 to help local communities better understand the actual impact of foreign trade on their own communities.

The League had long sought to avoid conflict by using educational tactics and it continued this strategy when faced with the question of civil rights for African Americans. All of the southern branches of the LWV had attempted to avoid internal disruption by staying neutral on the question of

school desegregation. The national organization maintained an indirect approach to civil rights until the mid-1960s. In 1964, the LWV stated that it believed every citizen's right to vote should be protected, that everyone should have access to free public EDUCATION, and that no group should suffer legal or administrative disability. In 1966, a league consensus emerged for support of government programs promoting equal opportunity for all in education and employment. In 1968, the LWV agreed to support equal housing. The organization's social agenda also expanded to include the WAR ON POVERTY and the urban crisis. Having dropped its opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment in 1954, the league slowly became more active on behalf of women's interests in the late 1960s.

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—Carynn Neumann

### **Leary, Timothy** (1920–1996) *scholar*

Timothy Leary was a Harvard psychologist who, during the 1960s, promoted spiritual discovery through the use of drugs such as LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide). As a leader of the COUNTERCULTURE of the 1960s, Leary's slogan "Tune in, turn on, drop out" combined the pharmaceutical and sexual revolutions of the time.

Timothy Francis Leary was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, on October 22, 1920, the son of devout Irish Catholics. His father was an alcoholic, which caused strain in the household. Leary attended West Point and served in the U.S. Army during World War II. He earned a Ph.D. in psychology at the University of California at Berkeley. While at Berkeley, Leary traveled to Europe on a research grant and was visited by Frank Barron, a colleague. Barron told of the mushrooms he had eaten in Mexico, and the two discussed the possibility that these mushrooms could be the key to psychological metamorphosis. Upon returning to the United States, Leary taught at Harvard University. There he met colleague Richard Alpert. The two experimented with hallucinogenic mushrooms, and then later tried LSD themselves. They conducted experiments at Harvard on the effects of drugs on psychological and religious experiences. Against the wishes of the university, Leary and Alpert used students in their research, which led to the dismissal of both men in 1963.

Leary moved to New York, and was visited by members of the BEAT GENERATION such as ALLEN GINSBERG, JACK KEROUAC, and William Burroughs. In 1969, Leary was arrested and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for marijuana possession. Richard M. Nixon referred to him as "the most dangerous man in America." In September

1970, helped by the Weather Underground, a radical revolutionary group, Leary escaped from the California State Men's Colony. He traveled to Algeria, was later captured in Afghanistan in 1973, and returned to a California prison. He was paroled in 1976 because of his cooperation in the investigation of others involved in the drug scene. Due to the investigation, Leary was denounced by his own son, Jack, and Ginsberg and Alpert, now known as Baba Ram Dass.

Leary proved to be an influential member of his generation. Like so many others, he tried to break conventional norms and challenge the repressive beliefs about sexuality that had been handed down to him through his parents. He served as the director of psychological research for the Kaiser Foundation, was a stand-up comedian and actor, and author. He even ran for governor in California in 1970.

Leary strongly believed in the positive effects of drugs on the human mind and on their promotion of spiritual discovery. Leary used his psychological expertise to convince younger generations of the benefits of drugs. His slogan "Tune in, turn on, drop out" still serves as a symbol of the counterculture and upheaval of the 1960s. "Tune in" encouraged interaction with the world, while "turn on" referred to the activation of neurons and genetics within one's body, usually with drugs. "Drop out" simply meant detaching oneself from the mundane patterns of everyday life. The public and the press regarded this as an invitation to forget all responsibility and productivity.

When interviewed and questioned about his beliefs, Leary often responded, "Don't ask me anything. Think for yourself and question authority." This mentality was very much alive during his reign as a high priest of the LSD culture.

After Leary faded from the public scene, he continued preaching about the powerful effects of drugs on the human mind and spirit. He published books, such as *Flashbacks: An Autobiography*, in 1983, in which he described his experiences in the 1960s and the countercultural revolution. During the 1980s, Leary toured college campuses, making speeches about his beliefs. He began a software company called Futique and believed that the Internet would become the LSD of the 1990s. He was active in producing his own website, including a virtual tour of his home and recent writings.

In 1996, Leary died at his home of prostate cancer at the age of 76.

**Further reading:** Timothy Leary, *Flashbacks: An Autobiography* (Los Angeles: J. P. Tarener, 1983); ———, *Changing My Mind, Among Others* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1982); Martin A. Lee, *Acid Dreams: The CIA, LSD, and the Sixties Rebellion* (New York: Grove Press, 1985).

—Jennifer Parson

**lesbians** See GAYS AND LESBIANS.

**Levitt, William J.** (1907–1994) *businessperson*

William Levitt applied assembly-line techniques to the construction of houses, and with his fast and cheap methods, he helped build the suburbs of the 1950s.

Levitt was born on February 11, 1907, in Brooklyn, New York. After high school, he attended New York University, then set out on his own, later reflecting, "I got itchy. I wanted to make a lot of money. I wanted a big car and a lot of clothes." In the late 1920s, Levitt's father took control of a number of partially finished homes after a real estate slump, and gave William and his brother, Alfred, the chance to finish the job. The pair completed the houses quickly and successfully, and soon they formed the company Levitt & Sons to tackle other projects. William served as the company's president and handled the sales, advertising, and financing, while Alfred designed the first new Levitt house, which was finished and sold in 1929, just a few months before the onset of the Great Depression.

By 1933, despite the depression, the Levitts continued developing the area along Long Island's North Shore. The number of houses reached 200 and sold for \$9,100 to \$18,500 each. In 1941, the number of houses reached 1,200. In 1942, the federal government contracted with the Levitts to mass-produce housing for the navy in Norfolk, Virginia. Levitt was then shipped out to Oahu, Hawaii, in 1944, with a U.S. Navy construction unit known as the Seabees. Unburdened by union restrictions on building, Levitt, like others in his unit, began to brainstorm ideas on faster and more efficient building methods.

Before World War II, Levitt had bought a thousand acres of farmland on Long Island, and, in 1946, when he returned home, he began building the largest housing project in American history. He named it Island Trees, but it became known simply as Levittown. The houses were simple: two bedrooms, one bathroom, a kitchen, and a living room. They were designed with the young family in mind. The first Levittown included 17,000 houses and approximately 82,000 people. The Levitts furnished land for churches, schools, and swimming pools, creating full-fledged communities from scratch.

Levitt combined the assembly-line techniques used by Henry Ford to mass produce houses and create the large suburban neighborhoods of the 1950s. One construction team poured foundation after foundation. Another team framed one house after another, and an additional team installed windows and doors. This process was far quicker and cheaper than completing one house and then moving on to the next. Levitt cut the cost of his homes to about \$13,500, significantly less than what other builders charged for a house of comparable size.





Aerial view of Levittown, New York, 1954 (*Library of Congress*)

One problem with Levitt's plan was that virtually all of the homes looked the same. The inhabitants often appeared to look the same as well. Author John Keats described Levittown: "For virtually nothing down, you too can find a box of your own in one of the fresh-air slums we're building around the edges of American cities . . . inhabited by people whose age, income, number of children, problems, habits, conversations, dress, posses-

sions, perhaps even blood types are almost precisely like yours."

Another more serious problem, largely unnoticed in the 1950s, was the discrimination practiced in the sale of homes in Levittown. African Americans found that they were not welcome in these communities. William Levitt claimed his business would not be able to compete if he did not follow these discriminatory practices.



Despite his critics, Levitt grew increasingly popular. In 1950, he was on the cover of *Time* magazine, and he quickly became a celebrity. The publicity began to pull the company, and the two Levitt brothers, apart. In 1952, the Levitts moved their building operation to Pennsylvania, where they built another 17,000 houses, then, in 1954, William Levitt and his brother Alfred decided to split the company. In 1958, William Levitt again moved his company, this time to New Jersey, where he constructed a 12,000-home Levittown. By 1960, land surrounding the cities grew scarce and the demand for housing began to fall. Levitt tried to branch out to other areas and built smaller communities, but his profits continued to drop. In 1967, he sold his company to the International Telephone & Telegraph Corporation (ITT) and agreed not to build in the United States for 10 years. In the early 1970s, Levitt again suffered financially when the price of his stock in ITT crashed. He tried to bounce back with a new real estate corporation, but he failed. Levitt died at age 86 having never recovered from his losses.

**Further reading:** David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Villard Books, 1993); Barbara M. Kelly, *Expanding the American Dream: Building and Rebuilding Levittown* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).

—Jennifer Parson

### **Lewis, John** (1940– ) *civil rights leader*

John Lewis, a prominent African-American civil rights activist, was a relentless organizer and participant in numerous SIT-INS, FREEDOM RIDES, and protest marches throughout the South in the 1960s.

Lewis was born February 21, 1940, in Troy, Alabama, the son of parents who operated a cotton and peanut farm in rural Pike County. As a boy, he lived in a world of his own, refusing to participate in farmwork because he told his parents it was like gambling with nature. Instead, Lewis spent his time preaching to and baptizing chickens, which he considered to be the only farm animals worthy of adoption as the world's innocent creatures. His religious intensity later characterized his unswerving dedication to civil rights. By the time he was a teenager, despite a stammering voice and shyness, he was a regular Baptist preacher throughout the area. His inspiration came from the weekly radio sermons of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., in the mid-1950s. Lewis was the first person from his family to graduate from high school, doing so in 1957, and after that he hoped to follow his hero King to Morehouse College. Realizing that the college's tuition was beyond his family's means, he instead enrolled in the only school he could find that charged no tuition, Nashville's American Baptist Theological Seminary.

His first opportunity to meet King came in the late 1950s when Lewis enlisted the help of the civil rights

leader with his plans to gain admittance to all-white, segregated Troy State College in Alabama. When those plans failed to materialize, Lewis returned to Nashville and enrolled at Fisk University to pursue a degree in philosophy. There, influenced by theories of nonviolent forms of social protest, as well as the growing efforts of blacks to protest SEGREGATION laws throughout the South, he became a civil rights activist. In 1960, Lewis and several other Nashville blacks conducted their first sit-ins in the city's "white only" lunch counters. Despite being repeatedly arrested by police and harassed by the community, Lewis and the others continued their protests. Eventually, they joined forces with leaders of similar student groups across the South to form the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC).

With an unwavering belief in civil rights and nonviolent protest, as well as a willingness to risk his own life, Lewis emerged as the foremost young leader of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. He was a frequent participant in the more dangerous forms of protest, including the freedom rides in the summer of 1961, which challenged racial discrimination in bus facilities throughout the South. Lewis, like other freedom riders, endured vicious physical beatings, and numerous arrests during the rides. Lewis also led much-publicized marches against segregated movie theaters in Nashville.

Lewis's commitment to continue such protests, despite physical dangers, distinguished him as a role model of the early nonviolent protests. He was unanimously elected chairman of SNCC in 1963, the same year in which he made his noteworthy speech at the march for civil rights in Washington, D.C., criticizing the administration of President JOHN F. KENNEDY for not proceeding quickly enough with legislation calling for civil rights. As chairman of SNCC, Lewis maintained a course of nonviolence. Eventually more militant elements of the organization, those espousing principles of "BLACK POWER," grew restless with Lewis's leadership. In 1966, he was ousted as SNCC chairman by STOKELY CARMICHAEL, and he resigned from the organization.

Lewis went on to work for the Field Foundation, first as a director of community organization projects in the Nashville area, eventually becoming director of the foundation's Voter Education Project (VEP) based in Atlanta. As VEP director from 1970 until 1977, Lewis led grassroots efforts to organize southern black voters and to provide political education to young people. In 1977, he was appointed by President Jimmy Carter to be director of U.S. operations for Action, a federal agency that oversaw various economic recovery programs on the community level. That same year, Lewis ran for political office, finishing second in the Democratic primary for Georgia's fifth congressional district.



In 1982, he was elected to the Atlanta City Council, a position in which he became known for his close attention to the needs of the poor and elderly. Lewis's popularity and respect from the people earned him the Democratic nomination for Congress, defeating former SNCC ally Julian Bond in 1986. In his role as congressman, Lewis remained a prominent and respected figure in the struggle for civil rights.

**Further reading:** Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954–63* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988); John Lewis with Michael D'Orso, *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998).

—Elizabeth A. Henke

## liberalism

The fundamentals of liberalism lay in the proposition that the government had responsibility for the welfare of all its citizens and accepted the need for a more active government role to help those who were unable to help themselves.

The period between the end of World War II and the election of Richard M. Nixon to the presidency in 1968 arguably contains both the high-water mark and the demise of the age of American liberalism. As a political philosophy, liberalism has had many definitions, but in the postwar United States it has come to represent the belief in governmental intervention in the market, the social reform arena, and the realm of international affairs. The proliferation of liberal institutions and policies of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administrations after 1933 revolutionized the role of the federal government in America, even if they did not bring about the end of the Great Depression. Thus, after the war, President HARRY S. TRUMAN found himself equipped with new tools for domestic and international action, as well as an overall resolve on the part of the American people that the government had a right to exercise its power.

Although the liberal wings of both the DEMOCRATIC PARTY and the REPUBLICAN PARTY were largely ascendant after 1945, each party's conservative wing actively opposed the expansion of the federal government. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Republican Party's liberal eastern wing sought to continue the policies of the NEW DEAL and to extend the reach of American social, business, and governmental institutions abroad. The only Republican president between 1933 and 1969, General DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, was sympathetic to many of the New Deal programs he inherited, and he was elected twice. Significantly, the more conservative, midwestern wing of the party, led by Ohio senator Robert A. Taft, failed to capture the White House. When conservative Arizona senator

BARRY GOLDWATER captured the Republican nomination in 1964, for example, he lost overwhelmingly to LYNDON B. JOHNSON. This is largely due to the fact that during this period the many beneficiaries of liberalism, among them ethnic Northeasterners, members of labor unions, and African Americans, moved into the Democratic Party in dramatic numbers. There was likewise a regional struggle in the Democratic Party, in which liberal western and eastern Democrats clashed openly with conservative southerners angered by the party's integrationist policies. This first occurred in 1948, when J. Strom Thurmond, the governor of South Carolina, abandoned the Democrats to run for president as the candidate of the antiliberal STATES' RIGHTS PARTY, and again in the 1960s, when southern politicians directly interfered with the federally mandated (and enforced) integration of public schools. Perhaps the most dramatic episode came when Governor GEORGE C. WALLACE of Alabama literally blocked the entry of African Americans into the University of Alabama until confronted by federalized members of the National Guard.

In the 1960s, the liberalism of Democratic administrations both at home and abroad helped redefine voting patterns as many white southerners, previously reliable voters for Democrats regardless of the party's candidate, began to drift into the arms of the Republican Party. On the other hand, many southern blacks, who until the VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 found political participation a difficult enterprise, all but deserted the Republican Party for that which had passed legislation supporting civil rights and aid to the impoverished. These changes occurred largely on the national level: many southern candidates for state and local offices remained Democratic, long after these changes in national election voting appeared.

It is possible that American liberalism contained the seeds of its own demise. As the 1960s wore on, the continuation of social problems, in spite of Johnson's WAR ON POVERTY, suggested that governmental action was not a simple cure-all. Some white voters were put off by their belief that, despite expanded government programs for the poor and federal protection for civil rights, African-American leaders appeared to become more outspoken in their quest for social justice. Others, on both the political left and right, were put off by the continuing intervention of the United States in the VIETNAM WAR in Southeast ASIA, where increased military spending did not yield a favorable outcome. Thus, in the election of 1968, both liberals and conservatives deserted the Democratic Party, ensuring the election of Republican Richard M. Nixon. While cautious to correct what he felt were the excesses of Johnson's liberalism, and prepared to oppose such policies as school busing to win the votes of southern whites, Nixon was no laissez-faire isolationist. He sought to improve relations with communist China and to use the power of the presidency to

regulate the economy. Yet the lessons that Americans of all political stripes appeared to draw from the ongoing Vietnam War, and the ambiguous results of Johnson's GREAT SOCIETY, pointed to a lapse in the belief in government's ability to improve their lives.

**Further reading:** Alan Brinkley, *Liberalism and Its Discontents* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); Alonzo Hamby, *Liberalism and Its Challengers: From F.D.R. to Bush* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

—Patrick J. Walsh

### Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963

The Limited Test Ban Treaty prohibited atmospheric, underwater, and high-altitude nuclear testing. The treaty was signed by the United States, Great Britain, and the SOVIET UNION in August 1963 and entered into effect later that year following ratification.

During the 1950s, the major powers engaged in an ARMS RACE that became increasingly lethal as a result of radioactive fallout in the atmosphere. After the Soviet Union implemented a unilateral testing moratorium in 1958, the United States did the same, and that voluntary initiative lasted for several years. Even so, talks about a more permanent solution failed when the Soviets shot down an American U-2 reconnaissance plane. Angered by DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER's initial claims that the U-2 was merely a weather plane gone awry, Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev walked out of a superpower summit in Paris, and ended the test ban negotiations.

Test ban talks resumed in March 1961, but they were initially unsuccessful. President JOHN F. KENNEDY made several modifications to the American position, offering a ban on high-altitude tests. On-site inspections proved to be the key sticking point. In time, the Soviets demanded only two or three; the United States wanted eight or 10. Even though that latter number was scaled down from what Kennedy and his military advisers had initially sought, there was still tremendous difference between the two positions.

Outside events affected the arms control negotiations. After the BAY OF PIGS fiasco and the meeting in Vienna between Khrushchev and Kennedy in June 1961, superpower relations deteriorated, and so did the test ban negotiations. In the fall of 1961, the Soviets broke the voluntary ban on nuclear testing that had been in place since 1958 and detonated a 50-megaton device, equivalent to more than 3,000 bombs of the type dropped on Hiroshima in 1945. Kennedy responded in kind by resuming both underground and atmospheric nuclear testing. By late autumn, the talks in Geneva had ended.

After the 1962 CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, both Kennedy and Khrushchev realized just how quickly an interna-

tional dispute could escalate to nuclear war. Both leaders wanted to take steps to prevent worldwide destruction. Khrushchev's apparent defeat in the missile crisis worsened Sino-Soviet relations, and he now had to face two powerful enemies, the United States and China. He therefore softened his stance on several issues, including arms control. When Kennedy wrote to Khrushchev in April 1963 to suggest that high-level talks to discuss a test ban treaty resume, the Soviet premier accepted immediately and offered to host the talks in Moscow.

Kennedy delivered a speech at American University in June 1963 that called for peace and restraint, sending a signal to the Soviets that he was ready to negotiate on arms control. The speech was also part of a public relations effort to secure congressional support for a test ban treaty. Kennedy argued that the treaty would improve American security by curbing the arms race, reducing radioactive pollution, and allowing continued antiballistic missile research.

Intensive talks lasted for 10 days in Moscow in July 1963. It soon became clear that the Soviets would not accept on-site inspections, which the United States required for a comprehensive test ban. The priority then shifted to securing a limited test ban agreement. Representatives from the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain signed the treaty in August. American public opinion supported the treaty and it passed the Senate by a vote of 80 to 19 on September 24, 1963.

The Limited Test Ban Treaty never fulfilled the hopes of Kennedy or Khrushchev. While it reduced the amount of radioactive pollution in the atmosphere, it did not halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Efforts to include France and China as signatories to the treaty failed, and it did not stop all forms of testing. After the treaty was signed, underground testing actually accelerated. Still, it amounted to an important first step in arms control.

**Further reading:** George Bunn, *Arms Control by Committee: Managing Negotiations with the Russians* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992).

—Jennifer Walton

### literature

Literature after World War II underwent a shift in both style and focus, as it reflected changing attitudes toward race, gender, family, sexuality, youth, and war.

Prior to World War II, American literature experienced a period of rebirth, as a group of authors both home and abroad—including Ernest Hemingway, John Steinbeck, Gertrude Stein, Langston Hughes, and F. Scott Fitzgerald—reacted to the demoralizing violence of World War I, the decadence of the 1920s, and the poverty of the Great

Depression in the 1930s. While many of them continued to write after World War II, only Hemingway, with *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952), for which he won the Pulitzer Prize for literature the same year, matched his work before the war.

Instead, a new group of authors, most of them born in the 20th century, began to examine the effects of World War II and its aftermath on the United States. *The Naked and the Dead* (1948), about an infantry platoon fighting on a small Japanese island, was immediately heralded as the first great World War II novel, and its 25-year-old author, Norman Mailer, became an instant celebrity. While he never equaled the success earned by his first novel, Mailer remained a prominent literary figure for the rest of the century. James Jones's *From Here to Eternity* (1951), set in Pearl Harbor in the weeks before the December 1941 attack that pulled the United States into the war, was immortalized by the 1953 movie version starring Burt Lancaster and Frank Sinatra. Jones followed the book up in 1962 with *The Thin Red Line*, depicting the Battle of Guadalcanal, the second in his trilogy about the war (the third of which was published in 1978).

Joseph Heller's *Catch-22* (1961), with its emphasis on satire and its use of surrealism, represented a departure from the common World War II novel. Heller flew 60 combat missions in EUROPE during the war, and while working in the publishing industry in the late 1950s, he wrote *Catch-22*, about a U.S. Army Air Corps captain struggling to stay alive while stationed in the Mediterranean during World War II. The title refers to an army regulation that discharges pilots for insanity after flying too many combat missions; to request not to fly, however, means that the pilot is sane and therefore must fly the missions. Heller's novel became synonymous for no-win situations, and while it was not a rousing critical success, it became considerably popular as a cult novel.

Drama, too, reflected issues of social concern, but only some themes were war-related. With *All My Sons* (1947), about a son returning home from the war only to discover his father's role in war profiteering, playwright Arthur Miller examined the effects of the war on the home front rather than the battlefield. Much of American theater, though, dealt with issues that rent apart the fabric of American society. Miller's most famous play, *Death of a Salesman* (1949), told the story of Willy Loman, an aging member of the workforce who deludes himself into believing he is a man of true importance. Winning the Pulitzer Prize for drama, *Salesman* was celebrated as a modern tragedy, proof that the American dream could be just as damaging as it was inspiring. Lorraine Hansberry's *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959)—the first play by an African-American woman to be staged on Broadway—told a similar story, as a black father must decide whether to move his family into



Arthur Miller (Library of Congress)

an all-white neighborhood. The plays of Tennessee Williams, most notably the Pulitzer Prize-winning *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1947) and *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1955), examined the underlying sexual frustrations of southern white women in a rough and violent society. Other notable plays included Edward Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (1962), about a married couple's night of angry confrontation; Miller's *The Crucible* (1953), an allegory set during the 1692 Salem witch trials about the anticommunist paranoia of Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY; and the posthumous debut in 1956 of *A Long Day's Journey into Night*, Eugene O'Neill's masterpiece about the American family.

Southern literature received considerable attention during the postwar years. While his best material was written well before World War II, it was only during and after the war that William Faulkner's work became recognized as one of the most groundbreaking bodies of literature of the 20th century. Known primarily for his series of novels set in the fictitious southern county of Yoknapatawpha, of which *The Sound and the Fury* (1929) constituted the most prominent, Faulkner examined issues of race, class, family, and gender in the South, earning him the Nobel Prize for literature in 1950. Robert Penn Warren, a prominent southern writer, won the Pulitzer Prize for *All the King's Men* (1947), which told the story of the rise and fall of a



fictitious southern governor based on Louisiana politician Huey P. Long.

The best-recognized and successful southern novel of the period, however, was Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960). Lee's father, a respected lawyer in her home town of Monroeville, Alabama, served as the inspiration for Atticus Finch, the father of Scout, *Mockingbird's* narrator as an adult looking back on her childhood. The novel's two parallel storylines follow Atticus as he defends a black man accused of raping a white woman, and Scout, as she and her friends investigate the mysterious recluse Boo Radley, who lives across the street. The novel earned Lee the Pulitzer Prize and praise from the Alabama legislature. It became a staple of high school English curriculums and was made into a classic film in 1962 starring Gregory Peck, who won an Academy Award for his performance as Atticus.

Other authors attacked the materialism and shallowness of post-World War II American life. *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951), J. D. Salinger's only published novel, was a popular coming-of-age story that earned its author wide praise. The story follows Holden Caulfield, a self-conscious 16-year-old searching for innocence and honesty in a world filled with "phonies." Salinger's use of slang and reliance on dark humor emphasized the sensibilities of the era's youth, winning him a devoted following of readers both young and old.

While Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940) explored the treatment of AFRICAN AMERICANS by white society through the sensational storytelling of the protest novel, several other black authors chose to take different approaches to presenting black culture in America. Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952), his first and only novel, follows an inexperienced southern black youth who travels to Harlem to fight in the Civil Rights movement, only to be ignored by both the black and the white communities. Ellison's book, a passionately written story about discovering the "black" identity within American society, was considered by critics as one of the most powerful novels of the postwar period, helping to spark the consciousness of the African-American Civil Rights movement. Ellison's nonfictional counterpart was JAMES BALDWIN, whose two autobiographical essays *Notes of a Native Son* (1955) and *The Fire Next Time* (1963) match Ellison's passion in their lucid assessment and ultimate critique of black America, including Wright's use of the protest novel. Baldwin was also a novelist; his first book, *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953), dealt with African-American issues; his second, *Giovanni's Room* (1959), was noteworthy in its frank portrayal of a homosexual man's journey in Europe.

Issues of sexuality were prominent during this period, no better reflected than in Vladimir Nabokov's highly controversial novel *Lolita* (1958), about a middle-aged man's affair with a 12-year-old girl. Nabokov was born in St. Petersburg in 1899, but left Russia in 1919, lived in Europe

until 1940, and became a U.S. citizen in 1945. Though he began writing while still living in Russia, Nabokov was unsuccessful until he published *Lolita*. When no American publisher accepted the book, it was first published in France in 1955. Once published in the United States, it made its way to number one on *The New York Times* best-seller list, and it was heralded as a brilliant dark comedy.

No stranger to controversy themselves, the writers of the BEAT GENERATION also tackled heretofore taboo subjects like drug use and homosexuality. Through such works as ALLEN GINSBERG's long-form poem *Howl* (1956), JACK KEROUAC's stream of consciousness novel *On the Road* (1957), and William S. Burroughs's highly experimental novel *Naked Lunch* (1961), the Beats (as they were christened by Kerouac) rejected mainstream society and mainstream writing in favor of finding an alternative for both. Precursors to the COUNTERCULTURE of the 1960s, the Beats preferred a lively, exuberant style that underscored their critique of American culture.

Norman Mailer, who became known more for a style of journalism called the "nonfiction novel" than for fiction writing, examined followers of the Beats in his essay "The White Negro" (1957). He noted that this segment of white youth co-opted both African American slang and sensibility. Mailer wrote several other nonfiction books, including *The Armies of the Night* (1968) about his arrest at a demonstration in October 1967 as part of the antiwar movement. Truman Capote, known earlier for his novels *Other Voices, Other Rooms* (1948) and *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1958), is best known for his nonfiction work, *In Cold Blood* (1966), about a 1959 multiple murder in Kansas. Tom Wolfe won wide praise with his book about author Ken Kesey and the countercultural hippies in *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968), in which he described the impact of getting stoned on the drug LSD.

Nonfiction works critiquing cultural attitudes and CONSUMERISM of the 1950s and 1960s were popular during this period. VANCE PACKARD exposed the tricks of the ADVERTISING trade in *The Hidden Persuaders* (1957), and he went on to write several other books analyzing various aspects of U.S. society. Biologist RACHEL CARSON, in *Silent Spring* (1962), examined the damaging effects of pesticide use, raising public awareness about the dangers of pollution in general. Consumer advocate RALPH NADER's *Unsafe at Any Speed* (1965) criticized the American automobile industry, and the GENERAL MOTORS Corporation's Corvair in particular, for their lack of safety precautions, leading directly to the passage of the NATIONAL TRAFFIC AND MOTOR VEHICLE SAFETY ACT OF 1966. BETTY FRIEDAN's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) depicted women's dissatisfaction with their traditional role within the family, and the book is seen as one of the central works of the movement for WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS in the middle to late 1960s.



Popular genre novels, mass-produced in paperback, also became more prevalent during the postwar period. SCIENCE-FICTION writer Ray Bradbury's *The Martian Chronicles* (1950) served as a cautionary tale about materialistic humans from Earth devastating an idyllic society on Mars. Bradbury's novels and short stories continued to be popular well into the final years of the century. Pulp novelist Mickey Spillane's *I, the Jury* (1947) constituted his first hit in his series of books, known for their violent content and sexual innuendo, featuring detective Mike Hammer. Selling for 25 to 50 cents a copy, the books became among the best-selling works of fiction up to that point in publishing history. Children's mystery novel series featuring the Hardy Boys and Nancy Drew, created by syndication publisher Edward Stratemeyer in the 1920s and 1930s, were widely popular among young readers after World War II, and the characters quickly became part of POPULAR CULTURE. Grace Metalious's *Peyton Place* (1956) exposed the dark, unseemly underbelly of what on the surface appeared to be a quaint New England town. The book sold 10 million copies in paperback by 1966; its progressive treatment of women contributed to both its success and its reputation as a harbinger of the feminist movement in the 1960s.

Poetry after World War II went through a transition period, moving from the influences of the rigid form of T. S. Eliot into a more open, emotional style reminiscent of poets like Walt Whitman and D. H. Lawrence but unique unto themselves. The 1940s saw poetry collections like Robert Lowell's *Lord Weary's Castle* (1946) and Theodore Roethke's *The Lost Son and Other Poems* (1948) adhere to Eliot's use of formal structuring and lyricism. By the 1950s, however, many poets turned to an open, unfolding style using direct and prosaic language. Lowell's *Life Studies* (1959) and *For the Union Dead* (1964) typified this style, and Lowell himself influenced poets like Anne Sexton, known for her confessional poems *To Bedlam and Part Way Back* (1960) and *All My Pretty Ones* (1962). Beat poets like Ginsberg, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and Gregory Corso also popularized the new style.

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—Adam B. Vary

## LSD

A hallucinogenic drug discovered by Swiss chemist Albert Hoffmann, LSD helped define the COUNTERCULTURE of the 1960s.

Lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD) was discovered in 1943 and made available to select researchers by Sandoz Pharmaceuticals in 1947. One of the earliest American groups to show an interest in the powerful new hallucinogen, the CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA), authorized a secret LSD research program ("MK-ULTRA") in 1953 as part of its long-standing search for a truth serum. The program attracted an unorthodox crew to begin with, and, as agents tested the drug on themselves, their experimental designs became increasingly bizarre. Perhaps the most disturbing was the 1955 Operation Midnight Climax, in which unwitting men were lured from bars to an agency-funded bordello where they were dosed with LSD and observed through one-way mirrors. Despite such efforts, researchers never found LSD to be of any value as a mind control drug, and in the early 1960s the program closed up shop.

In addition to its own ill-fated operation, the CIA had also channeled funds to legitimate psychological researchers intrigued by the prospect of a psychosis-inducing drug. As the decade wore on, attention turned from "model psychoses" to LSD's therapeutic potential. Two main strategies emerged. In "psycholytic" therapy small doses of the drug were administered as an adjunct to psychoanalysis. In "psychedelic" ("mind manifesting") therapy, introduced by Canadian LSD pioneer Henry Osmond in 1957, a large dose was used to telescope years of therapy into a single session. Such techniques briefly became fashionable, especially in Los Angeles's art-and-film colony.

Attached to the growing numbers of clinical researchers, a loose network of lay partisans saw hallucinogens as sacramental portals to a more profound metaphysical realm. Aldous Huxley, the famed English novelist, was one of the earliest of these LSD proselytizers. His series of rhapsodic, yet highly literate, books on the subject, including *The Doors of Perception* (1954), *Heaven and Hell* (1956), and the psychedelic utopian novel *Island* (1962), advertised the existence of hallucinogens to a widening circle of followers. By the late 1950s, Huxley's circle had merged with the LSD therapy circuit, bringing together psychiatrists with notable intellectuals and artists. On the East Coast, a similar network was springing up around a young Harvard psychologist named TIMOTHY LEARY, whose hallucinogen research seminar had evolved (with some help from poet ALLEN GINSBERG) into a never-ending series of what could best be described as drug parties.

The surreal genteel atmosphere of these early psychedelic explorations did not last for long. Researchers were experimenting on themselves, and, as with the CIA, the results were unpredictable. Some became messianic about the drug's transformative potential, and their research programs later tended to evolve into plans for a chemically engineered cultural revolution. By the mid-1960s, this

radical mind-set had taken hold of a highly visible vanguard of evangelists, some of whom had become youth culture heroes. Leary became one of the best known of these drug gurus, famously exhorting Americans to “turn on, tune in, and drop out” as he continued his research in the stately New York mansion that served as his headquarters after his expulsion from Harvard in 1963 for allowing undergraduates to participate in experiments after promising not to involve them. Even stranger than Leary’s actions were the inspired antics of novelist Ken Kesey, who had begun his LSD career as a volunteer research subject. Later immortalized in Tom Wolfe’s *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968), Kesey and his band of “Merry Pranksters” sponsored LSD festivals known as “Acid Tests” that helped California become the center of a rapidly expanding psychedelic movement.

Egged on by enthusiasts like Leary, Kesey, and an ever-widening pantheon of cultural icons like the BEATLES, a growing number of young people experimented with LSD. San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, already the unofficial capital of the “hippie” world, became the mecca of the new distinctly antipolitical movement. In 1967, the huge “Human Be-In” capped a series of LSD festivals. But the Haight, ecstatic as it seemed in its best moments, was far removed from the carefully structured

setting called for by LSD researchers in their earlier, more sober days. Already in 1965 observers had begun to note an alarming rise in the frequency of “bad trips,” many of which ended up in emergency rooms. As negative publicity mounted, the government took steps to combat America’s “LSD epidemic.” By the end of 1966 the drug was illegal in all 50 states, and the Food and Drug Administration had effectively halted further medical research. Within a few years, the psychedelic movement’s most visible leaders, Kesey and Leary, were either in prison or in hiding. Many, like Kesey himself, claimed to have moved beyond drugs in their search for transcendence; Leary’s former colleague Richard Alpert, for example, returned from India as the (more or less) clean-living guru Baba Ram Dass. Americans continued to take LSD recreationally, but the momentous sense of doing so as part of a revolutionary movement had permanently faded.

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—David Herzberg

**Luce, Henry** See VOLUME VIII.

# M



**MacArthur, Douglas** (1880–1964) *Allied commander in World War II*

Douglas MacArthur served as a commander in the Philippines during World War II, as occupation commander of post–World War II Japan, and as head of the United Nations (UN) forces during the KOREAN WAR.

MacArthur was born on January 26, 1880, in Little Rock, Arkansas, the third and youngest child of Arthur MacArthur, Jr., and Mary “Pinkie” Pinckney. He graduated from West Point in 1903 with the rank of second lieutenant. His first assignment sent him to the Philippines where he contracted malaria and was forced to transfer back to the United States. He held stints as a military aide to President Theodore Roosevelt and as a company commander at Fort Leavenworth, an army training center. MacArthur went on to serve on the U.S. Army General Staff, followed by an assignment to Veracruz, Mexico, in 1914, during the Mexican Revolution.

MacArthur quickly rose through the army ranks. As a major, he assisted Franklin D. Roosevelt, then assistant secretary of the navy, in implementing the expansion of the army for service in World War I. His idea to incorporate National Guard units into the army resulted in his promotion to colonel and chief of the newly established 42nd “Rainbow” Division. In Europe, between 1917 and 1919, MacArthur fought in numerous battles and received several commendations for his skill and bravery, including a promotion to brigadier general. He returned to the United States in the spring of 1919 and for the next two years served as the superintendent of West Point. Then new orders sent MacArthur to the Philippines, where, in 1925, he received a promotion to major general. In 1928, he was reassigned as army commander of the Philippines Department.

From 1930 to 1935, MacArthur served as head of the army. During this time, he directed his efforts toward preserving the army’s strength in the midst of Great Depression-era budget constraints. In 1935, he went on to serve as military adviser and field marshal in the Philippines.

After an admirable career, MacArthur retired from the army in 1937.

In 1941, at the age of 61, MacArthur was recalled into active duty to shore up military forces in defense of U.S. interests in the Pacific against an impending Japanese invasion. MacArthur’s troops valiantly attempted to delay Japanese seizure of the Philippines, despite being cut off from supplies and weakened by disease and hunger. With the landing of Japanese troops in the Philippines, Roosevelt ordered MacArthur and his staff to Australia in 1942. MacArthur was named supreme commander of the Southwest Pacific area, with orders to defend the territory. His forces established defensive posts in New Guinea and successfully expelled the Japanese from the island in 1943. Bolstered by Allied military reinforcements, MacArthur launched a series of offensive maneuvers designed to seize strategic areas of New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. Ultimately, his soldiers succeeded in neutralizing Rabaul,



General Douglas MacArthur (*Library of Congress*)

formerly a Japanese stronghold. Maintaining his momentum, MacArthur's forces advanced toward the Philippines, attacking the islands of Morotai, Leyte, and Mindoro in 1944. Finally, despite fierce opposition from Japanese military units, American troops entered the Philippine capital of Manila. Within a month, MacArthur established U.S. control of Manila. Six months later, he secured the remaining islands.

For his leadership in the war effort, MacArthur was given the rank of five-star general, and an appointment as commander of army forces in the Pacific. As commander of the Pacific troops, MacArthur planned to direct an invasion of Japan. After the United States dropped the first ATOMIC BOMB on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, and another bomb on Nagasaki, the Japanese opened negotiations for surrender. MacArthur's subsequent appointment as supreme commander of the Allied Powers and Far East commander included directing the U.S. occupation of Japan. Between 1945 and 1951, MacArthur single-handedly administered a series of orders that demobilized the Japanese military and restored the economy. In addition, he initiated a series of reforms in the areas of education, public health, labor, and land redistribution.

President HARRY S. TRUMAN's administration gradually decreased MacArthur's authority. With the start of the Korean War in 1950, MacArthur, now at age 70, became involved in implementing strategies for defending American interests in Korea. The United Nations Security Council named him commander of the operation, and with few combat-ready troops available, he was ordered to defend South Korea. In September, his military assaults quelled the North Korean advance toward Pusan, as his naval forces landed at Inchon. This action resulted, initially, in the retreat of North Korean troops, and the UN control of Seoul, South Korea's capital. Seeing a quick end to the war, MacArthur ordered his troops beyond the 38th parallel and into North Korean territory in November. He launched a simultaneous naval assault near Wonsan, on the east coast. Meanwhile, MacArthur assured Truman that there was no threat from Chinese forces in Manchuria. Yet, in November, massive Chinese forces launched a counterattack, which yielded 11,000 casualties for the troops under MacArthur's command, and forced MacArthur to retreat. MacArthur went back on the offensive, and two months later he stabilized the front line just south of Seoul.

For his public disagreement with U.S. and UN policy in Korea, along with insubordination and an unwillingness to contain the war, Truman relieved MacArthur of his command on April 11, 1951. MacArthur received a groundswell of popular support, until negative publicity from a Senate investigation of his dismissal quelled public opinion. The delegates to the 1952 Republican convention considered MacArthur a possible presidential nominee. During that

same year, he became board chairman of the Remington Rand Corporation. In 1959, with the death of General GEORGE C. MARSHALL, MacArthur became senior officer in the U.S. Army.

MacArthur lived the remainder of his life in New York City. He died at the age of 84 on April 5, 1964, in Washington, D.C., after complications following gallbladder surgery.

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—Michelle Reid

**Malcolm X** (1925–1965) *militant civil rights activist, Nation of Islam minister*

Malcolm X fought for civil rights for African Americans during the 1950s and 1960s. He preached equality for blacks in America by any means possible and through the teachings of the Nation of Islam.

Malcolm was born on May 19, 1925, in Omaha, Nebraska, to Earl and Louise Little. Earl Little was a minister and active organizer in the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), an institution that actively sought to create separate institutions for blacks to be able to prosper. After the KU KLUX KLAN made several threats to Earl for his activity in the UNIA, he moved his family to Lansing, Michigan, in 1930. Only one year later Earl was found dead, near the family's home, on a trolley car track. Malcolm's mother Louise was admitted into a mental health hospital in 1939, after she suffered a complete breakdown. Malcolm had already been put into foster care. He received education only up to the eighth grade, when his older sister Ella asked him to join her and her husband in Boston.

Malcolm worked in Boston for a short time. By 1942, he had moved out of Boston into the Harlem area of New York City, where he worked in a dining car on a railroad. Not satisfied with his pay, he turned to crime, forming a gang that robbed rich households in the neighborhood. In February 1946, he was caught during a robbery and sent to a Charlestown, Massachusetts, prison for seven years. In prison, Malcolm came to know the teachings of the Nation of Islam led by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. He converted to Islam in prison, dropped his "slave" name Little, and adopted only the X.

In 1952, Malcolm was paroled and he immediately went to work for the Nation of Islam as an administrator and a minister. Malcolm was a charismatic speaker, and African Americans flocked to him to hear him preach. The





Malcolm X (Library of Congress)

black youth of America were looking for a more militant leader than MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. Malcolm preached that African Americans should fight for equality and freedom from white oppression by any means necessary; if violence was the only way to achieve this freedom, then that was the answer. The Nation of Islam spread quickly among the black community in urban areas, and Malcolm established new mosques in Boston, Philadelphia, and Hartford. In only a few short years, the Nation had exceeded 30,000 members. Malcolm's message went to mainstream America after a TELEVISION interview with Mike Wallace, on a show called *The Hate That Hate Produced*. During the program, Malcolm explained that the black population of America would no longer stand for the oppression and violence that was being carried out against them by whites. He encouraged African Americans everywhere to join the Nation of Islam, and to break the chains of more than 300 years of oppression.

In 1963, Malcolm and Elijah Muhammad found themselves pitted against one another in charting the future of the Nation of Islam. Malcolm had become the voice of the Nation of Islam, and his popularity had far exceeded that

of Elijah Muhammad, which created tensions within the organization. Malcolm left the Nation of Islam and founded Muslim Mosque Inc., where he began to take a less militant stance, and he started to preach for a more secular black community in America. For many years, Malcolm and King had been at odds with the Civil Rights movement and its approach to gaining equality. Malcolm now promoted a less aggressive form of change, as King had been doing for years. Malcolm wanted black communities to take control of their own neighborhoods, not by violence or force, but through the ballot box. In 1964, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and there his views changed most significantly. He found himself sitting, eating, and praying next to white Muslims. He thought that if this could be achieved in Mecca, then surely it could occur in other places as well. Malcolm changed his position on SEGREGATION from the white race to integration; he also officially changed his name from Malcolm X to El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. When he returned from Mecca, his first step toward integration was the acceptance of contributions from white supporters.

In 1965 *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* was written by author Alex Haley based on interviews conducted shortly before Malcolm X's assassination. Chronicling his life in prison, conversion to Islam, travels to Africa, and other notable events, the book captured Malcolm X's emergence as a political leader and the development of an ideology that significantly influenced African-American activism in the 20th century. While *Time* magazine named *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* one of the most important nonfiction books of the 20th century, Malcolm X's family, as well as the Nation of Islam, accused Haley of inaccuracies and of fictionalizing parts of his story. Haley denied the allegations.

Malcolm X was stopped before he could ever bring his plan of integration and equality to mainstream America. On February 21, 1965, while giving a speech in the Audubon Ballroom in New York City, he was assassinated by several black gunmen from another part of the Muslim movement.

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—Matt Escovar

### March on Washington (1963)

On August 28, 1963, approximately 250,000 supporters of the Civil Rights movement gathered in Washington, D.C., to call upon the White House to ban racist laws and give black Americans equal opportunity in employment and education.



Protesters at the 1963 March on Washington (National Archives)

The march demonstrated to the world and Congress that the time had come for true equality for all men and women regardless of race. One of the largest demonstrations of the Civil Rights movement, the March on Washington proved that positive changes could occur through peaceful means.

Conditions throughout the United States in the 1960s reflected a staunch coalition of mostly southern Americans

committed to a system of SEGREGATION. Protestors met in April, called together by MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., a young black Baptist minister and president of the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), and Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth to denounce segregated conditions across the South. Gathering in Birmingham, Alabama, the demonstrators were broken up by local police



who used brutal methods such as fire hoses and dogs to disband the protestors. The BIRMINGHAM CONFRONTATION forced President JOHN F. KENNEDY to increase the efforts of the government to pass comprehensive federal antidiscrimination legislation.

To lobby for passage of such a measure, civil rights leaders, pressed by black activists, arranged a massive March on Washington in August. Demonstrators assembled for the event included Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish leaders, and celebrities such as diplomat RALPH BUNCHE, writer JAMES BALDWIN, entertainers Sammy Davis, Jr., Harry Belafonte, and Lena Horne, and former baseball player JACKIE ROBINSON. Folk music artists of the early 1960s were there as well. Joan Baez, BOB DYLAN, and Peter, Paul, and Mary led the crowd in songs associated with the movement, such as "Blowin' in the Wind" and "We Shall Overcome."

On this occasion King made his moving "I Have a Dream" speech. "I have a dream," King declared, "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.' I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be able to sit together at the table of brotherhood." King concluded by quoting from an old hymn: "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God almighty, we are free at last!"

Other activists spoke to the assembled crowd with the intention of persuading both black and white Americans to step up their civil rights activities in a peaceful manner. JOHN LEWIS, chairman of the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), stated, "For the first time in 100 years this nation is being awakened to the fact that segregation is evil and it must be destroyed in all forms. Our presence today proves that we have been aroused to the point of action."

Protester demands included the passage of civil rights legislation in Congress, immediate elimination of all racial segregation in schools, protection for civil rights demonstrators from police brutality, a large program of public works to remedy unemployment, a law preventing discrimination in the workplace, an increase in the minimum wage, and self-government for the District of Columbia. These concerns reflected issues that many African Americans faced: a lack of fair and equal employment and education.

At the conclusion of the rally, the crowd dispersed with a speed and order that emphasized the nonviolent nature of the demonstration. In the months following the march, Kennedy was assassinated and LYNDON B. JOHNSON took up the fight for the passage of comprehensive civil rights legislation. While Kennedy introduced such legislation to Congress in June 1963, it was over one year before Johnson

signed the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964, barring discrimination on the basis of race in all public accommodations, with an equal opportunity clause making it illegal for employers to discriminate in hiring on the grounds of race, religion, sex, or national origin.

On August 22, 2003, the symbolic association between the Lincoln Memorial and the March on Washington was officially memorialized with the unveiling of an inscription marking the place where Dr. King stood to deliver his "I Have a Dream" speech 40 years earlier. In her keynote address, King's widow, Coretta, spoke of the historic relationship between her husband's famous speech and President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and noted that the memorial inscription opened "a new chapter in America's long journey to freedom and equality."

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—Kim Richardson

## marriage and family life

Despite unprecedented economic prosperity, America suffered from instability and uncertainty after World War II. While hailing the middle-class myth of prosperity and abundance for all, post-World War II Americans took refuge from the dangers of the outside world by withdrawing into the security of the family home.

Following World War II, the average age of men and women who married began to drop and the birthrate began to rise. The rising birthrate was perhaps the most significant indication of the monumental change that had taken place in middle-class America's perception of domestic stability and family values. After nearly a hundred years of steady decline, postwar American married couples not only reversed the birthrate trend but also caused it to skyrocket to a 20th-century high, creating the BABY BOOM. As men and women of the late 1940s and 1950s married in ever-increasing numbers, they also reversed the divorce rate, which had been on a steady rise since World War I and peaked at the close of World War II. The reversal of these long-term demographic trends came as Americans embraced family life more aggressively and with more confidence than ever before.

Although they put a high premium on family life, postwar Americans regarded gender roles in a rigid and

traditional way. The husband and father resumed the identity of “breadwinner” while the wife and mother resumed the identity of “homemaker,” as reflected in situational comedies like *Ozzie and Harriet* and *Father Knows Best*. The return of the woman’s role as homemaker was perhaps most significant, as it effectively stripped women of the unprecedented level of independence that they had experienced during World War II.

There was, however, an underside to economic prosperity. While peace, low divorce rates, and a booming economy all defined the American dream to middle-class Americans who had lived through an economic depression and a world war, the euphoria associated with the transition from the adversity of the 1930s and early 1940s to the peace and prosperity of the late 1940s helped to hide a less pleasant side of American society. As women’s lives became predetermined by the new postwar family ideology, an all white middle-class migration to the suburbs further institutionalized racism and inner-city poverty. The suburban phenomenon excluded nonwhites, for as middle-class whites fled the city for the suburbs, the largely black minority population was left behind. While working-class blacks did not enjoy the postwar prosperity that most middle-class whites enjoyed, they did experience similar rises in birth and marriage rates.

At the same time, the post–World War II years were marked by threats to the American way of life that even the walls of the family home could not keep out. COMMUNISM, atomic weapons, and the COLD WAR induced an overwhelming anxiety. The fear of atomic annihilation and radioactive fallout reached epic proportions by the late 1950s. Magazines often contained images that fused the atomic age and domesticity, showing families in their neatly organized fallout shelters. *Consumer Reports* in March 1959 warned consumers about radioactivity in “The Milk We Drink.” The fear of communism was maintained by effective political propaganda suggesting that, without vigilance, communism would spread from country to country until it threatened the very existence of the United States.

By the late 1950s, the illusion of stability began to reveal the effects of these disturbing undercurrents. Breaching class lines, the BEAT GENERATION, MUSIC, and a new political ideology based on activism rather than adaptation began to expose American poverty and question the rigid institutionalized boundaries established and embraced by the post–World War II generation. The baby boomers who came of age in the 1960s and 1970s created a COUNTERCULTURE and a new focus on WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS resulting in the weakening of the nuclear family as the central building block in American society.

The Great Depression of the 1930s, World War II, and the politics of the cold war all played major parts in creating

and shaping the revival of the family. The hardship and fear associated with all these events led Americans to cling to rigid gender roles for the freedom from adversity that they offered. The baby boomers, however, were disenchanted with the society that their parents had created. They grew up in the affluence of the postwar years and they saw the consequences of the stability that their parents had so desperately sought in uneven distribution of wealth, sexual frustration, and institutionalized gender and racial inequality. As a result, the upheaval of baby boomers produced an unprecedented divorce rate and a corresponding decline in the rate of marriages and births.

**Further reading:** Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988).

—Jason Reed

**Marshall, George C.** See VOLUME VIII.

**Marshall, Thurgood** (1908–1993) *civil rights lawyer, associate justice of the Supreme Court*

Thurgood Marshall was the first black justice to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court.

Born on July 2, 1908, in Baltimore, Maryland, Marshall attended an all-black public school, and then went on to the integrated Lincoln University in Pennsylvania where he received his undergraduate degree with honors in 1930. After being turned down by the Maryland School of Law because he was black, Marshall applied to and was accepted by the Howard University School of Law, a predominately black institution in Washington, D.C. In 1933, Marshall graduated, and in the same year he was admitted to the Maryland Bar.

Marshall’s first venture into law came when he opened his own practice in Baltimore. Taking primarily the civil rights cases of those who could not afford a lawyer, he did not make much money in his early years of practice. He later had the opportunity to defend a black student attempting to gain admission to the University of Maryland School of Law, the same school that had earlier rejected Marshall. He won the case.

The NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) noticed Marshall’s activities. In 1936, Marshall accepted the position as NAACP lawyer and assistant counsel, and later he became chief counsel. He and his staff began a lengthy effort to overturn the 1896 judicial ruling of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which mandated separate facilities for blacks and whites, as long as they were equal. To that end, he set up the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, which aimed at work-



ing though the courts to have SEGREGATION, particularly in schools, declared illegal.

During his time with the NAACP, Marshall argued many cases. In 1950, he won two Supreme Court cases involving graduate schools. In *Sweatt v. Painter*, the Court ruled that a black law school could not be inferior to a segregated white law school in the same area and still meet the test of constitutionality. The second case, *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, ruled that a school could not accept a student, and then confine him or her to certain areas on the basis of race. Marshall defended minorities throughout the United States, preparing cases in Missouri and the University of Texas where blacks were excluded from juries. Meanwhile, he challenged discrimination in other areas as well. During and after World War II, he was an outspoken opponent of the government detention of Japanese Americans, and in 1951, he traveled to Japan and South Korea to investigate the mistreatment of blacks by white southern officers and the unfair practices of military courts trying blacks.

In 1954, Marshall and his staff took on their most important and influential case in *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION*. The Supreme Court headed by EARL WARREN ruled unanimously that “separate educational facilities [were] inherently unequal,” overturning the “separate but equal” doctrine of the 1896 decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. This victory gave children the right to attend desegregated public schools. This victory made Marshall a national figure. With the Democrats in the control of the White House, Marshall made it known he wanted a judgeship.

On September 23, 1961, after eight months in office, President JOHN F. KENNEDY appointed Marshall to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, serving New York. There was a one year delay before he could take up the position for numerous southern white senators did all they could to block the appointment. During his tenure as a federal appellate judge, Marshall wrote 150 opinions and presided over many cases in which the Supreme Court reversed none of his 98 majority decisions. Some of his more important decisions included finding loyalty oaths required of New York teachers unconstitutional, limiting the authority of immigration officials to summarily deport aliens, and enforcing the Fourth and Fifth Amendments in cases of illegal search and seizure and double jeopardy.

In 1965, President LYNDON B. JOHNSON appointed Marshall to the post of solicitor general of the United States. This entailed representing the government in cases before the Supreme Court. Marshall won 14 out of 19 cases. His most important achievement came in the *MIRANDA V. ARIZONA* decision, which required police to inform suspects of their rights.

In 1967, Johnson nominated Marshall to the Supreme Court. Even with stiff opposition from the president's own



Thurgood Marshall, NAACP chief counsel, before the Supreme Court, 1958 (Library of Congress)

DEMOCRATIC PARTY, he was confirmed by a Senate vote of 69 to 11. On October 2, 1967, Marshall was sworn in and took his seat. He became the first black to sit on the bench, and the first justice from Maryland since Chief Justice Roger B. Taney. Marshall served for 24 years on the bench before his retirement in 1991. On January 24, 1993, he died in Bethesda, Maryland.

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—Robert A. Deahl

## Marshall Plan

The Marshall Plan, or the European Recovery Program, was an American assistance package designed to rebuild the devastated countries of Western Europe following World War II.

Although initiated in part by humanitarian concerns, the Marshall Plan constituted an indispensable element of American strategy in the political, economic, and ideological struggle known as the COLD WAR. In particular, American policymakers feared that economic instability on the European continent would invite both economic depression

and communist subversion. They also worried that stagnant European demand would threaten the economic boom in the United States that had begun with American entry in the war and had been sustained by continued international demand.

At the end of World War II, EUROPE lay in shambles. The major powers had exhausted themselves: Great Britain and France were still reeling, Italy, Greece, and Turkey bordered on chaos, and Germany lay in ruins. Europe also faced a severe manpower shortage: over 35 million people had died during the war. Hordes of displaced persons, buffeted by the ravages of war, wandered about the continent. Fearful that such economic dislocation invited communist influence, the administration of HARRY S. TRUMAN sought to rebuild Western Europe.

Secretary of State George C. Marshall first publicly enunciated the European Recovery Program on June 5, 1947, in a speech at Harvard University. Marshall called upon the nations of Europe to unite and tackle European reconstruction in a comprehensive and collective fashion. Initially included in this call were the nations of both Western and Eastern Europe. Marshall told the nations of Europe that if they could devise a comprehensive plan of reconstruction, the United States would fund it.

At a summer meeting in Paris, representatives from Great Britain, France, and the SOVIET UNION met to hammer out details of the proposal. Wary of capitalist penetration into Eastern Europe, the Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov argued against any collective action, preferring instead a flexible plan able to address the needs of specific countries. Knowing that the United States desired collective action, the British and French foreign ministers squashed Molotov's initiatives, prompting his departure. Although the United States had offered aid to the Soviet Union, American policymakers believed that the Russians would never accept it on American terms, knowing that American assistance would undermine Soviet control in Eastern Europe. Moscow's rejection helped the Economic Cooperation Act pass Congress easily in March 1948—69 to 17 in the Senate and 329 to 74 in the House.

From April 1948 to December 1951, almost 13 billion American dollars flowed into Western Europe under the direction of the Economic Cooperation Administration. In all, 16 countries participated in the program: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and western Germany. The greatest funding went to Great Britain, France, Italy, and West Germany. Direct grants accounted for the bulk of this aid. The money was used to restore industrial and agricultural production, establish financial stability, and expand trade. Seventy percent of the aid was spent on goods from the United States, thereby ensuring the continued interna-

tional demand for American products. While some Europeans feared that the Marshall Plan served as an instrument for perpetual American dominance, most Europeans recognized that the assistance helped revive Western Europe.

Americans, for the most part, viewed the Marshall Plan as a runaway success. The European Recovery Program became a model for other U.S. initiatives designed to bolster countries and regions against communist influence. Truman declared as much with his POINT FOUR speech in 1949, in which he exhorted Americans to embark on a bold new program to provide technical assistance to third world countries.

**Further reading:** Michael J. Hogan, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947–1952* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

—Brian Etheridge

**massive resistance** See WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCILS.

**McCarran Act** See INTERNAL SECURITY ACT (1950).

### **McCarran-Walter Act (1952)**

The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 was designed to reform IMMIGRATION law and naturalization procedures, solidifying them under a single section of federal code.

The act, sponsored by Democratic representative Francis Walter of Pennsylvania and Democratic senator Pat McCarran of Nevada, made important changes to the U.S. immigration policy. Although the heart of the quota system put in place by the 1924 National Origins Act was retained, the new law made some modifications to it. Asian countries, which had previously been denied the right to send immigrants, were each assigned the minimum quota of 100 immigrants annually. Even this meager amount could be cut because of the most blatantly racist feature of the bill, which required that any immigrant with at least one-half Asian ancestry be counted in the quota. No such feature applied to other people of mixed ethnicity. The same minimal quota was also granted to immigrants from European colonies. This reduced the number of people who could immigrate from these areas because previously they were listed under the much larger quota of the country that ruled over them. All quotas were restructured by requiring that half of the quota be reserved for people with special skills. Children and spouses of American citizens were allowed to come to the United States outside the quota framework.

Naturalization and deportation procedures were also changed. The existing prohibition against people of certain

ethnic backgrounds (most notably Asians) from becoming American citizens was removed. Executive branch officials, however, were given more power and latitude in deporting resident aliens. The president was given the power to halt all immigration.

The bill's supporters praised it as a way to help families and end racial and gender discrimination in immigration and naturalization. They also argued that the procedural changes made by the bill would enhance government efforts "to weed out subversives and other undesirables from citizenship." The bill's supporters believed that it would have "a favorable effect on our international relations, particularly in the Far East."

While praising some features of the bill, especially those that expanded citizenship and allowed easier immigration for family members, the bill's critics maintained that in many cases it did the opposite of what its supporters claimed. They pointed out that the national origins formula on which the quota system was based was discriminatory. This led the *New York Times* to describe the bill as "racist, restrictionist, and reactionary." President HARRY S. TRUMAN went even further when he vetoed the bill, pointing out that several members of the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) had extremely low quotas and that this was a source of tension within the alliance. Truman went on to say that the retention of quotas was counterproductive because "we do not need to be protected against immigrants from those countries—on the contrary we want to stretch out a helping hand." He saw the United States as a haven for those who fled COMMUNISM.

Other major objections to the bill involved the expanded power it gave the executive branch. Aside from the unprecedented power of the president to close off all immigration, critics charged that the parts of the bill touted as protecting the United States from dangerous immigrants went too far, in assuming that every alien had a suspicious character that needed to be monitored. The ease with which the act gave government officials the right to deport aliens had great potential for abuse, especially since little distinction was made between serious crimes and petty offenses. This power and discretion left immigrants at the mercy of government bureaucrats and therefore in a more vulnerable position than they had previously occupied.

Despite these objections, there was overwhelming support for the measure, and Congress overrode Truman's veto. While the McCarran-Walter Act had serious shortcomings, it encompassed steps toward the goal of equal treatment under the law for all ethnic groups in America.

**Further reading:** Reed Veda, *Postwar Immigrant America: A Social History* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1994).

—Dave Price

## McCarthy, Eugene (1916–2005) *U.S. senator*

Eugene McCarthy, a U.S. senator from Minnesota, nearly captured the 1968 Democratic presidential nomination running as a staunch opponent of the VIETNAM WAR, and, as a result, President LYNDON B. JOHNSON dropped his bid for reelection.

Eugene Joseph McCarthy was born March 29, 1916, in the rural farming village of Watkins, Minnesota. McCarthy's family was strongly rooted in the local Catholic church, and he spent his first 11 years of schooling at St. Anthony's School in Watkins. At the age of 15, McCarthy left home and enrolled at St. John's Preparatory School in Collegeville, Minnesota. The institution, run by the Benedictine monks of the St. John's Abbey, shaped McCarthy's intellectual and spiritual life both as a prep school student and as an undergraduate at the adjacent St. John's University. While excelling academically at the university, McCarthy was also an outstanding athlete, playing both baseball and hockey.

Following his graduation from St. John's University in 1935, McCarthy found little work in the depression-era job market for a 19-year-old with a bachelor's degree in English, regardless of his academic record. He took up work as a public schoolteacher, and briefly as a school principal, while working on his master's degree from the University of Minnesota. He returned to St. John's as a faculty member from 1940 to 1943 before leaving to serve in the War Department's military intelligence division until the end of World War II.

In 1948, McCarthy made his first successful bid for public office, running on Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party ticket for the U.S. House of Representatives. During his stint in the House, McCarthy became known for his decidedly liberal voting record. Elected to the Senate in 1958, McCarthy served with relatively little national attention until the fall of 1967, when he announced his plans to challenge President Johnson for the Democratic presidential nomination. The centerpiece of McCarthy's surprise candidacy was his determined opposition to the war in Vietnam.

As a senator in 1964, McCarthy supported the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which gave the president broad discretionary powers over U.S. involvement in Vietnam following an apparently unprovoked attack on American vessels in international waters. By 1967, however, McCarthy had become a vocal critic of the war and the president's handling of the conflict. The Johnson administration initially disregarded his single-issue candidacy, but McCarthy collected a loyal following of Democrats who opposed continued involvement in the war. McCarthy had not, in fact, been the first choice of antiwar movement leaders to challenge Johnson. After several leading Democrats refused to run against the president, activists

turned to the little-known senator from Minnesota, and McCarthy responded favorably. His campaign began to gain steam during the winter of 1968, and in the March 1968 New Hampshire primary, McCarthy captured 20 of 24 delegates, prompting Johnson's shocking withdrawal from the presidential race.

McCarthy went on to sweep the next three primaries, but ROBERT F. KENNEDY, the younger brother of assassinated President JOHN F. KENNEDY, defeated the Minnesota senator in four of the following five primaries. Kennedy had initially rejected the plea from antiwar leaders to enter the nomination race against Johnson, which had opened the door for McCarthy to accept the antiwar mantle. Kennedy's entrance into the campaign brought an end to McCarthy's momentum in the primaries, and after Kennedy was assassinated following his victory in the California primary, Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY declared himself a candidate for the nomination despite not being entered in a single state primary.

At the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, which was characterized by violent clashes between Chicago police and antiwar and civil rights protestors in the city's parks and streets, McCarthy lost the nomination to Humphrey. The turmoil outside the convention hall greatly disturbed McCarthy, who addressed a crowd of over 2,000 protestors in Grant Park on the final night of the convention, hoping to calm the volatile situation. TELEVISION cameras captured the disruption at the convention and broadcast it to viewers across the country. The images of police violence and tear gas assaults on the demonstrators seriously impaired the chance of success for Humphrey in the general election, which he lost to Republican Richard M. Nixon.

In 1970, McCarthy decided not to run for reelection in the Senate, and Humphrey won his seat. McCarthy made two more campaigns for the presidency in 1972 and 1976, but then he retired to a career of writing and lecturing. He died on December 10, 2005.

**Further reading:** Albert Eisele, *Almost to the Presidency* (Blue Earth, Minn.: The Piper Company, 1972).

—Guy R. Temple

**McCarthy, Joseph R.** (1908–1957) *anti-Communist senator*

Capitalizing on American fears of COMMUNISM during the COLD WAR, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy dominated the political landscape of the early 1950s with his accusations of communist infiltration within the U.S. government. His use of broad allegations with little or no evidence to support them induced a paranoia within American culture that came to be known as McCarthyism.

Born on November 14, 1908, in a small town in northeastern Wisconsin, McCarthy was the son of Irish Catholic farmers. He was a boisterous child who worked both on the farm and in his own businesses until 1929, when he graduated high school in only one year. He entered Marquette University the following year, where he studied law, graduating in 1935, and he then worked for a prominent Wisconsin attorney. Unsatisfied with his job, McCarthy ran a series of aggressive campaigns for district attorney (which he lost in 1936) and circuit judge (which he won in 1938) that were characterized by thorough, resourceful, and ruthless inflammatory rhetoric and distortions of the truth.

McCarthy enlisted in the U.S. Marine Corps in 1942. While on leave in 1944, he unsuccessfully sought the Republican nomination for the Senate, even though he was considered a NEW DEAL Democrat and a staunch supporter of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. McCarthy returned to military service until the end of World War II, and, in 1946, he defeated incumbent senator Robert La Follette, Jr. for the Republican nomination and Democrat John M. Murphy in the general election. During the campaign, McCarthy used communism as an issue to attack his opponents. He was not the first to do so; Republicans, anxious to reclaim the majority after over 10 years of Democratic rule in the White House and Congress, knew that the issue of "domestic subversion" within the DEMOCRATIC PARTY was too simple and too effective to ignore.

On February 9, 1950, in a speech to the Ohio County Women's Republican Club of Wheeling, West Virginia, McCarthy claimed he had "a list of 205 that were known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping the policy of the State Department." McCarthy never intended the speech to be the start of a nationwide crusade against communism, but by the next day his claims were picked up by the Associated Press and wired to newspapers across the country. Two days later in Nevada, McCarthy charged that there were 57 "card-carrying Communists" in the State Department. In testimony before the Senate on February 20, he presented 81 "cases" of treason, most of which came from an old list of past, present, and prospective State Department employees, who had been largely cleared of any meaningful wrongdoing. The Senate resolved to open bipartisan formal hearings on the matter, concluding in June that McCarthy had proved nothing.

McCarthy's impact and influence, however, only grew. He became synonymous with the issue of communist subversion in government, traveling across the country making accusation after accusation with scant hard evidence to back up his claims. He matched any attack made on his own credibility with an equally harsh attack on his accusers' loyalty to the United States, a tactic of instant suspicion and paranoia that his critics termed "McCarthyism."





Senator Joseph McCarthy offers to give reporters a list of State Department employees he says are undergoing a security-loyalty check. (*Library of Congress*)

As a political force, McCarthy quickly grew indispensable. He attacked the administration of President HARRY S. TRUMAN for its failure to stop the communist takeover of mainland China in 1949, specifically singling out Secretary of Defense GEORGE C. MARSHALL, insinuating that Marshall let the takeover go unchecked. One measure of McCarthy's power came in 1952 when presidential candidate DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER neglected to defend Marshall, who was his commanding officer during World War II. When the Republicans regained control of the Senate that same year, a reelected McCarthy became the chair of the Committee on Government Operations of the Senate and its permanent subcommittee on investigations.

By the end of 1953, McCarthy failed to produce any substantive discovery of treason or domestic subversion within the U.S. government. His charges against the U.S. military provoked a feud that led to the ARMY-MCCAR-

THY HEARINGS. Nationally televised for the first time, the hearings allowed the majority of Americans to see McCarthy's sensational style of interrogation at work rather than just read his statements in the newspaper. The hearings eroded McCarthy's support. The Republicans lost control of the Senate in the 1954 elections, and in December, the Senate, including 22 Republicans, voted to condemn McCarthy and his behavior. Afterward, he became an outcast in Washington, and he was often the only senator to cast a dissenting vote. His thinly veiled alcoholism grew worse while his shaky health deteriorated, and on May 2, 1957, he died of severe liver disease while still in office.

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—Adam B. Vary

## McDonald's

The first nationwide fast food restaurant, McDonald's took the concept of the assembly line and adapted it to FOOD production, capitalizing on the growth in SUBURBANIZATION during the 1950s.

Before founding McDonald's, brothers Richard and Maurice McDonald failed at practically every BUSINESS venture they attempted. They moved to California from their home in New Hampshire in hopes of working in the movie business. Odd jobs for studios did not suit them, however, and their movie theater quickly folded in the midst of the Great Depression. In 1937, the brothers opened a hot-dog stand near the Santa Anita racetrack, but it was only successful during racing season. In 1940, with a \$5,000 loan from the Bank of America, they opened a larger drive-in restaurant in the growing city of San Bernardino; it was an immediate success, making an annual profit of \$40,000.

The brothers, however, were not satisfied. It took approximately 20 minutes for their customers to get their food, and with more and more families living farther away from their jobs, they had less and less time to spend waiting for a meal. The McDonald brothers realized that in order to speed production, they needed to streamline the restaurant, which meant smaller menus and higher volume. In 1948, they closed their business and invented what became the blueprint for the fast food restaurant. They focused their menu on the hamburger, by far their most popular item; rather than have a messy condiment stand, all burgers had ketchup, mustard, onions, and two pickles. Paper wrappers and cups replaced silverware and dishes; two custom-made stainless steel grills replaced a single cast-iron grill, and a machine that made peppermint patties was adapted to make hamburger patties instead. Finally, the work was specialized: Two workers each just made the hamburgers, milkshakes and french fries, two more just wrapped the burgers, and three others just took orders at the counter. Much like WILLIAM J. LEVITT's mass-production system of building suburban houses, the McDonald brothers turned food production into an assembly-line process.

When the newly renovated McDonald's restaurant opened in early 1949, business dropped off at first; teenage boys, who used the old drive-in as a hangout spot, were not welcome at the new family friendly location. By 1950, though, the brothers' hard work paid off. The cheap prices (hamburgers were 15 cents and an entire family could eat

for only \$2.50), quick service, and clean facilities appealed to the small family, and, by 1951, McDonald's gross profit was 40 percent higher than before the change. The restaurant quickly became legendary in the restaurant world, and the McDonald brothers were inundated with requests for information about their operation

One such interested person was Ray Kroc (1902–84), a 52-year-old self-made businessman who in the early 1950s was selling a milkshake mixer that could handle up to five shakes at a time. While his business was actually declining elsewhere in the country—small town drugstores and soda shops were closing as people moved to the suburbs—McDonald's was using 10 of his machines by 1954, and Kroc went to San Bernardino to investigate why. Thoroughly impressed with what he found, Kroc approached the brothers about running their franchise operation. The brothers had sold their system to a few people in the region for a share of the profits, but their interest remained in their own store; they did not have the time or the patience for running a national operation. They hired Kroc to run it for them.

While the McDonald brothers invented the fast food restaurant, Kroc made McDonald's a national institution. He was a rabidly persistent businessman who recognized that in order for McDonald's to succeed as a national chain it had to be the same wherever a customer went. He imposed strict controls on menu options, pricing, quality control, cleanliness, and presentation, demanding franchisees to conform to every single specification. He moved the national headquarters to Chicago and opened his own franchise in the suburb of Des Plaines, stopping by every day before work to open the store and on his way home to clean up and close. In 1956, he awarded 12 franchises; by 1960, the total number reached 228, and it continued to rise, increasing by about 100 per year. While Kroc demanded strict conformity, he treated franchisees fairly, passing breaks in produce prices on to them and taking 1.9 percent of their receipts rather than charging high franchise fees up front.

In 1961, Kroc, who by this time saw the McDonald brothers as freeloaders letting him do all the work, bought them out for \$2.7 million. In 1963, McDonald's introduced the Ronald McDonald character that quickly became part of American POPULAR CULTURE, and it was the first restaurant in the country to buy ADVERTISING on TELEVISION. In 1965, with 710 McDonald's restaurants in 44 states, the company went public on the New York Stock Exchange. In 1976, McDonald's made over \$2 billion in business, and reached over 20,000 locations across the globe by the end of the century.

**Further reading:** Marshall William Fishwick, ed., *Ronald Revisited: The World of Ronald McDonald* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press,

1983); David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Villard Books, 1993); Ray Kroc with Robert Anderson, *Grinding It Out: The Making of McDonald's* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977, 1987).

—Adam B. Vary

**media** See JOURNALISM.

## Medicaid

Established in 1965 as an amendment to the Social Security Act of 1935, Medicaid offered financial assistance for medical bills for the poor of America.

In the late 1950s, the American government began to grapple with the problems facing the poor in securing medical insurance. Large numbers of the poor population of the United States had no insurance coverage, which contributed to the declining health of the lower class. Congress first addressed this issue with the Kerr-Mills Act of 1960, which provided government financial assistance to low-income families and the elderly.

The GREAT SOCIETY of President LYNDON B. JOHNSON in the 1960s sought to do something for everyone. Continuing the commitment of the NEW DEAL for government to help those who could not help themselves, it provided medical care to the poor for the first time. Amendments to the Social Security Act of 1935 became law in 1965. The two main components of this reform were Medicaid and MEDICARE, financial medical assistance for the elderly, both of which were to be administered through the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. These programs were intended to extend health care insurance to the poor and elderly who, for the most part, did not possess any form of health insurance.

Under the Medicaid program, the federal government would match state funds for certain required programs such as “hospital and physicians’ services, care in a skilled nursing facility, home health service, family planning, and early diagnosis and treatment of illnesses.” Some optional forms of coverage included prescription drugs, eyeglasses, and care in intermediate-care facilities, which states could provide at their own discretion. Those eligible for these programs were categorized as “low-income people that are aged, blind, disabled, pregnant, or members of families with dependent children, and certain other children.”

Medicaid did not enjoy strong support after its implementation. Criticism immediately focused on the way individual states ran their programs. Since each state determined what constituted the income level necessary to receive Medicaid, discrepancies among the individual states occurred. Some states established poverty lines that included a larger number of the poor than other states.

Also, each state was able to determine what extra services it would apply to qualifiers of Medicaid. Some states offered many of the extra options while other states offered none.

Medicaid also received criticism due to the sizable cost of the funding for the program. Analysts estimated that the annual cost would amount to a little over \$1.3 billion in 1965. By 1968, however, the yearly government funding for Medicaid had more than doubled, and the funds needed to support the program grew in each succeeding year. The government had not anticipated correctly the number of people who would be eligible for this program and the benefits that it provided.

Since the implementation of Medicaid in 1965, there have been numerous amendments to the original legislation. Medicaid has become a hot political topic, due to the amount of funding it now requires. Many physicians do not agree with the way that Medicaid covers their patients, and some have tried to avoid patients who use this form of coverage.

By initiating Medicaid, the federal government, for the first time, began to take a serious look at the availability of health care and insurance for the underprivileged of American society. The program resulted in an increase in the quality and amount of care that low-income people received, making it a revolutionary piece of legislation.

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—Jennifer Howell

## Medicare

Medicare constitutes a federally sponsored program that provides health insurance to the elderly and the poor in an effort to protect them from the financial ruin of health care bills.

President HARRY S. TRUMAN first promoted a national comprehensive health insurance program during his tenure. Truman gave his presidential endorsement in 1945, but the proposal was continually rejected until LYNDON B. JOHNSON took office in 1964.

For many years, Congress was simply not interested in a health care program for the elderly. Even so, in 1952, some congressmen began to introduce measures they knew had no chance of passage as a way of keeping the idea alive. They found continued resistance from members of Congress and the public, who believed that health insurance should be dealt with at the state, and not the federal, level. They also faced the opposition of the American Medical Association, which claimed that any such program amounted to socialized medicine.

A 1963 survey by the government paved the way for support for a medical aid program. It showed that nearly half of the elderly in the United States had no type of health insurance at all.



There were two issues that needed to be resolved in order for a health insurance bill to be passed: eligibility and coverage. Congressman Wilbur Mills, a Democrat from Arkansas, found the way to solve both these problems in order for Congress to pass Medicare. He decided that Medicare would allow those elderly 65 and over who were eligible to receive Social Security or Railroad Retirement benefits to obtain health insurance under Title XVIII of the Social Security Act. He also decided that Medicare would be divided into two main parts. The first part provided hospital insurance, covering hospital and nursing care. The second part dealt with supplemental medical insurance, covering physician, outpatient, and ambulatory services. Such services as preventive services, dental care, eye care, and prescription drugs were not covered under Medicare. These could be covered under a companion MEDICAID program that catered to the needs of the poor. Congress agreed on these terms, and the House of Representatives passed the bill by a 307 to 116 vote, while the Senate passed it the next day with a vote of 70 to 24. The program became law as part of the amendments to the Social Security Act of 1935 when Johnson, as part of his GREAT SOCIETY programs, signed the legislation on July 30, 1965.

Physicians, like patients, were uncertain about just how the Medicare program would work. They were worried about the amount that they charged their patients, because the Medicare program was going to codify and freeze their definitions of reasonable charges. As a result, physician fees more than doubled in the year preceding the enactment of Medicare. The overall service charge of hospitals also increased by 21.9 percent in the first year of Medicare's operation.

Medicare covered all expenses during a patient's first 60 days of hospitalization, and a portion of the cost for an additional 30 days. The insurance covered a room accommodating two to four beds, drugs while a patient was hospitalized, and other supplies and services. Once released from the hospital, the patient was not charged the first 20 days of an extended-care facility. The patient was allowed unlimited free visits from nurses for up to one year after discharge from the hospital or extended-care facility.

Medicare continued to develop with the passage of an amendment in 1972 that allowed people who were disabled also to receive assistance.

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—Megan D. Wessel

## medicine

The period following World War II witnessed great advancement in medicine. Congress generously funded

numerous research projects as the idea that health was a God-given right of every citizen evolved. Enormous strides were taken against viruses, cardiovascular disease, and mental illness. New drugs improved the general quality of many people's lives.

In November 1945, seven months after taking office and three months after the end of World War II, President HARRY S. TRUMAN delivered a message to Congress in which he set forth what he considered to be the deficiencies in the field of medicine. He proposed that "Congress adopt a comprehensive and modern health program for the nation, consisting of five major parts each of which contributes to all the others." He called for the construction of hospitals and related facilities through federal grants-in-aid to the states, the expansion of public health services, also through grants-in-aid to the states, federal support of medical education and medical research, a system of prepayment for medical care, financed through an expansion of "our compulsory social insurance system," and protection against loss of wages from disability or sickness, again by expansion of the social insurance system.

The concept of an organized national attack on major disease problems through the establishment of institutes in a large research center gained momentum in the late 1940s. The Mental Health Institute was established in 1946, and both the National Heart Institute and the National Institute for Dental Disease were authorized in 1948. The Omnibus Act passed by Congress in 1950 gave the Surgeon General of the United States in conjunction with the Public Health Service (USPHS) the power to establish institutes to deal with major disease problems. The National Institute of Neurological Disease and Blindness, the National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases, and the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases were founded in accordance with this legislation. Congress provided funds for the NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH (NIH) and the National Science Foundation (NSF), and it allocated \$5 million in 1950 to the ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION for the specific purpose of atomic research in the treatment of cancer. The KOREAN WAR occasioned a brief pause in the steady rise in the medical research budget, but, in 1952, the upward trend resumed. During the administration of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, Congress regularly added \$8 million to \$15 million to the amount proposed by the administration for the NIH budget. By 1956, the annual NIH budget had risen to almost \$100 million.

The NIH contributed by developing a vaccination for rubella, new advances in the treatment of hypertension, rheumatic heart disease, and stroke. Antihypertensive drugs were first used in 1950; by 1968, the death rate from hypertensive heart disease declined 59 percent. The NIH also contributed to the development of new techniques for heart and vascular surgery.



The government also supported building hospitals. In 1946, Congress enacted the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, known as the Hill-Burton Act, to provide funds to the states for orderly planning and construction of hospitals. The act also forbade government interference in the operation of the hospitals. In 1964, amendments to the original Hill-Burton Act provided support for construction of nursing homes, diagnostic treatment centers, chronic-disease hospitals, and rehabilitation facilities. By 1965, the federal government had provided almost \$2 billion to match about \$4 billion provided by sponsors for the construction of 6,700 projects involving 285,000 hospital beds and 1,880 health units of various types.

The MEDICARE program was signed into law by President LYNDON B. JOHNSON in 1965, along with the MEDICAID program. They were designed to provide medical care for the elderly and the “medically needy.” Under Medicare and Medicaid, hospital care was less costly to the patient than care in the home, and the increase in hospitalization measures resulted in the rise of medical costs. Despite problems, the measures provided health care for those who previously could not afford it.

The nation made progress in fighting disease. In July 1946, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC), headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia, was established under the name Communicable Disease Center. The CDC grew out of the Office of Malaria Control in War Areas (MCWA), an emergency World War II organization designed to reduce potential malaria transmission in the proximity of military establishments. Atlanta was selected as the MCWA’s home base because it was the central point of endemic malaria. The CDC was the first federal health organization ever set up to coordinate a national control program against a whole category of diseases. In 1947, plague control activities were transferred to CDC. The Epidemic Intelligence Service, whose members were popularly known as “the disease detectives,” was established in 1951.

In 1962, Congress passed the Vaccination Assistance Act to help states and communities carry out intensive immunization programs against polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus, and other diseases, as new vaccines became licensed. By the end of the year, approximately 47 percent of the population was covered. A measles vaccine was added to the program in 1965 and a rubella vaccine in 1969. On June 24, 1970, the CDC became the Center for Disease Control, and later still the Centers for Disease Control.

The period after World War II constituted a time of great discovery in the field of medicine, from new drugs and vaccines to new surgical procedures. Streptomycin was developed and became a popular cure for tuberculosis and other infections. As its popularity grew, the bulk price dropped from \$24 per gram in 1946 to 25 cents by

the mid-1950s. Broad-spectrum antibiotics ended various diseases, while anticoagulants prevented hemorrhaging. In the 1940s, the first modern drug to treat leprosy was introduced, along with medicines to control epilepsy, and Benadryl, one of the first antihistamine drugs. In 1949, Dramamine was introduced as a motion sickness medication. In 1950, Banthine inaugurated a whole new approach to the treatment of ulcers.

There were many advances in treatment for cardiovascular diseases in the 1950s. In 1952, researchers discovered that electric shock could restart a heart. In 1954, external cardiac massage was combined with mouth-to-mouth breathing to maintain life for more than an hour after heart failure. The year 1952 brought the invention of the first cardiac pacemaker. They were later improved in the 1960s by the use of batteries, and finally a self-contained pacemaker was devised that could be implanted under the skin. In the years following the KOREAN WAR, techniques were improved for the insertion of cardiac catheters. With a catheter in the heart chambers or in the aorta or pulmonary artery, it became possible to record pressure curves, withdraw blood for measurement of oxygen content, detect an abnormal passage, inject indicator substances for the detection of malfunctioning valves, or introduce material for visualization of a select portion of the heart. Angiocardiology allowed doctors to form clear pictures of the different parts of the heart by injecting a radiopaque substance into a vein and taking X-ray pictures. All of this resulted in more precise cardiac diagnosis and greatly improved methods of treatment.

Heart surgery was improved during the war, due to the necessity of removing bullets from the heart. Blood vessel clamps lead to an increase in open-heart surgery. When the body’s temperature was lowered to around 86 degrees, the oxygen requirement of the brain and other tissues was reduced so that the circulation could be shut off without harm for 15 to 20 minutes, allowing the surgeon to have a clear, dry field to work with. A few such operations were performed using this technique in the early 1950s, but by the mid-1950s, the whole field of cardiac surgery underwent a tremendous change as the result of a new technical development—the heart-lung machine. The heart-lung machine oxygenated blood, allowing blood to bypass the heart and lungs during surgery and permitted a surgeon ample time for work on the heart. In 1967, the first successful heart transplant was performed in South Africa. There were also liver and kidney transplants at about the same time.

The invention of the birth-control pill was launched by Margaret Sanger, a supporter of women’s control over reproduction since the 1920s. By the 1950s, she campaigned aggressively for oral contraception to make birth control easier than before. Sanger persuaded Katherine

Dexter McCormick, a wealthy heiress, to fund the necessary research. With financial backing, a team of scientists and doctors figured out how the female menstrual cycle worked, and then determined how to treat it hormonally so that ovulation would not take place. Testing took place in the mid-1950s in Puerto Rico, Haiti, and Mexico City. The failure rate was 1.7 percent, far better than for diaphragms or condoms. In 1960, the Food and Drug Administration approved the first oral contraceptive. In 1961, 14 percent of new patients at Planned Parenthood clinics chose oral contraception, and by 1964, that number had grown to 62 percent.

“THE PILL” became available during the rebellious 1960s, and it promoted more open sexuality. Most important, the pill allowed women to more easily control their own reproduction, enabling them to work outside the home. “Modern woman is at last free as man is free,” said Clare Boothe Luce, a playwright and former member of Congress.

The COLD WAR era was a time of remarkable learning. Vaccines helped eradicate diseases that had killed millions in the past. Up until this point, polio had been a crippling disease, and the means of transmission were unknown. Many lived in fear of the disease that left its victims deformed, or dependent on “iron lung” machines to stay alive. In 1952, Jonas E. Salk, professor of research bacteriology at the University of Pittsburgh, developed and tested an inactivated vaccine made of dead virus. The vaccine was given in the form of a shot, and within months of its successful testing, over 5,000 schoolchildren had been vaccinated.

Within a few years, Albert B. Sabin, professor of research pediatrics at the University of Cincinnati College of Medicine, had developed an attenuated vaccine, one made of weakened live virus, that could be administered orally. This vaccine prevented the virus from multiplying in the intestinal tract, something Salk’s vaccine did not do. Sabin’s vaccine cost one-tenth what Salk’s cost, and by 1961, 5 million people had been vaccinated with the live-virus vaccine, and it was 80 to 95 percent effective.

The CDC participated in the field trials that were conducted in 1954 for the Salk polio vaccine. In April 1955, two weeks after the Salk vaccine was released, six cases of polio in children who had received the vaccine were reported. Two days later the CDC’s Poliomyelitis Surveillance Unit was established. It concluded that the cases were the result of a single manufacturer, and that manufacturer was shut down. The role of the CDC in a national health emergency was clearly established during this incident, setting a precedent for the immediate development of similar surveillance programs. In 1962, the CDC helped administer the first Sabin oral polio vaccine. Polio cases fell from 13,850 in 1955 to 5 in 1975. The CDC also worked with the World Health Organization (WHO) to eradicate smallpox. WHO established a global program to eradicate smallpox within



Child looks on as syringe with polio vaccine is made ready, 1962. (*Library of Congress*)

10 years in 1966. CDC gave direction to the program in 19 west and central African countries. By the fall of 1975, smallpox was endemic only in Ethiopia.

After nine years of development, a vaccine was developed for the measles in 1954. With widespread use, the number of cases of measles reported in 1968 had fallen to 220,000 from the prevaccine level of 4 million annually. In 1964, scientists discovered that rubella, or German measles, a relatively mild disease, was connected to congenital deformities in children of mothers who contracted rubella early during pregnancy. A successful large-scale production of rubella vaccine was finally achieved in 1968, and distribution began in the United States.

Psychiatry was another field that enjoyed many scientific advances in the years following the war. During World War II, physicians realized that mental disease was a real problem. Some 1,100,000 men were rejected for military duty because of mental or neurological disorders. When these were added to the rejectees for mental and educational deficiencies, the total came to 1,767,000 out of 4,800,000. By 1946, psychiatric disorders accounted for 60 percent of all hospitalization under the Veterans’ Administration. Before this time, many mentally ill were sent to asylums where there was no attempt to make them well. New research discovered many drugs, which helped treat psychotic illnesses, and as a result the number of patients confined to mental hospitals declined rapidly after peaking in 1955. Antipsychotic drugs, such as chlorpromazine and haloperidol, revolutionized the treatment of schizophrenia. Lithium was found to help alleviate periods of mania, and monoamine oxidase inhibitors could relieve depression. Shock therapy and frontal lobotomies to treat schizophrenia and anxiety gave way to drug therapy.

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—Elizabeth A. Henke

**Meredith, James** (1933– ) *civil rights activist*

A civil rights activist, James Meredith served as the central figure in the desegregation of the University of Mississippi in 1962, and later he worked to increase African-American voter registration.

Meredith was born on June 25, 1933, in Kosciusko, Mississippi, to Cap and Roxie Meredith. He divided his childhood between working on his parents' farm and attending a training school for blacks, where he was known as the smartest and strongest boy in his class. In order to receive a better high school EDUCATION, Meredith moved with his uncle to St. Petersburg, Florida, when he was 17 years old. After graduating from high school, he joined the U.S. Air Force and served for nine years. Meredith then enrolled at the all-black Jackson State University in Jackson, Mississippi. Although he completed his degree requirements, he did not graduate because he refused to pay the diploma fee.

In September 1962, Meredith became the first African American to enroll at the University of Mississippi. While a court order confirmed his right to enter the school, Mississippi governor Ross Barnett led the opposition and refused to allow Meredith to enter the registrar's office.



James Meredith is escorted by U.S. marshals on the campus of the University of Mississippi, Oxford, October 1962. (*Library of Congress*)

In response, President JOHN F. KENNEDY ordered federal marshals to escort Meredith to his classes. As school officials led Meredith to his dormitory, riots erupted outside, leaving two men dead, 175 people injured, and 212 people arrested. At Kennedy's request, national guardsmen and 22,000 army troops moved in to restore order. U.S. police troops remained on campus until Meredith graduated in 1963 with a bachelor's degree.

Following graduation, Meredith moved to Nigeria and studied at Ibadan University. When he returned to the United States one year later, he worked toward a law degree at Columbia University. In the summer of 1966, he embarked on a solitary, 16-day "walk against fear," which took him from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi, to encourage African-American voter registration for the upcoming primary. Meredith believed that if he could walk unarmed through Mississippi during primary-election week, he might induce black people to overcome their fears of white violence and get them to the polls. On the second day of the walk, an assailant shot Meredith two times. Although his injuries were not serious, the incident sparked outrage from civil rights organizations across the country. Civil rights activists, including MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., carried the walk on to Jackson where STOKELY CARMICHAEL, leader of the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), called for BLACK POWER, resulting in a rift between moderate and militant wings of the Civil Rights movement.

Later in 1966, Meredith published *Three Years in Mississippi* about the racial injustice existing in his home state. He then returned to law school and received his degree from Columbia University in 1968. That same year, he ran for a seat from Harlem, in New York City, in the U.S. House of Representatives but lost to ADAM CLAYTON POWELL. Returning to Mississippi, Meredith distanced himself from public life and became involved in several business ventures. In 1984 and 1985, he taught a course on blacks and the law at the University of Mississippi. September 1989 marked his return to public life as he joined the staff of North Carolina senator Jesse Helms, an archconservative. After working as a domestic policy adviser for several years, Meredith and Helms eventually parted company. Meredith then threw his support behind conservative David Duke's unsuccessful bid for the REPUBLICAN PARTY's 1992 presidential nomination.

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—Donna J. Siebenthaler



**Metropolitan Redevelopment Act** See MODEL CITIES PROGRAM.

**Mexican-American movement** See LATINO MOVEMENT.

### **Middle East (and foreign policy)**

Although the Middle East was peripheral to official American interests before World War II, the United States became deeply involved in Middle Eastern affairs in the postwar period, and the nation began to play a highly visible role that persisted throughout the COLD WAR.

Although the U.S. government had very little official interest in the region before 1941, American citizens had long been involved in Middle Eastern affairs. American private involvement during this time period was either humanitarian or economic. Missionaries had been active in the Ottoman and Persian empires since the early 19th century. American missionaries, predominantly Presbyterian, had organized numerous mission schools and even some universities, such as Roberts College in Turkey, the Syrian Protestant College (later to become the American University of Beirut), and the Alburz College of Tehran. After World War I, the vast oil reserves of the Middle East attracted the attention of American oilmen, who tried on numerous occasions to procure oil concessions in the region. The U.S. government often acted to protect American citizens and informally to support American business interests in the Middle East.

World War II and the rise of the cold war drastically increased the official American role in the region. Soon after its entry into World War II, the United States invaded North Africa with a view toward eliminating the Nazi threat to the Middle East from the west and participated in the Anglo-Russian joint occupation of Iran in the east. After the war, Great Britain, formerly the dominant Western power in the region, saw its presence gradually decline before an increased American role in the Middle East. As Allied wartime cooperation gave way to Soviet-American confrontation in the cold war, the United States became deeply enmeshed in regional politics. The first sign of official American interest was the U.S. role in expelling the Soviets from northern Iran in 1946, one of the scenes of the first cold war conflicts between the SOVIET UNION and the United States. This was followed by the promulgation of the TRUMAN DOCTRINE, which provided massive amounts of aid to Greece and Turkey (and also Iran) in order to contain the spread of COMMUNISM.

As the cold war took shape, American involvement in the Middle East followed two basic principles: preventing

the Soviets from gaining influence in the region and maintaining Western access to inexpensive Middle Eastern oil. Middle Eastern oil was deemed vitally important to European recovery, which was in turn considered crucial to prevent communist revolutions in Western Europe. Although cold war concerns motivated American policymakers, the complexity of regional politics combined with the prior imperial claims of allies such as Great Britain and France had an important influence on the way American foreign policy was actually carried out in the region.

One theme that confronted American policymakers in the Middle East during the cold war was the rise of indigenous nationalist movements that questioned and threatened American hegemony. For example, various Arab nationalists, most notably Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, tried to play the Soviet Union and the United States against one another in order to procure large amounts of aid. Iranian politicians tried to do the same thing, although with mixed results. After Iranian prime minister Mohammad Mossadegh nationalized the British-owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1953, the United States turned a deaf ear to British pleas to restore their oil concession; after Mossadegh threatened to turn to the Soviets for aid, however, the United States helped to overthrow the nationalist government and reestablish monarchical rule.

The Arab-Israeli conflict constituted one of the central concerns confronting the United States. After the formation of the state of Israel in 1948, there was continuing conflict between the Israelis, the Palestinians, and neighboring Arab states. Although the Arab-Israeli conflict was not intrinsically a cold war problem, American policymakers recognized that the instability caused by the conflict hurt American interests. As a result, the United States tried to maintain regional stability and support various rounds of peace talks between Israel and its neighbors.

The end of the cold war brought with it great change with regard to American foreign policy but there has been more continuity than change with regard to the Middle East. Although containing the Soviets was no longer an issue, the objective of maintaining access to the region's oil reserves remained as important as ever. The key issue at the heart of the Persian Gulf War of 1991 was preventing Iraqi president Saddam Hussein from gaining permanent control over the oil reserves of both Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. In addition, the threat of so-called Islamic fundamentalism has replaced communism, especially in the wake of the Islamic revolution of 1979 in Iran. All the while, the United States has continued to play a highly visible role in the Middle East peace process.

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—Matthew M. Davis

### migration trends

The post–World War II economic and population boom resulted in a series of demographic changes. Movement westward increased dramatically. Meanwhile, millions of white Americans left the cities for the suburbs, while southern African Americans and other minorities moved north to take their places.

Many returning African-American veterans decided not to wait for the end of SEGREGATION and discrimination in the South, and instead they headed north when they returned from the war. Nearly one out of five southerners left the region for northern cities and industrial jobs during the 1940s in a migration pattern that had begun during World War I. Because of this departure, southern farm population declined 60 percent between 1940 and 1960, forcing those farmers who could afford it to mechanize or switch to easier crops to grow and harvest, such as soybeans, and causing those who could not to lose their farms. Tens of thousands of farmers lost their livelihoods.

At the same time, the South, after the war, began to market itself to the big businesses of the North by establishing recruiting offices to tout its nonunion labor, low taxes, cheap land, and the absence of government interference. Combined with the widespread use of air conditioning, these factors served to attract many to Florida, Texas, and other southern states in what came to be called the Sun Belt. Federally funded military bases and weapons production spurred the economies in many states.

Many war workers and their families had streamed into western cities with large numbers choosing to live in California, and the trend continued after the war. Western cities grew phenomenally, and, by 1963, California passed New York as the nation's most populous state.

The KOREAN WAR sparked increased military expenditures, and aircraft production in California accounted for more than 40 percent of the total increases in manufacturing employment between 1949 and 1953. By 1962, the Pacific Coast as a whole held almost half of all Defense Department research and development contracts.

As the population shifted westward after World War II, another form of movement was taking place. Millions of white Americans fled the inner city for the suburbs. Fourteen of the nation's largest cities lost population in the 1950s. As central cities became places where poor nonwhites clustered, new urban and racial problems emerged. Many businesses pulled out of the areas, and buildings fell

into disrepair. Due to low income and discriminatory real estate policies, many blacks and Latinos were forced into the run-down sections of the inner city. This exacerbated the nation's racial and ethnic stratification and laid the groundwork for future problems. Eventually, such unfair practices led to rioting and political unrest among minority communities.

For many white middle-class people, cities were places to work but leave at five o'clock. In Manhattan, south of City Hall, the noontime population of 1.5 million dropped to 2,000 overnight. "It became a part-time city," as one observer wrote, "tidally swamped with bustling humanity every weekday morning when the cars and commuter trains arrived, and abandoned again at nightfall when the wave sucked back—left pretty much to thieves, policemen, and rats." By the end of the 1950s, a third of all Americans resided in suburbs; in 1970, 38 percent did.

Suburbs provided a piece of the American dream for many people, a place of their own. When veterans returned from World War II and married in record numbers, many shared living quarters with their extended families because the construction of new housing had slowed during the Depression, and practically stopped during World War II. Government-issued mortgages, especially for veterans, and low interest rates fueled the building boom after the war. The pioneer of postwar SUBURBANIZATION was WILLIAM J. LEVITT, a builder who recognized the advantages of mass production during World War II, when his firm constructed housing for war workers. Levitt's team worked as an assembly line, with tasks broken down into individual steps. Groups of workers each performed a single job on each tract. The construction costs at Levittown, New York, a community of 17,000 homes built in the late 1940s, were only \$10 per square foot, compared with the \$12 to \$15 common elsewhere.

Migration trends affected the environment in negative ways. The scarcity of water in the West required massive water projects to support the growing population. Suburbs replaced huge tracts of fields and forests that were divided into standard squares, each with a house, a two-car garage, and a manicured lawn. It was cheaper to cut trees down than to work around them. The move to the suburbs and to the Sunbelt states stretching from Florida to California continued in subsequent decades, as did the decline and decay of historic inner-city communities.

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—Elizabeth A. Henke

**military-industrial complex**

The military-industrial complex—the vast network of government, commercial and military resources and personnel maintaining the U.S. armed forces—grew exponentially during the COLD WAR, becoming so powerful that in 1961, President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER warned against it during his farewell address.

At the turn of the 19th century, advances in military TECHNOLOGY brought officials in the United States military and government together with those in the scientific and BUSINESS communities in an effort to modernize the armed forces. When the country entered World War I, the ECONOMY went through a profound shift in order to supply the complex needs of the military, including the formation of the War Industries Board (WIB), an official agency overseeing the economic changes. For the first time in the country's history, the private economy worked with the military in a close and complex partnership.

During World War II, the demands of military production promoted even closer military-industrial cooperation, which was aided greatly by government-sponsored wartime economic planning during the interwar years. The collaboration proved to be one of the decisive factors in both winning the war and helping to pull the country out of the Great Depression.

When World War II ended and the cold war began, the economic influence of the military continued. The European economy was decimated by the war, leaving a vacuum of both economic and political power that the United States and the SOVIET UNION rushed to fill before the other could do so. Brought together to defeat a common enemy during the war, both countries harbored a strong sense that the other was its ideological enemy and would stop at nothing to destroy the other in order to reign supreme in the world. In the MARSHALL PLAN (named after Secretary of State George C. Marshall), the United States distributed a total of \$13 billion in aid from April 1947 to December 1951 to almost every noncommunist European country in an effort to prevent any economic instability that could lead to communist infiltration. American production provided the goods Europeans needed to maintain stability in the cold war, and the policy of “containment,” directed at minimizing any communist expansion, perpetuated the need for a large and well-funded military.

The threat of nuclear war was the largest factor in encouraging this policy. The monopoly over the ATOMIC BOMB enjoyed by the United States ended in September 1949, when the Soviets successfully tested an atomic device. Seven months later, the State Department, led by Secretary of State DEAN ACHESON, drafted NSC-68 (National Security Council Document 68), arguing that a drastic increase in the defense budget—from approximately \$13 billion to a minimum of \$35 billion—was nec-

essary to maintain the “eternal vigilance” needed to contain COMMUNISM. Two months later, the United States entered the KOREAN WAR, and defense expenditures increased to an average of \$50.4 billion throughout the conflict. Both Marshall and General Omar Bradley disputed the need for such a drastic increase, arguing that such disproportionate military spending—the federal budget rose twentyfold from 1932 to 1952, with over half the increase going to the military—could greatly damage the U.S. economy, but the expansion continued.

The lines between industry and the military continued to blur into the 1950s. During Eisenhower's administration, Charles E. Wilson, the former president of GENERAL MOTORS, became secretary of defense. During his confirmation hearings, Wilson famously declared “I thought what was good for our country was good for General Motors, and vice versa.” Covert operations overseen by the CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA), designed to overthrow leftist governments at risk of converting to communism while protecting Western business interests, went unchecked by Congress, and they remained hidden from the general public in an effort to protect national security. While the CIA executed successful operations in Iran in 1953 and Guatemala in 1954, the failed BAY OF PIGS invasion of Cuba in 1962 illuminated the limitations of unsupervised military expansion.

While Eisenhower was fully aware of all of the CIA's actions during his administration, he became increasingly wary of the growth of the military and its growing ties to industry. In his farewell address in 1961, he first coined the phrase “military-industrial complex,” warning the country that it “must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought by the military-industrial complex.” Only “an alert and knowledgeable citizenry,” he maintained, could “compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals.” While Eisenhower's comments drew considerable attention, military expenditures remained a large part of the country's budget well into the 1990s, facilitated by the VIETNAM WAR as well as large increases in defense spending by President Ronald Reagan in the 1980s.

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—Adam B. Vary

**Mills, C. Wright** (1916–1962) *scholar*

A liberal social critic and controversial sociologist, C. Wright Mills criticized the economic and political framework of

1950s America through his influential writings, including the 1956 book, *The Power Elite*.

Born in Waco, Texas, on August 28, 1916, to Charles Grover Mills, an insurance agent, and Frances Ursula Wright, a devout Catholic housewife, Mills spent a lonely and alienated childhood attending Catholic parochial schools and public high schools in various cities throughout west Texas. After graduating from high school, Mills enrolled as an engineering student at the University of Texas, Agricultural and Mechanical. Finding the social sciences more to his liking, he transferred to the University of Texas in Austin and graduated in 1938 with a B.A. in philosophy and sociology. Mills then enrolled at the University of Wisconsin, where he obtained a Ph.D. in 1942 for his research on pragmatism and the rise of professionalism in America. That same year, Mills took his first teaching job at the University of Maryland, where he stayed until 1944, when he received a part-time job at Columbia University in New York. He eventually earned a permanent position and remained at Columbia for the rest of his career.

Mills always saw himself as an outsider within the field of sociology. He highlighted his role of maverick scholar by riding a motorcycle and wearing flannel shirts and combat boots to class. Often Mills was uncomfortable with his colleagues, and he distanced himself from the traditional paradigms of his profession. He attacked American sociologists for failing to understand the complexity of the social and political stratification engulfing 1950s America. He argued that mainstream sociologists were more interested in defending the status quo than in addressing social problems.

Throughout his career, Mills's work centered on themes of power and powerlessness. He argued that the growth in modern societies of massive, bureaucratic structures made most human beings powerless. He claimed that the power actually rested in the hands of the elite bureaucrats, subordinating the independent intellectuals within the economic and political structure.

Mills espoused his controversial theories in a series of books beginning with *The New Men of Power* (1948), a work about labor and its leaders. In *White Collar* (1951), he argued that the rise of the American middle class would change the very nature of American society. The increasing varieties of professional labor, including managers, bureaucrats, and salaried employees, signaled new hope and prosperity for most Americans. Mills envisioned a darker version of America as "a great salesroom, an enormous file, an incorporated brain, a new universe of management and manipulation." He argued that the repetitive paperwork of the professional world would increase the discontent of millions of Americans who had no voice in the bureaucratic decisions that influenced their lives. In his most popular book, *The Power Elite* (1956), Mills focused on the cor-

porate, political, and military elite. He investigated the social structures used by elites to perpetuate themselves, and he explained how the electoral process was perverted to maintain power in the hands of the bureaucrats. Mills argued that the concentration of power under the control of a minority, such as bureaucrats, endangered American democracy.

In the last years of his life, Mills changed the focus of his work to concentrate on a number of different issues. He became increasingly concerned with the nuclear ARMS RACE and addressed the problem in *The Causes of World War Three* (1958). In 1959, Mills published *The Sociological Imagination*, a book outlining a new sociological paradigm incorporating a multidisciplinary approach and a more global perspective. The following year, Mills published *Listen Yankee! The Revolution in Cuba* in which he offered support to the Castro revolution. Widely read and severely criticized by his colleagues, this work cost Mills much of his creditability in his field. In his final work, *The Marxists* (1962), he linked the Marxist tradition with the democratic tradition and argued that the two systems were in certain instances compatible.

Although his books received much criticism at the time of publication, social critics later rediscovered his theories. By the early 1960s, Mills's influence increased both within the field of sociology and with the lay public. In 1961, President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER warned about the MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, and its increasing power over American society, in terms that suggested Mills's power elite. Radical organizations such as STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) adopted his theories and incorporated them into the ideology of the NEW LEFT. This resurgence of his theories came posthumously; Mills died in 1962 of a heart attack at the age of 45.

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—Donna J. Siebenthaler

## miracle drugs

The term miracle drug is used to describe the class of pharmaceuticals known as antibiotics, introduced for widespread use in the 1940s and 1950s.

The period after World War II was one of MEDICINE's golden ages. It is hard to imagine another comparable span of time that witnessed the introduction of so many new and genuinely important drugs. Innovations such as cortisone (1952), a steroid used to treat arthritis, Jonas Salk's polio vaccine (1955), the birth control pill (1960), and minor

tranquilizers gave physicians vastly expanded powers to treat a host of physical and mental illnesses, many of them for the first time. But antibiotics comprised the true miracle drugs of the period, and it is these drugs that brought about the most significant changes in the fight against disease.

“Antibiotic,” a term coined by soil microbiologist Selman Waksman in 1942, literally means “life against life” and refers to “a chemical substance produced by a microorganism which destroys or inhibits the growth of other microorganisms.”

Although the antibacterial properties of the penicillium mold had been known since the 1870s, and Alexander Fleming had published his famous paper on the subject in 1929, not until 1940 did researchers conceive of administering penicillin internally instead of as a topical antiseptic. When used in this way the drug precipitated striking recoveries even in severely infected patients, but the drug was difficult to make—several early recipients recovered only to worsen and die after the supply ran out. War-pressed governments quickly funneled money into developing the drug on a larger scale. The most successful such effort took place in America, where in 1941 the War Production Board coordinated a penicillin production program to supply the army. Production techniques advanced rapidly, and, by the end of the war, all restrictions on the drug’s availability to civilians were waived.

Three new important antibiotic discoveries followed closely upon penicillin’s heels: streptomycin (1943), the broad-spectrum antibiotics chloramphenicol (1947), and the first tetracyclines (1948–50). This powerful crop of new drugs gave the physician potent weapons against a wide range of infectious diseases, including bacterial pneumonias and meningitis, tuberculosis, dysentery, and sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis and gonorrhea. While most infectious diseases had already declined drastically since the 19th century as the result of better hygiene, nutrition, and sanitation, antibiotics proved remarkably effective in combating those that remained. Mortality from the eight most important diseases treatable by antibiotics decreased 56.4 percent between 1945 and 1955, while the corresponding decline for all other causes of death was only 8.1 percent. Mortality from tuberculosis alone dropped 75.2 percent. The impact was perhaps even greater in surgery, especially in areas such as cardiac surgery, organ transplantation, and the management of severe burns. One statistician estimated in 1958 that 1.5 million American lives had already been saved by antibiotics and their weaker predecessors the sulfanilamides. Before antibacterials, four out of five children’s deaths were microbially related; 20 years after their introduction, four out of five were nonmicrobial. Across the board, the chronic illnesses of aging and lifestyle-related health problems—those associated with smoking, drink-

ing, and poor nutrition—replaced infectious diseases as the primary health scourges.

The impact of antibiotics was not limited to mortality statistics. The systematic screening of soil samples that had produced the second round of antibiotics served as a model for later pharmaceutical research. The wealth of new drugs discovered over the next decades owed much to this inspiration. Physicians basked in an unprecedented degree of prestige and public confidence. And, not least, the pharmaceutical industry was transformed. In the name of efficiency, the wartime penicillin program had encouraged the growth of large firms that could produce and ship finished products. This raised the value of brand names just as valuable new drugs were being developed. Suddenly, pharmaceuticals became one of the nation’s most profitable industries, and high-pressure ADVERTISING and fierce competition between firms soon followed. The stakes were high: Antibiotics were the best-selling class of drugs on the market and provided from one-sixth to one-third of the profits of such major producers as Lilly, Parke Davis, and Pfizer. Inevitably, excesses occurred. Critics charged that dangerous side effects were deliberately downplayed or even ignored in drug advertisements. A series of price-fixing and corruption scandals erupted, culminating in Senator Estes Kefauver’s drug industry hearings in 1959. And many physicians worried that the drugs were being used against viral illnesses like the common cold over which they held no sway. Resistant strains of bacteria would certainly result from such overexposure, they warned—a chilling possibility given that all major classes of antibiotics had been discovered by 1959. But even such concerns over profiteering and overuse were, in a sense, only testimonies to just how wondrous the postwar miracle drugs really were.

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—David Herzberg

### ***Miranda v. Arizona*** (1966)

In the case of *Miranda v. Arizona*, the principles of the Fifth Amendment were challenged in the Supreme Court, and rules were established before a suspect needed to talk to the police.

The Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provides individuals the right to be free from self-incrimination. More accurately, this amendment allows those accused of a crime the “right to remain silent.” Law enforcement authorities, however, did not always honor that right.

On March 10, 1963, in Phoenix, Arizona, Ernesto Miranda, a mentally retarded 23-year-old, was arrested on



charges of rape and kidnapping. The allegations arose after a movie theater employee had been abducted from her job one week earlier and raped. She described her attacker as a man of Mexican descent. Miranda's car, matching the description of the assailant's, was stopped one week after the incident occurred and Miranda was taken to police headquarters. He was placed in a lineup with three other men of Mexican descent and tentatively identified by the victim as her attacker. Miranda was interviewed by police and told that he had been positively identified as the suspect. After two hours of interrogation, he signed a written confession that included a section stating that he had been advised of and understood his constitutional rights as provided by the Fifth Amendment.

On June 7, 1963, Miranda appeared in court with Alvin Moore, his appointed attorney. In his cross-examination, Moore highlighted the essence of the Miranda case. He asked one of the arresting officers if he had advised Miranda of his right to remain silent and refrain from self-incrimination. The officer responded in the affirmative. Moore then asked the officer if he had advised Miranda of his right to legal counsel prior to making a statement. To this question the officer answered, "No." Arguing this point, Moore stated that the policeman's actions violated Miranda's Fifth Amendment rights. Although the officers had advised Miranda of his right to refrain from self-incrimination, they had not advised him of his right to have an attorney present while making a statement. Yale McFate, the judge in Miranda's first trial, disagreed with Moore's argument and stated, "The constitutional right to silence did not extend to the jailhouse." The judge's determination to stand by his decision led to Miranda's conviction and he was subsequently sentenced to two consecutive terms of 20 to 30 years in prison. The debate over Miranda's and other suspects' privilege to be advised of their rights against self-incrimination led all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Chief Justice EARL WARREN issued the Supreme Court's decision on June 3, 1966. Speaking on behalf of the 5-4 majority, Warren stated, "Prior to any questioning the person must be warned that he has the right to remain silent, that any statement he does make may be used as evidence against him, and that he has the right to the presence of an attorney, either retained or appointed." This decision led to Miranda's conviction being overturned by the court.

The ideas at issue in *Miranda* have served as a source of controversy from the time it was decided. Opponents of the decision claim that the ruling gave "a green light to criminals," allowing them more rights than the victims of crime. Subsequent cases have broadened the *Miranda* ruling by holding that an attorney, if requested by the suspect, must be present during any police interrogation. Originally intended to protect the indigent and ignorant, the practice of reading "Miranda Rights" to a suspect has become a part

of standard operating procedure for police departments across the United States.

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—Erin Craig

### Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP)

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) was founded in April 1964 to challenge the right of the all-white Mississippi Democratic Party to represent the state at the national convention in August 1964 in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

The political party formed one segment of the larger Mississippi Summer Freedom project, which sent black and white volunteers to the state to work on voter registration and education initiatives. Under the direction of Staughton Lynd, a white professor at Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia, hundreds of black and white northern students took part in freedom schools, whose goal was to provide an alternative to Mississippi's public school system for blacks. Northern volunteers also participated in registration drives, gathering at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, for training. On Freedom Days, held every two or three weeks, volunteers from the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) urged blacks to try to register to vote collectively. On June 21, James Chaney, a black member of the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) and white CORE workers Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman were shot dead near Meridian, Mississippi. All three were associated with the MFDP and the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project.

Activists Bob Moses and William Higgs first developed the idea to create a desegregated DEMOCRATIC PARTY in Mississippi. Moses presented the project to the Council of Federated Organizations on February 9, 1964. The party was officially founded on April 26, 1964, in Jackson. Aaron Henry, a member of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) became its first chairman. Lawrence Guyot replaced him in the fall of 1964. Other important members included Annie Devine, Victoria Gray, and FANNIE LOU HAMER, a member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the daughter of Mississippi sharecroppers. While the MFDP was open to all races, most of its members were black. The MFDP fielded four candidates in the democratic primaries held on June 2, 1968. Most notable were Gray, who opposed Senator John Stennis, and Hamer, who ran for Congress.

The MFDP held its first convention in Jackson in early August 1964. The convention selected 68 delegates

including four whites and SNCC's Charles McLaurin, Guyot, Hamer, E. W. Steptoe, Devine, and Hartman Turnbow. When they arrived in Atlantic City, MFDP delegates petitioned the Credentials Committee to recognize them as the only delegates from Mississippi, or, at the very least, to have a minority report read on the convention floor.

On August 19, President LYNDON B. JOHNSON, wary of losing Southern states to Republican presidential candidate BARRY GOLDWATER, informed civil rights activists in a meeting at the White House that he opposed their efforts to unseat the regular Mississippi Democratic delegation. Johnson asked J. EDGAR HOOVER, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to tap MFDP supporters' phones and to keep him informed of their efforts at the convention. On August 22, when Hamer, testifying in front of the Credentials Committee, delivered an emotional description of the way she had been beaten in jail in June 1963, Johnson called an impromptu press conference to direct TELEVISION coverage away from the hearings.

In front of the Credentials Committee, MFDP counsel Joseph Rauh argued the party's case. The MFDP was the only party open to both blacks and whites, thus truly representing the state's voters. The official Democratic Party was not loyal to Johnson either, as many members supported Goldwater's bid for the presidency.

Oregon congresswoman Edith Green's compromise solution, under which all the members of both delegations who pledged loyalty to the Democratic Party would be allowed to vote as part of an enlarged Mississippi delegation, was rejected. On August 23, the MFDP refused a proposal to attend the convention and speak but not vote. Johnson then suggested that two of the MFDP's delegates, Aaron Henry and Ed King, be accepted as delegates-at-large, while other delegates would be admitted as nonvoting participants in the convention. Several people, including MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., advised the MFDP to accept this compromise, but they refused. MFDP delegates still managed to attend the convention, prompting the Mississippi Democratic delegation to leave in protest.

In November 1964, the MFDP nonetheless endorsed Johnson for president, but Goldwater carried Mississippi. In September 1965, the MFDP lost an attempt to challenge the right of Mississippi's congressmen to represent the state in Washington, D.C. The 1968 national Democratic Convention in Chicago refused any segregated state delegation.

After their failure to unseat the national Democratic delegation, MFDP members grew disenchanted by conciliatory attempts to change the political system through legal methods. They had played by the rules, they argued, and not even northern liberals had been willing to accept their moral right to represent Mississippi.

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—Philippe R. Girard

### Model Cities program

The Model Cities program, passed by Congress in November 1966, encouraged participating cities to confront actively social and economic problems as well as physical decay in poor, urban areas throughout the United States.

By the mid-1960s, issues of race and poverty had reached a crisis point in cities across the nation. The WATTS UPRISING of 1965 demonstrated that the crisis in inner-city America needed attention. The existing solutions—urban renewal, public housing, the WAR ON POVERTY, and federal urban aid—could not solve the continued problems of crime and poverty. The need for a new approach set the stage for the emergence of the Model Cities program. President LYNDON B. JOHNSON, in his desire to conquer poverty and build a GREAT SOCIETY, felt the need to create an agency that would “stop erosion of life in urban centers among the lower and middle income population,” and in turn “offer qualifying cities of all sizes the promise of a new life for their people.”

The Model Cities program established community-based Model Demonstration Agencies (MDAs) to coordinate urban development efforts in poverty areas. Working side by side with the COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM (CAP), the Model Cities program ushered in community-based service institutions, including those dealing with antipoverty, welfare, housing, manpower, and neighborhood health and community development. Together, CAP and the Model Cities program constituted forerunners for later movements for greater governmental responsiveness, bringing more direct forms of citizen involvement in local public affairs.

Government officials chose the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) as the administering agency for this program. The Model Cities program, a cooperative effort of federal, state, and local resources, required community involvement in the planning and development process. To qualify for the program, cities needed to demonstrate their readiness to stop decay in their neighborhoods as well as make a substantial impact in the development of the city over a period of six years. Upon acceptance into the program, the city received federal backing to pursue every available social program for urban improvement.

Before action took place, cities underwent a three-phase planning process. First, each city analyzed the major problems of the community, their causes, and the interrela-

tionship between them. Within this framework, cities were responsible for developing long-range goals, approaches to achieve these goals, and priorities in carrying through these goals. In the second and third stages of planning, the cities broke down the cost analysis for their five-year objectives and then translated goals into specific program proposals. At the end of the planning process, cities submitted the completed proposal for final approval. In late 1967 and early 1968, HUD selected 75 cities out of the 200 submitted for the first round of planning grants.

Across the nation, these Model Cities worked to implement different kinds of social programs. EDUCATION was a major component of most programs, using 20 percent of the allotted funds. Urban renewal and housing, citizen participation, health, manpower and job development, economic and business development, crime, relocation, evaluation, and program administration made up other program branches.

While Johnson felt that the Model Cities program was “the most important domestic measure before the Congress,” and spoke of its impact on “the future of the American cities,” many members of Congress remained doubtful. Many felt the funding would spread the program so far and thin that it would fail to do any city much good. Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY complained that model cities were “a drop in the bucket” and that “a domestic Marshall Plan” was essential to deal with the nationwide crisis.

Twenty-two years later, in 1988, critics pronounced the program a failure. According to the *New York Times*, the program never had a fair chance: “As envisioned, the program would have concentrated billions in huge demonstration grants to a handful of cities. Such grants would have tested whether comprehensive aid could create a realistic chance of eradicating blight. It didn’t, because such aid never materialized. Eventually the money was shoveled around only a half-inch deep anywhere. The program was destined to fail.”

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—Susan F. Yates

## modern Republicanism

Modern Republicanism was the phrase used to describe President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER’s approach to governing during his two terms in office in the 1950s.

Also referred to as “dynamic conservatism” or “new Republicanism,” the phrase originated in the desire of Eisenhower and other moderate conservatives in the 1950s

to pursue pragmatic, rather than overtly ideological, goals, such as “holding the line” on government spending and expansion. More of a slogan than a clearly defined political philosophy, the phrase represented an amalgam of traditional Republican beliefs—individualism, private initiative, and private enterprise—together with acceptance of some governmental responsibility for the welfare of its citizens. The overarching feature of modern Republicanism was its accommodation to the NEW DEAL. Maintaining the status quo, rather than attempting to dismantle New Deal programs, reflected the general tenor of the 1950s in its moderation and cultivation of consensus politics.

Specifically with regard to domestic policy, accommodation meant that Eisenhower, with the prodding of a Democratic majority in Congress, agreed to a slight boost in the minimum wage, creation of the interstate highway system, and an expansion in the number of people who were eligible for Social Security. His aversion to large-scale federal involvement was evident, however, in his refusal to support proposals for universal or even broader health coverage. In foreign policy, Eisenhower and his secretary of state, JOHN FOSTER DULLES, pursued the strategy of “containing” the SOVIET UNION. Notwithstanding the rhetoric of “rollback” and “massive retaliation” that Dulles often used, the Eisenhower administration for the most part practiced a foreign policy consistent with the internationalist outlook established by its predecessors. Containment was of a piece with modern Republicanism in its attention to means and ends. Eisenhower was especially attuned to the relationship between national security goals and the budgetary means with which the United States could pursue them.

Less consistent, however, was Eisenhower’s response to the burgeoning Civil Rights movement. While most adherents of modern Republicanism, such as New York governor Nelson Rockefeller, fully supported the Civil Rights movement, Eisenhower was at best a most reluctant and uncertain ally. A firm believer in states’ rights, the president refused to use his office to support what constituted the most salient domestic issue of his two terms in office—school desegregation. Only when faced with an insubordinate governor in Arkansas, the demagogic ORVAL FAUBUS, did Eisenhower act decisively by sending federal troops in 1957 to Little Rock to enforce a school desegregation order.

Despite the president’s enormous success in the presidential elections of 1952 and 1956, by the end of his tenure Republicans discovered that the leader of their party had few coattails with which to ride into public office. Republicans saw Democrats gain sizable majorities in both houses of Congress following the 1958 midterm elections. Conservative Republicans were therefore eager to gain control of the party’s platform and secure for themselves a place in a



party that had been dominated by the liberal wing during Eisenhower's presidency.

Inextricably tied to the personal influence of Eisenhower, modern Republicanism as an outlook within the Republican Party that accepted responsibility for social welfare at the national level seemed to fade soon after Eisenhower left office. The task of maintaining modern Republicanism was left to Nelson Rockefeller, who represented the liberal wing of the party. Rockefeller faced fierce opposition from members of the New Right, a loose coalition of Republican Party members and conservative intellectuals who regarded Rockefeller and like-minded Republicans with contempt. The spokesman of this group was BARRY GOLDWATER, a conservative senator from Arizona, who received his party's nomination for president in 1964 by promising to end the practice of what he called "dime-store New Dealism." LYNDON B. JOHNSON's landslide victory in that election made it clear that modern Republicanism as it was conceived in the 1950s was not the basis for a new moderate electoral majority.

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—Kirk Tyvela

### Monroe, Marilyn (1926–1962) actor

Marilyn Monroe was an American motion-picture actress who became the most famous international sex symbol of the 20th century.

Born Norma Jean Mortensen on June 1, 1926, in Los Angeles, California, to an emotionally unstable mother and a father she never knew, Norma Jean spent her youth in foster homes and orphanages. In 1942, she married Jim Dougherty and dropped out of high school to work in an aircraft production plant. At the defense plant she was discovered by a U.S. Army photographer who used her as a model for posters for the troops. In short time, she signed with a well-known modeling agency, bleached her hair platinum blonde, and changed her name to Marilyn Monroe. Her image appeared regularly in national publications, where she was recognized as one of the most popular pin-up girls of the period. This early work led to an audition with 20th Century-Fox film studio, where she made a brief appearance in two small-budget MOVIES.

Her early acting efforts went relatively unnoticed and she was subsequently cut by the studio. In 1950, 20th Century-Fox reconsidered and signed Monroe to another contract and her career blossomed, beginning with bit parts in *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950) and *All about Eve* (1950).



Marilyn Monroe, in a scene from the motion picture *The Seven Year Itch*, 1955 (Library of Congress)

These earliest works reflect movie directors' inability to recognize her talents for anything beyond the role of the typical "dumb blonde." At Fox she languished, playing bit parts, most often the role of a mistress or an overtly sexual temptress. Yet Monroe took acting seriously, opting to study at the Actors' Lab in Hollywood and under famous acting coach Lee Strasberg in New York City in an attempt to overcome the dumb blonde stereotype.

While minor roles in dramas gained her attention in the movie industry, Monroe's gift for comedy led to her greatest success. Her comedic roles in movies such as *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953), *How to Marry a Millionaire* (1953), and *The Seven Year Itch* (1955), which included one of the most recognized images of Monroe where she stood over a subway grating causing her dress to billow all around her, earned her more respect. Her humor derived in part from the fact that, in her roles, her gorgeous, blonde characters did not seem to understand why people thought she was beautiful or funny. Meanwhile, her growing body of work brought her increased recognition as a sex symbol. Her physical voluptuousness combined with her natural sex appeal made Monroe an international star, and many imitated her look. During the KOREAN WAR, she toured



with the United Service Organizations (USO)—a volunteer agency that helps meet the needs of armed service personnel—entertaining American troops.

Monroe returned to Hollywood and married baseball star Joe DiMaggio in 1954. But her marriage to DiMaggio was short-lived, and the couple divorced a year later. In 1956, Monroe married playwright Arthur Miller, whom she had met while in New York. Following her marriage to Miller, Monroe starred in more complex film roles, including *Bus Stop* (1956), *The Prince and the Showgirl* (1957), *Some Like It Hot* (1959), and *The Misfits* (1961). Her performance in *Bus Stop* was considered by critics to be her most accomplished, while her appearance in *Some Like It Hot* proved to be her most popular with fans.

During this period, Monroe was being treated for depression and illness. Prescribed heavy doses of prescription drugs, she became increasingly unreliable on the movie set, often forgetting her lines or failing to appear for work. The last movie Monroe completed was *The Misfits* (1961), written for her by Miller and costarring Clark Gable and Montgomery Clift. One week after the movie opened, she and Miller divorced. While working on her next movie, *Something's Got to Give*, she was fired from the set for her erratic behavior. Two months later, Monroe's career was cut short on August 5, 1962, when she was found dead in her home in Los Angeles from an overdose of sleeping pills.

**Further reading:** Fred Lawrence Guiles, *Norma Jean: The Life of Marilyn Monroe* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969); Graham McCann, *Marilyn Monroe* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1987).

—Susan V. Spellman

**Montgomery bus boycott** See PARKS, ROSA.

## movies

Following World War II, movies reflected larger social and cultural issues, including the frustrations of the youth movement and the problems of ANTICOMMUNISM, and they faced challenges in attempting to deal with these explosive questions.

In the decade and a half after the war, the once unified vision of Hollywood film production fragmented as studios produced films targeting specific audiences and reflecting contemporary issues. Economic pressures in the 1940s forced the movie industry to rely more on overseas distribution and cost-cutting measures in order to keep films profitable. A government antitrust ruling against Paramount and other major studios further spurred changes in the process of making movies. By the 1960s, Hollywood lost its monopolistic hold on the filmmaking industry as

producers looked overseas or shot on location to keep costs lower and make sure the industry remained competitive with TELEVISION.

Financial concerns, however, did not hinder the technical progress of the film industry. During the 1950s, color films became the standard rather than the exception. The switch to color film was expensive due to the higher cost of film and processing. Further progress was made as directors and cinematographers improved techniques for shooting film and editing outdoor shots to match color correctly. Lightweight cameras allowed for greater mobility and realism in filming. In the late 1950s, the film industry began incorporating cinema vérité by using lightweight cameras to capture both image and sound. The artistic "Direct Cinema" movement took cinema vérité (a hands-off approach to filmmaking) to its extreme by treating the camera as a silent observer of real life. Another innovation, Cinerama, used multiple cameras to produce a single image, which was projected on an oversized screen. Most films in Cinerama tended to be travelogues, though director John Ford's 1962 film *How the West Was Won* showed the medium worked for narrative films too.

The HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE (HUAC) disrupted the careers of people working in all aspects of the film industry. The government, suspicious of Hollywood's liberal tendencies, called writers, actors, and other film workers before the committee to ask the accused if they had been members of the Communist Party or if they could name people who were. The HUAC committee ruined the career of Paul Robeson, the leading African-American actor of the 1930s and 1940s. The HOLLYWOOD TEN, a group of influential producers, directors, and screenwriters, including several eastern European immigrants, refused to name names or reveal information about their past to the committee in 1947. The American film industry blacklisted them, but after serving jail terms for contempt of Congress, the Hollywood Ten continued to work using pseudonyms or by filming overseas. Although Dalton Trumbo won the 1956 screenwriting Academy Award for *The Brave One*, he was unable to claim it since he had written the screenplay under a pseudonym. The emotional pressure to denounce coworkers as communists left deep scars in Hollywood and lasting bitterness between those who yielded to HUAC and those who remained silent. The pall of anticommunism changed the types of films made in Hollywood. In reaction to HUAC, American filmmakers became vocal anticommunists, reluctant to experiment with anything that might be considered threatening.

In the mid-1940s to 1950s, genre films like film noir movies and westerns reached their peak of popularity. These films followed certain conventions. Film noir, a name earned for the darkly lit scenes and preponderance of nighttime shots filmed in black and white, brought together

rugged detectives and dangerous women on the trail of a mystery. Dripping with cynicism, these films reflected post-World War II doubt that the world was inherently good and COLD WAR fears of TECHNOLOGY. The diversity and flexibility of the genre attracted top talent. Howard Hawks directed Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall in *The Big Sleep* (1946), in which the plot was secondary to style and the on-screen chemistry. Alfred Hitchcock directed several film noir movies, including *Notorious* (1946), starring Cary Grant and Ingrid Bergman in a tale of love and fear of Nazi conspirators; *The Wrong Man* (1956), about the failure of justice to acquit a wrongfully accused man; and *Vertigo* (1958), which pictured Jimmy Stewart's obsessive love for Kim Novak and fear of heights. Actor Orson Welles and writer Graham Greene worked together on *The Third Man* (1949). Set in postwar Vienna, the plot revolved around the danger of trusting a former ally, and reflected the uncertainty of U.S.-Soviet relations. With the rise of color films, this genre rapidly declined in the late 1950s, but it never fully disappeared.

Westerns also reflected a cold war sensibility. The Old West frequently served as an allegory for American and Soviet relations. The good guys wore white and stayed true to American ideals of liberty and justice, whereas the enemies wore black and represented Soviet corruption and land hunger. The movie-going public enjoyed westerns throughout the 1940s and 1950s before they lost their appeal and degenerated during the 1960s. John Ford, the leading director of westerns, blended together a popular mix of sentimentality, nostalgia, and stunning composition that showed power, strength, and an idealized masculinity. Some of Ford's most successful westerns, such as *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), *The Searchers* (1956), and *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962), starred actor John Wayne. *The Searchers* was atypical for the genre because it showed the harshness of American treatment of Native Americans, and John Wayne's hero had complicated systems of morality, which differed from contemporary ideals. Wayne's reputation for playing strong, stoic heroes solidified his patriotic image, but his off-screen political activism in conservative groups and support of the VIETNAM WAR made him a target of the COUNTERCULTURE and other liberal movements.

Horror films maintained their popularity and SCIENCE FICTION movies proliferated, in part through low-budget productions commonly called B-movies. B-movies featured no-name talent (although some future stars began their careers in them), second-rate special effects, and poor production quality. Aliens and space-age developments were common in both horror and sci-fi films. Mysterious aliens reflected American views toward the Soviets and other communist states. Although average Americans had little contact or knowledge of either, they believed that Soviets

and communists wanted to destroy the American way of life. The cheap productions tended to be profitable and were mainstays of the drive-in movies popular with the youth market. The results could sometimes be laughable, as in director Ed Wood's 1956 film *Plan 9 from Outer Space*, often cited as the worst film of all time. But the genre also produced thought-provoking works like *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951) in which mankind's violence doomed the species to become dinner for alien invaders. In the 1956 film *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, alien pod people who replicated the human form but lacked human reason and soul represented American's collective fear of a communist invasion. Stanley Kubrick's 1968 film *2001: A Space Odyssey* was a masterpiece both of visual style and social commentary about man's relationship to outer space and technology. In this film, mankind's reliance on technology made it fall victim to machinery.

Although the film industry promoted youthful stars from its inception, the 1950s brought a new type of star to Hollywood. These men and women used sex appeal and angst together with a naturalistic acting style to create multidimensional characters. Marlon Brando, with his mumbling delivery and rebellious image, made a successful transition from stage to film. He received Academy Award nominations four years in a row for the sexually charged *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), *Viva Zapata!* (1952), about a Latin-American revolution, the period piece *Julius Caesar* (1953), and *On the Waterfront* (1954). Brando's Oscar-winning performance in *On the Waterfront* showed the gritty underside of American culture through the eyes of a down-and-out boxer. Even so, Brando failed to achieve the same attention as James Dean. Dean epitomized 1950s teenage angst and restlessness in *Rebel without a Cause* (1955), with his portrayal of a juvenile delinquent trying to go straight after moving to a new city. Born in 1931, Dean appeared in three major films, as a rebellious son in *East of Eden* (1955), *Rebel without a Cause*, and the posthumous *Giant* (1956), about infidelity on a cattle ranch. James Dean died in 1955 in a car crash while driving his Porsche Spyder to a racing competition. Fans of his acclaimed film performances have used this early death to immortalize Dean and the rebellious, yet sensitive young man he portrayed in his films.

Women, too, enjoyed notable success. MARILYN MONROE was the major female sex symbol of the 1950s, and her reputation persisted following her death. Unlike the foreign-born beauties Brigitte Bardot, Sophia Loren, and Gina Lollobrigida, Monroe embodied the American ideal of the girl-next-door. Frequently cast as "the dumb blonde," Monroe exuded sexuality, innocence, and wholesomeness at the same time. Despite her image, she was savvy about the film industry and even formed her own production company. Monroe brought comedic skills and feminine



Motion picture actress Natalie Wood displays new drive-in movie speakers, Hollywood, California, 1957. (Library of Congress)

charm to such films as *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1952), about showgirls on vacation, and *Some Like It Hot* (1959), in which she played a member of an all-female band that is joined by two men hiding from the mob. Her performance in the romantic comedy *Bus Stop* (1956) earned her critical praise and commercial success. Like James Dean, Marilyn Monroe suffered an untimely death in 1962, leaving behind many memorable films and an enduring image.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the blend of MUSIC and movies changed to reflect additional elements of POPULAR CULTURE. The early 1950s marked the end of the grand-scale musicals with *An American in Paris* (1951) and *Singin' in the Rain* (1952). During the 1960s revival of the musical genre, filmmakers reinterpreted popular Broadway musicals such as *West Side Story* (1961) and *The Sound of Music* (1965). Musicians ventured into film in an updated form of the musical that targeted the youth market. ELVIS PRESLEY made a string of movies in the 1950s, includ-

ing *Jailhouse Rock* (1957) and *Viva Las Vegas* (1964), that brought his swiveling hips to theaters across America. The plots in both films served as a way to connect musical numbers. Elvis strayed little from the traditional musical format but used ROCK AND ROLL instead of show tunes. In spite of poor critical reviews, Presley's films proved successful with the public who found his personality and image attractive. In the 1960s, the BEATLES developed a precursor to modern music videos with upbeat films like *A Hard Day's Night* (1964), *Help* (1965), and the animated film *Yellow Submarine* (1968) that promoted a fun-filled lifestyle as well as their music.

In spite of Hollywood's dominance, some significant work came from outside of mainstream production. Established actors like Peter Fonda, who starred as a motorcycle-riding hippie in *The Wild Angels* (1966), and Dennis Hopper lent their skills to the growing counterculture market. These films continued the focus on the youth



culture that was important to earlier films like *Rebel without a Cause*. Also working outside of the established film industry, Russ Meyer made soft-core pornography and B-movies beginning with *The Immortal Mr. Teas* in 1959, which earned nearly \$1 million dollars in profit. His *Faster Pussycat! Kill! Kill!* (1965), considered a classic B-movie, featured three women killers, who violently attacked only when men made sexist comments.

Within the film industry, the director's style gained prominence over the studio's style by the early 1960s. Innovative directors broke from traditional genres and, perhaps more important, moral constraints. Mike Nichols's 1967 film *The Graduate* broke taboos by featuring a relationship between an older married woman and her daughter's boyfriend. The controversial subject matter and excellent acting of Dustin Hoffman and Anne Bancroft ensured the film's critical and commercial success. Director Arthur Penn achieved similar success with the historical drama *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967). Featuring Faye Dunaway and Warren Beatty as the titular antiheroes, the film's graphic violence served as a model to later directors.

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—Lyra Totten-Naylor

### **Muhammad, Elijah** (1897–1975) *Nation of Islam leader*

Under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad, the Nation of Islam became a significant factor in the development of American Islam and African-American racial consciousness.

Born Elijah Poole in Sandersville, Georgia, on October 7, 1897, he was the seventh of 13 children. Living in the segregated South, Elijah and his family bore the brunt of racial slurs and discrimination. Even Elijah's father, a Baptist minister, failed to protect his son from this racist environment. During the winter of 1907, while taking some firewood into town to sell, Elijah encountered a large group of whites in the African-American section of town. Elijah recognized one of his friends hung from a tree, the victim of a lynching. He questioned how this could happen "in the midst of his own people." The subdued reaction of the African-American community along with the brutality of the whites disgusted Elijah, and from that point on he openly advocated African-American separatist doctrines.

In 1919, Elijah married Clara Belle Evans, and between 1921 and 1939 they had eight children. In 1923, Elijah and his family moved to Detroit, Michigan, leaving the turmoil of the South behind. Introduced to a variety of African-

American organizations, Elijah explored groups such as the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and the Black Shriners; each intrigued Elijah, but none kept his interest. In 1931, he met Wallace D. Fard and his group the Allah Temple of Islam (ATI). The ATI adopted Islamic beliefs and symbols, such as a crescent-and-star motif, the adoption of Arabic names, the prohibition of pork, and the separation of the sexes. Furthermore, Fard introduced new elements to the ATI, such as the belief that whites were devils, and a paramilitary unit called the Fruit of Islam. Elijah became Fard's most ardent supporter, and he took on the role of Supreme Master of the ATI. Following this change, Fard bestowed the name Muhammad upon Elijah. From this point on, Elijah Poole became Elijah Muhammad, the messenger of the ATI.

Due to their connection with a ritualistic murder, the ATI horrified the Detroit police, who attempted to shut down the organization. In the hopes of escaping punishment, Fard agreed to disband the ATI, but he simply changed its name to the Nation of Islam. Forced to leave Detroit, Fard handed leadership of the Nation of Islam to Muhammad. Faced with major opposition, Muhammad fled Detroit to avoid assassination. He settled in Washington, D.C., where he took advantage of the Library of Congress to further educate himself.

The Nation of Islam went through trying times from 1943 to 1946, when Muhammad was jailed for draft evasion. While in prison, he recognized various factors he could use to strengthen the organization, employing radio to broadcast the message of the Nation to other African Americans. In so doing, he effectively reached many potential members. In addition to this idea, he saw that prison served as the perfect model for resource collectivization, a system in which the people controlled ownership and the means of production together. Muhammad believed he could use this approach in the African-American community to unite the population.

Following his release from prison in August 1946, Muhammad approached the Nation of Islam with renewed vigor. Pooling their resources, Muhammad and the members opened a number of small African-American Muslim-owned businesses in Chicago. The money poured in, and the Nation bought a large amount of real estate. The Nation of Islam became the most prosperous African-American organization in the United States.

Perhaps the most significant event to occur to both Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam during this period was the recruitment of MALCOLM X in 1948. Charismatic and energetic, Malcolm X was one of the most successful organizers and recruiters for the Nation. New temples and schools opened around the country, as the organization surged with new members, including Louis Farrakhan, recruited in 1955. As a collective organization, the



Nation advocated a more militant stance in the Civil Rights movement, which opposed the viewpoint of leaders such as MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The birth of Muhammad's first illegitimate child called his leadership into question. In all, he fathered 13 unrecognized children with seven different women. Muhammad's actions violated the same moral codes that he preached to the Nation. He also used the funds of the Nation of Islam for personal gain. He traveled in a Lockheed executive jet and wore a lavish fez said to be worth \$150,000. In addition to these problems, Muhammad was accused of ordering the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965. Muhammad continued to lead the Nation of Islam until his death from heart failure on February 25, 1975, at the age of 77.

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—Clayton Douglas

**Murray, Pauli** (1910–1985) *activist, educator, lawyer*

In the course of achieving noteworthy stature in the fields of LITERATURE, law, and RELIGION, Pauli Murray became a distinguished African-American educator, an ardent leader in the Civil Rights movement, and vocal proponent of WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS.

Murray was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on November 20, 1910. Her father was a graduate of Howard University and a teacher and principal in the Baltimore public schools. In 1914, her mother died of a cerebral hemorrhage and she went to live with her aunt and maternal grandparents in Durham, North Carolina. Her father, who suffered from typhoid fever, had to be hospitalized, and he was unable to care for Pauli and her five siblings.

Murray graduated first in her high school class in Durham, and traveled to New York City to gain the necessary academic qualifications in a local high school to be able to attend Hunter College. In her sophomore year at Hunter, she had to leave school temporarily after the stock market crash of 1929. She went on to graduate in 1933 with a major in English and a minor in history. She was employed by the New Deal's Works Progress Administration (WPA) as a teacher in the New York City public schools.

As a young adult, Murray stood ahead of her time in her resistance to the Jim Crow SEGREGATION practices of the South. Whenever possible, she walked, rather than rode the segregated buses. In the fall of 1938, she took a more unorthodox step toward fighting racial discrimination. She applied for admission to the graduate school at the University of North Carolina, an all-white institution. The dean

rejected her application on the grounds that "members of your race are not admitted to the University." Her quest for admission became public news because the Supreme Court had recently ruled in *Gains v. Canada* that it was the duty of a state to furnish graduate and professional training to all the residents of the state based on an equality of right. Only the second black person ever to apply to the university, Murray received widespread publicity, which resulted in black students filing applications at other southern universities. Murray began to see the importance of her role as a pioneer in the struggle for equality and opportunity in higher EDUCATION.

Murray's career in law began in 1940 when she was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct and creating a public disturbance. She and a friend refused to move to a broken seat in the back of a Greyhound bus in Petersburg, Virginia, and they were jailed for three days, then found guilty and ordered to pay a fine. As a result of that episode, Murray enrolled at the Howard University Law School in 1941 with the intent of becoming a civil rights lawyer. During her senior year of law school, she was elected president of her class and chief justice for the university's Court of Peers. Her senior thesis, with its argument that the "separate but equal" doctrine did violence to the personality of the minority individual, was so eloquent that it was used by Oliver Brown's lawyers in the landmark *BROWN v. BOARD OF EDUCATION* (1954) case. Previously, students with achievements similar to Murray's were offered fellowships to study at Harvard University, but when she applied, she was rejected from the school on the basis of her gender.

She entered Boalt Hall School of Law at the University of California, Berkeley, for further study, and passed the California Bar examination. In January 1946, she became the first black deputy attorney general of California.

In 1951, Murray published her first book, *States' Laws on Race and Color*. THURGOOD MARSHALL called the book the bible for civil rights lawyers fighting segregation laws. Murray worked as an associate attorney in New York City from 1956 to 1960. From there she went to Ghana to teach at Ghana School of Law. She returned to the United States in 1961 and began graduate study at the Yale University Law School, where she became the first African American to receive the degree of Doctor of Juridical Science.

In 1962, Murray, whose stature as a legal scholar, educator, and activist in a number of civil rights groups had become well known, was selected as a member of the Committee on Civil and Political Rights, one of seven study committees set up as part of the PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, created by JOHN F. KENNEDY in 1961. There she met BETTY FRIEDAN, and in October 1966, Murray, and 31 other women who met in Washington, founded the NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW).

In 1972, Murray was named professor of law and politics at Brandeis University, where she taught for five years. In the last decade of her life, she felt drawn to the religious life, and, in 1973, she enrolled in the General Theological Seminary, subsequently becoming the first black woman to serve as an Episcopal minister. She spent the remainder of her life writing and traveling the country speaking. In 1985, she died of cancer.

**Further reading:** Pauli Murray, *Pauli Murray: The Autobiography of a Black Activist, Feminist, Lawyer, Priest and Poet* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989).

—Elizabeth A. Henke

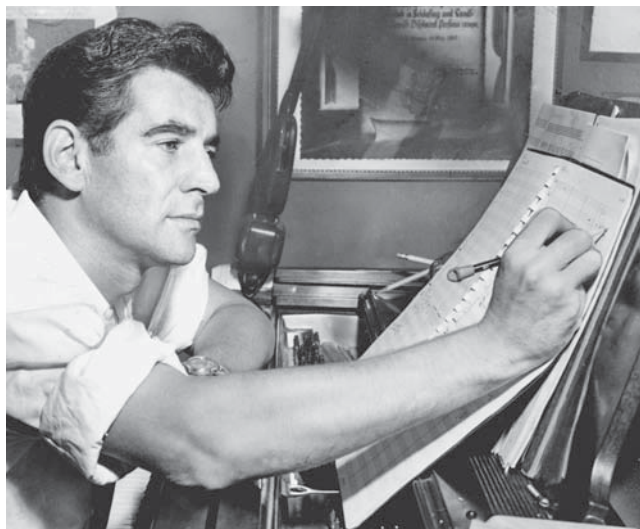
## music

Music has always reflected the changes in society, both socially and culturally. The newly evolving music of the 1950s and 1960s clearly mirrored the cultural changes of the time.

In the post–World War II years, most Americans longed for stability. After surviving two world wars and a massive depression, the nation needed a secure environment. The music of the late 1940s and early 1950s reflected this mood. Soft, noncontroversial music—like that of Frank Sinatra (“Young at Heart”)—accompanied these trends. This music was slow, melodic, and easy to listen to.

The American musical providing music with a story line, also remained popular at this time. Famous musicals such as *Oklahoma!*, *South Pacific*, and *West Side Story* were received enthusiastically in New York and then around the country. These musicals also began to cross over into MOVIES, giving musicals a new and larger market. The music heard in these musicals, also played on the radio, was happy and light, reflecting the atmosphere of many of the shows.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, concert music audiences continued to enjoy classical music written and performed by American composers and artists. Many composers earned an international reputation for their work. Aaron Copland, a well-known American composer, produced many compositions, including operas, ballets, chamber music, concertos, and symphonies. Many of his best works—such as *Appalachian Spring*, *Billy the Kid*, and *Rodeo*—incorporated American folk melodies. Leonard Bernstein, best known as the conductor of the New York Philharmonic, wrote several symphonies and ballets, but his musicals brought him the greatest attention. His *Wonderful Town* (1953), *Candide* (1956), and *West Side Story* (1957) were produced on Broadway and elsewhere around the country, reaching millions of people. Meanwhile, more innovative works began to emerge, as composers experimented with sounds and melodies, making more complex and innovative music. John Cage and Earle Brown were two



Leonard Bernstein, making annotations to a musical score, 1955 (*Library of Congress*)

American composers who composed these more progressive forms of concert music, using everyday objects such as pots and pans to create sounds in modern compositions.

Symphony orchestras and opera companies benefited from the support of the NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS (NEA), established in 1965. The NEA provided funds to individuals and institutions for the promotion of the arts. Grants to institutions, however, required matching funds from private donors. This need encouraged private and state support of all kinds, including large donations from corporations such as the DUPONT CORPORATION and International Business Machine Corporation (IBM). The increase in financial support allowed symphonies and opera companies to reach larger audiences and helped schools of music expand in their size and scope. In the post–World War II era, the number of symphony orchestras nearly doubled by the 1970s. While opera had difficulty at first in finding a large audience in the United States, some opera companies successfully worked to promote the works of American composers. The Metropolitan Opera Company in New York, the first opera company to produce an American work, continued to perform American-composed operas, including Aaron Copland’s *The Tender Land* (1954) and Samuel Barber’s *Vanessa* (1958) and *Antony and Cleopatra* (1966). As the popularity of opera grew, cities across the nation, such as Seattle, Houston, and Santa Fe, supported their own opera companies.

Throughout the United States, conservatories and universities became training centers for young musicians and singers, and increasing numbers of students focused their attention on a career in the performing arts. Schools such as the Juilliard School of Music in New York, the Boston

Conservatory in Massachusetts, and the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, New York, provided training in the careers of orchestration, singing, and conducting.

The influence of classical music and opera in America was challenged by the burgeoning popularity of new forms of music. During the 1950s, rhythm and blues moved into mainstream culture. A traditionally African-American form of music, rhythm and blues became popular through the support of teens. Strong beats sometimes coupled with the music of brass instruments characterized this kind of music. Prevailing American prejudices opened the door for white interpretations of rhythm and blues songs, tapping into the growing youth market.

These new interpretations of rhythm and blues quickly turned into the beginnings of an entirely new form of music. The term “ROCK AND ROLL,” coined by Cleveland disc jockey Alan Freed, gave a name to this new music. With bands like Bill Haley and the Comets, who sang “Rock around the Clock,” rock and roll became a great success with the profitable teen market. Singer ELVIS PRESLEY, known as the “King of Rock and Roll,” became a cultural icon and the symbol of rock music. His popular songs “Hound Dog” and “Don’t Be Cruel” were played on every radio station around the country. Elvis came to symbolize the coming of a new era of American music.

At the same time, the BEAT GENERATION, headed by ALLEN GINSBERG and others, performed a kind of music of its own. Beats were known for reading or even composing poems with jazz music playing in the background. Beats opened the door for people tired of a safe and bland society to express themselves. Their use of drugs opened the way for greater drug use by musicians in the next decade.

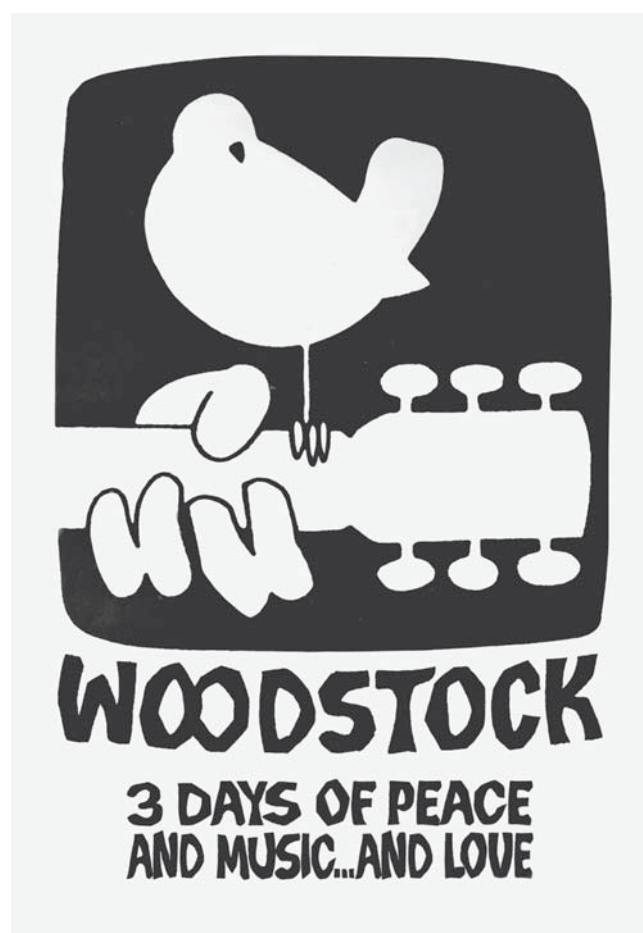
A powerful African-American recording label arose in the 1960s. Motown Records became one of the largest black-owned businesses in America. The artists of Motown formed a new type of rhythm and blues. Some famous artists like Stevie Wonder and the Temptations rose from this label. Diana Ross and the Supremes, probably Motown’s most popular group of the decade, embodied the beginnings of rhythm and blues.

During the 1960s, yet another form of expressive music was emerging. Slow melodic songs characterized the FOLK MUSIC REVIVAL, promoting peace and happiness. Introduced to songs in past decades by guitar-playing Woody Guthrie, and later by banjo player Pete Seeger, mainstream America began to listen to folk music. The Weavers, for example, were popular into the late 1940s, with songs like Leadbelly’s “Good Night Irene.” Folk music artists included Joan Baez, who sang, accompanied by her guitar, about a number of causes. She and others sang “We Shall Overcome,” the anthem of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, after it had been revived and popularized by Guy Carawan, another folk singer. Probably the most famous

artist of this movement was BOB DYLAN, who sang songs such as “Blowin’ in the Wind” protesting civil rights abuses and songs reflecting political upheaval such as “The Times They Are A-Changin’.”

Other musical changes developed out of the COUNTERCULTURE of the 1960s. Hippies, first congregating in the Haight Ashbury section of San Francisco, stressed the bohemian lifestyle, long hair, homemade clothes, and a desire to engage in free love. Drugs also composed a large part of this culture. From LSD to marijuana, these people took a variety of drugs to “free their minds.” Many famous artists arose from this culture.

American musicians were not the only ones to participate in the musical revolution taking place. The BEATLES, a rock group from Liverpool, England, became an instant success in America with songs like “Love Me Do” and “I Want to Hold Your Hand.” They later created innovative music with each new album and gained in popularity, along



Poster for Woodstock, a music festival held over three days on Max Yasgur’s farm in Bethel, New York, 1969 (*Library of Congress*)

with other groups such as the Rolling Stones. They symbolized all that parents feared in this new culture, namely, sex, drugs, and rock and roll.

Jimi Hendrix was another popular player on the rock scene. With his electric guitar, he embodied the new age of rock with songs like “Purple Haze” and “All Along the Watch Tower.” The loud soul-filled chords caught the attention of many young Americans. He showcased his musical talents at Woodstock, with many other artists, and he played the rock music festival’s grand finale with his own electric guitar version of the “Star Spangled Banner.” Hendrix’s guitar music was extremely popular and influential in rock music, even after his death from a drug overdose in 1970. Janis Joplin was another popular rock artist who likewise died from a drug overdose.

The music of Joplin and Hendrix exemplified and accompanied a new wave of music called “psychedelic rock.” This music was associated with the hallucinogenic drugs

of the time. One of the most famous of these groups was Jefferson Airplane. A folk rock band, it released an album called *Surrealistic Pillow*, which included the famous song “White Rabbit.” The song carried so many drug references that many radio stations would not play it. This song also invited people to follow TIMOTHY LEARY’s advice, “feed your head.”

During this time, radical new ideas that rebelled against all of society’s norms were expressed through various forms of music. Music emerged as a medium to convey thoughts and feelings of social discontent, and, for the first time, in a significant way targeted the youth of America as a musical market.

**Further reading:** David R. Pichaske, *Popular Music and Culture in the Sixties* (Granite Falls, Minn.: Ellis Press, 1989).

—Jennifer Howell





**Nader, Ralph** See VOLUME X.

### **National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)**

NASA, an independent federal agency, was created in 1958 to foster research on flight and SPACE EXPLORATION.

NASA grew initially as an successor to the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, which, since its creation in 1915, had researched flight, rocketry, missile TECHNOLOGY, and space exploration. The push for a new agency arose out of the tension associated with the COLD WAR between the United States and the SOVIET UNION. The 1957 launching of two Soviet satellites, *Sputnik I* and *II*, energized the American government to meet the challenge and regain the lead in SCIENCE and space technology. In response, the Senate created the Special Committee on Space and Aeronautics to frame legislation for a permanent federal agency, while President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER created the President's Science Advisory Committee to do the same thing. One year later, Congress passed the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958. Eisenhower signed the law on July 29 and NASA began operation in October.

A major concern raised during NASA's creation involved the tension over proposed military and civilian purposes for the new agency. Many military leaders and their congressional allies wanted NASA to form part of the defense establishment. Others, including Eisenhower, opposed such close ties and argued successfully for the creation of a civilian agency. Though a civilian organization, NASA still retained close ties to the military with many of its developments used for military purposes.

Soon after its creation, NASA devoted most of its resources to placing a human in space. To this end, NASA created Project Mercury and introduced the first seven astronauts to the public in April 1959. The project moved

at a deliberate pace until Soviet accomplishments accelerated NASA's plans. On April 12, 1961, Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin became the first human in space, orbiting the Earth once before returning. The Americans followed with Alan Shepard's trip aboard *Freedom 7* on May 6, 1961. Concerned with American prestige and the possibility of losing ground in the cold war, two weeks later President JOHN F. KENNEDY publicly supported a NASA project to land a human on the moon by the end of the 1960s. Out of this came the Apollo program, which cost nearly \$20 billion and strengthened connections between NASA, universities, and private companies devoted to flight and space exploration. The program succeeded in July 1969 when astronaut Neil Armstrong became the first person to walk on the Moon.

Although public and political support for the Apollo program had been strong, NASA's funding levels had begun to drop even before its success. While NASA's budget increased from \$500 million in 1960 to \$5.3 billion in 1965, it dropped to \$3 billion by the early 1970s. Interest in space exploration diminished for three reasons. First, the social movements of the 1960s, especially the Civil Rights movement, led Americans and their political leaders to focus on domestic issues. Funding was channeled into LYNDON B. JOHNSON's GREAT SOCIETY programs, specifically, the WAR ON POVERTY, which began in 1964 and served as the central part of Johnson's domestic agenda. Second, the government devoted resources to its growing involvement in the VIETNAM WAR. Finally, the economic stagnation of the 1970s eroded further hopes of increasing NASA's budget.

Although largely successful and beneficial, there have been problems and tragedy in NASA's history. Three astronauts—Virgil Grissom, Edward White, and Roger Chaffee—died in a fire aboard an Apollo capsule as it sat on the launch pad in January 1967. Three others nearly died aboard *Apollo 13* in April 1970, when an exploding oxygen tank brought the craft close to destruction. These

losses contributed to questions about NASA's goals, competence, and use of resources.

As funding dropped, NASA focused on three major areas: launching unmanned probes to explore the solar system, developing a space station, and creating a reusable launch vehicle. Several unmanned programs, including Viking, Mariner, Voyager, and Galileo, provided a rich set of data on the solar system. In May 1973, NASA launched *Skylab*, an experimental space station. Finally, NASA launched the first space shuttle in 1981, which today serves as the agency's main vehicle for transporting humans into space.

**Further reading:** Roger D. Launius, *NASA: A History of the U.S. Civil Space Program* (Malabar, Fla.: Krieger Publishing, 1994).

—Gregory S. Wilson

### National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

The foremost civil rights organization in the United States, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was the forerunner to the modern Civil Rights movement for racial equality.

Composed of white and black intellectuals committed to ending SEGREGATION and ameliorating the plight of black Americans, the organization was founded in 1910. The NAACP in its early inception set as its overarching goal the achievement of equal rights through gradualist, legalist means.

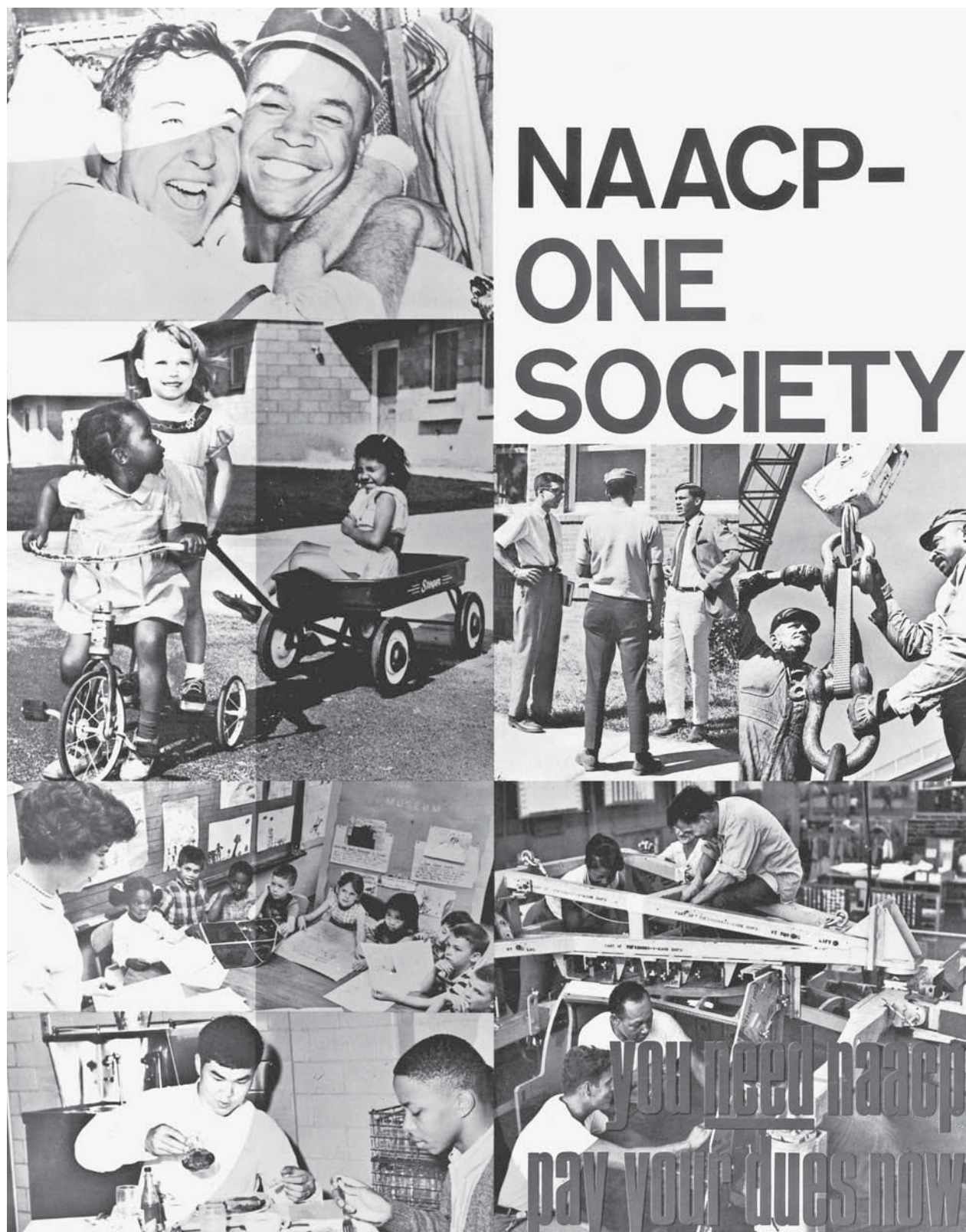
A multiracial organization, the NAACP differed in its outlook from the self-improvement and accommodationist message of Booker T. Washington, an educator and former slave who stressed the importance of economic self-determination for blacks, conceding that segregation was a fact of life. Growing opposition to the pernicious Jim Crow laws, providing for segregated facilities throughout the South, coupled with Washington's refusal to challenge the existing structure of race relations, led to a new approach articulated by W. E. B. DuBois, a Harvard-trained sociologist and political philosopher. The tactics the NAACP used to gain equality for blacks were persuasion and legal action. These included attempting to educate mostly northern whites through publication of *The Crisis*, a journal edited by DuBois.

The NAACP grew quickly; by 1918, the organization had started local branches in every southern state, with membership in the South exceeding that of the North by 1919. This was largely due to the efforts of James Weldon Johnson, the national field secretary and organizer and later the first black executive secretary of the orga-

nization. In the main, however, the NAACP emphasized direct legal action as the primary means through which to effect change. In the 1920s, these actions included an antilynching campaign and, in 1930, a successful effort to block the confirmation of Judge John J. Parker to the Supreme Court.

The zenith of the NAACP's success came during what historians frequently refer to as the "Second Reconstruction" in the 1950s and 1960s. The legalist approach of the NAACP proved enormously successful in removing the judicial linchpin of segregation, the doctrine of "separate but equal" established by the Supreme Court in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). In a series of five cases that were grouped together, NAACP counsel—headed by THURGOOD MARSHALL, later a Supreme Court justice—argued that separate educational facilities for white and black children were by their very existence unequal. In 1952, the case of *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* (1954) came before the Supreme Court. Two years later, on May 17, 1954, Chief Justice EARL WARREN—an appointee of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER—returned a unanimous decision in favor of the plaintiffs, thereby rendering the *Plessy* doctrine, and school segregation, unconstitutional. A year later the Court ordered that desegregation should proceed "with all deliberate speed." But as the hopes of many were raised by the legal successes of the NAACP in the 1950s, opposition grew to the *Brown* case in particular, and to the Civil Rights movement in general. Local southern NAACP chapters faced constant harassment and legal battles with attorneys general intent on crippling the ability of the organization to function. In 1956, a series of injunctions against the NAACP in eight southern states forced the organization temporarily to suspend operations. The state of Alabama, meanwhile, outlawed the organization for nine years. And by 1956, 101 members of Congress had attached their names to a SOUTHERN MANIFESTO, a document that argued that the Warren court had abused its judicial power.

As the Civil Rights movement experienced rising expectations due to the legal success of the NAACP, other civil rights groups, such as the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) and the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), began to attract younger adherents, many of whom were committed to direct action and nonviolent confrontation. Together with the NAACP's own youth councils, these organizations spearheaded such efforts as the Montgomery bus boycotts, SIT-INS, FREEDOM RIDES, and the MARCH ON WASHINGTON. Many of the leadership and organizing skills that student leaders of these organizations demonstrated in the 1960s resulted directly from the efforts of the NAACP.



Promotional poster for NAACP (Library of Congress)



**Further reading:** Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: Free Press, 1984); Robert Weisbrot, *Freedom Bound: A History of America's Civil Rights Movement* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990).

—Kirk Tyvela

### National Endowment for the Arts (NEA)

The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) is an independent government agency that provides funding for the creation, dissemination, and performance of the arts.

Congress created the agency in 1965 along with the NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES. Both were part of President LYNDON B. JOHNSON's domestic agenda called the GREAT SOCIETY.

The birth of the NEA owes much to the particular historical context of post–World War II America. Economic growth, greater leisure time, and an increase in educational levels of Americans all contributed to a growing demand for the arts. The COLD WAR between the United States and SOVIET UNION played an important part as well. Excellence in the arts became a key component in convincing the world's people of American superiority. Without a national endowment, however, funding at the state and local levels remained low. As president, JOHN F. KENNEDY tried unsuccessfully to use his influence to create a national arts program. Johnson, as he did with other legislation, framed the need for national arts and humanities organizations as part of Kennedy's unfulfilled legacy. An alliance of both arts and humanities served a political purpose. Pairing arts with the less controversial humanities gave the act greater support, and Johnson signed the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act on September 29, 1965.

Art forms funded by the NEA include crafts, dance, film, fine arts, LITERATURE, MUSIC, sculpture, and theater. Most grants go to nonprofit organizations such as orchestras, theaters, museums, and schools, or to support arts festivals. Some grants go to individual artists and these have been among the most controversial. Through the encouragement and financial support of the NEA, symphony orchestras, theaters, and dance companies experienced a tremendous growth and resurgence in popularity in the late 1960s.

The chair of each organization is a presidential appointee who serves a four-year term upon confirmation by the Senate. Advising the NEA chair is a 26-member National Council on the Arts, composed of private citizens also appointed by the president. The NEA has fostered the growth of local, state, and regional arts agencies that usually match NEA funds for a project. Originally, only five state arts agencies existed; in later years, other states, too, developed their own agencies.

While public demand for federal support of the arts was high, a weak congressional consensus on federal support kept funding for the NEA relatively low during the agency's early years. With a budget of only \$2.5 million in 1966, the NEA was able to offer little assistance to many nonprofit dance, opera, and theater companies, and symphony orchestras. In later years, the NEA's budget grew to over \$123 million, although controversy over issues of funding and contention between supporters and opponents within the government threatened the existence of the agency.

**Further reading:** Joseph Wesley Zeigler, *Arts in Crisis: The National Endowment for the Arts versus America* (Chicago: A Cappella Books, 1994).

—Gregory S. Wilson

### National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH)

The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) is an independent government agency that supports the study of human history, thought, and culture through the preservation of cultural resources, education, research, and public programs.

Congress created the NEH in the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, which also created the NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS (NEA). According to the legislation, the term "humanities" includes the study of language, linguistics, LITERATURE, history, jurisprudence, philosophy, archaeology, comparative RELIGION, ethics, and the history, criticism, and theory of the arts.

Like the NEA, the president appoints the NEH chair to a four-year term, pending confirmation by the Senate. Advising the chair is the National Council on the Humanities, which consists of 26 private citizens whom the president appoints and the Senate confirms. Between 1965 and 1999, the NEH awarded more than \$3.1 billion for 56,000 fellowships and grants. These went to institutions such as museums, libraries, and archives for preserving, storing, and providing public access to collections. The NEH also funds museum exhibitions, TELEVISION programs, and historic sites. Individuals receive support for teaching and research in the humanities. Two prestigious awards in this category include the Jefferson Lecture and the National Humanities Medals. Recently, the NEH has begun to fund projects that make use of the Internet to increase public awareness of the humanities.

The creation of the NEH grew from the particular historical context of post–World War II America. Economic growth and the support for veteran EDUCATION through the GI Bill led to an increase in college enrollments. The BABY BOOM between 1945 and 1964 added



further pressure for an expansion of education. With that expansion came rising expectations for increased government support among academics, humanists included. In addition, the COLD WAR led to wider support for education as a means of showcasing American superiority in world affairs. While the sciences received the most attention, in 1962 the American Council of Learned Societies recommended the creation of a national endowment for art and humanities and JOHN F. KENNEDY gave his approval. After Kennedy's assassination, LYNDON B. JOHNSON called for the creation of these endowments as a legacy to the slain president. Johnson also considered federal support for arts and humanities as constituting an important part of his domestic agenda, the GREAT SOCIETY. An alliance of both arts and humanities helped the bill through Congress, since the humanities generated less controversy. Johnson signed the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act on September 29, 1965.

Although the principle of granting support to the humanities had been established, differences remained within Congress and between Congress and the academic community over the nature of that support. During its early years, academics on the National Council on the Humanities believed in subsidizing their profession, while Congress expected a more equitable distribution among the states. With a budget in 1966 of \$2.5 million, the NEH had limited funds with which to work.

In subsequent years, an increase in the NEH's budget, combined with supportive leadership, helped the agency make substantial strides in supporting the humanities through the funding of television programs, research, and public libraries and museum exhibits.

**Further reading:** Ronald Berman, *Culture and Politics* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1984).

—Gregory S. Wilson

### National Institutes of Health (NIH) (including NIMH)

The National Institutes of Health (NIH), which comprise 25 separate institutes and centers organized under the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, is the preeminent federal agency responsible for conducting medical research. It received its current name in 1948.

One of eight health agencies within the Public Health Services, the NIH conducts basic and applied research, including clinical trials and experimental procedures for treating chronic and infectious diseases. It works to improve the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of a wide variety of medical conditions, and the agency encourages the dissemination of biomedical information to the larger medical community.

The origins of the NIH date to 1887, when a young doctor named Joseph J. Kinyoun set up a laboratory in the Marine Hospital on Staten Island, New York, in order to treat merchant seamen. In 1902, the Hygienic Laboratory, as Kinyoun's office was known, moved to Washington, D.C., and took on the authority of testing and regulating biological products mandated by the Biologics Control Act (1902). In 1912, the Marine Health Service was given a new name—Public Health Service (PHS)—and additional responsibilities. The PHS was charged with conducting research on chronic and infectious diseases. Taking shape in its more recognizable form, the service was reorganized under the Ransdell Act (1930) and renamed the National Institutes of Health in 1948. The creation of the National Cancer Institute came one year before the NIH moved, in 1938, to a large, privately donated estate in Bethesda, Maryland.

The post-World War II decades saw substantial support for federal medical research in the United States. An expanded role for SCIENCE and MEDICINE soon became recognized as serving the national interest. Prior to the 1940s, popular and congressional sentiment was disinclined to support an extensive role for the federal government in support of medical research. Now medical professionals and scientific researchers found the postwar climate highly conducive to expanding both the size and the scope of their work.

The period between 1955 and 1968 was the golden age of expansion for the NIH under the directorship of James A. Shannon. During this time, the level of research and training conducted by the facility (and its budgets) grew at a tremendous pace. So, too, did advances in tests used to screen patients for certain kinds of cancer, as well as the treatment of diabetes. By 1960, the NIH comprised 10 distinct institutes, expanding to 15 by 1970.

Created as a specialized institute within the NIH, the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) was formally established in 1949, three years after President HARRY S. TRUMAN signed the National Mental Health Act. One of the original four research institutes housed within the National Institutes of Health, the NIMH is dedicated to the diagnosis, treatment, and prevention of mental illness. Under the rubric of mental health, the NIMH was later responsible for conducting research on child development, alcoholism, and suicide prevention.

Prior to World War II, the consensus among medical professionals held that those who suffered from severe and chronic mental illness required institutionalized care; hospitals, which catered exclusively to those patients and which received public funds, were deemed the most appropriate facilities for such care. Until the 1940s, most professional psychiatrists practiced in these public institutions. As with much else in American society, World War II changed this consensus. A younger generation of psychiatrists, many of

whom worked in federal agencies during the war, and sympathetic lay groups, lobbied for changes in the treatment of the mentally ill. In 1955, a report issued by the Joint Commission on Mental Illness, *Action for Mental Health*, laid the basis for new efforts through the NIMH directed at setting up community-based mental health centers. Beginning in the 1960s, a shift toward community-based outpatient therapy supplanted the earlier emphasis on institutionalized treatment and care for the mentally ill.

By the late 1990s, the NIH supported more than 35,000 researchers at 1,700 universities, medical schools, hospitals, and research centers throughout the United States and in other countries. The organization further advances medical knowledge by administering the National Library of Medicine, the most comprehensive collection of medical information in the world.

**Further reading:** Gerald N. Grob, *From Asylum to Community: Mental Health Policy in Modern America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991); Victoria A. Harden, *Inventing the NIH: Federal Biomedical Research Policy, 1887–1937* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

—Kirk Tyvela

### National Organization for Women (NOW)

The National Organization for Women, founded in 1966, brought together feminist activists demanding equal rights for women.

In the immediate post–World War II years, the momentum for WOMEN’S STATUS AND RIGHTS, evident in the early 20th century, waned. Many of the feminist organizations that sprouted in prior decades continued their work in subtle fashion, as the media celebrated the contented suburban housewife and declared feminism dead. The monumental importance of women’s labor contributions during the war effort in the 1940s was put aside as the traditional domestic role of women reemerged.

Prompted by numerous studies on the position of women in society and the workplace, President JOHN F. KENNEDY established the PRESIDENT’S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN in 1961. Unfortunately, many regarded the commission as merely a means for Kennedy to pay off his political debts to those women who supported his campaign. The commission was hardly a force for reform. Led by Esther Peterson, assistant secretary of labor and director of the Women’s Bureau, it worked to block the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in Congress in 1963. Women did achieve a landmark success, however, with the inclusion of a clause banning discrimination based on gender as well as race in Title VII of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964.

The EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION, established to enforce Title VII, came under fire from feminist activists for its handling of sex discrimination cases. This growing dissatisfaction peaked at the third annual conference of the Commission on the Status of Women in Washington, D.C., in June 1966, with a call for a national civil rights organization to actively protect the interests of women. It was during the conference that a group of women, including Dorothy Haener of the United Auto Workers, Yale law professor PAULI MURRAY, and Mary Eastwood of the U.S. Department of Justice, gathered in the Washington Hilton hotel room of BETTY FRIEDAN, outspoken feminist and author of *The Feminine Mystique*, a landmark book exploring the frustration of the modern woman forced to seek fulfillment in traditional female roles. After much debate, the group agreed on the need for an organization, defined what its purpose would be, and, at the final session of the conference, established the National Organization for Women (NOW).

By October 1966, when the first NOW conference convened, over 300 women and men had joined the membership, naming Kay Clarenbach of the Wisconsin Governor’s Commission on the Status of Women the organization’s chair. The members in attendance worked to hammer out a statement of purpose, in which they pledged that the organization would work to ensure the equal rights of women, and to “give active support to the common cause of equal rights for all those who suffer discrimination and deprivation.”

The formation of NOW, and its development into the largest women’s activist organization in the country, with over 250,000 members, strengthened the spirit of feminism and sparked a national movement to secure equal rights for women. Throughout the remainder of the 1960s and 1970s, the National Organization for Women added more causes to its initial platform of ending employment discrimination against women. NOW campaigned heavily, and successfully, for women’s abortion rights and pregnancy employment leave options. Through lobbying and litigation, NOW achieved great success in securing more child care options for working women, and ensured the passage of state-level equal rights amendments and comparable worth legislation, guaranteeing equal pay for equal work for women.

NOW continues to campaign for the rights of women in the workplace and in other parts of American society, often taking its movement outside of the United States to focus attention on the discrimination faced by women in less-developed areas of the world.

**Further reading:** Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of the Women’s Movement in America* (New York: Free Press, 1989); Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1963).

—Guy R. Temple

### National Outdoor Recreation Review Commission

In 1958, Congress established the National Outdoor Recreation Review Commission to study the outdoor recreation resources found in land and water areas of the United States.

The SUBURBANIZATION of the late 1940s and 1950s carried environmental consequences that few Americans understood in the early post–World War II years. This rapid development often was poorly planned, and it impinged on some of the nation's most beautiful countryside. Highways encircled every American city while neon signs and billboards filled any open spaces left undeveloped. Despite the encroaching ugliness, Americans were not highly conscious of environmental issues.

As economic prosperity created more complex highway strips and taller skyscrapers, more Americans began to appreciate natural environments as important parts of their own standard of living. By the 1950s, most Americans enjoyed more free time due to the shorter workweek, and many Americans took longer vacations. They began to spend their time away from the developed cities. As they explored the natural environments of the country, Americans also considered how to protect them.

Due to the growing concern about the environment, Congress established the National Outdoor Recreation Review Commission in 1958. The commission was created to study and take inventory of the outdoor recreation resources and opportunities found in land and water areas of the United States. A committee of 15 members reported its findings and recommendations to both the president and Congress. Following this report, the commission was authorized to grant funds to federal and state organizations to use toward the preservation and development of recreational areas. According to the commission, it hoped to provide “for the American people of present and future generations such quality and quantity of outdoor recreation resources as [was] necessary and desirable for individual enjoyment and to assure the spiritual, cultural and physical benefits that such outdoor recreation [provided].” The committee surveyed national forests, national parks, reservations, wildlife beaches, and coastal lines in order to determine where to develop recreational facilities. These facilities provided opportunities for various outdoor activities, including hunting, fishing, camping, skiing, and boating.

The National Outdoor Recreation Review Commission marked only the first step toward the development of environmental legislation in the 1960s. The commission led to passage of the NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION ACT OF 1964. Following this measure, the NATIONAL TRAILS ACT OF 1968 and the WILD AND SCENIC RIVERS ACT OF 1968 were passed as well.

**Further reading:** Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, *National Outdoor Recreation Resource Review Commission: Hearing*, 98th Cong., 1st sess., June 28, 1983 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984); Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, *Outdoor Recreation Resource Commission: Hearing*, 85th Cong., 1st sess., May 15, 1957 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957).

—Donna J. Siebenthaler

### National Science Foundation See SCIENCE.

### National Security Act of 1947

The National Security Act, passed by Congress in July 1947, coordinated and unified the U.S. armed forces and reorganized the overall military effort.

The command structure of the military services previously had been coordinated only through informal arrangements. After World War II ended, a more permanent and secure arrangement was necessary. The National Security Act of 1947 emerged out of debates over the possible unification of the armed services in the face of concerns about the ability of foreign policymakers and the military to cope with the problems of the COLD WAR. Proponents of the measure claimed it was necessary to protect the country from its enemies. Critics of the proposal, such as Republican senator Edward V. Robertson of Wyoming, feared it would lead to military domination of all foreign policy, and all natural and human resources. “We must not let our fear of Communism blind us to the danger of military domination,” warned Robertson.

The National Security Act, passed by Congress, created several new agencies to coordinate the efforts of existing military bodies. They included the National Security Council (NSC), which was created to improve interdepartmental coordination of defense and foreign policy matters, and the National Security Resources Board, which was commissioned to develop plans for economic mobilization in the event of war. The National Security Act also created the CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA). The CIA was designed to replace the existing Central Intelligence Group that was informally organized immediately following World War II. The CIA was to serve as the principal civilian source of foreign intelligence for the president of the United States and other decisionmakers in the executive branch.

One of the most important aspects of the National Security Act was the reorganization of military departments carried out under the act in an effort to provide for greater coordination between the departments. The measure merged the War Department and the Navy Department

into a new National Military Establishment (NME). The NME was to be headed by a secretary of defense appointed by the president. The NME included the Department of the Army and the Department of the Navy as well as the new Department of the Air Force, which had been recently designated as an independent military service. A number of other defense-related agencies created during World War II, such as the Research and Development Board and the Munitions Board, were also placed under the authority of the secretary of defense. The NME was a failure because the secretary of defense had no real power or authority over the secretaries of the army, navy, and air force and the NME could do little more than encourage them to cooperate. Following the release of the Hoover Commission report in 1949, which proved that the NME was unwieldy and inefficient, Congress passed the National Security Act of 1949. It amended the 1947 act by eliminating the National Military Establishment and creating in its place the Department of Defense (DOD) as an executive department that had the separate service departments squarely under its authority. This reorganization diminished the power of the separate service secretaries and gave the defense establishment a united voice.

The National Security Council (NSC) also coordinated the activities of all executive branch departments concerned with national security. According to the measure, the NSC comprised the president, the vice president, the secretary of state, and the secretary of defense. Other major foreign policy officials, such as the CIA director and the chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, were not statutory members but frequently participated in NSC meetings.

**Further reading:** Demetrios Caraley, *The Politics of Military Unification: A Study of Conflict and the Policy Process* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966); Michael J. Hogan, *A Cross of Iron: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of the National Security State, 1945–1954* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992).

—Elizabeth A. Henke

### National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966

The National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966, which created the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA), represented a full-scale effort at establishing safety standards for all motor vehicles.

The need for some kind of regulatory agency responsible for establishing and enforcing safety standards on the nation's roadways reflected the growing importance

of the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY, both because of its economic function and because Americans were increasingly reliant on private transportation. Public awareness of the issue of transportation safety had been raised in 1965 through a combination of governmental and private efforts. A Senate investigation led by Senator Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut discovered that since 1960 nearly one out of every five cars manufactured in the United States had been recalled, many of them for safety defects. Attempts at improving transportation safety were further bolstered by RALPH NADER, a Harvard Law School graduate and consumer advocate, with the publication of his book *Unsafe at Any Speed* (1965). Attacking the poor safety record of the automobile industry, Nader argued that cars such as the Corvair were designed with styling, rather than safety, in mind.

Nader's efforts paved the way for the National Traffic and Motor Safety Act of 1966, which set safety standards for vehicles on public highways, provided for inspection to ensure compliance, and created the National Motor Vehicle Safety Advisory Council.

At the same time, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, eager to consolidate the more than 30 government agencies responsible for regulating all types of transportation, pushed for the creation of a catchall agency designed to streamline and modernize the nation's transit systems. The goal was to put the responsibility for regulating air, water, and road transit all under one roof. To this end, the Department of Transportation (DOT) was created in 1966. At a White House signing ceremony, the president proclaimed that the task of the newly created department was "to untangle, to coordinate, and to build the national transportation system for America that America is deserving of."

One goal of the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966 was to create an agency responsible for setting safety standards for new cars. This agency, housed within the Department of Transportation, was the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA). Beginning with 1968-model cars, the NHTSA issued a series of safety standards designed to reduce the number of traffic fatalities and accidents, responsible for some 50,000 deaths per year. These standards included uniform bumper heights, seat belts, and improved braking systems.

There have long been more vehicles on the road in the United States than any other country, yet the United States enjoys one of the best safety records in the world. The National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act is at least partially responsible for this record.

**Further reading:** James J. Flink, *The Automobile Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988).

—Kirk Tyvela



## National Trails Act of 1968

The National Trails Act of 1968 established the National Trails System as part of an extended effort to preserve the landscape.

Facing threats to the viability of the Appalachian Trail, created in the 1920s, the Appalachian Trail Conference appealed to Congress for protection for both environmental and recreational reasons. President LYNDON B. JOHNSON was interested in environmental issues and regarded preservation of wilderness sites as part of his GREAT SOCIETY. Designed to meet public demands for more areas of outdoor recreational activity, the National Trails Act provided a mechanism to establish and maintain a nationwide hiking network. As cities continued to grow, many areas became polluted with little vegetation or areas of aesthetic quality remaining. As Johnson stated, "Once our national splendor is destroyed, it can never be recaptured."

In 1965, Johnson advanced the idea of a nationwide system of trails run by volunteers, based on a 1962 government study that highlighted the importance of national trails and noted the abilities of volunteers to manage them. Later, the Department of the Interior published a report on "Trails for America," further providing support for national trails. The combination of these two publications advanced the idea of creating a national trails system, and led to the passage of the National Trails Act in 1968.

The National Trails Act, also known as the National Trails System Act, set up the system of pathways. The act promoted public enjoyment, accessibility, and appreciation of outdoor areas and the nation's historic resources. The trails could be established either near urban centers or in more remote scenic and historical areas. Located near varying terrains, the scenic trails encompassed deserts, marshes, grasslands, mountains, canyons, rivers, forests, or any landforms that exhibited significant characteristics of the physiographic region. Historic trails followed previous routes of historical significance to the nation.

The measure initially supported two trails, the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail, because they represented ideal examples of scenic and historic trails. The Appalachian Trail began in Maine and extended to Springer Mountain in Georgia, a total distance of about 2,160 miles. The Pacific Crest Trail ran for 2,350 miles from the Mexican-Californian border northward along the mountain ranges of the west coast to the U.S.-Canada border near Lake Ross in Washington state.

Each individual trail fell under control of either the secretary of the interior or the secretary of agriculture, and each was to be run by either the Forest Service or Bureau of Land Management. The secretary in control of each trail could issue regulations regarding its management, development, protection, and administration. Most trails



A hiker on the Appalachian Trail in New Hampshire observes an 80-foot waterfall known as the Crystal Cascade. (*National Geographic/Getty Images*)

allowed bicycling, cross-country skiing, day hiking, equestrian activities, jogging, overnight and long-distance backpacking, snowmobiling, and surface water and underwater activities. Some trails even permitted motorcycles or four and two-wheel vehicles, though this was rare.

Related legislation such as the NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION ACT OF 1964 and the WILD AND SCENIC RIVERS ACT OF 1968, demonstrated the drive to beautify and protect these natural areas, allowing for areas of recreation and enjoyment.

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—Katherine R. Yarosh

### National Wilderness Preservation Act of 1964

The National Wilderness Preservation Act of 1964, often known simply as the Wilderness Act, sought to “secure for the American people of present and future generations the benefits of an enduring resource of wilderness.”

The act had its origins years before in the efforts of the U.S. Forest Service to set aside federally owned lands that could not then be developed. Facing pressure from developers who wanted to transform wilderness areas into mass recreation sites, people who wanted to keep the wilderness unchanged recognized the need to act. In 1924, the Forest Service began to set aside remote areas of national forests that would remain in their natural state. Aldo Leopold, a Forest Service employee in the 1920s and a staunch environmentalist, was one of those who wanted to promote an awareness of undeveloped areas as part of an effort to protect them.

In those early years, roads were permitted in the national parks, but logging, grazing, and mining were prohibited. Administrative regulations rather than laws served as the framework for managing these areas.

There was continuing competition between wilderness enthusiasts and mining, lumbering, and livestock entrepreneurs, and, over the next several decades, members of the Wilderness Society and the Sierra Club began to argue that legislation, rather than administrative discretion, which could shift under pressure, was necessary to manage and maintain wilderness areas.

The legislative history of the Wilderness Act began in 1955. A draft bill soon faced serious criticism from commercial interests, who feared they would be excluded from wilderness areas or restricted from developing them as they chose. The opponents included the American Mining Congress, the American Pulpwood Association, and the American National Cattlemen’s Association. Initially, the Forest Service, too, was opposed to the bill, arguing, as one official noted, that “It hurt our pride, to suggest we had to have our hands tied by law.” New versions of the bill appeared in 1958 and 1959, though President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER appeared uninterested in the legislation.

In the 1960s, President JOHN F. KENNEDY’s support for wilderness legislation made a difference. The Agriculture and Interior Departments now became enthusiastic supporters of such a measure. Eventually, legislators in both houses of Congress proved sympathetic, and agreement on a compromise was reached just before Kennedy’s assassination.

The Wilderness Act, signed into law on September 3, 1964, by President LYNDON B. JOHNSON as part of his GREAT SOCIETY, defined wilderness as an area where the earth and its community of life were untrammelled by man, where man himself was a visitor who did not remain, and as an area of undeveloped federal land retaining its primeval

character and influence, without permanent improvements or human habitation. To be so designated, a wilderness area required at least 5,000 acres that contained features of scientific, educational, ecological, scenic, or historical value. Lands also had to possess opportunities for solitude or a primitive and unconfined type of recreation, and to appear to be affected primarily by nature with man’s influence unnoticeable. All four of these requirements had to be met for an area to receive federal protection. The National Wilderness Preservation system initially included 54 national forests containing 9.1 million acres.

The act mandated the secretary of agriculture and the secretary of the interior to submit joint recommendations to the president about the suitability of any area for preservation as a wilderness. After reviewing roadless areas within the National Park System and the National Wildlife Refuge System, the secretaries were to report on the state of the wilderness system, offering new regulations and recommendations.

This was “a great forward step,” said Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, one of the early supporters of the legislation. “The wilderness bill preserves for our posterity, for all time to come, 9 million acres of this vast continent in their original and unchanging beauty and wonder,” President Johnson declared. Another 50 million acres were earmarked for consideration of possible inclusion in the next ten years.

**Further reading:** Dennis M. Roth, *The Wilderness Movement and the National Forests* (College Station, Tex.: Intaglio Press, 1990); Douglas Strong, *Dreamers and Defenders: American Conservationists* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988).

—Katherine R. Yarosh

### Native Americans

World War II drew tens of thousands of Native Americans (American Indians) from their reservation communities to factories across the United States and to battlefields around the world. During the war the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) formed to assert Native Americans’ rights in the postwar period. Federal officials viewed Native Americans’ wartime migration and military service as evidence that they wanted to leave their reservations, leading to a congressional campaign to “terminate” reservations, which were deemed “socialistic environments,” and relocate Native Americans to “mainstream” American society. This campaign and resistance to it by the NCAI and other groups dominated Indian-white relations during the period from 1946 to 1968.

Motives for termination of American Indian sovereignty varied. Federal, state, and corporate officials wanted

Native Americans' valuable land and mineral resources in the expanding American West. Members of Congress sought to eliminate Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) programs as part of a Republican Party backlash against the New Deal programs of the 1930s. Influenced by the COLD WAR CULTURE of conformity, politicians also wanted to restore 19th-century assimilation policies that the Indian New Deal of the 1930s had rejected. Finally, federal officials wanted to resolve hundreds of land claims, both to provide justice to Native Americans and to eliminate legal barriers to termination.

In August 1946, the U.S. Congress established the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) to adjudicate American Indians' claims for a century's worth of fraudulent land cessions and treaty violations. From 611 separate cases, the ICC distributed roughly \$657 million to Indian nations before it disbanded in 1978, though attorney fees took nearly one-third of the awards. Working to secure just compensation in these ICC cases helped to strengthen Native Americans' legal resistance to federal termination policies.

Congress began to terminate American Indian sovereignty in 1953 by adopting House Concurrent Resolution (HCR) 108 and passing Public Law 280, which transferred jurisdictional control over Indian affairs to five state governments. And it attempted to legislatively terminate tribes protected by federal treaties. In the late 1950s the Menominee of Wisconsin and the Klamath of Oregon were "terminated," with their tribal assets distributed in per capita payments. Although many Klamath supported termination, federal officials forced the Menominee to accept termination; as a result, Congress restored the Menominee's tribal status in 1973.

Congress also funded the Voluntary Relocation Program to persuade Native Americans to leave reservations for urban centers such as Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Minneapolis. Between 1950 and 1970, roughly 160,000 Native Americans left reservations under this program. Like many minority migrants to cities, American Indians faced discrimination in housing and employment, police brutality, and poor health care. As a result, many American Indians returned to their reservation homes. For those who stayed, urban cultural centers such as the American Indian Center of Chicago provided services to help them adjust to city life and activities such as pow-wows that created new pan-tribal communities that sustained their Indian identities.

For many Native Americans, including those who relocated to cities, the federal government's termination agenda represented a campaign to extinguish their Indian culture. They viewed the reservation as an "ancestral homeland," a place of sacred cultural sites, of burial grounds, of spiritual significance. Losing their land meant losing their future as American Indians. Activists for TREATY RIGHTS argued

that treaties signed by their ancestors and the federal government during the 19th century protected their right to live on reservations.

Native American perspectives during the period 1946–68 also evolved within the international contexts of the COLD WAR and decolonization. Using cold war rhetoric that positioned America as a defender of minority rights, American Indian leaders defended their right to be both American and Indian, in part by claiming that termination damaged the United States's image abroad. Native leaders also sought the development of their reservations through domestic versions of the MARSHALL PLAN, which provided aid to European countries, and Point Four, a similar aid program directed to "underdeveloped areas" in the emerging cold war battlegrounds of Asia and Africa.

This campaign culminated in 1957 with the promotion of Senate bill S.809, "An American Indian Point Four Program," but Congress refused to approve it because it remained committed to termination and resisted extending sovereign status to American Indian nations along the lines of emerging Third World nations.

Native American nationalism found expression in other forums, in particular the American Indian Chicago Conference (AICC). More than 450 Native Americans from 90 American Indian nations gathered in Chicago in June 1961 to shape the "New Frontier" of 1960s Indian-white relations. The AICC produced the Declaration of Indian Purpose, which expressed AICC delegates' patriotic belief in "the future of a greater America . . . where life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness will be a reality." It also drew on cold war contexts by asking for a Point Four plan and reminding U.S. officials that the world watched how the United States treated its minority people.

The AICC revealed the diverse and divided nature of Native America. Some Native Americans embraced assimilation while others held fast to traditional customs and ceremonies; many more reflected a hybrid identity that combined both American and Indian ways of living. Younger activists such as Mel Thom, Clyde Warrior, and Shirley Witt rejected the moderate views of AICC planners and articulated a Red Power agenda that drew from Third World liberation movements and the civil rights strategies of African-American activists. The NIYC's goal, as Thom put it in the NIYC's newsletter *American Aborigine*, was not the AICC's "greater America" but a "greater Indian America."

Inspired by the Seneca Nation's opposition to the construction of the Kinzua Dam in Pennsylvania, which abrogated the Pickering Treaty of 1794, the NIYC sought to protect American Indian treaty rights through fish-in protests and to preserve American Indian identity through workshops and pan-tribal gatherings. In 1968 the AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT (AIM) emerged from the Native



ghettos of Minneapolis to broaden the Red Power movement. The racist violence of the VIETNAM WAR deepened many American Indians' distrust of the U.S. government and furthered their identification with Third World liberation movements.

NIYC and AIM activists' efforts to protect Native lands and to promote Indian identity generated the sensational news coverage. But other Native activists worked quietly in the background during the 1960s to develop industrial and educational programs on reservations by working through the federal government's Office of Economic Opportunity and other GREAT SOCIETY initiatives that situated authority in Native communities. For example, the Navajo established the Rough Rock Demonstration School in 1966 and then founded the Navajo Community College in 1968, the first of many schools developed and controlled by American Indian community leaders.

These American Indian activists, both young and old, both modern and traditional, planted the seeds of Native self-determination that would find legislative and judicial expression in the 1970s. A series of presidential orders, Supreme Court decisions, and congressional acts of legislation rejected the policy of termination and restored to Native communities sovereign powers that protected their American Indian identity and preserved the boundaries of the reservations that sustained it.

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—Paul C. Rosier

## New Deal (influence)

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal was a program designed to deal with the ravages of the Great Depression, and to help those Americans who could not help themselves. It provided a framework for public policy for the next several decades.

The New Deal, beginning with Roosevelt's inauguration in 1933, extended GOVERNMENT aid into many facets of society that had not seen government assistance or control before. It included measures to help farmers and workers, relief and recovery programs, and legislation to reform American society. The Social Security program, for example, provided unemployment insurance and pensions. New

Deal legislation was extremely controversial, as it expanded the government's role in society, and it caused controversy within the government. Republicans and southern Democrats, who favored small government and wanted to leave the main centers of power at the state level and within the private sector, avidly opposed the legislation.

The New Deal legacy continued after Roosevelt's death in 1945. The FAIR DEAL, under President HARRY S. TRUMAN, constituted a legislative extension of Roosevelt's New Deal. Truman introduced measures such as a national health care program, civil rights legislation against lynching, and measures to establish fair employment practices. Under the Fair Deal, Truman raised the minimum wage, endorsed the Housing Act of 1949 promoting public housing, expanded Social Security coverage, and supported a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC).

When the REPUBLICAN PARTY gained executive power under DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, the president did not attempt to roll back growth in the powers of the national government. Eisenhower upheld both the New Deal and the Fair Deal legislation. When President JOHN F. KENNEDY came into office, he patterned his presidency after Roosevelt's, establishing his NEW FRONTIER programs.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON's idea of a GREAT SOCIETY, created during his presidency, was yet another extension of the New Deal and Fair Deal. Johnson, like Roosevelt and Truman, wanted to better conditions of life for the underprivileged part of American society. With his Great Society, Johnson was able to build upon the legislation of the New and Fair Deals. MEDICARE was enacted under Social Security, providing financial medical assistance to the elderly, and MEDICAID was established to help the poor. The WAR ON POVERTY extended economic reform initiatives of the New Deal and continued the commitment of the government to help those who could not help themselves.

The New Deal and its successors promoted aggressive approaches to federal public policy. Programs extended the powers of the federal government into many different parts of American society that had never witnessed federal legislation before, leaving a legacy still visible today.

**Further reading:** William Leuchtenberg, *In the Shadow of FDR: From Harry Truman to Ronald Reagan* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985).

—Jennifer Howell

## New Frontier

The New Frontier was the administrative program of President JOHN F. KENNEDY that called for new initiatives in both domestic policy and foreign affairs.



Following Franklin D. Roosevelt's NEW DEAL and HARRY S. TRUMAN's FAIR DEAL, Kennedy called his program the New Frontier. In his inaugural address in 1961, he challenged Americans to "defend freedom in its hour of maximum danger," referring to the COLD WAR struggle with the SOVIET UNION. He also declared that this New Frontier would demand "invention, innovation, imagination, and decision to improve both the United States and the rest of the world."

The New Frontier consisted of two separate agendas, domestic policy and foreign affairs. The domestic agenda in time included a comprehensive civil rights act to guarantee equal access to public accommodations without discrimination, a reduction of taxes to guarantee full employment, and an increase in the minimum wage. It also sought aid for primary, secondary, and even college education. Finally, it proposed dealing with chronic pockets of poverty.

Kennedy's domestic program received little support in Congress. The civil rights bill was bottled up in congressional committees, and the tax cut went nowhere. Aid to EDUCATION failed over the issue of whether support should go to parochial schools.

Congress did pass a measure increasing the minimum wage to \$1.25 an hour, and a bill providing federal aid to economically depressed areas to develop new industries. The government also pledged to train and retrain people to equip them with the necessary skills for jobs that were available.

At the same time, the New Frontier included maintaining a firm stance in the cold war. In his inaugural address, Kennedy had asked Americans to "bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty." He demanded that the United States stop the encroachments of the Soviet Union. To that end, he authorized the ill-fated invasion of Cuba at the BAY OF PIGS, stood up to the Russians in the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, and demanded increased military spending as the United States clashed with the Soviet Union over Berlin.

At the same time, Kennedy jump-started the space program and authorized an effort to place a man on the moon before the end of the decade. He created the PEACE CORPS, an agency that trained American volunteers to perform social and humanitarian services overseas. Volunteers were sent mainly to Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where they lived and worked with local inhabitants on projects in AGRICULTURE, EDUCATION, and public health. The overall goal was to promote world peace and friendship with the world's developing nations.

Kennedy's New Frontier often seemed more rhetoric than substance. On the domestic front, in particular, slim congressional majorities made it difficult to get much significant legislation passed. Still, New Frontier innovations

provided the framework for LYNDON B. JOHNSON's GREAT SOCIETY.

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—Katherine R. Yarosh

## New Left

The New Left was the name attached to the radical student groups in the 1960s that sought to change the political culture and create a more participatory democratic system.

In 1960, students at the University of Michigan formed STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), an organization intended to encourage and support student political involvement. Two years later, TOM HAYDEN, an early organizer, issued the PORT HURON STATEMENT, a manifesto for SDS members and a program for action. In the statement, Hayden deplored the contradictions present in American society. Although the United States was a wealthy nation, he argued, many of its citizens lived in poverty. The nation gave lip service to equality, yet angry, violent racism was rampant throughout the country, and despite official protestations that the United States yearned for peace, its leaders advocated ever-deeper involvement in a distant conflict in Vietnam. To counter these contradictions, SDS called for equal opportunity, civil rights, and individual human rights. They called themselves members of a New Left, student-based and more vigorous than the old Left of the 1930s that had fragmented in the 1950s. They believed that students could make a difference, that idealistic, activist youth could change the system and bring about participatory democracy. SDS not only saw itself as a vanguard for a better society, it was also convinced that the general public, once aware of what changes could be accomplished through the democratic process, would follow its lead to a more egalitarian and just society.

The New Left's adherents were usually young students who came from families with affluent white parents. Their members were centered in the universities and often focused their attention on problems close to home. Criticizing the impersonal quality of education, the restriction on political activity, outdated requirements, and the absence of relevant courses, the New Left denounced the association of universities and the government in the development of weapons systems and counterinsurgency plans. In its view, existing scholarship was committed to maintaining the status quo, and followers of the New Left, sometimes drawing on the critique of radical sociologist C. WRIGHT MILLS, called for scholarship directed at changing things for the better.

In order to accomplish their goal, New Left activists urged students on the nation's campuses to put aside their apathy and become involved in making the world a better place in which to live. Despite radical students' zeal at pursuing their objectives, the New Left did make a difference but only on a minority of college and university campuses, and it failed to motivate the nation as a whole. At best, members of the traditional political establishment turned a deaf ear to the students' manifesto; at worst, they condemned the movement's agenda and its followers for failing to conform. Frustrated, many of the original leaders of the New Left became increasingly radicalized. As the United States became openly involved in the VIETNAM WAR and radicals realized that the administration of LYNDON B. JOHNSON was escalating, rather than ending, the war, the New Left became a strident voice of the ANTIWAR MOVEMENT.

By 1969, the movement sought new ways to fight the establishment. The WEATHERMEN, a radical offshoot of SDS, resorted to violence in attacking the police and the public in Chicago as a way to disrupt American society. Members of the Weathermen descended on Chicago to, in their words, "tear pig city apart." Dressed in protective clothing and chanting, "pick up, pick up, pick up the gun," they ran through the city smashing shop windows. Later, the group adopted terrorist tactics and used bombs to gain attention to its cause. When three Weathermen building a bomb in a Greenwich Village building blew themselves up, the New Left's radicalism became associated with social disorder. Middle-class Americans, never sympathetic to violent protest, insisted that order be brought back to the streets.

The violent activities of the New Left became intertwined with the COUNTERCULTURE. Some activists found themselves drawn to the freedom of "flower children," garbed in tie-dyed costumes, "hippie communes" that mocked the traditional American family, and rebels who grew long hair and celebrated a drug culture. Some hippies ended up supporting political causes as they became more widespread. Both the New Left and the counterculture counseled: "Never trust anyone over 30!"

Following riots at the Democratic National Convention in 1968, the New Left was anathema to mainstream America. In 1969, newly inaugurated President Richard M. Nixon felt he had a mandate to turn the force of the federal government against student protesters and criminalized activists. Nixon courted what he called the "Silent Majority" to support both "law and order" and his Vietnam War policy.

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*Is in the Streets": From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987).

—Gisela Ables

### New York World's Fair (1964)

The controversial 1964 World's Fair was the second held in New York and the largest held in the United States, showcasing mid-20th century American corporate culture at the expense of international participation.

Opening on April 22, 1964, the fair ran for two six-month seasons at the Flushing Meadows Park in the Borough of Queens, concluding on October 17, 1965. Occupying nearly a square mile of land, the fair was hailed by organizers as a "Universal and International" exposition with the theme "Peace Through Understanding" and dedicated to "Man's Achievement on a Shrinking Globe in an Expanding Universe." The theme was symbolized by a 12-story-high, stainless-steel model of the earth called the "Unisphere." The nascent Space Age was well-covered by the exhibits and more than 51 million people attended the exposition, but this was far fewer than the projected goal of 70 million.

The fair was conceived by a group of New York businessmen who fondly remembered their childhood experiences at the 1939 New York World's Fair. The prospect of an economic boom in the city as a result of increased tourism was also a major reason for holding the extravaganza. To that end, the organizers hired Robert Moses as president of the corporation established to run the fair. Moses, a formidable figure in the city since the 1930s, was an experienced fund-raiser for vast public projects and, as chairman of the Triborough Bridge and Transit Authority, was responsible for construction of much of the city's highway infrastructure and park system. In the mid-1930s Moses oversaw the conversion of a vast Queens garbage dump into Flushing Meadows Park for the earlier 1939 World's Fair, an event that ultimately ended in financial ruin due to a lack of funds.

The 1964 expo was the first World's Fair not endorsed by the Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), the international body headquartered in Paris that sanctions World's Fairs. Seattle, Washington, already had been sanctioned to host the 1962 World's Fair and, therefore, the organization would not endorse the New York expo. BIE rules stated that an international exposition could not be held more than once in any given country within a 10-year period. The lack of sanction by the BIE resulted in a lack of major international participation. In the end, only Spain and Vatican City hosted a major national presence at the fair, while other international participants such as Japan, Mexico, Austria, Denmark, Thailand, Greece, and Pakistan had more minor roles.





Flamenco dancers perform in front of the Unisphere steel globe at the World's Fair in New York, May 25, 1964. (Getty Images)

Some of the more popular international exhibits included the Vatican pavilion, where Michelangelo's *Pietà* was displayed, and a recreation of a medieval Belgian village, where visitors were treated to a new taste sensation in the form of the "Bel-Gem Waffle," a combination of waffle, strawberries, and whipped cream. Elsewhere, controversy broke out at the Jordanian pavilion, which displayed a mural emphasizing the plight of the Palestinian people.

At the 1939 World's Fair, American industrial exhibits played a major role by hosting huge, elaborate displays. Many of them returned in 1964 with even more extravagant versions of their earlier shows. The most notable and popular of these was GENERAL MOTORS Corporation's Futurama exhibit, which consisted of a show in which visitors seated in moving armchairs glided past detailed scenery showing what life might be like in the near future. Other popular exhibits included DUPONT's musical review by composer Michael Brown called "The Wonderful World of Chemistry" and the noncommercial movie short presented by the S.C. Johnson Company (S.C. Johnson Wax) called "To Be Alive!" The film celebrated the joy of life found worldwide, in all cultures, and went on to win an Academy Award in 1966. The Westinghouse Corporation planted a time capsule next to one placed during the 1939 fair southwest of the Unisphere. A government-sponsored exhibit entitled "Challenge to Greatness" focused on President LYNDON B. JOHNSON's GREAT SOCIETY proposals and included a 15-minute ride through a filmed presentation of American history.

The 1964 World's Fair is also remembered as the vehicle WALT DISNEY used to design and perfect the system of "audio-animatronics," in which a combination of sound and computers controls the movement of lifelike robots to act out scenes. The Walt Disney Company was responsible for creating four shows at the fair, including the "It's a Small World" attraction at the Pepsi pavilion and the GENERAL ELECTRIC-sponsored "Carousel of Progress," where an audience seated in a revolving auditorium saw an audio-animatronics presentation of the progress of electricity in the home.

The fair came to a close embroiled in allegations of financial mismanagement. Controversy had plagued it during much of its two-year run, mainly due to Robert Moses's inability to get along with the press. The fair teetered on bankruptcy due to a lack of public funds coupled with lower than expected attendance. Although the World's Fair was eventually able to limp through the second season without having to declare bankruptcy because of emergency money provided by the city and a surge of attendance as the fair drew to a close, the financial crisis further ruined the image of the exposition and its president, Robert Moses.

Most of the pavilions constructed for the fair were demolished within six months following the event's close.

However, a handful of pavilions survived, and some of them traveled great distances and found reuse. These include the Austria pavilion, which became a ski lodge in western New York; the pavilion of Spain, which became part of a Hilton Hotel in St. Louis, Missouri; and the S.C. Johnson disc-shaped theater that was reworked and became part of the S.C. Johnson Wax complex in Racine, Wisconsin, designed by architect Frank Lloyd Wright. Some of the exhibits created by the Walt Disney Company were incorporated into Disneyland and later into Walt Disney World. Finally, Flushing Meadows Park continued to see heavy recreational use, and the paths and their names remained almost unchanged from the days of the fair. The Unisphere and the observatory towers became symbols of Queens and were included in MOVIES such as 1997's *Men in Black*.

Ultimately, the 1964 World's Fair was viewed fondly and with nostalgia by many, as it stressed a theme of peace and prosperity built upon the technological achievements of the time and occurred before massive societal changes. Thus, particularly for Americans of the BABY BOOM generation who visited the fair as children, the fair represented a nostalgic time before the United States was rocked by change.

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—Lance R. Eisenhower

**Nixon, Richard M.** See VOLUME X.

### North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a military alliance among the United States, Canada, and the countries of Western Europe.

Signed on April 4, 1949, by founding members Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, Iceland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States, with Greece and Turkey joining in 1952, followed by West Germany in 1955, the North Atlantic Treaty declared that an armed attack against one or more of the treaty members was considered an attack against all.

While the preamble to the 1949 treaty established an interest in maintaining "peaceful and friendly relations throughout the North Atlantic area," NATO's main interest was battling the spread of COMMUNISM. This became the focal point of the organization's policy during the COLD WAR years. In the immediate aftermath of World War II,



the fight against communist influence led to the BERLIN BLOCKADE, where the SOVIET UNION barricaded the city of Berlin from receiving supplies by land and sought to cut the city off from Western contact. Combined with a continued presence of a large Soviet military contingent in Eastern Europe, this action raised fears of Soviet expansion in Western Europe.

President HARRY S. TRUMAN sought a redefinition of American foreign policy. Truman's MARSHALL PLAN, an economic attempt to resurrect the war torn countries of Europe, was rejected by the Eastern European nations within the Soviet orbit. As part of a continuing effort to gain an economic and political advantage in EUROPE, Truman, with the help of Congress, created a military accord between the United States and Western European countries, and he pledged to maintain its members' security through a collective effort. In its first decade, NATO became a military organization dependent on U.S. power for security and protection from Soviet bloc invaders.

Critics of NATO argued that the organization carried with it the obligation to assist in war, and, with it, the expense of such a struggle. They also suggested that instead of promoting peace, the alliance invited armed battle with the Soviet Union by creating a ring of NATO forces around the country, possibly prompting Soviet retaliation. Secretary of State DEAN ACHESON defended the pact, claiming "the United States is now the only democratic nation with the resources and productive capacity to help the free nations of Europe to recover their military strength."

One important issue confronting NATO in the 1950s was that of negotiating West Germany's participation in the alliance. The prospect of a rearmed Germany was understandably greeted with widespread unease and hesitancy in Western Europe, but West Germany's military strength was necessary to balance a Soviet threat. Arrangements for West Germany's addition to the alliance were worked out as part of the Paris Agreements of October 1954, which ended the occupation of West Germany by the Western Allies and provided for the restriction of their production of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. West Germany entered NATO in 1955.

Tensions within the organization come about when France's participation in NATO became somewhat strained. France's president Charles de Gaulle called American domination of NATO into question, claiming that his country was subjected to automatic war at the decision of strangers. In July 1966, France formally withdrew from NATO's military component, forcing the organization to relocate its headquarters from Paris to Brussels. Though he decried NATO's operational structure, de Gaulle nonetheless continued French adherence to the North Atlantic Treaty should any unprovoked aggression take place.

In case of Soviet-inspired communist aggression, NATO, in the early 1950s, relied partly on the prospect of American nuclear retaliation. With financial help from American investors, NATO's military expenses increased greatly after communist North Korea attacked South Korea in June 1950, triggering the KOREAN WAR. The organization supplemented its protection policy by deploying nuclear weapons at Western European bases beginning in 1957. Throughout the late 1950s and 1960s, NATO's forces were systematically improved with superior weaponry and training that rendered them roughly equal in strength to those of potential adversaries.

NATO continues to support peacekeeping operations throughout the world. On January 10, 1994, the organization approved a "partnership for peace," allowing former East European communist nations limited association with NATO without the full security guarantee of its member countries.

**Further reading:** Lawrence S. Kaplan, *The Long Entanglement: NATO's First Fifty Years* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1999); Geir Lundestad, *America, Scandinavia, and the Cold War, 1945–1959* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

—Philippe R. Girard

## NSC-68

NSC-68, a policy paper drafted and adopted by the National Security Council in the first half of 1950, established American COLD WAR policy for the next 20 years.

Concluding that the SOVIET UNION possessed extensive military capabilities that could be used for aggressive purposes in the near future, NSC-68 called for massive rearmament and a policy of worldwide containment. Within months of the creation of the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO), the high point of American post-war policy, the Soviet Union exploded an ATOMIC BOMB and China fell to the communist forces of Mao Zedong. Fearful that the United States lacked the capabilities to fend off further communist expansion, officials called for a major FOREIGN POLICY reassessment.

On January 31, 1950, U.S. president HARRY S. TRUMAN asked the State and Defense Departments "to undertake a reexamination of our objectives in peace and war and of the effect of these objectives on our strategic plans." The Defense Department with representatives from the State Department and the National Security Council formed a committee under the chairmanship of Paul H. Nitze, director of the Policy Planning Staff. The committee worked from mid-February to the end of March 1950 drafting a document that addressed Truman's concerns. On April 7, Secretary of State DEAN ACHESON and Secretary

of Defense Louis Johnson approved NSC-68, despite the latter's concerns about the cost of its proposals. After North Korean troops crossed the 38th parallel on June 25, Truman gave full support to the new policy.

NSC-68 marked a major shift in the doctrine of containment that Nitze's predecessor, GEORGE F. KENNAN, advocated. Vehement in tone, NSC-68 accused the Kremlin of planning "the complete subversion or forcible destruction of the machinery of government and structure of society in the countries of the non-Soviet world" and estimated that the Soviet Union would be able to launch a massive atomic attack within four or five years. This sense of urgency, reinforced by the explosion of the first Soviet bomb, contrasted sharply with earlier assessments that the Soviet Union represented a long-term threat.

Arguing that a policy aimed at maintaining a global balance of power was inadequate, NSC-68 proposed that the United States should stand ready to oppose communist expansion everywhere in the world, not only in EUROPE. In a cold war in which psychology played a central role, credibility concerns were paramount. "The assault on free institutions," the document read, "is world-wide now, and in the context of the present polarization of power a defeat of free institutions anywhere is a defeat everywhere."

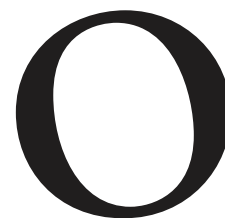
While it hoped "to change the world situation by means short of war," NSC-68 saw military means as the most efficient way to counter the Soviet threat. It ended with four alternative policies. The fourth option, "a rapid build-up of

political, economic, and military strength in the free world," was deemed the most appropriate response to the strategic situation. In direct opposition to the economic and political help that had constituted the backbone of American containment policy up to that point, the document's authors concluded that "it is imperative that this trend be reversed by a much more rapid and concerted build-up of the actual strength of both the United States and the other nations of the free world," no matter what the cost might be.

The document did not mention a specific figure, but it pointed out that the U.S. economy was not producing at full capacity and that additional sacrifices could be made. Pentagon officials estimated that a \$5 billion increase in the Defense Department budget (to \$18 billion) was necessary while policy planning staff were circulating estimates as high as \$35 billion to \$50 billion. With the outbreak of the KOREAN WAR in June 1950, U.S. military expenses jumped from \$13 billion to \$50 billion.

**Further reading:** John L. Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1982); Warner R. Schilling, Paul Y. Hammond, and Glenn H. Snyder, *Strategy, Politics and Defense Budgets* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962); State Department, *Foreign Relation of the United States: 1950, Volume I* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977).

—Philippe R. Girard



## Operation Dixie

Operation Dixie, as the southern labor organizing drive came to be known, was an attempt by the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO) to unionize southern industrial workers.

Launched in 1946, the labor-organizing drive experienced some successes, but it was largely a failure because of the CIO's indecision on how to best approach the campaign—as a militant and heroic march into the South or as a less spectacular and more methodical mission.

Since the early days of the CIO, the South appeared to be a natural arena for mass labor organization. The southern labor force numbered over 1.5 million in a diverse array of industries, from mining to manufacturing to textile mills. The South did present unique problems in unionization, for racial lines divided the labor force. While the CIO found strong enthusiasm for organization among black workers, the desire to appeal to whites, who wanted no part in biracial unions, tested the CIO's commitment to egalitarianism. There was also very little tradition of union activism to build upon in the South, which, unlike northern industrial regions, lacked dedicated union sympathizers within the nonlabor community.

The South was too critical a labor battleground to ignore, however, and CIO leaders in the 1940s became increasingly focused on its conquest. A 1939 CIO prospectus read, "As long as the South remains unorganized, it constitutes the nation's number one economic problem and is also a menace to our organized movement in the North and likewise to northern industries." The region's low wages, potential for industrial growth, and influence in congressional politics and on federal legislation made it a prime target for CIO organizing efforts.

From the beginning of the southern drive in the winter of 1946, conflicting perspectives divided the nature of the undertaking. While cautious-minded organizers avoided heroic rhetoric, knowing that it would only alarm fearful southern workers and alert antiunion forces, more radi-

cal and spirited CIO leaders trumpeted the movement as a conquest of interests. One headline in the organization newsletter, *The CIO News*, announced the mission as the "Holy Crusade." Experienced southern organizers, such as Textile Workers Union of America vice president George Baldanzi, who had successfully organized some 13,000 cotton workers in Virginia, warned against too militant an approach. "We must clear up . . . the erroneous impression that this is an "Operation Dixie," said Baldanzi in 1946. Cautious minds within the CIO feared that southern workers would associate the unionizing effort with strikes, violence, and community turmoil.

Resistance to organization in the South was strong, and recruiters deployed to rally union support soon faced the harsh reality of an unresponsive labor force. Antiunion sentiment permeated all facets of southern communities. Local religious leaders mockingly declared that CIO stood for *Christ Is Out*, perpetuating the belief held by many southerners that northern union organizers were godless leftists. Local politicians, in connection with the Southern States Industrial Council, warned that the CIO would give blacks social and economic equality and southern democratic institutions would crumble.

In fact, the southern drive did little to challenge SEGREGATION in the South. CIO leaders advocated avoiding the civil rights question entirely. Van Bittner, director of the CIO's Southern Organizing Committee, declared, "We are not mentioning the color of people." While recognizing the importance of black workers in southern industry, Bittner saw that any connection with a larger social agenda would only hurt the union drive.

Though there were minor successes, union organizers often found the membership drive an impossible task. The CIO realized that their teams were unable to establish in-plant committees in order to gain a foothold within the labor force. Organizers accepted as a minor victory the fact that workers took their leaflets or bothered to take a copy of union newspapers. Though the movement fell

short of the CIO's expectations by the end of 1946, the organization drive sputtered on throughout the South, almost as an afterthought, until 1953. Critics argued that the operation focused too heavily on the nearly unbreakable textile industry, rather than building upon successes in other areas. Political content had been absent from the campaign, much to the frustration of more left-leaning CIO functionaries, but the political climate of the late 1940s clearly veered to the conservative right. By the end of "Operation Dixie," CIO leaders came to understand that the mass organization glory days of the 1930s had passed, and the heroic street tactics of labor unionizing had to be replaced by a more responsible, progressive, and altogether respectable agenda.

**Further reading:** Robert Zieger, *The CIO: 1935–1955* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

—Guy R. Temple

### Operation Mongoose

Operation Mongoose was the title given to a series of covert actions the administration of JOHN F. KENNEDY developed as a way to undermine Fidel Castro's government in Cuba in the early 1960s.

When U.S.-Cuban relations fell apart after Fidel Castro seized power on New Year's Day 1959, the administration of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER started to fund bombing runs against Cuban sugar refineries and train a Cuban exile force for an invasion of the island. As Kennedy took office in 1961, he knew that Republicans would be quick to accuse him of being soft on COMMUNISM, as they had criticized HARRY S. TRUMAN after the loss of China to the communists in 1949. When a U.S.-supported invasion of Cuba ended in complete failure at the BAY OF PIGS in April 1961, the Pentagon and the CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA) examined various ways to rid themselves of Castro. Brigadier General Edward G. Lansdale supervised the operation, code-named Mongoose, with the strong support of Attorney General ROBERT F. KENNEDY.

Operation Mongoose continued the attacks against Cuba's sugar industry that had originated under Eisenhower, but it also included a whole range of covert operations. Operation Good Times aimed at creating popular resentment against Castro by disseminating doctored photographs picturing him sitting with two gorgeous women enjoying a plentiful meal, over a caption that read "my ration is different." Hoping to kill the Cuban leader, the CIA hired assassins recommended by Mafia boss Johnny Rosselli, offered Castro a poisoned scuba suit, and prepared cigars impregnated with botulism. A plan to sprinkle Castro's shoes with thallium salts, in the hope of destroying

his beard (and hence his popularity as a macho male) also failed.

Under Operation Dirty Trick, the United States would have blamed the Castro government had John Glenn's 1962 Project Mercury space flight ended in failure. Operation Bingo was a plan to organize a fake attack against the American base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba, which would have provided an excuse to launch a retaliatory campaign against Cuba. Other fabricated incidents that were considered included blowing up an American warship (like the *Maine* on the eve of the Spanish-American War of 1898) and sinking a boat filled with Cuban exiles.

**Further reading:** James G. Blight and Peter Kornbluh, *Politics of Illusion: The Bay of Pigs Invasion Reexamined* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1998).

—Philippe R. Girard

### Oppenheimer, J. Robert (1904–1967) *physicist, Manhattan Project leader*

Julius Robert Oppenheimer was a nuclear physicist best known for directing the Los Alamos laboratory that designed the United States's first ATOMIC BOMB and for unsuccessfully attempting to curtail further atomic research during the COLD WAR.

Oppenheimer was born on April 22, 1904, in New York City. His father was a German immigrant who had become rich by trading textiles. Oppenheimer studied at the Ethical Culture School in New York before graduating from Harvard in 1925. He excelled in a variety of fields ranging from poetry to Oriental philosophy. While he maintained an interest in these subjects throughout his life, he specialized in the rapidly developing field of nuclear physics and conducted research at Cambridge University's Cavendish Laboratory in England before moving to the University of Göttingen in Germany where he earned his doctorate in 1927. During his years in Europe he was able to study with such notable scientists as Max Born, Niels Bohr, Paul Dirac, and Lord Ernest Rutherford.

In 1929, he took a position at the California Institute of Technology and at the University of California at Berkeley, working on applications of the quantum and relativity theories in his spare time. His research predicted the existence of particles, such as the neutron, positron, and meson, and of celestial bodies such as the neutron star.

On August 2, 1939, Leo Szilard wrote a letter that Albert Einstein signed and delivered to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, warning him of the feasibility and potential destructive power of an atomic bomb. The Advisory Committee on Uranium met with Roosevelt soon after, but little progress was made in the following months. Under the leadership of Arthur H. Compton, the project to design



nuclear weapons was launched on December 18, 1941. The name was changed to "Manhattan Engineer District" (now known as Manhattan Project) in August 1942 with Colonel Leslie Richard Groves as the new director.

The project was launched on a massive scale with Oppenheimer serving as the head of the laboratory for weapons research. Oppenheimer selected Los Alamos, New Mexico, as the site and the laboratory went into operation in March 1943. He headed a team of researchers that included over 3,000 people. Work also continued in Chicago, where the first atomic reactor, designed by Enrico Fermi, began functioning on December 2, 1942, and at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, where the plutonium production facilities were located, as well as in more than 30 other facilities in the United States and Canada. The first atomic bomb was successfully tested on July 16, 1945, in the Jornada del Muerto valley at the Alamogordo Bombing Range. The next month, the United States dropped the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, forcing Japan to surrender. As he tried to comprehend the results of the bombing, Oppenheimer quoted from Hindu scripture saying, "Now I am become Death, the destroyer of worlds."

Following the war, Oppenheimer became chair of the General Advisory Committee of the ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION. In 1949, he opposed the construction of the HYDROGEN BOMB. Nevertheless, President HARRY S. TRUMAN ordered the development of the hydrogen bomb in 1950, and it was successfully tested in 1952.

Oppenheimer's political ties brought his ideological beliefs into question. During the Spanish Civil War, Oppenheimer had associated himself with communists as part of an effort to send funds to support the struggle against fascism. While he never joined the Communist Party himself, his wife, his wife's former husband, his brother, his sister-in-law, and several of his friends were communists. With the onset of World War II, he distanced himself from the Communist Party, but he failed to cut his ties to communist friends and hired several communist sympathizers for the Manhattan Project. In an era during which Wisconsin senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY made accusations that communists infiltrated the federal government, Oppenheimer's past communist sympathies were deemed sufficient to put his loyalty into question.

On December 23, 1953, the Personnel Security Board withdrew Oppenheimer's security clearance pending further investigation. Following hearings in April–May 1954, the decision to permanently revoke his security clearance was confirmed on June 29, 1954, and was justified by Oppenheimer's failure to cut his ties to former communist friends following his appointment as the head of the Los Alamos laboratory during the war. He came to symbolize the scientist whose attempt to marry moral conscience and work for the military had ended in failure.

In 1947, Oppenheimer was named director of the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton. Meanwhile, supporters worked for his rehabilitation. President LYNDON B. JOHNSON reinstated his security clearance in 1963. He also received the Enrico Fermi award from the Atomic Energy Commission. He died of throat cancer on February 18, 1967.

**Further reading:** Peter Goodchild, *J. Robert Oppenheimer: Shatterer of Worlds* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981); Herbert F. York, *The Advisors: Oppenheimer, Teller, and the Superbomb* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989).

—Philippe R. Girard

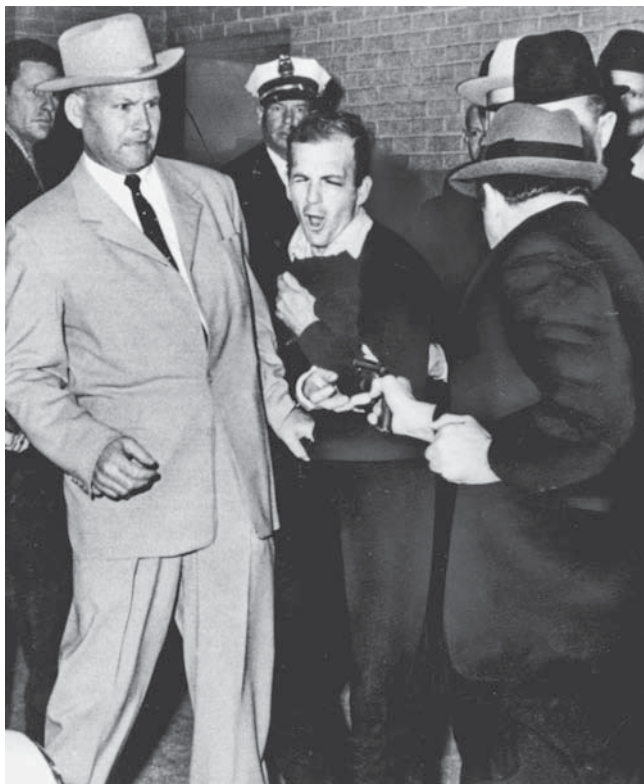
**Oswald, Lee Harvey** (1939–1963) *presumed assassin of President John F. Kennedy*

Lee Harvey Oswald was the accused assassin of U.S. president JOHN F. KENNEDY.

Oswald was born in New Orleans, Louisiana, on October 18, 1939. His father, Robert Edward Lee, died two months before he was born. His mother, Marguerite Oswald, often living in poverty, raised Oswald and his two brothers. As a baby, Oswald spent several periods in orphanage care while his mother worked long hours. Growing up, he was often in trouble, and, according to a psychiatrist, was emotionally disturbed. Oswald was considered a "loner," and though he was said to be very interested in books, his grades seldom reflected this interest. Oswald became disenchanted with formal education, and at the age of 17, he dropped out of school to join the U.S. Marine Corps.

Oswald was trained as an aviation electronics technician and his military records indicated that his performance and conduct as a marine were below average. He was never promoted higher than private first class, and was convicted twice in summary courts martial, once for failing to register a weapon and once for disrespect to a noncommissioned officer. Oswald was discharged from the Marine Corps in 1959 at his request, stating that he needed to be home in order to help support his mother. Oswald, however, defected to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) a month later. Once in Moscow, he appeared at the U.S. Embassy to renounce his American citizenship and, as a result, his military discharge was changed to an undesirable discharge.

Though Oswald was denied citizenship in the USSR, he lived and worked in Minsk for approximately two and a half years, where he met and married Marina Prusakova. Oswald, by now an embittered man, became disillusioned with the USSR and turned to the United States for help. He informed a congressman that he wanted to leave the USSR with his Soviet wife, but Soviet authorities refused



Jack Ruby shoots Lee Harvey Oswald (center) in a Dallas police station, 1963. (*Library of Congress*)

his request. His plea for U.S. intervention was answered in May 1962, when the State Department became involved and Soviet authorities agreed to let Oswald depart the USSR with his Soviet wife and their new daughter, June.

Returning to the United States in June 1962, Oswald moved to Fort Worth, Texas, with his family. Oswald, still interested in left-wing causes, joined the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a pro-Castro group. In July 1962, Oswald attempted to join the anti-Castro Cuban Student Directorate in New Orleans. Seeking to infiltrate the organization, he was arrested shortly thereafter in a street fight that erupted when the group encountered him distributing pro-Castro literature to the public.

In October 1963, Oswald took up residence alone in Dallas, Texas. Marina and June went to live with Oswald's relatives in Irving, Texas, where Marina gave birth to their second daughter shortly thereafter. Weeks later, Oswald started a job at the Texas School Book Depository. On November 22, 1963, Oswald went to work at the depository, and at 12:30 P.M. a gunman from the sixth floor of the building fired three shots into President Kennedy's motorcade, killing Kennedy and injuring Texas governor John B. Connally. Police arrested Oswald at a movie theater just over an hour later. Authorities accused Oswald of killing police officer J. D. Tippit, shot shortly after the president's assassination. Oswald emphatically denied shooting either Kennedy or Tippit, insisting that he was a "patsy" for a larger conspiracy. On November 24, as police moved Oswald from the city jail to the county jail before a national television audience, Jack Ruby, a Dallas nightclub owner, fatally shot Oswald while standing in a crowd of police officers and reporters. Lee Harvey Oswald was 24 years old.

A special presidential commission, headed by Chief Justice EARL WARREN, investigated the Kennedy assassination. Despite numerous conspiracy theories, the commission concluded in 1964, in the Warren Report, that Oswald acted alone.

Several pieces of evidence supported the notion that Oswald had not acted alone. Most notable were the nearly impossible shots that Oswald was accused of making. According to the Warren Commission, Oswald rapidly fired three shots from a bolt-action rifle at a moving target, two of the shots hitting the president. Critics called this action unlikely, especially from a man whose military records indicated that he was only a mediocre shot, scoring average and less than average during his two rifle qualifications in the Marine Corps.

In 1979, a committee from the U.S. House of Representatives acknowledged the likelihood of a conspiracy and reported that a second assassin might have been involved.

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—Jason Reed

# P



## **Packard, Vance** (1914–1996) *author*

Vance Packard was one of the most influential social critics of the mid-20th century, known best for his books exposing a variety of unseen threats to the American public.

Vance Packard was born on May 22, 1914, in Granville Summit, Pennsylvania. Born into a strong Methodist family, Packard's exposure to the teachings of the Bible provided the moral framework by which he later judged American society. Life on the family farm also showed him the value of productive work.

As a student at Pennsylvania State University in the mid-1930s, Packard focused on journalism and became assistant editor of the *Penn State Collegian*. It was an exciting time for Packard, as events around campus as well as around the world opened his eyes to politics and political dialogue. He also became interested in LITERATURE, particularly the works of the muckraking journalists of the Progressive period. In his own critiques of college customs, such as fraternity rush, he saw his place in society as the "ironic observer," quick to point out the faults in existing social institutions.

Following his graduation from Penn State, Packard moved on to graduate school at Columbia University, where he earned a master's degree in JOURNALISM in 1937. Upon leaving Columbia University, he began work at the *Boston Daily Record* where his first story as a cub reporter earned him a daily column in the newspaper. Tired of his position on the *Boston Daily Record*, he went to New York, where he got a job with the Associated Press Feature Service. While moving up professionally, Packard resisted conforming to society's expectations and norms for success.

Following a 15-year period with *American Magazine*, Packard decided to try his hand at freelance writing. From 1957 to 1960, Packard met with nothing but success. His critiques of society, *The Hidden Persuaders* (1957), *The Status Seekers* (1959), and *The Waste Makers* (1960), all reached number one on the *New York Times* nonfiction

best sellers list within a period of four years. Not only were these works best sellers, but they also exposed the American citizen to what Packard called "systematic optimism-generation." Created by big BUSINESS, mass media, and some intellectuals, these factions proclaimed that America had entered a new era of profound opportunity, a period of narrowing social differences as well as vanishing poverty. In addition to these claims, many people believed that the existence of great material wealth was not important to the average citizen. Packard proceeded to tear apart this naive construct.

In *The Hidden Persuaders*, he argued that new trends in ADVERTISING used fears of psychological obsolescence, sexual inadequacy, and concern over social status to undermine individuality and sell products. Packard was the first to expose the trade secrets of advertisers. His book caused such an uproar that the business community launched an all-out public relations campaign to counter any damage Packard's work might have caused. Following *The Hidden Persuaders*, *The Status Seekers* raised pointed questions about the supposed nature of increasing social mobility in America and decreasing class divisions. Packard argued the contrary, namely, that America's immense wealth and search for increased status further delineated social divisions. The source of this problem, he declared, was found in a consumer culture enhanced by capitalists. Finally, in *The Waste Makers*, he challenged the use of planned obsolescence by big business to make consumers buy items they wanted but did not necessarily need. These three books opened the eyes of Americans to the awesome power of big business as well as to serious social concerns.

Packard published 12 books over the course of his career. Some of his best-known other works included *The Naked Society* (1964), *A Nation of Strangers* (1972), and *The People Shapers* (1977). His topics ranged from the loss of privacy in American society to human engineering and behavior modification. All of his works raised important



questions about the very nature of the social experience. Vance Packard died in 1996 at the age of 82.

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—Clayton Douglas

### **Parks, Rosa** (1913–2005) *civil rights activist*

Rosa Parks became a symbol of the nonviolent protest advocated by the Civil Rights movement when she refused to give up her seat to a white passenger on a city bus in Montgomery, Alabama.

This act of CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE sparked the Montgomery bus boycott, which began the modern Civil Rights movement by forcing the racial integration of southern city buses. African Americans had long contested SEGREGATION on public transportation. But often their protests were hasty and solitary, militant and profane. Parks was respectable, quiet, and firm in her refusal. Community and religious leaders joined activists in supporting her actions, and together they destroyed long-standing racist practices.

Parks was born Rosa Louise McCauley in Tuskegee, Alabama, on February 4, 1913. Her father James was a carpenter, and her mother Leona taught school. They managed to send Rosa to the private Montgomery Industrial School for Girls from the age of 11. She later took courses at the Alabama State College for Negroes before marrying Raymond Parks, a barber, in 1932. Over the next 23 years, she worked as a clerk and a department store seamstress, and she and her husband were active in the local NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP).

Returning home, tired from work on December 1, 1955, Parks took a seat near the front of the bus. When the bus began to get crowded, the driver stopped the bus and told four African Americans to move to the back so white passengers could ride in front. This was legal in Montgomery and common practice throughout the South. The others moved, but Parks told the driver no. She was arrested. The president of the state NAACP bailed her out of jail that same day, and local activists quickly laid the groundwork to support her and to organize for integration. The episode was not unexpected, and civil rights activists had been waiting for such an event to galvanize them into action. Now they responded as they had planned.

Four days after Parks's arrest, at a meeting at the Holt Street Baptist Church, the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was founded. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., the young pastor of Montgomery's Dexter Avenue

Church, became its president. The MIA organized a boycott of the Montgomery city bus system, in which passengers refused to ride the buses until they were integrated. MIA leaders organized carpools, printed handbills, and spread word of the protest throughout the community.

The boycott ran for more than a year, 382 days, from December 5, 1955, to December 21, 1956. While a number of whites also boycotted the buses to support their black neighbors, the bus company relied on African American passengers, who comprised 70 percent of the bus system's customers. The boycott severely damaged the bus company's business. The company's owners soon offered to provide black drivers on routes used mostly by blacks, and it promised that drivers would stop making offensive remarks, but the MIA refused to end the boycott until all its demands were met.

Meanwhile, the white mayor of Montgomery called for a "get tough" response to the boycott. A violent backlash developed, led by the WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCIL of Montgomery. In January 1956, a bomb exploded outside King's house. Though no one was hurt, the savagery focused national attention on the struggle. Petty and serious arrests continually threatened the boycott's leaders.

On November 13, 1956, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld an order from a lower court that found Montgomery's segregated bus system illegal. It ordered the integration of Montgomery buses. The MIA organized the push for integration, and later the organization became part of the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), which planned many other actions in the African American movement for civil rights. King became one of the most celebrated civil rights leaders of the era.



Rosa Parks is fingerprinted after her arrest. (Library of Congress)



Parks continued to work for racial justice in the NAACP and SCLC. She joined the staff of Michigan congressman John Conyers, Jr., where she worked until her retirement in 1988. In 1987, after the death of her husband, she founded the Rosa and Raymond Parks Institute for Self-Development, a career-counseling center for young African Americans.

Parks received numerous awards and medals for her 1955 action and her later activism. A street in Montgomery was renamed Rosa Parks Boulevard in 1965. She accepted the Spingarn Medal, the NAACP's highest honor, in 1970, and the prestigious Martin Luther King, Jr., Award in 1980. The SCLC established an annual Rosa Parks Freedom Award in her honor. In 1996, President Bill Clinton awarded her the Presidential Medal of Freedom, and she received a Congressional Gold Medal in 1999, the highest honor awarded by the U.S. government to civilians.

In 1999 *Time* magazine named Rosa Parks one of the 20 most iconic and influential figures of the 20th century. This honor speaks to the widespread commemorative recognition of Parks and her historic bus ride, which includes the Rosa Parks Library and Museum at Troy University in Montgomery and a statue in the National Statuary Hall at the United States Capitol. The bus believed to be the same vehicle that Parks fatefully boarded on December 1, 1955, is displayed at the Henry Ford Museum near Detroit. Rosa Parks died on October 24, 2005, at the age of 92. Upon her death, Congress passed a resolution to allow Parks's body to lie in state at the Capitol, making her the first woman to receive that honor.

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—Barbara M. Hahn

## Peace Corps

The Peace Corps was created to send American volunteers abroad to promote good foreign relations and “world peace” by bringing urgently needed social and technical services to developing countries.

The concept of a Peace Corps was first introduced during JOHN F. KENNEDY's 1960 presidential campaign. The idea was quickly realized with establishment of the corps by executive order on March 1, 1961, and the appointment of its first director, Sargent Shriver, Kennedy's brother-in-law. Seven months after its inception, Congress approved legislation formally authorizing the volunteer-based agency.

An element in the foreign affairs component of Kennedy's NEW FRONTIER, the Peace Corps became the most

celebrated tangible response to the president's inaugural challenge for commitment to public service. His stirring appeal, “Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country,” galvanized thousands of young Americans, inspired to create a better world, by devoting a minimum of two years of their lives as volunteers for the Peace Corps. The only stipulated requirements were that the volunteer be a U.S. citizen, at least 18 years of age, and have no more than two dependents under 18. Volunteers' duties ranged from teaching and developing community projects to establishing vital agricultural and health programs in rural and urban areas of AFRICA, the Near East, LATIN AMERICA, the Caribbean, and ASIA.

While many flocked to serve in the Peace Corps, others volunteered for VOLUNTEERS IN SERVICE TO AMERICA (VISTA), the domestic version of the Corps, or invested their efforts in the growing Civil Rights movement. All of these activists were motivated by Kennedy's call to action, by his promise that they could indeed make a lasting difference, and by their own conviction that their selfless efforts on behalf of humanity would eventually bring about equality, freedom, inclusion, and opportunity for all. The possibilities for effecting concrete change, one volunteer recalled, seemed limitless.

The Peace Corps's strong idealistic bent appealed to those who believed in the positive influence of government and an actively participatory citizenry. There was, however, another motive for the establishment of the Peace Corps other than the sole humanitarian version offered by the government. The volunteer agency was but one of several programs included in Kennedy's policy of nation building. This policy, an integral component of his foreign affairs agenda, was crafted within the framework of the COLD WAR. The policy of nation building advocated technical assistance and financial aid to help developing nations achieve economic and political stability. The policy's overriding objective, however, was to win “the hearts and minds” of those caught in the cold war power struggle between the United States and the SOVIET UNION, and to draw them into America's sphere of influence.

Whether it was Kennedy's ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS in Latin America, the Agency for International Development that distributed aid in developing nations, or the Peace Corps, these and other similar programs were specifically designed as valuable, noncombative tools in America's efforts to stall the spread of COMMUNISM worldwide. The Peace Corps, therefore, was not only a program used to export America's most positive attributes—youthful idealism, compassion for those less fortunate, perceived moral superiority—but to help initiate the requisite developments needed to insure better futures for developing nations. The Peace Corps was one of America's potent nonmilitary weapons in its cold war arsenal. By mid-1966, the agency

announced it had 15,000 volunteers living and working in more than 50 countries, the largest number of volunteers in its history. It was deemed a great success.

The achievements of the Peace Corps, in terms of good public relations and valuable humanistic efforts, spawned the establishment of comparable organizations by other industrialized nations, including Great Britain, Canada, and Sweden, as well as by the United Nations. Yet, in America, numerous potential volunteers became disillusioned with the Corps's principles of hope and idealistically driven activism, both of which began crumbling in the face of continued civil rights abuses at home and the nation's increasingly unpopular involvement in the VIETNAM WAR. And, despite having received full autonomy under President Jimmy Carter and status as an independent federal agency on its 20th anniversary, budget cuts in the 1970s and 1980s also took their toll on the organization. As a result, volunteer rates markedly dropped. In the 1990s, the Peace Corps began receiving greatly expanded federal support, increasing the agency's budget by 50 percent in order to reach a goal of 10,000 volunteers by the year 2003. The cataclysmic political developments that occurred in EUROPE and in Asia during the 1990s also boosted the Peace Corps's viability and visibility. For the first time in the agency's history, volunteers were sent to the Soviet Union, China, and eastern Europe. The Peace Corps had outlasted its cold war objective. Today, it continues to promote its humanistic aims of friendship, understanding, and opportunity worldwide.

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—Irene Guenther

## **Philippine independence**

The Republic of the Philippines achieved its independence from the United States on July 4, 1946, culminating a difficult process involving the imperialist ambitions of three different powers.

From the 16th century through 1898, the Philippines was a colonial possession of Spain. Toward the end of Spanish rule, the archipelago saw a marked increase in indigenous rebellions against colonial power. Unrest spread into the upper classes of Filipino society, many of whom had been educated in the Enlightenment ideals of Europe.

These men, led in part by Jose Rizal, initiated what became known as the Propaganda Movement, so-called because of the prolific number of essays written supporting improvement of the lives of Filipinos. Andres Bonafacio led the proindependence group Katipunan in violent resistance. On August 25, 1896, Katipunan engaged Spanish soldiers in battle, marking the beginning of the Filipino Revolution. The revolution spanned more than two years, with Spain having the upper hand.

The Philippines became a U.S. possession as an outcome of the Spanish-American War in 1898. The war at first seemed to improve prospects for Philippine independence. With American support, Katipunan forces conquered the islands, and on June 12, 1898, one of its leaders, Baldomero Aguinaldo, and 98 revolutionaries declared independence from Spain. The revolutionaries declared a republic, but as leadership came almost exclusively from the Filipino elite, the young country was effectively an oligarchy. U.S. president William McKinley used this as a pretext to annex the Philippines in late 1898. This met with resistance in the Philippines; native factions fought guerrilla warfare, which the Americans brutally suppressed. By 1908, however, Governor William Howard Taft gained the trust of the Filipino elite, some of whom even favored American statehood.

The majority of Filipinos continued to press for independence, sending several delegations to Washington. This led to the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, creating the Commonwealth of the Philippines, which had internal autonomy immediately and promised independence within 10 years. Manuel Quezon was elected the first president.

Independence was delayed again during World War II, when the Japanese occupied the Philippines. In early 1942 top American and Filipino officials including Quezon and General Douglas MacArthur fled the islands, and the Japanese installed a puppet government, which remained until January 1945. MacArthur at this time returned and restored the Commonwealth.

On July 4, 1946, the United States recognized the independence of the Republic of the Philippines. However, U.S. interests continued to dominate Philippine policy in the coming decades. Many insurgents who had opposed Japanese rule resented the U.S.-backed government and carried out the Huk rebellion, which was not put down until the early 1950s with the help of American forces. The American military used two Philippine bases as hubs during the Vietnam War; additionally, by 1970 U.S. interests owned 80 percent of all foreign capital in the Philippines. This ultimately resulted in U.S. support for the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos in the 1970s and 1980s.

Although the Philippines achieved self-rule in 1946, Filipino freedom is celebrated on June 12, the day independence was declared from Spain in 1898.

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—C. D. Beard

### “The Pill”

Within two years of its commercial introduction in 1960, the oral contraceptive, commonly called simply “The Pill,” helped contribute to an American sexual revolution.

In the 1950s, birth control reformer Margaret Sanger campaigned aggressively for an oral contraceptive that would make birth control easier than current methods. Sanger had been a tireless proponent of women's control over reproduction since the second decade of the 20th century. Now she launched what became a huge, heavily capitalized effort. She persuaded Katherine Dexter McCormick, a wealthy heiress who had been the second woman to graduate from MIT, to fund the necessary research. McCormick enlisted the support of scientists and doctors to determine how the female menstrual cycle worked and then to decide how to treat it hormonally so that ovulation—or implantation if ovulation and fertilization accidentally occurred—would not take place.

In the mid-1950s, the researchers ran two sets of tests on the pill they thought would prevent pregnancy when taken daily. The first, smaller test, conducted in Massachusetts, was a success—not one of the 50 volunteers ovulated. The second, longer-term clinical trial, done in Puerto Rico, Haiti, and Mexico City, was also a success, with a failure rate of only 1.7 percent, much lower than that of diaphragms or condoms. In 1960, the Food and Drug Administration approved Enovid, the first oral contraceptive available on the market.

Within three years of its introduction, more than 2 million women were on the pill, and as the cost dropped, millions more began to use it. In 1961, 14 percent of new patients at Planned Parenthood clinics chose oral contraception. In 1963, the figure had jumped to 42 percent, and in 1964, it soared to 62 percent. By 1990, 80 percent of all women born since 1945 had taken the pill sometime during their lives.

Available just as the rebellious generation of the 1960s was coming of age, the pill removed the fear of pregnancy from sexual experimentation, and it helped lower the age of sexual activity. It led people to speak about sex more frequently and frankly than before. The pill also aided men and women in controlling family size, and it made it easier

for women, who were now able to control reproductive patterns, to work outside the home. “Modern woman is at last free as man is free,” said Clare Boothe Luce, a playwright and former member of Congress. In 1993, the *Economist* magazine called it one of the seven wonders of the modern world.

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—Heather L. Tompkins

### Point Four Program

The Point Four Program sought to give American technological advice and economic aid to developing countries around the world in an effort to bolster U.S. foreign relations with these areas.

In his January 20, 1949, inaugural address, President HARRY S. TRUMAN outlined a new foreign aid program that consisted of four major points of action. The fourth element, called the Point Four Program, provided technical assistance and economic aid to underdeveloped countries. It underwent several phases before ultimately becoming part of the federal Agency for International Development. Point Four served as one of many programs designed to solidify America's position in the COLD WAR and help prevent the spread of COMMUNISM.

Following World War II, the global economy was in a precarious state. Although the United States stood as a financial leader and major lender of international aid, most industrialized economies around the world faced massive rebuilding. Countries that exported raw materials as their primary source of income faced the loss of markets for their goods. Leading economists and politicians cited the global financial crisis following World War I as a contributing cause of World War II. The United States adopted a series of financial aid programs after 1945 in hopes of bringing greater economic stability and preventing a future war.

In 1950, Congress approved the allocation of \$35 million dollars for the Point Four Program. Although this was less money than the Truman administration hoped for, it laid the foundation for future aid programs. The program provided foreign aid to less-developed countries, especially in LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA, and ASIA. Initially, the Technical Cooperation Administration division of the Department of State administered all aspects of the program, but later the administration of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER brought Point Four under general foreign aid program administration.

Point Four shared not just investment capital with its recipient nations but also technical assistance in the form of American expertise and equipment. The program helped

countries plan for, receive, and implement advancements in agriculture, health care, education, and transportation. To achieve these goals, Americans traveled to the recipient countries and spent considerable time and money teaching local people how best to use new technologies to benefit their country. U.S. shipments of industrial equipment and machinery caused some controversy in the receiving countries. Critics in countries that had just received independence from colonial governments often decried the machinery as symbols of “neocolonialism,” in which the country was economically dependent yet governmentally independent.

Most countries happily received the medical and agricultural technology and advice. They wanted to improve their standard of living and decrease economic dependence on a few cash crops. American advancement in the production of penicillin improved health care around the world. In one of the most important components of the Point Four Program, Americans shared their knowledge of food production. Recipients of this form of aid hoped it would help them decrease their reliance on foreign food imports and increase their self-sufficiency. Americans also shared the use of hybrid seeds, fertilizers, and pesticides. Although use of these technological advances increased agricultural yields, they also created some long-term environmental and health concerns in the regions, which prompted criticism of this and other programs funded by the United States.

The Point Four Program did not represent American altruism alone. The United States hoped to benefit both economically and politically from the generous grants of money, technology and advice. Truman and Eisenhower saw foreign aid as a way to fight communism. Both men believed that people and governments in the receiving countries would look to the United States for political guidance. By seeing the benefits of a capitalist, democratic society, U.S. policymakers thought the countries would become reliable allies against the threat of communism. Congress approved the Point Four measures as part of government spending efforts to counteract domestic and foreign subversive threats. The United States benefited economically by finding new markets for its goods and increasing trade opportunities with resource-rich countries in the developing world.

In many ways, the Point Four Program proved successful for the United States. During its first 10 years, Point Four sent approximately 6,000 technicians to 58 countries around the world. Although other agencies eventually absorbed the program, the United States continued to provide financial and technical assistance through its own channels and through international relief agencies and the United Nations.

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—Lyra Totten-Naylor

## popular culture

In the 1950s and 1960s, popular culture—those trends in art and entertainment that society found most appealing—reflected Americans’ desire to enjoy their newfound prosperity and national power.

The United States flourished after World War II. Spurred by a postwar economic boom, the gross national product jumped from over \$200 billion in 1945 to over \$500 billion in 1960. As Americans enjoyed the benefits of prosperity, they experienced substantial changes in cultural tastes. Free of wartime transportation and spending restrictions, the American people, eager to enjoy their leisure time, began to expand their cultural tastes and explore new options in the arts and entertainment.

In the postwar years, American theater featured a broader choice of styles that represented many different groups in society. During World War II, many American theaters featured plays that were little more than propaganda or escapist fare. In subsequent years, dramas such as Arthur Miller’s *The Crucible* (1953), about a 17th-century witch hunt that paralleled the communist witch hunts of the 1950s, and Tennessee Williams’s *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1955), which focused on the destructiveness of pretense in an American family, drew large audiences to the theater. Lighthearted musicals such as *Guys and Dolls* (1950) and *My Fair Lady* (1956) coupled brilliant lyrics with sophisticated choreography to produce stories that left audiences with a positive feeling about American society. African-American plays earned new prominence in the 1950s with works such as Lorraine Hansberry’s *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959), the story of an African-American family coping with a financial windfall. Adrienne Kennedy’s autobiographical *Funnyhouse of a Negro* (1962) depicted her struggle as an American of mixed racial heritage. Americans increasingly enjoyed the complex storylines and superior performances that theater offered.

While theater offered a diversion from society’s larger problems, young writers explored the problems and confusion of American culture. Norman Mailer’s novel *The Naked and the Dead* (1948) countered cheery images of the war with a darker view of men engaged in combat. The play *Death of a Salesman* (1949), by Arthur Miller, captured the life of a man lost in illusions of success and out of touch with the realities of life. J. D. Salinger’s novel *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) looked at middle-class life through the eyes of rebellious 16-year-old Holden Caulfield. Other authors addressed the inequalities in American society. Ralph Ellison’s *Invisible Man* (1952) explored the indifference of American society toward African Americans in the postwar years.

Meanwhile, new forms of entertainment captured the imagination of the public. The prosperity of the 1950s allowed almost every family to have a TELEVISION in its



home. The situation comedies that began appearing on television reflected the conservative ideals of the era. On Monday, October 15, 1951, CBS aired the pioneering situation comedy *I Love Lucy*. The show played on the American stereotype of the dependent housewife and the domineering, breadwinning husband. By 1954, about 50 million people were tuning into the *I Love Lucy* show, making it the most popular television show of the time. The *I Love Lucy* show opened the door for other family-themed comedies such as *Father Knows Best* and *The Ozzie and Harriet Show*. Variety shows began appearing on television as well. *The Ed Sullivan Show* brought popular acts such as the BEATLES and ELVIS PRESLEY to American viewers. *The Mickey Mouse Club* was a variety show for children to watch after school.

As with television, MOVIES became increasingly popular during the 1950s and 1960s. Film stars like Doris Day played to the ideal of the girl next door, and sexy stars like MARILYN MONROE played to the sensual side of American women, while stimulating the fantasies of American men. New genres of film appealed to a broad audience of young viewers. Movies such as *Rebel without a Cause* (1955) captured the imagination and angst of a generation of teenagers who rejected the values of their parents. The movie's star, James Dean, became a teen idol and a film legend. Other types of movies broke away from the feel-good movies popular during the war. *West Side Story* (1961), the tale of star-crossed lovers from different cultures, sought to show a broader slice of American society with its portrayal of the tension between a Puerto Rican girl in love with an Anglo-American boy. *The Graduate* (1967) told the story of a young man disillusioned with the shallow material world of his parents and their friends. The film attracted attention from young baby boomers who had grown restless with a materialistic society.

During World War II, MUSIC centered on the easy sounds of big band orchestras and crooners such as Frank Sinatra. In later years, ROCK AND ROLL music—a blend of black rhythm-and-blues and country and western sounds—gained popularity. Stars such as Elvis Presley shot to the top of the music charts and inspired a generation of teenagers who wanted to become rock and roll stars. In the 1960s, groups like the BEATLES experimented with rock and roll music and earned a new audience of listeners who craved a break from the traditional sounds of the past. The Beatles came from working-class origins, but they sang with American accents and dressed neatly. The result of this mixture was a classless image with broad appeal. The popularity of the Beatles helped pave the way for bands like the Rolling Stones and the Doors.

Other styles of music had a profound impact on American society. The FOLK MUSIC REVIVAL brought political and social messages to the youth of America. In 1958, the

Kingston Trio recorded the song “Tom Dooley,” which popularized folk music and opened the way for less commercialized performers such as Joan Baez. Songs such as Pete Seeger’s “Where Have All the Flowers Gone?” sent a powerful antiwar message to pacifists, antinuclear activists, and soldiers in Vietnam. BOB DYLAN, well-known for his protest songs, initiated a mix of folk and rock music for the first time at the Newport Jazz festival in 1965, opening the way for other rock bands to hit mainstream America.

The culmination of popular musical expression came in the form of a rock festival called Woodstock, held in Bethel, New York, in the summer of 1969. Many of the popular folk and rock groups of the day participated in the peaceful expression of antimaterialistic, antiwar sentiment that the festival represented. The most notable acts included the Who, Jefferson Airplane, and Jimi Hendrix with his unforgettable psychedelic rendition of “The Star Spangled Banner.” The festival organizers were expecting a large crowd, but they were overwhelmed when 300,000 to 400,000 people showed up. As a result of the large crowds, roads were blocked and food and water supplies ran short. There was, however, no shortage of free love and drugs. Many spectators camped outside in sleeping bags while they watched, under rainy skies, their musical idols play songs with political messages.

In contrast to the peaceful celebration of popular music at Woodstock, turmoil erupted later in 1969 at Altamont, California, during the last concert of a Rolling Stones tour. The group hired a band of Hell’s Angels, a tough motorcycle gang, to enforce crowd control at the concert, with payment in beer. The Angels beat one black man to death and injured others. Accidents took several lives and inadequate medical support hurt many drug-overdosed audience members. Altamont offered a violent contrast to the peaceful, free love feeling of Woodstock, and it showed the darker side of popular culture in the 1960s.

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—Sarah Brenner

## population trends

After World War II, the population of the United States grew rapidly as a result of the BABY BOOM and new drugs that increased life expectancy.

Between 1940 and 1950, the population of the United States increased by 19 million, double the number in the decade before. Then in the period between 1950 and 1960 it increased by almost 29 million, before increasing another 24 million between 1960 and 1970. The largest percentage increase came in the 1950s, when population

rose by an extraordinary 19 percent. In the period from 1940 to 1970, as the aggregate population rose from approximately 132 million to 203 million, the overall percentage rise was 54 percent.

The birthrate played an important part in the population rise. Young people in the 1930s had delayed marriage because of the Great Depression. When World War II ended and servicemen returned, many of them rushed to the altar and had children in record numbers, giving rise to the phenomenon that would be known as the baby boom. The birthrate of more than 25 births per 1,000 was far higher than the Great Depression rate of 19 births per 1,000. In 1957, the peak of the baby boom, 4.3 million babies were born. The rise in the number of children had a dramatic impact on the nation's booming ECONOMY.

Even though the birthrate was the main cause for the rise in population, the falling death rate was also a leading factor. The development of MIRACLE DRUGS meant that people were living longer, free from many diseases that plagued the lives of both young and old. The new drugs included antibiotics, penicillin, and streptomycin, which helped cure bacterial infections. A decade after the war, a polio vaccine was introduced, virtually eliminating the dreaded disease. These new drugs invented during World War II helped raise the average life expectancy. In the 1950s, the average lifespan for whites was 70 years, and for blacks it was 64 years, far higher than the 1920 average of 55 for whites and 45 for blacks.

IMMIGRATION also had an impact on the increase in population. After World War II, immigration totals passed the 100,000 mark for the first time since 1930. Many GIs coming home from EUROPE brought back brides. There was also an increase in Eastern Europeans immigrating to the United States to escape Soviet controlled homelands. Throughout the 1960s, record numbers of immigrants from LATIN AMERICA and Cuba entered the United States, fleeing the dictatorial power of communist leader Fidel Castro. Many immigrants from Mexico arrived illegally, crossing the Rio Grande in unguarded areas whereas others came by legal means. By the mid-1970s, an estimated 12 million illegal immigrants had entered the United States from Mexico. The IMMIGRATION ACT OF 1965 increased the number of immigrants allowed into the United States by eliminating national quotas. This measure opened the way for an increase in the number of Vietnamese and Asians who came to the United States in the aftermath of the VIETNAM WAR.

**Further reading:** Ira S. Steinberg, *The New Lost Generation: The Population Boom and Public Policy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981); U.S. Bureau of the Census 1940–1970.

—Robert A. Deahl

## Port Huron Statement

Written principally by student activists TOM HAYDEN and Dick Flacks, the Port Huron Statement was the founding political manifesto of the campus group STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) and represented a critical influence on the NEW LEFT progressive movement of the 1960s.

Originally conceived during an SDS meeting in the winter of 1961, the Port Huron Statement was to be a brief document articulating the SDS vision and functioning as an organizational and recruiting tool. Instead, the draft presented by Hayden to SDS members for ratification at a United Auto Workers retreat in Port Huron, Michigan, on June 15, 1962, numbered 55 single-spaced pages. The manifesto was discussed and debated by the approximately 60 SDS members in attendance and rewritten to reflect the group's collective stance. After undergoing field secretary Hayden's final revisions, 20,000 copies of the statement were mimeographed and distributed for sale around the country at the price of 35 cents each.

The overarching philosophy of the statement was “participatory democracy,” a humanistic term borrowed from University of Michigan philosophy professor Arnold Kaufman, one of Hayden's college instructors. As articulated in the Port Huron Statement, participatory democracy required consensus decision-making and a positive attitude toward the social role of politics. It called for the integration and inclusion of all citizens (as opposed to isolation and alienation) and recognition of the well-being of the citizenry as the ultimate standard of political success. Students and the university were believed to be the vanguard of participatory politics.

The Port Huron Statement argued that without participatory politics, political conditions for African Americans and other minorities would remain oppressive. The document viewed these conditions as a foremost concern, focusing particularly on failures to assure constitutionally guaranteed civil rights and basic economic opportunities. The statement called attention to the fundamental disconnect between democratic ideology and practice in America, saying that the emancipatory ideals of the U.S. Constitution and Declaration of Independence “rang hollow before the facts of Negro life in the South and the big cities of the North.”

The Port Huron Statement also offered a severe critique of the American economy and argued for the potentially redeeming role of participatory democracy in shaping a healthy private sector. SDS believed the economy was inextricably structured upon the MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX, which had spawned a “warfare state.” The United States had a vested financial interest in sustaining the COLD WAR and nuclear proliferation, the statement said, because workers and their families depended “on the Cold War for life.” To remedy this economic situation, the

Port Huron Statement called for increased corporate regulation, disarmament, and demilitarization.

**Further reading:** Tom Hayden, *The Port Huron Statement: The Visionary Call of the 1960's Revolution* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2005); James Miller, *"Democracy Is in the Streets": From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987).

—Stephan A. Cornell

**Powell, Adam Clayton** (1908–1972) *U.S. representative, minister, civil rights leader*

A capable but controversial politician and clergyman, Adam Clayton Powell was the first African American elected to Congress from New York.

Born in New Haven, Connecticut, on November 23, 1908, Powell was raised in Harlem, New York, in a middle-class family. While attending Colgate University, the light-skinned Powell suppressed his racial background and attempted unsuccessfully to pass as white. After completing his bachelor's degree at Colgate, he attended Columbia University, receiving a master's degree in religious studies in 1932.

Powell later embraced his racial heritage and began to aid his father in ministering at the Abyssinian Baptist Church, taking over in 1937 following his father's retirement. While in the pulpit, he engaged in political action. Protesting discrimination by promoting the "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaign, he succeeded in breaking hiring barriers in local stores.

Powell's growing interest in politics led him to run for city council as an independent in 1941. Victorious, he became the first black man on the New York City Council. Four years later, Powell secured the support of Democrats and Republicans in winning a seat in Congress. Although not a prominent legislator, Powell demanded that racial epithets not be used on the House floor and that black journalists be admitted to congressional press galleries.

In 1956, Powell supported the Republican DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, following ADLAI STEVENSON's refusal to meet with him about a civil rights measure that would have ended federal support to segregated schools. During the election of 1960, he returned to support his party and campaigned vigorously for JOHN F. KENNEDY, bringing with him the votes of many blacks. His enthusiasm led to his appointment as chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, another first in history for an African American. Powell used his influence to help push through Congress progressive legislation such as MEDICARE, MEDICAID, HEAD START, an increase in the minimum wage, more protection of civil rights, and the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964.

At the same time, however, he became embroiled in scandals and accusations. Beginning in the 1950s, several of Powell's aides faced charges of income tax evasion, leading to his own indictment for tax evasion in 1958. The trial resulted in a hung jury and the Department of Justice chose not to penalize him. In another incident, Powell accused a woman of transporting payoffs to police from illegal gambling groups. She sued for libel and won a large settlement. Later, critics attacked Powell for placing his wife on his payroll and billing personal vacations as committee expenses. In the face of such charges, he became a less effective legislator, holding up passage of the ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1965 by using his committee position to delay its presentation to Congress for four months while fishing. He further angered both politicians and citizens with his poor attendance at congressional sessions.

In 1967, all of his moves culminated in action by the House, which disregarded a committee's recommendation of censure but excluded Powell from Congress. The House determined that Powell had "wrongfully and willfully appropriated" public funds and "improperly maintained his wife" by placing her on his payroll while she lived in Puerto Rico. Although a special election was held that year and Powell was reelected, the House refused to allow him to take his seat and it lay empty for two years. In January 1967, Powell paid a \$25,000 fine, and he was permitted to return to his position but was stripped of seniority. The Supreme Court determined in June of that year that Powell's expulsion was unconstitutional.

Stricken with cancer, Powell lost his reelection bid in 1970 to Charles B. Rangel, and he chose to retire from politics. Withdrawing to the Bahamas for his final days, Powell died in 1972 while visiting Florida.

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—Katherine R. Yarosh

**Poverty, War on** See WAR ON POVERTY.

**President's Commission on the Status of Women** (1961)

Chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt, the President's Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW) brought visibility and legitimacy to concerns of WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS as well as raising the consciousness of women.

The PCSW began as a way for President JOHN F. KENNEDY to demonstrate his concern for women's problems and to dampen the persistent demands for an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Esther Peterson, a labor lobbyist whom Kennedy had named director of the Women's Bureau, used her clout with the president to commit him to establish a federal commission on the status of women. Peterson was interested in promoting policy initiatives for working women and had long opposed an ERA. At her behest, a small committee composed of women with sympathies to organized labor drafted a proposal for a commission on the status of women. Worried about the economic ramifications of women remaining an underutilized resource, Kennedy established the PCSW by executive order on December 14, 1961. The commission was composed of 11 men and 15 women, including cabinet officers, members of Congress, and leaders in LABOR, RELIGION, EDUCATION, and other professions. It did not reflect geographical diversity nor did it contain a representative from a Spanish-speaking group. The PCSW contained seven subcommittees with more than 100 people, mostly women, involved in its work. The subcommittees drew people from interest groups and think tanks largely representing urban-industrial coalitions.

The PCSW sought to design proposals that would combat sex discrimination in government and private employment and to recommend services that would enable women to contribute economically to society. It was directed to review progress and make recommendations in six areas: employment policies and practices; federal social insurance and tax laws; federal and state labor laws, differences in legal treatment of men and women; new and expanded services that might be required for women as wives, mothers, and workers; and the employment policies and practices of the U.S. government. To explore these areas in depth, the PCSW established committees on civil and political rights, education, federal employment, private employment, home and community, protective labor legislation, and social insurance and taxes.

On October 11, 1963, the PCSW issued its report, *American Women*, to Kennedy. The authors noted that many mothers, particularly African-American ones, had to work and that most women who worked were married. The report pointed out that women's earnings were less than men's and that women in federal service occupied the lower grades. Seeing women primarily as wives and mothers rather than wage earners, the PCSW declared that the adoption of its proposals would directly benefit men as well as women.

*American Women* avoided an analysis of the ideological roots of women's oppression, focusing instead on specific policy recommendations designed to create opportunities for working women. Although the PCSW ignored the contradiction between greater opportunities for women

in the public sphere and their primary responsibilities for the home and family, it did recommend significant changes in government policies and employment and educational practices. In many instances, the commission disagreed with the proposals of a committee. One of the major clashes within the PCSW occurred over regulations dealing with the hours that women could work, with the commission refusing to endorse maximum-hours legislation.

Opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment far outnumbered supporters on the commission but they agreed on a compromise that left open the possibility for future consideration of an amendment. The commission supported an alternative route to equality for women, a proposal developed by Yale Law School professor PAULI MURRAY, who had a long history of civil rights activism. Murray concluded that the Supreme Court would interpret the Fourteenth Amendment as prohibiting unreasonable discrimination based on sex as well as race. The PCSW urged the filing of suits against discriminatory laws in an effort to obtain a Supreme Court ruling that would establish women's right to equal treatment.

The PCSW achieved a number of successes. When the Civil Service Commission accepted its recommendation to end the practice of stipulating the sex of applicants, the placement of larger numbers of women became a possibility overnight. State affiliates of the President's Commission on the Status of Women also formed within a few years in 49 states, with Texas as the lone holdout. Composed primarily of women, these commissions extended the documentation of women's unequal status begun by the PCSW. In 1964, members of state commissions began to meet at annual conferences, thereby forming a national network of individuals with information about and heightened awareness of sex discrimination.

The PCSW publicized women's second-class status and tried to position the government behind securing gender equality. By increasing awareness of sex discrimination and establishing mechanisms for action, the PCSW contributed directly to the rise of the women's movement.

**Further reading:** William H. Chafe, *The Paradox of Change: American Women in the 20th Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Margaret Mead and Frances Balgley Kaplan, eds., *American Women* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965).

—Caryn Neumann

**Presley, Elvis** (1935–1977) *singer, actor*

Combining elements of African-American rhythm and blues, gospel, and country MUSIC, Elvis Presley was one of the greatest pioneers of ROCK AND ROLL, earning him the nickname "The King."



Elvis Aaron Presley was born in Tupelo, Mississippi, on January 8, 1935. The son of Vernon and Gladys Presley, Elvis grew up in poverty. Vernon Presley was a common laborer, who held jobs ranging from sharecropping to driving trucks. While Vernon appeared shiftless, Gladys Presley was the cornerstone of the family. She wished for a better life for Elvis, instilling a strong work ethic in him, in the hopes that one day he would take a better-paying skilled job.

Elvis's first exposure to music came from the church. A member of the Pentecostal Church in Tupelo, Elvis enjoyed gospel music from an early age. The music had a profound effect on Elvis, who recalled, "When I was four or five, all I looked forward to was Sundays, when we would all go to church. This was the only singing training I ever had." At the age of 11, Elvis received a guitar for his birthday, and he began to learn a few chords. During this period, he listened to black gospel and rhythm and blues at gospel shows and on the radio.

While working as a truck driver in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1954, Presley visited Sam Phillips's Memphis Recording Service. Claiming that he wanted to make a record for his mother's birthday, Presley met Sam Phillips himself. Phillips enjoyed the combination of musical styles that Elvis brought forth in his music, and after hearing him sing a rendition of "That's Allright Mama," Phillips signed Presley to a contract with Sun Records. Presley's stay with Sun was a short one, but the two years with the company were considered some of his most creative. With tracks such as "Blue Moon" (1954), "Baby, Let's Play House" (1955), and "Mystery Train" (1955), Elvis expanded creatively by mixing different elements of music. In 1956, he signed with RCA Victor Records. Some of Presley's most memorable works appeared during his first year with RCA and include hits like "Blue Suede Shoes," "Hound Dog," and "Heartbreak Hotel."

During a 1956 performance of "Hound Dog" on *The Milton Berle Show*, Elvis challenged America's views on sexuality. Gyrating and thrusting his hips, Presley symbolized raw sexuality never before seen on national TELEVISION. An outcry erupted from around the nation, as many people saw Presley's escapades as a blatant result of the sexual undertones of rock and roll. This performance earned him the nickname "Elvis the Pelvis."

In March 1956, Elvis signed with Paramount studios for a three-picture deal. Presley's first screen appearance in *Love Me Tender* (1956), however, was anything but memorable. Although his first screen performance was ineffective, he continued to improve as an actor in MOVIES such as *Loving You* (1957), *Jailhouse Rock* (1957), and *King Creole* (1958). His success allowed him to purchase all the things he did not have as a child. In March 1957, Elvis bought Graceland, a 23-room Memphis mansion.

In December 1957, Presley was drafted into the U.S. Army, serving in an armored division in Bad Nauheim, West Germany. His military service appeared to highlight his patriotism and enhance his appeal.

Following Presley's return to the United States in 1960, he focused mainly upon films, starring in 28 pictures. In addition to his work on screen, Elvis remained active in the studio and on the road. From 1960 through 1976, he recorded such hits as "Are You Lonesome Tonight?" (1960), "Viva Las Vegas" (1963), "Can't Help Falling in Love" (1968), and "Promised Land" (1973).

Elvis married Priscilla Beaulieu on May 1, 1967. One year later, their daughter Lisa Marie Presley was born. The marriage was short-lived, and in 1973 it ended in divorce. Following the divorce, Elvis gained a good deal of weight and became dependent upon prescription drugs. On August 16, 1977, Presley died of heart failure at the age of 42.

Admiration for Elvis Presley continues to be reflected in Graceland's overwhelming popularity as a contemporary tourist destination. Opened to the public in 1982, Graceland became a National Historic Site on March 27, 2006, and is the second most visited private residence in the United States after the White House. As a pilgrimage site for Presley fans, Graceland's museum houses such notable artifacts as the singer's numerous gold records, his automobile collection, and his famous Vegas jumpsuits.

The legacy of Elvis Presley remains strong among his fans. Due to his courage in taking risks, rock and roll shifted from the sidelines to the mainstream of American music.

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—Clayton Douglas

## Progressive Party

One of two groups to split from the DEMOCRATIC PARTY, the Progressive Party represented an ideological faction of liberal Democrats who opposed the hard-line tactics of President HARRY S. TRUMAN toward the SOVIET UNION in the early stages of the COLD WAR.

On July 23, 1948, a group of delegates who wanted to take a more flexible approach to the Soviet Union met in Philadelphia for the founding convention of the Progressive Party. Over the course of three days, the Progressive delegates established a party platform and nominated both a presidential and vice presidential candidate for the national election. The following day, Henry A. Wallace and progressive Democratic senator Glen Taylor from Idaho, accepted the nominations for president and vice president, respectively.

Wallace was an idealistic liberal who had served as secretary of agriculture, vice president, and secretary of commerce under President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Due to fundamental conflicts over foreign policy decisions, Truman removed Wallace from his position as secretary of commerce. As leader of the Progressive Party, Wallace believed Truman's "get tough" policy toward the Soviet Union would only lead to disaster and a possible third world war. Instead, Wallace advocated negotiating with the Soviet Union in order to forge common ground and avoid unnecessary aggression.

The organization's platform as drafted by the delegates focused primarily on criticizing American foreign policy under the Truman administration. The party denounced the anti-Soviet hysteria that was sweeping the United States as a ploy by those in power to mask big BUSINESS monopolies and overextended militarism. To prevent escalating tensions between the two superpowers, supporters of the party called for negotiations and discussions between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Progressives also opposed the MARSHALL PLAN, which was seen by the organization as a tool for American businesses to reap economic rewards at the expense of European countries trying to rebuild after the devastating aftermath of World War II. The organization instead believed that the European Recovery Program should be administered through the United Nations rather than the United States. As with the Marshall Plan, the party denounced the TRUMAN DOCTRINE for its effort to finance and arm what Progressives considered to be the corrupt, fascist governments of Greece and Turkey, and for attempts to support similar governments elsewhere. The organization's platform also advocated world disarmament and an end to universal military training. The platform attacked the development of United States military installations throughout various parts of the world. The party believed such expansion of American military bases could only be seen by other nations as a sign of imperialist intentions. The Progressives insisted on the repeal of the provisions of the NATIONAL SECURITY ACT OF 1947, which was seen by the party as mobilizing the nation for war rather than working toward peace.

While FOREIGN POLICY played a key role in the party's platform, Progressives were also concerned with domestic issues. According to party members, the biggest challenge to American democracy was big business and the increasing control monopolies wielded over the U.S. ECONOMY. In order to combat this economic inequality, Progressives advocated public ownership of key areas of the economy, including the largest banks, railroad companies, the merchant marine, and the electric and gas industries. The organization also condemned all forms of SEGREGATION and discrimination and demanded equal rights for every American citizen regardless of race, religion, or gender.

The party pushed for the creation of a minimum wage and minimum old-age pension as well as the repeal of the 1947 TAFT-HARTLEY ACT, which members felt circumscribed organized labor. The platform called for the planned development of all resources to avoid the economic pattern of boom and bust, the strengthening of rent control, better housing, and social security for all Americans.

Although the Progressive Party established a thorough and well-articulated platform, gaining a fair amount of support among minority groups, it was also highly vulnerable from its inception. Many Americans were reluctant to vote Truman out of office during a time of prosperity, especially after he took steps to initiate his own domestic program. Perhaps most important, the Progressive platform was far too liberal at a time when Americans felt there was indeed something to fear from COMMUNISM and the Soviet Union. The party's conciliatory stand toward the Soviet Union and its eventual endorsement by the Communist Party of the United States caused the demise of the organization. Although Wallace appeared on the 1948 presidential election ballot in 45 states, the party was only able to capture 1,157,057 votes. Shortly after the election, the remaining members of the party grew even more left-wing, opposing the KOREAN WAR, and alienating some of its more moderate members. In the 1952 presidential election, the party supported Vincent Hallinan and Charlotte Boss but netted only 140,023 votes. The Progressive Party dissolved soon after the election.

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—Donna J. Siebenthaler

## public health

The field of public health encompasses efforts by governmental agencies to ensure conditions in which individuals can be healthy for the benefit of the wider society. Between 1948 and 1968, the United States made unprecedented gains in public health due to the efforts of public health practitioners and policies and revolutionary advances in technology such as the development of penicillin in 1941; the virtual eradication of infectious diseases; a decrease in the rates of fatal heart disease and other once-common killers; higher life expectancy; lower infant and maternal mortality; and an increased public awareness of the role of nutrition, exercise, and healthy life choices.

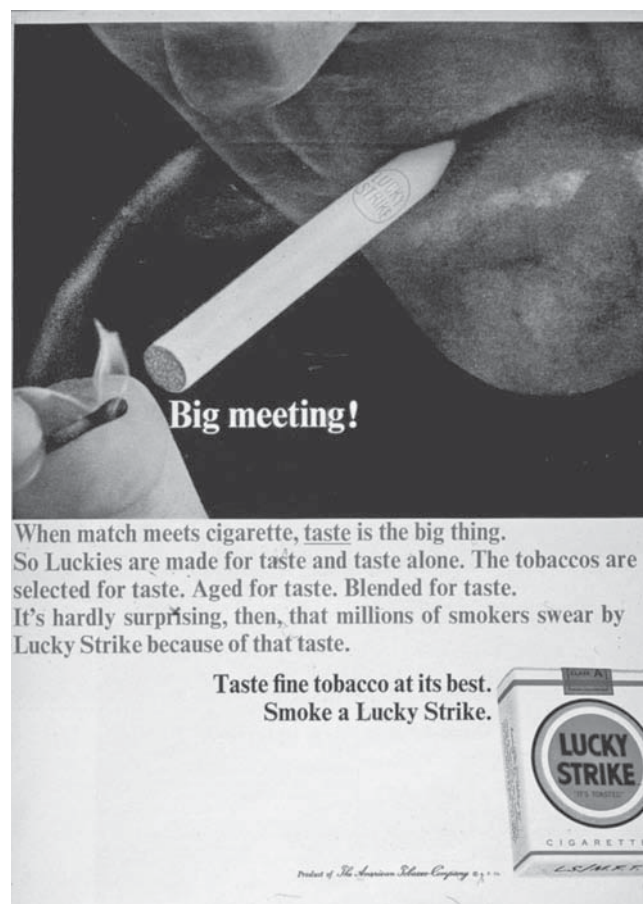
After 1935, the federal government vastly expanded its involvement in public health. The Great Depression marked a pivotal change in societal attitudes about the role of federal government in maintaining the general

welfare—economic and social—of its citizens. In the wake of the depression, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt administration's New Deal sought to create both jobs and a social safety net, which included public health measures and aid. The 1944 Public Health Services Act distributed federal grants to private biomedical research facilities, including universities. In 1946, Congress passed the Hill-Burton Act, which funded hospital construction across the nation. The National Institutes of Health (NIH) became the primary arm of the federal government's public health apparatus.

By World War II, concern for epidemic outbreaks among soldiers fighting and training on the European front and domestic military bases further spurred the number of new or newly federalized public health agencies. The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) were established in 1946 in response to a malaria outbreak at a basic training facility outside of Atlanta. By 1949, the CDC established its Epidemiologic Intelligence Service. The CDC's many groundbreaking achievements include the 1957 development of the flu vaccine and smallpox vaccination methods that helped to eradicate that disease globally by 1977.

In addition to the war and the depression, Franklin Roosevelt himself was highly influential in raising awareness of public health and pouring federal resources into it. Until the late 1940s and early 1950s, infantile paralysis, or poliomyelitis, had been regarded as a disease that thrived in crowded, unhygienic, impoverished areas. FDR's affliction and later repeated outbreaks of polio in the early 1950s among middle-class suburban and rural children and adolescents changed perceptions and helped spark a race for a vaccine. The private National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis (also known as the March of Dimes) awarded grants to several university research centers. The vaccine race was won by Jonas Salk of the University of Pittsburgh. Although not the only polio vaccine under development, Salk's vaccine was the first to be successfully tested on a massive scale. The Salk polio vaccine trials of 1954 were the largest medical experiment in U.S. history; the National Foundation inoculated more than 1 million elementary school children across the United States. In the decades since, polio has been eradicated in the United States and virtually everywhere else across the globe.

The United States experienced many significant, if less sensational, advances in public health in the two decades following World War II. The NIH and the CDC eradicated malaria, smallpox, and most types of tuberculosis, and developed vaccines for most other once-common childhood diseases. Other initiatives proved more controversial. The cavity-preventing benefits of fluoride had been discovered in 1930, and in 1948 Surgeon General Leonard Scheele advocated the fluoridation of the nation's water supply to prevent dental cavities. Although fluoridation



Magazine advertisement for Lucky Strike cigarettes, 1964  
(Getty Images)

was endorsed by the American Dental Association and the American Medical Association, and widely adopted in the second half of the 20th century, it remained controversial. Critics claimed that fluoridation caused more harm than good, contributing to a variety of ailments. Scientific evidence of such harmful effects remained inconclusive, but some communities continued to fight fluoridation.

Attempts to further expand the federal government's role in public health by providing universal health insurance were also defeated. In the early 1950s, President HARRY S. TRUMAN's proposal for a National Health Insurance Act was quashed by the powerful American Medical Association lobby, which labeled the plan "socialized medicine." National health insurance was abandoned as politically unfeasible until almost a decade later when President LYNDON B. JOHNSON succeeded in enacting the Medicaid and Medicare programs, which provided government health insurance only to the most vulnerable—the elderly and the poor. Though limited, these programs improved the health of hundreds of thousands of



Americans who otherwise would have suffered and even died of easily preventable diseases by providing them access to basic care.

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER's 1956 executive order creating the President's Council on Physical Fitness proved far less controversial. Prompted by a disturbing 1953 report published in the *Journal of the American Association for Health* revealing that American children lagged far behind their European peers in physical fitness and muscular development, Eisenhower charged the council with promoting and helping to fund physical fitness initiatives in communities and schools. The President's Council especially focused on better physical education programs in public schools and developed standardized fitness guidelines and curricula.

One of the most remarkable public health achievements of the late 20th century was the antismoking movement. In 1964, Surgeon General Luther Terry issued a report on cigarette smoking that definitively linked smoking to lung cancer, concluding, "cigarette smoking is a health hazard of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant remedial action." Terry's report was also the first public health action to chip away at smoking's glamorous image. In 1960s America, smoking was simultaneously perceived as a harmless and mundane habit and the mark of the sophisticated and cultured. MOVIES, TELEVISION, and extensive marketing by tobacco companies inspired and reinforced these attitudes. Subsequent surgeons general's reports raised the awareness of addictive properties of nicotine, further cancer-causing effects of smoking, and the related hazards of secondhand smoke. These findings led to warning labels on cigarettes, class-action suits against cigarette companies for knowingly marketing a carcinogenic product, smoking bans in public places, decreased rates of new smokers, and increased numbers of people quitting smoking.

Between 1948 and 1968, the federal government became increasingly involved in developing and administering public health policies and programs. Some of the most notable achievements were increased life expectancy, decreased infant and maternal mortality, and the virtual eradication of most deadly infectious diseases. By putting the resources of the federal government behind emerging technologies and research, the United States dramatically improved the public health of the nation.

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—Melissa M. Mandell

## public housing

Federal public housing, which makes government-owned units available to low-income tenants for nominal rents, became the subject of major political conflict after World War II. The program, which originated with the Housing Act of 1937, had widespread public support during the Great Depression because of the crisis in housing and high unemployment rates. But World War II diverted building material away from the program, and public housing became used mainly for war industry workers instead of poverty-stricken families. Once the war ended and the New Deal coalition lost momentum, political conflicts ensued. In 1946, President HARRY S. TRUMAN proposed major funding for the public housing program, but his proposals proved to be very unpopular with Republicans who believed in limited government intervention in local affairs. Nevertheless, funding for continuing the program was included in the Housing Act of 1949, with subsequent legislation in 1954, 1959, 1964, and 1965 establishing more funds for the program.

In order to accommodate large numbers of people, many public housing developments were constructed as high-rises. Cities like St. Louis and Chicago were just two of the metropolitan areas that built large public housing complexes with federal funds. In 1955, the Pruitt-Igoe complex opened in St. Louis, providing 31 high-rise buildings that would accommodate approximately 3,000 residents. In Chicago, most of the high-rise projects occupied city blocks and were typically 15 to 19 stories high. Several of the public housing projects there included Cabrini-Green, Stateway Gardens, and Robert Taylor homes. When it opened in 1962, Robert Taylor was the largest public housing complex in the country with 4,415 units in 28 identical 16-story buildings.

Many cities had separate complexes for white and black families throughout the 1950s. There were also serious design flaws in many of the high-rise buildings, while the complexes were subject to hard use and poor upkeep. Other problems with the federal public housing program included determining which population to serve, site selection for housing, and financial issues. For example, in many other industrialized countries, public housing served a large segment of the population. The United States, however, decided from the beginning that the program was to serve only those who had no chance of obtaining real estate on the private market. The first 20 years of the program had established limits on income, but by 1959, the federal government removed them and left it to the discretion of the local authorities to decide who should receive public housing. As a result, many families who earned slightly better incomes than public housing tenants ended up occupying worse housing because of income limits. Strict income ceilings also contributed to a negative public perception of those families that occupied public housing.



Site selection for public housing created tension between the federal and local governments over who would control decisions about the locations of the housing. During the 1950s and 1960s, states established local housing authorities to administer the federally financed projects. However, local governments faced tough opposition from middle-class families who did not welcome the thought of housing for the poor in their neighborhoods. Legislation in many states even required that local participation in the program be approved by voters. Local housing authorities did manage to build homes in dilapidated areas that were already labeled as slums. However, many families who might have benefited from the low rent of public housing avoided the stigma of such housing developments, which became known as “the projects.”

Finances were a problem as Congress consistently appropriated money for far fewer housings units than had been authorized under legislation. The largest gap took place in the 1950s, when the Housing Act of 1959 appropriated approximately 135,000 units per year over six years. As a result, by 1960, less than one-quarter of the allocated 810,000 new units had been built. On September 9, 1965, President LYNDON B. JOHNSON signed the Department of Housing and Urban Development Act, part of his GREAT SOCIETY program to help the lower classes of American society. Two major policy shifts created by the Housing and Urban Development Act were the provision of subsidies to the people who rented public housing and the creation of Section 235. Section 235 reduced interest rates for home buyers depending on their income, while the provision of subsidies meant that buyers would not have to pay insurance premiums and market interest out of their own pockets. However, lax lending practices led to foreclosures, high defaults, and blocks of boarded-up public homes in cities like Detroit and Chicago throughout the late 1960s.

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—Hilary Styer

**public relations** See ADVERTISING.

## Puerto Ricans

Population growth and expansion of commercial AGRICULTURE at the end of the 19th century and the start of the 20th century led many inhabitants to leave the island of Puerto Rico. While many went to Cuba and the Dominican Republic and to other parts of LATIN AMERICA, especially

large groups immigrated to the United States, and they continued to come in the post–World War II years.

The earliest migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States began shortly after an unsuccessful rebellion by Creole Puerto Ricans against the Spanish colonial government in 1868. Some of the leaders of the rebellion moved to the United States as political exiles.

Puerto Ricans arrived in the United States in large numbers shortly after the Spanish-American War in 1898, when Spain ceded the island to the United States. It remained a colony until 1917 when the Jones Act made Puerto Ricans citizens of the United States with the right to travel freely between the two countries. This encouraged even more immigration, with New York City being the focal point. Citizenship also made it much easier for Puerto Ricans to regularly travel back and forth between the two countries. Under the Jones Act, it was possible for the island to maintain its own government while the United States established a military base there and controlled all international affairs dealing with the island.

Economic hardship also drove migration after the Spanish-American War. Although many Puerto Ricans were glad to be rid of the Spanish government, under the direction of the United States the economy was increasingly based on the export of coffee. An import tax in the United States caused many Puerto Rican farmers to lose their farms and leave the island. Many of these migrants came to work as seasonal farmworkers along the eastern seaboard. Others came to work in factories in urban centers. There, they settled and created their own neighborhoods called barrios.

At the beginning of the 1950s, Puerto Rico was faced with another agricultural crisis that spurred the largest migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States. Operation Bootstrap, a plan to industrialize the island that was sponsored by the U.S. government, was successful in its aims, but it carried the added effect of diminishing agricultural jobs and driving farmers away. Between 1950 and 1970, 600,000 people moved from the island to the United States. The Puerto Rican government actively promoted migration to the United States as an “escape valve” to avoid more poverty and overpopulation on the island. Cheaper air transportation made it even easier to migrate to the United States and return to Puerto Rico. Once in the United States, many Puerto Rican immigrants struggled to survive in the face of low wages, poor health, tenement living, and the harshly different climate of the northeastern United States. In such situations many women were forced to find work outside the home to supplement the family income.

Influenced by the changes brought by the Civil Rights movement and other movements of the 1960s, Puerto Ricans began to work through grassroots groups to create better living conditions in their communities. The Puerto

Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund was created in part to help create counseling and educational guidance for Puerto Rican youth in the cities. The implementation of bilingual education in the public school system counted among their successes. People in many barrios encouraged the creation of social clubs, religious associations, and athletic teams as ways of creating positive values and creating a viable community. Also in the 1960s and 1970s, radical Puerto Rican political groups such as the Young Lords challenged many of the standard notions held about their community and advocated a radical socialist alternative. They were able to create free breakfast, day care, and health care programs for the poor as well.

In the 1980s and 1990s, many significant changes took place in the Puerto Rican community. Many of the factory jobs in urban areas moved to countries where the wages were lower. Service sector jobs in communications, ADVER-

TISING, financial services, EDUCATION, and government required high levels of education, which new migrants did not always possess. The media has also persisted in portraying Puerto Ricans in negative images, highlighting drug use, unemployment, and gang membership. Despite these difficulties, there has been an increase in the number of Puerto Ricans who are gaining college degrees and working in the white-collar sector.

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—Kerry Webb

# R



## race and racial conflict

During the 1960s, the nation became embroiled in racial conflict that was spawned by the tensions created by poverty and SEGREGATION.

As the Civil Rights movement sought to achieve equal rights for African Americans, white resistance often led to trouble. When the Supreme Court, in *BROWN v. BOARD OF EDUCATION* (1954), ruled that school segregation was unconstitutional, the process of desegregation brought massive white resistance in the South. The SOUTHERN MANIFESTO, signed by members of Congress, vowed to fight to preserve segregation and the southern way of life.

Angry southerners were furious at what they felt to be the increasing assertiveness of African Americans. One horrifying episode occurred in 1955 when EMMETT TILL, a 14-year-old black child, was lynched in Money, Mississippi, when he said “Bye, baby” to Carolyn Bryant, a white woman working in her husband’s store. Because he had ignored the racial etiquette of the South, Till was kidnapped at gunpoint by Bryant’s husband and his brother-in-law a few days after the incident. Till’s body was found in the Tallahatchie River with a bullet lodged in his head and evidence of torture. Despite overwhelming evidence against the two white men who lynched Till, they were acquitted of all charges by an all-white jury. They then sold their confession to *Look* magazine, and gloated over their escape from justice, while Emmett’s mother, unable to allow America to turn away from this horrible crime, had her son’s mangled body displayed in an open casket in Chicago. The lynching of Emmett Till shaped the consciousness of young African-American activists.

When African-American college students pioneered SIT-INS during the 1960s as a form of protest, which paved the way for the FREEDOM RIDES of 1961, the pace of social change was accelerated by such nonviolent demonstrations. Blacks sitting-in at Woolworth’s in Greensboro, North Carolina, had burning cigarettes pressed into their skin. Freedom riders often found the buses they rode over-

turned or burned. In the 1963 Birmingham, Alabama, campaign, which demanded the integration of public facilities, guarantees of employment opportunities for black workers, desegregation of schools, and improvement of services in black neighborhoods, demonstrators faced serious violence. The reaction of Eugene “Bull” Connor, the public safety commissioner, to the sit-ins and marches occurring in Birmingham was to arrest all who had participated. Yet the BIRMINGHAM CONFRONTATION was losing momentum until the “children’s crusade” rallied schoolchildren to march. This tactic infuriated Connor and his officers, who not only arrested the children but also beat them with nightsticks, and set vicious dogs upon them. Firefighters, acting on Connor’s orders, aimed powerful hoses at them, ripping their shirts, cutting their flesh, and lifting them off the ground.

Many of the white business owners were concerned about the escalation of violence. When President JOHN F. KENNEDY sent Burke Marshall, the assistant attorney general for civil rights, to negotiate a settlement, white business owners agreed to integrate and hire African-American employees. The following day, KU KLUX KLAN members bombed the A.G. Gaston hotel where the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) had its headquarters. African-American protesters burned cars and buildings and attacked police.

In the summer of 1963, there was a major upsurge in protests across the South with nearly 800 marches, demonstrations, and sit-ins. Ten civil rights protesters were killed and 20,000 arrested, as the white South resisted change. At this point Medgar Evers, the executive secretary for the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) in Mississippi, was gunned down in the driveway of his home by a white extremist on June 12, 1963. Evers’s death exhibited the anger and hatred that still existed among some white southerners and the lengths to which they would go to prevent change.



Nashville police officer wielding nightstick holds African-American youth at bay during a civil rights march in Nashville, Tennessee, 1964. (*Library of Congress*)

In the summer of 1964, the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) and the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) organized the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project. The project, which recruited more than 1,000 northern college students, teachers, artists, and clergy to work in Mississippi, was developed to help African Americans to register to vote in order to break the white monopoly over the ballot box in racist states. Some volunteers encountered harassment, firebombs, arrests, beatings, and even murder. Such was the case when three volunteers—two white New Yorkers, 24-year-old Michael Schwerner and 21-year-old Andrew Goodman, and a black Mississippian, 21-year-old James Chaney—disappeared. Arrested on trumped up speeding charges, the three volunteers were driven to a deserted road where three carloads of Klansmen waited. Schwerner and Goodman were shot to death, while Chaney was beaten with chains and then shot. This vicious event focused America's eyes on white terrorism, which was now plainly evident, while mobilizing and organizing African Americans throughout Mississippi.

Although the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 contained provisions for helping African-American voters to register, white resistance in the Deep South had rendered such efforts ineffective. Hoping to push passage of the VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965, which did subsequently end the systematic exclusion of African Americans from southern politics, the SCLC announced plans for a mass march from Selma to Montgomery to begin on Sunday, March 7, 1965. Led by MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., JOHN LEWIS, chairman of SNCC, and Hosea Williams, 600 protesters were brutalized by police officers while trying to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge.

In August 1965, frustrations with high unemployment and poverty led to riots in the Watts section of Los Angeles, a primarily black neighborhood. For six days, rioters looted, firebombed, and sniped at police and National Guard troops. When the riots ended, 34 people were dead and hundreds were injured. In the summers of 1966 and 1967, urban riots occurred in the poorer neighborhoods of several northern cities, including Newark and Detroit.

After King was assassinated in April 1968, race riots broke out in more than 100 cities. In the wake of the riots,



President LYNDON B. JOHNSON appointed a National Commission on Civil Disorders, headed by Otto Kerner, the former governor of Illinois. The Kerner Commission blamed white racism for the outbreaks of violence. In its report, the commission warned, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." Inspired by the blunt assertiveness of MALCOLM X, many African Americans admired his advocacy of self-sufficiency and black separatism. The BLACK PANTHERS preached self-defense against white violence in the form of BLACK POWER, a term coined by SNCC leader STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

**Further reading:** Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954–1992* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1993).

—John E. Bibish IV

**Raza Unida** See LA RAZA UNIDA.

## recreation

After World War II, the rising standard of living enjoyed by most Americans opened up more opportunities to enjoy leisure time.

In the 1950s, Americans found themselves in the midst of a booming entertainment industry. TELEVISION, drive-in movie theaters, and movie houses popped up across the nation. Drive-ins, generally located on the outskirts of towns and cities, provided family entertainment and served as a haven for teenagers. The drive-ins were not concerned with the artistic excellence of the MOVIES; popcorn, candy bars, and hot dogs were very much a part of the evening's entertainment. By the 1960s, drive-in movie theaters made up one-third of the nation's theaters.

With the development of a national highway system across the nation, more people took to the open road, traveling farther and faster. The whole travel industry enjoyed a spectacular boom. In 1962, there were nearly three times as many cars on the road as there had been a quarter century earlier. Nearly two-thirds of those cars were for recreational use only. With more Americans traveling, a need for hotels, national parks, and campgrounds grew. Vacationers crowded the roads; sun worshipers drove to Florida, Arizona, and California while others traveled to ski slopes farther north.

With more Americans traveling to the national parks, a number of these visitors became concerned about the urgent need to save these sites. They sought to protect places for future travelers to experience, explore, and enjoy high mountains, deserts, pine barrens, ocean shores, swamplands, and wild and scenic rivers. Acts were passed in response to the growing concern about the environment

engendered by increasing numbers of people wanting to spend time in natural areas for recreational purposes. With the population's growing interest in the wilderness, President LYNDON B. JOHNSON's administration pushed for the Land and Water Conservation Fund of 1964. This led to a continuous source of revenue for acquisition of state and federal outdoor recreation lands, and the act spawned additional legislation, including the WILD AND SCENIC RIVERS ACT OF 1968 and the NATIONAL TRAILS ACT OF 1968.

SPORTS became a popular pastime in the postwar period, as more Americans enjoyed golf, tennis, baseball, basketball, swimming, and football. These sports were not only played by the amateurs but also by college students and professionals. Television brought spectator sports to people's homes, and it made college football the country's most popular Saturday afternoon indoor activity. Larger crowds crammed into stadiums to see their favorite teams play. Professional baseball was also popular at this time, as more people went to the games, and an even larger audience watched at home. Many sports developed into spectator sports, and golf, tennis, and boxing became popular in the 1960s.

No matter what type of recreation they preferred, more Americans were participating in leisure activities during the post-World War II years. Watching television, or taking part in some form of more active entertainment, Americans worked to play. Incentives were given to those who worked harder and better, and, in return, they secured more vacation time. Recreation was no longer solely for the upper class but for all classes, and commercial entertainment became a major industry.

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—Robert A. Deahl

**Red Power** See AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT; NATIVE AMERICANS; TREATY RIGHTS.

## religion

Religion became an increasingly visible part of American life in the 1950s and 1960s.

The 1950s were years of American religiosity marked by revivalism and widespread evangelism. BILLY GRAHAM, a southern Baptist minister, became one of the most respected figures in the evangelical movement after World War II. Best known for his citywide revival crusades, speaking about personal salvation and good citizenship, Graham produced influential TELEVISION and radio

programs throughout the country. During the COLD WAR years, Graham openly characterized COMMUNISM as the avowed enemy of the United States. Cold war anticommunism energized evangelical religion, as parishioners and congregations were encouraged to do their part in fighting godless communism by embracing Christianity and accepting Christ.

Liberation theology emerged in the post-World War II world in certain left-liberal churches as a mixture of Catholic and Protestant thinking, sprinkled with Marxism. A leading liberation theologian, Protestant Jurgen Moltmann, attempted to demonstrate that German philosopher Max Weber wrongly linked Calvinism to capitalism. He argued, when examining the common eschatological aspect in each, that Calvinism was more closely related to socialism. Liberation theologians argued that social problems were derived from social conditions, specifically the nature of power relationships in society. They felt the Bible taught a form of consciousness-raising that made people aware of their oppressed state and helped them recognize that revolution against their oppressors was a divine mandate and necessity. This convergence of Christianity and socialism was transplanted to LATIN AMERICA, where Liberation Theology took hold.

After World War II, most fundamentalists remained outside the political realm, although leaders such as Carl McIntire, Billy James Hargis, and Fred C. Schwartz actively opposed the formation of the United Nations and the World Council of Churches, seeing both as communist threats to the sovereignty of the United States. Other Fundamentalists, such as Carl F. H. Henry and Harold Ockenga, rejected this fundamentalist militancy and cultural isolationism. Taking a different approach, fundamentalists felt it best to engage the culture arduously, transforming it with the gospel. Fundamentalism maintained an aggressive posture toward dominant culture, and actively adopted many of American society's values and practices. Much more a state of mind and cultural configuration, fundamentalism did not espouse a set of theological propositions. fundamentalism was closely linked with Evangelicalism, and some fundamentalists may have preferred to describe themselves as evangelicals. The fundamentalist spirit dominated several institutions during this time, such as the Moody Bible Institute, the Southern Baptist Convention, and the Campus Crusade for Christ.

Churches, specifically black churches and related religious organizations, played a significant role in the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., a newly active Baptist minister in Montgomery, Alabama, brought attention to the brutality of southern SEGREGATION across the nation. Founder of the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), King and 60 other black ministers voted to create this southern organization to

further the cause of nonviolent opposition to segregation. King and other civil rights leaders wanted to create what they called a "beloved community," in which blacks and whites could live together in cooperation and love. King headed the angry black population in a peaceful boycott of city buses in Montgomery, which led to the 1956 Supreme Court decision nullifying the Alabama law upholding segregated public transportation.

In the 1950s, Buddhism continued to adapt itself eagerly to American culture. Leaders of the BEAT GENERATION, JACK KEROUAC, and ALLEN GINSBERG began to champion Zen in bohemian circles in New York and San Francisco. Of all the Beats, the most serious student of Buddhism was poet Gary Snyder. The Beats contributed considerably to the Buddhist vogue that emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, with Zen centers opening in Los Angeles in 1956, San Francisco in 1959, and New York in 1966. Zen Buddhism constituted a branch of Mahayana Buddhism that contained Buddha's emphasis on meditation, which led to his enlightenment, or satori. Central to Zen practice was *zazen*, a method of sitting in Zen meditation. An individual practicing Zen was not required to be responsible for evaluating anything in the world or even in his or her own thoughts. One lost the capacity to think logically and critically in such a state. The COUNTERCULTURE of the next decade gave rise to alternative religions, some related to Buddhism.

In 1953, President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER began the tradition of opening the inaugural ceremony with a prayer. This prayer was not considered to be in violation of the Constitution's prohibition against the establishment of religion because the oath of office had traditionally been taken by swearing on the Bible, and legislative sessions at both the state and federal levels were opened in prayer.

In 1955, all U.S. currency bore the inscription, "no nation can be strong except in the strength of God, or safe except in his defense." In July 1956, Eisenhower approved a joint resolution of Congress declaring "In God We Trust" the national motto of the United States. Meanwhile, the phrase "under God," was added to the Pledge of Allegiance.

The 1960s were also marked by charismatic activity. Charismatics traced their origins back to the biblical day of Pentecost, when spiritual gifts, such as speaking in tongues, were bestowed by the Holy Spirit on the early Christians. Charismatics placed emphasis on praising God, rather than the Eucharist or preaching, but they shared the fundamental beliefs of traditional Protestants. This movement formed part of the broader tradition of Pentecostalism, and it represented a shift from the storefront churches of working people and minorities into the sanctuaries of white, middle-class Roman Catholic and Protestant mainstream denominations. Beginning in California, this movement

spread across the Midwest into the eastern United States and north into New England. In 1966, the Charismatic movement emerged among Roman Catholics, spreading through networks of Catholic college students in the Midwest. In the South, Southern Baptists and other members of conservative denominations openly opposed the Charismatic movement, feeling it was excessively emotional.

Catholicism received a boost in the election of 1960. JOHN F. KENNEDY, the first Roman Catholic to be elected president, faced opposition from some conservative Christian groups and fundamentalists who feared he would be dominated by his religion's commitments to Rome and the pope. Kennedy, however, placed his Catholic ideology in the private realm. Nonetheless, through television, Roman Catholics gained a greater presence in American society. Fulton J. Sheen's *Catholic Hour* attracted large audiences, bringing Catholicism into living rooms across America. From 1962 to 1965, a council of Roman Catholic clerics sought to reunite Christians throughout the world. Pope John XXIII called the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II), arguing that the language used to convey religious truths must be relevant to contemporary culture. Vatican II resulted in the production of 16 documents that proposed a modernization of the relationship between the Catholic Church and the world, other religions, and the laity. The council opened the doorway for new movements throughout the world, such as liberation theology, that preached the need for freedom.

Jews assimilated into mainstream American society in the postwar years, and by the 1960s they were more integrated than ever before. The anti-Semitism that had been prevalent before the war began to fade, and by the 1960s quotas specifying the number of Jews permitted in some universities and other institutions had begun to diminish. After the shocking experience of the Holocaust, American Jews were supportive of ISRAEL, after it was established as a new state in 1948. Jews took advantage of the GI Bill to move to the suburbs, buy their own homes, and then build their own synagogues. As they moved into the middle class, they left their left-wing working-class values behind. One major concern of Jewish leaders was the growth in intermarriage. Barely 3 percent of all Jews intermarried prior to World War II. That figure rose to 6 percent in the 1950s, 17 percent between 1961 and 1965, and 32 percent between 1966 and 1972.

Even as the presence of religion in public life expanded, atheism and the rights of nonbelievers became an increased part of spiritual and civil discourse as well. Throughout the postwar era, a number of court cases challenged religion's inclusion in public life, most famously in the case of *Abington School District v. Schempp* in 1963. In an 8-1 ruling, the U.S. Supreme Court banned "coercive" public prayer and Bible-reading in public schools, thereby

reaffirming the separation of church and state. To further such causes, Madalyn Murray O'Hair, the woman who raised the *Abington* lawsuit, founded American Atheists that same year. In addition to church-state issues, the organization defined its mission as defense of the civil rights of nonbelievers, whose presence was becoming more visible. Although the number of people believing that no deities exist is difficult to quantify, such views became more evident in the midst of globalization and atheism's association with broader 20th-century philosophies such as existentialism. While not adhering to a single ideology, atheists generally express skepticism regarding the supernatural claims of most religious faiths and derive their beliefs from more secular philosophies like rationalism and humanism. With reference to these ideas, atheists struggle to define their views positively as a belief in no deities in contrast to the negative, external view that atheism is the absence of belief in God. Particularly in the midst of the renewed religious fervor of the post-World War II era, atheism was pejoratively associated with evil and immorality and, in reference to the state-imposed atheism of Communist states, denoted a lack of patriotism during the COLD WAR.

In 1968, a growing feminist movement began to criticize the churches for suppressing women's rights. This wave of American feminism brought pressure on most denominations to ordain women, as well as greater demands for gender equality in church and society. Two books were published that criticized the patriarchal structure of religious denominations and a religious heritage of sexist teachings: *The Church and the Second Sex* by Mary Daly and *Subordination and Equivalence: The Nature and Role of Women in Augustine and Thomas Aquinas* by Kari Borresen. Both attempted to expose this antifeminist hierarchy. Devoted Roman Catholics, Daly and Borresen argued that traditional Christian theology wrongly taught that women were the lesser sex and necessarily submissive to men. They further spoke out against the disapproval of women as teachers and leaders within the Catholic Church.

A movement that drew on expressions of black nationalism was led by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and built upon the Nation of Islam, drawing in such prominent leaders as MALCOLM X. Also known as the "Black Muslim" tradition, this movement became one of the most controversial of all black religious movements. Appealing to alienated and unemployed urban blacks, this movement pushed for the development among blacks of pride in themselves. Begun in the 1930s by W. D. Fard, the Nation of Islam repudiated the teachings of Christianity and encouraged instead an exotic mythology and a rigorous set of behavioral practices. For Muslims, economic activity was collective rather than individualistic, and the movement substituted revealed for experiential knowledge. An important factor in this movement was its extensive list of dietary prohibitions as well as

a parallel list of “clean foods” that provided the staples for a well-balanced, middle-class diet. The Muslims represented a rationalized and militant strategy for achieving their ends, and they advocated violent destruction of their oppressors to achieve resocialization and organization.

Religion became a controversial issue in the American education system, focusing specifically on the issue of separation of church and state. In a 1962 court case, *ENGEL v. VITALE*, the Supreme Court ruled that a 22-word non-denominational prayer written for students in public schools violated the establishment clause of the First Amendment. In 1968, the clash between religious beliefs and scientific theories came to a head when the Court overturned in *Epperson v. Arkansas* an Arkansas statute that forbade the teaching of evolutionary theory.

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—Susan F. Yates

## Republican Party

The varied successes of the Republican Party since World War II reflect its ability to simultaneously retain its moderate eastern and more conservative midwestern and western membership while attracting new populations of voters, especially southern whites.

A party long in the minority because of its association with the stock market crash of the Great Depression, the Republicans held a congressional majority in both houses for only four years between 1945 and 1968. War hero DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER was elected to the presidency by a broad consensus in 1952 and 1956, perhaps representing the waning bipartisan spirit of an earlier era. Later party successes, including the election of President Richard M. Nixon in 1968, depended on a new electoral coalition of white southerners, blue-collar workers, and fiscal conservatives. This shift reflected the rising ascendancy of the party's conservative wing.

In 1946, the Republicans captured a majority in the House and Senate. In the elections of 1948, however, they failed to capitalize on white southern resentment of integrationist policies pursued by the administration of HARRY S. TRUMAN. Rather than casting their votes for the favored Republican candidate THOMAS E. DEWEY, a majority of voters in four southern states chose J. Strom Thurmond of the STATES' RIGHTS PARTY. Americans reelected Truman and the Republicans lost control of Congress.

Popular disquiet about international events, including the fall of China to COMMUNISM, the Soviet explosion of an ATOMIC BOMB, and the American military involvement in Korea, was beneficial to Republican candidates in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Shrewdly, the party drafted General Dwight D. Eisenhower as its presidential candidate in 1952. Eisenhower was largely indifferent to party politics; few Americans knew his party affiliation until January of the election year. Nevertheless, his appeal was broad and nonpartisan: Two in four Democrats polled in the summer of 1952 hoped their party would nominate Eisenhower if Republicans failed to do so. With such widespread backing, Eisenhower easily defeated the intellectual, and divorced, Democratic candidate, ADLAI STEVENSON of Illinois. Eisenhower, or “Ike,” as he was popularly known, was overwhelmingly favored by voters in every region of the country including the Deep South, where he made modest inroads on once solidly Democratic territory.

The revitalized party also took both houses of Congress in 1952, although it would hold them for only two years. Led by Ohio senator ROBERT A. TAFT, the Republicans expressed skepticism about the U.S. role in international affairs, especially the United Nations. Many Republicans also voiced criticism of the “Socialist” NEW DEAL programs, accusing Democrats in their 1952 platform of “seizing powers never granted.” During the Eisenhower presidency, however, many New Deal programs were protected or even enlarged. The federal government expanded social security and unemployment benefits, and, in 1953, created the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

In 1960, Senator JOHN F. KENNEDY of Massachusetts narrowly defeated Vice President Richard Nixon for the presidency. Nixon, a vehement anticommunist as a U.S. congressman and senator, was accused by some of losing because of his acquiescence to the party's more liberal, eastern wing. Yet his defeat may have hinged on public sentiment that the United States was losing the ARMS RACE, as well as on Nixon's inability to master the new political medium of TELEVISION. The two wings of the Republican Party subsequently fought bitterly for control of the party. In 1964, the party turned to Senator BARRY GOLDWATER of Arizona. The conservative Goldwater announced that “extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice,” a sentiment his Democratic opponents were able to turn against him. Goldwater was victorious only in the Deep South and in his home state of Arizona. As resounding as this defeat was, it signaled a dramatic regional realignment of American voters, a trend Nixon exploited four years later.

In the tumultuous year of 1968, Nixon won the White House by portraying himself as a critic of the VIETNAM WAR, and a defender of such “traditional” American ideals



as patriotism and law and order. Nixon appealed to blue-collar workers and southern whites, two groups increasingly drawn to the Republican Party, and to opponents of integrationist policies such as school busing. During the primaries, Nixon headed off attacks from the right by rival Ronald Reagan, then the governor of California. At the same time, he claimed to have a “secret plan” to end the costly and now unpopular Vietnam War, drawing support away from moderate Republicans such as Nelson Rockefeller of New York. In November, Nixon narrowly defeated Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, whose campaign was hampered by segregationist GEORGE C. WALLACE, former governor of Alabama, who ran as a third party candidate, capturing five southern states. In victory, Nixon had apparently tapped into the “silent majority” he often mentioned during the campaign. These Americans, a mix of blue-collar workers, middle-class suburbanites, and white southerners, represented the new coalition of American voters, one which would propel the GOP into the White House in four out of the five elections held after 1968.

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—Patrick J. Walsh

### **Reuther, Walter** (1907–1970) *union leader*

Walter Reuther was an active union leader and president of the United Auto Workers (UAW) for 24 years who fought throughout his entire career for workers’ rights and stability in the union.

Reuther was born in Wheeling, West Virginia, on September 1, 1907. His father, Valentine Reuther, was a German immigrant who had come to the United States during the late 19th century. Valentine was an active union member in Wheeling, where he helped to establish the International Union of Brewery Workers, and he was also a member of the American socialist movement. Reuther only attended school through the eighth grade, before going to work in a Wheeling steel mill by the age of 16. At the age of 19, he grew discontented with his life in West Virginia and left for Detroit to enter the budding AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY. There he worked for the FORD MOTOR CORPORATION, and in his spare time finished high school. He then went on to complete three years at Wayne State University.

While working at Ford, Reuther began to take part in trade union activity, and, as a result, he was laid off in 1932, in the midst of the Great Depression. He then left the country for three years with his brother Victor and traveled to EUROPE, eventually ending up in the SOVIET UNION. The

brothers worked for nearly two years in an automobile factory in Gorky. During his time in the Soviet Union, Reuther saw the lack of rights and freedom that the people had under the communist government, and he vowed to fight socialist influence in unions when he returned to the United States.

On his return to Detroit in 1935, Reuther joined Local 174 of the UAW, and he soon became president. He put Local 174 in the spotlight by organizing sit-down strikes against GENERAL MOTORS (GM) in 1937, in which workers sat down at their posts and refused to leave the factory until settlement of the strike. GM finally recognized the UAW as the main bargaining body for the strike, and, in 1939, the UAW became a part of the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO), a new organization challenging the older craft-oriented AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL).

Reuther continued to move up the ladder in the UAW. He was elected vice president in 1942 and president in 1946. By 1952, he was also the president of the CIO, and he played a pivotal role in the merger of the CIO with the AFL. As president of the CIO, Reuther was second only to George Meany, the president of the amalgamated AFL-CIO.

Under Reuther, the UAW continued to grow to more than 1 million workers. Throughout his career, Reuther fought for the rights of the workingman in the automobile industry. He wanted to make sure that the members of the UAW benefited from the large-scale consumerism going on in the postwar United States. The car companies were selling automobiles at a rapid rate, making massive profits. Reuther insisted that unskilled autoworkers receive increased pay from the increased profits. He no longer wanted just small wage gains, but, rather, guaranteed annual wages, profit sharing, pension plans, and more holidays for the autoworkers. Reuther was successful in his efforts.

Meanwhile, Reuther’s relationship with George Meany deteriorated. Reuther criticized AFL-CIO president George Meany for running the AFL-CIO dictatorially, and he opposed Meany’s conservatism and inaction. Reuther felt that Meany did nothing to benefit the working class that he represented. His opposition to Meany eventually ended when Reuther led the UAW out of the AFL-CIO in 1968. The following year, Reuther joined the UAW in an alliance with the TEAMSTERS UNION, expelled from the AFL-CIO earlier because of corruption.

In 1970, Reuther and his wife May were flying in a chartered plane over Michigan when it crashed and killed them both. In his lifetime, he made a lasting impression on labor unions and the UAW, gaining for his constituents many of the rights and benefits they still enjoy.

**Further reading:** Nelson Lichtenstein, *The Most Dangerous Man in Detroit* (New York: Basic Books, 1995).

—Matthew Escovar

**Reynolds v. Sims** (1964)

*Reynolds v. Sims* helped to establish the principle of “one man, one vote” by holding that legislative districts be apportioned on the basis of population.

In the 1960s, the U.S. Supreme Court heard many cases to determine the composition and size of state legislative districts. Prior to the 1960s, the Supreme Court had ruled that the reapportionment of various voting districts did not constitute an issue within its purview but one that, because it involved delineation of districts, should be determined by state legislatures. In 1962, however, the Court reversed its position and concluded that federal courts within individual states could rule on the constitutionality of the size and composition of legislative districts.

In 1961 M. O. Sims, a Jackson County, Alabama, resident, filed suit against a probate judge in federal district court alleging that, as a result of urban growth and outdated census information, individuals within the Jackson County district were being deprived of equal representation in the state legislature. The U.S. Constitution provides for a census every 10 years with both federal and state representation based upon this count. Sims and others within Jackson County charged that representation within their county was based on an outdated census count from 1900. The complainants further maintained that at the time of the 1900 census many of the residents of the county lived in rural areas. Since 1900, Jackson County, like many regions across the United States, had become largely urban. Outdated census figures, therefore, ensured greater representation in the House for decreasing numbers of rural residents while not providing adequate representation for increasing numbers of urban residents.

Responding to pressure provided from related cases heard in the Supreme Court, the Alabama legislature advanced two redistricting plans, both to be put into place prior to the 1966 elections, in an effort to insure equality in representation. The legislature’s plans were not successful. In 1962, a district court in Alabama declared that the plans still violated the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause. This clause states, “No State shall make or enforce any law which abridges the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person within its jurisdiction of the equal protection of the laws.” The equal protection clause was violated, stated an Alabama district court, when the legislature stipulated that an election could only be conducted by the standards it had set forth. To hold elections in such a manner would impinge upon the voting privileges of individuals, jurists claimed. Additionally, due to a failure by the state legislature to address the equal distribution of voters within a district, some residents of that area would fail to receive adequate or equal protection through a deprivation of voting equality and repre-

sentation. In an effort to resolve the issue, the case was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Three years after Sims initiated his lawsuit against the state of Alabama, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its decision. The Court held that because there was no reapportionment remedy provided by the state of Alabama, the federal court was obligated to rule on the redistricting of political boundaries to insure the application of the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause. Guaranteeing that the right to vote by individuals within various districts carried the same weight as others within the state, the Supreme Court assisted in enforcing this interest. Speaking on behalf of the Supreme Court, Chief Justice EARL WARREN stated, “Legislators represent people, not trees, not acres. Legislators are elected by voters, not farms, cities or economic interests. As long as ours is a representative government and our legislators are those instruments of government, elected directly by and directly representative of the people, the right to elect legislators in a free and unimpaired fashion is the bedrock of our political system.” With this decision, the Supreme Court put into place the principle of “one man, one vote.” Further, the Supreme Court required states across the nation to make “an honest and good faith effort to construct districts, in both houses of its legislature, as nearly of equal population as is practicable.”

The ramifications of *Reynolds v. Sims* were sweeping. In addition to the “one man, one vote” formula made applicable to state legislatures, the principle also applied to all elected bodies performing government functions. This had a profound effect on schools, highway systems, and public service programs as it provided for equal and representative voting within these systems.

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—Erin Craig

**Rickey, Branch** (1881–1965) *baseball executive*

Branch Rickey is best known for signing JACKIE ROBINSON to play baseball for the Brooklyn Dodgers.

Branch Rickey was born on December 20, 1881, in Stockdale, Ohio. His strict Methodist upbringing helped to shape his character. From an early age he developed an interest in baseball, particularly the intellectual side of the game. He attended Ohio Wesleyan College where he played baseball and managed other sports.

Following his graduation from the University of Michigan Law School, Rickey turned his attention to baseball.

He became manager of the St. Louis Cardinals in 1919. By 1925, he had moved to the front office, where he served as general manager for 17 years. At this time there was no official structure for acquiring players; the highest bidder could sign any player. Rickey grew tired of investing time and money in scouting players, only to have them sign with a different team that offered a more lucrative deal. Rickey convinced the Cardinals to purchase minor league teams to develop their own players, creating the minor league farm system that is still used today to cultivate young players.

In 1942, after a switch in Cardinal management, Rickey moved to Brooklyn to become both president and general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers. After joining the Dodgers, Rickey became interested in moving African-American players, who had been confined to the Negro leagues, into the major leagues. In October 1945, he signed two African-American players to the Dodger organization. Infielder Jackie Robinson joined the team and became the first black baseball player in major league baseball. In 1947, his first season, Robinson won rookie-of-the-year honors. Although Rickey faced opposition from other owners who said that America was not ready, Rickey continued to sign other African-American players, including Roy Campanella and Don Newcombe.

Some critics argued that Rickey was motivated more by the desire for financial gain than by moral concern against SEGREGATION. While the Dodgers did reap considerable rewards in gate receipts, Rickey's action, in ending discrimination in a major American institution, also played a key role in helping to end segregation. In 1950, Rickey moved from Brooklyn to become the vice president and general manager of the Pittsburgh Pirates. He was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1967, two years after his death.

**Further reading:** John C. Chalberg, *Rickey and Robinson: The Preacher, the Player, and America's Game* (Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 2000); Murray Polner, *Branch Rickey: A Biography* (New York: Atheneum, 1982).

—Aaron M. Sharpe

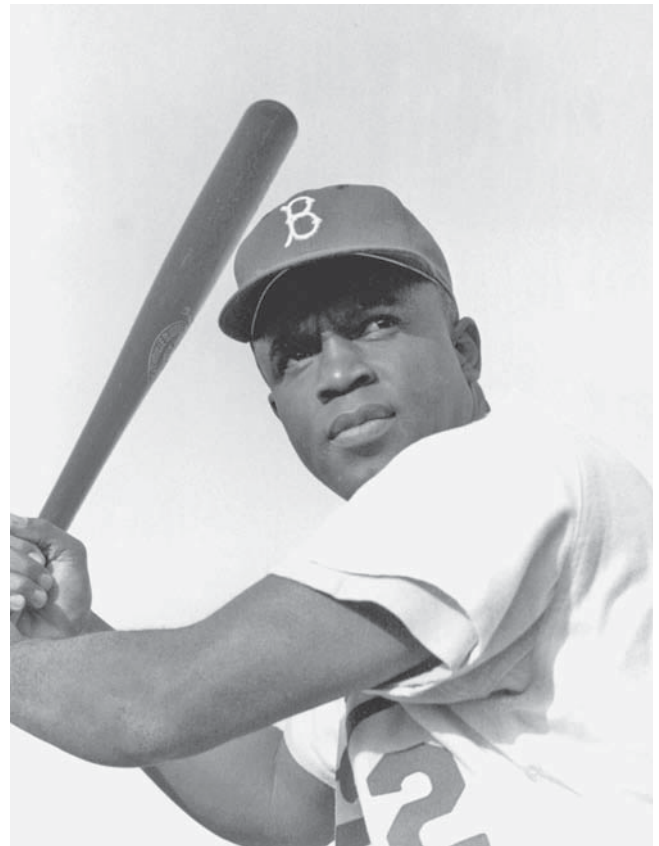
**Robinson, Jackie** (1919–1972) *first African-American baseball player in the major leagues*

As major league baseball's first African-American player, Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier and became an outspoken supporter of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

Jackie Robinson was born on January 31, 1919, in Cairo, Georgia. His family later moved to Pasadena, California, where he distinguished himself as an athlete at an early age. In 1937, he enrolled at Pasadena Junior College where, as a sophomore, he led the football team to an undefeated season. He also broke his brother's long-jump

record and led his team to the league baseball championship in the same day. In 1939, as a student at the University of California at Los Angeles, he became a four-sport letterman. Financial needs forced him to leave after his junior year. He played semiprofessional football before enlisting in the army in 1942. After challenging unwritten racial barriers, he was accepted to officer candidate school. While there he was court-martialed for insubordination when he refused to move to the back of an army bus, but he was exonerated because the order was racially motivated. He received a medical discharge in 1945.

After his discharge from the army, Robinson played baseball for one year with the Kansas City Monarchs of the Negro American League. In September 1945, he met BRANCH RICKEY of the Brooklyn Dodgers after several scouts had selected Robinson as the best candidate to become the first African American to play major league baseball in the modern era. He was selected as much for his education, temperament, and integrity as his baseball skills. Rickey signed Robinson to play on a Dodger farm team, the Montreal Royals of the International League. Rickey subjected Robinson to a string of racial slurs to test



Jackie Robinson, 1954 (Library of Congress)

his resolve under several potential scenarios, until he was satisfied that Robinson understood that he had to maintain composure at all times. After playing in Montreal, Robinson was promoted to the Brooklyn Dodgers on April 10, 1947, and he made his debut on April 15, 1947.

Robinson's signing elicited several responses throughout baseball. Many critics argued that African Americans lacked the skill to play in the major leagues. Others worried about the social ramifications. Four players attempted unsuccessfully to block his addition to the team. Some southern players were worried about the reaction they would receive when they returned home. One important exception was Pee Wee Reese, the Dodger's captain from Kentucky, who befriended Robinson. Two incidents early in his career solidified Robinson's place on the team. While playing the Philadelphia Phillies, he was subjected to constant baiting from the team. After witnessing the racist attack, his teammates rallied around Robinson. Fans in Cincinnati likewise showered Robinson with verbal abuse. Reese walked over and put his arm around Robinson as a sign of support. The initial reservations expressed by teammates and fans were replaced by respect for his baseball abilities and his character. By playing good baseball and showing character strength in spite of verbal abuse from opposing fans and ballplayers, Robinson helped to open the major leagues to all races.

In 10 years as a Brooklyn Dodger, Robinson hit .311 while playing second base. He dominated on the base paths, where his speed confounded the opposition. He was selected to six all-star teams, and, in 1955, he helped the Brooklyn Dodgers win their only World Series title. He refused a trade in 1956 and retired from major league baseball, but he did not retire from the spotlight.

When Robinson signed in 1947, he had agreed to suppress his strong opinions regarding civil rights abuses, but, by 1949, he became outspoken on the issue. Robinson believed that he had a responsibility to use his popularity to expand opportunities for his people. He supported Richard M. Nixon for the presidency in 1960, believing that African Americans should have representation in both parties. He became an active member of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) and was one of its best speakers. After some initial differences, he came to support MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and he also exchanged views with MALCOLM X, with whom he found common ground. Robinson's popularity was sometimes adversely affected by his outspokenness, but he continued to fight for equality.

Slowed by diabetes, and nearly blinded by the disease, Robinson made one last public appearance at the 1972 World Series. He used this forum to demand equality in managerial hiring. On October 24, 1972, Jackie Robinson died.

**Further reading:** Maury Allen, *Jackie Robinson: A Life Remembered* (New York: F. Watts, 1987); Arnold Rampenrad, *Jackie Robinson: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1997); Jules Tygiel, *Baseball's Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy*, expanded ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

—Aaron M. Sharpe

## rock and roll

The 1950s gave birth to a new era of MUSIC that eroded racial and social barriers in the United States. This music was known as rock and roll.

African-American music profoundly affected the evolution of rock and roll. The slave hymns that were sung by fieldhands before the Civil War became the base for the blues, which emerged during the early part of the 20th century. This music was popular among black communities in the South, along with jazz and a form of music known as rhythm and blues. During the 1930s and 1940s, the South was strictly segregated, and no self-respecting white southerner listened to "black music." At this time, blacks began to migrate to the North in search of new opportunities opening up in the manufacturing industry. These African Americans not only brought with them their personal belongings but also their music.

Teenagers of the early 1950s searching for something to define their generation turned to rock and roll. They did not share the hardships of their parents, who had struggled through the Great Depression and World War II. They looked for an exciting outlet, and they turned to the music of rock and roll performers. In 1954, Bill Haley and the Comets released the first big rock and roll hit, "Rock around the Clock." This song, with its hard driving beat, drew on the rhythms of black music and catapulted rock and roll into the mainstream of white America. Suddenly, every teen in America wanted to hear more of this music.

Radio stations during this time catered to either black music listeners or white music interests. White teens only listened to those stations that played white singers covering the rock and roll songs of their black contemporaries. Singers like Pat Boone sang black rock hits like Little Richard's "Tutti Frutti." Black artists, outraged at the attempts of white artists to sing their songs, claimed that the music sung by whites failed to deliver the mood and message intended. Still, the recordings worked to the advantage of African-American artists because they gave the music exposure to a previously untouched white market.

One man, Alan Freed, a disc jockey from Cleveland, crossed the race barrier, and played both white and black rock music. It was Freed who first named this new music, coining the term "rock and roll," which referred to





Buddy Holly and the Crickets performing on Ed Sullivan, December 1, 1957 (Getty Images)

descriptions of sex in black music. His show received much attention, and, by 1954, he traveled to New York City and expanded his show to include live acts.

In 1954, ELVIS PRESLEY changed rock and roll history. Elvis, a white artist from the Deep South, captured the essence of rock. Influenced by the black bluesmen of the South, his style developed around their music. Elvis popularized rock and roll in white suburbia with hits such as “Heartbreak Hotel” and “Hound Dog.” His voice, typical of black singers, combined with his gyrating moves, made it possible for black music to cross white lines. He also made it possible for other white artists, such as Buddy Holly and the Big Bopper, to break onto the rock scene.

Not every home in America welcomed rock and roll. Many parents of those teens who listened to rock music did not approve of the content of the songs. Many of the songs carried sexual overtones and suggested to teens that

drinking and smoking were socially acceptable. This led to a number of religious and social groups openly opposing rock and roll. They attempted to stop radio stations from playing rock music by picketing in front of stations or contacting government representatives.

By the 1960s, rock and roll was entrenched in American culture. Its message changed from the importance of having a good time to serving as an outlet for social concerns. Artists like James Brown hit the music scene in the early 1960s, and he attacked racial and social issues in America through his music. British musicians, such as the BEATLES and the Rolling Stones, came to the United States at this time; their recordings have influenced rock music ever since.

Music also became the voice of the COUNTERCULTURE. U.S. involvement in the VIETNAM WAR prompted artists like BOB DYLAN use rock music to speak out against

the U.S. presence in the war. Other artists, such as Jimi Hendrix and the Grateful Dead, experimented with rock and drugs, giving birth to a new form of music, psychedelic rock, that the youth of the late 1960s embraced. Rock and roll changed not only the sound of music but its content as well.

In 1983 the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame Foundation formed to create a museum dedicated to chronicling the history of rock and roll's most influential artists, producers, and other significant industry actors. Designed by I. M. Pei, the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame opened in Cleveland, Ohio, on September 2, 1995. In addition to documenting the history of the musical genre, the museum included special exhibits on inductees, who are selected and honored at an annual ceremony in New York City. The first inductees were honored on January 23, 1986, and included Buddy Holly, Elvis Presley, and James Brown. Artists qualify for induction 25 years after the release of their first record, a guideline that nonetheless has failed to shield the museum from charges that inductions are not selective enough and often based upon an artist's popularity rather than achievements.

**Further reading:** Charles Brown, *The Art of Rock 'n' Roll* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1987).

—Matthew Escovar

**Roosevelt, Eleanor** See VOLUME VIII.

**Roosevelt, Franklin D.** See VOLUME VIII.

**Rosenberg, Julius** (1918–1953) **and Ethel** (1915–1953)  
*Jewish-American couple convicted and executed for conspiracy to commit espionage during wartime*

The Rosenbergs were the first two American civilians to be executed for espionage and also the first to be executed for that crime during peacetime, despite doubts about their guilt and a worldwide campaign to spare them.

Since his teenage years, Julius Rosenberg, born on May 12, 1918, in New York City, was a radical, who eventually enrolled in the City College of New York, at the time a haven of American radicalism. With the United States in the midst of the Great Depression, COMMUNISM gained numerous converts. Julius met his future wife Ethel Greenglass in 1936. Born on September 28, 1915, in New York City, Ethel had already graduated from high school at age 15 and wanted to be an actress. She became politically active instead, leading a strike when she worked for a shipping company. In 1939, Julius graduated with an electrical engineering degree, and the couple married. Eventually, both joined the Communist Party.

During World War II, Julius took a job as a civilian engineer with the U.S. Army Signal Corps. His new position earned him access to American industrial facilities, which made it easier for him to steal secrets and give them to the communists. One of the Americans he recruited into the Soviet intelligence network was David Greenglass, Ethel's brother and a machinist for the Manhattan Project—the secret American effort to construct an ATOMIC BOMB. Greenglass gave the Rosenbergs information on nuclear weapons, which they turned over to their Soviet connections.

World War II ended in 1945, but Julius Rosenberg continued to spy against the United States. Four years later, the world received a shock: the Soviets had exploded their own nuclear device, much earlier than Americans expected. As fears of the communists grew more intense, the U.S. government took immediate action to ferret out any and all communists in the country.

In 1950, American officials arrested both Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for espionage after scientist Klaus Fuchs, arrested earlier in 1950, confessed to sharing secrets of the Manhattan Project with the Soviets. In time, Fuchs led government agents to Harry Gold, another Soviet spy. Gold, who had served as a courier for the Soviets, led authorities to David Greenglass. Finally, Greenglass implicated both Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Greenglass's wife, Ruth, was also involved. David Greenglass received a 15-year sentence, whereas his wife was not charged. The Rosenbergs, however, were not so lucky.

David Greenglass was the star government witness against his sister and brother-in-law. Due in large part to Greenglass's testimony, the Rosenbergs were convicted and sentenced to death in March 1951. Judge Irving R. Kaufman delivered a death penalty verdict because he believed that they were responsible for the scientific advances that led to the SOVIET UNION's successful 1949 atomic test. He even blamed the Rosenbergs for the KOREAN WAR and the loss of American lives in that struggle. Kaufman's comments confirmed what Americans believed—that the Rosenberg's had provided vital scientific information, which likely proved useful to the Soviet cause.

The Rosenbergs refused to admit their guilt, choosing instead to appeal the verdict. Following the decision handed down by Kaufman, questions arose about the constitutionality of the Espionage Act of 1917, the law under which the Rosenbergs were convicted. Seven different appeals reached the Supreme Court but all were denied.

As the Rosenbergs' execution date neared, world opinion appeared to swing in their favor. Even those who were convinced of their guilt found the sentence unusually harsh. Pro-Rosenberg sympathizers held protest meetings and staged anti-American demonstrations. Appeals for clemency to both Presidents HARRY S. TRUMAN and DWIGHT

D. EISENHOWER proved unsuccessful. Finally, on June 19, 1953, the Rosenbergs were electrocuted. Though the guilt of Julius Rosenberg was not questioned, his wife's role was more suspect, and her execution appalled many people, including Federal Bureau of Investigation director J. EDGAR HOOVER. Their execution sparked riots across the country.

Debate about whether or not the Rosenbergs were guilty has continued in the decades after their death. Documents opened after the end of the COLD WAR confirm that Julius was indeed guilty of spying but that Ethel was not.

She was nonetheless implicated as part of a government effort to get Julius to confess and identify others involved in espionage.

**Further reading:** Robert Meeropol and Michael Meeropol, *We Are Your Sons: The Legacy of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975); Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, *The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1983).

—D. Byron Painter







**SANE** (*National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy*) Officially formed in 1957, SANE served at the forefront of the liberal antinuclear establishment, which grew in stature during the atomic age.

Led by Norman Cousins of the *Saturday Review*, SANE included Eleanor Roosevelt, scientist Linus Pauling, and wealthy poet Lenore Marshall among its members as it was launched on a somewhat informal basis, seeking to inform the American public on the dangers of nuclear weapons and nuclear testing. The organization was founded upon the premise that American governmental mistakes could be rectified, in part by using dialogue, public education, and, especially, direct political action. Within this context, SANE refused to use CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE and noncooperation as possible solutions; instead, persuasion and protest were the methods of choice.

In the first decade after the United States dropped the ATOMIC BOMB on Japan in 1945, a growing revulsion around the world, and especially in the United States, began to form. Opposition formed chiefly among those on the political left and among those who wished to form a type of “world government.” Scientists especially lamented any possible health hazards that fallout might have caused. SANE sought as a main goal a nuclear test ban treaty; however, during the administration of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER the organization proved unsuccessful, as the president preferred to maintain a nuclear threat because it was cheaper to build nuclear devices than to beef up more conventional forces. When in 1959 the SOVIET UNION announced that it would adhere to a unilateral ban on nuclear testing, the Eisenhower administration eventually followed suit, though both sides subsequently resumed testing.

SANE ran its first full-page ad in November 1957 in the *New York Times*. The advertisement increased the organization’s name recognition and encouraged contributions. Though critics panned the ad as biased and one-sided, within a few days of publication, the ad’s \$4,700 cost

had been recouped in donations. Though the group did not favor a grass-roots organization early on, it changed its focus quickly following the ad’s positive response. Within six months, over 25,000 Americans had joined the group, in 130 separate chapters. Civil rights leaders such as MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and Hollywood stars like Steve Allen and Harry Belafonte also joined the group, as did the famed pediatrician BENJAMIN SPOCK a few years later.

SANE next held a rally at New York’s Madison Square Garden in May 1960. More than 20,000 people attended, calling for an end to the ARMS RACE. Just before the meeting, however, the organization faced allegations that its membership included communists, a charge leveled by Connecticut senator Thomas Dodd. Though Dodd admitted that many of the higher-ranking SANE leaders were not communists, he focused on the chapter levels, where evidence existed of communist infiltration. SANE leaders took the charge seriously and ultimately took steps to root out any communist influence.

In time, SANE won a major victory with passage of the LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY OF 1963 signed in Moscow in July. President JOHN F. KENNEDY sent his personal thanks to the organization for its work. The rest of the decade did not prove as productive for SANE as the VIETNAM WAR dragged on and other more militant organizations came to the fore, including the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS). Along with its refusal to engage in the violence more favored by SDS and others, SANE’s clout waned. The burgeoning NEW LEFT gradually distanced itself from SANE, as the latter preferred to use “common sense and goodwill,” according to executive director Donald Keys. The New Left and SANE were fundamentally different, Keys said, with no common ground on which to work.

SANE spent much of its time discussing Vietnam, especially after 1965. As American intervention continued, SANE became increasingly frustrated with President

LYNDON B. JOHNSON. By 1967, it became the first national organization to advocate Johnson's removal from office; the next year, it supported antiwar candidate EUGENE MCCARTHY for president. During the campaign, SANE produced TELEVISION ads attacking antiballistic missiles. These ads, directed at the American people, declared they come "from the people who brought you Vietnam."

By the end of the decade, Vietnam became so important (and nuclear issues less important) to SANE that the word "nuclear" was removed from its name. SANE's influence had lessened just over a decade after it burst on the scene.

**Further reading:** Paul Boyer, *Fallout: A Historian Reflects on America's Half-Century Encounter with Nuclear Weapons* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998); Milton S. Katz, *Ban the Bomb: A History of SANE, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, 1957–1985* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).

—D. Byron Painter

**Savio, Mario** (1942–1996) *free speech activist*

Mario Savio was the leader of the FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT at the University of California at Berkeley in the 1960s.

Savio was born December 8, 1942, in New York City to a devout Italian Catholic family. He graduated as the valedictorian of his class of 1,200 at Martin Van Buren High School in Queens. Savio attended first Manhattan College, then Queens College, before going to the University of California at Berkeley, where he enrolled in 1963 as a philosophy major.

Savio became involved with the Civil Rights movement. Like many students of his generation, he went to Mississippi to help register and organize black voters for civil rights causes in the Mississippi Freedom Summer program of 1964.

After returning from Mississippi, Savio and others brought the Civil Rights movement to Berkeley by demonstrating against major San Francisco Bay-area businesses that discriminated against their black employees. His first arrest came at a SIT-IN at San Francisco's Palace Hotel, for demanding that African Americans be hired for positions other than maids.

Savio became known around campus for his leadership skills and activist approach. He believed that civil, expressive, precisely worded, emotional speeches could bring about significant change. A change in university policy that limited the activities of civil rights and political groups on the campus angered Savio, spurring him to action. The change in policy came about because local businesses and their allies on the University of California Board of Regents

opposed demonstrations by political groups at the university. These businesses pressured Berkeley's administration to change its policy on political activity. Savio joined the executive committee of the Free Speech Movement, an organization representing many civil rights and political groups at Berkeley, in an effort to counter the administration's decision.

An uprising at Berkeley in the fall of 1965 produced one of Savio's most recognizable speeches. He used the example given by university president Clark Kerr's description of the modern "multiversity" as a vast machine, stating: "There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious . . . you've got to put your bodies upon the gears . . . you've got to make it stop." This particular demonstration marked a turning point in the Free Speech Movement; it resulted in the arrest of Savio along with an additional 773 protesters.

After his arrest, Savio continued to work with the Free Speech Movement and engaged in more sit-ins. His sit-ins and speeches inspired many protesters, including Joan Baez, one of the best-known folk singers of the 1960s, to continue protesting at Berkeley even after he left the movement in 1965 because of ideological differences.

**Further reading:** David L. Goines, *The Free Speech Movement: Coming of Age in the 1960s* (Berkeley: Ten Speed Press, 1993).

—Megan D. Wessel

**Schlafly, Phyllis** See VOLUME X.

## science

In the decades immediately following World War II, science played an increasingly important role in American society, influencing everything from military defense and SPACE EXPLORATION programs to environmental and medical technology.

Prior to World War II, American scientists worked alone or in small, isolated groups, using minimal equipment and funding to conduct their research. With the massive military projects of the war, however, the field of science seemed to change overnight. Suddenly, large groups of scientists began working together toward specific research goals. The U.S. government provided large research budgets to pay for expensive equipment, often cutting in half the time between the scientific idea and its practical application. In order to obtain funding, scientists learned to state their goals in advance and to conduct specific experiments to reach those goals, changing the very structure of the scientific discipline into a more efficient set of procedures. In the process, the reputations of scien-

tists rose significantly, and the public held them in greater esteem than ever before.

Military defense constituted one of the most important areas to benefit from new scientific procedures. During World War II, scientists successfully completed the development of the ATOMIC BOMB, which the United States dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima, Japan, to end the war. The development of the HYDROGEN BOMB, or H-bomb, began shortly thereafter. While the atomic bomb used nuclear fission to produce a reaction that released enormous amounts of energy, the H-bomb, also called a thermonuclear bomb, used nuclear fusion, releasing even more energy than the atomic bomb and causing an even greater level of destruction. Although scientists and diplomats argued over whether such nuclear power should be used for destructive purposes, fear that another country might develop and use nuclear weapons against the United States prompted President HARRY S. TRUMAN to order scientists to continue work on the H-bomb. In November 1952, American scientists successfully exploded a thermonuclear device, and in March 1954 the United States exploded the first H-bomb capable of being dropped by an airplane.

With the development of the H-bomb, scientists needed a way to carry nuclear weapons to distant targets across the globe. Although warheads could be placed on bombers, the planes had to be kept on constant alert and were vulnerable to anti-aircraft defense systems. A more efficient delivery system arrived with the development of the intercontinental ballistic missile, or ICBM. The ICBM was a long-range missile, which used the science of rocketry to propel nuclear warheads across long distances, thus eliminating the need for bombers.

Although American pilots never flew jets during World War II, the U.S. government accelerated the research and development of jet aircraft beginning in the early 1940s. By the 1950s, jet aircraft replaced slower, propeller-driven planes, and the U.S. Air Force and Navy used large numbers of jets during the KOREAN WAR. In 1951 and 1952, two large strategic jet bombers, the Boeing B-47 and B-52, provided research information for the design of American passenger jets as well. Jet transports, supersonic fighters and bombers, and transcontinental jet passenger aircraft became the norms in AVIATION, as scientists worked to improve the reliability, fuel efficiency, and power of all types of jet aircraft.

The same technology that generated nuclear weapons and jet aircraft also propelled scientific endeavors in the area of space exploration. Just as ICBM missiles carried nuclear weapons, these same missiles also propelled rockets into outer space. After the SOVIET UNION launched *Sputnik*, the first artificial satellite, into outer space in 1957, the United States and the Soviet Union entered into a full-blown space race, with each country vying to be the

first to perform particular feats in space. In 1958, President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER created the NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA), an organization in which scientists worked to develop the TECHNOLOGY needed for space exploration. Although the Soviet Union was the first country to send a man into outer space in 1961, President JOHN F. KENNEDY stated a national goal of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to earth by the end of the decade. Throughout the 1960s, scientists worked to meet this goal with such space program projects as the Mercury, Gemini, and Apollo missions. As scientists honed their space technology with increasing skill, the space missions involved going ever-greater distances over longer periods of time. Meeting Kennedy's goal became a reality when *Apollo 11* landed on the lunar surface on July 20, 1969.

As space technology took off in the 1950s and 1960s, so too did the computer sciences. In the early 1950s, the first commercial computers came on the market in the United States. Originally designed as powerful calculators to help with the increasingly intricate and detailed calculations of scientists, the potential for computers soon grew beyond the scientific community with the development of the ELECTRONIC NUMERICAL INTEGRATOR AND CALCULATOR (ENIAC). In 1952, computers successfully predicted the results of the presidential election and fascinated many Americans in the process. Computers made operating businesses more efficient by performing certain tasks more quickly and with fewer errors than when done by people. With the development of the transistor, computers became more compact and affordable, offering various software that appealed to a broad range of users. In the early 1960s, however, computers remained expensive and difficult to operate. This changed as scientists developed simpler computer languages such as the Dartmouth Time-Sharing System (DTSS) and the Beginner's All-Purpose Symbolic Instruction Code (BASIC). With the invention of the integrated circuit, computers that once filled an entire room could now fit into the space of a television. Despite the growing potential for computer science, there was a high level of opposition to computers among the public. Some people feared the loss of jobs that the computer revolution would bring, while others dreaded learning how to communicate in a computerized world.

While these technological advances enthralled scientists and the public alike, the biological sciences also experienced several major breakthroughs. Although very little was known about how genes functioned in the early 1950s, three scientists helped to determine the structure of DNA, the genetic code that comprises life. Rosalind Franklin, working with the Wilkins scientific group in Ireland, discovered that DNA was helical, while James D. Watson, working with Englishman Francis H. C. Crick, found that

DNA was formed by two helices wound round each other: the double helix. Building on the work of these scientists, biochemist Marshall W. Nirenberg worked to crack the code for RNA, and, in 1961, he discovered the entire genetic code. These discoveries led to a molecular revolution in science that helped to find important connections between human genes and disease and greatly benefited the medical community. Also, once scientists cracked the genetic code, they began experimenting with RNA to find out how life first started on earth.

Scientists made great advancements in the earth sciences as well. With the development of sonar in World War II, scientists studied the ocean floor in a much more detailed and thorough manner. Throughout the 1950s, oceanographers worked to map the floor of the ocean using reflected sound waves and amazed the world by what they found. Huge underwater canyons and volcanoes covered the ocean floor, and the discovery of deep ocean trenches went a long way toward explaining earthquake activity and the shape of the earth's continents.

Other scientific advances helped explain the origins of man. Before 1950, radioactive dating techniques helped date fossils, but the system was crude and unreliable. A group of geologists and physicists at the University of California at Berkeley discovered a better test to date fossils. The radioactive-potassium dating system devised during the 1950s was much more reliable than all other previous testing systems, and dating by radioactive decay became the standard in anthropology and archaeology. In 1961, Dr. Grant E. Meyer and Elwin L. Simons of Yale's Peabody Museum discovered a skull belonging to an early ape ancestor, named *Aegyptopithecus*. Using potassium-argon dating, the skull was found to be between 26 and 28 million years old, allowing scientists to learn more about the history of life on earth. Building on these fossil-dating advancements, scientists developed two new techniques to date old, nonliving material in 1960: thermoluminescence and obsidian dating. In 1968, scientists discovered the oldest amino acids known to exist in a formation of rocks in South Africa. A group of Harvard and NASA scientists established the amino acids to be 3.1 billion years old.

As scientists learned more about the physical earth, they also became aware of the delicate balance of the environment. In 1962, environmentalist RACHEL CARSON published *Silent Spring*, a best-selling book about how chemicals in the air and water, especially DDT, were killing all forms of wildlife and endangering human life. Carson's book set off a wave of reaction among the scientific and public communities alike. For the first time, a new attitude existed toward the earth, one dedicated to saving and protecting the environment. This enthusiasm set off the ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT, which worked to educate and motivate people about the preservation of the earth's resources.

Global warming constituted another important issue in the environmental movement. The earth was once thought so big that it was believed small changes in the earth's temperature over extended periods of time would have little effect on the life of the planet. In 1964, this theory changed when two climatologists, Syukuro Manabe and Richard Wetherald, developed a computer model of the atmosphere to predict how water vapor and carbon dioxide would affect the climate. The effect was global warming, or the greenhouse effect, a theory that maintained that the excessive burning of fossil fuels for industrial purposes caused the level of carbon dioxide to rise and the earth's temperature to increase. Global warming carried many environmental consequences, such as the melting of the polar ice caps and the disruption of the agricultural growing cycle.

While scientists made significant discoveries in the physical, biological, and earth sciences, they also worked to improve the day-to-day lives of the American people. In the 1950s and 1960s, Americans began to look to scientists to invent ways to improve their lives in a variety of areas. Before 1950, dental drills were slow and painful. This changed with the invention of water-powered and air-powered drills that made dental visits quick and relatively painless. As scientists worked with the concept of hormone manipulation, research on oral contraceptives and synthetic hormones increased throughout the 1950s. In 1960, the U.S. Drug Administration approved THE PILL for use throughout the country. In 1950, the Aircall Corporation of New York marketed the first radio pager (beeper) for consumer use, and advancements in communication technology enabled Americans to make long-distance calls to Europe via a transatlantic cable by 1960. Technological advancements in the field of electronics made TELEVISION available to almost everyone, changing the nature of leisure time in American society and directly resulting in the development of such products as TV dinners. In order to cook TV dinners quickly, scientists introduced the first patented microwave oven by Raytheon in 1953. With increasing competition from television, MOVIES needed to find new ways to draw people to the theaters, and scientists soon developed the three-dimensional film.

A direct link existed between the growing role of science in American society during the 1950s and 1960s and the establishment of the National Science Foundation (NSF) in 1950. During and after World War II, concern about the role of the United States government in scientific endeavors led to the creation of the NSF. The foundation granted money and equipment to scientists and scientific institutions involved in basic research of importance to national security and industry. Because the NSF primarily aided basic research rather than applied research, the foundation was especially important to colleges and universities.



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—Donna J. Siebenthaler

### science fiction

Science fiction, also known as SF, speculative fiction, or, informally, sci-fi, is a genre of LITERATURE, TELEVISION, and MOVIES that deals with the effects of science on humanity. One of the only genres to develop and thrive in the 20th century, its so-called Golden Age flourished in the 1940s and 1950s.

Science fiction had its origins in 19th-century literature such as Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) and H. G. Wells's *The Time Machine* (1895) and *War of the Worlds* (1898). By the 1920s, the "space opera" featuring a male hero who must travel into space to save the Earth (and usually a girl) became popular in books such as E. E. Doc Smith's *The Skylark of Space* (1928). Magazines such as *Amazing Stories* and *Astounding Stories*, founded in the 1920s and 1930s, published science fiction stories for a niche audience. These publications did not have a large effect on mainstream American culture, but the creativity and diverse storylines encouraged by *Astounding Stories* editor John W. Campbell influenced writers such as Isaac Asimov, Robert Heinlein, and Arthur C. Clarke.

During the 1950s, amid COLD WAR tensions and an emerging space race between the United States and the SOVIET UNION, science fiction crossed over into mainstream literature. Heinlein and Asimov helped popularize the science fiction novel. Heinlein, who came to prominence beginning in the 1940s, was the first science fiction author to publish in nongenie magazines such as the *Saturday Evening Post*, and many of his novels became American best sellers. Heinlein's thematic emphasis on SPACE EXPLORATION has been credited with creating a desire for it in the American psyche. His wildly popular *Starship Troopers* (1959) broke new ground in science fiction, casting a person of color as the protagonist and giving women a greater role as characters than as the stereotyped damsels in distress seen in early science fiction. It also touched on political conflicts of the time: *Starship Troopers* portrayed a militarist culture as the good society, reminding readers of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, defeated just 14 years prior, and leading to charges that Heinlein was a fascist.

Isaac Asimov, a Russian-American science fiction writer, broke ground in his treatment of robots in his stories, particularly in his *Robot* series, which includes the short

story anthology *I, Robot* (1950). In these novels and stories Asimov theorized the design of robots, including a built-in system of ethics known as the Three Laws of Robotics. This influenced later science fiction: the character of Data in the television series *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (1987–94) was based explicitly on Asimov's concept. While some robotics experts do not believe this type of robot to be possible, they at times cite Asimov in their papers, at least in passing.

Science fiction proliferated in films and on television in the context of the cold war and the U.S.-Soviet space race. While it may have been unintentional, the famous final line from *The Thing from Another World* (1951), "Watch the Skies," summarized the feelings of Americans fearful of nuclear war at any moment. Arthur C. Clarke's collaboration with director Stanley Kubrick on the film *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) showed that this feeling did not ebb throughout the cold war era. The film explored the complicated relationship between progress and violence. Despite the progress in space travel that both the novel and the movie predicted by the beginning of the next century, the United States and the Soviet Union still had nuclear weapons pointed at each other.

On television *Flash Gordon* (1954–55), a series based on earlier graphic stories, had more in common with 1920s space opera than with real science, but it has fans to this day. In the decade when the American space program aimed for the moon, space exploration proved to be one of the main themes of science fiction on film and TV. In Gene Roddenberry's *Star Trek* (1966–69), the five-year-mission to explore the galaxy was reminiscent of the exploration of the West so popular in American fiction.

Developments in technology in the middle 20th century, combined with the era's political conflict, brought science fiction into the mainstream of American popular culture.

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—C. D. Beard

### segregation (de facto and de jure)

Segregation involved the cultural, political, and social separation of white and black communities in the United States.

Before the emancipation of African-American slaves at the close of the Civil War, there was little need for formal segregation in American society. In the South, the institution of slavery kept the white and black races separated from one another. At the close of the war, many

whites, mainly southerners, were not willing to fully integrate blacks into their society. The ideology of "separate but equal," providing facilities to blacks that were equal to those facilities available to whites, made it constitutionally permissible for whites to exclude African Americans from their facilities, though such facilities were rarely, if ever, equal. Upheld in the case *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), this policy became the standard practice throughout the United States. Allowing this doctrine to become legally entrenched at the end of the 19th century and the start of the 20th, it was virtually impossible for the black community to integrate into society.

Segregation was prevalent in nearly every aspect of life throughout the country: stores, schools, transportation, restaurants, restrooms, and even water fountains kept blacks separated from whites. Segregation was represented in two forms, *de facto*, by custom, largely prevalent in the North, and *de jure*, by law, virtually everywhere in the South.

Segregation was a national problem. At the end of World War II, there was a massive migration of African Americans from the southern states to the North in search of job opportunities in northern factories. Many African Americans settled in communities throughout the North. Since the economic status of these individuals was quite poor, their living conditions were substandard as well. The term "ghetto" came to describe these neighborhoods. While law did not mandate separation, it occurred nonetheless as a result of economic conditions.

In the South, the pattern was different. Rigid laws there enforced patterns of segregation that governed all contacts between the black and white races.

The black community launched its assault against segregation during the Civil Rights movement. Blacks and whites held many SIT-INS, marches, and rallies alike, protesting segregation. ROSA PARKS, an African American, refused one day to sit at the back of a bus, violating a standard practice of segregation. This event triggered a bus boycott and led to the boycotting of other businesses, such as lunch counters and restaurants. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., one of the most prominent civil rights leaders, was arrested in his efforts to end segregation through peaceful, nonviolent protest.

The first legal step taken to put an end to the practice of segregation came with the unanimous decision in *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* (1954) handed down by the WARREN COURT. This Supreme Court decision stated that the separate but equal facilities provided in schools were inherently unequal, and the ruling led to the desegregation of the public education system. This outraged leaders in many southern states, who resisted complying with the radical ruling. Arkansas governor ORVAL FAUBUS placed state military forces in front of a school building to keep blacks from entering. President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER answered

with federal troops, reaffirming the validity of the Supreme Court ruling.

The CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 also helped advance the desegregation process. The legislation established that the commerce clause of the Constitution made segregation illegal in privately owned public facilities, such as restaurants and other public accommodations. This act was upheld with the ruling of *HEART OF ATLANTA MOTEL, INC. V. UNITED STATES*, in 1965, forcing the hotel to admit African Americans at their facilities.

The VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 furthered the advancement of desegregation in guaranteeing black suffrage by removing previous restrictions placed solely on African Americans.

By the end of the 1960s, legally enforced segregation in the United States had almost completely disappeared. Even so, segregated patterns based on economically determined residential separation still persisted.

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—Jennifer Howell

**Servicemen's Readjustment Act** See GI BILL OF RIGHTS in VOLUME VIII.

### service sector

In the decades after World War II, the service sector emerged as the largest segment of the American ECONOMY, making the United States the world's first "service economy" and encompassing a wide range of economic activities that produce services rather than tangible products.

Industries that comprise the service sector include wholesale and retail trade, transportation, finance, communications, insurance, real estate, various professional services (including health care and legal services), personal services (barber and beauty shops, for example), and public services (government, including education).

The growing dominance of the American service sector in the 20th century coincided with the long-term decline of employment in AGRICULTURE and, subsequently, in manufacturing. In the late 19th century, the proportion of the American LABOR force engaged in agriculture began to decline and more Americans found employment in the manufacturing and service sectors. Manufacturing became

the largest sector of employment in the early decades of the 20th century. By the 1940s, however, the service and manufacturing sectors employed roughly equal shares of the labor force. During the 1950s, the service sector surpassed manufacturing to become the largest sector of employment in the United States, accounting for the vast majority of newly created jobs. Thirteen million new jobs were created in the service sector between 1947 and 1965. In contrast, manufacturing accounted for only 4 million new jobs and agriculture suffered a loss of 3 million jobs during the same period. Thus, the service sector's share of the American labor force continually expanded. Between 1947 and 1965, the share of the American labor force employed in the service sector increased from 46 percent to 55 percent. For most of this period, wholesale and retail trade constituted the largest area of employment in the service sector. In the late 1960s, however, the rapid growth of employment in the public sector made government the largest employer in the service sector. In addition, increased demands for professional services—such as communications, legal services, and ADVERTISING—contributed greatly to the growth of the service sector in the 1950s and 1960s.

In postwar America, the service sector's share of the gross national product (GNP) changed very little, even as its share of employment increased rapidly. This disparity derived, in part, from the nature of employment in the service sector; jobs in the service sector tended to be labor-intensive positions in which output per worker increased negligibly compared to productivity gains in other sectors of the economy. Throughout the 20th century, the agricultural and manufacturing sectors increased their output levels while decreasing their need for manpower. The introduction of automation and other innovations in manufacturing, for example, dramatically increased the rate of productivity per worker and, in most cases, decreased the need for employees. In contrast, jobs in the service sector—whether in sales, MEDICINE, EDUCATION, or janitorial services—typically allowed for comparatively modest increases in worker productivity. This economic pattern accounts for the fact that even in the 1950s, when the United States was the leading manufacturing nation in the world, the service sector actually provided more jobs than did American manufacturing.

Employment patterns in the service sector that emerged after World War II differed markedly from other sectors of the American economy. Women, part-time employees, and older workers were heavily represented in the service sector. By 1960, almost half of all service sector employees were women and 71 percent of all female wage earners were employed in the service sector. Over one-fourth of all service sector workers were employed only part-time. In addition, the service sector held a high concentration of older workers; nearly 60 percent of American

workers over the age of 65 were employed in the service sector (although their share of all service sector jobs was only 5 percent). The strong representation of women, part-time workers, and older Americans in the service sector contrasted sharply with their weak presence in industry. When American manufacturing was booming in the 1950s, industrial workers—mainly represented by unions—enjoyed good wages and benefits. In contrast, less than 10 percent of service sector employees belonged to unions, which could give them the instrumental means to negotiate better wages and conditions of employment. The fact that the vast majority of service sector workers were overlooked by the UNION MOVEMENT contributed to a high concentration of jobs that offered lower pay scales and fewer benefits compared to traditional blue-collar manufacturing jobs. By the late 1960s, the growing dominance of the service sector raised concerns among many Americans about the implications of such employment for the future standard of living for Americans.

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—Susan Allyn Johnson

## shopping centers

In the era following World War II, shopping centers emerged as a prime embodiment of key COLD WAR values and suburban lifestyles.

As the standoff between capitalism and COMMUNISM took shape, the ideals of consumption and abundance helped define the United States. As wartime production transformed into the manufacture of mass goods, the variety and availability of consumer products was seen as evidence of national superiority and divine blessing. Both advertisers and politicians similarly portrayed new conveniences like televisions and refrigerators as the fruits of an American good life arising from the combined forces of democracy and prosperity. By and large, this good life was personified in the image of suburban, middle-class families, the primary consumers of the new products flooding the market. Amid the postwar economic boom, middle-class status extended to nearly 60 percent of the nation's population by the mid-1950s, and the growth was accompanied by an increase in discretionary income. For the first time since the Great Depression, Americans found themselves more inclined to spend than save and defined their household needs more broadly, a trend critically influenced by the growth of ADVERTISING and its central medium of TELEVISION.

As more Americans aspired to the comfortable, commodified lifestyle presented in advertisements and on

television, shopping centers developed to meet their consumer needs. As public figures like Vice President Richard M. Nixon characterized consumption as the essence of American freedom, shopping centers reflected the primacy of CONSUMERISM in cold war culture, as well as trends like SUBURBANIZATION and the ongoing rise of the automobile. As the suburb supplanted the city as the center of American life, shopping centers were a critical part of postwar planning. Anticipating the needs of middle-class families, the FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION encouraged developers to provide a nearby market and shops when designing their suburban enclaves. Automobiles allowed businesses to decentralize out of the city, as stores no longer needed a connection to mass transportation for consumers to access them. Accordingly, retailers such as Sears Roebuck, which traditionally used mail-order catalogs to reach consumers nationwide, followed their customers to the suburbs and engendered the wave of the future in American consumption.

In 1950 there were merely 100 shopping centers in the United States, a number that rapidly expanded to 5,000 by 1962. With modern shopping centers, postwar planners designed an experience that reflected the values of newness and mobility, embracing the idea that consumption represented something privileged and unique about American life. By renting out space to other retailers, supermarkets were early innovators of the strip mall, which postwar architects like Victor Gruen developed even further with more deliberate designs. While automobiles facilitated the rise of shopping centers, the creation of a pedestrian shopping environment was central to their survival, as economic success depended upon getting consumers to frequent all shops, not just their intended destination. To this end, shopping centers such as Gruen's Northgate in Seattle featured stores facing each other across an open-air walkway in a design that mimicked a traditional downtown-shopping district. Gruen's watershed design at Northgate was the first in a series of innovations that later included fountains and benches at centers like Northland in Detroit. Aiming to inspire shoppers to linger, Gruen later integrated such features into the first fully enclosed shopping mall in Edina, Minnesota. Opening in 1962, Gruen's Southdale was also the first to unite two competing department stores in the same retail complex, a move that departed from traditional business strategies. In this way, shopping centers transformed not only how Americans shopped but also how retailers marketed themselves, as merchants now recognized the virtues of uniting with competitors to create a stronger draw on consumers.

The INTERSTATE HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956 further fueled the development of shopping centers, making them more visible and accessible to motorists and allowing for the creation of larger regional complexes. These develop-

ments corresponded with the formation of the International Council of Shopping Centers (ICSC) in 1957, a trade association that helped to address critical design issues such as how much space to allot for parking. With the help of a traffic engineer in the early 1960s, the ICSC determined a standard design formula of 3.5 spaces per 1,000 square feet of retail space. Through the ICSC, developers and tenants found a forum to discuss professional matters in a way that allowed for the continued growth of shopping centers and later evolution to meet the needs of the emerging BABY BOOM market. By 1970, the number of shopping centers in the United States reached 11,000, a figure that attested to their conspicuous presence in the postwar culture and landscape.

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—Hillary S. Kativa

## sit-ins

Energizing the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT in the early 1960s, sit-in demonstrations proved to be a widely popular form of nonviolent protest, and they played a major role in the formation of the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC).

While sit-ins protesting segregation occurred soon after the Supreme Court's *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* decision in 1954—most notably in Oklahoma City starting in 1958—the deliberately planned protests spearheaded by four students at the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro (A&T) were the first to receive national attention. On Monday, February 1, 1960, four black A&T students sat down at a whites-only lunch counter in the local Woolworth department store. When they were refused service, they quietly pointed out that they were welcome at every other counter in the store and stated they would remain seated until they were served. They did so until the store closed for the day; that night, the four recruited 20 more black students to return to the counter the next day. By the end of the week, more than 400 college students, both black and white, took part in the sit-in protests, and a week after the protests began the lunch counter closed for business. By mid-July, after a 50 percent decline in profits for the Greensboro Woolworth, the store consented to serve black patrons at all its counters.

The actions by the A&T students tapped into the growing desire for bold, decisive action by black college students across the country. Less than two weeks after the first sit-in in Greensboro, more than 500 black students



in Nashville, Tennessee, organized sit-in demonstrations at downtown lunch counters and restaurants. Students from the elite schools of Boston, Massachusetts, picketed 12 local Woolworth stores, demanding the company adopt a nationwide policy of nondiscrimination. The CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE), local chapters of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., along with his SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), all publicly supported the sit-ins. While the national office of the NAACP first criticized the protests as counterproductive student pranks, the financial and motivational backing of the SCLC, along with King's endorsement, furnished the movement with the support it needed. "American students have come of age," King said at a rally three weeks after the Greensboro protests, "You [students] now take your honored places in the worldwide struggle for freedom." Often during the sit-ins, black and white demonstrators sang gospel hymns like "We Shall Overcome," a song that quickly became synonymous with the Civil Rights movement.

Nonviolence was the central principle of the sit-ins, and to that end the students in Nashville created a general code of conduct for the demonstrations. Protesters were to be courteous and friendly at all times, not block any entrances or walkways, not hold conversations with people not at the counters, not laugh out, and not strike back if verbally or physically provoked. Nonviolence helped keep the situation from escalating out of control; four days into the Nashville protests, white hecklers burned lighted cigarettes into the backs of female protesters, and several student participants were thrown from their seats and assaulted.

While the arrests of people who attacked demonstrators were rare, police routinely arrested protesters for trespassing and disturbing the peace. In Tennessee and South Carolina, however, protesters refused to post bail and chose instead to serve the 30-day jail sentence, a practice soon dubbed "jail, no bail." Protesters who refused to post bail overwhelmed local prisons; by April 1960, the number reached over 2,000. Even civil rights leaders took part in the routine. Martin Luther King, Jr., in October 1960, participated in a sit-in protest in Atlanta, Georgia, that resulted in his arrest and incarceration, a jail sentence terminated only after the intervention of presidential candidate JOHN F. KENNEDY.

The sit-ins popularized the concept of CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE—inviting arrest and jail time through nonviolent protest. Their most important legacy, however, was the creation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, better known as SNCC. In April 1960, the SCLC, recognizing the growing power of youth protests, sponsored a conference of students in Raleigh, North Carolina. More than 200 delegates from 50 colleges and high schools participated in the conference, many of whom, including their

future leader JOHN LEWIS, previously participated in sit-in protests. Inspired by the success of nonviolent demonstrations, the group met again in Atlanta and formed SNCC, which went on to play a vital role in the FREEDOM RIDES to register black voters in the South.

By late 1961, more than 70,000 people had participated in sit-in protests, and they had succeeded in ending segregationist practices in 140 cities. The Supreme Court, in *Garner et al. v. Louisiana* (1961) and *Peterson v. City of Greenville* (1963), found the protests to be lawful, overturning the convictions of protesters arrested for disturbing the peace and trespassing, respectively. There were sit-ins in every southern and border state as well as in Illinois, Nevada, Ohio, and California. This method of nonviolent protest helped to engender other movements during the 1960s, including the FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT and demonstrations against the VIETNAM WAR.

In 1993, the lunch counter from the Greensboro Woolworth's, a landmark of the Civil Rights movement, was donated and put on display at the Smithsonian Institution. That same year, Guilford County Commissioner Melvin Alston and Greensboro City Councilman Earl Jones cofounded Sit-In Movement Inc. to raise funds for the purchase of the Woolworth's building. Alston and Jones planned to renovate and convert the building into a civil rights museum celebrating the historic events of February 1960. In 2002, the International Civil Rights Center and Museum opened, featuring art and artifacts relating to the American Civil Rights movement, as well as exhibits depicting the impact of nonviolent protest on the struggle for democracy worldwide.

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—Adam B. Vary

### Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)

Organized in 1954, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization provided military defense and economic cooperation between the United States and nations in Southeast ASIA and the Pacific.

Patterned after the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO), member countries of SEATO—the United States, Australia, France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand—proclaimed that an attack within the treaty area was to be construed as aggression against all, and they pledged to come to one another's aid. In addition to cooperation with each other, SEATO members pledged support to protect Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam.

Headquartered in Bangkok, Thailand, SEATO was led by a ministerial council consisting of member countries' foreign ministers or their nominated deputies. Despite a shared goal of promoting ANTICOMMUNISM, the organization's leaders often disagreed on SEATO's specific goals and how best to implement them. Some members, such as the United States, believed that SEATO served best as a tool against COMMUNISM. Others complained that SEATO frequently neglected economic issues of concern in favor of military matters alone.

SEATO comprised an important institutional linchpin of U.S. foreign policy in Asia. American involvement in Southeast Asia promoted several goals, including establishment of a containment policy, prevention of the spread of communism; protection of strategic sources of raw materials; development of secure military bases; expansion of American influence; and reduction of European economic involvement in the region. After communists defeated the American-backed government of Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) in China, President HARRY S. TRUMAN faced pressure from government officials and the American public to avoid the "loss" of remaining Asian countries to communist forces. The United States supported the signing of a defense treaty in an effort to stabilize the area following a disappointing failure in the KOREAN WAR. President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER and Secretary of State JOHN FOSTER DULLES believed SEATO would serve to counterbalance the influence of communist China and the growing presence of Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam. SEATO offered a way for the United States to expand its sphere of influence and gain desperately needed allies in the region. The United States believed regional military treaties would form a united front against encroaching communist borders. Eisenhower also faced internal pressure from members of the REPUBLICAN PARTY, who saw Asia, not Europe, as America's best potential economic market and political ally.

American involvement in Southeast Asia stemmed as well from the desire to help European allies and to protect their economic interests. Both France and Great Britain possessed colonies in the region, which formed integral parts of their economy since the 19th century. In 1954, France lost its military struggle with the Vietnamese nationalist forces under the control of the communist Ho Chi Minh, finally relinquishing colonial rule. The fighting officially ended with the 1954 Geneva Convention, which divided Vietnam along the 17th parallel into northern and southern territories. France joined SEATO not just to fight the communist threat but also to protect its economic interests in Vietnam. French inclusion in SEATO created local mistrust of the organization's intentions. Newly independent countries such as Vietnam saw SEATO as an institution created to perpetuate continued colonial control.

Other problems threatened the effectiveness of SEATO. As U.S. involvement in the VIETNAM WAR intensified, internal divisions within SEATO became increasingly clear. Although the United States, New Zealand, Australia, Thailand, and the Philippines sent troops to Vietnam, other SEATO countries refused to send military support. Most SEATO members, with the exception of Pakistan and France, approved of American involvement in what some considered a civil war. In addition, a lack of participation by important countries in the region such as Japan, India, and Indonesia undermined the impact of SEATO. By 1975, France and Pakistan withdrew from the organization and communists declared victory in Vietnam. American domestic opinion had turned sharply against the war and further involvement in the region became a contentious political issue. Because of the lack of international and domestic support and loss of its primary mission, SEATO disbanded on June 30, 1977.

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—Lyra Totten-Naylor

### **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)**

Established by MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., in 1957, the SCLC was committed to nonviolent action to achieve social and political justice for all African Americans.

The SCLC grew out of the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, during 1955 and 1956. King wanted a permanent organization to carry on the successful fight in other areas. The SCLC inspired many black leaders to believe that nonviolent protests, such as the boycott, might succeed in battles against SEGREGATION. Its approach was therefore different from that of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), which relied almost entirely on legal actions. The SCLC wanted to end segregation more quickly than seemed possible through the NAACP's methods.

While King headed the new organization, other important civil rights leaders were involved. Ralph Abernathy was an ordained Baptist minister from Alabama who was actively involved in the Civil Rights movement, and he succeeded King after his assassination as the president of the SCLC. Jesse Jackson was another civil rights activist who devoted his time to the Civil Rights movement.

The SCLC was primarily located in the South. It conducted leadership training programs, citizen education projects, and voter registration drives. In promoting desegregation, the organization continually promoted nonviolent protests. The SCLC was most noted for its many marches. The first was in Albany, Georgia, in 1961,



Civil rights leaders (left to right): Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Attorney General Robert Kennedy; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP; and Vice President Lyndon Johnson, after a special White House conference on civil rights, 1963 (*Library of Congress*)

in which activists protested the segregated public facilities in the city. This confrontation failed when the community arrested the protesters, who failed to bring about the desired change.

In early 1963, however, the protests worked in Birmingham, Alabama. While in Alabama, the SCLC encouraged children and teenagers to join in the confrontations. In response, Eugene “Bull” Connor, the local police commissioner, released dogs and used high-pressure water hoses on the protesters. TELEVISION brought these scenes of nonviolent protesters being abused into homes around the country, horrifying viewers, and helping the Civil Rights movement to gain momentum. The protesters eventually negotiated with local Birmingham officials and won their battle when the city desegregated restrooms, drinking fountains, lunch counters, and fitting rooms throughout the metropolitan area.

The biggest march that the SCLC organized came on August 28, 1963, with the MARCH ON WASHINGTON led

by King and others. More than 200,000 people gathered that day to show support for the Civil Rights movement, and to press for passage of a bill mandating the integration of public accommodations that was bottled up in Congress. At this march, King gave his famous “I Have a Dream” speech, which outlined his goals for the Civil Rights movement.

Another well-known demonstration led by the SCLC occurred in March 1965, with a march planned from Selma, Alabama, to the capital of Montgomery to demand black voting rights. Just outside of Selma, the protesters were met by police and counterdemonstrators telling them to go home. When the marchers refused, the police started to beat and tear gas the demonstrators. Again, this was televised, and the event came to be known as Bloody Sunday. The upheaval prompted President LYNDON B. JOHNSON to react. In a speech televised nationwide, he spoke against the violence that the nation saw, and urged the protestors to continue their march. The SCLC also



successfully petitioned federal district judges for an order barring police interference with their march. The marchers arrived in Montgomery five days later, to hear once again King's powerful words against segregation and restrictions on voting rights. This march influenced Johnson to sign the VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965, banning the use of literacy tests and other voting restrictions against blacks, and mandating that federal registrars register voters who had previously been turned away.

In 1968, the SCLC turned its attention to the issue of poverty. King developed the Poor People's Campaign with the help of the SCLC. He and others spoke out against the economic discrimination faced by African Americans. The SCLC supported workers who had gone on strike in order to receive equal pay. The organization also pressured the Senate to approve a bill funding low-income housing.

In 1969, after King's assassination the year before, the SCLC began to encounter trouble raising money. At the same time, the organization faced internal differences about goals. Yet the organization survived, and it continues the struggle for racial equality.

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—Megan D. Wessel

## Southern Manifesto

The Southern Manifesto was a document signed by the leaders of the southern states rejecting the Supreme Court ruling that all school SEGREGATION under the “separate but equal” doctrine was unconstitutional.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court handed down a unanimous decision in the *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* case. The Court ruled that it was unconstitutional for schools to be segregated and ruled that the “separate but equal” doctrine laid down in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling of 1896 was unconstitutional. Southern whites were furious at the decision and called May 17 “Black Monday.” Many of the southern senators and representatives in Congress were outraged by this decision as well, and they were determined to resist it.

On May 12, 1956, 101 members of Congress, all from southern states, affirmed their opposition to the *Brown* decision in what they called the “Southern Manifesto.” Signers of the manifesto declared that it was their intention to use “all lawful means to maintain segregation.” Many state and local government officials in the South also supported the document. Those signing the manifesto agreed

not to desegregate unless forced to by law. These southerners felt that the Supreme Court ruling constituted an attack on states' rights. They felt, too, that the Supreme Court was attempting to use its power to legislate, not interpret the law.

The support that the manifesto gained in the South gave it some respectability in the rest of the country. Many southerners rallied around the manifesto and formed such groups as the National Association for the Advancement of White People and WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCILS. There was a resurgence in the popularity of the KU KLUX KLAN, an organization that terrorized blacks and sought to prevent them from exercising their court-ordered rights. Many of these new groups used scare tactics in order to keep the supporters of desegregation quiet. Throughout the South there was a dramatic increase in bombings, lynchings, and murders.

By 1957, the manifesto had reached the national spotlight when ORVAL FAUBUS, the governor of Arkansas, refused to comply with a court ruling to desegregate Central High School in Little Rock. The governor, along with the Arkansas National Guard and several white protesters who had gathered at the scene, blocked the entrance of the school. President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER was forced to dispatch federal troops to Little Rock so that nine black students could enter the school for classes.

Throughout the South, the Southern Manifesto encouraged efforts to stop or slow desegregation. In some communities, the public schools were shut down completely. In other places, leaders instituted student placement laws, in which local officials used nonracial criteria to delegate which schools certain students should attend. The federal courts constantly struck down these plans to keep segregation alive in the South.

The manifesto echoed once more in 1963, when Alabama governor GEORGE C. WALLACE promised in his inaugural speech, “segregation now, segregation tomorrow, and segregation forever.” That same year, Wallace delivered on his promise when he blocked the entrance of the University of Alabama to stop two African American students who were trying to register. President JOHN F. KENNEDY subsequently sent in the Alabama National Guard to allow the two black students access to the school.

The Southern Manifesto encouraged violence and social discord in direct contempt of the *Brown* ruling. The chaos eventually gained the attention of government leaders in Washington, D.C. Finally, Republicans and progressive Democrats joined together and passed the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 and the VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965. These measures, along with strict federal enforcement of the laws, quickly put an end to the demands of the Southern Manifesto and the resistance against desegregation by the South.



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—Matthew Escovar

### Soviet Union (and foreign policy)

The Soviet Union, as the world's preeminent communist power, constituted the primary focus of American foreign policy during the COLD WAR that unfolded in the decades after World War II.

As the war ended, the Soviet Union, an American ally during the conflict, was one of the two remaining world superpowers. The alliance soon fragmented. Americans had long been suspicious of the Soviets, refusing to extend formal diplomatic recognition after the Bolshevik Revolution. Recognition came in the 1930s, but suspicions remained. During the wartime alliance, the Soviet Union played down rhetoric predicting the inevitable triumph of COMMUNISM over capitalism, but, after the war, the rhetoric resumed. The United States and the Soviet Union also had different priorities. The Soviets needed to rebuild their war-ravaged homeland. The United States wanted to rebuild BUSINESS that had already prospered during the war.

During the struggle, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin participated in the Teheran and Yalta Conferences, as well as the Potsdam Conference after Germany's surrender, to help determine the postwar world map. At Potsdam, Stalin infuriated his Western counterparts by asking for more than the West thought he deserved. Despite their differences, they reached agreements on boundary and occupation lines. Within a few years, however, the Soviets began to challenge what were already flexible agreements and moved further to consolidate their power in Eastern EUROPE. They also chose not to participate in the American-led MARSHALL PLAN to provide economic aid in reviving Europe.

The Soviet Union quickly concentrated its power in Eastern Europe, adding many countries to its sphere of influence and eventually forming the Warsaw Pact in 1955 to counteract the Western-inspired NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO). Within the Soviet sphere, East Germany constituted a focal point of its concerns. In 1953, the Soviets crushed a worker rebellion in Berlin, a city that would remain a potential flashpoint of American and Soviet foreign policy. In August 1961, the Berlin Wall was constructed, which divided the city, and the West and the Soviets continued to disagree over the city's fate.

East Germany was not the only satellite to cause concern for the Soviets. In 1956, just months after Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalin and claimed that he had governed through his "cult of personality" rather than on behalf of communist ideology, Poland and, especially, Hungary posed difficulties. In the latter, demonstrations calling for

independence eventually led to many deaths and the formation of a new Soviet puppet government. Twelve years later, Czechoslovakia also faced Soviet military might. After the Czechs opened the door to reform and mentioned the possibility of closer ties with the West, the Soviets began to pressure the local Communist Party to halt its activities. The Soviets were unsuccessful and finally were forced to once again engage military tactics to suppress the movement.

There was one glaring exception to Soviet rule in Eastern Europe. Under the leadership of Marshal Tito (Josip Broz), a communist, Yugoslavia steadfastly maintained its autonomy. It did not join either the military pact or COMECON, the economic counterpart to the military Warsaw Pact.

Tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union increased over the fate of the People's Republic of China. In 1949, Mao Zedong's Communists defeated Jiang Jieshi's Nationalist forces, and the American-supported Jiang fled to nearby Taiwan. Relations were strained further with the KOREAN WAR. Both China and the Soviets supported North Korean forces while the United States supported South Korea. Over the next decade, the Soviet Union strongly aided China and North Korea, but by 1960 relations began to deteriorate. By the end of the 1960s, tensions were high.

Another issue of disagreement for the Americans and Soviets was the VIETNAM WAR. Throughout the conflict, the Soviets strongly supported the North Vietnamese while the United States aided the South. The relationship between the Soviet Union and North Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh dated back to before the Korean War, when they signed a cooperation agreement.

The Soviet Union did not ignore AFRICA during this time. Egypt was a close ally. The Soviet Union supported Egypt in 1956 during the SUEZ CRISIS, when the Suez Canal was nationalized. The Soviets contributed to the construction of the Aswan High Dam and assisted Egypt in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War.

Throughout the cold war, the specter of nuclear annihilation was never very far from many people's minds, especially after the Soviets obtained their own nuclear device in 1949. These fears came to a head in the 1962 CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS. Just three years after Fidel Castro became Cuba's leader, Khrushchev placed offensive missiles on the island 90 miles from Florida. American intelligence discovered the missiles, and President JOHN F. KENNEDY demanded their immediate withdrawal. Ultimately, Khrushchev yielded to Kennedy's demands and removed the missiles, but not before the two nations moved to the brink of nuclear war. By the end of the next year, the Soviets and Americans signed the LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY OF 1963, prohibiting all aboveground tests and agreeing to prevent the use of arms in space.

Khrushchev was removed from power in 1964 and was replaced by Leonid Brezhnev. As the 1970s approached, tensions became somewhat more relaxed between the two cold war adversaries.

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—D. Byron Painter

### space exploration

Inspired by military as well as scientific motives, exploration of the universe beyond Earth’s atmosphere moved from the realm of science fiction into reality during the two decades immediately following World War II.

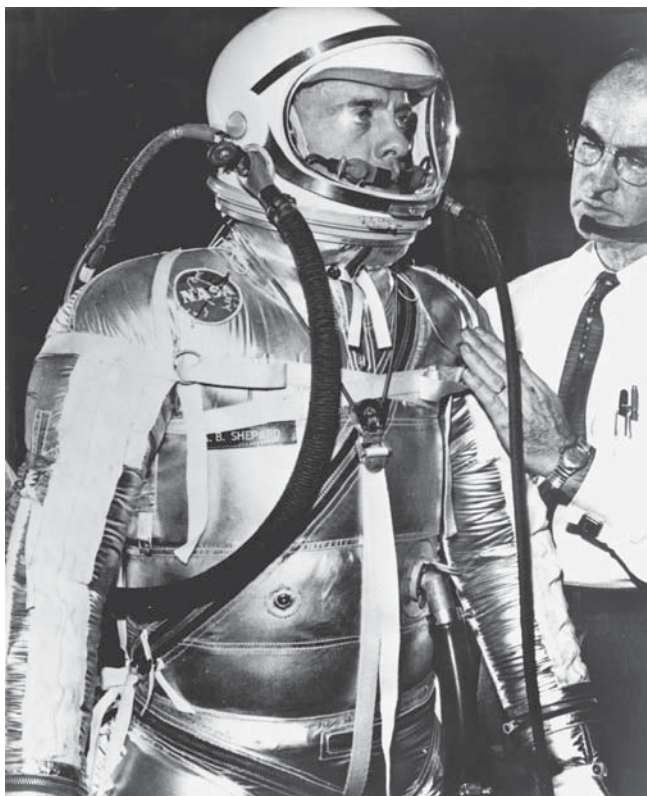
Space exploration traditionally relied on human powers of observation from Earth. As telescope TECHNOLOGY advanced with the development of wider reflective mirrors, it allowed for the collection of more light from space and

glimpses into regions of the sky never probed before. In 1948, the Hale Telescope was completed at the Palomar Observatory near San Diego, California. Equipped with a 200-inch mirror weighing 14.5 tons, the telescope was the largest instrument of its kind and allowed unprecedented visual acuity in the study of comets, asteroids, and distant galaxies. It also helped to confirm the existence of quasars, luminous high-energy objects billions of light-years from Earth, which were first classified in the 1950s using radio astronomy, a new type of space study.

Although radio observations of space began in the 1930s, the advent of large antennas after 1945 allowed dramatic advances in radio astronomy. In November 1963, the largest and most sensitive radio telescope in existence was completed at the Arecibo Observatory in Puerto Rico. It included a fixed spherical reflective “dish” 1,000 feet in diameter nestled in a natural sinkhole and was capable of studying phenomena as close as Earth’s upper atmosphere or searching the distant cosmos for signs of extraterrestrial life. Among its first accomplishments was the discovery of the true rotation rate of the planet Mercury around the Sun (once every 59 days) in 1965. England’s 250-foot steerable radio telescope, built at Jodrell Bank Observatory in 1957, allowed Sir Bernard Lovell, a pioneer in radio astronomy, to advance the knowledge of meteors, nebulae, and other extraterrestrial sources of radio waves.

Rapid scientific developments in rocketry during World War II made it possible to propel manmade satellites into space by the late 1950s. On October 4, 1957, the SOVIET UNION launched *Sputnik 1*, the first spacecraft to reach Earth orbit. The United States, eager to dispute Soviet scientific and potential military dominance of space, countered with *Explorer 1* on January 31, 1958, and established the NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) that same year. Numerous unmanned flights followed, including: Soviet *Luna 1* (1959), the first spacecraft to escape Earth orbit and fly near the Moon; American *Mariner 2* (1962), the first to travel to another planet (Venus); and *Luna 9* (1966), the first spacecraft to land on the Moon and send back photographs.

These efforts intensified the “space race” between the Soviet Union and the United States and initiated manned flight, the most dramatic development in space exploration. On April 12, 1961, Soviet cosmonaut Yuri A. Gagarin became the first human to travel in space when his *Vostok 1* space capsule made a single orbit around the earth. On May 5, the United States successfully launched astronaut Alan B. Shepard, Jr., although his suborbital flight in *Freedom 7* took him only 302 miles and lasted only 15 minutes. John Glenn was the first American to orbit the earth when his *Friendship 7* spacecraft made three revolutions on February 20, 1962.



Astronaut Alan B. Shepard being fitted for a space suit, 1961  
(Library of Congress)

Less than three weeks after Shepard's success, President JOHN F. KENNEDY called for the United States to land a man on the Moon by the end of the 1960s, prompting both the United States and the Soviet Union to accelerate their manned space programs. Subsequent spacecraft designs and flight projects—Gemini and Apollo in the United States and Voskhod in the Soviet Union—experimented with lunar exploration. Several flights in the mid-1960s saw crew size increase from one to three, the first woman in space (Soviet cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova on June 16, 1963), the first walk in space by Soviet cosmonaut Aleksei Leonov on March 18, 1965, and longer flights requiring greater maneuverability and longer distances from Earth. On December 24, 1968, *Apollo 8* became the first manned spacecraft to escape Earth's gravitational pull and orbit the Moon. This prepared the way for the successful flight of *Apollo 11*, which landed on the lunar surface on July 20, 1969.

Although manned space exploration was marked by extraordinary accomplishments, it was also set back by tragedy. On January 27, 1967, three U.S. astronauts—Virgil Grissom, Edward White, and Roger Chaffee—were killed when their Apollo spacecraft was consumed by fire during a test one month before its scheduled launch.

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—Peter Robinson

**Spock, Benjamin** (1903–1998) *child-care expert, activist*

Benjamin Spock helped a generation of Americans to rethink their methods of raising children.

Benjamin Spock was born on May 2, 1903, in New Haven, Connecticut. He was the oldest child of a railroad lawyer and a homemaker. Although not deeply religious, the Spocks were strict with their children. After attending Andover Academy for two years, Spock went on to Yale University to study English literature. He joined the crew team and won a gold medal rowing in the 1924 Paris Olympics.

Spock received his medical degree from Columbia University in 1929. He completed an internship at Presbyterian Hospital and a one-year pediatric residency at New York Nursery and Child's Hospital. Believing that psychological training was necessary in order to give young mothers advice on child rearing, Spock completed a psychiatric residency at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute.

Spock opened a private pediatric practice, where questions arose that seemed to contradict the standard doctrine

of child rearing that emphasized strict discipline and emotional detachment. A publisher approached him to write a book on child care in 1938, but Spock refused on the grounds that he did not know enough about pediatrics. He taught at the Cornell University Medical College from 1933 to 1947, and he served as a navy psychiatrist from 1944 to 1946. Spock also held teaching positions at the Mayo Clinic, the University of Pittsburgh, and Case Western Reserve University throughout his career.

In 1943, Spock began work on the book that made him the 20th century's most renowned pediatrician. *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* was published in 1946, at the beginning of the post-World War II BABY BOOM. Dr. Spock urged parents to trust their instincts and cast off theories of child rearing that demanded feeding schedules, discouraged affection between parents and children, and called for strict discipline. Postwar parents followed Spock's advice. As more families moved to the suburbs and more middle-class women left jobs and colleges to stay home with their children, they embraced Spock's emphasis on family. By the time of his death in 1998, *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* had sold more than 50 million copies and was translated into more than 40 languages.

Spock's other books on parenting elaborated on topics presented in *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* and underscored his belief in parenting as natural and instinctive. His works include *A Baby's First Year* (1954), *Feeding Your Baby and Child* (1955), *Decent and Indecent* (1970), and *Raising Children in a Difficult Time* (1974). His final book, *A Better World for Our Children* (1994) called for a restoration of morality and increased social activism in order to deal with the problems of violence, divorce, and mass-consumerism.

Spock's approach to child rearing was criticized in the 1960s and 1970s. Conservatives accused him of creating a generation of self-centered adults, and they blamed him for contributing to the social upheaval of the 1960s. Spock's emphasis on permissiveness, they argued, led many young people to question the actions of their government in the VIETNAM WAR. Feminists accused Spock of preaching that full-time motherhood was essential to a child's normal development. He later revised *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* to include discussions on the roles of fathers, day-care centers, and sitters in raising secure and confident children. Later editions of the book also included alternating pronouns, so that he used "he" and "she" instead of just "he" alone.

Spock became a political activist after his retirement from Case Western Reserve University in 1967. Believing it was a pediatrician's duty to inform parents of the harmful effects of radiation, he joined SANE (National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy). He spoke out against the



Vietnam War at colleges and universities around the country. In 1968, Spock was sentenced to two years in prison and a \$5,000 fine for encouraging students to evade the draft. The sentence was later overturned, but Spock spent several nights in jail for his part in political disturbances. The national People's Party, a left-wing coalition party dedicated to peace, cooperation, and feminism, nominated Spock to be its candidate for president of the United States in 1972. Spock continued to be active in the struggle against nuclear weapons until his death in 1998.

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—Angela K. O'Neal

## sports

Sports in the post–World War II period underwent changes that reflected Americans' increased leisure time and eagerness to find new means of recreation and entertainment.

The world of sports experienced tremendous transformations during the decades immediately following World War II. These changes encompassed almost every aspect of the games, including who was allowed to play, where the teams played, and how audiences experienced the games. These changes, although often highly controversial, fueled the growth and prosperity of sports in America, allowing them to become even more powerful and pervasive as cultural forces.

A variety of sports vied for Americans' attention in the postwar years. While many people participated in organized sports, particularly in high school and college, they also found themselves engaged vicariously as spectators of professional sports that became increasingly popular. In 1945, baseball was the undisputed king of sports, with no real challenger. Although boxing could attract large crowds and tremendous levels of interest for isolated events, especially for charismatic fighters such as MUHAMMAD ALI, no sport could compete with baseball over an entire season. Football, basketball, and hockey lagged far behind in terms of popularity, and they were generally seen as less significant, and sometimes barely respectable, endeavors. During the postwar period, however, football came to challenge baseball's supremacy in the public eye, and the other sports took purposeful strides as well.

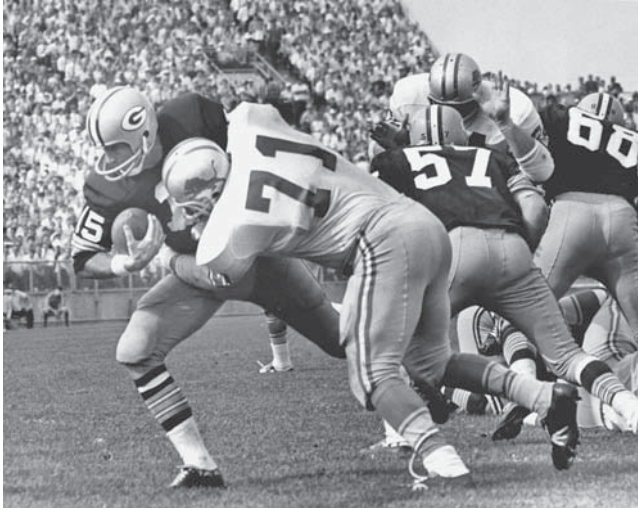
In the 1940s, most major professional sports teams were concentrated in the Northeast, with a few teams in the Midwest. Although the National Football League

(NFL) and the short-lived All-America Football Conference fielded teams in California, not until 1958, when Walter O'Malley moved the Brooklyn Dodgers to Los Angeles, did baseball move west. During the 1950s and 1960s, as the NFL together with its rival from 1960 through 1969, the American Football League, competed for markets, they established teams in Denver, Kansas City, Oakland, Dallas, Houston, and New Orleans, among other cities. Baseball did not migrate as vigorously, but by 1968, there were teams in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Atlanta, and Kansas City, and several other teams had migrated within the East and Midwest.

More revolutionary than the expansion and migration of professional franchises were the shifts in the access Americans had to the teams and their games. Since the 1920s, Americans had been able to listen to sports on the radio, with the broadcasts creating strong allegiances across broad listening areas. The explosive popularity of TELEVISION in the 1950s transformed the way Americans enjoyed sports. With television, Americans could watch games from the comfort of their own homes, with a markedly better view of the action than stadium seats provided. In 1958, around 800 professional baseball games were broadcast on television, and by the 1960s, professional football was gaining prominence, largely through its appeal to television audiences. College football, also televised, became equally popular at this time. The expanded interest in and access to top-level professional teams translated into diminished crowds for the smaller, minor leagues.

An influx of new teams combined with existing ones created a professional sports landscape that more closely mirrored the demographics of the United States, as players on the field slowly began to resemble the city populations they represented. JACKIE ROBINSON earned his significant place in American history in the late 1940s as a trailblazer when BRANCH RICKEY signed him to play baseball and integrate the Brooklyn Dodgers and its all-white organization. Prior to Robinson's signing, he and other African-American professional baseball players could play only in the Negro leagues on teams that supplemented their normal league schedules with barnstorming tours across the United States, Canada, and Latin America. After Robinson began his tremendously successful Dodger career in 1947, there was no denying the fact that African-American ballplayers deserved opportunities to play in the big leagues. After a 13-year span in which African-American ballplayers won nine National League Most Valuable Player Awards and the same number of Rookie of the Year Awards few could argue that the sport benefited from black athletes. Not incidentally, the country was better off as well, as these players provided inspiration to numerous Americans who joined the Civil Rights





Green Bay Packers playing Detroit Lions in September 1967  
(NFL)

movement in the 1950s and 1960s. The Negro leagues, however, suffered and eventually failed as their stars and crowds flocked to the major leagues. Professional football, basketball, and tennis also integrated at roughly the same time but with much less fanfare.

By the end of the 1960s, professional baseball and professional football were in a close competition for the hearts, eyes, and wallets of the American viewing public. This shared preeminence did not occur because of a lack of alternatives. On the contrary, the National Hockey League's six teams, located in northern U.S. cities and several in Canada, secured a small television contract and intensely loyal followings by the end of the 1950s. The National Basketball Association (NBA), formed in the late 1940s with the merger of two rival leagues, did not challenge professional football and baseball for sporting supremacy in part because its owners proved too competitive. Unable to cooperate with each other, they did benefit from steady growth. During the 1950s, basketball teams in Pittsburgh, Toronto, St. Louis, and Sheboygan all failed to survive. Although some great teams and rivalries developed during the 1950s and 1960s, the NBA was not nearly as prominent as it later became. Throughout these years, professional tennis and golf provided sporting alternatives for men, and, after the elimination of the All-American Girls' Baseball League in 1954, the only real professional options for athletic women.

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—Brad Austin

### States' Rights Party

A group that split from the DEMOCRATIC PARTY in 1948, the States' Rights Party represented a group of dissident southern Democrats who opposed President HARRY S. TRUMAN and the Democratic Party's civil rights policy, particularly its support of desegregation.

In the early 1940s, many southern Democrats argued that the national Democratic Party was too liberal in its support of African Americans and organized labor. These southern conservatives withheld their support from President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1944 presidential election until he dropped liberal vice president Henry Wallace from the ticket. When Truman became president in 1945, however, he alienated these same southern conservatives by using the FAIR DEAL and his Committee on Civil Rights to gain support among liberals, labor, and blacks. Although he was aware of the South's increasing alienation, Truman reasoned that southern Democrats would always remain loyal to the Democratic Party rather than support the REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Southern Democrats, angry over Truman's apparent disregard for the South, met at a conference of States' Rights Democrats in Jackson, Mississippi, just two months before the 1948 national Democratic Party convention. They urged the national party to denounce civil rights programs and support states' rights, but the conference was unsuccessful in changing the national party's platform. At the July national Democratic Party convention, the Truman administration tried to placate the South by simply restating its vague and weak platform on civil rights from the 1944 presidential election. Minneapolis mayor HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, however, led the Democratic liberal forces in insisting on a strong plank supporting specific civil rights measures. Following the adoption of this platform, the entire Mississippi delegation and half of the Alabama delegation walked out of the convention in protest.

On July 17, 1948, three days after the Democratic convention, Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi invited anti-civil rights Democrats to Birmingham, Alabama. The States' Rights Democrats, or the Dixiecrat Party as they were popularly known, officially established their own political party when 6,000 southern delegates met to nominate their own candidates for the 1948 presidential election. The Dixiecrats nominated Governor J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina as their presidential candidate and Fielding Wright as the vice presidential candidate.

Following the nominations, the Dixiecrats crafted a platform that clearly articulated the objectives of the States' Rights Party. The Dixiecrats argued that the policies of the executive branch of the government and its control of the Supreme Court led to a totalitarian state. Only by a strict adherence to the U.S. Constitution and its system of checks and balances could the rights of the states

and individuals be upheld. The Dixiecrats, therefore, supported the supremacy of the Constitution and opposed the centralism and bureaucratization of the government. They also strongly advocated all forms of SEGREGATION and opposed any federal civil rights program, including that advocated by the Democratic Party. The Dixiecrats argued that the enforcement of a civil rights program destroyed the social, economic, and political life of the South. Furthermore, they argued that the adoption of a civil rights program should be left to the discretion of the individual states, not the federal government.

Although the Dixiecrats claimed to work for southern interests, neither the majority of southern Democrats nor the rest of the country supported the States' Rights Party. The Dixiecrats hoped to win enough votes to throw the election into the House of Representatives in order to bargain over civil rights. Many southern Democrats, however, remained loyal to Truman, fearful that a Democratic split would lead to a Republican victory and the loss of federal projects and patronage. In the 1948 presidential election, the party netted only 1,169,134 votes, or 2.4 percent of the popular vote. Its 39 electoral votes came from Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

Immediately following the election, the States' Rights Party sharply declined as most members returned to the Democratic Party. Thurmond became a member of the Republican Party while serving in the U.S. Senate. Although the party ran no candidates in the 1952 election, it did resurface to nominate Virginian T. Coleman Andrews for president and Californian Thomas H. Werdell for vice president in the 1956 election. This time, the party received only 107,929 popular votes and no electoral votes. The party disintegrated shortly after the election.

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—Donna J. Siebenthaler

## steel industry

The postwar years found the steel industry in a state of decline from its previous place of dominance in the world market.

For most of the 20th century, the American steel industry comprised a relatively small number of firms, the largest of which was the United States Steel Corporation, which carried the nickname "Big Steel." The other steel companies, including Bethlehem Steel, Republic Steel, Inland Steel, Jones & Laughlin, and Armco, were known collectively as "Little Steel." These firms historically dominated the steel market both nationally and internationally, but between 1945 and 1969 the industry fell from

a position of undisputed supremacy to one of weakness. This decline resulted from a complex mix of forces that allowed foreign producers to supplant American steel to such an extent that many domestic manufacturers left the industry.

One important reason for the decline of the steel industry was its history of labor disputes in the postwar period. The steel industry was highly unionized after World War II, and over 500,000 of these workers belonged to the powerful United Steel Workers of America (USWA) union. Between 1946 and 1959, the USWA initiated five major strikes against the industry, the scale and scope of which were unprecedented in American labor history. The 1946 strike against the industry represented the largest single labor walkout ever, while the 1951 disruption constituted such a threat to the national economy that President HARRY S. TRUMAN tried to seize the steel industry, a move the Supreme Court later ruled unconstitutional. Similarly, the 116-day strike in 1959 was the longest industrial labor action at that time, and it was particularly damaging to the industry since it helped foreign steel producers gain greater access to American markets.

A second critical factor in the decline of American steel firms was the steady erosion of the traditional price advantage they held over foreign producers. Because the USWA demanded and often received wage and benefit increases during contract negotiations, management responded by consistently raising the price of steel. Between 1945 and 1959, the price of basic steel rose on average 11 percent per year, which was over three times the rate of increase for consumer prices. While higher prices generated large profits, they also allowed foreign steel companies to become more competitive, and, by 1965, imports accounted for over 10 percent of all steel consumed in America. By comparison, 1949 imports were just 0.5 percent of domestic steel consumption. The steady rise in steel prices also significantly reduced American exports over time.

A third cause of the decline involved shortsighted management decisions. Because American steel firms commanded nearly two-thirds of the world's production capacity in 1945, many managers became complacent and often inattentive to developments outside their industry. This bureaucratic atmosphere also forestalled worker initiatives and contributed to wasteful and low-quality production methods. Similarly, while the industry did spend billions on new plant and equipment, these capital investments were usually made as incremental improvements to established mills and not allocated to the construction of new facilities that incorporated the latest steel production technologies. In contrast, foreign firms, many of whose plants were destroyed during World War II, built new and more efficient facilities that gave them another competitive advantage over their American counterparts.

The fourth element of the decline was the speed with which foreign steel producers recovered from the war, due in part to the American government's help in financing the rebuilding of these companies through economic assistance tied to its COLD WAR policies. In particular, Japan and Germany were so successful in reestablishing their steel industries that by 1960 they accounted for 16 percent of world output, up from just 3 percent in 1945. With foreign countries producing more steel, the share of world steel production by American firms likewise fell from 64 percent to 26 percent between 1945 and 1960. This in turn reduced plant utilization, which further added to domestic production costs.

While American steel managers were aware of the changes in world steel markets, a number of factors prevented them from acting decisively to protect their interests. They included an underlying attitude of arrogance and indifference to competitors that was based on American dominance of the world steel market. Similarly, the federal government did not adopt a coherent industrial policy to encourage the growth and modernization of steel after the war, forcing the steel industry to fend for itself. Furthermore, because steel executives strongly supported free trade policies, they refused to seek import restrictions that would have protected their business and possibly stemmed the industry's decline. Eventually, American steel firms petitioned legislators for assistance in dealing with foreign competition, and, in 1969, the federal government enacted the first import restrictions on steel.

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—Dave Mason

**Steinem, Gloria** See VOLUME X.

**Stevenson, Adlai E.** (1900–1965) *governor, diplomat, presidential candidate*

One of the leading political orators and writers of the 20th century, Adlai E. Stevenson was a successful Illinois governor and two-time Democratic candidate for president of the United States.

Born on February 5, 1900, in Los Angeles, California, and raised in Bloomington, Illinois, Stevenson grew up surrounded by famous politicians and intellectuals. His grandfather, Adlai Ewing Stevenson, was Grover Cleveland's vice president, while Stevenson's father played an active role in Illinois politics. Stevenson graduated from Princeton University in 1922 before attending Harvard Law School for two years. Instead of completing his law degree, Stevenson



Adlai Stevenson in front of campaign poster, 1956 (*Library of Congress*)

returned to the Midwest to work as a newspaper reporter and oversee the family-owned *Bloomington Daily Pantograph*. He then worked briefly as a reporter in Cincinnati, and he completed his law studies at Northwestern University in 1926.

Though he began a law career in Chicago, Stevenson was always more interested in performing public service than in winning legal cases. In 1933, he moved to Washington, D.C., to work for the NEW DEAL in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. One year later, Stevenson became the chief attorney in the newly created Federal Alcohol Control Administration. While he left this position in 1935 to return to Chicago and resume his legal career, Stevenson continued to take an active role in local politics as a member, and eventual president, of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

Throughout the late 1930s, Stevenson maintained ties with Washington and developed a reputation as an excellent speaker on international relations. In June 1940, he moved back to Washington, where he took a position as



chair of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, a group that worked to build alliances with European nations fighting the Axis powers following the onset of World War II. His impressive experience with foreign relations made Stevenson a strong candidate for several wartime posts. In 1941, he agreed to act as the principal attorney to Secretary of the Navy William Franklin (Frank) Knox, and then as special assistant to Secretary of State Edward Stettinius. Leading a mission to Italy in late 1943 and early 1944, he also helped determine what role the Foreign Economic Administration would play overseas. Following World War II, Stevenson represented the United States on the preparatory commission created to help establish the United Nations (UN), and he served as a UN delegate in 1946 and 1947.

After completing his second year as a UN delegate, Stevenson again went home to Illinois where he ran a successful campaign for governor in 1948. He was widely viewed as a progressive leader who brought greater efficiency to the state government. During his four-year administration, Stevenson strengthened the state police force and improved the highway systems by initiating a 10-year road building program. He also improved the state EDUCATION systems and welfare programs. Many times Stevenson had to make difficult decisions, such as sending the National Guard to Cicero in 1951 to defend a group of blacks from white rioters or vetoing a popular anticommunist measure.

Though Stevenson preferred to serve a second term as governor, the DEMOCRATIC PARTY had other plans for the popular politician. In 1952, he accepted a draft nomination by the Democratic Party as the party's candidate for president of the United States. Stevenson waged an embattled campaign as Americans blamed President HARRY S. TRUMAN for the KOREAN WAR, continued inflation, and increased government spending. As Democratic heir apparent, Stevenson appeared to be committed to a continuation of Truman's policies. Many people also believed he was too soft on COMMUNISM and too progressive on civil rights. While his campaign became famous for its emphasis on issue-oriented substance rather than on style or image, the immensely popular DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER defeated Stevenson. Stevenson won only nine states and 89 electoral votes.

Despite this defeat, the Democratic Party again nominated Stevenson as its candidate for president in 1956. Throughout the campaign, he argued for a nuclear test ban and negotiations with the Soviet Union. He also campaigned for increased federal spending to eradicate poverty, aid education, and support the elderly. For the second time, however, Stevenson misread the American public and lost to Eisenhower.

Stevenson reluctantly agreed to try for a third party nomination in 1960, but he lost to JOHN F. KENNEDY. Once elected, Kennedy appointed Stevenson ambassador to the

UN, a position in which he continued to serve under President LYNDON B. JOHNSON. As ambassador, he argued for and defended American anticommunist actions such as the invasion of Cuba in 1961 and the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965. Ironically, it was not until Stevenson served as UN ambassador and appeared in nationally televised conferences that the American public appreciated Stevenson's international expertise and intellectual abilities. Although he never served in the top foreign policy posts, Stevenson played a significant role on the American political scene. Just as he contemplated retirement, Stevenson died of a massive heart attack in 1965.

**Further reading:** John B. Martin, *Adlai Stevenson and the World* (New York: Doubleday, 1977).

—Donna J. Siebenthaler

### Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) played a central part in the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s.

SNCC was organized in April 1960 by black students who had taken part in SIT-INS earlier that year in Greensboro, North Carolina. Instrumental in the group's formation was ELLA BAKER, a black woman working with the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) set up by MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., after the Montgomery bus boycott.

Headed by chairman JOHN LEWIS, SNCC's main goal, as explained in a 1960 statement of purpose, was integration, attained through nonviolent protests. The tactic of nonviolence inspired by Judeo-Christian ideals and the teachings of India's Mahatma Mohandas Gandhi was politically shrewd. By inviting southern police brutalities in front of national TELEVISION cameras, organizers of nonviolent protests gave moral superiority to SNCC.

In May 1961, after the initial integration efforts triggered by the 1960 Greensboro sit-in, SNCC cosponsored FREEDOM RIDES to desegregate bus terminals throughout the South. It then attempted to desegregate public facilities in Albany, Georgia, through nonviolent demonstrations. As it continued direct actions and sit-ins, SNCC encouraged disenfranchised southern blacks to register to vote. In the summer and fall of 1963, SNCC organized the Freedom Ballot in Mississippi. Eighty thousand blacks voted in a mock election pitting black NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) member Aaron Henry against white civil rights activist Reverend Edwin King, proving that blacks would vote if they were given the opportunity. The 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer Project saw 800 volunteers help



thousands of blacks register to vote, while the MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY challenged the right of the all-white Democratic delegation to represent Mississippi at the national convention.

In 1965, after Jimmy Lee Jackson was killed by a state trooper in Marion, Alabama, Martin Luther King, Jr., and SNCC organized a protest march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama. When Governor GEORGE C. WALLACE banned the march, 525 people, including SNCC Chairman John Lewis, decided to proceed anyway and walked across the Edmund Pettus Bridge on Sunday, March 7, 1965, where they were immediately dispersed and beaten by Alabama state troopers.

SNCC's struggle on behalf of integration and enfranchisement bore fruit when Congress passed the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964, banning discrimination in public facilities and schools, and the VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965, which forbade state laws aimed at disenfranchising black voters. Despite these successes, SNCC grew increasingly disappointed with the nonviolent strategy. Violence took its toll on even the most patient protesters and, as police brutality moved behind closed doors, the propaganda effect seemed limited. Impatient to see dramatic results, SNCC pursued a more aggressive stance.

The growing frustration was first evident during the August 28, 1963, MARCH ON WASHINGTON, where Lewis delivered a militant speech that contrasted with King's famous "I Have a Dream" address. Lewis declared, "We cannot be patient, we do not want to be free gradually, we want our freedom, and we want it now. We cannot depend on any political party, for both the Democrats and Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence."

On June 7, 1966, JAMES MEREDITH, the first African American to attend the University of Mississippi, was shot as he made the "Walk against Fear," a march from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, SNCC's chairman since May, organized a protest march in which he adopted the slogan "BLACK POWER." The movement, a direct repudiation of SNCC's nonviolent and integrationist ethos, advocated self-defense and black economic and political independence. Carmichael traveled abroad, denouncing the VIETNAM WAR and political and economic repression. H. Rap Brown replaced Carmichael as chairman in May 1967. The creator of the slogan "Burn, baby, burn," Brown joined the BLACK PANTHERS and was imprisoned in 1970 for armed robbery. SNCC meanwhile changed its name in 1969 to Student National Coordinating Committee and became a small, divided organization. It faded away as the Civil Rights movement splintered.

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Harvard University Press, 1995); Emily Stoper, *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee: The Growth of Radicalism in a Civil Rights Organization* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishers, 1989).

—Philippe R. Girard

### Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

One of many student protest organizations established in the early 1960s, SDS for a time became the most influential of these activist groups.

Founded by activist Al Haber in 1960 at the University of Michigan, SDS remained largely unknown until June 1962, when 40 students from major universities assembled in Port Huron, Michigan. There, they rekindled the organization and delineated their beliefs, intentions, and objectives in the PORT HURON STATEMENT. This SDS manifesto, written by University of Michigan student TOM HAYDEN and others assembled at the meeting, spoke to a young generation of Americans who were critical of the jarring contradictions they perceived between the ideals and the realities of American life, and the rampant indifference to these disturbing paradoxes on the part of most Americans. The manifesto, a document proposing wide-ranging social reforms, began with the words, "We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit." It declared that the world the student generation would inherit needed to be changed.

SDS members were troubled by America's pervasive racism and its high level of poverty, both of which exemplified the alarming gap between America's political rhetoric of equality and a reality that belied such proclamations. Moreover, they condemned the COLD WAR ideology that drove the nation's foreign affairs, the growing political exclusiveness that was blocking citizens' access to government, and the increasing domination of bureaucracies in universities, big business, government, the military, and political parties that was rendering the average American powerless.

In its manifesto, SDS called for "truly democratic alternatives to the present." What its members proposed was a resurrection of participatory politics, but one in which the efforts of individuals would prompt crucially needed reforms. Students would serve at the forefront of this attempt to bring about a positive shift in the status quo, or, in the words of SDS's manifesto, to "establish an environment for people to live in with dignity and creativeness." While SDS advanced many of the same reforms previously advocated by liberals, such as an end to violence, poverty, racism, and social injustice, its members sought to differentiate their politics and methods from the "Old Left"

(traditional LIBERALISM together with the socialism and COMMUNISM of past decades). In contrast, SDS referred to its ideology as “NEW LEFT.” It further distinguished itself from left-wing predecessors by placing emphasis on individual rather than bureaucratic efforts, grassroots organizing on college campuses and in cities, and “participatory democracy.”

An early initiative was the Economic Research and Action Project, which sought to create an alliance between workers and students in urban areas. Despite concerted efforts, the project proved unsuccessful.

The first major student protests erupted in the fall of 1964 at the University of California at Berkeley. Angered by the university’s efforts to deny them their traditional venue for political activities on campus, several hundred students staged SIT-INS and occupied administration buildings. Major student organizations, including SDS, took part in the demonstration and formed the FREE SPEECH MOVE-



University of Texas Students for a Democratic Society members protesting the war in Vietnam while other students jeer, 1965 (Library of Congress)

MENT. After a tense standoff, the university relented. What initially began as a protest for students’ rights at Berkeley, however, quickly intensified into general criticisms of universities around the country. These included the poor quality of campuses, the lack of open and free discussions, the bureaucratic nature of college administrations, and the universities’ suspiciously close ties with the government. As student protests spread, activists employed many of the tactics of nonviolent resistance they had learned from the Civil Rights movement. The growth of SDS accompanied the growth of campus unrest.

America’s increasing involvement in the VIETNAM WAR changed the focus of the protests. With the nation’s military escalation in Vietnam and the 1965 expansion of the military draft, student groups redirected their impassioned rage into an antiwar movement. Students began to burn draft cards and American flags and stage campus strikes and antiwar rallies. Opposition to the war, with SDS in the forefront, came to consume the energies of the student movement. By the end of 1967, SDS claimed more than 100,000 supporters and took responsibility for hundreds of protests on campuses nationwide.

By this time, however, some SDS members began complaining of the organization’s increasingly authoritarian bent. Additionally, women involved in SDS criticized the group’s prevailing misogynist attitudes. They accused male members of denying them egalitarian treatment, of relegating them to little more than sex objects and glorified secretaries, and of purposefully ignoring the larger issue of gender discrimination in American society. Furthermore, some SDS leaders, including Tom Hayden, began abandoning their previously espoused strategies of nonviolent protest and, instead, urged the use of more militant tactics. The year 1968 degenerated into dramatic clashes between students and police on major college campuses and violent confrontations between police and protesters at the DEMOCRATIC PARTY’s national convention in Chicago. At the same time, SDS began to break up into factions. The most extreme of these splinter groups was the WEATHERMEN, which proposed a strategy of revolutionary terrorism. By 1971, disunity and divisiveness had come to characterize SDS and led to its complete demise. The organization’s New Left ideology, with its rhetoric of hope, reform, and social justice, likewise collapsed. Both were victims of SDS’s rejection of its founding principles—“participatory democracy,” equal opportunity, passive CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE, and moral legitimacy.

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—Irene Guenther

### Submerged Lands Act

The Submerged Lands Act, passed in 1953, ended a long battle between the states and federal government over the control of submerged lands along coastal shorelines.

The states initially took control of the lands submerged off their coasts in the 1920s. California, Texas, and Florida all claimed rights to fishing the waters surrounding their own respective shorelines. This soon included not only fishing but other activities as well, and the states began to grant leases to remove sand, gravel, sponges, shells, and to harvest kelp. By 1926, the states were granting leases for mineral, gas, and oil development. At this time, the amount of oil and natural gas beneath the ocean was not fully realized, and therefore the federal government had no need to challenge the states' claims to the submerged lands.

As the federal government recognized the amount and importance of the oil and minerals that lay beneath these waters, it contested the states' stake to these lands. In 1945, the U.S. government filed suit against the state of California for allowing the extraction of oil from submerged lands. The Supreme Court decided the case in favor of the federal government. The United States was awarded "paramount rights" to the submerged lands within three miles of the coast of California. In September 1945, President HARRY S. TRUMAN gave the United States all rights to the mineral resources beneath the high seas. This took away the states' rights to the submerged lands and the resources off their coasts. A statement released by the White House stated that the action was "concerned solely with establishing the jurisdiction of the United States from an international standpoint."

States did not surrender easily prerogatives which they felt were rightfully theirs. They continued to lobby for the ownership of the submerged lands off their coasts. Many inland states, most oil companies, and several interest groups were also in favor of state control of these lands. When DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER campaigned for president in the 1952 election, he promised to award the states ownership of their submerged lands.

Eisenhower won the election in 1952, and he kept his promise. On May 22, 1953, he signed a bill that gave each state ownership of submerged lands off its borders, and the mineral deposits in such lands. The submerged lands included lands extending out to sea as far as the states' historic boundaries. The exact distance varied from state to state, between three miles and 10 and one-half miles off the coast. This act allowed state governments to lease the lands to private companies and make a profit from the leasing fees. The passage of this act ended the long dispute between the federal and state governments over control of these lands, although critics called the measure a great giveaway.

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—Matthew Escovar

### suburbanization

Suburbanization resulted from the migration of people from inner-city dwellings to homes in the residential outskirts of cities in the 1950s.

As World War II ended, the United States was unprepared for the large numbers of returning veterans. Construction of homes had plummeted in the years before the war due to the Great Depression and continued to decline after the United States entered the war. When the soldiers returned home, there simply were not enough houses for them. Many lived with parents or other relatives until adequate housing could be built.

The FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION (FHA) and the Veterans Administration (VA) both helped to reduce the down payments and interest rates for people buying houses. WILLIAM J. LEVITT built a new suburban community in Long Island, New York, using assembly-line techniques that lowered prices substantially and sped up the construction process. Levittown became a prototype for all suburban communities, characterized by rows upon rows of identical houses, community churches, and swimming pools.

The migration of people from the cities to the suburbs changed the face of the American landscape. Trees were cut down to provide more land, which was divided into small squares, each containing a house and a two-car garage. Folksinger Malvina Reynolds described the suburbs in a song: "Little boxes on the hillside, little boxes made of ticky tacky, little boxes on the hillside, little boxes all the same." Neighborhoods such as Levittown became notorious for containing rows and rows of identical houses with large picture windows for displaying one's material possessions. A Levittown newsletter stated, "Our lives are held closely together because most of us are within the same age bracket, in similar income groups, live in almost identical houses, and have common problems."

The population in the suburbs boomed from 31.1 million people before 1941 to 60.1 million in 1960. The move to the suburbs was also accompanied by a tremendous increase in the marriage and birthrates of Americans. The BABY BOOM prompted a 40 percent increase in the birthrate, compared to the years before and during the war, and people were getting married at younger ages. The suburbs provided a way for these couples, just starting out, to find affordable housing for their new families.

Suburbanites were largely white Americans, who left African Americans and Latinos behind in the inner





Diaper service trucks and mothers with baby carriages in a suburb (Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

cities. Levittowns, in fact, did not sell homes to blacks. While enjoying their suburban lifestyle, whites were often unaware of the problems that plagued minority groups who lived within the cities, such as poverty and racial tensions.

Suburbia also spurred growth in religious participation, which nearly doubled during the 1950s. Suburbanites looked to each other and to RELIGION to fill the sense of community that they had lost when they moved out of the city. No longer did extended families live down the hall or down the street.

Owning a house in suburbia became an integral part of the American dream. TELEVISION shows such as *Leave It to Beaver* and *Father Knows Best* all depicted the typical white family in its suburban community.

The role of women in suburban society also changed dramatically. After World War II, women were called back into the home once again as housewives. Living outside the cities, women had to drive their children to school and other programs while tending to those errands necessary to maintain their suburban homes.

Suburbanization also spurred the growth of the AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY. Suburbanites often worked in the cities and needed the means to travel to and from their homes.

Automobiles became the preferred mode of transportation. With more drivers on the roads, the need for a highway system became apparent. The INTERSTATE HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956 allocated money for the construction of a national highway system.

Businesses soon began moving to the suburbs as well. Shopping centers, which numbered eight in 1945, jumped to 3,840 in 1960. Seventeen new centers opened in one three-month period in 1957 alone. Adequate parking and extended hours changed consumerism in the United States. Don M. Casto, designer of the Miracle Mile shopping center in Columbus, Ohio, described the people as having “path habits like ants,” as he reflected on the way they headed to the strip malls that sprang up across the country.

Suburbanization also produced far-reaching effects on the environment. The rapid development of land often occurred without extensive planning. The American landscape became cluttered with neighborhoods, highways, restaurants, malls, and auto dealerships. Billboards filled any unused space.

Suburbanization changed the face of America in the 1950s and established many patterns still prevalent in society.

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—Jennifer Parson

## Suez crisis

The Suez crisis involved a joint Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of the Suez Canal Zone in Egypt in 1956, followed by a major international furor that resulted in the withdrawal of the invading forces and the humiliation of the invaders.

The Suez Canal had long been an important axis upon which many important themes in the modern MIDDLE EAST turned. Soon after it was built in 1869, the British obtained a controlling interest in the canal and made it the linchpin of British imperialism in the region. With the rise of Egyptian nationalism in the decades that followed, what constituted a point of pride to the British served as a mark of humiliation to the Egyptians. Despite local opposition, British control of the canal was never seriously questioned as long as British power in the region remained strong. After two debilitating world wars, however, British power waned to such an extent that the Egyptian government, led by nationalist Gamal Abdel Nasser, threatened to end British control of the canal.

Nasser at first used the canal as a bargaining chip to gain economic aid for the construction of the Aswan Dam, which, when completed, would create thousands of new



acres of fertile farmland. Egypt needed British and American economic aid, however, to carry out this project. The United States, for its part, was primarily concerned with preventing communist influence in the region as a result of the COLD WAR and maintaining access to crucial oil reserves. After Nasser negotiated an arms deal in 1955 with Czechoslovakia, a satellite of the SOVIET UNION, the United States abruptly canceled American funding for the Aswan Dam, and Nasser, in retaliation, unilaterally nationalized the Suez Canal that same year.

Three powers had a vested interest in returning control of the canal back to the British. In addition to Great Britain, France, which still possessed colonies in North Africa, feared that the example set by Nasser would threaten control of its possessions elsewhere. ISRAEL was also deeply antagonistic toward Egypt as a result of Egypt's role in the war of 1948 and also because Nasser had made anti-Israeli propaganda a key component of his brand of Arab nationalism. The additional threat of arms from the Soviet bloc also struck fear in the hearts of Israeli policymakers. Although the United States opposed Egyptian nationalization, the administration of DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER chose to rely on economic as opposed to military force to return control of the canal to Britain. As a result, Britain, France, and Israel secretly formed a plan, named Operation Musketeer Revise, to regain British control of the canal by force.

Israel attacked Egypt and occupied the Canal Zone in late October 1956 followed by a joint Anglo-French invasion in early November. Although militarily successful, the matter was far from settled. Both the United States and the Soviet Union condemned the invasion of Egypt and demanded a complete withdrawal from the Canal Zone. American leaders informed Britain that it would withhold all economic aid, including crucial oil supplies, until it

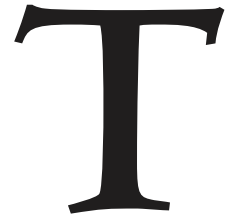
withdrew. Britain, still recovering from World War II, was forced to comply, which forced the French to withdraw as well. Israel withdrew from all but the Gaza Strip and Sharm al-Sheikh near the straits of Tiran, regions which military planners considered vital to Israel's national security.

Despite the fact that it had lost the battle militarily, Egypt retained control of the canal. Nasser became a national hero to Egyptians, who believed that their humiliation at the hands of Israel in 1948 and from Britain over the course of the last century had finally been reversed. Israel also enjoyed some measure of success as a result of the conflict. Despite its withdrawal, it had again demonstrated its military superiority over the Arab states, as well as its willingness to fight threats to its national security. For the United States, the Suez crisis showcased tensions within its cold war alliances. Eisenhower felt personally betrayed by the British role in the affair. The Suez crisis also enhanced the public image of the Soviets in the region. Although the Soviet Union was brutally crushing a revolt in Hungary at the time, it was still able with very little effort to portray itself as anti-imperialist in the Middle East. The French gained nothing from their intervention and confirmed the worst suspicions of nationalists in their North African colonies. The biggest loser by far, however, was Great Britain. The Suez Crisis clearly demonstrated that British power in the Middle East independent of the United States was virtually nonexistent.

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—Matthew M. Davis





**Taft, Robert A.** See VOLUME VIII.

### **Taft-Hartley Act**

Passed in 1947, the Taft-Hartley Act consisted of a series of amendments to the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. Imposing many new restrictions on labor unions and making it more difficult for them to perform as effectively as in the past, this measure had a crippling effect on organized labor across the United States.

Before World War II, labor unions had experienced huge surges in membership. The National Labor Relations Act of 1935, part of Franklin D. Roosevelt's NEW DEAL, established the right of workers to bargain collectively for better working conditions. It set up a mechanism whereby elections could be held to determine whether workers could be unionized and, if so, which union could represent them. During the 1930s and early 1940s, there were many successful workers' strikes, and union membership more than doubled. With the close of World War II, however, business leaders grew tired of strikes, as workers tried to get their share of wartime profits. Conservative critics, most of them Republican, viewed such strikes as unpatriotic. They also pointed out that corruption ran rampant within many unions. Critics helped encourage a growing attack on union organization.

The Taft-Hartley Act, also known as the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, was controversial. While its stated aim was to help keep commerce stable in the United States, its antilabor bias was clear, and its working-class opponents called it a "slave labor law." Congress overwhelmingly overrode President HARRY S. TRUMAN's presidential veto of the measure. Truman vetoed the act due to his large base of blue-collar support.

The Taft-Hartley Act made it illegal for labor unions to do many of the things that they had done successfully in the past. The strike was the most powerful tool that organized labor possessed to fight for workers' rights, and this

act severely restricted use of the strike. The act required 60 days' notice before beginning a strike and established that the president could delay striking for up to 80 days if it was felt that the stoppage of work caused harm to the "health and safety" of the nation. This act put an end to "third party" or "sympathy strikes" by unions in other companies in support of the protesting workers. Employers were also now able to replace striking employees with people called "scabs," people who crossed striking worker lines to work, weakening the striking process.

Aside from circumscribing the strike, the Taft-Hartley Act also placed restrictions on many of the other operations of organized workers. There were heavy penalties for boycotts by another union that supported a strike. Large-scale corruption in the finances of many unions led to the production of extensive financial documentation, which became expensive. The illegal practices of some union leaders led to placing a halt to contributions to political campaigns. Labor unions were no longer allowed to demand that members be hired for certain jobs, and they were further prevented from forcing employees to become union members.

The Taft-Hartley Act caused outrage among white- and blue-collar workers. The stern regulations mandated by this measure did not allow them to fight effectively for the rights to which they believed that they were entitled. The passage of the act caused protests by workers all over the United States.

The Taft-Hartley Act severely restricted the growth of labor unions in the United States. This law did, however, reduce the corruption that occurred in unions, and eventually allowed for more honest organized labor in the future. Truman's veto also secured for him labor's political support in the election of 1948.

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—Jennifer Howell

### Teamsters Union

The Teamsters Union, officially known as the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America, is one of the largest trade unions in the world. Though troubled by allegations of connections to organized crime, the union remains influential.

Teamsters, or those who drove horse-drawn wagons as deliverymen, first organized themselves into 18 local unions in the Midwest in 1898. AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) leader Samuel Gompers called on the locals to create a national Teamsters Union under the AFL. The next year, workers chartered both the Team Drivers International Union and the Teamsters National Union. The two unions instantly became rivals with different approaches to improving teamster working conditions. As a result of the rivalry, Gompers convinced the competing unions to meet. The two unions agreed that they were stronger together and, as a result, they joined forces to create the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) in Niagara Falls, New York, in 1903.



Jimmy Hoffa, 1959 (Library of Congress)

The young IBT struggled for progress during the early and unrestricted era of American industrialization. Strikes were costly in early 20th-century America; labor laws were nonexistent and companies used antitrust laws against unions. Despite the violence and cost, however, the persistence of early IBT strikes eventually led to better working conditions and the right to overtime pay.

Under the leadership of president Dan Tobin, the IBT, like most other unions at the time, made significant progress toward the unionization of industry during World War I and the industrial boom that accompanied it. These gains, however, proved transitory and temporary in their longevity, for most union accomplishments failed after the war as America slipped into the depression of the 1930s.

After World War II, the IBT recovered from its membership and revenue recession as most industries experienced rapid growth and rejuvenation in the post-World War II ECONOMY. Seeking to curb reemerging union power, however, Congress passed the TAFT-HARTLEY ACT in 1947. Despite this political setback, the IBT persisted in its strategic efforts to create multistate bargaining units and control trucking terminals in the growing new industry of intercity trucking that developed as a result of better automotive TECHNOLOGY and the advent of the interstate highway system.

IBT president Dan Tobin retired in 1952 after leading the teamsters for 45 years and Dave Beck was elected as his successor. Beck inherited a union made large—reaching 1 million members by 1950—and powerful by the leadership of Tobin and the booming postwar industrial complex. The IBT continued to grow throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

Because of its size, the IBT wielded great economic power, and its pension fund was a significant investment resource. Throughout the 1950s, the union underwent investigation for corrupt practices, with several of its presidents facing criminal charges ranging from racketeering to fraud.

In January 1957, the Senate Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor Field—the McClellan Committee—established by the U.S. Senate, conducted investigations of labor racketeering. The committee found evidence of widespread corruption throughout the IBT, and, as a result, the AFL-CIO, the nation's largest labor organization, expelled the IBT from its membership.

The McClellan Committee, under the leadership of ROBERT F. KENNEDY as chief counsel, brought nearly every senior leader in the IBT before the committee between 1957 and 1959. Robert Kennedy and the McClellan Committee faced allegations of carrying out a vendetta against IBT president Dave Beck and his successor Jimmy Hoffa. The investigation by the McClellan Committee constituted one of the most controversial congressional hearings of the century. The revelations of the Senate committee,



as well as negative public attention that the IBT attracted Marxist-style leadership and control as practiced by some locals, created further public hostility toward unions. When the Senate investigations concluded, the word “teamster” became synonymous with gangster. The McClellan Committee convicted Beck of income-tax fraud and sentenced him to serve time in prison.

Jimmy Hoffa assumed the presidency in 1957 after Dave Beck went to prison. He quickly earned a reputation among his peers as a tough and effective bargainer. In 1964, he negotiated the union’s first national contract with trucking companies. Under Hoffa’s leadership, Teamsters Union membership grew to more than 2 million. Hoffa was long rumored to be associated with organized crime and, beginning with the 1957 McClellan Committee, was the subject of many government investigations and prosecutions. In 1967, authorities sentenced Hoffa to 13 years in the federal prison at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, for jury tampering, pension fund fraud, and conspiracy. President Richard M. Nixon later commuted Hoffa’s sentence, and on December 24, 1971, Hoffa left prison. While working to unseat Frank Fitzsimmons, his successor in the union, Hoffa mysteriously disappeared on July 30, 1975. Hoffa was declared legally dead in 1983.

The IBT remains a strong and influential force in labor relations. As the union’s long history of criminal investigations and convictions suggests, the IBT has indeed suffered from corruption and involvement in illegal activities. The IBT began efforts in the mid-1980s, however, to rid itself of its mafia-oriented public image, and, in 1987, the organization was readmitted to the AFL-CIO.

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—Jason Reed

## technology

Technological change dramatically altered American society in the years following World War II.

Throughout the conflict, advances in military and scientific technology—largely funded by the U.S. government—helped bring about the Allied victory. Many of these efforts, such as the building of the ATOMIC BOMB, the creation of the proximity fuse, and the development of radar, stemmed from research conducted on behalf of the military. At the same time, the U.S. government spent nearly \$1 billion on pure scientific research. Following World War II, federal support of technological research continued. The government established the ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION in 1946 to fund research and development of peacetime

nuclear power uses. It also instituted the National Science Foundation in 1950 to encourage basic research and education in the sciences. By 1950, with the COLD WAR heating up, spending for basic research reached \$1 billion per year, only to rise further still after the outbreak of hostilities in the KOREAN WAR.

The National Science Foundation promoted improvements in science training and revision of the science curriculum in major educational institutions that contributed to technological development. Many students reaped the benefits of government-supported funding. By 1969, fully one-third of all engineering students in the country were funded by the federal government, as was the bulk of scientific research in the academy. Universities that specialized in technological study, such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the California Institute of Technology, and the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, brought together eminent scientists and promising students in collaborative projects. Calculators, electromagnetic computers, and a host of consumer goods—along with medical technologies—were developed at universities around the country.

Along with government support, funding from big business made possible a variety of new advancements. Corporate centers of technology combined large amounts of money and some of the best scientists in the world to further the development of myriad consumer goods and other useful technologies. The DUPONT CORPORATION had introduced nylon in 1938, followed by other synthetic fabrics that replaced high-demand natural fibers, scarce during World War II. In 1943, the IBM-funded Mark I computer was developed at Harvard. Then, in 1947, scientists at Bell Laboratories invented the transistor, which made possible further advances in computer technology. GENERAL ELECTRIC developed the world’s first reactor for a nuclear-powered submarine, which was launched in 1954. Consumer goods such as hair dryers and electric ovens came from General Electric’s laboratories, as did new technology for the aerospace industry.

Atomic energy provides one of the best examples of dramatic technological development. On July 16, 1945, when American scientists detonated the world’s first atomic bomb, the self-sustaining nuclear fission reaction that occurred represented the culmination of years of secret research and development conducted at unprecedented cost. Within weeks of initial testing, similar bombs were dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing hundreds of thousands. A new age dawned, one in which humanity controlled the power of the atom, and thereby possessed the power to destroy itself. These developments spawned a profound change in global thinking, though the cold war’s rapid escalation ensured that atomic research would proceed first and foremost with military enhancements in mind. In 1949, the SOVIET UNION deto-



Boeing 707-120 made history when Pan American World Airways inaugurated the first trans-Atlantic jet service between New York and Paris in October 1958. (Getty Images)

nated its own atomic device, and the superpowers began their race to construct progressively more powerful and hence more lethal nuclear weaponry, particularly the HYDROGEN BOMB. By the close of the 1960s, five nations were members of the so-called nuclear club: the United States, the Soviet Union, France, the United Kingdom, and the People's Republic of China, with several others either on the cusp of—or unwilling to admit their possession of—this most troubling weapon.

Despite its military origins, nuclear fission offered peaceful applications, such as Britain's first nuclear power plant, which opened in 1956, followed a year later by an American plant. Nuclear power promised plentiful energy at extremely low cost—"too cheap to meter"—without the environmental damage produced by coal and oil. Critics of the new technology emphasized nuclear energy's unique risks, such as radioactive by-products.

The most visible manifestation of government scientific financing at work was America's space program. Here the United States lagged behind the Soviet Union through-

out the 1950s. Moscow launched the world's first manmade satellite, named *Sputnik*, in October 1957. Shocked and embarrassed by their failure to be first, American officials responded by creating the NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA), and, with the National Defense Education Act, boosted federal funding for scientific research and SPACE EXPLORATION. NASA launched its own satellite in 1957, and the agency pledged to put a man into space. The Soviets beat the Americans again in 1961 with the flight of cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin. American Alan Shepard quickly followed Gagarin's exploit, and astronaut John Glenn became the first American to orbit the earth in 1962. President JOHN F. KENNEDY pledged that the United States would place a man on the moon by the end of the decade, and the Apollo program was born: the largest single scientific project ever mounted to date. Its eventual success helped unify the nation in a common purpose. Kennedy stated, "We choose to go to the moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard, because that goal will

serve to organize and measure the best of our energies and skills." Numerous scientific accomplishments derived from the Apollo program, in such areas as advanced circuitry and computing, metallurgy and plastics, all of which enhanced the country's economic position through a broadening of its technological foundation.

From 1945 to 1968, Americans made great strides in less celestial forms of transportation. This was the great age of automobility and of air travel for the masses. America's AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY led the world in both style and quality, dominated in the 1960s by GENERAL MOTORS, the FORD MOTOR CORPORATION, and Chrysler. With gasoline cheap and plentiful (and with Americans generally prosperous), these "Big Three" produced cars of unprecedented size and bulk. Large fins and huge amounts of chrome dominated American vehicles, which by the 1960s included numerous technologically advanced innovations once considered luxuries, such as power steering, power brakes, automatic transmission, and air conditioning. Given the ready availability of automobiles, especially in western cities such as Los Angeles, mass transit networks into the suburbs frequently proved negligible at best, and across the land America's once great passenger rail network shrank dramatically as ridership declined precipitously in the postwar decades. In time the harmful environmental impact of so many vehicles became impossible to ignore, and by the late 1960s emissions standards (and safety standards) were regulated by federal and state officials alike.

Americans also enjoyed great opportunities to fly in the postwar world, due to vast technological advancements in AVIATION. Less than three generations removed from the Wright Brothers' first flight, millions of Americans traveled aboard commercial airliners that spanned the country and connected the continents while the nation's military jets circled the globe. Air travel grew at a rate of more than 15 percent a year after the war, aided by the introduction of coach class in 1948. The world's first commercial jet airliner appeared in 1952, and, by 1959, both Boeing and Douglas offered airliners capable of carrying nearly 200 passengers at more than 600 miles per hour. With its promise of speed mixed with comfort in planes that flew high above turbulent weather, jet travel (and affordable fares) lured passengers to the air as never before. Not surprisingly, many aviation innovations derived from cold war-inspired military developments. Boeing's 707, for example, was designed in conjunction with a U.S. Air Force jet tanker. Military action in both the Korean War and the VIETNAM WAR spawned rapid advances in helicopter development, just as strategic concerns drove American rocketry. Funding from NASA transformed the aviation industry into the aerospace field, but prominent as space exploration was, most American aerospace firms made the bulk of their profits from the export of arms and air-travel equipment.

These new modes of transportation altered American society. Jets whisked passengers from coast to coast in just hours, but, as with interstate automobile travel, they increasingly made transit merely the task of getting from point A to point B, without ever witnessing what lay between. Passengers flew over land; they did not experience it. Drivers grew increasingly reluctant to leave the safety and ease of the interstate for less-traveled roads. Moreover, while innovations in transit made it easier to visit scattered families and friends, they also enabled families to move farther apart, altering traditional social structures.

Coupled with military-inspired advances in aerospace technology and transportation, similar developments in the nascent COMPUTER industry took place. In 1946, the ELECTRONIC NUMERICAL INTEGRATOR AND CALCULATOR (ENIAC) was first switched on. Originally designed to deliver complex calculations needed to complete artillery ballistics tables, ENIAC's electronic circuitry could complete more than 5,000 additions or subtractions or 360 multiplications of two 10-digit decimal numbers in a single second. This constituted unprecedented speed, and the machine's successors coupled such processing strength with stored programming and data storage. Beginning in the 1950s, the vacuum tubes that drove ENIAC were replaced by solid-state transistors, arguably the most important postwar development in the realm of electronics. First developed in 1947, transistors made electronic equipment more powerful, more reliable, and far smaller. A decade later integrated circuits, or "chips," were developed to guide American missiles. These components contained the equivalent of dozens or more transistors and quickly revolutionized the computer industry once again. As the complexity of chips grew, so too did the power of computers, though they remained largely the domain of government, large businesses, and universities throughout these decades.

As computers became commonplace in American business, so too did TELEVISION dominate American culture. Though technologically feasible in the 1920s, depression and war hindered television's market success until the 1950s. The number of sets soared from 1 million in 1950 to nearly 60 million in 1970.

Technological innovations in health and MEDICINE most profoundly improved the quality and length of American lives in the years after World War II. The war itself spawned development of powerful antibiotics, or MIRACLE DRUGS, including penicillin, and, soon after, the development of drugs useful for fighting a broad range of infections, such as tuberculosis. "Broad-spectrum" antibiotics followed, although bacteria quickly developed resistance to these powerful medicines, demanding continuing drug enhancements by pharmaceutical companies. This research led to vaccines against measles and rubella, and, in 1954, Jonas Salk introduced his celebrated vaccine against polio.



Humans were healthier because of these drugs, and because of other scientific advances as well. Molecular biology began in 1952, when scientists James Watson and Francis Crick discovered the double helix structure of DNA, which contained the building blocks of human life. Crick announced, "We have discovered the secret of life." Of more immediate impact for typical Americans were advances in cardiology and oncology that lengthened the average lifespan. More controversial were advancements in birth control and fertility. In 1957 oral contraceptives first became available, and more than 5 million American women took "THE PILL" by 1966.

Ultimately, technological change influenced every aspect of American life, from countless new appliances, to the innovations in medicine and transportation. By the late 1960s, every American institution, and indeed every American, had been affected by technologies developed since 1945.

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—Jeffrey A. Engel and Chris Eldridge

## teenagers

Prior to World War II, the word "teen-ager" was not part of Americans' vocabulary, although marketers and POPULAR CULTURE began to focus on this distinct age group during the 1930s. First published in September 1941 in an article in *Popular Science* magazine, the term "teen-ager" took on added cultural force during the 1950s, when teens experienced unprecedented autonomy, economic opportunity, and social mobility. Products of the BABY BOOM, these teenagers helped create a dramatic teen subculture with their own distinctive set of social, moral, and cultural values.

Unburdened by the personal and economic sacrifices their parents encountered in the 1930s and 1940s, many teenage girls and boys, especially white, middle-class adolescents, spent their leisure time frequenting dances, drive-in movies, ice cream parlors, and pool and music halls. Advertising and marketing targeted adolescent consumers by peddling TELEVISION sets, MUSIC records, trendy FASHIONS, and automobiles to teens with allowance money that in earlier generations would have been recycled into the family budget.

In the 1950s, however, the social and economic autonomy of teenagers coincided with an increase in domestic unrest characterized by a rise in juvenile crime, sexual experimentation, and a general aura of youthful rebellion. The increase in teenage delinquency could be traced to

several new cultural phenomena. First was the significant rise in access to automobiles, which provided many teens with a new way to escape the control of their parents. Marketing automobiles to America's teens, advertising strategists and Hollywood filmmakers helped create new teen idols whose restlessness with the comfortable confines of their suburban culture helped popularize dark and brooding rebels like James Dean, who rode motorcycles, wore leather jackets, grew their hair long, and displayed an anti-heroic mistrust of authority. By the middle of the 1950s, what critics had once dubbed the "silent generation" were now being labeled BEAT GENERATION and "Greasers," terms that mixed general teenage angst with a penchant for social promiscuity. The prominent novel of the period, J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, published in 1951, highlighted America's crusading youth movement. A controversial novel because of its excessive profanity and suggestive sexual behavior, the book's seminal character and narrator Holden Caulfield became the icon of postwar teenage rebellion by exhibiting a jaded desire to repeal the established social conventions of the era. Another literary touchstone for this generation of teens was *Mad Magazine*. Founded in 1952 by editor Harvey Kurtzman and publisher William Gaines, and marketed as a humor magazine to American teenagers, the magazine's many articles parodied the COLD WAR, the nuclear family, and consumer society.

The 1950s and early 1960s also witnessed the advent of a new form of music known as ROCK AND ROLL. The term was introduced by Cleveland disc jockey Alan Freed as a way to sell the "race music" of AFRICAN AMERICANS to white America. Sonically, rock and roll encompassed an eclectic blend of rhythm and blues with the electric beats of urban street corners. When rock and roll singer ELVIS PRESLEY appeared on the Ed Sullivan variety show in 1956 to a frenzied teenager fan-base, his black hair, flashy clothes, and gyrating hips suggested not only a new genre of music but a heightened state of sexuality that parents found distasteful and socially destructive. In the 1960s, popular rock and roll bands like the BEATLES and the Rolling Stones and American folk artist BOB DYLAN underscored the youth movement's desire to change the political and social landscape through the mass appeal of popular music. Dylan's "The Times They Are A-Changin'" became the postwar anthem of adolescent rebellion and political activism that characterized the 1960s youth movement.

To government officials and cultural conservatives seeking domestic harmony at a time of cold war conflict, the youth movement and the rebellious culture it brought with it underscored the persistent need to rein in enemies both at home and abroad. As a result, throughout the postwar period, teenagers and their idols were routinely cast as communists or radicals who strayed from the cold war



consensus preaching Christianity, conformity, and chastity. In the late 1950s, Elvis Presley's records were censored by popular radio and labeled "Nigger music," while the emerging teen drug and sex culture of the 1960s became a target of the FBI's campaign to enforce law and order throughout American cities infested with domestic unrest and race riots.

Nonetheless, by the 1960s, American teenagers established themselves as a dynamic and socially powerful subgroup. The Beats and street rebels of the 1950s gave way to the COUNTERCULTURE hippies of the 1960s who preached peace and love, experimented with hallucinogenic drugs, and lived in utopian rural communes. For many American teenagers, the 1960s were a time of unprecedented political and social activism. Playing a leading role were African-American teenagers who vocally and actively assisted in the public demonstrations that characterized the 1960s Civil Rights movement. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), organized by African-American college students, incorporated many black teenagers who helped participate in lunch counter sit-ins at segregated eating facilities and who, together with other American students in colleges throughout the United States, helped wage active resistance to the VIETNAM WAR. Together, American teens helped redefine American postwar culture and gave greater social and political awareness to young people.

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—David E. Goldberg

## television

In the post-World War II era, television was an integral part of the return to civilian life, helping to shape key social and political developments of the period.

Several early innovations laid the groundwork for the cultural primacy of television in the postwar United States. In 1923, Vladimir K. Zworykin developed the electronic camera, which, combined with Charles Francis Jenkins' pioneering efforts in the field of motion picture projection technology, put television on course to supplant radio. Americans first encountered television on a broad scale in the mid-1930s through early telecasts of sports, news, and events like the New York World's Fair in 1939. Coverage of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's speech at the World's Fair made him the first president to appear on television.

However, beginning in 1941, the nation's involvement in World War II stalled any further development of the medium until the conflict's end, when the technology of war production turned toward producing civilian goods.

The postwar economic boom in the United States aided television's rise as a key consumer product. To accustom the public to this new form of mass communication, advertisers marketed television as a sign of prestige and social status, particularly for white, middle-class families moving to the suburbs. Frequently portrayed as a new kind of family hearth, television was the centerpiece of the consumerist showcase that the suburban home embodied, an incarnation of the domesticity and abundance emphasized in 1950s culture. This suburban ideal, one of traditional gender roles, was also popularized in television programs themselves, as comedies like *Father Knows Best* and *Leave It to Beaver* featured a conventional family life of male breadwinners and supportive housewives.

Between 1950 and 1970, the number of television sets in American homes increased from 1 million to almost 60 million. As television became a more common part of domestic life, the variety of programs increased as well. By 1955, the average family spent four to five hours watching television each day, with programs like *The Ed Sullivan Show* becoming must-see events during the famed appearances of such pop culture figures as ELVIS PRESLEY and the BEATLES. For younger viewers, shows like *The Mickey Mouse Club* and *Howdy Doody Time* became an iconic part of CHILDHOOD. In keeping with the trend toward mass consumption, advertisers also capitalized on the time that Americans spent watching television and flooded the medium with advertisements. They sponsored and lent their names to entire programs like *The Texaco Star Theatre*, often with the show's actors pitching the products in commercials just as they had done on radio.

Network news expanded along with television. Among the big three broadcast networks, CBS was the pioneer, launching its 15-minute nightly news program on August 15, 1948. Anchored by Douglas Edwards, the program was available in five eastern cities until CBS became the first to broadcast its nightly news on both coasts in 1951. NBC experimented with nightly news through the *Camel News Caravan* in 1949, though its first significant foray into such programming came with the *Huntley-Brinkley Report* in 1956. Featuring Chet Huntley and David Brinkley, the program continued a pairing that began with NBC's coverage of the 1956 political conventions and helped the network dominate the news until Walter Cronkite became anchor at CBS in 1962. Through his coverage of such events as JOHN F. KENNEDY's assassination and the moon landing, Cronkite quickly gained stature, so much so that he prevailed as "the most trusted man in America" in a 1963 Gallup poll. The poll's outcome reflected the importance of television

news for Americans' understanding of their world and the anchor's power to shape that outlook. Cronkite's 1968 on-air editorial concluding that the United States could only reach a stalemate in Vietnam was widely credited with influencing President LYNDON B. JOHNSON's decision not to pursue reelection, with Johnson reportedly stating, "If I've lost Walter Cronkite, I've lost the country."

The development of television news underscored how politics became a more visible part of public life through the growth of television. Throughout the 1950s, Richard M. Nixon was one of the first politicians to utilize the medium in significant ways, whether reassuring voters that he did not accept illegal campaign funds in the 1952 "Checkers speech" or heralding American abundance in the 1959 "kitchen debates" with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev. Americans also found themselves riveted as Senator JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY interrogated suspected communists in the Army-McCarthy hearings. The decline in public support for McCarthy following the hearings, in part a reaction to

his bullying demeanor and disheveled appearance, attested to television's impact on public opinion. This phenomenon was further reinforced in the legendary 1960 presidential debates between Nixon and John F. Kennedy, in which Kennedy garnered praise for his composed persona while Nixon's agitated appearance was perceived as a misstep from which his campaign never recovered.

In later years, images from the VIETNAM WAR that television brought into American homes critically contributed to lagging domestic support for the conflict by the end of the 1960s. In the country's first "television war," scenes of burning huts, traumatized civilians, and wounded soldiers brought a new level of social consciousness to the medium that also made it a vital tool for the antiwar movement. In this manner, television was once again at the center of how Americans understood their world and themselves in the 1950s and '60s, a cultural impact further solidified in 1975 by the creation of the Museum of Television and Radio (renamed the Paley Center for Media in 2007).



Nelson Rockefeller (left) and Barry Goldwater (right) with host Ned Brooks on the television program *Meet the Press*, 1960 (Library of Congress)

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—Susan V. Spellman and Hillary S. Kativa

**Termination policy** See NATIVE AMERICANS; TREATY RIGHTS.

### theme parks

In the 1950s and 1960s the popularity of theme parks and the decay of traditional amusement parks redefined America's view of planned amusements. While theme parks retained many of the essentials of older amusement parks—thrill rides, arcades, and novelty booths—they offered visitors a kaleidoscope of adventure and attractions by enabling thrill seekers to travel through a “series of startling diverse environments.” The pioneer in theme park construction was WALT DISNEY, whose “symbolic American utopia,” Disneyland, opened on July 17, 1955. Located in Anaheim, California, Disneyland featured five themed areas that offered visitors both nostalgic trips to the past and an exotic foray into the future.

Disneyland's landscape was based on Disney's own romantic view of American history. “Main Street,” the idyllic midwestern small town, and “Frontierland,” set in the West, sought to place visitors in environments that were familiar, safe, and filled with iconic references to a symbolic past. In contrast to many turn-of-the-century amusement parks, which had fallen prey to juvenile delinquency and declined during the Great Depression of the 1930s, theme parks catered to white, middle-class suburban families. It was no accident that Disney chose the traditionally conservative Orange County for his enclosed thrill setting. The late 1940s and 1950s had witnessed many scenes of civil rights agitation by AFRICAN AMERICANS seeking access to leisure establishments.

The popularity of Disneyland and other theme parks highlighted America's postwar economy built upon corporate control, social conservatism, and mass consumption. Theme parks also paralleled the broader social and geographic changes taking place in the postwar years, including the rise of mass SUBURBANIZATION, SHOPPING CENTERS, and the cultural prominence of MOVIES and TELEVISION. Built on the periphery of Hollywood and the growing movie industry, Disneyland symbolized Southern California in the same way that windmills once represented the Midwest and skyscrapers epitomized the urban Northeast.

Disneyland's success throughout the 1950s enabled other parks to open during the 1960s. In 1961, Angus Wynne, Jr., opened Six Flags Over Texas in Arlington, Texas, and in

1968 Six Flags Over Georgia opened, adding to the change in how and where Americans spent their leisure time.

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—David E. Goldberg

### Tijerina, Reies López (“El Tigre”) (1926– ) *Hispanic land rights activist*

Reies López Tijerina was an influential radical Chicano leader in the 1960s.

Born in Falls City, Texas, on September 21, 1926, Tijerina came from a large and poor Tejano sharecropper family. At the age of 18 he enrolled in the Assembly of God Bible Institute at Ysleta, Texas. He left the institute after three years without a degree and began to gain a following while preaching along the Texas-Mexico border.

During the late 1950s Tijerina became interested in the history of Mexican and Spanish land grants in the Southwest. He soon came to believe that many of the hardships that Mexican Americans faced were due to the loss of these lands. Tijerina promoted aggressive actions to obtain redress. He and his supporters tried to petition the Mexican government. In New Mexico in 1963, he organized the Alianza Federal de Mercedes (Federal Alliance of Land Grants). Using his famously fiery rhetoric, he stressed the economic, political, educational, and cultural rights of Hispanic Americans.

At its height, the Alianza claimed 20,000 members. They occupied part of Kit Carson National Forest in 1966 and proclaimed it the Republic of San Joaquin del Río Chama. The next year, several Alianza members were arrested and taken to the Tierra Amarilla courthouse. Other Alianza members attempted a dramatic raid on the courthouse to free the prisoners and make a citizen's arrest of Alfonso Sánchez, the district attorney. During the raid two lawmen were wounded and a massive manhunt was launched in New Mexico's mountains for Tijerina and his followers. He was captured and charged with several offenses stemming from the raid. The incident turned him into a front-page news personality, and, while free on bail, Tijerina began to nationalize his message.

He played a leading role in the Poor People's March on Washington, D.C., and became a popular speaker on the college and university lecture circuit promoting Alianza's aims. Although acquitted of some charges, convictions for other charges stemming from both the Carson National Forest and Tierra Amarilla incidents were upheld and he began to serve his sentences. At the end of July 1971, he was released on parole under the condition that he hold no



position in Alianza. Due to the absence of its leader and then his inability to resume leadership, Alianza become less organized and influential. Tijerina began to stress cooperation rather than confrontation. In the later half of the 1970s he resumed leadership of Alianza, but he focused mostly on attempting to interest two presidents of Mexico in the land grants issue. No results came from these petitions.

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—Kerry Webb

**Till, Emmett Louis** (1941–1955) *African-American victim of lynching*

In 1955, 14-year-old Emmett Till was lynched while visiting Mississippi from Chicago for violating southern segregation practices. The case fueled the African-American CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

The entire story of Till's offense and murder was never established. Witnesses' reports varied, and the police investigation remained incomplete. What is known is that on the evening of August 24, 1955, Till and seven other youths drove to Bryant's Grocery and Meat Market in Money, Leflore County. Till entered the store and purchased bubble gum. Reports on what actually happened were inconsistent. The most common story is that Till, who had been boasting about a photograph in his wallet of a white girl, wolf-whistled at Carolyn Bryant, who had been running the store for her husband, Roy, that evening. Bryant claimed that Till grabbed and propositioned her and wolf-whistled when he left the store.

Three days after the event, Roy Bryant and his half brother, J. W. Milam, abducted Till from his uncle's home. Till's mangled and decomposed body was found in the Tallahatchie River four days later. Till had been beaten, shot, and thrown into the river with a fan tied around his neck. The fan was intended to pull the body to the bottom of the river.

Bryant and Milam were indicted and after pleading not guilty they were tried for murder before an all-white jury in Sumner, Tallahatchie County. They were acquitted. After the trial, in a paid interview with journalist William Bradford Huie for an article in the January 24, 1956, edition in *Look* magazine, Bryant and Milam admitted killing Till.

The case took place the year following *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* and intensified conflict between southerners and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). It attracted international attention and stimulated outrage in northern states and political reactions within Mississippi.

Following an investigation, a 2007 grand jury in Leflore County, Mississippi, concluded that there was not suffi-

cient evidence to indict anyone still living who had been connected with the case.

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—Toni Pitock

**Title VII** See CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964.

## tourism

Social and technological changes led to an increase in American tourism during the years after World War II. Whether they bathed in the warm sunlight of an idyllic beach, escaped to the serenity of a mountain retreat, enjoyed the hubbub of an urban metropolis, or visited a natural wonder like the Grand Canyon, Americans embraced travel as a part of their lives.

With the end of the war, Americans had more time for leisure and more discretionary income. Many employers provided a week or more of paid vacation time, thus creating opportunities for family trips among an increasingly prosperous population. Moreover, many Americans' view of their nation and of the world had been broadened by their wartime service in many different parts of the United States and the world. Roughly 1 million American troops and war workers had served in Hawaii alone. During the 1950s, almost 2 million Americans traveled to a foreign country, with many making their first such trip to the nation's northern neighbor, Canada.

Within the United States and Canada, family road trips experienced new popularity, thanks to changes in automobiles and the roads on which they traveled. The AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY's promotion of station wagons provided a vehicle large enough to serve even large families and their luggage. In 1956, the same year the federal government launched the INTERSTATE HIGHWAY ACT, one out of every eight cars sold was a station wagon. Completion of the massive highway project dragged out for decades, but better roads began drawing millions of Americans onto the open highway in the 1950s. At the end of a long day on the road, travelers could expect to find reasonably priced and comfortable motel accommodations along the highways. Both Holiday Inn and Howard Johnson's began seeding franchises across the nation in 1954, and the nation's stock of hotels doubled during that decade. Unlike motels of the prewar era, which were rustic lodges with few amenities, the new inns offered air-conditioned rooms, free ice, and in-room telephones.



For those who still loved the relaxed pace of rail travel, newly introduced slumber coaches and glass-domed observation cars served as lures, but the area of greatest growth and change in mass transportation was the airline industry. The introduction of tourist-class flights to Europe in 1952 provided expanding opportunities for would-be travelers who were not wealthy. TWA offered the first coast-to-coast flights in 1953, and a year later, airlines surpassed passenger trains to become the top means of mass transportation in the United States. Pan Am inaugurated nonstop flights from New York to London in 1957. In all, the number of American air passengers quadrupled between 1946 and 1957, when 53 million airline tickets were purchased. In late 1958, introduction of jet airliners promised harried tourists shorter travel times.

As interest in tourism grew, the travel industry expanded. Early in the 1960s, group airline fares on chartered flights became a popular way of filling flights at lower costs for consumers, and a single airline—Pan Am—sold 10,000 tickets per week to Americans for flights to the new state of Hawaii. More than one-quarter of American tourists to Hawaii took package tours provided by tourist organizations in 1967, and half of Waikiki's hotels were booked by travel companies. Travel magazines also experienced new popularity during these years.

Within the United States and abroad, a variety of special interests guided American tourists as they planned vacations. Sports provided travel destinations for many. Some journeyed to watch their favorite teams, while many engaged in athletic activities themselves. Skiing, for instance, drew more than 200,000 enthusiasts per year to Colorado as early as 1953. Entertainment attracted tourists to places like Las Vegas and New York, and THEME PARKS increasingly drew families traveling with youngsters. In 1949, 62 percent of Americans made a vacation trip, and tourist opportunities exploded in the following two decades. Worldwide, tourism grew at a rate of more than 10 percent per year from 1960 through 1974, and among international tourists, Americans were most prevalent.

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—Alice L. George

## treaty rights

NATIVE AMERICANS' campaigns to restore their treaty rights began in the late 19th century but expanded greatly after World War II. Between 1778 and 1868, the U.S. Con-

gress ratified 373 treaties with Native American nations, reserving specific territory for those nations or guaranteeing specific rights of land use sold to white Americans. When Congress stopped negotiating treaties in 1871, it stipulated that nothing would “invalidate or impair the obligation of any treaty” already ratified. But the U.S. government reneged on its promises by taking new land from Native Americans, and American courts refused to uphold Native Americans' treaty right of access to traditional hunting and fishing grounds and culturally sacred sites.

The Indian Claims Commission (ICC), established in 1946, gave Native Americans a forum to seek justice for fraudulent land cessions. But treaty violations continued because new pressures for land developed after the war, and federal officials attempted the “termination” of reservations in the early 1950s. Native American veterans of World War II and of the Korean War, many of them associated with the National Congress of American Indians, protested that during the COLD WAR the United States should honor its domestic treaties to protect its international image as the defender of minority rights and guarantor of treaties, the glue of peaceful international relations.

The federal government's violation of the 1794 Pickering Treaty removed New York Seneca from their ancestral homelands in the early 1960s, inspiring Native Americans across the country to fight for their treaty rights. National Indian Youth Council members mirrored AFRICAN AMERICANS' civil rights strategies by staging “fish-ins” to bring the nation's and the world's attention to treaty violations in America.

The treaty rights movement later found expression in other dramatic events. In 1972 activists staged a protest march along what they called the “Trail of Broken Treaties” to pressure the U.S. government to uphold its commitments. This march helped to inspire Oglala Sioux to occupy Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Supported by the AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT (AIM), Oglala leaders contended that the U.S. government had violated the 1868 Ft. Laramie Treaty. In 1980 the U.S. Supreme Court awarded the Sioux \$122 million for the federal government's illegal seizure of the Black Hills in 1877. Although the Sioux rejected the money, demanding the return of the Black Hills instead, the case represented a treaty rights victory.

Perhaps the most important victory came in 1974 when U.S. District Court Judge George Boldt upheld the right of Native Americans in Washington and Oregon to fish in areas guaranteed by 19th-century treaties. Boldt captured Native Americans' views in arguing that “the mere passage of time has not eroded, and cannot erode, the rights guaranteed by solemn treaties that both sides pledged on their honor to uphold.”

The so-called Boldt decision provided a legal precedent and inspiration for Native Americans facing similar battles

by reenergizing Native culture and creating a fishing industry, which prompted many Native Americans to return to their reservations. For Native Americans, the treaty rights struggle sharpened cultural identities, engendered new economic opportunities, and strengthened political sovereignty. But they remained vigilant in the 21st century to fight against new violations of what they considered sacred contracts with the U.S. government.

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—Paul C. Rosier

**Truman, Harry S.** (1884–1972) *U.S. vice president, 33rd U.S. president*

Harry Truman was a Missouri politician who succeeded Franklin D. Roosevelt as president in 1945 and presided over the start of the COLD WAR.

Truman was born in Lamar, a small farming village in Missouri, on May 8, 1884, but he later settled in Independence, Missouri, in 1890, where he completed high school. Truman then worked for several years as a farmer, until entering the U.S. Army in 1917. He was appointed an officer in the 129th Field Artillery regiment, and he was shipped to EUROPE to fight in World War I. He returned from Europe in 1919. After Truman's haberdashery business failed in 1922, he turned to politics. With the endorsement of the local DEMOCRATIC PARTY, Truman was elected an administrative judge on the Jackson County Court.

In 1934, Truman was elected to the U.S. Senate. Reelected to a second term in 1940, he persuaded the Senate to establish a special committee with him as chair to investigate waste in defense contracts. The committee proved to be successful and gained Truman considerable national exposure.

In 1944, Roosevelt accepted the recommendation of party leaders who suggested Truman for the vice presidency. Three months into his fourth term, Roosevelt died, and Truman became president of the United States.

With World War II raging, Truman stepped in as the new commander in chief. As testing on the ATOMIC BOMB took place, Truman attended the Big Three Conference in Potsdam, where the SOVIET UNION, Great Britain, and the United States discussed the terms of Germany's surrender in World War II. Once the war in Europe was over, the United States and its allies were eager to end the war against Japan. On August 6, 1945, the first of two atomic bombs was dropped on Hiroshima, Japan; the second fell on August 9, 1945, on Nagasaki. The United States thus

became the first and only country to use a nuclear bomb on another country. Though Truman received criticism in later years for his use of the bomb, he defended his decision on the grounds that it saved American lives.

Truman's second major decision involved the shift he initiated in U.S. foreign policy. Ignoring the advice of George Washington to stay out of world affairs, he believed that it was necessary to stand up to the Soviet Union in what were the fledgling years of the cold war. To that end, the TRUMAN DOCTRINE promised U.S. support to countries threatened by COMMUNISM. The MARSHALL PLAN soon followed, giving economic aid to struggling Western European nations. The establishment of the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) assured military assistance to the 12 signatory countries on the grounds that an attack against one would be considered an attack on all.

Truman's presidency was not without crisis. Between June and September 1948, Soviet forces established a land blockade of western sectors of Berlin, Germany, which were occupied by the British, French and Americans. A massive airlift became necessary in order to supply the three zones. On May 15, 1948, the state of ISRAEL was established, and Truman immediately recognized the new nation, even though Arab armies converged on Israel almost immediately. The United States, however, remained neutral during the first of these Arab-Israeli wars. On June 15, 1950, North Korean troops invaded South Korea. The United States, with the backing of the United Nations (UN), sent immediate military aid to South Korea. Because war was never declared on North Korea, Truman considered the conflict a "police action."

At home, Truman worked on three major issues: administration of the modern American presidency, a legislative program known as the FAIR DEAL, and issues of communism within the government. Truman expanded the executive office of the president, as new advisers were needed on matters of national defense and foreign policy. The NATIONAL SECURITY ACT OF 1947 and its amendments helped the president create the National Security Council, the Department of Defense, and the CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA). He also brought the growing federal bureaucracy under control by improving White House organization, placing more control in the hands of cabinet members and their departments, and entrusting them to do the bidding of the administration. The Fair Deal included both economic and social legislation, and it produced one significant triumph: it brought the issue of civil rights to the forefront of public issues. Even though none of his proposals regarding civil rights were enacted, Truman raised the issue before the public. In 1947, Truman established the FEDERAL EMPLOYEE LOYALTY PROGRAM for the sole purpose of eliminating suspected communists from government positions. This was a result



Harry S. Truman and Winston Churchill, 1952 (*Library of Congress*)

of the pressures from Republicans that the president had made little effort to remove communists from government departments.

Early in 1952, Truman announced that he would not run for another term, though he could have done so had he wished. Truman left the office at the age of 68 with very low public regard. He lived for another 23 years after his presidency, advising all succeeding presidents until his death on December 26, 1972.

Prior to his death, Truman dedicated much of his post-presidential career to the construction of his library, which was the first to be founded under the provisions of the Presidential Library Act of 1955. Established in Truman's hometown of Independence, Missouri, the library and museum was dedicated on July 27, 1957, and was the first presidential library to include a replica of the Oval Office. The Truman library is also noted for "Independence and the Opening of the West," the Thomas Hart Benton mural that marks the entrance to the Oval Office replica with its bold depiction of the fulfillment of the nation's Manifest Destiny.

Truman was survived by his wife Bess and daughter Margaret, who was married to *New York Times* reporter and later editor Clifton Daniel. A best-selling mystery author, Margaret Truman also wrote several notable biographies and books on the White House. Bess Truman died of congestive heart failure on October 18, 1982, at the age of 97, one of the longest-lived First Ladies in American history.

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—Robert A. Deahl

## Truman Doctrine

The Truman Doctrine established a policy of American support to countries fighting COMMUNISM, highlighting anticommunist fears throughout the United States.

The measure was first articulated by President HARRY S. TRUMAN in a message to Congress on March 12, 1947. In a speech designed to secure U.S. aid to Greece and Turkey, Truman embraced a policy of containment that would guide American foreign policy throughout the COLD WAR conflict with the SOVIET UNION.

At the end of World War II, the United States emerged as the sole, true superpower in a fragile global community. Despite its economic and military dominance, many Americans were fearful of the political repercussions posed by the potential spread of communism. By 1947, the Soviet Union had tightened its grip on Eastern Europe and the relationship between the United States and its former wartime ally had deteriorated considerably. Apprehension within the Truman administration was further heightened by the failure of Western Europe to recover economically after the war. One of the greatest fears of U.S. policymakers was realized in 1947 as Great Britain, its empire dying and its own economy in shambles, chose to withdraw from Greece, leaving that country open to civil war. Meanwhile, Marshal Tito, the communist leader of Yugoslavia, sent aid to communist insurgents in Greece. Turkey's political situation was also unstable following the suspension of British aid and, due to its access to the Mediterranean, it seemed a likely target of Soviet aggression. A communist takeover of both countries appeared imminent if the United States did not fill the political power vacuum.

Following his message before a special session of Congress, Truman succeeded in gaining \$400 million to assist the governments of both Greece and Turkey in resisting communist forces. The subsequent flow of aid and military advisers soon stabilized the situation in both countries. Truman went much further, however, and promised aid to any country fighting communists. According to the Truman Doctrine, the United States would "support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." In the developing bipolar world, the United States sought to stop the spread of communism rather than challenge the Soviet Union directly. The Truman Doctrine constituted the rhetorical component of America's anticommunist foreign policy structure, the MARSHALL PLAN served as its economic embodiment,

and the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) formed its political and military framework.

Truman's foreign policy was driven by several ideological assumptions. American officials believed that the countries of EUROPE were so weak, and their people so desperate that, without assistance from the United States, citizens in those war-ravaged nations might turn to communism even without Soviet interference. Policymakers also believed that they understood the nature of both the communist and the Soviet systems. Communism was inherently evil, and thus a fundamental and necessary choice existed between democracy and communism. According to this vision, Joseph Stalin, the Soviet leader, was completely committed to Marxist-Leninist doctrine and thus bent on world domination and never to be trusted. American leaders also assumed that all American interests were global interests. American prosperity could not be insured unless the Soviets were prevented from controlling raw materials—and American prosperity was necessary to bring peace and order to the globe.

Such global thinking led policymakers to ignore specific issues and groups in favor of fitting various conflicts into a general ideological framework. For example, despite Truman's rhetoric, the governments in neither Greece nor Turkey were democratic and, as critics pointed out, the latter had even been pro-Hitler. The Truman Doctrine also

influenced America's domestic life. Motivated in part by a fear that the country would become a garrison state if it was eventually surrounded by communist nations, the United States amassed a large peacetime military force for the first time in its history. Also, in March 1947, Truman initiated the FEDERAL EMPLOYEE LOYALTY PROGRAM, under which individuals could be dismissed for their political beliefs. In order to create popular support for his assistance programs, Truman worked tirelessly to instill a fear of communism in the American citizenry.

The Truman Doctrine marked the first step in America's massive postwar military build-up. In 1949 ANTICOMMUNISM grew in intensity as the Soviets tested their first atomic bomb and Mao Zedong declared a communist government in China. Following the outbreak of the KOREAN WAR in 1950, the defense budget grew even larger.

The impact of the Truman Doctrine was indeed far-reaching, setting the tone for the cold war, establishing a model for America's new proactive role in world affairs, and serving as a rationale for later American involvement in foreign countries, including Korea and Vietnam.

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—Douglas G. Weaver



# U



## union movement

The American labor union movement came to maturity in the years after World War II, bringing with it material success and stability, but also compromising many of the ideals of its youth.

In some ways the war years were good for unions. Membership rose by over 4 million to include a total of 14,322,000 Americans, over 35 percent of the nation's non-agricultural workforce. Feeling that the war had been even kinder to factory owners, unions flexed their muscles substantially at its conclusion. Almost 13 million workers went on strike at some point in the 18 months after the war's end. The situation appeared so grave to President HARRY S. TRUMAN that he ordered government seizure of several facilities affected by strikes and contemplated drafting striking railway workers into the military.

Fear of these strikes provided support for the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress to pass the TAFT-HARTLEY ACT, over Truman's veto, in 1947. Where the NEW DEAL had put the federal government on the side of helping organize labor, Taft-Hartley erected governmental obstacles to union activity. Sympathy strikes were banned and states were allowed to prohibit the practice of closed shops, where an employee had to join a union before getting a job. Most damaging of all, the president was given power to delay strikes for an 80 day "cooling off" period.

After these initial postwar confrontations, the union movement settled into the mainstream of American society. Control of unions fell to moderate elements, as radicals were driven out in purges facilitated by the strong wave of ANTICOMMUNISM sweeping the country. Strikes declined and union leaders became almost indistinguishable from the managers with whom they negotiated. National union officials retained control over locals by setting rules, insuring that power flowed from the top down. Unions evolved into greater bureaucracies and became more centralized. The 1955 merger of the two largest unions, the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR (AFL) and the CONGRESS

OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS (CIO), provides the best example of this. "Tuxedo Unionism," as it was termed by disgruntled steelworkers, meant more cooperation between unions and management and less input from the union rank and file.

Even worse for the perception of unions by their members and the public, corruption among top union officials increasingly came to light in the late 1950s. TEAMSTERS UNION president David Beck went to prison for stealing union funds. The ensuing congressional investigation of the Teamsters uncovered connections to organized crime, which led to the union's expulsion from the AFL-CIO. Hollywood helped spread the perception of corrupt unions in the film *On the Waterfront*, which depicted an ex-prizefighter's struggle against union corruption along the New York waterfront. Congress tried to address union corruption with the Landrum-Griffin Act, which gave the federal government power to oversee internal union affairs to assure democracy for rank-and-file members. It also made it a federal crime to misuse union funds. The Teamsters had difficulty adjusting to this government oversight as Beck's successor, Jimmy Hoffa, also ended up in prison, thanks to aggressive prosecution by Attorney General ROBERT F KENNEDY.

While some union members expressed outrage at their leadership's corruption and distance from the rank and file, most did not chiefly because union members could see tangible improvements in their standard of living and working conditions. Wages increased and benefit packages offering health care and paid vacations became more commonplace, even in industries that did not have significant levels of unionization. With fewer bread-and-butter issues to contest and less power within unions, active rank-and-file participation in unions declined.

Although membership rose most years, the percentage of the American labor force involved with unions declined steadily through the 1950s and 1960s. This drop resulted not only from the apathy or contentment

of industrial workers but also from important changes that occurred in the ECONOMY. Manufacturing jobs were increasingly locating in the southern sunbelt states, which were historically hostile to union activity. Moreover, structural changes in the economy were diminishing the share of the LABOR force involved in sectors such as manufacturing and mining where union activity was heavily concentrated.

Established unions were initially slow to respond to these changes, but by the 1960s they had begun to come around. In 1965, the AFL-CIO recognized the UNITED FARM WORKERS, organized by CÉSAR CHÁVEZ. At the other end of the occupational spectrum, white collar unions such as the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees were getting started by the late 1960s, although most private-sector white-collar employees rejected unionization.

As the union movement looked to the 1970s, it faced several challenges. Not only did it need to counter increasing public perception that it was corrupt and unresponsive it also needed to reinvigorate its rank and file. Most important, it needed to find ways to make its existence relevant to workers in a rapidly changing American economy that no longer rested on manufacturing.

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—Dave Price

### United Farm Workers (UFW)

Committed to nonviolent action for social justice and to the labor movement, the United Farm Workers sought to organize Mexican American farmworkers to attain better living and working conditions.

The United Farm Workers originated in Delano, California, where CÉSAR CHÁVEZ and Dolores Huerta founded the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) in 1962. Chávez and Huerta knew intimately the difficulties facing farmworkers. Chávez had worked in the fields as a child, traveling with his family across central and northern California to pick grapes, berries, nuts, and vegetables. Huerta's father was a migrant farmworker and union activist. She had worked to improve the conditions of migrants through a community interest group during the late 1950s.

Farmworkers labored long hours for wages far below the poverty line, lived in overcrowded makeshift housing, and often lacked access to toilets, running water, refrigeration, and preventative medicine. Many children of farmworkers left school after only three or four years because migration disrupted their studies. To help support their

impoverished families, children went to work in the fields, where the average life expectancy among workers was only 49 years. Labor contractors and growers relied upon workers' fears of unemployment, blacklisting, and, in the case of Mexican immigrants, deportation to stifle protest. Ethnic and racial tensions among Mexican American, Mexican, Filipino, black, and Anglo workers also made organizing difficult. Nor did farmworkers enjoy legal protection. The 1935 National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) did not cover agricultural workers. Local courts often sided with growers, limiting farmworkers' basic rights to picket, strike, boycott, and exercise freedom of speech.

Chávez and Huerta's cross-cultural grassroots organizing emboldened Delano farmworkers and broke down some of the ethnic and racial barriers dividing them. After area growers refused a wage increase, the predominantly Mexican and Mexican American NFWA joined striking Filipino workers in a walkout in 1965. Many growers fought back aggressively with tactics that included employment of strikebreakers, police harassment of union leaders, charges of communist infiltration of the NFWA, and legal injunctions against picketers. The response of the NFWA catapulted the farmworkers' struggle to national prominence, ending the isolation that was one of the strike's greatest weaknesses. Chávez enlisted the support of university students, church leaders, trade unionists, and civil rights activists, who spread news of the farmworkers' struggle far beyond rural California. The union also launched a series of consumer boycotts against major grape producers, and stores selling nonunion grapes. Chávez's commitment to nonviolence and the emphasis he placed on human rights appealed to those sympathetic to the southern black CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. In 1966, a number of grape growers capitulated, and the NFWA merged with another agricultural organization to become the United Farm Workers.

The struggle continued. The union's focus on growers' use of pesticides helped to inspire an alliance with environmental activists. In the spring of 1967, Chávez led a march of strikers and their supporters on a 300-mile pilgrimage from Delano to Sacramento. The march vividly dramatized the fact that the issues animating the strikers involved not only labor rights but also the civil rights of Mexican Americans. Its major purpose was to battle the fear of Mexican American farmworkers, who, like southern blacks, had long experienced racial SEGREGATION, discrimination, slurs, and violence. With banners bearing portraits of the Virgin of Guadalupe—the patron saint of Mexico—and “Huelga”—the Spanish word for “strike”—marchers cut a path across the racial boundaries of the San Joaquin Valley, attracting thousands of farmworkers along the way.

Five years after the strike had begun, Delano's major nonunion growers signed a contract with the NFWA in July

1970. In 1971, the UFW affiliated with the AFL-CIO. But the union's troubles were far from over. With no input from their workers, powerful growers in the Salinas, San Joaquin, and Imperial Valleys signed "sweetheart" contracts with the TEAMSTERS UNION that allowed growers control in the fields. Between 1970 and 1974, farmworkers led by the UFW walked off the fields in protest. These strikes were marked by Teamster-sponsored violence against picketers and thousands of arrests, mostly of strikers on flimsy charges. While Huerta's forceful negotiating skills secured a favorable contract with a subsidiary of the mammoth United Fruit Corporation, the UFW otherwise struggled to survive.

As a result of pressure from the UFW, its supporters, and those growers who now sought economic stability, California passed the 1975 Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA), the first law to recognize the right of farmworkers to bargain collectively. The UFW won handily over the Teamsters in most union elections throughout the 1970s and the organization surpassed 100,000 members in 1980. The union, however, faced major challenges in the following decades. The board established to enforce the ALRA lacked effectiveness due to insufficiency of funds. Conservative political forces swept the state, bitterly attacking the UNION MOVEMENT. Finally, undocumented workers, whose fear of deportation made unionization difficult, came to make up an increasingly large number of farmworkers. Still, the UFW had managed to push the agricultural industry to end many of its most egregious practices and succeeded in substantially raising the wages of its workers.

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—Theresa Ann Case

## Urban League

Created in 1910 as a voluntary-service agency, the Urban League constituted one of the major civil rights organizations in the United States and became known as the social service agency of African Americans.

Headquartered in New York City, the Urban League brought together black and white members in an effort to promote economic self-reliance, equality, and civil rights for all African Americans. Working as a nonprofit, nonpartisan, community-based movement, the Urban League targeted education, employment, and economic stability as the main avenues to secure equal participation in mainstream society for all black Americans. With offices at the local, state,

and national level, the Urban League used a variety of programs, including advocacy, policy analysis, and community mobilization, to carry out its mission.

To help further its goals, the Urban League relied on scientific social work, civil rights techniques, and pressure group tactics to open various employment and educational opportunities that had been closed to African Americans. With a majority of its members living in the northern and western states, the Urban League focused the greatest part of its efforts on the North and West.

In the years following World War II, African Americans feared a loss of economic and social gains made during the conflict. The unemployment rates among African Americans in the cities, always high, began to rise in the postwar years, and many African-American veterans were unable to find work. Concerned about the threat of urban racial violence amid job discrimination, the Urban League—led by Lester Granger, a league veteran and prominent newspaper columnist—prodded the federal government to take a more active role in helping blacks achieve equality.

Driven by a desire to protect and expand job opportunities for black Americans, the Urban League sought the establishment of a permanent FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES COMMITTEE, which might guarantee that African Americans could share in policymaking and program planning while promoting unemployment insurance for domestic and agricultural workers. It also pushed for the integration of unions, using its own Industrial Relations Laboratory to secure fair employment opportunities for all black American workers. In 1948, in part because of Urban League lobbying, President HARRY S. TRUMAN banned employment discrimination in federal government agencies. In addition, efforts made by the Urban League during the war, such as the establishment of a black youth training program designed to provide young workers with the skills required to obtain blue-collar jobs, expanded in the postwar years in the form of career conferences held on the campuses of traditionally African-American colleges to encourage employment in white-collar positions.

The Urban League advocated change in other areas as well. In 1952, the group created the Office of Housing Activities to deal with discriminatory housing practices. Having long supported the removal of racially restrictive covenants from all federally assisted housing, the Urban League now acted to stop racially discriminatory company-built housing. The Urban League lobbied intensively both U.S. Steel and the Levittown Corporation, companies that barred black residents from living in their housing developments.

By the late 1950s, the Urban League began to suffer from internal divisions. Its critics argued that the group

had done little more than assist urban black Americans in acquiring low-skill, low-paying jobs and housing in traditionally black neighborhoods. Granger came under increasingly heavy attack by more militant members of the organization, who called for more aggressive action, much like that of other civil rights organizations of the period. Granger, however, remained focused on achieving African-American self-reliance by working through social programs, insisting that the emphasis of the Urban League remained that of getting people to work and not of engaging in violent protest.

Concerned with alienating white policymakers and supporters of the Urban League, Granger limited the organization's involvement in direct action and nonviolent protest. As a result, other civil rights groups became more important to many African Americans than the Urban League. The image of the organization began to change when Whitney M. Young replaced Lester Granger as president in 1961. Chosen because of his more aggressive style of leadership, Young led the league to become an active partner with other civil rights organizations.

Support for the Urban League grew under the direction of Young due in large part to the development of its 1964 Voter Education Project. Using a grassroots approach, league members were effective in educating and motivating black Americans to register and vote. Meanwhile, Young shifted the group's focus from its long-held goal of promoting equality of opportunity to eradicating the gap between the economic and social opportunities available to black and white citizens. In an effort to bring democracy and hope to poor, urban areas, the group supported the establishment of economic institutions by helping to develop African American-owned businesses, cooperatives, consumer unions, and franchises.

In later years, the Urban League expanded its social service efforts and supported new housing, health care, and education initiatives. Additional emphasis was placed on reducing teen pregnancy and combating crime in African-American communities.

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—Caryn Neumann

## urban redevelopment

After World War II, urban planners in major cities joined forces with social reformers to encourage urban redevelopment projects to address the declining quality of life in cities. At the beginning of the 20th century, cities in the

United States had been the lifeblood of the American economy. The advances of the factory system, developments in public transportation, and the mechanization of agriculture, which reduced the need for farm laborers, all led to urban growth throughout the country. But by the 1950s, the quality of life in urban areas started to decline. A rise in crime rates, less funding for the social programs that had been created through the New Deal of the 1930s, and SUBURBANIZATION were just several of the factors that led to declining cities. City populations that had steadily increased since the 19th century shrank, while the areas outside the cities rapidly grew.

The federal urban renewal program, created under Title I of the Housing Act of 1949, provided for demolition of slums and the construction of about 800,000 new homes throughout the nation. Between 1949 and 1973 approximately 600,000 inner-city housing units were demolished, forcing almost 2 million people to relocate to new neighborhoods. Many poor families were moved to high-rise apartment buildings that came to be known throughout the United States as “projects,” which were often plagued with violent criminal activity. As these PUBLIC HOUSING apartments became more derelict, many public housing authorities fell into bankruptcy, and their properties literally became walled off from the cities.

Urban redevelopment sought to eradicate racial segregation in city neighborhoods, eliminate substandard housing, construct well-built homes, and revitalize urban economies. Yet the housing sites were obtained through eminent domain, which enabled the government to take over privately owned real estate for public purposes. Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 enabled the federal government to pay two-thirds of the cost of acquiring land sites, while the local governments paid the remaining one-third. This allowed developers to build homes at below-market prices without providing any incentives to supply housing for the urban poor. Instead of affordable housing, urban redevelopment often created commercial centers for business and high-rise apartments for the middle and upper classes.

Not all urban redevelopment projects involved widespread destruction. Like many other projects, urban renewal in the Society Hill section of Philadelphia transformed an urban area into a more affluent neighborhood, but the change was accomplished through selective demolition of dilapidated homes rather than wholesale slum clearance. Poor residents were displaced, but restored colonial-era homes maintained a predominantly low-rise urban landscape punctuated by a few high-rise towers to accommodate population density.

Urban neighborhoods also were demolished to make way for the new highways authorized by the Eisenhower administration's INTERSTATE HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956.



Cities were physically divided, displacing many low-income residents from their homes. The act also helped thousands of white families leave cities and settle in the suburbs, where they could live apart from the city but still drive to work easily on the newly built highways. Some urban areas did improve with the renewal projects, but others declined with projects that shifted traffic patterns, isolated neighborhoods with highways, blocked vehicular

traffic, and displaced large amounts of minority and ethnic residents.

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—Hilary Styer





### **veterans**

The transition between military and civilian life became increasingly difficult for veterans in the years following World War II.

The United States was involved in three major military conflicts in the period between 1940 and 1970—World War II, the KOREAN WAR and the VIETNAM WAR. Over time, the veterans of these conflicts found it increasingly difficult to assimilate back into civilian life. Significantly, this problem occurred not because the nation's citizens felt less respect for the men and women in military service or less appreciation for their service to the country. Rather, many veterans of the Vietnam War felt disconnected because they had participated in a conflict that fewer Americans agreed with.

The more than 16 million veterans of World War II enjoyed the highest level of American support and had the greatest success in reentering civilian life. Americans saw these veterans as fighting an evil enemy, and since the war took nearly four years and involved nearly 1.1 million casualties, the country treated World War II veterans as heroes. One example of this support was the GI Bill, passed by Congress in 1944 as a way to say “thank-you” to these veterans. Immediately dubbed the “GI Bill of Rights,” this law constituted an important part of the effort to reintegrate military personnel into the civilian economy, since it established a wide array of medical, financial, and educational programs exclusively for veterans. It was also symbolic of the pride, respect, and appreciation the country felt for its servicemen and women.

The veterans of the Korean War, unlike World War II, were part of a broader United Nations military force. Their mission was to prevent the spread of COMMUNISM from North Korea into South Korea, which failed to provide the glory that defeating the Nazis brought. Additionally, fewer than 6 million men and women were in uniform during the war and total casualties were less than 150,000. The participation of American soldiers did not command as much

media attention compared to World War II. Finally, there was less tangible proof that the war was a success, since North Korea remained communist and the final two years of the conflict were mired in a slow peace process during which soldiers continued to die. Called by some “the Forgotten War,” Americans did not give Korean veterans the same enthusiastic reception bestowed upon earlier veterans. Congress did, however, extend the benefits of the GI Bill to include Korean veterans, and, given the growing American economy, these men and women were able to assimilate with relative ease back into civilian life.

Unlike World War II, the Vietnam conflict, the longest military engagement in American history, proved problematic for many of the soldiers involved. An undeclared war, the main objective was to prevent the spread of communism from North Vietnam to South Vietnam. More than 8.7 million men and women served in the conflict, but, unlike earlier wars, they were young soldiers with an average age of just 19; by comparison, the average World War II soldier was 26. Also, because the draft deferred college students, many of those who fought in Vietnam came from the working class, and they were disproportionately African American and Latino. The Vietnam War was the most divisive conflict in American history, characterized by massive protests, social division, and contentious debate. Because many Americans did not feel that it was a war the United States should be involved in, the men and women who served in the war were denied the respect earned by combat veterans of previous wars. While they still received many of the same government benefits given to earlier veterans, their assimilation back into civilian life was far more difficult. As many as 40 percent of all Vietnam veterans developed drug dependencies or symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. Possibly the most revealing symbol of how difficult dealing with this war was for America and its veterans was the Vietnam Veterans Memorial on the Mall in Washington, D.C. The series of black granite plaques containing the names of more than 58,000 soldiers who died in the

conflict finally provided a way for the nation to treat those who made the ultimate sacrifice with respect.

Throughout the latter half of the 20th century, veterans' memorials became a common feature of the National Mall in Washington, D.C. Dedicated in 1982, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial initiated the commemorative tradition while facing controversy over a design that many felt reflected the stigma against the war and its veterans. Created in such proximity to the end of the conflict, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial effectively captured the national divide over the war and its legacy in American life. With planning beginning in 1986 and a dedication in 1995, the Korean War memorial in Washington, D.C., followed more in the heroic tradition of veterans' monuments. The National World War II Memorial reflected a similar character and, upon its dedication on May 29, 2004, provoked some critics to characterize its style as trite and vainglorious even as supporters praised the design as evocative of the Art Deco architecture of the New Deal era. Such critiques signaled a shift toward favoring commemoration that recognizes the complexity of war, though such representations remained controversial amid fears that they might dishonor veterans' service.

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—Dave Mason

## Vietnam War

America's COLD WAR against COMMUNISM led to its longest war, the controversial failure in Vietnam.

In 1945, war broke out when Vietnam declared independence from France, which had colonized the region since the mid-1800s. Battling nationalist forces, French troops continued to fight in Vietnam until 1954, when France's domestic support for the war wavered after a devastating defeat at Dien Bien Phu. Plans to allow France a peaceful withdrawal from the country took shape, and from May 8 through July 21, 1954, representatives from eight nations, including the United States, Vietnam, and France, met in Geneva, Switzerland. The agreement they drafted, known as the Geneva Accords, temporarily divided Vietnam at the 17th parallel so that both France and Vietnam had an opportunity to stand back and allow Vietnamese soldiers to return to their native regions. The nationalist (and communist) leader Ho Chi Minh retained control of North Vietnam, while the emperor Bao Dai ruled South

Vietnam. The United States refused to sign the agreement, fearing the possibility of a communist takeover of Vietnam, and instead chose to support the South Vietnamese government, soon replacing Bao Dai with Ngo Dinh Diem. Diem was a Vietnamese leader living in exile in the United States who returned to take charge. He refused to participate in the national elections called for by the Geneva Accords out of fear that the communists would prevail, and he instead declared South Vietnam's independence, a move that many communist forces saw as an attempt by the United States to interfere with the national independence that the Geneva Accords had pledged.

Throughout the 1950s, the southern government of Ngo Dinh Diem and its army (ARVN) received extensive American economic and advisory aid. The ARVN fought the National Liberation Front (NLF), a revolt within South Vietnam, along with its military arm—the Viet Cong—and received substantial aid from Hanoi, North Vietnam's capital. Democrat JOHN F. KENNEDY, elected president in 1960, took the advice of Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, and he quietly increased troops in Vietnam until there were more than 9,000 in 1962.

The unpopularity of Diem became obvious in June 1963, when Buddhist monks set themselves on fire in downtown Saigon, South Vietnam's capital, to protest his regime. The authoritarian Diem, a Catholic, had imposed severe restrictions on the Buddhist faith. A coup by military officers that killed Diem in October 1963 had the approval of American officials, though Kennedy was troubled by the murder. The new American president, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, took office after Kennedy's assassination, and he inherited a conflict that escalated into a full-scale war. In August 1964, open fighting between Americans and North Vietnamese in the Gulf of Tonkin led to a congressional resolution to "prevent further aggression" by North Vietnam, not merely to protect South Vietnam. China's nuclear explosion in October 1964 made American leaders more determined to subdue communism, even as NLF forces began direct attacks on American bases. By 1965, U.S. troops in Vietnam numbered 23,300, and, early that year, American planes began air strikes, using napalm, a jelly-like burning substance, on both people and land. In March, American troops entered the ground war. Nguyen Van Thieu took control of South Vietnam's government, and, by July, Johnson promised him open-ended aid against North Vietnam.

American troops heading for Vietnam in the early years of the war were composed mainly of volunteers in air force, navy, and marine combat units. But by 1965, increasing numbers of soldiers were needed to fight, and the U.S. government reinstated the draft. In the beginning, approximately 20,000 men per month were drafted. By 1968, the number of men drafted had escalated to almost 40,000 per



month, with the majority young men—the average age was 19—from lower economic classes. Many found themselves in army combat units, which had high casualty rates. Unable to take advantage of the exemptions that many white middle- and upper-class citizens claimed, especially those who possessed the financial means to attend college, a disproportionately large number of draftees were African American and Latino.

Johnson, like Kennedy, intensified the action through a pliant Congress and decided on policies and chose bombing targets without clear goals, all the while misleading the American public. TELEVISION broadcast scenes from the jungle war, and an ANTIWAR MOVEMENT grew on American college campuses. America's allies also called for restraint. American leaders, believing that military might would quickly destroy the enemy, relied on artillery and

bombs. These means had little effect on Vietnamese guerrillas expert at escaping notice and enlisting popular support, who fought from an extensive underground tunnel system. By 1967, despite the presence of nearly 500,000 American soldiers, the use of more bombs than in World War II, and the expenditure by the United States of \$2 million a month, the Communists, with aid from China and the Soviet Union, refused to capitulate. That year, some 2,800 Vietnamese died each month, many of them women and children. High body counts persuaded American military leaders that they were winning, but they were mistaken. By summer, more than 13,000 Americans had died in Vietnam.

Meanwhile, South Vietnam suffered runaway inflation, Americanization by consumer goods, and boom-time corruption. In America, antiwar feeling spread, joining



U.S. helicopters airlift soldiers into battle against Viet Cong guerrillas, Quang Tri, 1965. (*United States Army*)

social, racial, and cultural unrest. Popular protest flared often; even some government officials wanted to scale the war down.

Tensions came to a head during Tet, the Vietnamese New Year, on January 30, 1968. The NLF launched a major offensive in the cities, timed to occur as festivities began. While the NLF failed to hold any important positions, the Tet Offensive shocked Americans and brought to a boil questions about the war that had long been simmering. On March 31, Johnson announced both his willingness to negotiate peace and his decision not to run for president in 1968.

North Vietnam agreed to talks, but both sides continued to fight while negotiating. Republican Richard M. Nixon, elected president in 1968, listened to Henry Kissinger, his national security adviser, and tried to achieve a “peace with honor” that would keep South Vietnam independent. The effort produced massive secret U.S. bombing of neutral Cambodia to cut off sanctuaries from which, Nixon argued, the North Vietnamese were launching attacks. When Nixon sent in troops in April 1970, many American campuses erupted, and innocent students were killed by National Guardsmen in demonstrations at Kent State University in Ohio and Jackson State University in Mississippi. Congress tried to end funding, and Nixon withdrew some troops in a policy he called Vietnamization.

The two sides agreed to the Paris Peace Accords in January 1973, after more than 58,000 American and more than a million Vietnamese deaths. But Nixon’s settlement provided neither peace nor honor. North and South Vietnam continued to fight. Watergate forced Nixon’s resignation in 1974, and American support for the war melted away. Saigon fell to the North on May 1, 1975, and remaining Americans withdrew in chaos. More than 1.5 million refugees from Southeast Asia followed them in the next few years. Popular support helped Hanoi win the war and unify the country on its own terms. Protest at home helped reverse American foreign policy and eventually brought the conflict, which had lasted a quarter century, to an end.

In light of the controversy surrounding American involvement in Vietnam, the effort to memorialize veterans’ service in Washington, D.C., proved controversial as well. The main part of the memorial, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Wall, was designed by architect Maya Lin and dedicated in 1982. Lin’s design consisted of two walls of reflective Indian granite arranged in a V-shape with one wall pointing toward the Washington Monument and the other toward the Lincoln Memorial. On the walls, the names of servicemen who died or were classified as missing in action at the time of the memorial’s construction were listed chronologically, and the reflective granite allow people to see their own reflections while looking at the names.

After controversy erupted over Lin’s original design and its departure from the more heroic tradition of veterans’ memorials, two parts were added. Unveiled in 1984, Frederick Hart’s *Three Soldiers* statue depicts a white American, a black American, and a Hispanic seeming to look symbolically at the wall in tribute to their fallen comrades. In addition, a memorial statue to women who served in Vietnam designed by Glenna Goodacre was dedicated on November 11, 1993. Despite initial controversy, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial has become a notable destination for veterans and their families and an iconic monument on the National Mall. Part of this iconography relates to the objects that visitors leave at the wall, which are stored in the National Park Service’s Museum and Archeological Regional Storage Facility and selectively displayed at the Smithsonian Institution.

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—Barbara M. Hahn

### **Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA)**

Created in 1964 as part of LYNDON B. JOHNSON’s GREAT SOCIETY, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) was a program that recruited, trained, and placed full-time volunteers with nonprofit and public organizations that serviced low-income communities.

Whereas VISTA began under the presidency of Johnson, its roots lay in the administration of JOHN F. KENNEDY. Before the early 1960s, most Americans were not aware of poverty in the United States. Through media attention and books such as MICHAEL HARRINGTON’s *The Other America*, awareness of poverty in the United States became increasingly evident. As a result of this visibility, in 1962, Kennedy established a study group, headed by Attorney General ROBERT F. KENNEDY, to explore the idea of creating a domestic service program whose volunteers would work in low-income communities. The committee proposed the establishment of a National Service Corps (NSC). State legislatures had several goals for the NSC. By utilizing full-time volunteers, the NSC would be able to reach those in greatest need of services. Legislatures hoped that the work and visibility of the volunteers would aid in garnering support from both the private and the public sector, promote further volunteerism by other community members, and encourage people to work in fields that provided social services.

In May 1963, hearings began in Congress on the NSC bill. Concerns over political agitation, integration, and lead-

ership, however, prevented the legislation from moving successfully through Congress.

Seven months after Congress defeated the NSC bill, it was reformed and renamed VISTA as part of Johnson's WAR ON POVERTY programs. In March 1964, Johnson delivered an address before Congress about the seriousness of poverty in the United States, and he declared that poverty could be eradicated with help from Congress. Johnson asked for funding and for the authority to create a volunteer corps. Under the ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964, Congress allocated almost a billion dollars for the formation of 10 different antipoverty programs, including VISTA, HEAD START, and JOB CORPS. The goals of the new VISTA were no different from those of the failed NSC. Unlike NSC, however, VISTA would function under the Office of Economic Opportunity. At the center of these policies was the assumption that solutions to poverty required direct intervention and that low-income people had a right to participate in housing, health, education, and work solutions.

VISTA volunteers served full time in one-year terms. They worked for a variety of agencies and participated in projects ranging from literacy programs to economic and community development to battered women's shelters. In addition to the experience gained during their term, volunteers received a living allowance, health insurance, and an educational award to be used toward future education or student loan debt. While volunteers had to be 18 years old to participate, there was no upper age limit set for participation. Many of the volunteers possessed college degrees, but not all positions required a degree.

VISTA changed with subsequent presidential administrations and shifting political climates. In the early 1970s, President Richard M. Nixon combined several programs, such as VISTA and the PEACE CORPS to form the ACTION agency. ACTION discouraged the community development emphasis of VISTA, and such activities declined. VISTA, however, continued to secure federal funds and maintained its community organizing initiatives. During the 1980s, ACTION administrators dismantled the recruiting and training structure of VISTA. In addition, there was a decline in the number of organizations that received volunteers. Grassroots efforts ensured that VISTA's work in community organizing remained alive. In 1993, ACTION combined with three other groups under the National Service Trust Act to form the Corporation for National Service, and VISTA officially became AmeriCorps VISTA.

By the turn of the 21st century, there were more than 100,000 former VISTA volunteers. Since its founding, the effect of VISTA workers on the communities they served has been debated. Recent evaluations of the program suggest that VISTA workers do in fact have a positive impact on the neighborhoods and communities in which they work.

According to the executive summary for 1997, volunteers that year each generated an average of \$24,000 in funds for their sponsoring organizations and recruited more than 4 million hours of community service. Though the survival of VISTA has at times been uncertain, changes in the decades after its creation have kept it alive.

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—Heather L. Tompkins

## Voting Rights Act of 1965

Passed overwhelmingly by Congress and signed into law by President LYNDON B. JOHNSON on August 6, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 strengthened federal protection and enforcement of African-American voting rights in the South.

During the early 1960s, various civil rights organizations fought to secure the constitutional right of blacks to the ballot, a right originally guaranteed by the Fifteenth Amendment. Since the era of Reconstruction, blacks were kept from the polls through literacy tests, poll taxes, intimidation, violence, and other questionable voter registration practices. The 1965 measure comprised a significant part of the federal government's legislative response to what civil rights protests laid bare—the many remaining barriers to black enfranchisement.

The drive to secure black voting rights began in earnest in 1964, when the CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) and the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC), two civil rights organizations, launched the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project, in which college students and local volunteers assisted southern blacks in registering to vote. Then in early 1965, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) organized a mass march in Selma, Alabama, to protest black disfranchisement. Both of these peaceful events were met with strong white resistance and violence—three Freedom Summer volunteers were murdered by local Mississippi law enforcement; many Selma marchers were beaten by police; and two white Selma marchers advocating black voting rights were murdered. The violence that erupted in the South received heavy media coverage and outraged the American public, especially northerners. Support for change in the South and for a new voting rights bill grew.

In August, just five months after the Selma march, Johnson persuaded Congress to pass the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Drafted by the administration, the act was designed to eliminate the remaining barriers to black enfranchisement. The legislation targeted specific southern states or counties

known to have discriminated against black voters through registration procedures. Those with the worst records included Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, many North Carolina counties, South Carolina, and Virginia. The act required these areas to submit changes in voting laws and procedures to the U.S. attorney general for approval. The attorney general could also appoint poll watchers and voting examiners as needed to ensure that blacks were able to register and vote without harassment. This provision gave real teeth to the legislation and allowed the attorney general unprecedented power and control over state elections. In addition, the act outlawed gerrymandering, or drawing lines for election districts in an unfair way for the purpose of denying the right to vote on the basis of race. Literacy tests and other ploys used in the South to limit the franchise to whites also were prohibited.

The power of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to protect black voting rights was buttressed by two other significant federal actions. In 1964, Congress passed and the states ratified the Twenty-fourth Amendment, which outlawed the use of poll taxes in federal elections. Then in a 1966

ruling, the Supreme Court prohibited all poll taxes, including those at state-level elections. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was successful almost immediately after it went into effect. Black voter participation in the South increased dramatically and transformed southern politics. In Mississippi, for example, the proportion of registered black voters rose from approximately 6 percent in the years before 1965 to 60 percent by the end of the decade. By the 1970s, black votes had helped to elect more blacks to political office, thus giving African Americans an even stronger voice in government. The measure also opened the polls and political offices to other minority groups. In subsequent years the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were renewed and strengthened.

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—Lori Creed



# W



**Wallace, George C.** See VOLUME X.

**Wallace, Henry A.** See VOLUME VIII.

## War on Poverty

The War on Poverty, part of President LYNDON B. JOHNSON's GREAT SOCIETY program, aimed to help the newly recognized poor across the United States during the 1960s.

Before his assassination in 1963, President JOHN F. KENNEDY asked his council of economic advisers to investigate poverty within the United States. Kennedy, like many others, had read MICHAEL HARRINGTON's *The Other America*, a book that in 1962, brought attention to the issue of poverty in America. Johnson, after taking over as president, felt the need to continue this effort to investigate and help the poor. In his State of the Union address in 1964, Johnson said, "This administration today, here and now, declares unconditional War on Poverty in America."

In the 1960s, poverty was different than it had been in the 1930s. During the 1960s, the ECONOMY was booming and plenty of jobs were available, but the poor were often undereducated, malnourished, and unable to find decent homes and jobs. The children of the poor suffered from an inability to escape the vicious cycle of poverty. Johnson and his advisers recognized the need to research the cause and manifestations of poverty within American society and launch an integrated assault.

Johnson believed that his War on Poverty benefited not only the poor but had a positive effect on the morality and economy of the nation. Since the problem of poverty was a fairly new concern to the federal government, many, including Johnson, were not always sure how to proceed. The administration used many different approaches and

techniques to combat the problem, recognizing that some would inevitably fail. The increased effort to investigate the causes and sources of poverty, many hoped, would point the government in the right direction.

The ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964 was a key part of the program. It sought to help the poor find work through such agencies as the JOB CORPS, which provided funds for employment of the young.

The War on Poverty included many types of programs aimed at helping people out of both urban and rural poverty. Training programs prepared unskilled workers for jobs, and housing programs provided better homes and living environments, especially within slums and ghettos. Johnson's plan gave aid to schools and tried to stop poverty from impeding students' success. HEAD START was a nursery and kindergarten program for underprivileged children, while Upward Bound gave poor talented children a chance to attend college. Health programs gave medical care to those who lacked it or had received poor care in the past. The elderly received increased Social Security stipends, and the Food Stamp program provided assistance to those without enough money to buy groceries. Meanwhile, Johnson continued to push for civil rights legislation to aid African Americans and gain an equal footing in the United States.

The War on Poverty relied on local initiatives as well as federal action. The Office of Economic Opportunity supervised COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM projects, which fought poverty with locally controlled programs in areas including job training, community health, housing, and home management.

Johnson once said of the poor, "They have no voice and no champion. Whatever the cost, I was determined to represent them. Through me they would have an advocate and, I believed, new hope." His War on Poverty was the first coordinated national effort to combat intensively the problems of the poor, an effort that had been previously limited to charitable groups.

When Johnson left the White House in 1969, 36 percent of Americans had been lifted out of poverty. Though the success was not as great as hoped, the Johnson administration played an important role in helping those poor who needed assistance most.

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— Jennifer Parson

**Warren, Earl** (1891–1974) *chief justice of the United States*

Earl Warren, chief justice of the Supreme Court between 1953–69, strongly favored the protection of civil liberties and civil rights.

Warren was born in Los Angeles, California, on March 19, 1891. He received his undergraduate degree in political science as well as a law degree from the University of California at Berkeley. Graduating near the bottom of his class with only a C average in law school, he nonetheless passed the California state bar examination at the age of 23 and began to practice law in San Francisco. He held various local political offices, and he served as district attorney of Alameda County, California, from 1925 to 1939. After moving up the state government ladder in 1939, Warren was elected attorney general of California, a position he retained for four years.

Warren next won election as governor of California in 1942. As a liberal Republican, he garnered the support of both Democrats and Republicans to win a stunning victory. During his second term as governor, Warren opposed loyalty oaths required by the Board of Regents for all state employees as a part of the anticommunist cru-



Supreme Court Justices (left to right) William O. Douglas, Stanley Reed, Chief Justice Earl Warren, Hugo Black, Felix Frankfurter, and others stand with President Eisenhower on the White House steps, 1953. (Library of Congress)

sade, and he later saw them invalidated by the California Supreme Court.

Before he could finish his second term as governor, Republican presidential candidate THOMAS E. DEWEY selected Warren as his vice presidential running mate in the election of 1948 against President HARRY S. TRUMAN. After they were defeated in a stunning upset, Warren was elected governor by the people of California to a third term in 1950. In his own quest for the presidency in 1952, he was swept aside by the entrance of General DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER into the race. In return for Warren's support, Eisenhower promised him a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court.

When Chief Justice Fred Vinson died in 1954, Eisenhower made good on his promise, and Warren became chief justice. Warren began his first term by orchestrating a decision that upheld equal rights for African Americans. In *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* (1954), Warren pushed hard for a unanimous 9-0 vote by personally persuading all justices initially opposed that the case ending school SEGREGATION was so charged that it demanded unanimity.

Warren took a liberal stance on other cases as well. In *Galyan v. Press* (1954), the Court upheld the government's right to deport anyone who was an alleged member of the Communist Party and an alien in the United States even if the person had renounced party membership. In a change of heart, the Court began to protect the rights of communists. In *Watkins v. United States* (1957), it ruled that the efforts of the HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE (HUAC) would no longer be tolerated; it was subsequently dissolved in 1975 because of its abuse of congressional power. In *Yates v. United States* (1957), the Court overturned the convictions of 14 communists convicted under the Smith Act, which prohibited advocating the violent overthrow of the government, thereby reversing its decision in *DENNIS V. UNITED STATES* (1951), handed down just six years earlier.

Warren also sought to reform the criminal justice system to protect the rights and liberties of all individuals. In *MIRANDA V. ARIZONA* (1966), the WARREN COURT ruled that the police must inform a criminal suspect that he or she had the right to remain silent and the right to an attorney before any questioning could proceed. This case also guaranteed that a person who could not afford an attorney would have one appointed by the court.

In *REYNOLDS V. SIMS* (1964), Warren helped craft a majority ruling that representation in state legislatures must be based on population. In *ENGEL V. VITALE* (1962), Warren and the majority banned prayer in public schools.

Warren also served as head of the Warren Commission, convened in November 1963 by President LYNDON B. JOHNSON to investigate the assassination of JOHN F. KENNEDY. The 15-person panel concluded that LEE HARVEY OSWALD acted alone and his murder by Jack Ruby did not

constitute actions that were part of a foreign or a domestic conspiracy. Despite criticism of Warren, he stood by the conclusion of that report.

In 1968, the year Warren announced his retirement, Alabama governor GEORGE C. WALLACE accused Warren of having done "more to destroy constitutional government in this century than any one man." Eisenhower, displeased with the liberal stance Warren favored, considered his appointment of Warren as chief justice the "biggest damn-fool mistake I ever made." Earl Warren died in 1974.

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—John E. Bibish IV

## Warren Court

The U.S. Supreme Court experienced a profound transformation from the 1950s to the 1960s. Appointed chief justice by President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER in 1953 to replace Fred Vinson, EARL WARREN presided over a court that protected civil liberties for all citizens in many different areas of law.

The court Warren led was initially composed of many pre-World War II liberals, such as Hugo Black, William O. Douglas, Felix Frankfurter, Stanley Reed, and Robert Jackson, as well as moderates and conservatives such as Harold Burton, Sherman Minton, and Tom Clark. The composition changed drastically when six of these seats were vacated by death and retirement in the 1950s and 1960s. Justice Robert Jackson vacated the first seat in 1954, which was filled by John Harlan, a justice who served from 1955–71, while the conservative Sherman Minton's seat was vacated and filled in 1956 by William J. Brennan, who served from 1956–90. Following Minton's replacement, Stanley Reed's seat was vacated and filled first by Charles Whittaker, who served from 1957–62, and then by Byron White who served from 1962–93. Moreover, the court changed again in 1958 when Harold Burton's seat was vacated and filled by Potter Stewart, a rigid conservative, who served until 1981.

The composition of the Warren Court shifted again during the administrations of presidents JOHN F. KENNEDY and LYNDON B. JOHNSON, when new members were selected based upon their support for each president's social reform agenda. When Felix Frankfurter suffered a debilitating stroke in 1962, Kennedy appointed Arthur Goldberg to fill the seat. When Johnson called Goldberg to fill the vacant ambassadorship left in the United Nations by



ADLAI STEVENSON's death, Abe Fortas took his place and served until 1969. Lyndon Johnson was also responsible for replacing Tom Clark in 1967 with civil rights activist THURGOOD MARSHALL, who served until 1991.

One area of law that was affected by the Warren Court was civil rights. Southern states in the early 1950s insisted on a social norm dictating the general inferiority of African Americans who suffered serious and pervasive discrimination. The segregated social order came under attack in the *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* case that began in 1951, when Linda Brown of Topeka, Kansas, and other black children questioned whether they could attend an all-white segregated school. When the opinion for *Brown v. Board of Education* was announced as a 9-0 unanimous majority, the nine men declared the "separate but equal" doctrine unconstitutional.

The Warren Court is remembered for its groundbreaking precedents in the protection of civil rights as well as civil liberties in criminal procedure. Cases such as *ESCOBEDO V. ILLINOIS* (1964) and *MIRANDA V. ARIZONA* (1966) reflect a trend within the liberal consensus of the Court to deter all police misconduct and eliminate any unfair prosecution or conviction that may result. This was apparent in *Escobedo* when a confession of murder was excluded because the Sixth Amendment right to counsel was never granted to the defendant. In *Miranda*, the Court ruled that the Fifth Amendment's protection against self-incrimination restricted police interrogation of a suspect under arrest.

Biased apportionment of electoral districts prevailed throughout the nation and effectively diluted voting power. In *BAKER V. CARR* (1962), the issue centered on questionable apportionment of state legislature seats that ignored significant economic growth and population shifts within the state of Tennessee. The Court ruled that federal courts had the jurisdiction to scrutinize legislative apportionments. In a similar case, *REYNOLDS V. SIMS* (1964), the Warren Court held that representation in state legislatures must be based on population rather than geographical areas so that legislatures represented people and not simply acres of land.

*ENGEL V. VITALE* (1962) was decided by the Warren Court, angering conservatives for its ban of prayer in school. The Court decided that authorization of a non-denominational, voluntary prayer by the New York Board of Regents violated the "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment because the state of New York officially approved the prayer.

By the time Chief Justice Earl Warren retired in 1969, the Supreme Court had undergone a major shift that lasted through the next generation. Not until conservatives assumed electoral power and began to change the composition of the liberal court was there an effective challenge to the changes made.

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—John E. Bibish IV

### wars of national liberation

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, nations in Southeast ASIA, LATIN AMERICA, the Caribbean, and AFRICA engaged in wars of national liberation, independence movements against either foreign invaders or European colonial rulers in the hope of gaining self-rule, social reforms, and democracy.

In the years following World War II, many former European colonies struggled to become independent nations. Their efforts led to the dismantling of the colonial empires of Great Britain and France and the unshackling of Dutch and Portuguese colonies as well. Algeria, the Belgian Congo, Mozambique, Angola, and the Dominican Republic were among the former colonies that pushed for self-rule in the postwar years. Often, revolutionary leaders favored social reforms advocated by socialist and marxist doctrines. Many forged relations with the SOVIET UNION, which was usually more willing than the United States to support the activities of revolutionary groups with material and motivational assistance. The United States sometimes seemed more intent on maintaining stability for the benefit of American economic interests than in addressing the concerns of people struggling for political reform.

Wars for national liberation became an important part of the COLD WAR. During the cold war era, U.S. foreign policy initiatives responded to threats posed by the Soviet Union. When JOHN F. KENNEDY took office in 1961, he hoped to establish warmer relations with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, but Khrushchev stated instead that he would sponsor "wars of national liberation" in Third World countries. The statement posed a threat to the containment policy the Kennedy administration favored. In response, the United States continued its effort to hold back the spread of Soviet-inspired COMMUNISM into unstable countries by initiating economic and military policies designed to thwart the advances of the Soviets.

In Southeast Asia, one such war of national liberation unfolded in Laos. An American-backed right-wing general battled with a neutralist prince and a Soviet-supported official for control of the country previously ruled by France. Lacking any strategic significance to the United States, Laos instead represented symbolic importance to Kennedy, who feared that the loss of the small, poverty-stricken nation to communist forces would represent "visible humiliation." Negotiations at the 1962 Geneva Conference staved off a



Soviet takeover, making Laos a neutral country. The victory was short-lived, however, as Laos became an area of contention in the VIETNAM WAR. The CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA) organized an army of Laotians to attack North Vietnamese supply routes along the Vietnamese-Laotian border. Political and social upheaval followed.

Another such liberation effort took place in South Vietnam. The American-supported leader, Ngo Dinh Diem, failed to win popular support with the Vietnamese people while the procommunist forces of the Vietminh took to killing village leaders throughout the country in an attempt to overthrow the corrupt regime of Diem. By 1960, an anti-Diem coalition made up of communists and Buddhists created the National Liberation Front with a military force known as the Vietcong. The United States, in the 1954 SOUTHEAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION (SEATO) accord, had agreed to defend South Vietnam against communist infiltration, and Kennedy held firm to this commitment. American forces, economic aid, and political reforms in South Vietnam all comprised part of an effort to fend off the advances of the Vietnamese communist leader, Ho Chi Minh. In the years that followed, South Vietnam's war of liberation was substantially aided by the United States. Kennedy and his successor, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, believed that the loss of South Vietnam to communist forces would lead to the fall of all of Southeast Asia to communism, and as a result, both administrations expended significant time and resources on the fight against communist infiltration. Their dedication to assisting South Vietnam's struggle proved costly for the United States both at home and abroad.

Wars of national liberation also occurred in Latin America. Kennedy's ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS sought to expand the middle class in Latin American nations to create a bulwark against revolution. But runaway inflation threatened the fragile peace between rich and poor, and the Alliance for Progress failed in its objective. Revolution grew more likely, and Johnson responded with force when a rebellion broke out in Santo Domingo, in the Dominican Republic. Juan Bosch, a former president who had been overthrown by a military junta, sought to replace the military regime with one that allowed free elections and a redistribution of land benefiting a wider representation of the population. As the military regime fell apart, it asked Johnson for help. Fearful of what he felt was communist influence in the regime, he sent 22,000 American troops to the Caribbean nation under the guise of protecting American citizens. It became apparent, however, that Johnson intended to establish a pro-American government, as he claimed that the troops had prevented "the Communists . . . from taking over." The president announced the initiation of the "Johnson Doctrine," a policy that stipulated that the United States would use force anywhere in the hemi-

sphere to keep communist forces from coming to power. Latin American wars of liberation came at a cost to both the United States and Latin America.

American policy in Africa was much like that in Latin America. In Africa, between 1945 and 1970, more than 40 nations gained their independence from European masters. Lack of funds and political experience, however, prevented many new governments from maintaining stable regimes. While the United States offered little help to many of these countries, the Belgian Congo was the exception. In 1960, Congolese leaders declared independence and Patrice Lumumba, a militant nationalist, assumed control of the nation. The United States became fearful that Lumumba, who had received training in Moscow, would halt the export to the West of valuable minerals such as copper and uranium. When civil unrest erupted in the region, the United States backed Joseph Kasavubu, the right-wing leader of the mineral-rich province of Katanga, as a potential replacement for Lumumba. Following Lumumba's assassination in 1961, Kasavubu took control of the nation. With the help of the United Nations and U.S. support, order was restored and revolution was headed off for a while. By 1964, the United States was the dominant foreign power in the Congo, but nationalist revolts threatened the region. Assistance from the CIA combined with a large-scale outlay of military aid helped quell the rebellion, but when it erupted again in 1967, the U.S. Senate forced a reduction in economic and military support. The Congolese were left to fight their own war of liberation.

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—Kim Richardson

### Watts uprising (1965)

The Watts uprising of 1965 was the first of many urban uprisings that took place in the turbulent 1960s, reflecting tension and dissatisfaction among urban African Americans.

The uprising began on August 11, 1965, with the arrest of Marquette Frye, a 21-year-old black resident, by Lee Minikus, a white Los Angeles police officer. Minikus suspected Frye of intoxication and proceeded to arrest him. A crowd gathered, and a second police officer arrived on the scene. As tensions increased between the black residents of Watts and the two white police officers, the second officer began striking onlookers with his baton. Word spread about the incident. Fueled by an intense heat wave that blanketed the city, members of the Watts community spent the next two days looting and burning local stores, most of which were owned and operated by whites. An estimated



Los Angeles police hustle Watts rioter into car, 1965. (*Library of Congress*)

35,000 blacks—many of them teenagers—participated in the riot, which lasted five days.

In the wake of the violence, 34 people were killed, 1,000 more were injured, and more than 4,000 were arrested. It took 16,000 members of the National Guard, the Los Angeles Police Department (which was almost entirely white), and county deputies to put down the revolt. Rioters caused damage estimated at \$30 million, with substantial destruction to a large number of white-owned businesses. Many of the churches, stores, and homes owned by African Americans, however, were left untouched.

The Watts uprising alarmed civil rights reformers because the residents of Watts typically enjoyed a much higher standard of living than many African Americans in impoverished areas. Located in the south-central portion of Los Angeles, California, the black population of Watts at the time of the uprising numbered 250,000. African-American families in Watts did not live in cramped, overcrowded apartment buildings, as was often the case in many large cities, but rather in single, detached houses with ample lawns located on tree-lined streets.

The uprising in Watts revealed a deep-rooted antiwhite sentiment that was difficult for many white residents of Los Angeles to comprehend and exemplified the extreme tensions that existed within other black communities across the United States. Progress made in recent years in promoting African-American equality, and the promise of even greater opportunities, served only to raise expectations and

deepen the anger of many black residents of Watts, many of whom felt that advancements in race relations had stalled in the face of high unemployment and prevailing poverty. Despite the efforts of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., who had visited the Watts area in the weeks before the riot and recommended a civil rights march as a way of communicating racial tensions, there remained a smoldering violence in the community.

The uprising frightened many white Americans. In the past, violence on the part of whites had been directed at African Americans in an effort to deny advancement in the area of civil rights. In Watts, the pattern had reversed with violence targeted at whites, many of whom became increasingly concerned that similar disturbances would affect other areas of the country as news of the Watts uprising spread. African Americans around the country perceived the unrest as a legitimate effort to bring attention to their cause. They resented their treatment as second-class citizens, despite advances achieved by the Civil Rights movement, and they wanted whites to recognize the legitimacy of their grievances. The differences of opinion within black and white communities caused deepening hostilities that erupted later in uprisings that occurred across the nation.

In the aftermath of the Watts uprising, the nonviolent goals of the Civil Rights movement lost ground to a growing militancy among young African Americans, who banded together to loudly express their dissatisfaction with American society. Unrest in other cities such as Newark, New Jersey, and Detroit came to a boil, as civil rights groups that favored militant action used the Watts uprising as a source of inspiration, advocating violence and destruction as a way to further their cause.

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—Jennifer Parson

## Weathermen

When STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) began to split into hostile factions amid the violence of 1968, Weathermen won control of the organization and expelled dissenters, destroying SDS in the process.

Many members of SDS also belonged to the Progressive Labor Party (PL). A Maoist-like communist revolutionary organization, PL favored tight discipline enforced by strict leaders. In 1964, some of its members formed the May 2nd Movement to agitate against the VIETNAM WAR on college campuses. To this end, the few hundred May

2nd movement members often adopted the COUNTERCULTURE lifestyle of campus radicals: drugs, sex, long hair, and hippie clothes. Progressive Labor Party leaders felt this style alienated the working class, vital actors in the revolution PL advocated. In 1966, they disbanded the May 2nd movement.

Some movement members, however, still admired less narrow revolutionary forms. Among them, James Mellen, a political science professor, went to teach in Tanzania. In Africa, he came to believe that Marxist revolutions in Third World countries would help destroy American imperialism. Mellen returned to America on April 4, 1968, the day MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., was assassinated, and the riots that followed persuaded him that revolution was coming. Within weeks he joined Mark Rudd's SDS uprising at Columbia University. Rudd, a student activist, was dissatisfied with SDS, and gravitated toward more violent revolution. Bernadine Dohrn, a 25-year-old lawyer and four-year member of SDS, also fought at Columbia. The three soon created the Third World Marxists, a group of mostly white middle-class ex-college students, who called for a youth revolution to fight in the streets.

On June 5, 1968, ROBERT F. KENNEDY, running for president, was fatally shot. On August 26, the DEMOCRATIC PARTY assembled at its national convention in Chicago to nominate a presidential candidate from the remaining candidates, and diverse groups gathered to protest the war, condemn politicians, or make revolution. More than 5,000 demonstrators ranged from Yippies, who combined serious protest with playfully shocking street theater, to conservative-looking, well-behaved, older ANTIWAR MOVEMENT demonstrators. For three days, Chicago police battled rioting protestors through the streets of Chicago, releasing tear gas, employing nightsticks, and making 668 arrests.

SDS did not officially support the Chicago protests, but many of its members participated. TELEVISION news showed much of the violence, and tens of thousands of students flocked to join SDS. Meanwhile, Third World Marxists had obtained key posts in the organization. They clashed with the Progressive Labor Party, which had begun to try to take over SDS, believing that its authoritarian style would overwhelm the diffuse organization. PL leaders still thought that Third World Marxists' tactics would distance industrial workers from socialist revolution.

At the June 1969 SDS meeting, conflict turned into a showdown. The Third World Marxists took the name "Weathermen" from the BOB DYLAN lyric "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows" from his song "Subterranean Homesick Blues." The Weathermen recruited BLACK PANTHERS and introduced issues of WOMEN'S STATUS AND RIGHTS into the agenda, including collective control of sexual relationships. The Progressive

Labor Party continued to argue the importance of traditional class struggle. Most students left SDS as its radical factions grappled for control, but some supported the Weathermen's violence. Kathy Boudin, for example, moved easily from SDS to the Weathermen. Her involvement in the Civil Rights movement as a Bryn Mawr student had led her to embrace lawless methods by 1963. Inspired by Bernadine Dohrn's powerful speeches, the Weathermen seized control of SDS and drove the Progressive Labor Party out. Mark Rudd became national secretary.

Weathermen planned the first revolutionary guerrilla uprising for Chicago, in October 1969, to protest the trial of radicals charged with illegal actions committed the year before. Organizers hoped that 15,000 to 20,000 revolutionaries would come to the "National Action," but only a few hundred appeared. Wearing helmets, they marched from Lincoln Park, smashing downtown windows with clubs and chains. Police fired buckshot and hit six radicals, and arrested 68 more; demonstrators bloodied several cops. The next day, Dohrn led a Women's Militia group to destroy a military induction center, but she was arrested before her group managed to do much damage. On the third day, the remaining Weathermen gathered to parade. They broke through police lines to destroy more property; 57 policemen were hospitalized. Newspapers called the action "Days of Rage."

With members facing charges, Dohrn took the Weathermen underground to begin a bombing campaign, and founder James Mellen left the group. It resurfaced on March 6, 1970, when its participants accidentally detonated a bomb, killing three members and blowing up its New York City town house. The Weather Underground claimed responsibility for 26 intentional explosions over the next five years. It caused much damage but no casualties and disbanded in 1975. Rudd surrendered in 1977, and Dohrn, in 1980. Each was sentenced to probation. Boudin, however, continued her career in revolutionary movements. In 1981, she participated in an armored truck robbery. Policemen were killed, and she was captured and convicted, receiving a sentence of 20 years to life.

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—Barbara M. Hahn

## White Citizens' Councils

The White Citizens' Councils were private organizations formed throughout the South in reaction to the Supreme Court's *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION* (1954), which declared unconstitutional racial SEGREGATION in public



schools. The councils advocated nonviolent and lawful resistance to any and all attempts at desegregation.

A few weeks after the announcement of the *Brown* decision, Mississippi Circuit Court judge Thomas P. Brady published a pamphlet entitled *Black Monday*. The pamphlet, which espoused white supremacy, called for organized nonviolent resistance to desegregation and became the primer for the formation of the Citizens' Councils. Robert B. Patterson, a Mississippi farmer who fought in World War II, formed the first such group in July 1954 in his town of Indianola.

Patterson and the Indianola Council created a thorough plan of expansion, traveling from town to town, meeting with each community's leaders and social luminaries. By September 1954, the Mississippi legislature praised the groups in open session and they began to receive national coverage by the Associated Press. By 1956 Patterson estimated Mississippi was home to 80,000 council members in 65 counties. The councils quickly became the most respected, powerful, and effective private antisegregation organizations in the South. Despite their rhetoric of white supremacy, both Patterson and Brady wished to disassociate their movement from the KU KLUX KLAN, a group whose methods and secrecy were unpalatable to the prominent individuals who made up the bulk of the councils' membership. Nonetheless, critics often referred to the councils as "the up-town Klan."

As increasing numbers of black men and women pushed for desegregation, more White Citizens' Councils formed across the South, especially in the deep southern states of Louisiana, Alabama, and South Carolina. The councils in states such as Texas, North Carolina, Florida, and Tennessee were often ineffectual due to weak leadership, a reluctance to adopt the councils' unremitting ideology of white supremacy, and state governments more willing to comply with federally mandated integration measures. Still, by the end of the decade, senators such as South Carolina's Strom Thurmond and governors like Alabama's GEORGE C. WALLACE ardently supported the councils.

While day-to-day administration remained at the local level, regional councils, including the Citizens' Councils of America (CCA), established in early 1956, amplified the general ideology of the council movement. At first, the councils organized boycotts of pro-integration black businesses, sent out questionnaires to all possible candidates asking their positions on racial issues, and coerced voter registration officials to be prohibitively strict with black citizens registering to vote. The economic fallout from counterboycotts of white businesses, however, led President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, usually reticent to publicly speak about racial issues, to condemn the councils' boycotts in 1956. Abortive attempts to affect public policy and federal investigations of inequalities in voter registration stalled the councils' efforts in these arenas as well.

The use of propaganda, concentrated in the nationally circulated newspaper *The Citizens' Council*, quickly became the main method of resisting civil rights advances. The councils' literature inflamed fears of interracial marriage, using quasi-scientific research to prove the black race's inherent inferiority to whites. Cartoons aimed at elementary school-aged children were commonplace. In 1958, the CCA distributed weekly TELEVISION and radio shows featuring interviews on racial topics with U.S. senators and representatives, many of whom aided the shows' production by granting access to government-subsidized studios. The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission subsidized many of the shows, granting almost \$200,000. While the governing bodies of southern Christian churches, the Southern Baptist Convention most prominently, endorsed a policy of swift desegregation soon after the *Brown* decision, council pamphlets often appealed to readers' belief in a divinely sanctioned duty to keep the races separate.

By the early 1960s, maintaining segregation became less of a viable reality. While Mississippi kept its public schools segregated until 1964, most southern states were integrated at least in part by 1960. Attempts at transporting black families from southern states with a "surplus" black population to northern states with a "deficit" in black residents failed, due as much to a lack of funding as overwhelming criticism of the program by even publications that supported the councils in the South. When the University of Mississippi acquiesced under pressure to integration in the fall of 1962, both the regional Mississippi Council and the CCA, which played considerable roles in encouraging the protests at the university, slipped in prestige and political solvency. With the passage of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 and LYNDON B. JOHNSON's landslide election to the presidency, both the number and the membership rolls of the Citizens' Councils fell irreparably. By 1968, the failed third-party presidential candidacy of anti-segregationist George Wallace effectively ended the power of the councils.

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—Adam B. Vary

### White Paper (on China)

The White Paper sought to account for the imminent communist victory in 1949 in the Chinese civil war.

The White Paper, officially entitled "United States Relations with China," was a Department of State document issued August 5, 1949, under the auspices of Secretary of



State DEAN ACHESON. The 1,054-page document offered a justification of American foreign policy toward China, specifically the rationale for ceasing to aid the Nationalist Chinese regime of Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek). The White Paper argued that nothing short of American military intervention would be sufficient to save Jiang's regime, as it was too weak politically, militarily, and economically to stop the communist Chinese forces under Mao Zedong from winning the war in China. Rather than heading off criticism of American policy, the White Paper was greeted with mass skepticism, and when the Nationalist Chinese forces fled to Formosa (Taiwan,) Acheson and President HARRY S. TRUMAN were widely accused of "losing China" to communist forces.

The Chinese civil war had been going on for years and continued through World War II, even as the opposing sides both actively fought Japanese aggressors. Jiang Jieshi's Nationalist regime was recognized as legitimate by not only the United States but also the SOVIET UNION. Soviet premier Joseph Stalin and his government in Moscow were primarily concerned with maintaining stability in China, and nearly until the end of the war they believed that Jiang offered the best chance to ensure that. In the aftermath of World War II, the Soviet Union called for a coalition government, but, by October 1946, fighting had resumed.

With the resumption of fighting, Jiang and the Nationalists held the advantage, as they had plundered Manchurian industry and retaken control of the Chinese eastern railway. Mao's forces were largely cleared out of north China and Manchuria, but in so doing, Jiang badly overextended his army. By the end of 1947, Communist forces were counterattacking throughout China, and the Nationalists were badly exposed. The United States initially attempted to remain aloof from the fighting, but started formally funding Jiang to fight the communists in May 1947. In spite of this aid, Mao's forces captured Peking (Beijing) and Tientsin in January 1949, and they continued their offensive into southern China.

These events prompted Acheson and the Department of State to issue the White Paper. Alleging that "nothing the United States did or could have done within the reasonable limits of its capabilities could have changed the results [of the Chinese civil war]," the officials explained in the White Paper in great detail how the Nationalists had brought their problems upon themselves. By "reasonable limits of its capabilities," the Department of State meant that only American armed intervention in China could have saved Jiang's regime, and this was not a step the American government was willing to take. The document portrayed Jiang as inefficient and surrounded by corruption, whereas it depicted Mao, although a communist, in a neutral light.

On October 1, 1949, the communists officially proclaimed the People's Republic of China. The Soviet Union

recognized the new regime the next day. Jiang's forces were forced to flee to Formosa, where Jiang claimed that he remained the rightful leader of China. This debate spilled over into the United Nations, where the United States refused to allow the Communist Chinese delegate to be seated as the official representative from China.

In the United States, the fall of China to Mao and the communists constituted a foreign policy disaster. The principle of containment, as outlined by GEORGE F. KENNAN and subsequently proclaimed in the 1947 TRUMAN DOCTRINE, called for preventing the expansion of COMMUNISM. Although containment was initially conceived to be applied specifically to EUROPE, China was a gigantic loss, and Truman and Acheson received much of the blame for failing to contain communist forces in China. While the White Paper's assessment of Nationalist weaknesses was difficult to refute, many felt that an insufficient attempt had been made to aid Jiang, especially in light of the multibillion-dollar MARSHALL PLAN intended to prop up an economically devastated Western Europe and protect it from communist insurgency. Actions such as the Berlin airlift had demonstrated that the United States would go to great lengths to stop the spread of communism, so the perception that the United States had not adequately funded Jiang, whether correct or not, made Truman's and Acheson's policy toward China look weak. The timing of Mao's victory was especially bad for Truman, as it came shortly after the first successful Soviet atomic bomb test. As fears of communism at home fed the growing red scare, the fall of China to communism deepened COLD WAR animosities.

The failure of the White Paper to deflect criticism from the Truman administration became important to policy makers in 1950 when the KOREAN WAR broke out. Truman could not allow another country to fall to communism, so American forces, under the banner of the United Nations, joined the war alongside South Korea. The fallout from the fall of China and the American unwillingness to recognize the Communist regime also had a significant lasting impact, as the U.S. government did not extend diplomatic relations until the 1970s.

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—Phil Huckelberry

## Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968

The Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968, which sought to preserve America's wild waterways, was an important part of President LYNDON B. JOHNSON'S GREAT SOCIETY.

The act resulted from a growing environmental consciousness, and it drew on the support of the nation's

conservation groups. The Outdoor Resources Review Commission, established by Congress, provided important support, as did Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall. Johnson himself lent his considerable political skills to the effort, and, in so doing, he earned the nickname of the "Conservation President."

Water resources were important to the advocates of conservation. The Wild and Scenic Rivers Act (an addition to the NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION ACT OF 1964) established a system of wild rivers. While the idea of setting aside public lands for recreational use was not new, the law forced consideration of the line between public good and private property rights, and the question of how much development should occur. The act established eight segments of rivers, with provisions for more to be added to the system later.

The Wild and Scenic Rivers Act declared that "certain selected rivers of the Nation which, with their immediate environments, possess outstandingly remarkable scenic, recreational, geologic, fish and wildlife, historic, cultural, or other similar values, shall be preserved in free-flowing condition, and that they and their immediate environments shall be protected for the benefit and enjoyment of present and future generations." The law allowed a state or states to declare a river and its surrounding areas as a scenic river.

The act defined a river as "a flowing body of water or estuary or a section, portion, or tributary thereof, including rivers, streams, creeks, runs, kills, rills, and small lakes." The act specified three classes of rivers: wild rivers generally free of impoundments and inaccessible except by trail, with primitive shorelines and unpolluted waters; scenic river areas with shorelines or watersheds still largely primitive and shore lines largely undeveloped; and recreational river areas accessible by road or railroad, which might be partially developed.

The act provided that the secretary of the interior and the secretary of agriculture should oversee the management of the river systems, while working with those state governments affected by the system. Fishing and hunting regulations would remain in control of the states in which the river system existed. The Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968 established a foundation for future environmental legislation. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, new provisions added to the act protected more rivers and the areas surrounding them.

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—Robert A. Deahl

### **Wilkins, Roy** (1901–1981) *civil rights leader*

Roy Wilkins was one of America's preeminent civil rights leaders, best known for serving as executive secretary and

executive director of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP).

Wilkins was born on August 30, 1901, in St. Louis, Missouri. He lived with his aunt and uncle in St. Paul, Minnesota, for much of his youth. Wilkins, although poor, was able to attend integrated schools in Minnesota. He received a B.A. in 1923 from the University of Minnesota, majoring in sociology and minoring in journalism. While at college, Wilkins joined the NAACP.

To support himself through college, Wilkins worked a number of odd jobs, including stints at the *Minnesota Daily* (the university's newspaper) and a local black weekly, the *St. Paul Appeal*. After graduating, Wilkins went to work for a leading black weekly, the *Kansas City* (Missouri) *Call*. Unlike in Minnesota, SEGREGATION in Missouri was an entrenched system largely unfamiliar to Wilkins. Wilkins's exposure to segregation in Kansas City fueled a growing commitment to the NAACP.

In 1931, Wilkins left the *Call* to work as assistant executive secretary of the NAACP under Walter White. From 1934 to 1949, Wilkins served as editor of *The Crisis*, the official magazine of the NAACP. During World War II, he also served as an adviser to the War Department on black employment, and, in 1945, he acted as a consultant to the American delegation at the United Nations founding conference in San Francisco.

Wilkins served briefly as acting executive secretary of the NAACP in 1949, and, in 1955, after the death of Walter White, Wilkins was named NAACP executive secretary. Although not as nationally visible as many of his contemporaries, Wilkins's role as the head of the largest and best-funded civil rights organization in the country put him in a critical position. Much of Wilkins's time as executive secretary was devoted to testifying before congressional committee hearings and conferring with government officials, including presidents.

Wilkins was especially interested in utilizing the power of the judiciary to dismantle segregation laws. To that end, he worked with lawyer THURGOOD MARSHALL and others in preparing for the landmark Supreme Court case *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION*, in which the Court ruled that legal segregation in American public schools was inherently unequal and therefore unconstitutional. Wilkins and the NAACP supported a series of subsequent legal actions designed to attack segregation laws using the weight of the Constitution. Under his leadership, the NAACP funded a number of civil rights organizations engaged in nonviolent direct protest against segregation. Wilkins also helped to organize and spoke at the MARCH ON WASHINGTON in August 1963.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, Wilkins and the NAACP increasingly came under fire from more militant civil rights organizations for being too passive in the

struggle for civil rights. The NAACP responded by taking a more active stand, at times engaging in nonviolent direct action, and also by funding different organizations, some more militant than others. Nevertheless, Wilkins remained steadfast in his belief in the power of the constitution and legal action to undo the injustices of segregation. Wilkins opposed any forms of racism or black separatism, believing that "there are more people who want to do good than do evil." Wilkins's insistence on the power of the American legal system to combat segregation explains both the criticism he took from many contemporaries and also his relative lack of public presence, as he concentrated less on public events like marches and more on lawsuits and government hearings.

Wilkins was forced to retire from the NAACP in 1977 due to his declining health. He died in New York City on September 8, 1981. In his final years, younger blacks began to reevaluate Wilkins's legacy, emphasizing the progress made by the NAACP under his leadership instead of the limitations of the NAACP's efforts to use the legal system to fight segregation.

**Further reading:** Roy Wilkins with Tom Mathews, *Standing Fast: The Autobiography of Roy Wilkins* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1994).

—Phil Huckelberry

### Women's Equity Action League (WEAL)

Focusing on legal and economic issues, the Ohio-based Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) formed part of the moderate, women's rights-oriented wing of the American feminist movement.

In the 1960s, new federal laws against discrimination combined with increasing assertiveness among women to revive the moribund women's movement. Traditional attitudes about the appropriate roles of women had not changed, yet more and more women did not view homemaking and childrearing as their primary responsibilities. Large numbers of women had entered the labor force and pursued higher EDUCATION. Many who attended college found themselves stifled in the isolation and routine of domesticity. Women had grown disenchanted with their status as second-class citizens and began to demand recognition of sex discrimination in all areas of life.

Laws such as Title VII of the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964, which banned discrimination in employment on the basis of sex, offered hope to women. But these laws guarding women were not enforced and, instead, were often regarded as a joke by the men responsible for guaranteeing their implementation. By treating women's concerns with contempt and hostility, federal officials demonstrated the need for an organization dedicated to pressuring the

government from the outside to end sex discrimination. The NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW) was established in 1966 to fight for the equal participation of women in employment, education, government, and the family. In 1968, much to the consternation of its conservative members, NOW called for the reform of laws restricting abortion and the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Various groups left NOW in response to these demands, including the women who would establish the Women's Equity Action League.

Believing that a more narrowly focused group was needed to appeal to women in the nation's heartland, Elizabeth Boyer, an Ohio lawyer and NOW founder, created WEAL. According to its president, Nancy Dowding, WEAL avoided issues "that polarize people—like THE PILL, or abortion or husbands washing dishes." The new organization attracted members who viewed abortion as too divisive an issue for a women's rights organization and who wanted to focus on legal and economic issues, especially in the areas of employment and education. WEAL was also one of a number of interest groups that succeeded in defining health care as a women's issue and in placing women's health care on the national policy agenda.

For the first few years of its life, WEAL was centered in Ohio and consisted mostly of friends of Elizabeth Boyer. Members of the inner circle around Boyer served as officers, and they controlled nominations and elections. Unlike NOW, there was little input from the rank and file, and there were no demonstrations or protests. WEAL was carefully organized from the top down to keep out radicals. Members made requests, not demands; they supported "feminine" behavior; they sympathized with their opponents and with homemakers; and they sought reform and compromise. WEAL remained a small organization since many of its members were lawyers with little time to recruit new blood. They formed a loose-knit group with top officers limited to women who had the time and money to pay for their own travel.

WEAL had intended to be a small, powerful organization for professional, executive, and influential women around the country. Over time, it discovered that a significant percentage of its membership resided in Washington, D.C., and that its members elsewhere wielded varying degrees of influence on Washington politicians. Faced with these facts, WEAL redefined its primary purpose as that of a national lobbying organization.

WEAL sought to achieve success through legislation and lobbying rather than more direct pressure tactics such as picketing. Lacking a large membership, WEAL could not employ tactics that required much grassroots participation. Instead, it addressed women's issues through public education, policy analysis, support for litigation, and advocacy. It targeted laws, institutions, discriminatory practices,

and the people who could affect them. Using money raised through direct mail fundraising, WEAL also offered financial help to candidates for public office.

In time, WEAL came to exchange ideology, tactics, and even personnel with the radical wing of the women's movement. By 1972, WEAL had dropped its opposition to a woman's right to choose abortion and had declared itself in favor of "responsible rebellion." WEAL continued to work to eliminate sex discrimination throughout the subsequent decades, still focusing on eliminating gender bias in education and employment.

**Further reading:** Janet A. Flammang, *Women's Political Voice* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997); Susan M. Hartmann, *From Margin to Mainstream* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1989).

—Carynn Neumann

### women's status and rights

In the post–World War II period, many women reluctantly yielded to convention and returned to the home, only to wage a battle for women's status and rights in the 1960s.

The effects of the movement for women's rights and status were far-reaching, influencing legislation as much as Americans' everyday lives. With such widespread implications, the women's movement helped to alter both the way many Americans viewed women and the relationships between men and women. While the modern movement began in the 1960s, the economic, political, and social roots lie in the World War II and postwar years. Women had been working outside of the home since the early days of industrialization, but not until World War II did a large percentage of women participate in wage labor. At the war's end, while millions of women ceased working for wages, their time spent in the paid workforce carried important consequences for future generations.

Though many women did work exclusively in the home, the domestic image of the 1950s masks the growing number of women entering and remaining in the paid workforce during the decade. While working-class white women and women of color had previously worked outside the home for wages, a growing number of white middle-class married women, particularly mothers, entered the paid workforce in the 1950s. The majority of women worked in female-dominated industries. At first, women's paid work did not challenge the domestic ideal because most Americans still assumed that women derived their satisfaction from being mothers and wives. Little recognition was given either to the importance of these women's wages to the family income or to the sense of personal satisfaction women derived from their jobs. Yet by the 1960s, the inequalities within the labor system could no longer be ignored. Women's organizations and governmental agencies such as the Women's Bureau of the United Auto Workers, the National Manpower Council, and the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs worked throughout the 1950s to increase economic opportunities for women. The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor also noted shifts in women's labor force participation and began advocating policies intended to draw women into the workforce and opposing discriminatory protective legislation. In 1954, the Women's Bureau dropped its opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), designed to give women equal legal protection under the Constitution. While these efforts often did little to change conditions for women, the networks formed and the work begun helped bring about change in the 1960s.

Other important events provided a backdrop for the movement for women's status and rights. In 1963, BETTY FRIEDAN, former journalist and housewife, published *The Feminine Mystique*. Using interviews with Smith College alumni, Friedan argued that through POPULAR CULTURE, education, and mental health services, women had been forced out of the public arena and into the home. Women described feeling isolated and unhappy in spite of their material comfort and efforts to fill their lives with volunteer activities. Friedan called these feelings "the problem that has no name." Because of its focus on white, middle-class women, the book received criticism from some activists and scholars. Yet, hundreds of women, not all of whom were middle-class, wrote to Friedan after the book's publication and told her that they identified with what she had written. While feminism existed in the United States before, even in the conservative 1950s, the conversation built around *The Feminine Mystique* provided one way for a large number of women to be exposed to a growing feminist sensibility.

At the same time, under the persuasion of the head of the Women's Bureau, Esther Peterson, President JOHN F. KENNEDY formed the PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN in the early 1960s. Chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt, the commission drew delegates from a wide range of organizations that utilized networks formed in the 1960s. Published in 1963, the report of the commission amassed a large amount of data from each state and documented the legal, economic, and social discrimination faced by women. As a result of the commission's report, Congress passed the Equal Pay Act of 1963 that prohibited the differential pay of men and women for the same work. Other important legislation followed. The CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964, specifically Title VII, made it illegal for employers to discriminate on the basis of sex, religion, race, or ethnicity. This legislation had limits, but it provided an important legal basis from which activists could demand equality.



With the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, activists hoped that conditions for women would improve. The EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION (EEOC) received a large number of sexual discrimination complaints, but it acted on few of them. After they became aware that many of the complaints to the EEOC went unaddressed and that the organization supported some exclusionary policies, Friedan and other activists formed the NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW) in 1966. Created to give women the political force to ensure that antidiscrimination legislation be used, NOW, in its mission statement, called for the equal participation of women in American society. While comprised mostly of white, middle-class women, NOW did address efforts toward issues that affected working-class women. For example, NOW supported factory women who sued companies that refused to hire women. NOW worked largely within the system to change legal and social policy, but the members also protested, marched, and raised awareness about those issues affecting women.

There were rifts within the organization, however, and not all women felt comfortable in NOW. Some found the group elitist; others disagreed on the organization's stance on particular issues; and still others felt the organization did not fully critique the system. After being labeled the "lavender menace" in the late 1960s by Betty Friedan, many lesbians left NOW, upset at the implication that lesbianism compromised the legitimacy of the group. In 1973, however, NOW officially recognized the civil rights of lesbians, after those lesbians who remained in the group demanded equal protection.

While white, middle-class married women worked to end the discrimination against women in the United States, they were not the only women who comprised the women's movement. In their union activism, working-class women in several industries became a part of a growing feminist consciousness. In addition to professional and working-class women, a younger generation of women also posed challenges to the status quo. Many of these women gained activist experience in other political movements of the 1960s, such as the Civil Rights movement, NEW LEFT, and student movements. The personal experiences of subordination these women faced as part of their work in such groups led to a recognition of the systemic exploitation and discrimination American women faced.

In 1965, for example, STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) workers Casey Hayden and Mary King critiqued the treatment of women in their position paper, "Sex and Caste: A Kind of Memo." Pointing to the way leaders relegated tasks traditionally thought of as female, such as secretarial work, to women in the groups, they argued that women were held back from full participation in the movement. They and others were also

offended by civil rights leader STOKELY CARMICHAEL's sexist—and sexual—comment when asked about the role of women. "The only position for women in SNCC," he said, "is prone." The paper resonated with many women and caused discussion within SNCC about the role of women in the group. Similarly, women in New Left organizations, such as STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), struggled to have their voices heard in meetings and to influence the agenda of the organization. Often, male leaders made them feel that their viewpoints were not important. Women also experienced sexual exploitation, feeling their status in the group depended on the degree of their sexual involvement. As they felt torn between the goals of the New Left and their growing awareness of their status as women, many used the networks found in SNCC, SDS, and antiwar groups to articulate their feelings about the



Women hold up protest signs during a demonstration for women's rights, 1968. (Getty Images)

experience of being women in these groups. Several times, women tried to give speeches about their subordination, only to be met with jeers and obscenities from the audience. For some women, these episodes proved to be the last straw. Many women left these political organizations to form their own groups. Robin Morgan described her decision to leave the movement in the 1970 paper "Goodbye to All That." In it she called for a new movement, writing that it was the job of the feminist to "build an even stronger independent Women's Liberation Movement, so that sisters in their counterfeit Left captivity will have somewhere to turn. . . . Power to all the people or none."

Often considered more radical, this "women's liberation movement" spread in part due to consciousness-raising groups. Just as former members of the New Left had gathered together to talk about their experiences, women met in groups formed with classmates, coworkers, and neighbors to discuss those issues they felt to be important. Considering their personal lives as political, these women considered the transformation of themselves and their relationships to be as much an integral part of changing society as the enforcement of antidiscriminatory legislation. "The personal is political" became their slogan. Working outside of the political and legal system, many different activist grass-roots organizations formed. They created battered women's shelters and boycotted and protested companies that discriminated against women or did not provide adequate services for women. They protested the 1968 Miss America Pageant, which they felt epitomized the objectification and commodification of women. Others, such as the New York Redstockings, held speakouts for women to talk about their experiences with illegal abortions. In Chicago, a group of feminists formed an underground abortion service called "Jane."

While African American women and Mexican-American women had participated in the women's movement from the beginning, these women sometimes formed their own groups. In 1971, for example, hundreds of Chicanas met at the First National Conference of Chicanas. African Americans created the National Black Feminist Organization in 1973. Torn between the sexism they sometimes experienced within their communities and the racism they sometimes experienced within women's groups, minority women met to talk about what it meant to be a woman and a person of color. They also worked on issues that they felt most affected their communities. At the same time, African-American women and Chicanas forced white activists to confront the racism that existed within the larger women's movement.

The cultural critique of the late 1960s and early 1970s resulted in the proliferation of new kinds of media opportunities for women. Interested in reaching women who were not involved in the movement, journalist Gloria Steinem founded the mainstream magazine *Ms.* in 1971. From the beginning, the magazine attempted to cover a wide range of issues that spoke to the diversity of experience among women. In 1973, a Boston health collective published *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, a book intended to educate women about their bodies and their health care options.

**Further reading:** Dennis A. Deslippe, *"Rights, Not Roses": Unions and the Rise of Working-Class Feminism, 1945–1980* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000); Sara Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1989); Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (New York: Viking Press, 2000).

—Heather L. Tompkins

# Y



## **Yep, Laurence** (1948– ) *author*

Best known as an author of children's books, Laurence Yep is a multitalented writer who has written historical fiction, short stories, and novels.

Yep was born on June 14, 1948, the son of second-generation Chinese Americans. He grew up in an apartment above the grocery store his parents owned in the Western Edition District, a predominantly black neighborhood in San Francisco, California. Yep left his neighborhood for school, taking the bus to Chinatown. He drew upon his feelings of isolation and his adaptation into different cultures in his writings and credited them for his love of science fiction: "In the 1950s when I was growing up, there were no books on being Chinese American," Yep later reported. "I really liked science fiction because kids from the everyday world were taken to another world, and had to learn another language, another culture. Science fiction was about adapting and that's what I was doing every time I got off the bus."

Yep discovered his love of writing while attending a predominantly white Catholic high school. A teacher encouraged him to pursue his writing, telling Yep that if he wanted an "A" in the course, he had to get his work published. Although he did not get any of his writing published at that time, the experience of applying for publication helped Yep in the future. From there Yep went to Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. While in college, his short stories began to get published, earning him awards and accolades. He returned to California where he graduated from the University of California at Santa Cruz.

In 1973, *Sweetwater*, his first science fiction novel for children, was published. "I didn't realize it at the time, but the aliens in the book are based on the bachelor society in Chinatown," Yep explained, referring to the large number of unmarried Chinese immigrant men in the early part of the century. Much of Yep's fiction expressed alienation, recalling his childhood feelings of living between two cul-

tures and having to adapt to unfamiliar surroundings. He enrolled in the doctoral program in literature at the State University of New York at Buffalo. In 1975, he earned his Ph.D., and he saw the publication of the award-winning *Dragonwings*. The novel for young adults, based on a true story, is about a Chinese American aviator who built and flew a flying machine in 1909. The book enjoyed wide success, receiving numerous awards, including the Newberry Honor Book award for the best children's book in 1976.

Yep has enjoyed many other literary successes, including *Dragon's Gate*, winning him his second Newberry, the wildly popular *The Rainbow People* and *Tongues of Jade*, compilations of Chinese folktales, and the production of the stage adaptation of *Dragonwings*. Yep has also taught creative writing at the University of California at Berkeley.

**Further reading:** Dianne Johnson-Feelings, *Presenting Laurence Yep* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995).

—Elizabeth A. Henke

## **Young Americans for Freedom (YAF)**

Founded in 1960 at the Connecticut home of *National Review* editor and conservative activist William F. Buckley, Jr., the Young Americans for Freedom laid the foundation for a national conservative youth movement.

CONSERVATISM had several definitions during the 1960s. During the COLD WAR, many American conservatives were isolationist and believed that the United States should stay out of foreign affairs. However, after Robert Taft was defeated for the Republican nomination in 1952, this type of conservatism rapidly changed. The new conservative movement was formed out of four ideals that were based on free-market economics, respect for traditional values, an orderly society, and anticommunism. This new ideology was brought about largely by the conservative newspaper *Human Events*, the magazine *National Review*, and Buckley.

On September 11, 1960, the Young Americans for Freedom drafted the Sharon Statement as a commitment to the youth conservative movement. This statement reiterated their beliefs in free will, individual liberties, the free market economy, anticommunism, and the protection of those freedoms by the national government.

In its first four years of existence, YAF spread rapidly throughout the nation's college campuses. Its newfound popularity helped to catalyze Republican BARRY GOLDWATER's campaign for president in 1962. On May 7, 1962, YAF held a convention in Madison Square Garden that brought out 18,500 conservative activists in support of Goldwater. Goldwater eventually lost the presidential election, but the ability of YAF to launch his candidacy demonstrated the group's newfound power in the conservative arena. From the 1960s to the present, YAF has continued to campaign in support of conservative issues and candidates.

**Further reading:** John A. Andrew III, *The Other Side of the Sixties: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997).

—Hilary Styer

### Young Chicanos for Community Action

The Young Chicanos for Community Action was an organization that used military-style efforts to facilitate social change and fight injustice in Mexican-American communities.

In the 1960s, Mexican-American youth began to reject what they perceived as limited opportunities available to them in white, middle-class America. They adopted the term Chicano, previously seen as derogatory by earlier generations, as a personal and political identifier meant to exemplify ethnic pride. Chicano youth of the 1960s, often working-class Mexican Americans with better access to higher education than previous generations, challenged earlier notions of political accommodation and assimilation as the only means to achieve equal status in a racist society.

Part of the larger LATINO MOVEMENT, the Young Chicanos for Community Action, founded by David Sánchez and four Chicanos in East Los Angeles, began as a service

club to assist the neighborhood. Later the organization adopted a paramilitary stance and evolved into a defensive patrol, which tried to protect local residents. It welcomed both men and women into the organization, many of whom were young Mexican Americans who sought a goal of becoming leaders in their own communities.

Formed under the name Young Citizens for Community Action in 1967, the group established headquarters for its activities at a Los Angeles coffeehouse, "La Peranya," using the facility as an office and meeting hall. Shortly after forming, the organization changed its name to Young Chicanos for Community Action, and shortly thereafter to the Brown Berets, after the article of clothing chosen as a sign of unity. Despite the changes in name and the closing of the coffeehouse in 1968, group members became leaders in the Chicano movement, effectively mobilizing their members for protest. Satellite chapters formed throughout the Midwest and Southwest.

The organization fought against inequality in both schools and mainstream white society. While in California, the Brown Berets joined school "blow-outs," or walkouts, staged by high school students in response to inadequate teaching and facilities. Police in Los Angeles made efforts to disband the group by raiding its headquarters, slandering members, and encouraging members of counter organizations to attack Brown Beret members. The police sought to discredit the group in the eyes of both the white and the Chicano communities. Sánchez led the group at the National Chicano Moratorium on August 29, 1970, in East Los Angeles, where leaders of the Chicano movement protested against the VIETNAM WAR, citing a 19 percent casualty rate for Mexican Americans in the war compared with a 12 percent rate for all Americans. In 1972, the Brown Berets occupied Catalina Island off the coast of Los Angeles in the hope of raising awareness of the plight of Chicanos.

**Further reading:** Carlos Muñoz, Jr., *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement* (London: Verso, 1989).

—Toni Nelson Herrera

**Youth** See CHILDHOOD; TEENAGERS.



# Chronology

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## 1946

George F. Kennan, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, writes the “Long Telegram” urging the United States to contain the Soviet Union’s current sphere of influence.

U.S. Congress creates the Indian Claims Commission to settle old disputes.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) begins a drive to organize labor in the South known as “Operation Dixie” whose disappointing results signal the waning of organized labor’s power.

President Harry S. Truman issues Executive Order 9808, which creates the President’s Committee on Civil Rights.

The University of Pennsylvania introduces ENIAC, the world’s first wholly electronic digital computer.

The Employment Act of 1946 creates a three-member Council of Economic Advisors. The council’s purpose will be “to analyze and interpret economic developments.”

Dr. Benjamin Spock publishes *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*, which encourages a generation of parents to trust their instincts and be affectionate with their children.

William Levitt uses assembly-line techniques to construct the largest housing project in American history in Hempstead, Long Island.

The Center for Disease Control (originally known as the Communicable Disease Center) is established in Atlanta.

U.S. Congress passes the Atomic Energy Act, which establishes the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) to explore, promote, and regulate the uses of nuclear energy.

The birthrate begins the 18-year postwar surge known as the baby boom.

## 1947

The Rio Pact promises reciprocal military assistance if Soviet intervention threatens any Western Hemisphere country.

Jackie Robinson joins the Brooklyn Dodgers and becomes the first black baseball player in the major leagues.

Overriding President Truman’s veto, U.S. Congress passes the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, also known as the Taft-Hartley Act, which regulates the activities of organized labor.

The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) accuses Hollywood film companies of infusing film scripts with communist propaganda and harboring communist sympathizers.

HUAC begins investigations to ferret out alleged communist infiltration of the film industry; the “Hollywood Ten” refuse to cooperate with proceedings.

The National Security Act of 1947 coordinates the formerly separate departments of the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force within a single, unified command called the National Military Establishment; the act also establishes the National Security Council and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

The Truman Doctrine proclaims a U.S. commitment to help noncommunist countries resist Soviet expansion.

The Federal Employee Loyalty Program requires “loyalty investigations” for all civilian employees of the executive branch and all its job applicants to root out communist sympathizers.

The U.S. government sponsors Operation Bootstrap to industrialize Puerto Rico.

The play *A Streetcar Named Desire*, by Tennessee Williams, is produced.

The American Farm Bureau Federation advocates federal policies to allow agricultural prices to fluctuate according to supply and demand.

## 1948

The United States offers western European countries that reject communism the Marshall Plan, a massive program of aid for the devastated countries of Europe.

Twenty-nine North and South American nations sign the Charter of the Organization of American States, which founds an anticommunist federation of American countries, lays down its fundamental principles, and describes its structure.

Coach class air travel is introduced, making air travel more widely affordable.

The Mexican Labor Program extends the importation of Mexican farmworkers, or *braceros*, begun in 1941.

A group of Democrats who oppose Truman's hard-line approach to communism form the Progressive Party, splitting the Democratic ticket by nominating Henry A. Wallace for president.

Segregationist Democrats walk out of the Democratic National Convention and form the States' Rights, or "Dixiecrat," Party, endorsing Strom Thurmond for president.

In a close race, Republican Thomas E. Dewey loses the presidential election to incumbent Harry S. Truman.

Alfred C. Kinsey publishes *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* to wide acclaim and condemnation, inviting discussion and further research on human sexuality.

Elijah Muhammad recruits Malcolm X to the Nation of Islam.

General Motors and the United Auto Workers negotiate a labor agreement that incorporates a cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) for union workers.

President Truman issues an order making the U.S. government an equal opportunity employer.

The United States begins the Berlin airlift to circumvent the Soviet Union's blockade of Berlin.

Norman Mailer publishes his first novel, *The Naked and the Dead*.

Former diplomat Alger Hiss is accused of passing government documents to the Soviet Union; two years later he is convicted of perjury.

Palestine is partitioned under UN supervision to form the Jewish state of Israel; one day later, neighboring Arab armies attack Israel but are repelled.

William Shockley invents the transistor, which leads to the miniaturization of many electronic devices and appliances.

## 1949

In his State of the Union address, President Harry S. Truman outlines an expansion of New Deal policies known as the Fair Deal.

The Soviet Union successfully detonates an atomic bomb, breaking the U.S. monopoly of the weapon.

The National Security Act of 1949 places all military service departments under the authority of the newly created Department of Defense.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is formed under the guidance of Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

The United States, France, and Great Britain establish the Federal Republic of Germany.

Arthur Miller's Pulitzer Prize-winning play, *Death of a Salesman*, is produced.

The first McDonald's applies assembly-line methods to restaurant food preparation in San Bernardino, California.

Ending the Chinese Revolution, Mao Zedong's Communist forces defeat the Guomindang (Nationalists) under Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), driving them to Taiwan.

## 1950

The National Security Council drafts NSC-68, a policy paper that establishes American cold war policy for the next 20 years.

Frank McNamara offers the Diners Club card, popularizing use of credit cards for small-scale consumer purchases.

William Faulkner receives the Nobel Prize in literature.

The United States becomes involved in the Korean War.

The National Science Foundation is established to fund industrial and defensive research.

A Senate committee led by Joseph McCarthy accuses many Americans of being communists or having ties to communist organizations; many careers are ruined before McCarthy is discredited.

Actress Marilyn Monroe makes her movie debut.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are accused of selling secrets of atomic bomb-making to the Soviets; they are convicted and later executed.

For his role in mediating the Arab-Israeli conflict, Ralph Bunche becomes the first African American to win the Nobel Peace Prize.

Overriding the veto of President Harry S. Truman, the U.S. Congress passes the Internal Security Act of 1950 (also known as the McCarran Act), which requires all communist and communist-front organizations to register with the attorney general.

## 1951

General Douglas MacArthur favors expanding the Korean conflict into China, against President Harry S. Truman's policy; Truman relieves MacArthur of duty.

The Japanese Peace Treaty of 1951 and the Termination of the State of War with Germany formally end World War II.

President Truman attempts to seize the steel industry to end strike disruption, a move the Supreme Court later declares unconstitutional.

In *Dennis et al. v. United States*, the U.S. Supreme Court upholds provisions of the Smith Alien Registration

Act of 1940 that prohibit advocacy of the forceful overthrow of the U.S. government.

The sitcom *I Love Lucy* is first broadcast.

## 1952

The U.S. tests the first hydrogen device on the Pacific atoll Eniwetok.

Ralph Ellison publishes *The Invisible Man*, a novel about the black experience in America.

Walter P. Reuther becomes president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The campaign of presidential candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower runs the first political commercials on television.

On live television, the UNIVAC computer predicts the winner of the 1952 presidential election.

Democrat Adlai Stevenson, governor of Illinois, loses the presidential election to Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In Richard Nixon's "Checkers" speech, the vice presidential candidate refutes accusations that he personally benefited from campaign contributions.

Overriding the veto of President Harry S. Truman, U.S. Congress passes the McCarran-Walter Act, which continues the basic quota system established by the Immigration Act of 1924 but adds new provisions to exclude possible communist sympathizers and to permit the expulsion of aliens who support the communist cause.

The first commercial jetliner offers rapid air travel to the public.

Jonas Salk develops a vaccine for polio.

## 1953

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is established.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs' relocation program (also known as the Termination policy) attempts to eliminate reservations and encourage Native Americans to move to cities.

After months of negotiations, an armistice ends the Korean War.

The microwave is patented.

The Submerged Lands Act grants ownership of submerged lands along coastal shorelines to the states rather than the federal government.

Earl Warren is named chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Soviet Union successfully tests its own hydrogen bomb.

Novelist and essayist James Baldwin publishes his first book, *Go Tell It on the Mountain*.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower delivers his "Atoms for Peace" speech to the United Nations General Assembly, calling for international control of atomic energy.

## 1954

In *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously rules that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional.

Bill Haley and the Comets release "Rock around the Clock," which becomes the first big hit of rock 'n' roll.

Britain, France, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Pakistan, and Thailand sign the SEATO Pact of 1954 to counteract communist influence in Asia.

In televised Senate hearings, Senator Joseph McCarthy accuses the secretary of the army of covering up communist activity on a U.S. army base; the Senate formally condemns McCarthy for abusing the powers of the Senate Privileges and Elections Subcommittee.

Puerto Rican nationalists open fire on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives.

The Atomic Energy Act of 1954 allows private companies to participate in atomic energy research, development, and production.

The first nuclear-powered submarine is launched.

After Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, the elected president of Guatemala, nationalizes assets of a U.S. company, the CIA organizes a coup to overthrow him.

Following Communist forces' decisive defeat of the French in Vietnam, the United States sponsors the anti-communist regime of South Vietnam.

## 1955

The National Farmers Organization forms in Iowa to protest low agricultural prices.

The Soviet Union consolidates control over Eastern Europe with the Warsaw Pact.

The American Federation of Labor (AFL) merges with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

Rosa Parks refuses to give up her seat to a white passenger on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama; after her arrest, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., organizes the Montgomery bus boycott.

## 1956

"Howl," a poem by Allen Ginsberg, helps inspire the "Beat Generation" of American writers.

The soil-bank program authorizes federal payments to farmers who reduce production of certain crops.

One hundred and one U.S. congressmen issue the Southern Manifesto on Integration, which denounces U.S. Supreme Court desegregation rulings.

In his influential book *The Power Elite*, sociologist C. Wright Mills argues that the concentration of power under a bureaucratic minority is endangering American democracy.

Singer Elvis Presley becomes America's most popular rock and roll star.

After Egypt nationalizes the Suez Canal, forces from Israel, Great Britain, and France seize the Sinai Peninsula in an incident known as the Suez Crisis; the United States confirms Egypt's sovereignty over the region.

The Citizens' Councils of America is established to coordinate white groups' legal, nonviolent resistance to integration.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower is reelected over Adlai Stevenson.

U.S. Congress passes the Interstate Highway Act of 1956, which establishes the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways to upgrade and modernize 40,000 miles of U.S. roads.

### 1957

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is organized; Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is named president.

The AFL-CIO expels the Teamsters union from its membership after the McClellan Committee, under the staff leadership of Robert F. Kennedy, finds evidence of widespread corruption within the union.

The Soviet Union launches *Sputnik*, the world's first artificial satellite.

The integrated circuit, or "computer chip," is invented.

Jack Kerouac's novel *On the Road* is published; its success prompts others to use the unstructured and chaotic "beat" style of writing.

Vance Packard's book *The Hidden Persuaders* denounces American advertisers' use of psychological manipulation.

In Little Rock, Arkansas, U.S. soldiers escort nine black children to school after Governor Orval Faubus calls out Arkansas National Guard to keep them out; it is the first time since Reconstruction that the federal government calls in military power to enforce the civil rights of African Americans.

U.S. Congress passes the Civil Rights Act of 1957 to protect the voting rights of all American citizens, especially blacks.

U.S. Congress approves the Eisenhower Doctrine, which authorizes military aid for any Middle Eastern nation requesting such assistance in order to resist communist aggression.

### 1958

U.S. Congress establishes the National Outdoor Recreation Review Commission to study the outdoor recreation resources available in the United States.

The State Department creates an independent Bureau of African Affairs to handle relations with emerging independent nations in Africa.

The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) is established to regulate air travel.

The National Defense Education Act of 1958 establishes a federal loan fund for college students and a number of grants and fellowships for graduate school students, particularly in the areas of math, science, and foreign language.

*The Affluent Society*, a book by economist and diplomat John Kenneth Galbraith, attacks the myth of consumer sovereignty.

Democratic candidates sweep midterm elections in both houses of Congress.

Walter O'Malley moves the Brooklyn Dodgers to Los Angeles, catalyzing the migration of baseball to the western United States.

The diminutive Volkswagen Beetle is introduced in the United States, competing successfully with large American cars.

President Eisenhower creates the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) to foster research on flight and space exploration.

### 1959

Rebels under Fidel Castro take control of the Cuban government; to the dismay of many Americans, Castro allies Cuba with the Soviet Union.

*A Raisin in the Sun* premieres, making Lorraine Hansberry the first African-American woman to have a play produced on Broadway.

### 1960

The Food and Drug Administration approves the first oral contraceptive.

The sit-in movement begins when four black college students sit at a whites-only Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The Civil Rights Act of 1960 aids blacks in registering to vote.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is formed at Shaw University.

Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy spar in the first televised presidential debates.

Democratic senator from Massachusetts John F. Kennedy is elected president by a small margin over incumbent vice president Richard Nixon.

Barry Goldwater publishes *The Conscience of a Conservative*, a popular book of political commentary.

### 1961

In his farewell address, President Eisenhower warns against the growing spread of communism and excessive militarization.

President John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress promises economic aid to Latin American countries in return for political and social reforms.



Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev answers President John F. Kennedy's demands for the reunification of Berlin with the construction of the Berlin Wall.

President Kennedy reorganizes civil defense, setting up the Office of Civil Defense (OCD) to implement a system of fallout shelters and emergency communications.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organize the first "freedom rides" through the South on interstate buses in order to force compliance with desegregation laws.

Russian cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin becomes the first human in space, orbiting the Earth once; three weeks later American astronaut Alan Shepard achieves suborbital spaceflight.

The Peace Corps is established.

Trained by U.S. military advisers, anti-Castro Cuban rebels begin an unsuccessful invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs; the U.S. government is criticized both for its involvement and for the failure of the invasion.

Folksinger Bob Dylan begins performing.

The United States sends economic aid and military advisers to South Vietnam.

Overturning a conviction by a Louisiana court, the U.S. Supreme Court rules in *Garner et al. v. Louisiana* that participants in a civil rights sit-in were not guilty of disturbing the peace.

President Kennedy appeals for a new program to put a man on the moon before 1970.

## 1962

Michael Harrington's book *The Other America* criticizes the inequality of income distribution and the existence of poverty in the United States.

In *Baker v. Carr*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that legislative apportionment by the states is subject to federal court scrutiny.

In *Engel v. Vitale*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that religious observances in the public schools are unconstitutional.

James Meredith is escorted onto the University of Mississippi campus by federal marshals; the ensuing riots kill two people and wound more than 100.

John Glenn becomes the first U.S. astronaut to orbit the earth.

President John F. Kennedy announces the Soviet Union's secret shipment of nuclear missiles to Cuba. In response, Kennedy issues Proclamation 3504: Interdiction of Delivery of Offensive Weapons to Cuba, which imposes a naval blockade of Cuba to prevent further shipments. After several tense days, the Soviets agree to remove the missiles. The incident is known as the Cuban missile crisis.

*Silent Spring*, a national best seller by Rachel Carson, warns of the dangers that pesticides pose to the environment.

The Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society condemns social stagnation and demands the decentralization of the democratic process; this ideology becomes known as the New Left.

## 1963

Timothy Leary is fired from Harvard's faculty for using students in his research on the effects of hallucinogenic drugs; his slogan "Tune in, turn on, drop out" becomes a rallying cry of the counterculture.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Martin Luther King, Jr., organize civil rights protests in Birmingham, Alabama, resulting in King's arrest; while incarcerated, King writes his famous essay "Letter from Birmingham Jail."

Millions of television viewers watch as high-pressure hoses and attack dogs are turned on peaceful civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama.

Medgar Evers, a field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), is murdered in Jackson, Mississippi.

Four young black girls are killed in a church bombing in Birmingham, Alabama.

Approximately 250,000 people march on Washington to demonstrate for civil rights.

U.S. Congress passes the Equal Pay Act of 1963, which ensures that women are paid at the same rate as their male coworkers, but only in certain limited circumstances.

In *Gideon v. Wainwright*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that states must provide legal counsel to defendants.

President John F. Kennedy is assassinated; Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson succeeds President Kennedy.

Betty Friedan publishes *The Feminine Mystique*, galvanizing women dissatisfied with their traditional roles.

The Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963 prohibits the testing of nuclear weapons in the earth's atmosphere, in outer space, or underwater.

Alabama governor George C. Wallace personally bars three black students from the University of Alabama, vowing never to accept desegregation; the National Guard oversees the students' registration later the same day.

In *Abington Township v. Schempp*, the Supreme Court prohibits prayer in public schools.

## 1964

Surgeon General Luther Terry's report on tobacco and health initiates a sustained government effort to reduce smoking.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlaws discrimination in public accommodation.

Civil rights workers James E. Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner are murdered near Meridian, Mississippi.

The National Wilderness Preservation Act of 1964 is signed into law; its purpose is to set aside large, federally owned tracts of land to be left undeveloped.

The Twenty-fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution outlaws poll taxes.

In *Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States*, the Supreme Court rules unconstitutional discrimination in the provision of services to anyone based on race.

Jimmy Hoffa, president of the Teamsters union, is found guilty of fraud and other charges.

Climatologists Syukuro Manabe and Richard Wetherald predict the rise in global temperatures that comes to be known as the greenhouse effect.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision *Escobedo v. Illinois* establishes that a suspect in police custody has a right to consult counsel during an interrogation.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organize the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project, which registers thousands of blacks to vote.

Cassius Clay wins the World Heavyweight Boxing Championship by beating Sonny Liston; the next day, Clay announces he has converted to Islam and taken the name Muhammad Ali.

Republican presidential candidate Senator Barry Goldwater's "Extremism in the Defense of Liberty" speech blames the Democratic Party for communist gains in Cuba, Europe, and Southeast Asia, as well as for violence and corruption in the United States.

Lyndon B. Johnson wins the presidential race against Republican Barry Goldwater in a landslide.

President Lyndon B. Johnson's "Great Society" speech outlines a plan for the most comprehensive social reform since the New Deal.

U.S. Congress passes The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which authorizes the president to take military action in Vietnam; U.S. aircraft begin bombing raids in North Vietnam.

The Mississippi Freedom Party challenges the right of the all-white Mississippi Democratic Party delegates to represent the state in the Democratic National Convention.

The Warren Commission Report states that President Kennedy's assassin Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is passed; it prohibits discrimination at the polls, in federally assisted programs, and in public accommodations.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 establishes VISTA, the Job Corps, Head Start, and the Community Action Program (CAP).

Seventy-three million people watch the Beatles' U.S. debut on *The Ed Sullivan Show*.

## 1965

The Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 establishes a system of subsidies for farmers who retire land from cultivation on a long-term basis.

U.S. Congress passes the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965, providing funding for the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH).

Black civil rights leader Malcolm X is assassinated in New York City; later that year, Alex Haley's *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* is published, inspiring young black radicals.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., leads the Selma-Montgomery March; two white demonstrators are killed, and other marchers are brutally beaten. Dr. King threatens an economic boycott of Alabama.

A race riot in the Watts section of Los Angeles kills 34 people and results in the arrest of 3,400.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) is established to investigate claims of employment discrimination in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The House Un-American Activities Committee opens a public investigation of the Ku Klux Klan.

Students at the University of California at Berkeley sponsor rallies, sit-ins, and strikes demanding the right to organize politically on campus; the protests are the forerunners of the nationwide student revolution.

Author and playwright Leroi Jones, known after 1968 as Amiri Baraka, founds the Black Arts Repertory in Harlem.

U.S. Congress passes the Voting Rights Act of 1965, mandating that the federal government closely monitor voter registration in each state.

U.S. Congress passes the Water Quality Act of 1965, which requires the states to set standards of quality for streams within their borders.

Civil war breaks out in the Dominican Republic; the United States sends troops. The crisis produces the Johnson Doctrine, which states that an American president can use military force whenever communism threatens the Western Hemisphere.

U.S. Congress passes the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which improves educational opportunities by providing \$1.3 billion in federal aid to schools with large numbers of children from low-income families.

U.S. Congress passes the Social Security Amendments of 1965, which provide federally funded health insurance for the elderly (Medicare) and the poor (Medicaid).

U.S. Congress passes the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 to rehabilitate existing housing stock and create new public housing units.

U.S. ground troops land in South Vietnam; they engage in combat against North Vietnamese troops and Viet Cong guerrillas.

U.S. Congress passes the Appalachian Regional Development Act as the centerpiece of President Johnson's War on Poverty.

U.S. Congress passes the Immigration Act of 1965, which sets annual limits of 120,000 immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, but no national quotas, and sets annual limits of 170,000 immigrants from the rest of the world.

Activist Ralph Nader publishes *Unsafe at Any Speed*, a critique of automotive safety in America.

The American Association of Advertising releases a study finding that TV ads exert more influence over consumer behavior than do print advertisements.

U.S. Congress passes the Motor Vehicle Air Pollution Control Act to reduce smog.

## 1966

In *Miranda v. Arizona*, the U.S. Supreme Court extends federal constitutional protections to defendants in state criminal trials.

James Meredith is shot and wounded during his Freedom March.

Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton found the Black Panthers in Oakland, California.

Organized by César Chávez, two unions merge to form the United Farm Workers.

The Alianza Federal de Mercedes occupies Kit Carson National Forest, asserting land rights granted to Mexican Americans by the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

The federal minimum wage is extended to farmworkers.

The National Organization for Women is founded with Betty Friedan as president.

Truman Capote publishes his "nonfiction novel" *In Cold Blood*; it is the first of its genre.

Stokely Carmichael, chair of SNCC, rallies demonstrators at a march in Mississippi around the demand for "Black Power."

U.S. Congress passes the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966.

In *Reynolds v. Sims*, the Supreme Court holds that legislative districts must be apportioned on the basis of population.

## 1967

The Young Lords, a militant Puerto Rican group, is established in Chicago for community self-defense.

Muhammad Ali refuses to be drafted and urges other blacks to resist induction into the military.

Thurgood Marshall becomes the first African-American justice on the U.S. Supreme Court.

Sixty countries sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

Young Chicanos for Community Action forms in Los Angeles to fight against injustice in Mexican-American communities.

U.S. Congress passes the Air Quality Act of 1967, which establishes a regional system for the enactment and enforcement of federal and state air quality standards.

Three U.S. astronauts are killed when their Apollo spacecraft bursts into flames in a test prior to launching.

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzáles publishes the epic poem *Yo Soy Joaquín* (I am Joaquin), which inspires thousands of young Chicanos to demand their civil rights.

## 1968

The American presence in Vietnam peaks at 550,000 troops.

The American Indian Movement (AIM) is founded in Minneapolis by Clyde Bellecourt, Dennis Banks, Eddie Benton Banai, and George Mitchell.

The National Trails Act establishes the National Trails System as part of an extended effort to preserve the U.S. landscape.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee; riots erupt in more than 100 U.S. cities.

In *Epperson v. Arkansas*, the Supreme Court overturns an Arkansas statute prohibiting the teaching of the theory of evolution.

President Lyndon B. Johnson announces that he will not run for reelection.

Robert F. Kennedy, former U.S. attorney general and brother of John F. Kennedy, is assassinated during his presidential campaign.

Street battles break out between police and protesters outside the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

The Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 gives Native Americans the right to form tribal governments and limits states' ability to govern Native American lands.

In his presidential nomination acceptance speech, Richard Nixon attacks Johnson's "Great Society" program and lays out his foreign policy goals.

Republican Richard Nixon is elected president over Democrat Hubert H. Humphrey.

Viet Cong and North Vietnamese forces launch surprise attacks on U.S. and South Vietnamese units during the Tet holiday; the attacks are beaten back, but the Tet Offensive increases antiwar sentiment in the United States.

J. Edgar Hoover names the Black Panthers the most dangerous black extremist organization in America.

Under threat of federal antitrust litigation, IBM divides its programming and hardware operations.

The Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968 seeks to preserve America's wild waterways.





# Documents



## Truman Doctrine, 1947

Public Papers of the Presidents,  
Harry S. Truman, 1945, pp. 176–180  
March 12, 1947

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress of the United States:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress.

The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation, which I present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.

Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious, peace loving country has suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five percent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had

almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings.

As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible. Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security so essential for economic and political recovery.

The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A Commission appointed by the United Nations Security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore authority to the government throughout Greek territory.

Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply this assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.

No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.

The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action, and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece, and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece, in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting, and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless it represents 85 percent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. And during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid.

Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war Turkey has sought additional financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The British Government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties, it can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed upon free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon

terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the *status quo* is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the *status quo* in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to

assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for the purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious.

The United States contributed \$341,000,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

The assistance that I am recommending to Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than 1/10 of 1 percent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain. The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died.

We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of this Nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events. I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

### Marshall Plan, 1947

Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Documents of American History*, 8th ed. (New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1968, pp. 531–532) ADDRESS [BY GEORGE C. MARSHALL] AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY

June 5, 1947

I need not tell you gentlemen that the world situation is very serious. That must be apparent to all intelligent people. I think one difficulty is that the problem is one of such enormous complexity that the very mass of facts presented to the public by press and radio make it exceedingly difficult for the man in the street to reach a clear appraisal of the situation. Furthermore, the people of this country

are distant from the troubled areas of the earth and it is hard for them to comprehend the plight and consequent reactions of the long-suffering peoples, and the effect of those reactions on their governments in connection with our efforts to promote peace in the world.

In considering the requirements for the rehabilitation of Europe the physical loss of life, the visible destruction of cities, factories, mines, and railroads was correctly estimated, but it has become obvious during recent months that this visible destruction was probably less serious than the dislocation of the entire fabric of European economy. For the past 10 years conditions have been highly abnormal. The feverish preparation for war and the more feverish maintenance of the war effort engulfed all aspects of national economies. Machinery has fallen into disrepair or is entirely obsolete. Under the arbitrary and destructive Nazi rule, virtually every possible enterprise was geared into the German war machine. Long-standing commercial ties, private institutions, banks, insurance companies and shipping companies disappeared, through loss of capital, absorption through nationalization or by simple destruction. In many countries, confidence in the local currency has been severely shaken. The breakdown of the business structure of Europe during the war was complete. Recovery has been seriously retarded by the fact that 2 years after the close of hostilities a peace settlement with Germany and Austria has not been agreed upon. But even given a more prompt solution of these difficult problems, the rehabilitation of the economic structure of Europe quite evidently will require a much longer time and greater effort than had been foreseen.

There is a phase of this matter which is both interesting and serious. The farmer has always produced the foodstuffs to exchange with the city dweller for the other necessities of life. This division of labor is the basis of modern civilization. At the present time it is threatened with breakdown. The town and city industries are not producing adequate goods to exchange with the food-producing farmer. Raw materials and fuel are in short supply. Machinery is lacking or worn out. The farmer or the peasant cannot find the goods for sale which he desires to purchase. So the sale of his farm produce for money which he cannot use seems to him an unprofitable transaction. He, therefore, has withdrawn many fields from crop cultivation and is using them for grazing. He feeds more grain to stock and finds for himself and his family an ample supply of food, however short he may be on clothing and the other ordinary gadgets of civilization. Meanwhile people in the cities are short of food and fuel. So the governments are forced to use their foreign money and credits to procure these necessities abroad. This process exhausts funds which are urgently needed for reconstruction. Thus a very serious situation is rapidly developing which bodes no good for the world.

The modern system of the division of labor upon which the exchange of products is based is in danger of breaking down.

The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next 3 or 4 years of foreign food and other essential products—principally from America—are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help, or face economic, social, and political deterioration of a very grave character. The remedy lies in breaking the vicious circle and restoring the confidence of the European people in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as a whole. The manufacturer and the farmer throughout wide areas must be able and willing to exchange their products for currencies the continuing value of which is not open to question.

Aside from the demoralizing effect on the world at large and the responsibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be apparent to all. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. Such assistance, I am convinced, must not be on a piecemeal basis as various crises develop. Any assistance that this Government may render in the future should provide a cure rather than a mere palliative. Any government that is willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full cooperation, I am sure, on the part of the United States Government. Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States. It is already evident that, before the United States Government can proceed much further in its efforts to alleviate the situation and help start the European world on its way to recovery, there must be some agreement among the countries of Europe as to the requirements of the situation and the part those countries themselves will take in order to give proper effect to whatever action might be undertaken by this Government. It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this Government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of later support of such a program so far as



it may be practical for us to do so. The program should be a joint one, agreed to by a number, if not all European nations.

An essential part of any successful action on the part of the United States is an understanding on the part of the people of America of the character of the problem and the remedies to be applied. Political passion and prejudice should have no part. With foresight, and a willingness on the part of our people to face up to the vast responsibility which history has clearly placed upon our country, the difficulties I have outlined can and will be overcome.

### George F. Kennan's "Sources of Soviet Conduct," 1947

Harry S. Truman Library, Book Collection  
(Foreign Affairs, pp. 53–63)  
July 1947

The political personality of Soviet power as we know it today is the product of ideology and circumstances: ideology inherited by the present Soviet leaders from the movement in which they had their political origin, and circumstances of the power which they have now exercised for nearly three decades in Russia. The outstanding features of Communist ideology as it existed in 1916 may be summarized as follows: a) the central factor in the life of man, the factor which determines the character of public life and the "physiognomy of society," is the system by which material goods are produced and exchanged; b) the capitalist system of production is a nefarious one which inevitably leads to the exploitation of the working class by the capital-owning class and is incapable of developing adequately the economic resources of society or of distributing fairly the material goods produced by human labor; c) capitalism contains the seeds of its own destruction and must, in view of the inability of the capital-owning class to adjust itself to economic change, result eventually and inescapably in a revolutionary transfer of power to the working class; d) imperialism, the final phase of capitalism, leads directly to war and revolution.

The circumstances of the immediate post-revolution period—the existence in Russia of civil war and foreign intervention, together with the obvious fact that the Communists represented only a tiny minority of the Russian people—made the establishment of dictatorial power a necessity. This, together with the abrupt attempt to eliminate private production and trade, had unfortunate economic consequences and caused further bitterness against the new revolutionary regime. While the temporary relaxation of the effort to communize Russia, represented by the New Economic Policy (1921), alleviated some of this economic distress and thereby served its purpose, it also

made it evident that the "capitalistic sector of society" was still prepared to profit at once from any relaxation of governmental pressure and would, if permitted to continue to exist, always constitute a powerful opposing element to the Soviet regime and a serious rival for influence in the country. Somewhat the same situation prevailed with respect to the individual peasant who, in his own small way, also was a private producer. Lenin, had he lived, might have proved a great enough man to reconcile these conflicting forces to the ultimate benefit of Russian society, though this is questionable. But be that as it may, Stalin and those whom he led in the struggle to succeed Lenin were not the men to tolerate rival political forces in the sphere of power which they coveted. From the Russian-Asiatic world out of which they had emerged they carried with them a skepticism as to the possibilities of permanent and peaceful coexistence of rival forces. There were to be no forms of collective human activity or association which would not be dominated by the party. No other force in Russian society was to be permitted to achieve vitality or integrity. Only the party was to have structure. All else was to be an amorphous mass.

And within the party the same principle was to apply. The mass of party members might go through the motions of election, deliberation, decision and action; but in these motions they were to be animated not by their own individual wills but by the awesome breath of the party leadership and the overbrooding presence of "the word." Now the outstanding circumstance concerning the Soviet regime is that down to the present day the process of political consolidation has never been completed and the men in the Kremlin have continued to be predominantly absorbed with the struggle to secure and make absolute the power which they seized in November 1917. They have endeavored to secure it primarily against forces within Soviet society itself. But they have also endeavored to secure it against the outside world. For ideology, as we have seen, taught them that the outside world was hostile and that it was their duty eventually to overthrow the political forces beyond their borders. Finally, their own aggressive intransigence with respect to the outside world began to find its own reaction. It is an undeniable privilege of every man to prove himself right in the thesis that the world is his enemy; for if he reiterates it frequently enough and makes it the background of his conduct he is bound eventually to be right.

It lies in the nature of the mental world of the Soviet leaders as well as in their ideology that no opposition to them can be officially recognized as having any merit or justification whatsoever. Such opposition can flow, in theory, only from the hostile and incorrigible forces of dying capitalism. As long as remnants of capitalism were officially recognized as existing in Russia, it was possible to place on them, as an internal element, part of the blame for the maintenance of a dictatorial form of society. But as

these remnants were liquidated, little by little, this justification fell away; and when it was indicated officially that they had been finally destroyed, it disappeared altogether. And this fact created one of the most basic of the compulsions which came to act upon the Soviet regime: since capitalism no longer existed in Russia it became necessary to justify the retention of the dictatorship by stressing the menace of capitalism abroad. But the quest for absolute power, pursued now for nearly three decades with a ruthlessness unparalleled (in scope at least) in modern times, has again produced internally, as it did externally, its own reaction. The excesses of the police apparatus have fanned the potential opposition to the regime into something far greater and more dangerous than it could have been before those excesses began.

So much for the historical background. What does it spell in terms of the political personality of Soviet power as we know it today?

Of the original ideology nothing has been officially junked. Belief is maintained in the basic badness of capitalism, in the inevitability of its destruction, in the obligation of the proletariat to assist in that destruction and to take power into its own hands. But stress has come to be laid primarily on a few concepts which relate most specifically to the Soviet regime itself: to its position as the sole truly socialist regime in a dark and misguided world and to the relationships of power within it.

The first of these concepts is that of the innate antagonism between capitalism and socialism. We have seen how deeply that concept has become imbedded in foundations of Soviet power. It has profound implications for Russia's conduct as a member of international society. It means that there can never be on Moscow's side any sincere assumption of a community of aims between the Soviet Union and powers which are regarded as capitalist. It must invariably be assumed in Moscow that the aims of the capitalist world are antagonistic to the Soviet regime and therefore to the interests of the peoples it controls. If the Soviet government occasionally sets its signature to documents which would indicate the contrary, this is to be regarded as a tactical maneuver permissible in dealing with the enemy (who is without honor) and should be taken in the spirit of *caveat emptor*. Basically the antagonism remains. From it flow many of the phenomena which we find disturbing in the Kremlin's conduct of foreign policy: the secretiveness, the lack of frankness, the duplicity, the wary suspiciousness and the basic unfriendliness of purpose. These phenomena are there to stay for the foreseeable future. There can be variations of degree and of emphasis. When there is something the Russians want from us, one or the other of these features of their policy may be thrust temporarily into the background; and when that happens there will always be Americans who will leap forward with glee-

ful announcements that "the Russians have changed," and some who will even try to take credit for having brought about such "changes." But we should not be misled by tactical maneuvers. These characteristics of Soviet policy are basic to the internal nature of Soviet power and will be with us, whether in the foreground or the background, until the internal nature of Soviet power is changed.

This means that we are going to continue for a long time to find the Russians difficult to deal with. It does not mean that they should be considered as embarked upon a do-or-die program to overthrow our society by a given date. The theory of the inevitability of the eventual fall of capitalism has the fortunate connotation that there is no hurry about it. The forces of progress can take their time in preparing the final *coup de grace*.

The second of the concepts important to contemporary Soviet outlook is the infallibility of the Kremlin. The Soviet concept of power, which permits no focal points of organization outside the party itself, requires that the party leadership remain in theory the sole repository of truth. For if truth were to be found elsewhere, there would be justification for its expression in organized activity. But it is precisely that which the Kremlin cannot and will not permit.

On the principle of infallibility there rests the iron discipline of the Communist party. In fact the two concepts are mutually self-supporting. Perfect discipline requires recognition of infallibility. Infallibility requires the observance of discipline. And the two together go far to determine the behaviorism of the entire Soviet apparatus of power. But their effect cannot be understood unless a third factor be taken into account: namely, the fact that the leadership is at liberty to put forward for tactical purposes any particular thesis which it finds useful to the cause at any particular moment and to require the faithful and unquestioning acceptance of that thesis by the members of the movement as a whole. This means that truth is not a constant but is actually created, for all intents and purposes, by the Soviet leaders themselves. It may vary from week to week, from month to month.

The accumulative effect of these factors is to give to the whole subordinate apparatus of Soviet power an unshakable stubbornness and steadfastness in its orientation. This orientation can be changed at will by the Kremlin but by no other power. Once a given party line has been laid down on a given issue of current policy, the whole Soviet governmental machine, including the mechanism of diplomacy, moves inexorably along the prescribed path, like a persistent toy automobile wound up and headed in a given direction, stopping only when it meets with some unanswerable force.

But we have seen that the Kremlin is under no ideological compulsion to accomplish its purposes in a hurry. Like the Church it is dealing in ideological concepts which

are of long-term validity, and it can afford to be patient. Thus the Kremlin has no compunction about retreating in the face of superior force. And being under the compulsion of no timetable, it does not get panicky under the necessity for such retreat. Its political action is a fluid stream which moves constantly, wherever it is permitted to move, toward a given goal. Its main concern is to make sure that it has filled every nook and cranny available to it in the basin of world power. But if it finds unassailable barriers in its path, it accepts these philosophically and accommodates itself to them. The main thing is that there should always be pressure, unceasing constant pressure, toward the desired goal.

These considerations make Soviet diplomacy at once easier and more difficult to deal with than the diplomacy of individual aggressive leaders like Napoleon and Hitler. On the one hand it is more sensitive to contrary force, more ready to yield on individual sectors of the diplomatic front when that force is felt to be too strong, and thus is more rational in the logic and rhetoric of power. On the other hand it cannot be easily defeated or discouraged by a single victory on the part of its opponents. And the patient persistence by which it is animated means that it can be effectively countered not by sporadic acts which represent the momentary whims of democratic opinion but only by intelligent long-range policies on the part of Russia's adversaries—policies no less steady in their purpose and no less variegated and resourceful in their application than those of the Soviet Union itself.

The main element of any U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies. It is important to note, however, that such a policy has nothing to do with outward histrionics: with threats of blustering or superfluous gestures of outward "toughness." While the Kremlin is basically flexible in its reaction to political realities, it is by no means unamenable to considerations of prestige. Like almost any other government, it can be placed by tactless and threatening gestures in a position where it cannot afford to yield even though this might be dictated by its sense of realism. It is a *sine qua non* of successful dealing with Russia that the foreign government in question should remain at all times cool and collected and that its demands on Russian policy should be put forward in such a manner as to leave the way open for a compliance not too detrimental to Russian prestige.

The Soviet thesis not only implies complete lack of control by the West over its own economic destiny, it likewise assumes Russian unity, discipline and patience over an infinite period. Let us bring this apocalyptic vision down to earth and suppose that the Western world finds the strength and resourcefulness to contain Soviet power over a period of 10 to 15 years. What does that spell for Russia itself?

The Soviet achievement has been carried out at a terrible cost in human life and in human hopes and energies. It has necessitated the use of forced labor on a scale unprecedented in modern times under conditions of peace. It has involved the neglect or abuse of other phases of Soviet economic life, particularly agriculture, consumers' goods production, housing and transportation.

To all that the war has added its tremendous toll of destruction, death and human exhaustion. In consequence of this, we have in Russia today a population which is physically and spiritually tired. The mass of the people are disillusioned, skeptical and no longer as accessible as they once were to the magical attraction which Soviet power still radiates to its followers abroad. There are limits to the physical and nervous strength of people themselves. These limits are absolute ones and are binding even for the cruelest dictatorship, because beyond them people cannot be driven. The forced-labor camps and the other agencies of constraint provide temporary means of compelling people to work longer hours than their own volition or mere economic pressure would dictate; but if people survive them at all they become old before their time and must be considered as human casualties to the demands of dictatorship. In either case their best powers are no longer available to society and can no longer be enlisted in the service of the state.

Meanwhile a great uncertainty hangs over the political life of the Soviet Union. That is the uncertainty involved in the transfer of power from one individual or group of individuals to others.

This is, of course, outstandingly the problem of the personal position of Stalin. We must remember that his succession to Lenin's pinnacle of pre-eminence in the Communist movement was the only such transfer of individual authority which the Soviet Union has experienced. That transfer took 12 years to consolidate. It cost the lives of millions of people and shook the state to its foundations. The attendant tremors were felt all through the international revolutionary movement, to the disadvantage of the Kremlin itself.

But this is not only a question of Stalin himself. There has been, since 1938, a dangerous congealment of political life in the higher circles of Soviet power. The All-Union Party Congress, in theory the supreme body of the party, is supposed to meet not less often than once in three years. It will soon be eight full years since its last meeting. During this period membership in the party has numerically doubled. Party mortality during the war was enormous, and today well over half of the party members are persons who have entered since the last party congress was held. Meanwhile the same small group of men has carried on at the top.

Who can say whether, in these circumstances, the eventual rejuvenation of the higher spheres of authority (which

can only be a matter of time) can take place smoothly and peacefully, or whether rivals in the quest for higher power will not eventually reach down into these politically immature and inexperienced masses in order to find support for their respective claims? If this were ever to happen, strange consequences could flow for the Communist party: for the membership at large has been exercised only in the practices of iron discipline and obedience and not in the arts of compromise and accommodation. If consequently anything were ever to occur to disrupt the unity and efficacy of the party as a political instrument, Soviet Russia might be changed overnight from one of the strongest to one of the weakest and most pitiable of national societies.

It is curious to note that the ideological power of Soviet authority is strongest today in areas beyond the frontiers of Russia, beyond the reach of its police power. This phenomenon brings to mind a comparison used by Thomas Mann in his great novel *Buddenbrooks*. Observing that human institutions often show the greatest outward brilliance at a moment when inner decay is in reality farthest advanced, he compared the Buddenbrook family in the days of its greatest glamour to one of those stars whose light shines most brightly on this world when in reality it has long since ceased to exist. And who can say with assurance that the strong light still cast by the Kremlin on the dissatisfied peoples of the Western world is not the powerful afterglow of a constellation which is in actuality on the wane? It is clear that the U.S. cannot expect in the foreseeable future to enjoy political intimacy with the Soviet regime. It must continue to regard the Soviet Union as a rival, not a partner, in the political arena.

But the possibilities for American policy are by no means limited to holding the line and hoping for the best. It is entirely possible for the U.S. to influence by its actions the internal developments, both within Russia and throughout the international Communist movement. It is a question of the degree to which the U.S. can create among the peoples of the world generally the impression of a country which knows what it wants, which is coping successfully with the problems of its internal life and with the responsibilities of a world power and which has a spiritual vitality capable of holding its own among the major ideological currents of the time. By the same token, exhibitions of indecision, disunity and internal disintegration within this country have an exhilarating effect on the whole Communist movement. At each evidence of these tendencies, a thrill of hope and excitement goes through the Communist world; a new jauntiness can be noted in the Moscow tread; new groups of foreign supporters climb on to what they can only view as the bandwagon of international politics, and Russian pressure increases all along the line in international affairs.

It would be an exaggeration to say that American behavior unassisted and alone could exercise a power of

life and death over the Communist movement and bring about the early fall of Soviet power in Russia. But the U.S. has it in its power to increase enormously the strains under which Soviet policy must operate, to force upon the Kremlin a far greater degree of moderation and circumspection than it has had to observe in recent years and in this way to promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the breakup or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power. For no mystical, Messianic movement—and particularly not that of the Kremlin—can face frustration indefinitely without eventually adjusting itself in one way or another to the logic of that state of affairs. Surely there was never a fairer test of national quality than this. In the light of these circumstances the thoughtful observer of Russian-American relations will find no cause for complaint in the Kremlin's challenge to American society. He will rather experience a certain gratitude to a Providence which, by providing the American people with this implacable challenge, has made their entire security as a nation dependent on their pulling themselves together and accepting the responsibilities of moral and political leadership that history plainly intended them to bear.

### **"Letter from Birmingham Jail"** (April 12–20, 1963)

**Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.**

Courtesy of the King Center, Atlanta, Georgia.

Birmingham, Alabama

My Dear Fellow Clergymen:

While confined here in the Birmingham city jail, I came across your recent statement calling present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. If I sought to answer all the criticisms that cross my desk, my secretaries would have little time for anything other than such correspondence in the course of the day, and I would have no time for constructive work. But since I feel that you are men of genuine good will and that your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I want to try to answer your statement in what I hope will be patient and reasonable terms.

I think I should indicate why I am here in Birmingham, since you have been influenced by the view which argues against "outsiders coming in." I have the honor of serving as President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization operating in every southern state, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. We have some eighty-five affiliated organizations across the South, and one of them is the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Frequently we share staff, educational and financial resources with our affiliates. Several months ago the affiliate here in Birmingham asked us to be on call to



engage in a nonviolent direct-action program if such were deemed necessary. We readily consented, and when the hour came we lived up to our promise. So I, along with several members of my staff, am here because I was invited here. I am here because I have organizational ties here. But more basically, I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. Just as the prophets of the eighth century B.C. left their villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home towns, and just as the Apostle Paul left his village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to the far corners of the Greco-Roman world, so am I compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my own home town. Like Paul, I must constantly respond to the Macedonian call for aid.

Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere within its bounds.

You deplore the demonstrations taking place in Birmingham. But your statement, I am sorry to say, fails to express a similar concern for the conditions that brought about the demonstrations. I am sure that none of you would want to rest content with the superficial kind of social analysis that deals merely with effects and does not grapple with underlying causes. It is unfortunate that demonstrations are taking place in Birmingham, but it is even more unfortunate that the city's white power structure left the Negro community with no alternative.

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self-purification; and direct action. We have gone through all these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of brutality is widely known. Negroes have experienced grossly unjust treatment in the courts. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than in any other city in the nation. These are the hard, brutal facts of the case. On the basis of these conditions, Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the latter consistently refused to engage in good-faith negotiation.

Then, last September, came the opportunity to talk with leaders of Birmingham's economic community. In the course of the negotiations, certain promises were made by the merchants—for example, to remove the stores' humili-

ating racial signs. On the basis of these promises, the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth and the leaders of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights agreed to a moratorium on all demonstrations. As the weeks and months went by, we realized that we were the victims of a broken promise. A few signs, briefly removed, returned; the others remained.

As in so many past experiences, our hopes had been blasted, and the shadow of deep disappointment settled upon us. We had no alternative except to prepare for direct action, whereby we would present our very bodies as a means of laying our case before the conscience of the local and the national community. Mindful of the difficulties involved, we decided to undertake a process of self-purification. We began a series of workshops on nonviolence, and we repeatedly asked ourselves: "Are you able to accept blows without retaliation?" "Are you able to endure the ordeal of jail?" We decided to schedule our direct-action program for the Easter season, realizing that except for Christmas, this is the main shopping period of the year. Knowing that a strong economic-withdrawal program would be the by-product of direct action, we felt that this would be the best time to bring pressure to bear on the merchants for the needed change.

Then it occurred to us that Birmingham's mayoralty election was coming up in March, and we speedily decided to postpone action until after election day. When we discovered that the Commissioner of Public Safety, Eugene "Bull" Connor, had piled up enough votes to be in the run-off, we decided again to postpone action until the day after the run-off so that the demonstrations could not be used to cloud the issues. Like many others, we waited to see Mr. Connor defeated, and to this end we endured postponement after postponement. Having aided in this community need, we felt that our direct-action program could be delayed no longer.

You may well ask: "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches, and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. My citing the creation of tension as part of the work of the nonviolent-resister may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word "tension." I have earnestly opposed violent tension, but there is a type of constructive, nonviolent tension which is necessary for growth. Just as Socrates felt that it was necessary to create a tension in the mind so that individuals could rise from the bondage of myths and half-truths to the unfettered realm of creative analysis and objective appraisal, so must we see the need for nonviolent

gadflies to create the kind of tension in society that will help men rise from the dark depths of prejudice and racism to the majestic heights of understanding and brotherhood.

The purpose of our direct-action program is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation. I therefore concur with you in your call for negotiation. Too long has our beloved Southland been bogged down in a tragic effort to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

One of the basic points in your statement is that the action that I and my associates have taken in Birmingham is untimely. Some have asked: "Why didn't you give the new city administration time to act?" The only answer that I can give to this query is that the new Birmingham administration must be prodded about as much as the outgoing one, before it will act. We are sadly mistaken if we feel that the election of Albert Boutwell as mayor will bring the millennium to Birmingham. While Mr. Boutwell is a much more gentle person than Mr. Connor, they are both segregationists, dedicated to maintenance of the status quo. I have hoped that Mr. Boutwell will be reasonable enough to see the futility of massive resistance to desegregation. But he will not see this without pressure from devotees of civil rights. My friends, I must say to you that we have not made a single gain in civil rights without determined legal and nonviolent pressure. Lamentably, it is an historical fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily. Individuals may see the moral light and voluntarily give up their unjust posture; but as Reinhold Niebuhr has reminded us, groups tend to be more immoral than individuals.

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor, it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was "well timed" in view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that "justice too long delayed is justice denied."

We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward gaining political independence, but we still creep at horse-and-buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter. Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, "Wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick, and even kill your black brothers and sisters; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an

airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see ominous clouds of inferiority beginning to form in her little mental sky, and see her beginning to distort her personality by developing an unconscious bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son who is asking, "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross-country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored"; when your first name becomes "Nigger," your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and are plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness" then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience. You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, at first glance it may seem rather paradoxical for us consciously to break laws. One may ask: "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: just and unjust. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with St. Augustine that "an unjust law is no law at all."

Now, what is the difference between the two? How does one determine whether a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of St. Thomas Aquinas: An unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal law and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality.

It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. Segregation, to use the terminology of the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, substitutes an "I-it" relationship for an "I-thou" relationship and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. Hence segregation is not only politically, economically and sociologically unsound, it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich has said that sin is separation. Is not segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness? Thus is it that I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court, for it is morally right; and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances, for they are morally wrong.

Let us consider a more concrete example of just and unjust laws. An unjust law is a code that a numerical or power majority group compels a minority group to obey but does not make binding on itself. This is *difference* made legal. By the same token, a just law is a code that a majority compels a minority to follow and that it is willing to follow itself. This is *sameness* made legal.

Let me give another explanation. A law is unjust if it is inflicted on a minority that, as a result of being denied the right to vote, had no part in enacting or devising the law. Who can say that the legislature of Alabama which set up that state's segregation laws was democratically elected? Throughout Alabama all sorts of devious methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered voters, and there are some counties in which, even though Negroes constitute a majority of the population, not a single Negro is registered. Can any law enacted under such circumstances be considered democratically structured?

Sometimes a law is just on its face and unjust in its application. For instance, I have been arrested on a charge of parading without a permit. Now, there is nothing wrong in having an ordinance which requires a permit for a parade. But such an ordinance becomes unjust when it is used to maintain segregation and to deny citizens the First-Amendment privilege of peaceful assembly and protest.

I hope you are able to see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law, as would the rabid segregationist. That would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly, and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the highest respect for law.

Of course, there is nothing new about this kind of civil disobedience. It was evidenced sublimely in the refusal of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego to obey the laws of Nebuchadnezzar, on the ground that a higher moral law was at stake. It was practiced superbly by the early Chris-

tians, who were willing to face hungry lions and the excruciating pain of chopping blocks rather than submit to certain unjust laws of the Roman Empire. To a degree, academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience. In our own nation, the Boston Tea Party represented a massive act of civil disobedience.

We should never forget that everything Adolf Hitler did in Germany was "legal" and everything the Hungarian freedom fighters did in Hungary was "illegal." It was "illegal" to aid and comfort a Jew in Hitler's Germany. Even so, I am sure that, had I lived in Germany at the time, I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers. If today I lived in a Communist country where certain principles dear to the Christian faith are suppressed, I would openly advocate disobeying that country's anti-religious laws.

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the past few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in his stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Council or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate, who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says, "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I cannot agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternalistically believes he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by a mythical concept of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait for a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating that absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.

I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that law and order exist for the purpose of establishing justice and that when they fail in this purpose they become the dangerously structured dams that block the flow of social progress. I had hoped that the white moderate would understand that the present tension in the South is a necessary phase of the transition from an obnoxious negative peace, in which the Negro passively accepted his unjust plight, to a substantive and positive peace, in which all men will respect the dignity and worth of human personality. Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open, where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured so long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light injustice must be exposed, with all the tension its exposure creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion, before it can be cured.

In your statement you assert that our actions, even though peaceful, must be condemned because they precipitate violence. But is this a logical assertion? Isn't this like condemning a robbed man because his possession of money precipitated the evil act of robbery? Isn't this like condemning Socrates because his unswerving commitment to truth and his philosophical inquiries precipitated the act by the misguided populace in which they made him drink hemlock? Isn't this like condemning Jesus because his unique God-consciousness and never-ceasing devotion to God's will precipitated the evil act of crucifixion? We must come to see that, as the federal courts have consistently affirmed, it is wrong to urge an individual to cease his efforts to gain his basic constitutional rights because the quest may precipitate violence. Society must protect the robbed and punish the robber.

I had also hoped that the white moderate would reject the myth concerning time in relation to the struggle for freedom. I have just received a letter from a white brother in Texas. He writes: "All Christians know that the colored people will receive equal rights eventually, but it is possible that you are in too great a religious hurry. It has taken Christianity almost two thousand years to accomplish what it has. The teachings of Christ take time to come to earth." Such an attitude stems from a tragic misconception of time, from the strangely irrational notion that there is something in the very flow of time that will inevitably cure all ills. Actually, time itself is neutral; it can be used either destructively or constructively. More and more I feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than have the people of good will. We will have to repent in the generation not merely for the hateful words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people. Human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability; it comes through the tireless efforts of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work, time itself becomes an ally of the forces of stagnation. We must use time creatively, in the knowledge that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.

You speak of our activity in Birmingham as extreme. At first I was rather disappointed that fellow clergyman would see my nonviolent efforts as those of an extremist. I began thinking about the fact that I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency, made up in part of Negroes who, as a result of long years of oppression, are so drained of self-respect and a sense of "somebodiness" that they have adjusted to segregation; and in part of a few middle-class Negroes who, because of a degree of academic and economic security

and because in some ways they profit by segregation, have become insensitive to the problems of the masses. The other force is one of bitterness and hatred, and it comes perilously close to advocating violence. It is expressed in the various black nationalist groups that are springing up across the nation, the largest and best-known being Elijah Muhammad's Muslim movement. Nourished by the Negro's frustration over the continued existence of racial discrimination, this movement is made up of people who have lost faith in America, who have absolutely repudiated Christianity, and who have concluded that the white man is an incorrigible "devil." I have tried to stand between these two forces, saying that we need emulate neither the "do-nothingism" of the complacent nor the hatred and despair of the black nationalist. For there is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I am grateful to God that, through the influence of the Negro church, the way of non-violence became an integral part of our struggle.

If this philosophy had not emerged, by now many streets of the South would, I am convinced, be flowing with blood. And I am further convinced that if our white brothers dismiss as "rabble-rousers" and "outside agitators" those of us who employ nonviolent direct action, and if they refuse to support our nonviolent efforts, millions of Negroes will, out of frustration and despair, seek solace and security in black-nationalist ideologies—a development that would inevitably lead to a frightening racial nightmare.

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself, and that is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom, and something without has reminded him that it can be gained. Consciously or unconsciously, he has been caught up by the Zeitgeist, and with his black brothers of Africa and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America, and the Caribbean, the United States Negro is moving with a sense of great urgency toward the promised land of racial justice. If one recognizes this vital urge that has engulfed the Negro community, one should readily understand why public demonstrations are taking place. The Negro has many pent-up resentments and latent frustrations, and he must release them. So let him march; let him make prayer pilgrimages to the city hall; let him go on freedom rides—and try to understand why he must do so. If his repressed emotions are not released in nonviolent ways, they will seek expression through violence; this is not a threat but a fact of history. So I have not said to my people, "Get rid of your discontent." Rather, I have tried to say that this normal and healthy discontent can be channeled into the creative outlet of nonviolent direct action. And now this approach is being termed extremist.

But though I was initially disappointed at being categorized as an extremist, as I continued to think about the



matter I gradually gained a measure of satisfaction from the label. Was not Jesus an extremist for love: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you." Was not Amos an extremist for justice: "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream." Was not Paul an extremist for the Christian gospel: "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Was not Martin Luther an extremist: "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise, so help me God." And John Bunyan: "I will stay in jail to the end of my days before I make a butchery of my conscience." And Abraham Lincoln: "This nation cannot survive half slave and half free." And Thomas Jefferson: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. . . ." So the question is not whether we will be extremists, but what kind of extremists we will be. Will we be extremists for hate or for love? Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice or for the extension of justice? In that dramatic scene on Calvary's hill three men were crucified. We must never forget that all three were crucified for the same crime—the crime of extremism. Two were extremists for immorality, and thus fell below their environment. The other, Jesus Christ, was an extremist for love, truth, and goodness, and thereby rose above his environment. Perhaps the South, the nation, and the world are in dire need of creative extremists.

I had hoped that the white moderate would see this need. Perhaps I was too optimistic; perhaps I expected too much. I suppose I should have realized that few members of the oppressor race can understand the deep groans and passionate yearnings of the oppressed race, and still fewer have the vision to see that injustice must be rooted out by strong, persistent, and determined action. I am thankful, however, that some of our white brothers in the South have grasped the meaning of this social revolution and committed themselves to it. They are still all too few in quantity, but they are big in quality. Some—such as Ralph McGill, Lillian Smith, Harry Golden, James McBride Dabbs, Ann Braden, and Sarah Patton Boyle—have written about our struggle in eloquent and prophetic terms. Others have marched with us down nameless streets of the South. They have languished in filthy, roach-infested jails, suffering the abuse and brutality of policemen who view them as "dirty nigger-lovers." Unlike so many of their moderate brothers and sisters, they have recognized the urgency of the moment and sensed the need for powerful "action" antidotes to combat the disease of segregation.

Let me take note of my other major disappointment. I have been so greatly disappointed with the white church and its leadership. Of course, there are some notable exceptions. I am not unmindful of the fact that each of you has taken some significant stands on this issue. I commend you, Reverend Stallings, for your Christian stand on this past

Sunday, in welcoming Negroes to your worship service on a nonsegregated basis. I commend the Catholic leaders of this state for integrating Spring Hill College several years ago.

But despite these notable exceptions, I must honestly reiterate that I have been disappointed with the church. I do not say this as one of those negative critics who can always find something wrong with the church. I say this as a minister of the gospel, who loves the church; who was nurtured in its bosom; who has been sustained by its spiritual blessings and who will remain true to it as long as the cord of life shall lengthen.

When I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery, Alabama, a few years ago, I felt we would be supported by the white church. I felt that the ministers, priests, and rabbis of the South would be among our strongest allies. Instead, some have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of stained-glass windows.

In spite of my shattered dreams, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause and, with deep moral concern, would serve as the channel through which our just grievances could reach the power structure. I had hoped that each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed.

I have heard numerous southern religious leaders admonish their worshipers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the law, but I have longed to hear white ministers declare: "Follow this decree because integration is morally right and because the Negro is your brother." In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churchmen stand on the sideline and mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard many ministers say: "Those are social issues, with which the gospel has no real concern." And I have watched many churches commit themselves to a completely otherworldly religion which makes a strange, un-Biblical distinction between body and soul, between the sacred and the secular.

I have traveled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi, and all the other southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at the South's beautiful churches with their lofty spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlines of her massive religious-education buildings. Over and over I have found myself asking: "What kind of people worship here? Who is their God? Where were their voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with

words of interposition and nullification? Where were they when Governor Wallace gave a clarion call for defiance and hatred? Where were their voices of support when bruised and weary Negro men and women decided to rise from the dark dungeons of complacency to the bright hills of creative protest?"

Yes, these questions are still in my mind. In deep disappointment I have wept over the laxity of the church. But be assured that my tears have been tears of love. Yes, I love the church. How could I do otherwise? I am in the rather unique position of being the son, the grandson, and the great-grandson of preachers. Yes, I see the church as the body of Christ. But, oh! How we have blemished and scarred that body through social neglect and through fear of being nonconformists.

There was a time when the church was very powerful—in the time when the early Christians rejoiced at being deemed worthy to suffer for what they believed. In those days the church was not merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion; it was a thermostat that transformed the mores of society. Whenever the early Christians entered a town, the people in power became disturbed and immediately sought to convict the Christians for being “disturbers of the peace” and “outside agitators.” But the Christians pressed on, in the conviction that they were “a colony of heaven,” called to obey God rather than man. Small in number, they were big in commitment. They were too God-intoxicated to be “astronomically intimidated.” By their effort and example they brought an end to such ancient evils as infanticide and gladiatorial contests.

Things are different now. So often the contemporary church is a weak, ineffectual voice with an uncertain sound. So often it is an arch-defender of the status quo. Far from being disturbed by the presence of the church, the power structure of the average community is consoled by the church’s silent—and often even vocal—sanction of things as they are. But the judgment of God is upon the church as never before. If today’s church does not recapture the sacrificial spirit of the early church, it will lose its authenticity, forfeit the loyalty of millions, and be dismissed as an irrelevant social club with no meaning for the twentieth century. Every day I meet young people whose disappointment with the church has turned into outright disgust.

Perhaps I have once again been too optimistic. Is organized religion too inextricably bound to the status quo to save our nation and the world? Perhaps I must turn my faith to the inner spiritual church, the church within the church, as the true *ekklesia* and the hope of the world. But again I am thankful to God that some noble souls from the ranks of organized religion have broken loose from the paralyzing chains of conformity and joined us as active partners in the struggle for freedom. They have left their secure congrega-

tions and walked the streets of Albany, Georgia, with us. They have gone down the highways of the South on tortuous rides for freedom. Yes, they have gone to jail with us. Some have been dismissed from their churches, have lost the support of their bishops and fellow ministers. But they have acted in the faith that right defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. Their witness has been the spiritual salt that has preserved the true meaning of the gospel in these troubled times. They have carved a tunnel of hope through the dark mountain of disappointment.

I hope the church as a whole will meet the challenge of this decisive hour. But even if the church does not come to the aid of justice, I have no despair about the future. I have no fear about the outcome of our struggle in Birmingham, even if our motives are at present misunderstood. We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with America’s destiny. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. For more than two centuries our forebears labored in this country without wages; they made cotton king; they built the homes of their masters while suffering gross injustice and shameful humiliation—and yet out of bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands.

Before closing I feel impelled to mention one other point in your statement that has troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping “order” and “preventing violence.” I doubt that you would so quickly commend the policemen if you were to observe their ugly and inhumane treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you were to watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you were to see them slap and kick Negro men and young boys; if you were to observe them, as they did on two occasions, refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I cannot join you in your praise of the Birmingham police department.

It is true that the police have exercised a degree of discipline in handling the demonstrations. In this sense they have conducted themselves rather “nonviolently” in public. But for what purpose? To preserve the evil system of segregation. Over the past few years I have consistently preached that nonviolence demands that the means we use must be as pure as the ends we seek. I have tried to make clear that it is wrong to use immoral means to attain moral ends. But now I must affirm that it is just as wrong, or perhaps even more so, to use moral means to preserve immoral ends. Perhaps Mr. Connor and his policemen have been rather nonviolent in public, as was Chief Pritchett in

Albany, Georgia, but they have used the moral means of nonviolence to maintain the immoral end of racial injustice. As T. S. Eliot has said, "The last temptation is the greatest treason: To do the right deed for the wrong reason."

I wish you had commended the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer, and their amazing discipline in the midst of great provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Merediths, with the noble sense of purpose that enables them to face jeering and hostile mobs, and with the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two-year-old woman in Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride segregated buses, and who responded with ungrammatical profundity to one who inquired about her weariness: "My feet is tired, but my soul is at rest." They will be the young high school and college students, the young ministers of the gospel and a host of their elders, courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience' sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters, they were in reality standing up for what is best in the American dream and for the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage, thereby bringing our nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in their formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Never before have I written so long a letter. I'm afraid it is much too long to take your precious time. I can assure you that it would have been much shorter if I had been writing from a comfortable desk, but what else can one do when he is alone in a narrow jail cell, other than write long letters, think long thoughts, and pray long prayers?

If I have said anything in this letter that overstates the truth and indicates an unreasonable impatience, I beg you to forgive me. If I have said anything that understates the truth and indicates my having a patience that allows me to settle for anything less than brotherhood, I beg God to forgive me.

I hope this letter finds you strong in the faith. I also hope that circumstances will soon make it possible for me to meet each of you, not as an integrationist or a civil-rights leader but as a fellow clergyman and a Christian brother. Let us all hope that the dark clouds of racial prejudice will soon pass away and the deep fog of misunderstanding will be lifted from our fear-drenched communities, and in some not too distant tomorrow the radiant stars of love and brotherhood will shine over our great nation with all their scintillating beauty.

Yours for the cause of Peace and Brotherhood, Martin Luther King, Jr.

## **"I Have a Dream" Speech (August 28, 1963)** **Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.**

Courtesy of the King Center, Atlanta, Georgia.

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity. But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free; one hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination; one hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity; one hundred years later, the Negro is still languishing in the corners of American society and finds himself in exile in his own land.

So we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition. In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was the promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note in so far as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check; a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds." But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy; now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice; now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood; now is the time to make justice a reality for all God's children. It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality.

Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content, will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. There will be neither rest nor tranquillity in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the worn threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plain of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protests to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvelous new militancy, which has engulfed the Negro community, must not lead us to a distrust of all white people. For many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back.

There are those who are asking the devotees of Civil Rights. "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality; we can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities; we cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one; we can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating, "For White Only;" we cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No! No, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until "justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream."

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi: Go back to Alabama: Go back to South Carolina: Go back to Georgia: Go back to Louisiana: Go back to the slums and ghettos

of our Northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

So I say to you, my friends, that even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream, that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed, "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.

I Have a Dream Today!

I have a dream that one day in Alabama—with its vicious racists, with its Governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification—one day right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I Have a Dream Today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low. The rough places will be plain and the crooked places will be made straight "and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together."

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair, a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day. And this will be the day. This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning, "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my father died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountain side, let freedom ring." And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire; let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York; let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania; let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado; let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California. But not only that. Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia; let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee; let freedom



ring from every hill and mole hill of Mississippi. "From every mountainside, let freedom ring."

And when this happens, and when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet from every state and every city, we will be able to

speed up that day when all God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: "Free at last. Thank God Almighty, we are free at last."



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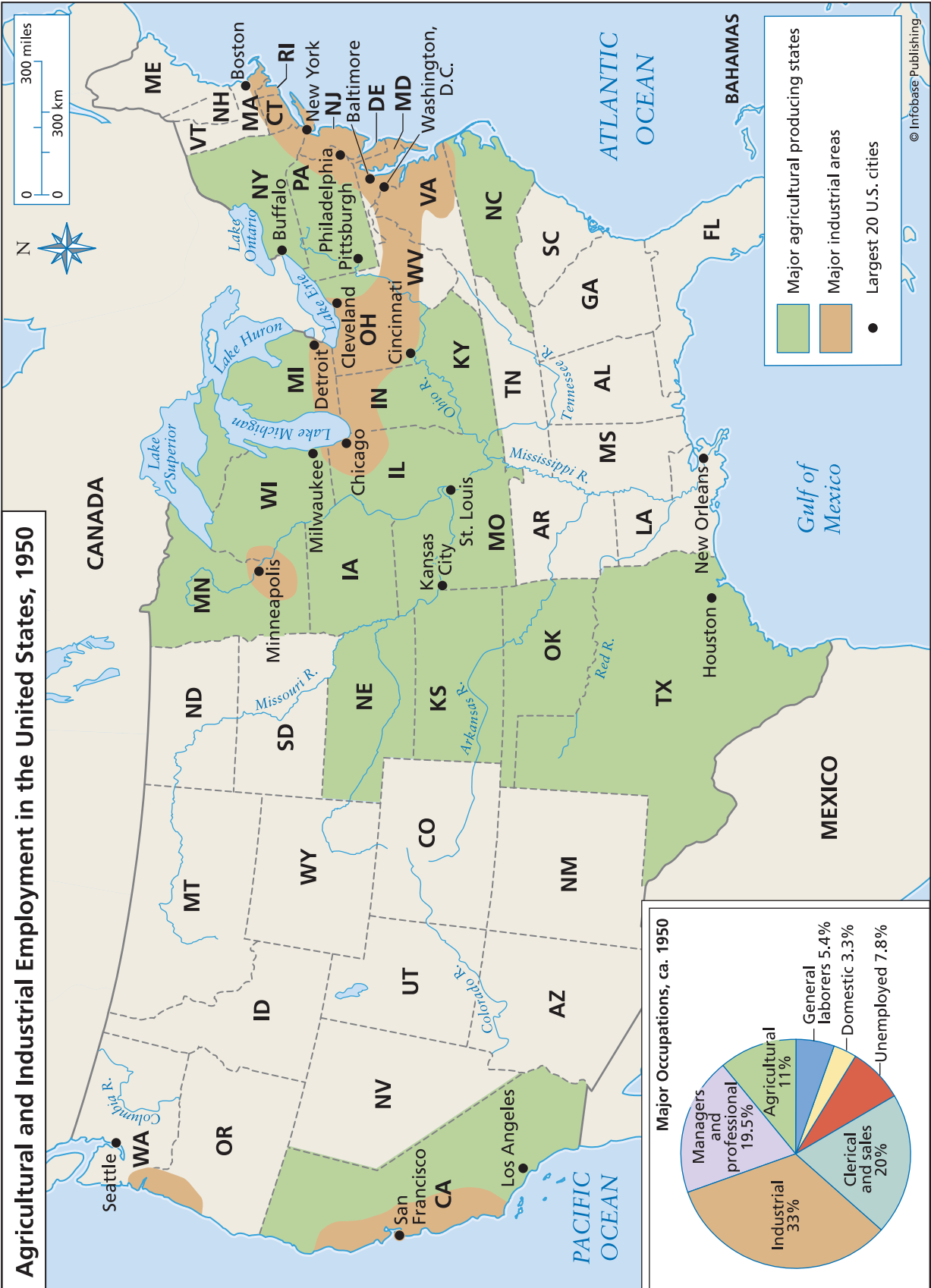
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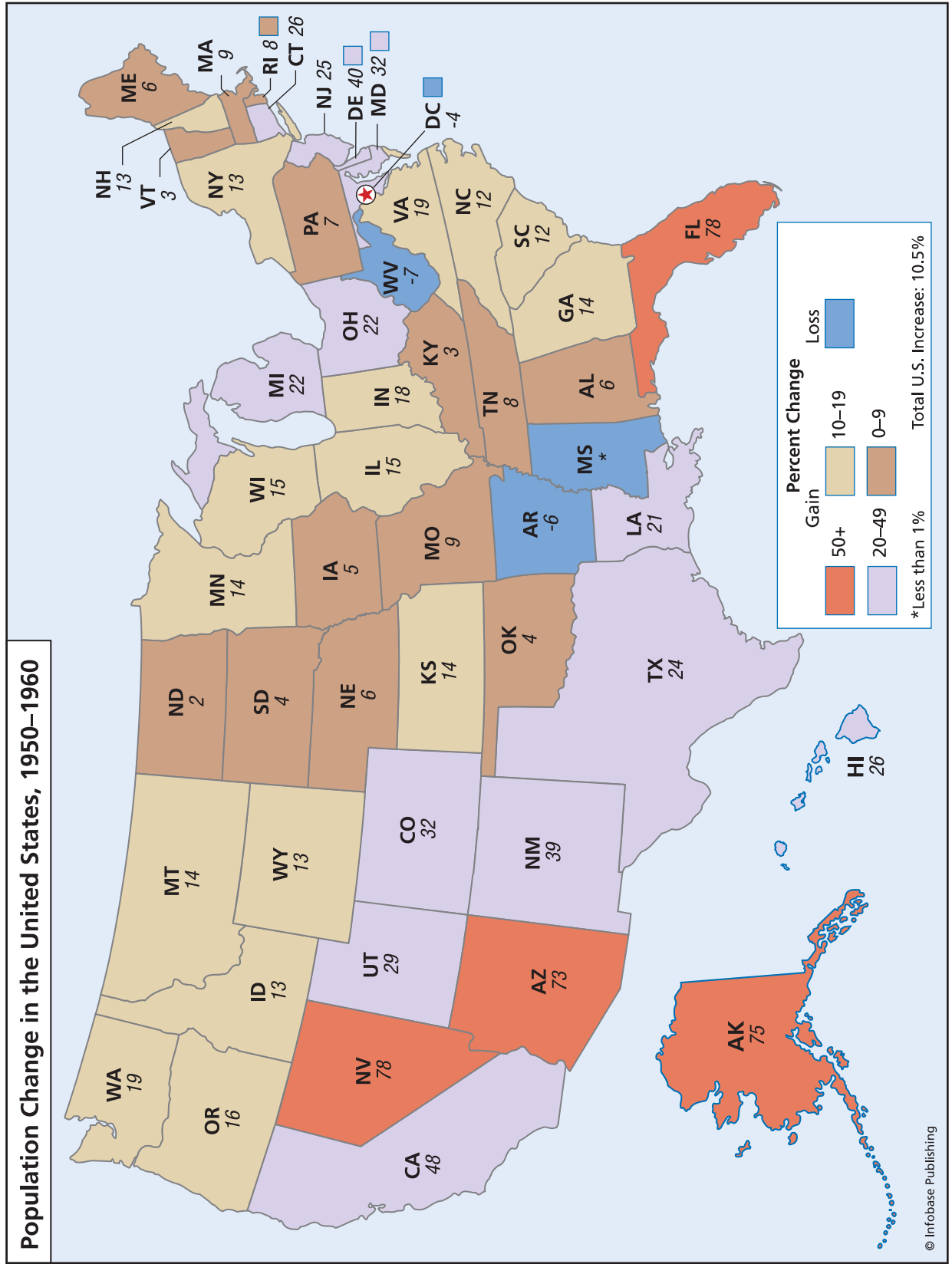


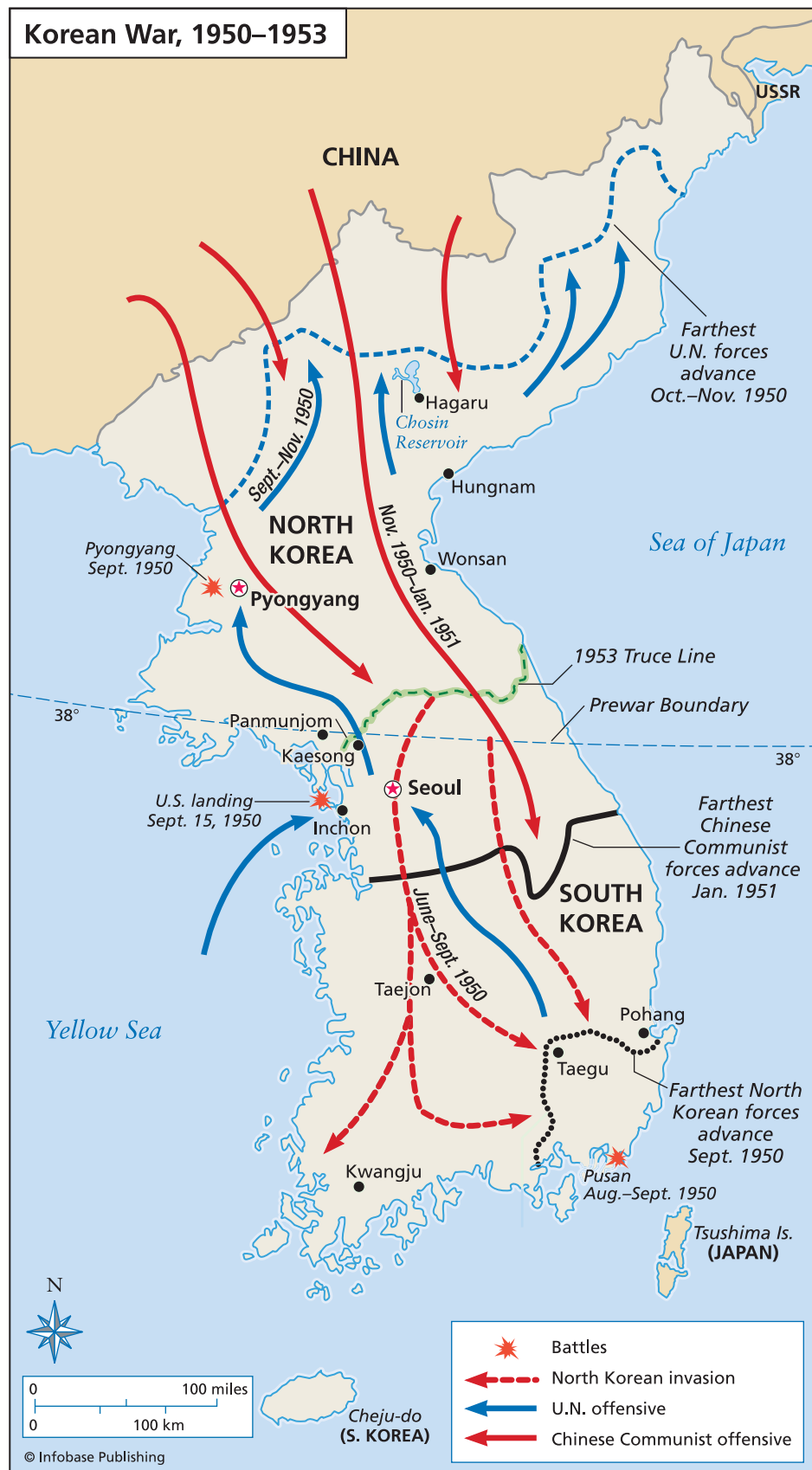
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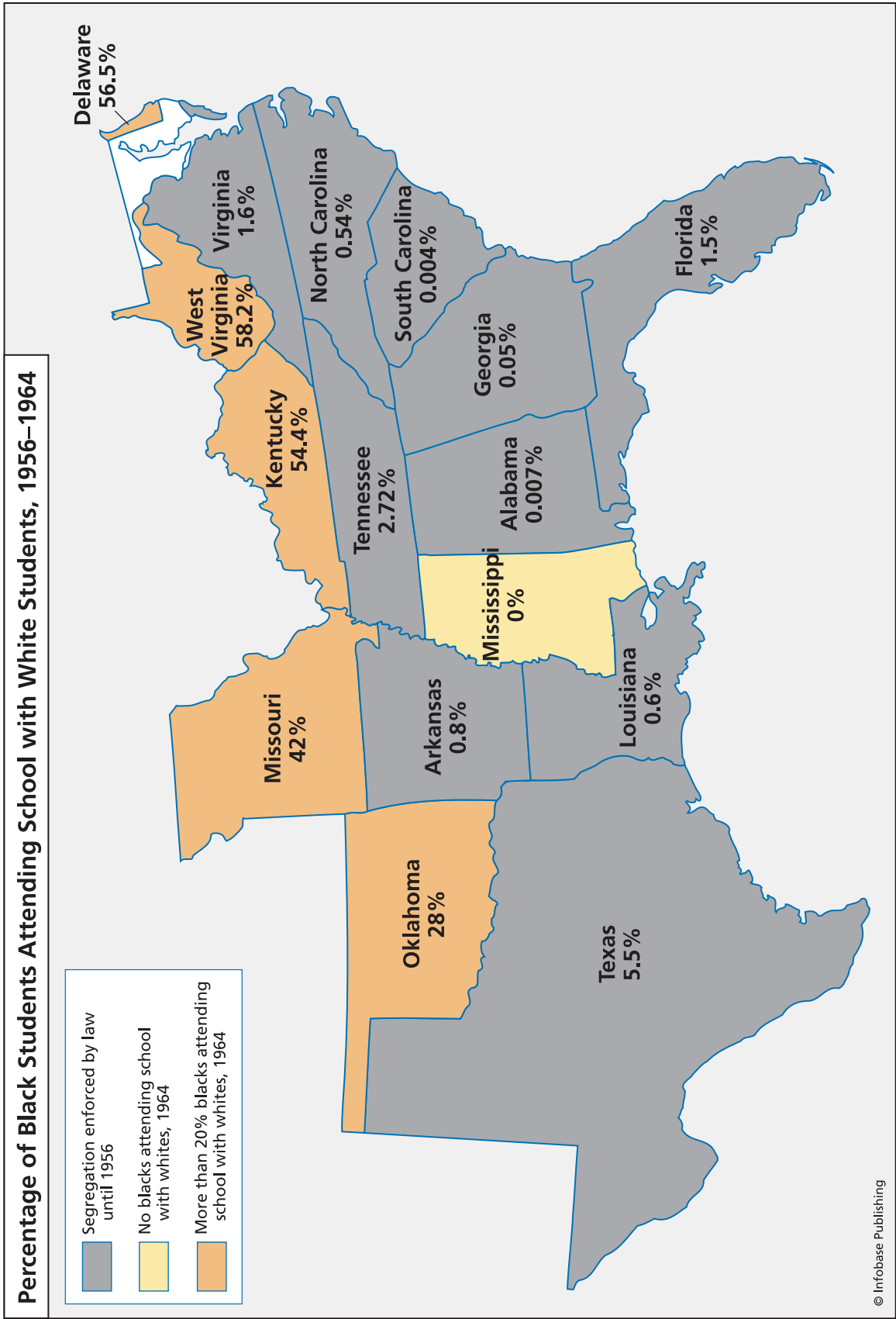


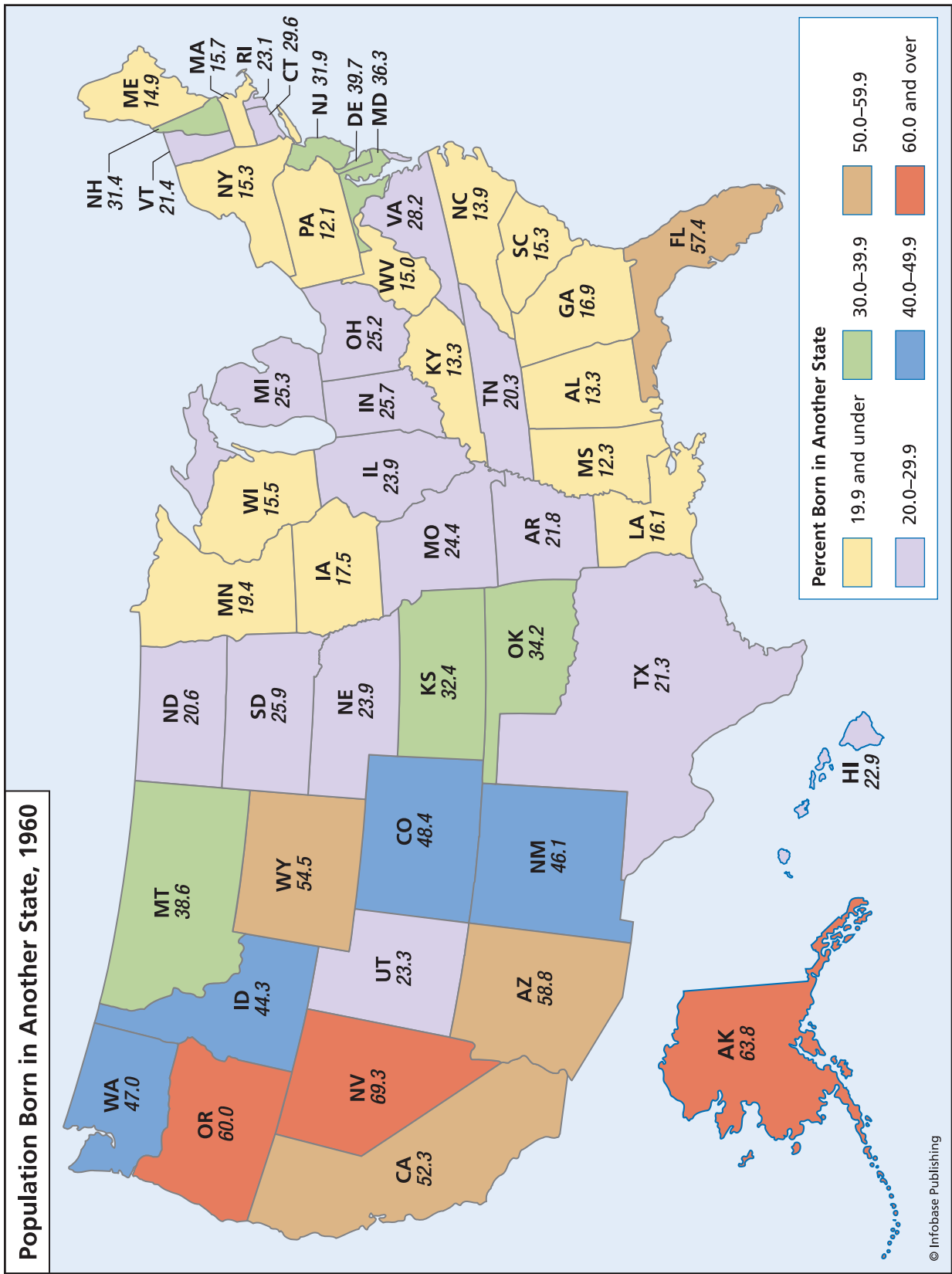




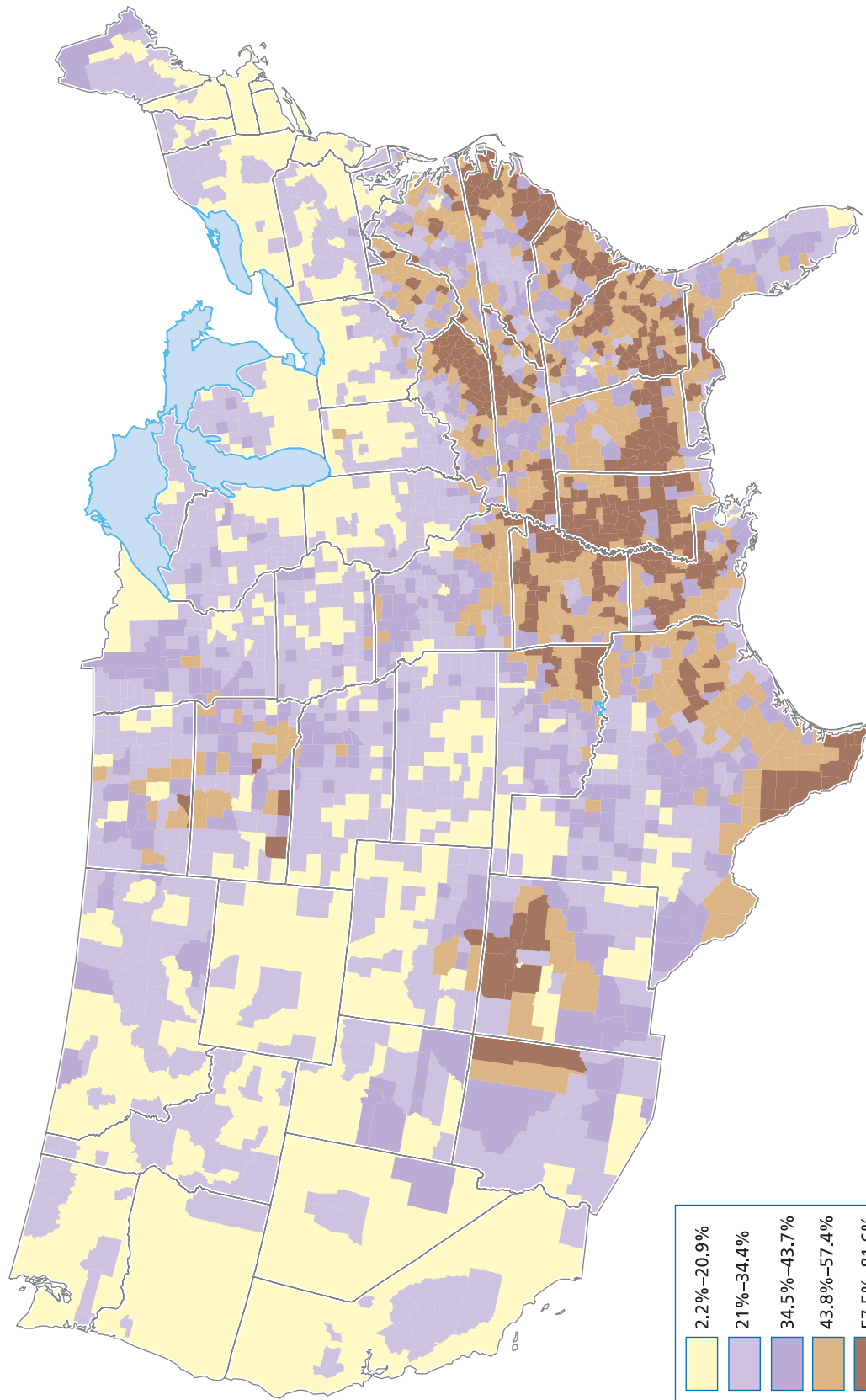






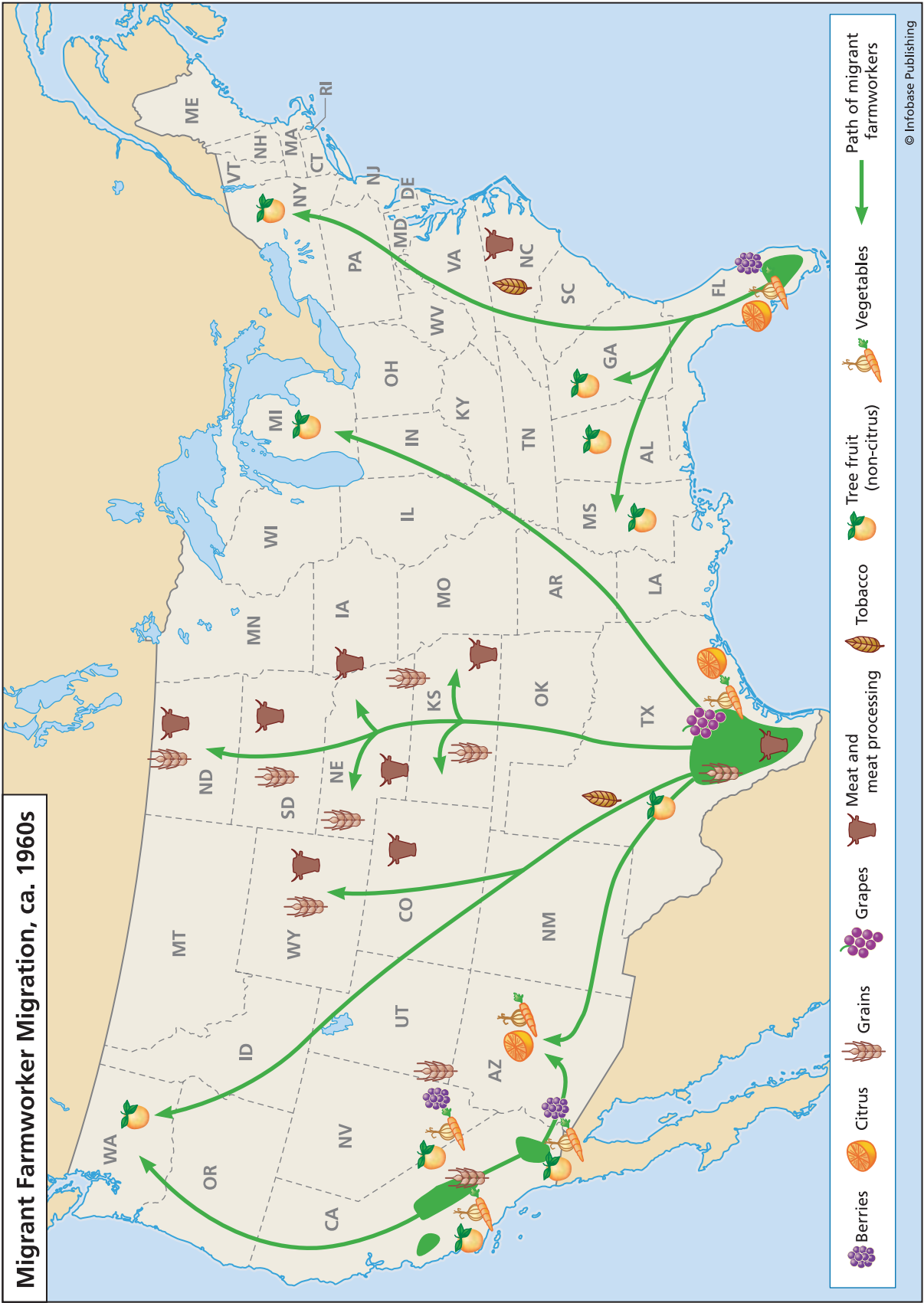


Percent of U.S. Population in Poverty, 1960

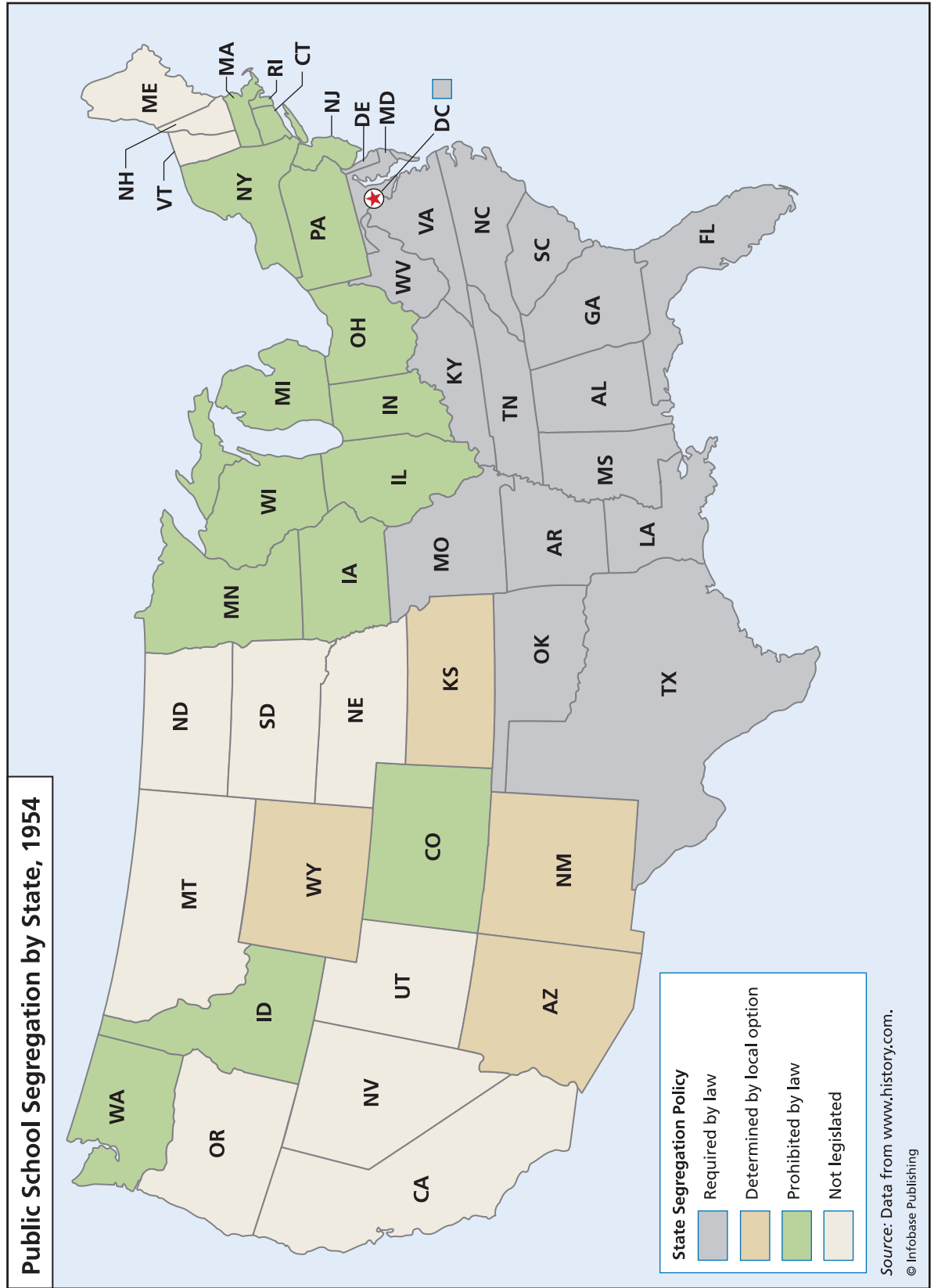


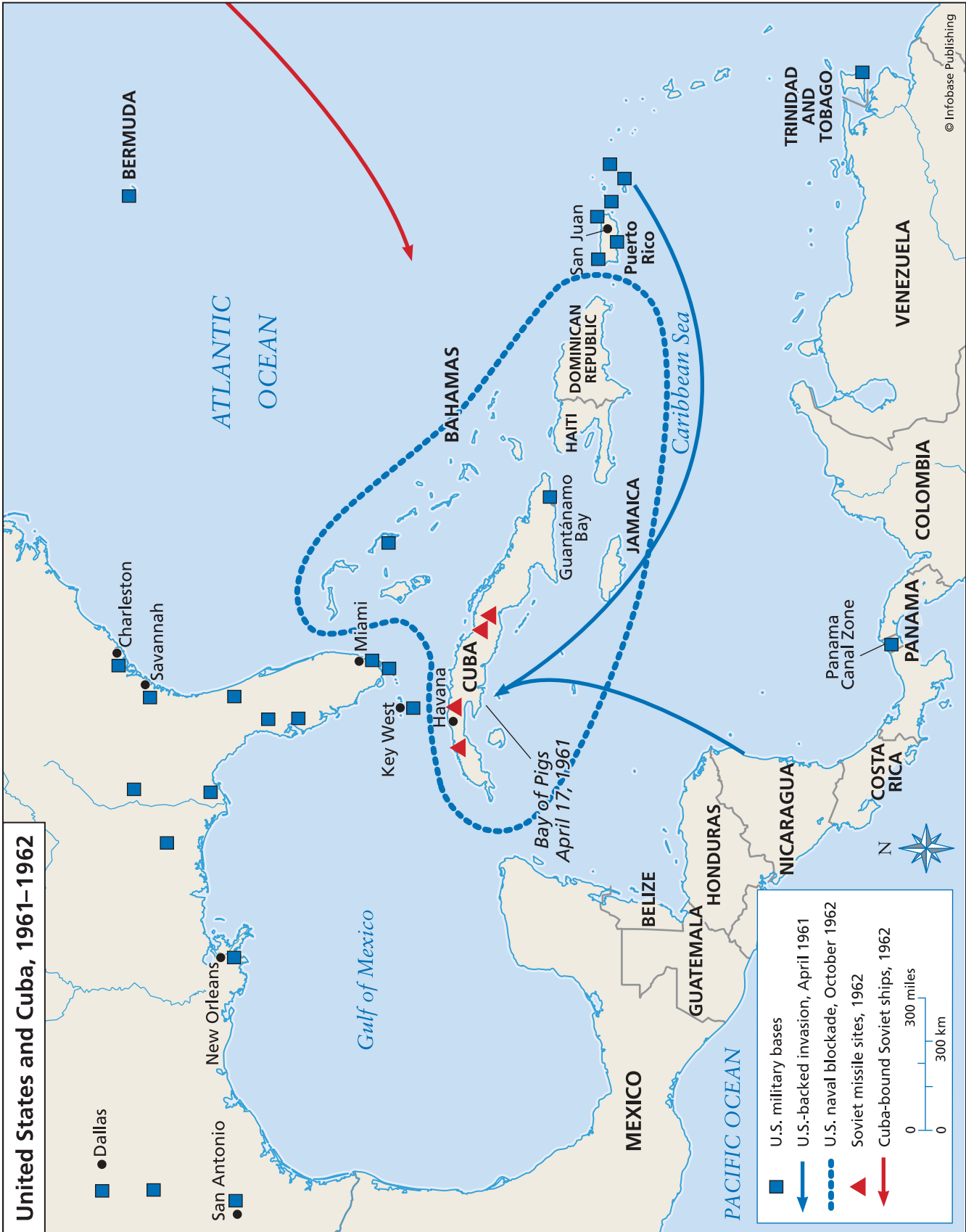
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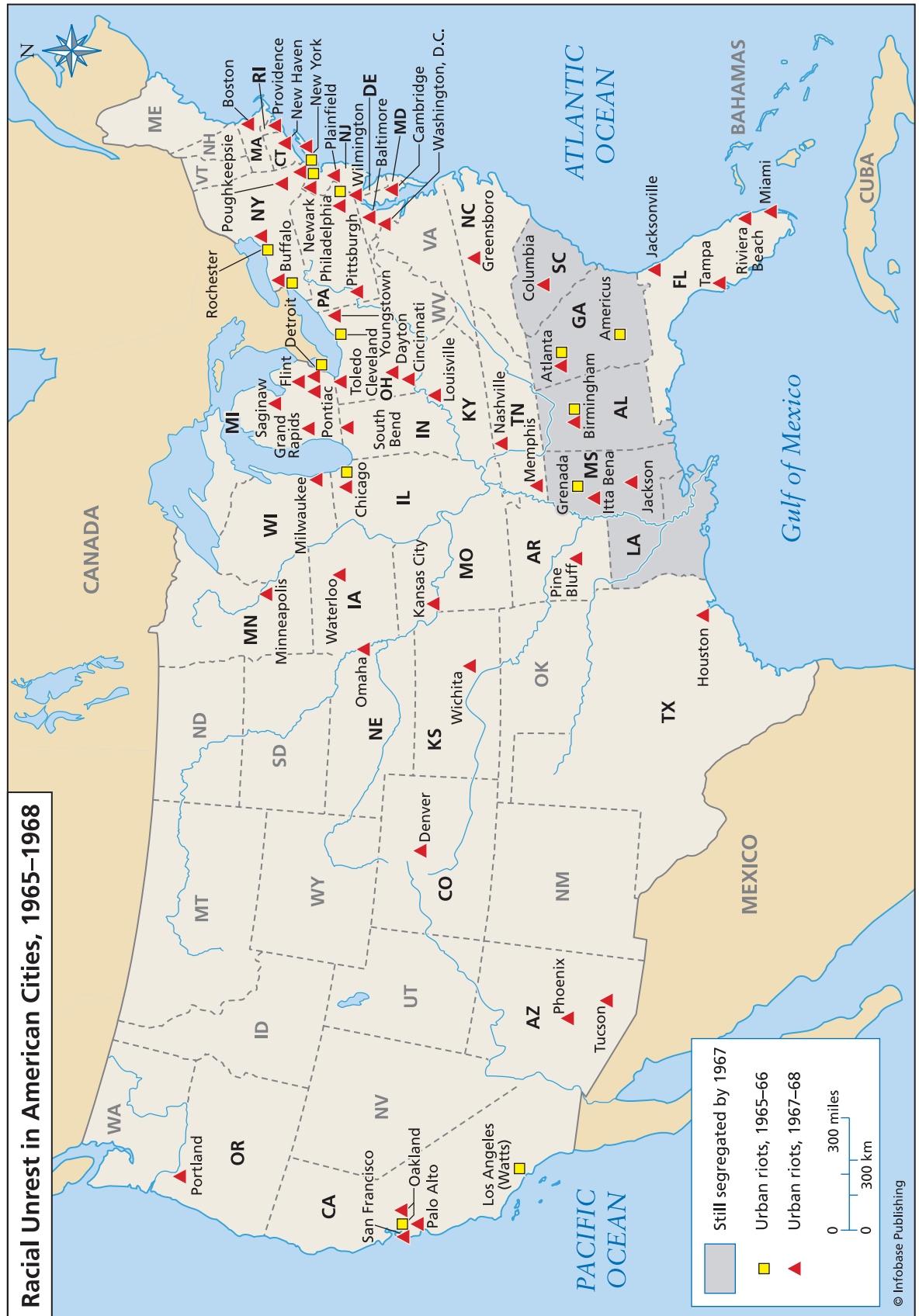
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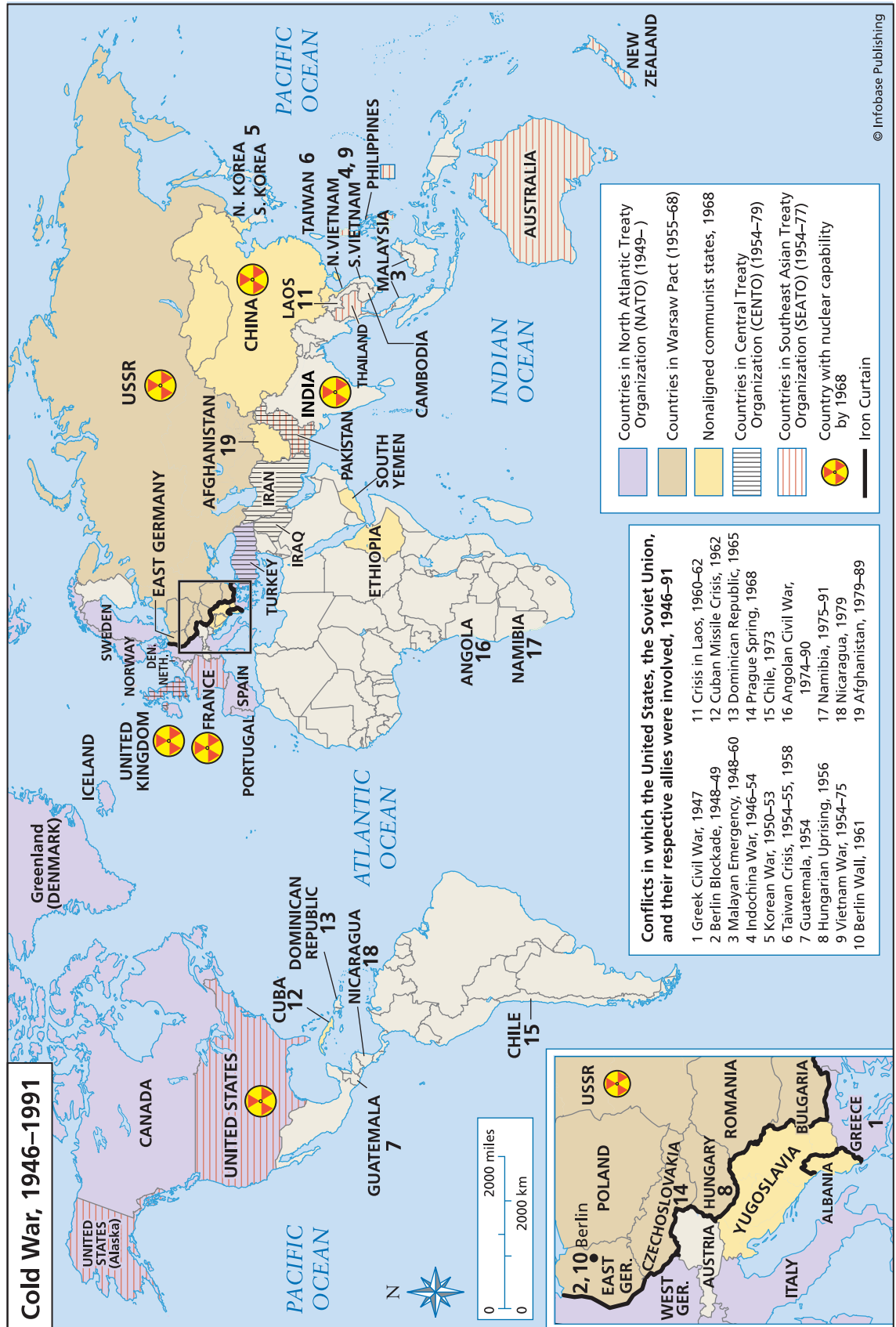


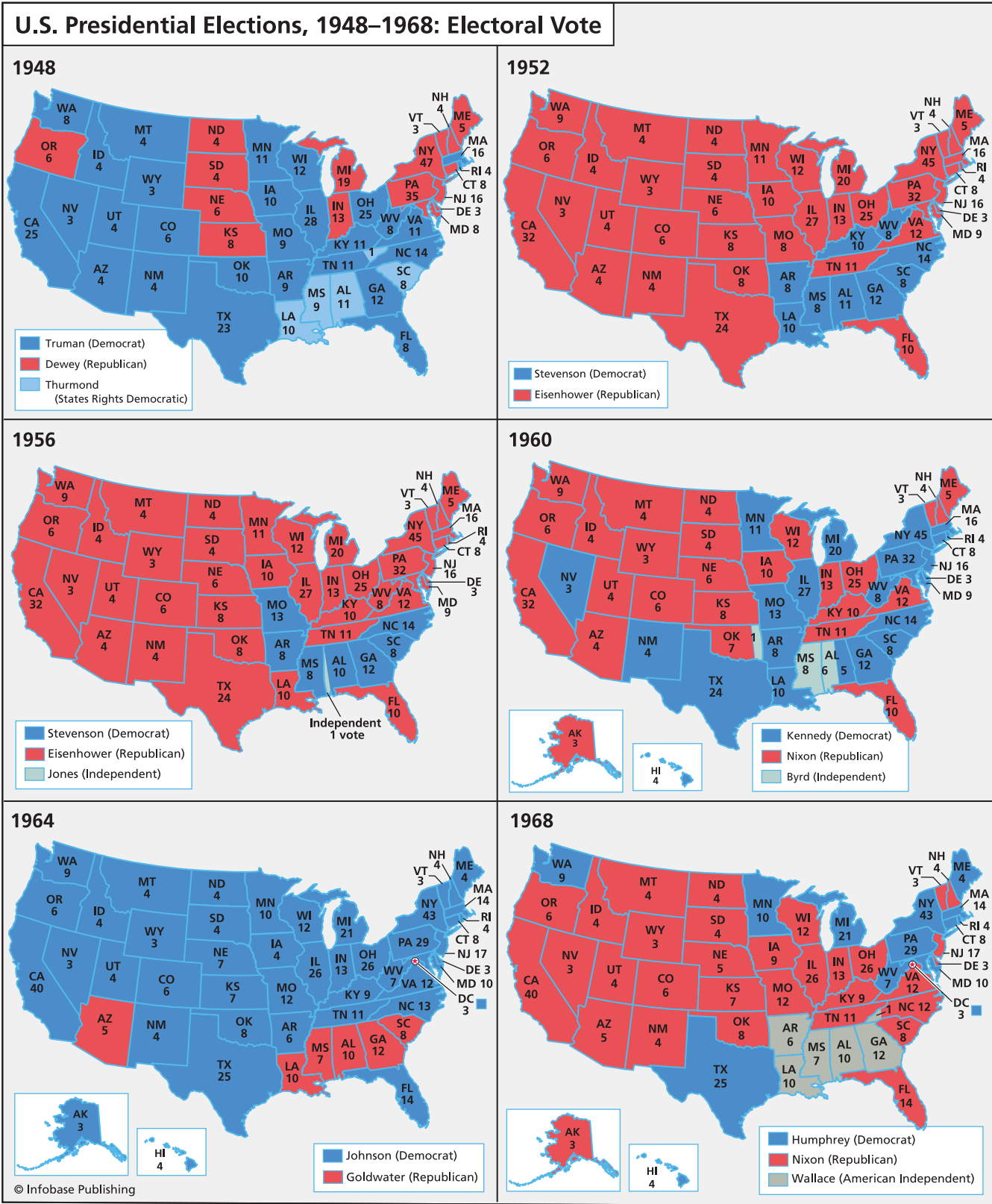












# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Revised Edition

Contemporary United States  
1969 to the Present



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Donald T. Critchlow, Editor  
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Contemporary United States (1969 to the Present)**

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Amendment	veto (presidential)	Weather Underground	Wright, James C., Jr.



# About the Editors



**General Editor: Gary B. Nash** received a Ph.D. from Princeton University. He is director of the National Center for History in the Schools at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he teaches American history of the colonial and Revolutionary era. He is a published author of college and precollegiate history texts. Among his best-selling works are the coauthored *American People: Creating a Nation and Society* (Longman, 1998), now in its seventh edition; *American Odyssey: The U.S. in the Twentieth Century* (McGraw-Hill/Glencoe, 1999), now in its fourth edition; and *The Atlas of American History*, coauthored with Carter Smith (Facts On File, 2006).

Nash is an elected member of the Society of American Historians, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Antiquarian Society, and the American Philosophical Society. He has served as past president of the Organization of American Historians in 1994–95 and was a founding member of the National Council for History

Education. His latest books include *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (Viking, 2005), and *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Era of Revolution* (Harvard University Press, 2006).

**Volume Editor: Donald T. Critchlow**, St. Louis University, received a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. He is the author of several books, including *Intended Consequences: Birth Control, Abortion, and the Federal Government in Modern America* (Oxford University Press, 1999), *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade* (Princeton University Press, 2005), and *The Conservative Ascendancy: How the GOP Right Made Political History* (Harvard University Press, 2007).





# Foreword



The Encyclopedia of American History series is designed as a handy reference to the most important individuals, events, and topics in U.S. history. In 11 volumes, the encyclopedia covers the period from the 15th century, when European explorers first made their way across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas, to the present day. The encyclopedia is written for precollegiate as well as college students, for parents of young learners in the schools, and for the general public. The volume editors are distinguished historians of American history. In writing individual entries, each editor has drawn upon the expertise of scores of specialists. This ensures the scholarly quality of the entire series. Articles contributed by the various volume editors are uncredited.

This 11-volume encyclopedia of “American history” is broadly conceived to include the historical experience of the various peoples of North America. Thus, in the first volume, many essays treat the history of a great range of indigenous people before contact with Europeans. In the same vein, readers will find essays in the first several volumes that sketch Spanish, Dutch, and French explorers and colonizers who opened up territories for European settlement that later would become part of the United States. The venues and cast of characters in the American historical drama are thus widened beyond traditional encyclopedias.

In creating the eras of American history that define the chronological limits of each volume, and in addressing major topics in each era, the encyclopedia follows the architecture of *The National Standards for United States History, Revised Edition* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Mandated by the U.S. Congress, the national standards for U.S. history have been widely used by states and school districts in organizing curricular frameworks and have been followed by many other curriculum-building efforts.

Entries are cross-referenced, when appropriate, with *See also* citations at the end of articles. At the end of most entries, a listing of articles and books allows readers to turn to specialized sources and historical accounts. In each volume, an array of maps provide geographical context, while numerous illustrations help vivify the material covered in the text. A time line is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events occurring in the given era. The selection of historical documents in the back of each volume gives students experience with the raw documents that historians use when researching history. A comprehensive index to each volume also facilitates the reader’s access to particular information.

In each volume, long entries are provided for major categories of American historical experience. These categories may include: African Americans, agriculture, art and architecture, business, economy, education, family life, foreign policy, immigration, labor, Native Americans, politics, population, religion, urbanization, and women. By following these essays from volume to volume, the reader can access what might be called a mini-history of each broad topic, for example, family life, immigration, or religion.

—Gary B. Nash  
University of California, Los Angeles

# Foreword to the Revised Edition

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“History has to be rewritten in every generation because, although the past does not change, the present does,” writes Lord Christopher Hill, one of Great Britain’s most eminent historians. “Each generation asks new questions of the past, and finds new areas of sympathy as it re-lives different aspects of the experiences of its predecessors.” It is this understanding, that the pursuit of historical knowledge requires new research and new reflections on the past, that undergirds a revised and extended edition of the *Encyclopedia of American History*.

The individual volume editors of this revised edition have made important additions and revisions to the original edition published in 2003. Most important, they have added many new entries—several hundred for the entire 11-volume set. This puts more meat on the bone of what was already a comprehensive encyclopedia that presented four centuries of American history in all its diversity and complexity. For the 10th volume, covering the period from 1969 to the present, new entries cover momentous events and important figures of the last six years. For the other volumes, new entries increase the diversity of Americans covered by biographical accounts as well as events that new scholarship shows have had greater importance than recognized heretofore.

In addition, careful attention has been given to correcting occasional errors in the massive number of entries in the first edition. Also, many entries have been revised to add further details while making adjustments, based on new scholarship, to the interpretation of key events and movements. Consonant with that effort to make the encyclopedia as fresh and usable as possible, the volume editors have added many new recently published books to the “Further Reading” notes at the ends of the entries, and new full-color historical maps help put history in its geographical context.

—Gary B. Nash





# Introduction

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All periods in history can be said to undergo change, yet what made the last half of the 20th century in the United States significant was the rapid acceleration of technological and scientific advancement. These advances inevitably affected American society, culture, and politics as the nation confronted a new world. Advances in biomedicine, computers, electronics, materials engineering, energy resources, and other scientific fields promised to transform the way Americans lived, how long and how well they lived.

These new scientific and technological advances promised life's betterment. Yet this scientific and technological revolution that promised so much also enlarged the capacity for destruction. The application of new technology changed the conduct of war. Missiles could now be targeted to pinpoint locations; missiles with multiple nuclear warheads could be launched to wipe out entire cities; biological warfare created the means to spread disease throughout civilian populations.

The political and social consequences of this new age were not only fully apparent in the immediate aftermath of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, but even before. Socially the United States became a more diversified nation ethnically and culturally. While the native birthrate dropped, the population of America grew through immigration, both legal and illegal, from Mexico, Central and Latin America, Asia, and, to a lesser extent, Europe. These waves of immigration changed the United States culturally and politically. Americans now spoke more languages, while English was transformed as new words entered into the vocabulary. While Christianity continued to have the largest religious following, other religions, such as Islam and Buddhism, grew in membership. Even the kinds of foods Americans ate changed, as new cuisines from Mexico, Latin America, and Asia were introduced.

While the United States experienced cultural and political changes created by its increasingly diversified population, Americans extended their political and legal rights, in what became known as the "Rights Revolution." Eighteen-year-olds earned the right to vote through a new constitutional amendment. Legislation was passed in the 1960s that outlawed discrimination based on race, sex, national origins, and religion, and subsequent legislation and enforcement of the law ensured that equal opportunity, and at times, preferences, be given to ethnic minorities and women. As a consequence, African-American men and women found new opportunities economically and politically. More African Americans went to college; home ownership among African Americans

increased; and more African Americans entered into the middle class. The number of African-American elected officials on the local, state, and national levels increased.

Similarly, women found new opportunities as well. By the 21st century, more women worked outside the home. The number of women in middle management and higher management increased. A woman running for public office no longer was a novelty. The Supreme Court ruled that women had a constitutional right to abortion. At the same time, other groups sought to extend their political and legal rights as well, including the physically challenged, gays, and First Nation people. Furthermore, new legal rights were extended to children, the aged, spouses, and other segments of the population. While some saw freedom and rights being extended and ethnic and cultural diversity being recognized, others feared that the national identity had been replaced by group identities.

While the United States had become the most powerful nation in the world militarily and enjoyed the affluence that came with having the largest economy in the world, problems of poverty among many segments of the population remained. The “inner city” of many of the nation’s largest urban centers had experienced physical deterioration and remained places where poverty and crime prevailed. Other challenges confronted the nation as well. The traditional two-parent family structure had changed. Changes in industry and business brought about by new technologies meant that those without the educational skills could not find employment in this changing economy.

Internationally, the United States confronted problems created in part by the collapse of the Soviet Union, as ethnic and religious conflicts erupted. The threat of nuclear war with Russia had been lessened, but other nations had developed nuclear, as well as biological, warfare capabilities. The terrorist attacks on September 11, tragically revealed that Americans confronted a far different world than during the era of the cold war.

The entries in this volume, which cover the period from 1969 to the present, offer to the reader a knowledge of the momentous political, cultural, social, and technological changes that occurred in these years and, in doing so, provide an opportunity to engage the future.

—Donald T. Critchlow  
Saint Louis University

# ENTRIES A TO Z







**Aaron, Henry L. (Hank)** (1934– ) *baseball player*  
Because of his tremendous accomplishments during his 23 seasons in major league baseball, many consider Henry Aaron the best baseball player in history. He hit more home runs, 755, than any player in major league history, surpassing Babe Ruth's mark of 714 on April 8, 1974, in a game against the Los Angeles Dodgers. He also holds the record for runs batted in with 2,297; he led the National League in home runs in 1957, 1963, 1966, and 1967; and he won the league batting title twice. He also won the Gold Glove for his defensive play in right field in 1958, 1959, and 1960, but it was the power of his bat that earned him the nickname "Hammerin' Hank."

Henry Louis Aaron was born the third of eight children on February 5, 1934, in Mobile, Alabama, to Estella and Herbert Aaron. His professional baseball career began in the Negro Leagues playing with the Pritchett Athletics, the Mobile Black Bears, and the Indianapolis Clowns. His experience in the major leagues began as a shortstop in the Milwaukee Braves farm system in 1952, and he made his major league debut in 1954 with the Milwaukee Braves (now the Atlanta Braves). At the end of the 1974 season, Aaron was traded to the Milwaukee Brewers of the American League and retired as a player after the 1976 season.

After retiring as a player, Aaron took the position of vice president for player development for the Atlanta Braves and was promoted to senior vice president in 1989. Currently Aaron is corporate vice president of community relations for Turner Broadcasting Systems and is a member of the Sterling Committee of Morehouse College. He was inducted into the National Baseball Hall of Fame in 1982, where he stands alongside Babe Ruth as the only other player to have an exclusive room dedicated to his singular contributions to the game of baseball.

See also AFRICAN AMERICANS; SPORTS.

**Further reading:** Tom Stanton, *Hank Aaron and the Home Run That Changed America* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2004).

—William L. Glinkler

### **abortion**

Abortion refers to the intentional interruption of a pregnancy before birth, resulting in or accompanying the removal of the fetus. Though the procedure has been allowed in all 50 states since 1973, abortion has remained a source of social, political, ethical, and religious debate. Abortion deals with fundamental issues of civil liberties, civil rights, and morality. Those who support abortion rights argue that the government must not interfere with a woman's right to choose whether or not to reproduce. Those who oppose abortion argue that it violates the rights of the unborn. Currently, case law and political mandates in the United States tend to favor the first interpretation. It is clear, however, that the debate over legalized abortion is far from resolved.

The first state laws explicitly forbidding the practice passed during the religious revivalism of the 1820s. By 1900 every state except one made abortion a serious crime. Changes in attitude arose from the post-World War II concern for overpopulation, as well as reproductive rights for women. In the immediate aftermath of World War II, women's rights advocates joined forces with public policy research institutions like the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation to control world overpopulation and extend reproductive rights for women through national and international family planning programs. Though the initial goals of family planning involved public education and inexpensive distribution of contraception, by the end of the 1960s the efforts had expanded to include legalized abortion. Concurrently, women's rights advocates campaigned for changes in the state statutes and succeeded in significantly loosening the abortion restrictions



Pro-choice demonstrators in New York City, 1977 (Hulton/Archive)

in 14 states before 1973. In 1973 the U.S. SUPREME COURT decision in *ROE V. WADE* and its companion case, *Doe v. Bolton*, found abortion to be protected by the constitutional right of privacy.

*Roe* declared unconstitutional any but the most lenient regulations on abortion during the earliest stages of pregnancy. States were allowed to restrict abortions during the last trimester, but only if they provided an exception for cases where the life of the mother was at risk. This landmark decision established two legal constructs. The first stipulated that women's right to privacy included their reproductive organs and processes, as well as those dependent human embryos formed therein. The second suggested that a threshold existed between utter dependency and human viability. According to the Court, "developing life" could expect greater protections under the law during the last trimester because it was more likely to sustain itself outside the mother's womb. The Court reasoned that the rights of the unborn superseded the mother's right to privacy upon

viability. Both opponents and supporters remained unsatisfied by this decision; mothers were accorded more specific rights over their reproduction decisions, while at the same time, limited protections under the law were also extended to the unborn, according to their viability.

Both decisions produced immediate backlash in the mid-1970s. Only New York had laws on the books that met the stringent guidelines of the new decision. Alaska, Hawaii, and Washington possessed laws similar to New York's, and were able to meet the new standard set by *Bolton* by removing residency requirements. The laws of the remaining 46 states were invalidated. The attorneys general of Indiana and Montana claimed that the decision was inapplicable to their states, while legislators in Utah, Michigan, and Rhode Island attempted to pass laws setting the Court's ruling aside. The Court issued a directive prohibiting any deviations from the new *Roe* and *Bolton* standards. At the same time, it rejected the petitions of 15 states calling for a rehearing of the case. After this, states

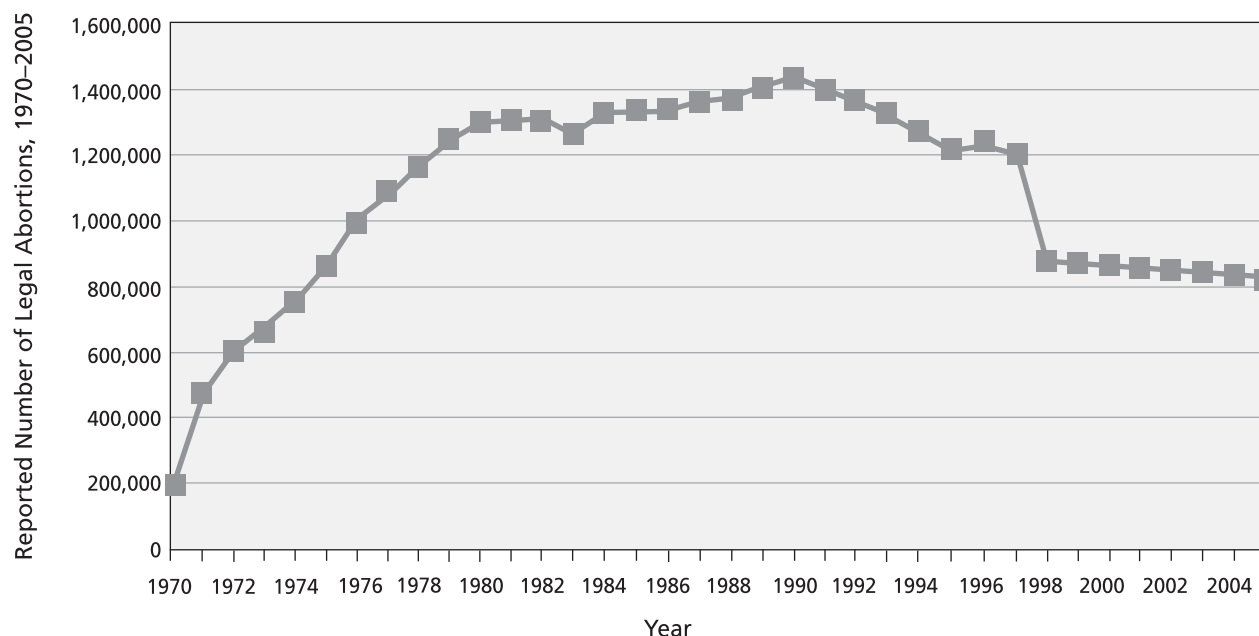
looked for less direct ways of restricting abortion. In 1977 the U.S. Congress passed the Hyde Amendment ending federal funding of most abortions. By the end of the decade, 37 states followed suit by rescinding state funding for abortions, limiting advertising for abortion services, and requiring spousal consent for married women and parental permission for minors.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the Supreme Court heard dozens of cases involving abortion regulations. In *Bigelow v. Virginia* (1975), the Court prohibited state restrictions on advertising. The following year, *Planned Parenthood of Central Missouri v. Danforth* (1976) prohibited laws requiring spousal consent, as well as those statutes requiring parental consent without providing the alternative of a judicial waiver. The Court reconsidered the question of parental consent several times, finally concluding that states could require parental notification by a physician as long as minors had access to judicial waivers. *Maher v. Roe* and *Beal v. Doe* upheld state restrictions of abortion funding, and *Harris v. McRae* upheld the Hyde amendment's prohibition of federally funded abortion services. Abortion rights advocates became increasingly concerned that the new decisions were chipping away at *Roe v.*

*Wade*. In contrast, abortion opponents remained frustrated that none of them specifically questioned the basic assumptions of abortion rights.

Immediately following *Roe v. Wade*, the National Council of Catholic Bishops led the charge against the new interpretation through lobbying efforts, and initiated education programs emphasizing the innate value of all human life. Five years earlier in 1968 Pope Paul VI promulgated the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, which officially proclaimed the church's opposition to contraception and abortion. Since legalized abortion was still a rarity at the time of the encyclical's release, most Catholics and non-Catholics were concerned principally about those sections regarding artificial contraception. While many leading American Catholics publicly disavowed the encyclical's prohibition of artificial BIRTH CONTROL, their disagreement did not extend to abortion. After 1973 most Roman Catholics supported their bishops in opposition to *Roe v. Wade*. At the same time, other religious leaders also voiced their opposition to legalized abortion. Many African-American leaders, such as Rev. JESSE L. JACKSON, feared that abortion represented a form of eugenics aimed at limiting the size and strength of the black community in America. (Jackson later changed

### Number of Abortions



Note: 1998 and 1999 are without estimates for Alaska, California, New Hampshire, and Oklahoma; 1998–2002 are without estimates for Alaska, California, and New Hampshire; and 2004 is without estimates for California, New Hampshire, and Louisiana, which did not report the number of legal abortions. California, New Hampshire, and Louisiana did not report in 2005.

Source: "Abortion Surveillance—United States, 2005," November 2008, Centers for Disease Control

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## 4 abortion

his position on abortion and endorsed *Roe* during his run for the presidency in 1984.) Other conservative Protestant denominations, called “fundamentalists” because of their belief in a literal interpretation of the Bible, also came out strongly against abortion. By the end of the 1970s, 82 percent of regular attendees of Protestant and Roman Catholic services opposed abortion at any stage of pregnancy. Yet despite these initial efforts, the opposition to abortion took a long time to coalesce. Nearly a decade passed before a strong constituency arose to organize any consistent and coherent opposition to the already entrenched abortion policies.

During the same period, women’s rights advocates successfully promoted abortion as a critical component of women’s equality. They argued that limiting access to abortion services guarantees continued oppression of women by denying them basic rights of privacy. Organizations like the NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW) and the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) undertook large-scale advertising and lobbying campaigns to fight frequent state restrictions. These organizations were especially concerned with those regulations requiring waiting periods or spousal or parental consent. Many women’s rights advocates, including RUTH BADER GINSBERG, looked to the EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA) as a tool for guaranteeing abortion on demand.

Abortion did not become a major issue in national elections until the presidential race of 1984. Republican president RONALD W. REAGAN used his first term of office to promote constitutional protections for the unborn. In 1981 he supported the Human Life Bill introduced by Sen. JESSE A. HELMS (R-N.C.). The bill resulted in a series of Senate hearings to determine the point when human life begins. Though no conclusion was reached, the investigation sparked considerable public debate. It also served to divide Republicans and Democrats on the issue. In 1983 President Reagan published “Abortion and the Conscience of the Nation” in the *Human Life Review*. In it, he openly condemned *Roe v. Wade* as a flawed and unconstitutional decision similar to the 1857 decision *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (sic), which denied slaves any protection under the law, and the 1896 Court ruling *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which legalized racial segregation. Reagan called for a constitutional amendment that specifically included the unborn under federal protection. Within a year, Reagan also announced the Mexico City Policy, which ended all U.S. aid to international organizations that actively promoted or performed abortions as a form of birth control. Reagan successfully linked opposition to abortion to the base of Republican ideology. In 1984 the Republican Party platform adopted several specifically antiabortion planks against

abortion, infanticide, and euthanasia. Abortion rights advocates relied on the Democratic Party to represent their issues. The 1984 Democratic platform contained planks that emphasized empowerment of women and minorities, including the commitment to public funding of and guaranteed access to abortion services without restrictions.

After Reagan’s landslide victory, Democrats used their majority in the House to oppose the Republican administration’s continued restrictions on abortion services. During his final year, Reagan issued the “Emancipation Proclamation of Preborn Children.” The proclamation was largely symbolic, since he was not legally empowered to enforce his declaration that all fetuses deserve equal protection under the law. At the same time, the proclamation included a directive to the Department of Health and Human Services prohibiting abortion counseling at health facilities receiving federal funds. Opponents labeled this a “gag rule” and abortion rights advocates appeared at numerous presidential press conferences wearing white gags and carrying signs protesting the order, which remained in effect until 1993. After Republican GEORGE H. W. BUSH’s election in 1988, Congress repeatedly passed bills requiring Medicare funding for abortion, which were vetoed on each occasion. Bush also vetoed legislation that would use fetal tissue from abortions for scientific research. Congress retaliated by overruling Bush’s nominee for the Supreme Court, ROBERT BORK, who had explicitly criticized *Roe v. Wade* numerous times during his tenure as federal court judge. The presidents of NOW and NARAL supported Democratic Party efforts to oppose Republican policies and to promote abortion as a necessary right of all women. At the same time, the Republican policies had the support of Rev. Jerry Falwell’s MORAL MAJORITY, the National Council of Catholic Bishops, and the majority of Protestant denominations, which believe that human rights begin at conception.

Three days after taking office, Democratic president WILLIAM J. CLINTON reversed the Reagan-Bush prohibitions on abortion counseling at federally funded clinics; lifted the ban on abortions at U.S. military bases; and overturned the Mexico City Policy. He also authorized the process for legalizing the controversial drug RU-486, which opened the way for self-administered abortions. The drug began clinical testing in 1995, and the FDA approved the pill in 2000 with President Clinton’s endorsement. Clinton also signed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE), which allowed large fines and jail terms against abortion opponents who interfered with access to abortion clinics. FACE provided specific federal penalties for what were otherwise misdemeanor charges. The Department of Justice, under Clinton’s administration, also advised abortion providers to sue for civil damages under the RACKE-



TEER INFLUENCED AND CORRUPT ORGANIZATIONS ACT, a 1970 racketeering statute originally designed to target organized criminals. As a result, protestors were forced to end many of their planned demonstrations for fear that they might be charged with felonies. In 1994 Clinton signed the National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act, which provided federal funds for fetal tissue research. In 1995 the Republican-led Congress passed a bill banning the use of “partial birth abortion,” but Clinton vetoed the measure. One argument by opponents of the ban was that it did not contain an exception for cases when the life of the mother is endangered. Supporters of the ban countered with testimony by the American Medical Association indicating that partial birth abortion is never necessary to save the mother’s life. Clinton vetoed a similar bill in 1997.

In 2003 President GEORGE W. BUSH signed the Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act, the first federal ban on a specific abortion procedure since *Roe v. Wade* was decided. In *Gonzales v. Carhart* (2007), the Supreme Court upheld the Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act in a 5-4 decision, with Justice Kennedy writing the majority opinion. This was the first abortion procedure ban the Supreme Court had upheld since it decided *Roe*.

Abortion continues to be a heated issue in American politics, although polls show that the majority of Americans support *Roe*, while they accept the state regulations on abortion.

See also *AKRON V. AKRON CENTER FOR REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH*; FEMINISM; RELIGION; *WEBSTER V. REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICES*.

**Further reading:** Donald T. Critchlow, *Intended Consequences: Birth Control, Abortion, and the Federal Government in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Mark Graber, *Rethinking Abortion: Equal Choice, the Constitution, and Reproductive Politics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996); Rickie Solinger, ed., *Abortion Wars: A Half Century of Struggle, 1950–2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Laurence Tribe, *Abortion: The Clash of Absolutes* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992).

—Aharon W. Zorea

## Abscam

Abscam (a term derived from “Abdul Scam”) arose in 1978 from a minor FBI investigation into stolen paintings. An informant involved with the case agreed to cooperate in exchange for a reduced sentence. He later introduced undercover agents to a circle of corrupt congressmen, which led to the formation of a special FBI Organized Crime Strike Force sting operation. This operation subsequently targeted 20 members of Congress and a host of

minor officials. The operation included a fictitious Arab sheik, Kambir Abdul Rahman, and a front corporation, *Abdul Enterprises, Ltd.* Throughout 1979, undercover agents used fake business credentials to approach suspected congressmen and offer \$25,000–\$50,000 in exchange for aid in immigration matters, government contracts, hotel and casino permits, and other investments. FBI agents videotaped and recorded all encounters. A media leak by the FBI exposed the operation in February 1980. Within weeks, 19 people were indicted, including one senator and six House members (Sen. Harrison A. Williams, Jr. [D-N.J.]; Rep. John W. Jenrette, Jr. [D-S.C.]; Rep. Michael O. Myers [D-Pa.]; Rep. Raymond F. Lederer [D-Pa.]; Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr. [D-N.J.]; Rep. John M. Murphy [D-N.Y.]; Richard Kelly [R-Fla.]). The congressmen and their co-conspirators were eventually convicted of influence peddling, conflict of interest, bribery, and racketeering. They were sentenced to terms averaging two to three years, with fines ranging from \$20,000 to \$50,000. Toward the end of 1980, the enforcement bodies within the Senate and House each pursued their own independent investigations and began the process of expulsion. Five of the six congressmen faced reelection during the trial, and none were reelected. Before the onset of the next term, however, the House succeeded in expelling Myers, and was about to expel Jenrette, who chose to resign before the vote could be taken. Senator Williams also resigned moments before the Senate vote to expel him. Williams was only the third senator in history to be convicted of a felony and the first to face expulsion. Similarly, Myers became the first member of the House to be expelled since the Civil War.

Abscam raised a number of issues regarding freedom of the press, Department of Justice oversight, and impeachment procedure. Consumer advocate RALPH NADER and Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti, as well as civil libertarians, condemned the FBI leaks, which initially brought the scandal to public attention. Nader was particularly concerned that the leaks violated constitutional due process by convicting the suspect in the arena of public opinion even before the trial had taken place. The outcry inspired an internal Justice Department investigation, which eventually led to disciplinary action against two prosecutors and five agents, who received letters of censure (the lightest measure available). The U.S. SUPREME COURT heard the case, *Myers v. NBC* (1980), involving allegations that NBC improperly aired material evidence on television. The Court decided that the seriousness of the case warranted “public inspection” of the evidence and rejected Myers’s argument. This ruling provided precedent for news organizations reporting on celebrated court cases, allowing them to broadcast limited discovery evidence as a matter of public interest. Additionally, the Senate and House debates over the expulsion of their members brought up serious

## 6 acquired immune deficiency syndrome

questions concerning the discretion of the FBI. Most of the accused congressmen claimed they were victims of aggressive tactics, which placed them in situations of unavoidable entrapment. The appellate courts repeatedly rejected these claims, and a later Senate probe into the sting operation revealed no indiscretions. The ACLU called for clear definitions of entrapment and strict measures to limit FBI initiatives. Another question arose in the Senate regarding whether bribery, racketeering, and influence peddling warranted expulsion or whether it could be addressed by censure. Both Republicans and Democratic leaders argued that such mild treatment would undermine the integrity of the Senate. After five days of debate, expulsion became inevitable, and Senator Williams resigned before it came to a vote.

—Aharon W. Zorea

### acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS)

AIDS emerged in the late 20th century as a major epidemic affecting every nation in the world. The AIDS pandemic in America has led to major medical research findings on the nature of the disease. At the same time, the pandemic has caused an increase in the use of condoms among both heterosexuals and homosexuals. As a consequence, AIDS has effected major social changes in the United States in the ways Americans view and practice sexual relations.

AIDS is caused by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), of which there are two distinct types: HIV-1, responsible for the current worldwide epidemic; and HIV-2, a less virulent strain primarily located in West Africa. The HIV virus progressively impairs or kills the cells of the immune system, destroying the body's ability to fight certain cancers and infection.

The term AIDS refers to the most advanced stages of HIV infection. The United States' Centers for Disease Control (CDC) defines AIDS to include all HIV-infected persons having fewer than 200 CD4+ T cells (also called T4 cells, of which an average healthy adult has 1,000 or more). The center also includes in its definition 26 clinical conditions that affect people with advanced HIV. Most of these AIDS-defining conditions are opportunistic infections: life-threatening illnesses caused by microbes that ordinarily do not cause sickness in healthy people.

The most common method of HIV transmission is through sexual contact with an infected partner. During sex, the virus can enter the body through the lining of the vagina, vulva, penis, rectum, or mouth. Often HIV is spread through contact with infected blood, among intravenous drug users sharing syringes or needles contaminated with the virus. Prior to 1985, when heat-treating techniques were introduced to destroy HIV in blood products, and intense screening was begun to determine if the virus was pres-

ent, the disease also was contracted through blood transfusion or contact with blood products. Pregnant women can transfer the virus to their fetuses during pregnancy or birth, although with proper drug therapy, the risk of infection is significantly reduced. HIV also is found in breast milk, and can be passed on to babies through an infected mother. Although minute traces of the virus can be found in saliva, no evidence exists that contact with saliva spreads the disease. Moreover, there is no proof that the disease is spread through tears, sweat, feces, or urine.

Although many do not develop any indications when first infected with HIV, some people experience flu-like symptoms within a month or two after exposure. These symptoms might include headache, fever, malaise, and enlarged lymph nodes, but they usually disappear within a normal period of time, and are easily mistaken for another viral infection. During this period, the person is highly contagious, with large quantities of HIV present in genital secretions. Although the disease's progress is highly variable, more severe symptoms may not surface for two years in children, and a decade or more for adults. This asymptomatic period, whether lasting a few months or more than 10 years, is marked by the pronounced multiplication of the virus in the body as it kills the immune system's cells. These cells are usually debilitated or destroyed with few or no symptoms for the infected person. As the immune system deteriorates, however, complications begin to arise. Usually the first indication of infection is lymph nodes that remain enlarged for several months. Other symptoms that may antedate the onset of AIDS by months or even years include weight loss, fatigue, recurrent sweats and fevers, frequent or persistent yeast infection (vaginal or oral), flaky skin or skin rashes, pelvic inflammatory disease that is unresponsive to treatment, or short-term memory loss.

Although the origin of the AIDS virus remains controversial, recent research supports the theory that HIV jumped from chimpanzees to humans, a process referred to as *zoonosis*. Whether this transfer of the virus from animal to human was due to the ingestion of the animals as a food source, the keeping of primates as pets, or from medical science itself through HIV-contaminated polio vaccines remains unproven. The implications of zoonotic transfer, if brought about because of human error, would give tremendous weight to the arguments against using animal organs to produce vaccines, or xenotransplantation (grafting of tissue from one species to an individual of another).

Regardless of the scientific debates surrounding the origin—important because determining the disease's origin is critical to finding the cure—the virus did not establish itself as an epidemic strain until the mid-20th century in Africa. The earliest and most authoritative evidence of HIV infection comes from a 1959 plasma sample from an adult male from the former Belgian Congo. Analysis of this

sample suggests the ancestor of this strain may date to the 1940s or '50s, and was introduced to humans a decade or so earlier. The oldest suspected case of AIDS in the United States dates back to 1969, when an African-American teenager from Saint Louis died of AIDS-like symptoms. Tissue samples, frozen at the time of the young man's death, contained HIV or a closely related virus and indicated that the disease was present in the United States before 1970. The virus has also been found in tissue samples from a Norwegian sailor, his wife, and their daughter, all of whom died about 1976 of AIDS-like indications.

Since 1981, when the disease was first identified in the United States, more than 600,000 cases of AIDS have been reported, and as many as 900,000 Americans may be infected with HIV. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimated that at the end of 2007, 33.2 million people were living with HIV/AIDS worldwide. The WHO also estimated that 16.3 million adults and children have died since the beginning of the epidemic. Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest global prevalence of HIV/AIDS infection, with Asia the lowest. In the United States, the epidemic is growing most rapidly among minority populations and is a leading killer of African-American males. According to the CDC, the prevalence of the disease is six times higher in African Americans and three times higher among Hispanics than among whites.

See also BIRTH CONTROL; GAY AND LESBIAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

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—Michele Rutledge

## advertising

Since its inception, advertising has been an integral and influential part of the United States society and economy. With the explosion of new communication and media technology in the last half of the 20th century, it has become even more pervasive, demanded stricter regulation, and received much criticism. The advertising industry at the end of the 20th century is a complex triad of advertisers, the media, and the advertising agencies. All three have a vested interest in influencing consumer choice. Advertisers spent approximately \$131 billion in 1992, a quarter of which was spent

by the 100 top national advertisers. Although \$29.5 billion was spent on TELEVISION advertising, more than half of the total advertising expenditures go to newspapers, magazines, and direct mailings. Direct mail advertising is the fastest growing segment of the industry, primarily because computerized mailing lists enable advertisers to pinpoint potential customers. Automobile manufacturers, retailers, the food industry, restaurants, and the entertainment industry advertise most heavily and accounted for almost 10 percent of the total advertising expenditures in 1992.

The advertising agency produces the advertisements for its clients and serves as a liaison between the advertisers and the media. The 1980s witnessed a number of agency mergers, resulting in the creation of huge mega-agencies that offered their clients integrated advertising, marketing, and public relations services.

Advertising media are a mixture of television, magazines, newspapers, direct mail, and radio, each with its own specific benefits. For example, television offers the most multifaceted delivery because of its visual and auditory components, but it cannot distribute coupons as the print media can. In 1992 newspapers earned the highest proportion of advertising expenditures, 23 percent of the total. Television earned 22 percent; direct mail, 19 percent; magazines, 5.3 percent; and radio, 6.6 percent.

Advertising functions in a legal and regulatory framework that includes government legislation, self-regulation by the industry, and media control. The U.S. SUPREME COURT interpreted the First Amendment to protect commercial speech in *Virginia State Board of Pharmacy v. Virginia Citizens Consumer Council* (1976), but to a lesser degree than it protects political expression. In *Posados de Puerto Rico v. Tourism Co.* (1986), the Court upheld a ban on casino advertising to Puerto Rican residents but did not restrict such advertising to foreign tourists. The Court deemed it in the government's interest to protect local residents from the evils of gambling and that the restriction was not excessive.

Beyond the courts, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) is responsible for regulating advertising and restricting deceptive commercial speech. The criterion used is whether the consumer is harmed, not whether the ad is technically false. If an ad is determined to be harmful to the consumer, the advertiser is ordered to cease running the ad and is fined only if it fails to comply with that order. In rare cases, advertisers are ordered to run "corrective advertising," in which they are required to restate earlier claims accurately or to offer substantiation for their claims. In 1977 the FTC ordered Warner-Lambert to run a \$10 million campaign telling consumers that Listerine did not "prevent sore throats and colds or lessen their severity," as its advertising had claimed. U.S. advertisers are also controlled by their own self-regulatory





Pedestrians walk past large advertisements for sportswear in New York City. While advertising has always been part of the American landscape, in the last decade many parts of the country have seen a proliferation of billboards and advertising in public spaces. Some citizens and public advocate groups are beginning to protest the sexual nature of many ads. (*Spencer/Getty Images*)

board, the National Advertising Review Board, that discourages misleading and deceptive practices. The media participate in advertising regulation through their power to refuse ads they consider unfit for their editorial or programming context. Advertisers also respond to organized public pressure.

The intense desire for and need for regulation indicate that advertising exerts a significant force on society and, because of this, advertising has experienced a good deal of criticism, especially since the regulatory pressures decreased in the early 1980s. Billboard advertising has been accused of marring the environment. Advertising, in general, has been charged with creating false demand among consumers through the use of negative emotions such as guilt, anxiety, or fears of inferiority. This criticism revolves around the belief that advertising presents false images of the average citizen as young, attractive, wealthy, and leisured. Strong criticism has also been leveled at the stereotypical images of women and minorities in many

advertisements. These criticisms, and many others, have sparked a wide-ranging debate over the role of advertising in our culture by asking whether it is a shaper or a mirror of our society. Such debate has led to intense scrutiny and discussion of products advertised, the character and amount of advertising exposure, advertising content, and its influence on behavior.

An important impact of advertising arises from its financial support of the mass media. Advertising provides about two-thirds of print revenue and virtually all broadcast revenue. This has generated criticism that the media, therefore, do not see the public as their primary audience, but instead see them as bait for attracting potential advertising revenue. It is argued that media content, for the most part, is designed to attract those citizens whose spending power is greatest.

One of the most controversial aspects of advertising's social impact is in the realm of politics, where heavy media campaigns have been common since the 1952 presidential



election. Criticism of political advertising centers on the issues of money and regulation. Since most of the money gathered for political campaigns is used for advertising, wealthier candidates have an unfair advantage and third-party candidates are not able to raise the funds that nominees of the two major parties do. The regulation issue stems from the fact that political claims are not subject to restriction as are product claims, and no law prohibits even the most blatant falsehoods, exaggerations, or distortions. The perceived context of unfairness and deception underpins the fervid criticism of political advertisement.

The U.S. advertising industry experienced a serious recession during the late 1980s but rebounded by the mid-1990s. Changes in communications technology, however, threaten the future of the industry. Although in the past technological developments have boosted the advertising industry, the upsurge of online media that combine entertainment with advertising, sales promotion, and interactive marketing is likely to fragment mass audiences, creating smaller but more sharply targeted markets, and will change the way advertising is created and sold.

See also AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY; BABY BOOMERS; BUSINESS; CAMPAIGN FINANCE; CENSORSHIP; COMPUTERS; ECONOMY; INTERNET; MEDIA.

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—William L. Glinkler

## affirmative action

The term *affirmative action* refers to policies used to increase opportunities for minorities by favoring them in the awarding of government contracts, college admissions, and hiring and promotion. The intended purpose of such policies has been to help eliminate the effects of past discrimination, whether perpetrated by a specific entity or by society as a whole. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, specifically banning employment discrimination, laid the groundwork for affirmative action, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance served as the primary enforcement agencies.

President Lyndon B. Johnson first used the term *affirmative action* in an executive order when he declared that government contractors should “take affirmative action” to ensure that applicants and employees are not discriminated against with regard to race, religion, sex, or national origin. President RICHARD M. NIXON went beyond the concept

of simply removing discriminatory barriers and became the first president to initiate federal policies to guarantee the hiring of minorities. In 1969 the Nixon administration implemented the Philadelphia Plan which required contractors on projects assisted by federal funding to set specific goals for hiring minorities. This plan was upheld in the federal courts in 1970 and 1971.

Beyond the Philadelphia Plan, affirmative action policies have been defined by a series of legislative initiatives and U.S. SUPREME COURT decisions. In *GRIGGS ET AL. V. DUKE POWER COMPANY* the Supreme Court held that Title VII bans discriminatory practices as well as overt discrimination. This prompted employers to actively recruit minorities in order to avoid discrimination lawsuits. Colleges and universities adopted affirmative action measures when the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 extended the Title VII protections to educational institutions. Subsequent cases further defined and refined the meaning and scope of affirmative action. In *BAKKE* (1978) the Court upheld the use of factors such as race, gender, and ethnicity in evaluating applicants but declared unconstitutional the implementation of rigid quota systems. The Court ruled in *United Steelworkers v. Weber* (1979) that a temporary training program that gave preference to minorities was constitutional because it served to remedy past discriminatory practices.

The 1980s and 1990s saw the appointment of several conservative judges to the Court, resulting in the elimination of some affirmative action programs deemed unfair or too broad in their application. In *Wygant v. Jackson* (1986), the Court struck down a plan to protect minority teachers from layoffs at the expense of white teachers with greater seniority. The Court’s ruling in *Ward’s Cove Packing Company v. Antonio* (1989) revised the *Griggs* decision from 1971. *Ward’s Cove* shifted some of the burden of proof to the employee filing the discrimination lawsuit by requiring the plaintiff to demonstrate that specific hiring practices created racial disparities in the workplace. Moreover, even if this could be shown, the Court ruled that such practices would be legal if they served “legitimate employment goals of the employer.”

While these measures limited the scope of affirmative action policies, other developments buttressed them. In *Metro Broadcasting v. Federal Communications Commission* (1990), the Court upheld federal laws designed to increase the number of minority-owned television and radio stations. Also, in response to the Court’s conservative rulings, Congress passed the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT of 1991 that strengthened antidiscrimination laws and essentially reversed the *Ward’s Cove* decision.

During the 1990s, affirmative action programs were the center of controversy in local politics as well. In 1995 the regents of the University of California voted to stop all

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affirmative action in hiring and admissions for the entire state university system. The Fifth U.S. Circuit Court prohibited the University of Texas Law School from considering race or ethnicity in its admission process in 1996. Also in 1996 California voters approved Proposition 209, which ended all state-sponsored affirmative action programs. Many believed that this would result in similar rulings in other states, but efforts in Colorado, Florida, and Ohio failed to collect the requisite number of signatures for a similar ballot initiative.

In 2003 the Supreme Court revisited the question of affirmative action in *GRATZ V. BOLLINGER AND GRUTTER V. BOLLINGER*. The cases involved the University of Michigan's admissions policies, with *Grutter* challenging the law school's policy and *Gratz* challenging the policy for undergraduates. The Court ruled that admissions programs that aim for student diversity must be narrowly tailored to promote government interest. On this basis, the Court ruled the law school admissions program constitutional because it relied on individual assessments based on a range of information, including race. The Court struck down the undergraduate policy because it was based on a point system that the Court did not consider sufficiently narrowly tailored. The state of Michigan responded with the Michigan Civil Rights Initiative, which amended the state constitution. The amendment prevents state-funded institutions from taking race into consideration in any form and extends this prohibition to government contractors and government employers.

Affirmative action has been highly controversial since its inception in the mid-1960s. Critics claim that such policies violate the principle that all individuals are equal under the law, and they argue that to discriminate against one group today to compensate for discrimination suffered by another group in the past is unjust and unconstitutional. They view affirmative action as legalized reverse discrimination that privileges women and racial minorities over men and whites. Advocates insist that because discrimination is unfair treatment of people who belong to a specific group, there ought to be effective programs that aid those groups who have been discriminated against. Moreover, they argue that affirmative action policies are the only feasible option to ensure an integrated society in which all people have an equal opportunity in employment, education, and other areas. They claim further that quotas for hiring, promotions, and college admissions will fully integrate institutions traditionally closed to minorities and women because of discrimination.

See also AFRICAN AMERICANS; AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT; EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT; NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE; NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN; WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

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—William L. Glankler and Amy Wallhermfechtel

### Afghanistan War

The war between the United States and Afghanistan began October 7, 2001, as a response to terrorist attacks against the United States and as part of a larger global war against TERRORISM. The major U.S. military offensive in Afghanistan, an operation known as Enduring Freedom, ended with coalition forces in control of major cities, but with the defeated extremist Islamic Taliban regime and its terrorist allies hiding in remote regions of the country and the mountainous provinces of bordering Pakistan. Although defeated, the Taliban and other militants continued armed resistance against American and allied troops stationed in Afghanistan.

When the international terrorist organization known as al-Qaeda emerged as the prime suspect in the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States, President GEORGE W. BUSH demanded that the ruling Taliban government of Afghanistan hand over al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden and close its terrorist training camps. The Taliban regime, under the leadership of Mullah Muhammed Omar, had given sanctuary to the Saudi exile and his terrorist organization since 1996, when the Taliban seized control of Afghanistan. Bin Laden set up training camps within Afghanistan from which he launched several attacks against the United States before the September 11 attack. Al-Qaeda had been implicated in two 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in Africa and had taken credit for the October 2000 attack on the USS *Cole*, a Navy destroyer, as it docked in the Yemeni port of Aden, killing 17 American sailors. The Taliban refused to surrender bin Laden to the United States.

Before launching a military offensive, President Bush set out to build an international coalition for his actions against the terrorists. He received support from British prime minister Tony Blair and cooperation from Russia in negotiating for logistical space from which to launch an attack. Pakistan shared a long border with Afghanistan, and its help was considered invaluable; but it was unclear whether the government under President Pervez Musharref would oppose substantial segments of his own population who supported the Taliban regime. A major breakthrough came on September 19, when Musharref

agreed to cooperate with the United States and provide intelligence about the terrorist networks on the ground. On October 2, NATO agreed to send troops, saying that the United States had provided clear evidence of bin Laden's complicity. In addition, several of the Persian Gulf states allowed American access to air bases. The United States also sought to partner with a coalition internal to Afghanistan, a loose union of factions in the northern regions opposed to Taliban rule and known as the Northern Alliance. The Northern Alliance worked with U.S. troops after military action began and provided an avenue for U.S. troops to enter Afghanistan through Uzbekistan on the northern border.

Critical to U.S. efforts in the region was the decision to provide humanitarian aid for the poverty-stricken people of Afghanistan. This decision served to convince the Afghan people that helping the United States against the Taliban and al-Qaeda was in their best interest, and to assure the international community that the United States had no interest in erecting a puppet regime or making a colony of

Afghanistan. Thus, Enduring Freedom was a two-pronged offensive that included targeted attacks against the terrorist network while providing food and supplies to the people of Afghanistan.

With a coalition in place, Bush ordered air strikes directed at strategic military installations and terrorist training camps to commence on October 7. The first strikes involved both aircraft bombing runs and missiles fired from ships and submarines; the primary goals were to neutralize the Taliban air forces and antiaircraft defenses and destroy communication lines. On October 21, the United States shifted its air attacks to aid the Northern Alliance fighting the Taliban in the north. Air drops provided supplies and arms to the Northern Alliance forces, while U.S. Special Forces helped establish supply lines and communications. On November 9, Northern Alliance troops captured the Taliban stronghold of Mazar-i Sharif, at the crossroads between Uzbekistan and Kabul. The Northern Alliance victory opened major highways into Afghanistan and gave U.S. forces access to an airport. With continued air support,



U.S. Marines assigned to 3rd Battalion, 6th Marines, patrol a mountain ridge along the Wusbin Valley, located in the Surobi district of Afghanistan, 2004. (*Department of Defense*)



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Northern Alliance fighters entered the capital city of Kabul on November 13 after Taliban forces had fled.

The war in southern Afghanistan was quite different, since there was no alliance in place like the one already fighting the Taliban in the north. The first U.S. ground forces entered southern Afghanistan on October 19, as Special Forces conducted an intelligence-gathering raid on Mullah Omar's headquarters near the Taliban's political stronghold at Kandahar. Small Special Forces units continued to attack selected targets, but a larger land force was needed to hold those targets and defeat the Taliban in the south. On November 25, U.S. Marines took possession of a land base outside of Kandahar and with international coalition troops comprised the major land force responsible for taking remaining Taliban and al-Qaeda strongholds. The Taliban surrendered Kandahar on December 7; Omar was among the fleeing Taliban who escaped.

The number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan increased, as the mission shifted to rounding up remaining Taliban soldiers and finding Omar and bin Laden. Afghan troops, assisted by U.S. Special Forces, conducted an assault on the Tora Bora cave complex in the White Mountain range southeast of Kabul, where many of the fleeing soldiers, including bin Laden, were reportedly hiding. After fierce fighting, much of the complex was destroyed, but bin Laden was not taken. Although Taliban and al-Qaeda leaders remained at large, control of Afghanistan was effectively wrested from the Taliban in December, and the work of reconstruction and government building commenced.

On December 5, four major Afghan political factions agreed to an interim government under the leadership of Hamid Karzai. A multinational peacekeeping force, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) began its entry into Kabul on December 20. The United Kingdom initially assumed authority over daily operations of the ISAF, which was to provide security in the region of Kabul, most immediately during the inauguration of Karzai on December 22. The ISAF also saw to the training of Afghan security forces. In addition, humanitarian efforts were stepped up to assist the Afghan people through the winter. While the United States continued to provide humanitarian assistance and help with reconstruction, the U.S. military and CIA maintained its pursuit of Taliban and al-Qaeda leaders. In August 2003, NATO took over command of the ISAF. Efforts to build a new government proceeded: Afghanistan ratified a new constitution on January 4, 2004, and held a presidential election the following October.

When NATO had taken over coordination of the ISAF in 2003, its authority was limited to Kabul. A UN Security Council resolution in October 2003 allowed NATO to expand the role of the ISAF throughout all of Afghanistan. Security outside of Kabul was difficult to maintain: Regional militias threatened the success of government efforts at pro-

moting unity among various ethnic factions, and the Taliban launched a resurgence in the south. A primary obstacle to security was the growth of the opium poppy industry, which reached a record high in 2006. Money from increased drug trafficking undermined honest government and fueled the insurgency. NATO suffered its heaviest losses in late summer 2006. Pushing into the southern provinces along with Afghan security forces, the ISAF faced fierce opposition from the Taliban and drug traffickers. The security forces reached Kandahar in September 2006, and the level of violence declined due to estimated Taliban losses of more than one-fourth of its fighters.

In an effort to convince the Afghan people that economic development would serve them better than Taliban rule and the drug trade, the ISAF continued to deliver humanitarian aid, clear land mines, and assist in reconstruction. The government of Afghanistan implemented antidrug strategies, including opium poppy crop eradication, improved economic development, and stricter law enforcement. Success at replacing opium poppy cultivation with the production of food crops is seen as critical for the long-term stability of Afghanistan but relies on the ability of the government to extend its authority over the entire country.

In addition, efforts to stabilize Afghanistan involved the restoration of basic individual rights, especially for women, which had been repressed under Taliban rule. Under the Taliban, women were denied access to education, employment, and adequate medical care, forced to wear religious garments, known as burqas, and only allowed to appear in public if accompanied by a male relative. These policies made it especially difficult for widows to care for themselves and their children. Following the defeat of the Taliban, education and job opportunities for women resumed, and women are once again participating in leadership roles in government and the political process.

At the end of 2008, the ISAF still directed efforts to provide peace and stability in Afghanistan, which is hampered by the fact that many Taliban fighters are taking refuge in neighboring Pakistan's lawless western frontier. Pakistan's refusal to drive out the Taliban plus several strikes by U.S. forces in Pakistani territory have led to tension between the two nations. In 2009, as part of a strategic change, the Barack Obama administration sent an additional 21,000 troops to Afghanistan.

See also MIDDLE EAST; POWELL, COLIN L.; UNITED NATIONS.

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—Cynthia Stachecki

**AFL-CIO** See LABOR.

## African Americans

After 1968, the year that many scholars assign as the end of the Civil Rights movement, African Americans made significant strides toward parity and integration with white Americans. Yet the importance of race in U.S. society and culture qualified and, in some ways, limited the degree of success experienced by African Americans. More militant attitudes among blacks, the reemergence of black separatism in the 1990s, ambiguous racial attitudes on the part of whites, a sporadic economy, and the passage of civil rights laws contributed to the shape of the African-American community in the late 20th century.

As of 2007 there were approximately 36.6 million African Americans, comprising about 12.3 percent of the U.S. population. Eighty-five percent live in urban metropolitan areas and 45 percent reside in the North and Midwest. The urbanization of African Americans resulted from migration to northern, midwestern, and western cities that began during the first two decades of the 20th century. Since the late 1970s the migratory trend has shifted toward the South and Southwest, a result of deteriorating economic opportunity in northern cities and of decreased discrimination and increased economic growth in the South and Southwest. Those moving, however, are those with the resources to do so. Those experiencing economic difficulty lacked the resources to move and the skills demanded by the growing economies in the South and Southwest.

One unfortunate characteristic of the African-American community is its disproportionate susceptibility to poor health, a situation that social science has shown is in large part a result of a group's relative wealth or poverty. African Americans, whose median incomes lag behind those of whites, experience higher mortality and higher rates of disease than do whites even though such statistics show marked improvement since the middle of the 20th century. Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Medicare and Medicaid legislation in 1965 had a major impact on African-American health care. The targeting of maternal and child health care under Title V of the Social Security Act, the development of community health centers, and Head Start also had a positive impact on the health of African-American mothers and children. Such funding and policy initiatives helped reduce the racial gap for mortality and

infant mortality, although the black infant mortality rate is more than twice the white rate.

Despite these improvements, African Americans face other health risks because of their relative poverty. The rising proportion of uninsured Americans has driven up Medicaid costs, a development that has led to a constriction of health services for the poor. For young urban African Americans, substance abuse, AIDS, and homicide are very serious risks. Homicide and AIDS are the first and second leading causes of death among young black males. Between 1960 and 1990 the proportion of deaths from homicide among white men ages 15 to 24 rose from 3 percent to 12 percent, while for African Americans the figure jumped from 20 percent to 55 percent. High rates of teen pregnancy and childbirth persist among African Americans and represent a host of potential health risks ranging from the mother contracting AIDS or other sexually transmitted diseases to low-birth-weight babies. Cases of hypertension and tuberculosis also remain persistently high among African Americans.

African Americans also have made clear though incomplete gains in education. By 1990 there was only a two-year gap between black and white Americans in the average number of years of schooling. The racial gap in standardized test scores also narrowed appreciably. Between 1971 and 1990, test scores for African Americans showed significant improvement absolutely and in comparison with white students. Regardless of these significant improvements, black high school dropout rates, while overall at parity with whites, demonstrate a disturbing increase in inner-city schools, with some districts reporting dropout rates as high as 50 percent. However, there have been recent increases in college entry among African Americans. In 1993, 24 percent of blacks entered college; by 2003, 30 percent of black high school graduates enrolled in college, compared with 41.4 percent of whites. Also, more black students receive degrees from "white" universities and colleges than from historically black colleges and universities, like Howard University in Washington, D.C.

Occupational status is another category in which African Americans have experienced unquestionable improvement since the middle of the 20th century. Measured by socioeconomic index scores that range from seven for domestic and day laborers to 74 for professionals, African Americans improved from an average of 15 in 1940 to 33 in 1990. Much of this improvement was the result of AFFIRMATIVE ACTION policies designed to increase both educational and employment opportunities for minorities. African Americans' improved occupational status is reflected in the continued growth of a class structure among them. While an African-American class structure has existed since the late 19th century, the latter half of the 20th century has witnessed a much sharper definition of that structure, based

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on occupational status and income. The median black household income has risen from \$22,300 (adjusted for inflation) in 1967 to \$32,100 in 2006. However, there is a significant gap between the median income for whites and blacks. In 2006 whites earned 22 percent more on average than their black counterparts.

One impact of the black migration to northern and western industrial centers that began near the end of the 19th century was to place African Americans in proximity to better-paying jobs. Urbanized blacks had more access, though not unlimited access, to union jobs, low-level white-collar and civil service jobs. This greater access to better wages created a base of support for various black-owned businesses to emerge. By 1972 there were 187,600 black-owned businesses in the United States. By 1987 that figure more than doubled to 424,165, and by 2001 that number grew to 800,000. According to *Black Enterprise*, the top 100 black-owned firms had total sales of \$11.7 billion in 1995, a figure that represented only 1 percent of total U.S. receipts. Such a small proportion of the overall U.S. economy is a consequence of the relatively small size of black-owned businesses. In 1969, 94 percent were sole proprietorships, and 84 percent had no paid employees. By 1977, although the number of black-owned firms had grown by 41 percent, 70 percent of them were still in personal services and retail. Even as late as 1987 the majority of these businesses were still concentrated in the food and service industries. Auto dealerships comprised the majority of the top 100 firms and produced more than 40 percent of the list's total sales in 1993 and 1994.

Although black family income is less than two-thirds that of whites, it has been responsible for sustaining a wide range of viable black institutions, including churches and schools, fraternal organizations, insurance firms, and various media enterprises. Along with black-owned businesses, black religious institutions are the most important among African Americans. African Americans are overwhelmingly Protestant Christians and, as black institutional organizations, the Baptist and Methodist churches are the largest and most significant. The National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., National Baptist Convention of America, and the Progressive Baptist Convention combine for a membership of more than 9 million. The largest black Methodist organization is the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which is also the oldest independent black church in the United States. African Americans have demonstrated a significant countertendency to the trend of Americans becoming less "churched," as participation by whites in mainstream Protestant churches declined significantly in the late 20th century. This countertendency has been most prominently manifested in the recent growth of Evangelicalism. The major exemplar of this intensely religious movement among African Ameri-

cans is the Church of God in Christ, which finds its roots in Pentecostalism.

Throughout its history, the black church has served as more than merely a religious institution. It is a social institution that is central to the vitality of the African-American community and, as such, serves as social club, center for political activity, and as seedbed for community and political leadership. Black religious institutions have been a critical element in civil rights activism and have produced many of the most prominent leaders of the African-American community, such as JESSE L. JACKSON or the Reverend Al Sharpton, a Brooklyn, New York, activist and cleric who ran for the U.S. Senate in 1994. Reverend William Gray was a Democratic congressman from Philadelphia in 1979, was a vice chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, served as chairman of the House Budget Committee in 1985, and was majority whip in 1989. Andrew Young, also a pastor, had a distinguished political career as a U.S. congressman (1971–77), as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (1977–79), and as the mayor of Atlanta (1982–90).

Another prominent religious/activist institution is the NATION OF ISLAM. Under the leadership of LOUIS FARAKHAN, the Nation of Islam has increased its ideological presence among younger, urban African Americans. It emphasizes racial pride, self-help, black business development, and a conservative family-oriented morality, and is the primary proponent of the late-20th-century form of separatist black nationalism. The Nation of Islam has enjoyed increased popularity among young African Americans primarily because of the positive feeling of "blackness" it has engendered, not because of any specific theological tenets. More secular institutions, such as the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) and the National Urban League, have been less influential in the 1980s and 1990s than they were in the first two-thirds of the 20th century. Both organizations failed to develop a national political strategy and have increasingly come under attack for their reliance on non-black sources of financial support.

That African Americans leveled such criticism at their own institutions was indicative of the ideological milieu within the black community. On one hand was a group of conservatives, including U.S. SUPREME COURT Justice Clarence Thomas, united by the claims that institutional and personal racism had declined sufficiently. On the other hand was a group of progressives or liberals, whose members included Jesse L. Jackson and Cornel West. This group insisted that racism was still prevalent in American society. Because of that, African Americans could not compete fairly without further public and private compensation for past discrimination and deprivation.

This neat division became blurred over the issue of integration versus nationalism, an issue that revolved

around the ultimate goal for African Americans and the best strategy for attaining that goal. Some black intellectuals argued that racism was so fundamental to American society that integration as full-fledged members was both impossible and undesirable for blacks. Nationalists such as Louis Farrakhan argued that even if integration were preferred, white Americans would always “sell out” black Americans to preserve their own racial interests. Others, like Clarence Thomas and Jesse L. Jackson, insisted that integration into the dominant society was necessary in order to be able to fulfill one’s dreams, or it was a goal in and of itself that would allow people to be judged regardless of skin color. The complexity of the issue allowed one to be a conservative nationalist (Louis Farrakhan), a liberal nationalist (Derrick Bell), a conservative integrationist (Clarence Thomas), or a liberal integrationist (Jesse L. Jackson).

The shape of African-American society at the end of the 20th century was indeed unique culturally, politically, demographically, and economically. Contending ideologies of separatism and integration among African Americans, coupled with larger economic, cultural, and political forces, created a community partially at peace with its uniqueness and with the larger American community, yet clearly restive about the forces, both external and internal, that continue to inhibit its progress.

At the start of the 21st century, it seemed a corner had been turned when in 2008 Senator BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA (D-Ill.) became the first African American to win the Democratic presidential nomination and election to the presidency. This was the first time that a major Western democracy had elected a person of African descent to executive office.

See also AARON, HENRY; *BAKKE (Regents of the University of California v. Allan Bakke)*; CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1991; EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS; FARMER, JAMES L.; *GRIGGS ET AL. V. DUKE POWER COMPANY*; HILL, ANITA FAYE; JACKSON STATE UNIVERSITY; MOVIES; MUSIC; POPULAR CULTURE; POWELL, COLIN L.; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT; RELIGION; SPORTS; TELEVISION.

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—William L. Glinkler

## African nations (U.S. relations with)

Since 1968, U.S. foreign policy toward African nations has emphasized democratic political reform and the protection of human rights. The road to independence for many former colonies in sub-Saharan Africa often drew both the United States and the Soviet Union into African affairs, as these former colonies struggled to establish stable governments. U.S. policy was to support anticommunist independence movements as part of a larger overall strategy to block Soviet expansion in Third World nations. Although in most cases the United States refrained from intervening militarily, the United States provided financial and other assistance to friendly regimes and withheld assistance in the form of economic sanctions from those deemed undesirable. Some anticommunist regimes receiving American support were not the most desirable allies but represented the lesser of two evils. Because of support for objectionable regimes and because of policy variations by presidential administration, U.S. foreign policy in Africa sometimes appeared inconsistent and at odds with its commitment to democratic ideals.

U.S. foreign policy took other forms as well. Independence struggles often resulted in civil wars, ethnic violence, and human rights abuses that involved the international community in humanitarian relief efforts. The United States engaged in peacekeeping efforts where civil war and sectarian violence threatened the delivery of humanitarian aid to regions torn by war and drought. In the 1980s, the United States joined international efforts to end the long-standing policy of apartheid, the rigid segregation of white and nonwhite people, in South Africa. Because of proximity to the MIDDLE EAST, nations of northern Africa posed a different set of problems for the United States. The Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East spilled over to create difficulties of Arab nationalism and terrorism, especially in Libya, Somalia, and Sudan, straining relations with the United States. These nations eventually became havens for terrorist organizations.

Cold war competition between the United States and the Soviet Union prompted the internationalization of African independence movements. In 1975 the former Portuguese colony of Angola became independent, triggering a power struggle between three factions. A Marxist guerrilla group, the Popular Movement for the Independence of Angola (MPLA), seized power with the backing of Soviet arms and Cuban troops. In 1976 the U.S. Congress cut off appropriations for military action in Angola. By the mid-1980s, some 50,000 Cuban troops provided security for the MPLA. In 1985 the Reagan administration received Congressional approval to send arms to an anticommunist resistance group trying to overthrow the MPLA, providing support until a diplomatic settlement calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops could be reached. Although the

## 16 African nations (U.S. relations with)

1988 settlement did not end fighting in Angola, it did end international interference.

The independence movement in Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) also brought a Marxist regime to power, but this time with the complicity of the United States. In 1965, when Great Britain demanded African majority rule as a condition for Rhodesian autonomy, white leaders illegally declared Rhodesia's independence. Great Britain sought help from the United Nations, which imposed economic sanctions while Britain negotiated for majority government. In 1972 two Marxist revolutionary groups, the Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU), under Robert Mugabe, and the Zimbabwean African People's Union (ZAPU), under Joshua Nkomo, began a civil war to overthrow the white government. With the help of U.S. diplomatic efforts during the RICHARD NIXON and GERALD FORD administrations, the white Rhodesian government agreed to share power with moderate black leaders. However, when the popular moderate Abel Muzorewa was elected the first black prime minister in April 1979, leaders in the West did not recognize his election as representative of true majority rule. President JAMES EARL CARTER maintained economic sanctions. Muzorewa was unable to hold out against continued sanctions and guerrilla warfare under Mugabe and Nkomo, and another election in 1980 brought the Marxist Mugabe to power. Although ZANU had intimidated voters, the West considered Mugabe's election legitimate, and Carter lifted economic sanctions. Mugabe subsequently turned Zimbabwe into a dictatorship.

The white regime in South Africa posed a particularly complex problem for U.S. policymakers, who agreed in their opposition to the practice of apartheid but disagreed on the best way to reform the South African government. The Reagan administration tried to achieve reform through persuasion, but in 1986, Congress pursued a more aggressive policy by enacting the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Law. This act imposed economic sanctions, banning trade with and investment in South Africa until the South African government took concrete steps toward ending apartheid. Within the United States, antiapartheid activists also pressured U.S. corporations to end their business dealings in South Africa. In conjunction with similar international sanctions, such measures had a significant impact on the South African economy. In 1991 President GEORGE H. W. BUSH was able to lift economic sanctions after the South African government, under F. W. de Klerk, lifted its ban on outlawed political parties, including the African National Congress (ANC), and released the former ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and other political prisoners from prison. In its first multiracial elections in 1994, Mandela was elected president of South Africa.

Relations with the predominantly Muslim nations of northern Africa were also problematic for the United

States, reflecting the difficulties of maintaining relations with the Arab nations in the Middle East. Sudan broke diplomatic ties with the United States in 1967 because of U.S. support for Israel during the Arab-Israeli War. Although relations improved during the 1970s and the United States extended development aid to Sudan in the 1980s, the United States suspended aid after a 1989 coup that instituted harsh Islamic rule and support for TERRORISM. In 1993, President WILLIAM J. CLINTON placed Sudan on the list of state sponsors of terror and imposed economic sanctions. Clinton also launched retaliatory missile strikes in 1998 against a suspected chemical weapons plant in Sudan following the bombing of U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya. Sudan has continued to struggle under the weight of civil war, which has had a devastating effect on both its economy and society.

Initially an ally of the United States and Great Britain, Libya ended its relations with the West in 1970, when the discovery of oil left Libya no longer dependent on Western aid. A 1969 military coup had brought Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi to power. Although Qaddafi appeared at first to favor relations with the West, U.S. support for Israel soured relations with Qaddafi, who established a dictatorship, nationalized Western oil companies, and used oil revenues to support terrorism and purchase weapons from the Soviet Union. Relations with Libya grew hostile, as President RONALD REAGAN imposed economic sanctions. In 1986 the Reagan administration launched retaliatory air strikes against Libya for its role in a discotheque bombing in West Berlin. In 1988 Libya was responsible for bombing a Pan Am airline flight over Lockerbie, Scotland, killing all 259 people on board and 11 on the ground but refused to extradite the suspects in the attack. Relations with Libya underwent a dramatic reversal in August 2003, following the U.S. attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq. In what was considered a success in the war against state sponsorship of terrorism, Libya accepted responsibility for the Pan Am attack, paid the families of victims, and ended its ties to terrorism.

American intervention in African affairs also assumed peacekeeping efforts in various countries. In December 1992 President Bush sent American troops to Somalia as part of a UN peacekeeping force to protect humanitarian relief workers hampered in their ability to deliver aid to the people of Somalia because of civil war. The peacekeepers came under fire from warring factions after attempting to encourage cooperation among factions in assuming the responsibilities for civil society. In October 1993 18 U.S. soldiers were killed and their bodies dragged through the streets of Mogadishu. President Clinton withdrew the American troops from Somalia. Although Somalia was enveloped in chaos after the troop withdrawal, the Clinton administration hesitated to engage in further military action in Africa. Congress once again cut off appropriations



for military intervention, except to protect U.S. citizens and embassy officials. U.S. troops did not intervene to halt genocide in Rwanda in 1994. Although the United States was a major contributor to humanitarian aid for Rwandan refugees, both the United States and the UN were criticized for not intervening sooner to end the genocide.

After the cold war ended, the United States developed new relations with African nations that focused on economic development and internal African stability. The United States worked primarily through nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in Africa to extend financial assistance for humanitarian and developmental purposes, provide medicines and treatment for victims of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, aid victims of natural disasters, and alleviate the problems of refugees displaced by civil war and genocide. In his 2002 State of the Union address, President GEORGE W. BUSH called for a five-year, \$15 billion initiative to combat AIDS in Africa and the Caribbean. In May 2003 Bush signed the U.S. Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria Act of 2003, which provided appropriations for foreign aid through fiscal year 2008. In May 2007 Bush sought reauthorization for the legislation, asking Congress to double appropriations to \$30 billion over the next five years.

The western region of Sudan, known as Darfur, presented a humanitarian crisis beginning in February 2003, when rebels seeking self-determination and an end to oppression attacked and captured several military garrisons. The government in Khartoum responded by backing militias, known as the *janjawid*, and providing air support as the militias attacked the civilian population of Darfur. The *janjawid* destroyed whole villages, murdering the men and boys and raping the women, causing many to flee in terror. The displaced persons gathered in refugee camps on the outskirts of larger towns in Darfur or crossed the western border into Chad, raising tensions between Sudan and Chad. In 2004 the massive campaign to eradicate the indigenous population and the desperate conditions of the refugee camps brought the situation in Darfur to the attention of the international community, formerly preoccupied with mediating an end to the civil war between northern and southern Sudan.

The Western response to the crisis was primarily in the form of humanitarian assistance to the refugees in camps rather than political or military intervention. Although the United States determined that the violence constituted “genocide,” thereby obligating the UN to intervene under international law, the international community could not agree on the use of the term “genocide” and relied instead on weak and ineffective pressure on the Sudanese government to stop the *janjawid* and provide protection for the refugee camps and humanitarian workers. Peace talks and cease-fire agreements, includ-

ing the historic Darfur Peace Agreement, signed by both the Sudanese government and the largest rebel faction in May 2006, failed to end the violence. The United States continued to provide food for the people of Darfur, where an estimated 2.5 million people lived in camps, and to pressure the government in Khartoum through the use of economic sanctions.

Through 2008, foreign policy initiatives continued to promote democratic regimes and curb the growing problem of state-sponsored terrorism.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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—Cynthia Stachecki

## Age Discrimination Act of 1975

As an amendment to the Older Americans Act of 1965, this act protects people of all ages from discrimination based upon age. Specifically this law provides that “no person in the United States shall, on the basis of age, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance” (42 U.S.C. Section 6102). The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of the Department of Health and Human Services enforces the act in federally funded health and social service programs. The act allows particular exceptions to the broad stipulation against discrimination based on age. While it prohibits discrimination on the basis of age (maximum or minimum) at private institutions that receive federal assistance, it does not prohibit discrimination when the action “reasonably takes into account age as a factor necessary to the normal operation or the achievement of any statutory objective of such program or activity; or the differentiation made by such action is based upon reasonable factors other than age” (42 U.S.C. Section 6103). This law does not apply to any activity or program established under the authority of any law that provides benefits or assistance to people based upon their age, or upon established criteria for participation, in age-related terms, or that describes intended beneficiaries or target groups. Other exceptions include using factors other than age that have a direct and substantial relationship to the program, and as well as criteria for programs that offer special benefits to children or elderly persons.

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—Michele Rutledge

**Agnew, Spiro T.** (1918–1996) *U.S. vice president*

Relatively unknown in the Republican Party, Maryland governor Spiro Agnew was a surprise selection by Republican presidential nominee RICHARD M. NIXON for his vice presidential running mate in the 1968 campaign. Agnew's role in the campaign was reminiscent of Nixon's during the 1952 and 1956 presidential campaigns, attacking the Democrats while the presidential candidate avoided excessive controversy. Agnew became known for his quips, "When you've seen one slum, you've seen them all," and "Hubert Humphrey [the Democratic party nominee] is squishy-soft on communism."

Agnew's role in the Nixon administration remained limited. He was assigned to head the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs, created in 1969 to facilitate relations between state governors and the federal executive branch. Agnew also served as chair of the Space Advisory Committee. Nonetheless, governors from large states ignored Agnew and spoke directly with the White House. In addition, Agnew's support of a manned mission to Mars further estranged him from the White House. Furthermore, Agnew's views on foreign policy—supporting bombings in Cambodia and Laos publicly, opposing détente and the opening of China—resulted in his being left out of the decision-making process.

In 1973 the U.S. attorney in Baltimore investigated Agnew for accepting bribes from real estate developers in exchange for building contracts when Agnew held local and state offices in the 1960s. Already in the midst of the WATERGATE SCANDAL, Agnew could not stop the investigation without attracting attention. After being denied an impeachment proceeding and receiving a court ruling that a sitting vice president could be indicted, Agnew pleaded "no contest" in federal court on October 10, 1973, and was fined \$10,000, received a three-year suspended sentence, and was disbarred. After resigning the vice presidency, Agnew retreated into retirement and never returned to public life. He died September 18, 1996, of leukemia.

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—John Korasick

## agriculture

Although more than half of the world's population depends on agriculture for their source of livelihood, farmers account

for only 2 percent of the American workforce. At the same time, however, American farms produce more than a quarter of the world's wheat and corn, and America ranks as the third leading exporter of rice. This inverse relationship between the number of farmers and their high yields reveals the degree to which agriculture continues to be influenced by modern technological innovations in transportation, communication, and the biological sciences.

After World War II, returning soldiers often left their rural homes and migrated to the cities to pursue urban professions; by 1960 the number of farmers had fallen by nearly 40 percent. Despite this massive loss of farm workers, the expanse of American farmland remained relatively stable, declining only 4 percent, and in 1960 the average size of each farm increased by almost a third to 303 acres. The trend continued for every decade after; the number of farm workers fell by a third, the total acreage of farmland declined by only 4 or 5 percent, and the average farm grew by 10–20 percent. By 1990 there were 4.5 million farmers (2.6 percent of the labor force) who worked 987 million acres (13 percent less than in 1960) with an average farm size of 461 acres. Increasingly, much of this farming took place on corporate-owned farms, leased to individual farmers. During this same period, the average yield per farmer increased nearly 300 percent: one farmworker in 1965 could produce enough food and fiber for 35 people; by 1993 a single worker provided for more than 100 people. Because of the importance of agriculture to the American economy, the United States government aided farming through farm subsidies, funding for agricultural research, purchase of surplus agricultural products distributed through the food stamp program, and foreign trade policies.

Since World War II, agriculture in the United States has experienced a silent revolution. The more obvious innovations in personal COMPUTERS often obscure the more mundane advances in agriculture and animal husbandry. The unpredictable nature of weather and ecology guarantees an element of risk in any farming endeavor. As early as the 1950s, agricultural scientists tried to limit the extent of that risk by experimenting with genetic engineering of crops to ensure higher yield, greater tolerance to heat and frost, and greater resistance to insects and disease. One way to increase yield is to shorten the maturation cycles of a given crop; for example, the shorter growing period of dwarf varieties of rice allow for an additional growing cycle per year. Another way to increase yield is to increase the size and amount of product, for example, more ears of corn per stalk, or more quarts of milk per cow. Other modifications of crop tolerances have allowed grain sorghum, which was originally a tropical plant, to be grown as far north as North Dakota. Moreover, the higher tolerance to temperature and moisture fluctuations compounded

by the stronger resistance to insects and disease also help ensure consistently higher yields. The farming community generally recognized the significance of these scientific innovations, and by 1970 more than 850,000 students were enrolled in agricultural education courses outside of the farmstead.

During the 1960s and 1970s, scientists relied primarily on controlled mating systems; the desired traits that occur naturally in two or more species of plant are transferred to a more commonly cultivated species through cross-pollination to form new hybrids. Over successive generations, the desired traits are enhanced while the undesirable traits are extinguished. Beginning in the 1980s, developments in genetic engineering allowed scientists to manipulate traits directly at the chromosome level. This opened the way for hybrids between species that would otherwise be incompatible through the natural mating process. Given the enormous genetic variability that exists throughout the plants in the world, the number of possible combinations is virtually unlimited.

Other innovations in communication and transportation have directly influenced agriculture. The interstate highway system helped liberate farmers from dependence on a fixed rail system and further expanded the range of available markets. An increase in all-cargo airplane routes during the 1970s was especially helpful for farmers dealing in fresh fruit or vegetables. By the 1980s agriculture was becoming specialized on a global scale. Developing nations no longer had to rely on diverse crop production, and could instead focus on the crops best adapted to their climate. Though the United States exports more than \$50 billion a year in agricultural products, it still imports \$37 billion a year in other specialty goods. The advances in transportation allow Israeli farmers to sell fresh tomatoes in Alaskan markets with no noticeable degradation of quality.

Similarly, innovations in personal computing technology during the 1990s enabled farmers to more precisely manage their planting, fertilizing, and harvesting schedules. Dedicated computing instruments are included in most farm implements, and can be easily taken to each farm site for direct analysis. These advances allow fewer farmers to manage larger operations; in 1965 it took corn farmers five labor-hours to produce 100 bushels of wheat, but by 1987 it took half that time. Larger farms are more economically efficient because they can arrange for volume discounts in purchasing grain, seed, or fertilizer. They can also arrange more stable markets by contracting directly with processors, thus avoiding the middle distributors. In addition, large farms typically require smaller investments in machinery per acre.

This push toward greater economies of scale has forced American farmers to adopt more sophisticated methods for procuring the necessary capital investment. Land remains



Participants at a protest organized by Farm Aid officials to raise awareness of the plight of family farms in America (Smith/Getty Images)

the greatest single expense for farmers; the total worth of farm assets was \$861.5 billion in 1992, with real estate accounting for \$671 billion of that amount (78 percent). As a result, many modern farmers rent the land they manage, rather than own it directly. Another strategy avoids the costly investment in specialized farm equipment through outside contracts for specific services. A modern American farmer might rent his land; contract an airplane operator to seed, fertilize, and apply herbicide and pesticides; and contract a neighbor farm to harvest his crops. Ranchers employ similar contracts for sheep shearing, dehorning, or artificial insemination of their livestock.

Agriculture in America has experienced significant changes toward greater specialization and intensive development—not all of which have been welcomed by the American public. During the mid-1960s, César Chávez organized 60,000 migrant farmworkers in California in



an attempt to ensure higher wages and benefits. Through a series of strikes, boycotts, and marches, Chávez forced growers to sign union contracts with the labor supply. In 1970 he called on consumers to boycott grapes until the growers agreed to his demands, and an estimated 17 million Americans stopped buying grapes. In 1975 California governor Jerry Brown signed the Agriculture Labor Relations Act, which established collective bargaining for farm workers throughout California.

To the general public, Chávez helped create a public image of “corporate farmers” who exploit workers and small family operations to reap greater profit. During the 1980s, many farmers fell into heavy debt and were forced to sell their farms. Statistically, the decline in farmworkers remained the same as had been experienced in each previous decade, but since most of those who left during the 1980s were forced out by debt rather than by choice, the farm “crisis” assumed greater proportions in the public eye. Country singer Willie Nelson organized three Farm Aid concerts to benefit indebted farmers from 1986–88. In 1990 Congress responded to the rise in farm bankruptcy by passing the Food, Agriculture, Conservation, and Trade Act and the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act to increase farmers’ flexibility in planting while still allowing government support and subsidies.

Another area of public discontent stems from the new scientific methods of production. Starting as early as the 1960s, but becoming ever more vocal in the 1990s, several naturalist groups formed to protest modern farming techniques. Originally inspired by the use of toxic pesticides during the 1960s, modern natural food advocates often oppose the use of any artificial fertilizers, special growth hormones, or biogenetic engineering. They argue that modern farming techniques promote cancers and may produce other disease and deformities. Many animal rights advocates oppose all meat and dairy production as examples of cruelty to animals. Lobbying efforts by these activists, consumer advocates, and other interest groups led to more stringent Food and Drug Administration regulations for processing plants, and the passage of stricter truth-in-labeling laws. These changes encouraged meat and dairy associations to pursue more aggressive advertising campaigns. With the exception of a slight increase in the number of local farmer’s markets, the public discontent has had little impact on the general trend in American agriculture.

Agriculture remains the basic element upon which every civilization must depend. Modern agriculture in the United States has evolved into a highly sophisticated and specialized industry requiring a decreasing percentage of total resources. Though science and technology may contradict the traditional images of a pastoral rural society, they remain an intricate part of farming today.

See also ECONOMY; IMMIGRATION.

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—Aharon W. Zorea

### ***Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health*** (1983)

Since the 1973 decisions of *ROE v. WADE* and *Doe v. Bolton*, the U.S. SUPREME COURT heard cases that repeatedly sought clarification regarding the degree to which state statutes could require parental notifications for minors seeking ABORTION. *Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health* (1983) represents the Court’s fluctuating position on the question. The issue arose three years after *Roe*, in *Planned Parenthood Association of Central Missouri v. Danforth* (1976), which overturned a Missouri statute requiring spousal consent, as well as parental consent for minor children. The *Danforth* decision was affirmed by *Bellotti v. Baird* (1979), which overturned a similar Massachusetts law specifically requiring parental consent for minors seeking abortion. The Court argued that states must provide alternative forms of authorization, including the ability of a local judge to determine whether the minor is sufficiently mature to make the decision on her own. The trend barring all minor consent requirements was undermined by *H. L. v. Matheson* (1981), which upheld a Utah statute requiring doctors to inform the parents of unemancipated minors, “if possible.”

In the 1980s Akron, Ohio, passed a local ordinance which required: (1) in-hospital performance of all second trimester abortions; (2) physician-conducted pre-abortion counseling to ensure informed consent; (3) parental consent for unmarried minors; (4) proper disposal of fetal remains; and (5) a 24-hour waiting period between the time a woman signs a consent form and the time an abortion is performed. In *Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health* (1983), the Court struck down each of the provisions, with a specific argument against each. With regard to parental consent, the Court reaffirmed *Bellotti v. Baird*, which required an alternative for parental consent.

*Akron* (1983) was seriously undermined seven years later by *Hodgson v. Minnesota* (1990), which, in a 5-4 decision, upheld a Minnesota statute requiring both a 48-hour waiting period for minors and a two-parent notification requirement, as long as judicial waivers allowing a judge to make exceptions and authorize an abortion without informing the parents when the court believed it to be in the girl’s best interests. During that same summer, *Ohio v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health* upheld a state’s



right to require abortion providers to notify the parents of minors before performing an abortion on them; again, on the condition that minors had access to judicial waivers. *Akron* (1983) was fully reversed two years later by a pair of decisions handed down one day apart, *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* (June 28, 1992) and *Casey v. Planned Parenthood* (June 29, 1992). The Court upheld Pennsylvania statutes requiring parental consent by abortion providers, as well as 24-hour waiting periods to ensure informed consent. The Court, however, maintained the 1976 *Danforth* decision and struck down a provision requiring spousal notification.

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—Aharon W. Zorea

### Alaska Native Claim Settlement Act (1971)

President RICHARD M. NIXON signed the Alaska Native Claim Settlement Act (ANCSA) into law in 1971. In exchange for dismissing future Alaska Native land rights claims, the federal government transferred title of 44 million acres, along with \$462.5 million to be paid immediately from the federal Treasury and an additional \$500 million from future oil-revenue sharing. Settlement benefits were dispersed through 12 separate regional tribal corporations and 200 local villages. Qualifying Alaskans had to possess at least one-fourth Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo ancestry. Approximately 80,000 Alaska Natives qualified, each receiving 100 shares of corporate stock. A 13th corporation was later added to account for those Alaska Natives living outside the state of Alaska. Alaska Natives were barred from transferring their shares to non-Natives for 20 years to prevent premature alienation. In 1991 the shares became transferable and were liable to state taxation.

The ANCSA represented a culmination of a long history of conflict over land rights between Alaska Natives and the European and American settlers who came to form the majority population of the state. The legacy of Alaska Native land claims dates back to when the United States first acquired Alaska in 1867, but they were not again specifically addressed until 1959, when Alaska applied for admission into the Union. Conflict arose when Congress authorized the newly formed state to select 130 million acres of land from the federal government holdings without accounting for Alaska Native land claims. The discovery of oil intensified the pressure for an immediate resolution, which came about within five years. The resulting ANCSA settlement amounted to nearly four times the cumulative settlements of all previous Alaska Native claims in the United States.

Critics claimed that the corporate structure of the settlement threatened to alienate unsuspecting Alaska Natives from their rightful shares. By the end of the 1970s, some corporations orchestrated lucrative lease agreements with oil companies, while others met with financial failures. Despite predictions to the contrary, however, the threat of corporate bankruptcy did not translate into Alaska Native alienation from their rightful claims. Federal recognition of Alaska Native corporations as a political unit arose as one of the undisputed benefits of the ANCSA. Moreover, it served as precedent for other Alaska Native claims, including a successful movement in Quebec, Canada, as well as new reparations movements posed by other minority groups in the United States.

See also NATIVE AMERICANS.

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—Aharon W. Zorea

### Albert, Carl B. (1908–2000) *Speaker of the House*

Albert was the 46th Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1971 to 1976, a period in which the major political issues of the VIETNAM WAR, the WATERGATE SCANDAL, and the ENERGY CRISIS placed unusual demands on Congress.

Carl Bert Albert was born on May 10, 1908, in Oklahoma. After graduating from Oxford University on a Rhodes scholarship in 1934, Albert worked for three years for the Federal Housing Administration, during which time he was admitted to the Oklahoma Bar. Albert spent six years practicing law and in 1941 entered the armed forces as a private in the Judge Advocate General's Corps.

Leaving the service as a lieutenant colonel in 1946, he was elected as a Democrat to the House of Representatives for the Third District of Oklahoma, a position he retained until his retirement in 1976. Albert was majority whip from 1955 to 1962; majority leader from 1962 to 1971, and in 1968 he chaired the turbulent Democratic Convention in Chicago.

As Speaker of the House, Albert was immediately drawn into the highly charged issue of the Vietnam War. Albert, who favored a peaceful ending of the war only on terms acceptable to the United States, faced opposition from within his own party by those who demanded immediate withdrawal. In 1973 Albert clashed with President RICHARD M. NIXON over the president's impoundment of congressional funds for domestic social programs, a move

## 22 Albright, Madeleine K.

that Albert viewed as a challenge to the constitutional separation of powers. The Watergate scandal placed Albert in a unique position. After the resignation of Vice President SPIRO T. AGNEW, Albert, as Speaker, was next in line to the president. Albert resisted pressure to hasten impeachment and did not hinder the appointment of GERALD R. FORD as vice president, preferring to move cautiously in the impeachment proceedings.

Under Albert, the position of the Speaker gained more influence in policy matters, most notably in the right to nominate all majority party members of the Rules Committee. At the same time, the WAR POWERS ACT expanded the Speaker's role in foreign policy. Albert retired in 1976, although his term officially ended on January 3, 1977. He died in Oklahoma in 2000.

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—Stephen Harding

**Albright, Madeleine K.** (1937– ) *secretary of state, UN ambassador*

Madeleine Korbelt Albright, a naturalized American citizen who was born in Czechoslovakia, has served in many U.S. government positions related to FOREIGN POLICY, culminating in her being appointed the first female secretary of state of the United States. She came to the United States as a child following the communist takeover of what is now the Czech Republic. She earned her doctorate in political science at Columbia University.

She began working in politics in 1975 when she served as a fund-raiser for then-senator Edmund S. Muskie while he was running for the Democratic presidential nomination. She later served as an adviser for foreign policy during WALTER F. MONDALE's, MICHAEL S. DUKAKIS's, and WILLIAM J. CLINTON's presidential campaigns. In 1993 President Clinton repaid her hard work by appointing her ambassador to the United Nations. Then, in 1996 Clinton nominated Albright as the first female secretary of state for the United States.

Albright has been spoken of by many as a key strategist and policymaker for many years. Only one year after joining Senator Muskie's team, Albright was officially signed on as his chief legislative assistant. Due to Muskie's membership on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Albright immediately began focusing on foreign relations. In 1978 Albright moved to the National Security Council under Zbigniew Brzezinski, where she was a congressional liaison focusing on foreign policy legislation. In the 1984 presidential campaign she worked as Walter Mondale's foreign policy coordinator, and then in the 1988 campaign

she served as a senior foreign policy adviser to Michael Dukakis. Her position papers on foreign policy during the 1992 election led to President Clinton's appointing her a delegate to the United Nations. The U.S. Senate unanimously confirmed her nomination, and she was sworn into office on January 28, 1993. At this time President Clinton named Albright to the National Security Council. On December 5, 1996, President Clinton nominated Albright as secretary of state to replace Warren Christopher. She was unanimously confirmed by the U.S. Senate and sworn in on January 23, 1997, as the first female secretary of state and the highest-ranking female in government. As secretary of state she pursued an aggressive foreign policy in protecting human rights and emerged as a leading advocate of American intervention, through United Nations auspices, in Serbia during Clinton's second term in office. She also became known as a proponent of "nation-building," and as such, urged American participation in the United Nations' efforts to build democratic regimes, especially in the former Yugoslavia.

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—Leah Blakey

## Amendments to the U.S. Constitution

The American people have demonstrated a distinct preference for seeking change within the system, rather than attempting changes to the system itself. After more than 200 years of existence, the U.S. Constitution has only been permanently altered 25 times. Remarkably, only six amendments proposed by Congress failed to win the necessary approval from two-thirds of the state legislatures to become ratified, which suggests that Congress does not advocate systemic change without some prior assurance of widespread popular support. Since 1968, this trend became less consistent; Congress approved three constitutional amendments between 1971 and 1978, and only one was ratified.

The TWENTY-SIXTH AMENDMENT (1971) established a uniform voting age of 18 years. Prior to that, state legislatures determined voting age independently. Only four states recognized a voting age below 21: Hawaii set the age at 20, Alaska at 19, and Georgia and Kentucky recognized 18-year-old voters. Efforts to lower the voting age began long before 1971, when soldiers during World War II complained that they were old enough to fight, yet were denied the right to vote. As president, former general Dwight D. Eisenhower publicly supported the idea of lowering the voting age, as did President Lyndon B. Johnson. Both

men failed to initiate legislation that would effect national change. By the 1960s, however, the demographic pressures of the post–World War II BABY BOOM generation combined with a growing antiwar protest movement to force a federal response. In 1970 Congress passed a Voting Rights Act, which officially lowered the voting age in all federal, state, and local elections. Despite widespread support for the new changes, some state legislatures opposed the manner in which they were achieved. The Oregon legislature immediately challenged the law, arguing that it violated Section One of Article 2 of the Constitution, which guaranteed the right of each state to determine the voting age requirements for its own elections. The U.S. SUPREME COURT upheld their challenge and repealed the law in *Oregon v. Mitchell* (1970). With unprecedented speed, Congress responded with a proposed constitutional amendment, which was ratified faster than any previous amendment in history, in just over three months.

In March 1971 Congress proposed the EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA). It explicitly stipulated “equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.” The bill was initially proposed in 1923 by Alice Paul, a radical activist of the woman’s suffrage movement who had helped win ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment just three years earlier. At the time, representatives of both sexes who feared it would invalidate special workplace protection for women, and might even make them subject to the military draft, rejected the ERA proposal. The Republican Party endorsed a version of the ERA in its party’s platform in 1940, but failed to win support in Congress. The ERA was resubmitted as a tool for feminist empowerment in the early 1970s, and approved 84-8 by the Senate. Six states ratified the amendment in just two days, and a year later it was approved by 30 of the 38 states required for ratification. Proponents of the ERA maintained that it would ensure equal rights for women without having to have individual laws in a myriad of areas.

In 1973 PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY began the Stop ERA movement, which opposed the amendment for many of the same reasons opponents in the 1920s rejected it. She argued that some of the amendment’s unintended consequences would deprive women of the existing rights and benefits of their sex, including child support, lower insurance rates, and immunity from the draft. Stop ERA gained widespread support from conservative women and evangelical Protestant women who feared the amendment might cause more harm than good. Though the original seven-year deadline for ratification was extended another three years, the pro-ERA supporters failed to rally the support necessary for ratification. The amendment died in 1982.

The ERA amendment was still being debated in the state legislatures when Congress proposed another amend-

ment providing statehood for the District of Columbia (D.C.) in August 1978. The Twenty-third Amendment gave D.C. residents the right to vote for presidential tickets in 1961, and five years later, President Johnson appointed a mayor and a city council to handle administrative issues. In 1971 residents were allowed to elect a nonvoting delegate to the House, and 10 years after that, in 1981, they were allowed to elect the mayor and the city council members directly. Walter Fauntroy, a nonvoting delegate, lobbied extensively during the 1970s for statehood. Congress proposed the necessary amendment in 1978, which was quickly ratified by several states. Opponents arose equally fast, however, arguing that the amendment would create a separate category of “nominal” statehood. In addition, Republicans feared that D.C. would become a Democratic state. Opponents proposed that a better solution would be to dissolve the federal district and incorporate the land into the existing state of Maryland. The proposal failed to win further support, and no effort was launched to extend the 1985 deadline. During the 1990s, President WILLIAM J. CLINTON repeatedly touted support for D.C. statehood but failed to initiate any significant efforts to achieve that goal.

Even though Congress has not proposed any new amendments since 1978, the Twenty-seventh Amendment was ratified in 1992, prohibiting congressional pay raises until after the subsequent election in the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. The purpose behind the amendment is to prevent legislators from voting themselves a raise without first giving the voters an opportunity to vote them out of office during the next election cycle. James Madison submitted the original proposal in 1789 as part of a legislative package of 12 amendments known as the Bill of Rights. Ten of the amendments were ratified in 1791, and the two remaining proposals were largely ignored; the reapportionment amendment was rejected as untenable, and the compensation amendment had passed only six states. Since the proposal did not include a statute of limitations, it remained on the books for 80 years until Ohio became the seventh state to ratify it in 1873—largely as a symbolic protest against a massive retroactive salary increase that the federal government had passed earlier. It remained undisturbed until the early 1980s, when an economics major from the University of Texas, Gregory D. Watson, unearthed the amendment during his research and launched a vigorous campaign for ratification. Colorado became the eighth state to ratify it in 1984; over the course of the next eight years, 31 states followed suit with Michigan and New Jersey bringing the necessary two-thirds majority in 1992. As the Twenty-seventh Amendment, James Madison’s proposal endured the longest ratification process in American history.

Numerous groups have launched efforts to mobilize support for additional amendments, including explicit

## 24 American Independent Party

protection for the rights of unborn children, protection for prayer in school, a special prohibition against flag burning, and the legalization of marijuana. These measures, however, have not garnered congressional approval, and have not been debated except as tentative proposals.

See also ANTIWAR MOVEMENT—VIETNAM; ELECTIONS; FEMINISM; WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

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—Aharon W. Zorea

### American Independent Party (AIP)

The American Independent Party (AIP) was established in 1968 primarily as a means for Alabama governor GEORGE C. WALLACE to launch a third-party presidential campaign. The AIP consisted of 50 separate state parties, of which only 12 used the American Independent label. Through the Wallace campaign's tight control of election activities and the high media profile that accompanied their candidate, the party qualified for inclusion on the ballot in all 50 states. Wallace selected former air force general Curtis LeMay as his vice presidential candidate. The campaign was based on Wallace's populist rhetoric in an attempt to appeal to disgruntled voters, especially his opposition to the Civil Rights movement and his hawkish stance on the VIETNAM WAR. Wallace attempted to limit the influence of the right wing on his campaign, especially the John Birch Society, and discouraged other candidates from running on the AIP platform, although 14 candidates ran for the House of Representatives in California. Wallace intended his campaign to deny an electoral college majority to either major party and to set the groundwork for a presidential bid in 1972. While he did not achieve his aim, Wallace received almost 10 million popular votes and 46 electoral votes—at that time the largest popular vote ever received by a third party.

After the election Wallace kept his distance from the American Independent Party. The party split in 1969 into the American Party, which supported Wallace, and the more conservative National Committee of Autonomous State Parties. Although Wallace ran in the 1972 Democratic presidential primaries, he was careful not to alienate either section. An assassination attempt on Wallace in May 1972, which left him paralyzed from the waist down, effectively ended his presidential ambitions. The two organizations then united under the American Party banner and nominated John G. Smith, a member of the John Birch Society, as presidential candidate and Thomas Anderson as his running mate. In the 1972 election they managed to receive only a little more than 1 million votes, about 1.4 percent of the popular vote.

After the election the party split again, with Anderson gaining control of the American Party and William K. Shearer, the chair of the California section, forming a dissident group as a new American Independent Party. In the 1976 election the American Party nominated Anderson as presidential candidate. The American Independent Party nominated former Georgia governor Lester Maddox, thwarting an attempt by conservatives including Richard Viguerie, William Rusher, and Howard Phillips to take over the party. The combined vote of both parties in the 1976 election was 0.4 percent of the popular vote.

Since 1976 the American Independent Party has run in fewer states and supported its last presidential candidate, John C. Rarick, in 1980. The AIP still fields candidates in a few states, mainly California, and is a state affiliate party to the Constitution Party.

See also ELECTIONS; POLITICAL PARTIES; WALLACE, GEORGE C.

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—Steve Hardman

### Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA)

The Americans with Disabilities Act, passed in 1990, was the culmination of decades of activism to make American society more accessible to people with disabilities. The disability rights movement emerged in the wake of the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. Rejecting paternalistic treatment toward people with disabilities, the movement achieved numerous legislative victories in the years leading up to the ADA.

Beginning in 1968 with the Architectural Barriers Act, Congress passed a series of laws to provide access to some public facilities, public transportation, and public educational institutions. The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 prohibited job discrimination by the government and by recipients of federal assistance.

In 1986 the National Council on Disability, an independent federal agency, declared the piecemeal efforts of Congress inadequate and raised the call for comprehensive civil rights legislation for the disabled. First introduced in 1989 in the House of Representatives by Anthony Coelho (D-Calif.), and in the Senate by Tom Harkin (D-Iowa), the ADA mandates workplace accommodation and access to public transportation and public accommodations such as restaurants and retail stores. In addition, telephone companies are mandated to provide relay services to individuals using telecommunication devices for the deaf. Finally, the act prohibits coercion, threats, or retaliation against the disabled or those aiding the disabled in asserting their rights.





Disabled demonstrators rally in Los Angeles, California, to protest the State of California's challenge to the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 in the Supreme Court. (McNew/Newsweek)

The House passed the final version in July 1990 by a 377-28 margin and the Senate passed the bill by a 91-6 margin. The Americans with Disabilities Act, public law 101-336, was signed by President GEORGE H. W. BUSH on July 26, 1990, and went into effect in 1992.

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—John Korasick

**Anderson, John B.** (1922– ) *candidate for president* John Bayard Anderson gained national attention when he challenged RONALD W. REAGAN for the Republic Party

nomination in 1980. When he lost the nomination to Reagan, Anderson launched an independent campaign for the presidency under the auspices of the National Unity Party. Prior to his presidential bid, Anderson had served in the U.S. House of Representatives from the state of Illinois. He was born February 15, 1922, in Rockford, Illinois, to E. Albin and Mabel Edna (Ring) Anderson. He attended Rockford public schools, and the University of Illinois at Urbana, graduating in 1946. He later earned a law degree from Harvard University Law School, in 1949. During World War II Anderson enlisted in the United States Army and served from 1943–45 in the Field Artillery where he received four battle stars. He served as adviser on the staff of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany from 1952–55. Anderson married Keke Machakos on January 4, 1953; they had five children. In 1960 he was elected as a Republican to the 87th Congress and to the nine succeeding Congresses (January 3, 1961–January 3, 1981).

Anderson broke with the Republicans in 1980 after his unsuccessful bid for the party's nomination and ran as the National Unity Party candidate for the presidency against incumbent Democrat JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., and Republican nominee Ronald W. Reagan. In the three-way race, Anderson received about 7 percent of the total popular votes. In 1984 Anderson attempted a second run for the presidency, but quickly withdrew to make a bid for a congressional seat under the banner of the National Unity Party of Kentucky, which proved unsuccessful.

Following the 1980 campaign, Anderson accepted a series of visiting professorships at Stanford University (1981), University of Illinois College of Law (1981), Brandeis University (1985), Bryn Mawr College (1985), Oregon State University (1986), University of Massachusetts (1986), and Nova University (1987). His writings include *We Propose: A Modern Congress and Republican Papers* (contributor, 1968); *Between Two Worlds: A Congressman's Choice* (1970); *Congress and Conscience* (ed., 1970); *Vision and Betrayal in America* (1975); *The American Economy We Need* (1984).

See also ELECTIONS; POLITICAL PARTIES.

—Michele Rutledge

**Angelou, Maya** (1928– ) *poet, autobiographer*

Born April 4, 1928, in St. Louis, Missouri, Maya Angelou is best known for her autobiographical novel *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*. Her parents divorced when she was three, and she was sent to Arkansas to live with her grandmother. Her childhood was traumatic.

Graduating from Lafayette County technical school, she was sent to San Francisco to live once again with her mother. In high school, she earned a two-year scholarship

to study dance and drama at the California Labor School but did not attend because she became pregnant and gave birth to a son, her only child. She supported herself through a variety of jobs, including cook, waitress, and streetcar conductor. In the early 1950s she married Tosh Angelos, a sailor she met in San Francisco, and began working as a dancer and singer. She found success performing in cabarets in San Francisco and toured 22 European countries as Ruby in a production of *Porgy and Bess*. After divorcing her husband, Angelou moved to New York City, where she appeared onstage as The White Queen in *The Blacks*, a satirical play by Jean Genet. She also became politically active at this time, organizing a fund-raiser for Martin Luther King, Jr., and becoming Northern Coordinator of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference from 1959 to 1960.

In 1961 she moved to Cairo and worked as associate editor of *The Arab Observer* and as assistant administrator of the School of Music and Drama at the University of Ghana. In 1970, the first of her autobiographical novels, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, covering her childhood in Arkansas and years in San Francisco until the birth of her son, was published. The novel exemplified Angelou's strength as an inspirational writer. Harold Bloom has written how her sincerity and goodwill, combined with the self-help features of her writing, make it difficult to criticize her works. In 1971 she published a book of poetry, *Just Give Me a Cool Drink of Water 'Fore I Die*, which was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize. In 1972 she wrote the screenplay for the film *Georgia, Georgia*, becoming the first African-American woman to have a screenplay produced. She followed that success in 1974 with a second screenplay, *All Day Long*. Her second novel, *Gather Together in My Name*, depicting her life as a single mother, also appeared in 1974. In 1975 President Ford appointed her to the American Revolution Council. *Singin' and Swingin' and Gettin' Merry Like Christmas*, chronicling her show business period, came out in 1976. *And Still I Rise*, her second book of poems, appeared in 1978. *The Heart of a Woman*, on her civil rights years, appeared in 1981. Her final autobiographical novel, *All God's Children Need Traveling Shoes*, published in 1986, detailed her time in Africa. Her third collection of poems, *I Shall Not Be Moved*, was published in 1990. Some critics found her poetry did not demand much intellectual effort from the reader. One of her major defenders, scholar-critic Robert Stepto, praised her use of folk idioms and forms while noting her weaknesses. In 1993 she read "On the Pulse of Morning" at the Clinton inauguration, the second poet (after Robert Frost) to participate at a presidential inauguration. She currently resides in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, as Reynolds Professor and Chair of American Studies at Wake Forest University.

See also LITERATURE.

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—Stephen E. Randall

### Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM Treaty under SALT I) (1972)

President RICHARD M. NIXON and Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev signed the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty on May 26, 1972. The agreement was one of two documents to come out of the first Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT I), which had its origins in a U.S.-Soviet summit meeting five years earlier on June 23, 1967. The ABM Treaty limited the defense strategies of both sides in an attempt to guarantee deterrence through a strategy of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD).

The origins of an antiballistic missile defense system date back to the early 1950s, when the Defense Department experimented with crude defensive strategies against nuclear attacks. They concentrated on developing missiles that could shoot down nuclear-armed enemy bombers, because, at the time, neither side had the ability to accurately guide intercontinental-range ballistic missiles. The project was shelved as priorities shifted to larger weapons with more conventional conveyance systems. After 1957, however, the Soviet launch of the world's first satellite (*Sputnik*) caused many observers to fear that the United States had fallen behind in missile technology (causing what was known as the "missile gap"), which resulted in a reexamination of a missile defense system. In 1958 the Nike Zeus project was conceived, which consisted of a large acquisition radar, smaller target tracking and missile radars, and an interceptor missile. In 1963, after five years of study and a recommendation from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the secretary of defense, Robert McNamara, chose to end the program because he worried that it was unreliable and that it would undermine the larger strategy of deterrence.

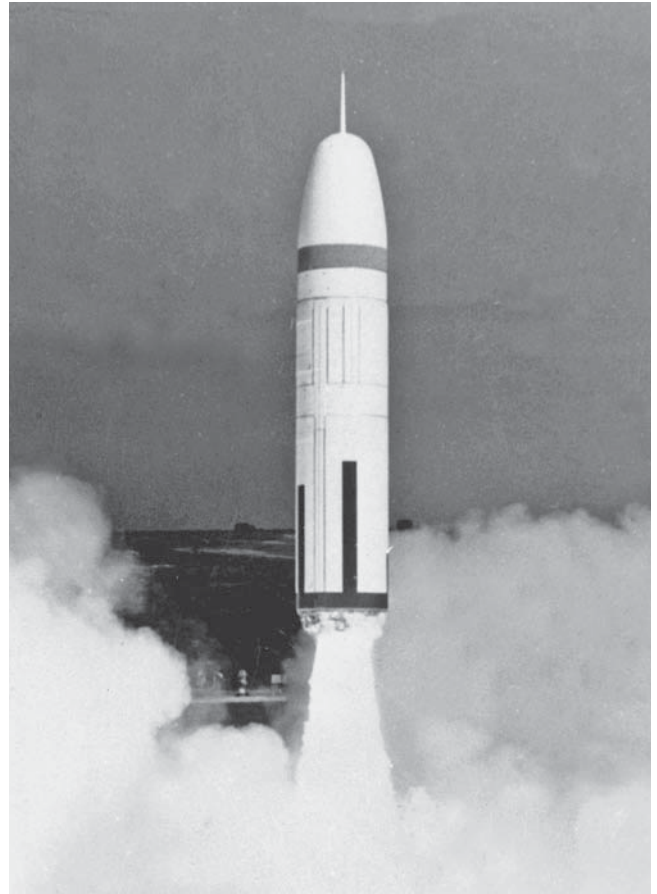
Advocates of nuclear deterrence argued that global peace required both sides of the COLD WAR to maintain relative parity; the guarantee that a first strike would be answered with immediate nuclear retaliation served to deter nuclear war. This concept of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) dominated American DEFENSE POLICY throughout most of the cold war. A successful missile defense threatened to undermine the system by removing the guarantee of retaliatory destruction, which might encourage one side to launch a first strike. Moreover, a missile defense might lead to further arms buildup as the Soviets built more weapons in an effort to overwhelm American defenses. President John F. Kennedy and Defense Secretary McNamara

namara wanted to limit or pull back this buildup and resisted the ABM defense. Republican critics of McNamara's decision to scrap the Nike Zeus project, including RONALD W. REAGAN and PHYLLIS SCHLAFELY, argued that any agreement on arms limitation would be unilateral, since the Soviets could not be trusted to keep their end of the treaty. Throughout the mid-1960s, Republicans pushed for both stronger offensive and defensive weapons.

In response to growing criticism, McNamara announced the Sentinel Defense System in 1967, also known as Nike X. It would rely on faster Phased Array Radars in conjunction with nuclear-tipped interceptors, called Sprint missiles. In addition, another interceptor, the Spartan missile, with longer ranges, would be used to defend against high-atmosphere attacks. The Sentinel Defense System was the first attempt at a layered defense and was the first true ballistic missile system. McNamara advertised the program as "light defense," useful against minor third-party nations, or accidental launches from the Soviet Union. Since it was designed as a point defense, rather than a general defense, it would not undermine the doctrine of mutually assured destruction. Though some labeled it the "anti-Republican missile system," the Republican criticism that McNamara was compromising national security continued unabated; they wanted a strong general defense that could protect all citizens.

In March 1969, shortly after President Richard M. Nixon entered office, he announced he would strengthen the Sentinel system by adding a modified phased-deployment concept, which he named the Safeguard program. It extended the perimeter of employment out to 1,000 miles, and in effect reconfigured the "light defense" into the stronger "general defense" that the Republicans had called for. The announcement carried diplomatic ramifications; the Soviets had brought up the issue of ABM limitations during the U.S.-Soviet summit that President Lyndon B. Johnson attended in New Jersey in 1967. McNamara's announcement of the Sentinel Defense prompted the Soviets to call for their reduction. They did not, however, call for an end to all ABM defenses—only a limitation. The Soviets had begun developing their own missile defense system in 1955, and had already deployed an untested antisatellite system in 1965. Some American observers feared that the Soviet development was actually further advanced than their own, with possibly more successful results. They feared that the security of a strong missile defense might prompt some Soviet policymakers to consider first-strike options. These American analysts hoped that the Soviets might react to news of the more powerful Safeguard program by calling for an end to all ABM systems, which would in turn help restore the system of parity that MAD depended on.

Eight months after Nixon's announcement, the United States and the Soviet Union entered into the first SALT



The American Trident missile makes its maiden flight at Cape Kennedy. (Hulton/Archive)

talks. As expected, the Soviets demanded a treaty to limit ABM development before they would agree to future limitation talks. U.S. negotiators called for a complete ban on all ABM systems, but the Soviets refused. After three years of negotiation the two sides agreed to limit the number of ABM systems to 200 launchers and interceptors equally divided into two widely separated deployment areas along the national borderlines (which would prohibit a nationwide defense network). The resulting ABM Treaty (1972) was modified two years later, cutting the number of deployment sites in half, from two to one. Though the ABM Treaty served as a necessary catalyst for later SALT talks, American policymakers did not consider it a significant concession because American nuclear defense strategies never depended on ABM systems. The United States built a deployment site in Grand Forks, North Dakota, during 1975–76, but it was quickly dismantled to free up resources for other priorities.

U.S. commitment to national missile defense changed in the late 1970s, as advances in computing technology



made a viable defensive network more feasible, and after Republican president Ronald W. Reagan entered the White House. He had lobbied for a stronger national defense since the late 1960s and remained committed to it as president. On March 23, 1983, Reagan announced his STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE (SDI), which included space-based laser technology as well as land-based missile systems. SDI drew immediate criticism from the NUCLEAR FREEZE MOVEMENT, which feared the start of another arms race and the destabilization of nuclear deterrence. In January 1984 Reagan reported evidence that the Soviets had violated the ABM Treaty by installing a centrally located defense system (the Krasnoyarsk radar system), and that SDI was necessary for homeland defense. Two years later, in October 1985, U.S. National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane further announced that SDI did not fall under ABM Treaty proscriptions because it was based on “other physical particles” (like lasers) and that it was limited to research facilities, which the treaty explicitly permitted. Nevertheless, Democratic lawmakers strongly criticized the program as expensive, ineffective, and possibly dangerous.

SDI remained a strong research priority throughout the 1980s and early 1990s during President GEORGE H. W. BUSH’s administration. It was eventually ended in July 1993 when President WILLIAM J. CLINTON announced that his administration would adopt a “narrow” interpretation of the ABM Treaty, which excluded SDI-like research and development. Though Clinton made numerous commitments to exploring the possibility and necessity of a missile defense system, including the “3-plus-3” program of 1996, he never allocated resources toward its development. In March 1997 Clinton joined Russian president Boris Yeltsin in signing a joint statement affirming the principles of the 1972 ABM Treaty. These efforts were met with strong criticism from Republican lawmakers who called for a return to Reagan-Bush strategic defense proposals. Within six months of entering office, President GEORGE W. BUSH announced his full commitment to SDI research, which he believed would be necessary to defend the United States from rogue nations. In 2002 the United States pulled out of the 1972 ABM Treaty. President BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA reopened talks with Russia in 2009, resulting in new agreements to reduce nuclear arms. However, the national missile shield proposed by the United States was still a point of contention.

See also CATHOLIC BISHOPS’ LETTER; CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; DÉTENTE; STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATIES.

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—Aharon W. Zorea

## antiwar movement—Vietnam

Opposition to the VIETNAM WAR—composed of leftist college students, pacifist religious groups, peace activists, and citizens of all ages—clearly indicated the divisive effects of the war on American society. Beginning as early as April 1965 with a march on Washington that consisted of more than 25,000 people, the antiwar movement served as a common cause for the growing counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s and a major component of the social turbulence of the same period.

Various impulses including the fear of being drafted, a commitment to peace, and the loyalty of a small minority to Ho Chi Minh’s revolutionary ideology transformed college campuses into staging grounds for antiwar rallies and “teach-ins”—lengthy series of speeches denouncing the war and the United States’s involvement in it. In October 1965 the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam (“the Mobe”) organized more than 80,000 people in demonstrations nationwide and disrupted the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. On November 15, 1969, nearly a quarter million people marched against the war in Washington, D.C. The most famous incident connected with the antiwar movement occurred in May 1970 on the campus of KENT STATE UNIVERSITY, where Ohio National Guardsmen fatally shot four students while dispersing an antiwar demonstration. In addition to protests, demonstrations, and teach-ins, young men protested the war by burning draft cards, failing to register, or fleeing to Canada or other countries. By 1972 more than 30,000 “draft dodgers” had fled to Canada and thousands more to Sweden or Mexico. During the war, more than half a million men committed draft violations.

Many clergymen, educators, and businessmen disapproved of the government’s Vietnam policies beginning in the mid-1960s, and their numbers continued to grow throughout the conflict. This growth, fueled by the constant flow of war images into America’s living rooms via television, reflected a trend in public opinion that, by mid-1971, was solidly in favor of U.S. withdrawal from the war even if such withdrawal meant the collapse of the South Vietnamese government.

There was also political opposition to the war. In 1966 Senator William Fulbright initiated public hearings to determine whether pursuing the war in Vietnam served the national interest. Disillusion with the war grew throughout President Lyndon B. Johnson’s administration. Secretary of



Defense Robert McNamara worked quietly to reduce U.S. military presence in Vietnam and resigned after failing to persuade Johnson to do so. More significant politically was the growing influence of the antiwar faction in Congress. In June 1973, Senators Frank Church of Idaho and Clifford Case of New Jersey wrote into the fiscal 1974 budget an amendment forbidding the use of any American forces “in or over” Indochina, thus removing the guarantee of American air support if South Vietnam was attacked again. Other fiscal reductions followed when Congress reduced military aid to South Vietnam from \$2.1 billion in 1973 to \$1.1 billion in 1974 and \$700 million in 1975. On March 20, 1975, Senators Adlai Stevenson III and Charles Mathias introduced legislation requiring the termination of all aid to South Vietnam by June 30 of that year.

This increased congressional opposition to American aid and involvement in Indochina reflected a crack in the anticommunist consensus in FOREIGN POLICY. During the 1970s the leadership of the Democratic Party had concluded that ideological anticommunism had been detrimental to the country and had led to American involvement in Vietnam. Because of this, during President JAMES EARL CARTER, JR.’s administration, Democrats refused to react aggressively to the growing military power of the Soviet Union. Mozambique, Angola, and Ethiopia all came under pro-Soviet rule in 1975. Soviet encroachment occurred in other areas throughout the late 1970s but the Carter administration opted for a policy of conciliation, hoping to allay any Soviet fears. In 1977 Carter canceled the B-1 bomber program, as well as the neutron bomb program, and asked for no Soviet concessions in return.

The influence of the protest activity and public opinion is still debated by scholars. It is clear that the antiwar movement in the United States boosted North Vietnamese morale by convincing Hanoi that America’s spirit to fight would certainly wither. It is likely that the movement figured prominently in President Lyndon Johnson’s decision not to run for reelection in 1968 and played possibly a larger role in RICHARD M. NIXON’s victory over the Democrat Hubert Humphrey, who, as Johnson’s vice president, was unable to dissociate himself from the president’s war policies. Also, the dramatic nature of the protests and the power of public opinion may ultimately have set the parameters of the conflict and prevented an even wider war. Clearly the antiwar movement contributed to America’s “neo-isolationist” sentiment that was manifested after the war by a strong public distaste for the assumption of responsibility for other nations’ affairs.

See also ARMS RACE; “CHICAGO EIGHT”; COLD WAR; DEFENSE POLICY; LIBERALISM.

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—William L. Glinkler

## arms race

The Soviet-American arms race was well under way by 1968 because the interests of the two superpowers were impossible to reconcile. The United States felt it necessary to have a multitude of arms at its disposal to halt communist expansion throughout the world, while the Soviet Union saw the U.S. move to contain Soviet expansion as a ploy to disguise its capitalist desire to dominate the world’s resources and then use the resources to destroy the international communist movement. Thus, the two nations prepared to deter a major attack or to win if war did erupt by building arsenals that by the conclusion of the COLD WAR were large enough to completely destroy both nations if they successfully struck all of their targets.

The United States maintained the lead in the arms race with the Soviet Union well into the 1970s, excluding the areas of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and anti-ballistic missile systems (ABMs). The Soviet Union focused its entire economy on catching up with the United States, and by the mid-1970s a number of experts claimed that the Soviets had succeeded in at least matching the United States arsenal, although other experts disputed this. This in turn led to the United States increasing its weapon development and deployment programs in the early 1980s. As the number of nuclear weapons increased, many believed that the chance they would be used increased as well. U.S. defense policy makers nevertheless continued to argue for additional weapons. They stated that since the Soviets had at least parity, if not an advantage, a Soviet first strike could leave the United States with too few remaining weapons to react effectively. This would leave U.S. cities open to retaliation from the Soviets’ second and third strikes. Therefore, they argued the United States needed not only more nuclear weapons, but also more accurate targeting systems to ensure that U.S. retaliation would devastate the Soviet Union. U.S. defense planners hoped this ability to destroy vast areas of the Soviet Union with a second or third strike capability would deter the USSR from launching a nuclear attack in the first place.

There were many efforts undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s to control the nuclear arms race. The efforts met with only limited success, because neither side was willing to trust the other to adhere to the agreement. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I), signed in 1972, placed limits on strategic launch vehicles but not the missiles they launched. The ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY, which was also signed in 1972, limited the development

and deployment of defensive systems. The Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT), which went into effect in 1970, attempted to curb the horizontal spread of nuclear weapons, but in reality it did little to truly stop a nation that was dedicated to developing a nuclear arsenal.

President RONALD W. REAGAN's defense advisers had a definite strategy for waging the cold war. It was outlined in a national security decision directive (NSDD-13), which was leaked to the public in 1982. It stated that the United States should have the capability to wage a protracted nuclear war, which would involve repeated, well-planned, limited nuclear strikes against targets in the Soviet Union. Further details called for the nuclear decapitation of Soviet military and political leadership, as well as destruction of Soviet lines of communication. To meet this objective, the Reagan administration planned to spend \$180 billion in a five-year period. This money was to be spent in part on 100 MX intercontinental ballistic missiles, 100 B-1 bombers, 400 air-launched cruise missiles, 3,000 sea-launched cruise missiles, and 15 Trident submarines with 360 Trident I submarine-launched ballistic missiles. Development programs were also to begin on a Stealth bomber, the Trident II missile, space-based antisatellite weapons, and improvements in U.S. command, control, communications, and intelligence systems.

The Soviet Union responded with shock and anger to the plans of the Reagan administration. Many thought that the expense involved in maintaining pace with the United States would be too overwhelming for the Soviet economy. The Soviet Union launched several efforts to revive détente and negotiate arms control agreements that would curb the United States's dramatic increase in its nuclear stockpile. During Reagan's second term, serious work was started to slow or halt the arms race between the two superpowers.

The downward spiral in the arms race had already begun when President GEORGE H. W. BUSH entered the White House in 1988. The Soviet Union appeared to be taking the lead in reduction of deployed nuclear weapons, but chaos soon erupted in Eastern Europe as the Soviet sphere crumbled. One of the largest arms control agreements of the decade, the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), was stalemated on several occasions due to Soviet domestic unrest and the outbreak of the Persian Gulf crisis in August 1990. By the fall of 1991 the Soviet Union itself was crumbling into several independent nations, and its successor, Russia, had little money left to devote to arms to fight a strategic nuclear war with the United States. Thus, the end of the cold war marked the end of the dramatic superpower arms race that had lasted for over four decades.

See also DEFENSE POLICY; FOREIGN POLICY; STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATIES; STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE.

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—Leah Blakey

**ARPANET** See INTERNET.

## art and architecture

### Art

Art, beginning in the 1970s, entered a new, postmodern stage. There was no dominant style or movement; artists could “do their own thing.” While some, especially minority, artists used their art to make political statements, others felt that art was no longer a worthwhile means of expressing personal or political statements. Art became highly conceptual, referring to nothing but itself.

During the 1960s, three artistic movements had flourished and provided consistency in the art community—pop art, op art, and minimalism. While these movements lost much of their influence, they did not simply disappear. Pop art used images drawn from popular culture. Using common objects and images—soup cans, comic strips—pop artists transformed everyday objects and images into works of art. Pop art did not glorify the creative process; rather, it celebrated mechanical creation and the repetitiveness of mass media.

Leaders in pop art were Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein, and George Segal. Warhol, a former commercial illustrator, used images of common objects and reproduced them in altered colors. By displaying them as art, Warhol gave them shock value. Lichtenstein painted enlarged frames of comic strips based on war or romantic entanglements. This created a parody of a serious event. Segal was a sculptor who made plaster casts of people, either standing or engaged in everyday activities. The figures would then be placed with real objects to create a surreal effect. Op art meant to create pulsating optical effects through the repetition of shapes. There is no sense of depth in these works, further removing the painting from any illusion of reality. Like the other movements, there is little effort to instill deeper meanings. The best-known American op artist is Richard Anuszkiewicz. Minimalism is the use of geometric shapes or other simple units in sculpture or painting. Minimalists' use of new media—metal, plastics, Plexiglas—was an exciting new development. A leader of this movement was Donald Judd.

This use of new media foreshadowed many developments in art in the 1970s and 1980s. Site sculpture, also known as earth art, the utilization of new media on a grand scale, appeared on the scene. These sculptures were tem-

porary; recording the creation and destruction of the piece was part of the art. One of the best-known pieces is the *Spiral Jetty* created by Robert Smithson in Utah in 1970. By depositing 6,000 tons of earth in the Great Salt Lake, Smithson laid the foundation for a 1,500-foot-long spiral of black rock and salt crystals that extended into the lake. By altering the lake in this way, the artist was able to alter the viewer's perception of the lake. Other notable site sculptors included Richard Serra, whose sculpture *Tilted Arc*, consisting of three steel plates, was installed in New York City's Federal Plaza. One of his goals was to "dislocate" the beauty of the plaza. The piece prompted protests and petitions for its removal. Christo gained notoriety by wrapping synthetic material on natural and man-made objects. In 1971 he hung a huge orange curtain across a canyon in Colorado, entitling it *Valley Curtain*.

Nam June Paik and Bruce Nauman exemplify sculpture on a smaller scale. Paik created sculptures using multiple television sets on which messages flashed by, conveying the fleeting nature of information. Nauman incorporated flashing lights and images that bombard the viewer with disturbing and disagreeable words, thoughts, images, and sounds. What should be apparent from these examples is that art was not a commodity. People could not buy a Serra or a Nauman. Art was neither decorative nor meaningful: Art was meant to shock.

In the late 1970s and the 1980s there was a return to image-based painting. Neoexpressionism, very influential in the 1980s, rejected the impersonal art of minimalists. Vigorous brushwork increased the expressiveness of the work. Leaders of the Neoexpressionists were David Salle and Eric Fischl. Another group, the photorealists, continued the detached attitude of the pop artists, creating detailed paintings that look like photographs. The work of Chuck Close and Audrey Flack exemplify photorealism.

The use of new media in art was not limited to industrial material or lights. Art in the 1970s and 1980s was often focused on the process as much as the end result. A natural extension of this was performance art. Performance art relied on its immediacy and its temporary nature. Much like the earth art, the process was as much a part of the art as the actual piece. An example of performance art is Laurie Anderson's *Duet on Ice*. In the piece, Anderson played violin while wearing skates embedded in blocks of ice. The piece ended when the ice melted.

Not all art was devoid of meaning. There was a certain amount of issue-oriented art. Minorities used art to express group pride and identity. Among feminist artists, photographer Cindy Sherman used photographs to comment on female stereotypes. African-American artist Melvin Edwards dealt with violence against African Americans. Robert Mapplethorpe celebrated homosexuality in his photographic exhibits.

The public was generally baffled by art trends during the last third of the 20th century. With the development of noncommercial forms such as earth art, performance art, and the complex multimedia productions, photography became the most respected and collectable art of the era. In the 1980s nostalgia for classical art created a demand for the works of Wyeth, Picasso, and Pollock. Classical art became a commodity and began selling for record prices. Corporate funding for the arts skyrocketed and many corporations exhibited modern art in their lobbies. While some artists bemoaned the new commercialism, others responded to the money. This development led some art critics to predict that art in the 21st century will become more decorative.

### Architecture

American architecture since 1970 is marked by two design approaches. The first is international modernism, which rejects historic styles and ornament and emphasizes pure utilitarian functionalism. The massive skyscrapers built during the late 1960s and the early 1970s, buildings like the John Hancock Center and the Sears Tower in Chicago and the World Trade Center in New York (destroyed in a terrorist attack in 2001) exemplify international modernism.

The next, and more popular style is referred to as postmodernism. Postmodern architecture ranges widely, from designs resembling international modernism to those based on ancient or Renaissance models. In response to the sterility of international modernism, postmodern architecture embraces decoration, combining curves and lines to create visually interesting buildings. Some postmodern architects apply postmodern ideas to the international style. In contrast to those embracing the grand scale of skyscrapers and airline terminals are those architects who employ postmodern variations on historical forms and details. An example of this is Charles Moore's Piazza d'Italia in New Orleans. Moore employed classical forms but used modern materials, constructing the Ionic capitals of the columns out of stainless steel. This mix of material and design is referred to as ironic postmodernism. Other variations of postmodern architecture include latent classicism and archaeological classicism. In latent classicism the classical elements are present, but not obvious. In archaeological classicism, the building is drawn directly from classical models, sometimes as a copy. By the 1990s the dominant variant of postmodernism was creative postmodernism. This variant adapted traditional details into modern buildings without the bizarre additions of ironic postmodernism.

One of the results of postmodern architecture is an increased emphasis on comfort and decoration. The old modernism had concentrated on showcase buildings for the wealthy, and functional office towers, which were bland and sterile structures surrounded by concrete. Postmodern





The Sears Tower in Chicago (Boyle/Getty Images)

designs, based on aesthetics and community, offer a connected, “natural” environment for people.

The 1990s also saw other schools of architecture, in deconstructionism, most notably Frank Gehry’s buildings, and new modernism with its nonlinear, curved building forms. By the turn of the century, postmodernism was on the wane, being replaced by new schools of architectural thought.

In particular, the theme of environmental sustainability has started to enter into the architectural mainstream. Part of this movement involves using recycled materials for building, which helps the environment by shunning raw materials that may be in short supply—like certain species of trees for wood—or may be derived from fossil fuels—like asphalt from oil. Other innovations include reducing energy consumption by designing buildings that consume much less energy to heat and cool or that use energy from renewable sources, like the sun or wind. This conservationist approach to building is part of the larger environmental movement going on in a 21st-century world that is concerned with global warming, pollution, and energy

consumption. In 2006 President GEORGE W. BUSH’s Solar America Initiative provided federal funding to accelerate the development of solar cell technology, with the goal of building American homes that produce more energy than they consume by the year 2015.

See also CENSORSHIP; MORALITY; MOVIES; MUSIC; POPULAR CULTURE.

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—John Korasick

## Asian Americans

Asian Americans have been characterized as a “successful” minority. Their educational achievements and economic success compare favorably with, or exceed, the national averages. Yet while “Asian American” is a convenient label, it includes many groups from diverse national and cultural backgrounds, making broad generalizations misleading.

People of Asian heritage have been present in the United States in large numbers since the 19th century. This original group included people from China, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines. These original immigrants settled and established a support system for future immigrants from their individual homelands, laying the foundation for future success.

In the 1960s about 7 percent of all immigrants were from Asia, equivalent to about 20,000 people per year. By the mid-1980s, these figures increased to 44 percent and about 264,000 per year, with many of these new immigrants being refugees from Southeast Asia—Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Much of this increase was due to change in immigration law, established by the Immigration Act of 1965.

The Immigration Act was the first real reform in immigration policy since the National Origins Act of 1921. The Immigration Act abolished quotas that favored immigrants from northwest Europe by allotting 20,000 slots annually for each nation. Family reunification and emphasis on occupational skills became the primary criteria for incoming persons. Spouses, immediate relatives, and minor children of U.S. citizens were exempted from the numerical limitations placed on each nation. The system was gradually phased in between 1966 and 1968. In 1969 immigrant visas were distributed, for the first time, without any national preference.

All Asian-American groups experienced tremendous growth following the adoption of the Immigration Act. As of the 1990 census the five leading Asian-American populations came from China, the Philippines, Japan, India, and Korea. All of these groups, except the Filipino Americans



and Japanese Americans, witnessed their populations more than double between 1980 and 1990. The Indian-American and Korean-American populations each grew by 125 percent during the 1980s and the Chinese-American population increased by 104 percent. The fastest-growing Asian-American group was the Vietnamese, who increased their numbers by nearly 135 percent between 1980 and 1990.

Among those who benefited most under the liberalized immigration statutes were Southeast Asians, with most arriving in the United States since 1965, and especially since the fall of Saigon in 1975. These people arrived in two waves. First came educated individuals from Vietnam. The second wave consisted of Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians, all of whom tended to be poorly educated. This influx of people from Southeast Asia was a direct result of the VIETNAM WAR. The flight of refugees from the region, following the American withdrawal, inspired the Indo-China Refugee Act of 1975, which allowed 200,000 Vietnamese and others from the region to enter the United States exempt from the normal procedures and limitations. In 1978 Congress acted to allow the entrance of 85,000 Vietnamese refugees. The Refugee Act of 1980 again reduced restrictions on Southeast Asians, allowing 95,000 people entrance in 1980, 86,000 in 1981, and an additional 66,000 between 1983 and 1991.

According to the Bureau of the Census, the Asian-American population grew from 1.5 million in 1970 to 8.8 million in 1994, accounting for about 3 percent of the total population. Growing at a rate of 4.5 percent a year, immigration accounts for 86 percent of the increase. In terms of geographic location, 60 percent of Asian Americans lived in the western United States. Sixty-six percent lived in the states of California, New York, Hawaii, Texas, and Illinois.

As of 1994 nine of 10 Asian-American men and eight of 10 Asian-American women had at least a high school diploma. Forty-six percent of men and 37 percent of women had a bachelor's degree, as compared with 28 percent of Caucasian men and 21 percent of Caucasian women.

The 1994 median income for college-educated Asian and Pacific Islander Americans age 25 and older was \$41,220 for men and \$31,780 for women as compared to \$47,180 for Caucasian men and \$32,920 for Caucasian women, a difference described as statistically insignificant. Dual-income families were about 60 percent for both Asians and Caucasians. The poverty rate, in 1993, was 14 percent for Asians compared with 8 percent for Caucasians, a result many attributed to the more recent arrivals of Asian immigrants, including the Hmong, Cambodians, and Laotians, who entered the country with less education and support on arrival.

In 1994 the average family size was 3.6 for Asian Americans and 3.1 for Caucasians. Seventy-three percent of Asian-American households had three or more peo-

ple, compared with 55 percent of Caucasian households. Twenty-two percent of Asian-American households had five or more members, compared to 12 percent of Caucasian households.

The median age in 1990 for Asian Americans was 30 years, compared with a national average of 33 years of age. Only 6 percent of Asian Americans were aged 65 or older, as compared to 13 percent nationally.

In 1990, 67 percent of Asian Americans of working age were in the labor force as compared with 65 percent nationally. Sixty percent of Asian women were working as compared with 58 percent for the rest of the population. In fields of occupation 33.3 percent of Asians worked in technology, sales, or administrative jobs, compared with 33 percent for the rest of the country. Thirty-one percent worked in managerial or professional occupations as compared with 26 percent for the rest of the United States.

The 2000 census shows that of the total population of the United States—281.4 million—11.9 million, or 4.2 percent, reported themselves as Asian. This number included 10.2 million people, or 3.6 percent, who reported only Asian and 1.7 million people, or 0.6 percent, who reported Asian as well as one or more other races. The census used the term “Asia” to encompass people whose origins are from the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent, including Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam.

Regionally 48.8 percent live in the West; 18.8 percent in the South; 11.7 percent in the Midwest; and 20.7 percent live in the Northeast. Of these, 51 percent live in three states: California (4.2 million), New York (1.2 million), and Hawaii (0.7 million). In California, the largest concentration of Asians is in the San Francisco Bay Area, and the second largest concentration is in Los Angeles.

Other statistics collected in the 2000 census are also revealing. Of the Asian-American population, the largest group is Chinese (non-Taiwanese) at 2.3 million, followed by Filipinos at 1.8 million, and east Indians at 1.6 million. Census records also show that 39 percent of Asian Americans are employed in managerial positions, 86 percent have a high school education, and 53 percent own their own homes.

In addition, the March 2000 Current Population Survey (CPS), not to be confused with the Census 2000 results, revealed that 44 percent of Asians and Pacific Islanders age 25 and over had a bachelor's degree or higher. Asian and Pacific Islander families tend to be relatively large. For example, 23 percent of Asian and Pacific Islander married-couple families had five or more members. There were 2.5 million Asian and Pacific Islander families, of which 13 percent were maintained by women with no spouse present and 7 percent by men with no spouse present. In 1999

Asians and Pacific Islanders had a record-low poverty rate of 10.7 percent.

See also IMMIGRATION REFORM AND CONTROL ACT.

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—John Korasick

### assassinations

Political assassinations in the United States are rare. Yet during the 1960s, the nation experienced a rash of assassinations: Medgar Evers, 1963; President John F. Kennedy, 1963; and Malcolm X, 1965. Then, on April 4, 1968, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., was shot to death while standing on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennes-

see. Authorities quickly apprehended James Earl Ray, who confessed to the murder, and sentenced him to 99 years. Many suspected that Ray acted as part of a larger conspiracy of southern racists, but no accomplices were ever identified. Ray later recanted his confession, but his appeal for a new trial was rejected. Just two months after King's murder, Senator Robert Kennedy was fatally shot on the night of his victory in the California Democratic primary. The shooter, Sirhan Sirhan, was apprehended at the scene and later convicted of first-degree murder.

Later, Congress took up the question of assassination. At first, congressmen investigated whether the United States was involved in assassination attempts outside the American border. In 1975 a Senate committee led by Senator Frank Church published their discovery that American intelligence operatives under President Kennedy's administration were involved in plans to assassinate the Cuban dictator, Fidel Castro. The report caused some to question Castro's involvement in Kennedy's assassination. The following year, Congress reopened investigations into President Kennedy's and King's assassinations. After two years



Surrounded by police officers and secret service agents, President Ronald W. Reagan waves to spectators outside the Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C., seconds before an assassination attempt. (Hulton/Archive)

of study, the committee refuted reports of Cuban involvement in Kennedy's assassination but suggested a conspiracy of at least one other shooter involved with his death. The committee arrived at similar conclusions for the King assassination.

Two assassination attempts were made on Gerald Ford when he was president of the United States, but both failed. One attempt was made by a mentally ill woman and another by a cult member of the Charles Manson "family" (a counterculture group that had committed a series of brutal murders in Southern California), but both attempts failed.

In 1980 Mark David Chapman killed the former leader of the Beatles music group, John Lennon, outside his New York apartment. A year later, evidently inspired by the Chapman killing and the movie *Taxi Driver* and one of its stars, Jodie Foster, John W. Hinckley shot President RONALD W. REAGAN in the chest on March 30, 1981. The president survived the assassination attempt, but a District of Columbia police officer, a Secret Service agent, and Reagan's press secretary, James S. Brady, were also wounded. Hinckley was later found not guilty by reason of insanity and committed to a mental hospital. In the 1990s, the entertainment industry capitalized on America's conspiracy fascination with sensational accounts, such as Oliver Stone's *JFK*, and the television series *The X-Files*; each alleged elaborate criminal conspiracies with possible government involvement. These claims had no factual support; nevertheless, they became a common theme in popular entertainment. The public atmosphere of the late 1990s became so sympathetic to allegations of government conspiracy that Coretta Scott King, Martin Luther King's widow, and other family members supported James Earl Ray's appeal efforts, based on their conviction that a much larger conspiracy was responsible for King's death. Ray died in prison with no successful appeals.

—Aharon W. Zorea

## automobile industry

In the last four decades of the 20th century, the three major auto manufacturers in the United States have faced challenges to their domination of the market. Environmental and safety concerns, the instability of the world economy, and increased foreign competition forced the manufacturers to make radical structural changes while attempting to meet increasing demands from consumers in a competitive market.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, U.S. auto manufacturers, in particular General Motors, were still reeling from Ralph Nader's exposé of the auto industry in his book *Unsafe at Any Speed* (1965; rev. ed. 1972), which exposed the design deficiencies of the Chevrolet Corvair. The man-

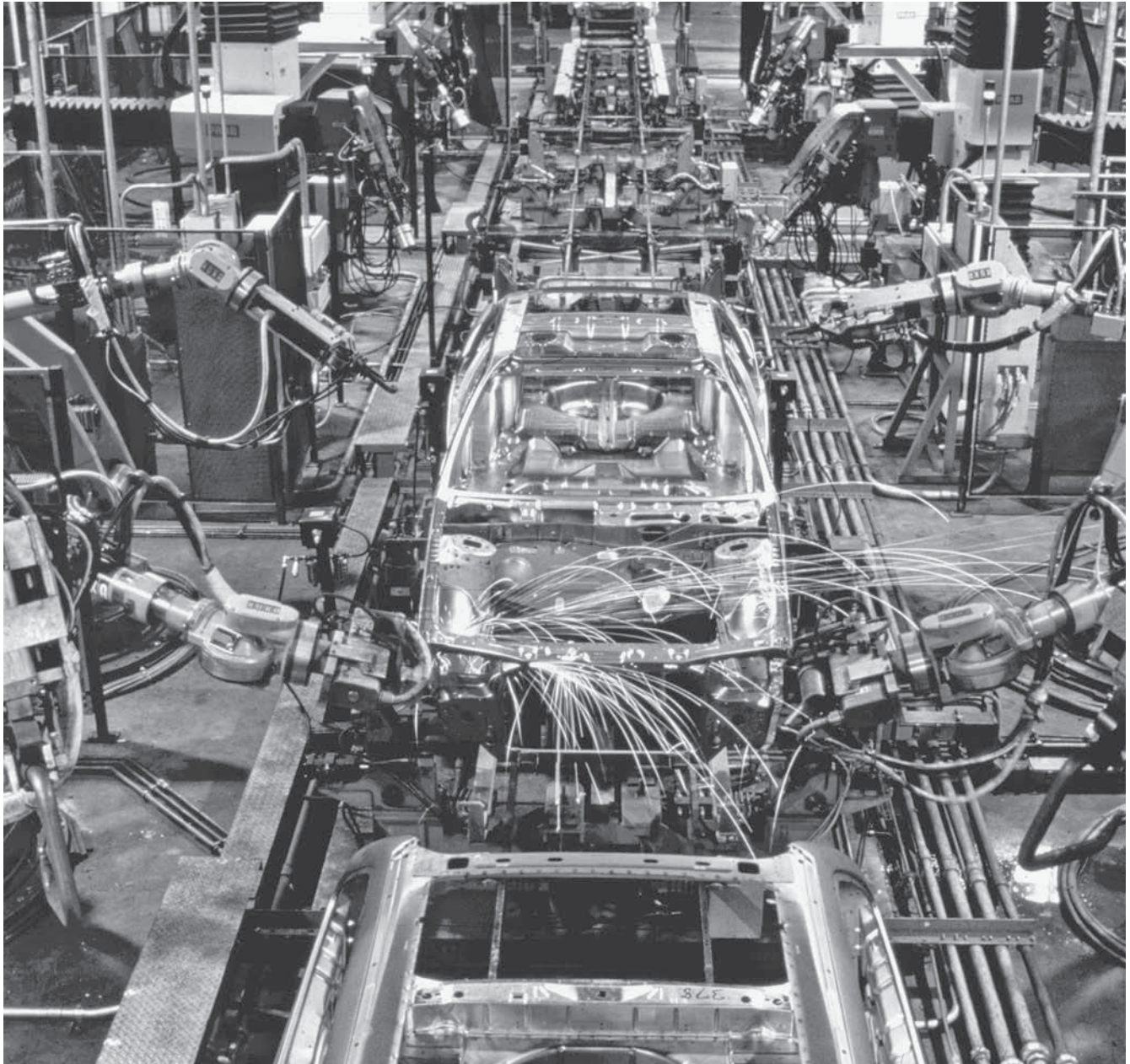
ufacturers were accused of abusing their corporate power and knowingly producing defective cars. While the manufacturers responded by introducing safety features they were also faced with growing competition from abroad. Volkswagen, Toyota, and Nissan all began to increase sales in the United States during the 1970s. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) embargoes on oil in 1973 and 1979, and the economic recessions of the 1970s led to the increased popularity of cheaper and more fuel-efficient imports. In 1970 the U.S. government introduced the National Air Quality Control Act (better known as the Clean Air Act), which required auto manufacturers to reduce auto pollutants; the government also set new standards for fuel economy, placing extra demands on the U.S. auto manufacturers. Japanese manufacturers were able to capitalize on the problems in the U.S. market and increase their market share, so that by the end of the 1970s, Japanese imports accounted for almost 25 percent of market sales.

Japanese manufacturers also benefited from a more efficient and modern manufacturing infrastructure. U.S. manufacturers responded by adopting many of these methods, known as "lean production," and began to introduce smaller cars. These changes, which included increased quality control, the development of automated production techniques, and the introduction of just-in-time ordering, helped the U.S. manufacturers slowly recover. However, the cost of reorganization resulted in extreme financial difficulties for the manufacturers. Chrysler in particular was on the verge of bankruptcy, and increased layoffs, employee reorganization, and the exportation of manufacturing work overseas in the 1970s brought the manufacturers into conflict with the United Auto Workers Union.

Increased global competition and emerging new markets since the 1980s had profound effects on the national character of auto manufacturers. Japanese and German manufacturers established plants in the United States, and in the 1990s U.S. manufacturers established joint ventures or invested in overseas companies. Chrysler and Daimler-Benz merged in 1998 while maintaining separate brands, and Ford bought Volvo in 1999. General Motors has arrangements with manufacturers in Japan and Fiat in Italy. By the late 1990s the national origin of any car became increasingly difficult to ascertain.

Since the 1970s, energy and environmental concerns have increased, and forced manufacturers to develop more fuel-efficient and environmentally friendly vehicles. In 1993 a joint initiative between the U.S. government and auto manufacturers established the Partnership for a New Generation of Vehicles (PNGV) which aims at producing more ecologically efficient vehicles using new forms of fuel technology such as electricity or natural gas.





Computer technology has led to great changes in industrial design and manufacturing. Here, robots operate on an assembly line at a Ford Motor Company plant in Michigan. *(Hulton/Archive)*

Auto manufacturers have also had to respond to growing consumer demand for increased comfort and safety. Since the 1980s, a growing economy and increased global competition has seen the rise in the popularity of four-wheel drive (4WD) and luxury vehicles. The biggest demand has been for sport utility vehicles (SUVs) that combine the off-road and safety features of the Jeep with the passenger comforts of luxury cars. In 1996 sales of light trucks and

vans (LTVs), which includes SUVs, represented 44 percent of new vehicle sales in the United States.

The difficulty for auto manufacturers of balancing consumer demand with environmental concerns became pronounced in 2000 when the president of Ford Motor Company, William Clay Ford, publicly acknowledged the inefficiency of Ford's SUVs and the threat they pose to the environment. In the same year, Ford was also forced



to recall a large number of its fleet due to defective tires made by the Firestone Company in a blaze of publicity reminiscent of the Corvair controversy in the late 1960s. The U.S. auto industry was almost dealt a death blow by the economic meltdown of 2008. Detroit's big three automakers all saw their sales drop (as did their foreign competitors to a lesser extent) by as much as 40 percent over the previous year when consumers shied away from buying automobiles during the uncertain economy. Facing the prospect of bankruptcy, General Motors, Chrysler, and Ford took dramatic action by closing several of their manufacturing plants, slashing production, and going to Washington, D.C., to ask lawmakers for a bailout. In December 2008 Congress ultimately refused to give the automakers any money, but President GEORGE W. BUSH took executive action by allowing the automakers to receive a share in the Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP), the \$700 billion bailout fund for troubled financial institutions. Critics argued that the automakers had only themselves to blame for their predicament, citing poor planning and lack

of innovation on the part of management, and that reorganization under bankruptcy may be the only way to get Detroit automakers healthy again. However, others have argued, including President Bush, that no one is going to buy a car from a company that is in bankruptcy, and that to let the U.S. automobile industry fail would put millions of people out of work. In 2009, GM and Chrysler filed for bankruptcy, and the federal government assumed part ownership of the corporation.

See also BUSINESS; CHRYSLER CORPORATION LOAN GUARANTEE ACT; CONSERVATION MOVEMENT; ECONOMY; ENERGY CRISIS; ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT; LABOR.

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—Stephen Hardman





### **baby boomers**

The baby boom generation, considered to be those Americans born between 1945 and 1965, has had considerable social, political, and economic impact during the last half of the 20th century. In 1995 people in this age group (aged 30–50) constituted approximately 33 percent of the United States population. Being such a large proportion of the population ensures their demographic importance well into the 21st century.

The sudden post–World War II population boom altered family and work patterns. In 1995, 77 percent of baby boom women were in the workforce and earned more than 70 percent of what baby boom men earned. Both of these rates are part of an upward trend that shows no signs of reversing. The increasing rate of women’s participation in the workforce and their increasing salaries have created more wealth for families and individuals in the expanding middle-income group in the United States, a group largely responsible for stimulating the suburbanization of U.S. cities during the 1970s and 1980s. Approximately 25 percent of the 44.5-million baby boom householders in 1995 earned \$70,000 or more. In 1997, 53 percent of people aged 30–34 owned homes while 74 percent of those aged 45–49 owned homes. Because of this increase in wealth and the concomitant stimulus to consumer activity, baby boomers played a significant role in generating the economic boom of the 1990s. Conversely, some have theorized that the plunge in consumer spending during the recession of 2008–09 was in part attributable to the fact that baby boomers are now starting to retire and have passed their peak spending years.

The baby boomers affected the economy in less positive ways as well. For example, according to a 1997 Maritz AmeriPoll, middle-aged Americans are less likely to visit shopping malls than any other group and, when they do visit malls, they spend less time there. As a result mall sales growth per square foot did not keep even pace with inflation in the late 1990s. The baby boom generation also

adversely affected the labor market. The graduation of large numbers of baby boomers from college in the 1970s and 1980s depressed entry-level wages for people with college degrees. Moreover, as the large influx of boomer workers aged, the U.S. workforce grew older, with the proportion of workers under the age of 25 decreasing from 20.3 percent in 1980 to 14.3 in 1997. The women and boomers who flooded the job market during the 1970s had gained training and experience by the 1990s, however. As a result, the negative effect on entry-level jobs caused by the aging of the labor force reversed itself and college graduates’ starting salaries rose rapidly.

Not only have baby boomers altered the national economic landscape by generating more wealth, contributing to an increasingly vigorous consumerism, and altering the labor market, they have had a political impact as well. WILLIAM J. CLINTON’s political success has been attributed to baby boom voters. To many boomers, Clinton was one of their own. He was highly educated, experimented with marijuana, avoided the VIETNAM WAR, married a working woman, had one child, grappled with marital problems, and was always willing to renegotiate his commitments. Identification with the most influential segment of the population helped Clinton win election in 1992 and reelection in 1996.

The baby boom also redefined the significance of children in society—in how they were cared for and educated, and in their place in the economy. Dr. Benjamin Spock revolutionized the notion of childcare by responding to the increased number of children in the population. His child-rearing manual, *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* (1946) advocated a more nurturing and less rigid approach to child rearing, a notion that seemed at odds with the shifting cultural attitudes toward FAMILY LIFE, women’s role in the family, and the emphasis on self-fulfillment. Spock’s book sold more than 50 million copies by 1998. The increase in the number of children contributed heavily to the development of educational psychology

by increasing the demand for specialists to design and evaluate instructional materials, training programs, and tests. As the baby boomers aged during the 1960s and 1970s, college enrollment exploded and fueled the tremendous growth of colleges and universities. Not only did this make a college education more accessible, it also provided impetus and participants for college-centered social unrest during the 1960s and early 1970s. Finally, the simultaneous growth of the consumer economy and the increasing number of children, as well as the new significance of the child, made possible the founding and growth of retail establishments that specifically catered to the needs of children and infants, such as Toys “R” Us, founded in 1957.

Beyond the influence the boomers have had on American social, political, and economic development, they also represent significant challenges for the future. Similar to the way their numbers fueled the growth of universities in the 1960s and 1970s, their children (a second baby boom) are swelling the college and university student bodies in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. More important, as boomers age they will accentuate the overall aging of the U.S. population. Because of this, the political influence of this large middle-aged group has already brought to the political forefront issues surrounding health insurance, Social Security, Medicare, and retirement.

See also ANTIWAR MOVEMENT—VIETNAM; RECREATION; SPORTS; WOMEN’S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

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—William L. Glankler

**Bakke (*Regents of the University of California v. Allan Bakke*) (1978)**

This U.S. SUPREME COURT case, which limited racial preferences in admissions policies of state universities, represented the first major constitutional test of AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. The Court ruled that university admission policies could not use quotas to achieve racial balance, but could give special consideration to members of minority groups, with the goal of achieving ethnic variety in a student body.

Allan Bakke, a white engineer, applied to the University of California Medical School at Davis in 1972 as one of 2,664 applicants for 100 openings. Eighty-four openings were filled through the regular admissions process while 16 were filled through a special admissions program designed to address the school’s paucity of African-American, Asian, Latino, and Native American students. This affirmative action program, established in 1970, had less stringent grade point average and standardized test score requirements than did the regular admissions program

and the 16 positions could be filled only by members of the aforementioned minorities. After being rejected twice by the school and after discovering that his grades and test scores were higher than those of several applicants who had been admitted under the special program, Bakke sued the university under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Believing that he had been rejected only because he was white, Bakke claimed that being denied admission violated the act’s provision forbidding racial or ethnic privileges in programs supported by federal funds. Moreover, Bakke argued that the university’s practice of establishing specific positions for minorities denied him his Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection of the law.

The university argued that, although racial characteristics were irrelevant to state objectives, it was compelled to implement its special admissions program out of concern for the victims of past and continuing racial discrimination. The university also claimed that the program produced some very practical benefits. It enriched medical education by providing an ethnically and racially diverse student body, provided successful role models for minority youth, and provided for improved medical services in minority communities. Both the state trial court and the Supreme Court, however, ruled that the program’s racially exclusionary nature constituted a quota system that, without evidence of any prior discrimination on the part of the university, denied equal protection.

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the lower court’s decision, ruling (5-4) that public universities could not establish fixed racial quotas as part of their admissions policies and ordered that Bakke be admitted. The Court, however, also ruled that public universities could consider racial factors, such as the overall racial composition of an incoming class, when making admissions decisions as long as such decisions did not include the use of racial quotas, but the justices were split on their reasons and filed six separate opinions. One group of justices addressed the statutory issue rather than the constitutional issue and argued that Title VI’s prohibition against the exclusion of any individual on racial grounds from a federally funded program was sufficient grounds for their finding in Bakke’s favor. Another group argued that race-conscious remedies were proper only if necessary to redress past racially motivated injuries and achieve an important state purpose. Justice LEWIS POWELL cast the deciding vote based on the exclusionary nature of the school’s admissions program. Because Bakke had been completely excluded from competing for the school’s 16 special positions, his right to equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment had been denied. Powell found that there existed no past constitutional or legal violation for which racial quotas would be necessary. Powell did agree, however, that in a truly competitive pro-



cess, racial considerations could be utilized as a means for creating diversity in the student body.

Despite predictions, *Bakke* ultimately had little practical effect on public universities' admissions programs. *Bakke* did not provide a definitive answer on affirmative action. Moreover, it complicated the matter, heightening the tension between an individual's claim to equal protection and treatment by the state, and that state's responsibility to promote some measure of equality among its citizens. It settled only the narrower issue of racial quotas in admissions policies of state-supported institutions and left the question of affirmative action's appropriateness in other realms to later cases. The case, however, prefigured the political and legal battles that would surround affirmative action and racial preference in the 1980s and 1990s.

See also AFRICAN AMERICANS; BRENNAN, WILLIAM J.; BURGER, WARREN E.; CIVIL RIGHTS ACT; EDUCATION; GRIGGS ET AL. V. DUKE POWER COMPANY; REHNQUIST, WILLIAM H..

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—William Glankler

**Bennett, William J.** (1943– ) *conservative political thinker*

William J. Bennett emerged in the 1980s as a major intellectual figure in the conservative movement, serving as head of the National Endowment for the Humanities secretary of education in RONALD W. REAGAN's administration, and then drug czar in GEORGE H. W. BUSH's administration.

He was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1943. He earned an undergraduate degree in philosophy at Williams College in 1965, before completing a doctorate in political philosophy at the University of Texas in 1970. The following year, he earned a law degree from Harvard University. Bennett taught philosophy for 10 years at various universities and was recognized with 21 honorary degrees before he was 37.

In 1976 Bennett worked as director, president, and later as executive director of the National Humanities Center in North Carolina. A year after President Ronald W. Reagan took office, Bennett received an appointment to serve as chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. In 1985, at the start of Reagan's second term, Bennett was moved to the Department of Education, where he served as secretary for four years. During his tenure, Bennett empha-

sized strict standards, a core curriculum, and character education. He maintained direct contact with America's public schools by traveling around the country to personally teach in primary and secondary classrooms. Before he left the office, he had taught in 115 schools.

President George H. W. Bush declared war on illegal drugs shortly after taking office and named Bennett to be the nation's first drug czar, who directed the Office of National Drug Control Policy. Both Presidents Reagan and Bush emphasized a strong antidrug policy, and cocaine and other drug use declined by 70 percent between 1985 and 1991, although many critics saw this war on drugs as controversial and argued that more federal funding should go to drug rehabilitation programs. Bennett applied the same vigor he used as secretary of education to the war against drugs. He made more site visits, but this time to crack houses, hospitals, prisons, and therapeutic communities. Within a year, Bennett helped overthrow the heads of all four major international illegal drug trafficking organizations, including the Colombian Medellín and Cali cartels.

Bennett left government in 1990, but has remained a leader in conservative values and education. Following public office, he became a Distinguished Fellow at the Heritage Foundation and codirector of Empower America (with Rep. JACK F. KEMP [R-N.Y.], former U.S. Representative to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick, Rep. Vin Weber [R-Minn.], and Gov. Lamar Alexander). After leaving office, Bennett became a best-selling author with such books as *The Death of Outrage: Bill Clinton and the Assault on American Ideals*, *The Book of Virtues*, and *Our Sacred Honor*.

**Further reading:** Dan Baum, *Smoke and Mirrors: The War on Drugs and the Politics of Failure* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1996).

—Aharon W. Zorea

**Biden, Joseph** (1942– ) *U.S. senator, U.S. vice president*

Joseph Robinette Biden, Jr., was born in Scranton, Pennsylvania on November 20, 1942 to working-class parents. He graduated from the University of Delaware in 1965 and from Syracuse University law school in 1968, after which he practiced law.

In 1972, at the age of 29, he unseated an incumbent Republican senator J. Caleb Boggs of Delaware by just more than 3,000 votes. Shortly after that election, Biden's wife, Neilia, and then one-year-old daughter, Naomi, were killed in an automobile accident. Their two young sons were critically injured. In 1977 Biden remarried.

Biden was in the United States Senate for more than 35 years. He rose to chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in 2001 and previously served as chairman of the

## 42 Bilingual Education Act

Senate Judiciary Committee. Biden had himself unsuccessfully sought the Democratic presidential nomination in 1988 and 2008. In 2008 Democratic presidential nominee Senator BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA selected Biden to run as his vice president. During the presidential campaign Obama had been criticized by Republican opponent John McCain for his lack of executive experience—especially in the area of FOREIGN POLICY—and the selection of foreign policy veteran Biden was seen as an effort to blunt that attack. The Obama-Biden ticket won, and in January 2009 Biden was sworn in as vice president. He is the first Roman Catholic to be elected vice president.

**Further reading:** Joseph R. Biden, Jr., *Promises to Keep* (New York: Random House, 2008).

—Michael A. Genovese

### Bilingual Education Act (1968)

Also referred to as Title VII, the Bilingual Education Act mandated that schools provide bilingual education programs. The act was aligned with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as part of President Lyndon Johnson's "war on poverty." Based on the idea that the increasing number of linguistically and culturally diverse children attending U.S. schools were not receiving an education equal to that of native English speakers, bilingual education was intended to provide the basis for future economic success, eliminating poverty among immigrants.

Initially, the act did not recommend any specific program of instruction. Financial assistance was provided to local agencies to use on a number of approved activities, including bilingual education, history and cultural studies of target populations, early childhood education, and adult education for parents.

The rationale behind the act was upheld by the SUPREME COURT in *Lau v. Nichols* in 1974. The court ruled that schools must provide language skills to students in addition to facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curricula. There could be no equality of treatment if the students could not understand the material. Also in 1974, Congress reauthorized the act. This time it defined bilingual education as instruction in English with the student's native language used only to the extent necessary to allow the student to progress through the system. Thus the native language was only to be used to facilitate the acquisition of English, not as a source of cultural enrichment for the child. In addition, Congress included Native Americans under the act. Grants were established for teacher and instructional material development as well. Finally, Congress established the Office of Bilingual and Minority Language Affairs, which later became part of President JAMES EARL CARTER, JR.'s Department of Education in 1980.

Reauthorization of the act occurred in 1978, 1984, 1988, and 1994. In 1978 the act was redefined to mean its purpose was to allow children to achieve competence in English. In 1984 the reauthorization mandated bilingual education as a transition to the use of English alone. In 1988 Congress enacted legislation that restricted a student's enrollment in a bilingual education program to a three-year limit. This regulation sought to ensure that bilingual students would be mainstreamed into English-speaking classes.

Bilingual education has become a major political issue. Proponents argue that students need to learn to read in their native language in order to successfully learn English. Opponents argue that students in bilingual programs master neither language and the result is poor performance and a high dropout rate. The core of the debate is whether the United States is the proverbial "melting pot" or a multicultural nation with not one but many equally valuable cultures. This debate has resulted in the passage of referendums in California and Arizona promoting "English-only" education. Other states with large immigrant populations such as New York and Texas have resisted similar efforts. While governor of Texas, GEORGE W. BUSH indicated that he favored the continuation of bilingual education as long as it proved effective in the transition to English proficiency.

See also IMMIGRATION; MULTICULTURALISM; POVERTY.

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—John Korasick

### birth control

Any method of avoiding or postponing pregnancy is called birth control. The debate over the morality of preventing conception has existed since the early 19th century, but the debate became especially heated and divisive during the 1960s when birth control became a public policy issue. At the end of the 20th century the issue of birth control was complicated dramatically by the multiplying methods of birth control available to women and men.

The desire to control pregnancy is as ancient as some methods of birth control. In traditional societies, women understood that prolonged breast-feeding inhibited ovulation and, therefore, helped prevent conception. Withdrawal is also a traditional form of birth control in which the male withdraws from intercourse before ejaculation. Condoms, although not an ancient form of birth control, have been available to men for centuries. A female condom became available in the early 1990s. Natural family planning is based on the female monthly menstrual cycle and

is often referred to as the rhythm method. The calendar method was developed in 1930; the ovulation method and the sympto-thermal method were developed later.

Mechanical, pharmaceutical, and surgical advances multiplied during the late 20th century and provided a wider array of birth control options. Mechanical devices include intrauterine devices (IUDs), the diaphragm, and the cervical cap, all used by women to prevent pregnancy in different ways. The most important pharmaceutical advance was the birth control pill, introduced in 1961. Others include injectable contraceptives (a synthetic hormone that is injected to suppress ovulation and create an environment in the uterus unfavorable to conception) and the drug RU-486, or “the morning-after pill” (a pill that may be taken soon after unprotected intercourse to prevent pregnancy). The Norplant device marries mechanical and pharmaceutical options. Introduced in 1990, it consists of several tiny rubber tubes implanted under the skin of a woman’s arm where they slowly release the hormone progesterin and prevent pregnancy for five years. Surgical options include sterilization and abortion. The male vasectomy and the female tubal ligation are virtually permanent forms of birth control that render the male sterile and the female infertile. ABORTION is the removal of a developing embryo or fetus from the uterus.

Along with the proliferation of birth control options, the latter half of the 20th century experienced a shift in attitudes toward birth control and an intensification of the debate over it. The 1960s witnessed a multitude of changes that impacted the nature of the birth control debate and made birth control and its various methods a central cultural and political issue. The SEXUAL REVOLUTION, driven by an increasingly pervasive ethic of pleasure, removed the connection between sexual activity and reproduction. Concerns about overpopulation and poverty, dating back to the 1950s and voiced by such persons as John D. Rockefeller III, raised serious questions about the efficacy of uncontrolled pregnancy. At the same time, groups such as Planned Parenthood of America voiced concerns about reproductive rights for women, a concern echoing women such as Margaret Sanger earlier in the century. The Civil Rights movement and the women’s movement highlighted the rights aspect of the birth control issue. The introduction of the birth control pill in 1961—which, when used properly, is nearly 100 percent effective—made it quite simple for women to control pregnancy. Finally, the U.S. SUPREME COURT removed the last legal barrier to the availability of contraceptive devices when it struck down Connecticut’s law banning the distribution of contraceptives in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965).

Most important, during the 1960s the federal government began to take a more active role in the birth control movement. President Lyndon Johnson placed family

planning second in importance only to the pursuit of peace in his 1967 State of the Union Address. That same year legislation was enacted that cemented family planning’s place in public policy. The Foreign Assistance Act allowed \$35 million for family-planning programs. With the Social Security amendments of 1967, 6 percent of the funds allotted for the Child Health Act were set aside for family-planning services. By 1968 the Office of Economic Opportunity funded over 120 family-planning clinics, and by 1969 the federal government had appropriated nearly \$50 million for family planning and contraceptive services.

The federal government’s involvement in family planning and birth control continued apace during the early 1970s and the administration of RICHARD M. NIXON. In 1970 Congress enacted the Family Planning Service and Population Research Act that established separate funds for birth control services. By 1973 Congress had authorized \$382 million for family-planning, research, and educational services.

The character of the debate over birth control changed in 1973 with the Supreme Court’s decision in *ROE V. WADE*. In this decision, the Court recognized a woman’s right to have an abortion in the first trimester of pregnancy and allowed for special circumstances, such as protecting women’s health, during the second trimester. The Court rested its decision on a woman’s right to privacy and, consequently, the case transformed what was essentially a legal and moral problem into an irreconcilable argument over rights—the right of women for abortion versus the right of the fetus for life. The acrimony over this issue extended to the grassroots level and polarized the American public, resulting in more than just legislative battles. PRO-LIFE AND PRO-CHOICE groups marched and rallied, family-planning centers were picketed and firebombed, physicians who performed abortions were harassed, and some were assassinated.

The controversy, however, was not only about abortion, but also about birth control in general and the federal government’s funding of it. For example, the Black Panthers and other African-American nationalist groups declared that federally funded birth control and family-planning services were nothing more than government-run programs designed to slowly exterminate the black race. Roman Catholics also figured prominently in the debate. In 1968, Pope Paul VI issued the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, which reaffirmed the church’s opposition to artificial contraception, and advocated “responsible parenthood” in which married couples controlled pregnancy through the use of natural family planning, or the rhythm method. Although many American Catholics balked at this encyclical and the church became more liberal during the 1980s and 1990s, the Roman Catholic Church still officially promotes only natural family-planning methods. While American religious

attitudes softened considerably toward the use of artificial contraception during the last three decades of the 20th century, the religious and moral foundation for the opponents of abortion remained solid.

The moral arguments rested on the belief that all human life is sacred and that a human fetus, from the moment of conception, was life and was a “person.” These beliefs manifested themselves in 1981 in the Human Life Amendment, introduced by Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) and another amendment supported by Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.). The amendment would have established that from the moment of fertilization, the fertilized egg is a “person” under the constitution and is entitled to all of the rights and privileges afforded each living individual. Moreover, it would have overruled *Roe v. Wade* and would have held doctors, husbands, social workers, and health professionals liable for violation of the amendment. A fallback bill was introduced by Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Oreg.) that proposed eliminating federal funding for abortion, and allowing the right to choose an abortion to vary from state to state. These proposed pieces of legislation reflected the divisive and highly partisan nature of the debate over abortion and, implicitly, over birth control in general that continue into the 21st century.

As the 20th century came to a close, the arguments for and against birth control remained essentially the same. Those opposed generally argued from the standpoint that contraception interfered with God’s laws and infringed on the rights fundamentally inherent in human life. Those in favor of contraception offered more secular and less philosophical arguments. They argued that limiting family size, delaying family commitments, or not having children at all might be necessary for a better life. In addition, proponents of artificial contraception argue vigorously for the fundamental right of a woman to control her own body, and the constitutional right to privacy. Moreover, they argued that birth control is essential in addressing issues of maternal age and health, genetic disorders, and overpopulation. Although the fundamental arguments show little change, the position of birth control as a cultural issue has changed radically during the 20th century. Social, political, and technological changes during the latter half of the 20th century made birth control so prominent that the issue became the flash point of what sociologist James Hunter called a “culture war.” Finally, the fact that birth control had become so firmly entrenched in the arena of public policy ensured that the culture war would continue well into the 21st century.

See also BIRTHRATES; FAMILY LIFE; FEMINISM; MARRIAGE; MORAL MAJORITY; NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN; RELIGION; *WEBSTER V. REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICES*; WOMEN’S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

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—William L. Glankler

## birthrates

From a record low of 14.0 in 1975, the U.S. birthrate (measured in number of live births per 1,000 women between the ages of 15 and 44) showed a marked increase through 1990 when it reached a high of 16.7. Since 1990, the birthrate experienced a significant decline, falling to 15.2 in 1994, 14.4 in 1998, and down to 14.2 in 2008. At the end of the 20th century, the U.S. birthrate accounted for only 64 percent of the country’s population growth. Fluctuations in birthrates are generally attributed to the age cohort known as the BABY BOOMERS (those born between 1945 and 1964), the legalization of ABORTION, the wider acceptance of various forms of BIRTH CONTROL, and the changing status of women in American society since the late 1960s.

The relative decline in the birthrate over the last three decades of the 20th century was largely a result of the aging of the baby boomers. By 1990 most “boomer” women had passed beyond their childbearing years. The spike in the birthrate between 1985 and 1990, when it increased from 15.7 to 16.7, likely reflected the wish of many “boomer” women to have children later in life in order to pursue careers. This, along with the desire to have fewer children, clearly affected the overall trend in the birthrate between 1970 and 2008 and reflected the changing status of women in American society. The existence of a greater emphasis on women’s rights, along with a larger population of women produced by the baby boom, was largely responsible for the increase in the birthrate for unmarried women from 29.4 in 1980 to 47.5 in 2005. The impact of the baby boom generation on the declining birthrate is more fully understood when considering that there are an estimated 37 million foreign-born people in the United States as of 2006, and foreign-born women statistically, on average, have more children than native-born women.

The legalization of abortion in 1973 and the increased acceptance and introduction of new forms of birth control have greatly influenced the drop in the birthrate for women between the ages of 15 and 19. Overall, the teenage birthrate dropped from 62.1 in 1991 to 52.3 in 1997 and to 42.9 in 2002. The decline for younger teens, 15 to 17 years of age, fell even more substantially, dropping to 23.2, a decline of 38 percent since 1990, compared to a drop of 18 percent for teens 18–19 in that same period. The birthrates for AFRICAN AMERICANS (66.2, down from 90.8 in



1997) and HISPANIC AMERICANS (82.9, down from 97.4 in 1997) in 2002 also showed significant declines. However, the number of births to unmarried women continued to rise. In 2005 the birthrate for unmarried women aged 15–44 years was 47.5 per 1,000, and constituted 36.9 percent of all births in the United States, reflecting the growing number of unmarried mothers in the population. Access to prenatal care continued to increase. In 2002, 83.8 percent of women began receiving prenatal care in the first trimester of pregnancy, up from 83.4 percent in 2001 and 75.8 percent in 1990.

Moreover, the death rate is also declining—a process that, coupled with the declining birthrate, is aging the U.S. population. At the end of the 20th century, demographic forces presented new political and social challenges for the nation.

See also AGE DISCRIMINATION ACT OF 1975; FAMILY LIFE; FEMINISM; IMMIGRATION; POPULATION TRENDS; PRO-LIFE AND PRO-CHOICE MOVEMENTS; SEXUAL REVOLUTION; WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

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—William L. Glankler and Stephen E. Randoll

### Boland Amendment

Passed by Congress on October 11, 1983, the amendment prohibited the Defense Department, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), or any other government agency from providing funds or military aid to the CONTRAS for the purpose of overthrowing the Nicaraguan government. The amendment was sponsored by Democratic representative Edward Boland of Massachusetts, but strongly opposed by RONALD W. REAGAN's administration. Representative Boland wrote the amendment in reaction to the April 1983 news story that the CIA had aided in the planning and execution of contra attacks on oil sites in several Nicaraguan locations. Attached to the 1983 fiscal year Defense Appropriations Bill, the amendment was renewed each year through fiscal year 1986. President Reagan sought to circumvent the amendment by using the National Security Council (NSC) to supervise covert military aid to the contras. Overseen by National Security Advisors Robert McFarlane and John Poindexter and directed by U.S. Marine Lt. Col. OLIVER L. NORTH, the operation was successful in raising private and foreign funds for the fighting, but it did not remain secret because the details were made public through the IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR hearings, a congressional investigation into this operation.

See also DEFENSE POLICY; FOREIGN POLICY.

—Leah Blakey

### Bork, Robert (1927– ) Supreme Court nominee

Robert Bork is a conservative legal scholar and is best known for RONALD W. REAGAN's failed attempt to appoint him to the SUPREME COURT. In light of attacks upon his character and judicial philosophy, the Senate refused to confirm his appointment. Bork has gone on to write several books on issues of interest to conservatives, including judicial activism and the failure of LIBERALISM.

Bork was born in 1927 in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. He earned his bachelor's and law degrees from the University of Chicago. In 1954, after a brief stint in the Marine Corps, he went into private practice. In 1962 he began teaching at Yale Law School, where he was influenced by the law and economics movement associated with both Yale and his alma mater, the University of Chicago. He later published a book on law and economics, *The Antitrust Paradox: A Policy at War with Itself*, which argued that the Supreme Court's readings of antitrust laws were irrational and did not benefit consumers.

In 1972 Bork began serving as solicitor general under RICHARD M. NIXON. He also served as acting attorney general from 1973 to 1974, after Nixon fired both the attorney general and the deputy attorney general because they refused to fire ARCHIBALD COX, the Watergate special prosecutor. Bork determined that Nixon did have the power to fire Cox and carried out Nixon's order. He then returned to his position as solicitor general.

Upon completing his tenure as solicitor general, Bork returned to teaching at Yale. By this time he had become a leading advocate of originalism, a school of constitutional interpretation that holds that judges should interpret the Constitution according to the intent of its authors. They argue that judges must be careful not to read new rights into the Constitution, a practice they call judicial activism. Bork accused the Warren and Burger Courts in particular of engaging in judicial activism and muddying the meaning of the Constitution. For example, he criticized the Court's decisions in *Griswold v. Connecticut* and *ROE v. WADE* because, he said, they relied on a right of privacy not found in the Constitution. In 1982 Bork became a federal appeals judge for the Washington, D.C., Circuit. He continued to employ an originalist interpretation of the Constitution throughout his tenure.

In 1987 Ronald Reagan nominated Bork to replace retiring Justice LEWIS POWELL on the Supreme Court. Bork's nomination set off a contentious fight over his confirmation. Justice Powell had been a swing vote on the Court, so the political views of his successor could have a profound impact on the outcome of close decisions. Supporters of abortion rights strongly opposed Bork's nomination. They feared he would overturn *Roe v. Wade* because he did not believe the Constitution contained a right to privacy. Civil rights groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union

(ACLU) feared that he would roll back the advances in civil rights made under the Warren and Burger Courts. These groups waged an intense publicity campaign against Bork's nomination. The Senate Judiciary Committee held five days of hearings on the nomination before voting 9 to 5 against confirming Bork. Despite the Judiciary Committee's vote, Bork did not withdraw. The full Senate voted against his confirmation by a vote of 58 to 42.

Bork resigned from the Federal Appeals Court shortly after his failed nomination. He became a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think tank. He also authored several books on the problems of modern liberalism and continued to write about the dangers of judicial activism. He is currently a professor at the Ave Maria School of Law in Ann Arbor, Michigan, a Distinguished Fellow at the Hudson Institute, and a Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the Hoover Institution.

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—Amy Wallhermfechtel

## Branch Davidians

The Branch Davidians are a religious sect with origins in the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. They are best known for their standoff with federal agents in Waco, Texas, in 1993 that resulted in the death of 86 of their members.

Formed in 1959 by Ben Roden, the Branch Davidian Seventh-Day Adventists believe that they are God's chosen people for the last days prior to the end of the world. Central to their theology is their belief in the coming of a messiah who will be able to explain the Seven Seals of Revelation, a series of prophecies contained in the Book of Revelation. Whoever can explain the Seven Seals will unlock the true meaning of the Bible. Many believed that David Koresh had that ability.

Ben Roden died in 1978 and left his wife, Lois, as president of the church. Vernon Howell joined the organization in 1981 and experienced his first vision from God in 1983, generating friction between himself and George Roden, Lois Roden's son. Howell eventually seized control of the group and, in 1990, changed his name to David Koresh:

"David" for the biblical King David of the Israelites, and "Koresh," Hebrew for Cyrus, the Persian king who freed the Israelites from Babylon.

The Branch Davidians came under suspicion, based on reports by previous Branch Davidian members, in late 1990 and early 1991 from California, Michigan, and Texas law enforcement agencies for possible weapons violations. In February 1993 the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) began its investigation of possible weapons violations as well as allegations of sexual and physical child abuse within the group's compound outside Waco, Texas. The ATF attempted to serve a warrant on David Koresh on February 28. A gun battle ensued in which six Branch Davidians and four ATF agents were killed. At this point the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), under the auspices of U.S. Attorney General JANET RENO, assumed control of the matter and initiated a 51-day siege of the Branch Davidian compound, during which several Branch Davidians left the compound.

At the outset, David Koresh agreed to surrender if the FBI broadcast one of his sermons live on March 2. The FBI complied, but Koresh reneged on his promise to surrender. Koresh offered another compromise on April 14, saying that he would exit the compound peacefully once he had completed his manuscript explaining the Seven Seals. Completing his explanation of the core of the Branch Davidian theology would have established him as the messiah in the eyes of his followers. Whether Koresh would have surrendered after completing this task will never be known.

On April 19 the FBI launched an assault on the compound. When the Branch Davidians resisted, the FBI used tear gas to subdue those inside the compound. Approximately six hours after the raid began, fires broke out inside the compound, and FBI agents reported hearing gunfire inside as well. The fire resulted in the death of 86 Branch Davidians, while nine escaped and were arrested. Of the nine, eight were convicted on charges ranging from voluntary manslaughter to weapons violations.

Following the tragic loss of life at Waco, criticism mounted against the FBI and the Justice Department, claiming that the agents involved, and Attorney General Janet Reno, were not justified in their use of force and that federal agents were responsible for the fire that destroyed the compound. In August 1999 a document surfaced indicating that the FBI had used incendiary tear gas in the assault, an allegation that the FBI had previously denied. In response to this new evidence, Janet Reno appointed former senator John C. Danforth to investigate the incident. On July 21, 2000, Danforth issued a report exonerating both the FBI and the Justice Department. The evidence in the report showed that the fires began inside the Waco compound and were likely started by the Branch Davidians. The Danforth report also concluded that fed-

eral agents did not initiate the conflict by firing their weapons at the complex, but only did so later, after those inside resisted, and that the actions undertaken by the FBI and approved by Janet Reno did not constitute an improper use of armed force.

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—William L. Glankler

**Brennan, William J., Jr.** (1906–1997) *associate justice of the Supreme Court*

William J. Brennan, Jr., served as an associate justice of the U.S. SUPREME COURT from 1956 to 1990 and is recognized as a leading practitioner of liberal judicial activism, as well as one of the most influential public officials of the post–World War II era. Brennan received his B.A. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1928 and an LL.B. from Harvard Law School in 1931. He served on the New Jersey Appellate Court, Superior Court, and Supreme Court between 1949 and 1956 and was the father of three children.

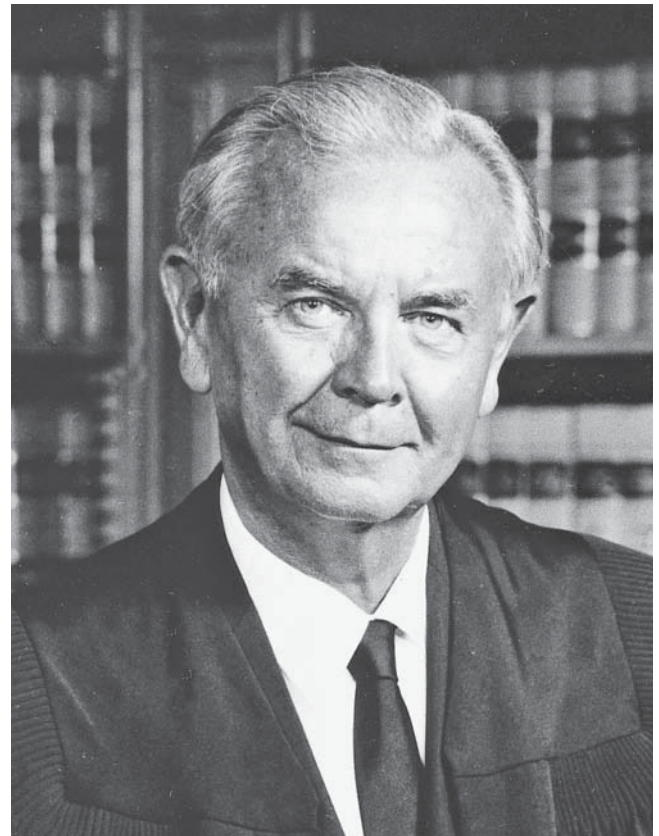
Brennan's outlook was shaped by two reformist mentors, including his father, William, Sr., a Democratic labor leader and municipal official in Newark, New Jersey; and New Jersey Supreme Court Justice Arthur Vanderbilt, a Republican and famed legal innovator. Brennan's father stressed to his son that justice must be secured for underprivileged people. Vanderbilt emphasized how important proper procedure and due process were to securing individual liberty. Brennan's legal thinking was influenced by Harvard University law professor Felix Frankfurter. Brennan applied the lessons he learned from these men in his efforts to ensure that the law satisfied the evolving "demands of human dignity."

When Justice Sherman Minton retired in 1956, a presidential election year, President Eisenhower sought a replacement who was both Roman Catholic and Democratic, to help him win votes with those two blocs. Attorney General Brownell, a friend of Arthur Vanderbilt, selected Vanderbilt's protégé, Brennan. Brennan joined the Court as a recess appointment, before receiving Senate confirmation in 1957.

Chief Justice Warren quickly made Brennan his closest friend and adviser on the Court. The two conferred weekly during Court terms to review cases and plot strategy to win majorities. Justice Brennan always asked his new law clerks what the most important principle of constitutional law was. He then gleefully answered his own question by holding up the five fingers of one hand and exclaiming:

"You can't do anything around here without five votes." Only Chief Justice John Marshall equaled Brennan at persuading a Supreme Court majority to vote his way. Brennan was a genius of persuasion and knew exactly how to win a colleague's agreement. He was the only justice who read all certiorari petitions to the Court. Brennan also boasted an encyclopedic memory of Supreme Court case law. Using these skills, Brennan led the Earl Warren, WARREN E. BURGER, and early WILLIAM REHNQUIST Courts to revolutionize the American public order in favor of his "jurisprudence of dignity."

Brennan venerated the Bill of Rights. He believe it applied directly to the states (known as incorporation). The First Amendment's freedom of expression was of particular importance to him. In *Roth v. United States* (1957), the Court redefined obscenity in a way that loosened state and local regulation of material once regarded as pornographic. The Court also amended libel law in *New York Times v. Sullivan* (1964), making it nearly impossible for public figures to win suits against the news media. *New York Times v. U.S.* (1971), the Pentagon Papers case, freed



Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. (Robert Oakes, *National Geographical Society, Collection of the Supreme Court of the United States*)



the media to pursue government secrets even of national security importance. In *Texas v. Johnson* (1989) and *UNITED STATES V. EICHMAN* (1990), the majority struck down state and federal statutes prohibiting burning of the American flag. Brennan also joined majorities in the Warren Court in decisions that banned public prayer in schools and mandated strict separation of church and state.

Earl Warren thought the most important case of his tenure was *Baker v. Carr* (1962), a Brennan opinion. This Tennessee case revolutionized American democracy by compelling state legislative reapportionment to eventually bring about an unprecedented “one person, one vote” distribution. When reapportioning, a state’s rural interests had often favored themselves at urban districts’ expense. Opinion polls showed popular support of the decision in favor of reapportionment, but some scholars thought this case usurped state self-government, and others noted that American republican self-government was historically hostile to proportional representation.

Brennan led another 5-4 vote in *Furman v. Georgia* (1972), striking down the death penalty for violating the Eighth Amendment’s prohibition of cruel and unusual punishment. Only Justice Marshall joined with Brennan’s argument against the death penalty after the Court reversed itself four years later in *Gregg v. Georgia* (1976). The Court succeeded in incorporating the Bill of Rights into state criminal procedure, but rising crime rates rendered these reforms unpopular with law enforcement officials and the public at large. These decisions directly assisted the defeat of Justice ABE FORTAS’s nomination to be chief justice in 1968, thus allowing President RICHARD M. NIXON to replace Earl Warren with Warren Burger in 1969.

Brennan also played an important role in changing racial and gender law. In *Cooper v. Aaron* (1958), he wrote a unanimous opinion justifying the Court’s power to order state governments to racially integrate schools. His opinion in *Green v. New Kent County* (1968) became the basis for all federally mandated school-busing programs. Brennan joined the majority in justifying AFFIRMATIVE ACTION racial quotas in *Gaston v. U.S.* (1969), *GRIGGS ET AL. V. DUKE POWER COMPANY* (1971), and the *BAKKE* (1978) case. *Cooper v. Boren* (1976), a 7-2 opinion written by Brennan, prepared the ground for gender quotas throughout American life by applying the equal protection clause to laws discriminating between the sexes. Brennan also openly endorsed the EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT.

Brennan aided the feminist movement by ruling for sexual liberation cases. He supported the implicit “right to privacy” in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) and relied on the “right to privacy” in *Eisenstadt v. Baird* (1972), a 6-1 opinion legalizing the distribution of contraceptives to unmarried people. This case set up *ROE V. WADE* (1973), which legalized ABORTION. *Roe* rewrote the abortion laws

in all 50 states. Brennan found himself a target of especially bitter criticism, since he was the only Roman Catholic on the Court and yet had nullified abortion and contraceptive laws upholding central tenets of his church’s teaching. To the nascent conservative movement, *Roe* became the symbol of an out-of-control, activist Supreme Court.

After President Ronald W. Reagan’s appointment of Justice William Rehnquist as chief justice, Brennan found all but his revolutionary reapportionment decisions whittled away or even overruled. But Brennan stubbornly voted his conscience. He lent support to the emerging gay liberation movement in his *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986) dissent. He continued to lobby Court members, especially his replacement, Justice DAVID SOUTER, after stepping down in 1990. He also continued to reap the adulation of law professors. Brennan remained a controversial figure even after death. His funeral mass in 1997 was marred by a large, loud protest of antiabortion activists.

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—Christopher M. Gray

### **Breyer, Stephen** (1938– ) *associate justice of the Supreme Court*

Stephen Breyer began his tenure as an associate justice of the U.S. SUPREME COURT in 1994. Breyer received a B.A. from Oxford University in 1961 and an LL.B. from Harvard Law School in 1964. He is a professor at Harvard Law School and served as judge on the Senate Judiciary Committee as well as on the U.S. Court of Appeals before serving on the Supreme Court. He is married to the former Joanna Hare and has three children.

President WILLIAM J. CLINTON appointed Breyer to fill the Court vacancy created by Justice Harry Blackmun’s retirement. Since he was an exceptionally well-qualified nominee, with moderate to liberal views on law, the Democratic Senate confirmed him easily.

Breyer offered few surprises as a Supreme Court justice. He exhibited the same attributes there that he had on the First Circuit. His opinions on economic cases displayed a mastery of regulatory problems, especially on antitrust matters. On free speech and moral issues, he tended to rule in liberal fashion, though some critics complained he did not value the First Amendment enough.



Breyer applied this analytical approach even to controversial cases like the *Stenberg v. Carhart* (2000) “partial-birth” abortion decision and the *Bush v. Gore* (2000) presidential ballot ruling.

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—Christopher M. Gray

**Buchanan, Patrick J.** (1938– ) *politician*

Pat Buchanan has been a senior adviser to three U.S. presidents and has three times sought the Republican nomination for the presidency. In 2000 he sought election as the presidential candidate for the REFORM PARTY and is perhaps best recognized for his outspoken brand of conservatism. Buchanan was born in Washington, D.C., attended Jesuit schools, and received his master’s degree in journalism from Columbia University in 1962. At the age of 23 he accepted a position with the *St. Louis Globe Democrat* and became the youngest editorial writer on a major newspaper in America. Between 1966 and 1974 he was an assistant to RICHARD M. NIXON and was the White House director of communications for RONALD W. REAGAN from 1985 to 1987. During his years in the White House, Buchanan wrote FOREIGN POLICY speeches and attended four summit meetings, including Richard M. Nixon’s historic trip to China in 1972.

After leaving the White House in 1974, Buchanan became a syndicated columnist and founding member of three TELEVISION talk shows: NBC’s *The McLaughlin Group* and CNN’s *Capital Gang* and *Crossfire*. Buchanan unsuccessfully challenged GEORGE H. W. BUSH for the Republican presidential nomination in 1992 and lost to Senator ROBERT DOLE in 1996. He left the Republican Party in 1999, running unsuccessfully as the Reform Party’s candidate for president of the United States in 2000. Throughout his career, Buchanan’s controversial comments on such contentious issues as IMMIGRATION and RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT have led many to accuse him of being a white supremacist and an anti-Semite. He remains, however, a highly influential spokesperson for many conservatives in contemporary American society.

—William L. Glankler

**Buckley, William F., Jr.** (1925–2008) *author and political commentator*

As founder, owner, and editor of *National Review* magazine, William Buckley is recognized as the intellectual

godfather of the post–World War II CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT. Born in 1925, Buckley received his B.A. from Yale University in 1950, founded the *National Review* in 1955, hosted the television show *Firing Line* from 1966 to 1999, and has written more than 40 books.

Buckley unified the quarreling factions of the American intellectual right into a coherent ideological movement by founding and editing *National Review* magazine. He also correctly identified RONALD W. REAGAN, a *National Review* subscriber, as the leader able to bring the conservative movement to political victory, 13 years before the 1980 elections.

Buckley’s family background fused the various cultural strands of the modern American conservative coalition. Both his Texan father, William F. Buckley, Sr., and Louisiana-born mother, Aloise, were traditionalist southern Roman Catholics who venerated God, family, and country while loathing all forms of secular social engineering, especially communism. His father also indoctrinated his children with a distrust of Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal, at home and abroad. Albert Jay Nock, a libertarian writer and friend of the elder Buckley, inspired young Bill with his notion of “the Remnant,” an elite of superior characters who would uphold moral and intellectual standards.

After army service, Buckley joined his brother James at Yale and began making “the Remnant” a reality. He befriended two dissenters from liberal orthodoxy: Yale political science professor Willmoore Kendall and classmate Brent Bozell. Bozell married Buckley’s sister Priscilla. Kendall recruited Buckley for the CIA. Both men later became founding senior editors of *National Review*.

While chairman of the Yale *Daily News* during his senior year, Buckley aroused the campus by proudly trumpeting his illiberal views. He also determined to write a book exposing how Yale indoctrinated its students with hostility to Christianity, the free market, and aggressive anticommunism. Buckley wrote the book just after graduation and while serving with the CIA in Mexico, under a then-obscure case officer, E. Howard Hunt. Buckley called his book *God and Man at Yale*. Published in 1951, it became a best-seller, making its 25-year-old author a national intellectual celebrity. Harvard dean of Arts and Sciences McGeorge Bundy, a precocious Yale alumnus, launched a vitriolic attack on the book in *The Atlantic Monthly*. Buckley shocked all liberal intellectuals by rebutting Bundy’s attack in an even more vitriolic answer in the same magazine. For the first time since Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr.’s death, the American right had a dashing, patrician champion who could effortlessly debate liberal thinkers. And this champion emerged only a year after Lionel Trilling denied that there were any genuine conservative ideas.

Seeing Bundy bloodied enraged the liberal establishment. They vilified Buckley’s “bigoted” Roman Catholic

and southern background, thereby increasing book sales. Buckley enraged liberals even further by cowriting a scholarly defense of Senator Joseph McCarthy's anticommunist crusade, *McCarthy and His Enemies*, in 1954. A year later, Buckley joined with Bozell to found a conservative magazine with these distinguished ex-leftist intellectuals: Willmore Kendall, Max Eastman, James Burnham, John Chamberlain, Willi Schlamm, and John Dos Passos. The name of the new magazine was *National Review*. Later, Buckley added his sister Priscilla as managing editor and friend Whittaker Chambers as senior editor to the staff. Buckley was indispensable to the magazine because only he, with his charm, humor, patience, and money, could keep such a fractious staff working together.

*National Review* became the beacon of American conservatism. Its publisher, William Rusher, inspired the draft of Barry Goldwater for president in 1964. Brent Bozell ghostwrote *Conscience of a Conservative* for Goldwater. Buckley distanced himself from the John Birch Society in 1961 because they were not part of "the responsible right." He acquired a newspaper column while also publishing almost a book per year. Buckley ran for mayor of New York City in 1965 against liberal Republican John Lindsay. His television theatrics in the mayoral race brought him a syndicated television show in 1966, *Firing Line*.

Buckley recognized he was not a deep thinker, but he saw his duty to spur the movement on with columns, debates, speeches, and television appearances, and to identify new talent in ideas and politics. Buckley aided the careers of many young writers and editors. They include such famous names as Garry Wills, John Leonard, George Will, John McLaughlin, Hadley Arkes, Joseph Sobran, Peter Rodman, Lawrence Kudlow, Richard Brookhiser, and David Frum.

In 1967 Buckley touted California's new governor, Ronald W. Reagan, as the political future of American conservatism in a long magazine profile. While Reagan was the butt of jokes across the nation, Buckley foresaw that this B-movie actor could win the presidency and overthrow Democratic liberalism.

During the conservative disasters and disappointments of the 1960s and 1970s, Buckley maintained his faith in Reagan. Even when the two fiercely disagreed about both HENRY KISSINGER's foreign policy and the PANAMA CANAL treaty, Buckley continued to urge Reagan on to the White House, standing by him loyally in his 1976 challenge to Gerald Ford. In 1980 Buckley's judgment was triumphantly vindicated by Reagan's election and resulting presidency. Many Reagan aides were former *National Review* staffers. CIA director William Casey was an old-time *NR* hand who drew up the magazine's original articles of incorporation.

In 1991, Buckley stepped down as editor in chief of *National Review* to become editor at large. He retired

from *Firing Line* in 1999 and from speech making in 2000. Buckley died at his home in Stamford, Connecticut, on February 27, 2008.

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—Christopher M. Gray

### **Burger, Warren E.** (1907–1995) *chief justice of the United States*

Warren Burger served as chief justice of the U.S. SUPREME COURT from 1969 to 1986. Burger was born into a humble Minnesota working-class family. He early displayed a talent for artistry in painting and sculpture, but decided to apply himself to night law school. In 1938 Burger befriended Harold Stassen, who was elected Minnesota's "Boy Governor" that year. Stassen's patronage proved invaluable to both Burger's personal practice and his role in Minnesota Republican Party politics between 1938 and 1952. Burger acted as floor manager for Stassen's presidential campaigns at both the 1948 and 1952 Republican Party National Conventions. In the close contest between Eisenhower and Robert Taft for the 1952 Republican presidential nomination, Burger played a crucial role. He switched the Minnesota delegation, pledged to its favorite son, Stassen, over to Eisenhower, thereby nominating the latter. Eisenhower's aide, Herbert Brownell, was favorably impressed by Burger's conduct at the 1952 convention.

When Brownell became Eisenhower's attorney general, he named Burger head of the Justice Department's Civil Division. In 1956 Brownell persuaded Eisenhower to appoint Burger to the most prestigious federal appellate court, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit. Burger became one of the few advocates of judicial restraint on a liberal circuit. During the 1960s, Burger strongly denounced the Warren Supreme Court's judicial activism, especially in criminal procedure cases. He became the foremost federal judicial critic of Warren rulings. Earl Warren tried to retire early in 1968 to forestall RICHARD M. NIXON from appointing Burger as his replacement after the elections. Warren's gambit failed; Burger became chief justice a year later.

Despite Nixon's hopes, Burger did not lead a conservative judicial counterrevolution as chief justice. Burger failed to lead or inspire the Court with either his intellect or his character. His court rolled back some Warren Court decisions on criminal issues such as the death penalty. However, the Burger Court, as its leading scholar Earl Maltz argues, proved far more liberal than the Warren Court on cases involving regulation of racial and gender discrimina-

tion, government secrecy, and sexual conduct. Associate Justice WILLIAM J. BRENNAN, JR., leader of the liberals on the Court, consistently outmaneuvered Burger to obtain majorities on important Supreme Court cases.

In 1971 Burger wrote the opinion for two unanimous 9-0 Court decisions, both involving North Carolina petitioners, aimed to remedy past and present racial discrimination. *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg County School Board* upheld judicially mandated and supervised school busing. *GRIGGS ET AL. V. DUKE POWER COMPANY* held that an employer had to show “business necessity” for requiring a high school diploma or an IQ test of an employee; otherwise the employer was in violation of Title VII, specifically for discrimination against African Americans based on “disparate impact.” Both these unanimous rulings represented the judicial activism railed against by critics of the Warren Court. Burger backed away from these opinions in future busing and affirmative action cases such as *BAKKE* (1978). From the mid-1970s on, Burger usually concurred with Rehnquist’s conservative opinions on racial discrimination.

In *UNITED STATES V. NIXON* (1974), Burger persuaded the Court to speak unanimously 8-0 (Rehnquist recused himself) in ordering President Nixon to hand over his recorded tapes of White House conversations to WATERGATE SCANDAL special prosecutor LEON JAWORSKI. Burger’s opinion argued presidential executive privilege immunity was conditional to circumstances, and not absolute. This ruling of the Burger Court compelled President Nixon to resign from office in disgrace.

*United States v. Nixon* was not the most controversial Burger Court ruling. Perhaps the most far-reaching decision issued by the Burger Court was *ROE V. WADE* (1973), which legalized ABORTION. Inspired by Justice Brennan’s leadership, it transformed abortion laws in most of the states and territories. Burger joined the majority in this case in order to limit the reach of the ruling by assigning the majority opinion.

After publication of Bob Woodward’s and Scott Armstrong’s best-selling book *The Brethren* (1979), Burger’s reputation across the intellectual-political spectrum plummeted. This book claimed that Burger enjoyed little respect or trust among his colleagues on the Court and liberal Justice Brennan and conservative Justice Rehnquist actually dominated the Court’s proceedings. Under RONALD W. REAGAN’s administration, Attorney General EDWIN C. MEESE III and his aides persuaded Burger to step down in 1986 in a double switch, replacing him with Rehnquist and filling the open seat with Justice ANTONIN SCALIA.

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—Christopher M. Gray

### **Bush, George H. W.** (1924– ) *41st U.S. president*

George Herbert Walker Bush served as the 41st president of the United States during the historic transition at the end of the COLD WAR. For his role in organizing the unprecedented global alliance against Iraq during the PERSIAN GULF WAR of 1991, Bush received the highest approval rating (89 percent) ever measured for an American president to that date. Ironically, by mid-1992, Bush also received one of the lowest ratings (30 percent), due to poor economic conditions that accompanied the transition to the post-cold war world. He was defeated after one term by Arkansas governor WILLIAM J. CLINTON in 1992.

Bush was born in Milton, Massachusetts, on June 12, 1924. He was the second of five children born to Prescott and Dorothy Walker Bush. His father served in the U.S. Senate, representing Connecticut from 1952–83. George Bush served as a U.S. Navy pilot in the Pacific in World War II and received the Distinguished Flying Cross. In late 1944 he married Barbara Pierce. They had six children together, including George Walker, who was elected president of the United States in 2001. He graduated Phi Beta Kappa in economics from Yale University in 1948 and moved to Texas to work in the oil industry, starting three separate companies.

In 1964 Bush won the Republican Party’s nomination for U.S. Senate. Bush lost the election, but received 43.5 percent of the vote, which was remarkable considering that Texas was traditionally a Democratic state, and that year’s leading Texan candidate, Lyndon B. Johnson, carried the presidential election. In 1966 Bush became the first Republican to represent Houston in the House of Representatives. As a freshman congressman, Bush won an important seat on the House Ways and Means Committee. He supported extending the vote to 18-year-olds and voted to end the draft. He was reelected in 1968, but gave up his seat to run against former Democratic congressman Lloyd Bentsen for a seat in the Senate. He lost the election, but was named U.S. ambassador to the United Nations by President RICHARD M. NIXON. In 1973 Nixon named Bush chairman of the Republican National Committee after Nixon’s landslide victory.

In 1974 President GERALD FORD named Bush as envoy to China. By December 1975, Ford asked him to serve as director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He resigned in January 1977, shortly after President JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., took office.

Bush made a long-shot bid for the presidency in 1979. He announced his candidacy in early May and came in a





George H. W. Bush and Dan Quayle (*George Bush Presidential Library*)

strong second out of the field of six Republican contenders during the primaries. Bush ran as a moderate, criticizing Reagan's campaign pledge to cut taxes, which, Reagan argued, would inspire economic growth and allow increases in military spending, while balancing the budget. Bush described it as "voodoo economics," which Democrats and the media remembered long after the election. By May 1980, however, he recognized former California governor RONALD W. REAGAN's overwhelming popularity and withdrew from the race. Bush was in agreement with Reagan on social policy, and thereby helped balance the ticket as a moderate conservative when he was nominated to run as vice president. The Reagan-Bush team defeated President Carter by a wide margin.

Bush was forced to rise to the occasion of leadership just three months after taking office. On March 30, 1981, John W. Hinckley, Jr., tried to assassinate President Reagan. While Reagan recovered, Bush assumed many public functions of the presidency. In 1984 the Reagan-Bush ticket won reelection with 525 electoral votes; the largest electoral landslide in history. When Reagan underwent intestinal surgery in July 1985, he formally transferred the power of his office to Bush, who then became the first designated acting president of the United States.

Toward the end of Reagan's administration, the Republicans were already planning on promoting Bush as the next president. With a \$12 million campaign chest, Bush quickly outdistanced his other Republican rivals, Kansas senator BOB DOLE and Christian televangelist Pat Robertson. Bush campaigned on the promise of a "kinder and gentler America" which included social conservatism, environmental protection, and a solid pledge of no new taxes. After winning the nomination, Bush surprised many by selecting the relatively young Indiana senator, J. DANFORTH QUAYLE, to be his running mate. In August, media-generated scandals related to the IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR, and the so-called "wimp factor," arising from Bush's inevitable comparison to the charismatic Reagan, placed the Bush-Quayle ticket consistently behind in the polls. The Democrats nominated Massachusetts governor MICHAEL S. DUKAKIS, who chose longtime Bush rival Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas as his running mate. By mid-autumn, Bush managed to reassert his independence from Reagan's shadow and gained the offensive by emphasizing Dukakis's record in Massachusetts. In the November election, the Bush-Quayle ticket achieved a solid 53 percent of the vote, winning 40 states and 426 electoral votes. At the same time, however, the Democrats increased their majority in the House.

The "wimp" image quickly disappeared as Bush asserted his foreign policy program. At the start of his term, Bush declared war on illegal drugs. In October 1989, U.S.-backed military forces launched a coup attempt against PANAMA dictator and drug-lord Manuel Noriega. After the first attempt failed, President Bush sent 12,000 more troops to join the 12,000 already stationed in the Canal Zone. Noriega finally surrendered from his refuge in the Vatican diplomatic mission on January 3, 1990. He was sent to Florida where he was convicted on charges related to drug trafficking and racketeering. Bush later pledged \$1 billion to help rebuild Panama. The following month, Bush held a summit in Cartagena, Colombia, with the presidents of the three largest drug-producing nations: Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia. They reached an accord promising to limit both supply in South America and demand in the United States. At the same time, Bush pursued a diligent program to end the cold war to bring the USSR back into the "family of nations." Between the summer of 1989 and the autumn of 1990, Bush met with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev three times to discuss arms and troop reduction, trade agreements, and even economic aid. Whether due to Reagan-Bush policies or increasing domestic pressure, the Soviet Union underwent significant change at this time, leading to the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries. On November 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall, a symbol of Soviet control in Eastern Europe, was taken down. Though the cold war was not entirely over, by the



time Saddam Hussein's Iraqi army invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990, a major thaw had taken place.

The invasion of Kuwait placed an estimated 10 percent of the world's petroleum reserves under Iraqi control. Hussein's army began concentrating along the Saudi Arabian border, thereby threatening another 25 percent. To prevent Iraq from positioning itself to control more than a third of the world's oil supplies, Bush organized a multinational political and military alliance with European, Asian, and Middle Eastern nations. The task involved forging relationships between nations that had long traditions of mutual suspicion and hostile relations, including Israel, Egypt, France, and the USSR. Bush wisely chose to facilitate the operation through the UN Security Council, which approved a resolution authorizing the use of force if Iraq did not remove its occupying forces from Kuwait by January 15, 1991. The United States deployed hundreds of thousands of troops to the gulf along with joint forces of nine other nations. On January 12 Congress approved military action in the gulf, and on January 16 "Operation Desert Storm" began with the multinational force initiating sustained air bombardment of Iraq. On February 24 the ground-based attack began, and continued for 100 hours until the Iraqi troops had been pushed out of Kuwait. Bush later endured criticism for ending the attack before reaching Baghdad, but he believed the UN mandate called only for the removal of Iraq and the security of Mideastern oil reserves. Shortly after the Persian Gulf War, Bush and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev signed a final treaty reducing existing arsenals of ballistic missiles, and by the end of the year, the Soviet Union dissolved. By mid-1991 Bush's approval rating reached 89 percent.

On the home front, Bush shifted emphasis away from military preparedness and toward a domestic tranquility. Bush supported the Clean Air Act of 1989, the AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT of 1990, and the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT of 1991. The eight years of military buildup under Reagan's administration had contributed to a deficit of \$141 billion before Bush took office, so Bush pledged to reduce the military. However, the cuts in funding had negative effects on those directly and indirectly dependent on military contracts. At the same time, Bush encountered a crisis in the savings and loan industry, which had resulted from deregulation of the industry under Reagan's administration. As a result of this crisis, the federal government provided \$126 billion to bail out many of these institutions. Moreover, despite the military cuts, the annual deficit still increased to \$220 billion, and the national debt reached \$3.2 trillion. Because of these figures, Bush hoped to keep the 1990 budget under control in a way that was acceptable to both Democrats and Republicans. The resulting deal promised to reduce the deficit by \$500 billion in five years.

Conservative Republicans, however, became irate because Bush broke his "no new taxes" pledge during the presidential campaign. In six weeks, Bush's approval rating slipped 20 points.

In 1991 Bush believed it was necessary to ensure fiscal responsibility and a balanced budget. Later that year, he proposed the NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT as another support for the new post-cold war economy. Many Americans, however, interpreted the treaty as further evidence that Bush placed foreign policy ahead of domestic problems, and that he was out of touch with working Americans. During the 1992 election, his Democratic rivals, WILLIAM J. CLINTON and his running mate ALBERT GORE, JR., gave their promise of a better economy. They also used Bush's broken tax pledge repeatedly to criticize Bush. At the same time, Texas billionaire H. ROSS PEROT joined the race as a third-party candidate and drew many Republicans and independents who had become disillusioned by the double impression of Bush's broken tax pledge and the mild recession underway in 1990. Bush lost the election with 36 percent of the vote to Clinton-Gore's 43 percent, while Perot attracted 21 percent of the vote.

Bush returned to Texas with his wife, Barbara, and settled back into private life. He kept silent throughout the Clinton-Gore administration and its numerous scandals. In 1994 Bush's oldest son, GEORGE W. BUSH, became governor of Texas, and his second oldest, Jeb Bush, later became governor of Florida. In 2000 George W. Bush ran for president with Dick Cheney, his father's secretary of defense, as vice president. He became president after a Supreme Court decision in his favor granted him the requisite electoral college votes.

See also ELECTIONS; POLITICAL PARTIES.

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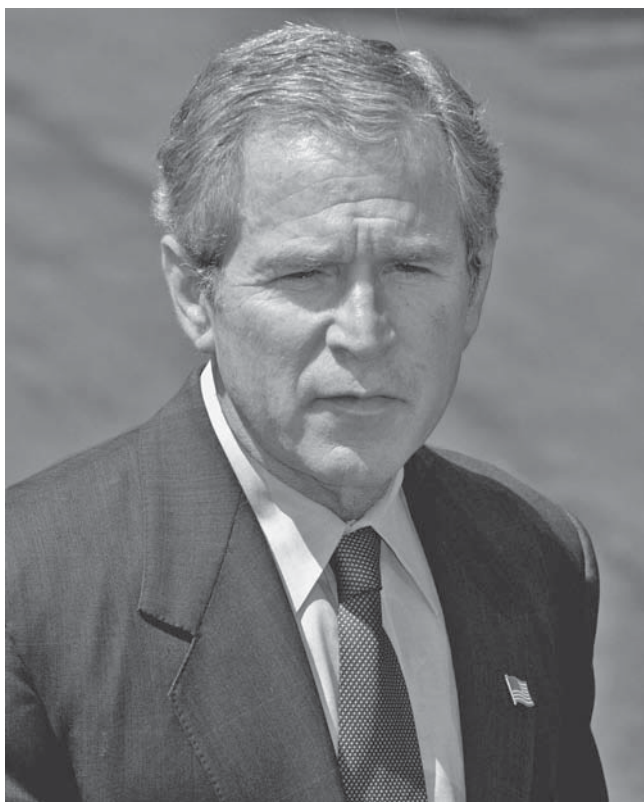
—Aharon W. Zorea

**Bush, George W.** (1946– ) 43rd U.S. president

George Walker Bush began his service as the 43rd president of the United States on January 20, 2001, and was reelected for a second term in 2004. Entering the office amid controversy and much partisan division, Bush promised to unite the nation through compassionate conservatism and political civility. Eight months later, the nation was rocked by terrorist attacks on the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City and on the Pentagon

in Washington, D.C. These attacks left more than 3,000 dead and hundreds wounded. The event transformed the attitude of the nation and completely redirected President Bush's agenda.

George Walker Bush is the eldest son of former president **GEORGE H. W. BUSH** and Barbara Pierce Bush, and is sometime referred to by the press as "George W." to distinguish him from his father. He was born on July 6, 1946, in New Haven, Connecticut, while his father was finishing his degree at Yale University after World War II. The family moved to Midland, Texas, a few years later, and George was joined by five siblings: John (commonly known as "Jeb," who became governor of Florida in 1999), Neil, Marvin, Dorothy, and Robin, who died of leukemia in 1953 at the age of three. Like his father, Bush attended Philips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, and graduated from Yale University with a degree in history in 1968. He served as a jet fighter pilot in the Texas Air National Guard. He left the service as a lieutenant in 1973 to go back to school, and earned a master's of business administration from Harvard Business School in 1975. He returned to Midland, Texas, and founded Arbusto, an independent oil and gas exploration company, named after the Spanish word for "bush." Two years later, he married former teacher and librarian



George W. Bush (Getty Images)

Laura Welch; in 1981 she gave birth to their twin daughters, Jenna and Barbara.

The younger Bush entered politics in 1978, when he campaigned as a Republican in a large West Texas district for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. He proved to be a successful fund-raiser but eventually lost by six points to Democratic state senator Kent Hance. Bush returned to the oil business, but kept a hand in politics throughout the 1980s; he provided early financial support for Phil Gramm's successful senatorial campaign in 1984, and later worked on his father's presidential campaign as an adviser and speechwriter in 1986 and 1987. During his father's campaign, Bush later reported that he reached a turning point in his life; shortly before his 40th birthday. He committed himself to his faith as a Christian, gave up alcohol entirely, and generally approached his professional duties with greater seriousness. Bush sold his interests in the oil business and served as his father's chief liaison to Christian conservatives during the 1988 campaign.

After the election, Bush used the money from his oil investments to become part owner of the Texas Rangers professional baseball team, serving as the team's managing partner. In 1994 he made his second entrance as a political candidate in a gubernatorial campaign against the very popular incumbent Democrat, Ann Richards. Bush campaigned on welfare reform and devolution to local government of control over schools; he won the election and became the 46th governor of the state of Texas. During his first term, Bush demonstrated a remarkable ability to unite opposing factions and succeeded in passing most of his campaign goals through a Democratic-controlled legislature, including tort reform, antidrug, and anti-CRIME measures. He also secured bipartisan support for a \$1 billion tax cut, while still providing substantial increases in funding for public EDUCATION. In 1998, Bush became the first Texas governor to be elected to consecutive four-year terms, winning 68 percent of the vote.

The Texas governor announced his intention to run for president of the United States in June 1999. He campaigned as a "compassionate conservative," stressing tax cuts, limited government, partial privatization of Social Security, and welfare reform, while also advocating increased funding for education, and school choice, known to its critics as school vouchers. He promised a new tone in politics by emphasizing respect and bipartisan cooperation with all members of Congress. Bush swept the Republican primaries, despite a strong challenge from Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.). By early March, he was able to concentrate on his campaign against his probable Democratic challenger, Vice President **ALBERT GORE, JR.** In July, Bush announced that his choice for running mate was **RICHARD B. CHENEY**, a former representative from Wyoming who had also served as defense secretary for the elder Bush during the Persian

Gulf War. Bush was behind in the polls before the first televised debate on October 3. The debates reinvigorated his campaign, however, and despite widespread criticism that the Texas governor was an incompetent public speaker, the press and the public opinion polls proclaimed Bush the victor in each of the three debates. The same polls suggested that Gore was too stiff and mechanical, while the Texas governor seemed the more honest and believable candidate. By the week before the election in November, the two candidates were virtually even.

On election night, the news networks announced results for Florida, giving its 25 electoral votes to Gore after most but not all the voting stations had closed. Their predictions were based on exit polls of voters, and statistical analysis showing that returns from outstanding districts could not change the outcome. Nonetheless, as more polling stations reported their returns, the news networks changed their figures and declared Bush the winner, at which point Gore called the Texas governor to concede the election. As the night wore on, however, and certain key districts reported a large number of discarded, spoiled, and otherwise disputed ballots, largely in Democratic districts, the news networks retracted their declaration of a Bush victory and ended their broadcasts by stating that the vote was too close to call. Meanwhile, Gore rescinded his concession and waited for official returns of the vote count in Florida. Officials in the Gore and Bush campaigns debated balloting procedures and the certification process in state and federal courts. Though the Florida State Supreme Court eventually ordered a statewide recount, the U.S. Supreme Court found that time had run out and ruled 5-4 to stop the recount, letting the original count stand. The decision gave Bush Florida's 25 electoral votes, providing him with a total of 271 votes for an electoral majority of one vote.

In his victory speech on December 13, Bush emphasized his bipartisan approach to politics and promised to serve as a leader of "one nation" and not "one party." After eight years of partisan conflict, most members of the national media and Congress dismissed the possibility of a "new tone" in Congress as unrealistic; the national media described Bush as a president without a public mandate, and Democrats insisted that Bush's presidency was illegitimate. For a short time, these predictions seemed to come true. Though the Republicans maintained a majority in both houses of Congress after the 2000 election, Vermont senator James Jeffords quit the Republican Party and declared himself an independent in May 2001, thereby giving control of the Senate to the Democratic Party.

President Bush pursued an aggressive FOREIGN POLICY program after entering office. In April 2001 he withdrew the United States from the Kyoto Protocol that required industrial nations to reduce greenhouse emissions. President Bush argued that compliance with the treaty would

have drastic economic effects on the nation. One month later, he maintained that the United States should support Taiwanese defense efforts after several U.S. military personnel were detained as the result of a collision between a Chinese fighter jet and an American spy plane. In May 2001 President Bush informed a group of scientists that he planned to withdraw the United States from the ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY (ABM), which was signed in 1972 and prevented the United States and Soviet Union from building massive defense systems to protect against missiles with nuclear warheads. The treaty was set to expire in June 2002.

The Bush administration, however, confronted its greatest foreign policy challenge on September 11, 2001. Nineteen terrorists hijacked four separate commercial jets and aimed them at American landmarks; two struck the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, a third struck the Pentagon, and a fourth was prevented from reaching its target, presumably in Washington, D.C., by a passenger uprising. The acts were the most destructive foreign attack ever launched on American soil; it resulted in the deaths of more than 3,000 people and a loss of billions of dollars to the American ECONOMY. The horror of the events united America unlike anything the recent generation had experienced.

Earlier partisan conflicts disappeared, and President Bush received unqualified support from the Congress, which passed a series of emergency response bills at the president's request. On September 20, George Bush gave a national address before a joint session of Congress and outlined the nation's retaliatory response against the terrorists who launched the attack and against global terrorism wherever it is found. More than three-quarters of the nation saw the address live, and another 14 percent saw rebroadcasts or excerpts later. Within two weeks, President Bush received a 90 percent approval rating, the highest of any president in modern history, barely edging out his father's peak rating of 89 percent during the Persian Gulf War and President Harry S. Truman's 87 percent rating at the close of World War II.

In the weeks after the terrorist attacks, President Bush made the security of the United States his top priority. He created the Office of HOMELAND SECURITY, which later was approved as a cabinet position by Congress in November 2002, urged Congress to pass the USA PATRIOT ACT in October 2001 that granted greater power to the federal government to surveil possible terrorists residing in the United States, and proposed a complete reorganization and federalization of airport security across the nation. Also in October 2001, the United States initiated an intense bombing campaign in Afghanistan to root out the terrorists and their government supporters, the Taliban. The air campaign was followed by invasion by American troops and



other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) under the banner of the International Security Force.

Shortly after the successful overthrow of the Taliban and the scattering of al-Qaeda terrorist forces, President Bush extended the “war on terrorism” to Iraq, citing intelligence that Saddam Hussein and Iraq were developing weapons of mass destruction (WMD). He first mentioned that Iraq constituted a threat to American security in his State of the Union Address in January 2002, labeling the countries of Iraq, Iran, and North Korea an “axis of evil” that threatened the tranquility of the world and the security of the United States. In a speech in June 2002 Bush clarified his beliefs that the United States retained the right to preempt any hostile enemy, which later became known as the Bush Doctrine. President Bush campaigned, based on intelligence information acquired at the time, for the continuation of United Nations’ weapon inspections in Iraq. In October 2002 the United States Congress passed a resolution authorizing the use of force in Iraq. The United States invaded Iraq in March 2003, and President Bush declared the end of war operations on May 2003 as Hussein and his regime were crushed.

President Bush’s foreign policy efforts extended outside the realm of the IRAQ WAR and AFGHANISTAN WARS. At the beginning of his presidency, Bush sought to improve relations with Latin American countries. In September 2001 Mexican president Vicente Fox visited the United States to discuss immigration and trade issues. President Bush met with Columbian president Álvaro Uribe in April 2003 to discuss drug trafficking and TERRORISM. Bush also focused his efforts on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the MIDDLE EAST. In June 2003 he organized a summit with Palestinian Authority president Mahmoud Abbas and former Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon. Bush also focused his attention on the growing problems in Africa. In January 2003 he committed the United States to a strategic plan and \$15 billion for AIDS relief across the globe. Bush also criticized the violence in the Darfur region of the Sudan, sent \$211 million of humanitarian aid money to Darfur, and led the effort for United Nations’ intervention in the war-plagued region.

President Bush also devoted a considerable amount of attention to domestic affairs during his first term. Bush succeeded in passing an 11-year, \$1.35 trillion tax cut that reduced the top income tax rate to 35 percent and resulted in the refunding of \$300 to millions of upper-income taxpayers. In January 2002 President Bush signed the No Child Left Behind Act that provided more flexibility for parents in selecting schools for their children and provided higher assessment rates for elementary and secondary schools. President Bush also sought to improve the environment with the announcement of the Clear Skies Initiative in 2002,

which would provide economic incentives for the reduction of greenhouse gases by industrial companies. The bill failed but still remained a priority for the Bush administration. Near the end of his first term, President Bush pursued a new space program initiative, “Vision for Space Exploration,” which called for the International Space Station to be completed in 2010, the investment and creation of a new space vehicle, and the establishment of a lunar base from which the United States could explore Mars.

At the Republican National Convention in August and September 2004 in New York City, President Bush was selected as the presidential candidate for the Republican Party. Senator John Kerry (D-Mass.) was nominated for the Democratic Party. After a campaign that mostly centered on American foreign policy, President Bush was reelected on November 2, 2004. He entered his second term of office on January 20, 2005.

In his second term, President Bush refocused some of his attention on American domestic policy. In his State of the Union Address in February 2005, the first half of his speech was devoted to American domestic policy. President Bush argued that the Social Security Administration was almost “bankrupt” and lobbied for the creation of individual retirement accounts. This plan was sharply attacked by critics who maintained that it would privatize Social Security, which led to its failure. President Bush sought to change American ENERGY policy with the passage of the Energy Act of 2005. This act provided tax incentives for coal, oil, and natural gas industries. In September 2005 President Bush faced his greatest domestic policy concern in the wake of HURRICANE KATRINA, one of America’s most destructive hurricanes. Critics contended that local, state, and federal governments did not react to the needs of the hurricane victims in time nor did they provide for their suffering in the wake of the disaster. President Bush also received harsh criticism for the Federal Emergency Management Agency’s (FEMA) handling of the disaster, which led to director Michael Brown’s resignation. In July 2006 President Bush used his veto power for the first time when he did not sign legislation revising STEM CELL RESEARCH. President Bush argued that the legislation would have destroyed human embryos with federal funding.

Despite the domestic policy initiatives taken by President Bush, his second term continued to be defined by the Iraq War. In October 2005 the death toll of American soldiers had reached 2,000, which produced strong disapproval of the war by many Americans. In an ABC News poll taken in the same month of the death toll announcement, 64 percent of Americans responded that they disapproved of President Bush’s handling of the war. One year later, in response to growing criticism and the Democratic Party’s victories in the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES and U.S. SENATE, Secretary of Defense DONALD RUMSFELD



resigned. Since Rumsfeld's resignation, President Bush instituted a new plan for the Iraq War called "A New Way Forward." This plan called for the installment of 20,000 new troops in Iraq to counter the insurgency that had become entrenched in the war-torn country. While it seems that the surge was effective, many Americans remained skeptical of President Bush's policy toward Iraq. In August 2007, by which time American deaths in Iraq reached 3,500, 68 percent of Americans disapproved of Bush's Iraq policy in an ABC News poll. This number coincided with an August CNN poll indicating that 61 percent of Americans disapproved of Bush's job as president. In 2008 a credit crisis in the financial sector and a plummeting real estate market was followed by the worst economic recession since the Great Depression, which has only increased the public's disapproval of Bush. George W. Bush finished his second and final term in office on January 20th, 2009, succeeded by Democrat BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA.

See also CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; ELECTIONS; POLITICAL PARTIES; REAGAN, RONALD W.

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—Aharon W. Zorea and Matthew C. Sherman

## business

The revolution in COMPUTER technologies in the late 20th century produced mixed results for American businesses. Since the 1960s, innovations in communication and data processing encouraged greater consolidation of resources, resulting in giant conglomerates and multinational corporations. Later innovations in personal computing and the advent of the INTERNET helped to moderate this trend by the mid-1990s. The rate of major mergers declined, while the number of smaller, technology-focused startup companies increased. The market adjustment during the first quarter of 2001 and continuing well into 2002 threatened to undermine the effect of this new technology sector, but the long-term changes remain undetermined.

In 2000 most American businesses fell into one of three categories: individual proprietorship, partnership, and corporations. Seventy-five percent of American companies are small businesses, while less than 1 percent are large corporations holding assets of \$250 million or more. Yet that 1 percent dominates production and exchange in the national economy, causing some observers to fear that they hold an unfair advantage over small businesses that cannot enjoy similar economies of scale. This fear is especially pronounced when large corporations buy out their smaller competitors. Though mergers between corporations began in earnest in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the number of unfriendly mergers increased significantly by 1970. In 1968 Congress passed the Williams Act, limiting hostile takeovers by requiring aggressor companies to publicly notify targeted companies of their intent. The goal of the legislation was to allow targeted companies sufficient time to gather extra resources and purchase outstanding stock before control shifted to the aggressor company. The act enjoyed minimal success, and within two years, Congress passed even more stringent notification requirements. These new regulations were undermined by innovations in telecommunication and information processing, which improved the efficiency of large centralized administrations and generally encouraged more corporate mergers, friendly or otherwise, throughout the 1970s. The difficulty in amassing the billions of dollars necessary to finance these mergers remained the last obstacle limiting their size.

Several factors coalesced in the early 1980s to remove the remaining limits on the size of corporate mergers. With the election of President RONALD W. REAGAN, the political environment became more conducive to large corporate takeovers; his business-friendly campaign created a sense that the Department of Justice would require a higher standard of evidence for antitrust suits than in previous administrations. Additionally, the Reagan administration deregulated a number of industries that had traditionally been heavily constrained by federal oversight agencies, including energy, broadcasting, airline and ground transportation, and finance. Deregulation of banking and securities industries encouraged novel forms of financing; American companies more actively sought foreign investment and experimented with nontraditional bond strategies, including leveraged financing and high-yield bonds. Financier Michael Milken dominated the investment banking industry with high-yield bonds; working on the assumption that traditional credit ratings were more conservative than actuality, Milken purchased bonds with poor credit ratings and then resold them to investors at a profit, based on the belief that most bonds would remain solvent long enough to yield high returns. His success earned Milken the often-pejorative title of "junk bond king." At the same time, many oil and gas firms enjoyed unprecedented cash

reserves as a result of profits gained through oil and gas prices created by the ENERGY crisis in the 1970s, which not only encouraged expansion into other areas, but also made them targets for takeover. Excess cash reserves cause a company's value to exceed the stock-offering price, which attracts buyers who willingly go into debt to acquire the company knowing they can use the cash reserves to pay the financing. With innovative financing techniques, buyers with very little expendable cash were able to arrange takeovers of very large corporations on credit, and then use the targeted company's cash reserves or liquidate its holdings to pay for the purchase.

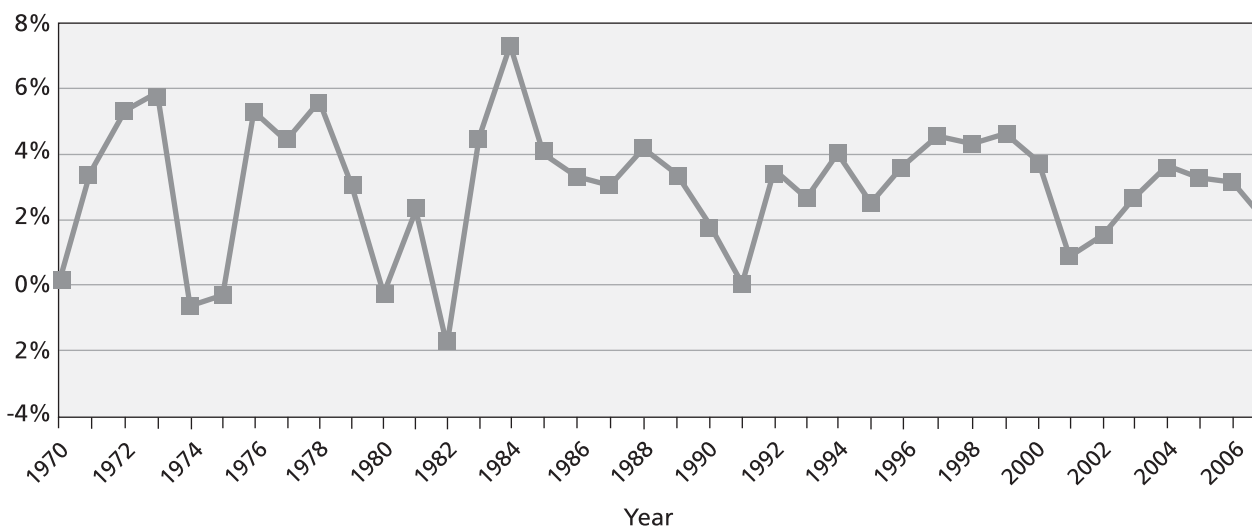
These changes in the political environment, deregulation, and excess cash reserves forced a restructuring of the business community in America toward even larger conglomerate corporations. Restructuring affected industries with the most rapid technological development as well as those with inefficient management, including oil and gas, tires, broadcasting, financial services and insurance agencies. Some of the most famous mergers in 1989 involving a billion dollars or more include the \$4.2 billion merger of Time and Warner communications and the \$25 billion hostile takeover of Nabisco by R. J. Reynolds. In 2000 only eight nations had budgets as large as the transnational corporations General Motors, Daimler Chrysler, Ford, and Wal-Mart, each of which earned more than Canada, Spain, and Sweden combined.

Public reaction to the wave of megamergers during the 1980s was generally negative. Business journalists reported that financiers like Michael Milken made hundreds of millions of dollars in commissions, while other corporate raiders, like Ivan Boesky, made similar amounts for purchasing companies with the sole goal of liquidating their assets. Drawn by the public debate, the Department of Justice and the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) began investigating improprieties in the industry as early as 1985. Other critics included longstanding Wall Street investment houses, which felt threatened by the innovations, as well as big businesses that feared that these new financing schemes made even the largest corporations vulnerable to hostile takeovers. To add fuel to the fire, the stock market suffered the largest one-day crash in history on October 19, 1987. Though the crash failed to produce an economic depression, it nevertheless inspired great political distress.

Shortly thereafter, the savings and loan industry suffered serious setbacks requiring a multibillion dollar bailout from Congress. Problems arose in the saving and loan industry when Congress deregulated it, allowing companies to become overextended in poor investments, often engineered by unscrupulous managers. Public sentiment remained antagonistic to the new corporate culture, and the federal agencies responded with a series of highly publicized indictments based on laws against insider trading and other stock manipulation practices. The punishments

## U.S. Economic Growth

Annual percentage change in the gross domestic product, in constant 2000 dollars, 1970–2007



Source: "National Economic Accounts," August 2008, U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis

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were made more severe under laws against racketeering. In 1987 Ivan Boesky was sentenced to three years in prison and fined \$100 million. Three years later, in a separate case, Michael Milken, who is still credited with revolutionizing modern capital markets, pleaded guilty to six felony counts of fraud, unrelated to racketeering or insider trading. He was banned for life from securities trading, sentenced to two years in prison, and fined \$47 million.

Critics point to the 1980s corporate culture as a “decade of greed” characterized by corporate raiders, leveraged buyouts, insider trading, and sophisticated securities fraud. Business practices, such as securities fraud, undermined confidence in the integrity of financial markets, while leveraged buyouts often left companies with huge debts. Supporters of these mergers noted that the movement forced companies to adjust to modern economic conditions by trimming middle management positions, reducing redundancy, and investing more heavily in research and development to maintain their competitive advantages. Some analysts attribute the stock market’s explosive growth in the 1990s to the added efficiency of large corporations, which they claim provided the venture capital to launch newer technology sectors of the economy. Other analysts doubt the impact of the 1980s business retrenchment on the 1990s boom. Additional tangible results of the market restructuring included the widespread use of consumer credit, the decline of large retail stores, and the rise of discount stores and national retail chains that specialize in one type of product, such as hardware, books, music, toys, or groceries. Whether these innovations represent benefits or detriments to the welfare of society is a matter of opinion.

With the creation of the Internet and the World Wide Web in the early 1990s, the rate of megamergers began to decline, while the rate of small combinations increased. New technology companies rose from obscurity to claim millions of dollars in profits, to be later purchased by a larger corporation. The success of the new technology sector had its own dangers. The Department of Justice and the attorneys general of several states filed an antitrust suit against software manufacturer Microsoft. Microsoft lost its much-publicized case but won an important appeal in late 2001, which resulted in a more favorable settlement offer. After a decade of adjustment to the new technology sectors, the trend toward large corporate mergers continued, as Daimler-Benz joined with Chrysler in a \$75 billion merger in 1998, and the Internet service provider AOL joined with media giant Time Warner in a \$165 billion merger in 2000.

In 2001 the technology-heavy NASDAQ index fell 40 percent during the first quarter, pulling the Dow Jones Industrial Average down by 10 percent. Some analysts attributed the drop to a shift in demand from personal computers toward alternative wireless technologies as well

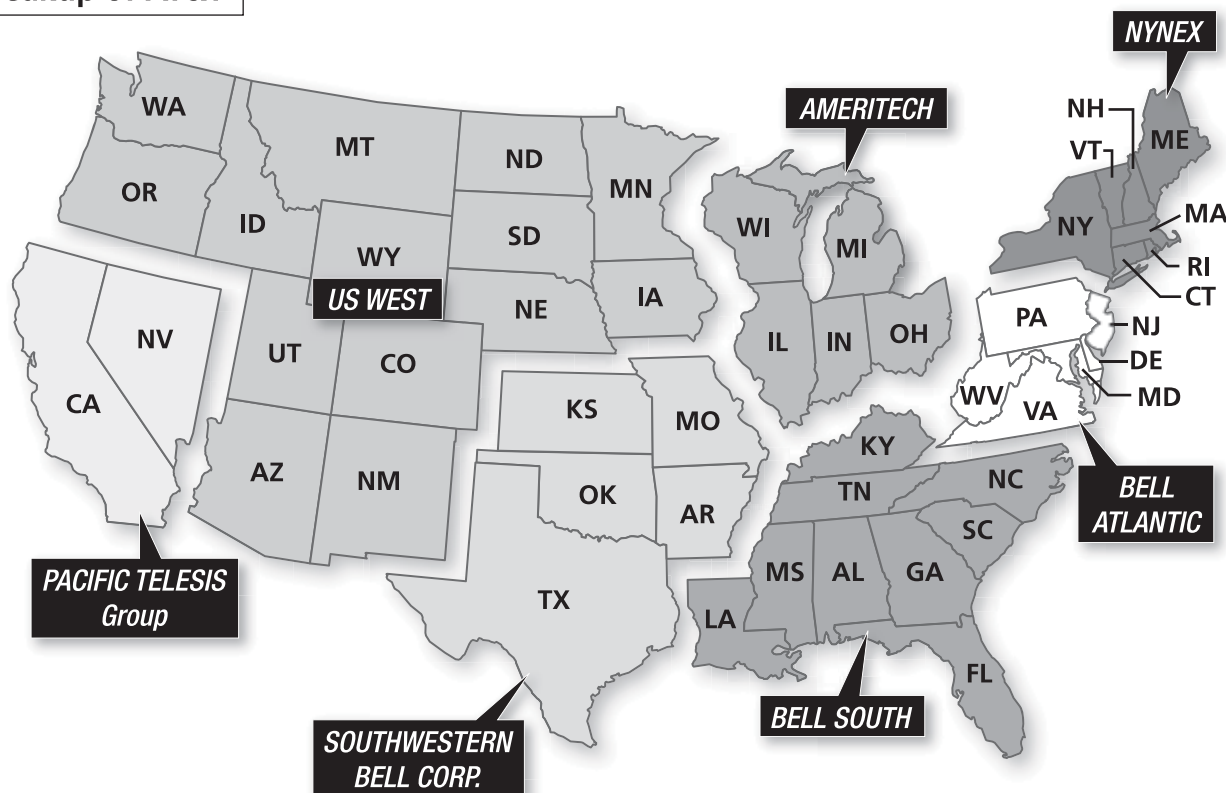
as unexpected plateaus in returns from electronic commerce. Others described it as a natural market adjustment stemming from the uncritical investment in technology firms that had no real profit potential, but relied instead on inflated confidence in future success. Most analysts remained convinced that the full extent of this technology revolution was still unfolding.

Beginning in late 2001, a series of scandals involving major corporations again shook public confidence in corporate business. The largest scandal involved a Texas-based energy trading firm, Enron Corporation, that reported third-quarter losses of more than \$600 million, and its stock price dropped precipitously. Previously ranked among the ten largest U.S. firms, Enron filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy in December 2001. Filing for Chapter 11 allows a corporation to avoid paying creditors while reorganizing in order to become profitable again. The SEC began an investigation, and in January 2002 the Department of Justice also began investigating for criminal wrongdoing amid reports of document shredding at Enron and its accounting firm, Arthur Andersen.

These investigations and congressional hearings revealed that Enron had accumulated sizable debt that had been hidden through fraudulent accounting practices: The company had overstated its profits; Enron executives had participated in insider trading; and documents had been destroyed. In January 2004 Enron’s chief financial officer, Andrew Fastow, pled guilty to two felony charges; he received a reduced sentence of six years in prison in exchange for testifying against Enron’s former CEO, Jeffrey Skilling, and former chairman, Kenneth Lay. Both Lay and Skilling were convicted in May 2006, but Lay died two months later before being sentenced; Skilling was sentenced to 24 years in prison, but his conviction is under appeal. The accounting firm Arthur Andersen was convicted of obstructing justice by shredding documents.

Enron’s bankruptcy had far-reaching effects. Company employees lost both their jobs and their retirement accounts; many others lost their investments as well. The scandal generated tighter federal regulation of accounting practices. Scandals involving financial mismanagement led to the failures of several other large corporations over the next six months, such as cable corporation Adelphia and telecommunications provider WorldCom, both of which filed for bankruptcy by mid-2002. These scandals undermined investor confidence, which was reflected in stock market drops. In July 2002 the Dow Jones Industrial Average dropped to its lowest point in four years. In order to restore confidence, President GEORGE W. BUSH created the Corporate Fraud Task Force within the Justice Department. Congress enacted the SARBANES-OXLEY ACT, creating criminal penalties for corporate fraud and providing oversight of accounting and credit practices. These

## Breakup of AT&T



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measures appeared to restore investor confidence, as stocks showed a steady rise throughout the Bush administration.

In 2007 mortgage lenders came under scrutiny for questionable lending practices, particularly in the subprime mortgage sector. Subprime mortgages are home loans extended to borrowers with poor credit histories or insufficient income to qualify for conventional loans, who thus pose a higher risk to lenders. The loans are typically adjustable rate mortgages (ARMs) that appeal to borrowers because of low initial interest rates but become unaffordable for many as interest rates rise. The borrower who is not able to renegotiate terms faces foreclosure; yet these loans are difficult to negotiate because they are not usually retained by the lending institution but are instead sold off to investors, including foreign investors.

A sharp rise in the number of home foreclosures in 2006 and 2007 caused several lending institutions to file for bankruptcy and adversely affected both U.S. and international investment corporations, thereby focusing attention on lending practices. The Bush administration, while reluctant to bail out irresponsible lenders or borrowers, sought to minimize the effects of the subprime mortgage crisis on the economy. Working with Congress,

Bush sought to expand the government mortgage insurance agency, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), to offer refinanced mortgages to struggling homeowners with good credit histories. Congress conducted hearings to investigate predatory lending practices. When the number of jobs related to the housing industry slumped in August 2007, Federal Reserve chairman Ben Bernanke lowered interest rates several times to head off fears of recession and to stabilize interest rates while struggling homeowners refinanced their mortgages. The housing market remained soft throughout 2007, creating fears of recession. The soft housing market caused a catastrophic financial crisis in late 2008, as home foreclosures spread from the subprime mortgage market to more stable mortgages. Two government-sponsored enterprises, the Federal National Mortgage Association (commonly called Fannie Mae) and the Federal Home Mortgage Corporation (referred to as Freddie Mac)—designed to increase or stabilize the housing market by buying up mortgages from lenders and packaging them to sell to investors, thereby keeping capital available for mortgage lending—had run short of capital with which to buy mortgages. Shares of Fannie Mae worth \$70 in August 2007 had fallen to \$10 a share by July 2008;



Freddie Mac shares that sold for \$67 in August 2007 were worth only \$8 in July 2008. Although technically privately owned, the two companies were bolstered by support from the U.S. government and by October 2008 required government intervention to protect them from bankruptcy.

Many of the largest investment firms on Wall Street, heavily invested in mortgage-backed securities, also began to fail in 2008 because of the mortgage crisis, including Bear-Stearns, Lehman Brothers, Merrill Lynch, and insurance giant American International Group (AIG). Contraction of the credit market left businesses across the country at a standstill, forcing extensive layoffs. Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson presented to Congress a proposal for the government to inject \$700 billion into the financial sector in order to stabilize a crisis that had become global. In October 2008 Congress passed the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act that provided a “\$700 billion bailout” for financial institutions. Support for this plan was not unanimous, as evident in the House vote of 263-171 and the Senate vote of 74-25. In addition President BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA signed into law in February 2009 the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, a stimulus package designed to encourage job growth through infrastructure projects and investment in “green” technologies such as renewable energy from wind and solar power.

See also CRIME; ECONOMY; RACKETEER INFLUENCED AND CORRUPT ORGANIZATIONS ACT; TECHNOLOGY.

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—Aharon W. Zorea and Cynthia Stachecki

**Byrd, Robert** (1917– ) *politician*

Since his election to the U.S. Senate, Robert Byrd has played an important role as a leader in the Democratic Party. He is the longest serving senator in U.S. history and is considered by many one of the greatest parliamentarians in the history of the Senate.

Born in 1917 in North Wilkesboro, North Carolina, he was left a virtual orphan after his mother died when he was one year old. His aunt and uncle raised him in West Virginia, living in various communities in the bituminous coal-fields. Unable to afford college, he worked as a gas station attendant, a produce salesman, a meat cutter, and a welder. During World War II, Byrd contributed to the war effort by becoming a welder in wartime shipyards in Baltimore, Maryland, and Tampa, Florida. Byrd then joined the Ku Klux Klan to help win election to the West Virginia House of Delegates in 1946. (He later apologized publicly for his membership in the KKK.)

After serving two terms in the West Virginia House, he was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1959. In 1967 he was selected as secretary of the Democratic conference, and in 1971 as Senate Democratic whip. In 1977 he became Senate Majority Leader, a position he held from 1977 to 1980 and from 1987 to 1988. He was Senate Minority Leader from 1981 to 1986. Because of his parliamentary effectiveness, he played a critical role in shaping major legislation during those years. Although Byrd voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964, he later endorsed affirmative action and women’s rights. Also, as a leading senior senator, he was able to direct federal funding to his home state of West Virginia for public buildings, state highways, relief for unemployed coal miners, and education.

In 1988 Byrd surrendered Majority Leader status to become chairman of the Appropriations Committee. In 1989 he was elected president pro tempore of the U.S. Senate. His four-volume history of the U.S. Senate received much praise from scholarly critics. As senator, he has been perceived by his colleagues on the Democratic side as a centrist and a statesman.

He is married to his former high school sweetheart, Erma Ora James. They have two daughters, who are now married with children.

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—Christopher M. Gray





### **campaign finance**

Elected officials are expected to represent the interests of their constituency regardless of its members' economic status. Even the appearance that wealthy contributors might have greater influence and access to politicians could undermine the public's confidence in their representative government. Consequently, Congress has enacted numerous regulations limiting types and kinds of campaign contributions. In 1925 the Corrupt Practices Act became the first consolidated federal law to address the issue of election campaign finance ethics. It required campaign treasurers to report all contributions of \$100 or more; placed limits on candidate expenditures; and prohibited solicitation of funds from employees of government and government-related industries. The act was rarely enforced, and could be easily sidestepped.

The Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) of 1971 reconsidered the question of federal campaign finances, establishing strict parameters on election spending for primaries, runoffs, general elections, and even party conventions. All candidates were required to provide full and timely disclosure reports, and specific limits were established on media advertising, and personal and individual contributions. Corporations and unions were barred from direct contributions, but were permitted to solicit funds from members, employees, and stockholders. Such donations could be used to pay for the overhead costs of political action committees (PACs), which in turn pay campaign expenses. The FECA was further amended in 1974 to include an option of public matching funds for presidential primaries and nominating conventions; spending limits for all federal elections; individual contribution caps of \$1,000 per candidate; and an aggregate cap of \$25,000 per year. In addition, PACs were permitted to contribute \$5,000 per candidate, per election, and all limits on media advertising were removed. Congress created the Federal Election Commission (FEC) to administer and oversee campaign law.

In 1976 the U.S. SUPREME COURT upheld the main provisions of the FECA in *Buckley v. Valeo*, including individual contribution limits, disclosure requirements, and matching public funds. The Court further held that limits on individual candidate expenditures from their personal funds amounted to violations of the First Amendment guarantee of free speech. In 1988, the Court concluded in *Communication Workers of America v. Beck* that unions could not contribute funds to political candidates over the objections of dues-paying nonmember employees. The clash between free speech and campaign finance reform intensified in 1998, when the Court ruled in *Colorado Republican Federal Campaign Committee v. Federal Election Committee* that contributions to political parties were independent of individual candidates' expenditures, and thus were not covered by legislative spending caps; this ruling legitimized a dramatic increase in these indirect, "soft" money contributions between 1992 and 1996 (222 percent) and again between 1996 and 2000 (71 percent). Even relative to total contributions, soft money increased from 18 percent in 1992 to 28 percent in 1996, and 40 percent in 2000.

Though individual congressmen proposed campaign finance reform bills during every session since 1974, the issue gained prominence in the 1984 and 1998 elections and became a subject of Ronald W. Reagan's farewell address in 1988. Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Senator Russell Feingold (D-Wisc.), working in conjunction with Representatives Christopher Shays (R-Conn.) and Marty Meehan (D-Mass.), proposed the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 1997, which would have barred all soft money contributions. This time, reform forces got a boost from the media attention given to accusations of fund-raising improprieties leveled against President WILLIAM J. CLINTON, as well as the exorbitant costs of running political campaigns, which often favored incumbent officeholders who usually found it easier to raise money than their challengers did.

Specifically, the McCain-Feingold bill forbade national parties, federal officeholders, and candidates from

soliciting, receiving, or spending any funds that were not directly subject to federal election laws. It reiterated the prohibition on the use of federal buildings for fund-raising. Additionally, it included federal election year campaign activities that had previously not been under FEC jurisdiction, including voter registration drives, and get-out-the-vote efforts. A filibuster by Senate Republicans barred the bill from coming to a vote. It was reintroduced in 1999 and managed to pass the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, but was again blocked by Senate Republicans.

Senator McCain concentrated heavily on the issue of campaign finance during his primary bid for the Republican presidential nomination in 2000. Many in the media saw his successes at the start of the campaign as a popular mandate for campaign finance reform. The issue received prominent attention through the rest of the election, even after McCain suffered a defeat to Texas governor GEORGE W. BUSH, who explicitly opposed the McCain-Feingold bill. Despite the attention paid by media and politicians alike, the average amount of money raised in the Senate, House, and presidential campaigns for 2000 broke all previous records, totaling more than \$2.2 billion. The public response was mixed. Polls consistently indicate that three-quarters of respondents want some form of campaign finance reform. Yet, from a field of 28 important political issues, campaign finance consistently ranked 24th throughout the 2000 election year. Nevertheless, Senator McCain and Congressman Shays submitted the same Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform bill to the 107th Congress in June 2001. Nine months later it passed by a vote of 240-189 in the Republican-controlled House and by 60-40 in the Democratic-controlled Senate. President Bush signed it into law on March 27, 2002. On the same day, the National Rifle Association and Senator Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) filed separate suits challenging, as a violation of the First Amendment, the “soft money” provision that prohibited independent organizations from advertising their interests during a campaign.

In December 2003 the Supreme Court upheld most of the provisions of the McCain-Feingold Act in *McConnell v. FEC*. Then in May 2004 the Federal Election Commission voted not to write new rules concerning the activities of independent organizations, known as 527s, essentially allowing these organizations to raise unlimited amounts of money to spend on issue advocacy and voter mobilization through the 2004 election cycle. These 527s were financed in large part by labor unions, businesses, and wealthy individuals. In the 2004 election cycle, Republicans complained of campaign spending by organizations such as MoveOn.org. This and similar organizations received support ranging in the millions of dollars from George Soros, a Hungarian-born financier who had not been a major donor to U.S. political causes until the 2004 election campaign.

According to the Center for Responsive Politics, Soros donated more than \$23 million to various 527 groups working, ultimately unsuccessfully, to defeat President Bush's reelection bid. Democrats, too, had their complaints about 527 groups, such as the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth and its alleged impact on the result of the 2004 presidential election, which many Democrats blamed for Senator John Kerry's defeat.

In the fall of 2004, the Federal Election Commission adopted new rules requiring 527s participating in federal campaigns to use at least 50 percent “hard money” (contributions that were regulated by the Federal Election Campaign Act) and allowing the FEC to examine the representations these groups made to donors, as well as the actual expenditures of funds, to determine whether an organization qualified as an independent organization under the law. The line between issue advocacy and candidate advocacy was not clear and was the subject of many complaints by members of both parties, and the new rules gave the FEC authority to more closely monitor the activities of these groups.

Democratic presidential candidate BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA as a U.S. Senator had supported campaign finance reform legislation and pledged to fund his 2008 presidential campaign through federal funds, but after he won the presidential nomination of the Democratic Party, he eschewed public funding. Instead, he relied largely on Internet campaign fund-raising that raised \$651 million of his total \$741.7 million campaign fund. This huge amount set a new record for presidential fund-raising and made his Republican rival Senator John McCain's \$346.6 million campaign fund pale in comparison.

See also ELECTIONS; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**Further reading:** Center for Responsive Politics. Available online. URL: <http://opensecrets.org>. Accessed December 29, 2008; Federal Elections Commission. Available online. URL: <http://www.fec.gov>. Accessed December 29, 2008.

—Aharon W. Zorea and Stephen E. Randall

## **Camp David accords**

The historic Camp David accords were forged in 1978 between Israel and Egypt at the U.S. presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland. The official agreement was signed on March 26, 1979, by Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat. Under the pact, Israel agreed to return the Sinai peninsula to Egypt, a transfer that was not completed until 1982. In a joint letter, the two nations also agreed to negotiate Palestinian autonomy measures in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, but little progress was made on this issue





U.S. president Jimmy Carter meets with Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat at Camp David, Maryland, September 1978.  
(Hulton/Archive)

until the 1990s, due to the other Arab states' dislike of the agreement.

Since the declaration of Israeli statehood in 1948, armed conflict has been a staple of Arab-Israeli relations. This armed conflict exploded in the Six-Day War of June 1967, which pitted Israel against Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. The next full eruption of conflict was the October War of 1973. This episode placed Israeli troops against a barrage of soldiers from Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Kuwait, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. Both of these conflicts ended in Israeli victory.

The Six-Day War and the October War combined to make the Arab-Israeli conflict one of the most intractable political problems in the world. After each war, Israel attempted to turn conquered land into settlement areas. These settlements were located in the West Bank, Gaza, and the Sinai, and threatened to further undermine efforts at peace, because their existence linked Israeli domestic politics with retaining this conquered territory. Israel virtually ignored United Nations resolutions designed to make taking land during war illegal. The Arab states, although

defeated in both major outbursts of violence, had demonstrated a strong military capability coupled with the intent to damage and even destroy Israel. Powers outside the Middle East were extremely interested in these events because of their coordination with an oil embargo. The Arab nations also cooperated in their refusal to recognize Israel as a nation. As such, they refused to undertake diplomatic relations with the Jewish state. Thus, by the mid-1970s both Israel and the Arab nations had established antagonistic and perpetually conflicting positions.

The United States searched for a diplomatic answer to the stalemate in the Middle East for many years, trying several programs such as U.S. pressure on Israel coupled with Soviet pressure on Egypt. The election of JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., created a new opportunity for U.S. diplomacy in the situation. He entered the White House with an open mind regarding the Middle East, and his chief diplomatic advisers saw the situation in a different light than had previous administrations. President Carter's plan for the Middle East focused on restoration of

the pre-1967 borders, full normalization of Arab-Israeli relations (coupled with subsequent recognition of Israel's inherent right to existence), a reconvened Geneva conference on a comprehensive settlement, the right of self-determination for Palestinians in a Palestinian homeland, the full participation of the Soviet Union in peace negotiations, and the full participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). President Carter met with the nations' individual leaders in an attempt to sell his plan, but all Middle Eastern parties with the exception of President Sadat of Egypt were reluctant to pursue the new president's proposals.

In September 1978 President and Mrs. Carter welcomed President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin to Camp David, where the three would meet for several days in an attempt to reach a peaceful understanding regarding the Middle East. Initially President Carter met individually with each of the leaders, assuring each that he understood their security concerns and that he would work toward solid guarantees for them. Both sides were resolute about their security needs and demonstrated no indication of flexibility. On the second day of the conference, President Sadat presented President Carter with a "Framework for the Comprehensive Peace," which examined in detail every major issue and presented a hard line toward Israel. President Sadat also gave President Carter a memo outlining concessions that Egypt would accept. President Sadat expressed to President Carter his trust that the American president would use the concessions at the appropriate time.

The following day Prime Minister Begin and President Sadat met face to face with President Carter. While these high-level meetings were occurring, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance was meeting with his counterparts in the Israeli delegation. In all of the meetings, Israel's overwhelming desire to retain land became apparent. On the fifth day of the conference President Carter developed a list of "Necessary Elements of Agreement" for the group developing the American peace proposal. At the conclusion of the first week of meetings, President Carter outlined his priorities: 1) sovereignty in the West Bank and Gaza would not be resolved at this time, 2) the settlement question would have to be added to any agreement, and 3) an Israeli agreement to withdraw from the Sinai would be concluded at these meetings.

Signing the Camp David accords began rather than concluded a path to peace. On September 27, 1978, the Israeli Knesset voted to approve the Camp David accords and to withdraw the Israeli settlements in the occupied Sinai. Three major problems still existed after the meeting at Camp David. These were: the timetable for Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai, the exchange of ambassadors, and the future of the West Bank/Gaza territories.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

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—Leah Blakey

### capital punishment

Capital punishment is the most severe form of penalty that a state can impose on a criminal. Capital CRIMES are those that require a punishment of death, which in the United States is carried out by hanging, electrocution, gas, firing squad, and most commonly, lethal injection. The American criminal justice system has traditionally recognized capital punishment as appropriate for the protection of civil society. In 1967, in response to numerous lawsuits questioning its arbitrary implementation, the courts imposed a moratorium on all death sentences until they could determine whether or not the penalty violated constitutional due process and whether it amounted to cruel and unusual punishment. In 1972 the U.S. SUPREME COURT decided in *Furman v. Georgia* that the current justice system had no standards by which to distinguish capital offenses from noncapital crimes. In this light, the Court ruled that the implementation was arbitrary and constituted a violation of the Eighth Amendment's prohibition of cruel and unusual punishment. Throughout the country, death row prisoners had their sentences commuted to life in prison. Thirty-five states quickly enacted new statutes establishing standards for capital crimes, and in 1976 the Court accepted these modifications as constitutional in *Gregg v. Georgia*. The following year, in *Coker v. Georgia*, the Court ruled that the death penalty for rape was "grossly disproportionate and excessive," further concluding that capital crimes must cause death. Since then, with the exception of treason, murder is the only capital offense approved by the Court. During the 1980s, several states enacted legislation making nonlethal crimes, such as carjacking and drug-dealing, capital offenses. As of 2002, however, the Supreme Court had not tested these cases.

Public opinion is mixed on whether the United States should continue to allow capital punishment. Supporters rely on five general arguments to justify the death penalty: for the defense of society, for justice, for deterrence, for retribution, and for revenge. Many conservative groups support the death penalty as necessary for the sake of justice, while stressing the need for deterrence and defense of society. Opponents argue that capital punishment violates human rights, is arbitrarily implemented, and inherently is cruel and unusual. Traditionally, opponents tended to be political and social liberals. During the 1990s, however, these stereotypes were challenged. President WILLIAM J. CLINTON and his vice president, ALBERT GORE, JR., vocally supported capital punishment. In contrast, the Roman

Catholic Church, which traditionally tolerated the penalty, has become outspoken in its opposition. During his 1999 tour of the United States, the conservative Pope John Paul II directly linked capital punishment and abortion as elements of a modern “culture of death.” The advent of DNA tracking in criminal investigations has also served to raise doubts about the reliability of the American judicial system to impose such a permanent penalty. One 1999 study examined appellate briefs over a 23-year period and discovered that prejudicial errors were discovered in 68 percent of the capital cases. Though not all of these errors led to a reversal, 7 percent of the defendants were later found to be innocent. In 1999 this trend prompted the Republican governor of Illinois, George H. Ryan, to declare an emergency moratorium on capital sentences until his state’s 66 percent error rate could be more closely examined. Several recent Supreme Court cases have had a direct bearing on the application of the death penalty. In the case of *Atkins v. Virginia* (2002), the Court ruled executions of mentally handicapped criminals to be “cruel and unusual punishment” and in *Roper v. Simmons* (2005), the Court held that the minimum age at the time of the crime be raised from 16 to 18 years of age. However, in the face of a challenge by two death row inmates from Kentucky that execution by lethal injection was cruel and unusual punishment and therefore a violation of the Eighth Amendment, in *Baze v. Rees* (2008) the Supreme Court upheld Kentucky’s method of lethal injection as constitutional.

See also EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS; JUDICIAL WATCH; LIBERALISM; MORALITY.

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—Aharon W. Zorea

**Carter, James Earl, Jr. (Jimmy)** (1924– ) 39th U.S. president

James Earl Carter, Jr., popularly known as “Jimmy,” served as the 39th president of the United States. He was just the type of political outsider, representing integrity and reform, that the public eagerly wanted after the WATERGATE SCANDAL and America’s loss in the VIETNAM WAR. In 1976, with the help of his running mate, Senator WALTER F. MONDALE of Minnesota, Carter narrowly defeated Republican incumbent GERALD R. FORD. Once in office, however, Carter’s political inexperience hampered his efforts at lasting reform; his administration was frustrated by high inflation and unemployment rates, a debilitating energy crisis, and a weakened military and diplomatic presence overseas.

Renominated by the Democratic Party in 1980, Carter was soundly defeated by Republican challenger RONALD W. REAGAN. In his later service as a private citizen, he earned international respect as an elder statesman, selfless humanitarian, and nonpartisan mediator.

Jimmy Carter was the first president elected from the Deep South since before the Civil War. He was born to James Earl Carter, Sr., and Lillian Gordy Carter on October 1, 1924, in the small farming town of Plains, which was little more than a railway stop located in southwestern Georgia. His father was a peanut farmer and a small store owner who later became involved in local politics and eventually won a seat in Georgia’s House of Representatives, where he served until he died. His mother was a registered nurse and proved to be the stronger influence in Jimmy’s life as a model of public service, including volunteering for two years’ work for the Peace Corps in India at the age of 68.

While still in high school, Jimmy decided to attend the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland. He received an appointment in 1942 and later graduated in the top 10 percent of his class. Shortly thereafter, he married his hometown sweetheart, Rosalynn Smith. During the six years that Carter served as a naval officer, they added three sons to the family: John William (born 1947), James Earl III (born 1950), and Donnel Jeffrey (born 1952). A daughter, Amy Lynn, was born much later in 1967. While in the navy, Carter worked as a training officer aboard the USS *Mississippi* and volunteered for submarine duty for two years aboard the USS *Pomfret*. In 1951 Carter was assigned to the first vessel built after World War II and earned his qualifications for submarine commander. The next year, he joined the nuclear submarine program under Admiral Hyman Rickover. After attending graduate-level courses in nuclear physics at Union College in Schenectady, New York, Carter returned to the Naval Reactors Branch of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission in Washington, D.C., where he assisted in the design and development of the power plant in the nation’s first nuclear submarines, including the USS *Seawolf*. When his father died in 1953, Carter resigned his commission and returned to Georgia to take over the family business.

Racial segregation loomed as the most pressing issue facing southerners during the 1950s, and Jimmy Carter took a courageous stand against it. Carter suffered social and economic backlash when he became the only white man in Plains who refused to join the pro-segregation White Citizens’ Council; his white neighbors organized a temporary boycott of his business. In 1962 Carter ran for a seat in the Georgia State Senate but lost the primary by a few votes. He appealed the results, arguing that election fraud, including stuffed ballot boxes, robbed him of his true victory. Carter won the appeal and eventually won the election. Along the



way, he also made a name for himself as a reformer opposed to corruption and government waste. He advocated more efficient government planning and bureaucracy, and more critical consideration of the budgets.

After winning reelection in 1964, he immediately set his sights on higher posts. In 1966 Carter announced his plans to run for Georgia governor. The decision was ill timed, and Carter lost the gubernatorial nomination during the primaries, far behind the popular segregationist, Lester Maddox, who eventually became governor.

Carter later said that the 1966 defeat caused him to be disillusioned with politics and life in general. His sister Ruth, who was a Christian missionary, helped him get over the disappointment and further guided Jimmy toward a deeper religious experience. From that point on, Carter freely referred to his faith, "born-again Christian," as an integral part of his political decision making. He returned to the campaign trail in 1970 to run for governor, this time with much more caution. After a hard-fought campaign, Carter won the election by appealing to rural conservatives, but in so doing he alienated his black constituents and carried less than 10 percent of the state's black voters in the general election.

Once in office, however, Governor Carter quickly returned to his social liberalism and actively spoke against segregation, promoted civil rights by specifically appointing women and minorities to bureaucratic positions in the state

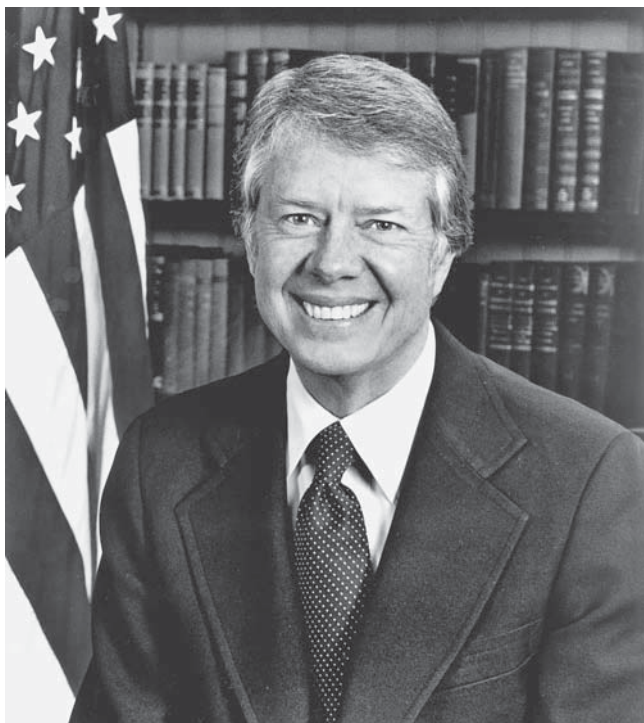
government, and even displayed a portrait of the recently martyred civil rights leader, Martin Luther King, Jr., in the state capital. He also pushed for strict banking regulations and stronger consumer protection laws, state-sponsored health care, increased funding for education, and wide-reaching reforms of the state's prisons and mental health facilities. His most highly praised achievement, however, was the reorganization of the state's 300 agencies into 22 larger departments, which earned him an antiwaste reputation. He publicly announced his candidacy for the president for the 1976 election shortly thereafter.

The pool of Democratic presidential hopefuls included nine other candidates with considerably more national experience than Carter had. Yet Carter presented the fresh image of an honest, down-to-earth politician, a born-again Christian, and gentleman planter. This appealed to many Americans who had become weary of the Watergate scandal. Moreover, Carter's emphasis on domestic reform, economic security, and moral values provided welcome change for those discouraged by American involvement in Vietnam. Furthermore, many Democrats, anxious about the threat posed by George Wallace, sought a southern politician who could take away voters from the former governor of Alabama. Carter won the Iowa caucuses by organizing a grassroots campaign, which also mobilized evangelical voters. He then went on to win the primary in New Hampshire and finished first in 17 of the 30 primaries he entered, winning the Democratic nomination. He also chose Walter F. Mondale, senator from Minnesota, as his running mate. The combination resounded with the public, and Jimmy Carter enjoyed a 30-point lead immediately following the Democratic convention.

It did not last, however, and by the time President Gerald Ford accepted his party's nomination, Carter's lead had dwindled significantly. Carter promised to bring an outsider's perspective to the White House, as well as promising a more muscular defense and foreign policy. Carter also criticized Ford for failing to address the problems of an economic recession and high inflation.

Ford took advantage of Carter's tendency to rely on ambiguities in his campaign speeches by shifting the national debate away from the public image of integrity toward a more specific discussion of the issues. Ford argued Carter's platform was dangerous to the economy because it would produce higher inflation and require higher taxes. By November, Carter barely edged out Ford with 49.9 percent of the popular vote to Ford's 47.9 percent.

Carter took a decidedly populist agenda to the office, which he put into effect immediately; he stripped the White House of many of its traditional formalities, including suspending the playing of "Hail to the Chief" in his presence, and restricting the use of his portrait in government offices. He also sold the presidential yacht, limited White House



James Earl Carter, Jr. (*James E. Carter Presidential Library*)



limousine service, discontinued long-standing traditions of presidential balls and state dinners, and significantly reduced the White House staff. He also tried to streamline the federal agencies in much the same way he had redesigned Georgia's state agencies. The federal bureaucracy, however, held such a great constituent base that Congress was reluctant to act, and Carter was unable to force the changes. He fulfilled his campaign promise by creating a Department of Energy and a Department of Education. Congress, however, rejected his proposal for a new department for consumer protection.

Despite Democratic control of Congress, Carter suffered a strained relationship with both houses. Though Carter's status as a Washington outsider helped elect him to the White House, it served to undermine his presidency in the long run; he had little success in his political relations with Congress. These administrative handicaps were magnified by the especially severe winter in 1977, which prompted serious shortages of natural gas. Carter responded with a number of emergency measures, including asking Congress for temporary authority to regulate prices and oil supplies; enactment of special "windfall" taxes on oil companies to discourage allegations of price gouging; economic incentives for research into alternative energy sources; and a national conservation campaign. Despite the flurry of federal enactments, the energy crisis produced a dramatic rise in inflation. Carter also imposed additional credit restraints, which some critics blamed for causing declines in auto and housing sales. An unusual combination of high inflation and market recession, which became known as "stagflation," ensued, and the public sentiment turned strongly against Carter's administration. By July 1980, Carter received the lowest approval rating of any president to that date.

In FOREIGN POLICY, Carter found mixed success. Foreign policy under Carter was marked by two shifts. Initially Carter, through his secretary of state, Cyrus Vance, pursued a policy of making human rights and democratic principles the basis and measure of American foreign policy. As a consequence, anticommunism in foreign policy was downplayed. Escalating confrontation with the Soviet Union, especially after its invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, led Carter to take a more aggressive stance toward the Soviet Union. Still, Carter enjoyed a number of foreign policy successes.

In 1977 Carter replaced the 1903 PANAMA CANAL Treaty with a new version that recognized Panama's complete sovereignty over the Canal Zone within 20 years. The treaty was controversial, since many Americans feared this forfeiture would leave the United States vulnerable. Pointing to this, as well as to Carter's earlier decision to pardon all Vietnam-era draft evaders and his refusal to approve development of the neutron bomb and

a B-1 bomber plane, critics accused Carter of being soft on defense matters.

Carter's greatest success in foreign policy came when he brokered an unprecedented peace agreement between Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin that later resulted in the signing of a peace treaty on March 26, 1979.

This was arguably the high point in Carter's foreign policy. In the summer of 1979 the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, and U.S.-Soviet relations deteriorated rapidly afterward. In response, he discontinued the second round of Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT II) with the Soviet Union and accelerated the military arms buildup that he had begun earlier. He also boycotted the 1980 Olympics in Moscow (which led to the Soviet boycott of the Los Angeles Olympics in 1984). Carter tried to improve relations with China by formally recognizing their revolutionary Communist government and by severing ties with the traditionally American-supported Nationalist regime in Taiwan.

Carter's foreign policy came under further criticism when militant Islamic revolutionaries, led by fundamentalist Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, overthrew the shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, who had ruled for 37 years. After the shah fled to the United States, a group of Iranian supporters of the ayatollah stormed the U.S. embassy in Tehran in November 1979 and took 66 American hostages. Negotiations for the release of the hostages moved slowly and were aggravated by an abortive military rescue attempt in April 1980. The hostages remained captive throughout the remainder of Carter's administration and plagued his campaign for reelection.

Further damaging Carter, the president's brother, Billy, was discovered to have received \$220,000 from Libya for unknown reasons. Even though a later congressional investigation found that American foreign relations were unaffected by the payment, the appearance of impropriety involving a Middle Eastern government hostile to the United States undermined Carter's credibility.

President Carter received his party's nomination for the 1980 presidential election, but only after a formidable challenge by Senator Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.) who had rallied the party's liberal wing to his side. The fight with Kennedy left the Democrats bitterly divided. After winning the nomination, Carter told aides that he believed he could easily defeat the Republican nominee, Ronald W. Reagan. His underestimation of Reagan proved his undoing on election day. Reagan won in a landslide, winning 50 percent of the popular vote to Carter's 41 percent of the vote, and third-party candidate John Anderson's popular vote of 9 percent. The Republicans also gained control of the Senate for the first time in 26 years.

Carter's approach to social problems proved more effective after he left office than it had been while he was

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president. In 1982 he founded the Carter Center at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, where he also taught. The center dedicates itself to championing human rights and to peaceful resolution of conflicts around the globe. During the 1980s, Carter and his wife became known as spokespeople for numerous charitable causes, including Habitat for Humanity, which is a nonprofit organization that builds houses for the poor in several countries. By the 1990s, Carter had assumed the role of elder statesman; he was asked to monitor elections in South American countries in 1989–90 and in Haiti in 1994. He also served as mediator for the UNITED NATIONS after North Korea's violation of the 1968 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 1994. He was repeatedly called upon during the many armistices of the Balkan conflicts of the late 1990s. Carter was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2002.

See also CAMP DAVID ACCORDS; ECONOMY; EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS; FOREIGN CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT; IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS; TAIWAN.

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—Aharon W. Zorea

### Catholic Bishops' Letter (The Challenge of Peace) (1983)

On May 3, 1983, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops promulgated a pastoral letter on war and peace, *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response*. Addressing Roman Catholics and non-Catholics alike, the American bishops restated the moral implications of war, nuclear stockpiling, and other policies of nuclear deterrence. The letter came during the last phase of the COLD WAR, which had culminated in a renewed ARMS RACE between the United States and the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the letter appeared in the midst of RONALD W. REAGAN's first term in office, when he had taken a tough stance against the Soviet Union, calling it an "evil empire." The letter, in effect, encouraged peace activists who were calling for a "nuclear freeze" in the arms race, while at the same time creating great controversy among anti-Soviet conservatives who supported the administration defense buildup.

From the start of his pontificate in 1978, Pope John Paul II sought to reduce the threat of nuclear war and pro-

mote the cause of global peace. In two addresses to the United Nations, the pope recognized that nuclear deterrence could temporarily prevent war, but warned that it was ultimately unsatisfactory because it relied on the threat of global destruction. He asked that any future efforts toward peace include a genuine commitment to disarmament and implored the assembled nations to devote as much energy to spiritual renewal as they did to technological innovation.

The National Conference of Catholic Bishops applied the pontiff's principles specifically to the policies of the United States. *The Challenge of Peace* recognized the nation's right and duty to protect itself from unjust aggression but condemned even the defensive use of nuclear weapons because they indiscriminately kill innocent civilians and noncombatants. The bishops urged the United States to pursue bilateral verifiable agreements that would halt the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapon technology; significantly reduce existing stockpiles; encourage global restrictions on the sales of conventional weapons; and establish a global authority with which to police the nonproliferation of all weapons of mass destruction.

The bishops' letter came under immediate attack by conservative groups who believed that the call for disarmament was naïve and counterproductive. NEOCONSERVATIVES such as Max Kampelman and Roman Catholic conservatives such as George Weigel criticized the bishops in a well-publicized campaign and countered that unilateral disarmament was dangerous and that the Soviet Union had failed to live up to arms reduction treaties in the past. Realistic arms control, these opponents maintained, could only be accomplished by tough-minded negotiations with the Soviet Union that allowed for on-site inspection and verified arms reductions.

See also ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY; DEFENSE POLICY; FOREIGN POLICY; IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS; KISSINGER, HENRY A.; NUCLEAR FREEZE MOVEMENT.

—Aharon W. Zorea

### censorship

In the United States, censorship refers to government restriction of public exposure to certain forms of expression. The First Amendment guarantees the individual rights of free speech and a free press, but it has never been interpreted to mean that all forms of expression are legal, or that the press is free from all obstruction. The courts have generally accepted laws barring citizens from engaging in activities that might harm the public good; for example, shouting "fire" in a crowded theater when there is no danger may cause a stampede; public obscenity may offend public sensibilities; publication of troop movements

may compromise national security; and the publication of unsubstantiated rumors may inflict irreversible damage on another's reputation. These types of acts have always been liable to censorship. The question of censorship, therefore, involves a balance between an individual's right of expression through speech or the press, and the society's need for public order.

Freedom of the press has been most challenged when newspapers threaten public order or national security, yet even in these cases, the Court has tended to favor the press. In 1969 the Court ruled in *Brandenburg v. Ohio* that the First Amendment protects radical papers that call for violence and the use of force. Two years later, in *New York Times v. United States* (1971), better known as the Pentagon Papers case, the Court concluded that the government must assume the "heavy burden of showing justification" for censoring even classified information. Since 1971, the issue of censorship of the press has largely been settled, though the advent of cable TELEVISION and the INTERNET has brought new dimensions to the debate, particularly as it relates to legal process and obscenity. In 1995 the widely publicized murder trial of former football and television star O. J. Simpson prompted many observers to criticize the MEDIA for their exhaustive coverage, which may have unduly influenced the jury's verdict.

Critics charged the television networks with influencing the national presidential elections in 1980, 1988, 1996, and 2000, when they called the outcome before all the polls had closed; critics argued that many undecided voters changed their decision during the last hours in order to claim support for the "winning side."

Whether the framers of the First Amendment initially intended protection only for the content of political expression and not subjects that might violate public mores is a topic of heated debate among constitutional scholars. Those opposing restrictions on free speech, even involving the publication and dissemination of pornographic materials, argue that MORALITY cannot be legislated in a pluralistic society and therefore censorship on the basis of obscenity falsely imposes a narrow Judeo-Christian view of decency, and thus severely limits protected forms of artistic expression. Supporters replied that the claim of artistic expression was only a facade used by the sex industry to legalize pornography and desensitize society to the dangers of obscenity, which include child prostitution, sexual addiction, and the breakdown in family relationships.

In the 1957 decision *Roth v. United States*, the Supreme Court ruled that obscenity was not protected under the First Amendment, and that states could enact laws prohibiting the mailing of "lewd, lascivious, or filthy" materials. Seven years later, however, the Court loosened its standards of obscenity with *Jacobellis v. Ohio* (1964), which established the test for obscenity as "whether to

the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material, taken as a whole, appeals to prurient interests." This definition opened the way for changing definitions of obscenity and, as a result of the "SEXUAL REVOLUTION" of the late 1960s and early 1970s, most courts have tended to find that "community standards" have relaxed, favoring the rights of individual expression over the needs for public censorship. Congress responded to increasing technological innovations, permitting easier distribution of PORNOGRAPHY in the home through cable and Internet connections, when it passed the Communications Decency Act (CDA) of 1996, which criminalized the "knowing" transmission of "obscene or indecent" messages to any recipient less than 18 years of age. The next year, in *Reno v. ACLU* (1997), the Court struck down the CDA because the language did not clearly define obscenity and therefore violated First Amendment protections.

In the 1990s American society embraced with unprecedented enthusiasm an increasing tolerance of moral diversity. Critics argued that, though the new atmosphere promotes tolerance of controversial subjects, it includes an unspoken censorship under more traditional Judeo-Christian values. Many Roman Catholics were offended by artworks that they felt mocked their faith, and by works that were explicit attacks on it. Critics in the field of academia feared that the resulting demand for POLITICAL CORRECTNESS severely censored what they could teach. Free-speech advocates for the new atmosphere claimed that critics had exaggerated the offense, and that society benefited from controversy since it inspires constructive debate. The courts have not addressed the issue of de facto, or "reverse," censorship and have shown no indication they are likely to do so in the future.

See also SUPREME COURT.

—Aharon W. Zorea

**Cheney, Richard B.** (1941– ) *vice president of the United States*

Richard B. "Dick" Cheney served as vice president of the United States under GEORGE W. BUSH. He had long been an important political actor. He served in the RICHARD M. NIXON and GERALD R. FORD administrations, as secretary of defense under President GEORGE H. W. BUSH, and in Congress as a representative of his home state of Wyoming. Richard B. Cheney was born January 30, 1941, in Lincoln, Nebraska, to Richard Herbert Cheney and Marjorie Lauraine (Dickey) Cheney. While still young, Cheney moved with his parents to Casper, Wyoming. After graduating from high school, he enrolled at Yale on a full scholarship, but dropped out after four semesters. Three years later, he returned to school at the University of Wyoming. He

earned a B.A. in political science in 1965 and his M.A. the following year. He then moved to Madison, Wisconsin, to work on the staff of Governor Warren Knowles, after which he received an American Political Science Association congressional fellowship on Congressman William Steiger's staff.

Although he had begun work on a Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin, Cheney chose to remain in politics rather than return to academia. In 1969 he joined the staff of DONALD RUMSFELD, who had recently become director of the Office of Economic Opportunity under President Nixon. Cheney remained on Rumsfeld's staff when Rumsfeld became White House counselor. When Nixon appointed Rumsfeld ambassador to NATO in 1973, Cheney chose not to accompany him. Instead, he took a position as vice president at Bradley, Woods and Co., a Washington-based firm that advised industry on legislative issues. When Gerald Ford appointed Rumsfeld to his transition team after Nixon's resignation, Rumsfeld recruited Cheney as a deputy. In November 1975 Cheney became Ford's chief of staff. When Ford lost the 1976 presidential election, Cheney returned to Wyoming and worked briefly in banking before running in 1978 for his state's sole seat in the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. During the campaign, he suffered a mild heart attack but went on to win the election. While in Congress, Cheney served as head of the Republican Policy Committee, chairman of the Republican Conference, and eventually as party whip, the second highest Republican position in the House.

In March 1989 George H. W. Bush nominated Cheney as secretary of defense. Cheney successfully deflected questions about his lack of direct experience and reassured the Senate that the three mild heart attacks he had suffered by that time did not indicate that he couldn't handle the job. The Senate confirmed him on March 17. While in office, he faced a number of tough situations, including defense budget cuts, the threat of a coup against Corazon Aquino in the Philippines, and the ouster of Panamanian President Guillermo Endara by Manuel Noriega. The biggest challenge, however, was the PERSIAN GULF WAR, in which Iraq invaded Kuwait, an action that prompted the United States to send troops to drive the Iraqis out. Some experts, including William J. Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, noted that Cheney deserved considerable credit for putting together the international coalition that helped win the war.

In 1992, when George H. W. Bush lost his reelection bid, Cheney took a job with the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative think tank. He also took seats on several boards of directors. Eventually, he accepted a post as chairman and CEO of Halliburton, a Dallas, Texas based engineering and construction firm. During Cheney's tenure, Halliburton grew to be the largest provider of oil-drilling, engineering, and construction services.

In the 2000 presidential campaign, Republican candidate George W. Bush asked Cheney to become his running mate. Cheney's previous association with Halliburton raised questions in the media about his ability to remain unbiased toward the ENERGY industry. The news media also gave considerable attention to Cheney's history of heart trouble and its potential effect on his ability to serve as vice president. In fact, while Bush and ALBERT GORE, the Democratic candidate, were contesting the results of the election, Cheney suffered a fourth mild heart attack, but continued to assert that his coronary artery disease would not affect his work. Cheney was hospitalized again in March 2001, when he had a pacemaker installed to help manage his condition.

Despite his health problems, Cheney has been described as an unusually powerful vice president. He attended White House meetings on international policy and met regularly with top officials, including CONDOLEEZZA RICE and former secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld. He also helped organize the initial response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks while George W. Bush was transported to a secure location. In 2002 he was instrumental in building popular support for an attack against Iraq and its weapons program.

Cheney's status as a powerful vice president also made him a target for allegations of abuse of power. His tenure at Halliburton led to accusations of partiality in both energy policy and contracting decisions for the war in Iraq. In 2001 Cheney headed the White House's National Energy Policy Development Group (NEPDG), which recommended making energy security—especially access to foreign oil—a prime foreign policy objective. Representatives Henry Waxman and John Dingell asked the General Accounting Office (GAO) to obtain records of those meetings in order to determine whether the panel had been unduly influenced by the energy industry. Legal battles over the records' release continued until 2005, when a federal appeals court determined that Cheney did not have to release them. In the meantime, the *New York Times* identified 22 oil and gas companies whose representatives had met with the NEPDG. In March 2003 Congressman Waxman launched another inquiry into the Army's award of a no-bid contract to Kellogg, Brown, and Root (KBR), a Halliburton subsidiary. Such awards have raised questions about Cheney's influence over the contracting process, although Cheney stated in a September 2003 NBC *Meet the Press* interview that he had severed all ties with the company. Cheney was also named a defendant in a civil suit filed by Valerie (Plame) Wilson, a former CIA undercover operative, and her husband, Joseph Wilson, a diplomat who had investigated claims that Saddam Hussein had been trying to purchase uranium from Niger.



Cheney will be remembered as one of the most powerful and influential vice presidents in American history.

**Further reading:** Barton Gellman, *Angler: The Cheney Vice Presidency* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008).

—Amy Wallhermfechtel

### “Chicago Eight”

The “Chicago Eight” were eight radical activists who were tried for conspiracy to instigate a riot at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in August 1968. The alleged conspirators included Tom Hayden and Rennie Davis of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS); Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, cofounders of the Youth International (Yippie) Party; Dave Dellinger, a pacifist and leader of the fall 1969 mobilization demonstration in Washington, D.C.; John Froines, a radical activist professor; Lee Weiner, a street organizer and movement activist; and Black Panther Party leader Bobby Seale. After Seale was gagged and chained to his chair by the order of the judge, his case was separated from the other seven.

These men, part of the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam (“The Mobe”), organized more than 5,000 activists to participate in protest activities throughout the week of the Democratic Party convention in Chicago. Yippies Hoffman and Rubin planned street theater and demonstrations, including presenting a pig as their presidential nominee and threatening to pour LSD in the city water supply. Chicago mayor Richard Daley vowed to maintain order and reinforced his police force with armored vehicles and additional men. On the night of August 28, Chicago police confronted protesters jamming North Michigan Boulevard. Using clubs and tear gas, the police injured many activists, other bystanders, and more than 60 television cameramen and journalists. Images of bloodied protestors and rampaging police filled the evening news coverage that poured into American households. These images subsequently damaged the campaign of Democratic Party nominee Hubert Humphrey and helped win the election for Richard M. Nixon, the Republican Party nominee, who ran on a campaign calling for “Law and Order,” as well as national reconciliation.

The Walker Commission, appointed to investigate the violent events, concluded that the Chicago police had provoked the crowd and had been encouraged by Mayor Daley. The commission’s report found that they had engaged in a “police riot.” Despite this finding, Chicago authorities arrested the “Chicago Eight” for conspiracy to commit a riot.

The trial itself was politicized from the beginning, because it highlighted President Nixon’s campaign to reassure Americans who were disturbed by campus unrest,

racial violence, and the apparent lack of patriotism of antiwar activists. The controversial behavior of both the defendants and Judge Julius Hoffman quickly turned the trial, held in Chicago from October 1969 to March 1970, into a media circus. Six of the eight defendants were convicted on various charges. All convictions were overturned on appeal because of Judge Hoffman’s alleged bias and procedural errors.

See also ANTIWAR MOVEMENT—VIETNAM; VIETNAM WAR.

—William L. Glinkler

### Christian Coalition

Founded in 1989 by Marion Gordon “Pat” Robertson, Christian Coalition (CC) is a grassroots political movement comprised of conservative EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS. Robertson, a religious leader who first became a candidate for the 1988 Republican nomination, was defeated by Vice President GEORGE H. W. BUSH.

After the demise of Jerry Falwell’s MORAL MAJORITY in 1989 and the apparent foundering of the Christian Right, Pat Robertson, along with his associate Ralph Reed, proposed the formation of an organization for Christian grassroots activism and an “American Congress of Christian Citizens” at an organizational meeting held in Atlanta on September 25, 1989. Under the name “Christian Coalition,” the group decided to follow both proposals, but by March 1990, the Congress approach was dropped, and the group focused solely on grassroots action.

Christian Coalition’s organizing mission was to represent evangelical and “pro-family” Roman Catholic Christians at the local, state, and federal levels, to speak publicly and issue media statements, to train leaders for political and social action, to provide political information to constituents, and to protest alleged anti-Christian bias and defend the legal rights of Christians. Specific goals include anti-ABORTION and anti-PORNOGRAPHY legislation, support for local control of EDUCATION, tax reform, and protecting religious freedom. Initial membership figures in 1990 claimed 25,000 Christian Coalition members. This figure climbed to 57,000 by the end of 1990, with 125 local chapters and an annual budget of \$2.8 million. By December 1996 the organization reported receipt of \$24.9 million in donations from supporters. In October 2000, the organization purported to represent more than 2 million members and supporters, had an affiliate in every state, and more than 2,000 local chapters.

Christian Coalition utilizes TELEVISION broadcasts and maintains its own INTERNET site. Here interested persons can participate online in citizen activism, be alerted to pending legislative information, and respond to the national organization, various members of Congress, the MEDIA, or their local chapter.

The CC regularly produces three publications. The *Congressional Scorecard* is published semiannually, and shows the voting records of senators and representatives on conservative issues chosen by the Christian Coalition. State affiliates produce similar materials regarding voting in the state legislatures. *Religious Rights Watch*, published monthly, is a single-page announcement that reports violations of the legal rights of Christians. *Christian American*, initiated in 1990 as a quarterly newsletter, is the principal vehicle of communication from the national organization. In 1991 the newsletter format was changed to a monthly tabloid newspaper featuring a section by Robertson, as well as syndicated columnists like PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY and Cal Thomas. The publication changed again in 1995 to a magazine format published six times a year with content similar to its predecessor, but less confrontational in its delivery.

The Christian Coalition opened a lobbying office in 1993 in Washington, D.C., to keep track of legislation, influence administration officials and Congress, work in association with other lobbying groups, and represent the CC before the national media. The CC reportedly spent \$5.9 million on Washington lobbying activities in the first half of 1996. Through this office, information is disseminated to constituents through *Christian Coalition Live*, the Internet, e-mail, fax, and direct mail.

Most of the CC constituency identifies with the platform of the Republican Party. At the 1996 Republican National Convention, the Christian Coalition maintained a sophisticated communication system that connected floor whips to the CC members among the delegates. For the 2000 presidential election, the coalition published a goal of recruiting 100,000 volunteers to serve as liaisons between their churches and local CC chapters and to distribute 70 million voter guides to have information in every congressional district. These actions have not gone unnoticed by watchdog groups, and in 1996 the Federal Election Commission (FEC) filed a civil lawsuit against the Christian Coalition for illegally aiding the 1990, 1992, and 1994 Republican campaigns. After losing this lawsuit in 1999, the Christian Coalition reorganized.

See also POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE; POLITICAL PARTIES; RELIGION.

**Further reading:** Robert Boston, *The Most Dangerous Man in America? Pat Robertson and the Rise of the Christian Coalition* (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1996); Justin Watson, *The Christian Coalition: Dreams of Restoration, Demands for Recognition* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

—Michele Rutledge

**Christianity** See RELIGION.

### **Chrysler Corporation Loan Guarantee Act (1979)**

In 1979 Chrysler Corporation was on the verge of bankruptcy, and the U.S. government agreed to provide the company with \$1.5 billion in federal loan guarantees under the Chrysler Corporation Loan Guarantee Act of 1979. This bailout, which was passed by Congress in December 1979 and signed into law by President JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., on January 7, 1980, was the largest amount of direct federal assistance ever given to a private corporation.

Chrysler, along with Ford and General Motors, had deteriorated as costs of meeting federal regulations governing emission controls and fuel economy increased, while the economy suffered the recessions of the 1970s, and the cost of oil rose due to the OPEC embargoes. Chrysler argued that government regulations had affected Chrysler unfairly because it produced fewer cars than Ford and General Motors, making the extra cost per vehicle higher. Chrysler's new chairman, Lee Iacocca, who joined the company in 1978 from Ford, also admitted that Chrysler had a record of bad management. It had left the company unprepared to meet its commitments, as foreign automobile imports, especially from Japan, entered the country to meet consumer demand for fuel-efficient cars following the oil price increases. In the third quarter of 1979 Chrysler reported a net loss of \$460.6 million and a projected loss for the year of \$1.5 billion, more than any business had lost at that time.

Chrysler approached Congress for federal aid, sparking an intense debate on the role of the government in a free-market economy. The resulting act provided Chrysler with \$1.5 billion in loan guarantees on condition that the company could raise another \$2 billion. In granting assistance, proponents in Congress argued that the cost to taxpayers of a Chrysler bankruptcy, in the form of substantial unemployment, economic distress, worker compensation, and the loss of tax revenues, necessitated government intervention. Proponents further stressed the importance of maintaining a strong national auto industry in the face of increasing overseas competition.

Opponents of the act argued that the government should not be in the business of bailing out a private company, in effect, its wealthy stockholders. At this time a fierce public debate over the role of government in the marketplace arose, as business groups and conservative organizations called for further economic deregulation (started in the Carter administration), increased fiscal responsibility in Congress, and downsizing of government in general. At the same time, some economists, such as Robert Reich, were calling for increased government planning along the lines of the "Japanese" model, in which the government subsidized private corporations and industrial development.

Following the federal bailout, Chrysler used the \$3.5 billion to drastically reduce operating costs, develop a new

range of fuel-efficient vehicles, and mount an aggressive advertising campaign. In 1981 Chrysler showed a small profit and by 1984 announced record profits of more than \$2.4 billion, having paid off the federal loan guarantees seven years early.

See also *AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY; BUSINESS; ECONOMY.*

—Stephen Hardman

### **cities and urban life**

Since the 1950s and the construction of an interstate highway system, the U.S. urban population has been steadily moving from its older urban core to the newer suburbs. At the same time, another trend has been apparent in the move from eastern and midwestern industrial cities to western and southern cities emphasizing high-tech industries. Beginning in the late 1960s and continuing through the 1990s, the population shifted from the *RUST BELT* to the *SUNBELT*. Political experts noted that the effect of that shift favored the Republican Party at the presidential level, and the Republicans won the White House in every election save one from 1968 to 1988. In 1992 California shifted to the Democrats, indicating that the rust belt/Sunbelt paradigm had begun losing its former force. In 2006 the picture of urban life in the early 21st century United States was looking much different from the 1980s.

By 2006, 54 percent of Americans lived in cities of one million or more. That statistic masks noticeably different degrees of growth or decline in American cities since 2000. And that growth or decline has different sources, depending on the cities involved. Instead of an eastern/midwestern grouping versus a western/southern grouping of cities, it is more productive to group cities into one of four categories and analyze the differences.

The first group of cities consists of the large established centers, such as New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Miami, and Boston. These cities have low overall population growth, but the overall numbers mask a significant transition in the type of population in these cities. Many people are moving out of these cities, but nearly as many immigrants are moving in. Los Angeles, for instance, saw 6 percent of its population leave from 2000 to 2006, but this loss was balanced by a 6 percent gain from immigrants moving into the city. Overall, the large coastal cities have not gained in population, even though large numbers of people have been moving out. The loss of population has been offset by a corresponding gain in the number of immigrants.

The number of people exiting from these cities means the American population has begun to move out of, rather than into, coastal California, southern coastal Florida, and

established major metropolitan areas in general. Experts argue that reasons for the population loss include high housing costs, high taxation, and, to some extent, a distaste for the growing immigrant population of these cities. At the same time, the greater number of entering immigrants is creating a large class of people working at low wages. The economic middle class in these cities is in decline, creating a picture of cities experiencing a growing gap between the affluent and the working poor.

There is, on the other hand, a significant gain in cities in the interior of the country, and in northern Florida, North Carolina, and Texas. Cities experiencing booming growth include Riverside and San Bernardino in California; Orlando, Tampa, and Jacksonville, Florida; Charlotte, North Carolina; Phoenix, Arizona; Atlanta, Georgia; Las Vegas, Nevada; and Dallas and Houston, Texas. Their collective population has gone up 18 percent just since 2000. Considerable numbers of immigrants have been partly responsible but only accounted for just over 20 percent of the growth of these cities. The rest of the growth comes from natural increase and a large number of domestic movement into these cities, which by itself accounted for almost half of the growth of the last six years. Some 38 percent of the nation's growth since 2000 is attributable to these cities.

The third category of old rust belt cities—Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Milwaukee, and Buffalo and Rochester, New York—have continued to lose population since 2000. Their economies are still suffering, and the number of people leaving these cities has been measured at about 4 percent. This decline has only been partly offset by a 1 percent gain from immigration. If the population loss in these areas is smaller than in the 1980s, that is partly because these cities lost so many young people in the previous two decades.

The fourth category consists of 18 metropolitan areas that have been essentially stagnant since 2000. These cities include: Philadelphia, Baltimore (Maryland), Hartford (Connecticut), and Providence (Rhode Island), in the East; Minneapolis, St. Louis and Kansas City (Missouri), Cincinnati and Columbus (Ohio), and Indianapolis in the Midwest; Seattle, Portland (Oregon), and Denver in the West; and Norfolk (Virginia), Memphis (Tennessee), Louisville (Kentucky), Oklahoma City (Oklahoma), and Birmingham (Alabama) in the South. Overall, these cities had a domestic influx of between zero and 4 percent since 2000, and an immigrant inflow of 2 percent, offset by a domestic outflow of just 1 percent in these years. These cities appear to be holding their own economically, but they are not moving ahead, and some could start losing population again.

Two metropolitan areas do not fit into easy categories of analysis. One is New Orleans, which was losing population and attracting almost no immigrants before

HURRICANE KATRINA, and has seen its population drop 25 percent since. The other is Salt Lake City, with a robust population growth of 10 percent in six years, fueled almost entirely (90 percent) by natural increase. Its domestic population loss of 4 percent has been balanced by a corresponding immigrant influx of 4 percent.

There are a few smaller metropolitan areas that look like New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, such as Santa Barbara, California; a number that are growing, such as Tucson, Arizona; and a similar number that are declining, such as Muncie, Indiana. Demographically, however, the United States outside these 49 metropolitan areas is growing slowly, with just 1 percent domestic inflow, another 1 percent immigrant influx, and a domestic growth rate of 4 percent.

The recent census data indicates another demographic shift taking shape in the United States, with political consequences as dramatic as the shift that occurred in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The U.S. population is migrating to interior metropolitan areas where most of the voters are private-sector religious Republicans, only partly offset by significant immigrant populations that favor the Democrats. The rust belt is smaller and less significant in 2006, although still heavily Democratic. The real strength of the Democratic Party in the period 1992–2008 has been in the large coastal metropolitan areas, where secular high-income earners and low-earning recent immigrants vote Democratic by sizable margins. The shift away from the large coastal cities does not bode well for the Democrats. New York, New Jersey, and Illinois look to lose House seats and electoral votes in 2010. California, which has gained House seats in every census since it became a state in 1850, is now projected to pick up none in 2010. Within the state, House seats are projected to shift from the coastal areas favoring Democrats to the interior, which favors Republicans.

Texas, Florida, Georgia, Arizona, and Nevada look to register gains in electoral votes after 2010. In the 1960 election, based on the 1950 census, Michigan, with its 20 electoral votes, went for Kennedy, while Arizona cast four for Nixon. New York's 45 votes went to Kennedy, while Florida cast 10 for Nixon. In 2012, Michigan is projected to have 16 votes to Arizona's 12, and New York and Florida are projected to each have 29 electoral votes. The demographic changes in the urban United States have had and will continue to have a dramatic impact on the political fortunes of the two parties.

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—Stephen E. Randoll

### Civil Liberties Act (1988)

The Civil Liberties Act of 1988, signed into law by President RONALD W. REAGAN, authorized reparation payments to all Japanese Americans and Alaskan Aleuts who were interned, relocated, or evacuated from their homes during World War II. Representative THOMAS S. FOLEY (D-Wash.) introduced the measure to the House with 125 cosponsors on January 6, 1987. The bill officially recognized that the United States committed a “grave injustice” when it uprooted more than 120,000 citizens and permanent residents of Japanese ancestry, and Alaskan Aleuts living on certain islands during World War II and relocated them in internment camps. It further recognized that they were not responsible for any acts of espionage or sabotage, nor did they pose any security risk. The bill acknowledged that the actions were “motivated by racial prejudice, wartime hysteria, and a failure of political leadership.” It apologized on behalf of the nation for the wrongs committed and requested the president to offer full pardons for any Japanese Americans convicted of violating the laws or executive orders related to the internment process. It further authorized the U.S. Treasury to offer reparation payments of \$20,000 to each Japanese American, and \$12,000 for affected Aleuts who suffered as a result of these wartime measures.

In August 1987 the bill passed the House by a vote of 243-141. By April of the following year, the Senate approved the bill by a vote of 69-27. It was signed into law August 10, and the Office of Redress Administration (ORA) was formed to advertise for, identify, and find all those who might be eligible for reparation payments. The law provided a window of 10 years for all eligible individuals to submit their claims. Before officially closing on February 5, 1999, the office paid out 82,219 claims, leaving 79 claims pending. An additional 133 cases involving Japanese Americans who had been removed from Latin America could not be processed under existing laws. Ten days before the ORA closed, the federal government settled the claims of these Latin-American Japanese in *Mochizuki v. United States*, which allowed partial settlements of \$5,000. On May 14, Congress authorized emergency funds with which to pay all outstanding claims.

See also ALASKA NATIVE CLAIM SETTLEMENT ACT; ASIAN AMERICANS; NATIVE AMERICANS; WAR POWERS ACT.

—Aharon W. Zorea

### Civil Rights Act (1991)

Signed into law on November 21, 1991, by President GEORGE H. W. BUSH after months of public debate over civil rights issues, the Civil Rights Act was a compromise measure with bipartisan support that amended and clarified



certain aspects of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Its purpose was to strengthen federal civil rights laws, to provide for damages in employment discrimination cases, and to clarify provisions of the 1964 act relating to "disparate impact" actions. Essentially, this congressional action on civil rights was a response to decisions by the U.S. SUPREME COURT that limited the scope and weakened the protections of federal civil rights statutes.

The Civil Rights Act of 1991 achieved this goal by reversing a series of U.S. Supreme Court decisions. For example, it reversed the Court's decision in *Ward's Cove Packing Co. v. Antonio* (1989) in which the Court ruled that an employer could justify a discriminatory practice by proving that it was a "business necessity." The new act eliminated the claim of "business necessity" as a justification for intentional discrimination. Additionally, in reversing the Court's decision in *Patterson v. McLean Credit Union* (1989), the 1991 legislation broadened the language of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to extend the law's protection to employees' claims of post-hiring racial harassment. Finally, the new legislation narrowed the opportunities for challenging affirmative action policies in the courts by reversing the Court's decision in *Martin v. Wilks* (1989).

The Civil Rights Act of 1991 had political repercussions, as well. Because it clarified and broadened the civil rights protections of previous legislation, especially by curtailing the ability to challenge affirmative action, President Bush had previously denounced the legislation as a "quota bill," thus voicing the opinion of his constituency. By signing the bill, Bush only furthered the alienation of conservatives and Reagan Democrats that had begun when, in 1990, he reneged on his campaign promise not to raise taxes.

—William L. Glankler

**Clinton, Hillary Rodham** (1947– ) *first lady, U.S. senator, secretary of state*

Hillary Rodham Clinton, United States senator (D-N.Y.), attorney, author, and children's rights activist, was the first career woman to become First Lady and the first First Lady to become a United States senator and, subsequently, secretary of state. She was born Hillary Diane Rodham on October 26, 1947, in Chicago. Her family was staunchly Republican and in 1964 Hillary Rodham worked for the Goldwater presidential campaign. Shortly after arriving at Wellesley College in Massachusetts, she was elected president of the Young Republicans' Club. Over the four years at Wellesley, however, Hillary Clinton's political and ideological affiliations changed dramatically, and in 1968 she volunteered for the presidential campaign of antiwar Democrat Eugene McCarthy. After graduating with honors, she attended Yale Law School, where she became a protégée of children's advocate Marian Wright Edelman. In 1973, she

served as a staff member for the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES during President RICHARD M. NIXON'S IMPEACHMENT inquiry. In 1974 she moved to Arkansas to marry law school classmate WILLIAM J. CLINTON. There she became a law professor at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville and, after their marriage in 1975, joined the prominent Rose Law Firm. In 1978 Bill Clinton was elected governor of Arkansas.

As First Lady of Arkansas, Rodham came under criticism for keeping her maiden name. Nonetheless, she took an active public role and became involved in education issues, founding the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, and chairing the Arkansas Educational Standards Committee. She also served on the board of the Arkansas Children's Hospital. Her daughter, Chelsea, was born in 1980. Clinton was named Arkansas Woman of the Year and Young Mother of the Year in 1984.

In 1993 Hillary Rodham Clinton accompanied her husband to the White House after he defeated incumbent GEORGE H. W. BUSH with 43 percent of the popular vote. President Clinton immediately named her to chair the Task Force on National Health Care Reform, from which she promoted a program for universal health insurance. The plan was submitted to the Democratically controlled Congress in September 1993, but met with fierce Republican opposition. Since both Clintons touted their health care reform agenda as the primary goal of their first year in office, its failure counted as a major defeat for the administration. During the same year, Rodham Clinton was also criticized for her role in firing seven members of the White House travel office. She then became the target of media rumors concerning Whitewater, a failed real estate development the Clintons had invested in 15 years earlier.

In addition to these political setbacks, 1993 brought personal difficulties for Rodham Clinton. In April her father, Hugh Rodham, died of a stroke after lingering for weeks in a Little Rock, Arkansas, hospital. In July, Vince Foster, a close friend and former law partner who had come to Washington at her request to serve as White House counsel, committed suicide. Foster's death inspired yet another round of rumors of conspiracy that continued to plague Rodham Clinton and her husband, and in January 1994 Attorney General JANET RENO appointed Robert B. Fiske, Jr., as a special counsel with broad authority to investigate charges relating to the Whitewater development. In August Fiske was replaced by KENNETH STARR. Over the next two years, Rodham Clinton was the focus of Starr's inquiry; no charges were ever brought.

After the political failure of her health care initiative and the negative press coverage of Whitewater and the White House travel office, Rodham Clinton returned to child welfare advocacy and in 1996 wrote *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us*, which discussed



Hillary Rodham Clinton (Getty Images)

her view on raising children in contemporary society. The following year, she hosted two conferences at the White House on children's issues, where she advocated federal support for day care. As a goodwill ambassador, she became the most widely traveled First Lady in American history, visiting countries in six continents to promote human rights, education, childhood immunization, socialized health care, and economic empowerment for women. This reentry into the limelight was again accompanied by political scandals. In 1998 her husband, Bill Clinton, lied about his involvement in a sexual scandal with a 22-year-old White House intern, Monica Lewinsky. The day after President Clinton forcefully denied the affair, Rodham Clinton again became a center of controversy when she described a segment of her husband's critics as a "vast right-wing conspiracy." Though this scandal led to her husband's impeachment, many critics contend that Hillary actually benefited with a boost in popularity from those who sympathized with her as a victim of the ordeal.

Though technically a resident of Arkansas, in 1999 Rodham Clinton began to explore the possibility of running for the New York seat in the U.S. Senate soon to be vacated by Democrat Patrick Moynihan. She did not officially declare her intention to run until February 6, 2000. On May 20, five and a half months before the election, New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani dropped out of the race for health reasons, and Republicans chose congressman Rick Lazio to run for the seat. The New York race proved to be one of the most hotly contested elections in the nation with almost \$60 million spent, most of which went to negative advertising on both sides. On November 7 Rodham Clinton decidedly beat Lazio with 55 percent to 43 percent to become the first woman senator from New York, and the only First Lady to win public office.

During her first year in office, Hillary Clinton was appointed to the Committee on the Environment and Public Works; the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions; the Committee on the Budget; and the Special Committee on Aging. Despite these committee appointments, the junior senator from New York was relatively unseen by the public, but she was actively cultivating relationships with members of the Senate and observed the daily functions of the upper house. The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Towers in New York City, however, immediately propelled her into the public eye. She attended fund-raising events for the victims of the tragedy and actively pursued federal funding for recovery and redevelopment efforts for New York City with her colleague from New York, Senator Charles Schumer.

In October 2002 Clinton voted for the IRAQ WAR resolution, which eventually led to the invasion of American forces in March 2003 to overthrow Saddam Hussein. In 2003 she was appointed to the Senate Armed Services Committee. From this position, she visited troops in Iraq and Afghanistan and subsequently secured legislation to provide a health-tracking system for U.S. servicemen and servicewomen. Clinton also voted against the tax cuts proposed by President GEORGE W. BUSH in 2001 and 2003 but has supported a reduction in marriage and property taxes for the middle class. Additionally, Clinton took a strong interest in technology in America. She introduced legislation to deliver broadband INTERNET access to rural communities, cosponsored legislation supporting nanotechnology research and development, and strongly supported the Family Entertainment Protection Act to limit the amount of sexual and violent content in video games. In 2004 Clinton became more vocal on key votes in the Senate. She cast a vote against the Federal Marriage Amendment and strongly opposed the appointment of Chief Justice JOHN ROBERTS and Associate Justice Samuel Alito on September 25, 2005, and January 25, 2006, respectively.

In 2004 Clinton announced that she would seek a second term as senator, and she easily won in 2006 with 67 percent of the vote against the Republican candidate John Spencer, a former mayor of Yonkers. Clinton spent almost \$36 million on her 2006 campaign, which led pundits to speculate that she was committed to a presidential bid in 2008.

Indeed, shortly after taking office on January 20, 2007, Clinton formed a presidential exploratory committee and strongly committed herself to fund-raising and campaigning across the nation with her husband, former President William J. Clinton. Hillary Clinton's presidential candidacy required that she clarify her position on several issues, including the Iraq War. Although she voted for the Iraq War in 2002, Clinton has become one of its harshest critics, arguing that the war has been mismanaged and based on false information. In the spring of 2007, she and other Democrats supported a resolution to deauthorize the war. Clinton has also actively spoken for the continuation of the 1974 Supreme Court decision *ROE V. WADE* and supported the failed immigration overhaul found in the Secure Borders, Economic Opportunity and Immigration Act of 2007. In the summer of 2007, Clinton had the support of 60 percent of registered male Democrats and 70 percent of registered female Democrats. She faced strong opposition in the Democratic primary from U.S. Senator BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA from Illinois. In 2008, after a fierce primary race, Clinton lost the presidential nomination to Senator Barack Obama (D-Ill.). President Obama selected Senator Clinton as his secretary of state.

See also ELECTIONS; RENO, JANET; STARR, KENNETH.

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—Aharon W. Zorea and Matthew C. Sherman

### **Clinton, William J. (Bill)** (1946– ) 42nd U.S. president

William Jefferson Clinton, 42nd president of the United States (1993–2001), served following the end of the cold war. The last president of the 20th century, Clinton presided over the longest economic boom, but revelations of an affair and his attempt to deceive the public about it generated great controversy and the first presidential IMPEACHMENT since 1869.

Clinton was born William Jefferson Blythe III on August 19, 1946, in Hope, Arkansas. His father, William Jefferson Blythe, Jr., was killed in an automobile accident before his birth. His mother, Virginia Blythe, to support her son, left the child with his grandparents while she moved to New Orleans to study nursing. In 1950 his mother earned her degree and reunited with her son. She

married Roger Clinton in 1961, at which time William Blythe's name was changed to Clinton. Clinton was a good student and demonstrated strong leadership skills. In 1962 he was selected to participate in a youth leadership conference in Washington, D.C., and, inspired by President John F. Kennedy, decided on a career in politics. After graduating from high school, Clinton entered Georgetown University to study international affairs. While at Georgetown, Clinton worked as an intern for his home-state senator and political mentor, J. William Fulbright. After earning his degree in 1968, Clinton won a Rhodes scholarship to attend Oxford University. Clinton's activities during this time haunted his future presidential campaigns. Clinton opposed the VIETNAM WAR and attended antiwar rallies while at Oxford. When his one-year draft deferment expired, Clinton applied to the Reserve Officers Training Corps in an attempt to get an extension. Clinton later withdrew the application and returned to Oxford. Letters Clinton wrote in this period were later read as evidence of his draft evasion by critics and idealism by supporters. Revelations that he experimented with marijuana at this time likewise rekindled old controversies when Clinton ran for president.

When Clinton returned from Europe, he entered Yale University Law School, where he met his future wife, Hillary Rodham. Clinton began his political career in 1972 when he directed the presidential campaign of GEORGE MCGOVERN in Texas. In 1973 Clinton earned his law degree and returned to Arkansas to teach law at the University of Arkansas.

In 1974 Clinton mounted an unsuccessful bid to oust incumbent Republican congressman John Paul Hamerschmidt, garnering 48 percent of the vote. Ms. Rodham had come to Arkansas to aid in the campaign and began teaching at the University of Arkansas. The Clintons married in 1975. In 1976 Clinton, running unopposed, was elected state attorney general. That same year, he also managed the Arkansas campaign of Democratic presidential aspirant JAMES EARL CARTER, JR. In 1978 Clinton was elected governor of Arkansas in a landslide victory. At age 32, he became the youngest governor in the United States since 1938. During his first term, Clinton focused on improving the state education and highways systems and bringing women and minorities into senior job positions. Unpopular policies, Rodham's independence, and the federal decision to house thousands of Cuban refugees in Arkansas alienated many voters, and he was defeated in his reelection bid in 1980. Clinton returned to the office of governor two years later after moderating his liberal rhetoric and abandoning some of his more unpopular policies. He was reelected in 1984 and 1986.

While governor, Clinton's priorities were education, economic development, and welfare reform. During his



administration, Arkansas increased teacher salaries, mandated teacher competency exams, and instituted standardized testing to track student progress. These reforms improved Arkansas's high school graduation rate to the highest of any southern state, and thereafter more Arkansans entered college. Incomes in the state increased 61 percent, though they remained below the national average. Clinton pursued welfare reforms that required the able-bodied to get job training or education to receive benefits.

From 1986 to 1987 Clinton served as chairman of the National Governor's Association where he tried to spread his education and welfare reforms. In 1990 he cofounded the Democratic Leadership Council, which was devoted to shifting the party to the political center in an attempt to appeal to voters lost in the 1980s to RONALD W. REAGAN and GEORGE H. W. BUSH.

In 1991 Clinton announced he would seek the 1992 Democratic presidential nomination. Despite early controversy stemming from his activities at Oxford and allegations of extramarital affairs, Clinton outdistanced the other challengers and captured the Democratic nomination. Clinton benefited from more prominent Democrats' choosing not to challenge the Republican incumbent, George H. W. Bush, who had received historically high approval ratings following the Persian Gulf War. He also benefited from a recession that turned public opinion against Bush in the months leading up to the election. Clinton seized on the



William Jefferson Clinton (Getty Images)

issue of the ECONOMY, famously reminding his staff, "It's the economy, stupid." He promised health care reform, welfare reform, tax cuts for the middle class, and tax increases for the wealthy. He also pledged to protect reproductive rights and called for deeper cuts in defense spending with the end of the COLD WAR. Clinton and his running mate, U.S. senator ALBERT GORE, JR., of Tennessee, took their message of change and economic renewal to the American people, traveling by bus and holding town meetings. Clinton extended his appeal beyond traditional voters by making use of new and unconventional media outlets such as MTV and late-night TELEVISION talk shows. Voters elected Clinton with 43 percent of the vote to George Bush's 38 percent, and H. ROSS PEROT's 19 percent on his new Reform Party ticket.

Amid high expectations for fundamental change, Clinton reversed a number of Republican policies from the previous years. He ended the ban on fetal tissue research, repealed the "gag rule" on abortion counseling at federally funded clinics, and appointed record numbers of women and minorities to senior positions in his administration. The early days of his term were not easy. Most notably, his proposal to end the ban on homosexuals in the military met with widespread and vehement opposition.

One centerpiece reform for Clinton's first term was to be health care. Under the direction of the First Lady, an administration plan was conceived to establish a national health care system. The administration enacted gun control legislation (the Brady law), passed a historic deficit-reduction package, and passed the Family and Medical Leave Act, which mandated employers to provide workers with paid leave for childbirth and family illness.

Clinton's FOREIGN POLICY program was as ambitious as his domestic agenda, and as with the domestic agenda, his administration would find it difficult to carry out its plans in a rapidly changing world. Called, "Assertive Multilateralism," Clinton's policy saw the collapse of the Soviet empire as clearing the way for a regime of collective security arrangements and international law that, with varying degrees of earnestness, had been the primary rhetorical goal of U.S. foreign policy since 1916. At the same time, Clinton believed the end of the cold war freed America's substantial military resources for other missions, such as the suppression of "rogue states," the bolstering of tottering governments, and peacekeeping in regions of civil strife. Finally, the policy elevated the "soft power" of economic and trade ties to the same status as military and diplomatic approaches, and called for closer international policy cooperation to fight transnational criminal and terrorist groups.

In September 1993 an attempt to destroy the World Trade Center office complex in New York City gave Clinton clear notice that the new multipolar world order was filled with danger and instability. In response, Clinton called for



the expansion of the FBI and other U.S. law enforcement agencies into foreign operations. He also implemented efforts to prevent nuclear, chemical, and biological arsenals of the disintegrating Soviet empire from falling into terrorist hands.

In December 1992 President George H. W. Bush had sent 28,000 U.S. troops to the strife- and famine-plagued nation of Somalia as part of a United Nations effort to ensure that international relief supplies were delivered to their intended recipients. On October 3 of the following year, as this humanitarian mandate had been changed into a "state-building" mandate, U.S. troops attempting to arrest local warlord Muhammad Farah Aideed encountered severe resistance. In a pitched battle lasting through the next day, these American troops faced hostile forces on the streets of Mogadishu, the nation's capital. Later, the bodies of two American soldiers killed in the battle were dragged through the streets by cheering crowds in scenes broadcast around the world.

The disaster in Mogadishu had substantial policy and political fallout. Clinton, already politically vulnerable because of his controversial lack of military service, adopted constructive guidelines on future deployment of American forces. Secretary of Defense Les Aspin resigned, and the administration's ambitious effort to overhaul the military was shelved. U.S. forces were withdrawn from Somalia on March 31, 1994. Russian elections, held in December 1993, under a new constitution drafted by President Boris Yeltsin, yielded a stunning victory by nationalist candidates who had campaigned explicitly against American world leadership and Yeltsin's closeness to Washington. A month later, a chastened Yeltsin rejected Clinton's "Partnership for Peace" proposal to create a collective security regime for Europe. In response, Clinton began U.S. support for the expansion of NATO membership into the former Soviet satellite states of Eastern Europe.

Clinton did not fare any better in bringing an end to the genocidal "ethnic cleansing" and bitter civil war in Bosnia. Clinton had criticized his predecessor throughout the 1992 campaign for inaction in Bosnia and the related fighting that resulted from the collapse of Yugoslavia in December 1990. As president, however, Clinton found it impossible to convince NATO to agree to any intervention without the guarantee of significant numbers of American ground troops. Clinton refused to make such a commitment until a crisis erupted in the fall of 1994, when UN peacekeeper soldiers were taken hostage. Clinton was also sharply criticized for his slow response in Bosnia and for his inaction in the Rwandan genocide of April to June 1994.

Clinton had varied success with the three remaining problems inherited from Bush. Deteriorating relations with the hard-line communist regime in North Korea, spurred by that nation's support for international TERROR-

ISM and attempts to develop its nuclear arsenals, led to a dangerous and swift military escalation in May and June of 1994 between North and South Korea that was averted when former U.S. president Jimmy Carter negotiated a settlement.

The former president was also to play a role in the effort to restore democracy to HAITI. A 1991 coup d'état by General Raoul Cédras had driven from power the democratically elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, an avowed socialist and excommunicated Roman Catholic priest. In the aftermath, thousands of refugees from the impoverished island nation began migrating to the southern shore of the United States. Clinton's gubernatorial reelection had been undermined in part by a similar refugee crisis 12 years earlier, and he was acutely sensitive to the political impact of such a migration. The administration brought tremendous pressure on Cédras, culminating in the Governor's Island Accord, in which the general agreed to restore Aristide, in return for personal amnesty and a lifting of American sanctions. When Cédras appeared to be hedging on the agreement, Clinton issued an ultimatum to Cédras to abide by the agreement or face forcible expulsion. Eventually a team led by former president Jimmy Carter convinced Cédras to leave his country, paving the way for a peaceful transition. Clinton also dealt forcefully with Iraq, dispatching troops to Kuwait in 1994 and ordering air strikes in 1996 when it became clear that Iraq had violated the restrictions placed on it at the end of the PERSIAN GULF WAR.

International economics was given a high level of attention in Clinton's administration. Clinton believed that the GLOBALIZATION of markets was an inevitable historical process, fueled by technological progress. He further believed that the liberalization of trade agreements, the elimination of tariffs and other nationally based barriers, and the integration of the regulations and legal structures of national economies was in the ultimate interest of prosperity in general and American prosperity in particular. In his first term, Clinton's trade views led him into conflict with the organized LABOR and the ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT, two key constituencies of his party's coalition. During the 1992 campaign, Clinton had criticized the early drafts of the NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (NAFTA) for lacking provisions regarding worker rights, workplace safety, pollution, and environmental impact. He promised to force the inclusion of safeguards on these issues into the final agreement, as well as any future trade agreements. As in Bosnia, however, Clinton found the United States's clout with its allies to be less than imagined, and he ultimately accepted the inclusion of a series of unenforceable protocols on these concerns. The cries of betrayal among many of Clinton's key supporters were loud, especially when the president secured Senate ratification on the pact through

a high-profile personal lobbying effort. The GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE of that same year also lacked the promised provisions. Clinton also reversed his campaign opposition to increased trade preferences for the People's Republic of China, further alienating human rights and democracy activists.

In 1994 a series of press investigations and rumors surrounding a real estate development in which Clinton had invested in 1978 led to the appointment of an INDEPENDENT COUNSEL. The Whitewater development was first brought to national attention on March 8, 1992, by the *New York Times*. The story reported that Clinton and his wife had invested in a development company run by James McDougal, a former U.S. Senate aide and political ally. Five years later, after the development had become moribund (it later went bankrupt), McDougal purchased the Madison Guaranty, a small savings and loan institution. In the national savings and loan crisis that soon followed, the Madison Guaranty became insolvent, but not before retaining the Rose Law Firm, and its attorney, Hillary Clinton. The fact that Mrs. Clinton's firm had a client S & L that was overseen, in part, by a regulator appointed by Mr. Clinton, and that both of them were investors in another company owned by the S & L's owner, seemed pregnant with the possibility of impropriety.

The Clintons and their allies dismissed this press speculation as petty rumor-mongering of old enemies. In response the Clintons became mistrustful of the press and refused to release financial and personal files to journalists. Nonetheless, the suicide of White House counsel Vincent Foster, in July 1993, set up yet another round of speculation.

Yielding to public pressure and the media outcry, on January 20, 1994, Attorney General JANET RENO appointed Robert B. Fiske, Jr., as a special counsel with broad authority to investigate charges related to the Whitewater development. On August 5 KENNETH STARR replaced Fiske.

Further problems arose when an Arkansas state employee, Paula Corbin Jones, filed a civil lawsuit against Clinton, claiming that his propositioning of her while he was governor constituted sexual harassment. Clinton's allies claimed that Jones's lawsuit was financed and championed by Clinton's conservative political opponents. (Later, a settlement was reached between Clinton and Jones.)

By 1994, Republicans gained control of the SENATE and the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. The new Republican majorities called for fundamental reform of the federal government and the social contract to create "the opportunity society." Labeled the "Gingrich Revolution" after the charismatic new Speaker of the House, NEWTON L. GINGRICH, new legislation was enacted regarding federal trade regulations, as well as business and consumer regulations. Under political pressure from the right, Clinton moved

to the political center to undercut Republican popularity, much to the dismay of the liberal wing of his party.

Despite their political differences, Clinton and the new Republican congressional majority negotiated a compromise welfare reform act. Clinton also managed to push through a significant increase in the minimum wage. By 1996, a surging economy and a falling federal deficit were seen by the majority of voters to be a vindication of Clinton's economic program. In November Clinton was reelected with a little less than 50 percent of the vote, while his opponent, Senate Majority Leader ROBERT DOLE, the Republican nominee, received nearly 42 percent of the vote, and Reform Party candidate Perot garnered 8 percent of the vote.

During his second term, Clinton urged on the Congress a plan to balance the federal budget by 2002. Furthermore, Clinton was able to present a balanced budget proposal for the 1998 fiscal year. At the end of that year, he announced a surplus for the fiscal year, after two decades of deficits. Despite a booming economy, Clinton's second term was marred by further scandal. In 1997 charges were made by Republicans that the Clinton-Gore campaign had participated in illegal fund-raising activities in 1996. The controversy intensified in May 1998 when a former Democratic fund-raiser admitted that he had accepted illegal contributions from a Chinese military official.

On May 27, 1997, the U.S. SUPREME COURT unanimously rejected Clinton's request to delay the Paula Jones lawsuit until he left office. In the months that followed, the hostility between the White House and the independent counsel increased dramatically. On January 12 Linda Tripp, who had secretly recorded the confidences of former White House intern Monica Lewinsky, released tapes in which Lewinsky described a series of intimate relations with the president that had occurred in the White House. On January 16 Starr was given authority by a grand jury to investigate Tripp's charges that Clinton had encouraged Lewinsky to lie under oath in the Jones case. In his testimony the next day before the grand jury hearing, Clinton relied on narrow definitions and legal technicalities to deny that he had engaged in sexual relations with Lewinsky. On January 21 Clinton denied the affair to the media, a denial he repeated in more forceful terms five days later. Clinton issued similar denials to his cabinet, his staff, his family, and members of Congress. These denials before the grand jury and the media became part of the later impeachment in Congress.

As the existence and contents of the Tripp tapes and other incriminating evidence were revealed over the next few weeks, however, Clinton's statements were clearly shown to be false. On August 17, 1998, Clinton testified before a grand jury. In a nationally televised address that same evening, Clinton admitted that he had engaged in

an inappropriate relationship with Lewinsky but strongly denied that he had done anything illegal.

Starr delivered his report on the Lewinsky affair to the House of Representatives on September 9, 1998. The report concluded that Clinton's actions "may constitute grounds for impeachment," a conclusion that the president's allies disputed. Public opinion had soured on Clinton with the revelation of the affair and the lies he had initially told about it. Critics of the Starr report wondered how an investigation of a 1978 land development had turned into an inquiry into the president's recent intimate relationships. Others believed that impeachment was too severe a penalty for the offenses. The diverging views of Clinton's character, the merit of the charges, the manner of the investigation, Clinton's conduct during the investigation, and the appropriate penalties for Clinton's action led to a deep rift in public opinion and stirred further partisan acrimony.

In December a divided House approved two articles of impeachment charging the president with perjury and obstruction of justice. The impeachment trial was held in the Senate from January 7 to February 6, 1999, and resulted in an acquittal. Those supporting the president's removal argued that Clinton was guilty of the charges, that he had disgraced his office, and that the failure to punish him would apply a different standard to the president from that applied to average citizens. Clinton's defenders maintained that the crimes he was charged with were rarely prosecuted and that the alleged offenses did not meet the definition of impeachable crimes described in the Constitution.

Although Clinton was not removed from office, the impeachment crisis did have a profound effect on his second term by consuming the attention of the White House and Congress for over a year.

Although the Lewinsky inquiry paralyzed domestic politics, Clinton was continually challenged by international problems during his second term. An economic crisis in Asia, beginning in Thailand, then spread to Indonesia, South Korea, and the Philippines, and—as their economies sputtered—to Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Japan. As major corporations and banks were caught in the Asia recession, Brazil, the leading economy of South America, was plunged into recession, and the Russian economy, struggling with the transition to a free market, collapsed. Clinton's administration organized a successful international effort to avert world recession.

The Middle East also loomed large in Clinton's second term. Iraq's repeated refusal to comply with the international arms inspections required after the Persian Gulf War led to U.S. and British ultimatums to allow inspectors free access. Each time, Iraq backed down at the eleventh hour, only to resume its defiant stance once the threat had passed. In December 1998 Clinton ordered extensive bombing designed to cripple Iraq's military.

On August 7 an Islamic fundamentalist and terrorist organization, associated with bin Laden, bombed U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, killing 12 Americans. Clinton responded with air strikes on terrorist camps in Afghanistan and a factory in Sudan believed, at the time, to be manufacturing chemical weapons for bin Laden. These U.S. attacks proved ineffectual in countering an extensive worldwide terrorist network that had been developed by bin Laden and his associates.

Clinton's efforts to negotiate peace between the Israelis and Palestinians also failed. The Wye River Memorandum of October 1998 appeared to pave the way for Palestinian self-government, but Clinton's last-minute efforts to achieve a permanent settlement in the closing days of his administration proved unsuccessful.

More successful was the Good Friday Agreement in Ireland. Negotiated by Clinton's personal envoy, former Senate leader GEORGE MITCHELL, the treaty brought decades of armed conflict in Northern Ireland to a close.

The most notable foreign crisis of Clinton's second term was the KOSOVO conflict. In February 1998 Serbian president Slobodan Milošević began a military crackdown on the ethnic Albanian population and other Islamic inhabitants in Kosovo. A small, armed separatist movement swelled into a full-fledged revolt in the face of this aggression. Clinton negotiated a cease-fire in November, but by January the fighting had resumed. In February peace talks collapsed, and Milošević began a campaign of "ethnic cleansing," attempting to drive the Albanian and Islamic majority from the country through mass murder and terror. In March Clinton led a U.S.-NATO coalition in a campaign of aerial bombardment designed to destroy Serbian military capability. Clinton and NATO achieved victory using only air power. Milošević was driven from power in October 2000 and brought to trial for genocide in 2001.

During the presidential election of 2000, Clinton remained largely marginalized because of Democratic candidate Al Gore, Jr.'s strategy of distancing himself from the controversy that had surrounded Clinton.

Because of his perjury before the grand jury, the Supreme Court ordered him to resign from the Supreme Court Bar, thus preventing him from arguing cases before the nation's highest court. In addition, the Arkansas State Bar Association suspended Clinton's license for five years. He currently divides his time between New York City and Washington, D.C. He continues to work for many charitable causes.

See also BUSH, GEORGE H. W.; BUSH, GEORGE W.; CAMPAIGN FINANCE; CLINTON, HILLARY RODHAM.

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—John Korasick

### cold war (end of)

When RICHARD M. NIXON was elected president in 1968, the cold war was beginning its third decade. The ideological conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union had stalemated. The avowed American goal of containing communism had met with mixed results. The governments of Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, North Korea, and North Vietnam had become communist. The United States had successfully blocked communist expansion in Greece and South Korea and was currently attempting to prevent South Vietnam from becoming communist. Within the next 25 years the nations of Eastern Europe would overthrow communism, the symbol of the cold war—the Berlin Wall—would fall, and the Soviet Union would collapse.

Nixon and his foreign policy adviser, HENRY A. KISSINGER, changed the philosophy of the nation's foreign policy. Rather than focusing on the ideological conflict, the new policy assumed that nation-states pursued certain strategic aims, regardless of their system of government. As a result, the new administration believed that U.S. and Soviet interests were not necessarily in conflict in every instance. This policy, known as DÉTENTE, improved U.S.-Soviet relations for a time. Negotiations between the two nations resulted in trade agreements, and the sale of U.S. wheat and technology to the Soviets in 1972. That same year Nixon and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev signed the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), which limited the development of antiballistic missile systems and froze the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-based missiles for five years.

While the United States and the Soviet Union were negotiating on arms control and trade, a European-led initiative resulted in the lessening of tensions in Europe. Since the end of World War II, Berlin had been a divided city, with the Soviets in control of one sector of Berlin, and the Western Allies—France, Britain, and the United States—in control of the rest of the city. Berlin lay within the boundaries of East Germany and the issue of Western access to the city had resulted in numerous crises over the years. In 1961 a wall was constructed by the Soviets to prevent the emigration of East Germans to the West. In 1970 the West German chancellor, Willy Brandt, with the

approval of the United States, initiated talks that led to the recognition of the eastern border of East Germany by West Germany, the normalization of access to West Berlin and the establishment of relations between the two German states. These events demonstrated that the United States accepted the postwar division of Europe.

After lengthy negotiations, Nixon made a visit to the People's Republic of China in 1972. The primary purpose of this initiative was to establish a relationship with mainland China, which had been at odds with the Soviet Union since the death of Stalin in 1953. The Nixon-Kissinger policy was to play the two communist giants against one another, and thereby, create a balance of power between those nations.

Although the United States and the Soviet Union maintained détente for the next 20 years, international tensions in the Middle East, Central Asia, Africa, and Central America continued to test diplomatic accommodation between the two countries. One of the first tests came in 1973 with the Yom Kippur War in the Middle East. This war began when Egypt and Syria, using Soviet weapons, attacked Israel, an ally of the United States. The attack on Israel was halted with the support of the United States. When Brezhnev threatened to take unilateral military action to end the conflict, the United States responded by placing its military on alert. This show of American power prevented Soviet intervention into the crisis and enabled Kissinger to negotiate a cease-fire, preventing the Soviets from enhancing their power in the region. As a result, the United States became the most influential power there, a state of affairs the Soviets resented deeply.

Following the end of war in Vietnam in 1973, Nixon would claim that the United States had successfully defended South Vietnam from the communist North. Nonetheless, in 1975 North Vietnam defeated the government of South Vietnam and unified the country under a communist regime. In 1975 Cambodia and Laos fell to communist insurgents. As a result of these communist victories, Southeast Asia was seen as a "win" for the Soviets.

During this period a debate arose within U.S. foreign policy circles that resulted in an upward revision in official estimates of Soviet military capability, especially nuclear capability. Furthermore, some political analysts argued that the Soviet Union had embarked on an adventurist foreign policy to exploit social and political problems in developing nations in Africa and Latin America.

Further difficulties emerged in Africa. Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe) and Angola became focal points of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. A key tenet of the détente strategy was to avoid direct confrontation. The rivalry was instead played out through U.S. and Soviet support of "client state" local powers in their battles with one another.



A particularly difficult situation emerged in the Portuguese colony of Angola. In 1975 liberation movements within Angola forced the Portuguese to grant the colony independence. Fearing Soviet intervention, the United States became involved in an internal civil war in post-colonial Angola as three factions vied for power—the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA), the Popular Movement for the Liberation Front of Angola (MPLA), and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The Soviets supported the MPLA, which assumed power; the Chinese supported the FNLA; and the United States provided covert aid to both the FNLA and UNITA. The intervention of South Africa on behalf of UNITA caused most Angolans to accept Soviet support and Cuban military advisers, to prevent the spread of South Africa's system of racial separation and white domination known as apartheid.

U.S.-Soviet relations became increasingly acrimonious during the Carter years (1977–81). Carter wanted to focus on human rights in his foreign policy. Carter's administration aggressively supported dissident organizations such as Poland's "Solidarity" movement, in spite of the objections of the Soviet leadership. Carter also moved forward with an arms control agreement to replace SALT, which was due to expire in 1977. In June 1979 Carter and Brezhnev signed the SALT II treaty, but Carter pulled it from consideration by the U.S. Senate after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan later that year.

Growing tensions between the superpowers became apparent in a crisis that erupted in the Horn of Africa, when war broke out between Ethiopia and Somalia. The United States had supported the Ethiopians since 1953. The Soviet Union had provided military and technical assistance to Somalia since 1963. When a marxist coup overthrew the government in Ethiopia in 1974, relations with the United States soured. In 1976 Ethiopia signed an arms agreement with the Soviets. In response, the United States began supporting Somalia against the Soviet-supported government of Ethiopia. When war broke out between Somalia and Ethiopia in 1977, however, the United States did not supply arms to the Somalis; meanwhile, the Soviets supplied arms to the Ethiopians, and Cuban troops arrived to defend the nation. The U.S. failure to aid its new ally tarnished its image in the region.

After the 1977 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the United States significantly hardened its position toward the Soviet Union. In addition to pulling SALT II from Senate consideration, Carter imposed an embargo on grain and technology sales to the Soviets and ordered an American boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow. Carter stepped up defense spending increases and ordered the registration of all 18-year-old males for a potential military draft.



Presidents Gorbachev, Reagan, and Bush at the close of the cold war era, New York harbor (*Ronald W. Reagan Library*)

In 1980 RONALD W. REAGAN, a strong anticommunist, was elected president of the United States. Reagan's administration believed that official estimates had dramatically and dangerously underestimated Soviet conventional and nuclear military capabilities. Reagan persuaded Congress to support a peacetime military buildup and increase the budget for CIA covert operations against Soviet-backed liberation movements in Africa and Central America. Reagan rejected détente, regarding the Soviet Union as "the focus of evil in the modern world." He called for an end of the prevailing policy of "mutually assured destruction" in favor of the development of an extensive missile defense system commonly referred to as "Star Wars." At the same time, Reagan pursued an aggressive policy to defeat communist insurgencies in the Western Hemisphere. In 1983 Reagan sent a force of marines to overthrow a marxist government in Grenada. Reagan also stepped up military assistance to the government in El Salvador in its war against communist guerrillas, supported by a newly formed leftist regime in Nicaragua. Beginning in 1981 the Reagan administration also funneled money to anticommunist resistance fighters in Nicaragua—the CONTRAS. In 1982 Congress passed the BOLAND AMENDMENT, a resolution barring further aid to the contras, in response to their misappropriations and human rights abuses. Efforts by the administration to continue funding, in spite of the law, led to a congressional investigation into what became known as the IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR.

In 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev acceded to the leadership of the Soviet Union and inaugurated a series of legal and economic reforms. In 1987 the United States and Soviet Union signed the INTERMEDIATE-RANGE AND SHORTER-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES TREATY (INF), which called for the destruction of intermediate-range missiles. The two sides also agreed to resume the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) talks, which had become stalled earlier in Reagan's administration. Gorbachev ordered the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, ended the support of the Nicaraguan government, and urged Soviet-backed governments in Eastern Europe to undertake political and economic reforms.

Gorbachev's policies of perestroika (political restructuring) and GLASNOST (political openness) were a response to the failing Soviet economy. The new Soviet openness and refusal to support crackdowns in satellites states emboldened Eastern European dissidents. By 1989 communist governments in Eastern Europe were coming under intense pressure from their citizens. Beginning in Poland, then Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania, regime after regime fell. When the democratic changes began in Eastern Europe, the Soviets were in no condition to stop the collapse. On November 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall, the symbol of the permanence of the cold war, was torn down by euphoric East and West German crowds. An anti-Gorbachev coup failed in August 1991, and four months later the Soviet Union was officially abolished.

See also ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY; ANTIWAR MOVEMENT—VIETNAM; DEFENSE POLICY; FOREIGN POLICY; SPACE POLICY.

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—John Korasick

**Committee on the Present Danger** See CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT.

### computers

The last quarter of the 20th century witnessed a revolution in computing technology that substantially changed the face of American society, especially those sectors involved in research, production, commerce, defense, communication, and entertainment. Though simple mechanical calculating devices have been around since the 17th century, the first electronic calculating machines did not appear until the 1930s. Throughout the decades immediately preced-

ing World War II, computing technology developed slowly through a combination of private sector and academic experimentation. The Moore School of Electrical Engineering at the University of Pennsylvania built the first successful electronic digital computer called the Electronic Numerical Integrator and Computer (ENIAC) in 1946. It weighed 60,000 lbs., measured 18 feet high and 80 feet long, and required 500 miles of wiring to link nearly 18,000 vacuum tubes together. It used 180,000 watts of electrical power to produce a computing power of 100,000 operations per second. One of its practical applications was to compute the feasibility of the hydrogen bomb. The cost of these giant computers led to the development of a cooperative relationship between land grant universities, major corporations, and government research agencies. The first significant advance from these large machines occurred in 1948, when physicists John Bardeen, Walter H. Brattain, and William B. Shockley at Bell Telephone Laboratories invented the transistor, which replaced costly and fragile vacuum tubes that limited the capacity of computers. In 1957 Jack Kilby and Robert Noyce designed the first true integrated circuit, or "chip," which permitted the giant computers developed during and immediately after World War II to be scaled down by including transistors, resistors, and capacitors on the same germanium wafer. In 1971 American engineer Marcian E. Hoff successfully incorporated hundreds of components onto a smaller silicon chip, which he called a "microprocessor." The reduction in size and expense of complex computing power opened the way for the gradual shift of computing technology from the large mainframe computers of research agencies to personal computers for small businesses and homes.

In 1974 Micro Instrumentation Telemetry Systems introduced the Altair 8800, which became the first truly personal computer to come to the market, even though

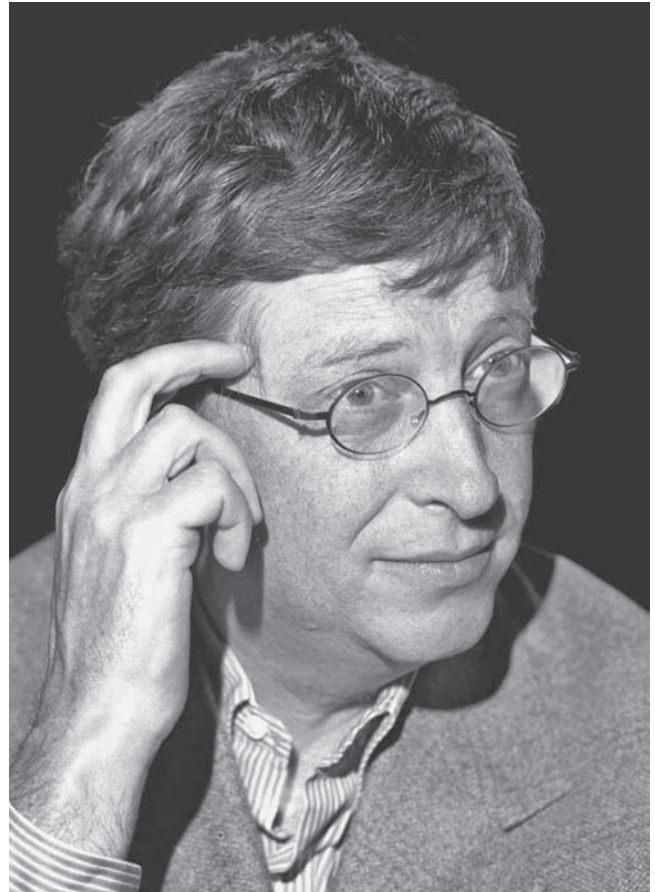


Personal computers on display in a shopping center (Getty Images)

it was sold primarily to hobbyists. Three years later, the Tandy Corporation came out with a similar product that included a keyboard and cathode ray tube (CRT) screen. In 1976 Stephen Wozniak and entrepreneur Steven Jobs joined forces to start Apple Computers, which soon became the fastest-growing company in U.S. history. In 1981 IBM introduced a personal computer with a standard operating system written by WILLIAM HENRY GATES III at the Microsoft Corporation, which could be used by a variety of hardware manufacturers, making personal computers more accessible to small businesses and home use. The effect on the economy was dramatic: The bull market lasted for the remainder of the century, creating a mutually reinforcing cycle where each new level of computing power led to the means for developing the next level.

During the 1980s, the scale of computer chip technology improved 100-fold, increasing from 125,000 to 10 million circuits on a single chip size of a fingernail. During the 1990s, the rate of advance continued, to the point where personal computing power rivaled the power of larger mainframe computers, thus bridging the gap in technology between large corporations and small businesses. By 2001, only the largest corporations, research universities, and certain government agencies still relied on supercomputers. In 2000, the U.S. Department of Defense ordered construction of the world's most powerful supercomputer, the Cray T3E-1200™, capable of 1.3 teraflops (trillion calculations per second), which can almost track each particle in a simulated nuclear explosion. Its successor—the Cray XT5 “Jaguar” supercomputer—exceeded 1000 teraflops (1 petaflop) by the end of 2008.

Concurrently, software designers endeavored to make the increasingly sophisticated technology more accessible to nonspecialized computer users through similar generations of operating systems and business-application software. The trend in the software industry, however, led toward less competition and more conformity of standards. The Microsoft Corporation became one of the largest corporations in the world, and its founder, Bill Gates, became the world's richest man. Their success, however, drew fire from competitors. Their Windows operating system became so inclusive and so dominant (with 90 percent market share) that many smaller companies complained that they were deprived of a fair opportunity to compete. In May 1998 Microsoft was indicted by 20 state attorneys general and the U.S. Department of Justice for antitrust violations. Microsoft was found to be a monopoly in 1999, and in June 2000 was ordered to be broken up. An appeals court overturned the breakup ruling the following year, but nevertheless confirmed the verdict that Microsoft was a monopoly and maintained that position through practices that inhibited a competitive marketplace. The corporation avoided a full breakup in a settlement deal in late 2001.



Microsoft chairman Bill Gates (Getty Images)

Advances in computer technology, whether in the personal computer market or at the supercomputer level, have changed the way many Americans live and work: engineers and designers use computer-aided design (CAD) software to test and develop new products without the need for scale models; computer-aided manufacturing (CAM) has transformed production and research facilities, permitting microscopic precision with near-perfect reproduction; and computer-aided instruction (CAI) has improved public safety with flight simulators, while also opening up a new sector of distance learning and on-line education. Yet, these advances are not without their social risks.

One question that is particularly troublesome for a constitutional system is the effect these technologies have on personal privacy. As early as the 1960s, concerned observers worried that the efficiencies of computerized record keeping could tempt public and private organizations to collect more personal information than their records required, and then exchange the surplus data with other organizations that could use it for their advantage. For example, law enforcement agencies might trade information with



tax and licensing agencies, or medical, credit, or banking institutions might sell personal information to employers or government agencies. These real possibilities prompted Congress to enact a number of privacy acts intended to safeguard personal information. Privacy advocates feared that existing laws were incapable of addressing the problems posed by vast information networks that cross international boundaries. Others feared that too much regulation might stifle the natural evolution of a budding industry, especially within the area of electronic commerce and telecommunication.

State and federal legislatures responded by imposing a number of Fair Information practices, typically requiring the full disclosure of the gathering process and uses of personal information by certain sectors—including credit, insurance, banking, and law enforcement. They also established rules of confidentiality and gave those whose data is recorded the right to inspect, correct, and challenge collected information. Privacy advocates maintain that the safeguards do not go far enough and condemn the new commercial database files and consumer profiles.

The advent of widespread access to the INTERNET in the early 1990s prompted a number of equally perplexing questions regarding copyright, intellectual PROPERTY RIGHTS, and PORNOGRAPHY. Advances in telecommunication software opened the way for inexpensive or free Internet service providers (ISPs), which enabled casual computer users to conveniently and anonymously swap documents, images, and audio pieces around the world with little or no loss of quality. In 1995 Congress attempted to modify the existing copyright laws to accommodate the new technology, but the rate of technological advancement increases so quickly that finding a definitive solution has been difficult. In 2000 Napster, an online site dedicated to free music trading, incited a flood of lawsuits from major record labels, distributors, and performers. Though the courts eventually barred Napster and other sites from the practice, the technology to record and distribute high-quality music had already promulgated beyond controllable limits.

On another front, public and private corporations have had to guard against increased security threats as both thrill-seekers and criminals use Internet connections to break into and steal or sabotage corporate records, including credit card numbers and trade secrets. Law enforcement groups are also concerned that websites that incorporate Instant Communication Relays (IRC), which allow people to send messages and files instantly, may provide dangerous forums for minors. Throughout the late 1990s, federal and state law enforcement agencies were forced to establish special squads to investigate child pornography rings as well as pedophiles who use the Internet to meet their targets, leading to physical child molestation. Even legal uses of the Internet have prompted concern for its effect on

social health; many psychologists claim that the anonymous stimulation of chat rooms and easily accessible pornography can be alienating, leading to disruption in personal and family relations, broken marriages, loss of workplace productivity, and even loss of employment.

In 1965 Gordon Moore observed that each new wave of technology provided the necessary platforms for the next generation of smaller and faster developments. He postulated that the rate of advance for computing technology should double every two years—a prediction that analysts refer to as “Moore’s Law.” Since then the actual rate has been closer to 18 months, but has remained nonetheless consistent, though as of 2009 the width of current circuitry was measured in atoms. Since the 1990s, personal computers have become both more prominent, and somewhat archaic. The prevalence of multiprocessors with wireless communication components in cell phones, handheld personal digital assistants, automobile navigation systems, household appliances, and even clothing has served to de-emphasize the importance of dedicated computing boxes. The future direction that such growth will take is still unpredictable. Scientists are working on optical processors, which utilize laser and gas technology to arrive at a completely new platform of computing technology, independent of the current integrated-circuit design.

Other scientists are developing Quantum computers, which combine biological processes with digital components. It is quite possible that the full impact of the computer revolution will not be seen for several more decades.

See also BUSINESS; CRIME; GLOBALIZATION; HUMAN GENOME PROJECT; MEDIA; MOVIES; POPULAR CULTURE; RECREATION; SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY; SPACE POLICY; TELEVISION.

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—Aharon W. Zorea

## Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act (1974)

Article I of the United States Constitution gives Congress control of the “purse strings”—the power to tax and spend. Beginning in fiscal 1971, the deficit began a rapid rise with no warning. In October 1972 RICHARD M. NIXON pro-



posed a plan that would set a mandatory ceiling of \$250 billion for the fiscal year 1973 budget. The plan also called for giving the president unprecedented authority to reduce or eliminate spending on specific programs, thereby shifting spending authority away from Congress.

Congress rejected Nixon's plan, and in response, Nixon began impounding congressional appropriations by refusing to spend them. Presidential impoundment was not unprecedented. President Thomas Jefferson had impounded funds in 1803 that were meant to build gunships to patrol the Mississippi River on the grounds that the Louisiana Purchase had moved the nation's border far west of the river. President Harry Truman had impounded funds for the air force on the grounds that they were excessive. Nixon cited these examples as evidence that impoundment was an established presidential prerogative. The greatest differences were that no previous president had impounded so much, around \$8 billion, and none had attempted to scrap entire government programs.

Democratic senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina led the charge against Nixon's action. Charging that impoundment was contemptuous of Congress under Article I of the Constitution, Ervin introduced a bill to limit the president's power to impound. The Senate approved an anti-impoundment bill in May 1973. The HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES passed a similar measure in July 1973.

Democratic representative Richard Bolling of Missouri was the paramount figure in reconciling the two measures. First, the impoundment authority of the president was codified under two clauses: rescission—permanent cancellation of funding requiring congressional approval, and temporary deferral of expenditure, which could stand unless overturned by Congress. The act created budget committees in the House and Senate, established the Congressional Budget Office, and set a process of setting spending and revenue targets.

The final version of the act passed the House on June 18, 1974, and the Senate three days later. Embattled, President Nixon signed the legislation July 12, 1974. Its most striking achievement was the regularization of the budget process, although budget deficits continued to remain a serious financial problem for the federal government.

In retirement, Richard M. Nixon wrote that the budget and impoundment act was a clear usurpation of presidential power by the Congress.

See also ECONOMY.

—John Korasick

### conscription, end of

United States policy during the COLD WAR was to maintain large enough armies to fight regional wars against communism as well as maintain a standing army deployed in areas

that might erupt into larger, more dangerous wars. Authorities believed that the only way to acquire enough manpower to fulfill these imperatives was through conscription. As a consequence, President Harry Truman reinstituted the draft during the Korean War. With the Vietnam War in the 1960s, however, criticisms of the draft grew, as some students burned their draft cards, demonstrated at draft board centers, and refused military service. Furthermore, critics of the draft argued that the conscription system allowed middle-class whites to receive college deferments, while African Americans and other ethnic minorities, as well as white working-class youth, were drafted in the military.

During the presidential campaign of 1968, RICHARD M. NIXON sought to exploit this resentment toward the draft by mentioning the possibility of ending conscription, even though he attacked student antiwar demonstrators. In the meanwhile, proposals for ending the draft were made in Congress. Polls showed that Americans generally supported the end of national conscription.

The end did not finally occur until January 27, 1973, when the Paris Accord was signed with the goal of ending the VIETNAM WAR. At this time, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird stated, "I wish to inform you that the armed forces henceforth will depend exclusively on volunteer soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines. Use of the draft has ended." Accompanying this statement was the decision to rely solely on the national guard and reserve troops to fill support roles for regular U.S. military forces when crisis situations required increased manpower mobilization. Selective Service registration remained, as did the possibility that those registered might have a military obligation, but since 1973 the draft has not been reinstated.

See also DEFENSE POLICY.

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—Leah Blakey

### conservation, environmentalism, and environmental policy

Although Rachel Carson's 1962 seminal study, *Silent Spring*, is credited with launching the modern environment-conscious movement in the United States, conservation issues have been part of the national landscape since the late 19th century. Carson's inquiry, which gave scientific evidence that supported findings of unhealthy levels of toxins in our bodies and in our environment, provided the stimulus for the environmental movement that coalesced in the late 1960s.

The modern environmental movement is distinguished from earlier activity by its foundation in rigorous science. The German biologist Ernst Haeckel coined the term “ecology” (a branch of science concerned with the interrelationship of organisms and their environments) in 1866; nearly a century later, the designation was still virtually unknown to those outside the field of biology. *Silent Spring*, in conjunction with the increasing viability of this unique field of study, helped foster a new approach to the role of scientific inquiry in the United States. Science had increasingly been regarded as a handmaiden to industrial capitalism; environmental science contradicted this view. Ecology identified the various ways that human interaction with nature and the environment had been both dangerous and disruptive and, by the 1970s, provided a scientific foundation for environmental advocacy.

Biologist Barry Commoner, author of *The Closing Circle: Nature, Man and Technology* (1971), conjoined scientific study with social justice issues, and called for ecology to bring environmental equity to Western society through radical economic, social, and political changes. Commoner’s maxims “Nature Knows Best,” “Everything Must Go Somewhere,” “There Is No Such Thing as a Free Lunch,” and “Everything Is Connected to Everything Else,” rapidly entered public discourse.

Environmental concerns were widespread in America by the early 1970s. This awareness was brought sharply into focus by the celebration of the first Earth Day on March 21, 1970. Wisconsin senator Gaylord Nelson conceived the event and enlisted others, who linked the celebration to ANTIWAR and civil rights issues. American endorsement of Earth Day signified that the general population was conscious of their national and global environment, as well as showing concern about conserving natural resources. Earth Day proved to be a seminal event in the contemporary environmental movement.

In 1972 the Club of Rome, a private international group of scientists, issued *The Limits to Growth*. Although primitive in comparison to later computer models, this study analyzed the effect of long-term uncontrolled population growth, industrial output, and resource consumption, and how they affected pollution and food supplies. Their results predicted a neo-Malthusian global failure, and the collapse of humanity by the early 21st century.

Nature and conservation groups like the Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, the National Wildlife Federation, and the Nature Conservancy have existed since 1892, but in the 1970s new organizations emerged to participate in the environmental movement, including the League of Conservation Voters, Natural Resources Defense Council, Friends of the Earth, and others. The focus of these and other new nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) encompassed a range of issues including protection of the envi-

ronment, conservation of natural resources and wildlife, as well as such other issues as energy efficiency, nuclear winter, global warming, population growth, and pollution control. Also in the 1970s, new public interest research groups (PIRGs), concerned with a range of issues including some environmental issues, emerged to force public disclosure and government action against air pollution, toxic dumps, nuclear waste, and contaminated water supplies. Environmentalism was professionalized during the 1970s, but amateurs continued to play a dominant role in the movement. As with other movements during this era, environmentalism also found radical adherents, who came together in Greenpeace and the Earth First! Movement. The more extreme environmentalists utilized sit-ins, demonstrations, and occasionally espoused “eco-tage,” the destruction of power lines, logging equipment, and the occasional ski lodge.

The federal government responded to public desire for greater conservation and environmental involvement, passing the Wilderness Act in 1964, which facilitated the creation of roadless, protected regions. A series of wildlife protection legislation was passed in 1968, 1971, and 1973: respectively, the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, the Wild Free-Roaming Horse and Burro Act, and the Endangered Species Act. The latter has proved to be a source of contention between those seeking to preserve animals like the snail darter fish and spotted owl, and fishing and logging interests.

The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) is the foundation for contemporary environmental policies. It was signed into law by President RICHARD M. NIXON on January 1, 1970, in response to polls that showed strong mainstream support for federal protection of the environment. NEPA’s mandate required all federal agencies to protect the environment. To facilitate this, the Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) was created. By the end of 1970, the CEQ proposed the formation of a separate agency, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), in order to evaluate solid waste, air, and water pollution as different types of the same problem. The EPA was created that year as an independent agency. In 2000, the agency had an operating budget of \$6.7 billion and a workforce of 18,000.

During the course of the 1970s, important environmental legislation was enacted, including the Clean Air Act of 1970, the OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ACT (1970), the Water Pollution Control Act (1972), the Safe Drinking Water Act (1974), and the Comprehensive Environmental Response Compensation and Liability Act (1980). The result of these and other mandates was the addition of millions of acres to the federal wilderness system, the requirement of environmental impact assessments on major construction projects, and the cleaning up of American lakes and streams



Workers clean up part of a waste oil spill on the Rouge River, Michigan. (Bill Pugliano/Getty Images)

One important legislative act dealing with land-based hazardous waste was the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act of 1976. Prior to this act, hazardous waste was stored in pits, ponds, or slag piles, or shipped to undisclosed sites. Following the discovery of toxic dumps in places like “Love Canal,” in Niagara Falls, New York, public pressure encouraged federal regulation to control treatment, generation, transportation, and destruction of hazardous materials. The Superfund, initiated by Congress in 1980 in response to Love Canal, was mandated to identify and clean up hazardous wastes. Within a decade of its inception, the Superfund was sharply criticized as being incredibly slow and inefficient. Although some 1,250 sites around the country have been identified, only 180 had been cleaned up, at a cost of some \$6.7 billion.

Concerns about the environment spurred many new efforts to reduce pollution and waste in the United States by policy makers and activists in the 1990s. During the 20th anniversary of Earth Day on April 20, 1990, thousands of Americans assembled in major cities across the nation to listen to speeches and rock concerts designed to promote environmental awareness. As Americans became

more cognizant of environmentalism, larger educational programs emerged to promote such principles. One such example was the launch of a massive conservation campaign titled, “Reduce, Reuse, and Recycle.” Public and private schools adopted this program to educate children about environmentalism and provided recycling bins for many classrooms. In some cases, educators integrated environmentalism into science curriculum by having their students test rainwater for acid and evaluate the health of soil. Educational television programs also became an integral part of this awareness campaign. Perhaps the most popular children’s program was *Captain Planet and the Planeteers* (1990–93), which featured five teenagers and an environmental superhero who were charged with protecting the planet. With interest and concern at a peak, policy makers responded to this interest in environmentalism by making amendments to the Clean Air Act in 1990. The new amendments included stringent guidelines to limit the amount of pollutants into the air, introduced a permit program to monitor pollutant producers, and provided standards for automakers to limit vehicle emissions. By the end of the 1990s, recycling programs, educational materials, the



media, and policy makers clearly had an effect on American society. In 1998 alone, almost 45 million tons of paper had been recovered; the EPA reported that air pollution declined by almost 40 percent; and in 1999 more than 50 percent of Americans considered themselves environmentalists in a poll conducted by Gallup.

In 2002 Americans spent more than \$124 billion per year to facilitate federal environmental statutes and regulations. In an effort to curb these expenditures, reformers offer three possibilities to revise current environmental policy. The first advocates direct government regulation of all activities affecting the environment. The second relies on federal guidance to shape environmental policy but market-based incentives to implement it. The third suggests that with a properly contrived plan of PROPERTY RIGHTS, augmented by contract and tort law, market forces could take care of the environment without the need for government interference.

Despite the three varying opinions on environmental policy, arriving at such a solution since 2002 has evaded policy makers because of intense partisanship over the long-term effects of and how to implement environmental policy. Much of this debate has stemmed from finding an energy policy that is eco-friendly and concerns over global warming and how regulation would affect the nation's economy. America's energy policy has been a frequent issue among legislators. In 2002 President GEORGE W. BUSH, citing a lack of oil supplies in the nation, proposed drilling in Alaska's arctic wilderness. His proposal was blocked in the Senate in 2002, but the president continued to lobby for its approval in subsequent years. In that same year, to address concerns about global warming, President Bush proposed the Clear Skies Initiative to reduce sulfur, nitrogen oxide, and mercury emissions in the air. Concerns between Democrats and Republicans over the actual application of the bill and whether it would actually reduce emissions in the United States resulted in its defeat in committee. In another attempt to reduce air emissions to stop global warming, Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Senator Joseph Lieberman (I-Conn.) proposed a bill in 2003 and 2005. The bill failed both times.

Since 2005, however, amid rising concerns over global warming, Congress has significantly shifted its focus to environmental policy. In the summer of 2005, in an effort to reduce harmful emissions, Congress passed the Energy Policy Act, which provided tax breaks for companies seeking forms of energy other than crude oil. In later years, Congress remained devoted to instituting a sound energy policy, provided larger government subsidies to protect America's wetlands, stopped government subsidies for loggers in Alaska's Tongass rain forest, and investigated global warming through special committees. Global warming became a higher priority for policy makers after the release of Vice

President ALBERT GORE's documentary, *An Inconvenient Truth*, which won an Academy Award and a Nobel Peace Prize for Gore for his devotion to environmental causes.

Issues of how to best protect the environment while maintaining a healthy economy, although not necessarily incompatible goals, have given rise to political and policy debates at the local, state, and national levels, through third-party political organizations and major POLITICAL PARTIES. Many activists have turned to the GREEN PARTY as a means of focusing the nation's attention on environmental issues. The debate over drilling for oil resources in the arctic wilderness in Alaska, blocked in the Senate in 2002 over President George W. Bush's wishes, illustrates that debate over the environment and maintaining the nation's energy supplies will continue into the future. President BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA has called for increased investment in renewable—and, thus, environmentally friendly, or “green”—energy sources such as solar and wind power, while also taxing and capping greenhouse gas emissions from traditional energy sources such as oil and coal. Obama argues that the threat of climate change and U.S. independence from foreign oil can be countered with green technology, but his critics argue that the strategy will unfairly penalize businesses and big industry.

See also ECONOMY; ENERGY; POPULATION TRENDS; SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

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—Michele Rutledge and Matthew C. Sherman

## conservative movement

The election of RONALD W. REAGAN to the presidency in 1980 represented the growth of a powerful conservative movement that emerged in America following World War II. Conservatism as a political force, however, was not a single movement per se, but a confluence of a variety of individuals, groups, and organizations with differing ideological, cultural, and political perspectives on the meaning of the word “conservative.” What conservatives shared, however, was a general distrust of centralized government, New Deal liberalism, and marxism, and a faith in individual endeavor, property rights, and the rule of law.

Throughout the 1950s conservatives remained generally isolated and without great political influence. The



primary focus of conservatives remained anticommunism directed toward the Soviet Union. In the 1950s conservatives generally fell into two camps: traditional conservatism and libertarianism. Traditional conservatives were represented by WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, founder of the *National Review*; scholar Richard Weaver; political philosopher Leo Strauss; and historian Russell Kirk. These traditional conservatives expressed a belief in transcendent values and maintained that American culture had become increasingly relativistic. Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind*, published in 1953, argued for the importance of tradition, community, and organic society, as articulated by political philosopher Edmund Burke in the 18th century.

Libertarianism, although sharing many values of traditional conservatism, emphasized the importance of the free market and individualism. In this respect, libertarians attributed less importance to tradition and the transcendental values found in Judeo-Christianity. Libertarians were influenced by economists such as Friedrich von Hayek, author of *The Road to Serfdom* (1948), which warned of encroaching state socialism in the West and in the United States. Influenced by Hayek, Frank Chodorov founded the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists in 1952 to promote the libertarian cause and free-market economics. University of Chicago economist Milton Friedman promoted free-market economics through his writings, which led to his receiving a Nobel Prize in 1976. In addition, many libertarians were influenced by Ayn Rand, a Russian émigré author whose best-selling novels, *Atlas Shrugged* (1957) and *The Fountainhead* (1943), promoted the virtues of individualism and capitalism and savagely attacked Judeo-Christian values.

In the 1950s conservatives and libertarians united in their opposition to communism. Anticommunism emerged as a potent force during the 1950s and would be carried into the 1960s. In the early years of the COLD WAR, the grassroots anticommunist movement was composed of a number of separate organizations and leaders including Christian Anticommunist Crusade, headed by Australian physician Fred Schwarz; the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, founded by PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY and her husband, Fred Schlafly; and the opportunistic Christian Crusade founded by Billy Hargis. In 1958 candy manufacturer Robert Welch founded the John Birch Society, but many conservatives shied away from the organization when it was revealed that Robert Welch had accused President Eisenhower of being a conscious agent of the Soviet Union.

This anticommunist movement laid the foundation for the modern conservative movement, which came fully of age with the nomination of U.S. senator Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) on the Republican presidential ticket in 1964. Although Goldwater was easily defeated by incumbent president Lyndon Johnson, conservatives gained important organizing and fund-raising experience. Goldwater won

23 million votes. The political and social upheavals of the 1960s, especially the extension of the welfare state under President Johnson's Great Society, racial riots and the Black Power movement, the Vietnam War, and student protests fed the growth of political conservatism.

This political backlash against the Great Society enabled conservatives to win elections and gain national visibility. In 1968 RICHARD M. NIXON won the White House. The Nixon administration, however, disappointed conservatives with his support for DÉTENTE, the opening of relations with mainland China, arms control treaties with the Soviet Union, and the expansion of the federal government with economic and environmental legislation and civil rights. Conservatives sought to challenge Nixon in 1972 by backing Representative John Ashbrook (R-Ohio) in the primaries, but this campaign failed to get off the ground. Following the WATERGATE SCANDAL, which forced Nixon to resign from office, conservatives were demoralized and isolated.

Conservatism revived, however, as activists seized upon two critical issues: abortion and feminism. In 1972 Congress passed the EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA). The STOP-ERA movement, led by Phyllis Schlafly, mobilized conservative women across the country to prevent state ratification of this amendment. In this campaign, EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN women and Mormons became politically involved. The U.S. SUPREME COURT's decision, *ROE V. WADE* (1973), which found ABORTION to be a constitutional right, created a backlash among Roman Catholics and other religious groups and led to a grassroots pro-life movement. Finally, environmental protection legislation enacted in the Nixon administration activated American business, as well as western ranchers and farmers. In 1973 the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank in Washington, D.C., was founded by Paul Weyrich, Edwin J. Feulner, and Joseph Coors.

The GERALD R. FORD administration further disappointed conservatives, and in Republican primaries in 1976, Ronald W. Reagan challenged Ford, leaving the GOP sharply divided between its liberal and conservative wings. This division, along with a weak economy, Watergate, and Ford's gaffes during the campaign, helped JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., the Democratic nominee, win the presidency.

During the Carter administration, conservatives mobilized to take control of the Republican Party, bringing new constituencies into the party from evangelical Christian voters and white voters in the South, as well as making inroads among Catholic voters in the North. In doing so, conservatives sought to tie social issues such as abortion, prayer in schools, and the ERA to traditional Republican issues of free-market economics, limited government, fiscal responsibility, and strong military and national defense positions. In response to what was perceived as a weak and vacillating foreign policy toward the Soviet Union, including defense

cutbacks and arms control treaties such as the STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATIES, intellectuals like Jeane Kirkpatrick, Richard Perle, William Kristol, Norman Podhoretz, and Gertrude Himmelfarb attacked what they called the “culture of appeasement.” New organizations were established such as the Committee for the Free World and the Committee on the Present Danger to promote a tougher stance toward the Soviet Union. This movement became known as NEOCONSERVATISM. Neoconservatism was characterized by its interest in FOREIGN POLICY and DEFENSE POLICY and, in general, showed less interest in social issues.

The mobilization of a New Christian Right, led by televangelists Jerry Falwell (the MORAL MAJORITY) and Pat Robertson (the CHRISTIAN COALITION, directed by Ralph Reed), imparted further momentum to the conservative movement. The Christian Right attacked secular humanism, moral relativism, and sexual permissiveness, which were perceived as leading to the breakdown of the traditional family. Concerns with the American family’s breakdown led to the creation of a pro-family movement represented by Phyllis Schlafly’s Eagle Forum and Gary Bauer’s Family Research Council. These new organizations and groups were labeled by the press as the New Right.

Critics accused the New Right of introducing religion into politics and ignoring the constitutional separation between church and state. Furthermore, they charged that the New Right was exploiting racial anxieties of whites and fears about changing gender roles that had been brought about by the feminist movement. In doing so, critics argued, the New Right was creating a politics of “intolerance” that failed to recognize ethnic and religious diversity in a pluralistic society.

Reagan’s election as president in 1980 brought conservatives to power, culminating a 40-year effort. Reagan pursued a conservative agenda of tax cuts, economic deregulation, and a defense buildup. In doing so, Reagan became a hero to the conservative movement. The Reagan administration, however, did not achieve everything that conservatives wanted, especially on the so-called social issues—abortion and prayer in schools. Nonetheless, the success of the conservative agenda on fiscal matters and economic deregulation pushed the Democratic Party in the 1990s to the right on these issues, even while the party moved generally to the left on many social issues, especially reproductive rights for women.

Discord arose among conservatives after Reagan left office in 1988. Many conservatives remained suspicious of GEORGE H. W. BUSH, whom Reagan designated as his heir apparent. This discord was reflected in journalist PATRICK BUCHANAN’s unsuccessful primary challenges to George H. W. Bush in 1988 and 1992 on a program of economic protectionism, immigration restriction, and cultural issues. Bush’s loss of the White House to WILLIAM J. CLINTON in 1992

suggested that the “Reagan revolution” had failed to produce a political realignment. Conservatives rejoiced, however, when Republicans, under NEWTON L. GINGRICH, (R-Ga.) swept the off-year election and captured control of Congress in 1994, but it was not until the election of GEORGE W. BUSH in 2000 that conservatives regained the White House, although some conservatives initially supported his primary rival, Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.) for the nomination.

During the 1990s, fissures within the conservative movement became evident. The different agendas among conservatives led to divisions among the neoconservatives (who were primarily Jewish), Roman Catholics and southern Protestants of the Old Right, and libertarians. In the 1990s, with the end of the cold war social issues became dominant for some conservatives. Cultural conservatives such as former Reagan official William Bennett and constitutional scholar ROBERT BORK denounced what they saw as the cultural and moral decay of basic American values. Allan Bloom’s best-seller, *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987) argued that “POLITICAL CORRECTNESS” had distorted American education, subverting society’s moral and spiritual traditions. As a student of Leo Strauss, Bloom attacked modernism for eroding traditional values. Former radical David Horowitz, in a series of books and articles, indicted radicals of the 1960s as a “destructive generation” that had fostered racial tensions and cultural disorder.

As the conservative movement entered the 21st century, conservatives often divided over a wide range of issues—American military intervention, abortion, gay rights, immigration, and free trade—but they agreed upon fundamental issues concerning the need to downsize the federal government, the need for a strong military and national defense, and policies that they believed would promote family values, individual responsibility, and economic opportunity. The conservative movement changed American politics, moved both parties to the right on fiscal issues, and stirred debate about cultural and moral order in society.

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—Donald T. Critchlow

## **contras**

The contras were a group of counterrevolutionaries opposed to the ruling Sandinista government in Nicaragua during the 1980s. President RONALD W. REAGAN authorized the funding that enabled the formation of the contras.

In Nicaragua the Sandinista National Liberation Front had overthrown the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza in

1979. Although the new Sandinista government expanded its ties with noncommunist nations, it also strengthened its relationship with Cuba and other nations of the socialist bloc. The Reagan administration viewed this as an indication of further communist expansion in the Western Hemisphere and, therefore, as a threat to U.S. national security. In 1981 the United States suspended economic aid to Nicaragua, and Reagan authorized nearly \$20 million for the recruiting, training, and arming of Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries who would engage in irregular military operations against the Sandinista government. These insurgents, who came to be called *contras*, operated out of bases on the border areas of Honduras and Costa Rica, and numbered approximately 15,000 by the mid-1980s. They never presented, however, a serious military threat to the Sandinistas, but they did cause millions of dollars in damage to the Nicaraguan economy by attacking local police and military units, farms and cooperatives, shipping, and other civilian targets. The Sandinistas eventually expanded their military and implemented counterinsurgency strategy and tactics, which enabled them to contain and demoralize the *contras* by the late 1980s.

U.S. involvement with the *contras* deepened during the mid-1980s. In response to evidence alleging human rights abuses by the *contras*, Congress passed in 1984 the BOLAND AMENDMENT that prohibited any direct or indirect U.S. military aid to them. In violation of this law, the Reagan administration in 1985 and 1986 undertook a covert campaign by which a portion of the funds raised through illegal arms sales to Iran were funneled to the *contras* in Nicaragua. This operation was uncovered in 1986 and the ensuing scandal came to be known as the IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR. In 1987 Congress voted against supplying any further aid to the *contras*, and the same year saw the locus of the Nicaragua conflict move from the military to the political sector. The *contras* formally demobilized in June 1990 under the auspices of the peacefully elected government headed by the National Opposition Union coalition.

See also BUSH, GEORGE H. W.; GRENADA, INVASION OF; LATIN AMERICA; NICARAGUA; NORTH, OLIVER L.

—William L. Glankler

### **Cox, Archibald, Jr.** (1912–2004) *lawyer*

Archibald Cox Jr., a Harvard Law School professor, author, and attorney, is best known as the special prosecutor whose investigation of the WATERGATE SCANDAL led to the resignation of President RICHARD M. NIXON in 1974.

Archibald Cox was born May 17, 1912, to Frances Perkins Cox and Archibald Cox, Sr., in Plainfield, New Jersey, and was the great-grandson of William Maxwell Evarts, the attorney who defended President Andrew Johnson at

his impeachment trial in 1868. Cox was the oldest of seven children. He completed his bachelor's degree at Harvard University in 1934, and graduated magna cum laude in 1946 from Harvard Law School. In 1937 he married Phyllis Ames. Following four years in Washington during World War II, Cox accepted a faculty position at Harvard Law School, specializing in labor law. Under President Harry Truman, Cox served as chair of the Wage Stabilization Board. Under Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, he served as solicitor general, a position that would later cause President Nixon to question Cox's motives during the Watergate scandal.

Despite his lack of prosecutorial experience, Archibald Cox was appointed by Attorney General Elliot Richardson in 1973 to investigate the alleged Watergate cover-up and illegal activity in the 1972 presidential campaign. As special prosecutor, a newly created government position, Cox was given a broad mandate with unprecedented investigative independence and authority in this case. After learning of the existence of secretly taped conversations held in the White House, Cox demanded specific tapes be made available to him. Nixon, citing national security issues and claiming executive privilege, withheld the recordings. The U.S. Court of Appeals overrode Nixon and ordered him to surrender the tapes. Nixon offered to submit edited transcripts of the recordings, but his proposal—using Senator John Stennis (D-Miss.) as mediator and limiting any future access to unsubpoenaed tapes and presidential materials—was unacceptable. Nixon then ordered Richardson to fire Cox. Rather than comply with the president's order, the attorney general, as well as the deputy attorney general, William Ruckelshaus, resigned from office. Solicitor General ROBERT BORK, as acting attorney general, proceeded to execute Nixon's mandate. The firing of Cox and the resignations of Ruckelshaus and Richardson became collectively known as the Saturday Night Massacre.

Cox returned to academic life, serving as a visiting professor at Cambridge University and teaching law at Boston and Harvard Universities. Cox also served from 1980–92 as the chair of Common Cause, a citizens' lobbying group founded in the 1970s that emphasizes campaign finance reform. Cox died in Brooksville, Maine, in 2004.

—Michele Rutledge

### **crime**

Forty percent of all federal criminal laws enacted from 1850 to 2000 were passed between 1970 and 2000. During the same period, the United States has enjoyed a general reduction in the number of victims of crime. Though the number of victims of violent crime increased 5 percent from 1973 to 1981, and another 16 percent from 1989

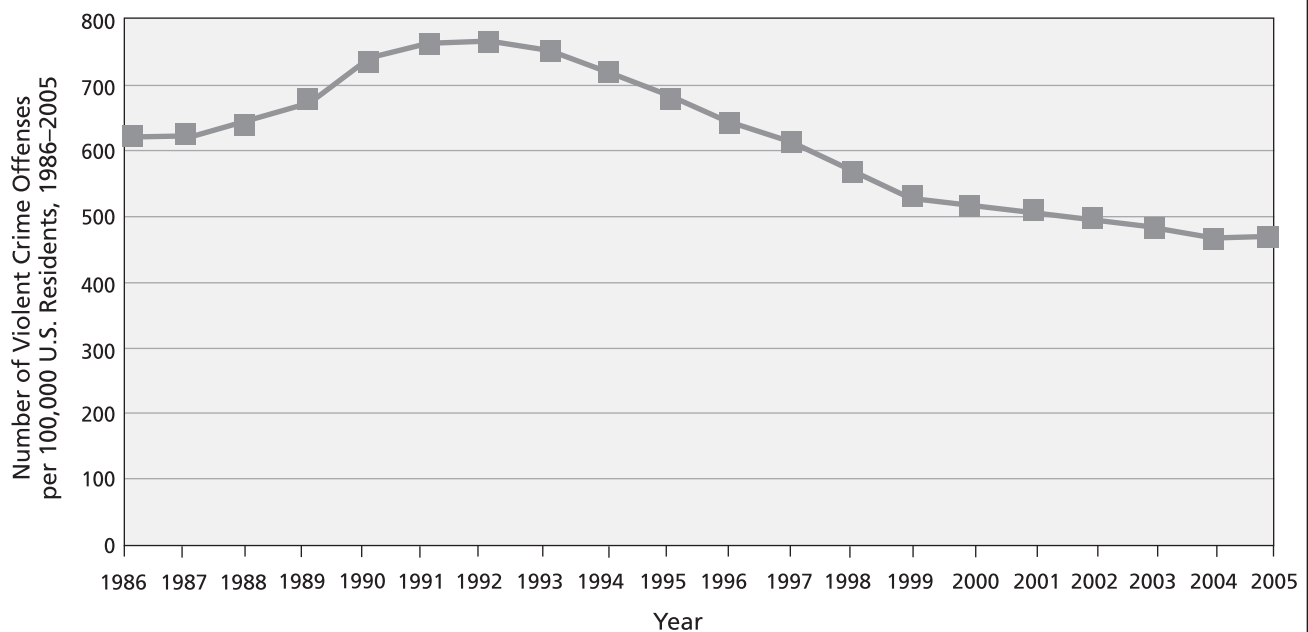
to 1994, the intervals between witnessed even greater decreases; the number of victims fell 14 percent between 1981 and 1989, and 48 percent from 1994 to 2005. The mid to late 1990s also saw a 75 percent drop in the incidence of rape and 50 percent drops in the number of robberies and aggravated assaults. Similarly, the number of victims of property crimes, including burglary and theft, fell 75 percent from 1974 to 2006, with the most significant decreases occurring between 1979 and 1984, when the rate fell 25 percent. Auto theft was the only anomaly; after a gradual decline from 1975 to 1985, the rates increased 50 percent between 1985 and 1991. Yet even auto theft experienced a 50 percent decline over the whole period from 1974 to 2000.

Despite the overall decline in the number of victims involved in crimes, the number of incarcerated criminals has skyrocketed; America's prison and jail populations rose more than 400 percent between 1980 (just over half a million) and 2008 (2 million). The difference between the numbers of victims and the numbers of incarcerated criminals reflects the growing number of drug-related crimes. Some advocates for drug legalization contend that drug use is a "victimless crime" because the user and the perpetrator are one and the same. Opponents of drug

legalization maintain that there is no way to estimate the numbers of families and friends harmed by drug abuse, or whether the legalization of drugs would actually lead to lower crime rates.

This unique imbalance between victim and offenders reveals a general shift in the nature of crime in America. The overall rate of crime actually increased 25 percent since 1970, but prior to 1970, most crimes dealt with violence or property without involving drugs. By the early to mid-1970s, drug use and drug trafficking gradually assumed a central role. To some extent, this shift is also related to a gradual decline, in major urban centers, of organized crime, which has been replaced by smaller, less organized, youth street gangs. This phenomenon resulted in a decline of certain kinds of property crimes and violent crimes related to extortion and intimidation. Since the new youth gangs concentrated on drug trafficking, they used violence, not merely for intimidation, but to eliminate the competition. The result was a demographic shift in the murder rate. Prior to 1985 most murders were committed by 25- to 34-year-olds. After that date, the murder rate by perpetrators 14 to 24 years old rose dramatically, while the rate for those aged 25 years and above declined proportionately. While the rate of murder

### Violent Crime Rate



*Note:* Violent crimes are offenses of murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. The murders that occurred as a result of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks were not included.

*Source:* "Crime in the United States, 2005," September 2006, Union Crime Reports, Federal Bureau of Investigation

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for young white males doubled, similar rates for young black males tripled. The mean age of murder victims experienced similar shifts; in some inner-city neighborhoods, the life expectancy of black males was 25 years. By 2008 one out of nine black males between the ages of 20 and 34 would be incarcerated in state or federal prisons. Another effect of this shift is that Americans who are not involved in illicit drugs are less likely to become victims of street crime, while those who are involved are more likely to become either victims or prisoners.

The federal government can take some credit for the decline in organized crime. Following the 1967 *Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice*, Congress passed the Organized Crime Control Act (OCCA) of 1970. Included as Title IX was the RACKETEER INFLUENCED AND CORRUPT ORGANIZATIONS ACT (RICO), which allowed law enforcement agencies to increase the normal fines and penalties of certain crimes, usually at levels three times the norm, when they are committed by organizations. Though the Department of Justice waited almost 10 years before using it, the act has since become a prosecutor's favorite tool for combating organized crime. The 1980s witnessed a string of widely publicized mob trials, including the Pizza Connection, prosecuted by the office of U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York Rudolph Giuliani, involving 23 defendants in a \$1.6 billion heroin-smuggling operation; and the murder trials of John Gotti, the late head of the Gambino crime family, who was acquitted in two successive RICO cases in 1986, earning him the nickname "the Teflon Don." FBI tapes later revealed that Gotti bribed jurors and witnesses to win the acquittals. He was finally convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment after a third trial in 1991, when his underboss, Salvatore "Sammy the Bull" Gravano, testified against him. For most of the 1960s to the 1980s, organized crime controlled trucking in New York's garment district, the Fulton Fish Market & Union, and shipping in JFK International Airport, and governed unions involved with the Javits Convention Center, waste hauling, and construction. The result was a hidden extortion tax that merchants passed on to consumers. During the 1980s, the FBI effectively broke mob control in each of these areas and in similar strongholds across the country. Though John Gotti gained more fame than other mob leaders, he reigned during a time when organized crime was already greatly weakened.

The federal government has experienced mixed success in its efforts against the new wave of drug crimes. Congress passed the Comprehensive Crime Control Act in 1984, which included forfeiture provisions for all drug offenses and increased funding for law enforcement agencies. While the law resulted in more arrests for cocaine trafficking, the numbers and violence of youth gangs seemed

to increase as well. Two years later, in the 1986 Anti-Drug Abuse Act, Congress addressed the gang problem directly by adding additional penalties for juveniles who commit drug crimes.

In 1989 President GEORGE H. W. BUSH declared a "war on drugs" and created a drug czar, WILLIAM J. BENNETT, to lead this campaign against drugs by coordinating federal agencies involved with drug enforcement, promoting drug rehabilitation, and public awareness programs. At the same time Congress appropriated additional funds for drug enforcement and drug rehabilitation programs. In the years that immediately followed, drug use and its related crime rates fell, only to rise again five years later.

In 1993 Congress enacted, with the endorsement of WILLIAM J. CLINTON's administration, the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act, named after President Ronald W. Reagan's press secretary, left disabled following an attempted assassination of the president with a recently purchased handgun. The act required handgun buyers to wait five days before the purchase of the weapon for authorities to undertake background checks. The following year, Congress enacted the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act (1994), which substantially increased federal involvement in crime prevention. The act permitted 30.2 billion to be given over a six-year period in block grants to states for police recruitment, prison construction, and prevention programs. The act also banned 19 types of assault weapons, and allowed judges to waive minimum sentences for nonviolent, first-time drug offenses. The act expanded the number of federal capital crimes. It also provided additional penalties for "hate crimes" (federal crimes committed against victims selected for their race, religion, ethnicity, gender, disability, or sexual orientation.) Finally the act imposed a "three strikes, you're out" policy, which mandated life imprisonment for criminals convicted of three violent felonies.

Experts remain divided in their approach to crime. One camp tends to promote stronger law enforcement measures, including more consistent enforcement of the laws, longer sentences, fewer opportunities for parole, and harsher penalties for repeat offenders. Other experts favor more preventive measures, including less incarceration time for nonviolent offenders, and more rehabilitation programs for drug offenders. This camp often sees drug use and drug-related crimes as a reflection of social problems in the inner city. Declining crime has started to affect the incarceration rate, which has been growing more slowly since 2000 than it did during the 1990s. A debate continues between those who say increasing prosecution is responsible for lower crime rates and others who think increases in federal criminal legislation have only produced more criminals to be incarcerated.

See also CAPITAL PUNISHMENT; NARCOTICS.

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—Aharon W. Zorea

# D



## **Dayton accords**

In November 1995 peace negotiations were held in Dayton, Ohio, to work out the details of an agreement that provided for settlement of the war in Yugoslavia. This conflict began in April 1992 after nationalist Serb snipers fired on peaceful demonstrators in Sarajevo. Bosnia-Herzegovina, after seceding from the Yugoslav Federated Republic, was recognized by the West in May 1992 as an independent state. Bosnian Serbs, supported by Serbian leader Slobodan Milošević, immediately began an armed war with the goal of dividing the republic along ethnic lines. Reports of “ethnic cleansing”—the mass murder and/or dispossession of non-Serbs—and other atrocities soon reached the international press. U.S. president WILLIAM J. CLINTON became a vocal advocate for a search for peace. The peace conference worked out the details of an accord that provided for an Implementation Force (IFOR) made up of NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) peacekeeping troops, and national elections to be held in September 1996. The United States supplied 20,000 soldiers to the operation. Although imperfect—the concerns of Albanians in KOSOVO were not considered—the Dayton negotiations made progress toward ending the war and ethnic cleansing in the Balkans. The presidents of Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia signed the agreement, which confirmed the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

—Michele Rutledge

## **defense policy**

When President RICHARD M. NIXON entered office in 1969 he sought to pursue a policy of détente with the SOVIET UNION. This policy entailed establishing better relations with the USSR through trade and arms control; opening relations with mainland China; and ending the war in Vietnam. As part of this policy, the administration introduced the Nixon Doctrine, which stated that allies would

do the fighting instead of U.S. troops. This doctrine was a response to the U.S. backlash to its involvement in the VIETNAM WAR, and an outgrowth of the détente strategy of avoiding direct confrontation between the superpowers. Under this doctrine, the United States continued to support its allies, including the South Vietnamese government, through military and foreign aid.

While seeking better relations with the Soviet Union, Nixon continued a nuclear strategy of “mutually assured destruction” (MAD), in which the United States would be able to retaliate to any nation’s nuclear attack with nuclear weapons. At the same time, he sought to shift Soviet and U.S. nuclear weapons away from civilian targets. Nixon moved away from his predecessor’s defense policy of “flexible response” and toward a new defense policy of “strategic sufficiency.” This new policy replaced the goal of nuclear and military superiority, for which both superpowers had been striving for decades. “Strategic sufficiency” required the United States to have the nuclear capability to deter a nuclear attack launched by the Soviet Union. This was to be accomplished by convincing the Soviets that even after receiving a nuclear strike, the United States would still be able to retaliate with an unacceptable amount of nuclear force.

In 1972 the United States and the Soviet Union signed the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (Salt I). It limited both nations to a maximum of 200 antiballistic missiles (ABM) and two ABM systems. A separate agreement froze for five years the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs). These treaties formalized a strategy of mutual deterrence, the view adopted by both sides as the surest guarantee against nuclear attack.

In pursuing the SALT agreement, Nixon pressured reluctant liberals in Congress to support the development of new weapons systems. Nixon gave the go-ahead to a new kind of missile called a “multiple independently targeted reentry vehicle” (MIRV). Each of these missiles carried

three to 10 separately targeted warheads, so fewer missiles could launch more bombs. The introduction of MIRV technology, in effect, accelerated the arms race.

Coming into office in 1974, President GERALD R. FORD continued Nixon's defense policy. In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, Ford, under pressure from Congress, agreed to cuts in defense. President Ford also dismissed James R. Schlesinger, who had served as secretary of defense in the Nixon administration, because he called for more money to be spent on defense. Schlesinger wanted the money to be allocated to conventional forces, which he believed were essential to American engagements in "limited" wars. Schlesinger also questioned the nature of the arms control policy being pursued by Secretary of State HENRY A. KISSINGER.

Meeting with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in Vladivostok, Siberia, in late 1974, Ford made progress toward a new arms control treaty. The following year Ford and Brezhnev signed an accord in Helsinki, Finland, with 31 other nations, recognizing Europe's post-1945 political boundaries and agreeing to respect human rights. The Helsinki agreement drew criticism from "hawks" in both the Democratic and Republican Parties because it agreed to recognize the Soviet regimes in Eastern and Central Europe. Furthermore, critics accused the Soviet Union of continuing to violate human rights by suppressing dissidents and Russian Jews.

Defense policy in JAMES EARL CARTER, JR.'s administration is best described as equivalence and countervailing. President Carter worked toward the balancing of the United States and the Soviet Union in the nuclear arena. Initially Carter supported continued cuts in the defense budget with Congress. At the same time, Carter continued to rely on a nuclear capability based on a strategic triad of ICBMs, SLBMs, and bombers. Yet within these parameters, fierce debates during the next four years would be sustained within the administration and in Congress over a range of defense issues, including the development of a new B-1 bomber; the best platform for delivering a new mobile ICBM, the MX missile; the development of a neutron bomb; and the deployment of Pershing II missiles in Europe to counter the Soviet Union's deployment of mobile missiles in Eastern Europe.

In 1979 Carter negotiated a new arms control treaty, SALT II, with the Soviet Union, which called for further cuts in both nations' nuclear arsenals. The treaty acknowledged essential "parity" in the nuclear forces. Agreement called for each nation to stop construction of new fixed ICBMs, to leave the fixed sites in place, and not to convert light ICBMs into heavy ones. In addition, each nation would limit the number of its MIRVs and cruise missiles. The Soviet Union would dismantle 200 MIRV'd ICBMs, while the United States pledged not to test cruise missiles

with a range greater than 600 kilometers. The treaty was set to expire in 1985. A Joint Statement of Principles for SALT III called for further negotiations to set parity, while reducing overall levels of armaments.

When Carter submitted this treaty to Congress, however, he ran into strong opposition from members of his own party and Republicans who argued that the Soviets had not lived up to either the earlier Salt I agreement or the Helsinki Accords. Shortly before Carter signed the agreement, Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) had declared that the treaty favored the Soviets and that to sign it would be "appeasement in its purest form." Although the Joint Chiefs of Staff endorsed the treaty, one of their representatives on the negotiating team resigned and testified against SALT. In addition, outside Congress, the treaty drew heavy criticism. The Committee on the Present Danger, a lobbying group organized in 1975 against détente, attacked the treaty as representative of a "culture of appeasement." Warning that it offered a means for the Soviet Union to achieve nuclear supremacy, through such loopholes as the absence of on-site inspections to verify that the agreement was being honored, Senate critics blocked the treaty from coming to a vote in 1979. Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, Carter withdrew the SALT II agreement in January 1980.

As tensions had mounted with the Soviet Union over its nuclear buildup and its involvement in Africa and Central America, Carter had urged increases in military expenditures. With the invasion of Afghanistan, Carter escalated defense spending, which had begun to increase shortly before the invasion. In June 1980 President Carter announced a countervailing strategy meant to convince the Soviet Union that the United States had the capability and the intent to launch a counterattack against the USSR that would yield unacceptably great destruction of targets such as political and military control establishments, military forces, and the industrial areas of the Soviet Union. This shift toward selecting civilian targets reversed Nixon's declared policy of targeting only military sites. President Carter also continued to push European NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) members to increase their defense spending and thus their share of responsibility.

When President RONALD W. REAGAN took office in 1981, he set out to enhance the ability of the United States not only to win a nuclear war but also to survive one. Throughout his first term, Reagan and his secretary of defense, Caspar Weinberger, continued to call for the largest peacetime military buildup since the outbreak of World War II in Europe. In his first year as president he announced his five-point plan for increasing U.S. capabilities: improvement of communications, command, and control systems (C3); modernization of the strategic bomber; new SLBM deployment; improvement of survivability and



accuracy of new ICBMs; better strategic defense of the United States. Under this plan, he ordered production of 100 B-1 bombers and 100 MX-ICBMs, and called for the development of a stealth aircraft and the Trident II SLBM, as well as the enhancement of U.S. air-surveillance systems and anti-satellite systems (ASAT). President Reagan repeatedly fought Congress, which did not want to appropriate the money for funding these programs.

In March 1983 Reagan called for a Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), derided by its critics as “Star Wars,” a science-fiction fantasy movie. SDI called for a 20-year research and development project, with costs ranging from \$100 billion to \$1 trillion. While this proposal was being debated, the Reagan administration went ahead with plans made at the end of the Carter administration to deploy medium-range ballistic and cruise missiles in Europe. As a consequence, the Soviets withdrew from arms control talks.

Also during his first term, President Reagan aggressively employed U.S. troops in developing countries to halt the spread of regimes that were unfriendly to the United States. He sent troops into GRENADA in 1983 and bombed Libya when the nation was found to be responsible for an international TERRORISM incident.

In his second term, Reagan appeared to reverse his defense policy toward the Soviet Union. In the next four years, Reagan had more meetings with the leader of the Soviet Union than any of his predecessors. He met with Mikhail Gorbachev, who had become party chairman in early 1985, at summits in Geneva in November 1985; in Reykjavik, Iceland, in October 1986; in Washington in December 1987; in Moscow in June 1988; and in New York that same year. As a result, détente was revived. More important, in December 1987 the two leaders signed the Intermediate Nuclear Forces treaty in which the two powers agreed to withdraw and destroy all intermediate-range missiles deployed in Europe. The following year, December 1988, in a speech before the UN General Assembly in New York Gorbachev announced that Russia would unilaterally reduce its military forces by 500,000 men and 10,000 tanks over the next two years.

President GEORGE H. W. BUSH came into office at the end of the COLD WAR. The significant changes in world affairs led the Bush administration to reformulate U.S. foreign and defense policy away from an ideological approach, as dictated by the cold war, toward a more pragmatic attitude. President Bush saw the beginning of a new era of defense planning when ethnic hostilities erupted across the world as the cold war ended. Conflicts became increasingly local, resulting in decreased justification for international defense. Beginning in fiscal year 1992 defense budgets began to diminish. This caused the subsequent closing of hundreds of military bases and a decrease in the number of U.S. servicemen stationed in Europe.

As the dominant military power now in the world, the United States under Bush assumed a greater role as an “international policeman”—working cooperatively with western European allies and the United Nations to preserve international stability. Often this meant military intervention into local areas. For example, in December 1989 Bush deployed U.S. troops to dethrone an unfriendly regime under dictator Manuel Noriega in PANAMA. In this intervention, 55 Panamanian National Guard troops and 23 U.S. soldiers lost their lives in 72 hours of fighting. The United States captured Noriega and placed him on trial in Miami, where he was convicted and sentenced for drug trafficking.

The Bush administration confronted a major international crisis on August 2, 1990, when Saddam Hussein, the dictator of Iraq, invaded his oil-rich neighbor, Kuwait. Bush organized an international coalition to oust Iraq from Kuwait. The United States led the United Nations to pass a series of resolutions demanding that Iraq withdraw, while at the same time the United States assembled a military force of 700,000 from 28 countries, stationed in Saudi Arabia. After the expiration of 12 UN resolutions calling for Iraq’s withdrawal, Bush launched military action in what became known as the PERSIAN GULF WAR. After six weeks of bombing, UN forces launched a ground assault that liberated Kuwait, within 100 hours, on February 27, 1991. Although Hussein remained in power, he promised to allow arms inspectors into his country to ensure that all weapons of mass destruction, specifically nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, had been destroyed and were not being developed. The UN continued an arms and economic embargo on Iraq, but Hussein soon was creating problems in the region by his refusal to cooperate with UN inspectors and his support of international terrorists.

When WILLIAM J. CLINTON won the presidency in 1992, he blended the use of military force and moral suasion in his defense and foreign policy. Confronted with the complexities of the post-cold war world, the Clinton administration was hesitant to deploy American forces unilaterally. During his eight years in office, Clinton continued to experience an uneasy relationship with the American military, in part because of his emphasis on multilateral military intervention, his downsizing of the military, and because of what critics said was his avoidance of military service during the Vietnam War. Furthermore, when he first assumed office, he ordered the military to include gay men and women in its ranks. The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, COLIN POWELL, was so upset with this policy that six months later, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin issued orders forbidding the military to inquire into the sexual orientation of service personnel. This “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy satisfied neither advocates nor opponents of including homosexuals in the military. Relations between the military and the

administration did not get any better under Aspin, who failed to develop a rapport with the heads of the uniformed services. In late 1993 Aspin was fired, after 18 American marines lost their lives during a firefight in Somalia.

Aspin was replaced by William Perry, who served as the next secretary of defense between 1994 to 1997. He established a closer working relationship with the armed services and provided leadership as the military adopted a new generation of lighter weapons and more maneuverable ships, planes, and armored vehicles. In his second term, Clinton appointed Republican senator William Cohen to serve as secretary of defense.

During Clinton's tenure in office, the United States for the first time in its history had military forces in 100 nations around the globe. Under Clinton, American military troops were increasingly used to promote human rights abroad. These military interventions had mixed results. In the East African country of Somalia, the Clinton administration inherited a major U.S. military humanitarian operation. Shortly before leaving office, Bush had dispatched 28,000 U.S. ground troops to create what he called a "secure environment" for food distribution in this war- and famine-ravaged country. When Clinton came into office, however, he turned this relief effort over to a UN force, so that by July only 4,000 U.S. troops remained in Somalia as part of a "nation-building" force. On October 3, U.S. forces became engaged in a firefight with Somali warlord Muhammad Farah Aideed, leaving 18 marines killed. By the end of 1993, Clinton had withdrawn the remainder of the U.S. force. One major consequence of the failure of this mission was that the Clinton administration did not respond to a genocidal war by the Hutu-dominated government against the Tutsis in the East African country of Rwanda.

Clinton's efforts to restore the democratically elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide in Haiti with the threat of UN-backed American military action proved more successful in 1994, although subsequent Haitian governments proved less than democratic. In a rigged election, Aristide returned to power for a second term in June 2000.

The Clinton administration also became militarily engaged in the former Yugoslavia to promote human rights. In 1991 civil war had broken out in Bosnia, a province of Yugoslavia. The Bush administration avoided getting involved in conflict in the Balkans region, although it supported an embargo on exporting arms to the warring parties, which included Orthodox Christian Serbs, Catholic Croats, and Muslim Bosnians. The conflict intensified in the summer of 1995, precipitated by a Serb attack on the Muslim town of Srebrenica, which led to ethnic cleansing and the rape of thousands of Muslim women and girls. The Clinton administration joined NATO allies in launching air strikes against the Serbs, who were forced to withdraw to Yugoslavia. On November 1, representatives of Yugoslavia

and the newly independent former Yugoslavian province of Croatia met at the U.S. Air Force base in Dayton, Ohio, where on November 21 the DAYTON ACCORDS were signed, lifting the siege of Sarajevo and creating the independent state of Bosnia. The United States agreed to lead an International Implementation Force (IFOR) of approximately 60,000 soldiers to maintain peace in Bosnia. The United States contributed 20,000 troops to this mission. Although Clinton pledged that these troops would be withdrawn by 1996, by 2000 the United States still had 8,000 troops in the area.

In March 1999 further troubles came in the region when Yugoslav president Slobodan Milošević refused to withdraw his armed troops from the Yugoslav province of Kosovo. Because the United States feared that Milošević would initiate an ethnic cleansing program against Albanian Muslims in this province, the United States and European members of NATO launched a bombing campaign against Milošević's troops. Although Secretary of State MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT and National Security Advisor Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger believed that the air campaign would force Milošević to surrender in a matter of days, Milošević sent the Yugoslav army on a rampage inside Kosovo. Moreover, the bombing of Yugoslavia appeared to unite the Serbs around Milošević. Only on June 10, 1999—after seven weeks of intensive bombing—did Yugoslavia accept defeat. More than 60,000 troops from the United States and NATO entered Kosovo to supervise the return of refugees and to keep peace, but deep and historic hatreds remained between the Muslims and the Serbs. Few within the administration supported the end of the Kosovo war because it had lasted much longer than expected, and critics claimed that the war was "a perfect failure" that made conditions worse in Kosovo through military intervention. Few claimed it was absolutely successful, although Clinton defenders said that Kosovo was a much better place than it would have been absent NATO intervention.

The election of President GEORGE W. BUSH in 2000 brought a major refocus on American defense policy. During the campaign, Bush revived the proposal of creating a continental defense against nuclear missile attack, as well as a promise to "rebuild" the military and to increase pay for uniformed servicemen. Once in office, Bush pressed this agenda, but on September 11, 2001, the United States confronted its greatest attack since Pearl Harbor, when 19 terrorists hijacked four commercial airliners and slammed two of them into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in lower Manhattan and one into the Pentagon in northern Virginia, outside of Washington, D.C. A fourth airliner crashed before it reached its target. The terrorist attackers were identified as part of a worldwide terror network associated with a Saudi Islamic fundamentalist, Osama bin Laden. Bush declared a war on terrorism and

then launched an international military assault against bin Laden's bases in Afghanistan, a country governed by a fundamentalist Islamic regime.

Since 2001 the defense policy of the United States was directed at fighting terrorism using a multipronged strategy. The Bush administration took an aggressive approach to pursuing and apprehending terrorists, preventing access to weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and confronting regimes that would provide sanctuary or resources to terrorist organizations. While seeking to build coalitions among global allies in the war against terrorism, the Bush administration was prepared to act in America's defense in the absence of a coalition. Thus, when the United States launched an attack against Iraq in March 2003, citing concerns that Iraq possessed WMD and would make them available to terrorists, it did so without a unified coalition. Several of the UN Security Council members believed that an attack was premature and that UN weapons inspections ought to be given more time. In addition to an aggressive approach toward eliminating terror networks, U.S. defense policy included a strategy to promote democracy, economic growth, and free trade in developing nations.

The Bush administration also called for stronger domestic security through the creation of the DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY, expanded intelligence-gathering capability, and increased defense spending. The Department of Homeland Security, charged with the responsibility of coordinating intelligence gathering and emergency preparedness, became a cabinet-level agency with the enactment of the Homeland Security Act of 2002. The USA PATRIOT ACT, first passed in 2001 and subsequently renewed in 2006, expanded the powers of federal law enforcement agencies to find and prosecute terrorists operating within the United States. The military absorbed much of the responsibility for the war against terrorism, and spending increased accordingly. According to U.S. Government Accountability Office statistics, the regular budget appropriations for the Department of Defense rose steadily from \$296 billion in fiscal year 2001 to \$431 billion in fiscal year 2007. Fighting the global war on terror, including the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, required supplemental funding.

Thus from the initiation of the cold war at the end of World War II until today, the United States evolved from a nation preparing defensively for nuclear war in a bipolar world to one preparing defensively for terrorism, which could come in any form from any corner of the globe.

See also AFGHANISTAN WAR; ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY; ARMS RACE; FOREIGN POLICY; IRAQ WAR; TERRORISM.

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—John Korasick and Leah Blakey

## détente

*Détente* was the word President RICHARD M. NIXON used to describe his FOREIGN POLICY for the relaxing of tension in Soviet-American relations. The word has varied and interesting meanings. It is French and normally means “calm,” “relaxation,” or “easing,” but it can also mean “the trigger of a gun.” *Détente* policy was a U.S. invention that policymakers hoped the SOVIET UNION would understand and emulate. There is not a word in Russian that exactly means, “détente.” The closest equivalent is *razriadka*, which can mean “lessening” or “reduction,” but it can also mean “discharging” or “unloading.” The diversity of the various meanings of the name of President Nixon's policy adequately fits the policy, which had an unexpected diversity of outcomes.

Richard M. Nixon's ascendancy to the presidency in 1969 brought about a marked change in U.S. policy regarding the Soviet Union—one that in many ways relaxed the tension between the two superpowers. As early as February 1969 on a trip to West Berlin, President Nixon called for an end to the tension surrounding that city. Since the end of the COLD WAR, Berlin had been a hot spot of contention, a city divided between the communist-controlled East and the allied-controlled West. Although Nixon's speech did not call for a reduction of U.S. forces stationed in West Germany, it indicated that his administration wanted to pursue a more concerted effort to bring Soviet and U.S. leaders together to discuss their differences and minimize direct military competition. Secretary of State HENRY A. KISSINGER stated in 1974 to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: “*Détente* encourages an environment in which competitors can regulate and restrain their differences and ultimately move from competition to cooperation.”

The difference between *détente* and the previous policy of “containment” became evident when President Nixon and Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev signed a series of treaties allowing cultural and trade exchanges, and the selling of U.S. wheat to the Soviet Union. More important, the two leaders signed the first Strategic Arms Limitation (SALT I) Treaty in May 1972. This policy became the cornerstone of *détente*.

SALT I comprised an Interim Agreement on Strategic Offensive Arms and an Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty.

The Interim Agreement was set to expire five years after it was adopted. The ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY, which placed limits on ballistic missile defense deployment, development, and testing, was to last indefinitely, with reviews every five years. It limited the defense strategies of both sides in an attempt to guarantee deterrence through Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD).

Further evidence of Nixon's new approach to foreign affairs was seen when, in 1972, he visited the People's Republic of China in February and then the Soviet Union three months later. The following year, the Paris Accord was signed, calling for a cease-fire in the VIETNAM WAR, thus demonstrating once again the relaxation of tensions.

Détente continued into GERALD R. FORD's presidency as well. In his "State of the Union" message to Congress on April 12, 1975, President Ford stated: "[T]he United States and the Soviet Union share an interest in lessening tensions and building a more stable relationship. . . . But we cannot expect the Soviet Union to show restraint in the face of United States weakness or irresolution. As long as I am president, we will not permit détente to become a license to fish in troubled waters. Détente must be and I trust will be a two-way street." President Ford followed up on this idea of détente later the same year in Helsinki, when he joined 34 other world leaders in accepting the post-World War II boundaries in Europe and affirming the spirit of détente.

In the Carter administration (1977–81) détente came under serious criticism, as hawks within both the Republican and Democratic Parties alleged that the Soviet Union was violating human rights in its country by suppressing dissidents and not allowing its Jewish citizens to emigrate; by its arms buildup; by its unwillingness to relax its control in Eastern-bloc satellite nations; and its active support of revolutionary movements in Africa and Central America. These charges called for U.S. policy to take a harder stance toward the Soviet Union. One consequence of this stiffening became evident when the Senate refused to vote on a Carter-negotiated SALT II agreement, which would have further limited the arms race. Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, relations between the Soviet Union and the United States became further strained.

These tensions followed into RONALD W. REAGAN's administration, which rejected a policy of détente with the Soviet Union. Indeed, when Reagan denounced the USSR as an "evil empire," relations deteriorated so seriously that arms control talks between the two countries stalled. In his second term, however, Reagan swung back toward a policy of détente and was able to negotiate new arms treaties with the Soviets that radically reduced both nations' nuclear arsenals and withdrew medium-sized missiles from Europe. The final breakup of the Soviet Union led to the

end of the cold war and called for new diplomatic initiatives in the post-cold war world.

See also ARMS RACE; STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATIES.

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—Leah Blakey

**Dole, Robert** (1923– ) *congressman, candidate for president*

Robert Dole was one of the most prominent Republican politicians during the latter half of the 20th century. Under the Republican banner, he ran as a vice presidential candidate with Gerald Ford in 1976, made a serious race for the presidential nomination in 1980 and 1988, and won the Republican presidential nomination in 1996, only to lose the general race to incumbent WILLIAM J. CLINTON that year. He served in the U.S. Senate from 1969 through 1996, emerging as a leader of the party. Although initially aligned with the conservative wing of the party, he proved to be a pragmatic politician. As the Republican Party moved to the right, Dole faced opposition from conservatives and would be challenged in the Republican primaries in 1986 by PATRICK BUCHANAN.

Born in Russell, Kansas, in 1923, Dole received a public education before entering the University of Kansas. In June 1943, after finishing his sophomore year, he enlisted in the U.S. Army to serve in the 10th Mountain Division in the liberation of northern Italy. He was wounded twice in battle, for which he received two commendations, including a Purple Heart. A German artillery shell left him disabled for life. He was discharged from military service in July 1948, after convalescing for three years for his wounds.

He returned to Russell, Kansas, to complete his B.A. degree at the University of Kansas, and an LL.B. from Washburn Municipal University. He married his first wife, Phyllis Holden, in 1948. A staunch Republican, Dole began his political career in 1951 as a member of the Kansas House of Representatives and served in this body until 1953. He was elected to four consecutive terms as Russell County attorney from 1952 to 1960. He entered the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES in 1961, winning reelection in 1964 and 1966. In 1968 he won election to the U.S. SENATE and was reelected in 1974, 1980, 1986, and 1992. He left his seat in 1996 to become the Republican nominee for president.

As a U.S. senator, he established a distinguished record, serving on the standing committee on agriculture,



and later as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. In 1971 President RICHARD M. NIXON appointed Dole Republican National Committee chairman in 1971 for his service to the party. In 1972 he divorced his first wife and later met and married his second wife, Elizabeth Hanford. Following the Watergate scandal, Dole faced his toughest challenge for reelection to the Senate in 1974. Criticizing his opponent, Representative William R. Roy, for supporting abortion, Dole barely won the election, carrying only 50.8 percent of the popular vote.

In 1976 GERALD R. FORD picked Dole to be his vice presidential running mate as a means of holding the conservative wing of the party, which had rallied around a primary challenge by RONALD W. REAGAN. Dole acquired a reputation as a forceful speaker in this campaign, for his vigorous criticisms of the Democratic ticket of JAMES EARL CARTER, JR. and WALTER F. MONDALE. This reputation hurt him in his failed 1980 campaign for president; both Reagan and runner-up GEORGE H. W. BUSH defeated Dole easily in the party primaries.

Dole gave Republican conservatives a mixed performance during Reagan's presidency. Dole never concealed his skepticism about Reaganite conservatism, although he effectively served as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee to push through tax cuts in 1982. His wife, Elizabeth Dole, also served the Reagan administration in a number of high posts.

In 1988 Dole challenged George H. W. Bush in the Republican primaries. After Bush defeated Dole in the New Hampshire primary, he went on to easily win the general election. As president, Bush named Elizabeth Dole secretary of labor. In 1992, Dole campaigned for Bush, but Democrat WILLIAM J. CLINTON won the general election.

As Senate minority leader, Dole battled Clinton's legislative program. His tactics aided the Republicans in taking both the Senate and House in the 1994 elections. In 1996 Dole once again threw his hat into the presidential arena, and after a tough primary battle against Pat Buchanan, who won the New Hampshire primary, Dole went on to win the Republican presidential nomination. He resigned his Senate seat to free himself to campaign. But he never seriously threatened Clinton's polling lead and lost the general election.

During his political life, Dole established a reputation for his acerbic wit, his loyalty to the Republican Party, and his public service. He served as adviser to the UN Food and Agricultural Organization in 1965, 1968, 1974–75, 1977, and 1979; and the National Commission for Social Security Reform in 1983. After leaving elected office, he continued public service as national chairman of the World War II War Memorial Campaign.

See also CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; ELECTIONS; POLITICAL PARTIES.

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—Christopher M. Gray

**Dukakis, Michael S.** (1933– ) *politician, candidate for president*

Born in suburban Brookline, Massachusetts, in 1933 to Greek immigrant parents, Michael Stanley Dukakis lived a classic American success story. Educated at Swarthmore College and Harvard Law School, with a tour in the U.S. Army in between, Dukakis became active in Massachusetts politics, first serving as a member of the Brookline Town Meeting. He became a member of the state legislature in 1962, winning reelection in 1964, 1966, and 1968. As a state legislator he sponsored the first no-fault auto insurance.

After a failed run for the office of lieutenant governor in 1970, Dukakis was elected governor in 1974. Inheriting a record deficit, Dukakis went back on a campaign pledge not to raise taxes, which cost him his bid for renomination. Dukakis taught at the Kennedy School of Government, a division of Harvard University, from 1979 to 1982. He returned to the governorship for a second term in 1982 and oversaw what came to be known as the "Massachusetts miracle," the revival of old industry and the introduction of new industry into the state. Dukakis was voted the "most effective governor" by the National Governor's Association in 1986 and won election that year to a third term. In 1987 Dukakis announced his intention to run for the 1988 Democratic presidential nomination. Outlasting rivals like Senator ALBERT GORE, JR., and U.S. Representative Richard Gephardt, Dukakis captured the nomination and picked Texas senator Lloyd Bentsen as his running mate. Stressing "competence" over "ideology," Dukakis ran an uninspiring campaign.

In an election characterized as one of the most negative in history, Republican nominees GEORGE H. W. BUSH and J. DANFORTH QUAYLE charged Dukakis with being soft on crime. The infamous WILLIE HORTON television ad was run by Bush supporters to highlight accusations that Dukakis was too liberal. The ad featured a convicted felon, Willie Horton, who had been released from prison by Dukakis only to commit a brutal rape. Furthermore, running on a pledge not to raise taxes, Bush attacked Dukakis for having raised taxes in his first term as governor of Massachusetts. In addition, Dukakis failed to respond to Bush's portrait of him as a "card-carrying" liberal. In the end, Bush easily won the election. Although Dukakis's race for the presidency marked another setback for Democrats in the Reagan-Bush years, his candidacy offered a transition as the party sought the political center.

Dukakis promoted fiscal responsibility and called for greater efficiency in government. The next Democratic presidential nominee, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, followed Dukakis, this time successfully, in reaching middle-class voters. The 1988 presidential campaign was significant in another way: The negative campaign used on both sides—although the Horton ad was especially flagrant in this regard—left many with a sour taste after the election. As a result, in the next presidential election, Bush was constrained from appearing too negative in his attacks on his Democratic opponent, Clinton.

Following the election, Dukakis returned to Massachusetts to finish his term as governor. At this time, he faced a declining economy in Massachusetts as unemployment

began to rise. He announced he would not seek reelection and left office in January 1991.

Since 1991 Dukakis has been a visiting professor of political science at Northeastern University, teaching courses in government and public policy. He has also taught at the University of Hawaii, the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Florida Atlantic University, and at the University of California, Los Angeles. Dukakis has authored numerous articles on public policy, particularly health-care reform. As a board member of Amtrak, he has called for the federal government to provide larger subsidies to support a national rail system.

See also ELECTIONS; POLITICAL PARTIES.

—John Korasick

# E



## **Eagleton, Thomas F.** (1929–2007) *politician*

Thomas Francis Eagleton gained national attention during the presidential election of 1972 when he was forced to withdraw as the vice presidential nominee for the Democratic Party after it was revealed that he had undergone electric shock treatment for mental depression.

Born in 1929, Eagleton was a rising star in Democratic politics during the 1960s and became the youngest St. Louis prosecuting attorney (1956), Missouri attorney general (1960), and lieutenant governor (1964). In 1968 Eagleton challenged and defeated the incumbent Democratic senator, Edward V. Long, who was embattled after being linked with a scandal involving the Teamsters Union.

As a U.S. senator, Eagleton's liberal credentials in his first year were unimpeachable; he amassed a 90 percent favorable rating with the liberal Americans for Democratic Action. In 1969 he cosponsored a resolution making political reform in South Vietnam a precondition for continued American support during the VIETNAM WAR—believing that the United States was supporting an unpopular regime. By 1972 he supported immediate U.S. withdrawal from the war. He supported the draft, reasoning that an all-volunteer army would become a refuge for those unable to find other employment.

In 1972 Eagleton was selected by GEORGE S. MCGOVERN to be the Democratic vice presidential candidate. At the culmination of a convention marred by disorganization, McGovern and his aides met on the morning of July 14, 1972, nomination day, to decide on a running mate. Eagleton's name appeared on the final list, but the first choice was Boston mayor Kevin White. White was dropped because of opposition from the delegates. The next choice, Wisconsin senator Gaylord Nelson, refused the nomination but recommended Eagleton, largely known as a blue-collar labor liberal. Twenty minutes before the convention deadline, Eagleton was offered and accepted the nomination.

Shortly after Eagleton accepted, the *Detroit Free Press* ran a story and McGovern received a tip that Eagleton had

undergone shock treatments in the 1960s. When confronted, Eagleton acknowledged that he had been hospitalized on three occasions and received shock therapy and counseling after pushing himself too hard during election campaigns. Eagleton had not been forthcoming because he considered the matter private and no longer relevant. McGovern scheduled a press conference during which he reaffirmed his choice. But there were serious concerns about having a man with a history of mental illness next in line for the presidency, especially with the specter of the assassination of John F. Kennedy still relatively fresh in the public mind. Eagleton resigned his spot on the ticket July 31, 1972. He received praise for his candor, and his continued support of McGovern and his own replacement, ROBERT SARGENT SHRIVER, JR. Although Richard M. Nixon won reelection, advocates for the disabled credited Eagleton's situation with lifting the stigma of mental illness.

Eagleton ran for and was reelected to the Senate in 1974. A solid Democrat, Eagleton earned a reputation as a champion of labor and civil rights, and an opponent of military spending. In 1980 Eagleton was again elected in an exceptionally close race. He did not seek reelection in 1986, retiring from the Senate in January 1987. Eagleton returned to St. Louis and accepted a partnership with the law firm of Thompson & Mitchell. Eagleton also became a professor of public affairs and political science at Washington University, teaching courses in public policy and legislative politics. He is also the author of two books: *Our Constitution and What It Means* (1987) and *War and Presidential Power* (1974). Eagleton died in March 2007.

—John Korasick

## **economy**

The U.S. economy enjoyed spectacular growth in the first 20 years after World War II, with the gross national product doubling from 1945 to 1965. Inflation, or increase in prices, was low; unemployment was under control. However, from

the late 1960s through the early 1980s, the economic picture changed to one of steep inflation, high unemployment, and regular recessions, or decreases in economic activity. The economy rebounded in the 1980s, fell into a slight recession in 1991–92, then boomed throughout the rest of the decade. In 2001 the economic picture changed again, this time for the worse. Behind the twists and turns of the U.S. economy since 1968 lay numerous factors, including wars, shifting oil prices, a high national debt, and the trend toward worldwide economic integration known as globalization.

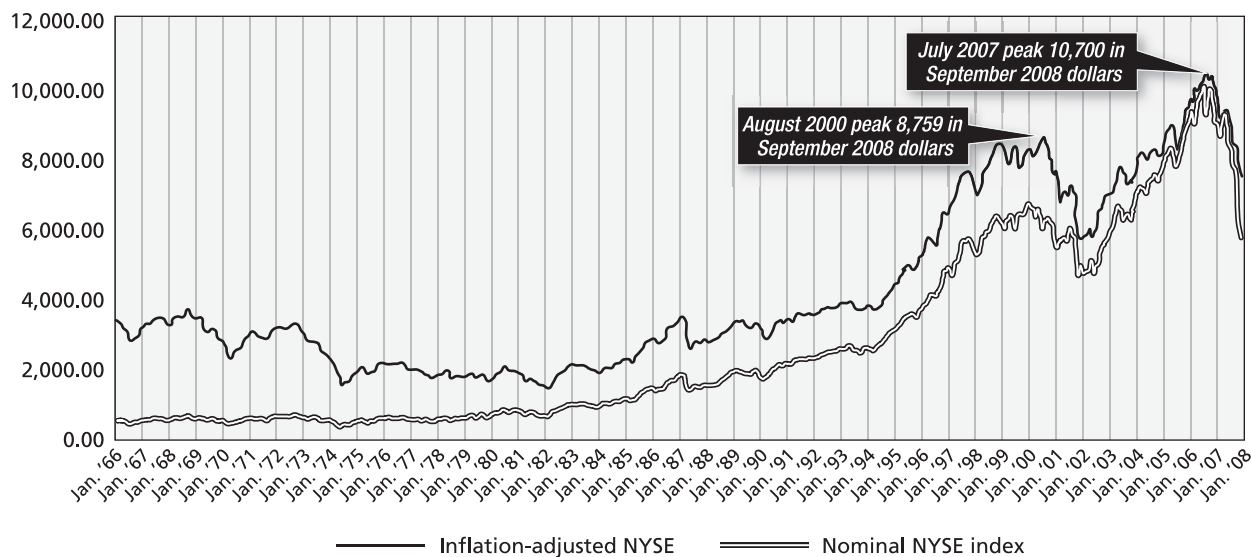
In the late 1960s the federal government's finances began to stagger under the costs of the VIETNAM WAR and of new social programs associated with President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society, and Johnson's reluctance to raise taxes to offset rising inflation. The national debt, the amount of money owed by the federal government, climbed 70 percent in 10 years, from \$313.8 billion in 1965 to \$533.2 billion in 1975. (By comparison, the debt had risen only 15 percent from 1955 to 1965.) Furthermore, ballooning energy costs and rising labor costs created inflation. The rate of inflation climbed from 1.6 percent in 1965 to 9.1 percent in 1975. In 1971 the United States also faced, for the first time in decades, a deficit in its balance of payments, with the amount of money paid out to foreign countries exceeding the amount received.

American economic problems in the 1970s were linked to an international slowdown in growth and acceleration

of inflation. Yet some countries, notably Japan and West Germany, fared better than others, raising talk of American decline relative to other nations. American manufacturers, particularly in the automobile, steel, and textile industries, lost ground to foreign competitors, resulting in massive layoffs. Unemployment was made worse in the post-1968 era by increasing automation, which reduced the need for employees, and the rise of a global labor marketplace, in which American businesses moved factories overseas to take advantage of cheap labor abroad. Workers could find jobs in the growing service sector—for example, in retail stores, restaurants, and health care—but these jobs were typically lower-paying than manufacturing jobs. The position of workers in the late 20th century was further weakened by the declining power of labor unions and the growing might of corporations that became ever bigger through mergers with smaller companies.

In August 1971, to combat the nation's economic troubles, President RICHARD M. NIXON announced the New Economic Policy, which began with a 90-day freeze on wages and prices; a temporary 10 percent surcharge on imports; and an end to redemption of dollars in gold. Other steps followed, including federal budget reductions; establishment of the Cost of Living Council, to plan and monitor increases in wages and prices; and tax measures to stimulate growth. Despite these policies, inflation again accelerated, and Nixon reimposed the wage and price freeze in 1973. Wage and price controls ended in 1974, but

### NYSE Index, 1966–2008



Note: Inflation adjusted monthly in 2008 dollars

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inflation remained a problem. The economy worsened in 1973–74 because of political events overseas and at home. In the winter of 1973–74, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), composed predominantly of Arab oil-producing nations, imposed an embargo, or block, on oil shipments to the United States and other industrial nations in retaliation for their support of Israel in the Yom Kippur War (1973). In what was called the energy crisis, the embargo and a subsequent fourfold rise in oil prices drove inflation higher and caused worldwide recession and fuel shortages. In the midst of these difficulties, Nixon was distracted by the Watergate scandal at home, which forced his resignation in August 1974 and brought his vice president, GERALD R. FORD, to office.

By 1976, the unemployment rate was at 9 percent and inflation at 5.8 percent and rising. “Stagflation,” a combination of recession and inflation, had become commonplace, with recessions occurring in 1970 and 1973–75. Ford’s program of voluntary price controls, called Whip Inflation Now (WIN), failed, and Ford lost the 1976 election campaign to Democrat JAMES EARL CARTER, JR. Carter’s economic policies also enjoyed little success; they included support for development of alternative energy sources, reduction of the federal bureaucracy, a windfall profits tax to cut profit gouging, and a plan to increase the dollar’s value.

Once again, foreign political events had an impact on the American economy. In 1979, the shah of Iran, a leading oil-exporting nation, was overthrown and replaced with a theocratic Islamic government. This overthrow, known as the Iranian Revolution, led to a second energy crisis, with a new spiral of rising oil prices and shortages, marked in the United States by gasoline rationing and long lines at the gas pumps. Iranian revolutionaries took scores of Americans hostage in November 1979, and Carter was unable to secure their release. A new recession took hold, and Carter was charged with responsibility for the “misery index,” the inflation rate added to the unemployment rate. In 1980 these figures were 13.5 percent and 7.1 percent, respectively, for a total of 20.6 percent. Independent of the president, the Federal Reserve Board, which had raised interest rates from the mid-1970s, kept these rates high, raising the cost of borrowing for both government and business. Toward the end of Carter’s administration, Paul Volcker was appointed to serve as chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System (the Fed).

In 1980 voters rejected Carter’s reelection bid and instead elected Republican candidate Ronald W. Reagan, who promised a conservative approach known as supply-side economics or, more commonly, Reaganomics: lowering taxes and reducing regulation in the hope of stimulating investment and growth, while also cutting government spending and decreasing the size of the federal government. Under Reagan, Congress approved the largest tax

cut in U.S. history, reducing personal and business income taxes by 25 percent from 1981 to 1983, while slashing government spending on social services. Simultaneously, out of commitment to the cold war against the Soviet Union, Reagan dramatically increased military spending, creating large budget deficits, or excesses in government spending over revenues received. The national debt doubled from \$998 billion in 1981 to \$2.1 trillion in 1986.

At first, Reagan’s policies had little impact on the misery index. In the midst of a recession in 1982, unemployment rose, reaching 11 percent by 1983, its highest level since the Great Depression. Volcker, as head of the Fed, continued to maintain high interest rates as a means of controlling inflation, but this had the effect of reducing the money supply and slowing economic activity, bringing on recession and lowering tax revenues, making it harder still for the government to balance its budget.

Volcker attacked the problem of rising inflation rates by adopting a more restrictive monetary policy. Throughout the 1980s, he led a global crusade against inflation with some success. In the mid-1980s, however, a resurgence in unemployment and a stagnant economy forced Volcker to support some increases in monetary growth. Alan Greenspan, his successor appointed in 1987 by President Reagan, maintained similar vigilance against inflation. His method, however, differed in that he placed more stress on limiting federal involvement in the economy—rather than promoting economic growth through direct federal intervention, Greenspan preferred to maintain a tight control over inflation through subtle changes in interest rates. This policy proved successful in the 1990s, which earned him the respect of policymakers in both parties.

Aided by lower oil prices in the mid- and late 1980s, the economy at last revived. A bull market, a period in which stock prices rise, began in 1982. Inflation fell to about 3 percent by 1984, unemployment to 7.6 percent. The personal computer industry, born in the mid-1970s, became an engine of growth, with the software company Microsoft growing into an economic giant. Discount department stores such as Wal-Mart also did well in the 1980s, as did the health-care industry, due in large part to scientific advances and an aging population in greater need of medical treatment.

The economic boom continued through the 1980s. Still, there were signs of trouble: a stock market crash in 1987, an insolvent (financially unsound) savings and loan system, a growing gap between rich and poor, persistent budget deficits and trade deficits (excesses of imports over exports), and the ever-rising national debt. Critics contended that Reagan’s cuts in social spending lengthened the recession by suppressing demand. Proponents of the policies claimed that tax cuts helped end the recession and break the cycle of stagnation that had plagued the economy

since the Vietnam War, observing that, under Reagan, the economy rebounded and personal wealth on a per-capita basis increased across socioeconomic and racial lines.

In mid-1990 the United States entered a new recession, for which Democrats blamed the Reagan-Bush economic policies. Having made an election promise of “no new taxes,” Bush was criticized for raising taxes in a deficit-reduction package put forward by congressional Democrats. In the 1992 presidential campaign, Democrat WILLIAM J. CLINTON defeated Bush by making the economy the central issue. As his campaign staff put it, “It’s the economy, stupid.”

In March 1991 the economy began to grow again, and for 10 years the nation enjoyed the longest economic expansion on record. Unemployment, inflation, and interest rates were all low, and stock prices climbed. The boom was fed in part by technological innovation, particularly the rise of the Internet as a digital medium for communication and commerce. It was aided by Clinton policies, including deficit reduction and cutbacks in government spending. Clinton gave strong support to free trade, the lifting of economic barriers that discouraged exchange of goods and services between countries. Clinton convinced Congress to ratify the NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (NAFTA), which took effect in 1994, joining the United States, Mexico, and Canada in a free-trade zone. He also won adoption of the 1994 treaty, the GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE (GATT), which advanced globalization by cutting tariffs, or trade barriers, around the globe and creating the WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WTO) to administer trade laws.

In 1998 the federal budget was balanced for the first time since 1973, and the government enjoyed surpluses, not deficits, for the remainder of Clinton’s tenure. Debate continues over the causes of the boom, with credit being variously attributed to the 1980s tax cuts, the 1990s deficit reduction, the 1980s decline in heavy manufacturing, the 1990s technology boom, and the ongoing processes of globalization and trade liberalization. Still, some Americans voiced concern about the continuing gap between the rich and the nonrich: According to one report, the average real income for the wealthiest one-fifth of Americans grew by 15 percent in the 1990s, while that of the middle class grew by less than 2 percent, and that of the lowest-income families did not grow at all. Concerns were also raised about the potential pitfalls of globalization, including the growing political power of multinational corporations unaccountable to electorates; the unequal position of developing countries burdened by debt; and the lack of enforceable regulations protecting the environment and the rights of workers in a global marketplace. The stability of the U.S. economy was threatened in 1999 by ripples from an economic crisis in Asia that had begun in 1997.

In 2000 and 2001 economic growth began to slow and the stock market, which had soared in the 1990s, began to decline. Technology stocks were especially hard-hit: many Internet companies, known as dot-coms, failed not long after having been unveiled to great fanfare. Amid concerns that the long economic expansion might be ending, Republican GEORGE W. BUSH emerged victorious over Clinton’s vice president, ALBERT GORE, JR., in the closely contested presidential election of 2000. Bush quickly won congressional approval of a \$1.35 trillion program of tax cuts that he argued would promote economic growth, but that critics said would plunge the government back into deficit spending.

In March 2001 the 10-year expansion of the U.S. economy ended and a recession began. Unemployment rose, and production and sales fell. The already bad economic conditions were made worse by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, in which the destruction of the World Trade Center killed thousands, devastated New York City’s economy, and provoked the United States into war in Afghanistan. Fear of terrorism kept Americans at home, hurting the travel and tourism industries and their suppliers. Stocks plummeted; unemployment rose from 4.9 percent in September to 5.4 percent in October. In December, Enron Corp., once the world’s largest energy trader, filed the largest corporate bankruptcy claim in U.S. history. Alan Greenspan again relied on interest-rate cuts to stimulate the economy, which, when combined with President Bush’s tax cuts, helped to stabilize the economy during the second quarter of 2002.

The terrorist attack nevertheless exacted a high price, and the large budget surpluses evaporated by fiscal year 2002. Budget deficits climbed from \$158 billion in 2002 to a high of \$413 billion in 2004 before dropping in both 2005 and 2006. President Bush pledged to cut the deficit in half by the time he left office in 2009. Bush remained firm on his commitment to tax cuts, convinced that they would spur economic growth; at the same time, he called for Congress to cut spending. Congressional Democrats criticized the tax cuts as benefiting only the richest Americans and were reluctant to cut spending on social programs. But the economy showed signs of recovery in late 2003 and 2004. The unemployment rate, which had continued to rise until June 2003, peaked at 6.4 percent. Throughout the rest of 2003 and for the next several years, the jobless rate began to drop slowly or remain steady each month. Unemployment hit a five-year low in May 2006 and in March 2007 was lower still at 4.4 percent. At the same time, the number of new jobs increased, primarily in the service sectors. More than 7.8 million new jobs were added between August 2003 and April 2007. Another indicator of economic growth, the gross domestic product (GDP) rose or remained steady each year.

After reelection in 2004, Bush laid out a plan for Social Security reform as one of the major concerns of his second term. The retirement system has been projected to fail in the next couple of decades as baby boomers reach retirement age and draw more from the system than workers are able to put in. Bush proposed allowing workers to put some Social Security funds into private investment accounts, thus getting a better rate of return. But his proposal met with resistance from members of both parties. The reform of Social Security entitlements is an issue that still remains to be addressed.

The Federal Reserve began raising interest rates in mid-2004 in order to control the rate of growth. The economy remained stable and showed improvement in the years since the September 11 terrorist attack, withstanding a devastating hurricane season that had major economic impacts on southern states. Although leading indicators showed a setback in the fourth quarter of 2005, the impact of HURRICANE KATRINA, which hit the Gulf Coast of Louisiana in August 2005, was less than expected. In February 2007 Greenspan's successor, Ben Bernanke, reported to Congress that the country was experiencing moderate economic growth and did not require a change in interest rates; a softening housing market posed the greatest threat to continued growth.

Fears of recession continued throughout 2007. The soft housing market that had begun in 2007 caused a catastrophic financial crisis late in 2008, as the growing number of home foreclosures, affecting primarily high-risk loans known as subprime mortgages, spread from the subprime mortgage market to more stable mortgages. Several financial corporations, including the two government-sponsored enterprises designed to increase or stabilize the housing market by buying up mortgages from lenders and packaging them to sell to investors, as well as several of the largest investment firms on Wall Street, were on the verge of bankruptcy.

Treasury secretary Henry Paulson sought help from Congress to stabilize the growing economic crisis, which was destabilizing markets worldwide. Congress eventually approved a bailout package but not before the stock market underwent precipitous declines. Such action from the federal government raised questions about how much governmental interference was tolerable in a free market economy, as the economy became the most important issue of the November 2008 presidential election.

The stock market remained volatile throughout the rest of 2008, and the U.S. economy continued to sag as consumer confidence waned, the unemployment rate climbed above 6 percent, and manufacturing corporations—including the three largest automakers in America—also sought government help to avoid bankruptcy. In December 2008 one group of leading economists, the National Bureau

of Economic Research, announced that December 2007 marked the end of the economic growth that begun in 2001 and that the U.S. economy had been in a recession for a full year. By mid-2009, unemployment reached 9 percent.

See also AGRICULTURE; GLOBALIZATION; INTERNET; POVERTY; TECHNOLOGY.

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—George Ochoa, Aharon W. Zorea, and Cynthia Stachecki

## education, higher

Institutions of higher education provide opportunities for individuals to pursue training beyond the high school level, particularly for those seeking vocational, technical, or professional careers. In the United States, institutions of higher learning include community colleges, liberal arts colleges, state and private universities, and professional schools such as medical, dental, and law schools, as well as other specialized institutions.

Community colleges and technical schools typically offer a two-year program of course work, after which a student is awarded an associate's degree or transfers to a four-year college or university. These programs are desirable because the tuition rates are lower than in a four-year institution and because they make classes available to non-traditional students seeking to further their education while remaining in the workforce. Colleges and universities offer four-year courses of study leading to a bachelor's degree. In addition, universities offer graduate and/or professional studies leading to the master's and doctoral degrees. Many state-supported schools also include branch campuses located throughout the state.

The U.S. Department of Education statistics show that the number of degree-granting institutions, defined as those granting an associate's or higher degree, increased steadily between 1968 and 2004, as did college enrollment and the number of degrees conferred. In 2004–05, there were 4,216 institutions offering degrees, up from 2,525 in 1969–70. The total number of students enrolled in degree-granting institutions more than doubled during the same time frame, from just more than 8 million to 17.5 million in 2005. The number of degrees earned at every level showed the same upward trend. From 1969–70 to 2004–05, the number of associate's degrees rose from just more than 200,000 to almost 700,000. Recipients of bachelor's degrees almost doubled, from 792,000 to 1.44 million, while the number of master's degrees more than doubled, from 208,000 to 575,000. Professional degrees awarded

in medicine, dentistry, and law rose from about 35,000 to 87,000, and doctoral degrees, such as Ph.D. and Ed.D. degrees, increased from 30,000 to almost 53,000. In 2005, full- and part-time faculty in degree-granting institutions numbered 1.29 million, with men outnumbering women, 714,000 to 576,000.

The number of women enrolled in post-secondary institutions accounted for much of the overall increase in enrollment. Between 1969–70 and 2004–05, the number of women attending colleges and universities tripled, while male enrollment rose by just 56 percent. In 1979 women enrollees exceeded the number of male students for the first time, and by 2005 females outnumbered males, 10 million to 7.5 million. In 2004 women also accounted for almost 60 percent of the graduate student population. Men earned 613,000 of the 1.44 million bachelor's degrees in 2004–05, while women accounted for 826,000. Representation among women earning professional and doctoral degrees increased dramatically between 1969 and 2005. Of the approximately 35,000 professional degrees earned in 1969–70, less than 2,000 went to women; by 2004–05 the professional degrees were shared almost evenly between men and women. Similarly, women earned fewer than 4,000 of the almost 30,000 doctoral degrees in 1969–70, but by 2004–05 they had earned almost half of the nearly 53,000.

Statistics on degrees conferred show that business became the most popular field of study at the bachelor's level, while education outpaced every other field at the master's and doctoral level. Engineering, biological sciences, and other health sciences remained strong favorites at the doctoral level. The majority of associate's degrees were awarded in liberal arts and sciences, with health sciences and business also strongly favored.

Two policy decisions in 1972 directly affected higher education in the United States, including the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, which extended Title VII protections against discrimination to include educational institutions, and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Although written to prevent discrimination on the basis of sex for any federally funded educational activity, Title IX was applied most commonly to sports programs. As a result, the availability of athletic programs for women increased, while some non-revenue-generating sports for men were trimmed or opened to women's participation.

To comply with Title VII protections, colleges and universities used AFFIRMATIVE ACTION in their admissions procedures. Affirmative action, designed to increase opportunities for minority students to attend post-secondary institutions, did increase both the enrollment and the number of degrees earned by students of various ethnic minorities. While the proportion of whites enrolled in degree-granting institutions declined from 82 percent in the mid-1970s to 66 percent in 2005, the proportion of minorities rose from

15 to 31 percent. Nonetheless, the use of affirmative action was controversial and led to charges of reverse discrimination. Lawsuits stemming from affirmative action in admissions procedures continue to the present.

A growing number of Americans benefit from higher education. Census bureau statistics show that of the nearly 2.7 million high school graduates in 2005, more than 1.8 million enrolled in colleges or universities. Of the 841,000 who did not enroll in college, 34,000 attended vocational schools. In 2006, 85.5 percent of persons aged 25 years and older had completed high school or a high school equivalency, and 28 percent had earned a bachelor's or higher degree. Those figures represent a significant increase from 1970, when 55.2 percent had completed four years of high school and 11 percent had earned a bachelor's or higher degree. The growth in higher education over the past four decades is projected to continue through 2014.

See also EDUCATION, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY; *GRATZ V. BOLLINGER* AND *GRUTTER V. BOLLINGER*.

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## education, homeschooling

Homeschooling is a form of education that began to climb in popularity in the 1970s and continues to gain momentum in America, especially among EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS and others dissatisfied with the curriculum and conditions of public schools. The term defines students being schooled at home instead of in a public or private school, those whose enrollment in private or public schools does not exceed 25 hours a week, and those who are not at home because of a temporary illness.

Research suggests that although homeschooling initially expanded in the 1970s within a homogeneous subgroup of middle-class, white, Christian families, it seems to be an emerging trend among a wider range of American families. In 1994 the number of children ages 6 to 17 who were homeschooled was 345,000. By 1996 the number had nearly doubled to 636,000. According to the 1999 Parent Survey of the National Household Education Surveys Program, an estimated 850,000 students nationwide were being homeschooled, nearly 2 percent of all school-aged



American students. By 2003 that number had risen to 1.1 million homeschooled students, just more than 2 percent of school-aged children.

Of the total homeschool population, 82 percent are homeschooled only; the other 18 percent attend private or public schools part time.

Many factors influence the decision to teach children at home. These reasons include the expectation of being able to give a better education at home; moral or religious motivation; a desire for high educational achievement; dissatisfaction with public schools' curriculum; and anxiety about school environment, including peer pressure, safety, and drugs.

Often school districts or public schools offer support for homeschoolers by providing parents with materials and books, places to come together, and the opportunity for homeschooled children to attend classes and engage in extracurricular activities at the school. Only a small percentage of homeschoolers enroll in classes, however, or use either textbooks or libraries when they are made accessible by public schools. Many homeschoolers express antipathy or even hostility toward utilizing public school resources.

Homeschoolers typically share several common characteristics: High percentages are two-parent families, typically with only one parent participating in the labor force; large family size; and high parental scholastic accomplishment. The percentage of students who are homeschooled is similar for both boys and girls and across elementary, middle, and high school grades.

See also EDUCATION, HIGHER; EDUCATION, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY; FAMILY LIFE; MORALITY; RELIGION.

**Further reading:** U.S. Department of Education. Available online. URL: <http://www.ed.gov/index.jhtml>. Accessed December 30, 2008.

—Michele Rutledge

### education, primary and secondary

Public education in the United States consists of programs of instruction offered to children and adolescents through individual school districts administered by state and local governments. Ultimately, educational authority resides with the states, but the federal government has a history of facilitating specific educational programs considered to be in the national interest. This action in the field of education has further federalized, in effect, American schooling. Moreover, federal civil rights laws mandate that all schools conform to national standards of educational equality. In landmark statutes passed in 1958, 1965, and 1972, Congress for the first time broached problems related to improving instruction in primary subjects like science, mathematics,

and foreign languages and enhancing educational opportunity for low-income children.

During the course of the 20th century, most states assumed a more active regulatory role than in the past, incorporating school districts into larger areas with common procedures. Prior to World War II, there were more than 117,000 school districts in the United States; by 1990 the number had decreased to just more than 15,000. State officials often supported efforts to equalize local school district expenses by using state funds and state laws to ensure more equitable per pupil expenditures, regardless of the wealth or poverty of individual districts. Local property taxes financed 68 percent of public school expenses in 1940, while the states contributed 30 percent. By 1990 states and local districts each contributed 47 percent to public school revenues. The federal government contributed the majority of the remaining funds.

Educational achievements of the 1960s and 1970s were impressive. The number of children attending public schools nearly doubled between 1945 and 1975. Almost 60 million students were attending schools in the United States by 1970, and more than \$78 billion annually was spent on education. In 1970, three out of every four Americans were graduating from high school, two out of every five were going to college, and nearly a million people were earning a college or university degree every year. Substantial changes were made in teacher education programs, and significant modifications were introduced to the school curricula.

In spite of these gains, there were disturbing trends in the American education system. During the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, cities began to reject bond issues designed to provide revenue for the schools. Concurrently, the achievement of many schools left much to be desired. In 1975 the College Entrance Examination Board disclosed that Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores had declined steadily since 1964. Reports over the next few years identified appalling deficiencies in the school system. A Carnegie Foundation report, *The Quest for Common Learning* (1981), decried general education in the United States and asserted that an inordinate amount of specialized courses and haphazard selection of topics and themes had resulted in curricular chaos. The report found that secondary students received good grades, although most students did not appear to work very hard in school, supporting widespread complaints about unqualified students being passed from grade to grade.

A series of investigations and recommendations for improvement followed the Carnegie report. Sponsored by President RONALD W. REAGAN's administration and appointed by the National Commission on Excellence in Education, an 18-member panel presented its findings in a report entitled *A Nation at Risk* (1983). The link between demanding schools and a sound ECONOMY was the thesis



Students at work on their laptops at the Discovery Charter School in Tracy, Colorado (Sullivan/Getty Images)

in this educational document of the late 20th century. The report blamed the public schools for a weak economy and demanded more academic requirements and higher standards and test scores, to overcome the low scholastic achievement of American students. Statistics in the document suggested students from other industrial societies outperformed their Americans counterparts on international academic tests.

By 1980 more than 2 million of the nation's instructors (75 percent of the total) were members of the American Federation of Teachers or the National Education Association. In the eyes of critics, the teachers' unions were more motivated by salary and job security issues than by new teaching techniques and student scholastic development. Several state legislatures passed antiunion measures restricting the rights of tenure, implementing merit pay procedures, and making it easier to dismiss teachers. The states, already involved in the financing of the schools, began to establish standards of performance and state-wide testing programs for accountability of teachers and administrators. The pressure for accountability and reform increased in the early 1980s. Concurrently, the position

of the federal government grew through the increasing amounts of educational appropriations by Congress and the creation of the Department of Education. This department was created by Congress in 1979 during the JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., administration and officially established in May 1980. A movement in the 1980s to institute national standards and to determine national priorities in education prompted opposition and controversy. The larger issue of federal involvement in education reflected partisan disputes.

*A Nation at Risk* continued to focus states' attention on raising education standards throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Many parents, teachers, administrators, and government officials held that only a concerted, centralized reform movement could surmount the manifest shortcomings of American education. Because the apparent crisis in student performance was based primarily on test-score results, most states had put into place reform tactics that emphasize more frequent and effective state testing and more state-legislated curriculum requirements. Some educators also suggested using test results to either allow or restrict a student's access to higher education or the job

market. Although there is widespread support for such examinations, few states have mandated them.

Federal involvement in schools since the 1980s has been expressed less by legislation providing money for new programs than by government reports and proclamations that schools were performing insufficiently. *A Nation at Risk* and many subsequent federal reports and studies on the condition of schooling sparked a vigorous school reform effort at local and state levels.

In response to *A Nation at Risk* and subsequent federal reports on the condition of schooling, each president since 1983 established national directives for educational improvement. In 1991 President GEORGE H. W. BUSH proposed America 2000 as a nationwide strategy to improve education in preparation for the needs of a new century. Under President WILLIAM J. CLINTON, Goals 2000, the Educate America Act, was enacted in 1994, providing federal support for educational reform efforts conducted at the state level.

Following the Clinton administration, GEORGE W. BUSH undertook the first major expansion of the federal government's role in education in several decades. In January 2001 Bush announced his No Child Left Behind (NCLB) program, with the goal to achieve 100 percent proficiency in reading and math by 2014. Bush proposed that schools show improvement over time, based on standardized tests, or lose their federal funding. Under his plan, schools failing to show improvement would relinquish their funds in the form of vouchers so that students could seek education at private schools. The voucher plan lacked congressional approval, owing to concerns about using federal funds to support religious schools, and was dropped from the bill. Instead, NCLB provided that funds from failing schools be used for tutoring programs, summer school, teacher training, and transportation of students to better performing schools.

The No Child Left Behind Act of 2002 was a comprehensive package that reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1995), required states to measure school performance by testing students in the third through eighth grades annually, provided funding for schools to meet targeted improvement goals, and increased federal aid to schools at higher risk for failure because of the prevalence of poverty, non-English-speaking students, or students with learning disabilities. States could set their own standards for achievement and design their own tests, but national tests would be given periodically to ensure that states met national standards. Under NCLB, states were given the flexibility to determine how federal funds were spent while being held accountable for showing measurable progress toward proficiency.

Although the act passed with bipartisan support, NCLB soon met with resistance, particularly from the edu-

cation establishment. The National Education Association, a national teachers' union, led the opposition to NCLB when many schools found it difficult to meet goals. They claimed that some states had difficulties due to higher incidence of disabilities and language obstacles, and that states received inadequate funding from the federal government to institute required programs. More than a dozen states passed resolutions to opt out of NCLB or asked for relaxed provisions. Critics also claimed that teachers and administrators neglected liberal arts subjects, teaching only subjects covered on standardized tests.

The first test of progress under NCLB, conducted in spring 2005, showed overall improvement among young students. More significantly, tests showed that the achievement gap between whites and minorities had narrowed among nine-year-olds between 1999 and 2004. NCLB was due for reauthorization in 2007.

Public school enrollment from kindergarten through grade eight rose from 29.9 million in the fall of 1990 to an estimated 34.2 million in the fall of 2003. Enrollment in the upper grades rose from 11.3 million in 1990 to 14.3 million in 2003. The increase was most rapid in the elementary grades, but this pattern is expected to change. The growing numbers of young pupils who have been filling the elementary schools will cause significant increases at the secondary school level during the next decade. Between the fall of 2000 and the fall of 2010, public elementary enrollment is expected to remain fairly stable, while public secondary school enrollment is expected to rise by 4 percent. Public school enrollment is projected to rise every year until 2014.

Elementary enrollment has risen faster than the number of schools, with the average elementary school size increasing as a result. Regular elementary schools grew from an average of 433 students in 1988–89 to 478 in 1998–99. During the same time period, the average secondary school size rose from 689 to 707. The rising numbers of alternative schools, which tend to be small, have mitigated the increase in the average size of secondary schools. The average size of regular secondary schools, which exclude the alternative schools, special education, and vocational education schools, rose from 697 to 786 between 1989 and 1999. In 2005, 11.6 percent of American students in elementary and secondary schools attended private institutions. Most of these attended Catholic schools. Increasing numbers of American children are eschewing institutional education at both private and public schools, turning to home schools as their alternative.

Increasing numbers and proportions of children are being assisted in programs for the disabled. During the 1990–91 school year, 10 percent of students were served in these programs compared with 13.5 percent in 2003–04. Some of the increase since 1990–91 may be ascribed to the increasing percentage of children identified as



learning-disabled, which rose from 5 percent of enrollment to 6 percent of enrollment in 2003–04.

The increase in American high school attendance was one of the most conspicuous developments in U.S. education during the 20th century. From 1900 to 1996 the percentage of teenagers who graduated from high school grew from approximately 6 percent to roughly 85 percent. During the course of the 20th century, most states passed legislation extending compulsory education laws to the age of 16. The 20th-century high school was a uniquely American invention. More so than either primary schools or colleges, high schools demonstrated the American ideal that education could successfully address a growing list of individual and social concerns.

At the beginning of the 21st century, educational thought and debate centered on how schools can promote individual mobility and the economy. Issues like governmental vouchers for financing private education, test scores and their administration, and the United States's ranks among other industrial nations continued to be the subject of intense deliberation.

See also EDUCATION, HIGHER; EDUCATION, HOMESCHOOLING.

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—Michele Rutledge

## elections (presidential)

Elections in the United States since 1968 have been anything but consistent. In 1984 President RONALD W. REAGAN carried the highest popular vote (more than 54 million), the highest number of electoral votes (525 out of 538), and the most states (49, tied with President RICHARD M. NIXON in 1972, although Nixon won only 43.3 percent of the popular vote in 1968) of any president in history. Yet, just eight years later in 1992, President WILLIAM J. CLINTON entered the office with only 43 percent of the electorate as well. In the 2000 presidential election, however, it was nearly a dead heat between GEORGE W. BUSH and ALBERT GORE, JR. The participation rate of the voting-age population declined 10 points after 1968 and has remained relatively steady since. During the 1960s, turnout for presidential elections hovered between 60 and

64 percent, and the percentages for off-year (nonpresidential) elections stayed in the upper 40s. Beginning in 1972, turnout has fluctuated between 49 and 55 percent, with off-year elections following similar patterns in the upper 30s. These numbers might suggest declining voter participation. The number of eligible voters increased after 1968 as a result of immigration and civil rights initiatives, but the percentage of active voters—those voting—has remained relatively constant since World War II. Exactly why voting participation has declined—or if it has declined in any significant way—remains a point of discussion among scholars.

In general, the American electoral college system discourages third-party candidates. Each state is given a number of electoral votes equal to its combined number of senators and representatives in Congress. After a presidential election, the popular vote is tallied in each state and the party with the most votes takes all the electoral votes. The candidate with a majority of the 538 electoral votes wins the office. The framers of the Constitution developed this system to include a territorial representation among the popular vote; a strict popular voting system might provide large population centers with a greater political voice than rural centers. For example, three cities of 10 million residents would have more voice than 10 states with only 2 or 3 million people each. In the 18th century, this was of particular concern, since the more rural southern states shared interests that were at odds with the more populated northeastern states. Since candidates must secure majorities in multiple states to be able to have a chance of winning the presidency, American politics favors the candidate with the strongest party mechanism. Most voters prefer not to support a candidate from a nonestablished party, and as a result most third-party presidential candidates face overwhelming odds.

Since the Civil War, third parties received electoral votes only six times, the last occurring in 1968 when American Independence candidate GEORGE C. WALLACE managed to win 46 electoral votes. Only Robert LaFollette (1924) and H. ROSS PEROT (1992) managed to win even half the votes of the first runner-up. Despite these odds, third-party candidates can carry significant influence in national elections. With the exceptions of John F. Kennedy in 1960 and George W. Bush in 2000, every one of the 15 presidents elected with a minority plurality lost his majority to a strong third party. Most often, the third-party candidates splinter votes from a major party to give the election to a minority candidate; in 1912 President Woodrow Wilson won after Roosevelt stripped Taft of more than half his votes; in 1992 President Clinton won after Perot diverted votes away from GEORGE H. W. BUSH (although some observers said that Perot drew an equal number of voters away from Clinton); and in



2000, George W. Bush won after GREEN PARTY candidate RALPH NADER took votes from former vice president Gore.

A more dispersed constituency distinguishes the third-party campaigns of 1992, 1996, and 2000 from campaigns in 1972 and before. In prior elections, serious third-party candidates enjoyed clear demographic advantages in at least one or more states. In 1968 segregationist George Wallace received 46 electoral votes from just over 13 percent of the popular vote, because he held strongholds in five southern states and represented a strong local constituency. In contrast, Perot garnered nearly 20 million votes and 19 percent of the popular vote, and yet earned no electoral votes in the 1992 election; nor did he gain any after winning 8 percent and 8 million votes in 1996. This was because Perot's Independent Party and later REFORM PARTY had no central stronghold; he gained national recognition through media outlets and not from a local constituency base. The Green Party's Ralph Nader received fewer than 3 million

votes in 2000 (2.7 percent) but probably had an effect on the election. Democrat Gore edged Republican George W. Bush in the popular count by half a million votes, but Bush achieved a narrow victory with 271 electoral votes, one more than required, after a controversial dispute over Florida's election returns. Three previous presidents won elections despite losing the popular vote: John Quincy Adams in 1824, Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876, and Benjamin Harrison in 1888. In 2000 controversy again erupted when Gore challenged the Florida election results. Voter exit-polling had indicated a Gore victory in the state, but a high level of disqualified ballots had left Bush with a lead of 327 votes out of some 6 million cast. Gore sought to have the ballots reexamined in four populous counties. A highly charged legal and political struggle ensued in which both candidates maneuvered to ensure their victory through the courts. On December 8, the Florida Supreme Court ordered a reexamination of the rejected ballots across the state, but the next day the U.S. SUPREME COURT stayed this decision. On



Gore and Bush supporters face off during a protest December 11, 2000, outside the U.S. Supreme Court in Washington, D.C. (Wong/Newsweek)

December 12, the Court found 7-2 that Florida's law was flawed because it lacked uniform counting standards and further ruled, 5-4, that time had run out for recounts, effectively confirming a Bush victory.

Some opponents of the electoral college used the public anxiety over the 2000 election to push for electoral reform, specifically by ending the electoral college system altogether in favor of a strict popular vote. Supporters of the current system criticized these alternatives with many of the same arguments posed by the original framers of the Constitution, primarily that direct election of the president would provide advantage to urban centers. The 2000 election suggests that the interests remain divided; Gore's 1 percent popular advantage arose from a small number of large urban centers on the East and West Coasts, where he gained 71 percent of the vote. On a rural level, however, President Bush won a 78 percent majority of the voters; or 2,434 of the nation's 3,111 counties—leaving Gore with only 677.

The 2004 presidential election featured a race between Democratic senator John Kerry of Massachusetts and incumbent Republican president George W. Bush. Senator John Edwards (D-N.C.) was selected as Kerry's running mate, and Vice President RICHARD B. CHENEY remained the vice-presidential nominee. Rather than run as the Green Party candidate, Ralph Nader chose to run as an independent in 2004. Other third-party candidates included Libertarian Michael Badnarik and David Cobb of the Green Party.

Since this was the first presidential election after the terrorist attacks in New York City and on the Pentagon in September 2001, American FOREIGN POLICY emerged as an important theme in the campaign. President Bush, citing the terrorist attacks and the IRAQ and AFGHANISTAN WARS, argued that the most important issue facing America was national security. He also labeled John Kerry as a "flip-flopper" who could not lead the nation in moments of crisis. John Kerry often cited his military record in Vietnam, where he earned a reputation as a leader. Kerry's image, however, was marred by a campaign by the Swift Boat Veterans and the POWs for Truth, who questioned Kerry's service and the operations he led. Kerry also argued that under President Bush's administration, global support of American foreign policy initiatives had drastically declined as the Iraq War continued to worsen. Kerry contended that he would try to repair these relationships. The three presidential debates held in the fall also focused on foreign policy issues.

President Bush received 50 percent of the popular vote and 286 electoral votes. Kerry won 48 percent of the popular vote and 251 electoral votes. Kerry performed strongly on the West Coast and in large, industrialized midwestern states and the Northeast. George Bush secured the Midwest, several key western states, and the

South. President Bush was inaugurated to his second term on January 20, 2005.

The 2008 election became a historic first when voters elected the first African American, BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA, to the White House. Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama, the junior senator from Illinois, easily defeated his Republican rival, Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.). Obama won 52.9 percent of the popular vote, which provided him with 365 electoral votes, while McCain received an anemic 45.67 percent of the popular vote for only 173 electoral votes. Minor presidential candidates received individually less than 1 percent of the popular vote, including Ralph Nader (Independent), Bob Barr (Libertarian), Chuck Baldwin (Constitution), and Cynthia McKinney (Green).

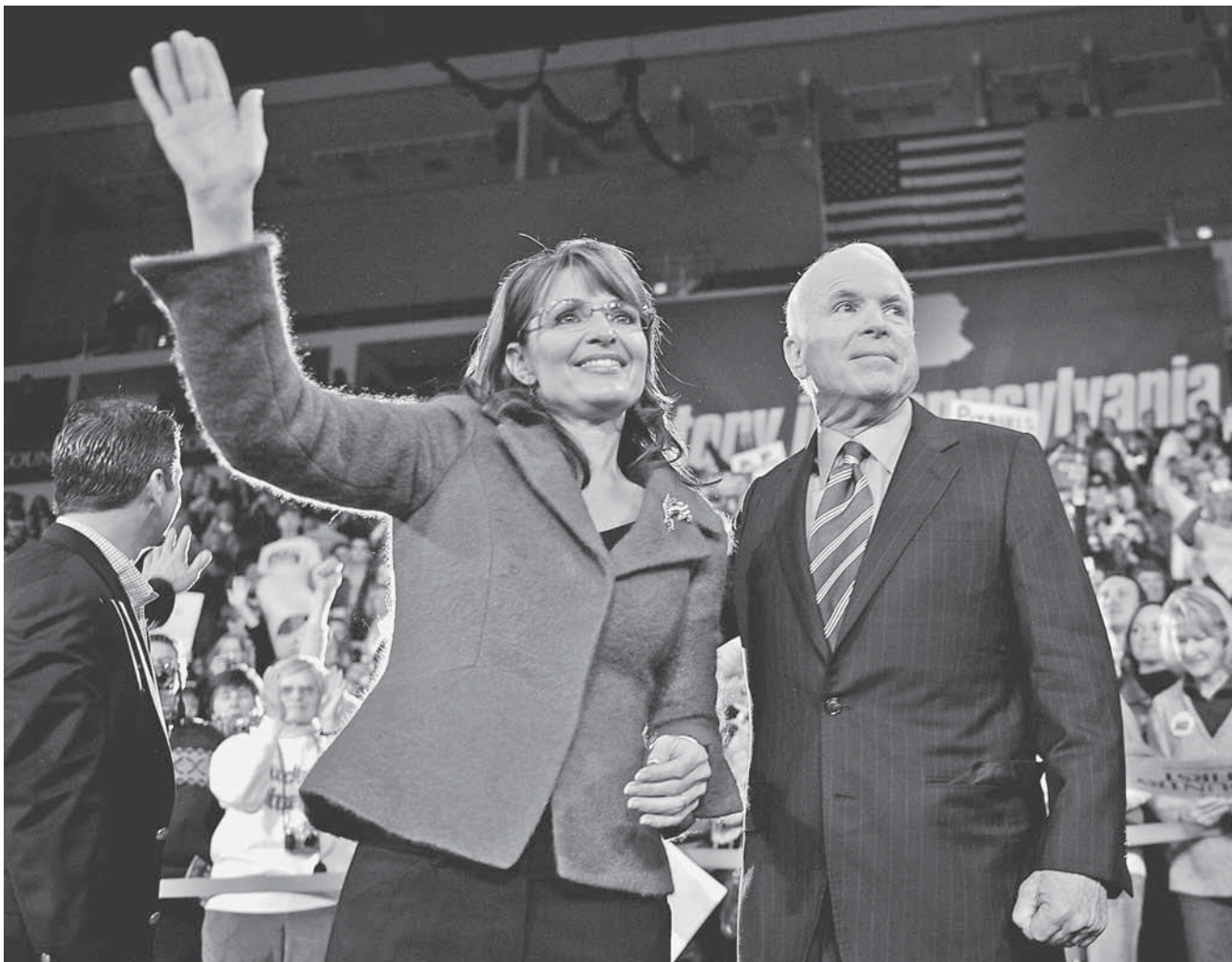
In a fierce primary race against Senator HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON (D-N.Y.), Obama won the Democratic presidential nomination in a carefully orchestrated campaign that rallied voters to vote for change. The Republican Party nominated John McCain, a 71-year-old senator from Arizona and a former VIETNAM WAR hero. A financial meltdown on Wall Street in October and President Bush's handling of the Iraq War set the context for the campaign.

The presidential campaign proved to be the most expensive in American history, as Obama raised more than \$731 million, while McCain relied mostly on public financing to fund his \$345 million campaign.

Election Day revealed that voters were ready for change. Obama's popular vote was about 2.5 percent more than President Bush had received in his reelection in 2004. Voter turnout was less than predicted but reached a historic high of 61 percent. Obama swept the Northeast and the Far West, as well as winning the swing states of Florida, Indiana, Virginia, New Mexico, Colorado, and North Carolina. Moreover, Obama won key constituencies among young voters aged 18–29 years (66 percent), African Americans (95 percent), Hispanics (67 percent), and Asians (62 percent). In addition, Obama won the female vote (56 percent), self-identified liberal voters (89 percent), self-identified moderates (60 percent), Catholic voters (54 percent), Jewish voters (78 percent), and gay and lesbian voters (70 percent), plus lower-income voters earning less than \$50,000 a year and higher-income voters earning more than \$200,000 annually. McCain fared well only among white voters (55 percent), voters over the age of 65 (53 percent), Protestants (54 percent), and self-identified conservative voters (78 percent).

Democrats won control of Congress, gaining 21 new seats in the House for a total of 257 members, giving the Republicans 178 members. In the SENATE, Democrats gained 7 new seats to provide a 58-seat majority, while the Republicans held 41 seats.

A discontented electorate voted Democratic, which meant a vote for change.



U.S. Republican presidential candidate John McCain and his vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin at a rally in Hershey, Pennsylvania, October 28, 2008 (Getty Images)

See also ANDERSON, JOHN B.; BUCHANAN, PATRICK J.; CARTER, JAMES EARL, JR.; DOLE, ROBERT; DUKAKIS, MICHAEL S.; FERRARO, GERALDINE A.; FORD, GERALD R.; JACKSON, JESSE L.; MCGOVERN, GEORGE S.; MONDALE, WALTER F.; POLITICAL PARTIES; QUAYLE, J. DANFORTH.

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*Steal the Election* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 2001); Jeffrey Toobin, *Too Close to Call: The Thirty-Six Day Battle to Decide the 2000 Election* (New York: Random House, 2001).

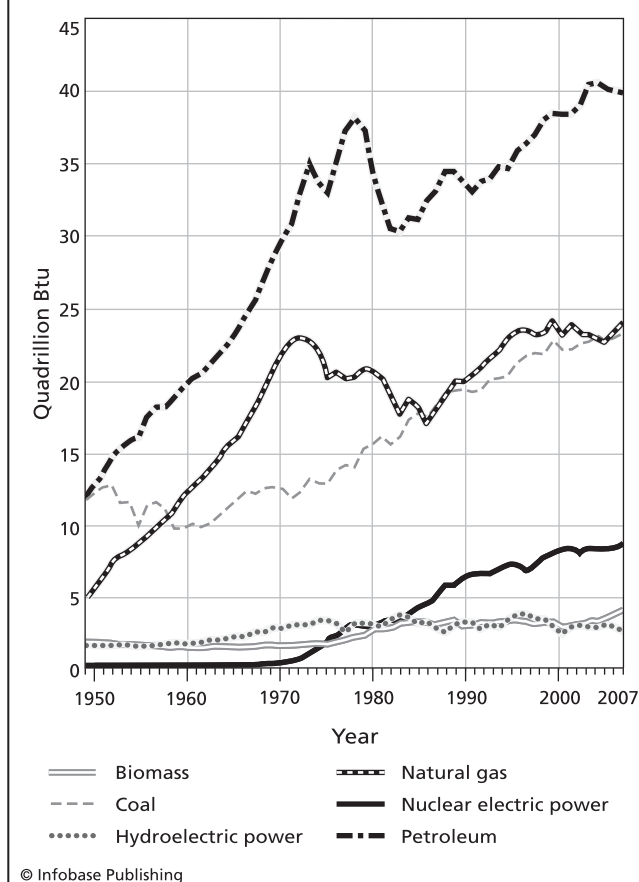
—Aharon W. Zorea and Matthew C. Sherman

## energy

The early 1970s witnessed a rapid change in the United States's attitude toward energy consumption. Through the 1950s and 1960s Americans had become accustomed to expanding energy consumption with little concern about cost or availability. Beginning in 1971, however, the ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC) began to raise the price of oil and then initiated an oil embargo on the United States in 1973.



### Energy Consumption by Major Source, 1949–2007



This embargo coincided with a weakening U.S. economy and resulted in high inflation and fuel rationing, which brought into question the United States's dominance, since 1945, of the world economy. The dependence on oil from the MIDDLE EAST and the severity of the economic crisis brought into sharp relief the ability of the United States to determine its own domestic economic and political agendas. While the crisis was eventually overcome, it raised a number of questions, in particular the issues of national security tied to Middle East politics, the domestic economy's relationship to the world economy, and the viability of the reliance on oil.

At heart was the ability of the United States to maintain an independent, yet powerful, role in the global arena. A number of factors contributed to the energy crisis. On August 15, 1971, President RICHARD M. NIXON announced a new economic policy to respond to a faltering ECONOMY. As well as implementing a range of wage and price controls, Nixon imposed a 10 percent

surcharge on all imports, as well as revoking the U.S. commitment to sell gold to other central banks at \$35 an ounce, thereby taking the dollar off the gold standard. OPEC countries, concerned with the adverse effects on oil revenue, began to raise prices, especially as the dollar began to depreciate against the price of oil. The effect on the domestic price of fuel was compounded as American oil companies began to raise their own prices to protect their profits.

These difficulties were compounded when the United States supported Israel against Arab nations in the Yom Kippur War in 1973. OPEC responded by halting the supply of oil to the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. This embargo, which began on October 16, 1973, caused the price of oil to rise to unprecedented levels and aggravated an already weak U.S. economy. Long queues for gasoline, the introduction of rationing, and accelerated inflation brought home to many Americans the United States's precarious dependence on foreign oil. The decision by President Nixon in December 1973 not to switch on the lights on the national Christmas tree to conserve energy was a symbolic confirmation of a national crisis.

With the ending of the oil embargo on March 18, 1974, the crisis appeared to be over. Despite the continued high price of oil and the fragile nature of Middle East politics, consumption quickly returned to pre-1973 levels. A natural gas shortage during the winter of 1976–77, however, brought energy to the forefront of national politics once again, when President JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., declared a national emergency on February 2, 1977. During 1977 Carter announced a series of energy conservation measures and on August 4, 1977, Congress passed the Department of Energy Organization Act. The new U.S. DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY was opened on October 1, 1977, with former secretary of defense James R. Schlesinger as its first secretary. Events in the Middle East, however, once again took control of U.S. attempts to regulate energy consumption. The civil war in Iran in 1979, in which the shah, who had been a longtime ally of the United States, was ousted, caused severe problems between OPEC and the United States. The disruption to oil production and the complications of political allegiances resulted in OPEC's increasing the price of oil. OPEC announced an immediate price increase of 14.5 percent and, by June 1979, raised the average price of a barrel of oil by more than 50 percent. President Carter addressed the nation on July 15, outlining his proposals to deal with the new energy crisis. Central to Carter's plan was the need for energy conservation at home, the development of new sources of energy and a reduction in the reliance on imported oil, and deregulation of domestic oil prices. Although Congress deregulated oil in 1980, domes-

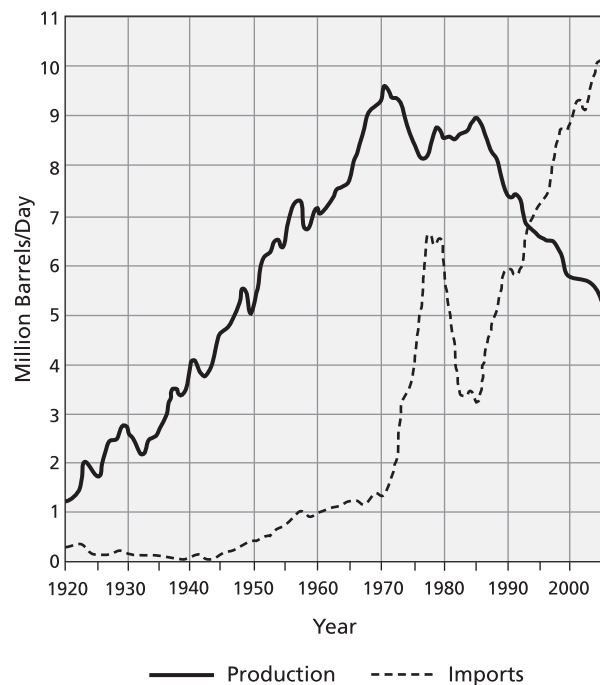


tic oil companies raised their prices, causing another large increase in gasoline prices.

In the 1980s, as the United States increased its own domestic production of oil and attempted to improve end-user efficiency, prices returned to more moderate levels. Apart from a brief price increase during the Persian Gulf crisis in 1990–91, OPEC has managed to stabilize the price of oil, although in late 1999 OPEC cut production, thereby raising the price of gasoline in the United States. The issue of energy emerged at the forefront of domestic policy again in 2000 as deregulation of California's electricity market led to market manipulation by suppliers, a spike in prices, and rolling blackouts. California's troubles highlighted continuing problems with supplying consumers' energy needs.

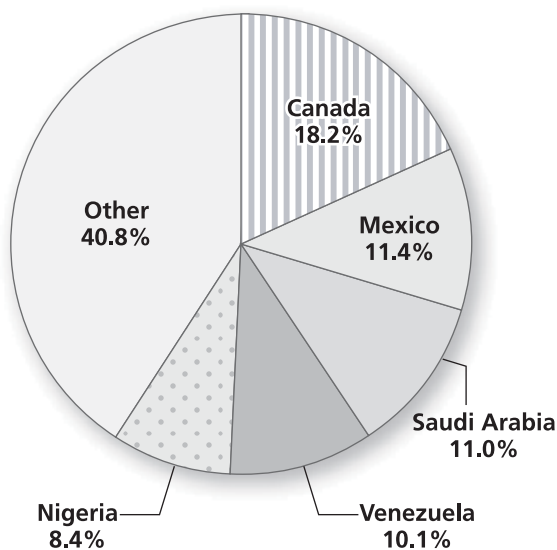
In 2005 and 2006 a number of factors contributed to a rise in oil prices. World oil production remained nearly stagnant in the face of rising demand from the United States and Asia. Continuing instability in oil-producing regions such as the Middle East and Nigeria also contributed to rising prices. In addition, HURRICANE KATRINA badly damaged the United States's domestic oil industry in the Gulf of Mexico, putting even greater pressure on the market. A paper presented by Robert Hirsch, a Department of Energy expert, argued that the price increases in 2005 and 2006 may have represented the peak of world oil production. Hirsch predicts continuing supply problems and higher

### U.S. Oil Production and Imports



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### U.S. Petroleum Imports 2007, by Country of Origin



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration

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prices. Others, such as economist Edward Luttwak, have argued that instability in oil-producing regions has resulted in significant underestimation of oil reserves and suggest that these unknown reserves will help stabilize prices. Still others, including oil market analyst Michael Lynch, contend that the entire theory of a peak in oil production is overly simplistic and faulty and, therefore, has no relevance for predicting oil prices. In any case, the 2005–06 price increases led the United States to mandate greater energy self-sufficiency and investment in alternative energy technologies, in hopes of heading off possible long-term price escalation that could have severe ripple effects on the entire economy. However, recent oil price decreases in 2008–09, due to the global economic recession, have led some to question whether alternative energy can compete with cheap oil.

See also AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY; ECONOMY; FOREIGN POLICY; INFLATION; IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS.

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—Stephen Hardman and Amy Wallhermfecht

**Energy, U.S. Department of (creation of)**

The U.S. Department of Energy originated from the federal Energy Policy Office created in June 1973. The extreme shortages the United States faced in the areas of electricity, gasoline, and heating oil forced the government to address the lack of policy in this area. This ENERGY crisis marked 1973 as the year of factory and school shutdowns, commercial-airline flight cancellations, electrical brownouts, major city blackouts, and long lines at gas stations. President RICHARD M. NIXON responded by formulating a national energy policy, which led to the creation of the federal Energy Policy Office. President Nixon named William Simon as its head. Simon's first actions were to order refineries to produce more heating oil rather than gasoline, to initiate year-round daylight savings time, to ask drivers not to exceed 50 miles per hour, and to require gas stations to limit individual sales as well as operating hours.

President JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., inherited many of the same problems that President Nixon had fought. President Carter, with the help of his Energy Secretary James Schlesinger, formulated an energy policy within the first 90 days of Carter's inauguration. The plan called for a myriad of programs, including the creation of the Department of Energy, which was activated on October 1, 1977. The new department assumed the responsibilities of the Federal Energy Administration, the Energy Research and Development Administration, the Federal Power Commission, and parts of several other agencies. The department's task is to provide a comprehensive and balanced national energy plan, including research and development of energy technology, marketing of power, energy conservation, the nuclear weapons program, and an energy data collection and analysis program.

Congress enacted the Energy Policy Act in 1992, which reaffirmed the mission of the Department of Energy but also mandated additional activities assigned to the department. This mandate included a charge to foster energy production from biomass materials, such as corn and sugar beets. The department was also charged with monitoring the effects of domestic and international policy on global climate change. In 2005 Congress amended the Energy Policy Act, placing a greater emphasis on the Department of Energy's role in energy security, especially its role in promoting alternative and renewable energy sources as a means of reducing U.S. dependency on foreign oil. At the beginning of the 21st century, the department's mission includes securing energy through conservation and alternative technologies, managing nuclear weapons stockpiles, monitoring energy policy as it relates to global climate change, and promoting energy research.

See also CONSERVATION, ENVIRONMENTALISM, AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY.

**Further reading:** U.S. Department of Energy. Available online. URL: <http://www.energy.gov/>. Accessed December 30, 2008.

—Leah Blakey and Amy Wallhermflechtal

**environmental movement** See CONSERVATION, ENVIRONMENTALISM, AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY.

**Equal Access Act (1984)**

The Equal Access Act of 1984, formally known as Title VIII of the Education for Economic Security Act of 1984, requires public secondary schools to allow student religious groups the same access to school facilities that other student groups enjoy. The law was born out of the perception, widely held by public school administrators, that the establishment clause of the First Amendment required them to prohibit any religious activity by students at any time on school property. As a result, Congress held numerous hearings investigating whether administrators violated the rights of public school students to free speech, free association, and free exercise of religion. The U.S. SUPREME COURT had earlier ruled in *Widmar v. Vincent* that state-funded universities could not deny facility access to campus religious groups, and Congress concluded that younger, secondary-school-age students were being denied these same basic rights of expression. During the summer of 1984, with overwhelming bipartisan majorities in both houses, Congress passed the Equal Access Act to end discrimination against student groups based on religion.

Six years later, in *Board of Education of Westside Community Schools v. Mergens* (1990), the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Equal Access Act, concluding that secondary-school-age students are mature enough to distinguish between a school's tolerance and a school's endorsement of religious expression. They further ruled that even one "non-curriculum-related" group on campus can trigger the Equal Access Act; that the definition of "non-curriculum" must be broadly defined; and that religious groups must have the same access to school media, including school newspapers, bulletin boards, and public address systems, that any other student group enjoys. The Court specifically warned, however, that *Mergens* did not affect earlier decisions prohibiting state-initiated or state-led prayers at school functions and Bible reading in the public school classroom. In a famous quote, the Court recognized a "crucial difference between government speech endorsing religion, which the Establishment Clause forbids, and private speech endorsing religion, which the Free Speech and Free Exercise Clauses protect." As such, religious student groups were permitted access to

public school facilities provided they did not receive specific school endorsement; that teachers or outsiders served only as nonparticipatory monitors, who are present only to ensure the safety of the students and school property; and that school officials retain the authority to prohibit groups that substantially interfere with the orderly conduct of the schools' educational activities. The Equal Access Act of 1984, and the subsequent Supreme Court decision that upheld it, not only brought up issues of free speech and the separation of church and state, but it also reaffirmed the constitutional rights of students.

See also EDUCATION; RELIGION.

—Aharon W. Zorea

### Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)

The Equal Rights Amendment was a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution that failed to be ratified after passing Congress by a two-thirds majority in 1972. The struggle over ratification proved to have both symbolic and substantive importance regarding the role of women in American society, and the need to amend the Constitution to ensure female equality. No other amendment to the Constitution, with perhaps the exception of slavery abolition, national Prohibition, and women's suffrage, drew as much controversy and attracted such sizable numbers of activists to the debate over ratification.

The proposed amendment made its first formal appearance soon after the 1920 adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment that enfranchised women. In July 1923 the ERA was unanimously endorsed by the National Women's Party at a convention in Seneca Falls, New York. Shortly afterward, the ERA was first introduced in Congress in 1923 by Republican senator Charles Curtis through the efforts of Alice Paul, a militant feminist leader of the National Women's Party. Paul saw the amendment as a way to achieve full legal equality for women. This amendment drew opposition from other feminists who believed that women faced special circumstances and needed to be protected through special legislation that favored women, thereby distinguishing them from men. The proposed ERA, if added to the U.S. Constitution, would outlaw this special legislation requiring every federal and state law to treat men and women the same. Advocates of protections for women, such as National Consumers' League leader Florence Kelley, excoriated the ERA. In the Senate, Kelley was supported by pro-labor Democrats such as Thomas Walsh. The female-labor protectionist view dominated the one-day Senate hearings in 1929 and in 1931.

In the 1930s the ERA was revived when the National Federation of Business and Professional Women endorsed a version of the ERA in 1937. Further support over the next few years came from the General Federation of Wom-

en's Clubs, the National Association of Women Lawyers, and the National Education Association. Other women's organizations, however, continued to oppose the ERA, including the League of Women Voters. Congressional hearings in February 1938 reflected these divisions, but nonetheless the ERA reached the Senate floor in 1938 and the House floor the following year. In 1940 the Republican Party platform endorsed the ERA. The Democratic Party endorsed the ERA in its party platform four years later. In Congress, the ERA issue cut across party lines. Conservative New York Republican senator James W. Wadsworth, for example, opposed the ERA, while conservative Republican senator Robert Taft (Ohio) and liberal Democrat Helen Gahagan Douglas (Calif.) supported it. In 1950 a modified ERA amendment was approved in the Senate, 63 to 19. During debate over the ERA, Senator Carl Hayden (D-Ariz.) had attached a rider stating that "the provisions of this article shall not be construed to impair any rights, benefits, or exemptions conferred by law upon the persons of the female sex." ERA supporters opposed the Hayden rider, and as a result the bill failed to come before the House for a vote.

The emergence of a new women's movement in the late 1960s added momentum to the drive for the ERA. In October 1967 the newly formed NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW) voted overwhelmingly to endorse the Equal Rights Amendment. In Congress, the chair of the House Judiciary Committee, Emanuel Celler, who supported women's protective labor legislation, held up the ERA in his committee. In the summer of 1970, Representative Martha Griffiths (D-Mich.) rallied a majority of her House colleagues to have the ERA discharged from the Judiciary Committee. On August 10, 1970, after only one hour of debate, the House approved the amendment in a vote of 352 to 15. Senate supporters, including Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) and majority leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.), brought the House-approved ERA directly to the floor. Senator Sam Ervin, Jr. (D-N.C.) attempted to attach a series of riders to the amendment, protecting women's interests concerning the military draft, alimony and child custody rights, and unfair labor practices. They failed to gain support in the Senate. Differences arose about time limits for state ratification, however, and as a result, the 91st Senate adjourned without taking action.

The House again passed the ERA on October 12, 1971, after rejecting the Wiggins Amendment, which would have exempted women from compulsory military service and which also would have preserved other laws "which reasonably promote the health and safety of the people." An overwhelming majority of the House, 354 votes, supported the ERA, while only 23 members voted no, of whom one was the senior female member, Representative Leonor Sullivan (D-Mo.). In the Senate, Sam Ervin proposed nine

separate ERA amendments to protect the traditional rights of women. Every one was defeated on a roll-call vote on March 21 and 22, 1972. As a result the ERA passed the Senate by 84 to 8. Congress granted seven years for the amendment to be ratified by three-fourths of the states. Meanwhile, in January 1973, the U.S. SUPREME COURT legalized ABORTION. This decision was to have profound implications in debates about women's rights in the 1970s and 1980s.

Within its first year after passage by Congress on March 22, 1972, 30 states ratified the ERA, requiring only eight more states to ratify it. At this point opposition to the ERA began to mobilize on the grassroots level. Leading the campaign against the ERA was PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY, a long-time conservative activist from Alton, Illinois. She brought to the campaign a keen political sense for organizing, argument, and lobbying. Within months of her entrance into the fight, STOP ERA groups had emerged across the country. Senator Sam Ervin supported her efforts. Some women's groups joined in the opposition, starting with the National Council of Catholic Women. In addition, the AFL-CIO opposed ERA until 1973. As the STOP ERA movement gained momentum, Schlafly effectively drew support from EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS, Mormons, Orthodox Jews, and Roman Catholic women across the country. Supporters of ERA organized around the National Organization for Women, led by Eleanor Smeal, and ERAmerica, an umbrella organization of labor, women, and liberal groups. At the same time pro-amendment groups organized on the state level. NOW's campaign focused on raising funds for local and state advertising, supporting local and state NOW chapters, and hiring professionals, supported by volunteer activists, to lobby state legislatures. The struggle over the ERA occurred in state capitals, where legislatures voted again and again on ERA.

As support for the ERA waned in key states and it appeared that the amendment would not receive the necessary state votes for ratification, Congress voted to extend the March 22, 1979, deadline to June 30, 1982. Following the extension, both sides concentrated their efforts on five critical states, Illinois, Florida, North Carolina, Missouri, and Oklahoma. No state ratified the ERA after the time extension. Five states that had ratified ERA earlier rescinded their ratifications. A federal court held the ERA time extension unconstitutional and rescissions constitutional, but the U.S. Supreme Court let the time run out, so that it was unnecessary to determine these issues with finality.

The five states (of the 35 states that initially approved ERA) that rescinded their previous ratification were Nebraska (March 15, 1973); Tennessee (April 23, 1974); Idaho (February 8, 1977); Kentucky (March 16, 1978); and South Dakota (March 1, 1979). Fifteen states never rati-

fied ERA including Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Utah, and Virginia. The Illinois legislature voted on the ERA every year from 1972 through 1982; the Florida legislature considered it nearly every year; the North Carolina and Oklahoma legislatures every two years. The last state to ratify the ERA was Indiana in January 1977. The ERA was highly controversial and intensely debated, and the votes drew hundreds of spectators.

During the ratification period, the GERALD R. FORD and JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., administrations enthusiastically supported the ERA. Both the Republican and Democratic Parties endorsed the ERA until 1980, when Republicans withdrew their endorsement in their party's platform.

The struggle over the ERA rallied thousands of American women to both sides of the debate. Supporters argued that an amendment was necessary to protect women from credit, employment, housing, and other forms of gender discrimination. Supporters claimed that the amendment would not affect personal relationships within marriage. Opponents, led by Schlafly, argued to the contrary, that the ERA would require women to be drafted and put in military combat equally with men, abolish the right of a wife to be supported by her husband, require funding of abortions with taxes, granting of marriage licenses to same-sex couples, and make unconstitutional all laws that gave one sex different rights from the other.

The success of the anti-ERA movement revealed the growing strength of the CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT in the United States, which would eventually lead to RONALD W. REAGAN's election in 1980.

See also AMENDMENTS TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION; FEMINISM; GENDER GAP; MORAL MAJORITY; RELIGION; WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

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—Donald T. Critchlow

## evangelical Christians

An Evangelical is a person who subscribes to the theological position that individuals need a personal experience with God, asserts the religious authority of the Holy Bible, and feels under obligation to share his or her faith with others. Evangelicals, found in both conservative and mainstream Christian denominations, also share the common characteristics of a strong commitment to their faith. They believe that salvation comes through God's grace, not works, and in Christ's perfection, in the presence of Satan, and being "born again." The experience of conversion—being "born



again”—is an act of repentance of sin and acceptance of Jesus Christ as savior.

In a doctrinal sense, many Evangelicals are drawn toward the view of dispensational premillennialism—the conviction that biblical prophecies related to Christ’s return have yet to be fulfilled. In this belief system, according to his own time, God will turn away from an Israel that rejects the Messiah, and rescue the church immediately before the Great Tribulation (the “rapture”). The last days then would follow, in which the Antichrist would come, the battle of Armageddon would be fought, the Messiah would return for the Second Coming, and finally God’s kingdom on Earth would appear. Although several prominent Evangelicals, including Billy Graham and Pat Robertson, advocate the doctrine of dispensationalism, it does not necessarily reflect the views of all Evangelicals. Conversely, many adhere to a general postmillennialism, the belief that Christ will return at an unknown date to establish his kingdom on Earth, or amillennialism, the belief that the millennium is a symbolic reference to the current era prefacing the Second Coming and the Last Judgment. The common point to all Evangelicals is the belief that Christ will return to Earth some day.

Evangelicalism encompasses a diverse number of Protestant denominations. The term originates from the Greek *euangelion* meaning “the good news,” or “gospel.” Modern usage comes from the series of 18th-century and 19th-century revivals that swept through North America. The transition from sect to denomination of both Baptists and Methodists took place during this era, and both grew to be the two largest Protestant groups in the United States. The large influx of non-Protestant immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries diminished the strength of Evangelicals, but Evangelicalism still remains a strong element in American culture.

Contemporary Evangelicalism remains a diverse movement. In the 21st century, Evangelicals retain historical doctrines of conversion through belief in and salvation by Christ; active expression of their faith; belief in the authority of scripture; and effort to convince others of

their beliefs. But in the post–World War II period, religious leaders Harold John Ockenga and Billy Graham, in reaction against the perceived separatist, anti-intellectual fundamentalist movement of the 1920s and 1930s, shaped these convictions. The founding of the National Association of Evangelicals in 1942 helped bring together some 50 denominations into an organization whose goal is to represent evangelical interests on social, cultural, spiritual, and political issues.

As a group, evangelical Christians eschewed political involvement, focusing more on missions, evangelism, and caring for each other. But the 1976 Democratic presidential candidate JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., who confidently declared his born-again status, encouraged Evangelicals’ involvement in politics—an area they had not been part of en masse since the early 20th-century temperance movement. Even more noticeable politically was the emergence and participation of groups like Concerned Women for America and the MORAL MAJORITY. In 1989 the CHRISTIAN COALITION was organized.

Evangelicals have many reasons for engagement in politics, including concerns over changing societal mores; a desire to effect change within society; and dissatisfaction with POPULAR CULTURE and mass MEDIA. Some cite their involvement in politics as a way to lessen the impact of the federal government, whose role has expanded into areas traditionally overseen by family, church, or local government. Yet, no Evangelical consensus exists in this group, which claims liberals and leftists as members as well. Prior to the 1970s, many Evangelicals were Democrats; in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the movement seems to have shifted toward a moderately conservative and predominantly Republican base.

See also FAMILY LIFE; MORALITY; RELIGION.

**Further reading:** Randall Balmer, *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Journey into the Evangelical Subculture of America*, 3d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

—Michele Rutledge





### family life

During the latter half of the 20th century, the average size of the American family decreased significantly. By 2000 the average number of children per family was less than half what it was in 1900. This development, coupled with the decline of the prevalence of the nuclear family (mother and father and their children) since the 1960s and other social and cultural changes, has noticeably altered the nature and structure of the American family.

By the early 1960s there were indicators that the nuclear family was becoming threatened by the demands of modern life. Books such as Paul Goodman's *Growing Up Absurd* (1960) and Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) described widespread dissatisfaction among both men and women with modern life resulting from an increasing suburban isolation, a lack of meaningful work, and a loss of purpose. Friedan's book resonated so powerfully with American women that it is credited with helping to revive FEMINISM and justifying the entry of increasing numbers of women into the workforce. While Friedan emphasized the therapeutic nature of women's involvement in the world beyond the home, other critics faulted the family itself for women's dissatisfaction with family life. During the 1960s, numerous critics attacked the family as exploitative of women and children, unnecessarily hierarchical and authoritarian, narrow-minded, and capitalistic.

Perhaps the greatest instigator of change was the increasing demand for individual self-fulfillment, which became a significant influence on the family, and American society as a whole, from the 1960s to the end of the 20th century. This pursuit of self-fulfillment was enabled by a prospering economy in the 1960s and the introduction of the birth-control pill in 1957. The SEXUAL REVOLUTION, the human-potential movement, and the youth rebellion helped promote the individual's quest not only for physical pleasure, but for intellectual, emotional, spiritual, and material fulfillment. The women's rights movement along with the increasing acceptance of various forms of BIRTH

CONTROL and family planning services contributed to the decreasing BIRTHRATES that reduced the average size of the American family.

Popular psychology during the 1970s further rationalized this behavior by insisting that failing to follow one's "growth curve" was psychologically unhealthy. In this environment, divorce represented an accomplished growth opportunity, a liberating experience dictated by the individual's need for self-fulfillment.

From the 1960s to the 1990s, statistics indicated that a major shift in the structure of the American family had occurred. The period showed increasing rates of divorce, number of single-person households, number of stepfamilies, number of single female parents, number of racially and ethnically mixed marriages, and the incidence of teenage pregnancies all skyrocketed. Although the final statistics showed a decrease over the final decade of the century, overall the statistics clearly indicated that the classic American family was slowly transforming itself. These developments, however, were noted by social scientists in both white and African-American families. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's famous 1965 report on African-American families, "The American Negro: The Case for National Action," documented high rates of illegitimacy, teen pregnancy, and divorce among black families and characterized what Moynihan called the pathological state of the black American family. The report continued to create controversy in the following decades. Anthropologist Carol Stack showed that it was more common among black families for women to be the backbone of the family, with an extended kinship network comprising the remainder of the family. In the late 1970s some black intellectuals insisted that the black family was indeed in trouble. Although these intellectuals received much criticism, their work began to resonate with many others, black and white, who realized that the problems formerly considered to affect only black families clearly pertained to the American family in general.

The contention that the nuclear family was beginning to dissolve prompted great debate during the 1980s and 1990s. The anxiety about the dysfunctional nature of the American family found its way into the political arena when the Republican Party, during the 1980s, campaigned on the notion of restoring “traditional family values.” Changes in family structure, however, forced some observers to call such a defense of the traditional family a nostalgic reluctance to accept “progress.” The increase of single-parent households, same-sex partnerships, group homes, extended kinship networks, and other replacements for incomplete nuclear families dictated a more broadly defined concept of “family.” Many saw these new arrangements as positive indicators of increased personal freedom.

Another significant development was the increasing trend among two-parent families for both parents to work outside the home. The resulting problem of how to balance work and family responsibilities became a central issue and a major source of strain on the American family. Day care—once seen as a last resort—became a fact of life for those families who could afford it. Other options became available into the 1990s. Workplaces began offering “flex time,” which allowed the worker to alter the starting or ending times of the usual shift, while some offered nonsynchronous work schedules. In 1993 Congress passed the Family Leave and Medical Act, which allowed several weeks’ leave from work for childbirth or illness. Traditional attitudes about gender responsibilities also began to change as fathers increasingly accepted a larger share of household and child-care duties.

Even where flexible arrangements made it possible to balance work and family, Americans often failed to take advantage of them. Some scholars claim that this is a result of Americans’ inflated desire for material consumption, which impels both parents to work even when it is not really necessary. Others suggest that many workers actually prefer the ordered, calm, and civilized atmosphere of the workplace to the often chaotic environment of the home.

Even though the American family changed, the merits of its transformation remained a persistent issue in American public discourse, as signaled by the prevalent use of the “traditional family value” slogan. As the 20th century drew to a close, Americans began to demonstrate a certain discontentment with the belief that divorce constituted an act of personal liberation, and the unintended consequences of divorce came under closer scrutiny, although many mainstream religious denominations, state laws, family counselors, authors, and other Americans held that incompatible couples should not remain married. Nonetheless, the detrimental effects of divorce were also being noted. Family counselor Judith Wallerstein, in *The Unexpected Legacy of Divorce* (2000), argued that divorce significantly traumatized the children of separating parents. It appears

that even though the traditional American family with its patriarchal order and gender-assigned roles has become a thing of the past, Americans still value the family as an integral social unit whose purpose is to enrich the lives of its members. How Americans will adapt family structure to the quickening pace of contemporary society remains to be seen.

See also ABORTION; ADVERTISING; BABY BOOMERS; CHRISTIAN COALITION; EDUCATION; FAMILY SUPPORT ACT; FEMINISM; GENDER GAP; MARRIAGE; MORAL MAJORITY; RECREATION; WOMEN’S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

**Further reading:** Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Time Bind: When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work* (New York: Metropolitan, 1997); Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: Free Press, 1988).

—William L. Glankler

### Family Support Act (FSA) (1988)

The Family Support Act was the culmination of a major 1987 congressional debate on welfare. The act provided for an extensive state-managed education and training program with transitional medical assistance, child-care benefits, and stronger child support enforcement.

Under the act, educators are provided opportunities to form linkages with other agencies to strengthen families and help them move toward self-sufficiency. Education is the pivotal goal of the FSA, to help families avoid long-term dependence on public assistance, and the act requires states to make educational services available to participants under the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) training program. Training and employment personnel and vocational and adult educators may join human services staff in providing education and training programs to JOBS clients.

Heralded as an “end of welfare,” critics viewed the FSA as a failure. However, the act generated the expectation among voters that welfare recipients would and should be required to work. Despite the goals of the Family Support Act, the nationwide Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) caseload remained constant in the late 1980s, and then grew by more than a third between 1990 and 1994.

—Michele Rutledge

**Farmer, James L.** (1920–1999) *Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) founder*

James Leonard Farmer was an American civil rights leader, born January 12, 1920, in Marshall, Texas, and educated at



Wiley College and Howard University's School of Religion. He helped found the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) in 1942, was instrumental in its campaign of freedom marches and sit-ins, and served as its national director until 1966. He left CORE because he felt the organization was drifting away from its pacifist, nonresistance roots. Farmer also served as program director for the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) from 1959 to 1961 and was a professor of social welfare at Lincoln University in Pittsburgh in 1966 and 1967. In 1968 Farmer ran for a seat in the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES from Brooklyn on the Liberty Party ticket but was defeated by Shirley Chisholm, an African-American Democrat. His political career did not end there, however. From 1969 to 1970 he served as assistant secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare during RICHARD M. NIXON's first administration.

Farmer retired from politics in 1971 but remained active in the public sector. He served on many organizational boards and, in 1976, became the associate director of the Coalition of American Public Employees, a group of labor and professional organizations. He also pursued a busy schedule of teaching and lecturing. His autobiography, *Lay Bare the Heart*, was published in 1985, and he received the Congressional Medal of Freedom from President WILLIAM J. CLINTON in 1998. James Farmer died July 9, 1999, in Fredericksburg, Virginia.

See also AFRICAN AMERICANS.

—William L. Glinkler

### **Farrakhan, Louis A. (Louis Eugene Walcott)**

(1933– ) *Nation of Islam leader*

As leader of the NATION OF ISLAM, Louis Abdul Farrakhan stresses personal responsibility, especially for black males, and advocates black economic self-sufficiency. His stance draws on a long history of black nationalist movements whose leaders sought to forge racial solidarity and self-reliance as their primary weapons against racial discrimination. He has often been criticized for appealing to black racism and anti-Semitism as means of promoting his views.

Farrakhan was born Louis Eugene Walcott in New York City on May 17, 1933. In 1955 he joined the Nation of Islam, adopted the name Abdul Haleem Farrakhan (later shortened to Louis Farrakhan), and rose to prominence in the organization on the strength of his speaking and singing abilities. In 1963, when a rift developed between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the organization, Farrakhan sided with Elijah Muhammad and publicly criticized Malcolm X for leaving the Nation of Islam. Farrakhan's severe denunciation of Malcolm X led many to suspect that he was responsible, either directly or indirectly, for the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965. Though

Farrakhan denied complicity in the murder, he acknowledged that he may have fostered an atmosphere conducive to such an act.

After Wallace Muhammad, son of the deceased Elijah Muhammad, changed the organization's name to the World Community of Islam in the West and strayed away from the black nationalism of his father, Farrakhan formed a new organization under the original name, the Nation of Islam, and reasserted the principles of black separatism and self-reliance. Farrakhan's popularity rose during the 1980s, especially among young, urban AFRICAN AMERICANS who admired his willingness to stand up against a society they believed to be racist. Especially popular was his message to blacks that they assume moral and economic responsibility for themselves by avoiding drugs and crime, staying in school, providing for their children, and becoming involved in bettering their communities. Mixed with this message were open attacks on white society and anti-Semitic comments that were widely condemned by other black leaders.

Farrakhan's call for black self-reliance culminated in the Million Man March, organized in Washington, D.C., in October 1995. Hundreds of thousands of black men attended and renewed their commitments to family, community, and personal responsibility. Although such exposure renewed criticism of his rhetoric, the march was considered a successful display of African-American racial solidarity and his message, based squarely on "traditional values," moved Farrakhan closer to the political mainstream. This did not, however, remove his controversial status. He provoked further criticism by including Iran, Iraq, and Libya in his 1996 "world friendship tour" and for repeatedly criticizing the U.S. government during the tour.

See also AFFIRMATIVE ACTION; ISLAM IN AMERICA; POVERTY.

**Further reading:** Vibert White, *Inside the Nation of Islam: A Historical and Personal Testimony by a Black Muslim* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2001).

—William L. Glinkler

### **Federal Information Act (Privacy Act) (1974)**

The Privacy Act of 1974 was enacted as a companion to the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) of 1966, which established that government records must be accessible to the people. Before 1966 individuals had to show evidence to prove that they had sufficient right and necessity to gain access to records of any agency or department of the executive branch of government. After passage of the FOIA, the burden of proof shifted to the government, which now must present evidence to justify why private citizens should not view government documents. The FOIA does not open

all documents to the public; certain critical exceptions apply, including documents related to elected officials of the federal government, private companies or individuals receiving federal contracts or grants, and documents from state and local governments. In addition, the FOIA permits affected agencies to reject information requests that might harm national DEFENSE and FOREIGN POLICY, or invade the privacy of individuals or businesses. The law, however, does provide individuals with a process by which to appeal such refusals.

The Privacy Act of 1974 was enacted in response to President RICHARD M. NIXON's IMPEACHMENT investigation. The public became concerned that politicians might abuse the power of the federal government to gather information on private citizens for their own benefit. The Privacy Act regulates the government's record keeping and disclosure practices, requiring each agency to gather information for individual files from the individuals directly, and not from spies or acquaintances. It also prohibits information gathered for one purpose from being used for another purpose, effectively prohibiting the government from creating secret files on its citizens. The Privacy Act also creates a mechanism by which individuals can examine, copy, and, if necessary, amend their personal records, which the federal government uses and maintains. As with the FOIA, the Privacy Act only applies to agencies and departments within the executive branch, and does not apply to state and local governments.

The Privacy Act of 1974 has been amended a dozen times since its initial passage; the most significant of the amendments occurred in 1988 and 1996. The Computer Matching and Privacy Protection Act of 1988 added new provisions to the Privacy Act to reflect the changes in computerized record keeping. Further changes were added in 1996 to account for the Internet and the implications of electronic indexing. As the Internet becomes a more prominent part of work, commerce, and daily routine, the issue of individual privacy becomes ever more important. So, the federal government will necessarily be forced to reconsider the balance between the rights of individual privacy and the necessities of national security and public order.

See also COMPUTERS; CRIME; GLOBALIZATION; INTERNET; WATERGATE SCANDAL.

—Aharon W. Zorea

## federalism

Federalism is a political system in which two levels of government maintain jurisdiction over the same territories. The U.S. Constitution creates a federal authority to oversee peaceful relations between states through federal courts, provide for national security through federal armed forces and a diplomatic international corps, and manage interstate

and international relations involving trade and commerce. The Supremacy Clause in Article VI states that the federal Constitution retains priority in conflicts arising with any of the various state constitutions, except in instances when the state provides more individual protection than the federal government. The Tenth Amendment, however, guarantees that the states retain all rights not specifically mentioned in the Constitution. Taken together, the Supremacy clause and protection of state sovereignty guarantee individual liberty. State governments protect individuals from the possibility of an unconstitutional central government encroachment, while the federal government ensures that states provide at least a minimum level of individual protection.

In the late 19th century and early 20th centuries, the federal government demonstrated great restraint in matters of state sovereignty. In part, this was because federal involvement implied interference with local statutes involving race relations, which many southern states opposed under "states' rights."

During the Great Depression in the 1930s many state governments were forced to seek aid from the federal government in order to meet the demands arising from massive unemployment and agricultural depression. Though desegregation and AFFIRMATIVE ACTION programs during the 1960s and 1970s helped solidify public acceptance of enhanced federal authority, the largest single contributor to federal expansion arose from the increasing public demand for social services, public services, and educational funding, which provided the federal government with greater leverage over state authority. The Tenth Amendment prohibits direct legislative intervention in state autonomy, but Congress and the executive branch can still preempt state authority by attaching specific requirements to funds intended for social services. In 1974, for example, President RICHARD M. NIXON signed into law the Emergency Highway Energy Conservation Act, which mandated a national 55-mph speed limit. In order to encourage state compliance, the bill prohibited the federal Department of Transportation from approving any highway projects for states failing to adopt the new limit. The tactic succeeded; within three months each state legislature imposed 55-mph limits on all highways. The following year, President GERALD R. FORD signed the Federal-Aid Highway Amendments of 1974, making the 55-mph requirement permanent. Similar tactics were used to compel states to adopt a standard drinking age of 21 years.

Throughout the latter half of the 20th century, states lost a degree of their autonomy as they became increasingly dependent on federal money. In the late 1970s Governor RONALD W. REAGAN of California led a movement of "new Republicans" who emphasized a renewed commitment to federalism. As president, Reagan pushed for decentralization of the federal bureaucracy by devolution of respon-

sibility for social services, including health care, income security, and job training, from the federal government to the states. In an effort to pull back federal involvement in commerce and communication, he also pushed for deregulation in the energy and finance industries. Critics argued that devolution placed undue burdens on state governments, depriving individuals of necessary social services, and that deregulation removed necessary safeguards from interstate enterprises. They believed the ideals of 19th-century federalism were outdated and the federal government necessarily assumed primacy in the area of social services, economic regulation, and national standards. Supporters asserted that local representatives better served individual needs, and that deregulation encouraged local entrepreneurialism.

In October 1987, during his second term, Reagan issued Executive Order No. 12612, titled “Federalism,” calling for a new federal policy favoring state autonomy. The order required all federal agencies to issue Federalism Impact Assessments, in consultation with local authorities, on any new program involving the preemption of state autonomy. Since the order did not carry the weight of law, however, its effectiveness remains questionable. At the same time, Reagan tax reform eliminated state and local tax deductibility. Under the previous arrangement, states were seen to have first claim on tax money, and taxes paid to states were deductible from federal taxes. Under the new tax system, all federal taxes were assessed in addition to state and local taxes—in effect, allowing a significant reduction of state privilege. Reagan believed that this change compelled higher-tax states to reduce their tax burdens.

During President WILLIAM J. CLINTON’s administration, the General Accounting Office reported that only five Federalism Impact Assessments were written for the 11,000 new federal rules issued during a three-year period. After assuming control of the Congress in 1994, Republican lawmakers promised to supplement the order with legislation designed to strengthen federalism, including the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 and the Education Flexibility Partnership Act of 1999, both of which disbursed federal funding in block grants for state legislatures to distribute, and the Unfunded Mandates Reform Act (1995), which prohibited new federal mandates unless provided with necessary funding for implementation.

The U.S. SUPREME COURT reinforced the revival of federalism in several decisions during the 1990s. In *Judges v. Ashcroft, Governor of Missouri* (1991), the Court ruled that a state could set a mandatory retirement age for Missouri judges without involving the federal Age Discrimination and Employment Act of 1967, or the AGE DISCRIMINATION ACT OF 1975. The following year, *New York v. United States* (1992) held that Congress violated

state legislative autonomy when the Low Level Radioactive Waste Policy Amendments Act of 1985 compelled states to assume responsibility for waste treatment if they failed to adopt federal guidelines within a certain time period. Five years later, in *Printz v. United States* (1997), the Court struck down a provision in the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act of 1993 requiring background checks for all handgun purchases, because it compelled the cooperation of state law enforcement, which falls under the jurisdiction of state executives. During the same period, however, the Court also upheld the Supremacy Clause in several cases in which states tried to amend their constitutions so as to force term limits on federal representatives; in *U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Thornton* (1995) and *Cook v. Gralike* (2001), the Court ruled that state legislatures could not supersede Article I of the U.S. Constitution, which explicitly provides age, citizenship, and residency requirements for congressional service.

In May 1998 President Clinton issued Executive Order No. 13083, also titled “Federalism,” which substantially revised Reagan’s earlier executive order and altered federal policy. Though it retained the requirement of local consultation for programs that would preempt state and local law, the order also shifted the presumption of priority away from the states and toward the federal government. Republican lawmakers, as well as state and local officials, called for immediate withdrawal of the executive order. In 2001 President GEORGE W. BUSH affirmed his administration’s commitment to new federalism through devolution and deregulation. The trend toward increased and more powerful federal authority has not significantly changed; states continue to lose their legislative autonomy. Since 1789, Congress has enacted 350 laws preempting state and local authority, half of which were passed between 1980 and 2000.

See also CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; NEO-CONSERVATISM.

**Further reading:** Robert F. Nagel, *The Implosion of American Federalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

—Aharon W. Zorea

## feminism

Feminism is a theory that women must share the same social, political, and economic rights and opportunities as men. Though feminism has had individual adherents throughout history, the first popular feminist movement in the United States focused on women’s suffrage and began at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. It ended shortly after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1920. After women gained the right

to vote, the movement lost much of its cohesiveness, and few women identified themselves as feminists. In 1963, feminism entered into its second incarnation after Betty Friedan's book, *The Feminine Mystique*, helped reinvigorate popular support for a new women's movement. She argued that suffrage did not guarantee equality, and that American women had been taught to accept traditional, middle-class gender roles of homemakers and housewives, which kept them from pursuing self-fulfillment in the workplace. Her book came at a time when increasing numbers of educated women entering into the workforce experienced great frustration with gender discrimination. Employers often hired or promoted men over women on the theory that men had greater familial obligations, and that women were only working for supplementary incomes. In addition, the social pressures and fears of being labeled an "improper mother" caused many women to feel guilty about pursuing any career outside the home.

In 1961 enough women were complaining about their work conditions that President John F. Kennedy felt compelled to appoint a special commission to look into the way women were treated in the legal system, in the economy, and in the family itself. The Commission on the Status of Women, initially headed by former first lady Eleanor Roosevelt, helped to put women's issues back on the national agenda. It published a report in the same year that *The Feminine Mystique* appeared, and seemed to provide factual support for some of Friedan's conclusions; women faced employment discrimination, unequal pay, unequal protection under the law, and a general lack of social support for child care and other services that enable women to more easily pursue careers outside of the home. Congress responded by passing the Equal Pay Act, which required employers to pay the same rates to men and women for the same work. President Kennedy ordered the Civil Service Department not to discriminate on the basis of sex. Most historians point to the combination of these events in 1963 as a turning point in feminism in America. The legal protection was further bolstered the following year, when gender was included with race, creed, and national origin in the Title VII prohibition against employment discrimination in the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Many feminist leaders gained valuable experience as leaders in the civil rights and 1963 voter registration drives in the South. In 1966 feminist leaders developed their own civil rights organization when they formed the NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW). It was modeled on the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP), and set out to use existing tactics within the legal and political system to promote greater equality for women. They relied heavily on protections provided by Title VII's Equal Employment Opportu-

nity Commission (EEOC) to file suits against employers and clubs that continued to discriminate on the basis of sex. Shortly thereafter, another group of feminists pursued a more radical approach outside the legal system to promote equality. The "women's liberation" movement began in 1967 as independent women's groups in coffeehouses, bookstores, and college campuses in Chicago, New York, and Seattle. Borrowing ideas from the ANTIWAR MOVEMENT and student socialists, the groups challenged the dominant assumptions and stereotypes that may unnaturally bind women to subservient roles in society. In practice, these independent women's liberation groups engaged in "consciousness raising" wherein small groups of women would come together to systematically reconsider every assumption they had been taught while growing up; issues included marriage, religion, work, school, sexuality, and women's health. They then planned ways to publicize their new awareness to the society at large—usually by staging sensational public demonstrations that mocked traditional female roles by publicly throwing bras and girdles into a trashcan, or unfurling banners for "women's liberation" in unexpected places (like the 1968 Miss America Pageant).

These more radical groups complimented the more mainstream institutional organizations such as NOW and the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), providing a broad spectrum for dynamic exchanges within the new feminism. This helped stimulate media attention, which attracted more popular support and brought feminist issues into the public forum. The success of the women's movement was demonstrated in 1970, when NOW called for a "women's strike for equality" to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment, and of women's right to vote in America. In New York City, the rally drew between 20,000 and 50,000 supporters; large numbers also came out in Boston, Berkeley, New Orleans, and more than 30 other cities. Though the movement reflected a diversity of tactics and priorities, it remained united on a number of issues, including ABORTION, child care, protection of women within the family, more inclusive education, greater opportunities in the workforce, and passage of the EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT.

Laws restricting abortion had already begun to weaken throughout the 1960s, as family planning advocates worked to strike down laws that limited women's access to contraception; abortion was legal in 14 states before the SUPREME COURT ruled on *ROE v. WADE* in 1973. As early as 1968, the women's liberation forces became the "shock troops" for abortion rights. Rather than concentrate on lobbying or avenues of litigation, many feminists sought to intervene directly. The Chicago Women's Liberation Union counseled and referred interested women to doctors who were willing to perform illegal abortions. In 1971 these same women began performing the abortions themselves,



totaling more than 11,000 in the two years between 1971 and 1973. In Austin, Texas, similar referral groups led to specialized research in legal precedents for abortion. The process eventually culminated with Sarah Weddington carrying the court case involving *Roe v. Wade* all the way to the Supreme Court.

The goal behind abortion rights advocacy was to limit the ties that bound women to the confines of a family unit. Access to abortion allowed women to decide when they wanted to start their family, but other issues, such as government-supported child care and crisis shelters for battered women, helped women escape abusive relationships. Washington, D.C., became the site of the first rape crisis hotline in 1972. In the following years, NOW helped establish more than 300 local rape crisis centers throughout the country. The first women's shelter formed in Saint Paul, Minnesota, in 1971. They not only provided a safe haven for battered women but also provided legal information and detailed handbooks on divorce to help women escape their situation. These types of institutions can now be found in most cities throughout the country.

While feminists explored new alternatives to the binding ties within the home, they remained equally committed to overcoming the obstacles out in the workplace. In March 1969 the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in *Weeks v. Southern Bell* that employers could impose hiring restrictions based on sex only if it could be shown that "substantially all" women would be incapable of performing the required tasks. In 1970 Bernice Sandler, a professor at the University of Maryland, claimed that she was denied tenure because of her gender. Joining with WEAL, Sandler filed a complaint with the U.S. Department of Labor demanding a review of the promotion policies of more than 250 institutions of higher education. By 1971 more than 360 colleges and universities faced lawsuits for sexual discrimination. At the same time, along different lines, feminists also set out to change college curricula; Sheila Tobias compiled a collection of syllabi and bibliographies from existing, though unrelated, courses on feminism and female issues. The resulting "Women's Studies" program became a model for universities around the country. In the same year, a Chicago group of NOW members formed Women in Publishing, which codified guidelines for more inclusive language in textbooks and other educational materials. The guidelines sought to eliminate words that suggested natural gender roles: "firefighter" instead of "fireman," "police officer" instead of "policeman," "mail carrier" instead of "mailman," etc. Feminists pursued these efforts with the goal of educating women of all ages to transcend the psychological barriers to personal development that characterized more traditional ways of thinking. As more educated women entered into the workforce, they could force more far-reaching changes in the social infrastructure from within

private corporations, public institutions, and the examples of day-to-day living.

More than any other single issue, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) became both a catalyst and a crucible, which influenced, motivated, and divided feminist groups of all varieties. By 1972 three main branches of feminism dominated the women's movement. Though all feminists considered themselves radical in that they opposed the dominant ideologies, not all pursued radical means. NOW, WEAL, and the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) focused on policy issues that would incorporate feminist principles into mainstream society. These groups were "liberal" in that they operated "within" the system, and advocated change through existing legal and political channels. In contrast, "radical" feminists sought to overturn all forms of oppression, including existing mechanisms that were inextricably linked to the existing social, political, and economic order. By 1975 the radical branch had split into two dominant forces—lesbian feminism and socialist feminism. Lesbianism arose as a feminist issue in 1969, as women challenged heterosexual norms because they grew out of patriarchal social orders. Linked closely with the concurrent sexual freedom and GAY RIGHTS MOVEMENTS, lesbian feminism eventually developed into a separate women's rights movement all its own. One of the more widely publicized of these groups was The Furies in Washington, D.C. They argued that lesbian consciousness was the key to true women's liberation. In practice, these groups proved effective in promoting a feminist counter-culture that emphasized female-centered leadership, institutions, and cultural events. Socialist feminists, however, criticized the lesbian emphasis on sex as the primary locus of oppression (which inevitably implied that men were "the enemy"). Instead, they argued that the key to women's liberation lay in radical egalitarianism, which could only be found in a more equitable economic system. Competition between the sexes was fueled by an overriding competition between private interests and could only be remedied with more enlightened public ownership and direction. Socialist feminists provided an intellectual foundation for later feminist scholars, long after the more economically oriented socialist organizations dissolved.

The ERA passed both houses of Congress in March 1972. Final ratification required passage by two-thirds of the state legislatures. By the end of the year, 22 of the necessary 38 states had ratified the amendment, and all three branches of feminists united to mobilize passage within the remaining states. Shortly thereafter, however, ERA advocates were met by a different kind of women's rights advocate under the leadership of PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY. Her Eagle Forum organization led the STOP ERA movement and succeeded in halting the progress of ratification within the states, eventually leading five states to rescind

their earlier approval. Schlafly argued that the ERA actually deprived women of valuable rights by removing the protections that benefited their sex, including the right of a wife to be provided for by her husband and the right to be excluded from national military drafts. Her movement was joined by Jerry Falwell's MORAL MAJORITY and the National Right to Life Organization in arguing that the feminist promotion of abortion, government-supported child care, and liberal divorce laws undermined the sanctity of the family, and indirectly pressured women not to choose homemaking as their primary occupation.

Many feminist leaders were surprised by the effectiveness of Schlafly's organization, and struggled to find an appropriate countermeasure. In 1975 Congresswoman Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) helped pass a \$5 million appropriations bill to finance the International Women's Year (IWY) Conference in Houston, Texas. Delegates to the conference were chosen through 50 state conferences, though some were hand-selected by members of the conference commission. Two thousand delegates and another 18,000 observers arrived in Houston for a four-day convention in November 1977. At the same time, an alternative women's convention had convened on the other side of town; Phyllis Schlafly's movement gathered 10,000 pro-family supporters in an anti-ERA rally. The two groups commanded widespread media attention and brought the issues of ERA, abortion, and lesbian rights to the national spotlight for almost a week. The IWY conference proved a mixed success for feminists. It led to a consolidation of many points of division between the liberal and lesbian feminist groups, and the massive, mostly favorable, media attention for the conference put pressure on Congress to extend the deadline for ERA ratification another three years to 1982. During the time between 1977 and 1982, membership in NOW, NWPC, the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), and other feminist activist groups soared. At the same time, however, opponents of ERA gained wider popular support among mainstream liberals who felt apprehension with what seemed to be a new linkage between the ERA, homosexual entitlements, and abortion-on-demand. ERA failed to win any additional states after 1977, and the amendment officially died in 1982.

Many feminist historians point to the 1980s as a "backlash" against the women's rights movement. President RONALD W. REAGAN campaigned on a decidedly "pro-family" platform, and the Republican Party officially removed its endorsement of ERA in 1980. Reagan publicly courted the constituencies of both Phyllis Schlafly and Jerry Falwell, and after 1982, with ties severed to the administration, most feminist organizations declined in membership, and many radical action groups dissolved altogether. At the same time, however, while it appeared that Phyllis Schlafly

and her supporters won their battle against the ERA, one could also argue that feminism actually won the war. Though the three Republican administrations between 1980 and 1992 proved hostile to radical feminism, the partisan identification actually opened more opportunities for feminists within the Democratic Party. GERALDINE FERRARO became the first female vice presidential nominee as a Democrat. In recent elections, 100 percent of political contributions from feminist lobby groups like NOW, NARAL, and Emily's List (an acronym for Early Money Is Like Yeast) has been given to the Democratic National Committee or to individual candidates within the party. When President WILLIAM J. CLINTON entered office in 1992, he appointed the first woman attorney general, JANET RENO, and the first woman secretary of state, MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT. He also reversed the Republican policies regarding abortion, family planning, child care, and homosexual entitlements.

While few feminists would call themselves "radical" anymore, it seems that many of the issues that were of prime concern to radical feminists of the 1970s have become common realities in the 21st century. More women than men graduate from high school, and equal numbers earn college degrees. "Women's studies" departments are found on almost all campuses, and virtually all textbooks and reference materials adopt standards of inclusive language. Though there is some disagreement about pay equity, more women can be found in executive positions than ever before. Whether they adhere to the principles or not, most corporations proclaim their commitment to affirmative-action programs that encourage and cultivate greater numbers of women in fields that were traditionally dominated by men, such as MEDICINE, law, and the sciences. In addition, government-supported child care is available for low-income children as young as four and five, and tax credits are available for working parents of children of all ages. Contraception and abortion rights are taught in most secondary-school sex education classes, and although lesbianism and homosexuality remain minority sexual preferences, the media and entertainment centers and public institutions generally portray homosexuality with greater tolerance. Sexual activity outside the bounds of MARRIAGE is more common than abstinence, divorce rates are more than 50 percent, and the stereotype of the domesticated nuclear family represents an actual minority in American society. Most feminists would argue that there remains a long way to go toward true equality between the sexes, but clearly the effect of feminism on American society has been extraordinary over the past three decades.

See also AFFIRMATIVE ACTION; AKRON V. AKRON CENTER FOR REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH; AMENDMENTS TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION; BIRTH CONTROL; GAY AND LES-

BIAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT; GENDER GAP; PRO-LIFE AND PRO-CHOICE MOVEMENTS; STEINEM, GLORIA; WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

**Further reading:** Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Knopf, 1979); Susan Hartmann, *The Other Feminists: Activists in the Liberal Establishment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Laura Kaplan, *The Story of Jane: The Legendary Underground Feminist Abortion Service* (New York: Pantheon, 1995); Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (New York: Viking Books, 2000).

—Aharon W. Zorea

**Ferraro, Geraldine A.** (1935– ) congressperson, vice presidential nominee

Geraldine Ferraro became the first woman vice presidential candidate for a major political party when she received the Democratic nomination in 1984. Born in 1935 in Newburgh, New York, to Italian immigrant parents, Geraldine Anne Ferraro earned an undergraduate degree from Marymount College in Manhattan in 1956. While teaching in public schools in Queens, New York, Ferraro attended law school at night at Fordham University Law School, earning her degree in 1960. Deciding to stay home and raise a family, Ferraro became active in local Democratic politics.

In 1974 she accepted a job as assistant district attorney in the Investigation Bureau in Queens. In 1975 she transferred to the Special Victims Bureau, handling issues such as child abuse, domestic abuse, and rape. It was in this position that Ferraro came to believe that many crimes were rooted in poverty and social injustice. Ferraro quit her job at the district attorney's office in 1978 and ran for the vacant Ninth Congressional District seat. Running on a platform supporting law and order, the elderly, and neighborhood preservation, Ferraro won election to Congress and was reelected in 1980 and 1982.

In 1980 Ferraro was elected secretary of the Democratic caucus and served on the House Steering and Policy Committee. She also served on the House Budget Committee, the Public Works Committee, Post Office and Civil Service Committee, and the Select Committee on Aging. While in Congress, Ferraro headed efforts to pass the EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA) and sponsored the Women's Economic Equity Act in 1984, which ended pension discrimination and enabled homemakers to open individual retirement accounts (IRAs).

In 1984 she was appointed chair of the Democratic platform committee, the first woman to hold the position. Her new responsibilities and past record attracted the attention of WALTER F. MONDALE. In July 1984, Mon-

dale announced Ferraro as his vice presidential running mate, making her the first woman nominated for that position. Soon a scandal emerged concerning Ferraro's family over allegations that they owed more than \$50,000 in back taxes. Although the ticket survived the scrutiny, it suffered a huge defeat in the election, with Mondale's opponent, RONALD W. REAGAN, garnering the highest electoral vote in history.

Ferraro ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. SENATE in 1992 and 1998 in New York. In 1993 she was appointed by President WILLIAM J. CLINTON to lead the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Human Rights Commission. She is a board member of the National Democratic Institute of International Affairs and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

In 1999 Ferraro joined the public relations firm of Weber McGinn as president of the Women's Leadership Group, advising on women's issues such as education, health care, consumer products, and employment. On top of these responsibilities, Ferraro is a political pundit, appearing on television news programs and writing occasional newspaper columns.

See also ELECTIONS; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**Further reading:** Steve M. Gillon, *The Democrats' Dilemma: Walter F. Mondale and the Liberal Legacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

—John Korasick

## flag burning

The National Flag Conference adopted the first regulations governing the care and use of the U.S. flag on June 14, 1923. During World War II, Congress enacted a federal flag code establishing specific guidelines for its use and presentation, and included an explicit prohibition against acts of disrespect. The law empowered the president of the United States to make changes to the code as necessary, but empowered the states to determine the specific penalties for misuse.

The code remained largely unchallenged until the late 1960s, when protestors more frequently used the symbolism of flag desecration to dramatize their positions. In 1969, the U.S. SUPREME COURT chose to ignore the specific question of desecration in its first case on the subject, *Street v. New York*, finding that state legislation outlawing contemptuous speech against the flag violated the First Amendment. Five years later, in *Spence v. Washington*, the Court came closer to the issue when it ruled that state legislation prohibiting the defacement of the flag also violated protected forms of expression. It was not until 1989 that the Court addressed the specific question of flag burning; *Texas v. Johnson* concluded that flag burning was





Protesters burn an American flag in Washington, D.C., at the inauguration of President George W. Bush. (Levine/Getty Images)

expressive conduct protected by the First Amendment. In his opinion, Justice WILLIAM J. BRENNAN, JR., wrote that “the government may not prohibit the expression of an idea simply because society finds the idea itself offensive or disagreeable.” In response, Congress passed the Flag Protection Act of 1989, attempting to rectify the constitutional deficiencies of the original flag code; it imposed a fine and/or jail sentence of up to one year for knowingly mutilating, defacing, and physically defiling the flag. The following year, the Supreme Court, in *U.S. v. Eichman*, found the new language to be equally unconstitutional, concluding that neither the federal nor state legislatures were empowered to mandate special protections for the U.S. flag without a constitutional amendment.

Public sentiment on the question of flag burning overwhelmingly favored some form of constitutional protection. Opponents, including the American Civil Liberties Union, argued that a constitutional amendment might unintentionally compromise the First Amendment protection of expression. Supporters countered that the courts had already made exceptions to freedom of speech on issues such as libel, obscenity, and trademarks, and that the flag deserved such special protection. The first attempt to enact

such an amendment passed the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES with overwhelming support in 1990 and failed to pass the SENATE by only one vote. Similar bills were submitted every congressional session thereafter, coming within three votes of passing the Senate’s required two-thirds majority in 1995 and again in 1999.

See also AMENDMENTS TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION; ANTIWAR MOVEMENT—VIETNAM; CENSORSHIP.

—Aharon W. Zorea

**Foley, Thomas S.** (1929– ) *representative, Speaker of the House*

Thomas Stephen Foley, a longtime member of Congress representing the state of Washington, became Speaker of the House in 1989.

Born in Spokane, Washington, in 1929, Thomas Stephen Foley grew up in South Hill. Foley attended Gonzaga University before transferring to the University of Washington in his junior year. After graduating from the University of Washington Law School in 1957, Foley practiced law with his cousin, Henry Higgins, before moving on to become a deputy prosecutor with the Spokane County



prosecutor's office and ultimately to the state level as an assistant state attorney general. In 1961 Foley joined U.S. senator Henry Jackson as a special counsel on the Senate Interior Committee.

Foley ran for a seat in the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES as a Democrat from a predominantly Republican district in 1964. Foley would ultimately be reelected 14 times. Foley was a consistent liberal during his congressional career. Among the issues he faced during his 30 years in Congress, he favored a nuclear freeze, opposed Vietnam, and voted for the Civil Rights Act. In addition, he supported abortion as a constitutional right. Foley broke with the liberals on GUN CONTROL.

In 1974 in a major leadership shake-up, Foley became chairman of the Agriculture Committee, the first westerner to hold this position. In 1981 Foley became the House majority whip, and in 1987 the majority leader. And finally, in June 1989 Foley was elected the 49th Speaker of the House and the first from west of the Rocky Mountains. Foley replaced Jim Wright who resigned under criticism. Foley is credited with bringing civility back to the House. Seen by many as a conciliator, Foley opposed proposals to amend the Constitution to ban FLAG BURNING and opposed cutting the capital gains tax rate.

In 1992 the voters of Washington State passed a referendum imposing term limits on state and federal officeholders. Despite overwhelming support for the referendum, Foley sought a 16th term and challenged the referendum in federal court. In 1994 Foley was defeated by Republican challenger George Nethercutt, becoming the first incumbent Speaker to lose reelection since the Civil War.

Some election analysts attributed Foley's loss to general voter dissatisfaction with Foley's liberal stances on many issues, which were out of touch with his constituency. After leaving Congress, Foley became a partner in the law firm of Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld, L.L.P., specializing in international affairs. He also served on a number of private and public boards of directors. In 1997 Foley became U.S. ambassador to Japan.

—John Korasick

**Ford, Gerald R.** (1913–2006) *U.S. vice president, 38th U.S. president*

Gerald Rudolph Ford was sworn in as the 38th president of the United States on August 9, 1974, after President RICHARD M. NIXON's resignation. He presided during a time when the public was still reeling from both the VIETNAM WAR and the WATERGATE SCANDAL. Though his administration achieved moderate successes in stimulating the ailing economy, Ford never managed to escape the long shadow of Nixon's resignation. He lost the 1976 election to JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., by only 57 electoral votes.

President Ford was born Leslie Lynch King, Jr., on July 14, 1913, in Omaha, Nebraska. His mother, Dorothy Ayer Gardner, was the mayor's daughter in a small Illinois town, and his father, Leslie Lynch King, was a wealthy banker's son. Unfortunately, King was also alcoholic and physically abusive. Just days after his son's birth, the police were called in to restrain him when he threatened to kill his wife, the new baby, and the nurse with a butcher knife. His wife left him, and an Omaha court later granted her a divorce, with custody of the baby, on the grounds of her husband's extreme cruelty. She and the baby moved in with her parents. Two years later, she married a paint salesman named Gerald R. Ford. Her two-year-old was renamed Gerald R. Ford, Jr. Dorothy Ford gave birth to three more sons, and the Ford household became a warm environment with strong family bonds. The oldest boy did not discover that his stepfather was not his biological father until he was 17 years old; he legally changed his name in 1935.

As a youth, Ford demonstrated a gift for athletics and went to the University of Michigan on a sports scholarship. An economics and political science major, Ford was also playing varsity football and was named most valuable player in 1934. After graduation, he accepted a position as boxing coach and assistant football coach for Yale. After a long wait, Ford was accepted to Yale Law School and earned his law degree in 1941. After the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Ford enlisted in the navy. He served all four years of World War II, and was honorably discharged as a lieutenant commander in February 1946.

Upon returning to civilian life, Ford joined community organizations and made a name for himself as one of the "New Republicans." In 1948 Michigan senator Arthur H. Vandenberg urged Ford to challenge the incumbent Republican congressman, Bartel Jonkman, an isolationist, in the party primaries. After winning the primary, Ford went on to win the general election. Just a few weeks before the election during this first campaign, Ford married Elizabeth "Betty" Bloomer Warren; he even campaigned on his wedding day. Together they had four children: Michael Gerald (1950), John Gardner (1952), Steven Meigs (1956), and Susan Elizabeth (1957).

Throughout the 1950s, Ford focused on fiscal policy, though he continued to encourage a strong American presence in foreign affairs. He became a member of the House Appropriations Committee during his second term and later became a ranking member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. Ford described himself as a "moderate in domestic affairs, an internationalist in foreign affairs, and a conservative in fiscal policy." Ford remained fairly consistently moderate throughout his service as legislator. Ford opposed efforts to federally subsidize education and housing as well as health care, and federal intervention in use of local lands through environmental protection

strategies. He supported increases in defense spending and civil rights legislation.

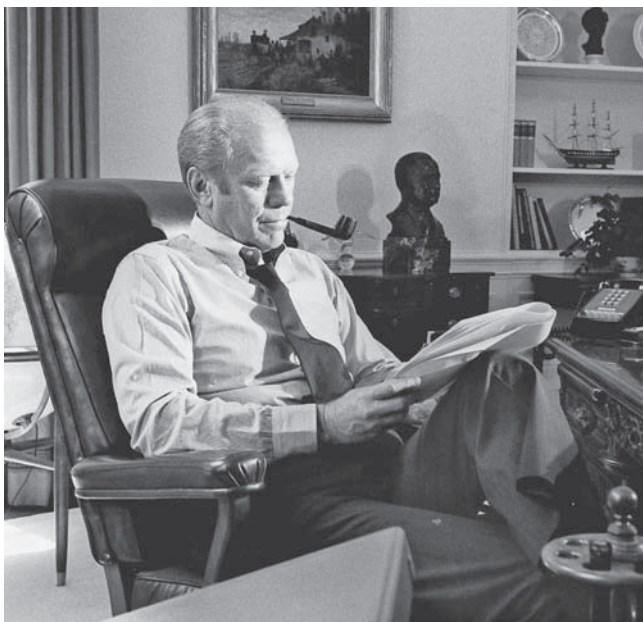
Ford's ultimate goal was to become Speaker of the House. His first step toward national recognition came in 1961, when a group of younger, more progressive House Republicans known as the "Young Turks" revolted against the older leadership and elected Ford as the chairman of the House Republican Conference. Members of both parties liked Ford; he became known for his quiet honesty and political integrity. In 1963 this reputation led to his being named by President Johnson to serve on the Warren Commission, which was appointed to investigate the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Two years later, Ford wrote a book on the subject, with John R. Stiles, called *Portrait of the Assassin*. With increasing national attention, the Young Turks rallied behind him in a bid to unseat Charles Halleck for minority leadership in 1965. Although Ford held the post of House minority leader for eight years, he never realized his dream of becoming Speaker of the House because the Republicans failed to win a majority during his tenure.

Ford rose to the office of president as a result of two separate scandals within his own party. Vice President SPIRO T. AGNEW resigned from office on October 10, 1973, after pleading no contest to charges of tax evasion, leaving the position vacant. The recently ratified Twenty-Fifth Amendment required Nixon to submit the name of a potential vice president for congressional approval. Since Agnew's resignation came just months after news broke about the break-in at the Watergate hotel, President Nixon feared a crash in

public confidence. He invited Democratic leaders, Speaker CARL B. ALBERT and Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, to the White House to discuss which nominee could win the fastest confirmation. Both men put Ford's name forward, and Nixon agreed. He announced the decision on October 11. This was not an entirely surprising move for Nixon or Ford, since the two had had a good relationship since the early 1950s. Ford accepted the appointment to help the party. After the most thorough background investigation in the history of the FBI, Ford was sworn in as vice president on December 6, 1973, becoming the first vice president appointed under the terms of the Twenty-Fifth Amendment.

Five months later, as Ford started his new appointment, the Watergate scandal erupted with new vigor. In March 1974 a grand jury indicted several members of Nixon's administration for their role in covering up the Watergate break-in, including U.S. Attorney General JOHN N. MITCHELL, White House Chief of Staff H. R. Haldeman, and White House Special Assistant on Domestic Affairs John Ehrlichman. President Nixon was referred to as an "unindicted co-conspirator." Following Nixon's resignation, Chief Justice WARREN E. BURGER swore Gerald Ford in as the 38th president of the United States on August 9, 1974. He became the only president to enter office without ever having faced a national election.

A month after his swearing-in ceremony, President Ford granted a "full, free and absolute pardon" to former president Nixon for all crimes "he committed or may have committed" while in office. Ford's first three news conferences had focused entirely on questions dealing with Watergate and Nixon, and he hoped to bring an end to the scandal with a full pardon. His administration needed to attend to other important issues, including increasingly high inflation, high unemployment, and a year-old ENERGY crisis. Historians' opinions are mixed as to whether Ford's tactic succeeded; the negative public reaction to the pardon surprised Ford, and some historians argue it was later responsible for his defeat in the 1976 election. Others give less importance to the public's reaction, arguing instead that both Nixon's and Agnew's separate resignations had tarnished the Republican Party, and that the public would have rejected Ford's reelection whether or not he pardoned Nixon. In either case, after September, President Ford conducted his administration with little reference to Watergate and President Nixon. He nominated New York governor Nelson Rockefeller for vice president and selected a cabinet of his own, retaining only HENRY A. KISSINGER as secretary of state, Earl Butz as secretary of agriculture, and William Simon as treasury secretary. The Democrats swept the 1974 Congress, and a special congressional hearing was called to investigate whether Ford's pardon had been prearranged with Nixon. Ford testified



Gerald R. Ford (The Gerald R. Ford Library)

before the hearing committee and replied in person that, "There was no deal. Period. Under no circumstances." The matter was dropped, but the Congress grew increasingly suspicious of possible abuse of executive authority. Ford VETOED more than 50 bills during his two years in office because he felt they called for unnecessary, or overly costly, expenditures.

Ford's efforts to reduce inflation and stimulate the ECONOMY failed to overcome stagflation. Unemployment was higher than 9 percent in early 1975, but it dropped to just over 7 percent before Ford left office. Though industrial production had dropped significantly since 1972, Ford promoted a stimulus package that included a \$16 billion corporate tax cut. He addressed the energy shortage by proposing an incentive program to reduce oil consumption and limit the nation's dependence on foreign oil. He called for cuts in federal programs to offset the reduction in revenue caused by the \$16 billion tax cut.

In FOREIGN POLICY, Ford pulled out the remaining troops from Vietnam, and continued a cautious policy of DÉTENTE with China and the SOVIET UNION. Ford joined Soviet premier Leonid I. Brezhnev in signing the Helsinki Accords in 1975, which implicitly recognized the existing boundaries of Soviet-occupied territories in Eastern Europe and East Germany; he also entered into negotiations to return control of the PANAMA CANAL to Panama.

Both of these actions angered conservative Republicans, especially RONALD W. REAGAN, who used these issues to launch a strong challenge to Ford during the 1976 Republican primaries. Ford alienated the right wing of the GOP with his adamant support of the EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA). Furthermore, his wife Betty's public support for the constitutional right to ABORTION further estranged Ford from the growing right wing within the Republican Party.

Ford managed to win his party's nomination on August 18, 1976, but the margin was so close that he was forced to include Ronald W. Reagan's more conservative positions on social issues and foreign policy in the Republican platform. He also changed running mates, substituting the more conservative Kansas senator ROBERT DOLE for Rockefeller. Ford eventually lost the 1976 election to Democratic challenger JAMES EARL CARTER, JR.

Upon leaving office in 1977, Ford lectured at colleges and universities, and briefly served as an adjunct professor of government at his alma mater, the University of Michigan. Ronald W. Reagan briefly considered him as a running mate in 1980, but Ford has since remained out of Republican Party politics. He has authored several books, including *A Time to Heal* (1979) and *Humor and the Presidency* (1987). President WILLIAM J. CLINTON awarded the nation's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal

of Freedom, to Ford in 1999. Ford's presidential library is situated in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Ford died December 26, 2006, at his home in Rancho Mirage, California, at the age of 93. His body was flown to Washington, D.C., on December 30, to lie in state in the Capitol Rotunda. After his funeral at the Washington National Cathedral on January 2, Ford was returned to his home state of Michigan, where he was buried on the grounds of the Gerald R. Ford Museum in Grand Rapids.

See also CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; SCHLAFLY, PHYLLIS.

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—Aharon W. Zorea and Cynthia Stachecki

### Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (1977)

Congress enacted the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act of 1977 to prevent corporate bribery by American businesses of foreign officials. During the mid-1970s, lawsuits revealed that a number of American corporations made questionable or illegal payments to foreign government officials. Federal officials decided that more direct prohibitions on foreign bribery, coupled with more detailed requirements concerning corporate record keeping and accountability, formed a method to deal effectively with the problem. Corporate bribery was seen as adversely affecting American FOREIGN POLICY, damaging the image of American democracy overseas, and impairing public confidence in the financial integrity of American corporations. Congress responded with the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act of 1977, composed of three major restrictions. First, it required corporations to keep accurate books, records, and accounts. Second, it required public companies registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission to maintain a responsible internal accounting control system. Finally, it prohibited bribery by American corporations of foreign officials.

The act attracted a great deal of criticism. Opponents argued the act held too many gray areas, and that many American companies would cease foreign operations rather than face the uncertainties in the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act. Furthermore, critics called for precise and specific guidelines to be enacted to ensure that American corporations acted within clearly defined guidelines set by the legislation. In addition, opponents of the act also sought the removal of the "reason to know" standard concerning liability for actions of a firm's agent in a foreign country. This would eliminate the legal responsibility of the management of a domestic firm over the unauthorized and undirected



actions of an agent. Moreover, critics contended that the internal accounting controls required by the act were too costly and burdensome upon domestic firms. They instead wanted a standard for public record keeping, requiring a firm to report expenditures and outlays deemed relevant to the profits and revenues of the firm.

Congress responded to these criticisms by amending the act in 1988 and signing it into law as Title V of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 on August 23, 1988. The amendments maintained the three major parts of the 1977 act, but removed criminal liability unless a person knowingly circumvented or knowingly violated the law. Another amendment stated that an issuer that holds 50 percent or less of the voting power of a domestic or foreign firm is required to use its influence only in good faith to cause the domestic or foreign firm to devise and maintain a system of acceptable accounting controls. As amended, the act defined “knowing” circumvention as “conscious disregard” and “willful blindness”—meaning a conscious effort to avoid learning the truth. Congress added amendments, so that antibribery provisions did not apply to any facilitating or expediting payment to a foreign official, political party, or party official if the purpose is to expedite or to secure the performance of a routine governmental action. The amended act also allowed an American business or individual to use one of the “affirmative defenses” in urging that no violation of the act occurred. The amendments also increased penalties for violations of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act from a maximum of \$1 million to \$2 million for businesses and for individuals from \$10,000 to \$100,000.

—Leah Blakey

### foreign policy

U.S. foreign policy underwent several major reevaluations after 1968 in response to changes abroad and at home. The emergence of strong economies in Japan and Western Europe diminished the economic clout of the United States. The Soviet Union achieved effective nuclear parity. China emerged as a major power and was hostile to the Soviet Union. At home, the VIETNAM WAR was becoming less popular and it appeared that the public would no longer support the deployment of troops to contain communism. In response to the public mood, Congress became increasingly partisan in foreign affairs—ensuring that no president would have a free hand. By the late 1980s the Soviet Union was declining in power, and the cold war was coming to a close. The resulting world order challenged U.S. conceptions of how the international system operated, and new challenges emerged.

The first shift occurred during the administration of RICHARD M. NIXON, when the president and his adviser

HENRY A. KISSINGER worked to establish DÉTENTE—a policy to develop habits of restraint, coexistence, and cooperation—with the Soviet Union, and opened relations with the People’s Republic of China. Nixon entered office in 1969 and quickly established the Nixon Doctrine. Nixon declared that the United States would provide a nuclear deterrent for the West and would honor its treaty commitments in the case of conventional attack. This policy pulled the United States back from its earlier stance of opposing the spread of communism wherever it emerged. Anticomunist ideology was replaced with a more rational assessment of national interest. With the changing economic and global political situation, a new system was necessary that was not predicated on a bipolar worldview, in which the United States and Soviet Union were the only important players. Nuclear parity diminished the threat of nuclear war; neither side was willing to destroy the world to win a war. The ENERGY crisis, which emerged in 1973, showed that the MIDDLE EAST, especially the Arab-Israeli conflict, required attention and presented problems of its own. By engaging the Soviet Union in détente and presenting the possibility that the United States would engage with China, Nixon and Kissinger attempted to create a system of rules that both sides would obey. The most visible result of détente was the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, which limited the development of antimissile systems and established temporary agreements to restrict offensive capabilities.

In addition to altering the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, Nixon oversaw the de-escalation of the war in Vietnam. Through a process known as “Vietnamization,” the United States gradually turned the fighting of the war over to the South Vietnamese and withdrew troops. The United States intensified its bombing of NORTH VIETNAM and expanded into Cambodia. Determined to maintain U.S. prestige, Nixon refused to pull out of Vietnam until a settlement had been reached. In 1971 Nixon dispatched Kissinger to Paris to carry out secret negotiations with the North Vietnamese foreign minister, Le Duc Tho. In October 1972 an agreement was reached providing for a cease-fire, the establishment of a coalition government in South Vietnam, free elections, the withdrawal of American troops, and the release of all prisoners of war. South Vietnam initially refused to accept the plan, and negotiations broke down. After the 1972 elections, Nixon forced the North to return to the bargaining table with massive bombings. On January 22, 1973, Nixon announced that an agreement had been reached to end the war.

Critics argued that the war could have been ended much earlier and noted that more than half the Americans killed had died since Nixon had been elected. Critics of détente argued that the Soviet Union was not trustworthy





Protesters jab a caricature of the Statue of Liberty during a protest in front of the U.S. embassy, January 25, 2002, in Manila. (Calderon/Getty Images)

and would not abide by the new ground rules. In addition, the new policies were seen as amoral, supporting right-wing dictators and repressive regimes in Iran, the Philippines, SOUTH AFRICA, Argentina, South Korea, Brazil, and Nigeria. Meanwhile, leftist regimes were subject to American intervention or overthrow, as in the case of Chile in 1973.

Nixon's successor, GERALD R. FORD, sought to maintain Nixon's initiatives. Ford was faced with the collapse of anticommunist resistance in Southeast Asia. In 1975 the Khmer Rouge seized control of Cambodia, and the North Vietnamese resumed hostilities and quickly conquered South Vietnam. The reluctance of the United States to intervene was interpreted by many at home and abroad as a sign of weakness. In addition, Ford's meetings with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in 1974 on arms control and in 1975 on European borders and human rights drew criticism from his own party that he had surrendered too much for too little.

JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., broke with the Nixon-Kissinger realism policy and made human rights the focal point of his efforts. He pressured governments around the

globe to address their human rights violations. A treaty ceding the PANAMA CANAL and Canal Zone to PANAMA was ratified. And he established full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, thus concluding the transition begun by Nixon toward recognizing the most populous nation in the world. The most widely hailed accomplishment of the administration was the brokering of a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt.

The last year of Carter's administration bore witness to events that made the administration appear naively idealistic and weak. First, the SALT II treaty was submitted to the Senate, where it came under intense scrutiny and criticism that it would give the Soviets an advantage. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, Carter pulled the treaty from consideration and ordered a boycott of the 1980 Olympics in Moscow. In addition, in January 1979 the IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS developed, and the United States's inability to rescue or gain the release of the hostages further eroded what had been a promising diplomatic reputation. Détente also came under increasing criticism. From the fall of Saigon in 1975 to communist advances in

Africa and Central America, the United States had suffered numerous setbacks.

With the election of RONALD W. REAGAN in 1980, the cold war gained in intensity. Reagan preached that the nation had been left defenseless by post-Vietnam years of cuts in defense spending and the unwillingness of presidents to stand up to the Soviets. Reagan invoked the language of a moral crusade against communism used in the early years of the cold war. Charging that the Soviets had used détente to promote world revolution and dubbing the Soviet Union the “evil empire,” Reagan employed 1950s-style containment, reminiscent of the “liberation” and “rollback” themes of the Eisenhower administration. Despite the rhetoric, Reagan was careful about the commitment of U.S. troops. After the deadly bombing of the marine barracks in Beirut, Lebanon, in 1983, U.S. troops were used only in small-scale operations such as the overthrow of the marxist government in Grenada. Reagan relied on covert operations and proxy wars. Through the CIA, money was funneled to the CONTRAS in Nicaragua, Afghan rebels, and anticommunist forces in Angola and Ethiopia.

His rhetorical comments aside, Reagan did not abandon détente. In 1983 he concluded the largest grain deal with the Soviets in history. In 1984 Reagan announced that new talks would commence with the Soviets on arms reduction and space weapons. With the rise of Mikhail Gorbachev to general secretary of the Soviet Union in 1985, détente had two figures who excelled at personal summitry and established a rapport. Each wanted to relax East-West tensions, and at four summits between 1985 and 1988, they significantly improved relations between the two nations and reached agreements on arms reductions.

A new and potent threat emerged in the 1980s. International terrorism exploded with more than 700 attacks around the world in 1985 alone. In 1986 pro-Libyan terrorists bombed military installations in West Germany. In response, the United States launched an air strike against Libya. Terrorists also kidnapped Americans overseas, hijacked airliners, and commandeered the cruise ship *Achille Lauro*. The official government position was that there would be no negotiations with terrorists.

In Central America, Reagan pursued his policy of rollback. To counter the Sandinistas, a marxist regime in Nicaragua, Reagan authorized the establishment of a counterrevolutionary army, the contras. When Congress later discontinued funding to the contras, a new plan emerged. White House aide OLIVER L. NORTH brokered a deal to sell arms to Iran in exchange for the release of American hostages held by terrorists in Lebanon. North funneled the proceeds to the contras. When it came to light in 1985, the IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR prompted a congressional inquiry and the appointment of an INDEPENDENT COUNSEL. The

affair damaged the credibility of the administration in the eyes of many.

In 1988 GEORGE H. W. BUSH assumed the presidency. The world Bush faced was changing rapidly. The cold war was coming to an end: communist governments in Eastern Europe crumbled, Gorbachev was attempting to reform the Soviet system, and the Sandinistas were voted out of office in Nicaragua. Bush wanted the renunciation of the Brezhnev Doctrine of 1968, which declared the right of the Soviet Union to intervene in the affairs of socialist states. In 1989 Bush and Gorbachev met for the first time. Bush urged further reforms and offered economic aid as an incentive. In 1991 the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty was signed. Bush also took advantage of Soviet disarray to take actions against problematic former anticommunist allies, such as Manuel Noriega in Panama in 1989, and Saddam Hussein in Iraq in the PERSIAN GULF WAR in 1990–91.

Bush oversaw the end of the cold war, but did all he could to ensure that a reformed version of the Soviet Union would remain. Bush kept silent when the Soviets attempted to intimidate Lithuania into renouncing independence in 1990 and refused to recognize the republic until 1991. Also, Bush urged Ukraine not to secede from the Soviet Union. In response to the decline and partition of the Soviet Union, hard-line Communists staged an anti-Gorbachev coup in an attempt to restore 1970s-style communism. Russian president Boris Yeltsin led resistance to the coup, and after three days, it collapsed. But by the end of 1991, the Soviet Union had been dissolved and Ukraine and Belarus declared independent.

With the end of any traditional security challenge, U.S. foreign policy changed. Military security was de-emphasized, as pundits and politicians clamored for a “peace dividend.” President Clinton advanced a free-trade foreign policy. In 1993 the NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (NAFTA) was approved by the United States, Mexico, and Canada, despite the objection of labor unions and human rights activists. The United States pursued broader trade regulations in the GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE (GATT) and supported the creation of the WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WTO) in 1995. In arms control, Clinton arranged for the dismantling of nuclear stockpiles in the former Soviet republics. In 1994 this initiative resulted in the Russian-Ukraine Trilateral Statement and Annex, which led to the dismantling of all nuclear weapons in Ukraine. In addition, Clinton and Yeltsin signed an agreement to de-target strategic missiles.

After embarrassments in Somalia in 1993, Clinton found his foreign policy focus. Following more than four decades of “containment,” the cold war was over, and now U.S. policy would be dedicated to “democratic enlargement.” This enlargement was based on four

points: strengthening market democracies, fostering new democracies, countering the aggression of nations hostile to democracy, and aiding democracies in regions of humanitarian concern. The United States would encourage the development of democracy through capitalism. Clinton sought stability in the world. Relations were normalized with Vietnam. The United States provided economic assistance to Russia. Clinton took action to contain Saddam Hussein, and actively joined with NATO allies in preventing “ethnic cleansing” in the Balkans. Despite his successes, critics charged that he was an amateur who used military operations to draw attention away from scandals in his personal life.

The struggle for victory in the cold war had precluded policymakers from planning for the aftermath. When the conflict ended unexpectedly, presidents struggled to find the right course for the world’s only superpower.

Less than a year after GEORGE W. BUSH came into office, U.S. foreign policy confronted its greatest challenge since the end of the cold war—a terrorist attack by Islamic militants on American home soil. On September 11, 2001, Islamic militants crashed two hijacked planes into the New York World Trade Center towers and another hijacked plane into the Pentagon, outside of Washington, D.C. A fourth plane crashed in western Pennsylvania when passengers attempted to seize control from the hijackers. Evidence revealed that the operation had been conducted through a militant Islamic terrorist group under the leadership of a Saudi religious fanatic, Osama bin Laden, who had taken refuge in Afghanistan. President Bush demanded that the government of Afghanistan turn over bin Laden. At the same time, President Bush declared a war against worldwide TERRORISM and any nation that supported terrorism. The only way to stop another attack, Bush argued, was to prevent countries and the terrorists residing in these countries from carrying out acts of terrorism, and that he would make “no distinction between the terrorists and those who harbor them.”

When the Afghanistan government, controlled by an Islamic religious sect, the Taliban, refused to turn over bin Laden, the United States launched an intensive bombing campaign to bring down the Taliban government and bin Laden’s terrorist group, al-Qaeda. Military support was also given to Afghan rebel tribes, organized as the Northern Alliance. After an intensive bombing campaign, American ground forces assisted the Northern Alliance in bringing the downfall of the Taliban government. In early December 2001 the Taliban stronghold city, Kandahar, fell. Although bin Laden was rumored to have died in the bombing raids, Islamic terrorism remained a serious threat to American security. American advisers were sent to assist the Philippine government in its war against Islamic rebels. As the United States entered the 21st century, the war on terror-

ism had replaced the cold war, and the effects of this new war on American national security, foreign affairs, domestic policy, and politics remained uncertain.

President Bush clarified his view of American foreign policy during a speech at the West Point graduation in June 2002. Later known as the Bush Doctrine, President Bush argued that the United States retained the right to use military force on any nation that posed a threat to the security of the United States or intended to procure weapons of mass destruction for use against the United States or its allies. The intended effect of the Bush Doctrine was to preempt any effort by a rogue nation to harm American interests. Critics of the Bush Doctrine argued that the United States, as the only remaining superpower, should not act unilaterally.

President Bush urged the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES and the U.S. SENATE to approve a resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq in October 2002 if Iraq would not submit to weapons inspections. The UNITED NATIONS passed a similar resolution one month later, forcing Iraq to comply with inspections. In March 2003 the United States, along with Poland, Spain, Great Britain, and Australia, invaded Iraq and declared the end of major military action one month later. Nevertheless, the stability of Iraq seriously deteriorated as the United States was forced to commit more forces to stem violence caused by Islamic fundamentalist insurgents and bitter conflict between Sunni and Shia people.

While Iraq certainly occupied much of the Bush administration’s foreign policy efforts, maintaining foreign relations in unstable areas of the Middle East had become an important part of American foreign policy. The Bush administration became seriously worried after the Iranian government announced that it had successfully enriched uranium, a necessary step for the production of nuclear warheads. President Bush subsequently sought the assistance of other countries such as Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and France to discuss possible sanctions against Iran in order to bring Iran to the negotiating table. In July 2006 President Bush visited with German chancellor Angela Merkel to discuss Iran’s nuclear program. He also met with French president Jacques Chirac in New York in the fall of 2006. Similarly, Russian president Vladimir Putin traveled to President Bush’s retreat in Kennebunkport, Maine, in July 2007 to discuss sanctions against Iran. Putin and Bush also discussed the deployment of anti-ballistic weapons in Russia and the United States. Additionally, when conflict erupted between Israel and Hezbollah, an Islamic paramilitary organization, in the summer of 2006, President Bush’s administration worked with the other members of the United Nations Security Council to pass a resolution calling for the end of violence and the deployment of an international force in southern Lebanon to patrol the area.



National security in the Far East also attracted the attention of the Bush administration. After September 11, 2001, North Korea became a primary concern of the administration because of the country's refinement of the Taepo Dong 1 missile system and its capacity to carry biological, nuclear, or chemical weapons. The Bush administration was also anxious over North Korea's nuclear program, which was believed to eventually possess the capability to enrich uranium. In October 2006 North Korea successfully tested a nuclear device, which caused great alarm in the United States and among its allies in the Pacific Ocean. As a result, the United States entered into preliminary talks with the North Koreans in early September 2007 to discuss disarmament. These initial talks set the tone for the October 2007 accord in which North Korea agreed to shut down its nuclear program and facilities by December 2007 in exchange for 950,000 metric tons of oil. The shutdown and inventory of the nuclear program was to be monitored by a six-nation committee comprised of North and South Korea, the United States, Russia, Japan, and China. The United States also agreed to remove North Korea from its list of countries that sponsor terrorism.

President Bush has also made relations with Latin American countries a priority. MEXICO was the first nation that President Bush sought to restore relations with, especially over trade agreements and volatile issues such as the illegal IMMIGRATION of Mexicans into the United States. After September 11, President Bush's administration paid more attention to the Mexican-American border and reframed the war on drugs as part of the war on terrorism. Since this shift, the United States has funneled more money and resources into Latin America, especially Colombia, where many illegal drugs are produced. As a result, Colombian President Alvaro Uribe, elected in 2002, has become one of America's strongest allies in the Western Hemisphere. President Uribe was the only Latin American president who supported the American invasion of Iraq. The United States under President Bush has also actively pursued the acquisition of new military bases in countries such as Ecuador and Paraguay, which is viewed as a strategic move by the United States to control the Triple Border region between Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay. President Bush's administration has taken a harder line with anti-American governments in Latin America, such as that of Cuba. Since 2003 the Bush administration has severely limited American travel to Cuba, ended annual talks with the Cuban government over immigration policy, and limited the amount of agricultural goods exported to the communist nation. While still early in his administration, President BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA seemed to be actively pursuing diplomacy and using "soft" power—such as economic sanctions—when dealing with antagonistic nations. For example, Obama eased some trade and travel

restrictions on Cuba but stated that he would consider lifting the trade embargo only if Cuba's government started democratic reforms.

See also STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATIES.

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—John Korasick and Matthew C. Sherman

### **Fortas, Abe** (1910–1982) *American jurist*

Abe Fortas was one of the most prominent attorneys during the New Deal era and served as an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court from 1965 to 1969. In 1968 President Lyndon Johnson nominated him to become chief justice, but his nomination failed, the first nomination to do so since 1795. One year later, Fortas became the first justice to resign under threat of impeachment.

Fortas was born June 19, 1910, in Memphis, Tennessee, and served as an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court from 1965–69. A son of immigrant Jews, Fortas excelled as a brilliant student at both Southwestern College and Yale Law School. He absorbed the influential contemporary doctrine of legal realism expounded by his professors, Thurman Arnold and William O. Douglas, while at Yale. Fortas graduated from Yale Law in 1933 at the top of his class. He immediately found employment as a lawyer with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in Washington, D.C. He became a close friend of New Deal regulation enthusiasts in all three federal branches during the 1930s. Fortas's friends were a Who's Who of mid-20th-century liberalism: Hugo Black, Felix Frankfurter, William O. Douglas, Thurman Arnold, Thomas Corcoran, Benjamin Cohen, James Landis, and, most important for his career, young Lyndon Johnson.

In 1935 Fortas married Carolyn Agger, an aspiring lawyer. He gave up his government post and moved to New Haven, Connecticut, so his wife could also attend Yale Law School. Fortas taught the use of legal realism in practice at Yale Law, while commuting to Washington, D.C., to work for William O. Douglas, then chairman of another



innovative New Deal agency, the Securities and Exchange Commission. After his wife graduated, the Fortases moved back to Washington. Fortas then became a close deputy of Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes. Fortas served Ickes until World War II ended. While at Interior, Fortas opposed the internment of Japanese Americans and advocated civil rights for blacks. He then joined with friends Thurman Arnold and Paul Porter to found the prestigious Washington law firm, Arnold and Porter, after the war ended.

While managing partner of Arnold and Porter from 1945–65, Fortas became the epitome of the Washington lawyer. He wielded great influence through his formidable technical skills and awesome political connections. In 1965 Johnson, then president, rewarded Fortas for his friendship and counsel, with the Supreme Court seat vacated by retiring associate justice Arthur Goldberg. Fortas was easily confirmed. Three years later, however,

Johnson's reputation was in ruins, and a conservative coalition of northern Republican and southern Democratic senators joined to wreck Fortas's nomination as chief justice. Fortas was attacked during confirmation hearings for both judicial liberalism and financial improprieties while serving on the Court. Enough opposition was aroused to launch a successful filibuster, and Fortas requested that Johnson withdraw his nomination. A year later, in 1969, Fortas resigned from the Court under fire, after his congressional critics threatened impeachment over allegations of impropriety.

Fortas's fall from power was so thorough that Arnold and Porter refused to rehire him after his resignation. So he formed his own firm and returned to representing corporate clients and performing pro bono work until his death on April 16, 1982.

—Christopher M. Gray



# G



## **Gates, William Henry III** (1955– ) *founder of Microsoft*

Bill Gates is an American entrepreneur, philanthropist, and the chairman of the Microsoft Corporation. Born October 28, 1955, in Seattle, Washington, Gates attended Lakeside School, a college preparatory school in Seattle, and while there took an interest in computers and programming. At age 14, he and future business partner Paul Allen created Traf-O-Data, making traffic counters based on Intel's 8008 processor. Business slowed after people discovered how old Gates and Allen really were. In 1973 Gates entered Harvard University. While there, computer scientist Christos Papadimitriou published a paper on algorithms, with Gates listed as coauthor.

When Paul Allen showed Gates the January 1975 issue of *Popular Electronics*, featuring the Altair 8800 microcomputer, the two young men recognized their opportunity. Gates contacted Micro Instrumentation and Telemetry Systems (MITS), the makers of the Altair 8800, and informed them his group had a BASIC computer language ready for the system. In fact, Gates and Allen did not have an Altair and had not written so much as a line of code. MITS agreed to a demonstration, and the pair went to work. Allen developed a simulation of the Altair, and Gates wrote the code. The demonstration was a success and led to a deal with MITS to distribute the software as Altair BASIC. Gates dropped out of Harvard to work with Allen, dubbing their partnership Micro-soft. The next year, on November 26, 1976, they registered the trade name "Microsoft" with the United States Patent and Trademark Office. At Microsoft, Gates oversaw the business details of the company and continued to write code.

In 1980 IBM (International Business Machines) approached Microsoft to make the software for its upcoming personal computer. When the IBM executives mentioned they needed an operating system, Gates suggested Digital Research. IBM's negotiations with Digital Research

did not go well, and IBM went back to Gates and proposed that Microsoft create an acceptable operating system. Gates suggested using 86-DOS, a system made by Seattle Computer Products. Microsoft subsequently made a deal with Seattle Computer Products to become the full owner of the DOS system, without mentioning that IBM was Microsoft's potential customer. Microsoft adapted the DOS system to the PC and delivered it to IBM for a onetime fee. As other companies marketed clones of the IBM PC, Microsoft licensed DOS to these other manufacturers. With its aggressive marketing of MS-DOS (Microsoft Disk Operating System), Microsoft went from a small operation to one of the largest software distributors in the home computer industry. Why Digital Research's deal with IBM did not go through is not at all clear, and Microsoft's acquisition of DOS from Seattle Computer Products was also questionable. These kinds of incidents have led to the characterization of Gates as a ruthless businessman, and Microsoft has been the target of innumerable lawsuits charging unethical and monopolistic practices.

In the early years of Microsoft, Gates developed software and wrote code. His primary responsibility though has been in marketing. Gates continually broadened Microsoft's range of products and vigorously defended the company's dominant position as a maker of software operating systems. In November 1985 Microsoft introduced Windows as an add-on to MS-DOS, in response to growing interest in graphical user interfaces (GUI). Windows eventually came to dominate the home computer market, outstripping IBM's OS/2 system and Apple's Mac/OS, which had been introduced earlier. By 2004 Windows had approximately 90 percent of the operating system market.

Such dominance did not go unchallenged. The U.S. government sued Microsoft over alleged violations of antitrust legislation. In 1998 Gates testified in *United States v. Microsoft*, arguing later he had not been evasive but rather had resisted attempts by prosecuting attorney David Boies to mischaracterize his business practices. The

U.S. District Court found Microsoft guilty of violating the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. Judge Thomas Penfield Jackson ruled Microsoft had blocked competition through tying, specifically linking its Web browser to its operating system in an attempt to monopolize the Web browser market. Subsequently, the government, Microsoft and its software rivals have entered into various agreements to remedy the situation, such as packaging multiple browsers on home computers to allow consumers more choices, while Microsoft at the same time appealed the District Court verdict.

In 1993 Gates topped the *Forbes* list of “The World’s Richest People” for the first time. He has been ranked first every year since through 2007. On January 1, 1994, Gates married Melinda French. Partly due to her influence, and partly through the influence of David Rockefeller of the Rockefeller Foundation and fellow billionaire investor Warren Buffett, Gates has devoted more time, energy and money to a number of philanthropic causes. In 2000 Gates founded the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Grants provided funding for college scholarships for minorities, reducing high school dropout rates, AIDS prevention, access to existing vaccines in undeveloped countries, research on neglected tropical diseases, and discretionary funding for specific relief, such as \$7.1 billion pledged to assist Gulf Coast organizations after HURRICANE KATRINA struck in 2005. *Forbes* magazine estimated that by 2004, Gates had given away more than \$29 billion to charities in the last five years. Gates’s example has been credited for sparking increased philanthropy by the very rich.

*Time* magazine named Bill Gates one of the 100 most influential people of the 20th century. *Time* also named Gates and his wife, Melinda, and U2 lead singer Bono as the Persons of the Year in 2005 for their charitable and humanitarian efforts. Gates has received four honorary doctorates, including one from Harvard University in 2007. He was knighted by the Queen of England in 2005 and had entomologists name the Bill Gates flower fly, *Eristalis gatesi*, in his honor. In 2006 Gates announced he would be moving to a part-time role in the management of Microsoft in July 2008 in order to devote his full time to his philanthropic endeavors while remaining a chairman of the company he helped found.

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—Stephen E. Randoll

## gay and lesbian rights movement

The gay and lesbian rights movement is the organized effort to combat all forms of prejudice and discrimination that is directed against homosexual men and women. It may be best understood as part of a broader cultural transformation that stresses self-realization and individuality rather than conformity to socially imposed patterns of behavior. Specifically within this cultural transformation, the women’s movement that developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s generated a reevaluation of traditional male and female roles that, in turn, facilitated gay and lesbian activism.

The primary impetus for the gay and lesbian rights movement emerged from the Civil Rights movement in the postwar period. This movement for the rights of African Americans led to other movements that called for full civil rights for members of racial, ethnic, and religious minorities. Among the rights for which these groups agitated was the right to cultural diversity and self-determination. Gay and lesbian activism coincided with a rise in international concern about overpopulation and with the SEXUAL REVOLUTION of the 1960s and 1970s, which together openly challenged the traditional procreative model of human sexuality. The gay and lesbian rights movement, however, has not limited its activism to sexual freedom. While the freedom to be a homosexual has often served as a cornerstone of their political and legal challenges, it has symbolized for its supporters the overarching goal of achieving human rights and dignity.

Organizations for advocating and protecting the rights of homosexuals flourished in Germany and England from the 1860s through the 1920s. Not until the 1950s did similar organizations appear in the United States. The use of the term *gay and lesbian activism* appeared in the early 1970s, primarily as a result of the Stonewall riots in New York City in June 1969. These riots marked the first time that patrons of a homosexual bar actively resisted police harassment. This incident sparked massive activity within the gay community. By 1972 the number of gay and lesbian groups in the United States had grown from fewer than 20 to approximately 1,200.

These organizations sought primarily the passage of civil rights laws similar to those that forbade discrimination based on race, religion, ethnic origin, and sex. Essentially, gay and lesbian activists began to define themselves as members of a group that was oppressed because of sexual orientation. Gay and lesbian activists also worked for the repeal of all laws that criminalized any form of sexual behavior between consenting adults, a goal that, if achieved, would decriminalize the behavior that defined them as a separate group in American society.

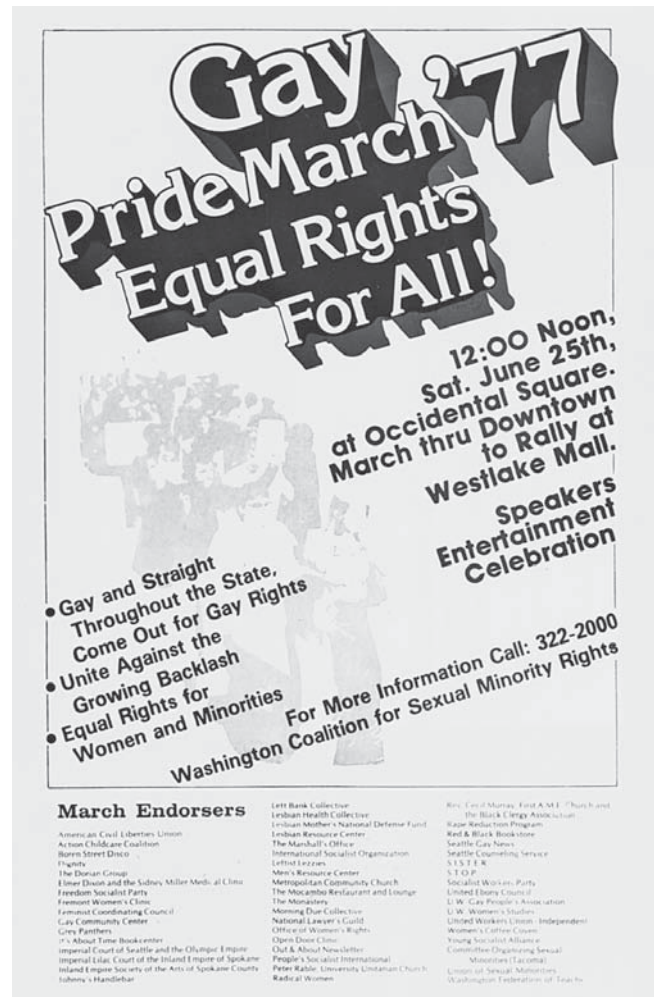
In 1973 the American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from its list of disorders. This action sig-



nificantly aided gay and lesbian activists in their lobbying for civil rights. Homosexuals had made substantial institutional gains by the late 1970s, by forming gay and lesbian caucuses within the major religious denominations and professional groups. Also, homosexual men and women had successfully created scores of gay and lesbian political and legal organizations, some of which were national in scope. In the 1980s the gay and lesbian rights movement focused much of its attention on the AIDS crisis by advocating more government funding of AIDS research and by actively opposing discrimination against people suffering from AIDS. The AIDS epidemic provided a new focus for gay and lesbian activism and helped unify the gay and lesbian community, thus facilitating some initial successes.

The 1980s and 1990s witnessed the intensification of the legal battle over homosexual rights. Gay rights groups included Act Up, Lambda legal defense, and the Human Rights Campaign Fund, which face opposition over such issues as same-sex marriage and gays and lesbians in the military. By 1986 more than 50 county and local governments and the state of Wisconsin had enacted civil rights protections for homosexuals. In that same year, however, the U.S. SUPREME COURT essentially declared constitutional any state laws that criminalized homosexuality, by ruling that acts of homosexuality are not protected by the Constitution. Several events in the 1990s, however, demonstrated that the gay and lesbian rights movement was making progress toward its goal of achieving equality under the law. In 1993 an antigay law passed by Colorado voters was declared unconstitutional by the state SUPREME COURT on the ground that "fundamental rights may not be submitted to a vote," thus establishing the right to be homosexual and declaring that right to be protected from any coercive will of the majority. Also in 1993 President WILLIAM J. CLINTON eased the ban on gays and lesbians in the military. This compromise policy came to be known as the "Don't ask, don't tell" policy and allowed homosexuals to enlist in the military as long as they did not reveal their sexual orientation. Further advances were made in the political arena as several openly gay and lesbian politicians were elected to offices ranging from city councils to the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Moreover, individual homosexuals gained the right to adopt children, to be ordained in some ministries, and to have legally recognized marriages in some states.

Concerns over a state court ruling in Hawaii led Congress to enact the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) by a vote of 342-67 in the House and 85-14 in the Senate. President Clinton signed the act into law on September 21, 1996. The act legally defined marriage as a "union between one man and one woman." Under the law each state could decide for itself whether or not to permit same-sex mar-



Poster for a gay pride parade, 1977 (Library of Congress)

riages but would not be compelled to recognize such marriages performed in another state. Following the enactment of DOMA, many states began explicitly banning same-sex marriages.

Then in 1999 the Vermont state Supreme Court ruled the state must grant gay and lesbian couples the same rights and protections granted to heterosexual couples. In 2000 the state legislature complied with the court ruling by enacting "civil unions" for same-sex couples, which offered many of the legal benefits of marriage. California, also in 1999, enacted legislation allowing same-sex couples to register as "domestic partners." Opponents responded with an initiative, Proposition 22, which would enact a state "Defense of Marriage Act." California voters overwhelmingly ratified Proposition 22 on March 7, 2000, with only the counties around San Francisco voting against. Connecticut (October 2005), New Jersey (December 2006), and New Hampshire (January 2008) followed Vermont's

example and enacted legislation permitting civil unions for same-sex couples.

In 2003 Massachusetts's highest court ruled gay and lesbian couples had the constitutional right to marry. The state legislature attempted to pass a constitutional amendment creating civil unions for gay and lesbian couples while restricting marriage to heterosexual couples, but the amendment failed in a required second consecutive vote in the legislature in 2005. The state began issuing marriage licenses for same-sex couples in May 2004, the first of several states to legalize same-sex marriage to date. In 2007 the Massachusetts legislature rejected an effort to place a constitutional amendment on the ballot in November 2008, which defined marriage as a union between a man and a woman, by a vote of 151 against to 45 in favor. The measure needed 50 votes for it to be presented to voters in a referendum. Proponents of gay and lesbian rights pushed to overturn a 1913 state law barring out-of-state couples from marrying in Massachusetts if their marriage would not be legal in their home state. Both the Massachusetts house and senate voted to repeal the 1913 law in July 2008.

Responding to the events in Massachusetts, President GEORGE W. BUSH called for a federal constitutional amendment defining marriage as a union between a man and a woman on February 24, 2004, but the U.S. Senate rejected the amendment that July. Voters in 11 states in 2004 approved state constitutional amendments restricting marriage to a man and a woman, and in some cases also banning civil unions for same-sex couples. Currently, more than half of the states have such amendments.

By July 2006 a total of 43 states had banned same-sex marriage by an act of the state legislature, through the initiative process or by state constitutional amendment. California, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Maine, Oregon (January 2008), and Washington (July 2008), all of which ban same-sex marriage, either recognize or will allow domestic partnerships, which offer fewer rights to gay and lesbian couples than civil unions. Four states—Connecticut, New Hampshire, New Jersey and Vermont—either permit or will permit civil unions. Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont joined Massachusetts in allowing same-sex marriage. The Supreme Courts of Iowa and California ruled that same-sex couples have the right to marry, but California voters approved a constitutional ban, Proposition 8, in 2008. Proposition 8 was challenged in court, and although the court allowed the amendment to stand, same-sex marriages already performed remained valid.

See also CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; MORAL MAJORITY; RELIGION.

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—William L. Glankler and Stephen E. Randall

## gender gap

*Gender gap* was a term utilized by women's organizations in the early 1980s to draw attention to the important changes in voter choice, turnout, and partisanship occurring among women. The concept of the gender gap emerged concurrently with women voting in larger numbers than men. Even though there is evidence of the gender gap back to the 1950s, it was not until the 1980s that it began to emerge as a real and influential phenomenon in national politics. The transformation in the turnout of women was one of the most significant political changes of this time. Before 1980, the electorate was primarily influenced by white male voters. In the 1960s and 1970s, women were estimated to vote 10 percent less often than men, and even less frequently in previous decades. In the 1980 election, however, significant numbers of women participated in the presidential election, marking the first time that women voted at a higher rate than men. This is still the current trend in American electoral patterns. As women's roles in society changed through the 1970s, so did their party identification, from Republican to Democratic, while at the same time white male voters increasingly voted Republican. As of 1980, single women have consistently supported Democratic candidates at higher rates than men across all ranges of demographic categories including race, age, and education. The combination of more women voters, more women identifying themselves as Democrats, and more women supporting Democratic candidates in the 1980s has signified an important trend in voting that helped set the stage for the Democratic presidential victories of the 1990s.

See also WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

—Michele Rutledge

## General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, a treaty established after World War II, provided a forum for regulating international trade and negotiating tariffs. The treaty was signed by 23 nations, including the United States and Canada, in 1947, and became effective from January 1948. In a series of negotiations between 1947 and 1967, trade tariffs were progressively reduced and the rules of GATT refined. Two further rounds of negotiations, the Tokyo Round between 1973 and 1979, and the Uruguay Round

between 1986 and 1994, expanded the provisions and scope of GATT. In 1994 GATT members, now numbering 110 countries, signed an agreement establishing the WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WTO) to replace GATT.

The Tokyo Round, beginning in 1973, maintained GATT's steady reduction in tariffs, including an average one-third cut in customs duties in the nine major industrial markets, but failed to address major problems, especially with regard to farm trade. The Tokyo Round also produced a series of new agreements covering nontariff issues, and a new legal framework for international trade, including trade in civil aircraft, dairy and bovine meat, and arrangements governing the trade of developing countries. Countries were not bound, however, by all the agreements. Except for the agreements reached in "Text prepared by Group Framework," Tokyo Round agreements did not automatically bind all members, who could choose which codes to sign.

The Uruguay Round was first proposed in November 1982, at a meeting of GATT members in Geneva, but it took another four years of negotiations before the first round of talks, which were announced in September 1986, in Punta del Este, Uruguay. The United States insisted on enlarging the scope of GATT, and the talks included issues such as international investments, intellectual property, trade in textiles and clothing, and international trade in services. Agricultural trade barriers played a central role in these negotiations and raised bitter divisions between Europe and the United States. The negotiations concluded in 1993, and the United States ratified the agreement in December 1994. The new regulations included the establishment of the WTO to replace GATT.

Considerable criticism of the WTO has come from both the right and the left of the political spectrum. Generally, the right has expressed concern about maintaining American national sovereignty against what is seen as a "one-world" international agency, run by bureaucrats. Critics on the left have criticized the WTO for not doing enough to prevent the exploitation in developing nations of child labor, labor rights, and the environment by corporations, and that the WTO benefits the wealthy nations over poor ones.

See also **ECONOMY**; **FOREIGN POLICY**; **GLOBALIZATION**.

—Stephen Hardman

**Gingrich, Newton L.** (1943– ) *American politician*  
Former Speaker of the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (1995–98), Newt Leroy Gingrich was born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on June 17, 1943.

The son of a career soldier, Gingrich spent his youth on military bases in the United States and Europe, a forma-

tive experience to which he credits his adult political and career aspirations. After receiving his bachelor's degree in 1965 from Emory University, he went on to earn a doctorate in modern European history from Tulane University in 1971. During the 1970s he taught environmental studies and history at West Georgia College.

Long interested in politics, Gingrich joined the Republican Party and made two unsuccessful runs for the U.S. Congress in 1974 and 1976. In 1978 he was elected to the first of 11 terms as the Sixth District representative from Georgia before his resignation in 1999. Gingrich cofounded the Congressional Space Caucus and the Congressional Military Reform Caucus in 1981. Gingrich initiated ethics charges against Speaker of the House JAMES WRIGHT in 1987 that ultimately led to Wright's resignation. In 1989 Gingrich succeeded Richard Cheney as minority whip of the House of Representatives when the Wyoming representative became secretary of defense.

Gingrich's political career was dedicated to enacting conservative policies that engendered an intense dispute with his opponents, even as they helped unite conservatives. In his "Contract with America" (a 1994 Republican campaign platform), he supported reducing the scope of the federal government. Widely disseminated, this document contributed to the Republican victories of the 1994 elections. For the first time since 1954, Republicans controlled both the House and the SENATE. Gingrich replaced Democrat THOMAS S. FOLEY as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and was sworn in at the start of the 104th Congress in January 1995. The Republican "Contract with America" became the party's agenda for the first 100 days of the 1995 congressional session, during which bills related to crime, congressional term limits, welfare reform, the federal budget, social security, defense, illegal drugs, taxation, and other concerns were initiated. Although much of this agenda passed the House, many of the major items were stalled in the Senate. The presidential line-item veto became law in 1996, but congressional term-limit legislation was voted down. Issues such as tax cuts and social security became flash points between Congress and President WILLIAM J. CLINTON in the battle over the national budget for fiscal year 1996. This budget struggle led to two closures of the federal government, due to a deadlock between Congress and the president. Polls showed that the American electorate blamed Gingrich and the Republican-controlled Congress for the shutdowns. A compromise between Gingrich, the president, and other congressional leaders was reached in April 1996. Under Gingrich's leadership, Congress passed welfare reform, a balanced budget, and the first tax cuts in 16 years, but President Clinton, by supporting this legislation, gained equal credit in the eyes of the voters for these measures.



In 1996 Gingrich was reprimanded by the House Select Committee on Ethics for not registering his POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE (PAC) with the Federal Election Commission. In January 1997 Gingrich was reprimanded by the House of Representatives for ethics violations that included giving the Ethics Committee untrue information and using tax-exempt donations for political activities. Gingrich was fined \$300,000. Although reelected Speaker later that month, he resigned from that position and from the House altogether following Republican losses in the November 1998 elections.

Following his resignation from the House, Newt Gingrich became the CEO of an Atlanta-based communications and management-consulting firm known as "The Gingrich Group." He serves as a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C., and as a visiting fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. Gingrich also serves on the board of directors at the Internet Policy Institute. He serves on the bipartisan United States Commission on National Security/21st Century, which is charged with producing a series of reports to predict the nation's national security challenges through the year 2025, and is a member of the Senior Advisory Board of the Secretary of Defense's National Security Study Group. Gingrich has authored five books, including the fictional *1945* as well as the best-sellers, *Contract with America* and *To Renew America*.

While his latter two books outlined his immediate goals for the United States during his tenure in the House, his most recent book, *Winning the Future: A 21st Century Contract with America* (2005), set expansive political, economic, and social goals that were to be achieved from the grassroots level.

See also CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT.

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—Michele Rutledge and Matthew C. Sherman

**Ginsburg, Ruth Bader** (1933– ) *associate justice of the Supreme Court*

Born in 1933, Ruth Bader Ginsburg is the second woman and the first avowed feminist to sit on the U.S. SUPREME COURT. She received her B.A. from Cornell University and her LL.B. from Columbia Law School. After employment in the academic sector, with the American Civil Liber-

ties Union (ACLU), and as a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals, Ginsburg was appointed to the Supreme Court in 1993.

Despite graduating first in her law school class, Ginsburg was unable to secure anything more than a minor clerkship because she was female, pregnant, and Jewish. She finally secured a professorship at Rutgers University and pursued her three vocations of lawyer, wife, and mother. In 1972 Ginsburg became the first woman to achieve tenure at Columbia Law School. While visiting Sweden, she encountered a society that made her own country seem in need of rigorous reform. A year later, Ginsburg founded the Women's Rights Project of the ACLU. The project litigates against society's many gender inequities in American society by using the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. As an advocate in gender inequity cases before the Supreme Court, Ginsburg won five of six cases. Many feminist jurists consider her "the legal architect of the modern women's movement."

In 1980 President Carter named Ginsburg to the most prestigious D.C. Circuit of the Federal Court of Appeals. Despite her ardent liberal feminist reputation, Ginsburg proved restrained as a circuit judge, and she forged a close friendship with conservative Justice ANTONIN SCALIA, while both served on the Circuit. In 1993 Ginsburg joined Scalia on the Supreme Court, filling the vacancy caused by Justice Byron R. White's retirement. President WILLIAM J. CLINTON selected her over STEPHEN BREYER, the candidate favored by Vice President ALBERT GORE, JR., and Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY. The Senate confirmed her by a vote of 96-3.

Justice Ginsburg acknowledges seeing constitutional history as the process of extending original rights to formerly excluded groups. She opposes the original meaning of the judicial restraint position espoused by the conservative wing of the court, Justices Scalia and CLARENCE THOMAS, and to a lesser extent, Chief Justice WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST. According to Justice Ginsburg, she derives from the late Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes her views that the courts should further national progress and social reform. She maintains that the "Supreme Court remains a vehicle for gradual, considered change, at least under the open-ended mandates of the Bill of Rights and similarly general statutes and the common law." She thinks dissent should be rare and hesitates to create new law outside of gender-related matters.

While voting to uphold ABORTION in *Stenberg v. Carhart* (2000), Ginsburg thinks the WARREN BURGER Court erred in *ROE V. WADE* (1973). She argues the Court should have firmly grounded abortion rights in gender differences. Ginsburg thinks the Court should have waited for legislatures to use the equal protection clause to gradually



undermine state statutes regulating abortion. Her reservations on *Roe* have drawn criticism from some defenders of abortion rights.

Ginsburg's majority opinion in *Virginia v. United States* (1996) provided that women were to be admitted to the formerly all-male Virginia Military Institute. She used the equal protection clause to support her opinion. In *Romer v. Evans* (1996), Ginsburg voted with the majority to strike down a Colorado statute prohibiting discrimination favoring homosexuals. She based her vote on the equal protection clause.

On criminal cases, Ginsburg often joins Justice Stevens, considered by many a liberal on the court. In *Bush v. Gore* (2000), the Rehnquist Court's most political case, Ginsburg angrily dissented against the five-vote majority to stop the presidential ballot counting.

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—Christopher M. Gray

### glasnost

In the Russian language, *glasnost* means “openness.” Glasnost, under the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, became a declared policy in the 1980s to dramatically enlarge individual freedom in the political and social life of Eastern European nations within the Soviet bloc. Initially, glasnost was intended to be limited in its scope, but it quickly expanded under pressure from dissidents in Eastern Europe and in the SOVIET UNION itself. As a result, citizens began to criticize party leaders in the USSR and in Soviet-bloc countries. Within the Soviet Union, the brutality of the earlier Stalin regime was openly criticized, as was the corruption and stagnation of the Brezhnev era in the 1970s. This policy ultimately led to the overthrow of one-party control in the Soviet Union and in Eastern European nations under Soviet domination.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

—Leah Blakey

### globalization

“Globalization” refers to the increasing integration of global economics, finance, politics, technology, and culture, specifically since the early 1970s. The term has a second meaning as well: the ideology of globalization, meaning trade liberalization and the transnational integration of government economic policies. The difference between the two terms is at the center of an economic and political debate.

The term inspires considerable debate, not only among those who dispute the relative merits of the effects of globalization but also among those who argue that global integration of trade and politics has consistently been a feature of world history. The rapid development of technology and communications since the early 1970s and the concomitant surge in the volume of international trade, however, does indicate a distinct change in the pattern of international relations. James H. Mittelman, a prominent scholar of globalization, offers in *The Globalization Syndrome* (2000) a useful historical categorization of globalization, which takes into account these problems of location and definition. He suggests that the period before the 16th century may be referred to as “incipient globalization,” the period until the early 1970s as “bridging globalization,” and the period following the 1970s as “accelerated globalization.”

One of the primary factors behind the recent developments in global relations has been the advances made in the development and sophistication of communication and information technology, as well as transportation technology, such as air freight. The impact of technological progress on international relations was predicted in the 1960s, when the academic Marshall McLuhan envisaged the dawning of what he referred to as a “global village.” These developments, most notably the INTERNET, satellite communications, and COMPUTER technology, have had a profound impact on the speed and scope of personal, business, and political interaction, resulting in an unprecedented level of immediacy in the transfer of information.

Two manifestations of globalization have been the economic and political dominance of the United States, and the emergence of large multinational companies known as transnational corporations (TNCs). In 1999 the United States had a market value of \$15.013 trillion, considerably ahead of Japan, the second-largest, with \$4.244 trillion, and the United Kingdom, at \$2.755 trillion. Most striking is the ranking of major corporations alongside national economies. As of 2000, Microsoft, with a market value of \$546 billion, ranking 10th in world trade, and General Electric at 12th, with a market value of \$498 billion, had a larger market value than countries such as Australia (\$424 billion) and Spain (\$390 billion). These transnational corporations have utilized the new conditions afforded by globalization to create business structures that increasingly cross national boundaries. Production can be transferred to more cost-efficient areas, increasingly in developing countries, while finance, distribution, and sales can be coordinated globally to make effective use of financial markets and national economic conditions, as well as the flexibility of supplying disparate markets.

While such business structures enable more cost-effective products, critics have argued that the use of



Protesters march down Lexington Avenue, February 2, 2002, in New York City. Activists from around the nation came to protest the World Economic Forum, a meeting of corporate leaders from multinational conglomerates. (McColister/Getty Images)

cheaper labor, and the production of standardized goods, stifle smaller competitors. The increasing power of these corporations is also perceived as a threat to the primacy of national governments, especially those with weaker economies. A 1994 report by the UNITED NATIONS identified 37,000 transnational corporations, 1 percent of which owned half the world's corporate assets, with more than 40 percent based in England and the United States.

International institutions, such as the WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as well as international trade treaties, such as the NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (NAFTA), were in part developed to regulate the excesses of globalization. Their role has been troubled and ambiguous, however. Critics say these organizations represent the powerful interests of business and the wealthiest nations; that they supersede the autonomy of national governments; and that they provide tacit support for human rights abuses in countries such as China. These organizations have galvanized considerable opposition to globalization, as witnessed in the demonstrations at the Third

Ministerial Conference of the WTO in Seattle in 1999. Nonetheless, the broad and disparate collection of demonstrators, including labor unions, environment groups, anarchists, and far-right conservatives, was indicative of the confusion and ambiguity surrounding the effects and structures of globalization.

The concentration of wealth and market share within a small number of multinational corporations and the increasing size of the U.S. economy have caused many to see globalization as synonymous with "Americanization." American hegemony across global markets has led to the development of what many people see as a form of economic and cultural imperialism. Corporations such as Nike, McDonald's, and Microsoft, as well as MEDIA organizations, such as Time Warner, MTV, and the Hollywood film industry, arouse conflicting emotions. For supporters, these companies provide cost-effective quality goods and services as well as secure employment. Critics point to the loss of local cultural and economic autonomy, and the imposition of American market values and beliefs. Furthermore, globalization has raised concerns about illegal

immigration, international terrorism, and the transnational crime syndicates.

Globalization offers the opportunity for worldwide development, but globalization does not progress evenly. Some countries are becoming integrated into the global economy more quickly than others. Those that have been able to integrate have seen faster growth and reduced poverty. In East Asia, globalization has contributed to the greater prosperity of the region, transforming it from one of the poorest areas of the world just 40 years ago. As living standards rose, progress on democracy, the environment, and work standards has been made possible.

In the 20th century, the world has seen remarkable average income growth, but this growth has not been even by any measure. The gaps between rich and poor countries, and between rich and poor people within countries, have increased substantially. The richest quarter of the world's population experienced a nearly sixfold increase in the 20th century, while the poorest quarter experienced a less than threefold increase. Incomes, though, do not tell the whole story. If countries are compared using the United Nations's human development indicators (HDI), which take such factors as education and life expectancy into account, the gaps between the richest and poorest nations may, in fact, have narrowed. The inflation-adjusted income levels of today's poor countries are still well below those of the leading countries of the world in 1870. Judged by their HDIs, today's poor countries are well ahead of where those leading countries were in 1870. This is attributed to modern medical advances and improved living standards, which have brought about significant increases in life expectancy. Unfortunately, while life expectancy has increased, the quality of life for many has not. Many people still live in abject poverty, and the spread of AIDS is reducing life expectancy in many countries, especially on the African continent.

Critics of globalization have noted how the strongest gains have been made by advanced countries and only some of the developing countries, that the income gap between high-income and low-income countries has grown wider, and that too many of the world's citizens still live in crushing poverty. Supporters argue globalization is not the cause and, in fact, is part of the solution. They argue that developing countries that are lagging have not been able to integrate with the global economy as quickly as others and that no country can afford to remain isolated from the world economy, least of all the poorest countries. Globalization, for its supporters, through the mechanisms of the international financial system, international trade, and foreign aid, helps the poorest countries to grow more rapidly and reduce poverty by integrating those countries into the world economy.

See also BUSINESS; ECONOMY; GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE; SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

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—Stephen Hardman and Stephen E. Randoll

## global warming

Global warming is a term that the global scientific community has given to the general temperature increase of the Earth's land masses and water bodies. The term is also used by many scientists and environmentalists to denote increases in recorded climatic and geographical anomalies that have occurred on a large scale as a result of human activities across the globe. Global warming has raised concerns about the integrity of the Earth's atmosphere and water levels. Global warming has been the subject of intense scientific research and debate since the 1960s and has grown in controversy over the last 20 years.

Scientists have generally agreed that global warming is currently taking place on Earth and that temperatures in the 1990s reached record global highs, but they have disagreed about the possible causes of global warming. The majority of scientists, such as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), have linked global warming to an increase of greenhouse gases, such as carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) and methane gas (CH<sub>4</sub>). They have argued that this increase, based on temperature readings from the last century, coincides with the Second Industrial Revolution in the late 19th century and the significant consumption of fossil fuels by humans. They have predicted that the temperature of the Earth would rise almost 11.5 degrees Fahrenheit by the year 2100. Such a dramatic increase in global temperature, they argue, would melt the ice shelf in Antarctica, which would raise the levels of the ocean and destroy the ecology of the Antarctic. Other scientists, citing ice core evidence demonstrating that similar levels of greenhouse gases existed in earlier periods, have contended that global warming is a natural process in the Earth's development. They argue that a period of global warming always follows a colder period, such as the Little Ice Age during the 17th century. Other scientists have pointed to the increase in solar energy from the sun and the result of volcanic activity. Some scientists have contended that attempts to reduce smog and pollution around the globe have contributed to global warming. They maintain that smog and greenhouse gases acted as a barrier between the sun and the Earth. Despite the prevailing opinion by the scientific community that global warming is occurring, some scientists, such as those who belong to the American Association of Petroleum Geologists, have argued that the majority of these conclusions are false.



Global warming has also produced a virulent debate among American policy makers, with a clear divide between Democrats and Republicans over the issue of greenhouse emission regulation. In 1997 the United States, along with several other countries, participated in a UNITED NATIONS environmental summit held in Kyoto, Japan. The resulting agreement bound the signatory nations to reduce greenhouse emissions in their respective countries. Although the United States sent a representative to Kyoto, it withdrew from the treaty in 2001 under Republican president GEORGE W. BUSH's administration. President Bush defended his decision based on economic reasons, citing that mass unemployment and high prices would ensue if the United States were to formally sign the treaty. Nevertheless, withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol prompted some policy makers to take further action. In 2003 and later in 2005, the Senate failed to pass legislation introduced by Republican Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Senator Joseph Lieberman (I-Conn.) that would require a reduction of greenhouse gases in the United States.

Arguably the strongest proponent of thwarting global warming is former Vice President ALBERT GORE, JR. Since his defeat in the presidential race of 2000, Gore has actively spoken to environmental groups across the nation, which was also the subject of an Academy Award-winning documentary, *An Inconvenient Truth* (2006). Gore's findings and crusade against global warming won him and the UN Climate Panel the Nobel Peace Prize in December 2007. Other Democrats, including House Speaker NANCY PELOSI, revealed that they were forming a select subcommittee to explore climate change in January 2007. In a poll conducted in February 2007 by the *National Journal*, Democrats and Republicans in Congress still remained divided over the cause of global warming. Of the 58 Democrats polled, 95 percent responded that humans were the primary cause of global warming. In contrast, 84 percent of 55 Republicans responded that global warming was not caused by humans. President BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA has made renewable energy and the environment a main focus of his domestic policy agenda, a commitment recently demonstrated by his signing the American Clean Energy and Security Act of 2009, which includes a cap and trade auction system for carbon emissions.

See also CONSERVATION, ENVIRONMENTALISM, AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY.

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—Matthew C. Sherman

**Gore, Albert, Jr.** (1948– ) *U.S. vice president*

Albert Gore, Jr., born in 1948, served as WILLIAM J. CLINTON's vice president (1993–2001) and, as the Democratic candidate for the presidency in 2000, became one of only three presidential nominees to lose the electoral vote while winning the popular vote.

The son of a Tennessee congressman and senator, Albert Gore, Jr., was born in Washington, D.C., where he was educated in elite private schools, graduating from St. Albans School for Boys. His father, Albert Arnold Gore, served in the House of Representatives, from 1934–44 and 1945–53, and in the U.S. Senate from 1953–71. As a consequence, the Gore household was quite political, and the elder Gore had his son sit in on meetings with the Kennedys, William Fulbright, and House Speaker Sam Rayburn. His father insisted, however, that his son return each summer to work on their farm in Carthage, Tennessee, to learn the value of hard work and become acquainted with the world outside the Washington, D.C., beltway. While in high school, he met his future wife, Mary Elizabeth "Tipper" Aitcheson. Gore graduated magna cum laude in government history from Harvard University in 1969, after writing a senior thesis on television and its impact on the presidency. Although he opposed the VIETNAM WAR, he joined the U.S. Army following graduation and served in Vietnam as a reporter for *Stars and Stripes*. Following the war, he became a reporter for the *Nashville Tennessean* and attended Vanderbilt Law School.



Vice President Al Gore, with Senator Joseph Lieberman at his side, makes a statement to reporters, November 8, 2000, in Nashville, Tennessee. (*Wilson/Newsmakers*)



Gore was elected to Congress in 1977 and served four distinguished terms in the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (1977–85) and in the SENATE (1985–93). In Congress, Gore became an expert on defense and environmental issues.

Gore used congressional subpoena power to aggressively pursue consumer, environmental, and technological problems that were not hot-button issues. He mastered subjects like toxic waste and telecommunications. On social issues, Gore initially opposed federal funding of ABORTIONS, but later changed his position. He supported affirmative action.

On FOREIGN POLICY, he supported arms control efforts and some of RONALD W. REAGAN's defense spending. He became deeply knowledgeable about nuclear missile issues and was considered one of the handful of senators who were experts on defense policy. Gore followed the same moderate approach on Central America. He voted for food and medical supplies to the CONTRAS but opposed any military assistance to them. Gore broke with the Democratic leadership, however, over the PERSIAN GULF WAR resolution in 1991, voting with 10 Democratic senators to back President GEORGE H. W. BUSH's policy against Iraq.

In 1988, at the age of 40, Gore made a run for the Democratic presidential nomination. Running as a "New Democrat," who wanted to return the party to the center, he won seven primaries and caucuses before he withdrew to allow Michael Dukakis to win the nomination. A near-fatal accident of his son led Gore not to make a run for the presidency in 1992. His selection by William J. Clinton as his running mate caught many by surprise, because it broke the cardinal rule of presidential elections to have regional balance. With the Clinton-Gore ticket, two southerners were running together. In a vigorous campaign, the Clinton-Gore ticket beat the incumbent ticket of Bush-Quayle.

Gore became one of the most powerful and influential vice presidents ever. Clinton recognized Gore's great understanding of foreign policy and congressional and technical issues, and put them under his deputy's portfolio. Gore influenced Clinton administration policy in a number of areas, including White House relations with Congress; foreign relations with Russia, Ukraine, Egypt, and South Africa; nuclear arms control and missile defense issues; environmental policy; the "reinventing government" initiative; and telecommunications.

Gore acted as President Clinton's liaison with Capitol Hill. He worked hard to pass Clinton's economic plan of tax increases, and cast the deciding Senate vote for it. He persuaded Clinton to fill a second U.S. SUPREME COURT vacancy with STEPHEN BREYER. The vice president encouraged the Clinton administration to maintain close ties with Russia's prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, although many other administration officials had decided he was corrupt and incompetent. Gore opposed the

development of an antimissile defense system because he thought it increased strategic instability. Gore supported arms control and nuclear proliferation policies in dealing with Russia.

As a result of Gore's efforts, the White House, through an executive order, closed much federal land to commercial development. He also played a role in regulation of oil exploration, and between 1993 and 2000, the number of oil rigs decreased by three-fourths nationally. In 1997 Gore also signed the international Kyoto Treaty aimed at reducing "global warming."

Although Gore did not "invent" the INTERNET, no politician did more to get the World Wide Web up and running than the vice president.

Gore's involvement in campaign fund-raising during the 1996 presidential election led to a Justice Department investigation, although he was later exonerated from allegations that he broke campaign finance laws. These allegations of impropriety continued to be raised in his presidential bid in 2000, when he was challenged in the Democratic primaries by former New Jersey senator Bill Bradley. Gore won the Iowa primary in January 2000, receiving more than 60 percent of the vote and then won the New Hampshire primary with 50 percent of the vote to Bradley's 46 percent. After Bradley's withdrawal, Gore won the Democratic Party nomination and selected Senator Joseph I. Lieberman (D-Conn.) as his vice presidential running mate, the first Jew to be nominated on a presidential ticket.

Although Gore had a reputation as a stiff and distant campaigner, he proved an adept candidate. Running on a message that was both centrist and populist, he emphasized the strength of the economy, the need to protect social security, and to expand health-care coverage.

On November 7 Gore narrowly won the popular vote with 50.2 percent, but a dispute over ballots in Florida appeared to give the state's electoral votes to Republican candidate George W. Bush, thereby providing him with the necessary electoral majority to win the White House. As the ballots were being recounted in four populous Florida counties, both campaigns took the issue to state and federal courts. In an unprecedented decision, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Bush's victory in Florida by a vote of 5-4, in *Bush v. Gore*, by stopping further recounts of the Florida ballots. Following the decision, Gore made a statesman-like concession speech, declaring he would abide by the decision and calling for national unity.

Following the election, Gore taught a journalism class at Harvard University and continued to ponder another run at the presidency in 2004. He is the author of two books on the environment. He and Tipper Gore have four children.

See also CONSERVATION, ENVIRONMENTALISM, AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY; ELECTIONS; POLITICAL PARTIES.

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—Christopher M. Gray

### Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act (1985)

Officially known as the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, Gramm-Rudman-Hollings (GRH) bears the names of its three principal sponsors—Senators Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), Warren Rudman (R-N.H.), and Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.). The law was intended to reduce the budget deficit that had been growing steadily since the 1960s. Various attempts had been made by Congress to impose fiscal discipline in the budgeting system. The Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 was an effort to impose order, guidance, and discipline on fiscal budgeting. After 10 years of missed deadlines and increasing deficits, Congress adopted the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act, to rectify the problem.

GRH promoted deficit reduction through three mechanisms. First, annual deficit targets were established that were designed to create a balanced budget in six years. The act created an enforcement mechanism, called sequestration, that was triggered if both the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and the Government Accounting Office (GAO) deficit estimates exceeded the target by \$10 billion or more. If this occurred, the act required budget cuts to be made until the target was reached. One-half of the cuts would come from the discretionary defense budget, and the other half from the discretionary nondefense budget. Many nondefense programs—retirement, disability, and means-tested entitlement programs, as well as emergency defense funds, were exempted from sequestration, and cuts in programs like Medicare were limited. Finally, the act established a mechanism to change procedures to ensure that the law could be evaded.

In 1986 the Supreme Court found GRH unconstitutional, because it delegated executive authority to the comptroller general of the General Accounting Office, a legislative agency. Congress corrected this flaw in the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Reaffirmation Act in 1987. This law made the OMB the sole deficit watchdog; it also somewhat relaxed deficit targets and moved the target date for a balanced budget from 1991 to 1993.

The GRH was largely a failure. It set targets for deficit reduction but provided no plan to achieve these targets. This emphasis on targets focused attention on the annual budget, and not on how to meet the long-term goal. Likewise, the act provided no incentive for responsible spending. Medicare, food stamps, and welfare were

largely exempted from sequestration. Finally, the targets were too rigid to allow for emergencies and economic crises, which could not be predicted. Consequently, Congress, and Presidents RONALD W. REAGAN and GEORGE H. W. BUSH resorted to a variety of tricks to get around deficit targets.

The GRH provided a number of lessons. First, deficit reduction cannot be handled on an annual basis; it must be part of a long-range plan. Next, sequestration of large parts of the budget, upwards of 30 percent in the early 1990s, was unacceptable. Finally, the program needed to provide a measure of flexibility. These lessons were applied to the Budget Enforcement Acts of 1990 and 1993 and, combined with a booming economy, budget surplus was created in WILLIAM J. CLINTON's second term.

—John Korasick

### *Gratz v. Bollinger and Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003)

On June 23, 2003, the U.S. SUPREME COURT ruled that university admissions programs that aim for student diversity must be narrowly tailored to promote government interest. This decision involved two cases. The first, *Grutter v. Bollinger*, challenged the University of Michigan's law school admissions program. The second, *Gratz v. Bollinger*, challenged the university's undergraduate admissions process. The Supreme Court ruled the law school's program constitutional because it was narrowly tailored, relying on individual assessments based on a range of information, including race. On the other hand, the Court struck down the University of Michigan's undergraduate admissions program, which was based on a point system that the Court did not consider sufficiently narrowly tailored.

The *Gratz* and *Grutter* cases were the first to address AFFIRMATIVE ACTION in higher education since the landmark *Regents of the University of California v. Allan Bakke* in 1978. In the *BAKKE* case, the University of California at Davis's admission policy reserved 16 out of 100 spaces in the medical school for minority students. This affirmative action program set lower standards for grade point averages and standardized tests than the rest of the medical school. The medical school rejected Allan Bakke twice. He then discovered that his test scores were higher than several of the minority students who had gotten seats reserved for them by U.C. Davis's affirmative action policy. Bakke filed suit, claiming that the medical school was violating the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT of 1964, which forbade ethnic or racial privileges in institutions that received federal monies. The California Supreme Court ruled that the university's admissions program contained an unconstitutional quota that violated the principle of equal protection. The Supreme Court upheld the ruling, stating that universities could not establish admission sys-

tems with fixed quotas like the medical school's reserved spaces. However, race could be considered in the context of a competitive process where the goal was to ensure the diversity of the student body.

The *Gratz* and *Grutter* decisions also offered the Court its first opportunity to apply strict scrutiny to an affirmative action case. The Court had decided in *Adarand v. Peña* (1995) that all government programs that considered race, including those designed to help minorities, would be subject to strict scrutiny. Strict scrutiny requires that a program be narrowly tailored to serve a compelling interest. In both *Gratz* and *Grutter*, the university argued that it had designed the programs to achieve a more diverse student body. The plaintiffs contended that this was not a compelling interest.

In *Grutter*, which challenged the law school's program, the Court held that the program was sufficiently narrowly tailored and constituted a compelling interest for the school. The law school's admissions program relied on a variety of factors to assess applicants. The program did take into consideration an applicant's potential contributions to "law-school life and diversity." It did not, however, define diversity only in terms of racial and ethnic identification, nor did an applicant's potential contribution to diversity put them on a different admissions track with lower standards for test scores or other privileges. Consequently, the program met the Court's requirements for a competitive process as laid out in *Bakke* and for narrow tailoring required by *Adarand*. The Court ruled the law school's program constitutional.

In *Gratz*, the Court held the university's undergraduate admissions program was not sufficiently narrowly tailored. The undergraduate program relied on a point system to evaluate applicants. On a scale of 1 to 150 points, an applicant earned 20 points if he or she was a member of an underrepresented race. The Court ruled this system unconstitutional because it did not provide for the sort of individualized, holistic assessments used by the law school. It was therefore not narrowly tailored enough.

The *Gratz* and *Grutter* decisions will affect affirmative action in education in a number of ways. The decisions will require that some schools restructure their admissions programs to eliminate point systems if they wish to continue considering race as a factor in admissions. Other schools may choose to drop consideration of race from their admissions programs. The Court's decision will affect not only public institutions like the University of Michigan but also private institutions that receive federal funds. In the long run, the Court's decision will also affect corporations who want to hire diverse workforces. These corporations may find that it becomes more difficult to hire qualified minority employees.

—Amy Wallhermfechtel

## Green Party

The international Green movement began in the 1970s with the Values Party in New Zealand. Heavily influenced by the national success enjoyed by Greens in Germany, American Greens met in 1984 in Saint Paul, Minnesota, and proceeded to adopt the 10 Key Values that Greens in the United States currently use as their basic political goals: "grassroots democracy, social justice and equal opportunity, ecological wisdom, nonviolence, decentralization, community-based economics and economic justice, feminism and gender equity, respect for diversity, personal and global responsibility, and future focus and sustainability."

By the 1980s several hundred Green chapters existed throughout the United States. In 1990 Alaska was the first state to achieve a recognized ballot line for the Green Party. In 1991 the Green Committees of Correspondence split, over issues related to political participation, into the Greens/Green Party USA (G/GPUSA). The group continued to organize during the 1990s, but numerous problems stunted its growth. After the 1996 ELECTIONS, the Association of State Green Parties (ASGP) was formed to fill the lack of national organization of Green politics, to create new state parties, and to facilitate the growth of existing state parties. RALPH NADER and Winona LaDuke ran as presidential and vice presidential candidates, and of the 82 party candidates, 19 were elected to positions including city council seats, a municipal judgeship, and a county commissioner.

Membership in the ASGP consists of state Green Parties, not individuals. The mission of the ASGP is to develop the Green Party into a viable political alternative in the United States, and its operating principle has been to present simple and straightforward goals. The party eschews a large budget in favor of keeping funds at the state and local level. The G/GPUSA still exists, however, and has approximately 1,200 members. The Green Party enjoyed more national visibility in the 2000 presidential election, putting forth Nader and LaDuke again as the party's candidates. Support for Nader's campaign is a likely factor in the loss of votes by Democratic nominee ALBERT GORE, JR., in the 2000 contest. Currently the party claims to have nearly 80 officeholders in local offices around the country.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES.

—Michele Rutledge

## Grenada, invasion of

On October 25, 1983, U.S. military forces invaded the Caribbean island nation of Grenada, following the execution of prime minister Maurice Bishop, an avowed marxist who came to power in a coup in 1979. Bishop boasted good relations with Fidel Castro, which heightened U.S.

apprehension about communist activity in the region. President RONALD W. REAGAN's administration sought to isolate the Bishop regime by cutting off aid to the government and isolating the country politically. In response, the Bishop government sought to improve its relations with the United States by distancing itself from Castro. Bishop's policy change prompted a military coup led by General Hudson Austin and Bishop's execution. The United States reacted immediately and launched an invasion of the island on October 25, ostensibly to protect American students enrolled at Saint George's University School of Medicine. Nineteen hundred U.S. troops coupled with forces from Barbados, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, and Saint Vincent encountered three days of sporadic fighting. They were successful in establishing political order and removing a small Cuban military presence. After occupying the island, Americans oversaw elections in 1984 in which a centrist, Herbert A. Blaize, won a parliamentary majority.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

—Leah Blakey

### ***Griggs et al. v. Duke Power Company* (1971)**

This unanimous 8-0 U.S. SUPREME COURT decision is recognized as the most significant case in the development of employment discrimination law under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which created equal opportunity in the workplace, because of its far-reaching implications.

Before Title VII became effective, Duke Power Company discriminated on the basis of race, in how it hired and assigned workers in its facility in Draper, North Carolina. The company traditionally had hired blacks into an all-black labor classification. In this classification, the highest-paying job paid less than the lowest paying job in the white labor classification. Additionally, blacks could only receive promotion along lines of progression within their segregated departments. On the date that Title VII became effective, July 2, 1965, the company began requiring a high school education and acceptable grades on two aptitude tests for any person applying for jobs traditionally classified as white. The district court found that the earlier practices were not under the purview of Title VII and that the newly instituted tests were not intentionally discriminatory.

The Supreme Court overruled this decision, holding in favor of the African-American plaintiffs. In doing so, the Court established a number of important precedents regarding employment discrimination. First, practices claimed to be neutral are unlawful if they uphold the effects of traditionally discriminatory practices. Second, regarding discrimination, the consequences of discriminatory practices are relevant, not the intent of the practices. Tests used for hiring and promotion must be job-related under the guidelines established by the Equal Employ-

ment Opportunity Commission. Finally, the Court invalidated practices that caused a disparate impact upon a group protected by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. By setting these precedents, the Court reaffirmed the act's intention of eliminating patterns of discrimination, and strengthened its ability to require the removal of obstacles that perpetuated white employees' advantages obtained at the expense of blacks.

See also AFFIRMATIVE ACTION; AFRICAN AMERICANS; NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

—William L. Glankler

### ***Grove City College et al. v. Bell, Secretary of Education, et al.* (1984)**

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits sex discrimination in programs that directly receive federal assistance. The federal government began in 1977 to require all institutions of higher learning to sign an assurance of compliance form. Grove City College, a private, coeducational, liberal arts college that did not participate in the regular disbursement system of the Department of Education on grounds of freedom from governmental control, refused to sign the form. The Department of Education determined, however, that since enrolled students of Grove City received direct federal monies, the college was a recipient of federal financial assistance. Funds were cut off to the college until it agreed to comply, and the college and four of its students filed suit. The case was argued before the U.S. SUPREME COURT on November 29, 1983. The decision of February 28, 1984, placed federal governmental regulation only over the programs that accepted federal monies, not the entire institution. In addition, the Court decided that the federal Pell grants were considered federal aid, and therefore the school's financial aid office would be subject to federal regulation. The College subsequently withdrew from the Pell grant program and offered its students private programs to replace the federal grants. Congress responded to the Court's decision by passing the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988, which stated that any institution that receives any federal monies is subject as an institution to federal jurisdiction.

—Michele Rutledge

### **gun control**

Control of handgun and automatic rifle sales has created fierce political and public debate.

Congress passed the National Firearms Act on June 26, 1934, during President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration. The law arose as a response to the increasing rates of mob violence, which began in the 1920s and reached a



peak in the early 1930s. Rates of violent overall CRIME had fallen to all-time lows during the 1950s and early 1960s but jumped 25 percent between 1964 and 1967. The ASSASSINATIONS of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968, and Senator Robert F. Kennedy a month later on June 5 prompted a widespread public reaction, and in response, Congress enacted the Gun Control Act of 1968. The act banned interstate sales of firearms and required the licensing of most firearm dealers. It also barred felons, fugitives, minors, and the mentally ill from purchasing or owning firearms. In 1980 the U.S. SUPREME COURT upheld the 1968 law in *Lewis v. United States*, concluding that Congress could keep firearms away from “persons classified as potentially irresponsible and dangerous.”

The push for the enactment of systematic gun control legislation arose in the 1970s and became especially strong in the 1980s. On March 30, 1981, John Hinckley tried to assassinate President RONALD W. REAGAN but succeeded only in wounding the president and paralyzing press secretary James Brady. After his recovery, Brady and his wife, Sarah, became vocal advocates for more stringent regulations on private firearms and formed Handgun Control, Inc. They helped rally numerous other state and local groups into a larger gun control lobby and drew the attention of the national news MEDIA and many film and TELEVISION celebrities. By the mid-1980s the issue of gun control polarized into two ideological positions: gun control versus gun rights.

Advocates of gun control contend that the need for public order requires close regulation of private access to firearms. Few activists seek total abolition of all firearms, nor has there been a call among activists for the repeal of the Second Amendment. Instead, most advocates seek federal legislation that would limit private access to only specific types of firearms, to be used only under specific conditions, and to be made available only to specific classes of people. Proponents of gun control argue that, with regulation of gun sales, handgun violence would decrease in the United States, and regulation would prevent access to guns through legal means for irresponsible and dangerous persons. Often, gun control activists make an analogy that just as driver’s licenses are regulated, so too should guns be regulated.

In contrast, gun rights advocates argue that gun control legislation violates the Second Amendment, which specifically forbids infringement by the federal government of the people’s right to “keep and bear arms.” Gun rights advocates further argue that federal gun control legislation violates the Tenth Amendment, which forbids unnecessary intrusion of the federal government into the affairs of the states. Lastly, gun rights advocates argue that gun control legislation unduly interferes with noncriminal pursuits, such as hunting and competition shooting.

News coverage of firearm-related homicides and “drive-by” shootings in urban neighborhoods forced the issue into the forefront of public debate, making Handgun Control, Inc., the most vocal and popular advocate for gun control, and the NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION (NRA) the most well-known champion of gun rights. Though both sides cited national and international statistics, the correlation between gun ownership and crime is too tenuous for either side to claim empirical support.

During the 1980s, many efforts at gun control were aimed at state legislatures. President WILLIAM J. CLINTON, however, created an environment favorable to federal gun control and signed the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act in November 1993, which was the first significant federal gun control law since 1968. It required a five-day waiting period and a background check on all persons seeking to purchase a handgun. Four years later, in *Printz v. United States* (1997), the Supreme Court struck down the provision requiring a mandatory background check as a violation of the Tenth Amendment, but upheld the provision requiring a five-day waiting period since it applied only to store owners and not state governments. *Printz* had no effect on the 27 states with gun control laws.

In 1994 Congress passed the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, which, among other things made illegal the manufacture, sale, and importation of 19 different types of semiautomatic assault weapons and high-capacity ammunition magazines (holding 10 or more rounds). Several gun retailers tried to challenge the law in federal courts, but their cases were dismissed before reaching the Supreme Court. The following year, in *United States v. Lopez* (1995), the Supreme Court concluded that an earlier statute, Gun Free School Zones Act of 1990, was unconstitutional because the “zones” inevitably affect all classes of citizens who might live nearby. The courts have indicated tolerance for specific gun control legislation aimed at eliminating specific dangers to society, but have otherwise opposed general measures that limit access to firearms as a social good by itself.

In the late 1990s a series of school shootings again prompted a renewed effort to pass more stringent gun control legislation, including the Children’s Gun Violence Prevention Act of 1998, which requires child-resistant safety devices on all new guns sold after 2002. The city of New Orleans became the first city to sue gun manufacturers, charging them with gross negligence for not including safety systems on all weapons. Chicago filed a similar suit, arguing that gun manufacturers contributed to illegal gun trafficking in the city. In addition, 17 other cities and counties filed similar suits. Later, nongovernment groups filed suits, including the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) and the parents of the students killed during the shooting at Col-



Columbine High School teacher Patty Nielson speaks at a Senate Policy Committee hearing on gun safety legislation, Washington, D.C. (Smith/Newsweek)

umbine High School on April 28, 1999, in Littleton, Colorado. In March 2000 gun manufacturers Smith and Wesson settled their suits out of court by agreeing to include safety locks on all firearms and to dedicate 2 percent of their profits toward the research and development of “smart” technology that would make it difficult for anyone but the owner to fire a handgun. The settlement angered many gun rights advocates and was not imitated by other manufactur-

ers. On June 25, 2008, the U.S. Supreme Court in a 5-4 ruling overturned the District of Columbia’s 32-year-old ban on handguns as incompatible with the Second Amendment right. Justice ANTONIN SCALIA, writing for the majority, declared that the right to own handguns was part of the “historical narrative” of the Second Amendment right to own arms, and as a result the Constitution does not permit the “absolute prohibition of handguns held and used for self-defense in the home.” The Court also struck down the District’s requirement that firearms be equipped with trigger locks or kept dissembled.

Joining the majority opinion were Chief Justice JOHN ROBERTS and Justices Samuel Alito, Anthony Kennedy and CLARENCE THOMAS. Dissent was offered by Justice John Paul Stevens, who held that elected officials had the right to regulate the civilian use of weapons. A separate dissenting opinion was written by Justice STEPHEN BREYER. Other dissenters were Justices RUTH BADER GINSBURG and DAVID SOUTER.

See also CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; FEDERALISM; MILITIA MOVEMENT; PROPERTY RIGHTS.

**Further reading:** Ted Gottfried, *Gun Control: Public Safety and the Right to Bear Arms* (Brookfield, Conn.: Millbrook Press, 1993); William J. Vizzard, *Shots in the Dark: The Policy, Politics, and Symbolism of Gun Control* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, Inc., 2000).

—Aharon W. Zorea

# H



## **Habib, Philip C.** (1920–1992) *diplomat*

Philip Charles Habib was a career diplomat of Lebanese descent who served in various positions in the government for nearly four decades. From 1968 to 1971 he served as a U.S. delegate to the VIETNAM WAR negotiations in Paris. In 1969 he was named the acting head of the U.S. delegation because of his advanced skill and flexibility in the negotiations. Following the Vietnam War, Habib served as the U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Korea from 1971 to 1974 and then as assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs from 1974 to 1976. After those years abroad, he served as the under secretary of state for political affairs from 1976–78. During this time, he was instrumental in arranging the meetings that led to the Camp David Egyptian-Israeli peace accords in 1978.

He retired from government work in 1978 due to health reasons, but returned at the request of President RONALD W. REAGAN in the early 1980s. Habib served as President Reagan's personal representative to the Middle East from 1981–83, where he helped arrange a temporary cease-fire in the Lebanese civil war as well as a withdrawal of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from that country. In 1986 Habib served as a special presidential envoy to the Philippines, where he helped convince President Ferdinand E. Marcos to go into exile. Following his work in the Philippines, Habib once again retired from government service. He spent his last years working as a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institute at Stanford University. Philip Habib died on May 25, 1992, while on vacation in France.

See also CAMP DAVID ACCORDS; FOREIGN POLICY.

—Leah Blakey

## **Haig, Alexander M., Jr.** (1924– ) *American statesman and general*

Born December 2, 1924, Alexander Meigs Haig grew up in Bala-Cynwyd, Pennsylvania, a suburb of Philadelphia.

In 1943 Haig attended the University of Notre Dame and in 1944 he received an appointment to the United States Military Academy. After graduating in 1947, Haig was assigned to General Douglas MacArthur's staff during the occupation of Japan. He went on to serve in Korea and Vietnam before returning to the United States, and serving as deputy commandant at West Point.

In 1969 Haig was appointed military aide to National Security Advisor, HENRY A. KISSINGER. During this time, Haig cultivated a relationship with H. R. Haldeman, President RICHARD M. NIXON's chief of staff. In 1970 Haig became Haldeman's deputy, a position he held until 1973, when he replaced Haldeman because of the WATERGATE SCANDAL. When GERALD R. FORD became president, he appointed Haig as Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), the commander of NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) forces. While in Europe, Haig developed strong relationships with many European leaders. Also, Haig increased the combat effectiveness of NATO forces by staging maneuvers and war games with troops transported from the United States.

Haig resigned as SACEUR in 1979 over what he perceived as the weak and inconsistent FOREIGN POLICY of the Carter administration. These criticisms caught the attention of RONALD W. REAGAN, and Haig was invited to brief Reagan on Europe and military affairs. Haig's briefing led to his being named secretary of state in 1981. Haig proposed that an interagency group chaired by State Department officials should coordinate the foreign policy process.

Haig's push for control led to confrontations with Reagan's staff, when his critics accused him of being power hungry and, perhaps, dangerous. In order to blunt his advances, James Baker, Richard Allen, and EDWIN C. MEESE III limited Haig's role in the administration's crisis management team. Vice president GEORGE H. W. BUSH was appointed to head the team. This split within the administration was revealed to the public on March 30,

1981, after the attempted assassination of President Reagan. Haig's comments during a press conference that he was "in charge" until Vice President Bush arrived struck many critics as high-handed and a revelation of Haig's ambition for power.

Haig's policy stances also generated friction. A strong supporter of NATO, he opposed sanctions against the Soviet Union after martial law was imposed in Poland in 1981. The Europeans feared sanctions would interfere with the natural gas pipeline being built from Siberia to Western Europe. Also, Haig was viewed as pro-British during the Falkland Islands war. The administration feared that his stance would imperil U.S. efforts to develop an anticommunist front among the Latin American governments. Finally, Haig strongly supported Israel during its invasion of Lebanon, an action deemed highly destabilizing and reckless.

His foreign policy disagreements contributed to his resignation on June 25, 1982. Haig ran unsuccessfully for the 1988 Republican presidential nomination but pulled out due to lack of support. Since then, Haig has been active in various business enterprises, is president and became chairman of the board of Worldwide Associates, and is a trustee of the Hudson Institute.

—John Korasick

### Haiti (U.S. intervention in 1993–1994)

In December 1990 the people of Haiti elected Jean-Bertrand Aristide as president. Shortly thereafter violence erupted, leading to a military coup on September 30, 1991. As a result of the coup, Aristide fled to the United States. On June 16, 1993, the UNITED NATIONS (UN) Security Council imposed an embargo on all petroleum and arms sales to Haiti. When trade sanctions failed to force reform in Haiti, the UN sent a contingent of 1,267 soldiers in late 1993, but when rioting and violence broke out, the UN troops withdrew from the island. Over the next several months, the situation worsened. On July 31, 1994, the UN Security Council authorized the use of force to restore Aristide to power. Under this mandate, U.S. Army forces were mobilized by President WILLIAM J. CLINTON on September 13, 1994, for deployment to Haiti. Shortly thereafter, former president JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., Senator Sam Nunn, and General COLIN L. POWELL went to Haiti and successfully negotiated the resignation and departure of the top military leaders from Haiti. On September 19, 1994, U.S. forces landed at the Haitian capitol of Port-au-Prince without resistance. Violence erupted on September 24 between a U.S. Marine patrol and Haitian forces, during which 10 Haitians were killed. Afterward the local military and police faded from sight. On October 15, 1994, Aristide arrived back in Haiti to resume his responsibilities as president. As he gained in power, Aristide repressed political

opposition, thereby thwarting hopes of a democratic and prosperous Haiti.

See also FOREIGN POLICY; GLOBALIZATION; LATIN AMERICA; NICARAGUA (U.S. RELATIONS WITH).

—Leah Blakey

### *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld* (2006)

On June 29, 2006, in a 5-3 decision, the SUPREME COURT ruled in *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld* that military detainees in the war on terror, in this case Salim Ahmed Hamdan, were entitled to some protections under the Geneva Convention and that the federal government did not have the authority to set up these particular military commissions.

Hamdan, a bodyguard and personal driver for terrorist leader Osama bin Laden, had been captured by U.S. military forces during the invasion of Afghanistan and sent to Guantanamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba. He was charged with conspiracy to commit TERRORISM and was ordered to be tried before a military commission authorized under Military Commission Order No. 1 of March 21, 2002. Hamdan, through his government-assigned navy attorney, Lt. Commander Charles Swift, filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus that argued that the military commission was illegal and lacked protections required under the Geneva Commission.

The decision overturning the war-crimes commission was a technical one based on statutory, not constitutional grounds. The Court, represented by Justice John Paul Stevens, and joined by Justices DAVID SOUTER, STEPHEN BREYER, RUTH BADER GINSBURG, and Anthony Kennedy, held that detainees were given one specific right under Common Article 3: the right to have criminal charges heard by a "regularly constituted court" created by an act of Congress. The Court expressly invited Congress to authorize military commissions.

Congress responded less than four months later to this decision by passing the Military Commission Act, which undid this ruling by establishing military commissions. This act ordered a stop to all habeas petitions. An appellate court upheld this provision in February 2007, and in April the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear a challenge to that ruling. The Justice Department petitioned for the dismissal of other habeas claims. Nonetheless, the definition of unlawful and enemy combatants gave rise to other legal challenges.

### Helms, Jesse A., Jr. (1924–2008) *politician*

Born October 18, 1924, Jesse Alexander Helms served in the U.S. SENATE from 1973 to 2002 and is recognized as one of the leading conservative politicians in the late 20th century.



Born the son of the fire and police chief of Monroe, North Carolina, Helms embodies the rock-ribbed values of the rural and small-town Protestant South. He attended Monroe public schools, Wingate Junior College and Wake Forest College. Helms chose a life of journalism and politics while a teenager. During World War II, he served as a Navy recruiter from 1942 to 1945. Following the war, he became city editor of the *Raleigh* (North Carolina) *Times* and director of news and programs for Tobacco Radio Network and radio station WRAL in Raleigh. In 1951 he became a Senate aide to Willis Smith (D-N.C.), after working in his campaign against Senator Frank Porter Graham. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, symbolized southern liberalism. Helms designed many of the confrontational anti-communist and pro-segregationist campaign tactics used in the 1950 campaign. In 1953 Helms became an aide to Senator Alton Lennon (D-N.C.). The previous year, Helms had directed the radio-television campaign for the unsuccessful presidential race of Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia.

From 1953 through 1960, Helms was executive director of the North Carolina Bankers Association and served as editor of the *Tarheel Banker*, which became the largest state banking publication in the nation. He became a disciple of Austrian-born economist Ludwig von Mises, who asserted that socialist central planning was unsuitable for a modern economy.

From 1960 until his election to the Senate, Helms was an executive for the Capitol Broadcasting Company of Raleigh, North Carolina. He became known for his evening editorials during the tumultuous 1960s, in which he excoriated big government, big labor, the Soviet and Chinese Communist empires, sexual liberation, substance abuse, rioters, and civil rights activists. While Helms always supported the rule of law and opposed violence, he fiercely defended racial segregation and freely criticized Martin Luther King's civil disobedience. Helms endorsed Barry Goldwater's 1964 Republican presidential campaign. In 1970 he left the Democratic Party and joined the Republican Party. In 1972 he was drafted by powerful friends to run for the U.S. Senate.

President RICHARD M. NIXON's 1972 landslide helped sweep Helms to his first Senate victory. There, he joined with New York senator James Buckley to promote conservative policies. These two freshmen senators refused to play the humble understudy role traditionally assigned to freshmen. Both men championed Soviet dissident writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn and opposed DÉTENTE with the Soviet Union and legal ABORTION.

In the Senate Helms became known for his outspoken style and mastery of the Senate's arcane parliamentary rules. Helms mastered the tactic of forcing recorded roll call votes on controversial issues such as détente, FEMINISM, abortion, busing, and AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, and

then using these recorded votes to political advantage. With his close friend PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY, Helms founded the New Right movement.

During 1976, Helms, Buckley, and Schlafly backed Ronald W. Reagan's insurgent challenge to GERALD R. FORD. Although Ford won the nomination, Reagan held a favorable position for 1980. During JAMES EARL CARTER, JR.'s presidency, Helms continued to play "Senator No." He harassed Carter's policies, especially the proposed Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II), and violated Senate custom by campaigning against liberal Republicans.

Ronald W. Reagan's 1980 victory over Carter was especially sweet to Helms. It helped elect Helms's ally, John East, to the other North Carolina Senate seat and brought Helms a committee chairmanship. Helms continued to hew to his uncompromising conservative principles, criticizing members of the Reagan administration, especially Secretaries of State ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR., and George Schultz, for being insufficiently hard-line. He warned repeatedly against Soviet advances in Central America. In 1984, in the most expensive Senate race to that time, Helms narrowly defeated North Carolina's governor Jim Hunt. During the Hunt race, Helms for the first time courted the support of AFRICAN AMERICANS.

Helms kept his conservative faith during the GEORGE H. W. BUSH and WILLIAM J. CLINTON presidencies. When the Republicans gained control of the Senate in 1994, Helms served as the ranking Republican chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Journalist Robert Novak accurately observed in 2001: "No single member of the U.S. Senate over the last generation has been so influential as Jesse Helms."

In 2002 Helms announced that he would not seek reelection because of his failing health. His seat was won by Republican Elizabeth Dole, wife of former Republican Kansas senator and 1996 presidential candidate ROBERT DOLE. After serving the U.S. SENATE for almost three decades, he has stayed active by publishing a memoir, *Here Is Where I Stand* (2005), and spoke at many Republican gatherings. In 2006 he was diagnosed with multi-infarct dementia and left public life. Helms died on July 4, 2008.

See also CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; ELECTIONS; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**Further reading:** Ernest Furgurson, *Hard Right: The Rise of Jesse Helms* (New York: Norton, 1986).

—Christopher Gray and Matthew C. Sherman

**Hill, Anita Faye** (1956– ) lawyer

Anita Hill is an African-American lawyer and educator, known for her controversial role in the SENATE

confirmation hearings of U.S. SUPREME COURT nominee CLARENCE THOMAS in 1991. Born on July 30, 1956, in Lone Tree, Oklahoma, Hill was valedictorian of her high school class, received a bachelor's degree in psychology from Oklahoma State in 1977, and graduated from Yale Law School in 1980. In 1981 she took a position with the Washington, D.C., law firm Ward, Harkrader and Ross, and later that year became Clarence Thomas's assistant in the Office of Civil Rights at the U.S. Department of Education. In 1982 Hill left the Department of Education to work for Thomas when he became chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). She joined the faculty of Oral Roberts University as a law professor in 1983, and then accepted a position at the University of Oklahoma in 1986, where she achieved tenure in 1991.

In 1991 Anita Hill came into the national spotlight when she testified on October 11 in the nationally televised Senate confirmation hearings for Clarence Thomas's nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court. Hill was called to testify because she claimed that, while employed by Thomas at the EEOC, Thomas had sexually harassed her. Thomas denied the allegations and was later confirmed. Hill's testimony did increase public awareness of the issue of sexual harassment. This incident directly influenced the nature of sexual harassment litigation by broadening the definition to include the creation of an intimidating or uncomfortable environment as a prosecutable offense.

In 1991 *Glamour* magazine made Hill its Woman of the Year and she received the Ida B. Wells Award from the National Coalition of 100 Black Women. Hill details her professional relationship with Clarence Thomas and gives her account of her testimony and the Senate confirmation hearings in her 1997 book, *Speaking Truth to Power*.

See also AFRICAN AMERICANS; FEMINISM; WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

—William L. Glankler

## Hispanic Americans

"Hispanic American" refers to all people tracing their ancestry to Spanish-speaking areas of the Western Hemisphere. In the United States, most Hispanics trace their lineage to Mexico, followed by Puerto Rico and Cuba.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Mexican-American civil rights movement emerged. During the 1960s, César Estrada Chávez worked as a labor organizer among migrant farmworkers in California. Chávez organized Huelga, a 1965 strike directed against California grape growers to raise public awareness of unfair labor practices and poor working conditions in the vineyards. In 1970 the strike was won when the growers granted greater rights and higher wages to the workers.

The Chicano movement emerged from the Civil Rights and antiwar movements. Chicano students, especially in California, demanded that their language, culture, and ethnic contributions be recognized in schools. The Chicano movement included groups like the United Mexican Students (UMA) and the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA). In 1970 José Angel Gutiérrez established La Raza Unida (Mexican People United), a Mexican-American political party devoted to ending discrimination against Hispanics by gaining access to mainstream American politics and financial institutions. The group advocated bilingual and bicultural EDUCATION. The efforts of groups in the Chicano movement resulted in the establishment of Mexican-American studies programs in colleges and universities. Activist groups like the Young Lords advocated similar programs for Puerto Ricans. Unlike natives of other Hispanic nations, natives of Puerto Rico are American citizens by virtue of the 1917 Jones Act.

Most Cuban Americans immigrated to the United States in response to Fidel Castro's communist takeover of Cuba. Cuban Americans have become an important political group over the years, acting as a strong voting bloc. During the cold war, Congress passed a law granting asylum to all Cubans who reached American shores; that law was tested in 1980. A group of Cubans rammed the gates of the Peruvian embassy in Havana, seeking asylum because Castro had announced that all Cubans who wanted to leave should go to the embassy; 10,000 Cubans appeared. By the end of 1980, 125,000 Cubans had come to the United States. Some Americans charged that Castro was dumping Cuba's violent criminals and mentally ill on his northern enemy.

As of 1990 there were more than 22 million Hispanic Americans in the United States, accounting for about 9 percent of the nation's population. This Hispanic population has grown steadily over the past 30 years. The Hispanic population increased by 61 percent in the 1970s and by 53 percent in the 1980s. The Mexican-American population grew by 92.8 percent in the 1970s and 54.4 percent in the 1980s. The Puerto Rican population increased 40.9 percent in the 1970s and 35.4 percent in the 1980s. The Cuban population increased 47.5 percent in the 1970s and 30 percent in the 1980s. Other Hispanic populations, primarily from Central and South America, increased 18.9 percent in the 1970s and 66.7 percent in the 1980s.

In 1990 Mexicans were the largest Hispanic group, representing 61 percent of the more than 22 million Hispanics; Puerto Ricans accounted for about 12 percent and Cubans made up 5 percent of the Hispanic population. Central Americans represented about 6 percent of Hispanics and South Americans account for nearly 5 percent.

In 1990 about half of the Hispanic population had at least a high school diploma and 1 in 11 earned a college

degree. This was up from 3 in 10 finishing high school and 1 in 20 completing college in 1970. Broken down by national origin, high school diploma recipients made up about 44 percent of Mexican Americans; 53 percent of Puerto Ricans, 57 percent of Cuban Americans, about 46 percent of Central Americans, and 71 percent of South Americans had at least a high school diploma.

In 1990 nearly 8 million Hispanics were foreign born. Nearly three-quarters of the Hispanic population were native-born American citizens. Before 1960, about 20 percent of immigrants were from Latin America, increasing to 33 percent in the 1960s, 40 percent in the 1970s, and nearly 50 percent in the 1980s.

From 1990 to 2000 the Hispanic population in the United States increased 57.9 percent over the last decade. The 2000 census showed that the Spanish/Hispanic/Latino population, including Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans and others within this group numbered 35.3 million. In the entire population of 281.4 million in the country, Hispanics were 13.2 percent of the population. In the last decade Mexicans had increased 52.9 percent, from 13.5 million to 20.6 million; Puerto Ricans increased from 2.7 million to 3.4 million; and Cubans from 1 million to 1.2 million. Mexicans account for 58.5 percent of all Hispanic peoples in the United States.

Three-quarters of the Hispanic-American population live in the West or the South. Census data show that 43.5 percent of Hispanic Americans live in the West and 32.8 percent live in the South; 14.9 percent in the Northeast, and 8.9 percent in the Midwest. Of the total population in the West, Hispanics account for 24.3 percent; 11.6 percent in the South; 9.8 percent in the Northeast; and 24.3 in the Midwest.

As of 2006 Hispanics accounted for 15 percent of the population, roughly 44 million people. Nearly half of Hispanic Americans live in two states, California (13 million, or 36 percent of the total population) and Texas (8.3 million, or 35 percent of the population). Moreover, more than 76.8 percent of Hispanics live in seven states (California, Texas, New York, Florida, Illinois, Arizona, and New Jersey). The state of New Mexico has the largest percentage of Hispanic Americans at 44 percent of the total population.

Census data revealed another interesting characteristic of Hispanic Americans. Of the total Hispanic-American population, 35 percent are under the age of 18 years. Moreover, while the median age of the entire population in the United States is 35.3 years the median age of Mexican Americans is 24.2.

Because of their youth and numbers, Hispanic Americans will play an important role in changing political and cultural life, especially in the western states. As a result, both the Democratic and Republican Parties have made conscious efforts to recruit Hispanic-American voters.

See also AFRICAN AMERICANS; ASIAN AMERICANS; IMMIGRATION; IMMIGRATION REFORM AND CONTROL ACT; POVERTY RATES.

**Further reading:** James D. Cockcroft, *Latinos in the Making of the United States* (New York: F. Watts, 1995); Nicolás Kanellos, *The Hispanic-American Almanac* (Detroit: Invisible Ink, 1993).

—John Korasick

## Homeland Security, U.S. Department of

After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, policy makers realized that the exchange of intelligence among federal agencies was inadequate. As a consequence, President GEORGE W. BUSH created the Office of Homeland Security (OHS) nine days after the terrorist attacks and appointed former Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge in October 2001 to head the agency. The purpose of OHS was to coordinate intelligence efforts within the federal government. Modeled on the U.S. armed forces' DEFCON system, the OHS developed a five-tier, color-coded system in March 2002 to warn about pending attacks and increase security around the nation. The levels are severe, high, elevated, guarded, and low, depending on the security threat. Readiness has remained mostly at the "elevated" level since its inception.

On November 25, 2002, the OHS was made a cabinet-level position with the passage of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 and was functioning by January 24, 2003. Ridge was appointed secretary of Homeland Security. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is charged with ensuring the defense of the United States from terrorist attacks but also included the task of coordinating relief efforts after a natural disaster. The DHS is divided into four directorates: Border and Transportation Security, Emergency Preparedness and Response, Science and Technology, and Information Analysis and Infrastructure Protection. Many agencies from the Departments of Agriculture, Treasury, Defense, and Energy were incorporated into the new department. Among the most notable were the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA); the Secret Service and Customs, both formerly of the Treasury Department; the Nuclear Incident Response Team, formerly of the ENERGY DEPARTMENT; the Transportation Security Administration; and part of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Justice Department. Many of these agencies were incorporated into the DHS on March 1, 2003. In addition to the incorporation of many agencies under one umbrella, DHS launched a campaign to educate citizens through pamphlets, broadsides, and a Web site, Ready.gov, about proper emergency responses to terrorist attacks and natural disasters. Much of this literature included tips for businesses, families, and local government

on how to make shelters and advice on food and water storage and the development of emergency plans.

Within two years of its inception, the DHS experienced a change in leadership and many problems expected of a department of its capacity. Secretary Ridge resigned his position after President Bush's reelection in 2004, and Bush selected Bernard Kerik in December 2004 as a replacement. Kerik was a former New York Police Department commissioner and served as the interim minister of the Interior of Iraq, where he directed the Iraq National Police after the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. After accepting Bush's nomination, Kerik withdrew one week later because of allegations over IMMIGRATION law violations. Bush subsequently appointed Michael Chertoff, who was confirmed by a 98-0 Senate vote on February 15, 2005. As the new secretary, Chertoff faced the fledgling department's first of many trials. When HURRICANE KATRINA slammed against the Gulf Coast in September 2005, critics argued that the DHS and its subordinate agency FEMA were sluggish to respond to the natural disaster. Coupled with this failure was a report issued by the Government Accountability Office (GAO) in July 2006, which cited the department for not establishing spending guidelines for employees. In response to this criticism, the agency has reformed many of its operating procedures while continuing to provide national security. Former governor of Arizona Janet Napolitano became secretary of DHS in 2009.

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—Matthew C. Sherman

**homosexuality** See GAY AND LESBIAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

### Horton, Willie (campaign ad) (1988)

William R. Horton, an AFRICAN AMERICAN, served as the centerpiece of two political attack ads aired on TELEVISION during the 1988 presidential campaign between Republican candidate GEORGE H. W. BUSH and Democrat MICHAEL DUKAKIS, governor of Massachusetts. The television spots accused Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis of being soft on crime, as evidenced through the state prison furlough system in Massachusetts. ALBERT GORE, JR., had first raised the issue during the Democratic primaries as an example of Dukakis's inadequacies.

At the suggestion of strategists Lee Atwater and James Pinkerton, the Bush presidential campaign decided to

single out the Willie Horton issue as a means of attacking Dukakis's record in Massachusetts. Horton had been convicted of first-degree murder for a brutal slaying and dismemberment of a 17-year-old gas-station attendant during an armed robbery on October 26, 1974, in Lawrence, Massachusetts. Sentenced to life in prison, he was given an unguarded 48-hour furlough under a program set up initially by a Republican governor. In April 1987 Horton broke into the home of Clifford Barnes, a 28-year-old in Oxon Hill, Maryland. He tortured Barnes for seven hours, and when Barnes's fiancée returned home from a wedding party, Horton raped her over a four-hour period. Horton was arrested and returned to prison. Dukakis came under attack but prevented legislation and a referendum to ban furloughs for first-degree murderers. Finally, he relented and agreed to legislation banning furloughs for convicted murderers. These events were covered in more than 200 articles by two reporters for the Lawrence *Eagle-Tribune*.

The Bush campaign hit hard on this issue with a television spot called "Revolving Door." Filmed in black and white, the spot showed a procession of men in prison outfits passing through a gate. The voice-over reported that Dukakis had vetoed the death penalty and had given furloughs to first-degree murderers and others who had committed kidnapping and rape. Neither Horton's name nor his race was mentioned, and his photo was not seen in the spot because, as the producer explained, "we knew we would be hit with racism." The spot began appearing on October 5.

From September 21 through October 4, however, another television spot had appeared showing Horton's mug shot. The campaign ad "Weekend Passes" was produced by the National Security Political Action Committee and its affiliate Americans for Bush. The group had been organized by Floyd Brown, a right-wing activist in Washington, D.C. Campaign finance reforms enacted by Congress following the WATERGATE SCANDAL placed few limits on groups or individuals not affiliated or coordinated with an official campaign. This allowed independent groups such as Americans for Bush to produce independent spots. Conservatives said the ad was about law and order and denied racist intent. Dukakis supporters claimed that the spots combined a fear of violent crime and black criminals into a racist appeal to voters.

The Bush campaign disassociated from the television spot and ordered Brown to change the name of his group, drop the name Bush from his organization's name, and to declare it was not affiliated in any way with the campaign.

Dukakis fell behind in the polls and simply could not land a knockout punch. By the end of the third debate between the two candidates, Bush had opened up a 17-point lead. On election night, Dukakis conceded defeat early. Bush-Quayle won 53.4 percent of the popular vote and 40 states. Although Dukakis was soundly defeated, his



46 percent share of the popular vote was the highest of any Democratic candidate in the previous 20 years, with the exception of JAMES EARL CARTER, JR.

The Horton issue was both effective and controversial. Its effectiveness rested on the fact that the Democrats were unable to refute the facts that underpinned the message contained in the ad. Moreover, the visibility of the ad and the issue it addressed spurred some state Republican committees to print pamphlets like the one in Illinois that claimed: "All the murderers and rapists and drug pushers and child molesters in Massachusetts vote for Dukakis. We in Illinois can vote against him." Controversy swarmed around the issue because many believed that it appealed to racial prejudices. Democrats accused Republicans of unearthing the old racial fears of black criminals being unleashed on white communities. Additionally, the issue was an early example of groups not affiliated directly with any political party affecting an election through the use of television ads. Finally, the issue demonstrated that television is a powerful medium that possesses the ability to shape public political behavior through the manipulation of deeply embedded cultural symbols.

See also ADVERTISING; CAMPAIGN FINANCE; CRIME; ELECTIONS; MEDIA; POLITICAL PARTIES; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—William L. Glankler and Donald T. Critchlow

## House of Representatives, U.S.

As a result of tremendous social and political pressures, the House of Representatives has undergone many changes since 1968, leading to greater influence for junior representatives, public decision making, ethics, oversight, and CAMPAIGN FINANCE reform.

Many of the reforms were initiated by the Democratic representatives elected in the 1960s and early 1970s. By 1975, 82 percent of members had been elected since 1960, and 61 percent had entered Congress since 1967. These junior members had no interest in maintaining the status quo seniority system, which placed all real power in the hands of senior members and ensured that junior members would receive stern rebukes if they did not play along. Many of these new representatives were political

liberals and resented having to subordinate their beliefs to southern conservatives who dominated the House committees.

The reformers were fortunate in having Speakers who were more interested in passing legislation than in keeping backbenchers in line. These Speakers, John D. McCormack (D-Mass.), CARL B. ALBERT (D-Okla.), and THOMAS P. O'NEILL (D-Mass.), did little to help or hinder reform efforts. The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 brought about the first wave of reforms. This act required committees to have written rules, make public all votes, and make committee reports public at least three days before a bill was brought to the floor. The act also forced members to disclose their positions on legislative issues. In 1973 an electronic voting system was installed that indicated how each member voted instantaneously.

A second rule change in 1974, in the Democratic caucus, required that Democratic committee chairs be filled by secret ballot at the start of each new Congress. In 1975 the new rule resulted in the removal of three southern committee chairs, including Wright Patman (D-Tex.) of the Banking, Currency, and Housing Committee; F. Edward Hebert (D-La.) of the Armed Services Committee; and W. R. Poage (D-Tex.) of the Agriculture Committee.

The WATERGATE SCANDAL led to further reforms in the House as members sought to create more public transparency and greater influence among junior members. Following the death of House Speaker Carl Albert in 1972, Tip O'Neill of Cambridge, Massachusetts, became Speaker. O'Neill was disposed to work with insurgent Democrats, led by Phillip Burton of San Francisco, to undertake reforms in the House. In the midterm elections of 1974, the Democrats gained 46 seats over their 1972 total and controlled the House 290–145. One of the first steps in reform came when Congress adopted "sunshine" rules, requiring all committees and subcommittees to open all meetings to the public, unless a majority voted at an open session to close a hearing. Also, broadcast coverage of House committee hearings began. Public interest in the Judiciary Committee IMPEACHMENT proceedings against RICHARD M. NIXON created a drive for rule changes to allow television broadcasts. In 1979 gavel-to-gavel broadcasts of House sessions began with Tennessee representative ALBERT GORE, JR., delivering the first televised speech. In 1977 a new code of ethics was adopted. This required financial disclosures by members and aides, restricted outside income, and put limits on free mailing privileges.

When Republicans regained control of the SENATE in the 1980 election, the Democratic House became the center of opposition to RONALD W. REAGAN's policies. Early in the session, Republicans and conservative Democrats, known as the "Boll Weevils," passed Reagan's legislative program cutting taxes and appropriations, and increasing

defense spending. This alliance quickly unraveled and partisanship increased.

Speaker O'Neill retired and was replaced in 1987 by JAMES C. WRIGHT, JR. Wright proved himself to be resourceful and, potentially, very powerful. Wright resigned in 1989 after an ethics investigation alleged violations of House rules. Wright was replaced by THOMAS S. FOLEY. Foley attempted to restore bipartisanship and civility to the chamber. In the 1990 ELECTIONS, Democrats solidified their hold on the House, gaining eight seats. But the elections provided evidence of voter dissatisfaction. Fifteen incumbents were defeated and 110 members saw their winning margin decrease. In addition, several states began discussing term limits for members of Congress.

A number of scandals in the House of Representatives broke in the early 1990s. In 1991 the General Accounting Office disclosed that 325 current and former members had regularly overdrawn their accounts at the House bank without penalty. In 1992 a federal investigation into charges of embezzlement and drug dealing in the House Post Office uncovered a scam in which House members cashed campaign checks and expense vouchers through transactions made to look like stamp purchases. The most notable figure in this scandal was Dan Rostenkowski, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee. Rostenkowski lost his reelection bid and pleaded guilty to mail fraud. He was sentenced to 17 months in prison and fined \$100,000.

The 1992 elections brought a modest nine-seat gain for the Republicans, leaving the Democrats firmly in control. In 1994, however, the Republicans took control of the House for the first time in 40 years. Speaker Foley not only lost his leadership position, he became the first speaker to lose his seat since 1862.

In 1994 NEWTON L. GINGRICH became the first Republican Speaker from the South. The Republican plan was to reform government by reducing its size, power, and scope. The Republicans passed numerous reforms on their first day in power. They increased the power of the majority leader, made it easier to cut spending, and made it harder to raise taxes. Three committees were eliminated, committee staffs were cut, term limits were placed on committee chairs and the Speaker, and a three-fifths majority became the standard to raise taxes. The Republican "Contract with America" provided the agenda for the first 100 days. By April 1995, eight of the 10 planks had been passed in the House, although many of these bills failed to pass when they reached the Senate. Soon the Republican momentum faded, and the fiery conservatism of Republican House members ran up against the moderation of the Republican Senate, which blocked many of the House bills.

Partisanship remained a problem, and Speaker Gingrich was soon under fire. Gingrich had led the charge against Jim Wright and many Democrats questioned Gin-

grich's ethics. In December 1995 the ethics committee found Gingrich guilty of violating three House rules and imposed no punishment, but it did name an investigator to examine more serious charges. Gingrich's image was also injured by his role in government shutdowns in 1995 and 1996 when he attempted to force President WILLIAM J. CLINTON to compromise on a Republican budget plan. Public opinion was on the side of the administration, and Gingrich had to back down. In 1996 Gingrich admitted to an ethics violation: giving misleading information to the committee. Gingrich became the first sitting Speaker to receive a reprimand, and he was fined \$300,000.

Gingrich stepped down after the 1998 election. The loss of five seats was blamed on the Speaker's drive to impeach President Clinton. Gingrich also announced his resignation from the House. As a replacement the Republicans chose J. Dennis Hastert in 1999. Hastert inherited a polarized House. In 1998 the House had approved two articles of IMPEACHMENT against President Clinton. The Democrats favored a censure, but the Republicans wanted Clinton removed from office. Following his acquittal, the House refused to endorse any action taken by the president. In April 1999, the House rejected a resolution endorsing NATO action against Serbia in KOSOVO.

The Republicans narrowly retained control of the House after the 2000 election, losing two seats in the House, while the Democrats gained one seat. Hastert remained the Speaker of the House, while Texas Republicans Dick Armey served as the majority leader and Tom DeLay was the majority whip. Dick Gephardt (D-Mo.) continued to serve as the minority leader and David Bonior (D-Mich.) served as the minority whip. Less than a year after the installation of the 107th Congress, the U.S. House was faced with the monumental task of approving new security measures against TERRORISM.

In October 2001 the House passed, almost unanimously, the USA PATRIOT ACT, which provided the government with strong tools to investigate suspected terrorists residing in the United States. The House also approved legislation in October 2002 that authorized the use of force if Iraq did not comply with weapons inspections and enacted legislation that created the DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY in November 2002. Domestic concerns also were a major concern of the House. At the request of President GEORGE W. BUSH, the House passed the No Child Left Behind Act in January 2002. This legislation approved existing federal programs, increased assessment programs for states, and reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

In reaction to the corporate scandals of 2001 and 2002, the House passed the SARBANES-OXLEY ACT, which made corporations more accountable, imposed greater penalties for those found in violation of securities and trade laws,

and established the Public Company Accounting Oversight Board to audit accounting firms. In response to the voting problems experienced by many states during the 2000 elections, the House also enacted the Help America Vote Act in October 2002. This act required that states replace punch-card voting systems, established the Election Assistance Commission, and provided standards for the direction of elections.

The 2002 elections further extended the Republican majority in the House. The Republicans gained a total of six seats, and DeLay became the majority whip and Democrat NANCY PELOSI of California replaced the Dick Gephardt, who retired to run for president in 2004. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.) served as the majority whip and Steny Hoyer (D-Md.) was selected by the Democrats as the minority whip. Domestic concerns dominated the 108th Congress. In October 2003 the House passed the Partial-Birth Abortion Act, which imposed strong penalties on physicians who performed abortions during the second trimester of gestation. The passage of this act also coincided with the enactment of the Unborn Victims of Violence Act in February 2004, which made it a crime, in federally controlled areas, to harm or kill a fetus or “unborn child.” Congress also embarked on a complete overhaul of Medicare with the enactment of the Medicare Prescription Drug, Improvement, and Modernization Act in November 2003. This act allowed greater flexibility for seniors to choose what type of health care they receive and would save them 10 to 15 percent in prescription drug costs.

The Republican majority in the House increased after the 2004 elections, partially as a result from the successful campaign of incumbent President Bush. The Republicans gained three additional seats in the House. This majority allowed the passage of a controversial legislation, including appropriations for the IRAQ WAR, the construction of a fence along the Mexican–United States border, and the passage of the Military Commissions Act that provided trials for enemy combatants or terrorists through military tribunals. The House experienced several scandals in the 109th Congress. The first scandal involved House majority leader Tom Delay being indicted by a Texas grand jury for conspiracy to violate political fund-raising laws. He was forced to step down from his leadership position in the House in September 2005 and was the highest-ranking member in the history of the House to face criminal charges. As a result of the void, Roy Blunt acted as the interim house majority leader. One year later, it was learned that Representative Mark Foley (R-Fla.) had written graphic sexual e-mails and text messages to past congressional pages. Foley resigned on September 29, 2006.

American disenchantment among a majority of voters with the Iraq War and the political scandals of two prominent Republicans led to the dislodging of Repub-

lican power from the House during the 2006 elections. The Democrats achieved the majority, with the addition of 31 seats. Nancy Pelosi was elected as Speaker of the House, the first woman to hold that position, Steny Hoyer was selected as the majority leader, and James Clyburn was chosen as the majority whip. The Republicans selected John Boehner as the minority leader, and Roy Blunt returned to his former position as minority whip. The 110th Congress enacted legislation revising the congressional page program in response to the Foley scandal, implemented some of the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission through the Improving America’s Security Act, and enacted legislation that raised the minimum wage from \$5.85 to \$7.25 over the course of two years. Despite the passage of these controversial pieces of legislation, intense partisanship continued to characterize congressional politics. In the 2008 elections, as the Bush administration continued to be unpopular in the polls, Democrats gained 21 new seats for a total of 257 members, leaving Republicans with 178 members.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES.

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—John Korasick and Matthew C. Sherman

## Human Genome Project

The Human Genome Project was a 13-year research effort coordinated by the U.S. DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY (DOE) Human Genome Project and the National Institutes of Health (NIH) National Human Genome Research Institute (NHGRI). Its goals included: identifying every gene in the human DNA (ca. 30,000); determining the sequence of each chemical base pair (ca. 3 billion); storing the information on publicly accessible electronic databases; developing tools for analyzing the information; transferring related technologies to the private sector; and providing specific policy recommendations regarding the ethical, legal, and social issues that might arise with respect to human genome research. Charles DeLisi of the Office of Health and Environmental Research is credited as the first government scientist to conceive and outline the feasibility, goals, and parameters of the Human Genome Project.

The DOE became interested in the project as a valuable resource for better studying the effects of radiation and certain energy-related chemicals on human health. They established the Human Genome Initiative with \$5.3 million for initial research in 1986. The NIH became equally interested for the inevitable innovations that a human genome map would provide for health care in America. The two agencies formalized a long-term partnership in a 1988 agreement. After two years of development, they presented a five-year research plan to Congress. They received a congressional commitment of \$200 million a year, for a projected 15-year project. Scientists argued that a complete, detailed map of the human genome would be “the source book for biomedical science in the 21st century” and would significantly advance scientific understanding of molecular medicine, waste control and environmental cleanup, biotechnology, energy sources, and risk assessment. Specific theoretical benefits might include improved diagnosis and early detection of diseases; more rational drug designs, leading to individually customized drugs, and effective gene therapy; better understanding of the vulnerabilities of specific genetic diseases; enhanced protection from biological warfare; more efficient biofuels; and significantly improved forensics capabilities. Scientists even argued that a mature understanding of the human genome might provide historians and anthropologists with hard evidence for human migratory patterns, patterns of human mutation that may have had an impact on historical events, and an outline of genetic evolution.

Working in cooperation with 18 countries worldwide, the Human Genome Project surpassed its initial expectations early on and revised its initial five-year plan in 1993, bringing the project two years ahead of schedule. After announcing its third and final five-year plan in 1998, projecting a completion of a detailed map of the DNA sequence by 2003, the Human Genome Group faced its first competition from the private sector.

A private company, Celera Genomics, announced that it would complete its own sequencing in just three years—two years ahead of the publicly funded Human Genome Project. Politicians and the national news media voiced concerns that the private corporation might patent its findings before the Human Genome Project could make their research public. The risk of such a move was low, but the prospect was sufficiently shocking to force the project to the attention of the American public. Public sentiment strongly favored legislation forbidding private patents of human genetic information, and Celera finally announced that it would cooperate with the goals of the original public project. In May 2000 the International Human Genome Sequencing Consortium allayed fears by specifically reaffirming their opposition to patents, licenses, subscriptions fees, or other limitations on using information from

the human genome database. The following month, on June 26, Celera and the Human Genome Project jointly announced that after mapping 90 percent of the DNA sequencing, they had both arrived at working rough drafts of the complete human genome, and a detailed map was produced in 2003.

The race between the Human Genome Project and Celera Genomics inspired public debate on the ethical implications of such easily accessible information. Scientists and other academics had long struggled with questions of privacy, fairness and discrimination, PROPERTY RIGHTS, and informed consent, as well as more mundane issues of how to incorporate the new information into mainstream clinical practice, and how to educate future generations in the field of genetic research. Other observers, however, noted that little or no attention was paid to governing how the human genetic information might be used in other research areas, including human cloning, stem cell research from human embryos, and custom cloning for organ harvesting. In 1998 the NHGRI issued an updated list of ethical questions to consider, including those dealing with the project’s impact from philosophical, theological, and ethical perspectives. Religious leaders, including many within the Roman Catholic Church, continued to voice concerns that no effort was made to ensure that scientists were grounded by a reliable standard with which to judge their bioethical considerations. The project recommended that future students of genetics receive multidisciplinary training in biology, computer science, engineering, mathematics, physics, and chemistry, but no mention was made of the need for study in philosophy or theology. The full impact and consequences that the Human Genome Project will have on the direction of humanity, for good or ill, may not be understood by historians for another century or more; current predictions will most likely underestimate its future effects.

See also COMPUTERS; MORALITY; RELIGION; SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

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—Aharon W. Zorea

## Hurricane Katrina

Hurricane Katrina is considered one of the most devastating hurricanes in American history. Katrina developed as a tropical storm in the Atlantic Ocean near the Bahamas in August 2005 and was classified by meteorologists as a Category 1 hurricane on August 25. Katrina first made landfall on the tip of Florida on August 25, causing mass power outages and extreme flooding in cities, and the storm gained



intensity as it approached the warm waters of the Gulf of Mexico. By August 27, the National Hurricane Center (NHC) classified Katrina as a Category 3 hurricane before it hit the coastal areas of southeastern Louisiana. The following day Katrina reached Category 5, the strongest classification on the Saffir-Simpson Hurricane Scale, with sustained winds of 175 mph. As the hurricane approached land, however, it was reduced to a Category 3 hurricane.

When Katrina made its second landfall on August 29, it caused catastrophic property damage, massive environmental destruction, and resulted in many deaths in Louisiana and Mississippi. Katrina dropped almost 10 inches of rain in eastern Louisiana and western Mississippi; its heavy winds sliced through buildings, structures, and trees, and caused severe flooding along the coastal regions. As a major population center, New Orleans was especially hard hit. Days before, meteorologists and government officials predicted that the strong winds and sheer size of Katrina would have catastrophic effects on the coastal regions of Mississippi and Louisiana. They were particularly concerned about the city of New Orleans because it is situated below sea level, and the levees protecting the city from possible flooding were only 23 feet high; the predicted storm surge was 28 feet. The weather models they predicted were accurate. The storm surge breached 53 levees in New Orleans, extensively damaged the causeways and bridges connecting New Orleans, and ripped off part of the Superdome's roof. The Superdome, incidentally, was full of those who had not evacuated the city. Eighty percent of the city was under water. The total damage inflicted by Katrina was \$81.2 billion, and almost 90,000 square miles of land was declared a federal disaster area. The population of New Orleans has diminished by more than a third: Only 300,000 residents returned to the wrecked city, because 200,000 living units and small businesses were destroyed. Following the devastation of the hurricane, crime became a persistent problem in the city. The New Orleans Police Department reported that 753 violent crimes occurred in 2007, which was an increase of 107 percent from 2006. Nonviolent crimes rose from 2,539 incidents in 2006 to 3,867 incidents in 2007 for a 52 percent increase.

Additionally, the environmental costs related to Katrina were substantial. Parts of entire islands, such as the Chandeleur Islands, were removed by the hurricane, breeding grounds for a variety of wildlife were destroyed, and the contaminated waters that flooded New Orleans were pumped back into the fragile marshes around the city. Arguably, the most tragic aspect of Katrina was the enormous death toll inflicted by the hurricane. Florida lost 14 of its residents, and the numbers of lives lost in Mississippi and Louisiana were 238 and 1,577, respectively. The total lives claimed by Katrina reached 1,836, making it the deadliest hurricane since the Okeechobee Hurricane in 1928. A



New Orleans, Louisiana, in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, August 29, 2005

little more than 700 people are still missing, but it remains unclear whether some of these individuals have moved to another location without notifying their relatives.

In the wake of the storm, there was general agreement that the emergency response of local, state, and federal emergency services was inadequate. Critics have charged that the local and state government authorities, including Mayor Ray Nagin and Louisiana governor Kathleen Blanco, were too slow in preparing for the crisis and an effective plan of evacuation was not adopted until the last minute. Mayor Nagin defended his decision to evacuate the city on August 28, 2005, 19 hours before the hurricane struck the Louisiana coast. Blanco was accused by critics for delaying in acquiring more National Guard troops. Blanco cited her request of August 26 to the Department of Defense to set up a command center in Louisiana.

Although the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), the U.S. Northern Command, and the U.S. Coast Guard made preparations before Katrina's landfall, the federal government has also been the target of criticism. Much of this criticism has centered on the mismanagement of assets and relief operations by FEMA

director Michael Brown after the federal government assumed control on August 30. Brown was recalled to Washington eight days later and resigned shortly thereafter. He was replaced by Vice-Admiral Thad W. Allen of the U.S. Coast Guard. Despite the change in leadership, critics argued that the federal government continued to neglect some of the poorest residents of New Orleans. This criticism was given a voice on national television when rapper Kanye West charged that “George Bush doesn’t care about black people” during a NBC benefit concert for victims of Hurricane Katrina on September 2, 2005.

Criticism of the government has also translated into conspiracy theories about the destruction caused by and the origins of the hurricane. Some African-American residents of New Orleans have charged that they observed government operatives placing explosive charges on the levees protecting neighborhoods with large African-American populations. They also claim they heard loud explosions near the levees. These theories were picked up by several conspiracist Web sites and were cited by Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan in an address in North Carolina two weeks after the hurricane. Other conspiracy theorists have argued that weather machines, dating from the COLD WAR, engineered the massive hurricane in order to capitalize on the vast oil reserves underneath New Orleans.

In the immediate wake of the disaster, the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES appointed a committee on September 15, 2005, to examine some of the charges leveled at the government in regard to disaster relief, flood and navi-

gation control, emergency planning, and environmental policy. The Select Bipartisan Committee to Investigate the Preparation and Response to Hurricane Katrina published its findings in February 2006 and “identified failures at all levels of government.” They stated that communications were poor between government agencies, that policy makers ignored warnings about the fragile condition of New Orleans’s levees, that the delay by local and state government officials to evacuate the population caused a greater loss of life, and that the federal government, specifically the advisers of President GEORGE W. BUSH and the DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY, reacted slowly to the impending crisis. The greatest single recommendation made by the committee was to improve the communications between federal agencies, news media, and the public during a natural disaster.

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—Matthew C. Sherman



### immigration

Despite the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, immigration policy and aspects of American ideology have historically been ambiguous toward those seeking admittance into the country. As of 2000 an estimated 800,000 immigrants enter the United States legally each year, while roughly 300,000 overstay their visas or enter illegally. One out of every 10 Americans is foreign born—a demographic pattern not seen since the 1930s. An estimated 6 million illegal immigrants work low-skilled jobs in meatpacking plants; as farm labor; or in hotels, garment factories, and restaurants. This contrasts sharply with the decision made by Congress in 1999 to almost double the quota for highly skilled immigrants to fill labor shortages in high-tech industries.

The Immigration Act of 1965 eliminated the national origins standard, which had granted preferential quotas for those of Western European heritage. The most significant part of the Immigration Act of 1965 was that it restricted all nations to 20,000 immigrants annually, giving all countries equal standing. Under an amendment to this act, employers were allowed to hire undocumented workers without penalty. Continuing demand for low-wage labor throughout the 1960s led to an enormous increase in the number of undocumented workers.

By the 1970s, Congress realized that the 1965 act needed revision, especially as it related to illegal immigrants. Although Congress established a special committee to evaluate policies governing the admission of immigrants and refugees in 1979, the commission's findings were not implemented. Various bills were proposed through the 1980s, but divisions along party, regional, and class interests stopped their passage. Not until 1986 did Congress pass the IMMIGRATION REFORM AND CONTROL ACT (IRCA), commonly referred to as Simpson-Mazzoli. Under this act, employers are prohibited from knowingly hiring illegal aliens by requiring the verification of an applicant's eligibility for employment and identity prior to hiring. Ille-

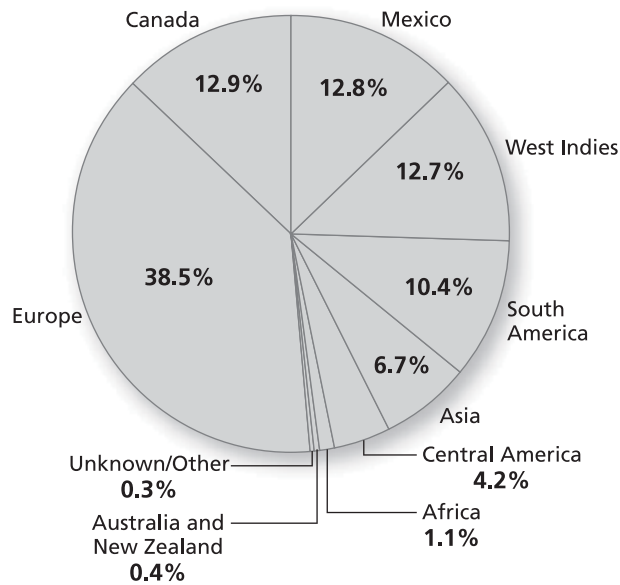
gal aliens who entered the United States before January 1, 1982, and maintained continuous residence were given amnesty under the terms of this act. The act, however, had failed to stem the flow of illegal immigration as of 2001.

The Immigration Act of 1990 increased the number of immigrants allowed into the country. It provided additional visas for those having particular skills scarce in the American labor pool. Europeans were guaranteed approximately one-third of all visas, and the status of undocumented Irish was legalized. The bipartisan U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, also known as the Jordan Commission, after its chair, Representative Barbara Jordan, was authorized by the Immigration Act of 1990. In particular, the commission examined the implementation and impact of provisions of the act related to employment-based immigration, family reunification, and the program to ensure diversity for the sources of U.S. immigration. The commission issued a total of four reports that focused on controlling illegal immigration, and presented recommendations on family and employment-based immigration, refugee admissions, and naturalization or Americanization. Subsequent immigration acts have sought international sanctions against the Castro government in Cuba, promoted anti-terrorism, extended the authorized period of stay within the United States for certain nurses and religious workers, amended the Immigration and Nationality Act to exempt internationally adopted children 10 years of age or younger from immunization requirements, granted relief for torture victims, and extended into 1999 the visa processing period for "diversity applicants," whose processing was suspended during 1998 after the bombings of several American embassies.

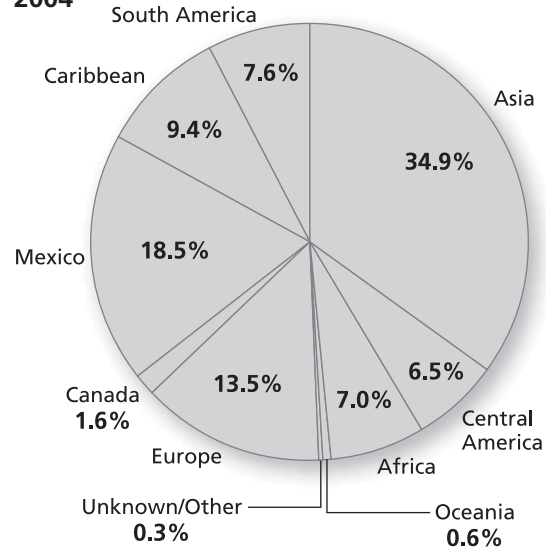
Conflicting views of the place of immigrants abound. America is touted as the nation of immigrants, and the achievements of the hardworking citizen are lauded. At the same time, many Americans regard immigrants with mistrust, fearing economic competition will illegal aliens and terrorist infiltration. Penalties are in place for those who

### Legal Immigrants, by Region of Origin, Fiscal Years 1965 and 2004

1965



2004



Note: There were a total of 296,697 immigrants admitted to the United States in fiscal year 1965 and 946,142 admitted in fiscal year 2004.

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hire undocumented workers, but enforcement is difficult, if not impossible. Business competition and lucrative profits make the risk of hiring illegal workers worthwhile.

Proponents of immigration argue that higher immigration levels increase the living standards of middle- and upper-income Americans. They argue that the post-1960s wave has contributed to urban renewal by providing low-wage labor, developing small businesses, and maintaining a population base necessary for economic growth. Despite the increase in technological jobs, unskilled and semiskilled labor is still in demand.

Critics charge that immigrants take jobs from native workers and drain social resources from impoverished citizens. American labor unions have historically viewed immigrants with suspicion, charging they drive wages down at the expense of native workers. Critics also assert that immigration erodes national identity and cultural cohesion. Governor Pete Wilson of California was reelected in 1994 after voicing his support of Proposition 187, which tried to bar illegal immigrants' children from public schools. Two years later, Congress approved bills that prohibited legal immigrants from receiving federal disability assistance and food stamps, and retroactively required the deportation of legal aliens convicted of a variety of offenses.

Attitudes toward immigrants and immigration are shaped by the ECONOMY, and attitudes regarding personal

job security. A Gallup poll in 1990 revealed that 44 percent of the respondents thought immigrants mostly help the economy, while 40 percent felt they mostly hurt. Asked the same question by Gallup in 1993, 26 percent said immigrants helped and 64 percent said they hurt.

Both Republicans and Democrats have sought out foreign-born voters. Both parties made strong efforts to win support among Hispanics, the fastest-growing minority group in the United States. Among Hispanic voters, immigration remains a salient issue. In the 2000 presidential election, GEORGE W. BUSH drew 31 percent of the Hispanic vote, up from 21 percent for ROBERT DOLE in 1996. In 2004 Bush proposed a guest-worker program for migrant workers who might otherwise come to the United States as illegal immigrants. Partly as a result, Bush significantly improved his standing with Hispanics, who gave 40 percent of their vote to Bush in his successful reelection bid in 2004. The guest-worker program aroused a great deal of opposition within the Republican Party. As Republican politicians and pundits criticized Bush's immigration policy, the Republican share of the Hispanic vote dropped to just 30 percent in the 2006 midterm elections. That decline contributed to the Republicans' loss of control of both houses of Congress. The Democratic Party remains generally a pro-immigration party and continues to attract a majority of the Hispanic vote. How large that majority



continues to be will help determine the political fortunes of the two parties in the near future.

Under the WILLIAM J. CLINTON administration, lawmakers struck a compromise in 1999 to reunite 300,000 to 500,000 spouses and children with legal permanent residents. Clinton's broader proposals were rejected, including granting legal status to immigrants who fled political chaos and wars in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and HAITI.

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, influenced the immigration debate by adding national security concerns to an already complex and divisive issue. In May 2005 the Senate attempted to deal with the immigration issue with the Secure America and Orderly Immigration Act, jointly sponsored by Senators John McCain (R-Ariz.) and EDWARD M. KENNEDY (D-Mass.). The act incorporated a path to legal status for illegal immigrants, the creation of guest-worker programs, and tougher border enforcement. The outcry against the bill, particularly among conservatives, was so strong that the Senate never voted on it. The McCain-Kennedy act did become the legislation most often referenced by supporters and opponents of a guest-worker component in any immigration reform. Supporters argued for comprehensive immigration reform that included a guest-worker program and a path to legalization for the illegal immigrants already in the United States, while downplaying the need for tougher border enforcement. Opponents derided such an approach as amnesty and insisted border security must come first before any guest-worker program would be established.

Congress attempted to enact comprehensive immigration reform again in 2006 and 2007 with legislation that was similar to the original McCain-Kennedy act. These attempts also failed, in spite of strong support by President Bush, owing in part to opposition from conservative talk radio broadcasters and listeners. Congress did enact the Secure Fence Act in December 2006. The act funded the construction of 700 miles of fencing along the U.S.-Mexico border, which, however, has yet to be built. The issue of illegal immigration opened a rift in the Republican Party, with conservatives favoring the border-enforcement-first policy and moderates favoring the comprehensive approach that allowed more undocumented workers to become legal residents and eventual citizens. Business leaders backed comprehensive reform. U.S. Chamber of Commerce president Thomas J. Donahue told the Senate Judiciary Committee that immigrants are "our best hope to curb chronic American labor shortages." Senator Larry E. Craig (R-Idaho) remarked, "There's a reality out there that few recognize. They're all here, and they're necessary."

The issue of illegal immigration will continue to play a key role in national politics.

See also ASIAN AMERICANS; HISPANIC AMERICANS.

**Further reading:** Debra L. DeLaet, *U.S. Immigration Policy in an Age of Rights* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2000); Debra L. DeLaet and David M. Reimers, *Unwelcome Strangers: American Identity and the Turn against Immigration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Thomas Muller, *Immigrants and the American City* (New York: New York University Press, 1993).

—Michele Rutledge and Stephen E. Randall

### Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986)

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, with the influx of immigrants from Asia and increasing immigration, particularly illegal IMMIGRATION from Central America and Mexico, Congress enacted the Immigration Reform and Control Act (1986). Introduced by Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.) and Romano Mazzoli (D-Ky.) in 1985, the act granted temporary resident status to illegal immigrants who had lived in the United States prior to January 1, 1982, provided they had no criminal record and were not on welfare. By exhibiting a basic understanding of English and civics, these residents could achieve permanent resident status after 18 months. More than 1.7 million aliens applied for temporary residency under this program. In addition, illegal immigrants who had lived in the country for three years and were employed as agricultural workers could claim temporary resident status and could become permanent residents three years after the enactment of the law, provided they worked at least one more year in AGRICULTURE. Eventually 1.4 million illegal immigrants took advantage of this program.

To discourage further illegal immigration, Congress authorized more than \$800 million over two years for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Congress also increased the penalties levied on employers for hiring or smuggling illegal immigrants into the country. These penalties included fines of up to \$10,000 for each illegal immigrant employed and the possibility of six months in jail for each immigrant employed. Also, the bill reduced the number of days' advance notice an employer must give to apply for a permit to hire foreign workers.

In terms of preventing illegal immigration, the law was largely a failure as illegal immigration, especially from the porous southern border of the United States, continued in the 1990s. In urban areas the INS could raid businesses employing illegal immigrants. Planters in Texas and California applied pressure through their congressional representatives to restrain INS raids in their fields during harvest time. In addition, the people in these regions who served on juries proved many times that they would not convict farmers for hiring illegal immigrants.

—John Korasick

### impeachment (of Richard M. Nixon; of William J. Clinton)

Two of the three presidential impeachment proceedings in the history of the United States occurred in the late 20th century. The first of the two was against RICHARD M. NIXON in 1974 for obstruction of justice, abuse of power, and contempt of Congress for his part in the WATERGATE SCANDAL. The second was against WILLIAM J. CLINTON in 1998–99 for perjury, obstruction of justice, and abuse of power in the Lewinsky affair.

On July 27, 1974, the House Judiciary Committee approved its first article of impeachment, charging Nixon with obstruction of justice. This article maintained that Nixon used the powers of the presidency to impede the investigations into the Watergate break-in (a burglary by Republican operatives into the Democratic campaign headquarters in the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C., during the 1972 election) and to protect those responsible. President Nixon was accused of making false statements, withholding relevant materials, approving the false statements of others, interfering in investigations by the Department of Justice and the FBI, misuse of the CIA, leaking information to suspects, and promising favors to defendants to remain quiet about executive involvement. This article was approved by a vote of 27-11.

The second article, abuse of power, was adopted on July 29, 1974 by a vote of 28-10. This article dealt with the Nixon administration's use of the Internal Revenue Service as a political tool, conducting audits against political enemies. In addition, it deemed as abuse Nixon's use of the FBI and Secret Service to conduct illegal electronic surveillance, and the concealment of records from this surveillance was deemed abuse. The use of the "burglars" to obtain information about Daniel Ellsberg, a former Pentagon official who had released documents concerning America's involvement in Vietnam, was another source for this charge. Finally, the second article charged that Nixon failed to take action against his subordinates when he learned of their participation, and that he used executive power to interfere with investigations. The final article, contempt of Congress, stemmed from his resistance to releasing to the Judiciary Committee White House tapes of his conversations in the Oval Office. This article was approved by a largely party-line vote of 21-17 on July 30, 1974.

The committee's articles never reached a full HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES vote and SENATE trial. On August 9, 1974, Nixon resigned the presidency, the only president ever to resign. Vice President GERALD R. FORD succeeded him and granted Nixon a full pardon for any crimes he may have committed.

The second impeachment proceeding led to the first impeachment of an elected president, Bill Clinton, since

1868. The beginning of the investigation concerned President Clinton's involvement in the Whitewater scandal, but the investigation of this affair led to an investigation of an obstruction of justice concerning Clinton's affair with a White House intern, Monica Lewinsky. The first article of impeachment held that the president had lied under oath about the intimate relationship with Monica Lewinsky. This article was approved 21-16 along party lines, with Republicans in the majority, by the House Judiciary Committee on December 11, 1998.

The second article charged that Clinton also perjured himself in a civil sexual harassment case brought against him by a former Arkansas state employee, Paula Jones. This article was approved 20-17 on December 11, 1998. The third article, relating to the Jones case, cited seven instances of obstruction of justice. The first two charged that Clinton had suborned (encouraged) perjury of a witness in the form of an affidavit and testimony. The third charged that Clinton had concealed evidence; the fourth charged that Clinton had found a job for a witness with harmful testimony; the fifth said that Clinton allowed his attorney to make false and misleading statements to a federal judge; the sixth was that Clinton recounted a false account of the events in question to a potential witness; and the seventh charge was that Clinton tampered with grand jury witnesses, causing them to give false information to the grand jury. This article was also approved 21-16 on December 11, 1998.

The final article of impeachment against Bill Clinton charged that he abused executive power by making perjurious statements to Congress in his answers to the 81 questions posed by the Judiciary Committee. It was approved 21-16 along party lines on December 12, 1998.

The full House of Representatives approved Articles One and Three, and the Senate began President Clinton's impeachment trial on January 7, 1999. For the president to be removed from office, 67 senators would have to vote against him. The prosecution argued that Clinton's perjury and obstruction of justice were grounds for impeachment, even though these actions occurred over "personal" matters. The defense argued that the entire case was circumstantial and did not rise to the constitutional standard to remove the president. After five weeks of testimony and deliberation, the Senate acquitted Clinton on both articles. The Senate was split along party lines, 55 Republicans and 45 Democrats. On Article One, 55 senators, including 10 Republicans, voted not guilty. On Article Three, the Senate split 50 for and 50 against, thereby ending the impeachment proceedings.

See also CRIME; EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS; JUDICIAL WATCH; SUPREME COURT.

—John Korasick

### independent counsel

The Independent Counsel Act was inspired by the investigation of the WATERGATE SCANDAL. Lawmakers, reflecting on the experience of ARCHIBALD COX, JR., and the memory of the Saturday Night Massacre, believed that a law creating a special prosecutor, not subject to the whims of the president, was necessary. A president should not have the power to fire the person investigating him or his administration.

The Independent Counsel Statute was originally enacted as Title VI of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 and was reauthorized for five years in 1983 and 1988, before expiring in December 1992. It was reauthorized in June 1994 at the behest of President WILLIAM J. CLINTON. Under the terms of the act, the independent counsel can be called by Congress or the attorney general. Once appointed, the counsel can investigate allegations of any misconduct, with an unlimited budget and no deadline. Also, the counsel can only be dismissed by the attorney general or a panel of three federal judges.

The first independent counsel appointed under the new law was Arthur Christy in 1979. Christy was appointed to investigate President JAMES EARL CARTER, JR.'s chief of staff, Hamilton Jordan, for suspected cocaine use. This investigation resulted in no indictments. This would not be unusual; of the 20 independent counsels, 10 did not indict. Broken down by administration, there were two investigations of the Carter administration, eight of the Reagan administration, three of the Bush administration, and seven of the Clinton administration. The two highest-profile investigations were the IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR under Reagan and Whitewater under Clinton.

In a 1988 U.S. SUPREME COURT decision, Justice ANTONIN SCALIA argued that the statute was a potential tool of partisan politics, and his words ring true. Both political parties have used the independent counsel, with limited success, to undermine the other party. LAWRENCE E. WALSH, the independent counsel for the Iran-Contra investigation, is credited with having led a successful investigation. Lasting six years and costing \$52 million, none of the high-level suspects were indicted. Of the 14 indictments, eleven led to convictions, but two convictions were overturned on appeal. Robert B. Fiske and then KENNETH STARR were appointed to investigate Whitewater, which dragged on nearly as long as Iran-Contra. This investigation resulted in a number of related indictments and convictions. President Clinton was impeached, on other charges related to a sexual scandal that was included in the Starr investigation, but was not removed from office.

The questionable results and uses of the independent counsel have raised questions about its value. While reforms have been suggested, the Clinton administration and leaders from both the Republican and Democratic par-

ties opposed renewal of the Independent Counsel Act, and it was allowed to expire on June 30, 1999. The appointment of special counsels to investigate allegations of executive branch misconduct reverted to the attorney general as it was prior to 1978, with added regulations. The attorney general is now allowed to fire a special counsel only for good cause and must file a report detailing the cause. The lapse of the Independent Counsel Act did not end the politicization of investigations of misconduct any more than the creation of an independent counsel ensured impartiality.

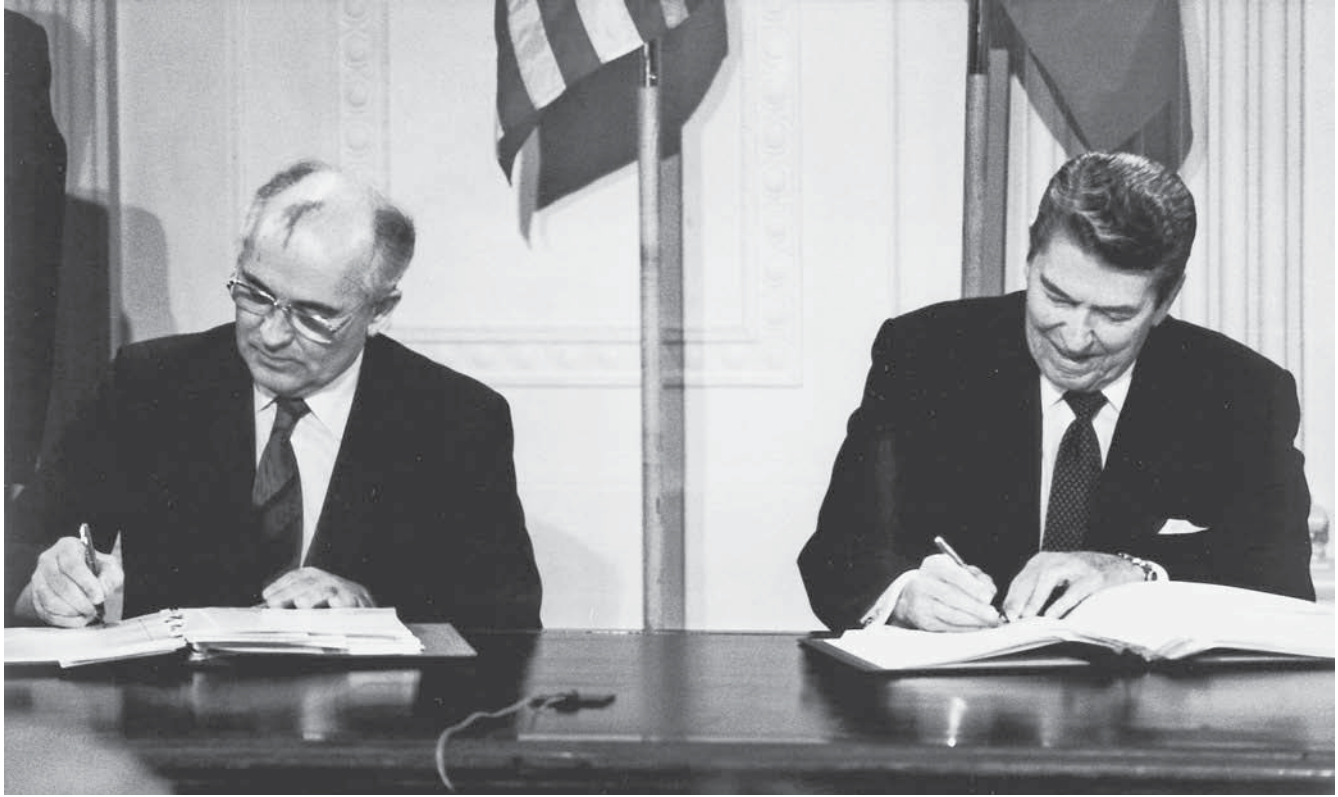
In 1999 Attorney General JANET RENO appointed the first special counsel under the new regulations when she selected former senator John Danforth to investigate the 1993 assault on the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas. In July 2000 federal agents were cleared of wrongdoing. In September 2003 Democrats in Congress called for the first independent counsel investigation of the Bush administration based on allegations that administration officials had revealed the name of a covert CIA agent. The leak was alleged to have occurred against Valerie Plame Wilson, a CIA employee who earlier had been a covert operative, in retaliation for a report that her husband, Joseph W. Wilson, had issued, denying that there was evidence of an attempt to purchase enriched plutonium by Iraqi agents in Niger—a charge that President GEORGE W. BUSH made in launching the IRAQ WAR. The leak became a political battle because it was viewed as retaliation against someone who had opposed the administration's position on the Iraq War. The Justice Department was investigating the leak, but Democrats were not confident of Attorney General John Ashcroft's impartiality. In December Ashcroft recused himself from the case, and Deputy Attorney General James Comey, Jr., oversaw the investigation. He appointed a U.S. attorney from Chicago, Patrick Fitzgerald, as special counsel. The trial began on January 16, 2007. In March 2007 Irving Lewis "Scooter" Libby, chief of staff to Vice President RICHARD B. CHENEY, was convicted of four felony counts, including two counts of perjury, one count of obstruction of justice, and one count of making a false statement to federal investigators. Special Prosecutor Fitzgerald stated that no further charges in the investigation were to be issued.

—John Korasick and Cynthia Stachecki

### Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF Treaty)

The Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty was signed by President RONALD W. REAGAN and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on December 8, 1987, and took effect on June 1, 1988. The INF Treaty is distinguished from previous arms control agreements because it called for the ban and elimination of entire classes of weapons.





Premier Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald W. Reagan sign the Intermediate Nuclear Forces treaty. (*Collection of the District of Columbia Public Library*)

After World War II, the SOVIET UNION created a buffer zone of communist states in eastern Europe and effectively closed the borders between the East and the West. The rise of the Berlin Wall in 1961, and the crisis in Czechoslovakia in 1968 prompted many in the West to fear for the safety of Europe in the event of Soviet expansion. The NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) thus became an important source of security for Europe. The United States and the Soviet Union attempted to ease tensions by promising to limit certain classes of defensive-based weapons. These talks were generally ineffective, and throughout the 1970s, the Soviet Union continued to increase the size of its military arsenals. During his first term in office, President Reagan responded with a dual-track program, which promoted new efforts in NATO defense as well as new overtures for DÉTENTE. He deployed intermediate-range missiles to protect targeted European cities, and devoted considerable research to a space-based missile defense system intended to neutralize the threat of the Soviet Union's long-range nuclear missiles. At the same time, Reagan aggressively promoted a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), which called for deep cuts in land-based missile systems.

Talks between the United States and the Soviet Union began in 1982 but were broken off by the Soviets in 1983. Soon thereafter, however, the Soviet economy weakened from years of military buildup, and the new premier, Mikhail Gorbachev, was forced to pursue a reform agenda called GLASNOST, which included a new willingness to find agreement with the West. The United States responded accordingly, and after his reelection in 1984, President Reagan intensified efforts to reach a significant arms agreement that might end the COLD WAR. When talks resumed in 1985, both parties came to the table with a renewed commitment. In 1987 Reagan and Gorbachev met in person to discuss the issues. By December of that year, the two reached an unprecedented agreement, which eliminated all ground-launched ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges between 500 and 5,500 kilometers (310 to 3,415 miles). The agreement also called for the elimination of intermediate-range missile delivery systems; it banned the future production of intermediate-range missiles; and established strict limits on research and development in that technology. The parties also agreed to submit to on-site verification of missile disposal, and established the Special Verification Commission (SVC) to administer enforcement.



The INF Treaty marked the beginning of the end of the cold war. By eliminating INF-range missiles, the superpowers effectively removed Europe from the gambit of nuclear deterrence; the Soviets could not easily target European cities, and the United States could not use Europe as a base to launch its weapons. Immediately after signing the agreement, Reagan and Gorbachev began to work on reducing long-range missiles through the START treaties. They met twice in 1988, and after Reagan left office, President GEORGE H. W. BUSH continued the process throughout 1989, 1990, and 1991. Gorbachev and Bush agreed to reduce the size of conventional forces in Europe in 1990, and in 1991 they agreed to eliminate their stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons. They signed the START I treaty in July 1991, which reduced existing nuclear warheads by 25 percent. Six months later, the Warsaw Treaty organization dissolved, Gorbachev resigned from office, and the Soviet Union ceased to exist. START I was not ratified by the former Soviet states until November 1994. In appreciation for its ratification, and to help facilitate accelerated compliance, the United States agreed to provide Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine with \$1 billion to help make the transition from a military to a civilian industrial complex.

See also ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY; CATHOLIC BISHOPS' LETTER (THE CHALLENGE OF PEACE, 1983); DEFENSE POLICY; IRON CURTAIN, COLLAPSE OF; NUCLEAR FREEZE MOVEMENT; STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATIES; STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE.

—Aharon W. Zorea

## Internet

As with many modern innovations, the origins of the Internet and the World Wide Web can be found in the COLD WAR. In 1957 the SOVIET UNION successfully launched Sputnik, the first artificial satellite, into space. Immediately, the United States responded with significant increases in funding for SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. Congress reacted to a public fear that the nation was falling behind the Soviets in technology, thereby making it vulnerable to Soviet aggression. Along with the formation of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), the Department of Defense also created a new subagency dedicated to advanced research, called simply the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA). It was later renamed the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA).

At first, the agency's priorities were dominated by the space race and its subsidiary concerns—ballistic missile defense and nuclear test monitoring. As early as 1962, however, ARPA created the Information Processing Techniques Office (IPTO) to more specifically look into the wider implications of COMPUTERS and networking. At this

point, computers had only just benefited from the invention of the integrated circuit, and thus still relied on vast commitments of space, energy, and manpower to operate. For the sake of efficiency, IPTO formally sponsored a study to look into the possibility of joining these huge computers through a network in order to take advantage of time-sharing and data transfers. By 1965 Lawrence G. Roberts of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology submitted the blueprints for a preliminary network design dubbed ARPANET. Shortly thereafter, ARPA awarded a \$1 million construction contract to a then-small private corporation, Bolt Beranek and Newman, Inc. (BBN). It took four years to build ARPANET, but in 1969 the company had tied four computers together to form the first network, joining the National Measurement Center of the University of California at Los Angeles, the Stanford Research Institute, the University of California at Santa Barbara, and the University of Utah.

Throughout the 1970s, the ARPANET grew in both size and capabilities. In 1972 Ray Tomlinson wrote the first electronic messaging (e-mail) program, and Lawrence Roberts wrote the first e-mail managing software. E-mail not only increased communication between researchers, but also aided in shifting the network's purpose away from the time-sharing of resources, toward a new model of scientific collaboration. Within a year, there were more than 2,000 users of ARPANET, and e-mail made up 75 percent of all network traffic. In 1974 BBN opened the network to the public through Telenet. However, since personal computers were not commonly introduced until the early 1980s, Telenet remained primarily an academic and research tool. By 1981 a number of other nongovernment networks began to utilize the backbone of communication provided by ARPANET including THEORYNET, BITNET, CSNET, and USENET. These were independent networks, and could communicate with each other only indirectly. Nevertheless, the network became so popular that by 1983 DARPA divided itself into two separate entities: MILNET, which served its original intention as a safe and secure communication network for the government; and ARPANET, which remained the primary network for academic and research institutions. Almost two-thirds of the 113 existing nodes were dedicated to MILNET. With the rapid increase of personal computers in the public market, the demand rose dramatically and the ratio shifted. By 1984 there were more than 1,000 network hosts on ARPANET.

Through the early years of ARPANET, the federal government played a primary role in both planning and funding. The vast majority of users and developers were scientists and academics, even though the Department of Defense carried most of the financial support. In 1986 the National Science Federation (NSF) replaced the DARPA

as the primary agency funding the network and created its own NSFNET. In 1987 NSF commissioned the management of the network to a private corporation, Merit Network, Inc. That same year, the first commercial network access provider, UUNET, also started. DARPA maintained its intimate relationship with the network through the formation of the Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT), which assumes responsibility for managing large-scale network problems (or virus attacks). The federal government continues to assert itself in the network in other less obvious ways, such as requiring government contractors to adopt specific network standards, which help promulgate network access. In 1987 there were 10,000 hosts, in 1988 there were 60,000, and in 1989 there were more than 100,000. By 1990, the success of commercially based Internet access providers allowed ARPANET to shut down, leaving NSFNET and private network hosts to support the existing network infrastructure. The following year, Congress passed the High Performance Computing Act of 1991, which provided considerable funding for the support of existing public networks, and encouraged the creation of additional private networks. The act also established the National Research and Education Network (NREN), which provides for separate high-speed networking for noncommercial research purposes. Senator ALBERT GORE, JR. (D-Tenn.), sponsored the bill, which later led him to exaggerate his role in “inventing” the Internet. In fact, the networks upon which the World Wide Web relies had been in existence in one form or another since 1970. The additional federal support of the Computer Act of 1991 did, however, help to increase the number of Internet hosts to more than 1 million by 1992. Very quickly, private and commercial Internet access providers become the primary network carriers, and the federal backbone, NSFNET, managed to revert back to a strictly academic resource by 1995.

The World Wide Web, or the Internet, as we know it today, officially began in March 1989 as a project led by Tim Berners-Lee of the European Laboratory for Particle Physics (Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire, or CERN). They did not create a network, but instead invented a management system by which all existing networks might be more easily navigated. CERN’s stated goal was to develop a software and hardware system that allowed researchers to quickly access existing collaboration projects and to leave lasting contributions before exiting. The project was executed in two phases: The first used existing hardware and software systems to implement simple browsers that could access each user’s workstation; the second merely expanded the application area and allowed users to add their own material. The result was a management system that allowed users on one computer to automatically access information stored on another through

existing international networks, without the need of special protocols. It was based on a system called “hypertext,” which was originally conceived by Vannevar Bush in 1945, as an inevitable consequence of computerized archiving. He predicted that there would be so much data stored in national record banks that a computer based on nonsequential addressing would have to be developed to access it. Ted Nelson in 1960 coined the label “hypertext” to describe an interactive form of writing. The ideas of both Bush and Nelson served as the basis for CERN’s management system, which links related pieces of information in a way that allows easy access to all types of files, regardless of their location. After three years, CERN released the World Wide Web (WWW) system to the public in 1992. It found immediate success, and the next year, Marc Andreessen, from the National Center for Supercomputer Applications at the University of Illinois, developed a graphical user interface to the WWW, called “Mosaic for X.” Numerous entrepreneurs imitated the “browser,” and the World Wide Web soon became a public property.

As of 2008 there were more than 1.4 billion users on the Internet from 170 countries, with more than 100 million Web sites (an imprecise figure that rises at geometric rates). Though the U.S. federal government played a large role in the creation and establishment of the Internet, it is now an international phenomenon, larger than any single nation. Even U.S. governmental contributions relied heavily on academic initiative and outsourcing. In 1996, Congress passed its first wide-reaching regulation on the Internet with the Communications Decency Act (CDA), which intended to prohibit underage access to PORNOGRAPHY by holding site owners criminally responsible for violations of decency. The following year, the U.S. SUPREME COURT struck down the CDA’s Internet provision in *Reno v. ACLU*, concluding that it was an unconstitutional limitation on free speech, political discourse, and intellectual freedom. As of 2001 the decency provisions had not been revived, though they were often discussed in the public forum. Other attempts at government regulation have generally met with stiff resistance.

As the number of public Internet users skyrocketed, new forms of reporting and social networking began to emerge. One form of social networking especially popular among college-age people featured Web sites where Internet users could enter personal information to which other users had access. This became a common way for people to keep in touch with a large network of Internet users simultaneously. Among new forms of reporting were weblogs, or “blogs,” a series of content entries displayed in reverse chronological order. The earliest blogs were personal online diaries, but blog content has gradually diversified to include political commentary, journalistic-style reporting, travel logs, and many other topics of personal interest.

By 2001 many Internet users obtained at least part of their political news from popular blogs like Political Wire and Instapundit. Blogs slowly gained credibility as a news source and a way of reaching new demographics. Political candidates, most notably Howard Dean, began writing campaign blogs in 2004 as a nontraditional means of advertising and fund-raising. Perhaps even more indicative of their increasing acceptance as a popular information source, bloggers were admitted as journalists to both 2004 party conventions. Some bloggers crossed over into mainstream media as political pundits, and many mainstream media personalities added blogs to their Web sites. Bloggers often quoted and responded to one another's postings, creating a network of content known as the blogosphere. Mainstream media monitored this blog traffic and occasionally reported on popular content. The blogosphere will likely remain a new source of news content and commentary on popular culture. In 2008 Democratic presidential candidate BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA capitalized on this popular Internet tool to inform supporters and to raise campaign funds.

Newspaper publishers have felt the effects of the Internet revolution, as online newsmagazines, newspapers, and television and radio broadcasts have claimed a greater share of the news market. With the ability to access up-to-date information at any time of day, Internet users have begun seeking news from Internet sites more readily than newspapers or broadcast stations, and newspaper sales and subscriptions have fallen precipitously.

See also BUSINESS; CENSORSHIP; HUMAN GENOME PROJECT; MEDIA; PROPERTY RIGHTS; SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

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—Aharon W. Zorea and Amy Wallhermfechtel

## Iran-contra affair

The Iran-contra affair occurred in 1986. In an attempt to evade congressional authority and aid anticommunist forces in Central America, and to gain the release of Americans held hostage in Lebanon, RONALD W. REAGAN's administration employed illegal means to achieve its FOREIGN POLICY goals. The ensuing scandal resulted in 14 indictments and 11 convictions, and made marine Lieutenant Colonel OLIVER L. NORTH a national personality.

Upon entering office in 1981, Reagan authorized the CIA to form a paramilitary force to harass the marxist San-

dinista regime in NICARAGUA. This force became known as the CONTRAS. In the next three years more than \$100 million in aid was funneled to the contras. When, in April 1984, it was revealed that the CIA had arranged to mine the harbors of Nicaragua, Congress reacted unfavorably. Responding to allegations of human rights violations and drug trafficking by the contras, Congress revoked military aid. Moreover, vocal public opposition to aiding the contras in any way developed across the country and in the universities. The BOLAND AMENDMENT, named for the chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, Edward Boland, banned all aid to the contras by the CIA, the Pentagon, or any other intelligence agency.

In an attempt to keep the operation running, despite the congressional directive, Oliver North, a White House aide, began recruiting agents to help the contras, in direct violation of the Boland amendment. Saudi Arabia pledged a total of \$32 million, Taiwan pledged \$2 million, and this money was used to pay for arms shipments from China, Poland, and other countries. North arranged these shipments and provided intelligence information and military advice to the contras.

Iran, a terrorist state, according to United States policy at the time, had been under an arms embargo since the IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS in 1979. Also, it was believed that Iran controlled terrorist groups in Lebanon that were holding American citizens hostage. Officially, the United States would not negotiate with terrorists, but as time passed and pressure increased to bring the hostages home, Reagan looked for means of gaining their release. One possible way was presented by Israel in 1985. The Israelis wanted to sell American-made weapons to Iran for use against Iraq. Reagan approved the transfer, and North accordingly sold anti-tank missiles to Iran with the promise that hostages would be released. One American hostage, Reverend Benjamin Weir, held in Lebanon, was released. In November 1985 a shipment of antiaircraft missiles was destined for Iran, but the deal went awry, and the CIA stepped in and delivered 18 missiles. Reagan later claimed that he did not approve the CIA activity, and Congress had not been informed of the Israeli shipments of U.S.-made weapons to Iran. In January 1986 Manucher Ghorbanifur, an Iranian exile, proposed financing the contras with profits from these Iranian arms sales. Admiral John Poindexter, the White House national security adviser, approved the plan, but later testified that he did not inform Reagan.

In April 1986 supplies financed by the arms sales were airdropped to the contras. Over the next six months, two more hostages were released—Reverend Lawrence Jenco and David Jacobsen. By October the arrangement began to unravel. First the Sandinistas in Nicaragua shot down a supply plane and captured Eugene Hasenfus, an American who claimed to be working under orders of the CIA.

In November, a Lebanese newspaper reported on the U.S. arms sales to Iran. This revelation led to the resignations of Poindexter and North. As a response to the public and congressional outcry, the administration launched the Tower Commission. At the same time, Congress began hearings and subpoenaed Oliver North to testify. North came before the televised hearings dressed in full uniform. To the surprise of many, given the illegal and unconstitutional involvement in the affair, the general public responded positively to North, and Congress was flooded with letters and telegrams in his support. At the same time, INDEPENDENT COUNSEL LAWRENCE E. WALSH was appointed. The Tower Commission reported in February 1987 that Reagan had not properly supervised his aides and blamed the chief of staff, Donald Regan, for the chaos in the executive branch. Lawrence Walsh's investigation led to the indictment of 14 individuals, of which 11 were convicted. Later two of these convictions, including North's, were overturned on appeal.

The Iran-contra affair provoked a constitutional crisis, and a number of newspaper editorials across the country called for the impeachment of Ronald W. Reagan. Ironically, Congress began supporting the contras again and in 1990 the Sandinistas were defeated in popular elections. The lasting legacy of Iran-contra is the perilous topic of whether or not a democracy should conduct diplomacy in secret.

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—John Korasick

### **Iranian hostage crisis**

The Iranian Hostage Crisis came as a result of a revolution in Iran in 1979, which overthrew the shah, and led to the seizing of hostages when the American embassy in Tehran was overrun by revolutionary students. The United States had supported the shah prior to the revolution.

The shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, was a Western-oriented ruler. The United States had given support to the shah in a variety of forms since the end of World War II, including a CIA operation that led to the assassination of a popular nationalist leader, Mohammed Mossadegh, in 1953, which reinstalled the royal family on the throne. Shiite Muslim dissidents opposed American influence in Iran because of its support of the shah, who had been placed on the throne with American covert support. As a result, Americans were targeted for violence throughout the 1970s. Dissidents made an unsuccessful kidnapping attempt against the U.S. ambassador, Douglas MacArthur II. In the late 1970s the shah had been informed that he had cancer. In an effort to maintain his family's reign

and create support for his teenaged heir, the shah began reforming his government. Public opinion turned against him, and numerous riots were staged in 1978 and 1979.

On January 16, 1979, the shah and his family fled Iran, and the Islamic fundamentalist leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, returned from exile. For its years of support for the shah, the United States became a focus of the Iranian discontent. The United States lost access to Iranian oil and saw arms contracts cancelled, and on February 14, 1979, revolutionary forces overran the U.S. embassy in Tehran for a few hours. On February 26 the State Department evacuated the families of embassy personnel and urged Americans to leave the country.

The United States had not previously offered asylum to the shah, but in October, President JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., decided to reverse this policy and allowed the shah to enter the United States for medical treatment. Iranian students poured into the streets of Tehran, demanding the return of the shah and his fortune. On November 4, 1979, 3,000 dissidents stormed the U.S. embassy and took the 66 people inside hostage. News of the hostage-taking riveted the American public, and millions watched the nightly news footage of blindfolded Americans being paraded before television cameras, the burning of American flags, and the chanting of anti-American slogans. Protesters gathered in front of the Iranian embassy, demanding the release of the hostages. Iranian students in the United States held demonstrations in support of their country and faced a violent backlash, losing their jobs, and suffering vandalism and taunts.

Carter ordered preparations for a military rescue operation, ordered Iranian students to report to immigration offices, suspended arms sales, froze Iranian assets, and announced an oil embargo. Carter stressed the importance of the safety of the hostages. The Iranians released all non-American hostages, all of the African Americans, and most of the women. Also, six Americans managed to escape and made their way to the Canadian embassy. This brought the number of hostages down to 52.

In February 1980 the Iranians made their demands for the release of the hostages. The Iranian captors wanted the shah and his fortune returned, and an admission of guilt by the United States for its past actions, as well as an apology and a promise not to interfere in Iran again. Carter deemed these demands unacceptable, particularly since the shah had left the United States for Panama. On April 24, 1980, a rescue mission was staged, using helicopters to transport a rescue team outside of Tehran. Mechanical and weather difficulties resulted in all eight helicopters being lost. The public had been supportive of the president, though discouraged by the lengthy negotiation process, but this failed mission shattered the public's confidence in his ability to handle the situation.





An American hostage being paraded before cameras by his Iranian captors (Hulton/Archive)

On July 27, 1980, the shah died of cancer. In September, Khomeini presented four new conditions for the release of the hostages: cancel financial claims against Iran, free Iranian assets, and promise to never interfere in Iranian affairs. These were seen as acceptable starting points for negotiation, and the end of the crisis seemed to be near, especially with the invasion of Iran by Iraq.

Carter had more than just the hostage situation to deal with; 1980 was an election year. The Republicans were charging that Carter was engineering an “October Surprise” in which the hostages would be released so he would win the election. On November 4, 1980, the American people elected RONALD W. REAGAN. The nomination of Reagan, a hard-liner in foreign policy, appeared to give Carter an advantage in negotiations. Iranian prime minister Ali Rajai began negotiations, using Algeria as an intermediary. Tehran wanted the shah’s fortune, but Carter had no authority to turn it over to them. For a period of three weeks the Iranians demanded first \$24 billion, then \$20 billion, and finally \$8 billion to be deposited in Algeria. On Carter’s last day in office, the Iranians agreed to a deal releasing \$8 billion in Iranian assets, of which \$5 billion was set aside to

pay off Iran’s American and European debts. In return, the Americans were released after 444 days as hostages.

See also FOREIGN POLICY; TERRORISM.

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—John Korasick

## Iraq War

The United States led coalition forces, predominantly American, in an attack on Iraq on March 19, 2003, against Iraq’s brutal dictator, Saddam Hussein, and his Baathist regime. Coalition troops took control of the capital city of Baghdad less than a month later, and President GEORGE W. BUSH declared an end to the Hussein regime. In a televised address from the deck of the U.S. Navy aircraft carrier USS *Abraham Lincoln* on May 1, Bush announced that major combat operations were over but that there was still much work to be done to secure and rebuild Iraq. The objective of securing Iraq continued through 2008, as insurgents waged a guerrilla war against coalition troops

and reconstruction projects, and factional violence raged between the majority Shia Muslims and the minority, but powerful, Sunni Muslims.

The war that commenced on March 19 had been long in the making, arising from Hussein's defiance of international sanctions since the PERSIAN GULF WAR of 1991 and from a heightened sense of threat to national security after the deadly terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001. Hussein was known to have developed and used chemical and biological weapons against Iranians in the 1980s and against the Kurdish people in northern Iraq. The international community insisted that such weapons, known as weapons of mass destruction (WMD), be eliminated. Following the first Persian Gulf War, the UNITED NATIONS (UN) Security Council imposed economic sanctions on Iraq, limiting the proceeds from the sale of Iraqi oil to purchasing food and medicines for the Iraqi people until Hussein complied with weapons inspections. The UN sent inspectors to monitor the destruction of chemical, bio-

logical, and possible nuclear programs in Iraq. But Hussein limited the sites where the inspectors were allowed to go and on several occasions expelled inspectors, claiming they were spies. In addition, Hussein and his sons, Uday and Qusay, amassed an army of several hundred thousand men and continued to develop missiles that had been outlawed.

The international community divided over the best approach to achieve Hussein's cooperation. The United States took a hard line toward Iraq, launching several air strikes during the WILLIAM J. CLINTON administration against suspected weapons-manufacturing sites and pushing for strict enforcement of the economic sanctions in place to maintain pressure until Hussein complied with the UN resolutions. Great Britain joined the United States in this approach. Other member nations of the UN Security Council, such as France, Russia, and China, wanted to ease the economic sanctions to entice cooperation, believing that Hussein had circumvented the sanctions and left the Iraqi people to suffer the consequences of economic hardship.



A U.S. Army soldier provides perimeter security during a reconnaissance patrol at the sight of an insurgent attack near Taji, Iraq, 2006. (Department of Defense)



This division within the UN Security Council precluded the formulation of a coherent international policy toward Iraq.

The terrorist attacks on U.S. soil on September 11, 2001, alerted the Western world to the growing threat of terrorist organizations and their ability to get funding, weapons, and training from regimes sympathetic to their cause. In late 2002 President Bush sought stricter action on Iraq from the UN, as well as authorization to use force against Iraq from the U.S. Congress, claiming that Hussein's attempts to thwart weapons inspections, his sympathy for militant terrorists, his possession of WMD (later not found), and his utter disregard for his own people posed a growing threat. In early October 2002 Congress approved the use of military force. On November 8 the UN Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1441, Iraq's final opportunity to comply with weapons inspections. Iraq agreed to admit inspectors from a UN inspection commission, under the leadership of Hans Blix, and from the International Atomic Energy Agency, under Mohammed ElBaradei. In addition, Iraq agreed to provide documented information about its weapons programs.

By mid-December 2002 U.S. Secretary of State COLIN L. POWELL contended that Iraq's declaration of its weapons was incomplete, and Iraq was in "breach" of the UN resolution. In January 2003 the United States began to build up troop levels in the Persian Gulf; Great Britain committed troops in the event of military action against Iraq. Both Blix and ElBaradei filed inspection reports at the end of January. ElBaradei stated that there was no evidence of nuclear weapons and that the high-precision aluminum tubes Iraq imported were being used to make conventional missiles rather than nuclear weapons, as the United States suspected. Blix stated that no chemical or biological weapons had been found but that Iraq had failed to provide evidence that they had been destroyed. In addition, Iraq was rebuilding long-range missiles in defiance of UN restrictions. On February 5, 2003, Powell appealed to the UN Security Council for a resolution on the use of force against Iraq, citing weapons concerns and links with the terrorist organization al-Qaeda, believed to be operating a terrorist cell run by Palestinian Abu Masab al-Zarqawi. When France, Russia, and China insisted on more time for weapons inspections, the United States and Britain agreed to allow weeks, not months, for full compliance. They set March 17 as the final deadline. On March 17, with troops from the United States, Britain, and Australia poised to strike, Bush issued an ultimatum to the Hussein regime: Saddam and his sons must leave Iraq within 48 hours or face military action.

Operation Iraqi Freedom began two days later with air strikes aimed at sites in the capital of Baghdad where Hussein and his sons were believed to be hiding, and against military posts in southern Iraq to give access to coalition

troops entering Iraq from Kuwait. After a day of air strikes, ground forces rolled across the southern border on March 20. Although Iraq's attempt to defend itself with missiles was largely ineffective, coalition forces met stiff resistance from Iraqi troops as they tried to advance north to Baghdad. On March 26 the coalition opened a second front in northern Iraq, airlifting soldiers into Kurdish territory so that they could secure an airfield for a larger offensive.

Coalition troops met more resistance than they expected but entered Baghdad by the second week of April and took control of the city by April 9. The two major cities of Kirkuk and Mosul in northern Iraq fell on April 10 and 11, and troops took Saddam's hometown of Tikrit on April 14. Although victory was not yet complete, reconstruction could begin. The fate of Saddam and his two sons was unknown; however, a televised film of Iraqi crowds helping to topple a 20-foot statue of Saddam, symbolic of his fall from power, became one of the more indelible images of the war to viewers worldwide. Americans were kept apprised of the progress of the war on a real-time basis, as the Department of Defense for the first time allowed the media to travel with military personnel as "embedded" journalists.

The work of rebuilding Iraq was made difficult by looting and disorder, the lack of basic services, violent attacks from insurgents on troops and on infrastructure, and factional violence between Sunni and Shiite Muslims. The UN Security Council lifted economic sanctions on June 22 at Bush's urging. Although the United States agreed that the UN should play a major role in providing humanitarian aid during reconstruction, the United States retained control over the government-building efforts. In May 2003 Bush appointed L. Paul Bremer III, a veteran of the State Department, as the civilian head of reconstruction. This signaled the U.S. intention to avoid military occupation. Under Bremer's leadership, a governing council was drawn from various political and religious factions. The Coalition Provisional Authority removed members of the Baath Party from all positions of authority in the government and military, a policy known as the de-Baathification of Iraqi society. The former Iraqi army was disbanded and a new army trained. Lack of experienced officers made efforts to turn security over to Iraqi troops a long, difficult process.

The U.S. military turned its efforts to securing the country from insurgent elements, hunting for weapons caches, and training Iraqi security forces to take over for coalition forces. American forces did not find the stores of biological and chemical weapons Hussein was believed to be hiding. On July 22 Hussein's sons, Uday and Qusay, died fighting coalition troops in Mosul. On December 13 American troops uncovered Saddam hiding in an underground hole on a farm near Tikrit; he was placed in military custody to await trial in an Iraqi court. Saddam remained

defiant to the end. On trial for crimes against humanity, he urged Iraqis to resist coalition forces. He was sentenced to death and hanged on December 30, 2006.

The resistance exacted a high price in both American and Iraqi lives lost since 2003, as insurgents waged guerrilla warfare using improvised explosive devices (IEDs), conventional weapons left over from the Iraqi military, and suicide bombers. By the end of 2007 the number of American military deaths during Operation Iraqi Freedom numbered 3,900. Less than 150 of those occurred during the major combat operations phase of the war. An additional 29,000 military personnel were wounded in action. Of these casualties, 16,000 returned to active duty. The insurgency was fueled by terrorist organizations and by radical religious extremists. In June 2006 the terrorist leader al-Zarqawi was killed in an air strike on a town north of Baghdad; he had been leading a terrorist insurgency against coalition forces and against Shiite Muslims since mid-2003. Factional violence between Sunnis and Shiites further destabilized the region and hampered reconstruction efforts.

The war in Iraq became a political liability for the Bush administration. The invasion of Iraq in 2003 sparked demonstrations in major cities in the United States, Europe, and the Middle East, giving rise to an antiwar movement in the United States and anti-American sentiment elsewhere. To the absence of WMD and the violent insurgency that followed major combat actions were added the scandal of prisoner abuse at Abu Ghraib prison, the killing of Iraqi civilians by a private security company, and ongoing court challenges to U.S. policy of holding enemy combatants without trial at the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba. The Abu Ghraib prison scandal involved several military police prison guards, including women, who were charged with misconduct for abusing Iraqi prisoners. The scandal fanned flames of antiwar sentiment when pictures of the incidents appeared on TELEVISION. In September 2007 the security firm contracted to protect U.S. officials, Blackwater, shot and killed several Iraqi civilians in a crowded area of Baghdad, claiming they had been under attack. The possibility that the shooting was unprovoked strained relations between the United States and Iraq. The detention of prisoners at Guantánamo Bay raised issues of civil rights for the detainees and concerns about American interrogation practices. Although Congress had authorized the initiative in the beginning, members later tried to distance themselves from their support as the war continued and public support waned.

In the face of political rancor, President Bush remained resolute in his commitment to helping Iraq build a functional democratic government, hold free elections, and rebuild its infrastructure. In early 2007 Bush announced a counterinsurgency strategy to increase troop levels in Iraq by 20,000, the majority of them in Baghdad and the western

Anbar Province. The troop surge was designed to provide security long enough for Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki and the Iraqi government to achieve reconciliation among religious and political factions and to pass legislation that would enable Iraq to assume authority over its own security and reconstruction. By the end of 2008, the number of violent attacks and American and Iraqi casualties had fallen dramatically, but political progress was slow. In late 2008 a status of forces agreement between the United States and Iraq was approved, which gave a timetable for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq, with all U.S. troops out by the end of 2011.

See also MIDDLE EAST (U.S. RELATIONS WITH); TERRORISM.

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—Cynthia Stachecki

## Iron Curtain, collapse of

The Iron Curtain, a phrase coined in the late 1940s, by the former prime minister of Britain Winston Churchill, marked the line between East and West in Europe—or more important on a strategic level, the line between NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) forces and those of the Warsaw Pact, a defense alliance organized by the Soviet Union in response to NATO. Its collapse resulted from the Soviet Union's withdrawal of its support and influence from its Eastern European satellites, and the subsequent political upheavals in those nations.

Shortly after coming to power in 1985, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announced plans for economic, political, and social reform in the Soviet Union. In December 1988, in a speech before the United Nations, Gorbachev announced his plan to unilaterally withdraw 500,000 troops and 10,000 tanks from the East European countries of the Warsaw Pact. Immediately after the withdrawal of Soviet support, the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe began to collapse. In Poland, the Solidarity movement won in parliamentary elections in June 1989. At the July 1989 Warsaw Pact meeting, Gorbachev told the Eastern European states that the Soviet Union would no longer work to control their economic and political policies. The newly elected Polish officials took office without Soviet interference. The success of the Polish dissident movement encouraged dissident



resistance to the collapse of Communist regimes in other Eastern European countries. In the fall of 1989, the Hungarian Parliament dismissed the Communist Party as the official ruling institution. Hungarians throughout the nation responded by tearing down communist symbols. Czechoslovakia threatened to erupt in violence, as street demonstrations broke out demanding the release of Václav Havel, a leading dissident author, from prison. The tide turned on November 24, 1989, when Alexander Dubček, the leader in Prague, called for the ouster of Stalinists from the Czech government. The Communists responded with immediate resignations, and the people quickly named Havel to the presidency. The government of Erich Honecker sought to hold on to power in East Germany, despite numerous violent outbursts. On November 9, 1989, East Germany opened its border with its western neighbor. The following day, citizens from both East and West Germany began tearing down the Berlin Wall. One year later the two halves became one, after more than 40 years of separation, with the new united Germany instituted as a full member in NATO. In Romania, Nicolae Ceaușescu ruled for more than 20 years as one of the harshest communist dictators, but in December 1989 opposition to him rose, along with a spirit of resistance. Most of the Romanian army turned against Ceaușescu. On December 25, 1989, he and his wife were tried by a military court and then executed on television.

The collapse of the Soviet Union came with an abruptness that took most people by surprise. In Eastern Europe, many of the nations were not prepared to make the political, economic, and social transition to democratic government and free-market economics. Yet in the following years, many of these nations created democratic governments and began to prosper economically. For the Soviet Union, the transition came less easily, as it continued to experience political corruption and a poor economy. As for the United States, policy makers were confronted with a new world in which the cold war had ended, but new international threats emerged, presenting challenges for the 21st century.

See also BUSH, GEORGE H. W.; COLD WAR; FOREIGN POLICY; REAGAN, RONALD W.

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—Leah Blakey

## Islam in America

Economic changes and political upheavals in their own countries, as well as the desire to find new economic opportunities, spurred many Muslims from Asia and Africa

to immigrate to the United States after World War II. Muslims live in every country in the Western Hemisphere, come from 60 different nations, and speak several Arabic dialects and various Turkic and Indo-European languages. Although the United States has not conducted a religious census since 1936, the Islamic Center of Washington, D.C., and the Federation of Islamic Associations estimate that there are more than 2 million Muslims in the United States. The Muslim population is ethnically diversified on the basis of national origin, language, and religious sect. Arabic-speaking Muslims constitute the largest and most differentiated Muslim group in the United States and are primarily from Lebanon, Palestine, and Yemen.

American Muslims have constructed many mosques that serve a wide variety of purposes. They function as the site of Friday and Sunday prayers, holiday celebrations, marriage and funeral rites, classes for children and adults, and informal social gatherings. Muslims have also established several national-level organizations. The Federation of Islamic Associations (founded in 1954) publishes *The Muslim Star* and has a scholarship fund for college-bound high school graduates. The Muslim Student Association (founded in 1963) promotes Islamic solidarity, helps to promote the Islamic way of life, and fosters friendship with non-Muslims.

Muslim communities in the United States reflect the backgrounds and social customs of their members. For example, Turkish families in Rochester, New York, emphasize their Turkish identity as well as their Muslim identity. They constructed a mosque as well as a social hall with a classroom where English language, Turkish history and heritage, and religious courses are taught. They hold weekly prayers led by a Turkish imam (priest), fast during Ramadan, hope to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, and avoid eating pork.

American-born Muslim converts have also begun to move into leadership positions. In 2006 Keith Ellison, an African-American Muslim convert from Minnesota, became the first Muslim elected to Congress when he won a seat in the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Within the American Islamic community itself, nonimmigrant converts have also begun to take leadership roles. Ingrid Mattson, a Canadian-born convert, assumed leadership of the Islamic Society of North America. The Islamic Society is the largest Muslim organization in the United States and Canada. Mattson is the first woman, as well as the first non-immigrant convert, to be elected president of the group.

The flexibility of the Muslim religion has allowed its more moderate participants to adapt it to local customs in ways that do not violate its tenets. These American Muslims have developed revised standards of modesty for women in a society where the female body is highly exposed, viable guidelines for the interaction of men and women in an increasingly permissive cultural environment, new codes of

conduct that can accommodate women who work outside the home, and ways to transmit Islamic values to the next generation, especially through Islamic centers in larger urban areas. More conservative American Muslims advocate adherence to traditional dress codes and behavioral mores. They argue that reform Muslims err when they choose to accommodate themselves to the mores of American society rather than maintain traditional Islamic values.

See also NATION OF ISLAM; RELIGION; WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

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—William L. Glinkler and Amy Wallhermfechtel



**Jackson, Jesse L.** (1941– ) *Baptist minister, civil rights activist*

Jesse Louis Jackson, born October 8, 1941, in Greenville, South Carolina, appeared on the national scene following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968. Jackson had a profound impact on the African-American community, as well as on national politics and race relations as a minister, as the founder of Operation PUSH and the National Rainbow Coalition, and as a two-time candidate for president of the United States.

A gifted athlete and student, Jackson won a football scholarship to the University of Illinois in 1959. When he was denied the quarterback position, he enrolled at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State College, a historically black school. It was while attending this school that Jackson became involved in the Civil Rights movement by protesting the white-only local library system and agitating against segregation in public accommodations. After graduating in 1964, Jackson attended the Chicago Theological Seminary, where he distanced himself from local civil rights activities and focused on his theological training. His focus changed, however, when he participated in the historic civil rights march in Selma, Alabama, in 1965. There he met Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Jackson recognized in this organization an opportunity for him to fulfill his leadership ambitions and his passion for civil rights. He left the seminary in 1966 to head the Chicago branch of Operation Breadbasket, a group committed to improving the economic situation of the local African-American community. He became the organization's national chairman in 1967. Through this organization, and because of his energy, and powerful oratory, Jackson was able to pressure several large Chicago corporations into hiring more African Americans, an achievement that garnered him much local fame. His strong personality and his claims of closeness with King caused friction between himself and the SCLC leadership after King's assassination. Despite the

tension, Jackson remained with the SCLC. In 1971, however, Jackson left the SCLC to form Operation PUSH.

PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity) continued the theme of economic empowerment and operated under the motto: "I Am Somebody." PUSH weekly prayer meetings attracted large and enthusiastic crowds, and Jackson's influence and celebrity grew rapidly. He expanded the aims of PUSH to encompass education issues and voter registration drives. Jackson also became increasingly involved in politics, serving as a recognized voice for minorities and the poor, and appeared often in the national media supporting various political candidates.

Jackson's boldest move came in 1983, when he declared himself as a candidate for the presidential



Rev. Jesse L. Jackson (Wong/Newsweek)

nomination of the Democratic Party. His campaign emphasized his intense interest in the situation of America's poor and pledged a "rainbow coalition" committed to biracial political cooperation. During the campaign, however, he faced charges of anti-Semitism during the 1984 campaign, because of his association with the NATION OF ISLAM and his reference to New York City as "Hymietown." Lacking both an experienced national organization and the funds to operate it, Jackson never had a chance of winning the Democratic primary, although he won more delegates (384) than expected. In 1986 Jackson institutionalized his rhetoric by founding the National Rainbow Coalition, and he sought the Democratic nomination again in 1988. Although he lost this bid as well, he fared much better than in 1984, winning primaries in Alaska and Delaware and finishing second in 23 other states. Though Jackson failed to secure the Democratic nomination, his attempts were politically significant. Through these races, he mobilized unprecedented black political participation, inspired other blacks to seek political office, opened the way for future presidential challenges, and nationalized many social and racial issues.

Following his presidential bids, Jackson shelved his political aspirations but continued his leadership roles. He left PUSH in 1989 to lobby for the statehood of the District of Columbia in 1990. Jackson also resumed his role in unaligned diplomacy, a field in which he had success in 1983, when he negotiated the release of a black prisoner of war detained in Syria. In 1991 he was responsible for the release of hundreds of hostages held by Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. He resumed leadership of PUSH in Chicago but continued in his role as an unofficial, roving ambassador. In 1999 he secured the release from Slobodan Milošević of three American members of United Nations peacekeeping forces, who had been captured on the border between Yugoslavia and Macedonia.

Jackson continued to play an important role in the Democratic Party, actively campaigning for ALBERT GORE, JR., in the 2000 election. In 2001 further controversy was created when he acknowledged he had fathered a child of one of his coworkers, but this did not affect his strong support among civil rights leaders.

See also AFFIRMATIVE ACTION; AFRICAN AMERICANS; FARRAKHAN, LOUIS A.; NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE; POLITICAL PARTIES; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—William L. Glankler

### Jackson State University (protests at)

On May 13, 1970, approximately 150 protesters gathered at Jackson State College (now Jackson State University), an all-black college in Jackson, Mississippi, to protest the VIETNAM WAR. The demonstration quickly turned into a race riot in which two black students were killed. The crowd was unusually hostile, their anger fueled by the killing of four white students at Kent State University nine days before, and by the racially motivated killing of six African Americans in Augusta, Georgia, just two days earlier. Most of the demonstrators were content to chant antiwar slogans, but many burned police barricades and threw rocks and bottles at passing white motorists. Alarmed local officials quickly alerted the National Guard. The next night, as the violence escalated, members of the Jackson police department and the Mississippi Highway Patrol fired into the crowd, killing two black students and wounding 12 others.

This incident took place in the midst of widespread antiwar activity centered on America's college campuses. The Jackson State incident, however, was not merely an antiwar protest. Jackson State students were agitating against President RICHARD M. NIXON's plans to invade Cambodia as well as the alleged racism of local police. Racial tensions between the students and local police had seethed for a decade, as had internal tensions resulting from the possibility that the school would lose its state funding if the campus turmoil did not abate. Neighborhood toughs had exacerbated the tensions in the community by harassing white motorists, actions that were invariably blamed on Jackson State students.

After the incident in 1970, local politicians and law enforcement agencies tried to blame students for the shootings by claiming that a sniper, not police, had fired shots into the crowd. Survivors of the incident and the victims' family members took the matter to court, but no members of the local police department, the Mississippi Highway Patrol, or the National Guard were ever indicted.

See also AFRICAN AMERICANS; ANTIWAR MOVEMENT—VIETNAM; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

—William L. Glankler

### Jaworski, Leon (1905–1982) lawyer

Leon Jaworski is best known as the special prosecutor who replaced ARCHIBALD COX, JR., during the WATERGATE SCANDAL. The son of a Polish immigrant father and an Austrian immigrant mother, Jaworski was born in Waco, Texas, on September 19, 1905. After graduating from high school at the age of 15, Jaworski attended Baylor University, graduating from the law school in 1925. After joining the bar that year, Jaworski became the youngest person to practice law in Texas. Jaworski practiced in Houston, as a member of the firm of Dyess, Jaworski, and Strong, before



joining the firm of Fulbright, Crooker, Freeman and Bate in 1935. During World War II, Jaworski served in the office of the army's judge advocate general as chief of the trial section of the war crimes branch. Jaworski personally tried two war crimes cases and left the army in 1945 with the rank of colonel.

In 1963 President Lyndon Johnson appointed Jaworski to positions on the President's Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, the International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes, and the International Court of Arbitration. Besides these appointments, Jaworski served as president of the American College of Trial Lawyers (1961–62), the State Bar of Texas (1962–63), and the American Bar Association (1971–72).

Jaworski's most significant appointment was as special prosecutor of the Watergate scandal, which began during the presidential election when Republican operatives broke into the Democratic campaign headquarters in the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C. Because the burglars were associated with the White House, questions were raised concerning President RICHARD M. NIXON's exact involvement in this crime. Nixon named Jaworski as the replacement for Archibald Cox in 1973, as a result of the public outcry following Cox's dismissal during the Saturday Night Massacre. As special prosecutor, Jaworski argued the case of *UNITED STATES v. NIXON* before the U.S. SUPREME COURT in 1974. Jaworski won a unanimous decision and forced the administration to release Oval Office tapes in which Nixon's conversations had been taped by a White House recording system. The material on the tapes forced the resignation of the president and the conviction of several of his advisers. Jaworski's decision not to prosecute Nixon proved controversial, if not moot, given GERALD R. FORD's pardon of the former president. Jaworski maintained that Nixon could never receive a fair trial. Jaworski resigned as special prosecutor on October 25, 1974, and never argued another case after *United States v. Nixon*. In 1977 Jaworski served as special counsel to the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. In what was dubbed "KOREAGATE," he assembled cases of misconduct in an influence-buying scandal involving members of Congress.

Jaworski returned to Texas and reassumed his duties as a managing partner at his law firm, now known as Fulbright and Jaworski. He retired in 1981 and died of a heart attack at his ranch on December 9, 1982.

—John Korasick

## Jews and Judaism

Judaism is one of the most ancient religions still practiced in the world today. It has survived despite centuries of persecution that has lasted into the 20th century. Modern

Judaism has evolved from trends of earlier centuries and the subsequent Diaspora, the displacement of Jews from ancient Israel. After the Holocaust, perpetrated under the Nazi regime during World War II, Jews located in three major geographic locations, which together include more than three-fourths of the Jewish population: Israel, the Slavic region of the former Soviet Union, and the United States.

Twentieth-century Judaism consists of Orthodox, Reform, and Conservative branches. In the 19th century Judaism separated into Orthodox and Reform bodies. For Orthodox Jews, both the written law (Scriptures) and the oral laws (commentaries on the legal portions of the Scriptures) are authoritative and derived from God. For Reform Jews, the Scriptures are not authoritative in any absolute sense, but binding only in their ethical content. While Orthodox Jews maintain the traditional practices, Reform Jews perform only those rituals that they believe can promote and enhance a Jewish, God-oriented life. In 1999 leaders of American Reform Judaism reversed century-old teachings by encouraging, but not enforcing, the observance of many traditional rituals. The Conservative movement, or "historical school," which emerged in the 20th century, seeks to formulate a middle position between Orthodox and Reform Judaism, which maintains most of the traditional rituals, while recognizing the need to make changes in accordance with contemporary deliberation. Conservative Jews believe that the history of Judaism proves that tradition and change occur together, and that what is central to Judaism and has remained constant throughout the centuries is the people of Israel, not the fundamentalism of Orthodoxy. Related to the Conservative movement is the Reconstructionism of Mordechai M. Kaplan, who maintains that Judaism is a human-centered rather than a God-centered religion.

Their differences are in ritual practices, which shade from one group into the other. Common to all is the role of the rabbi, no longer solely a Talmudic scholar but an administrator, spiritual leader, pastor, and preacher. Although there was some cooperation among the three major Jewish denominations—Orthodox, Reform, and Conservative—the real effort of organized Judaism in America in the late 20th century revolved around the individual synagogue and the branch to which it belonged.

Just as the Civil Rights movement led by Martin Luther King, Jr., marked a turning point in the civil rights history of AFRICAN AMERICANS and contributed to a sense of national pride, the Six-Day and Yom Kippur Wars, in which Israel defeated combined Arab armies, marked a turning point in the Jewish sense of self. There was a sharp rise in interest and pride in the embattled Jewish state of Israel that carried over to American Jewish culture generally. Of additionally political historical significance is the

Democratic nomination of Senator Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut as vice presidential candidate in the 2000 election, the first Jew to be so nominated.

Jews followed the American norm, affiliating in greater numbers with synagogues, though often for ethnic or social, rather than religious, reasons. Although Jews constitute only a small fraction of the population of the United States (2 percent of the overall 1993 U.S. population), Judaism occupies a role far surpassing its numerical importance and is regarded, with Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, as one of the major American faiths.

See also RELIGION.

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—Michele Rutledge

## Judicial Watch

Judicial Watch is a nonpartisan, nonprofit public interest foundation dedicated to “reforming the legal and judicial systems and fighting government corruption.” It was established in 1994 by chairman and general counsel Larry Klayman, whose previous experience included 22 years as a trial attorney specializing in international trade. Though proclaiming itself nonpartisan, Judicial Watch promotes its mission as a conservative counterpoint to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Relying heavily on the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), Judicial Watch typically makes requests of federal agencies for information related to instances where government corruption is suspected, and sues if its requests are denied.

Judicial Watch first received national attention in 1996 during its investigation into allegations that Commerce Secretary Ron Brown traded seats on overseas missions in exchange for major donations to the Democratic Party. Brown was exonerated from these charges. In looking at fund-raising activities by the Clinton administration, Klay-

man subpoenaed Democratic fund-raiser John Huang just days before the 1996 presidential election and eventually filed 11 civil lawsuits against President WILLIAM J. CLINTON’s administration, relating to alleged misconduct in CAMPAIGN FINANCE.

In addition, Judicial Watch filed more than 50 lawsuits during Clinton’s presidency, including cases related to “Filegate,” when the White House accessed FBI files of former Republican employees; “Travelgate,” when the White House retaliated against former travel office employees after an embarrassing gaffe; and allegations that the White House used the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to engage in politically motivated tax audits. Judicial Watch also filed suits on behalf of several plaintiffs in sexual harassment suits against President Clinton, including those involving Paula Jones, Gennifer Flowers, and Juanita Broaddrick. In addition, the foundation directed several suits against Attorney General JANET RENO, for her failure to appoint INDEPENDENT COUNSELS to investigate numerous allegations of campaign finance corruption. Reno and others in the Justice Department were also sued for their role in the forcible removal of the Cuban boy, Elián González, from the Miami home of his uncle in April 2000. Many of these suits, however, did not reach trial.

Judicial Watch has received considerable criticism for its aggressive use of pretrial rules of discovery, including lengthy depositions involving a wide range of questions, which critics decry as partisan “fishing expeditions” and a means of raising money for the organization. Judicial Watch continued to maintain a presence, even after President Clinton left office. In 2001 it conducted its own ballot inspection and recount in 67 Florida counties involved in the dispute over the 2000 Presidential election between Texas governor GEORGE W. BUSH and Vice President ALBERT GORE, JR.

The combative tactics by Judicial Watch, along with its aggressive fund-raising, has led to charges of partisanship and complaints by Democrats that this organization shows that “Clinton-haters” undertook a campaign to harass the administration at any cost. Supporters of Judicial Watch claim that these activities helped lead to Clinton’s impeachment and revealed the Lewinsky scandal.

—Aharon W. Zorea

# K



## ***Kelo v. City of New London*** (2005)

This U.S. SUPREME COURT case, which challenged the right of the city of New London, Connecticut, to take property from private citizens in order to facilitate economic redevelopment, sought to clarify the limits of the Fifth Amendment's takings clause, commonly known as eminent domain. The court ruled that the taking of private property by the city to "increase tax and other revenues" and to revitalize an "economically distressed city" was indeed a "public use" under the takings clause of the Fifth Amendment.

The Supreme Court based much of its decision in *Kelo v. City of New London* (2005) on two previous eminent domain cases. The Warren Court's decision in *Berman v. Parker* (1954) established the Court's position that the Fifth Amendment's "public use" clause meant that private property could be taken for a public purpose with just compensation. In 1984 the Court ruled in *Hawaii Housing Authority v. Midkiff* that the taking of property for purposes of economic development, including transfer from one private owner to another, was a public use and, therefore, constitutional. However, *Midkiff* involved the concentration of a great deal of property in a few hands, which made it an unusual case and left open the question of whether the Court would support taking private property for economic development in other cases.

The *Kelo* case served to reaffirm the Court's decision in *Midkiff* and established that the Court would uphold economic development as a public purpose in less extreme circumstances. The *Kelo* case began when the city of New London, in an attempt to alleviate the area's economic distress, approved a development plan that would use land from a state park and from approximately 115 privately owned properties. Susette Kelo and eight other property owners filed suit when the city, as part of its plan, sought to acquire their property using eminent domain. Kelo claimed that the city's attempt to obtain her property violated the takings clause of the Fifth Amendment because the taking was not for "public use." The New London Superior Court

issued a permanent restraining order forbidding the city to take some of the properties but ruled that other takings were valid. On appeal, the Connecticut Supreme Court held that the city's economic development was a valid public purpose and, therefore, the taking of all the properties in question was permissible.

The Supreme Court affirmed the Connecticut court's decision. Justice John Paul Stevens's opinion made it clear that the Court would defer to local legislatures' decisions about when to invoke eminent domain, as long as the legislature had a reasonable public purpose in mind and local statutes allowed such takings. Justice SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR penned the dissent, arguing that the *Kelo* decision would put all private property at risk of being taken and transferred to another owner, as long as the new owner's intent was to "upgrade" the property in a way the local legislature deemed beneficial to the community.

The long-term impact of *Kelo v. City of New London* was, at the time of this writing, undetermined. The public reaction to the decision was largely negative due to concerns that it might increase the number of eminent domain property seizures. On the one-year anniversary of the decision, President GEORGE W. BUSH issued an executive order instructing the federal government to use eminent domain only to benefit the general public and not to advance the economic interests of private parties. Both houses of Congress also responded to the Supreme Court's decision by introducing legislation to limit the federal government's use of eminent domain, although none of this legislation had been signed into law at the time of this writing.

See also PROPERTY RIGHTS.

—Amy Wallhermfechtel

## **Kemp, Jack F.** (1935–2009) *U.S. representative*

Born on July 13, 1935, in Los Angeles, California, Jack French Kemp became a professional football player and

then went on to serve in Congress from 1971 to 1989. He became a leading proponent within the Republican Party for supply-side and free-market economics. He was selected by ROBERT DOLE as his vice presidential running mate in an unsuccessful campaign to defeat incumbent WILLIAM J. CLINTON in 1996.

Kemp graduated from Occidental College in 1957 and then enlisted in the U.S. Army Reserves from 1958–62 (active duty, 1958). He became a professional football player for 13 years. He was captain of the San Diego Chargers from 1960 to 1962 and also was captain of the Buffalo Bills, which he led to the American League championship in 1964 and 1965. He cofounded the American Football League Players Association, which elected him president five times. Following his football career he served as special assistant to California governor RONALD W. REAGAN in 1967 and then served on the staff of the Republican National Committee in 1969.

In 1970 former professional football quarterback Jack Kemp won a congressional seat representing suburban Buffalo, New York. The self-described conservative Republican held the seat for nine years and became known for his support of the VIETNAM WAR, increased defense spending, supply-side economics, and civil rights initiatives. Kemp questioned arms control agreements, such as the STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATIES with the SOVIET UNION during the COLD WAR. He opposed school busing, federal subsidizing for abortions, increased aid to urban mass transit, strip-mining controls, and the creation of a consumer protection agency. In the 1970s Kemp was best known for his tax reform strategies, described in detail in his 1979 book, *An American Renaissance; A Strategy for the 1980s*.

Kemp sought the Republican nomination for president in 1988, but Vice President GEORGE H. W. BUSH prevailed. After Bush won the presidency, he named Kemp to head the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Kemp received bipartisan praise for his efforts at HUD. In 1996 Kemp was Robert Dole's running mate on the Republican presidential ticket, where Kemp's reputation as an advocate for programs supporting minorities and the poor made him a valuable addition, but the Democratic incumbents Clinton and ALBERT GORE, JR., once again claimed the White House. After the election, critics within the Republican Party concluded that the Dole-Kemp ticket was lackluster.

In 1993, with WILLIAM J. BENNETT and former UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, he cofounded Empower America, a conservative organization whose stated mission is to promote democratic capitalism and economic growth through freedom and individual responsibility. Kemp died of cancer at age 73 on May 2, 2009.

—Leah Blakey

## Kennedy, Edward M. (Teddy) (1932–2009)

### *U.S. senator*

Senator Edward Moore Kennedy (D-Mass.) had a long, active career in the U.S. SENATE, having been elected to this body in 1962. Ted Kennedy was born February 22, 1932, in Brookline, Massachusetts, the son of millionaire Joseph P. Kennedy and his wife, Rose, and the youngest brother of John F. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy. After attending private schools, he received a college education at Harvard University and a law degree from the University of Virginia in 1959. In 1960 he served as assistant district attorney to Suffolk County in Massachusetts, until 1962, when he was elected to the U.S. Senate to fill the unexpired term of his brother John F. Kennedy, who had become U.S. president.

Reelected in 1964, Kennedy gained the respect of his colleagues for well-researched promotion of social issues. With the escalation with the war in Vietnam, Kennedy became a leading dove. He worked to abolish the military draft and to aid the hundreds of thousands of refugees created by the war. Kennedy pressured the RICHARD M. NIXON administration to halt the bombing of North Vietnam and to withdraw the American forces. In 1969 he was elected by his colleagues as Senate majority leader. Many considered him the frontrunner for the U.S. presidency in 1972. A car accident in July 1969, in Chappaquiddick, Massachusetts, changed the trajectory of Kennedy's career. The accident occurred when Kennedy drove his car off a narrow bridge on Chappaquiddick Island, Massachusetts, and his only passenger, Mary Jo Kopechne, a staff member, drowned. Kennedy delayed reporting the accident for nine hours. Later, Kennedy was found guilty of leaving the scene of the accident, received a two-month suspended sentence, and lost his driver's license.

In 1971 ROBERT BYRD (D-W.V.) defeated him for Senate majority whip. In 1972 Kennedy asked his constituents if they wanted him to remain in office, and he received an overwhelming show of support. Despite the loyalty of locals, the Chappaquiddick incident plagued his national campaigns. He made a bid for the Democratic nomination in 1976, but withdrew from the race in 1974. In 1980 he challenged incumbent president JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., for the Democratic Party nomination but ultimately failed in his presidential bid.

In the 1970s Kennedy focused on a range of issues, including becoming a leading advocate of airline deregulation and sponsor of the Health Maintenance Organization Act of 1973. In the 1980s he became a leading critic of many of President RONALD W. REAGAN's initiatives—the defense buildup, Strategic Defense Initiative, cuts in children and mother welfare programs, and other reductions in social spending. In the 1990s he sponsored bills on IMMIGRATION, criminal code reform, fair housing, public education, health care, and AIDS research. He was instrumental



in the enactment of the Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1997, which made it easier for employees to take their insurance plans to new jobs; and the Children's Health Act of 1997, which allowed broader medical coverage for children in all 50 states. On the Senate Judiciary Committee, he upheld liberal positions on ABORTION, CAPITAL PUNISHMENT, and racial busing. Among his most noted initiatives were crime reduction, labor laws, environmental protection, and the minimum wage.

His activities in FOREIGN POLICY included warning Great Britain regarding its policies in Northern Ireland, condemning Pakistan for practicing genocide in Bangladesh, and meeting with Brezhnev privately in the SOVIET UNION in 1974.

Under the GEORGE W. BUSH administration, which came into office in 2000, Kennedy worked closely with the White House for a Patients' Bill of Rights Act (2001) and education reform. Kennedy was the senior Democrat on the Labor and Human Resources Committee and the Immigration Subcommittee. He was also a member of the Congressional Friends of Ireland and the Senate Arms Control Observer Group. Over the course of his career, Kennedy was a strong advocate of a national health care system, a policy that was also on the agenda of the BARACK OBAMA administration. However, in May 2008 Kennedy was diagnosed with a cancerous brain tumor and died on August 25, 2009, as the debate on health care continued.

—Leah Blakey

### Kent State University (protests at)

On April 30, 1970, President RICHARD M. NIXON announced to the American people that U.S. combat forces had launched an "incursion" into neutral Cambodia, in an effort to block North Vietnamese supply lines into South Vietnam. Nixon's announcement caused a storm of protest on college campuses throughout the country, but at Kent State University in Ohio, the four-day-long protests escalated into confrontation between students and the Ohio National Guard that resulted in the deaths of four students and injuries to nine others on May 4, 1970.

The National Guard, which had been ordered to Kent State University by Governor James Rhodes, resolved to disperse any assembly. As noon approached, a crowd of protesters and onlookers had grown to an estimated 1,500 people. Ohio's assistant adjutant general, Robert Canterbury, ordered the assembled students to disperse immediately. Students responded with taunts and chants. When the students refused, General Canterbury ordered the guardsmen to disband them. Approximately 116 men, equipped with loaded M-1 rifles and tear gas, formed a skirmish line toward the students. The guard advanced, firing tear gas and scattering the students into a wider

area. Some students responded to the attack by throwing stones, and guardsmen also threw stones at the students; because of the distance, most stones from both parties fell far short of their targets. After most of the crowd dispersed, the guard appeared to retreat. Many students assumed the confrontation was over and began to walk to their next classes. As the guard reached the crest of the hill near a practice field, approximately 12 members of Troop G simultaneously turned around, aimed, and fired their weapons into the crowd in the Prentice Hall parking lot. (In 1975, civil trials proved that there was a verbal command to fire.) A total of 67 shots were fired in 13 seconds, killing four students and wounding nine others. The Kent State shootings sparked further demonstrations across the country, and only when Nixon withdrew American troops from Cambodia did they subside.

See also ANTIWAR MOVEMENT—VIETNAM; JACKSON STATE UNIVERSITY (PROTESTS AT); NIXON, RICHARD M.

—Michele Rutledge

### Kissinger, Henry A. (1923– ) *secretary of state, National Security Advisor*

While acting as National Security Advisor and secretary of state in the 1970s, Henry Alfred Kissinger brought a new vision of international affairs to American foreign relations. Born Heinz Alfred Kissinger on May 27, 1923, in Fürth, Germany, Kissinger was the son of a local schoolteacher, Louis, and his wife, Paula Kissinger. The Kissingers were Jews, and soon after the Nazi Party came into power in Germany in 1933, Louis lost his teaching position, and Kissinger was obliged to attend a Jewish school. In 1938 the family left Germany for New York. Kissinger established himself as a superior student. After a year of high school in 1938, Kissinger was forced to take a job and attend school at night to help support his family. In 1942 Kissinger graduated from high school and entered the City College of New York to study accounting. After a year at City College, Kissinger was drafted into the United States Army.

Kissinger soon found himself attached to the 84th Infantry Division. A fellow German émigré, Fritz Kraemer, arranged to have Kissinger attached to U.S. Army intelligence as a driver and translator. In the following months, Kissinger became an administrator over occupied German towns, entered counterintelligence, taught at a military intelligence school, and entered Harvard University. In 1943, the year he was drafted, Kissinger had become a naturalized citizen.

Kissinger entered Harvard in 1947 as a sophomore and quickly gained a reputation as an outstanding student. He earned a B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. from Harvard before joining the faculty in 1954. During these years, Kissinger developed relationships with many future world leaders



Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (Library of Congress)

as the founder and director of the Harvard International Seminar. His *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* (1957), commissioned by the Council on Foreign Relations to study the concept of nuclear massive retaliation, became a surprise best-seller. Kissinger criticized the concept as a viable foundation for American foreign policy. He asserted that power politics is a constant, ongoing process that is sometimes peaceful and sometimes not. Permanent security, he argued, could never be achieved.

This study brought Kissinger to the attention of Nelson Rockefeller, governor of New York and a presidential aspirant. When Rockefeller ran for the Republican nomination in 1960, Kissinger was his main foreign policy adviser. Though Rockefeller lost the primary to RICHARD M. NIXON, Kissinger acted as an unofficial adviser to both President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon Johnson.

During the presidential campaign of 1968, Kissinger acted briefly as an adviser to Nelson Rockefeller, before shifting his allegiance to Democratic candidate Hubert Humphrey. He then joined the Nixon campaign. Shortly after being sworn in as president, Nixon reorganized FOREIGN POLICY under the authority of his National Security Council, rather than the State Department, and appointed Kissinger as his National Security Advisor, which provided him with increased legitimacy in the eyes of many. Kissinger had impressive ties with the eastern wing of the Republican Party and academics, who remembered Nixon as a red-baiting congressman from the 1940s. The selection was surprising, because Kissinger and Nixon were virtual strangers, and Kissinger had supported candidates opposing Nixon.

Kissinger believed that the United States was suffering from a “crisis of power.” He identified four areas

in which American power had eroded since the end of World War II: nuclear arms power, economic power, international reputation, and domestic order. Kissinger’s foreign policy was designed to bolster American strength in all these areas.

Kissinger also believed that the world lacked a stable order, and designed American foreign policy to try to establish such an order. For Kissinger, “order” did not necessarily mean “peace.” Considering competition among nations natural, Kissinger regarded peace as an aberration because peace is at the mercy of any aggressive nation. For there to be order, he argued, there must be generally accepted rules of international conduct. Kissinger accordingly redefined U.S. national interest: The United States would no longer make the entire world vital to its security and would devise nonmilitary responses. The United States would no longer concern itself with foreign internal politics; it would work with nations pursuing similar international goals. The ideology of foreign countries would no longer be a vital factor in determining American national interest. In the old view, China had been part of the ideological problem of communism. In the new view, China became part of the solution to containing Soviet expansion. This same thinking led to renewed American partnerships with dictatorial regimes around the world. This focus on order led to arms control agreements with the Soviet Union, the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty I, and the ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY in 1972.

In addition to arms control and the renewed relations with China, Kissinger negotiated the American withdrawal from Vietnam (he won a Nobel Peace Prize for his work) and a cease-fire between Israel and the Arab nations.

Kissinger became secretary of state in 1973, the first foreign-born person to hold the office. He remained in this position after GERALD R. FORD replaced Nixon as president. Kissinger came under increasing attack from members of Congress who charged that the SOVIET UNION was forging ahead of the United States militarily. At the end of Ford’s presidency, Kissinger left the government and established the consulting firm Kissinger Associates. Since leaving government service, he has acted as an unofficial adviser to presidents, and as a pundit in print and television, and has written his memoirs and numerous books on diplomacy and international relations.

**Further reading:** Seymour Hersh, *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House* (New York: Summit, 1983); Walter Isaacson, *Kissinger: A Biography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992); Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (Boston: Little Brown & Company, 1979); ———, *Diplomacy* (New York: Touchstone, 1994).

—John Korasick

## Koreagate

"Koreagate" was the name given to an influence-peddling scandal that came to light in 1977 between the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) and a number of American congressmen. The United States was committed to protecting the Republic of Korea (ROK), in South Korea, from North Korean aggression after the Korean War (1950–53). By the early 1970s, however, relations between Seoul and Washington, D.C., had begun to sour. In 1971 President RICHARD M. NIXON announced plans to withdraw one of the two divisions of American troops stationed in South Korea, and in 1972 ROK president Park Chung Hee began instituting authoritarian measures. In 1976, in an effort to relieve these growing tensions, the KCIA spent millions of dollars to fund a scheme they called "Intrepid." The primary goal was to reverse President Nixon's decision to withdraw American troops, and secondarily to smooth over general relations between the two countries.

The Intrepid plan involved inviting prominent American journalists to South Korea in order to "convert" them, and then sending them back to the United States to gather intelligence on sensitive high-level policies. At the same time, former ambassador Kim Dong-Jo worked with the flamboyant rice importer, Park Tong Sun, to peddle influence directly to American congressmen. Tong Sun became known for his lavish parties at his Georgetown home, where congressmen receiving anything from free trips and gifts to outright bribes.

The plan backfired when news of the influence peddling broke just before the 1976 election. The new president, JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., had campaigned on a promise to gradually withdraw the remaining division from South Korea, and news of the scandal further solidified that position. As promised, President Carter began withdrawing troops December 13, 1977, though he later suspended the withdrawal on June 29, 1979, after a three-day conference in Seoul with ROK president Park. In 1978 congressional investigations made by the Ethics Committee and the House Subcommittee on International Relations revealed that as many as 115 congressmen were implicated in the scheme, including the Speaker of the House, THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR. (D-Mass.). Despite the widespread press coverage, the scandal gradually faded from the public view during Carter's term.

Carter later revisited the issue of U.S. troop commitments in South Korea, and on June 29, 1979, he suspended the withdrawal. The extent of American support was demonstrated four months later after President Park's assassination; American troops went on a DEFCON alert, and President Carter sent a powerful naval force into the Korean straits to prevent North Korea from taking any undue advantage of South Korea's temporary instability.

—Aharon W. Zorea

## Kosovo

In 1995, Kosovo, an autonomous province of Yugoslavia, attracted world attention when ethnic conflict between Serbs and Albanians erupted, leading Yugoslavian president Slobodan Milošević to intensify military operations against Albanian rebels. When an agreement brokered by President WILLIAM J. CLINTON failed to be honored by Milošević, the United States, acting through NATO, launched a massive bombing campaign to prevent Milošević from conducting "ethnic cleansing" against the Albanians. American intervention in Kosovo reflected a new role for the United States in the postwar world.

Slobodan Milošević had come to power after Yugoslav leader Marshal Tito, who had presided over the country since World War II, died in 1980. Under Tito, the Kosovo region had been granted equal standing with other Yugoslavian states. With the collapse of communism in eastern and central Europe, Yugoslavia began to come apart, as various ethnic minorities called for independence in Croatia, Bosnia, and Kosovo. In 1981 ethnic Albanian students rioted in Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, demanding independence and sparking a national movement. As tensions rose in Kosovo, Slobodan Milošević sought to rally Serbian nationalists in Kosovo against the Albanians. In 1989 Milošević revoked the autonomy that Tito had granted to Kosovo. At the same time, Milošević imposed a police state that kept Serbs in control of all institutions and stripped Albanians of all power. He also expelled Albanians from universities, medical institutions, and schools. Ibrahim Rugova, an ethnic Albanian political leader, responded by creating a parallel system for Albanians in Kosovo, providing clinics, schools, and a university in Pristina.

By 1995 Albanian rebels had organized a guerrilla movement, operating under the auspices of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). As fighting intensified between the KLA and Milošević's Yugoslav army, the war spread to the civilian population. More than 200,000 ethnic Albanians, many of them women and children, took refuge in the hills near Kosovo. With the threat of war spreading to other Balkan countries, the international community sought to resolve the conflict.

In spring 1999 the Serbs once again attacked the Albanian population in Kosovo. NATO responded with a bombing campaign in March 1999, with the goal of protecting the ethnic Albanian population. In June 1999 NATO halted its bombing campaign in exchange for an agreement of Serb withdrawal from Kosovo, of the return of Albanian refugees, and the installation of a NATO-led multinational peacekeeping force in Kosovo. On June 20, 1999, the last of the 40,000 Serbian forces left Kosovo just before NATO's deadline for withdrawal. In the summer of 2001 the United Nations Court formally charged Slobodan

Milošević with crimes against humanity, but Milošević died of a heart attack in 2006 before a verdict could be rendered. In 2008 Kosovo declared itself independent, with about 50 nations recognizing its independence. The Republic of Serbia does not recognize the new Republic of Kosovo. However, the United Nations Interim Administration Mission (UNMIK)—the temporary administra-

tor of Kosovo since 1999—is still technically in charge of Kosovo's government.

See also FOREIGN POLICY.

**Further reading:** Miron Rezun, *Europe's Nightmare: The Struggle for Kosovo* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001).

—Leah Blakey





## labor

After the 1955 merger of America's two largest labor unions, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), organized labor's power was solidified. In the 1960s it called itself the "people's lobby," and lobbied for social causes like the Civil Rights Act and minimum wage and local labor laws. In 1970 its reach was still wide, with 25.7 percent of American workers belonging to a union. But by 1980, only 23 percent belonged to unions; in 1990, membership had dropped to 16.1 percent; in 2000, it was 13.5 percent. Forces behind this decline are complex, and involve many disparate elements, including technological advances that reduce need for employees, corporate relocation, the rise of a largely nonunionized service economy; and questions about the purpose of unions in a postindustrial global economy. How organized labor addresses these concerns will determine its role in the 21st century.

During the 1970s, internal upheaval and external social and government actions combined to erode organized labor's influence for the rest of the century. In 1970 came the death of Walter Reuther, the highly regarded, moderate, and powerful leader of the United Auto Workers (UAW) and head of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Reuther was replaced by his partner in the union of the AFL and CIO, George Meany, a more inflammatory presence who mirrored the decade in labor relations.

During the early 1970s, many unions voiced protest through militancy and wildcat strikes: in 1974 alone there were 424 work stoppages, involving 1.8 million workers. Accounting for some strikes were public-sector union employees, whose rights were broadened in the 1960s by federal and local laws, and whose union representation tripled to 39 percent between 1960 and 1976. One public-sector strike, the 15-statewide U.S. postal carriers strike in 1970, was the largest wildcat strike in U.S. history and resulted in 14 percent wage increases. Large-scale private-

sector walkouts were held at General Motors and General Electric, among other companies.

While some strikes, such as the mail carriers' strike, were supported by the public, nonunion members came to view the increasing number of strikes as a reflection of union self-interest. This public mistrust was exacerbated by the high life and salaries of top union leaders and the high-profile criminal investigation of Teamsters leader Jimmy Hoffa.

At the same time, many union workers viewed George Meany's leadership as outdated. Meany supporters disagreed, causing widespread labor unrest. This dissent would help to weaken the union-supported Democratic Party, resulting in party defections and the 1968 election of Republican RICHARD M. NIXON. Upon Meany's death in 1979, Lane Kirkland was named head of the AFL-CIO. In the 1980s Kirkland took a diplomatic approach to mending fences within organized labor and countering antiunion forces.

One such force was the decreasing number of union-represented jobs. While major service industries and public-sector professions such as transportation workers, teachers, and the police were highly unionized, older sources of membership declined. Among them were construction, manufacturing, and mining trades, some of which were already facing downsizing through the introduction of labor-saving robots. Particularly on assembly lines, robots were successful in streamlining operations and reducing payrolls.

In the early 1980s union membership in the United States declined to its lowest level since the early 1930s. One reason was the lack of union funds devoted to recruiting new members: For the past two decades, only about 3 percent of union budgets were devoted to recruitment. Another problem was the ineffectiveness of union public relations. Unable to present their goals as being common to all workers, unions were instead seen as intrusive in or irrelevant to the workplace. Crystallizing these public views



Union members hold up signs at a rally against a trade agreement with China on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. (Elderfield/Liaison)

was the 1981 Professional Air Traffic Controllers Association (PATCO) strike.

In early August 1981 the 11,300 PATCO federal air traffic controllers voiced displeasure with their treatment by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), which ran the air-control towers, and staged a nationwide walkout. Among PATCO's grievances were long hours, persistent understaffing, and relatively low pay. President RONALD W. REAGAN declared the strike illegal, given their position as federal employees, and fired the controllers. The strike soon ended, nonunionized replacement controllers were hired, and in 1982 PATCO went bankrupt. Throughout the strike, some of the U.S. public supported the government's actions, which set the stage for future decades of private-sector strikebreaking. Over the next two decades, strikes were broken at Maytag, Greyhound Bus (both 1983); Continental Airlines (1984); Hormel and the *Chicago Tribune* (1985); TWA and Boise Cascade (1986); International Paper (1987); Eastern Airlines (1989); the *New York Daily News* (1990); and Caterpillar (1992); among others. As a result of these strikes, some 300,000 strikers, during the 1980s, lost

their jobs to replacement workers. In light of the power shift from workers to employers, strikes decreased dramatically, from approximately 290 per year during the 1970s to approximately 35 during the 1990s. Additionally, beginning in 1979 and continuing into the mid-1990s, workers' real hourly wages decreased.

Another reason for decreased union membership was the growth of the international marketplace, which decreased demand for domestic goods and workers. Since the 1950s, the United States had been losing ground in manufacturing, and by the 1980s, countries such as Germany and Japan dominated markets for products including automobiles and electronics. International events also affected the labor market, particularly the unrest in the Middle East and actions of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) that led to higher oil prices. As oil prices rose in the 1970s, demand for American-made cars with poor gas mileage decreased, which in turn eliminated jobs in the automotive industry.

Workers in the 1980s and 1990s also found their jobs jeopardized by corporate resettlement. To reduce overall

operating costs, domestic manufacturing plants originally located in the Northeast and Southeast were relocated to less union-friendly southern and southwestern United States. Even more damaging to U.S. workers was the corporate employment shift abroad. In countries such as China, Mexico, India, or Hong Kong, workers were employed for dollars per day in manufacturing and specialized computer jobs, effectively eliminating thousands of U.S. union positions.

Another factor affecting the decline in union membership was the decades-long shift from a manufacturing to a nonunionized service economy. Continuing the shift that began in the 1970s, service industry jobs in the 1980s grew at a higher rate than jobs in basic industries, such as construction. Generally, appetite for union memberships in these previously nonunionized service professions, from fast-food worker to bank employee, is limited, in part because of the jobs' high turnover rates.

During this period, employers were also more active than they had been for decades in trying to keep companies from unionizing. Such efforts included promises to match union-level salaries if employees would remain un-unionized. More aggressive tactics included antiunion campaigns aimed at convincing workers not to unionize; such "union avoidance" plans bloomed after the success of the PATCO strike, with corporations hiring over 7,000 law and planning specialists to persuade workers not to unionize.

The antiunion movement was complicated by the less-than-active union support from the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Months-long delays in ruling on illegal firings and demands for reinstatement left potential union organizers wary. Plans to streamline the NLRB and prohibit permanent replacements stalled in the House and Senate in the 1970s and 1990s.

Other antiunion government trends of the era include the deregulation of the airline and trucking industries in the 1970s; and the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993, which was strenuously fought by unions.

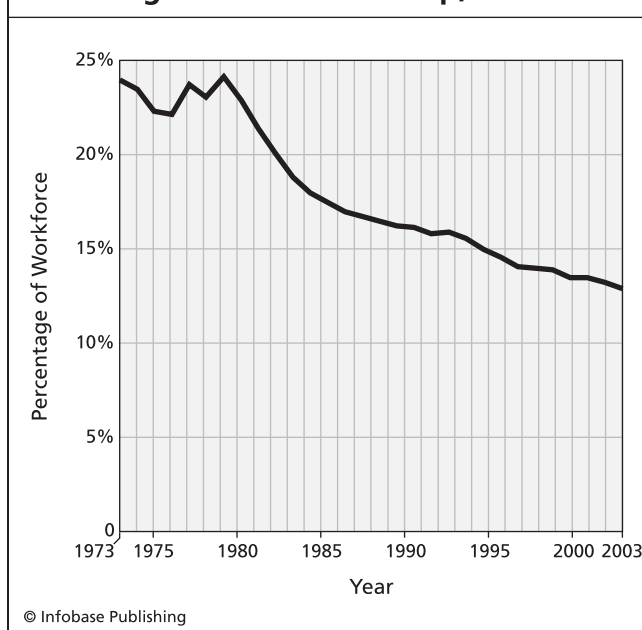
In 1995 John Sweeney, leader of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), became leader of the AFL-CIO and declared the end of the postwar labor era. Sweeney then called to rebuild union strength by devoting more attention to organizing, a practice that proved fruitful in the United Steel Workers (USW) grassroots campaign against unfair labor practices at Bridgestone/Firestone in the mid-1990s, after an earlier strike had failed. Sweeney also called for developing new union procedures and bargaining strategies, to meet the needs of a more varied 21st-century workforce that included part-time and professional workers, and often, a more cooperative, less adversarial management. For example, unions would need to adapt to represent autonomous professionals, such as doctors or

engineers, now pressured by health-care conglomerates or public bureaucracies.

While manufacturing jobs and related union membership has declined over the past three decades, organized labor has experienced gains in areas of occupational growth, such as white-collar professions and the health-care industry. As of 2000 the Service Employees International Union was the largest union in North America, with the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) ranked second and the Teamsters union third. Union membership has increased substantially in many government-related professions, such as public school teaching, as well as private-sector arenas, such as health care, professional sports (players and non-players alike), and the arts. Among arts professionals now widely represented are members of ballet and opera companies, and symphony orchestras, specialized film professionals such as cinematographers and film editors, and musicians and studio engineers. University-based clerical and technical workers also improved wages and benefits or have become unionized during the 1980s and 1990s, often through grassroots initiatives that involved student or faculty support.

Despite years of government-related union setbacks and membership levels, the union remains a fixture in the American workplace. As of now, the union's collective bargaining power still delivers a higher paycheck: In 2000, the median weekly earnings for a nonunion person employed in a full-time job was \$542; for a union member, it was \$691.

**Declining Union Membership, 1973–2003**





For the future, however, U.S. labor is looking outward to the international community of workers. Just as corporations are making global business alliances, some labor leaders point to the need for global worker alliances to protect workers' rights. As AFL-CIO president John Sweeney told Mexican labor union members in 1998, "We want to . . . find practical ways to work together by seeking and developing coordinated cross-border organizing and bargaining strategies."

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—Melinda Corey

### Laffer curve

The Laffer curve is an economic model on the relationship between tax rates and revenue proposed by the economist Arthur Betz Laffer in 1974. Laffer had received an undergraduate degree at Yale University and a doctorate in international economics from Stanford University. He had served as chief economist for the Office of Management and Budget (1970–72). He attracted attention for supply-side economic theories that held reductions in federal taxes on business and individuals would lead to increased economic growth and ultimately increase government revenue. This model was highly influential among conservative policymakers and economists and was instrumental in the formation of RONALD W. REAGAN's tax policies in the 1980s.

Laffer developed what became known as the Laffer Curve, which showed that, starting from a zero tax increase, increases in tax rates will raise the government's tax revenue to the point at which, when rates become high enough, further increases in tax rates will decrease revenue, because such high rates create disincentives against earning more income. In other words, increased tax rates would discourage investment and act as a disincentive to enterprise, therefore leading to a reduction in government revenue. Laffer's model suggested a level of tax rates at which tax revenue could be maximized, and was illustrated graphically by the curve, whose peak marked an optimum balance between tax rates and government revenue.

Although Laffer was the first economist to emphasize its possible application to the U.S. income tax system, his main points were well known to public finance economists. His theory provoked controversy about where the Ameri-

can economy in 1981 should be located on the Laffer curve. He believed that conditions were right for cuts in tax rates, and this would lead to increased government revenues.

This model was attractive to conservative politicians in the 1970s and 1980s, as it underscored fiscal policies of lowering tax rates to stimulate the economy. The Laffer curve gave a theoretical basis for Reagan's 1981 economic plan, which called for cuts in marginal tax rates. Laffer served as an economic consultant to the U.S. Treasury and Defense Departments between 1972 and 1977, and as an economic adviser to President Reagan.

The effectiveness of Laffer's model created considerable criticism. President Reagan reduced tax rates significantly in 1981, and although an economic expansion occurred, there was a substantial increase in the budget deficit. Following the tax cuts, however, actual government revenue was less than had been projected. Supporters of the Laffer curve point to external economic pressures, especially in increased government spending for defense, as well as other areas, while critics argue that the Laffer curve has proven to be discredited.

See also ECONOMY; REAGANOMICS.

—Stephen Hardman

### Latin America (U.S. relations with)

The complex relationship between Latin America and the United States began officially in 1823, with the assertion by President James Monroe of U.S. hegemony in the Western Hemisphere through the Monroe Doctrine. From the later 19th century to World War I (1914–18), U.S. influence increased southward through economic investments, military engagements, and hemispheric alliances. The First Pan-American Conference was held in 1889 in Washington, D.C., and from this emerged what would become the Organization of American States (OAS) in 1948. U.S. policies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were supported by "gunboat" diplomacy and dollar democracies that served to protect growing U.S. investments and collect Latin American debts.

In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the 1947 Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance was drafted. This treaty constituted the Latin American equivalent of the Truman Doctrine in Europe. The pact asserted that an attack by any state against an American state was considered an attack on all American states and would be countered by the assistance of the other American states. The Rio Pact circumvented the UNITED NATIONS and provided impetus for later U.S. covert and overt interventions against reformist democracies during the COLD WAR, in the name of combating communist aggression.

The VIETNAM WAR and the revolution in Cuba that brought Fidel Castro to power had a profound effect upon



U.S. policy makers in Latin America during the 1960s and throughout the cold war. President John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, which, among other things, promised increased U.S. economic aid on the condition that Latin American nations initiate land-reform programs, created a legacy that lasted until the end of the 20th century.

Lyndon Johnson continued Kennedy's Alliance and became determined to prevent the rise of any other Castros in the Western Hemisphere. The Johnson administration continued U.S. commitment to contain communism and was well aware of the political ramifications of the situation in Cuba. In the mid-1960s Johnson faced a crisis in PANAMA, when anti-American sentiment erupted into violence. In subsequent negotiations, the United States made a major concession that helped pave the way for the historic treaty of 1977 under President JAMES EARL CARTER, JR.

Named for its chair, Nelson Rockefeller, the *Rockefeller Report on the Americas* was released during the administration of RICHARD M. NIXON. The 1969 report asserted Latin American military forces to be the agents necessary to effect productive social change. It called for registering women to vote and preparing Latin America for limited democracy. The document indicated that direct U.S. investment in manufacturing industries had risen in the 1960s from one-fifth to one-third of all U.S. investments in Latin America. This began the era of the U.S.-based transnational corporation (TNC)—as well as growing criticism of these entities.

The *Rockefeller Report* called for regional implementation of policies articulated in the Nixon Doctrine and a Trilateral Commission Report. According to the Nixon Doctrine, the United States would share global police responsibilities with regional powers. The Trilateral Commission brought together political and business leaders from Japan, North America, and Western Europe to discuss and, where possible, coordinate long-range economic and governmental strategies. The economic recommendations of the report, which called for developing economic leadership in Latin America, were carried out through the expansion of the curriculum offered at the Inter-American Defense College, at Fort McNair in Washington, D.C., to include financial and industrial management in the Latin American officers' training.

Relations between the United States and Latin America, however, became strained when the United States supported a military coup against the socialist government of Salvador Allende in Chile in 1973. Later congressional investigations discovered that the Central Intelligence Agency had been involved in this coup against a democratically elected government. This involvement tarnished the image of the United States throughout Latin America.

The Linowitz Commission Report (named for its chair, Sol Linowitz) suggested a different perspective on



Cuban president Fidel Castro talks with Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez during their visit to the unknown soldier monument in Campo Carabobo, Valencia, Venezuela, October 29, 2000. (Getty Images)

U.S.–Latin American relations. Issued in 1976, the report highlighted a recent disclosure of U.S. involvement in human-rights violations by Latin American military regimes in the mid-1970s, and the detrimental effects those revelations were having on the United States. President Jimmy Carter resolutely followed the Linowitz Commission's recommendations. His administration brought together the Trilateralist advocacy of limited democracy with an emphasis on human rights. Carter directed U.S. policy toward his belief in global interdependence, and called on Americans not to succumb to unwarranted fear of communism. Carter successfully negotiated a treaty with Panama to turn the Canal Zone over to Panamanian government control on December 31, 1999. The treaties indicated an effort in Washington to respond to the world of interdependence and Latin American nationalism, but they increased the American public's perception of Carter as weak and naive. Moreover, the readiness of the president to transfer control to Panama implied to many observers a disengagement from Latin American affairs. It did not matter in opinion polls that the waterway had become practically obsolete and that American withdrawal was stretched out until the last day of the century.

The assumption of power by the Sandinista Front of National Liberation (FSLN), a guerrilla movement in NICARAGUA, posed yet another unwelcome challenge to the United States. In August 1978 the Sandinista Liberation Front, named after a 1930s revolutionary, overthrew the American-backed Anastasio Somoza regime. President Carter wanted to avoid the use of force and hesitated to counteract the instability within Nicaragua. In 1979 Carter proposed that the Organization of American States establish an alternative government and send a peacekeeping group,

but only Argentina supported this. The OAS had taken this action in 1965 in the Dominican Republic, but this time the organization did not support the U.S. president.

The Sandinistas toppled the Somoza dictatorship, which had essentially been created and supported by the United States over many decades, although the United States had withdrawn its support of the regime shortly before its collapse. When RONALD W. REAGAN assumed the presidency in 1981, the United States moved to take direct action in Nicaragua and to strengthen the neighboring country of El Salvador, which was under extreme pressure from guerrillas supplied by Nicaragua and Cuba. The Reagan administration pressured Congress to lift its 1974 ban on police aid by requesting a \$54 million police-training package for Central America, but Congress did not grant it because of its fear of human rights violations.

Also during the early 1980s, intelligence and satellite photos suggested that Cuba was building an airbase on the small island of GRENADA. This fell within striking distance of Venezuela's coastline and, in the cold war context, was seen as a threat to U.S. security. Reagan's decision to invade the Caribbean island in 1983 demonstrated a new American willingness to use force.

HENRY A. KISSINGER was principal author of *The Kissinger Commission Report* (1984), a major political analysis of Latin America. The report maintained that the United States was seen as being associated with dictatorships in Latin America, which tarnished the U.S. international image.

Following this report, U.S. policy in Latin America sought to improve relations with its hemispheric neighbors by promoting democratic governments and free trade. Both President GEORGE H. W. BUSH's *Enterprise for the Americas Initiative*, backing free trade, privatization, and an eventual hemispheric common market, and President WILLIAM J. CLINTON's modified NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (NAFTA) used this approach.

Furthermore, the United States supported debt relief through government and U.S. bank loans when a number of Latin American countries, including Mexico and Brazil, faced a debt crisis. Policy makers understood that any long-term solution to debt problems would be found in Latin American governments imposing fiscal responsibility and economic development. In 1990 the Bush administration proposed a plan that called for bilateral free-trade negotiations and the establishment of a free-trade zone in the Americas. MEXICO had proposed such a free-trade agreement with the United States in the late 1980s. U.S. policy makers envisioned a Mexican arrangement as the initial step, to be followed by trade agreement with other countries. NAFTA resulted from this situation, but prompted American political concerns about environmental protection and labor conditions.

NAFTA went into effect in 1994. President Bill Clinton sought to advance hemispheric economic cooperation when he convened the 1995 Summit of the Americas in Miami. The meeting was called for the creation of a free-trade hemisphere to be established by 2005. Brazil created its own effective trading bloc, Mercado Comun del Sur tariff union (MERCOSUR) in 1995. MERCOSUR is comprised of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and one year later, Chile. Bolivia also became an associate member of the South American bloc. MERCOSUR's success encouraged the revitalization of other trade groups. The long-term results may show not one Americas-wide organization, but eventually a number of competing groups.

In 1995 U.S. secretary of defense William Perry convened the first meeting of hemisphere defense ministers in Williamsburg, Virginia. The meeting emphasized Washington's desire for cooperative action in the Americas, except in the Caribbean basin, which the United States still considered vital to national security. The United States's continuing emphasis on political and security agreements, distinct from economic agreements, reemerged during the meeting. The American proposal to formulate a "Democratic Alliance for Cooperative Hemisphere Security" appeared to be a post-World War II and cold war-era version of the Good Neighbor policy.

Foreign policies of President GEORGE W. BUSH suggest a new direction of U.S. policy in Latin America. Mexican President Vicente Fox was the first official visited by the newly inaugurated Bush, and the stay was marked by promises to work with Mexico to build upon the 1994 NAFTA agreement, to review law enforcement policies on drug trafficking, and to police the U.S.-Mexican border in a way that ensures security and humane treatment of migrants.

Extensive illegal immigration over the U.S.-Mexico border continued, however. George W. Bush was not able to build a political coalition capable of passing immigration reform legislation to cope with these migrants.

Many Latin Americans also continued to suspect that U.S. efforts at free trade and promoting democracy were, in fact, attempts to exert undue influence in the region. Between 1998 and 2007, several countries elected left-leaning leaders who often incorporated anti-U.S. rhetoric into their campaigns. This wave of leftist leaders included Hugo Chávez in Venezuela; Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva in Brazil; Nestor Kirchner and his wife, Christina Fernández de Kirchner, in Argentina; Tabaré Vázquez in Uruguay; Evo Morales in Bolivia; and Verónica Michelle Bachelet in Chile. Although the domestic policies of these leaders differ, they are united in opposing the free-trade zone of the Americas and in working toward regional integration on their own terms rather than those of the United States.

One effect of this turn to the left was a larger public role for Cuba's Fidel Castro. Castro developed close relations with several left-leaning governments. In 2004 he hosted Chávez and Morales in Havana. These leaders' acceptance of Castro undermined the U.S. policy of isolating the Cuban leader, which diminished the effectiveness of U.S. sanctions.

The U.S. leadership has also been concerned that the new generation of leftist leaders, most notably Hugo Chávez, will move away from the region's traditionally close ties with the United States. Venezuela's status as the United States's fourth largest oil supplier makes its friendship crucial to U.S. interests. But Chávez's anti-American rhetoric, including accusations that the United States backs his political opponents and supports attempts to assassinate him, has strained relations between the two countries. The United States has denied direct involvement in any coup or assassination attempts. Nevertheless, Chávez has threatened to cut off oil supplies if he feels his regime is imperiled.

In general, Latin America's turn toward the left has strained its relationship with the United States. Anti-imperialist rhetoric has been accompanied by agreements like the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas, which are designed to make Latin America less economically dependent on the United States. These trade pacts have not yet led to a reduction in imports from the United States, but they are an indication of Latin America's intent to distance itself from the United States.

See also CONTRAS; FOREIGN POLICY; IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR; NORTH, OLIVER L.; PANAMA (INVASION); PANAMA CANAL (TURNOVER).

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—Michele Rutledge and Amy Wallhermfechtel

## liberalism

Classical liberalism is a movement or philosophy that has as its objective the growth of individual freedom. Since the concepts of freedom or liberty vary in different historical eras, the specific agendas of liberalism have changed. The ultimate objective of liberalism, however, remains static, as does its characteristic belief not only in human rationality but also in essential human goodness. Liberalism assumes that individuals, having a rational intellect, have the ability to discern problems and solve them, and thus they can achieve systematic betterment in the human condition. Often opposed to liberalism is the doctrine of conservatism, which, in essence, maintains a belief in tradition and custom, while remaining suspi-

cious of rapid change, human rationality, and centralized government.

In the early 20th century, theorists began to look to the state to prevent oppression and to advance the welfare of all individuals; the welfare state came into existence, and social reform became an accepted governmental role. Liberal thought came to accept the belief that society, through the state, should be responsible for providing the minimum conditions necessary for decent individual existence. This gained widespread acceptance in the United States during the depression of the 1930s and found expression in the New Deal of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Unemployment insurance, minimum wage laws, and Social Security programs were all instituted as part of Roosevelt's adaptation of Keynesian economics, and remain today a large part of modern democratic government. Although most Americans appear to support such liberal programs as Social Security and an established minimum wage, there remained a strong antistatist impulse in the American political tradition that emphasized individual responsibility, community control, and shared power balanced between state and federal governments.

Although socialism promotes many similar liberal programs, liberalism does not support the socialist goal of complete equality prescribed by state control, and because it is rooted in the primacy of the individual, liberalism also resolutely opposes communism. In domestic politics, liberals have fought arbitrary power exercised over the individual by the state; restrictions that prevent people from rising out of a low social status; and barriers such as CENSORSHIP that limit free expression of opinion. In RELIGION, liberals have fought against attempts by religious pressure groups to influence public opinion and church interference in the affairs of the state. In economics, liberals have battled monopolies and mercantilist state measures that subject the economy to state control. Prevailing liberal goals in the United States include racial integration, the eradication of poverty, and sexual equality.

Modern liberalism accepts the idea that the principal function of the state is to protect the rights of the citizens. These rights are often ascribed to nature and frequently affirmed in bills of rights, proclamations, declarations of the rights of man, petitions, and so on. Especially at the beginning of liberal movements, liberals are reformers, who go against customs, traditions, and entrenched institutions.

The word "liberal" is an ambiguous term. A classical liberal may believe in a minimalist state, and say that freedom is a matter for the individual alone, while the modern liberal believes that freedom is a concern of the state and that the state can and should be used as an instrument to advance freedom. In its extreme, classical liberalism tends toward minimum state involvement beyond protecting individual rights, the rule of law, and the nation's

defense, while modern liberalism tends toward greater state intervention. In between lie innumerable gradations. As a consequence, the term “liberalism” is faced with great ambiguity. Nevertheless, liberalism has become identified with movements to change the social order through the further extension of individual and collective rights within a democracy.

Classical liberalism differs profoundly from modern-day American liberalism. Scholars have traced this change in liberalism to the Progressive Era, although a number of historians perceive a radical difference between the liberalism of the Progressive Era and liberalism in the second half of the century. These historians find the transformation of liberalism occurring in the 1960s and 1970s, as liberalism shifted from “opportunity liberalism” to “entitlement liberalism.” Opportunity liberalism, as expressed in the New Deal, spoke of economic security using the rhetoric of opportunity and self-reliance. For example, Social Security was presented as a system that allowed individuals to save for their own retirement from funds that were earned by wage earners. In the 1960s, liberals such as Lyndon Johnson, some historians have argued, spoke in terms of the entitlement of economic security, medical care, work opportunities, and care for the aged and disabled. These “entitlements” were translated by liberals as “rights.”

Critical to this transition from opportunity liberalism to entitlement liberalism was civil rights. Initially, the Civil Rights movement in post-World War II America focused primarily on “equal opportunity” and the end of racial segregation. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made it unlawful to discriminate on the basis of race, age, national origins, religion, or gender. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, however, would provide a means of not only protecting equality under the law but of redressing social inequality imposed by years of discrimination. President Lyndon B. Johnson’s 1965 Executive Order 11246 mandated that federal agencies actively “promote” employment of minorities. This program was strengthened in 1971 by President RICHARD M. NIXON’s Revised Order No. 4, which required government contractors to include AFFIRMATIVE ACTION programs that promoted minority hiring and included specific timetables by which specific goals of minority representation must be met. These guidelines not only affected all local and federal agencies and contractors but were also adopted by larger private corporations, which sought to demonstrate their tolerant culture. The goal was not simply to prohibit discrimination, but to promote preferential policies for minorities in employment, education, and other areas of society. From the 1970s through the 1990s, affirmative action guidelines have been used to promote greater equality for women, ethnic minorities, the physically challenged, and senior

citizens, VIETNAM WAR veterans, the physically and mentally disabled, and homosexuals.

Following on the heels of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, President Johnson also launched a “war on poverty,” aiming to bring about a “Great Society” in which the quality of life for all Americans was improved. As defined in his 1965 State of the Union address, Johnson’s Great Society measures included Medicaid and Medicare, which extended health care benefits to the poor and elderly; direct federal aid to education and the arts; and the creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which provided federal funding for public housing projects. The number of federally funded social programs rose from 45 in 1961 to 435.

The decades of the 1960s and 1970s gave rise to the so-called rights revolution. In the process, individual rights were translated into group and collective rights, as activists from various groups representing ethnic minorities, women, the aged, the disabled, homosexuals, and others argued that they were entitled to collective rights as distinct groups within society. Supporters of this “rights revolution” maintained that the extension of entitlement and the recognition of group rights represented the maturing of a democracy.

While the policies, programs, and court decisions that furthered this rights revolution enjoyed to varying degrees bipartisan support, entitlement liberalism became associated primarily with the Democratic Party. The rise of rights-based liberalism led liberals to take positions on a number of political, social, and cultural issues at times at odds with the majority of the American public, although not always. The Democratic Party’s strong support of civil rights and affirmative action, even though many Republicans supported these policies as well, caused a wholesale desertion of white voters in the South and many white male voters in the North, thereby changing the political dynamics for both major parties. In addition, because liberals often supported civil rights and civil liberties issues such as ending prayer in school, gay rights, and reproductive rights, the Republican Party, especially as it moved to the right, was able to capture a political backlash, as many Americans felt that the rights revolution had gone too far and was undermining traditional morality and national identity in America.

Conservative critics argued that the rights revolution associated with entitlement liberalism had created a “cult of otherness,” which envisioned a society made up of subgroups—African Americans, Hispanics, Asians, women, and homosexuals—who only identified with their own cultures and demanded collective rights to the detriment of individual rights and equal opportunity. Proponents of the rights revolution responded by arguing that American society needed to acknowledge and encourage existing



diversity and to recognize that group rights enabled past injustices to be remedied.

Any resolution of this debate appeared to many to be intractable, yet underlying this apparent polarization was fundamental agreement by the majority of Americans on a range of issues, once only associated with modern liberalism: The vast majority of Americans accepted the end of racial segregation; most Americans accepted racial and gender equality; and most Americans accepted a greater role for the federal government in maintaining economic stability for the nation, and in ensuring the health, welfare, and education of the American people. Most of all, Americans remained an optimistic people, and while often skeptical of too much government interference in their daily lives, they continued to believe in the noble experiment, American democracy.

See also CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; LIBERTARIAN PARTY.

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—Michele Rutledge and Aharon W. Zorea

## Libertarian Party

The Libertarian Party was established in Westminster, Colorado, in 1971 and nominated its first candidate, University of Southern California philosophy professor John Hospers, for the presidency in the 1972 ELECTIONS. Hospers and his running mate, Tonie Nathan, although drawing less than 1 percent of the popular vote, each garnered one electoral vote that year. Thus Nathan became the first woman in U.S. history to win a vote in the electoral college. The party achieved its pinnacle of success in 1980 when it was on the ballot in all 50 states, and its presidential candidate, Edward E. Clark, received over 900,000 votes. Although totaling only about 1 percent of the national aggregate, it was enough to make the Libertarian Party the third-largest political party in the United States.

The Libertarian Party has offered a wide slate of candidates at the local, state, and national levels in election years. Approximately 1,000 Libertarian candidates ran for local, state, and federal office in the 1996 general election. The party seems especially supportive of women and minorities. Of the presidential tickets in 1992 and 1996, only the Libertarian slate included women: Nancy Lord for vice president in 1992 and Jo Jorgensen for vice president in 1996. Over the years, AFRICAN AMERICANS, NATIVE AMERICANS, homosexuals, and members of several other racial and ethnic groups have held positions of influence

and responsibility in the Libertarian Party by running for public office as Libertarians. In 1992, through the efforts of a massive grassroots volunteer effort, the Libertarian candidates for president and vice president were listed on all ballots in all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Guam. The Libertarian Party achieved the same level of ballot access in 1996, a historic event marking the first time in U.S. history that the same third party has been listed on every state's ballot for two presidential elections in a row.

The Libertarian Party is devoted to the principles of libertarianism. Libertarians seek to maximize personal liberty and minimize the power of government. They are often described as being a combination of conservative and liberal. Like contemporary conservatives, they oppose taxation and the expansion of government. In the manner of modern liberals, they believe strongly in freedom of religion, press, and association; separation of church and state; and free speech. Libertarians support individual freedom, arguing that whatever consenting adults do with their bodies is their concern alone. The party supports the right to bear and keep firearms, defends ABORTION rights, and opposes CENSORSHIP. Arguing that "the initiation of force against others" constitutes a violation of fundamental rights, the Libertarian Party supports the prosecution of fraud and criminal violence, but also advocates the retraction of laws against such so-called victimless crimes as drug use, prostitution, and gambling.

The Libertarian Party opposes the traditional services and powers of federal, state, and local governments and advocates the rights of individuals to exercise singular authority over their lives. This is expressed through the contention that a completely free market is an essential economic condition for prosperity and liberty. For that reason, the party advocates the repeal of corporate and personal income taxes; replacing government-provided services (such as the post office and Social Security) with voluntary and private administration; the revocation of a wide range of regulations, including GUN CONTROL and minimum wage laws; and the breaking up of all regulatory bodies that do not explicitly encourage freely contracted trade. Libertarian Party ideals are incorporated into its platforms, which are established at semiannual conventions of delegates from state affiliates and national party officers. Convention delegates elect the Libertarian National Committee, composed of regional representatives, several at-large members, and a chairperson and other officers, to administer the ongoing functions of the party. Presidential candidates are elected by a simple majority of convention delegates. Libertarian candidates have run in every presidential election since 1972, and several members were elected to local and state office, particularly in the West. The party maintains a national office in Washington, D.C., and has affiliates in every state. The Cato Institute,

a public-policy research organization, was founded in 1977 in part by prominent members of the Libertarian Party. The party publishes various kinds of literature in addition to brochures and newsletters, including the official party newspaper, the *Libertarian Party News*.

See also CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; LIBERALISM; POLITICAL PARTIES.

—Michele Rutledge

## literacy

Within the last 50 years, educators and the general public have become concerned with American students' lagging proficiency in basic literacy skills. Literacy is the ability to interact with written material at a level that permits an individual to be a productive member of society. Over time, this standard has changed, as the Industrial Revolution and the emerging post-industrial economy have required individuals to attain greater proficiency in key literacy skills such as reading, writing, and mathematics.

The definition of a "literate" American has changed over time. In the early American republic, an individual who could sign his name was considered literate. The Industrial Revolution changed the definition of literacy, however. A factory worker often had to be able to read instructions and manuals that required a higher level of literacy. By the 1930s the government considered a person literate if he or she had completed three years of schooling. World War II also increased literacy requirements, as military training required mastering written materials and math skills. By the end of the war, the standard of literacy had risen to five years of schooling. As complex technology became ever more prevalent in American society, standards of literacy continued to rise, reaching a ninth-grade level by 1970. At the beginning of the 21st century, the U.S. Department of Education considered a high school diploma plus some post-secondary education to be the minimum standard for literacy.

Many Americans, however, have had difficulty meeting this standard. Most college graduates read at about an 11th- or 12th-grade level. At this level, one should be able to read technical manuals, compute a tax return, and write a letter. However, according to the U.S. Education and Labor Departments, about half the workforce had difficulty with these tasks. As a consequence, these individuals found themselves shut out of well-paying jobs in the modern economy. Several studies in the 1990s showed that businesses perceived their workers' low literacy levels as the chief obstacle to their success. Many companies created math and English tests as part of pre-employment testing regimes. Other studies have compared Americans' literacy levels with that of other nations. The International Adult Literacy Survey (1997) ranked Americans 12th in prose literacy out of 20 industrialized countries surveyed. In the

Adult Literacy and Lifeskills Survey (2003), the United States ranked fifth out of six countries surveyed.

Studies of literacy levels in the United States were most often focused on literacy in the English language. Consequently, these studies sometimes classified immigrants who did not speak or write English well as illiterate or minimally literate. In contrast, studies that focused on literacy and language diversity indicated that many immigrants were literate in their native languages. These studies led many literacy programs to incorporate language diversity by offering bilingual instruction as a bridge to English literacy.

By the beginning of the 21st century, changes in technology, however, continued to outpace literacy gains. Some educators argued that the United States must restructure its education system in order to make faster gains in literacy or otherwise risks being left behind in the post-industrial economy. State and local policy makers continued to experiment with a variety of solutions.

—Amy Wallhermfechtel

## literature

The rise of the mass entertainment industry profoundly affected literature in the 20th century, especially in the last half of the century, with the emergence of huge MEDIA and entertainment conglomerates that combine movies, "blockbuster" fiction, and mass marketing of books. One major consequence has been a sharp distinction between "serious" literature that appeals to well-educated readers (often constituting a small readership) and "popular" fiction (usually for a mass audience). Although there are occasional overlaps between serious literature and popular literature, a growing disparity between the two types became increasingly evident as Americans entered the 21st century. Witnessing this growing distance between audiences and the exhausted literature of a postmodernist world, some critics declared the "end of the novel." Serious literature often became more esoteric and, indeed, incomprehensible and unappealing, to most readers.

The one caveat to this generalization appeared in ethnic and regional writing that attracted both serious readers and a large audience. For example, Toni Morrison's novels, such as *The Bluest Eye* (1970) and *Beloved* (1970), appealed to a wide readership in its historical depictions of the African-American experience in the United States. Her books were found in assigned reading lists in literature classes in high schools and universities.

Other ethnic themes were found in Native American and Asian-American novels that began to appear in the late 1960s. Typical of Native American literature were such novels as N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* (1968), Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* (1977), and Louise

Erdrich's *Love Medicine* (1984). Another Native American author, Sherman Alexie, also found a popular audience for his novels and short stories. Stories of the Asian-American experience were captured in best-selling novels by Maxine Hong Kingston, Amy Tan, and Gish Jen. The Chicano cultural experience in America was the focus of a number of Mexican-American writers, such as Sandra Cisneros.

Other authors attracted wide audiences with serious novels, including E. L. Doctorow, Richard Ford, Joan Didion, Joyce Carol Oates, Tom Wolfe, Mary Gordon, and Jane Smiley, among others. Novelists of an earlier, post-World War II generation including Norman Mailer, Saul Bellow, Philip Roth, Joseph Heller, and John Updike continued to produce novels that reached a popular audience, while being acclaimed by literary critics.

Yet a clear trend in literature appeared to place more emphasis on literary style and esoteric philosophical themes. In the mid-1970s a "minimalist" school of literature emerged. Minimalist writers sought to capture postmodern, alienated culture through spare, attenuated fiction that focused on the isolation of individuals in a mass, urban society. Sardonic in tone, spare in the use of words, deliberately avoiding grand themes and philosophical profundity, minimalist writers captured the disconnection of individuals in their personal lives. Closely associated with this minimalist fiction was short-story writer Raymond Carver, whose stories were collected in *Cathedral* (1984) and *What We Talk about When We Talk about Love* (1981). Frederick Barthelme's short stories, for example, are often set in shopping malls and apartment complexes, suggesting the "soullessness" of commercial culture. Novelist Thomas Pynchon wrote surrealist allegories of modern life in his well-received *The Crying of Lot 49* (1966), *Gravity's Rainbow* (1973), and *Vineland* (1990). Although minimalism became less fashionable in the 1980s, it continued to find expression in Ann Beattie's and Lorrie Moore's stories. For the most part, however, minimalist writers attracted a relatively small audience.

Symbolic of this bifurcation between serious literature and popular literature was the status of literary magazines in the late 20th century. As traditional literary magazines, such as *Saturday Review* and *Atlantic Monthly*, began to lose readers in the 1960s, literary reviews tended to become more academic, both in content and in their base of support. In the 1960s, small reviews such as *Tri-Quarterly*, *Salmagundi*, and *Field* were founded, all housed at universities. *Tri-Quarterly*, under the editorship of Charles Newman, found support from Northwestern University. *Salmagundi*, at Skidmore College, focused more on cultural issues than on literary themes. Edited by Robert and Peggy Boyers, *Salmagundi* published such distinguished cultural critics as Christopher Lasch, Gerald Graff, and George Steiner. *Field*, housed at Oberlin College, remained devoted to

contemporary poetry and the study of poetry. As a result, *Field* published every major American poet, and provided a forum for discussing new trends in poetry, from "confessional" poetry to contemporary poetry in Russia and South America. *Boundary 2*, started by faculty members at the State University of New York, emphasized experimental fiction and poetry, while promoting a literary POSTMODERNISM. Other college-based literary magazines, *The Chicago Review* (University of Chicago), the *Iowa Review* (University of Iowa), and the *Columbia Review* (Columbia University) also provided an outlet for aspiring young writers. These and other journals, as well as commercial magazines like the *New Yorker*, published leading short story writers such as Raymond Carver, William Taylor, Cynthia Ozick, and T. Coraghessan Boyle, as well as younger writers such as Amy Hempel, Mark Richard, and Rick Bass. While literary magazines introduced these writers to a larger public,



Writer and Nobel laureate Toni Morrison in September 1987 (AP Photo)



most of them found limited audiences. For the most part, their market was confined to a relatively small audience of educated readers.

The publishing market itself changed, as established publishing companies underwent consolidation through mergers. In 1980 Harper and Row merged with J. B. Lippincott, for example, but in the late 1970s and early 1980s, large corporations such as Viacom and Time Warner began acquiring publishing houses to diversify their businesses. While W. W. Norton avoided amalgamation, other larger publishing enterprises, including HarperCollins, the Penguin Group, Simon and Schuster, and Random House, were absorbed by larger corporations. These mergers led to a greater emphasis on producing books with potential for large financial returns. Emphasis was placed on advertising, and on acquiring writers with potential for “celebrity” status. Although small independent publishing houses continued to survive, and occasionally published a best-seller, the new publishing corporations emphasized the “bottom line” in choosing the books they produced. Computer technology changed the publishing business, making it easier to write, edit, design, and print books, but the costs of books continued to increase for a variety of reasons, including the desire of large publishing houses to raise their marginal profits.

While the publishing business was changing, the distribution of books also changed. Independent bookstores were driven from business by mega-bookstores such as B. Dalton, Waldenbooks, and Barnes and Noble, that could afford store space in shopping malls. At the same time, wholesale book distributors, which provided the books to these stores, also consolidated. The development of the INTERNET provided another outlet for the distribution of books, as Amazon.com and Barnes and Noble sold books through their Web sites. Beneficiaries of the Internet, ironically, included used booksellers who used it to expand their markets.

In this new book market, publishers sought the “blockbuster” novel. This meant the acquisition of writers with established reputations in the marketplace. Romance novels (such as those published by Harlequin), westerns by authors such as Louis L’Amour, mysteries, and some science-fiction novels maintained a steady mass market. Older writers, such as Herman Wouk, Harold Robbins, and James Michener, remained popular as well. Female novelists, such as Danielle Steel and Jacqueline Susann, provided sexual drama to their fans. John Grisham’s legal novels found a ready audience, while Stephen King’s “horror” novels consistently reached the best-seller lists. The beauty of all these writers from the publishers’ point of view was that their novels were easily adapted to movies for theaters and television, then released on videos and DVDs.

The trend toward the “blockbuster” novel was exemplified in the early 21st century by the success of the Harry Potter novels and films. A series of seven novels

by J. K. Rowling, a struggling single mother in England, the books captured the imagination of children (and many adults) around the world. The novels chronicled the life of a young boy who goes to wizard school and struggles through all the difficulties of growing up while engaged in a life-and-death struggle with a powerful evil wizard. Each book in the series sold phenomenally well and, to date, six of the seven have been made into major motion pictures. The same pattern occurred with Dan Brown’s novel *The DaVinci Code*, another best-seller made into a major motion picture. In this case, however, the controversial fictional plot, suggesting that Jesus was married and fathered a daughter, angered Christians around the world, and the controversy may have contributed to the lack of financial success of the movie.

The “blockbuster” novel made into a film was not just for mainstream media. Christian bookstores benefited from the spectacular sales of the *Left Behind* series, coauthored by Jerry Jenkins, a novelist and biographer whose works usually feature evangelical Christians as protagonists, and Tim LaHaye, a fundamentalist Christian minister. Three movies have been made from the novels and have enjoyed success in the home video market and church theatrical viewings.

The late 20th-century trend of making a successful novel into a movie, then releasing it on video and DVD by companies that combine book publishing, movie production, and home video releases, will likely continue well into the 21st century.

Yet the success of these novels, and movies made from them, suggested the great gap that had been created between serious fiction and popular fiction in the 21st century. This is not to say that the novels produced for the mass market were without literary merit; nonetheless, the market for fiction and literature had changed radically from the 19th century, when writers such as James Fenimore Cooper, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, Henry James, and Mark Twain were writing their novels. Still it is worth noting that the novels of these classic writers, too, found a place on the shelves of the mega-bookstore chains. And Hollywood scriptwriters discovered that these classics sometimes made for good movies.

See also COMPUTERS; INTERNET; MEDIA; MOVIES; RECREATION.

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—Stephen E. Randall



# M



## marriage

The institution of marriage experienced considerable change during the last three decades of the 20th century and into the 21st century. In U.S. law, “marriage” refers to the legal action, contract, formality, or ceremony by which the conjugal union between a single man and a single woman is formed. In addition, many states accepted “common law” marriage, in which couples lived together for an extended period of time without having been “joined” together in a civil or religious ceremony. Though the legal definition of marriage remained relatively constant, the practices of cohabitation, premarital and extramarital relations, and out-of-wedlock childbirth reflect the changing standards of sexual morality in the United States.

In 1967 the U.S. SUPREME COURT, in *Loving v. Virginia*, overturned state laws barring racial intermarriage (antimiscegenation), concluding that states that bar marriages solely on the basis of race violate the equal protection and due process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment. Beyond these civil rights considerations, the application requirements for marriage and divorce have remained under the discretion of state governments.

In 1969 California passed a “no-fault” divorce law. Prior to this, all states except Oklahoma and Maryland required proof of cruelty, desertion, or adultery before granting legal divorce. Women’s rights advocates argued such stringent divorce laws favored abusive husbands and restricted women’s freedoms by binding them to unsatisfactory marriages.

The new “no fault” law in California was heralded as an advance for women’s rights, and a movement to enact more lenient divorce laws spread like a wave throughout state legislatures; within five years, 44 states passed similar laws granting divorce on the basis of “incompatibility” or “irreconcilable differences” alone. The number of divorces sharply increased in the early 1970s, and opponents feared permissive divorce laws encouraged divorce as a solution for marital difficulties; many predicted that the rise in the

divorce rate in the 1970s would continue, destroying the institution of the traditional two-parent family. However, the divorce rate, defined as the proportion of marriages taking place right now that will eventually divorce, is a controversial statistic. The Census Bureau in 2000 calculated the divorce rate at 52 percent. The National Center for Health Statistics revised this number down to 43 percent, but it was then moved back up to 50 percent by the Census Bureau in 2002. In 2005 the Census Bureau revised the rate downward again to just more than 40 percent. These statistics suggest the biggest change in society came not from married people getting divorced but rather from single people not marrying at all.

The most significant impact on the traditional definition of marriage came after the SEXUAL REVOLUTION of the 1960s and early 1970s, when the number of premarital relationships and out-of-wedlock births increased dramatically. In 1970, 72 percent of the U.S. population was married. By 1990 the percentage was down to 62 percent, and by 1997 the percentage had dropped to 59 percent. According to an article in the *New York Times*, in 2005, 51 percent of women were living without a spouse, up from 35 percent in 1950 and 49 percent in 2000. Marriage rates among black women were particularly low, with only about 30 percent of black women living with a spouse. For Hispanic women, 49 percent were living with a spouse, while the percentages were 55 percent for non-Hispanic white women and 60 percent for Asian women.

One reason for this has been the rise in cohabitation. In 1960 there was only one cohabitating couple for every 90 married couples, but by 1995 that ratio had increased to 1:12, with 50 percent of young adults in their twenties and thirties cohabitating. In 1990 the Census Bureau counted 2.8 percent of all households as unmarried couples of the opposite sex. By 1997 that percentage was up to 4.2 percent. The proportion of young married people has seen the most precipitous decline. In 1950, 42 percent of women aged 15 to 24 were married; by 2000 that percentage was

down to 16 percent. Of women aged 25 to 34, the percentage of married women dropped from 82 percent in 1950 to 58 percent in 2000.

Likewise, a number of university studies revealed that the number of children engaging in sexual activity before 15 years of age rose from 4 percent in 1950 to 20 percent in 2001. The 2000 census showed that the number of out-of-wedlock births increased from 4 percent in 1950 to 35 percent in 2000. As a result of these changing patterns of sexual relations, marriage no longer served as the primary institution by which children are brought into the world and socialized in the United States. The 2000 census showed six out of 10 children were born into homes in which the parents were either unmarried or divorced.

These changes in the patterns of marriage and sexual mores precipitated a scholarly debate and spilled over into politics. Princeton University sociologist Kristin Luker argues out-of-wedlock births should be seen as a common historical phenomenon and in itself not a social problem. Out-of-wedlock births, Luker maintains, reflect the changing nature of the family in the contemporary United States that allows women greater freedom to produce children

outside the bounds of marriage. The problem of out-of-wedlock births is not a problem in itself, she concludes, but the real issue is poverty and society's commitment to taking care of the poor.

Others argue, however, that the breakdown of the traditional family and the increase in single-parent families has led to a social crisis in contemporary America that perpetuates poverty, juvenile delinquency, welfare dependency, child abuse, and other problems. Sociologist David Popenoe maintains that a divorce rate of 50 percent in first marriages, the rapid rise of nonmarital cohabitation, and out-of-wedlock births has eroded traditional family values and has led to social disaster. Citing a large body of social science evidence, he finds that children who grow up in single-parent homes are disadvantaged economically, educationally, and socially. Children from such families, he argues, are twice as likely to drop out of high school, 2.5 times as likely to become teen mothers, and 1.4 times as likely to become unemployed.

Social conservatives, such as Popenoe, maintained that sexual promiscuity resulted in out-of-wedlock births and higher rates of abortion. Social conservatives saw the



Gay rights protesters demonstrate for the right to obtain a marriage license. (Tim Boyle/Newsmakers)

institution of marriage as the sole legitimate vehicle for the reproduction and education of the next generation and argued that sexual activity outside the marriage contract risks depriving future children of the social framework necessary for proper development. Such arguments found expression in the Republican Party, where social conservatives constituted an important faction within the party, although not a dominant force. As a consequence, the Republican Party was the first to include “family values” among its campaign issues, which encouraged abstinence education and condemned public funding for ABORTION counseling.

Opponents of this use of “family values” argued that this was only political rhetoric that failed to address the problem of poverty in American society. Such critics maintained further that the idealization of the traditional two-parent family only strengthened the ability of abusive husbands to maintain control over their wives. These critics, who began to call themselves “progressives,” embraced a different concept of “family values” infused with the principle of moral tolerance, and not restricted to a two-parent home with children. This view defined the family as including childless couples caring for elderly relatives, single parents, nonmarried cohabiting parents, or any adult providing primary care for dependents.

The Democratic Party incorporated this version of family values into its campaign issues, emphasizing social ideals, rather than moral or religious values. Democrats promoted increased government funding for contraception and abortion counseling to ensure proper family planning and resisted laws requiring parental notification and consent for abortion services. Democrats also used the family values slogan to urge increased funding for day care, preschool, and after-school activities to help relieve working parents and assist them with some of their child-care responsibilities.

The conflict between moral conservatives and moral liberals over the redefinition of marriage often followed partisan lines with regard to the leadership of each party. Popular elections, however, indicate that the general constituency of each party tended to share more in common with each other than was typically represented by the political debates of their leaders. Nonetheless, sharp differences arose over same-sex marriages.

A public debate erupted during the 1990s over whether the legal definition of marriage should be changed to include noncontractual and same-sex unions. The first attempt to legalize same-sex marriages arose in 1972, after voters in the state of Hawaii passed a state-based EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA) prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex. In 1990 three same-sex couples applied for marriage licenses and were denied. They then sued the state of Hawaii, arguing that the state constitution prohib-

ited discrimination on the basis of sex, and therefore prohibited the state from denying marriage licenses to same-sex couples. In *Baehr v. Miike* (1993), the state Supreme Court ruled in favor of the plaintiff and ordered that licenses be granted to the couples unless the state could show a compelling interest in banning such marriages. The state legislature responded the following year with a bill explicitly stating that marriages could only be formed between a man and a woman. For five years, the state legislature and the state courts wrestled with the issue, while the public debated it on both the state and national levels.

Advocates for same-sex unions argued that the choice of a spouse was a fundamental human right of all persons, that homosexuality was determined by genetic predisposition, and that the prohibition of same-sex marriages discriminates against a recognized minority. More specifically, they argued that homosexual couples were denied the rights and benefits that heterosexual couples received from health and insurance beneficiary clauses.

Opponents argued in response that same-sex marriages would remove all obstacles to the adoption of children by homosexual couples, which they believed would have a negative impact on normal childhood development. Moreover, if same-sex unions are legalized on the basis of nondiscrimination, without considering traditional standards of morality, then other groups might also want legal protection, including prostitutes, polygamists, and incestuous marriages.

In 1998, after five years of debate, the voters of Hawaii formally amended their state constitution, allowing the state legislature to explicitly forbid same-sex marriages.

The debate in Hawaii stimulated similar lawsuits in Alaska and Vermont. Between 1995 and 2000, widely publicized battles over this issue were fought through the ballot box in these and 29 other states. With the exception of Vermont, each state that voted on the issue eventually passed with overwhelming majorities laws barring more liberal definitions of marriage. In 1995, in an attempt to prevent similar suits in their state, Utah passed the first of what became a series of Defense of Marriage Acts (DOMA), which explicitly forbid same-sex marriages. Fourteen other states passed similar laws that year, and within five years, 31 states followed suit.

In 1996 Representative Steve Largent (R-Okla.) and Senator Don Nickles (R-Okla.) introduced the Defense of Marriage Act in the U.S. Congress, which was passed with an overwhelming majority, and WILLIAM J. CLINTON signed it into law, despite voicing opposition to it.

In 1998 Vermont became the only state to reject a Defense of Marriage Act. The Vermont Supreme Court ruled, in *Baker v. Vermont* (1999), that the state legislature had to either allow same-sex marriages or create a new form of government-recognized relationship that



permitted same-sex couples to receive the same benefits as heterosexual couples. In April 2000 the Vermont legislature passed by seven votes a law defining marriage as a legal union between a man and a wife but which included a second classification allowing state-recognized “unions” between same-sex couples. As of 2001 Vermont had issued more than 2,600 licenses for same-sex unions.

In 2003 the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled that homosexuals could marry, making Massachusetts the first state to recognize same-sex marriages. The California Supreme Court ruled in May 2008 that a ban against same-sex marriage was unconstitutional, and Connecticut legalized same-sex marriage in October 2008. In the November 2008 election, the voters of California approved a constitutional amendment, known as Proposition 8, to define marriage as between one man and one woman. The passage of Proposition 8 set off a firestorm of protests, attacks on churches, and lawsuits against the amendment by homosexual rights activists. In 2009 both Iowa and Vermont made same-sex marriage legal, the former decided in the state supreme court and the latter in the state legislature.

During the 1990s, legislators in five states introduced bills intended to eliminate the no-fault divorce. Advocates of the bill argued that no-fault divorce destroys family more than any other factor. Since 80 percent of divorces are prompted unilaterally, they argued, the no-fault divorce laws unfairly favor the spouse intent on leaving the marriage. They further argued that divorce had a disproportionate impact on poor and minority communities, stranding many children in poverty. None of these measures came close to passing, however.

As Americans entered the 21st century, family structure was undergoing significant changes. The end result of these changes, however, remained unforeseen, and the social consequences unclear. Nonetheless, change was apparent, whether welcomed or not.

See also BIRTH CONTROL; BIRTHRATES; CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; FAMILY LIFE; FEMINISM; GAY AND LESBIAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT; MORAL MAJORITY; RELIGION; WOMEN’S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

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—Aharon W. Zorea and Stephen E. Randoll

### ***McCreary County, Kentucky v. ACLU of Kentucky* (2005) and *Van Orden v. Perry* (2005)**

This pair of U.S. SUPREME COURT cases tested the constitutionality of Ten Commandments displays on government property. They were the first Ten Commandments cases the Court had agreed to hear in 25 years. The Court probably accepted the cases in order to offer guidance to the lower courts, which were seeing a rising number of cases testing the limits of the First Amendment’s clause prohibiting the establishment of religion. However, the Court’s decisions, which ruled the McCreary County display illegal but permitted the display in Texas, did little to clarify the law, according to most legal experts.

In 1999 McCreary and Pulaski Counties in Kentucky hung copies of the Ten Commandments in their courthouses. Almost immediately, the ACLU sued, requesting that the displays be removed. Instead, the counties modified the displays to include other historical and legal documents and retitled it “Foundations of American Law and Government.” The lower courts ruled the display unconstitutional because, in its original form, it endorsed religion and because the changes did not alter the religious message. The U.S. Supreme Court affirmed that decision.

The circumstances surrounding the Texas display at issue in *Van Orden v. Perry* produced a different decision. A civic organization donated the Ten Commandments monument to the state in 1961. The state added it to a collection of monuments between the capitol and supreme court buildings in Austin. The Court ruled this display constitutional because the collection of monuments, taken as a whole, did not convey a religious message.

These decisions reaffirmed the Court’s previous position on religious displays. The Court restated that such displays must have a secular purpose, cannot advance or inhibit religion, and cannot foster excessive government entanglement with religion. The Court also reiterated that the government cannot erect displays that symbolically endorse religion. Moreover, in determining whether a display symbolically endorses religion, courts must look at the display’s history and its context, meaning that each religious display on government property will have to be evaluated based on its unique circumstances. This last criteria was the distinguishing factor for Justice STEPHEN BREYER, the deciding vote in these cases, who argued that the Texas display was constitutional because its overall purpose was secular and because it had stood for more than 40 years without creating controversy, while the ACLU challenged the Kentucky display immediately.

—Amy Wallhermfechtcl

### **McGovern, George S. (1922– ) U.S. senator**

George Stanley McGovern served in the U.S. SENATE from 1965 to 1981 and was the Democratic Party’s presidential



candidate in 1972. Born in Avon, South Dakota, in 1922, McGovern served as an air force pilot during World War II and as a history teacher at Dakota Wesleyan University (1949–53). He was active in Americans for Democratic Action. In 1956 he was elected to the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES from South Dakota (1957–63), and, after a failed run for the Senate in 1960, he became director of the Food for Peace foreign aid program in the Kennedy administration from 1961 to 1964. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1964, where he emerged as an outspoken critic of the VIETNAM WAR.

McGovern played an important role in reforming the party national convention system, allowing more female and minority delegate representation, and weakening the influence of local party bosses. These reforms set the stage for his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972. In the primaries, he was challenged by the former vice president, Hubert Humphrey, and Alabama governor George Wallace. Calling for an immediate end of the war in Vietnam, McGovern attracted support in the left wing of the party, as well as among youth. He proclaimed that the war against communism was over and that it was time to peacefully coexist with the SOVIET UNION. While focusing primarily on the war in Vietnam, he also proposed heavy cuts in defense spending, increased spending for social programs, and a more progressive tax code. He also called for a \$1,000-per-citizen tax rebate to stimulate the economy, which caused opponents to label his domestic program a “thousand-dollar giveaway.” In addition, he called for amnesty for those young people who had evaded the military draft, state liberalization of ABORTION laws, and the reduction of penalties for marijuana drug use.

This liberal program drew heavy criticism from Humphrey. Although Humphrey lost the party nomination, his attacks damaged McGovern in the general campaign. Further difficulties emerged when it was revealed that McGovern’s vice presidential running mate, Senator THOMAS F. EAGLETON (D-Mo.), had undergone electric shock treatment for mental depression. McGovern then selected ROBERT SARGENT SHRIVER, JR., as his running mate.

McGovern’s poll numbers began to fall immediately after the convention. They continued to fall as the Republican candidate, RICHARD M. NIXON, attacked McGovern for his proposals. On election day, Nixon won 60.7 percent of the popular vote, and McGovern only 37.5 percent. McGovern only carried the state of Massachusetts. Following his defeat, McGovern returned to the U.S. Senate, where he served until January 1981. During his many years in Congress, he served as the chairman of the Select Committee on Unmet Basic Needs (90th Congress) and on the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs (91st through 95th Congress). McGovern unsuccessfully ran for reelection to the Senate in 1980, and then he made

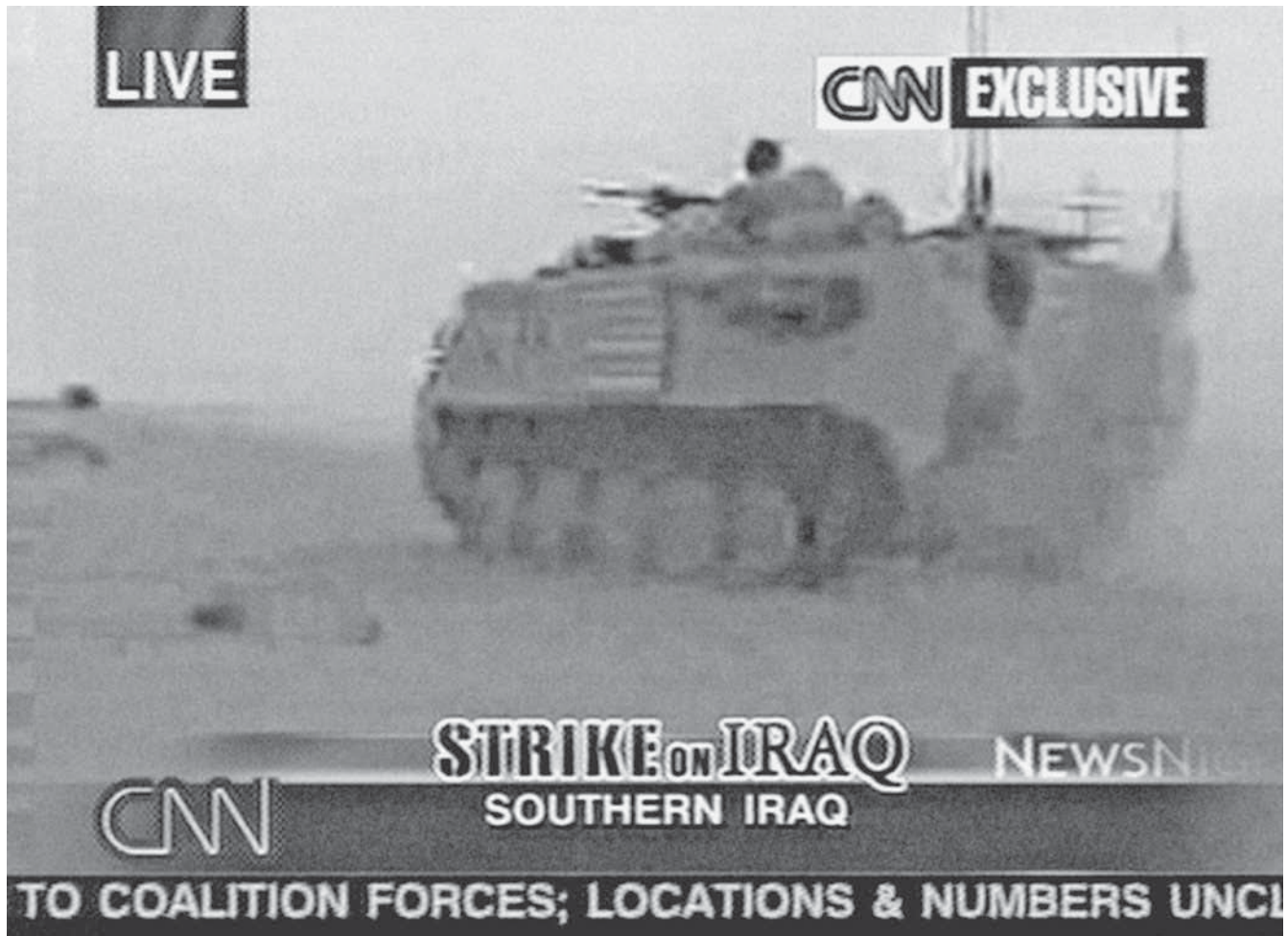
an unsuccessful bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984. He currently resides in Washington, D.C., where he spends his time lecturing and teaching.

—Leah Blakey

## media

The term *media* includes a wide variety of information delivery systems that, taken together, constitute a comprehensive system of bringing words and images to a mass population. During the last half of the 20th century, American media experienced profound change, primarily from the influence of TELEVISION and, in the 1980s and 1990s, COMPUTERS and the INTERNET. The result was a virtual explosion of information available to the American public, the content and presentation of which significantly influenced America’s cultural, social, political, and economic development.

Because, in 2001, nearly 100 percent of American homes had at least one television set, television is the most powerful and pervasive form of media. In addition to being the primary source of home entertainment, it plays an overwhelming role in the selling of goods and services through ADVERTISING and, as such, has become the most desirable and expensive medium for advertising. Television also plays a significant role as educator. Although network broadcasting devotes little time to instructional programming, documentaries aired on the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and the proliferation of documentary-oriented stations offered by cable television provide a wealth of information, however simplified, on a wide range of topics, including science, history, and cultures of other countries. Television’s educational contribution is its ability to provide live coverage of contemporary events. Coverage of the VIETNAM WAR, the upheavals of the Civil Rights movement during the 1960s and 1970s, and the Persian Gulf War in 1991, proved the capability of television to alter public beliefs and attitudes. Television is also the primary source from which Americans receive the news. During the 1980s, the networks began requiring their news departments to finance their own budgets and, as a result, entertainment value became as critical to the success of news programs as was the factual representation of the news. Thus, television has greatly contributed to Americans’ relatively simplistic understanding of issues and events. In addition, network news programs faced competition from the cable news networks, such as CNN, MSNBC, and the Fox News Channel, whose all-news formats provided real-time access to information. Cable news channels gained steadily in the number of regular viewers between 1996 and 2006. Fox News Channel dominated cable evening news, attracting more than 800,000 viewers. MSNBC attracted approximately 100,000 viewers to its evening news. These numbers still



This image from video was broadcast in real time by CNN reporters embedded with the U.S. Army 7th Cavalry on March 21, 2003, as they moved from Kuwait into southern Iraq. (*Getty Images*)

did not compare to network news programs that attracted millions of viewers. By the end of the 20th century, television became the primary source of cultural, social, and political information for the American public.

Its preeminent status among the media made television the subject of a great deal of criticism. Debates over journalistic integrity followed the transformation of its presentation of the news. Its content invited criticism from minority and women's groups, who sought less stereotypical images in programming and greater representation of their memberships, both in programming and in industry management. Television became the target of various groups disturbed by the potential impact on children, because of the often violent and explicit nature of its content. Others argued that its rapid presentation of visual images inhibited viewers' ability to concentrate, and contributed to, if not caused, attention deficit disorder (ADD) among young children. Although the merits

and shortcomings of television will be debated for years, its dominance in American media cannot be doubted. Its development over the last three decades was so significant that it forced the other media (books, newspapers, magazines, and radio) to change their formats to compete as information delivery systems.

Publishing did not immediately suffer from the advent of television. The number of new books published per year rose dramatically, from just over 6,000 in 1945 to 30,053 in 1966, 40,846 in 1974, 56,000 in 1987, and more than 120,000 in 2000. Although economic recession reduced the number to about 40,000 per year during the 1990s, the book business emerged as a \$25 billion industry by 2000. The Book Industry Study Group estimates book publishing will be a \$38 billion industry by 2004. During the 1990s, mass-market paperbacks held 30 percent of the book market, and fiction was the most popular reading. Despite the financial health of the book industry, Americans during

the last third of the 20th century increasingly became less likely to read.

MOVIES, television, periodicals, and computers provided great competition for books as sources of information and entertainment. At the end of the 20th century, computer technology offered the potential for the creation of “virtual” libraries containing massive collections of fully digitized volumes. Book clubs and online bookstores like Amazon.com, however, have helped books maintain their position, but often at the expense of quality and substance. Bookstore shelves were dominated by self-help books, “historical” romances, and various other genres of fiction designed for mass appeal. Similar transformations occurred with newspapers.

In 1969 there were 1,758 daily newspapers in the United States, competing with other media such as television and magazines; by 2000 there were 1,480 daily newspapers. The number of cities with more than one daily paper continued a downward trend, going from 55 in 1999 to 49 in 2001. A few, such as the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Los Angeles Times*, enjoyed strong national and international reputations for stressing foreign and national news, analysis and interpretation, politics, science, economics, and culture. Additionally, there were more than 8,000 nondaily newspapers, representing AFRICAN AMERICANS and other racial and ethnic groups, the military, university students, prison populations, and a wide variety of hobbyists.

Cultural historian John Tebbell argues that television became the primary source of the news for most Americans, and as a result, most newspapers became primarily community bulletin boards in small towns and cities. Newspapers in large urban centers, Tebbell maintains, have been able to provide better in-depth coverage and investigative reporting than television. The exposure of the WATERGATE SCANDAL by *Washington Post* reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward is perhaps the best example. Many other newspapers undertook investigative reporting on the state and local level as well. Two exceptions to the localization of newspapers are the *Wall Street Journal* and *USA Today*. Both achieved circulations of nearly 2 million during the 1990s and reached a national audience. The former represents the best in serious news reporting, with a focus on BUSINESS and the ECONOMY. The latter, while not as sensational as the popular *National Enquirer*, which thrives on rumor, innuendo, and fabrication, represents a transformation in newspapers in response to the primacy of television. With its wide variety of brief stories and its use of color and photographs, *USA Today* is a hybrid of television and newspaper. Still, regular newspaper readership declined steadily since 1965, when seven out of 10 Americans got their news from newspapers. In 2006 only 40 percent of Americans regularly read the newspaper, although reader-

ship remained relatively unchanged after 2002 as newspapers began offering online versions.

The story of magazines since the 1960s has been one of specialization. Since the 1960s, the number of magazines devoted to very narrow areas of interest grew tremendously, so much so that by 1991 there were over 11,500 magazines and periodicals published in the United States. Industry surveys revealed that, by the mid-1990s, 80 percent of published periodicals were for specialized audiences. The growth in magazines reflected the rapid social changes occurring during the 1960s and 1970s. *Playboy*, first published in 1953, reflected the changing sexual mores of the time, while *Ms.* (founded in 1972) and others dedicated themselves to the changing status of women. *Ebony* (founded in 1945) and *Jet* (founded in 1951) echoed African-American pride. During the 1980s, magazines such as *Us* and *People* (founded in 1974) took advantage of Americans' obsession with movies, movie stars, and other celebrities, while *Sports Illustrated* and other sports-related magazines focused on Americans' passion for SPORTS and RECREATION activities. The last 30 years also witnessed an increase in the number of trade, scientific, technical, and academic journals and magazines. By the end of the 20th century, a magazine existed for virtually every activity undertaken by the American public.

Magazines, like newspapers, have been hurt by having to compete with television and the Internet for advertising dollars. In the early 1990s advertisers bought about \$7 billion in magazine advertising, which was only 5 percent of total advertising expenditures. This competition was the primary factor in the decline of large-circulation general magazines, as well as many smaller publications. Specialization allowed magazine publishers to target specific audiences, and thereby make their publications more appealing to advertisers. Moreover, magazines became primarily informational and directed at particular age, gender, ethnic, or income groups. For national photo magazines such as *Look* and *Life*, their failure was attributable to rising costs of production, especially paper and ink, and the trend toward specialization that came with competition with television and the Internet for advertising dollars.

Specialization also marked radio's response to the pervasiveness of television. Some stations broadcast news around the clock, while others specialized in talk shows, consisting of in-studio interviews or listener call-in formats. Most stations, both AM and FM, broadcast MUSIC and featured a specific musical genre such as rock and roll, country, jazz, urban contemporary, or classical. Many further specialize with formats, such as 1970s and 1980s “easy listening,” album-oriented rock and roll, ethnic, or children's popular music. By 2000 there were 10,716 commercial radio stations in the United States, but by 2007 the number of commercial stations had shrunk to a little more than 6,000. Here



again the economics of too many media outlets (television, Internet, radio) chasing too few advertising dollars played a role in this decline. Fewer listeners translated into fewer advertisers, which meant certain radio stations became less profitable, leading to consolidation in the industry. In addition, radio can now be broadcast over the Internet, which technically makes it possible to receive a radio station's broadcast anywhere that Internet service is available. While this helps overcome one of radio's major drawbacks (limited broadcasting range), it also helped to further the demise of more radio stations. Further consolidation might be on the horizon due to new broadcasting technology in the form of satellite radio. This type of radio broadcast has certain advantages over its earthbound cousin; namely it can broadcast its signal over a much wider area and can offer a much larger menu of programming, although listeners must pay a subscription fee to have access.

Although the number of Americans turning to radio for news coverage dropped steadily since 1998, the number of listeners to National Public Radio (NPR) doubled over the same time period, rising to 17 percent in 2006. In addition, the talk radio format acquired new popularity beginning in the 1990s, becoming for millions of Americans a source of news on political and social issues. Although most Americans still relied on television for news coverage, the Pew Research Center reported that in 2006, 20 percent were regular listeners of talk shows with a call-in format. NPR and talk shows reflected a partisan nature among listeners. Talk radio shows, led by personalities such as Rush Limbaugh and Bill O'Reilly, attracted a predominantly conservative audience, while the majority of NPR listeners identified themselves as liberal. Liberal talk shows, such as *Air America*, launched by Al Franken in 2004, struggled to gain a national audience and experienced financial difficulty. In 2007 the increasingly partisan nature of radio and television shows led to congressional efforts to enact legislation similar to the "fairness doctrine" adopted by the Federal Communications Commission in 1949, which required stations presenting controversial issues to allow discussion of contrasting viewpoints.

The role of movies in American culture has remained relatively unchanged throughout the 20th century. Despite the introduction of videotape in the 1980s and digital videodiscs (DVD) in the 1990s, Americans continued to go to theaters to see first-release movies in record numbers. In 1969–70, movie attendance was 200 million; in 2000, movie attendance had risen to 1.42 billion in the United States. Although movies are essentially an entertainment medium, the big-screen images are informational in that they continued to offer standards for the country's fashion, sense of morality, manners, and attitudes. In that sense, movies serve as a transmitter of ideas as well as information. Film can also be primarily informational, however. Business,

industry, and government use film for training purposes, for selling products, and for general public relations.

As the 20th century came to a close, perhaps the most significant transformations in media were the result of rapidly advancing computer technology. New production techniques and storage systems made possible by computers helped print media survive in its competition with television for advertising dollars. The major development was the use by publishers of CD-ROMs for encyclopedias, dictionaries, and other reference works. Also, many magazines developed "e-zines," or electronic magazines that allowed publishers to more easily reach a wider readership at lower costs. Moreover, computer technology opened new avenues for the delivery of information, and is poised to revolutionize media in general. Chief among these developments is the growth of computer networks and the Internet. Networks make possible the storage and easy retrieval of vast amounts of information, and allow users to exchange information with each other, even from geographically remote locations. Various computer network systems provide interactive access via computers or television sets. Subscribers can access information on the weather, news, attractions, or virtually any other matter of interest. By 2006 nearly one in three Americans regularly accessed the Internet for news. An Internet "surfer" can view full-length movies, see up-to-date sports scores, or take a virtual tour of an Egyptian pyramid.

All the media—print, film, electronic, and computer—have played and continue to play a formative role in politics, economics, and social and cultural distinctiveness in the United States. Television, in particular, influences American political life by bringing people and events closer together and by providing the primary avenue of exposure for political candidates. However simplistic television's representation of the news is, it does make events, national and international, more immediate. The Internet, as well, makes available almost limitless information on issues and candidates. Media significantly influence the economy because, in all their forms, they are the principal vehicle for local and national advertising. Socially and culturally, the media both serve the nation's diverse intellectual need, and collectively reflect the identity of the American people who, at the beginning of the 21st century, are perhaps the most informed people on Earth.

See also CENSORSHIP; LITERATURE; SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

**Further reading:** James L. Baughman, *The Republic of Mass Culture Journalism, Filmmaking, and Broadcasting in America since 1941* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); George Rodman, *Mass Media in a Changing World* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2007).

—William L. Glankler and Cynthia Stachecki



## medicine

Throughout the 20th century, the field of medicine enjoyed a constant rate of development. Though technological advances related to the computing revolution of the century's last three decades provided more sophisticated tools with which to further research and diagnosis, most of the midcentury innovations related to DNA, vaccination, and psychotropic medication remain unsurpassed as groundbreaking discoveries. But the single greatest breakthrough, the HUMAN GENOME PROJECT, may determine the direction of medical research far into the 21st century.

Americans enjoyed a gradual decrease in the death rate throughout the 20th century, with a marked improvement in the 1970s. Per 100,000 residents, the death rate fell from 760.9 in 1960 to 714.3 in 1970, after which the rate of decline almost tripled; 583.8 in 1980, and 479.1 in 1997. Although a variety of reasons unrelated to health care could explain the general decline, including fewer wars and safer working conditions, indicators such as maternal death rates and infant mortality rates reveal the impact of increased access to health care for a larger portion of the American public. In 1950, 2,960 women died giving birth, and the rate of infant mortality was 29.2 deaths for every 100,000 live births. Ten years later in 1960, the infant mortality rate had dropped only three points, but the number of maternal deaths dropped to 1,579, and to 803 in 1970. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the number fluctuated between 270 and 340 per year. In addition, the infant mortality rate dropped six points in the 1960s, and eight points in the 1970s. In 1990 there were 9.2 deaths per 100,000 live births, and in 2005 there were only 6.9 deaths per 100,000 live births.

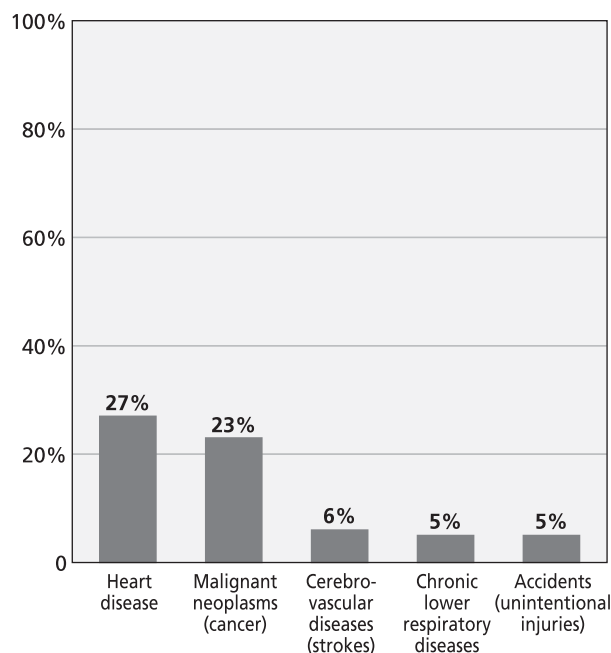
Generally speaking, medicine and health care gradually consumed a greater portion of the gross domestic product (GDP) to become the nation's largest economic sector. The number of physicians nearly doubled between 1960 (260,484) and 1980 (467,679), and continued to grow to 756,710 in 1997, while the number of health service professionals grew from 76 million people in 1970 to 131 million in 1998. The amount of money spent on health research grew from \$2.8 billion in 1970 to \$13.5 billion in 1985, to \$35.8 billion in 1995, and to \$95 billion in 2005. As a percent of the GDP, health expenditures rose from 5.1 percent in 1960 to 9.4 percent in 1980, 13.5 percent in 1997, and 16 percent in 2005.

As health care assumed a more prominent role in American society, it generally became more specialized, with greater support from the private sector, and financing from the public sector. Though all age groups tended to visit their doctors more frequently in the 1990s than they did in the 1960s, the number of contacts per person increased most for those Americans aged 65 and older, and for children aged 14 and younger. Also, those visits were

more often made to a specialist than a general family practitioner. In 1970 less than 1 percent of active physicians were specialists, by 1980 the percentage increased to 3.5, and to 5 in 1990. In 1970, 63.4 percent of health professionals worked in hospitals, only 11.2 percent in offices and clinics, and 12 percent in nursing homes. The number of physicians working in hospitals plummeted to 44.5 percent in 1998. Improvements in medicine, techniques, and technologies have lessened the need for general hospital space; there were 1.4 million beds in 7,156 hospitals in 1975, and only a few more than 1 million beds in 6,097 hospitals in 1997. Yet, the percentage of occupied beds also fell from 76 to 65 during the same time span.

During the 1980s, the focus of health care and research shifted from government sponsorship to private sector. This privatization is less pronounced in the decline in hospitals; the number of privately owned, for-profit hospitals remained relatively constant (775 in 1975 as compared with 797 in 1997). During the same period, however, the number of state and federal hospitals declined by a third (2,143 to 1,545), and the number of private, nonprofit hospitals declined by 10 percent (3,339 to 3,000). The real growth in the private sector came in research; in 1970, private

### Leading Causes of Death, 2004



Note: Average life expectancy in 2004 was 77.8 years.

Source: "National Vital Statistics Report: Fast Facts A to Z," October 2006, National Center for Health Statistics

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industry accounted for only \$795 million, compared with \$1.6 billion from the federal government. The relative ratio remained the same in 1980 (\$2.4 billion to \$4.7 billion), but changed dramatically in 1985, with private industry investing \$5.3 billion compared with \$6.7 billion by the federal government; by 1995 the ratio was reversed with \$18.6 to \$13.4 billion. The public money that had previously been devoted to research was reallocated to pay for increased insurance coverage. In 1970 the federal government paid \$6.6 billion, while private insurance paid out \$30.9 billion. In 1985 the federal government assumed a slightly larger share, paying \$174.2 billion to \$254.5 billion paid privately, and in 1997 the amounts paid were almost even; \$507 billion to \$585 billion, respectively.

The investment in health care was not without its benefits. After World War II, scientists redirected their attention toward another, longer war against disease. The subsequent development of effective vaccines not only impacted American health but also reduced select contagions on a global scale; diseases that had plagued society for centuries were all but eliminated in the following decades. Vaccines for diphtheria, whooping cough, and polio had a significant effect on the health of America. The annual number of diphtheria cases dropped from 5,796 in 1950 to 918 in 1960, 435 in 1970, and only three or four a year in the 1980s and 1990s. Whooping cough afflicted more than 120,000 people in 1950, but was reduced to 14,809 cases in 1960, 4,249 cases in 1970, and only 1,730 in 1980. Similarly, polio cases fell from 33,300 in 1950 to 3,190 in 1960, to only 33 in 1970, and less than a dozen a year in the 1980s and 1990s. The number of measles cases actually increased during the 1950s, jumping from 319,124 to 441,703 cases in 1960. A new vaccine, however, cut the rate by 90 percent; there were only 47,351 cases in 1970, and 13,506 cases in 1980. Another common childhood disease, mumps, also fell from 104,943 cases in 1970, to 8,576 cases in 1980, and 5,292 cases in 1990.

Vaccinations provide a better alternative to antibiotics, which have been linked to global increases in the number of drug-resistant pathogens. Antibiotics are designed to kill bacteria that cause illness. Unfortunately, bacteria evolve and adapt to their environment at a remarkable rate. Bacterial cells that survive antibiotic treatments can often acquire new genes that make them resistant to future doses of the same antibiotic. For example, in the late 1980s hospitals began seeing more frequent occurrences of vancomycin-resistant enterococci (VRE), which are only minimally responsive to existing antibiotics. Similarly, penicillin had near a 100 percent success rate against pneumococci in the 1960s, but by the 1990s, the rates of success had decreased to 70–80 percent, and in some parts of Europe, the rate had fallen to 50 percent. In 2001 the World Health Organization addressed the problem of bacterial resistance

with the first Global Strategy for Containment of Antimicrobial Resistance. In contrast to antibiotics, vaccinations avoid the problem of resistance by offering protection for the human immune system before pathogens have a chance to adapt. In 1975 the possibility of side effects was significantly reduced by the discovery of monoclonal antibodies, which enabled doctors to target specific disease cells. This innovation allowed scientists of the 1990s to focus on vaccinations as a primary method of controlling disease. Initial trials include an experimental AIDS vaccine, announced in 1999, and other prototype vaccines for malaria, hepatitis C, and tuberculosis. Biomedical engineers are working on infusing vaccines in certain strains of potatoes, tomatoes, and bananas, so they will mature with vaccines present. Research arising from the full map of the human genome may lead to customized cancer-vaccines tailored to a patient's exact DNA makeup.

Over the course of the 20th century, life expectancy in the United States has increased by nearly 30 years, from 47.3 years to 76.5 years. In 2004 life expectancy was estimated at 77.9 years. While the numbers of all age groups grew steadily, older Americans became significantly more numerous after World War II than they had been in previous decades. In 1950, there were only 577,000 people over 85 years old; in 1960 the number had increased to 929,000 with similar increases every decade thereafter; 1.5 million in 1970, 2.2 million in 1980, and 3 million in 1990. The number of nursing home residents has similarly increased, jumping from 961,500 to 1.3 million over a 10-year period from 1974 to 1985. As the number of American seniors continued to grow, the number of prescribed drugs available to combat cardiovascular disease, high cholesterol, memory loss, and cancer similarly increased. Americans spent more than \$12 billion on prescription drugs in 1980, nearly double that amount in 1985 (\$21 billion), and in 1993 the figure had reached \$48 billion. The American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) lobbied heavily for reforming Medicare to include universal coverage for prescription medicine for senior citizens. Lawmakers responded and in December 2000, Congress passed an amendment to Title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide coverage for outpatient prescription drugs under the Medicare program.

Mental health also became a priority in the postwar years. Psychotropic, or mind-altering, drugs were first used for therapeutic purposes during the 1950s and 1960s. The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) classified some experimental drugs under their Investigative New Drug (IND) regulations; some of these included lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD) and thalidomide. After a rash of birth defects around the world were linked to the use of thalidomide in 1962, the FDA tightened up its IND regulations and banned the use of thalidomide and LSD. Though the



A high-speed CAT scan machine (Darren McColester/Getty Images)

FDA has restricted experimental use of psychotropic, or mind-altering drugs, it did not altogether limit their use. Psychiatrists had been relying on electroconvulsive therapy (ECT), more commonly known as electroshock, to treat symptoms of depression and mental illness. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the public reacted to ECT as an example of the inhumane conditions of most mental hospitals, prompting most psychiatrists to pursue psychotropic alternatives, including antidepressants and antipsychotic drugs such as lithium, chlorpromazine, haldol, and clozapine. Chlorpromazine was so successful in treating hallucinations and delusions that it was championed as “the drug that emptied the state mental hospitals” during the 1970s and 1980s.

In 1980 public attention shifted from the state hospitals to childhood behavior, after the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders included Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD) and, later, Attention Deficit and Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) in their lists. Family counselors relied on methylphenidate, a derivative of amphetamine sold under the name of Ritalin, as the most commonly prescribed treatment for ADD and ADHD. Later in 1987,

selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRI) were introduced under the name of Prozac and used as an antidepressant for both children and adults. Alternative varieties of these medications quickly followed, and many educators worked with doctors to promote medication as a popular solution for student behavior problems; between 1990 and 1997, 10 percent of children aged 6–14 years were using Ritalin, and 1 percent of preschool children aged 1–5. A third of those children were also prescribed SSRI treatments such as Zoloft, Luvox, and Paxil. Some parents and pediatricians became concerned about the side effects of these drug combinations, which can include mania, seizures, anorexia, toxic psychosis, and cardiovascular failure. Opponents were met with staunch opposition from education and counseling groups, many of which received funding from pharmaceutical corporations directly; one such lobbying group, Children and Adults with ADD (CHADD), received 10 percent of its funding from the makers of Ritalin. In 1998 and 1999, state school boards in Texas and Colorado passed resolutions discouraging educators from promoting the drugs, and in 2000 Connecticut passed legislation forbidding it. Proponents of psychotropic medication

argued that the new drugs allow millions of people with chemical-based mental illness to lead normal lives in the mainstream of American society. Opponents argued that the prevalence of such licit drugs unavoidably promotes a large subculture of illicit drug use by training people to seek pharmaceutical solutions to problems that have social and interpersonal causes.

For internal medicine, innovative drug treatments permitted great advances in organ transplants. In 1959, scientists used the drug Imuran to suppress the human immune system, which allowed foreign organs to be transplanted into a host body. The first successful pancreas transplant occurred in 1966 and was followed the next year by the first successful heart and liver transplants. In 1981 doctors performed the first successful combination heart and lung transplant. Scientists developed a new antirejection drug, cyclosporine, which aided in the first successful lung transplant in 1983. Discoveries in microprocessing technologies during the same period permitted doctors to embark on the first artificial heart implant; although it only functioned for 112 days, it set a precedent for continued research in artificial organs. In 2001 doctors transplanted the first fully self-contained artificial heart in Robert Tools. Similar advances included artificial cochlear (inner ear) implants, eyes, muscle and blood, skin, kidneys, lungs, pancreas, and liver. Currently, artificial organs only provide a bridge to transplantation, which helps patients who may have to wait long periods before an acceptable donor organ becomes available. Pharmacologists of the 1990s focused on methods of preventing transplant rejection on the cellular and molecular level; their goal was to find a safe and cost-effective way to allow multiple transplants of natural or artificial organs for less than life-threatening reasons. The completion of the human genome map may lead to further innovations in this area.

Other aspects of internal medicine benefited from the COMPUTER revolution. In 1972 Godfrey Hounsfield recorded hundreds of X-ray images on a computer at slightly variant angles to produce a three-dimensional computed tomography (CT) scan. The procedure proved invaluable to doctors needing precise views of an area that would otherwise be too dangerous to access through invasive surgery. In 1984 Raymond Damadian augmented the CT scan when he invented magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), which provides more precise images of soft tissues; MRIs became especially useful in examining brain and spinal cord injuries. The later development of radioisotope tracers in the 1990s provided physicians with a means of tracking information about metabolism and the functions of enzymes and hormones through the injection of material that can be recorded by computerized sensors. Advances in medical techniques have decreased the time needed for recovery. During the 1990s, advances in minimally inva-

sive laparoscopic surgery techniques, which use very small incisions, often reduced the length of hospital stays by 10 percent; in some cases, cutting the recovery time from 4 to 6 weeks to 2 to 7 days. Robotic lasers using computer-aided microscopes cut with near cellular precision; with these tools, physicians in the 1990s successfully performed surgery on neonatal arteries the size of a toothpick. When robotic surgery is combined with innovations in telecommunication, doctors can perform long-distance operations for patients who are unable to travel.

In 1998 a breakthrough occurred as scientists succeeded in isolating stem cells from human embryos and growing those cells in a laboratory. This research quickly generated controversy, specifically in the area of embryonic STEM CELL RESEARCH. On August 9, 2001, President GEORGE W. BUSH attempted to achieve a compromise by allowing federal funding for research using embryonic stem cells developed from embryos that had already been destroyed, while prohibiting research that involved creating new lines from embryos after that date. In the November 2, 2004 general election, California voters approved \$3 billion to fund stem cell research without the Bush administration restrictions. Four other states followed California's lead. When the U.S. Congress enacted legislation allowing embryonic stem cell research on stem cells derived from embryos at in vitro fertilization clinics in 2006, President Bush vetoed the bill on July 18, 2006, the first veto of his presidency. Opponents of embryonic stem cell research supported the president's veto, arguing that they only opposed embryonic stem cell research but favored other kinds of stem cell research. Supporters of embryonic stem cell research, which include a majority of Americans in recent polls, argued for its potential to lead to cures of debilitating diseases such as Parkinson's. Stem cell researchers downplayed the emphasis on cures for various diseases. The scientists argued the real potential of embryonic stem cell research lay in the creation of a new model for understanding disease processes. New therapies could be developed to combat disease based on this new model. In much the same manner, the Human Genome Project holds great potential for medicine in the 21st century.

The human genome map promises a host of solutions for many common ailments, including cancer and congenital disorders. Though Oswald Avery discovered in 1943 that DNA carried genetic information, it took 30 years until 1972, for scientists Paul Berg, Stanley Cohen, and Herbert Boyer to develop a technique that allows researchers to decipher the information. By splicing fragments of DNA from one organism onto the DNA string of another, controlled experiments can isolate and reveal the functions of specific DNA segments. It took another 10 years before Eli Lilly & Company used the new technique to produce the first genetically engineered human insulin in 1982.



Throughout the 1970s, researchers conducted ad hoc clinical trials, according to the specific needs of their research; a systematic mapping of the human genome seemed an impossible task. By the mid-1980s, however, with the advent of powerful information processors, Charles DeLisi of the Office of Health and Environmental Research felt convinced that a systematic map was possible. In 1990, after years of interagency discussion, the U.S. DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY joined the National Institutes of Health in a 15-year effort to identify each of the 30,000 genes in human DNA. The program was called the Human Genome Project, and Congress committed \$3 billion toward its completion. The Human Genome Project completed a final draft of DNA sequencing in 2002, three years ahead of schedule. Scientists expect the specific benefits to include improved diagnosis and early detection of diseases; more rational drug designs leading to individually customized drugs and effective gene therapy; better understanding of the vulnerabilities of specific genetic diseases; enhanced protection from biological warfare; and significantly improved forensics capabilities. Already, significant advances have been made in the development of effective treatments for breast cancer, as well as improved gene therapy for cystic fibrosis, Duchenne's muscular dystrophy, and sickle cell anemia.

See also COMPUTERS; NARCOTICS; SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

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—Aharon W. Zorea and Stephen E. Randoll

**Meese, Edwin C., III** (1923– ) *government official*  
Edwin Meese served as U.S. attorney general in RONALD W. REAGAN's administration from 1985 to 1988. Born in 1923, Meese received his B.A. from Yale University and his LL.B. from the University of California Law School. In 1967 he became deputy district attorney of Alameda County in northern California, where he undertook the successful prosecution of student protesters at the University of California at Berkeley, and Oakland Black Panthers. When Reagan was elected governor of California in 1966, he appointed Meese as executive assistant and chief of staff, a position Meese held from 1967 to 1974. From 1977 to 1981 Meese was a professor of law at the University of San Diego.

During the 1980 presidential campaign, Meese served as chief of staff and senior issues adviser for the Reagan-Bush committee and, following the election, headed the Reagan transition team. He served as counselor to the

president from 1981 to 1985, functioning as chief policy adviser. As a member of the cabinet, Meese was responsible for the administration of the cabinet, policy development, and planning and evaluation.

As U.S. attorney general, he tried to roll back some of the constitutional interpretations issued by the Earl Warren and WARREN E. BURGER SUPREME COURT. He denounced judicial activism and called for a return to the "original meaning" of the Constitution as he believed the Founding Fathers understood it, a position Associate Justice WILLIAM J. BRENNAN, JR., criticized as "arrogance cloaked as humility." Meese disregarded such criticism, and he urged Reagan to appoint federal judges and Supreme Court judges who shared his views.

During his seven and a half years in the White House and the Justice Department, Meese was investigated on a number of ethics violations. In 1984, before he became attorney general, his failure to report reimbursements on more than 30 trips as White House counsel led the Office of Government Ethics to conclude that he had violated conflict-of-interest rules. A larger scandal emerged after he became U.S. attorney general, when independent prosecutor James C. McKay investigated Meese's efforts to help a friend, E. Robert Wallach, to secure U.S. government backing for an oil pipeline from Iraq to Jordan. As this scandal was breaking, Deputy Attorney General Arnold Burns and Assistant Attorney General William Weld resigned their positions at the Justice Department complaining that morale had plummeted under Meese because of the scandal. After 14 months of investigation, independent prosecutor McKay concluded in July 1988 that Meese had "probably violated criminal law" on four occasions, but he decided that Meese had not been motivated by "personal gain." Though Meese believed he had been vindicated by the investigation, the next month he resigned his office.

After leaving office, Meese worked briefly in the aerospace industry. Today he serves on a number of boards of conservative organizations.

See also INDEPENDENT COUNSEL.

**Further reading:** Lou Cannon, *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000); Edwin Meese, *With Reagan: The Inside Story* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery, 1992).

## Mexico (U.S. relations with)

Throughout most of American history, relations between the United States and Mexico have been defined by the 1,952-mile-border both countries share. Since 1969, three major issues regarding the border have dominated U.S.-Mexican affairs: drug control, immigration, and trade. At

times, these relations have been strained, most notably when the United States has acted unilaterally, but generally the bond between the two North American nations has been positive.

As U.S. policy makers touted the importance of law and order following the turbulence of the 1960s, relations between Mexico and the United States became severely strained when President RICHARD M. NIXON, in an attempt to stop the illegal importation of marijuana into the United States, closed the border between the two countries on September 21, 1969. The enactment of this policy, known as Operation Intercept, was the result of Nixon's pledge to Americans to stop narcotics trafficking. The Mexican government, under President Gustavo Díaz-Ordáz Bolaños (1964–70), protested that the United States acted without consultation and asked the United States to reverse its decision because of the severe economic disruption it caused. One month later, the United States replaced Operation Intercept with Operation Cooperation, and in March 1970 the United States and Mexico negotiated a plan of cooperation for drug control. Despite the solution, relations between the two countries were strained further



Suspected illegal immigrants are searched by a U.S. Border Patrol agent. (McNew/Getty Images)

when President Nixon raised import duties by 10 percent. Because Mexico exported nearly 70 percent of its goods to the United States, the increase caused an economic panic in Mexico.

U.S. and Mexican relations slowly deteriorated after 1972 and did not stabilize until 1989. Mexican presidents, beginning with Álvarez Echeverría (1970–76), reformulated their policy toward the United States. Echeverría sought to lessen economic dependence on the United States in order to remove Mexico from the United States's sphere of influence. Mexico often opposed U.S. interventionism in Latin America. In 1979 Mexico sided with the rebels that were trying to overthrow the U.S.-backed Somoza political dynasty of Nicaragua. Two years later, the Mexican government supported anti-American revolutionaries in El Salvador.

It was not until the 1990s that relations between the United States and Mexico improved. When Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari entered office in 1988, one of his major goals was to mend ties with the United States. President GEORGE H. W. BUSH was also receptive to such a proposition, and the two men met at the White House in October 1989. At the meeting, Presidents Bush and Salinas agreed to explore increasing trade between the two countries and formed a Joint Committee on Investment and Trade. In June 1990 Presidents Bush and Salinas announced a firm plan for a U.S.-Mexico free trade agreement. One year later, Canadian officials expressed interest in a free trade agreement with the United States and Mexico, which later resulted in the NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (NAFTA) in 1993 under the administration of President WILLIAM J. CLINTON. NAFTA eliminated tariffs between all three countries and took effect on January 1, 1994.

U.S. relations with Mexico continued to progress after the elections of President GEORGE W. BUSH and Vicente Fox of Mexico in 2000. Presidents Bush and Fox had several meetings while in office and discussed major issues such as immigration control, the benefits of NAFTA, ending the yearly American certification of Mexico's drug control policies, and amnesty plans for the illegal Mexican immigrants in the United States. Since the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the relationship between Mexico and the United States has deteriorated. U.S. policy makers focused much of their efforts on securing the American-Mexican border, which has greatly affected Mexican-American relations over immigration issues. In the fall of 2006 Congress and President Bush approved the construction of a 700-mile fence to prevent illegal immigration. President Fox, whose term ended in December 2006, and Mexican President-elect Felipe Calderon (2006–10) strongly disapproved of the measure. As an alternative, President Bush frequently called for the adoption of a guest worker pro-

gram for Mexico but met strong resistance from conservative members of his own party.

See also FOREIGN POLICY; HISPANIC AMERICANS; REAGAN, RONALD W.

**Further reading:** Peter Andreas, *Border Games: Policing the U.S.-Mexico Divide* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001).

—Matthew C. Sherman

### Middle East (U.S. relations with)

The United States has actively pursued diplomatic relations with the Middle East because of its strategic geographic location and because of U.S. oil interests in the region. Although the definition of the term “Middle East” has fluctuated over time, it is generally defined as the region between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean, lying at the crossroads between Africa, Europe, and Asia. The region most commonly includes the nations of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Oman, Yemen, Kuwait, Iraq, and Iran. Several other nations have been considered part of the Middle East at times, including Turkey and Cyprus; the Eurasian countries of Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia; the African nations of Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Somalia, and Sudan; and the non-Arab nations of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

In its diplomatic relations, the United States has had to maintain a precarious balance between support for the state of Israel and good relations with the oil-producing Arab nations. Relations in the Middle East have been complicated by the long-standing friendship between the United States and Israel, a commitment that on several occasions required the United States to support and defend Israel against the hostile attacks of its Arab neighbors. At the height of the COLD WAR, the Middle East region was a focus of the power struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union, with the United States typically siding with Israel and the Soviet Union supporting the Arab states.

Arab-Israeli tensions date back to the creation of Israel in 1947, when the UNITED NATIONS (UN) partitioned the British mandate of Palestine to make room for a Jewish homeland. When Israel declared its independence in 1948, the United States immediately recognized the new state; but the surrounding Arab nations did not acknowledge Israel's right to exist. Tensions erupted into war several times in the latter half of the 20th century. The Six-Day War in 1967 and the Yom Kippur War in 1973 proved particularly troublesome for the United States in its support for Israel.

In June 1967 Israel became embroiled in a war with the neighboring states of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. In what came to be known as the Six-Day War, Israeli forces cap-

tured and occupied the part of Jerusalem formerly controlled by Jordan; the regions known as the West Bank, on the Jordan River, and the Gaza Strip along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea; the Sinai Peninsula, as far as the eastern bank of the Suez Canal; and the Golan Heights, an area from which Syria launched attacks on Jewish settlements in northern Israel. Israel's actions led to an impasse with its neighbors and displaced Palestinians in Jerusalem, Gaza, and the West Bank, fueling animosity between Israelis and Palestinians that accelerated militancy throughout the rest of the century. In response to the hostilities, Egyptian leader Abdel al-Nasser alleged that the United States and Britain had aided Israel in the attacks. Nasser closed the Suez Canal and cut off diplomatic ties to the United States and Britain. The Soviet Union sided with Egypt, condemning Israel for its aggression. Intermittent fighting over the next five years threatened to draw the superpowers into the conflict. The UN Security Council passed a resolution within months proposing terms for lasting peace: Israel would evacuate the occupied territories and Arab nations would recognize Israel as a state. Despite the resolution, Israel refused to relinquish the occupied territories considered vital to its security and insisted on direct talks with the Arabs rather than a deal brokered by the international community and enforced by UN troops. The U.S. policy over time remained one of support for Israeli autonomy in exchange for land.

The Yom Kippur War had greater repercussions for U.S. relations in the Middle East. On October 6, 1973, the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur, Egypt and Syria launched an attack on Israeli forces in the Sinai and Golan Heights to reclaim their occupied territories. While the United States sent arms and supplies to Israel, the Soviet Union and Arab neighbors backed Egypt and Syria. Israeli troops turned back both offensives and launched counterattacks until the UN arranged a cease-fire later that month. What appeared to be a military victory for Israel proved devastating for its allies, as the Arab oil-producers agreed to an oil embargo against the United States in retaliation for its support of Israel. While U.S. Secretary of State HENRY KISSINGER worked to mediate a settlement over the next several months, the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) cut oil production and joined with the ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC) in raising prices. OAPEC extended the embargo to include Europe and Japan, both of whom depended more heavily on oil from the Middle East than the United States. The 1973 oil embargo and cut in production led to gas shortages, higher prices, and unemployment in the Western nations, driving their economies into recession. Gas shortages in the United States eventually resulted in a lower speed limit for interstate traffic, year-round daylight savings time, and production of more fuel-efficient cars by



American car companies. The embargo ended in March 1974, after Kissinger was able to negotiate an agreement between the warring factions. Efforts intensified to settle the conflict in order to prevent another oil crisis and to woo Egypt from its alliance with the Soviet Union.

As part of his policy to improve relations with the Middle East, President JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., sought to normalize relations between Israel and Egypt. In 1978, Carter invited Egyptian president Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachim Begin to his retreat at Camp David, Maryland, for peace talks. The two leaders reached an agreement, the CAMP DAVID ACCORDS, which finally ended hostilities between Israel and Egypt and resulted in Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula. They formally signed a peace treaty in March 1979. Sadat and Begin shared the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts, but the treaty did not bring peace to the Middle East. Although the Camp David accords were a brilliant success for the Carter administration, he was not able to follow up with a settlement of the Palestinian situation because of other

crises brewing in the Middle East: the loss of Iran as an ally and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

A revolution in early 1979 brought Iran under the authority of Muslim clerics led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who ousted the ruling shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. In November 1979, when the shah entered the United States for medical treatment, a mob of radicals, with Khomeini's support, stormed the American embassy in Tehran and took the American diplomats hostage. Carter's efforts to gain their release failed; the hostages were held for 444 days and released upon RONALD W. REAGAN's inauguration as president. The Reagan administration inherited the economic woes resulting from the situation in Iran, as the disruption in Iranian oil production once again led to oil shortages and higher prices. The loss of Iran as an ally was a strategic loss as well, as Iran had formerly helped with Soviet containment and acted to stabilize the Middle East from Soviet-backed Iraqi aggression.

A month after the embassy takeover, in December 1979, Soviet troops rolled into Afghanistan. Carter reacted



Protesters cheer in support during a demonstration against Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad at the United Nations, September 24, 2007, in New York City. (McGrath/Getty Images)



to the Soviets with economic sanctions, boycotted the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow, and ended talks on arms limitations with the Soviet Union. The Soviets remained in Afghanistan until 1989, shortly before the fall of Soviet communism. However, the war left a legacy of instability and poverty in Afghanistan that enabled a militant fundamentalist Islamic sect, the Taliban, to assume power.

The Reagan administration's involvement in Arab-Israeli negotiations was limited. However, Reagan allowed U.S. troops to serve as part of a multinational peacekeeping force overseeing the withdrawal of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from Lebanon in 1982, after Israel invaded Lebanon to drive out PLO terrorists. The U.S. troops left Lebanon in 1984 after 241 marines died in a truck bomb attack on their barracks in Beirut and the U.S. embassy in Beirut sustained a similar attack. By the late 1980s efforts to normalize relations between Israel and the Palestinians intensified when the head of the PLO, Yasir Arafat, recognized Israel's right to exist and renounced the use of terrorism.

President GEORGE H. W. BUSH opened the door to such negotiations by calling a conference in Madrid in 1991, but it fell to his successor, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, to finalize a peace agreement between the Israelis and Palestinians. Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO leader Yasir Arafat signed an agreement in May 1994 that began the transition to Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza. Rabin and Arafat shared the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts. But many hard-liners on both sides opposed the negotiations: Right-wing Israelis did not want to withdraw from occupied territories that they believed had belonged to the Jews since biblical times, and the most militant Palestinians refused to recognize Israel's right to exist. Rabin was assassinated in November 1995 by a Jewish extremist opposed to the negotiations. Until the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001, Middle Eastern diplomacy revolved around mediating peace talks between Israel and its neighbors and protecting oil interests. Diplomatic relations have since broadened to include efforts to encourage democratic practices and discourage support for terrorist organizations among nations of the Middle East.

Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein created instability in the Middle East when he invaded neighboring Kuwait, a major oil-producing nation, on August 2, 1990. This invasion threatened oil supplies from Kuwait and posed a serious threat to Saudi Arabia, an American ally, which controlled more than a fifth of the world's known oil supply. The George H. W. Bush administration imposed a trade embargo on Iraq and called for UN intervention in the crisis. On January 12, 1991, Congress approved the use of military action in the Persian Gulf. Following air strikes in February, the United States and a coalition of allied troops, led by General Norman Schwarzkopf, launched a ground

invasion into Iraq. The first PERSIAN GULF WAR forced Iraqi troops out of Kuwait but not before the Iraqi troops set fire to Kuwait's oil fields. After five days of fighting, Hussein was forced to accept a cease-fire. The United States lost only 148 troops. Under the truce, Hussein agreed to UN inspections in his country to guarantee the disposal of weapons of mass destruction. In 1998, after continued refusal to cooperate with UN inspectors, Hussein expelled the inspectors, setting the stage for a second American invasion. The administration of William J. Clinton launched periodic air strikes on Iraq and continued a policy of economic sanctions to pressure the Hussein government to allow weapons inspections. U.S. and international officials warned that Hussein was continuing to develop weapons of mass destruction and was providing a sanctuary for anti-American and anti-Western terrorists.

The hope for Middle East peace that arose from talks between Israel and Palestine in the early 1990s faded with the growing threat of TERRORISM. Terrorist organizations such as Hamas, a militant Palestinian group opposed to both Israeli occupation and Palestinian negotiation, Islamic Jihad, a militant Islamic group responsible for violent attacks on Israelis and Americans, and Hezbollah, a Shiite Muslim group based in Lebanon, have further complicated efforts to achieve peace in Israel. In 1996 the rise to power of a radical Sunni Muslim sect, the Taliban, in Afghanistan facilitated the growth of another deadly terrorist organization, al-Qaeda. Led by Saudi exile Osama bin Laden, the organization sought refuge in Afghanistan, where it built training camps from which to launch attacks against the West. Al-Qaeda claimed responsibility for attacks on two U.S. embassies in 1998, an attack on a U.S. naval vessel in 2000, and the September 11, 2001, attacks on the United States that killed more than 3,000 people.

Diplomatic efforts in the Middle East have turned to ending terrorism, ending state sponsorship of terrorism, and finding a way for Israelis and Palestinians to live side by side. President GEORGE W. BUSH called on the international community, including the nations of the Middle East, to join together in putting an end to terrorism as a solution to conflict. The United States became embroiled in two wars in the Middle East during Bush's term. The war in Afghanistan began in 2001 as an effort to bring the al-Qaeda terrorist network responsible for the attacks on September 11 to justice and to help the people of Afghanistan rebuild a democracy. In March 2003 the United States went to war with Iraq for a second time, as Saddam Hussein continued to defy UN resolutions calling for him to account for chemical, biological, and nuclear materials used to manufacture weapons of mass destruction, and for harboring terrorist organizations. No WMD were found in Iraq after the invasion, leading to charges that the Bush administration went to war on false pretenses. Relations between the United

States and Iran also remained strained over suspicions that Iran aided insurgents in the fight against U.S. soldiers in Iraq and over Iran's development of nuclear capabilities in defiance of international demands.

Bush also called for the creation of a Palestinian state but hoped to do so with new leadership for the PLO. The death of Yasir Arafat in November 2004 offered the hope that negotiations could go forward. Negotiations stalled again in early 2006 when elections brought Hamas to leadership in the Palestinian Authority (PA), the group responsible for the administration of Palestinian lands. The U.S. and European Union suspended funding for the PA, and in September 2006 the moderate Fatah party joined with Hamas in a unity government to give the PA legitimacy. The two groups fought intermittently for control, sometimes in deadly conflicts. By June 2007 Hamas had ousted Fatah from the Gaza Strip, killing several of its leaders in bloody public executions and, in effect, isolating the Palestinians of Gaza from those in the West Bank and from the Western world. In 2008 Israel—after several months of enduring rocket attacks from Hamas militants—retaliated with air strikes, followed by a ground offensive that featured fierce fighting in the streets of Gaza. Faced with a humanitarian crisis, the United Nations and the rest of the major world powers scrambled to negotiate a cease-fire. Due to U.S. military involvement in the Middle East, tensions between the United States and Arab countries were running at an all time high under President Bush. President BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA attempted a more conciliatory tone, while emphasizing that the United States does not see Muslims as the enemy. The Muslim response has generally been that actions speak louder than words, and suspicion of U.S. motives still linger, but it also carries weight with many that Obama has relatives that are Muslim.

See also AFGHANISTAN WAR; ENERGY; IRAQ WAR.

**Further reading:** Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, *Making War to Keep Peace* (New York: ReganBooks, 2007); Dennis Ross, *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004).

—Cynthia Stachecki

## militia movement

The militia movement is a host of small independent groups very loosely united under a common ideology of individualism, local autonomy, and separatism. They are organized along paramilitary command structures and most often found in isolated, rural U.S. communities.

The concept of limited government in the United States dates back to the American Revolution. Though the trend during the 20th century has been toward a larger and more powerful federal government, the ideal of local

autonomy, free from interference by centralized government, continued to be held by many Americans. Although distrust of the federal government occurred in both the political left and the right wings, some groups on the far right came to believe that “subversive elements”—communists, Jews, international financiers—had gained control of the federal government.

The origins of the militia movement can be traced to the formation of the Minutemen, an extremist, right-wing group, organized by Missouri businessman Robert DePugh, in the early 1960s. Believing that a communist takeover of the United States was imminent, DePugh organized the Minutemen into secretive cells of 5 to 15 members, who were to stockpile weapons and train to defend the country. During the 1960s, there were a number of armed clashes between Minutemen and law enforcement officials. In October 1966, 19 New York Minutemen were arrested in raids and accused of planning to bomb three summer camps in the New York metropolitan area, which the Minutemen believed were being used by communists. Huge supplies of weapons were found in these raids. Charges against the Minutemen were dropped in 1977 after a lengthy trial, because the government had collected its evidence in improper searches. In 1968 DePugh went underground, but was arrested in the summer of 1969 and sentenced to 11 years in prison for firearm violations and fleeing bond. He was released in 1973. DePugh never regained his leadership position among far-right-wing groups, but the idea of forming militias gained adherents, although most of the groups remained law-abiding.

The militia movement of the 1980s and 1990s is best characterized as an extremists' reaction to federal encroachments on what members perceive as local autonomy and individual liberty. These groups often combined unrelated ideologies of racial supremacy and constitutional libertarianism. Though each militia group adheres to a unique set of principles, they share an unusually strong commitment to the Second Amendment, which they interpret to mean the right of American citizens to own firearms. They point to the opening clause of the amendment, which states that the “right of the people to keep and bear arms” is necessary to ensure “a well regulated militia,” which is itself “necessary to the security of a free state.” They argue that only a well-armed citizenry can check the growth of tyrannical government, because it represents the unspoken threat of revolution, if a dictator or aristocracy tries to usurp power. But other militia groups believe that the United States has already fallen into tyranny and that private militias must stockpile weapons to protect individual liberty.

Typical groups contend that current electoral processes have failed or are inoperable; that the political leadership is controlled by unseen forces, such as a global elite made

up of powerful industrialists and Jews; and that, as a result, most current laws are unjust and are deliberately designed to deprive individuals of their liberty. Favorite examples used to support these claims include the introduction of federal income tax; the alleged sacrifice of American sovereignty to the UNITED NATIONS and the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO); congressional efforts to strengthen GUN CONTROL laws; and federal involvement in desegregation and AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.

Many militia groups, though not all, find justification for their racist and political views through nonaffiliated churches made up of militia members. Militia groups are quite diverse; their charters differ considerably from group to group, often emphasizing entirely different priorities. Some unite around racism, others around hatred of taxation, and others around their fear of American cultural decay. Despite their reactionary rhetoric, most militia groups have never been involved in direct confrontations with the law. Some of the better-known groups include the Michigan Militia Corps, the Militia of Montana, and the Texas Constitutional Militia. The exact number of groups in the country is not known precisely, although those scholars who have studied these groups estimate their number to be only approximately 800 organizations.

The militia movement came to public attention during the early 1990s after three highly publicized events: the confrontations by federal officials with armed groups at Ruby Ridge in Idaho, and the BRANCH DAVIDIANS in Waco, Texas; and the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The first occurred in April 1992 near a secluded homestead in Idaho. A team of six U.S. Marshals was preparing to execute a warrant against militia member Randy Weaver when they were discovered. The subsequent gunfire resulted in the deaths of Weaver's wife and 13-year-old son, and one U.S. Marshal. The second occurred 10 months later, in February 1993, on the Branch Davidian compound outside of Waco. Agents from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) attempted to execute an arrest warrant against group leader David Koresh; gunfire erupted, killing four ATF agents and wounding 16 others. The Federal Bureau of Investigation immediately assumed control of the operation, leading to a six-week standoff between federal agents and more than 90 Branch Davidians, including 22 children. On April 19, 1993, the FBI launched teargas into the buildings in an effort to force the residents out. A fire erupted and killed 86 people inside the compound.

The Branch Davidians were an apocalyptic religious sect and did not fit the traditional profile of a typical militia group, except for their large stockpile of weapons, yet they won the sympathy of numerous groups who blamed the federal government for their deaths, portraying the incident as an example of a tyrannical government bent on disarming

the population. Both the Ruby Ridge and Waco confrontations elicited sympathy from many Americans who did not otherwise relate to militia movement ideology.

This changed dramatically, however, when on April 19, 1995, two years after the anniversary of the Waco confrontation, a truck loaded with explosives detonated outside the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 people including 19 children. The architects of the bombing, Timothy J. McVeigh and Terry L. Nichols, had long histories of militia activity. McVeigh later confessed that the bombing was planned as a reprisal against the federal government's involvement in Waco, which he viewed as an act of war. Other smaller standoffs between militia members and federal agents occurred in Texas, Idaho, Michigan, Missouri, and Illinois, but the public sympathy for the movement had dropped significantly. An estimated 300,000 people belonged to more than 800 militia groups in 1995, with 3 million supporters and sympathizers. By 2000 the estimated number of active members had dropped by half.

See also FEDERALISM; PROPERTY RIGHTS; TERRORISM.

**Further reading:** Richard Abanes, *American Militias: Rebellion, Racism & Religion* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1996); Vincent Coppola, *Dragons of God: A Journey through Far-Right America* (Atlanta, Ga.: Longstreet Press, 1996); Neil Hamilton, *Militias in America: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-Clio, 1996).

—Aharon W. Zorea

**Mitchell, George (John)** (1933– ) senator, Senate majority leader

George Mitchell is a Democrat from Maine who served in the U.S. SENATE from 1980 to 1995. He was elected Senate majority leader in November 1988, and served in that capacity until his retirement. While in the Senate, Mitchell actively supported liberal tax reform measures, as well as environmental legislation. He was noted for his skillful yet plainspoken interrogation of OLIVER L. NORTH during the Senate's investigation of the IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR. He was respected, both inside and out of the Senate, for his instinct for compromise and sense of fair play.

Mitchell was born in Waterville, Maine, in 1933. Following graduation from Bowdoin College in 1954, he served as an officer in the U.S. Army Counterintelligence Corps until 1956. In 1960 he earned his law degree from Georgetown University.

When Maine's senator Edmund S. Muskie ran for vice president in 1968, he appointed Mitchell deputy director of the vice presidential campaign. After RICHARD M. NIXON won the election, Mitchell was named by the Democratic

Party to the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection. Mitchell again joined Muskie's team in 1972 when he ran for the Democratic presidential nomination. Muskie lost the nomination to GEORGE S. MCGOVERN.

In 1974 Mitchell was the Democratic gubernatorial candidate in Maine, where he lost to the Independent Party candidate, James B. Longley. That same year Mitchell was appointed to the executive committee of the Democratic National Committee. In 1977 President JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., appointed Mitchell as the U.S. attorney for Maine, and in 1979 he was appointed as judge of the U.S. District Court for Northern Maine. In 1980, when President Carter named Senator Muskie as secretary of state, Mitchell was appointed to serve out Muskie's term in the U.S. Senate.

In 1982 he beat the Republican challenger for the Senate seat by 61 percent to 39 percent. A staunch liberal Democrat, Mitchell opposed much of President RONALD W. REAGAN's agenda. He voted against the administration on prayer in public schools, limits on ABORTION, the balanced budget amendment, STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE funding, MX missile deployment, resumption of chemical weapons production, aid to the CONTRAS in NICARAGUA, and confirmation of Justice WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST as chief justice of the U.S. SUPREME COURT, and he joined in the vote to override President Reagan's veto of sanctions on South Africa. Mitchell did cross party lines to work with the Republicans to construct the tax reform act of 1986.

Throughout Mitchell's stint in the Senate, though, his passion was for environmental issues. In 1981 Mitchell introduced the first bill regarding acid rain. He lobbied to convince senators from coal-producing states that sulfur dioxide from those businesses produced acid rain, which polluted drinking water, destroyed aquatic life, and corroded human lungs. Although repeated measures he sponsored to safeguard the environment failed, Mitchell remained dedicated to the issues throughout his terms in the Senate. He also supported the Maine Indian Land Claims Act of 1980, the Clean Water Act of 1981, and the Clean Air Act of 1990.

In 1984 Mitchell was named chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, charged with putting the Senate back in Democratic hands in the 1986 election. Mitchell was instrumental in fund-raising and nurturing the candidates, winning a total of 54 Democratic Senate seats in the 100th Congress.

During the 1987 Iran-contra hearings, Mitchell interrogated Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North in front of the world, through international television coverage. With hearing committee member and fellow Maine senator William Cohen, Mitchell wrote *Men of Zeal: A Candid Inside Story of the Iran-Contra Hearings*.

In 1988 Mitchell was elected Senate majority leader. Colleagues said they voted for Mitchell because he could

work with the diversity of the Senate as well as be an effective national spokesman. Furthermore, Mitchell was a personal friend of newly elected president GEORGE H. W. BUSH, and Mitchell found the new administration easier to work with on several issues, such as budgetary measures and the environment.

In 1994 Mitchell announced he would not seek reelection to the Senate. President WILLIAM J. CLINTON proposed to nominate Mitchell to the U.S. Supreme Court to fill Harry A. Blackmun's seat. Mitchell turned down the offer, telling the press he wanted to work for a health care initiative.

Clinton appointed Mitchell in 1995 as special adviser to the president for economic initiatives to Ireland. In January 1996, Mitchell issued a report calling for the Irish Republican Army (IRA) to give up guerrilla weapons and hold democratic elections prior to peace talks. In February 1996, the IRA, an opposition paramilitary force and political party, broke the 16-month cease-fire. On April 12, 1998, however, a multilateral peace agreement was signed by representatives of the United Kingdom and political parties in Northern Ireland. The peace agreement was approved by a public referendum in Northern Ireland on May 22, 1998.

In 2000 Clinton appointed Mitchell to head a similar peace effort to resolve the conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Although this problem proved even more intractable than the Irish problem, Mitchell played a critical role in negotiating key agreements that allowed for Palestinian autonomy.

For his efforts in Ireland, Mitchell received the Medal of Freedom. Following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack, Mitchell was appointed to chair the American Red Cross Liberty Fund. He continues to practice law in Washington, D.C., and serves on the boards of many corporations. He is the author of *Not for America Alone: The Triumph of Democracy and the Fall of Communism* and *Making Peace* (1992).

On January 22, 2009, Mitchell was appointed special envoy to the Middle East by President BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA and Secretary of State HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON.

—Leah Blakey

**Mitchell, John N.** (1913–1988) *government official*  
Born in Detroit, Michigan, on September 15, 1913, John Newton Mitchell rose to prominence as RICHARD M. NIXON's campaign manager and attorney general before falling from grace during the WATERGATE SCANDAL. He was the first attorney general of the United States to be convicted of a crime.

Mitchell graduated from Fordham Law School in 1938 and joined the New York City law firm of Caldwell and Raymond, specializing in state and municipal bonds. Dur-



ing World War II, Mitchell served as a lieutenant in the navy, commanding John F. Kennedy's PT boat unit. During the war Mitchell won the Silver Star for bravery and was twice awarded the Purple Heart. After the war, Mitchell resumed his law practice in New York.

Mitchell met Richard M. Nixon in 1967, when the former vice president joined the firm of Mudge, Rose, Guthrie, Alexander and Mitchell. Nixon and Mitchell formed a close relationship, and Mitchell agreed to direct Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign, despite not having much experience. Following his election, Nixon appointed Mitchell U.S. attorney general, and he implemented anticrime and civil rights policies, as well as assisting in the selection of U.S. SUPREME COURT nominees. Mitchell also collected information on the president's political rivals, through illegal wiretaps and investigations by the FBI.

In 1972 Mitchell resigned his office to head the Committee to Reelect the President (CREEP). Mitchell directed "dirty tricks" and espionage operations against Nixon's political opponents, the most famous of these being the break-in at the Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate complex on June 16, 1972. The break-in was discovered, and five men were arrested. Investigations indicated that CREEP had directed the operation. In July Mitchell resigned, and it seemed that nothing was to come from the break-in. That November Nixon won one of the largest landslide elections in history.

Only through the efforts of two *Washington Post* investigative reporters, Robert Woodward and Carl Bernstein, did the full extent of CREEP's involvement become known. By 1973 the Watergate conspiracy was being uncovered by congressional investigations and special prosecutors. Mitchell, along with other high-ranking administration members including H. R. Haldeman, White House chief of staff, and John Ehrlichman, a Nixon adviser, was indicted for conspiracy, obstruction of justice, and perjury. During his trial, Mitchell remained loyal to Nixon, denying most of the charges and arguing that other actions were done for national security reasons.

On January 1, 1975, Mitchell was convicted on all counts and sentenced to 30 months to eight years in prison, making him the first attorney general sent to prison. Mitchell served 19 months in federal prison before being released in 1979. He was disbarred and lived quietly for the next nine years, dying of a heart attack on November 9, 1988. He was buried in Arlington National Cemetery, because of his military service and cabinet rank.

—John Korasick

**Mondale, Walter F.** (1928– ) *U.S. vice president*  
Walter Frederick ("Fritz") Mondale has had a long and distinguished career as a public official. Born January 1,

1928, in Ceylon, Minnesota, the future senator, vice president, presidential candidate, and ambassador was politically active at an early age. As a freshman at Macalester College, Mondale was involved in the Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) Party. He was a volunteer in Hubert Humphrey's Minneapolis mayoral campaign in 1947 and U.S. SENATE campaign in 1948. Mondale also organized a chapter of Students for Democratic Action (SDA) and in 1949 accepted the job of executive director of the SDA in Washington, D.C. In 1950 he resumed his college career at the University of Minnesota, graduating in 1951. After two years in the army, Mondale entered the University of Minnesota Law School, graduating in 1956. In 1955 he married Joan Adams; they had three children.

Mondale had resumed his political activities upon returning to Minnesota, supporting DFL candidates and actively participating in the attorney general and gubernatorial campaigns of Orville Freeman. By the late 1950s Mondale was a respected party tactician and was state financial director for the DFL. In 1960 Governor Orville I. Freeman, appointed him state attorney general, replacing Miles Lord, who had resigned. Mondale was elected to the position in November 1960 and reelected in 1962. During this time he demonstrated his commitment to the down-trodden, instituting antitrust, civil rights, and consumer protection actions. As attorney general of Minnesota, he wrote a *amici curiae* (friends of the court) brief in a case before the U.S. SUPREME COURT, urging reversal of the conviction of Clarence Earl Gideon for a noncapital crime in the state of Florida. In *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963), the Supreme Court overturned the conviction, holding that a defendant must be provided legal counsel.

Mondale's emergence in Minnesota politics, legal expertise, and attachment to liberal causes earned him a role in the 1964 Democratic National Convention as a member of the convention credentials committee. He headed the committee that mediated the dispute between the black Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the Mississippi Democratic Party. Mondale orchestrated the compromise that kept the peace at the convention, though neither side was pleased. After the 1964 election, Mondale was appointed by Governor Karl F. Rovaag to fill the Senate seat of Hubert Humphrey, who had been elected Lyndon Johnson's vice president.

In 1966 Mondale was reelected to the Senate. He was a strong supporter of civil rights legislation, consumer protection, education reform, and campaign finance reform. He remained friendly with the LABOR movement. He was a supporter of Johnson's VIETNAM WAR policy until 1968. In 1972 Mondale refused GEORGE S. MCGOVERN's offer of the vice presidential spot and was reelected senator. In 1976 Mondale accepted JAMES EARL CARTER, JR.'s offer of the vice presidency. The Democratic ticket won in 1976,

and Mondale, while often privately disagreeing with Carter, served as a close adviser and handled 13 foreign missions. He played a critical role in the CAMP DAVID ACCORDS (1979), which brought peace between Israel and Egypt. In 1980, Carter-Mondale lost their reelection bid to the Republican ticket of RONALD W. REAGAN and GEORGE H. W. BUSH. Mondale entered private law practice and made numerous speeches. By 1981 Mondale decided to run for president.

He ran in the 1984 campaign, choosing Representative GERALDINE A. FERRARO of New York as his vice presidential candidate and making her the first woman from a major party to run for executive office. Despite this, RONALD W. REAGAN was reelected in a landslide. In 1987 he became the chairman of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, a position he held until 1993. That year President WILLIAM J. CLINTON named him U.S. ambassador to Japan, a position he held until 1996.

See also ELECTIONS; POLITICAL PARTIES.

**Further reading:** Steven M. Gillon, *The Democrats' Dilemma: Walter F. Mondale and the Liberal Legacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

—John Korasick

## Moral Majority

The Moral Majority was a conservative religious and political group founded by the Reverend Jerry Falwell and a group of Baptist pastors from large churches throughout the United States in 1979. The group's stated goal was to create a "nonpartisan political organization to promote morality in public life and to combat legislation that favored the legalization of immorality." It became visible on the national level when it supported Republican Party nominee RONALD W. REAGAN's bid for the 1980 presidential election. By 1981 the organization had chapters in each of the 50 states, local affiliates, and a Washington, D.C., office. The group claimed to represent the "Moral Majority" of the American people. Fundamentalist and EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS provided the base of support. Paul Weyrich, president of Free Congress Foundation, coined the name "Moral Majority" and helped formulate its strategy as part of his three-decade effort to transform social and religious conservatives into political activists as part of the New Right movement.

Falwell graduated in 1956 from the Baptist Bible College in Springfield, Missouri, and was ordained by the Baptist Bible fellowship. Returning to his hometown of Lynchburg, Virginia, Falwell founded the Thomas Road Baptist Church, and soon after, began radio and television broadcasts of his popular "Old Time Gospel Hour." Falwell founded Lynchburg Baptist College in 1971. The Moral Majority, Inc., was founded eight years later. In its 10-year

existence, the Moral Majority lobbied for prayer and the teaching of creationism in public schools and opposed the EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT, homosexual rights, ABORTION, and the U.S.-Soviet STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATIES. As a political action group composed of conservative, fundamentalist Christians, the Moral Majority played a role in helping to defeat the ERA. Furthermore, the Moral Majority helped mobilize Christian Evangelicals to become involved in politics. For the most part, these voters were conservative, born-again Christians, and the movement played a significant role in the 1980 elections through its strong support of New Right candidates.

On June 11, 1989, Reverend Falwell announced, "Our mission is accomplished." Falwell said that the Moral Majority would permanently close its doors on August 31. Contributing significantly to the movement's demise was the downfall of disgraced televangelists Jimmy Swaggart and Jim Bakker. Although Falwell himself was not engaged in the events that ruined Bakker and Swaggart, the fallout effects of the scandals dealt a hurtful blow to every national ministry, including Falwell's. In its final year, Moral Majority's annual revenue fell to barely \$3 million from a peak of \$11.1 million in 1984.

Many former supporters of the Moral Majority found other vehicles for conservative political expression in movements like the CHRISTIAN COALITION. Although clearly not representing the "majority" of American opinion, the Moral Majority sparked animated controversy among liberals and was the catalyst that began the political activism of formerly inactive evangelical, fundamentalist Christians, who had begun to flex their political muscle and found they too could shape the legislative process.

See also CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; RELIGION; TELEVANGELISM.

—Michele Rutledge

## movies

In the United States, movies have long been an entertainment staple as well as an artistic medium that reflected the nation's social and cultural trends. Powerful social movements, regulatory attitudes, and technological and commercial changes radically transformed the nature of American movies during the last 35 years of the 20th century.

The late 1960s witnessed what many called a Hollywood renaissance that extended well into the 1970s. Throughout this period American movies adapted themselves to various external forces that would shape the direction of the film industry. The national film audience had shrunk from 80 million to 20 million, while its members had become younger and more educated. The social movements of the 1960s had reconfigured social and sexual values. These developments, along with the need to accommodate itself to the competi-

tion of the world market, forced the film industry to alter its practices as well as the content of its products. Major Hollywood studios often became subsidiaries of huge conglomerates like Coca-Cola. In the 1980s some ownership moved overseas, when an Australian company bought Fox, and Japanese companies purchased Columbia and Universal. Studios began producing more fare for television audiences than for theatrical release, and increasingly, studios shot films on location outside Hollywood. For example, New York City recaptured its status as a movie-making center.

While many of the films of the period were produced strictly for entertainment value, the trend was toward films that commented on the state of society. Major directors such as Robert Altman, Francis Ford Coppola, Stanley Kubrick, and Martin Scorsese produced films that challenged the traditional norms and institutions of American life. Films like *Dr. Strangelove* (1964), *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), *The Graduate* (1967), *Easy Rider* (1969), *Medium Cool* (1969), *The Godfather* (1972), and *Taxi Driver* (1976) searched for meaning in a society that had become entangled in the VIETNAM WAR and that many perceived had lost its way, becoming enamored of the merely material and suffocated by its institutions.

This artistic challenging of traditional norms was also instrumental in restructuring the way films were regulated. In 1968, the Motion Picture Rating System (MPRS) replaced the Hollywood Production Code that was established in 1930. The old code, essentially an industry-controlled CENSORSHIP program, was replaced by a series of ratings (G, PG, PG-13, R, and X) that indicated the level of audience maturity each film demanded. Once in place, this system allowed moviemakers to push the artistic envelope even further. The MPRS remained in effect at the end of the 20th century with one alteration. The X rating had proven unworkable and was replaced in 1990 by the NC-17 rating (no children under 17 allowed).

The late 1970s witnessed a radical change in both the content and the distribution of American films. While during the previous decade, films sought to challenge the myths of American life, beginning in the late 1970s and extending into the mid-1990s movies reaffirmed those myths and sought to create new ones. As many scholars of film history argue, mainstream films, with some exceptions, had become relatively conservative and predictable, unwilling to take artistic and political risks.

*Star Wars* (George Lucas, 1977) almost single-handedly effected this change. It renewed the old Hollywood genre of “good vs. evil” by offering unambiguous heroes and villains and provided an escape from social reality into a science fiction wonderland of myth and magic created by new visual technologies. Its pioneering use of Dolby NR (noise reduction) and the Dolby SVA (stereo variable area) soundtrack led many to herald it as a “second coming

of sound.” Lucas’s use of COMPUTERS to control special-effect shots virtually computerized the industry; by the late 1980s, computers had become essential in every aspect of filmmaking. Further, *Star Wars* secured the viability of the sequel, and sequels, which made safe investments for both producers and audiences, began to dominate the industry with films such as *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980); *The Return of the Jedi* (1983); and *The Phantom Menace* (1999). Of course, sequels were not new, as evidenced in James Bond, Pink Panther, and Planet of the Apes films, but sequels came to dominate the industry.

Additionally, *Star Wars* earned so much money that it changed the way the industry did business. By the 1980s, studios concentrated on making blockbusters and reserved a few slots on the production schedule for low-budget and offbeat films. Other than that, they produced sequels and acquired independent films that they released under the studio logo. Because movies cost so much more to make and were capable of earning so much (Steven Spielberg’s *Jurassic Park*, 1993, grossed almost \$1 billion), studios considered it foolhardy to take chances on the public’s taste. Finally, *Star Wars* and other movies such as *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (Spielberg, 1977), *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (Lucas and Spielberg, 1981), and *Back to the Future* (Robert Zemeckis, 1985) combined the appeal to innocence with the appeal of special effects, and produced a cinematic world of spectacle and an unambiguous tribute to traditional values.

The unambiguous good-triumphs-over-evil myth and the childhood fascination with space and magic were not the only myths evoked by mainstream film, however. Films such as *Halloween* (1979), *Alien* (1979), and *Poltergeist* (1982) presented in a visually stunning way the darker myths of horror, terror, and the irrational and unknown menace.



Director Steven Spielberg working with a camera on the set of his film *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (Hulton/Archive)



Many films investigated the dilemmas of real life in a comic way (*Ordinary People*, 1980; *The Big Chill*, 1983). Action heroes such as Clint Eastwood, Sylvester Stallone, and Arnold Schwarzenegger offered film series that affirmed the deeply rooted American value of assertive individualism. *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989) reasserted American patriotism, and *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) depicted the realities of war while venerating the incumbent heroism of its American participants.

In contrast to these relatively formulaic films stood many exceptions by artists who sought to explore the tragic aspects of American social history in films such as *Little Big Man* (1970) and *Heaven's Gate* (1980). Several AFRICAN AMERICANS directed their depictions of the realities of family and urban life for wide audiences: Charles Hughes (*Killer of Sheep*, 1970; *To Sleep with Anger*, 1990), Spike Lee (*Do the Right Thing*, 1989; *Malcolm X*, 1992), and John Singleton (*Boyz in the Hood*, 1991). John Sayles offered a realistic portrayal of baseball's 1919 Black Sox scandal (*Eight Men Out*, 1988), in which players conspired with gamblers to throw the World Series, but the film attracted a relatively small audience. In 1989, however, *Field of Dreams* was enormously successful because of its redemptive approach to the same scandal. In the typical late 20th-century American style, it suggested that the culture could heal itself by forgiving and erasing the troubles of the past. Redemption was complete when the ballplayers were welcomed back to the field of dreams, an action that rescued the financially stricken farmer who had built the field.

Beginning in the 1980s, the film and TELEVISION industries became more interdependent, a result in large part of the growth of cable and satellite television and of the use of VHS videotape. Hollywood studios began to make movies for immediate release on network and cable TV. Some pay channels (HBO, Showtime) and basic cable channels (USA, TNT) started producing feature films in the 1990s for exclusive release on their network. At the end of the 20th century, most theatrically released movies were televised, usually on cable pay channels or cable pay-per-view, within a year after their initial release. This practice invited home viewers to make a copy, thus diversifying the market for the film industry. Essentially, if a film did not fare well in theaters, a studio could recoup much of its losses in video sales and rentals. The video rental industry has also allowed film studios to market their entire library of films to the home-viewing public.

Although many American movies increasingly rely on special effects to attract audiences, and the blockbuster and the predictability of its sequel drive the industry's success, theatrically released films still offer the *big* image, clear details, true colors, and state-of-the-art stereo sound all offered in a dedicated environment free of the distractions of home viewing. The uniqueness of the experience, as well as the content of the film, continues to make film

a culturally important medium, while fostering the continued commercial success of Hollywood studios as integral parts of the American consumer economy.

See also MEDIA; POPULAR CULTURE; PORNOGRAPHY.

**Further reading:** Leonard Quart and Albert Auster, *American Film and Society since 1945* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1991); Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994).

—William L. Glankler

## multiculturalism

Multiculturalism, as Harvard University professor Nathan Glazer observes, is a term that describes the nature of American society, as well as an ideology and program. American society since 1968 has become increasingly multicultural as many people immigrated to the United States from different cultures to create a rich variety of subcultures that interacted with and influenced the general American culture.

The emergence of multiculturalism as an ideology and political program emerged from the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s. On college campuses, ethnic minorities, including African-American, Hispanic, Native American, and Asian-American students demanded the establishment of programs devoted to ethnic studies. At the same time, female student activists called for the creation of Women's Studies programs. These demands reflected a rising multicultural consciousness in society. By the 1990s, multicultural theory was extended to include homosexuals and lesbians. At the same time, traditional departments in colleges and universities, especially in the humanities and social sciences, established new courses or changed existing courses to incorporate a multicultural perspective.

In the 1980s and 1990s the United States experienced a significant influx of Hispanic and Asian immigrants. Hispanics became the fastest-growing ethnic group, as immigrants from Mexico settled not only in the Southwest and West but in eastern and midwestern cities. Puerto Rican people and Dominican people migrated to the East Coast, and Cubans made homes in Florida. Newcomers from Vietnam, Thailand, Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the Philippines created new communities, especially in California. Demographers predicted that by the year 2010, people of European ancestry would be a minority in California. During the 1980s, the number of residents for whom English was a foreign tongue jumped by a third to 31.8 million. As a result, about 14 percent of all residents grew up speaking a language other than English.

The result of this massive influx of new people of different races, religions, and cultures created a unique multicult-



tural society in modern America. As these immigrant groups joined the existing minorities in the United States, some policy makers, educators, intellectuals, and activists called for a program to ensure cultural awareness and cultural sensitivity toward various subgroups. The ideology of multiculturalism maintained that the hegemonic white European culture excluded other ethnic, racial, and religious subcultures. American culture, proponents argued, was a rich tapestry composed of various elements, and claiming to define American culture simply as one derived from Europe was inaccurate, misleading, and politically destructive. Critics of multiculturalism promoted the importance of Judeo-Christian European culture as the foundation of American society and accused multiculturalists of trying to impose POLITICAL CORRECTNESS in public policy and education.

The term “multiculturalism” came into widespread use only at the end of the 1980s. In the 1990s, however, hundreds of books and journal articles appeared, discussing the meaning and implications of multiculturalism. The establishment of these new centers, programs, courses, and curriculum changes stirred great controversy within universities and colleges. In varying degrees, these new programs often were centers of advocacy as well as centers of scholarship. Some educators believed that such advocacy undermined academic standards of objectivity, while unnecessarily heightening racial, ethnic, and cultural difference.

For instance, Afrocentrism, a perspective that insisted on the importance of African culture to world civilization, sparked intense controversy. Afrocentrist scholars and educators held that African people had discovered fundamental concepts in mathematics and the sciences and contributed significantly to world history, but that often these discoveries and contributions were ignored and suppressed by white Europeans.

Moreover, these ethnic, women’s, and gay studies programs often were staffed by faculty drawn from the various groups specific to these programs. When faculty members not of the group were excluded from appointment, controversy often followed, as seen in the 1990s in cases at Harvard, UC Berkeley, and Queens.

Multiculturalism also influenced elementary and secondary education. In the 1990s, many state education commissions mandated that curriculum and textbooks reflect multicultural perspectives by incorporating discussions of various cultures and peoples in American society. As established courses and textbooks in elementary and secondary education were replaced by multicultural ones, some parents, teachers, and politicians decried what they perceived as declining academic standards, racial divisiveness, and “political correctness.” Conflicts erupted in California over standards for social studies textbooks and other texts selected by state committees seeking to introduce multiculturalism into the state education system. In the early 1990s, further

controversy was created when a federally funded effort, cochaired by Gary B. Nash, a professor of American history at the University of California, Los Angeles, sought to create national history standards for American and world history.

Multiculturalism came under criticism by historians and other educators, including Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., C. Vann Woodward, and Diane Ravitch. These scholars argued that these efforts at “multiculturalism” overemphasized the role of minorities and women, thereby skewing history in the name of diversity. They also contended that the multicultural approach to the humanities and the social sciences failed to establish a solid base of knowledge for the further study of history and literature.

Supporters of multiculturalism maintain that education needs to develop within students a respect for and recognition of the wide range of subcultures and groups that compose American life and culture. This perspective reflects the changing nature of American society and culture. Although some advocates for multiculturalism seek a more “critical multiculturalism” or “transformative multiculturalism”—one that allows students to envision a reordering of culture and society—this view remains a minority among multiculturalists.

Multiculturalism, as a descriptive term for American society, accurately reflects the changing composition of the American population, as well as its changing cultural standards and attitudes. Multiculturalism as a theory has challenged the traditional vision of the American “melting pot,” in which all groups are assimilated into one culture. Critics of multicultural theory maintain that its perspective promotes a “cult of otherness,” which sees society made up of subgroups—African-American people, Hispanic people, Asian people, women, and homosexual people—who identify only with their own cultures. Proponents of multiculturalism respond by arguing that American society needs to acknowledge and encourage the existing diversity of cultures within the nation. These two immeasurable positions are not easily reconciled.

**Further reading:** Todd Gitlin, *The Twilight of Common Dreams* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1995); Nathan Glazer, *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); ———, “Multiculturalism in Theory and Practice,” in *Encyclopedia of American Cultural and Intellectual History*, Vol. 3, edited by Mary Kupiec Cayton and Peter W. Williams (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 253–262.

## music

Throughout its history, American music has demonstrated the ethnic and cultural diversity of the United States as well as its penchant for commodification. Popular music in

America, especially since the late 1960s, has been a product of both the country's cultural pluralism and its consumer ethic.

Late 20th-century American music reflected the political, economic, and racial outlooks of its audience. The classical tradition remained and continued to develop, although sales of recorded classical music in 1999 represented only 3.5 percent of all sales. (Rock constituted 25.2 percent; country, 10.8 percent; rap, 10.8 percent; R & B, 10.5 percent; pop, 10.3 percent; other, 9.1 percent; religious, 5.1 percent; jazz, 3.0 percent; and soundtracks, 0.8 percent.) Although most of its repertoire has remained European-focused, works by such American composers as Charles Ives, Aaron Copland, and George Gershwin are still performed in concert halls throughout the country.

The popularity of musical theater has increased, evidenced in shows such as *Cats* (more than 7,000 performances), *Chorus Line* (more than 6,000 performances), *Les Miserables* (more than 5,000 performances) and *The Phantom of the Opera* (more than 5,000 performances). Other shows, such as *The Lion King*, *Ragtime*, and *Bring in 'da Noise, Bring in 'da Funk* have attracted younger audiences to the theater. Although in the 1969–70 season, there were 62 new productions while in 1999–2000, there were only 37 new productions, attendance increased from 7.4 million to 11.4 million.

Symphonic and operatic performances also reached large audiences. By 2000 there were over 90 symphony orchestras in the United States with annual expenses reaching \$2 million or more. Symphony orchestras were found not only in established cultural centers, such as New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Detroit, Saint Louis, Minneapolis, and Pittsburgh, but also in cities such as Knoxville, Tennessee; Dayton, Ohio; Spokane, Washington; Louisville, Kentucky; Grand Rapids, Michigan; and Raleigh, North Carolina. Furthermore, there are more than 60 opera companies with budgets of \$1 million or more in cities across America. The classical and operatic tradition, however, remains for many a signifier of “high” culture and status, while popular music dominates both the music industry and the popular mind.

Popular music came to dominate the American music landscape because it more realistically reflected the everyday experiences of Americans. The racial boundaries that had marginalized popular music in the 1940s and 1950s slowly dissolved with the advent of early rhythm and blues, and rock and roll, both integrated forms of musical expression that developed from both black and white cultural influences. In the 1960s and 1970s, performers like James Brown (“I’m Black and I’m Proud”) and Marvin Gaye (“What’s Going On” and “Inner City Blues”), along with the influential and economically successful Motown Records, produced “soul” music recordings that reflected

the growing sense of racial pride among AFRICAN AMERICANS. The 1960s also witnessed a popular music peppered with political messages that advocated racial and gender equality and an end to the VIETNAM WAR. Although such socially aware music continued to be produced throughout the 1970s 1980s, and 1990s, its prominence was eclipsed by the more commercially successful “British invasion,” led by the Beatles and the Rolling Stones.

During the 1970s, disco music became the dominant popular musical form. The discotheque replaced the concert stage as the primary venue, and people danced to the sounds of performers such as The Village People, KC and the Sunshine Band, Donna Summer, and Kool and the Gang. Such a culturally diverse arena provided a musical platform for all ethnicities and sexual orientations.

The 1980s and 1990s signaled the end of one musical form's dominance and witnessed the splintering of popular music into several genres. Gone as well was the inclusive arena of the discotheque, produced by the cultural integration of the 1960s. Forms such as hard rock, rap, pop, alternative, grunge, and rhythm and blues competed for audiences and consumers, and increasingly identified with geographical location as much as racial and economic status. The grunge movement, attributed largely to Kurt Cobain and his group, Nirvana, centered in Seattle, Washington, and gave voice to the undirected anguish of the white, pessimistic, twenty-something generation. The hip-hop movement reflected the African-American and Latino urban experience in America, and produced the enormously popular rap music, first made successful by Kurtis Blow in 1980 with “Christmas Rappin’” and “The Breaks.” Rock music split into camps such as heavy metal, led by groups such as Poison and Motley Crüe, and alternative with such groups as Duran Duran and U2. Country and western music also experienced an increased popularity during the 1980s and into the 1990s, evidenced by the popularity of country and western dance halls and the crossover success of country and western bands like Alabama and Garth Brooks.

In the 1990s, Madonna, a female singer popular in the 1980s and well known for her risqué musical videos, sought a tamer, more mature image, while singers Britney Spears and the Spice Girls projected the sex kitten/bubble gum image (Britney Spears later sought to create a more explicitly sexy image in the 1990s). Also in the decade of the 1990s, the tradition of the male group sound with “boy bands,” such as the Backstreet Boys and N’Sync, continued. These various genres clearly demonstrated the pluralism inherent in American culture, as each one enjoyed tremendous popularity but no one achieved dominance.

The diversity of music enabled performers and artists to more readily share the wealth generated by the recording industry. Propelled by technology and increased consumer activity, such performers as Michael Jackson, Whitney

Houston, Bruce Springsteen, and Madonna amassed great fortunes and propelled the recording industry to its zenith while simultaneously defining popular culture with their hairstyles and fashion. Within a decade, total sales of recorded music, dominated by rock, country, rap, R & B, and pop rose from \$7.834 billion, with 801 million in total unit sales in 1991, to \$14.584 billion, with 1,660 in total unit sales in 1999.

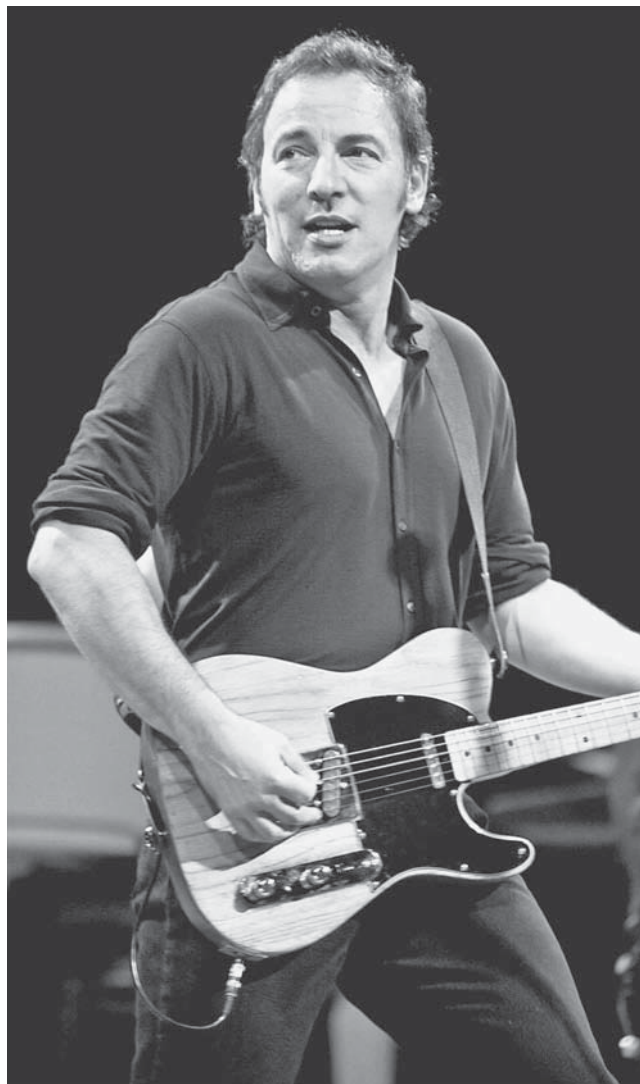
The expense of recording and distributing an album through the mainstream recording industry led to the development in the 1990s of alternative music movements. Many alternative artists such as Beck and Liz Phair recorded on home equipment that produced lower-quality recordings, leading some to call this genre “lo-fi” music. An alternative country music, often called alt-country, also emerged. It rejected the increasingly pop sound of Nashville recordings in favor of a blend of traditional country music and country rock. As with their rock counterparts, most of these artists recorded on independent labels and aimed for a lo-fi sound. These new forms and their subforms contributed to the continuing splintering of popular music.

The role of TELEVISION in the creation of the superstar cannot be overestimated. Dick Clark’s *American Bandstand* and Don Cornelius’s *Soul Train* (as well as popular variety shows such as Ed Sullivan’s long-running Sunday evening program) established television’s role in the music industry, by reinforcing the musical style heard on the radio and on record albums, as well as the cultural styles associated with the musical form. In the 1980s, the advent of music videos, and the cable music network, MTV, appeared to assure television’s place as a conduit for the cultural influence of music. Initially, few artists used MTV and music videos for promotional purposes and the venue had only minimal impact.

By the late 1980s, however, performers realized the commercial power of short, two- to three-minute videos. These videos propelled artists like Madonna and Michael Jackson into superstardom, and recording companies began to pour millions of dollars into these short but powerful promotion tools. Record sales increased dramatically during the 1980s and early 1990s, as music videos became modifiers of public taste and style.

Music videos continued to be an important marketing tool, but new reality TV shows also began to create their own music stars. Chief among these shows was Fox’s *American Idol*. The show required that contestants perform each week for a panel of judges, who gave them feedback. The television audience then called in their votes for their favorite singers. The person with the lowest vote tally each week was dropped from the show, until only one contestant remained.

During the 1990s, technological developments boosted a recording industry that was undergoing both demographic



Bruce Springsteen (Rick Diamond/Online USA)

and competitive changes. First introduced in 1980, the compact disc (CD) revolutionized the recording industry and almost eliminated the production and sale of vinyl record albums by the late 1990s. CDs allowed the production of more material on a single recording, greatly enhanced the quality of sound recordings, and increased the availability of music through INTERNET Web sites. The advent of MP3 files and rewriteable CDs increased the opportunities for listeners to customize their own recordings. Such technological developments also enhanced music’s cultural influence by making it more easily attainable and flexible, a process that has complicated our understanding of music’s role in cultural identity.

MP3 technology also created problems for the music industry by making music easier to share over the Internet.

Many people used this capacity to share music without actually purchasing it, thereby cutting into producers' profits and artists' royalties. The industry compensated by suing services like Napster that offer free access to copyrighted music and by offering access to individual songs at a low cost through services like iTunes. By 2007 iTunes and its associated MP3 player, iPod, were emerging as the new standard of music delivery among youth.

Although the racial and ethnic identities of many groups are still rooted in specific genres and styles of popular music, American popular music has come to reflect generational, economic, and political ideologies as much as racial or ethnic distinction. Hip-hop culture is no longer confined to the African-American and Latino communities. Rap music is a staple of suburban white teenagers and urban African-American youths alike. The increased Latino population and its incumbent influence have helped propel the popularity of salsa, samba, and Tejano music beyond its traditional ethnic audiences. Country and western, once confined to Nashville's Grand Ole Opry and the southern and midwestern white working class, has become one of America's most popular musical forms, with performers such as Faith Hill and Garth Brooks enjoying geographically, ethnically, and economically very diverse audiences.

Beyond ethnic, racial, geographical, and economic distinctions, American music has long served as a landscape in which American women could expand certain boundaries. During the late 1960s, Janis Joplin integrated women into the male-dominated world of rock music. Grace Slick (Jefferson Airplane), Cher, Pat Benatar, Joan Jett, and Tina Turner followed Joplin in the 1970s and 1980s and cultivated the image of the "rock chick." Cher and Turner went on to achieve superstardom and demonstrated that women

over the age of 20 could be successful in an industry governed by perceived notions of beauty and image. Loretta Lynn, Tammy Wynette, and Dolly Parton established a major place for women in country and western music, by bringing to life the realities of poverty and failed relationships. By the year 2000, women participated in all genres of popular music, and at all levels. The diversification of women's roles in the music industry was largely initiated by the advent of the Madonna age in the late 1980s. Many have become sought-after producers, such as Lauryn Hill and Missy Elliot. Sarah McLaughlin has sponsored and sustained Lilith Fair, an all-women music festival. Other women have dominated nominations for music industry awards, and have headed divisions and subsidiaries of major record companies (Madonna: Maverick Records; Tracy Edmonds: CEO of Yub Yum Records; Frances Preston: president of BMI).

American popular music during the last decades of the 20th century was but one manifestation of the history of the nation's developing cultural identity. Whether it is the latest Andrew Lloyd Webber musical, Lauryn Hill rap song, or Van Halen rock anthem, the very eclectic nature of American popular music reveals the nation's diverse cultural and artistic identity.

See also ADVERTISING; ANTIWAR MOVEMENT—VIETNAM; CENSORSHIP; COMPUTERS; MEDIA; MULTICULTURALISM; POPULAR CULTURE; RECREATION; WOODSTOCK.

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—William L. Glankler and Amy Wallhermfachtel



# N



**Nader, Ralph** (1934– ) *consumer activist, environmental activist, political candidate*

American consumer advocate, author, lawyer, and GREEN PARTY presidential candidate Ralph Nader is credited with founding and leading the modern consumer rights movement.

Ralph Nader was born in Winsted, Connecticut, in 1934 to Lebanese immigrants Rose and Nathra Nader. Inspired at a young age by family discussions around the dinner table and by the writings of Progressive-era muckrakers Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffens, and Ida Tarbell, Nader embraced ideals of democracy and active citizenship. Graduating magna cum laude from Princeton University in 1955, Nader received a law degree from Harvard in 1958. It was there that Nader first began his exploration of the engineering design of automobiles, an unconventional legal topic at the time. His findings resulted in an article published in *The Nation* in 1959, “The Safe Car You Can’t Buy,” which asserted that automakers were sacrificing safety for cost, style, and calculated obsolescence.

Nader undertook the practice of law in Hartford, Connecticut, but left in 1963 to go to Washington, D.C. He moonlighted as a freelance writer for *The Christian Science Monitor* and *The Nation*, and worked for Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel Patrick Moynihan as a consultant to the U.S. Department of Labor. Nader also acted as an unpaid Senate subcommittee adviser, examining what capacity the federal government might play in auto safety. His findings resulted in the 1965 best-selling book *Unsafe at Any Speed: The Designed-In Dangers of the American Automobile*, in which Nader criticized the American AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY for its unsafe products and specifically denounced General Motors’ Corvair model. Nader later sued GM for privacy invasion after the automaker attempted to discredit him. The case not only forced GM’s president to go before a Senate committee and admit wrongdoing but also led directly to the passage of the 1966 National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act, which gave the government the

power to enact safety standards for all automobiles sold in the United States. Nader used the money won in the settlement to initiate the modern consumer protection movement.

In 1969 Nader founded the Center for Study of Responsive Law and began to focus on other consumer safety issues, calling for new or stricter government regulation of industry and business in various product sectors. His associates, originally derided as “Nader’s Raiders,” presented numerous studies on such widely different items as pipeline safety, land use, baby food, mercury poisoning, pension reform, insecticides, and banking. He was credited with being the moving force in new legislation calling for stricter regulation of meat- and poultry-processing plants, radiation emissions from television sets, and coal mine health and safety. In 1971 Nader founded Public Citizen, a lobbying agency in Washington, D.C., that by 2001 involved more than 150,000 people in its six branches: Critical Mass Energy Project, Congress Watch, Global Trade Watch, Health Research Group, Litigation Group, and Buyers Up. Also in 1971, Nader and his “Raiders” began setting up a network of state-based Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs) to investigate public policy and expose corporate and government misdeeds.

Nader’s organizations have played a major role in the passage of such federal laws as the Safe Drinking Water Act and the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), and in the creation of such regulatory agencies as the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), Environment Protection Agency (EPA), and Consumer Product Safety Administration.

During the antiregulatory wave of the late 1970s and 1980s, Nader found himself mostly marginalized by the national policy debate. At the same time he found himself at odds with the political mainstream due to the increasing reliance of the Democratic and Republic Parties on corporate and special-interest funding, which ran counter to his lifelong advocacy of grassroots, participatory democracy.

Charges of racial and gender bias in his hiring estranged Nader from the coalition of LABOR, FEMINISM, civil rights, and civil liberties advocates that formed in this era. President WILLIAM J. CLINTON's embrace of GLOBALIZATION and trade liberalization, and concomitant reassessment of traditional liberal views on antitrust and monopoly issues, further frustrated Nader.

In 1996 Nader put himself forward as a candidate for president on the Green Party ticket, but did not actively campaign. Four years later, Nader made a more vigorous bid on the same line, challenging Democrat ALBERT GORE, JR., Republican GEORGE W. BUSH, and Reform Party nominee PATRICK J. BUCHANAN. Nader's campaign message was centered on his belief that large corporations had usurped American democracy. He repeatedly insisted that there was no significant difference between Gore and Bush, and called for public financing of political campaigns; an end to what he termed "corporate welfare," including sweeping cuts in the defense procurement budget; universal health insurance; and numerous legal measures designed to move the balance of power away from private industry. Believing that victory was impossible because of the financial and legal disadvantages of a third-party challenge, Nader hoped to win 6 percent of the popular vote and exceed the 5 percent minimum threshold necessary to qualify the Greens for matching funds in future presidential elections.

Nader's 2000 campaign attracted a substantial level of interest on the left. But Nader failed in his goal of achieving public funding for the Greens, receiving only 2.7 percent of the vote. In two states (New Hampshire and disputed Florida), the official election results showed Nader garnering more votes than Bush's margin of victory, and exit polls in both states indicated that Gore would likely have prevailed had Nader not been a candidate. A shift in either state would have changed the outcome of the election and prevented the ascendancy of Bush, a vocal opponent of many of the regulations Nader fought for over the previous 35 years.

One result of Nader's role as a "spoiler" in the 2000 vote appears to have been a break between Nader and many of his former allies. According to both Nader and his critics, he has been ostracized within the public advocacy community that he did so much to shape in the 1960s and 1970s.

See also CONSERVATION, ENVIRONMENTALISM, AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY; POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE; POLITICAL PARTIES.

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—Michele Rutledge

## narcotics

Narcotics is the term used for opium and opium derivatives, and their synthetic substitutes that are commonly used under medical supervision to relieve intense pain and suppress coughs. The term is also used, however, as a reference to all illicit drugs, including opium, cocaine, morphine, heroin, codeine, and Demerol. Though not technically narcotics, marijuana, amphetamines, barbiturates, Benzadrine, and other psychotropics, such as LSD, psilocybin, and mescaline are often included under narcotics legislation and enforcement. Though unsupervised use of narcotics was first banned in the United States around the turn of the 20th century, special enforcement procedures were not adopted until widespread public use during the 1960s and 1970s required more systematic federal response. Recent trends reveal a decline in illegal drug use since its peak in the 1970s, though rates remain significantly higher than before 1960.

Throughout the first half of the century, illicit drug use and abuse carried harsh social condemnation and was associated mostly with poor immigrants and uneducated workers from urban centers. These trends changed dramatically in the late 1950s and 1960s, however, after a growing academic-based counterculture embraced illicit drug use as a statement of rebellion against the dominant culture of sobriety. Harvard professor Timothy Leary promoted the use of LSD as a medium for spiritual awakening, and other academic and cultural leaders promoted similar benefits for marijuana and opiate-related drugs. The new heroin and marijuana user of the late 1960s and 1970s was often a white, middle-class young adult who either was or had been in college. For many observers, the popularity of illicit drug use during the late 1960s and 1970s seemed a natural side effect of the growing use of legal drugs for mood and behavioral disorders, including stimulants, tranquilizers, and antidepressants. Others argued that the promotion of narcotics by the counterculture represented a rising new moral order. The debates turned into swift government action, however, as the new counterculture became associated with dramatic increases in crime rates during the same period.

As a partial response to increases in drug-related crime, the Department of Education and Welfare during President Lyndon Johnson's administration supplemented the Treasury Department's Bureau of Narcotics with a new Bureau of Drug Abuse Control in 1966. The split administration, however, proved to be only a temporary solution, and in 1969, as part of President RICHARD M. NIXON's "war on crime" program, the two bureaus were consolidated under the Department of Justice (DOJ) with a new name, Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. Two years later, Congress passed a systematic drug policy with the Controlled Substance Act, Title II of the Comprehensive Drug Abuse

Prevention and Control Act of 1970, which consolidated the numerous laws regulating the manufacture and distribution of narcotics, stimulants, depressants, hallucinogens, anabolic steroids, and chemicals used in the illicit production of controlled substances. The Controlled Substance Act categorized all licit and illicit drugs into one of five schedules, ranging from Schedule I, for the most dangerous drugs that have no recognized medical use, to Schedule V, for the least dangerous drugs that still require federal regulation. Three years later, in 1973, the DOJ reorganized their drug task force for a final time, and renamed the new bureau the Drug Enforcement Agency.

The drug use of the late 1960s and early 1970s counterculture did not begin to taper off until parents joined together to lobby lawmakers for even greater enforcement measures. Congress passed the Comprehensive Crime Control Act in 1984, which provided especially stiff penalties for drug traffickers dealing near schools; it also included forfeiture penalties applicable to all property possessions related to the drug offense. While arrests for cocaine trafficking increased, the rate of gang-related violence in the

urban centers appeared unaffected. Two years later, Congress added even more penalties to drug trafficking in the 1986 Anti-Drug Abuse Act, which addressed the gang-related violence with additional penalties for using juveniles to commit drug offenses. In one of his first addresses before a national audience, President GEORGE H. W. BUSH announced his intention to declare a “war on drugs” in 1989, which resulted in expanded efforts at drug-trafficking interdiction to control the supply side of drug abuse. Though the long-term effectiveness of the campaign is still undetermined, the immediate impact was significant.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation reports that arrests for abuse violations rose from 580,900 in 1980 to 1.532 million in 1999. Arrests for the sale and manufacture of illegal drugs rose from 135,200 for sale and manufacture of drugs, and 540,800 for possession in 1982, to 300,300 for sale and manufacture of drugs, and 1.231 million for possession in 1999. The U.S. Department of Justice crime surveys reveal that use of heroin and cocaine skyrocketed 750 percent from 1980 to 1988, before falling off just as dramatically from 1988 to 1992. Cocaine and heroin use



A U.S. Coast Guard officer stands guard over some of the 13 tons of cocaine found hidden in secret compartments on a Belize-flagged fishing boat, May 14, 2001, in San Diego, California. (McNew/Getty Images)



saw resurgence in the mid-1990s, before returning to their earlier 1992 levels. Marijuana use declined steadily from its peak in 1978 (37 percent usage) to its lowest rate in 1992 (12 percent), after which usage rose dramatically throughout the remaining 1990s. Observers noted a changing climate among high school students, favorable to marijuana; 78 percent perceived risks associated with marijuana use in 1991, while only 57 percent did so in 1999. The rate of American high school seniors who smoked marijuana during the previous month nearly doubled from 1992 to 2000 (12 percent to 22 percent), and nearly tripled for 10th graders (8 percent to 20 percent).

Some critics of the nation's drug policy contend that prohibition laws only encourage illegal narcotics use by eliminating government regulation, and forcing black market conditions to rule supply and demand. Critics also assert that drug use is a victimless crime that does not require government enforcement. Supporters of the drug war argue that prohibition laws do not create a demand, but rather reflect society's reactions to disturbing trends in drug use and drug-related crimes. They also argue that drug use damages individual judgment by reducing moral inhibitions, which make users more likely to engage in criminal and antisocial behavior. Advocates for drug legalization include the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML), founded in the mid-1970s, when it began its state-level campaigns to legalize marijuana. Their efforts met with limited success after 11 states decriminalized marijuana in the 1970s, though the victory was temporary. Almost every state repealed the decriminalization laws during the federal enforcement and public awareness campaigns of the 1980s. Legalization advocates earned a minor victory in 1996, after they succeeded in passing Proposition 215, which legalized the medicinal use of marijuana in California. However, the Supreme Court subsequently ruled in *Gonzales v. Raich* (2005) that state laws concerning narcotics are superseded by federal law, which bans the use of marijuana.

In 2008 the Office of National Drug Control Policy reported that overall drug use among youth appears to have been on the decline since 2001. But new—sometimes vastly more potent—drugs seem to keep appearing. A new and disturbing trend appears to be in the area of “designer drugs,” drugs that are manufactured (or may already exist) to circumvent existing drug laws. Some of these drugs are chemical descendants of existing drugs, such as LSD or morphine. Some drugs are procured via doctor's prescription or the black market, anything from anabolic steroids to powerful pain-relieving medicine. Certain over-the-counter medicines are now being regulated because they are integral to the manufacture of illegal drug compound. Such is the case with pseudoephedrine—a common over-the-counter decongestant—which is used to make meth-

amphetamine or “crystal meth,” a particularly potent and addictive cousin of amphetamines and a recent scourge of the rural Midwest and South. With ingredients easily available as household products, this drug can be manufactured with relative ease by amateur chemists, without the need to grow anything organic, as would be necessary for marijuana, cocaine, or heroin.

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—Aharon W. Zorea

## National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) See SPACE POLICY.

## National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

Founded February 12, 1909, as an interracial membership organization dedicated to civil rights and racial justice, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has played, throughout its history, an instrumental role in improving the legal, educational, and economic situation of AFRICAN AMERICANS. It has operated through the American legal system to reach its goals of full suffrage and other civil rights for African Americans and also figured prominently in the struggle to end segregation and racial violence. After the high tide of the Civil Rights movement, the influence of the NAACP waned, and it suffered declining membership, as well as a series of damaging internal scandals.

During the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, the NAACP was criticized for its insistence on working within the system and seeking exclusively legislative and judicial solutions. The organization sought to apply its interracial, integrationist approach to the issues of increasing urban crime and poverty and of de facto segregation and job discrimination. This approach alienated many African Americans, whose sympathies began to shift toward more militant, even separatist, philosophies embodied in groups such as the Black Power Movement and the NATION OF ISLAM.

Although this shift in popular sentiment precipitated a decline in NAACP membership, the organization did not cease to be active in seeking legal and political solutions to the problems that confronted African Americans. In the 1970s, as the Civil Rights activist movement splintered politically and ideologically, the NAACP became less influential. To regain its momentum, the organization increased



its focus on the doctrines of self-help, black pride, and moral and community values. The NAACP stepped up its attempts to register and organize black voters against the agenda of the RONALD W. REAGAN administration, which came into office in 1981, as well as lobby Congress to support affirmative action policies. Along with other organizations, the NAACP contributed to a 14 percent increase in black voter registration in the South between 1980 and 1984. The organization continued its push for black electoral activity by supporting JESSE L. JACKSON's "Southern Crusade" for voter registration during his 1984 bid for the Democratic presidential nomination. The group broke stride, however, with the majority of African Americans by opposing, on ideological grounds, CLARENCE THOMAS's nomination to the U.S. SUPREME COURT by President GEORGE H. W. BUSH in 1991. This failure to identify with the majority of African Americans, coupled with legislative setbacks and internal corruption in the 1980s and 1990s, further limited the organization's influence.

The NAACP faced major challenges during Benjamin Hooks's tenure as executive director (1977–95). In *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the state court's decision that racially exclusionary preferences in medical school admissions standards constituted a quota and, as such, were a denial of equal protection. This decision, made in favor of a white medical school applicant, seriously undermined the process of AFFIRMATIVE ACTION that the NAACP strongly supported. Concurrent with this setback, tensions between the executive director and the board of directors escalated into open hostility. Although such tension had always been present in the organization, this time it represented a serious threat to the stability of the NAACP. The tension and controversy intensified with the election of Benjamin Chavis as the director in 1993. In seeking to lead the NAACP in a new direction, Chavis reached out to LOUIS A. FARAKHAN, leader of the Nation of Islam, and, in doing so, offended many liberals, black and white. He further undermined his position, and the credibility of the organization, by using NAACP funds to settle a sexual harassment lawsuit against himself, an error in judgment that forced his resignation in 1995. Chavis subsequently joined the Nation of Islam and changed his name to Chavis Muhammad.

Kweisi Mfume, former congressman and head of the Congressional Black Caucus, replaced Chavis as director of the NAACP. With Julian Bond as chairperson of the executive board, Mfume shifted the organization's focus to economic development and establishing educational programs for young African Americans, while also maintaining its function as legal advocate for civil rights issues. In 2001, the NAACP claimed a membership of more than half a million.

See also RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

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—William L. Glinkler

## National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities (NEA; NEH)

Established through the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) are independent agencies, whose chairperson reports directly to the president.

Both the NEA and NEH are organized along similar lines. Each has a chairperson appointed for four years, selected by the president and confirmed by the Senate. The respective chairs are advised by the National Council for the Arts and the National Council for the Humanities, panels of citizens recognized for their achievements and knowledge of the arts or humanities, and appointed by the president to six-year terms. These bodies meet quarterly to review grant applications and advise the chairs, who have the final word on policy and the awarding of grants.

During the 1970s the budgets for the two endowments grew quickly, each topping the \$100 million level by the end of the decade. For much of the period the NEA was considered the more successful of the two. With well-known exhibits and strong administrative leadership, the NEA maintained a high profile.

During the Reagan administration, both endowments suffered major budget cuts, and the NEH came under harsh criticism from political conservatives, who questioned its accomplishments and economy. Reagan's first chairman, William Bennett, worked to focus the mission of the endowment with his report, *To Reclaim a Legacy*, calling for a return to a canon of great books in the Western tradition. Lynne Cheney, Reagan's second NEH chair, worked to encourage private donations to augment the remaining federal funding. Both of these endeavors proved successful in lessening some of the conservative criticism.

The NEA remained prominent during the 1980s, but also came under increasing attack from social conservatives as elitist. Opponents created an uproar by noting that NEA funded the homoerotic photography of Robert Mapplethorpe and the artwork of Andres Serrano, most notably *Piss Christ*, and conservatives lashed out at the "obscene" subject matter funded by the taxpayers. Actually, neither artist directly received any money from the NEA. A museum had received a grant to exhibit Mapplethorpe's work, and Serrano had received a grant from a local arts council, which had an NEA grant to use as it saw

fit. Regardless, the public outcry against the NEA from the political right damaged its support. Meanwhile, the political left was questioning the NEA's grants as too narrowly distributed to "established" artists, thereby excluding artists from ethnic minorities.

During the 1990s, the NEA continued to come under fire. By extension, the NEH suffered from the NEA's controversy. Former NEH chairs Bennett and Cheney attacked both endowments and called for their abolition. When the Republicans gained control of Congress in 1994, there were serious threats against the endowments. Both endowments suffered major budget cuts. In 1997 the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES voted to abolish the NEA, but the SENATE insisted that the endowment continue to receive funding. Congress has been less hostile to the endowments in the last few years, and their future seems more secure than it has for over a decade.

The NEA continues to receive federal funding. Of the thousands of grants it has made since 1966, only a handful have created any controversy. The NEA has encouraged the growth and democratization of the arts, grants are made to every state, and the number of artists in the United States has grown from approximately 700,000 in 1970 to 1.8 million in 2001. All of this has been accomplished at the cost, in 1995, of 64 cents for every American.

The NEH has provided more than \$3 billion in fellowships and grants since its inception. In 1991 the NEH supplied 64 percent of funding to scholars in the humanities. In addition, the endowment has funded the publication of the papers of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Frederick Douglass, Mark Twain, Dwight Eisenhower, and Thomas Edison, as well as sponsoring documentaries on the Adams family and the Civil War, along with many other projects.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

—John Korasick

### National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) (1969)

Rachel Carson's 1962 seminal work, *Silent Spring*, launched the modern environmental consciousness movement in the United States. As scientific evidence increasingly supported findings of unhealthy levels of toxins in human bodies and in the environment, a CONSERVATION, ENVIRONMENTALISM, AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY movement emerged in the late 1960s. The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) is the foundation for contemporary environmental policies. President RICHARD M. NIXON signed it into law on January 1, 1970, in response to polls that showed strong mainstream support for federal protection of the environment.

NEPA's mandate required all federal agencies to protect the environment. As part of this, the Council on

Environmental Quality, and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) were created. During the course of the 1970s, important environmental legislation was enacted, including the Clean Air Act of 1970, the OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY ACT (1970), the Water Pollution Control Act (1972), the Endangered Species Act (1973), the Safe Drinking Water Act (1974), and the Comprehensive Environmental Response Compensation and Liability Act (1980). The result of these laws was the addition of millions of acres to the federal wilderness system, the requirement of environmental impact assessments on major construction projects, the cleaning up of American lakes and streams, and the preservation of several species of wildlife native to the Americas.

Both the JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., and RONALD W. REAGAN administrations pursued a policy of deregulation of the economy, and making government more economical and efficient through agency reorganization. As a result, both the Carter and Reagan administrations unsuccessfully sought to disband the Council on Environmental Quality. The Reagan administration, in particular, sought to reorient environmental policy to favor business. In doing so, Reagan cut the EPA by a third. At the same time, the EPA pursued a policy of "voluntary compliance" by businesses in enforcing environmental regulations. While many conservatives called for the repeal or amendment of the National Environmental Policy Act, the Reagan administration was hesitant to undertake such action. It would have been unpopular in Congress, and moreover, the environmental movement had grown in power over the last decades. In 1960 there were approximately 150,000 members of environmental organizations, whose budgets totaled \$20 million; by the 1980s, environmental organizations claimed 8 million members with budgets totalling \$500 million.

The WILLIAM J. CLINTON administration also called for a review of environmental policy. One result was that under Clinton, the Council on Economic Quality became the White House Office on Environmental Policy. In 1994 Republicans won the House with a platform called "Contract with America," which called for a reassessment of environmental regulation and enforcement. Although legislation was enacted that mandated economic impact studies of environmental enforcement, the Republican-controlled Congress did not repeal the Environmental Policy Act. The GEORGE W. BUSH administration eased environmental regulations in a number of areas, including standards of arsenic levels in drinking water. The administration insisted that it remained committed to a pro-environmental policy, but one that seeks to promote economic growth, business development, and sound protection of the environment and natural resources.

—Michele Rutledge

### National Organization for Women (NOW)

Founded in 1966, the National Organization for Women is an American activist organization that promotes equal rights for women.

Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibited discrimination in hiring or promotion based on race, color, religion, national orientation, or sex, led to the founding of NOW. To investigate discrimination complaints, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was established. In its early years, the EEOC focused its work on racial, rather than gender, discrimination. In response, Betty Friedan, author of the 1963 best-seller *The Feminine Mystique*, and others attending the Third National Conference of Commissions on the Status of Women in Washington, D.C., in 1966, formed the National Organization for Women. Initiated by President John F. Kennedy in 1961, the commission had been under the leadership of Eleanor Roosevelt, and three years had passed since its 1963 report, *American Women, The Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women*, which asserted that, despite having won the right to vote, women were discriminated against in virtually every aspect of life. These findings had been reinforced by the reports of various state commissions on the status of women.

The 1966 conference delegates were prohibited from passing resolutions recommending that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) enforce its legal mandate to end sex discrimination. In protest, Friedan invited a group of 29 women to her hotel room one night to discuss alternative strategies. Attendees decided that the only answer was to form a separate civil rights organization dedicated to achieving full equality for women. Kathryn Clarenbach, head of the Wisconsin Commission on the Status of Women, was named interim coordinator, and a statement of purpose was drafted, aimed at bringing women into full participation in equal partnership with men.

NOW's first organizing conference was held October 29–30, 1966, in Washington, D.C. More than 300 women and men gathered to put together an organizational structure and philosophy for what Friedan termed “the unfinished revolution.” Kathryn Clarenbach was elected NOW's first chairperson and Betty Friedan, NOW's first president. NOW was incorporated officially in Washington, D.C., on February 10, 1967, after finalization of its national constitution and bylaws by an appointed committee.

In 1967 NOW filed suit against the EEOC to force it to comply with its own rules, and also sued the nation's largest 1,300 companies for sex discrimination. At its second national conference, NOW drew up a bill of rights for women, called for an EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA) to the Constitution, and the repeal of laws restricting access to ABORTION and contraceptive devices. The issue of abortion created division within the organization, with dissent-

ers believing NOW should avoid controversial issues and focus strictly on economic discrimination.

NOW focused on all aspects of sex discrimination, initiating task forces to deal with the problems of women in law, employment, RELIGION, EDUCATION, poverty, politics, and their image in the MEDIA. Committees were also organized to handle membership, finance, legislation and legal activities, and public relations.

While pursuing civil rights tactics of demonstrations and marches, NOW also became involved in legal suits involving gender equality. In 1969 NOW demonstrated for Women's Studies programs. In the spring of 1969, the first women's studies course was introduced at Cornell University, and the first full-fledged women's studies program was established at the University of California, San Diego. Also in 1970 NOW won an important case in *Week v. Southern Bell*, in which the courts ruled that, under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which made discrimination on the basis of sex unconstitutional, and removed the legal restriction on women lifting more than 30 pounds at their place of employment. On August 26, 1969, NOW organized the Women's Strike for Equality, although this demonstration had mixed success. That same year, NOW chapters began picketing newspapers to make “Help Wanted” ads gender neutral, a policy soon adopted by newspapers across the country.

In the 1970s, however, as ideological divisions within the feminist movement emerged, especially over political feminism and cultural feminism, these tensions spilled over into NOW. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, many feminists became increasingly militant, declaring that “equal opportunity” was not enough; instead, they called for a cultural and political revolution that empowered women. This became especially apparent in the New York NOW chapter headed by Ti-Grace Atkinson. Radical feminists also raised the call for gay and lesbian rights. In 1970, Betty Friedan led opposition to a NOW resolution calling for lesbian rights, but Friedan would be defeated by Aileen Hernandez, former EEOC commissioner, for the presidency. Friedan denounced this shift in NOW to supporting lesbian rights. She warned of a “lavender menace” within NOW, declaring that NOW should not be about sex, but about “equal opportunity in jobs.” In 1971, NOW members, including Betty Friedan, Bella Abzug, and Gloria Steinem, formed the National Women's Political Caucus, a nonpartisan coalition of women in politics, but the divisions within the larger organization emerged in this group as well. The fight became particularly bitter between Gloria Steinem, founder of *Ms.* magazine, and Friedan.

NOW focused on three issues in the 1970s—reproductive rights, ERA, and lesbian rights. Lesbian rights was the focus of the 1975 convention, and the 1984–88 conventions. In 1979 NOW was involved in winning an important legal case for lesbian rights in *Belmont v. Belmont*, in which



the court gave child custody to a lesbian mother and her gay partner.

Following the defeat of ERA in 1982, NOW sought to change its image as a militant feminist organization to a mainstream organization. NOW continued to struggle for reproductive rights and lesbian rights, but its strategy focused on political lobbying and legal battles. In 1994 NOW won another important case in *NOW v. Scheidler*, which applied the RACKETEER INFLUENCED AND CORRUPT ORGANIZATIONS ACT against antiabortion demonstrators.

With more than 800 chapters across the country, NOW was the largest women's rights organization in the United States in 2009. Both men and women are part of the 500,000-membership base. The national offices are in Washington, D.C.

See also BIRTH CONTROL; FEMINISM; WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

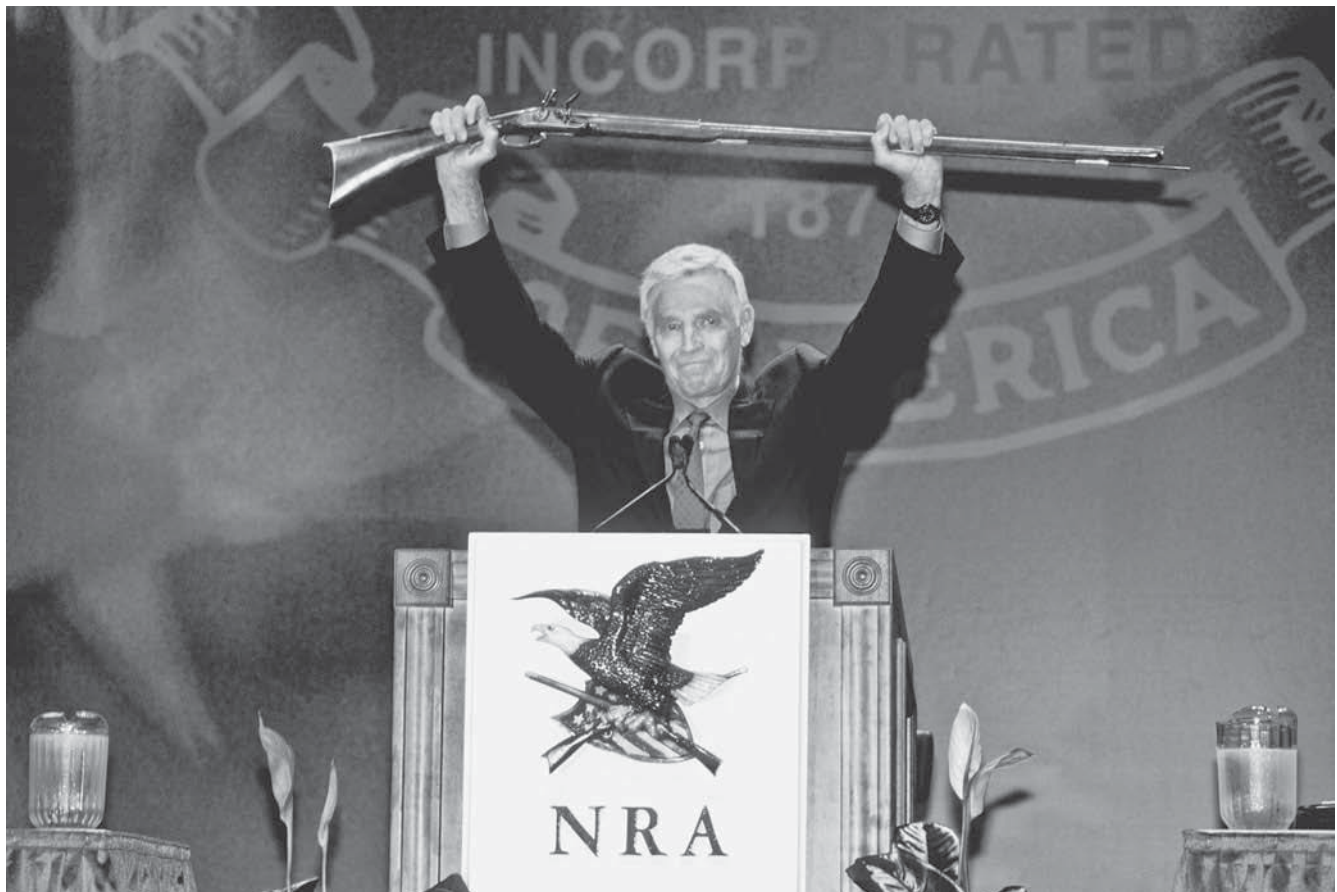
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—Michele Rutledge

### National Rifle Association (NRA)

The National Rifle Association (NRA) is an international, nonprofit organization dedicated to the promotion of firearms education and to the protection of an individual's right to bear arms for self-defense and sport. It was originally formed in 1871 by two Union officers who were disappointed in the marksmanship of their troops during the Civil War. Colonel William C. Church and General George Wingate formed the NRA to "promote and encourage rifle shooting on a scientific basis." For 30 years, the organization remained a small society based in the Northeast; it was not nationally recognized until after 1903, when it began actively promoting rifle clubs and shooting sports at all major high schools and universities. The NRA had little or



National Rifle Association president Charlton Heston raises a Revolutionary War-era musket above his head at the 130th NRA Annual Meeting in Kansas City, May 19, 2001. (Collection of the District of Columbia Public Library)



no political aspirations during its early years and focused instead on education and training. After Congress passed America's first federal GUN CONTROL act, the National Firearms Act of 1934, the NRA formed its Legislative Affairs Division; it did not lobby Congress directly, but instead used the office to mail out fact sheets and legislative analysis to its members. There was generally no need for direct lobbying, however, since gun control groups did not become prominent until much later, in the 1980s.

During World War II, the NRA provided the government with training materials and organized private firearm collections to aid British citizens against a homeland invasion. In 1949 the NRA worked with the state of New York to establish the first hunter-training program, which has since become a common supplement to almost every state fish and game department in the United States and Canada. In 1960, the NRA introduced the NRA Police Firearms Instructor certification program to become the only national trainer of law enforcement officers; it still certifies 10,000 police and security instructors each year. There was very little call for gun control during the 1940s and 1950s in America because guns seemed integral to post-World War II sports and hunting culture, and, as a consequence, the NRA limited its activities primarily to its first priority of education and marksmanship.

The NRA did not engage in direct lobbying until 1975, when it formed the Institute for Legislative Action (ILA). During the 1980s, the NRA became the leading voice for gun rights advocates, and its membership increased dramatically in response to growing efforts to pass more restrictive gun control legislation. In the 1990s, however, the organization drew strong criticism from Democrats and movie and television celebrities, who linked the rise in the number of school shootings with the availability of private firearms. Of particular concern was the apparent rise in the number of weapons used in American households, the use of high-powered, rapid-fire guns in urban-gang conflicts, and the increasing dangers of accidental deaths among children playing with unsecured handguns in the home. Gun control advocates portrayed the NRA's opposition to gun control as an unreasonable apathy toward crime. In 1999 and 2000, 19 city and county governments alleged the firearms industry was responsible for infractions ranging from gross negligence to outright conspiracy, and sued the five largest gun manufacturers in America. The confluence of the civil suits against large gun manufacturers and the NRA's vocal opposition to gun control stirred up old images of big businesses corrupting public government. This image was augmented with bitter insinuations during the 2000 presidential election; the NRA was the largest single-issue contributor throughout the 1990s, and donated more than \$3 million to the Republican Party in 2000, nearly twice what it donated in the 1996 and 1992

elections. Many Democrats used the NRA as an example of why the nation needed stricter CAMPAIGN FINANCE laws. Both parties, however, received roughly the same amount of campaign contributions from various single-interest lobbying groups in the 2000 and 1996 presidential elections. During the 2008 election campaign, the NRA spent \$10 million in support of Republican candidate John McCain.

In a major victory for the NRA on June 25, 2008, in the case of *Columbia v. Heller*, the U.S. SUPREME COURT in a 5-4 ruling overturned the District of Columbia's 32-year-old ban on handguns as incompatible with the Second Amendment right.

See also ELECTIONS; FEDERALISM; POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE.

—Aharon W. Zorea

### Nation of Islam

The Nation of Islam (NOI) is a religious movement, based on black separatism, that was founded in Detroit, Michigan, in 1930 by Wallace D. Fard, an immigrant born in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. Its founding principles of economic self-sufficiency, racial self-determination, and the advocacy of a structured lifestyle emphasizing marriage, family, strict diet, and hygiene, still drive the organization. Concomitant with these beliefs is an explicit rejection of white society. In 1933 Fard passed control of the NOI to Elijah Muhammad who, by the 1950s, had transformed the movement into a military theocracy with a burgeoning membership. A year later, in 1934, Fard disappeared without a trace. Controversy over the NOI's place in the Civil Rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s, including the highly publicized criticism leveled by Malcolm X against the NOI, presaged the factionalism that would plague the movement in the 1970s.

Elijah Muhammad died in 1975 and his son, Wallace Dean Muhammad, assumed control of the movement. Almost immediately, he softened the NOI approach to whites, by claiming that whites were not necessarily evil, and by allowing whites to join the movement. Additionally, he moved the NOI toward the more widely accepted Sunni Islam. These actions alienated many followers and caused the Nation to splinter into several factions. In 1978 LOUIS A. FARRAKHAN resurrected the original vision of the Nation of Islam, and reasserted the teachings of racial separatism and black nationalism. Farrakhan's controversial persona earned him severe criticism, yet he has been credited with uniting, to some degree, non-Muslim black religious leaders and activists in an effort to effect positive change within urban African-American communities. Most representative of that effort was the Million Man March, orchestrated by Farrakhan in 1995. This event, held in Washington, D.C., brought together approximately 900,000 African-American men, representing various backgrounds and political viewpoints,

to address the problems faced by black males, stressing their responsibilities to themselves and their families. In this way, the march reaffirmed the founding principles of the NOI, including its distinct emphasis on male responsibility.

The NOI continues to prosper economically, but it has not experienced a surge in membership since the early 1960s. There are no official sources on the membership of the NOI, and as a consequence, estimates of its membership by scholars and journalists vary from 10,000 to 100,000 members. These figures themselves might be too low, but there is no doubt that NOI emerged as an important force in the African-American community in many urban areas.

See also AFFIRMATIVE ACTION; AFRICAN AMERICANS; ISLAM IN AMERICA; NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE; POVERTY; RACE AND RACIAL CONFLICT.

—William L. Glankler

## Native Americans

Officially categorized as American Indians and Alaska Natives, Native Americans have organized, in the last 30 years, to claim, regain, or reassert rights to lands and have fought for more control over water, economic affairs, and education on native lands. During the 1960s, Native Americans borrowed the successful tactics of the Civil Rights movement to make their grievances public.

In the 1960s and 1970s a number of organizations and incidents promoted and illustrated the plight of Native Americans. One of the first successful Indian protests was in the Pacific Northwest. Since the 1940s, native groups in Oregon and Washington had argued that the states were not living up to treaty obligations concerning fishing rights that had been ceded in the 19th century. Commercial fishers, with the support of the states, had taken control of the treaty waters. In 1964 the Survival of the American Indian Association organized “fish-ins” inspired by the sit-ins staged by the Civil Rights movement. By the late 1960s, the federal government became involved on the side of the Indians. In 1974 a federal district court ruled that non-Indians had only limited rights to fish in the treaty waters. The U.S. SUPREME COURT upheld this decision in 1979. This ruling spawned a reservation industry, as more natives began to fish, and this led to a number of related industries—fish buying, fish processing, and fish farming.

The late 1960s witnessed Native American activists occupying a number of sites. From November 1969 until July 1971, activists occupied Alcatraz, generating publicity by exposing the poor housing, health, education, and other issues faced by Native Americans. In 1972 the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the National Indian Youth Council organized an occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., to bring attention to the fail-

ure of the government to live up to its treaty obligations. In 1973 AIM took over the Pine Ridge Sioux reservation in Wounded Knee, South Dakota, for 71 days. The government reacted to these protests by arresting militant AIA leaders who broke the law, while at the same time enacting legislation to enhance the autonomy of Native Americans.

In 1971 the ALASKA NATIVE CLAIM SETTLEMENT ACT gave title to 44 million acres and cash compensation to Alaskan natives. The Maine Indian Settlement Act of 1980 provided \$81.5 million for the purchase of 300,000 acres taken by the states of Maine and Massachusetts. It also established a \$27 million trust fund for economic development.

Besides land concerns, Native American activists resented U.S. government control over education and the economy on native lands. These concerns were addressed in the Indian Education Act of 1972 and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, which allowed Indian-controlled school boards to help end the alienation of children from their culture.

Greater sensitivity emerged in the nation at large. Many colleges and universities ended the practice of using tribal names, or demeaning terms for Native Americans, for their athletic teams. Stanford and Dartmouth, to name just two, dropped the name “Indians.” Some schools, like Florida State, received permission from specific Indian nations to use the name for their teams.

A number of laws have been passed to ensure greater sovereignty to Indian nations. In 1968 Congress passed the Indian Civil Rights Act, which guaranteed civil liberties on reservations. In 1978 the American Indian Religious Freedom Act was passed to encourage cultural preservation. In recent years the National Museum of the American Indian Act and the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act were designed to promote the return of native artifacts and skeletal remains from museums and other agencies receiving federal funds.

Demographically, the Native American population increased from 827,000 in 1970 to more than 1.9 million in 1990. Two-thirds of American Indians were high school graduates, up from 56 percent in 1980. Only 9 percent of American Indians had a college degree in 1990, up from 8 percent in 1980. The 2000 U.S. census showed that the Native American population had grown to 2.4 million, or 9 percent of the population. The median age was 27 years. Of the 561 federally recognized tribes, most had less than 10,000 members. Educational attainment since 1990 had still not been determined by the U.S. census as of 2001. The largest Indian nation in 1989 was the Cherokee, followed by the Navajo, Chippewa, and Sioux. In 2000 more than half the American Indian population lived in California, Oklahoma, Arizona, New Mexico, Alaska, and Washington. In Alaska 19 percent of the population reported themselves



Gamblers play on some of the more than 6,000 slot machines at Mohegan Sun casino, November 20, 2002, in Uncasville, Connecticut. (Tama/Getty Images)

in 2000 as American Indian or Alaska Native alone. Alaska had the highest percentage of Native Americans, followed by Oklahoma and New Mexico, each at 11 percent, and South Dakota at 9 percent. The median household income for American Indians and Alaska Natives, based on a 1998–2000 average reported by the U.S. census, was \$31,799, higher than African Americans (\$28,679) and not statistically different from Hispanics (\$31,703). The rate of poverty was 25.9 percent, similar to rates for African Americans and Hispanics. Census statistics also revealed that 26.8 percent of American Indians and Alaska Natives lacked health insurance coverage. In addition there was an 84 percent increase in Native American–owned firms between 1992 and 1997, compared to an increase for all U.S. firms over the same period of 40 percent. Part of this is due to the rise of Indian gaming, mostly in the form of casino gambling. In 1988 Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, which sought to regulate the industry on Indian reservations. The casinos that have sprung up on about 40 percent of Indian reservations have proven to be quite lucrative for Native Americans, though critics—both Indian and non-Indian—have complained that this type of material greed is not in keeping with the Native American tradition.

See also AFRICAN AMERICANS; ASIAN AMERICANS; HISPANIC AMERICANS.

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—John Korasick

### neoconservatism

Neoconservatism was an intellectual movement of COLD WAR liberals between 1968 and 1991 that opposed Black Power and gender-racial quotas.

“Neoconservatism” was the phrase coined by liberal Roman Catholic writer Peter Steinfels to characterize a group of formerly liberal and leftist intellectuals who opposed student radicalism in the late 1960s and the 1970s. The neoconservatives were defined by these common attributes: 1) they were all liberal Democrats who had supported Johnson in 1964 and Humphrey in 1968; 2) they all had opposed Joseph McCarthy but ardently supported the cold war; and 3) they all acquired prestigious establishment intellectual credentials before the rise of student radicalism and the New Left in the late



1960s. Their ethno-religious affiliation was mostly Jewish, with some Roman Catholics, and just a few Protestants. In contrast to other conservative intellectuals, that is, those who were conservative from a young age, the neoconservatives comprised no members from the South, few from the Midwest or West, and few who were religiously traditional. They tended to be urbane academics and writers from the Northeast metropolitan corridor.

The neoconservatives clustered around the following magazines and newspapers: *Commentary*, *The Public Interest*, *The National Interest*, *The American Scholar*, *The American Spectator*, *The New Criterion*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and the *Washington Times*. Occasionally neoconservatives authored articles for the conservative *National Review* and the neoliberal *New Republic*. Norman Podhoretz, editor of *Commentary*, and Irving Kristol, editor of *The Public Interest*, played important roles in shaping neoconservatism as it emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s. A remarkably large proportion of the neoconservatives were disciples and friends of the émigré German formalist political philosopher Leo Strauss, and the COLD WAR liberal literary critic Lionel Trilling. Most were employed by the publications listed above or at Ivy League faculties.

The neoconservatives were shocked by the rise of political radicalism in the 1960s. Since many of the neoconservatives were Jewish, they were especially incensed by the New Left's embrace of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The neoconservatives used their formidable polemical skills to defend American society against these radical antinomian movements.

Irving Kristol, a New York University professor and former coeditor of *Commentary*, was the acknowledged "Godfather" of neoconservatism. Kristol used his contacts with Wall Street businessmen to create foundations that subsidized magazines and intellectuals promoting the neoconservative point of view. Kristol came to believe earlier than most neoconservatives that the Democratic Party had been captured by the New Left, and he became a Republican in 1970. He regularly advised RICHARD M. NIXON's administration. Kristol's friend, Evron Kirkpatrick, a Georgetown University political scientist and longtime adviser to Hubert Humphrey, also gave up on the Democrats, voting for Nixon in 1972 and Ford in 1976.

Despite Kristol's and Kirkpatrick's example, most neoconservatives remained Democrats. For example, Norman Podhoretz, the formerly leftist editor of *Commentary*, and his wife, Midge Decter, promoted their friend, political scientist and government official Daniel Patrick Moynihan as the man who would redeem the Democratic Party. Moynihan became ambassador to the UNITED NATIONS in 1975 and then used this position to win nomination as New York's U.S. Senate candidate in 1976. He faced incumbent conservative Republican Senator James Buck-

ley, WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.'s brother. While Irving Kristol supported Buckley, other neoconservatives supported Moynihan. Despite Podhoretz's desperate urging, Moynihan declined to challenge JAMES EARL CARTER, JR.'s 1980 renomination.

Most neoconservatives voted for Jimmy Carter in 1976, soon broke with Carter and embraced the candidacy of Republican RONALD W. REAGAN in 1980. Neoconservatives enjoyed notable success in the Reagan administration. Jeane Kirkpatrick became UN ambassador; Richard Perle, an aide to Democratic senator Henry Jackson, served as a Pentagon official; William Bennett, a Kristol protégé, became secretary of education. With the end of the cold war, the neoconservatives split politically, most becoming Republicans, but a substantial plurality endorsed the election of Democratic president WILLIAM J. CLINTON in 1992.

Neoconservatives continued to shape conservative thinking during the Clinton administration through established publications and through a new publication, *The Weekly Standard*, begun in 1995 by William Kristol. The son of Irving Kristol and historian Gertrude Himmelfarb, Kristol served as chief of staff to education secretary William Bennett in the Reagan administration and as chief of staff to Vice President DAN QUAYLE in the first Bush administration. Kristol is the editor for *The Weekly Standard* and a political commentator for the cable network Fox News Channel, and he is chairman of the Project for the New American Century, a think tank established in 1997 to develop coherent strategies for U.S. global leadership. Neoconservatives were accused of exerting undue influence in FOREIGN POLICY during the GEORGE W. BUSH administration. Neoconservative Paul Wolfowitz, as deputy secretary of defense in the Bush administration, played a key role in shaping policy for the IRAQ WAR.

See also CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; LIBERTARIAN PARTY.

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—Christopher M. Gray

## New Age movement

The New Age movement, although philosophically and theologically ambiguous, is based on a philosophy and theology that believes all forms of life are vitally affected by a sacred energy that exists throughout the universe. Often viewed as Gnosticism or resurgent paganism, the contemporary movement has its history in 19th-century spiritu-



alism and in the 1960s counterculture, which cast aside materialism and embraced Eastern mysticism in its place. The movement emerged in the late 1960s and became an important force in Western civilization in the 1980s.

The New Age movement is a broad combination of divergent political, social, and spiritual elements with the shared ambition of transforming society and individuals through spiritual awareness. The movement is a utopian vision, encompassing an era of progress and harmony. It is comprised of individuals, businesses, professional groups, activist groups, and spiritual leaders and followers. Its message struck a chord in mainstream American thought during the 1980s, bringing ecological, human-potential, spiritual, and feminist concerns into the public domain. This in turn created a large market in the United States and elsewhere for audio- and videotapes, magazines, books, retreats, and workshops, as well as for meditation and healing aids, natural foods, and crystals.

Many disparate organizations make up the movement, and each differs in the kind of commitment it expects or requires from its adherents. Within New Age groups, one finds those who get involved via individual assimilation of New Age ideas through various sorts of media; those who regularly consult individual astrologers and/or channelers for counsel and instruction; and those who join highly organized movements.

Advocates of the coming of the New Age begin with the assumption that there is something wrong with the world as it is today. Many hold that science and materialism have choked the human spirit and stand in the way of humanity's ability to experience the holy. Humans, they believe, possess an innate desire for genuine spirituality, which organized religions appear to have systemized and possibly distorted. New Agers claim that changes that stress holistic values rather than individual desires for wealth and power must take place first on the individual level. Active participants in the New Age movement understand the human race as one family living and sharing the same planet, all linked in both common origin and destiny. The New Age is an era when people probe more deeply into the mysteries of the universe and self, and when they become more open to God's love and companionship in their daily lives. Believers assert that this new period will transform history as we understand it; people will acquire great psychic capabilities and become more spiritual, creative, and content.

The preparation for this new era centers on three practical concerns. First, there is a perceived need to disclose psychic powers believed inherent in human nature. Second, a grand desire exists to make contact with paranormal and supernatural dimensions of life. Last, many are unhappy with what the Judeo-Christian tradition has to offer and are seeking guidance and knowledge from other theologies and philosophies.

Those wishing to commence on a pilgrimage of self-transformation and the generation of a better world follow a program to heighten awareness. Believers emphasize that the world is not going through a paradigm shift or a radical revolution, but that a powerful and enormous association of people from all levels of society are striving to usher in a new consciousness that will lead to a regeneration of society. Because New Age is not a coherent movement or belief system, New Agers differ as to how they believe such awareness can be achieved: hypnosis; mutual help and self-help networks; magical and shamanic techniques; various kinds of meditation; seminars; mystical systems; and body disciplines like yoga and tai chi. Some New Agers believe in creating new lifestyles and communities based on holistic healing and health; spirituality; yoga; astrology; or intuitive development/channeling. Fundamental to channeling is the belief that knowledge of others and self can be reached through some inner, higher aspect of their personality or through self-reflection. Channeling can be characterized as the transmission of information to or through a human being from paranormal sources, either other beings or the individual's innermost self.

The New Age relates to both practical and theoretical matters that affect peoples' lives. It offers a critique of traditional religions, particularly of Christianity, borrowing ideas from a variety of religions and reinterpreting them. Although not a formal organization, lacking central headquarters and other centralized institutions, its influence by century's end and into the next was still pervasive.

See also RELIGION.

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—Michele Rutledge

## New York City bailout

In 1974 New York City became financially insolvent due to years of budget deficits, a deteriorating middle-class tax base, and union contracts. For decades the city had borrowed money in order to meet its budget needs. Moreover, since 1965, the city's operating budget had more than tripled. In the fall of 1974 New Yorkers elected Democrats Hugh Carey to the governorship and Abraham Beame to City Hall. Faced with a fiscal crisis because of mismanagement by their predecessors, New York governor Nelson Rockefeller and New York City mayor John Lindsay, both liberal Republicans, the newly elected Carey and Beame arranged to borrow millions of dollars in the tax-free municipal bond market. Still unable to meet its obligations,

the city was told by several banks that it could no longer borrow in the market. Both Carey and Beame called upon the GERALD R. FORD administration for a \$1 billion 90-day loan for the city. Ford felt the request was “ridiculous.”

In the summer of 1974 the city created the Municipal Assistance Corporation to change the city's long-term debts into short-term ones. In September the aid increased, with the state approving a \$2.3 billion aid package. By October, however, the city was facing default. New York senator James Buckley pleaded with the administration to provide federal aid to the city, but Ford declared in a speech on October 29 to the National Press Club that “the people of this country will not be stampeded” to any federal bailout of New York City. The next day's headline in the *New York Daily News* declared, “Ford to City: Drop Dead.”

Faced with a crisis that had national ramifications, Ford finally relented and agreed to a modified form of bailout. On November 11 he announced his support of a plan by which the federal government would loan money to New York with the stipulation that the city impose certain fiscal disciplines. As a consequence, New York City improved its financial position and was able to pay back its debt.

—Leah Blakey

### Nicaragua (U.S. relations with)

As with other countries in LATIN AMERICA, the United States has a controversial relationship with Nicaragua, whose origins began in the early 19th century and continued through the 20th. General Anastasio Somoza took power in Nicaragua in 1936 through a U.S.-backed military coup, establishing a dynasty supported by the United States, which lasted, through sons Luis and Tachito, until 1979.

The lack of representative organizations in Nicaraguan politics contributed significantly to the only apparently viable alternative—armed resistance to the Somoza regime. This opposition coalesced during the 1960s to become the Sandinista Front of National Liberation (FSLN), a guerrilla movement comprised of three primary groups. The first, organized in the early 1960s among rural, northern peasants, was known as the Prolonged Popular War (GPP). A second group, Proletarios, was an offshoot of the first, splintering in 1973 from the GPP to include urban dwellers like workers and intellectuals. The third was the Tercerista insurrectionists. The FSLN took its name from Augusto César Sandino, a guerrilla leader who fought against U.S. involvement in Nicaragua during the 1920s and early 1930s, until his murder in 1934 by Somoza's National Guard, a domestic police force created during the U.S. occupation in the 1920s. The Sandinistas set up a unified command structure in 1978 to coordinate the factions in the insurrection against Somoza. The following year, the United States

proposed to the Organization of American States (OAS) that a peacekeeping force be sent to Nicaragua, but only Argentina supported this.

Tachito Somoza's regime collapsed in 1979 and he fled to Miami in exile. Somoza blamed an international communist conspiracy for his fall from power. He was later assassinated in Paraguay. The new government, the Provisional Junta of National Reconstruction, issued two broad administrative goals. The first called for implementing a foreign policy that separated Nicaragua from its reliance on the United States. The second anticipated the establishment of a “mixed economy” to effect broader socioeconomic balance.

In the aftermath of the conflict which left 5 percent of the population dead or wounded, one-third homeless, and unemployment rates at 50 percent, U.S. president JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., invited Nicaragua's new governmental leaders to the White House. The United States sent \$8 million in emergency relief to Managua and secured authorization from Congress for an additional \$75 million aid package. France, Spain, and West Germany also contributed financial assistance.

The Sandinista government sponsored programs to raise basic living standards among the Nicaraguan people. To assist them in their efforts, they engaged the support of some 2,500 Cuban sanitary engineers, schoolteachers, nurses, and doctors, an approach that conflicted with U.S. cold war policy of ostracizing the Cuban regime. A majority of the land and service sector remained under private ownership, and foreign multinationals continued to operate, but Sandinistas controlled nearly all executive officials, the police, and the military. Virtually all opposition media had been closed down, although opposition parties still functioned. The 1980 Republican Party campaign platform specifically decried “the Marxist Sandinista takeover of Nicaragua,” and RONALD W. REAGAN's administration subsequently initiated a dogged campaign to undermine the Sandinista government. In May 1985 the United States launched a trade embargo against Nicaragua, and continued covert support of the CONTRAS, an exile army funded by the United States and commanded in part by former Somoza army officers, as well as several anti-Somocistas disillusioned with the Sandinista regime. The effect was to encourage greater dependence on Cuba and the Soviet Union by the Sandinista government. In 1986 the World Court in the Hague censured the United States on 15 counts of international law violations for acts of aggression against Nicaragua, including Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) involvement with the contras.

Although the contras put significant pressure on the Sandinista regime, they could not secure and hold major targets within Nicaragua. The contras did succeed in forcing the Sandinista government to spend a significant

amount of its budget on defense and to disaffect Nicaraguans with wartime exigencies. In part, this contributed to a major recession and major economic decline. Inflation reached astronomical heights in 1988.

The 1990 elections saw Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, widow of a prominent Somoza opponent, nominated by the coalition party, the National Opposition Union (UNO), to run against Sandinista incumbent Daniel Ortega. Although Ortega was widely projected to win, the U.S.-backed Chamorro received nearly 55 percent of the vote. Former president Carter, present as an international observer, verified the legitimacy of the election results, and brokered an agreement for a peaceful transition of power—the first time a revolutionary government relinquished its power to its opponents by way of the ballot box. The Carter Center's Council of Presidents and Prime Ministers of the Americas was also present for the elections of October 1996, when Arnaldo Alemán was elected president. In 2001 Nicaragua elected Enrique Bolanos Geyer, a conservative from the Constitutional Liberal Party, easily defeating Daniel Ortega, who had attempted a political comeback. Ortega, however, did succeed in being elected president again in 2006. Ortega has since allied himself with Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez and shares Chávez's critical view of the United States.

See also FOREIGN POLICY; IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR.

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—Michele Rutledge

**Nixon, Richard M.** (1913–1994) *37th U.S. president* Richard Milhous Nixon, who was elected president in 1968 and reelected in 1972, became the first president of the United States to resign from office on August 8, 1974. Although his political career ended in disgrace, he had dominated Republican national politics for the previous three decades.

Nixon was born January 9, 1913, in Yorba Linda, California, to Francis (Frank) and Hannah Nixon. A lower-middle-class family, the Nixons owned a gas station and general store in Whittier, California. Young Richard M. Nixon spent much of his youth working part-time jobs to help support the family, including buying produce for the store, working as a janitor, and performing as a carnival barker.

The rest of Nixon's time was consumed with study. Nixon took great pride in his academic accomplishments and his skills as a debater. He graduated from Whittier

High School in 1930, recognized as the “best all-around student,” and then enrolled at Whittier College, which he could attend while living at home. Active in debate and drama, Nixon was president of the freshman class and student body president as a senior. He graduated second in his class with honors in history in 1934. After graduation he received a full-tuition scholarship to Duke Law School, where he graduated third in his class in 1937.

After being rejected by law firms in New York and by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Nixon returned to California, joined the firm of Wingert and Bewley, and became a partner in 1939. During this time he served as deputy city attorney for Whittier. Nixon was active in the community, including the local theater group, the Whittier Community Players, where he met his future wife, Thelma Catherine Patricia (Pat) Ryan, whom he married in 1940.

In 1942 Nixon accepted a position with the Office of Price Administration in Washington. He was entitled to a draft deferment on two grounds—he was a Quaker, and he had a government job, but he joined the navy's Judge Advocate Corps. He resigned from the navy in October 1945, with the rank of lieutenant commander.

Nixon had not been particularly active in politics prior to 1940, the year he had registered as a Republican and supported Wendell Wilkie. One reason Nixon left the navy



Richard M. Nixon (Library of Congress)

was to run in 1946 for the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES from the 12th District of California against a five-term incumbent, Democrat Jerry Voorhis. Voorhis had been a Socialist, but had come to the Democrats and was a strong supporter of the New Deal. During the campaign, Nixon made much of Voorhis's Socialist past and accused him of being a communist or, at least, a "fellow traveler." Running as a "modern Republican," Nixon won 57 percent of the vote. In this election, Republicans gained control of the House of Representatives and SENATE for the first time since 1929.

During his first term Nixon served on the Education and Labor Committee, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and the House Select Committee on Foreign Aid. Nixon was considered a political moderate, but he was a confirmed anticommunist. In 1948 Nixon won both the Republican and Democratic primaries and was easily reelected.

Nixon became a national political figure during HUAC's 1948–49 investigation of Alger Hiss. Hiss, a former State Department official, was accused by Whittaker Chambers, a senior editor at *Time* magazine and a confessed Soviet spy, of being a communist. Hiss denied knowing Chambers, but Chambers produced documents proving he had rented an apartment from Hiss. Hiss was convicted of perjury, disbarred, and sentenced to five years in prison. Nixon had been one of the few to believe Chambers and had been active in the investigation. On the heels of his triumph, Nixon ran for the Senate in 1950. While the campaign against Voorhis had been negative, the campaign against incumbent Democrat Helen Gahagan Douglas set new standards. Nixon suggested Douglas was a communist sympathizer and labeled her "pink right down to her underwear." In addition, Nixon supporters made phone calls pointing out the fact that Douglas's husband, actor Melvyn Douglas, was half Jewish, and mailed postcards urging voters to support Douglas, signed "the Communist League of Negro Women Voters." On election day Nixon won easily with 59 percent of the vote.

In 1952, just six years after entering politics, Nixon was picked as the Republican vice presidential candidate. During the campaign, Eisenhower stayed out of the fray, leaving Nixon to play the role of "attack dog." Nixon was adept at his new job, charging Democratic candidate Adlai Stevenson of having a Ph.D. from Secretary of State Dean Acheson's "College of Cowardly Communist Containment."

The Eisenhower-Nixon strategy was called, "formula K-1, C-3" (Korea, communism, corruption, and controls). Of special importance was the charge of corruption in the Truman administration, and when the Democrats exposed a "slush fund" that donors had established for Nixon, questions were raised about him staying on the ticket. In an unprecedented appeal to the American public, Nixon

went on television and gave what has since been dubbed the "Checkers" speech. He stated that he was not a rich man, and the only gift he had accepted was a puppy that he would refuse to surrender. Many pundits found the speech uncomfortable and saccharine, but it resonated with the American people. The flood of telegrams and letters that followed the speech ran overwhelmingly in favor of keeping Nixon. The Republicans won the White House in 1952 and 1956. Nixon played a minor role in the first term, primarily traveling and campaigning. In 1955, 1956, and 1957, various illnesses limited Eisenhower's ability to perform his duties, allowing Nixon an expanded role. Moreover, he played a central role in drafting and supporting the first civil rights legislation since Reconstruction, the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

As the time neared for considering the 1960 presidential election, Nixon found himself in the midst of two major FOREIGN POLICY confrontations that boosted his stature. In 1958, during a state tour of South America, he was confronted in Peru and Venezuela by violent anti-American mobs. Nixon was perceived to be cool under pressure, preventing a more serious confrontation. In 1959 was the famous "kitchen debate" with Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev. Nixon's handling of the Soviet leader was impressive and he emerged as the Republican front-runner.

In 1960 Nixon faced Democratic challenger John F. Kennedy. The campaign featured the first televised debates. Nixon had recently been ill, and his appearance hurt him. Most viewers believed Kennedy had won the debate, but radio listeners favored Nixon. The election was one of the closest in history with Kennedy edging Nixon.

Nixon returned to California and ran for governor in 1962, losing to Edmund G. (Pat) Brown. Nixon then declared that he was through, and it appeared that his political career was over. In 1963 he moved to New York and joined the law firm of Mudge, Stern, Baldwin, and Todd.

In 1967 Nixon published an article in the journal *Foreign Affairs*, titled "Asia after Vietnam," in which he suggested that Communist China would someday become part of the international community. In 1968 Nixon won the Republican nomination and picked Maryland governor SPIRO T. AGNEW as his running mate. Agnew filled much the same role as Nixon had for Eisenhower. Nixon won a narrow victory, with 43 percent of the popular vote, to Democrat Hubert Humphrey's 42.7 percent, and Independent George Wallace's 13.5 percent of the vote.

Nixon followed a progressive domestic agenda. Nixon's administration expanded the food stamp program, increased construction of subsidized housing, lowered the voting age, ended the draft, and tied Social Security increases to the cost of living. In addition, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Occupational Safety and



Health Administration were founded. Also, the practice of preferential hiring based on race or gender was begun. President Nixon worked closely with his National Security Advisor and later secretary of state, HENRY A. KISSINGER, to craft a new American foreign policy based on DÉTENTE with the SOVIET UNION, and opening diplomatic relations with mainland China. In 1972 Nixon made his trip to Communist China, paving the way for the renewal for diplomatic relations in 1978. The trip to China marked a shift in American policy away from treating communism as a monolithic block controlled by the Soviet Union. Nixon believed that by establishing relations with China, the United States could drive a deep wedge between China and the Soviet Union, even though both were controlled by communist regimes.

The policy of détente with the Soviet Union included the concept of diplomatic “linkage”—linking individual policies into a system of incentives and disincentives. Thus agricultural trade with the Soviet Union was linked to favorable agreements on arms reduction. Nixon inaugurated the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) in 1969. These negotiations eventually resulted in two treaties, the first being signed by Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev in 1972, limiting antiballistic missiles. At the same time, Nixon offered agricultural trade with the Soviet Union that provided wheat to a distressed Soviet economy.

Nixon had claimed in the 1968 campaign that he had a plan to end the VIETNAM WAR. In fact he had no plan; his “honorable peace” philosophy meant that the United States would not abruptly pull out of Southeast Asia. During his first term, the conflict widened and intensified. The Paris Peace Accord, in 1973, ended American involvement in the war, and Nixon insisted, in later years, that had Congress lived up to American obligations, South Vietnam would not have fallen.

Nixon was reelected in November 1972. Despite his easy victory over the Democratic nominee, GEORGE S. MCGOVERN, Nixon was not able to enjoy his victory for long. In June 1972 the Democratic National Committee Headquarters in the Watergate office-apartment complex was broken into by five men employed by the Committee for the Reelection of the President, known derisively as CREEP. Their mission was to bug the office, tap the phones, and photograph confidential campaign strategy materials. In March 1973 Judge John J. Sirica extracted confessions from the burglars that implicated members of the White House staff, including former attorney general and Nixon campaign manager JOHN N. MITCHELL. Much of the next 17 months was spent investigating just how involved Nixon was in the break-in, and what else he had authorized. When it was discovered that there was a secret taping system in the Oval Office, subpoenas for the tapes were issued. In October, Special Prosecutor ARCHIBALD COX, JR., refused

a compromise proposal from Nixon in which the White House would provide written summaries and paraphrases of the tape in return for a guarantee that Cox would seek no further presidential documents. In response, Nixon had Cox fired by ROBERT BORK, third in command in the Justice Department, after Attorney General ELLIOT RICHARDSON refused to fire Cox and resigned in protest, and Nixon fired Assistant Attorney General WILLIAM RUCKELSHAUS when he refused to fire Cox. Later, Bork’s action was ruled illegal by the federal district court. Also in October 1973, Vice President Agnew resigned in the face of an unrelated set of indictments and House Minority Leader GERALD R. FORD was appointed as his replacement. On December 8 Nixon finally complied with the court orders, but produced only seven of the nine tapes sought. By now the scandal had grown beyond the initial break-in and attempted cover-up, and included revelations of a variety of misconduct related to Nixon’s successful efforts to ensure his reelection through illegal campaign contributions. Public outcry forced Nixon to appoint a new special prosecutor, LEON JAWORSKI. In March 1974 a federal grand jury returned indictments against seven members of the administration and named Nixon as an unindicted coconspirator. When Jaworski again subpoenaed Oval Office tapes needed for the trials, Nixon again offered transcripts. The transcripts were shown to be inaccurate and incomplete. The SUPREME COURT heard the case of *UNITED STATES V. NIXON* on July 8 and ruled on July 24, rejecting the administration arguments. That same month the House Judiciary Committee voted to recommend IMPEACHMENT on three charges: obstruction of justice, abuse of power, and defiance of congressional subpoenas. The disputed tapes were released on August 5, 1974. Facing certain impeachment, Nixon became the first president to resign from office on August 8, 1974. On September 8, 1974, President Ford pardoned Nixon for all crimes he “committed or may have committed or taken part in” while in office.

Nixon spent much of the rest of his life trying to rehabilitate his reputation. He was the author of nine books during his retirement, primarily memoirs and studies on foreign policy. Beginning with *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* in 1978 and continuing to *Beyond Peace* published just before his death in 1994, Nixon gradually regained some of his reputation and claimed his place as America’s elder statesman. While he was not welcomed at Republican conventions until 1992, he was an occasional adviser to RONALD W. REAGAN, GEORGE H. W. BUSH, and WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

Nixon died in New York on April 22, 1994, after a severe stroke. He is buried next to his wife, Pat, who died in 1993, on the grounds of the Richard M. Nixon Library and Birthplace in Yorba Linda, California. The Nixon Library is the only presidential library erected without

federal financing and the only one not housing original copies of presidential papers. The Nixon papers remain in the National Archives by order of Congress.

See also STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATIES; WATERGATE SCANDAL.

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—John Korasick

### North, Oliver L. (1943– ) *soldier*

Colonel Oliver North emerged as a central figure in the IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR in 1985 in which the Reagan administration sold weapons to Iran and then illegally funneled funds to rebels seeking to overthrow an anti-American regime in Nicaragua.

Born on October 7, 1943, in San Antonio, Texas, Oliver Laurence North grew up in Philmont, New York. In 1961, North enrolled in the State University of New York at Brockport as an English major. While at Brockport, North joined the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve and in 1963 transferred to the United States Naval Academy.

After graduating in June 1968, Second Lieutenant North went to Vietnam in December 1968. During the following year, North received two Purple Hearts, a Bronze Star, a Silver Star, and a promotion to first lieutenant. In November 1969, he was rotated to the United States, where he spent much of the next six years training marines in guerrilla and jungle tactics, first at Quantico and then in Okinawa. During this period he was promoted to captain. In 1975 North was assigned to Marine Corps Headquarters in Washington, D.C., as a plans and policy analyst. In 1978 he was promoted to major and made battalion operations officer at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina.

In 1981 Secretary of the Navy John Lehman arranged for North to be assigned to the staff of the National Security Council (NSC) to lobby Congress for the sale of AWACs surveillance planes to Saudi Arabia. In 1983 North was promoted to lieutenant colonel.

North participated in the NSC's defense policies group, specializing in counterterrorism. While primarily concerned with Central America, North played a role in the planning of the GRENADA invasion and planned the interception of an Egyptian air liner carrying terrorists who had hijacked the *Achille Lauro* cruise liner in 1985. North helped plan the controversial mining of NICARAGUA harbors and tracked the right-wing "death squads" in El Sal-

vador, but critics in Congress and human rights advocates charged that he and the CIA trained, equipped, and supported these groups.

In 1984 Congress enacted the BOLAND AMENDMENT, banning aid to the Nicaraguan contra rebels. North, unwilling to obey Congress's order, which meant abandoning the contras, began surreptitiously soliciting private donations and aid from other nations to circumvent the Boland law. In 1985 the Reagan administration decided to sell weapons to Iran in an attempt to facilitate the release of American hostages held in Lebanon, in direct contradiction of its own publicly stated policy. North was called in to handle the transfer, and he hit on the idea of funneling the excess profits to the CONTRAS. By 1986 the scheme had been exposed, and North was dismissed. The "arms for hostages" arrangement was exposed in 1986, provoking intense public disapproval. When North's diversion was revealed, Congress opened criminal investigations, and President Reagan fired North.

Reagan appointed the Tower Commission to investigate the scandal. In its report, the Tower Commission noted that North had exercised unusually broad authority for an NSC aide and criticized the administration for not properly supervising its staff. During the joint congressional investigation, North was given limited immunity in exchange for his testimony. North's testimony in July 1987 was broadcast live on television, and his earnest appeals to patriotism and anticommunism transformed him into a hero in the eyes of many Americans. North testified that he had kept his superiors informed of his activities, and he assumed President Ronald W. Reagan knew about the operation. North's critics, however, noted that the testimony of others indicated North was less truthful and upright than he seemed. Witnesses reported that some of the funds had gone into North's pockets. President Reagan took full responsibility for the Iranian transactions, but insisted that he had not been informed of the contra connection.

In March 1988 North was indicted on 16 counts of conspiring to defraud the government and other charges. The trial lasted from February to May 1989 and ended with North's conviction on three counts: obstructing Congress, destroying classified documents, and accepting an illegal gratuity. North was sentenced to two years' probation and 1,200 hours of community service, and fined \$150,000.

On July 20, 1990, a federal appeals court overturned the conviction on the grounds that witness testimony might have been influenced by North's immunized testimony to Congress. The Supreme Court upheld this ruling in 1991. Unable to prove that the testimony had not been tainted, independent counsel LAWRENCE E. WALSH was forced to drop all charges.

In 1990 North waged an expensive and high-profile challenge against incumbent U.S. senator Charles Robb of Virginia. The bid was notable for the opposition of the

state's other U.S. senator, Republican John Warner, who actively campaigned against his fellow Republican as "morally unfit" to serve in the U.S. Senate. North narrowly lost the race. North remains in the public eye as a radio talk show host and television commentator.

**Further reading:** Ben Bradlee, *"Guts and Glory": The Rise and Fall of Oliver North* (New York: Donald I. Fine, 1988); Oliver L. North and William Novak, *Under Fire: An American Story* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991).

—John Korasick

### North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

The leaders of Canada, Mexico, and the United States signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on October 7, 1992. It came into effect on January 1, 1994. NAFTA calls for the lifting of trade barriers among the signatories over a 15-year time period. The treaty covered agreements on trade relations, labor relations, and environmental policy.

The three nations enjoyed strong trade relations before NAFTA went into effect. Nevertheless, the United States debated NAFTA's impact on labor and pollution extensively. People employed in manufacturing feared they would lose their jobs to the extremely cheap labor in Mexico. Labor unions in the United States spoke out often on the subject, fearing job losses as American companies relocated in Mexico. Critics cite the transformation of the *maquiladoras* area just over the U.S. border as an example of the negative impact of NAFTA. Deriving from the Spanish word *maquilar*, meaning to perform a task for another, the term refers to foreign-owned businesses located across the U.S. border in Mexico. The *maquiladoras* region includes the cities of Mexicali, Tijuana, and Ciudad Juarez, areas plagued with pollution problems, which many fear will worsen as more manufacturing moves into this area. Others criticized NAFTA because Mexico's environmental laws were lax and poorly enforced. Concerns over loss of American jobs, poor work conditions in Mexico, and environmental pollution kept Congress from voting on the treaty for more than a year before it was ratified.

The effects of NAFTA vary widely, but Mexico has seen the greatest impact. Proponents stress that impoverished Mexican cities have benefited greatly from the agreement. Ciudad Juarez has gained more than \$4 billion in foreign investment and 150,000 manufacturing jobs since NAFTA went into effect. In contrast, a 1999 Labor University of Mexico study stated that, in the previous five years, the purchasing power of Mexican workers declined significantly. The study also describes increases in unemployment in the agricultural and small business sectors.

The effects of NAFTA on the American economy have been mixed. NAFTA has helped promote trade with

Mexico and, in doing so, has improved the United States's relations with its southern neighbor. At the same time, American corporations have moved assembling plants to Mexico to avoid higher labor cost in the United States. Furthermore, critics charge that NAFTA has allowed increased access by drug smugglers to the United States through the increased traffic from Mexico entering the country. Finally, many critics charge that environmental and labor problems in Mexico have still not been addressed.

NAFTA and the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) became a major campaign issue in the Democratic presidential primary race when BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA declared in a debate in February 2008 that he would renegotiate NAFTA to ensure that environmental and fair labor laws were instituted by countries participating in these treaties. This reflected his earlier opposition to CAFTA that came before the Senate in 2007. He declared at that time that "I think that NAFTA and CAFTA did not reflect the interests of American workers but reflected the interests of the stock owners on Wall Street, because they did not contain the sorts of labor provisions and environmental provisions that should have been embedded and should have been enforceable in those agreements." After he won the Democratic Party nomination, he tempered his strong opposition to these treaties.

See also FOREIGN POLICY; GLOBALIZATION; WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION.

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—Leah Blakey and Michele Rutledge

### North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a collective security alliance among the United States, Canada, and several noncommunist countries of Europe, established in 1949. NATO was organized to ensure a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe, and this remains its primary objective in the post-COLD WAR world. Key to this objective is the transatlantic link between the security of North America and that of Europe.

On April 4, 1949, foreign ministers from 11 countries signed the North Atlantic Treaty in Washington, D.C. The signatory nations agreed to assist any member attacked by a hostile foreign nation, an agreement prompted by growing hostility between the Western wartime allies and the SOVIET UNION. The Vandenberg Resolution, passed by the U.S. SENATE on June 11, 1948, allowed the United States to enter into regional security pacts and set the

stage for the United States to join NATO, the first defense alliance formed by the United States in peacetime. As of 1969, original NATO member nations included Belgium, France (political member only), Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and West Germany. Spain was admitted in 1982. After the end of the cold war, NATO further expanded to include the former Warsaw Pact countries of East Germany (which combined with West Germany in 1990), Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic in 1999. The member nations are committed to sharing the risks and responsibilities, as well as the benefits of collective security. Member nations are further required not to enter into any other international commitment that might conflict with their NATO responsibilities.

Speculation at the end of the cold war centered on whether NATO was still necessary. It survived for three main reasons. First, Europeans had grown accustomed to a U.S. military presence. Second, even though the Warsaw Pact was gone, there were still many threats on the horizon. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and the ethnic unrest in areas of the former Yugoslavia forced NATO units into action. Third, Eastern European nations desired its continuance and inclusion. These newly democratic states view alliance as a stabilizing factor in a very unstable world, as well as a hedge against Russian resurgence.

Security requirements of NATO member states changed fundamentally when the cold war ended. NATO adjusted by refocusing on the alliance's political role in providing security and stability in Europe. In 1991 the heads of state and government adopted a new strategic concept that outlined a broad approach to security, based on dialogue, cooperation, and the maintenance of a collective defense capability. It called for reduced dependence on nuclear weapons; reductions in force size and readiness, and improvements in their mobility, flexibility, and adaptability to different contingencies, as well as increased use of multinational formations.

NATO brought nonmember nations into some of their political and military actions through the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) and Partnership for Peace programs (PFP). The nonmember nations are from central and eastern Europe, and include Russia and many former Soviet republics. This increased interaction with its former enemies led to the enlargement of NATO in 1998, when Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic joined the alliance. The new members had to agree to all parts of NATO strategy and participate in NATO's integrated military structure. It was hoped that the enlargement would strengthen democracy in eastern Europe and promote good relations.

NATO's *raison d'être* shifted from confrontation with the Warsaw Pact to peacekeeping in the fragmenting areas

of Central and Eastern Europe. NATO endorsed the Combined Joint Task Forces in 1994 as a means of facilitating contingency operations. NATO's new role as peacekeeper was tested on a political and military level in Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Middle East. In 2004 seven additional nations joined NATO, including former Soviet and Eastern Bloc countries Estonia and Bulgaria, which has led to tensions with Russia. Russia has also objected to NATO's call for its own version of America's STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE (renamed National Missile Defense).

See also DEFENSE POLICY; FOREIGN POLICY.

**Further reading:** Lawrence S. Kaplan, *The Long Entanglement: NATO's First Fifty Years* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1999).

—Leah Blakey

### North Vietnam (U.S. relations with)

Following the end of the VIETNAM WAR and the takeover by North Vietnam of South Vietnam, unifying the country, the United States refused to establish diplomatic relations with Vietnam. Only in the 1990s, under the WILLIAM J. CLINTON administration, did the United States establish diplomatic relations with the unified nation of Vietnam.

On April 30, 1975, a helicopter lifted the last Americans off the embassy roof in Saigon, marking the final end of the Vietnam War, as victorious North Vietnamese troops marched into the South Vietnamese capital of Saigon, soon renamed Ho Chi Minh City. Relations between the United States and Vietnam remained strained until the late 1980s, as tensions between the two countries gradually eased with the end of the COLD WAR. When the Vietnamese-Soviet relationship ended, so did the \$1.6 billion in annual aid from the USSR to Vietnam. Around the same time, the United States ceased to recognize the government of Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, which had opposed the Vietnamese-supported government of Premier Hun Sen in Phnom Penh. Only in 1989 did the Vietnamese withdraw most of their forces from Cambodia under the new Khmer Rouge government. Two years later, in 1991, a UN-brokered settlement ended the Cambodian civil war. In 1991 President GEORGE H. W. BUSH authorized travel, and commercial sales of food and medicine, to Vietnam. Further progress in establishing relations with Vietnam came under the Clinton administration, starting in 1993. In his first year in office, President Bill Clinton authorized international lending to Vietnam and allowed American firms to agree to development projects. In 1994 President Clinton, with support from the U.S. Senate, lifted the trade embargo with Vietnam.

On July 11, 1995, President Clinton announced the normalization of diplomatic relations between the United States and still-communist Vietnam. He named former



Vietnam prisoner of war Douglas B. Peterson as America's first ambassador. The establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries allowed for continued efforts to find and return the remains of 1,900 American servicemen still unaccounted for as of January 31, 2001.

The normalization of economic relations with Vietnam received a boost when in 2000 President GEORGE W. BUSH signed the U.S.-Vietnam Bilateral Trade Agreement, which in effect gave Vietnam normal trade relations status.

—Leah Blakey

### nuclear freeze movement

The nuclear freeze movement emerged in 1980, on both sides of the Atlantic, in response to America's defense buildup, which began under the JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., administration and accelerated under the RONALD W. REAGAN administration. American peace activist Randall Forsberg first introduced the proposal of a nuclear freeze that encompassed further nuclear testing, weapons production, and missile deployment. She maintained that the two superpowers had achieved parity regarding nuclear capability. She further contended that any additional increase in nuclear capability by either nation would increase the chance of nuclear war. Forsberg's proposal attracted peace activists in the United States and Europe. As the movement gained strength, a number of states passed "nuclear freeze" resolutions. In addition, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops endorsed a "nuclear freeze" in a pastoral letter on peace.

The proposal for a nuclear freeze gained little acceptance in Congress. In 1982 the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES rejected a resolution calling for an immediate freeze on U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. In the next term, however, the House passed a resolution that called for negotiations between the United States and the SOVIET UNION to lead to a nuclear freeze, but the Senate refused to support this resolution. During the presidential election year of 1984, peace activists mobilized through the "Freeze Voter '84" campaign to endorse pro-freeze candidates. This activists' campaign had little influence on the elections. Arms control negotiations in Reagan's second term, as well as the eventual breakup of the Soviet Union, led the grassroots activist movement to decline. As a result, the nuclear freeze movement's influence on defense policy or arms control negotiations remained minimal.

See also ARMS RACE; CATHOLIC BISHOPS' LETTER.

**Further reading:** Douglas Waller, *Congress and the Nuclear Freeze: An Inside Look at the Politics of a Mass Movement* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987).

—Leah Blakey

### nuclear proliferation

Nuclear proliferation refers to the spread of nuclear weapons technology or knowledge about such technology to countries that do not already have nuclear weapons capability. Both nuclear and non-nuclear states have opposed proliferation because they fear it might destabilize international relations and increase the potential for nuclear war.

The United States emerged from World War II as the world's only nuclear power, but the Soviet Union and Britain soon developed bombs of their own. Early attempts at nuclear non-proliferation policy focused on giving non-nuclear states access to the benefits of nuclear technology while making certain that they did not use that same technology for building atomic weapons. Of particular concern were the fissile materials plutonium and enriched uranium, created in nuclear-power production. These by-products could be used to make bombs. The first non-proliferation program was Dwight Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace initiative, which created the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1957 as an office of the UNITED NATIONS. Ideally, the IAEA would collect and control fissile materials from nuclear states. It would also be responsible for making those materials available to developing countries for the purpose of peaceful energy production. Under Atoms for Peace, the IAEA was only moderately successful. It did make nuclear technology available to developing countries, but nuclear states refused to turn over their stockpiles of fissile material to the IAEA's international control.

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968 made the IAEA more effective by giving it power to inspect civil nuclear facilities, such as power plants and research reactors, in order to ensure that no fissile material was being diverted into a weapons program. The IAEA system of nuclear safeguards relies on accountability for fissile materials, restrictions on access to nuclear facilities, and a system of surveillance, including on-site inspections. Parties to the NPT agree to keep detailed records of all fissile materials and any transactions involving those materials. In addition, they agree to submit to periodic inspections by IAEA personnel. All NPT non-nuclear members must agree to all of these safeguards. The five nuclear states and the non-NPT states of India, Pakistan, and Israel submit to more limited, site-specific inspections.

The NPT is limited, however, by the fact that not all states are signatories. Non-signatory states can choose to develop nuclear weapons programs without violating treaty obligations. India, Pakistan, and Israel are nuclear states that fall into this category. Although Israel will not officially claim that it possesses nuclear weapons, U.S. intelligence suggests that it does. India and Pakistan both conducted underground bomb tests in 1998. The international community is concerned about both India's and Pakistan's possession of nuclear weapons because long-standing tensions

between the two heighten fears that they may use their bombs on each other. Moreover, recent evidence from IAEA inspections in Iran indicate Dr. Abdul Q. Khan, a Pakistani physicist, may have given nuclear technology to Iran, Libya, and North Korea.

Other states such as Iraq, Iran, and North Korea have become proliferation concerns despite signing the NPT. Iraq began a weapons program in the 1970s. Israel bombed Iraq's nuclear power plant in 1981 because it feared Iraq was getting too close to building a bomb. Iraq built a new plant and continued its weapons program under the guise of civilian nuclear power production. The 1990 PERSIAN GULF WAR revealed the extent of Iraq's weapons program and led to a reworking of IAEA inspections procedures that made them better able to detect clandestine programs. The United Nations ordered the IAEA to destroy or disable all of Iraq's nuclear weapons capability. The IAEA had succeeded in its mission by 1998, when Iraq ceased to cooperate with the UN inspections. The United States cited concerns about Iraq rebuilding its nuclear weapons program as one reason for the second IRAQ WAR, but no undeclared nuclear facilities were discovered.

Several countries, including the United States, France, Russia, and the United Kingdom have accused Iran, a member of the NPT, of operating a clandestine weapons program. The IAEA has conducted extensive inspections without finding evidence of fissile material being diverted for a weapons program. Moreover, the IAEA has not yet found conclusive evidence that Iran has been attempting to enrich uranium to weapons grade, although some circumstantial evidence indicates that they may be hiding an enrichment program. While Iranian trading partners in Europe, Japan, and Russia have pressured Iran to reveal any clandestine program, Iran maintains that it has a right to peaceful nuclear technology and that it is not building nuclear weapons.

North Korea also signed the NPT but withdrew in 2003. It conducted a nuclear test on October 9, 2006. North Korea joined the NPT in 1985 because the Soviets made it a condition of supplying them with a nuclear power station. The North Koreans did not fully comply with IAEA safeguards until 1992, probably because they were building a reprocessing plant that could extract plutonium from spent reactor fuel. When the IAEA inspected North Korea's nuclear facilities, it found that the reprocessing plant had probably been used more often than North Korean officials had reported. This finding suggested that North Korea was stockpiling plutonium for weapons. The IAEA requested permission for special inspections of two unreported storage sites suspected of housing the missing plutonium, but North Korea refused access. It also threatened to withdraw from the NPT. The IAEA then reported the matter to the UN Security Council. Negotiations between the United

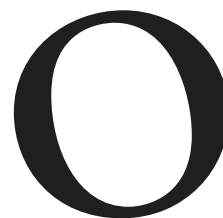
States and North Korea resulted in the U.S. providing \$5 billion in energy assistance, including two light-water nuclear reactors that would be less suitable for producing plutonium. North Korea agreed not to withdraw from the NPT and to freeze its nuclear program. In 2003 North Korea withdrew from the NPT despite its agreement with the United States. After its withdrawal, North Korea agreed to multilateral talks with the United States, South Korea, China, Japan, and Russia. While participating in those negotiations, on January 10, 2005, North Korea announced that it had nuclear weapons. In late 2005 it withdrew from the talks, and in early 2006 it conducted its first nuclear test.

The UN Security Council then voted unanimously to impose weapons and financial sanctions, demanded that North Korea eliminate all its nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles, and called for a return to six-party talks. In December North Korea returned to the talks, quit, and came back again in February 2007. It agreed to dismantle its nuclear program but delayed implementation because it found that its funds in a Macau bank were still frozen by a U.S. investigation of the bank. When the funds became available, North Korea shut down its Yongbyon reactor in exchange for energy aid. By October 2007 a team of nuclear experts stated that they had made a good start on disabling the reactor, and North Korea had agreed to disclose the details of its nuclear program. However, after being subject to a United Nations resolution condemning its long-range missile tests in 2009, North Korea announced it was dropping out of the nuclear negotiations, expelled nuclear inspectors, and declared it would restart its nuclear facilities.

Recent fears regarding Iran's and North Korea's nuclear programs have renewed debate about what proliferation means for international relations. Some theorists, such as Kenneth Waltz, argue that nuclear weapons can actually increase international stability by making wars too costly. Other theorists such as Scott Sagan argue that state bureaucracies can make it difficult to implement the sorts of safety measures that can prevent unauthorized use of a nuclear weapon by rebels or terrorists, for example. As of 2006 the international community seems to agree more with Sagan's position that nuclear proliferation is a serious threat to stability.

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—Amy Wallhermfechtel



**Obama, Barack Hussein** (1961– ) *U.S. senator, 44th U.S. president*

On November 4, 2008, Barack Obama made history as the first American of African-American descent to be elected to the office of president of the United States. Obama had previously served as a U.S. senator from Illinois, from January 2005 until he resigned his Senate seat on November 16, 2008.

Obama was born in Honolulu, Hawaii, on August 4, 1961, to a Caucasian mother from Kansas and a black Kenyan father, both university students at the time. Obama's father left the family and returned to Kenya when Barack was very young, and the family relocated to Indonesia after his mother remarried an Indonesian student. When he was 10, Obama returned to Hawaii to live with his grandparents, where he completed his secondary education and graduated from Punahou School, a private college preparatory school, in 1979.

Obama attended Occidental College, a small, private liberal arts college in Los Angeles, California, for two years before he transferred to Columbia University in New York. He received a B.A. from Columbia in 1983 and went to work as a community organizer in Chicago, Illinois. He returned to school several years later, receiving a law degree from Harvard in 1991. Obama returned to Chicago, where he practiced as a civil rights lawyer and lectured in constitutional law at the University of Chicago. In October 1992 he married Michelle Robinson, another African-American lawyer, whom he had met while working for a Chicago firm during law school. They have two daughters.

Obama began his political career as a state senator in the Illinois General Assembly. Elected for the first time in 1997, he served in the Illinois Senate until his election to the U.S. SENATE in 2004. In his candidacy for the U.S. Senate, he faced and defeated an outsider to Illinois politics, Alan Keyes, a prominent African-American conservative and former Republican presidential candidate, after

Republican Jack Ryan withdrew from the race as a result of a personal scandal. Obama was selected to deliver the keynote address at the 2004 Democratic National Convention, a sign that he was considered a rising star within the Democratic Party. He has authored several books, including a memoir, *Dreams from My Father* (1995).



U.S. Democratic presidential candidate Illinois senator Barack Obama speaks during a rally in Charlotte, North Carolina, November 3, 2008. (Dunand/Getty Images)

Senator Obama compiled a liberal voting record while in the U.S. Senate and was rated by the *National Journal* the most liberal senator in 2007, based on his votes on key economic, social, and FOREIGN POLICY issues. Obama successfully campaigned during the presidential election as a centrist, capturing the independent vote from his opponent, Senator John McCain, considered a moderate Republican. Although his opponents tried to bring character issues to the forefront by pointing to Obama's lack of experience and questionable past associations, Obama deflected such criticisms, keeping the faltering ECONOMY as the central focus of the debate instead.

After reneging on his promise during the primaries to accept public financing for his campaign, Obama revolutionized campaign fund-raising, primarily through Internet donations. His \$640 million in campaign funds more than doubled McCain's fund-raising of \$251 million and effectively rendered CAMPAIGN FINANCE reforms a dead issue.

With his election, Obama became the 44th president of the United States.

**Further reading:** Barack Obama, *Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance* (New York: Times Books, 1995); ———, *The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2006).

### Occupational Safety and Health Act (1970)

Also known as the Williams-Steiger Act, the Occupational Safety and Health Act established the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), a federal regulatory agency that is responsible for workplace safety and health. The act was inspired by a 1968 West Virginia mining accident and agitation by organized labor for a federal presence in the workplace, to ensure health and safety standards. Congress proposed legislation in 1969 and President RICHARD M. NIXON signed the act into law December 29, 1970.

The new act emphasized the prevention of workplace accidents and illness. The act actually established three agencies, with OSHA being the most prominent. The other two, the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) was attached to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (now the Department of Health and Human Services) to research occupational safety and health; and the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission (OSHRC), an independent agency, was established to adjudicate employer challenges to OSHA enforcement actions.

OSHA began operations in April 1971. Its enforcement strategy has changed over the years. Initially OSHA targeted problem industries, primarily relying on voluntary compliance with standards set by the agencies. Inspections were limited to catastrophic accident scenes and workplaces

deemed extremely dangerous. Over time this emphasis has shifted to target specific areas with high injury rates. These priorities led to an emphasis on workplace and worker safety in the 1970s, despite the fact that more workers died of occupational disease than occupational accidents. This emphasis on accidents was changed when Eula Bingham was appointed OSHA administrator in 1977. She focused the agency on health issues.

During the 1980s OSHA began requiring employers to provide information to employees on chemicals used in the workplace, and it instituted safety standards for agriculture and hazardous material handling. Also, OSHA inspectors would examine employer accident reports and injury rates at or below industry standards in industries exempt from inspection.

Entering its third decade in the 1990s, OSHA was not immune to the efforts to “reinvent government” and began to focus on reducing red tape, streamlining standards settings, and inspecting the most dangerous worksites. The emphasis was placed on achieving results. Standards were established covering protection from falls in construction work, electrical safety practices, and scaffolding. OSHA also began setting standards to address biological hazards, such as blood-borne pathogens, and issued rules protecting laboratory employees exposed to toxic chemicals. A new workplace threat was also recognized—the problem of violence in the workplace.

OSHA has been one of the most controversial regulatory agencies, with many in industry complaining its standards are too rigid. Recent OSHA attempts to establish federal standards for home offices met with fierce congressional resistance. Nevertheless, the agency has been successful in its mission. The occupational injury rate has decreased by 40 percent since OSHA began operations in 1971. Deaths due to workplace injury have fallen 60 percent. OSHA continues to act as a watchdog organization for the American worker and now faces the challenge of setting the standards for the workplace of the future.

—John Korasick

### O'Connor, Sandra Day (1930– ) associate justice of the Supreme Court

Sandra Day O'Connor became the first female associate justice of the SUPREME COURT in 1981. O'Connor was born to Harry and Ada Mae Day, on March 26, 1930, in El Paso, Texas. She is the oldest of three children. Her parents owned a cattle ranch in southeastern Arizona, where O'Connor grew up. Life at the ranch was simple and isolated—the nearest neighbors lived 25 miles away, and the ranch itself did not have electricity or running water until O'Connor was eight years old. She was an avid reader and participated in many ranch activities, learning to shoot a rifle and ride horses before she was 10 years of age.



O'Connor was sent to El Paso to live with her grandmother for her school years, and she credits her grandmother's confidence in her ability for her later success. After completing high school, O'Connor went to Stanford University, graduating magna cum laude in 1950 with a baccalaureate in economics. While in law school, she met her future husband, a fellow student named John Jay O'Connor.

The O'Connors eventually settled in Phoenix, Arizona, to begin their family. After five years as a stay-at-home mother to the couple's three sons, O'Connor returned to work in 1965 as an assistant state attorney general in Arizona. The Arizona State Senate appointed her in 1969 to fill an unexpired term, and O'Connor was subsequently elected to three terms in the State Senate, serving as majority leader from 1973–74. O'Connor was elected in 1975 to the Maricopa County Superior Court and appointed to the Arizona Court of Appeals in 1979.

President RONALD W. REAGAN nominated O'Connor on August 19, 1981, to the Supreme Court of the United States. She was opposed by antiabortion groups, because of her earlier support of a family planning bill in Arizona that would have repealed existing state laws banning abortion. Further, in the early 1970s, along with Richard Lamm, a Colorado state legislator (later governor), she had signed a statement that supported population control in the United States. In her nomination hearings, however, O'Connor refused to answer any questions on the issue. She easily won appointment to the court as its first female justice, in a 99-0 vote in the Senate.

Although viewed by many as a conservative, she occupied the center of the Court on abortion and civil rights decisions. In her first major abortion case on the Court, Justice O'Connor wrote a concurring dissent in *AKRON V. AKRON CENTER FOR REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH* (1981). In her dissent O'Connor claimed that Roe was "on a collision course with itself," because its trimester-based standard was "unworkable" in light of changing medical technology that increased viability. Later, in *WEBSTER V. REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICES* (1989), she used the doctrine of "undue burden" as a litmus test for judging the constitutionality of state abortion regulations. This view held that state regulations should not place an "undue burden" on women seeking to obtain an abortion. In *Webster*, she joined four of her colleagues in a concurring separate opinion that Missouri's abortion regulations did not unduly burden a woman's right to obtain an abortion.

One of her most significant votes came in the *Bush v. Gore* ruling, which resolved the legal and political deadlock in the presidential election of 2000. In this case, disputes over the counting of ballots in the state of Florida had thrown the election into the state and ultimately the federal courts. Justice O'Connor sided with the 5-4 majority in stopping the hand recount of ballots in Florida. A 7-2 majority agreed that a recount could not be conducted in compliance with the requirements



Associate Justice Sandra Day O'Connor (*United States Supreme Court*)

of equal protection and due process without substantial effort. This decision led to charges that the Court had usurped power and given GEORGE W. BUSH the presidency, although polls showed that the general public agreed with the decision.

On July 1, 2005, O'Connor announced her intention to retire once her successor had been confirmed by the Senate. On July 19, President George W. Bush nominated JOHN G. ROBERTS to replace her. O'Connor expected that she would be able to leave the Court before the start of the term in October 2005, but Chief Justice WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST died on September 3. George W. Bush then withdrew Roberts's nomination for O'Connor's position and nominated him for chief justice. On October 3 President Bush nominated White House counsel Harriet Miers for O'Connor's post, but on October 27 Miers requested that Bush withdraw her name after complaints from many Republicans that she was not qualified for the position. Subsequently, Bush nominated Samuel Alito, who was confirmed on January 31, 2006.

**Further reading:** The Oyez Project. Justices. Sandra Day O'Connor. Available online. URL: [http://www.oyez.org/justices/sandra\\_day\\_oconnor/](http://www.oyez.org/justices/sandra_day_oconnor/). Accessed January 8, 2009; Melvin I. Urofsky, *Biographical Encyclopedia of the Supreme Court* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2006).

—Michele Rutledge and Amy Wallhermflechtel

### Office of Management and Budget (OMB)

The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is an agency located within the executive branch of the government and is primarily responsible for preparing presidential budget requests and supervising the executive agencies. The OMB was originally known as the Bureau of Budget and was created through the passage of the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921. In 1970 RICHARD M. NIXON reorganized the agency to make it more efficient, splitting it into two offices, the OMB and the Domestic Council. In Nixon's view, the Domestic Council would be involved in choosing programs implemented by the government and the OMB would concern itself with how, and how well, the programs were implemented. This has resulted in a number of struggles between the two over who should have control. Besides preparing the budget and its role in domestic programs, the OMB also advises the president on legislation sent from Congress.

During the WATERGATE SCANDAL, Nixon critics charged that the OMB had taken over the daily operation of the White House, stepping out of its impartial advisory and supervisory role and into a partisan role implementing the Republican agenda. JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., attempted to restore the impartiality of the OMB, but with the election

of RONALD W. REAGAN, it once again became a vehicle for furthering the president's agenda. A 1981 executive order created the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs as part of the OMB, to oversee and review regulatory agencies. This was done as part of Reagan's "regulatory relief" plan, with the new office effectively eliminating further regulations. This practice was struck down in federal district court. The drive to reduce the size of government in the 1990s by the WILLIAM J. CLINTON administration led to the Government Performance and Results Act in 1993, which requires federal agencies to submit plans to the OMB and to follow up these plans with progress reports, in an attempt to make government more efficient.

See also ENERGY, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF (CREATION OF).

—John Korasick

### Oklahoma City bombing

Prior to September 11, 2001, the Oklahoma City bombing was the worst act of TERRORISM ever committed on American soil, and it remains the deadliest act of domestic terrorism. On April 19, 1995, a truck loaded with explosives made from fertilizer and diesel fuel ingredients exploded



Protective covering drapes part of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma where a terrorist bomb killed 168 people. (Carter/Liaison)



in front of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. The blast killed 169 people and injured more than 500, in addition to destroying the building and damaging more than 300 nearby businesses.

Federal agents arrested two men, Timothy J. McVeigh and Terry L. Nichols, and charged them with the crime. Both men had connections with the “Patriot movement,” a loose alliance of extremist groups advocating resistance to national laws and political institutions. McVeigh, a U.S. Army veteran of the PERSIAN GULF WAR, expressed solidarity with Randy Weaver, whose wife and son were killed during a shoot-out with federal agents in Ruby Ridge, Idaho, and with the BRANCH DAVIDIANS who died in a confrontation with federal agents in Waco, Texas. Both McVeigh and Nichols identified with the MILITIA MOVEMENT, especially with its fear that federal GUN CONTROL legislation was oppressive. In 1997 McVeigh was convicted of murder in the bombing and sentenced to death. At 8:14 A.M. (EDT), Monday, June 11, 2001, McVeigh was executed by lethal injection at the age of 33. Nichols was convicted in a separate trial of manslaughter and conspiracy, and was sentenced to life in prison in June 1998.

The ruins of the Murrah building were razed to make room for a memorial to those who died. The Oklahoma City National Memorial opened on February 19, 2001, with a dedication ceremony presided over by President GEORGE W. BUSH. The central element of the memorial is a 30,000-square-foot museum filled with photographs, testimonials, and interactive exhibits that tell the story of the bombing and its aftermath, and pay tribute to those who lost their lives in the tragedy. It also has 169 empty stone chairs to represent the dead.

—William L. Glankler

### **O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr. (“Tip”) (1912–1994)**

*American politician*

Thomas Phillip “Tip” O'Neill (D-Mass.) served as Speaker of the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES from 1977–86. Born in North Cambridge, Massachusetts, he was first elected to the Massachusetts legislature as a Democrat in 1936, became Speaker of the state House in 1947, and was elected to Congress in 1952. For him, as he declared, “All politics is local.”

He first participated in politics in 1928 when he campaigned for the Democratic presidential nominee, Al Smith. In 1936, the same year he graduated from Boston College, he won a seat in the Massachusetts state legislature. In 1941 he married Mildred Miller, with whom he had five children. In 1948 he became the first Democrat in 140 years to be named Speaker of the Massachusetts House. While in the Massachusetts House, he supported a

series of social programs known as the “Little New Deal.” In 1952 he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1955 O'Neill was named to the House Rules Committee. O'Neill supported welfare, civil rights, housing, and education reform legislation proposals of President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson. In 1968 he broke with the Johnson administration when he came out against the war in Vietnam. In 1971 O'Neill was elevated to majority whip, followed by an appointment to majority leader in 1972, when Majority Leader Hale Boggs died in an airplane accident. While in this position, he voted to cut off funding of the air war in Vietnam. In 1976 he was elected as Speaker, the same year JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., came into the White House. From the outset, O'Neill experienced strained relations with the Carter administration. O'Neill wanted to focus on the economic problems of stagflation, and he felt Carter was too easily distracted by other issues, such as government reorganization, energy, and health and welfare reform. As a liberal Democrat, he opposed Carter's budget cuts.

When President RONALD W. REAGAN entered the White House, O'Neill unsuccessfully tried to form an alliance with aging House committee chairs and impatient young liberals who wanted to resist Reagan's conservative agenda. Although O'Neill opposed Reagan's budget cuts, many liberals within the House claimed that O'Neill caved in too easily to Reagan's other initiatives. O'Neill continued to serve as Speaker until he left office in 1986. After he retired, he cowrote *Man of the House: The Life and Political Memoirs of Speaker Tip O'Neill*. O'Neill died in Boston, Massachusetts, on January 5, 1994.

**Further reading:** Paul Clancy and Shirley Elder, *Tip: A Biography of Thomas P. O'Neill, Speaker of the House* (New York: Macmillan, 1980); Thomas P. O'Neill, with William Novak, *Man of the House: The Life and Political Memoirs of Speaker Tip O'Neill* (New York: Random House, 1987).

—Leah Blakey

### **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**

OPEC, an international organization of oil-exporting nations that coordinates the petroleum policies of its members, was formed on September 14, 1960, in Baghdad, and formally registered with the United Nations Secretariat on November 6, 1962. The five founding members—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran, and Venezuela—were later joined by Algeria, Libya, Indonesia, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, and Nigeria. Ecuador and Gabon suspended their memberships in 1992 and 1994, respectively. Saudi Arabia, as the world's largest oil producer, has tended to dominate the organization.

The objectives of OPEC are to ensure the stabilization of oil prices on the international markets and to strike a balance between the security of the member nations' income and the availability of a regular and efficient supply to consuming nations. However, with the United States as the largest consumer of oil, and the precarious nature of Middle East politics, especially concerning the United States's support of Israel, the dividing line between economics and politics has not always been clear. As a result, the relationship between OPEC and the United States has often been an uneasy one.

The first major crisis occurred in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War in 1973, in which the United States supported Israel. OPEC initially raised the price of oil, and then halted the supply to the United States as well as to Western Europe and Japan, from October 16, 1973, to March 18, 1974. This embargo caused severe economic problems in the United States, compounding an already weakening economy with high inflation and rationing of gasoline. OPEC continued to increase the price of oil throughout the 1970s and 1980s, including another severe hike in prices in 1979, the result of the civil war in Iran. From the mid-1980s, however, prices began to collapse, and despite a temporary increase during the Persian Gulf crisis in 1990 and 1991, prices remained relatively low, falling from over \$50 per barrel in 1980 to around \$10 per barrel in 1997. Throughout these years, the health and prosperity of the U.S. economy mirrored these fluctuations, with sudden price spikes causing recessions, and declining rates allowing recoveries.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s prices have begun to increase once again. In 2000 the price of oil rose to \$38 per barrel. However, the impact of these increases has not been as severe as previous ones. In part this is due to the relatively weaker position of OPEC. Although the Middle East controls two-thirds of the world's proven oil reserves, it produces less than a third of the world's oil. The price increases of the 1970s and 1980s encouraged exploration for oil elsewhere, often in more inhospitable regions where it is more expensive to extract. As a result, the profits of OPEC members declined. Saudi Arabia, in particular, has suffered

from a weak economic infrastructure, and the lower oil prices of the 1980s caused Saudi Arabia's debt to approach 100 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) in 1998.

Because of the shift in the United States from heavy industry toward high technology and service industries, the United States uses only half as much oil for every dollar of GDP as it did in the early 1970s. Still, the threat of higher energy costs continues to create concerns about economic instability. Moreover, many emerging economies, especially those in Asia, have substantially increased their dependency on oil, due to rapid industrialization and increased car ownership. The worldwide impact of a severe downturn in these economies could potentially damage the U.S. economy.

The political situation in the Middle East is also of concern. The tensions generated by U.S. foreign policy toward Iran and Iraq, and the continued unrest in Israel, still have the potential to politicize OPEC's attitude to the United States and lead to further economic crises. Environmental concerns, however, pose a serious threat to OPEC's position. Increased concern over global warming resulted in an agreement at the Kyoto summit in 1997 to reduce the emissions of "greenhouse" gases, which result from oil use. The consumption of oil remains high in the United States, and many worry about the environmental effects of this consumption. The development of more efficient and environmentally friendly sources of energy has the potential in the long term to render many of the economic and political problems between OPEC and the United States of relatively limited importance.

See also AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY; ECONOMY; ENERGY; FOREIGN POLICY.

—Stephen Hardman

**Further reading:** Matthew Yeomans, *Oil: Anatomy of an Industry* (New York & London: New Press, 2004); Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992).

**organized crime** See CRIME.





### Panama (invasion)

At midnight on December 20, 1989, U.S. troops invaded and occupied Panama. The invasion, titled “Operation Just Cause,” was triggered by a series of events that culminated in the shooting of an American soldier.

General Omar Torrijos Herrera ruled Panama for 13 years before he died in an airplane crash in 1981. Following his death, Panama underwent a series of crises, as three groups vied for political ascendancy. General Manuel Antonio Noriega successfully consolidated his power in 1984 in the National Guard, renaming it the Panama Defense Forces (PDF). Political reforms in 1983 called for a president, two vice presidents, and a National Assembly to be elected for five-year terms beginning in 1984. Noriega tampered with the election results, and the U.S.-backed candidate, Nicolas Ardito Barletta, won. After attempting to launch an investigation into Noriega’s PDF, President Barletta was forced from office by Noriega. First Vice President Eric Arturo del Valle, regarded as a Noriega front, became president in 1985. General Noriega was reputed to be deeply involved in the corruption plaguing Panama. By 1986 the Panamanian economy had soured and underemployment and unemployment rates soared past 45 percent. In 1987 the Civil Crusade—an alliance of professionals, businesspeople, and opposition parties—demanded that del Valle and Noriega resign. The movement was endorsed by the Roman Catholic Church and had sympathizers in Washington, D.C. In response to the Civil Crusade, Noriega suspended opposition newspapers, declared a state of emergency, and sent troops into the streets, ostensibly to keep order. In response, the United States suspended economic and military aid to Panama and closed its embassy.

President del Valle discharged Noriega as PDF commander in 1988. Noriega, however, refused to leave his post, and the National Assembly instead voted to remove del Valle. RONALD W. REAGAN’s administration condemned this action, and the United States imposed an embargo in

an attempt to oust Noriega from power. Presidential elections were held in May 1989. Noriega nullified the results when it was determined that opposition leader Guillermo Endara Galimany was winning a majority of votes, and instead installed a figurehead president. In response, the United States suspended Panama Canal payments, tightened the economic sanctions, and intensified U.S. military strength in the Canal Zone to 12,000 troops.

In early October 1989 middle-ranking officers backed by the United States attempted a coup against Noriega and failed. On December 15, 1989, the Panamanian legislature declared Noriega president and stated that the United States and Panama were in a state of war. The shooting of a U.S. Marine caused Reagan’s successor, President GEORGE H. W. BUSH, to take action, and on December 20, 1989, more than 25,000 troops were dispatched to eliminate the Noriega regime.

“Operation Just Cause” was controversial, due to the resulting loss of hundreds of Panamanian lives and the subsequent damage to both Panama City and El Chorrillo. The military was able to quickly achieve its objective as Noriega surrendered on January 3, 1990. U.S. officials supervised the swearing in of President Endara and Vice Presidents Ricardo Arias Calderon and Billy Ford. Noriega was captured and extradited to Miami, tried and convicted for narcotics trafficking, and sentenced to a 40-year prison stay.

Officially, 23 Americans were killed during the conflict. Estimates of Panamanian deaths ranged from a low of 557 to several thousand (from the U.S. Southern Command) to between 2,000 and 4,000 (from the Association of Relatives of the Fallen of Over 6,000). The economic destruction of the invasion caused more than \$2 billion in losses, of which the United States has paid \$1 billion in aid. The invasion has left a strong undercurrent of anti-American sentiment in Panama.

**Further reading:** James Cockcroft, *Latin America—History, Politics, and U.S. Policy*, (Chicago: Nelson Hall,



General Manuel Noriega walks to his seat aboard a U.S. Air Force aircraft, escorted by agents from the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA). The former Panamanian leader was flown to the United States, where he was held for trial on drug charges.

1996); Thomas Skidmore and H. Wayne Smith, *Modern Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

—Michele Rutledge

### Panama Canal (turnover)

In 1903 Panama became an independent nation. Two weeks later, the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty was signed, granting the United States eminent domain throughout Panama and perpetual control over the future Canal Zone. A marvel of modern engineering, the 50-mile-long canal was completed in 1914 at a cost of some 22,000 human lives, and immediately became a major international waterway. The zone itself became a de facto U.S. colony, whose wealth and privilege stood in marked contrast to the local society.

The canal has been a source of controversy between the United States and Panama since its construction early in the 20th century. Numerous military interventions and treaty revisions have embroiled the United States in Pana-

manian affairs. Renegotiations of the treaty began in the 1950s, and while Panama received an increased annuity from the United States, the sovereignty question remained under discussion.

Tensions continued into the 1960s. In 1964 American high school students in the Canal Zone raised an American flag without the accompanying Panamanian colors; large-scale rioting followed, and diplomatic relations with Washington were severed by Panama. These “flag riots” ushered in a new political period for Panamanian politics and facilitated the rise to power of the National Guard. Under the leadership of General Omar Torrijos Herrera, the guard took power in 1968. As “Maximum Leader of the Revolution,” Torrijos used the canal issue as a nationalist means to rally social classes. During his 13-year rule of Panama, Torrijos actively engaged in canal negotiations with the RICHARD M. NIXON, GERALD R. FORD, and JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., administrations, with the United States accepting a treaty that called for Panamanian sovereignty over the canal by 1999.

American conservatives, such as PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY, denounced the negotiations as a sellout, supported by American corporate bankers seeking to guarantee their loans to Panama, but President Carter obtained the necessary Senate approval, and the United States and the Republic of Panama signed two treaties in 1977. The Panama Canal Treaty established a partnership between Panama and the United States until 2000, when Panama would take on full responsibility for the canal and provide for the immediate abolition of the Canal Zone. The Neutrality Treaty declared the canal permanently neutral, with U.S. and Panamanian ships having priority right-of-way in times of emergency and war.

Final control of the canal was given to Panama during ceremonies held in the closing days of December 1999. The official transition of the canal occurred at midday December 31st, with the focus of the ceremony on the raising of the Panamanian flag. A 21-gun salute and the sounding of ships' sirens completed the changeover.

Based on fears of computer breakdowns during the transition from the 1999 to 2000 (Y2K) calendar years, the Panama Canal Authority assumed control several hours before the changeover. The canal regularly handles 14,000 ships annually.

**Further reading:** James Cockcroft, *Latin America—History, Politics, and U.S. Policy* (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1996).

—Michele Rutledge

### **Pelosi, Nancy** (1940– ) *Speaker of the House of Representatives*

Nancy Pelosi, Democrat congresswoman from California, became the first woman to be elected Speaker of the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES on January 4, 2007. Under Pelosi's leadership during the 2007 session, Congress enacted legislation to raise the minimum wage, implement an energy bill, expand financial assistance to college students, and tighten law on congressional lobbying. This legislative record in her first year was considered modest by most political observers.

Pelosi was born Nancy Patricia D'Alesandro on March 26, 1940, in Baltimore, Maryland. Her father, Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., was politically active as city councilman, U.S. representative, and mayor of Baltimore; her brother, Thomas D'Alesandro III, also served as mayor of Baltimore. In 1962 Nancy D'Alesandro graduated with an A.B. from Trinity College in Washington, D.C., and the following year married Paul Pelosi. The Pelosis subsequently relocated to San Francisco, California, where Nancy became politically active in the California Democratic Party at the local level. She served as the northern chair of the state Democratic

Party from 1977 to 1981, chair of the California State Democratic Party from 1981 to 1983, and as finance chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee from 1985 to 1986.

Pelosi was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1987 from the Eighth District of California, encompassing most of the San Francisco metropolitan area, and has represented the Eighth District to the present. She served on the Appropriations and Intelligence Committees, as well as Ethics and Banking Committees. In 2001 she became the first woman to achieve the position of minority whip in the House and achieved another first the following year by succeeding Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) as minority leader. In 2004 Pelosi served as cochair of the Democratic National Convention. When House Democrats regained the majority in the 2006 midterm elections, Pelosi was elected Speaker, beginning her tenure with the first session of the 110th Congress.

Pelosi represents a strongly Democratic district and has been regularly reelected with margins of 80 percent. She began her congressional career working on human rights issues, including human rights policy in China, housing and services for HIV/AIDS patients, services for the disabled, and environmental issues. She has compiled a liberal voting record, supporting reproductive rights, federal funding of embryonic STEM CELL RESEARCH, and environmental protection, and opposing the Defense of Marriage Act, the GEORGE W. BUSH administration's tax cuts, health care proposals, and reform of Social Security through privatization of some assets. She joined Senate majority leader Harry Reid (D-Nev.) in proposing non-binding resolutions that required deadlines for ending military action in Iraq. These resolutions failed to gain the necessary support to pass, however, raising discontent among the antiwar activists. In 2009 Pelosi was reelected Speaker.

**Further reading:** Michael Barone and Richard E. Cohen, *Almanac of American Politics, 2008* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Group, 2007).

—Cynthia Stachecki

**penitentiaries** See CRIME.

### **Pentagon Papers**

The Pentagon Papers are a 47-volume study of U.S. involvement in Vietnam from 1945 through 1969. They were prepared by a team of analysts at the behest of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, beginning in 1967. In 1971 portions of the study were leaked to the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and other newspapers by Daniel Ellsberg,



an analyst with the Rand Corporation. On June 13, 1971, the *Times* began publishing articles based on the information in the documents. Initially, RICHARD M. NIXON was pleased with the release of the documents because they cast the preceding Democratic administrations in an unfavorable light, showing that they had kept military and political decisions secret from Congress and the public, and had issued false or misleading statements.

Soon it became apparent that the release of the papers could also damage the current administration's war policies, and the Justice Department requested a temporary restraining order to prevent the *Times* from publishing the entire set of papers. The administration argued that the legal standard cited to prevent publication should be national security, and the courts should defer to the administration's judgment in such matters. The newspaper asserted that blocking the publication of the papers violated the First Amendment of the Constitution and that the government was really trying to censor the news rather than protect national security. The *Times* lost and appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. On June 30, 1971, the Supreme Court decided the case of *New York Times v. the United States*, ruling in favor of the newspaper, though every Justice wrote a separate opinion. The Justices asserted that the Constitution gave preference to freedom of the press, and that the government had failed to show that publication of the documents would have a negative impact on national security. This ruling left open the possibility that newspapers could be prevented from publishing classified documents, if they could be shown to directly threaten national security. The publication of the papers further intensified the debate over American involvement in Vietnam.

The general counsel for the newspaper, Jim Goodale, declared the result of the case a triumph for First Amendment rights. The government has never succeeded in preventing the publication of classified documents indefinitely.

After failing to prevent the publication of the papers, the Justice Department turned its attention to prosecuting Ellsberg for leaking the documents. Ellsberg was charged with treason, theft, and conspiracy. The trial lasted from January to May 1973. Ellsberg admitted that he had copied and released the documents, but he had the security clearance to view them. He also argued that the documents were released to bring them to the attention of Congress in an attempt to end the war.

On May 11, 1973, Judge William Byrne dismissed the charges against Ellsberg because of improper government conduct. A number of documents relating to the case had disappeared. Also, there was a break-in at Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office by a group known as the "plumbers," who worked out of the White House, looking for damaging

information on Ellsberg. The plumbers would come into greater national prominence after their role in the WATERGATE SCANDAL was revealed. The break-in was listed under Article II of the Articles of IMPEACHMENT against President Nixon, under the heading of abuse of power.

See also VIETNAM WAR (END OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT).

—John Korasick

**Perot, H. Ross** (1930– ) *businessperson, presidential candidate*

A successful computer entrepreneur, H. Ross Perot ran for president in 1992 and 1996. In 1992 he received 19 percent of the vote, the best performance by a third-party candidate in 80 years. Henry Ross Perot was born on June 27, 1930, in Texarkana, Texas, and in 1948 he received an appointment to the U.S. Naval Academy, where he demonstrated leadership capabilities, serving as class president and head of the school's honor committee. While at the academy he met Margot Birmingham, whom he married in 1956. Perot graduated in June 1953 and served in the Navy until 1957. He and his wife moved to Dallas, Texas, where he accepted a position with International Business Machines (IBM).

In 1962 he left IBM and formed Electronic Data Systems Corporation (EDS), a computer management firm. The passage of Medicare legislation in 1965 suddenly increased the demand for computers, programmers, and storage. EDS secured government contracts in these areas and EDS experienced tremendous growth. EDS went public in 1968, and within two years, Perot's share of the company stock was worth \$1.4 billion. EDS merged with General Motors (GM) in 1984, but disagreements between Perot and GM executive Roger Smith prompted Perot to publicly criticize GM. In 1986, GM bought out Perot's interest for \$742.8 million.

Perot's business success made him highly visible and enabled him to become involved in international philanthropic efforts. In 1969, at the request of Secretary of State HENRY A. KISSINGER, Perot formed the United We Stand Committee to collect money and buy advertising to pressure the North Vietnamese into improving the conditions of their prisoner of war camps. Although Perot's efforts failed, he remained committed to locating and improving the condition of POWs. Perot became nationally known for his successful efforts to rescue two EDS employees from Iran. In 1978 revolutionary Iranian officials arrested the EDS manager and his assistant on charges that EDS had helped embezzle millions from the Iranian treasury. Diplomacy failed to gain their release, and Perot sent ex-Green Beret colonel Arthur D. Simons and a team of EDS executives to Iran in an effort to free them from prison. Although the executives were released before the rescue was attempted, Perot's team succeeded in removing them safely from the



country. Ken Follett chronicled the effort in his 1983 non-fiction account, *On Wings of Eagles*.

On February 22, 1992, Perot appeared on the *Larry King Live* television show and stated that he felt America ought to be “fixed.” He urged that the American people should “take back control of their government,” and implied that he would run for president as an independent. He funded a campaign to have his name placed on the ballot in all 50 states before officially declaring himself a candidate. He removed his name from candidacy on July 17 based on his belief that WILLIAM J. CLINTON and the “New Democrats” had begun to address his concerns, but he continued to fund efforts initiated by United We Stand America to get his name on all state ballots. Stating that he wanted the campaign to focus more on economic issues, Perot reentered the campaign on October 1 and finished the election with 19 percent of the vote. This was the strongest showing by a third-party candidate since 1912 and many political analysts claimed that the three-way race contributed to GEORGE H. W. BUSH’s loss to Bill Clinton.

Over the next three years, Perot continued to pressure both the Democrats and Republicans to consider his economic views. He became increasingly dissatisfied with both parties, and announced in September 1995 that he would be forming the independent REFORM PARTY for the 1996 election. He was overwhelmingly nominated to his party’s candidacy but his campaign was severely damaged when he was not allowed to participate in the televised presidential debates. The 1996 campaign never gained the momentum of the 1992 campaign and he garnered only 8 percent of the vote. Although defeated, Perot vowed to continue his party’s effort to pressure the government, but divisions within the Reform Party raised questions about its direction and leadership. These divisions led ultimately to an ugly conflict, when PATRICK J. BUCHANAN won the nomination for the Reform Party.

See also ECONOMY; ELECTIONS; IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS; POLITICAL PARTIES; REAGANOMICS; TELEVISION; TERRORISM; VIETNAM WAR (END OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT).

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—William L. Glankler

## Persian Gulf War

On August 2, 1990, Iraq, under the leadership of Saddam Hussein, a brutal dictator, invaded neighboring Kuwait, a major oil producer in the Middle East region. This invasion consolidated a large portion of the Persian Gulf oil supply

under the control of an anti-American regime and threatened to disrupt the flow of oil from Saudi Arabia, which controlled more than a fifth of the world’s proven oil supplies. President GEORGE H. W. BUSH declared, “This aggression will not stand.” A 30-nation coalition, led by the United States, attacked Iraq and restored the Kuwaiti monarchy.

Iraq’s invasion came after Kuwait unilaterally increased its oil production, which led to a drop in world prices. This drop in the value of its chief export came as Iraq struggled to repay loans borrowed from the Kuwaiti and Saudi regimes during the Iran-Iraq War of 1980–88. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia refused to forgive Iraq’s debts. Ironically, many of Hussein’s weapons had come through American aid when the United States supported the regime in the late 1980s. The RONALD W. REAGAN and Bush administrations had approved nearly \$1 billion in economic and technical aid to the government of Hussein.

With the invasion of Kuwait, the UNITED NATIONS (UN) authorized a trade embargo on Iraq and sent a quarter of a million troops, mostly Americans, to defend Saudi Arabia, in a military operation called Desert Shield. General Norman Schwarzkopf headed the operation. Eventually the UN military force grew to 550,000 troops.

Congress debated at length the issue of using force to dislodge the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. Congressional Democrats generally opposed military action and called for time to let the economic boycott work; Republicans called for military action. On January 12, 1991, Congress narrowly approved the use of American troops in the Persian Gulf. Only a few Democratic senators, including ALBERT GORE, JR. (D-Tenn.), supported military intervention. Four days later, Operation Desert Storm began.

Following weeks of air strikes, on February 23, 1991, General Schwarzkopf sent 200,000 troops into Iraq. Although coverage of the war was censored by the Pentagon, television carried much of the war live to American homes. Within five days after the invasion, Hussein accepted a cease-fire. As Iraq withdrew from Kuwait, it set fire to the oil fields and dumped huge quantities of crude oil into the gulf.

The United States lost only 148 Americans in the six-week conflict, while more than 100,000 Iraqi soldiers and citizens died. Bush’s approval rating reached 90 percent, but he was later criticized for failing to remove Hussein from power. Still more criticism mounted when it was revealed that the administration had assisted several purported eyewitnesses to falsify their congressional testimony of accounts of Iraqi atrocities. Further criticism came when the administration encouraged the Kurdish minority in Iraq to revolt against the Hussein regime, which led to their brutal suppression by Iraqi soldiers.

Following his defeat, Hussein continued to refuse to allow UN inspectors to search for weapons of mass



President George H. W. Bush meets with U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf, 1991. (*George Bush Presidential Library*)

destruction being built by Hussein's regime. This led the WILLIAM J. CLINTON administration to launch periodic air strikes against Iraq. Nonetheless, Hussein expelled the UN inspectors in 1998, which led to further American air strikes. Hussein remained a thorn in the side of the United States, and many observers accused Hussein of continuing to develop biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction and continuing to harbor and train terrorists. As a consequence, the Middle East continued to be one of the world's most volatile regions as the United States entered the 21st century.

### political action committee (PAC)

A political action committee (PAC) is an organization that raises money from individuals and distributes it to electoral candidates who meet a particular set of criteria. PACs

solicit contributions either through individual businesses, consortiums, labor unions, associations, or directly from interested individuals; they then pool their resources to provide their contributors with a greater voice in the electoral process than they would have had separately through contributions to candidates. Their contributions can be made directly to their favored candidate or party or indirectly in the form of paid advertisements supporting their candidate and political position.

PACs were legally recognized in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, which authorized businesses, unions, and associations to sponsor third-party organizations that pooled voluntary political contributions of their members or employees. Individuals could also form PACs around sets of common interests or causes. The new statute intended to limit the influence of wealthy interests in federal elections by limiting individual contributions to



\$1,000 per candidate per election. In light of the representative nature of PACs, they were allowed also to contribute \$5,000 to each campaign per election and \$15,000 to a national party committee.

Business and labor interests realized that multiple PACs working in alliance could channel even more money toward their preferred candidate. Later, members of single-issue and ideological organizations used PACs to get around the Federal Election Commission (FEC) limitations, by directly advertising their preferences in the media without actually contributing money to their preferred candidate. The SUPREME COURT concluded, in *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976), that this kind of “soft” money contribution was protected by the First Amendment guarantee of free speech.

Today, there are more than 4,000 PACs. Though nearly two-thirds represent business interests in the form of corporations, industry consortiums, and professional groups, half of the largest PAC contributors in the 2000 election were labor unions, including the Teamsters Union, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Laborers Union, Machinists and Aerospace Workers Union, and the United Auto Workers.

In 2001 Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Representative Christopher Shays (R-Conn.) submitted a Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform bill to the 107th Congress. Nine months later, it passed by a vote of 240-189 in the Republican-controlled House and by 60-40 in the Democratic-controlled Senate. President Bush signed it into law on March 27, 2002. On the same day, the National Rifle Association (NRA) and Senator Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) filed separate suits challenging the soft-money provision, prohibiting independent organizations from advertising their interests during a campaign, as a violation of the First Amendment.

In December 2003 the SUPREME COURT upheld the Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act. Subsequently, a number of organizations claiming tax exemption under Section 527 of the act began to raise and spend money in the 2004 election campaign. These organizations refused to register as “political committees,” exempting these “527s” from campaign finance law contribution limits, source prohibitions, and disclosure requirements. In March 2004 the Republican National Committee filed a protest with the FEC, accusing a number of these groups of coordinating their campaign activities with the Democratic Party. In May the FEC voted not to write new rules governing the spending of these 527 groups, leaving their activities essentially unregulated and leading to the proliferation of such groups in the 2004 election cycle. These new 527s began raising large amounts of soft money (funds not regulated by the Federal Election Campaign Act) for both political parties. In August 2004 the Kerry campaign filed a protest with the

FEC, charging one of these groups, the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, with coordinating its campaign activities with the Republican Party. The FEC responded by promulgating a new rule requiring some of these 527s to use at least 50 percent hard money (which was subject to contribution limits, source prohibitions, and disclosure requirements) but leaving open whether these 527s had to register as political committees. In December 2006 the FEC did find three 527 groups in violation of federal law and fined the League of Conservation Voters, MoveOn.org, and the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth for failing to register as political committees. Then, in February 2007 the Federal Election Commission fined another 527 group, the Progress for America Voter Fund, for its failure to follow the provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act. Controversies over unregulated raising and spending of soft money by these 527 groups have led to calls for the repeal or reform of the Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act.

Critics of PACs contend that they corrupt the democratic process by giving well-funded special interests too much influence over politicians, thereby granting them an unfair advantage over individual voters. Supporters reply that PACs only pool the resources of the individual contributors that they represent; they do not influence candidates but instead serve as an alternative means for individuals to support or oppose particular candidates.

See also CAMPAIGN FINANCE; ELECTIONS.

—Aharon W. Zorea and Stephen E. Randall

## political correctness

Political correctness is the belief that language and practices that could offend political sensibilities should be eliminated or suppressed. A debate over political correctness emerged in the 1980s, and centered on the use of language that was perceived as derogatory toward minorities, or that displayed sexist or racist tendencies. However, the debate over individual phrases masks a much broader debate about culture and politics in the United States. The excesses of political correctness have been magnified to support political beliefs, and have entered the general culture, obfuscating real issues.

The first recorded use of the term “politically correct” was in the 1793 SUPREME COURT case *Chisholm v. Georgia* where it was used in its literal form to refer to a correct interpretation of the law. The first use in the 20th century was in the 1930s when American Communists used it to refer to the correct interpretation of the party line, frequently in a self-deprecating manner. The term gained further usage in the aftermath of the Civil Rights and feminist movements of the 1960s. During the 1970s, careful attention was paid to the use of language that signified an unequal balance of power or that contained implicit

notions of racism. Advocates of social change argued that such terms should be replaced with less loaded ones. Words such as “Native American” or “chairperson” were to be preferred over more stereotyped ones such as “Indian” or “chairman.”

In the 1980s and early 1990s political correctness exploded on the national scene. Articles in the *New York Times* and *Newsweek* in 1991 drew attention to fierce debates on college campuses and in the media, where attempts at rectifying gender and racial prejudices and discrimination, many believed, had led to the censoring of free speech. The cover of *New York* magazine on January 21, 1991, asked, “Are You Politically Correct?” and the article listed a range of terms from the obvious, such as African American, to the plainly ridiculous, such as “animal companion” rather than “pet.” This debate, in essence, shrouded the CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT criticism of what it perceived as leftist domination of many educational, religious, and cultural institutions in America. It was argued that leftist attempts to seek inclusivity and impose cultural diversity had led to the forced imposition of certain political values, thereby suppressing intellectual diversity and restricting free speech. Critics of this conservative complaint against political correctness charged that the debate was just a sensationalistic straw man designed to advance a conservative movement and its attacks on liberal notions of education, scholarship, and culture.

The debate has since expanded to include a wide range of cultural forms, from smoking in public, and the presentation of violence in movies and on TV, to sexually explicit lyrics of pop music. In some instances, “politically incorrect” served as a badge of authenticity for many conservative commentators and politicians. Critics of the conservative movement’s critique have since charged that attacks on political correctness have become an excuse to indulge in inappropriate and offensive speech and behavior. The underlying debate continues over the extent of the ideological and political ramifications of language and culture in the United States.

See also AFFIRMATIVE ACTION; CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; FEMINISM; MULTICULTURALISM.

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—Stephen Hardman

## political parties

Within the American democratic system, a political party is a group of people organized to achieve and maintain political power through the electoral process. Parties are designed to help candidates win elections and operate

government. Two parties, the Democratic and Republican, dominate contemporary government. (Although the Democrats are the older group, the Republicans are sometimes referred to as the “GOP” for “grand old party.”) Each of these major parties traditionally represent a broad and shifting coalition. In the latter half of the 20th century, the Republican Party has tended to be the ideologically right-of-center coalition and the Democratic Party the ideologically left-of-center coalition. Nevertheless, both parties have undergone significant changes in their platforms and constituencies as they have responded to the pressures of demographic, cultural, and technological change. Third parties have also been particularly active and influential since 1968, arguably shifting the outcome of presidential elections in 1968, 1980, 1992, and 2000.

American political parties, after 1968, have struggled with the changes brought about by demographic and social shifts. The New Deal democratic alliance of southern voters and the industrial and urban ethnic voters of the North began to unravel in the late 1960s as the party’s embrace of civil rights alienated much of its base. Furthermore, divisions over FEMINISM, reproductive rights (ABORTION), the VIETNAM WAR, and the GAY AND LESBIAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT divided the coalition. The Republicans, under RICHARD M. NIXON, skillfully exploited these issues in 1968 and 1972. Indeed, the use of racial appeal and “wedge issues,” such as abortion, characterized the GOP for the remainder of the century. The Republican Party also struggled with changes in America in those years. Led by RONALD W. REAGAN, the CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT challenged the traditional Republicanism of Nixon and captured the GOP nomination and the presidency. Under Reagan’s administration, the conservative movement was in control of the Republican Party. The election of WILLIAM J. CLINTON in 1992 represented a victory for “New Democrats,” who sought to move the party back to the center. In 2000 Republicans once again regained the White House, when GEORGE W. BUSH took a softer approach than many conservatives within the party on education, affirmative action, and the environment.

Political parties in the United States are well organized and highly structured, operating on a local, state, and national level. Each party has a national chairman who directs recruitment and systematization. Presidential candidates are nominated every four years at a four-day-long national convention. Each state party apparatus sends delegates who cast votes for the party’s nominee. State-by-state primary elections held before the convention determine which candidate’s supporters are sent as delegates to the national convention. Delegates also select a running mate, but usually defer to the presidential nominee of the party in choosing a candidate.



Since 1852, every U.S. president has been either a Republican or Democrat. These two parties dominate the political process, organizing government at both the national and state levels. Roughly two-thirds of Americans consider themselves members of these parties; those claiming independent status still incline toward one or the other. Less than 10 percent of Americans are strict independents. After the 1994 elections, there was a single independent representative in Congress, and less than 1 percent of state legislators elected were from minor parties.

American parties play a major role in shaping public policy. Indeed, since the mid-1990s both the Democrats and Republicans in Congress have shown sharp policy differences and exhibited fierce partisanship, especially in the House of Representatives. This opposition between parties is one of the political system's most enduring features, illustrating structural aspects of the political system as well as highlighting special characteristics of the parties themselves. National legislators in America are selected through the "single-member" district system—the candidate receiving a plurality of the vote is elected. Most states also use this system. This process allows only one party to win in any given district, thereby creating incentives to form two broadly based parties capable of winning legislative district majorities, and consigning minor parties to defeat. The presidential electoral procedure also drives the two-party system in the United States. Virtually every state allocates all its electors, selected by the parties, to the candidate who wins the plurality. This winner-take-all system makes it virtually impossible for minor parties to gain a majority of the vote, although they can change the outcome by taking votes away from the major parties. To become president requires an absolute majority of 538 electoral votes (270), making it extremely difficult for a third party to independently achieve the presidency.

The dominant parties have created electoral rules that work to their advantage. Most states have extensive barriers inhibiting the inclusion of a minor party on the ballot. Most smaller parties cannot qualify for benefits included in the Federal Election Campaign Act, which allocates public financing for national conventions, matching funds for candidates for presidential nominations, and public funding of presidential campaigns.

American parties are broad-based and include all income levels in their electoral support. With the exception of African-American voters, of whom nearly 90 percent back the Democratic Party, the major parties draw significant levels of support from virtually every major socioeconomic group in the society. For example, labor-union members, traditionally identified as Democrats, have tended to cast up to one-third of their ballots for Republican candidates in recent years. In addition, while allegiance to the Democratic Party historically has fallen as

income levels rise, the current political trend shows both major parties enjoying substantial support from upper-middle-class voters, who were making their decisions on cultural rather than economic issues. Given the need to maintain their broad voter support to win elections, the two major parties have demonstrated much policy flexibility. This approach enables the Democrats and Republicans to accept ideological diversity within their organizations, as well as protest movements, and "third-party" positions, when they have arisen.

Third parties and independent candidates have nevertheless intermittently appeared in American politics, usually in response to some issue or issues that the major parties were unwilling or unable to address. Most third parties have tended to last for a single election and then disappear, weaken, or join with one of the major parties. Only one new party since the 1850s, the Republican, has transitioned from a third party into a major party. Evidence suggests, however, that while third parties cannot compete against the entrenched parties, they can have a huge impact on election dynamics and outcomes.

Third-party movements were significant in 1968, in 1980, in 1992, and in 2000. In 1968 Alabama governor GEORGE C. WALLACE pulled culturally conservative Democrats to his protest candidacy. Scholars continue to debate which party benefited from that year's whisker-thin election margin. Most of JOHN B. ANDERSON's 1980 votes, on the other hand, expressed a clear preference for Democratic incumbent JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., but nevertheless, not sufficient in number to have helped him surpass Ronald W. Reagan's victory. Many of Reagan's voters later migrated to H. ROSS PEROT's 1992 campaign. Many observers believe that the independent's high-profile attacks shifted the momentum and dynamic of the race against Bush. By contrast, RALPH NADER's attraction for Democratic voters clearly contributed to ALBERT GORE, JR.'s narrow electoral defeat, demonstrably shifting the electoral votes of two states.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the leaders of both the Republican and Democratic Parties have been extremely concerned about third party or independent campaigns. This concern is not limited to presidential candidates; Vermont senator James Jeffords's defection from the Republican Party, shortly after the 2000 election, tipped the fragile majority of the Senate to the Democrats, causing a major realignment of the national political system. Imposing barriers exist to a third party's winning the presidency, or even electing a substantial number of representatives or senators. Many voters fear that a ballot cast for a third-party candidate will be wasted. Savvy voters have strategically cast their ballots for their second choice when they sense that a third-party candidate has no chance of winning.

In 1980 independent candidate John B. Anderson gathered votes of only 57 percent of the voters who ranked him highest; in 1992 among voters ranking Ross Perot highest, 79 percent voted for him but 21 percent voted for the major parties' candidates. Third parties also face the phenomenon of "protest" voting for their candidates. In 1992 Gallup polls showed that 5 percent of the people who voted for Perot indicated they would not vote for him if they thought he could win.

Since the 1960s, campaign techniques have been changed by the increasing use of television advertisements and appearances. Media advisers became more prominent, often taking over the traditional party leaders' role. In addition, the function of party conventions in selecting candidates has been reduced by the growing prevalence of primary elections.

Although both major parties adopt a centrist pose in their election-year questions for the majority, significant differences exist between the Democratic and Republican Parties in terms of both ideology and base constituency. The Republican Party ideology is often viewed as one that wants a more limited and circumscribed government; advocates shifting more federal authority to state and local governments; opposes regulation of private industry and the economy, as well as social welfare programs, such as Social Security and Medicare; is more in favor of defense spending; and is against what it perceives as excessive gun control measures, as well as abortion rights, feminism, affirmative action, and preferential rights for gays. The Republicans nationally tend to draw suburban and rural voters; white male voters; and married white women. The Democrats are typically viewed as a party that works for the interests for the lower class by promoting progressive tax rates and programs to provide state assistance to those people. The Democrats get their most loyal support from African Americans, union workers, new immigrants, and single white women. On the national level, the Democrats tend to draw voters from large cities. Both parties have recently seen these "typical" supporters drift toward choosing individual candidates, rather than voting "party line."

**Further reading:** Malcolm E. Jewell and Sarah M. Morehouse, *Political Parties and Elections in American States* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 2000); L. Sandy Maisel, *Parties and Elections in America: The Electoral Process* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002); L. Sandy Maisel and John F. Bibby, *Two Parties—Or More? The American Party System* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1998); Alan Ware, *Citizens, Parties and the State: A Reappraisal* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987).

—Michele Rutledge

## popular culture

Since the mid-1960s, the popular culture has been directed by four forces: the youth market, technological advances, sophisticated marketing, and an increasingly diverse population. Film lost part of its audience to television until it rebuilt itself through the development of youth-oriented films, blockbuster movies, and commercial product tie-ins. Meanwhile, TELEVISION dealt with changes in delivery. The once-dominant three national networks (ABC, CBS, NBC) were joined by several dozen cable and satellite networks, often specialized by subject matter and demographic group. Television and MOVIES were affected by the availability of videocassette recordings. First introduced to the home market in 1977, VCRs opened the market to more sales but, in the case of movies, kept some people away from movie theaters. Theater was hampered by the increasingly high cost of mounting shows that began to rise dramatically in the 1970s, and by the effect of a modern society used to recorded, rather than live, performances. As it had for decades, popular MUSIC continued to be driven by youth, but after the breakup of the Beatles and other popular groups of the 1960s, it fragmented largely along demographic and ethnic lines. Technological advances included the commercially and technologically successful compact disc, first invented in 1969 by Klass Campmann, a physicist with Philips Research, and introduced in 1972; the personal music player; and the expanding practice of Internet music transmission. Making a blockbuster that reaches a mass audience became the producers' aim in all the arts; serving a range of groups with rapidly changing tastes is the reality.

### Movies

Beginning with 1960's *Psycho* and concluding with 1969's *Midnight Cowboy*, the 1960s in American film were marked by an increasing expression of adult issues and language. The movie *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, a Warner Brothers film production, broke the language barrier by using the phrase "hump the hostess," although the word "screw" had been deleted from the final release. A few months later, Michelangelo Antonioni's *Blow Up* became the first film marketed by a major distributor (MGM) with nudity in it. In April 1968 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutional power of states and cities to prevent the exposure of children to books and films that could not be denied to adults. Officially marking that change was the replacement of the long-lived Production Code with a multitiered movie industry ratings system introduced in November 1968. The system included four ratings ranging from G (general audiences) to X (no one under 17 admitted).

The 1970s were marked by creative experimentation, the rise of the blockbuster movie, and the introduction of

the videocassette recorder (VCR) in 1977. As the major studios foundered, young directors such as George Lucas, Martin Scorsese, and Steven Spielberg reinvigorated familiar genres and brought studios back to life. Francis Ford Coppola made the gangster movie a romantic tragedy with *The Godfather* (1972) and *The Godfather Part II* (1974). Stanley Kubrick continued his 1960s experimentation with the crime fantasy in *A Clockwork Orange* (1971); Robert Altman entered with *M\*A\*S\*H* (1970) and *Nashville* (1975). But it was two summer movies that had the most lasting effects. Spielberg's shark thriller *Jaws* (1975) became one of the first films to top \$100 million in rentals; Lucas's space spectacular *Star Wars* (1977) was even more popular. With them, the blockbuster was born.

During the 1980s, blockbusters and sequels dominated the box office. From *Star Wars* came two sequels, *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980), and *The Return of the Jedi* (1983). Spielberg directed two successes: the alien fantasy *E.T.* (1982) and the homage to afternoon serials, *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981). Other blockbusters included *The Terminator* (1984) and *Die Hard* (1988). Serious dramas included Scorsese's *Raging Bull* (1980).

The 1990s were marked by the refinement of Disney animation, the emergence of a new generation of filmmakers, and the top disaster film in movie history. Having already reinvigorated Disney animation in *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), Disney surpassed itself in visual creativity and box-office success with the 1994 film *The Lion King*. Director Quentin Tarantino presented the moral universe of the underworld in *Pulp Fiction* (1994); the Coen brothers set their crime drama *Fargo* (1996) in the snowy upper Midwest and featured as its sleuth a pregnant woman. Successful at the box office was James Cameron's *Titanic*

(1997), which united the disaster movie with a star-crossed love story. It became the decade's top moneymaker.

The new millennium brought an increased interest in global productions, such as Ang Lee's martial arts saga *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000), which was coproduced by companies in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the United States. The Roman epic also made a comeback, this time secularized for modern audiences in Ridley Scott's *Gladiator* (2001).

### Music

Although Frank Sinatra won a best-record Grammy as late as 1966, rock and roll dominated popular music by 1969. Its reach encompassed "British invasion" groups like the Beatles and Rolling Stones, the pop/soul Motown Sound, and the folk/rock/protest music of Bob Dylan and Simon & Garfunkel.

As the decade ended, many influential acts disbanded: Diana Ross and the Supremes in 1969, Simon & Garfunkel in 1970, and most famously, the Beatles in 1970. Further, by the early 1970s, some of the decade's defining figures died mysteriously or from drug overdoses: Jimi Hendrix in 1970, Janis Joplin in 1970, Jim Morrison in 1971.

During the 1970s, popular music was represented by subspecialties serving smaller audiences. Groups ranged from Tony Orlando and Dawn to Wings to the Jackson 5. Folk protest singers, such as Carole King and Joan Baez, mellowed into singer/songwriters. Outrageousness and/or political statement were offered by Kiss, the Village People, and the punk rock movement, epitomized by the Sex Pistols. Critical favorites included Stevie Wonder and Bruce Springsteen. For popularity, nothing beat disco music. Pounding and undulating, it bespoke sex and resurrected partner dancing. Leading purveyors were the Bee Gees and Donna Summer.

The 1980s began with a shock: the 1980 killing of Beatle John Lennon near his New York home. In 1981 the cable network Music Television (MTV) debuted and turned pop music into a visual as well as aural medium. Artists integrating original movement into their videos were able to rule the market. Among such video pioneers were Madonna and Michael Jackson; both reimagined dance as stylized self-expression. Another breakthrough, the compact disc, changed the way people listened to music. Small and clean-sounding, it made vinyl records obsolete. Other notable artists of the decade included Prince, the Police, and Culture Club.

The 1980s also witnessed the rise of the hypnotic, frank musical form, rap. By the 1990s, rap had a wide audience, with leading performers including Dr. Dre, Snoop Dogg, and Busta Rhymes. Gangsta rap was denounced for its link to crime, as seen in the 1996 killings of rap singers Tupac Shakur and Notorious B.I.G. Many of the rap performers were linked to urban gangs.



Actors Mark Hamill, Carrie Fisher, and Harrison Ford perform in a scene from the film *Star Wars* (1977). (Ochs/Getty Images)



The 1990s revealed evidence of country music's cross-over power, as Garth Brooks became a top-selling country and pop artist. Disaffected youth were drawn to the raw grunge music of Nirvana and Pearl Jam. Nirvana leader Kurt Cobain became the movement's dark icon, following his death by drug overdose in 1994. Hip-hop was informed by soul and reggae, with leading performers including Lauryn Hill. Preteens took to boy groups like 'N Sync and girl-woman singers like Britney Spears and Christina Aguilera, the latter illustrating another musical trend: the popularity of Latin music. Ricky Martin is among notable Latin performers.

The millennium in music begins with multiple musical subgenres pointing to both widespread demographic splintering and great creative variety. There is no single sound to American popular music.

### Television

By 1960, over 90 percent of American homes had one or more television sets. By 1994, surveys showed that 99 percent of American homes have one or more televisions. Cable television reaches 58.5 percent of American homes with 60 million viewers.

In the 1960s the three major networks—ABC, CBS, and NBC—dominated programming, which was moving from the light comedies of the early decade (*Bewitched*, *Green Acres*) to shows more relevant to society. Among them were programs of political irreverence, such as *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*, sexual liberation, like *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, and social conflict, like *All in the Family*.

The 1970s were also notable for popularization of the miniseries. Setting the standard was the 1977 miniseries about American slavery, *Roots*, which ran for eight consecutive nights. Sports, broadcast during prime-time hours since 1946, gained new currency when *Monday Night Football* debuted on ABC in 1970. With commentary (after 1971) by Frank Gifford, Don Meredith, and Howard Cosell, the program blended sports and entertainment.

By the mid-1970s, networks faced competition brought by technological advances and cable television. These advances also provided consumers with greater access to trends in popular culture. In 1975 the videocassette player (VCR) was introduced, allowing viewers to record programming and play rental tapes. As of 2000, over 98 percent of U.S. households had at least one television set; 86 percent had a VCR; 69 percent received cable programming. In October 2000, Americans watched an average of 29.04 hours of television weekly.

In 1972 the cable network Home Box Office (HBO) began; it broadcast films and features, eroding network viewership. The 24-hour-per-day news channel, Cable News Network (CNN) began broadcasting in 1980, which

eventually reconfigured news coverage. CNN revealed on audience for continuous news coverage, leading to expanded network news and the development of other cable news channels such as Fox News and MSNBC. By 2002, Fox News dominated the cable news channels, while viewership of network news fell dramatically.

Prime-time programming during the 1980s was marked by larger-than-life soap operas, such as *Dallas*, and solid comedies, such as *Cheers* and *The Cosby Show*. The latter show was distinguished as an early example of an upper-middle-class family comedy starring AFRICAN AMERICANS.

In the 1990s and into the next millennium, cable programming has been seen as the forum for original programming. Cable series such as *The Sopranos* and *Sex and the City* won national awards and became part of the national currency. Overall cable viewing increased over the decade, with cable viewership surpassing network affiliate viewership for the first time in 2000. Dominating noncable networks were the comedies *Seinfeld* and *Frasier*, as well as the game show, *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* and reality shows like *Survivor*. Reality shows featured average people put into extraordinary situations.

Responding to protest at the increasingly adult language and subject matter on television, the television industry instituted a set of TV parental guidelines in 1996. Modeled on the MPAA ratings, the guidelines encompassed several categories including TVY/All Children and TVMA/Mature Audience Only. Critics of violence and sex on television maintained that such programming was adversely affecting popular culture and indirectly promoting violence in the schools and lowering sexual mores among the youth. In response, television networks agreed that they had a responsibility to the public, and promised more self-regulation through labeling, but they also warned that censoring programs restricted "free speech."

### Theater

Since the late 1960s, professional theater has been marked by conflicting impulses and realities. While sexually explicit 1968 Broadway works like *Hair* and *The Boys in the Band* were meant to appeal to a younger audience, the age of regular theatergoers during the era rose.

The success of the 1968 play *The Great White Hope*, which opened in Washington, D.C.'s Arena Stage, prefigured two movements in late-century theater. One was the introduction of works by and about African Americans, such as August Wilson's *Fences* (1987) and George C. Wolfe's *Jelly's Last Jam* (1992). The other trend was the use of regional theaters to provide Broadway offerings. Notable sites include Chicago's Goodman Theater.

Facing an unsure future in the socially relevant 1970s, Broadway was revived by the gutsy 1975 musical *A Cho-*



*rus Line*. Other popular musicals of the era included *Annie* (1977), based on the Little Orphan Annie comic strip, and Bob Fosse's sensual *Chicago* (1975). Over the next quarter century, composer/lyricist Stephen Sondheim created complex works including *Company*, *Follies*, and *A Little Night Music*. In the 1990s the post-baby boom generation was represented by Jonathan Larson's musical, *Rent*.

The most successful purveyor of musicals during the last quarter century was British composer Andrew Lloyd Webber, who introduced the musical spectacle. His successes include *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat*, *Jesus Christ Superstar*, *Evita*, *Cats*, *The Phantom of the Opera*, and *Sunset Boulevard*. All were rich with effects and had lengthy runs.

Notable playwrights included Neil Simon, who continued his 1960s successes with the trilogy of *Biloxi Blues*, *Brighton Beach Memoirs*, and *Broadway Bound*. Wendy Wasserstein captured the complexities of women in the modern world in *The Heidi Chronicles* and *The Sisters Rosensweig*. Sam Shepard offered the unconventional dramas *Buried Child* and *True West*.

By the 1990–91 season, new Broadway productions hit a new low (28), and production costs continued to climb into the multimillions. This led producers to seek the predictable blockbuster that could attract a large audience and sustain a long run. They found their answer at the movies. A number of plays were adapted from movies, reversing a decades-old tradition of adapting plays for films. Among the lavish movie-based productions were the musicals *Beauty and the Beast*, *Big*, *Victor/Victoria*, and *The Producers*, which became the biggest theatrical success of the new century. *The Producers* was also distinguished for its record-breaking ticket prices of several hundred dollars for premium seating.

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—Melinda Corey

## population trends

The population of the United States rose steadily since 1970. In 1970 it stood at 203 million; in 2009, it totaled about 306 million, an increase of more than 40 percent over the past three decades. The slowest growth rate was in the 1970s. The fastest growth rate was in the 1990s.

In each decade since 1970, the South has been the region with the greatest population growth in sheer num-

bers. With a total population of 100,236,820 in 2000, the South has more than 35 million more people than the next most populous region. The South is defined for census purposes as having three divisions: the South Atlantic, the East South Central, and the West South Central. The most populous of these divisions, accounting for just over half of the total, is the South Atlantic, composed of Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. The second division, accounting for about one third of the total, is the West South Central, composed of Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas. The smallest division is the East South Central, composed of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi.

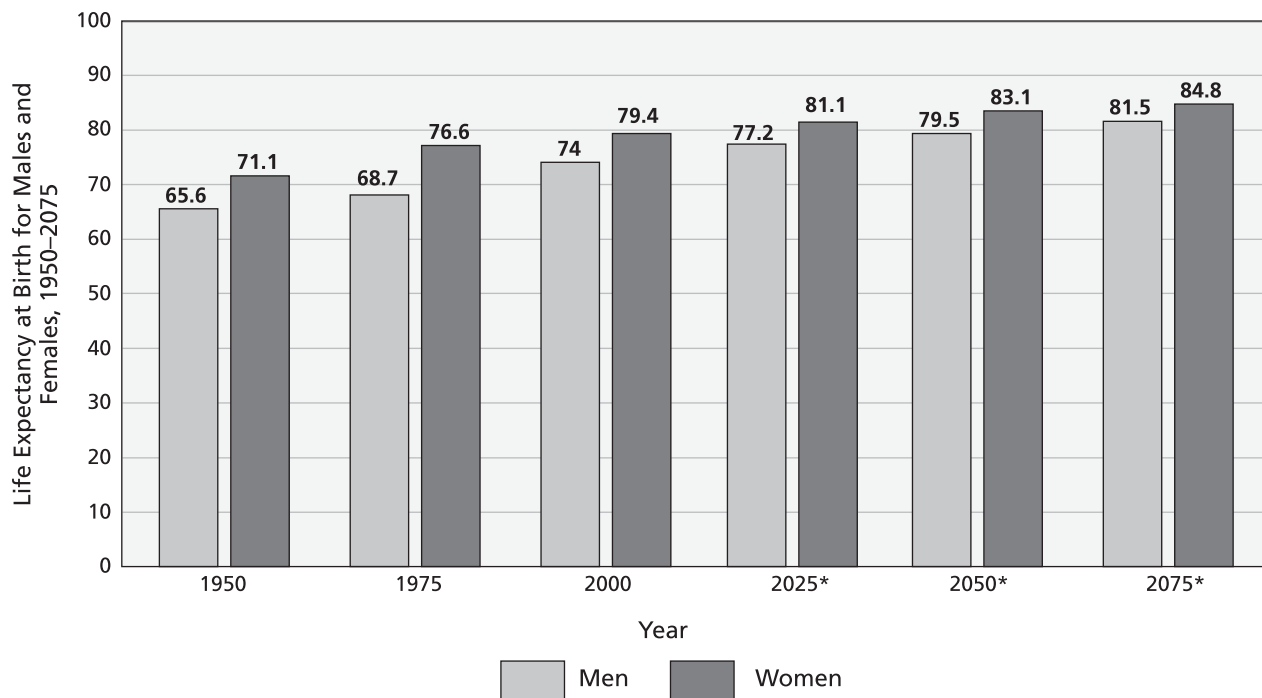
The second most populous region, with a population of 64,392,776, is the Midwest, though its growth rate from 1970 to 2000 was the third slowest. In the 1970s the growth rate in the Midwest was 4 percent. During the 1980s it had a growth rate of 1.4 percent, before rebounding in the 1990s and posting a 7.9 percent increase. The Midwest is composed of the East North Central and the West North Central. The largest division, with over two-thirds of the population, is the East North Central, which includes the states of: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The West North Central includes Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas.

The third most populous region is the fastest-growing in percentage terms. Prior to 1990, the West was the smallest region in terms of population. By 2000, with a population of 63,197,932, the West was just short of surpassing the Midwest. Thanks to an enormous population growth rate, the West will surpass the Midwest by 2010. The West grew 24 percent in the 1970s, 22.3 in the 1980s, and 20 percent in the 1990s. The West is composed of the Mountain and Pacific divisions. The Mountain division contains the states of: Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada. The Pacific division includes Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, and Hawaii.

The least populous region, and the one with the slowest growth rate, is the Northeast. Surpassed by the West in 1990, the Northeast had a population of 53,594,378 in 2000. The Northeast posted a growth rate of 1.6 percent in the 1970s, 3.4 percent in the 1980s, and 5.5 percent in the 1990s. The Northeast includes the New England and Middle Atlantic divisions. The larger of the two, the Middle Atlantic is made up of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The New England division includes the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

According to the 2000 census, the five fastest-growing states in the 1990s, by percentage increase, are all in

### People Living Longer



\*Projected

Source: "The 2007 Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance and the Disability Insurance Trust Funds," 2007, Social Security Administration

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the West. Nevada's population increased 66.3 percent in the 1990s, Arizona by 40 percent, Colorado grew at 30.6 percent, Utah saw a 29.6 percent increase, and Idaho increased its population by 28.5 percent. The five slowest-growing states are: Maine (3.8), Connecticut (3.6), Pennsylvania (3.4), West Virginia (.8), and North Dakota (.5). The District of Columbia lost 5.7 percent of its population in the 1990s.

Since 1970 the trend of more females than males in the nation has continued. Not since the 1940 census has there been more males than females. In 1970 women outnumbered men 104,300,000 to 98,912,000—a ratio of 105 women for every 100 men. By 1980 the ratio had grown to 106 women for every 100 men, and the population had increased to 116,493,000 females and 110,053,000 males. In 1990 the population of males was 121,239,000 to 127,470,000 females, bringing the ratio back to approximately 105 females to 100 males. By 2000 there were 138,054,000 males and 143,368,000 females, dropping the ratio to 103 females to every 100 males. This sudden drop in the ratio of females to males is accounted for by increased immigration and a falling death rate.

The period since 1970 has witnessed the continued urbanization of the nation. In 1970, 73.6 percent of the population lived in urban areas. This figure increased to 73.9 percent in 1980 and 75.2 in 1990. In 2000 the population living in urban areas was 79 percent.

The policies established for the collection of racial statistics in the 2000 census have effectively eliminated any meaningful comparison with previous census data; respondents were given the choice of picking from multiple racial categories to indicate their racial identity. About 2.4 percent of the population picked multiple categories. Of the remaining population, 75.1 percent picked "White," 12.3 percent selected "African American," 0.9 percent picked "American Indian and Alaskan Native," 3.6 percent picked "Asian," 0.1 percent selected "Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander," and 5.5 percent picked "Some other race." Among the Asians, 23 percent of respondents indicated their heritage to be Chinese, 18.1 percent were Filipino, and 16.4 percent were Indian. Information on Hispanics was collected under a separate question. Hispanic Americans accounted for 13 percent of the population.

The foreign-born population of the United States had dropped to a low of 9.6 million in 1970. From there, the numbers of foreign born showed steady increase, to 19.8 million in 1990, 31.1 million in 2000, and to 36 million in 2005. That number constituted 11.8 percent of the total U.S. population. A majority of these foreign-born residents lived in just four states, California (28 percent), New York (11.8 percent), Texas (9.8 percent), and Florida (8.9 percent). Just over half (52 percent) of the foreign born were from Latin America, with 27 percent from Asia and 15 percent from Europe. Immigrants from Mexico comprised 30 percent of the total foreign-born population, nearly 70 percent of whom lived in three states, California, Texas, and Illinois. Estimates of the number of illegal immigrants hovered at about 13 million, with a range of anywhere from 7 to 20 million.

The median age of the population has been increasing steadily for the past 40 years. The median age in 1970 was 28.1, increased to 30 in 1980, 32.9 in 1990, and 35.3 in 2000. The size of the 45-to-54 age groups increased 49 percent to 37.7 million. The 65 and over age group increased 12 percent to 35 million. The number of children 18 and under increased 14 percent to 72.3 million. The number of young adults 18 to 34 declined by 4 percent. This decrease in the number of working-age young adults is pointed to by some as evidence of the looming crisis facing the nation when the BABY BOOMERS retire and begin to collect Social Security and Medicare benefits.

**Further reading:** U.S. Census Bureau. Available online. URL: <http://www.census.gov/>. Accessed December 30, 2008.

—John Korasick and Stephen E. Randoll

## pornography

Pornography refers to any writings, images, and video deemed obscene, or contrary to public standards of morality. The pornography industry has become a big business. A 1972 government study estimated that the pornography industry made sales worth \$5 million to \$10 million; in 2000 the Forrester Research Group in Cambridge, Massachusetts, estimates that it is a \$10 billion industry. Off-line pornography sales account for \$8 billion of this total.

Adult-video sales earn \$4.2 billion and account for 32 percent of all video sales. Furthermore, pornographic movies have become available through cable and satellite television. The 8.7 million subscribers to DirecTV, a General Motors subsidiary, buy an estimated \$200 million worth of hard-core pornography through pay-per-view television. The EchoStar Communications Corporation, the second-largest satellite provider, whose chief financial backers include Rupert Murdoch, makes more money sell-

ing graphic adult films through its satellite subsidiary than Playboy Enterprises makes from its magazine, cable, and Internet business. The AT&T Corporation, the nation's largest communication company, offers a hard-core sex channel called Hot Network to subscribers of its broadband cable. Nearly one in five of AT&T's broadband cable customers pay an average of \$10 a film to see "real life" sex.

The Internet has also made pornography available to a large audience. Forrester Research estimates that sex sites on the Web generate at least \$1 billion a year in revenue. There are 60,000 such sites. According to two Web rating services, about one in four regular Internet users, or 21 million Americans, visit one or more of these sites at least once a month—more people than go to sports or government sites. NetValue, a management company, reported that children spent 64.9 percent more time on pornography sites than they did on game sites in September 2000. Over one quarter (27.5 percent) of children age 17 and under visited an adult Web site, totaling 3 million underage visitors. Of these minors, 21.2 percent were 14 years old or younger, and 40.2 percent were females.

Two of the most popular sites are owned by New Frontier Media, a Boulder, Colorado, company. It does business with several major companies, including EchoStar and In Demand, the nation's leading pay-per-view distributor, which is owned in part by AT&T, Time Warner, Advance-News, Cox Communications, and Comcast.

Pornography has also become accessible through the cable and satellite television found in many chain hotels. Recently, the Omni Hotel chain announced it no longer would carry pay-per-view pornographic films in its hotels. This decision cost the chain an estimated \$1.8 million per year, but the company received letters from 50,000 people supporting this decision. On the other hand, the Marriott hotel chain, whose owners have close associations with the Mormon Church, continues to provide direct-pay television showing pornographic films. One of the largest suppliers of sex video and other forms of room entertainment to hotels is LodgeNet, whose chairman, Scott C. Peterson, reports doing a \$180 million annual business.

The SUPREME COURT has paid special attention to the definition of obscenity and pornography, because government regulation on the topics skirts so closely to constitutional protections of free speech and press. In 1957, the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Roth v. United States* ruled that obscenity does not fall within the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech, or the Fourteenth Amendment's due process clause. It also established a three-prong test for the legal definition of obscenity: 1) the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to a prurient interest in sex; 2) the material is patently offensive because it affronts contemporary community standards relating to

the description or representation of sexual matters; and 3) the material is utterly without redeeming social value. *Roth* also explicitly noted that sex was not necessarily synonymous with obscenity, but was obscene only when it is dealt with in a wholly prurient manner. In 1966 the Supreme Court's decision in *Memoirs v. Massachusetts* overruled the *Roth* decision, arguing that there are no exceptions to the First Amendment's protection of speech, and that society has no interest in "overriding the guarantees of free speech and press and establishing a regime of CENSORSHIP." Seven years later, in 1973, the Supreme Court reversed itself again in *Miller v. California*, which ruled again that obscenity is outside the First Amendment's protections and reaffirmed the first two of *Roth*'s original three-prong test for obscenity. It differed from the first two points, however, in that it left the determination of obscenity up to "local community standards," rejecting the necessity of national standards.

Though the Court has since refined its test for pornography, it has adhered to the underlying decision that obscenity lies outside the bounds of constitutional protection. This position has inspired criticism from a variety of groups. Some contend that the First Amendment protections of free speech and artistic expression prohibit any form of censorship. Such opponents argue that since the line dividing obscenity and serious art is subjective, restrictions infringe on personal liberty and freedom of thought. Some argue that since judgments regarding moral standards most often reflect religious heritages, then any form of governmental censorship necessarily violates the principle of separated church and state. Therefore, they argue the decision to access or not to access pornography involving consenting adults should depend on individual choice. This view is held by many political LIBERALS, as well as political Libertarians. A growing thread of radical feminist theory also defends pornography as a component of sexual liberation. Liberal feminists, however, reject this view, arguing that pornography amounts to the exploitation and objectification of women. Cultural conservatives and religious critics agree and argue further that pornography invariably undermines the institution of family, increases the rate of divorce, and desanctifies MARRIAGE. Many critics believe that pornography can become psychologically addictive, and may lead to depression or even manifest itself through sex crimes. These views are vigorously contested by censorship opponents and others.

Since the introduction of the World Wide Web in 1992, the debate over pornography has assumed an added dimension. Previous discussions of obscenity and pornography rested on the assumption that minors could be easily restricted from accessing offensive materials through physical barriers; for example, a door to an adult bookstore, or a teller at an adult movie house. Censorship opponents often argued that offended consumers could avoid pornographic

materials by choosing not to enter the adult-oriented establishments. Pornography on the INTERNET, however, has no such physical barriers; minors, as noted above, can access obscene material in the privacy of their homes. Pornography flooded the Web almost as soon as it opened to the public, and indeed was a prime driver of the medium's growth and commercialization. In response, concerned lawmakers included the Communications Decency Act (CDA) within the widely supported Telecommunications Act of 1996. The CDA specifically prohibits the transmission of "obscene, lewd, lascivious, filthy, or indecent" material over a telecommunications device to a minor. Though the act applied to any telecommunications device, including telephones and cable television, the Internet promised to be most affected; any Web site administrator who knowingly published obscene materials in a manner that could be viewed by minors could be liable to prosecution. Since the World Wide Web is based on anonymous transactions, the CDA significantly complicated the business of providing pornography over the Internet.

The bill received overwhelming majorities in both houses (91 to 5 in the Senate; and 414 to 16 in the House), and President WILLIAM J. CLINTON signed it, despite his concerns that it was unconstitutionally broad. On that very day, anticensorship groups, including the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the Electronic Privacy Information Center, and 18 other organizations, filed lawsuits against the government arguing that the CDA unfairly censored free speech. Many Internet promoters who consider "cyberspace" and the World Wide Web to be a kind of libertarian utopia joined the opposition.

On June 26, 1997, the Supreme Court ruled in *Reno v. ACLU* that the CDA violated the First Amendment because it failed to adequately define obscenity, and because it failed to provide any mechanism for parental consent, or for providers to prove socially redeeming value. The ruling, whether it intended to or not, was received by many as an endorsement of the idea that the Internet is immune to any form of censorship, other than child pornography. The following year, Congress passed the Child Online Protection Act (1998), which requires Web site administrators to put in place some form of electronic adult certification process to prohibit minor access of pornographic materials.

See also CENSORSHIP; FEMINISM; GAY AND LESBIAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT; MARRIAGE; SEXUAL REVOLUTION; SUPREME COURT.

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—Aharon W. Zorea



## poverty

Poverty rates represent the proportion of American households and individuals whose annual income falls below a defined poverty threshold. In 2000 the poverty threshold for a family of four persons was approximately \$13,000, and \$7,000 for an individual. The 2000 Census showed that 11.3 percent of Americans lived below the poverty line, the lowest since 1979, when comprehensive poverty statistics began to be collected by the U.S. Census Bureau. Poverty statistics put out by the Census Bureau showed that by 2007 the number of Americans below the poverty line had risen slightly to 12.5 percent. In 2007 the poverty threshold for a family of four, adjusted for inflation, was just over \$21,000 and \$10,800 for an individual.

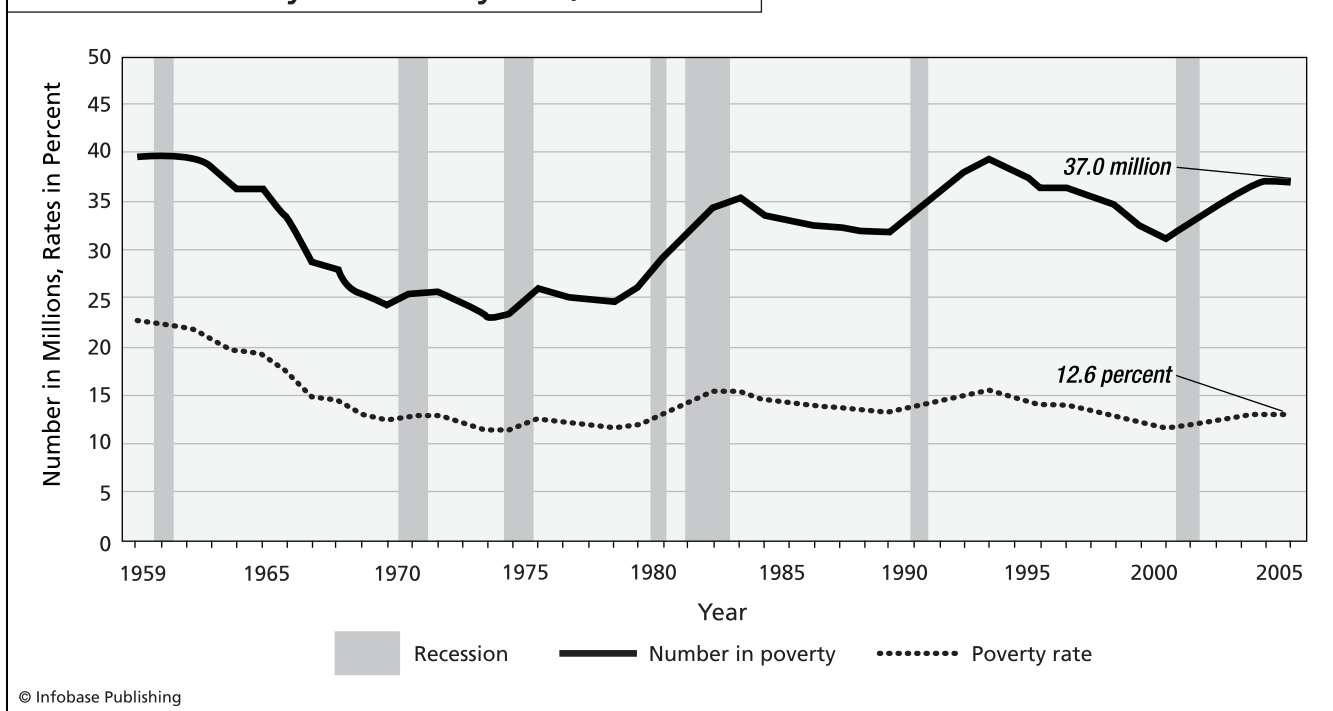
Analysis of the 2000 census reveals that poverty rates for those 65 years old and over, AFRICAN AMERICANS, people living in the South, and families headed by single women fell to an all-time low. Poverty rates among non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics fell to levels comparable to all-time lows, while the child poverty rate fell to 16.9 percent, its lowest since 1979. Although between 2000 and 2007 the poverty rates improved slightly for those over age 65 and remained constant for Hispanics, the poverty rates for children, African Americans, and families headed by single women rose slightly during the same time period. The U.S. Census Bureau also reports that the reduction in poverty in the nation's cities, as distinguished from the

suburbs and nonmetropolitan areas, dropped 81 percent between 1998 and 1999.

Census figures show some discouraging news, however. One in every two children under the age of six in 1999 lived in a female-headed family, and of these children 50.3 percent lived in poverty in 1999. Approximately one-third of African-American children (33.1) percent and nearly one-third of Hispanic children (30.3 percent) were poor in 1999. In 2007 those figures remained similar for African Americans but had improved slightly for Hispanics (28.6 percent). Moreover, while the overall percentage of Americans living in poverty fell since 1979, those who were poor in 1999, on average, grew poorer. That is to say that they fell farther below the poverty line than in any year since 1979, the first year that this data became available. Specifically, the average poor person fell \$2,416 below the poverty line in 1999. Despite the drop of 3.4 million in the number of poor people from 1995 to 1999, those who remained poor grew poorer, which is to say that the "poverty gap" (i.e., the total amount by which the income of all poor households falls below the poverty line) grew. This should not be the case as the number of poor people declines. Yet in 1999 the "poverty gap" stood at \$65 billion.

Census figures show that income disparity in the United States, which widened sharply between the mid-1970s and 1993, remained unchanged. While census income figures include most households, a substantial portion of the

**Number in Poverty and Poverty Rate, 1959–2005**



income in the highest income brackets is often missed, suggesting that this income gap might even be worse than the actual figures show.

The decline in the rate of poverty appears to be due to the vibrant economy between 1996 and 1999. The unemployment rate of 4.2 percent was the lowest since 1969. Furthermore, between 1996 and 1999, real wages (wages adjusted for inflation) increased. Wage increases were especially strong for very low-paid workers between 1996 and 1999. Low-paid male workers earning an hourly wage in the lowest 10th percentile saw their hourly wage increase 9.1 percent from 1996 to 1999, and for female hourly workers in this 10th percentile, hourly wages increased 9.7 percent in this same period. Real median household income dropped slightly between 1999 and 2004 due to a recession during 2001, before returning to the prerecession level again in 2007.

A state-by-state breakdown of poverty rates showed that southern states had significantly higher poverty rates than northeastern states, most of which had poverty rates in the single digits. In 2007 the South remained above the national average with a 14.2 percent poverty rate, while the Northeast (11.4 percent), the Midwest (11.1 percent), and the West (12.0 percent) remained slightly below.

For all U.S. families regardless of race, the poverty rate fell from 10.0 percent in 1968 to 8.6 percent with a spike in 1983 of 12.3 percent. Although the 2000 poverty rates for African Americans (19.1 percent) and HISPANIC AMERICANS (18.5 percent) remain well above those for white families (6.9 percent) and for all families regardless of race (8.6 percent), they showed significant improvement as well over the same time period. Hispanic-American families showed a slightly better improvement than all families, dropping from 20.6 percent in 1970 to 18.5 percent in 2000. The most dramatic decrease occurred between 1993 and 2000, a period that witnessed an increase in poverty rates from 8.0 percent in 1968 to 9.6 percent in 1982 and then a drop to 6.9 percent in 2000. African-American families experienced the most significant and most consistent decline in poverty rates. Poverty rates for African Americans rose from 29.4 percent to 33.0 percent between 1968 and 1982. They then steadily declined to 31.1 percent in 1992 and 19.1 percent in 2000. Finally, in large part as a result of high Social Security payments, elderly Americans experienced the most significant improvement in poverty rates, showing a 9.7 percent poverty rate in 2007.

This data demonstrates certain trends. All groups, with the exception of African-American families, experienced spikes in poverty rates in the early 1980s and the early 1990s. All enjoyed significant improvements during the economic boom of the 1990s. These improvements notwithstanding, the data also suggest a deepening of pov-

erty for the poor and an increasingly unequal distribution of wealth over the same period.

See also ECONOMY; FAMILY SUPPORT ACT; REAGAN-OMICS; RUST BELT; WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS.

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—William L. Glankler

**Powell, Colin L.** (1937– ) *general, secretary of state* General Colin Luther Powell is the first African-American secretary of state and was the first African-American chairman of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff. Powell enjoyed immense popularity after his leadership role in the PERSIAN GULF WAR. He was born on April 5, 1937, in New York City and raised in the South Bronx by his parents, who had migrated from Jamaica. He began his military career in 1958 as a second lieutenant stationed in West Germany. Powell served two tours of duty in Vietnam and earned two Purple Hearts and a Soldier's Medal. In 1969 Powell received a promotion to lieutenant colonel and, after receiving an M.B.A. from George Washington University in 1971, was assigned as a White House fellow in the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in 1972. During his years with the OMB, Powell demonstrated the troubleshooting abilities that would propel his career. By 1979 he had achieved the rank of brigadier general and worked briefly as Charles Duncan's aide in his capacity as secretary of the Energy Department.

After commanding the Fourth Infantry Division and serving as senior military assistant to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, Powell was promoted to lieutenant general in 1986 and given command of the Fifth Corps in Frankfurt, Germany. In 1987 he returned to Washington as National Security Advisor, advocating a strong military budget while opposing heavy spending on the space-based STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE. In 1989 Powell became a four-star general and President GEORGE H. W. BUSH appointed him chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He was both the youngest person and the first African American ever to hold that position. During his four-year tenure, Powell planned the invasion of PANAMA to overthrow General Manuel Noriega and coordinated Operation Desert Storm with General Norman Schwarzkopf. Clear thinking and effective military strategy throughout the Persian Gulf War coupled with his comforting and capable demeanor gained for Powell immense public approval. During WIL-



Secretary of State Colin Powell (Gabriel Mistral/Getty Images)

LIAM J. CLINTON's first year as president, Powell opposed an administration proposal to end the ban on gays in the military, and administration cuts in the military budget, which he had opposed in the previous administration as well.

Powell's retirement from the military in September 1993 sparked speculation that he would run for office in 1996. He never denied those rumors, but concentrated instead on promoting his autobiography, *My American Journey*, which appeared in 1995.

In 2001 Powell reentered public life when he accepted the post of secretary of state under newly elected president GEORGE W. BUSH. In this position, he has played a highly visible role in the war against terrorism, Middle East peace talks, and working with allies in Western Europe. Furthermore, he has undertaken diplomatic efforts to extend aid to African nations.

The ordinary duties of the secretary of state were transformed dramatically following the September 11, 2001, TERRORISM attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. As secretary of state, Powell's role was to build diplomatic support in the Arab world for the American-led "war on terrorism" declared by President Bush. To accomplish this, Powell pursued two strategies. First,

he tried to win the support of the more moderate Arab states by suggesting that the United States would support the creation of a Palestinian state, something that Osama bin Laden, the mastermind of the September 11 attacks, used as justification for his and other terrorists' activities. Second, by assuring Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf that the United States would forgive certain debts owed it by Pakistan and remain committed to Pakistani interests in the long term, Powell sought to maintain ties with Pakistan and ensure their support for American military action in neighboring Afghanistan. Powell consistently sought to limit U.S. military involvement to Afghanistan alone and continued to stress the importance of coalition building in the Arab world.

Military action spread to nearby Iraq in early 2003, however, as Iraqi president Saddam Hussein showed increasing defiance toward UNITED NATIONS (UN) weapons inspections. In September 2002 Powell sought a tougher resolution on weapons inspections from the UN as the best means to international cooperation against Iraq. In November the UN Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1441, calling for stricter weapons inspections and requiring Iraq to make a formal declaration of the status of its weapons programs. When Iraq submitted an incomplete weapons declaration in early December, Powell determined that Iraq was in breach of the resolution. Appearing before the Security Council in February 2003, Powell provided intelligence information indicating that Iraq had no intention of disarming its weapons programs. In its weapons declaration, Iraq had failed to prove it had destroyed illegal chemical and biological weapons and had not accounted for mustard gas and anthrax stockpiles. Powell also claimed that Iraq had sought to import highly specialized aluminum tubes typically used in nuclear weapon production, although no nuclear weapons were later found.

Although France, Russia, and China wanted more time for the inspectors to complete their jobs, Powell made it clear that the United States would disarm Iraq without the support of an international coalition. U.S. troops entered Iraq on March 19, 2003, and neutralized the Iraqi military by the middle of April. The United States came under intense criticism from the world community for acting too hastily when illegal weapons and chemical stockpiles were not found.

On November 15, 2004, shortly after Bush's reelection to a second term, Powell announced his resignation as secretary of state, effective upon confirmation of his successor. Bush selected National Security Advisor CONDOLEEZZA RICE to replace Powell in the post, and she was confirmed in January 2005. After leaving government, Powell joined a prominent Silicon Valley venture capital firm as an adviser on international affairs. He serves on the advisory council of the Colin Powell Center for Policy Studies at the City

College of New York and on the board of directors of the Council on Foreign Relations.

See also AFGHANISTAN WAR; AFRICAN AMERICANS; IRAQ WAR.

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—William L. Glankler and Cynthia Stachecki

**Powell, Lewis** (1907–1998) *associate justice of the Supreme Court*

Lewis Franklin Powell, Jr., was appointed by President RICHARD M. NIXON to serve as the 99th associate justice to the SUPREME COURT in 1971. He replaced former Justice Hugo L. Black, was confirmed by the Senate with a vote of 89 to 1 and served until 1987.

Powell was born September 19, 1907, in Suffolk, Virginia. He earned a bachelor of science degree in 1929 and a law degree in 1931 from Washington and Lee University. He then spent a year at Harvard before returning to Virginia where he practiced law for nearly 40 years. He married Josephine Pierce Rucker in 1936; his family later grew to include three daughters and a son. Powell served as a colonel in an intelligence unit in the U.S. Army Air Force during World War II and was a longtime member of state and local school boards (1950–69). He served as chairman of the Richmond (Virginia) School Board from 1952–61 and as president of the Virginia State School Board from 1968–69. His tenure on the school board came during a controversial time for southern schools battling over the issue of racial segregation, and most observers cited Powell's reasonable leadership as critical for Richmond's peaceful integration process.

Powell's first experience in national politics came in 1964 when he served as president of the American Bar Association. In 1965 he was appointed to serve on the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. He turned down an earlier appointment to the Supreme Court in 1969, citing his old age (he was 62 at the time), and served instead as president of the American College of Trial Lawyers from 1969–70. Two years later, he accepted President Nixon's second invitation and became the first Virginian to serve on the Court since the Civil War.

Before his appointment, Justice Powell was known as a moderate and lived up to his reputation as a consensus builder during his tenure. In 1977 the Supreme Court was strongly divided over *Regents of the University of California v. BAKKE*, which dealt with AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. Powell cast the deciding vote that served as a compromise

for both sides. He agreed with the opponents of affirmative action by arguing that a college's two-track admission policy violated the civil rights of white students. At the same time, he also agreed with the friends of affirmative action that colleges need not adopt rigid doctrines of color blindness, and that race could still be a factor in student selection. Justice Powell generally maintained his position in the center; he voted for ABORTION rights in the 1973 *ROE v. WADE* decision, but in *Maher v. Roe* (1977) he took the other side to argue that the state does not have to pay for abortions. He retired in 1987 and was replaced by Justice Anthony Kennedy. Justice Powell died August 25, 1998.

See also REHNQUIST, WILLIAM H.

**Further reading:** The Oyez Project. Justices. Lewis F. Powell, Jr. Available online. URL: [http://www.oyez.org/justices/lewis\\_f\\_powell\\_jr/](http://www.oyez.org/justices/lewis_f_powell_jr/). Accessed January 8, 2009; Melvin I. Urofsky, *Biographical Encyclopedia of the Supreme Court* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2006).

—Aharon W. Zorea

### pro-life and pro-choice movements

The pro-life and pro-choice movements arose during the late 1960s on either side of the debate over legalized ABORTION. There are sharp ideological and political differences between these groups, beginning with the definition of whether a pregnant woman carries a "fetus" or an "unborn child." The terms "pro-life" and "pro-choice" are themselves politically loaded and did not come into wide usage until the late 1960s. Some activists on both sides of the issue prefer "antiabortion" and "pro-abortion," but this nomenclature has not come into widespread use.

Pro-life advocates believe life begins at conception, and maintain that the unborn child is entitled to equal protections under the law guaranteeing life, health, and well-being. Comparing themselves to the abolitionists of the antebellum period, pro-life supporters argue that regardless of a court's decision, a mother has no more right to kill an unborn child than slave owners had to kill their slaves. Pro-choice advocates believe that abortion is not an issue of life, but involves a question of whether a woman has the right to control her body. They argue that any law that interferes with a woman's sovereignty over her body is a violation of her basic human rights and her constitutional right to privacy.

Both pro-life and pro-choice positions include larger, often unspoken, social implications. Pro-life groups argue that abortion harms the family because it deprives parents of the responsibilities inherent in marital relationships and in conception. Though not all pro-life advocates are



religious, most believe that abortion is an offense against God's will. Pro-life advocates fear that abortion cheapens the value of human life. Pro-choice groups view abortion as one of a number of modern medical advances, including contraception, that have liberated women from the bonds of unwanted motherhood, allowing them to make considered choices about if and when to start a family. A few pro-choice adherents contend that abortion is necessary to curb the prospect of overpopulation, and thus represents a commitment to environmental conservation. This latter position, however, is not a major thrust of the pro-choice movement.

In the 1960s most states allowed "therapeutic" abortions to save the life of a mother, but these laws were restrictive. In 1969 members of Planned Parenthood of America formed the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (NARAL) as a political arm of the newly formed pro-choice movement. Only 16 states chose to legalize abortion in 1970; the remaining 33 chose to retain their prohibitions. (In 1967 the states of Colorado and California undertook reform of their abortion laws to allow easy access for legalized abortion.) In 1973 the SUPREME COURT's decisions in *ROE V. WADE* and *Doe v. Bolton* overrode law restricting abortion.

The pro-life movement solidified immediately, following the 1973 Court ruling, when the Catholic Conference of Bishops' Division on Family Life organized the National Right to Life Committee. During the 1970s, pro-life groups directed their efforts toward passing a Right to Life Amendment to the federal Constitution, explicitly extending legal protection to what they see as unborn children, and thereby overturning the legal basis for *Roe* and *Doe*. Concurrently, many pro-choice groups, including Planned Parenthood, NARAL, and the NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW), integrated abortion rights as a necessary component to feminism and the women's liberation movement, and began advocating the passage of the EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA) as a further guarantee of existing abortion laws.

The deep polarization between the pro-choice and pro-life movements made any constitutional change on the issue of abortion impossible. The effort to pass a Right to Life Amendment died in Congress in 1981 and pro-life advocates were forced to focus their efforts toward alternative legislative restrictions on abortion in each state.

Both movements remained vital players in national politics, forcing candidates to declare their position on abortion, which often served as a litmus test for constituent support. The division over abortion began to follow partisan lines, after *Roe v. Wade*. Pro-choice organizations increasingly supported Democratic candidates and issues, while pro-life organizations, such as National Right to Life,

American Right to Life Action, and National Pro-Life Alliance, supported Republicans.

The strongly pro-life Republican presidents RONALD W. REAGAN and GEORGE H. W. BUSH used their offices to VETO pro-choice legislation originating in the Democratic-controlled Congress. With tacit support from the administration, pro-life groups launched massive demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and in front of abortion clinics across the country, in an effort to support the rights of the unborn. During the late 1980s, a subset of pro-life supporters joined activist groups such as Operation Rescue and the Pro-Life Action League, which used nonviolent methods to block the entrances of abortion clinics, preventing women from access to abortion facilities. Thousands of Operation Rescue members were arrested for trespassing between 1986 and 1989. Abortion providers and pro-choice groups responded by suing the protestors under the RACKETEER INFLUENCED AND CORRUPT ORGANIZATIONS (RICO) ACT, which carries with it very harsh penalties, resulting in a dramatic decline in the number of intrusive demonstrations.

After the 1992 election of the strongly pro-choice WILLIAM J. CLINTON, most of the previous administrations' pro-life policies were reversed through a series of executive orders and legislation, including the National Institutes of Health Revitalization Act, which restored federal funding for abortions; and the Freedom to Access Clinic Entrances Act of 1994 (FACE), which provided heavy fines and jail terms for protestors who interfered with access to abortion clinics. The last measure was in response to increasing violence on the part of some pro-life activists, including violent assaults against abortion doctors and clinics and the murder of Dr. David Gumo by Michael Griffen in 1993. NOW and Planned Parenthood alleged that pro-life advocates, particularly Operation Rescue, were a violent radical movement, referring to them as the "pro-life mafia." The mainstream pro-life movement denounced acts of violence by what was seen as a small, unrepresentative, faction within the movement, while at the same time arguing that the movement's rights to peaceful protest and free speech were being violated by acts such as FACE.

See also AKRON V. AKRON CENTER FOR REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH; AMENDMENTS TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION; BIRTH CONTROL; CAMPAIGN FINANCE; POLITICAL PARTIES; SCHLAFLY, PHYLLIS; WEBSTER V. REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICES; WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

**Further reading:** Donald T. Critchlow, *Intended Consequences: Birth Control, Abortion and the Federal Government* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Cynthia Gorney, *Articles of Faith: A Frontline History of the Abortion Wars* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998).

—Aharon W. Zorea

### property rights

Throughout the latter half of the 20th century, the expansion of federal authority and a new environmental awareness have forced the issue of property rights into the forefront of public debate. The property rights movement contends that the exercise of freedom rests with the individual, and unless the property is used for criminal purposes, it should be free of government supervision. Opponents of this view argue that government is duty-bound to curb individual liberty whenever it disrupts the greater good of society. The debate over property rights in the United States turns on a much larger debate over the nature of FEDERALISM, constitutional government, and individual liberty.

Property rights have a long history in English and American common law, but the rise of the environmental movement and subsequent environmental legislation in the 1970s intensified the issue of individual rights of property and governmental regulation of property and land-usage. In 1970 President RICHARD M. NIXON signed the National Environmental Policy Act, which established a federal interest in protecting the environment from the adverse effects of human development. Within a few years, Congress passed all of the laws that currently form the core of American environmental policy, including the Clean Water Act, the Clean Air Act amendments, and the Federal Water Pollution Control Act amendments of 1972, which imposed progressively more stringent requirements on industries and cities to reduce pollution; the Endangered Species Act of 1973, which earmarked money for the Federal Wilderness Service for the purpose of saving plant and animals species listed as endangered, through research and, if necessary, regulatory injunction; and the Safe Drinking Water Act of 1974, which authorized the Environmental Protection Agency to specify federal standards for drinking water. At first, these laws provided only minor injunctions against violators, but after undergoing amendment throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, they gradually assumed considerable powers of criminal enforcement, including heavy fines and prison terms. During the 1980s, Congress passed environmentally related acts, which designated certain significant sites as "green spaces"; the 1983 National Trails System Act permitted unused rail beds to be converted into trails pending possible resurgence of the railroad industry. Since the original rail leases included clauses returning the property to the owner, the "rails to trails" program angered many people who believed the land should revert to them.

In the late 1970s the courts experienced a surge of civil suits against the government by property owners, especially farmers, ranchers, and timber interests, claiming loss of property value as a result of federal regulatory interference. The SUPREME COURT created a legal framework with which to analyze the potential taking of property value

through regulatory interference in the 1978 decision, *Penn Central Transportation v. New York City*. It established three considerations necessary to establish the threshold between compensatory and noncompensatory takings, including economic impact of the government action; the extent to which government action interfered with the reasonable expectations of investors; and the character of government action. Over the next decade, in more than two dozen cases, the Court held that even minor use of eminent domain required compensation. At the same time, the Court repeatedly concluded that the loss of economic value alone was insufficient to require compensation, unless the loss was 100 percent.

The combination of assertive environmental laws, and a series of unfavorable Court decisions inspired a property rights movement throughout the Midwest and West in the 1970s. Advocates included landowners who suffered federal takings directly, or those who feared they might in future; industries with direct economic interests tied to public and private lands, including real estate developers, farmers, ranchers, and extraction industries (timber, mining, and energy); and the CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT and libertarians opposed to federal expansion in principle. In 1988 President RONALD W. REAGAN issued Executive Order No. 12630, titled "Government Actions and Interference with Constitutionally Protected Property Right," which ordered federal agencies to compensate landowners for any loss of value, whether through temporary or permanent occupation, or through regulatory interference.

During the 1990s, President WILLIAM J. CLINTON shifted administrative support away from property rights advocates, toward environmental concerns. In 1996 President Clinton used the Antiquities Act of 1906 to convert 1.7 million acres of federal land throughout Utah into the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, the largest of its kind in the contiguous 48 states. The following year he announced the American Heritage Rivers Initiative, which had the potential to restrict development throughout millions of acres of public and private land along 250 rivers. In 1999 Clinton issued an Executive Order 13112, titled "Invasive Species" directing all federal agencies and their commercial partners to focus efforts on returning the biosphere to the condition it was believed to be in prior to 1492, including removing all plants that are not indigenous to North America. In 2000 Clinton announced plans to protect 750,000 acres of private forestland from development, while also designating 60 million acres of federal land off-limits to road building, logging, and mining.

Property rights advocates oppose the new environmental regulations because they see them as depriving landowners of substantial property value without compensating them for the loss. Conservationists and environ-

mentalist groups argue that the definition of acceptable property use evolves over time, and that property owners should not expect compensation for rights they were never entitled to. Property rights advocates argue that the government's right should be extended to prevent an owner from using his property in a way that is injurious to his neighbor. They argue a neighbor is entitled only to that which belongs free and clear, such as peace and solitude, protection from noxious odors, noises, and particulate matter. The neighbor is not, they said, entitled to "aesthetic" comforts requiring cooperation from others outside his property, such as an unencumbered view. Society may elect to include scenic byways, heritage corridors, and wildlife reserves as important social goods, but the government must not use regulatory authority to take these goods without paying for them.

In contrast, the conservation and environmental movement views nature as an interconnected ecological system; individuals possess land, but they must use it in a way that

is harmonious with the needs of society at large. No one, they argue, has a right to unlimited usage, and thus the government does not interfere with property rights when it restricts harmful usage. They further argue that compensating property owners for regulations that are necessary to preserve ecological integrity would not only be wasteful but would significantly hinder the survival of society—social reform would never advance if the state had to pay citizens not to engage in destructive behavior.

See also AGRICULTURE; CONSERVATION, ENVIRONMENTALISM, AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY; *KELO V. CITY OF NEW LONDON*.

**Further reading:** Michael D. Klapowitz, *Property Rights, Economics, and the Environment* (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 2000); Robert Meltz, *The Takings Issue: Constitutional Limits on Land-Use, Control and Environmental Regulation* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1999).

—Aharon W. Zorea







**Quayle, J. Danforth** (1947– ) *U.S. vice president*

J. Danforth Quayle was elected the 44th vice president of the United States in 1988 at the age of 41, when GEORGE H. W. BUSH won election to the White House. Quayle was known for his close relations with the CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT and his support of family values.

Quayle was born on February 4, 1947, in Indianapolis, Indiana. After spending much of his youth in Arizona, where his family owned a leading Phoenix newspaper, he graduated from Huntington High School in Huntington, Indiana, in 1965. He matriculated at De Pauw University, where he received his B.A. degree in political science in 1969. Following graduation, Quayle joined the Indiana National Guard and served from 1969 to 1975. While serving in the guard, he earned a law degree from Indiana University in 1971. His service in the National Guard later led political opponents to accuse him of having avoided the draft during the VIETNAM WAR.

Quayle became an investigator for the Consumer Protection division of the Indiana Attorney General's Office in July 1971. That same year he became an administrative assistant to Governor Edgar Whitcomb. In November 1972 Quayle married Marilyn Tucker of Indianapolis. They have three children.

In 1976 Quayle was elected to Congress from Indiana's Fourth Congressional District, defeating an eight-term incumbent. He won reelection in 1978 by a landslide. In 1980, Quayle, at the age of 33, became the youngest person ever elected to the U.S. Senate from Indiana, defeating three-term Democrat Birch Bayh.

In the Senate, Quayle served on the Armed Services Committee, the Budget Committee, and the Labor and Human Resources Committee. In 1982 he coauthored with Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY the Job Training Partnership Act. In 1986 Quayle won reelection to the Senate.

Quayle remained in the Senate until 1988 when vice president and Republican presidential candidate George H. W. Bush chose him as his running mate. The Bush-Quayle

ticket went on to win the November election by a convincing sweep of 38 states, capturing 426 electoral votes. Quayle became the 44th vice president of the United States.

Many consider Quayle to have also been one of the most active American vice presidents in the history of the United States. He made official state visits to 47 countries, discussing a multitude of issues. He led the administration deregulation efforts as chairman of the Council on Competitiveness, chaired the National Space Council, and worked as Bush's liaison with Capitol Hill.

Quayle's gaffes drew relentless criticism from the press and became comedy material for late-night television hosts. Some of his gaffes were not confirmed, however, such as his alleged remark about not knowing how to speak Latin before going to Latin America. Other of his gaffes were confirmed, such as when he corrected a young schoolgirl's spelling of "potato" by adding an "e" to the end of the word. His relations with the press did not get better when he gave a widely reported speech on May 19, 1992, to the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco in which he accused cultural elites of eroding family values. In the speech, he criticized the then-popular television sitcom, *Murphy Brown*, in which the main character was having a child out of wedlock. Quayle declared, "It doesn't help matters when prime-time TV has *Murphy Brown*, a character who supposedly epitomizes today's intelligent, highly paid women, mocking the importance of fathers by bearing a child alone and calling it just another lifestyle choice. We cannot be embarrassed out of our belief that two parents, married to each other, are better in most cases for children than one." These remarks drew heavy criticism from much of the press and news commentators, although polls showed, at the time, that the majority of the American public agreed with him. Nonetheless, the ridicule he took for his gaffes, and this statement, created a public image of Quayle that hurt his political career.

He left office when the Bush-Quayle ticket was defeated in the election of 1992.

## 294 quotas (racial)

Since his term as vice president, he has authored *Standing Firm* and *The American Family: Discovering the Values That Make Us Strong*, in addition to writing a nationally syndicated weekly newspaper column. Shortly after his move, Quayle also moved his political action committee to Arizona. In 1999 he unsuccessfully sought the Republican presidential nomination.

**Further reading:** David Broder and Bob Woodward, *The Man Who Would Be President: Dan Quayle* (New York:

Simon & Schuster, 1992); Dan Quayle, *Standing Firm: A Vice-Presidential Memoir* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994).

—Leah Blakey

**quotas (racial)** See AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.

# R



## race and racial conflict

Race and racial conflict have been dominant themes in U.S. history for almost 400 years, and their nature has changed dramatically over that time. Since the 1960s, discussions about race in America came to include **HISPANIC AMERICANS** and **ASIAN AMERICANS**, as well as other groups, and the inclusion of ethnicity in the debate over racism further complicated both public and private discourse. Yet, regardless of these added complexities, discussions of race and racism, and episodes of racial conflict, remained firmly grounded in the relationship and conflicts between **AFRICAN AMERICANS** and European Americans, as black and white Americans continued to struggle with a 400-year legacy of racial conflict that fundamentally informed their attempt to define their relationship to one another and to the nation.

The year 1968 was a pivotal year in the history of American race relations. The country was at the end of a long and bitter struggle over African-American civil liberties. The struggle culminated in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Along with these victories, however, came defeats. In 1968 Americans witnessed the **ASSASSINATIONS** of Martin Luther King, Jr., the most prominent of the civil rights leaders, and of Robert F. Kennedy, candidate for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination and a champion of civil rights and racial reconciliation. In the 1960s racial riots erupted in many major cities. The violence prompted many white supporters of the Civil Rights movement to turn away from active participation. At the same time, violence divided African-American civil rights leaders. These events set the stage for a subtler, and in many ways more divisive, form of racial conflict as both African Americans and white people became more separated from one another. Even though the general conditions of life greatly improved for African Americans, most perceived the work of the Civil Rights movement as unfinished, and the subsequent unrest manifested itself in various forms.

The most dramatic form of racial conflict is the race riot. Although race riots have been numerous in American history, their nature changed during the years following World War II. The insurrection type of riot first manifested itself in 1935 and in 1943 in Harlem, but became fully established during the riots of the 1960s that exploded in the inner cities of many American metropolises. Insurrection riots differed from the communal riots prior to World War II, in that they generally did not involve clashes between black and white citizens. Generally they involved African-American inner-city ghetto residents and police, typically set off by real or alleged acts of police brutality. Confined to the ghetto, these riots specifically targeted white-owned businesses and property. Major riots occurred in Harlem (1964), the Watts section of Los Angeles (1965), and Chicago (1966). The country experienced racial disorders in 128 cities in 1967 that required the services of 59,000 National Guard and federal troops to restore order. The assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., spurred riots in Memphis, Tennessee; Cleveland, Ohio; Washington, D.C.; Chicago; Baltimore, Maryland; Detroit, Michigan; and Newark, New Jersey.

The incidence of race riots declined after 1968, but occurrences in Miami in 1980 and in Los Angeles in 1992 indicated that violent racial conflict remained a part of the American experience. When five white policemen, accused of beating a black motorist to death, were acquitted, black residents of Liberty City, a predominantly African-American neighborhood of Miami, began throwing bricks, rocks, and bottles at white motorists. The violence escalated as a crowd attacked the Dade County Department of Public Safety headquarters, as well as many white-owned businesses. The violence resulted in the deaths of eight whites and 10 blacks, the arrest of 855 people, and \$80 million in property damage. Attacks upon white civilians during the riot marked a divergence from the insurrection-type pattern witnessed during the 1960s, as did the Los Angeles riot of 1992.



A gutted building in the aftermath of the 1992 Los Angeles riots, which followed the beating of black motorist Rodney King by members of the LAPD (*Sachs/Consolidated News Pictures/Getty Images*)

Just as in Miami, the acquittal of four white police officers (by an all-white jury) accused of brutally and unnecessarily beating a black motorist, Rodney King, in Los Angeles, spawned a riot that was the largest and deadliest since the end of the 19th century. By the time 13,000 local and federal officers had restored order, 54 people were dead, and 2,383 were injured. Property damage was estimated to be \$800 million. This riot contained elements unseen since the communal riots of the pre-World War II era. Widespread attacks on white civilians by African-American and, later, Hispanic rioters, clashes between black and Hispanic rioters and Asian-American merchants, the spread of looting and arson outside the ghetto area, and the wholesale use of firearms indicated that future riots might entail even more widespread intergroup violence. These riots also involved Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and whites in looting and rioting, and demonstrated that racial tension was not and is not simply a black-white issue.

Violence, however, was not the hallmark of racial conflict during the last three decades of the 20th century. Racism became less overt and, as a result, racial conflict

pursued more traditional paths and manifested itself in less spectacular ways. Much of it found voice in the political and legal system. In cities across the nation, black activists organized to elect black officials in an attempt to have their needs addressed on the local level. The first such success was the election of Carl Stokes in 1967 in Cleveland, as the first black mayor of a major American city. While Stokes was able to assemble a coalition that included some white supporters, other cities required the unification of a majority black population to achieve the same goal. For example, Memphis, with a majority black population since the mid-1970s, was unable to elect a black mayor until 1991, although it was a goal of many black leaders. On the national level, black congressmen formed the Congressional Black Caucus in 1971, to function as a lobbying group for black interests in the legislative branch. Also, spurred by reparations paid in 1988 to Japanese families for internment during World War II, several groups, such as the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America, undertook political activity in the late 1990s to gain monetary reparations as a way of righting the wrongs of slav-



ery. By insisting on separate interests based on race and by demanding present accountability for past actions, these developments, and others, prepared the way for further political conflict drawn exclusively along racial lines at the local, state, and national levels.

The most recognizable battles were those joined by the U.S. SUPREME COURT on the issues of AFFIRMATIVE ACTION and school desegregation. Affirmative action refers to policies used to increase opportunities for minorities by favoring them in the awarding of government contracts, college admissions, and hiring and promotion with the express purpose of helping to eliminate the effects of past discrimination. President RICHARD M. NIXON first implemented federal affirmative action policies in 1969, and the Supreme Court decision in *GRIGGS ET AL. V. DUKE POWER COMPANY* (1971), along with the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, further encouraged the hiring and admission of minorities, and the establishment, in some cases, of racial quotas. In the 1980s and 1990s an increasingly conservative Supreme Court eliminated some affirmative action programs deemed unfair. As a response to these conservative rulings, Congress passed the CIVIL RIGHTS ACT of 1991, which strengthened antidiscrimination laws. In 1996 California voters approved Proposition 209 that ended all state-sponsored affirmative action programs. Affirmative action remained an arena for racial conflict into the 21st century, as critics called it legalized reverse discrimination, and supporters maintained that it was the only feasible way to integrate society and to atone for the effects of past discrimination.

Increasing residential segregation, coupled with the desire to end the detrimental effects of educational segregation, made school desegregation a prominent racial, legal, and political battlefield during the last third of the 20th century. The attempt to create racially balanced schools began with the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which ordered the immediate desegregation of Little Rock's Central High School. In the 1970s, the debate centered on the method of desegregation. The Court set the precedent for busing in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971), in which it upheld a district court's order that mandated the achievement of racial balance in a southern, urban school district by busing. Similar rulings demanded busing in northern and western cities as well. The central criticism of busing, voiced primarily by white suburbanites, was that it prevented families from sending their children to the neighborhood school of their choice. Supporters claimed that busing was the only feasible way to provide a quality education to inner-city youths, who had been previously denied such by racial discrimination. The racial divisiveness of this issue was tempered somewhat during the 1980s and 1990s, as blacks began to criticize the impracticality of

school desegregation in the face of irreversible residential segregation, and turned their energies toward receiving better funding for schools in predominantly black neighborhoods. Regardless, education remained a racially charged and divisive issue as the 20th century came to a close.

The integration-segregation debate attained new complexity in the 1990s, as many blacks and whites sought to identify themselves racially, and looked to the other as the source of social problems. Yet polls show overwhelming support among all racial groups for racial justice in America, including the end of racial segregation and equal opportunity under the law for all racial groups. Only on the fringes did some black and white leaders call for racial separation. Black nationalism achieved new life in the person of LOUIS A. FARRAKHAN and his group, the NATION OF ISLAM. In often vituperative language, Farrakhan advocated racial solidarity and economic and social self-reliance, as the primary weapons against racial discrimination. Appeals for racial purity and solidarity also arose on the fringe of mainstream white America, as pseudo-military militia groups and various white supremacist organizations, such as the Aryan Nations and the Ku Klux Klan, preached a gospel of hate that declared America a "white man's country," and often advocated the violent overthrow of the government for its role in mongrelizing the nation.

It is clear that, as America entered the 21st century, race mattered and could not be discounted when considering almost any political, social, or cultural issue. For example, it figured prominently in the murder trial of O. J. Simpson in 1995. Simpson, a former professional football player and movie star, was acquitted of murdering his ex-wife and her male friend, by a jury of nine blacks, two whites, and one Hispanic. The significance of this trial lies in the fact that hundreds of millions of people watched it on TELEVISION, and that Simpson's lawyer argued that, in spite of a significant amount of evidence against his client, racism on the part of the police had resulted in Simpson's indictment. Public opinion clearly split along racial lines, with whites overwhelmingly supporting Simpson's conviction, and African Americans supporting his acquittal. Episodes like this demonstrated that the racial antagonism present in American society remained a valuable political and cultural tool.

Throughout American history, however, racial conflict has had more than a purely negative effect. It made possible political equality for all groups of Americans, and offered the possibility of social integration for those who wished to pursue it, however undesirable some groups believed it to be. Moreover, inasmuch as racial conflict divided, it also fused. Out of conflict came what historian Charles Banner-Haley calls integrative cultural diversity. As blacks and whites sought to define themselves as both racial groups and Americans, they, along with the wide variety of

America's other ethnic and racial groups, forged a unique American culture that synthesized the artistic, literary, and intellectual talents of all groups. What remains for the 21st century is the challenge of continually defining a coherent American identity, in the face of increasingly complex definitions of race and ethnicity. In 2008 the election of BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA as the first African-American president—with white votes being crucial to his election—is seen by many as a positive step for race relations.

See also ADVERTISING; BILINGUAL EDUCATION ACT; CIVIL LIBERTIES ACT; EDUCATION [ALL ENTRIES]; HORTON, WILLIE; IMMIGRATION; IMMIGRATION REFORM AND CONTROL ACT; MILITIA MOVEMENT; MULTICULTURALISM; NATIVE AMERICANS.

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—William L. Glankler

### **Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO)**

The Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) became law in 1970 as a means of targeting organized crime in America. RICO proved to be one of the most powerful tools law enforcement has to combat organized crime. It is not a criminal statute because it does not criminalize any act that is not already recognized as illegal. Instead, it enhances the normal punishments and penalties of certain crimes when they are committed by organizations, usually providing prison sentences and fines that are three times the norm. RICO also provides civil remedies for the victims of organized crime, which includes trebled damages plus reasonable attorney's fees and court costs. Though most observers have welcomed the criminal provisions, many jurists fear that the civil provisions have been abused.

Originally, RICO was only a minor part of the much larger Organized Crime Control Act (OCCA) of 1970. Following on the heels of the 1967 *Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice*, OCCA was intended to provide the government with the necessary tools to combat organized crime, which many observers believed was overtaking New York and other large urban centers. Some of its points included special provisions for grand juries, and use immunity, as well as special procedures to deal with contempt, false statements, and depositions. At the time, the criminal forfeiture provision inspired the most controversy; it ordered law enforcement to seize all property used in the commission of a crime. Forfeiture was an innovation in criminal jus-

tice and, though advocates claimed precedence for it in old English common law, it had never been used in the United States. Much of the congressional debate focused on this element alone.

Although RICO has since been heralded as a major step forward in the war against organized crime, initially the Department of Justice (DOJ) hesitated for almost a decade before exploiting its full potential. This was largely a result of its vague language. Modern RICO prohibits any person from using income derived from a pattern of racketeering activity to acquire or maintain interest in an enterprise; from conducting the affairs of an enterprise through racketeering activity; and from conspiring with others to do so. The authoring Congress did not know how to define organized crime in a way that would not violate the free association clause of the Constitution, and was instead left with having to list crimes that are commonly associated with organized criminal behavior, including murder, kidnapping, arson, gambling, robbery, bribery, extortion, drug dealing, and mail and wire fraud. Without a strict definition of organized crime, the "pattern of racketeering" necessary to trigger the RICO statute was broadly defined. The law also provided a broad construction clause to ensure that law enforcement agencies would be able to apply the statute to unforeseen circumstances as needed. Despite this added precaution, the courts still found significant ambiguity in the definitions of "enterprise," "pattern," and "person." Until the courts arrived at some consensus on these terms, the DOJ used the statute infrequently, and only in conjunction with other, better defined laws. The civil component was used even less frequently, usually because true victims of organized crime were typically too intimidated to pursue civil recovery, preferring instead to let the FBI assume the risks of prosecution for them. This also added to the reasons why the criminal side of RICO received limited use; legitimate businesses were often too frightened to file a complaint with law enforcement.

One solution to this problem was to redefine the nature of "enterprise" in a way that would permit law enforcement to use RICO against the mob without involving legitimate businesses. Throughout the 1970s, the law professor who drafted the original language for the 1970 Senate committee, G. Robert Blakey, toured the Northeast, giving seminars to law enforcement officials urging them to reconsider the object of RICO. In 1981, however, the SUPREME COURT decided in *United States v. Turkette* that RICO's broad construction clause justified a reinterpretation of "enterprise" that included both legal and illegal organizations. From that point on, the DOJ has depended on RICO as the prime tool in their war against organized crime and drug dealing.

During the mid-1980s, certain corporations tested the legal waters by attaching civil RICO complaints to their standard breach-of-contract suits. After years of

lower-court debate, the Supreme Court ruled in *Sedima, S.P.R.L. v. Imrex Co.* (1985) that the liberal construction clause prevented the Court from distinguishing civil RICO from “garden variety” contract disputes. Congress made numerous attempts during the late 1980s and early 1990s to reform the RICO statute to prevent civil RICO abuse. They were successfully blocked by consumer advocate groups who feared that weaker language would bar victims of white-collar crime from appropriate remedies, particularly in light of the savings-and-loan and insider-trading scandals of the later 1980s. Advocates of reform claimed that consumer-protection remedies already existed at the state level, and, under the auspices of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), they argued that RICO abused principles of federalism by imposing federal remedies for offenses that could be better addressed locally. Despite years of debate and compromise, Congress failed to pass any measures seeking to reform the civil provisions of the RICO statute. On the criminal side, however, Congress passed numerous laws adding additional predicate offenses, including child pornography, black-marketing, and terrorism. In the 1990s, RICO stirred further controversy when it was used as the basis for numerous civil lawsuits against pro-life protesters, gun manufacturing, and tobacco companies.

—Aharon W. Zorea

**Reagan, Ronald W.** (1911–2004) *40th U.S. president* Ronald Wilson Reagan became the 40th president of the United States in 1981 and served two terms in the White House. His election marked the ascension of conservatism to political power in postwar America. Reagan spent his early life as a liberal Democrat. His mother, Nellie, was an evangelical Protestant who stressed religious values; his father, John Reagan, was a salesman and a liberal Democrat.

After working as a radio sports announcer, Reagan became a movie actor with Warner Brothers’ studio in Hollywood. Reagan performed in well-received films, including *Kings Row*, *The Hasty Heart*, and *The Winning Team*.

He was elected to five terms as president of the Screen Actors Guild (SAG), the movie actors’ union, by his fellow actors. As SAG’s president, Reagan worked to secure better benefits and working conditions from studio executives. A New Deal Democrat, who enthusiastically voted and campaigned for both Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry Truman, Reagan struggled with Communist Party members in SAG, and developed a permanent loathing for communism and socialism in general, and the Soviet Union in particular. Reagan slowly turned away from the New Deal liberalism of his youth, voting for Republican Dwight Eisenhower in the 1952 presidential election. In 1962, after being a Democratic

endorser of Eisenhower and Nixon, Reagan finally registered as a Republican.

Reagan’s nationwide television speech in October 1964 for Republican presidential nominee Barry Goldwater inspired rich, conservative California businessmen to back the former actor for governor of California in 1966. Reagan’s campaign featured forceful uncompromising attacks against student protesters at the University of California, African-American urban rioters in Los Angeles, welfare cheaters, and taxes created by Democratic governor Pat Brown. Reagan promised to restore order. He was easily elected by more than 1 million votes.

As governor, Reagan cut the rate of budgetary growth in California. Reagan’s long experience with television, movies, and radio enabled him to appeal directly to voters in simple language over the appeals of legislators and bureaucratic experts, winning him the sobriquet, “The Great Communicator.” To Reagan’s later embarrassment, in 1967 he became one of the first three governors to sign an abortion rights bill. In one year, California abortions jumped from 517 to over 100,000. A divorced man himself, Reagan also became the first governor to sign a no-fault divorce bill in 1970. He was reelected that year.

Reagan made an unsuccessful bid for the 1968 Republican presidential nomination, but lost to RICHARD M. NIXON. Nixon’s WATERGATE SCANDAL, mismanagement of the economy, and détente with the communist Soviet



President Ronald W. Reagan (Ronald W. Reagan Library)

Union and People's Republic of China, revived Reagan's presidential hopes. Nixon's successor, GERALD R. FORD, continued Nixon's policies. After the SUPREME COURT's *ROE V. WADE* (1973) pro-abortion ruling, the CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT discovered another reason to oppose traditional Republicanism. Reagan publicly converted to an antiabortion position, supported prayer in the public schools, and promised to rein in what he viewed as "federal judicial activism." He allied himself with New Right leaders Senator JESSE HELMS and PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY and challenged Ford for the 1976 Republican nomination. Reagan denounced détente and called for a tougher stance against the Soviet Union. At the convention, Reagan lost the contest by a handful of delegates. It appeared his political career might be over.

As JAMES EARL CARTER, JR.'s presidency confronted stagflation, Soviet expansionism, and the seizure of the Iranian embassy hostages, Reagan solidified his position in the Republican Party, and won its presidential nomination in 1980. He selected GEORGE H. W. BUSH as his vice presidential running mate. Reagan told the American people he would "get the government off our backs," that is, shove liberal bureaucratic experts aside, so he could renew prosperity, control crime, and regain respect for the country overseas.

On election day 1980, Reagan won in a landslide, taking 50 percent of the popular vote to Carter's 41 percent, while third-party candidate JOHN B. ANDERSON won 9 percent. Reagan won 44 states, helping the Republicans to win the Senate (for the first time in 16 years) with a net gain of 12 seats, and to attain a working majority in the House with a net gain of 33 seats.

Despite being wounded in an assassination attempt in March 1981, Reagan carried through many of his 1980 campaign promises during his first term. Federal income taxes were cut 25 percent over a three-year period with the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. Nondefense spending was cut sizably. Some welfare administration was shifted to the states. Federal regulations were slashed. Federal Reserve chairman Paul Volcker aided Reagan's program to suppress inflation with a tight money supply policy. Although unemployment rose to more than 10 percent in late 1982, losing the Republicans 26 House seats and their working majority, the American economy rebounded, and Reagan and Volcker's policies were widely credited with beginning a seven-year-long boom in 1983, the longest peacetime expansion in the country's history to date.

However, Reagan failed to deliver on balanced-budget or entitlement-reform promises. His huge defense spending increases combined with entitlement mandates to balloon federal deficits, despite his cheery campaign promises. However, Democratic legislators confined

him to procedural changes. In 1986, during his second term, Reagan managed to work with House Democrats to reform the federal tax structure by lowering tax rates, eliminating tax shelters, and expanding the earned-income tax credit for working people. Nonetheless, because of demographic trends, entitlements continued to expand.

Reagan's 1980 promises of what he called a "moral revival" enjoyed less success than his economic policy. He enacted executive orders forbidding federal subsidies for abortion. But the Supreme Court continued to uphold *Roe v. Wade*. Reagan named SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR in 1981 as the first woman U.S. Supreme Court justice. O'Connor disappointed the conservative movement by becoming a swing vote. Reagan's first-term attorney general, William French Smith, was replaced by Edwin Meese, who declared culture war on what he perceived as liberal policies toward crime, sexuality, affirmative action, and federalism. Under Meese, the Justice Department systematically appointed judicial conservatives to federal district and appellate courts. Meese also persuaded Reagan to name conservatives WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST and ANTONIN SCALIA to be chief justice and associate justice, respectively, on the Supreme Court in 1986. However, the Democratic majority in the Senate blocked the appointment of conservative judge ROBERT BORK in 1987. Instead, Anthony Kennedy won appointment to the Court. The Rehnquist Supreme Court rolled back criminal rights, reinterpreted property rights, and began whittling down affirmative action rulings. However, it continued to uphold reproductive rights and free speech precedents.

In face of opposition, Reagan's presidency did not roll back environmental regulation much. Interior secretary JAMES G. WATT received harsh criticism, as did EPA administrator Anne Gorsuch Burford. Both were pressured to resign.

Despite his failure to deliver a balanced budget, Reagan achieved most of his domestic policy aims. Tax cutting, deregulation, and tax reform changed American society. Critics charged Reagan administration officials with corruption, and in the case of Michael Deaver, a presidential aide, an investigation led to his conviction on criminal charges.

In 1984 Reagan was reelected in an electoral landslide against Democratic opponent WALTER F. MONDALE, winning 49 states and a 59 percent popular vote. The Republicans retained control of the Senate. Reagan's Democratic critics called him "a Teflon president."

Reagan restored American military power. He persuaded Congress to almost double defense spending from \$171 billion in 1981 to \$300 billion in 1985. The bulk of these increases financed military pay increases, spare



parts, the new Intermediate Nuclear Force, or INF, and MX missile systems, and a 600-ship navy. Reagan eschewed nuclear arms control measures in his first term. Instead, he advocated building a space-based ballistic missile defense system, known as the STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE, or SDI. Reagan fought skeptics among the Pentagon command, the scientific establishment, diplomatic circles, NATO, and Democratic opposition, who derided SDI as “Star Wars,” to champion SDI as the solution to Soviet nuclear missile superiority.

Reagan acted to prevent American high-technology exports, or “technology transfer,” from being sent to the USSR or countries friendly to it. No presidency had ever policed technology transfer so stringently. These policies helped to delay Soviet development of a computer revolution. William Clark, Reagan’s second National Security Advisor, issued orders denying the USSR access to American financial resources, plugging a gap previously left open during the COLD WAR. Clark also assisted the Solidarity labor resistance movement in the Soviet satellite of Poland. Reagan denounced Soviet totalitarianism, labeling it “an empire of evil.” While avoiding direct military confrontation with the Soviets, Reagan did assist anticommunist insurgencies in developing nations. This so-called Reagan Doctrine used the CIA to aid anticommunist military movements in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, and Cambodia. The Afghan resistance, especially, took a bloody toll of Soviet troops and lowered Soviet morale.

Reagan’s diplomatic initiatives in the Middle East proved more problematic. The first involved Lebanon. Reagan dispatched a marine brigade to “keep peace” between Israeli-backed and Muslim militia forces there. A Muslim suicide truck bomber killed 241 marines in October 1983. Reagan withdrew. The second failure was the selling of arms to Iran in an attempt to free American hostages held by Iranian-backed Muslim terrorists in Lebanon. Americans were indignant to discover in late 1986 that their hard-line president, who had declared Iran a terrorist state, had negotiated with Iran’s fundamentalist leaders. Further revelations that the proceeds from these arms sales were used to fund the *contras*, anticommunist insurgents in Nicaragua, in direct violation of U.S. law, deepened the scandal. The IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR seriously weakened Reagan’s presidency.

Reagan extended military and financial assistance to El Salvador in its war with Nicaraguan-sponsored communist guerrillas. The campaign resulted in repeated reports of atrocities on both sides of the civil war. Two days after the 1983 massacre of the marines in Lebanon, Reagan ordered marines and army troops to invade the Caribbean island nation of Grenada to remove its communist government, which had close ties to Cuba.

Reagan’s presidency enjoyed good relations with British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, an ideological soulmate. Reagan persuaded NATO members to deploy INF missiles for defense against Soviet invasion, to acquiesce in SDI, and to support antiterrorist measures.

Reagan showed little faith initially in arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union. Following his reelection in 1984, Reagan surprised his leading advisers—as well as his critics—by resuming negotiations with the Soviets. In late 1985 Reagan traveled to Geneva to meet with the new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, for a three-day summit meeting. At the meeting, Reagan insisted on America’s right to develop SDI. This position precluded any major agreements being reached, but Reagan and Gorbachev pledged to accelerate arms control negotiations in future meetings.

Finally, in 1987 Gorbachev flew to the United States to sign the historic Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), the first major arms control agreement that called for the destruction of deployed nuclear weapons systems. The treaty provided that inspectors from both nations would observe the destruction of intermediate-range missiles. Soviet and American leaders also announced that they would seek further arms reductions through the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), which had been suspended in Reagan’s first term. Gorbachev also began to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan, to end support to the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, and to reduce commitments to Cuba and Vietnam. Moreover, Gorbachev urged Soviet-backed governments in Eastern Europe to undertake political and economic reform. This last policy set the stage for opposition forces in Eastern European bloc nations to overthrow their communist regimes, leading to the eventual breakup of the Soviet Union during the George H. W. Bush administration. As Reagan’s administration drew to a close, the cold war appeared to have ended.

Following his presidency, Reagan retired to his ranch in California. In 1994 he revealed he suffered from Alzheimer’s disease. After a 10-year battle with Alzheimer’s, Reagan died on June 5, 2004, at his home in Los Angeles, California. On June 9 his coffin was flown to Washington, D.C., where Reagan lay in state in the Capitol Rotunda. Visitors stood in line for hours to view his coffin until his state funeral at the Washington National Cathedral on June 11. Several heads of state and former heads of state attended the funeral, which included tributes from President GEORGE W. BUSH, former president George H. W. Bush, former Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney, and a videotaped tribute from former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher. Reagan was then returned to California, where he was buried on the grounds of his presidential library.

Reagan was the recipient of many honors. In 1998 Washington National Airport was renamed Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport in his honor. A U.S. Navy aircraft carrier bearing his name, the USS *Ronald Reagan*, was launched in 2001. He and his wife, Nancy, received the Congressional Gold Medal, the highest expression of national appreciation for achievement, in 2002. In 2006 the United States Postal Service honored Reagan with a commemorative stamp.

See also REAGANOMICS.

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—Christopher M. Gray and Cynthia Stachecki

## Reaganomics

The term “Reaganomics” describes the economic policies of RONALD W. REAGAN’s administrations between 1981 and 1988. More broadly it has been used to identify the economic, political, and social approaches to government associated with what has been termed the CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT since the 1980s, closely identified with the policies of Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom.

Reagan set out his economic policies in his 1981 Program for Economic Recovery. Referred to as “supply-side economics,” the major objectives were to reduce taxes, to limit federal spending and the level of government regulation, and to balance the budget. The rationale was that the economy would be stimulated by increased consumer spending and improved business confidence, and that reductions in government regulation would initiate a competitive and more efficient economy. The Reagan administration maintained that it had achieved its objectives in the lowering of inflation from 10.4 percent in 1980 to 4.2 percent in 1988, while unemployment fell from 7 percent in 1980 to 4.2 percent in 1988, and marginal tax rates were reduced. However, federal spending was not reduced and the budget not balanced, primarily due to a large increase in defense spending.

Critics contend that the inflation rate fell as a result of the ongoing strict “monetarist” policies of the independent Federal Reserve Board and not “supply-side” fiscal policies. They further argue that Reaganomics’ cuts in taxes and social spending were short-sighted. Proponents credit it with the revival of the American economy in the 1980s and 1990s.

—Steve Hardman

## recreation

During the last third of the 20th century, the economy of the post–World War II years greatly increased the amount of time Americans had available for recreational activities. The extension of the paid vacation, increased income, the introduction of more efficient labor-saving devices in the home, and the enhanced mobility provided by the proliferation of automobiles all combined to provide more leisure time for most Americans. Moreover, the ethic of pleasure, and the concern for personal self-fulfillment that became legitimate during the 1960s and 1970s served to focus attention on filling the newfound leisure time with an ever-increasing variety of recreational activities.

During the last half of the 20th century, family incomes increased dramatically. The median family income before payment of taxes rose from \$3,031 in 1947 to \$31,241 in 1993, and in 1993 almost 60 percent of American families had incomes of \$25,000 or more. More important, Americans experienced substantial growth in their disposable income. Income after taxes averaged more than \$18,000 per person in 1994. Increasingly, Americans spent this income on consumer goods and recreational activities.

Recreational sports remained a popular activity. As both participants and spectators, Americans throughout the 20th century avidly involved themselves in sports activities. As spectators, they continued to loyally support their local teams, either by attending games in person or viewing them on TELEVISION. Cities built stadiums that seat crowds of 50,000 to 100,000 for their football teams and smaller arenas for their baseball, basketball, or hockey teams. In the 1990s, through the innovations of cable television and pay-per-view subscription services, fans could watch any major sports competition they chose. Americans spent ever-larger amounts to attend games. By the end of the century, the average cost of a ticket to a National Football League game was \$51 and it cost more than \$300 to take a family of four to a game. Even at these prices, fan support remained strong for most professional sports; in contrast, Major League baseball experienced depressed attendance figures throughout the 1990s. Americans loved their professional sports heroes and continued to make this a major component of their recreational activities.

Other recreational sports became popular during the last three decades of the century, largely from the fame of associated television and famous sports personalities. Snow skiing became popular during the 1950s, largely stimulated by the Olympic skiing competitions. The sport swept across the country to new sites in Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, California, and other states, and the ever-growing number of participants made skiing an integral part of their social lives. Tennis experienced increased participation during the 1960s and 1970s because of high-profile professionals such as Billie Jean King, Chris Evert, and Jimmy Connors. Golf,

once reserved for the members of country clubs, began to grow as a popular sport during the 1960s and 1970s, when players such as Arnold Palmer and Jack Nicklaus helped turn golf into a major spectator sport. During the late 1990s, Tiger Woods's immense popularity revived golf as a spectator sport and helped make it the most-played sport in America.

Female professional and amateur sports became increasingly popular in the 1970s. Led by Billie Jean King, women's tennis grew in popularity and gained respect and equal treatment in the world of professional tennis. Similarly, women's professional golf grew. The Ladies Professional Golf Association (incorporated in 1950) grew rapidly in the 1960s, under the leadership of Lenny Wirtz, and the rise of television brought women's golf into the American home with the first televised broadcast of the U.S. Women's Open Championship in 1963. In the 1970s women's professional golf took off when David Foster, the chairman and CEO of Colgate-Palmolive Company, began sponsoring several worldwide tournaments throughout the next decade. Nancy Lopez became a sports hero for her excellent play, and the Lopez phenomenon set off a golf fad among women. As a result, as more amateurs played golf, the popularity of professional women's golf grew as well. By 1980 LPGA-tour prize money totaled \$4.4 million. In the 1990s prize money grew from 17.1 million in 1990 to more than 36.2 million in 1999, while television coverage increased from 15 events in 1990 to 35 in 1999.

These sporting activities—along with others, such as hunting, fishing, boating, and swimming—were often incorporated as essential elements in another major American recreational activity: the family vacation. Made possible by increased income, the paid vacation, more leisure time, and the mobility offered by the automobile, the family vacation contributes significantly to the U.S. tourism industry that is a considerable component of the overall U.S. economy. Indeed, the economies of some states, such as Florida, are largely dependent on tourist dollars. Yearly, millions of Americans pack up their families and venture off to secluded or exotic locations.

Although getaways are still immensely popular, technological advancements during the 1980s and 1990s made home entertainment an increasingly popular form of passive recreation. Increased ease of consumption also contributed to the presence of television and, by the end of the century, nearly 100 percent of American homes had at least one television set. (In 1960, 80 percent of homes had television.) The technology also made possible the introduction of video games into the home during the 1980s and 1990s, with systems such as the Sony Playstation. During the late 1990s, WebTV made it possible to connect to the INTERNET through the television, thus opening numerous information and entertainment options to the entire family.



People walk through Disney-MGM Studios, at Disney World theme park in Orlando, Florida. (Raedle/Getty Images)

Perhaps the most significant impact of television was on the traditional American recreational activity of going to the MOVIES. At the end of the 20th century Americans still went in droves to the local multiple-screen theater to view the latest movie with its lavish production values and state-of-the-art special effects, and they paid as much as \$10 per ticket to do so. Television, however, made it easy, affordable, and enjoyable to watch movies at home. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, cable television allowed Americans to view movies soon after they had ended their theatrical run. The pay-per-view service shortened that time considerably, often showing movies within a few weeks after they left the theaters. The introduction of videotape in the 1980s and digital video discs (DVD) in the 1990s allowed the rental or purchase of movies that could be watched at one's leisure. Movies remained an essential element of American recreation, yet the setting in which Americans viewed movies changed radically as viewing options increased.



Another development in American recreation at the end of the 20th century was the proliferation of gambling casinos and the tremendous popularity they enjoyed. In 1969 legal gambling was essentially limited to Las Vegas and Reno, Nevada. The 1980s and 1990s saw the growth of casino gambling in areas as diverse as Tunica, Mississippi; St. Louis, Missouri; and on Native American reservations in the West, Northeast, and Florida. The gambling craze was further fueled by the increasing accessibility of gambling on the Internet. Critics of the spread of gambling argued that legalized gambling did not help local economies and exploited the most desperate people seeking a “quick fix.”

Americans also hike, listen to music, read, surf, and enjoy family cookouts. They indulge in a culture driven by consumerism and aimed at maximizing the quality of leisure time. The postwar trend of a shortening workweek began to reverse itself in 1970, and Americans found themselves working more and more hours, the most among industrialized nations. This transformation made leisure time an increasingly valuable commodity and strengthened the bond between consumption and recreation, as Americans sought to participate in activities that demanded more expertise, higher ticket prices, more specialized equipment, and more remote locales. Americans began to pour as much, if not more, effort into their recreation as they did into their work. As this process developed over the last half of the century, it spawned an industry that became firmly entrenched in the consumer economy.

See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE; COMPUTERS; FAMILY LIFE; LITERATURE; MEDIA; POPULAR CULTURE; SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY; SEXUAL REVOLUTION.

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—William L. Glankler

## Reform Party

The Reform Party emerged as a challenge to the two major parties, Republican and Democratic, in the late 1990s when it appeared many voters were alienated from “politics as usual.”

Although the Reform Party was officially founded November 2, 1997, at a convention held in Kansas City, Missouri, it began with the presidential election of 1992. As a guest on the *Larry King Live* show February 20, 1992, H. ROSS PEROT, a Texas billionaire, declared that if citizens would get him on the ballots in all 50 states he would run for president. The following day, his office was inundated with phone calls pledging support, and volunteers began to organize in each of the 50 states. By the middle

of summer, United We Stand America (UWSA) had been organized to coordinate the Perot campaign; in early fall Perot announced his candidacy with Admiral James Stockdale, retired, as his vice presidential candidate. Although Perot received no electoral votes in the 1992 election, he did gather nearly 19 percent of the popular vote.

By 1995 the ineffectiveness of UWSA lobbying elected officials from the two major parties had members calling for the formation of a new political party. On September 25, 1995, Ross Perot announced that he would help create the Reform Party. One by one, the states worked to form their own Reform Party organizations for the presidential election of 1996. For this election, Perot selected Pat Choate, a Vietnam War hero, as his vice presidential running mate. When the election votes were tallied, Ross Perot got just under 8.5 percent of the popular vote.

Since Perot had received the requisite number of popular votes, the Reform Party of the United States of America was qualified to receive federal funding in presidential elections. A national organizing convention was held in Nashville, Tennessee, in January 1997, and the National Reform Party was officially formed at a convention in Kansas City in November. At the Kansas City convention Russ Verney was elected chair and Patricia Benjamin was elected vice chair.

Party members pledged to reform the American political system. Founding principles included setting high ethical standards for the White House and Congress; balancing the federal budget; effecting CAMPAIGN FINANCE reform; term limits; creating a new tax system; addressing the anticipated needs of Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security; promoting jobs; and initiating lobbying reform. The party's platform elaborates these details.

In the hotly contested 2000 presidential election between GEORGE W. BUSH and ALBERT GORE, JR., Reform candidates Patrick Buchanan and Ezola Foster were not able to collect even a half million popular votes (.42 percent of the popular vote). The party itself was wracked with discord and split, with some members forming the American Reform Party.

See also *Regents of the University of California v. Allan BAKKE*.

—Michele Rutledge

## Rehnquist, William H. (1924–2005) *chief justice of the United States*

William H. Rehnquist became a justice of the United States SUPREME COURT in 1971 and then was appointed chief justice of the Court in 1986. He was one of only two chief justices to preside over a presidential impeachment.

Rehnquist was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 1, 1924, and grew up in the suburb of Shorewood in a



strongly Republican family. He served in the army air corps during World War II, which enabled him, following the war, to attend Stanford University on the GI Bill. He received both his B.A. (Phi Beta Kappa) and his M.A. in political science. He received a second M.A. in government from Harvard in 1950, and then completed Stanford Law School, where he graduated first in his class in 1950. He clerked for Associate Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson in 1951, and the following year he married Natalie Cornell, and the couple had a son and two daughters. He went to work for a law firm in Phoenix, Arizona, where he became a Republican Party official and an outspoken critic of busing to achieve school integration. While campaigning for Goldwater in 1964 he became friendly with Richard Kleindienst, another Phoenix attorney. When Kleindienst became deputy attorney general in the RICHARD M. NIXON administration, he invited Rehnquist to become assistant attorney general for the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel. When Justice Marshall Harlan retired from the Supreme Court, Rehnquist was appointed to fill his seat. At the same time, LEWIS POWELL was appointed to the Court.

Powell became a "swing" justice, while Rehnquist emerged as the Court's rightist dissenter. Rehnquist's early law clerks dubbed him "the Lone Ranger," as he strongly dissented against majority court rulings on abortion, affirmative action quotas, church-state relations, criminal procedure, free speech, and the death penalty. Rehnquist's dissents constructed a persistent critique of the majority "constructionist" philosophy of the Court.

Rehnquist thought the Warren and Burger Courts erred by nullifying what he viewed as true federalism in order to mandate radical egalitarian change in the states and localities. His interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause held that it applied to racial discrimination, not to abortion, sexual discrimination, or public assistance rights. He also claimed that the judicial opinions of the other justices exceeded judicial authority, and usurped the legislative and executive functions. In a 1976 speech espousing "originalist" judicial restraint, he argued that the Constitution's framers desired the Congress and the presidency to "furnish the motive power for the solution of the numerous and varied problems that the future would bring."

Chief Justice Burger retired in 1986. President RONALD W. REAGAN nominated Rehnquist to replace Burger as chief justice and conservative judge ANTONIN SCALIA to fill the associate justice vacancy. Although this nomination caused much controversy, Rehnquist was confirmed by the Senate in a 65-33 vote. He conducted Court business in a collegial, disciplined, and expedited manner. He deliberately compromised his own leanings on certain cases to help the Court achieve unanimity. He fulfilled the demanding

administrative duties of the chief justice in a manner pleasing to his colleagues. Rehnquist thus reduced the number of cases the Court decided, despite the docket's increasing by one-fourth at the time.

The Rehnquist Court experienced mixed success in curbing the most famous rulings by the Warren and Burger Courts. It rolled back the rulings restricting the death penalty and weakened the exclusionary rule on criminal evidence, but upheld the procedural protections of the *Miranda* decision. Federal court power over state and local government was restricted. Rehnquist created slender majorities narrowing affirmative action quotas in the *Ward's Cove Packing Co. v. Antonio* (1989) and *Adarand Constructors Inc. v. Peña* (1995) cases.

Rehnquist sought to overrule *ROE v. WADE* (1973), the abortion case that underlay abortion rights, but ambivalent opposition by his longtime friend, Justice SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR prevented him. In the *WEBSTER v. REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICES* (1989) and *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* (1992) cases, Rehnquist wrote the opinions for 5-4 and 6-3 majorities, respectively, in whittling down abortion rights. In *Stenberg v. Carhart* (2000), on the other hand, Rehnquist joined the minority in a 5-4 ruling upholding the substance of *Roe*.

The chief justice enjoyed more success for his interpretative agenda with cases involving euthanasia. In *Cruzan v. Missouri* (1990), Rehnquist spoke for a 5-4 majority refusing to allow Nancy Cruzan's parents to withdraw her life support on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment. In *Washington State v. Glucksberg* (1997), Rehnquist managed to persuade some wavering justices to unanimously support his 9-0 majority opinion upholding Washington State's statute banning physician-assisted suicide.

In 1997 Rehnquist ruled for a unanimous 9-0 court in the Paula Jones sexual harassment case that civil suits could proceed against a standing president of the United States. Rehnquist led a bitterly divided 5-4 Court in settling the Florida election case and thereby the 2000 presidential election in *Bush v. Gore* (2000).

In October 2004 the Supreme Court's press office announced that Rehnquist had thyroid cancer. The chief justice missed many oral arguments in late 2004 and early 2005 but remained involved in the deliberations of the Court. Despite his illness, Rehnquist attended GEORGE W. BUSH's second inaugural and administered the oath of office. He gave no sign of retiring and reappeared on the bench in March 2005. However, his health continued to decline. He died at his home on September 3, 2005. JOHN G. ROBERTS succeeded him as chief justice.

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—Christopher M. Gray and Amy Wallhermfechtel

## religion

American religion reflects the diversity of the population of the United States. Historically America is a nation of immigrants who brought both Protestant and Catholic Christianity; Judaism; Buddhism; and Islam—and continues as a nation of the faithful, innovating new faiths such as Mormon, Christian Scientist, Jehovah's Witness, Seventh-Day Adventist, and New Age adherents.

Americans cherish their constitutional right prohibiting state-sponsored religion. Despite the varieties and variances of the religions practiced in the United States, most Americans focus more on the shared characteristics and commonalities of their respective faiths. Christianity, Judaism, and Islam have the largest number of practitioners and are the dominant religions in the United States: Jews represent 5.7 million Americans; Muslims, 6.5 million; Buddhists, 2.9 million; and Hindus, 1 million. The rapid growth of evangelical Protestant congregations and more charismatic, less hierarchical faiths like the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon), the Pentecostals, and Jehovah's Witnesses contrast with the shrinking overall membership of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Methodists, and other mainline Protestant groups. Some sociologists claim that American faith groups have entered a post-denominational era, citing as evidence the growth of 5,000-plus-member megachurches complete with coffee bars and fast food restaurants. However, 62 percent of all U.S. congregations have strong denominational loyalties. In the 1950s newly organized Roman Catholic parishes represented about 10 percent of all new churches; by the beginning of the 21st century, that figure dropped to 5 percent.

While still more religious when compared to western Europe, in the past 60 years numerous surveys on religion have painted an overall trend of a country becoming an increasingly secular nation. Political events do seem to have an impact on responses to survey questions, and there are stark differences between some regions of the country. In general, however, the picture is one of a nation that is slowly becoming less religious, with declining numbers in terms of church or synagogue membership, weekly attendance at religious services, the value Americans place on religion, confidence in organized religion, the proportion who give a religious preference, the percentage who say religion can answer the problems of the era, belief in God, and belief in the honesty and ethics of the clergy.

Americans express overall confidence in the church and "organized religion," although this confidence was shaken by TELEVANGELISM scandals of the late 1980s. Correspondingly, the clergy's ethics and honesty ratings on opinion polls have consistently been among the highest of any field or profession tested, with 60 percent of Americans giving them a high score, although these numbers too have fluctuated. Clergy members have not been invulnerable to the effects of adverse publicity: Positive ratings of their honesty and ethics fell from 67 percent to 55 percent between 1984 and 1989. The Catholic clergy experienced its own scandal when sexual abuse among some clergy made headlines in early 2002. A Boston priest who had been accused in 1991 of indecent assault and defrocked in 1998 was convicted and sentenced in 2002. The Boston Archdiocese revealed that he had not been removed from active clerical work even though accusations against him spanned many years. Dioceses nationwide had to deal with similar allegations, bringing three to the brink of bankruptcy because of lawsuit settlements. The scandal received wide MEDIA coverage, even though accusations touched only a small minority of priests and such accusations have not been shown to be more prevalent among priests than among ministers of other denominations or among any persons who work with youth. Still, little change occurred between 2001 and 2005 in the percentage of Catholics contributing to their parishes or attending mass at least weekly, and the percentage of self-identified Catholics among the total population remained steady at 23 percent. Only diocesan appeals for support were noticeably affected.

A consistent majority of Americans continue to believe in the ability of religion to answer today's problems, although this belief has varied widely over the decades, from a high of 81 percent in 1955 to a low of 53 percent in 2008. The religious belief in creation became the object of debate beginning in the mid-1980s. In a 1987 decision, *Edwards v. Aguillard*, the SUPREME COURT struck down as unconstitutional a 1981 Louisiana law that prevented the teaching of evolution in public schools unless accompanied by the teaching of creation. The Court ruled that the Louisiana law violated the Establishment clause of the U.S. Constitution in seeking to promote a religious viewpoint. Proponents of creationism believed that it ought to be taught because it represented the only viable alternative to evolution theory as an explanation for the origins of life.

Beginning with biochemist Michael Denton's *Evolution: A Theory in Crisis* in 1986 and then Phillip E. Johnson's *Darwin on Trial* in 1991, a new movement to explain first origins emerged. The intelligent design (ID) movement challenged the Darwinist theory of macroevolution—the evolution of all life forms from common ancestors. In 1996 biology professor Michael Behe wrote *Darwin's Black Box*, which argued that biochemical complexity could not

be explained through Darwinian evolution and suggested that an “intelligent designer” is the “agent of creation,” rather than natural selection. Behe and other ID scholars resisted the labels “new creationism” or “intelligent design creationism,” with which Darwinists attempted to dismiss challenges to evolution theory. ID advocates believed that by excluding even the possibility of intelligent design, Darwinists artificially restricted the field of scientific inquiry. Critics of ID, however, argue that intelligent design’s “agent of creation” is just another name for God, and that ID is merely creationism dressed up as science. The vast majority of scientists in this area dismiss ID theory because—unlike Darwin’s theory—it has no tangible empirical evidence to prove its claims, nor does it hold up to rational, non-supernatural scientific inquiry.

In 1999 the Kansas Board of Education voted to deemphasize the teaching of macroevolution in the public schools. But in 2001 the more conservative members were voted off the board, and Kansas reversed its earlier decision. In 2005 a district court judge in Pennsylvania struck down the teaching of intelligent design as science, ruling in *Kitzmiller v. Dover Area School District* that ID was another form of creationism, and thus, violated the Establishment clause of the First Amendment.

Modern churchgoers have also been confronted with debates over the use of public space for religious purposes. The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled on several issues including public displays of the Ten Commandments, nativity scenes, and menorahs in parks, schools, and government buildings; the use of public school facilities for private worship services; and the expression of religious beliefs and prayer at school-sponsored events. In addition, a small number of atheists have sought to have the words “under God” removed from the Pledge of Allegiance.

Since 1950, roughly nine out of 10 Americans have consistently given a religious preference. The percentage of Protestants and Jews has declined sharply since then, while the percentage of Catholics has remained at approximately the same level. Among Jews there has been a shift from Reform Judaism to Conservative and Orthodox Judaism. Paralleling these trends has been a growth in the proportion of those who name other religions, or do not give a preference. At the close of the century, religion in the United States is broadly ecumenical and increasingly tolerant, reflecting a multicultural and pluralistic American society.

See also *McCREARY COUNTY, KENTUCKY v. ACLU OF KENTUCKY AND VAN ORDEN v. PERRY*; MULTICULTURALISM; NEW AGE MOVEMENT.

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—Michele Rutledge and Cynthia Stachecki

## Religious Freedom Restoration Act

Enacted in 1993, the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) required governments to refrain from the limitation of religious freedom, unless there was a compelling societal reason to do so. It also required the selection of the least intrusive method, if the need to restrict religious freedom did arise.

A series of U.S. SUPREME COURT decisions during the 1960s and 1970s upheld the individual’s religious freedom and limited government’s ability to pass restrictive legislation. During the 1980s, however, the Court’s position shifted in the direction of allowing governments to restrict religious freedom, as long as the limitations were applied equally to all faiths. For example, in *Employment Division v. Smith* (1990) the Court ruled that the religious use of peyote (a hallucinogenic drug) was not a constitutionally protected religious right, despite its centuries-old use by some Native American tribes. The RFRA specifically reversed that decision and restored the original balancing test set forth in Warren and Burger Court decisions such as *Sherbert v. Verner* (1963) and *Wisconsin v. Yoder* (1972).

More than 60 religious groups and civil liberties organizations united to form the Coalition for the Free Exercise of Religion to promote the RFRA. The group represented religious liberals and conservatives and included Native American spiritual groups and Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Scientology, and Sikh religious organizations. It also included more secular organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union, Americans United for Separation of Church and State, and the Traditional Values Coalition. The group continues to exist and includes over 72 different organizations, many with sharply opposing viewpoints on other issues. American Atheists were one of the few organizations that actively opposed the RFRA. They believed the law gave special rights to churches, mosques, temples, synagogues, and other sectarian organizations.

The House of Representatives unanimously approved the legislation on October 27, 1993, and the Senate passed it 97 to 3 on November 3. President WILLIAM J. CLINTON signed the RFRA into law on November 16. The U.S. Supreme Court declared the RFRA unconstitutional on January 25, 1997. A number of similar laws have been enacted on the state level. On the federal level, the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act, was signed into law on September 22, 2000. This law



restricts government interference with the religious use of land and guarantees religious freedom for inmates of institutions.

—William L. Glankler

**Reno, Janet** (1938– ) *attorney general*

Janet Reno served as Florida's first female state attorney general and as the first woman attorney general of the United States. During her tenure in these positions, she focused on reorienting crime policy toward prevention first and then punishment. She hoped to accomplish this reorientation by implementing programs to change the social and personal conditions that lead people to crime. As attorney general she also oversaw a rapid expansion of offenses punishable by the death penalty.

Reno was born July 21, 1938, in Coconut Grove, Florida, and attended public schools. She received a bach-



U.S. attorney general Janet Reno (Smith/Newsweek)

elor's degree in chemistry from Cornell University in 1960 and a law degree from Harvard in 1963. Her first political appointment came in 1971 as staff director of the Judiciary Committee of the Florida House of Representatives. She lost a bid for a seat in the Florida state legislature in 1972. In 1973 she joined the state attorney's office in Dade County, Florida, where she was assigned the task of organizing a juvenile division within the prosecutor's office. It was in this capacity that she began to form her views about preventive crime fighting by providing services to children and rehabilitating delinquent youths.

Reno became Florida's first female state attorney general in 1978 when she accepted the position for Dade County. She was elected to this post five times on her beliefs that a prosecutor's first objective was to ensure that innocent people were not charged and that the guilty were convicted according to due process. During her tenure as state attorney, Reno undertook several programs designed to reform and reorient public views about fighting crime.

She began by reforming the juvenile justice system and began to aggressively prosecute child abuse cases. She also established a domestic violence intervention program geared toward prevention by relying heavily on counseling for both victims and abusers. This orientation toward prevention manifested itself most prominently when, in the mid-1980s, she espoused a new approach to the traditional mission of the prosecutor. This new approach is best described as preventive crime-fighting and hinged on getting at the root causes of crime. Coupled with high rates of recidivism, this viewpoint resulted in an emphasis on rehabilitation. She believed that incarceration was not the solution to most crime, but advocated life imprisonment of the most violent offenders.

Reno's new approach led to several effective programs in Dade County. She developed a community policing team that helped clean up a crime-ridden housing project in Miami. In 1989 she established Miami's innovative drug court. This system offered first-time drug offenders a chance to expunge their record if they completed a year-long treatment program. Almost 60 percent of those enrolled in the program finished, and of those who finished 90 percent were trouble-free a year later. Such success made the Miami drug court a model for other cities around the country. In 1990 she extended the drug court idea further to encompass other young, nonviolent offenders. Such offenders could avoid imprisonment and a criminal record if they undertook a rehabilitation program that included, among other things, making restitution to their victims. These successes and her commitment to law and order caught the attention of the president-elect, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, in 1992.

On March 12, 1993, Janet Reno became the 78th attorney general of the United States, the first woman ever



to hold that position. Her two terms as attorney general (the longest ever) under Clinton witnessed success as well as controversy—controversy that began only one month after her swearing-in. In April 1993, she ordered the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), along with agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF), to launch an assault on the BRANCH DAVIDIAN compound outside Waco, Texas. The FBI and ATF had been in a standoff with the cult group for several weeks; Reno believed that the children inside the compound were being physically abused. During the assault, a fire broke out in the compound killing 86 people, including 17 children. Reno took full responsibility for the assault amid criticism that the FBI had acted irresponsibly and had indeed started the deadly fire. An investigation in 2000 by former senator John C. Danforth (R-Mo.) found that members of the cult had started the fire within the compound.

Reno brought her new vision of law enforcement to the attorney general's office by encouraging federal, state, and local government agencies to work together to combat the root causes of crime. She advocated beginning with proper prenatal care and continuing to ensure that all children have adequate health care, education, supervision, jobs, and job training. She also called for comprehensive programs that provided a balance between punishment and prevention, and stated her belief that society's resources should be directed toward better schools, housing, and health care, rather than toward more jails. However, she did not waver from her conviction that the most violent criminals should be permanently imprisoned, and she oversaw the expansion of the federal death penalty statute to cover dozens of new offenses.

Reno's dedication to law and order could not protect her from charges of having politicized her office. Democrats criticized her for appointing numerous INDEPENDENT COUNSELS, and Republicans criticized her for not pursuing charges connected to those counsels' reports. She ended investigations into Vice President ALBERT GORE, JR.'s fund-raising activities on two separate occasions, much to the Republicans' chagrin. Yet she did not back down when pursuing the president's alleged misconduct. Her appointment of KENNETH STARR to investigate the allegations led to a critical moment in U.S. history—the impeachment of President Clinton.

After leaving office, she returned to Florida where she ran unsuccessfully for the governorship of the state.

See also CAMPAIGN FINANCE; CRIME; MILITIA MOVEMENT; OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING; RACKETEER INFLUENCED AND CORRUPT ORGANIZATIONS ACT; TOBACCO SUITS.

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—William L. Glankler

**Rice, Condoleezza** (1954– ) *foreign policy adviser, university provost, secretary of state*

Condoleezza Rice served as secretary of state under the GEORGE W. BUSH administration at the height of the IRAQ WAR. She was the second African American to be appointed to this position, a successor to the first African-American secretary of state, COLIN POWELL. Rice was also the second woman appointed to head the Department of State after MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT served the Clinton administration (1997–2000).

Born on November 14, 1954, in Birmingham, Alabama, Condoleezza Rice earned her bachelor's degree in political science from the University of Denver in 1974, a master's degree from the University of Notre Dame one year later, and a doctorate in international studies in 1981 from the University of Denver. Upon graduation, Rice was hired at Stanford University and served as Stanford University's provost from 1993 to 1999.

In the 1980s Rice became noted for her expertise on the Soviet Union with the publication of *Uncertain Allegiance: The Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Army* (1984). She also coauthored a book in 1986, *The Gorbachev Era*, with the late international historian Alexander Dallin. Three years later, Rice was selected as President GEORGE H. W. BUSH's director of Soviet and East European Affairs in the National Security Council.

After Texas governor George W. Bush won the 2000 presidential election, he nominated Rice as his National Security Advisor. Eight months after assuming her new position, the first woman to do so, Rice faced her greatest challenge as National Security Advisor in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. In this capacity, Rice took a leading role in the "war on TERRORISM" beyond her normal tasks of coordinating the national defense and foreign policy of the nation. She became a strong advocate for invading Afghanistan to oust the Taliban and the terrorist organization al-Qaeda. In December 2002 she also emerged as one of the leading critics of Saddam Hussein and supported the invasion of Iraq to curb a possible weapons of mass destruction (WMD) program. To that end, she published an opinion piece in the *New York Times* arguing that Iraq did possess WMD and was falsifying its reports to the UNITED NATIONS. As the Iraq War progressed and it became apparent that Iraq did not possess WMD, Rice was increasingly criticized by media personalities, politicians, and the public for her participation in promoting what some argued was a needless war. Nevertheless, Rice was one of the most visible members of the Bush administration and subsequently campaigned in 2004 for President Bush.

When President Bush was reelected in 2004, he nominated Rice to serve as secretary of state to fill the vacancy left by Colin Powell, who had resigned on November 15,



Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (Wikimedia)

2004. She was confirmed by the U.S. SENATE on January 26, 2005, by an 85-to-13 vote. Within a year of taking office, Rice sought to restructure the Department of State through a plan called “transformational diplomacy.” This policy required diplomats to know at least two foreign languages and that they serve in two or more different locations on the new frontier—the Middle and Far East—of U.S. diplomacy. It also included a plan to base diplomatic positions in a country proportionally on the country’s population rather than on previous appointment figures. Additionally, Rice created the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), which would streamline the disparate number of government relief agencies and regulate the amount of aid given.

In the midst of reforming the Department of State, Rice maintained a vigorous campaign to stabilize the Middle and Far East. She heavily criticized Iran and North Korea’s nuclear weapons programs and lobbied for international pressure against both nations. She also influenced Israel to withdraw from the Gaza Strip. Rice remained an important member of the Bush administration and the Republican Party, which has drawn speculation that she will be a possible Republican candidate in the future.

See also FOREIGN POLICY; MIDDLE EAST (U.S. RELATIONS WITH).

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—Matthew C. Sherman

**Richardson, Elliot L.** (1920–1999) *government official*

Richardson devoted his life to public service and gained great renown when he resigned as RICHARD M. NIXON’s attorney general in 1973 rather than fire special prosecutor ARCHIBALD COX, JR. Elliot Lee Richardson was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on July 20, 1920, to a prominent New England family. Richardson attended Harvard University, graduating in 1941. During World War II he was a lieutenant in the army and participated in the Allied invasion in Normandy. During the war, Richardson was awarded the Bronze Star and two Purple Hearts. After the war, Richardson attended Harvard Law School, graduating in 1947. Richardson had an impressive early legal career, working as a law clerk for Judge Learned Hand at the United States Court of Appeals from 1947 to 1948 and for Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter from 1948 to 1949.

Richardson’s political career began during the Eisenhower administration, first as an assistant secretary of health, education and welfare (HEW) from 1957 to 1959 and then as United States attorney to Massachusetts from 1959 to 1961. During the 1960s, Richardson became active in Massachusetts politics, serving as lieutenant governor from 1965–67 and as attorney general from 1967–69. He was recalled to federal service by Richard M. Nixon, serving as undersecretary of state from 1969 to 1970 before becoming secretary of HEW, a post he held until 1973. After a brief stint as secretary of defense, Richardson was appointed attorney general in February 1972, replacing JOHN N. MITCHELL who had resigned to head the Committee to Reelect the President.

Richardson served until October 20, 1973, when he resigned rather than fire Archibald Cox. In May 1973 Richardson had named Cox as special prosecutor to investigate allegations that President Nixon had authorized the break-in at the Watergate, and other illegal activities aimed at gaining confidential Democratic Party strategies for the 1972 election. Cox demanded tapes of secret conversations held in the Oval Office. Nixon offered a compromise proposal, which Cox refused. Angered, Nixon ordered Richardson, and then William Ruckelshaus, to fire Cox. Richardson held firm on the grounds that he had speci-

fied that Cox would have full authority to contest Nixon's assertion of executive privilege. After Richardson resigned, Robert Bork accepted the order. The episode provoked a national outcry and became notorious as the "Saturday Night Massacre."

During the GERALD R. FORD administration, Richardson served as ambassador to Great Britain from 1975 through 1976. He then served as secretary of commerce from 1976 to 1977. During JAMES EARL CARTER, JR.'s administration he served as ambassador-at-large to the international law of the seas conference from 1977 to 1980. Richardson authored two books, *The Creative Balance* (1976) and *Reflections of a Radical Moderate* (1996). Richardson died December 30, 1999.

—John Korasick

**Roberts, John G.** (1955– ) *chief justice of the United States*

John Roberts became chief justice of the SUPREME COURT on September 29, 2005. Roberts was born on January 27, 1955, in Buffalo, New York, to John Glover Roberts and Rosemary Roberts. While Roberts was still young, the family moved to Long Beach, Indiana. Roberts finished his education in Catholic schools. He then attended Harvard University, graduating summa cum laude in 1976 as a history major, and entered Harvard Law School the following year. He worked on the *Harvard Law Review* from 1977 until he completed his Juris Doctor in 1979.

Roberts's first position was as a law clerk for Henry Friendly, a Second Circuit Court of Appeals judge. Thereafter, Roberts clerked for Justice WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST, a conservative on the court. In 1981 Roberts became special assistant to Attorney General William French Smith and then moved on to a position as assistant to the president's chief counsel, Fred F. Fielding. In 1986 he left the White House and joined the firm of Hogan & Hartson, where he specialized in writing federal court appeals. Three years later, Roberts returned to government service as deputy solicitor general. In 1992 GEORGE H. W. BUSH nominated Roberts for a position on the Court of Appeals for Washington, D.C., but after Bush lost the 1992 election Roberts returned to Hogan & Hartson, where he continued to practice appellate law.

When GEORGE W. BUSH won the 2000 election, he nominated Roberts for another opening on the Washington, D.C., Court of Appeals. Pro-choice groups worked to block the nomination because Roberts's record on ABORTION suggested he might not support it. Roberts did not gain a seat on the Court of Appeals until 2003, when a clear Republican majority in the Senate assured his confirmation.

In 2005, after Justice SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR, a judicial moderate, announced her retirement from the Supreme

Court, George W. Bush nominated Roberts to replace her. In September, after Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist died of thyroid cancer, Bush withdrew Roberts's nomination for Justice O'Connor's position and nominated him for chief justice. Some Democrats in the Senate opposed Roberts's nomination because it would replace a moderate justice with a conservative one. Others feared he was a strict constructionist, belonging to a school of judicial interpretation that holds that only the text of the law and not the intent of the legislators should be used to make judicial decisions. Roberts argued that his record showed that he would decide each case on its merits, relying on precedent rather than ideology to make his decisions. In the end, all 55 Senate Republicans and 22 Democrats voted to confirm Roberts. He was sworn in on September 29, 2005.

In his Supreme Court decisions, Roberts has often joined conservative Justices ANTONIN SCALIA and CLARENCE THOMAS. However, he joined the liberal justices in *Jones v. Flowers*, a decision stating that before a home can be seized for back taxes, the state must prove that it has exercised due diligence in attempting to notify the owner of the seizure. On the Court, he has fashioned himself as a conciliator, although with firmly conservative principles.

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—Amy Wallhermflechtel

**Roe v. Wade** (1973)

This was the landmark U.S. SUPREME COURT decision in 1973 that established a woman's right to have an ABORTION the first two trimesters of pregnancy. The plaintiff, Norma McCorvey (the case listed her as "Jane Roe"), was unable to receive an abortion legally under restrictive Texas law. She sued the state of Texas, and her case, essentially a challenge to all state abortion laws, eventually appeared before the Supreme Court. The Court ruled 7-2 in favor of Roe and thereby extended the right to personal privacy in sexual matters that was originally established in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965). The *Griswold* decision held that severe restrictions on the availability of contraceptives violated a woman's implied constitutional right to privacy. Justice Harry Blackmun wrote the majority opinion in *Roe v. Wade*, with Justices William Rehnquist and Byron White dissenting.

The decision solidified the divisions within an electorate already polarized by the abortion debate and ensured that abortion would remain a highly contentious and extremely visible political issue. The Court's decision led



to the emergence of an organized antiabortion movement. Supported by the Christian Coalition, the Roman Catholic Church, and many conservative politicians, the “pro-life” movement began to agitate for a constitutional amendment that would prohibit abortion except for therapeutic reasons and in cases involving rape and incest. The decision also galvanized those wanting to expand abortion rights. Groups such as the NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW) and other “pro-choice” activists took the view that *Roe v. Wade* had established constitutional protections for women’s rights to reproductive control. Although the Court’s decision did not explicitly deal with issues of women’s rights and gender equality, advocates see the “right to choose” as a fundamental human right, and *Roe v. Wade* continues to serve as a touchstone for the debate revolving around such issues.

The decision handed down by the Court in *Roe v. Wade* has survived several challenges since 1973 without being overturned. By the late 1990s, the abortion debate shifted toward the regulation of abortion, as opponents sought to erect practical barriers to the exercise of abortion rights. With the legality of abortion standing on a firm constitutional ground, the opposing groups struggled locally and nationally over the extent and legality of abortion restrictions.

See also BIRTH CONTROL; FAMILY LIFE; POPULATION TRENDS; WOMEN’S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

—William L. Glankler

**Ruckelshaus, William D.** (1932– ) *government official*

William Doyle Ruckelshaus gained a national reputation for his service to government as head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Environmental Protection Agency. He was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, on July 24, 1934, and graduated from Princeton University in 1957. He entered his family’s law firm in 1960 after graduating from Harvard Law School. Named deputy state attorney general in Indiana during his first year out of school, three years later he became chief counsel in the state attorney general’s office. Three years after this appointment, Ruckelshaus was elected to the Indiana House of Representatives.

In 1968 President RICHARD M. NIXON’s administration named Ruckelshaus assistant attorney general. When President Nixon created the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in 1970, he named Ruckelshaus its first director. In 1973 Ruckelshaus moved to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), where he became acting director. While in this position, Ruckelshaus uncovered the government wiretaps of news media and political opponents of President Nixon. Later that year, Ruckelshaus was named deputy attorney general. On October 20, 1973, Attorney General ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON resigned rather than

carry out President Nixon’s order to fire Watergate special prosecutor ARCHIBALD COX, JR., who was investigating the president’s alleged involvement in the WATERGATE SCANDAL. Ruckelshaus, now the acting U.S. attorney general, also resigned, and his successor, ROBERT BORK, complied with the order to dismiss Cox. The resignations and firing became known as the Saturday Night Massacre.

After several years of serving as senior vice president of corporate affairs for the Weyerhaeuser Corporation, Ruckelshaus became director of the EPA. He resigned one year later in 1983. In 1988 he went to Browning-Ferris Industries, becoming chief executive officer, a position he held until 1995. Ruckelshaus served as the chairman of the board of Browning-Ferris, principal owner of Madrona Investment Group, and as chairman of the University of Wyoming Institute for Environment and Natural Resources, as well as on the boards of several other nonprofit organizations.

—Leah Blakey

**Rumsfeld, Donald** (1932– ) *secretary of defense*

Donald Rumsfeld served as secretary of defense in the GEORGE W. BUSH administration and played a key role in the planning and invasion of Iraq following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. He had a distinguished career in government, having served in the Nixon, Ford, and Reagan administrations.

Rumsfeld was born on July 9, 1932, in Chicago, Illinois; graduated from Princeton University in 1954; and briefly attended Georgetown University’s Law School in 1956. While flirting with a career in law, Rumsfeld served in the U.S. Navy from 1954 to 1957. Shortly thereafter, Rumsfeld entered Republican Party politics as an assistant to Ohio congressman David S. Dennison in 1957 and later as a staff assistant to Michigan congressman Robert P. Griffin. Five years later, Rumsfeld ran as a Republican for the 13th U.S. Congressional District of Illinois. He won and was reelected in 1964, 1966, and 1968. During his tenure in the House, he was a member of the Committee on Science and Aeronautics, the Government Operations Committee, and the Joint Economic Committee.

Rumsfeld’s resignation from the House in 1969 marked the beginning of a long career in many positions in three presidential administrations. From 1969 to 1970 he served in President RICHARD M. NIXON’s administration as director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. In 1973 he was appointed as the ambassador to NATO. After President Nixon resigned as a result of the WATERGATE SCANDAL, President GERALD R. FORD selected Rumsfeld as his chief of staff in 1974 and later appointed him as secretary of defense. At 43 years of age, Rumsfeld was the youngest individual to occupy the office and helped reshape American military forces in the wake of the VIETNAM WAR. Under



his leadership, the armed forces became an all-volunteer force, and he sought to rebuild America's missile system to replace more conventional warfare.

After Ford's reelection bid failed, Rumsfeld reentered civilian life as CEO of pharmaceutical giant G.D. Searle from 1977 to 1985. After Monsanto bought out G.D. Searle in 1985, Rumsfeld worked privately for five years. In 1990 Rumsfeld served as the CEO of communications powerhouse General Instrument Cooperation. He left General in 1993 but served as a chairman of Gilead Sciences and a board member of ABB, a European engineering company, from 1990 to 2001.

President-elect George W. Bush nominated Rumsfeld to serve as his secretary of defense in December 2000, which made him the oldest secretary of defense, after having been the youngest, to occupy the position. Rumsfeld brought his business acumen and strong management style to the Pentagon. He sought to change the way Department of Defense business was conducted by trying to reduce the amount of oversight Congress exerted over the Pentagon. Rumsfeld also targeted what he perceived as excessive military programs that would not be effective in future conflicts, such as the failed Crusader weapons platform program. He also sought to change how the armed forces conducted war by reducing armies to quick fighting units. This strategy was known as the Rumsfeld Doctrine.

In the wake of September 11, 2001, Rumsfeld took an active role in directing the war campaign in Afghanistan and was a vocal defender of the invasion of Iraq in the spring of 2003. Using the Rumsfeld Doctrine, the United States conducted a quick campaign against Saddam Hussein's regime. As the war in Iraq worsened, casualties kept mounting, and reports of prisoner abuse in Iraq and Guantánamo Bay increased, Rumsfeld was strongly criticized by members of the armed forces, the public, and members of his own party, including PATRICK J. BUCHANAN and William Kristol. Some of these critics, most notably Senator HILLARY CLINTON (D-N.Y.) in August 2006, called for his resignation. Shortly after the loss of Congress to the Democrats in 2006, Rumsfeld resigned as secretary of defense and was replaced by former CIA director Robert Gates.

See also AFGHANISTAN WAR; IRAQ WAR.

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—Matthew C. Sherman

## rust belt

The economic decline of heavy industry during the 1970s led many critics to refer to the manufacturing centers in the Northeast and Middle West as the rust belt, usually



A pedestrian walks by graffiti on a downtown street on November 20, 2008, in Detroit, Michigan. An estimated one in three Detroiters lives in poverty, making the city the poorest large city in America. (Platt/Getty Images)

including the states of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Pennsylvania.

During the recessions of the 1970s, key manufacturing industries such as steel, automotive, mining, and shipbuilding struggled to maintain their competitive base and failed to sustain their capital investment programs. Moreover, increased competition from abroad, especially in the automotive and steel industries, and the development of high technology and service industries, resulted in massive factory closures, large-scale redundancies, and severe economic repercussions for the region. As a result, cities such as Detroit, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh were especially hard hit, with high unemployment and rapid population emigrations. The high cost of public subsidies in keeping open major factories and the loss of tax revenues forced many cities to the brink of bankruptcy, such as Cleveland in 1978. Increased technological innovation also compounded the difficulties of sustaining the competitiveness of heavy

industry, as the major companies drastically reduced their workforces. With the development of high technology and increased communication networks, many manufacturers relocated out of the rust belt to the less expensive South, or abroad, and newer industries began to develop in California.

However, during the 1990s, a sustained effort was made to reverse this decline. Many cities initiated inner-city renewal programs, focusing on attracting high technology, financial, and research companies to the regions. Cities such as Pittsburgh and Detroit, in particular, have focused on marketing themselves as centers of research and development, in order to complement their traditional industries. These manufacturing areas have recently suffered another setback though, with the recession of 2008 and the collapse of the U.S. automotive industry.

See also AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY; CHRYSLER CORPORATION LOAN GUARANTEE ACT.



### Sarbanes-Oxley Act

Sarbanes-Oxley is a U.S. federal law, also known as the Public Company Accounting Reform and Investor Protection Act of 2002, that was sponsored by Senator Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.) and Representative Michael G. Oxley (R-Ohio). Enacted by a Senate vote of 99-0 and a House vote of 423-3, the act was signed into law by President GEORGE W. BUSH on July 30, 2002. This federal law was a response to a number of corporate and accounting scandals, particularly those involving companies such as Enron and WorldCom. In 2001 it was revealed that much of Enron's recorded assets and profits were inflated and even nonexistent. The company collapsed, declaring bankruptcy on December 2, 2001. The collapse of Enron led to charges against the accounting firm of Arthur Andersen, and that trial led to exposure of accounting fraud at WorldCom, which went bankrupt. That bankruptcy set off a wave of other accounting scandals. These scandals contributed to the passage of Sarbanes-Oxley, which has been called one of the most significant changes to U.S. securities law since the New Deal.

The act established a new quasi-public entity, the Public Company Accounting Oversight Board, charged with overseeing, regulating, inspecting, and disciplining accounting firms in their roles as auditors of public companies. Other major provisions included requiring public companies to evaluate and disclose the effectiveness of their internal controls of financial reporting and that CEOs and CFOs certify their company's financial reports. The act enhanced auditor independence by banning certain types of work for audit clients, established fully independent audit committees, banned most personal loans to executive officers and directors, accelerated reporting of insider trading, and prohibited insider trading during pension fund blackout periods. The act also enhanced employee protections for corporate fraud whistle-blowers and provided for significantly longer jail sentences and larger fines for

corporate executives who knowingly and willfully misstate financial statements.

While some in the business community have conceded the necessity of the act, critics have questioned its effectiveness and cost. The costs of compliance have been high, as companies have had to update their information systems and personnel to comply with the new control and reporting requirements, expenses that are difficult for smaller companies to meet. Businesses responded by leaving New York for London, where the Financial Services Authority regulations are considerably less onerous. The *Economist* pointed out that the New York Stock Exchange dwarfed both London and Hong Kong in initial public offerings (IPOs) in 2001, but by 2006 both had surpassed New York.

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—Stephen E. Randoll

### Scalia, Antonin (1936– ) associate justice of the Supreme Court

Born March 11, 1936, in Trenton, New Jersey, Scalia became an associate justice of the U.S. SUPREME COURT in 1986. Scalia's outlook owes much to his father, Eugene Scalia, a devout Roman Catholic, Italian immigrant, and distinguished romance languages professor at Brooklyn College. His mother was a schoolteacher. When he was five, the family moved to Queens, New York, where Scalia attended public school and St. Francis Xavier, a military prep school. He received his B.A. in history from Georgetown University in 1957, where he was class valedictorian.

He graduated from Harvard Law School. At Harvard, he married Maureen McCarthy in September 1960 and had nine children.

Scalia began his legal career at a firm in Cleveland, Ohio, before becoming a law professor at the University of Virginia in 1967. In 1971 he entered government, becoming general counsel for the Office of Telecommunications Policy. In 1972 he served as chairman of the administrative Conference of the United States, an independent agency charged with improving the effectiveness of the administrative process. From 1974 to 1977 he served President GERARD R. FORD as assistant attorney general for the Office of Legal Counsel in the Justice Department.

After he left government he returned to teaching, at the Georgetown Law Center, and then at the University of Chicago, from 1977–82. From 1981 to 1982 he served as chairman of the American Bar Association's section on administrative law. In 1982 President RONALD W. REAGAN appointed Scalia to the U.S. Court of Appeals in the D.C. Circuit. He served in this position for four years. On June 17, 1986, Reagan nominated him to the Supreme Court to fill the seat of WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST, who had become chief justice of the Court. During his confirmation hearing, he said that the most important part of the Constitution was its "checks and balances."

The first Italian American on the Court, Scalia received unanimous Senate confirmation after President Reagan's nomination. He immediately began applying his legal philosophy to the Court's docket. Scalia wrote a vitriolic lone dissent in *Morrison v. Olson* (1988), shunning all the case law on INDEPENDENT COUNSEL and terming his friend Chief Justice Rehnquist's majority opinion "an exercise in folly" for overlooking the independent counsel statute's clear separation of powers violation. Congress ended up agreeing with Scalia's prophetic dissent. It refused to renew the independent counsel law 11 years later.

Scalia displayed his libertarian leaning in free speech and PROPERTY RIGHTS cases. He joined narrow liberal majorities in the flag burning cases, *Texas v. Johnson* (1989) and *U.S. v. Eichman* (1990). In *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul* (1992), Scalia wrote a broad majority opinion excoriating laws aimed at racist "hate speech." In *Lucas v. South Carolina Coast Council* (1992), he authored a landmark majority opinion, upholding "just compensation" for a property holder suffering a state government "taking" under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. This opinion overruled many decades of case law justifying government expropriations of private property. Scalia encountered much less success discarding state decisions on abortion. In *Bush v. Gore* (2000), Scalia wrote a concurring opinion explaining why the Court stopped the Florida vote count, while also criticizing two of his concurring and four of his dissenting colleagues.

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—Christopher M. Gray

### Schlafly, Phyllis (1924– ) *political activist, author*

As a CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT activist, author, and spokesperson for the "pro-family" movement and conservative cultural values, Phyllis Schlafly played a critical role in the transformation of the political right-wing in America from isolated groups in the 1950s into a powerful movement that elected a president in 1980 and continues to exert considerable influence in local and national politics. As head of the Eagle Forum, a grassroots activist organization that promotes pro-family opinion, Schlafly continues to head a powerful grassroots movement of women involved in state and local politics. She has authored 20 books. Schlafly was instrumental in defeating ratification of the EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA) in 1982. Schlafly was born August 15, 1924, in Saint Louis, Missouri, and educated at the Convent of the Sacred Heart. Her father lost his job in 1930, and her mother, a librarian, had to support the family throughout the depression. Schlafly grew up in a loving Roman Catholic family where she saw women treated with respect. She was valedictorian of her high school class and received a full scholarship to a local Catholic college but, believing she was not getting the education she needed, she transferred to Washington University in Saint Louis. To pay for tuition, she took a full-time night job in a local ordnance plant, testing ammunition. She graduated from Washington University in 1944, where she was admitted to Phi Beta Kappa, an honorary society. Following graduation, she accepted a graduate fellowship at Radcliffe College, where she earned an M.A. in government in 1945. (Later, at the age of 54, while heading the anti-ERA movement, she enrolled in law school and received a degree from Washington University.)

After leaving Radcliffe, she moved to Washington, D.C., where she worked at the American Enterprise Institute, and then returned to Saint Louis to manage at the age of 24 a successful campaign for a Republican congressional candidate in Saint Louis, while working full time as a research assistant and librarian at a local bank. In 1949, she was, as she later put it, "rescued from the life of a working girl" when she married 39-year-old-bachelor John F. Schlafly, scion of a prominent family in Saint Louis and a conservative Republican. After their move to Alton, Illinois, across the river from St. Louis, she became active in



the YWCA and the Community Chest. They had six children in the following years.

While raising her family in Alton, Illinois, she became involved in local civic affairs, grassroots anticommunist education, and Republican politics. She ran for Congress in 1952 and 1970, as a conservative Republican, but lost both races. During these campaigns, reporters invariably referred to her as “the good-looking blonde candidate” or the “powder-puff candidate.” She served as a delegate or alternate to Republican national conventions in 1956, 1960, and 1964, and ran for president of the National Federation of Republican Women in 1967, but was defeated in a hotly contested national election. She became a celebrity in 1964 with the publication of her best-selling book, *A Choice, Not an Echo*, in support of Republican BARRY GOLDWATER’s candidacy for the presidency.

In the 1970s Schlafly gained further national attention for her active opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, which declared, “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.” She founded and was chairperson of STOP ERA, and she was president of the Eagle Forum, a conservative political-activist organization. She argued that the ERA would force women into combat and mean the abolition of laws protecting women as workers and wives. While she did not deny that discrimination toward women occurred, she argued that legislation already on the books should be enforced to prevent illegal discrimination toward women. Furthermore, she argued that ERA would “liberate” husbands from obligations toward their wives and children. In addition, she maintained that ERA, if ratified, would allow abortion on demand. Feminists, she charged, wanted to “brainwash” women into believing that there was something wrong with being “just a housewife.” She went on to say, “The claim that American women are downtrodden and unfairly treated is the fraud of the century,” given the special status that women enjoyed in the United States compared with other countries in the world and with past history. While critics often accused her of being a hypocrite who wanted to keep women at home, while she built a successful career as a national spokesperson for conservative causes, Schlafly was not opposed to women working outside the home. After all her own mother had worked as a professional librarian. Instead, Schlafly argued that the primary responsibility of mothers should be toward their children and family, and not their professional careers.

Schlafly rallied opposition to the ERA and through years of hard work, speeches, and debates, the Equal Rights Amendment fell short of ratification in 1982. Schlafly was the single most influential person in preventing the ratification of the ERA. As Illinois Republican congressman Henry Hyde said, “Without her, I can say without a twinge of doubt, ERA would be part of the Constitution—unques-

tionably.” Together with her Eagle Forum, she continues to crusade on the social issues of pornography and abortion, literacy, immigration reform, and big government.

See also ABORTION; CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; AMENDMENTS TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION; EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT.

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—Elizabeth A. Henke and Donald T. Critchlow

## science and technology

Since the 1970s, personal technology has transformed America with what many have called a “COMPUTER revolution.” There were thousands of small electronic innovations that contributed to the technological advances in the 1970s and 1980s, but some of the most important arose from discoveries made in electricity and light.

In 1958 Jack Kilby invented the smaller, more durable “integrated circuit,” and 13 years after that, Marcian E. Hoff combined hundreds of integrated circuits on small silicon “chips,” which he called “microprocessors.” These inventions serve as the basis for all subsequent computing and electronic technologies. During this same period, scientists at Columbia University invented the “maser” in 1954, which used ammonia to produce coherent microwave radiation. In 1960 Theodore H. Maiman, of Hughes Research Laboratories, built the first laser (Light Amplification by Stimulated Emission of Radiation). Lasers have since been adapted and enhanced for a multitude of applications, including nuclear physics, MEDICINE, guidance systems, and mass storage. By the 1970s, the basic components were ready for a technological revolution in home appliances, information processing, and communication.

By the 1960s many consumers already had high-fidelity phonograph systems, but by the 1970s the list of common electronic equipment included magnetic tape-based eight-track and cassette decks, transistor-based stereo receivers, color televisions, and digital alarm-clock radios. Sony introduced the first Betamax home-use VCR in 1975, which inspired JVC to introduce the competing VHS format a year later. As prices dropped, the units became so widespread that the SUPREME COURT was called in to decide on whether home recordings of televised programming constituted a copyright violation; in *Sony v. Universal* (1984), they held that it did not.

The prevalence of electronics in the home encouraged a similar trend in specialty appliances for the family kitchen; Mr. Coffee introduced the first automatic drip coffee maker in 1972. Though Percy Spencer, of Raytheon Corporation, invented the Radar Range microwave in



Satellite dishes and the satellites they communicate with have revolutionized the flow of information around the world. (Boyle/Getty Images)

1946, it was not until 1967 that Amana introduced the first countertop model for home use. By 1975, sales of microwave ovens exceeded the sale of gas ranges, to become, by the end of the decade, more commonly owned than dishwashers. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, appliances based on microprocessor chips appeared for the American home, including compact disk (CD) players, introduced in 1982, and digital video disk (DVD) players in 1997. Other common devices include analog and digital video cameras, 5.1-channel Dolby Surround Sound speaker systems, and satellite cable connections. Digital thermostats, smoke and carbon dioxide detectors, and alarm systems have transformed even the home's infrastructure. Many of these advances are only decades old, and yet most have become so common that few Americans notice their presence.

Advances in information processing first developed in the late 1960s among government agencies and large corporate BUSINESSES; computers often filled entire rooms and required large staffs of programmers to operate. By the 1980s, however, personal computers entered the home, and by 2000 more than half of American households owned at least one. The first home computer, the Altair 8800, was sold through hobby magazines starting in January 1975. Two years later, Stephen Wozniak and Steve Jobs introduced the Apple II computer, which legend says

they first built in Wozniak's garage. In 1981 IBM introduced the IBM PC (for personal computer), which was so successful that the computer industry adopted the PC moniker and it became the generalized term for all subsequent computers, no matter who produced them. New companies arose to augment existing computing systems with peripherals that have since become standard attachments, including the hard disk drive system, graphics and sound cards, inkjet and laser printers, and combination fax and modem cards.

Throughout the 1980s, the rate of innovation in computing technology grew so fast that many consumers feared purchasing lest their model become obsolete before year's end. The resulting struggle for common standards forced some of the initial pioneers of home computing, like Tandy, Commodore, and Texas Instruments, to redesign their product lines to ensure 100 percent IBM compatibility, because consumers relied on the PC standard to judge the quality of their software and hardware purchases. Despite these fast changes, some standards emerged based on the Microsoft Windows operation system and the Intel-compatible microprocessor. Apple computers remained the only significant alternative, with a market share hovering between 3 and 5 percent. The consolidation of standards made the introduction of new peripherals much easier,

and by 2000, common peripherals included rewritable CD and DVD players, full-page color scanners, video-capture cards, and digital cameras. With so many options for capturing information, in the 21st century there will be very little that will pass undocumented.

The prevalence of home computers during the 1980s paved the way for similar advances in communication. Bell Laboratories invented fiber optics in 1977, when it experimented with thin strands of glass to transmit pulses of light between telephone exchange centers. Fiber optic connections permit digital transmission with greater bandwidth at much faster rates than traditional analog connections. Though telephone companies installed fiber optic connections throughout the 1980s, private consumer demand remained limited because there was little need for large bandwidth at home. This changed, however, after the World Wide Web (WWW) was released over the Internet in 1991.

Though the entry of powerful personal computers during the 1980s made private access to these networks more feasible, the lack of simple navigation software inhibited widespread public access. The situation improved, however, when Tim Berners-Lee developed information management software called the World Wide Web, while working at Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire (CERN). It stored information using random associations called "links," based on Hyper Text Markup Language (HTML), to provide an easier and more systematic way of accessing the various information threads over the Internet. The following year, Marc Andreessen, a 22-year-old student at the University of Illinois, developed the Mosaic browser, which attached a graphical interface to the Web, allowing visitors to navigate using a few mouse clicks. Shortly thereafter, the popular version, called Netscape Navigator, was released to the public creating an immediate demand for Internet access.

In 1992 there were only 50 pages on the Internet; by 1993 the number had grown to 341,000, and within three years, the number of pages had grown so great that accurate figures were no longer possible. The consumer demand for Internet access produced an equally great demand for faster communication from home, including fiber optic connections and even cable and satellite options. Americans quickly grew accustomed to instant communication with relatives, friends, and colleagues around the world through e-mail, and later, through instant messaging.

Not surprisingly, the demand for portable communications grew by similar proportions. The Federal Communications Commission repealed restrictions on mobile phones in 1983, which allowed Bell Telephone to introduce the first one later in the year, though the high price initially restricted mobile phones to businesses. The 1996 Telecommunications Act deregulated local telephone

service, opening the market to increasing competition between telephone providers. By 1995, 32 million Americans made up more than a third of the mobile phone users worldwide. By 2001 the number had increased to 115 million.

The creation of wireless local area networks marked the next advance in home and business communications. Since the inception of such networks in 1997, people have used the term "Wi-Fi" to describe the generic wireless interface of mobile computing devices such as laptops. A person with a Wi-Fi-enabled device such as a personal computer, cell phone, or other such device can connect to the Internet when in the proximity of any access point, called a "hotspot." Hotspots can range in size from a single room to many square miles. Wi-Fi also enabled devices to connect directly with each other. This connectivity is especially useful in consumer electronics and gaming applications. Free Wi-Fi has been growing in popularity and by 2007 was available at more than 100,000 locations in the United States. Businesses such as Starbucks, McDonalds, and a variety of hotels offer paid Wi-Fi. This is a growing trend at businesses with high customer turnover.

Internet access became available through wireless telephones with the development of devices such as the Blackberry and the iPhone. These devices, called "smart phones," came equipped with keyboards to allow the user to communicate as though with a computer. With this technology, users gained instant access to communications, e-mail, news, and music without being confined to specific hotspots.

As personal technology becomes more common in American homes, the size of the nation and the world appears to shrink. When Boeing introduced the 747 jumbo jet on January 21, 1970, observers reacted with a mixture of confidence and awe at the extent of human achievement; the *New York Times* wrote, "The 747 will make it possible for more and more people to discover what their neighbors are like on the other side of the world." The new jet could travel 4,600 nautical miles without refueling and could carry 490 people, almost four times that of its closest rival, the Boeing 707. It also forced existing airports to modernize their runway and terminals to accommodate the giant aircraft, which had the positive effect of improving safety throughout the airline industry. Unfortunately, the jumbo jet also made accidents much more tragic; one of the worst aviation disasters in history occurred when two 747s collided on a runway on March 27, 1977, killing more than 570 people. Despite these singular incidents, air travel remains the safest form of transportation in the United States, and the 747 significantly improved traffic between coasts and overseas; it also provided farmers and manufacturers with a fast alternative to trucking, thereby expanding their available market base to a global scale. Though the



basic style of the jumbo jets has remained unchanged since 1970, the interior has been routinely adapted to reflect the advances in information processing and communication. By 2000, most American jets included telephones and entertainment consoles for each passenger.

More traditional forms of transportation have tried to maintain relative parity with airlines. Though the United States has lagged far behind European and Asian nations in its high-speed railroads, automobiles have benefited greatly from the computing revolution. As early as 1966, William Lear, founder of the Lear Jet Aviation Company, invented the eight-track tape deck as an option in luxury cars. By the mid-1980s automobile electronics expanded far beyond the stereo system. As fuel efficiency became a growing concern for consumers, most cars included microprocessors to regulate fuel management and suspension systems. Later innovations included computer-monitored airbags, digital speedometers, and complex alarm systems. In 1996, Cadillac introduced the OnStar system, which provided motorists with remote access to their vehicle, emergency roadside assistance, and a computerized navigation system that used Global Positioning System (GPS) technology to pinpoint the vehicle's exact location. By 2000, CD players, keyless entry, and automatic door lifts became common options, while some minivans included miniature televisions, with VCR and DVD players, and laser-guided reverse warning systems. Though no company has introduced a driverless automobile, many of the necessary components are already in production.

One of the most directly relevant applications of computing technology occurred in the field of medicine. Computer-aided microscopes with attached robotic lasers that cut with near-cellular precision enabled physicians in the 1990s to successfully perform surgery on neonatal arteries the size of a toothpick. In 2001 AbioCor used microprocessors with long-lasting power sources in the first fully contained artificial heart, which Dr. Gary Laman of Jewish Hospital in Louisville, Kentucky, implanted in Robert Tools; its success promises a future where artificial organs will be cheaper and more commonly used. Researchers involved in nanotechnology work with tiny machines that can be as small as three atoms wide; some of the projected applications include projects involving information gleaned from the complete map of the human genome, which might enable scientists to develop a direct interface between computer technology and human biology. The prospect of cybernetic organs or "intelligent" plastic surgery promises to expand the lifespan of humans.

Some technology advocates hope that science will provide solutions for some ancient social problems, such as disease, old age, poverty, and even crime. Others, however, are not as optimistic; some religious leaders fear that an influx of technology, without an equivalent emphasis on

philosophical and religious values, may result in a breakdown of familial and personal relationships, which form the basis for civic responsibility. Other social critics worry that the continuous introduction of new technology creates an artificial demand that only encourages a materialistic society. One point, however, seems clear—the true impact of the computer revolution will not be fully understood for many decades to come.

See also COMPUTERS; HUMAN GENOME PROJECT; INTERNET; SPACE POLICY.

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—Aharon W. Zorea and Stephen E. Randall

## Senate, U.S.

Since 1968 the U.S. Senate as an institution has become increasingly partisan and given less to reform than the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. In the period from 1968 through 2002, neither major party has held control for an extended period. Procedural reforms in the Senate were less far-reaching than in the House, because the Senate was already more accessible and less structured.

The most important reform in the Senate centered on the filibuster. Unlimited debate is a method used by senators to obstruct legislation. Under Senate rules, a filibuster could be ended by a vote of two-thirds of the members present. In 1975 this was changed to two-thirds of the full Senate. A second reform was on post-cloture filibusters (after the Senate has voted to end a filibuster), which had been used to get around the 1975 rules had tried to reform the use of a filibuster. The Senate also adopted a new ethics code.

The 1970s saw each party change its leadership. Democratic majority leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) and Republican minority leader Hugh Scott (R-Pa.) each announced their retirement in 1977. Succeeding Mansfield was ROBERT BYRD (D-W.V.) and succeeding Scott was Howard Baker (R-Tenn.). Both men effectively downplayed their individual political views and succeeded at bringing the parties to a common ground through persuasion. Bipartisanship flourished in the Senate.

In 1980 the Republicans gained control of the Senate, and Baker and Byrd exchanged places. Initially the Republicans fell into line behind RONALD W. REAGAN's policies, and many conservative Democrats crossed the aisle to support the Republicans. By 1982, moderate Republicans and Democrats began to rebel against further cuts in social pro-



grams and the growing budget deficit. In 1983, despite a Republican majority, the Senate Budget Committee passed a Democratic-inspired budget plan calling for \$30 billion in new taxes.

The difficulties experienced by Baker in exercising leadership were in part due to the Senate's composition. Virtually every member was a leader—89 percent were chairmen or ranking members of a committee or subcommittee. Baker retired in 1985 and was replaced by ROBERT DOLE (R-Kans.). Dole proved to be a charismatic and resourceful leader. Using a combination of negotiation, compromise, arm-twisting, and humor, he brought competing interests into line. Dole gained passage for a 1985 budget that would reduce the deficit by cutting both defense and domestic spending. Dole oversaw the passage of the GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS ACT. He also helped to gain authorization for televising the Senate proceedings.

The Democrats regained control of the Senate in 1986. The new Democratic Senate witnessed some sharp partisan divisions over appointments and legislation. In 1987 the nomination of ROBERT BORK to the Supreme Court led to a lengthy debate on Bork's philosophy before he was rejected. In 1991 the nomination of Clarence Thomas created more controversy, as Anita Hill accused Thomas of sexually harassing her years before.

Majority Leader George Mitchell (D-Maine) instituted a number of "quality of life" reforms after he replaced Byrd. Mitchell limited late-night sessions, scheduled no roll call votes after 7 P.M., except on Thursdays. Most votes were scheduled for the middle of the week, so senators could visit their home districts. Mitchell continued the practice begun by Byrd—scheduling Senate sessions for three weeks with the fourth week off so members could tend to home-state business.

The Senate was not immune to the ethics scandals that plagued the House. Senator Harrison Williams (D-N.J.) resigned his seat in 1982 in the face of an expulsion threat after a federal grand jury found him guilty of bribery and conspiracy. The Senate reprimanded Dave Durenburger (R-Minn.) in 1990 for attempting to exceed honoraria limits. Overshadowing Durenburger was the "Keating Five." The five were senators who had used improper influence on behalf of savings and loan executive Charles Keating. The senators—Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), Dennis DeConcini (R-Ariz.), John Glenn (D-Ohio), Donald Riegle (D-Mich.), and John McCain (R-Ariz.)—were accused of acting after receiving \$1.3 million in campaign contributions from Keating. In 1991 the Ethics Committee exonerated all but Cranston who was formally reprimanded. Later, two senators faced accusations of sexual misconduct—Brock Adams (D-Wash.) and Bob Packwood (R-Oreg.).

In 1994 the Republicans regained control of the Senate. Bob Dole resumed his mantle of majority leader. The Senate never endorsed the "Contract with America" and was less than enthusiastic about the tactics of the House Republicans. Dole resisted the Republican euphoria, but eventually succumbed to pressure to take advantage of the House victories. In 1996 Dole resigned from the Senate after winning the Republican presidential nomination. Dole lost to WILLIAM J. CLINTON in 1996, but the Republicans gained two seats. This margin was maintained in 1998.

The new majority leader became Trent Lott (R-Miss.). In 1999 the Senate sat in judgment of an impeached president. Forced to deal with the House's actions, the Senate was sworn to impartiality in January 1999. In February the Senate acquitted Clinton on all charges.

After the 2000 election the Senate was evenly split. With Vice President Dick Cheney able to cast the deciding vote, the Republicans retained control of the Senate until James Jeffords (R-V.) left the Republican Party and declared himself an Independent, closely aligned with the Democrats. As a result, Tom Daschle (D-S.D.) became head of the Senate. This intensified partisanship in the Senate and imparted greater influence to the moderate Republican wing. The terrorist destruction of the World Trade Center and attack on the Pentagon in September 2001 appeared to lessen partisanship, but it soon revived over legislation and judicial appointments in the closely divided body.

Partisanship was intensified as policy makers debated the justification for war with Iraq and enacted Resolution 114, more commonly known as the Iraq War Resolution, on October 11, 2002. Thus, it was no surprise that FOREIGN POLICY issues dominated the 2002 election campaign. Republicans promoted themselves as national security experts and criticized Democrats as being soft on defense. Democrats, on the other hand, lauded their efforts on domestic policy. The focus on defense paid off on November 5, 2002, when Republicans gained three seats in the Senate while the Democrats gained one seat. The Republicans held a majority, with 51 seats to the Democrats' 48 seats.

The 108th Senate passed much legislation and contended with a wide range of issues from 2003 to 2004. The Senate added a prescription drug benefit plan to Medicare, enacted a \$330 billion tax cut, approved legislation restricting telemarketer phone calls, and enacted an anti-partial birth abortion plan. In many cases, both Democrats and Republicans crossed party lines.

The election of 2004 further solidified the Republican majority in the Senate and brought further changes to the Senate's leadership. The Republicans gained four more seats, which gave them 55 seats to 44 Democratic Party seats. Among some of the most important and hotly

contested legislation passed by the 109th Congress was Terri Schiavo's law, which moved her right-to-life case into a federal court; the Energy Policy Act of 2005; and the passage of the Defense Department Appropriations Act of 2006 amid an increasingly unpopular IRAQ WAR.

The midterm election of 2006, however, ended the Republican Party's domination of the Senate since the election of 2002. Under the new Democratic leadership, the Senate has enacted legislation increasing the minimum wage, appropriations for the Iraq War and AFGHANISTAN WAR, and has investigated whether or not the dismissals of U.S. district attorneys by President GEORGE W. BUSH's attorney general, Alberto Gonzales, were politically motivated. With the Republican Party controlling the White House and the Congress dominated by the Democrats, partisanship intensified further in an environment of divided government. The balance of power shifted with the 2008 election of Democrat BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA to the White House. In addition to winning the presidency, the Democrats—riding a wave of public discontent with the Bush administration and over the worsening ECONOMY—also managed to expand their control of the House of Representatives and gain the majority in the U.S. Senate. Though the balance of power between the two parties has shifted for now, it remains to be seen if this change will make any difference in the effectiveness of the Senate as a legislative body.

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—John Korasick and Matthew C. Sherman

### sexual revolution

During the 1960s a sexual revolution occurred in the United States that reshaped Americans' understanding of sexuality, the acceptance of artificial contraception and premarital sex, and the increased visibility of the gay and lesbian community. These trends combined to cultivate a wide-ranging ethic of sexual pleasure by further complicating the relationship between sexuality and reproduction, pleasure, and identity.

Sexual behavior became more associated with pleasure than with reproduction. Growing access to BIRTH CONTROL reinforced the message that sex and reproduction were not necessarily connected. By the early 1950s a significant number of women used the diaphragm, the method most widely recommended by birth control advocates. The availability of oral contraceptives in 1960, and the U.S. SUPREME COURT's decision that legalized the sale of contraceptives nationwide in *Griswold v. Connecticut* in 1965 precipitated a contraceptive revolution. By the 1970s,

the birth control pill, diaphragms, voluntary sterilization, and, in 1973, legalized ABORTION were widely available to most women regardless of race or class.

Another development that brought the ethic of pleasure into prominence was the youth rebellion of the late 1960s. As the baby boomers filled the college campuses, they fomented a counterculture centered on cultural radicalism, political and social protest, and a challenge to traditional sexual mores. They joined the Civil Rights and ANTIWAR MOVEMENTS and advocated such practices as the distribution of contraceptives by university health services and the institution of coed dorms. Some young Americans rallied around their guru, Timothy Leary, a Harvard University research psychologist, who promoted a drug-oriented, sexually free, and antimaterialistic lifestyle. A clear manifestation of the relationship between youth and the ethic of sexual pleasure occurred in August 1969 when several hundred thousand young adults gathered near WOODSTOCK, New York, for a three-day festival to enjoy popular music, drugs, nudity, and sexual encounters. The reorientation of sexual attitudes also found expression on Broadway, where musicals such as *Hair* and *Oh! Calcutta* that contained nudity and sexually explicit language proved hugely popular.

The increased visibility of the gay and lesbian community during the 1960s and into the 1990s contributed to the restructuring of American sexuality in two ways. First, it underscored the message of the contraceptive revolution that sex was not necessarily linked to reproduction. More important, the homosexual community legitimated the possibility of constructing an identity predicated on one's sexual preferences rather than just one's race, class, or gender. In the 1950s public displays of homosexuality were repressed, and in many states homosexual sexual relations were illegal. Some gays and lesbians actively resisted the discrimination that threatened their livelihood and even their lives. Gay men formed the Mattachine Society and lesbians formed the Daughters of Bilitis. With the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s, some gays began demanding equal rights and treatment. In the summer of 1969, patrons of the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in Greenwich Village, resisted a police raid and touched off demonstrations in New York City. The Stonewall Riot, as it became known, served as the touchstone for the GAY AND LESBIAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT that received much media attention and made "coming out of the closet" a more realistic possibility for many homosexuals.

The contraceptive revolution and the emergence of the gay and lesbian community as a powerful cultural force emphasized the declining power of the reproductive ideal. Concurrently, the mass media stepped up its promotion of the ethic of sexual pleasure and desire and helped make sexuality a central component of public discourse. Advertisers used sexual images and innuendo to sell their prod-

ucts. In the late 1960s MOVIES showed nudity and couples having sexual relations, although these depictions were not graphic. In the wake of the sexual revolution, the sex industry expanded enormously, with PORNOGRAPHY entering the realm of mainstream entertainment during the 1970s with such films as *Deep Throat* (1972) and *Behind the Green Door* (1973). In the 1980s and 1990s videotape and the INTERNET helped make pornography a multibillion-dollar industry. TELEVISION programs also became increasingly explicit. In the 1970s television programs showed couples sleeping in the same bed. By the 1990s, such prime-time shows as *NYPD Blue* contained glimpses of partial nudity, and virtually all prime-time shows were rife with sexual innuendo.

In the 1960s and 1970s sexual manuals appeared on the best-seller lists. Such titles as *The Sensuous Man* and *The Sensuous Woman* were sold in significant numbers. By the end of the 20th century, most women's magazines contained some information on how to improve one's sex life in virtually every issue.

The emergence of the ethic of sexual pleasure from the sexual revolution of the 1960s seriously complicated the question of transgression. Much of what Americans had previously considered immoral, illegal, or abnormal, late 20th-century Americans viewed as acceptable or even desirable. American society began to celebrate the public expression of sexuality and the boundaries of acceptable sexual behavior expanded well beyond marriage and reproduction. The AIDS epidemic of the 1980s helped rein in the unmitigated pursuit of sexual pleasure and forced the drawing of ethical lines for those who subscribed to the pleasure ideal. This applied not only to the gay and lesbian communities, who, with intravenous drug users, experienced the terrors of AIDS first, but to all sexually active Americans. Although some moralists claimed that AIDS was divine retribution for the sin of homosexuality and sexual promiscuity, this view was not widely accepted. Gays and lesbians, however, focused on the responsibility they had to one another and mobilized to care for those who had contracted the disease and to increase awareness of the disease among mainstream American society. Within the context of the pleasure ideal and the specter of sexually transmitted diseases, transgression was defined as failing to care for oneself or for one's partner. A cross section of American society, from college students to the federal government, initiated efforts to educate sexually active Americans about the importance of using protection and being responsible to their partners.

Largely as a result of the sexual revolution of the 1960s and of the continued evolution of Americans' understanding of sexuality, the meaning of sexuality and the parameters of sexual behavior continued to be the focus of highly contentious debate. Americans disagreed, essentially, about

the relationship between sexuality and reproduction, identity, and pleasure. Through the legal system, the media, and sometimes by violence, Americans attempted to promote their particular view on issues such as abortion, homosexual marriage, and pornography. America's diversity necessarily produced ambivalence about sexuality that continued to exist alongside the traditional, but still present, uneasiness with sexuality. It is true that at the end of the 20th century sexual imagery was pervasive in American public discourse, a fact that presents a distorted image of American culture as "oversexed." However, sexuality in behavior, and in its representation, continues to be regulated and controlled, thus creating a conflicted environment in which *NYPD Blue*, a popular television show, is more criticized for portraying sexual intercourse between two people in a relationship than for very graphically depicting a police officer being shot in the head. If any conclusion can be made, it is that the sexual revolution enabled an explosion of discourse about sexuality that has catapulted the debate over sexual attitudes and behavior into one of the most prominent positions in American culture and society.

See also ADVERTISING; BIRTHRATES; CENSORSHIP; FEMINISM; MORAL MAJORITY; WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

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—William L. Glankler

**Shriver, Robert Sargent, Jr.** (1915– ) *Peace Corps director, government official*

Sargent Shriver is best known for his work in the Lyndon Johnson administration and its War on Poverty, and his selection as a vice presidential candidate for the Democratic Party in 1972.

Shriver was born in Westminster, Maryland, in 1915. A graduate of Yale University (1938) and Yale Law School (1941), Shriver went on to serve in World War II as a naval officer. Shriver briefly worked as an editorial assistant at *Newsweek* magazine after concluding his military career. He then joined the management of the Chicago Merchandise Mart, owned by Joseph P. Kennedy. In 1953 he married Eunice Kennedy, a sister of John F. Kennedy. The couple had five children.

Shriver was politically active, heading the National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency, in Washington, D.C., serving as president of the Chicago Board of Education, assisting his brother-in-law in his presidential campaign efforts. His most notable

activities were his work with the Peace Corps, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), and Head Start. From 1961 to 1966, Shriver served as the organizer and first director of the Peace Corps, where he developed and coordinated volunteer activities in more than 50 countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. In 1964 Shriver created Head Start and VISTA, under President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program. In 1972 Shriver was nominated by the Democratic Party as a candidate for vice president with Senator GEORGE S. MCGOVERN in the presidential race against RICHARD M. NIXON and SPIRO T. AGNEW. In 1994 President WILLIAM J. CLINTON awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Shriver.

—Michele Rutledge

**Souter, David** (1939– ) *associate justice of the Supreme Court*

Justice Souter replaced retiring associate justice WILLIAM J. BRENNAN, JR., the liberal driving force on the WARREN E. BURGER and WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST Courts. Born in Melrose, Massachusetts, on September 17, 1939, Souter grew up in New Hampshire on a farm left to his parents by his grandparents. His father was a banker in Concord, New Hampshire, and there David Souter attended public school before entering Harvard University, where he would graduate magna cum laude in 1961. He received a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford University, and while there, he completed another B.A. and an M.A. degree. He returned to New Hampshire to take up private practice and become involved in civic affairs. In 1968 he was asked by the new state attorney general, Warren Rudman, to serve as his assistant, which he did from 1968 to 1976. When Rudman left the position, Souter was appointed state attorney general by Republican governor Meldrum Thompson. As attorney general, Souter opposed legalized gambling and protests at Seabrook, a local nuclear plant.

From 1978 to 1983 Souter served on the state superior court, before John Sununu appointed him to the state Supreme Court. In 1990 Souter was appointed to the U.S. Court of Appeals by GEORGE H. W. BUSH. Five months later, William J. Brennan, Jr., retired from the U.S. SUPREME COURT, and Souter was nominated for his seat. He was confirmed by the Senate on October 2, 1990, by a 90-9 vote.

From the outset, Souter assumed a moderate position on the Court. This was reflected in his first major decision, *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* (1992). Writing with SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR and Anthony Kennedy, Souter's opinion permitted several state regulations on abortion to stand, but declined to overturn *ROE V. WADE*. His concurrence in *Stenberg v. Carhart* (2000), the so-called "partial birth abortion" case, reaffirmed his defense of abortion. In *Lee v. Weis-*

*man* (1992), Souter was the swing vote resisting changes in public school prayer.

In other areas Souter gained a reputation for his independence. In 1992 he wrote the majority opinion for *Norman v. Reed*, invalidating on constitutional grounds portions of the Illinois election law that unduly burdened access to the ballot by new political parties. He also concurred with a decision in a capital case, concluding that information about a murder victim can be presented to a sentencing jury.

Until the election of 2000, O'Connor, Kennedy, and Souter formed what appeared to be a centrist block on the court, but in *Bush v. Gore* (2001), Souter joined the minority in the 5-4 decision ending the ballot count in Florida. Souter wrote a passionate dissent and in doing so, joined what most people perceive as the liberal block on the Court. This decision might prove to be this Court's legacy, as well as Souter's.

Justice Souter retired from the Court in June 2009.

See also BUSH, GEORGE W.; GORE, ALBERT, JR.

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—Christopher M. Gray

**South Africa (U.S. relations with)**

American relations with South Africa became a source of tremendous controversy in the 1970s and 1980s over the South African policy of apartheid. Apartheid was a policy of strict racial segregation imposed by the South African National Party after its election in 1948. Playing on the fears of the white minority of losing control to and being dominated by the black majority, the National Party narrowly defeated the less extreme United Party. Between 1949 and 1960 a series of laws were passed implementing apartheid, guaranteeing the separation of the races and limiting black mobility and associations.

The United States government tended to downplay apartheid in the 1950s and early 1960s. The South Africans were strongly anticommunist and possessed the most developed economy on the African continent. The United States took the position that apartheid was strictly a South African internal issue.

Following the SUPREME COURT decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the apartheid issue in South Africa was less easy to ignore without giving the appearance that the United States was supporting the apartheid regime. By 1958, the United States began moving away from the position that apartheid was just a domestic issue.



In the wake of the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, when South African police killed 69 antiapartheid protestors, the United States recalled its ambassador and for the first time participated in a UNITED NATIONS vote condemning the action.

During the RICHARD M. NIXON administration, a concerted effort was made to bring the nations closer. Nixon embraced the idea that closer relations would allow the United States to have more influence with the South African government concerning its racial policy than it could exert by isolating the nation. In addition, Nixon wanted to push aside racial concerns in favor of strategic and commercial concerns with international reach.

With the election of JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., in 1976, there was a significant shift in American policy from the COLD WAR to international human rights. Carter's ambassador to the UN, Andrew Young, hinted that sanctions against South Africa were a possibility and charged that the white minority government was illegitimate. In this increasingly hostile atmosphere, the death of Stephen Biko, a South African civil rights activist who was murdered in 1977 in police custody, moved the UN to impose an arms embargo on South Africa. While the United States supported this embargo, it did not sever commercial relations. As a result, an activist movement in the United States began demanding that American corporations and universities divest stock holding in South Africa. Carter continued to oppose mandatory economic sanctions on South Africa.

The election of RONALD W. REAGAN in 1980 resulted in yet another U.S. policy shift. Reagan's approach to South Africa was called "constructive engagement" and had four objectives: to encourage the abandonment of apartheid; to preserve American access to strategic minerals; secure the sea lanes; and counter communist activity in southern and central Africa, especially in Angola. American companies were encouraged to use their influence to improve conditions for blacks. In 1984 South Africa adopted constitutional changes granting political rights to Indians and "Coloureds," citizens of mixed race. These reforms, however, did not address the central problem of the disenfranchisement of black Africans. The U.S. Congress called for sanctions and initiated legislation to impose economic sanctions. Public protests against South Africa demanded sanctions and divestment by American firms.

In mid-1985 Reagan, under congressional pressure, imposed limited sanctions—ending nuclear cooperation, banning new loans, and banning the export of computers and technology and the importation of South African gold coins. Further, American banks refused to roll over short-term loans to South Africa.

In 1986 Congress passed and overrode Reagan's veto of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA). The

CAAA imposed wide-ranging economic sanctions, banning new U.S. investment and trade. It required six actions from the South Africans to get the sanctions lifted—political prisoners must be freed, opposition parties legalized, and the state of emergency lifted; discriminatory legislation must be repealed; political freedom must be granted to blacks; and the government must enter into negotiations with black leaders to dismantle apartheid.

The end of the cold war in 1989, and the rise to power of the reform-minded South African president F. W. de Klerk, helped change the course of South African history. No longer could opposition parties like the African National Congress (ANC) be credibly charged with being communist fronts. In 1990 de Klerk released jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. He also legalized opposition groups and called for negotiations to end apartheid. U.S. president GEORGE H. W. BUSH lifted some of the CAAA sanctions in 1991 and began economic and development programs aimed at South African blacks to educate them to participate in a democracy. American policy during this period focused on keeping the negotiations on track.

President WILLIAM J. CLINTON maintained much of the Bush program. In November 1993 an agreement ending apartheid was reached, and Congress passed legislation repealing the remaining CAAA sanctions, and authorized further development assistance. In 1994 Mandela was elected president of South Africa in the nation's first all-race election. Clinton subsequently announced a three-year, \$600 million aid package, giving South Africa more aid than all of the other African countries combined. By the later 1990s, South Africa had become an important American trading partner in Africa.

See also AFRICAN NATIONS.

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—John Korasick

## Soviet Union (breakup)

The breakup of the Soviet Union, which had been established following the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 and grew in subsequent years until World War II, occurred in 1991 under the strain of economic failure.

In 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev became general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He believed that his nation could no longer compete with the United States economically or militarily, due to the supremacy of U.S. technological abilities and the extremely poor

condition of the Soviet economic system. Furthermore, he felt that the continuous military buildup of Soviet defenses had sapped the industrial and economic resources of the country. Gorbachev worked to reduce tensions with the United States and establish better relations with President RONALD W. REAGAN. The two superpower leaders met in autumn of 1985 in Geneva, Switzerland, with the expectations of defusing tensions between the two nations that had worsened in the last years of JAMES EARL CARTER, JR.'s administration and Reagan's first term in office.

Within the Soviet Union, Gorbachev proposed modest economic reforms to allow a rudimentary market economy to develop, while reducing government price subsidies on some basic goods. He called his plan to reinvigorate the Soviet economy "perestroika" (restructuring), which was meant to streamline production and management. Gorbachev also proclaimed a policy of GLASNOST (openness) by which he intended to allow Soviet citizens new rights of free speech.

At the same time, Gorbachev instituted economic change and decreased the Communist Party's control on the political system. Nonetheless, Soviet citizens continued to face soaring prices, unemployment, and a scarcity of goods. On August 19, 1991, a clique within the Soviet government attempted to oust him because the imminent signing of the Union Treaty promised to provide limited autonomy to the 15 Soviet republics.

Russian president Boris Yeltsin, a supporter of reform, called for mass resistance to the coup. Thousands of supporters rallied to his cause. The heads of the other republics also declared their support for Yeltsin and Gorbachev. By August 21, the coup had failed and the Communist Party's grip on the Soviet Union had ended. Citizens responded by tearing down statues of former Soviet leaders, including Lenin and Stalin.

By the end of 1991, the Soviet Union no longer existed. In its place was the Commonwealth of Independent States (comprising 12 republics of the former Soviet Union) and the 15 independent nations of Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Turkmenistan, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, it became obvious that its economy was in even worse shape than formerly believed. Conversion from the state-controlled market to a free-market economy proved to be difficult. Leaders of all the new independent nations turned to the West for economic assistance. The United States and its Western allies responded slowly to the requests and sent money and experts to help ease the transition, but corruption, bureaucratic regulations, and economic inefficiency prevented quick or easy recovery.

See also BUSH, GEORGE W.; FOREIGN RELATIONS.

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—Leah Blakey

### space policy

The United States first developed its space program during the COLD WAR with the goal of promoting military technology, while also reinforcing public confidence in the superiority of American SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. After the United States won the space race, however, the program gradually evolved from a military application into a more civilian-oriented, commercial enterprise.

The American space program started after President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed the National Space Act on July 29, 1958, creating the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). Throughout the decade of the 1960s, NASA received almost \$35 billion in funding for the purpose of safely transporting a manned vehicle to the Moon and back. By the 1970s, the influx of resources created five program offices within NASA, including: Aeronautics and Space Technology, which develops necessary equipment; Space and Science Applications, which researches the origin, structure, and evolution of the universe; Space Flight, which includes direction of all manned and unmanned space transportation; Space Tracking and Data, which gathers information on existing space objects; and Space Station, which facilitates NASA's long-term goal of a manned space station. With its headquarters in Washington, D.C., NASA has affiliated programs at the Goddard Space Flight Center (Greenbelt, Maryland), Jet Propulsion Laboratory (Pasadena, California), Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center (Houston, Texas), Kennedy Space Center (Cape Canaveral, Florida), and Langley Research Center (Hampton, Virginia).

The Apollo space program began in 1966 as the final phase of NASA's race to the Moon. Though the first Apollo mission resulted in three fatalities after a malfunction on the launch pad, the 11th mission succeeded in sending Neil Armstrong and Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin to the Moon's surface in July 1969. Over the six years of the Apollo program, NASA sent 17 missions into space, six of which successfully landed on the Moon, during which 12 men actually touched the surface. After its goals had been achieved, and American superiority demonstrated in that field, the increasingly large collection of moon rocks no longer seemed to justify the massive expense of each launch, and the Apollo program ended after its final mission in December 1972. Federal funding for NASA dropped as a percentage of the federal budget every year until 1987; the largest cuts came immediately following Armstrong's successful leap for mankind.

Critics charged the space program with being an expensive symbol of cold war braggadocio, which diverted federal funds from necessary social programs. Supporters replied that NASA and the space program represented America's commitment to scientific discovery, which influenced the values of modern society. By the mid-1960s, 80 percent of all funding came from government research and development sources, 90 percent of which are devoted to the Department of Defense, NASA, and the Atomic Energy Commission. The operations budget of NASA doubled every year between 1959 and 1964, reaching a peak in 1966 with a budget of \$5.93 billion, which was almost 6 percent of the federal budget. Other major powers like China, Japan, France, and especially the Soviet Union tried to approximate American spending levels even though their gross national products (GNP) were significantly less. The result was a major leap forward in science and technology not only in the United States but also for the world in general.

Society has benefited from the direct products of space technology, such as telecommunication satellites, advanced Doppler radar for meteorological forecasting, global positioning systems, and the vastly improved accuracy of digital mapping. Society also benefits from the spillover technologies that arise when private corporations use the technical discoveries they learned from fulfilling government contracts and apply them to other, related innovations with strictly commercial applications; for example, medical researchers now use the techniques NASA developed to extract data from satellite images. In addition, private corporations routinely sell and rely on freeze-dried foods, which were originally developed for the Apollo program, while the protective insulation used by super tankers carrying liquefied natural gas came from technology used in the Saturn V launch vehicle.

NASA responded to budget cuts of the 1970s by focusing on other areas of exploration that were not so closely tied to cold war competition, including developing unmanned space probes, a space station, and a reusable space shuttle. NASA's probes stimulated public interest by investigating science fiction's most popular planet; starting in 1972, the Mariner program sent numerous probes past Mars to map out and investigate the planet's surface, resulting in the transmission of more than 7,000 surprisingly clear pictures. By 1975, the Viking program sent two satellites accompanied by remote landers, which descended to the surface to take soil samples and panoramic photographs that were relayed back to Earth from the orbiting satellites. At the same time, the Pioneer and Voyager programs' probes went beyond the red planet to study Jupiter, Saturn, Neptune, and Uranus. *Pioneer X* became the first spacecraft to travel beyond the asteroid belt, and after 12 years in space, *Voyager II* became the first man-made object to

leave the solar system in 1989. *Pioneer X*'s weak signal continues to be tracked, and *Voyager II* is expected to continue transmitting data until 2025.

Not all NASA projects, however, were as successful as these programs. *Skylab*, the first American space station, was launched in 1973 and eventually housed nine astronauts over three missions during a 10-month period. After February 1974, the \$2.9 billion *Skylab* remained vacant for five years until it prematurely fell into a decaying orbit, which the onboard boosters failed to correct. To NASA's great embarrassment, the station fell into a sparsely populated region of western Australia after only six years in orbit.

NASA's most successful program, the space shuttle, received its first funding in 1972 when President RICHARD M. NIXON signed a bill providing a \$5.5 billion six-year commitment. Originally, the shuttle was intended to serve as an auxiliary to the space station by providing a relatively inexpensive form of transportation to the Earth's high atmosphere, but *Skylab* had already crashed two years before the shuttle's first launch in 1981. The space shuttle program eventually outgrew *Skylab* to become the pride of NASA; the agency built six shuttles over a 10-year period, including *Enterprise*, *Columbia*, *Challenger*, *Endeavor*, *Atlantis*, and *Discovery*. In 1986, after 24 successful missions, however, the space shuttle *Challenger* exploded, killing all seven passengers on board, including Sharon Christa McAuliffe, who was the first civilian passenger to ride into space. The explosion stunned the public; NASA had not suffered any casualties since the *Apollo 1* mission in 1966, and the public had largely taken the risks of space travel for granted. The immediate effect was a general halt to all future shuttle missions until NASA determined the causes for the explosion and implemented necessary safeguards to prevent it from occurring again. As a result, the space program remained in relative stasis for two years while it reassessed its position.

At the same time, however, the possibility that budget cuts may have led to the tragedy forced Congress to reconsider its funding allocation; though NASA has yet to even come close to the budgets it enjoyed during the 1960s, the agency received significant increases relative to the total budget for every year between 1987 and 1993, bringing funding back to the same relative position it had in 1975.

During the 1990s, NASA refocused its energies toward a more cost-effective exploration of the solar system, in cooperation with nations around the world, including its former competitor, Russia. On one of the first missions after the explosion, the *Galileo* craft hitched a ride on the space shuttle *Atlantis* before beginning its trip to Jupiter, where it arrived in 1995 and transmitted hundreds of thousands of pictures before being deliberately plunged into the Jovian atmosphere in 1999. In 1990, the *Hubble Space Telescope* was set in orbit 370 miles above Earth,





Billows of steam and smoke rise as space shuttle *Endeavour* lifts off at Kennedy Space Center, Florida. (NASA/Newsmakers)



where it takes pictures of the universe without the distorting effects of the Earth's atmosphere. After an initial flaw in the optics was repaired in 1993, *Hubble* amazed the scientific community and the public alike with its clear images. The *Hubble* Deep Field images have given mankind its deepest, most visible view of the universe. The success of *Hubble* paved the way for even greater cooperation between the European Space Agency (ESA) and NASA. NASA upgraded the telescope in 2000, and plans to launch the "Next Generation space telescope" in 2008. In 1997 NASA deployed the *Mars Pathfinder* mission as part of its Discovery program aimed at providing faster and less expensive exploration missions. The lander, which was named *Sojourner*, was developed and produced for a 10th of the cost of its predecessors from the Mariner and Viking programs; the lander sent back 16,000 images over a three-month period, which helped reinvigorate public support for NASA. Unfortunately, in 1999 both vehicles in the *Mars Surveyor* were lost in space; including the *Deep Space 2* probes and the *Mars Polar Lander* (December); the *Mars Climate Orbiter* (September) failed when engineers failed to properly convert specifications from English to metric units.

Other programs, that included the *Deep Space I*, *Lunar Prospector*, and the *Mars Global Surveyor* were successful, and NASA still has plans for several manned missions to Mars during the first decade of the 21st century. *Deep Space I*, launched on October 24, 1998, tested 12 advanced, high-risk technologies in space and returned the best images and other scientific data ever from a comet. NASA's *Mars Global Surveyor*, launched in 1997, proved a resounding success. The *Surveyor* served the longest and produced the most information of any mission ever sent to Mars, sending its final transmission on November 2, 2006.

NASA's most controversial effort, however, has been the *International Space Station (ISS)*. Conceived in 1983, NASA developed the station in cooperation with Russia, Canada, Japan, and 11 members of the European Space Agency. The United States and Russia launched the first modules in 1998. The first resident crew of three entered the station on November 2, 2000, establishing a permanent human presence in space. The U.S. and Russian space programs provided all the early crew members. German ESA astronaut Thomas Reiter joined the Expedition 13 crew in July 2006, becoming the first crew member from another space agency. The station has been visited by astronauts from an additional 14 countries and by the first five space tourists. Thanks to the results of experiments performed on the *ISS*, researchers have learned a great deal about growing plants in space, the health hazards posed by space radiation, and answers to other critical questions, which someday may make it possible for humans to live on Mars and other planets.

It has been difficult for NASA to justify the cost of the *ISS*. Historically, the public has been harder to impress with the details of scientific experiments in space than with news of grand missions such as the first lunar landing. The *ISS* has turned out to be far more expensive than the \$98 billion originally budgeted for the project. Construction delays and frequent modifications in design resulted in added costs. Then the breakup of the *Columbia* on February 1, 2003, led to a two-and-a-half-year suspension of the U.S. space shuttle program. The disaster created uncertainty over whether the *ISS* would ever be finished. Russia kept the *ISS* functioning, carrying out crew exchanges with the *ISS* using its Soyuz spacecraft until the space shuttle program resumed with the launch of *Discovery* on July 26, 2005. *ISS* assembly resumed with the next *Discovery* launch on September 9, 2006. Originally planned for completion in 2005, the *ISS* is now expected to be finished in 2010, with a total cost expected to reach approximately \$130 billion.

See also ARMS RACE; COLD WAR; COMPUTERS; SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

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—Aharon W. Zorea and Stephen E. Randoll

## sports

The history of professional sports in the United States since 1969 is a story of further expansion, commercialization, entertainment, and celebrity, thanks mainly to the role played by TELEVISION.

Professional baseball is the oldest organized sport in America, dating to 1867. Major League Baseball, composed of the National League and the American League, expanded from 20 teams in 1962 to 30 teams in 1998, two of which play in Canadian cities, Montreal and Toronto. Another change occurred in 1970, when voting for players in the annual All-Star game was restored to the fans. Little changed in the functioning of the leagues until 1994 when the two leagues were reconfigured into three divisions—the Eastern, Central, and Western Divisions. This prompted a new playoff format in 1995 that consisted of the three division winners in each league and a wild card team, a team other than the division winners with the best record. Two playoff series would be held in each league to determine the representative that would play in the World Series, baseball's national championship.

The most significant change in professional baseball occurred because of the increasing revenue generated by the sport for the team owners. Early in the sport's history, owners created a "reserve clause" that prevented players

from freely moving from team to team, to the highest bidder. This clause remained in effect until 1973 when the Players Association, the players' trade union, negotiated an agreement with the team owners that allowed veteran players of six years or more to become "free agents" by not signing a new contract during the final year of their current contract. Free agency led to dramatic increases in player salaries with the average increasing from \$45,000 in 1975 to \$450,000 in 1988. By the end of the 20th century, players like Manny Ramirez and Alex Rodriguez commanded salaries in excess of \$100 million over the term of their contract. High salaries, guaranteed contracts, and no-trade clauses became common throughout professional baseball and made baseball players the highest paid professional athletes.

While helping the players enormously, the exorbitant salaries damaged baseball's popularity. Players' strikes in 1980, 1981, and 1985 and an owners' lockout in 1990, combined with the demand for increasingly higher salaries, caused many fans and sports writers to complain. Rebounding popularity was dashed by the players' strike in mid-August of 1994 that caused the cancellation of the World Series for the first time since 1904. Fan support began to return in 1995 when Cal Ripken, Jr., broke Lou Gehrig's streak of consecutive games played and rebounded further in 1998 as fans watched Mark McGwire break Roger Maris's record of 61 home runs in a single season. Baseball continued to draw large crowds, although fan support varied. In 1969 professional baseball stadiums drew 27 million fans (1.1 million per team); in the 1999 season professional baseball drew 70 million fans to its games or 2.3 million per team. In addition, baseball was watched by millions on network and cable television channels like ESPN or Fox Sports Net, except on Saturday when the Fox network broadcast one game.

But even as attendance and viewing rose, baseball faced a new problem. To combat allegations of steroid use in the 1990s, Major League Baseball instituted a steroid-testing policy. A number of players tested positive, and allegations involving steroid use dogged baseball's top star, San Francisco outfielder Barry Bonds. Bonds, who had broken McGwire's single-season home-run record, came under federal investigation for possibly lying to a grand jury while he attempted to break HENRY L. AARON's career home-run record. Even Congress got involved, holding hearings on steroid use in baseball. The hearings did nothing to help the sport's image after Rafael Palmeiro made heated denials at the hearing and then later tested positive for steroid use, and Mark McGwire refused even to discuss questions about his own alleged use. The steroid scandal exemplified the "win at all costs" attitude of sports, as players sought any performance edge they could find, legal or illegal.

Professional football increased continuously in popularity since 1969, growing in stadium attendance from 9.5 million in 1970 to 16.4 million in 2000. The National Football League (NFL), founded in 1922, enjoyed enormous growth during the last four decades of the 20th century, thanks in large part to the efforts of its commissioner, Pete Rozelle, who served in that capacity from 1960 until 1989. Under his tutelage, professional football became America's most popular spectator sport and franchises that once cost \$100 were worth millions by the late 1960s. During the 1960s, the NFL experienced stiff competition from the American Football League (AFL) for television contracts and player talent. In 1966 the merger of the two leagues was announced and became official in 1970 under the name of the NFL. The new league contained 26 teams divided into two 13-team conferences, the American Football Conference and the National Football Conference. In an effort to curtail skyrocketing player salaries, the league instituted a draft of college players. They also started a national championship game in 1967, renamed the Super Bowl in 1969. The NFL expanded to 28 teams in 1976 and to 30 in 1995.

The NFL's reign over professional football was challenged in the 1970s by the World Football League (WFL) which began competition in 1974. The WFL experienced widespread financial difficulties and disbanded in 1975. Another challenger appeared in 1983. The United States Football League (USFL) began with 12 teams and offered competition during the spring and summer months. In 1986, the USFL announced plans for a fall-winter season to compete directly with the NFL. In an antitrust suit filed by the USFL, a federal court found the NFL to be a monopoly, but awarded the USFL only one dollar in damages. This defeat-in-victory, along with the league's existing financial difficulties, forced the USFL to suspend operations in 1986.

Professional football experienced criticism similar to baseball's regarding high player salaries. Despite this, professional football remains the most popular spectator sport in the country. On any weekend during the football season, there are at least five games broadcast on the major networks and ESPN between Sunday afternoon and Monday night. Players command multimillion-dollar salaries, although not as high as baseball players', and receive lucrative contracts from advertisers to endorse a variety of products. The Super Bowl telecast commands in excess of \$200 million per spot for advertising.

Professional football had become so popular, cities offered extravagant packages of incentives and even new stadiums in an effort to lure teams. Team owners played one city against another in an effort to extract the best deal. Threats to move were credible, as a number of sports teams did switch cities. And some owners did not move, after

gaining major tax concessions and deals for new stadiums to stay. By 2007, 18 NFL teams had new stadiums built since 1995, with more planned in the next few years. These new sports arenas included innovations such as luxury boxes and PSLs (personal seat licenses), a fee charged for the right to buy the tickets to a pair or more of seats, which increased revenues even further. Sports may be a game on the field, but in the owners' boxes, sports is a big business.

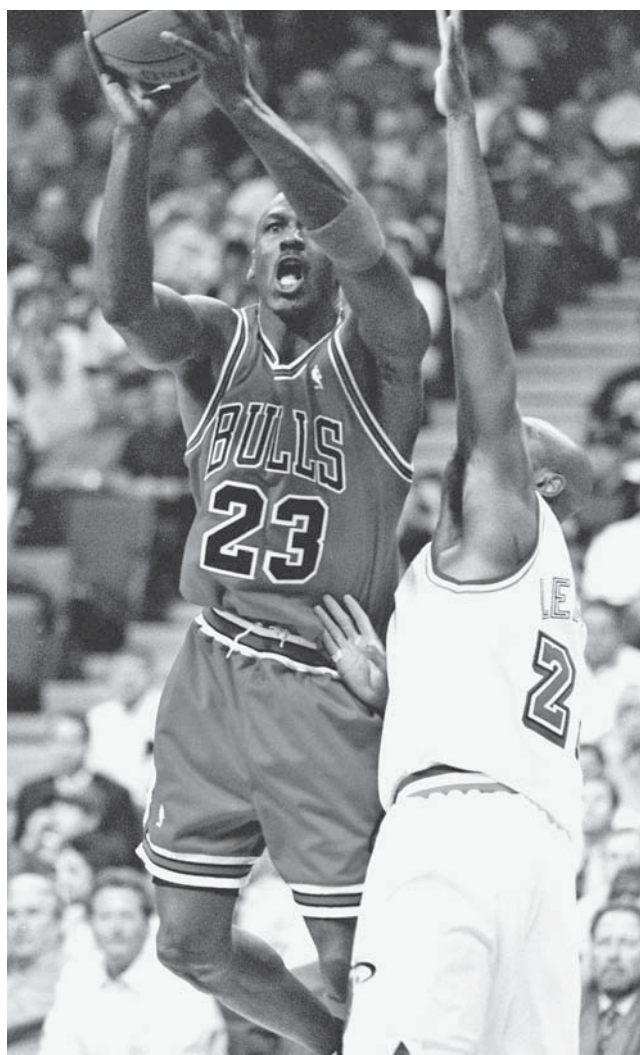
While not nearly as popular as either baseball or football, professional basketball enjoys great popularity and its players, as well, command multimillion-dollar salaries and endorsement contracts. The National Basketball Association (NBA) formed in 1949 with 17 teams. By the early 1960s, the NBA had franchises from coast to coast, annual attendance exceeded 3 million, and star players earned \$100,000 or more. The American Basketball Association (ABA), formed in 1967, and merged with the NBA in 1976, creating a 22-team NBA. By 1985 there were 23 franchises, an 82-game regular season, a lengthy playoff series, and a national championship. Also, players earned an average salary of \$300,000 and many had multimillion-dollar contracts. Yet NBA attendance failed to experience the growth of other professional sports, even though the association expanded. By 1995 the NBA consisted of 29 teams, including two Canadian teams, in Toronto and Vancouver. In 1980, average game attendance was approximately 10,000 per game; 20 years later in 2000, attendance per game stood at 17,000 per game, leading many basketball team owners and sports commentators to express concern about the health of professional basketball in the future.

Professional basketball became the first major sport to have a black coach when Bill Russell was appointed as a player-coach of the Boston Celtics in 1966, and the first to have a black ownership group in 1989. Basketball is also the first major sport to support a successful women's league. After two failed attempts to sustain a women's league in the 1980s, the increased popularity of the sport at the college level helped make possible the formation and survival of the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) in 1993.

During the 1980s and 1990s, other sports enjoyed increased popularity both on the amateur and professional levels. Soccer experienced a boom in the 1970s and by the mid-1980s almost 9 million young people were playing soccer in the United States in school and community leagues. Such popularity spurred nominal growth in professional soccer, but not enough to sustain it at the level of professional baseball, football, and basketball. Soccer received a much-needed boost in 1999 when the U.S. Women's National Team beat China before a crowd of over 100,000 for the World Cup title. Another sport that experienced a phenomenal growth in popularity was stock car racing. Long a favorite in the South, NASCAR (National Associa-

tion for Stock Car Auto Racing) became the nation's largest sports entertainment industry.

One of the most significant developments in professional sports during the last half of the 20th century was the rise of star athletes to celebrity status. Aside from multimillion-dollar salaries and endorsement contracts, professional athletes became icons and role models. Michael Jordan and Tiger Woods are examples of this phenomenon. Jordan, a player for the NBA's Chicago Bulls, is known as perhaps the best to have ever played professional basketball. He won numerous scoring titles during the late 1980s and 1990s and led his team to six national championships in seven years during the 1990s, taking a year off to play minor league baseball. Such performances reinvigorated basketball's lagging popularity. His salary was modest compared with other players but he commanded hundreds of millions of dollars



Chicago Bull's Michael Jordan makes a layup against the opposing team. (Allen/Getty Images)



in advertising endorsements and could sell virtually everything. The slogan from one of his popular ad campaigns, "If I could be like Mike," became ingrained in popular discourse. He encouraged children to stay in school (although he left college early to join the NBA), while he simultaneously pitched athletic shoes that the same children were unable to afford. He became the most recognizable athlete in the world and a cultural icon of wealth and celebrity, an exemplar of success through hard work and dedication.

Tiger Woods eclipsed Jordan's premier status, however. Rigorously encouraged by his father from the time he was a toddler to excel at the game, Woods breathed new life into professional golf. Golf has always been hugely popular as a participant sport, but the popularity of professional golf waned after players such as Arnold Palmer and Jack Nicklaus retired to the Senior PGA (Professional Golfers Association) tour in the 1980s and early 1990s. Tiger Woods entered the PGA tour in 1997 at the age of 21 and promptly became the first African American to win a major golf tournament when he convincingly won the 1997 Masters, breaking several long-standing records in the process. By the end of 2007, Woods had won 13 majors, second only to Jack Nicklaus's 18. The Golf Writers' Association of America (GWAA) selected Woods as its player of the year in 2007 for a record ninth time. Woods had 61 PGA tour victories overall, the fifth most of all time. This included seven consecutive Tour wins in 2006–07, second only to Byron Nelson's record 11 consecutive victories in 1945. He, like Michael Jordan, was crowned as the greatest to have ever played his sport. He turned his fame into huge endorsement contracts and started a foundation to promote the game of golf among primarily inner-city youths. His fortune and celebrity quickly made him the most recognizable athlete in the world, and created huge new audiences for professional golf.

While professional sports became new forms of mass entertainment, and professional athletes became celebrities, participant sports reached new heights. Commercial fitness and RECREATION became multibillion-dollar businesses. Both boys and girls participated in organized sports in record numbers, as parents hoped sports would provide wholesome activity and the possibility of future financial rewards in the form of college scholarships and perhaps professional contracts. The possibility of financial success only partly explains the extreme popularity of professional sports and the position that its star participants hold in American society. Spectator sports provide both a distraction and a vicarious experience for the audience. Moreover, they represent a metaphor for human existence and the struggles it contains as well as the desires to succeed and be the best that are embedded in American culture. Finally, professional sports represent both the fulfillment and the excesses—the best and the worst things—to which

a consumer-driven society is directed. And sports represent the negative side of that drive to be the best, as steroids and cheating scandals show. NASCAR officials tried to crack down on cheating in racing, punished five NASCAR teams in 2007 for various cheating infractions, teams that included two-time Daytona 500 winner Michael Waltrip. Both despite this and because of this, sports continue to provide mass entertainment and recreation, and contribute to the social structure of an increasingly diverse nation.

See also ECONOMY; MEDIA.

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—William L. Glankler

**Starr, Kenneth** (1946– ) *independent counsel who led investigation of President Clinton*

A distinguished attorney and former solicitor general of the United States (1989–93), Kenneth Starr served as INDEPENDENT COUNSEL for the Whitewater investigation from 1994–99. In the course of his investigation he recommended to Congress that President WILLIAM J. CLINTON be impeached for perjury and obstruction of justice. The intense controversy surrounding Starr's actions led directly to the demise of the office of Independent Counsel in 1999.

Starr's appointment on August 5, 1994, was a departure from previous independent counsels. Starr was known as a distinguished Washington appellate lawyer, who had served as counsel to the attorney general in the administration of RONALD W. REAGAN, and solicitor general in the administration of GEORGE H. W. BUSH. Starr was also well known as a former Republican SENATE candidate and a critic of President Clinton and his wife, HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON. When a federal judicial panel appointed Starr to replace Robert Fiske in the Whitewater investigation, it baffled many observers who knew that Starr lacked trial experience. Perhaps most surprising was the fact that Starr had been a leading critic of the independent counsel concept, warning that it violated the separation of powers.

Within the Clinton administration, Starr was accused of having a partisan agenda from the outset of his investigation. Its slow pace and what was seen as its expansion into matters unrelated to the original Whitewater controversy, however, led Clinton's supporters to accuse Starr of abusing his mandate to conduct a partisan witch-hunt. Starr refused to respond to these charges, maintaining it inappropriate for an independent counsel to engage in partisan debate. His supporters were quick to defend Starr, arguing that the slow pace of the investigation reflected a careful perusal of a complex set of allegations and potential impro-



prieties. They further laid the blame for the delays on the administration. Arguing that Clinton had refused to cooperate, these critics speculated that members of the administration engaged in an attempt to cover up illegal activities and accused them of trying to smear and discredit Starr's investigation. Furthermore, the two sides argued very different views of the role of the independent counsel, with Starr's critics insisting that his mission was only to present a full accounting of the facts surrounding the Whitewater development, and Starr's supporters maintaining that his role was essentially prosecutorial.

Starr's investigation led to the conviction of Arkansas's governor Jim Guy Tucker and Associate U.S. Attorney General Webster Hubbell on criminal charges unrelated to the Whitewater allegations. Starr announced his intention to resign his office February 17, 1997. After a barrage of criticism, Starr agreed to stay. On May 27, the SUPREME COURT unanimously rejected Clinton's request to have Jones's sexual harassment civil suit delayed until the end of his presidential service, and on June 25, the *Washington Post* reported that Starr had begun to investigate charges that Clinton had sought to influence testimony in the Jones suit. On January 12, 1998, Linda Tripp, who had befriended and secretly recorded the confidences of former White House intern Monica Lewinsky, approached Starr with tapes on which Lewinsky described a series of intimate relations with the president. Jones's attorneys had sought to show that Clinton had a pattern of sexual harassment. On January 16 Starr was given authority by the grand jury to investigate Tripp's charges that Clinton had encouraged Lewinsky to lie under oath in the Jones case. In his own testimony the next day before the grand jury, Clinton relied on narrow definitions and legal technicalities to deny that he had engaged in sexual relations with Lewinsky. Whether Clinton's hair-splitting constituted perjury, or the clever avoidance of it, became a central issue in the IMPEACHMENT controversy.

Starr believed that Clinton's testimony was perjury. Further, he believed that Clinton had been guilty of obstruction of justice both in attempting to influence Lewinsky's testimony and in resisting the independent counsel's investigation. On September 9 Starr submitted a 445-page report detailing the charges to Congress, along with supporting evidence. The Starr Report became notorious for its salacious sexual detail about Clinton's personal life.

Critics accused Starr of reveling in Clinton's sex life, seeking to criminalize private sexual behavior and conspiracy due to Starr's close ties to the Jones suit. Even Republican congressmen supporting Clinton's impeachment grumbled that Starr should have obtained more evidence about Clinton's alleged abuse of federal power. In his defense, Starr argued that the explicit details were

necessary to make the legal case and pointed out that the decision to release the report to the public was made by the House Republican leadership and not him.

Starr appeared in person before the House Judiciary Committee, urging Clinton's impeachment on the basis of the evidence. The House, divided along partisan lines, followed through on Starr's recommendations. Clinton was acquitted of all charges on February 12, 1999, after a Senate trial. Starr resigned as independent counsel on October 18, 1999. The existing independent counsel investigation nevertheless continued under Starr's aide, Robert W. Ray, until March 20, 2002. No charges were brought against President Clinton or his wife in connection with the Whitewater real estate development. Because of his testimony before the grand jury, however, the U.S. Supreme Court barred Clinton from practicing before it, and the Arkansas Bar Association suspended Clinton's license to practice law for five years. Congress allowed the renewable independent counsel statute to lapse in 1999.

**Further reading:** Richard Posner, *An Affair of State: The Investigation, Impeachment, and Trial of President Clinton* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999); David Schippers, with Alan Henry, *Sellout* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery, 2000).

—Christopher M. Gray

**Steinem, Gloria** (1934– ) *feminist activist, founder of Ms. magazine*

The second daughter of Leo Steinem and Ruth Nuneviller Steinem, Gloria Marie Steinem was born in Toledo, Ohio, on March 25, 1934. Steinem endured a difficult childhood, marred by her mother's poor health and the departure of her father. Steinem was confronted with many personal and professional hurdles early in her career, but in the 1970s emerged as a leader and spokesperson for the women's liberation movement.

Her father worked as a traveling antiques dealer and moved his family regularly. Because of Steinem's unsettled home life, her mother, who had a college degree, provided much of her early education. Steinem's mother was prone to bouts of depression, and the severity of these bouts worsened over time, leaving her increasingly bedridden. In 1944 Steinem's parents separated, and her older sister left for college, leaving Steinem and her mother to fend for themselves. The two settled in Toledo, and Steinem was finally able to attend school regularly, but the health of her mother placed a great deal of strain on Steinem, who found herself, increasingly, in charge of the household.

Upon graduation from high school, Steinem entered Smith College. While at Smith, she majored in government and wrote for the student newspaper. Steinem also became

a political activist, volunteering to work in the presidential campaign of Adlai Stevenson. During these years, Steinem discovered that her grandmother had been a suffragist and her mother had been a journalist. Steinem's mother had been a columnist and reporter for a Toledo newspaper, but had given up her career when she married. Steinem believed that her mother's mental and physical problems could be traced directly to society's unwillingness to allow women to have both a career and a family.

Steinem graduated with honors from Smith in 1956 and won a two-year fellowship to study in India. Before leaving, however, Steinem discovered that she was pregnant. Steinem found a doctor to approve and perform an abortion and then left for India. On her return, Steinem moved to New York to find a job as a journalist. A guidebook she wrote about India received a lukewarm reception from publishers. Her efforts to find a job as a reporter were met with skepticism about the ability of an attractive young woman to be a serious journalist. Eventually, Steinem accepted a job as an editorial assistant with *Help!* magazine and began to freelance as a journalist. In 1962 *Esquire* magazine published her first article, "The Moral Disarmament of Betty Coed." The publication of this story led to more assignments, and in a short time, Steinem was earning enough to become a full-time freelance journalist.

Steinem remained unhappy with the types of stories she was assigned, however. She wanted to cover politics and major social issues, but found herself relegated to celebrity interviews and woman-focused stories. In 1963 Steinem gained notoriety for an exposé she wrote on New York's Playboy Club in which she went undercover as a Playboy bunny. Her article focused on sexual discrimination and harassment, but her editors continued to dismiss her ability as a serious journalist.

In 1968 Steinem got her chance to cover politics, as she followed the presidential campaign of George McGovern. Also that year, Steinem became a founding staff member of *New York* magazine. As a contributing editor, Steinem had the freedom to write about what she wanted. Among the stories Steinem covered were the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the organization of migrant workers by César Chávez. She also became politically active in anti-war protest marches and other social causes, including the women's movement.

In 1970 her article, "After Black Power, Women's Liberation" won the Penney-Missouri Journalism Award. That same year Steinem helped organize the Women's Strike for Equality, a national strike organized by the NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW). While participating in the strike, Steinem became friends with Dorothy Pittman Hughes, an African-American feminist who urged Steinem to devote herself entirely to the feminist cause. The two undertook a national lecture tour, speaking on such issues

as legalized abortion, equal pay for women, and the EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. Through this tour, Steinem emerged as a national leader of the women's liberation movement, which was becoming more radical as the movement's focus increasingly shifted from the issue of equal opportunity for women to sexual politics. Representing this shift, Steinem found herself at odds with Betty Friedan, the founder of NOW.

Trouble between the two occurred when Steinem, at a news conference in 1971 speaking in favor of lesbian rights, declared, "We all are lesbians." Friedan opposed what she perceived as radicals taking over the women's rights struggle for equal opportunity, and shifting the focus toward gay rights. At the 1973 National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) convention, Friedan openly challenged Steinem by running as an independent for the national steering committee. In the election, the final ballots disappeared and Friedan lost the race. Friedan believed that she had won the election and accused Steinem of engineering the election. Friedan refused to have any contact with Steinem for years afterward. As a consequence of this fight, Friedan became marginalized in NOW, NWPC, and the antiabortion movement, and Steinem helped lead the shift in the women's movement in a more militant direction.

In 1972 Steinem founded *Ms.* magazine, devoted to women's issues. Also in 1972 Steinem attended the Democratic Party convention to lobby for an abortion plank in the party platform and protest the underrepresentation of women at the convention. That same year, Steinem publicly announced that she had undergone an abortion. For her work on behalf of the feminist movement, Steinem was named Woman of the Year by *McCall's* magazine.

Throughout the remainder of the 1970s, Steinem kept up the drive for equal rights. She was a strong supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment, which failed ratification. Steinem pressured politicians to support women's issues and participated in high-profile events to keep women's issues and the leaders of the women's movement in the public eye. Steinem is still regularly sought out to provide the feminist position on various issues.

In 1989 *Ms.* went bankrupt. In 1990 the magazine was restarted with new investors. In 1999 another group of investors bought the magazine, with the full support of Steinem. In 2000 Steinem, who had once, in reference to marriage, said, "I do not breed well in captivity," married for the first time. This caused a rift within the feminist movement, especially among some radical feminists who accused Steinem of having betrayed the feminist cause.

Steinem is the author of a number of books including a collection of her essays, *Outrageous Acts and Everyday Rebellions* (1989). Steinem has also authored a biography of Marilyn Monroe and two other books, *Revolution from Within: A Book of Self-Esteem* and *Moving beyond Words*

(1992). Steinem is a member of the Women's Hall of Fame (1993) and the American Society of Magazine Editors Hall of Fame (1998).

See also NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN; SCHLAFLY, PHYLLIS; WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND STATUS.

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—John Korasick

### stem cell research

Stem cells are undifferentiated cells with the potential to develop into most of the 220 kinds of cells in the human body. Stem cells serve as a natural repair system, replenishing other cells as long as the person or animal is still alive. When a stem cell divides, each new cell could either remain a stem cell or become another type of cell, such as a muscle cell, brain cell, liver cell, etc. Stem cells are important for living organisms for several reasons. In the three- to five-day-old embryo, a blastocyst, stem cells divide and become the various cell types that make up the heart, the lungs, and other tissues of the human body. In some adult tissues, bone marrow, muscle, and the brain, discrete populations of adult stem cells divide and replace cells lost through normal wear and tear, injury, or disease.

Scientists discovered how to obtain or to derive stem cells from early mouse embryos more than 20 years ago. Many years of research led to the breakthrough, in 1998, of how to isolate stem cells from human embryos and grow those cells in a laboratory. The embryos used in these studies were created for the purpose of overcoming infertility in women through in vitro fertilization. Once the embryos were no longer needed, the donor consented to donate the remaining embryos for research.

Currently, scientists conduct research on both embryonic stem cells and adult stem cells. Scientists hypothesize that stem cell research may, some time in the future, become the basis for new treatments for diseases such as Parkinson's, diabetes, and heart disease. It may also become possible to use stem cells to screen new drugs and toxins and to understand the origins of the various types of birth defects.

The research on embryonic stem cells has generated a great deal of public debate. The Catholic Church, the great majority of pro-life organizations, and many individual citizens expressed ethical concerns about the use of embryos in research. Extracting the stem cells kills the embryo, which these organizations and individuals consider to be murder-

ing the embryo for research purposes. The controversy became a national issue as politicians debated whether to allow federal funding of embryonic stem cell research. On August 9, 2001, President GEORGE W. BUSH put forward a compromise solution. Federal funds could be awarded for research using embryonic stem cells under certain criteria. Deriving the embryonic stem cells, including the destruction of the embryo, had to take place before August 9, 2001. The embryonic stem cells must have been derived from an embryo created for reproductive purposes that was no longer needed, and the donors must have given their informed consent for the donation of the embryo, with the further stipulation that the donation did not involve any financial inducements. Under the Bush criteria, no federal funding would be awarded for any research that involved destroying an embryo; federal funding would only be allowed to finance research on already existing lines of embryonic stem cells.

Under the Bush administration policy, embryonic stem cell research went forward using the 78 existing lines of stem cells whose embryos had already been destroyed. That policy ran into a problem in just a few years. The scientists involved in stem cell research began developing culture conditions that were much better and safer than the original culture conditions under which the existing embryonic stem cell lines had been developed. At the same time, more and more clinically relevant lineages were being developed, although these cells were not ready to put into patients. That meant any cells derived from the original cell lines, which might be put into patients if the scientists performed a number of safeguards, would not be the safest cells to use on a patient. No matter how much testing the scientists might do, they might miss something. If the stem cells had been derived from lines developed from day one under completely defined conditions, those cells would have a higher level of safety for use in patients. As scientists got closer to developing stem cell lines under completely defined conditions, some prominent Republicans as well as Democrats began pushing for a change in federal policy. The lack of movement at the federal level led the states to begin funding embryonic stem cell research themselves.

In the November 2, 2004, general election, California voters approved Proposition 71, which provided \$3 billion to fund stem cell research in the state without the limits imposed by the Bush administration. Four other states, Connecticut, Illinois, Maryland, and New Jersey, followed California's lead and approved state-funded stem cell research programs, although at significantly lower monetary levels. It remains to be seen how much of an impact the state initiatives will have. In the United States, public policy allows state and private funding for research. The reality is, the federal government, through the National Institutes of Health, provides the funding that drives

basic research and research into new therapies. In 2005 the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES enacted a bill allowing embryonic stem cell research on stem cells derived from embryos at in vitro fertilization clinics, the vast majority of which would otherwise be discarded. The SENATE enacted the bill on July 18, 2006. In spite of the strong bipartisan support for the bill, Bush rejected the bill with the first veto of his presidency on July 20, 2006. The Congress failed to override the President's veto later that same day.

Opponents of embryonic stem cell research supported the president's veto, arguing they were in favor of stem cell research, just not embryonic stem cell research. According to scientists doing research with stem cells, the problem with this solution is that, while you might find an adult stem cell that might work for a particular application, the ability to sustain the making of all the various types of differentiated human cells is limited to embryonic stem cells. That does not mean that embryonic stem cell research will lead to cures for various diseases. The real potential of embryonic stem cell research is in the realm of basic science. There may be some transplantation-based therapies to come out of this research, but even if there are none, many scientists think embryonic stem cell research is extraordinarily important. It is expected to become a pervasive research tool for understanding the human body. And that will lead to knowledge that could spark the development of new drugs or other treatments to cure a disease such as Parkinson's.

The difficulty for scientists is that embryonic stem cell research has become part of a political and social debate rather than a scientific debate. Scientists see embryonic stem cell research as providing a more useful model to answer the questions they have about various diseases. The knowledge gained from that is just as likely to be applied to adult stem cells as to embryonic stem cells. In 2009 President Barack Obama signed an executive order that removed certain restrictions on federal funding for human stem cell research. This debate shows no signs of resolution in the immediate future.

**Further reading:** National Institutes of Health. Stem Cell Information. Available online. URL: <http://stemcells.nih.gov/>. Accessed January 8, 2009.

—Stephen E. Randoll

### Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALT I; SALT II) (1972, 1979)

The Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALT I and SALT II) were the end result of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union to slow the nuclear arms race. For decades, the two superpowers devoted many resources

to researching and deploying improved rockets and more powerful warheads. By the mid-1960s, the arsenals of the two nations were more than sufficient to guarantee the destruction of the world. Talks commenced in 1969 to set limits on nuclear weapons. Gerard Smith, of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, led the official U.S. delegation, but much of the negotiations occurred between national security adviser HENRY A. KISSINGER and Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin. After 30 months of negotiations, an agreement was reached, and President RICHARD M. NIXON traveled to Moscow in 1972 to sign SALT I.

SALT I was comprised of two distinct agreements. The first was the Interim Agreement on Strategic Offensive Arms. During the negotiations, the two sides could not agree on absolute limits, but both sides agreed to continue negotiations, while abiding by temporary force level and development limitations. The Interim Agreement was set to expire five years after it was adopted. It created a great deal of controversy during ratification because the raw numbers indicated that the Soviets could maintain a larger force than the Americans. The second part of the agreement was the ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY (ABM). This agreement placed limits on ballistic missile defense deployment, development, and testing. The ABM treaty was to last indefinitely with reviews every five years.

There were a number of flaws in the ABM treaty. First was the issue of verification. The Soviets would only agree to space and aerial reconnaissance and other less indirect means of checking. This made it virtually impossible to track mobile weapons systems, and to determine the number of warheads on a missile, the number of bombs on a plane, or if a missile silo even contained a missile. Although on-site inspection was deemed appropriate only for verification of treaty-mandated weapon destruction, there was considerable political pressure in the United States to reach an agreement.

The second round of talks commenced in November 1972. These talks spanned the remainder of the Nixon administration, the administration of GERALD R. FORD, and into the administration of JAMES EARL CARTER, JR. After seven years, SALT II was signed in 1979. The treaty was viewed as a step toward arms reduction, and in that spirit was due to expire in 1985. The agreement contained a protocol limiting the testing and deployment of specific weapons systems, and a statement to guide the next round of talks.

Because it specifically outlined what was denied, loopholes opened in SALT II could be exploited by advances in engineering and technology. SALT I, on the other hand, outlined what was permissible, and anything not listed was prohibited. SALT II was never ratified. In August 1979 the Senate refused to consider the treaty after the disclosure of the presence of Soviet troops in Cuba. When the Soviet



Union invaded Afghanistan in December, President Carter withdrew the treaty from consideration.

Though it was not ratified, both nations abided by the SALT II provisions. During the presidency of RONALD W. REAGAN, a new series of talks was initiated—the strategic arms reductions talks (START).

**Further reading:** John Newhouse, *Cold Dawn: The Story of SALT* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1989); Strobe Talbott, *Endgame: The Inside Story of SALT II* (New York: HarperCollins, 1980).

—John Korasick

### Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)

Dubbed “Star Wars” by the media, the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), first proposed by President RONALD W. REAGAN in a televised address on March 23, 1983, is a research program designed to explore the technical feasibility of defense against enemy missiles using satellites and laser technology.

The public announcement of SDI created a furor over whether the development of such a weapon technology was feasible in the immediate future, and if such a system was permitted under the ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE TREATY. Proponents, such as physicist Edward Teller, argued that the basic technology had existed for 30 years and that the ABM treaty did not apply to new technologies (i.e., lasers) that had emerged since its ratification. Furthermore, proponents argued such a system would reduce the likelihood of war because any enemy would hesitate to attack us. Opponents charged that a “missile shield” was technologically impossible, that such a system would cause the Soviets to increase their offensive capabilities, and that the United States had always followed the letter of treaties. In this case, opponents argued, the ABM treaty prevented the development of any antimissile system by either party.

By the early 1990s, concerns over the spread of missile technology and the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and biological weaponry caused President GEORGE H. W. BUSH to shift the focus of the program from intercepting a massive Soviet attack to the new threat of isolated attacks from rogue states. In his 1991 State of the Union Address, Bush announced that SDI would be directed to providing protection from limited attacks. By the end of the Bush administration, SDI development had cost over \$30 billion.

During the administration of WILLIAM J. CLINTON, the project was downgraded and the focus of research became the interception of short-range missiles. The director of the program no longer reported directly to the secretary of defense; instead, reports were made to the undersecretary for acquisition and technology. The budget was cut nearly

in half, from \$6.8 billion to \$3.8 billion. While the program survived, it was no longer a centerpiece of American strategic policy. With the election of GEORGE W. BUSH, the debate was rekindled with the president’s announcement that he plans to implement a missile defense system.

In 2002 President Bush cleared the way for the development and deployment of a new missile defense system by withdrawing from the ABM Treaty. Throughout his administration, the United States continued to develop technologies providing the capability to protect the United States and its allies from the threat of missile launches from rogue states such as North Korea and Iran, and to deter rogue regimes from developing nuclear weapons and the ballistic missiles necessary to carry them.

In 2008 the United States reached agreements with both Poland and the Czech Republic to deploy missile defense systems to those countries in order to protect NATO allies from missile attack by nations in the MIDDLE EAST. Secretary of State CONDOLEEZZA RICE signed an agreement with the Czech foreign minister on July 8 to place a ballistic missile defense radar site in the Czech Republic, and signed an agreement on August 20 with the Polish foreign minister to deploy ballistic missile interceptors in Poland. Russia reacted to the news with alarm, insisting that such a move would further strain U.S.-Russia relations, which had already been strained when Russian troops entered the neighboring country of Georgia. Russia feared that such a defense system would be used against Russia rather than rogue regimes of the Middle East. Strained relations between the two countries led to speculation that the United States and Russia were headed for a second COLD WAR.

See also DEFENSE POLICY; STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATIES.

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—John Korasick

### Sunbelt

The Sunbelt refers primarily to the southern tier of the United States, including the states of Florida, Texas, Arizona, and California. The term “Sunbelt” came into wide use in the 1970s as the population’s shift to the South and West became evident, having profound political and economic consequences. The growth and affluence of the sunbelt contrasted with the sharp decline in population and industry in the RUST BELT.

The tremendous growth in population of the Sunbelt came from internal migration from the Northwest and Midwest regions of the United States, as well as immigration

across the Mexican border. While the economic and political changes became more pronounced in the 1970s, as the rust belt declined, the growth of Sunbelt states began after World War II. By 1990, Los Angeles, San Diego, Phoenix, Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio were among the 10 largest cities in the United States. While many cities in the Northeast and Midwest experienced declining or stagnant population growth, Sunbelt cities boomed.

The Sunbelt attracted population because of its warm climate and low cost of living, making Sunbelt states ideal for retirees. Florida and Arizona benefited especially from the growth of an aging American population, as retirement communities in these states sprang up. In addition, the birthrate in the Sunbelt was about 10 percent greater than in the rest of the nation.

Business was attracted to the Sunbelt for a variety of reasons, including the relative lack of labor unions and the prospect of cheaper labor. Following World War II, manufacturing companies began to relocate in the Southeast. Aerospace firms and defense contractors also moved to the Sunbelt states, often near large military bases in Southern California and throughout the Southwest. Moreover, the rise of oil prices in the 1970s benefited oil and natural gas-producing states such as Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma. The climate of these states also encouraged growth of a tremendous tourist industry, especially in Florida, California, and Arizona.

The regions' economic prosperity has been uneven. Of the 25 metropolitan areas with the lowest per capita income in 1990, 23 were in the Sunbelt. The oil boom of the 1970s crashed in the early 1980s, hurting cities in oil-producing states. Cities such as Houston, which had been overbuilt in the 1970s, crashed in the 1980s with the decline in oil prices and the savings and loan failures.

In the 1990s Sunbelt cities experienced problems related to their rapid growth—air pollution, clogged highways, high crime rates, and unskilled immigrants. Politically, the Sunbelt has trended Republican since the 1960s. The Solid South and the Mountain West, once reliably Democratic, switched over to the Republican Party beginning in the 1960s. The same trend has seen the once-predominantly Republican northern and eastern states move into the Democratic Party, with the notable exceptions of Ohio and Indiana. In the 1990s, as the Hispanic population grew in the United States, and as more people from the Northeast moved to the Sunbelt, another shift in American politics showed signs of taking shape in the region. California voted Democratic five straight times from 1992 to 2008. Florida voted Democratic in the presidential election of 1996 and was narrowly won by the Republicans in 2000 in a contested vote and won again by Republicans in 2004, but it went back to the Democrats in 2008. New Mexico narrowly voted Democratic in 2000 and voted Republican

in 2004, only to go back to the Democrats in 2008. Louisiana voted Democratic in 1992 and 1996, but went back to the Republicans in 2000, 2004, and 2008. Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas remained reliably Republican.

See also POPULATION TRENDS.

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—Stephen E. Randoll

## Supreme Court

Since 1969 the Supreme Court shifted gradually in a more conservative direction from what many saw as the liberal activism of the Warren Court. Under Chief Justice Earl Warren, the court championed civil rights and limited police powers, and restricted the power of states over such issues as birth control. President RICHARD M. NIXON vowed to change the course of the Court when he came into the White House in 1969.

When Chief Justice Warren retired in June 1969, Nixon responded by nominating WARREN E. BURGER, the first of four nominees to the Court, including Harry Blackmun, LEWIS POWELL, and WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST. Though Nixon expected the Court to become more conservative, it initially continued the liberal direction established by Warren. In 1972 the Court struck down the arbitrary application of capital punishment, especially for ethnic inmates, and prevented the administration from using electronic surveillance without a court order. In 1973 the other controversial decisions continued. Much to the dismay of some conservatives, the Court legalized abortion; upheld desegregation in northern schools; upheld the use of property taxes to support schools; and broadly defined obscenity. During the WATERGATE SCANDAL the Court ruled against the president in *UNITED STATES V. NIXON* (1974), forcing him to release tapes to the special prosecutor that ultimately led to Nixon's resignation.

In 1975 GERALD R. FORD named John Paul Stevens, a moderate, to the Court. In 1976 the Court began to turn in a more conservative direction, striking down campaign spending limits; rejecting the power of Congress to force wage rates on state and municipal employees; and reinstating capital punishment. In the *Regents of the University of California v. BAKKE* (1978), the Court ruled in a 5 to 4 decision that race could not be the sole factor in university admissions policies to law school.

When Jimmy Carter left the presidency in 1981, he became the first full-term president to not name a Supreme Court justice. In 1981 RONALD W. REAGAN became presi-

dent. Reagan saw the federal judiciary as too intrusive in the lives of Americans, deciding matters that should be decided by voters. Early in his first term Reagan named the first female justice, SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR. In 1986 Chief Justice Burger announced his retirement, and Reagan named Justice Rehnquist as his successor, and ANTONIN SCALIA to Rehnquist's seat. At the end of 1986, Justice Powell retired and Reagan nominated ROBERT BORK, who was rejected by the SENATE after a vicious confirmation process. Reagan then nominated Anthony Kennedy, who was quickly confirmed.

Twice during his administration, Reagan pushed the court to overturn *ROE V. WADE*. Both times *Roe v. Wade* was reaffirmed, but the Court shifted under Sandra Day O'Connor's leadership, away from a trimester standard to an "undue burden" standard for regulating abortion. The Court upheld affirmative action, in general, and relaxed its view on the separation of church and state.

The appointment of Justice Kennedy marked a definite shift in the direction of the Court. Kennedy, along with Justices Scalia, O'Connor, BYRON R. WHITE, and Rehnquist established a moderate to conservative majority on the Court, although O'Connor and Kennedy often proved to be swing votes on the Court. In 1989 the Court struck down a set-aside plan from Virginia that required 30 percent of city construction funds to go to black-owned firms. By a 6-3 margin, the Court found the plan too rigid and not justified.

During this period the Court sought to balance the needs of employer and employee. In criminal law, the Court adopted a tougher stance, allowing the execution of criminals who were juveniles at the time of their offense and of convicted murderers who were judged mentally retarded. The Court approved the drug testing of some workers. The Court allowed states to regulate abortions. These were considered conservative positions, but the Court ruled that the state of Texas could not punish an individual for burning an American flag in protest. Citing the First Amendment, the Court argued that such a law violated freedom of expression. This decision sparked a movement for a constitutional amendment to reverse the decision.

In the 1990s four justices retired, including William J. Brennan, Jr., Thurgood Marshall, Byron White, and Harry A. Blackmun. Brennan and Marshall retired during the presidency of GEORGE H. W. BUSH. Bush named DAVID SOUTER and CLARENCE THOMAS to the bench. The Thomas nomination was highly controversial, and he was confirmed despite allegations he had sexually harassed a former employee. White and Blackmun retired under President WILLIAM J. CLINTON who replaced them with RUTH BADER GINSBURG and STEPHEN BREYER. As a consequence, the Court became divided between liberal and conservative justices, which imparted greater weight to the swing votes of O'Connor,

Kennedy, and Souter. As a consequence, the Court did not follow a clear ideological direction in the 1990s.

In the 1990s the Court limited the ability of Congress to regulate interstate commerce by striking down a law banning the possession of guns near schools. The Court reduced the authority of Congress to subject states to federal lawsuits for failure to enforce federal rights. In a series of decisions, the Court struck down electoral districts created solely to ensure the election of minority candidates. The Court restricted the ability of federal judges to order desegregation programs. The Court rejected state-imposed term limits for members of Congress. And in one of the most sensational cases of the decade, it nullified a Colorado constitutional amendment that barred local governments from protecting homosexuals from discrimination.

During the 2000 presidential election, the Court put itself in the position of determining the winner of the election. The controversial decision in *Bush V. Gore* (2000) in a 5-4 decision awarded the election, in effect, to GEORGE W. BUSH over Democratic challenger Albert Gore. Gore had involved the judiciary when he challenged vote counts in Florida. Critics of the decision charged the Court with partisanship and having overstepped its judicial powers by interfering with a Florida Supreme Court decision. This controversial decision might be the lasting legacy of this Court.

On July 1, 2005, Sandra Day O'Connor announced her intention to retire once her successor had been confirmed by the Senate. On July 19 President George W. Bush nominated JOHN G. ROBERTS to replace her. O'Connor expected that she would be able to leave the Court before the start of the term in October 2005, but Chief Justice William Rehnquist died on September 3. George W. Bush then withdrew Roberts's nomination for O'Connor's position and nominated him for chief justice. On October 3 President Bush nominated White House counsel Harriet Miers for O'Connor's post, but on October 27, Miers requested that Bush withdraw her name after complaints from many Republicans that she was not qualified for the position. Subsequently, Bush nominated Samuel Alito, who was confirmed on January 31, 2006.

At the end of the Court's term in June 2009, Justice Souter retired from the bench. President BARACK HUSSEIN OBAMA nominated U.S. Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, judge Sonia Sotomayor as Souter's replacement. Upon confirmation, she became the first Hispanic American to serve on the Court.

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—John Korasick and Amy Wallhermflechtel







**technology** See SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY.

### televangelism

*Televangelism* refers to evangelical religious television programming that depends on viewers for direct financial support. By the 1980s there were more than 220 religious television stations and three Christian networks that broadcast to nationwide audiences 24 hours a day. According to Nielson and Arbitron rating services, during the period from 1980 to 1987, eight leading televangelists were watched by 85 percent of the total national religious television audience. These televangelists were Robert Schuller, Jimmy Swaggart, Oral Roberts, Rex Humbard, Jerry Falwell, Jim Bakker, Pat Robertson, and James Robison.

Although the televangelists differ theologically, they share common elements within the Protestant tradition. Most notably, they emphasize the importance of Christian conversion. In their evangelistic tradition, conversion is a key to salvation and forms the central message that the televangelists bring to their audiences.

Another critical element is the charismatic leadership of the televangelist, whose power resides in his or her ability to preach, teach, and heal through the intervention of the Holy Spirit. Television allows televangelists to project their charismatic personalities and to admonish their viewers to confess sins, repent, convert, and contribute.

Politically oriented televangelists, such as Pat Robertson, tend to simplify complex social, political, and economic issues and offer their viewers a categorical choice between right and wrong. These preachers, generally associated with the "Religious Right," oppose abortion, advocate prayer in public schools, and deplore what they depict as the moral degeneration of America. They most often identify sins of the flesh—drug and alcohol addiction, sexual infidelity, and homosexuality—as evidence of cultural

decay in American society caused by what they perceive as failed LIBERALISM.

Another common theme is the apocalyptic interpretation of world events that televangelists use to prophesy the final days and the coming of the millennium. They enlarge the warfare metaphor to a cosmic scale and describe the imminent end of history with detailed scenarios of the conflict between Christ and the Antichrist. Pat Robertson, for example, is known for reporting a particular world crisis as a news story and then making that story a point of departure for speculation and apocalyptic prophecy.

Televangelists also share a view that Scripture is without flaw in matters of science and history as well as in morality and theology. Along with biblical literalism, they



Franklin and Billy Graham (Billy Graham Center Museum)

preach the necessity for direct personal encounters with Scripture through Bible reading and personal interpretation. The total rejection of critical methods of biblical interpretation harbors an anti-intellectualism that dissipates the strength of scholarly traditions of most mainline Protestant denominations.

Finally, televangelists succeeded by developing support through the solicitation of funds from their viewers. Although some televangelists have local churches, most head independent organizations that cannot rely on local or denominational support for the continuation of their ministries. The use of computerized mailing and contributor lists and telephone systems for viewers to call in for counseling and prayer or to make donations form the structure of televangelists' fund-raising activities. Because there is no larger denomination to supervise fund-raising activity, the issue of accountability has been raised by critics of televangelism. For many, the financial and organizational autonomy has enabled them to diversify their evangelical activities while for others it has led to scandal and disgrace.

Oral Roberts, Jerry Falwell, and Pat Robertson have been the most successful at building influential evangelical organizations. Roberts began his television ministry in 1955 and its success, along with his ability to avoid mixing politics and religion, enabled him to establish the Oral Roberts Evangelical Association that includes Oral Roberts University as a major component. Falwell's program, *The Old-Time Gospel Hour*, delivers a fundamentalist message that speaks out against issues such as abortion, pornography, homosexuality, and the decline of morality and family values. He heads the Liberty Baptist Theological Seminary in Lynchburg, Virginia, and wielded political influence in the late 1970s and early 1980s as spokesman of the Moral Majority during the 1980s. Robertson, the preeminent televangelist, heads the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) and hosts *The 700 Club*, a talk/news program centered on revealing the power of God in people's lives. On these programs he offers detailed analysis of world issues through a conservative Christian perspective.

Jimmy Lee Swaggart and Jim Bakker, both ordained ministers in the Assemblies of God, have not experienced such success. Best known for his exuberant, emotional preaching, Swaggart created one of the largest television ministries in the United States with a worldwide organization worth an estimated \$141 million. In 1987 the revelation that Swaggart regularly visited a prostitute severely damaged his credibility and cost him his Assemblies of God pulpit. He returned to his ministry, however, as an independent minister.

Jim Bakker, with his wife Tammy Faye, developed the Praise the Lord (PTL) Club in a multimillion-dollar televi-

sion ministry consisting of a cable network and a real estate venture known as Heritage USA, a "Christian Disneyland" in Fort Mill, South Carolina. He preached the "gospel of prosperity," claiming that material prosperity was a sign of God's love. The couple's personal lifestyle and extravagant spending made them stereotypical targets in the secular popular media. Jim Bakker was accused of sexual misconduct with former church secretary Jessica Hahn in 1987 and convicted of federal wire and mail fraud charges in 1989. This scandal led to a reduction in financial support for all televangelists and to major changes in televangelism as a whole.

Televangelism is still a viable part of American evangelical Protestantism, but most television ministries have been forced to scale down their organizations and decrease the amount of airtime they purchase. Televangelism, in context, represents the adaptation of religious ritual to a technological and media-oriented society through the electronically transmitted celebration and renewal of common values.

See also RELIGION.

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—William L. Glankler

## television

At the beginning of the 21st century, television has become unquestionably the single most influential media form in American society and, as such, is perhaps society's best cultural storyteller. Largely because of the social movements of the 1960s, the advent of cable television in the late 1970s, and deregulation in the 1980s, television programming offered viewers choices ranging from animated children's shows to pay-per-view PORNOGRAPHY.

Congress has regulated television programming under the auspices of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) since television's inception. Before the advent of cable television in the late 1970s, the FCC promulgated regulations designed to moderate the power of the three major networks and to encourage diverse programming. The 1980s witnessed major deregulation in the broadcasting industry as the FCC cut many record-keeping regulations, relaxed limitations on the number of stations one company could own, and revoked the fairness doctrine, which required stations to provide response time from community members opposed to broadcasters' editorial opinions. In 1984 Congress passed the Cable Communications Policy Act that effectively created an unregulated monopoly by allowing cable companies to hold exclusive franchises over their service areas. Complaints led to the

reregulation of cable television in 1992, then present in 67 percent of American homes.

In addition to the FCC, the broadcast industry has its own organ of self-regulation, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB). Its "Code of Good Practices" banned obscenity, nudity, and programs that might encourage violation of the law from either network programming or basic cable programming. This code does not apply to programming on premium cable channels, like HBO, or on pay-per-view offerings. The NAB also limited the number of commercials a station could run, but a federal judge ruled such limitations unlawful restrictions of trade in 1981. The NAB remains the chief lobbyist and advocate for the broadcast industry.

Regardless of the shifting levels of regulation, the categories of television programming have remained virtually unchanged. The nature of the programs within the categories has changed, however, and reflects changes in American society and culture.

By the late 1960s, filmed series shot on location rather than in the studio had replaced live television drama. Such programs also began to deal with more relevant social issues and to appeal to the younger, urban, more upscale audiences courted by television advertisers. For example, ABC's *The Mod Squad* (1968–73) was a police drama that featured three youthful, "hippie" police officers and plots that addressed social issues. Much slicker and more realistic crime dramas followed with *Hill Street Blues* and *Miami Vice* in the 1980s and *N.Y.P.D. Blue* in the 1990s. The latter graphically depicted someone being shot in the head in its premiere episode.

Legal dramas experienced a renaissance in the 1980s and 1990s. Although the popular *Perry Mason*, a legal drama, had been off the air since 1966, viewers welcomed a series of television movies featuring the popular lawyer in the late 1980s and early 1990s. *L.A. Law* aired in the 1980s and featured yuppie lawyers facing personal as well as professional crises. It also began to address the issue of ethics in the legal profession. The weekly series, *Family Law*, continued the exploration of controversial issues and legal ethics in the late 1990s with episodes on topics such as child custody and high school violence. A similar evolution took place with medical dramas. The sterile and "feel-good" shows like *Marcus Welby, M.D.* gave way to shows in the 1990s like *E.R.*, which realistically portrayed life in an emergency room.

Cable television extended the dramatic envelope even further with programs that unabashedly addressed some of the most poignant issues of the late 20th century. HBO's *The Sopranos* told the story of a contemporary Mafia family. Showtime's *Queer as Folk* is about the gay community and *Resurrection Boulevard* centers on a Hispanic family in the inner city.

Comedy series also adapted to the changing culture by portraying a more realistic and relevant, yet still humorous, picture of American life. The show that changed the situation comedy from universally cheery, homey stories of families headed by warm, insightful parents was *All in the Family* (premiering in 1971). It brought a sense of hard reality as the outspoken, narrow-minded, bigoted Archie Bunker continually clashed with his liberal son-in-law. During the 1970s and 1980s, situation comedies began to feature black casts, most notably *The Jeffersons* and the enormously successful *Cosby Show*. Many of the most popular situation comedies—including *Seinfeld* and *Friends*—began in the 1990s and reflected the concerns, tastes, and neuroses of the baby-boom generation. Cable television added to the flavor of television comedy programming by adding uncensored shows that featured prominent comics, like George Carlin, Eddie Murphy, and Robin Williams, on the premium channels.

Reality programming is a relatively new genre, although its roots could be traced back to *You Asked for It* from the 1950s and *That's Incredible* from the 1980s. It blossomed, however, during the 1990s when network budgets demanded shows that were cheap to produce. *America's Most Wanted*, which re-created crimes and sought viewer help in apprehending criminals, and *America's Funniest Home Videos*, which featured amateur videotapes, were both very popular in the late 1980s and early 1990s. By the late 1990s reality programming introduced the element of competition by producing shows like *Survivor*, *Big Brother*, and *The Amazing Race*. These shows ostensibly observed "real people," not actors, in a competition that required cooperation but, ultimately, betrayal in order to win a large cash prize.

The talk show at the end of the 20th century, at least on the major networks, still serves as an avenue for exposure for celebrities, authors, and other entertainers. The late-night audience can choose from either *The Tonight Show*, hosted by Jay Leno, or *The Late Show* with David Letterman. During the 1980s, however, the talk show became more than just an informal interview show containing the occasional comedy skit. Phil Donahue, Oprah Winfrey, Geraldo Rivera, and others hosted shows that emphasized current events rather than celebrities. Because many of these shows addressed the more controversial issues and, like *The Jerry Springer Show*, went to great lengths to present the most bizarre participants, this genre came to be called "tabloid TV." Cable's premium channels offered talk shows as well. *Dennis Miller Live* (HBO), for example, is a mixture of uncensored stand-up comedy, caustic and humorous social criticism, and a celebrity interview.

Full-length motion pictures have always been an important part of television programming. By the end of

the 1960s there were as many as nine network MOVIES on each week. The networks primarily showed theatrical movies sold to them by Hollywood studios, but ABC pioneered the made-for-television movie during the 1970s with its *Movie of the Week*. The advent of cable movie channels and home video during the 1980s made theatrical movies available to the public long before they would appear on network television. This prompted the networks to turn more to movies produced specifically for television. The increased popularity of cable movie channels and home video not only changed the nature of television programming; it reflected the growing desire for realism in entertainment by offering uncensored films to a much wider audience.

The influence of cable was also widely felt on programming. Until the 1980s the major networks featured documentaries and dramas that examined complex and often taboo subjects. Additionally, the premium cable channels regularly offered uncensored, gritty documentaries and dramas, including HBO's *The Sopranos*, a drama that was noted for its complexity as well as for its violence.

SPORTS programming has remained prominent since the 1950s, perhaps because sports is perceived as the one truly real, unrehearsed televised event. In 1970 *Monday Night Football* premiered and quickly went to the top of the ratings in its time slot. Since the late 1970s the National Football League's annual Super Bowl has usually attracted the largest audience of the year and demanded the highest price for a commercial spot. The Olympics, baseball's World Series, the National Basketball Association championship, the NCAA basketball championship, and college and professional football games continue to draw large audiences. Even professional golf, with the arrival of Tiger Woods on the PGA tour in the late 1990s, has begun to draw very large audiences for its major events. By the 1990s cable had become saturated with sporting events, and network audiences and advertising revenues dramatically declined. At the end of the 20th century, it is possible, with cable television, pay-per-view, and satellite television, to view literally hundreds of major sporting events on any given day.

Quiz and game shows were relegated to daytime television beginning in the early 1960s, until the mid-1980s when *Wheel of Fortune* and *Jeopardy!* became major hits in syndication. Game shows did not break back into prime time, however, until the late 1990s. The desire to see "real people" win \$1 million made possible the phenomenal success of *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?*<sup>9</sup> In 2000 this game show, which aired three nights per week, occupied five places in the top 20 most viewed programs.

Because of its power as a medium, television is considered by the American public as its primary source of news and has been since the early 1970s. Network news anchors have achieved the status of celebrity and news

became the kind of programming in which networks and local affiliates could compete against one another for audience share. News programs began to exhibit more entertainment value during the 1980s, as cost-consciousness prompted the networks to put more pressure on their news divisions to become more profitable. In addition, network evening news programs experienced sharp competition with the advent of cable news programs such as Cable Network News (CNN) and the later establishment of Microsoft National Broadcasting Corporation (MSNBC), a joint venture formed in 1996, with Microsoft and NBC linking Internet news with cable news. A short time later, in October 1996, media mogul Rupert Murdoch launched the Fox News Channel, under the slogan, "fair and balanced news," thereby implying that the other news channels were biased toward the political left. By 2000 Fox News had become the most-watched news cable channel and had cut into network evening news programs on ABC, NBC, and CBS. In 1979–80, 75 percent of all TV sets tuned in to either ABC, NBC, or CBS. By 2001 only 43 percent of Americans with television sets were watching network evening news programs. While ABC and NBC nightly newscasts fell in viewership, *CBS Evening News* was particularly hurt. When Walter Cronkite retired in 1981, *CBS Evening News* held first place for viewers, but 20 years later, this news program with Dan Rather as its anchor had fallen by more than half in viewership.

Until the advent of cable in the 1980s, children's programming consisted generally of Saturday morning cartoons and programs offered by the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). PBS began broadcasting children's and educational programming in 1970. It is operated by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, created in 1967, and is funded by public memberships, grants, corporate underwriters, and the federal government. It pioneered the broadcast of such shows as *Sesame Street* and *Mister Rogers* in the late 1960s and early 1970s. PBS also offers documentaries, dramatic series, and performing arts presentations. Cable television during the 1980s took advantage of the relative lack of children's programming by offering entire networks, including the Disney Channel and Nickelodeon, devoted entirely to children's educational and entertainment programming.

The power and pervasiveness of television in American society and culture at the beginning of the 21st century has caused a complex array of criticism to be leveled against it. The shift in programming content toward relevance and realism demonstrates that television has become an integral part of American culture. But many critics argue that the electronic depiction of reality is distorted. The increased depiction of violence and sexuality, critics contend, has desensitized the American public to the reality of violence and sexuality. These critics raise important questions about CENSORSHIP by placing television as a critical player in the



shaping of American society. Still other critics claim that television networks have failed to have proper minority representation on the screen and within the industry. The questions raised by these critics suggest that television as a medium, and its role in American culture and society, will continue to be debated and criticized, but its significance is indisputable.

See also ADVERTISING; ANTIWAR MOVEMENT—VIETNAM; BABY BOOMERS; FAMILY LIFE; MEDIA; POPULAR CULTURE; RECREATION; SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY; TELEVANGELISTS; VIETNAM WAR (END OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT).

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—William L. Glankler

## terrorism

Terrorism involves illegal acts of violence or intimidation by persons seeking to coerce or influence the conduct or policy of a government or civilian population. These acts often take the form of kidnapping, beating, or murder and are applied either individually, as in the case of hostage taking and ASSASSINATION, or collectively through the hijacking of aircraft, or indiscriminate bombing. For most of the 20th century, the physical territory of the United States has been largely untouched by acts of international terrorism and only rarely touched by incidents of domestic terror, and its defense strategy has reflected this relative peace. The devastation wrought by the attacks on the twin World Trade Center towers of New York, and on the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., on September 11, 2001, forced the United States to dramatically rethink its homeland defense.

Most of the acts of terror inflicted on American soil during the early to mid-1970s came from domestic radicals, such as the Black Panthers, the WEATHER UNDERGROUND, and the Symbionese Liberation Army. These groups undertook criminal actions that included burglary, bank robbery, assassination of police officers, and bombings. Though members of these groups viewed themselves as radicals organized against the government, federal authorities generally treated them as they would criminal organizations. As a result, throughout most of the 1970s, the United States policy for homeland defense involved enacting new laws such as the Gun Control Act of 1968 and the Organized Crime Control Act (OCCA) of 1970, although these measure were aimed more against criminals than radical terrorists.

International terrorism was addressed only indirectly through a policy of economic sanctions against nations

believed to harbor terrorist organizations or who gave asylum to hijackers. This response changed, however, in 1979, after Islamic fundamentalists overthrew the shah of Iran, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, and installed an Islamic revolutionary government. On November 4, with tacit approval from the new authorities, Iranian students stormed the American embassy in Tehran and held 52 hostages for 444 days. President Carter failed to win their release during his term, even after halting oil imports from Iran and freezing more than \$8 billion in Iranian assets. The hostage crisis had two results; it emboldened other Arab nations to use terrorist groups to take hostages with relative impunity, and it forced American lawmakers to reassess their counterterrorism strategies. In addition to existing sanctions, Congress provided special funding for the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Department of Defense (DOD) for new special forces units and antiterrorism assistance programs. It also required the administration to establish specific protocols in the event of future attacks on Americans abroad.

In March 1984 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) station chief William Buckley was kidnapped by Iranian-backed Islamic Jihad in Beirut, Lebanon, and was later tortured and executed. The following month, 18 servicemen were killed and 83 injured in a bomb attack by Hezbollah terrorists near a U.S. Air Force base in Torrejon, Spain. Beginning in 1983, dozens of journalists, academics, and businessmen were taken hostage in a series of abductions throughout the mid 1980s, including Associated Press bureau chief Terry Anderson; Joseph Cicippio and Thomas Sutherland of American University in Beirut, Lebanon; and American businessman Edward Tracy. Anderson was held hostage for more than six and a half years, and many others were held more than five years in captivity. In addition to taking hostages, terrorists used suicide bombers to attack American installations; twice in Beirut in 1983, including the U.S. embassy in April (17 dead), the marine barracks in October (299 dead), and the U.S. embassy in Kuwait in December (5 dead). The U.S. embassy annex in Beirut was bombed again in September 1984, killing 16. American citizens became special targets even when the installation was not American in origin; a navy diver aboard a TWA flight was killed after terrorists hijacked the plane and forced it to land in Beirut in 1985. They held 39 Americans for more than two weeks, awaiting their demanded release of 700 Arabs held in Israel. In October of that same year, Palestinian militants killed crippled American Leon Klinghoffer after they seized the Italian cruise liner *Achille Lauro*. The wave of terrorism culminated in December 1988, when Pan Am flight 830 exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland, killing 270 people.

The United States responded with a flurry of legislation including the Act to Combat International Terrorism

(1984), which established rewards for the capture of terrorists; a call for a civil aviation boycott of terrorist states in 1985, and the Anti-Terrorism Act (1987), which specifically prohibited trade with or recognition of agents of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In addition, President RONALD W. REAGAN authorized the bombing of terrorist bases in Libya in April 1986. These efforts eliminated the more obvious vulnerabilities of American installations in the Middle East, but were largely ineffective in rescuing hostages. President Reagan came under criticism when he became associated with a CIA scheme to trade arms for hostages in the IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR. For many Americans, however, terrorism remained a foreign problem associated with the Mideast peace process; the solution to future terrorism seemed to depend on peace treaties between Israel and Arab nations. Congress continued to address homeland security indirectly with the Biological Weapons Anti-Terrorism Act of 1989 prohibiting transfer of relevant hazardous materials outside U.S. borders; an amendment to the Immigration and Naturalization Act (1990) providing safeguards against terrorist immigration; and the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1990, which provided civil remedies for American victims of international terrorist assault.

By 1990 the frequency of terrorist attacks declined by a third from its average of 630 attacks a year during the mid-1980s. A period of relative peace followed the first years of the 1990s, until a surprise attack on the World Trade Center in February 1993 left six people dead and wounded more than 1,000 others. A bomb exploded in the parking garage, but it failed to bring the towers down. Six Islamic radicals were caught, tried, and imprisoned by American authorities. Despite the ambitious scope of the attack, the United States did not significantly alter its policies with regard to terrorism, and the attack was largely viewed as a singular incident. Two years later in Tokyo, Japan, the Aum Shinrikyo cult placed containers of Sarin nerve gas in the Kasumigaseki subway station, killing 12 and injuring thousands. Some lawmakers became increasingly concerned that American cities were similarly vulnerable to attacks using weapons of mass destruction.

The following month their fears were confirmed when a massive truck bomb destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, killing 166 people and injuring more than 500. The tragedy was the largest terrorist attack on American soil up to that date. After initial speculation that it was the work of Middle Eastern terrorists, authorities soon discovered that it was in fact the work of two American domestic terrorists, Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, acting in retaliation for the BRANCH DAVIDIAN disaster two years earlier. The Oklahoma City bombing, therefore, was not seen as an act of terrorism per se, but rather as the result of radical militia elements within the nation. This view was compounded

when a militia group called the Montana Freemen entered into a two-month standoff with federal authorities in March 1996, followed six months later by a bomb explosion in Centennial Square during the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games, which killed one person, and injured 111 others. Again, in January 1997, two bombs exploded outside an abortion clinic in Atlanta, Georgia, which many believed to be related to the Olympic bombing. Congress responded by establishing the Domestic Counter-Terrorism Center in 1995, which monitored the sale and distribution of materials that might be used to make weapons of mass destruction; and the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, which allowed the federal government to seek the death penalty for crimes of terrorism, and included provisions for easier information-gathering by law enforcement. Timothy McVeigh was sentenced to death, and was executed on June 11, 2001. Terry Nichols was convicted on federal charges and sentenced to life in prison.

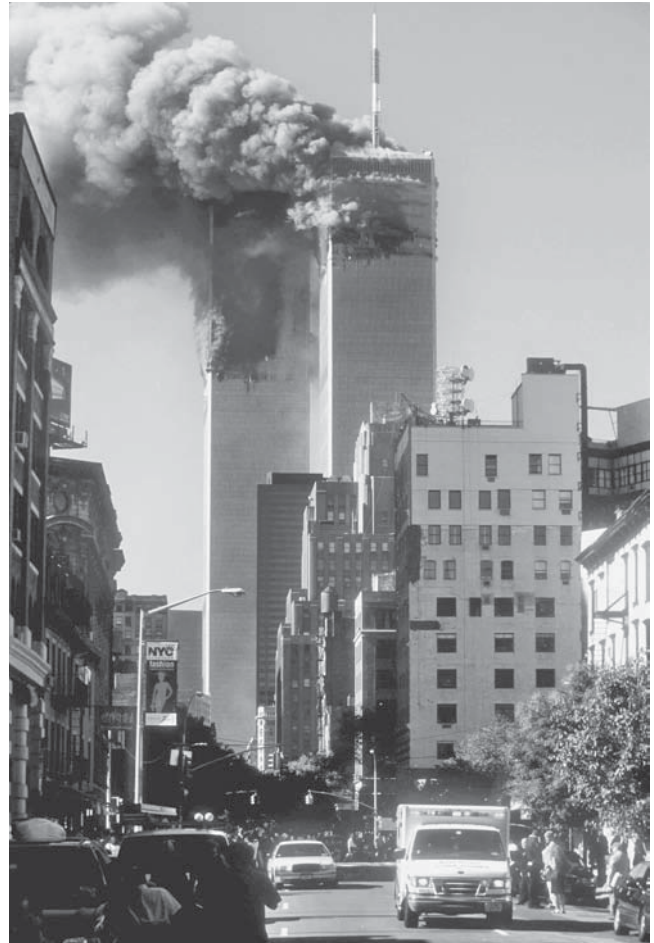
While the American public became preoccupied with domestic terrorism, the most serious threats continued to originate with international terrorists. In November 1995 a car bomb exploded outside a U.S. military headquarters in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, killing five American servicemen. The news came so close on the heels of the Oklahoma City bombing that it elicited little public response. Similarly, there was little public reaction after a truck bomb exploded outside the Khobar Towers in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 Americans and wounding hundred of others the following year. Congress passed a resolution that the United States should declare war against any nation that commits terrorist acts against American properties, but the law had little force and was soon forgotten. In August 1998 two car bombs exploded simultaneously outside American embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killing 224 people and wounding thousands of others.

Congress responded by passing the Global Military Force Policy (1998), which established a Coordinator for Counterterrorism under the Office of the Secretary of State. President WILLIAM J. CLINTON retaliated by sending 70 Tomahawk cruise missiles against a suspected terrorist stronghold in Afghanistan, and destroyed a pharmaceutical factory in the Sudan. Since the attacks came on the same day he was scheduled to testify before Congress concerning a scandal related to Monica Lewinsky, many Americans feared the reprisal was intended only to distract from the president's domestic problems. In October 2000, terrorists bombed the American warship USS *Cole* while it was refueling at a port in Yemen, killing 17 sailors and permanently disabling the ship. The *Cole* attack was viewed as an example of poor safeguards in American naval procedure, and not as evidence of an increasingly dangerous threat of international terrorism.

American policy with regard to both international and domestic terrorism changed significantly after the events of September 11, 2001. Nineteen members of the al-Qaeda terrorist network hijacked four separate commercial jets; two were crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, a third struck the Pentagon, and a fourth was prevented from reaching its destination in Washington, D.C., by a passenger uprising. The resulting explosions and fires brought down both of the World Trade Center's towers and inflicted serious damage to a section of the Pentagon, with a resulting death toll of nearly 3,000.

The horror of the events united America unlike anything the recent generation had experienced. Thousands of volunteers donated blood in Red Cross centers around the country and showed their support with a flurry of American flags and financial gifts of nearly \$2 billion to help the families of those lost in the tragedy. On the day of the attacks, President GEORGE W. BUSH announced the new direction the United States would take in its policy against international and domestic terrorism; the United States would "make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them." Earlier partisan conflicts disappeared almost immediately as the president received unqualified support from the entire Congress who passed a series of emergency response bills at the president's request, including the Combating Terrorism Act of 2001, which appointed a deputy attorney general for combating domestic terrorists and a national director for homeland security; and the USA PATRIOT ACT of 2001. The latter law provided substantial funding increases to the FBI and DOD for their counterterrorism divisions; empowered the FBI, CIA, and Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) with greatly enhanced surveillance powers to use against individuals and institutions suspected of terrorist activities; and tripled the personnel for the border patrol, customs service, and INS. It also provided law enforcement with stronger tools to investigate and prosecute money-laundering schemes used to finance terrorist activities. The new "war on terrorism" included an immediate attack on Taliban forces in Afghanistan that were linked to Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda network. The United States also went to war with Iraq for reputedly harboring terrorist groups and refusing to account for biological, chemical, and nuclear materials used in making weapons of mass destruction (WMD), which the Bush administration believed Iraq had developed in defiance of UNITED NATIONS resolutions.

Several deadly attacks occurred in Western Europe since September 11, 2001, in spite of international efforts to stop terrorism, most notably the bombing of commuter trains in Madrid that killed 191 persons and wounded 1,755 in March 2005 and in London in July 2006, kill-



Smoke billows from the World Trade Center's twin towers after they are struck by commercial airliners that had been hijacked by terrorists. (Shaw/Getty Images)

ing 52 persons and wounding 700. The Madrid bombing occurred days before the reigning government was ousted from power in Spain's general election, generating controversy about the source and the political implications of the attack. The London bombings were said to be retaliation for British support of the war in Afghanistan and Iraq, but the British remained steadfast in their efforts to end terrorism. Eventually, international efforts appeared to make a difference. Libya, formerly a state sponsor of terrorism and actively pursuing the ability to produce WMDs, renounced both. According to the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC), an agency created within the State Department in 2004 to collect and analyze intelligence data on terrorism, although the number of terrorist attacks worldwide increased 25 percent from 2005 to 2006, most of those took place in the Near East and South Asia. None of the 300 high-casualty attacks (killing 10 or more persons) occurred in Western Europe.





An F/A-18 Hornet prepares for launch, November 14, 2001, while aboard the USS *Kitty Hawk*. The ship was supporting bombing missions over Afghanistan in Operation Enduring Freedom. (Woods/U.S. Navy/Getty Images)

National and international efforts, the arrests and convictions of would-be terrorists and those aiding terrorists groups, and the actions of alert citizens proved effective in preventing further attacks on American soil since 2001. In December 2001 passengers and crew members on an airline flight from Paris to Miami overpowered a passenger attempting to detonate plastic explosives hidden in his shoes. “Shoe bomber” Richard Reid was subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment, as was Zacarias Moussaoui for his role in aiding al-Qaeda during the September 11 attacks. In August 2006 British authorities arrested suspects planning to use liquid explosives to blow up several transatlantic flights bound for the United States. These foiled plots temporarily interrupted transportation; more significantly, they resulted in tightened security screening of airline passengers in airports worldwide. In May 2007 FBI officials arrested six radical Islamists plotting an attack on Fort Dix, an Army installation in New Jersey. Authorities had the group under surveillance for more than a year prior to their arrests, after having been tipped off to the group’s activities by an alert video store employee who had been asked to convert video of their militant activities to DVD. Three of the men charged were illegally residing in the United States.

In early June 2007 agents thwarted a plot to detonate fuel tanks at New York City’s JFK International Airport as well as the fuel lines leading to the airport through neighborhoods in nearby Queens. Although the group involved with the plot was thought to have ties with Islamist extremists in Trinidad, one of four charged was a former air cargo worker at JFK with U.S. citizenship, and two others were citizens of Guyana, one a former member of the parliament.

The Bush administration continued its efforts to fight global terrorism by seeking more effective ways of securing the borders from illegal entry, including the reform of immigration laws, and from the importation of nuclear, chemical, and biological materials that could be used to produce WMDs. In addition, Bush pursued a FOREIGN POLICY objective of stabilizing democratic regimes in the MIDDLE EAST and elsewhere in order to deny terrorist groups access to safe havens and resources.

In what is expected to last at least a generation, the United States redirected its foreign policy, reoriented its domestic priorities, and has mobilized a major portion of its military and intelligence resources toward a new effort to destroy the sources of international terrorism throughout the world.



See also AFGHANISTAN WAR; ASSASSINATIONS; CRIME; IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS; IRAQ WAR; MILITIA MOVEMENT.

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—Aharon W. Zorea and Cynthia Stachecki

## think tanks

Think tanks are policy-oriented research organizations that provide expertise to government. By the year 2000 there were an estimated 1,200 nongovernment think tanks of various descriptions, various focuses on social and economic issues, and various sources of funding, at work in the United States. Of the major think tanks, only the Brookings Institution (1916) and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1910) were founded before World War II. The American Enterprise Institute was founded during the war in 1943.

Although think tanks are ostensibly nonpartisan, in many instances they function as extensions of state power, coming into and falling out of influence with changes in governments, and shifts in the ideological climate of the country. In other cases, think tanks function more independently, questioning and monitoring state strategies and structures. (For example the Rand Corporation, founded in the aftermath of World War II, was created to monitor and evaluate air force programs, before it became an independent research organization in the 1950s.)

The course of the Brookings Institution reflects the kinds of changes that can occur in shifting ideological currents. In 1965 it represented mainstream Keynesian economic thinking, and its growing influence was reflected in renewed foundation support, especially from the Ford Foundation. Under its president, Kermit Gordon, Brookings' reputation as a liberal Democratic think tank was well entrenched. Under Gordon, the Brookings Institution became a major center for policy innovation in welfare, health care, education, housing, and taxation policy.

In 1976 the board of trustees appointed Bruce MacLaury to head the institution. A former regional Federal Reserve banker and treasury official, MacLaury successfully courted business support, increased corporate representation on the board of trustees, and moved the institution toward a more moderate ideological stance. By the 1970s, the Brookings Institution confronted competition from other major policy research institutions, especially the American Enterprise Institute and the Heritage

Foundation, both viewed as conservative research institutions close to the Republican Party.

The American Enterprise Institute (AEI), which was founded in 1943 as the American Enterprise Association (AEA), illustrates the experience of a conservatively oriented research institution that expressed deep ambivalence about the post-World War II policy consensus. The key figure behind the establishment of the AEA was Lewis Brown, chairman of Johns-Manville Corporation. From the start, the AEA reflected a conservative bias.

In 1954, A. D. Marshall, head of General Electric, assumed the institution's presidency and immediately hired William Baroody, Sr., and W. Glenn Campbell, both staff economists at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, to head the research program. Under their guidance, AEA was gradually built into a modern research institute under its new name, the American Enterprise Institute. Principal support came from the Lilly Endowment, the Scaife Fund, and the Earhard and Kresge Foundations, as well as major corporate sponsors. The institution's reputation was enhanced when the Nixon administration called upon a number of AEI associates for government positions. The AEI also emerged as a successful proponent of economic deregulation.

In 1977 William Baroody, Sr., retired and his son, William Baroody, Jr., took over the presidency of the institution. To improve its standing in the academic community, the AEI assembled an impressive staff, including Melvin Laird, William Simon, Robert Bork, Michael Novak, and Herbert Stein. The tenure of William Baroody, Jr., however, ended abruptly in the summer of 1986, when an increasingly restive board of trustees forced his resignation because of cost overruns and declining revenues. Baroody's successor, Christopher DeMuth, bolstered the conservative orientation of the institute by bringing on board several former Reagan administration officials with strong rightist reputations.

The founding of the Heritage Foundation in 1973 revealed a new ideological climate in the analysis of public knowledge. Founded by Edwin Feulner and Paul Weyrich to provide rapid and succinct legislative analysis on issues pending before Congress, the Heritage Foundation sought to promote conservative values and demonstrate the need for a free market and a strong defense. The Heritage Foundation's articulation of conservative values in social policy, education, and government activities placed it at the forefront of New Right activity. The Heritage Foundation remained relatively small in its early years, but the election of Ronald W. Reagan to the presidency in 1980 enhanced the institution's prestige. By the mid-1980s the Heritage Foundation had established a solid place in the Washington world of think tanks as a well-organized, efficient, and well-financed research organization that called

for the turning over of many government tasks to private enterprise, a strong defense, and a cautious approach to the Soviet Union and China.

During these years, a myriad of other think tanks emerged in Washington representing a range of ideological positions and specialized policy interests, including the left-oriented Institute for Policy Studies (1963) and the libertarian-oriented Cato Institute (1977). Think tanks concerned with national security including the Center for Strategic and International Studies (1962) and the Center for National Security Studies (1962), affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union. The Urban Institute (1968) focused on domestic social, welfare, and family policy, while the National Women's Law Center (1972) worked on policies that affect women, especially reproductive rights, employment, and education. The Institute for International Economics (1981) became a major center for international economic and monetary policies, especially from a free-trade perspective. The traditionalist-oriented Ethics and Public Policy Center provided analysis of public policies related to religious issues.

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—Donald T. Critchlow

**Thomas, Clarence** (1948– ) *associate justice of the Supreme Court*

Appointed to the United States SUPREME COURT in 1991, Clarence Thomas became the second African American to serve on the Court. Born the son of a poor laborer in Pin Point, Georgia, on June 23, 1948, Thomas was abandoned by his father before the age of two. Thomas's maternal grandparents then raised him and his brother. As a young man, Thomas considered becoming a Roman Catholic priest and entered Conception Seminary from 1967 to 1968, and then Holy Cross College, where he graduated in 1971. After abandoning his plans to become a priest, Thomas entered Yale Law School, graduating in 1974.

After law school, Thomas was hired as an assistant attorney general by Missouri's Republican attorney general, John Danforth, later U.S. senator. Renowned for his personal probity (he was an ordained Episcopal minister as well as an attorney), Danforth motivated Thomas to become a Republican.

When Danforth was elected to the Senate in 1978, Thomas became his legislative assistant. In 1981 Thomas became assistant secretary for civil rights in the Department of Education, and then chairman of the U.S. Equal

Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) from 1982 to 1990. In 1990 President GEORGE H. W. BUSH nominated Thomas to the Federal Court of Appeals, D.C. Circuit. Eighteen months later, Bush nominated Thomas to fill the seat of Thurgood Marshall, the Supreme Court's only African American, who had retired. Immediately, Thomas faced opposition from liberals in the Senate because of his well-known judicial conservatism. Further troubles arose when accusations were raised by a former colleague at the EEOC, ANITA FAYE HILL, who accused him of sexual harassment.

The Senate Judiciary Committee reconvened to hear testimony from Hill that Thomas had harassed her with verbal obscenities. Thomas replied by denying her accusations. He also denounced his opponents for conducting "a high-tech lynching" of an African-American man determined to think for himself on controversial issues. Distinguished witnesses testified for both sides. Public opinion polls sided two-thirds with Thomas's version of events, since Professor Hill had apparently kept in close touch with her former boss long after the supposed sexual harassment occurred. Thomas was narrowly confirmed, 52-48, along partisan lines, with 11 Democratic senators supporting his confirmation. On October 23, 1991, Thomas joined the Court.

On the Court, he constructed a rigorous jurisprudence based on natural law, historical context, and a strict interpretation of the Constitution. Thomas often votes with Justice ANTONIN SCALIA. Although Thomas has voted 90 percent of the time with Scalia, Thomas places more emphasis on historical analysis and national law, as seen in his extensive historical arguments in *U.S. Term Limits v. Thornton* (1995) and *U.S. v. Lopez* (1995). In *Bush v. Gore* (2000), Thomas voted with the five-justice majority. Unlike Justices SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR and Kennedy, though, Thomas agreed with WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST and Scalia that Article II of the Constitution, not the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause, should be the basis of the ruling on Florida's ballots. Thomas consistently argues the Equal Protection Clause should only apply to racial discrimination.

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—Christopher M. Gray

**Thurmond, James Strom** (1902–2003) *U.S. senator*  
Strom Thurmond, a U.S. senator from South Carolina, is best known for his strong support of state's rights and

adherence to strict constitutional principles. He is also the oldest person ever to serve in Congress, an achievement he reached on March 8, 1996, at the age of 93 years and 94 days. On May 25, 1997, he set the record for the longest service in the Senate—41 years, nine months, 30 days.

Thurmond was born in Edgefield, South Carolina, on December 5, 1902. He received his bachelor's degree from Clemson University in 1923, became a state senator in 1933, and was elected governor of South Carolina in 1947. He was first elected to the U.S. Senate in 1954.

Thurmond's early political career was defined by a strong support of racial segregation and a fear of federal intrusion into the duties of state government. In 1948 he withdrew from the Democratic Party because of its civil rights plank in the party platform and ran as president on the newly formed State's Rights Party, nicknamed the "Dixiecrats." Although he received only 9 percent of the popular vote he had established himself as a leading proponent of state's rights. In 1956 he drafted the "Southern Manifesto" against the 1954 SUPREME COURT school desegregation ruling, signed by 19 U.S. senators and 81 representatives. In 1956 Thurmond filibustered 24 hours and 18 minutes against the 1957 civil rights bill.

Yet, after passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, Thurmond was the first southern senator to hire black staff members and appoint blacks to high positions. In 1964, Thurmond switched from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party to support Barry Goldwater in his unsuccessful bid for the presidency against Lyndon Johnson. He was also instrumental in shaping the "southern strategy" that helped capture the White House for RICHARD M. NIXON in 1968.

During RONALD W. REAGAN's administration, Thurmond served on the President's Commission on Organized Crime and as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and was president pro tempore of the Senate from 1981 to 1987. He also became a member of the Labor and Human Resources Committee in 1984. In 1995 he was elected again as the president pro tempore of the Senate and today serves as the senior member of the Judiciary Committee and the Veterans Affairs Committee and is chairman of the Armed Services Committee. Thurmond is also the author of *The Faith We Have Not Kept* (1968). In 2002 he announced that he would retire from the Senate. Less than a year into his retirement, Senator Thurmond died at his retirement home on June 26, 2003.

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—William L. Glankler

## tobacco suits

During the late 1990s, almost every state attorney general in the nation filed a suit against the tobacco industry to recover health-care costs of tobacco-related illnesses. American tobacco companies eventually resolved the suits in one of the largest settlement agreements in history, amounting to more than \$300 billion over a 25-year period. These suits on tobacco-related products have been heralded by some as a victory for health and condemned by others as a gross violation of government authority.

It was not until the mid-1960s that the U.S. government took an active role in discouraging smoking. In 1964 the Surgeon General's office released a 387-page report entitled "Smoking and Health," which stated explicitly, "cigarette smoking is causally related to lung cancer in men." The following year, Congress passed the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act, requiring tobacco companies to include the Surgeon General's warnings on all cigarette packages. By 1971 Congress further banned all broadcast ADVERTISING for cigarette products.

Private lawsuits were filed against individual tobacco companies as early as 1954 based on legal theories involving product liability and negligent breach of implicit warranty, though none of them succeeded. The first serious challenge came in 1983 after lung-cancer patient Rose Cipollone sued the nation's fifth-largest cigarette manufacturer, the Liggett Group, for failing to warn her about the dangers of its products. She was awarded a \$400,000 judgment, but it was later overturned on appeal. The tobacco industry typically countered these types of charges by emphasizing the role of individual choice and consumer responsibility. Furthermore, tobacco lawyers claimed that it was "common knowledge," a legal term, that tobacco smokers realized the health consequences of tobacco use before they started smoking. They maintained that smokers made a voluntary decision to smoke and made a voluntary decision not to quit, and therefore voluntarily assumed any risks associated with the habit. Relying heavily on the 1965 imposition of warning labels on cigarettes, the tobacco industry successfully argued that the public was well informed of the reputed risks of smoking when they started. More important, the plaintiffs were never able to produce any direct causal links between smoking and various diseases, such as lung cancer and emphysema.

Opponents of the tobacco industry argued that the health consequences of smoking and chewing were not fully known to the public, but had become known to the tobacco industry, which continued to promote tobacco through massive advertising campaigns, often aimed at youth, and publicly denying research that showed a relation of tobacco use to cancer and emphysema, and other diseases. Furthermore, opponents of tobacco used public documents as well as industry memorandums that, they



alleged, showed that the tobacco companies were covering up the serious, indeed, lethal effects of tobacco use.

On May 23, 1994, the legal attack on tobacco took an entirely new turn when Mississippi state attorney general Mike Moore filed a lawsuit against the entire industry in an attempt to recoup health costs of indigents' smoking-related illnesses paid for by the state. This approach allowed plaintiffs to avoid the question of consumer responsibility; the state was forced to pay a portion of smoking-related health costs, regardless of whether private citizens made informed decisions about smoking. Mississippi sued the tobacco industry for selling a defective product that carried with it known risks to individual and public health. Two and a half months later, on August 17, Minnesota attorney general Hubert H. Humphrey III filed a similar suit based on new arguments of fraud; he charged the tobacco industry with knowingly exploiting and manipulating the addictive characteristics of cigarettes to compel continued consumption. Furthermore, competing companies violated antitrust laws to conspire to conceal this information from the general public. Both states employed arguments that circumvented the issue of consumer responsibility. In addition, both cases emphasized the societal damage brought about by teen smoking, and charged tobacco companies with deliberately marketing to underage consumers. They maintained that tobacco companies needed teen smokers in order to facilitate new addictions in each succeeding generation. Tobacco companies rejected all claims, and responded with a countersuit arguing that the state attorneys general had no standing to file suit because they were not directly affected.



Antismoking demonstrators in front of the Philip Morris companies headquarters, July 25, 2002, in New York City (Platt/Getty Images)

West Virginia followed Mississippi's example and filed a similar suit the next month; Florida joined in four months later. Though attracted by the new approach, most other states remained reluctant to file until after the question of standing had been answered. The hesitation ended, however, after the Liggett Group settled its claims with four states in 1995 for a total of \$38 billion. The sign of vulnerability on the part of the tobacco industry resulted in an immediate action; 14 states filed suits in 1996 and another 20 filed during the first months of 1997. Each state requested multibillion-dollar judgments.

By early 1997 the federal government attempted to mediate a settlement between the states and the five major tobacco companies, R. J. Reynolds, Lorillard Tobacco, Philip Morris, Brown & Williams, and American Tobacco. Considering the scope of the pending litigation, the tobacco companies were persuaded to settle quickly; they reached an agreement on June 20, 1997, which required congressional approval and a presidential signature because it involved changes in federal law.

Initially, the settlement asked tobacco companies to pay \$368.5 billion over 25 years; the states would receive an average of \$5 billion a year, while the federal government would receive close to \$6 billion a year to fund national antismoking campaigns through the Food and Drug Administration, which would be newly empowered to establish minimum federal standards for public smoking, regulate the production and manufacture of tobacco products, and enforce suspected violations. The agreement included specific provisions banning all outdoor advertising of cigarettes and the use of cartoon characters in printed media. The settlement also prohibited tobacco companies from sponsoring sporting events that cater to children and ordered the industry to set aside \$750 million over 10 years to aid those programs affected by the loss of sponsorship. Most important, the agreement measured tobacco company compliance according to declining rates of teen smoking; if the rate did not follow established guidelines, the tobacco companies would be forced to pay additional money. Lastly, \$25 billion set aside in a public health trust fund would be used to pay individual claims. In exchange, the tobacco industry would be protected from all future civil suits levied by public agencies, and would be limited in liability for individual suits to a total of \$25 billion.

The tobacco industry signed the 1997 agreement because it promised to end all public litigation and set specific limits on the extent of private suits. The federal government would have benefited because it received more than half the award even though it was not party to any suit. Congress rejected it altogether in early 1998. Lawmakers claimed that the agreement was based on tobacco lobbyist groups, but the opposition actually stemmed from deeper concerns of justice and constitutionality. Opponents of the argument said



that the government should never use civil litigation to effect social change; if tobacco products were in fact contrary to the public good, then they should be outlawed directly. Furthermore, government involvement in civil suits represented a clear conflict of interest, since it received annually, on both the state and federal levels, hundreds of millions of dollars in tax revenue from the sales of cigarettes.

In total, 52 pieces of legislation were submitted in both houses of Congress related to the tobacco settlement; none of them passed. Throughout 1998, tobacco industry representatives continued to meet separately with the state representatives suing the industry. By November, a new master settlement agreement required tobacco companies to pay out \$250 billion to each of the plaintiff states over a 25-year period; each state legislature could choose to use the money in any way they deemed appropriate. They were also required to spend \$2 billion to develop independent antismoking programs for youth and teens, ban all outdoor ads, provide athletic sponsorships, and create retailer education programs to halt the sales of cigarettes to teens. The states agreed to drop their suits, though no limitations were placed on civil suits filed by private plaintiffs. As a consequence, smokers, former smokers, and other interested parties continue to file class-action lawsuits against tobacco companies. Between 2002 and 2004 several cases have been decided in which a group or an individual has been awarded punitive damages—many in the multimillion dollar range—from the tobacco companies.

In 1999 President WILLIAM J. CLINTON announced that the federal government would continue to pursue federal suits against the industry. On September 22, 1999, the U.S. attorneys general filed suits under the Medical Care Recovery Act (MCRA), the Medicare Secondary Payer provisions of the Social Security Act (MSP), and the RACKETEER INFLUENCED AND CORRUPT ORGANIZATIONS ACT (RICO). This was the first time the government had used RICO against an entire industry.

The following year, in September 2000, a district court judge ruled that the federal government had no standing to sue under the MCRA or MSP. She argued that Congress had not intended these laws to allow the type of monetary recovery the government was requesting. The Attorney General's office immediately submitted revised claims, but in July 2001, the same judge dismissed these as well. The judge's rulings led some observers to question whether the state suits would have survived court consideration. Although the district court judge ruled out claims under the MCRA and MSP, she did permit the RICO claims.

Attorney General John Ashcroft pursued the charges under RICO. He argued that the tobacco industry had made false statements about the dangers of tobacco and had marketed to youth. The district court ruled that the government could not hold the tobacco companies respon-

sible for past violations of RICO but could only ask for remedies that would prevent future violations. On those grounds, the judge refused to grant a monetary settlement, but did order companies to remove the term "light" from their packaging and required them to publish statements about tobacco use and health issues. The Court of Appeals has imposed a stay on all remedies required by the district court while the case is being appealed.

The tobacco suits introduced a new approach to civil litigation in American jurisprudence. During the final years of the 20th century, state and local governments filed similar civil suits against gun manufacturers and pharmaceutical companies. The future viability of this approach remains to be seen.

See also PROPERTY RIGHTS.

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—Aharon W. Zorea and Amy Wallhermflechtel

## Tower Commission

John Goodwin Tower (1925–91), a former Republican senator from Texas was appointed to head RONALD W. REAGAN's President's Special Review Board (the Tower Commission) on November 6, 1986, to investigate the IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR. Tower chaired the three-member, bipartisan panel that included former national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, and former secretary of state Edmund Muskie.

In February 1987 the commission issued a report chastising the Reagan administration and the president's advisers for their lack of control over the National Security Council (NSC). The Congressional Joint Investigative Committee, in 40 days of public hearings, listened to 28 witnesses, conducted more than 500 interviews and depositions, and amassed more than 300,000 documents. Although the report suggested the NSC should be overseen by Congress, it did not call for legal action or major institutional changes. In November 1987 the committee reported that the president bore the ultimate responsibility for the implementation of his administration's policies but found no firm evidence that he had known of the diversion of funds to the contras.

Democrats in Congress criticized the Tower Commission's findings, asserting that since the commission did not have subpoena power and the assistance of the special prosecutor, it did not explain the entire affair. Republicans largely felt the matter closed and commended the commission's findings.

—Michele Rutledge

**Twenty-sixth Amendment**

This amendment declares that the right of citizens age 18 years or older to vote “shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of age.” In effect, this amendment gave the right to vote to all citizens of the United States 18 years and older.

The Twenty-sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is the fourth amendment to specify voting rights (others include the Fifteenth, the Nineteenth, and the Twenty-third Amendments).

The passage of this amendment in June 1971 was encouraged by large-scale protests in the 1960s by students and others regarding the VIETNAM WAR. The amendment responded to the argument that citizens old enough to fight and die for their country should be able to vote. It reduced the voting age from 21 to 18 years, and allowed the opportunity for younger people to have a voice in the affairs of government and to share in the political process.

The Voting Rights Act of 1970 lowered the voting age only in national elections. In extending the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in 1970 Congress included a provision lowering the age qualification to vote in local, state, and federal elections to 18. In a divided decision, the SUPREME COURT held that Congress was authorized to reduce the age qualification in federal elections, but revoked the application of the provision in other elections as outside congressional authority. Facing the imminent possibility that the states might have to maintain dual registration records as well as bear the expense of running separate federal and state election systems, the states were responsive to Congress’s proposal to establish a minimum age qualification of 18 for all elections and quickly ratified the constitutional amendment.

See also AMENDMENTS TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION.

—Michele Rutledge



## **United Nations (U.S. participation since 1968)**

Since 1969 the United States has played largely a defensive role in the United Nations (UN), although occasionally it has emerged as a leading force within this body. In general, opposition to American leadership in the body had been found in the General Assembly; as a result, the United States has been most active in exerting its power in the UN Security Council, where it is a permanent member with a veto.

During the 1960s most of the European colonial possessions were granted independence, most notably in Africa. This influx of new states shifted the balance of power in the General Assembly. No longer were the Americans and their allies the dominant force, as had been the case since the United Nations was first established following World War II. African states became the largest single group of UN members. In the mid-1960s African, Asian, and Latin American states joined together to form the Group of Seventy-Seven, which became the dominant force in the assembly. Over time, the Group of Seventy-Seven came to include more than 100 states and constituted a solid voting bloc.

Being comprised of so many former colonies, the group often assumed a decidedly anti-Western stance and adopted positions on world economics, the Middle East conflict, and SOUTH AFRICA that were often at odds with American foreign policy. During the 1980s the United States became increasingly confrontational, not just arguing for liberal democracy, but acting in protest against UN agencies and policies. In 1985 the United States withdrew from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) over disagreements on the nature of UNESCO activities, which were seen as being anti-Israel. That same year the United States refused to pay its assessed contribution to the UN Issues such as UN support for abortion counseling and the decided anti-Western posturing of the General Assembly prompted the U.S. Congress to withhold UN dues payments. The Americans were

pledged to contribute 25 percent of the UN budget, not including special UN programs and peacekeeping operations. The United States did not alter its position on paying the UN until the 1990s, but it still withheld a substantial portion of its overdue payments.

Prior to 1989 the United States conducted most of its foreign policy largely outside of the United Nations. The United States established its own agencies to deliver humanitarian and foreign aid, participating only marginally with UN humanitarian agencies, compared with funding to its own organizations. In the COLD WAR period, it should be noted, the Soviet Union largely conducted its foreign policy outside the UN as well.

As the cold war came to an end, policymakers in the United States expressed greater interest and hope in the UN as an international peacekeeping organization. In 1991 the United States tested this new disposition toward the UN when Iraq invaded Kuwait. The United States exerted leadership in pressing for a UN resolution condemning Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, and in mobilizing a coalition army, with the support of the UN, to remove Iraqi forces from Kuwait in the PERSIAN GULF WAR. The resulting military operations successfully liberated Kuwait and marked the beginning of a very active period of UN peacekeeping activities. Peacekeepers were deployed to the Balkans, Mozambique, Somalia, El Salvador, Rwanda, and Angola. In 1999 the UN deployed new missions to Kosovo and East Timor, and expanded a long-term mission in Sierra Leone. As of March 2000, there were 765 Americans participating in peacekeeping operations, though none of these personnel were members of the U.S. military. Indeed, Americans accounted for less than 3 percent of UN peacekeepers.

Since the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Towers and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, in New York City, the United States, within the UN's General Assembly and the Security Council, actively sought an agenda to stop global TERRORISM. The UN was receptive to this agenda. On September 28, the UN required all nations

to restrict funds to terrorist organizations. President GEORGE W. BUSH, one month after the attacks, praised these efforts of the UN when he addressed the General Assembly on November 10, 2001, in New York City about terrorism and the progress of the AFGHANISTAN WAR. He encouraged the member nations of the UN to share intelligence to prevent another terrorist attack, and he offered assistance to nations who could not afford to stop terrorist activities in their country. In September 2006 the UN adopted a plan of action to stop global terrorism. These plans included efforts to prevent terrorist organizations from taking root in the 191 member nations of the UN, to prosecute terrorists in accordance with international law, and to encourage members to make funding contributions to fight terrorism.

Relations between the United States and the UN, however, became strained prior to the IRAQ WAR. In 2002 President Bush contended that intelligence information confirmed that Iraq was developing weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Iraq complied and allowed the UN to inspect for WMD but shortly thereafter removed the

UN inspectors from the country. As a result, in November 2002 the United States in the Security Council pursued Resolution 1441, which required Iraq to disarm. Iraq failed to comply with this resolution, and the United States and a coalition of other nations invaded Iraq and deposed Saddam Hussein in the spring of 2003. Other powerful nations within the UN, namely France, Russia, and Germany, criticized the act of force used by the coalition, which affected relations between the United States and the other members of the Security Council. This relationship was further strained when the United States, Great Britain, and Australia acted outside of the UN when they formed the Iraq Survey Group (ISG) to inspect Iraq for WMD. Since the release of the ISG's report in the fall of 2004, stating that Iraq did not possess a weapons program, the United States has come under sharp criticism from members of the UN because of the continued conflict in Iraq after the official end of the war in 2003. Thus, the UN, under requests from President Bush and the Iraqi government, provided assistance for the development of a new Iraqi government in 2005. In



U.S. secretary of health and human services Tommy Thompson, UN secretary general Kofi Annan (center), and U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell (right), before a meeting at a special United Nations General Assembly session on AIDS, June 25, 2001, in New York City (Platt/Getty Images)



June 2006 the UN announced the International Compact for Iraq, which would provide international assistance for the country.

Funding issues and U.S. criticism of the operations of the UN have also been sources of conflict between the United States and the international organization. In December 2004 Congress requested that the United States Institute of Peace form a task force to investigate the efficiency of the UN and the relationship of the organization to the United States. The task force, under the direction of former U.S. Speaker of the House NEWTON L. GINGRICH and former U.S. Senate majority leader George Mitchell, released its report, *American Interests and UN Reform*, in June 2005. The task force recommended that the UN take stronger actions in stopping acts of genocide, argued for the United States and European countries to assume leadership responsibilities in the UN and to form an independent oversight board to investigate the actions of the UN, and called for the formation of another leadership position within the UN and reforming the budget of the UN. Subsequently, the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES passed a resolution in June 2005 to limit the funds given to the United Nations if it fails to reform its budget, humanitarian efforts, and peacekeeping operations. The bill did not pass, and similar attempts in both the House and Senate have failed. Nevertheless, Congress's efforts to reform represented a growing disenchantment with the operations of the UN.

In the period since 1968, 23 people have represented the United States at the United Nations. Lyndon Johnson appointed three ambassadors between 1968 and his leaving office in 1969 including Arthur Goldberg, George W. Ball, and James Russell Wiggins. RICHARD M. NIXON named three ambassadors: Charles Yost, GEORGE H. W. BUSH, and John Scali. GERALD R. FORD retained Ambassador Scali until 1975 when he appointed Daniel Patrick Moynihan. William Scranton replaced Moynihan. JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., named two ambassadors: Andrew Young and Donald McHenry. RONALD W. REAGAN named just two ambassadors in eight years: Jeane Kirkpatrick and Vernon Walters. George H. W. Bush also named two ambassadors: Thomas Pickering and Edward Perkins. WILLIAM J. CLINTON named four persons to the post, including MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT, Bill Richardson, A. Peter Burleigh, and Richard Holbrooke. President George W. Bush appointed four ambassadors to the UN: John D. Negroponte (2001–04), John Danforth (2004–05), John R. Bolton (2005–06), and Zalmay Khalizad (in 2007).

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—John Korasick and Matthew C. Sherman

**United States v. Eichman** See FLAG BURNING.

**United States v. Nixon** (1974)

This case occurred during the Watergate scandal and involved the issue of executive privilege and congressional power.

During the investigations of the WATERGATE SCANDAL, information came to light that President RICHARD M. NIXON had secretly taped conversations in the Oval Office that possibly were relevant to the investigation. In March 1974 a federal grand jury indicted White House officials H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, John Mitchell, Robert Mardian, Charles Colson, Gordon Strachan, and Kenneth W. Parkinson for participating in a cover-up of the Watergate burglary. President Nixon was named as an unindicted coconspirator.

Following Nixon's firing of Special Prosecutor ARCHIBALD COX, JR., in April 1974 a new special prosecutor, LEON JAWORSKI, subpoenaed 64 tapes needed for the trials resulting from the indictments. Nixon refused to comply with the subpoena, offering instead edited transcripts in place of the actual tapes. The 1,254 pages of transcripts contained embarrassing material, including a large number of presidential deleted expletives, and they were also inaccurate and incomplete. The inaccuracies were exposed when the House Judiciary Committee released its version of the tapes.

U.S. District Court judge John Sirica, who had issued the original subpoena, rejected the transcripts as unacceptable and reissued an order for the original tapes. James St. Clair, the head of Nixon's Watergate defense team, appealed Sirica's ruling to the Court of Appeals. Jaworski, wishing to expedite the process, appealed directly to the Supreme Court. The Court agreed to hear the case on July 8, 1974.

Nixon's case rested on two issues. First, the administration questioned the judiciary's jurisdiction in subpoenaing the tapes, citing separation of powers. Second, the administration cited executive privilege, the need for the protection of communication between high government officials and their advisers. The Court unanimously rejected both

claims in a ruling on July 24, 1974. On the first point, the court cited *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), which affirmed the power of judicial review. As for the second point, Chief Justice Warren Burger argued that neither separation of powers nor the need for confidential communication allowed for presidential privilege of absolute immunity from the judicial process.

On August 5, 1974, the transcripts were released, including one particularly damaging to Nixon, in which he discussed using the CIA to obstruct the FBI investigation of the Watergate break-in. Facing a congressional vote on IMPEACHMENT, Nixon announced his resignation on the evening of August 8, 1974.

—John Korasick

**Updike, John** (1932–2009) *novelist, short story writer, poet, essayist*

Novelist and short story writer John Updike, born March 18, 1932, in Reading, Pennsylvania, gained literary fame for capturing the changing culture of the United States in the post–World War II period.

After graduation from Harvard University in 1954, Updike joined the *New Yorker* as a regular contributor. In 1959 his collection of short stories, *The Same Door*, won critical acclaim. In 1960 he wrote a nonfiction story for the *New Yorker*, “Hub Fans Bid Kid Adieu,” about baseball star Ted Williams’s last game. The work is regarded as sportswriting at its best. His novels often explored the interrelationships of sex, faith, and death. The first of his Rabbit novels, *Rabbit, Run*, appeared in 1960. In the series, the changing social, political, and economic history of post–World War II United States is the background to the life story of Harry “Rabbit” Angstrom. Updike occasionally used the story to comment on that history, as he followed the life and relationships of Angstrom from his early marriage through maturity to the end of Angstrom’s life. Updike’s writing typically focused on relationships, and that is especially true of the Rabbit series. Updike produced another series of comic short-story cycles, centered on the fictional life of a moderately well-known, unprolific Jewish novelist, Henry Bech, beginning with *Bech: A Book* in 1970 and followed by *Bech Is Back* in 1981 and *Bech at Bay: A Quasi-Novel* in 1998.

Updike also wrote a play, *Buchanan Dying* (1974); a number of works of poetry, including *The Carpentered Hen* (1958), *Telephone Poles* (1963), *Midpoint* (1969), *Tossing and Turning* (1977), *Facing Nature* (1985), *Collected Poems 1953–1993* (1993), *Americana: and Other Poems* (2001), and *A & P* (2006); a series of children’s books, *The Magic Flute* (1962), *The Ring* (1964), *A Child’s Calendar* (1965), *Bottom’s Dream* (1969), and *A Helpful Alphabet of Friendly Objects* (1996); and a col-

lection of essays on art, *Still Looking* (2005). Updike was also known as a literary critic, often provoking a war of words with his acerbic criticism. Other novels include *The Poorhouse Fair* (1959), *The Centaur* (1963), which won the 1964 National Book Award, *Of the Farm* (1965), *Couples* (1968), *A Month of Sundays* (1975), *Marry Me (A Romance)* (1977), *The Coup* (1978), *The Witches of Eastwick* (1984)—his best known novel outside of the Rabbit series, which was adapted into a film—*Roger’s Version* (1986), *S* (1988), *Brazil* (1994)—also adapted into a film—*In the Beauty of the Lilies* (1996), *Toward the End of Time* (1997), *Gertrude and Claudius* (2000), *Seek My Face* (2002), *Villages* (2004), and *Terrorist* (2006). Updike died of lung cancer on January 27, 2009.

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—Stephen E. Randoll

## USA PATRIOT Act

Enacted October 26, 2001, the USA PATRIOT Act gave the federal government expanded powers to seek out, arrest, and prosecute suspected terrorists operating within the United States. Its official title is an acronym that stands for Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism.

Following the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001, Congress worked with President GEORGE W. BUSH to tighten security against future attacks. Attorney General John Ashcroft asked Congress to approve quickly new law-enforcement capabilities to effectively fight TERRORISM in a new electronic age. Ashcroft requested expanded powers of surveillance, the ability to share information between government agencies, the right to detain suspects considered dangerous to national security, and strengthened money-laundering laws to stop the flow of funding from within the United States to terrorist organizations elsewhere. Congress balanced the need to pass legislation quickly with the concern for protecting civil liberties by including a “sunset” clause in certain provisions of the law, which placed an automatic expiration on those provisions at the end of four years unless Congress reauthorizes them. The HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES approved the USA PATRIOT Act on October 24, 2001, by a vote of 357 to 66; the SENATE passed it on October 25 by a vote of 98 to 1.

The most controversial provisions of the USA PATRIOT Act were those that expanded powers of search

and surveillance. Among the measures were changes to existing wiretap laws, previously authorized by the 1978 Federal Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). FISA established procedures that government agents must follow before conducting foreign intelligence investigations, including judicial approval from a special FISA court to tap telephone lines (wiretap), and set limitations on the use of information obtained. Although several legislative measures had expanded electronic surveillance capabilities since 1978, such as the 1986 Electronic Communications Privacy Act and the 1994 Communications Assistance for Law Enforcement Act, the Clinton administration had also sought the ability to use “roving” wiretaps in the late 1990s. The USA PATRIOT Act authorized the use of roving wiretaps, which enabled agents acting under FISA authority to track communications on any phone associated with a suspect rather than obtaining a separate court order for each line. The new act extended the list of crimes for which wiretaps could be used to include terrorism and computer fraud, gave investigators the ability to “tap” Internet communications in the same way as telephone lines, and enabled investigators to electronically track all communications relevant to an investigation aimed at preventing terrorism, rather than restricting them to those of foreign agents. The new law also permitted information sharing between law-enforcement and intelligence-gathering agencies.

The USA PATRIOT Act expanded the ability of law-enforcement agencies to search suspects’ property and business records in international terrorism investigations. The new law authorized the use of nationwide search warrants that could be used in any jurisdiction, eliminating the need to obtain a separate warrant for each jurisdiction. In addition, the law allowed investigators to search suspects’ property without notifying them immediately if it could be shown that to do so posed a risk to the investigation. The measure to expand the list of business records that investigators could request to include books, records, documents, or items pertinent to an ongoing investigation proved to be one of the most contentious provisions when it came time to renew the USA PATRIOT Act. Those who felt that the law did not provide adequate protections for civil liberties argued that it provided unlimited access to personal records, including library and bookstore records. Most of the search and surveillance provisions carried sunset clauses.

Provisions to tighten money-laundering laws restricted the ability of certain foreign banks and foreign jurisdictions—those suspected of money laundering by the secretary of the treasury, the secretary of state, and the attorney general—to conduct transactions and maintain accounts within the United States. The new law required due diligence on the part of foreign and domestic banking insti-

tutions to monitor transactions, required identification of customers conducting business with foreign banks suspected of money laundering, increased the penalties for those attempting to transfer money anonymously, and required any person conducting a transaction greater than \$10,000 to file a report to a bureau within the Treasury Department.

Some of the border control measures included the ability to bar from entry into the United States anyone associated with terrorist organizations, anyone who publicly endorses or encourages terrorist activity against the United States, and anyone who provides support to terrorist organizations. The new law allowed the Immigration and Naturalization Service to detain suspected terrorists for seven days before bringing charges, and required the attorney general to create a program to track foreign students within the United States. The USA PATRIOT Act removed the statute of limitations and raised the maximum prison term for some crimes involving terrorism.

The USA PATRIOT Act survived legal challenges concerning its surveillance provisions, most notably the 2002 FISA Court of Appeals decision to overturn a lower FISA court decision. The lower court had denied a Justice Department request for expanded surveillance and intelligence-sharing powers. Convening for the first time since its creation in 1978 to consider an appeal from the Justice Department, the Court of Appeals ruled that the 2001 USA PATRIOT Act had eliminated the barrier between law-enforcement and intelligence-gathering agencies and further ruled that the traditional wall between agencies had never been mandated by FISA nor intended by Congress. The ACLU along with three other groups sought to appeal the ruling, but the SUPREME COURT denied their request in March 2003.

When the sunset provisions came due for renewal in late 2005, the administration sought to make them permanent. Four Republicans joined with Democrats in the Senate to block reauthorization by the deadline, and Bush was forced to accept a five-week extension to allow more time for debate; the deadline was extended a second time in early 2006. Lawmakers were reluctant to renew or remove two of the sunset provisions without some modifications to further safeguard civil liberties: those allowing federal agents to use roving wiretaps and to seize business records with FISA court approval. Although the House wanted a 10-year extension of the sunset clause on these two provisions, the Senate agreed to only a four-year extension. Before approving such an extension, lawmakers made it more difficult for the government to gain access to information considered sensitive, such as library, tax, or medical records, and allowed recipients of such requests for records greater freedom to seek legal counsel. Federal agents became more accountable to the FISA court when conducting surveillances involving roving wiretaps under

the new USA PATRIOT Act. The reauthorization legislation, signed by President Bush on March 9, 2006, as the USA PATRIOT Improvement and Reauthorization Act of 2005, extended these two provisions until 2009 and made the other 14 permanent.

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—Cynthia Stachecki



# V



## **veto (presidential)**

While no president since 1968 rivals Franklin D. Roosevelt's 635 vetoes, or even Harry S. Truman's 250 vetoes, vetoes invoked by all of the presidents from RICHARD M. NIXON through GEORGE W. BUSH account for 12 percent of all the vetoes in U.S. history. RONALD W. REAGAN vetoed the most legislation with 78, and George W. Bush vetoed the fewest bills with 12.

GERALD R. FORD, facing a Congress controlled by Democrats, vetoed 66 bills during his brief term, the most per year of any president except Franklin Roosevelt. GEORGE H. W. BUSH, also facing a Democratic-controlled Congress, vetoed 44 bills with only one veto being overturned, giving him a 98 percent success rate. JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., vetoed 31 bills and had two overturned and shares the second most successful veto rate with Clinton at 99 percent. Reagan had nine vetoes overturned, for a success rate of 88 percent. Nixon had seven of his 43 vetoes overturned, for a success rate of 84 percent. George W. Bush had the least successful veto rate, with 4 vetoes overturned, leaving him with a success rate of 67 percent.

Broken down by type of veto (either a regular veto, which can be overturned by Congress, or a pocket veto which cannot) 37 percent of vetoes since 1968 have been pocket vetoes.

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—John Korasick

## **Vietnam War (end of U.S. involvement)**

(1969–1973)

The Vietnam War, which began in 1965 under the Johnson administration (although the United States had assigned military advisers to South Vietnam earlier), ended in 1973.

America's involvement in Vietnam divided the nation, leading to a reevaluation of American foreign policy during the COLD WAR and America's place in the world.

When he came into the White House in 1969, President RICHARD M. NIXON sought to end America's involvement in the war in Vietnam through a negotiated settlement that would save as much face as possible for the United States. In order to pressure the North Vietnamese to accept an agreement, he intensified air strikes, while withdrawing American ground troops. By the time Nixon came into office, the war in Vietnam had become for many Americans a moral issue as to whether the United States should be involved in an "internal" war between North Vietnam and South Vietnam. As a pragmatist, Nixon sought to get the United States out of Vietnam as expeditiously as possible with the minimal cost to American prestige. In order to accomplish this, he decided to upgrade South Vietnam's military capacity through a policy of "Vietnamization."

When HENRY A. KISSINGER, his National Security Advisor, reported that North Vietnamese soldiers were using a trail through Cambodia as a supply route, while at the same time using Cambodia as a sanctuary, Nixon decided to launch a U.S. ground offensive and air raids into Cambodia on April 30, 1970. The Cambodian invasion unleashed a fury of angry protests on American college campuses. As a result of these demonstrations, Nixon withdrew American troops from Cambodia, declaring that their mission had been achieved.

In February 1971 the South Vietnamese army invaded Laos to cut off supplies flowing to communists in the south. The North Vietnamese army routed the invaders, who fled in disarray back to South Vietnam. Meanwhile, negotiations to end the war which were being conducted in Paris between Kissinger, the U.S. representative, and Le Duc Tho, the North Vietnamese representative, dragged on. Nixon sent Kissinger to Paris to negotiate secretly with North Vietnam's foreign minister.



American prisoners of war, most of them downed American pilots, were released from North Vietnam prison camps beginning on February 12, 1973, two weeks after the signing of a cease-fire agreement. (*United States Army*)

The war entered its final phase in 1972. By October 1972, with the American presidential elections fast approaching, Kissinger and Le Duc reached a secret agreement. This agreement provided for a cease-fire, the formation of a coalition government in South Vietnam, free elections, the withdrawal of the remaining American troops, and the release of all prisoners. When the South Vietnamese refused to accept the peace plan, the North Vietnamese angrily broke off further negotiations. Following his reelection in November, Nixon put additional pressure on North Vietnam to renew negotiations, by launching a massive bombing campaign from December 18 to December 29. The campaign, the “Christmas bombing,” brought Le Duc Tho back to the table.

Finally, on January 22, 1973—the day Lyndon Johnson died of a heart attack on his Texas ranch—Nixon announced that a cease-fire agreement had been signed in Paris, which would allow U.S. troops to withdraw. Kissinger and Le Duc Tho won the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts. Nearly 60,000 Americans had been killed—more than half during Nixon’s presidency, 300,000 were wounded. In April 1975 the war ended in a communist victory, when the North Vietnamese captured Saigon, renaming it Ho Chi Minh

City, and quickly absorbed South Vietnam into a single communist country of Vietnam.

The consequences of the American defeat in Vietnam left the nation traumatized. The war had polarized American politics as the Democratic Party swung to the left and the Republican Party swung to the right. Moreover, in the aftermath of the Vietnam War, defense budgets would be reduced and the United States appeared to lose confidence in its own place in international affairs. Only in the 1980s would the United States begin to regain its confidence as the world’s leading power.

See also CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT; FORD, GERALD R.; FOREIGN POLICY; LIBERALISM; POLITICAL PARTIES; REAGAN, RONALD W.

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—Leah Blakey and Donald T. Critchlow

# W



## wage and price controls (Nixon)

Following the VIETNAM WAR, the economy in the United States experienced rising inflation that began in the late 1960s and continued into the early 1980s. President RICHARD M. NIXON sought to control rising prices by imposing wage and price controls in 1971, shortly before the 1972 election.

Nixon entered office in 1969 hoping to fight inflation, which had begun during the war in Vietnam, through spending cuts and tight monetary policy, while holding unemployment at 4 percent. Nixon's efforts failed, and by 1970 inflation had risen to six percent and unemployment had risen from 3.6 percent in 1968 to 4.9 percent. The rise in unemployment was partially due to the influx of servicemen returning home from Vietnam. In an effort to deal with these economic pressures, Congress passed the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970. This legislation granted the president the authority to impose wage and price controls. Nixon signed the act into law in June 1970, but was hesitant to impose wage and price controls, an economic measure he had criticized throughout his political career. As conditions worsened, however, Nixon was pressured by Congress, his own party, and the general public to take action. On August 15, 1971, wage and price controls were imposed under a policy Nixon called the "New Economy Policy."

Nixon implemented the New Economic Policy in four phases: Phase I froze wages, prices, and rents for 90 days. Phase II created a pay board and price commission to limit inflation to 3 percent and wages to 5.5 percent per year. In January 1973 Phase III relaxed the controls, and Phase IV replaced controls with commitments from business to limit price and wage increases for one year, beginning in July 1973. Finally, in April 1974 all controls were lifted when Congress refused to extend presidential authority further.

Initially the controls were successful and generally popular. Consumer prices rose by just 3.3 percent in 1972 and unemployment fell from 5.9 to 4.9 between 1971 and

1973. Problems soon surfaced in the form of consumer shortages, as businesses exported goods to more profitable foreign markets. More important, the oil-producing states in the Middle East, organized into a consortium called OPEC, imposed an oil embargo on the United States in October 1973. The cost of a barrel of oil rose from \$3.00 in 1973 to \$14.00 by 1974. As a consequence, inflation rose from 6.2 percent in 1973 to 11 percent in 1974.

Later, GERALD R. FORD and JAMES EARL CARTER, JR., tried to cajole business and labor into voluntary wage and price controls, but these measures failed as well.

—John Korasick

## Wallace, George C. (1919–1998) *governor of Alabama, presidential candidate*

George Corley Wallace emerged as a powerful political leader in the late 1960s and early 1970s, running unsuccessfully for president three times in 1968, 1972, and 1974. He was elected governor of Alabama four times, in 1962, 1970, 1974, and 1982. He first gained national attention in the early 1960s for his opposition to school integration, but in his runs for the presidency he expanded his appeal to some northern white ethnic voters, upset with the VIETNAM WAR, antiwar demonstrators, and federal social programs.

Wallace was born in the small town of Clio, Alabama, in 1919. Although slight in stature, the young Wallace gained a reputation as a fierce amateur boxer. After matriculating at the University of Alabama, he graduated from the University of Alabama Law School in 1942. After serving in the army Air Corps during World War II, he entered politics, first serving as a Democratic representative in the Alabama legislature from 1947 to 1953, and then as a state judge from 1953 to 1958. In these years he earned a reputation for being a liberal on the "race" question. In 1958, however, he lost a race for governor when he was baited by his opponent as being too soft on the issue of segregation. This marked a turning point in Wallace's political outlook.



Four years later he ran for governor, declaring himself a proponent of states' rights and segregation. He won.

As the Civil Rights movement heated up across the country, Wallace declared at his inauguration in 1963, "Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, and segregation forever." He promised to "stand in the doorway" at the University of Alabama in 1963 to prevent the admission of two black students under a court order. After intense negotiations with the Kennedy administration, Wallace was allowed to stand blocking the doorway to the university administration office, and then step away when confronted by federal marshals, thereby allowing the university to be integrated. Wallace's symbolic act made him a hero to opponents of integration. Nonetheless, the public schools in Alabama were integrated during Wallace's first term.

Unable to serve a third consecutive term as governor, Wallace engineered his wife Lurleen's election to the governor's mansion in 1966. Already stricken with cancer during the campaign, Lurleen died in office in 1968. After failing to win the Democratic Party presidential nomination that year, Wallace organized the American Independent Party and ran on a third ticket. Although he ran a distant third behind RICHARD M. NIXON and Hubert Humphrey, he received 10 million votes and carried five states to receive 46 electoral votes. His running mate was retired air force general Curtis LeMay.

In 1971 Wallace married Cornelia Ellis Snively. Shortly afterward, he began his race for the presidency as a Democrat. (The rumor was that Richard M. Nixon had pressured Wallace into running as a Democrat, instead of with a third party, in order to split the Democrats. The Wallace administration was under federal investigation for corruption.) During the campaign, Wallace was shot and left paralyzed by Arthur H. Bremer, a deranged 21-year-old man from Milwaukee, who was sentenced to 53 years in prison for the assassination attempt. In 1981 Wallace's marriage to Cornelia ended in divorce. Later he married country music singer Lisa Taylor, but this marriage ended in divorce in 1987. He made another race for the presidency in 1976 but was forced to withdraw.

In 1982 Wallace made a fourth bid for the governorship of Alabama. He declared himself to be a "born again" Christian and asked forgiveness from the African-American people of Alabama for his defense of segregation, which had led to violence across the South. He won election, receiving strong support from the black voters. He retired from politics in 1987 and died 11 years later in 1998.

See also POLITICAL PARTIES.

**Further reading:** Michael Barone, *Our Country: The Shaping of America from Roosevelt to Reagan* (New York: 1990); Dan Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of New Conservatism, and the Transformation*

*of American Politics* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995).

### **Walsh, Lawrence E.** (1912– ) *lawyer*

Lawrence Walsh had a long and distinguished career as a lawyer before coming to national prominence in the 1980s as the independent counsel investigating the IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR. Born January 8, 1912, in Port Maitland, Nova Scotia, Walsh and his family moved to New York City in 1914 and became naturalized in 1922. Walsh graduated from Flushing High School in 1928 and enrolled in Columbia University as a pre-law student. Walsh graduated from Columbia University Law School in 1935 and was admitted to the New York Bar in 1936.

Upon graduating from law school, Walsh worked on the staff of special prosecutor Hiram Todd's investigation of corruption in Brooklyn. In 1938 Walsh became one of District Attorney Thomas Dewey's "bright young men," charged with attacking the New York underworld. In 1941 Walsh quit the district attorney's office to join the Wall Street law firm of Davis Polk and Wardwell, but this foray into private practice was short-lived. In 1943 Governor Thomas Dewey named Walsh his assistant legal counsel and in 1953 appointed him general counsel of the Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor. In 1954 President Dwight Eisenhower appointed him federal judge for the southern district of New York. In 1957 Walsh became deputy attorney general and helped to coordinate the integration of the Little Rock, Arkansas, schools.

Walsh left public service in 1961, rejoining the Davis Polk and Wardwell law firm. During this time Walsh became a prominent corporate attorney with clients such as General Motors, ATT, and General Mills. In 1975 Walsh was elected president of the American Bar Association, where he advocated improved legal assistance for the poor; the elimination of jury trials in civil cases; and the decriminalization of gambling, prostitution, and marijuana possession. In 1981 Walsh resigned from Davis Polk and Wardwell, relocating to Oklahoma City and joining the firm of Crowe and Dunlevy.

Walsh returned to public service when he was selected as the independent counsel investigating the Iran-contra affair in December 1986. Within the first year, Walsh was under fire from critics, who charged that his investigation was taking too long. Walsh's job was made more difficult when Congress insisted on holding hearings and immunizing the testimony of key figures involved in the scandal. Walsh's team tried to gather as much evidence as possible before the hearings, and submit the results of his investigation to the courts before any testimony was immunized. In March 1988 Walsh indicted OLIVER L. NORTH, John Pindexter, Richard Secord, and Albert Hakim on 12 criminal



counts, including trying to deceive Congress. In June 1988 Judge Gerhard Gesell ruled that each defendant must be tried separately.

In May 1989 a jury convicted North of three of the 12 criminal counts; and in July the court fined him \$150,000 and gave him a three-year suspended sentence. On April 7, 1990, Poindexter was convicted on five counts of deceiving Congress and sentenced to six months in prison. Both the North and Poindexter convictions were subsequently set aside on the grounds that their immunized congressional testimony had been unfairly used against them. In 1992 former defense secretary Caspar Weinberger was indicted on five counts of lying to Congress. On December 24, 1992, President GEORGE H. W. BUSH pardoned all the principals charged in the scandal. Walsh's eventual report, released in 1994, scored presidents Reagan and Bush for their roles in events related to the scandal but did not charge either with criminal wrongdoing. In July 1990 an appeals court overturned one and set aside North's other two convictions until Walsh could prove that his immunized testimony to Congress had not been a factor in the convictions. The SUPREME COURT upheld this decision in 1991. Unable to prove to the court's satisfaction that North's conviction was legitimate, Walsh was compelled to drop all charges in September 1991.

Walsh, a lifelong Republican, became a pariah to many in his party because of his dogged pursuit of justice, which many deemed a "witch hunt." Democrats criticized him for the length of the investigation, and the few convictions it produced.

See also IMPEACHMENT; INDEPENDENT COUNSEL.

—John Korasick

### War Powers Act

The War Powers Resolution, generally known as the War Powers Act, was passed by Congress in 1973 over President Nixon's veto. The purpose of the act is to constrain presidential powers in involving American military troops in foreign interventions. This act was a direct consequence of the VIETNAM WAR.

The resolution stated that the president as commander in chief could only introduce and engage U.S. troops in hostilities following a declaration of war, specific statutory authorization, or an attack upon U.S. territory or against its armed forces. The resolution also required that after U.S. forces were involved, it was the president's responsibility to consult regularly with Congress throughout the duration of the forces' involvement. The resolution required congressional oversight by setting goals and deadlines for military "policing" actions. After U.S. armed force involvement is approved, the commitment is limited to 60 days unless the Congress has declared war or has given special authoriza-

tion for continued use of U.S. forces, or has extended by law the allotted 60-day period, or is physically unable to meet due to an attack on U.S. territory. The extension is limited to 30 days.

This resolution was a clear reaction following American intervention in Vietnam under the administrations of Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon. The *Interpretation of Joint Resolution* states, "Nothing in this joint resolution . . . shall be construed as granting any authority to the President with respect to the introduction of United States Armed Forces into hostilities or into situations wherein involvement in hostilities is clearly indicated by the circumstances which authority he would not have had in the absence of this joint resolution."

After the enactment of this law, presidents have generally ignored the strict limits set by this legislation as shown in a number of military interventions ordered by the president. In December 1982 Congress, concerned with American support for the CONTRAS in Nicaragua, amended the War Powers Act through the BOLAND AMENDMENT. Congressional opponents of President WILLIAM J. CLINTON's military intervention in Kosovo attempted to invoke the War Powers Act, but to little avail.

—Leah Blakey

### Watergate scandal

The Watergate scandal was one of the worst political scandals in American history. It resulted in the resignation of the president, RICHARD M. NIXON, under threat of IMPEACHMENT and the conviction of several high-ranking members of his administration. Watergate takes its name from the break-in at the Democratic National Committee (DNC) headquarters in the Watergate apartment and office complex in Washington, D.C., in June 1972, but the scandal spread, as other illegal activities were made public.

The activities that would fall under the umbrella term "Watergate" began early in the Nixon administration. In 1969, Nixon approved wiretaps on the phones of government officials and reporters in an attempt to discern the source of news leaks about activities in Vietnam. In 1971 a special investigations unit was formed to plug news leaks. Dubbed the "plumbers," they broke into the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding looking for information to be used in the espionage trial against the psychiatrist of Daniel Ellsberg, the Rand Corporation analyst who had leaked the PENTAGON PAPERS to the *New York Times*. Also in 1971, Attorney General JOHN N. MITCHELL and John Dean, counsel to the president, met to discuss the need to obtain political intelligence for the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. In 1972 Mitchell resigned as attorney general to accept the position as director of the committee. Shortly thereafter a plan was approved to break into the DNC



A demonstration outside the White House in support of the impeachment of President Nixon following the Watergate revelations (Hulton/Archive)

headquarters to secure campaign strategy documents and other materials. The deputy director of the committee, Jeb Magruder, later testified that Mitchell had approved a plan developed by G. Gordon Liddy, the chief plumber, to break into the Watergate complex. Mitchell denied this. It has never become clear who ordered the operation or what the conspirators hoped to find.

On June 17, 1972, five men were arrested at the DNC headquarters, including the security coordinator for the committee, James McCord. The burglars were adjusting surveillance equipment they had installed in May when they were caught. Immediately a cover-up began. Magruder destroyed documents and gave false testimony to investigators. The White House blocked an FBI inquiry, declaring that it was a national security operation undertaken by the CIA. Mitchell resigned from his post on July 1, 1972, citing personal reasons. From the original investigation only the five burglars, plus Liddy and E. Howard Hunt, were indicted. In January all seven were convicted, but the cover-up was beginning to unravel. In March 1973 U.S. District Court judge John Sirica received a letter from McCord charging that witnesses had committed perjury at the trial. He went on to implicate Dean and Magruder. Dean and Magruder broke under questioning and offered testimony

that implicated White House and Nixon campaign officials. Dean testified that Mitchell had approved the break-in with the knowledge of White House domestic adviser John Ehrlichman and chief of staff H. R. Haldeman.

In May 1973 Senator Sam Ervin (D-N.C.) opened a special Senate committee investigation into the affair. At the same time, Attorney General ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON appointed ARCHIBALD COX, JR., as special prosecutor to investigate the entire affair. Cox soon uncovered widespread evidence of political espionage, illegal wiretaps, and influence peddling. In July 1973 it was revealed that Nixon had secretly recorded conversations in the White House since 1971. Cox sued to obtain the tapes. On October 20, 1973, Nixon ordered Richardson to fire the special prosecutor. Richardson refused and resigned; his assistant, William Ruckelshaus, refused and was fired. Finally, Solicitor General Robert Bork fired Cox. This became known as the "Saturday Night Massacre." It led to calls for Nixon's impeachment, and the House of Representatives began an impeachment investigation.

Following Nixon's firing of Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, in April 1974 Nixon appointed a new special prosecutor, LEON JAWORSKI. Upon assuming office, Jaworski subpoenaed 64 tapes needed for the trials result-

ing from the indictments. Nixon refused to comply with the subpoena and proposed a compromise in which he offered to provide edited transcripts in place of the actual tapes. The 1,254 pages of transcripts contained embarrassing material, including a large number of presidential deleted expletives; they were also inaccurate and incomplete. The inaccuracies were exposed when the House Judiciary Committee released its version of the tapes.

U.S. District Court judge John Sirica, who had issued the original subpoena, rejected the transcripts as unacceptable and reissued an order for the original tapes. James St. Clair, the head of Nixon's Watergate defense team, appealed Sirica's ruling to the Court of Appeals. Jaworski, wishing to expedite the process, appealed directly to the Supreme Court. The Court agreed to hear the case, *UNITED STATES v. NIXON*, on July 8, 1974.

Nixon's case rested on two issues. First, the administration questioned the judiciary's jurisdiction in subpoenaing the tapes, citing separation of powers. Second, the administration cited executive privilege, the need for the protection of communication between high government officials and their advisers. The Court unanimously rejected both claims in a ruling on July 24, 1974. On the first point, the Court cited *Marbury v. Madison* (1803) which affirmed the power of judicial review. As for the second point, Chief Justice Warren Burger argued that neither separation of powers nor the need for confidential communication allowed for absolute presidential privilege of immunity from the judicial process.

On August 5, 1974, the transcripts were released, including one particularly damaging to Nixon, in which he discussed using the CIA to obstruct the FBI investigation of the Watergate break-in. These tapes led to the indictments of Haldeman, Ehrlichman, Mitchell, Charles Colson, Robert Mardian, and Kenneth Parkinson for conspiring to cover up the Watergate scandal. Colson pleaded guilty to charges stemming from the Fielding break-in and the cover-up charges were dropped. Ultimately, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and Mitchell were found guilty.

Facing a congressional vote on impeachment, Nixon announced his resignation on the evening of August 8, 1974, to be effective the next day at noon.

**Further reading:** Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, *All the President's Men* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1974); Stanley I. Kutler, *The Wars of Watergate: The Last Crisis of Richard Nixon* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990).

—John Korasick

**Watt, James G.** (1938– ) *government official*  
During his career in both public and private sectors, James Gaius Watt earned a reputation as an opponent of envi-

ronmentalism and an advocate of business and industrial development. Watt was born January 31, 1938, in Lusk, Wyoming. He attended public schools, earned a B.A. and law degree at the University of Wyoming, then went to Washington, D.C., to work. Watt's nomination to lead the Interior Department was opposed by conservation and environmental groups. Nonetheless, appointed in 1981 by President RONALD W. REAGAN Watt served as secretary of the interior until his resignation in 1983.

As secretary of the interior, Watt narrowed the scope of the wilderness preserves, opened federal lands to coal and timber production, and sought to make a million acres of offshore land available for oil drilling. He raised the entrance fees to national parks, invoking more waves of protest. These policies, in addition to off-color remarks toward women, Jews, blacks, and Native Americans, encouraged the Reagan administration to accept Watt's resignation.

See also CONSERVATION, ENVIRONMENTALISM, AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY.

—Michele Rutledge

## Weather Underground

The Weathermen emerged in the late 1960s as one of the most militant revolutionary organizations in the United States. Frustrated by their perceived failure to start a revolution in the United States, the Weathermen went underground to undertake a terrorist campaign against the country.

The Weather Underground emerged as a split within the student radical group, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), at its convention in June 1968. The split involved a Maoist faction, the Progressive Labor Party, and another Marxist-Leninist faction, the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM). Out of this RYM faction, the Weathermen (later changed to the gender-neutral "The Weather Underground") emerged, led by student revolutionaries, including Bernadine Dohrn, Mark Rudd, and Bill Ayers. Taking its name from a Bob Dylan lyric, "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows," the Weathermen called for guerrilla warfare to aid the communist North Vietnamese in their war against South Vietnam and the United States. The revolutionary group issued a "Declaration of War against Amerikkka," extolling violence. In 1969 the leaders of the Weathermen, including Dohrn and Ayers, traveled to communist Cuba to meet with representatives from North Vietnam. At these meetings the Weathermen pledged themselves to aid the victory of North Vietnam in its war with the United States. In 1969 the Weathermen staged four days of rioting in Chicago, in the so-called Days of Rage. Organizers predicted the demonstrations would involve thousands, but only about 700 people actually participated. As a result of these violent



days, other antiwar organizations denounced the Weathermen's actions and cut all ties with them.

The Weathermen decided to go "underground" and strike out at the government with a coordinated program of bombings. Shortly after the Chicago "Days of Rage," a townhouse in Manhattan exploded as bombs were being prepared by one cell of Weathermen for a planned terrorist attack at a dance at the nearby military base, Fort Dix. Other bomb attacks were more successful. Bill Ayers, as he describes in his memoir *Fugitive Days* (2001), bombed a New York City police station, the Capitol building, and a Pentagon men's room. Another member of the revolutionary terrorist group, Kathy Boudin, was involved in a robbery of a Brinks armored car that left two police officers and a guard dead. Another member of the Weather Underground, Linda Evans, was arrested for transporting 740 pounds of dynamite to be used to bomb the U.S. Capitol, the National War College, Israeli aircraft industries, and other sites. The Weather Underground established relations with other domestic and international terrorists, and throughout the next decade, terrorist bombings occurred throughout America.

By 1975, internal fighting caused factional divisions within the organization. In 1977 several Weather Underground leaders and members were arrested. Other activists turned themselves in to the police following President JAMES EARL CARTER, JR.'s partial amnesty for draft resisters. In 1980 Bernadine Dohrn and her husband Bill Ayers turned themselves in and were given probation. Dohrn became director of a law program at Northwestern University in Chicago, although she was disbarred from practicing in Illinois. Linda Evans was pardoned by President WILLIAM J. CLINTON in 2000. The organization is no longer active, but it left a reputation for violence and terrorism in modern America.

**Further reading:** Ron Jacobs, *The Way the Wind Blew: A History of the Weather Underground* (New York: Verso Books, 1997).

—Leah Blakey

### ***Webster v. Reproductive Health Services***

In a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court ruled in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* (1989) that states can impose limited restrictions on abortions services, and that mothers do not have a right to publicly funded abortions.

In June 1986 Missouri governor John Ashcroft signed a law requiring physicians to perform viability tests prior to abortions if they had reason to believe the pregnancy was 20 weeks advanced. The Missouri law also prohibited the use of public funds or public facilities or employees for abortion counseling if it was not necessary to save the life

of the mother. ABORTION rights advocates were especially upset by the statute's preamble, which explicitly declared that the "life of each human being begins at conception" and that "unborn children have protectable interests in life, health, and well-being."

Shortly after passage, representatives of the abortion industry sued the state of Missouri in federal district court, claiming that every provision of the statute, including the preamble, violated federal constitutional protections as interpreted by *ROE V. WADE* (1973). The district court ruled against Missouri. Upon appeal, however, the Supreme Court reversed the ruling, concluding, "nothing in the Constitution requires States to enter or remain in the abortion business."

Specifically, the Court considered two larger questions in the case: whether states can make value judgments favoring childbirth over abortion; and whether states can promote the state's interest in potential human life when viability is possible. On the first point, the Court ruled that due process clauses in the Constitution do not confer affirmative rights to government aid. Therefore no one has a right to publicly funded abortions. As such, states may establish their preference for childbirth by withholding public funds and public facilities for nontherapeutic abortions. Furthermore, the preamble to Missouri's statute does not compel legal action, but merely explicates the state's preference for childbirth. On the second point, the Court reiterated *Roe's* finding that recognized a state's right to regulate or proscribe abortions to protect unborn children after the point of viability. The *Roe* Court created bright-line rules of viability based on an artificially created trimester system. In *Webster's* majority opinion, Chief Justice William Rehnquist wrote that *Roe's* "rigid trimester analysis has proved to be unsound in principle and unworkable in practice . . . Thus, the *Roe* trimester framework should be abandoned." As Justice Sandra Day O'Connor noted, *Webster* did not overturn *Roe* because it did not allow for the complete prohibition of all abortions. It did, however, recognize the state's interests and right to impose some limitations.

*Webster* was the first of a number of Court cases that recognized the state's right to regulate or proscribe nontherapeutic abortions within a limited scope, while at the same time upholding *Roe v. Wade*, which made abortion a constitutional right. Two years later in *Rust v. Sullivan* (1991), the Court upheld a federal policy prohibiting health care providers who receive federal funding from counseling or encouraging abortion as a method of family planning.

In *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* (1992), the Court upheld a Pennsylvania law requiring women to wait 24 hours before procuring an abortion, and requiring abortion providers to give women



state-developed information kits detailing the risks and consequences of an abortion.

In the end, the *Webster* decision did not satisfy either abortion proponents or opponents. Pro-choice advocates disliked the decision because it upheld state regulations that they felt restricted the right to abortion, while pro-life advocates maintained that the decision had upheld *Roe*.

See also *AKRON V. AKRON CENTER FOR REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH; PRO-LIFE AND PRO-CHOICE MOVEMENTS; SEXUAL REVOLUTION; SUPREME COURT*.

—Aharon W. Zorea

**White, Byron R.** (1917–2002) *associate justice of the Supreme Court*

Byron R. White served as associate justice of the U.S. SUPREME COURT from 1962 to 1993. Justice White was a renowned civil rights liberal when he joined the Court. He adhered to judicial restraint for three decades on all cases, except those involving reapportionment and minority civil rights.

Born in Fort Collins, Colorado, White attended public schools and then went to the University of Colorado, where he became an All-American football player and valedictorian of his graduating class in 1937. In 1938 he signed with the Pittsburgh Steelers professional football team for the largest NFL contract at that time. In 1938 he accepted a Rhodes scholarship to study in England at Oxford University. In 1940 he returned to the United States to play for the Detroit Lions, leading the league in rushing before he retired in 1941. During World War II, White served as a naval intelligence officer in the Pacific from 1942–45. While attending Oxford and serving during World War II in the Pacific, White became friendly with young John F. Kennedy.

White graduated at the top of his class at Yale Law School in 1946 and then clerked for Chief Justice Fred Vinson from 1946 to 1947, before returning to private practice in Colorado from 1947 through 1961. During the 1960 presidential campaign, he supported John F. Kennedy, and following the election, he was appointed Attorney General Robert Kennedy's deputy at the Justice Department. White's experiences working against legalized segregation and prosecuting violent civil rights violations influenced him to be a lasting supporter of voting rights, reapportionment, desegregation, and affirmative action. In 1962 Kennedy nominated him to fill a seat on the Supreme Court vacated by Charles Evans Whittaker. He was easily confirmed by the Senate on April 11, 1963.

On the Court, White became known as a moderate, often siding with liberals on civil rights cases, though on personal liberty and criminal justice cases he usually sided with the conservatives. For example, in *Robinson v. Cali-*

*fornia* (1962), White dissented from the majority ruling that states could not make narcotics addiction a crime. He accused the majority of importing "into the Constitution [their] own abstract notions of how best to handle the narcotics problem." Also, White authored a dissent in *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), which stated that it was a constitutional right to have the right to counsel after an arrest.

White's reading "of the long-range interest in the country" led him to be skeptical of rights to protect confidential sources, and protests against lawful authority. He upheld subpoena powers against reporters' confidentiality in various cases. In *Cohen v. California* (1971), *Texas v. Johnson* (1989), and *U.S. v. Eichman* (1990), White joined minority dissenters in opposing obscene political speech and burning of the American flag.

White also dissented from majority decisions in the Warren and Burger Courts' decisions concerning contraceptive and abortion rights, based on a loosely constructed definition of "privacy" in the U.S. Constitution. In a case involving the constitutionality of prohibiting the sale of contraceptives, *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965), White concurred with the majority that this Connecticut statute regulating contraceptives was unenforceable, but he dissented from Justice William Douglas's use of the legal concept, "right to privacy." In *Roe v. Wade* (1973), the Court declared abortion was a constitutional right, based on the "right to privacy" standard. White was one of two justices to dissent from this decision, arguing that he could find "no constitutional warrant for imposing such an order of priorities on the people and legislatures of the states."

White continued to oppose *Roe* in later abortion decisions that came before the Court, most notably in *WEBSTER V. REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICES* (1989) and *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* (1992). He wrote the majority opinion in *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986) upholding the Georgia statute criminalizing homosexual sodomy.

White stepped down from the Court in 1993 because of illness. He died April 17, 2002.

**Further reading:** Dennis J. Hutchinson, *The Man Who Once Was Whizzer White* (New York: Free Press, 1998).

—Christopher M. Gray

**Wolfe, Tom** (1931– ) *journalist, novelist*

Tom Wolfe, known as a journalist and novelist, is considered to be one of the founders of the New Journalism movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Born on March 2, 1931, in Richmond, Virginia, Wolfe graduated from Washington and Lee University (1951) and earned a Ph.D. in American studies from Yale University (1957). In 1956 he took a job as a general assignment reporter for the *Springfield Union* in Massachusetts.

He later worked at the *Washington Post* and the *New York Herald-Tribune*. In 1963 he wrote "The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby," about the hot rod car culture of Southern California. The piece ignored stylistic conventions, initiating what became known as the New Journalism. New Journalist writers—including such writers as Wolfe, Gay Talese, Truman Capote, and Hunter S. Thompson—wrote nonfiction as if it were fiction. Today, the kind of fiction techniques used by Wolfe and others are standard practice in journalism. Wolfe authored many popular catchphrases of his time. In his essay on stock car driver Junior Johnson, Wolfe described him as a "good old boy." In 1970 he wrote the essay, "Radical Chic," satirizing a party given by New York composer Leonard Bernstein to raise money for the Black Panthers. In 1977 Wolfe published one of his more famous essays, "The Me Decade and the Third Great Awakening," characterizing a decade and, later, a generation. In 1979 Wolfe published *The Right Stuff*, an account of the pilots who became the first U.S. astronauts. The book was a best seller and in 1983 was made into a popular film of the same name. Wolfe came out with his first satirical novel, *Bonfire of the Vanities*, in 1987. The book chronicled the rise and fall of a New York bond trader and was one of the best-selling books of the decade. His 1989 essay "Stalking the Billion-Footed Beast" sparked controversy with its criticism of American novelists for failing to fully engage with their subjects. He completed his second novel, *A Man in Full*, in 1998. The novel chronicled the travails of a Southern real estate businessman against the backdrop of the growing wealth and continuing racial tensions of the New South. Although the novel was a *New York Times* best seller, JOHN UPDIKE, John Irving, and Norman Mailer criticized the work, touching off a war of words with Wolfe. In 2001 Wolfe published a collection of short pieces under the title *Hooking Up*. He followed that with the 2004 novel *I Am Charlotte Simmons*, about the rampant sexual activity, drinking, and concern for social status that Wolfe felt characterized student life at elite college campuses in America.

**Further reading:** William McKeen, *Tom Wolfe* (New York: Twain Publishers, 1995); Dorothy M. Scura, ed., *Conversations with Tom Wolfe* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1990); Marc Weingarten, *The Gang That Wouldn't Write Straight* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2006).

—Stephen E. Randoll

### women's rights and status

American women have experienced dramatic changes in their economic status, social roles, and cultural place since 1969. More women attend college, work outside the home,

earn more income, and remain single than ever in American history. In 2000, 60.3 percent of women participated in the labor force, compared with 43.1 percent participation in 1970. In 1970 the median income for women employed full-time was \$21,470 compared to a median income of \$36,247 for full-time male workers; in 1998, the median income for women was \$26,855 compared with a median income of \$36,252 for male full-time workers. Furthermore, more women remain single; the proportion of women, age 30–34, who had never married increased from 6.2 percent in 1970 to 21.6 percent in 1998. For men, it rose from 9.4 percent to 29.2 percent.

Life expectancy for women has increased steadily throughout the 20th century. While life expectancy differs by race, life expectancy for women of all races exceeds that of men. African-American males' life expectancy increased from 60 years to 68 years between 1970 and 2000. African-American women significantly outlive African-American men, with a life expectancy in 1970 of 68 years increasing to 74 years in 1990. White women's life expectancy has grown less, from 76 to 79 years. White men's expected span increased from 68 to 73.

In 2000 men and women were earning high school diplomas at a higher rate than in 1970. In 1970, 53 percent of women over 25 years of age had earned a high school diploma compared with 52 percent of men. By 2000, 84 percent of women and 88 percent of men over 25 years were high school graduates. The same period, 1970–2000, saw an increase in the percentage of college graduates. In 1970 only 8 percent of women or women over 25 had college degrees. This had grown to 24 percent by 2000. In 1970 women received 43 percent of the bachelor's degrees conferred; this had increased to 56 percent by 2000.

The increase in educational achievement parallels changes in marriage status for women. In 1990, 79 percent of women between the ages of 15 and 24 had never been married. This figure increased to 31 percent of women in 2000. Divorce became more common between 1970 and 2000, increasing from 4 to 10 percent of women. The percentage of families maintained by women has increased steadily between 1970 and 2001, from 11 to 17 percent.

These families maintained by women have earned considerably less than married-couple families. Female householder families earned \$15,616 in 1969 compared with \$32,136 for married couple families. The gap widened significantly by 1989 with female householder families earned \$17,414 compared with \$39,584 with married couple families.

Women have increasingly entered the workplace. In 1980, 50 percent of all women worked outside the home. This increased to 60 percent in 2000. Despite the increasing numbers of women entering the workforce and the

increased education of women, the labor market is still largely segregated by sex.

Women have made inroads into managerial and professional positions, with 42 and 54 percent of these occupations being represented by women in 2000. Still, in 2000 women tended to be overrepresented in “female” occupations such as administrative support/clerical and services occupations, 77 and 63 percent. In 2000 women were underrepresented in farming, forestry, fishing, craft, transportation, and labor occupations.

These statistics indicate an improvement in the status of women over the past 30 years. The emergence of the women’s movement in the 1960s benefited from the successes of the Civil Rights movement and contributed to the social upheaval of the period. The women’s movement of the 1960s and 1970s, championing equal rights for women, was the “second wave” of feminism, which had begun in the 19th century with the struggle over women’s right to control property, be educated, work outside the home, and vote. In *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), Betty Friedan gave voice to American homemakers unhappy in their roles of wives and mothers. Friedan challenged the notion that women could and should only find fulfillment in these domestic roles. Friedan became one of the founders of the NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW) in 1966. In *Sexual Politics*, feminist author Kate Millet defined politics as a power relationship with one group controlling another, and applied this to marriage, a patriarchal institution. This view of marriage politicized issues like the division of labor in the household. By embracing this position, feminism quickly became labeled as antifamily.

Women have benefited from national legislation. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were major steps forward in terms of women’s rights in the workplace. The Education Act of 1972 is also hailed as a landmark piece of legislation. Title IX of the Civil Rights Act prohibited sex discrimination in educational programs that received federal funds and opened the door for women to participate more fully in colleges and universities. In addition to legislation, the U.S. SUPREME COURT decision in *Roe v. Wade* (1973) guaranteed the right to abortion, making abortion an issue of privacy and giving women more control over their bodies.

During the 1970s, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) surfaced as a major political issue. Originally proposed in the 1920s and voted on periodically in the 1940s and 1950s, it had never been passed. In 1972 the ERA passed the House of Representatives and the Senate and was sent to the states for ratification. By 1973, 30 states had ratified the ERA. Backlash against the amendment coalesced into a formal movement in 1973, led by PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY, a conservative activist. Despite an extension

of the ratification deadline from 1978 to 1982, the STOP-ERA movement succeeded in blocking ratification.

Women play an important role in politics, although women held only 71 seats (13.3 percent of the total) in both houses of Congress in 2000. As of 2000, 3 of the 50 state governors were women, including Jane Dee Hull (R-Ariz.); Christine Todd Whitman (R-N.J.), later appointed to head the Environmental Protection Agency in the GEORGE W. BUSH administration, and Jeanne Shaheen (D-N.H.). On the state level in 2000, 1,670, or 22.5 percent, of state legislators were women. In 1969, 301 or 4 percent of state legislators were women. The Supreme Court has two women, Sonia Sotomayor and RUTH BADER GINSBURG, and three women have served as secretaries of state: MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT, CONDOLEEZZA RICE, AND HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON. Representative NANCY PELOSI (D-Calif.) became the first female Speaker of the House in 2007.

Women’s participation in high school and collegiate sports increased following the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments Act, prohibiting discrimination against women by schools receiving federal aid. In 1971, before Title IX, fewer than 300,000 girls in the United States took part in high school sports, compared with 3.6 million boys. By 1998, 2.5 million girls and 3.7 million boys participated in high school athletics.

The changing roles and status for women from 1969 to 2009 is arguably one of the most significant social changes in this period of America’s history.

**Further reading:** Jo Freeman, *Women: A Feminist Perspective* (Mountain View, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1995); Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience: A Concise History* (Boston: McGraw Hill, 2002).

—John Korasick

## Woodstock (music festival)

The Woodstock Music and Art Fair marked the largest counterculture gathering of the 1960s and has come to symbolize hippie values and youthful excess. Taking place over three days, August 15–17, 1969, on a farm near Bethel, New York, more than 400,000 people gathered to hear the music of many of the greatest acts in rock ‘n’ roll history, including Creedence Clearwater Revival; Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young; the Grateful Dead; Jimi Hendrix; Janis Joplin; and the Who.

Woodstock was the idea of four young men: John Roberts, Joel Rosenman, Artie Kornfeld, and Michael Lang. In March 1969 the four formed a corporation, Woodstock Ventures, Inc., and the idea for the world’s largest rock ‘n’ roll show was born. Originally, the plan was for a concert for 50,000 people, but gradually the number increased to

200,000. No one was prepared for the number of people who actually arrived. There was a severe lack of water, food, and sanitation facilities. Because the concert was held in the open, and the organizers did not erect fences, thousands of people showed up without paying and with no intention of paying. The numbers of people trying to reach the festival closed the New York State Thruway and created a horrendous traffic jam.

The concert was sold as “Three Days of Peace and Music,” to provide a link to the antiwar movement and to prevent any violence. The campaign was successful; the concert was remarkably nonviolent given the size of the crowd and the lack of amenities.

Two subsequent “Woodstock” concerts were held in the 1990s. The first, in 1994, commemorated the 25th anniversary of the original event, and was successful enough that another concert was planned. The second “Woodstock” of the 1990s was held in 1999 and rapidly degenerated into a riot, becoming more famous for arson, assault, rape, and looting.

—John Korasick

### World Trade Organization (WTO)

The WTO was formed during the Uruguay Round of the GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE (GATT) and codified in the signing of the “Marrakesh Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade 1994.” The WTO was to replace GATT’s informal negotiating role with a permanent organization to implement and promote international trade practices. The WTO has the authority to enforce trade agreements, oversee disputes and provide an international legal framework for trade. The rules of the WTO are legally binding on all member states. The scope of the WTO is far greater than GATT and includes trade in services and intellectual property. The headquarters of the WTO were established in Geneva, Switzerland, and came into operation on January 1, 1995. The 128 nations of GATT became members and by 2000 the WTO had 136 members, with others, including China and Russia, applying for membership. The United States approved China’s entry in 2000, China was admitted in late 2001. The WTO is headed by a biennial Ministerial Conference, in which each country has one equal vote. There is a director-general, who heads the Secretariat, and a General Council, composed of representatives of each member state, which meets as required to take action on issues brought forward by either the Trade Policy Review Body or the Dispute Settlement Body (DSB).

The WTO has attracted a great deal of attention in the fierce debate over globalization. Supporters point to the achievement of free-trade policies and the extension of the global economy. Critics cite the great disparities in global wealth and argue that the WTO disproportionately

favors the wealthiest nations. Furthermore, critics on the right, such as PATRICK J. BUCHANAN, have charged that the WTO infringes on the national sovereignty of the United States. The United States, as the leading economy, draws particular criticism, as was evident at the third ministerial meeting of the WTO in Seattle, Washington, in November and December 1999. More than 30,000 protesters descended on the city to protest against the WTO and the subsequent media coverage ignited a debate over its role, and its relationship to large business interests in the United States. The American people, generally, became aware of the opposition to the WTO during the Seattle conference, as a variety of groups, including radical fringe groups, seized the national spotlight by demanding that the WTO become a more socially conscious institution, focused on improving the living and working conditions in developing nations.

Subsequent protests in Europe and Washington, D.C., in 2000 and the debate over the entry of China and Russia highlighted the problems faced by the WTO in defining its role and in its relationship to national governments.

See also ECONOMY; GLOBALIZATION.

—Stephen Hardman and John Korasick

### Wright, James C., Jr. (1922– ) *representative, Speaker of the House*

James Wright (D-Tex.) served as a member of the U.S. Congress from 1954 to 1989, and he became Speaker of the House in 1987 until he resigned from office. James Claud Wright was born in Fort Worth, Texas, on December 22, 1922. After attending public schools in Dallas and Fort Worth, Wright went on to study at Weatherford College and the University of Texas. In December 1941 he enlisted in the U.S. Army Air Corps, was commissioned in 1942, and flew combat missions in the South Pacific. Following World War II, Wright was a Texas state representative (1947–49), mayor of Weatherford, Texas (1950–54), and served as president of the League of Texas Municipalities in 1953. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Texas in 1954, served as a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions held in 1956, 1960, 1964, and 1968, and convention chairman in 1988. A moderate Democrat, he became House majority leader in 1976 and was designated by his colleagues as the most respected member of the House in 1980.

In 1987 Wright became House Speaker, but within two years he became embroiled in allegations of financial impropriety involving a sweetheart deal on a privately published book with royalties of 55 percent compared to the normal 10–15 percent in most contracts. Leading the campaign against him was Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), who with a group of other conservatives had seized on ethical prob-



lems of his colleagues, particularly but not exclusively when cases involved a Democrat. In April 1989 the House Ethics Committee issued a five-count indictment against Wright. Shortly afterward, newspapers revealed that Wright's right-hand man, House Democratic whip Tony Coelho (D-Calif.) had been involved in a questionable junk-bond deal, leading to his resignation from his seat on Memorial Day. On

May 31, 1989, Wright, under public pressure, announced he was resigning from his seat. Thomas Foley (D-Wash.) became Speaker of a partisan-charged House. The defeat of Wright marked the first step in a campaign under Gingrich for the Republican Party to become the majority party in the House, finally doing so in the 1994 midterm elections.

—Michele Rutledge



# Chronology

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## 1969

California passes the first “no-fault” divorce law, which permits dissolution of marriages on the basis of incompatibility or irreconcilable differences; previously adultery, cruelty, and desertion were the only legal grounds.

Abe Fortas resigns from the U.S. Supreme Court after conservative senators call for his impeachment.

Warren Burger succeeds Earl Warren as chief justice of the Supreme Court.

Patrons of the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York City, resist a routine police raid. The resulting Stonewall Riot spurs the gay rights movement in the United States.

Neil Armstrong becomes the first man to walk on the moon during the *Apollo 11* mission.

More than 400,000 people attend the Woodstock Music and Art Fair.

A domestic terrorist group known as the Weathermen tries to spark a socialist revolution, staging the four-day “Days of Rage” riots in Chicago.

The Nixon administration implements the Philadelphia Plan, which requires contractors on federally funded projects to set specific goals for hiring minorities.

The “Chicago Eight” are tried in a highly publicized trial. They are charged with inciting a riot outside the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

President Nixon’s “Silent Majority” speech announces his intention to end the war in Vietnam.

A protest group called Indians of All Tribes occupies Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay for 19 months.

## 1970

U.S. Congress passes the National Environmental Policy Act of 1970, which requires federal agencies to include an environmental impact statement in every recommendation or proposed federal action that will significantly affect the U.S. environment. That same year the Environmental

Protection Agency is established to evaluate the impact of waste and pollution and to enforce standards.

The first Earth Day is celebrated on March 21.

Kate Millet’s *Sexual Politics* is published; the best-selling book analyzes female oppression.

American troops invade Cambodia. Protests sweep American college campuses; Ohio National Guardsmen fatally shoot four students while dispersing a demonstration at Kent State University.

U.S. Congress passes the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970, which strengthens laws used to fight crime syndicates. Among its provisions is the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act of 1970, which defines penalties for racketeering.

U.S. Congress passes the Controlled Substance Act, which consolidates numerous laws regarding the manufacture and distribution of legal and illegal drugs.

U.S. Congress passes the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, which gives the Secretary of Labor the authority to establish safety standards for all workers engaged in interstate commerce.

U.S. Congress passes the Clean Air Act of 1970, which sets national ambient air quality standards.

## 1971

In *Gillette v. United States*, the U.S. Supreme Court limits conscientious-objector status to those who oppose all wars, not just a particular war.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* upholds the constitutionality of court-imposed desegregation plans, such as busing students to schools outside of their neighborhoods.

*Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* by Dee Brown is published; it provides inspiration to the burgeoning Native American protest movement.

The Twenty-sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution establishes a uniform voting age of 18 years for national elections.

In *New York Times v. United States*; *United States v. Washington Post*, the U.S. Supreme Court limits the constitutional right of the federal government to prohibit the publication of certain material considered vital to national security.

U.S. Congress bans all broadcast advertising for tobacco products.

The silicon chip is invented.

President Nixon freezes prices and wages to control inflation, unemployment, and international monetary speculation.

U.S. Congress passes the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, which provides public funding for presidential election campaigns through a voluntary one dollar income tax check-off.

## 1972

Nixon visits the People's Republic of China; this is a major step in normalizing relations between the two nations.

Congress approves the proposed Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the U.S. Constitution, originally proposed in 1923, which explicitly stipulates "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

U.S. Congress enacts the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, which encourages racial quotas in hiring and education and marks the beginning of affirmative action.

The Trail of Broken Treaties, a protest march to Washington, D.C., culminates in the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building.

U.S. president Richard Nixon and Soviet general secretary Leonid Brezhnev negotiate the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), which mandates a reduction in U.S. and Soviet strategic offensive weapons launch vehicles.

The Democratic Party's national headquarters at the Watergate Hotel is burglarized by agents of the Nixon White House.

In *Branzburg v. Hayes*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution does not grant journalists the right to withhold the identities of their sources.

In *Furman v. Georgia*, the U.S. Supreme Court declares the death penalty to be "cruel and unusual punishment" and in violation of the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

U.S. Congress passes the Clean Water Act of 1972 with the principal goal of eliminating all water pollution discharges by 1985.

President Richard Nixon is reelected, defeating Democratic challenger George McGovern.

Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy leads to the withdrawal of many U.S. troops from South Vietnam.

## 1973

In *Roe v. Wade*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution gives an adult woman the right to terminate her pregnancy during the first trimester without any government interference. The decision stipulates that a woman's right to privacy includes her reproductive organs and draws a distinction between utter dependency and human viability.

Members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) occupy the site of the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890 for 71 days. The protestors make a wide range of demands, including an investigation into the treatment of Native Americans. The demonstration ends in an armed confrontation between AIM activists and government officials.

The United States signs the Paris Accord, which pledges to end U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War.

President Nixon announces the end of the draft.

The American Psychiatric Association removes homosexuality from its list of disorders.

The Senate conducts an investigation of the Watergate affair under Senator Sam Ervin.

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew resigns after an investigation reveals that he had accepted bribes while governor of Maryland; Representative Gerald R. Ford of Michigan succeeds him.

In retaliation for U.S. support of Israel during the Yom Kippur War, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) begins an oil embargo; the resulting gas shortage leads many Americans to question the nation's dependence on fossil fuels in general, and on imported oil in particular. The embargo and a subsequent fourfold increase in oil prices drive inflation higher and prompt worldwide recession and fuel shortages.

President Nixon refuses to cooperate with the Watergate investigation of Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox and orders Cox's dismissal. Attorney General Elliot Richardson and Deputy Attorney General William French Smith resign rather than carry out the illegal order. These resignations and Cox's eventual firing come to be called the "Saturday Night Massacre."

U.S. Congress passes the War Powers Act of 1973; it requires the president to consult with Congress before and during any direct involvement of U.S. forces in hostilities abroad.

The Endangered Species Act of 1973 provides greater protection for fish and wildlife that are in danger of becoming extinct.



Responding to U.S. business interests in Chile, the United States assists General Augusto Pinochet in a military coup against the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende. Pinochet's regime remains in power until 1990.

## 1974

Hank Aaron breaks Babe Ruth's home run record when he hits his 715th home run in Atlanta.

The Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 standardizes the federal budget process.

Riots break out in Boston, Massachusetts, in reaction to the busing of black students into white neighborhoods.

Under threat of impeachment and with his administration discredited by the Watergate scandal, President Nixon resigns; Gerald Ford becomes president.

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1974 provides public financing of presidential primaries and elections, and sets limits on contributions and spending in House, Senate, and presidential campaigns.

President Gerald Ford preemptively pardons Richard M. Nixon for Watergate and related charges.

U.S. Congress passes the Trade Reform Act, which significantly reduces tariffs and, in some circumstances, eliminates them altogether.

U.S. Congress passes the Privacy Act of 1974, which prohibits the executive branch of government from using information gathered for one purpose to be used for another purpose.

Facing bankruptcy, New York City receives loan guarantees from the federal government.

U.S. Congress passes the Equal Credit Opportunity Act, which outlaws the refusal of credit due to discrimination by sex or marital status.

## 1975

Led by Pol Pot, Communist rebels known as the Khmer Rouge seize Cambodia's capital, Phnom Penh. Communist leaders in nearby Laos likewise gain power.

After the last U.S. forces withdraw from Saigon, South Vietnam falls to North Vietnam. An influx of Southeast Asian refugees to the United States begins.

## 1976

America holds its bicentennial celebration in recognition of the anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

Alex Haley publishes *Roots*, which is later adapted to television and viewed by millions; Haley receives a special Pulitzer Prize for the novel in 1977.

In *Runyon v. McCrary et al.*, the U.S. Supreme Court prohibits private schools from denying admission based on race.

Barbara Jordan delivers a keynote address at the Democratic National Convention in New York City; she is the first African American ever to do so.

Gerald Ford loses the presidential election to Democrat Jimmy Carter, former governor of Georgia.

## 1977

President Carter pardons Vietnam draft evaders.

Tip O'Neill of Massachusetts becomes Speaker of the House, a position he holds for 10 years.

President Carter's human rights speech at Notre Dame University outlines his foreign policy framework of championing the cause of human rights around the world.

The movie *Star Wars*, directed by George Lucas, is released. With cutting-edge special effects and sound, the film draws huge audiences and revolutionizes the movie industry, prompting a shift to fewer, more expensive blockbusters.

U.S. Congress enacts the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act of 1977 to deter bribery of foreign officials by American businesses.

The Panama Canal Treaties grant Panama control of the isthmian canal in 1999.

Bell Labs invents the fiber optic cable, which permits high-speed digital data transmission for telephone and, later, Internet connections.

## 1978

President Carter helps to negotiate the Camp David accords formalizing an end to hostilities between Israel and Egypt.

In *Regents of University of California v. Allan P. Bakke*, the U.S. Supreme Court upholds the use of factors of race, gender, and ethnicity in evaluating applicants but declares unconstitutional the use of rigid quota systems.

## 1979

A potential nuclear disaster is averted at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in Pennsylvania. The scare prompts a nationwide "anti-nuke" movement.

The Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty of 1979 ends the state of war that had existed between the two nations since 1948.

U.S. president Jimmy Carter and Soviet president Leonid I. Brezhnev sign the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II), which reduces the number of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. U.S. Congress never ratifies the treaty.

The U.S.-supported shah of Iran is deposed; Iranian militants seize the U.S. embassy, trapping 52 Americans inside.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) overthrows the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua.

U.S. Congress approves \$1.5 billion in loan agreements to the Chrysler Corporation to stabilize the foundering U.S. automaker.

### 1980

The United States boycotts the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow to protest the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Eight U.S. servicemen are killed in an abortive attempt to free the American hostages in Iran.

Inflation reaches 13.5 percent.

Cuban leader Fidel Castro permits the emigration of 125,000 Cubans by way of the port city of Mariel. Some Americans charge that Castro used the Mariel boatlift to “dump” undesirable immigrants on the United States.

Republican Ronald Reagan, former governor of California, is elected president over incumbent Democrat Jimmy Carter and National Unity Party candidate John B. Anderson. In the same election, Republicans gain control of the U.S. Senate for the first time since 1958. The “gender gap” is evident at the polls: For the first time, more women than men vote.

### 1981

On President Carter’s last day in office, the hostages in Iran are freed.

Sandra Day O’Connor is appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court; she is the first female Supreme Court justice.

President Reagan is wounded in an assassination attempt.

The cable channel Music Television, or MTV, debuts.

The human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), which causes acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), is first identified in the United States.

IBM introduces the personal computer (PC); its operating system becomes the standard used by a variety of manufacturers.

In August, 11,300 federal air traffic controllers strike to protest hours, understaffing, and pay. President Reagan declares the strike illegal and replacement workers soon break the strike—and, consequently, the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Association—setting the stage for future decades of private-sector strike-breaking.

### 1982

The Census Bureau reports that the poverty level in the United States is at its highest point since 1967.

The space shuttle *Columbia* makes its first successful flight.

The United States sends marines into Beirut, Lebanon, as a peacekeeping force.

U.S. Congress passes the Boland Amendment, prohibiting further U.S. aid in support of the U.S.-organized

rebel forces that are fighting against Nicaragua’s Sandinista government.

The deadline for states to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) as part of the U.S. Constitution expires.

### 1983

U.S. Congress makes the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a national holiday; the bill takes effect in 1986.

Astronaut Sally Ride becomes the first U.S. woman to travel in space.

In *Immigration and Naturalization Service v. Chadha*, the U.S. Supreme Court restricts Congress’s ability to veto immigration and deportation rulings.

Unemployment reaches its highest rate, 11 percent, since the Great Depression.

A terrorist bomb kills 239 U.S. marines in Beirut, Lebanon.

U.S. and Caribbean troops invade the island of Grenada after an anti-U.S. coup.

### 1984

In *Lynch v. Donnelly*, the U.S. Supreme Court decides that a Christmas Nativity display that had been sponsored and funded by a city did not necessarily violate the First Amendment doctrine of separation of church and state.

Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale, a former vice president, is defeated by incumbent Ronald Reagan; Mondale’s running mate is Geraldine Ferraro, the first woman to be nominated for vice president by a major party.

U.S. Congress passes the Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984, which includes forfeiture provisions for all drug offenses.

The U.S. Supreme Court rules in *Sony v. Universal* that home recordings of televised programming do not constitute a copyright violation.

### 1985

President Reagan meets with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Geneva to discuss human rights, regional conflicts, and arms control.

With the deficit at nearly \$2 trillion and rapidly rising, U.S. Congress passes the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act of 1985, which requires the president and Congress to eliminate the budget deficit by 1991.

### 1986

The space shuttle *Challenger* explodes seconds after take-off, killing all seven members on board.

The United States bombs suspected terrorist bases in Libya.

The Iran-contra affair is exposed; funds from the clandestine sale of U.S. arms to Iran have been secretly and illegally funneled to anticommunist rebels in Nicaragua by members of the Reagan administration.

In *Bowers v. Hardwick*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that an 1816 Georgia state law prohibiting sodomy does not violate an individual's constitutional right to privacy.

U.S. Congress passes the Tax Reform Act of 1986 to lower tax rates and eliminate some tax loopholes.

The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 creates a process for legalizing the status of many illegal aliens and requires employers to verify applicants' eligibility for employment.

U.S. Congress overrides President Reagan's veto of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which imposes wide-ranging economic sanctions on South Africa and prohibits U.S. trade and investment.

William Rehnquist succeeds Warren Burger as chief justice of the Supreme Court.

## 1987

The U.S. Senate refuses to confirm U.S. Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork.

The Dow Jones Index drops severely; many express concern over the growth of the federal deficit.

The United States and the Soviet Union sign the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF); the accord calls for both countries to remove many midrange nuclear weapons from Europe.

## 1988

U.S. Congress passes the U.S.-Canada Free-Trade Agreement Implementation Act of 1988, which provides for the elimination of most remaining tariffs.

U.S. Congress passes the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988, which protects the elderly against medical bankruptcy in case of severe illness.

Jesse Jackson receives strong support in Democratic presidential primaries, the first African-American candidate to win such contests.

The Civil Liberties Act of 1988 authorizes reparation payments to all Japanese Americans and Alaskan Aleuts who were interned, relocated, or evacuated during World War II.

The Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988 prohibits discrimination against the disabled and families with children in public and private housing.

Republican vice president George Bush is elected president over Governor Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts, the Democratic candidate.

A bomb set by Islamic fundamentalists explodes in Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland; 270 die in the terrorist attack.

## 1989

The United States sends 24,000 troops into Panama to depose the government of General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

General Colin Powell is appointed chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; he is the youngest person and first African American to hold the position.

The *Exxon Valdez* oil tanker strikes a reef in Alaska's Cape William Sound, causing one of the largest oil spills in history.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Texas v. Johnson* holds that burning the American flag as a form of symbolic speech is protected by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

In *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that a Missouri state law restricting the availability of abortions is constitutional.

Euphoric crowds demolish the Berlin Wall, symbol of Soviet control in Eastern Europe.

## 1990

The Hubble Telescope is set into orbit 370 miles above the Earth where it transmits images of the universe without the distorting effects of the Earth's atmosphere.

U.S. Congress passes the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, barring discrimination against the handicapped.

The United States sends troops and warplanes to the Persian Gulf to restore the Kuwaiti regime after its ouster by Iraq.

East and West Germany, Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union sign the Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany, which begins the process of restoring full sovereignty to Germany upon reunification.

The Clean Air Act of 1990 tightens federal air pollution standards in order to curb acid rain, urban smog, and the release of toxic chemicals into the atmosphere.

The Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty formally ends the tension between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries.

U.S. Congress passes the Immigration Act of 1990, which allows more immigrants into the United States, especially skilled workers and immediate relatives of U.S. citizens.

## 1991

The United States and its allies defeat Iraq in the Persian Gulf War.

The General Accounting Office discloses that 325 current and former U.S. representatives have regularly overdrawn their accounts at the House "bank" (actually a check-cashing office) without penalty, effectively receiving

free overdraft insurance. Voters react angrily, replacing many of those implicated.

A coup d'état in Haiti leads to the migration of thousands of refugees to Florida.

The Senate approves Clarence Thomas as a Supreme Court justice. Sexual harassment charges brought against Thomas by law professor Anita Hill spark a nationwide controversy.

U.S. Congress passes the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which makes it easier for employees to sue employers in job discrimination cases.

After the collapse of an anti-Gorbachev coup, the Soviet Union renounces communism and splinters into an array of affiliated and independent nations.

## 1992

A *New York Times* article by Jeff Gerth implies wrongdoing by presidential candidate Bill Clinton relating to a real-estate development called Whitewater.

Riots and looting break out in Los Angeles after an all-white jury acquits four policemen on all but one count in the beating of motorist Rodney King. The attack had been videotaped and shown on television.

Democratic governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas defeats Republican incumbent George Bush and independent H. Ross Perot in the presidential election.

The United States sends 28,000 troops to Somalia to restore civil order.

## 1993

U.S. Congress passes the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, which requires businesses employing 50 or more people to grant their employees up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave annually for family and medical emergencies.

A terrorist bomb explodes in New York's World Trade Center, killing six and injuring 100. The event sets off a decade-long escalation of U.S. antiterrorism efforts.

Janet Reno becomes the first female U.S. attorney general.

After a 51-day standoff, federal agents storm the Waco, Texas, compound of the Branch Davidians, a fundamentalist Christian sect wanted for the murder of federal law-enforcement agents, child abuse, and possession of illegal firearms. The Davidians set fire to the compound; 86 of its occupants die.

In *Shaw v. Reno*, the U.S. Supreme Court rules that U.S. congressional districts that were deliberately created to elect minority candidates violate the rights of white voters.

The U.S. Senate ratifies the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which limits trade barriers between the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

U.S. troops on a humanitarian mission in Somalia encounter unexpected resistance. In a two-day battle with local warlord Muhammad Farah Aideed, 30 American soldiers are killed and the bodies of two of them are dragged past cheering crowds through the streets of the capital, Mogadishu.

The Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act requires a five-day waiting period and a background check on all persons seeking to purchase a handgun.

## 1994

Responding to continuing rumor and charges of impropriety concerning President Clinton's investment in the Whitewater real-estate development, Attorney General Janet Reno appoints Robert B. Fiske in January to investigate the matter. In August a three-judge panel appoints conservative movement activist and former U.S. solicitor general Kenneth Starr to take over the investigation.

An earthquake strikes Los Angeles, killing 61 people and causing heavy damage.

In response to North Korea's threatened invasion of South Korea, the United States promises full-scale war and begins military buildup. Former president Jimmy Carter negotiates a compromise averting armed conflict.

Major League Baseball players go on strike, forcing the cancellation of the World Series for the first time since 1904.

U.S. Congress passes the Crime Act of 1994, which authorizes \$30.2 billion in federal spending over the next six years for a wide range of anticrime measures.

More than 300 Republican House candidates, including about 150 incumbents, sign the Contract with America, which promises a balanced budget amendment, tax cuts, and more defense spending.

The Health Care Security Act, the most ambitious federal proposal in 30 years, is defeated after a fierce nationwide debate.

The United States issues an ultimatum to the government of General Raoul Cedras in Haiti, threatening military action if the U.S.-negotiated Governor's Island Accords are not implemented. Cedras capitulates and agrees to leave the country, permitting democratic elections.

In November elections, Republicans take control of the House of Representatives for the first time in 40 years. Thomas Foley, a Democrat, becomes the first Speaker of the House since 1862 to lose his seat.

A conference of 128 countries develops the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which advances globalization by cutting international trade barriers and creating the World Trade Organization to administer trade laws.



**1995**

Researchers in Scotland successfully replicate an adult animal, raising concern over the possibility of creating human genetic clones.

The Glass Ceiling Commission Report reveals that women and minorities are extremely underrepresented in senior management posts.

A terrorist bomb explodes outside the federal office building in Oklahoma City, killing 169 people. Right-wing activist Timothy McVeigh later confesses to the crime.

In *U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Thornton*, the U.S. Supreme Court strikes down an Arkansas state law that imposes term limits on U.S. senators.

The United States reestablishes full diplomatic ties to Vietnam for the first time since the Vietnam War.

Following a long and controversial trial in which athlete and actor O. J. Simpson's defense argues that he had been the victim of a police conspiracy, he is acquitted on charges of killing his ex-wife and a bystander.

Hundreds of thousands of African-American men converge on Washington, D.C., for the "Million Man March," organized by Nation of Islam minister Louis Farrakhan.

Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia sign the U.S.-negotiated Dayton Peace Agreement, which ends the Bosnian civil war.

Service Employees International Union leader John Sweeney is elected head of the AFL-CIO. He declares the end of the postwar labor era and calls for an innovative national organizing campaign.

**1996**

U.S. Congress passes the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which enacts legal and regulatory reform of telephone service, radio and television broadcasting, and online computer services.

In *Bush v. Vera* and *Shaw v. Hunt*, the U.S. Supreme Court prohibits the creation of race-based electoral districts.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision *United States v. Virginia et al.* orders the Virginia Military Institute (VMI), a state-funded, all-male military academy, to admit women.

U.S. Congress passes a major welfare reform bill that shifts the responsibility for welfare to state governments and imposes lifetime limits on benefits.

President Bill Clinton wins reelection, defeating Republican senator Bob Dole and independent candidate H. Ross Perot.

California voters approve Proposition 209, which eliminates state affirmative action programs in public employment and education.

**1997**

To correct a military omission, seven African-American soldiers are awarded the Medal of Honor for heroism in World War II.

The House of Representatives reprimands the Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, and fines him \$300,000 for official misconduct.

Madeleine Albright becomes the first female U.S. secretary of state.

NASA's *Pathfinder* mission successfully lands a mechanical probe on Mars.

President Clinton apologizes on behalf of the United States for the Tuskegee Experiment, which took place between 1932 and 1972. The study denied medical attention to 412 African-American men suffering from syphilis while pretending to treat them.

In *Romer, Governor of Colorado, et al. v. Evans et al.*, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidates a Colorado law that excludes homosexuals from civil rights protections.

Timothy McVeigh is found guilty for his role in bombing the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, and is sentenced to death.

Five U.S. cigarette producers agree to compensate state governments for the billions of dollars spent on health care for tobacco-related illnesses.

In *Kansas v. Hendricks*, the U.S. Supreme Court validates the authority of the states to confine violent sex offenders to mental institutions after they have completed prison terms for their crimes.

In *Reno v. ACLU*, the U.S. Supreme Court finds that the Communications Decency Act of 1996 violates the constitutional guarantee of free speech.

In a set of related cases, the U.S. Supreme Court upholds state laws prohibiting euthanasia.

In *Printz v. United States* the U.S. Supreme Court rules that the Brady gun control law's background check requirement is an unconstitutional intrusion on states' rights.

At the Kyoto Summit, 160 leading industrial nations, including the United States, agree to reduce the emissions of greenhouse gases, which promote global warming.

**1998**

U.S. district court justice Susan Weber Wright dismisses Paula Corbin Jones's sexual harassment suit against President Bill Clinton as without merit.

The United Nations creates an international tribunal to investigate war crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia.

The U.S. Department of Justice files an antitrust lawsuit against the Microsoft Corporation, contending that the mandatory inclusion of its Internet Explorer program with the Windows 98 operating system amounts to a monopoly.

In *National Endowment for the Arts v. Finley*, the U.S. Supreme Court upholds a congressional mandate requiring the National Endowment for the Arts to consider “general standards of decency” when deciding which projects receive federal funding.

The federal budget produces the first sustained federal surpluses in two centuries.

On August 7, bombs explode at the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, killing 213 people, and in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killing 11. Over 4,500 people are injured. In response, the United States bombs suspected terrorist strongholds in Afghanistan and the Sudan.

Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr delivers his report to Congress on President Clinton’s intimate relationship with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky. The report alleges perjury in Clinton’s testimony in the Jones suit.

In a fierce party-line vote, the House of Representatives votes to impeach Clinton for obstruction of justice and perjury related to the Jones lawsuit.

## 1999

The U.S. Senate acquits President Clinton on both articles of impeachment.

In response to the Serbian government’s campaign of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, U.S. and NATO forces begin air strikes against military targets in Serbia. After 11 weeks of bombing, the Serbians withdraw and agree to peace talks.

On April 20, Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, students at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, go on a shooting rampage at the school, killing one teacher and 12 students before committing suicide.

Four police officers shoot and kill Amadou Diallo, an unarmed African immigrant, near his home in New York City. They fire 41 shots in total, striking Diallo 19 times. All four officers are later acquitted of criminal charges, leading to massive protests in New York and Washington, D.C.

The International Criminal Tribunal indicts Serbian president Slobodan Milošević and four of his government officials for “crimes against humanity.”

Justin Volpe, a 27-year-old New York City police officer, pleads guilty to sodomizing Abner Louima in a police precinct bathroom in 1997. He receives a fine and a 30-year prison sentence. A second officer, Charles Schwarz, is found guilty of violating Louima’s civil rights. Three other officers are later found guilty of obstructing justice.

Riots erupt in Seattle, where more than 30,000 activists for consumers, workers, and the environment protest WTO policy.

Control of the Panama Canal is transferred from the United States to Panama on December 31.

## 2000

In April, the Microsoft Corp. is found to have violated U.S. antitrust laws. Federal appeals court judge Richard Posner recommends the corporation be split into two companies.

U.S. agents return seven-year-old Elian Gonzalez to the custody of his father. The boy had been the sole survivor when a small boat carrying a group of Cuban refugees sank off the coast of Florida. Elian’s repatriation sparks virulent protests within the Cuban-American community.

The U.S. Supreme Court strikes down the Violence against Women Act. The act had been used by female victims of sexual violence to sue their attackers in federal court.

In June, U.S. and U.K. scientists announce that they have decoded the human genome.

The U.S. Supreme Court rules in *Boy Scouts of America v. Dale* that the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution protects the right of the Boy Scouts to bar gays from serving as adult scout leaders.

The U.S. Supreme Court rules in *Stenberg v. Carhart* that a Nebraska law prohibiting “late-term” or “partial-birth” abortion is an unconstitutional infringement on a woman’s right to reproductive choice.

The House of Representatives votes in July to ease the 38-year-old embargo on the trade of food and medicines to the island nation of Cuba. The vote also eases existing travel restrictions for U.S. citizens. The embargo had repeatedly been criticized for contributing to Cuba’s lower standard of living in the post-cold war era.

Napster, a website that allows its customers to download popular music for free on-line, is sued by the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) for copyright infringement. A U.S. District Court orders Napster to shut down, but the controversy continues over the meaning of copyright laws on the Internet.

President Clinton hosts peace talks at Camp David to attempt to resolve the conflict between Israel and Palestine. Some progress is made as Israel, for the first time, considers sharing limited sovereignty in Jerusalem with Palestine, and Palestine considers, also for the first time, allowing Israel to keep the lands it captured in the 1967 Middle East war. The talks break down before a solution can be reached, however, when both governments refuse to compromise on sovereignty in the eastern section of Jerusalem, an area with sites sacred to both Jews and Arabs.

The United States normalizes trade relations with China.

The U.S. Food and Drug Administration approves the sale of mifepristone, commonly known as RU-486 or the abortion pill, a drug that would enable women to perform safer, non-surgical abortions in the first seven weeks of a pregnancy.

Vermont becomes the only state to legalize same-sex civil unions, which grant gay couples the same legal rights as heterosexual married couples.

On October 12, two Islamic fundamentalists bomb the USS *Cole*, a U.S. warship stationed in Yemen, killing 17 sailors. Officials believe Saudi billionaire Osama bin Laden is behind the explosions.

Hillary Rodham Clinton is elected U.S. senator of New York. She is the first First Lady to be elected to political office.

More than a month after voters cast their ballots in the closest election in U.S. history, the presidential election of 2000 is decided by the Supreme Court decision *Bush v. Gore*. The Court finds in favor of Republican candidate George W. Bush, who had successfully sought to prevent a recount of contested Florida ballots called for by Democratic candidate Al Gore.

## 2001

The 10-year expansion of the U.S. economy ends and a recession begins.

Colin Powell becomes the first African American to be named secretary of state.

A U.S. spy plane makes an emergency landing on Hainan island, China, after colliding with a Chinese fighter jet. Tensions mount between the United States and China as China searches the plane and holds both it and its crew for nearly a week before dismantling the plane and sending it back to the United States.

On January 31, at a trial held in the Netherlands, Abdel Baset Ali Mohmed al-Megrahi is found guilty of 270 counts of murder in the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988. A second Libyan defendant, Al Amin Khalifa Fhimah, is acquitted.

The state of California begins "rolling blackouts" to deal with an energy crisis brought about by its botched deregulation of the industry and the profiteering of energy companies such as Enron.

In May, Senator Jim Jeffords of Vermont withdraws from the Republican Party to become an independent. The Senate, which had been split 50-50 between Democrats and Republicans, swings to Democratic control.

In June, a U.S. Court of Appeals reverses the ruling made in April 2000 that the Microsoft Corp. be split into two separate companies. By the end of the year both sides are negotiating to settle the case.

President Bush refuses to submit the Kyoto Protocol, an international treaty committed to reducing carbon dioxide, for Senate ratification because of fears that ratification could negatively impact the U.S. economy. Most of the rest of the signatories remain committed to the protocol.

President George W. Bush bans the creation of new stem cell lines for medical research.

On September 11, Islamic fundamentalists hijack four commercial airliners. Two hijacked planes crash into the twin towers of the World Trade Center. A third plane is crashed into the Pentagon. The fourth plane crashes in a deserted area of Pennsylvania when passengers foil the terrorists. More than 3,000 die in the attacks, which shock and rally the nation.

The United States accuses Saudi billionaire Osama bin Laden of directing the terrorist attacks of September 11 and demands that Afghanistan's Taliban regime extradite him for prosecution. The Taliban refuse.

On October 5, Robert Stevens, a photo editor in Boca Raton, Florida, dies of inhalation anthrax. Within days media outlets in New York City announce anthrax exposure by some employees. Letters sent to media figures and politicians, including Senate majority leader Tom Daschle, are also found to contain anthrax. Postal workers in Washington, D.C., and New Jersey contract the disease due to contact with contaminated mail. By December a total of 18 people have been infected and five people have died from inhaling the spores.

On October 7, the United States strikes strongholds of Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda terrorist network in Afghanistan. Two months after the initial strikes the Taliban surrender most of their control of Afghanistan but Taliban leader Mullah Omar and al-Qaeda leaders, including bin Laden, elude capture.

The U.S. unemployment rate for November, 5.7 percent, is the highest in six years.

Enron, a large energy company based in Houston, declares bankruptcy in December. Its stock price has fallen from a high of \$83.00 to \$0.26 per share. Nearly 4,500 employees lose their jobs.

On December 11, Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan cuts interest rates for the 11th time this year.

On December 13, President George W. Bush announces that the United States will pull out of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972.

## 2002

In May the U.S. State Department declares Iran, Iraq, Cuba, Libya, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria as sponsors of state terrorism.

In July Iraq refuses the United Nations proposal to continue weapons inspections. President Bush warns on September 12, before the United Nations, that Iraq is a grave threat to the world. On October 2 the U.S. Congress provides President Bush with the authority to use military force against Iraq if it fails to comply with inspections.

On November 8 the United Nations passes Resolution 1441 in a unanimous Security Council vote demanding Iraqi disarmament. It forces Saddam Hussein and Iraq to disarm or face serious consequences.

In November NATO invites an additional seven nations to join the defense alliance: Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

### **2003**

On February 1 the space shuttle *Columbia* explodes upon reentry over Texas, killing all seven astronauts.

The Iraq War begins on March 19. A U.S. coalition drives Saddam Hussein from power by April 9. The U.S. coalition acts without the authority of the United Nations because of a veto by France in the Security Council.

Saddam Hussein, former leader of Iraq, is captured in a small bunker in Tikrit by the U.S. 4th Infantry Division on December 13.

### **2004**

In February the Central Intelligence Agency announces that weapons of mass destruction were not an imminent threat at the initiation of the Iraq War.

The groundbreaking ceremony for the Freedom Tower at Ground Zero is undertaken in New York City on July 4.

President George W. Bush wins reelection over Democratic Senator John Kerry from Massachusetts on November 2. He wins 50.7 percent of the popular vote and 286 votes in the Electoral College.

On December 26 the South Asian tsunami occurs following a 9.3 Richter scale earthquake in the Indian Ocean, killing 290,000 people from Sri Lanka to Indonesia. The United States leads the humanitarian effort.

### **2005**

In July American cyclist Lance Armstrong wins his record 7th straight Tour de France.

On July 26 the first space shuttle flight since the tragedy of 2003 is completed with the *Discovery* mission.

Hurricane Katrina strikes the Gulf Coast on August 29, flooding New Orleans and the region. More than 1,300 people perish from Alabama to Louisiana in one of the worst natural disasters to strike the United States.

In October Iraq holds its first elections.

### **2006**

The one billionth song is downloaded from the Internet music store Apple iTunes, hurting sales at stores such as Tower Records.

By September the Louisiana Superdome in New Orleans reopens after repairs of damage caused by Hurricane Katrina.

The population of the United States reaches 300 million, taking only 42 years to gain 100 million people since the 200 millionth person was added in 1964. The nation debates illegal immigration.

In the midterm November elections, Democrats sweep both houses of Congress for the first time since 1994.

### **2007**

On January 4 the first female Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Representative Nancy Pelosi of San Francisco, California, is sworn into office.

In January President George W. Bush announces a troop surge of 21,500 for the war in Iraq at the request of new commander General David Petraeus. The strategy gradually succeeds.

It is reported in June that a terror plot by four terrorists to blow up JFK International Airport in New York City is thwarted.

In December the Mitchell Report on the steroids scandal in baseball is released. The report shows that leading baseball athletes have used performance-enhancing drugs.

### **2008**

A July report by the U.S. embassy in Iraq shows violence waning in Iraq.

On August 17 American Michael Phelps wins his eighth gold medal of the Beijing Summer Olympic Games. Phelps holds the record for most gold medals (eight) won at a single Olympic games and also the most gold medals overall (14) of any Olympian.

In August Sarah Palin, first-term governor of Alaska, becomes Republican senator John McCain's running mate. For the first time, a presidential election included both an African-American candidate and a woman as presidential and vice-presidential nominees on both the Democratic and Republican tickets.

On October 3 the United States Congress passes legislation, signed by President Bush, for a \$700 billion bailout, the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act.

On November 4 Barack Obama, Democratic senator from Illinois, wins election to the White House with 365 to 173 electoral votes over John McCain, making him the 44th president of the United States and the first African-American president in the history of the country.

### **2009**

On January 20 Barack Obama is sworn in as the 44th president of the United States.

In February 2009 President Obama signs the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, a \$787 billion economic stimulus bill.

In spring General Motors and Chrysler Motor Company enter bankruptcy.

In June President Obama begins troop withdrawals in Iraq and a troop buildup in Afghanistan.

In June Justice David Souter retires from the Supreme Court. He is succeeded by Sonia Sotomayor, the first Hispanic justice.



# Documents

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## **“Silent Majority” Speech (1969)**

**President Richard M. Nixon**

*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States,  
Richard Nixon, 1969, pp. 901–909*

The White House, Washington, D.C.  
November 3, 1969

. . . We have faced other crises in our history and have become stronger by rejecting the easy way out and taking the right way in meeting our challenges. Our greatness as a nation has been our capacity to do what had to be done when we knew our course was right.

I recognize that some of my fellow citizens disagree with the plan for peace I have chosen. Honest and patriotic Americans have reached different conclusions as to how peace should be achieved.

In San Francisco a few weeks ago, I saw demonstrators carrying signs reading: Lose in Vietnam, bring the boys home.”

Well, one of the strengths of our free society is that any American has a right to reach that conclusion and to advocate that point of view. But as President of the United States, I would be untrue to my oath of office if I allowed the policy of this Nation to be dictated by the minority who hold that point of view and who try to impose it on the Nation by mounting demonstrations in the street.

For almost 200 years, the policy of this Nation has been made under our Constitution by those leaders in the Congress and the White House elected by all of the people. If a vocal minority, however fervent its cause, prevails over reason and the will of the majority, this Nation has no future as a free society.

And now I would like to address a word, if I may, to the young people of this Nation who are particularly concerned, and I understand why they are concerned, about this war.

I respect your idealism. I share your concern for peace. I want peace as much as you do.

There are powerful personal reasons I want to end this war. This week I will have to sign 83 letters to mothers, fathers, wives, and loved ones of men who have given their lives for America in Vietnam. It is very little satisfaction to me that this is only one-third as many letters as I signed the first week in office. There is nothing I want more than to see the day come when I do not have to write any of those letters.

I want to end the war to save the lives of those brave young men in Vietnam. But I want to end it in a way which will increase the chance that their younger brothers and their sons will not have to fight in some future Vietnam someplace in the world. And I want to end the war for another reason. I want to end it so that the energy and dedication of you, our young people, now too often directed into bitter hatred against those responsible for the war, can be turned to the great challenges of peace, a better life for all Americans, a better life for all people on this earth.

I have chosen a plan for peace. I believe it will succeed.

If it does succeed, what the critics say now won't matter. If it does not succeed, anything I say then won't matter.

I know it may not be fashionable to speak of patriotism or national destiny these days. But I feel it is appropriate to do so on this occasion.

Two hundred years ago this Nation was weak and poor. But even then, America was the hope of millions in the world. Today we have become the strongest and richest nation in the world. And the wheel of destiny has turned so that any hope the world has for the survival of peace and freedom will be determined by whether the American people have the moral stamina and the courage to meet the challenge of free world leadership.

Let historians not record that when America was the most powerful nation in the world we passed on the other side of the road and allowed the last hopes for peace and freedom of millions of people to be suffocated by the forces of totalitarianism.

And so tonight—to you, the great silent majority of my fellow Americans—I ask for your support.

I pledged in my campaign for the Presidency to end the war in a way that we could win the peace. I have initiated a plan of action which will enable me to keep that pledge.

The more support I can have from the American people, the sooner that pledge can be redeemed; for the more divided we are at home, the less likely the enemy is to negotiate at Paris.

Let us be united for peace. Let us also be united against defeat. Because let us understand: North Vietnam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States. Only Americans can do that.

Fifty years ago, in this room and at this very desk, President Woodrow Wilson spoke words which caught the imagination of a war-weary world. He said: “This is the war to end war.” His dream for peace after World War I was shattered on the hard realities of great power politics, and Woodrow Wilson died a broken man.

Tonight I do not tell you that the war in Vietnam is the war to end wars. But I do say this: I have initiated a plan which will end this war in a way that will bring us closer to that great goal to which Woodrow Wilson and every American President in our history has been dedicated—the goal of a just and lasting peace.

As President I hold the responsibility for choosing the best path to that goal and then leading the Nation along it.

I pledge to you tonight that I shall meet this responsibility with all of the strength and wisdom I can command in accordance with your hopes, mindful of your concerns, sustained by your prayers.

Thank you and goodnight.

## The Clean Air Act of 1970

*United States Statutes at Large*, 1970,  
pp. 1,676–1,713

December 31, 1970

### Sec. 7401. —Congressional findings and declaration of purpose

#### (a) Findings

The Congress finds—

(1) that the predominant part of the Nation’s population is located in its rapidly expanding metropolitan and other urban areas, which generally cross the boundary lines of local jurisdictions and often extend into two or more States;

(2) that the growth in the amount and complexity of air pollution brought about by urbanization, industrial development, and the increasing use of motor vehicles, has resulted in mounting dangers to the public health and welfare, including injury to agricultural crops and livestock, damage to and the deterioration of property, and hazards to air and ground transportation;

(3) that air pollution prevention (that is, the reduction or elimination, through any measures, of the amount of pollutants produced or created at the source) and air pollution control at its source is the primary responsibility of States and local governments; and

(4) that Federal financial assistance and leadership is essential for the development of cooperative Federal, State, regional, and local programs to prevent and control air pollution.

#### (b) Declaration

The purposes of this subchapter are—

(1) to protect and enhance the quality of the Nation’s air resources so as to promote the public health and welfare and the productive capacity of its population;

(2) to initiate and accelerate a national research and development program to achieve the prevention and control of air pollution;

(3) to provide technical and financial assistance to State and local governments in connection with the development and execution of their air pollution prevention and control programs; and

(4) to encourage and assist the development and operation of regional air pollution prevention and control programs.

#### (c) Pollution prevention

A primary goal of this chapter is to encourage or otherwise promote reasonable Federal, State, and local governmental actions, consistent with the provisions of this chapter, for pollution prevention . . .

## Title IX – Prohibition of Sex Discrimination

Erik Bruun and Jay Crosby, eds., *Our Nation’s Archive: The History of the United States in Documents*  
(New York: Black Dog & Leventhal  
Publishers, 1999), p. 790

Sec.901(a) No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance, except that:

in regard to admissions to educational institutions, this section shall apply only to institutions of vocational education, professional education, and

graduate higher education, and to public institutions of undergraduate higher education;

in regard to admissions to educational institutions, this section shall not apply (A) for one year from June 23, 1972, nor for six years after June 23, 1972, in the case of an educational institution which has begun the process of changing from being an institution which admits only students of one sex to being an institution which admits students of both sexes, but only if it is carrying out a plan for such a change which is approved by the Secretary of Education or (B) for seven years from the date an educational institution begins the process of changing from being an institution which admits only students of only one sex to being an institution which admits students of both sexes, but only if it is carrying out a plan for such a change which is approved by the Secretary of Education, whichever is the later;

this section shall not apply to an educational institution which is controlled by a religious organization if the application of this subsection would not be consistent with the religious tenets of such organization;

this section shall not apply to an educational institution whose primary purpose is the training of individuals for the military services of the United States, or the merchant marine; and in regard to admissions this section shall not apply to any public institution of undergraduate higher education which is an institution that traditionally and continually from its establishment has had a policy of admitting only students of one sex;

Nothing contained in subsection (a) of this section shall be interpreted to require any educational institution to grant preferential or disparate treatment to the members of one sex on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of that sex participating in or receiving the benefits of any federally supported program or activity, in comparison with the total number or percentage of persons of that sex in any community, State, section, or other area: Provided, That this subsection shall not be construed to prevent the consideration in any hearing or proceeding under this chapter of statistical evidence tending to show that such an imbalance exists with respect to the participation in, or receipt of the benefits of, any such program or activity by the members of one sex.

For purposes of this chapter an educational institution means any public or private preschool, elementary, or secondary school, or any institution of vocational, professional, or higher education, except that in the case of an educational institution composed of more than one school, college, or department which are administratively separate units, such term means each such school, college, or department.

### ***Roe v. Wade* (1973)**

#### ***United States Supreme Court***

93 *Supreme Court Reporter*, pp. 705–763

410 U.S. 113, 35 L.ED.2D 147

JANE ROE, ET AL., APPELLANTS, V. HENRY WADE.

Argued Dec. 13, 1971; Reargued Oct. 11, 1972; Decided Jan. 22, 1973; Rehearing Denied Feb. 26, 1973

Mr. Justice Blackmun delivered the opinion of the Court.

This Texas federal appeal and its Georgia companion, *Doe v. Bolton*, 410 U.S. 179, 93 S.Ct. 739, 35 L.Ed.2d 201, present constitutional challenges to state criminal abortion legislation. The Texas statutes under attack here are typical of those that have been in effect in many States for approximately a century. The Georgia statutes, in contrast, have a modern cast and are a legislative product that, to an extent at least, obviously reflects the influences of recent attitudinal change, of advancing medical knowledge and techniques, and of new thinking about an old issue.

We forthwith acknowledge our awareness of the sensitive and emotional nature of the abortion controversy, of the vigorous opposing views, even among physicians, and of the deep and seemingly absolute convictions that the subject inspires. One's philosophy, one's experiences, one's exposure to the raw edges of human existence, one's religious training, one's attitudes toward life and family and their values, and the moral standards one establishes and seeks to observe, are all likely to influence and to color one's thinking and conclusions about abortion. In addition, population growth, pollution, poverty, and racial overtones tend to complicate and not to simplify the problem.

Our task, of course, is to resolve the issue by constitutional measurement, free of emotion and of predilection. We seek earnestly to do this, and, because we do, we have inquired into, and in this opinion place some emphasis upon, medical and medical-legal history and what that history reveals about man's attitudes toward the abortion procedure over the centuries. We bear in mind, too, Mr. Justice Holmes' admonition in his now vindicated dissent in *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45, 76, 25 S.Ct. 539, 547, 49 L.Ed. 937 (1905):

"[The Constitution] is made for people of fundamentally differing views, and the accident of our finding certain opinions natural and familiar, or novel, and even shocking, ought not to conclude or judgment upon the question whether statutes embodying them conflict with the Constitution of the United States." . . .

## II

Jane Roe, a single woman who was residing in Dallas County, Texas, instituted this federal action in March 1970 against the District Attorney of the county. She sought a declaratory judgment that the Texas criminal abortion statutes were unconstitutional on their face, and an injunction restraining the defendant from enforcing the statutes.

Roe alleged that she was unmarried and pregnant; that she wished to terminate her pregnancy by an abortion "performed by a competent, licensed physician, under safe, clinical conditions"; that she was unable to get a "legal" abortion in Texas because her life did not appear to be threatened by the continuation of her pregnancy; and that she could not afford to travel to another jurisdiction in order to secure a legal abortion under safe conditions. She claimed that the Texas statutes were unconstitutionally vague and that they abridged her right of personal privacy, protected by the First, Fourth, Fifth, Ninth, and Fourteenth Amendments. By an amendment to her complaint Roe purported to sue "on behalf of herself and all other women similarly situated." . . .

1. *Ancient attitudes.* These are not capable of precise determination. We are told that at the time of the Persian Empire abortifacients were known and that criminal abortions were severely punished. We are also told, however, that abortion was practiced in Greek times as well as in the Roman Era, and that "it was resorted to without scruple." The Ephesian, Soranos, often described as the greatest of the ancient gynecologists, appears to have been generally opposed to Rome's prevailing free-abortion practices. He found it necessary to think first of the life of the mother, and he resorted to abortion when, upon this standard, he felt the procedure advisable. Greek and Roman law afforded little protection to the unborn. If abortion was prosecuted in some places, it seems to have been based on a concept of a violation of the father's right to his offspring. Ancient religion did not bar abortion. . . .

[10] This right of privacy, whether it be founded in the Fourteenth Amendment's concept of personal liberty and restrictions upon state action, as we feel it is, or, as the District Court determined, in the Ninth Amendment's reservation of rights to the people, is broad enough to encompass a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy. The detriment that the State would impose upon the pregnant woman by denying this choice altogether is apparent. Specific and direct harm medically diagnos-

able even in early pregnancy may be involved. Maternity, or additional offspring, may force upon the woman a distressful life and future. Psychological harm may be imminent. Mental and physical health may be taxed by child care. There is also the distress, for all concerned, associated with the unwanted child, and there is the problem of bringing a child into a family already unable, psychologically and otherwise, to care for it. In other cases, as in this one, the additional difficulties and continuing stigma of unwed motherhood may be involved. All these are factors the woman and her responsible physician necessarily will consider in consultation.

On the basis of elements such as these, appellant and some *amici* argue that the woman's right is absolute and that she is entitled to terminate her pregnancy at whatever time, in whatever way, and for whatever reason she alone chooses. With this we do not agree. Appellant's arguments that Texas either has no valid interest at all in regulating the abortion decision, or no interest strong enough to support any limitation upon the woman's sole determination, are unpersuasive. The Court's decisions recognizing a right of privacy also acknowledge that some state regulation in areas protected by that right is appropriate. As noted above, a State may properly assert important interests in safeguarding health, in maintaining medical standards, and in protecting potential life. At some point in pregnancy, these respective interests become sufficiently compelling to sustain regulation of the factors that govern the abortion decision. The privacy right involved, therefore, cannot be said to be absolute. In fact, it is not clear to us that the claim asserted by some *amici* that one has an unlimited right to do with one's body as one pleases bears a close relationship to the right of privacy previously articulated in the Court's decisions. The court has refused to recognize an unlimited right of this kind in the past. *Jacobson v. Massachusetts*, 197 U.S. 11, 25 S.Ct. 358, 49 L.Ed. 643 (1905) (vaccination); *Buck v. Bell*, 274 U.S. 200, 46 S.Ct. 584, 71 L.Ed. 1000 (1927) (sterilization).

We, therefore, conclude that the right of personal privacy includes the abortion decision, but that this right is not unqualified and must be considered against important state interests in regulation. We note that those federal and state courts that have recently considered abortion law challenges have reached the same conclusion. A majority, in addition to the District Court in the present case, have held state laws unconstitutional, at least in part, because of vagueness or because of overbreadth and abridgment of rights . . .

In the recent abortion cases, cited above, courts have recognized these principles. Those striking down state laws have generally scrutinized the State's interests in protecting health and potential life, and have concluded that neither interest justified broad limitations on the reasons for which



a physician and his pregnant patient might decide that she should have an abortion in the early stages of pregnancy. Courts sustaining state laws have held that the State's determinations to protect health or prenatal life are dominant and constitutionally justifiable. . . .

## X

In view of all this, we do not agree that, by adopting one theory of life, Texas may override the rights of the pregnant woman that are at stake. We repeat, however, that the State does have an important and legitimate interest in preserving and protecting the health of the pregnant woman, whether she be a resident of the State or a non-resident who seeks medical consultation and treatment there, and that it has still *another* important and legitimate interest in protecting the potentiality of human life. These interests are separate and distinct. Each grows in substantiality as the woman approaches term and, at a point during pregnancy, each becomes "compelling." [13,14] With respect to the State's important and legitimate interest in the health of the mother, the "compelling" point, in the light of present medical knowledge, is at approximately the end of the first trimester. This is so because of the now-established medical fact, referred to above at 725, that until the end of the first trimester mortality in abortion may be less than mortality in normal childbirth. It follows that, from and after this point, a State may regulate the abortion procedure to the extent that the regulation reasonably relates to the preservation and protection of maternal health. Examples of permissible state regulation in this area are requirement as to the qualifications of the person who is to perform the abortion; as to the licensure of that person; as to the facility in which the procedure is to be performed, that is, whether it must be a hospital or may be a clinic or some other place of less-than-hospital status; as to the licensing of the facility; and the like.

This means, on the other hand, that, for the period of pregnancy prior to this "compelling" point, the attending physician, in consultation with his patient, is free to determine, without regulation by the State, that, in his medical judgment, the patient's pregnancy should be terminated. If that decision is reached, the judgment may be effectuated by an abortion free of interference by the State.

[15] With respect to the State's important and legitimate interest in potential life, the "compelling" point is at viability. This is so because the fetus then presumably has the capability of meaningful life outside the mother's womb. State regulation protective of fetal life after viability thus has both logical and biological justifications. If the State is interested in protecting fetal life after viability, it may go so far as to proscribe abortion during that period, except when it is necessary to preserve the life or health of the mother.

[16] Measured against these standards, Art. 1196 of the Texas Penal Code, in restricting legal abortions to those "procured or attempted by medical advice for the purpose of saving the life of the mother," sweeps too broadly. The statute makes no distinction between abortions performed early in pregnancy and those performed later, and it limits to a single reason, "saving" the mother's life, the legal justification for the procedure. The statute, therefore, cannot survive the constitutional attack made upon it here.

This conclusion makes it unnecessary for us to consider the additional challenge to the Texas statute asserted on grounds of vagueness. See *United States v. Vuitch*, 402 U.S., at 67-72, 91 S.Ct., at 1296-1299.

## XI

To summarize and to repeat:

1. A state criminal abortion statute of the current Texas type, that excepts from criminality only a life-saving procedure on behalf of the mother, without regard to pregnancy stage and without recognition of the other interests involved, is violative of the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

(a) For the stage prior to approximately the end of the first trimester, the abortion decision and its effectuation must be left to the medical judgment of the pregnant woman's attending physician.

(b) For the stage subsequent to approximately the end of the first trimester, the State, in promoting its interest in the health of the mother, may, if it chooses, regulate the abortion procedure in ways that are reasonably related to maternal health.

(c) For the stage subsequent to viability, the State in promoting its interest in the potentiality of human life may, if it chooses, regulate, and even proscribe, abortion except where it is necessary, in appropriate medical judgment, for the preservation of the life or health of the mother.

[17] 2. The State may define the term "physician," as it has been employed in the preceding paragraphs of this Part XI of this opinion, to mean only a physician currently licensed by the State, and may proscribe any abortion by a person who is not a physician as so defined. In *Doe v. Bolton*, 410 U.S. 179, 93 S.Ct. 739, 35 L.Ed.2d 201, procedural requirements contained in one of the modern abortion statutes are considered. That opinion and this one, of course, are to be read together.

This holding, we feel, is consistent with the relative weights of the respective interests involved, with the lessons and examples of medical and legal history, with the lenity of the common law, and with the demands of the profound problems of the present day. The decision leaves the State free to place increasing restrictions on abortion as the period of pregnancy lengthens, so long as those restrictions are tailored to the recognized state interests. The decision

vindicates the rights of the physician to administer medical treatment according to his professional judgment up to the points where important state interests provide compelling justifications for intervention. Up to those points, the abortion decision in all its aspects is inherently, and primarily, a medical decision, and basic responsibility for it must rest with the physician. If an individual practitioner abuses the privilege of exercising proper medical judgment, the usual remedies, judicial and intra-professional, are available.

## XII

[18] Our conclusion that Art. 1196 is unconstitutional means, of course, that the Texas abortion statutes, as a unit, must fall. The exception of Art. 1196 cannot be struck down separately, for then the State would be left with a statute proscribing all abortion procedures no matter how medically urgent the case.

Although the District Court granted appellant Roe declaratory relief, it stopped short of issuing an injunction against enforcement of the Texas statutes. The Court has recognized that different considerations enter into a federal court's decision as to declaratory relief, on the one hand, and injunctive relief, on the other. *Zwicker v. Koota*, 389 U.S. 241, 252–255, 88 S.Ct. 391, 397–399, 19 L.Ed.2d 444 (1967); *Dombrowski v. Pfister*, 380 U.S. 479, 85 S.Ct. 1116, 14 L.Ed.2d 22 (1965). We are not dealing with a statute that, on its face, appears to abridge free expression, an area of particular concern under *Dombrowski* and refined in *Younger v. Harris*, 401 U.S., at 50, 91 S.Ct., at 753.

We find it unnecessary to decide whether the District Court erred in withholding injunctive relief, for we assume the Texas prosecutorial authorities will give full credence to this decision that the present criminal abortion statutes of that State are unconstitutional. . . .

## Resignation Speech (1974)

**President Richard M. Nixon**

*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States,  
Richard Nixon, 1974, pp. 626–629*

Good evening:

This is the 37th time I have spoken to you from this office, where so many decisions have been made that shaped the history of this Nation. Each time I have done so to discuss with you some matter that I believe affected the national interest.

In all the decisions I have made in my public life, I have always tried to do what was best for the nation. Throughout the long and difficult period of Watergate, I have felt it was my duty to persevere, to make every possible effort to complete the term of office to which you elected me. In the past few days, however, it has become evident to me

that I no longer have a strong enough political base in the Congress to justify continuing that effort. As long as there was such a base, I felt strongly that it was necessary to see the constitutional process through to its conclusion, that to do otherwise would be unfaithful to the spirit of that deliberately difficult process and a dangerously destabilizing precedent for the future.

But with the disappearance of that base, I now believe that the constitutional purpose has been served, and there is no longer a need for the process to be prolonged.

I would have preferred to carry through to the finish, whatever the personal agony it would have involved, and my family unanimously urged me to do so. But the interests of the Nation must always come before any personal considerations.

From the discussions I have had with Congressional and other leaders, I have concluded that because of the Watergate matter, I might not have the support of the Congress that I would consider necessary to back the very difficult decisions and carry out the duties of this office in the way the interests of the Nation will require.

I have never been a quitter. To leave office before my term is completed is abhorrent to every instinct in my body. But as President, I must put the interests of America first. America needs a full-time President and a full-time Congress, particularly at this time with problems we face at home and abroad.

To continue to fight through the months ahead for my personal vindication would almost totally absorb the time and attention of both the President and the Congress in a period when our entire focus should be on the great issues of peace abroad and prosperity without inflation at home. Therefore, I shall resign the Presidency effective at noon tomorrow. Vice President Ford will be sworn in as President at that hour in this office.

As I recall the high hopes for America with which we began this second term, I feel a great sadness that I will not be here in this office working on your behalf to achieve those hopes in the next 2½ years. But in turning over direction of the Government to Vice President Ford, I know, as I told the Nation when I nominated him for that office 10 months ago, that the leadership of America will be in good hands.

In passing this office to the Vice President, I also do so with the profound sense of the weight of responsibility that will fall on his shoulders tomorrow and, therefore, of the understanding, the patience, the cooperation he will need from all Americans.

As he assumes that responsibility, he will deserve the help and the support of all of us. As we look to the future, the first essential is to begin healing the wounds of this Nation, to put the bitterness and divisions of the recent past behind us and to rediscover those shared ideals that

lie at the heart of our strength and unity as a great and as a free people.

By taking this action, I hope that I will have hastened the start of that process of healing which is so desperately needed in America.

I regret deeply any injuries that may have been done in the course of the events that led to this decision. I would say only that if some of my judgments were wrong—and some were wrong—they were made in what I believed at the time to be the best interest of the Nation.

To those who have stood with me during these past difficult months—to my family, my friends, to many others who joined in supporting my cause because they believed it was right—I will be eternally grateful for your support.

And to those who have not felt able to give me your support, let me say I leave with no bitterness toward those who have opposed me, because all of us, in the final analysis, have been concerned with the good of the country, however our judgments might differ.

So, let us all now join together in affirming that common commitment and in helping our new President succeed for the benefit of all Americans.

I shall leave this office with regret at not completing my term, but with gratitude for the privilege of serving as your President for the past 5½ years. These years have been a momentous time in the history of our Nation and the world. They have been a time of achievement in which we can all be proud, achievements that represent the shared efforts of the Administration, the Congress, and the people.

But the challenges ahead are equally great, and they, too, will require the support and the efforts of the Congress and the people working in cooperation with the new Administration.

We have ended America's longest war, but in the work of securing a lasting peace in the world, the goals ahead are even more far-reaching and more difficult. We must complete a structure of peace so that it will be said of this generation, our generation of Americans, by the people of all nations, not only that we ended one war but that we prevented future wars.

We have unlocked the doors that for a quarter of a century stood between the United States and the People's Republic of China.

We must now ensure that the one quarter of the world's people who live in the People's Republic of China will be and remain not our enemies, but our friends.

In the Middle East, 100 million people in the Arab countries, many of whom have considered us their enemy for nearly 20 years, now look on us as their friends. We must continue to build on that friendship so that peace can settle at last over the Middle East and so that the cradle of civilization will not become its grave.

Together with the Soviet Union, we have made the crucial breakthroughs that have begun the process of limiting nuclear arms. But we must set as our goal not just limiting but reducing and, finally, destroying these terrible weapons so that they cannot destroy civilization and so that the threat of nuclear war will not longer hang over the world and the people. We have opened the new relation with the Soviet Union. We must continue to develop and expand that new relationship so that the two strongest nations of the world will live together in cooperation, rather than confrontation.

Around the world—in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, in the Middle East—there are millions of people who live in terrible poverty, even starvation. We must keep as our goal turning away from production for war and expanding production for peace so that people everywhere on this Earth can at last look forward in their children's time, if not in our own time, to having the necessities for a decent life.

Here in America, we are fortunate that most of our people have not only the blessings of liberty but also the means to live full and good and, by the world's standards, even abundant lives. We must press on, however, toward a goal, not only of more and better jobs but of full opportunity for every American and of what we are striving so hard right now to achieve, prosperity without inflation.

For more than a quarter of a century in public life, I have shared in the turbulent history of this era. I have fought for what I believed in. I have tried, to the best of my ability, to discharge those duties and meet those responsibilities that were entrusted to me.

Sometimes I have succeeded and sometimes I have failed, but always I have taken heart from what Theodore Roosevelt once said about the man in the arena, "whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood, who strives valiantly, who errs and comes short again and again because there is not effort without error and shortcoming, but who does actually strive to do the deed, who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, who spends himself in a worthy cause, who at the best knows in the end the triumphs of high achievements who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly."

I pledge to you tonight that as long as I have a breath of life in my body, I shall continue in that spirit. I shall continue to work for the great causes to which I have been dedicated throughout my years as a Congressman, a Senator, Vice President, and President, the cause of peace, not just for America but among all nations—prosperity, justice, and opportunity for all of our people. There is one cause above all to which I have been devoted and to which I shall always be devoted for as long as I live.

When I first took the oath of office as President 5½ years ago, I made this sacred commitment: to "consecrate

my office, my energies, and all the wisdom I can summon to the cause of peace among nations.”

I have done my very best in all the days since to be true to that pledge. As a result of these efforts, I am confident that the world is a safer place today, not only for the people of America but for the people of all nations, and that all of our children have a better chance than before of living in peace rather than dying in war.

This, more than anything, is what I hoped to achieve when I sought the Presidency. This, more than anything, is what I hope will be my legacy to you, to our country, as I leave the Presidency. To have served in this office is to have felt a very personal sense of kinship with each and every American. In leaving it, I do so with this prayer: May God's grace be with you in all the days ahead.

### **Remarks on Taking the Oath of Office (1974)** **President Gerald R. Ford**

*Public Papers of the Presidents, Gerald R. Ford, 1974,*  
Vol. III, pp. 1–3

August 9, 1974

Mr. Chief Justice, my dear friends, my fellow Americans:

The oath that I have taken is the same oath that was taken by George Washington and by every President under the Constitution. But I assume the Presidency under extraordinary circumstances never before experienced by Americans. This is an hour of history that troubles our minds and hurts our hearts.

Therefore, I feel it is my first duty to make an unprecedented compact with my countrymen. Not an inaugural address, not a fireside chat, not a campaign speech—just a little straight talk among friends. And I intend it to be the first of many.

I am acutely aware that you have not elected me as your President by your ballots, and so I ask you to confirm me as your President with your prayers. And I hope that such prayers will also be the first of many.

If you have not chosen me by secret ballot, neither have I gained office by any secret promises. I have not campaigned either for the Presidency or the Vice Presidency. I have not subscribed to any partisan platform. I am indebted to no man, and only to one woman—my dear wife—as I begin this very difficult job.

I have not sought this enormous responsibility, but I will not shirk it. Those who nominated and confirmed me as Vice President were my friends and are my friends. They were of both parties, elected by all the people and acting under the Constitution in their name. It is only fitting then that I should pledge to them and to you that I will be the President of all the people. Thomas Jefferson said

the people are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty. And down the years, Abraham Lincoln renewed this American article of faith asking, “Is there any better way or equal hope in the world?”

I intend, on Monday next, to request of the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate the privilege of appearing before the Congress to share with my former colleagues and with you, the American people, my views on the priority business of the Nation and to solicit your views and their views. And may I say to the Speaker and the others, if I could meet with you right after these remarks, I would appreciate it.

Even though this is late in an election year, there is no way we can go forward except together and no way anybody can win except by serving the people's urgent needs. We cannot stand still or slip backwards. We must go forward now together.

To the peoples and the governments of all friendly nations, and I hope that could encompass the whole world, I pledge an uninterrupted and sincere search for peace. America will remain strong and united, but its strength will remain dedicated to the safety and sanity of the entire family of man, as well as to our own precious freedom.

I believe that truth is the glue that holds government together, not only our Government but civilization itself. That bond, though strained, is unbroken at home and abroad. In all my public and private acts as your President, I expect to follow my instincts of openness and candor with full confidence that honesty is always the best policy in the end.

My fellow Americans, our long national nightmare is over.

Our Constitution works; our great Republic is a government of laws and not of men. Here the people rule. But there is a higher Power, by whatever name we honor Him, who ordains not only righteousness but love, not only justice but mercy.

As we bind up the internal wounds of Watergate, more painful and more poisonous than those of foreign wars, let us restore the golden rule to our political process, and let brotherly love purge our hearts of suspicion and of hate.

In the beginning, I asked you to pray for me. Before closing, I ask again your prayers, for Richard Nixon and for his family. May our former President, who brought peace to millions, find it for himself. May God bless and comfort his wonderful wife and daughters, whose love and loyalty will forever be a shining legacy to all who bear the lonely burdens of the White House. I can only guess at those burdens, although I have witnessed at close hand the tragedies that befell three Presidents and the lesser trials of others.

With all the strength and all the good sense I have gained from life, with all the confidence my family, my friends, and my dedicated staff impart to me, and with



the good will of countless Americans I have encountered in recent visits to 40 States, I now solemnly reaffirm my promise I made to you last December 6: to uphold the Constitution, to do what is right as God gives me to see the right, and to do the very best I can for America.

God helping me, I will not let you down.

Thank you

## **“Malaise” Speech (1979)**

**President Jimmy Carter**

*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States,  
Jimmy Carter, 1979, Vol. II, pp. 1,235–1,241*

July 15, 1979

Good evening.

This is a special night for me. Exactly 3 years ago, on July 15, 1976, I accepted the nomination of my party to run for President of the United States. I promised you a President who is not isolated from the people, who feels your pain, and who shares your dreams and who draws his strength and his wisdom from you.

During the past 3 years I’ve spoken to you on many occasions about national concerns, the energy crisis, reorganizing the Government, our Nation’s economy, and issues of war and especially peace. But over those years the subjects of the speeches, the talks, and the press conferences have become increasingly narrow, focused more and more on what the isolated world of Washington thinks is important. Gradually, you’ve heard more and more about what the Government thinks or what the Government should be doing and less and less about our Nation’s hopes, our dreams, and our vision of the future.

Ten days ago I had planned to speak to you again about a very important subject—energy. For the fifth time I would have described the urgency of the problem and laid out a series of legislative recommendations to the Congress. But as I was preparing to speak, I began to ask myself the same question that I now know has been troubling many of you. Why have we not been able to get together as a nation to resolve our serious energy problem?

It’s clear that the true problems of our Nation are much deeper—deeper than gasoline lines of energy shortages, deeper even than inflation or recession. And I realize more than ever that as President I need your help. So, I decided to reach out and listen to the voices of America. I invited to Camp David people from almost every segment of our society—business and labor, teachers and preachers, Governors, mayors, and private citizens. And then I left Camp David to listen to other Americans, men and women like you. It has been an extraordinary 10 days, and I want to share with you what I’ve heard.

First of all, I got a lot of personal advice. Let me quote a few of the typical comments that I wrote down.

This from a southern Governor: “Mr. President, you are not leading this Nation—you’re just managing the Government.”

“You don’t see the people enough any more.”

“Some of your Cabinet members don’t seem loyal. There is not enough discipline among your disciples.”

“Don’t talk to us about politics or the mechanics of government, but about an understanding of our common good.”

“Mr. President, we’re in trouble. Talk to us about blood and sweat and tears.”

“If you lead, Mr. President, we will follow.”

Many people talked about themselves and about the condition of our Nation. This from a young woman in Pennsylvania: “I feel so far from government. I feel like ordinary people are excluded from political power.”

And this from a young Chicano: “Some of us have suffered from recession all our lives.”

“Some people have wasted energy, but others haven’t had anything to waste.”

And this from a religious leader: “No material shortage can touch the important things like God’s love for us or our love for one another.”

And I like this one particularly from a black woman who happens to be the mayor of a small Mississippi town: “The big-shots are not the only ones who are important. Remember, you can’t sell anything on Wall Street unless someone digs it up somewhere else first.”

This kind of summarized a lot of other statements: “Mr. President, we are confronted with a moral and a spiritual crisis.”

Several of our discussions were on energy, and I have a notebook full of comments and advice. I’ll read just a few.

“We can’t go on consuming 40 percent more energy than we produce. When we import oil we are also importing inflation plus unemployment.”

“We’ve got to use what we have. The Middle East has only 5 percent of the world’s energy, but the United States has 24 percent.”

And this is one of the most vivid statements: “Our neck is stretched over the fence and OPEC has a knife.”

“There will be other cartels and other shortages. American wisdom and courage right now can set a path to follow in the future.”

This was a good one: “Be bold, Mr. President. We may make mistakes, but we are ready to experiment.”

And this one from a labor leader got to the heart of it: “The real issue is freedom. We must deal with the energy problem on a war footing.”

And the last that I’ll read: “When we enter the moral equivalent of war, Mr. President, don’t issue us BB guns.”

These 10 days confirmed my belief in the decency and the strength and the wisdom of the American people, but it also bore out some of my long-standing concerns about our Nation's underlying problems.

I know, of course, being President, that government actions and legislation can be very important. That's why I've worked hard to put my campaign promises into law—and I have to admit, with just mixed success. But after listening to the American people I have been reminded again that all the legislation in the world can't fix what's wrong with America. So, I want to speak to you first tonight about a subject even more serious than energy or inflation. I want to talk to you right now about a fundamental threat to American democracy. I do not mean our political and civil liberties. They will endure. And I do not refer to the outward strength of America, a nation that is at peace tonight everywhere in the world, with unmatched economic power and military might.

The threat is nearly invisible in ordinary ways. It is a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of a unity of purpose for our Nation. The erosion of our confidence in the future is threatening to destroy the social and the political fabric of America.

The confidence that we have always had as a people is not simply some romantic dream or a proverb in a dusty book that we read just on the Fourth of July. It is the idea which founded our Nation and has guided our development as a people. Confidence in the future has supported everything else—public institutions and private enterprise, our own families, and the very Constitution of the United States. Confidence has defined our course and has served as a link between generations. We've always believed in something called progress. We've always had a faith that the days of our children would be better than our own.

Our people are losing that faith, not only in government itself but in the ability as citizens to serve as the ultimate rulers and shapers of our democracy. As a people we know our past and we are proud of it. Our progress has been part of the living history of America, even the world. We always believed that we were part of a great movement of humanity itself called democracy, involved in the search for freedom, and that belief has always strengthened us in our purpose. But just as we are losing our confidence in the future, we are also beginning to close the door on our past.

In a nation that was proud of hard work, strong families, close-knit communities, and our faith in God, too many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. Human identity is no longer defined by what one does, but by what one owns. But we've discovered that

owning things and consuming things does not satisfy our longing for meaning. We've learned that piling up material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives which have no confidence or purpose. The symptoms of this crisis of the American spirit are all around us. For the first time in the history of our country a majority of our people believe that the next 5 years will be worse than the past 5 years. Two-thirds of our people do not even vote. The productivity of American workers is actually dropping, and the willingness of Americans to save for the future has fallen below that of all other people in the Western world.

As you know, there is a growing disrespect for government and for churches and for schools, the news media, and other institutions. This is not a message of happiness or reassurance, but it is the truth and it is a warning.

These changes did not happen overnight. They've come upon us gradually over the last generation, years that were filled with shocks and tragedy.

We were sure that ours was a nation of the ballot, not the bullet, until the murders of John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. We were taught that our armies were always invincible and our causes were always just, only to suffer the agony of Vietnam. We respected the Presidency as a place of honor until the shock of Watergate.

We remember when the phrase "sound as a dollar" was an expression of absolute dependability, until 10 years of inflation began to shrink our dollar and our savings. We believed that our Nation's resources were limitless until 1973, when we had to face a growing dependence on foreign oil.

These wounds are still very deep. They have never been healed.

Looking for a way out of this crisis, our people have turned to the Federal Government and found it isolated from the mainstream of our Nation's life. Washington, D.C., has become an island. The gap between our citizens and our Government has never been so wide. The people are looking for honest answers, not easy answers; clear leadership, not false claims and evasiveness and politics as usual.

What you see too often in Washington and elsewhere around the country is a system of government that seems incapable of action. You see a Congress twisted and pulled in every direction by hundreds of well-financed and powerful special interests. You see every extreme position defended to the last vote, almost to the last breath by one unyielding group or another. You often see a balanced and a fair approach that demands sacrifice, a little sacrifice from everyone, abandoned like an orphan without support and without friends.

Often you see paralysis and stagnation and drift. You don't like, and neither do I. What can we do?

First of all, we must face the truth, and then we can change our course. We simply must have faith in each other, faith in our ability to govern ourselves, and faith in the future of this Nation. Restoring that faith and that confidence to America is now the most important task we face. It is a true challenge of this generation of Americans.

One of the visitors to Camp David last week put it this way: "We've got to stop crying and start sweating, stop talking and start walking, stop cursing and start praying. The strength we need will not come from the White House, but from every house in America." We know the strength of America. We are strong. We can regain our unity. We can regain our confidence. We are the heirs of generations who survived threats much more powerful and awesome than those that challenge us now. Our fathers and mothers were strong men and women who shaped a new society during the Great Depression, who fought world wars, and who carved out a new charter of peace for the world.

We ourselves and the same Americans who just 10 years ago put a man on the Moon. We are the generation that dedicated our society to the pursuit of human rights and equality. And we are the generation that will win the war on the energy problem and in that process rebuild the unity and confidence of America.

We are at a turning point in our history. There are two paths to choose. One is a path I've warned about tonight, the path that leads to fragmentation and self-interest. Down that road lies a mistaken idea of freedom, the right to grasp for ourselves some advantage over others. That path would be one of constant conflict between narrow interests ending in chaos and immobility. It is a certain route to failure.

All the traditions of our past, all the lessons of our heritage, all the promises of our future point to another path, the path of common purpose and the restoration of American values. That path leads to true freedom for our Nation and ourselves. We can take the first steps down that path as we begin to solve our energy problem.

Energy will be the immediate test of our ability to unite this Nation, and it can also be the standard around which we rally. On the battlefield of energy we can win for our Nation a new confidence, and we can seize control again of our common destiny.

In little more than two decades we've gone from a position of energy independence to one in which almost half the oil we use comes from foreign countries, at prices that are going through the roof. Our excessive dependence on OPEC has already taken a tremendous toll on our economy and our people. This is the direct cause of the long lines which have made millions of you spend aggravating hours waiting for gasoline. It's a cause of the increased inflation and unemployment that we now face. This intolerable dependence on foreign oil threatens our economic independence and the very security of our Nation.

The energy crisis is real. It is worldwide. It is a clear and present danger to our Nation. These are facts and we simply must face them.

What I have to say to you now about energy is simple and vitally important.

Point one: I am tonight setting a clear goal for the energy policy of the United States. Beginning this moment, this Nation will never use more foreign oil than we did in 1977—never. From now on, every new addition to our demand for energy will be met from our own production and our own conservation. The generation-long growth in our dependence on foreign oil will be stopped dead in its tracks right now and then reversed as we move through the 1980's, for I am tonight setting the further goal of cutting our dependence on foreign oil by one-half by the end of the next decade—a saving of over 4½ million barrels of imported oil per day.

Point two: To ensure that we meet these targets, I will use my Presidential authority to set import quotas. I'm announcing tonight that for 1979 and 1980, I will forbid the entry into this country of one drop of foreign oil more than these goals allow. These quotas will ensure a reduction in imports even below the ambitious levels we set at the recent Tokyo summit.

Point three: To give us energy security, I am asking for the most massive peacetime commitment of funds and resources in our Nation's history to develop America's own alternative sources of fuel—from coal, from oil shale, from plant products for gasohol, from unconventional gas, from the Sun.

I propose the creation of an energy security corporation to lead this effort to replace 2½ million barrels of imported oil per day by 1990. The corporation will issue up to \$5 billion in energy bonds, and I especially want them to be in small denominations so that average Americans can invest directly in America's energy security.

Just as a similar synthetic rubber corporation helped us win World War II, so will we mobilize American determination and ability to win the energy war. Moreover, I will soon submit legislation to Congress calling for the creation of this Nation's first solar bank, which will help us achieve the crucial goal of 20 percent of our energy coming from solar power by the year 2000.

These efforts will cost money, a lot of money, and that is why Congress must enact the windfall profits tax without delay. It will be money well spent. Unlike the billions of dollars that we ship to foreign countries to pay for foreign oil, these funds will be paid by Americans to Americans. These funds will go to fight, not to increase, inflation and unemployment.

Point four: I'm asking Congress to mandate, to require as a matter of law, that our Nation's utility companies cut their massive use of oil by 50 percent within the next

decade and switch to other fuels, especially coal, our most abundant energy source.

Point five: To make absolutely certain that nothing stands in the way of achieving these goals, I will urge Congress to create an energy mobilization board which, like the War Production Board in World War II, will have the responsibility and authority to cut through the redtape, the delays, and the endless roadblocks to completing key energy projects. We will protect our environment. But when this Nation critically needs a refinery or a pipeline, we will build it.

Point six: I'm proposing a bold conservation program to involve every State, county, and city and every average American in our energy battle. This effort will permit you to build conservation into your homes and your lives at a cost you can afford.

I ask Congress to give me authority for mandatory conservation and for standby gasoline rationing. To further conserve energy, I'm proposing tonight an extra \$10 billion over the next decade to strengthen our public transportation systems. And I'm asking you for your good and for your Nation's security to take no unnecessary trips, to use car-pools or public transportation whenever you can, to park your car one extra day per week, to obey the speed limit, and to set your thermostats to save fuel. Every act of energy conservation like this is more than just common sense—I tell you it is an act of patriotism.

Our Nation must be fair to the poorest among us, so we will increase aid to needy Americans to cope with rising energy prices. We often think of conservation only in terms of sacrifice. In fact, it is the most painless and immediate way of rebuilding our Nation's strength. Every gallon of oil each one of us saves is a new form of production. It gives us more freedom, more confidence, that much more control over our own lives.

So, the solution of our energy crisis can also help us to conquer the crisis of the spirit in our country. It can rekindle our sense of unity, our confidence in the future, and give our Nation and all of us individually a new sense of purpose.

You know we can do it. We have the natural resources. We have more oil in our shale alone than several Saudi Arabias. We have more coal than any nation on Earth. We have the world's highest level of technology. We have the most skilled work force, with innovative genius, and I firmly believe that we have the national will to win this war.

I do not promise you that this struggle for freedom will be easy. I do not promise a quick way out of our Nation's problems, when the truth is that the only way out is an all-out effort. What I do promise you is that I will lead our fight, and I will enforce fairness in our struggle, and I will ensure honesty. And above all, I will act.

We can manage the short-term shortages more effectively and we will, but there are no short-term solutions to our long-range problems. There is simply no way to avoid sacrifice. Twelve hours from now I will speak again in Kansas City, to expand and to explain further our energy program. Just as the search for solutions to our energy shortages has now led us to a new awareness of our Nation's deeper problems, so our willingness to work for those solutions in energy can strengthen us to attack those deeper problems.

I will continue to travel this country, to hear the people of America. You can help me to develop a national agenda for the 1980's. I will listen and I will act. We will act together. These were the promises I made 3 years ago, and I intend to keep them.

Little by little we can and we must rebuild our confidence. We can spend until we empty our treasuries, and we may summon all the wonders of science. But we can succeed only if we tap our greatest resources—America's people, America's values, and America's confidence. I have seen the strength of America in the inexhaustible resources of our people. In the days to come, let us renew that strength in the struggle for an energy-secure nation.

In closing, let me say this: I will do my best, but I will not do it alone. Let your voice be heard. Whenever you have a chance, say something good about our country. With God's help and for the sake of our Nation, it is time for us to join hands in America. Let us commit ourselves together to a rebirth of the American spirit. Working together with our common faith we cannot fail.

Thank you and good night

## Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate (1987)

### President Ronald Reagan

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June 12, 1987

Thank you very much. Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the city hall. Well, since then two other presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. And today I, myself, make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American Presidents, because it's our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we're drawn here by other things as well: by the feeling of history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own nation; by the beauty of the Grunewald and the



Tiergarten; most of all, by your courage and determination. Perhaps the composer, Paul Lincke, understood something about American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do: *“Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin.”* [I still have a suitcase in Berlin.]

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and heard as well in the East. To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, I extend my warmest greetings and the good will of the American people. To those listening in East Berlin, a special word: Although I cannot be with you, I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you, as I join your fellow countrymen in the West, in this firm, this unalterable belief: *Es gibt nur ein Berlin.* [There is only one Berlin.]

Behind me stands a wall that encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic, south, those barriers cut across Germany in a gash of barbed wire, concrete, dog runs, and guardtowers. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same—still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state. Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the news photo and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, every man is a German, separated from his fellow men. Every man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President von Weizsacker has said: “The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed.” Today I say: As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind. Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope, even in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. And in 1947 Secretary of State—as you’ve been told—George Marshall announced the creation of what would become known as the Marshall plan. Speaking precisely 40 years ago this month, he said: “Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos.”

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure

that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the Western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: “The Marshall plan is helping here to strengthen the free world.” A strong, free world in the West, that dream became real. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium—virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth; the European Community was founded.

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the *Wirtschaftswunder*. Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty—that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin doubled.

Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany—busy office blocks, fine homes and apartments, proud avenues, and the spreading lawns of park land. Where a city’s culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters, and museums. Where there was want, today there’s abundance—food, clothing, automobiles—the wonderful goods of the Ku’damm. From devastation, from utter ruin, you Berliners have, in freedom, rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But, my friends, there were a few things the Soviets didn’t count on—*Berliner herz, Berliner humor, ja, und Berliner schnauze.* [Berliner heart, Berliner humor, yes, and a Berliner schnauze.] [Laughter]

In the 1950’s, Khrushchev predicted: “We will bury you.” But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind—too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds among the nations with comity and peace. Freedom is the victor.

And now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been

permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control. Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West, or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace. General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent—and I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet we seek peace; so we must strive to reduce arms on both sides. Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western alliance with a grave new threat, hundreds of new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western alliance responded by committing itself to a counterdeployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution; namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the alliance, in turn, prepared to go forward with its counterdeployment, there were difficult days—days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city—and the Soviets later walked away from the table.

But through it all, the alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then—I invite those who protest today—to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came back to the table. And because we remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth. As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for eliminating these weapons. At the talks in Geneva, we have also proposed deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons. And the Western allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our allies, the United States is pursuing the Strategic Defense Initiative—research to base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will

not target populations, but shield them. By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the world. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty. When President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, freedom was encircled, Berlin was under siege. And today, despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines, in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place—a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice: It must make fundamental changes, or it will become obsolete. Today thus represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness, to break down barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world.

And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meeting place of East and West to make a start. Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four Power Agreement of 1971. Let us use this occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era, to seek a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us maintain and develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, which is permitted by the 1971 agreement. And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that come with life in one of the great cities of the world. To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding ways of making commercial air service to Berlin more convenient, more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all central Europe.

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to help bring international meetings to Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations meetings, or world conferences on human rights and arms control or other issues that call for international cooperation. There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges,

cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I'm certain, will do the same. And it's my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

One final proposal, one close to my heart: Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you many have noted that the Republic of Korea—South Korea—has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city than to offer in some future year to hold the Olympic games here in Berlin, East and West?

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have built a great city. You've done so in spite of threats—the Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark, the blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall. What keeps you here? Certainly there's a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. But I believe there's something deeper, something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life—not mere sentiment. No one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead, that has seen the difficulties of life in Berlin but chose to accept them, that continues to build this good and proud city in contrast to a surrounding totalitarian presence that refuses to release human energies or aspirations. Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation, that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love—love both profound and abiding. Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship. The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love and of worship an affront. Years ago, before the East Germans began rebuilding their churches, they erected a secular structure: the television tower at Alexander Platz. Virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they view as the tower's one major flaw, treating the glass sphere at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the Sun strikes that sphere—that sphere that towers over all Berlin—the light makes the sign of the cross. There in Berlin, like the city itself, symbols of love, symbols of worship, cannot be suppressed.

As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag, that embodiment of German unity, I noticed words crudely spray-painted upon the wall, perhaps by a young Berliner, "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality." Yes,

across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot withstand faith; it cannot withstand truth. The wall cannot withstand freedom.

And I would like, before I close, to say one word. I have read, and I have been questioned since I've been here about certain demonstrations against my coming. And I would like to say just one thing, and to those who demonstrate so. I wonder if they have ever asked themselves that if they should have the kind of government they apparently seek, no one would ever be able to do what they're doing again.

Thank you and God bless you all.

### **"Thousand Points of Light" Speech (1988) Vice President George Bush**

Bush Presidential Materials Project, College Station, Texas  
Republican National Convention,  
New Orleans, Louisiana

August 18, 1988

Thank you. Thank you very much.

I have many friends to thank tonight. I thank the voters who supported me. I thank the gallant men who entered the contest for the presidency this year, and who have honored me with their support. And, for their kind and stirring words, I thank Governor Tom Kean of New Jersey—Senator Phil Gramm of Texas—President Gerald Ford—and my friend, President Ronald Reagan. I accept your nomination for President. I mean to run hard, to fight hard, to stand on the issues—and I mean to win.

There are a lot of great stories in politics about the underdog winning—and this is going to be one of them.

And we're going to win with the help of Senator Dan Quayle of Indiana—a young leader who has become a forceful voice in preparing America's Workers for the labor force of the future. Born in the middle of the century, in the middle of America, and holding the promise of the future—I'm proud to have Dan Quayle at my side.

Many of you have asked, "When will this campaign really begin?" I have come to this hall to tell you, and to tell America: Tonight is the night.

For seven and a half years I have helped a President conduct the most difficult job on earth. Ronald Reagan asked for, and received, my candor. He never asked for, but he did receive, my loyalty. Those of you who saw the President's speech this week, and listened to the simple truth of his words, will understand my loyalty all these years.

But now you must see me for what I am: The Republican candidate for President of the United States. And now I turn to the American people to share my hopes and intentions, and why—and where—I wish to lead.

And so tonight is for big things. But I'll try to be fair to the other side. I'll try to hold my charisma in check. I reject the temptation to engage in personal references. My approach this evening is, as Sergeant Joe Friday used to say, "Just the facts, ma'm."

After all, the facts are on our side.

I seek the presidency for a single purpose, a purpose that has motivated millions of Americans across the years and the ocean voyages. I seek the presidency to build a better America. It is that simple—and that big.

I am a man who sees life in terms of missions—missions defined and missions completed. When I was a torpedo bomber pilot they defined the mission for us. Before we took off we all understood that no matter what, you try to reach the target. There have been other missions for me—Congress, China, the CIA. But I am here tonight—and I am your candidate—because the most important work of my life is to complete the mission we started in 1980. How do we complete it? We build on it.

The stakes are high this year and the choice is crucial, for the differences between the two candidates are as deep and wide as they have ever been in our long history.

Not only two very different men, but two very different ideas of the future will be voted on this election day.

What it all comes down to is this:

My opponent's view of the world sees a long slow decline for our country, an inevitable fall mandated by impersonal historical forces.

But America is not in decline. America is a rising nation.

He sees America as another pleasant country on the U.N. roll call, somewhere between Albania and Zimbabwe. I see America as the leader—a unique nation with a special role in the world. This has been called the American Century, because in it we were the dominant force for good in the world. We saved Europe, cured polio, we went to the moon, and lit the world with our culture. Now we are on the verge of a new century, and what country's name will it bear? I say it will be another American century.

Our work is not done—our force is not spent.

There are those who say there isn't much of a difference this year. But America, don't let 'em fool ya.

Two parties this year ask for your support. Both will speak of growth and peace. But only one has proved it can deliver. Two parties this year ask for your trust, but only one has earned it. Eight years ago I stood here with Ronald Reagan and we promised, together, to break with the past and return America to her greatness. Eight years later look at what the American people have produced: the highest level of economic growth in our entire history—and the lowest level of world tensions in more than fifty years.

Some say this isn't an election about ideology, it's an election about competence. Well, it's nice of them to want

to play on our field. But this election isn't only about competence, for competence is a narrow ideal. Competence makes the trains run on time but doesn't know where they're going. Competence is the creed of the technocrat who makes sure the gears mesh but doesn't for a second understand the magic of the machine.

The truth is, this election is about the beliefs we share, the values we honor, the principles we hold dear.

But since someone brought up competence . . .

Consider the size of our triumph: A record high percentage of Americans with jobs, a record high rate of new businesses—a record high rate of real personal income.

These are facts. And one way you know our opponents know the facts is that to attack the record they have to misrepresent it. They call it a swiss cheese economy. Well, that's the way it may look to the three blind mice. But when they were in charge it was all holes and no cheese.

Inflation was 12 percent when we came in. We got it down to four. Interest rates were more than 21. We cut them in half. Unemployment was up and climbing, now it's the lowest in 14 years. My friends, eight years ago this economy was flat on its back—intensive care. We came in and gave it emergency treatment: Got the temperature down by lowering regulation, got the blood pressure down when we lowered taxes. Pretty soon the patient was up, back on his feet, and stronger than ever.

And now who do we hear knocking on the door but the doctors who made him sick. And they're telling us to put them in charge of the case again. My friends, they're lucky we don't hit them with a malpractice suit!

We've created seventeen million new jobs in the past five years—more than twice as many as Europe and Japan combined. And they're good jobs. The majority of them created in the past six years paid an average of more than \$22,000 a year. Someone better take 'a message to Michael': Tell him we've been creating good jobs at good wages. The fact is, they talk—we deliver. They promise—we perform.

There are millions of young Americans in their 20's who barely remember the days of gas lines and unemployment lines. Now they're marrying and starting careers. To those young people I say, "You have the opportunity you deserve—and I'm not going to let them take it away from you."

The leaders of the expansion have been the women of America—who helped create the new jobs, and filled two out of every three of them. To the women of America I say "You know better than anyone that equality begins with economic empowerment. You're gaining economic power—and I'm not going to let them take it away from you."

There are millions of older Americans who were brutalized by inflation. We arrested it—and we're not going to let it out on furlough. We're going to keep the social secu-



urity trust fund sound, and out of reach of the big spenders. To American's elderly I say, "Once again you have the security that is your right—and I'm not going to let them take it away from you."

I know the liberal democrats are worried about the economy. They're worried it's going to remain strong. And they're right, it is. With the right leadership.

But let's be frank. Things aren't perfect in this country. There are people who haven't tasted the fruits of the expansion. I've talked to farmers about the bills they can't pay. I've been to the factories that feel the strain of change. I've seen the urban children who play amidst the shattered glass and shattered lives. And there are the homeless. And you know, it doesn't do any good to debate endlessly which policy mistake of the '70's is responsible. They're there. We have to help them.

But what we must remember if we are to be responsible—and compassionate—is that economic growth is the key to our endeavors.

I want growth that stays, that broadens, and that touches, finally, all Americans, from the hollows of Kentucky to the sunlit streets of Denver, from the suburbs of Chicago to the broad avenues of New York, from the oil fields of Oklahoma to the farms of the great plains.

Can we do it? Of course we can. We know how. We've done it. If we continue to grow at our current rate, we will be able to produce 30 million jobs in the next eight years. We will do it—by maintaining our commitment to free and fair trade, by keeping government spending down, and by keeping taxes down.

Our economic life is not the only test of our success. One issue overwhelms all the others, and that is the issue of peace.

Look at the world on this bright August night. The spirit of democracy is sweeping the Pacific rim. China feels the winds of change. New democracies assert themselves in South America. One by one the unfree places fall, not to the force of arms but to the force of an idea: freedom works.

We have a new relationship with the Soviet Union. The INF treaty—the beginning of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan—the beginning of the end of the Soviet proxy war in Angola, and with it the independence of Namibia. Iran and Iraq move toward peace.

It is a watershed.

It is no accident.

It happened when we acted on the ancient knowledge that strength and clarity lead to peace—weakness and ambivalence lead to war. Weakness tempts aggressors. Strength stops them. I will not allow this country to be made weak again.

The tremors in the Soviet world continue. The hard earth there has not yet settled. Perhaps what is happen-

ing will change our world forever. Perhaps not. A prudent skepticism is in order. And so is hope. Either way, we're in an unprecedented position to change the nature of our relationship. Not by preemptive concession—but by keeping our strength. Not by yielding up defense systems with nothing won in return—but by hard cool engagement in the tug and pull of diplomacy.

My life has been lived in the shadow of war—I almost lost my life in one.

I hate war.

I love peace.

We have peace.

And I am not going to let anyone take it away from us.

Our economy is strong but not invulnerable, and the peace is broad but can be broken. And now we must decide. We will surely have change this year, but will it be change that moves us forward? Or change that risks retreat?

In 1940, when I was barely more than a boy, Franklin Roosevelt said we shouldn't change horses in midstream.

My friends, these days the world moves even more quickly, and now, after two great terms, a switch will be made. But when you have to change horses in midstream, doesn't it make sense to switch to the one who's going the same way?

An election that is about ideas and values is also about philosophy. And I have one.

At the bright center is the individual. And radiating out from him or her is the family, the essential unit of closeness and of love. For it is the family that communicates to our children—to the 21st century—our culture, our religious faith, our traditions and history.

From the individual to the family to the community, and on out to the town, to the church and school, and, still echoing out, to the county, the state, the nation—each doing only what it does well, and no more. And I believe that power must always be kept close to the individual—close to the hands that raise the family and run the home.

I am guided by certain traditions. One is that there is a God and He is good, and His love, while free, has a self imposed cost: We must be good to one another.

I believe in another tradition that is, by now, imbedded in the national soul. It is that learning is good in and of itself. The mothers of the Jewish ghettos of the east would pour honey on a book so the children would know that learning is sweet. And the parents who settled hungry Kansas would take their children in from the fields when a teacher came. That is our history.

And there is another tradition. And that is the idea of community—a beautiful word with a big meaning. Though liberal democrats have an odd view of it. They see "community" as a limited cluster of interest groups, locked in odd conformity. In this view, the country waits passive while Washington sets the rules.

But that's not what community means—not to me.

For we are a nation of communities, of thousands and tens of thousands of ethnic, religious, social, business, labor union, neighborhood, regional and other organizations, all of them varied, voluntary and unique.

This is America: the Knights of Columbus, the Grange, Hadassah, the Disabled American Veterans, the Order of Ahepa, the Business and Professional Women of America, the union hall, the bible study group, LULAC, "Holy Name"—a brilliant diversity spread like stars, like a thousand points of light in a broad and peaceful sky.

Does government have a place? Yes. Government is part of the nation of communities—not the whole, just a part.

I do not hate government. A government that remembers that the people are its master is a good and needed thing.

I respect old fashioned common sense, and have no great love for the imaginings of social planners. I like what's been tested and found to be true.

For instance:

Should public school teachers be required to lead our children in the pledge of allegiance? My opponent says no—but I say yes.

Should society be allowed to impose the death penalty on those who commit crimes of extraordinary cruelty and violence? My opponent says no—but I say yes.

Should our children have the right to say a voluntary prayer, or even observe a moment of silence in the schools? My opponent says no—but I say yes.

Should free men and women have the right to own a gun to protect their home? My opponent says no—but I say yes.

Is it right to believe in the sanctity of life and protect the lives of innocent children? My opponent says no—but I say yes. We must change from abortion—to adoption. I have an adopted granddaughter. The day of her christening we wept with joy. I thank God her parents chose life. I'm the one who believes it is a scandal to give a weekend furlough to a hardened first degree killer who hasn't even served enough time to be eligible for parole.

I'm the one who says a drug dealer who is responsible for the death of a policeman should be subject to capital punishment.

I'm the one who won't raise taxes. My opponent now says he'll raise them as a last resort, or a third resort. When a politician talks like that, you know that's one resort he'll be checking into. My opponent won't rule out raising taxes. But I will. The Congress will push me to raise taxes, and I'll say no, and they'll push, and I'll say no, and they'll push again. And all I can say to them is no new taxes, period.

Let me tell you more about the mission.

On jobs, my mission is: 30 in 8. Thirty million jobs in the next eight years.

Every one of our children deserves a first rate school. The liberal democrats want power in the hands of the federal government. I want power in the hands of the parents. I will increase the power of parents. I will encourage merit schools. I will give more kids a Head Start. And I'll make it easier to save for college.

I want a drug free America—and this will not be easy to achieve. But I want to enlist the help of some people who are rarely included. Tonight I challenge the young people of our country to shut down the drug dealers around the world. Unite with us, work with us. "Zero tolerance" isn't just a policy, it's an attitude. Tell them what you think of people who underwrite the dealers who put poison in our society. And while you're doing that, my administration will be telling the dealers: whatever we have to do we'll do, but your day is over, you're history.

I am going to do whatever it takes to make sure the disabled are included in the mainstream. For too long they've been left out. But they're not going to be left out anymore.

I am going to stop ocean dumping. Our beaches should not be garbage dumps and our harbors should not be cess pools. I am going to have the FBI trace the medical wastes and we are going to punish the people who dump those infected needles into our oceans, lakes and rivers. And we must clean the air. We must reduce the harm done by acid rain.

I will put incentives back into the domestic energy industry, for I know from personal experience there is no security for the United States in further dependence on foreign oil.

In foreign affairs I will continue our policy of peace through strength. I will move toward further cuts in the strategic and conventional arsenals of both the United States and the Soviet Union. I will modernize and preserve our technological edge. I will ban chemical and biological weapons from the face of the earth. And I intend to speak for freedom, stand for freedom, and be a patient friend to anyone, east or west, who will fight for freedom.

It seems to me the Presidency provides an incomparable opportunity for "gentle persuasion." I hope to stand for a new harmony, a greater tolerance. We've come far, but I think we need a new harmony among the races in our country. We're on a journey to a new century, and we've got to leave the tired old baggage of bigotry behind.

Some people who are enjoying our prosperity have forgotten what it's for. But they diminish our triumph when they act as if wealth is an end in itself.

There are those who have dropped their standards along the way, as if ethics were too heavy and slowed their rise to the top. There's graft in city hall, the greed on Wall

Street; there's influence peddling in Washington, and the small corruptions of everyday ambition.

But you see, I believe public service is honorable. And every time I hear that someone has breached the public trust it breaks my heart.

I wonder sometimes if we have forgotten who we are. But we're the people who sundered a nation rather than allow a sin called slavery—we're the people who rose from the ghettos and the deserts.

We weren't saints—but we lived by standards. We celebrated the individual—but we weren't self-centered. We were practical—but we didn't live only for material things. We believed in getting ahead—but blind ambition wasn't our way.

The fact is prosperity has a purpose. It is to allow us to pursue "the better angels," to give us time to think and grow. Prosperity with a purpose means taking your idealism and making it concrete by certain acts of goodness. It means helping a child from an unhappy home learn how to read—and I thank my wife Barbara for all her work in literacy. It means teaching troubled children through your presence that there's such a thing as reliable love. Some would say it's soft and insufficiently tough to care about these things. But where is it written that we must act as if we do not care, as if we are not moved?

Well I am moved. I want a kinder, gentler nation.

Two men this year ask for your support. And you must know us.

As for me, I have held high office and done the work of democracy day by day. My parents were prosperous; their children were lucky. But there were lessons we had to learn about life. John Kennedy discovered poverty when he campaigned in West Virginia; there were children there who had no milk. Young Teddy Roosevelt met the new America when he roamed the immigrant streets of New York. And I learned a few things about life in a place called Texas.

We move to west Texas 40 years ago. The war was over, and we wanted to get out and make it on our own. Those were exciting days. Lived in a little shotgun house, one room for the three of us. Worked in the oil business, started my own.

In time we had six children. Moved from the shotgun to a duplex apartment to a house. Lived the dream—high school football on Friday night, Little League, neighborhood barbecue. People don't see their experience as symbolic of an era—but of course we were. So was everyone else who was taking a chance and pushing into unknown territory with kids and a dog and a car. But the big thing I learned is the satisfaction of creating jobs, which meant creating opportunity, which meant happy families, who in turn could do more to help others and enhance their own lives. I learned that the good done by a single good job can be felt in ways you can't imagine. I may not be the most

eloquent, but I learned early that eloquence won't draw oil from the ground. I may sometimes be a little awkward, but there's nothing self-conscious in my love of country. I am a quiet man—but I hear the quiet people others don't. The ones who raise the family, pay the taxes, meet the mortgage. I hear them and I am moved, and their concerns are mine.

A President must be many things.

He must be a shrewd protector of America's interests; And he must be an idealist who leads those who move for a freer and more democratic planet.

He must see to it that government intrudes as little as possible in the lives of the people; and yet remember that it is right and proper that a nation's leader take an interest in the nation's character. And he must be able to define—and lead—a mission.

For seven and a half years I have worked with a President—and I have seen what crosses that big desk. I have seen the unexpected crises that arrive in a cable in a young aide's hand. And I have seen problems that simmer on for decades and suddenly demand resolution. I have seen modest decisions made with anguish, and crucial decisions made with dispatch.

And so I know that what it all comes down to, this election—what it all comes down to, after all the shouting and the cheers—is the man at the desk. And who should sit at that desk.

My friends, I am that man.

I say it without boast or bravado; I've fought for my country, I've served, I've built—and I will go from the hills to the hollows, from the cities to the suburbs to the loneliest town on the quietest street to take our message of hope and growth for every American to every American. I will keep America moving forward, always forward—for a better America, for an endless enduring dream and a thousand points of light.

That is my mission. And I will complete it.

Thank you. God bless you.

## The Americans With Disabilities Act, 1990

*United States Statutes at Large*, 1990, Vol. 104,  
Part 1, pp. 327–378

July 26, 1990

### Sec. 2. Findings and Purposes

(a) Findings.—The Congress finds that—

(1) some 43,000,000 Americans have one or more physical or mental disabilities, and this number is increasing as the population as a whole is growing older.

(2) historically, society has tended to isolate and segregate individuals with disabilities, and, despite some

improvements, such forms of discrimination against individuals with disabilities continue to be a serious and pervasive social problem;

(3) discrimination against individuals with disabilities persists in such critical areas as employment, housing, public accommodations, education, transportation, communication, recreation, institutionalization, health services, voting, and access to public services;

(4) unlike individuals who have experienced discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, national origin, religion, or age, individuals who have experienced discrimination on the basis of disability have often had no legal recourse to redress such discrimination;

(5) individuals with disabilities continually encounter various forms of discrimination, including outright intentional exclusion, the discriminatory effects of architectural, transportation, and communication barriers, overprotective rules and policies, failure to make modifications to existing facilities and practices, exclusionary qualification standards and criteria, segregation, and relegation to lesser services, programs, activities, benefits, jobs, or other opportunities;

(6) census data, national polls, and other studies have documented that people with disabilities, as a group, occupy an inferior status in our society, and are severely disadvantaged socially, vocationally, economically, and educationally;

(7) individuals with disabilities are a discrete and insular minority who have been faced with restrictions and limitations, subjected to a history of purposeful unequal treatment, and relegated to a position of political powerlessness in our society, based on characteristics that are beyond the control of such individuals and resulting from stereotypic assumptions not truly indicative of the individual ability of such individuals to participate in, and contribute to, society;

(8) the Nation's proper goals regarding individuals with disabilities are to assure equality of opportunity, full participation, independent living, and economic self-sufficiency for such individuals; and

(9) the continuing existence of unfair and unnecessary discrimination and prejudice denies people with disabilities the opportunity to compete on an equal basis and to pursue those opportunities for which our free society is justifiably famous, and costs the United States billions of dollars in unnecessary expenses resulting from dependency and nonproductivity.

(b) Purpose.—It is the purpose of this Act—

(1) to provide a clear and comprehensive national mandate for the elimination of discrimination against individuals with disabilities;

(2) to provide clear, strong, consistent, enforceable standards addressing discrimination against individuals with disabilities;

(3) to ensure that the Federal Government plays a central role in enforcing the standards established in this Act on behalf of individuals with disabilities; and

(4) to invoke the sweep of congressional authority, including the power to enforce the fourteenth amendment and to regulate commerce, in order to address the major areas of discrimination faced day-to-day by people with disabilities.

### Sec. 3. Definitions

As used in this Act:

(1) Auxiliary aids and services.—The term “auxiliary aids and services” includes—

(A) qualified interpreters or other effective methods of making aurally delivered materials available to individuals with hearing impairments;

(B) qualified readers, taped texts, or other effective methods of making visually delivered materials available to individuals with visual impairments;

(C) acquisition or modification of equipment or devices; and

(D) other similar services and actions.

(2) Disability.—The term “disability” means, with respect to an individual—

(A) a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more of the major life activities of such individual;

(B) a record of such an impairment or

(C) being regarded as having such an impairment.

(3) State.—The term “State” means each of the several States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands . . .

(A) In general.—The term “employer” means a person engaged in an industry affecting commerce who has 15 or more employees for each working day in each of 20 or more calendar weeks in the current or preceding calendar year, and any agent of such person, except that, for two years following the effective date of this title, an employer means a person engaged in an industry affecting commerce who has 25 or more employees for each working day in each of 20 or more calendar weeks in the current or preceding year, and any agent of such person.

(B) Exceptions.—The term “employer” does not include—

(i) the United States, a corporation wholly owned by the government of the United States, or an Indian tribe; or

(ii) a bona fide private membership club (other than a labor organization) that is exempt from taxation under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 . . .

8) Qualified individual with a disability.—The term “qualified individual with a disability” means an individual



with a disability who, with or without reasonable accommodation, can perform the essential functions of the employment position that such individual holds or desires. For the purposes of this title, consideration shall be given to the employer's judgment as to what functions of a job are essential, and if an employer has prepared a written description before advertising or interviewing applicants for the job, this description shall be considered evidence of the essential functions of the job.

(9) Reasonable accommodation.—The term “reasonable accommodation” may include—

(A) making existing facilities used by employees readily accessible to and usable by individuals with disabilities; and

(B) job restructuring, part-time or modified work schedules, reassignment to a vacant position, acquisition or modification of equipment or devices, appropriate adjustment or modifications of examinations, training materials or policies, the provision of qualified readers or interpreters, and other similar accommodations for individuals with disabilities.

(10) Undue hardship.—

(A) In general.—The term “undue hardship” means an action requiring significant difficulty or expense, when considered in light of the factors set forth in subparagraph (B).

(B) Factors to be considered.—In determining whether an accommodation would impose an undue hardship on a covered entity, factors to be considered include—

(i) the nature and cost of the accommodation needed under this Act;

(ii) the overall financial resources of the facility or facilities involved in the provision of the reasonable accommodation; the number of persons employed at such facility; the effect on expenses and resources, or the impact otherwise of such accommodation upon the operation of the facility;

(iii) the overall financial resources of the covered entity; the overall size of the business of a covered entity with respect to the number of its employees; the number, type, and location of its facilities; and

(iv) the type of operation or operations of the covered entity, including the composition, structure, and functions of the workforce of such entity; the geographic separateness, administrative, or fiscal relationship of the facility or facilities in question to the covered entity.

## Remarks to the Fourth World Conference on Women: Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations

U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.

Beijing International Convention Center Beijing, China  
September 6, 1995

Honored guests, fellow delegates and observers, I am pleased and proud to address this historic conference on behalf of the United States of America.

My government congratulates the thousands who have helped to organize the conference, to draft the Platform for Action, to inform the world about the subjects under discussion here and to encourage wide participation both by governments and NGO's. We have come here from all over the world to carry forward an age-old struggle: the pursuit of economic and social progress for all people, based on respect for the dignity and value of each. We are here to promote and protect human rights and to stress that women's rights are neither separable nor different from those of men.

We are here to stop sexual crimes and other violence against women; to protect refugees, so many of whom are women; and to end the despicable notion—in this era of conflicts—that rape is just another tactic of war.

We are here to empower women by enlarging their role in making economic and political decisions, an idea some find radical, but which my government believes is essential to economic and social progress around the world; because no country can develop if half its human resources are de-valued or repressed.

We are here because we want to strengthen families, the heart and soul of any society. We believe that girls must be valued to the same degree as boys. We believe, with Pope John Paul II, in the “equality of spouses with respect to family rights.” We think women and men should be able to make informed judgments as they plan their families. And we want to see forces that weaken families—including pornography, domestic violence and the sexual exploitation of children—condemned and curtailed.

Finally, we have come to this conference to assure for women equal access to education and health care, to help women protect against infection by HIV, to recognize the special needs and strengths of women with disabilities, and to attack the root causes of poverty, in which so many women, children and men are entrapped.

We have come to Beijing to make further progress towards each of these goals. But real progress will depend not on what we say here, but on what we do after we leave here. The Fourth World Conference for Women is not about conversations; it is about commitments.

For decades, my nation has led efforts to promote equal rights for women. Women in their varied roles—as mothers, farm laborers, factory workers, organizers and community leaders helped build America. My government is based on principles that recognize the right of every person to equal rights and equal opportunity. Our laws

forbid discrimination on the basis of sex and we work hard to enforce those laws. A rich network of nongovernmental organizations has blossomed within our borders, reaching out to women and girls from all segments of society, educating, counseling and advocating change.

The United States is a leader, but leaders cannot stand still. Barriers to the equal participation of women persist in my country. The Clinton Administration is determined to bring those barriers down. Today, in the spirit of this conference, and in the knowledge that concrete steps to advance the status of women are required in every nation, I am pleased to announce the new commitments my government will undertake:

First, President Clinton will establish a White House Council on Women to plan for the effective implementation within the United States of the Platform for Action. That Council will build on the commitments made today and will work every day with the nongovernmental community.

Second, in accordance with recently-approved law, the Department of Justice will launch a six-year, \$1.6 billion initiative to fight domestic violence and other crimes against women. Funds will be used for specialized police and prosecution units and to train police, prosecutors and judicial personnel.

Third, our Department of Health and Human Services will lead a comprehensive assault on threats to the health and security of women—promoting healthy behavior, increasing awareness about AIDS, discouraging the use of cigarettes, and striving to win the battle against breast cancer. And, as Mrs. Clinton made clear yesterday, the United States remains firmly committed to the reproductive health rights gains made in Cairo.

Fourth, our Department of Labor will conduct a grassroots campaign to improve conditions for women in the workplace. The campaign will work with employers to develop more equitable pay and promotion policies and to help employees balance the twin responsibilities of family and work.

Fifth, our Department of the Treasury will take new steps to promote access to financial credit for women. Outstanding U.S. microenterprise lending organizations will be honored through special Presidential awards; and we will improve coordination of federal efforts to encourage growth in this field of central importance to the economic empowerment of women.

Sixth, the Agency for International Development will continue to lead in promoting and recognizing the vital role of women in development. Today, we announce important initiatives to increase women's participation in political processes and to promote the enforcement of women's legal rights.

There is a seventh and final commitment my country is making today. We, the people and government of the

United States of America, will continue to speak out openly and without hesitation on behalf of the human rights of all people.

My country is proud that, nearly a half century ago, Eleanor Roosevelt, a former First Lady of the United States, helped draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We are proud that, yesterday afternoon, in this very hall, our current First Lady—Hillary Rodham Clinton—restated with memorable eloquence our national commitment to that Declaration.

The Universal Declaration reflects spiritual and moral tenets which are central to all cultures, encompassing both the wondrous diversity that defines us and the common humanity that binds us. It obliges each government to strive in law and practice to protect the rights of those under its jurisdiction. Whether a government fulfills that obligation is a matter not simply of domestic, but of universal, concern. For it is a founding principle of the United Nations that no government can hide its human rights record from the world.

At the heart of the Universal Declaration is a fundamental distinction between coercion and choice. No woman—whether in Birmingham, Bombay, Beirut or Beijing—should be forcibly sterilized or forced to have an abortion. No mother should feel compelled to abandon her daughter because of a societal preference for males. No woman should be forced to undergo genital mutilation, or to become a prostitute, or to enter into marriage or to have sex. No one should be forced to remain silent for fear of religious or political persecution, arrest, abuse or torture.

All of us should be able to exercise control over the course of our own lives and be able to help shape the destiny of our communities and countries.

Let us be clear. Freedom to participate in the political process of our countries is the inalienable right of every woman and man. Deny that right, and you deny everything. It is unconscionable, therefore, that the right to free expression has been called into question right here, at a conference conducted under the auspices of the UN and whose very purpose is the free and open discussion of women's rights.

It is a challenge to us all that so many countries in so many parts of the world—north, south, west and east—fall far short of the noble objectives outlined in the Platform for Action. Every nation, including my own, must do better and do more—to make equal rights a fundamental principle of law; to enforce those rights and to remove barriers to the exercise of those rights.

That is why President Clinton has made favorable action on the Convention to Eliminate Discrimination Against Women a top priority. The United States should be a party to that Convention. And it is why we will continue to seek a dialogue with governments—here and else-

where—that deny to their citizens the rights enumerated in the Universal Declaration.

In preparing for this conference, I came across an old Chinese poem that is worth recalling, especially today, as we observe the Day of the Girl-Child. In the poem, a father says to his daughter:

We keep a dog to watch the house;  
A pig is useful, too;  
We keep a cat to catch a mouse;  
But what can we do  
With a girl like you?

Fellow delegates, let us make sure that question never needs to be asked again—in China or anywhere else around the world.

Let us strive for the day when every young girl, in every village and metropolis, can look ahead with confidence that their lives will be valued, their individuality recognized, their rights protected and their futures determined by their own abilities and character.

Let us reject outright the forces of repression and ignorance that have held us back; and act with the strength and optimism unity can provide. Let us honor the legacy of the heroines, famous and unknown, who struggled in years past to build the platform upon which we now stand. And let us heed the instruction of our own lives.

Look around this hall, and you will see women who have reached positions of power and authority. Go to Huairou, and you will see an explosion of energy and intelligence devoted to every phase of this struggle. Enter any community in any country, and you will find women insisting—often at great risk—on their right to an equal voice and equal access to the levers of power.

This past week, on video at the NGO Forum, Aung San Suu Kyi said that “it is time to apply in the arena of the world the wisdom and experience” women have gained.

Let us all agree; it is time. It is time to turn bold talk into concrete action. It is time to unleash the full capacity for production, accomplishment and the enrichment of life that is inherent in us—the women of the world.

## **Second Inaugural Address (1997)** **President Bill Clinton**

The White House, Office of the Press Secretary

THE PRESIDENT: My fellow citizens: At this last presidential inauguration of the 20th century, let us lift our eyes toward the challenges that await us in the next century. It is our great good fortune that time and chance have put us not only at the edge of a new century, in a new millennium, but on the edge of a bright new prospect in human affairs—a

moment that will define our course, and our character, for decades to come. We must keep our old democracy forever young. Guided by the ancient vision of a promised land, let us set our sights upon a land of new promise.

The promise of America was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction that we are all created equal. It was extended and preserved in the 19th century, when our nation spread across the continent, saved the union, and abolished the awful scourge of slavery.

Then, in turmoil and triumph, that promise exploded onto the world stage to make this the American Century.

And what a century it has been. America became the world's mightiest industrial power; saved the world from tyranny in two world wars and a long cold war; and time and again, reached out across the globe to millions who, like us, longed for the blessings of liberty. Along the way, Americans produced a great middle class and security in old age; built unrivaled centers of learning and opened public schools to all; split the atom and explored the heavens; invented the computer and the microchip; and deepened the wellspring of justice by making a revolution in civil rights for African Americans and all minorities, and extending the circle of citizenship, opportunity and dignity to women.

Now, for the third time, a new century is upon us, and another time to choose. We began the 19th century with a choice, to spread our nation from coast to coast. We began the 20th century with a choice, to harness the Industrial Revolution to our values of free enterprise, conservation, and human decency. Those choices made all the difference. At the dawn of the 21st century a free people must now choose to shape the forces of the Information Age and the global society, to unleash the limitless potential of all our people, and, yes, to form a more perfect union. When last we gathered, our march to this new future seemed less certain than it does today. We vowed then to set a clear course to renew our nation.

In these four years, we have been touched by tragedy, exhilarated by challenge, strengthened by achievement. America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation. Once again, our economy is the strongest on Earth. Once again, we are building stronger families, thriving communities, better educational opportunities, a cleaner environment. Problems that once seemed destined to deepen now bend to our efforts: our streets are safer and record numbers of our fellow citizens have moved from welfare to work.

And once again, we have resolved for our time a great debate over the role of government. Today we can declare: Government is not the problem, and government is not the solution. We—the American people—we are the solution. Our founders understood that well and gave us a democracy strong enough to endure for centuries, flexible enough

to face our common challenges and advance our common dreams in each new day.

As times change, so government must change. We need a new government for a new century—humble enough not to try to solve all our problems for us, but strong enough to give us the tools to solve our problems for ourselves; a government that is smaller, lives within its means, and does more with less. Yet where it can stand up for our values and interests in the world, and where it can give Americans the power to make a real difference in their everyday lives, government should do more, not less. The preeminent mission of our new government is to give all Americans an opportunity—not a guarantee, but a real opportunity—to build better lives. Beyond that, my fellow citizens, the future is up to us. Our founders taught us that the preservation of our liberty and our union depends upon responsible citizenship. And we need a new sense of responsibility for a new century. There is work to do, work that government alone cannot do: teaching children to read; hiring people off welfare rolls; coming out from behind locked doors and shuttered windows to help reclaim our streets from drugs and gangs and crime; taking time out of our own lives to serve others.

Each and every one of us, in our own way, must assume personal responsibility—not only for ourselves and our families, but for our neighbors and our nation. Our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new spirit of community for a new century. For any one of us to succeed, we must succeed as one America.

The challenge of our past remains the challenge of our future—will we be one nation, one people, with one common destiny, or not? Will we all come together, or come apart? The divide of race has been America's constant curse. And each new wave of immigrants gives new targets to old prejudices. Prejudice and contempt, cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction are no different. These forces have nearly destroyed our nation in the past. They plague us still. They fuel the fanaticism of terror. And they torment the lives of millions in fractured nations all around the world.

These obsessions cripple both those who hate and, of course, those who are hated, robbing both of what they might become. We cannot, we will not, succumb to the dark impulses that lurk in the far regions of the soul everywhere. We shall overcome them. And we shall replace them with the generous spirit of a people who feel at home with one another.

Our rich texture of racial, religious and political diversity will be a Godsend in the 21st century. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, forge new ties that bind together.

As this new era approaches we can already see its broad outlines. Ten years ago, the Internet was the mystical prov-

ince of physicists; today, it is a commonplace encyclopedia for millions of schoolchildren. Scientists now are decoding the blueprint of human life. Cures for our most feared illnesses seem close at hand.

The world is no longer divided into two hostile camps. Instead, now we are building bonds with nations that once were our adversaries. Growing connections of commerce and culture give us a chance to lift the fortunes and spirits of people the world over. And for the very first time in all of history, more people on this planet live under democracy than dictatorship.

My fellow Americans, as we look back at this remarkable century, we may ask, can we hope not just to follow, but even to surpass the achievements of the 20th century in America and to avoid the awful bloodshed that stained its legacy? To that question, every American here and every American in our land today must answer a resounding "Yes."

This is the heart of our task. With a new vision of government, a new sense of responsibility, a new spirit of community, we will sustain America's journey. The promise we sought in a new land we will find again in a land of new promise.

In this new land, education will be every citizen's most prized possession. Our schools will have the highest standards in the world, igniting the spark of possibility in the eyes of every girl and every boy. And the doors of higher education will be open to all. The knowledge and power of the Information Age will be within reach not just of the few, but of every classroom, every library, every child. Parents and children will have time not only to work, but to read and play together. And the plans they make at their kitchen table will be those of a better home, a better job, the certain chance to go to college.

Our streets will echo again with the laughter of our children, because no one will try to shoot them or sell them drugs anymore. Everyone who can work, will work, with today's permanent under class part of tomorrow's growing middle class. New miracles of medicine at last will reach not only those who can claim care now, but the children and hardworking families too long denied.

We will stand mighty for peace and freedom, and maintain a strong defense against terror and destruction. Our children will sleep free from the threat of nuclear, chemical or biological weapons. Ports and airports, farms and factories will thrive with trade and innovation and ideas. And the world's greatest democracy will lead a whole world of democracies.

Our land of new promise will be a nation that meets its obligations—a nation that balances its budget, but never loses the balance of its values. A nation where our grandparents have secure retirement and health care, and their grandchildren know we have made the reforms necessary



to sustain those benefits for their time. A nation that fortifies the world's most productive economy even as it protects the great natural bounty of our water, air, and majestic land.

And in this land of new promise, we will have reformed our politics so that the voice of the people will always speak louder than the din of narrow interests—regaining the participation and deserving the trust of all Americans.

Fellow citizens, let us build that America, a nation ever moving forward toward realizing the full potential of all its citizens. Prosperity and power—yes, they are important, and we must maintain them. But let us never forget: The greatest progress we have made, and the greatest progress we have yet to make, is in the human heart. In the end, all the world's wealth and a thousand armies are no match for the strength and decency of the human spirit. (Applause.) Thirty-four years ago, the man whose life we celebrate today spoke to us down there, at the other end of this Mall, in words that moved the conscience of a nation. Like a prophet of old, he told of his dream that one day America would rise up and treat all its citizens as equals before the law and in the heart. Martin Luther King's dream was the American Dream. His quest is our quest: the ceaseless striving to live out our true creed. Our history has been built on such dreams and labors. And by our dreams and labors we will redeem the promise of America in the 21st century.

To that effort I pledge all my strength and every power of my office. I ask the members of Congress here to join in that pledge. The American people returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely, they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and extreme partisanship they plainly deplore. No, they call on us instead to be repairers of the breach, and to move on with America's mission.

America demands and deserves big things from us—and nothing big ever came from being small. Let us remember the timeless wisdom of Cardinal Bernardin, when facing the end of his own life. He said: "It is wrong to waste the precious gift of time, on acrimony and division." Fellow citizens, we must not waste the precious gift of this time. For all of us are on that same journey of our lives, and our journey, too, will come to an end. But the journey of our America must go on.

And so, my fellow Americans, we must be strong, for there is much to dare. The demands of our time are great and they are different. Let us meet them with faith and courage, with patience and a grateful and happy heart. Let us shape the hope of this day into the noblest chapter in our history. Yes, let us build our bridge. A bridge wide enough and strong enough for every American to cross over to a blessed land of new promise.

May those generations whose faces we cannot yet see, whose names we may never know, say of us here that we

led our beloved land into a new century with the American Dream alive for all her children; with the American promise of a more perfect union a reality for all her people; with America's bright flame of freedom spreading throughout all the world.

From the height of this place and the summit of this century, let us go forth. May God strengthen our hands for the good work ahead—and always, always bless our America.

### Articles of Impeachment for President William Jefferson Clinton (1998)

105th Congress, 2d Session, H. RES. 611 in the Senate of the United States, December 19, 1998

Resolved, that William Jefferson Clinton, President of the United States, is impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and that the following articles of impeachment be exhibited to the United States Senate:

Articles of impeachment exhibited by the House of Representatives of the United States of America in the name of itself and of the people of the United States of America, against William Jefferson Clinton, President of the United States of America, in maintenance and support of its impeachment against him for high crimes and misdemeanors.

#### Article I

In his conduct while President of the United States, William Jefferson Clinton, in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has willfully corrupted and manipulated the judicial process of the United States for his personal gain and exoneration, impeding the administration of justice, in that:

On August 17, 1998, William Jefferson Clinton swore to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth before a Federal grand jury of the United States. Contrary to that oath, William Jefferson Clinton willfully provided perjurious, false and misleading testimony to the grand jury concerning one or more of the following: (1) the nature and details of his relationship with a subordinate Government employee; (2) prior perjurious, false and misleading testimony he gave in a Federal civil rights action brought against him; (3) prior false and misleading statements he allowed his attorney to make to a Federal judge in that civil rights action; and (4) his corrupt efforts to influence the testimony of witnesses and to impede the discovery of evidence in that civil rights action.

In doing this, William Jefferson Clinton has undermined the integrity of his office, has brought disrepute on the Presidency, has betrayed his trust as President, and has acted in a manner subversive of the rule of law and justice, to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore, William Jefferson Clinton, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States.

## Article II

In his conduct while President of the United States, William Jefferson Clinton, in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has willfully corrupted and manipulated the judicial process of the United States for his personal gain and exoneration, impeding the administration of justice, in that:

(1) On December 23, 1997, William Jefferson Clinton, in sworn answers to written questions asked as part of a Federal civil rights action brought against him, willfully provided perjurious, false and misleading testimony in response to questions deemed relevant by a Federal judge concerning conduct and proposed conduct with subordinate employees.

(2) On January 17, 1998, William Jefferson Clinton swore under oath to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth in a deposition given as part of a Federal civil rights action brought against him. Contrary to that oath, William Jefferson Clinton willfully provided perjurious, false and misleading testimony in response to questions deemed relevant by a Federal judge concerning the nature and details of his relationship with a subordinate Government employee, his knowledge of that employee's involvement and participation in the civil rights action brought against him, and his corrupt efforts to influence the testimony of that employee.

In all of this, William Jefferson Clinton has undermined the integrity of his office, has brought disrepute on the Presidency, has betrayed his trust as President, and has acted in a manner subversive of the rule of law and justice, to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore, William Jefferson Clinton, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States.

## Article III

In his conduct while President of the United States, William Jefferson Clinton, in violation of his constitutional

oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has prevented, obstructed, and impeded the administration of justice, and has to that end engaged personally, and through his subordinates and agents, in a course of conduct or scheme designed to delay, impede, cover up, and conceal the existence of evidence and testimony related to a Federal civil rights action brought against him in a duly instituted judicial proceeding.

The means used to implement this course of conduct or scheme included one or more of the following acts:

(1) On or about December 17, 1997, William Jefferson Clinton corruptly encouraged a witness in a Federal civil rights action brought against him to execute a sworn affidavit in that proceeding that he knew to be perjurious, false and misleading.

(2) On or about December 17, 1997, William Jefferson Clinton corruptly encouraged a witness in a Federal civil rights action brought against him to give perjurious, false and misleading testimony if and when called to testify personally in that proceeding.

(3) On or about December 28, 1997, William Jefferson Clinton corruptly engaged in, encouraged, or supported a scheme to conceal evidence that had been subpoenaed in a Federal civil rights action brought against him.

(4) Beginning on or about December 7, 1997, and continuing through and including January 14, 1998, William Jefferson Clinton intensified and succeeded in an effort to secure job assistance to a witness in a Federal civil rights action brought against him in order to corruptly prevent the truthful testimony of that witness in that proceeding at a time when the truthful testimony of that witness would have been harmful to him.

(5) On January 17, 1998, at his deposition in a Federal civil rights action brought against him, William Jefferson Clinton corruptly allowed his attorney to make false and misleading statements to a Federal judge characterizing an affidavit, in order to prevent questioning deemed relevant by the judge. Such false and misleading statements were subsequently acknowledged by his attorney in a communication to that judge.

(6) On or about January 18 and January 20–21, 1998, William Jefferson Clinton related a false and misleading account of events relevant to a Federal civil rights action brought against him to a potential witness in that proceeding, in order to corruptly influence the testimony of that witness.

(7) On or about January 21, 23 and 26, 1998, William Jefferson Clinton made false and misleading statements to potential witnesses in a Federal grand jury proceeding

in order to corruptly influence the testimony of those witnesses. The false and misleading statements made by William Jefferson Clinton were repeated by the witnesses to the grand jury, causing the grand jury to receive false and misleading information.

In all of this, William Jefferson Clinton has undermined the integrity of his office, has brought disrepute on the Presidency, has betrayed his trust as President, and has acted in a manner subversive of the rule of law and justice, to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore, William Jefferson Clinton, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States.

#### Article IV

Using the powers and influence of the office of President of the United States, William Jefferson Clinton, in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in disregard of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has engaged in conduct that resulted in misuse and abuse of his high office, impaired the due and proper administration of justice and the conduct of lawful inquiries, and contravened the authority of the legislative branch and the truth-seeking purpose of a coordinate investigative proceeding in that, as President, William Jefferson Clinton refused and failed to respond to certain written requests for admission and willfully made perjurious, false and misleading sworn statements in response to certain written requests for admission propounded to him as part of the impeachment inquiry authorized by the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States.

William Jefferson Clinton, in refusing and failing to respond, and in making perjurious, false and misleading statements, assumed to himself functions and judgments necessary to the exercise of the sole power of impeachment vested by the Constitution in the House of Representatives and exhibited contempt for the inquiry.

In doing this, William Jefferson Clinton has undermined the integrity of his office, has brought disrepute on the Presidency, has betrayed his trust as President, and has acted in a manner subversive of the rule of law and justice, to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore, William Jefferson Clinton, by such conduct, warrants impeachment and trial, and removal from office and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States.

## Presidential Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People (2001)

**George W. Bush**

The White House, Office of the Press Secretary

September 20, 2001

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President pro tempore, Members of Congress, and fellow Americans:

In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people. We have seen it in the courage of passengers, who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground—passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. Please help me to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight.

We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers—in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people, who have made the grief of strangers their own.

My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union—and it is strong.

Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done.

I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time. All of America was touched on the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats, joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing “God Bless America.” And you did more than sing, you acted, by delivering forty billion dollars to rebuild our communities and meet the needs of our military.

Speaker Hastert and Minority Leader Gephardt—Majority Leader Daschle and Senator Lott—I thank you for your friendship and your leadership and your service to our country. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our National Anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, and on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin’s Brandenburg Gate. We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo. We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America.

Nor will we forget the citizens of eighty other nations who died with our own. Dozens of Pakistanis. More than 130 Israelis. More than 250 citizens of India. Men and

women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico, and Japan. And hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain. Once again, we are joined together in a great cause. The British Prime Minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity of purpose with America, and tonight we welcome Tony Blair.

On September the eleventh, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars—but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war—but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks—but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day—and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack.

Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking: Who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al-Qaida. They are the same murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for the bombing of the U.S.S. *Cole*. Al-Qaida is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world—and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.

The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics—a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and make no distinctions among military and civilians, including women and children.

This group and its leader—a person named Usama bin Ladin—are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan.

There are thousands of these terrorists in more than sixty countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods, and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.

The leadership of al-Qaida has great influence in Afghanistan, and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see al-Qaida's vision for the world. Afghanistan's people have been brutalized—many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough. The United States respects the people of Afghanistan—after all, we are currently its largest source of

humanitarian aid—but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder. And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban:

Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al-Qaida who hide in your land.

Release all foreign nationals—including American citizens—you have unjustly imprisoned, and protect foreign journalists, diplomats, and aid workers in your country.

Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities.

Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.

These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate.

I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world: We respect your faith. It is practiced freely by many millions of Americans, and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them.

Our war on terror begins with al-Qaida, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated. Americans are asking: Why do they hate us?

They hate what we see right here in this chamber—a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms—our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa.

These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way.



We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the twentieth century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions—by abandoning every value except the will to power—they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies.

Americans are asking: How will we fight and win this war?

We will direct every resource at our command—every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war—to the disruption and defeat of the global terror network.

This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with its decisive liberation of territory and its swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat.

Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on television, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.

Our Nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans.

Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me—the Office of Homeland Security.

These measures are essential. But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows.

Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers. And tonight, a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military: Be ready. I have called the armed forces to alert, and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud.

This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded—with sympathy and with support. Nations from Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: an attack on one is an attack on all.

The civilized world is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And we will not allow it.

Americans are asking: What is expected of us?

I ask you to live your lives and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat.

I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith.

I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, [libertyunites.org](http://libertyunites.org), to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it.

I ask for your patience, with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security—and for your patience in what will be a long struggle.

I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard work, and creativity, and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September eleventh, and they are our strengths today.

Finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead.

Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives,

for what you have already done, and for what we will do together.

Tonight, we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights, and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying with direct assistance during this emergency.

We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act, and find them before they strike.

We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy, and put our people back to work. Tonight we welcome here two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers: Governor George Pataki, and Mayor Rudy Giuliani. As a symbol of America's resolve, my Administration will work with the Congress, and these two leaders, to show the world that we will rebuild New York City.

After all that has just passed, all the lives taken, and all the possibilities and hopes that died with them, it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead, and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined by them. As long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world.

Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom—the great achieve-

ment of our time, and the great hope of every time—now depends on us. Our Nation—this generation—will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause, by our efforts and by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail.

It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day, and to whom it happened. We will remember the moment the news came—where we were and what we were doing. Some will remember an image of fire, or a story of rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and a voice gone forever.

And I will carry this. It is the police shield of a man named George Howard, who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others. It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial to her son. This is my reminder of lives that ended, and a task that does not end. I will not forget this wound to our country, or those who inflicted it. I will not yield. I will not rest. I will not relent in waging this struggle for the freedom and security of the American people.

The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them. Fellow citizens, we will meet violence with patient justice—assured of the rightness of our cause, and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America.

Thank you.

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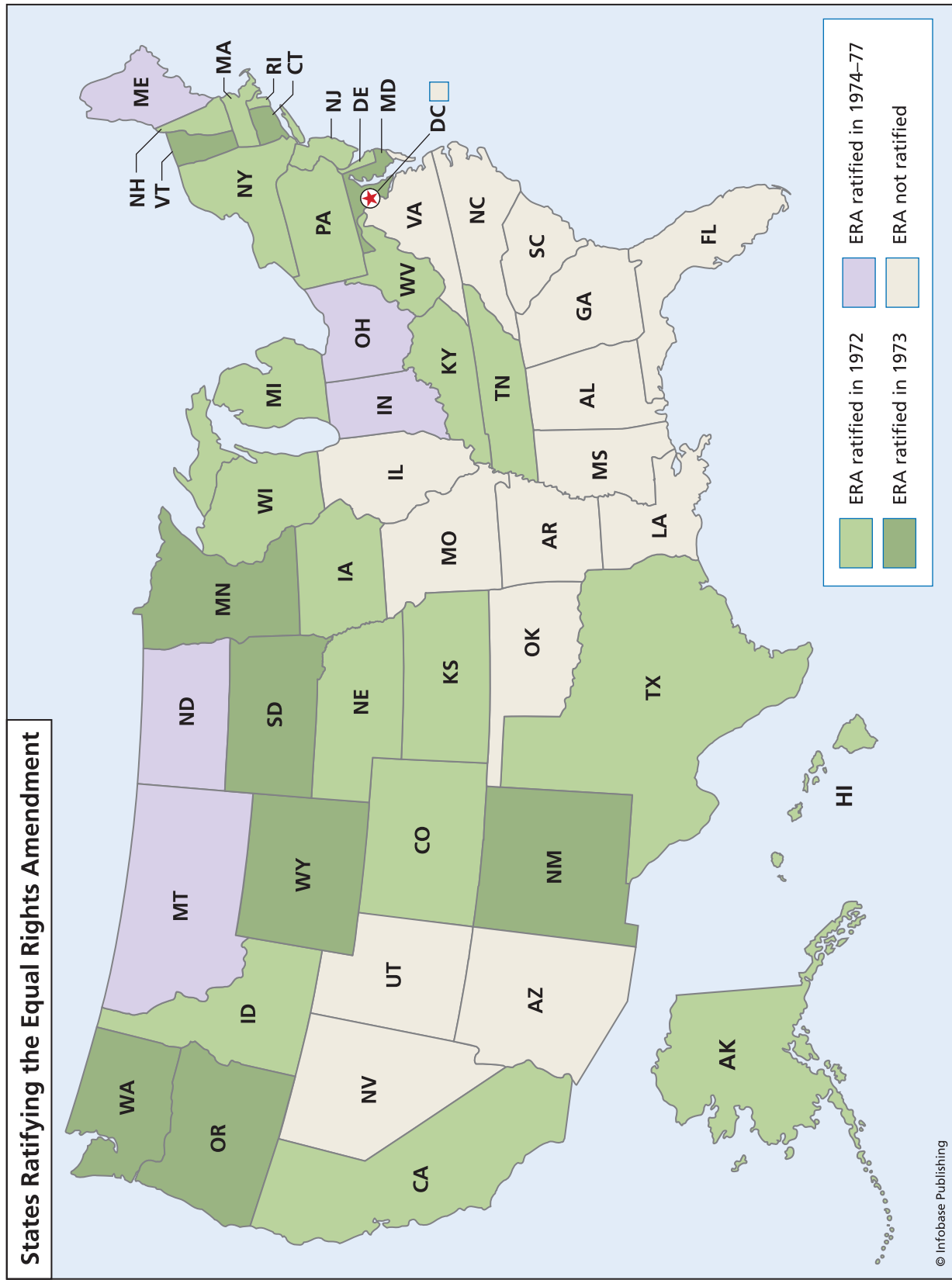
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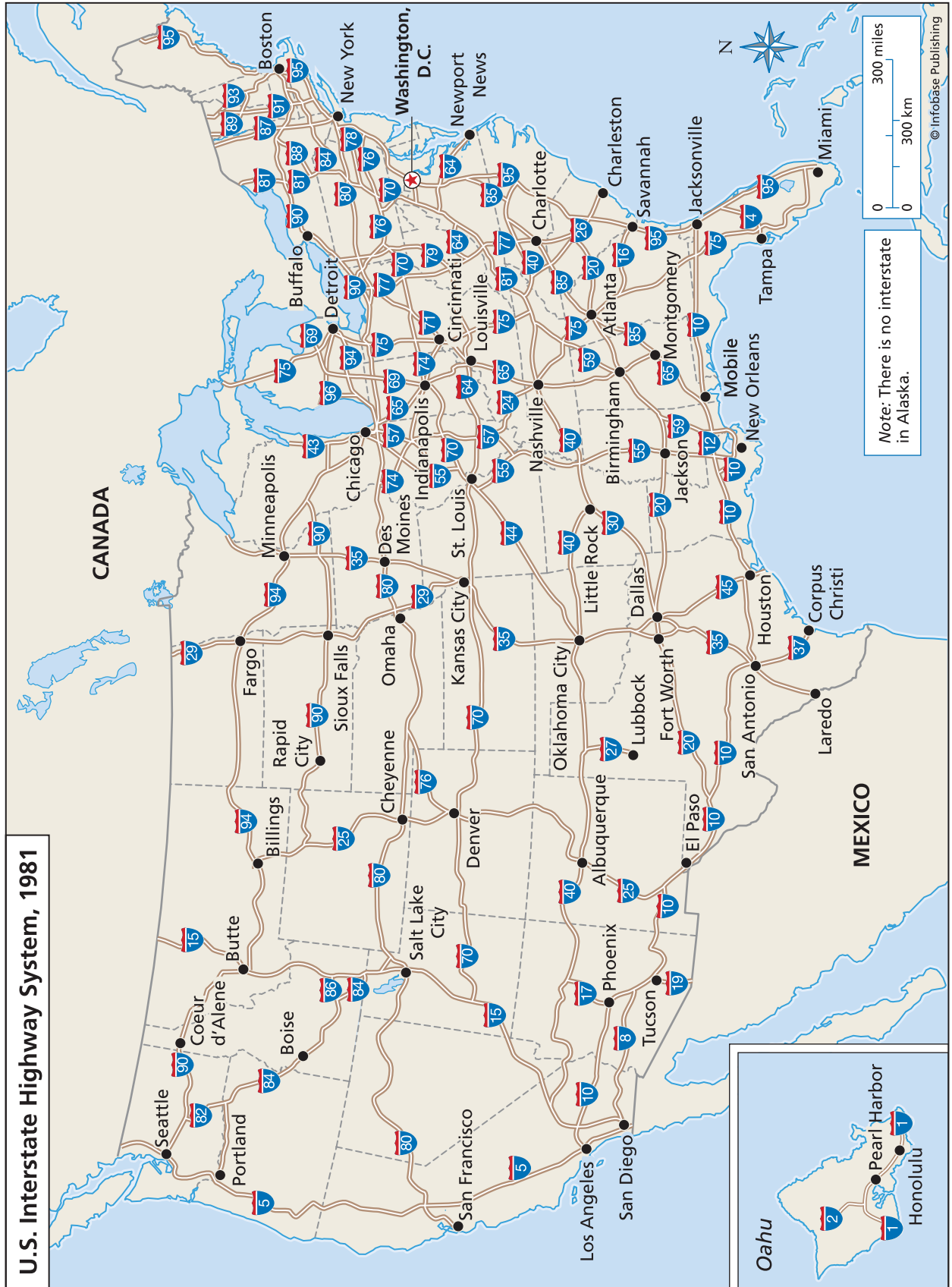
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1969 to the Present

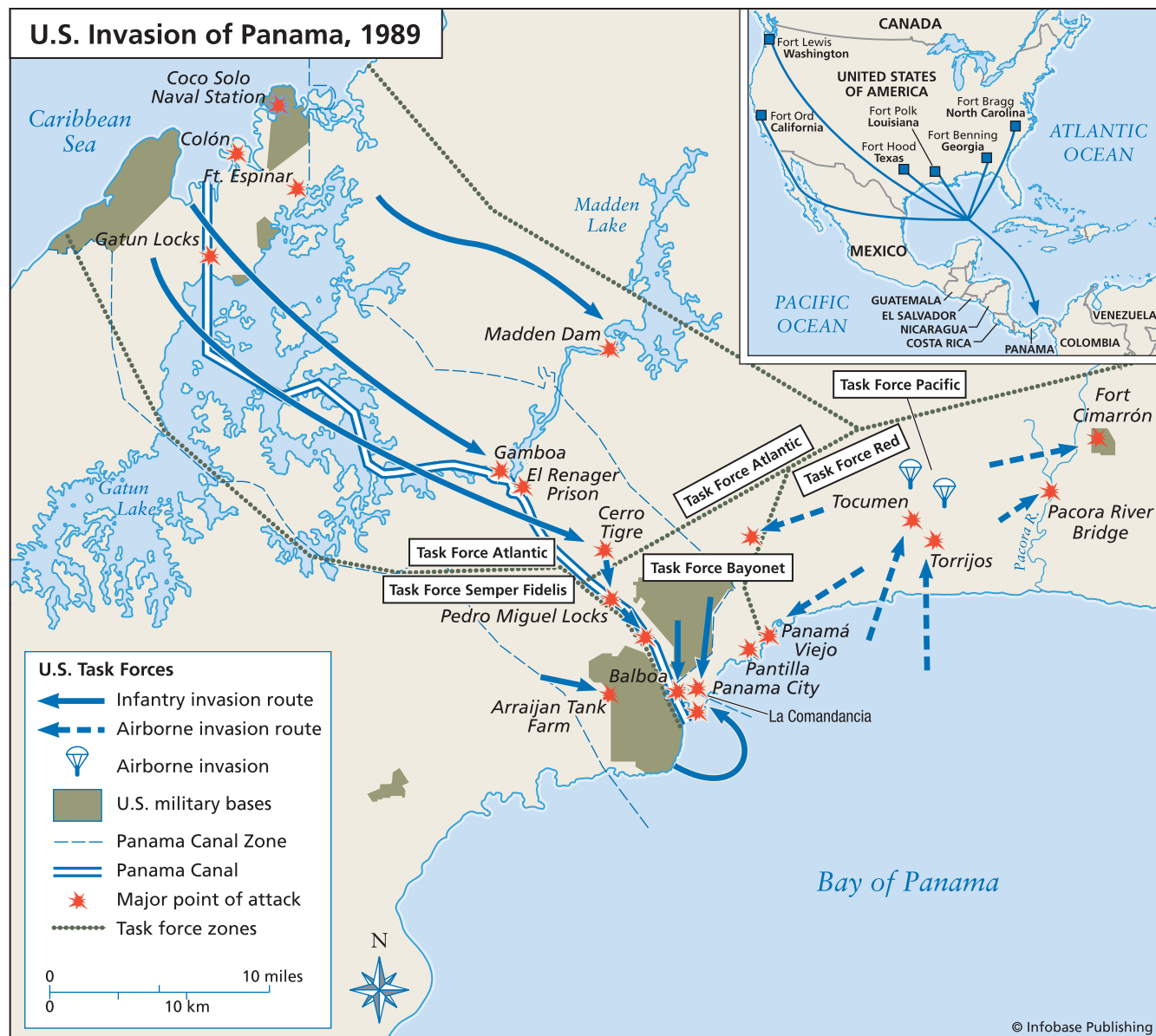
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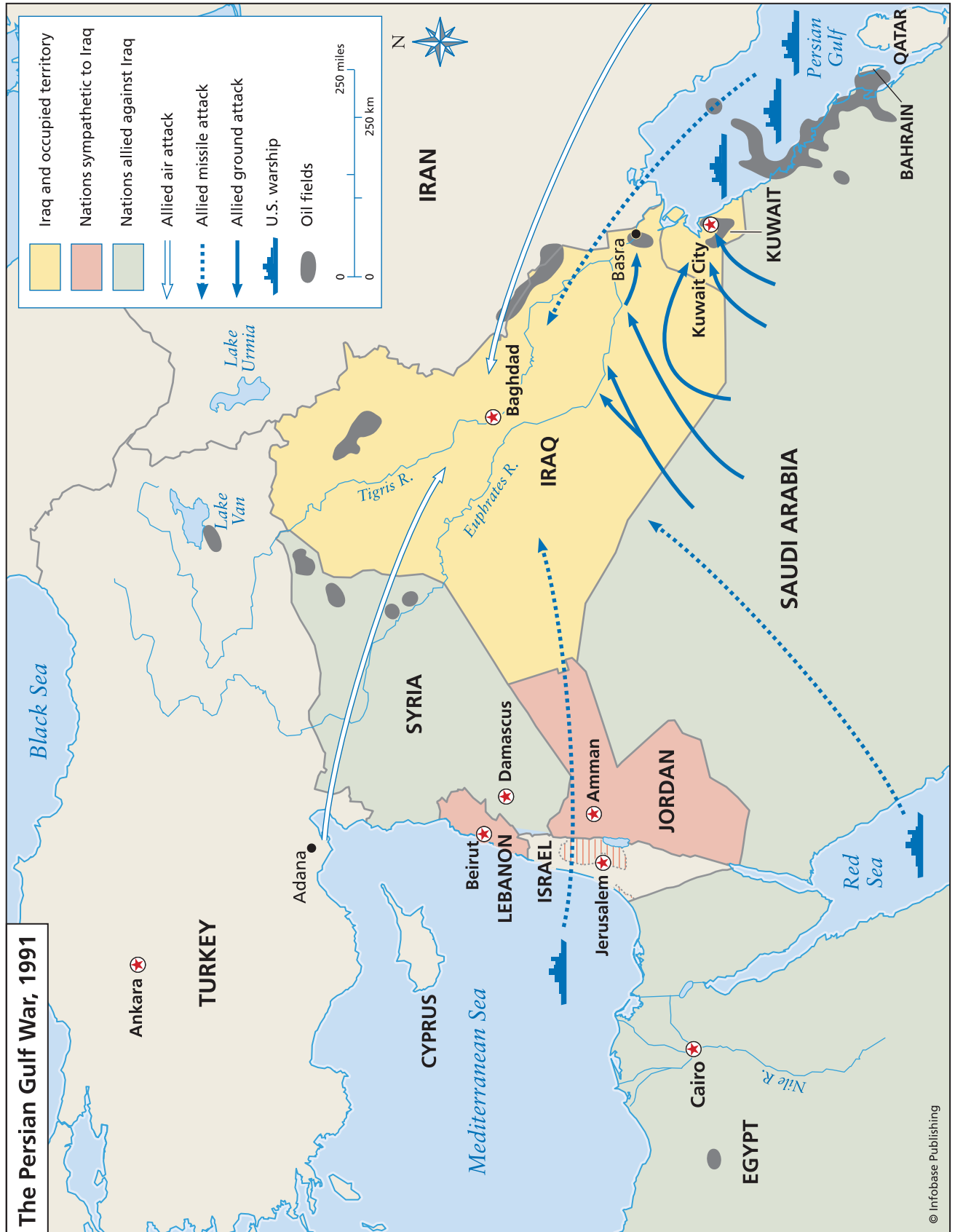
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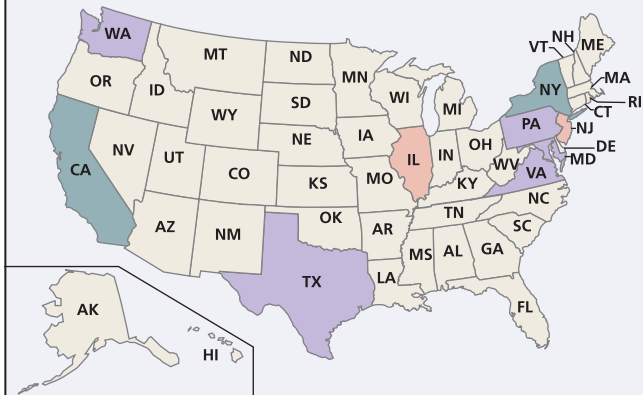




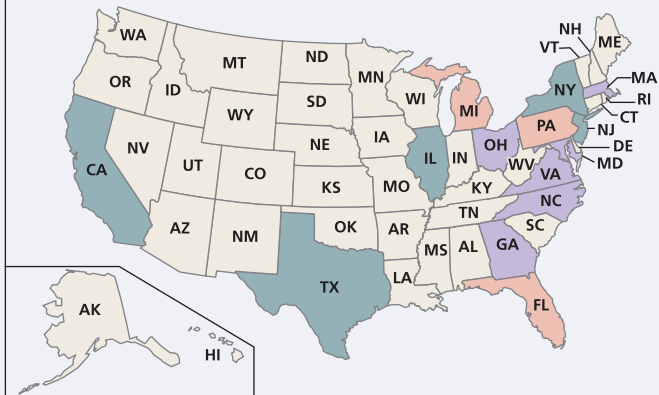


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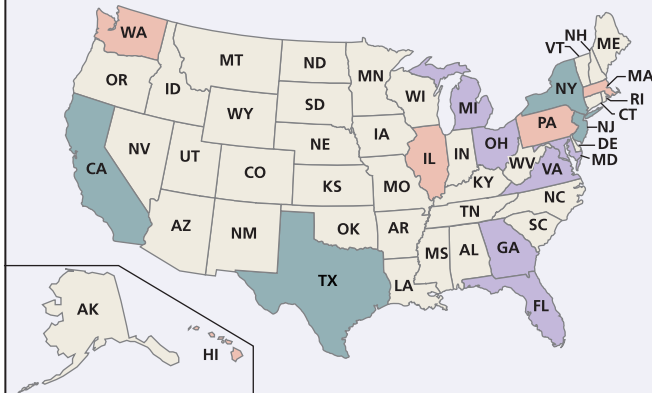
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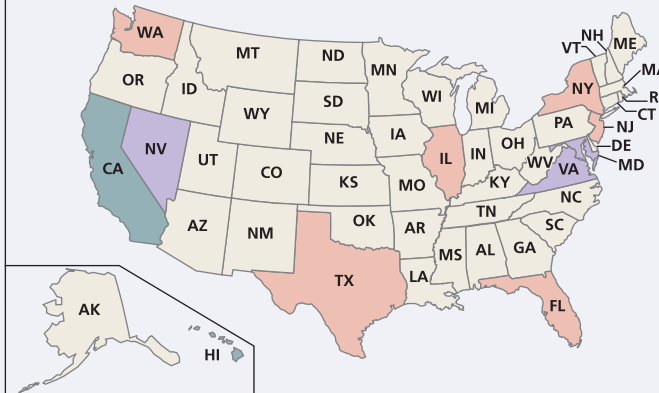
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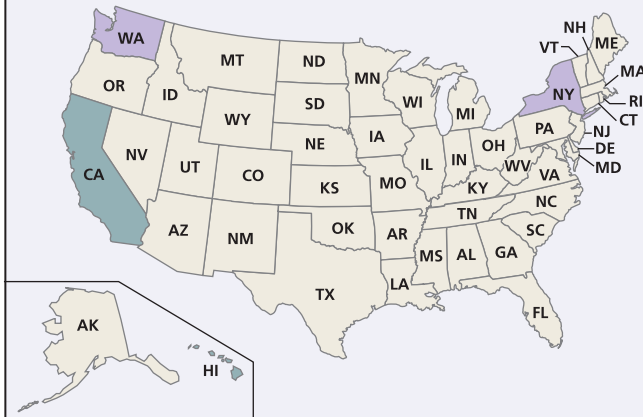
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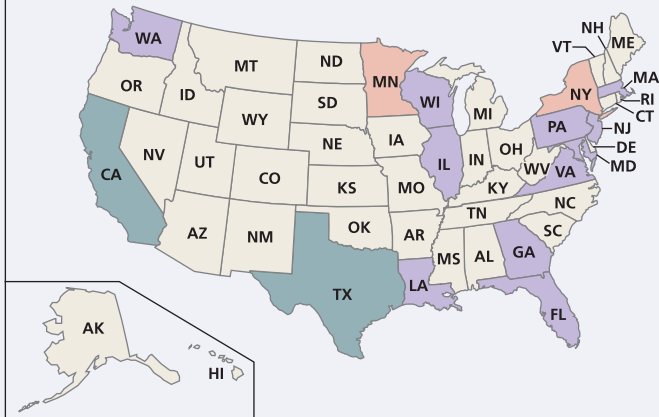
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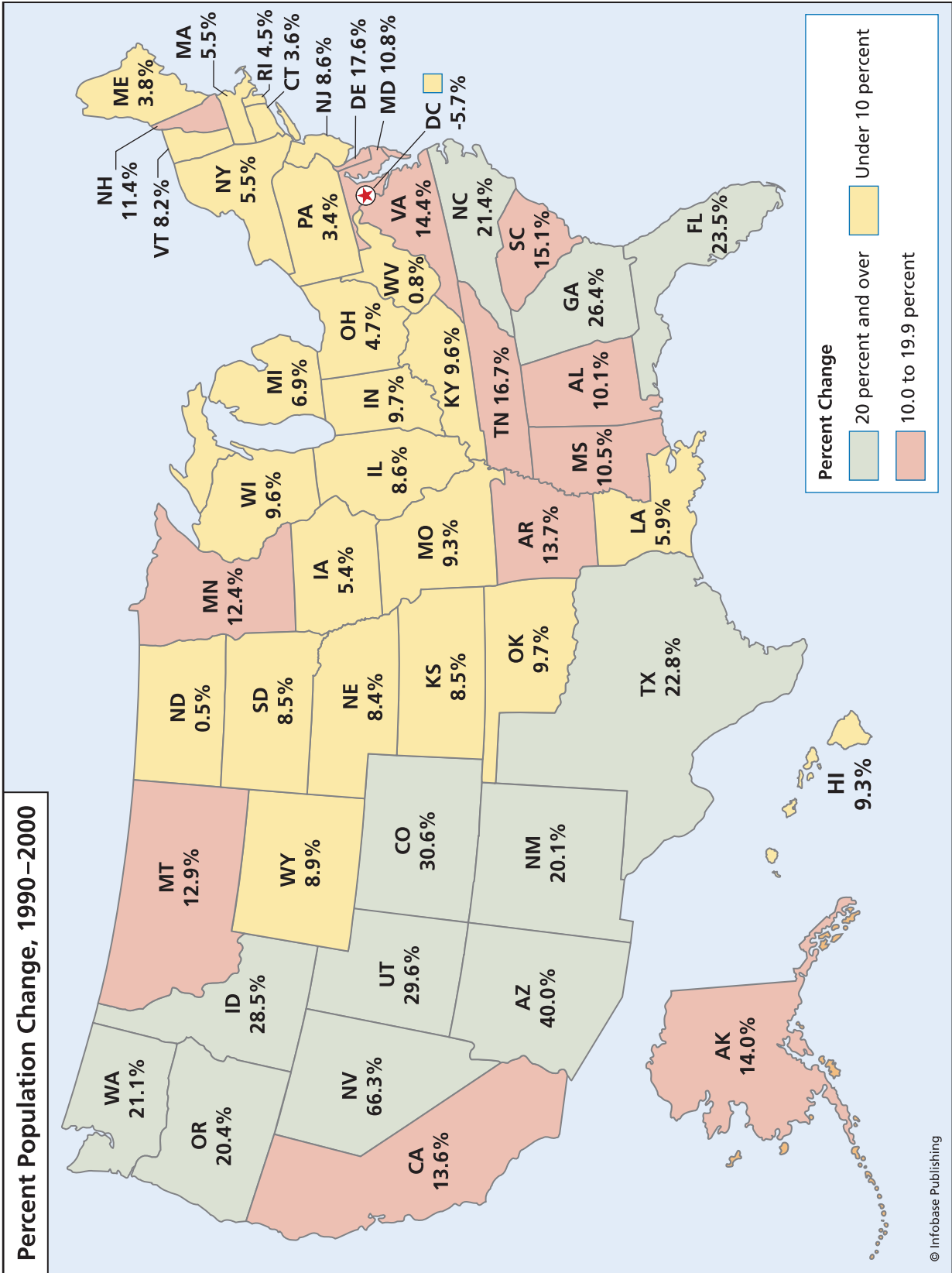


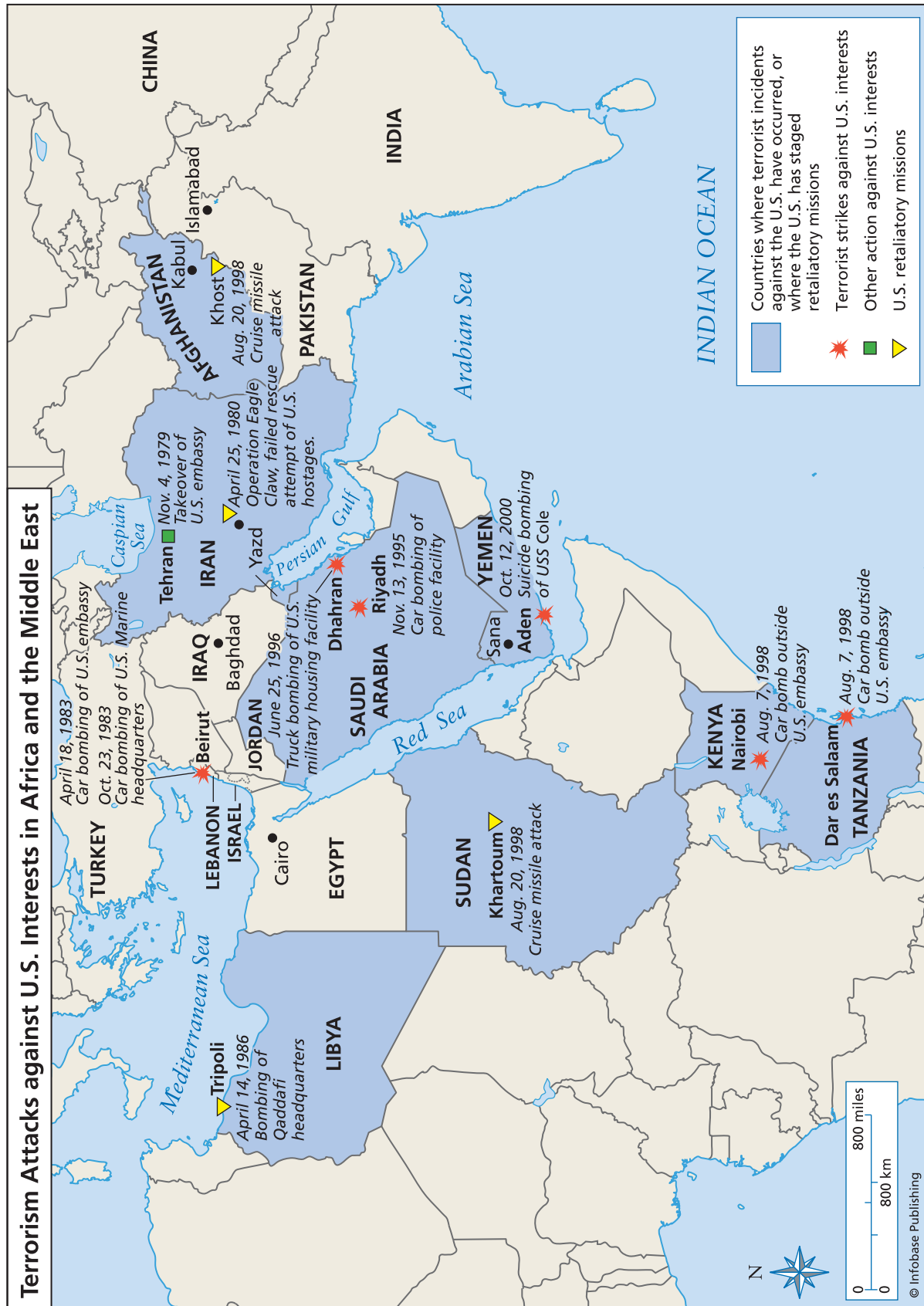
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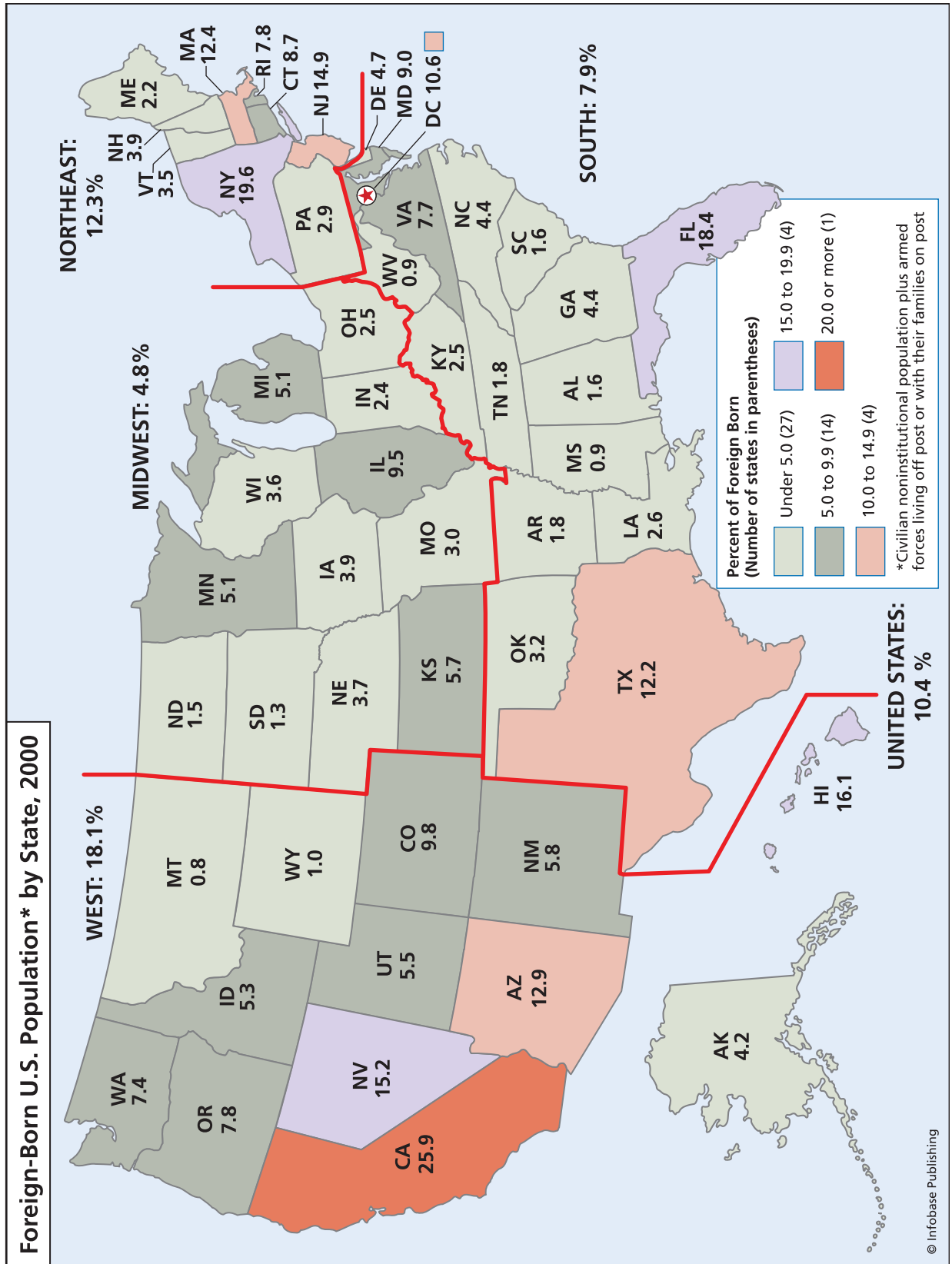


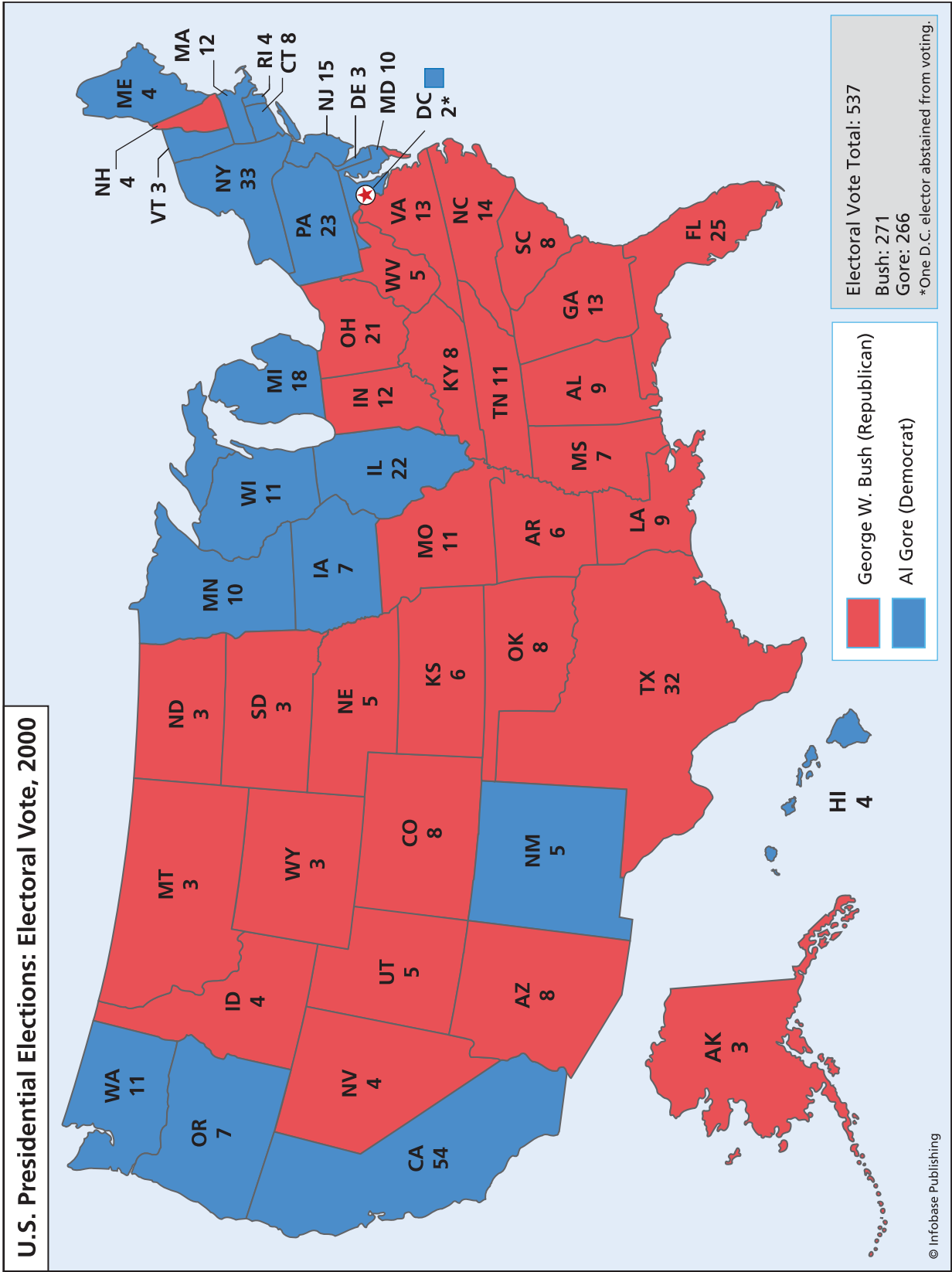
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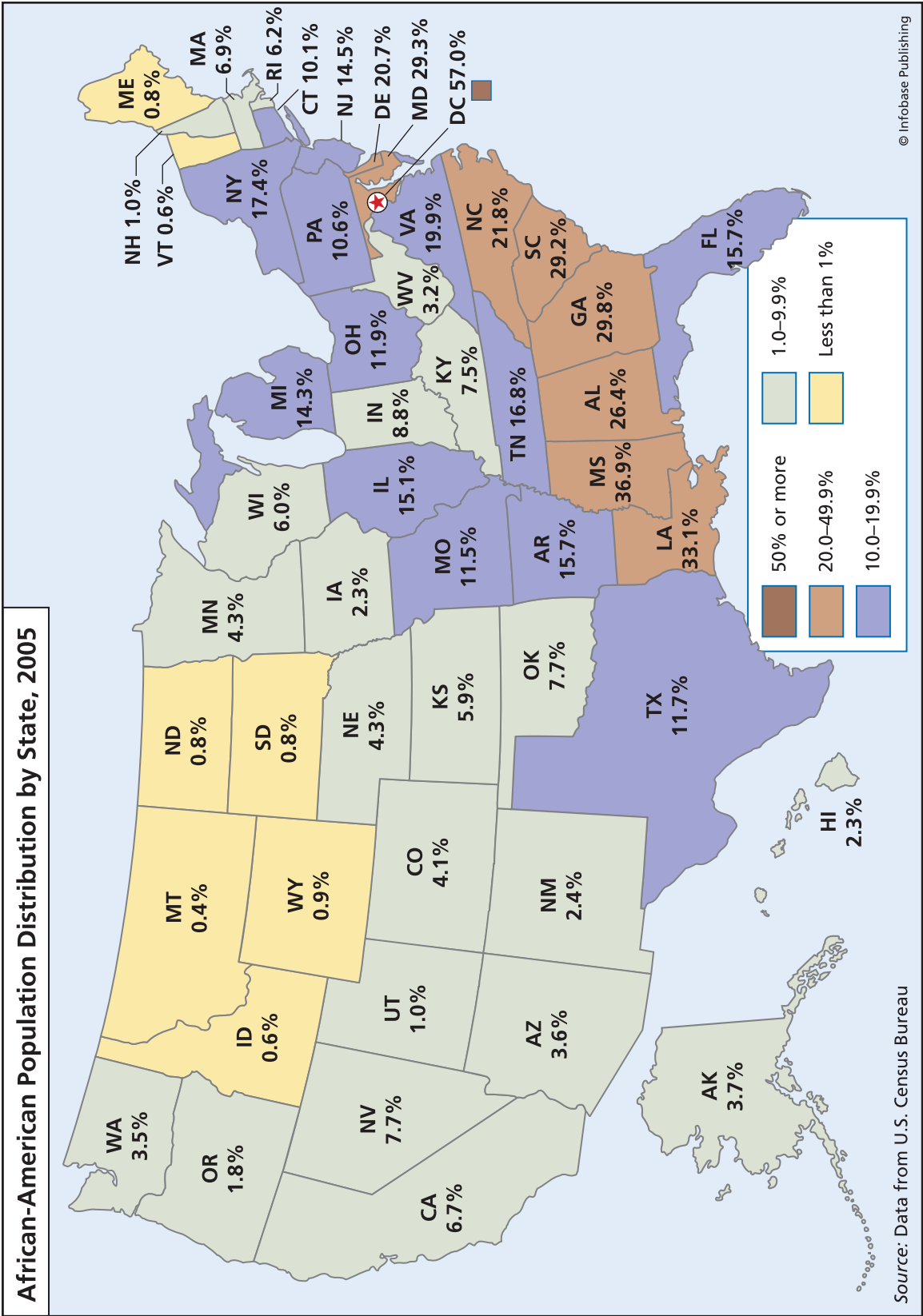








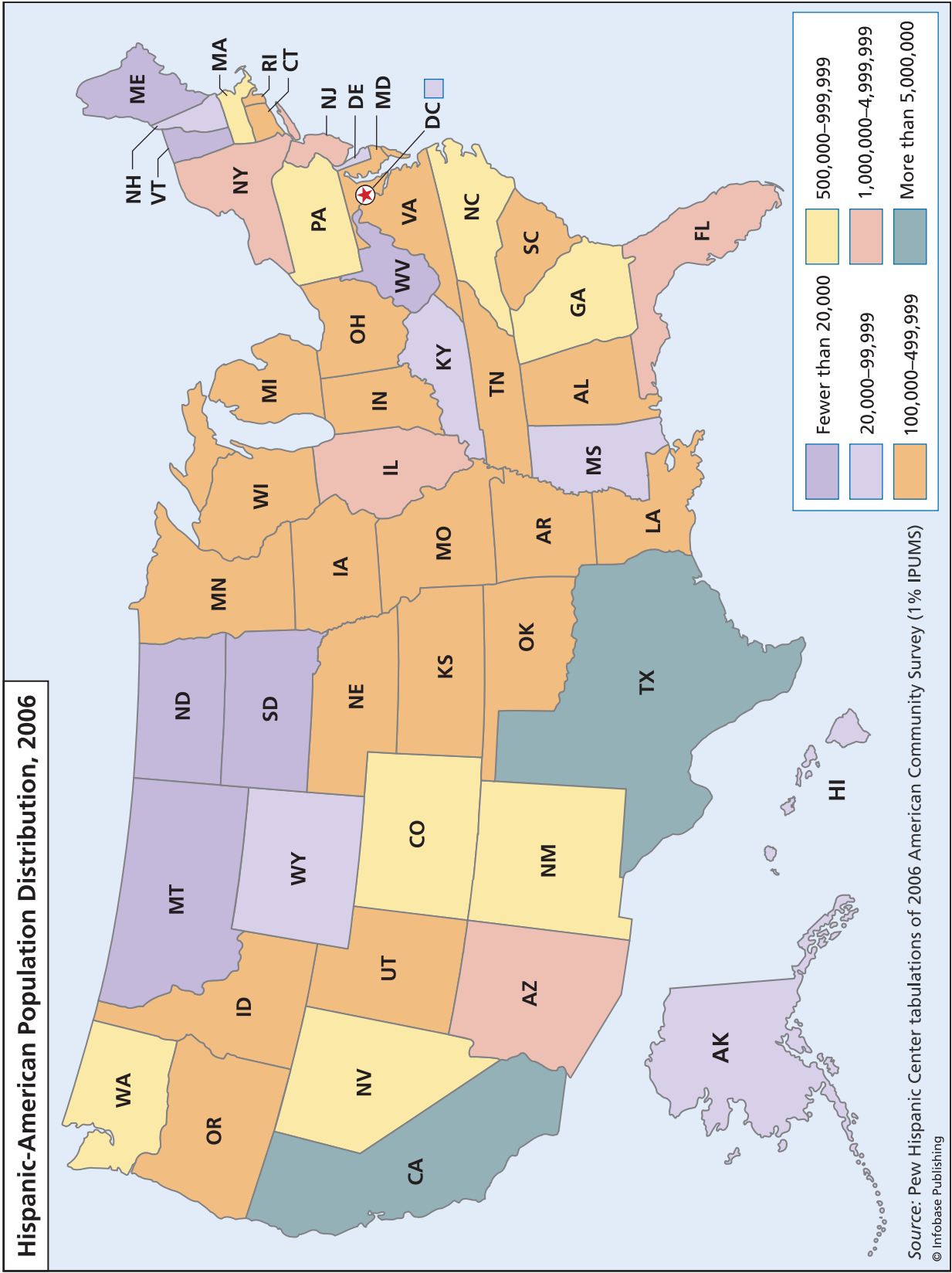




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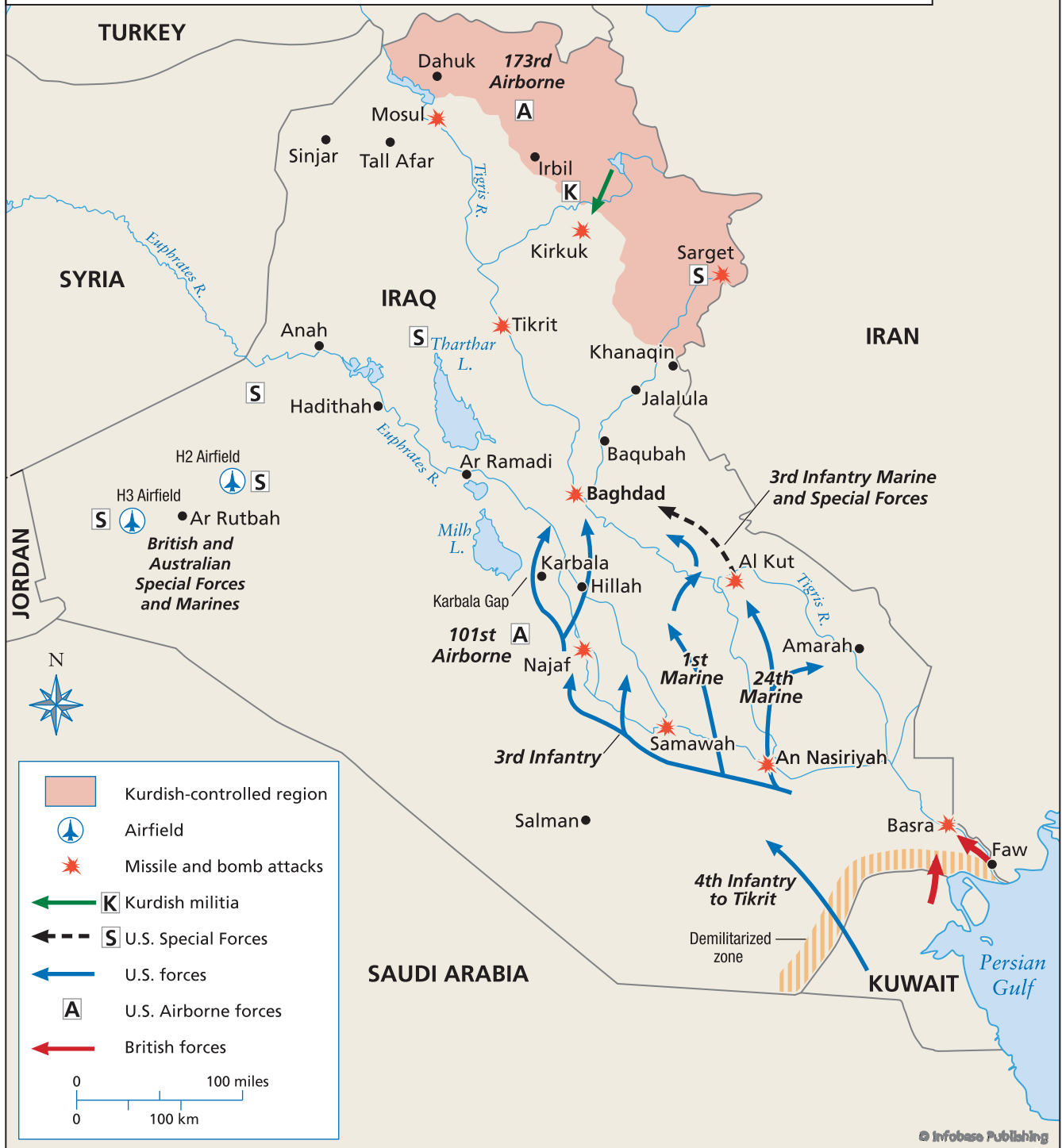


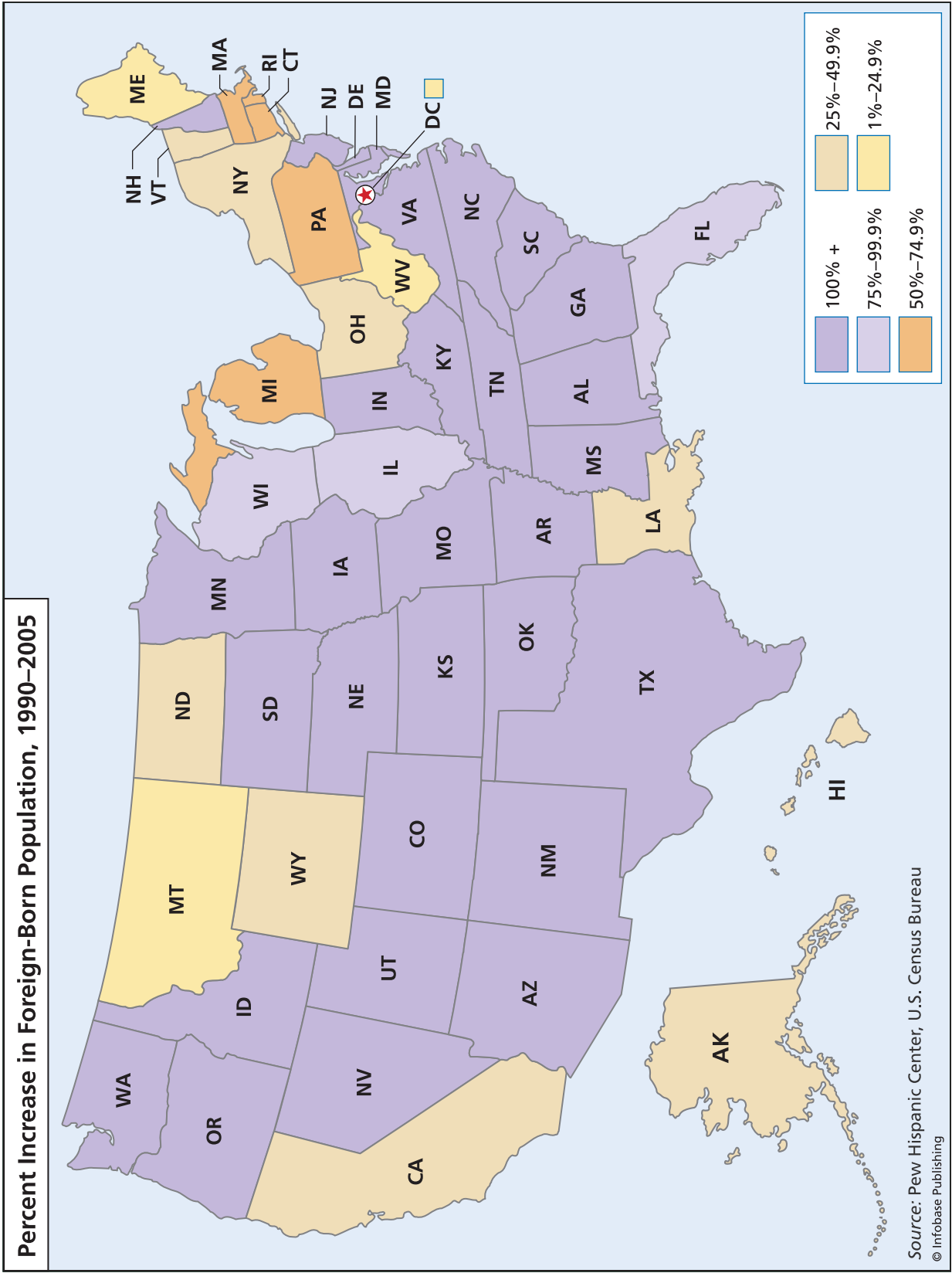






## Coalition Actions and Advances during the Iraq War, March 26–April 2, 2003





# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Revised Edition

## Comprehensive Index



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# About the Editors

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**General Editor: Gary B. Nash** received a Ph.D. from Princeton University. He is director of the National Center for History in the Schools at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he teaches American history of the colonial and Revolutionary era. He is a published author of college and precollegiate history texts. Among his best-selling works are the coauthored *American People: Creating a Nation and Society* (Longman, 1998), now in its seventh edition; *American Odyssey: The U.S. in the Twentieth Century* (McGraw-Hill/Glencoe, 1999), now in its fourth edition; and *The Atlas of American History*, coauthored with Carter Smith (Facts On File, 2006).

Nash is an elected member of the Society of American Historians, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Antiquarian Society, and the American Philosophical Society. He has served as past president of the Organization of American Historians in 1994–95 and was a founding member of the National Council for History Education. His latest books include *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), *The Unknown American Revolution: The Unruly Birth of Democracy and the Struggle to Create America* (Viking, 2005), and *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Era of Revolution* (Harvard University Press, 2006).

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*Hudson* (Basic Books, 2009), and the editor of eight books, including *Travel Narratives from the Age of Discovery* (Oxford University Press, 2006) and *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624* (University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

**Volume II Editor: Billy G. Smith**, Montana State University, received a Ph.D. from the University of California, Los Angeles. He has published numerous books, including *The “Lower Sort”: Philadelphia’s Laboring People, 1750–1800* (Cornell University Press, 1990), *Down and Out in Early America* (Pennsylvania State Press, 2004), and *Class Matters: Early North America and the Atlantic World* (University of Pennsylvania Press).

**Volume III Editor: Paul A. Gilje**, is professor of history, Samuel Roberts Noble Foundation Presidential Professor, and a George Lynn Cross Research Professor at the University of Oklahoma. After graduating with a B.A. in history from Brooklyn College, CUNY, he earned an M.A. and Ph.D. from Brown University. He is the author of several books, including *The Making of the American Republic, 1763–1815* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2006); *Liberty on the Waterfront: American Maritime Society and Culture in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); *Rioting in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996); *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763 to 1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, 1987). In 2004 *Liberty on the Waterfront* won both the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic Best Book Award and the North American Society for Oceanic History John Lyman Book Award for best book on U.S. maritime history. Gilje served as president of the Society for Historians of the Early Republic in 2008–2009.

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**Volume IV Editor: Malcolm J. Rohrbough**, University of Iowa, holds a Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin. He is the author of several books, including *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (University of California Press, 1996), and is coeditor of a 10-volume history of the trans-Appalachian frontier published by Indiana University Press.

**Volume V Editor: Joan Waugh** is a professor of history at the University of California, Los Angeles, where she specializes in the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. She is the author of *Unsentimental Reformer: The Life of Josephine Shaw Lowell* (Harvard University Press, 1998) and the forthcoming *Ulysses S. Grant, American Hero, American Myth* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009). Recently published books include (with Alice Fahs) *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (University of North Carolina Press, 2004) and (with Gary W. Gallagher) *Wars within a War: Controversy and Conflict over the American Civil War* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

**Volume VI Editor: Ari Hoogenboom**, professor emeritus, Brooklyn College, City University of New York, received a Ph.D. from Columbia University. He is the coeditor of *The Gilded Age* (Prentice Hall, 1967) and the author of *Rutherford B. Hayes: Warrior and President* (University Press of Kansas, 1995), among other books and articles. His latest book is *Gustavus Vasa Fox of the Union Navy: A Biography* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

**Volume VII Editor: Elizabeth Faue**, Wayne State University, received a Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota. She is the author of *Community of Suffering and Struggle: Women, Men, and the Labor Movement in Minneapolis, 1915–1945*

(University of North Carolina Press, 1991) and *Writing the Wrongs: Eva Valesh and the Rise of Labor Journalism* (Cornell University Press, 2002).

**Volume VIII Editor: John W. Jeffries**, dean of arts, humanities, and social sciences at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, received a Ph.D. from Yale University. He is the author of several books, including *Wartime America: The World War II Home Front* (Ivan Dee, 1996).

**Volume IX Editors: Allan M. Winkler**, Miami University of Ohio, received a Ph.D. from Yale University. He is the author of several books, including *Life under a Cloud: American Anxiety about the Atom* (Oxford University Press, 1993) and a best-selling textbook, *The American People: Creating a Nation and Society* (with Gary B. Nash), now in its seventh edition.

**Charlene Mires**, Villanova University, edited revisions and additions to the current edition. She received a Ph.D. from Temple University and is the author of *Independence Hall in American Memory* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

**Volume X Editor: Donald T. Critchlow**, St. Louis University, received a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley. He is the author of several books, including *Intended Consequences: Birth Control, Abortion, and the Federal Government in Modern America* (Oxford University Press, 1999), *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade* (Princeton University Press, 2005), and *The Conservative Ascendancy: How the GOP Right Made Political History* (Harvard University Press, 2007).



# Foreword



The Encyclopedia of American History series is designed as a handy reference to the most important individuals, events, and topics in U.S. history. In 10 volumes, the encyclopedia covers the period from the 15th century, when European explorers first made their way across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas, to the present day. The encyclopedia is written for precollegiate as well as college students, for parents of young learners in the schools, and for the general public. The volume editors are distinguished historians of American history. In writing individual entries, each editor has drawn upon the expertise of scores of specialists. This ensures the scholarly quality of the entire series. Articles contributed by the various volume editors are uncredited.

This 11-volume encyclopedia of “American history” is broadly conceived to include the historical experience of the various peoples of North America. Thus, in the first volume, many essays treat the history of a great range of indigenous people before contact with Europeans. In the same vein, readers will find essays in the first several volumes that sketch Spanish, Dutch, and French explorers and colonizers who opened up territories for European settlement that later would become part of the United States. The venues and cast of characters in the American historical drama are thus widened beyond traditional encyclopedias.

In creating the eras of American history that define the chronological limits of each volume, and in addressing major topics in each era, the encyclopedia follows the architecture of *The National Standards for United States History, Revised Edition* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996). Mandated by the U.S. Congress, the national standards for U.S. history have been widely used by states and school districts in organizing curricular frameworks and have been followed by many other curriculum-building efforts.

Entries are cross-referenced, when appropriate, with *See also* citations at the end of articles. At the end of most entries, a listing of articles and books allows readers to turn to specialized sources and historical accounts. In each volume, an array of maps provide geographical context, while numerous illustrations help vivify the material covered in the text. A time line is included to provide students with a chronological reference to major events occurring in the given era. The selection of historical documents in the back of each volume gives students experience with the raw documents that historians use when researching history. A comprehensive index to each volume also facilitates the reader’s access to particular information.

In each volume, long entries are provided for major categories of American historical experience. These categories may include: African Americans, agriculture, art and architecture, business, economy, education, family life, foreign policy, immigration, labor, Native Americans, politics, population, religion, urbanization, and women. By following these essays from volume to volume, the reader can access what might be called a mini-history of each broad topic, for example, family life, immigration, or religion.

—Gary B. Nash  
University of California, Los Angeles

# Foreword to the Revised Edition



“History has to be rewritten in every generation because, although the past does not change, the present does,” writes Lord Christopher Hill, one of Great Britain’s most eminent historians. “Each generation asks new questions of the past, and finds new areas of sympathy as it re-lives different aspects of the experiences of its predecessors.” It is this understanding, that the pursuit of historical knowledge requires new research and new reflections on the past, that undergirds a revised and extended edition of the *Encyclopedia of American History*.

The individual volume editors of this revised edition have made important additions and revisions to the original edition published in 2003. Most important, they have added many new entries—several hundred for the entire 11-volume set. This puts more meat on the bone of what was already a comprehensive encyclopedia that presented four centuries of American history in all its diversity and complexity. For the 10th volume, covering the period from 1969 to the present, new entries cover momentous events and important figures of the last six years. For the other volumes, new entries increase the diversity of Americans covered by biographical accounts as well as events that new scholarship shows have had greater importance than recognized heretofore.

In addition, careful attention has been given to correcting occasional errors in the massive number of entries in the first edition. Also, many entries have been revised to add further details while making adjustments, based on new scholarship, to the interpretation of key events and movements. Consonant with that effort to make the encyclopedia as fresh and usable as possible, the volume editors have added many new recently published books to the “Further Reading” notes at the ends of the entries, and new full-color historical maps help put history in its geographical context.

—Gary B. Nash





# Index



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